

A GRAMMAR
OF
OLD IRISH

BY
RUDOLF THURNEYSEN

Revised and enlarged edition

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY
D. A. BINCHY AND OSBORN BERGIN

WITH SUPPLEMENT



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. A. B.

O. J. B.

CONTENTS

	Page
TRANSLATORS' PREFACE	v
ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
INTRODUCTION	1
The Celtic Languages	1
Sources of Old Irish	4
Archaic Sources 3	
Inscriptions 3	
Dialects	12
Principal Works of Reference	12
ORTHOGRAPHY	16
Alphabet 13	
Division of words 24	
Abbreviations 25	
PHONOLOGY	27
Stress	27
VOWELS	31
Quantity of Vowels	31
Quality of Vowels	34
Vowels in Stressed Syllables	35
<i>a, ă</i> 35	
<i>é, ê</i> 36	
<i>í, î</i> 38	
<i>o, ô</i> 39	
<i>u, ú</i> 41	
The true diphthongs	42
<i>ai, oi, œi</i> 42	
<i>ei</i> 43	
<i>œi</i> 44	
<i>œu</i> 44	
<i>iu</i> 45	
<i>œu</i> 45	
Vowel changes in stressed syllables	46
<i>e</i> and <i>o</i> for <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> 46	
<i>i</i> and <i>u</i> for <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> 47	
<i>o, u</i> for <i>a</i> , and similar mutations 50	
<i>e</i> for <i>o</i> 52	
Interchange of <i>e</i> and <i>a</i> 53	

	Page
Glides after stressed vowels	55
Vowels in unstressed syllables	58
Vowels in old final syllables 58	
Glides before final vowels 61	
Unstressed vowels in the interior of words 63	
Syncope 67	
Development of secondary vowels 70	
Vowel contraction 71	
Vocalism of pretonic words 72	
CONSONANTS	74
Lenition	74
Lenition of stops 76	
Lenition of continuants 84	
Lengthening of unlenited consonants 85	
Delenition 86	
Geminates	89
Simplification of geminates 89	
Origin of geminates 91	
Quality of consonants	95
Consonant-groups arising from syncope 98	
Original consonant-groups before palatal vowels 99	
Single (including originally geminated) consonants 102	
Replacement of u-quality by neutral 106	
Original final consonants	109
Initial consonants in pretonic words	111
Loss of consonants	112
Metathesis	113
Origin of the Irish consonants	113
SUMMARY OF THE REGULAR DEVELOPMENT OF INDO-EUROPEAN SOUNDS	
IN INDE	120
Purely vocalic sounds	120
Sounds sometimes vocalic, sometimes consonantal	121
IE. <i>v, ʃ</i> 121	
IE. <i>u, y</i> 122	
Consonantal nasals 126	
Consonantal <i>r, l</i> 128	
Vocalic (syllabic) nasals and liquids 129	
Sounds that are always consonantal	131
IE. <i>s, z</i> 131	
Stops 134	
Voiced stops for voiceless 135	
Gutturals 135	
Non-labialized gutturals 136	
The labiovelars 136	
Dentals 138	
Labials 138	

Contents

	xi
	Page
INITIAL MUTATIONS	140
Lentition	141
Nasalization	147
Gemination	150
INFLECTION AND STEM-FORMATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES	154
General remarks on declension	154
Gender 154	
Number 154	
Case 155	
Use of cases 155	
DECLENSION AND STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS	162
Flexional classes	162
Stem formation of nouns	163
Formation of abstracts (and collectives)	164
A. from verbs 164	
B. from adjectives 165	
C. from nouns 167	
Nouns of agency, etc.	170
Diminutives	173
PARADIGMS OF NOMINAL FLEXION	175
Vocalic stems	175
<i>a</i> -stems 175	
<i>ia</i> -stems 179	
Case-forms of <i>a</i> - and <i>ia</i> -stems 180	
<i>ā</i> -stems 183	
Ordinary <i>iā</i> -stems and <i>īā</i> -stems with nom. in -ī 184	
Case-forms of <i>ā</i> - and <i>iā</i> -stems 187	
<i>ī</i> -stems 190	
Case-forms of <i>ī</i> -stems 192	
<i>u</i> -stems 194	
Case-forms of <i>u</i> -stems 197	
Consonantal stems	199
Stems in a lenited guttural 202	
Stems in a lenited dental 205	
Stems in -t 207	
<i>n</i> -stems 209	
<i>r</i> -stems 214	
<i>s</i> -stems 215	
Irregular and indeclinable nouns	218
DECLENSION AND STEM FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES	217
Stem formation of adjectives	218
Suffixless form by composition 218	
The suffixes - <i>de</i> and - <i>act</i> 220	

	Page
Declension of adjectives	222
<i>a-</i> stems 223	
<i>ia-</i> stems 225	
<i>i-</i> stems 226	
<i>u-</i> stems 227	
Consonantal stems 228	
Use of inflected and uninflected adjective	228
Comparison of adjectives	232
Normal formation of equative, comparative, and superlative 233	
Other formations 235	
Analysis of the forms of comparison 235	
Formation of adverbs from adjectives	238
NUMERALS	242
Cardinals 242	
Analysis of the cardinal forms 245	
Ordinals 247	
Analysis of the ordinal forms 249	
Fractions 250	
Multiplicatives 250	
PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALS	251
Personal and possessive pronouns	251
Emphasizing particles 252	
Absolute forms of personal pronouns 253	
Infixed pronouns	255
Infixed pronouns after <i>nd</i> , <i>nicon</i> , etc. 255	
Special uses of infixed pronouns 256	
<i>d</i> after <i>cin</i> and <i>nd</i> 258	
Infixed pronouns after the copula 259	
Suffixed personal pronouns	270
A. after verbs 270	
B. after prepositions 273	
Possessive pronouns and the genitive of personal pronouns	275
A. unstressed possessive pronouns 275	
B. stressed possessive pronouns 279	
Analysis of the forms of the personal pronouns	280
INTERROGATIVES	285
Interrogative pronouns 285	
Interrogative particles 289	
Etymology of the forms of the interrogative pronoun, etc.	292
ARTICLE, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND ADVERBS OF PLACE	293
The Article	293
Syntax of the article 295	
Demonstrative pronouns	299
The article with <i>i</i> 299	
The article with <i>ca</i> , <i>cin</i> , etc. 299	

	Page
Substantival forms	301
Syntax of the demonstrative pronouns	302
Adverbs of place	305
PRONOMINALS	305
<i>inam, sinam, etc.</i>	305
<i>fim, foidin, etc.</i>	306
<i>oile, oisile, indain, etc.</i>	307
<i>nech, ní, nech, na, nachir</i>	309
<i>cech, each, each, ceitar</i>	310
On the forms <i>cech, nech, etc.</i>	311
RELATIVE CLAUSES AND PARTICLES	312
Relative particle after prepositions	312
Leniting relative clauses	314
Nasalizing relative clauses	316
Discrepancies in the use of relative clauses	319
Genitival relation	321
Analysis of the relative constructions, etc.	323
THE VERB	326
General	326
Omission of verb	326
Position of verb	327
Voice	328
Moods	329
Use of the subjunctive mood	329
Tense	331
Tense stems: 'strong' and 'weak' verbs	335
Formation of denominative verbs	337
The verbal particle <i>ro</i> and other similarly used prepositions	339
Position of <i>ro</i>	339
Meanings of the verbal particle <i>ro</i>	341
Other prepositions used in place of <i>ro</i>	343
Analysis of the <i>ro</i> -forms	347
The verbal particle <i>no, na</i>	348
Number	349
Person and personal endings	349
Passive forms	349
Absolute and conjunct flexion	350
Deuterotonic and prototonic forms	351
Non-finite forms	352
THE PRESENT STEM AND ITS FORMS	352
Weak verbs (classes A I-III)	352
Strong verbs (classes B I-V)	353
Confusion between the various present classes	357
Flexion of the present indicative	359
A, active	359

	Page
The active personal endings	360
B. deponent	365
The deponent personal endings	366
C. passive	367
The imperfect indicative	370
The imperative	372
Present forms in classes A III and B I-V	375
STEM AND FLEXION OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE	380
The <i>s</i> -subjunctive	380
The present of the <i>s</i> -subjunctive	381
The past of the <i>s</i> -subjunctive	384
Forms of the <i>s</i> -subjunctive in classes A II-III and B IV-V	385
The <i>s</i> -subjunctive	387
The present of the <i>s</i> -subjunctive	389
The past of the <i>s</i> -subjunctive	393
STEM AND FLEXION OF THE FUTURE	396
The <i>f</i> -future	396
Flexion of the <i>f</i> -future and secondary future	398
The sigmatic future of strong verbs	401
The normal reduplicated future	401
The <i>s</i> -future	404
The future of the B IV verbs	405
Special formations	406
The <i>s</i> -future	407
Form of the reduplication syllable	408
Forms without reduplication	409
Flexion of the reduplicated <i>s</i> -future	411
Explanation of the strong future stems	414
STEM AND FLEXION OF THE ACTIVE AND DEPONENT PRATERITE	415
The <i>s</i> -preterite	416
Flexion of the <i>s</i> -preterite	417
Forms of the <i>s</i> -preterite in classes A II-III	419
The <i>t</i> -preterite	421
Flexion of the <i>t</i> -preterite	423
The suffixless preterite	424
A. The reduplicated preterite	424
Forms with peculiar reduplication	426
B. Non-reduplicated preterites	429
The <i>d</i> -preterite	429
The <i>t</i> -preterite	430
Other forms without reduplication	431
Flexion of the suffixless preterite	431
Special formations	436
STEM AND FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRATERITE	437
Flexion of the passive preterite	440

Contents

	IV Page
NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS	441
The past participle passive	441
The verbal of necessity	443
The verbal noun	444
Formation of verbal nouns	445
Weak verbs 446	
Strong verbs 447	
A. Endings without consonants 447	
B. Endings with original <i>t</i> 449	
C. Endings with <i>m</i> 453	
D. Endings with <i>n</i> 454	
E. Special formations 454	
 COMPLETE PARADIGMS OF THE WEAK VERBS	 455
EXAMPLES OF THE FLEXION OF STRONG VERBS	461
SUPPLETIVE VERBS	468
THE VERB TO BE	475
Substantive verb and copula	475
The substantive verb	477
Ordinary present indicative 477	
Construal present 480	
Remaining tenses 481	
The copula	483
Present indicative 484	
Remaining tenses 487	
Syntax of the copula 493	
 PREPOSITIONS	 495
<i>ad</i> 496	
<i>air</i> (<i>ar, é, etc.</i>) 497	
<i>aità</i> 499	
<i>al</i> (<i>al, etc.</i>) 500	
<i>amal</i> 500	
<i>ca</i> 501	
<i>ca</i> 502	
<i>di, de</i> 504	
<i>da, da</i> 505	
<i>achiar</i> (<i>achiar</i>) 507	
<i>ca</i> 508	
<i>ca, ca</i> 510	
<i>fiad</i> 511	
<i>fo</i> 511	

	Page
ind, imn	516
in, ind, en	518
inpe	522
(A)de	522
in	523
ne (ni)	523
ó, ón	524
oc	524
ce(s) (ne)	525
de	527
re rí, ren-	527
ro	528
sch	530
tar, dar, teim-	530
to (do)	531
tri, tre, tren-	533
Variations in pre-verbal prepositions	534
Nominal prepositions	536
NEGATIVES	538
nd, ndon	538
nd, ndat, ndí, ndon, etc.	539
Analysis of the negative forms	542
Composition forms of the negative	542
can as negative	545
CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONAL CLAUSES	548
Copulative and disjunctive conjunctions	548
con, co	548
sch, sch	549
-ch, noch	549
sch	550
and	551
nó, níl	551
rodó, rodóu, roba, roba	551
óve, óv(g)	551
omáid	551
Temporal, consecutive, and final conjunctions	552
in, inu, in ten	552
din*	552
a*	552
in-ee, inee	552
edín, ed(i)ne	552
(A)d	553
arvindi	553
reúu, réúu	553
l. co 2. co*	554
ara*	556

Contents

xvii
Page

<i>afuainn, abainn</i>	537
<i>dano</i>	537
<i>dáda, dáda</i>	537
<i>da</i>	537
Conditional conjunctions	538
<i>ad</i>	538
<i>da</i> *	538
<i>ad</i>	539
Causal conjunctions	539
<i>ar-inde</i>	539
<i>ara, ára, árae</i>	539
<i>fa dá, dá, of</i>	539
<i>air, ar</i>	539
Adversative and concessive conjunctions	540
<i>ar-ná, ar-ná</i>	540
<i>in(a)uaga</i>	540
<i>ad</i>	540
<i>in, ar</i>	541
Comparative conjunctions	543
Position of dependent clauses	543
APPENDIX: FORM AND FLEXION OF LOAN-WORDS IN IRISH	565
Treatment of Latin stops	565
Final syllables	568
Substitution of Irish sounds for Latin	570
Declension	574
Conjugation	575
INDEXES	577
Celtic languages	578
Non-Celtic languages	664
TRANSLATORS' NOTES	673
Index to notes	687
SUPPLEMENT	689

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Grammatical

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

2. Languages

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

Gk. = Greek	OE. = Old English
Goth. = Gothic	OHG. = Old High German.
Hitt. = Hittite	ON. = Old Norse
Hom. = Homeric	Osc. = Oscan
IE. = Indo-European	OW. = Old Welsh
Ir. = Irish	Parc. = Persian
Ital. = Italian	Pruss. = Old Prussian
Lat. = Latin	Sc. Gael. = Scottish Gaelic
Leab. = Leabhan	Skt. = Sanskrit
Lett. = Lettish	Tochar. = Tocharian
Lith. = Lithuanian	Tyrol. = Tyroloese
MHG. = Middle High German	Umbr. = Umbrian
Mid. = Middle	Ved. = Vedic
Med. = Medieval	Venet. = Venetic
Mod. = Modern	W. = Welsh
O. = Old	

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- Ald. MC. = Aialinge Maic Con Glinne (ed. Meyer). London 1892.
- Ält. ir. Dicht. = Über die älteste irische Dichtung (Meyer). Berlin 1913-14.
- Anecd. = Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts. Vols. 1-v. Halle 1907-1913.
- Arm. = Book of Armagh (§ 7, 4).
- Asc. = Asselt, Glossario dell' antico Irlandese (§ 19, 1).
- AU. = Annals of Ulster (ed. Hennessy and MacCarthy). Vols. 1-IV. Dublin 1887-1891.
- Aurais. = Auraleopt na n-Éces (§ 20, 9).
- BB. = Book of Ballymote (Facsimile) published by the Royal Irish Academy . . . Dublin 1887.
- BDD. = Togall Bruidne Da Derga (edd. (1) Stokes, Paris 1902; (2) E. Knott, Dublin 1936).
- Bezzenbergers Beitr. = Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von A. Bezzenberger. Göttingen 1887-1907.
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- Contrib. See Meyer.

- Corm. = Cormac's Glossary (ed. Meyer, Anecd. IV).
 Dottin = La Langue gauloise (§ 3).
 Ériu (see § 22).
 F&I = Félire Congusso (§ 2).
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 IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen. 1892-.
 IF. Anz. = Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. 1893-.
 IGT. = Irish Grammatical Tracts (ed. Bergin).
 IT. = Irische Texte (ed. Windisch and Stokes). Vols. I-IV. Leipzig 1880-1909.
 Inram Bran = The Voyage of Bran (ed. Meyer). London 1895.
 Ir. Recht = Irisches Recht (Thurneysen). Berlin 1881.
 Itin. Ant. = Itinerarium Antonini.
 ITS. = Irish Texts Society.
 JRSAL. = Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Dublin 1849-.
 Kuhn's Beitr. = Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung . . . herausgegeben von A. Kuhn und A. Schleicher. Berlin 1858-1876.
 KZ. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung . . . herausgegeben von A. Kuhn. 1852-.
 Laws = Ancient Laws of Ireland. Vols. I-VI. Dublin 1865-1901.
 LB. = Leabhar Breac (lithographic reproduction). Dublin 1873-1876.
 Loidain and Cuirithir (ed. Meyer). London 1902.
 LL. = Book of Leinster (§ 9).
 LU = Lebor na hUltrad (§ 9).
 Macal. = Studies in Irish Epigraphy (§ 14).
 Met. Dinds. = The Metrical Dindsenchas (ed. Gwynn). Vols. I-V. Dublin 1893-1895.
 Meyer, Contr(ib). = Contributions to Irish Lexicography (§ 19,3).
 MI. = Milan Glosses (§ 6).
 Mon. Tall. = The Monastery of Tallaght (Gwynn and Purton). Dublin 1911.
 MEL. = Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Paris 1882-
 O'Cl. = O'Clery's Irish Glossary (ed. Miller, BC. IV-V).
 O'Dav. = O'Davoren's Glossary (ed. Stokes, ACL II).
 O'Mah. = O'Mahoney's Glossary (ed. Stokes, ACL I).
 Ped(erzen) = Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen (§ 17,2).
 Ped.² = A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar by Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen (§ 17,2).
 PH. = The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac (Atkinson). Dublin 1887.
 PRIA. = Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

- Rawl.** = Rawlinson B. 502 . . . published in facsimile . . . With an introduction . . . by Kuno Meyer. Oxford 1909.
- RC.** = *Revue Celtique* (§ 22).
- RIA. Dict.** = Dictionary of the Irish Language . . . published by the Royal Irish Academy (§ 19,4).
- RIA. Contr.** = Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language (§ 19,5).
- Sc. M.** = *Seola Mucor Meic Dathó* (ed. Thurneysen). Dublin 1935.
- Sg.** = St. Gall Glosses (§ 7,3).
- Sitzb. Pr. Akad.** = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SP.** = MS. in St. Paul, Corinthia (§ 7,3).
- SB.** = *Saltair na Rann* (§ 8).
- TBC.** = *Táin Bó Cúallge* from the Yellow Book of Lecan (ed. Strachan and O'Keefe). Dublin 1912.
- TBC** (ed. Windisch) = *Die Altirische Helden Sage Táin Bó Cúallge*. Leipzig 1905.
- TBF.** = *Táin Bó Fraich* (ed. Byrne and Dillon). Dublin 1935.
- Teo. Conn.** = *Tecosca Chormaic* (ed. Meyer). Dublin 1909.
- Togall Troi** = *The Destruction of Troy* (ed. Stokes). Calcutta 1881.
- Theo.** = *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (§ 4).
- Trans. Phil. Society** = *Transactions of the Philological Society*. London 1859-.
- Triads** = *The Triads of Ireland* (Meyer). Dublin 1903.
- Trip.** = *Vita Tripartita S. Patricii* (§ 8).
- Tur.** = *Turin Glosses* (§ 6,3).
- Wb.** = *Würzburg Glosses* (§ 5).
- YBL.** = *Yellow Book of Lecan* (RIA. Facsimile). Dublin 1896.
- ZCP.** = *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (§ 22).
- Zs. ir. Ha.** = *Zu Irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern* (Thurneysen). Berlin 1912-13.



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 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 7. (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.** *Goidil* (eg. *Goidel*) was the ancient name of the people who spoke this language, which itself was called *Goidelg*. The form 'Gaelic' in English corresponds to the modern Scottish pronunciation (*Gàidhlig* as opposed to *Gaoidhealg* in classical Modern Irish). In Medieval Latin it was called *scottice*, *scotice* from *Scotti*, the name by which the Irish tribes were known to the Romans since the fourth century.

The territorial subdivisions of Gaelic are :

(a) **Irish in Ireland.** The language of the earliest sources is called Old Irish, that from about A.D. 900 Middle Irish, and that from the beginning of the seventeenth century Modern Irish.

(b) **Scottish Gaelic** in the Highlands of Scotland and the adjacent western islands; it was introduced by Irish settlers from about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

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

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

2. 2. **Britannic** (or **British**), so called from the Roman province *Britannia*. It comprises:

(a) **Welsh** (French *gallois*), the language of Wales; also called *Cymric* (German *Kymrisch*) from *Cywry* and *Cywrwg*, 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 *Alfred's Latin-English Glossary*, is sometimes called Old Cornish.

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

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

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

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

Collection of the remains: Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1838-90, p. 390 ff. (= *Braunzenbergers Belte*, xviii. 84 ff.). For inscriptions from these regions see Rhys, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* xxvi. 263 ff.; Black, *The Newton Stone and other Pictish Inscriptions* (1922); Macalister, *The Inscriptions and Language of the Picts* (*Féil-Sgríbhinn Éóin Mhic Néill*: *Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eóin MacNeill*), 1940, p. 184 ff.

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

Gaulish texts survive only in some fifty inscriptions, most of them short, and all, except for a few in Northern Italy, found in France. Apart from these we have only a number of personal, tribal, and place names, together with some words regarded by ancient writers as Gaulish, notably those in a glossary first published by Endlicher, which gives Latin explanations of seventeen Gaulish words (best edition: Zimmer, *KZ.* xxxii. 290 ff., cp. *IF.* xliii. 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 *ms.* and inscriptions) which are either certainly or possibly Celtic down to the beginning of the Middle Ages (A—Z, Supplement A—*Domiciacus*).

Dottin, *La Langue gauloise* (1920).

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

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

SOURCES

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

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

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

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

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

An earlier collection is :

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

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

5. The most important of these records are :

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

Editions:

- (1) Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.* 1 ff., cp. *Supplem.* 6 ff.
- (2) Stokes, *The Old Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe* (1887).
- (3) *Theas.* i. 439 ff. Cp. Strachan, *ZCP.* iii. 85 ff.; Zimmer, *ZCP.* vi. 454 ff.; Stern, *ibid.* 531 ff. (correctenda and fresh collation).

Collotype facsimile: *Epistolas Beati Pauli glossatas glossa interlineali. Irish-Latinscher Codex der Würzburger Universitätsbibliothek, herausgegeben und mit Einleitung versehen von L. Ch. Stern* (1910).

6. 2. **MI.** The Milan Glosses on a Latin commentary on the Psalms. These form the largest collection of glosses. They were, however, not written with the same care as *Wh.*, 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 Bón* described as *anchorita* (= *anachorita*) *et religionis doctor totius Hiberniæ* who died in 825. The *Mall-Gaimrid* cited as an authority in glosses 56·33 and 68·15 is almost certainly to be identified with the *scribe optimus et anchorita, abbas Bennad(h)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 (*Theas.* ii. 291 f.).

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

Editions:

- (1) *Ascoli, Il Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana* i., 1878 (= *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* v.). A literal transcription of the MS.
- (2) *Theas.* i. 7 ff.

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

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

Editions:

- (1) Stokes, *Goidilica*, 1866 (2nd ed. *Goidilica*, 1872).
- (2) *Nigra, Glossæ Hibernicæ veteres codicis Turinensis* (1869), with detailed commentary.

(3) Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.* 199 ff.

(4) *Theas.* i. 484 ff.

Colotype facsimile: at the end of that of *ML.* (2 above).

7. The above are supplemented by a number of shorter sources, of which the more notable are:

4. **Arm.** The Book of Armagh (Ireland), in part written by the year 807, and completed before 846, the date of the scribe's death. The material in Irish comprises:

(a) Short glosses on the Latin text of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles (*Theas.* i. 494 ff.).

(b) Irish additions to Tirechán's Latin life of St. Patrick (*Theas.* 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. 2-34 have been published in facsimile by Edward Gwynn, *Facsimiles in Colotype 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 (*Theas.* ii. 225 ff.), and St. Gall (*Sg.*), the last by far the most copious. The St. Gall glosses, which are replete with scribal abbreviations, are of great lexicographic value. Except for a few later additions, they were written by two scribes, both of whom copied from the same original. The ms. was in Cologne between 850 and 869, and may have been written in 845 (see Traube, *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch.* xix. (1892) 338 ff.; Güterbock, *KZ.* xxxiii. 92). These glosses were compiled from various sources, some of them being also found in the other Priscian mss.; hence, side by side with forms later than those of *ML.*, there are a number of archaisms.

Cp. Nîgra, *Belgique Celtique* (1872); for the language, Strachan, *ZCP.* iv. 470 ff.

Editions:

(1) Ascoli, *Il Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana n.*, 1879 (= *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* vi.), with an Italian translation down to fol. 73a.

(2) *Theas.* 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.

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

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

F81. The *Féilire* (Martyrology) of Oengus mac Oengebann—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 M1.

On the evidence supplied by the rhymes see Strachan, RC. XX. 191 ff., 285 ff. It has twice been edited by Stokes:

(1) On the Calendar of Oengus, Trans. RIA., Irish MS. Series, I. (1880).

(2) The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXX), 1906.

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.

(2) K. Mulchrone: *Betha Phádraic. The Tripartite Life of Patrick. I. Text and Sources* (1939).

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

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

Edited by Stokes, *Anecdote Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, Vol. I, Part III. (1883); cp. Strachan, *The Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann* (*Trans. Phil. Society* 1893-8, p. 1 ff.).

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

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

Lithographic facsimile published by the RIA. (1879). Diplomatic edition by R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin (1929).

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

Lithographic facsimile published by the RIA. (1889), 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. xlii. and *Supplem.* p. 6; also *Thea. 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. *Thea. 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. *Thea. 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 (*Thea. ii.* 713 f.).

5. The Irish names in earlier Latin writings (*Thea. ii.* 259 ff.), in particular those in the notes on the life of St. Patrick by Muirhu maccu Machthéni and Tirechán 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.

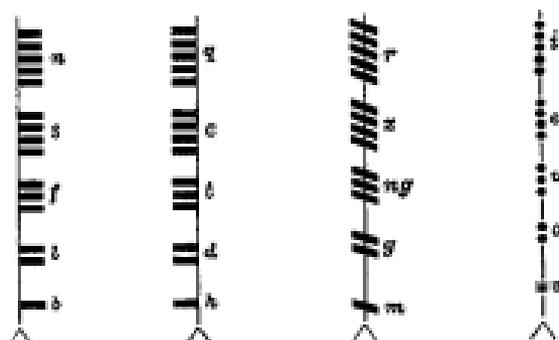
For the language of these sources see *ZCP. i.* 347 ff., iii. 47 ff.

INSCRIPTIONS

11. Older as a rule even than the above archaic material are the sepulchral inscriptions in a special alphabet called *ogum* 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 out beside or across a central line for consonants, and of 1-5 notches (short strokes when written) on the central line for vowels. According to medieval sources the alphabet is as follows :



The symbol for *f* still denotes *w* or *v* in the earlier inscriptions ; initially and medially it always represents Latin *v*, never *r*. The sign for *k* 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 \times . 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.

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

Brush, *The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhail*, ed. G. Atkinson (1878).

A new collection has been begun by

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

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

For the language cp. Mac Neill, *FRSA*. xxvii., Sect. C, p. 328 ff. (1909) and *ibid.* xxxix., Sect. C, p. 23 ff. (1931); Pokorny, *ZCP*. xii. 415 ff.

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

Collections:

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

Thea. ii. 296 ff.

Cp. further Macalister, *The Inscriptions of Inishaltra*, Lough Derg, Co. Galway (*JRSAL*. xxvi., 1907); *The Memorial Slab of Clonmacnois*, King's County (1909); Crawford, *A Descriptive List of Early Cross-Slabs and Pillars* (*JRSAL*. xxii.-xxiii., 1913-14).

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 *-mew* (§ 371) found only in the Milan glosses, or the varying forms of the preposition *air- ar- ir- aur-* (§ 823), between which, however, no strict line of demarcation can be drawn; further the almost complete absence of *ón*, by-form of *són* 'that' (neut., § 479), in Sg. The paucity of the sources does not suffice to explain this comparative uniformity; in the literary language a levelling and intermixing of dialects must have taken place. This process was undoubtedly assisted from the earliest times by the wandering poets, singers, and scholars, who would naturally wish to be understood everywhere. Further, in the monastic communities of the sixth and following centuries, from which our sources are ultimately derived, the teachers were drawn from various parts of the country.

PRINCIPAL WORKS OF REFERENCE

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

I. GRAMMARS

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

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

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

Editio altera, curavit H. Ebel (1871).

Still valuable for its collections of material. Cp.

Güterbock and Thurneysen, *Indices glossarum et vocabulorum 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 praeae Gallicae et vetustae Britannicae quae in Grammaticae Celticae editione altera explanantur* (ACL. III. 109 ff.).

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

Traces the development of the Celtic languages from the earliest down to modern times. Cp. Thurneysen, *IF. Ann.* xxvi. 24 ff., xxvii. 13 ff., xxxii. 23 ff.

Ped². Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (1937).

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

18. B. Grammars of Early Irish :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. Pokorný, *Altirische Grammatik* (Sammlung Gösschen), 1925.

Greatly condensed.

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

A short grammar and reader with glossary.

Cp. also Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster* (1919).

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

II. DICTIONARIES

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to the words occurring in the texts edited, the glossary contains a large selection from the vocabulary of Old and Middle Irish. Cp. the criticism by Zimmer, *Keltische Studien* 1. (1881).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language.

Pascicles already published: M, N-O-P, R, arranged by Maod Joynt (1939-40); T-TNÚTHAIGID arranged by David Greene and E. Ó. Quin (1943); U arranged by Teresa Condon (1943).

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. 1.: A-CENNAID; vol. 2.: 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. 11.), 1887;

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

Cp. Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Society 1888-90*, p. 130 ff., and *A Criticism of Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to Volumes I-V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland* (1903).

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

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

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

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

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

For the modern language it will be sufficient to mention: Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhíge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary.*—Second edition 1927.

III. ETYMOLOGICA

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

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

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

V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne*, 1909 (*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).

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

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

ORTHOGRAPHY

23. The sources of Old Irish—with the exception of the Ogam inscriptions (§ 12)—are written in the Roman alphabet, and the characters have in general their Latin values. The letters *k*, *y*, *z* occur only in isolated loan-words; e.g. *prid kable gl. pridie kalendas* Sg. 220*1; *oínsyllabeche* 'monosyllabism' 207*10 beside normal *sillab* 'syllable'; *baítris-l* 'he baptized him' Thes. II. 241, 15 (Arm.), normally *baítsim* 'baptizo'. The letter *g* is also rare, e.g. *aequinocht* 'aequinoctium' Thes. II. 14, 35 beside *eequocht* Ml. 111*9; occasionally it appears in a native word, e.g. *uisq(us)* 'water' Wb. 11*17, Ml. 93*12 for normal *uisce*, influenced by Lat. *uisque*.

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. *æells* 'church' Wb. 28*24 beside *seills* 16*6, *foirggæ* 'sea' Sg. 124*1 beside *foirree* 67*9.

On the other hand, most scribes clearly distinguish it from *œ*, which is interchangeable with *œi* and represents a true diphthong (§ 66). Spellings like *æesca* for *ésca* 'moon' Thes. II. 20, 39, *dæe* Ml. 111*3 for *dé dée* 'God's', *æencheillæ* 'of one meaning' Sg. 27*3 for *-chéille* are rare.

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

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

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

For the spelling *ingret* (Lat. *incertus*) Ml. 61*15, see § 215 c.

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

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

5. *x* represents the group *chs*; e.g. *foxl* *foxl* 'taking away', *foxlá* 'ablative case', *fo-rróxl* 'has taken away' *Wb.* 27·19 beside *fochsul* *ML* 93·5, *fo-rochsalsat* 'they have taken away' 18·11; *oxalab* *Tur.* 35, *exlle* *Thea.* n. 255, 5, etc., *Mid. Ir.* *ochsal* 'axilla'; *dlxa gl. comera* (pl.) *ML* 96·9, from *dfgas* 'high'; similarly *dxanigedar* 'is, exists' § 762 b, *aldíxa* 'productus'.

On the other hand, the sound-group *hs* is represented by *cs*, e.g. *alsíu* '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. *hl* beside *i*, deictic particle § 474 (cp. Late Lat. *hi* *hic* for *ii* *is*); *hl* beside *i* 'in', *hó* beside *ó* 'from', *hé* beside *é* 'he', pl. 'they', similarly *hed* beside *ed* 'it'. It is often prefixed to longer words beginning with *ui* *ua*, probably to prevent the Latin pronunciation *ui* *ua*; e.g. *hulss* beside *ulss* 'just', *hulle* beside *ulle* 'whole', *húasal* beside *úasal* 'high'; also to words which resemble Latin words with *h*-, e.g. *hlc* *hicc* beside *lc* *icc* 'salvation' (cp. Lat. *hic* 'here'), *hómom* *hómun* beside *ómun* 'fear' (cp. *homo*), *hlres(s)* beside *lres(s)* 'faith' (cp. *heres*). But it is found, particularly in *Sg.*, before other words also, e.g. *hessérge* beside *essérge* 'resurrection'; sometimes even as the initial of the second element of a compound, e.g. *amhlres* 'unbelief' beside *amires* (cp. *hlres* above), *da-huccl* 'understands it' beside *da-uccl*.

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

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 hall* 'something else' in the marginal note *Sg. 217* (*Thea. II. xxii*). In archaic *meumhí* gl. *amicositates* *Wb. I. 13*21* *h* stands for spirant *ch*.

26. Length in vowels is often, though by no means consistently, marked by placing over the syllable an acute accent, which probably derives from the Roman apex. This accent is also found indiscriminately over the first or second element of the diphthongs *ai*, *ae*, *oi*, *oe*, *au*, *ia*, *ua*, *ui*, *eu*, *eo*, *iu*. In the present work the diphthongs with *-i* are printed *ai* *oi* *ui* in order to distinguish them from *á* *ó* *ú* followed by the glide *i* (§ 86). Thus *baith* 'foolish', *oín* 'one', *draí* 'magician', with true diphthongs, as against *láim* acc. dat. sg. of *lám* 'hand', *hóir* acc. sg. 'hour' (gen. *hóre*), *rúin* acc. dat. sg. of *rám* 'secret'. In other diphthongs the accent is placed over the first element: *de* *é* *du* *éu* *éó* *ia* *iu* *iu*.

In general, marks of length omitted in the MSS. are inserted, except in the cases mentioned § 48. It is unlikely that the later pronunciation *oi*, 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.*; *cúrsagad* 'reproving' *Thea. II. 242, 11* (Arm.), otherwise *cúrsagad cúrsachad*.

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', *indoebhál* beside *indebhál* 'glory', *dée* beside *dé* 'God's', *ríí* beside *rí* 'king', *móor* beside *mór* 'great', *rúun rúin* beside *rún* 'secret'. On the other hand, spellings like *iltothe* 'saved' 5⁴, a *chéele* 'his fellow' 6⁴, 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. *tintúth* 'translation' 12^o10 beside *tintúth* 19^o17 (from **t-íad-súth*). Only in such words is doubling found in later sources also: *impúnd* 'turning' Sg. 202^o8 beside *impúnd* 106^o10 (from **íwb-súth*); 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: *olph* 'appearance', *neph-ríagóide* 'irregular', in *phreceptóirí* 'praecceptores'; but *fer* 'man', *Filistínib* dat. pl. 'Philistines' Ml. 56^o6, *Micéidir* 'he will be left', etc. Where the spirant represents original lenited *sw* (§ 132), either may be used: *tínf* and *tínph* 'aspiration' Sg. (for *-suid*). The forms *cammalf* (read *-aif*!) 'however' Wb. 10^o1, in Sg. always *cammalf*, and *gralf* 'grave accent' Sg. 213^o2 are exceptional.

In Sg., as well as in Mid.Ir. manuscripts, *c t* (*p*) with the superscript sign of the Greek *spiritus asper* (*h*) 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. *autocthonos* for Gk. *αὐτόχθονος*, 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 :

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

For variations in spelling see § 123 ff.

Like *m*, the letters *n*, *r*, *l* can each represent two sounds, lenited and unlenited (§ 128); the lenited sounds are, where necessary, denoted by *n̄*, *r̄*, *l̄*.

31. To represent medial and final voiced stops the tenuis symbols *c t p* are used instead of *g d b* :

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

An initial voiced stop is represented by the corresponding tenuis only in certain sandhi positions (where the final of the preceding word causes nasalization, § 236).

For the origin of this usage see § 915.

Thus where Mod.Ir. writes *éag eug* 'death', *éad eud* 'hundred', *ab* 'abbot' (Lat. *abbas*), O.Ir. writes *éa, étt, ap, pl. apíd*.

On the other hand, we find constant fluctuation between *condelg* and *condelc* 'comparison', *cumgat* and *cumeat* 'they can', *ord* and *ort* 'rank, grade' (Lat. *ordo*), *scribend* and *scribent* 'writing' (Lat. *scribendum*), *burbe* and *burpe* 'folly', *edhart* 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. 9⁴²⁰ for *na-diubrad* 'let him not defraud'; *stofri* Ml. 46¹⁷ for a *defri* 'out of servitude'.

(b) The use of single *g d b* to represent stops in true medial position is rare, and may be attributed either to attempts at etymological spelling or to scribal errors; e.g. *ad-obarar* 'is offered' Wb. 10³, 11¹¹² (cp. Ml. 60¹⁷, 14¹⁶) beside *ad-oparar* Wb. 11¹¹⁵, influenced by *edhart idhart* 'oblation'; *tegad* 'luck' Ml. 39¹⁶, normally *tecad*.

Collection: Strachan, ZCP. iv. 54.

In archaic sources this spelling seems to be more frequent; e.g. *agaltemathacha*, old gloss on *appellatio* (K. Meyer, *Zar Kelt. Wortkunde* §§ 98, 130), later *ac(s)allam* 'addressing'; *re-slegth* gl. *obscryps* *est* Wb. I. 19²⁴ (to *shacth*), *atob-ragart* (for later *atob-*) gl. *use facivand* 19³ (cp. ZCP. xix. 208).

(c) In several manuscripts *gy dd bb* are occasionally written after vowels and consonants alike. This spelling is doubtless due to the fact that voiced consonants were originally geminated in all these positions; see § 136. Thus *arggit* 'of silver' Thea. II. 240, 2 (Arm.) beside *argit*; *condellgg* 'of comparison' Sg. 42⁴, *con-ñ-delggaddar* 'they are compared' 39¹¹ beside *con-delgatar*; *sacardd* 'sacerdos' 54¹¹, Tur. 49 beside *sacart sacard*; *abbath* acc. sg. 'abbot' Thea. II. 242, 21 (Arm.). In Wb. there is only one instance: *claindde* 'of children' 28¹⁷.

(d) After vowels the etymological spellings *cy td pb* are occasionally found; e.g. *ecquisti* gl. *obtati* Ml. 65² for *euisti* (*ey-guisti*) to *ad-gù(l)st* 'wishes'; *cotdies* 'he can (do) it' Wb. 5⁴⁰ for *cotiec*, because the infixed pronoun generally appears as *d*; *nepbuth* 'non-being' 14¹⁶ for *neputh* (*buth* '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 *ad* *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 defens* over a consonant is used as a regular symbol in certain positions.

1. It is frequently placed over nasals inserted between a nasalizing final and the following initial (§ 236); e.g. *amal ñ guidess* 'as he entreats' Wb. 24^d19; *fri rainn ñaill* (*n-ail*) 'to another part' Sg. 212^a6; *dered mbetho* (*m-betho*) 'the end of the world' Wb. 10^a3.

2. It is also found over nasals in medial position between consonants; e.g. *foráigaire* 'command', *frechúaire* *frechúaire* '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 *marlessar* 'seven (persons)' Thez. ii. 241, 17 (Arm.) *f* serves a different purpose: it indicates that *f* has here replaced *s* (*sesser* 'six'); see § 132.

34. *Division of words.* In general all words which are grouped round a single chief stress and have a close syntactic connexion with each other are written as one in the manuscripts. Thus conjunctions and pronouns affixed to them are written with the following verb, the article and attached possessives with the following noun, the copula with the following predicate, prepositions and affixed pronouns or article with the following verb or noun, enclitics with the preceding stressed word, etc. Examples: *actmáchtchéla* Wb. 5^a9 for *act ma cho-t chéla* 'save that it conceals it'; *isnádcuálaidei* 5^a21 for *in nád eólaid ní* 'have ye not heard?'; *isrisseandedeis* 4^a33 for *is trí-ssan déde sin* 'it is through these two things'; *díarfírinnugáde* 4^a17 for *dí ar fírinnugá ní* 'to our justification';

nimcharat 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 *ast ma chot-chela*, *in-nád cúlaid-sí*, *nim-charat-sa*, *is trissa n-déde-sín*, *díar firiánugud-ní*, etc.

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

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

- γ for Lat. *et*, Ir. *oens aens* 'and' (§ 878).
- í for Lat. *vel*, Ir. *nó ná* 'or' (§ 885).
- aw for *amal* (arch. *amall*) 'as' (§§ 828, 911).
- dā for *danau dane* 'then, also' (§ 900).
- dí for *dídla didu* 'then' (§ 901).
- im̄ or *im̄r* for *immargu* 'however' (§ 907).
- † 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-ém* '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, 890); in such cases *i.* is nothing more than a graphic symbol.

ЭСР. xviii, 427 ff.; xxv. 132 f. In 146a Thea. n. 241, §. 16 (Arm.) the *i* is a Latinism.

ca. for *etist*—Lat. *questio*, sometimes placed at the beginning of an interrogative sentence.

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

PHONOLOGY

STRESS

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

36. I. Words susceptible of full stress take this on the first syllable, e.g. *fairsingmenmaige* '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: *de-moimtur* 'I think', *ad-rfmi* 'counts', *ar-éigi* 'complains', *con-rig* 'binds', *cita-bíat* 'they perceive'.

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

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

32. 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. *te-mil* 'eat!' (sg.), *com-id* 'preserve!' (pl.), *dénad* (**de-gnith*) 'let him do!'. But with infixed pronoun: *du-m-em-se* 'protect (sg.) me', *atom-ro-choll* 'determine (sg.) me', *atab-gobed* 'let it reprehend you', *do-r-n-gnith* '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*, *nícon*, *ná*, *nád* (*nach-*), *nacon* (§ 860 ff.), and their compounds such as *ca-ní* 'nonne?', *ma-ní* 'if not', *ce-ní* 'though not', *co-ní conná cona* 'that not', *arna* 'in order that not'.

Examples: *ní-fe-dmat* 'they do not endure'; *ní-de-rsaigi* (*-de-ro-*) 'it does not surpass'; *nícon-cho-scram* 'we do not destroy'; *an-nad com-air-léicib* 'while I shall not permit'; *ma-ní-toibred* (*-to-berod*) 'if he should not bring'; *arna-to-mnammar* 'so that we may not think'.

(b) The interrogative particle *in* (§ 463): *in-co-scram* 'do we destroy?'. Likewise *co* 'how?' (§ 462): *co-uel* (*ad-ci-*) 'how seest thou?'; and *cecha*: *cecha* 'whom-, whatsoever' (§ 461): *cecha-toibre* 'whosoever thou mayst give'; sometimes also the interrogative pronoun *cia* (*ce*, *ci*), see § 458.

(c) Prepositions in combination with the relative particle (*s)aⁿ* (§ 492), such as *ar-a*, *dí-a* (also for *do-a*), *fu-a*, *co(c)-a*, *for-a* and *for-sa*, *co-sa*, *fri-sa*, *la-sa*, *tri-sa*; further *l^a hⁱ* 'in which'.

Examples: *fu-a-te-barr* 'under which is brought', *dí-a-n-dí-lgid* 'to whom ye forgive', *l-n-als-úd-ethat* 'in which they expound'.

(d) The conjunctions *araⁿ* 'in order that' (§ 898), *díaⁿ* 'if, when' (§§ 889, 903), *coⁿ*, *con^a* 'so that' (§ 896 f.); e.g. *ara-fu-lsam* 'so that we may support', *día-n-acomeltar* (*ad-com-*) 'if it is added', *con-for-em-at* 'so that they preserve'.

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

3. (a) On rare occasions a prototonic verb is found introducing a relative clause (§ 493, 5); e.g. *dí neusch thórnáther* (*to-fo-riad-*) 'of whatever is denoted' Sg. 59^b18.

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

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

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

ro ru is stressed when it follows a pretonic preposition, e.g. *as-ru-hart* '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 *náð*; otherwise it generally remains unstressed in this position.

Examples: *ní-s-ro-thechtus* 'I have not had them' ML 44^b11, *nad-ro-gnatha* 'which have not been done' 115^b4; but *ní-ru-tho-galtsam* (*thógaltsam* ms.) 'we have not deceived' Wb. 16^a22, *nícon-ru-accobrus* 'I have not desired' ML 136^b7, *na-ro-préichissem* 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17^a31, *cons-ru-digsetar* 'so that they have not feared' ML 35^a4, *in-ru-ctar-scar* 'whether it had departed' 91^a1, *dí-a-ru-chreisd* 'in whom ye have believed' Wb. 8^a11, *con-ru-fódníther* 'that it may be supplied' 1^a9.

This rule is not, however, absolute. Before a simple verb, even in the last-mentioned position, *ro* often takes the stress; e.g. *ní-rot-igtis* 'I have not read' Sg. 148^a10, *caní-ro-íald* 'have ye not put!' Wb. 15^a1, *ar-a-ro-gbad* 'for which it has

been sung' *ML* 74^b11, *hl-ro-ghath* 'in which it has been sung' 24^d10, *con-ro-chra* 'that he may love' *Wb.* 6^d1.

Conversely, unstressed *ro* is sometimes found after pretonic prepositions also, especially in *ML*; e.g., after *ar-*, where it occurs most frequently: *ar-ru-dí-bald* 'has destroyed' *ML* 99^a2; after other prepositions: *for-ru-chon-grad* 'has been commanded' 34^d4, *star-ru-suddige[d]* 'has been interposed' 27^a23. Cp. also § 493, 4.

Cp. Ó Máille, *Language of AU.*, § 196. In *ML* there are a few instances of two prepositions remaining pretonic; e.g. *ad ad-con-rótalg* 39^b13, *gl. gaoif adstruair*, where the glossator has simply prefixed *ad* to *con-rótalg* '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* 1885-8, 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 *alóide aróide* 'another' (§ 486), *immalle immalle* 'together' (*imm-aⁿ-le* § 845), *calléile calléile* 'still, however' (from *co-lléile*, *-lléile* 'till I leave, till thou leavest'), and probably of *innann innann* 'thither, yonder' (§ 483) and *fadéin fadéissin* 'self' (§ 485). For *amán améin amne amnín* 'so, indeed' see ZCP. XIX. 176 (where Pokorný suggests influence of Gk. *ἀμύνω*).

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 *daso*, *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) *re* 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 (*aimhídh miasdhénach*; 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'; *comlán* 'complete', *ferlán* 'overflow', influenced by the simplex *lán* 'full'. To these must be added certain loan-words like *ahtáil* 'actuaís', *enár* 'lenuáris' (lenuáris)', 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', *Ó.Bret. éta*; *sét* 'way', *Bret. áent*.

Even in unstressed syllables vowels are lengthened in the instances discussed § 125; e.g. *análf* 'breath', W. *anadl*; *cenál* 'gender, kindred', W. *cenadl*.

(b) Final vowels in stressed monosyllables are lengthened; e.g. *sé* 'six' beside *séssed* 'sixth'; *mé* 'I', but with emphasizing particle *mésse*; *-gá* 3 sg. beside 1 pl. *-géssam*, subj. of *guidd* 'prays'; *tó* 'yes', IE. **toǵ*; *trá* 'doomed person' (from **trák-s*), gen. *troch*.

Certain words which generally occur in unstressed position are not lengthened even when they take the stress; e.g. *eo-se* 'till now' (*se* as deictic particle frequently enclitic, § 475); in *se*, in *so* 'this' (§ 478); *innalle* 'together', *híe* 'hither' (Íe, later *hæ*, as preposition mostly proclitic); *de* 'from him, it' (*de* only in ML 69⁴3, but later common). *amme* 'thus' also seems to have short *a*.

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. 12¹13, acc. *ráin* ML 16¹15, usually *rann*, *rainn*; *ad-gréinn* 'persecutes' 54²23, 73¹, pl. *-greunat*; *lóndas* 'fierceness' 18¹10, otherwise *londas*; *téttíde* 'fiery' 96¹17, from *téne* 'fire'; *tróm* 'heavy' Wb. 17², otherwise *tromm trom*; *imáae* 'numerous' ML 62²23, otherwise *imd(a)e*; *báil* 'member' Wb. 12¹18, pl. *béill* 11¹11, otherwise *ball*; *mísl* 6²7, pl. of *mílls* 'sweet'; *da-árchomraicsset* (-*dr-* from *-ar-ro-*) 'they have collected' ML 61¹17; *árt-pharsíne* 'of a high person' Wb. 24²9, otherwise *ard art* 'high'.

In unstressed syllables: *du-sesáinn* (read *-sésáinn*) 1 sg. past subj. 'I should pursue' ML 41¹5, *de-rogháinn* 'I should commit' 39¹18, ending otherwise *-aice -ian*; *erríndem* 'highest' 56²23, to *rind* 'peak'; *Ingrammim* 87¹, dat. sg. of *Ingramm* 'persecution'; *ubúill* 'of apples' 100²21; *adill* gen. of *adall* 'visit' Wb. 14¹8; *-acáldad* 'he used to address' ML 108²9, vb.n. *acaldam*; *-epéttals -epéttis* 99²2, 121¹16, past subj. 3 pl. 'they should die' (3 sg. pres. subj. *at-bela*); *hon dedáru-tul* gl. *tasiturnitate* 48¹11.

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-áirc* 'beats' Wb. 11^a11 (stem *orp-*), *oin-chórp* 'one body' (*corpus*) 12^a12, *nom-éirpim* 'I confide' 6^a2. 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-rúhart* 'has said' Wb. 10^a28, *áiliged* 'right' 10^a16. 19, *ro-cháilmstar* 'which they hear' 11^a6, *nime* 'of heaven' Ml. 106^a3.

Elsewhere, as in *míg* 'sold' Wb. 19^a25, 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*, *-taath*, *-taat*, and the relative singular nearly always *ol-das* in *das*, only once in *dás* Ml. 85^a11. So also out of thirty-seven instances of 3 sg. consuet. pres. *bíid bíith* 'is wont to be', only two (both in Sg.) are written *bíid*. Cp. further *deu deo*, acc. pl. of *día* 'God', also *deacht* 'divinity'.

As early as Wb., however, marks of length are occasionally found, not merely over original long vowels as in *do-gníam* 'we do' 15^a9, but also over vowels which were originally short, as in *táit* nom. pl. 'hot' 29^a1. In later texts the mark of length is common, being found even in nonce formations such as *déalmnmnichdechaib* 'denominatius' Sg. 2^a1; cp. *dat. pl. dáid* 39^a24, 39^b14. 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. *eta-dia* beside stressed *ét-* (§ 328), *cáth* adj. 'every' beside substantival *cáth* (§ 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 bfad* 'his food' Wb. 6^b24, *á n-áram* 'their number' Ml. 18^a3, *á cenné* 'the race' Wb. 5^a16, *á súan* 'out of sleep' Ml. 61^a28, *bá fáinred* 'which should be peculiar' Sg. 69^a20, *ará-roét* 'who has assumed' Ml. 25^a10, *atá n-ill* 'that they are many' Wb. 12^a11, *f ním* 'in Heaven' 10^a21, *trí drochgnímu* 'through evil deeds' Ml. 14^a16, *trímí-berar* 'it is transferred' 31^a22, *remí-n-starcnaigedar* 'that it makes known before' 18^a12, *robu mór* 'it was great' 96^a10, *ní fé indidit, acht is fé imchomarc* 'not as an assertion, but as a question' 20^a13, *dá dígall* (ms. *dígall*) 'for vengeance' 72^a12, *remé-erhart* (read *érbart*) 'which he has said before' 15^a3, *eó Iadomú* 'to the Edomites' Ml. 52, *ró-óirdnéd* 'has been ordained' 14^a3; similarly *árell* 'of the other' Wb. 13^a5, *áloill* 13^a9.

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 *cha* beside *eo* 'although'; and there was doubtless the same fluctuation in the negatives *ní* and *ní* 'not', *manl* and *manl* '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.

VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

ORIGIN OF VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN NATIVE WORDS

The simple vowels (*ē ē ī ī ō ō*)

50. *ē* corresponds to:

(a) IE. *ā*, e.g.

ad-ag 'drives, moves', pl. *·agat* (for glides like *i* in *·aig* see § 84 ff.), Lat. *agere*, Gk. *ἀγω*, Skt. *āgati*, ON. *aka*.

an(a)id 'remains', Skt. *āśīti* 'breathes', Goth. *uz-aan* '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. *faðer*, Skt. *pātd*.

maith 'good', pl. *mathi*, probably cognate with Lat. *mātrās* and kindred words.

Clear examples of *a* as the reduced grade of *ā* are rare in Irish (cp. W. *had* 'seed', *√sā* 'sow'). But compare *la*(*l*)*the* 'day', Gaul. abbreviation *la*, with O.Slav. *lěto* 'year', and Ir. *anlá* W. *anall*, with Gk. *ἀεων*. Further, *do-rat* 'has given' (§ 769 IIb), beside pres. *·tarti*, presupposes a stem (*do-ra-af*)-*id*, probably with the old ablaut *dā-* from *dā-* (Gk. *δο-δω-*) and not from *√dā-* 'give'. Poetic *ra-det* 'was granted' (Bergin, *Ériu* viii. 169, xi. 137) does not come from this root (EC. xi. 399), but is undoubtedly a by-form of *·dēt*, pres. of *dāid* (§ 710), the short vowel being derived from compounds of this verb which had *ē* in unstressed syllables.

For *a* in the combinations *ar al am an*, also in *ra la*, see §§ 213, 215. For *a* < *o* see § 81 f., < *e* § 83a.

51. *ī* (where it does not represent secondarily lengthened *ē*) corresponds to:

(a) IE. *ī*, e.g.

māthir 'mother', Lat. *māter*, Dor. *μᾶτηρ*.

lās(s) 'empty', Lat. *uolētus*, OHG. *uuoosti*.

(b) IE. *ō*, e.g.

dān (masc. n-stem) 'gift', Lat. *dōnum*, Gk. *δῶρον*.

blāth 'flower', cp. Lat. *flōs*, Goth. *blōma*.

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

52. *e* (sometimes written *æ*, § 24, 1) = IE. *ē*, e.g.

deich 'ten', Lat. *decem*, Gk. *δέκα*, OHG. *zehon*.

berid 'carries, bears', Lat. *ferre*, Gk. *φέρω*, O.Slav. *bereti* 'collects'.

ech 'horse', Lat. *equos*.

For *e* < *i* see §§ 73f., 79; < *ea* § 106.

53. The letter *é* (§ 24, 1) represents two distinct sounds.

(a) The first *é* is for the most part a development of the old diphthong *ei*. The transition seems to be early, since in the Britaninic dialects old *ei* is treated like the *ē* of Latin loan-words, and *ē* for *ei* is also found in Gaulish dialects, e.g. *Dēuo-gaūta* 'daughter of a god', *Rē-ēnus* 'Rhine' (Ir. *rian* 'sea').

As a rule this *é* is still preserved in archaic texts. But in Wb. and later sources it has generally been replaced by the diphthong *ia* when followed by neutral or *u*-quality consonance (§ 156 ff.); hence interchange between *é* and *ia* is found in closely related forms.

Examples: *-tēged* 'he used to go', *-tēig* 'thou goest', beside *tiagu* 'I go', *-tiagt* 'they go' (arch. *-tēget* Cam. 38 b); cp. Gk. *πρῆξω* 'to walk', Goth. *steigan* 'to ascend'.

ad-tēded 'he used to tell' beside *ad-fladar* 'is told', *fiad* 'in the presence of', from *√weid-*, Gk. *εἶδος* 'appearance', Lith. *vėidas* 'countenance', OE. *witan* OHG. *wīzan* 'to reprove'.

rēd 'fit for driving, level, easy', gen. sg. fem. *rēde*, beside *riad* 'a ride, drive', *-riadat* 'they ride, drive', OE. *ridan* OHG. *ritan* 'to ride'.

The same *é*, *ia* corresponds to Lat. *ē* (also *oe*) in loan-words; e.g. *fiat* 'uñlum', *stans* 'cēnsus' (beside *sens*, in ML. *sēs*), *sciam* 'schema', *riagel* 'rēgula', *plan* (rarely *pēn*), gen. *pēna*, 'poena'.

As an intermediate form between *é* and *ia* archaic texts sometimes have *ea*, e.g. *Drum Leas Thea. n. 268, 30* (Arm.) for later D. *Lias*. This spelling

is still retained in *Sg.* and later sources for the word *deu* 'god' when it means 'idol, false god'. The only example of it in *Wb.* is *fial* 13^a29 for *fial* 'modest'. In isolated instances the diphthong is written *ie*, e.g. *gríen* 'sun' *Thea. n.* 21, 37 for normal *grían*.

The declension of *nom. acc. dia* 'God', in the first instance <*d̥iass -an, *nom. d̥é* <*d̥iæ, *gen. d̥é* <*d̥iæi, *dat. dia* <*d̥iæu, shows that the tendency towards diphthongization had begun before the loss of *u* (§ 204); the spelling *deu* occurs as early as *Cam.*

Final *é* has become *eo* in *cia* 'who?' (§ 456 f.) and *eia* '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. -tá* (in *Wb.* 461, § 56), 1 *sg. -tias* (*indic. t̥iagu*) and the like (§ 625). For the comparatives *sia* 'longer' (= *W. hwy*) and *lia* 'more' see § 375.

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

In *Wb.*, even before neutral consonants, this *é* is often written *éu* or *éi*; e.g. *cenél* 'kindred, gender', *noph-chenéil* *acc. sg.* 'non-kindred' 5^a14 beside *cenél*; *šet šét* 'jealousy' 23^a18, 13 beside *šet*; *bés básad* 'custom' beside *bés básad*; *béire* 'language' beside *béire*; *do-rigénsat* 'they have done' beside *do-rigénsat*; *cétne* 'first' beside *cétne*; *éindag* 1^a6, 29^a7 'slander' beside *éindach*; *éitbuid* 24^a4 'sense' beside *éitbuid*. Other sources show only isolated examples of this spelling, such as *chéithada* (*gen. sg.*) *Ml.* 98^b5, *no-déitnaigtis* 'stridebant' 54^a20.

55. On the other hand, in final syllables this *é* is generally written *éu*, *éo* or *iu* when it precedes *u*-quality or palatal *l r n*. Before palatal *l r n* the spelling *éia* (*cp.* *éi* above) also occurs. Thus *cenél* 'kindred, gender', *dat. cenéul* *cenéul*, *gen. cenéuil* *cenéoil* *cenéuil* *cenéiuil*; *tír* 'grass', *gen. t̥éuir*; *én* 'bird', *dat. éun*, *gen. éuin* *éoin* *éiun*; *ad-gén* 'I have known', 3 *sg. ad-géuin* *-géiun*.

A similar development before *i* is confined to a few words (see § 209); e.g. *ét* 'jealousy', dat. *éit*, gen. *éitt éit*.

Such words also show diphthongization in non-final stressed syllables when the following syllable contains *-a* or *-i*; e.g. acc. pl. *éonu*, *trionu* from *trén* 'strong', *béolu* from *bél* 'lip'; *de-seúlaim* (for earlier *-lim*) 'I explore' from *seól*, gen. *seúll*, 'tidings'. Unstressed vowels, on the other hand, are not diphthongized: *ní-toseéll* Thea. II. 18, 33; *soscéll* 'Gospel', dat. *soscélu*; *conéle* 'kind', dat. *conélu* Wb. 2* (recte *l*) 22. Exceptions such as *ceúfola* 3*24 (probably attracted by the shorter *ceúfú*) and *dochenéulaí* nom. pl. 'degenerate' Ml. 122*1 (probably attracted by nom. sg. *dochenéull*) are rare. Diphthongization does not occur in words which have no form ending in a palatal or *u*-quality consonant; e.g. *de-géni* 'he did' (-*gegn*-), *déim* 'I do' beside deuterotonic *de-gnú*.

In the *u* and *o* a trace of the lost consonant appears. Evidently the phonetic distinction between the *i* of § 53 and that of § 54 lies in a tendency towards final lowering (whence *is*) and raising (cp. *is* in Wb.), i.e. towards *es* and *is* respectively.

56. In Wb. *i* is often written after stressed final *i*, *e*; e.g. *de-téi* 3 sg. subj. of *de-tiag* 'I come' (elsewhere *-tá*); *ad-céil* subj. of *ad-slig* 'induces'; *immaile* 'together', *ille* 'hither', elsewhere *immaile*, *ille* (§ 845); *iri déi* (probably *deil*) 'by day' 9*8, but *iri de* 9*30 and elsewhere; *déi* 'of God' 22*10, otherwise (even in Wb.) *déi déi*; but always *é* 'he, they', *mé* 'I', *re-té* 'may he be'.

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

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

ibéid 'drinks', Skt. *píbati*, Lat. *bibit*.

find 'fair', Gk. *ἵσθαι* 'to appear', Skt. *vindati* 'finds'.

For *i* < *ē* see § 75 ff., *i* in the groups *ri* *is* *im*, § 214 f.

58. *i*, where it does not represent compensatorily lengthened *i*, corresponds to:

(a) IE. *i*, e.g.

re-bith 'has been struck', O.Slav. *bíti* 'to strike'.

li 'colour', W. *liaw*, probably cognate with Lat. *liaw*, *liawre*.

rīm 'number', OHG. *rīm* 'number', Lat. *rītas* '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. *μῆνας* Lat. *mēnsis*, Goth. *mēsa* 'moon'.

fīr 'true', Lat. *vērus*, O.Slav. *věra* 'faith'.

līn 'number', *līn(a)ld* 'fils', Lat. *pīnus*.

mīl 'animal', Gk. *μῆλον* 'sheep, goat'.

In some words the origin of *i* is not clear. Thus in *īth* gl. *puē* Sp. 7065, 11386 (202) = Mid.W. *iut* (Mod.W. *usd*) 'porridge', O.Bret. O.Corn. *īot*, Mod.Bret. *īoad* (*īof*, Mod.Lat. *īolla*, it seems probable that *i* has not developed from *ju* but has been lengthened by attraction to Ir. *īth* 'fat' (subst.), gen. *ītha*, with original *i*; cp. Gk. *πίπλη* 'fat' (subst.), Skt. *pīnāḥ* 'fat' (adj.).

In *īes* (fem. *ā*-stem) 'healing, salvation' beside W. Corn. *īach*, Bret. *īac'h* 'healthy' the *i* has certainly not developed from *ju*. Original by-forms with *īāh-* (whence Britannoic *īach*) and *īhā-* are possible but by no means certain; cp. Gk. *ἰαω* 'remedy' (see also Sommer, *Wörter und Sachen* vii. 102 ff.).

Another difficult word is *tīr* (neut. *ā*-stem) 'land' (Britannoic also *tīr*), whence the adj. *tīrim* 'dry'. A stem **tīras-* (Vendryes, MSL. xii. 225) beside *-tara-* (Gk. *τῆραρός*, etc.) is not reliably attested in any other language. Perhaps orig. *tara-r-* with *r*-suffix, whence *tār-* > Ir. *tīr* (simplified differently in Ocs. *terde* 'land' with secondary *š*); cp. *mīr* 'morsel' (§ 216) < IE. *mīrus-*, Lat. *membrum*, Gk. *μῆρ* 'thigh', cognate with Skt. *māḥ*, *māpādm* 'flesh'.

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

59. *ō* corresponds to IE. *ō*, e.g.

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

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

orbe 'inheritance', Goth. *arbi*, cp. Lat. *orbis*, Gk. *ἀρπαρία*.

Armen. *orē* 'orphan'.

For *ō* < *u* see § 73 ff., < *α* § 80.

60. *ō*.

Collection: Zupitza, ZCP. iii. 275 ff., 281 ff.

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

diphthong *ou*, under which IE. *ou* and *eu* had fallen together, or to *ou* 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 *ús* under the accent, except before a guttural (*g, cč*). In Ml. and Sg. *ús* has developed before gutturals also, though not consistently. The diphthongization spreads to weakly stressed words like *húare* 'because' Ml. Sg. beside (h)óre Wb.; (h)úa, prep. before its case, beside (h)ó Ml. Sg., in Wb. only *ó*, but *ús* 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 *úu* intermediate between *ó* and *ús*; e.g. *úas* 'over', *túare* for *túare* 'food' ZCP. xvii. 196, 198.

Examples:

Original *ou*: *túath* 'tribe, people' (W. *tud*), Goth. *þiuda*, Osc. *toato*; cp. Gaul. *Teutates* (a god), *Marti Toutati*, *Totati-genus*, gen. *Touto-diniciis*, *Toutillus*, *Matribus Olio-totis*, etc.; arch. Ir. *Tóthal* (man's name), later *Túathal*.

srúaim 'flood, current', Gk. *ῥέμα*.

Original *ou*: *rúad* 'red' (W. *rhudd*), Goth. *rauþs*, Lat. *rufus*, Umbr. acc. pl. *rufu*, Lith. *raudà* 'red colour'; cp. Gaul. *Roudius*, *Anderoudus*.

Original *ou*: *úathed úathad* 'singleness', Gk. *αἰρός* 'alone, self', ON. *auðr* 'desolate'; probably connected with the prep. *ó, úa* 'from, by', Lat. *au-ferre*, O.Pruss. acc. sg. *au-wéman* 'washing off'. For *ar-túaisl* 'listens to' see § 69 a.

For *ó úu* < *op (ap)* see § 227 (f).

For the fluctuation between *ó* and *ús* before gutturals compare:

tróg 'miserable' Wb., *tróg* and *trúag* Ml., *trógán* beside *trúag* Sg.; cp. W. *tru*, Gk. *στυγερῶς* 'to be exhausted', Gaul. *Trougillus*, *Trogus*.

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

Final *ó* is not diphthongized, except for the preposition *ó, úa*, which is a prosodic word. Cp. *bó* 'cow', probably < **bous* (orig. *g^hous*, Skt. *gauh*), but *búschall* beside *bóschall* 'cowherd', W. *bugeil*, Gk. *βουκόλος*.

61. (b) Medial *é* before a consonant may also go back to *ow* after which a non-palatal vowel has been elided; e.g. *cóir(a)s* (**coware*, § 158) 'peace' from *cóir* '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 *táa-* where they are no longer felt as prepositions (as in *táachill* 'sly', *to fechell* 'heed'). Otherwise they become *tó*; e.g. *tóbe* 'shortening', v.b.n. of *do-fui-buimm*.

62. (c) *é* representing compensatorily lengthened *é* (whether original *é* or lowered *é* § 73) is sometimes diphthongized, sometimes not; the reasons for this variation are obscure. Examples: *cúalás* 'he heard' < **cochl* . . . , **ow-el* . . . , reduplicated pret. of *re-cúimethar*; *dúal* 'plait, tassel' probably < **doklo-*, corresponding to ON. *tafl* OE. *tafl* 'tail'; but *brón* 'grief', W. *brwyn*, probably < **brugno-* (possibly influenced by *broc* 'grief'); *srón* 'nose', W. *ffroen*, < **srongnd* (? Cp. Gk. *βύχων*, *βύκων*, *βύχος*!).

(d) In Latin loan-words also *é* is often diphthongized; e.g. *glúas(s)* 'glosses'; *úar* beside *hór* 'hora' Wb., but always *fo chét-úir* 'at once' (unstressed).

(e) For *é* < Ir. *éa* see § 69.

é beside *é* in *éamun* (later also *éamun*) *éamun* (confirmed by rhyme) 'fear', W. *éfa* (with *é*), is probably due to the influence of the synonym *úath* (arch. **úth*) 'terror'. For *éúe* 'five' see § 302.

63. It might have been expected that *é* would remain undiphthongized before *u*-quality consonants, as *é* remains before palatal. Dat. sg. *éthúú* 'singular number, singleness' Sg. 41*8, 92*2, 198*3 is a possible example of this, but is perhaps more likely to be an archaic form used to denote the grammatical term, for *úathúú* 71*3 and conversely nom. sg. *hóthad* 198*22, gen. sg. *hóthid* 68*3, are also found. In this period *u*-quality had already begun to disappear.

64. *é* corresponds to IE. *é*, e.g.

sruth (*u*-stem) 'brook, stream', W. *ffrud*; cp. Gk. *ῥοιός*

Skt. *srutíā* 'flowing'.

luid 'he went', Gk. *ἔλαθε*.

dub (u-stem) 'black', W. *du*; cp. Gk. *τυφλός* 'blind',
Goth. *durubs* 'dumb', Gaul. *Dubis* (river-name).

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

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

cúl 'back' (W. *cúl*), Lat. *cūlus*.

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

már (poetic) 'great number', Gk. *μέριος*.

For *ú* < Ir. *du* see § 69.

THE TRUE DIPHTHONGS

(*aí áe, oí óe, wí, dú dó, éu éo, íu, óu*)

For *ia* see § 53, *éa* § 60 ff.

66. *aí áe, oí óe*. In the manuscripts we find not merely *aí* interchangeable with *áe*, and *oí* with *óe* (the spelling with *-e* is probably modelled on Latin), but also constant fluctuation between *a* and *o* as the first letter of the diphthong. Thus the Irish word for 'people' (collective) is variously written *aís*, *áes*, *oís*, *óes*, sometimes in the same text. In most cases, however, the etymologically correct letter is used, so that the confusion can hardly be very old (although *maidem* for *meidem* 'boasting' occurs as early as Wb. I. 17^r14). The original vowel can often be determined by the aid of Britannie, where *oí* turned into *u*, but *aí* into *oi* (W. *oi*).

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 *ae* 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. *maeyf* for Ir. *mae-estim* 'led', *Meóduf* in Bede for Ir. *Maidub*, *Meóberic* in a Runic inscription found in the Isle of Man for *Mall Bríge* (beside *Molmura* for *Mall Mulra*); later, however, *Meócoler* for *Mall Coluim* in Old English chronicles, especially from A.D. 1000 onwards, *Meópatreir* for *Mall Pátríe* in the Icelandic *Landnámabók* (RC. III. 188 ff.).

Forms such as *Ogam collabor*, *collaborota* beside *collaborotas* representing the later gen. *Collibad* are explained, perhaps correctly, by Foherty (K.Z. I. 49 ff.) as due to faulty spelling. His explanation of the interchange

of *ei* and *éi*, e.g. in *failli* 'glad' and *faillie* 'gladness' (*faellid* SP., but *faillid* Sp. 42⁹⁷), is that before liquids + a consonant the diphthong lost its *i* (hence *faillie*) and that parallel forms with *ei* and *éi* then arose by levelling. The evidence is hardly sufficient to warrant a definite conclusion.

67. This diphthong corresponds to :

(a) IE. or Europ. *ai*, e.g.

gai gâe 'spear', *gaide* 'pilatus', Gallo-Lat. *pacum* (cp. Γαυδρα, Γαυδρα), OHG. *gêr* 'spear', Gk. *χαις* 'shepherd's staff'.

câech 'one-eyed', W. *coeg* 'empty, vain' (*coeg-ddail* 'one-eyed'), Goth. *kaihs* 'one-eyed', Lat. *caecus*.

ais âes (neut. o-stem) 'age', W. *oes*.

(b) IE. *oi*, e.g.

oin oin 'one' (gen. fem. *ains* Thea. II. 15, 42), W. *wa*, O.Lat. *oino* 'unum', Goth. *aisa* 'one'.

cloin clôen 'slanting, iniquitous', Goth. *Alains* 'hill', Lith. *šlaitis* 'slope'.

moin main mâen (fem. i-stem) 'treasure, gift', Lat. *moenia* *munia*, Lith. *mainas* 'exchange'.

(c) The contraction of *o* and *e*, *é*, *i*; e.g. *ar-foimat* *ar-fôemat* 'they accept' (-*fo-emat*), perf. 1 pl. *ara-roitmar* (-*ro-fô-dmar*) Wb. 9¹⁰.

(d) *oi* *ôe*, the reduction of *owi*, *oue* after the loss of syllabic value by *-i*, *-e*; also of the earlier triphthong *owi*; e.g.

oi 'sheep', cp. Lat. *ovis*.

toisech 'leader', gen. on inscription (in Wales) *TOVISACT*, W. *tywysog*.

toiden 'troop', from *to-* and *foian* (*woed*).

roida gen. of *ruud* 'great wood', from *ro-* and *fid* (*wid*).

of ôe, still *au* in Corm. 44, dat. sg. of *âu* 'ear' (§ 69 a).

For *oi* *ôe* in *-gâe*, *coisa*, see §§ 710, 392. The Mid.In. confusion of *oi* (*ai*) and *ai* already appears in *tuisech* Wb. II. 33²⁰ and *suit* (*sic* ms.) Wb. 4¹⁰, nom. pl. of *soir* *sôer* 'free'.

68. *wi* represents the reduction of *owi*, e.g. *drui* nom. sg. 'wizard' < **druwi(d)s*, cp. Gaul. pl. *druides*.

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

(a) Earlier *au* (IE. *eu*, reduced grade of *ou* and *ou̯*) before a lost *a*, e.g.

áu *áo* *ó* neut. 'ear', pl. *au(a)s*, later *ea*; cp. Goth. *ausō*, Lith. *ausis*, Lat. *auris*, Homer. *αῦρα*.

táus fem. 'silence' Ériu vii. 162 § 5, etc., nom. pl. *tual* (*tu-si*) Ml. 112^b9; cp. W. *taw* 'silence' < *taus-*, Skt. *tāṣṣim* 'silently', etc., and O.Ir. *ar-túalssí* 'listens' (probably < *traust-*, § 60).

(b) IE. *du* in *dáu*, later *dó*, 'two', OW. *dou*, Skt. *deuṣ* (IE. **dwoṣ*).

(c) The contraction of *d* and *u*, e.g. *-táu* *-tó* 'I am' (§ 778) < **tu-s*, probably < **stāṣṣ*.

(d) Final and prevocalic *du̯*, e.g.

náu (fem. *ā*-stem) 'ship' SP., cp. Lat. *nāvis*, Skt. *navā*, gen. *nāvāḥ*, etc.; Ir. gen. arch. *nāne*, later *nea*, nom. pl. *nea*, dat. *neib* Ml.

gáu *gáo* *gó* fem. 'falsehood', Mid.W. gen. Mid.Bret. *gou*, probably < Celtic **gāuā*; gen. *gus* Ml. 31^b12, nom. acc. pl. *gea* Wb. 31^b20, *gus* Féil. Epil. 167, adj. *geach* 'mendacious'; in composition: *gáu-forgell* 'false testimony' Ériu vii. 156, § 16 = *gá-forcell* Wb. 13^b15, *gá-brithemnacht* 'false judgment' Ml.

For the transition of *áus* 'grandson' (Ogam gen. *AVI AVVI*) to *as* in use during the 8th century, see Ó Mílle, Language of AU., 46 ff.

(e) Earlier (Irish) *du̯*, see § 72.

For *du* in loanwords cp. *dur*, Lat. *aurus*, Thea. 1. 5, 10, otherwise always *dr*, gen. *dr*; Féil 'Paulus'. Later borrowings have *du*, e.g. *áustor áugtor* 'actor', *áus(s)*, Mid.Ir. *áús*, 'causa', etc.

The triphthong *au̯* is very rarely found unreduced: *Dau*, man's name, AU. 504, in later sources written *Dau* and *Dul* (gen. *Duach*); cp. *aul* § 67 d.

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

(a) The contraction of *e* and *u*, e.g. *béu* *béo* 1 sg. pres. subj. 'I may be', probably < **bē(s)u*, **esō* (with *b-*), § 787.

(b) *ew'* (for earlier *iw-* § 73), e.g. *béu* *béo* 'living' < **bēw[as]* **bīnos*, W. *byw*.

(c) *éu*, *éō* as a development of compensatorily lengthened *é*, see § 55.

This diphthong is also used to represent Lat. *Jo-*, e.g. Euseph ML 84-9 'Joseph', later attested *Īōfn* 'Iohannes' beside *Iohān* Tur.

71. *iu* represents :

(a) The contraction of *i* and *u*, e.g.

·hiu 'I am wont to be' < **bī(i)u -ō*, cp. Lat. *fiō*.

·cliu < **klīju*, dat. sg. masc. neut. of the adj. *clē* 'left'.

hiu < **bīuw*, dat. sg. masc. neut. of *béu* *béo* 'living'.

(b) *iu* beside *éu* as a development of compensatorily lengthened *é*, see § 55. In the positions where that *é* is diphthongized, *i* lengthened by compensation becomes *iu*; e.g. *·cluir* (*ci-cr* . .) reduplicated pret. of *cran(a)id* 'buys', *·gluil* pret. of *glēn(a)id* 'sticks fast' (§ 691), *ara-chlurat* (from *-riat*) 3 pl. fut. of *ara-chrim* 'decays' (§ 653).

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

Examples: *béu* c. 700 (Adomnán, *Thes.* II. 278, 2; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 4), gen. sg. of *bō* 'cow', cp. Gk. *βοῖς*, Lat. *bovis*; but gen. pl. *béu* LU 5373, etc., later gen. sg. and pl. *bō*, dat. pl. *huāib*.

nāne 'new' Sg. 5^b6, 217 < **nōwe*, cp. Gaul. *Novio-danum* *Novio-danum*, O.Bret. *nouuid* W. *neuydd* < **nowiyo-*, Goth. *nūjōis*; but *nee* *Thes.* II. 270, 6 (Arm.), *nulē* (for the *-i-* cp. *slar* ML from Lat. *ser*) Wb. (pl. masc. *nul*), *nue* Sg., *nuae* ML (§ 100). Cp. also the compound with *fiadnaisse* 'testimony': *nufednaisse* Wb., *nuladnis(s)e* ML. 'New Testament'.

déu *dāu* *dō* 'to him, to it', see §§ 435, 452.

In *šagaire šaire* 'shepherd' ML, as opposed to *ēš* 'sheep' (§67 d), either the triphthong *aui* from *aui* has been reduced to *au* before non-palatal

g, or *oid* has been replaced by *oio-* with a different composition-vowel. *cégaire* SR. 7716 is a later re-compound.

In *lūa* Wb 6*30 beside *lūa lūa* lū, dat. of *lūa lūa* lū 'day' (§ 284, 3), and in *būa* 30*8, dat. of *lūa lūa* 'good, profit', *o* is not old: it may indicate that *ōa* and *ōu* had by then the same phonetic value, or it may be based on assimilation of the *o* to *u* in disyllabic *lū-u*, *lū-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 *ī* or *ū* (or an *ō* which did not become *ū*, § 89).

Examples: *fer* nom. acc. sg. 'man', originally **wiros* **wiron*; *betho* *botha*, gen. of *bīth* 'world', cp. Gaul. *Bita-rigis*; *fedo*, gen. of *fīd* 'wood', OHG. *wīta*; *fedb* 'widow' (< **wīdōwā*), pl. *fedba*, cp. Lat. *wīdas*; *re-fess* 'is known' (< **wīssō-*); *fert(a)s*, nom. pl. of *fīurt* 'miracle, *wīrtas*' (ending **-owes*).

clōth (gen. *clūith*) 'fame' < **klaton* = Skt. *śrutām* 'what is heard', Gk. *κλυτός*; *dron* 'firm' < **drunos* **drundā*, cp. Skt. *dāruṇḍā* 'hard, rough'; *demon* 'world' < **dubnos*, cp. Gaul. *Dubno-reix* *Dumno-riz*.

The only exception is *i* before *ad*, which always remains; e.g. *fīnd* 'fair', < **wīndos* **wīndā*, cp. Gaul. *Illovo-wīndos*; *mīndalib* dat. pl. of *mīnd* (*u*-stem) 'diadem'.

u is occasionally retained by analogy before neutral vowels; e.g. *crūthach* 'shaped, shapely' (suffix *-āko-*), from *crūth* '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 *dō-felch* 'avenges' Wb. 6*18 beside more frequent *dō-felch* (cp. OHG. *wipus* 'to fight', Lat. *wincere*) has probably been influenced by forms like 3 pl. **dō-felchat* (original ending *-ōst*), on the model of *-betr*, pl. *-berat* (with original *-e*) § 533; *crōthch*, acc. sg. in Wb., replacing arch. *crūthch*, has been attracted by nom. *crōch* (*ō*-stem), Lat. *crux*; *ceŋn* acc. dat. sg. and nom. pl. of *cōh* 'dog' may have taken over *o* from gen. pl. *cōn* (cp. Gk. *κυός*, *κυών*) and from the composition-form *cōn-* (*luno-*). On the other hand, Pedersen (§§ 27, 28, 252 2 n. 2 = Fed.* § 4, 6, 178 n. 1) holds that *i* and *u* in almost every position had

fallen together with *e* and *o*, being retained only in those positions where original *e* and *o* have become *i* and *u* (§ 73); in particular, *i* and *u* do not remain before *e* in the following syllable. Should this view be correct, forms like nom. pl. *colū* (Gk. *coler*) would be quite regular, not analogical. For *i* there is no evidence: the assumption that voc. sg. **uirs* first became **uiri* to give O.Ir. *fir* (Fed. § 354 = Fed.² § 90) has no support. As regards *u*, on the other hand, Pedersen's theory would explain the *-o-* in the 3 sg. pres. ind. of verbs with radical *u* (§ 530): *con·boing*, *fo·loing*, etc. It is at all events certain that the vocalism of the prefixes *su-* *du-* (§ 355, I), *ro-* (§ 352), *fo-* (§ 357), and *to-* (§ 358) has become completely confused.

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

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

I AND U FOR O AND O

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

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

Examples: *mīl* 'honey', Gk. *μέλι*, *mīlls* 'sweet', cp. Gaul. *Melissus*; *smīur* 'narrow', OHG. *amero* OE. *amero* 'fat' (for the *u* after *i* see § 88); *siun* dat. sg. and *siuis* compar. of *sen* 'old', cp. Lat. *senior*; *mīd* 'mead', Gk. *μέθυ*; *tiug* 'thick' < **tegu-*, W. *teu*; *ibair* nom. pl. 'yews', Gaul. *Eburomagad*, O. Britann. *Eboracum*; *clun* and *clunn* gen. and dat. of *cenn* 'head', W. *pen*, Gaul. *Πετρο-κευδος*; *mindech* 'needy' from Lat. *mendicus*; *rīnd* 'star', gen. *renda*, stem **renda-*.

uilen 'elbow', W. *eliv*, Goth. *aleina* 'ell', < **ollnā*; *fuirib* 'on you' (pl.) beside *foirib* (for 'on'); *mūin* 'nape of neck' < *moni-*, cp. OHG. *maza* 'mane', Lat. *monile* 'necklace'; *um(a)s* 'copper', stem **omiyo-*, W. *efydd*, to *am* 'raw'; *mruig*

'land' (gen. *mrege*) < **mregi*-, W. *bro*, cp. Gaul. *Brogimarus*; *sulde* 'sitting, seat', stem **soldiō*-, cp. Lat. *solium*; *eucann* (-c = -p) 'kitchen', W. *cegin*, from Lat. *cocina* (*coquina*); *uillu* compar. of *oil* 'ample', cp. Gaul. *Matribus Olla-totie*; *luc* gen., *luc(s)* dat., *luc(s)u* acc. pl. of *loc(s)* (*c = g*) 'locus'; *trup* gen., *trup* dat. of *trop* (*p = b*) 'tropus'; *mucc* 'pig', stem *moccu*-, W. *mooc*, cp. Gaul. (*Mercurius*) *Moccus*, *Mocco*, etc.; *udbu* LU 5261, acc. pl. of *odb* 'knob, excrescence', W. *oddf*; compounds with the prep. *co(m)-*: *cubus* 'conscience' (-*fuss*), *cuthlud* (*t = d*) 'mockery' (-*tidiud*), *culndrech* 'correction' (*com-dl*-), *culmrech* 'fetter(ing)', vb. n. of *con-rig*, *cumbae* 'destruction' AU. 829 (**com-biō*-), *cuinlin* 'equal number' (-*lin*), *cuirumne* (*t = d*) 'equal', *cuellgi* (*d = g*) dat. sg. 'shaking' LU 7457.

76. It is difficult to fix the precise limits of this phonetic change, because there has been a good deal of levelling, e.g. *oilu* Wb. 13^b2 beside *uillu*, and further because the mutation *e > u* seems to have spread to cases outside those covered by the rule in § 75. Thus *ord(d)* 'ordo' always has gen. sg. *uirdd* *uir* (*irt*) and dat. *urdd* *urt* (*irt*), although *rd* otherwise resists the change and the corresponding verb is always *ordnd* 'ordinat'. It is therefore uncertain whether the form *culs* Cam., dat. of *cess* 'leg', for normal *col(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. *cushtar* Sg. 63^b3 (Mid.Ir. *cushtair*) 'kitchen', probably from Lat. *coctura*; *cucht* 'external appearance, colour', ON. *hǫtr* 'manner'; *futha* Cam., acc. pl. of *foth* 'substitute, equivalent', *fus* beside *fos(s)* as dat. of *fos(s)* 'rest'. That *ucht* 'bosom' goes back to **poktu*- (cp. Lat. *pectus*) is doubtful.

As for the mutation *e > i*, some examples are doubtless due to analogy; e.g. *niurt* in later MSS. for O.Ir. *neurt*, dat. of *ner* 'strength'; pret. sg. 1 *do-biurt*, 2 *·birt*, attracted by pres. sg. 1 *do-biur* 'I give', 2 *·bir*. But *cretd* (*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. *credere* or by Britannie (W. *credu*)? Or perhaps the conditions in which *e* became *i* differed somewhat from those in which *e* 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 limited *b* and *m*, e.g. *as·ru·hart* 'has said' (arch. *·ru·bert*), but pass. *as·robrad* from *·ro·breth*; *de·ru·malt* 'has consumed' (*·malt*); *euman* 'remembered' (*com· + men·*, § 830 A; 1); (2) rarely before *γ*, as in *fa·ruí·gáin* '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. *singed*) 'hero', it may not be due to the original *e* in the next syllable at all; Gaul. *Cingeto·rix*, W. *rŷg·gyg* 'ambling pace' suggest rather that *ey* had become *iŷ* 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. *hem* 'heaven' (W. *aeŷ*), gen. *nime* (**acemasos*), dat. *nim* (**acemes*); *teg tech* 'house' (Gk. *τέχος*), nom. acc. pl. *tige* (**tegesa*); similarly *·bir* 'thou hearest', if from **bheres* (but cp. *de·dim* 'thou protectest' ML 110⁴⁹ with levelled vocalism).

2. Before the *-ei-* of verbs in original *-eiō*, 3 ag. *-eisti*; e.g. *gu(l)ddid* 'prays', cognate with Gk. *προβέω*; *ad·sudi* 'holds fast' (**adeiō*), Goth. *setjan* 'to set'; *fu·llug(a)imm* 'I conceal', Goth. *lagjan* 'to lay'; so too, perhaps, *midjur* 'I judge, estimate', if it corresponds exactly to Latin *medeor*.

On the other hand, we have evidence that, sometimes at least, *es* in middle syllables became *is*; cp. *TOVISACH* § 67d, from *to·fed-* (earlier *·seŷ-*) 'to lead'; also *eaimse* 'fitting' Wb. 14⁴³ (23⁴²), literally 'equally measured' from *com·med-*. So too *ei* or (after the loss of *j*) *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 *menke(s)* 'frequent' (where, despite W. *myssch*, the second vowel was probably *e*) and *meinsiged* 'becoming or making frequent', ML 36⁴⁰ has perf. 3 ag. *ro·minelgstar* (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 sinech* 'face, honour', Bret. *exp.* with non-palatal *oi* (as against § 158). This can

hardly have been taken over from *snach*, but an earlier **snach*- would account for it; since *sk* goes back to *g^h*, perhaps a change of quality had taken place in the interior syllable. The variation between *stis* 'wing' Sg. 67*7 and dat. pl. *stib* Ml. 80*7, adj. *stich* (ms. *stach*) 40*9 (also in later sources), is hard to explain. If, as seems probable, the word is derived from *sthatt* 'bird, winged insect' the syncopated vowel was certainly not *i* (more likely *o*).

79. Stressed *ē* in hiatus sometimes becomes *i*; cp. *ni(a)s* 'sister's son' (Ogam gen. ag. *niotta* Macal no. 71), cognate with Mid.W. *nei*, Lat. *nepos*, beside *tes* 'hot'; *lach* gen. ag. of *eo é* 'salmon', Gallo-Lat. *esox*; *stur* 'sister', dual *stetr*. There are also instances of stressed *o* becoming *u* in hiatus; e.g. *fuar*, vb.n., and *fo-ru-ar* perf. of *fo-feru* 'causes' (-ar from -er, cp. § 77); note further *do-ruich* (-*fic*) and *do-ruacht* beside *do-roacht* (-*fect*, 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. *balli*, acc. *ballu*, beside *ball*, *ballu*; *brat* 'cloak', dat. ag. *brót*, diminutive *brotténe*; *muig* beside *malg*, dat. ag. of *mag* 'field'. Cp. also *crann* 'tree' (with *e* < *g^h*-), gen. *crunna*, dat. *crunn*; here, however, the *a*, as contrasted with Britann. *preua*, Gaul. *preuua* 'arbores grandem' (Endlicher's Gloss.), has not been explained and is doubtless secondary. Mid.Ir. *rann* 'strophe', dat. *runn*, acc. pl. *runnu* (originally = *road* 'chain' ?) is probably modelled on this.

Some nouns which show the above change of *a* to *u* have *o* instead of *a* in their other cases by analogy with nominal forms in which the alternation of *a* and *o* is regular (§§ 73, 75); e.g. *muig* 'serf' from *muag* (cp. *Maug-darna* Thea. n. 299, 22 (Arm.), Gaul. *Maga-ris*), gen. ag. *moga*, nom. pl. *moga(a)*, etc.; *fat* 'length' influenced by gen. *falt*, dat. *fat*, probably cognate with Lat. *ultra* 'vast'; *fess* 'youth, servant', cp. nom. pl. *fais* TBC. 2837, = Britann. *gessa*, Gallo-Lat. *uessa*, *Uessa-ris*, etc.

The above rule does not account for those words, not yet satisfactorily explained, in which Celtic *o* appears for the *a* of related languages; e.g. Ir. *muir* (*i*-stem) 'sea', W. Breton. *mor*, Gaul. *Ara-morici*, *Morici*, Lat. *mare*; *loch* (*u*-stem) 'lake', Gaul. *Fenna-locos*, name of place at end (genus) of Lake Geneva (Itin. Ant.) = Ir. *Cann Loch* *Thes.* II. 271, 8 (Arm.), Lat. *locus*, ep. Gk. *Mázeos* 'hole, cistern, pond'; *buide* 'yellow', possibly also contained in Gaul. *Bodio-caesus*, Lat. *bañus* 'bay-coloured'.

(b) Only before *u*-quality consonance is *o* sometimes found instead of *au*; e.g. *ro-lamur* 'I dare' *Wb.* 17^b8 and *ro-lemur* *ML* 21^b6 (cp. *Trip.* 166, 2), arch. *ru-laimur* *Wb.* I. 17^a21; *sub* 'river' *LL* 13^b7, *sub* *Thes.* II. 340, 54, *ob* *Trip.* 256, 3, etc., acc. *abinn*. On the other hand, there is fluctuation between *au* and *u* in *laugu* *lugu* 'smaller' (also *laigiu*), cp. *lagat* 'smallness'; in later *uss*, *caur* *cur* 'hero', gen. *caurad*, stem **caurā-*, cp. Germ. *Harudes*, *Χαρπίδες*; *Caulan*(n) and *Culsann*, man's name, Ogam *CALUNO-VIC...* *Macal.* III. 185; cp. also for *-sun* 'I teach' (for *-chun* *Wb.* 10^a13), *cauna* 'I sing' *ZCP.* XXI. 283 (√*can-*), beside *ad-gaur* 'I sue' *Thes.* II. 228, 30. These variations in the quality of the vowel are evidently conditioned by the character of the consonant preceding the vowel as well as by that of the following *u*-quality consonant.

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

Thus the prep. *ad-* before the prep. *uss-* (*oss-*) in *audbirt* (acc. sg.) 'oblation, sacrifice' *Thes.* II. 28, 40, nom. sg. in *Wb.* *idbart*, in *ML* *edbart*, vb.n. of *ad-opuir* 'offers', *idbarat* 3 pl. *Wb.* 1^b20, etc. (*ad-uss-ber-*). Cp. also *andsud* 'treasure, treasury' *Trip.* 62, 4 (*antsad*? *Laws* IV. 188, 11), *etsad* *ML* 51^a8, dat. pl. *Isadaibh* *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. *apthach* *IT.* I. 187, 16; *spaid* *Thes.* II. 248, 7, *ipthach* *Wb.* 9^a21, *ibdach* *Thes.* II. 248, 12; later *upaid*.

isubir (*-bair*, *-bair*) 'labour' *Cam.*, *Ériu* VII. 172, § 1e, *ibair* 142 § 7, 142 § 3, later *lubair*, which does not come directly

from Lat. *labor*, but from the intermediate Britanno form represented by *W. hafur*.

taul (stem **talja-*) 'forehead, boss', *tel tul*, dat. pl. *tillaib* LL (see Miscellany K. Meyer, p. 287). From this probably comes *taulach* (dat. *taullich* Thes. II. 296, 41 (Arm.), *taulaig* LL 301^b41) 'hill', *telach* Trip., *tallaich* LL 21^b10, dat. *telaiç* ML 55^a1, Trip. 154, 11 (rhyming with *feraiib*), *tillaich* Anecd. I. 5, 29; dat. pl. *teichaib* ML 14^a11, *tillaib* 14^a9; later *tulach*.

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

ilach 'pagan' Thes. II. 227, 22 etc., acc. *elg* *Fianaig*. 24, 22; later *ulath*; *W.* (loan-word) *elach*, 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, *lad*, dat. *elaid* *ailaid*, later *ulad* (Contrib. s.v. *ailad*).

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

Evidently we are dealing here with a vowel for which the Irish script had no unambiguous symbol. The fact that it is sometimes written *i* and can rhyme with *e*, as contrasted with its later form *u*, suggests that the sound may have undergone modification, possibly from close to open *ɛ*. But this vowel has also spread to words where it did not originally belong; e.g. *ne-b-irpaid* 'ye shall confide' *Wh.* 8^a2 (verbal stem *erb-*); *techtáil* 'raising' Trip. 44, 12; 260, 6 beside *techtáil* (*te-ase-pab-*).

In *é'an-urid* 'since last year' *Wh.* 16^a14, later *inn-uraid* 'last year', as against *Dur.* *urora*; *Att.* *urora*, *e* before *r* seems to have become *u*; for it is improbable that this word had an old *e*-grade (**porati*).

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

3 FOR 0.

81. 1. Between *f* and palatal consonants *a* is often, though not consistently, written for *o*; e.g. *faillsigud* beside *foillsigud* 'revealing' from *follus* 'clear'; *fair* beside *foir* 'on him' (prep. *for*); *faírgæ* *Sg.* 112 (Thes. II. 290, 4) beside *foírgæ* 124^a1, *foírre* 67^a9 'sea'; *fadirei* nom. pl. 'visible' ML. 40^a16 (prep. *fo*).

In later MSS. *o'* and *o'* (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 *re* 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 *re-lá-* 'put' (§ 762), e.g. 2 pl. pf. *-rakid* Wb. 15'1 < **-re-láid* (but 3 pl. *-reísat* Ml. 16'2), 1 sg. subj. *-ral* Wb. 7'4, etc.; also in *-ragbtha* Ml. 36'24, prototonic of *re-gabtha* 'they have been sung', and the like. *-rab(a)s* beside *-reb(a)s* 'has been' has doubtless been influenced by other persons such as 3 pl. *-rabatar* beside *-rebatar*. Similarly *-farggab* 'has left' (deuterot. *fo-rácalb*), etc.

In the same way the preposition *to-* (*tu-*) may have become *ta* in pf. *-tarat* 'has given' (deuterotonic *de-rat*), pass. *-tardad* (deuterot. *de-ratad*), and hence spread to the present *-tabir* 'gives, brings' (deuterot. *do-bair*), etc. (§ 759, II.); cp. the arch. pret. *-tubert* ZCP. viii. 308, 34, *-tubart* Thes. II. 242, 20. Cp. further 3 sg. *-tarla*, deuterotonic *do-rála* (from *-rola*, see above); *targabál* beside *torgabál* 'commission (of a crime)', from *do-ro-galb* 'commits' (see also § 835).

Other instances of *ta-*, however, are doubtless to be explained differently. Thus *tar(a)lisse* beside *tor(a)lisse* 'firm, faithful', *tar(a)lissu* beside *tor(a)lissu* 'fidelity', *tar(a)lissnech* beside *tor(a)lissnech* 'faithful', etc. (cp. O.Bret. *toraisiolion* gl. 'fidis') may be ascribed to the influence of *tairissem* (*to-air-esssem*) with the cognate meaning 'standing fast'. Similarly *tasgid* 'sustenance' Wb. 29'13 beside *toschid*, pf. *do-m-r-ólsechtatar* 'they have sustained me', where perhaps *t(c)-ad-* has replaced earlier *to-ess-*. In *taiscélad* Ml. 90'1, otherwise *toiscélad*, vb.n. of *do-scéul(a)* 'explores', and nom. pl. *taiscéltai* 'spies' Tur. 130, the prepositions may have been felt to be *to-níð-* 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.

nous.acc.dat. *daig* 'fire, flame', gen. *dego* -a, Celtic stem *degi-*, cp. Mid.W. *de* 'fiery, hot'; *tallm* (talm only once, Corm. 1215) 'aling', gen. *telma*, and similar nouns (§ 302, 1); *saldid* 'sits', pl. *sedait*, cp. Lat. *sedere* (§ 549); *alsndis* 'exposition' (*ess-nd-*).

In certain other words there is fluctuation between *s* and *a*; e.g. *silit* and *allit* 'hind'; *esoch* and *almesh* 'face, honour' (dat. pl. *inch(s)ib*, see § 78, 2), cp. Bret. *esop*; *airg(g)* and *airg(g)* ipv. 2 sg. 'go' (Gk. *ερχομαι*); *traist* 'swift' Wb. 9⁴⁶, *traist* Ml. 104⁴⁵ and in all later sources; *-alp(er)* Ml. 14⁴¹³ and *-sperr* 'is said', Mid.Ir. *-sparr*, vb.n. *alpert* 50⁴⁸, usually *spert* (*ess-ber-*). Mere sporadic occurrences are *corro-shraltta* 'that he may believe' Wb. 12³³ from *crestid*; *tainid* Ml. 96⁴¹¹, nom. pl. of *tene* 'fire'.

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

Collection: KZ. LIX. 1 f., LXI. 268 f.

Apparently there was at one period fluctuation between *s'* and *a'*, due to a tendency to differentiate *a* more sharply from the following palatal sound. In some words the fluctuation persisted until it was eventually suppressed by levelling; but in others the contrast between *a'* and *a* 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. *sa(í)le* 'other' instead of O.Ir. *aille*, see § 437 d. The substitution of *sa(í)le* for O.Ir. *sa(í)le* *ment* 'spittle' Thes. II. 343, 2, etc., (from Lat. *saliva*) may have been due to the influence of some other word, though hardly to that of *aille* *oil* 'ointment' as previously suggested by me, for the existence of this word (= W. *ail*) in Irish is not reliably attested (O'Mula. 373, 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-maínl* beside *dag-moínl* 'benefits' (cp. W. and Bret. *da* 'good', Gaul. *Dape-darnus 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 *tall-* (3 sg. pret. *ma du- d-áil Wb*. 22·7); so too *·talla* '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. *telpà t[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 inflecting vowel had itself disappeared. But this variation in the quality of consonants is not directly expressed in writing; in the older language it can only be inferred from the influence which, in its turn, it exerts on the neighbouring vowels. For that reason it must be briefly discussed in the present context.

This variation in the quality of consonants is of particular importance for the history of the language, as it often enables us to reconstruct the vocalism of lost terminations and syllables.

85. In Old Irish every consonant may have three separate qualities :

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

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

In the present work the quality of a consonant is indicated, where necessary, by the addition of a superior vowel, e.g. *P, P^h, P^u*.

86. 1. (a) Where a stressed syllable ends in a palatal consonant or group of consonants, *i* is inserted as a glide after vowels or diphthongs other than *i, oi ée, ai ée*. It must have

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 § 159) 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 *maith'*; *clainde* 'of children' for *claw'd'e*; *ainm* 'name' for *aw'm'*; *láim* acc. sg. 'hand' for *lāw'*; *deich* 'ten' for *deach'*; *teist* 'testimony' for *tew't'*; *léir* 'zealous' for *l'éw'*; *eóit* gen. 'hundred' for *éw't'*; *béoil* *béuil*, nom. pl. of *ból* 'lip' (compensatorily lengthened *é*, § 54); *deirsib* dat. pl. 'doors' for *dear's'íβ*; *sléig* for *sléw'*, gen. of *slóg* 'host'; *luid* 'he went' for *lew'*; *súil* 'eye' for *súw'*; *úaislin* 'higher' for *úaw't'a*.

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-creitset*, after 3 sg. *ro-creit*, where *t* (= *d'*) belongs to the following syllable; *séithe* beside *séithe*, gen. sg. of *séitig* 'wife'. But in ML the omission of *i* after *e* and *é* is by no means restricted to cases of such influence; e.g. dat. sg. *leth* (for *leith*) 'side' 128*1, *dia éis* (for *éis*) '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: *maith* and *maithi*, pl. of *maith*; *gudid* and *gudid* 'prays'; *súil* and *súil* '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. *buasacht* 'of cowherds' Thea. II. 238, 13 (Arm.), *buasre* 'because' Wh. II. 33*6; cp. Thea. II. p. xxviii; Ó Mílle, *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 *gudid*, *flaithem*, might be due to the influence of conjunct *guld*, *flaith* 'lordship', and so on. In (a) on the other hand the existence of an audible sound

is suggested by the remarkable consistency with which *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 all next '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 or less historical.

87. 2. Before neutral consonants no glide is indicated in O.Ir. (for the development $\acute{e} > ia$, see § 53). The *a* that appears after \acute{e} in Mid.Ir. is found in Ml. once in a stressed syllable: *con-ru-sleachta* 'so that they have been slaughtered' 53⁴11 (it occurs three times, however, in unstressed syllables: *coimeas* 'who weeps' 102²23, *aipleat* 'let them die' 104²2, *-erlaidagear* 1 ag. subj. 'I may obey' 106⁶).

ei for \acute{e} before neutral consonants is peculiar and very rare; e.g. *feir* Wb. 13²10, 23²10, acc. sg. and gen. pl. of *fer* 'man'; *teicht* 'going' Thea. II. 296, 3.

88. 3. Before u-quality consonants *u* is inserted after \acute{e} \acute{e} *i* under the same conditions as *i* before palatal consonance. Between \acute{e} and $\acute{e}h$ it is sometimes replaced by *o*.

Examples: *daum* for $\acute{e}a_u$, dat. sg. of *dam* 'ox' (cp. § 329, 1B); *maull*, dat. sg. of *mail* 'slow'; *neuth neoth* for $\acute{e}o_h$, dat. sg. of *neoh* 'someone'; *neurt*, dat. sg. of *nert* 'strength'; *do-biur* 'I give' for $\acute{e}b_i$; *fluss* 'knowledge' for $\acute{e}ss_u$; *re-flugrad* 'figuratum est'.

After \acute{e} only in arch. *i* *ruth* gl. 'in studio' Wb. I. 11²3, from *reth* (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. *flugar* Ml. 45²3 beside *figer* 'figura' Wb. 18²10; *re-laumur* 'I dare' Wb. 17²8 (3 ag. *re-lalmethar*); *caunn* 'I sing' ZCP. XXI. 283 (✓ *con-*).

In Mid.Ir. *eo* is written for \acute{e} in open syllables before $\acute{e}h$ and γ where these consonants had u-quality in O.Ir.; e.g. *eechu* acc. pl. 'horses' for O.Ir. *echu*; *do-deochaid* -*deochaid* 'has come', O.Ir. *-dechaid*; *re-goguin* 'has slain', O.Ir. *-goguin* (*-gogota*).

After long vowels this glide is never found, except that compensatorily lengthened \acute{e} and *i* are represented by *eu*, *iu* (§§ 55, 71 b), and the other \acute{e} by the diphthong *ia* (§ 53). Consonants in this position lost their u-quality at an early period.

VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

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. *ǝ* in final syllables became *ɨ* in Celtic; cp. *Frontu*, *Malcis* on Gaulish inscriptions for Lat. *Frontō*, *Malcisō*; acc. pl. *tuddus* (nom. sg. *tuddos*), *cutibus* in the La Graufesenque graffiti, < IE. *-dus*. So too IE. *-oi* (Gk. *-oi*) in the dative of *o*-stems appears as Gaulish *-oi*, *-ui*, *-u* (see § 285). W. *Heidr* 'latro', *draig* 'dracō', *Sais* 'Saxō, Englishman' point in the first instance to **latri*, **draki*, **Sachsi*, which had developed regularly from **latrū*, **drakū*, **Sachsā*.

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 *n*-stems, but also in the 1 sg. of verbs, e.g. *·mū* 'I am' (conson. pres.) = Lat. *fiō*. Before a consonant we find it e.g. in voc. pl. *·firu* 'men' < **wirōs*; 1 sg. depon. *mídhur* 'I judge, estimate', Lat. *medeor* (earlier *-ōr*); *slur*, Lat. *soror* (*-ōr*); acc. pl. *·firu* < IE. **wirōns*. For old *-ōm* see § 93.

In *oi* 'dog' Britton. *oi*, assuming it comes from **hōs*, IE. **h₂wōs* (Skt. *śwá*), with loss of *w* before *s*, shows that *ǝ* became *ɨ* even in monosyllables (cp. also *dú* 'place' § 186 b). But this may be due to the influence of polysyllabic *n*-stems, for in Gaul. *carui da* 'give ale' (Dottin, p. 79) *da* (= *dā*) probably corresponds to original **dōs* with the usual development of *ǝ* (§ 51 b). In IE. **dwōs* 'two', O.Ir. *dáu*, *ǝ* had not become *ɨ*; cp. § 287.

90. 2. It is not clear to what extent *ɨ* in this position became *i*, as in stressed syllables (§ 58). If the imperative ending 2 sg. depon. *-tē* is correctly traced to *-tēs* (§ 574), then *-ē* has been retained here. *athir* 'father' and *máthir* 'mother' (cp. Gk. *πατήρ*, *μητέρα*) could come directly from *-tēr*; but in W. *awgthir* Bret. *cont* 'uncle', which seem to have taken over the suffix, the umlaut points to **awon-thir* (cp. Lat. *avunculus*); or was the suffix *-trjo-*? That in Ir. *íll*, gen. *íllid* (Ogam *VELRTAS*) 'poet' the suffix *-it* goes back to *-it* is uncertain, but in view

of the name of the Bructerian prophetess *Uleda* (-*ada*, Οὐλεδά) not improbable. It has been suggested by Pokorný (IF. xxxv, 173) that medial -*ē* may have here become -*i*, which then spread to the ending of the nominative; but this would make it difficult to explain *tene*, gen. *teneš*, 'fire'.

3. The original final *i*-diphthongs *ei* 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 (§ 288). They had, accordingly, been monophthongized. For -*ai* see § 296.

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

In other syllables *ō* apparently remains; cp. BIVAIDONAS, no. 126, NYTA-SEGAMONAS, nos. 203, 225, etc.; but ESCAIDANA, no. 174 (cp. nom. sg. Hereath 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', < **wiro*; *berid* 2 pl. ipv. 'bear', < **bherete*; -*bered* impf. 'he used to bear'; perhaps < **bherete*; *muir* 'sea', < **moiri*; *blur* *blr* 'spit', < **beru* (Lat. *veru*); *thath* 'people', orig. **teutā*; *flur* dat. sg. < **wirū* in the first instance; *fir* gen. sg. < **wiri*; *sluind* 2 sg. ipv. 'name', probably < **slondi* or **slondi*; *car* 2 sg. ipv. 'love', < **karā*; *fir* nom. pl. < **wiri* (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 anlaut (§ 177) also disappeared.

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

'bears', < *bheret; car(a)it 'friends', < *karantes; fluss nom. acc. sg. 'knowledge', < *wissus *wissen; -eren 'buys', < *q*rinat; sail 'willow', < *salik-s; traig 'foot', < *traget-s.

But before such consonants as were preserved in absolute anlaut short vowels remained; e.g. arch. ·tégot, later ·tiagat, 'they go', < *(s)teighont; as·ru·bart (arch. ·ru·bert) 'has said', < *bberet; do·rósat 'has created' for *·ro·uss·sáid *·sem-t.

93. 3. (a) Long vowels before original final consonants were retained as short.

Examples: tūatha nom. pl. 'peoples', < *teutā; ·bera 'he may bear', < *bberāt, Lat. *ferat*; fīru voc. pl. 'men', < *wīrā in the first instance; fēdo gen. sg. 'of a wood', < *wēdō (earlier -ous); oīntu 'unity', < -tāt-s; fla(l)thi acc. pl. 'lordships', < *wlatō (earlier -ias); euirthe 2 sg. ipv. 'put', probably < -tāda, cp. Skt. -tādā; anm(a)e 'of a name', < -mēs -mens; slur 'sister', < *suesōr -sr.

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 *wīrōm. This suggests that long vowels had been shortened before a final nasal (as in Lat. *duōmwīrōm*), and that this change must have taken place before *ō* had become *ū* (§ 89), for the forms point to a lost neutral vowel. Thus fer is derived from IE. *wīrōm through Celtic *wīrōn, proto-Irish *wīran; cp. Ogam TRIA-MAQA-MALLAGNI 'of the three sons of Máilán' 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 *bberā-m (Lat. *feram*).

94. 4. After *i* (whether consonantal *j* or syllabic *i ij*, all of which fell together in Irish, § 197), the vowels of all final syllables, including such as were lost in every other position, were retained as follows:

- i* and *u* (irrespective of origin) unchanged,
- a* (also *o* < *o* §§ 90, 4; 93 b) as *e*,
- ɛ* as *i*.

Examples: *alls* masc. and fem. 'other', < **aljos aljō*; *caire* 'fault', < **karijō*, OW. *cares*; *all* gen. masc. and neut. < *alji*, dat. *allu* < earlier **alju* **aljō*; *du(i)ni* voc. sg. 'man', < **dunje* or **donje*; *de-gnu* 'I do', < **gnju*, **gnjō*. Even an *-a* that has been retained in accordance with § 93a becomes *e* after *i* in a preceding unstressed syllable, e.g. *·indarbe* (or *·indárbe*? MS. *indarbe*), subj. of *in·árben* 'expels', beside stressed *·his* (from *-it*), subj. of *benaid* 'strikes'. In forms such as *-l(i)cca*, subj. of *l(i)cid* 'leaves' (§ 59B), the *-a* was probably taken over from verbs without *-i*.

The line of development is shown by Ogam genitives such as *MAQ-ENCLAS* Macal. nos. 32, 197, *MAQ-ENOCCLA* no. 31, *MAQ-RETEAS* no. 89, *QVNECA* no. 216, *MAQ-RETR'IS* nos. 78, 183 (perhaps with *-i*), but cp. § 29E. In Ogam *AVI AVVI*, gen. of the word that later appears as *áin* (stem *aini-*) 'grandson', *-i* (contracted from *-i*) is probably to be read, since *-i* remains in the later gen. *áin*. In the same way *i + u* may have first become the diphthong *iu*. Cp. stressed *clé* adj. 'left' (< **kljōe*, fem. *kljō*, like W. *cléid*), 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. *beho* 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. *deo* beside *deu* 'gods', *leo* and *leu* 'with them'. In a few other instances, such as a *gnimo-som* 'his deeds' Wb. 28*29, the neutral *s* of *som* probably accounts for the *o*. But in some texts *-o* appears for *-u* without any apparent reason; e.g. acc. pl. *hauilo*, *gnimo* Thea. 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 eu*, i.e. a palatal glide is inserted; e.g. *sithrea*

(with ρ^f) acc. pl. 'fathers'; *toimseo* (with ρ^f), gen. sg. of *tomus* 'measure'; *aillethiu* (with θ^f) 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. *farfaigthe* 'of questioning' *ML.* 24^b10 beside *farfaictheo* 35^a29; *esséirgu* *Wb.* 13^b26 beside *esséirgiu* 4^a27 (with γ^f), 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 *-ei* and *-ei* are found occasionally in *Wb.* and more consistently in the later Glosses.

Thus *Wb.* has *cumachte* 'power', gen. sg. *cumachtí* (with θ^f), but *ML.* *cumachtae cumachtai*; *Wb.* *enáimí* (with μ^f) nom. and acc. pl. 'bones', *ML.* *enáimáí*; *digis* (with λ^f) *Wb.* 17^a2, gen. sg. of *digal* 'vengeance', but *diglae* 4^a21 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 Glosses.

Examples: *menma* 'mind' *ML.* 63^a18 beside *menmae* (*menme* *Wb.*); *imda* 'many' *Sg.* (*imdae* *ML.*, *imde* *Wb.*); *suidigthe* 'of placing' *Sg.* 193^a4, *Thea.* II. 11, 40 for earlier *suidigtheo* *-thea* (written *suidigthe* *ML.* 111^a4); *do-foirnde* 'defines' frequent in *Sg.*, instead of *do-foirndea*.

Collection of examples of *-a* from *-ae* in *ML.* and *Sg.*, Strachan, *ZCP.* iv. 61 f., 477 f.; in *AU.*, Ó Máille, p. 79 ff. Cp. also the interchange of *lae* and *laa* (*laa*) '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 diagma-ní* 3^a15 'when we go' for *diagm(a)é-ní*.

Examples of *-i* for *-ie* like dat. sg. *dúimí* for *dúimíe* 'man' (§ 383) are quite exceptional.

100. (d) A similar development is shown by the adj. *nuse nuse* *nus*, nom. pl. *nuf* (§ 72), which becomes *nuse* pl. *nual* in *ML.*, and even *nua-* in composition (perhaps indicating a pronunciation *nua-*).

-e after *i* becomes -a by differentiation; e.g. *lie* 'stone' *Wb.*, *lia* *Sg.* 67^b12 (cp. medially in *laig* from *laig* § 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 *ɔ* 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 *e* 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-pridehlissem* 'we have preached' as against *ma ru-pridehlissem* 'if we have preached'; *do-gulat* 'they do', a *n-du-gulat* '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, *e* sometimes appears for unstressed *u* when the preceding syllable contains *e*; e.g. *-moler* 'I praise' *Wb.* 14^b18 instead of -*ur*; *lebro* 'weaker' 17^b29 instead of -*u*; *orgo* 'I stay' *ECP.* xiii. 106 instead of -*u*; *I tessoged* 'in the beginning' *Wb.* 24^b17 for *tossogud*; *starroge* 'selection' *Sg.* 206^b1, as against normal *rogu* 'choice'.

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

The treatment of long vowels in unstressed syllables is substantially the same as in stressed. For compensatorily lengthened *e* and *i* 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' (*ɣ^h-ɣ^h*), *su(l)digthir* 'is placed' (*ʃ^h-ɣ^h-tʰ^h-ɣ^h*); quite exceptionally *e*, e.g. *sotfrid* 'he will free' *Wb.* 32^b13 (*ɣ^h-ʃ^h*).

2. Between neutral consonants *a*; e.g. *teglach* 'household' from *teg* 'house' and *slég* 'troop'; *as·rubart* 'has said' ($\beta^a \rightarrow r^a \mu^a$); *apstal* 'apostolus' ($t^a \rightarrow \lambda^a$); *acaldam* 'addressing' ($gg^a \rightarrow t^a d^a \rightarrow \mu^a$).

3. Between *u*-quality consonants *u*; e.g. *cumung* ($\mu^u \rightarrow u^u g^u$), dat. of *cumang* 'power'; *ilur* ($\lambda^u \rightarrow \rho^u$), dat. of *ilar* 'great number'; exceptionally *o*, e.g. *siddligod* ($\gamma^u \rightarrow \beta^u$) 'intensification' §g. 216*3.

4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant *e*; e.g. *tulrem* 'enumeration' ($\rho^e \rightarrow \mu^e$), *sessed* ($s^e \rightarrow \beta^e$) 'sixth', *ro·foilsigestar* 'has made clear' ($\gamma^e \rightarrow s^e$).

For the rare spelling *es* in ML. see § 87. In archaic 'rhetorical' texts it occurs; e.g. *gablam* 'let us take' Aurak. 5087, later *galbem*; *Lugthach* LL. 287*22, later *Lugdeah* (gen. of *Lugald*); cp. γ *u·éghilar* 'wherein is cried out' BC. xx. 154, later *-éghiler* (cp. ZCP. xiv. 4, xix. 208).

5. Between a neutral and a palatal consonant, in the earlier period frequently *i*, later as a rule *ei*; e.g. *foðil foðail* 'share' from *fo* and *dáil*; *rethit rethait* 'they ran' ($\mu^i \rightarrow d^i$); *æclisse æcailisse* (Wb. 22*20) gen. 'of the Church' ($g^i \rightarrow l^i$).

6. Between a *u*-quality and a palatal consonant *i* or *vi*; e.g. *manchib manchub* Arm. ($ck^u \rightarrow \beta^i$), dat. pl. of *manach* 'monk'; *cosmll cosmull* Wb. 'like' ($\mu^u \rightarrow \lambda^i$); *sennim sennuim* Wb. ($\mu^u \rightarrow m^i$), dat. sg. of *senim* 'act of playing (a musical instrument)'

7. Between a palatal and a *u*-quality consonant *iu*; e.g. *imnud* ($\rho^i \rightarrow \beta^u$) dat. sg. of *imned* 'suffering'; *ancretmich* ($\mu^i \rightarrow ck^u$) dat. of *ancretmech* 'unbelieving'; archaic *u* in *ra·laimur* 'I dare' ($\mu^i \rightarrow \rho^u$), Wb. I. 17*21.

8. Between a *u*-quality and a neutral consonant *o* or *u*; e.g. *égor égor* 'figures' ($\gamma^u \rightarrow \rho^o$); *féched féuchud* 'wetting, rain' ($ck^u \rightarrow \beta^o$).

9. Between a neutral and a *u*-quality consonant *o* or *u*; e.g. *dénom dénum* 'doing' ($\nu^o \rightarrow \mu^u$); *ad·ágor ágor* 'I fear' ($\gamma^o \rightarrow \rho^u$); *atrob atrub* ($t^o \rho^o \rightarrow \beta^u$), dat. of *atrab* 'dwelling'.

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

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. *folksigdir* 'makes clear' ($\beta^i \rightarrow \gamma^i \rightarrow \beta^i$); *timtherecht* 'service' Wb. 13^b28 beside *timthirecht* 10^a17 ($\beta^i \rightarrow \rho^i$).

2. Between neutral consonants as *a*; e.g. *re-comalnada* 'have been fulfilled' ($\alpha^a \rightarrow \beta^a$); even where the following consonant has developed secondary *u*- or *o*-quality, e.g. *teglenamom* 'adherence' Sg. 104^b2 from *-glenama* (with $\mu^a \nu^a$), see §§ 112, 173.

3. Between *u*-quality consonants as *u*, e.g. *eruthugud* 'formation' ($\beta^u \rightarrow \gamma^u$).

4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant usually as *e*, occasionally as *i*; e.g. *callecha* 'nuns' ($\beta^e \rightarrow c\beta^e$); *forestal forcital* 'teaching' ($\beta^e \rightarrow d^e$); *do-roigida* 'have been forgiven' Ml. 32^b15 beside *do-roigetha* Wb. 26^a11 ($\gamma^e \rightarrow \beta^e$, β^e).

5. Between a neutral and a palatal consonant mostly as *i* in the earlier period, later as *ai* and sometimes *e*; e.g. *con-ossiget -ossalgat* 'they move' ($\beta^i \rightarrow \gamma^i$); *nos-comalnithe* 'fulfil (sg.) them' Wb. 30^a1 ($\alpha^i \rightarrow \beta^i$) beside *cia chomallaide* 'though ye fulfil' Ml. 95^b3; *forrare* 'command' Sg. 161^b12 ($\rho^i \rightarrow \rho^i$). otherwise *forraire forraire*; *mórate* 'which magnify' Wb. 6^b9 ($\mu^i \rightarrow d^i$).

6. Between a *u*-quality and a palatal consonant as *u* or *ai*, rarely as *i*; e.g. *cosmullus* and *cosmullius* 'similarity' Wb. ($\mu^u \rightarrow \lambda^i$) beside the isolated spelling *cosmullus* 8^b7; *sochude* and *sochulde* 'multitude' Wb. ($c\beta^u \rightarrow \beta^i$) beside *sochide* Thea. II. 17, 33.

7. Between a palatal and a *u*-quality consonant as *i*, rarely as *ai*; e.g. *suffidigud* vb.n. 'placing' ($\beta^i \rightarrow \gamma^u$); *inuffidugud* vb.n. 'safeguarding' Ml. 35^a1 ($\beta^i \rightarrow \gamma^u$).

8. Between a *u*-quality and a neutral consonant, as well as between a neutral and a *u*-quality consonant, mostly as *u*, more rarely as *o*; e.g. *eóibutho* Sg. 25^b7 ($\beta^u \rightarrow \beta^o$), gen. sg. of *eóibuth* 'sense'; *dilgotho* Wb. 2^a17 beside *dilgudo dilgutha dilguda* Ml. ($\gamma^u \rightarrow \beta^o$ or β^u), gen. of *dilgud* 'forgiveness'; *adhartugud* 'opposition' ($\beta^u \rightarrow \gamma^u$) Ml. 26^b20 beside *ménogud* 'hiatus' ($\nu^u \rightarrow \gamma^u$) Sg. 40^b8; occasionally with mutation of quality in the vowel of the following syllable: *immdogud* (for

-*jud*) 'enhancement' 216²3 (see § 101). Obviously at an early period this became identical in quality with *ɜ*.

There are also instances such as *dommattu* (arch. *dommeta*) 'poverty' (from *domm(a)e* 'poor') where the *u*-quality consonant exerts no influence.

104. But there are frequent exceptions to the foregoing rules, for which two factors are responsible :

(a) In obvious compounds the vocalism of the simplex is retained, e.g. *ferloisothē* 'igni examinatus' *ML.* 31²28, with *oi* instead of *ai* in the unstressed syllable on the model of *loisothē* 'burnt'.

(b) The vocalism of one form may spread to another ; e.g. *condelgg* *Sg.* 42⁴, *coindeule coindsulgg* 3¹, 25², gen. and dat. sg. of nom. acc. *condelg* 'comparison' 42⁶, etc. ; *bindiusa* *Sg.* 23³, gen. sg. of nom. acc. dat. *bindius* 'sonority', though the *s* of the genitive never had *u*-quality.

The rules in § 102 *f.* apply to the period at which *u*-quality was still largely preserved (cp. § 174). On the other hand, they do not hold good for archaic texts, which often retain an earlier vocalism ; e.g. *colcaeth* 'compassion' *Cam.* (*con + cōcaeth*), later *colcaid* ; *fungell* 'judgement' *Wb. I.* 9⁶, afterwards *fungall* (cp. § 169). Even by the end of the eighth century the representation of earlier *o* often fluctuates ; e.g. *gruac* and *gruac* (**od-rocc*) 'maxim' *ML.*, *folud* and *folad* 'substance' (from **fo-lōd*, *W. gōlad* 'wealth') *Wb.*, *Sg.* ; in *Sg.* 23²20 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 *ɑ* before neutral consonants ; e.g. *llacc*, gen. sg. of *llā* 'stone' ; *dēac(e)* in numeral adjs. '-teen' (§ 391), but *dēec* still *Wb.* 15¹ ; arch. *oēc* 'young' *ZCP.* XI. 93 § 22, *ēac* *Sg.* 38⁷, etc. ; *suad* 'of a wise man' (*su-wid*). Cp. the declension of *blād* 'food', gen. *blid* *būth*, dat. *blud*.

Unstressed *ɑ* between *i* and a palatal consonant is narrowed only to *ɛ* ; e.g. *bleid*, also written *bled*, 'he will be' from **blāth*' (conj. *·blā*), 3 pl. *bleit* *blit* ; *con-dleig* 'demands' from *di-sōig* (beside *con-dalg* with the vocalism of the simplex) ;

iern Thea. i. 2, 15, gen. sg. of iarn 'iron'. Cp. also dat. sg. lile 'stone' § 321.

Subsequently *e* reverts to *a*: e.g. leig 'physician', later leig; hialm 'of iron' Thea. ii. 249, 6. But *le* also occurs beside *lile* for *lile*.

For other vowels, cp. tóir tóir (fem.) 'three', dúil 'simple' (to fot 'length').

SYNCOPE

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

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

The rule applies both to simple words and close compounds. This drastic reduction of the second syllable is the counterpart of the strong stress on the first (§ 35).

Examples: náimh 'enemies', acc. náimtea for **náimtea*; céasath céad 'suffering', gen. céata for **céasatho*, arch. eolcsath, later eolced 'com-passio'; dlígeath dlíged 'law', dlígeoth 'lawful'; díles 'own', dílse 'ownership'; follus 'clear', nom. pl. foillsi, foillsigidir 'makes clear'; tomus (to-mess) 'measure', gen. toimseo; freer(a)e 'answer' for **freacore* (*frith-geire*); apstail 'apostolus'; ad-ciat 'they see', prototonic -accat; toimtu 'opinion' (**to-métu*), but airmittu 'honouring' (**are-métu*).

sam(a)il 'like' (subst.), eomuil 'similar' for **eosamail*, but ésamail 'dissimilar' for **écosamail*, nom. pl. ésamail for **écosamail* (with syncope of the second and fourth syllables); -tomnibther 'it will be thought' for **to-monnibther*; ceantarach (**kinoter* + -ach) 'hither' (adj.), compar. ceantarehu, etc.

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

The vowel remains only before *cht*, e.g. eumachte 'might', eumachtach 'mighty'.

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

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

In *dédenach* 'last' *s* is probably modelled on the by-form *dídenach* (from *díad* = **dí-ad*- beside *dead* 'end'). In *béis*, gen. of *Máil* 'axe', *s* is due to the influence of the *s* in the other forms; cp. *déag* from *dí-dag* § 85B.

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

deut. as-berat	prot. -epret	'they say'
" con-osna	" -eumsana (<i>con-<u>us</u>-ana</i>)	'rests'
" do-rósc(a)l	" -derscaigl (<i>de-ro-<u>us</u>-scochí</i>)	'surpasses'
" do-lug(a)l	" -dílg(a)l	'pardons'
" do-róna	" -derna (<i>de-ro-<u>gn</u></i> ..)	'he may do'

108. Much earlier than the above cases are a few examples in which an unstressed vowel beside *w* in the interior of a word has been elided. Thus the prototonic forms of *in-fé* 'relates' with perfective *co(w)*- (§ 83B) point, not to **co~~w~~co~~w~~ad*-, but to **co~~w~~ad*-, whence **co(w)ad*-; e.g. 3 sg. subj. pass. -*éscatar* (with palatal *c* = *g*). So, too, in the corresponding forms of the verb 'to go' (**dí-co~~w~~ad*-), e.g. 3 sg. past subj. -*díchad*-, < **díco~~w~~ad*-, pointing to **dí~~w~~ad*-, not to **díco~~w~~ad*-, as against deuterotonic *do-co~~w~~ad* (< **co~~w~~ad*-.). Similarly *céol* (monosyllabic, gen. *céil*, neut., 'music, melody' may go back to **cé~~w~~ol*- or **cé~~w~~ol*- through intermediate **cé~~w~~ol*-. If *féth* 'widow', W. *goddic* (< **fé~~w~~ad*), as against Skt. *vīkīdī*, O.Slav. *rodica* (Goth. *widuad*), Gk. *gí~~w~~os* '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. *lendas* 'indignation' makes gen. *lendassa* without syncope. Beside *aeus ocus* 'near', *alies* *eise* 'proximity' we find the unsyncopeated compound *ce~~w~~ocus*, as well as the abstract noun *ce~~w~~ocless* apparently with syncope

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-léig* 'chief physician' Thes. II. 24, 38, theoretically < **húasalo-l* . . . Cp. also *sochmacht* beside *sochmacht* 'capable' on the model of *eumachte* 'power'; *foðiu* 'endurance' < **fo-détia* after the simplex *dé(i)tiu*; *-tomentis* Wb. 12²¹ beside *-tommitts* 3 pl. past subj. 'would think' after deuterotonic **de-mentis*; *indochál* *induchál* 'glory' < **ind-uss-gabál*, attracted by *tuchál* *téuchál* 'raising'. Beside *-tarrisset* (**to-r(o)-ad-dáisset*) 'they have given' we find the more common *-tarrisat* with apparent syncope of both the second and third syllables, but really modelled on the deuterotonic *do-rásat*; similarly *-ragbtha* 'have been sung' after deuterotonic *ro-gabtha* (< **ro-gabtha*). After originally disyllabic prepositions, which were reduced to monosyllables in most positions, the following syllable is occasionally syncopeated by analogy with the true monosyllabic prepositions; e.g. regular *timthrecht* 'service' Wb. (*(t)isbi-to-r* . . .), but *timthrecht* Ml., *ein-timthrecht* as early as Wb. 5²¹; *indrisse* and *indirse* (**indras*, § 112), both found in Ml. as parts of *ind(s)-reth-* 'invade'; *de-arrebet*, *talrebet* 'has been prophesied' from *-are-ré-chét* (where *ré* = *ro-fo*).

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

lulgach 'milk cow' has gen. *lulake* (< *-páke*, § 137), the two gutturals having evidently attracted each other (see ZCP. xx. 372). In a *m-brotta* gl. 'momentaneum' Wb. 15²⁶, from *brothad* (*-ath*) + *-(o)da*, the influence of gen. *brotta*, nom. pl. *brottae*, etc., has doubtless been operative.

110. The second syllable of disyllables is not subject to syncope. An exception to this is *íolt* 'sending' for **foðdiath*, where the two dentals have coalesced (compounded with *to*: *toft*). Similarly *taft* 2 pl. ipv. 'come' for **taðitá* (§§ 591, 770).

Cp. however, forms like *re-féidid* '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. *de-ar-r-chét* (§ 109).

2. When *n* or *m* is preceded by a vowel + *r*, *l*, *n*, or *d*; e.g. *larn* 'iron' from **larnon*, *form* 'on me', *salm* 'psalmus', *almsan* 'alma', *alam* 'name', *naldm* 'binding, surety'.

3. When the preceding consonant disappears in accordance with § 125, e.g. *áirne* gen. 'of number' from **ad-ríne*.

4. When the nasals stand before homorganic medise; e.g. *freand(a)lr* (disyllabic) 'present' (*frith-com-dere*); *-fulngid* 'ye endure' beside deuterotonic **fo-lungid*.

For the complete disappearance of the nasal in such cases see § 130.

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

Examples: *domun* 'world', gen. *domuin*, < **domy* (in the nom. with neutral, in the gen. with palatal *n* = *r*), < monosyllabic **doma*, < **dumnos* **domnas*, gen. *-nni*, ep. Gaul. *Dubuo*; *immainse* 'bound together' < **imnase* **imm-nasse*, past partic. of *im-naise* (*imb(l)*- being treated like a monosyllabic preposition, § 109).

cétal 'singing', < **cēddl* **cēdl*, < **hantlon* (W. *cañl*); *ae(c)aldam* < **aggldam* **ad-glādam*, v.b.n. of *ad-glādathar* 'addresses'; *seilhe seolse*, gen. of *seil(a)ls* 'church', W. *epheys*.

arathar, gen. *arath(a)lr*, 'plough' < **arathr*, < **aratron* **aratri* (W. *aradr*); *immormus imarmus* 'sin' for **immymus* (*imm-ro-mess*); *tabarthe* 'given' from **ta-bythe -brilhe*. In the same way *seilrte* 'strength' (abstract formed from *seilrte* 'strong') comes from **seilrte* in the first instance, see § 164.

The retention of the interior vowel in *arathar*, *forsetal forsetal* '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 second vowel in

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

VOWEL CONTRACTION

112. 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 *leathar* 'basin' Sg. 67*5 (= Mid. Bret. *louazr*, Gk. *λαερόν*) beside disyllabic *lêthar* 49*2, *lêthar* Thea. II. 27, 36; *impud* 'turning' Sg. 202*8 beside *impûd* 106*10 (*imb-soud*), 3 sg. past subj. *-impûd* (*imb-soud*) ML. 122*14; *ereheat* and *erehôt* 'injury' ML.; *estease* (*-fâac*) and *estêce* 'pressing' ML.; *ôclach* 'youth' from *ôac* 'young'; *nûabla* (disyllabic) 'new fames' SP. (Thea. II. 295, 8) from *nûaa*.

For the form of the prepositions *di* *fo* *ro* *to* before vowels, see §§ 831, 837, 852, 855.

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

114. Even disyllabic words are liable to contraction when weakly stressed; e.g. monosyllabic *dôfb* 'to them' beside *doalb*, *dîb* and *dîlb* *dîfb* 'from them'; monosyllabic *lêu* beside *lêu* 'with them'; *dûs* from *du flus* 'in order to know', which has become petrified as a conjunction (§ 463). So also *hôtallu* ML. 80*2 for *ô allu* 'by a certain', and—with short vowel—*fulallu* for *fu allu* 102*2; *ô* for *ô-a* 'by his' (§ 441), *ôis* for *ô is* 'since (temporal) he is' Wb. 7*3; cp. *lêlle* for *ll allê* 'by the other' 16*24.

Accordingly, in verse an unstressed initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel need not count as a syllable. Cp. the spelling *ar n-ôis recte manetar* (for *immanetar*) 'we people of the law mutually' Wb. 31*1. In such positions the form of the article *na* instead of *lana* (§ 467) may have developed.

Protonic *dia* (preps. *di* or *do* with possess. or rel. pron. *a*), *fa* *fa* and the like appear to be nearly always monosyllabic in verse (cp. the spelling *dîar* 'to our' Wb. 4*17); *es* *el* 'though' with following initial *a* occurs both as a monosyllable and as a disyllable (K. Meyer, *Hafl. Bright*, p. 24).

Examples of contraction in fully stressed disyllables are still very rare; e.g. *lind te* (i.e. *tē*) 'hot water' Sg. 102*2 for *lind tee* Thes. II. 231, 23; *lon* (i.e. *lōn*) Ml. 80*2, dat. of *leon leon* 'adepts'; *-dīg* 'avenges' 24*17 beside *ipv. 2 sg. deich* (= *deich* ?) 72*11 (-, *fich*); *mām* Sg. 77*5 for *māam*, 'greatest'; *lōt* 'sod' 66*6 beside *foot fout* Anecd. I. 63, 111; *bīth* 'is wont to be' SP. for *bīth bīth*.

VOCALISM OF PRETONIC WORDS

For the quantity see § 45.

115. I. 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-* 'out of' beside stressed *es(s)-* (§ 834); *acht* 'except, but', Gk. *ἀπέχε*; *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 form of *alle*, gen. *alli*, 'other' (§ 486 f.); *as-*, pretonic form of the preposition which when stressed is *oss-* (*uss-*) (§ 849); *calléic calléice* 'however', comprising the conjunction *ce** (§ 896) and the 1 and 2 sg. subj. of *léicid* 'leaves'; *far* 'on' beside *for*, though also conversely for 'your' beside *far* (influence of the *f*). In *ocus acus* 'and' (§ 878) it is uncertain whether *o* or *a* is the older (the fluctuation spreads to the stressed adjective *acus ocus* 'near', W. *agos*).

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

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

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

Cp. § 76. 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. *te do* 'thy', probably < **tow*' (§ 446); *-bo* 'was' (copula) < **bow*' beside *bof* (subst. vb.) < **bove* (?). 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. *estu* 'at first' (§§ 393, 398), Gaul. *Civto-*; the preposition *esta- cta-* (§ 828), Gk. *card*; *remi-* 'before' (§ 851) and the like.

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

117. (b) Proclitic groups of three or four syllables are often reduced to two by dropping the interior vowels; e.g. *mainbed* 'if it were not' (copula) for *ma-ni-bed*; *nirbo* 'has not been' for *ni-ro-bo*, pl. *nirbtar* for *ni-ro-batar*; *arbad arbed* 'so that it might be' for *arim-bad*, 3 pl. *airmdis ardis* for *arim-betis*; *cein-ro-noibad* 'has he not been sanctified?' for *ca-ni-ro* (§ 465); *cein-ro-niatar* 'though it has not been warranted' ZCP. XIII. 23, 33 for *ce-ni-ro*; *lasna* 'with the' (pl.) for *la-sinna* (-sinda); *donaib*, arch. *dundaib*, for *du-sinduib* (§ 467); *comma-airie* 'so that it suits' ML 133^a for *co-imma-airie* (or rather, perhaps, for *con-imma-*, cp. Windisch, IT. I. 431); *nimmalle Wb.* 17^a2 for *ni immalle* 'not together'; *cach-la sel* for *cach ala sel* 'every other turn' (§ 487); *ismanaiceil Wb.* 5^a27 for *is inn-a n-aiiceil* 'it is in their fosterage'.

CONSONANTS

LENITION

Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, 1. (1897).

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

119. Lenition affected:

(a) All single consonants between vowels, or between a vowel and *w* or *v*; also final *r* after a vowel.

(b) All stops and *m*, *s*, *w* between a vowel and *l*, *r*, *n*.

The rule applies to *dr* only in compounds with the prep. *ad-* (§ 125). In non-compound words *dr* seems to have early become *dár*: *fo-dár* 'knows' < **widr*. (§ 703), *ceitir* (*reit(a)ir*) 'relic', Mid.W. *ceitir*, < **kwedr*. Against this view, however, the adj. *edár edar* 'grey-brown', which probably designates the colour of the otter (ON. *otr*, Lith. *sdva sdvas*, etc.; cp. Gk. *σλας*, *σλας* 'water snake'), has been cited. This word is inflected like *bedar* 'deaf', acc. pl. fem. *bedra* Tur. 11, where W. *byddar*, Bret. *beuzer*, and Skt. *bedhírá* point to a Celtic stem in *-aro-*. Forms with palatal consonance—e.g. acc. sg. fem. *u(i)dir*, gen. sg. fem. *uidre*, dat. sg. *buiddir*, abstr. *buiddre* (as early as ML. 38*15, 59*12)—are secondary, influenced doubtless by words like *oifar* 'sickness, invalid' < **patre* (Celt. **atro-*), gen. *uithir*, etc. Hence *edár edur* also may go back to a form **udaro-s* (cp. Gk. *δαρσις* '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, 2a) was due to earlier unlenited pronunciation of the *r* cannot be confirmed.

Even where *l r s* were geminated before the period of syncope, they seem to have always undergone lenition after consonants other than *s l r s*; 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 (§ 128). We are, therefore, confined mainly to inferences from (1) the pronunciation of those modern dialects that still distinguish between lenited and unlenited *l, s*, and to some extent *r* (cp. the summary in Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk.* i. 20 ff., *Vergl. Gramm.* i. 140 ff.), and (2) the orthography of Old Irish. At a later period *r* underwent considerable changes, in that the sound of unlenited palatal *r* was almost completely lost.

Examples of sounds which were lenited before the development of syncope but afterwards delenited are: *acommáite* 'joined' Wb. 5^r26 from *ad-comá*; *cinnta* Ml. 68^r6, nom. pl. of *cin*, acc. sg. *cináid*, 'fault, liability'; *lídal* 'of plural' 68^r14 < *lā'á*(*á*); *mad all dáib* 'if it were pleasing (áil) to you' Wb. 12^r3; *annse* 'difficult' 6^r9 < **as'es*, cp. *asse* 'easy'; *feilsábe* 'philosophy' 30^r11; *colláide* 8^r8 adj. from *collá(n)* 'flesh'; *digáille* 'health' 18^r1 from *gáilr* 'disease'; *áirann* 'glandium' Sg. 49^r17, cp. W. *airin* 'plums'; *comáirle* 'counsel' Wb. 16^r12; *ma no-s-comáinnamar* 'if we fulfil them' Cam., to *comáin* 'complete', vb.n. *comáinid* Wb. 2^r15. For *sr* there are no examples in the Glosses, but cp. *arraightha* '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 *oídal* 'singing' (vb.n.) < **oáil* or **oáid* (**hánáin*), *comáilar* 'co-fostering' < **oír* (**áirra*). 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. *faicháid* 'give heed' Ml. 68^r15, 2 pl. ipr. of *fa-fáilláthar* 114^r3; *do-faichred* 'it would put' Sg. 130^r21, cp. *fa-cléir* 'he will throw' Ml. 87^r6; *arna-faírann* 'that it may not terminate' Wb. 20^r13, subj. of *fa-canna*. On the other hand, their unlenited articulation before every class of consonant is indicated by such examples as *collá* 'pillar' Wb. 23^r31 (later *collhá*); *arráich-céilca* 'so that it may not swallow him' 14^r21 (*á* < *á*), perfective pr. subj. of *slúid*; *berthar* 'let her be shorn' 11^r13, ipr. pass. of *beráid*; *ennem* 'innocence' Ml. 41^r9 from *ennse* 'innocent'; cp. also long *s* in *im-éim*(h)áilam 24^r7, 1 pl. fut. of *im-timthéalla* 'surrounds' (cp. § 45).

In *ennán* 'white-headed' from *enn-fíad*, Gaul. *Herocourbes*, *nn* has been lenited (simplified) by dissimilation from the unlenited *n* in *ad*. The same probably applies to *menán* 'clear' for *men-fíad*.

Occasionally unlenited consonants seem to have spread to other positions, e.g. *as-lennim* Sg. 173*4 beside *as-lensimm* (= *-lénimm*) 54*8 'I pollute', probably influenced by protoform *-lénim*. So too *lím* 'number' beside *lín* and *lím* 'wise' beside *lín* 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 *wg* (i.e. *wg*), *nd*, *m̄b*, *sc*, *st* (*sp* in loan-words).

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

For the articulation of *l*, *r*, *n* in these groups see § 120. The Mid. and Mod.Ir. rule that *sn* remains unlenited does not apply to the O.Ir. period, see Gwynn *Hermathena* xx., 63 ; cp. *led-magbath* 'unequally proportioned' (?) Wb. 11^a16 from *smacht*. The later *do-mbhas* 'evil taste, gall' should not be taken as evidence that *ml-* was not lenited : it is based on *m̄bas*, intermediate form between O.Ir. *m̄bas* 'taste' and later *m̄bas*.

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

The modern pronunciation of *th* as simple *t* 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* (= *θ*) in writing, and it is trans-

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

ð (Mod.Ir. *dh*) eventually came to be pronounced as *γ*. The earliest examples of this are found (for palatalized *ð*) 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 *ð* in other languages, e.g. *ð* in ON. sources, shows that it was a voiced spirant (Eng. soft *ð*).

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

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

(a) In word-initial.

(b) In intervocalic position after stressed vowels; e.g. *bráthir* 'brother', Lat. *frater*; *mídiur* 'I judge', Gk. *μίσουμι*; *seohfir* 'they follow', Lat. *sequuntur*; *tíge* 'houses', Gk. *τίγες*.

The standing exception *tuidécht* 'coming', a compound of *techt* 'going', is due to the influence of the unrelated verb *do-dechtid*, proto-Gaelic **tuidéid* 'has come'. The gen. sg. *tuíde* Thea. II. 296, 4, instead of *tuíthe*, may have been suggested by nom. *sáid* beside *sáth* 'trouble'. The isolated forms *cedardae* ML. 111⁹, 133¹⁰ for *sethardae* 'four things', and *hóidid* gen. of *háidid* 'singleness' Sg. 66⁹, are apparently due to some kind of assimilation of the two spirants (which was perhaps confined to writing); cp. conversely *seanharthae* 'grandfatherly' ML. 98⁸ for *-athardae*. *cuíde* 123³ for *cuíthe* 'puteus' is probably a faulty spelling (but cp. *ó c[h]uídich* gl. *accupio* Thea. II. 38, 14); so too ML. 124⁸, dat. sg. of vb.n. *íthe* '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 *peéde* 'sins' Wb. II. 32⁸, *peéda* acc. pl. 'sinful' ML. 26¹⁴, instead of normal *peéthe*, *peébach*, have the *d* (*ð*) which had developed in the aulaut of nom. acc. dat. sg. *peéad* 'sin' (§ 130). But forms like *cumachtgaib* ML. 26²⁰, dat. pl. of *cumachtach* 'powerful', compar. *cumachtga* 101⁶⁷ beside *cumachtchu* Sg. 26^{2a}, admit of no such explanation. It is doubtful whether *g* here represents voiced *γ* or merely a weaker articulation of *ch*.

After a fluctuation between *ch* and *g* is found in ML. (e.g. *gréagal* 86¹¹, acc. of the abstract from *gréasach* 'continuous', dat. pl. *gréasach* 32¹²); 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. *teúingud* Wb. 13³⁹ beside *teúisochud* 8⁴ 'roussing', vb.n.; *teschid* 10¹⁸ beside *tasgid* 29¹³ 'sustenance'; *do-cóigedar* 'follows' Sg. 16² beside the simplex *-scóethar*. The fluctuation spreads to other forms also, such as *in-cóisegar* 'is signified' ML. 48¹¹ beside *in-chóischar* (rel.) Sg. 126³, cp. 3 pl. act. *in-chóiged* 47¹. In Mid.Ir. *coí* sg. everywhere becomes *ac*.

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. *maethi* 'childish' (pl.) Wb. 12^o9, *corp̄thi* 'corporeal' (pl.) Ml. 15^o2, although elsewhere the adjectival suffix is *-s̄e* (§ 348); *fortshide* Ml. 29^o14, partic. of *for-fugim* 'I cover'.

As a rule, however, the voiced spirant has been restored by levelling; e.g. in *chorpdid* 'corporeally' Wb. 27^o12, *neph-chorpd̄e* 'incorporeal' Sg. 59^o16; *muode* 'minus' 37^o9, from *mucc* 'pig'; in *fortgd̄iu* 'covertly' Ml. 30^o3.

For *š* after *s* see § 139.

In Ml. and later sources *β* in syllabic anlaut sometimes becomes *f* even after voiced consonants: *oin-eth̄fald* Ml. 53^o20 (with *t = d*), elsewhere always *eth̄ald eth̄buid* 'sense' (*cēl-buid̄*), but Mid.Ir. *eth̄ald*; *findfadaech* 'blessed' 56^o44 beside gen. *findbadaig* 114^o7; the nom. acc. dat. of the substantive (*fnd + bi(a)l̄*) is written *findbuth* 128^o18, *findbiuth* *Ériu* II. 144 § 159, *findfud* *ibid.* 108 § 25, (*f*)*findfuth* Trip. 180, 1. The change is found even in word-anlaut, e.g. *amal f̄id* 'as it were' Ml. 34^o11, 37^o22, for *b̄id* (*β̄id*); and after a vowel, e.g. *ciafa* 36^o32 for *cia ba* 'though thou art'; cp. *ba b̄a* and *fa f̄a* 'or' § 464.

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

(a) After a vowel the spirants *ch*, *γ*, *š* disappear before *r l n*, also *γ* before *m*, and *th̄* 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 *ac̄h* which becomes *é̄r*, as evidenced by *d̄ér* 'tear', O.Bret. *daer*, Gk. *δαίρου*, Goth. *dagr*. For *ac̄l* and *ac̄n* the evidence is not so definite; *m̄él(a)e* 'shame' may be cognate with Lat. *macula* (< **mac̄lā*), and *m̄l̄én* 'groin', misspelt *m̄l̄en* for *m̄l̄ēn* Thes. II. 47, 3, 361, (< **m̄l̄ēn-1*), with Gk. *μαλαρός* 'soft', *βλαδέ̄* gen. *βλαδέ̄ος* 'slack'. But *agr*, *apl*, *agn* give *dr̄ d̄l*, *dn̄*.

Examples :

cāp : *du-air-ehér* 'I have purchased' *Theo.* i. 498, 14 (Arm.), < **cācēh*, pret. of *crenald* 'buys'.

cāλ : *mu(i)neil* 'neck', *W. mynnygl mamnygl* (with *g* < *k*) ; *cūal(a)ē* 'he heard' < **cochloue* **cuchloue*. So too original *kē* > *cē*, *cēl* : *seál* 'phantom', Goth. *skōhal* 'phantom' (**skōhalom* or **skōhalom*).

γp : *úar* 'cold' < **dgr* **ougr*-, *W. cer*, Gaul. *Oyroni*... (name of month) ; *ár* 'slaughter' < **agr*, O.Bret. *air*, cp. Gaul. *Uer-agri* (Gk. *ἀγρᾶ* ?).

γλ : *mál* 'prince' (poet.) < **magl*, gen. *MAGLI*, *SEMO MAGLI* in Latin inscriptions found in Wales.

γv : *ad-gén* 'I recognized', < **gagn*, pret. of *-gain* ; *Broccán* (proper name), gen. *BRCCAGNI* (inscription).

γμ : *ám* [t]hám 'a moving to and fro' *LL* 264*38, to *agid* 'drives' and *do-aig*.

šp : *šram* 'number', from *ad* and *rím* 'number' (cp. § 119).

šλ : *fo-šlagar* 'is laid low' < **ad-logar*.

šv : *húan* 'loading' *ML* 28*12, *ón óin Laws*, vb.n. of *odar* 'is lent' ; *šinsem* 'accusation' < **nd-nessem*.

šλ : *ceuel* 'kindred, gender' < **ceueli*, *OW. ceuel* ; *dál* 'assembly' < **dathl*, *OW. dathl*.

šv : *én* 'bird' < **šha*, *O.Bret. sha*.

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-gni* 'serves', beside *dénam* 'doing' (*de-gwim*) ; *fo-ehrice* 'reward'. Occasionally, too, in reduplicated verbal forms a spirant following the reduplication syllable remains ; e.g. *ro-cochladar* 'will hear', to *clu(l)nethar* ; *ro-cochladar* 'they have dug', to *clu(l)did*.

In the sound groups *šp*, *šv*, and *šλ* the spirants are retained even in the interior of words ; e.g. *criathar* 'sieve', *criathraid* 'perforates' < **er-šhr*-, cp. *OW. craitr*, *Mid.Bret. creer* ; *gabur gabur* 'goat', *O.Bret. gabr*, *W. gafr*, cp. the place-names *Gabro-senti* (Britain), *Gabro-magus* (Noricum) ; *mebol mebul* 'shame', *W. mefl*.

Accordingly *nál* 'cloud', nom. pl. *nnull*, cannot come from **nēsa* **nēllas*. It may perhaps go back to **niglas* (cp. Gk. *νεῖλος* 'mist') through

intermediate **sigles*, with change of anlaut under the influence of the verb *nigla* 'washes'. It is hardly = Mid.W. *nyad*, later *nial* (also *wifal*), 'mist', unless this word has been influenced by Lat. *nefala*.

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. *adramall* 'fatherlike' Wb. 6⁴⁶ beside *athramll* 13¹¹, where the *th* of *athir* 'father' has been restored; also pl. *adthramll* 9¹⁴, 23²⁷, 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* < *-cā* § 130) sometimes makes acc. and gen. sg. *aithehl* *aithehe*, sometimes *aidehl* *aidehe* with the *d* of the nominative; conversely in Thes. II. 242, 13 (Arm.) we find *althgl* with the *g* of the nominative. In Wb. the negative prefix (§ 874) is always *neb-* before vowels and voiced consonants, but often *neph-* before voiceless consonants: *nehairitiu* 'non-acceptance', *nebmarbtu* 'immortality', but *nephthébe* 'non-circumcision', although *nebhébe* also occurs, e.g. 1¹⁸. As early as Wb. II. 33⁵, however, we find *nephinetacht* 'non-entrance', and in Ml. and Sg. *neph-* is the sole form in all positions, e.g. *nephidénum* 'non-doing' Ml. 23²⁰ as opposed to *nebdénum* Wb. 5²³. Cp. further *dephthigim* 'I contend' Ml. 21² beside 3 sg. ipf. *ne-dshthaiged* 19¹³, from *debuith* 'discord'; *ad-áichfer* 'I shall fear' 68¹⁷, *ad-r-áichsetar* 80⁴ beside *ad-r-áigsetar* 124⁶ 'they have feared', fut. and pf. of *ad-ágather*; *ainmnichthe* Sg. 4⁴ beside *ainmnigthe* 137¹⁰, gen. of *ainm(m)ngud* 'naming', and many similar instances. In words containing the prepositions *aithe-*, *t-aithe-* there is already complete confusion in Wb.; cp. *aithegne* 'knowledge' 1¹³ beside dat. *aigniu* 1¹⁵, *taithecrice* 4¹⁶ beside *taidecrice* 2⁹ '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. 17⁹ we actually find *irnicthe* 'prayer' for *irnicde* (cp. *guidé* 'praying'). Cp. also *adchabh* Wb. 23¹⁴, dat. pl. of *adchabh* 'blast of wind', where *h* cannot be due to the following voiceless *ch*. Conversely *condithnatha* 14¹¹, *dithnad* 14¹⁵ (twice), where the scribe, who elsewhere always writes *dithnad* (vb.n. of *de-doma* 'consoles'), has written *th* for *d* three times in succession (*condithnad* also Sg. 90⁷). It would seem that the pronunciation of spirants at the end of a medial syllable often fluctuated in the same way as in word-accent (§ 130). For *h* (*ð*) instead of *f* in syllabic accent, see § 625.

127. (c) In our sources there are as yet but few instances of the reduction of the sound-group *tch* or *sch* to *ch*. It takes place consistently only (before *a*) in *súatehuid* (*súaignid* twice, Wb. 8¹⁵, 18⁶) 'well-known' for **su-aité-guid*. Apart from this, Wb. has the isolated forms *prechite* and *re-priched* (5⁵, 23³) beside normal *predchid* *prichid* 'preaches'. These forms are more frequent in ML, where we also find *tachur* 24²⁰, *tachur* 115⁴⁹ beside *taldcher* 'restoration' 117⁵, 131¹²; *fris-tulchetar* 'they opposed' 21², normally *-tulchetar*. Accordingly this pronunciation had not yet become general.

Cp. also *talhsu* Wb. 6⁶, Sg. 209²⁸ for more frequent *taldhsu* (-*ðsa*-) 'showing', 3 sg. past subj. *-talhsed* Sg. 6²⁵.

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. *oirnithe* and *oirnide* 'ordained', *comalnathar* and *comalnadar* 'completes', *sóimniche* and *sóimnige* 'prosperity', etc. The fluctuation, however, is almost wholly confined to cases where the voiceless spirant is the original. Of the rare exceptions, some may be explained by analogy; e.g. *culmrecha* 'fethers' Wb. 23⁵ beside *culmregha* 27³⁶ (to *con-rig* 'hinds'), modelled on the singular *culmregh*; *ass-indethar* 'is explained' ML. 90¹⁸ beside *ass-indedar* 17⁹ (-*ied-ffid*-), attracted by the frequent passive ending *-thar*; *cúrsachad* beside *cúrsagad* 'reproving' vb.n. (from Lat. *curare agere*), modelled on *maldachad* 'cursing', *bendachad* 'blessing'. Others are doubtless isolated scribal aberrations; e.g. *humaithe* 'brass' Tur. 129 for normal *umaide*; *cubaitiu* 'more harmonious' ML. 145³, compar. of *cubaid* (*com-ffid*).

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 *-sch-* seems to resist the change. In certain examples the transition can be followed by means of a comparison between Wb. and Ml. Thus *dilgud* (vb.n.) 'forgiving' (with *-d* from *-tš*) makes gen. *dilgothe dilgutha* in Wb., whereas in Ml. *dilguda -do* is as common as *dilgutha*; *comalnad* (vb.n.) 'completing' makes gen. *comalnatha* in Wb., *comallada* in Ml. Cp. further *atligid* 'give thanks' (ipr. pl.), vb.n. *atligud* (already in Wb.), from *atluchedar* (ad. *tluchedar*); *sechtmogo*, gen. *-ogat*, 'seventy' as opposed to *tricho -a*, gen. *trichat*, 'thirty'; *du-éicgi* 'he shall see' for reduplicated *-cicki*; *ad-co-tedae* 'he obtained' *Thes.* II. 240, 23 (Arm.) for *-teš* . . ; *sechmadachtas* 'preterite' to *tiagu* 'I go'. As a rule *tš* at the beginning of a syllable ending in *r* is replaced by *š* only where it is separated from the stress by at least two other syllables; cp. the equatives (§ 368) *suthsainidir*, *dinnimidir*, *sonartaidir*, *erlamaidir* beside *dénthir*, *lérithir*, *dennithir*, *soirbithir* (*soirbidir* only once, Ml. 75^b7); or the 3 sg. depon. of verbs with stem ending in *-ig-* (§ 524), which always terminates in *-idir -edar* (the only exceptions being *erbrigithir* Ml. 35^b6, *adamrigethar* Wb. 5^b16, *érasigethar* ZCP. VII. 481). After monosyllabic stems, on the contrary, *-idhir -edar* is more common; e.g. always *-cluinethar* 'hears' (6 instances), *-ágathar* (7) 'fears' (beside *-ágadar* once), *midithir -midethar* (5) 'judges' (beside *-midedar* once), etc.

Here, too, there has obviously been much levelling. Thus *sóinnithe* beside *sóinnige* may have been influenced by the adjective *sóinneth* '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. *iresach híressach* 'faithful', suffix Gael. *-sco -sco-*; *teglach* 'household' from *teg* 'house' and

slóg 'troop'. Instances such as colbdelag Wb. 9³² 'related, relationship', beside colbdelach, and éicndag 'slander' 1⁶, beside éicndach, are rare.

(b) The palatal guttural spirant is generally represented by -g, though -cá also occurs; e.g. nom. pl. (h)íressig (more common than íressich), teglig 'of a household'; but also ateb-áich 'which impels you' Wb. 9²⁰ beside normal -aig (cp. Lat. *apers*).

(c) Examples of a-quality are not numerous, but -g seems to be more frequent than -cá; e.g. dat. sg. teglug; errug, nom. errach, 'spring'; tessug beside tessuch, nom. tessach, 'beginning'; dírtug beside dírtach 'straight'; do-fonug and do-fonach 'I wash'; deug (later also deoch) 'drink', gen. díge. In all these examples, however, -g is original.

2. Dental spirants of whatever quality are more frequently represented by -d than by -tá. Thus peccad 'sin' is much commoner than peccath (Wb. 9¹⁹), stuindid 'designates' than stuindith (ending originally had -t), díltud 'denial' than díltuth (suffix -tu-). But there are also sporadic instances of -tá for -d, e.g. (in a fully stressed syllable) báith 'victory' Wb. 11⁷ beside normal báid, gen. báda.

3. For the labial spirants -b is almost invariably written, and represents not merely earlier β , as in atrab 'dwelling' to atreba (*ad-treba*) 'dwells' or in the dat. pl. and du. -ib, but also an originally voiceless spirant p^h (=f), as in felsub 'philosophus', angraib 'exemplar, antigraphum'. Exceptions are very rare: aiph 'appearance' Wb. and its compound cammaif camalph 'still, however' (§ 907) beside cammaib Wb. 3¹⁶ (where we should perhaps read -aif -aiph -aib; camal Wb. 3⁸ has been attracted by ar-al 'however').

The above rules are often crossed, particularly in monosyllables, by levelling, the influence of other case-forms serving to restore the etymologically correct sound; e.g. mag 'field', influenced by gen. sg. nom. pl. maige, but l-mmach (i.e. *i^u mag*) 'out(wards)', where the connexion was less clearly felt. Similarly lóg 'pay, price', gen. lóge, the usual form, but also lúach (acc.) Sg. 41⁶; teg beside tech 'house', pl. tige; leth and led 'side', gen. lethe; maith and maid 'good', pl. ma(i)thi. aiph too probably had gen. aife (but Mid.Ir. nom. áib, gen. aibe).

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, s̄*, see § 231, 7.

In intervocalic medial position it disappears; but at the beginning of the second element of a compound it is sometimes treated as in word-*anlaut*. Early examples are *fochith focheid* 'torture, tribulation' from **fo-foigih̄*, *fotha* (**fothae*) 'basis' from *fo+suid* 'seat', *miathamle* 'magnificence' from *míad* 'honour' and *samall*, where the contact with *h* after syncope has caused *γ* and *δ* to become voiceless *ch̄* and *th̄*. So also *impu(i)de* 'besieging' from *imb-en(i)de*, etc. (§ 187). Similar treatment is indicated by spellings like *désere desere* 'charity' Wb. (acc. misspelt *desseire* 23*1) beside *deare* Wb. II. 33*6, dat. *deire* Wb. 25*36, to *sere* 'love'; cp. *comsuidigud* 'composition' Sg.

On the other hand, this *h* has no such effect on non-compound words; thus the dat. pl. of *teg tech* 'house' is *tigib* < **tegeobis*, never **tichib̄*. 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. *dilitud* (Mod.Ir. *diáiladh*) 'denial' < **di-sl(ow)dat̄h*, where *d* has become *t* after voiceless *l*. Cp. the spellings of the prototonic forms of *di-sruthaigedar* 'derivate', from *sruth* 'stream': -*dírrudigeddar*, vb.n. *dírruidiguth* *dírruidigud* *dírsuidigud* (all in Sg.); here, however, the influence of *suidigud* 'setting' (vb.n.) plays some part. For *sl, sr, sn* in the interior of words see §§ 153b, 216, 151a, in reduplicated verbal forms § 216.

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

'seven persons', lit. 'great six'; *de-seinn* 'pursues' (stem *seinn-*), reduplicated pret. *de-sephainn* (written *·sepfainn* ML 36^a17), 3 sg. ipv. *teinnéd* ML 44^a13 (syncopated from **tephennesté*).

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 **uirow*). For the spelling of the lenited forms see § 231, 7.

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

134. 4. Lenited *m* (μ , Mod.Ir. *m̃*) was a nasalized labial fricative (§ 29), a nasalized *v*. In the seventeenth century O'Molloy, *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* p. 30, describes it: '*m̃* 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* (β); 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 (§ 129) 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.

Even where they do not derive from earlier geminates, they are often written double (in Wb. stops are doubled chiefly in *auslaut*); e.g. *luc* 'locus' Wb. 10^a15, dat. *luc* 7^a1, acc. pl. *luc* 20^a7 (more frequently *loc*, *luc*, *luc*); *luc* 'love' 4^b10; *oluc* 'bad' 1^a10; *corp* 'corpus' 3^a11; *cumac* 'power' 6^a1 beside *cumac* *cumac*; *erehsecht* 'of compassion' Ml. 120^a5; *condelgg* (gen.) 'of comparison' Sg. 42^a4; *forb* 'increase' 52^a8; *armma* 'weapons' Wb. 22^a11.

Normally scribes refrain from doubling both consonants in an unlenited group, as in *cosse* 'correction' Wb. 9^a23; instead, they geminate now the one now the other.

Examples: *bésst* 'beasts' Wb. 31^a21; *du-seculat* (du-seculat) 'they experience' Ml. 83^a8; *clainnd* Wb. 29^a23, dat. of *clainn* 'children' (gen. *clainnde* 28^a17); *imtiúcht* 'of intelligence' Sg. 26^a9; *imbi* 'about him' Wb. 13^a22; *calm* 'camisia' Sg. 23^a4; *meitach* Wb. 9^a17 beside *meidach* 4^a19 'agreeable'; [*de*]*shelt* 'garment' 27^a16; *foir* 'sea' Sg. 67^a9 beside *foirg* 124^a1, *foirg* 112 (Thes. II. 290, 4).

mes 'drunk' Wb. 28^a24; *de*-*imchomart* 'which has constrained you' 3^a21; *ard* 'high' Sg. 53^a7; *indib* 'in them' 198^a3; *ifuran* Wb. 13^a26, *ifuran* Sg. 41^a12, 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) *te* *te* (with *c = g(g)*, *-t = t(t)*) 'domesticus' for **teγ'γnat*'s from *teγ* 'house' and *gnáth* 'went'; *indib* 'await' (2 sg. ipv.) for **ind-nib*'s; *nepud*

(with $p = bb$) 'non-being' ML. 122*11 for **neβ'Suith* (written *nepuith* Wb. 14*16, *nebud* 24*11); *tairchet* 'has been prophesied' (**t-air'-p'-chét*).

(2) *-mitter* 'thou judgest' for **mið'thër* (written *-midter* Wb. 1*10); *foitir* 'is sent' for **foið'thër*; *rubriou* for **ru-brí-γ'chu*, acc. pl. of *rubrigach* 'excellent'; *tréaire* (Mod. Ir. *id.*) 'mercy' for **tré-γ'chaire*; *túate* 'heathen, gentile' for **túath'áe* from *túath* 'tribe'; *brotte* 'momentary' Wb. 15*6 from *brothath* (*brothad*) 'moment' with suffix 'áe.

(3) *seacach á-guidi* 'beyond every prayer' 25*28 for *sech cach*; *mareir* 'horse-comb' for **marc'chír*; deuterotonic *di-réad* 'surpasses' from **-rdac'chí* beside prototonic *-derscaigl* (*de-ro-uaa-scaoh-*); *lotar* ($t = dd$) 'they went' for **loð-dar*; *nerta* for **ner'tha*, gen. of *nertath nertad* 'strengthening'; *-gétte* 'ye would steal' for **gétte'the*; *retae* 'which run' for **ret'h'd(a)e*; *ropia* ($p = bb$) 'ye shall have' for **ro-β'-bia* (spelt *robia* Wb. 21*17).

Attempts at an etymological spelling are not uncommon, as may be seen from the examples *-midter*, *nepuith*, *robia* above. Cp. further *híthai* 'festive' (pl.) ML. 131*3 instead of *híal* for **hí'h'3(a)í*; *rethae* 'which run' 68*10, *reithe* Thea. II. 250, 14 (*retae* above), etc.

On the other hand, even in pronunciation, the final of the first and the initial of the second element of a compound may have often been treated as final and initial of two separate words coming together in the sentence (§ 231, 3). Thus *fléttigib* ML. 86*5, dat. pl. of *fléteg* Wb. 11*16, 'banquet (flé)-house (teg)'; *líthlige* 'granaries' ML. 98*5 (*lith* 'corn') beside *flige* (*sic*, with mark of length) 98*4. In Wb. 6a compounds of *dag-* 'good' *droch-* 'bad' and *gním* 'doing, deed' are spelt indifferently *daggním droggním* and *dagním drogním*, contrasting with ML. *drochomairle* 'bad counsel' (*comairle*) 23*7, 72*2 beside *deggomairli* 54*17.

The *g* instead of *c* in Mod. Ir. *cloigean* 'skull', earlier *cloecenn*, lit. 'stone-head' from *clóch* and *ceann* (cp. W. *pen-plog*) may be due to the influence of Mod. Ir. *sleg* 'bell', Mid. Ir. *clies* (OE. *clagge*); cp. Mid. Ir. *clag-at* lit. 'bell-hat' = 'helmet' (*Fionalg.* 96, 6; ZCP. xii. 191).

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

30^a18, *ML*. 36^a19, 107^a15 (spelt *atrabea* 35^b24), to *atrebs* (*at-tréba*) 'dwells'; *con-tfrea* *ML*. 17^a3, fut. of *con-tfird* 'mocks at'; *deforbad-si* *Wb.* 20^a15 for *dob-forhad* '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. § 132.

139. *tá* and *š* are delenited after *l*, *n*, *s*, and before *s*. In addition *š* is unvoiced (*tʰ*) before and after *s*.

Examples: *ad-comaltar* 'is joined' *Sg.* 148^b9 from **comA'tháp*; *acaldam scaltam* 'address(ing)' from **aggA'šap*, vb.n. of *ad-gládsathar*; *de-mointer* 'thou thinkest' *Wb.* 1^a13 for **moiv'thēr*; *conde* 'caninus' for **cov'še*; *eśsto* for **eśs'tho*, gen. of *eś(s)ath eśsad* 'suffering'; *béste* 'moral' for **béś'se*; *baitsim* 'I baptize', cp. *baithis* 'baptism'; *ro-ráitsem* 'we have said' *Theo.* II. 2, 34, to *ráidid*.

That *p* after *š* was also delenited is shown by the personal name *Coršmac* *Coršac* (with *m*), where a vowel has been elided before *m*.

The transition to *t* is sometimes found also where two words are closely joined; e.g. in *chrut-so*, in *chrut-sin* 'in this, that manner (*cruth*)' *Sg.* 211^a4, 63^a14; a *buitt-sem* 'its being (*buith*)' 216^a2; *tri-bar nebeengabthetit-si* 'through your incontinence' *Wb.* 9^a24 (for *-tith*); as *tech* 'which is best (*dech*)' *ML* 37^a3, 73^a10; cp. as *teother* 'is kindled' (*-dothter*) 38^a18. 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 *š* before *s* are sometimes restored through the influence of cognate forms; e.g. *baithsed* 'baptizing' *Tur.* 49; *foids-t* beside *foits-t* 'he sent him' *Theo.* II. 242, 13, 14 (*Arm.*) (*foids* 'he sent'). In such cases assimilation to *s(s)* is occasionally found; cp. *fáissine* 'prophecy' *ML*. 25^a6 beside more usual *fáithsine*, but in *Wb.* regular *fáitsine* 30^a23 (*fáith* 'prophet'); *con-dositis* 'so that they should fall' 5^a11, for **dothstis*. So also *re-eretsisi* for *-eretsid-si* 'ye have believed' 1^a3.

In the other groups reversion of this kind are rare, e.g. *gúthair* 'it will be performed' *Theo.* II. 30, 32 (*th* after *n*). Archaic *muntar* = *muintar* 'family' *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. **-wolos*); *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; *infe-l* 'preparation' becomes *innell* after the assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (§ 151 c). For the exception *menman* see § 331.

141. *cht* (*çt*) is sporadically written for *chtá*; e.g. *-dichtim* 'I can go' LU 5180, pl. 2 *-dighith* Wb. 9^b19, cp. *-dechuid* 'has gone'; *meehtratae* 'matutinal' ML 21^a8, 79^a7 for *meeh-thratae*; *-derlaehta* 'they have been forgiven' Wb. II. 33^b8, prototonic form of *de-roigetha*; *eumscaehte* 'moved' ML 33^b2. Examples like Mid.Ir. *machtad* for O.Ir. *machtad maghad machdad* 'object of wonder' show that this development is not a mere case of misspellings. On the other hand, *-th-* has often been restored by analogy in Mid.Ir. forms.

GEMINATES

A. SIMPLIFICATION OF GEMINATES

Collections: Pedersen, *Aspirationes 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 *hressach* 'faithful'; *eone* 'knowledge' (*eg-gae*), rarely *æone* (Wb. 2*17); *atlugud* and *atllugud* (*ad-t*) 'thanking'; *guidmi* 'we pray', *coimmi* 'we weep', beside *beimmi* 'we may be', *pridehimmi* '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 *na 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. *macon*, less frequently *mac*, quite exceptionally *maen*; *seccaldam* and *acaldam* (*agg . .*) 'address'; *atach* and *stach* (*att . .*) 'entreaty'; *eretem* (*eradd . .*) 'belief' much oftener than *erēttem*; *-epil* (*ebb . .*) 'dies'; *fuss fss* (Wb.) and *fus fis* (Sg.) 'knowledge'; *nessa*, seldom *nessa*, '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* Thea. II. 239, 4 (Arm.), *du-bor* ML 77*3, beside *du-berr* 'is brought'.

145. After stressed long vowels geminates are more commonly written single; e.g. *béim* 'blow', pl. *béimen* beside *béimmen* *béimmen*; *césad* 'suffering' oftener than *céssad*; *úall* beside *úalll*, acc. dat. sg. of *úall* 'pride'; (h)ét oftener than (h)étt 'jealousy' (*t = dd*); (h)ícc and (h)íe 'healing', gen. (h)íccc and (h)ícc (*kk*); *-risa* for *-ris-sa* 'I may come'.

In verse words like *úall*, *stall* 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. *anmmann* 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*); *folus* 'clear' (*foluss* Sg. 40^b14); *is* 'is', seldom *iss*; isolated *tairisem* 'standing fast' beside usual *tairissem*; 1 ag. pres. in *-im* much oftener than in *-isem*; forean *forem* 'end', more commonly *foreem*; *cona* 'that not' more frequent than *conna*; *digaim* 'digamma'; *-sperr* beside *·sperr* 'is said'; *dill*, gen. of *diall* 'declension'.

So too, where a pretonic word is run on to a stressed word: *isamllid* often for *is samllid* 'it is thus'; *hitallisu* for *It tuill-slu* 'in thy will' Ml. 59*21; *ceumtush* for *ce cumtash* '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. Geminate 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: *ataimset* (*add . .*) 'they acknowledge' (*ad-daimset*); *cretid* (*cred . .*) 'believes', Skt. *śrad dadāhīti*, W. *credu*; *sluinde* 'which designate' < **sluindide*; *cummase* 'mixing' (*com-misc*). For the development of an unknited double consonant from two knited or from a knited and an unknited, 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: *ataich* 'entreaty' with *#* (Mod.Ir. *atach*) < **ad-tecā*; *ceal* 'timid' with *gy* (Mod.Ir. *cegal*) < **ek(s)*- or *ek-s gal*; cp. *ad-droguine-siu* 'thou art a bad man' Wb. 1*10 for *at*...

For *-d̄dr* < *-dr* see § 119b; for the doubling of unknited single consonants, § 136.

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

I. STOPS

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

(a) From t (d) + c ; e.g. *frecor frecur* (with following *cáill*) 'cultus' < *frat-* (*frúth-*) and *cor*; *rucc(a)e* (neut. and fem.) 'shame', lit. 'redness', < **rud-k.*

(b) From *gy* + s (→ h): *cuccu* 'towards them', **cugg-su* (§§ 433, 451).

2. $c(c) = gy$

(a) From d (t) + g ; e.g. *ac(c)aldam* 'address(ing)' < **ad-gládam*; *freere* (Mod.Ir. *freagra*) 'answer' < *fréth-* (*frúth-*) and *gairs*.

(b) From *ac* (*ak*), § 208.

3. $s(t) = dd$

(a) Probably from g (k) + d in *etrocht* 'bright' (later *étr.*), dative *etrachtal* 'splendour' *ML 84*¹, < **eg-dr.* or **ey-dr.*, **sch(s)-dr.*; cp. *an-dracht* 'taeter' *Sg. 112*¹.

(b) From *ad*, § 218.

(c) From *at*, § 208.

4. $p(p) = bb$

(a) From d (t) + b , e.g. *apaig* (Mod.Ir. *abaith*) 'ripe' < *ad* and *bengid* 'reaps'; *frepaid* 'healing' < *frúth-* and *baith*.

(b) From g (k) + b ; e.g. *-epir* 'says' < **eg-b.* or **ey-b.*, **sch(s)-b.*, deuterotonic *as-beir*.

150. The theory has been repeatedly advanced that in Celtic geminated stops have developed from simple stops + s (see Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891-3*, p. 297 ff. = *IP. n. 167* ff., *ibid. III. 198*; Zupitza, *KZ. xxxvi. 233* ff.; Pedersen, *I. 153* 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. **baggo-*, O.Ir. *boe(c)* Mod.Ir. *bog*, Mod.Bret. *bag bag*, 'soft' may go back to the root of Skt. *bhagaḥ* 'best' without requiring an intermediate Celtic stage **bagno-*. The geminate in O.Ir. *macc* 'son' (Mod.Ir. *macc*), cp. Pictish *maph-an* (with *ph* < *pp* ?) *AU. 725*, as opposed

to the single consonant in *Britann. map* (W. *map*), has long been ascribed to affective intensification. Sometimes gemination is also found in the corresponding word in other languages; cp. Ir. *caod* 'excrement', Gk. *caioy*; *cnoc* 'lump, hill' (W. *cnoc*), cognate with Tyrol. *noek* (< *no*-) 'rocky top', etc. *brat*(t) 'coverlet, cloak' (cp. W. *brathya* 'cloth') looks like an inversion of Continental *drapp-* (Ital. *drappo*, Fr. *drap*, etc.).

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

II. NASALS AND LIQUIDS

151. 1. *na*

(a) From earlier *sa* (*sa*) in medial position; e.g. *bronn*, gen. of *brú* 'belly', < **brusnos* (§ 327); *as-roinnea* 'he may escape' < **ro-dnea* (*sni-*); *lainn* 'covetous' < **lasni-s*, cp. Lat. *lascivus*, Gk. *λαλαίωμα* (**λαλαρίωμα*).

(b) From earlier *nda*, § 548.

(c) The assimilation of *nd* to *na* in proclitic words begins in the archaic period; cp. the article *inna* Cam. beside *inda* Filargirias Gl., Wb. I. 20⁴⁵, *i-snaib* for **i-sndaib*, beside *da-ndaib* Cam. *dendibh* AU. 728. Already in Wb. *inna*, *domaib*, etc., are always written; similarly *in-árbenim* 'I expel' Sg. 146¹⁰ (vb.n. *indarb*(a)s). Otherwise *nd* before vowels and in final position is retained in Wb. In *proinn* 28²⁰ (*pron* 31²³) beside *proind* 'prandium' Britannic influence may be present (as in many loan-words), cp. Mid.W. *preis* 'feast, banquet'. This may also be the explanation of *Sechnall* Thes. II. 242, 11 (Arm.) from Lat. *Secundivus* (-*ll* for -*na* by dissimilation, cp. § 140). The spelling -*n*(s) first becomes common in ML, not only in *tinnacul*, earlier *tindnacul* 'bestowing', but also in *chlainn* 91¹⁷, *chlain* 23¹², for *chlaind* (acc. dat. sg. of *eland* 'children'), *conid* for *conidid* 'so that it is', etc. It occurs sporadically in Sg. (masculine) 67¹⁷ for *-hadi*) 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. *nas*. *nd* and *na* have the same value.

152. 2. *mm*

(a) From *sm* (also *tsm*, *kem*) in medial position; e.g. *am* 'I am', IE. **esmi*; *lemm* 'bare', perhaps originally 'plucked' like Lat. *plūma* < **plus-m* . . .; *rém(m)* 'course' (**reitsma*), vb.n. of *rédid*; *céim(m)* 'step' < **kyp-smp* **kemb-smen* (Mid. W. *caum*).

(b) From earlier *dm* only in compounds with the prep. *ad-*, obviously by analogy with *adb-* < *ad-b-*, etc.; e.g. *ammus* 'attempt' < *ad* and *mess*. Otherwise *d(m)* remains, e.g. *maldm*, vb.n. of *maldid* 'breaks' (intrans.).

(c) The development of *mb* is similar to that of *ad* (§ 151c), although examples are rarer. The pretonic form of the prep. *imb-*, which was still retained in *imp-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 *imbrádu* 'thinking', *imrechtrach* 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 *eo m-bemmis* 'that we might be'. Otherwise *mb* seems to be retained in Wb., e.g. *cimbid* 'prisoner'. But *camb* 'crooked', gen. sg. masc. *caimb* AU. 747, is not only written *caum* in *camm-dere* gl. 'strabo' Sg. 634 and in *cammalb* (dat. pl.) ML 27, but would also appear to be contained in the adverb *cammalf cammalb* Wb. 'however' (§ 907). In ML further examples of the transition include *cumre* 'brevity' 143 as opposed to acc. *cumbri* Thes. II. 15, 44, *débe mec* (for *m-bee*) 'a little difference' ML 4020, and even the converse spelling *ambus* 758 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. *had-cholum* (< Lat. *columbus*) 'wild pigeon' Sg. 7016.

The development of *my* (i.e. *sy*) to *se* (Mod. Ir. *s*) must have occurred about the same time. The only scribal evidence of this is that *se*, *sy* is never written for *h* in later documents.

(d) From lenited *b* + *m* (arising through syncope); e.g. *gamal* 'capiamus' ML 324, 1pl. pres. subj. of *ga(i)bid*; cp. *adimmaice* Wb. 913 for *adib maice* 'ye are sons', *estomélat* LU 5558 for *estob-mélat* 'they will crush you'.

153. 3. ll

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

(b) From earlier *sl* (*sl̥*) in medial position; e.g. *coll* 'hazel tree', OHG. *hasul*, cp. Lat. *corylus*; *füllecht(a)e* 'smeared' for *fu·slechte* (vb. *fo·slig*).

(c) Probably from *lp*; e.g. *·tella ·talla* (§ 83b) 'there is room for', Lith. *telpà telpà* 'to find room'; *coll* 'violation (of a law, etc.)', perhaps cognate with Lat. *culpa*.

(d) From earlier *ls* (also *lks*); e.g. *all* 'rock', probably < **pals-*, cp. OHG. *falis, falisa* 'rock'; *mell-* < **mely-s* **melks-*, subj. stem of $\sqrt{\text{mely-}}$, pres. ind. *milgid* 'milks'.

(e) From earlier *ls*, e.g. *ad·ella* 'visits', probably < **peleā-*, if cognate with Gk. *πῆλαινα*, Lat. *ap·pellere* (otherwise Pedersen II. 353).

Later *ls* arising through syncope is always retained in Wb. and Sg. But in Ml. the transition to *ll* has begun; e.g. *éillide* 'polluted' for *éilítibe* (vb. *as·léna*); *comallaid* (ms. *comallaid*) 106·2 for *comalnaid* 'fulfil' (*comlán* 'complete'); *buillni* 'blows' Wb. 17·2, dat. *buillib* Tur. 92, 93.

(f) *ll̥*, whether original or secondary, appears as *ll* in Middle Irish; e.g. *mellach* *melltach* 'agreeable', Mid.Ir. *mellach*; *maldacht* 'curse, maledictum', Mid.Ir. *mallaecht*. That this transition, too, occurred about the time of Ml. is shown by the converse spelling in Ml. 63·15: *lase nad·reilidsem·ni* 'when we have not polluted' for *·reilidsem* < *·r·éilnisem*.

154. 4. rr

(a) From earlier *nr*; e.g. *l-ránaib* 'in secrets' < **in ránaib*.

(b) From *rp*; e.g. *serr* (OW. *śd.*), gen. *serre*, 'sickle', Gk. *ζῆρα*, Lett. *siņps*.

(c) From earlier *rs* (also *rks, rts*); e.g. *forru* 'on them' < **for-s-*; *err-*, subj. stem of *erg(a)id* 'slays', < *erg-s- ora-* (§§ 618, 629); *fo·serr-*, subj. stem of *fo·coid* 'throws', < *cerd-s-cers-*. Cp. also *foirree fairge* 'open sea', probably < *fairsiung* 'wide' (*for-ess-*).

(d) From *sr* and *r + s*; e.g. *dírruidguth* 'derivation' Sg. 53·11, < *dí-* and *sruth* 'river'; *do·intarraí* (< *·r(a)·doi*)

Wb. 16^b18, perf. of *do-intal* (< *ind-áol*) 'returns'; *airria erra* 'for them' (§ 437). But in other compounds *s* has left no trace; e.g. *-airrisedar* (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 *mídlthir* 'judges'; *aslach* 'inducing' (vb.n. of *ad-slig*).

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

- (c) *ks* (*gs*), § 221b.
- (d) *ps*, § 227d.
- (e) earlier intervocalic *st*; e.g. *ar-sis(s)edar* 'innititur', *t-airrisedar* 'abides', cognate with Lat. *sistere*, Gk. *ἵστίνας*; *glass* 'blue, green', Gaul. *glastum* 'wood'; *is(s)* 'is', Gk. *ἴσσι*.
- (f) earlier *t-t*, *d-t* (also *dh-t*) in the interior of words (but not in composition); e.g. *ind-risse* 'innasus' < **ret-tjo-*, partic. of *rethid* 'runs'; *fluss* 'knowledge' < **wid-tu-*; *gessi* < **ghedh-ti-*, verbal of necessity of *guldid* 'prays', Gk. *ροῖσσι*.

QUALITY OF CONSONANTS

Bergin, Contributions to the history of palatalization in Irish, Ériu III. 30 ff. (also Freiburg dissertation, 1906); Pedersen § 241 ff. and Göth. Gel. Anz., 1912, p. 39 ff.; Pokorny, A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader I. § 35 ff.

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

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

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

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

In palatal pronunciation the middle of the tongue is raised in the front position, and the lips brought closer together by drawing back the corners of the mouth. The characteristics of *u*-quality may be assumed to be: (a) rounding the lips, (b) raising the back of the tongue. Neutral represents an intermediate articulation (but *op.* § 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 *í* and *é*,
- (b) neutral before *á* and *é*,
- (c) *u*-quality before *á*.

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. *fír* 'man' because it was once followed by *-as -ax* (orig. *-os -ox*), palatal in voc. gen. sg. *fíir* because the endings were formerly *-e* and *-í*, and *u*-quality in dat. sg. *fíur* because the dative once ended in *-u*; nom. ag. *túath* 'tribe' has neutral *-th* because of the former final *-a*.

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

In the above threefold division the facts have been somewhat simplified for the sake of clarity. Instead of *u*-quality it would sometimes be more exact to speak of *e*-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.

or *u*- and *a*- quality, the second consonant normally retained its original quality without infection. Instances like *farsundid* (with *r^uu*) 'illumination' < **f^ur-^uas-^undid* 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 syncopeated and the second element accordingly continues to resemble the simplex. In that case its initial consonant may retain the quality of the simplex. If the first element ends in a consonant of different quality, then either of the following courses is adopted:

(a) Each consonant retains its own quality, just as, in two successive words of a clause, final and initial of different quality may stand beside each other; e.g. *taid-ehur* (3^uch^u) 'restoration', *dag-theist* (γ^uth^u) 'good testimony'; or

(b) The quality of the first consonant yields to that of the second; e.g. *tadchor* ML. 131^u11, *ath-maldachad* instead of *sith-m...* 'repeated malediction' 141^u3.

In like manner the final of an unstressed word is sometimes assimilated in quality to the following initial; e.g. *adhaball* Wb. 3^u7 for *adib ball* 'ye are members'; *dinab gabdialb* 'of the takings' 13^u33 for *dinaib*; *donaballaib* 12^u2 for *donalb 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. *de-rulgetha* 'they have been forgiven' Wb. 26^u11, where, despite the palatal *y*, the preceding *λ* keeps the non-palatal quality of *de-lugl*.

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 syllable. 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: *sere* 'love' makes dat. sg. *seire* ($\rho^k k^i$) < **serki*, but gen. sg. *serce* *sercae* ($\rho^k k^a$); *deib* 'form', dat. sg. *deibb* ($\lambda^i \beta^i$), but gen. sg. *deibe* *deibae* ($\lambda^a \beta^a$); likewise *ainm* 'name', gen. sg. *ainm(a)e*; *máim* 'breaking', gen. *máim(a)e*; nom. sg. *oreun* 'slaying', acc. *oreuin* *oreain* (syllabic division $\rho-g$), but gen. *oirene* ($\rho g-r$), where in every instance *e* originally stood between ρ and *n*, stem *orepō-*, cp. Gallo-Lat. *Orgeno-mecui* (or *-gūi*) in Cantabria (for the *u* in *oreun* see § 173); *loscald* 'burns' (*s-k*) beside *loisetha* 'burnt' (*sk-th*); *do-adbadar* 'is shown' ($\beta-\beta$), pl. *do-aibbdetar* ($\beta\beta-\beta$); *cosnam* 'contending' (*cos-sáim*); *ingn(a)e* *engn(a)e* 'understanding' (ending *-e*); *Afraice* 'Africa', etc.

In compounds the rule is not so consistently observed (cp. § 159). From *for* and *eunn* (dat. sg. *eiunn*) ML regularly forms *forean* 'end' 91·21 with neutral ρk , dat. *foreunn* 19·12, etc.; but in *foreunn* Sg. 29·19 etc. neutral ρ and palatal *k* are left side by side; in dat. *foireunn* Sg. 18·1 etc. the quality of the initial of the second element has infected the final of the first. Syncopated forms, however, like *foirenea* 'terminates', are regular.

161. A few consonant-groups have palatal quality even when the following vowel remains. In early examples *wá-sp.*, *wá st.*, *ag*, *de* (= *g*), *mí*, *mr* (= $\mu\lambda$, $\mu\rho$) are well attested; e.g. *immbí* 'about him', *impe* 'about her', *clainde* 'of children', *sainte* 'of greed', *daingen* 'firm', *do-bidcet* 'they pelt', *cuilimín* 'equal number' ML. 47·3 (beside *cuimín* with the usual form of the preposition), *cuilmech* 'fetter'; *cuilmlucht* '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. *breydr* 'dispute'), *díthle* 'secret removal', *uithir*, gen. of *ethar* 'sickness, invalid'; but *nathrach* (< *-rech*), gen. of *nathir* 'snake', *tothla* (< *-thle*) 'bringing in by stealth' Laws. For *chl*, cp. *díchlith* *díchlíd* 'concealment'.

díthrab ML. 98·4, *díthrub* Tur. 17, etc., 'desert' (cp. *trab* 'habitation') may have been attracted by *strab* ($\rho^i \rho^a$) 'dwelling'. As *teimae*, the regular gen. sg. of *teim* 'plague', is confirmed by rhyme in *Fél. Ep.* 209. 218, the

form *sléidmenab* dat. pl. 'sputaminibus' Tur. 91 has probably been influenced by nom. acc. sg. **sléidm*. Assimilations of this kind are always to be reckoned with. In *teréine* Corm. 1200, diminutive of *tort* 'cake', and *selmáine* gl. *neruus* Sg. 221² (cp. Bret. *keñn* 'knot'), the consonant-group, though not strong enough to change the quality of the following long vowel, remains unpalatalized, whereas *fo-rúigéni* 'has served' Wb. 12²7 has palatal γ (as against § 166a). For Lat. *articulus* Sg. writes *artícol* (*artícol* 198²7), gen. *artícoll* (only once *artícoll* 212²14). The spelling *éirbemandí* (dat. sg. fem.) gl. *hereditariis* Ml. 48²10 (from *orbam*, earlier *-ra*, 'hair') may be a mis-transcription of archaic **orbemondí* in the scribe's exemplar.

162. The group *éit* remains neutral even at the end of a syllable, and thus always resists palatalization. Examples: *secht* (Mod.Ir. *seacht*) 'seven' as against *deich* 'ten'; *deacht*, acc. dat. sg. of *deacht* 'divinity' (fem. \bar{a} -stem), gen. *deachte* *deachte*. For *bolcht* see § 351.

163. Single *l r w* before which a consonant has disappeared (§ 125) have the effect of consonant-groups; cp. *gabálae*, gen. sg. of *gabál* 'taking' (< **gabaglā*); *so-scélae* 'gospel', *do-scélae* 'explores', to *scél* 'tidings', W. *chweid*; *glúlaít* 'will stick fast' (pl.), reduplicated future of *glén(a)id*; *áram* 'number', gen. *áirne*, < **ad-rim*; *érais* 'payment' (\bar{e} < **ecā*-**ecāe*, § 834); *dénum dénum* 'doing', < **de-gnim* (the neutral \bar{v} has spread to the gen. sg. *dénno*); *sinnchénae* 'little fox' Sg. 47²6 (-*éyr*).

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 w* do not disappear; cp. *afraí* 'adoration', as opposed to *áram*.

The diminutive *húgáta* 'minuscule' Sg. 45²13 seems to be a nonce-formation from *húgta* 'smaller'. Eventually *-tae* is pronounced with *t'* under the influence of -(t)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' Ml. 31²2 (for *-ro-nessa*).

In Ml. *greimm* 'compulsion, power' makes gen. sg. *grammae*, dat. *grammáim*, nom. pl. *gramma*, apparently influenced by the many neuter nouns (e.g. *náim náim*-, *áim áim*-) where neutral consonance is regular (§ 160); cp. pl. *ingramma* Ml. contrasting with *ingramma* Wb. A similar plural *semann*, nom. sg. *seim(m)* 'rivet', is later attested (cp. *seimé* O'Dav. 1437).

164. When *r l n* became syllabic as a result of syncope (§ 112), they assumed palatal quality before palatal consonants, and in general retained it even after a vowel had developed before them; e.g. *énirte* Wb. 'weakness' (with *rʲtʲ*), < **éyrte* (nert 'strength'); *du-aisilbi* 'attributes' < **assibi* (selb 'possession'); *ingain(n)te* 'unusualness' < **ingra(a)the* (ingnad 'unusual'). In the course of time, however, the palatalization was apparently lost in certain combinations of *r* + cons. when the syllable began with a neutral consonant. Examples: *énartae* Ml.; *tabartae* 'of giving' Ml. 73^b8 beside *tabairte* 96^a7; *erdarcalgtes* 89^b4 beside *erdaircigidir* 'makes clear' 28^b15; cp. also *comard(a)e* 'sign' beside the simplex *airde*; *immormus* *immarmus* 'sin' (-*ross*).

Partial assimilation to the form with vowel after liquid is found in *colsnimi* Wb. 7^a13 for **coisnami* < **cospmi* (nom. pl. of *cosnam* 'contention'), beside *cosnama* 7^a12 which is modelled entirely on the singular. Cp. *airibhíid* 'inhabitant' Sg. 57^a3, to *strab* 'dwelling' (verb *ad-treba*).

In verbs which have the same syllable sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed there is frequent confusion; e.g. stressed *fríamm-óral* 'thou offendest me' Ml. 44^b26 beside regular *frís-óral* 44^b31; conversely, with enclitic stem, *fríthoraid* (ipv.) 114^a9 beside *frídoíred* Wb. 14^a21. Cp. *déiríthé* Sg. 66^a15, gen. sg. fem. of *deirb* 'certain', suggested by *indéiríthé* immediately following.

Leveling of this kind may also account for gen. sg. *lébur* for **lébir* < **lébʲrʲ*, modelled on nom. sg. *léber lébur* 'book' (otherwise Pedersen I. 349); *léstair* for **léstair* < **léstʲrʲ*, modelled on nom. sg. *léstar* 'vessel'.

165. A consonant-group in word-final 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*, *sʰ* only the second consonant is palatal. But these are doubtless later changes.

The later form *croíde* *croíde* (with neutral *sr-*), O. Ir. *críde*, 'heart' is also a secondary development; influenced by *crú* 'blood', *cróide* 'bloody' ? In other words *sr-* 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

m) and the gutturals *g*, *c*, *ch* (together with *ng*) are not palatalized in syllabic anlaut when preceded by a stressed *d* or *δ*, *d* (also *da*). Examples: *rubal*, prototonic form of *ru-bí* 'can be'; *ad-ospuir* 'offers' (-*beir*); *enámal*, nom. pl. of *enám* 'bone'; *úama* (later attested, for *-e -ae*), gen. of *úam* 'cave'; *trummae* 'heaviness' (suffix *-e*); *ad-áigthar* 'fears' (pass. -*áigthar*); *égal* dat. sg. 'virginity'; *rúccas* 'shame'; *ungas* '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 *j* (or *i* in hiatus). Examples: *úasal* 'high' (*W. uchel*) as against *ísel* 'low'; *tabart* 'giving' as against *epert* 'saying' (-*bert*); *sacard* 'sacerdos'; arch. *achad*, later *achad*, 'field'; *adall*, vb.n. of *ad-ella* 'visits', as against *bu(i)den* 'troop' (*W. byddia*); *dorus* 'door', dat. pl. *deirsib* (stem **doressu-*); *ammus* 'attempt' (*ad+mass*); *anacht* 'he protected' (*√anag-*, pres. ind. *singid*); *calad* 'hard' (*Bret. kolet*); but *callech* 'cock' (*W. celiog*), cp. Ogam gen. *CALLACH*; *flaithem* 'lord', cp. § 268, 3.

The above rules rest on comparatively slender evidence. There are not many examples in which the orthography of O.Ir. affords definite proof of the quality of the consonants, and in which the older vocalism is known for certain; later sources must be used with caution, for changes of all kinds have taken place in the interval. Exceptions are numerous. To a large extent they may be explained as analogical formations. Levelling has been very frequent, for example, among the inflected forms of verbs and nouns. Thus in the verbal stem *uc(s)-* (*ú*-flexion, § 759) the *c* (= *g*) should be non-palatal when the vowel remains and palatal when it is dropped; instead, its quality fluctuates in all inflected forms of the verb, e.g. 3 sg. *-uiceil* beside *-uisail*, pret. *-ac* beside *-úic*, pl. *-uisat* beside *-úisat*. Even *ad-ú* 'see' has prototonic 2 and 3 sg. *-úiceil* and *-úicail*, 1 pl. *-úicam* (*actum* Thez. II. 31, 28), 3 *-úicai*, despite the fact that in the last two forms, as shown by dactylotonic *ad-úiam*, *ad-úiat*, the *c* was originally followed by *i* in hiatus; the source of the non-palatal *c* may have been the 1 sg. **-úicu* (cp. *úicu* 'I gaze', regular according to § 167). In gen. sg. *abas* ML. 78^a, beside dat. pl. *abúib* 81^a3, non-palatal *β* may come from nom. sg. sub 'river'. In *maímnas* 'foster-mother' change of quality from **maímnas* has been suggested (Polakow, *EE*. XLV. 262 ff.). *claidib* 'sword', where *d* was not followed by *j*, may have been influenced by gen. sg. nom. pl. *claidib*, acc. pl. *claidín*, etc. In certain borrowed words like *alocent*, *alocend* 'accentus' the interior vowel is retained and the preceding consonant palatalized; *callech* 'calix' seems to have been attracted by *callech* 'cock'. *Iulge* 'oath' *Wh.* (*Mod.Ir. Iulga*), beside regular *Iugas* ML.

may have been influenced by such frequent compounds as *fir-lúg*, *com-lúg*, where *u* was unstressed. After *u*, however, there are other examples where the change of quality is difficult to explain by analogy: e.g. *cuíce* 'to her' Wb. beside *cuas* Eg. (§ 433); gen. sg. *suíth* Ml. 47^a2 beside nom. sg. *subu* 'jubilation', dat. *subu*; *cluiche* 'play' (*cluichech* 'playing' Eg., *cluichigídir* 'plays' Ml.). Possibly dialectal differences played some part here. So too in *faíthé* 'singleness, singular number' Wb. 25^a38, otherwise *faíthad*, the influence of other forms such as gen. *daid* 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 *amháire* (*am-íre*) 'unbelief' the neg-particle *am-* is apparently treated as an autonomous member of a compound (cp. § 162); so too *am-* (§ 370) before a vowel does not seem to have been palatalized in O.Ir., cp. *amólais*, *améne*. The neutral quality may actually spread to the following syllable: *amáras* (Mod.Ir. *amhras* in Munster), dat. *amaraís* Ml. 97^a13 (*íre* 'faith'). The adjectives *soiraid* 'expeditions, easy' and *deiraid* 'difficult' are usually regarded as compounds of *réid* 'level' (cp. W. *ag-rupáid* 'expeditions'), although the comparative *seirthú* 'celerior' Eg. 16^a4 and the abstract *seirthe* Ml. 93^a4 suggest rather connexion with *reithid* 'runs, flows', *riuth* 'running'. The influence of *amraid* 'uneven, difficult', where *a^ha^h* is easier to explain, could account for the present examples. On the other hand, *se-* and *de-* show a general tendency, the reasons for which are obscure, to take neutral consonance after them: cp. *sonairt* 'strong' (*airt* 'strength'); *solais* 'bright', probably to *lúis* 'light'. Forms like *sochenúll*, *dochenúll* (§ 348) are due to the influence of the stem word *conúil*. In *íar* 'eagle' (EK. XLVIII. 61), which together with W. *eryr* points to a primary form **erros*, the neutral *-r-*, despite the *i-*, is as yet unexplained. Sometimes, too, other consonants besides those enumerated in (a) are non-palatal after single long vowels: e.g. dat. sg. *dúral* 'hardness' Ml. 62^a26 (abstr. noun from *dúr* < Lat. *dúras*) beside gen. *dúire* Fél. Pról. 66, dat. sg. *lúis(a)* 'fullness' Fél. Dec. 10; here analogy with long vowels due to compensatory lengthening (§ 163) has been suggested. But under this heading there remains much that is still obscure.

167. As a rule, originally palatalized gutturals and labials at the beginning of an unstressed syllable which ends in *u*-quality acquire *u*-quality themselves. Examples: *·adamrugur* 'I wonder at' for **·adamraigur*, 3sg. *·adamraigedar*, vb.n. *adamrugud* from *·a^het^h*; *su(l)digud* 'setting'; *re-laumur* 'I dare' Wb. 17^a8 beside 3sg. *re-laimethar* (but archaic *ru-laimur*

Wb. I. 17*21, with μ^d); *temul* Ml. 16*7, 30*3, dat. sg. of *temel* 'darkness'; *impu* 'about them' as against *intiu* 'into them'; *irdeoru irdeoru erdeoru airdireu* 'more conspicuous, clearer' (compar. suffix *-u*).

There are numerous exceptions, but all of them may be explained by analogy. Palatalization is especially frequent after palatal vowels; e.g. *torisnigiu* 'I trust' Ml. 126*19 (with γ^d , on the model of the other persons) beside *-isligiu* 'I lower', *-cairigiu* 'I censure'; *tigiu* 'thicker' Ml. 20*1 (modelled on other comparatives with *-u*) beside *glicu* 'acuter' Wb. 26*26; *imdbiu* Wb. 2*3 beside more frequent *imdbu*, dat. sg. of *imdbu* 'circumcision' (modelled on other cases with β^d); *-epiu* 'I say' Wb. 4*26 (modelled on deuterotonic *as-biu*, or the 2, 3 sg. *-epir*) beside *-epur* 5*31. But palatalization is also found after neutral vowels: compar. *laigu* Sg. and Ml. beside *langu lagu* 'smaller'; *dánaigiu* 'bestowing' (vb.n. of *-dánaigedar*) Ml. 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 *-ám*); *ata* 'which are' (otherwise *-ta*); *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. *amall* 'as', but *amal* in Wb., Ml., and Sg.; *fel* and *fall* beside *fil fell* '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 *j*) 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 *seres* (§ 160) only the last consonant of the group was palatalized, not the first, and thus the neutral quality in *seres(a)* is due to the influence of the first consonant, as in § 158. This theory of former palatalization cannot, indeed, be proved; archaic forms in which the unstressed vowel has been preserved unaltered, such as *toesth* 'look', *fugell* 'judgement', *ashed* 'field', *clecher* 'stony field' (for later *toead*, *fugill*, *ashed*, *clechar*), give no indication

of the quality of the preceding consonant. The spelling feigial BC. XXV. 344, 2 (= *fapall* ?) cannot be relied on, for the same word seems to be written *fuglath* in an obscure passage BC. XIV. 248, 31.

170. 5. REPLACEMENT OF u-QUALITY BY NEUTRAL

(a) The consonants *čā*, *cc*, *tā* (including *š* < *tā*), *ss* always have neutral instead of u-quality in syllabic auslaut after original *u*; e.g. *caith* nom. acc. dat. sg. 'battle' (stem *caithu-*), compound *ceccad*; *macc* dat. sg. 'son'; *lressach* dat. sg. 'faithful'; *airechas* 'high rank' (suffix *-assu-*).

Only where the vowel of the preceding syllable is *e* are occasional exceptions found; e.g. *cegnud* ML. 100²⁵, dat. sg. of *ceccad*; *foccud* dat. sg. 'shade' ML. 80²⁷ from *ceith* 'shadow'; but later examples like acc. pl. *ceolthiu* ACL. III. 298 § 67 suggest that the above forms may have been influenced by words in *-ad* < *-eth* like *toeud*, arch. *toeeth*. In *ceolud* 'stable' and *unbeud* 'unstable', from *foccud* 'firm', the influence of syncopeated *e* is apparently operative.

But *-čā* < *γ* in arch. *inp-anch* 'ago' *Filargirius* GL and *cid* *š* in *andbirt* 'offering' *Thea.* II. 26, 40 (op. § 80c) have u-quality.

Final *-ss* resists u-quality after stressed *e* and *o* also; cp. nom. acc. dat. *mes(s)* 'judgment' (stem *measu-*), but in compounds *tomus*, *ammus*, etc.; *ross* dat. sg. 'wooded slope' Sg. 204 (*Thea.* II. 290, 10). For certain exceptions, e.g. dat. sg. *fus* 'rest' beside *fus(s)*, see § 76. The archaic spelling *i* *routh* gl. in *stadio* (§ 88) shows that at that time *tā* 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, *ū*) consonants which originally had u-quality appear to have become neutral. This change is indicated by compounds like *fegnam* dat. sg. 'service' *Wb.* 4²¹, etc., *cosnam* dat. sg. 'contending' 18¹⁸, where *u* is plainly neutral as in the simplex *gnim*, *saim*; on the other hand the earlier compound *dénom dénom* 'doing' (*de-gnim*) retains the original u-quality. In Sg. the compound with *imm-fo-* fluctuates between *immegnom* and *immfegnam* 'construction'; this *ns.* also has *frithgnom* 'officium' 106¹²,

which is written *frithgnam* in ML (even acc. pl. *frithgnamu* 56^b4). Cp. also archaic *dernum* Wb. I. 8^a3, later *todernam*, 'torment', to *salm*.

171. (c) The exact conditions under which *u*-quality was lost or retained in original consonant groups cannot be determined from the examples at our disposal. It would appear from dat. sg. *salm*, *falt*, *corp*, *recht* (§§ 278, 307) that after a stressed vowel *u*-quality was replaced by neutral even at the end of a syllable. But *-r* + consonant has *u*-quality after palatal vowels; e.g. *neurt*, dat. sg. of *nert* 'strength'; dat. sg. *seure* 'sickness' ML 142^c3; (in) *deurb* 103^b11, 138^c11, advb. from *derb* 'certain'; later attested *flurt* 'miracle, uirtus' (acc. pl. always *flirtu*), cp. also *splurt* 'spiritus'; but dat. sg. *tere* § 351. So too *cht* after *i*, e.g. *rischt* 'shape'; cp. *miliuehtae* 'milch' ML 100^b15 beside *milihtae* 100^b20.

On the other hand, after an unstressed vowel *u*-quality clearly prevails in *de-imm-ure* 'I constrain' (*org-*), *fris-com-urt* 'I have injured', *as-ru-burt* 'I have said' (*stem. bert-*); dat. sg. *ifuran* 'hell' Wb. 13^c26, ML 130^a6, *ifura* 23^a5; dat. sg. *coideule coideulgg* 'comparison' Sg. 3^a1, 25^a2. For interior syllables cp. *irdoreu irdareu* Wb. 'clearer', but *erdareu* 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. 12^a1, 25^a13, in ML always *cosmall* (already in Wb. *adramail* 'fatherlike' 6^a6, *salmemall* 'excellent' 3^a33); *menmuin* Wb., *menmain* ML, dat. sg. of *menm(a)s* 'mind'; *cétbuid* 'sense' Wb., *cétbaid* ML. (to *buth* 'being'); *dulburitu* (read *dulburi*?) acc. pl. 'ineloquent' Wb. 28^a1, which indicates a nom. sg. *dulbuir* beside *sulhair* 'eloquent' 8^a5, 12; *-cechuin*

Wb., reduplicated preterite of *canid* 'sings', but *-cechain(n)* *-cachain* ML; *doguille* 'sorrow' Wb., *dogaille* ML; *manchuib*, dat. pl. of *manach* 'monk' *Thea.* II. 238, 19 (Arm.). But already in Wb. the dat. pl. is always *-aib* (when not *-ib*): *hireschafb*, *noibafb*, *mogaib*, *lámab*, etc.

Note that even where the vowel *u* is original, *o* appears in ML after other consonants also; e.g. *con-utaine* 'builds' Wb., *con-utain* ML; *in-c-laid* 'he entered' ML 23*21, *to luid* 'went'.

173. 2. Gutturals and labials (other than unlenited *m*) also have *u*-quality (or *o*-quality, § 102) when the syllable ends in non-palatal lenited *r*, *l*, or *n*. Examples: *anaul* *anaol* 'protection'; *fogur* *fogor* 'sound'; *orun* 'slaying' (*comsrean* ML 127*5); *aceobor* *aceobur* *aceubur* 'wish' (vb. *ad-cobra*); *brithemon* (*britheman* ML 104*8), gen. of *brithem* 'judge'; *tempul* 'templum'.

The original quality of the vowel is immaterial. In *brithemon* *o* may be original; in such case-forms the spelling *-on* (*stáinemon* Wb. 26*17) is exceptional; *fogur* from *-pur*; for *orun* see § 160; in *anaul*, *aceobor*, *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: *tepur* 'well' Wb. 29*7 (cp. *inber* 'estuary'); but *ábar ábar* 'vainglory' Wb. (cp. adj. *hálfreab*), *cuman* 'remembered' (-*men*).

But neutral quality is usual before unlenited *r l* and *n* in syllable *auslaut*; e.g. *-comolnithir* 'it may be fulfilled' Wb. 2*17, much rarer than *comain-*. Still *domande* 'worldly' and *brithemonda* 'judicial' *Thea.* I. 4, 19 follow the substantives *doman* and *brithemon* (gen.).

Dentals in this position rarely show *u-* (or *o-*) infection. Almost the only examples among native words occur where the preceding syllable contains *ð*; cp. *lóthar* Sg. 49*2, *lóthur* *Thea.* II. 27, 36, later form of trisyllable *leathar* 'basin, trough' Sg. 67*5; *odur* 'dun' *Thea.* II. 9, 28; *de-forchassel* Wb. 13*27, *fe-rróul* 27*19, *fochsul* ML. 93*5, *foxel* Sg. 216*5 beside *foxl* 201*7 'taking away'. We find *u*-quality after *eu* in the loan-word *neutur* 'neutrum'; but cp. also *metur* 'metrum', *Peter* 'Petrus', where Lat. *-um -us* may have had some influence. Isolated examples are *riathar* ML. 134*7 'torrent' beside *riathar* 56*13, *du-faisledor* 'slips' *Thea.* II. 24, 34. In dat. pl. *lenomnaib*

'litoris' Sg. 3rd m has kept the *u*- or *o*-quality of nom. sg. *lenamon*.

In some of these examples *-or* *-ar* *-ar*, *-of* *-al* *-al* were probably intended to represent syllable *r*, *f* (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 *œ du chamed* 'reviling thee' *ML*. 58^b, for earlier **cālnud*. 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* (< *l̄s*, § 153d), *rt*, *ll*, *cht*, *d* or *dd* (written *t*) < *-nt* (*-mt*).

Examples: *slur* 'sister', Lat. *soror*; *-orr*, 3rd ag. subj. (*org-s-t*) of *org(a)llt* 'slays'; *-tlunmell* (ms. *-tuismell*) 'he may collect' *ZCP*. xvi. 275 (*-mell* = *welg-s-t* with *so-in(d)-uss*); the *t*-preterites (§ 882 ff.) *-bert* 'bores', *-alt* 'nourished', *re-slacht* 'has reached', *do-r-ét* 'has protected' (< *di-em*); *-berat* 'they bear' (< *-ont*); *dét* 'tooth' (*W. dawl*).

Such final consonants have neutral quality, cp. *·bert*, *·ét*, *·berat*, *fo·sieherr* 'will throw'. Only single *r* (*ρ*) after *u* and *i* (and *e* *f*) has taken *u*- and *i*-quality; cp. *siur*, *midliar* 'I judge', *bráth(a)lr* 'brother' (cp. § 90, 2).

176. Final *-u* became *-a* in Celtic at an early date. Cp. Gaul. accusatives (some of them neuter) like *celicxon*, *contalon*, *conecocodlon*, *mapyrov*, *Ucuetin*, *ratin*, *lokan* (probably = *logan*). (The exception *Bristation 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 protonic (§ 830 B), evidently the form originally used at the end of a clause (the 'pause-form').

177. In absolute aslaut single *d*, *t*, *k*, *x* (< *-a* and *-m*), and *s* have been lost; so also—with the exception of *rs*, *ls*—all consonant groups containing *s*, such as *-ks* *-ts* *-ms* *-st*, which had presumably fallen together with single *-s* at an earlier date. In Ogam inscriptions final *-s* is sometimes preserved, sometimes lost.

Examples: *tó* 'yes', IE. **tod* 'that'; *·cara* 'loves' < **karut*; *na ná* negative (before appended pronouns *nách-*); *ri* 'king' < **raks*, cp. Gaul. *Eocyyo-ραξ* Dottin no. 21; *a* 'out of', Lat. *ex*; *ein* 'fault, liability' < **g'inut-s*; *mí* 'month' < **mā(x)s*; *maccu* acc. pl. 'sons' < *-ōns* (*-ūs*); *car(a)s* 'friend' < **karaut-s*; *ní* 'is not', probably < **nāst* (§ 243, 2); *·tél* *·tél*, 3 sg. subj. of *tiagu* 'I go', < **steigh-s-t*; *·tél*, 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 *alall*, § 486 b). For *ed* 'it' and *cid* 'what?' see §§ 450, 466.

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

of the following initial (§ 236), the others by gemination of a following consonant or by *h-* before a stressed vowel (§ 240).

INITIAL CONSONANTS IN PRETONIC WORDS

178. 1. Original *s* has disappeared in the anlaut of pretonic words. Examples: It 'they are', Skt. *sdati*, Goth. *sind*; *asmal* *asmal* 'as', petrified dative of *samall* 'likeness'; the article *ind*, *a*, etc., after prepositions still *-sind*, *-sa* § 467.

It has also disappeared in Britannië; cp. the article, Bret. Corn. *as*; W. *yaf* '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-thêgot* 'which come' Cam., *tu-creombassat* 'they have gathered' Wb. I. 7*7, etc.; *to memmme* 'thy mind' Thea. 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. *tochlm(m)* 'stepping towards', § 858). The change took place about the end of the seventh century, as may be seen from saints' names in *T'u-* *T'o-*, later *Do-* *Du-*; cp. *Te-Channu* Thea. II. 281, 9, *Du-Channa* AU. 705 (see ZCP. XIX. 359 ff.).

Here too the same development is found in Britannië; cp. W. *dy*, Bret. *da* 'thy'. In addition, Britannië shows a parallel development in regard to initial *c*, the prep. *con-* having become non-syllabic *gân-*; cp. W. *gwyaf* (monosyllable) Corn. *gwyaf* Mid.Bret. *gwyaf* 'I do', from *con-* (*con-*) + *ap-*; W. *gawis* Mid.Bret. *gruyaf* 'to sew', where the stem goes back in the first instance to *-wŷj-*, cp. O.Ir. *con-ôg(a)d* 'sews together'. In Mid.Ir. *g-* appears instead of *c-* in pretonic words: *ge gu* 'till' and 'with', O.Ir. *ce*; *gach* 'each' before substantives, O.Ir. *cach*; *gê* 'although', O.Ir. *cin ce*; *gan* 'without', O.Ir. *can*, 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 limited obs. Wb. 13*26, 27, ML. 94*11, then Sg. 75*1, *ch* represents *γ*, for these cases of lenition are too rare to be regarded as a mere traditional scribal convention. Accordingly in Irish this mutation appears to be later than that of *t-* to *d-*. It is possible, however, that some change in articulation had already taken place, perhaps the loss of that strong aspiration of *c* which is still heard in other positions in Mod.Ir.

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. *fer-rofehan* 'thou hast taught' for *·ro-chechan* (*oi* contracted from *o-e*); *in-rograinn* 'has persecuted' for *·ro-gograinn*; *asa-toréimé* 'out of which has broken' Wb. 11'19 for *·to-ro-memoid*; *do-fóichred* 'he would put' for *·fo-chícherré*; *·fócalais* 'thou wilt endure' TBC. 1250 for *·fo-bólais*. But it also occurs in other forms; e.g. *fóesam* 'protection' for *fo-fesam*; *coim(m)shlúid* 'exchange' for *com-imm-chlúid*; *coimthecht* 'accompanying' for *com-imm-thecht*.

A similar development would account for the form *·táit* 'comes', < **to-thet* < **to-thet* (*a* for *e* probably on the model of *ipv. ag. tair* 'come', § 588), dactylic *do-táit* (§ 770), where the last *-t* (= *-d*) does not begin a new syllable; this in turn is the source of 3 pl. *-táigat* (dactylic *do-táigat*), 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-shluinidher*, fut. pass. of *do-shluind* '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' < **ovcht*, *t*-pret. of *erg(a)id*; *tart* 'drought, thirst', < **tarsto*, cognate with Gk. *ρίπερδα*; *áidín* instead of **díidín*, compar. of *áidín* 'beautiful'; *·fulgam* (ML) 1 pl. beside *·fulngat* 3 pl. of *fo-leing* 'supports'; *do-fóirde* beside *do-fóirde* 'defines'; *tairgire* beside *tairngire* 'promise'; *arbed* beside *arbad* 'in order that it might be'.

(3) *n* between other consonants also; e.g. scribúid beside scribúid 'scribe', from scribend 'writing'; aisúis beside aisúis 'exposition' (vb. as-úidest); freodaire beside freodaire 'present'.

In fórgaire, sometimes fergaire, for *forcaigaire, vb.n. of for-con-gair 'commands', and esúaire Ml. 105^o8, later esaire, vb.n. of as-con-gair 'proclaims', four consonants have been reduced to three and eventually to two.

Cp. also meúaid 'quarrel' Ml. 19^o18, 50^o18 beside meúaid -úaid Laws. In anacul 'protection' < anacúla (cp. Gaul. ANACULO-MAIWA), -úla has become -úú; and in feúis 'open sea', to feúisú 'wide', -úis has become -úis. For the loss of earlier final consonants see § 177, of initial *s* in pretonic words § 178, of lenited before other consonants §§ 126, 127, of *n* before *c*, *t* §§ 208, 210; for -séúig, -séúig, reduplicated pretenses of séúid and séúid, see § 216.

METATHESIS

181. Transposition of consonants is rare, and in some forms it does not occur consistently. Examples: acenam for *acenam (ad-conam), vb.n. of ad-con(a) 'strives after' (ad-con-ai-); esúim 'unsafe, danger' < es-úim (úim 'safe'); lúhart 'garden' Ml. 121^o12, for lúh-gort, dat. lúhart SP. (Thes. II. 294, 16) beside lúhartúir 'gardener' Sg. 92^o1; diamúin 'pure' Wb. 6^o8 beside diamúin 'unblemished' (amúin 'blemish'). The following examples occur only once: béúis Wb. 12^o14 (a form which later becomes general) for normal béúis 'language'; esúeud 'opening' Ml. 46^o6 from es-úeud, cp. túasúeud 45^o16, etc. (later túasúeud); desmrecht 'example' Sg. 213^o7, usually des(s)úmrecht (desmrecht 66^o20).

ORIGIN OF THE IRISH CONSONANTS

182. In the Old Irish phonetic system there are eleven pairs of consonants, one member of each pair representing the lenited form of the other, and one single consonant which only occurs unlenited:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>k</i> and <i>ck</i> , | 2. <i>g</i> and <i>γ</i> , |
| 3. <i>t</i> and <i>tá</i> , | 4. <i>d</i> and <i>δ</i> , |

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 5. <i>p</i> and <i>f</i> , <i>pā</i> , | 6. <i>b</i> and <i>β</i> , |
| 7. <i>n</i> and <i>ν</i> , | 8. <i>m</i> and <i>μ</i> , |
| 9. guttural <i>ŋ</i> (unlenited only), | 10. <i>r</i> and <i>ρ</i> , |
| 11. <i>l</i> and <i>λ</i> , | 12. <i>s</i> and <i>ś</i> . |

Further, each of the above consonants may have three different qualities, making a total of 69 consonantal sounds. But these qualities have no etymological significance; neither have the voiceless variants of *l r n* which were probably pronounced in *š r šn*.

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, 3).

In native words the consonants correspond to the following Indo-European sounds:

183. 1. *k* (written *c*) and *č* correspond to:

(a) The three IE. *k*-sounds, Brugmann's *Ā*, *g* and *gʰ* (in the present work *gʷ*), e.g.

śát 'hundred', W. *ceat*, Skt. *śatam*, Lith. *šimtas*.

deich 'ten', W. *deg*, Skt. *dśás*, O.Slav. *desęt*.

ocht 'eight', W. *wytk*, Skt. *aṣṭau*, Lith. *aštuoni*, O.Slav. *osmъ*.

searaid 'parts, separates', W. *yegar*, OHG. *sceran* 'to shear', Lith. *skirti* 'I part'.

fechid 'fights', Lat. *vincere*, MHG. *wîhen* 'to weaken, destroy', Lith. *ap-veikti* 'I overcomes'.

ceth(a)ir 'four', OW. *peguar*, Lat. *quattuor*, Lith. *keturi*.

sechithir 'follows', Lat. *sequi*, Gk. *ἑκέρθω*, Lith. *sekti* 'I follow';

Possibly orig. *kā* in *sefan* (sem.) 'knife', W. *yegtes*, cp. Skt. *chydri* 'cuts off', Gk. *exíthō*.

(b) *čkt* etymologically = *g* (*gā*) + *t*, e.g.

·acht, *t*-pret. of *agid* 'drives', § 221a.

čkt < *pt* (*b-t*), §§ 227c, 228.

(c) *č* developed from *γ*, §§ 124, 130, 131.

184. 2. *g* (written *g*, *c*, § 31 f.) and *γ* (written *g*, § 29 f.) correspond to :

(a) The palatal and the pure velar I.E. *g*, Brugmann's *ǵ* and *ǵ̌*, e.g.

ad·gnúin 'knows', *gnáth* 'customary', Gk. *γνώσις*, Lith. *šínóti* 'to know', O.Slav. *znati* 'to know'.

teig 'house', Gk. *τέρας*, *στέρας* 'roof', Lat. *tegere*, Lith. *stépas* 'roof', Skt. *stbhagayati* 'covers'.

The simplest explanation of the *γ* = I.E. *g** (labiovelar) in *nigfid* 'washes', Gk. *σίβω* (*σίβρω*), *χρυσή* 'washing water', Skt. *śájanam* 'wash(ling)', is that in Celtic this verb formed a *ǵ* present, like Gk. *πίβω* (*πίβω*), in which *g** lost the labial element before *j*, and that the *g* spread thence to other forms, cp. pret. *-nenaig*, vb.n. *fu-nech*, etc. (Osthoff, IF. XLVII. 177; otherwise Vendryes, RC. XLVII. 442 ff.)

(b) The three I.E. guttural mediae aspiratae, Brugmann's *ǵh*, *ǵȟ*, and *ǵʰ* (in the present work *gʰk*), e.g.

gaim, *gaim-red* 'winter', W. *gwaif*, Gaul. *Giamon* . . (name of month), Lat. *hiems*, Gk. *χειμώ*, Lith. *šiemà*, O.Slav. *zimà*, Avest. *zəd*.

eum-ung 'narrow', Lat. *angere*, Gk. *ἀγγυον*, Avest. *zəō* 'sore straits', O.Slav. *zəka* 'narrow'.

tiagu 'I go', Gk. *στέλλω* 'to step', Goth. *steigan* 'to climb', O.Slav. *stignō* 'I reach', Skt. *stighati* 'climbs'.

† *dliged -eth* 'duty, claim', Goth. *dalgs* 'debt', O.Slav. *dlęs* 'due, duty'.

fo-gair 'heats', *guirid* 'warms', W. *gori* 'to hatch', Skt. *gharmāṣ* 'glow, warmth', Lat. *formus* 'warm', Gk. *θερμαίνω* 'to become warm'.

suigid 'drips' (cp. *snechtas* 'snow'), Lat. *ninguit*, Gk. *νέσσω*, OHG. *snīcūt*, Lith. *snėiga* 'it snows'.

(c) *g* < (*u*)*k*, § 208.

(d) *γ* developed from *cā*, § 129 f.

185. 3. *t* and *tā* correspond to :

(a) I.E. *t* (also Europ. *t* = Skt. *tā*), e.g.

tri 'three', W. *tri*, Lat. *tres*, Gk. *τρεῖς*, Skt. *trīṣaṣ*.

rethid 'runs', roth 'wheel', Lat. *rota*, Lith. *rūtas* 'wheel', Skt. *rāthāḥ*, Avest. *raθā* 'car'.

In art 'bear', W. *arh*, Gallo-Lat. *Artis* (goddess with bear), Celtic affords a parallel to Gk. *ἀρως* as against Skt. *ṛ̥ṣāḥ*, Lat. *ursus*. (The original form has been variously reconstructed; **ṛ̥ṣos*!).

(b) IE. *th*.

Probably in *-the*, the ending of the 2 ag. ipv. depon., cp. Skt. *-thāḥ* (also Gk. *-θη* in the aorist passive!), see § 574.

(c) *th* developed from *ð*, §§ 124, 130, 131; *t* developed from *th* and *ð*, § 139.

(d) *t* < earlier *ð + s* (= *h*), e.g.

intam(a)ñl 'imitation' for *inad-tam(a)ñl*; tintūd 'translation' for *to-inad-toud*, § 842 A 2.

int sūll 'the eye' < **inda s* . . .; int aile 'the other' < **indad a* . . .; see § 467.

-cuintea < **com-dī-śá*, 3 ag. pres. subj., *cuintechti* verbal of necessity of *com-dī-śaig* (*com-dī-saig*) 'seeks' (prototonic 1 ag. *-cuintgim*, *-cuingim*, *-cuintchim*).

185. 4. *d* (written *d*, *t*, § 31 f.) and *ð* (written *d*, § 29 f.) correspond to:

(a) IE. *d*, e.g.

daur 'oak', *deruce* 'acorn' Sg. 113⁹, W. *dar*, *deruce* 'oak', Gk. *δαρυ*, *δρυς*, Skt. *dāru* 'wood'.

sa(l)idid 'sits', 3 pl. *sedait*, vb.n. *su(i)de*, Lat. *sedere*, Gk. *θεω*, Skt. *sīdāḥ* 'seat'.

(b) IE. *dh*, e.g.

denait 'they suck', *dīnu*, dat. *dīnit*, 'lamb', *del* 'teat'; Mid.W. *dyra* 'to suck', Skt. *dādāyati* 'sucks', Gk. *θήρασθαι* 'to suck', OHG. *sīla* 'female breast'.

mid 'mead', Skt. *mādhu* 'honey, mead', Gk. *μέθυ*.

In two words *d* seems to represent earlier *gd*: (1) *dū* fem. 'place', Gk. *ἄρα* 'earth', against Skt. *ḷeḥ* (gen. *ḷeḥ*, *ḷeḥ*, *ḷeḥ*), Avest. *sā* 'earth', and Lat. *arsua*, Lith. *šėmė* (Tochar. *šam*, Hittite *šam* *šam*).

'earth'); (2) *in-dé* 'yesterday', *W. doe*, *O.Corn. deo*, *Gk. χθες*, against *Lat. heri* (*her-terrus*), *OHG. pastarow*, *Skt. hyaś* 'yesterday'. In both words Celtic agrees with Greek.

(c) *d* < (n)t, § 208; < *t* in pretonic words, § 178, 2.

(d) *s* < IE. *z*, § 218.

(e) *s* developed from *sh*, §§ 126, 128 ff.

187. 5. *p* and *f*, *pá*:

(a) *p* < *b* + *s* (= *h*), e.g.

impude, vb.n., 'besieging' for **imb-śude*,

impu 'about them' < **imb-śu*.

(b) *sp* for *sf* in *aspenad* (probably with *s*) 'testifying' *ML* for earlier *astēnad* *ZCP. VII. 488*, vb.n. of *as-tēnimm*, *Mid.Ir.* generally *taisbēnad* 'showing, demonstrating'.

(c) *f* < initial *w*, § 202; developed from *β*, § 124.

(d) *f* (*pá*) < lenited *sw* § 132, *sp* § 226 b.

(e) *pá*, 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.

buidé 'yellow', *Lat. badius* 'bay' (if this is a pure Latin word).

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

slab 'mountain' (literally 'slope'), *W. llwyf* 'sledge-runner', *OHG. slīpf* 'lapsus', *Mid.HG. slīfan* 'to slide', *OE. tō-slīpan* 'to dissolve'.

(b) IE. *bh*, e.g.†

berid 'bears', *Skt. bhāratī*, *Gk. βίρας*.

imblis 'navel', *Gk. ομφαλός*, *Skt. nabhīś*.

(c) IE. labiovelar *g* (*gʷ*), e.g.

béu béo 'living', *W. byw*, *Lith. gyvas*, *Goth. gīwas*, *Lat. vivus*, *Osc. nom. pl. bivus*.

imb 'butter', *Lat. unguen*, *Skt. anśīti* 'ancients'.

(d) *m̄b* < IE. *mp*: *εamb* 'crooked, wry' (cp. § 152 c), Bret. *karum* 'crooked', Gk. *καμρός* 'bend(ing)', Goth. *kaufa* 'maimed' (connexion with Gk. *καμβόος* 'crooked' has also been suggested).

-βρ-, -βλ- < -pr-, -pl-, § 227 e.

(e) *β* < *w* after *p λ r δ*, and *β* < *m̄w*, § 201.

(f) *β* developed from *f* (*p̄b*), §§ 130, 635.

189. 7. *n* and *v* (both written *n*) correspond to:

(a) IE. *n*, e.g.

nāne nule nuas (§ 72) 'new', W. *newydd*, Gallo-Lat. *Novio-magus*, Skt. *nāyagāḥ*, Goth. *niujis*, Lith. *naūjas*.

sen 'old', W. *hew*, Lith. *senas*, Skt. *śnagāḥ*, Lat. *senex senis*.

(b) IE. final -*m*, § 176.

(c) Earlier *m* before *d* in composition, e.g.

condelgg condels 'comparison', for *com-delg*.

190. 8. *m* and *μ* (both written *m*):

(a) = IE. *m*, e.g.

māth(a)ir 'mother', Lat. *mater*, Gk. *μήτηρ*, OE. *mōdor*, Skt. *māth*, etc.

da(l)mid 'grants, admits', *fo-dalm* 'endures', *dam* 'ox', Skt. *dāmyati* 'is tame', Gk. *δάμνημι δαμάω* 'I overcome', *δαμάλως* 'young steer', Lat. *domare* Goth. *tamjan* 'to tame'.

(b) < Celt. *b* (§ 188) before *n*, e.g.

slemon slemun 'smooth', nom. pl. *slemna*, W. *llyfn*, < **slībno-*, cp. *silab* 'mountain' § 188a.

domun 'world', *domuin* 'deep', Gaul. *Dubno-talus Dumno-talus*, *Dubno-reix Dubno-rex Dumno-rex*, *Dubno-covirus*, etc. (here *b* is the earlier sound, cp. Goth. *diupe* 'deep').

ben 'woman', gen. *mná* < **bnāe* (orig. labiovelar *g^m*, cp. Goth. *gīwō* 'woman', etc.).

(c) *m* < other nasals before *b*, where the group has not arisen by vocalic syncope, e.g.

imb, Lat. *vagus*, § 188c.

l m-bluth for **in-biath* 'in the world'.

191. 9. *n* (written *n*):

(a) — IE. *n* only before Celt. *g*, e.g.

cunng 'narrow', § 184b.

ingen 'nail', Lat. *unguis*, cp. Gk. *ὄνυξ* gen. *ὄνυχος*, OE. *nasel*, etc.

(b) < other nasals before *g*, e.g.

congnam 'co-operation, help', from *con-* and *gnim*.

engn(a)e ingnae 'understanding', to *en-* in- and *-gnim* 'knows' (§ 184a).

192. 10. *r* and *ρ* (both written *r*):

(a) = IE. *r*, e.g.

rigid 'stretches out', *at-reig* 'arises', *reg(a)id* 'extends', *recht* 'law', *déirug déirugh* 'straight'; Lat. *regere rectus por-rigere*, Gk. *ῥέγω*, Goth. *af-rakjan* 'to stretch out', Skt. *rjádā* Avest. *arazud* 'straight', etc.

car(a)id 'loves', W. *ceru*, Gaul. *Carantius Carantillus*, Lat. *cōrus*, Lett. *kārs* 'lustful', Goth. *kārs* 'adulterer'.

(b) *ρ* < *l* by dissimilation:

aralle beside *alalle* 'the other' (§ 486b), similarly W. *ereill*.

For *r* in *déirug* 'throwing' see § 218.

193. 11. *l* and *λ* (both written *l*):

(a) = IE. *l*, e.g.

ligid 'licks', Lat. *lingere*, Gk. *λείγω*, Goth. *bi-laijōn*, Lith. *liešiti* 'I lick', etc.

melid 'grinds', W. *malu*, Lat. *molere*, Goth. *malan*, Lith. *malù* 'I grind', O.Slaq. *meljъ*, Gk. *μύλα* 'mill'.

(b) < *r* by dissimilation:

lour 'enough' (W. *lleuer* 'much') from **ro-uro-*, cp. *ro-fera* 'suffices'.

194. 12. *s* (written *s*) and *h* (written *s*, *h*, 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. *ffrud* 'stream', Skt. *srusati* 'flows', Lith. *sravėti* 'to flow', ON. *strawer* OE. *stréam* 'stream'.

lestar 'vessel', W. *lestr*, Goth. *lisan* 'to glean', Lith. *lėsti* 'to pick up', Umbr. *veaklu veakla* 'vessels'. This, however, seems to be a loan-word in Irish (see § 280, 4). But for -str-, cp. also *elstar* (*allear*), gen. -*tair*, 'sword-flag', W. and Bret. *electr*, 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's *Grundriss*. For vowels in medial syllables, which may vary considerably according to the nature of the flanking consonants, cp. § 101 ff.; for vowels in final syllables, cp. § 89 ff.

I. PURELY VOCALIC SOUNDS

195. IE. a and ə (IE. schwa) = a § 50, = o or u § 80a, b, = e, i § 80 c (cp. § 83);
lengthened to ā § 125, also § 45 ff.; to é §§ 125, 206, 210.
IE. ā = á § 51a.

IE. e = e § 52, = i § 75 ff., = a §§ 83, 115a; ew = ow, Ir. *ou*, etc., cp. *nāus nūs* § 72;
lengthened to é (*éu, éo, éu*) §§ 54 f., 125, 206 ff., also § 44 ff.
IE. ē = í § 58b; in final syllables e (?) § 90.

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

IE. ō = á § 51b; in final syllables = u § 89.

II. SOUNDS SOMETIMES VOCALIC, SOMETIMES CONSONANTAL

(i u x m n r l)

IE. *i*

196. 1. IE. vocalic *i* = *i* § 57, = *e* § 73 f.; lengthened to *i* § 210 (in § 71b), cp. also § 45 ff.

IE. *i* = *i* § 58a.

2. *i*-diphthongs:

IE. *ai* (*ai*) = *ai* *ai* *ai* *ai* § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 298.

IE. *ei* = *e*, in § 53.

IE. *oi* = *oi* *oi* *oi* *oi* § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 286.

Long vowelled *i*-diphthongs are rarely attested with any certainty: *oi* § 285; *ai* (?) § 296; *ei* (?) § 375.

197. 3. Consonantal *i*

In medial position after consonants unstressed syllabic *i* in hiatus (more exactly *ij*) has fallen together with consonantal *j*, 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 *alle fem.* 'another', orig. **aljā* (Gk. ἄλλος), and *culre* 'blame' (OW. *cared*) < **karijā*; nor between *-gairam* 'we call' < **garjomo(s)* (according to others, however, < **garfmo(s)*) and *ad-suidem* 'we hold fast' < **adejomo(s)*.

To some extent they can be distinguished with the aid of Britannie, where *ij* becomes *if* in original penultimate (stressed) syllables; and *j* either remains or coalesces with the preceding consonant.

In the present work *i* and *j* are not differentiated in attempted reconstructions of basic forms.

198. Medial intervocalic *j* seems to have disappeared very early except after *i*; cp.

máio mó 'greater' < *mō-jōs (1).

-táu -tó 'I am', probably < *stāijō (but it might also be < *stōō).

In Irish it has disappeared after *i* also, e.g. bíu, -bíu = W. *býddaf* 'I am wont to be' (*bōijō).

199. Initial *j* has disappeared, e.g.

oac fae 'young', Mid.W. *iesane*, Bret. *yaouant*, Gaul. *Iouinca Iouincillus*, Lat. *iunencus*, Goth. *juggs*, Skt. *yauśádī*.

ét 'jealousy', W. *aid-iaut* 'longing', cp. Gaul. *Iantumarus Ientumarus Ientallus*.

alg 'ice' (§ 302, 1), W. *ia* (stem *japi-*), cp. ON. *isli* 'ice-floe'.

áth (*u*-stem) 'ford', if cognate with Lat. *iūna*, Skt. *yāti* 'goes' (according to others it is connected with W. *ady* Bret. *ode oade* 'breach, pass', RC. XXIX. 70).

IE. *u*

200. 1. IE. vowels *u* = *u* § 64 (lengthened to *ū* § 44b, 46b), = *o* § 73 f. (lengthened to *ō*, *oa* § 62);

IE. *ū* = *ō* § 65.

2. *u*-diphthongs:

IE. *ou* = *ōu*, *ó*, *oa* §§ 69a, 60.

IE. *eu* = *é*, *ea* § 60.

IE. *ou* = *ó*, *oa* § 60.

IE. *ōu* = *ōu* (*o*) § 69b (cp. § 60).

201. 3. Consonantal *u* (*w*) seems to have early become spirant (bilabial *v* = *β*) initially and after consonants; it never causes *u*-quality in the preceding consonant.

(a) *v* 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. *selw*.

banb 'sucking pig', W. *banw*, cp. Gaul. *Bannus Bannu*.

fedb 'widow', W. *gweddaw* (i.e. **widwā* for earlier **widhward* or **widhward*, cp. Goth. *widuwō*, Gk. *ἰδύω*).

Bodh, war goddess, Gaul. *Boduo-gatus* *Boduo-genus*.

The gen. sg. fem. *deiribba* *indiribba* *indiribba* Sg. 69¹⁵. 14. 18, from *deirb* 'certain' (Mod. Ir. *dearth*), 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. *eo(a)lr eodr*, Mid.W. *egweir*, 'proper' < **co(m)wari-*; for further examples cp. § 830 A 1; cp. also Gaul. *Couirus* *Dubno-couirus* and W. *egwir* 'correct, true' < **com-wiro-*. After the development of *w-* to *v-* the *w* (*u*) of the prep. *com-* coalesced with *v* to give *v* (*β*), written *b*, e.g.

cubus 'conscience' < **com-wissu-s* (fluss 'knowledge').

cobud 'stable', from *com-* and *fessad* 'firm'.

coblige 'copulation' for *com-fo-lige* (cp. W. *gwe-ly* 'bed', *cy-we-ly* 'bed-mate').

Sometimes, by analogy with the simplex, *bf* is written, e.g. *cobfodius* ML 22¹ beside *cobodius* 'fellowship' (*fodail* 'share').

Since *b-* was here felt to stand for *f-*, *cob-* is employed to render Latin *conf-* also; e.g. *cobait*, *cobtes* (really the dative form) 'confessio'.

202. In absolute anlaut there is a further development of *v* to *f*; e.g. *fir* 'true', W. *gwir*, Lat. *uērus*, etc. (§ 133).

The pronunciation *v-* is retained only after a nasalizing final (§ 236. 1).

The only initial groups are *fr* and *fl*; e.g. *froich* 'heather' (W. *grag* for **gwerag*), *flaith* 'lordship' (W. *gwlad* 'country'). *olann* 'wool' (the name of an article of commerce) was apparently borrowed from Britannie **wlan-*, cp. W. *gwlan*, Bret. *gloan*.

Alternation of *f* and *b* (= *β*) often accompanies the change of accent in compound verbs; e.g. *for-fem* 'completes', partic. *forfalte* 'completed' *ad-tēt* 'relates', *de-ad-tat* '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 *Uexianusa*, *Uinciani*, *Uincius*, where, however, *ux* for *ud* (Ir. *and* 'fair') suggests Britannie rather than Irish phonology.

f (*ph*) also represents lenited *sw*, i.e. *sh*; in syllabic anlaut it becomes *β* (written *b*), see § 132.

203. (d) After all other consonants *w* has disappeared, e.g.

sīar 'sister', W. *chwcer* pl. *chwrygydd*, Skt. *sasā*, Goth. *swistar*.

dáu 'two', Skt. *dvau* (but *dau* also in W., etc.).

ard *ardd* *art* (unlenited *d*) 'high', Lat. *arduus*.

esth(a)lr 'four', OW. *petguar*, Skt. *catvraṣ*, Goth. *fidwōr*.

ech 'horse', Lat. *equus*, Skt. *dśwāḥ*.

ingen 'nail' < *ingw.*, W. *awia*.

For *c*, *ch* < *g*^h, see § 223.

If *fiadu* 'witness' (§ 330) and *bibdu* 'culprit' (§ 323, 4, O.Bret. *bibid*) are old perfect participles ending originally in *-wōa*, they show that *w* disappeared early before *ā*. Cp. *cū* 'hound', W. *ci* (not **ci*), for **kwē* ?

Since lenited *sw* and lenited *p* have the same form (i.e. *f*, *pā*), *p* may be used instead of *s* to represent unlenited *sw*. Thus the verb corresponding to *airfithad* 'entertaining with music' has 3 pl. pres. *ar-pe*(ly)tet instead of *-estet* (simplex *sētid* 'blows'). Forms with *b-* are also found, e.g. *ar-belttet* SP. (Thea. II. 286, 17), owing to the frequent interchange of *p-* and *b-* (§ 920). The late simplex *pested*, e.g. IT. III. 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 *w*) in archaic sources; e.g. *Bres-ual* (later *Bres(s)al*) man's name (Äht. Ir. Dicht. II. 4²); *nech dud-wceaster* (road *-wceaster*) 'whosoever may have eaten (perfective subj.) it' (*de-fe-ed-*) Ériu VII. 146 § 4.

2. After *i*, *í*, *é* (*ia*), e.g.

M, voc. gen. sg. of *béu* 'living', < **bíuw* **bíwi*, (dat. *bíu* < **bí(w)u*).

ro-flastar 'will know', reduplicated future, < **wiacost(a)r* (§ 659).

ll 'colour, splendour', W. *lléu*.

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

glé 'clear', cp. W. *glow*.

It has also disappeared after *u*, e.g.

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

luæ 'rudder', W. *llŷw*.

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

1. *ǰ* + *w* give *ǰu*, which however is in transition to *ǰ*, *ǰ̄*, where the change is not yet complete. See § 69. For *Dauid* (*Dauid* in SR.) *ML.* writes *Duid* 14^b8, *Duid* 2^a5, 30^a9.

In *auī* *auē*, when the last vowel lost its syllabic value, the triphthong *auī* arose, which became *oi* at an early period (§§ 67d, 69e); cp. also *con*-of 'guards', pl. *con*-eat, Lat. *caere*; *oal* 'bucca' *Sg.* 22^b8, gen. *olla*, *W.* *auēl* 'wind'.

2. Original *ew* and *ow* had fallen together at an early period as *ow*, which then turned into the diphthong *ǰu*. This, however, is rarely preserved; medially before consonants it has become *ǰ*, *ǰ̄* (§ 60), before vowels and in final position *ǰu*, which further develops to *ǰ*, *ǰ̄* as in 1. (§ 72). Cp.

loor *loor* 'enough' < **lowēr*- (*W.* *lowēr* 'much'), where the vocalism *-er* *-ur* shows the influence of former *-e-*.

loathar 'basin' (contracted: *lǰthar* *lǰther*), *Mid. Bret.* *lowar*,
Gk. *λοαρία*.

ow *owī*, when the second syllable is lost, become *oi* (§ 67d); cp. also *fofret*, 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' < **tanawjo-s*, *Mid. W.* *tanew* (*Mid. Bret.* *tanaw*,
Corn. *tanow*).

mað(a)e 'vain, futile', *O. Bret.* *maðou*.

ēdala 'I heard' < **cocklow(a) ?*, § 687.

-b(a)e, enclitic form of *bof* (**bowe* ?) 'he was', § 789.

·com(a)l, prototonic form of *con*-of.

206. 4. With *e* < *i* (§ 73) *w* combines in final position to give the diphthong *ǰu* *ǰ̄* (§ 70b); medially it disappears as a rule. Examples: *bēu* *bēo* 'living, alive' < **bewas* (earlier **bīwas*), *W.* *byw*, whence *bēoigidīr* 'viviñes'; *beothu* (read *bēothu* ?) 'life' only *Wh.* 3^a2, otherwise *bethu*, gen. and dat. always *bethad*, *beth(a)lđ*. Cp. also *dead* and *dīad* 'end' = *W.* *dīawad*, dat. sg. *deud* *dīud*, adj. *dēdenach* *dīdenach*.

Consonantal Nasals

207. IE. $n = n$ § 189. For lenition (ν) and non-lenition see §§ 120 f., 135, 140 ;

$nr > nr$ § 154a ; nl and $ln > ll$ § 153a, e.

IE. $m = m$ § 190, final $-n$ § 176. For lenition (μ) see § 134

IE. σ (guttural nasal) = σ (written n) § 191.

Before g , d , b all nasals become n , μ , m respectively, §§ 189-191 ; but not where this contact is due to syncope, e.g. **nálmíða** **nálmíða** (acc. pl.) 'enemies', **máinn** (**ma-ni-**) 'if it were not'.

Earlier nm and mn remain unchanged, e.g. **ainm** 'name', **comnessam** 'neighbour'.

208. Nasals are lost before t - and k -sounds, which become the unlenited (geminated) mediae d and g . A preceding i , e , or $ø$ remains unchanged ; kn (including $kn <$ IE. η , § 214) and dn become d in stressed syllables (in unstressed we find corresponding short vowels, which may be secondary shortenings of d , § 43). Examples :

re-lee rie(e) 'reaches' (rice a less 'needs it'), with $c(c) = g(g)$, from ***iok-** ; ep. Bret. **reikout reikout** 'to be obliged to', Mid.W. **cyfræc** 'encounter'.

toead (togad § 31b) 'luck', with $c = g(g)$, Bret. **toëket** 'fate', **TUSOCETACE** (Lat. gen. in Wales), Ogam **TOGITIACC**, Goth. **þeikaz** 'to prosper'.

cotlud 'sleep', with $t = d(d)$, for ***con-tolud**, vb.n. of **con-ta(l)l** 'sleeps'.

arch. **tu-thēget** 'who come' Cam., later **do-thlagat**, $<$ ***-teigout**, **slucid** 'swallows', 3 pl. **slogait** ML 123*3, O.Bret. **ro-luncas** 'has swallowed', Mod.Bret. **lowika loika** 'to swallow'.

eutrumm(a)e 'equal', Mod.Ir. **eudroma**, for ***can-tramme** (**tromm** 'heavy').

sēt 'way' (u -stem) $<$ ***sentu-**, W. **kynt** Bret. **hent**, O.Brit. **Gebro-senti** (placename), OHG. **sind** OE. **sip** 'journey', Goth. **sinfz** 'time' (e.g. in **ainawma sinfa** 'once') ; ep. Goth. **sendjan** 'to send'.

cétal 'song' (forestal forestal 'teaching'), *W. cathl*, < **kantlon*,
Bret. *keutel* 'lesson'.

carat (i.e. -ad) 'friend's' < **karantor* (§ 324), acc. pl. *cairtea*
cairdea syncopated from **carad(s)a*.

cét (neut. o-stem) 'hundred', Mod.Ir. *céad*, *W. cant*, Skt.
śatam, Lat. *centum*, Lith. *šimtás*, Goth. *hund*, orig.
**kṛtóm* or **kṛtóm*.

éc (u-stem) 'death', Mod.Ir. *éag* (Bret. *aebow*, really nom. pl.
**phéowes -owes*), cognate with Gk. *néctē*, etc.; cp. O.Ir.
techt do écalb (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: *é, é, é, é*. After these nasal
vowels the geminates became voiced (*gg, dd*). Subsequently *é, é, é* lost their
nasal quality and became *i, e, u*, while *é* and *é* fell together as the nasal vowel
é. The latter was lengthened, perhaps only when stressed, and later changed
into purely oral *é* (or *e*). If *Andros* (Pliny) and **Adros* (Ptolemy)
correspond to later *Benn Étair* 'Hill of Howth' (Pekocny, ZCP. xv. 193),
they may be regarded as representing the pronunciation *gdr-* (< *entr-*).

The development was complete before the time of syncope; later *nt*
remains unchanged, e.g. *clintá* 'faults' < **cinatá-n*.

For the *é* in *céte* 'five' see § 392.

209. The above *é*, like compensatorily lengthened *é* in § 125, is never
diphthongized to *ia*. In two words it becomes (also like compensatorily
lengthened *é*, § 53) *éu, éo* before *i*- and *u*-quality consonants, namely in the
masculine o-stems

ét 'jealousy', gen. *éult éolt*, dat. *éut(t)*, cp. Gaul. *Iantu-morus* § 199,
and

sét 'chattel, unit of value', pl. nom. *séult*, acc. *séutu*.

séutu is also found later as acc. pl. of *sét* 'path' (u-stem), but in view
of dat. sg. *séit* (*éi* = *é*, § 54) *Wb.* 24^a17, the first form is undoubtedly due to
the attraction of the other *sét*.

In all the remaining examples this diphthongization never occurs:
éá, gen. *éáit*; *méit* 'size', Mid.W. *meint*; *bréic* 'lie', acc. sg. *bréic*, Skt.
brághatā 'fall, desistance'; *rét* (u-stem) 'thing', dat. sg. *rét*, acc. pl. *rétu*,
cp. Skt. *rátana* 'property'; *dét* 'tooth', dat. sg. *déit*, *W. dent*; also *sét*-
'fret' < **hente-* (§ 393).

The presence or absence of diphthongization has been attributed to a
difference in the origin of the *é*, but this is not confirmed by the examples.
The fact that diphthongization is confined to one particular class of flexion
points to analogical formation, for which words like *én* 'bird' gen. *éoln*,
már 'finger' gen. *máolr*, etc., probably supplied the model.

210. *n* before *s* and *č* disappears, but lengthens a preceding short vowel. The *s* is unlenited (= *ss*). Here too *a(n)* gives *ä*, which is never diphthongized to *ia* or *éu*. Examples:

gäs 'swan', OHG. *gans* 'goose', Lat. *anser* (for **hanser*).

häs 'beard', O.Pruss. *sonao* 'first beard', Polish *wps* 'moustache'.

čäs(s)ald (weak verb) 'suffers', < *kant-t*... or *kpt-t*...
> *ken(s)*... Lith. *kenčiù* (*č* < *t*) 'I suffer'.

dräsacht 'creaking of wheels', Lat. *drencare* 'to cry' (of swans).

ésald 'alert' (§ 872e).

mäs, gen. of *mī* 'month', < IE. **mēns-os* (§ 53b), W. *mīs* 'month'.

riecht 'reaching', vb.n. of *r-is* (§ 208 above); similarly *s-subj.* *r-is(s)-*, probably < *rech-* (§ 221); with short vowel in unstressed syllable: *-alrecht*, prototonic form of *ar-licht* 'was found' (pres. ind. *ar-le*); *eumacht(a)e* 'power', cp. *com-le(s)* 'he can'.

técht(a)e 'proper, right', W. *teithi* 'characteristics, qualities', cognate with *tocad* 'luck' (§ 208 above).

But in compounds containing the prepositions *en-* and *com-* the vowel is not lengthened, e.g. *esnaisse* for **en-snaisses* 'grafted', partic. of *in-snaid* 'grafts'; *dessid* (*de-en-s*...) 'has sat down' (§ 534); *cosnam* 'contending' (*com-enim*).

Here the vowel was short from the earliest period. Cp. W. *sistid* O.Bret. *esid* 'sitting, seat', probably for **en-s.ist* -*is*, Gaul. *essidum* 'car with seat, chariot'; W. *csessid* 'sitting together'.

211. The only initial groups beginning with a nasal are *mr*, *ml*, e.g. *mrulg* 'land', *mluchtac* '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* § 192, = *r* § 192b; for lenition see §§ 119 f., 135, 140.

VOCALIC (SYLLABIC) NASALS AND LIQUIDS

Under this heading are included all sounds which developed as a result of the reduction of *an, am, ar, al*, etc. in primitive Indo-European.

213. 1. These appear before vowels, as well as before earlier *j* and *w*, as *an, am, ar, al* (which suggests an earlier development to *an, am, ar, al*), e.g.

tan(a)s 'thin', Gk. *ταλάς*, $\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$.

han, gen. pl. of *hen* 'woman'.

-gainethar 'is born' beside *gajn* 'birth', Skt. *jāyatī* 'is born'.

ainb 'ignorant' (*ʔ-wid-*).

sam (stem *samo-*) 'summer', OHG. *sumar*.

scar(a)id 'separates', Lith. *skirti* 'I separate', beside *scar* 'unyoking', OE. *sceran* 'to shear'.

marb 'dead', W. *marw*, < **m̥r̥wos*.

talam 'earth', O.Slav. *tolō* 'ground', Gk. *τολάς*, 'enduring'.

The root *men-* 'think' makes pres. *-moinethar* in Wb., *-m̥(i)æthar* in Ml. Sg. (in Sg. occasionally also *-m̥ainethar*) owing to the influence of the initial labial (§§ 80, 84b); cp. Skt. *māyati*, O.Slav. *m̥aję*.

ʝ becomes *an* before *m* also; e.g. *ainm* 'name', O.Bret. *awm*, later *kawm*, O.Slav. *imę*, beside Goth. *namo*, etc.

214. 2. In other positions, too, vocalic nasals are always represented in Britannic by *an, am (aw)* or developments of these sounds; but in Irish a front vowel has developed before them. Only in the ending *-a* of the acc. pl. of consonantal stems do we find what is apparently a very early development of original *-as* or *-as̥* to *-ās* (presumably through intermediate *-ans*); see § 316.

But original *-as̥* has become *-s* in nom. sg. *šeh* 'twenty' < **wik̥t-s* or *-k̥t-s*.

Cp. *deich* 'ten' < **dek̥s*, Lat. *decem*, Gk. *δέκα*. The neuter *n*-stems *neim* 'poison' and *gajn* 'birth' show clearly that the palatal vowel was *e*, not *i* (**sewin* would have given **nice*). In medial position *en* and *is* are hard to distinguish, cp.

ro-gajnn 'finds room', W. *gawn*, < **g̥h̥p̥d-n-* (§ 548).

teng(a)s, gen. tengad, 'tongue' (a shorter form teng only in verse), Mid.W. tafaut; cp.—apart from the initial—
O.Lat. *lingua* (later *lingua*), OE. *tunge*.

So too -*et*-, -*et*-, -*et*-, < -*et*-, -*et*-, -*et*- (§§ 208, 210) presuppose intermediate -*et*-, -*et*-, -*et*-. Cp. also *esim(m)* 'step', W. *cam*, < **ep(g)-amp* (§ 735).

But *ia*, *im*, *is* 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) *hind* 'melodious' (*i*-stem), O.Bret. *banx*, Mid.W. *ban*; cp. Skt. *bhāndāwah* 'jubilant',

ingen 'nail', W. *ewin* (< **awin*); cp. Lat. *unguis*, O.Slav. *uogotb*, Gk. *ὄνυχ*- (Skt. *nakhān* for **naphukām* ?),

(b) *imb* 'butter' (*n*-stem), Bret. *amaza*, O.Corn. *amen-en*; cp. Lat. *unguen*, OHG. *ancho*.

The negative prefix *ɣ* never appears as *en*-, but as *in*- (§ 872 d), even in forms like *ingnad* 'unusual'.

A possible explanation of the stem *ic(e)*- in *re-iccu* 'I reach' (§ 208) is that the pres. ind. originally belonged to the *ɣ*-class (§ 549); in that case **ɣic* would have given **ic*ɣi, whence **icɣiu* **icɣu* (written *iccu*), and *ic*ɣ- would have spread from the present stem to other forms (§ 210).

gris, also *grised*, 'inflaming, causing to blush', beside Skt. *grīṣṣaṣ* 'blaze of the sun', seems to point to earlier **gris*- which, however, cannot be a regular development from **gris*-. Since a primary form **grīṣa*- is unlikely (as is *ṣak*- for *ic*-), there may have been influence by a root containing *ɣ*, perhaps *grīan* (*ia* < *ei*) 'sun' or Skt. *grīṣṣaṣ* 'summer, heat'. Mid.W. *gures gurye* and Bret. *grouz guez* 'heat' (< **uris*) 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) *er* *el*, and (c) *ra* *la*.

(a) *ri* *re*, *li* *le*, e.g.

eride 'heart' < **kyd*-; cp. Lat. *cord*-, Gk. *καρδία*, Lith. *širdis*.

breth and *brith*, gen. *britha*, v.b.n. of *berid* 'bears'; cp. Skt. *bhṛiti* 'sustenance'.

ren(a)ld 'cells', if < **prn*-, Gk. *πέριον* (§ 551).

mlith dat. sg. 'grinding', v.b.n. of *mlid*.

lethan 'wide', W. *Hydan*, Gaul. *Litana silua*, *Litano-briga*,
Gk. *πλατύς* (*πλατάγιος*), Skt. *प्रतिद्व* 'wide'.

For *ra* < *ri* see § 222, 1.

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

tart 'drought, thirst', Skt. *त्र्यक्ष* 'dry', OE. *þurst*, beside
Gk. *τίρομαι*, etc.

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

im-com-aire 'asks', W. *arcl* 'request', < *-pr(k)-ak-*, cp.
OHG. *foraskā* 'to inquire'.

But *ar* *al* are also found in other positions:

marn(a)ld -mairn 'betrays', beside pret. *ro-mert*, pres. subj.
·mera.

at-hall 'dies' < *balu-* (§ 552), subj. *·bela*.

(c) *ra* (*ia*), especially when there are parallel forms with
ar, *al*, e.g.

do-grath pret. pass. of *do-gair* 'summons', subj. *·gara*.

mrath 'treachery', vb.n. of *marn(a)ld* above. In other forms:
frass fem. 'rain', Skt. *वर्षक्ष* past partic. of *वर्षति* 'rains',
Gk. *ἔρσθ* 'dew'.

To some extent forms with *ra-ia-* may be based on disyllabic roots
(‘heavy bases’): cp. *rath* ‘grace’ (W. *rhad*), *ro-rath* ‘has been bestowed’,
pres. *ern(a)ld* subj. *·era* (§ 756), cp. Gk. *εἰσάρατα*, *εραπίς*.

These roots also give rise to forms with *ia rd*:

(1) Certainly in *lān* ‘full’ (W. *llawn*) beside *lin* (< **plāna-*) ‘number’,
base *plā-*, root *plā-*, *plā-*; the first form probably corresponds directly to
Skt. *पूर्णाक्ष* Lith. *plāna* ‘full’. Accordingly *ll* represents de Saussure’s *l*.

(2) Possibly in *lām* ‘hand, arm’, Gk. *ράδιμα* (here a radical form *plā*
is also possible).

Cp. also *slān* ‘sound, whole’ beside Lat. *salvus* and cognate forms:

grān ‘corn’ (hardly a borrowed word), W. *grawn*, Lat. *grānum*, Goth.
krāna, O.Slav. *svaco*.

III. SOUNDS THAT ARE ALWAYS CONSONANTAL

IE. *s, z*

W. Foy, IF. vi. 313 ff., viii. 200 ff.

216. IE. *s = z*, § 194. Initial groups preserved: *sa*,
sm (and *swr*), *ar*, *al*, *sc* (and *scr*, *scī*); e.g. *smām* ‘swimming’,
smīar ‘marrow’, *Smrith* man’s name, *sruth* ‘stream’, *slāb*

'mountain', *seáth* 'shadow, reflection', *serissid* 'scratches (out)', *seléo* 'misery' (I) 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 sn ll*, §§ 152a, 151a, 153b; but after reduplication syllables *-sm- -sl-* gave single *m, l*; e.g. *-sensaig*, 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', *kosn* 'hair'. But if OHG. *kōr* and its cognates go back to **kēsō-*, *ē* (Ir. *í*) may have been the original vowel.

mír 'bit, morsel', < **mēm̄sr-* (§ 58).

Medial *s* between vowels has completely disappeared (§ 131); cp. further:

larn larn 'iron', Goth. *eisarn*, OHG. ON. *isarn*.

ad-ctū 'I see' (pret. pass. *ad-cess*), probably related to *ctall* 'understanding', W. *pygll* (root *q^meis- q^mis-*).

rs > *rr* § 154c, *ls* > *ll* § 153d.

Final *-s* has disappeared (except in some Ogam inscriptions), but a trace of it sometimes remains in the gemination of following consonants or in the prefixing of *h-* to vowels (§§ 177, 230, 240 ff.).

217. The treatment of *st* in Celtic presents a number of problems; but only those affecting Irish are dealt with here.

Collections: Rozwadowski, *Questiones Grammaticae et Etymologicae* (1897), p. 22 ff.; Ascoli, *Archivio Glottolog. Ital.*, Supplm. period. II. 100 ff.

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

giall 'hostage' beside W. *gygal* 'pledge, hostage' (cp. Gaul. *Crygeiāll*, gen.) seems to show that *st̄* was treated in Irish like *st*, unless, indeed, there was an early form without *t*; cp. ON. *giel*, OE. *gield*.

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

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

īagu 'I go', *techt* 'going' W. *teith*, as against Gk. *σείχεν*, Goth. *steigan*, Skt. *stighnōti* (§ 184b).

-tá (*attá*, etc., § 777) 'is', as against Lat. *stare*, Gk. *στένω*, O.Slav. *stati*, Skt. *stihā*.

trég trúng 'miserable', W. *tru*, as against Gk. *σραΐγυρθος* (§ 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. *strathis* (gl. 'beatam antiquam gentem'), O.Slav. *stryjč* 'father's brother',

Cp. *srahtar* 'peck saddle' from Lat. *stratura*. This reduction can hardly be very early, since the saint's name *Stráfan* is still occasionally written with *st-* (e.g. *Stráfan*, Martyrology of Tallaght May 23). The same applies to *st- < st-*: *sliuz* 'side, flank', W. *pslyu*.

This may also account for the *s-* of *sern(a)id* 'sternit' which is identical in all forms with *sern(a)id* 'serit' (partic. *serius*). The two verbs may have fallen together first in the forms with initial *str-* and *sr-*, such as partic. *srithe*, verbal of necessity *srethl*, 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. *staf* OHG. *stap* 'staff'.

ser 'star' (ZCP. XIX. 199 f.), W. *ser-en*; but Bret. Corn.

ser-en, OHG. *sterro sterno*, Gk. *δωρίο*, 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 medials, became *š* in Insular Celtic, and is preserved as such in Irish (written *š*) before *g* and *b*; with a following *d* it combines to give *dd* (written *f*), cp. § 137. Examples:

Tade Tadge (i.e. *Tašg*) man's name, cp. Gaul. *Tasgillus*, *Tasgetios*. *Moritasgus*.

- međg** 'whey', Mod.Ir. *meadhg*, Mod.Lat. *meagus*; O.Bret. *meid* and W. *meidd* apparently with *i*-suffix.
odb 'knob, lump', (Mod.Ir. *fadhb*), Sc.Gael. *faob*, W. *oddf* 'knob', Gk. *ὄψις* 'hip'.
net 'nest', Mod.Ir. *nead*, W. *nydā*, OE. *nest*, Skt. *niśāḍā* -*dm*, cp. Lith. *ūdas*.
tris-gata 'transfixes', Goth. *gards* 'spike', probably also Lat. *hasta* (**ǵāzādhā*).

In unstressed syllables the normal development was apparently that *xy* gave Ir. *ry*, and *x* before *d* disappeared; cp.

- bedg** 'leap, start', **do-bidei** 'pelts', but vb.n. *dibreind* (pf. *do-rru-bide* Ml. 40d9, but e.g. *ipv. dibairg* Anecd. i. 5, 29).

Others see in these forms the intervention of a different root, W. *baru* 'to cast', ME.W. pret. *byrped*, *byrpede* (< **burp*).

- cuid** 'part, share', Mod.Ir. *cuid*, as against *sochuid* (*d* = *š*) 'multitude'.

- séid** 'blows', Mod. Ir. *séidh*, W. *clwyth*, Skt. *śpṛśati* 'hums, buzzes', as against *tinid* *tinphed* *tinfeith* 'inspiration, aspiration', **do-infedam** 'we inspire, blow' (but *air-ftiud* 'entertaining with music', cp. § 203).

STOPS

218. 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 *k̄*, *t* with *t̄* (*p* with *p̄*), *g* with *ḡ*, *d* with *d̄*, and *b* with *b̄*. Only the aspirated labiovelar media (*ḡ*), which early lost the labial element (thus falling together with ordinary *ḡ*), 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 *k̄ k̄̃ ġ ġ̃*) and the velars (Brugmann's *ḡ ḡ̃ ǵ ǵ̃*) have fallen together in a single series, and are therefore treated here as uniform guttural sounds (*k̄ k̄̃ ḡ ḡ̃*).

The treatment of the labiovelars (*ḡ*, *ḡ̃*, *ḡ̃̃*) as a separate series is

without prejudice to the theory of Kurylowicz (*Études Indoeuropéennes* 1. (1935), I E.) that these represent a development from the pure velars which was confined to certain languages.

220. VOICED STOPS FOR VOICELESS

d and *g* < *t* and *k* after nasals, § 208.

t at the beginning of proclitics becomes *d*, § 178, 2.

There are further sporadic cases, some of them common to all Celtic languages, of a media appearing where one might expect a tenuis. Thus *brecs* (not **arecc*) 'speckled, variegated', W. *brych*, Gaul. *Briccus Briccius* (as against Skt. *pṛśhīṣ* 'speckled', Gk. *σπαστός, σπαστός* 'dark-coloured', and *σπέρ* 'perch': Ir. *ara* 'salmon') shows a treatment of *pr-* that is elsewhere found only in medial position (§ 227c). For *gabur* 'goat' cp. § 227a.

In other cases an Irish media contrasts with a Britannie tenuis:

gíe 'branch' as against W. *coinc* (cp. O.Slav. *splo* 'branch, sprig', Skt. *śākhīṣ* 'wooden plug') may have been influenced by *gíe(a)ie* 'branch'.

The reason for the initial variation in *garmain* 'weaver's beam', W. *carfae*, is obscure. For *bee(s)* 'small' (*e = g*), as against W. *tycten*, see § 190.

drech 'wheel', if related to W. Bret. *tro* 'turning', W. *troi* Bret. *troi* 'to turn' (< *trog-*), shows alternation of *trog-* and *drok-*.

The initial of *dra(h)teall* *tra(h)teall* 'pet, favourite', W. *deydyll* *trydyll* 'wanton', fluctuates in both languages. W. *trun* 'ridge' is probably a loan-word from Ir. *drúim* inaccurately reproduced.

221. GUTTURALS

(a) Before *t* all gutturals appear as *cā*, e.g.

ocht 'eight', W. *wyth*, Gk. *ὄκτώ*, Skt. *aṣṭā*.

in-nocht 'to-night', W. *pennoeth* 'every night', Lat. *noct-*, Skt. *nakṭīṣ*, Lith. *nakšis*.

nocht 'naked', W. *noeth*, Goth. *naqsaþa*, Skt. *naṣadīṣ*, O.Slav. *naṣa*.

-acht 'he drove' (W. *acth* 'he went'), pret. of *agid* 'drives', Avest. *asaiti*.

techt 'going' (W. *teith*), vb.n. of *tiagu* 'I go', Gk. *τεταχεν*. *snecht(a)e* 'snow' cognate with Lat. *ninguī*, Gk. *νεῖφα*, etc.

Britannie *tā* goes back to *cā*, cp. the occasional doubling of *t* in Irish (§ 136). The representation of the same group by *xt* (*x* = Gk. *χ*) in Gaulish inscriptions shows that this sound change was common to all the Celtic languages, e.g. *oxruvetro[s]* 'eighth' (Ir. *ochtmad*), *aruxvrouc*. (Cp. Lat. *als Alectorignus*).

For Ir. *cl* < *cā* in *anasul* '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 *cs* may be inferred from Britannie *cs*.

In Gaelish this sound-group is sometimes represented by *xs*, sometimes by *x*. In Ir. *x* stands for *cs* (§ 24, 5).

Examples :

úasal 'high' W. *uochel*, cp. old place-names like *Οὐζέσλλον*, *Uzelloduwum*.

cois 'leg, foot', Caledon. *Ἀργυροπόσιος*, Lat. *cois* 'hip', Skt. *śāśpaś* 'armpit' (W. *cois* 'leg, shank' has been influenced by Lat. *cois*).

So too the stems of *s*-subjunctives like *tess-* (teahid 'fleece'), *tíss-* *tías-* (tiagu 'I go'), etc., § 613 ff.

222.

NON-LABIALIZED GUTTURALS

IE. *k* (*k̑*) = *c* § 183; lenited *cs* § 122, which may become *γ* (written *g*) § 129 f., and in medial position disappears before *r l n* § 125.

sk̑ (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 *g̑* = *g* § 184; lenited *γ* (written *g*) § 122, which may become *cs* §§ 124, 130, and in medial position disappears before *r l n* § 125.

gd, *gb* > *dd*, *bb* § 149, 3a, 4b; *wg* > *wb* § 152c.

Initial groups preserved: *gr*, *gl*, *gn*, e.g. *grían* 'sun', *glé* 'clear', *gnáth* 'customary'.

223.

THE LABIOVELARS

gʷ *gʷ* *gʷh* (*gʷh* is not attested).

(a) By the Old Irish period *gʷ* had completely fallen together with the non-labialized *tennis* (see § 183), whereas in Britannie it had become *p* before vowels and *r*. But the Ogam script still has for this sound a special symbol which is trans-

literated *q*. Thus the genitive of *maes* 'son' (Britannic *map*) is nearly always written *MAQT MAQGS* in the Ogam inscriptions. *MACT* 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 (Theb. II. 288, 35) has *MACCI*.

Ogam *qr* 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.

crulm 'worm', W. *pryf* Bret. *prēle*, Skt. *kṛmīṣ*, Lith. *kirmis*.

cruth 'shape, appearance' (*u*-stem), W. *pryf*.

Cru(l)then-dúath 'Pict-folk', *cruthnech* 'Pictish', Mid.W.

Prydyu 'Britain'.

On the other hand, *re* before neutral consonants is unchanged, e.g.

cren(a)id 'bays', W. *pryas*, Skt. *kṛpādi*, Gk. *κρίσθη*.

creth '(poetic) art' beside W. *pryde* 'to compose verse',

prydydd 'poet'.

The vocalism of gen. sg. *cretha* (instead of **cretha*) is due to nom. acc. dat. *cruth*.

That *ru* does not come directly from *qr*, but represents a mutation of earlier *qri*, is shown by the late Ogam *q̄c̄m̄r̄m̄ r̄m̄an̄m̄ maq̄ com̄oḡan̄m̄* Macal. no. 56. The first word represents later *crulmther* 'priest' which, as pointed out in Cormac's Glossary 211, was modelled on OW. *prw̄der* (*prw̄der*, cp. Corn. *prw̄der* *prw̄ter*), a corruption of Lat. *pr̄sbyter*.

(2) The representation of earlier *g^{ua}*- by *co-* in *co(l)re* 'cauldron', Mid.W. *peir*, Provençal *par*, *peiról* (Gaul. **parios*); cp. OE. *awer* 'cauldron'.

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

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

g^{ua} > *wa-*, § 190b; in medial position treated as *ga*! Cp.

úan 'lamb', W. *oew*, and Lat. *agnus*, Gk. *ἀμνός* (*o-* instead of *a-* in Celtic by analogy with **ovis*, Ir. *oi*, 'sheep'?).

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

(c) $g^h k$ falls together with g^h , g , § 184b.

Collection: Osthoff, *op. cit.*: *op. further* Ingen 'naid', W. *cuin*, § 214 ($g^h + w$).

225.

DENTALS

(a) In original groups all dentals (t , d , d^h) combine with a following t to give the geminate ss (simplified s), § 155 (f); but t , d , t in composition (see *preps. ad* § 822, *frith* § 839).

(b) IE. t (and t^h) = t , § 185; lenited t^h § 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', *tlaecht* 'garment', *tnúth* 'jealousy, passion'.

(c) IE. d and d^h = d § 186; lenited δ (written d) § 122, which may become t^h §§ 124, 130, 131, and disappears before r *l* *n* § 125.

ds > ss (s) § 155b; dt > t § 185d; $d^h g$ $d^h b$ > gg bb § 149, 2a, 4a; for the development of *dwn* (*dm*, *mn*) see § 152b.

Initial groups preserved: *dr*, *d^h l*; e.g. *driugid* 'climbs', *dlong(a)id* 'cleaves'.

226.

LABIALS

1. IE. p (and p^h) 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's Beitr.* viii. 1 ff.

(a) Initial and intervocalic p has disappeared, e.g.

athir 'father', Gk. *πατήρ*, etc.

il 'many', Goth. *filu*, Gk. *πολύς*, Skt. *purúṣ*.

ro, *prep.*, W. *rhŷ*, Gk. *ρό*, Skt. *pra*, etc. (§ 852).

lethan 'broad', W. *llydan*, Gaul. *litanos*, etc. (§ 215a).

tee té 'hot', nom. pl. téht, Skt. *tápat-* 'hot', Lat. *tepere*.
 nise 'sister's son', Mid.W. *nei*, Lat. *nepos*, etc.
 fo 'under', Britann. *gwo-*, < *wo* **uo* **upo*, Gk. *úro*, etc. (§ 837).

In Celtic, as in Italic, initial *p* became *q* if the second syllable began with *q*: celté 'five' (*coica* 'fifty'), OW. *piup*, Gaul. *piapetes* 'fifth', and Lat. *quinque*, as against Skt. *pañca*, Gk. *pente* (**panq**).

(b) Initial *sp* (*sp̥h*), like original *su-* (§ 132), gives *s-*, lenited *f* (*ph̥*), e.g.

sine 'nipple', bé tri-phne 'a cow with three teats' LU 6249,
 Lith. *speaifs* 'nipple', OE. *spann* 'nipple'.
 selg 'spleen', Bret. *felc'h*, Avest. *sperasa*, Mod. Pers. *supurs* ;
 cp. Gk. *σπλήν*, *σπλάγγνα*.
 seir 'heel', du. *di pherid* LU 5698, W. *ffer* 'ankle', O.Corn.
fer gl. 'crus', Gk. *σφουδν* 'ankle', (i.e. < *sp̥h*-).

If Pedersen's equation (L. 83) of Ir. *deindid* 'designates' (vb.n. *slond*), O.Bret. *deindid* gl. 'profatur', with Lat. *splendere* is correct, the group *sp̥h* became *st-* in Celtic.

227. (c) *ps* > *cht*, e.g.

secht 'seven', Mid.W. *seith*, Gaul. *SEXTAMETOS* 'seventh',
 Lat. *septem*, Gk. *heptá*, etc.
 necht 'niece', W. *nieth*, Lat. *neptis*, Skt. *neptih̥*, OHG. *nift*.
 cēcht 'plough', possibly cognate with Gk. *καρρός* '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. *λάπερος*.

It is not quite certain that O.Ir. *tes* (*u*-stem) W. *tes* 'heat' had as basic form **sepsta-*.

(e) *ps*, *pl* after vowels > *br*, *bl* (*βρ*, *βλ*), e.g.

ad-cobra 'desires' (vb.n. *accobar*) < *kupr* . . ., cp. Lat. *cupere*,
Dea Cupra (= *bona*).
gabor gabur 'goat', W. *gafr*, O.Brit. *Gabrosenti* (locative),
 Gaul. *Gabromagus* placename, Lat. *caper capra*, ON. *haf*
 'he-goat' (*g-* instead of *c-* under the influence of *ga(i)bid*
 'takes, seizes' !).

diabul 'double', cp. Goth. *twēifl* (acc. sg.) 'doubt', Lat.
du-plus, Gk. *δι-πλόε*.

Cp. also § 649.

(f) *opn epn* > Celt. **ounn* **oun*, > Ir. *únn*, e.g.

únn 'sleep', W. *hnn*, < **soynas*, Lat. *sonnus*.

únn 'meadow' (**klopni*-), cp. Lith. *slėpinis* 'wet', Gk.

**klēnos* 'swamp' (Hesych.).

únn 'harbour' (**kupno*-), OE. *hæfen*, MHG. *haben*.

If the equation of *tenn* 'fire' (Britann. *ten*) with Avest. *tafnō* 'heat', *tafnōd* 'fever' (*fa* < *pa*) is correct, *p* in *epn* has completely disappeared.

(g) *rp* > *rr*, § 154b; *lp* probably > *ll*, § 153c; *mep* > *mō*, § 188d.

It would seem that *p* (*pā*) in all positions (except, perhaps, after *m*) first became bilabial *f*, which is possibly preserved in *f*, the lenited form of original *sp*- (cp. Britann. *f*-). Elsewhere *f* developed, sometimes into *β* or *w*, sometimes into *h*, which as a rule disappeared, but *h*, *hw* became *cht*, *chw*.

228. 2. IE. *b* and *bh* = *b*, § 188; lenited *β* (written *b*), § 122.

b + *i* > *p*, § 187a; *b* before *u* > *m*, § 190b; *mō* > *wm*, § 152c.

b + *t* had become *pt*, whence Ir. *cht* (§ 227c), e.g.

drucht 'dew', cognate with O.Sax. *driopan* OE. *drópan* 'to drip', OE. *drops* OHG. *tropfo* *tropfo* 'drop'.

Initial groups preserved: *br*, *bl*; e.g. *brá* '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 *-a* (which also represents IE. *-m* § 176).

III. **Geminatio**n, after words originally ending in *-s* or postvocalic *-t* and *-k*.

In the present work leniting terminations are indicated where necessary by ^l, nasalizing by ⁿ, and geminating by ^g; thus *a^l* = leniting *a*, *aⁿ* = nasalizing *a*, *a^g* = 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), *tā*, *d*, nor of *c* (and doubtless *g*) after *-ā*, *-g*. In the last four instances the contact of the respective sounds should, according to § 137, produce the geminates *tā*, *dā*, *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 cētthuid* (fem.) 'every feeling' Wb. 24^b4.

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^b15 beside *di peccad* 24^b18 (*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*,

sin (§ 475), except when used as substantives after prepositions (§ 480) and in *sunda* 'here' for *sund-da* (§ 483). For *me* 'my' and *do*, *t-* 'thy', see § 439.

7. As a rule lenition of *f* and *s* is not indicated in the earlier Glosses. But occasionally lenited *f*, which was silent (§ 133), is omitted altogether, especially when the two words are written as one; e.g. *innalaith* 'into his kingdom' (*flaith*) Wb 31'3; *meulae* 'of my flesh' (*féulae* gen. pl.) ML 47'4; *laeram* 'we cause it' Wb 15'3 (*fo-fera* 'causes'). This omission is frequent in compounds: *immoláng* 'causing' (vb.n.) beside *im(m)folang*, *immfolang*.

In Sg. and later MSS. a *punctum delens* is frequently placed over lenited *f* and *s* (§ 33), e.g. *do slund nach foisid* '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, KE. xxxv. 315 ff.

A. After declensional forms. Here it is consistently found only after the article and after pronominals and numerals preceding the word qualified by them. Lenition of the initial in adjectives and nominal genitives standing after their noun is sporadic, being mainly found where they have a close semantic relation to the qualified noun. To some extent, therefore, the rule can be formulated only for the largest of the nominal stem classes, the *e-* and *á-*stems.

The following are the case-forms after which lenition occurs:

1. Dat. sg. of all genders and stems; e.g. *do-a chorp* 'to the body' Wb. 3'14; *i each thir* 'in every land' 1'3; *do thaidhse superlaít* 'to show a superlative' Sg. 40'15; *iar m[ádm]aim eatha* 'after the defeat' ML 84'9; *húait ehoarsau* 'from thee (the) adversary' 108'4.

2. Nom. and voc. sg. of all feminines (including *sl* 'she' and *ei-sí* 'which?' fem.); e.g. *int síllab* 'the syllable' Sg. 25'1; *mo thoi choinde* 'my carnal desire' Wb. 3'38; *súil*

chafrech 'the eye of a sheep' IT. i. 82, 1; *genitlu chintig* 'genitive of a finite' Sg. 209⁷; *is sí eifall* 'that (fem.) is the meaning' Ml. 94¹⁷; *a ingen fial* 'O modest daughter' IT. i. 70, 4.

3. Gen. voc. sg. and nom. pl. of masculine, gen. sg. of neuter *o-* and *io-* stems; e.g. *alaili thriuin* 'of a certain hero' Sg. 96⁴; *cach folaid* 'of every substance' 200⁵; *a ch[li]óirehén chochlaleh* 'O cowled little monk' AU. 788; *in phreceptóiri* 'the teachers' Wb. 5².

Lenition after certain hypocoristic personal names (of monks) like *Mo Lua chráifdech* '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 gail cholma* 'the dear pledges' Ml. 123⁹; *cethr chét* 'four hundred' Thes. II. 29, 33; *a huil chená* 'O all ye nations' Ml. 67¹⁷; *cen trí chét* 'without three hundred' Thes. II. 291, 12.

After nominal forms in *-a* lenition is not consistent; e.g. *arma cholma* 'arms of the flesh' Wb. 22¹³ beside *accobra colna* 'desires of the flesh' 20⁶, cp. 20¹. After pronominals in *-a* there is no lenition (§ 241, 1).

inna chená, *inna chená* 'the nations' Ml. 67²⁴, 103¹⁴ are probably scribal errors, like dat. pl. *énaib chenáib* 118³.

5. Nom. acc. and gen. dual, masc. and fem.; e.g. *di chéfhuid* 'two senses' Wb. 18⁹; *di gurtai fodlaidi* 'two separate vowels' Sg. 54¹⁴; *etir da son* 'between two words' 150¹; *da tyl(lab)* 'of two syllables' 220⁸.

6. Nom. voc. sg. *cá* 'hound' (lenition first attested in later mss., but undoubtedly old).

7. The neuters *alail* (§ 486b), e.g. *alail íain* 'something special' Sg. 6²⁴, and *ead ead* '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* *-(l)id*. For examples cp. §§ 439, 441, and 415 ff.

Arch. énan chankin 'to us ourselves' Cam. 37d is peculiar; but *ch* is frequently written for *c* in this mss.

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* (< **betas*), *-bis*, *-bitar*, *-psa*, etc.

(d) *masu* 'if it is', *cesu* 'though it is', pl. *matu*, *cestu* etc.

In Wb. lenition after forms in (c) does not seem to be a fixed rule; cp. *ní-tat cosmllí* 'they are not alike' 32^a14 (similarly 7^a12) beside *bés ní-bat chutrummí* 'perhaps they are not equal' 9^a27; archaic *ní-tam toirsech* 'we are not sad' Wb. I. 15^b21.

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-rigais chomgníma* 'I have done joint deeds' ML. 47^a20; *ní-ílí chumtabairt* 'there is no doubt' Sg. 154^b2; *cíta-bíat chífiasa* 'which ears perceive' 3^a1; *con-teat chual* 'who turn to him' ML. 46^a1; *fúachímm chéin* 'I myself point' SP. (Thes. II. 293, 23); *ní ehen díged a nephdíall* 'their non-declension is not without rule' Sg. 75^a1. Other words may actually intervene between the verbal form and the lenited initial, cp. ML. 44^a20. There are also sporadic instances of lenition of the subject after the predicate: *ní gnáth chomsuidigud* 'composition is not usual' Sg. 201^a5; *gnám dom-sa thindnacól* 'transmitting is action for me' 200^a24.

Examples of clearly lenited and unlenited forms have been collected by Hassen, KZ. XLVI. 2 ff. In ML the proportion of lenited to unlenited forms is roughly one to six. In Wb. *chích* 'everyone' occurs three times as subject or object, 9^a25, 5^a11, 9^a23; but these, the only examples, may be mere scribal errors, since dittography of *ch* and *ch* is one of the commonest mistakes, cp. *chích* for *cech* 5^a20, *chích* for *erích* Sg. 86^a4, *chual* for *cehual* Thes. I. 497, 15 (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. *tháil* 'there', *thúid*

'in the north', *chuzam* 'to(wards) me', *ri re = fri* (cp. *rinn* 'to us' *ML* 54^o3, re 44^o4).

234. C. After uninflected words.

1. The prepositions *amal* (§ 826), *ar* (§ 823), *cen* (§ 827), *dí* (§ 831), *do* (§ 832), *fad* (§ 836), *fo* (§ 837), *im* (§ 841), *ó ua* (§ 847), and *tre tri* (§ 856) lenite the initial of the word they govern. But *tre* followed by the article or the relative makes *tresin tresa* (§ 856).

The only example of lenition after *for* (§ 838) is *for chena* *ML* 44^o29.

For lenition of the verb after pretonic prepositions and verbal particles in certain relative clauses, see § 495a.

In *du-(h)thúchdar* 'beseeches' the initial of the second element is generally lenited in *ML*, even after *a*: *am(a) dúm-thúchdar* 44^o20.

The following uninflected words also lenite:

2. The verbal particle *re ru* when unstressed after a conjunct particle (§ 39), e.g. *ní-ru-thogaittam* (*thogaittam* *MS*.) 'we have not deceived' *Wb.* 16^o22.

3. Conjunctions:

(a) *acús acús* 'and' (§ 878), *nó nū* (§ 885) and *fí bí* (§ 464) 'or'. After the compendia *et* (*Wb.*), *γ*, and *†* (§ 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-nno-dlunnussalgís* *ML* 136^o5, possibly a misspelling.

(b) *má* 'if' (§ 902), *cía ce* 'although' (§ 909), *co* 'so that' (§ 896), *ó* 'since' (§ 893), *ama(i)l* 'as' (§ 911), except where syntactic nasalization (§ 496) prevents lenition. Examples: *ma ehot-ehsla* 'if it conceals it' *Wb.* 5^o9; *cía thíasu-sa* 'though I may go' 23^o31; *co ehon-scarad* 'that he should destroy' *ML* 23^o14; *ó ehrséit* 'since they have believed' *Wb.* 31^o7; *am(a)l ehon-n-oscailgher* 'as it is moved' *ML* 38^o16.

But *cía ce* with the preterite of the copula makes *ce-pu*, pl. *cía-ptar* (§ 810). There are other isolated examples of *ma* and *cía* without lenition, sometimes actually with gemination, e.g. *ma-rru-feste* 'if ye had known' *Wb.* 9^o8.

Lenition after *aír* 'for, because' is found only in the later Glosses. Cp. also *ol-áuide*, *ol-áodain*, § 477.

4. The negatives *nícon*, *na(d)con*, §§ 861, 864.

For nasalized *nícon-áéi* 'does not go' (-164) *ML* 53^o17, see § 861.

For lenition after *nád nád* in relative clauses, see § 495a.

5. The particle *a* (á) before the vocative, e.g. *a cholmáid* 'O Lord!'.
 Dialectic *l* after the article (§§ 474, 475, 2), but this lenites verbal forms in the later Glosses only (§ 495b).

The emphasizing particle *su*, so after personal pronouns; e.g. *tassu th'óenur* 'thou alone' Wh. 5^a28, *tassu cholmáid* 'Thee the Lord' Ml. 36c2; also in the dative: *dúit-se th'óenur* Sg. 208^b5 (but *tasu t'óenur* Ml. 78^b18, possibly a mistake).

6. On the evidence of later sources, *éile* 'five' except in the gen. pl. (§ 237, 1); e.g. *éile thóistig* 'five leaders' LL 8^a20, *éile fídealla* 'five chess-boards' 51^a4.

Collection: Bergin, *Ériu* xi. 226.

235. D. For lenition of the initial of absolute relative verbal forms, see § 495b.

E. The second element of a compound is lenited:

1. When the first is a noun, adjective, or numeral, even if it is a consonantal stem; e.g. *ríg-suide* 'royal seat' (stem *ríg*); *teglach* 'household' from *teg-* (*s*-stem) and *slóg* 'troop' with silent *g*. In such cases a composition vowel had been early inserted; cp. Gaul. *Rig-o-wagus* 'royal field', *Cinget-o-rix* 'king of heroes'.

Traces of the older method of composition are still furnished by numerals ending in a nasal: *náu-bar*, *deichén-bar* (§ 328), in *spírite secht-u-déichéin* 'of that septiform spirit' Thes. i. 496, 27 (*Arm.*) (and the placename *Meindrumm Arm.*), beside the later formations *deich-thriub* 'ten tribes', *nóidéide* 'cycle of nineteen years'.

Uninflected adjectives prefixed to their noun are included in this rule, e.g. *beathraig* 'many cities' (§ 363 f.).

2. After the inseparable prefixes *so-* *su-*, *do-* *du-*, *mí-* (§ 365), and *neb-* *neph-* (§ 374).

3. After the prepositions *ath* *ath*, *aír* *er* *ir*, *dí* *de*, *fo*, *imb* *im(m)*, *ind*, *ol*, *rem*, *ro*, *ta(l)rm*, *to* (for *trem* there is no clear instance); occasionally after *for* and *etar* in the later Glosses by analogy with *aír*. For lenition after *com-*, *frith-*, *farm-*, *in-*, see §§ 830A2b, 839A, 840, 842.

This rule applies both to nominal and verbal compounds, but not to the latter when the preposition is pretonic (§ 37) and hence does not form a close compound.

II. NASALIZATION

236. 1. In nasalization *n* is prefixed to an initial vowel or *d*, the homorganic nasal to *b* and *g* (*m-b*, *n-g* = *ng*) ;

c, *t*, (*p*) turn into the mediae *g*, *d*, (*b*) (§ 208), and *f* into *v* = *β* (or rather, earlier *v* remains, cp. § 201 f.).

s, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* when preceded by a proclitic vowel are geminated (cp. § 240).

The disappearance of *n* before *v* (*β*) and *m* is peculiar, for *nv* (written *nβ*) and *nm* otherwise remain unaltered. The fact that *n* would often disappear regularly when the first word ended in a consonant (§ 180) is hardly sufficient to explain it ; perhaps the example of *s r l n* was partly responsible, and, in regard to the preposition *co*ⁿ, the development of *com* + *f* to *cof* in composition (§ 830 A 1).

2. In writing, nasalization is clearly shown only in the case of vowels and mediae. The gemination of *s r l m n* is frequently omitted (§ 146 f.), and —except in compounds— the mutation of *c t p f* is hardly ever expressed, apart from rare instances of *d* for *t*, especially after *n* ; e.g. *con-dánice* 'until he came' Wb. 3²⁷ beside *con-tánice* 3¹ ; in *tain diagma-ní* 'when we go (diagmae)' 3¹⁵ ; *hóre déte* 'since he goes (tête)' 11⁷ ; *nad-desta* 'that it is not lacking (testa)' Ml. 94¹⁰ ; stereotyped *oidaas indaas* 'than he is' (taas) § 779, 1 ; *nach géin* 'for any long time' (acc. sg. of *éian*) Wb. 7¹¹, 24¹¹, already to some extent petrified as an adverb. Still, these examples suffice to show that the mutations existed in the speech of the Ó.Ir. period as in that of to-day.

3. Where nasalization results in the insertion of a nasal between two words which are written separately, the nasal is either written as an independent word or, more usually, prefixed to the second ; in both cases a *punctum delens* is often placed over it (§ 33, 1). Examples : *dochum á dée* 'to God' Wb. 10²², *lía n brátha, las .m. brátha* 'Doomsday' 26¹, Thea. II. 239, 14 (Arm.), beside *dochum náe* Ml. 54³, *áes náeol* 'the age of the moon' Thea. II. 15, 43.

In the present work the second of these conventions is followed, but the nasal is separated from the following initial by a hyphen, e.g. *n-áe*.

Some scribes refrain from inserting *n* before the (purely graphic) *h* prefixed to vowels (§ 25), e.g. *dochum hrisse* 'unto

faith ' Wb. 10⁴36 beside *dochum n-irisse* 11⁴22. In Sg., however, this convention is not observed, e.g. *caimle n-betha* ' a kind of corn ' 61⁴6.

It should be noted that the nasal is more frequently omitted in inter-consonantal 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. *bee ñ-dl ulc* ' a little of evil ' ML. 46¹ ; *trisin n-oiþred ñ-do-gnist* ' through the work which they do ' 42².

1. After the acc. sg. and gen. pl. of all genders and the nom. sg. neuter. The only exceptions are the neuters *allall* (§ 232, 7) and *na* ' any ' (§ 241, 2) (presumably also *sill* and *ni*, although there are no certain examples), *ced eíd* ' 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-oiþed* ' guest-house ' Wb. 4⁴7 (*teg a-stem*) ; *mind n-abstatacte* ' the mark of apostleship ' 20⁴6 (*mind* probably *a-stem*), *innain n-ainm* ' dear the name ' SP. (*innain i-stem*).

For the voc. sg. *nest* the examples happen to occur only later : a t(ð)ir n-áinid ' O beautiful land ! ' AU. 918 (*ir a-stem*).

The uninflected numerals *eóic* and *sé* nasalize the initial of a following gen. pl., e.g. *na sé m-bé* ' of the six cows '.

Nasalization arising from the above forms is most consistently shown after the article, adjectival pronominals, and numerals. An adjective following its noun shows nasalization regularly in ML. and predominantly in Wb. On the other hand, nasalization of a following dependent genitive or an adverbial is not consistently shown ; it is, however, more frequent in ML. than in Wb. Thus in the latter we find side by side *lúa*

m-brátha 26¹ and *má brátha* 29²⁸ 'Doomsday', *no-n-guidim-se dia n-erut-su* 'that I beseech God for thee' 27¹⁹ and *guidid dia cruib-si* 'beseeches God for you' 27⁷.

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. 2².

2. Subject to the same conditions as in 1., after the nom. voc. acc. gen. neuter dual, and after the dat. (all genders) of the numeral 'two'; but nasalization is not found after the dat. dual of nominal forms. Examples: *da n-óg* 'two integers' Sg. 157⁶; *dá eát m-béimén* 'two hundred blows' Ériu I. 205; *da carachtar* 'of two characters' (*c = g*); *i n-dib n-úarib deac* 'in twelve hours' Thes. II. 10, 4; cp. *for dib mlib eoh* (not *n-éoh*) 'on two thousand horses' ML. 43¹.

There are some instances of neuter *da* without nasalization: *in da gné* 'the two forms' Sg. 188³ (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 *ait n-é* 'who are they?' and *sechtat n-é*, see §§ 456, 461b; for *indat m-bráthra*, § 463. In *nidat n-ecumana* 'they are not impure' ML. 92¹³, 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*, *naí* and *deich*.

For their effect as the first element in composition see § 235, 1. For nasalizing *éide* and *sé* see § 237, 1.

2. The relative particle (*s)a*, and *i* 'in which' (§ 492); the conjunctions *a* 'while' (§ 890), *ara* (§ 896), *dia* (§§ 889, 903); for *eo* (*con*) see § 896.

3. The interrogative particle *in* (§ 463).

4. The prepositions *co* 'with', *i* 'in', *iar* 'after', *re ri ría* 'before' nasalize the initial of the dependent case; but after the originally nominal prepositions *doethum* 'towards', *in-degaid* 'after', *tar-éid* 'instead of' (§ 358 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(a)* 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 *e* *r* *l* *m* *x* are identical, cp. § 232, 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 Ó.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 *lnt*, nom. sg. masc. of the article before vowels, < **lnd-h* < **slados* 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 *inna na*, gen. sg. fem., acc. pl. (all genders), and nom. pl. fem. and neut. of the article. Examples: *inna-mmraibhemnaechtae* 'of the treachery' *ML*. 31^b3, *inna-mmaccu* 'the sons' (acc. pl. masc.) 104^d5, *inna-mmereb* 'the debilities' (acc. pl. fem.) 113^b8, *inna-rrlara* 'the modulations' (nom. pl. fem.) *Wb.* 12^c43, *forerna-mmórchol* 'on the great wickednesses' (acc. pl. neut.) *ML*. 91^a21, *inna-láthar* 'the dispensations' (nom. pl. neut.) 91^a7. Also, on the evidence of the later language, after *eacha eacha* gen. sg. fem. 'each, every'.

The exceptional spelling *inna ingnea mmeltha* 'the soft nails' (nom. pl. fem.) *ML*. 87^b11 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. *esthri* 'four', nom. and acc. fem. *esthéora*; and *día* 'day' (§ 340, 3), cp. *Mod. Ir. D6 h-Aoine* 'on Friday'.

A placename consisting of two nouns, the first of which is in the gen. sg. with vocals *andent*, is often written in later *mas.* with *h-* prefixed to the initial of the second, especially when the first noun is feminine; e.g. *Clle h-Achaidh FM*. 1303 (cell fem. *á*-stem), *Rátha h-Airthir* 864, *Chana h-Eala* 839, 961 (*ráith* and *clhain* fem. *i*-stems), *Muigha h-Ai* 749 (*muig* neut. *a*-stem but later fem.); but also *Locha h-Eathach* 839 (*loch* O. Ir. neut. *u*-stem, later *mas.*), *Droma h-Ing* 824 (*drúim* O. Ir. neut. *i*- or *a*-stem, later *mas.*), etc. To some extent at least, these represent survivals of the effect of final *-a*.

2. After nom. acc. sg. neut. *na* 'any' (§ 489b), e.g. *na-naf* 'anything' *ML*. (beside *nanf*), *na-lled* 'whatever side' *Wb.* 17^a7.

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 *mas. ió*-stems, when closely connected with the following word, could geminate the initial of the latter. Corroboration of this view is supplied by *Indala-mméd* 'one of the two manners' *ML*. 45^b11 (*Mod. Ir.* *an dara h-*), see § 487.

For *clá* 'who?' see § 468.

4. After *a* 'her', poss. pron. (old feminine genitive), e.g. *a-mmuntar* 'her household' *Wb.* 27^d12, *Sg.* 32^b6.

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

242. B. After forms of the copula :

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

2. After *ní* = 'is not', e.g. *ní-nnech* 'it is not anyone' ML. 54'2, *ní-mmáirillud* 'it is not my merit' (*m'áirillud*) Wb. 21'20.

243. C. After uninflected words :

1. After the prepositions *a* 'out of', *eo eu* 'to', *fri, la* before their case; e.g. *a-ppacad* 'out of sin' Wb. 3'3; *eo-lláa* 'till day' 5'4, *eu-bbráth* 'till Doem' Thes. II. 242, 19 (Arm.); *fri-nnech* 'against anyone' ML. 23'20; *la-ssuide* 'with that (person)' Wb. 31'8, *la-gglais* 'along the stream' Thes. II. 238, 9 (Arm.).

2. In pretonic position all prepositions ending in a vowel, the particles *ro, no*, the interrogatives *efa ce* (§ 466) and *eo* (§ 462), and the negatives *ní* (*maní, coní*, etc.), *na* (*arna, conna*), when no infixed pronoun is attached to them, geminate the initial of a following verb or verbal compound, except in relative clauses (§§ 495, 504). Examples: *do-mmáinetar* 'they think' ML. 49'7, *do-rrigéni* 'has done' Wb. 30'23, *di-rréggel* 'has bought' Thes. II. 239, 15 (Arm.), *fu-llagaim* 'I conceal' Sg. 22'4, *ro-llaad* 'has been put' ML. 29'1, *roppad* 'it would be' Sg. 111'2, *nu-ggabad* 'he might take' Thes. II. 242, 7 (Arm.), *ní-ssluindi* 'does not express' Sg. 66'18, *ní-rrobe* 'has not been' Wb. 14'31, *manibhad* 'if it were not' Sg. 17'8; cp. *níténat* 'they do not make' (-*dénat*) Wb. 24'25, *natinbrad* 'let him not defraud' (-*dlubrad*) 9'20, where *t* represents *dd*.

But pretonic *ro* after a conjunct particle lenites (§ 234, 2).

For exceptional gemination after *na* see § 234, 3b.

It is easy to understand the gemination after *na*, the full form of which, *nash-*, is preserved before infixed pronouns and certain forms of the copula

(§§ 418, 787). But gemination after the other preverbs mentioned is likewise early, certainly after *ní* and *ro*, where it occurs in Old Welsh also (for the former, cp. *ny dól* 'does not hide', with *d* < *cc*, as against relative *ny gól* 'who does not hide'). Perhaps the simple negative has been confused with *ní* 'non est'; this goes back to **nid* < **nide*(*i*) < **n-d-det* (cp. the negative relative *nídh*, which has certainly lost earlier -*det*), so that gemination after it represents a last trace of the verbal form. Confusion between them could easily have arisen through the fact that the 3 sg. of the copula may be omitted at will (§ 818), and thus there was no difference in meaning between clauses with *ní* 'non est' and those containing the simple negative. The long vowel sometimes found in *ní* might also suggest such confusion, since the earlier form of the negative is generally *n-d* (cp. Lat. *ne-cto*, OE. *ne-*, etc.). It may be assumed that the other preverbs, too, formerly had -*d* (**dól*, 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): *massa assa-mmessa* 'worse and worse' Wb. 30^a25.

4. After *na* 'nor' (§ 865); cp. the neg. *na*.

5. After *sé* 'six', which, however, nasalizes in the gen. pl. (§ 237, 1).

6. After the particle *a* before abstract numerals (§ 386): Mod.Ir. *a h-ocht* 'eight'.

Gemination after 5. and 6. in our period can only be inferred from the evidence of Mid. and Mod.Irish.

244. There are sporadic instances where the initial mutation is separated from the inflecting final by one or more words. Cp. *is sí* in *so chial(l)* 'this is the sense' ML 88^a11, 90^a24 (lenition caused by *sí*, not by *in so*); *déde didu n-and* 'two things, then, there' Wb. 1^a5 (nasalization caused by *déde*); *is dlíged rechte n-dé* 'the knowledge of the rules of the law of God' ML 46^a8 (nasalization caused by gen. pl. *dlíged*, not by gen. sg. *rechte*).

INFLEXION AND STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Collections other than in the *Grammatica Celtica*: Stokes, *Celtic Declension* (Trans. Phil. Society 1886-7, p. 97 ff. = *Berzsenbergers 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 (§ 408 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 *a*-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 Inni* is frequently written for *anni* 'that (which)'. Even the Glosses afford occasional examples of change of gender: in *letha* 'the foundation' (originally neut.) Sg. 4th; 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 aegtaedi* 'two Egyptian wizards' Wb. 30^b17, *etir dá n-ainmn cosmall* 'between two similar nouns' Sg. 28^a7, where *aegtaedi* and *cosmall* are plural in form. But substantivized adjectives have the substantival dual, e.g. *dá n-óg* 'two integers' 157^b6.

CASE

In Old Irish five cases can still be distinguished, called by the Latin names nominative (nom.), vocative (voc.), accusative (acc.), genitive (gen.), and dative (dat.).

As in other Indo-European languages, the vocative and accusative neuter are not differentiated from the nominative. So too the nom. and acc. dual of all genders are identical (the dual no longer has a vocative). A voc. ag. form distinct from the nom. is found only in the masc. o-stems.

By a secondary development the acc. and dat. ag. 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. *comthínól* (nom. ag.) *inna noib—as-berr tempul doib hóre streba Crist indib* 'the congregation of the saints, they are called a "temple" (lit. "'temple" is said of them') since Christ dwells in them' Wb. 21^a7. In poetry a nominative often stands in apposition to an entire clause; e.g. *as-réacht, seól n-dermar, Issu 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 (§ 432 f.); e.g. *fechta* (ms. *fechtā*) *eath Muighe Tuired storra ocus Fir* (nom. pl.) *Bolee* 'the battle of Mag Tuired was fought between them and the Fir Boig' 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 dáib ocus C(h)ú-Chulainn* (nom. ag.) 'an encounter between you [thee] and Cú-Chulainn' LU 5628. Exceptions are rare (e.g. MI. 112*8).

(b) In apposition to *de* 'thereby' after comparatives (§ 378); e.g. *ní móáí* (O.Ir. *mó-de*) *eneclann na fiatha in céile-sin* (nom. ag.) *áice* (O.Ir. *oee*) '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* *far sin dia chennadich, aicme becc* (nom. ag.) *i Clú, Catrige a alnann* 'he comes afterwards to his (own) district, a small tribe in Clú, Catrige (is) its name' Thea. II. 240, 13 (Arm.).

(d) Chiefly in poetry, after a proleptic possessive pronoun; e.g. *is éan ó thánie a-rré*, | *Eogan, Crimthan, Congal Clé* (all three nom.) 'it is long since their time came, (the time of) E., C., C.C.' ZCP. VIII. 333, 24.

(e) Only in poetry, in co-ordinate clauses linked by *ocus* 'and' to a preceding accusative or dative; e.g. *rí de-rigni* (-*gne* ms.) *áfar n-úar* | *ocus tene* (nom.) *réil rorúad* | *ocus talam* (nom.) *bladmar brass* 'the King made the cold air, and the clear red fire, and the glorious great earth' SR. 313 ff.

Collections: Baudá, ZCP. IX. 309 ff.; Thurneysen, KZ. LIII. 82 ff.; Pokorny, ZCP. XV. 384 ff. For similar constructions in other languages cf. Havens, *Glossa* XVI. 94 ff.

248. II. The vocative, the case of address, is always preceded by the leniting particle *a* (§ 48).

In a few early examples *a* is apparently omitted before *mo* 'my'; see ZCP. XIII. 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.

An archaic use of the acc. is that after (the) *maing* 'wee!' ; e.g. *maing ar macu* 'wee to our children!' LL 119^a11 (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. *gabál cadessin abbaith* 'he took him himself (*eum ipsum*) as abbot' Thea. II. 242, 21 (Arm.) ; *ad-n-dídma Fiachna mac n-déu* 'F. will recognise him as his son' *Imram Brain* I. 25, 51.

The above may also be expressed by *is* with the accusative, e.g. *Wb.* 4^a31, 26^a8.

In the Glosses the case-form of predicative adjectives cannot be definitely ascertained for lack of unambiguous examples ; e.g. *im-folngl in duine slán* 'it makes the man sound' *Wb.* 4^a33. It is clearly nominative as early as *Trip.* 12, 17 : *do-bert in cú in cairig slán (not sláin)* 'the wolf brought the sheep uninjured' ; and this is the rule in later texts. Examples like *eo-farealb Banbal m-brónaig* (acc. fem.) 'so that he left Banba (= Ireland) sad', *Met. Dinds.* II. 2, 16, are rare.

Collection : *Dúlaon*, ZCP. XVI. 348, 351 f.

3. To denote time, generally duration or period ; e.g. *in n-beret-sin* 'during that time' *Sg.* 148^a6, *a n-gaimred-sa* 'during this winter' *Wb.* 31^a14, *in n-aithehl n-uill* 'the whole night' *MI.* 95^a9 ; but also a point of time : *a-líac-sin* 'on that day' *Wb.* 15^a25, *in fecht-so* 'this once' (beside the dative, § 251, 3).

4. After *amal* 'as' (§ 826) and after the equative of adjectives (§ 366), e.g. *sonartaidir slébe* 'as strong as mountains' *MI.* 90^a4.

5. After the predicative adjectives *túalang* 'capable of' (beside the genitive, § 250, 2), *adas* 'proportionate to', *fiu* 'worth'. Examples : *bá túalang eách fórdal* (acc. sg.) *alail* 'let each be capable of teaching the other' *Wb.* 6^a13, cp. 13^a15 ; *bíd adas far m-báich* 'it will be proportionate to your struggle' 5^a35 ; *amal níhimis fiu ní etir* 'as if we were not worth anything at all' *MI.* 63^a1.

6. After the prepositions *al* 'beyond', *sen* 'without', *eo* 'towards', *echtar* 'outside' (*sechtar* 'out of'), *eter* 'between', *fri* 'against', *im(m)* 'about', *inge* 'except', *la* 'with', *sech* 'past', *tar dar* 'over, across', *trí* 'through'.

Alternatively with the dative (§ 251, 4) after *ar* 'for', *fo* 'under', *for* 'on', *i* 'into' (with dat. 'in').

The accusative after *na-ní-bad* 'if it were not (had not been), but for' may be modelled on that after *sen* 'without'; e.g. *as roíll a bás maíbad trécaírl n-éé* 'he had deserved his death but for the mercy of God' *ML*. 111*28, cp. 134*2, 136*2.

250. IV. The genitive is used :

1. To qualify another noun; here its uses cover a very wide area and many varieties of meaning. It should be noted, however, that a genitive (or a possessive pronoun, § 438 f.) qualifying an abstract noun which functions as verbal noun of a transitive verb, and is still felt as such, is nearly always objective; the agent is expressed by *do* with the dative, less frequently by *la* with the accusative (or *ó* with the dative). Examples: *sere dé* 'love of God', not 'God's love'; *lar sere-sí do dia* 'God's love of you' *Wb.* 18*31, for *sere-sí lim-sa* 'my love of you' 23*27; but *hl tintúð Chirini* 'in Jerome's translation' *ML*. 103*26, where *tintúð* 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. *faírggæ indfeit* 'the sea's white hair' *Thea.* II. 290, 4. In such instances prepositions may either precede or follow the genitive: *fri frega íál* 'against the wall's rampart' *SP.* (*Thea.* II. 293, 22), *gréni* (read *-e*) *fri tureháil* 'towards the rising of the sun' *SR.* 4434. But anastrophe is permissible in verse to a still greater degree; e.g. *Márta for síúaig saíthiu* instead of *for saíthiu síúaig Márta* 'on the swarm of the host of March' *Fó.* 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. *senólr eítrigh léith*, lit. 'an old man of a grey cleric' = 'an old, grey-haired cleric', *RC.* xx. 72; *epscop Aedáin* 'Bishop Aedán' *ibid.* XIII. 76 § 81;

Isa deels nephéanna calagníma 'into the sloth (consisting) of not doing good work' *ML*. 35¹⁰.

(b) Genitive of verbal nouns; e.g. *dílla thrómm tróeta* (gen. of *tróethad*) *trénsíúag* 'the heavy deluge that overwhelms (lit. 'of overwhelming of') strong hosts' *SR*. 2626; *far déanna balgíne gl. pistov*, lit. 'a man of the making of bread' *Sg*. 184³.

Collection: *Vendryes*, *BC*. *xlii*. 327 ff.

2. As the complement of adjectives, particularly those meaning 'able', 'ready to', such as *cumasachtach* *Wb*. 14⁴¹, *túalang* 31¹¹, *irlam* 13⁸, *essamin procepts* 'fearless in preaching' 23⁷. In looser construction: *gréssach folgde* 'constant in begging' 31²³; *soir mo bréthre* 'free as regards my word' 4¹⁸; *réil sorsodithe béall* 'manifest in the opening of the mouth' *Sg*. 14¹⁶; *toirthech éise* 'abounding in fish' *Trip*. 210, 7; *anglése comlán* 'full of darkness' *SP* (*Thea*. II. 293, 22). This use is particularly frequent in gnomic sentences, cp. *Teo. Corm.* § 16.

3. As predicative genitive, often with the copula. Here it is found in as great a variety of meanings, though not so frequently, as in 1. Examples: *ammi dée* 'we are God's' *Wb*. 6²⁰; *It díll tánakí* 'they are of the second declension' *Sg*. 107²; *ní torbí* 'it is of no use'; *ní bal* 'it is of no benefit'; *Is cuil* 'it is sinful'; *ammi túallíge ar m-bréthre* 'we are able to maintain (lit. 'of the capability of') our word' *Wb*. 17⁵; *Is bele lim in bríg-sín gl. wíki . . . pro minimo est* 8²¹; *ba méite* 'it were likely', lit. 'of size' or 'amount' (*Bergin*, *Érin* x. 190 ff.).

Collection: *KZ*. *xlii*. 62 ff.

4. As genitive of time in certain petrified forms: the conjunctions *éine* 'so long as' § 892 (from *éian* 'long time') and (*h*)*áre* 'since' § 906 (from *áar* 'hour'); also *dia* in expressions like *dia domnich* 'on Sunday', *dia mís* 'this day month', *each dia* 'daily'. Only after *each*, *each* does this construction survive in regular use; e.g. *each thrátha* 'every hour', *eacha bíadnas* 'every year', *each óen-laithí* '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 míenib* 'more splendid than treasures'; *má aialla* 'greater than another'; *farr a sreigled a subgud* 'better to whip them than to humour them' *Teo. 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 triss* 'he as third' *Wb.* 7^o8; *na-nní ad-rochobursam fírínib* 'whatever we, the just, had wished' *ML.* 56^b24; *dín-ní proceptórib* 'of us preachers' *Wb.* 10^o8.

In this construction the dative is sometimes accompanied by a personal pronoun in the form of the possessive (§ 439 ff.); e.g. *a sóinnígi a cleináb* 'their, the wicked men's, prosperity' *ML.* 39^o34; *lotar dó a tríur churad* 'they, the three warriors, went there' *LU* 9033; *at-taam ar n-díis i culmring* 'we twain are in bondage' *Wb.* 32^o28. Where the copula is omitted the dative functions virtually as subject; e.g. *érecháal a n-díis* '(they are) both indefinite' *Sg.* 151^b6.

The personal numerals *ófnar*, *días*, etc., (§ 388) always take a possessive pronoun, except where they express plurality but stand in apposition to a singular; e.g. *at-recht Móngán mórfessiur* 'M. arose seven men', i.e. 'being one of seven' *Imram Brain* 56, 14. They may also be used in apposition to nouns, and even predicatively (§ 816). The petrified form *díb 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-béu ocus ar mmarb* 'we in life and in death' *Wb.* 6^o20 (*Theo.* i. 536, note b), or *n-óis rechtó* 'we people of the law' 31^o1.

Other substantives, too, may stand in the dative of apposition, particularly those denoting persons. Examples: *to-cúitehetar trá hull líechtaib ocus sílárechib* 'they have, then, all sworn, laymen and clerics' *Cáin Adamnáin* § 29; *cot-recat isin maig a síogaib ulib* 'they, all their (?) hosts, meet on the plain' *LU* 5418; cp. *ro-bámar-ní .xv. feraib* 'we were fifteen men strong' *BDD.* (ed. Knott) 1130; but also *díre a mucfealach*,

cóic séolt mucaib 'the penalty for his pig-sty : five séts (payable) in pigs' Laws IV. 314, 21.

Collection: Pedersen, ZCP. II. 379; Dillon, ZCP. xvii. 313 ff. On the other hand, the adj. *u(i)il* 'all' usually stands in the accusative (same form as nominative), even with dative (and possessive) pronouns; e.g. *doib uil* 'to you all', *u(i)ilb uil* 'from them all', a *ta(d)obur h(u)il* 'the return of them all' ML. 34*20; but also *indib h(u)ilb* Sg. 216*4.

Examples in which the nominative is used instead of the dative, like *is ninni earbaig* 'nos amantee' ML. 133*7 and *es ní eirig gl. ut enusti* . . . *sententias* 133*8, 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: *léidib* 'by songs', *léir ingnu* 'with diligent comprehension' SP. (Thea. II. 293, 16), and (still more loosely) *lín lúbaib* 'fall of herbs' SR. 393 (cp. K. Meyer, ZCP. x. 361 § 828).

In ordinary prose its use is much more restricted. Frequent instances are *cruth* and words of similar meaning; e.g. *in chrúth-so*, *in tacht-sa* 'in this way', *aladlu chrúth* 'in another way'; *eregem ind lánl-se gl. talis causatio* (attributive?); *fib*, *faib* 'as' (§ 911). Otherwise it is chiefly found in expressions that have become partly or wholly petrified, such as *dilguth*, *indilguth* 'according to, against the rule'; *écin* 'certainly' (*écin* 'necessity'); *int fáinriad* 'especially'; *ónbémim* 'at one blow'; *cossalb tirmaib* 'with dry feet'; *as-renar lánfachaib* 'it is paid with full fines' (i.e. 'in full') *Cáin Adamnán* § 42; *senmesib* 'according to old estimates' Thea. II. 239, 18 (Arm.); *fiéis dornaib* 'it boiled with (bubbles as big as) fists' LU 5202, *do-tét (dethoet ms.) dessul Senchán* '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 fecht-so, -sa* (written *indecht, indect*) 'this once' (beside the accusative, § 249, 3); *cách a (h)óair* 'everyone at his own time', *(h)óaraib* 'at times'; *athárruich* 'again'; *dinú and eimn, éinn* '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, *op. ind adalg-sin* 'that night' LU 4780; each *óen-lán* 'on every single day' SP. (Thea. II. 294, 3, verse); also the petrified forms *in-dá* 'to-day', *in-nocht* 'to-night'.

The use of the dative in a locative sense is rare: *clú do* . . . 'left (north) of . . .' TBC. 3429 (cp. *slu* '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 Gaelish inscriptions) is archaic and extremely rare. It occurs:

(a) after a noun or adjective; e.g. *lepaíd dáta* 'a bed for a foster-son' Laws iv. 322, 4; *inmain ául* 'dear to the ear' Corm. (Add.) 662 (verse); *nessa comrac* 'nearer to meeting' ZCP. III. 451, 8.

(b) predicatively; e.g. *ní rún mnáib* 'no secret to women!' Ériu II. 34, 5; each *fiadain a feirgell* '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(l)rethar céill* 'colit' (vb.n. *freocer céill*), in *ML* sometimes *chéill*, dat. of *ciall* 'sense'; *ar-beir bith* 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)é* 'mind'; *ar-mu(l)rethar féid* 'honours' (vb.n. *airmútu féid*), with dat. of *fiad* 'respect'. Apart from such combinations, the preposition *do* has everywhere become obligatory.

4. After the prepositions *a* 'out of', *coⁿ* 'with', *dí* (*do*) 'of, from', *do* 'to', *fiad* 'in presence of', *far* 'after', *is* 'below', *ó na* 'from, by', *oc* 'at', *ós na^s* 'over', *re rí* 'before'.

Alternatively with the accusative (§ 249, 6) after *ar*, *fo*, *for*, *i* 'in' (with acc. '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.

A.

VOCALIC STEMS

- I. *o*-stems, masc. and neut.
- II. *io*-stems (without distinction of old *-jo-* and *-ijo-*, § 197), masc. and neut.
- III. *ā*-stems, fem.
- IV. *iā*-stems (including both *jā-* and *ijā*-stems), fem.
- V. *jā-* (also *ijā-*) stems with nom. sg. in *-ī*, fem.
- VI. *i*-stems.
- VII. *u*-stems.

B.

CONSONANTAL STEMS

- VIII. Stems in a lenited guttural (*-ck -γ*), masc. and fem.
- IX. Stems in a lenited dental (*-tā -δ*), masc. and fem.
- X. Stems in *-t* (= *-d*) < *-nt*, masc. and neut.
- XI. Stems in (lenited or unlenited) *-n*.
- XII. Stems in *-r* (*-ρ*), masc. and fem.
- XIII. Neuter *s*-stems.
- XIV. Irregular and indeclinable nouns.

Some instances of variable declension are noted subsequently. The fem. *ā*-stem *adem* 'implement', gen. *adima*, nom. or acc. pl. *adime* (from *-as*) ML 49*9, alternates with an *i*-stem which is masc. in nom. pl. *adimi* 89*6 (cp. *Wh.* 3*14), nom. sg. in *adim* (read *int* or *ind* ?) ML 49*7, acc. pl. *adimi* 75*3-4.

STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS

253. For the most part these nominal stems were evolved long before the Old Irish period. Only such formations as were still living in that period will be considered here.

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 *i*-stems in composition; e.g. *fin-guine* 'kin-murder' (*guin*), *leth-gille* 'half-pledge' (*gill*).

Feminine personal nouns may be formed from the corresponding masculine nouns by prefixing *ban-*, composition form of *ban* 'woman' (§ 291, 1); e.g. *ban-nám(a)s* 'female enemy', *ban-dálem* '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-maite* (masc.) 'the female children', Féil. July 20, *inna ban-choiméid* (fem.) 'of the mistress' MI. 84⁹⁴ (T. F. O'Rahilly, Ériu IX. 16 ff.). The use of the suffix *-ess* (Lat. *-essa*, W. *-ess*) to form feminine nouns is rare in Irish; e.g. *láchess* 'wife of a lách (layman, warrior)' or 'lay-woman' Laws; *manchess*, feminine of *manach* 'monk', Trip. 104, 22.

mac(e)- 'child' and *fer-* 'man' are sometimes used like *ban-*; e.g. *mac-oidrech*, *mac-cailloch* 'young monk, young nun' Ériu VII. 142 § 11; *fer-mac*, *fer-má* 'male child, animal' Laws III. 38. Cp. *cen-bíochall* (Fílaríogius G.) *cen-bíachall* 'herdsman's dog', from *cú* and *bíachall* 'herdsman'.

255. Every adjective may be used as a substantive, occasionally with minor differences in its flexion (see §§ 351, 353, 355, 357).

Examples: *In nobh* (masc.), *Ind nobh* (fem.) 'the saint'; *nach cumachtach* 'any powerful person'; *na-nmáith* 'something good'; *mór n-amrí* 'much that is wonderful' (amrí gen.)

FORMATION OF ABSTRACTS (AND COLLECTIVES)

A. FROM VERBS

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

the very common use of the latter with *do* (§ 720). Examples : *gabáil* beside *gabál* 'taking', *tabairt* beside *tabart* 'giving', *aisín* beside *aisín* 'seeing', *taidbse* beside *taidbse* 'showing'. (Collection : Strachan, ZCP. iv. 70, 491). There is also a considerable amount of flexional confusion between the various stem classes ; see §§ 727, 733, 734.

The common suffix of verbal nouns *-ad* (*u*-stem) may also be used to form abstracts from substantives where no intermediate denominative verb exists ; e.g. *bás* 'manner, custom' : *béad* 'customary action, behaviour' ; *áimsir* 'time' : *áimsread* 'period, duration' ; *Éiread* 'expression in letters' Sp. 144⁹¹.

B. FROM ADJECTIVES

257. 1. The largest class is that of feminines in *-e* (= *-iǰā*, Britann. *-es* ; cp. Gk. *σοφ-ία*, Lat. *prudēt-ia*). They are formed from adjectives of every kind except those ending in *-e*. Examples : *dlán* 'swift' : *déne* 'swiftness' ; *tromm* 'heavy' : *trumm(a)s* 'heaviness' ; *son(a)tr* 'strong' : *sonrta sonairte* ; *fáilid* 'glad' : *fáilte* 'gladness' ; *folus* 'clear' : *folse* ; *sochrud* 'beautiful' : *sochraide*. This is almost the only method of forming abstracts from adjectives in *-och* *-oich* ; e.g. *hiresach* 'faithful' : *hiresche* ; *sóinnech* 'happy' : *sóinnige sóinniche*.

258. 2. Masculine abstracts with original suffix *-tūt* (Mid.W. *-tūt*) are also common. This suffix corresponds to the Latin feminine *-tūt* (*scientia* = Ir. *oifin*), Goth. *-dōþi-* (*maihildōþe* 'greatness'). Cp. *béu* *béu* 'living' : *bethu*, gen. *bethad*, 'life' ; *sen* 'old' : *sentu* ; *oín* 'one' : *oíntu* ; *slán* 'sound' : *slántu* ; *eád* *eáth* (*eáid*) 'revered, holy' : *eáittu* ; *marb* 'dead' : *nebmarbtu* 'immortality' Ml.

The disyllabic ending *-stu* *-stu*, with *t* = *d(d)*, is found :

(a) With adjectives whose final syllable is liable to syncope ; e.g. *úasal* 'high' : *úasletu* ; *díles* 'own' : *díletu* (beside *dílse*) ; *úalib* 'restless' : *úalibetu*.

(b) With adjectives and participles in *-e* (*io*-stems) ; e.g. *domm(a)s* 'poor' : *dommstu* (arch. *dommstu*) ; *máen(a)s* 'austere' : *máenstu* ; *eotarsn(a)s* 'contrary' : *eotarsnstu* ; *líd(a)s*

'multiple': *ldatu*; *armth(a)e* 'armed': *armthatu* 'armatura'; analogically, *ars(a)ld* 'old': *arsldetu* 'antiquity' Sg. 208^b15.

In a few cases the primary word is a noun: *salchdetu* 'the quality of striving' from *salgid* 'seeking', *terbatu* 'utility' from *terb(a)e* 'profit'; cp. also *febtu* 'quality', probably from *feb* 'as' (§ 911).

Limited *t*(*k*) is found only in *beftu* (and in later attested *mérthu* 'haughtiness' Tec. Corn. § 14). Unlenited *t* is regular in *sentu* (§ 139), *sáttu*, etc., but not in *lourtu* ML. 98⁹ from *leur* 'enough' (acc. sg. *lourtain* Ériu I. 149 § 21 shows change of flexion to class XI). It is doubtful whether *zelmárktu* is based on the adjective *marb(a)e* 'mortal', i.e. with *t* < *ʃ* + *k*(*k*); but cp. *irktu* 'obedience' from the adjective *irfitha*, where presumably *t* derives from the contact of the two dentals. On the evidence of MSLr., however, *t* = *d*(*d*) in the remaining words in *-tu*, *-tus*; cp. MSLr. *šarhadu*, later *dorhadu* (new formation after § 259), from *šarh(a)e* 'dark'. In *oiftu* 'youth' *-d* is regular, going back to *-nt*, see § 208 (Celtic primary form **yoipnt*). It would seem as if some similar but unidentified model had influenced the remaining forms with *-d*, thus leading to the complete suppression of *-th*.

259. 3. A less frequent formation, chiefly used to form abstracts from adjectival *t*-stems and compound adjectives, is that with the masculine ending *-us*, which seems to go back to a suffix *-esw-* or *-isw-* (from *-es-tu-* ?); cp. *Inruccu* Sg. 59^b3, gen. sg. of *Inruccu* 'worthiness', from *inrucc* 'worthy'; *comláinso* 'of completeness' Thea. II. 10, 10 (adj. *comlái*).

Further examples are *bínd* 'melodious': *bíndius* (gen. *bíndiusa*, § 104b); *áith* 'sharp, energetic': *áithius* (beside *áithe*); *diuft* 'simple': *diuiftius*; *cosm(u)dl* 'similar': *cosmuillius* (beside *cosmíle*); *cuib(a)ld* 'harmonious': *cuibdius*; *airdir* *erdair* 'conspicuous': *airdiru* *erdairu*; *faitech* 'cautious': *faiftigius*; *inderb* 'uncertain': *inderbus* (beside positive *derb(a)e*); *cutrumm(a)e* 'equal': *cutrummus*; *mórálus* 'moralitas'.

From a noun: *comarb(a)e* 'heir': *comarbus* 'heritage, heirship'; *áine* '(joint-)family': *coibéalus* 'kinship'.

4. Monosyllabic adjectives in *-th* *-d* form abstracts in *-s*(*s*) (fem. *d*-stems); e.g. *baíth* 'foolish': *baís* 'foolishness'; acc. *baís*, gen. *baise*; *gaíth* 'wise': *gaís*; *gnáth* 'customary': *gnáis*; *soíth* 'weary': *soís*; *tláith* 'soft, limp': *tláis* (beside

láithe); *deid* 'inactive' : *déess* 'desidia', acc. *deois*, gen. *déesse*.

This formation probably contains the suffix *-ds* (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 *w*-stems (cp. 3 above), e.g. gen. sg. *in gress* ZCP. vi. 266 § 2; cp. also *há há* *lías* LU 5137.

5. For isolated examples in *-as* see § 261; in *-rad*, § 262.

6. A few nouns in *-st* seem to be formed from adjectives: *tiqt* (misapelt *teqt* Ml. 49¹⁴) 'density' from *tiug* 'thick'; **sint* (dat. *sint* Thea. ii. 328, 6) 'old age' from *sen* 'old'; possibly *sioest* 'frost' beside *sioe st.*, if from *sees* (dat. as *stócus* Germ. 1141). There are other examples which cannot have been formed directly from adjectives, for they do not contain the suffix of the cognate adjective. Thus *lethan* 'broad' : *lethet* 'breadth, size'; *ramet* 'thick' : *remet* (meat., Met. Dinda. iv. 242, 21); *trén* 'strong' : *treisset* (acc. sg.) *Togail Troi* 138 beside *treisse* (cp. *occupar. tressa* § 372); cp. also *lagat* 'smallness, fewness' beside *compar. langa lalgia* (no positive, § 373). These words appear to have been originally neuter stems in *-t* (= *-d* < *-ad*) like *dét*, *lechet* (§ 324 f.); some of them, however, show an early tendency to adopt feminine inflexion. There are but few examples of the oblique cases in the older sources: an acc. sg. in *-st* is the most common (also *lagat* Ml. 80⁷, etc.); further, dat. *slátt*, *lagátt* Sg. 26¹¹, but apparently also acc. sg. *lethst* 3¹³. The precise case of *co-lethet* Fel. Oct. 13 is not certain (prep. *co* or *coe* ?); a gen. sg. *lethet* is found Thea. ii. 307, 20, *Inram Brain* i. 53, 7, 8. For later forms see Kelt. Wortkunde § 198. In some instances, e.g. *sint*, the suffix seems to have begun with *j* (as in *W. meddiast* 'possession', etc.), but not in *lagat*, *remet*. Mid. W. *hencst* 'old age' differs in formation from *Ir. sint*.

C. FROM NOUNS

260. 1. The usual suffix is *-acht* (after palatal consonants *-acht*), which forms fem. *d*-stems. It corresponds to Britann. *-actā*, *W. -actā*. Examples: *noidfu*, gen. *noiden*, 'child' : *noidenacht* 'childhood'; *día* 'God' : *deacht*; *doimí* (pl.) 'men' : *doimeacht* and *doimeacht*; *techtair* 'messenger' : *techtairacht* 'mission, message'; *filí*, gen. *filid*, 'poet' : *filidacht*; *forchtlaid* 'teacher' : *forchtlaideacht*; *brithem*, gen. *brithemon*, 'judge' : *brithemnacht*; *flathem* (beside *flath*) 'lord' : *flathemnacht*. With extension of *-meacht* from the foregoing: *coimeidfu*, gen. *coimeidid*, 'lord' : *coimeidmeacht*

(also *colmdinecht* *ML*. 101-7); *bibdu*, gen. *bibdad*, 'culprit': *bibdamnacht*. The form *inderbammacht* gl. *diffidentia* *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 *Conn.* 327, 787.

261. 2. The masculine suffix *-assu-* (from *-ad-tu-*), nom. sg. *-as*, after palatal consonants *-es*, is also fairly common. It corresponds to Goth. *-assu-*, e.g. in *gudja-assas* 'priesthood' (for which cp. Wilhelm Schulze, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 372). In Welsh *-as* is feminine, e.g. *Mid.W. teyrn-as* 'lordship'.

Examples: *flathemnas* 'lordship' (beside *flathemnacht* above); *aire*, gen. *airech*, 'nobleman': *airechas*, gen. *airechsa*; *óelach* 'young man': *óelachas* 'youth', gen. *óelachsa*; *muntar* 'familia': *muntaras* 'familiaritas'; *remthecht* 'preceding' (vb.n.): *remthechtas* 'anteposition, precedence'; *anamchar(a)e* 'spiritual director': *anamchartes*, gen. *anamcharnessa*; *línamain* 'married couple': *línamnas* 'marriage'; *testas* 'testimonium', gen. *testassa*; *adaltas* 'adulterium'; *ethemlagas* 'et(h)ymologia'.

With adjectives it is seldom found: *lond* 'angry': *londas*, gen. *londassa*, *ML*. (*luinde Wb.*); *émech* 'opportune': *émechas* *ML*. (beside *émlige émlíche*); *coltshenn* 'common, general': *coltshennas* Sg.

These appear to be early examples of the confusion of this suffix with *-as* (§ 258, 3), which became universal in *Mid. Ir.*

262. 3. Much less common is the feminine suffix *-(a)ine* (after palatals *-ine*) or *-s(a)ine* (*id-stem*). Examples: *giall* 'hostage': *giall(a)ine* (*giallase* *ML*., cp. § 153 e) 'clientship, submission'; *ap* 'abbot', gen. *apad*: *apdaine* 'abbacy'; *car(a)e* 'friend', gen. *carat*: *cairédine* 'friendship'; *nám(a)e* 'enemy': *náimíne*; *amus* 'hireling, servant': *amsaine* 'service' (*ZCP*. VIII. 201 § 13). With *-s(a)ine*: *clam* 'leper': *clamsaine* 'leprosy'; *mug* 'serf': *mugsine*; *fáith* 'prophet': *fáithsaine* *fáithsine*; *eóla* 'companion, client': *eólsine* 'clientship'.

lascubúla 'ravens' from *flach* 'raven' suggests that this suffix had

also a collective meaning. Cp. further *léth* 'smoothness'; *léthine* 'calmness of the sea' (O'Dav. 536), *ainéthine* 'stormy weather'.

4. The neuter suffix *-e* or *-(is)e* (*is*-stem) was apparently obsolete by our period, surviving only in old formations. Examples: *rí*, gen. *ríg*, 'king': *ríge* 'kingship, kingdom', Mid.W. *riyd*; *car(a)e* 'friend': *cairde* 'treaty, armistice', Mid.W. *cecewyd* 'friendship'; *táith táid* 'thief': *tá(l)the tá(l)de* 'concealment'; *mí*, gen. *míled*, 'soldier': *mílte* 'military service'. With *-(is)e*: *fiadu*, gen. *fiadan*, 'witness': *fiadnisce* 'evidence'; *sair* 'artifex': *sairse* 'art'; *bráthir* 'brother': *bráthirse* 'brotherhood'. Cp. also *desse* 'right side' from *deis* 'right'.

5. For isolated formations in *-as* see § 259, 3; in *-tu*, § 258; in *-rad*, § 262.

263. A frequent collective suffix is *-rad* (*rad*-stem) (also denoting bulk), which forms neuter *o*-stems. Examples: *léath* 'ashes': *léathrad* 'ashes'; *aig* 'ice': *aigred id.*; *enáim* 'bone': *enáimred* (coll.); *slaid* 'scrap metal': *sleidred* *h-argait* 'silver waste' *ML* 85^{b7}; *gnim* 'doing, deed': *gnimrad* 'activity'; *dám* (coll.) 'suite, guests': *dáimrad id.*; *ét* 'zeal, jealousy': *étrad* 'lewdness'. Suffixed to *sain* 'separate' it has a different meaning: *sainred sainreth* 'separate thing, specialty' (*W. kairad* 'separation'). It functions as an abstract suffix in *mrechtrad* 'variety' (*W. brethred* 'confusion'), from *mrechi* 'motley', and in *caratrad* 'friendship' (beside *cairdine*, § 262, 3).

This suffix, Mid.W. *-rad*, is probably connected with *rethid* 'rans'; cp. *inrad* 'incurson', etc. The forms *sam-rad* 'summer(time)' and *gaim-rad* 'winter(time)' seem, on the evidence of Mid.W. *gasc/wasid*, to have a different suffix (**-rāto-*), perhaps connected with *rātho* 'quarter (of year)'.

264. A feminine suffix *-rad* (*ā*-stem) is used to form collectives from nouns denoting living beings; e.g. *lāechrad*, dat. sg. *lāechraid*, 'warriors, troop of warriors', from *lāech* 'warrior'; *maerad* 'boys', gen. *maeraide*; *echrad* 'horses', *torerad* 'boars'.

Collection: *KZ*. XLVIII. 84. This suffix is certainly connected with

riid 'course' and its cognates, *schrad* doubtless serving as model for the other forms, cp. Gaul. *Sporede-ris*. In Welsh, *-rwydd* is a masc. abstract suffix.

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

(a) *-ar, -ar* (neut. *a*-stem); e.g. *steck* 'stone': arch. *stecker*, later *stechar*, 'heap of stones'; see Windisch, *IE. iv*, 296. If the spelling *salthar* *salthar* Cam. (coll. from *salth*, *u*-stem, 'trouble') is trustworthy, there was also a suffix *-ura-*.

(b) *-bad* (fem. *a*-stem); e.g. *Ed* 'tree': *Edbad*, gen. *Edbade*, 'wood'; *édald*, dat. *édald*, 'young people'; *eleth* 'same': *elethbad* *ed*. Presumably related to both (*hulth*) 'being'.

(c) *-t(a)en -t(a)en* (< **-fina-*), denoting an aggregate of plants or the place of their growth (see Mantrander, *Une Correspondance germano-celtique*, *Videnskapselskabet's Skrifter* II, *Hist.-filos. Kl.*, 1924, No. 8). Examples: *rosian* 'rosetum' *Sg.* 33*4; *linton* 'unetum' 33*3; *dristen* 'thorn bushes' from *dris* 'thorn'. A further derivative of the last word is *dristenach* 'damotum' 33*6, whose suffix *-ach* (cp. § 247) is also found elsewhere with a similar meaning, cp. *fisach* 'wilderness' from *fis* 'empty', Gaul. *Ueracum* (Ir. fern 'alder'), Bret. (Vann.) *ke-k-ey* fem. 'field of oats'.

For collectives in *-ins* see § 262; for the numeral substantives, § 267.

266. Nouns denoting place or position are formed from adverbs of place (§ 483) and prepositions by adding the neuter suffix *-ter -tar* (**-tero-*). Thus *airther* 'the east', *farthar* 'the west', *óchter úachter* (arch. *óchter* *Thea. II*, 239, 15) 'the upper part' (from *ós, úas*), *ichtar* 'the lower part' (from *is*), *centar* 'pars ceterior, this world', *alltar* 'pars ulterior, the other world'. A somewhat different formation is *immethtar* 'the outside' (from *echtar*); cp. *nechtar, cechtar*, §§ 489c, 490c.

NOUNS OF AGENCY, ETC.

267. 1. Nouns of agency are usually formed with the suffix *-ið -id* (*i*-stem), which is freely employed by the glossators to coin nonce words. It corresponds to Brittonic *-jat*; e.g. *eð(a)id* 'singer' = OW. *canthiat*; *scribndid* 'writer' = O.Corn. *scrininiol*.

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

'avenger'; *essoreun* 'smiting'; *essorunid* 'smiter'; *línad* 'filling'; *línid* 'fartor'; *élned* 'defilement'; *élnithid* 'violator'.

A noun of agency formed in this way from one of the numerous verbal nouns in *-ad -ud* (§ 723) bears a certain resemblance to the participle (§ 714); cp. *lín(a)ð* 'filled', *élnithe* 'defiled'. In consequence, other such nouns are formed directly from the participle; e.g. *esartae* 'smitten': *esartaíd* (beside *essorunid*); *diachtae* 'avenged': *diachthíd* (*diechtaíd*) (beside *díglaid*); *tuíste* 'begotten': *tuístid* 'begetter'; *gesse* 'prayed': *gessid*, gen. *gessedo*, 'suppliant'. Or the longer suffix *-thid* is attached to a verbal noun; e.g. *sechem* 'following': *sechimthid* 'sectator'; *fog(a)imm* 'learning': *foglimthid* 'pupil'; *gabál* 'taking': *rann-gabáitaid* 'participator'.

On the model of nouns like *íesid* (also *slán-íesid*) 'saviour' from *íe(s)* 'healing, saving', which in form resembles the present indicative *íe(a)íð* 'salvat', the suffix *-id* or *-thid* is occasionally attached to the present stem of a verb. Examples: *íe* 'comes' (vb.n. *tíchtu*): *núe-thíed* 'newcomer'; *ín-tíalsl*, *-dísl* 'listens' (vb.n. *éitsecht*): *héltsid* 'listener'; *ín-greinn* 'persecutes' (vb.n. *íngreim*): *íngrentid* *íngraintid* 'persecutor'.

Feminine nouns have the same suffix as masculine, e.g. *ecallsid* 'disceptatrix' *ML*. 133⁴⁶. They may also be preceded by *ban-* (§ 254), e.g. *ban-terismid* 'obstetrix' *Sg*. 69¹⁸.

Besides nouns of agency, other personal substantives are formed in this manner. Examples: *múce* 'pig': *muceid* (*Mid.W.* *weicht*) 'swine-herd'; *fuil* 'blood': *comfuilid* 'consanguineous'; *recht* 'law': *es-rechtaíd* 'exlex'; *litrí* 'litteratus'. From an adjective, *cotarsnae* 'contrary': *cotarsmid* 'adversary'.

Occasionally the same formation is employed to denote an instrument, e.g. *deregtith* 'scalprum' *Thea*. II. 42, 18, *scrissid* 'rascium' *ML*. 72¹⁸; or a grammatical case, e.g. *togarhith* 'vocative', *tobarthid* 'dative', *almnmid* 'nominative', *áinsid* 'accusative'; similarly *forngarthid* 'imperative'. Cp. also *dairt* 'heifer calf': *dartaid* 'bull calf'.

The insular Celtic suffix *-gati* recalls Gaelish *-ad -ud* in *Nammasgáit* 'from Nomanus'; *Íabáda*, cognate with Ir. *gal* 'fighting, valour'; *Átrebata* (Ir. *atreba* 'dwells', *atrab* 'dwelling').

268. 2. Another suffix is *-sige* (masc. *io*-stem); e.g. *gat* 'theft': *gatalge* 'thief'; *scél* 'tidings': *scélsige* 'narrator'; *éis* (Lat. *caesus*) 'tribute': *éistsige* 'tributary'.

Collections: *Pod. n. 23*, *Marstrandr*, *ECP. xiii. 53*. Welsh *-si* (Mid.W. *-s*), as in *carddei* 'beggar' from *cardod* 'alms', has *-s* < *-s-* before it (i.e. < earlier **-sige-*), and suggests connexion with verbs in *-sig-* (§ 534).

3. The suffix *-ew* (*n*-stem) is obsolescent. Examples: *breth* 'judgment': *brithem*, gen. *brithemen*, 'judge'; ar 'ploughing': *airem* 'ploughman'; *dáll* 'distribution': *dálem* 'distributor'; *mrath* 'treachery': *mrathem*; *flaith* 'lordship': *flaithem*; *dúil* 'creature': *dálem* 'creator'; *fiach* 'obligation': *fíchem* 'debtor, creditor'; *orbe* 'inheritance': *orbam* 'heir'; *lu(a)e* 'rudder': *luam* 'helmsman'.

The suffix seems to have been *-iamon*. Cp. *caesus* 'adjectator', c *Gallia ductum* (Quint. 1, 5, 8), without *i*, as in Ir. *medam*, dat. *medamain*, (poetical) 'judge' (?). *Flaithem*, when used as a proper name, is an *e*-stem, gen. *Flaithim* (*Opus vlatami*, JRSAL, 1903, p. 81); here, however, the suffix may be different, cp. *Gaul. Marti Ripiamno*.

269. 4. The Latin suffix *-arius* appears in two forms (cp. §§ 914, 916):

(a) As *-(a)ire* (*io*-stem); cp. *notire* 'notarius', *tablaire* 'tabellarius', *scrifaire* 'scrinarius'. Modelled on the foregoing: *techt(a)ire* 'messenger' from *techt* 'going', *cehaire* 'groom' from *ech* 'horse', *cairchaire* 'shepherd' from *caira* (gen. *-aeth*) 'sheep', *recht(a)ire* 'steward' from *recht* 'law', *rimaire* 'calculator' from *rim* 'number'.

(b) As *-áir* (*i*-stem); cp. *caindléáir* 'candelarius, candle-bearer', *laintáir* 'Latinist' (Med. Lat. *latinarius*); hence *feichléáir* 'curator' from *feichell* 'caring for', *meithléáir* 'messor' (acc. pl. *meithléárai* *Ml.* 135⁹) from *methel* 'band of reapers'.

5. *-tóir* *-atóir* from Lat. *-(a)tor*, cp. *preceptóir*, *dictatóir*, *senatóir*; hence *tugatóir* (poet.) 'thatcher' *SP.* (*Thea. n.* 299, 14) from *tugid* 'covers'; *lubgartóir* 'olitor' from *lub-gort* 'garden' (if not to be classed under 4 b).

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 *-da* and *-na*, the former masculine or neuter, the latter feminine; cp. 'unus ullus' gl. *éanán*, 'una ulla' gl. *éannat* Sg. 37*10-11. But longer forms of each of them are sometimes found, and other suffixes also.

271. 1. *-da* (o-stem); e.g. *fer* 'man' : *ferán*; *noídlu*, gen. *noídan*, 'child' : *noídemán*; *lle*, gen. *liac*, 'stone' : *leacán*; *bráthir* 'brother' : *bráthrán*; *duine* 'person' : *duínán*; *uisce* 'water' : *uisceán*. From adjectives: *beacán* 'paululus, paucillum', *sainemíán* 'bellus' (from *sainemall*). Artificial imitations of Latin are found in *maínu* 'maiusculus' Sg. 40*14, 45*12, from *máio máa* 'greater', and in *meineán* 's(a)epiuscule' 46*14 from *in meaic* 'often'.

Sometimes, particularly in nonce formations, the nominative is made the basis; e.g. *táid* 'thief' : *táidán* 'furunculus'; *eá*, gen. *can*, 'dog' : *ceán* 'cunicula' Sg. 49*11 (as a man's name both *Céán* and *Cenán* occur). The suffix is added to the dative in a *éanurán* SP. (Thes. II. 294, 2), etc., from a *éanar* 'he alone' (§ 251, 2), nom. sg. *éanar*.

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. *MAMAONI, TALAGNI, ULOAGNI* (later *Óláín*); (b) *ULOAGNIUS, gen. BROGAGNI* (later *Breccáin*), *COBAGNI, CURAGNI, EUGAGNI*.

A longer suffix *ceán* *-ceán* is common in masculine personal names like *Clarecán* (gen. *-cáin* ZCP. VIII. 176) beside *Clarán* (*clar* 'dark'), *Dubucán* (*dub* 'black'), *Ísucán* 'little Jesus'. It is also found in appellatives, particularly in the vocative; e.g. a *macceáin* LL 370*8 beside a *maccáin* (*macc* 'son'); *eridecáin* SP. (Thes. II. 294, 14; for **eriducáin*, § 103, 4) from *eride* neut. 'heart'. This suffix is apparently a development of *-ce*, which is in origin a Britannie 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*, *De-Becóe*, *Mo-Chiaróe*. Such hypocoristic names were originally vocatives, and isolated examples retain the vocative form as nominative, e.g. *To-Giallóie Cáin Adamnáin* p. 16.

272. 2. The suffix *-én* is less frequent; e.g. *duínén* (*duínán* § 271); acc. pl. *grinnéau* 'fasciolas' *ML*. 144'5 from *grinne* 'bundle', although this form, as well as dat. pl. *mainénaib* gl. *monuaculis* (read *man-*) *ML*. 69'5, could also belong to 5 (b) below. From adjectives: *caich* 'blind': *caichén* gl. *cectus*; *laigéna* gl. *minusculus* *Sg.* 45'13, an artificial comparative form derived from *laigiu* 'smaller'.

For the Saxon cp. *cu(l)lén* masc. 'whelp', gen. sg. and nom. pl. *culléin* *culléin*. Judging from the Ogam gen. *cucconu*, the suffix is *-éno-*. It seems to be distinct from the Gaul. patronymic *-éno-* in *Oppianicus*, *Fostianicus*, *Nantonianus*, *Lucotianus*, etc. Later it is replaced by *-in*, e.g. *Baithin*, presumably on the model of *Augustin* 'Augustinus' and similar forms.

273. 3. The suffix *-nat*, after palatals mostly *-net*, is as a rule feminine; e.g. *brú*, gen. *brenn*, 'belly': *brennat*, dat. sg. *brennait*. So also *siur* 'sister': *siurnat*; *bó* 'cow': *bónat*; *foehrie* 'reward': *foehrienet*; *altóir* fem. 'altar': *altóirnat*; *dearg* 'red': *deargnat* 'flea'; *find* 'fair': *Findnat*, woman's name; with acc.-dat. form instead of nominative (later very frequent) *tennait* '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—homunclo—homunculus' are glossed *duínén—duínenet*. *talamnat* 'terruia' 48'14 comes from masc. *talam*, but may have been influenced by the Latin gender. Cp. also *óthathnat* (ms. *óthathnat*) 'pauculus' 49'14, from *óthad* neut. 'small number, few'.

Collections: *Marstrandec*, *ZCP*. vii. 339, *Lohmann*, *Genus und Sexus*, p. 35. The suffixes *-nat* and *-net* (§ 274, 4) have probably developed from simple *-at*, the *-a-* and *-á-* belonging to the root word in the earliest examples; cp. *Mae-ai-án* (poet., ms. *Maecian*) 'a little' *BC*. xvii. 176. The *f* (= *d*) is from *at*, cp. *O. Beitana*, gen. pl. *Faßparr-e-ai-cioce* (*Ptol.*), cognate with *Ir. gabar* 'goat', *O. Slav. agaz* (stem *agaz-*) 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 ungalnet gl. uncialera* Sg. 46^a11 (from *ungas*) the use of the article and its form are alike peculiar; if this is a mistake for [o]la-ungalnet (acc.), it provides an example of neuter flexion retained. Forms inflected as feminine *n*-stems are sometimes found; e.g. acc. sg. *frascnatain* 'a little old woman' TBF. 378 (from *frasc*); gen. *Beannatan*, etc. (see Lehmann, *op. cit.* 35).

274. 4. *-that* (*-tat*, § 139) is found only with nouns denoting inanimate objects; e.g. *tírthat* 'agellus' Sg. 47^b11 (*tír* neut.); *centat* 'capitulum' 47^b5 (*cenn* neut.); *glainethat* 'maxilla' 14^a14 (*glaine* fem. 'mala').

5. (a) No such restriction applies to *-ne -ine* (*-o-* and *-i-*stems); e.g. *grán* neut. 'corn': *gráinne gráinne* (fem. Wb. 13^a23); *glaine* fem. 'mála': *glainne* 'maxilla' Sg. 45^b18. *folt* masc. 'hair': *foltne* masc. 'capillus'; *lúath* fem. 'ashes': *lúathne* 'cinder'; *éces* 'poet': *écsine* masc. 'student of poetry'.

Collection: Macstrander, ZCP. vii. 377, n. 2.

(b) *-éne* appears to be a combination of this suffix with 2. Examples: *claidéb* masc. 'sword': *claidbéne*; *brat* masc. 'cloak': *bratbéne*; *éilab* masc. 'basket': *éilabéne*; *lár* fem. 'mare': *láréne*. In proper names: *Eirnéne* (from *larn-* 'iron'), *Baithéne* (*baith* 'foolish').

In Mid. Ir. the endings of (a) and (b) combine into *-éne*; e.g. dat. sg. *glainni* LU 4883; *slegine* (from *sleg* 'javelin'). Cp. *-éne*, § 272.

275. Hypocoristic names show great variety of formation, especially names of saints, where Britannie influence was also operative (see *-éc* § 271). Thus *Fíndharr* can be shortened either to the regular Irish form *Fíndín* or to *Uíne(s)us* (in the Latin of Adamnan), Ir. Finno *Finnla*, with the Britannie suffix *-us* and the Britannie assimilation of *nd* to *ns* (cp. *Colmán* § 152 c). *Barra*, *Barre*, *Barri* can all be used for *Barrínd*, and *Mo-Bí* for both *Breáinid* and *Berchán*. On *E(s)chu*, gen. *Echach*, for *E(s)chaid*, gen. *Echdach*, see Bergin, *Ériu* xi. 140 ff. Further particulars will be found in the collections by Zimmer, *KZ.* xxxii. 138 ff., K. Meyer, *Kelt. Wortkunde* §§ 33, 38, 69, 75 (p. 939), 92, 189, *Ériu* iv. 68 ff., and Thurneysen, ZCP. xix. 357 ff.

PARADIGMS

A. VOCALIC STEMS

I. *a*-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. gen. 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', *cia(l)deb* 'sword'; neuter, *seól* 'tidings', *accobor* -bur 'wish'.

SINGULAR

	masc.		neut.	
N	fer	<i>cia(l)deb</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
V	fir	<i>cia(l)dib</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
A	fer	<i>cia(l)deb</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
G	fir	<i>cia(l)dib</i>	<i>seóil seóil</i>	<i>accob(a)ir</i>
D	fiur	<i>cia(l)dub</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobur</i>

PLURAL

N	fir	<i>cia(l)dib</i>	<i>seól seóla</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur <i>accobra</i>
V	fiur	<i>ciaidbú</i>	<i>seól seóla</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur <i>accobra</i>
A	fiur	<i>ciaidbú</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
G	fer	<i>cia(l)deb</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
D	fer(a)ib	<i>ciaidbíb</i>	<i>seól(a)ib</i>	<i>accobr(a)ib</i>

EQUAL

NAG	fer	<i>cia(l)deb</i>	<i>seól</i>	<i>accobor</i> -bur
D	fer(a)ib	<i>ciaidbíb</i>	<i>seól(a)ib</i>	<i>accobr(a)ib</i>

278. In the nom. acc. pl. neuter the form without an ending is most frequent in combination with words which themselves indicate the number, such as the article, pronominals, and numerals.

The dat. sg. is identical with the nom. acc. where the final consonance resists the change to *u*-quality (§ 170 f.); e.g. after long vowels or diphthongs, as in *slég slúg* masc. 'host', *fise* masc. 'fish', *seáth* neut. 'shadow' (but dat. *fo-séad* *ML*. 50⁴⁷), *bás* neut. 'death', *ais áis* neut. 'age'; in some instances after stressed *o*, as in *corp* masc. 'body', *feil* masc. 'hair', *éice* neut. 'checking' (also *éoise*); after *a*, as in *macc* masc. 'son', *salm* masc. 'psalm', *erchoat* neut. 'injury', *éstease* 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. *epsculp* *Wb.*, *epsculp* *ML*); *sacardd* 'priest'; *galar* neut. 'disease' (due to the first *a*! Cp. the adj. *lebar* *ML*. 58⁶); *sechmall* neut. 'passing by' 70⁴³ (but *diull*, dat. of *diáll* 'declension'); in *AU.*, names in *-all* such as *Domnall*, never *-ull*; *forchtal* neut. 'teaching' *ML*. 49⁸, usually *forchtul*; *oscar* masc. 'ignorant person' *Wb.* 12¹⁶; *eor* masc. 'putting' *ML*. 118¹⁵. This development is to some extent connected with the disappearance of *u*-quality in consonants (§ 174). Cp. *ar éhinn* beside *ar éhinn* (dat. of *éinn*) 'before'.

279. The effects of variation in the quality of consonants on the preceding vowel are further illustrated by the following examples:

fise masc. 'fish', gen. sg. nom. pl. *éise* (§ 53).

son masc. 'word', gen. sg. nom. pl. *suin*, dat. sg. *sun*, acc. pl. *sunu* (§ 75).

lebar *lebur* masc. 'book', gen. sg. *lebur*, dat. *lebur* (§§ 73, 164).

éin masc. 'bird', gen. sg. nom. pl. *éuin éuin éuin*, dat. sg. *éun*, acc. pl. *éunu éunu* (§ 55).

nál masc. 'cloud', gen. sg. nom. pl. *níuil*, acc. pl. *níulu*.

ball masc. 'member', gen. sg. nom. pl. *buill* and *ball*, dat. sg. *buill* and *baull*, acc. pl. *buillu* and *baullu* (§ 80a).

- crann* neut. 'tree, trunk', gen. ag. *crainn*, dat. *crunn* (§ 80a).
brat masc. 'cloak', dat. ag. *brót* (gen. *broitt* attested later).
neit neut. 'strength', gen. ag. *neirt*, dat. *neurt*.
céol céul neut. 'music', gen. ag. *céull*, dat. *céul* (§ 108).
día masc. 'god', voc. gen. ag. nom. pl. *dé* (gen. ag. *dáid* Wb. 23*10), acc. dat. ag. gen. pl. *día*, acc. pl. *deu deo*, dat. pl. *dóib* (§§ 53, 47).

280. IRREGULARITIES :

1. Masculine proper names in *-da* (§ 271), like *Colmán*, sometimes have voc. gen. *-da* instead of *-día*, i.e. are treated as indeclinable, particularly in the ninth century. Similarly *siur Binán* (cp. § 272) 'Benignus's sister' Trip. 98, 4.

Op. Ó MALLA, *Language of AU.*, p. 23 f., where there are also instances of gen. ag. *-día*; 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 *phopal* '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* Thea. II. 301, 9 like a neuter substantival adjective (§ 355).

3. Some neuters in *-cá* (*-g*) can form their plurals like *s*-stems (§ 337). Examples: *tossach* 'beginning', dat. ag. *tossuch* *tossug* *teasach*, nom. pl. *teage* Ml. 96*5; *octrach* 'dung', pl. *octrache* Wb. 9*7; *aslach* 'seduction', acc. pl. *aslaige* Féil. Epíl. 197; *enech* 'face, honour', acc. pl. *e(l)nlge* (ms. *einsige*) Laws v. 506, 13 beside nom. pl. *enech* RC. xxvi. 36 § 175 (ms. R), gen. pl. *enech*; *culmrech* 'fetter', dat. pl. *culmrigb* Wb. 23*11 beside *culmregaib* 26*21; later *étach*, gen. *étag*, 'garment', nom. pl. *étag* (but gen. pl. *étach*), probably influenced by *tesh* '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 Brittonic: *W. lestr*, pl. *lestri*.

5. *dún* 'fort' (neut. *e*-stem) adopts the *s*-stem inflexion towards the end of the eighth century (influenced by *glán*

'knee'): nom. pl. *dúine* Féil. Procl. 68, 150 (beside gen. sg. *Dúin* Jan. 3), dat. sg. *dúin* Thes. II. 269, 11 (Arm.).

6. *sét* masc. 'chattel, unit of value' makes acc. pl. *séit* Wb. 23⁴ instead of *séitú*; possibly influenced by the following word *maínl* 'treasures' (or scribal error ?).

7. For confusion between the *o*- and *u*-declensions see § 309.

II. *io*-STEMS

281. These differ from *o*-stems in that after *i* (*i*) the vowel of the final syllable has not disappeared (§ 94). Hence the following endings are regularly found:

Masculine nouns: *-e* in the nom. acc. sg., gen. pl., nom. acc. gen. du.; *-i* in the voc. gen. sg., nom. pl.; *-(i)a* in the dat. sg., voc. acc. pl.; *-ib* in the dat. pl. and du.

Neuter nouns: *-e* in the nom. acc. sg., pl., and du., voc. sg., gen. pl. and du.; *-i* in the gen. sg.; *-(i)a* in the dat. sg.; *-ib* in the dat. pl. and du.

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

		SINGULAR			
		masc.		neut.	
N	<i>céile</i>	<i>dalt(a)e</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
V	<i>céili</i>	<i>dalt(a)i</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
A	<i>céile</i>	<i>dalt(a)e</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
G	<i>céili</i>	<i>dalt(a)i</i>		<i>crídi</i>	<i>cumacht(a)i</i>
D	<i>céilú</i>	<i>daltu</i>		<i>crídú</i>	<i>cumachtu</i>
		PLURAL			
N	<i>céili</i>	<i>dalt(a)i</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
V	<i>céilú</i>	<i>daltu</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
A	<i>céilú</i>	<i>daltu</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
G	<i>céile</i>	<i>dalt(a)e</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
D	<i>céilib</i>	<i>dalt(a)ib</i>		<i>crídib</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ib</i>
		DUAL			
NAG	<i>céile</i>	<i>dalt(a)e</i>		<i>críde</i>	<i>cumacht(a)e</i>
D	<i>céilib</i>	<i>dalt(a)ib</i>		<i>crídib</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ib</i>

283. In later sources *-a* is often found instead of *-ae* (§ 90). *-i* for *-ia* is very rare, and to some extent perhaps a mere scribal error, e.g. dat. sg. *du(i)ni* for *duinia* Wb. 4^b3, Ml. 49^b8 (collection: Strachan, ZCP. iv. 52). For *esséirgu* beside *esséirgu* and *imúibú* beside *imúibú*, see §§ 97, 167.

The forms dat. sg. *du chumachas* Ml. 74^b14 and acc. pl. *fadúisal* 'testimonies' 46^b12 are probably mistakes for *-ia* and *-ias* respectively.

284. Irregularities:

1. *du(i)ne* masc. 'person' forms its plural from a different stem with *i*-inflexion: nom. voc. acc. *doini*, gen. *doine*, dat. *doinib*.

In poetry a singular form *doín déen* (in composition *déen-*) is also found; the only example where the *-a* is clearly palatal is in Flanag. 14 § 24.

2. 'Jew' (*Iudaeus*) has singular nom. *Iudide*, gen. *Iudídi*; plural nom. *Iudei*, voc. acc. *Iudsu Iudeu Iudeo*, gen. *Iud(a)e*, dat. *Iudeib Iudéib*. The model was *geinúide* 'gentilis, Gentile' (§ 826) beside plural *genti geinúí* masc. 'gentes' (but pl. also *gentídi*).

3. *la(i)the* neut. 'day' (gen. *laithi*, dat. *laithis*, etc.) has also a shorter form: nom. acc. *lae laa láa*, gen. *lai* (*laí* ?), dat. *láu láo lá lóu*, pl. nom. acc. gen. *lae lá*, dat. *laib*. This may have originated in the frequent combination *la(th)e bráithe* 'Doomaday' (with the main stress on *bráithe*) by dissimilation of the *á*-*a*.

The declension is the same as that of *baa* 'benefit, profit', gen. *bái* (= *baí* ?) Wb. 11^a4, dat. *báu* 30^a6.

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 *-oo* (whence Ir. *-oo*). This is often retained in Gaulish inscriptions, e.g. *Iocunoo*, *Oppidunoo*, *Epycaepoo Oudunoo*, *Uirúoo* (Gk. *Oupúoo*), *Andocunoo*; *Fontunoo*, names of deities like *Cornunoo*, of months like *Epyoo*, *Cunúoo*, *Cunúoo*, and ordinals like *aloo* 'second', *decuratoo* 'tenth', etc.

Nom. voc. acc. neut., with neutral final, nasalizing, point to *-oo* (Ir. *-oo*) < IE. *-om*; cp. Gaul. *colúoo* (whence Goth. *kaúoo* 'bedroom') *Doitaa* no. 33, *epuroo* (= Ir. *neimé* 'fanum') no. 7.

Voc. masc. Palatal final, corresponding to *-s* in the cognate languages. (*Irþjare, domine*), Gaul. *nat* (Lat. *ñh*) in Endlicher's Glossary (op. IF. XLII. 146).

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 *MAQCI MAQCI* 'of the son' (later *maice*), *XETACARI, QENILOCI, COMAGNI*; Gaul. *Segovari, Donacoli, Atoknati Trutikni* (North Etrusc. Alphabet, CIL. n° no. 2102), names of months *Epat, Gault*; cp. Lat. *-i*. Genitives of *io-*stems: Ogam *AVI AVTI* 'of the grandson', *COLI* 'of the companion' (see § 94).

Dat. *u*-quality final, leniting. In Gaulish the older ending is apparently *-ai*, e.g. *Maccopaus, (Marti) Cicofai* (nom. probably *-ollos*), going back to *-ai* (Gk. *-oi*, Osc. *-oi*); but *-u* is more frequent, e.g. *Alisau, Anuolovau, Elucatu, Mapatu*, 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. *caedant* (stem *caedantno-*, ZCP. XVI. 298) we find *-i* (probably *-j*), which, like Lat. *-i*, doubtless goes back to *-oi* (Gk. *-oi*, 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 *e-*stems, with neutral final, leniting, has dropped the ending *-a*, the original quantity of which is no longer ascertainable. Cp., perhaps, Gaul. acc. pl. *carrae* on votive inscriptions (Destin no. 2, cp. no. 1); although, if the reading *carrae* in two other inscriptions (Destin nos. 29, 32) is correct, which is very doubtful, the first form is more likely to be the plural of an *e*-stem.

The longer *by*-form in *-a* has probably been taken over from the adjectives and pronominals (see § 469), although it sometimes lenites by analogy with the shorter form.

Voc. masc. Ending *-a* like the acc. pl. This seems to be the old nom. voc. pl. nominal ending *-a*, corresponding to Skt. *-ā*, Osc. *-ā*, Goth. *-a*. 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 *e-* and *io-*stems that the voc. pl. of all masculine nouns adopted the acc. pl. form (§ 216).

Acc. The ending *-a*, probably with original gemination (cp. the acc. pl. of the article), points in the first instance to *-ā*—cp. Gaul. *cañae* (= Lat. *cañae, caninae*), *ludae* (nom. sg. *ludae* ZCP. XVI. 295, 303)—from IE. *-ā*; cp. Skt. *-ā*, Lith. *-a*.

Gen. The neutral final, nasalizing, goes back to IE. *-on* (Gk. *-on*) through intermediate *-an* (Ir. *-an*). A remnant of the old ending (*-a*) is found in Ogam *TRAMAMAILAGNI* 'of the three sons of Madán' Macal. no. 17, where the nasal has been absorbed by the following *m*.

Dat. Ending *-(a)š*, which neither lenites nor nasalizes. The same suffix, palatal *-š*, is common to all declensions, and probably represents an earlier *-šs*, identical with the Skt. instrumental suffix *-śśi*. In the *a*-stems it is preceded by a neutral vowel, i.e. *-ašs* (or originally, perhaps, **-ašśi*).

The last part of the Ardmore Ogam inscription (Masc. no. 208), which has been deciphered as *DOLATHENNAISGON...*, may well contain this suffix; so also Gaul. *gobēlli* (Dottin no. 33), and—less probably—*auirete* (*ibid.* no. 48). Examples of *-be* in Gaulish are *mapēte Napanēte* (*ibid.* no. 19), *Arlesovate* (*ibid.* no. 32), and perhaps *tecanō-be* ZCP. xv. 281. It is uncertain whether these endings have lost *-s* or indeed ever had it (cp. Gk. *-φ*); the former is more likely. With *-be* compare Lat. *bus*, Venet. *Andricobus*.

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 *-s*, probably *=š*: *urocēdris, coisidēno* (ZCP. xvi. 288). A possible explanation of the Irish form is as follows: The IE. ending was *-su* (beside *-ō*), Skt. *-su*, which shows regular development in Ir. *dhú* 'two'. OW. *don*, etc. In polysyllabic words *-su* may have fallen together with old *-su*, whence *-š* (which was shortened to *-š* in Irish and then disappeared). This explanation, however, implies that W. *wyth* Bret. *oiz* 'eight', the vocalism of which points to an ending *-t < -ō* (Celt. **oētō*), goes back, not to **oētō* (Skt. *asṭas*, Goth. *ahtau*), but to the *hy*-form **oētō* (Skt. *asṭh*).

The neuter has the same form, but causes nasalization. The original IE. ending appears to have been an *i*-diphthong: Skt. and O.Slav. *-š < -oi* or *-oi*. But in a number of languages it has adopted the form of the masculine, e.g. Lat. *duo*, Gk. *-σ*, 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 *-su* (O.Slav. *-u* for loc. and gen. of all stems; Lith. *pusiū* (adverb) 'in two', from *pusis* '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. *dhú* (all genders). Here the original form may have been **dwojs* (from **dwojōu* ?), cp. O.Slav. gen. *dwojs* (Skt. gen. loc. *dyōyś*), from which, with early loss of the *-j*, Ir. *dhú* could have arisen. But all this is purely conjectural.

Dat. The ending *-(a)š* 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 *-ōin*. A nasal is also shown in the Skt. suffix *-bhyaḥ* (dat. abl. instr. dual), although in other respects this suffix does not quite correspond to the Irish. Glk. *-ōi** beside *-ōi* is probably not connected.

III. *ǫ*-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', *ceard* 'craftsman' as well as 'handicraft'. But this probably does not apply to men's names, e.g. *Congal*, gen. *Congaille*, lit. 'dog's fight' or 'wolf's fight'; consequently such names often form a masculine accusative (*-gal*) and occasionally a masculine genitive (*-gall*).

There are also other names of men in this class, e.g. *Bécc*, acc. *Béicc*, gen. *Bécca*. But as their etymology is obscure, it is impossible to decide whether they are to be explained like *Cong-gal* or whether there were always masculine *ǫ*-stems.

The inflexional endings are *-(a)ōb* 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', *deib* 'fern' (for the variation in consonantal quality see § 160); *deacht* 'divinity' (*-cht* never palatal, § 162); *bu(i)den* 'troop'.

	SINGULAR			
NV	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>	<i>deacht</i>	<i>bu(i)den</i>
A	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>	<i>deacht</i>	<i>bu(i)din</i>
G	<i>tú(a)ithe</i>	<i>deib(a)e</i>	<i>deacht(a)e</i>	<i>buidne</i>
D	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>	<i>deacht</i>	<i>bu(i)din</i>
	PLURAL			
NVA	<i>túatha</i>	<i>deiba</i>		<i>buidnea</i>
G	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>		<i>bu(i)den</i>
D	<i>túath(a)ib</i>	<i>deib(a)ib</i>		<i>buidnib</i>
	DUAL			
NA	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>		<i>bu(i)atn</i>
G	<i>túath</i>	<i>deib</i>		<i>bu(i)den</i>
D	<i>túath(a)ib</i>	<i>deib(a)ib</i>		<i>buidnib</i>

Later sources show *-a* as well as *-es* in gen. sg., and *-e* as well as *-es* in nom. voc. acc. gen. pl., § 99.

290. For the variation in the quality of interior vowels cp.

ciall 'sense', acc. dat. *céill*, gen. *cé(l)lle*, nom. acc. pl. *cialla* (§ 53).

bríathar 'word', acc. dat. *bréthir*, gen. *bré(i)thre*, nom. acc. pl. *bríathra* (§ 161).

tol 'will', acc. *teill*, gen. *tulle*, dat. *tull teill*, nom. acc. pl. *tela* (§ 75).

gáin gáo gó 'falsehood', acc. dat. *geí*, gen. *gae*, nom. acc. pl. *gea* (§ 69 d).

náin 'ship', acc. dat. *neí*, gen. *neé* (arch. *naus*), pl. nom. *nea*, dat. *noib*.

291. IRREGULARITIES:

1. *ben* 'woman' is inflected with old ablaut (*ben-*, *b̄y-* or *b̄en-*, *b̄u-*): acc. arch. *bein*, but from Wb. on *mnai* (dative form), gen. sg. *mná* (§ 190 b), dat. *mnai* (rarely arch. *bein*); pl. nom. voc. acc. *mná*, gen. *ban*, dat. *mnáib* (sometimes disyllabic in verse); du. nom. acc. *mnai*, gen. *ban*, dat. *mnáib*. The composition form is *ban-* (§ 254).

2. *persan* 'persona', gen. *persine*, changes to the *a*-flexion (§ 327) in the plural: nom. pl. *persin* Sg. 203^b10, etc.; sometimes also with *-na*: gen. pl. *persann* (beside nom. sg. *persan*) Tur. 86, dat. pl. *persannaib* Ml. 25^a13, also dat. sg. *persainn* 72^a10a.

IV. ORDINARY *i*-STEMS

V. *i*-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: *séitig* 'female companion, wife', *bliad(a)in* 'year'.

SINGULAR

	IV		V	
NV	<i>soilse</i>	<i>ung(a)e</i>	<i>séitig</i>	<i>bliad(a)in</i>
A	<i>soilsi</i>	<i>ung(a)i</i>	<i>séitchi</i>	<i>bliadn(a)i</i>
G	<i>soilse</i>	<i>ung(a)e</i>	<i>séitche</i>	<i>bliadn(a)e</i>
D	<i>soilsi</i>	<i>ung(a)i</i>	<i>séitchi</i>	<i>bliadn(a)i</i> , <i>bliad(a)in</i>

PLURAL

N	<i>soilsi</i>	<i>ung(a)i</i>	<i>séitchi</i>	<i>bliadn(a)i</i>
V	* <i>soilsi</i>	* <i>ung(a)i</i>	* <i>séitchi</i>	* <i>bliadn(a)i</i>
A	<i>soilsi</i>	<i>ung(a)i</i>	<i>séitchi</i>	<i>bliadn(a)i</i>
G	<i>soilse</i>	<i>ung(a)e</i>	<i>séitche</i>	<i>bliadn(a)e</i>
D	<i>soilsib</i>	<i>ung(a)ib</i>	<i>séitchib</i>	<i>bliadn(a)ib</i>

DUAL

NA	<i>soilsi</i>	<i>ung(a)i</i>	<i>séitig</i>	<i>bliad(a)in</i>
G	<i>soilse</i>	<i>ung(a)e</i>	* <i>séitche</i>	* <i>bliadn(a)e</i>
D	<i>soilsib</i>	<i>ung(a)ib</i>	* <i>séitchib</i>	* <i>bliadn(a)ib</i>

Later sources show -a beside -ae, § 99.

294. (a) The number of words whose declension is well attested in O.Ir. texts and which are uniformly inflected like V is not large. Among appellatives are *adaig* 'night', acc. dat. *aidchi*, gen. *aidche aithehe*; *rigain* 'queen' Féil. Prol. 125. *Már-(r)igain* Thea. i. 2, 7, acc. *rigni* Imram Brain i. 42, 7, gen. pl. *rignae* SP. (Thea. ii. 295, 15); *lánam(a)in* 'married couple', acc. sg. *lánamni lánamni* Imram Brain i. 53, 10, 14. The dat. sg. is sometimes found without an ending: *bliadn* Thea. ii. 17, 29 and 27, 38, *rigain* Ml. 65^a13; this is not necessarily an innovation, for the petrified dative (a)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. *inls* 'island', acc. dat. *inli* and *inls*, gen. *inse* and *inseo*; *féil* 'festival', acc. dat. *féil* as a rule in Féil., but *féil* twice Oct. 2, Dec. 30; among loan-words in *-sét*, dat. sg. *trindéét* 'trinitati' Ml. 15^b, beside *humaldéét omakl)éét* 'humilitati, -tem' Wb. 28^a29, Ml. 54^a6, Ter. 60.

(b) In particular there is a group of words which, except for their genitive in *-e*, are indistinguishable from *i*-stems in the singular (cp. the substantival adjectives § 357). Examples: nom. acc. dat. *luib* 'plant', gen. *lub(a)e* (nom. acc. pl. *luib*); *méit* (in Ml. also *mét*) 'size, quantity', acc. dat. *méit*, gen. *mé(i)te*; nom. acc. dat. *a(i)thís* 'reviling, disgrace', gen. *a(i)thise*; nom. acc. dat. *int(s)amaíl* 'imitation', gen. *intamlae* Ml. 56^b33; nom. acc. dat. *canóin* 'canon, scriptural text', gen. *canóne*; nom. acc. dat. *epistíl* 'Epistle', gen. *epistile*, nom. pl. *epistíl* (alternating with the *i*-declension: nom. acc. dat. *ec(a)is* 'church', gen. *ec(a)ise* and *ecolca ecocalca*). Mid.W. *meint* (= Ir. *méit*), which implies a primary form **meintí*, shows that at least some of these words originally belonged to class V.

A very large proportion of this group consists of verbal nouns whose original flexion is sometimes doubtful owing to the difficulty in deciding whether they are *i*-stems or *ā*-stems in which the dative form has replaced the nominative, (§ 256). Examples: *buith* 'being' (rarely *both*), acc. dat. *buith*, gen. *buithe* (the compound *céibuih* 'sensus' has also gen. *céibithe* Sg. 25^b7, etc., like an *i*-stem); *brith* and *breth* 'bearing', acc. dat. *brith breith*, gen. *brithe*; *gabáil* beside *gabál* 'taking', acc. dat. *gabáil*, gen. *gabál(a)e*.

In later texts confusion between classes V, III, and VI spreads in all directions; e.g. nom. sg. *rián* (like III) or acc. sg. *lunjal* from *long* (*ā*-stem) 'ship'. As early as Sg. 20^a3 we find nom. sg. *tris líir* 'tertia littera' 20^a3 beside acc. pl. *líra* (from *líra*) 17^a1.

Collections: KZ. xxviii. 145; Stokes, Bezenbergers Beitr. xi. 81 f., KZ. xxviii. 289 f., xxx. 378. Cp. Ó Máille, Language of AU. 144, Lohmann, Genus and Sexus 32 ff.

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

'celestial spaces'), gen. *rée rehs*, pl. nom. acc. *rei*, dat. *réib*, probably belongs to this class. But it occurs as neuter in *ré n-íull* 'lunar space of July' *Thes.* II. 18, 33; so also pl. *ree* 'spatia' *Ísíd.* 12, 31. Cp. *de-rea rúasat* 'who created the (celestial) spaces' *Imram Brain* I. 23 § 48 (see Bergin, *Ériu* VIII. 99).

fetarl(a)ie 'Old Testament' sometimes makes a neuter gen. *fetarl(a)ieed* (instead of *fetarl(a)iee*) on the model of *núladnase* 'New Testament'.

CASE-FORMS OF ð- AND ið-STEMS

295. 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* (1924), p. 78 f., Lohmann, *Genus und Sexus* (1932), p. 28 ff.

Singular. Nom. In the ð-stems the neutral final, followed by lenition, shows that the earlier ending -ð had been kept; cp. Gaul. *Sacellio* *Dottin* no. 47, Ogam *ísmasa* 'daughter' (later *ingen*), in the *Eglwys Cymmunn* (Wales) bilingual inscription (as corrected, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th series, vol. VI., p. 224 ff.). The -e of the ið-stems may go back to -ið, cp. *AVITORIA* (in Roman characters) on the same inscription. On the other hand, the palatal final in *V* (*séig*), 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 -jð-, e.g. Skt. *br̥h̥atī* (gen. *br̥h̥atīdī*) fem. 'the exalted one' (= Ir. *Bright*, personal name), Lith. *marš* (gen. *maršios*, from -š) 'daughter-in-law'.

Voc. Like the nom. It is impossible to decide whether or not the ð-stems once had short -e (Gk. *εὐστα*); cp. Gaul. *gratla, nate* 'girl', *Dottin* no. 59 and p. 70.

Acc. Palatal final, nasalizing. From arch. *bein* (not **bin*), § 291, 1, it appears that in Irish the last ending was -en. The same conclusion is suggested by the fact, noted by Pedersen (p. 363), that in *Wh.* the acc. of *tol* 'will' is always written *teill*, but the dat. more often *teill* than *teíl*; accordingly the earlier ending must have contained *e* in the acc., *i* in the dat. So too -i in *IV* and *V* may go back to -ien. The ending -en may represent either earlier -en or an Irish development of IE. -yn, as in the ending of consonantal stems. It has replaced original -en, whence Celt. -en, which probably survives in Gaul. *lokam* (North Etruscan Alphabet, apparently = *logas*) 'grave' (?) *CIL.* I² no. 2103 (although -an could also represent a Gaulish development of -yn). Cp. further the ending of the suffixed personal pronoun -(i)ne § 451 (probably < **siwa*). Since the consonantal stems had the same ending in the acc. pl. (*-en), and probably in the dat. sg. (*-i), as the ð-stems, the latter may

have also taken over *-es* from them. But this theory is open to objection, and other solutions have been advanced. Pedersen suggests that *ǫ*-stems, as in the Latin fifth declension, were formerly found in Celtic also and later became confused with *ǫ*-stems. On the other hand, Lehmann sees the origin of the ending *-es* in a class of feminine nouns (best preserved in Vedic) with nom. sg. in *-e* but with most other cases formed from a stem in *-ij-* with consonantal flexion, so that the acc. sg. ended in *-ijēs* (Ir. **-ijēs*); through confusion of these stems with those of V, the ending spread to the latter class, thence to IV, and finally to III (pure *ǫ*-stems). No conclusive explanation has yet been put forward.

Gen. The old ending of the *ǫ*-stems was *-ǫs* (Gk. *πατήρ* Lat. *pater familiaris*, Goth. Lith. *-s*). The regular development of this is found in *innā* (§ 291, 1), perhaps also in the article *inna* (§ 439). On the other hand, *s* in the pronominals *nasha*, *esha esha* (§ 439 f.) goes back to *-s*, as is shown by *eshe* Thez. n. 258, 4. The usual ending in III, IV, and V is *-e*. In IV and V this can be explained as coming from *-ǫs* (*-ijēs*), which would be the regular ending, but in III it is peculiar. Already in the Ogam inscriptions there are certain genitives in *-is(s)*, *-es* which have been, rightly it would seem, ascribed to *ǫ*-stems (III); e.g. *macca* Macal. nos. 32, 107, *macca* no. 31 (later nom. sg. *Ern*, man's name, probably = *ern* 'spotted or dark red cow'); *osocorras* no. 41, *osocorras* no. 108. It is not quite certain that survivals of *-s* < *-ǫs* are preserved in *esca* no. 23, *osocorras* no. 253, and *Máda Dáta* (instead of *Máda*), from *míal* fem. 'baldness', 'closely cropped man' in genealogies (Kelt. Wortkunde § 15). On the other hand, in the above-mentioned Eglwys Gwynnos bilingual inscription the gen. of Lat. *avronna* is written *avronnos* in Ogam. The *g* may stand for *j*, but even *-ijēs* as against *-is* (and more particularly *-es*) above is peculiar. That originally there were nouns in *-i*, gen. *-ijēs*, beside those in *-ǫ*, gen. *-ǫs* (class V), is possible but cannot be proved; that Lat. *avronna* was written for Celt. *-i* is improbable. Perhaps, then, *-ijēs* represents rather the transition from *-ǫs* to *-e*. Ogam *avronnas* Macal. no. 33 hardly belongs here, for it is more likely to be part of a name with *-rij-*. The spread of the ending *-is* 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), *Suffia* in Gaul. *avrovnosca* *svllias* (cp. *sacrillos carati*) may be the gen. of *Suffia*. If so, the spread of *-is* must be very early; it seems to have no immediate connexion with the introduction of *-es* into the acc. sg.

Dat. Palatal final, leniting. The fullest ending is shown in *innal* (§ 291). In the remaining *ǫ*-stems *-i* seems to be required (see full above under acc. sg.). Gaulish inscriptions show various endings: *Βολενας* Dottin no. 7, Lat. nom. *Vollesna*; similarly *Brigidocai* no. 38, assuming that the nom. ended in *-nas*; in *Alitric* no. 47; in *Alitric* no. 33; *Eucryus* *Enardocococococ* no. 10; *avrovnas* no. 8. The inscriptions with *-ai* are perhaps Greek (*-ai*) rather than Celtic; in *-is* the possibility of a Latinism is not excluded. On the other hand *-ai*, later *-ā*, could be Celtic and correspond to the old form of the dat. (Gk. *πατήρ*, O.Lat. *Menerant*), though it is doubtful if the datives in *-a* in Latin inscriptions in Gaul (e.g. *Ménarua*, *Sapenas*) are due to Celtic influence

(cp. Weisgerber, *Germania* xvii., 11 ff.). In that case *-ī* (*i* after *i*) could not go back to *-ī*, and it would be necessary to assume another, perhaps a locative, form in *-ai* (cp. Boeot. *ἄναι* from **ἄναι*). There is no means of deciding whether Ir. *mnai* goes back to *-āi* or *-ī*.

297. Plural. Nom. voc. The ending of *ā-* stems is *-a* (with gemination after the article § 241), long in *mnā*, representing earlier *-ā* (Osc. *-ā*, Skt. *-ā*, Goth. *-ā*, etc.). On the other hand, *-i* in classes IV and V, cannot go back to *-ī* (or *-īā*). It is improbable that this ending has been taken over from the *i*-stems (VI), for the confusion between V and VI, although it has already begun in the O.Ir. period, has not yet progressed so far that an *-i* borrowed from VI by V would be likely to spread to IV also. In Sanskrit, nouns belonging to V make nom. acc. pl. in *-ī* (from *-īā*), and such forms would provide a satisfactory explanation of O.Ir. *-i*. Some scholars, however, are inclined to regard this not as an original but rather as a secondary formation peculiar to Sanskrit, based on analogy with ag. *-ī*, pl. *-ī*. 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 *-af* from *-īā*; e.g. *chwiia* 'maiden' (= Ir. *rigain*) : *chwiiaid*; *blwyddyn* 'year' (= Ir. *blainin*) : *blwydd*; 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. 378) belongs to V or VI.

Acc. In the *ā-* stems the *-a* (with gemination after the article, § 241), long in *mnā*, points to a preceding stage *-ā*. It may represent either the old ending *-ā* (Skt. *-ā*, Goth. *-ā*), or the secondary formation found in some languages : *-ā* with the *-a* of the other stem classes. The second alternative is perhaps indicated by the peculiar sibilant in Gaul. *arvā* (North Etruscan Alphabet) OIL. I^o 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 *-en* (cp. Lith. *rašėnā šėnā*, O.Slav. *ropě*), which was subsequently shortened. In combination with a preceding *i* it became *-e*.

Dat. Ending *-(a)ā* *-ā*, probably from *-āis* *-āisā*, etc.; see § 286; cp. Gaul. *Nannouaē* *ibid.*

298. Dual. Nom. acc. In the *ā-* stems palatal final, leniting. Cp. *di di* 'two', and *mnai* which shows the old diphthong *-ai* (= Skt. *-ai*). 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 *a*-stems (I and II), and probably had the same ending. So too the numeral **dán dá*, before a substantive *dá 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 *dá* (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. -*e* -*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 nom. (voc.) acc. pl. (see § 301); otherwise they are declined like the masc. and fem. nouns.

300. Paradigms: *súil* fem. 'eye', *saigid* fem. 'making for, seeking', *enám* masc. 'bone' (for the quality of the -*m* see § 166); *muir* neut. 'sea'.

SINGULAR

	fem.	fem.	masc.	neut.
NVA	<i>súil</i>	<i>saigid</i>	<i>enám</i>	<i>muir</i>
G	<i>súile súla</i>	<i>saightheo</i>	- <i>ea enámo -a</i>	<i>moro mora</i>
D	<i>súil</i>	<i>saigid</i>	<i>enám</i>	<i>muir</i>

FLURAL

N	<i>sú(i)il</i>		<i>enám(a)il</i>	<i>mu(i)re (drummal)</i>
V	<i>sú(i)il</i>		<i>enám(a)il</i>	
A	<i>sú(i)il</i>		<i>enám(a)il</i>	<i>mu(i)re (drummal)</i>
G	<i>sú(i)le</i>		<i>enám(a)e</i>	<i>mu(i)re</i>
D	<i>sú(i)ilb</i>		<i>enám(a)ilb</i>	<i>mu(i)rib</i>

DUAL

NA	<i>súil</i>		<i>enám</i>	<i>muir</i>
G	<i>súle súla</i>		<i>enámo -a</i>	<i>moro mora</i>
D	<i>sú(i)ilb</i>		<i>enám(a)ilb</i>	<i>mu(i)rib</i>

For later *-e* from *-eo*, *-es* see § 99; there happens to be no example of *-a* for *-es* 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 *drúmm*, gen. *dromme*, 'back', which occurs twice as *drúmmal* *MI.* 26^o8, 100^b2. Later sources show forms in *-a*, like *gena* from *gulu* 'wounding' (as early as *LU* 4952) and *mara* 'seas'. The same formation, perhaps, is found in nom. acc. pl. *richsea* 'live coals' *MI.* 40^o5, 6, assuming that the nom. acc. sg. *richis(s)* *Sg.* 47^b3, 5 was neuter. Although a feminine *i*-stem *riches* appears in the later language, the word can hardly have been feminine in O.Ir. to judge from the diminutive *richisín* *Sg.* 47^b4.

For feminines with gen. sg. in *-e*, but otherwise declined wholly like *stáil*, see § 294.

It is doubtful if *búade* is occasionally gen. sg., not gen. pl., of *búaid* *acc.* 'victory'; see *Wh.* 24^a17, *Fol.*

302. IRREGULARITIES :

1. The alternation of *a* and *e* described § 83 is seen in the following examples :

Nom. acc. dat. sg. fem. 'ice', gen. *ega*.

daig (later fem.) 'flame, fire', also man's name, gen. *dego-dega*.

fraig (later fem.) 'wall', gen. *frega*.

grai neut. (collective) 'horses', gen. *grega*, nom. acc. pl. *gra(l)ge*.

tailm (*teilm* only in *Corm.* 1215) fem. 'sling', gen. *telma*.

So also *lialg*, later *lialg*, masc. 'physician', gen. *lega lega*, nom. pl. *legi*, dat. pl. *legib*.

On the other hand, *bíall* fem. 'axe' has long *e* in gen. *béla*.

2. Some loan-words remain unchanged throughout the singular, even in the genitive. Thus *abbgúir* *apggúir* fem. 'abecedarium', pl. *apggúiri*, dat. *apggúirib*; similarly *argumint* *argumint* fem. 'argumentum' (dat. pl. *argumintab* *MI.* 74^b1);

sapañ sabbait (fem. ?) 'Sabbath', pl. *sapañ*; *testimn* masc. (also feminine ? cp. *ML* 38^o9-9a, as against 38^o8, *Tur.* 39) 'testimonium', pl. *testimni*; *grammatic* fem.; *digalm* fem. 'digamma'; *tabernacull* (fem. ? cp. *ML* 40^o15); *stoir* fem. '(h)istoria'.

3. The neuter *drúmm* 'back' has begun to change over to the *n*-flexion (§ 332): dat. sg. *eindrúmmain* beside *eindrúm* (probably *cín-*) 'river bed' *ML* 78^bd. *cuirm coirm* neut. 'ale' seems to have undergone a similar change (dat. sg. *coirmain* *SP.*—*Thea.* II 295, 16), for the corresponding Gaulish word is *curwi* (*Holder*; *Dottin* p. 70).

So too *accus* fem. 'cause', from late Lat. *accusio* (= *occusio*) probably through Britannie, fluctuates between the *n*- and *i*-declensions: acc. dat. sg. *accus* and *accus*, nom. pl. *accus* (*a*!) *esi* *Corm.* 1082), dat. pl. *accusainb*. Cp. also *alsudis* § 730.

CASE-FORMS OF *i*-STEMS

303. Singular. Nom. masc. fem. The palatal final points to earlier *-is*, cp. Gaul. *Nannoverit* *Dottin* no. 7, *Martialis* no. 33.

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

Nom. acc. neut. Palatal final, nasalizing. The primary form probably ended in *-i* (cp. *Skt. Aśt.*, *Gk. ἴος*), the nasalization being borrowed from the much larger classes of the *e*- and *a*-stems.

Acc. masc. fem. Palatal final, nasalizing. Gaulish has *-in*, cp. *Uensin* *Dottin* no. 33, *reitn* no. 51; the original ending was therefore *-is* (*Skt. śacin*, Lat. *fabrin*).

Gen. The ending *-o* *a* may go back to IE. *-eis* if one assumes that in *-eis* the treatment of the diphthong was other than in *-es* (which becomes *-i -i*, § 296). Some of the Ogam genitives in *-es -o* belong to *i*-stems; e.g. *DEGO* *Macal.* nos. 88, 193, *DEAGOS* (read *Depe* ?) no. 222, gen. of the name which later appears as *Duig* (§ 302, 1); *ALLATO* no. 89, *ALLOTO* no. 115, *ALATRO* no. 106, cp. *alld* 'wild'; *SUVALLOS* no. 15, cp. *suall* 'small, insignificant' ? On the above assumption, this *-es* would correspond to earlier *-eis* (cp. Goth. *ansais*), which appears as a genitive ending beside *-eis* (*Osc. acsais*), and the coincidence with the ending of the *a*-stems would be purely accidental. It is doubtful whether there are any *i*-stems among the Ogam genitives in *-ias*; for *ANAVLAMATIAS* *Macal.* no. 196, = *Anfolmths* *Thea.* II. 236, 16 (*Arm.*).

a nom. *Anfolmīth (cp. Fedelmīth) has been suggested, but it is written Anblamīth ZCP. xxi. 312. In IE. there were certain *i*-stems with genitive in *-i*jes, cp. Skt. *deśā* 'sheep', gen. *deśāḥ*, Gk. *πόλις*, gen. (Homer.) *πόλιος*; on the basis of these some of the feminine nouns with gen. in *-e* (§ 294 b) could also be explained.

Dat. Palatal final, leniting. In Gaulish one certain example of the dative of an *i*-stem is provided by *Ucucū* (see acc. *Ucucū* above; cp. Lat. *duo Ucucū*), and a probable one by *uicō* (Harvard Studies in Class. Phil. xlv. 328). 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* (*ecre*). 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 *takroftul tall* 'those apes of old' Tar. 130 is reliable. This suggests *-is* as the most likely ending; Gaul. masc. neut. *tri* (ZCP. xvi. 288) is doubtless meant for **trīs*, cp. also *trīs* (ZCP. xv. 379). The original ending was *-ejes* (Skt. *-eṣāḥ*), which on the analogy of the *u*-stems would be expected in Celtic also. Assuming that *-ejes* became *-ij...* in Celtic (§ 78, 2), Ir. *-i* could go back to *-ejes*. But whether Gaul. and Britann. *-is* could go back to this is at least doubtful. It is likewise doubtful if a trace of *-ij...* is shown in W. *gwloddydd* (beside *gwladod*) 'lands', corresponding to Ir. *fla(f)th*, 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 *-is* or *-id*, cp. Lat. *marī-a*. The form *tri* 'three' occurs in Cam. and ZCP. iii. 463, 23; but later we find *tri* with assimilation to the masculine. It is uncertain whether *drummal* (Ml.) is to be explained in the same way or is modelled on substantival adjectives like *fudummal* 'depths' (§ 307).

Acc. masc. fem. Ending *-i*, < *-is* < *-ins*; cp. Skt. *deśā*, Goth. *gastina*, Umbr. *cuif*, *cuif*.

Gen. The ending *-e*, nasalizing, may represent original *-iōm* (Lat. *otium*) or *-ejom* (Gk. *πόλιος*); cp. Gaul. *Briantōes* Dottin no. 81, if this, notwithstanding the peculiar *-ōe*, is really gen. pl. of *Brianti* and not an abbreviation; Ogam *ruia-maqa* (§ 298), arch. *tri* *u-guim(e)* *Bürgschaft* p. 28 § 76a (later *tri*).

Dat. Ending *-ib*, cp. *trīb*; preceding stage *-i-bō*, see § 296.

Dual: Nom. acc. The palatal quality is doubtless due to the old ending *-i*, cp. Skt. *det*, O.Slav. *konj*.

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 (§ 297).

VII. u-STEMS

305. Masculine and neuter.

Masculines have the following endings: gen. sg. du. -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.) acc. 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-mass); dorus neut. 'door'.

SINGULAR				
		masc.		neut.
NVA	mug	giun (gin)	ammus	dorus
G	mogo -a	gene -a	aimseo aimsea	doirseo -ea
D	mug	giun	ammus	dorus
FLURAL				
N	mog(a)e moga mog(a)d	gen(a)e gen(a)l	aimsi aimsea	dorus doirsea
V	(*mugu)			doirsea
A	muga	gina	aimsiu	dorus doirsea
G	mog(a)e	gen(a)e	aimse	doirse
D	mog(a)ib	gen(a)ib	aimsiib	doirsiib
DUAL				
NA	mug		ammus	dorus
G	mogo, moga		aimseo, -ea	*doirseo, -ea
D	mog(a)ib		aimsiib	*doirsiib

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* 1. 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.* 17. 472 f. The voc. sg. masc. is attested by a *dechtáirib* *ML*. 66¹³, & *aís* *ibid.* and 66²⁹, the voc. pl. neut. by a *doirsea* 46¹⁴.

307. Neutral in place of *u*-quality in the final consonant is regular in stems with a long vowel such as *gūm* masc. 'deed', *dān* masc. 'gift', *als* *des* masc. 'people', also *rēt* masc. 'thing' (§ 170 b); further, in certain consonants after old *a*, e.g. nom. acc. dat. *eath* 'battle'; in abstract nouns in *-ad* (§ 723) and *-as* (§ 261); in *ss* and *ch* 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. *rundaib*), *mind* neut. 'diadem' (dat. pl. *mindalb*), *lind* neut. 'liquid' (written *lend* *Theo.* 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. *gūn* and *gīn* 'mouth', dat. *giun*; nom. acc. *biθ* 'world', dat. *bluθ* (gen. *beθe* *beθa*); nom. acc. *fið* 'wood' (gen. *fedo* *fedā*, dat. pl. *fedalb*); nom. acc. dat. *riuth* and *rīth* 'running'; nom. acc. dat. *fius(s)* and *fi* 'knowledge'.

308. Feminine nouns which show *u*-quality in the nom. sg., and thus were originally *u*-stems, are declined like *ā*-stems (§ 289):

mucc 'pig', acc. dat. *mulec*; pl. nom. acc. *mucca*, gen. *mucc*.

ðoug (later also *ðeoch*) 'drink', acc. dat. *diġ*, gen. *diġe*, later nom. pl. *ðeoga* (cp. *Mid.W. diaet*, *Mid.Bret. diet*, *O.Corn. diet* later *deues*, *dġwes*).

Collection: *Stokes, KE.* xxviii. 291. In the flexion of *mucc* the *u* is retained even before *-a*, whereas *ðoug* shows the same lowering in the nom. sg. as old *ā*-stems. It is unnecessary to assume (as some have done) that there was a special class of feminines with nom. sg. in *-ā*, gen. *-uðe*, parallel to those in *-i*, gen. *-jā*, but not attested in any IE. language; the small group of feminine *u*-stems has modelled its flexion on that of the numerous *ā*-stems. *W. mod. Bret. moc*'s 'pigs' (collective) could go back to **mōkūs*, but not to **mōkēd* (cp. *Gaul. Mercurius Moccus*).

fiðbiuθ 'bliss' *ML.* 128¹³, which corresponds to *W. gwybyd* and is thus a compound of the masc. *u*-stem *biθ*, makes gen. sg. *inna fiðbiuðe* 14⁴, adopting the gender and inflexion of both fem., gen. *biuθe*, '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 gen. sg. with palatal final and their gen. pl. du. without any ending. Thus *tomais* ML. 20*21 beside *toimseo* *ibid.* and 35*23, gen. sg. of *tomus* 'measure'; *coibnís* Sg. 9*9, 28*19, gen. sg. of *coibnús* 'kinship'; gen. pl. *ammus* Fé. Jan. 30; gen. du. *da loch* 'of the two lakes' Thea. 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. *toirithí* ML. 46*14 is a masculine *u*-stem (cp. *riuth* and *ind-red* § 737); this explains gen. pl. *torad* 99*5, 123*8. As early as Wb. (and frequently later) *fluss* (*fls*) masc. 'knowledge' makes gen. sg. *fls(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 *scúla*.

This confusion of masc. and neut. probably also explains nom. pl. *na reete* Wb. 29*16, *na soithe* Sg. 64*14 (from *rethi* masc. 'law' and *súth* 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 *líu* 'number', gen. *líu*, fluctuates between masculine and neuter, and *fír* 'true, just' is a masc. *u*-stem when used substantivally; cp. *més(s) fíra* ML. 26*12, 103*15, acc. pl. *fíru* *Anecd.* III. 25, 6.

The acc. pl. *ú-gotha* Sg. 197*11 (nom. sg. *guth* masc. 'voice') and a few similar instances in ML. (*degníma* 81*01, cp. 99*01, 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. *spíruí*, gen. *spíríto spírúto spírúto*; in Ml. and Tur. nom. sg. *splurt* (cp. *flurt* 'virtus, miracle'), gen. *spírúto* Tur. 86.

erú (neut. ?) 'blood' makes acc. dat. *erú*, gen. *erúu eráuu* *eráuu erú*; in composition *eráuu-* (ZCP. xiii. 376, 13), later *eró-* (*Ériu* xii. 136).

enú fem. 'nut' (also vocative), acc. dat. *enóí*, gen. *enó*; pl. nom. *enóí*, gen. *enáo* (ZCP. xiii. 366, 9) *enó*, dat. *eno(a)íb*; in composition *enó-* (see Meyer, *Contr.* s.v.).

To acc. gen. pl. *forbrú* 'brows' Ml. 39¹², 13, 15 belong later attested nom. pl. and du. *bróí bráí bráe*, gen. du. *bró*, dat. sg. *bróí* LL 166³⁴ (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. Gaul. *resuscit* Dottin no. 7; it is uncertain whether *ecious*, *disertous* in the Coligny Calendar have lost *-r* or are neuter.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. *u*-quality final, nasalizing. The old ending was *-u*, cp. Skt. *udhū*, Gk. *údō*; the nasalization has been taken over from the *e*- and *i*-stems.

Voc. masc. Like the nominative, but cp. the *i*-stems § 303.

Acc. masc. *u*-quality final, nasalizing; hence going back to earlier *-us* = original *-us* (Lat. *arsatum*, Skt. *sindim*).

Gen. Ending *-o* *-a*, apparently without lenition, since the Annals of Ulster always have *Aith Tráim* (gen. of *áth* 'ford'); cp. also *Locha b-Eathach* § 241, 1. In Ogam inscriptions *-or* is still frequent: *suuoccos* Macal. no. 35 beside *neusco* (?) no. 129, *cuuagucos* no. 139 (later nom. sg. *Cungus*), *truuuualucos* no. 191, *suuoccolitos* no. 214; but *-u* appears to occur twice in inscriptions found in Wales: *truuuagocsu* (Lat. *Tranquans*), *neuuuagocsu* (Bhys, *Lectures* 275, 274, cp. Macal. no. 160 ?). Gaelish forms are *Peneleoc* (§ 80 = O.L. *lecho*), *lyxrus* ZCP. xvi. 289 = gen. of the word corresponding to Ir. *lucht* 'load, cargo'. The ending may represent either old *-us* or *-ua*, more probably the former if *-o* in the *i*-stems has been rightly explained as coming from *-is*; cp. Osc. *cauuus*, Lat. *portus*, Goth. *sumus*, Avest. *uuiuyad*, *uuiuad*.

Dat. *u*-quality final, leniting. The Gaul. dat. in *-ou*, *resuscit* Dottin no. 1 (cp. *deus* *Tranquans*; *-ou* *ibid.* no. 35 is doubtful), is probably an old locative in *-us* or *-ou*; cp. Umbr. dat. *trífo* 'to the tribe', Lat. dat. *senatū*, *corad*, Umbr. *manu-u-e* 'in the hand' (= *manu-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 *sp̄aruo-ŕ* occurs repeatedly in Gaulish votive inscriptions; if this has been correctly equated with Ir. *brith*, gen. *bráithe*, 'judgment' and rendered *er iudicio*, then there was also a Celtic case in -ŕ, probably an old instrumental, to which the Irish dative may correspond.

312. Plural. Nom. masc. The ending nearest to the original is probably -*a* preceded by neutral consonance, which goes back to -*oesa*, for earlier -*oes*; cp. Gallo-Lat. *Esouse*, a name for certain gods (Ir. *Lag*, name of a deity), Skt. *śāśāśā*, O.Slav. *synova*, Goth. *sanjus*, Gk. *σῆρος* from *-fōs*. The development of -*oes* to -(*a*) is regular; cp. *-śāśā(a)s* 'heard' < **śāśāwe*, unstressed -*b(a)s* 'beads stressed bed' (**bōsa* ?) 'was'.

We also find -*i*, in ML. the most frequent ending. The preceding consonant is mostly neutral, e.g. *gufinal*, *mesal*, *bēsal*, *rēsal*, *stansal*; but it is occasionally palatal after an unstressed syllable, e.g. *senchatal* Wb. 31^a25a, *sochmal* 7^a13 (apart from forms like *almal* ML. 127^a25, where the palatal consonance is the result of syncope). This ending may be due to the influence of *i*-stems like *dal(a)s* (§ 293), which were identical with the *a*-stems in all the remaining plural cases. If so, the rare instances of palatalization are modelled on the *i*-stems; cp. also the adjectival *a*-stems (§ 358).

In later sources the third ending -*a* could be easily explained as a development from -*ae* (§ 96). But already in Wb. it occurs twelve times, e.g. *gufina* beside *gufine* *gufinal*, *senchassa* beside *senchatal*. Yet it is difficult to suggest any other origin. Elsewhere in Wb. -*a* for -(*a*) 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 *andant* being a subsequent extension; cp., for instance, *ar peitha-ni* 'our aims' 2^a3, a *m-bāca-sa* 'their customs' 9^a17. 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 *comāthēa* 'companions' ML. 51^a6 (despite palatal consonance) are found.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. The form without any ending (*derus*, *mind*, *rind*) could, indeed, go back to earlier -*s* (< -*us*), cp. Skt. *śāśāśā*. 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 *bears* Eg. 67^a11 has taken over *a* from singular *blur* (*bl̄r*) 'stake, cooking spit', cp. *dega* § 308.

Acc. masc. Ending -*u* < -*ōs* < -*ōwe*; cp. Skt. *śāśāśā*, Goth. *sununa*, Cret. *sl̄r*. For the acc. pl. in -*a* see § 308.

The vocative was presumably, as in the other masculine stems, the same as the accusative (§ 284).

Gen. The ending -*e* cannot be explained from the old *a*-declension. It is more likely to have been borrowed from the *i*-stems (which are identical with the *a*-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.

Det. Ending -(*a*)*ū*, which has the effect of a neutral vowel on the preceding syllable and thus cannot go back directly to -*u-bia*. Either -*e* was

taken over from *-cuss* etc., so that the ending fell together with that of the *a*-stems, or it must have developed from earlier *-cuss* etc.; cp. the consonantal stems, *cnasib* § 310, and Gallo-Lat. dat. *Lapouibus*.

313. Dual. Nom. acc. The *a*-quality of the final comes from the original masculine ending *-d*; cp. Skt. *sind* (but neut. *and*), O.Slav. *spvy*. Neuter and masculine have fallen together, as in the *a*-stems (§ 287).

Gen. Ending *-a*, as in gen. sg. Of the two forms provided by cognate languages, Skt. *śindā* and O.Slav. *spvora*, the second, if it represents original *-sa*-*ca*, 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 (§ 287).

314. The monosyllabic stems enumerated in § 310 are generally declined as consonantal stems: gen. **endū* **endū* *end*, from **encos*-*ca*, earlier **ānso*-*ca*. With **brū* cp. Skt. *brū*, gen. *brūvā*, Gk. *ἄρδρ ἄρδρως*. In Irish, on the analogy of the *a*-flexion, *-ca* spread to all the case-forms except acc. pl. *forbrū* (the acc. pl. of *end* is not attested); cp. the declension of *bā* (§ 240). The gen. pl. *forbrū* *ML*. 39¹³ is more likely to be a mistake for *-brū* or *-brūis* than a levelling under other case-forms.

See Lohmann, *ZCP*. xix. 62 ff.

B. CONSONANTAL STEMS

Collection: Hoesen, *IF*. xxx. 226 ff. (*ML*).

315. The declension of these stems is fairly uniform, except for the nom. sg. which, as a rule, has lost the final of the stem. The nominative form cannot always be ascertained from the extant material, and examples from later sources prove little for the O.Ir. period owing to the great amount of levelling that had taken place in the interval.

The remaining cases have the following features in common:

For exceptions see below under the various classes.

Singular. The vocative has the same form as the nominative.

The masculine and feminine accusative has no ending, but shows palatal quality in the stem final and nasalizes the initial of the following word. The old ending *-n* (shown in Gk. *ροῖ-α*, Lat. *ped-em*) had become *-ca* 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 *-es* (cp. Gk. *ων-ός*), which is confirmed by many Ogam forms in *-as* (§ 90, 4), e.g. GLASECONAS, 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-ī*, Osc. *pater-ēi* or Gk. *ίω-αι*) or to the *i* of the locative (Skt. *pad-ī*, Gk. *ωδ-ι*).

The shorter form never had an ending; it corresponds to the endingless locative of Skt. *n*-stems (*śárman*, *mūrīkán*); cp. the dat. sg. in *-es* 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 *Brigandei* 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 *-es* (cp. Gk. *ων-ες*). Only in rare instances do we find the ending *-a*, which has spread from the accusative.

The neuter nom. acc. pl. have no ending, but the stem final has neutral quality. The preceding stage, therefore, had the ending *-a* (see § 286). A longer form with the ending *-a* only occurs later, e.g. acc. pl. *annanna* '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 .i. a naintea (read ndáimtea) gl. (a)emuli ML. 134^v; here the second form is identical with the accusative. This identity is also found in the later examples a uile (read -ú) flathemna '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 ascad(a)e (sio-stem) 'annulus', or, if it is based on the noun asc(a)e 'rival', has adopted the form of the *c*-stems (as do many later examples, e.g. a bráithria SR. 3113).

The masculine and feminine accusative has the ending -a. This suggests a preceding stage -ds, apparently an early development from -ps (or gps), which is generally postulated as the original ending on the strength of Goth. *fadr-ans*, Skt. *pad-dā*, Gk. *πῶδ-ας*, Lat. *pad-ēs*, Umbr. *man-f*, etc.

It has been suggested that the same ending also occurs in the accusative of Gaulish proper names like *Allobroges* in Caesar, which look like Greek formations, as well as in later petrified forms like *Bitarigae Estorogae, Catu(r)rigae*.

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 -dm (Skt. *pad-dm*, Gk. *πῶδ-ῶδ*) which, with shortening of the long vowel (§ 93 b), gave Celtic -da, Ir. -ga.

The dative has the ending -ib, with neutral quality of the stem final. Hence a neutral vowel (probably *e*), like that found in composition forms, had been inserted before the *b*-suffix (§ 286); thus **riq-o-bis* like Gallo-Lat. *Riq-o-magus*. In Gaul. *secundo* (ZCP. xv 381), *gebodbi* (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 drúith* 'two wizards' Wb. 30^v17 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. n. 33, 23, Laws iv. 88, 24 (pl. *mís*), 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 *-t* (as in Gk. *νότ-τ*) 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 *s*-, *t*-, and *n*-stems.

The gen. (except in *r*-stems, § 335) is not distinguished from the gen. pl. and sg. The last ending may have been the same as that of the *s*-stems (§ 287), cp. O.Slav. *kamec-a*, etc. The form of the nom. acc. masc. *da ml* appears once (Thes. II. 33, 25) as gen.; this may be a scribal error, (cp. *da mlis* 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 LENTED GUTTURAL (*čh*, *γ*)

318. Masculine and feminine. Paradigms: *cathir* fem. 'town', *aire* masc. 'noble', *ri* masc. 'king'.

SINGULAR			
NV	<i>cathir</i>	<i>aire</i>	<i>ri</i>
A	<i>cathr(a)lg cathir</i>	<i>airig</i>	<i>rig</i>
G	<i>esthrach</i>	<i>airech</i>	<i>rig</i>
D	<i>cathir cathr(a)lg</i>	<i>airig</i>	<i>rig</i>
PLURAL			
N	<i>esthr(a)lg</i>	<i>airig</i>	<i>rig</i>
V			
A	<i>cathracha</i>	<i>airecha</i>	<i>riga</i>
G	<i>cathrach</i>	<i>airech</i>	<i>rig</i>
D	<i>esthrach(a)lb</i>	<i>airech(a)lb</i>	<i>rig(a)lb</i>
DUAL			
NA	<i>cathr(a)lg</i>	<i>airig</i>	<i>rig</i>
G	<i>cathrach</i>	<i>airech</i>	<i>rig</i>
D	<i>cathrach(a)lb</i>	<i>airech(a)lb</i>	<i>rig(a)lb</i>

The dat. sg. is written *cathir* Wb. 13^b1, showing that *th* is palatal. In *rig* the quality of the *γ* is neutral in the gen. sg.

pl. du., palatal in the acc. dat. sg., nom. pl. du. Composition form *rig-*, e.g. *rig-suíds* 'royal seat'.

319. The following forms of the nominative sg. are found :

1. No ending, as in *cathr* :

nathr fem. 'snake', gen. *nathrach*.

sail fem. 'willow', gen. *sallech* (later also *salach*), cp. Lat. *salix*.

Echuid -*aid* and *Lug(u)id* (men's names), gen. *Echdach*, *Lugdech Luigdech* (later *Lugdach*, Ogam *LOGUDECCAS*) ; cp. *Dául* (monosyll., arch.) man's name, gen. *Duach*.

eól 'cuckoo', gen. *cunch*.

2. A final vowel :

(a) -*e*, as in *aire* : *Ainmire* man's name, gen. *Ainmirech* (arch. *Ainmurech* -*reg* Thea. II. 277, 2 ; 279, 45).

(b) -*a* : *caíra* fem. 'sheep', gen. (later) *cácrach*, acc. pl. *caíreha* Thea. II. 335, 2, dat. pl. *caírehaib* Ml. 100^b15 ; cp. adj. *caírehuide* 'ominous' Sg. 37^b8 and the Gaulish tribal name *Caerac-ates*.

It is uncertain whether *maib* fem. 'eyebrow' Corm. Add. 919 belongs here, or whether -*a* represents earlier -(*a*)*e*. It makes gen. sg. pl. *maibech* *chóid*, 920 and *Laws*, while dat. sg. and nom. du. *maibig maibech* are attested later ; but the acc. pl. is *maibea* Ml. 30^a11 (dat. pl. later *maibib*), as if a palatal vowel had been syncopeated. Accordingly the stem-form is not clear ; cp. the declension of *foil* and *raib* (§ 320) and Bret. *maibr(a)* 'eyebrow'. It is possible that the word did not originally belong to this class and that all the case-forms, other than the nom. sg., are analogical.

(c) -*u* : *Cúann*, *Echu*, men's names, gen. *Cúansach*, *Echach*.

Cp. *éa éu* masc. 'salmon', also *ee* Corm. Add. 570, *é hó hae* ZCP. x. 201, *Ériu*. II 32 z, *Laws* v. 482, 23, etc. ; acc. *lich* RC. xxv. 348, 2, later *leu* ; gen. *leuh*.

Gallo-Lat. *acc* *icem*, acc. *icem*, but Mid.W. *icacc*. The examples cited ZCP. xx. 444 in favour of disyllabic Ir. *éa* are not genuine. An early ablent -*éa* -*éa* is improbable ; Mid.W. -*acc* seems to be the result of suffix-contamination, as in *Acemac* 'hawk' from OE. *Aesfoc*. The Irish forms can all be explained as < *esé*, except *é* (*ee*), which has either borrowed the ending (cp. *nle* for *nlo*, § 323, 3) or modelled itself on *esé*, gen. *eséach*.

3. Monosyllabic like *ri*, but with short stem vowel :

bri fem. 'hill', acc. *brig*, gen. *breg*, dat. *bri*, acc. pl. *brega*.

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 *seé* fem. 'whitethorn' makes dat. *seí* *Theas*. II. 240, 26 (Arm.), and so was probably an *i*-stem; but it also makes gen. *seíach* LU 5920 beside *seíad* (with dental flexion, § 322 f.) Trip. 78, 8 (cp. W. *gobyddad*). *eéu eéu* fem. 'mist, haze' is found also as acc. dat. sg., but in verse *eíu* occurs as gen. and even as acc., so that the basic form is doubtful; the usual inflexion is acc. dat. *eíach eíalg*, gen. *eíach* (see *Contrib.* pp. 344, 363).

Nouns with nom. sg. in *-r* and *-l* are especially prone to adopt this inflexion. Thus *naíthir*, to judge from W. *naide* (< **naíri*), was originally a fem. of class V (§ 293). *all* 'rock', gen. *alo* (*i*-stem), also makes a gen. *alíech* (nom. pl. *alíig* occurs already in the Laws). *daur*, gen. *dare -a*, 'oak' has a by-form *dair* fem. (*Dair-mag* as early as *Adamnán*, *Theas*. II. 273, 2; adj. *dairde* beside *daurde* Sg. 23^b13, 38^b10), with gen. *darach*. *Tem(u)ír*, placename, gen. *Temre* later *Temrach*, dat. *Temraig* already in *Fél. Epil.* 552. *faíll* fem. 'bracelet', acc. sg. Sg. 64^b17, nom. du. LU 10992 (probably an *i*-stem, cp. Bret. *gwel-sa(n)* 'finger-ring'); but also acc. sg. *faíalg*, gen. sg. pl. *faíach faíach*, dat. pl. *faíigib* (*Windisch*, *IF*. III. 76; *Aisl. MC*. p. 176; LU 9273), adj. *faígech*. Similarly *raí* fem. 'oak, large tree' (*ZCP*. XII. 402), acc. sg. *rolaig* LU 7210, adj. *rollgech* Trip. 256, 15. This flexion also spreads to *r*-stems (§ 334); e.g. *úasal-athir* 'patriarch', nom. pl. *húasalathraig* *Fél.*, dat. *húasalathraichalb* *Wb.* 30^a1, and many later instances.

The converse development is found in dat. pl. *dí* *chairib* 'from sheep' *Theas*. II. 239, 19 (Arm.) *RC*. X. 72, perhaps by dissimilation; cp. the later acc. pl. *caíthre (-rí ms.)* 'cities' *ZCP*. VIII. 198 § 18.

321. There is one example of a stem in unlenited *c* (= *gg*) viz. *Be ía* masc. 'stone', gen. *íac(e)*, acc. dat. sg. nom. pl. *íele* (later *íale*, *íic*), acc. pl. *íec(e)a*.

IX. STEMS IN A LIMITED DENTAL (*tā*, *ṣ*)

322. Masculine and feminine. Paradigms: *traig* (fem. in Mod. Ir.) 'foot', *fil* masc. 'post', *teng(a)s* masc. (later fem., but ep. gen. in *tengad* ML. 31^b24) 'tongue', *oīntu* masc. 'unity'.

SINGULAR

NV	<i>traig</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>teng(a)s</i>	<i>oīntu</i>
A	<i>tra(l)gīd,</i> <i>traig</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>teng(a)id</i>	<i>oīnt(a)id,</i> <i>oīntu</i>
G	<i>tra(l)ged</i>	<i>filed</i>	<i>tengad</i>	<i>oīntad</i>
D	<i>tra(l)gīd,</i> <i>traig</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>teng(a)id</i>	<i>oīntu</i> <i>oīnt(a)id</i>

PLURAL

N	<i>tra(l)gīd</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>teng(a)id</i>
V	<i>(rigthe,</i> § 323, 1)	<i>(ascadn ?,</i> § 316)	
A	<i>traigthea</i>	<i>fileda</i>	<i>tengtha</i>
G	<i>tra(l)ged</i>	<i>filed</i>	<i>tengad</i>
D	<i>traigthib</i>	<i>filed(a)ib</i>	<i>tength(a)ib</i>

DUAL

NA	<i>tra(l)gīd</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>teng(a)id</i>
G	<i>tra(l)ged</i>	<i>filed</i>	<i>tengad</i>
D	<i>traigthib</i>	<i>filed(a)ib</i>	<i>tength(a)ib</i>

It may be noted that in the largest class, nouns with nom. sg. in *-ta*, the ending of the dat. sg. is usually *-ta* in Wb., *-(a)id* being less frequent, whereas in ML. the converse is found. The spread of the acc. pl. to the nom. pl. is shown in *tengtha* Féil. Épil. 125, and *eīnta* ML. 62^a beside *eīnāid* from *eīn* masc. 'fault' (stem **eīnudā*).

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. unsynccopated forms are sometimes found.

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

- cing masc. 'hero', gen. cinged cingeth (acc. dat. pl. not attested).
- cirr masc. 'chariot-fighter', gen. erred, dat. pl. erred(a)ib erreth(a)ib.
- gair fem. 'tallow, suet', gen. gered gereth.
- míl masc. 'soldier', gen. míled, dat. pl. míled(a)ib (but mílte 'military service').
- rig fem. 'forearm, wrist', gen. riged, nom. du. rigid, voc. pl. (late) a rigthe (Zu ir. Hss. 1. 70 § 183).
- seir fem. 'heel', acc. du. dí 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. cinstab.
- draí masc. 'wizard', gen. drúad, nom. du. drúth.
- súí masc. 'age', gen. suad, dat. pl. súidib (probably = súidib); similarly dúí 'simpleton'.
- *ául (monosyll., Mid.Ir. af) fem. 'poetic art, metrical composition', acc. ulth, gen. pl. uath uad.
- eré fem. 'clay', acc. dat. eríed (eried), gen. eriad; cp. W. *pridd*, Bret. *prí*.
- dé fem. 'smoke', gen. díad; cp. Mid. Ir. *dethach* 'smoke, vapour'.
- luch fem. 'mouse', acc. dat. lochad, gen. lochad, acc. pl. lochtha.

The change of vowel is peculiar, as the original stem is *luch*; cp. W. *llygod* Bret. *loped* 'mice', Gaul. *Lucoties*, *Aveserues*. The primary form of the nom. sg. is not clear; *-the* or *-st* would have given *-a*, and from *-the* **loch* might have been expected. Perhaps it had been attracted to the feminine *-a*-stems (*-the* instead of *-the*).

2. Nom. sg. in *-i*, like *líli* (cp. Ogam gen. sg. *VELITAS* Macal. no. 70), e.g.

- oigi óigi masc. 'guest', gen. oíged, acc. pl. oígetha Wb. 28^a28 (oígedacht 'hospitality' 28^b24).

3. Nom. sg. in *-e*, like *teng(a)e*, e.g.

- asc(a)e 'rival', gen. ascad, dat. pl. ascad(a)ib (voc. pl. ascadu ? see § 316).
- ar(a)e 'charioteer', acc. arith araid; acc. pl. later aradu for O.Ir. *-ada*.
- tene masc. 'fire', gen. tened, dat. tenid, ten Ml. 31^a4 (read *tein* as in later examples), dat. pl. tein(n)ib.

It is doubtful if *dat. tain* is a short form from the stem *teasā-*, for in the language of poetry at least there is a noun *tein*, which also occurs in composition: *tein-lach* 'hearth' (*beasā tein-foll* 'fire-hair'); cp. *W. and Rev. tin* 'fire'. For nom. pl. *tainid* *ML. 98*11* see § 83 a.

nīs, later *nīs*, *msac.* 'sister's son', *gen. nīath nīad*, *arch. nīath AU. 692* (plural not attested).

Since the stem was originally **sepō-* *-pō-*, the *-e* cannot be old, but must be borrowed from other stems. The homonym *nīs* (*Corm. 973*) *nīs* 'champion' is still *nīs* in *Gath-nīs AU. 709* and *Mae-nīs 779*. In Ogam inscriptions the *gen.* is *siorra seora* and *-seoras seora*; in the literature *nīeth nīod*, *nīath nīad*, and *nēth nēd* (as proclitic form in proper names).

4. *Nom. sg.* in *-s*, like *oimtu*, e.g. all abstracts in *-tu -thū* (§ 258). Further:

bībdu 'culprit, defendant', *gen. bībdad*, *nom. pl. bībd(a)id*.
colmdū *msac.* 'lord, (the) Lord', *acc. dat. colmdid*, *gen. colmdid*.

rū '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 *glīe* 'fight', *gen. glīad* and *glīe*, see *ZCP. xx. 364 E*.

X. STEMS IN *-t* (= *-dd* < *-st*)

324. Probably all three genders.

Paradigms: *car(a)s* *msac.* 'friend', *fīche* *msac.* 'twenty',
dēt *neut.* 'tooth'.

SINGULAR

	<i>msac.</i>	<i>msac.</i>	<i>neut.</i>
N	<i>car(a)s</i>	<i>fīche</i>	<i>dēt</i>
V	<i>car(a)s</i>		<i>dēt</i>
A	<i>car(a)it</i>	<i>fīchit</i>	<i>dēt</i>
G	<i>carat</i>	<i>fīchet</i>	<i>dēt</i>
D	<i>car(a)it</i>	<i>fīchit</i>	<i>dēt</i>

PLURAL

N	<i>car(a)it</i>	<i>fīchit</i>	<i>dēt</i>
V	<i>caritea -dea</i> (§ 316)		
A	<i>caritea -dea</i>	<i>fīchtea</i>	<i>dēt</i>
G	<i>carat</i>	<i>fīchet</i>	<i>dēt</i>
D	<i>caritib -dīb</i>	<i>fīchitib</i>	<i>dēt(a)ib</i>

DUAL

NA	car(a)it	ficht
G	carat	fichet
D	cairtib -dib	fichtib

For later *-a* beside *-as* see § 99. Voc. ag. a *dét* occurs ZCP. x. 41, 20.

Composition form: *carat-nám(a)e* 'enemy who pretends to be a friend', cp. Wb. 23*28; *dét-bán* 'white-toothed'.

325. There are very few examples of the neuter: in addition to *dét*, poetic *léchet léchat*, gen. *léchet*, 'flash, lightning'; cp. also *lethet*, *lagat* (§ 259, 6), and the diminutives in *-nat* (§ 273).

Beside nom. acc. pl. *dét* later also *déta*; the dat. ag. *dét* ML. 117*5 (beside *déit* Sg. 67*10) is a faulty spelling (§ 86).

326. The nominative ag. masc. (and fem.) has various endings:

1. *-c* as in *care carae*, e.g.

nám(a)e masc. 'enemy',

brág(a)e (later fem.) 'throat'.

doé 'upper arm', acc. ag. *doit*, gen. pl. *doat*. This seems to have been already fem. in O.Ir., cp. nom. du. *di dóit* (rhyme: *cóic*) Corm. 398.

ainme (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*; *esthoreho* 'forty' gen. *esthorehat*, pl. nom. *esthorehuit*, acc. *esthorechota*, and the other multiples of ten (§ 300).

fiado (Thes. II. 353, 1), *fiada* (Fél., etc.) '(the) Lord', arch. *féda* (Cam.), gen. *fiadat* (*fédot* Cam.), dat. *fiadait*.

cana -a 'poet of the fourth grade', gen. *canat*.

3. *-a*: *dina* 'agna' Sg. 49*1, dat. *dinít* 39*11.

With regard to 1. cp. Gallo-Lat. *Carantius Carantillus*, W. *breuant brefant* 'windpipe': *-ant-s* (nom. ag.) has become *-a*, just as *-ant-* becomes *-at(s)*.

(§ 208). The neutral quality of the *r* in *caras* may have been taken over from *car(a)id* 'lover', or may be due to the influence of *námas* (§ 166). In 2. we have stems in *-ont*; cp. Bret. *trepent* = Ir. *triche*, also Lat. dat. *Nodentis* CIL vii. 138 (beside *Nodentis*, gen. *Nodentis*, *ibid.* 140), Ir. nom. *Núade* -a; thus *-ont-r* had become *-ra*, whence O.Ir. -*o*, -*a*. The ending *-a* is found rather early in place of *-o*, e.g. *fladu* Thes. II. 351, 3; it is uncertain whether this is due to faulty spelling or to analogy with other masculine nouns in *-a* (§§ 323, 4; 330).

In *táth táth* 'thief', gen. *táthat* (ZCP. xv. 318 § 11) later *tádat* (Laws), dat. pl. *táthib*, this flexion is secondary, since the word was originally an *i*-stem, cp. O.Slav. *taty* and the Ir. abstr. *tá(t)the táth*.

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 *an*), from **brusā* (-*ā*), gen. **brunos* (like Lat. *coro, cornis*), cp. Goth. *brusts* (pl.) 'breast' and Ir. *brúinne* 'breast'; the stem *gobann-* 'smith' (from **gobann-* according to the rule in § 166 a, cp. *gobnecht* 'smith-craft'), cp. Gaul. *Gobannilo* (man's name), O.Britann. *Gobannio* (place-name). 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', *eá* masc. 'hound'.

SINGULAR

N(V)	<i>brithem</i>	<i>toimtiu</i>	<i>tíchtu</i>	<i>eá</i>
A	<i>brithem(o)in -main</i>	<i>toimtin (-tin)</i>	<i>tícht(a)in (-tu)</i>	<i>coín</i>
G	<i>brithemon -man</i>	<i>toimten</i>	<i>tíchtan</i>	<i>con</i>
D	<i>brithem(o)in -main</i>	<i>toimte</i>	<i>tícht(a)e</i>	<i>coín</i>
	<i>*brithem</i>	<i>toimtin (-tin)</i>	<i>tícht(a)in (-tu)</i>	

FLURAL		
N	brithem(o)ln -main	coln
V	brithemna	
A	brithemna	cona
G	brithemon -man	con
D	britheman(a)lb	con(a)lb
DUAL		
NA	brithem(o)ln -main	coln
G	brithemon -man	con
D	brithemna(a)lb	con(a)lb

(b) Ériu fem. 'Ireland', brú fem. 'belly, womb', célm(m) neut. 'step', ainm(m) neut. 'name'.

SINGULAR				
feminine		neuter		
N(V)	Ériu	brú	célm(m)	ainm
A	Érin(n)	broinn	célm(m)	ainm
G	Éren(n)	broinn	cé(l)m(m)e	ainm(a)e
D	Ére	brú	cé(l)m(m)lm(m)	ainm(a)lm(m)
	Érin(n)		célm(m)	ainm
PLURAL				
N			cé(l)m(m)en(n)	ainman(n)
A			cé(l)m(m)en(n)	ainman(n)
G			cé(l)m(m)en(n)	ainman(n)
D			cé(l)m(m)en(na)lb	ainman(na)lb
DUAL				
NA			célm(m)	ainm
G				
D			*cé(l)m(m)en(na)lb	ainman(na)lb

Examples of -man for -mon are rare, e.g. gen. pl. súainemum Wb. 28^b17; for -ae (neut. gen.) also -a (§ 99). In Wb. the dat. sg. in -is is much commoner than that in -in or -iu, whereas in Ml. -in has become the usual ending. The acc. sg. in -(i)u is rare. In feminine nouns the form of the acc. pl. occasionally spreads to the nominative: *tepairstna* gl. *juento* Ml. 123^a1, from *tepairstu*; *létena* 16^a2, from *létu* 'daring'; genitive (from -en) Sg. 200^a14, from *genitlu* 'genitive case'.

329. The nominative sg. masc. and fem. assumes various forms :

I. Without a final vowel :

A. With *u*-quality in the final consonant, e.g.

nom. dat. *Millue(c)* man's name, acc. *Milcoin*, gen. *Milcon*.
deruce 'acorn' Sg. 113^b9 (later *direu dercu*, as in § 330), gen.
dereon, dat. pl. *direnaib*.

escung (*escung* II. II. ii. 246, 65) fem. 'eel' (beside *escunga*,
 probably = *-ungu*, TBC. 1713), acc. *escungain* LU 6207.

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

(h)uinnus fem. 'ash' (also *uinastu* Aursic. 1153), dat.
uinastin.

-*en* instead of *-s* is peculiar ; it may be due to assimilation to the *na* of the first syllable.

Cp. *brán bré* (also *broe*, as in § 331), later fem., 'quern',
 acc. dat. (late, contracted) *bróin*, gen. *bróen* ; cp. Skt. *grāvan-*
 masc. 'pressing-stone'.

B. With neutral quality in the final consonant :

brithem and the other nouns of agency in *-em -am* (§ 268, 3) ;
 likewise *súanem* masc. 'rope'.

nom. dat. *talam* masc. 'earth', acc. *talmain* (-*mula* MI.
 89^c18), *talam Féil. Procl.* 216, gen. *talman* (never *-moa*),
 acc. pl. *talmana*.

A and B are doubtless the same formation, with original nom. sg. in *-s* (whence *-d, -u*), like Lat. *Accus*. It is probable that *-am* (and *-em* from **-tam*) resists *u*-quality, so that *dam* Wh. 10^a8 (dat. sg. of *dam* 'ox') is analogical, not regular.

330. 2. Ending *-a*, the largest group. Besides *toimtiu*,
tichtu, and other verbal nouns (§ 730), the following examples
 occur :

noidiu 'child', gen. *noiden* (later fem., but perhaps common
 gender in O.Ir., to judge from the diminutive *noidenán*
 Thes. II. 291, 10. 16).

ord(d)u fem. 'thumb', acc. *ordain*.

Mumu fem. 'Munster', gen. *Muman* (arch. *Mumen*).

irlu fem. 'land', gen. *irenn*.

rétglu fem. 'star' dat. pl. **rétglannaib**, nom. du. **di rétglaínn** (obviously a compound, declined like **brá**).

dú 'place, land', usually found only in the nom. and dat., makes gen. **ala-don** (alladon m.s.) Anecd. i. 13, 17, like **son**.

In most of these examples nom. sg. **-(i)u** goes back to **-is** (cp. Lat. *ratio*, etc.). In the oblique cases the form of the suffix was **-is-** (whence dat. **-e**); cp. the W. plural ending **-jow**, Ogam gen. sg. **reunonkas** Macal. no. 18, arch. Ir. **Hícion** = **Éran(n)** Éria ii. 4 (cp. W. *Iwerddon*) and Colgion Thea. ii. 275, 36 (man's name, later nom. **Colgig(u)**, gen. **Colgigian**). On the other hand, **-is** is excluded by the vocalism of the stem syllable in

fiadu masc. 'witness' (LU 9010, otherwise mostly written **fiado fiada**), acc. **fiadaín** Ml. 38⁴11, acc. pl. **fiadna**.

Goth. *weithede* 'witness', = Gk. *εἰδός* 'knowing', suggests an earlier Irish nominative ending **-(s)is** (§ 203), so that the **-is**-flexion of **fiadu** is probably not original; **weithu** may be an old compound with the IE. negative ***s-**.

331. 3. Ending **-s**, e.g.

menm(a)s, **menmm(a)s** **-ma** masc. 'mind', acc. dat. **menmuín** **-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. 69⁴18), and the later language always has lenited **-r** in the singular (but plural **menmana** **-mannib**, attracted to the old neuters). There may have been assimilation to the first syllable (**men-**).

gob(a)s masc. 'smith', gen. **gohann**, see § 327.

bar(a)s fem. 'wrath', acc. dat. **baralinn** (cp. the adj. **hairnech**).

It seems unlikely that nom. sg. **díle** 'deluge' Ml. 48⁴17, with gen. **díleann**, dat. **díle** Féil. Epil. 482, is an old dative like **taidíse** (§ 256). More probably its inflexion in this class is secondary; cp. **tuile** and **tuil(a)s** 'flood' (neut. **tuile**-stems). The other examples cited were probably **-as** (**-ann**), not **-en**-stems; nom. sg. perhaps in **-as**, whence **-is**, Ir. **-s**.

332. The neuter class consists mainly of the numerous verbal nouns with suffix **-men-** (§ 735). **seinnm** 'sound(ing)' (perhaps with **-s**) is similarly inflected: dat. sg. **seinnm(u)im**, nom. pl. **seinnan**; further **gein** 'birth', gen. **gene**, dat. **ge(i)nim** (the later nom. pl. **geine** 'children', e.g. Trip. 86, 16, apparently follows the *i*-declension). There are a few other examples like **imb** 'butter', gen. **imbe**, dat. **imbim** (Lat. *unguen*); **mír** 'morsel',

gen. *míre*, nom. acc. pl. *míreann*. Here, however, the flexion appears to be secondary; compare Lat. *membrum* with Ir. *mír*, which may have been attracted to *bolm* 'morsel' or *loim* 'draught'.

This flexion shows some striking divergences from the other consonantal declensions. In Irish the suffix has the form *-(n)en-* throughout; *anman(n)* is merely older **anmen* (with change of quality, § 166); cp. arch. nom. acc. pl. *nadmén*, dat. *nadménnaib* ZCP. xviii. 104, for later *nadman(n)*, etc., from *nadmén* 'binding, surety'. For acc. pl. *gramman* Ml., with *-an* instead of *-en*, see § 123. Apparently Ir. *en* sometimes represents earlier *ɸ*, and sometimes is original.

The nom. sg. with palatal final, nasalizing, points to the ending *-en* from *-ɸ*; cp. Gk. *ῥῆπεν*, Skt. *adhma*, Lat. *women*.

The *e* of the gen. sg. goes back through intermediate *-e* to old *-en-s*, for *-es* would have given *-a* (see § 316). For the shorter genitive ending *-s* beside *-en*, see Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 2^e, § 141.

In the dat. sg. the longer form in *-in(n)* 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 *en(n)* instead of *n(n)* is difficult to explain. It has been suggested that the palatal unlenited *-en* in the short dative (and nom. acc.) of most of these stems may have led to the substitution of *-en'* for *-n'*. As the ending is never written *-en'*, it is unlikely that there was a Celt. affix *-n'* (cp. Gk. *-n'* in *σῆθεν-φ*).

There is no example of the gen. du. in early texts. It is very doubtful if *ḡá chomáim* Met. Dinds. III. 34, 10 represents the older formation.

333. IRREGULARITIES :

1. The flexion of *sub* *sub* *ob* (§ 80 b) fem. 'river' is peculiar : acc. sg. *abinn* Thes. II. 242, 3 (Arm.), later *abunnn* *abainnn*, gen. *abae* Ml. 78^a4 (*Abae* Thes. II. 275, 28), dat. pl. *abainib* Ml. 81^a3.

The gen. sg. has accordingly the same ending as neuter nouns. The oblique cases could all be derived from a stem **abén-*, for the non-palatal *b* could have spread from the nom. sg., but perhaps there was also an ablaut form **abón-*, (cp. O.Britann. *Abona*, W. *afon*, O.Corn. *acon*, Mid. East. *acon*, *aca*, '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 *-(s)* gave rise to a gen. pl. in *-ain* modelled on the neuter flexion, and the *-n(n)* then spread to the remaining cases.

2. An archaic neuter type—an *r*-stem in the nom. acc. sg., and an *n*-stem in the remaining cases—is preserved in *arbor* *arbur* 'oorn', gen. *arb(a)s*, dat. *arb(a)im(m)*.

Cp. Lat. *femur femoris*, Skt. *dātar dātaraḥ*, etc.

3. The neuter *n*-stem *neim* 'poison', gen. *neime* (cp. adj. *neimnech*), has nom. pl. *neimi* Sg. 139^b6, i.e. like a masc. or fem. *i*-stem; perhaps modelled on *alphtí* 'charms' (nom. sg. *supaid*).

4. *aním(m)* fem. (*ainim* Wb. 3^d11, Ml. 130^a9, as against *anám* Ml. 116^b9) 'soul' is always inflected as an *n*-stem in the plural: nom. *anm(a)ín*, acc. *anmana*, dat. *anmansib*. In the singular it fluctuates: acc. dat. *aním(m)* and *anmáin* *anmáin*, gen. *anme*; composition form *anam-chare* 'soul-friend, spiritual director'.

Cp. Mid.Bret. *aeff*, pl. *ansea*. The loan-word *anima* seems to have been confused with a native stem *ana-moa-* (nom. sg. **anawá*, which would give Britton. **anaw* in the first instance).

5. The loan-word *léo* 'lion' has gen. pl. *león* Ml. 75^b2; but nom. pl. *inna leomáin* (fem.!) 80^a10, gen. pl. *léoman* (disyll.) Féil. Epil. 500 (but *léoman* SR. 900, 5720, etc.); a nom. sg. *leom*, corresponding to these forms, occurs in later sources.

Collection of the later forms: Zimmer, *EZ.* xxviii. 331, note 1.

XII. *r*-STEMS

334. Only masculine and feminine nouns denoting kinship. Paradigm: *ath(a)ir* masc. 'father'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	DUAL
N	<i>ath(a)ir</i>	<i>a(l)thir</i>	* <i>athir</i>
V	<i>ath(a)ir</i>	* <i>athrea</i> (<i>bráithre</i>)	
A	<i>ath(a)ir</i>	<i>athrea</i> , <i>athra</i>	* <i>athir</i>
G	<i>athar</i>	<i>athre</i> , <i>athr(a)s</i>	<i>athar</i>
D	<i>ath(a)ir</i>	<i>aithrib</i> , <i>athr(a)ib</i>	<i>aithrib</i> , <i>athr(a)ib</i>

Composition form usually *athar-* or *athr-*; cp. *athargáin* 'begetting' *Theas.* II. 291, 5, *athramáil adramáil* 'fatherlike' (-*aeasáil*). Note, however, *athroirreáid* 'parricide' Sg. 12^b6 as against *atharoirreáid* Ml. 18^a15.

335. Like *ath(a)ir* are declined: *bráth(a)ir* 'brother' and *máth(a)ir* fem. 'mother'; *amnáir* 'avunculus' Sg. 61^a21, *Rawl. B.* 512, 31^a1, is found only in the nom. sg.

The *ś* is apparently always neutral in the singular; in the plural *śhr* is normally palatal, much more rarely neutral. The palatal quality of the *ś* in the nom. pl. is clearly shown in *śīśhr* *MI.* 44*29, 96*5.

For the change of such stems to the *śā*-flexion see § 330.

Neutral quality is regular in gen. sg. *śhar*, from **[p]śtros* (Gk. *σάρτης*), and in the composition form *śhar-* from **[p]śtro-*. Its presence in the nom. voc. acc. sg. also is probably due to levelling. In the plural the usual palatal quality points to the suffix form *-śhr-*, i.e. *śīśhr* = *śīśhr-*, *śīśhra* = *śīśhr-*. The dat. pl. *śīśhrīb* from **[p]śtro-s-bis* (or **śtrībis* from *patr-* 1) falls together with the dat. pl. of the *ś-* and *śs-*stems and has given rise to the gen. pl. *śīśra* on the model of those declensions. In later *ms.* *śīśra* is sometimes replaced by *śhar* after the form of the gen. sg. For the gen. du., which is quotable only from later sources, *śhar* may be postulated with certainty for our period also, since the ending *-c* nowhere makes its way into the dual.

MacNeill, *PRIA.* XIII. Sect. C, No. 4, p. 83, sees an *r*-stem in Ogam *AVR* *ARIBAS* (*x = c*), later *HI* (= *śul*) *Aśhr* (also *Alśhr*).

336. *śīr* fem. 'sister' (with lenited initial *śīr* or *phīr*, § 132) has acc. dat. *śīr śīr*, later *śīśhr*, gen. *śēthar*; pl. nom. *śē(ly)śhr*, acc. *śēthra*, dat. *śēthraīb* *F&S.* Aug. 30; nom. acc. du. *śīśhr śīśhr*, later *śīśhr*. Composition form: *śēthar-śtrēnd* 'sororicide' *Sg.* 13*1.

The *ś* in the gen. sg. and the whole of the plural has been taken over from *brīśhr*, *māśhr*.

XIII. NEUTER s-STEMS

Collection: Stokes, *EZ.* LXVIII. 292 f., XIII. 379, LXIII. 89.

337. Paradigms: *ślāb* 'mountain', *glānn* 'valley'.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
NA	<i>ślāb</i>	<i>glānn</i>	<i>ślā(ly)be</i>	<i>glānne</i>
V	<i>ślāb</i>	<i>glānn</i>		
G	<i>ślā(ly)be</i>	<i>glānne</i>	<i>ślā(ly)be</i>	<i>glānne</i>
D	<i>ślāīb</i>	<i>glānn</i>	<i>ślā(ly)bb</i>	<i>glānnīb</i>
	DUAL			
	NA	<i>ślāb</i>	<i>glānn</i>	
	G	<i>ślā(ly)be</i>	<i>glānne</i>	
	D	<i>ślā(ly)bb</i>	<i>glānnīb</i>	

The voc. sg. is attested by a *mag*, a *[h]r* *AU.* 918.

338. For the change of vowel in the stem syllable cp. further:

nom 'heaven', gen. *nime*, dat. *nim* (§ 78).

teg tesh '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).

áin áin ó 'ear', gen. *ane*, dat. *áin* (monosyll.) of *óe*, dat. pl. *au(a)ib* (§ 69a).

The neuter noun *gná* 'form, species' possibly belongs here, if the later attested gen. sg. *in gnae*, *Goidélics*² p. 67, is old. But in our texts *gná* is invariably found, not merely as nom. acc. dat. sg. (acc. sg. *gnai* once, *Ég.* 166*2) and nom. du., but also as nom. pl., where one would expect a disyllabic form *gnae* (this form actually occurs later, e.g. as acc. pl. in *Érin* vi. 148, 73); dat. pl. *fer-gnáiib* *IT.* iii. 7 § 6. W. *gna* 'hue, complexion' is probably a loan-word from Irish.

Nom. acc. dat. *clú* neut. 'fame' undoubtedly belongs to this class: gen. sg. *clúe* *clua* *IT.* iii. 38 § 27, *clua* *ibid.* ii. i. p. 25, 769; cp. *Gk.* *κλέω*, *Skt.* *śrośā*. -*á* instead of -*é* is perhaps due to the attraction of re-*clua*(*in*)*the* '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 -*as*; the gen. sg., nom. acc. pl., and gen. pl. ending -*e* to -*asa*, -*asa*, -*asa*; the dat. pl. -*ib* presumably to -*asib*.

Nouns of this class have only the shorter form of the dat. sg., originally -*as* without any case-ending; cp. *Lat.* *pesa*, old locative of *pesa*.

XIV. IRREGULAR AND INDECLINABLE NOUNS

340. 1. *mí* masc. 'month' (stem *IE.* **mē̄s-*) has acc. gen. dat. sg., nom. gen. pl. *má*, 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.

hou, later *báu báó bó*; pl. nom. *baí*, acc. *bú*, dat. *buaiþ*; du. nom. *hai* Ml. 2^o11, dat. *huaiþ*.

The acc. dat. sg. is probably modelled on coin, acc. dat. of *ei* 'hound'. The nom. pl. and du. *hai*, for earlier **hai*, seems to have taken over a form from *báu, báó*; the acc. pl. follows the *a*-declension. The acc. du. *du* both Germ. 1082, beside *di háe* TBF. 5, is probably a neologism.

3. An old word for 'day', cognate with Lat. *diēs*, survives only in a few forms whose interrelationship is difficult to determine: nom. sg. and gen. sg. (used adverbially) *die diis*, acc. dat. sg. (mostly after prepositions) *dé* (*dai* Wb.); further, *in-diu* 'to-day'.

Cp. W. *dydd* Bret. *deiz* 'day'; Mid.W. *dyw dlan* 'on Monday', Mid.W. *lediu* Mid.Bret. *hiesu* 'to-day'. The former point to *dip*, the latter probably to *dne*; cp. further Mid.W. pl. *dieu* from **dijec-*. Irish nom. gen. *die* points to something like **diis*; the basic form of acc. dat. *dé* is not clear; (*in-*)*diu* may be the dative (instrumental) of a neuter stem *diuo-*, cp. Skt. *dind* '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', *Pátríc(e)* '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*, *regu*, *neou*, neut., 'choice, wish' (§ 737) are also indeclinable; cp. gen. *malec togu* Wb. 20^o10. But as early as Fél. 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, *a*-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- id*-stems),

C. with suffix *-ach* (*o- ō*-stems).

A. SUFFIXLESS FORMATION BY COMPOSITION

Collection: Vendryes, RC. XXXI. 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. *ceann-mar* 'large-headed' (*már-chenn*, *mór-chenn* means 'large head', § 363), *ucht-lethan* 'broad-chested', *folt-buidé* 'yellow-haired'. This usage is apparently common to all the Celtic languages; it is found, not only in Britannia, but also in Gaulish proper names. Cp. Gaul. *Nerto-marus*, W. *nerthfawr*, Ir. *nerimar* 'of great strength (*neri*)'; Gaul. *rovo-casbes*, W. *penacyn*, Ir. *ceanad* 'white-headed' (cp. gen. *QVENVEDDANI* Insar. Brit. Christ. no. 91).

It is rarer to find the adjective placed first. In proper names like *Barr-find* beside *Find-barr* (from *barr* 'head of hair' and *find* 'fair') the second form might be regarded as *pars pro toto* 'Fairhair'; cp. Gaul. *Dago-darvus* (from *dago-* 'good' and

darro 'fist'). But there are also adjectives with this formation, e.g. *nocht-chen* 'bare-headed' (as against *W. pax-nocht*), *ard-chen* 'high-headed' beside *cann-ísel* 'with drooping head' *Teo. Corm.* § 33, 12, *flúch-dere* 'blear-eyed', *éom-ainch* 'pleasant-faced', *dupall* (*dub-boll*) 'dark-limbed', *lín-brón* 'full-and' *Sg.* 42'8.

345. 2. When an adjective is formed by compounding a noun with a flexionless particle like *so-* *de-* (§ 365) or a preposition, most *o-* and *á-*stems change over to the *i-*flexion. Examples: *ceáné* 'kindred': *so-chenúill*, *do-chenúill* 'well-born, low-born'; *ceas* 'correction': *so-choise* 'docile'; *meit* 'strength': *son(a)lri* 'strong', *éinri* 'infirm'; *adhar* 'material': *saidhír* 'rich, solvent', *daidhír* 'poor'; *aecebur* 'wish': *suaceubuir* 'desirable'; *aithber* 'reproach': *deithbír deidhír* (*dí-aithb* . . .) 'excusable, appropriate', lit. 'blameless'; *folad* *folad* 'substance': *déol(a)id* 'gratis'; *íot* 'length': *díuit* 'simple'; *áram* 'number' (*á-*stem): *díárim* 'countless'; *galar* 'disease': *ingalair* 'sick'; *éfall* 'understanding', *fochell* 'heed': *túachall* 'sly' (with *to-fo-*) *Sg.* 60'7 (as an adverb, in *túachall* *Ml.* 103'23, misspelt for *-cháill*?). Substantival: *cann* 'head' (*o-*stem): *inchinn* 'brain'; *format* 'envy': *Díarmaít* man's name.

In such compounds *o-* *á-*flexion is very rare: *gal* (fem. *á-*stem) 'valour': *éal* 'timid, afraid' (nom. pl. masc. *éall* *Wh.* 29'16), *éal* 'vehement, angry'. Compounds of *seán* 'reason, rational person' seem to be always nouns, e.g. *sechán*, *dechán*, *éceán*, *aeceán* 'a fully sensible, senseless etc. person'.

*i-*stems remain unchanged, e.g. *aním* 'blemish': *díaním* 'flawless'. *a-*stems fluctuate; e.g. *cruth* 'shape': *so-chrud*, *do-chrud* 'well-, ill-shaped' (later *so-*, *do-chraid*); but *fid* 'letter (of alphabet)': *cub(a)id* 'rhyming, harmonious'.

It is uncertain whether the compounds of the neuter *ío-*stem *cumacht(a)s* 'power' are *i-*stems: *sochumacht* *sochmacht* 'possible, capable', *dochumacht* 'hardly possible', *éumacht* 'impossible, incapable', where *cht* may have resisted palatalization (§ 162). On the other hand, *trechánle* 'three-gendered' (*Sg.*), from *ceánle* neut., and substantival *comarpe* 'heir, successor', from *orb(a)s* *orpe* neut. 'inheritance', are *ío-* (*iú-*) stems.

Collection: Marstrand, *Une correspondance germano-celtique*, p. 47 f. The formation of such compounds with *i*-flexion is common to all the Indo-European languages (see Brugmann, *Grundriss* n^o 1, p. 112), being especially productive in Latin: *isernis*, *imberbis*, etc.

In *stargu(a)ll* *starenaid* beside *starenaid* 'known, usual', an adjectival *a*-*ā*-stem has become an *i*-stem in composition.

It is questionable whether *tuib(a)ll*, *duib(a)ll* 'well, ill-spoken' are derived from *libar* 'talkative, arrogant' or rather from *labr(a)* fem. 'speech'. *cuirum(a)e* (*io*-stem) 'equal', from *treum* 'heavy', is obviously modelled on *cum(a)e* 'equal'.

346. 3. In the rare instances where a suffixless adjective is formed from two nouns the change to *i*-flexion is not obligatory; e.g. *cor-thén* 'round-bottomed' Sg. 56*7, from *cor* 'curve' and *tén* (*ā*-stem) 'bottom'; *túag-mong* 'bow-maned' (*mang* fem. *ā*-stem); but also *ubull-ruise* 'round-eyed' TBC. (ed. Windisch) 5385 (*rose* *o*-stem).

Some compounds of *sam(a)ll* 'likeness' still retain their original meaning: *athram(a)ll* *adram(a)ll* and *máthram(a)ll* 'fatherlike, motherlike'. But in *sainemall* 'excellent' (from *sain* 'special') and *máthamall* 'magnificent' (from *maid* 'honour') the second element has become a mere adjectival suffix, which in Middle Irish replaces earlier *-d(a)e*.

B., C. THE SUFFIXES *-de* AND *-acá*:

347. Of the two living adjectival suffixes *-de* and *-acá*, the former denotes quality, kind, appurtenance, origin, material, time, etc., whereas *-acá* denotes possession or—when added to words descriptive of place—residence or situation in the place in question. Thus *corpá(a)e* *corpá(a)e* glosses 'corporalis', but *corpach* 'corpulentus'; *róimáid(a)e* means 'Roman' in kind or origin, substantivally 'a Roman', but *tír róimánach* Sg. 33*11 'the land about Rome' (both of them adapted from Lat. *romanus*).

Cp. further *neimá(a)e* 'heavenly', *domumá(a)e* 'worldly', *doimá(a)e* 'human' (*doimá* 'persons'), *órd(a)e* 'golden', *dauid(a)e* *dairde* 'oaken', *coind(a)e* 'canine', *bráthard(a)e* 'brotherly', *coibnest(a)e* 'related' (*coibnús* 'kinship'), *báist(a)e* 'deadly', *míst(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'; *béed(a)e* 'vividus' from *béu béo* 'living'; *arsat(a)e* 'antiquarius' from *ars(a)ld* 'ancient'; *nu(a)lé* 'novellus' from *nu(a)e* 'new'; *ll(a)e* 'multiple' from *ll* 'many'; *alcsid* 'visibile' from *alcs* 'seen'.

In poetry such derivatives often have the same meaning as the primary word.

Examples of the suffix *-ach* are:

bennach 'horned', *cnocach* 'humped', *lethan-sciathach* (poet.) 'with broad shield(s)', *cléathach* 'famous' (*cléath* 'fame'), *eumachtach* 'powerful' (*eumacht(a)e* 'power'). Derivatives from verbal nouns have sometimes an active, sometimes a passive meaning; e.g. *létnach* 'daring' (*léitín* 'audacity'), *loingthach* 'gluttonous' (*loingud* 'eating'); but *cinntech* 'definite' ('having definition') from *cinntud* 'definition'.

airtherach 'eastern' (*airther* 'the east'); *centarach* 'hither' (adj.); *Immedónach* 'internal' (but *medóndae* 'of intermediate quality' Sg. 10*2, 3, 5); *albanach* 'dwelling in Scotland (Alba)'.

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. *animális* 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. *décharpdae* 'bicipiter' Sg. 65*13, *glancboste gl. merope* (taken to be a compound of *merus* and *pes*) Thee. ii. 327, 24.

348. The suffix *-de* has neutral *ð* when the preceding vowel is syncope; hence the frequent spelling *-dae*, later also *-da*. It has unlenited *d* after *l* and *n*, *t* after *s* (§ 139); e.g. *coidde* '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 *ð* combines with preceding *t*, *tá*, *d* to give *t(ð)*, *dd* (§ 137); e.g. *túat(a)e* 'gentilis' from *túath* 'gens'; *úathat(a)e* 'singular' from *úathad* 'singular number'.

In consonantal stems the final of the stem appears before *-de*. Examples: *airech*, gen. *airech*, 'man of rank': *airechdae* *airegde*; *ri*, gen. *rig*, 'king': *rigd(a)e*; *talam*, gen. *talman*,

'earth' : talmand(a)e; cá, gen. con, 'hound' : cend(a)e; mí, gen. mís, 'month' : míst(a)e; fíll, gen. fíll, 'poet' : fíll(a)e. erú, gen. eráu erú, 'blood' makes cród(a)e.

The vowel before *-de* remains when the preceding syllable has undergone syncope; e.g. bílad(a)in 'year' : bíladn(a)ide; colín(n) 'flesh' : coln(a)ide; nám(a)e, gen. námat, 'enemy' : námtide; cáera, gen. cáerach, 'sheep' : cáirch(a)ide. It is also retained in derivatives of *io-* and *ið-*stems; e.g. la(l)the 'day' : lathide; um(a)e 'copper' : um(a)ide; occasionally in derivatives of other stems, e.g. recht 'law' : recht(a)ide, full 'blood' : fullide; but not in adjectives formed from *s-*stems, e.g. nem 'heaven' : nemd(a)e.

cré 'clay' (dat. sg. crí) makes crédae Ml. 18¹¹; trí 'three' : trédae gl. *tricuspis*, Sg. 67² (but tréde 'three things', § 387); dia 'God' : déod(a)e Féil., etc., (but díade Wb.).

These forms seem to indicate that the suffix (as also the corresponding Mid.W. *-oid*, Mod.W. *-oidd*) originally contained the vowel *-o-* (*-odjo-*, *-odj-*); cp. Gallo-Lat. *Carus-odius*, *-odis* (Ir. *cáiride* 'friendly').

349. As might be expected, *-oç* is replaced by *-oçh* when preceded by a palatal consonant. Examples: cretem 'belief' : cretmech; cubus (com-wis-) 'conscience' : cuibsech; teched 'flight' : teichthech; longud 'act of eating' : loingthech (from such examples *-theçh* occasionally spreads further: tecmaingthech 'accidental' Sg. 29¹, from *tecmang* 'chance'). Also in derivatives of *io-* and *ið-*stems; e.g. bu(l)de 'contentment' : bu(l)dech; gu(l)de 'prayer' : gu(l)dech 'supplex'.

In derivatives of *i-*stems both *-oç* and *-oçh* are found, e.g. báadaçh 'victorious' from báald (probably the older formation) beside súillech 'having eyes' from súil.

fochrach 'mercenary' Sg. 35², from foçhris(s) 'pay', points to an earlier form *foçhre; cp. W. *gobr*, *gobruy* and § 737. But srúamach 'streamy' Féil. beside srúalmnech O'Dav. 1438, from srúalm(m) (*n-*stem), seems to be a late formation; cp. the late nom. pl. srúama LU 2187.

Of the suffixes corresponding to *-oçh* in other Celtic languages, *Britann. -oc* (Mid.W. *-ooc*, Mod.W. *-og*) has the same meaning. On the other hand, Gaul. *-ooc* can be used to form place-names, e.g. *Noviacum castrum* from *Novius*, *locellus Lucianus* from *Lucius*.

In *alreinnach* 'princeps' (from *ceann* 'head'), — *Mid.W. arbennic*, the ending *-ach* represents earlier *-tho-* or *-tho-*. Cp. *clérech*, *minéach* from *Lat. clericus*, *mendicus*.

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

I. *o*-*ä*-STEMS

350. Paradigms : *beo(e)* 'small', *cumachtach* 'powerful'

		SINGULAR				
		masc.	fem.	neut.		
N	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>
V	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>
A	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>
G	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumachtch(a)ib</i>	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>
				-g(a)e		
D	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>

PLURAL

		masc.	fem. neut.	
N	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumacht(a)ig</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtcha -ga</i>
V	<i>bíeo</i>	<i>cumachtchu -gu</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtcha -ga</i>
A	<i>bíeo</i> ,	<i>cumachtchu -gu</i> ,	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtcha -ga</i>
		<i>beo</i>	<i>-cha -ga</i>	
G	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>	<i>beo</i>	<i>cumachtach</i>
D	<i>beo(a)ib</i>	<i>cumachtch(a)ib -gaib</i>	<i>beo(a)ib</i>	<i>cumachtch(a)ib -g(a)ib</i>

351. The above paradigms show two points of difference from the corresponding substantival flexion (§ 277) :

(1) In the nom. acc. pl. neut. the longer form in *-a* (for the origin of which see § 469) is exclusively used. But substantival adjectives may have the shorter form, e.g. *inna oíe* 'mala' *MI.* 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 *-a* of the substantival flexion is retained, except in *inna oíne oíne-sa* 'these same' *MI.* 70*4 (§ 484a) and *oíne oíne* 56*20 (§ 490b).

The gen. sg. neut. *beis(e)* Wb. 8^a21, 21^a12 is apparently substantival.

Collection: Strachan, *Ériu* i. 4.

The Glosses have only three examples of *-a* in the masculine nom. pl.: *maice coíma* 'dear sons' Wb. 27^b16 (possibly an error), and the predicatives *fira* Ml. 51^b8, *móra* 98^a5.

In the dat. sg. masc. neut. the absence of *a*-quality is determined by the same conditions as in substantival flexion (§ 278). Thus it is absent in all adjectives in *-acá*; in *már mór* 'great', *noib* 'holy', and similar adjectives; further, in *lábar* 'arrogant' Ml. 53^a6, *tere* 'scanty' 118^a10, and *bocht* 'poor' 61^a5. Where *-acá* has become *-acá*, *a*-quality is sometimes found; e.g. *anacretmíuch* Wb. 10^a5 as against *anacretmech* 'unbelieving' Wb. 28^a23; cp. Ml. 40^a4, 65^b10.

Since *cá* as a rule resists palatalization (§ 162), gen. sg. neut. *andracht* gl. *teiri* Sg. 112^a1 is quite regular. But *nocht* 'naked' has acc. sg. fem. *nocht* with subscript *i* Wb. 11^a18, and *bocht* has gen. sg. *bocht* with superscript *i* Ml. 27^a7, 38^a34 (once *boicht*, 31^a1). In the pronunciation of the latter word in present-day Munster Irish only the *t* (not *cá*) is palatal.

352. For changes in the vocalism *ep*, further:

dian 'swift'; gen. masc. neut. *déin*, fem. *déne*; dat. masc. neut. *dian*, fem. *déin*, etc. (§ 53).

oib 'bad'; masc. gen. *uile*, dat. *uile*; pl. nom. *uile*, acc. *uileu*, gen. *oib* (§ 73).

mall 'slow'; masc. gen. *maill*, dat. *maull*.

marb 'dead'; nom. pl. masc. *maib* and *moib* (§ 80).

tréin 'strong'; masc. pl. nom. *tréin tréin*, acc. *tréinn* (§ 55).

béu béo 'living'; masc. voc. gen. *bí*; dat. *bíu*; pl. nom. masc. *bí*; acc. *bíu* (§§ 204, 206), fem. *béas* 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. isil; pl. nom. isil, dat. isilb; but gen. pl. hisel ML. 40*20 (substantival).

(h)ðassal 'high'; pl. nom. acc. (h)ðaisil, dat. (h)ðaisilb; but substantival nom. pl. masc. hðassil Sg. 200*2.

diles(s) 'own'; dat. dilus; nom. acc. pl. dilsi.

So also *daligen* 'firm', pl. *daligni* ML. 78*19; *asbal* 'shameless': *asbil* F&L Nov. 9; *adbul -bal* 'mighty': *asbil* *isid.* Prol. 81; *amnas* 'sharp': *amaisi*. Even *ingnad* 'unusual' has nom. pl. masc. *ingaini* ML. 115*4, although an originally neutral vowel (*gnáth* 'usual') has been syncopeated; cp. abstr. *ingainte*, where the palatalization is regular (§ 164).

II. *io- iä-* stems

354. Paradigms: *u(i)le* 'all, whole', *nemd(a)e* 'heavenly'.

SINGULAR

	masc.	fem.	neut.
N	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>
V	<i>u(i)li nemd(a)i</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>
A	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>	<i>u(i)li nemd(a)i</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>
G	<i>u(i)li nemd(a)i</i>	<i>u(i)le nemd(a)e</i>	<i>u(i)li nemd(a)i</i>
D	<i>u(i)lu nemdu</i>	<i>u(i)li nemd(a)i</i>	<i>u(i)lu nemdu</i>

PLURAL

masc. fem. neut.

NVA	<i>u(i)li</i>	<i>nemd(a)i</i>
G	<i>u(i)le</i>	<i>nemd(a)e</i>
D	<i>u(i)lib</i>	<i>nemd(a)ib</i>

Later *-s* is often found for *-ae*; *-i* for *-iu* is very rare, e.g. dat. sg. masc. *hull* ML. 53*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. 59*4.

On the other hand, the neuter nom. acc. pl. usually ends in *-i*, even in substantival use, e.g. *inna cotarsnal* 'adversa'

MI. 46^v9. The only plural form in *-e* is *dorch(a)s* 'tenebrae', e.g. MI. 54^v20, nom. sg. *dorch(a)s* '(the) dark'.

Collection: Strachan, Ériu 1. 5.

núle (Wb.), *nu(a)s* 'new' (§§ 72, 100) has gen. masc. *nu(a)l*; dat. *nuu*, fem. *nu(a)l*, etc.

clé 'left' has dat. sg. masc. *cliu*, fem. *clí*.

III. *i*-STEMS

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

SINGULAR

	masc. neut.		fem.	
NVA	<i>maith</i>	<i>sainem(a)il</i>	<i>maith</i>	<i>sainem(a)il</i>
G	<i>maith</i>	<i>sainem(a)il</i>	<i>ma(l)the</i>	<i>saineml(a)s</i>
D	<i>maith</i>	<i>sainem(a)il</i>	<i>maith</i>	<i>sainem(a)il</i>

PLURAL

	masc. fem. neut.	
NVA	<i>ma(l)thi</i>	<i>saineml(a)il</i>
G	<i>ma(l)the, maith</i>	<i>saineml(a)s, sainem(a)il</i>
D	<i>ma(l)thib</i>	<i>saineml(a)ib</i>

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*, *superlat* '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-ā*-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-altae* 'of the stags' ML 121'19 beside *inna n-damán n-allaid* 'of the spiders' 59'1 (from *allaid* 'wild').

Collection: Strachap, ZCP. IV. 64, 489.

In substantival use the nom. acc. pl. neut. have the ending *-c* in *réde* (rhyming with *péne*) 'plains' Féil. Prol. 120 (from *réid*) and *fudumne* 'profunda' Wb. 5'16, 8'6; but *fudumna* ML. 81'4, 138'9.

Nom. dat. sg. *glé* 'clear' may belong to this class, although it has nom. pl. masc. *ruéle* (= *rap-glé*) ML. 36'10, not *-pléi*; cp. O.Bret. *plota*, W. *plowr*.

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', *fluch* 'wet', *ae(c)us ocus* 'near', there are a number of compounds like *so-éhrud*, *de-éhrud* 'beautiful, ugly'; *solus* 'bright' (from *lés* 'light'), *folus* (**fo-solus*) 'clear'; *fossad*, *cobsué* 'firm', *ansud* 'unstable'; *cumung* 'narrow'; *dirug diruch* '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. ag. 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- iú*-stems). *ll* 'many' (cp. Goth. *filu*, Gk. *πολύς*) has gone over completely to the *i*-flexion.

359. Paradigms: *dub* 'black', *folus* 'clear'.

SINGULAR

	masc. neut.		fem.	
N	<i>dub</i>	<i>folus</i>	<i>dub</i>	<i>folus</i>
A	<i>dub</i>	<i>folus</i>	<i>duib</i>	<i>foil(a)is</i>
G	<i>duib</i>	<i>foil(a)is</i>	<i>duib(a)e</i>	<i>foilse</i>
D	<i>dub</i>	<i>folus</i>	<i>duib</i>	<i>foil(a)is</i>

PLURAL

MASC. FEM. NEUT.

NA	dub(a)l	folal
G	(later dub)	(later folus)
D	dub(a)lb	folalb

dochrud has gen. sg. fem. *dochrúid* *Sg.* 309⁴, but nom. pl. *dochrúid* *ML.* 69² (probably an error for *dochrúid*).

V. CONSONANTAL STEMS

360. *éala éala* (with negative prefix: *anéala*) is the older nom. sg. corresponding to nom. pl. *éul(a)ig éol(a)ig* 'expert, knowing' (*ca*-stem), dat. pl. *éulsachb* *ML.* 131¹⁵, *anéulsachb* 42⁴. But as early as *ML.* there is a by-form with nom. sg. *éulach* (acc. pl. *é[ul]sachu* 145¹¹), which belongs to the *o*-flexion.

Nom. sg. *tee tē* (all genders) 'hot' has nom. pl. fem. *tēll* (probably disyllabic) *Wb.* 29¹ (originally an *ai*-stem).

Nom. pl. masc. *deeth* 'decides' *ML.* 120³, if it stands for *deeth*, may also be a survival of consonantal flexion. Otherwise the word seems to be inflected as an *i*-stem: nom. *dēid* 35²⁵, acc. *dēed* *Wb.* 25¹⁹, gen. *dēid* *ML.* 82⁵; pl. nom. *dēed* *Thea.* II. 4, 29, dat. *dēedib* *ML.* 131¹¹.

ainb (*ainib* *ML.* 30² is probably an error) 'ignorant' (*an-ai-*) has abandoned its consonantal flexion: nom. pl. *ainib* *ML.* 51¹⁴. Other adjectives which probably belong to this class occur only in the nom. sg.: e.g. compounds of *teng(a)* 'tongue' (§ 322): *sothage soithage*, *dothage*, *stuge* *lit.* 'having a good, bad, no tongue' i.e. 'well-spoken', etc. (for the later flexion of *Briaria nēmthage* 'B. poison-tongue' and *Dubthach dōethage*, see *IT.* I. 371, 372); and compounds of **ául* (§ 323, 1) 'poetic art': *sol*, *dol*.

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 méra na bretha* 'the judgements are great'; *do-adbat ara n-ecatar inraice* 'he shows that they are found worthy' *ML.* 19²¹. There are instances, however, of a neuter adjective predicating a feminine verbal noun: *ba erchóitech n-dob toimtia nad*

ráncatar les déanna maith ' (the) thought that they had no need to do good was hurtful to them ' *ML.* 35^b25. Further, the neuter sg. is used in such sentences as *uisce in beoll do áis ón chiunn* ' it is proper for the members to grow from the head ' *Wh.* 22^a17 (§ 720).

For the subsequent loss of concord, first in gender, then in number also, see *Dillon, EOP.* 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 ' *Wh.* 24^a2; *don choimhid nemdu* ' to the heavenly Lord ' 27^a18; *arnaib grádaib nemdib* ' for the heavenly ranks ' 21^a13.

For the attributive dative standing in apposition to a pronoun in whatever case, cp. § 251, 2; for defective concord in *u(i)ll*, 366f.

Where a quality alone is predicated, the adjective is used independently, not attributively; e.g. *is maith is mair* ' the pig (before us) is good ' *LL.* 112^a22, 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 ' *Theo.* II. 294, 22, where the predicate is not *fás* alone, but the group *lestar fás*.

362. In prose, only the following adjectival words may stand inflected before the word they qualify:

(1) The cardinal numerals 2, 3, 4 (§ 385; *ón* is inflected only when it means ' same ', e.g. *inna déna méite* ' of the same size ' *Sg.* 203^a26; cp. § 484 a).

(2) All the ordinals (§ 393 ff.) except *tán(a)isce* ' second ', which follows the word qualified (occasionally also *alle* ' second ').

(3) The definite article (§ 467 ff.) and the pronominals *each* *each* ' each ', *nach* ' any '. For *alalle* ' other ', see § 486 b.

(4) *u(i)ile* ' all, whole ' and *sainn* ' separate ' may stand before or after. Examples: *int hulle talam* ' the whole earth ' *ML.* 45^a8 beside *arin dainiu hulliu* ' for the whole man ' 54^a11; *hulll doini talman* ' all the men of the earth ' 61^a16 beside *Israhelidal hulll* ' all the Israelites ' 34^a20; *sainn riaglóri* ' different regulars ' *Theo.* II. 19, 34, beside *hi personaib sainnib* ' in different persons ' *Sg.* 28^a2. *sainn* 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. *cétn(a)e cétna* as gen. sg. neut. Sg. 76^a, as dat. sg. fem. ML. 115^a14, Sg. 18^a2; *ceathrad* dat. sg. neut. Thes. I. 497, 13 (Arm.); cp. later examples like *na seachtad bliadna* 'of the seventh year' IT. III., 1, 39. There is one example of *úle* as acc. sg. fem., ML. 25^a8.

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*, *-ocá*, 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: *flathraig* or *cahraig* III 'many cities'; *fríorthem* 'just judge', and *bretha fíra* 'just judgments'; *co nóebairbríh aingel* 'with holy cohorts of angels' Féil. Ep. 344, and *húanab aindrib nóebalb* 'from the holy instruments' ML. 74^a13; in *nuathintúd-sa* 'this new translation' 2^a6, and *á céta nua* 'the new song' 60^a12.

Cp. Gaulish placenames like *Noviodunum* 'New-fort', *Marcidun* 'Great-field'.

364. To express certain qualities different roots are used according as the adjective precedes or follows the qualified word:

'good': preceding, *dag-dag-* (§ 83 b); following (and predicative), *maith*; e.g. *dagfer* and *fer maith* 'good man'.

'bad, evil': preceding, *droch-drog-*; following (and predicative), *ole(s)*; e.g. *drochdoim* 'evil men' beside *bésti olea* 'evil beasts'.

The only instance in prose where *droch* is apparently inflected, acc. pl. *lena drocho doim* ML. 24^a4, is possibly an error. In Britanniæ, on the other hand, W. Bret. *da* 'good' and Mid.W. *draec* Bret. *droak* '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-cher*, *do-cher* 'good, bad contract'; *dedcad* 'misfortune' from *tocad* 'fortune'. More frequently they serve to form adjectives from nouns; see § 345; cp. further *suaitribhíde* 'habitable' (*aittrebad* 'act of dwelling', later form of *atrab*).

These prefixes (= W. *hy-* and *dy-*, and probably contained in Gael. *Su-carus -ia*, *Su-ratus*, gen. sg. *Du-rati*) correspond to Skt. *su-* and *du-* (Gk. *eu-*), but the final of the second has been assimilated to that of the first. In hiatus the vowel *a* prevails; otherwise *so-* *do-* and *su-* *du-* alternate without regard to the quality of the following vowel (cp. further § 166).

2. *mí-* 'ill-, mis-, wrong'; e.g. *mí-thol*, *mí-dúthracht* 'ill-will', *mí-grám* 'misdeed', *mí-thoimtu* 'wrong opinion', *mí-fogur* (*f = f'*) 'dissonance', *mí-desmrecht* 'bad example'. This prefix is also found before verbs (§ 384).

Connection with Eng. 'mis-(deed)', Goth. *missa-* cannot be proved. It would seem as if the prohibitive negative Gk. *μή*, Skt. *ná* had become a compositional prefix (otherwise Pedersen II. 16). There is no *by-* form *mí-*, as has sometimes been assumed; *míscrul* 'hate' is not a compound of *cais* 'love', 'hatred', for the adjective *míscréach* presupposes an original palatal vowel in the second syllable.

3. *bíth-* 'lasting, permanent'; e.g. *bíthphennit* 'lasting penitence', *bíthbheithu* 'everlasting life'. It is frequently used as an adverb before adjectives: *bíthbéo bíthbéo* 'eternal', *bíthfotaas* 'ever-long'.

The phonetic relation to W. *byth* 'ever, forever', Corn. *byth*, *by*, *byth-gueth*, Mid. Bret. *des-gouas*, *bezouas*, *bisouas* 'ever (never)' can only be explained by assuming that the Bretonic word is borrowed. There is a rare word Ir. *bíth*, *ro-bíth* 'long period' or the like (ZCP. XII. 263, 21, 27), which is probably not to be separated from *bíth* 'world'.

4. *síth-* 'long', e.g. *síth-long* 'long ship', not attested in the Glosses; often compounded with adjectives, as in *síth-ard* 'long and high'. It has an equative *síthíthir síthidir*. Cp. W. *hyd* 'length'.

5. The numeral *óin- óen-* 'one'; e.g. *óen-chiall*, 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', *Ma n-óen* 'one day'.

6. For the negative prefixes see §§ 369 ff.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

Collections: Ascoli, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Supplem. period. 1. 33 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. *solldídir bíd hi lugburt* 'as bright (as if) it were in a garden' SP. (Thes. II. 294, 16), is *fíthír ad-fíadar* 'it is as true (as) is reported' *Léidain 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 éara bíd for náimídib inna-baitha ol fer legi* 'it were more fitting that thou shouldst take action against coccois 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 *Féire* (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 *é-*, *éar-* (§ 832 A), and *rug-*, e.g. *rug-solus* (*s = é*) 'very bright', *ruglé* (*rug-síd*) 'very clear', *rug-ll gl. nannalle* *ZCP.* VII. 481, 74a. The origin of the prefix in *drúallithe -lé*, from *éllithe* 'defiled', is not certain.

For 'too, excessively', *re-* is used (§ 832 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 *sinú* 'he who is older'; *innáft ata nessa* 'the nearer (things)'.
 The compound *comnessam* 'nearest' (i.e. 'neighbour' in the Christian sense) is substantival and is inflected as an *e*-stem: gen. sg. *comnessam* Wb. 23^r1, *comnessam* 1^o8. There are also special words for substantival 'the elder (oldest), younger (youngest)'; the *e*-stems *ginsir* and *ós(x)er*, *óssar*; cp. Lat. *seniōr*, *magiōr*, Gallo-Lat. *Seniōr*.

The renderings of *exceptiōnī tui* (gen. sg.) by *du thulchōimem* Ml. 71^o21 and of *percelesiōnī hominū* by *doim saibhem* 3^o6 are Latinisms.

NORMAL FORMATION OF THE EQUATIVE, COMPARATIVE, AND SUPERLATIVE

368. The equative suffix is *-áidir*, *-áifir*, the former as a rule after monosyllables, the latter after polysyllables (§ 129). Examples: *dian* 'swift': *dánáidir* 'as swift': *láir* 'eager, diligent': *láirithir*; *déimín* 'certain': *déimínáidir*; *soirb* 'easy': *soirbáidir* *soirbáifir*; *suthain* 'lasting': *suthaináidir*; *erlam* 'ready': *erlamáidir*.

In poetry there are a few forms (confirmed by rhyme) in *-álar* and *-álar* *-álar*: *amrálar* (*sic* *lep.*, ms. *-rálar*) *Fiannaig.* p. 14 § 31, *amrálar* *óid.* p. 16 § 29 (corrupt form in *FM.* 843). These may be examples of poetic license at a time when the formation was no longer living. Others, such as *latháigther* *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:

dian 'swift': *dánua*
sean 'old': *sinua* (*sina*)
oll 'ample': *uilliu*, *oll(I)u*
tlug 'thick': *tlígu*
innl 'safe': *innliu*
áilind 'beautiful': *áilíndu*
fáilid 'glad': *fáilíndu*
uisce 'right': *uisíu*
dímeithe 'despised': *dímeithíu*.

But ard 'high' : ardu

fudum(a)ln 'deep' : fudumnu

lobor, lobur 'weak' : lobru (Jobro Wb. 17^b29, see § 101)

cumachtach 'powerful' : cumachtchu (cumachtgu ML 101^a7)

tromm 'heavy' : trummu (§ 166a)

tan(a)e 'thin' : tanu

ass(a)e 'easy' : assu.

Cp. also son(a)lirt 'strong' : sonortu Wb., sonartu ML.

Further, toisech 'leading' : toisechu, toisegu beside toisigu (toisegu), cp. § 167.

bui(f)dech 'contented' : buidechu beside budigu buidichlu

irlam 'ready' : irlamu

firián 'just' : firíamu.

370. The normal superlative suffix is *-em* with palatalization of the preceding consonant, *-em* after consonants which resist palatalization. Examples:

cóem 'lovely' : cóemem

sen 'old' : sinem

toisech 'leading' : toisigem, toisechem

folus 'clear' : fallsem

ról 'clear' : rólem.

But ard 'high' : ardam

déod(a)e 'divine' : déodam (Fcl.)

ans(a)e 'difficult' : ansam.

Arch. *deamrom* (for later *-rom*), from *deamlr* *dlam(a)lr* 'hidden, secret' ZCP. vii. 481 (73b).

371. In ML the superlative is often found with a double suffix *-imem*, occasionally *-amem*; e.g.

(h)úasal 'high' : húaisimem beside húaislem

somm(a)e 'rich' : sommsimem

firián 'just' : firíanamem.

saibem ML 2^a6, from *saib* 'false', and *foisringem* 67^a4, from *foisring* 'wide', are probably scribal errors.

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*¹ instead of *-idhír*, in the comparative *-a* instead of *-(i)u*.

POSITIVE	EQUATIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
ll 'many'	llr	lla	
lethan 'broad'	lethidhír, -idhír (le(l)thír)	letha	
már mór 'great, much'	móir	mó móo máo móu máa (má) méa	mám (mám) moam
oac óac 'young'		óa (also 'less')	óam
remur 'thick'	remidhír		
sír 'long'		sía sía	siam
trén 'strong' (*treksno- ?)	tresidhír	tressa	tressam

For *móir* (*móir* ML 35²11) see Zimmer's collection in KZ. XXVIII. 376, n.1.

In BDD. §§ 58, 61, 118 what appears to be the equative of *sír* is variously written in the (late) MSS. *sídhír* *sídhír*, and *sídhír* *-idhír* (cp. § 368, 4).

373. A few adjectives form their comparative and superlative (the equative is not found) from roots altogether different from those of the positive:

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
accus ocus 'near'	bessa ¹	bessam
beo(e) 'small, few'	laugu lugu, laigiu	lugam, lugnem (ML.)
maith, dag- 'good'	ferr	dech, deg
ois, droch- 'bad'	messa	messam

¹With *assa* (§ 377): *nesso assa nesso* Wb. 12^o34a (cp. RC. IX. 474, 6).

ANALYSIS OF THE FORMS OF COMPARISON

374. In the normal comparative *-u* is the remnant of a Celtic ending *-jós*, < *-jós*. This, on the evidence of Lat. *-ior*, Avest. *-pá*, was formerly the ending of the nom. sg. masc. (and perhaps fem.) of the comparative; in Irish it became the universal form. A trace of the final *-s* survives in the

non-mention of *de* when attached to a comparative (§ 378; written *-e*, *-i* in Mid.Ir.).

In the superlative the Britanno ending—*OW*. *-aem* (*Minstors* 'eldest') Mid.W. *-aef*—and the vowel of Ir. *-eom* point to an earlier suffix *-iemo-*, *-iemo-*, which, like the ending of Lat. *facillimus* < **facil(i)mo-*, derives from a primary form *-iemo-*; cp. also *-ivimus*. This suffix is clearly seen in Gaul. (*Marsi*) *Rigiamo*, and *Océivōv* (Strabo), name of the Île d'Ouessant, Bret. *Evns* (8th cent. *Osens*) = W. *uchaf* 'highest'.

The formation of the degrees of comparison directly from the root (§ 372) represents the older method, usual in Sanskrit and found also in Greek. Cp. further the similarly formed abstracts *lethet*, *remet* *remes*, *treis(s)et* *treisse*, *lagat* (*meiss* 'evil' (?) Met. *Diada* m. 382, 23). Originally *dech* (also *deg* by analogy with *dag-* 'good') may well have been a noun = Lat. *decor* 'ornament, glory'. Cp. the corresponding use of *forg(g)u* 'choice object', 'the best of', from which the superlative *forleimem*, *forreimem* 'best' in MI. is apparently formed. The form *ferr* has been compared with Lith. *viršis*, O.Slav. *vrěch* 'summit'; and cognate words; but the corresponding Brit.-well- (W. *gwel*, etc.) 'better' suggests rather that both represent a derivative of *wer* (the earlier form of the Ir. prep. *fer* § 836), perhaps **wer-jo-*, with different assimilation of *r*. A plural form *ferra* sometimes occurs later, e.g. *Anecd.* m. 62 § 22. *nessam*, W. *nessaf*, appears in Ocu. *nessimas* nom. pl. fem. '(the) nearest'; Umbr. *nasimel* adv. 'next to'. *messam* is equated with Ocu. *messimass* 'medicimass' (?) by Pedersen (rt. 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 Britanno forms: Mid.W. *Ret* (superl. *Retigf*) = *letha*, *lex* = *da*, *lay* = *sla*, *treth* = *tressa*, *was* = *nessa*. It might, indeed, have been lost by these; on the other hand, the fact that the Mid.W. comparatives *ucl* 'higher' and *ie* 'lower' are paralleled by suffixless forms in Irish (*da*, *is* 'above, below' §§ 850, 844, *dais*, adj. and noun, 'high, very high, too high', superl. *daissam* *Alt. Ir. Dicht.* I. 28, 1) suggests that the ending *-a* represents a secondary development in Irish. The starting-point of this development has been sought in *la* 'more' and *sla* 'longer'. The latter and W. *lay* could both go back to *ai(s)* < *aî-ia*, with the weak grade of the comparative suffix, *-ie* (beside *-ios*, *-iōs*); Mid.W. *Ret* may also have lost *-ie*. So too *la* could go back to **plî-ia*. In Irish, according to this view, **ai*, **iō* were diphthongized to *ia*, *ia*, 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 *-e* of other comparatives. Then, on the model of *sla* 'longer', forms like *letha* 'broader', etc., developed.

It is very doubtful, however, if final *i* was normally diphthongized (§ 83). Hence other possible explanations must be considered. The variation between *-e* and *-a* found in *mó máe* (< **māu*) and *mā mā* appears to be old (in *māu* MI. etc., the *-u* has been freshly added); for to the former was probably due the change of quality in the positive *mār* > *mór* (already in

Wh.), and the latter survives in the petrified expression *nammá* 'only' (lit. 'not more'). The explanation may be that beside the masc. fem. form **má/jós* (> *máís*) there was also a neuter form **má/jos* (whence Ir. *má*). A trace of the ending *-jós* may also survive in *lra* (lra) 'farther' (the longer form *lreiu* or *lrea* Thea. II. 36, 33 is probably artificial; cp. *lru* Laws I. 120, 20, superl. *hrem* O'Dav. 1666). 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 Bruggmann), *Morpholog. Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogerm. Sprachen* VI. 263 ff.

376. The Irish equative is doubtless connected with the Britannoic (as to which see Loth, *BC.* XVIII. 302 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. *-æt*, e.g. Mid.W. *lyndutor* 'as black (du)'. Forms without *cyn-* are sometimes used, e.g. *gwenned gwennoc* 'as white (fem.) as a wave'. But such forms usually have exclamatory force, e.g. Mod.W. *daed y nos* 'how black the night is!', 'what a black night!'; cp. Mid.W. *carret den* 'what a fine (car) man!'. That the *-æt* is the same as that of the superlative, i.e. represents original *-ie-*, the weak grade of the comparative suffix *-jós*, is suggested by the fact that adjectives with 'irregular' comparative stems usually form their equative from these stems also; e.g. Mid.W. *(cyn-)nasset*, cp. compar. *nos* 'nearer'; *housset*, compar. *housc*, from *housc* 'easy', etc. The normal suffix was therefore *-æst*. As intervocalic *s* completely disappears in Irish, the suffix *-áthir*, which on the evidence of *áththir* began with a palatal vowel, may contain *-æst*. 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 *-iri-* (with no intervening vowel between *t* and *r*) to have been the older form. But the Britannoic forms show no trace of *-r-*, and cannot have lost it by a secondary development. Irish *lra* and *máir* have the ending *r'* without *th*. It is doubtful whether *le(i)thir* (e.g. ZCP. XVIII. 296) also belongs here or is merely a shortening of **le(i)ththir* (*letháthir* LU 5366). In *lra* the short *i* is difficult to account for; the radical form of the comparative was originally *plē-* (cp. Skt. *práplā* 'mostly'), and the equative is not to be separated from the comparative. Perhaps *lra* spread from the comparative in place of earlier **lra*. The latter may be compared with Lat. *plēnus* 'for the most part', *plēri-que*, and Armen. *lir* (*l-stem*) 'plenty'. It seems probable that W. *mor*, Breton. *mor*, used before adjectives in the sense of 'as' or 'so very', correspond to Ir. *máir*. To these models the *r*-ending of the Irish forms in *-áthir* may perhaps be ascribed. There are, in fact, isolated examples of such equatives formed from nouns. That *méththir* should have displaced earlier *máir* is not surprising, for *máir* 'size, quantity' is itself used for 'as great, as much' (cp. § 375); but *méththir* 'as bright', from *mám* 'brightness', also occurs (*BC.* XXV. 56).

A different explanation of the Irish equative (without reference to the Britannoic forms) is offered by Krause, ZCP. xvii. 33 ff. He takes the forms in *-iáir* to be petrified denominative verbs (dependent 3rd 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). Britanno. *-st* 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. *mó assa mó*; *messa assa-immessa* 'worse and worse' Wb. 30^a25. Cp. W. *ysynoweth* 'more's the pity' (from *gaweth* 'worse'), Bret. *siouas*, Corn. *soueth* 'alas!'

More rarely the comparative followed by *ar shéih* (lit. 'for each', i.e. 'every time') is used for this purpose, e.g. Wb. 13^a20, Ml. 71^a1.

378. Adverbial 'the' with the comparative (Lat. *eo*) is expressed by enclitic *de* (lit. 'therefrom', § 435) attached to the comparative; e.g. *áigthidú-de* 'the more dreaded' Wb. 23^a23.

The actual degree of more or less is preceded by the prep. *l'*; e.g. *más l' n-éansill(áib)* 'greater by one syllable' Sg. 40^b7; *a cóic indid éa* '(the) five by which it is less' Thes. II. 20, 40 f.

FORMATION OF ADVERBS FROM ADJECTIVES

Collection: *Ascoff, Glossar. palaeohibern. occurri 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 bhuic* 'little' (from *bucc*); *in máir, in mór* 'greatly', *ind ardaire* 'conspicuously'; *in tánsiu* 'secondly'; *ind ainb* 'ignorantly'. In forms where *a*-quality would be regular, it is occasionally absent; e.g. *ind utmall* 'restlessly' Wb. 26^b10; *ind oll gl. útra* Sg. 220^a6; *ind imdae* 'abundantly' 26^a5 beside normal *ind imdu* Ml. 35^b5; *in madae* 'vainly' (cp. *techt mudu* 'going astray' Wb. 16^a4, later *i mudu*).

This formation is common to all the insular Celtic languages; e.g. O.Bret. in *mor*, Mid.W. *ya coar*, = Ir. in *már*; O.Bret. *in modas gl. possum*. On the other hand, Britanni has also forms with O.Bret. *in*, Mid.Bret. *ent*, OW. *in* (*in* *coar* 'all in order' Bull. Board Celt. Studies vi. 223 f.), Corn. *ya* (from *da* 'good'). Hence it has been suggested that *in* (*ya*) and *in* (*ent*) are prepositional forms, possibly two separate prepositions; cp. Morris-Jones, Welsh Grammar p. 439; Vendryes, ZCP. xvp. 73 f. But *in* (*ent*) may equally well be a petrified oblique case of W. *Ayat* (Bret. *Acnt*) 'way, journey' in *proclisis*.

There are also a few instances without *in*(*d*). These include not only *alalltu aralltu* 'otherwise' Wb. 9^o23, 21^o13 (this word never takes the article, § 486b), but also such forms as *gair bluce far tain gl. pseudo post* Sg. 147^o7, *inhlidtu* 'secretly' Ml. 50^o13. In the legal language they occur more frequently, e.g. *ééchtu* 'unlawfully', *eí[u]rt eóir* 'properly and rightly', etc. Cp. also *nach mór* 'to any (great) extent' Wb. 11^o45, Ml. 65^o16.

380. 2. On the other hand, adjectives in *-de* and participles in *-de* generally use a form in *-id* *-idh* in place of the dative; e.g. *ind eínd(a)id* 'singly', from *eínd(a)e*; *ind alonetið* 'naturally', from *alonet(a)e*; *in téasallethid* 'absolutely', from *téasallethe* 'detached'.

A few such adverbs are formed from nouns: *in díglid gl. ulciscere* Ml. 62^o3, *ind árnith gl. commotio* Sg. 27^o17, *ind íríthoréid gl. affectu* Ml. 127^o23; cp. *dígal* 'revenge', *áram* 'number', *íríthoréun* 'affectus'. Hence the basis of this formation should perhaps be sought in nouns like *díglid* 'avenger' (§ 267), since in Welsh a noun in predicative use is preceded by leniting *yn*. But another possible source is *samith sam(a)id* 'thus, like him (it)' (§§ 434, 826), which may represent a modification of **samith* = W. *Agyd* 'also' under the influence of *sam(a)ll* 'likewise'.

381. 3. There are only a few examples of an adverb being formed with the preposition *eo* 'until' (§ 829) followed by the neuter accusative of the adjective: *eo-mmór* Ml. 38^o12, 61^o17, literally 'up to a high degree', beside *in mór*; *eo-mméic* 'often' 38^o11 beside *in méic*; *eo-mmáth* Wb. 7^o15 'well'; *eo eóir* 'properly' Ml. 69^o12, 77^o7. Later on this becomes the usual formation.

The following forms are exceptional: *di léir* 'diligently' *ML*. 68¹⁵ (later *do léir*) beside *co léir*, *co-léir* 'carefully' 14¹³, 21¹⁶; *caith é-díreach* 'quite straight' *Thes.* ii. 13, 20, *beir é-díraig* 'they carry off, obtain' (*vb.n.* *beith díraig*).

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*. 32¹ (from *lond*); *int serbu* 'more bitterly' 24¹⁰ (*serb*); *ind íchtarahn* 'lower' 24³⁰ (*íchtarach*); *in dumaicthiu* 'more cumulatively' 35¹⁷ (*dumaicthe*); *ind lugu*, *ind laigiu*, *ind éa* 'less'; *in míam* 'most greatly' *Wb.* 1²⁰. 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 agent of the adjective (without the article), and a nasalizing relative clause follows. This is the normal construction with adverbial forms of comparison. Examples: *arndiþ maith n-airiethar* 'so that he may care well' *Wb.* 28³², lit. 'so that it may be a good thing how he cares'; *is írithir in so n-n-guðim-se dia n-erut-su* 'as zealously as this do I beseech God for thee' 27¹⁹; *is dinnimu do-n-gní alaili* 'it is more carelessly that he makes the other' 4³³. For the construction in *Wb.* 31⁶ see § 508.

But *cp.* *is ind il as ferr Iudeus* 'it is greatly that Judaeus is better' *Wb.* 2⁴, 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: *cain-rognatha* 'well have they been done' *ML.* 39²⁴; *maid airtlithir* 'unless thou take good heed' *Wb.* 5²⁸; *maid-génatar* 'blessed are they' *ML.* 90¹², lit. 'well were they born' (from *maith*); *slán-seiss* 'hail!', lit. 'thou shalt sit safe', *LU* 8242; *nua-táisce* 'he has newly come' *Wb.* 7⁷; *ní-n-úle-mairbte* 'thou wilt not wholly slay them' *ML.* 77¹⁵. 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-salg* 'who levies best', *dechmo-ro-chích* (ms. *deichmo-*) 'who has wept best' (*ZCP.* xviii. 398, *Ériu* xi. 168).

To *mó* 'soon' (*Ériu* ii. 43) corresponds the preverb *mos*, *mus* (*Mid.W.* *mool*); e.g. *mos-riocub-sa* 'I shall soon come' *Wb.* 28⁹, *mos-creitfét* 'they will soon believe' 5²² (*mu-* *ML.* 34⁴, probably a misspelling). Similarly *eóin-mair* 'happy!' (which is more likely to be 3 ag. pres. ind., 'long lives', than 2 ag. impv.) from *eóin*, acc. sg. of *clan* 'long time'.

For *cein-*, *aita-*, 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. *mí-mí-aiptir* (where *-aiptir* is probably enclitic) 'he speaks not evil' *ML.* 56¹⁶; *mí-sa-imbirt* 'he abused them' *RC.* xi. 446, 44.

In poetry, and later in 'rhetorical' prose, many similar compounds are formed; e.g. with *bíth-* (§ 365, 3): *ro-bíth-béa* 'may I be for ever' *Fél. Épil.* 39, *bíth-golait* 'they are ever wailing' *ibid.* *Prol.* 62; so too *ro-fir-scálich* '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 *bíthgal*, *bíthbéa*.

béa 'perhaps' always stands before the verb, but without forming a compound; e.g. *béa as-béa-sú* 'perhaps thou mayest say' *Thea.* ii. 7, 29. It may originally have been an independent clause.

Compound verbs whose first element is a noun, such as *neada-lá(m)gala gl. manópers* *ML.* 43², are artificial formations.

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).

2.	masc.	fem.	neut.
NA	<i>da^l</i> , <i>dá^l</i>	<i>dí^l</i> , <i>dí^l</i>	<i>daⁿ</i> , <i>dáⁿ</i>
G	<i>da^l</i> , <i>dá^l</i>	<i>dá^l</i> , <i>dá^l</i>	<i>daⁿ</i> , <i>dáⁿ</i>
D	(all genders)	<i>dibⁿ</i> , <i>deibⁿ</i>	(Sg.).

In the older mss. the mark of length over *da*, *dí* is very rare; the lengthening is doubtless secondary (§ 48). For independent *dán* see § 386.

Composition form *de-*, often written *dé-* and probably always to be so read; e.g. *déállabehl* (dat. sg.) 'disyllabism' Sg. 44^b2, *déchorpdae* 'bicipor' 65^a13 (likewise 54^a15, 187^a1).

3., 4.

	masc. neut.		fem.
N	<i>tri</i> <i>ceh(a)lr</i>	<i>teotr</i> <i>teuir</i> ,	<i>cehéotr</i> ,
		<i>téora</i>	<i>cehéora</i>
A	<i>tri</i> (m.) <i>cehri</i> Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>téora</i>	<i>cehéora</i>
G	<i>tri</i>	<i>téora</i>	<i>cehéora</i>
D	<i>trib</i> * <i>cehrib</i>	<i>téoralb</i>	<i>cehéoralb</i>

Archaic nom. acc. neut. and gen. masc. *tre* (Cam., ZCP. III. 453, 13, *Bürgschaft* p. 28 § 76a). Disyllabic *teuir* occurs Thes. II. 291, 6, but monosyllabic *téotr* Fd. Sept. 1; disyllabic *cehéotr* Thes. II. 292, 11. An intermediate spelling nom. fem. *cehéora* occurs Ml. 118^a10.

Composition forms: *tri-*, *tré-*, *tre-* (which is later generalized); *cehar-*, *cehr-*. Examples: *trimsl* 'quarters (of year)' Wb. 19^a15 (from *mís-* 'month'), *trédenu* 'three days' 27^a14, etc., (perhaps influenced by *tréde*, § 387), *trechenélas* 'three-gendered'; *cehargaralt* 'proceleusmaticus' ('four times short') Sg. 7^b13, *cehr-ochair* 'four-cornered' LU 6382.

5. *cóte* (leniting, before gen. pl. nasalizing).

6. *sé* (geminating, before gen. pl. nasalizing).
7. *sechtⁿ*.
8. *ochtⁿ*.
9. *noíⁿ*.
10. *deichⁿ*.

385. The above forms are used predicatively, and also as substantives when identical things are enumerated, except that *dá*n (*dá*o, *dá*) replaces *da* and that *trí* always has long *i*; *dó* and *trí* are also used as gen. fem. (Corm. 758, Laud); for the acc. fem., cp. *fo dí* 'twice' (§ 400). *oí*n, *é*oí is declined as an *o-á*-stem.

When these forms are not preceded by the article or by another numeral, or otherwise defined, the geminating particle *a* (§ 243, 6) is put before them. Examples: *a dá*n 'two', *a ocht* (Mid. Ir. *a h-ocht*) 'eight'; but *inna ocht* 'the eight (specified things)', *húanaib ocht-sa* 'from these eight' Sg. 90¹⁸, *húanaib díb* 'from the two' Ml. 14⁶, *secht n-ocht* 'seven (times) eight', *oí*n *dí aírchínchúib* Assise in *slu* 'that (was) one of the leaders of Asia' Wb. 7¹¹.

387. Otherwise numbers in substantival use are represented by special numeral substantives, particularly when different things are enumerated. Of these substantives, 2-10 are formed with the neuter suffix *-de* (*io*-stem), and may well be substantival adjectives in *-de* (§ 347).

1. *éathad* (*éathad*, § 166) 'single thing, singular number' (neut. *o*-stem); 2. *déde*; 3. *tréde*; 4. *éathad(a)s*; 5. *éóde*; 6. *séde*; 7. *secht(a)s*; 8. *ocht(a)s*; 9. *noíde* (*nóde* Aursic. 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 néiber* 'thrice nine men' LU 4961, .Ir. *n-dechenor* 7160.

1. *oí*nar, *é*oínar, gen. *oí*n(a)*ir*, *da*s. *oí*nur.

2. *dúis* fem., acc. dat. *dúis dúis* (later *dúis*), gen. *de(d)úisse*, dat. pl. *de(d)úisib* Féil. Prol. 210.
3. *tríar*, dat. pl. *trírib* *ibíad.* 210.
4. *ceithrar*, dat. pl. *ceithrairib* Thea. i. 497, 16 (Arm.).
5. *cóicir*, dat. *cóicíur*.
6. *se(d)ússer*.
7. *mérfes(s)ur* (lit. 'great six').
8. *ochtár*.
9. *nóimbor*, -bur.
10. *de(d)cheimbor*, -bur.

The use of the above forms in the dative of apposition after possessive pronouns (§ 251, 2) is particularly common; e.g. *meisse m'óimur* 'I alone'; *táncatar a tríur* 'the three of them came'. In this construction they may also denote things; cp. the gloss on *nám et uultur et uulturus et uulturias dicitur* Sg. 93^a2: *bliú a tríur de anmáim ind éilain* 'they are all three (used) for the name of the bird'; similarly *ML. 121^a4*. Note also *fuirib fer n-óimur* 'on you alone' *Wb. 14^a17* (*óimur* referring to a plural).

The neuter noun *liar* 'great number' may be a similar formation, although it is used of things as well as persons. The dat. pl. *ar thríb de(d)chúib* 'with thrice ten (persons)' Féil. Oct. 10 is poetical.

389. Any of the numerals of § 385 (and also *li* 'many') may combine with a singular noun (whose flexion remains unaltered) to form a collective. Examples: *de(d)chúirib* 'the ten tribes' *ML. 137^a8*, gen. *de(d)chúirib* 72^a2; *Neindruim* placename (§ 235, 1), gen. *Neindromne* (from *druim* 'ridge'); *déblidáin*, *treblidáin* 'period of two, three years'; *libéim* 'many blows' *Wb. 4^a15*.

Windisch, IF. iv. 294; Kelt. Wortkunde § 221.

390. Multiples of 10 and the words for 100 and 1000 are always substantives and are followed by the genitive of the objects enumerated, e.g. *trísha céarash* 'thirty sheep'; they are used both of persons and things. For the inflexion of the decads, all of which are masculine, see §§ 324, 326.

20. *fehe*, gen. *fehet* (-t = -d, as also in the following).

30. *tricho*, *tricha*, gen. *trichot*, -at.
 40. *cefhorecho*, gen. *cefhorchat*.
 50. *coíca*, gen. *coícat*, *cóecat*.
 60. *sesta* (later attested), gen. *sestat* *Thes. II. 254, 17*,
sestat Féil.
 70. *sechtmaga*, gen. *sechtmogat*.
 80. *ochtmea* (*Féil*), gen. *ochtmuagat*.
 90. (later attested) *nócha*, gen. *nóchat*.
 100. *cét* (neut. *c*-stem), gen. *céit*. The nom. acc. pl.
 always has the short form after numerals, e.g. *ceithr chét* '400',
 but *céta imda* 'many hundreds' *Laws I. 46, 23*.
 1000. *míle* (fam. *íð*-stem), gen. *míle*; dual *dí míll* '2000';
 pl. *cóic míll* '5000'.

There is a tendency to rearrange large numbers in smaller multiple groups; e.g. *da fichit* 'two score', *tri fichit* 'three score', *secht fichit* 'seven score' (140), *tri coícat* '150', *co tríb 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 déace* (*déac Wb. 15^b1*), 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 déac* '18'; *a ocht fichet* '28'; *dí hÍr* (dual) *fichet* '22 letters (of the alphabet)'; *í n-díb á-úarib déac* 'in 12 hours'; *cóic saim sechtmogat* '75 psalms'.

On the other hand, digits and tens are combined with hundreds by means of the preposition *ar* (with dative); e.g. *fiche ar chét* '120'; *a dáu coícat ar chét* '152'; *inna deich ar díb cétaib* 'the 210'; *cóic míll ochtmuagat 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. *días ar fichit* '22 persons', *deichenbor ar díb fichtib ar tríb cétaib* '350' *Trip. 260, 7-8*; (b) occasionally also to *oin*, e.g. *a n-óen ar fichit* (ms. *fichet*) 'the 21' *Ml. 2^o2*. To judge from later examples, *oin* may be omitted before a

substantive in such combinations, e.g. *bó ar fíocht* '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 *dá*, *da*, etc., see §§ 287, 298. The dat. *dáib* is obviously one of the forms that have been shortened in proclitic; its use in stressed position is quite exceptional (§ 386). The composition form *dá-* 'two-, double' must be distinguished from the prefix *dá-* (also leniting) 'in two, asunder', which occurs, e.g. in *débhúth* 'discord, strife', *déibide*, name of a metre, lit. 'cut (-bithe) in two', probably also in *déchar* 'difference, distinction'; cp. *lú-dá* 'in two', where the lengthening is secondary (§ 44 b). On semantic grounds the equation of *dá-* with Goth. *twi-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 *dá-* may represent original **daw-*, cp. *diabul* 'double' (§ 227 a), although the *d* is never diphthongized.

tri (*tri*) is inflected as an *i*-stem (§ 304), but in the oblique cases the form *tre* has been ousted by *tri*; conversely *tre-* has been generalized in composition. *ceith*(*air*) no longer differentiates *neuter* from masculine in the nom.; the acc. pl. masc. *ceithri* is modelled on *tri*. In the feminine forms *teuir*, *ceithéir* the *-oir* goes back to *-oir(e)*, an ablaut variant of the Skt. forms *śrī-dā*, *cātar-dā* (nom. pl. fem.). For the Britannie forms, like Mid.W. *teir*, *pedeir*, and for Gaul. *tidres*, cp. ZCP. xv. 380 f. The *-a* of *-dres* 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*.

cú, *cúed* (§ 395), whence Mid.Ir. *cú*, *cúed*, have *d* followed by the glide *i*, whereas *cúca* *cúca* (Mod. Ir. *cuagad*) has a true diphthong. The discrepancy is not easy to account for. One possible explanation of it is to assume that Proto-Celtic **y^hcuq^he* (§ 226) gave Irish **cuwcuq^he*, which in turn gave **cúe*, later contracted to *cú*, whereas in 'fifty' *cuca* regularly became *cof.* at the period of syncope (§ 67 d). But there is no evidence that *cú* was at any time disyllabic; as early as the *Fáilre* (Pról. 327, Aug. 7) it is a monosyllable. Other explanations start from the assumption that **y^hcuq^he* first gave **y^hcuq^he*. Normally *cu* gives *cu(g)*, but Pokorny suggests (KZ. XLVII. 184 ff., ZCP. xxi. 80) that it gave *cu(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 *rø* 'angle', he would derive from a basic form **uwoekd*. But this is very doubtful. Perhaps, rather, the development was as follows: Proto-Celtic **y^hcuq^he* (§ 226 b, O.W. *cuicp*) gave **y^hcu(g)u^he*, and subsequently *u* was mutated to *o* between *y^h* and *y^h*. On the other hand, **y^hcuq^he* *kont* (or **y^hcuicu* *kont* <

q*sq***u*-*kont* ? see below) had been simplified to **q***kont*-, which in turn gave **q***sp*(*g*)/*od*(*d*) or *šp*(*g*)/*od*(*d*), and eventually, taking over the (*e*) of *edē*, became *edeg*(*g*)/*od*(*d*) (E.E. LIX. 11 f.). By contrast, in Mid.W. *pygment* 'fifty' (with *m* < *mp*), *p* (< *q**) has prevailed after the simplification. In Mid.Ir. the true diphthong is also found in compounds of *edē*, e.g. *cácediabal*, 'five-fold'.

That *e* in *ed* goes back to old *eu*- (W. *chwech*, O.Irl. **weche*) is shown by the *f* of *mórfesser* (§ 132).

ed nasalizes by analogy with *secht*, *noí*, *deich*, which, as shown by cognate languages, ended in a nasal. On the other hand, *edē* and *ed* nasalize the initial of a gen. pl. only, on the model of inflected forms in general (§ 287, 1).

On the phonetic evidence it is impossible to decide with certainty whether *noí*, *edē*, *nómad* (§ 395) contain earlier *-ou* < *-eu* (cp. Goth. *nain*, Gk. *θ-εία* IE. **eney*), or *-au*-like W. and Corn. *nav*, Mid.East. *nav* (for the Gaulish form see § 398); possibly the latter, for the theory that Brittonic *-ou*- for *-eu*- is exclusively due to the influence of a following *a* (**enoum* < **enoua*, **enep*) does not account for forms like W. *Mawr* 'much' < **lowero*- (§ 193 b).

The suggestion that gen. *déca* *deca*(*s*) (Mod.Ir. *déag*) is a compound **dwaí*-*penq**, 'double five' (with loss of *-p*.) may well be correct.

The vocalism of *tríche*, gen. *tríche*, differs from that of the remaining decade, *tríche* -*a*, gen. *tríche* -*at*, etc. This difference goes back to the old ablaut *-h₂t* or *-h₂t* : *-kont* or *-kont* which formerly distinguished the dual (Dor. *β-ερα*) from the plural (*β-ερα*, etc.); cp. W. *ugelst*, Bret. *apent* 'twenty' (ending **-cont* < **-h₂t*) beside Bret. *treget* 'thirty', Gaul. *talcorum* (Latin dat. pl.) CIL. xiii. 2494, Mid.W. *pygment* 'fifty', *noichtech* 'nonagenarian' Wh. 20*6 is hardly an indication that *-ch₂t* (< *-h₂t*) also occurs in derivatives of the decade 30—40; more probably it represents a scribal confusion with *noichtech* 'having twenty-nine (days)' Thes. ii. 18, 33, from *noí* and *tríche*; cp. the regular *coltach* 'quinquagenary' Thes. i. 496, 30, 22 (Arm.).

The *i* of *tríche* -*a* seems to be always short in O.Ir. (cp. Bret. *treget*), but in Mid. Ir. *tríche* is also found (e.g. LL 7*83). It is uncertain whether the *i* long in Gallo-Lat. *talcorum* (see above) indicates length.

The medial vowel of *athorcha* seems to point to **q***trū*-*kont*; cp. Gaul. *petrusconeto* *Petrū*-*corit*, Avest. *dešru*- (in W. *pedry*- the *y* could represent either old *š* or *ř*). So, too, *sechtmégat*-, *achtmégat*-, *néchtat*- may go back in the first instance to **sechturu*-*kont*-, **achturu*-*kont*-, **asuru*- or **asuru*-*kont*-.

II. ORDINALS

393. With the exception of *tán(a)ise* 'second' (and occasionally *afle*), all ordinals stand before the word they qualify, whether they are inflected or not (§ 362).

1st. *eétu(a)s* (*ie- iā-stem*), but in combination with tens *eétumad*, *éetumad*. In place of adjectival *eétu(a)s* the compositional prefix *eét-* may be used, e.g. in *eét-sians* (*s- = š-*) and in *eétnae sians* 'the first sense' *MI.* 36*32, 33.

Adverbial 'first' is rendered either by the compound *eétmus* (*Wb.* 23*34), later *eétemus eétamus* or *eétus*, or by the verbal prefix *eetu* *Wb.* 28*4, *eiata* 14*29 (*eiata* *Laws.* I. 150, 13, etc., *eiata* *LU* 5663, etc.), usually *eeta eita*, which never takes the accent (§ 384). Examples: *Is hé eetu-ru-pridash dáib* 'it is he who has first preached to you' *Wb.* 26*4; *iris-eita-comurial* 'with whom thou dost first meet' *Thea.* II. 23, 38; in *tan ad-eita-aece* '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 *alle* 'other' (§ 486), which in this sense may precede its noun, e.g. *alle 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' *MI.* 2*6; *ala-cher* 'second contract' *Laws* II, 274x, 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(a)*, also *tres* *Sg.* 104*1 and in later mss.; uninflected before a noun, and sometimes forming a compound with it. *Dat. sg. masc. triss* *Wb.* 7*8.

4th. *cehramad*

5th. *eéteed*

6th. *se(f)essed*

7th. *sechtmad*

8th. *cehtmad*

9th. *nómad*

10th. *dechmad*

20th. *fechetmad* (*Schatmath RC.* xiv. 378)

30th. *trichatmad*

100th. *eétmad*.

The forms in *-ed -ad -aith* are *o-* *o-* stems; e.g. gen. sg. fem. *edletha*.

396. In combinations of digits with tens and hundreds the digit alone has the ordinal form; the tens are expressed by the genitive of the cardinal as in § 391, the hundreds being attached by means of *ar*. Examples: in *chóiced fichet* 'the twenty-fifth'; *ind óenmad rann fichet* 'the twenty-first part'; *ala rann deac* 'one twelfth'; *indala n-almum deac* 'the twelfth name'; *sechtmad rann ceithrechat* 'one forty-seventh'; cp. *isín fichtetmad bliadain 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. *kfa ar fíocht* 'twenty-first quinion' *RC.* xxv. 378, xxvi. 378.

Op. in *tríadéid gl. tertii decimi* (sc. *paucis*) *ML.* 728.

397. Forms borrowed from the Latin ordinals are sometimes found, e.g. *prim* 'the first' *Theo.* II. 13, 23. These occur especially in composition; e.g. *prim-gaib* 'chief wind', *seundabb* 'secundus abbas' (= 'prior'), *tertpersan* 'third person', *tertoifbedan* 'third conjugation', *quartdiail* 'fourth declension'.

ANALYSIS OF THE ORDINAL FORMS

398. Here, in addition to Brittonic, 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 *setu-*), whence *cétu(s)*, corresponds to Gaulish *cinta-* in *Cintopontus* 'Firstborn', *Cintagenus*, *Cintusenus*, *Centarus*; cp. *W. cynt* 'formerly, sooner', *cyntaf* 'first', Goth. *kindumista* OE. *hindema* 'hindmost'. The by-form *elatu-* *elato-*, beside *setu-*, is doubtless due to the similar interchange of *elato* and *setu* 'though they are' (§ 763).

tán(a)to, like *imháinad imháinad* 'alternation' (§ 399), probably contains the prepositions *to-ed-* and a participle of the verb *ai-red-* (§ 346).

As opposed to *alla*, *Mid.W.* and *Bret. ad* (**aljos*), the Gaulish form is *aŕe*; cp. *all-* (§ 396).

trix, as shown by *dat. triusa*, is an *o-* stem, the vocalism being doubtless due to the influence of *trí*. *trix(s)* may be the earlier form which survived alongside *trix* and ultimately prevailed once more; if not, it must be modelled on *tre-*. The stem corresponds to *Osc. treto. t-eto-* 'witness', *lit.* 'third'

(Lat. *testis* < **t-^htestis*); cp. also *trih(s)is* 'triduum' Laws. The older formation of the ordinal (Skt. *trītyak*), Avest. *trītyō*, Lat. *tertius*, Goth. *trīdys*) is preserved in Britanni, cp. W. *trydydd*, Breton. *trede*.

edled, Gaul. *sexterros*, Mid.W. *pyntet*, as against Gk. *εξάρτος*, Lat. *quintus*, etc., shows that the -s of *g*^hsex**s was taken over by the ordinal, as in Skt. *pañcāśāḥ*. -*sto*- then spread further; hence *se(l)used*, Mid.W. *slawstet*, but Gaul. *sexterros* (x here = *chs*), which may be a misspelling. Corresponding to Skt. *septamśāḥ deśamśāḥ*, Lat. *septimus decimus*, Celtic forms in -*amo-s* would be regular; to this suffix -*sto*- has been added in Gaul. *sextameros* (x = Gk. χ , Ir. *ch*) *decimeros*, Ir. *sechtmad dechtmad*, Mid.W. *seiftet degraf*. From such forms the ending -(s)*mois-s* spread to others: Ir. *nómad*, Mid.W. *nauest*, Gaul. *namet[os]* (where *o* is peculiar). Gaul. *octymeto[s]* has the -s- of the cardinal, Celt. **octid*; it is impossible to decide what vowel has been syncopeated in Ir. *sechtmad*. The remaining ordinals in Ir. -*mad*, Mid.W. -*ret*, are based on a further extension of the suffix. *sechtramad* is peculiar to Irish, as Mid.W. *pateryd -seryd*, fem. *patoread*, Mid.Breton. *peure* retain an older formation in -*ijo-s*, cp. Skt. *trītyak*.

III. FRACTIONS

399. $\frac{1}{2}$: *leth* (neut. o-stem) 'half', gen. *leith*. This can also be used in composition, e.g. *leth-scirpúl* (dat. sg.) 'a half-scripulum' (Ir. *scorpal*).

$\frac{1}{3}$: *trian*, neut., dat. *trian*.

$\frac{3}{4}$: *ceithramthu* fem., gen. *ceithramthan*; nom. pl. *téora ceithramdin* 'three-quarters' *Theas. II. 14, 35*.

From $\frac{1}{5}$ on, the substantival neuter of the ordinal serves as the fraction, except where *rann* fem. 'part' is added; e.g. *edleed* 'a fifth'; *all deas* 'of one-twelfth' *Theas. II. 13, 29*; *sé sechtmad* 'six-sevenths'.

IV. MULTIPLICATIVES

400. *cén-lecht* 'once'.

The remainder are formed with the prep. *fe fu* (with the accusative): *fe dí* 'twice' (i.e. fem.), *fe thri* 'thrice', *fe deich* 'ten times', *fe chéic sechtmogat* 'seventy-five times'.

Before a multiplicand the ordinary cardinal is used as multiplier; e.g. *tri secht* '7 × 3' *MI. 2⁴²*; *edle deich* '10 × 5' *Sg. 4⁶*; *secht trichit* '30 × 7' *Theas. II. 20, 35*. But a *cén fe deich* '1 × 10' *Theas. II. 15, 42*.

V. For DISTRIBUTIVES with each see § 400 b.

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 eugentes*) 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·ráneatar ocus Dubthach* 'they met, (he) and Dubthach' *Thea. II. 241, 5* (Arm.); *dán-ní ocus Barnab* 'to us, (to me) and Barnabas' (*Barnab* nom., cp. § 247a) *Wb. 10^a1*; *do·berat triamnal don tig ocus nír-thúargalhsat aíd ec-tísad gáeth storro 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' *LU 8389 f.*

Where the hitherto unmentioned element comes immediately after the preposition *eter*, the known element is not indicated at all; e.g. *ro·m-ból hial amírlas eter a críde* 'that there was a veil of unbelief between their hearts (and him)' *Wb. 13^a29* (cp. also *Sg. 217^a9, 11*).

Collection: *Zimmer, KZ. XXXI. 153 ff.*; cp. *ibid. XLVIII. 51 ff.*, *Gwynn, Met. Dinds. I. 63.*

If the subject of a 1st plural verb consists of 'I and thou', it is preceded, not by *ocus* 'and', but by *mad* (§ 305): *mad tã lit.* 'if it be thou'; e.g. *dia-mbamar mad tã lã* 'when we, I and thou, were with him' ZCP. III. 249 § 64. (Collection: EE. XLVIII. §1 f.).

EMPHASIZING PARTICLES (notae augentes)

se sa, su 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. *hañsim-se* 'I baptise', *ro-gãd-sa* 'I have prayed', *ñagu-sa* 'I go' Wb. 17^b18.

In archaic texts *-se* occurs after a non-palatal final also: *añsa-se* (ms. *añsa*) gl. *modulator* Filargius Gl.; *nam-sechth-se* (ms. *nam sechthre*) 'he shall follow me' Cam. But *fe-chart-se* 'I threw' Inram Beain i. 48, 8 (in all mss.) is certainly an error.

2 sg. After palatals mostly *su*, otherwise *so*; after pronouns (rarely after verbs) also *su*. Examples: *for-regae-su* 'thou wilt help', *do-maintar-se* 'thou thinkest'; but also *as-bir-se* 'thou sayest' beside *as-bir-siu* Sg. 208^b5; *as-bera-su* 'dicat' 209^a30.

1 pl. *ni* (after a non-palatal final also *nai*, § 98); e.g. *gudmi-ni* 'we pray', *ad-ñadãm-ni* 'we relate'.

The earlier form *nai* survives in *haimb-nai* 'we dare' Wb. I. 15^a20.

2 pl. *si*; e.g. *as-berid-si* 'ye say'. For the forms *re-cretsid* for *-cretsid-si* 'ye have believed' Wb. 1^a3, and *ra-sokit-si* 'ye have turned it' ML. 103^a15, see § 139.

3 sg. masc. neut. and 3 pl. all genders: nearly always *som* in the earlier Glosses. After palatals *som*, which is very rare at first and does not become common until Sg.; *stum* a few times in ML. For *som* later sources occasionally have *sum* (Tur. 39, ML. 22^a6, 43^a1) or *sam* (SP.). Examples:

sg. masc.: *ad-cobra-som* 'he desires', *do-rimi-som* 'he

-counts', *do-indnig-som* 'he assigns'; but *as-beir-sem* 'he says' Sg. 39*25.

sg. neut. : *nleon-bla-som* 'it will not exist' Sg. 29*10 ;
slundfith-sem 'it expresses' 30*2.

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

3 pl. *ráncafar-som* 'they have reached', *ní-thúesat-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 seibe-siu 'that thou mayest be a light' 22*3,

is dia-som 'he is God' 1*2,

is rann-si 'it (fem.) is a part' Sg. 25*5,

mad foehrice-som 'if it be a payment' Wb. 2*26,

adib eremig-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 (§ 310 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. *repa hualach-sa* 'I have been proud' Ml. 49*12, op. Wb. II. 33*12.

The emphasizing particles are also found in sentences which have no verb; e.g. *maic-si desom* 'we (are) sons of his' Wb. 19*18; *fíald-sem* 'he (is) joyous' SP. (Thea. II. 203, 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, maise, mese*.

2 *tá*; emphatic *tussu, tusu*, leniting (*tásu* Ml. 92*17, Thea. II. 225, 19).

- 3 masc. *é*, often *hé* (§ 25); emph. (*h*)*é-som* (*h**é-som* ML. 30⁵).
- fem. *sí*, leniting; emph. form not found in the Glosses, but later *sís(s)l* Trip. 90, 5, IT. i. 144, 32, etc.
- neut. *ed*, often *hed*; no emph. form.
- pl. 1 *sal*; emph. *salsal* (*salsal* Wb. 23²³), *sainl*, in ML. also *sainl* 78¹, 92², *sinnl* 63¹⁵, 138^{11a} (also with *is* 'it is', *isinnl* 93³, *isinnl* 43⁵).
- 2 *sí* (*síl* Wb. 25³), *sib* 19²⁰; emph. usually *sists*, *sist* (*sist* ML. 46¹³), also *sib-sí* Aurais. 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', *éid mé* 'even I' (lit. 'though it be I', § 909); similarly *is tú* 'it is thou', *is sinnal* 'it is we', *is sissl* in temporal *sín* 'ye are that temple' (lit. 'that temple is ye') Wb. 8⁷. The 3 pl. always takes a plural form of the copula: *is é* 'it is they', *ce-btar é* 'though it was they', 4⁸. But the 1st and 2nd pl. are found with a singular form, even where the subject is plural; e.g. *is sinnal ata bóber* 'it is we who are boues' 10⁷; but *is sib ata chomairpí* 'it is ye that are heirs' 19²⁰. Cp. § 815.

As subject they occur only (a) in clauses without a verb, e.g. *apstíl í tóssug, sists iarum* 'Apostles first, ye afterwards' Wb. 27⁵; (b) after the interrogative pronoun: *cía túsu* 'who art thou?' *ce hé* 'who is he?', *cít n-é* 'who are they?'; similarly *sechl tú* 'whoever thou be'; (c) after *es* 'and' (3 pl. *ed-é*) § 878.

The vocative *a thusa*, translating *o* in Eg. 204¹⁸, is a Latinism.

407. The predicative nominative pronoun normally agrees with the subject in gender; e.g. *Crist dídú is sí* in *chathr* 'Christ, then, the city is he' Wb. 21⁵ (*chathr* 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 dúlchúine síd* 'this is its reward'.

lit. 'its reward (*dáichinne* fem.) is he' (sc. *biddetha* masc. 'eternal life', in the Latin text with *caetera*) 3^b18. Further, the neuter form (*h*)eð occurs in *ní h*eð 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 *eise* (later *oisé*) 'says, said he', emphatic *eise-som*. The feminine is *oisí* (probably *-sí*) ML 90^b12, but the plural is formed with a verbal ending: *oisat-som*. Forms with the 1st person, *oisé* (LU 4931, etc.) and *oisimé* (RC. x. 82, etc.) 'inquam', are found only in later texts.

Where the subject is a noun, *ei* is used alone; e.g. *ei cois* 'says the foot' Wb. 12^a21. Cp. § 825.

From *oisat* and *oisat* (§ 402), an independent pron. 3 pl. *eat*, lat developed in place of *é* during the ninth century.

INFIXD PRONOUNS (*pronomina infixo*)

Collection: Sommer, ZCP. 1. 177 ff. (also Freiburg dissertation 1896); for the functions of the separate classes, see Pedersen, KE. XLIV. 400 ff.; for the Middle Irish forms, Strachan, Ériu 1. 183.

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 infixd. Such infixd pronouns have the following functions:

(a) With active or deponent forms of transitive verbs they express the direct object; e.g. *re-m-gab* 'he has taken me', *ní-s-n-ágar* 'he does not fear them'.

(b) With the verb 'to be' (except with *íil*, § 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. *is-a-reisúth ímied* 'trouble has been caused to me' LL. 252^a25; particularly where the passive force is no longer felt, e.g.

de-t-áras (O.Ir. -árta) 'it has appeared to thee' (lit. 'it has been shown to thee'), fo-m-ámas bífid 'drowning was imminent for me' Wb. 17^a (Fed. n. 540).

(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-híad 'ye have been saved'; ní-n-ínebbthar 'we shall not be reproached' (§ 540 b).

de-t-áram 'thou comest' LL 113^a1 (with 3 sg. active) is exceptional; ep. ní-m-tha 'I am not', § 799.

410. The position of infixed pronouns is governed by the following rules:

(a) Where the verb is preceded by conjunct particles (§ 38, 2), the pronoun is attached to the last of these and the stress falls on the element immediately following. Examples: dhan-dam-ehon-dale 'if I compare myself' ML 91^a8; nachí-n-ro-gba 'that it may not seize us' Wb. 15^a40; ar-naeh-a-ím-ráda 'that he may not think them' ML 51^a1.

But where the prep. im(m) is used in the sense of 'mutually' (§ 841), it is always followed by the pronoun and remains unstressed; e.g. nímu-n-ócemmar (for ní-immu-n-) 'we have not seen one another' Wb. 18^a3. The same thing occasionally occurs with the verbal particle ro ru (§ 526 f.); e.g. eon-ro-m-fead 'so that I have been healed' 28^a10; ní-ru-m-ehom-ar-íthís 'thou hast not permitted me' ML 76^a5.

In the form in-da-ro-n-éom-ar-íthís 'into which thou hast permitted us (to fall)' ML 77^a8, ro has been inserted in the pronoun -dam-.

(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-rad-d-bed 'I have been circumcised' Wb. 23^a30; de-mn-éil-éol 'it beholds us' 9^a4; ro-nn-híec 'he has saved us' 31^a6.

Occasionally the pronoun da is found inserted in the prep. for; e.g. í-da-r-níth-míne[dar] 'who remembers it (fem.)' (for-áthimínedar) ML 25^a5; fo-da-ro-r-éann 'who exterminated them' Wb. 11^a27 (for-éann 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-neithíns 'I expected thee (ar-neithíns)' ML 46^a20; íar-ru-m-ehennad-sa 'I have been destroyed' 127^a10.

(c) Where neither a conjunct particle nor a preverb (including *ro*) precedes the verb, the verbal particle *no* (§ 533) is inserted before it for the purpose of infixing the pronoun. Examples: *no-m-isligur* 'I abase myself' Wb. 17^a22; *no-t-erdarcugub* 'I shall make thee famous' Ml. 55^a5; *n-a-gnu-sa* 'I do it' Wb. 3^a30; *no-n-sóer* 'deliver us' Ml. 46^a26.

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-den- lige* Brigit bet 'on us be Brigit's prayers' Thea. II. 368, 4. Cp. also *no-m- chotmmdiu* *estiu* (in prose *nom-chotma colmmdiu*) 'the Lord cherishes me' Sg. 204 (Thea. II. 290, 11).

411. The forms of the infixed pronouns fall into three classes (§ 415); the third class, however, has syntactic rather than phonological significance.

Class A is used after all particles and most prepositions which originally ended in a vowel: *ro*, *no*, *do* (pretonic for *to* and *dí do*, §§ 831, 855), *dí*, *fo*, *ar*, *im(m)* (also *estu*, *alta* 'first', § 393), and the negative particle *ní*.

In *ar-* and *imm-* the original vowel of the second syllable, which was lost in all other positions, appears before pronouns beginning with a consonant. The former is written *aro-* *aru-* in Wb. (once *ari-a-* 29^a22), in Ml. usually *ara-*; the latter *immu-*, in Ml. also *immi-*. For *imm-a-* we also find *imms-*, 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 *ní* 'not' *a* disappears (*ní-* for *ní-a-*).

After the prefix *mí* the form of the pronoun fluctuates between A and B; e.g. *mí-a-imbet* (§ 384), beside *mí-t-n-imbet* 'that they deceive him' Ml. 74^a22. The only instances of pronouns with the preverbs *lamf-*, *tremf-* belong, as it happens, to C.

412. Class B is characterized throughout by an initial *d*, which is always unlenited and hence often written *f*. The pronouns of this class are used after prepositions originally

ending in a consonant. The *d* appears regularly after *for* and *star*, but combines with the old final of *fri* (*frith-*) and *con* (*con-*) to give *frit-*, *con-* (*con-*). 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-*, *atth-*, *ess-*, *in-* (*ind-*), *oss-*.

ee *fo-ta-bethad* 'that he might terrify them' *MI.* 33¹⁶ 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' *Theo.* i. 4, 31, *inda-* instead of *ata-* seems to have spread from C. Other peculiar forms are *and remi-ta-ét* 'what precedes them' *Sg.* 197⁶ (this happens to be the only example of *remi* with an infixed pronoun), and especially *dut-fíedar* '(angels) who guided it (mass.)' *Theo.* ii. 242, 13 (*Arm.*), where a pronoun with *d* (class C) might be expected; it is probably an error for *dut-fíedar*.

413. Class C is used:

1. Regularly after (a) relative (s)aⁿ combined with a preposition (§ 402); (b) 1ⁿ 'in which'; (c) the conjunctions *ðaⁿ* 'if, when' (§§ 889, 903), *araⁿ* 'in order that' (§ 898), *eoⁿ* *con* 'so that' (§ 896); (d) the interrogative particle *in* (§ 463).

2. In other relative clauses (§ 403 ff.); here it regularly replaces the pronouns of class A in the third person only; but it is frequently (though not invariably) used instead of the 1st and 2nd persons of A and all the forms of B.

Collection: *Strachan, Ériu* i. 135 E.

This class is characterized by lenited *d*, which, however, is delenited after *n* (§ 139). A fuller form *ld* appears in the 3 sg. masc. neut. after prepositions ending in a consonant: *ar-ld-*, *con-ld-*, *for-ld-*, *íarm-ld-*, *ímm-ld-*, as opposed to *fo-d-*, *ro-d-*, etc. The *at-* of class B is replaced by *as-*, (3 sg. *as(s)-ld-*), not only where it stands for *ess-* (pretonic *as-*), e.g. *as-ld-ru-bart* 'who has said it' (*as-batr* 'says'), but often also where it represents another preposition; e.g. *as-ld-rolfist* 'who deserve it' *MI.* 54⁶ beside *ad-ld-rolfist* 'who shall deserve it' 61²⁰ (*ad-ro-áli-*); *as-ld-grennat* 'who persecute him' 18² beside a *n-in-da-grenn-siu* (*arwanda- as-*) 'whilst thou persecutest them' 38² (*in-grens-*). Similarly *friss-ld-* from *fri* (§ 839). After the relative particle (s)aⁿ and the conjunctions *araⁿ*,

*dia** the *i* is omitted. But *eo** 'so that' makes *con-did-* (for the first *d* see § 799), later *conid-* (for *conid-*, with assimilated *nd*), and *i** makes *in-did-*.

The *a* of the relative particle, etc., is usually replaced by *i* except after *di*, *fo* (*fu*), *ó*; e.g. *ar-in-d-*, *tre-sin-d-*; but *di-an-d-*, *fu-an-d-*. The vowel may be omitted where the pronoun beginning with *d* forms a syllable (cp. § 117); e.g. *ar-n-da-cumcabat* 'in order that they may raise themselves' *ML*. 46¹²; *trisan-solrihae* (from *tri-an-dan-*) 'through which we might be delivered' 124⁸, beside *tre-sin-da-bia* 'through which they shall have' (*lit.* 'there shall be to them') *Wb.* 25⁴⁸.

The *n* which marks a nasalizing relative clause (§ 407 ff.) is inserted immediately before the *d* in all forms of this class, including the 3 sg. masc. neut.; e.g. *amal as-ind-bhur-sa* 'as I say it' (not **as-n-id-*); *indas as-n-da-fhadam-ni* 'as we declare them' *ML*. 93¹⁴ (*in-find-*). In forms with the prep. *con* (*com*), the form *conid-* is used here instead of *cot-* (B); but 3 sg. *conid-* *conid-* (not **con-ind-*).

In *ei ó fut fritat n-lam-sa* 'how long shall he offend thee?' *ML*. 93¹⁵, 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.* 2¹², *-din-* 29¹⁶, *-dih-* 24⁴, *-dip-* 25⁸.

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.):

	A	B	C
sg. 1.	<i>m^t</i> , <i>mm^t</i>	<i>dom^t</i> , <i>dum^t</i> , <i>tom^t</i> , <i>tum^t</i> , <i>dam(m)^t</i> , <i>tam(m)^t</i>	<i>dom^t</i> , <i>dum^t</i> , <i>dam(m)^t</i>
2.	<i>t^t</i> .	<i>tot^t</i> , <i>tat^t</i> , <i>t^t</i>	<i>dat^t</i> (<i>ditr^t</i>)

	A	B	C
3 m. a ⁿ (- ⁿ)		t ⁿ , rarely ta ⁿ	id ⁿ (did ⁿ), d ⁿ , - ⁿ , rarely da ⁿ
f. s ⁿ , s		da ^f , ta ^f	da ^f
n. a ^f (- ^f)		t ^f	id ^f (did ^f), d ^f , - ^f
pl. 1. n, na		don, ton, tan(n)	don, dun (din), dan(n)
2. b, rarely f (before vowels)		dob, dub, tob (tof), tab	dob, dub (dib), dab
3. s ⁿ , s		da ^s , ta ^s	da ^s

Although the *n* of the 1 ag. is never written double in Wb., it was doubtless unlenited (Ped. § 485). For *da* in the 3rd persons later *ss.*, sometimes have what was apparently the older form *ds*; e.g. *conde-tubert* 'so that he gave them' ZCP. viii. 308, 34; *node-all* 'who rears them' Ériu xii. 8 § 7; *ate-cobor* 'he desired her' RC. xxv. 346, 6 (cp. K. Meyer, ZCP. xii. 441; Pokorny, *ibid.* xiii. 43 f.).

In the 3 ag. masc. neut. the omission of *s* after *ní* is regular (§ 411), and the *d* of class C may also be lost between *n* and a consonant (§ 180); hence in such positions the infixed pronoun can only be recognized by its effect on the following initial. In particular, *ní* with gemination = negative without pronoun (§ 243, 2); *ní* with nasalization = negative + pron. 3 ag. masc.; *ní* with lenition = negative + pron. 3 ag. 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-* (ag. fem. and pl.) develops a by-form *-das-*, *-dos-* (cp. class A).

Emphasizing particles belonging to infixed pronouns are attached to the verb. Hence a particle in this position may be intended to emphasize either the subject of the verb or the infixed pronoun.

416. As the analysis of these forms is often difficult, a larger selection of examples than usual is subjoined.

A

1 ag. *nim-charat-sa* 'they love me not' Wb. 5⁶;
femm-*álagar* 'I am cast down' Sg. 146^b14; *ma*
immin-thabartha 'if I be surrounded' Ml. 41². .

2 sg. *foi-chridigher-sa* 'gird thyself' *ML.* 101³; *arat-muinfer-sa féid* 'I will honour thee' 63³.

3 sg. masc. *imma-n-imcáb* 'avoid him' *Wb.* 30²⁰; *ra-m-bla* 'to him shall be (he shall have)' 27¹³; *da-rrat* 'he has given himself' 28⁴; *ra-lléle* 'he has left him' *ML.* 53⁶; *fa-ccéird* (*c = g*) 'puts him' 94⁸; *ní-n-aithgéula* 'he did not recognise him' *ML.* 52.

fem. *dus-n-gní* 'he makes it (fem.)' *ML.* 29³; *nos-bérad* 'he was carrying it (fem.)' *Tur.* 134.

neut. *na-chomalaíd-sí* 'fulfil it' *Wb.* 15⁷; *rá-us* 'he has applied it' *ML.* 45¹ (for *d* see § 48); *da-uccí* 'he understands it' *Wb.* 13⁸; *imma-foláigi... éin* (*f = f'*) 'it produces this' 12⁵; *ní-thabur sán* 'I do not give this' *Sg.* 179².

1 pl. *arun-nethlís* 'they were awaiting us' *Thea.* I. 497, 43 (*Arm.*); *háre dunn-áiníe* 'since it has come to us' *Wb.* 25²¹; *manín-séarac-ní* 'unless thou deliver us' *ML.* 77⁶; *doran-donad-ní* 'we have been comforted' *Wb.* 16¹⁷.

2 pl. *rob-car-sí* 'he has loved you' *Wb.* 23⁴; *deí-ema* 'which may protect you' 5³⁴, beside *eo deó-emthar-sí* 'that ye may be protected' *ML.* 53¹⁵; *rob-bla* 'to you shall be (ye shall have)' *Wb.* 13³² (written *ropia* 16¹³, etc., *robía* 27⁶, *robía-sí* 21¹⁷, see § 137); *doforbad-sí* (for *deó-forbad*) 'ye have been out off' 20¹⁵.

3 pl. *nos-n-gníd-sam* 'he beseeches them (*eos*)' *Wb.* 25⁹; *dos-n-béirthe* 'ye would have given them (*eos*)' 19²⁴; *dos-n-gníth-sí* 'do them (*eo*)' 24¹²; *immas-acaldat* 'they (masc.) address one another' *ML.* 131¹⁹; *fos-dídmat* 'they will suffer them (*eos*)' 15¹⁰.

417.

B

1 sg. *íordom-chomáither* 'I am preserved' *Sg.* 139²; *eo etardam-diblís-se* 'so that they might destroy me' *ML.* 54¹⁴; *fritamm-oreat* 'they offend me' 39²⁷; *cotom-erchleither* 'I am driven' *Sg.* 17⁷; *atam-greannat* 'they persecute me' *ML.* 39¹³ (*in-graim* 'persecution'); *áddom-suiter-sa* 'I am held fast' *Thea.* II. 3, 33 (*ad-suidi*); *áidem-indnastar* 'that I be brought' *Wb.* 7⁵ (*ad-indnaig*).

2 ag. fortat-tét-su 'let it help thee' *ML.* 43¹¹; attot-aig 'which impels thee' *Wb.* 6¹⁶ (*ad-aig*); cotot-nert-su 'strengthen thyself' 30⁹; cot-osaighther 'be thou moved' *ML.* 55³.

3 ag. masc. cot-n-erba 'he will entrust himself' *ML.* 112³; frit-curethar chéill (*c = g*) 'who worships him' 41¹⁶; at-comla (*c = g*) 'he adds himself' (*ad-comla*) *Wb.* 4¹⁰ beside *ata-comla* *Sg.* 208¹⁰.

fem. forta-comal-som 'preserves it (fem.)' *ML.* 29³; ata-rímet 'they reckon it (fem.)' *Sg.* 26⁶ (*ad-ríml*).

neut. fort-choml 'preserves it' *Sg.* 176²; at-beir-som ón (*β = β*) 'he says this' *Wb.* 27¹⁸, written *ad-beir* 5¹¹; cot-ocat 'they can do it' *Sg.* 173⁴, cotd-lee 'he can do it' *Wb.* 5⁴⁰.

1 pl. fordon-cain 'teaches us' *Wb.* 31¹⁶; stann-éirrig 'who amends us' *ML.* 114¹⁰ (substantive *aithreach*); eoton-délecfam 'we will compare ourselves' *Wb.* 17¹⁰.

2 pl. fordob-molnetar 'they envy you' *Wb.* 19²⁷; atab-techam 'we beseech you' *ZCP.* vii. 486 (*ad-tech-*); co atab-sorchad[*g*]ther 'that ye may be illuminated' *ML.* 53¹⁵ (*in-sorchugad* 'illumination'); atdub-éillub 'I will visit you' *Wb.* 7⁴ (*ad-élla*); co chotábésad-sí (for *chotab-bésad*) 'that he should crush you' *ML.* 18⁷; cotof-utaine-sí 'upbuilds you' *Wb.* 8¹⁶ (*sic ms.*).

3 pl. forta-cengair 'who orders them (*cas*)' *ML.* 59¹¹; frits-ináile 'which corresponds to them (acc. in Irish, = *cas*)' *Sg.* 213³; ata-samlibid-sí 'ye will imitate them (*cas*)' *Wb.* 5¹³ (*intamll*, from *iad-samll*, 'imitation'); cota-uchat 'they (masc.) raise themselves' *Thea.* ii. 11, 40.

418. (*cf.* § 204)

C

1 ag. trisindam-robae 'through which there has been to me (I have had)' *ML.* 126¹¹; indam-erbainn 'in which I might trust' (*lit.* 'trust myself') 29⁵; arádem-reib-se 'so that there may be to me (I may have)' *Wb.* 10¹³; nuidam-chrecha 'which crucifies me' *ML.* 32²⁸; lase arndam-fuirset (*f = f*) 'when they shall detain me' (*ar-fuirig*) 114¹¹; an

condamm-ueballis-se 'when they used to exalt me' (**con-uealb**) 39^d11.

2 ag. **Indit-meids** 'on (lit. 'in') which thou mayest pride thyself' Wb. 2^d12; **amal dundat-mecetar-su** 'as they despise thee' (**do-mecetar**) Ml. 106^d11.

3 ag. masc. **fen ehill fuand-rogab** 'in the sense in which he had sung it (masc.)' Ml. 33^d3; **accus . . arin-rogab** (with loss of *d*) 'the reason for which he sang it (masc.)' 35^d8; **condid-moladar** 'so that he praises him' Wb. 16^d1; **condid-n-derotmed** 'that he should protect him' Ml. 55^d4; **arin-derotma-som dia** (for **arind-n-d . .**) 'that God may protect him' 39^d22; **condid red-n-dalbi** 'to him who has formed it (masc.)' Wb. 4^d26; **ruda-n-ordan** 'which has dignified him' Wb. II. 33^d5; **forid-tét** (*t = d*) 'who helps him' Ml. 30^d3; **addid-n-opair** 'who offers himself' 66^d4; **frissid-n-olretis** 'who used to injure him' 39^d20; **condid-n-árraig** 'who has bound himself' 15^d1 (**con-rig**). With relative *-a*: **amal imind-ráitset** 'as they spoke of him' Thea. II. 241, 11 (Arm.); **a eonnid-rerb-som** 'when he entrusted himself' Ml. 33^d5 (**con-erbal**), beside a **condid-reirb** 54^d1, cp. 106^d8.

fem. **conda-ricl** 'as far as it', lit. 'until thou reachest it (fem.)' Ml. 54^d34; **doda-aidea** 'who visits her' Wb. 9^d5; **hiand úair nunda-beratar** 'from the time that they carried it (fem.) off' Ml. 82^d9; **amal fornda-cengair** 'as he orders it (fem.)' 94^d3. For **fedarathmine(dar)** see § 416 b.

neut. **old arind-epur** 'why do I say it?' (lit. what is it for which I say it?) Wb. 5^d31; **Ind airm indid-epur** 'the place in which I say it' 4^d28; **dian-remthasat** 'if they go before it' 5^d32; **dian-chomalninn** (with loss of *d*) 'if I had fulfilled it' 3^d28; **arind-fessid** (*f = f*) 'that ye may know it' 12^d3; **condid-tuctis** (*t* unlenited in accordance with § 231, 3) 'so that they might understand it' 21^d21; **condid-chumscalged** 'that he should alter it' Ml. 109^d5; **fod-ruar** 'which has caused it' Wb. 15^d15, Ml. 20^d17; **fo-dáil** (for **fo-dáil** or **fo-dáil**) 'who distributes (*fo-dáil*) it' Wb. 12^d8; **addid-géuin** 'which has this knowledge (lit. has recognized it)' Wb. 12^d13 (**vb.n. aithgne**); **imind-forling** (*f = f*) 'which has caused it' 24^d34; **ní arid-garad** (*g = γ*) 'anything that would have forbidden it' Sg. 72^d6; **nech farmid-óised** (= **foised**) 'someone who had asked it' Ml.

32⁵; *clúid-tuacat* 'who first understand it' 125⁴; *tremifigat* (for *tremif-tiagat*) 'who transgress it' Wb. 25¹⁴; *móu* ... *indaas cond-riarléicis-siu* 'more than thou hast permitted it' ML. 87⁸ (con-*airléic*). With relative -*n*: *cosin n-úair rond-chomallastar* 'till the time that he had fulfilled it' 122⁷; *amal asind-biur-sa* ($\beta = \beta$) 'as I say it' Wb. 13²⁹, beside *amal asin-biur-sa* (with loss of *d*) 13²⁹; *amal asin-chobra* 'as she desires it' 10¹⁸ (*ad-cobra*); *amal farind-ochad* (= *-fochad*) 'as he used to seek it' ML. 58⁷.

1 pl. *condan-samallter* 'so that we are compared' ML. 63⁷; *indan-comarléice-ni* 'into which thou mayest let us (fall)' 77⁷; *nodon-nerta-ni* 'who strengthens us' Wb. 6¹¹, 14³⁵; *amal asdon-berat* 'as they say of us' 2¹²; *isindi rondann-foais-ni* 'in that thou hast saved us' ML. 89⁶. For *indaren-comarléicis-ni* see § 410 a.

2 pl. *tresindippiat* (for *tresindib-biat*) 'through which there shall be to you (ye shall have)' Wb. 25⁴⁹; *condub-táisce* 'until it came to you' 5¹⁰; *indeb-fochad* 'whether he was tempting you' 25¹⁶ (interrogative *in*); *fordub-cechna* 'who shall teach you' 9¹⁶; *dundab-dúrgathar* 'that ye be irritated' ML. 79⁴; *forndeb-camar* 'by which ye are taught' Wb. 3²³.

3 pl. *inda-mmóidét* 'on (lit. 'in') which they (masc.) pride themselves' Wb. 24³⁰; *arda-beth* 'that there might be to them' (masc., i.e. 'that they might have') ML. 131⁹; *inda-úair* 'wilt thou slay them (*cos*)?' 77¹⁶ (interrogative *in*); *doda-essarr-som* 'which will save them (*cos*)' Wb. 5¹²; *arda-túicis* 'who hears them (*cos*)' ML. 129²; *forda-cain* 'who teaches them (*cos*)' 30¹²; *airindi donda-rigénat* 'because they have done them (*cos*)' 31¹⁷; *oldaas úirnda-díbet* 'than that he should destroy them (*cos*)' 45⁶. With relative -*n*- suppressed: *imda-íngabam* (for *imnda-*) 'that we avoid them (*ca*)' 35¹⁹. For *foda-réicenn* see § 410 b.

Lenition after *da* occurs twice in ML: *nuda-chéat* 'which hide themselves' 54⁹, *ipf. nuda-chéitís* 61². It has doubtless been taken over from the corresponding forms without infixed pronoun (*nu-chéitís* 'which used to hide', § 408 a).

INFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER *ná*, *níson*, ETC.

419. 1. Before infixed pronouns the negative *ná* (*náid*), for which cp. § 862 f., appears as *nach-*, *nách-* where the pronoun begins with a vowel, and as *nachi-* in *Wb.*, *nacha-* in *ML.*, where it begins with a consonant. The pronouns have the forms of class C, but without the initial *d* (thus 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. *-a-*).

Examples: 1 sg. *nacham-déarmaíhte* 'forget me not' *ML.* 32⁴⁵. 2 sg. *ar-nachit-rindarpíther* 'so that thou mayest not be banished' *Wb.* 5³³; once *nacht-* (= *nachat*) before *f*, *ar-nacht-fordlucall* 'so that he may not devour thee' *ML.* 36³². 1 pl. *háire nathan-soíral-áni* 'because thou dost not deliver us' 93¹⁰. 2 pl. *nachib-erpid-si* 'entrust not yourselves' *Wb.* 22⁶. 3 sg. fem. *con-nacha-dánalgea* 'so that he will not bestow it (*ezm*)' *ML.* 96⁷. 3 pl. *as-nacha-tucad* 'out of which he would not have brought them (*eam*)' 125⁷.

In the 3 sg. masc. the pronoun can be recognized only by the nasalization of the following initial: *con-nach-n-íngéuin* 'so that he did not recognise him' *ML.* 52; *nach-n-déirsed* (palatal *cá* from the neuter, see below) 'that he would not desert him' *Sg.* 209²⁷. But even this indication is often absent; e.g. *con-nách-meídea* 'that he may not pride himself' *Wb.* 2⁴; *con-nach-gabad* 'that it might not seize him' *ML.* 69¹⁷; *nachomairléca* (for *nach-comairléca*) 'that he may not let him (fall)' 32⁶.

Corresponding to the above, the 3 sg. neut. is sometimes recognizable only by the lenition of the following initial; e.g. *nách-beir* ($\beta = \beta$) 'who does not pass it (judgement)' *Wb.* 6¹⁸; cp. § 422. But more often *ld* (the full form of C), is borrowed; e.g. *nachid-chúalstar* 'who have not heard it' *Wb.* 25¹⁴; *nachid-fíir* ($f = f$) 'who does not know it' *ML.* 27⁷. Occasionally *nad* is used here instead of *nach-*; e.g. *nadid-chreit* 'who does not believe it' *Wb.* 15¹⁴. 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-tíberad* 'that he would not give them' *ML.* 97¹⁰; *háire nan-rairgístur* (with loss of *d*) 'because I have not perceived it (mass.)' *Wb.*

3*26; *éoin nant-rochomairíde-som* 'so long as he did not permit it' ML 53*9 (*nant-* for *nand-* by analogy with the form of the copula § 797).

420. 2. The strengthened form of the negative *níon* (§ 861) is not used in Wb. before infixed pronouns. In ML the form of the pronoun after it varies: *nícos-fúar-sa* 'I have not found them' 67*3 (class A), cp. *níonn-sael* 'he does not see us' IT. i. 133, 11; on the other hand, *níonda-bia* 'they (masc.) shall not have' ML 69*8; *níond-robae-som* 'non fuit ei, he did not have it' 41*5.

SPECIAL USES OF INFIXED PRONOUNS

421. An accusative pronoun is sometimes used proleptically where the object is subsequently expressed by a noun or clause (cp. § 442). Examples: *man-fhobrea dfa dá a n-accobor* 'unless God give it, the desire (neut. in Irish), to him' Wb. 4*20; *duda-áuals inna riga* 'which had come to them, to the kings' ML 123*3; *att-roilll dánn deáepi a nobis* 'he has deserved it of us *dilépi a nobis*' Wb. 2*13.

In such cases a neuter pronoun may anticipate a non-personal noun of different gender; e.g. *ra-fúir eíd Israhel cretím do geintib* 'even Israel knows it, that the Gentiles would believe' Wb. 5*10 (*cretím* fem.); similarly 15*34.

There are also examples of a neuter suffixed pronoun (§ 429, 1) being similarly employed; e.g. *creaságh-á . . . in léigín méir sin* 'he brandishes it . . . that great lance (*léigín* fem.) EDD. (ed. E. Knott) 1232.

Further, a neuter infixed pronoun is sometimes found referring to a preceding noun of different gender; e.g. *trí (h)abairt (fem.) fortachtan eíd du neuch nachid-áirill* 'through giving help even to one who does not deserve it' ML 84*13; cp. the next paragraph.

422. The 3 ag. 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: *bíd sochaide atreasa*

(= ad-trefea) *Infuit-siu ocus bíd* (*bit* nos.) *fáilid nach óin adid-trefea* 'many will dwell in thee, and joyful will be everyone that shall so dwell' (lit. 'shall dwell it') *ML*. 107¹⁵; *dos-n-íofea eobir eid mall, bóth maith Immurgu in tain dond-íofea* 'help shall come to them though it be slow; it will, however, be good when it so comes' (lit. 'shall come it') *Wb*. 5⁵; *da-éhotar* 'they went thus' (lit. 'it'), i.e. 'they went the aforesaid way' *ML*. 38².

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-hall 'dies' *Wb*. 4¹⁵ (written *ad-hall* 'who dies' *Wb*. 16¹¹, *ML*. 108³); *at-hallat* 'they die' *Wb*. 9⁵; *condid-apall* 'till it dies' *ML*. 91²; *amal asid-hall* 'as it dies' 57¹⁰; *ar-nach-ápléd* 'so that it might not die' 85⁴⁸, etc. But forms without the pronoun are also found: *arna-éplítis* 'so that they might not die' 121¹⁶, *áta-n-érbalam-ní* 'if we shall have died' 107⁴, etc.

So also the synonymous *asind-bathatar* 'that they have died' *ML*. 36¹⁰, *condid-aptha* 'so that they died' *AU*. 830, etc. (cp. §§ 704, 758).

ara-éhrim 'I perish' *Sg*. 145¹; *amal arind-éhrin* 'as it perishes' *ML*. 57¹⁰. But without *d*, in *tan ara-érimat* 'when they perish' 73².

In *ML*. normally *immá-airte* 'suits', often written *imme-airte*, *imme-airte*; relative *immid-airéet* 'which suit' 2⁶, *immánd-airí* 'that it may suit' 14¹⁶. But also *imm-airte* 74¹³, 119⁴⁵, *imm-airéet* 17²⁰.

Occasionally *fort-gellat* 'they testify' *ML*. 23¹⁵, *fort-gella* 'who testifies' *Ériu* xii. 36 § 46; with a direct object, *farid-gollad taldehor doib* 'who had testified that they would return' *ML*. 131¹². Elsewhere *for-gellat* 'they testify' 87¹⁵, *fort-gillim* 'I attest it' *Wb*. 4²⁷, etc.

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

-d- (see § 781). Some other verbs also have -d- occasionally in such clauses, but it does not affect the meaning. Examples: *is faittech rond-boi-som* 'it is careful he was' *ML*. 21⁶⁴, similarly 136⁶⁷; *lasin-rubu* (with loss of *d*) 'with whom has been' 102⁶⁴, 131⁶¹¹ (*copula*, perhaps influenced by *rond-gab*). With the verb (*do*)-*ecmucic*-*ecmalag* 'happens': *la(l)sind-ecmucic* 'with whom he happens (to be)' *Laws* v. 518, 22; *asht dond-ecmalag aní-sia* 'save that this happens' *Sg.* 137⁶⁵, similarly *ML* 54⁶⁷, *Cam.* 38a (*Thea.* ii. 247, 11-12). Further, *feib dund-alla indib* 'as there is room in them' *ML* 30⁶⁷ (possibly an error for *dunda-alla*).

425. With two verbs leniting *d* is used as a neuter relative pronoun (instead of simple lenition, § 495): *ḡod-esta* 'which is wanting' *Wb.* from *testa* (*do-es-ta*); *ḡod-era* 'which causes', *pf.* *Mid.Ir.* *ḡod-ru-air* (for *O.Ir.* -*er*) *LU* 3901, etc., from *fe-fera* (but with *masc.* pronoun *fu-erad* 'which he caused' *Wb.* II. 33⁶¹³). 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. 33⁶¹²; *fom-d-era* 'that makes me' *Ériu* VII. 240 § 1.

The construction is rare with other verbs: *dud-ule* 'which he has cited' *ML* 67⁶³, *cp.* 27⁶²³; 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 miscula* (*masc.*) *at-raillisset* 'it was hatred they had deserved' *Wb.* 4⁶¹⁵; so also *iní ad-rubartmar* 'he whom we have mentioned' *Sg.* 197⁶¹⁶, 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 *cia* AND *mā*

Where the conjunctions *cia* 'although' and *mā* 'if' (*neg.* *caní, maní*) are used with an indicative verbal form without

infixed pronoun, leniting *d* (*id*) is infixed, supported where necessary by *ne* (§ 410 c). Examples: *ee nod-chesmailligetar* 'though they are alike' Sg. 212²; *cia ded-ehommar* 'though we have gone' Wb. 23²³; *ma rud-ehesaset* 'if they have corrected' 28⁷; *ei asid-bhur-sa* 'though I say' 3²; *ei arid-roga[r]t* 'though he has forbidden' Ml. 132¹⁰; *manid-chretid* 'unless ye believe' Wb. 13¹⁹. Exceptions are rare; e.g. *ee ru-baid* 'though ye have been' Wb. 3¹⁹; *ma ar-ro-éit* (with unstressed *-ro-*, § 39) 'if she has received' 28²⁸.

If the verb is accompanied by an infixed pronoun 3 sg. masc. neut., this has the form *d* (*id*); e.g. *ei asid-roilliset* 'though they have deserved it' Ml. 77¹⁵; *manid-tartl* 'unless he has given it' 51⁷. The other pronouns, however, including those of the third person, as a rule retain their ordinary form (A or B); e.g. *ee nus-labratar* 'though they speak them' Wb. 12²⁸. Exceptions are *ma nudub-feil* 'if ye are' 19²⁰ (class C) beside *ma nub-baitim-ee* 'if I baptize you' 8¹, and conversely perhaps *mara-ruba[l]rt* (for *ma ara-*) *bluth* 'if thou hast enjoyed him (God)' Ml. 112⁶ (or error for a *n-ara-*, without pronoun?).

Collection: Strachan, BC. 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-um éean* 'it is necessary for me' Wb. 10²⁴; *ní-b éean* 'ye need not' 16¹⁷; *is-a[t] dílmáin-siu* 'it is free to thee' Ml. 55²¹. Pronouns of the third person have the forms of class C: *iss-id n-athrech* 'he repents' 90¹²; fut. *ní-pa-d n-athrech* Wb. 5⁹; pret. *bá-d n-imomen* 'he was greatly afraid' (lit. 'it was great fear to him' LU 5262; past subj. *bada* (for *bad-da*) *erichidlu* 'which would be more perfect than it (fem.)' Thea. II. 292, 6. Occasionally the pronoun expresses an accusative relationship: *bes-id flu* '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 éean dam* 'it is necessary for me' *MI.* 21^b9; *nípa aídreoh íb* 'ye will not regret' *Wb.* 25^a9.

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. *tírs bes-da neseim* 'the lands which are nearest to them' *iv.* 142, 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.* *mas. neut.*, *-us* for the *fem. sg.* and the plural of all genders. Examples: *comallaid-i* 'fulfils it' *MI.* 94^b1; *beirthe* 'bears it, applies it' 42^b7, from *beirthe* *berid*, *fut. beirthe* *Wb.* 23^a19; *meit* (for *meit*'*th-i*) 'prides himself' 27^a29 (*meitid*); *foidsi foitsi* 'he sent it (*masc.*)' *Theas. II.* 242, *Arm. (foids)*; *ort-i* 'it killed him' *ZCP.* XIX. 156; *gegní* (*ms. geigni*) 'he slew him' *Ériu* II. 34, 6 (*gegní*); *mórtus* 'magnifies her' (*móraid*), *pret. mórtus* 'magnified them' (*mórais*) *Féil.*; *itús* (for *it*'*thius*) 'eats it (*fem.*)' *MI.* 102^a15 (*itid*); *arch. fil-us* 'there are' *Cam.* 38a (*Theas. II.* 246, 27); *seigus* 'he cut them down' *Ált. ir. Dicht.* I. 17 § 11 (*selatg*); *iurus* 'she will wound them' *Corm.* 1082 (*Laud*).

Deponent verbs always assume active forms when followed by a suffixed pronoun; e.g. *fíríánicthe* 'justifies him' *Wb.* 2^a28 (*fíríánicid*'*tr*); *pret. móil* 'she praised him' *RC.* XI. 446, 64; *seus* 'he followed them' *Íbíd.* XX. 264 (*secht*'*thir*).

In *subaigthe* *SP.* (*Theas. II.* 294, 2) from *subaigid*'*tr* 'delights in . . .', *-us* seems to refer to *íth* *masc.* 'art', just as in the later language infixed *-e-* can be used for the masculine.

In any of the above instances, however, the pronoun may be infixed by means of *ne* without altering the meaning; cp. *nes-á-guð-sem* § 416.

430. 2. Pronouns of all persons are often used in a dative sense after **tíðh*, the 3 sg. absolute form of the present indicative of the substantive verb, which occurs only in this combination (§ 779). Thus *tíðhut*, 'est tibi, thou hast'; 3 sg. masc. *tíðh(a)l*, fem. *tíðhus*; pl. 1 *tíðhunn* (also *tíðhunn SP.*), 2 *tíðhuf*. Further, *bíðh* 'he possesses', lit. 'there is wont to be to him' (consect. pres.) Laws iv. 326, 13; ipv. with 1 sg. *bíðhom-sa* Fél. Epil. 403 (L); subj. *bíðhum-sa* *ibid.* 383 (P). The pret. *boi*, *bai* takes over *-á-* from the present: *baíthum* (also *baíthfum*), *baíthut*, *baíthi*, *boíthus*.

baín 'she had' *Zu ir. Has.* 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: *neíðhium*, *neíðhut* (or *neí-*?) 'extols me, thee' (*moíð*) IT. i. 261, 22, ZCP. xi. 91 § 2; *sástum* 'satisfies me' *Ériu* ii. 63 (*sásald*); *sóerfadut* 'it will free thee' LU 6322 (*sóerfald*); *medarsot* 'it confused thee' LL 287*16 (*medrals*). The frequently occurring form *alsium* 'may he protect me' from *anls*, *s*-subjunctive of *alngld*, has led to the spread of *-s-* to many verbs which themselves do not form an *s*-subjunctive, such as *snáístum*, *-stunn* '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 *-á*, 1st plurals in *-vi*, 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: *gonnit* 'they slay him' *Anecd.* iii. 58, 2 (*gonait*); *gébitt* 'they will take him' *Wb.* 26*8 (*gébait*); *ístait* 'they shall eat it (masc.)' ZCP. xii. 391 § 13 (*ísait*); *guðmít* 'we ask it' *Wb.* 15*18 (*guðmí*); *gébait* 'I shall accept it' LU 7071 (*géba*); *promít* 'I will try it' *Corn.* 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 (= ß). 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 dl, 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 *.

	la 'with'	tri, tre 'through'
sg. 1. friumm	lem(m), lim(m), leim, lium(m)	trium
frim-sa, frium-sa	lem-sa, lim-sa lium-sa	
2. frit(t), friut(t)	lat(t)	
frit-so, frit-su	lat-so, lat-su	triu-su
3. m.n. fris(s)	leiss, les(s), lals(s) ¹	trit (trilt)
fris-som, fris-slum	le(l)som, le(l)s-som, lalsom	trit-som, trit-som
f. fris	lee (lee Wb. 14*37, 166 24*11) M-si Laws. II 372, 5	tree (trée Sg. 25*14)

¹ lecha = O.Ir. *leth(s) ZCP. xx. 401.

pl. 1.	frinn frin-ni, frin-nai	hin, leinn, lenn lin-ni, lin-nai	trinn-ni
2.	frif frif-si	lif lif-si	trif
3.	friu friu-som	leu, léu, leo ¹ leu-som, leo-som	tréu, tréu, tree

¹ *Isthm. Thea.* II. 241, 4 (*Arm.*); 313, 1; *Otia Mercatorum* II. 86 § 3, etc.

	eo 'to'	eter 'between'	im 'about'
sg. 1.	cuccum-sa	etrom, etrum	immum
2.	cucut, cucut-su	^o etrut	immut
3 m.n.	cuc(e)l (-som), cucal	etir, itir	imbi (immil)
	f. culceae, culcae		impe
pl. 1.	cucunn	etron(n) etrunn, etrun-ni	immunn
2.	cuc(e)uif, cucuif-si	etruif	immif
3.	cuceu	etarru, etarro	impu, impe

434. Other conjugated prepositions less frequently attested in the earlier mss. are

amal 'as': sg. 1 *samlum-sa*, 3 masc. neut. *samlid*, *samlidh*, *samlid*; pl. 3 *samlaiB-som* *ML*. 57^o5. Later attested: 2 sg. *samlut*.

cen 'without': sg. 2 *cenut-su*, 3 masc. neut. *cene*, *cenae*; pl. 2 *cenuif-si*, 3 *cenaiB* *ML*. 20^o4.

sech 'past, beyond': sg. 3 masc. neut. *sechae*; pl. 3 *seceu*. Later attested: sg. 1 *sechum*, 2 *sechut*, 3 fem. *seceae*; pl. 1 *sechunn* (ms. -*uad*) *LL*. 122^o4.

tar, dar 'over, beyond': sg. 2 *torut-su*, 3 masc. neut. *tarais*; pl. 1 *torunn*, *torun-ni*, 3 *tairaiu*. Later attested: sg. 1 *therom-sa*, *therum-sa*, 3 fem. *taisee*; pl. 2 *toraiB*.

Cp. also poetic *dessum*, *desom* 'on my right', *tuathum* 'on my left' *Thea.* II. 357, 350.

CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH THE DATIVE

	435. <i>de</i> 'to'	<i>dí</i> 'from'	<i>ó, úa</i> 'from, by'
sg. 1.	<i>dom</i> (Wb. Sg.), <i>dam</i> (Ml.)	<i>dím</i>	(h)úaim(m) ²
	<i>dom-sa, dam-sa</i>	<i>dím-sa</i>	(h)úaim-se
2.	<i>duit, dait, deit,</i> <i>dui³</i>	<i>dí</i>	(h)úait
	<i>duit-siu, de(i)t-siu³</i>		(h)úait-siu (h)úait-siu
3. m.n.	<i>dó, dáu (dóu)</i>	<i>de (dó Ml. 69²3)</i>	(h)úad (also (h)úaid Ml.)
	<i>dos(s)om</i>	<i>de-som</i>	
f.	<i>dí</i>	<i>dí</i> (probably <i>dí</i>)	<i>úadl (húade Ml. 58²4)</i>
	<i>dísl, dísl</i>		<i>úadl-sí</i>
pl. 1.	<i>dúan(n)</i>	<i>dín(n)</i>	(h)úaim(n), rarely (h)úaim(n)
	<i>dún-ní, dún-nal</i>	<i>dín-ní</i>	(h)úaim-ní
2.	<i>dúib</i>	<i>díb</i>	(h)úalb
	<i>dúib-sí</i>	<i>díb-sí</i>	(h)úalb-sí
3.	<i>do(a)ib, duab</i> (Arm.), <i>dóib</i>	<i>díib, díib, díb</i>	(h)úai(i)díib
	<i>dóib-som, dualb- som, dóib-som</i>	<i>díib-som, díb-som</i>	<i>úaidíib-som, húaidíib-som</i>

² Archaic *dím*, 2 *dí*, 3 masc. *oed* (Cam.); pl. 1 *du-sí*, 3 *díib*.³ *duit* is the commonest form in Wb. and Sg., *dait* in Ml.; besides these Wb. and Ml. have *deit*, Wb. and Sg. *dí*.⁴ *duit-so* Sg. 208²3, *díit-so* Wb. 6²7.

436. Other conjugated prepositions less frequently attested are

a 'out of': sg. 2 *essíut* (RC. xrv. 189), 3 masc. neut. *ass*, as (arch. *es*, e.g. RC. xxv. 346 § 2), fem. *essí eísl*, also *esse* (Ml.), emphatic *essí-sí*; pl. 3 *es(s)íib, eíslíib*.

se 'with' (arch. only): 3 ag. masc. *conu Éria* xii. 32 § 39, neut. *conu ZCP. viii. 310, 24*; 3 pl. *condalb Aursic. 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*.
- iar 'after' : sg. 2 *farmut*, 3 masc. neut. *farum* ; pl. 3 *farmalb*
 (IT. III i, 70 § 23).
- is 'below' : sg. 1 *is(s)um* (e.g. *Thea*. II. 367), 3 masc. *issa*
 (*Ériu* VII. 160 § la) ; pl. 1 *isunn* (ms. -*uad*, LL. 123¹),
 3 *isalb* (*Togail Troi* 1399).
- oc 'at, with' : 3 ag. masc. neut. *oc(e)s*, *oc(e)a*, fem. *occi*
 Sg. 7², *occal* ML. 67²23, *occae* 89¹16, *ocae* 41³3 ; pl. 1
ocunn, 3 *occalb*. LU supplies ag. 1 *ocum* *ocom*, 2 *ocut* ;
 pl. 2 *occalb*.
- ós, *das* 'above' : sg. 1 *dasum* (*Thea*. II. 367) ; pl. 3 *ósb* (Wb.),
 (*h)úas(s)alb* in later mss. In these we also find ag. 2
húasut, 3 masc. neut. *úaso*, *úasa*, fem. *húaise*, *úase* ;
 pl. 1 *dasunn* (ms. -*uad*, LL. 123²).
- re, *ri* 'before' : sg. 1 *rium-sa*, 3 masc. neut. *riam*, fem. *remi*,
remi-si ; pl. 3 *remib*. Later attested : ag. 2 *riut* (LU) ;
 pl. 1 *riun*, 2 *reuib* (IT. II i, 14, 374).

CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH BOTH ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

	437. for 'on'	l 'in, into'	ar 'for, on account of' (rarely found with dat. pron.)
sg. 1. form	form-sa, forum-sa (ML)	indium(m) indium-sa	airium erum-sa
2. fort	fort-su	indut indut-su ¹	^o airist, ^o aurut erut-su
3. D m.n. ^o for	f. <i>fuiri</i> , <i>furi</i> A m.n. <i>foir</i> , <i>fair</i> <i>foir-som</i> <i>foir-som</i>	and <u>and-som</u> ² ind ind ind-som.	airu airi
	f. <i>forrae</i>	inte inte-si	^o airre ³
	¹ <i>indut-siu</i> ML. 107 ¹ 15.	² <i>ansom</i> Sg. 151 ¹ 4.	³ <i>airri</i> ms. (SR.404).

pl. 1.	fəran (furnan) fərn-ni, forun-ni (Ml.)	indfurn indfun-ni	erunn, eronn
2.	fuirib, fo(i)rib fu(i)rib-si	indib ¹ indib-si	airib airib-si, eruib-si, airiu(i)ib-si
3.	D fər(a)ib fəraib-som	indib indib-som, indib-som	^a airib
	A ferru ferru-som	intu	airru, erru, erru airru-som, erru-som, erru-som

¹ indib Wb. 693.

Further, *fo* 'under': sg. 3 dat. masc. neut. *fōu* Ml. (fō 37'14), acc. *fōi*; pl. 3 dat. *fōib*. Later attested: sg. 1 *fəum*, 2 *fəut* (monosyll.) SR. 1734, 3 fem. *fəss*; pl. 1 *fəunn* (vs. -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-ulle ih-bethald* 'through their whole life' Tur. 71.

A possessive pronoun qualifying the verbal noun of a transitive verb almost invariably represents the objective genitive (§ 260, 1).

A. UNSTRESSED POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

me (m), *de* (t), *ar*, *lar*, *a*

439. The 1st and 2nd singular have the forms *me* *mu*, *de* *du* (arch. 10, e.g. Thes. II. 250, 16; 255, 14), both leniting. For the interchange of *e* 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)* *dít*, *im(m)* *ít*, *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 *ag. mo ehländ* 'my children', gen. *mo ehlände*; a *mu eholmdu* 'O my Lord', later written *ammo*, hence with unlenited *m*; *mo béssi-se* 'my manners', acc. *mo bésu-sa*; *sech mo chomács-sa* 'beyond my contemporaries'; *im ehlumring*, *rem ehlumring* 'in, before my captivity' (lit. 'binding'), but *as-mo ehlumring* 'out of my captivity'; *dumm imdidnaad* 'for my release'; *form náimtea* 'upon my enemies'; *tarm chean* 'for me' *ML* 72⁴¹ (cp. *Wb.* 7^{b5}), beside *tar-mo chean* *ML* 88⁸, *tar-mu chean* 76⁹; *mo ort* and *m'ert* 'my rank'; *messe m'oinur* 'I alone'; *m'oisitu* 'my confession' (*foisitu*) *ML* 46¹²; *oc m'ingralmmalm-se* 'at my persecution' = 'persecuting me' 33⁹.

Before *m*-later sources occasionally have *-mo*, *-mu* instead of *-m*; e.g. *for-mu mod* 'in my way' *SP*. (cp. *KZ.* XLVIII. 56).

2 *ag. do ehländ* 'thy children'; *ae du gúldi-slu* 'praying to thee'; *ít eholmthecht* 'in thy company'; *duí menmalm-slu* 'to thy mind'; *fort ehlunn* 'on thy head'; *do imchomare* 'inquiring after thee', beside *t'essirge* 'thy resurrection', *tassu th'óenar* 'thou alone', *oc t'adrad-se* 'at thy adoration' = 'adoring thee'. In *ML* the silent vowel is occasionally written; e.g. *tó eredig* 45³ for *t'eredig* 'thy cup'; to *fortacht-su* 45⁷ 'thy help' (*fortacht*), gen. to *fortachte* 55¹⁹ beside *t'ortachte* 108¹.

440. 2. 1 pl. *ar^a*. 2 pl. *far^a*, *for^a*; also *bar^a* (*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^a* instead of *do-ar^a*, see § 832; for *innar^a* (with *i^a*) see § 842.

Examples: 1 pl. *ar m-bréthre* 'of our word'; *ar n-irrigde-ní* 'our prayer'; *farnar n-stargnu* 'after our recognition' =

'after we were recognized'; *díar feirbthetu-ní* ($f = \beta$) 'for our perfection'; *innar eridhu-ní* ($c = g$) 'in our heart'.

2 pl. *far n-dígal-sí* 'your punishment'; *for n-éach* 'your clothing'; *os far n-ingrim* 'as your persecution' = 'persecuting you'; *íhar cumactu-sí* ($c = g$) 'in your power' beside *hífar n-irngáib-sí* 'in your prayers'; *debar tinceose* ($t = d$) 'for your instruction' beside *debar firíánugud* ($f = \beta$) 'for your justification'; *arbar seire* 'for love of you' beside *arfar feirbthetu* 'on account of your perfection'.

441. For all pronouns of the third person the form *a* (§ 48) appears, but with varying effect on the following initial, viz.

- leniting a* for the 3 ag. masc. neut.,
- geminating a* (Mid. Ir. *a h-*) for the 3 ag. fem.,
- nasalizing a* for the plural of all genders.

After *imm-* we occasionally find *e* instead of *a*: *imm eúairt* 'round about' (Thes. II. 248, 7); also after *l* and *fer* in archaic texts: *ine ehuís* 'in his foot', *faire ehomnessam* '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^a14, 15; similarly *ó* for *ó-a* (36*2). *do-a* or *du-a* usually becomes *día* (*das* once in Arm., Thes. II. 241, 13). Beside *oo-a*, Sg. and Ml. have *oo(e)o*; e.g. *atá oo scribunt* 'he is writing it' Sg. 213^b4. For *inna* (with *l'*) see § 842.

Examples: *a ingen*, emphatic *a ingen-som* 'his daughter'; *a ingen* (Mid. Ir. *a h-ingen* and so pronounced in Old Irish also), emphatic *a ingen-sí* 'her daughter'; *a n-ingen*, emphatic *a n-ingen-som* 'their daughter'.

a thabart 'the giving of it'; *a tabart* 'the giving of her'; *a tabart* ($t = d$) 'the giving of them'.

día bráthair ($b = \beta$) 'to his brother'; *día bráthair* (unlenited, originally geminated *b*) 'to her brother'; *día m-bráthair* 'to their brother'.

a maise ($m = \mu$) 'his sons'; *a-mmase* or *a maise* '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 ehoirp* 'its, the body's, beauty' Wb. 23^a25. They may also anticipate a relative clause: *is ed a erat fritamm·lurat* 'that is the (lit. 'its') length of time they will hurt me' Ml. 33^a1. 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 turbe inn-a thee[h]t*, lit. 'if ye should see benefit in its going', i.e. 'in so going' Wb. 11^b22.

B. 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 *de*) 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. *mui*) renders Latin *meus* and *mei* (*tuoi*) Sg. 200^b10, 209^a7; emphatic *mulse* 'mean' Wb. 1^b3; cp. *mui me mace*, *mui me 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^a13.

2 sg. *taí*, not found in the Glosses and only rarely elsewhere; e.g. *is and nad·bí mui na taí* 'it is there that there is neither mine nor thine' LU 10848; cp. Corm. 532.

1 pl. *cechtar nathar* (probably *náthar*) 'each of us two' Wb. 20^a26, Thea. II., 293, 13 (SP.) beside *cechtar nár* *ibid.* 294, 2; *nechtar náthar-al* (with mark of length) 'one of us two' LU 1433; *cia nathar* 'which of us two?' Anecd. III. 27, 18.

2 pl. *sethar-sí* 'vestram' Wb. 1^b2. Later sources have also a monosyllabic form *Indala sar* (probably *sár*) 'of one of you two' Trip. 158, 8.

nechtar íathar '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 *ad*, *de* is used; e.g. *is ad talam ocus muir* 'His

are earth and sea ' Imram Brain i. 15 § 27. It is also found with the article : a n-af ' his, theirs ', gen. Ind af, gen. pl. Inna n-af, Inna n-ás, etc.

On the other hand, the use of inflected plural forms in ML, where *suos* is translated by *all* and *suis* by *allh*, 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 all gl. (*soluerit eos*) *suos* (*reverti*) 93^o10 (cp. also 75^o1) ; a n-all gl. (*ne cupiditas dominorum eos*) *suscipias* (*diferent*) 121^o13. But the combination of the unstressed with the stressed possessive pronoun in relative clauses (§ 507c) is a genuine Irish construction.

The same form is used as partitive gen., especially dual, in *Indala n-af*, *nechtar n-af* ' one (masc. fem. or neut.) of the two ' (*n-áil* Wb. 25^o14, scribal error ?) ; *cechtar n-af* ' each of the two ' (Beside these we also find *nechtar de*, *cechtar de*, apparently with the prep. *di* ; scarcely with the pron. (*a*)*de* § 479). In the plural both *af ás* and (*h*)*é* (*h*)*é* occur ; e.g. *na ás* ' one (none) of them ' Wb 12^o33, with the proclitic form *na* (stressed *af*), elsewhere used only as an adjective (§ 489 b) ; *áen n-af* Laws v. 314, 9 ; *each af* ' each of them ' Met. Pinda. iii. 382, 12 beside *na hé* Thea. ii. 29, 38, ZCP. iii. 452, note 7 ; *each hé* *each é*, *each húb(-som)*, neut. *each n-é* Wb. ; cp. *each é* (rhyme : -e) Fianaig. p. 12 § 13. ML and Sg. have *as* 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. *eachas díb* ML. 146^o2, *each has díb* Sg. 74^o4 (without *as* : *each díb* ML. 72^o27, *each díb* 42^o7).

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 Britanic forms.

Where in original Indo-European the nominative had a different anlaut from the oblique cases (e.g. Lat. *ego* : *míhi*, *me*, etc.), this difference has not survived. As a rule there is no longer any trace of lenition of the anlaut.

THE 1 AND 3 SG.

446. The nominative of the 1 sg. pronoun has taken over the stem of the oblique cases. The form *mé*, emphatic *méise*, has been identified with

the Greek accusative *me* (which, however, could go back to **mei*). This suggestion is supported by Gaul. *te*, probably 'thee', on the obscure inscription in Rom (Dottin no. 82); for the long vowel in *mé* see § 44b. It is doubtful whether 2 sg. *tú*, emphat. *ússu*, goes back to *tú* (= Gk. *tu*) or *tú* (= Lat. *tu*, O.Slav. *ty*, OE. *þu*); if to the latter, the short vowel in *ússu* may be due to the influence of *meisse*. Britanno forms seem to fluctuate between *it* (W. *ti*) and *is* (O.Bret. *is*, later *is*); should the latter represent merely a shortening of the former, *is* may point to Old Celtic **is*. But the vocalism of the Britanno 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 *me* lenites like *do*, whereas in Welsh nasalization persists after *fy* (< *my*), which seems to point to an apocopated genitive *man*; cp. O.Slav. *meno*, Avest. *mana*. The earlier vocalism may survive in the Irish proper names *Dál Ma-druid* (ZCP. var. 206, 18, 24) and *Ogam mruor ma-dalo* (Macal. III, p. 181). 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. **tea*. The latter doubtless corresponds to Skt. *tesa*, Lith. *tas*, IE. **tes*; cp. O.Slav. *tebe*. In that case, one would expect **toi* (and **moí*) in Irish. *toi* may have been attracted to the 3 sg. *ai*; but the *u* in *meu* is difficult to account for. Could there have been at one period a form **toi* which had developed under the influence of *tú*, and in turn gave rise to a form *meu*, 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. *duil*, *tuil* as against *frut*, *trist*, *lunul*, *tarut* (but also *fril* and conversely *ceut*, *larut*, etc.). Probably the nominative form *tu* had spread to the accusative; the dative may have had the diphthong found in Gk. *toi*, Skt. *te*, O.Slav. *ti*. As to the corresponding forms of the 1 sg., there is no definite evidence. The contrast between *dom* and *dul* 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*, *lumm*, *lumm*, 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-* § 418).

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 *de-t*, *a-t* (= O.Ir. *H*) before vowels, but *do-d*, *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* (*dult*, *ast*, etc.); Donegal always *-d* except in *leat*, *set* (= O.Ir. *fort*); Connacht (outside Aran) *-t* in

monosyllables (*dui, tui*), -*d* in disyllables (*ased, ionnad*), etc.³ In later MSS. even the infixed pronoun is written *d*; e.g. *ní-d-áirimín-ní* 'I do not reckon thee' ZCP. viii. 361. But in these instances *d* seems to have come from the possessive pronoun *da*.

447. The emphasizing particles *1 sa, sa, 2 so, sa, sin* are identical in form with the demonstrative particles (§ 475), and it is quite possible that *messe* literally means 'I here' and *tussa* 'thou there'. On the other hand, since enclitic forms of the personal pronouns are used as emphasizing particles in Britannie, and also in Irish for the 1 and 2 pl., *sin* (*sa, sa*) may have had a different origin. A form like *as-tir-sin* 'thou sayest' could go back to **áberas-sin*, **berasa*. The fortuitous coincidence of the last element with the demonstrative particle (*3*)-*sin*, *so* (§ 475) may in turn have led to the use of the similar particle *sa sa* to emphasize the 1 sg.

THE 1 AND 2 PL.

448. The stressed forms of the nominative *ni* and *si* (from **nei*) correspond to the Britannie: W. *ní, clari*; Brat. *ni, c'leul*. That the *s* of *ni* was formerly present in Britannie also is uncertain, but quite possible, for earlier *se-* generally became *n-* in Britannie. In these forms the *s* has been prefixed to initial *n* and *n* of the stem which was originally confined to the oblique cases of both pronouns (Skt. *soḥ, soḥ*, Lat. *soo, 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 *-nos*). The *i* is equally obscure. Primary forms like **nāe, *arāe* would account for it, but there is no support for them in other languages; for the parallel with the O.Slav. dual *st* 'we two' and the ON. genitive *vár* 'our' is somewhat remote. Analogy with the nom. pl. of *s*-stems in *-i* (*-ei*) is conceivable.

The same forms, shortened in enclisis, serve as emphasizing particles for all cases. *ni*, however, is usually replaced by *-ni*, *ní*, the secondary form resulting from lenition. *si* (earlier **nei*) gives a lenited form **ñ*, which, with loss of the vowel, becomes *-h* (*-β*), as in *ní-h* 'ye.'. The vowel of the first element is short, as in the emphatic form *níni* and sometimes also in *níníni* (by dissimilation *níní*, etc.); but it would be unsafe to conclude from this that the vowel was originally short. Palatal *β* (written *h*) is also the form of the 2 pl. dative and accusative after prepositions, e.g. *dóh, íh*. In this position the 1 pl. has *-n(n)*, the quality of which fluctuates [just like 1 sg. *-m(m)*], e.g. *dán(n)*, *dáin(n)* and *fan(n)*, *frín-ní*, beside *frín-ní*, etc.

On the other hand, *-n(n)* and *-h*, as infixed pronouns, are hardly ever palatal (there are a few instances of *-ñm-*, *-ñh-*, § 414; in Wb. *nachín-nachíh-*, § 419). Before vowels (i.e. in syllabic enclitic) the earlier sound *f* is occasionally found instead of *h*, e.g. *dof-ama* 'which may defend you'.

³ 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 *nostr*, *vester* (substantival gen. *nostr*i, *vestr*i), Gr. ἡμέτερος, ὑμέτερος, and the Irish *nostr* substantives in *-thar* (§ 286). 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. *sur*) may be related to the Germanic possessives and genitives without a dental, such as Goth. *unsar*, *unsara*, *insar*, *insara*, ON. *nár*, *vár*. In Britannie no stressed genitive pronouns of similar formation are preserved.

Of the proclitic forms, *far** (*-har**, *far**) has evidently the same origin as *sár*. Various explanations of the *f* are possible. Either it represents the earlier accent *es*, without prothetic *s* as in *náthar*, *nár*; or initial *s* was lost early, as in all proclitic words (§ 178); or *far*, lenited form of **esur*, 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 *ceathar n-ár* (*n-áthar*) is the correct division; cp. *ceathar n-á*. But this seems excluded by *cha nathar*, for *cha* 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*, *é*, (*h*)*é* corresponds to Goth. *is*, *ei*, *is*; cp. Lat. *is*, *ei*. The *s* in the masculine form might be explained as having been taken over from an original oblique case, such as gen. **esjo* (Skt. *esya*), to replace *i*, as in Osc. *es-idum* beside *es-idem* 'the same'. But the emphatic form *h²e-som* (not **esom*) 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. *es-dm* 'this', a nominative form **ei* (Ir. *é*) might be postulated; but *é*, unlike *ei* 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. 253).

The next *ed* lenites, as is clear from the lenition after the interrogative pronoun combined with *it*, *cod*, *oid* 'which?' (§ 437), and also from the fact that the form of the anaphoric pronoun after *ed* is nearly always *éa*, not *séa*. This, together with the retention of *-d*, suggests that at one time a neutral vowel (*-i*?) was appended; cp. Goth. *it-a*.

The nom. pl. (*h*)*é*, for all three genders, appears, from the evidence of *W.* *up*, 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 **in*, **id* (**en*, **ed* ?), which would give Celtic **in*, **i* (**en*, **e* ?).

The masc. form is well preserved in the Bret. infixed pronoun *es* '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. feir, eifr, leis* (beside *less*, with neutral *s* by analogy with *ass* 'out of him, it'), *terals, trift, samlíd*; after original vocalic aulant, *faí, imhí, aifr, cusa(a)l, ceir(a)e, ceithe*; so too after verbs, *beiríthl, 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, ferr(a)e, airta*. So too in *eutece, eutece*, 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 *-es* (which would have given *-e* after an old vowel), possibly from **skes*, cp. OHG *skis*, acc. sg. of nom. *skis, st, si*. Elsewhere, however, we find simple *-s*: *fría, tree, lee* (*taise* may contain the old *-es*); *secece* is modelled on *eutece*, since *sk* before *s* does not become *k*.

The suffixed acc. pl. is *-u* (sometimes *-o* after non-palatal consonants and after *c*), which has the same effect on preceding consonants as the fem. sg. *-e*: cp. *impe (impe), intu, euceu* with *ce = k* (whence, by analogy, *seceu*), *ferra, etarra (etarra), airtu eru*; further *frtu, trtu, leu leo, taírta*. Accordingly *-u* goes back to *-su* and represents an original masculine form, earlier **skse* from **skes* (possibly **skjes*). In ML it is occasionally replaced by the dative form *-ajib*: *ceatib, samláb*, and even Wb. 435 has *farab* where *ferru* would have been expected; cp. *suidib* for *suidiu*, § 450.

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 *n*. The latter has probably developed from the form with lenited initial. Perhaps the vowel of the 3 pl. indicates that earlier *š* had not become *s* 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 *-es* 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. Infixes *s*, both sg. and pl., may or may not cause nasalization, whereas *n* 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 preposition, 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 *dé*, and might appear to be reinforced by the short *o* in *dé-nom*. But there is another form *déu* (*Amram Brais* v. 17 § 32), *déu* (*Arm., SP., ML. 32²⁴*), of which *dé* may be a regular development. *fo* (= *fó*) occurs but once in ML, otherwise always *foi fu*. The final consonant clearly shows *u*-quality in *tarum*; cp. also *-u, -o* in *s(í)rfa, fíndu, fíaso*. But in other forms it is neutral, e.g. in *es as*; also

in *slam*, where, however, the neutral quality may be secondary. The by-form *hūaid* (ML.), beside *hūad*, is undoubtedly secondary, modelled on *hūaim*, *hūait*, or the pl. *hūaidib*. It is uncertain whether -u represents a pronominal form (dative) or was originally an adverb = Skt. *ś* 'thereto', etc. (see Walde-Pokorny 1. 25 f.).

The feminine form is -i; cp. *ūadī*, *a(l)uadī*, *oc(a)ī*, *remī*, *indī*, *tu(t)ī*; further *dī* (from *de* and *dī*). There are a number of possible basic forms: **jāi*, **cejāi* (Skt. *ajyati*), **caī* (Goth. *icai*), etc. In ML. the ending -e begins to spread from the accusative; e.g. *hūada*, *esse*, *occe*, also *ūa(l)sa*. The emphatic form *dīad* stands in the same relation to *dī* as *dossem* to *dē*, and *messe*, *tesse* to *mē*, *tē*.

The plural has the universal ending of the dat. pl., *ǝ* preceded by a vowel. Neutral consonance is rare before this vowel, e.g. *let(a)ǝib* (possibly after the sg. *for*), palatal more frequent, e.g. *ūa(l)dǝib*, *a(l)uadǝib*, *indǝib*. No evidence as to the original quality is supplied by *aith*, *dith*, *ceath*, *remib*, *caib*, *had(a)ib*, *foib*; nor by *de(a)ib*, where a may be secondary (§ 100). Possibly from IE. **eiǝib* (Skt. instrumental *ēṣṣib*); cp. the Gaulish dat. pl. *ete* ZCP. xv. 381, which, however, is uncertain.

453. Genitive. Stressed form *ai*, *de*; proclitic *a*, earlier sometimes still *e* (*ge*). The position after the masculine and neuter points to a final vowel, the gemination after the feminine to -e, the nasalization after the plural to -a (from -e). The Britanno forms agree with Irish in the singular: W., and Corn. masc. fem. sg. *y*, Bret. *e* (fem. *de* with the *h* of the nominative *de*); but not in the plural: W. *en*, Bret. *eo*. The stressed (and hence fuller) form Mid.W. *eifere*, fem. *eidi*, has been taken to be an extension of **eid*, which is itself referred back to **eiyo*, fem. **eiyo*, = Skt. *ayā*, *ayāḥ* (Pokorny KZ. XLVI. 286). But this, while phonetically possible, hardly accounts for Ir. *ai de*, more particularly the *a*; for it is doubtful if *a* had replaced *e* in proclitics 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 (each *de*, etc.); as a plural form this *é* could go back to **eiǝre* = Skt. *ēṣṣre*, Osc. *eiǝre* 'of these'. But it would be more in keeping with Irish phonology to regard *a* (*ai*) as derived from *de*, 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. *sem* ('whence *sem*, *slum*, 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. *hāde*, Goth. *sama* 'the same'.

THE INFLECTED PRONOUNS OF CLASSES B AND C

455. In class C the limited *d* (fuller form *id*) is really a separate particle (§ 511); only what follows, or once followed it represents the pronoun. The

vowel in *-da-m -da-m, -da-t -di-t, -da-n -da-n, -da-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 *tot-, at-* (pronounced *tot-, at-*), for *em, en + pronoun*, points to *t* as the earlier initial (§ 307). The most probable explanation is that the forms of this class derive from another pronoun of the 3rd person, the IE. demonstrative stem *to- te-*. In the forms of the 3rd person the masc. eg., nasalizing *d* (rarely *da* after the *a* of class A), goes back to IE. **ton*, Celt. **tes*; the neuter, leniting *d*, to IE. **to-*, Celt. **to* (cp. Ir. *tá 'you'*); the plural, geminating *da*, to IE. **tos* (whence **ts* in the first instance), possibly also to *fem.* **ts*. The *fem.* eg. has probably been attracted to the plural form (**ts*), although its vowel may go back regularly to that of earlier **tsa* (< **tsm*); 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. *ay-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 *dem, dot, don, deb*, etc., have arisen by analogy with those of the third person, on the model of class C. A similar analogical extension is found in the suffixed pronouns *strum, strom, strath, asint, fath* (and *forum, forin* in ML.), which have taken over the vowel of the last syllable from forms like *airfum, immum*, etc., where the preposition originally ended in a vowel.

INTERROGATIVES

Strachan, *Ériu* i. 6 ff.; Vendryes, *MSL.* xiii. 306 ff.; Bergin, *Ériu* xm. 206 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, ei, eia*, invariable in gender and number;

(b) A more fully stressed form *eia 'who'*, with neuter *eid, eed 'what'* (cp. also § 502), and plural *eiñé*, probably for **eia ata n-é*, lit. 'who, what (is it) that they are?'.
The 3 sg. pres. incl. 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 *eia* of (b) is

confined to the masculine, the feminine being expressed by *ce-sí* (*sessí*), *sí-sí* (with appended personal pronoun). The latter form and the neut. *esí*, *sí* lenite.

Examples: *cia airm*, *cairm* 'what is the place †, where †' beside *esí airm* LU 3346; *cia dú* (fem.) 'where †'; *el cruth*, *el erud* ZCP. VII. 480, Wb. I. 24*9, also *es*, *cia chruth* (masc.) Wb., Sg. 'what is the manner †, how †'; *cia indas*, *cindas* (neut.) 'how †'; *es méit*, *cia-mméit* (Ml.) 'what is the amount †, how much †'; *cia*, *es*, *el flu* (Ancoli Gloss. *cecxli*) 'what is the worth †, in what degree † how greatly †'; *cia airt* (*eret*, *erat*) 'what is the duration †, how long †'; *cia gnim* (masc.) 'what is the deed †'; *cia*, *es*, *el hé* 'who is he †'; *ciaí chomairle* 'what is the advice †'; *esí torbe* (*esitorbe*) 'what is the profit †'; *sí chensí* 'what is the gender †'; *as-indet eíné cumas(h)te* 'he expounds what are the powers' 6*9.

Instead of *eíné* the form *eís*, *eíns* is sometimes found, especially in legal texts; e.g. *eís n-éithis* 'what are the thefts †' ZCP. XII. 246, 26; *eíns trí m(a)ic* 'which are the three sons †' Laws v. 456, l. Here *-s* seems to represent, not the singular relative form of the copula *es*, but rather the infixed personal pronoun 3 pl. (§ 415) which is used to characterize the plural (cp. *ní* § 795). Cp. also *eís lír* 'how many †' (*lír* '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: *cia-beir* 'who carries †' LL 12*46; *cia-roig*, *es-roig* 'what (how far) does it reach †'; *cia-acea* 'whom didst thou see †'; *cia-(r)rice*, *es-(r)ric*, *el-ric* gl. *quid ergo*, *quid igitur*, etc., lit. 'to what does it come †'; *cia-termala* '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 cia-luid* 'while they knew not whither she went' Imram Brain l. 17 § 31; *cia-tiasam* '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. *cia-tai-siu* 'who art thou ?' LU 8307 ; *cia-bhfh* 'whoever it used to be' Mon. Tall. 129, 19 ; *cia-hé a-mmét* 'whatever be its (fem.) amount' ML 61^b28 ; but also *cip cruth* 'howsoever' Wb., *clb cenél* 'whatever be the nation' Wb. 3^b20. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether *cipé* should be analysed as *ci-pé* or *cip é*. Cp. also *immos-coemoreuir ceptar hé* 'she asked them who they were' Corm. 1059 (Laud) beside *cia-báitar do bésa* 'what were thy habits ?' Tec. Corm. § 7.

Note also the combinations *cip cia* '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 *cih-* ; e.g. *cihfh-forudreth* (read *-roi-*) 'what has been done (lit. caused) to you ?' LL 252^a24 (to *fo-fara*), cp. IT. iii. 237, 62 ; *cihse-brata* 'who plunders them ?' LU 5563.

The parallel *ciha-brata*, *ciha-bair*, etc., TBC. 2889 f. seems to be a later development.

459. Class (b) does not combine with verbs ; instead, it takes absolute (relative) forms ; e.g. *cia rannas dúib* 'who (is it that) divides for you ?' LL 113^b12 ; *cid as déntí* 'what is to be done ?' Wb. 12^a41, ML 51^b8.

460.

OBLIQUE CASES

Apart from the acc. sg. (§ 458), there is a predicative genitive *coich* (in later MSS. occasionally *coísh*) 'whose ?' ; e.g. *is inderb coich in mug* 'it is uncertain whose is the slave' Sg. 309^b30. 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. cia da neuch* (from *nech* 'someone', § 489) ML. 16^a9 ; *in quibus ? gl. cia inaib-hí* (from *an-i*, § 474) 49^a13 ; *quem ? gl.*

cluní-sin (from *intí-sin*, § 476) *Theo.* II. 227, 30; *de quo* (*solacra*) ? gl. *cl-de* (*de* 'of him' § 435) *Sg.* 3·9; *quam caritatem* ? gl. *ce seire* *Wb.* 14^d15; *in quibus malis* ? gl. *clá i n-olcaib* *ML.* 23^a2; *ex quo nominativo* ? gl. *cl ó ainmnid* *Sg.* 207^a3, 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 *cl ó fut* (from *foi* 'length') in *ML.* to render *ex quo* ? (beside *cl foi* 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* (*cair* *Wb.* I. 19^d10) 'what for, why?', *Mid.W. pyr.* with the prep. *air*, *ar* (§ 823); *can* 'whence?', *W. psn.* with the *an* of § 483.

The analysis of *ce-, clá-dane* 'what for, wherefore?' is uncertain; *cp. cedane rigne* 'wherefore (or wherefore, then) prolixity?' *Wb.* 8^a16 (*cp.* 2^a10, 8^a4); also *clá-pu-dane dín indarpe gáinte* 'why (then?) should we expel the gentiles?' 19^a14 (*cp.* 7^a14). It probably contains the prep. *do*. The *-no* is explained by Pedersen (*n.* 201) as a reduced form of det. *ag. nesch* (from *ní* 'something'), since in *ML.* 47^a1 (101^a4) *cl-er-nú (-nes)* renders *quare ob rem* (*cp.* the full form *clá ar nesch* gl. *ad quid* ? *Sg.* 217^a3). But these may be artificial forms invented in *ML.* for the purpose of differentiating the neuter. Could *cedane* have developed from *ce-do-dane* by haplogy? For *dane* see § 200.

The *cair* which is often placed before independent interrogative clauses is probably a different word from *cair* 'what for?'. From *Lat. quare*? *CP.* the similar use of *cait*, § 36.

In Irish the sentence is as a rule so arranged that the interrogative is in the nominative; e.g. *clá ní sunn* 'who is here?' *lit.* 'who (is it) that is here?' *LU* 5123; *ní-facthar cíd frísa-sennar* 'what it (*tubá*) is sounded for is not understood' *Wb.* 12^a46.

461. Indefinite 'whosoever, whatsoever, all that' may be expressed, not merely by *ce cl clá* (§ 458), but also by

(a) *cecha-, cacha-*, conjunct particle before verbs; it is always accusative in construction and requires the subjunctive in the present tense; e.g. *cecha-taire* 'whosoever thou mayst give' *Zu ir. Has.* I. 20, 15; *cacha-err* 'whichever he may slay' *Sg.* 12^a7; *cecha-spert* 'all that he said' *Anecd.* II. 63, 14 (H).

Later it is occasionally followed by^hnasalization; e.g. *cecha·n·dénainn* 'whatever I might do' *Líadain and Cuirthir* p. 24, 18. But *cechid·epirt* (read *-epirt*) *RC. xi. 442, 7* is isolated and perhaps erroneous.

(b) *sechl*, used before the nominative of personal pronouns or substantives, e.g. *sechl é, sechl sí, sechl hé* 'whatsoever he, she, it is' (or with the subjunctive of the copula: *sechl-p* (*sechl-b*) *hé*); plural *sechitát húb* *ML. 69*18, sechitát n-é* *Theas. ii. 25, 38* (cp. *clíné*), *sechit húb* *ML. 101*4, 102*2*. When it is used with a substantive the personal pronoun may or may not be inserted; e.g. *sechl hé* *bás sún* 'whatever death that may be' *Wb. 13*1*; *sechitp hé dán* ('art') *13*3*; *sechit húb lestral* 'whatever vessels they be' *ML. 101*4*; but also *sechitp grád* 'whatever be the grade' *Wb. 10*18*. The pronoun is consistently omitted in the expressions *sechl dá* 'wherever', *sechl cruth* 'howsoever' (*arch. saichl crud* *Wb. I. 23*22*).

I sechl réib gl. in quibus rebus *ZCP. vii. 482* is probably a Latinism.

462. *co·*, geminating conjunct particle, means 'how?', '(of) what sort?', 'wherein consists?'; e.g. *co·hblla mé fechtas* 'how will my expedition be?' *LÚ 4528*; *co·accl in slúag* 'how seest thou the host?' *ibid. 4530*.

Instead of *co·* with the pres. ind. of the verb 'to be', *cote cate* (*catte*) is used (sometimes also in the sense of 'where is?'); plural, with verbal ending, *coteet, cateet cateet*; genders are not distinguished. Examples: *cate in firinne* 'of what sort is the righteousness?' *Wb. 4*23*; *as·bera coteet* (*ms. coteet*) *me bás-sé* '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·accebra areid sech slútha* '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. 15¹). Examples: *in-coceram-ni* (*c- = g-*) 'do we destroy?' Wb. 2²⁰; *as-rubart i-mbol* 'he asked (Ir. 'said') whether there was' Ml. 43¹. Before a vowel Wb. has *in-*, Ml. and Sg. *in-n-*; e.g. *in-latsamlammar-ni* 'do we imitate?' Wb. 11¹⁶; *in-n-firr* 'wilt thou slay?' Ml. 77¹⁰; *in-n-acl* 'seest thou?' Sg. 15⁶.

ni-pritachatai Wb. 13¹³ is probably an error for *in-*. For the form of an attached infixed pronoun, see § 413; for *in* with the present tense of the copula, §§ 798 (797), 803; for the negative, § 823.

Nasalization also appears after the negative *nád*; e.g. *in-nád-n-accal* 'seest thou not?' Ml. 17¹⁷ (cp. Wb. 5²¹); sometimes even after the copula: *in-dat m-briathra* 'is it the words?' Ml. 44⁹⁻¹⁰. Hence such questions have the appearance of nasalizing relative clauses (§ 504 a).

In Ml. *inni nád* is repeatedly found; e.g. *inni nád-n-lmcal* 'does he not consider?' 114¹⁵, lit. 'is it something, that he does not consider?', since *ni* is probably the neuter of *nach* (Pedersen II. 257 f.).

Indirect interrogative clauses may be preceded by *dás*, contracted from *do fias*, 'to know, ascertain (if)' (Breit. *dooual*), particularly in a context where one would not normally expect an interrogation to follow; e.g. *fe hífth procepte défb dás in-duccatar fe híris* 'because of preaching to them to know if they may be brought under the faith' Wb. 9¹⁹ (*-duccatar* nasalized form of *-tuccatar*).

464. 2. In alternative questions 'is it . . . or . . .?', 'whether . . . or . . .?', *in* may be used before each member (e.g. Wb. 2⁶⁻⁶). More often, however, the second alternative is introduced by (leniting) *fa, fá, ba* (= *βa*), *bá* (§ 48). Examples: *con-feiser . . . in dult íáin fa do nach aífú* 'till thou know . . . whether it is for thyself or for another' Sg. 209³⁰; *im foehreth (-chróib ms.) bá chian* 'whether it be just now or long ago' 151².

If this is the copula *ba* used in a modal sense, the lenition after it is secondary (due, perhaps, to the influence of *na* 'or'), as *ba* (copula) geminates.

For alternative questions in a concessive clause see § 910.

465. 3. Negative questions expecting an affirmative answer can be introduced, not only by *in* with the negative, but also by *ca-ni* (rarely *ce-ni*, *ei-ni*) 'nonne', which is reduced to monosyllabic *caim* before pretonic *ro*. Examples: *caim-aeccal* 'seest thou not?' *ML*. 25^b14; *ei-ni glé ilb* 'is it not clear to you?' *Wb*. 12^a4; *caim-ro-neibad* 'has he not been sanctified?' 2^a4.

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

The principal form of the interrogative pronoun, *cia* (shortened *ca*, *ci*), corresponds to *OW. pui* (modified in *Bret.* to *piou*, in *Corn.* to *pyoc*) and points to **q^uei*. In vocalism it differs from *O.Lat. nom. sg. quoi* (later *quī*), and resembles rather the Doric adverb *quē* 'where?'. The differentiated neuter is nearly always *cid* in *ML* and *Sg.* (*cid*, *Sg.* 20^a2); in *Wb.* mostly *ced* when followed by a substantive or personal pronoun (§ 457). The parallel feminine form *ce-si* in this construction suggests that *ced* (*cid*) has arisen from fusion with the personal pronoun *ed* (in *cia gnim*, 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 Britanno forms *leniba*, e.g. *W. puy bynnag* (from *pynnag*) 'whoever', *Bret. pïou bennac*. In Irish the gemination caused by proclitic forms before verbs (§ 458, *op.*-*cia-b-luistera* 'whatever he may have used' *Laws v.* 489, 9-10) may have the same explanation as that caused by pretonic prepositions (§ 243, 2). Before substantives the usage varies: *cia-mmeit* beside *cia chruith* (but also *ci chruith*). The latter might be explained as due to analogy with *in chruith-so* 'in this way'; but there was no such model for *cia chruith* 'when?' *ML*. 10^a2, 61^a9, *Trip.* 263, 13. Perhaps originally there were alternative forms, with vocalic and consonantal (-s) accent, the second of which may have been the masculine nominative.

The form *ciab-* before infixed pronouns (§ 458) may have been modelled on the *neg. ních*, which in the same position is used for *na* (§§ 862, 863). The *gen. cecib* is also a secondary development, perhaps modelled on *neib*, *gen. of nech*, *neat. ní* (§ 489), or *edib* (§ 490), which may have suggested the long vowel (in *edib*). The vocalism may be due to the old accent *q^u*. On the other hand, *cecha-cacha-* (§ 461 a) looks like a reduplicated form: *op. Lat. quiquis, quiquid*.

ce- 'how?' and 'where?' is possibly connected with *Mid. W. ca*, *caed* 'where?' (and *Skt. ka, kaha* 'where?', etc.). But the formation of *ced* (= *d*) is obscure; its resemblance to *ca*, *cais* (§ 867) is probably superficial.

The earlier form of *cech* may have been *ca(i)ch*, the *s* being taken over from the preposition and conjunction *sech* (§§ 863, 862). The primary form, however, remains obscure. The *-n* of the interrogative particle *in* has been taken to be an old negative (*Pedersen* I. 361).

ARTICLE, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND ADVERBS OF PLACE

THE ARTICLE

467. Most forms of the article are based on a stem *sindo-*, *sindō-*; only the nom. acc. sg. neuter has the shorter form *so*¹.

The Britanic forms go back to the same stem: O.Bret. and Corn. *sa*, *ca* and doubtless also OW. *ir*. *sindo-*, *-i* 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. *se-sis* 'this' (acc. sg. neut.), is still quite uncertain. For the most recent conjectures, cp. Pokorny, IF. xxxix 217 ff.; J. Müller, *ibid.* xxi. 8f.

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', *es* 'with', *fri* 'against', *i* 'in, into', *lar* 'after', *la* 'with', *re* 'before', *tar* 'across', also after *eo* 'to', *fri tre* 'through'; e.g. acc. sg. *is(s)in*, neut. *issa* 'into the', dat. *is(s)in(d)* 'in the'; acc. pl. *isna*, dat. *isn(a)ib*. After *for* 'on' forms with and without *s* occur: *forsin* and *forin*, *forsna* and *forna*, etc. After *etr* 'between' the plural *etna* Ml. 58*11 and *etir na* 18*24 are attested.

After the prepositions originally ending in a vowel *do*, *di*, *fo*, *ó na*, the vowel is lost as well as the *s*; thus *do-n(d)*, *dí-n(d)*, *ó-n(d)*, etc. After *eo* we find both *ecin(d)* and *ocon(d)*, after *imn* both *immin* and *immun* (*immúan* Arm. 18*1 = *Thez.* II. 242, 15).

In medial position the *nd* has everywhere become *na* in our period, e.g. *inna*. After prepositions the *i* has been syncopated, leaving no trace of palatalization, and *na* simplified to *n* even after vowels: *eo-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. *iná* Wb. I. 20*5, *Filargius* Gl; *dunnd* Cam. 38a; *deand* (*na*, -63a) AU. 72b.

Occasionally the initial *i* of disyllabic forms is dropped in absolute *ansut* also: 'na beside *inna* (§ 114). *i-* is likewise

dropped in a few examples where monosyllabic forms after *r* precede a numeral: *star-ā-dī raīnn* 'between the two parts' Sg. 2nd, cp. 45^b19; *far-ā-šendellb* 'according to the same formation' Sg. 90^a2, similarly 201^b6.

For *da* (dā) in place-names as the remnant of archaic 'ada, for *inda* (gen. p̄t), see Pokorny, ZCP. xiv. 270 f.; cp. *ibid.* xx. 336.

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 *-s*; but *s-* or *h-* is still written, although it is really contained in the *-s*; e.g. *int salim* 'the Psalms' ML 30^a9. Similarly the nom. sg. masc. appears as *int* before vowels, this being due to the *s* of the old ending *-os* (whence *-as*); e.g. *int aithr* 'the father' from **ind(a)s a...* (*indh a...*).

468. Paradigm :

			SINGULAR	
	masc.	neut.	fem.	
N	<i>in, int</i> (before vowels)	<i>aⁿ</i>	<i>indⁱ, int</i> (before <i>š</i>)	
A	<i>in^a, -sin^a</i>	<i>a^a, -sa^a</i>	<i>in^a, -sin^a</i>	
G	<i>in(d)ⁱ, int</i> (before <i>š</i>)		<i>inna^a, na^a</i>	
D	<i>-(s)in(d)ⁱ, -(s)int</i> (before <i>š</i>)		<i>-(s)in(d)ⁱ, -(s)int</i> (before <i>š</i>)	
PLURAL				
	masc.	fem. neut.		
N	<i>in(d)ⁱ, int</i> (before <i>š</i>)	<i>inna^a, na^a</i>		
A	<i>inna^a, na^a, -sna^a</i>			
G	<i>inna^a, na^a</i>			
D	<i>-(s)naib, rarely -(s)na.</i>			

Before all cases of the numeral *da* the article has the form *in* (*-n, -sin*).

There are sporadic instances of *-nab*, not only before non-palatal consonants (§ 159), but also before palatal; e.g. *arnab geintib* Wb. 2^a15 (cp. § 168). From examples like *donaballab*

(§ 159), *húnafochaldib* Ml. 54¹⁸, *hónamaíneíald* 69⁵, with assimilation of *-ð* to a following labial initial, the form without *-ð* spreads, though it is still very rare in our period; e.g. *forrna huffib* Sg. 212¹³, *ðona-hí* Ml. 46⁷, *hónal gabálfib* 54²⁵.

Very exceptionally *inna* is used as nom. pl. masc.; e.g. *inna foris* 'the foundations (!)' Ml. 63⁶; *inna drung-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 tréllu* 'of the three things' Sg. 2¹⁴; *ind dærsongud* 'the excelling' 40¹⁰; *ind ða* 'the two' Vienna Bede (Thes. II. 33, 21). Or *d* is left unchanged before *t*, e.g. *dund sli* 'to the seed' (instead of *sunt*) Ml. 44¹⁰; or omitted altogether, e.g. *in suln* 'the words' 57¹⁰. Or *t* appears in the wrong position, e.g. *línt almár* 'in the time' (instead of *línd*) 14¹³, etc.

469. The flexion is substantially that of the *e-ä*-stems, the gen. sg. fem. in *-s* probably representing the earlier ending *-ðe* (§ 293).

The acc. pl. masc. in *-s* instead of *-a* perhaps reinforces the conjecture (§ 451) that in the final syllable of a protoic word *ð* never became *z*, but developed like medial *ð*.

Similarly the gen. pl. in *-s** seems to indicate that in this position *-ðn* had not been shortened to *-ðn* (§ 93b).

The only explanation of the nom. acc. pl. neut. in *-s* (geminating) would appear to be that the *-s* of the feminine ending (originally *-ðe*) 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 hull dómí* Ml. 60¹⁸). 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 masc 'a boy' or 'son' (indeterminate); *in masc* 'the (particular) boy we see, of whom we speak, whom I have already mentioned', etc. But *no masc* 'my son', *masc* *Domnall* 'Domnall's son', *masc* *ind fir-seo*

'this man's son' are definite without the article. Examples: *gaíme Ad[a]im* 'of the works of Adam' Wb. 13⁴15; *rán na crucbe* 'the mystery of the Cross' 8⁵; *altóir íad íáil* 'the altar of the idol' 10⁶. 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.* 128¹⁵-16, *Wb.* 26².

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: *eo·n·acca ara chind in fer* 'he saw a (lit. 'the') man in front of him' *LU* 4932 f.; (the angel said) *airm i·fuirtitis in torca arimbád and fu·rrulmtis a praintech* 'where they should find a (Ir. 'the') boar, there they should put their refectory' *Thes.* II. 242, 4 (Arm.).

The article is usually omitted, not only before proper names, but also before such expressions as the following:

(a) *éce(a)s* 'the moon', *grían* 'the sun', *cecl(a)s* 'the Church', *geinil* 'the Gentiles', *fáthi* 'the Prophets', *apstíl* 'the Apostles', *daíni* 'mankind', also *daíne* 'man' (as a species).

(b) *ainm aiall thriúin* 'the name of a certain hero' *Sg.* 96⁴; *rad dós* 'the grace of God'; *corp daíni* 'man's body, the human body' (generic) 12²⁹, as against *lasn eíngid ná·háge*, *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 *foceall de·heram* 'the testimony we give' *Wb.* 25²21; *dúnd óis nad·chaiti each túarí* 'to the folk that consume not every food' 6¹¹; *isind huíliu labramar·ní* 'in all that we say' *Ml.* 31²23. But *fe héad fir treubir crenas tír dia chlainn* 'after the manner of a prudent man who buys land for his children' *Wb.* 29²23 (the relative clause does not particularize but designates a type); *la·mmaecu nacha·róchlát* 'with children who cannot take care of themselves' 19¹⁵ (i.e. children in general; *lasna maeu* . . . would mean 'with those children who . . .').

472. Before ordinal numerals the use of the article is optional; e.g. cétnas accuis—accuis alle—tris accuis—in e(h)eth[ramad] accuis 'the first, second, third, fourth cause' *ML*. 118^o12-18.

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-éscas* in *Theas. 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: *formaib gnaímaib inna preceptóire* 'on the deeds of the preachers' (which have just been specified) *Wb.* 5^o5; *tre thindascul inna n-dánas in spírito do cháich* 'through the bestowal of the (well-known) gifts of the Spirit on every one' 21^o2; *is béasad fir téte do cháich, ar gaibid-side eóil for háas in tain téte don cháich* 'after the manner of a man who goes to battle, for he expects death when he goes to the battle' 9^o3.

In other instances the function of the article seems to be different. Thus in *don gentíldiu* 'to the Gentile' (as type, not individual) *Wb.* 2^o4 and *donab gentíldib* *ML*. 67^o2 (as against *do gentib* *Wb.* 2^o17, etc.) it doubtless serves to emphasize the substantival use of the adjectival form in *-da*. In *á cenéle n-doine* 'mankind' *Wb.* 5^o16 (cp. 7^o13, 21^o23, 21^o11, 26^o13) the article shows *cenéle n-doine* to be a determinate whole and excludes the possibility of its meaning 'a kind of men'. It always accompanies *uile* (except with proper names), being here used even before words whose plural is normally found without the article in a general sense; cp. in *tain da-n-airbterar in boill uil fri casgnámu . . . tairbterar súill fri déicsin maith* 'when all the members are subdued to good deeds . . . the eyes are forced to see (the) good' *ML*. 25^o23 (in *boill uil* with, *súill* without the article).

There are instances, however, of words normally determinate in themselves taking the article for no apparent reason; e.g. *cumsugud inna gréne* 'the movement of the sun' *ML*. 118^o12; *din Múmu* 'from Munster' *LU* 4645. Cp. *assin folud apprisee inna colno ara-roitmar* 'out of the brittle substance (consisting) of the flesh which we have received' *Wb.* 9^o10, where the appended genitive is appositional (similarly 7^o9).

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 línec* 'above my lined booklet' *Sg.* 203 (*Thea.* II. 290, 7); it riched *a-rathach* (*sic leg.*) 'into Thy gracious Heaven' *Fél. Epil.* 466; *la tabeas in gill inn-a don in ceana* '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 Febull a findseothach* 'the white-flowered M.P.' *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^o23; *is fáss dán-ní a predehimm* 'void for us is what we preach' 13^o14. Cp. also *nechretem a n-ad-ladar* (= *-fiadar*) 'not to believe what is declared' 27^o10 (where syntactically a genitive would be expected after the substantive). Sometimes the prevocalic form *an-* is used before the particle *ro*; e.g. *an ro-scribas* 'what I have written' 20^o18 beside regular *a-rru-pridhad* 'what has been preached' 14^o23. *a** may be separated from the relative clause by partitive *dí . . .* (*do . . .*, etc.); e.g. *a n-du lmedaib ocus fritholrenib fo-dairní* 'what of afflictions and injuries thou sufferest' *ML.* 55^o11. Its use after a preposition, in place of normal *an-f* (§ 474), is very rare; e.g. *do-farget* (*sic leg.*) *a-rru-fera ar-a-ferthar fris* 'he offers what he has given for what is given to him' *Laws* V. 502, 22. Here it may even follow a preposition which governs the dative: *ní-tabeir dí(e) ass n-gatass* 'he does not give a fine for that (lit. 'out of that') which he steals' *Ir. Recht* 22 § 24²; *farman bechtas* '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** 'in order that' (§ 898), *dí-a**

'when, if' (§§ 889, 903), and probably also in *co*^a, *con*^a '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*^a without a preposition means 'while, when' (§ 890).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

THE ARTICLE WITH I

474. With the forms of the article may be combined a deictic element *i* (*hi* § 25) which is always stressed (cp. Gk. *ὄβρος*-*ι*): nom. masc. *int-i* (rarely *int-hi*), fem. *ind-i* or *ind-hi*, neut. *an-i*; gen. masc. neut. *ind-i* or *ind-hi*, fem. *inna-hi*, 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: *donnib-hi gnite* 'to those who do' Sg. 156^b7; *indí frisa-n-érbhrath* 'she to whom has been said' 220^a10; *fróere dondí as-robrad* 'an answer to what has been said' Wb. 3^a31.

A similar use of *i* after a noun with the article is found sporadically; e.g. *na-rachtair (-tó nra)* in *maib-hi ro-clasa* and 'the boys who had been struck down there arose' LU 4900 (collection: KE. XLVIII. 52 f.); cp. § 471.

2. With personal names, to indicate that they have been mentioned already; e.g. *intí Abimelech* 'the said Abimelech'; *foráinní Dauid* 'on him, David' MI. 52.

Its use with an appellative is quite exceptional: *indí fir* 'of the (above-mentioned) husband' Laws v. 518. But in *in dáine in chéimchomraic-hi* 'the man of that friendliness (mentioned in the text)' MI. 61^a3, *-sin* has probably been omitted after *i*. In later MSS. proper names are occasionally preceded by the article alone instead of by *intí*, etc.

Among the Britanno dialects Mid.W. *gas-it* 'there_{is}' seems to be the only example of deictic *i* (with addition of *-i*).

THE ARTICLE WITH SO, SA, SE, SIN, TAIL, NEUT, ISU, ISIA, ETC.

475. 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 *se* and *sa*, (always with unlenited *s-*, § 231, 6), after palatal anlaut usually *se*, *seo*, and *sea*; e.g. in *lebar-se* 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 ceitharde-se* 'these four things which I shall now mention'.

When it refers to something which follows in writing, *sis* 'downwards' is often added; e.g. in *salm-se sis* 'the Psalms 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 ceitharde-sin* 'those four above-mentioned things'.

-sam for *-sin* Thes. 1, 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: *fora ceithde mair-sin* 'on that kind of metre' Sg. 9¹³; in *gnim n-dísal n-adamra-so* 'this high, wonderful deed' (acc.) PH. 3678; but *den dídam mair-sin Inna peitlach* 'to that great mass of the sinners' Wb. 9⁴⁵. In examples such as *rún Ind forall-sin* 'the mystery of that testimony' 28⁷, *-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-se*; *Int Sarra thall* 'that Sarah (mentioned in the Old Testament)' Tur. 62; *Ind nathir (scíthir ms.) humaithe thal[il]* 'that brazen serpent (of old)' Tur. 129.

A similar meaning is expressed by *neut* (probably = *oent* 'near thee'); e.g. in *tegdais n-neut* 'yonder house' (acc.) Wb. II. 33⁴; cp. also Sg. 9²², 202³.

It occurs after a personal name without the article in *cosmall trí h-Aíthil neut* (scud ms.) 'like Aíthil there' TBC. 2363. Later also *neut*; shortened *dt, sdt*.

Other isolated examples of a demonstrative particle without the article, like *separthae-se* 'this forbidden thing' Ml. 69²¹, appear to be scribal errors.

(d) Other adverbs, however, may be used in this construction; e.g. in *ri túas* 'the king above'; in *tuisil oícheanae* 'the remaining cases'.

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

-stu. Examples: *in fer* (h)í-stu 'this man', *in fer* (h)í-stu, *in fer* (h)í thall; *int* Alexander hí-stu Wb. 28*20; *éad rann* *immedónach* hí-stu *ind* *aitrebhadó* 'from that internal part of the possessor' Sg. 198*13.

SUBSTANTIVAL FORMS

476. 1. The forms with *i* may all be used as substantives: *int*-*i*-stu, *ind*-*i*-stu, *an*-*i*-stu 'this one', 'the following one'; similarly *int*-*i*-stu, *int*-*i* thall, *an*-*i* t[h]úas 'the above' Ml. 117*6. Examples: *as*-*beir*-*som* *anísu* 'he says this' Wb. 12*21, Ml. 94*6; *isindísu* 'in this', pl. *isnaib*-hí-stu; *meagae* *indísu* 'servi (pl.) huius'; *indí* *riam* 'of that (which goes) before' Wb. 17*21; *indí* *ar* *ohlunn* 'of that (which is) ahead' 28*11.

477. 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(l)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(l)de is declined as an *ia-íd*-stem, except for the (nom.) acc. sg. neut. form which is *sod(a)in*. Beside these stressed forms there are enclitic and shortened forms: *síde*, nom. acc. sg. neut. *són* and *sde* (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 *el su(l)de* 'said he' (Strachan, *Ériu* I. 5, cp. § 408); the dative unaccompanied by a preposition only after comparatives, e.g. *móo súidiu* 'more than that' Wb. 24*5.

There is another form *ai-su(l)de*, neut. *ai-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-dia* *cloine* *macc*, *cloidin* *as* *gá* *daib* '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. *cloidís* *n-dath* *gl. quere colorem* Ml. 79*10, *oisodain* *oin* *quod* *asum* Sg. 41*1. (In *oisodain* *naid* *cheir* *anísu* Ml. 127*4 the relative clause is given

a new subject). This is obviously an artificial construction combining the demonstrative *súlfé* with *af* 'because' (§ 505), i.e. *Lat. quod* in another sense (*af*=*id quod* only in *ML.* 29^o10).

SYNTAX OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

478. A. In *so* or simple *se*, 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 af ind remalsadís in so* 'this is the predeclaration' *Tur.* 24; *Is hed for n-alm in sín* 'that is your name' *Wb.* 5^o17; *Íd in so* 'this here (is) a withe' *LU* 4744; *labraid in spirít neð in so* 'the Holy Spirit says this' *ML.* 115^o2; *ní-tuccus-sa in sín* 'I did not understand that' 91^o1. Where the demonstrative is the object, an infixed pronoun (3 *sg.* neut.) may be used as well; e.g. *at-her-som in so* 'he says this' 124^o3; *da-gnú-sa sín* 'I do that' *Wb.* 14^o26.

In the first two examples cited above, *si* and *hed* do not refer to *in so*, *in sín*, but anticipate the predicates *ind remalsadís* and *for n-alm* (§ 815). Originally this applies also in such sentences as *hit hé sín inna ranna all as-rubart tías* 'those (lit. 'that') are the other parts which he has mentioned above' *Sg.* 22^o3, *It hé se inna brinþra* 'these are the words' 4^o12. 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] in so ind rún in so* 'this is the mystery' *Wb.* 13^o16 (cp. *ML.* 86^o3).

Neuter here *Sg.* 201^o3 (as against *ed se* 206^o2) shows assimilation of the *s* to *a* (§ 129).

479. B. The other anaphoric pronoun is unemphatic, enclitic, and used for all genders: *sg.* masc. *síð*, fem. mostly (or always?) *aðe* ('*de*'), neut. *són* and *ón*; *pl.* (all genders) *síð*, *aðl* ('*ði*') and *síð*, *aðe*. Examples: *as-berð síð* 'the latter (sc. Isaiah) said' *ML.* 16^o10; *Is torþe són* (*old ed ón*) 'that (even

that) is profitable' Wb. 12^o24 (23^o31); *hatar carait fressaig adl* 'these were faithful friends' Ml. 31^o3; *soseólae as-a-índedat 'díl* 'the gospel that these set forth' 42^o7; *is é síde roð-áinnad* 'it is he that used to know it' Sg. 209^o25. When used as object *sén ón* may, and the other forms must, be combined with an infixed pronoun. Examples: *ní-thabuf duit ón* 'I do not put that for thee' Sg. 173^o2 beside *níon-laimemmar-ní ón* 'we dare not (do) that' Wb. 17^o8; *nís-a-áirmim sídl* 'I do not reckon these' Sg. 205^o2. Cp. also *téit ón* (lit. 'he goes that') 'he goes thus' LU 5072 (cp. § 422).

For *si* + *adé* Wb. writes *si-adé*, Thea. II. 13, 41 *si ída*. For *síde*, *sídl* we find *sede* Wb. 2^o21, 24^o37, *saidal* (read *saidl*) Thea. II. 12, 33; *síd* Wb. 3^o14, 30^o28, Laws IV. 176, 20 is probably a scribal error. The use of *ón* is rare (four examples as against 80 of *sén*) in Sg., where we even find *ed sén* (11^o4, 71^o16) instead of the otherwise universal form (h)ed *ón*. Wb. and Ml. generally have *ón* after an emphasising particle with *s*; e.g. *is céru dáil-sí ón* 'that is master for you' Wb. 5^o37 (Hesseu, KZ. XLVI. 1 f.).

480. C. After prepositions the neuter forms acc. sg. *se* (not *so*), dat. *síu*, and acc. dat. *sín* are used. Examples: *ar-se* 'therefore', *co-se esse* 'so far', *corriect-se* 'so far', *la-se lasse* 'while' (§ 391), *ceumtha-se* 'apart from this'; **ar-síu* 'therefore' (*airíu* Wb. 1^o12), *de-síu* 'hence', *hí-síu* *issíu* 'here', *re-síu* 'before'; *ar-sín*, *cessín*, *fo-sín*, *fri-sín*, *la-sín*, *fri-sín*; dative *dí-sín*, *do-sín*, (h)í-sín, *far-sín*, *re-sín*. *síu* may be replaced by the adverb *sund* 'here': *do-sund*, 'thereto', *ó-sund* 'therefrom', *dí-sund*, *hí-sund*, *far-sund*. Conversely *síu* 'at this side' and (although more rarely) *sín* 'there', i.e. 'at the said place' (Sg. 9^o13, 191^o2; Anecd. I. 73 § 214) occur as adverbs without a preposition.

The other anaphoric pronoun *su(l)de* is also used after prepositions, where it has the following forms: sg. acc. masc. *su(l)de*, fem. *su(l)dí*, neut. *sod(a)ín*; dat. masc. neut. *su(l)díu*, fem. *su(l)dí*; pl. acc. masc. *su(l)díu*, dat. *su(l)díb*. Examples: *do súdlu* (masc. neut.), *ar sód(a)ín*, *amal sód(a)ín*. In the plural, however, *su(l)díb* often appears in place of the accusative, e.g. *la súdlíb*, *fri súdlíb* beside *la súdlu*, *fri súdlu* (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 dá in so* 'it is for this' Wb. 27^a20; *is airí in sin* 'it is therefore' Sg. 213^a1; and often *is samúid in sin* or *sin* 'it is like that' ('thus'). Occasionally conjugated preposition and demonstrative are not even contiguous; e.g. *níba samúid de-ém-sa mo thúid in sin* 'it will not be so that I shall protect my people' Ml. 37^a20. But where there is no periphrasis, such combinations are still rare—e.g. *fuirí sídli* (instead of *for súidli*) Sg. 199^a5, and *sin* (for *í-sin*) Ml. 36^a1—although later they become common.

481. (In) *so* and (in) *sin* are also found as accusative after the equative; e.g. *Írithir in so* 'as eager as this (following)' Wb. 27^a19; *deamthir sin* 'as certain as that' Ml. 131^a12. *sin* is dative in *máa sin* 'greater than that' Sg. 150^a1, genitive in *í ndíad sin*, *í ndigáid sin* 'after that' Ml. 75^a8, 71^b11; it may be preceded by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *a fús sin* 'knowledge of that' Wb. 10^a27.

The genitive forms of *suid* are always enclitic and require a possessive pronoun. The regular forms are: ag. masc. neut. *sídli*, fem. *síde*, pl. (all genders) *adé*; but *adli* also occurs as the plural and *ade* as gen. ag. masc. neut. Examples: *a lías sídli* 'that man's faith'; *a sílde ade* 'that woman's beauty'; *a sére ade*, 'love for those'; but also *a m-bés adli* 'horum mos', *a bés ade* 'that man's custom'.

For *ade*, *adli* we occasionally find *de*, Ml Wb. 4^a39, Thes. II. 251, 6, also 'de Wb. 1^a3 (*dé* 28^a29); for *sídli* Ml. 112^a20 has *sáidli*.

482. *so* is certainly identical with the first element of Gaul. *so-sin* and *so-sio* acc. ag. neut. (the latter perhaps also nom. ag. fem.) 'that'. It may be explained by assuming that beside neuter **so(d)* (§ 435) a by-form **so(d)*, modelled on the nom. ag. masc. **so*, fem. **si* (Skt. *so* or *sí*, Gk. *í* η), had developed. Similarly *so* from **sio(d)* (cp. Gaul. *so-sio*), contracting with Skt. *tyat* 'this' (masc. *ya*, fem. *ya*). The ending of *su(l)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 *-din*. 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*)-*sio*; for the ending cp. Gaul. *soet*, 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.

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. *á-, s-,* and *an-* respectively.

	A <i>where</i>	B <i>whither</i>	C <i>whence</i>
<i>here</i>	<i>síu, sína</i>	<i>á-áil (Wb.), á-áil</i>	<i>de-síu</i>
<i>there, beyond</i>	<i>t-all</i>	<i>áin-un(n); áin-áin</i>	<i>an-all</i>
<i>above</i>	<i>t-áas</i>	<i>s-áas</i>	<i>an-áas</i>
<i>below</i>	<i>t-áil</i>	<i>s-áil</i>	<i>an-áil</i>
<i>in front, east</i>	<i>t-áir</i>	<i>s-áir</i>	<i>an-áir</i>
<i>behind, west</i>	<i>t-áir</i>	<i>s-áir</i>	<i>an-áir</i>
<i>right, south</i>	<i>deas</i>	<i>fa-deas, sa-deas</i>	<i>an-deas</i>
<i>left, north</i>	<i>táid</i>	<i>fa-tháidh, sa-tháidh</i>	<i>an-táidh,</i> <i>a-táid</i>
<i>outside</i>		<i>s-échtair, s-échtar</i>	<i>an-échtair,</i> <i>an-échtar</i>

Locative relation to a definite object is expressed by combining the forms of column C with the preposition *fri*; e.g. *fri Eifíll anáir (sic)* 'east of Italy' Wb. 6²17; *frie deáin* 'on this side of her' Sg. 71^b2 (cp. Lat. *ab oriente*). But *deas* and *táidh* may also be employed like prepositions; e.g. *táidh Benna Balrche* Thes. II. 315, 4; *des Argatnáil Imram Brain* § 8.

To the forms with *an-* the preposition *áil* may be prefixed as a further element: *áil-an-áil, áil-an-échtair, áil-an-áas, áil-an-áil*. Besides *áin-un* there are traces of a form *áin-all* (ZCP. III. 410; cp. BC. XXV. 342 § 14).

PRONOMINALS

484. (a) 'The same (as, Ir. *ecus*)' is expressed by nominative *áin(un)n* or *áin(un)n* (in Sg. also *áin-unn, áin-unn*), which is invariable in gender and number. Examples: *áil áin-unn* 'these are the same' Wb. 23^b16; *áil áin-unn persan*

'that the person may be the same' Sg. 189^b2. When used with a feminine noun, it occasionally lenites: *Is inuinn chfall* 'the sense is the same' ML. 77^b1, 114^b1, Sg. 144^b1, but not in ML. 76^a13 or Wb. 7^a10: *ecrop inuinn cretem* 'that the belief may be the same'. That it is a petrified form of the numeral *oñ* with the article (*s-* in *sinuinn* from wrong division of *is-inuinn*) is shown by the other cases, e.g. gen. *Inna déna méite* 'of the same size' Sg. 203^a26.

When it is used substantivally a second *oñ* is added. Examples: nominative after *is*: *Is hínuinn oñ*, 'it is one and the same', *Is sinuinn n-dén* Sg. 198^a5; without *is* but with the pronoun *ed*: *ed'nóndén* Sg., *ed'nun n-oñ* ML. 70^a1; acc. pl. *Inna oíua oíua-sa* 'hoc eodem' 70^a4.

(b) 'The same (as the aforesaid)' is expressed by the regularly inflected numeral adjective *eóin(a)s* 'first' (§ 393) which, however, in this sense comes after the noun with the article; e.g. *a folad eóinae* 'the same substance' as against (a) *eóinae folad* 'the first substance'; *foruua sunu eóinaí* 'on the same words' ML. 133^a2.

485. '-self' is expressed by a great variety of uninflected forms which, except when they accompany a noun with the article (or a proper name) or form the subject of a clause, are combined with a personal or possessive pronoun. They all begin with *f* or *c* (possibly a dialectal variation). The *e* of forms in *-éin* is long; its quantity fluctuates in forms in *-e(l)sín* (as is clear from the metrical evidence), presumably also in those in *-e(l)sine*, *-eísne*. The *i* of forms in *-is(s)ín* may be long, though the mark of length is never found. The syllables *fo-*, *co-* are unstressed.

Collections: Pedersen, *Aspirationes i Irk* p. 93 f. (Wb.); Strachan, ZCP. iv. 488 (Sg.).

	A	B	C	D
sg. 1	<i>féin</i>	<i>fadóin</i>	<i>cóin</i>	<i>cadéin</i>
2	<i>féin</i>	<i>fadóin</i>		
3	maec. neut. <i>fé(l)ssin,</i> <i>fé(l)sín,</i> <i>féin</i>	<i>fadó(l)sín,</i> <i>fadóne (FóI.)</i>	<i>cóin</i>	<i>cadésin</i>

	A	B	C	D
	fem. fé(í)sine, féisne, féis(s)in, fessin	fadísín, fadéine		
pl. 1	fésine	fais(s)in		canín
2	féis(s)ne, fésín	fadéisne, fadísín		
3	féis(s)ne, féis(s)ne, fé(is)sín	fadé(í)sine, fadéine fadésín, fadésín	eéisne	cadéssine cadéssne, cadéssín

Examples: *caraid eoin* 'he himself loves'; *da-berid-sí féisne* 'ye yourselves give it'; *don chrúnn féisín* 'to the tree itself'; *mé féin* 'I myself'; *frínn faisín* or *frínn fésine* 'against ourselves'; *far m-bráthir fadísín* 'your own brother, *wester ipsorum frater*'.

It may be more than mere coincidence that no examples with *e* are attested for the second person (sg. and pl.). The form fé(í)sine seems to occur only in (later ?) poetry. In *Aurascop na n-Éas* 490 the singular for all persons is given as fadéin, the plural as fadésín. -In Mod. Ir. féin has become the universal form.

aille, aille, indala, etc.

486. (a) *aille* 'other', which chiefly occurs in adjectival use after a noun, is declined like an adjectival *eo*-stem (§ 354); e.g. acc. pl. *Éirú aill* 'other men'. The only irregular form is the nom. acc. sg. neut. *aill* (*aill*) (but gen. sg. *aill*, dat. *ailla*, like the masculine). For the meaning 'second' see § 394.

As a substantive it is found only with the article or *nach* 'any': *int aille*, *ind aille*, *a n-aill*; *nach aille*, neut. *na aill*, *na h-aill* (§ 25).

(b) Otherwise the substantival form is masc. fem. *aille*, neut. *ailill* (the latter followed by lenition, § 232, 7), or, with dissimilation, *araille*, *arailil*. This form is always used without the article (acc. pl. masc. *aililla*). 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. *ail-aille* *ML*. 51⁵ and the gen. pl. *ail n-aill*; Sg. has also nom. pl. *ail-aill* (but *Wb.* and *ML* *ailill*). The archaic spelling nom. *ailaill* *RC*. xi.

448, 52 (and acc. sg. fem. *allall* *ibid.* 43) with *-H-* suggests that the fusion originated in the neuter.

On the rare occasions when the form is used adjectivally in this sense, it precedes its noun; e.g. *ala n-alle n-doine* 'ceterorum (sc. hominum)' *ML.* 54²¹.

alall also means 'some, certain' (*quidam, aliqui*), and in this sense is common as an adjective; e.g. *alall thruin* 'of a certain hero' *Sg.* 96⁴; *alall sein* 'something different' 6²⁴.

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 fer* (nom.) . . . *alade* 'the one man . . . the other'; *dondala lucht* . . . *dond lucht allu* 'to the one group . . . to the other group' *Wb.* 16²⁰; *indala-mmod* 'one of the two ways' (*mod* masc.) *ML.* 45¹¹; *indala ehlas* 'the one choir' (*ehlas* fem.) 138¹. Without the article: *il ala leculan Saul* 'by one of Saul's cheeks' 55¹.

A possessive pronoun cannot be used with it; cp. *indara* (= O.fr. *indala*) *Mm* (acc.) 46 'one of his hands' *LU* 5012 f.

Substantival 'the one of them' is usually *indala n-ai* (§ 444), which is also invariable and retains *n-* in all cases, e.g. as genitive *Wb.* 4¹³. It occurs, however, without either article or *n-* in *ala ai* *ZCP.* xv. 316 § 10, 354 § 42.

The plural 'some . . . others' is rendered by *alall* . . . *alall*, or may be expressed by the neuter sg.: *arall dib* . . . *arall LU* 5017; *all* . . . *all Fd.* *Prot.* 23 f.

'Every other' is *each-la* (from *each ala*, written *each le ML.* 19¹); e.g. *each-la sel* . . . *in sel alle, each-la céin* . . . *in céin n-all* 'the one time . . . the other', 'sometimes . . . sometimes'. *each-la* (*each-la*) by itself (i.e. without complementary *alle*) 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 *séig*, lit. 'his, her fellow'. The vocalism of *éile* is often transferred to the masculine substantival pronouns of (a) and (b): *aréile*, *nach é(1)le*.

The quantity of *éile* is attested by *Wb.* 6¹⁵, 6¹⁸, 13⁵. The later form *éille*, which is not confined to the masculine and represents perhaps a blend of *alle* and *éile*, is already found in *ML.*: *i n-éillhrí* 'in pilgrimage' 137⁷, *éillhrigil gl. caelonus*, 48²².

488. *alla*, *protonic ala*, corresponds exactly to Lat. *alica*, Gr. *ἀλική*, Goth. *alja*. The *ll* of the neuter occurs in the composition form *all*- 'second' (§ 394); cp. also *all-afchl* 'on another night' *IF.* n. II. 184, 181 (but *al-anman* 'other names' *ML.* 48³⁴, *all-thir* 'another land' *Trip.* 174, 14, *allthre* 'pilgrimage', etc.). In the other Celtic languages, apart from compounds like Gaul. *Allo-broges*, *W.* *allfre* 'another country' and 'exiled', *ll* is more frequent; e.g. Gaul. *allas* 'second' *masc.* (*ZCP.* xvi. 299), Bret. *all*, and *W.* *arall* 'another' *y allil* 'the other' (where the stem is doubled as in *Ir.* *allile*), as against Bret. and *Mid.W.* *all* 'second' (= *Ir.* *alle*). The Irish forms would appear to represent the earlier distribution of *l* and *ll* (probably < *la*). The neut. *all* 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 *alica*.

nech, ni, nach, na, nechta

Ascoli, *Supplem. period. dell' Archivio Glottologico Italiano* I. 77 ff.

489. (a) *Nom. acc. nech*, *neut. ni*, *gen. nech*, *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-ni* *ML.* 69⁷), which is confined to *ML.*, is probably artificial.

The plural is supplied by *alall*, *arall* (§ 486 b).

nech is also used to support a relative clause; e.g. *comainad nech fer-chaist* 'fulfilling of that (of all that) which they teach' *Wb.* 29¹¹.

(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-alle*, *fem. nach raime* 'any part', *gen. fem. nacha raime*. The *gen. masc. nach baill* *Sg.* 5⁵ is quite isolated.

The plural occurs only in negative clauses (*alall* is used in positive clauses): *nom. neut. nibat nacha arm all* 'let it not be any other arms' *Wb.* 22¹⁴; *acc. masc. neut. ni étade . . . nacha síóglussa i nacha síde gl. nullas indusias adeptis est* *ML.* 111¹⁹⁻²⁰; *dat. (without ending) hé nach mindalb* 'nullis insignibus (cumulari)' 35¹⁶.

The adjectival and substantival neuter forms are often combined: *na-nai*, *na ni* 'anything whatever' (sp. gen. sg. masc. *nach netch* R.C. VIII. 50, 4). For *na še*, *na hē* 'one (none) of them' see § 444.

Accordingly, a relative clause may be preceded by either *ai* (§ 474), *ni* ((a) above), or *nai*; from these a hybrid form *ai* has developed as early as Ml. 10*13.

(c) 'Either (of two)' is *nehtar*, with the pronoun of the 3rd person: *nehtar še* or *nehtar n-ai* (§ 444) with petrified *a*, e.g. dat. *š nehtar n-ai*. It is not used as an adjective, being always followed by a genitive.

čāch, *cach*, *cech*, *cehtar*

See *Ascoli* loc. cit. (§ 489).

490. (a) 'Everyone' is expressed by nom. acc. dat. *čāch*, gen. *čāch*. It takes the article only when it is defined by a relative clause, and even then not invariably; e.g. in *čāčich* *cretes* 'of everyone who believes' Wb. 2*11. The substantival neuter is supplied by *cach ni*, *cech ni* (lit. 'every something').

(b) The adjectival forms are *cach* (with short *a*), *cech*, the first being the usual form in Wb. and Sg., the second in Ml. They are used for all genders and are indeclinable in the singular, apart from gen. fem. *cacha*, *cecha* (*cache* Thes. II. 255, 4) and the exceptional gen. neut. *cach* 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 dehdāna* 'all cars' Wb. 3*30; gen. *cecha sólnmeth* 'rerum omnium' Ml. 91*12; dat. *hi cacha persanaib* 'in omnibus personis' Sg. 208*11 (sp. Wb. 16*27). But forms without any ending are also found: acc. *sech cech riga* 'beyond all kings' Ml. 84*1, dat. *š cach tharmmorenib* 'from all endings' Sg. 43*5.

Before numerals it has a distributive function: *cach oīa* 'every single one', *cach da* 'every two', *cach cōccer* 'every five men'. For *cach-la* (instead of *cach ala*) see § 487 (c).

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 *each-as*, *each-ae* (*Wb.* 12⁴⁶ still *each n-as*); but after a preposition *frī each n-ds* *Sg.* 28⁸.

(c) *cechtar* 'each (of two)' is always substantival and indeclinable, e.g. *cechtar in-da rann* 'each of the two parts' *Sg.* 74⁵. With a pronoun of the 3rd person the form is either *cechtar n-al* with petrified *n-* (except *Thes. II.* 249, 11) like *nechtar n-al* (§ 489 c), or *cechtar ds* (as genitive *ML.* 31²³).

In *ML.* *cechtardae* has become one word, which is not only combined with *dlib* (§ 444), but actually inflected as an adjective in order to render *Lat. uterque*. Thus *inna cechtardal* 'utroque' 122⁹, in *léshaire cechtardae-se* 'utrumque luminare' 121²³; similarly adverbial in *chechtartid* (= in *chechtardid*) 'utrobique' *Thes. II.* 26, 37. This use, although in origin doubtless a Latinism, is found in the later language also.

491.

OR THE FORMS *cích, nesh, xcc.*

The word *cích* (declined as an *o*-stem), *OW. papp.* points to **ǵ^hōǵ^hos*. It may correspond to *Lith. kėts*, *O.Slav. kės* 'of what sort?'; since *kėts* also has the indefinite meaning 'any'. But it could also have arisen from a combination of the (interrogative and) indefinite pronoun **ǵ^hōt*, with an adverbial form of the same stem; cp. perhaps *Leah. fr-ud* as 'wherever'. The shortening in proclitic *cích* is regular. The *ly*-form *cech* does not correspond to *Bret. pep*, which represents shortened **pep* = *cích*. *cechtar* is probably modelled on *nechtar*, but does not of itself suffice to explain *cech* (beside *nesh*); this may have been influenced by *cecha* 'whatever' (§ 481 a).

nesh, unstressed *nesh*, *Britann. nep*, obviously goes back to **ne-ǵ^hos*, and its original meaning was doubtless 'no-one'. After it had become usual for the verb of the sentence to be also negated (cp. vulgar English 'I didn't see nobody'), the original negative force of *nesh* may have ceased to be felt, and thus the word could come to be used as 'any'; cp. *Lith. nėkas* 'something', or *O.Pr. nē* 'anyone' in conditional sentences. Neuter *nī*, pronic *na* with gemination, is peculiar, suggesting as it does a basic form **nēǵ^h* instead of **nēǵ^hos* (or **ǵ^hēd*) 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 *-s* (= *Lat. -sus*, *ZCP. XVI.* 237), though this word, unlike *nī*, is always enclitic and unstressed. The length of the vowel (as against *nesh*) is quite regular in Irish (§ 44 b); its quality (*-i* instead of *-ē*) may be due to the influence of *an-i* (cp. *Zimmer, KZ.* xxx. 456 f.). *nechtar*, too, implies a basic form ending in a guttural.

It is probable that *nechtar* and *cechtar* were originally neuter nouns, like the other substantives with this termination (§ 395); 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 cases and eventually spread to *indata n-ad* (§ 487).

RELATIVE CLAUSES AND PARTICLES

Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXV. 340 ff., especially 373 ff.

492. RELATIVE PARTICLE AFTER PREPOSITIONS

Strictly speaking, Irish has a relative particle in one construction only: where a preposition is required to express the relation of the antecedent to the remainder of the relative clause. In this construction the preposition at the beginning of the clause is followed by an element which has the same form as the acc. sg. neut. of the article (§ 468), i.e. *-aⁿ* or *-saⁿ* according as the preposition originally ended in a vowel or a consonant: *ar-aⁿ*, *di-aⁿ*, *oc(s)-aⁿ*; *cosaⁿ*, *fris(s)aⁿ*, *lásaⁿ*, *trésaⁿ*; *foraⁿ* beside *farsaⁿ*, but only *steraⁿ*, *etiraⁿ*. In its relative function this element is invariable in gender, number, and case.

Before *aⁿ* the prep. *do* becomes *dí*, thus falling together with the prep. *dí*. Beside *fo-aⁿ* we also find *fuaⁿ* and *foⁿ* (probably *fóⁿ*), e.g. *Ml.* 35^b16, 18; for *ó-aⁿ* also *uaⁿ* and *óⁿ* (cp. § 114). Instead of *íⁿ* with the relative particle simple *íⁿ* is always used.

For *fris-* the (late) legal MSS. often have *frist-* (e.g. *Laws* I. 368, 15-16, 19), which probably represents an earlier form *frise-*.

The same formation appears in the conjunctions *dísⁿ* 'if, when', *araⁿ* 'in order that', *eoⁿ* *conⁿ* 'until, so that' (see § 473).

Before the *d* of infixed pronouns and before the 3 sg. *-d* and *-b* (*-p*) of the copula, (s)an-, (s)am- is replaced by (s)in-, (s)im-, except in *dian-*, *fean-*, *oan-*; e.g. *arin-d-spúr* 'for which I say it', *arim-p* 'in order that it may be'. Where the copula forms constitute a syllable the vowel is elided; e.g. *airndib*, *airndip* 'so that it may be'; *airmbad* 'so that it might be', pl. *airmtdis* *airmtdis*. A similar elision sometimes takes place before the substantive verb *bíid*—e.g. *fris-m-bíid* *Sg.* 202^b3

beside *tresa-m-m* Wb. 23^b5—and before infixed pronouns (§ 413). In poetry it occurs before other verbs also; e.g. *mí fris-tarddam* 'something to which we can give' SP. (Thea. II. 293, 19); *las-ladd* 'with whom (he) went' Fél. June 15; *ees-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: *ána-rruethas* 'to whom should not have been born' Thea. II. 241, 9 (Arm.) (positive *dia-*); *oena-bfat* 'with which there are not' Ériu I. 218 § 2; *asmasha-tucsd* 'out of which he would not have brought them' ML. 125^b7; *dinacón-m* 'from which is not wont to be' 85^b7; *eid arna-* Sg. 198^b3; similarly *arna-* 'in order that not', *eonna-* or *eona-* (§ 146) 'that not'.

493. When the relative clause stands in any other relation to its antecedent, its relative character can be shown in one or other of the following ways:

1. The 3rd persons of simple verbs, absolute flexion, and in the earlier period the 1st pl. also, have special relative forms. The other persons are preceded by the verbal particle *no* (§ 538, 2b), which has the same effects on the following initial as a preposition (see 5 below).

Only in poetry can *no* apparently be dispensed with; e.g. *ata saibhri saighe* 'whose riches it is that ye seek' Fél. Frol. 162.

2. Negative relative clauses employ the negatives *náid*, *ná* (before infixed pronouns *nách-*), also *nadeón*, *nadheón*, instead of *ní*, *níeón* (§§ 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. *neón-narta-ní* 'who strengthens us' Wb. 6^d11 (class C) beside *ronn-íe-ní* 'which has saved us' 21^b8 (A); *donabhi frissid-n-óireis* 'to those

who used to injure him ' ML. 39*20 (C) beside *neich frit-curethar* *chéill* 'of anyone who worships him' 41*16 (B).

Collection: *Strochan, Ériu* i. 155 f.

4. The pretonic prepositions *im(m)*· and *ar*· have disyllabic forms in relative clauses: *imme*· or *imma*·, *ara*· (arch. *are*·).

In several examples, however, *ar* is found before *ro*, the stress then shifting to the next element; e.g. *int airdérgud ar-ro-dérgestar* 'the plan which he has planned' *Wh.* 4*13 (i.e. regularly from *ara-ro*· in accordance with § 117). In other positions *ar* and *im* are rare, being found chiefly in ML; e.g. *is bed ar-thá in so* 'it is this that remains over' *Wh.* 30*13 (usually *is bed in so ara-thá*); *ré im-ráid* (perhaps *·imráid*, see § 6 below) 'a time when he might think' ML. 41*4.

Occasionally relative clauses have *reme*· for *remi*· (§ 351 B) and *larma*· for *larma*·, *larmu*· (§ 349 B). For *assa*· instead of *ar*· see § 534.

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 pretonic forms of compound verbs in a relative clause of either of the above classes is rare. Examples: *di nach tháiribier* 'of what is denoted' (*to,fo-rind*·) *Eg.* 33*18; *nach déstar* 'anyone who has eaten' *Ériu* vii. 146 § 2; *inill teigaba* 'of him who has committed' *ibid.* 142 § 9; cp. ML. 33*22. For the use of such clauses in reply to questions see § 32, 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 *ro*, *no*, to which no infixed personal pronoun is attached, as well

as the negative *náid*, lenite the following initial. Examples: *din gaim ior-choinnacair* 'to the deed which happened' *ML.* 113⁴3; a *n-ad-achiam* 'that which we see' 112⁴13; *innamí imme-churair* 'of those who carry' *Wb.* 5⁴5; *ind hull doimí ro-chreistset* 'all men who have believed' *ML.* 60⁴16; *is hed in so no-chairgúr* 'this is what I reprimand' *Wb.* 11⁴1; *sillab nad-shuindí* 'a syllable that does not express' *Sg.* 25⁴13.

The lenition is, of course, absent in the cases mentioned § 231, 3 and 4. Further, the initial of the copula is not lenited after *ro* and *na*; e.g. *intí ropo magister* 'he who was magister' *Wb.* 13⁴12a; *napo chenél* 'which was not a kindred' 5⁴14.

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. *bíd húaibhad creiffes* 'it will be a small number that will believe' 4⁴5; *forsnaí comalnatar* 'on those who fulfil' 20⁴1; a *éisms* 'what we suffer' 13⁴7 (here *c = g* because preceded by *aⁿ*).

In *ML.* they are sometimes lenited after the forms of *intí*; e.g. *indí chomallaité* 'those who fulfil' 114⁴7. In *Sg.* lenition has become widespread (except after *aⁿ*); e.g. *cisí aimser derb thechtas* 'what is the definite time that it has?' 26⁴6. Even here, however, *níl íle* is never lenited, § 780, 2.

Lenition of a prepositional proposition is very rare: *in ní chon-dáigí* 'the king whom thou seekest' *Thes. II.* 236, 5; similarly *ML.* 57⁴4.

(c) The absolute forms of the copula, whether specifically relative or not, lenite the following initial. Examples: *and as ehoirsne* 'that which is contrary' *Wb.* 17⁴27; *do rétaib ata chosmaill* 'of things that are similar' *ML.* 51⁴8; *níp hé-som bes foreann* '(provided) it is not it (mass.) that is the end' *Sg.* 169⁴1; *indíí beta thulesí* 'those who shall be chosen' *Wb.* 4⁴40; *ba hed ón ba cheir* 'it were that that were proper' 10⁴9; *nech bed chare* 'anyone that was a friend' *ML.* 29⁴16; *bettis chumtachtalb gl. figendís* 102⁴10 (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-béir*

'there is, however, (something) that I will say' Wb. 32²²; *gonas géntair* '(he) who slays shall be slain' ZCP. XI. 86 § 40; *ra-fítr as lla* 'the majority (lit. 'what is more') knows it' Wb. 23²¹.

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 géntile* 'I am the apostle of the Gentiles' lit. 'he who is the apostle of the Gentiles is I' Wb. 5¹⁷, *had sínd con-éit* (sg.) 'let it be ye that shall be indulgent' 6¹, *is síb síb chomairi* 'it is ye that are heirs' 19²⁰. The examples in ML of a different construction, such as *no-thorznigiar gl. na síntere* 126¹⁹, 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-bíite-som lúnd feannam* 'of the time they are in the service' ML. 28⁹.

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'), *eáin* and *eéne* 'as long as' (from *éian* 'long time'), *aⁿ* 'while, when' (as distinct from *aⁿ* '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 *hár*, *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: *sechl chruíth dand-rón* 'whatever be the manner in which I may be able to do it' Wb. 5¹⁸; *is sí méit in síd do-n-índnagar in díthnad* 'that is the extent to which the consolation is bestowed' 14¹⁵.

Accordingly they are also used after *amail* (arch. *amail*) and *íib*, *feib* 'as' (oblique cases of *samail* 'likeness' and *feb* 'quality').

Here, too, belongs the construction described § 388, where a neuter adjective used in periphrasis with the copula defines the modality of the following clause; e.g. *arndip maith n-airiethar 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: *farsint soirad sin rond-sóer*, lit. 'after that deliverance whereby he delivered him', i.e. 'after he had thus delivered him' ML. 52; a forcital *forndob-canar* 'the teaching that (in Irish rather 'how') ye are taught' Wb. 3^o23; *I n-aimsr in tindmacu(I) sin da n-écomnacht dia inni Saúl* 'at the time of that deliverance whereby God delivered that Saul' ML. 55^o1.

500. (d) When the antecedent supplies the concept that constitutes the predicative nominative of the relative clause. Examples: *cid dréallnide m-bes chechtar in da rann* 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' Eg. 202^o3; *plebs dei saudan-berthe-nl* '(it is) plebs dei that we used to be called' ML. 114^o7. The same construction appears in *ol-dán* 'than I' after comparatives (§ 779, 1), lit. 'beyond what I am', 3 ag. pret. *ol-oh-bod*, etc., although here the antecedent is not expressed.

501. (e) Optionally (in place of a limiting relative clause, § 494) when the antecedent is felt as the object of the verb of the relative clause. Examples: *it hé síd as-m-bér sí* 'it is these (things) that he mentions below' Wb. 10^o13; *dun chách á-galbs* 'to everyone they seize' ML. 76^o16.

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-aⁿ*, but after *cid* the present construction is occasionally found; e.g. *cid no-m-betha* 'wherefore shouldst thou be?' Wb. 4^o24. The meaning here may be a development of (b).

Further, with the verb *tá-* (§ 779, 2) in the sense of 'to be vexed with someone': e.g. *is hed dáthar (d = nasalized t) dom* 'that is why people are vexed with me' Wb. 21⁹, pret. *is hed ro-m-both dom* 23²⁴, 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, 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 *séht* '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. *had nertad dáib in so as-n-éirsid* 'let this be a strengthening for you, that ye will arise again' Wb. 25²⁶. 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 ardam-reichills-se* '(it is clear) in that thou hast guarded me' Ml. 74⁷. 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 *náid*, *ná* nasalize the following initial. Examples: *óre do-n-éomnacht* 'because he has imparted' Wb. 1¹; *in tan ara-béghthar (h = nasalized t)* 'when it is read out' 9³; *a-uno-n-derbid* 'when ye prove' 22²⁴; *ní náid-m-bia* 'not

that there will not be' 13^d17; *arna-tomentis na-m-bad rath* 'lest they should suppose that it is not a grace' 12^d21.

Sometimes, however, the initial of the copula is not nasalized after the negative; e.g. *Wb.* 16^d4, 18^d8.

(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-fonn-fóirde alamm* 'as a noun signifies it' *Sg.* 26^d12 the double nasalization is very peculiar, more especially as the word *amal* lenites, e.g. *am(al) chon-dagam* (= *chon-á-dagam*) 'as we ask' *MI.* 107^d8. It is probably a scribal error.

(c) Nasalization of the relative forms of simple verbs, except the copula, is usual (though not quite consistently shown) in *Wb.*; in later sources it is found more regularly. Examples: in *tain m-bís* 'when he is' *Wb.* 17^d3 (beside in *tain bís* 28^d28, where, however, the *m* may have been dropped between *n* and *b*); *amal á-guidess* 'as he prays' 24^d19; *hóre déte* (for *téte*, *d* = nasalized *t*) 'because he goes' 11^d7; *fo bith á-énaigedar* 'because he unites' *Sg.* 172^d4.

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: *eáin bas m-béo* 'so long as he is alive' *Wb.* 10^d23; *do thaidbáin as n-íress* 'to show that it is faith' 19^d14; *ol at á-ámetha* 'because they are opportune' *MI.* 121^d15.

In the later Glosses *n* occasionally appears before unstressed words; e.g. *as n-dí thalam MI.* 68^d4.

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 bith*, etc.; e.g. *hóre ní-ro-ímdibed* 'because he had not been circumcised' *Wb.* 23^d25. 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^d17; in *tain ro-po míthích* 'when it was time'

19⁴⁷ (beside *in tain ro-m-be mithig* 31⁴⁹); *ol is ameln* 'since it is so' 6⁸; *is derb is fir ón* 'it is certain (that) it is true' 25⁴¹⁰.

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 tóighn grán . . . óus is hífhe hólbgedar* 'as the sun is prior . . . and it is the day that makes clear' ML 86¹¹. *ní* instead of *ná(n)* in the second clause occurs particularly often. Collection: Strachan, *Ériu* 1. 155, note 4; cp. further Wb. 10¹¹.

Subject and object clauses (§ 503) can also be introduced by conjunctions like *ara*ⁿ, *eo*ⁿ, *eia*; 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 *ro-sfu*, *ri-sfu* 'before', which elsewhere is never followed by relative construction, occurs once with a nasalizing and once with a leniting relative clause: *resfu do-n-diahsith* 'before they came' 104⁵, *risfu ad-étheh* 'before he saw' 38⁹.

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 114⁹ (cp. Wb. 2⁴, § 383 *supra*); with a leniting clause: *ní fris ru-chét* 'it is not with reference to it that it has been sung' ML 64¹³, *is dó thucad* 'it is for this that it has been cited' Sg. 45¹⁹.

Leniting in place of regular nasalizing relative clauses also occur; e.g. *eid dian 7 eian ne-théirín* 'though I went fast and far' ML 41⁹ (cp. 19¹¹, 22¹⁴); *do-adhdar as choms(udlighe)* '(it) is shown to be a compound' Sg. 207⁹. Even after conjunctions which normally do not take the relative construction a relative clause is occasionally found; e.g. *eo for-shengrám-ní* 'that we should order' Wb. 11^{16a}; *ei ara-rubartat bluth* 'though they have enjoyed' ML. 91¹; similarly *ma 'ra-rubart bluth* 112⁵.

507.

GENITIVAL RELATION

Irish has no special form for the genitive of the relative. Genitival relation is expressed by one or other of the following constructions:

(a) The clause simply appears in the non-relative form, as in § 505, 1; e.g. *ataat réte áic, ní réid a m-brith fri corpu* 'there are things here which it is not easy to refer to bodies' (lit. 'not easy is their reference to bodies', aⁿ being the ordinary possessive pronoun) *Wb.* 13⁴.

(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 relation remains unexpressed. Examples: *don bráthir as éúirt menme* 'to the brother whose mind is weak' *Wb.* 10¹; *is ed as maam serc la tuistidil* 'that is what is most loved by parents', lit. 'love (of which) by parents is greatest' *ML.* 99⁵.

In poetry the possessive pronoun a can be appended to the copula (cp. (c) below); e.g. *na fíle asa-a fortrín talnam* 'of the poets whose radiance is mighty' *Fél. Frol.* 330; *ata (= ata-a) n-aidéil briga* 'whose vigorous 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: *fír as-a e[h]athach* 'of the man whose trespass it is' *Laws v.* 500, 13 (*HL.2.15*); *in gilla-sa ata (= ata-a) chomrama óen-aidche so ulc* 'this lad whose fights of a single night all this is' *LU* 9155; *bennachais in rig bá (= ba-a) galsced* '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 sinm his isnaib títiaib* *ML.* 2³; cp. also *Zenobí ata (= ata-a) seál re-e[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. *gal . . . na-cuméidis curaid comúidh* 'a spear which heroes could not move' *Togal Troi* (ed. Stokes) 1730.

(d) If the substantive to be qualified by the gen. is itself governed by a preposition, the relative particle (*s)a* (§ 492) attached to the preposition can function as the genitive of the relative, but is then separated from its noun by the verb. Example: *lasna cumachtgu fo-a-m-biat . . . máim* 'by the mighty, under whose yoke they are' *ML* 59⁴⁷ (non-relative: *bíit fo-a máim*). Here too, *l'* is used without the relative particle; e.g. *mór n-ingen i-rraha fáim charúes* 'many (are the) maidens in whose friendship thou hast been' *IT*, III, 482, l. 254. The lenition (*charúes*) 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: *eáich as-a aí* 'of each person whose (property) it is' *Laws* IV, 314, 15; *iníi bess-a hní Cassel* 'he to whom Cassel will belong' *Anecd.* III, 63, 14.

Collections illustrating the above constructions: *Federsen, KZ*, xxxv, 339 L; *xlv*, 116 E. Similar constructions are occasionally found where a relative pronoun is available. Examples: *nech súidgíther leo dáingen dá* 'anyone to whom is established a strong place' *ML* 87¹⁵ (instead of *dá-a-súidgíther*); *ní-fáil ní nód-táil mo áilgáth-as fáil* 'there is nothing on which my law does not touch' *Sg.* 26²⁷ (instead of *fora-táil*).

508. An amalgamation of relative constructions similar to that in § 507 (c) is also found when a superlative is taken out of the relative clause and placed in front of it in periphrasis with a relative form of the copula (§ 383). Here, however, against the rule in § 498, the second relative clause remains a leniting one. Examples: *innání as deg ro-chréitset* *Wb.* 31⁶ 'of those who have best believed' (non-relative: *is deg ro-chréitset*, with nasalized *e*); *as maam ro-éochestair aráidetaid* 'who has most followed antiquity' *Sg.* 208¹⁵.

This recalls the *MELW.* construction in *y ureis wyaí a pará* 'the woman whom he loved most', where *wyaí* is actually lenited as though it were an attribute of *pará*.

ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, ETC.

509. (a) In all three Britanno 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 limiting particle *a*; e.g. Mid.W. *g gar a garet* 'the man who loved' or 'whom she loved' (*garet* limited form of *carat*). The Irish limiting relative clauses, too, can be explained by assuming that a non-palatal vowel once stood, not at the beginning of the clause, but enclitically after its first element, whether this element was a preverb (preposition, negative particle) or the verb itself. After consonants and non-palatal vowels this vowel was lost, but its effect has survived in the lenition of the following initial. After palatal vowels it has remained as *-a* (§ 94) in *Imme* (*Imria*), *ara* (*ara*) § 493, 4; further in *rel. berde berte* beside non-relative *berit* 'they bear', *gudme* beside *gudmí* 'we pray', *téte*, pret. *luidte*, beside *téit* 'goes', *luid*, etc.; cp. also *file* beside *fil* (§ 780, 2). For a more detailed analysis of the relative verbal forms see §§ 508 E. This vowel cannot, however, correspond to Britanno *a*, if the earlier form of the latter was *-ai* (probably with silent *h*), which is the usual spelling in the Old Welsh computus (ZCP, VIII. 408; cp. Ifor Williams, Bull. Board Celt. Stud. III. 245 ff.). A different vowel is suggested by the Gaulish 3 pl. rel. *dupicanti-ic*, Dottin no. 33, where it is uncertain whether the form should be analysed as *dupicanti-ic* or whether the last *i* is merely a glide. Possibly *e* is also contained in the MSd.Bret. rel. 3 ag. of the copula 'e-o, should the ending here be really old and not merely modelled on *as* 'is'. If it be permissible to infer that the oldest Celtic form was *je* and that the *j* was lost very early, we are at once reminded of the IE. *noster* of the relative, **iod* = Skt. *yat*, Gk. *ē*.

510. (b) The problem of the nasalizing relative clauses may be approached from two angles. One hypothesis, starting from § 492, is that an element *-as**, identical in form with the *noster* 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 *a*-, 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 *a*-, for such verbal forms are not confined to nasalizing relative clauses; see § 507). 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, *a* would have been completely lost. Then, in order to prevent confusion with the limiting 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 limiting relative clauses, lenition of the initial of simple verbs was similarly borrowed from the compound verbs (§ 493 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 in 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 in-ñis* (§ 504 c) *n-* came to be felt, not as the effect of a preceding accusative but rather as the sign of a relative connexion. The same would apply to *arudip malth n-ñirlethar* (§ 493) 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 *na*) 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 1^a 'in which').

Both of these explanations are somewhat forced. The first, for example, would lead one to expect relative verbal forms in *-it* rather than *-ta*. But the second is still less convincing. At any rate it is evident that there has been confusion between various types of clause. The use of conjunct or prototonic verbal forms after the conjunctions *ar-aⁿ*, *di-aⁿ*, (*soⁿ*), which really belong to the principal clause, and after prepositions with the relative particle *-(s)aⁿ* 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 on *ara-m-bera* 'that he may use' (from *ar-beltr*), etc.; for prepositionless *aⁿ* 'that (which)' and 'when' takes absolute or deuterotonic verbal forms after it, and so do the prepositions employed as conjunctions, *ó* 'since, after', and *so* (without *aⁿ*) 'so that'.

511. (c) In both types of relative clauses, as well as after the above-mentioned conjunctions with *aⁿ*, 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 *eia* 'though' and *ma* 'if' (§ 426), and is certainly contained in *nld*, the negative used in relative clauses (§ 863); cp. the neg. 3 sg. of the copula *nant* (*nand*, *nan*), pl. *nandat* (§ 797), where relative *-a-* is inserted.

The Britannie dialects have a verbal particle corresponding phonetically to this element: Mid.W. *yd* (*y* before consonants), Corn. *yd* (*yd*, *y*), Mid.Bret. *es*. 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 yelwir* '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. *ies-id*, Mid.W. *yeyd*, later *eydd*, where it is used after the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' to characterize the

relative form (unless, indeed, *-gd* has here developed from *-(g)ā*, 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 *clā* and *ma* is doubtless the same particle. It is true that Mid.W. *cyt* 'although', neg. OW. *cinwit*, has *t*, not *þ*; but in Welsh the infix or affix *t* (§ 456), which had lost all meaning, came to be used so widely that even before verbs *d* *gd* (before consonants) appears beside *g(ŷ)* (Strachan, *Introduction to Early Welsh* § 91). The Mid.Bret. form *mo's* (with *s* < *d*) shows that in this position Britanno had originally a particle with *d*. In Irish (1) *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. *idā* 'here' has been suggested; on phonetic grounds one might also consider Gk. *ἄν*, which in Homer means 'and', but in Cyprian is further used to introduce a principal following a subordinate clause.

THE VERB

Collections: (1) *Grammatica Celtica*,² p. 425 ff., verbal forms in the Glosses; supplemented from later mss. by Stokes, *Kuhn's Beitr.* vi. 459 ff., vii. 1 ff. (2) Pedersen n. 460 ff., comprehensive list of forms drawn from a wide range of sources (supplemented by Thurneysen, *IF. Ann.* xxxiii 32 ff., and Kuno Meyer (Foster), *ZCP.* xviii. 303 ff.); reprinted in *Pod.*² 334-403 (as a rule without references) together with many additional forms.

For the verbal system as a whole, cp. also Bandiā, *BC.* xi. 104 ff.; Strachan, *ZCP.* n. 460 ff., iii. 474 ff.; for the forms in *-r*, Dottin, *Les Désinences Verbales en r en Sanscrit, en Italique et en Celtique* (1896); for the dependent forms, Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1891-94, p. 444 ff.

GENERAL

512.

OMISSION OF VERB

A finite verb is contained in most Irish clauses, including every clearly dependent clause. In addition to clauses where the copula is left unexpressed (§ 816), 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 druidib ocus dona fíledaib* 'off with the heads of the druids and the poets!' *ZCP.* iii. 5 § 15; *a Héirinn dúib-sí* 'get ye gone out of Ireland!' (do introduces the prospective agent) *ibid.* 4 § 9; *in comram do thairisem beus no in muceo dó raínn*, lit. 'the contest for abiding or the pig for division', i.e. 'on with the contest or let the pig be divided' *Sc.M.* § 11.

(b) Descriptions; e.g. *cúlmonga (-ae ms.) foralb, brúit fanidi impu uil, tanaslaidd (-de ms.) óir inna m-brataib, cúarsóith chréudmal foralb*, etc., 'long back-hair upon them, green cloaks about them all, gold clasps in their cloaks, bent shields of bronze upon them' *LU* 7086 ff.; *tairmchell corn ocus eubrend* 'passing round of drinking horns and portions' *IT.* i. 67, 4.

Collection: Bandiā, *ZCP.* ix. 312 E.

513.

POSITION OF VERB

In prose the finite verb always stands at the head of its clause. Apart from pretonic prepositions and similarly used adverbs (§ 384), it can be preceded only by conjunctions, interrogatives, relative (s)aⁿ 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 choinn for-chaíat* '[it is] the will of the flesh that they teach' *Wb.* 20²⁰.

In the Brittonic 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 preserves 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 (*triosc*). Examples: *áin rig de-rea rííat* 'from the King who has created the (celestial) spaces' *Lucan Brain* § 48 (in prose: *de-rííat rea*, from *to-use-som* with *re*). The negative particle may be similarly separated from the verb: *nech réit nár-asa mainb níastar* 'any object which shall not be estimated according to its value' *ZCP*, xi. 94 § 22. An infixed pronoun remains attached to the first element: *na-m-choimíidiu coim* 'the Lord cherishes me' *Sg.* 204 (*Thes.* ii. 290, 11); *for-don-íige Bríge* *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 (§ 642), the latter pretonic forms. Examples: *Geneháirde len Eilg n-áragar* 'one peace-treaty is established throughout Ireland' *O'Dav.* 768 (*ad-regar*); *finiu for oíl cúldegar* 'hereditary land is claimed back' *Laws*, iv. 28, 14 (cp. *Ériu* xii. 198). Sometimes the verb has a suffixed pronoun referring to an object already expressed; e.g. *Íhru Solman seá-us* 'the books of Solomon, he followed them' *BC*, xi. 254, obviously a blend of two constructions: *Íhru S. seástar* and *Íhruir* (*nom.*) *S. seáim*.

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: *ceo íommuin m-bélgalg m-bung* 'although I reap blistered seaweed' *Corn.* 1069 (*ceo* *lit.* 'though it is'); *diam fríthe fogla (sic) íep. íe thúsíthab comáiríer* 'if thou find a wail thou shalt inquire throughout the territories' *O'Dav.* 488 (*diam* 'if it be'); *ba sedursan napa áib ímáib comáináb comáináb* 'it was a great pity that he did not come to battle with two whole hands' *LL* 123²⁸; *apráid nach Fergas mac Leil (m. -te) láid* 'also that F. m. L. did not go' *Gld.* 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 *duffiontio* (§ 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 *-ager*, *-iyer* (§ 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-el* 'sees', *do-fel* 'looks at' have deponent flexion only in the subjunctive (§ 609); *daibid* 'admits', *con-lee* 'can', *do-ocmaing*, *for-cumaing* 'happens', *saidid* 'sits' only in the preterite indicative (§ 603); and *com-are* 'ask' only in the preterite indicative and the subjunctive (§ 619). Conversely *re-cluimthar* 'hears' has an active preterite (§ 637).

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', *re-both* 'people have been', etc.

MOODS

515. The Irish verb distinguishes three moods:

1. Indicative,
2. Imperative, or mood of commands and prohibitions,
3. Subjunctive.

USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

For details see Strachan, 'On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish', *Trans. Phil. Society* 1896-8, 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. *had* (ipv.) *had do·gnoid* (pr. subj.) 'let it be that that ye do' *Wb.* 5²⁹⁰ (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. *sehra-siu gl. liberato* *MI.* 61¹⁵ as against *non-sóer-ai gl. cōcōtus* 46²⁶. So too in the other persons; e.g. *imb i cōin fa i n-accus beo-sa nicon·chleor . . .* (subj.) 'whether I be far or near, let me not hear . . .' *Wb.* 23⁴¹ as against *tiag-sa* (ipv.) 'let me go (at once)' *MI.* 58⁶; *sén dé don-té for-don-té* 'God's blessing lead us, help us' *Theo.* II, 299, 29.

In the irregular I eg. *de-futhris-sa, de-dóthris* 'I would fail' (see § 424) the subjunctive is apparently transferred to the verb of wishing itself, as in O.Lat. *sciam* (cp. *Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax* I, 60 f.).

517. (b) To indicate uncertainty. Thus in the older language it is regularly used after *bís* 'perhaps'; e.g. *bís níp áill do dainib* 'perhaps it is not pleasing to men' *Fól. Epíl.* 417. It may also be used in indirect questions; e.g. *ve*

communissini cum illo gl. duís indip fechunn lece dó a indarpe 'to see if perchance his expulsion may be a cause of salvation for him' Wb. 26^b27. 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 moldach* less 'he pities whomsoever he pleases' Wb. 4^a19; *cech (ms. cdech) irnigde do-n-gneid* 'every prayer that ye make' 5^a20; in *tan Imme-romastar nach neib* 'whenever any saint sins' (pr. subj. with *re*) Ml. 51^a18. 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. *ní-tabir dia fern-ní fechúth . . . naí-fe-chemolsam* 'God puts not upon us (any kind of) suffering which we cannot endure' Wb. 14^a15 ('can' is expressed not by the subjunctive but by the prep. *-com-*, § 533); and even (*ne commotius in se*) *quam modus patitur . . . (windicetur) gl. acht amal fund-té* 'but as it endures it' Ml. 32^a2. So too after *co^a* 'until' the subjunctive may be used to denote that the event, while expected, is not absolutely certain; e.g. *indnaldid sund co-tís-[s]a asind íd* '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 *restit* 'before' (§ 895).

518. (e) In nasalizing relative clauses which serve as subject or object (§ 503), except after verbs of saying and thinking. Examples: *eun-le cid a cumachtae n-doindae n-du-n-ema in duine* 'even human power is able to protect a man' Ml. 74^b14; *is écen dam nonda-ges dait-siu* 'it is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee' 21^a9. 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 isindísín 'heretics say that this is the difference that is shown therein' *MI.* 24^a25; do-ruménar-sa rom-sa dia 'I thought I was a god' 49^a13; ní nád-m-bia eid cumseagud donaib peethachaib 'not that there will not be even a change for the sinners' *Wb.* 13^a17. For examples with the subjunctive see § 520, 2.

TENSE

519. I. In the indicative five tenses are distinguished by means of stem-formation or inflexion:

1. The present, for present and universal or indefinite time. In narrative prose it is very frequently used as historic present, but not after ní 'not' and hardly ever after co^a 'so that' (cp. however *LU* 4907).

The verb 'to be' has a special consuetudinal present bíid '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 re-finnadar 'gets to know, finds out' (as against re-fithir 'knows') can occasionally mean 'is wont to know' (e.g. in *MI.* 99^a10).

2. The imperfect or iterative preterite (formerly called secondary present) denotes repeated or customary action in past time. Examples: dú-téigís cucum in tan no-m-bíinn hí sóinnmí 'they used to come to me when I was in prosperity' *MI.* 109^a1; dúnd íbhairt ad-oparthe 'for the offering that used to be offered' *Wb.* 15^a20; ní-laimthe-som do dúscud co-n-dúsced a éenur 'no one ever dared to wake him until he awoke of himself' *LU* 4911; nos-fethed-som a e[h]lucho colléic, fo-cherded a háthróit '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-chaired im(murga) Pátraic at-conaite a fair como comdeon bás dí 'turning back, however, P. saw his sister was near to death' 12, 8. This is probably a Latinism, as is also its use in a descriptive passage (*Anal. 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 actium completed at a future point of time (*futurum exactum*). An example of the latter is : *In tan ne-scairub frisna hulli deithidnea domaindi* 'when I shall have parted from all worldly anxieties' (gl. cum vacare) *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 eras* or *fuisset*). Examples : *Is diim-sa tairrehet ad-ciehtis genti per me* 'it is of me it has been prophesied that Gentiles would see per me' *Wb.* 7·2 ; *as-berit Fiacc . . . nand-rigad* (sec. fut.) *con-tised* (past subj.) *Pátricc* 'P. said he would not go until (= unless) P. should have come' *Theo.* II. 242, 6 (*Arm.*).

(b) In a modal sense, with no temporal limitation, to indicate that under certain conditions something could occur (*potential*), or—still more frequently—that something would, should, or could happen (with the neg. : would not happen, etc.) or have happened under certain conditions which, however, remain unfulfilled (*modus irrealis*) ; the conditions may be either expressly stated or merely implied. Examples : *mad* (past subj.) *áill dúib cíd acaldam neich dúib da-rigénte* (sec. fut.) 'should ye desire even to converse with any of them ye would be able to do it' *Wb.* 13·3 (*potential*) ; *ní-tibértáis* (sec. fut.) *piana foralb manl eóiréitís* (past subj.) 'punishments would not be inflicted upon them if they did not rise' *MI.* 15·7 (*unfulfilled condition*) ; *fu-Éisain-se* (sec. fut.) *matís* (past subj.) *mu namit dudu-gnetís* (past subj.) 'I should have endured (them) if it had been my enemies that did them' 73·1 ; *du-úethar tría rose áml ne-labraíttís* 'through their eye is understood what they would say (if they spoke)' 55·10 ; *fa-didmed átoned* *secht dond-ecmaing ansin* 'nature would suffer it save that that (other thing really) happens' (= if that

did not happen) Sg. 137^b. A somewhat similar use is found in sentences like *no-didlastais (nodidlastais ms.) finnae for usciu* 'they (the swords) would split a hair on water (if used for that purpose)' LU 7701.

The secondary future is also employed frequently in negative or interrogative clauses to refute a false supposition. Examples: *ní-digned David* . . . 'D. would not have done . . .' Ml. 14^b; *cia salmscribhid cen-icted sóm* 'what palmist could have done that?' 14^b; *non . . . significant . . . illud gl. aní hua-n-almnnehfide* 'that by which (one might expect) it would be called' Sg. 30^a, *cia ragas* (fut., O.Ír. *regas*) and . . . ? *cia no-ragad* (sec. fut., O.Ír. *regad*) *acht mad* (past subj.) *messe* (ms. *-si*) 'Who will go there? Who should go but I?' (lit. 'unless it were I'), i.e. 'nobody else shall go' LU 7052 f. Cp. Sg. 138^b1: '*nutritor* et *ex eo nascubatur* '*nutritrix*' gl. *no-gigne[d]* 'it would have arisen' (but has not).

Collection: Baudé, RC. xxxii. 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 accusarium*). It has the following uses:

(a) Preterital; as subjunctive corresponding to the preterite and imperfect indicative. Examples: *fo béad fir treubair crenas tír dia chlaíund eid rislu re-bé* (pr. subj.) *eland les, is samlid ar-robert-som ar n-íeo-ní eid rislu re-belmmis* (past subj.) *etír* '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^c23; *as-rubart dia hí reeht . . . ara-sechitis a thinnae* 'God

had said in the Law that they should follow His commandments ' ML. 125². 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: *dícuat aili bed n-ainm de doras sainredach* 'others say it was the name of a particular door (but that is improbable)' ML. 131³; *as-berat aiall combad du déthriub no-téad (read -ed) á n-Jacob* 'some say that "Jacob" applies to the two tribes' 34⁶; *dóig linn bed n-aeult praeter qualis ocus combad chircunflex fer suidiu* 'we deem it probable that it (the accent) may be the acute except (on) *qualis*, and that it may be the circumflex on this' Sg. 30⁸. To denote unreality: *ní-táit dia fo tairgeree conid-chumscalged* 'God does not undertake a promise that He should alter it' ML. 109⁵; *ní nád-th-bed ar se dí chorp aet atá de* 'not that it is not therefore of the body (as might be supposed), but it is of it' Wb. 12²²; *Esripides ab Esripo* (ms. *Esripo*) *nominatus est gl. ar iss ed laithe in sin re-n-génair-som* (pf. ind.), *ní aitrindí re-n-génad-som* (past subj.) *isind lue-sin* 'for that is the day on which he was born, not because he was born in that place' (false supposition) Sg. 31⁶.

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': *re-pridchad dóib céssad Crist amal ad-ecthe no fo-rócrad dóib amal bíd fiadib no-crechthe* '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. 19⁶. Similarly *is cumme . . . bíd ídolds* 'it is the same as though it were an idol-offering' Wb. 10⁴, etc.; *ní lugu imme-folngi sonartai du neuch in cethud indas bíd suids garait no-sessed* 'not less does sleep produce strength to a man than if he were to sit for a little' ML. 135¹³.

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 vobis gloriandi pro*

noibé gl. combad (past subj.) *sníni* for *moldem-si* i. e. *ce-n-éirarid-si* (pr. subj.) . . . 'so that we might be your boast, i. e. so that ye may say . . .' Wb. 15⁴⁶; *ab omnibus se abstinet gl. armbad* *irlamu de don béalth* 'that he might be the reader for the victory' 11⁷, beside *is dó bar tinehos ara-n-dermaid a n-dó-gulam-ni* 'it is to instruct you, that ye may do what we do' 16²⁴.

It is also found, though very rarely, in general relative clauses after a present indicative in the principal clause; e.g. *mulleres is necksis tacont gl. ar is insae in ball do thinehos(e) neich as-berad conn* 'for it is impossible that the member should correct what the head might utter' Wb. 13¹⁹, cp. 9²⁰. 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 airilti gl. ad promerendam* 22²².

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 (§ 158 ff.). Yet it remains sufficiently clear to afford the basis of a twofold classification of weak verbs: weak *a*-verbs and weak *i*-verbs.

The difference between these three types is most clearly seen in the active 3 sg. pres. ind., conjunct flexion. Here a weak *a*-verb has the ending *-a*, a weak *i*-verb *-i*, and a strong verb no ending; e.g. *-móra* 'magnifies', *-lé(l)el* '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-gra* 'chooses' and *lo(a)ll* (with *i*-flexion) 'passes the night' the weak flexion is confined to the present stem, in *gonald* 'wounds, slays,' to the present and subjunctive stems (but cp. § 534 for the conjunct 3 sg. pres. ind.). *seochid* (later *seochid*) 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 *-dre*, the Gothic and Old High German in *-ōn*, the Greek in *-ōn*, 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 *a*-grade of the root (Bragmann, *Grundriss* n² til. § 163); e.g. *ro(l)thid* 'sets in motion' beside *rethid* 'runs'; *fu-lug(a)l* 'conceals' beside *la(l)gld* 'lies' ($\sqrt{\text{Ir. } \text{lag-}}$), cp. Goth. *lagjan* 'to lay'; *ad-su(l)dl* 'holds fast' (simplex *suldin* att 'I reduce the swelling' LB p. 99) beside *sa(l)ddid* 'sits' ($\sqrt{\text{Ir. } \text{sed-}}$), cp. Goth. *setjan* 'to set'; *im-lúndi* 'agitates' beside *luid* 'he went'; with lengthening of the vowel, *sá(l)ddid* 'thrusts' (if not formed like Lat. *séplre*). In addition, a small number of primary deponents have adopted this flexion:

sechtthír 'follows', Lat. *sequitur*, Gk. *íperos*; ar-sissedar 'mititur, imititur', fo-sissedar 'protecta, confessa', Lat. *sistit*, Skt. *śiṣṭati*.

A few of the *a*-verbs also are certainly primary; e.g. an(a)ld 'stays' (literally 'breathes'), Skt. *dnīti* 'breathes'; ad-ella 'visits', probably from *-elaa-*, 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. *ἰαίωμι*).

FORMATION OF DENOMINATIVE VERBS

524. 1. By far the commonest method of forming verbs from nouns and adjectives is by adding the suffix *-ag^h* (after palatals *-ig^h*), 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)lgedar* 'weakens' and 'is weak, ill'; *úr* 'fresh, green' : *-úr(a)lgedar* 'uret'; *imd(a)e* 'numerous' : *-imd(a)lgedar* 'is numerous'; *béa* 'living' : *-béalgedar* 'vivifies'; *fallus* 'clear' : *-falllgedar* 'clarifies, makes clear'; *séim* 'thin' : *-sé(l)mlgedar* 'attenuates'; *aille* 'other' : *-aillgedar* 'alters'; *amr(a)e* and *adamr(a)e* 'wonderful' : *ad-amr(a)lgedar* and *-adamr(a)lgedar* 'wonders at'.

From nouns: *fogur* 'sound' : *-fogr(a)lgedar* 'sounds'; *debutth* 'strife' : *-debtthlgedar*, *-dephthlgedar* 'contends, fights'; *cruth* 'shape' : *-cruth(a)lgedar* 'shapes'; *su(l)de* 'sitting' : *-su(l)digedar* 'sets'; *gáin, gó* 'lie, falsehood' : *-gu(a)lgedar* 'lies, falsifies'; *éain* 'necessity' : *éan-éainlgedar* 'necessitates'; *ainm* (*n*-stem) 'name' : *-ainmlngedar* 'names'; *airmthú* (*n*-stem) *féid* 'honouring' : *-airmthúlgedar 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' : *-sonairn(a)lgedar* 'ualet, conualescūt';

mrecht 'motley' : *mrechn(a)igedar* 'varies, diversifies'. With *-coimdmnigedar* 'dominatur', from *coimdmu*, (gen. *-ded*) 'lord', cp. the abstract *coimdmnacht* (§ 260).

This formation is common to all the Insular Celtic languages. In earlier forms the Britannoic dialects have *h*, a development of intervocalic *s*, before *-sp*; e.g. O.Bret. *lenkaen* (< *-haysen*) gl. *caua*, from *len* 'pointed'; OW. *scannlaipin* gl. *leuant*, from *scann* 'light'; here, therefore, the full form of the suffix is *-asp*. The Irish form could also have contained *s*, since lenited *s* before an unstressed vowel completely disappears. Hence it is doubtful if these verbs can be compared with Lat. *renigere*, *mitigare*, etc. On the other hand they are closely connected with the Irish nouns of agency in *-(s)ige* (§ 293, 2).

525. 2. Simple denominatives of the *a*- and *i*-conjugations, formed without any further suffix, are also fairly numerous:

(a) Transitive *a*-verbs from adjectives, the largest class; e.g. *már*, *mór* 'great' : *mára*, *móra* 'magnifies'; *soir* 'free' : *sofra* 'frees'; *marb* 'dead' : *marba* 'kills'; *gian* 'pure' : *giana* 'purifies'; *berr* 'short' : *berra* 'shears'; *ceirt* 'right' : *ceon-certa* 'corrects'; deponent, *comlán* 'complete' : *comalnadar* *-athar* 'fulfils'.

(b) *a*-verbs from nouns; e.g. *nerf* 'strength' : *nerfa* 'strengthens'; *rann* 'part' : *ranna* 'divides'; *ceann* and *ferceann* 'end' : *fer-ceanna* 'terminates'; *croch* 'cross' : *crocha* 'crucifies'; deponent, *ciall* 'sense' : *fo-ciallathar* 'takes heed of'.

(c) *i*-verbs from nouns; e.g. *rád* 'speech' : *ráid* 'speaks'; *ceann* 'end' : *ceinn* gl. *finit* and *definit*; *dorn* 'fist' : *durnal* 'strikes with fists'; *slend* 'indication' : *sluindil* 'indicates, names'; *imfolang* 'cause' : *im-folng(a)* 'causes', (which has a strong passive *im-folangar* in ML); *dál* 'share' : *fo-dál* 'divides, pours out'; *rim* 'number' : *ad-riml* 'counts', *do-riml* 'enumerates'; *seól* 'tidings' : *do-seól(a)* 'explores'; *toib* 'side' : **ad-toibl*, *at(t)óibl* 'adheres'; *seib* 'possession' : *do-aislibh* (*fo-ad-seib-*) 'assigns'; deponent, *cor* 'throw' : *-cu(l)rethar* 'throws, puts'.

From an adjective: *soib* 'false' : *sóibh* 'falsifies, deceives', which may be modelled on *at(t)óibh*. *ad-fir* 'substantiates' is probably derived, not from *fir* 'tree', but from the noun *fir* 'cath establishing the truth'.

THE VERBAL PARTICLE *RO* AND OTHER SIMILARLY USED PREPOSITIONS

Strachan: On the use of the particle *ro-* with preterital tenses in Old Irish (collection of examples), *Trans. Phil. Society* 1895-8, p. 77 ff., cp. *ibid.* p. 326 ff. (*ro* with the subjunctive); *Action and Time in the Irish verb*, *ibid.* 1899-1902, p. 408 ff. Zimmer, *KZ.* xxxvi. 463 ff. Thurnyssen, *KZ.* xxxvii. 52 ff. Sarsow, *Irish Studies* (1900) p. 25 ff. and *KZ.* xxxviii. 174 ff. Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxviii. 219 ff., xxxviii. 421 ff.

526. The particle *ro*, *ru* is in origin a preposition (= Gk. *ροσ*, etc.). With some verbs it still retains this function, and does not then differ from other preverbal prepositions (§ 852).

More usually, however, it serves a different purpose. It combines with nearly all simple and most compound verbs to characterize modifications of meaning which other Indo-European languages express (to some extent at least) by special verbal forms. The use of other prepositions for this purpose is less frequent; see § 532 ff.

For *r-* in place of *ro* in hiatus see § 852, *ro* for *ro* § 52, *ro-*, *ró-* 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·ruí-d-bed* 'has been circumcised', neg. *ní-ro-im-dí-bed*; *as·r-in-gab-sat* 'they have exceeded', with *náid*: *nad·r-es-n-gabsat* *Ml.* 122^a8; *con·r-es-an* 'has ceased', interrog. *in·ru-chum-s-an*; *in·r-ús-láatar* 'they have entered', with *náid*: *nad·r-ind-ús-láatar*.

Movable *ro*, which thus always stands in the second place, usually remains unstressed after a conjunct particle (other than *náid*), 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*); more rarely *ro* remains unstressed and is followed by the pronoun (§ 410).

(b) Fixed *ro* has an invariable position, normally after the other prepositions and immediately before the verbal stem. Examples: *do·ru·mēnar* 'I have thought', neg. *nleon·to·r·mēnar*; *as·ru·bart* 'has said', neg. *ní·é·r·bart*, similarly *remi·é·r·bart* 'has said before'; *do·á·r·bas* (*-ad·ro-*) 'has been shown', neg. *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·úa·rid* 'has remained over' *ML*. 44²⁰, neg. *ní·de·r·úa·rid* 31⁶; *du·n·fo·r·s·alle* (*fo·ro·oss·alg-*) 'has delivered us' 125⁹; *do·r·é·cachtar*, *do·r·é·catar* (*é < ea*) 'they have looked at', 3 sg. prototonic *con·da·de·r·cacha* *LU* 7057; *nleon·de·r·as·rachtar* (*as = é, < ees*) 'they have not abandoned' *ML*. 57¹²; *fo·r·seab* (*-ad·gab*) 'has left' 37¹⁰, past subj. pass. pl. *arna·fa·r·cabbis* *Wb.* 31¹³. Also before *-cum-*: *do·fo·r·cho·salsam* 'which we have taken over' 21⁴, *tu·e·r·c[h]em·lassat* (*es·ro*) 'they have gathered' *Wb.* I. 7⁷.

528. There is no general rule governing the distribution of fixed and movable *ro*; see the examples of both before the preterite in Strachan, *loc. cit.* Movable *ro* is more frequent, and occurs with compounds of every kind. Fixed *ro*, which is doubtless the older of the two, is found especially, though not exclusively, with compounds of strong verbs. Sometimes both types are found with the same verb; e.g. *ní·ru·tho·gaittam* (*thé·gaittam* *ms.*) 'we have not deceived' *Wb.* 16²² beside *ní·m·tho·r·gaitta* *ML*. 38¹³, subj. *ní·to·r·gaitta* *Wb.* 25⁵, etc.; *fo·indarid* 'subintravit' 3⁶ beside *nad·r·indúaldatar* *ML*. 24¹¹ already cited; *do·r·lat·al* 'has turned, translated' (*uertit*) 3⁷ beside earlier *do·intarráe* (*-ro·soí*) 54³; *nad·ru·chum·gab* (*-com·uss·gab*) 'that he had not extolled himself' 20⁷ beside *con·n·úa·r·gab* 37¹⁵; *isindí ar·n·dam·róichlís·se* (*ró* from *ro·fo-*) 'in that thou hast guarded me' 74⁷ beside pf. pass. pl. *ar·fo·r·chelta* *Wb.* 4³⁷. Cp.

do-ro-sat Sg. 31² beside more usual *do-to-r-sat*, perfect of *-tuism* 'creates', where the prepositions were wrongly felt to be *to-to-* instead of *to-uo-* (+ *-em-*); pres. ind. deuterotonic *do-tuism*, see § 849.

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-bris* 'whom he had defeated' Ml. 67²⁴, to *for-brissi*; *fo-da-ro-r-ean* 'who has put an end to them' Wb. 11²⁷, to *for-cenna*, beside *for-ru-m-chen(n)ad-sa* Ml. 127¹⁰; *hó bu-ro-r-haith* § 592; *fo-ro-r-bart* (*-bairt* MSS.) 'has grown' Féil. Prol. 173 beside 3 pl. *for-ru-bartatar* Ml. 101¹⁰, etc.

ro-for has regularly become *rór* in *do-rórpai* 'has arrived' Sg. 196⁸ (pres. *du-fórbán* Ml. 61²²). *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. *turbál*), from *to-ro-ase-gab-* (cp. § 849). The usual perfect *túargab* is a different compound with the same meaning, *to-ase-gab-* (vb.n. *turbál* KZ. XXXI. 245, Arm.) with *-ro-*; it in turn has 3 pl. *do-túargabsat* Ml. 96¹.

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 anmaircibe eia do-ru-rmáthe* (past subj.) *la nolfcribenda* (*noimacribenda* 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.

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.; II. i. 86, 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 fídboc hl calmml . . . farsindí ro-m-bí hl rígl* 'as a bow is reduced to crookedness . . . after it has been straight' ML. 99^d1. This use is frequent in legal rules; e.g. *ma ro-ora flath stotu ture[h]ludde is dílas (dílas ms.) trian na sét lar n-écaib na flatha don e[h]SH[u] mani-ro-moetha fersin eóle ceal-ro-bíatha síir* '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. *dís-n-é-r-balam-ní ní-bís nesh* 'if we shall have died, there will be no one . . .' ML. 107^d4.

On the other hand, *ro* is not added to the future indicative to form a future perfect. The only apparent example, *manreina* 'if it shall not have broken' ML. 89^d11, is a misspelling for the subj. *man-ro-má*; for *ma* is never used with the future, and in any case *man-d* would have been expected before an indicative.

The conjunction *&* followed by *ro* means 'after', without *ro* 'since' (§ 809).

The constant use of *ro* with the subjunctive after *resú* 'before', *seht* in the sense 'provided that', *eo*^o, *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.

531. 2. *ro* expresses possibility or ability; e.g. *as-ro-b(a)ir* 'he can say' (*as-beir* 'says'), *as-ro-harr* 'it can be said'; *ni-de-r-génat* 'they will not be able to do'; *in tan nad-r-ingsab* 'when he could not avoid'; *ni 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.* 31*2. It is also frequently used in final clauses, as a rule to express a wish rather than a purpose or command; but this difference is easily obscured, so that in the course of time the use of *ro* spreads to every kind of final clause. Even in a principal clause subjunctives with and without *ro* may stand side by side, especially in verse, e.g. *Thes. II.* 299, 29.

In *is tair doib ní t-di-r-le lat*; *luna n-ingsab* 'it is meet for thee that thou shouldst not visit him; avoid him' *Wb.* 30*20, *ní-táirle* is a subordinate clause in sense though not in form. The sentence is constructed as though '(I wish) thou shouldst not visit him' were an independent clause.

In principal clauses a jussive subjunctive never has *ro* when positive, but *ro* is found sporadically in prohibitions; e.g. *nim-de-r-saige fri fáthad, nom-dinsea im(margu) fri sochaide* 'do not waken me for a few, but waken me for many' *LU* 5119. With the imperative, however, it is not used, either in commands or in prohibitions.

4. In subordinate clauses *ro* may or may not be used with a generalizing subjunctive; similarly after *cia* 'although'.

5. Its use is likewise optional after *cia* '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 éen con-d-á-r-bastar* (*áidibastar* acc.) 'it is necessary that it should be shown' *Sg.* 211*10, 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 *má* 'if').

For *ro* with the stem *M-* 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-galb* 'contains': *con-acab-*, from *·ad-gab-*; *con-being* 'breaks': *con-abbong-*; *con-certa* 'corrects': *con-alcert-*; *con-seara* 'destroys': *con-ascar-*; *con-midethar* 'determines, settles': *con-ammed-*, etc. Further, the double compound *con-dieig* (*-di-sag-*) 'seeks, demands' has pf. *con-altecht*, prototonic *·comtacht*. The 3 pl. of this verb is once (Wb. 8¹⁴) written *con-oltechtatar*; similarly *con-mell* 'grinds' has pf. *con-n-omall* 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-dalg-*, pf. of *con-delga* 'compares'; *co(n)-runes*, pf. of *con-nessa* 'tramples' ML 102⁵. On the other hand, *ro* appears regularly before vowels; e.g. *con-airlethar* '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-airg* 'restrains': *do-im-chem-org-*; *do-fúairg* (§ 806 A) 'crushes': *do-comerg-*. Further, *do-rig* 'strips': *do-com-rig-*, pf. *do-coim-arralg* (*-rearrig*); *do-nig* 'washes': *do-com-nig-*; *fo-loing* 'sustains': *fo-com-long-*, pf. 1 sg. *fo-cóem-allag* (*-lallag*); *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-cund*, subj. act. *im-cua* (*-cu* < *cow-u-*, § 830); *fo-ben* 'damages, lessens': past subj. pass. *·fochmaide* (*-m-* < *-mb-*) Ériu xii. 42 § 53; *ad-lét*, *in-lét* 'relates' (pl. *ad-fiadat*): pf. *ad-cu(a)ld*, prototonic *·céld*, perfective subj. 1 sg. *ad-cous*, prototonic *·céus*; *to-air-fed-*

'drain (water)': perfective subj. pass. *do-air(h)estar* Laws IV. 214, 3 (where all that remains of *com-æ-* is *c*, cp. § 108).

Occasionally *ro* replaces *com-*. Thus *do-being* 'levies' has the forms *-to-r-tongat*, 3 sg. subj. *-to-r-bair* ZCP. xiii. 21, 28 f., 3 sg. *-to-r-al-b* Laws I. 182, 24, etc., beside *do-cum-balg* 'he can levy' Laws IV. 328, 18 (see § 550), subj. pass. *-to-ehmastar* (*m* < *sb*) O'Dav. 1550. Cp. further *hó-r-astarta* 'with which they have been slain' ML. 34^o13 beside *as-com-art* 'has been slain' 36^o22, and pass. *do-r-índ-nacht* Wb. 20^o15 beside *do-d-com-nacht* 'has bestowed'. In *far-ro-ehnad* 'confests net' ZCP. vii. 470, beside *for-cuad* Tur. 49, *ro* has been added to *cum* (cp. ML. 121^o34).

534. 3. A few simple verbs take other prepositions:

líbid 'drinks' (subj. *lús-* § 765) has *ess*.

líhid (or rather the supplementary $\sqrt{ed-}$) 'eats' has *de-fe-* (§§ 689, 766).

mílgid 'milks' has *to-ess-*: pf. I sg. *do-ommalg*, pass. *do-omlacht* (AU. 732).

sa(l)ídd 'sits' and *la(l)ígd* 'lies' have *de-en-*: pf. *do-essid*, *deilig* 'has sat, lain'; perfective subj. 3 pl. *-deilset* Laws IV. 78, 9.

tongid 'swears' has *to-com-*: pf. *du-cuilig* (cp. *as-cuilig*, § 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(e)-* (weak *i*-flexion) § 759.

do-beir in the sense of 'brings': *to-uc(e)-* (always without *ro*); in the sense of 'gives': *to-r(o)-at(t)-*... (i.e. *-ad-d...*), present *do-rati*, prototonic *-tarti*, cp. §§ 50, 759.

-euirethar and *fo-ceird* 'throws, puts': *ro-lá-* (§ 762).

gat(a)id 'takes away, steals': *tall-, tall-* (*to-ell-*), but cp. § 764.

téit 'goes' (I sg. *tiagu*) and *do-tét* 'comes': *di-cued-* (*di-com-fed-*) and *to-ál-cued-* (§§ 769, 770). A few compounds of *téit*, however, form their perfect from the narrative tense *luid* with *ro*, e.g. *in-r-dá-laid* 'has gone in', *níon-im-ru-ldatar* 'they have not trodden' Tur. 65; but even in these *ro* is attested only with the preterite.

535. Finally there are a number of verbs in which perfective and non-perfective forms are not distinguished, the same form being used in both senses.

(a) Verbs compounded with the preposition *ro* never take a second *ro* in perfective forms where the two *ro*'s would come together. But when such forms are preceded by a conjunct particle, verbs compounded with *ro* and another preposition divide into two classes: (1) those which prefix another *ro* to the entire compound, and (2) those which have no second *ro*. Examples: (1) *do-ro-choim* 'despairs': pf. *do-ro-choim*, but neg. *ní-ru-de-r-choim*, similarly *as-ro-choill* 'determines'; (2) *ad-roill* (*·ro-ill*) 'earns': pf. 3 pl. *ad-roillset*, neg. *ní-á-rilset*; similarly *do-ro-gaib* 'commits', *do-roí-mnethar* 'forgets', *im-roí-mdeithar-ruí-mdeithar* 'sins'. The difference between the two classes recalls that between movable and fixed *ro* (§ 527).

Collection: Sarauw, *KZ.* xxxviii. 185. For *da-rugab*, where *r-* was no longer felt to be *ro*, see § 539.

(b) No difference is shown in any of the compounds of *gní* 'knows' (e.g. with *ess-*, *aith-*, *en-*)², or in those of *·le(e)* (§ 549) such as *t-le* 'comes', *r-le* 'reaches', *ar-le* 'finds', *con-le* (*·cumuing*) 'is able', *do-cumuing* 'happens', *for-cumnuicir* 'happened' and 'has happened'; nor in *fe-lámadar* and *ar-feilmathar* 'is about to', *du-futharcair* 'wishes, wills' (also used as preterite), *fe-fúair* (pret.) 'he found' (§ 763), nor, it would seem, in *fo-gab-* 'find'.

The same applies to the prototonic forms of *ad-é* 'sees' (§ 761, but cp. § 536). The deuterotonic perfective forms have a different stem in pf. *ad-con-éairc* 'has seen' and pres. *ad-ro-darear* 'can be seen' *Sg.* 172², *Laws* i. 230, 11. But in *LU* 6213 we find prototonic 1 sg. act. *ní-áirelu* 'I cannot see' occurs (read *-áiru*! cp., however, 2 sg. fut. with the *Mid.-Ir.* spelling *ní-m-áirecha-sa* 6098), where *áir-* seems to stand for *ár-* (*ad-ro-*).

The compound *ro-é* does not appear to be old; cp. *ní-rochám gl. ní-áircu* above, *ipf. pass. ro-éithe* (read *-e*) 'it could be seen' *Laws* iii. 24, 5.

² so *reim-ergnaitis gl. ut . . . pres-noceres* *ML* 1908 would be an exception if *r-* = *ro*; but the prep. may be *er*, cp. the noun *ergnas* *Fid. Feb.* 24, or the form may be a scribal error for *·ergnaitis*.

Here also belong *ro-fithir* 'knows', *ro-clu(l)nethar* 'hears', *ro-balmethar* 'ventures', 'dares', *ad-co-la* 'obtains', where *ro* and *co(m)* have a different function (§§ 543, 544).

(c) *ro* is apparently sometimes absent after adverbial preverbs formed from adjectives (§ 384); e.g. *mad-gématar* 'blessed are . . .', lit. 'well have been born' *ML* 90*12; *dia n-ulle-marbae-siu* 'if thou shalt have exterminated' 77*12. But in some examples *ro* is found after *caín·estu·* (§§ 384, 393), and even after *mad·* (*LU* 8385).

536. Two verbs, *ro-clu(l)nethar* and *ad-cl*, mark the narrative tense (the preterite without *ro*) by prefixing the conjunction *eo*ⁿ (literally 'so that', § 897b): *co-cúal(a)e* 'he heard', *co-n-accas* '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, therewith', *com*, lit. 'together, completely', and *as-* 'out' in *as-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-airngarat níd-chomallat, ro-collat níd-leat* 'they (women in general) promise what they cannot fulfil, spoil what they cannot repair' *Doc. Corm.*, § 18, 90. 92 (*ro* in the sense of 'can' is occasionally omitted after the negative); *con-airig* (see § 532) 'it (always) demands' *Triads* §§ 77, 78; *as-com-ren* 'he (always) pays' *Laws IV*. 322, 34. The same thing is found in Old Welsh also (see *Loth, RC. XXX. 56 ff.*).

From this the meaning 'he is able' to complete the action' could have developed. It may be noted that *ro-mi* '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, *RZ.* xxv. 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 *ta*, see §§ 806, 809. Before other verbs it is omitted only in poetry.

2. With other verbal forms it is used :

(a) To support an infix personal pronoun (§ 410 c); e.g. *car(a)jt* 'they love' : *no-m-charat* 'they love me' ; *gegojn* 'he wounded' : *no-s-gegojn* 'he wounded them' ; *sofr* 'deliver' : *no-n-sofr-ni* 'deliver us'.

For *ro* instead of *no* with the stem *st-* 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-chaigrur* '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. *farrn ferd da mac* 'two boys followed' *Trip.* 302, 16 (see ZCP. xx. 369 ff.).

A singular collective may take a plural verb also; e.g. *ni-fítetar muntar nime* 'the community (*fowéid*) of Heaven do not know' *Wb.* 21^a1. The copula sometimes agrees with the predicate instead of the subject; e.g. *is leor da preceptóir l n-méills* 'two preachers in a church are (lit. 'is') enough' 13^a9.

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* 69^a8.

(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:

PRESENT

sg. 1. <i>ne-m-charthar</i>	pl. <i>ne-n-charthar</i>
2. <i>ne-t-charthar</i>	<i>ne-b-charthar</i>
3. <i>carth(a)ir, -carthar</i>	<i>carth(a)ir, -cartar</i>

PERFECT

sg. 1. <i>ro-m-charad</i>	pl. <i>ro-n-carad</i>
2. <i>ro-t-charad</i>	<i>ro-b-carad</i>
3. <i>ro-carad</i>	<i>ro-cartha</i>

A few OW. survivals show that in Brittonic a 3 pl. pass. was once distinguished from the other persons.

(c) Simple verbs (in absolute flexion, § 542) have special relative forms in the third person, and generally in the 1 pl.

also, which are used in the dependent clauses described §§ 495, 504. Hence the number of personal forms of the absolute flexion may in some tenses be no less than nine.

541. The personal endings are grouped according to similarity in five main classes:

1. Pres. ind. and subj., fut., *t*-pret., the 1. sg. and the plural of the act. and depon. ipv. and the whole of the pass. ipv., the singular of the *t*-pret.
2. The 2 and 3 sg. of the act. and depon. ipv.
3. Ipf. ind., past subj., secondary fut.
4. Suffixless pret. ind. and the plural of the *t*-pret.
5. Pass. pret. ind.

The forms of the personal endings are discussed later under the various tenses.

542. ABSOLUTE AND CONJUNCT FLEXION

In 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 (§ 613 b).

The absolute flexion is confined to simple verbs in positions other than the above-mentioned. It alone has relative forms with special endings (§ 566 f.). In the deponent and passive, absolute relative forms are always outwardly the same as the corresponding non-relative personal forms of the conjunct flexion; cp. §§ 570, 577, etc.

Examples: absolute *berid* 'bears'; conjunct *de-beir* 'brings' (prototonic *-tabir*), *as-beir* 'says', *ni-beir* 'does not bear', *lana-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-fíthir* 'knows' (and *ro-fínnathar* 'gets to know'), *ro-laimethar* 'dares'; but negative *ní-cluinethar*, *ipv.* 2 *sg.* *cluinte*, in reply to a question 1 *sg.* *fetar* (R.C. xxvi. 50). The same process is found in the alternation between *ad-ágathar* and *-ágathar* 'fears'; *atá* (*ad-tá*) and *-tá* 'is' (§ 777); *pret.* *fo-fúair* 'he found', *pass.* *fo-fríth*, and *-fúair*, *-fríth*.

In the earlier period *lam-* 'dare' could apparently be used without the preverb, *cp.* *laimir-sat* *gl. audemus* Wh. I. 15-20, *pret.* 2 *sg.* *límair*, *Alt. Ir. Dicht.* i. 41 § 25. But also 1 *sg.* *pres.* *ru-laimir* Wh. 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* (*fo-tuit-*) 'falls' after conjunct particles, otherwise *do-tuit* (later *du-tuit* Thea. II. 293, 21, as if compounded with *to* and *fo*); *-fúasna* (*fo-oss-*) 'disturbs' and *fu-fúasna*; *-ingalb*, *-imcaib* (*íom-oss-*?) 'avoids' and *imm-ingalb*.

Optionally: *-tíncean(n)a* (*fo-tuit-*) 'begins'; *In-tínceana* beside earlier *do-tínceana*; *-tíncealla* 'surrounds'; *im-tíncealla* beside *do-tíncealla* (but also substantive *tínceasann* 'beginning' *8g.*, *ipv.* *imhínceall-su* Ml. 28^a10, etc.); *-dífhrascair* (*de-fo-*) 'wishes'; *do-dífhrascair* beside *do-fúthrascair*, *de-fúthrascair*.

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-cotar*, *pass.* *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: *bliid* 'dies' (-*bá* IT. III. 53 § 96, pl. 3 -*baat* ZCP. xiii. 374, 38); *rliid* 'rows' (*lunn-rá* 'voyages'); *snliid* 'swims'; *scéliid* 'vomits'; *sréliid* 'throws'; *hliid* 'is wont to be' (consecutinal pres., for flexion see § 784); *clliid* 'weeps'; *ad-el* 'sees'; *gnliid* 'docs'; *ihliid* 'imputes'; *de-sh* 'deserves'; *clb(a)id* 'subduces'; *ad-nol* 'entrusts'; *con-el* 'guards' (also deponent *con-sathar*); *só(a)id* 'turns'; *as-lul* (-*lul* ZCP. vii. 483) 'escapes'; **de-lul* (3 pl. *di-luat*) 'looses'.

In a number of these verbs the hiatus is not original. Some have lost *-s*; e.g. *ad-el* (pret. pass. *ad-ess*), and probably *clb*- (*cp.* acc. pl. *sigt-lussu* 'indutias' ML 111^b19); perhaps also *bá*- (*cp.* *bás* 'death'). In *só*- and (*com*-)*só*-, the *s* comes from *du*, *su* (they were thus originally *i*-verbs). Stems with *-t* seem to have dropped a following *u*. *oreliid* is by origin a compound of IE. $\sqrt{d}h_{2}t$ (Skt. *drad* *dradhā*), 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-gláthar* 'addresses' seems to have belonged originally to B II.

Examples: *berid* 'bears', *ceidid* 'conceals', *feidid* 'leads', *geidid* 'feeds, grazes', *meidid* 'grinds', *rethid* 'runs', *techid* 'flees', *agid* 'drives', *alid* 'rears', *canid* 'sings', *claidid* 'digs', *cingid* 'steps', *dringid* 'climbs', *lingid* 'leaps', *org(a)id* *oroid* 'alays', *aingid* 'protects' (conjunct *-anish*, root *aneg-*), *réidid* 'drives, rides', *fiag(a)it* 'they go' (3 ag. *táit*, § 591), *ad-fádat* 'they tell' (3 ag. *ad-fáit*, § 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. *sbait*), with present-stem reduplication = Skt. *pibati* (fut. *-iba*, pret. 3 pl. *as-ibset*, etc.); *naidid* 'binds', with the present suffix *-ce-* (cp. vb.n. *naidm*, but pret. *nenaise*); further, a number of verbs with *as* like *ad-gréann* '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. *ganna*) and is cognate with Gk. *χαράσσειν* (fut. *χάρομαι*), Ir. *-ann-* goes back to a primary form *-pán-* (cp. KZ. LXIII. 114 ff.). Further, since *-gréinn*, for example, is paralleled by O.Slav. *grěp* 'I go, step' and Lat. *gradior*, etc., both *n*'s, before and after the *d*, were originally characteristic of the present-stem formation.

seuid 'plays (a musical instrument)' beside *seinn* 'sound, note' (Skt. *svasati* 'sounds') has been attracted by the other *seun-*.

In *dringid*, too, — Skt. *dṛyñbati* '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 *-je-/-jo-* (or according to others *-i-/o*); cp. Skt. *pad-ya-ti* 'sees', Lat. *capio, capis, capias*, etc. Roots with *-an-* have *-an-* (*-on-* after *n* § 60), which goes back to syllabic *-ṇ-*. But *ga(l)idid* (*-√Ir. gad-*) corresponds to Grk. *ροῖω*, and hence originally had a suffix *-aje-/-aje-*; 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(l)rid* 'ploughs' (Goth. *arjow*), *da(l)mid* 'admits', *ga(l)bid* 'takes', *ga(l)rid* 'calls', *gu(l)did* 'prays'.

To this class belong most of the strong deponents: *galmithir* 'is born' (Skt. *śḍyate*); *re-laimethar* 'dares'; *do moine-thar* (also *-mulinethar*, by analogy with *re-cluinethar* 'hears' ?) 'thinks', Skt. *medayate*; *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 passive. First, three verbs with interchange of *o'* and *e* as described § 63a:

saidid, *-said* 'sits', 3 sg. *saidi* (ipf. *-sáided*, etc.); 3 pl. *sodati*, pass. *sodair*.

laidid 'lies', 3 pl. *con-legat* (Fiannaig. p. 30, 30).

salgid, *-salg* 'makes for, seeks', 1 sg. *salgim*; 3 pl. *segait*, *-segat* (1 pl. *con-degam*, with *con-dé*), pass. *segair*, *-segar*.

Second, the compounds of *le(c)-* like *re-le(c)*, *fioc* 'reaches, comes', *de-le(c)*, *-fioc* 'comes', *ar-le(c)* 'finds, discovers', *con-le(c)* 'can'. All these have 1 sg. *-le(c)im* *-le(c)iu*, 3 *-le(c)il*, pl. 1 *-ce(c)am*, 3 *-ce(c)at*, pass. *-ce(c)ar*. As prototype of *con-le(c)* the (archaic) form *-cum(a)le* is rare (Ériu vii. 142 § 15, ZCP. viii. 308, 31). The usual form *-cum(u)ing* *-cumaing*, pass. *-cumungar* *-cumangar*, has been modelled on *-ful(a)ing* 'supports' (§ 590), since the two verbs already had identical endings in forms like pl. 1 *-cumcum*, *-fulfulam*, 3 *-cumcat*, **-fulfulat*. Hence also the v.b.n. *cumang* beside *cumac(c)* and the decompositions *ad-cumaing* (beside *ad-cumac(c)*), *do-con(a)ing* 'happens', 3 pl. *do-cumungat*, *-tecumangat*, v.b.n. *tecumang*, and prot. 1 pl. *-tecumangem* (with weak formation) Féil. Épil. 7.

The passive of *ad-guid* 'invokes (as surety)' is *-aididher* with unstressed stem; the palatal consonance is probably due to the influence of the v.h.n. *afide* (as opposed to *gu(l)de*) which, like *faigde* 'begging', has the *a*-grade of the root (*gaid-*, not *god-*).

So too, beside *bruinid* 'springs forth, flows' (which must not be confused with the weak *i*-verb *bruinid* 'melts') and *de-brúinn* ML. 81^b14 (cp. § 48), 3 pl. *de-brúinet* ZCP. viii. 564, *de-apruinnt* ML. 39^a2 (with *te-ae*), the by-form *de-n-apruinnt*, with palatal vowel, occurs Eg. 209^a20, and the rest of the verb is inflected as though the present stem were *brúna-*. Cp. v.h.n. *brúinu* Corm. Add. 180; subj. 3 sg. *de-bré* § 617; fut. *de-búair* § 617.

550. Certain present classes are characterised by a non-radical nasal.

Marstrand, *Observations sur les présents indo-européens à nasale infixe en Celtique* (1924); Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, *L'aspect verbal et les formations à infixe nasal en celtique* (1928).

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. *te-n-ga*, *teigi*, *tehus*; Lith. *ti-n-pà*, *tipti* 'stick to', Skt. *ti-n-piti* 'swears' ($\sqrt{tip-}$), etc.

Examples: *di-n-gid*, *for-di-n-g* 'oppresses'; *bo-n-gid*, *-bol-n-g* 'breaks, reaps'; *as-diol-n-g* 'cleaves'; *fo-lei-n-g* 'supports'; *in-lei-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-aitib-bong-* 'dissolve' the variation is explicable: the v.h.n. *taitibech* could have developed regularly from **t(i)aitib-bog*; it rhymes with *cuimrech* 'binding' (*con-rip-*), and this may have given rise in turn to forms like 1 sg. pres. indic. *de-aitibech* Eg. 22^a2 (corresponding to *con-rip-*), pass. *taitibegar* beside *taitibongar* (so too in other tenses; pres. subj. pass. *to-aitibetar*, *Bürgschaft* p. 30 § 81; *taitibecti* 'enodanda' ZCP. viii. 428). Other compounds of this verb may have followed suit; e.g. *to-bong-* 'levy', 3 pl. *-toibget* Laws v. 254, 2, etc., 3 sg. *a-subj. -to-aid-b* (§ 533); so too *de-cum-baig* (*to-cumbaig* 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-teig* 'refuses' has v.h.n. *a(t)tech*; similarly *fre(t)tech* (with *frich-*), *díthech* (with *dí-*), and *é(t)thech* 'perjury'; the source of the *-e* in these forms is obscure, unless it be the effect of the hitherto unascertained prefix of the last word. In addition, we find pres. 3 sg. *-e(t)ig* Laws v. 78, 11 (cp. *ibid.* 238, 20), pass. *-etegar* (*sic leg.*) 119. 3; cp. perfect *as-cu(t)ig*, *du-cu(t)ig*, § 533 f. Note further a *fo-thom-leh* 'what it can support' *Bürgschaft* p. 26 § 72 beside *-fochomlaig* Laws iv. 314y

(pr. subj. 3 pl. *to-da-omist* Laws iii. 18, 20 beside 1 pl. *-fochemolsam* Wb. 14¹¹⁸). Apparently the entire group of verbs with *-omp-* (orig. *-u-n-p-*) have such by-forms in *-op-* when the stem is unstressed.

On the other hand, compounds of *dingid* with *ar* or *con* + *uss* have forms like *ar-utuing* 'refreshes', *con-utuing* *-utuing* 'builds, decorates', *pass. ar-utungar*, etc., with non-palatal *-t* (= *-d-*) by analogy with *tong-* (cp. v.h.a. *cuntach*, 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 *ἀναίωμι*, *-ῶμι*, except that the short vowel of the plural (*ἀναίωμεν*) has been taken over by the singular also (§ 594).

Examples: *ben(a)id* 'hews, cuts' (Mid. Bret. 1 sg. *benaff*, Lat. *per-fines* 'perfringas'); *aren(a)id* 'buys' (Skt. *krīṣṭi*); *fen-* in *im-fen* 'encloses', *ar-fen* 'shuts off', *ad-fen* 'requires', *for-fen* 'completes'; *glen(a)id* 'sticks fast' (W. 1 sg. *glynaf*); *len(a)id* 'follows, adheres to' (Skt. *līṣṭi*); *-tuidmen* 'makes fast' (*to-dī-men-*, but wrongly resolved in deuterotonic *do-uidmen*, cp. Skt. *windi* 'fires'); *ren(a)id* 'sells'; *tien(a)id* 'takes away' (= Lat. *tollo*, < **tolōt* ?); *ern(a)id*, *-ern(n)* 'bestows'; *sern(a)id*, *-sern(n)* gl. *serere* (*serias*), *sternere* (cp. W. *sarreu* 'to strew, pave'), and *stodere*. *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 *len-* to *j* (§ 215). So too *ren-* has *re-* < *r*, if both it and *ern(a)id* go back to the same original verb (Gk. *ῥέρωμι*), cp. ZCP. xvi. 273; but it is inflected like verbs with radical *i* (§ 756), doubtless attracted by *aren(a)id*. In *sern(a)id* various roots, IE. *ser-*, *ster-*, also *spor-* (?), 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-éit-bani* 'thou consentest'; *con-ben* 'touches'; *fris-ben* 'heals'; *du-fór-ban* 'peruenit'.

Similarly *do-adbanar* 'is shown' Corm. 756, *do-n-adbantar* Thea. ii. 4, 33, for earlier *do-ad-badar* (*to-ad-fid-*).

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-ehrin* (see § 423) 'decays', pl. *ara-ehrinat*; *ad-guin* 'knows' and other compounds of *-guin-*, e.g. 1 sg. *asa-guinalm* Eg. 146^b16; further, *de-lin* 'flows', pl. *-linat*, although the weak perfect *de-ru-lin* occurs as early as Ml. 64^a18 (=b.n. tulle). Deponent: *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' (§ 519, 1) beside the proterite-present *ro-fittir* 'knows, knew'.

Inflected wholly like B I are: *marn(a)ld*, *-malrn* 'betrays' and *at-balll* (§ 423) 'dies', pl. *at-ballat* (with *ll* < *le*). In the last verb single *l*, taken over from the subj. *at-bela*, occasionally appears in the indicative, e.g. 3 sg. prototonic *-epll*.

ro-clu(l)nethar 'hears', pl. *-clunetar*, has palatal *n*.

This class probably started from verbs which contained the present suffix eg. *-neu-*, pl. *-nu-*, but took over *-nu-* in the singular also. If the Gaulish verbal form *liast* (Dottin no. 44) belongs here, *-nu-* may perhaps = *-nō* < *-neu-*, IE. *-neu-*. For the verb 'to hear', Skt. *śṛṇu-* would lead one to expect a stem **hliu-* in Celtic; probably this stem was the model for *guin(u)-* and was also responsible for the transformation of the earlier present stem **ai-n-d-* (Skt. *viaditi* 'feeds') into **uindeu-*, Ir. *finn-* (cp. also W. *gwn* 'I know'). On the other hand, **hliu-* 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 KE. II. 58, xxm. 115 n.4). Obviously there has been confusion between the *nu-* and *nu-* classes: with *ara-ehrin* compare Skt. *śṛṇoti* 'breaks'.

CONFUSION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PRESENT CLASSES

553. The boundaries of the above eight stem formations are very easily and very often obscured.

(a) Distinctions characteristic of a particular class are lost by mutation of quality in consonants (§ 158 ff.). For example, neutral quality in the last consonant of the stem is characteristic of A I and B IV, but this is often changed to palatal quality through syncope of a preceding front vowel. Thus the passive of *fo-lina* 'fills up', *fo-linstar*, has regular neutral *n*; but in the prototonic form the loss of *i* makes the group *ln* palatal, and the resulting form *-fallnithar* has the appearance of A II. Similarly 3 pl. pass. *-bentar* (B IV), but with *to-fo-*: *du-fulbaitar*, and so on.

Conversely, palatal consonance (especially in A II and B II) is very often changed to neutral. For example, *ad-áigathar* 'fears' looks as though it belonged to the α -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 d (§ 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-roghaim*, **fo-áebaim*; from such forms neutral b can spread to other compounds, e.g. *imm-íngabaim* 'I avoid' Sg. 50^b8, as though it were an α -verb, ipv. *imma-n-ínceab* Wb. 30^a20 beside *ínceab* 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^a*) by analogy with *·ben* (B IV); so too ipf. *·berad* instead of *·bered*. Conversely, the verb *far-fén-* 'complete' (B IV) has 1 sg. *for-féim*, formed like B I (*·bíur*). *gonaid* 'wounds, slays', which otherwise is inflected as an α -verb in the present (§ 522), has the strong 3 sg. conjunct *·goim*, e.g. LU 5504, Zu ir. Hss. 1. 57, 12, pass. *·gonar* Flanaig. 24, 16. For *do-inscan(n)a* 'begins' (α -verb) Wb. 17^b8 has *do-inscann-som* (if the text is correct).

Again: *car(a)im* 'I love' (A I) and *ga(i)irim* 'I call' (B III) differ in the quality of the *-r-*. But this difference disappears in the subjunctive stems *cara-* and *gara-* (§ 507), and hence an indicative form *cairim* occasionally appears (Wb. 23^b12). Beside *marath* 'remains' Sg. 203 (Thes. II. xxii) we find the conjunct form *·mair* Wb. 3^b15. Beside regular *do-áith-mínedar* (B II) 'reminds' ML 136^b11 we find *du-n-áithmenadar* and pass. *for-áithmentar* '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 *léid* 'leaves, lets go.'; B I (and III) *berid* 'bears' and, for forms with unstressed stem, the compound *tabair* 'gives, brings' (deuterotonic *de-beir*).

556. ABSOLUTE FLEXION

	A I	A II
sg. 1	<i>mór(a)im(m)</i> (<i>marbu, gene</i>)	<i>léim(m)</i> (<i>áillu, tibu</i>)
2	<i>mór(a)í</i>	<i>léí</i>
3	<i>mór(a)íd</i> <i>-(a)íth</i>	<i>léid</i> <i>-íth</i>
rel.	<i>móras(s)</i>	<i>léces(s)</i>
pl. 1	<i>mórm(a)í</i> (<i>prešhimmi</i>)	<i>léimí</i>
rel.	<i>mórm(a)e</i> (<i>prešhimme</i>)	<i>léime</i>
2	<i>mórh(a)e</i>	<i>léithe</i>
3	<i>mór(a)ít</i>	<i>léit</i>
rel.	<i>mórd(a)e mórt(a)e,</i> <i>móralte -ate -ite</i>	<i>léide léíte, léite</i>

557. CONJUNCT FLEXION

sg. 1	<i>·mór(a)im(m)</i> (<i>·caru</i>)	<i>·léim(m)</i> (<i>·ráidtu, ·bágu</i>)
2	<i>·mór(a)í</i>	<i>·léí</i>
3	<i>·móra</i> (<i>de·foirné</i> § 99)	<i>·léí</i>
pl. 1	<i>·móram</i>	<i>·léem</i>
2	<i>·mór(a)íd</i> <i>-(a)íth</i>	<i>·léid</i> <i>-íth</i>
3	<i>·mórat</i>	<i>·léest</i>

558.		B I	
ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT	
		Stressed	Enclitic
sg. 1	biru (ergo, molim)	-biur (-canim)	-tabur
2	biri	-bir (-eim, -rethi)	-tab(a)ir
3	berid -ith	-beir (-ber § 564)	-tab(a)ir
rel.	beres(s)		
pl. 1	berm(a)i	-beram	-talbream
rel.	berm(a)e		
2	*beirthe	-berid -ith	-talbrid -ith
3	ber(a)it	-berat	-talbret
rel.	berd(a)s bert(a)e		

THE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Windisch, *Kuhns Beitr.* viii. 460 f.; Zimmer, *KZ.* xxx. 119 f.; Thurneysen, *Abd.* xxvii. 115 ff.; Meillet, *BC.* xxviii. 369 ff.; Bergström, *Hermathena* xxiii. 84 ff. Generally: Brugmann, *Grundriss* II³, p. 583 ff.

558. The earlier form of some of the personal endings is difficult to ascertain. First, because in Irish and Brittonic the vowels of the old final syllables have mostly been lost, and the number of corresponding verbal forms hitherto provided by Gaelic inscriptions is very small. Secondly, because the exact form and distribution of the endings in primitive Indo-European are still uncertain, so that attempts to reconstruct the Irish forms are devoid of any sure basis, there being too many possibilities to choose from.

It will be best to begin with the conjunct flexion of B I, where the source of the endings is fairly clear. Some of them can be traced back to the Indo-European secondary endings, thus 3 sg. -beir to *bheret, Skt. ipf. 3-*bharat*, cp. Gk. 3-*φειρε*. The 3 pl. still has -et in archaic forms: *tu-théget* 'which come', *tu-cemet* 'which shed' Cam. 38b (for later *de-théget*, *de-cemet*), *ni-anget* 'they do not protect' ZCP. viii. 330, 9. These forms point to -ent, cp. Gk. 3-*φειρε*; Irish -t is here, as in all 3 pl. forms, to be pronounced *d*.

2 pl. -ith, -id presumably comes from -ete; cp. Gk. 2-*φειρε*, 2-*φειρε*, O.Slar. *beris*, Lat. ipv. *legite* (from -ete).

1 pl. -am (arch. -melam ZCP. xviii. 196 note 20) is never written with -am before the Middle Irish period. In the Féilire it rhymes four times with a lenited, and only once with a geminated sound (Frol. 134, Epil. 87, 98, 214, as against Oct. 11). Hence it seems that lenited -am was gradually replaced by unlenited, probably through the influence of the absolute ending -amst. The vowel before the m was e, as in Gk. 1-*φειρο-μεν* (Dor. -μεν); and so was the lost

vowel of the ending, as is shown by the neutral quality of *m* (cp. Lat. *-māe* < *-mās*). There is no means of discovering whether the vowel was followed by a consonant, such as *s*; cp. the Sanskrit primary ending *-māḥ* (-*h* < *-t*), secondary ending *-mā*. It is possible that Gothic *...mōwino* and *...grōwino* (Dettin, no. 82) are 1st plural forms.

560. The 2 sg. *-bir* points to an ending with *i*. This can be traced to the secondary ending *-es*, if we assume that *-es* became *-ie* (§ 78); cp. Gk. *ἰ-φῶσι*, Lat. *hēs* (from *-es*), etc. Others suggest that it represents original *-ei*, which they take to have been a primary ending on the evidence of Lith. *red-i* 'thou hadest' (reflexive *redis-i*) and Gk. *φῶσι* (where *-s* is secondary); but this ending is never found together with a 2 sg. ending *-i*. Undoubtedly the ending *-ei* in *stai* (§ 778) and *imne-rāi* (§ 590) could be more easily derived from *ē + i* than from *ē + is*; but since the absolute and conjunct flexions are no longer distinguished in verbal stems in *-s*, it is possible that *-ei* has been taken over from the absolute forms. In B I, beside the forms without an ending like *-bir*, *-ēim*, *ad-greim* (with *-s* instead of *-i* by analogy with other persons), *Wig*, *de-addit*, we find forms with *-i* like *-reith*, *-craed* (*-craed*), *-cēlaim* Ml. 64^a, *ara-Mēim* Thea. n. 253, 14. These are probably due, not so much to the influence of the absolute flexion, as to confusion with B II (§ 592), where the ending had remained after *-j*.

561. In the form of the 1 sg. that shows a clear difference from the absolute flexion—*bir*, *sun*, *diung*, *io-hung*, 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* (A III), and in B II: *-rēidin*, *de-giū*, *-gūdin*, etc. It obviously goes back to *-s*, the Indo-European thematic primary ending (cp. Lat. *ferō*, Gk. *φῶσῶ*), which was confined to the pres. ind., the pres. subj., and the future; in Irish (and Britannie), 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 2 sg. *-im*, *-id* could go back to *-e-i* (Skt. *śādrāi*, cp. Dor. *σίτερ*), and 3 pl. *-(a)it* to *-o-ni* (Dor. *φῶσων*, cp. Brez. *louson*). Further, 2 sg. *-i* is not incompatible with an original *-e-i* (Skt. *śādrāi*).

In 1 sg. *-i-m(n)* and 1 pl. *-m(n)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 starting-point is, therefore, to be sought mainly in B IV and V. The 1 pl. may go back to *-māi*, thus corresponding to Skt. *-māsi* (the by-form of *-māḥ*). The doubling of *m* is probably due to the influence of the copula, where 1 sg. **m-mi*, pl.

**ca-mai* (?) gave **caimi*, **caimoi*, whence Ir. *am(m)* with loss of palatalization (§ 168), pl. *ammi*. In Britannie *-m-* in the 1 sg. remained single, and was therefore lenited; here *-am* *-am*, (from *d-mi*) was generalized as the ending of the 1 sg. present. In Irish, *-(i)m(m)* is not confined to the absolute flexion; it often occurs in the conjunct also, not merely in those verbs where the hybrid form with *-a* has by regular phonetic development become identical in both absolute and conjunct, but also in B I; e.g. *fer-cainm* Wb. 8^v8, *de-sar-channaim* Sg. 60^v12, beside *fer-ann* Wb. 10^v13. The form in *-is* (absolute and conjunct) appears mainly in verse, where it is found even in verbs whose present stem does not contain *-i*; e.g. *dingin* 'I step' (otherwise B I) FM. 738; *ní-d-athgníniu* 'whom I do not know' (otherwise B V) *Liadain and Ceiribir* p. 16, 4.

563. The 2 pl. in *-is* (*-de*) happens to be but rarely attested in the pres. ind.: *sálgthe* Féil. Pról. 182, *férsálgthe-sí* ML. 20^v13 (deponent); but it is often found in the subjunctive and future: *sárlgthe*, *suibérlgthe*, *be(l)gthe*, *bede*, *comalláide*, *eéte*; *feinibthe*, *techtáide*, *gigéte*; hence the Old Irish form is not in doubt. It may point to earlier *-is*, but no corresponding primary ending is found in cognate languages; most of these do not distinguish a primary and secondary ending in the 2 pl. (Skt. has primary *-tha*, secondary *-as*). Latin *-is* goes back to *-as* with short *-a*.

The OHG. 1 pl. pres. in *-mō* bears a certain resemblance to **-is*. If Lith. *-s* (with reflexive, *-s-s*) has been correctly traced to *-s*, Ir. *-is* might represent an expanded form of this ending.

564. A further problem is presented by 1 sg. *biru*, *siagu*, *tungu* *tungu* (also *-s*, particularly after *-p* in the stem syllable: *agga* ZCP. xii. 106, cp. § 101), as opposed to conjunct *bir*, etc., which, as already noted, has itself an original primary ending. Here the absolute forms can only be explained by assuming that some element, doubtless a consonant, has been dropped after *-u*, earlier *-ō* (< *-ō*). The same thing occurs in the *d*-subjunctive (§ 600): beside conjunct *ber*, which has developed regularly from **berō*, **beran*, we find the absolute form *bera*, where the retained ending also suggests that some fresh element (*-r*?) had been added.

565. The above facts have led Pedersen (§ 802 L.) to reject the view that the difference between absolute and conjunct flexion is connected with the interchange of primary and secondary endings in Indo-European. He suggests instead that, just as the relative 3 sg. of the copula *as(s)* comes from the form **as-* (with secondary ending) + a relative particle, so too absolute *is(s)* contains the same form **as* (not **asi*) with the addition of the subject pronoun **is* 'he' (cp. Lat. *is*); and the same applies to all 3 sg. forms in *-is*, *-s*, e.g. *berth*, *berid* from **beret is*, subj. *berad is*, etc. The subject pronoun had been added—to some extent proleptically—whenever 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 *-s* would well explain the absence of lenition after the copula *is(s)*, despite its close connexion with the following word, whose initial should normally have been lenited after a basic form **siti*. 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 (§ 512). But since compounds in similar position have prototonic forms, the explanation of this may be rather that the preceding parts of the clause act as a preverb requiring conjunct flexion and prototonic forms.

Pedersen draws the further conclusion that the other absolute endings are likewise due to the addition of the appropriate personal pronouns. But this is contradicted by the form of the endings themselves, which in no way resemble the Irish or the Indo-European personal pronouns (e.g. *hiru*, *hirí*, *berm(m)á*, *beirthe*). The forms that result from combining Irish verbal forms with affixed subject pronouns are seen in the present tense of the copula (§ 792). On the other hand, certain absolute endings could be well explained by assuming that *-s* alone, not *-is*, has been affixed; thus 1 sg. *hiru*, *bera*, and perhaps the 2 pl. in *-á*. As for the other endings, it is impossible to decide whether they once had final *-s* or not; but the absence of lenition after the copula 3 pl. *í*, as after the singular, suggests that the 3 pl. ending also had *-s*. It may be taken for granted that the gemination after preverbs goes back to the same element (*s*, whence *ś*), which was affixed to the first word of the clause, whether that word was a verb or not. Its use in this position may have been assisted by the gemination after *ní* 'not', which presumably had a different origin (§ 243, 2).

At all events, it is open to question whether Pedersen is right in analysing *is(s)* and *berid* as **siti-is* and **beret-is*, or whether the division should not be rather into **siti-s*, **beret-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 *ss* than *is*, is perhaps indicated by pret. pass. absolute *beith(a)s* beside conjunct *-breth* (§ 712), if the first form is based on the masculine nom. sg. *-tos* (so too the active 2 pl. *-á* could go back to *-ts-ss*). That all absolute forms once had *-s* is not certain. In the singular of the suffixless preterite, for example, where the same forms are used for absolute and conjunct (§ 698), the absolute form may have lost *-s*, and this is perhaps suggested by the gemination after *ba* 'it was' (§ 242, 1). On the other hand, it seems improbable that a final *-s* was formerly present in all the absolute personal endings in *-r* (dependent, passive, preterite plural). It is uncertain, though not impossible, that the *s*-element goes back to the nom. sg. of a pronoun of the third person which came to be used as a petified particle to open a clause. In connexion with the absolute endings, therefore, much remains doubtful.

566. Among the relative endings, the 1 pl. *-m(m)s* is consistently distinguished from non-relative *-m(m)* in *Wb.* only. In *ML.* there are some instances of *-m(m)s* in relative clauses also; e.g. in *tan á-binná* 'when we are' 1894 (see Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxv. 376).

In the 3 pl. the vowel before *-de* should have remained only when it stood in the old third syllable, e.g. in *predchite*. But the influence of the non-relative form in *-it, -ist* has caused the vowel to be frequently retained in the second syllable also; e.g. *techtite* Sg. 7193 (*techtid* 'possesses') beside *techte* (for *techt'de*) Wh. 2^o11; *stuintite* Sg. 7025 (*stuintid* 'designates') beside *stuinte* (for *stuint'de*) Ml. 1394d. For the spellings *retas, rethas* (*rethid* 'runs'), see § 137.

In later sources *-mas, -tas, -das* are also written *-ms, -ts, -ds* (§ 93).

567. In the relative endings *-ma, -ta* a relative particle has coalesced with the final of the verbal form; cp. Gaul. *dapientis* (§ 509). In the 3 sg. pres. ind. *-e* is found only in the irregular verb *tite* 'who goes' (§ 766) and in *ite* (§ 789); but it is the regular ending of the *t*-preterite (*berie*, § 684) and the suffixless preterite (*idite, gidite*, § 692), and may also be contained in the relative pres. pass. *breth(a)ie* (§ 712 f.). On the other hand, where the absolute 3 sg. ends in *-t* (*-st*), viz. in the pres. ind., the *it*-subj., and some of the future formations (§§ 632, 646 ff., 653, 655), the relative form ends in *-s(s)*; e.g. *beres*, subj. *beras*, fut. *beras*, etc. Sarsow (Irish Studies, § 111) offers the ingenious explanation that *beres* has been formed to correspond to 3 pl. *berite* by analogy with the copula, where sg. *as(s)* (from **ast*.) corresponds to pl. *ata* (pretonic for **ate* < **astit*.). It may be objected that monosyllabic *as* seems to go back to the conjunct form **ast* + relative particle, whereas disyllabic *ata* looks as if it were based on the absolute form; but Pedersen (§ 546) disposes of this difficulty by assuming that originally in those relative clauses where the relative particle represents the subject (as it invariably does with the copula), the verb was always put in the singular, and that the plural forms accordingly belong to a later stratum of formation. The distinction found in the copula between relative and non-relative 3 sg., the one with palatal, the other with neutral *-s(s)*, appears again in the *s*-preterite (**stert(a)is* : *sternas*, § 674) and in the *s*-subjunctive (*stis* : *stas*, § 650).

568. In A I the retention of *-a* in the 3 sg. conjunct points to earlier *-it* (cp. stressed *-it* § 778). That the *a* was formerly long in the absolute form also is suggested by Britanni forms such as Mid.W. *Manychant* 'shines', O.Br. *ferist* 'redolet'. In the other persons the Irish forms afford no information about the earlier quantity; nor do they reveal whether *it* had contracted with a following vowel, or whether, on the model of the non-thematic verbs (Gk. *ἔτρα-ε, ἔτρα-ε-ε*), the personal endings (or some of them) were added directly to the *it*. In the plural, verbs with stressed *a* have disyllabic forms: *-tiam, -tūā, -tūā*; but whether verbs with suffixed *a* formerly had the same inflexion is uncertain; perhaps Gaul. *biartant* (Dottin no. 52) is a 3 pl. of this kind. It is usually taken for granted that in the open forms *it* 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. *tallennit* = O.Tr. *stuintid* 'designates' (conjunct *-stuintid*) suggest that in A II also there were forms with a long vowel, 3 sg. conjunct *-it*; but in other Britanni forms,

such as Mid.W. *ni anáid* 'does not', the ending goes back to *-i(i)st*, which would likewise give *-i* in Irish. The 3 pl. *-iú-st* may correspond to forms like Mid.W. *dywéi-gwé* (from *-iúst*) 'they will say', but the Irish ending could equally well come from *-iúnt*. Accordingly there may have been confusion between different formations. Cp. also the flexion of *MÍD* (§ 784) and *de-gní* (§ 589).

In the 1 and 2 sg. there is no difference between absolute and conjunct forms in A I and II. In the *i*-verbs this identity is the result of normal phonetic development. In the *a*-verbs it is doubtful whether the 2 sg. ending *-(s)i* represents the regular shortening of *-st* (cp. *-táí, -ráí* § 590), for in the *a*-subjunctive, which doubtless had the same ending, we find *-(s)a*. If *-(s)a* 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 *-(s)i* in B IV (§ 594). For a different explanation, see Pokorny ZCP. xii. 427 ff.

B. DEPONENT

569. In the absolute flexion deponent forms are outnumbered by active by-forms. Of the *a*-deponents, for example, apart from the 2 sg. *folkaíthar* 'thou rulest' *Ml.* 82⁴⁵, only relative forms are found with deponent flexion; e.g. 3 sg. *labraíthar* 'who speaks', pl. 1 *labraim(m)ar*, 3 *labratar*. Hence a complete paradigm is given only for the more numerous *i*-class (*sui(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 (*de*)-*meineíthar* (*-meineíthar Ml.*) 'thinks' for B II.

570.	A II
ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1 (<i>mídiar</i> , B II)	<i>-suidigiar</i> (<i>-cuiriur</i>)
2 <i>suidigíthar</i>	<i>-suidigíthar</i> (<i>de-mneineíthar</i> , <i>-erisidid</i>)
3 <i>suidigidir</i> (<i>míidíthir</i> , B II)	<i>-suidigedar</i> (<i>-airleíthar</i>)
rel. <i>suidigedar</i> (<i>airleíthar</i>)	
pl. 1 <i>suidigmír</i>	<i>-suidigmír</i> (<i>-airlemmar</i>)
rel. <i>suidigmír</i>	
2 <i>suidigíthe</i>	<i>-suidigid, -íth</i>
3 <i>suidigitir</i>	<i>-suidigetar, -eddar</i>
rel. <i>suidigetar -eddar</i>	

	A I (CONJUNCT)	B II (CONJUNCT)
sg. 1	-moter 'I praise'	-moimur (re-lamur)
2	-labrither 'thou speakest'	-moimter (§ 139)
3	-labrathar, -meladar	-moimethar (enclit. -minedar, -menadar, § 554).
pl. 1	-comalnammar 'we fulfil'	-moimemmar
2	-comalnid	*-moimnid, -ith
3	-labratar	-moimetar

For the interchange of *ā* and *d* (*ḍ*) 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.* *-ar* (also *-or*, §§ 101, 102, 9) goes back to the same basic form *-ar* as Latin *-or* (*sequor, gradior*).

574. 2 *sg.* The ending *-tar* (*-dar*) is doubtless connected with the 2 *sg. ipv.* in *-ta* (*-da*) (§ 564). 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 *-ta* may go back to **-tāde* and thus correspond to the Sanskrit middle secondary ending *-tāde*, provided the *d* here has been correctly traced to original *t* (Wackernagel, *KZ.* xxx. 307).

575. 3 *sg.* absolute *-tir* *-dir*, *pl.* *-tir*; conjunct *-tar* *-dar*, *pl.* *-tar*. It is characteristic of these forms that the vowel before *tā* (*dā*), *t* is never

elided. From this, as well as from the retention of *st* in the *s*-preterite, and the *s*-subjunctive in *-star* (§§ 578, 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*, *-stro*, and have arisen from a combination of the middle secondary endings *-to*, *-sto* (Gk. *-ro*, *-ro*) with an *r*-ending (although no conclusion as to the quality of the lost final vowel can be drawn from *du-fukledar* 'alips' *Thes. n. 24, 34* beside *du-fukledar* *ML 30*10*). If so, the starting-point was probably the 3 pl. Here, beside *-to*, there was an ending *-ro* (Skt. *ipf. ś-śaś-ro*, *KZ. xii. 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 *-sto* and *-ro* could have given *-stro*, 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. *akara-ter* 'accratur', Marrucinian *fero-ster* 'feruntur' could have come from *-tro*, *-stro*. In the relative form of the third person (eg. and pl.) a relative particle may have fused with the *-o*.

There are two possible explanations of the palatalization of the absolute endings *-stir*, *-stir*. It may be traced to the middle primary endings with final diphthong (Gk. *-roa*, *-roa*, beside 3 pl. Skt. *-re < -rai*, eg. *śaś-st*) ; in Celtic this diphthong would have become *-t*. This explanation would exclude the possibility that the absolute forms at any time contained *-r* (cp. § 563). Alternatively, the palatal quality may have been taken over from the active forms.

576. 1 pl. *-mir* and *-mar* (after palatal consonants *-mer*). The *m* is generally written double after vowels, and hence was unlenited ; this is doubtless to be explained by attraction to the absolute ending of the active. The vowel before *m* often remains unelided even when it stands in the second syllable (e.g. *meismemar* in the paradigm), presumably owing to the influence of the 3 pl. in *-star*, *-star* ; but it is not consistently retained as in the 3 pl. form.

The conjunct ending is found with the archaic spelling *-mor* in *tris-brademar ni-dagamar* pl. *aporiemar*, non *dentitamar* *Wh. l. 15*22-23*, which doubtless preserves the earlier vocalism. Similarly Latin *-mor* in *agat-mar*, 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.

ABSOLUTE

A I		A II	
(ACTIVE)		(ACTIVE)	(DEPENDENT)
sg. 3	mórth(a)ir (prídchídir)	léithir	suidgíthir
rel.	mórtáir (prídchithir, -ídar)	léithéir	suidgíthéir
pl. 3	mór(a)itír, mórt(a)ir	(midítir B II)	suidgítir
rel.	móratáir, mórtáir	*léictáir, léictéir	suidgíteir

CONJUNCT

gen. form	·mórtáir (-foir- enitáir) ; dep. fo-eáltáir (§ 136)	·léithéir (de-rés- cáithéir, fo-éitídáir)	·suidgíthéir
3 pl.	·móratáir, ·mórtáir (-foir- enitáir) ; dep. ·comalnatáir	·léictáir (-áir- léitáir)	·suidgíteir (-dirradgíed- dáir)

B I

ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
sg. 3	ber(a)ir	gen. form ·beráir (-berr, -ber)
rel.	beráir	
pl. 3	bert(a)ir	·bertáir (du-áidbétáir)
rel.	bertáir	

578. The ending *-ar* or *-ir* (with neutral quality in the preceding consonant) is found only in the indicative and imperative of strong verbs—for conditions 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-adhadar*, *du-fuissemar*, *fo-álagar*.

At first sight this seems to show that the vowel in *-ar*, *-ir* is not old, that the ending *-r* was once attached directly to the final consonant of the stem (**asar* < **asarʔ*), and that originally a vowel, neutral in the conjunct and palatal in the absolute form, must have come after the *r*. The by-form (*as-*)*berr* beside (*as-*)*berar* could be explained in this way, since normally no

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 (cp. § 116). Further, the theory that the vowel before *r* is secondary would make it necessary to assume a great many analogical formations; thus *r* immediately before *r* should have disappeared. On the other hand, in forms of B IV verbs, like *lm-dl-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-fermalg*, *·sumalng*, *do-fukala*, *lm-diben*, etc., the vowel, since it stood in the final syllable, was naturally always retained. On the other hand, *lm-folngar* 'is caused' *ML* 31¹⁰, beside more frequent *-folngar* 44¹⁰, 71⁸, 88¹⁵, 122⁵, 143⁴, and *amal du-n-esmar* 'as is shed' 44¹, beside *du-esmar*, *do-n-esmar* 56¹², are more likely scribal errors than examples of regular syncope, especially as the second form when syncope might have been expected to end in *-ar*. The spelling *fo-m-c(h)ertor* *ECP*. xv. 561 (from *fo-celrt* *-celrt* 'puts') suggests that the vowel before *r* was originally *o* (cp. *Kloekera*, *Streitberg-Festgabe* p. 199 ff.; otherwise *Edith F. Clafin*, *Language* xii. 30 ff.). It is impossible to ascertain from the Irish forms whether or not a (neutral) vowel has been lost after *-ar*. Absolute *-(a)r* is doubtless to be explained like *-tir* in the deponent.

In cognate languages, too, we find *r* endings without as well as with *-*. 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)ur* (*Mid. Bret.* *-aur*). Only Old Welsh prose and Middle Welsh poetry still show forms (pres. and fut.) in *-ar*, *-atar*, *-o(h)or*, *-i(h)or* (also *-aur* by analogy with *-ar*); pl. *-(h)ower* (from *-atar*). In Italic we find, e.g., *Umbr.* *fer-r* 'feratur', *Osc.* *kanat-r*, 3 sg. *pl.* subj. of active **kanat-i-d* (meaning uncertain). Similarly in Hittite *palijari* 'is recited' (3 pl. act. *palijanni*), middle *stari* 'sits down', *ipv.* *stara*.

579. In forms with the more frequent ending *-ther* (*-der*), *-thar*, absolute *-tir* (*-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. § 153). After a retained vowel palatal quality predominates; cp. forms like *predchdir*, rel. *predchider* (but *·táthar*, § 778), *notatir* 'notatur' *Sg.* 28¹¹. Only in the relative and the 3 pl. conjunct is *-tar* commoner than *-ter* (except in stems in *i*, like *do-gniter*, § 589).

A few archaic forms in *-áir* are found (Stokes, *K.Z.* xxxvii. 280 ff.), not only in *i*-verbs like *i-n-éigáir* 'whence is cried out', but also in *a*-verbs, e.g. *meátháir* 'who is praised'. It is unlikely that these are to be equated with certain exceptional Mid.W. forms such as *Bemátor* 'is kept (upon)'. It is also very doubtful if they furnish proof that the passive ending *-ar* has been added to forms in *-i* (Macstrander, *Caractères Indo-européens de la Langue Irlandaise*, p. 99 f.). Here it may be only a special way of representing the vowel between palatal and neutral consonance (§ 102, 4). But at all events these forms suggest that the *á* was palatal, and if this was the earlier quality, *-ar* 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 *-áir* and *-áir* in the deponent. In that case the endings must be separated from W. *-ar*. 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. *-ar* a vowel must have been lost after *-r*, and this may also have happened in Ir. *-áir*, *-ar*, etc.

For the interchange of *á* and *a* see § 128 f.; for *i* instead of *á* after *l*, n. 4, § 128.

2. THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

580. In prose this is always conjunct, since it is preceded by the particle *no* (§ 538) in the absence of any other preverb; where (in poetry) *no* is omitted, the same forms are used for the absolute. Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike. In the following paradigm the *a*-verbs are illustrated by an active verb, the *i*-verbs by a deponent.

	A I	A II
sg. 1	<i>-már(a)in(n)</i>	<i>-suáigín(n)</i>
2	* <i>-mórtha</i>	<i>-suáigíthea</i>
3	<i>-mórad, -aith</i>	<i>-suáigéad, -eith</i>
pl. 1	<i>-mórm(a)is</i>	<i>-suáigimís</i>
2	* <i>-mórth(a)e</i>	* <i>-suáigíthe</i>
3	<i>-mórt(a)is</i>	<i>-suáigítis, suáigédis,</i> <i>-reáthís</i>
pass.	<i>-mórth(a)e</i>	<i>-suáigíthe</i>
3 pl.	<i>-mórt(a)is</i>	<i>-suáigítis</i>

B I

sg. 1 ·berin(n)	pl. 1 ·beirmis (-erbirms)
2	2
3 ·bered (-berad § 554)	3 ·beirtis (-bertis)
pass. ·berthe (du·immairethe, ad·oparthe)	3 pl. ·beirtis (-bertis, do·fúaireitis)

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. *ne·tosngashtalgthea* 'that thou wast went to hang' ML 78^o3; *du·gnútha* 103^o16, from *do·gní* 'does', is shown by the context to be an error for subj. *du·gnetha*. But since, in the later language also, the flexion of the imperfect is always identical with that of the past subjunctive, the forms (2 sg. and pl.) inserted in the above paradigms may be taken as certain.

In B I and III it would seem that at one time the vowel before the ending was always *e*, even in those persons where the pres. ind. had *-o-*. Cp. 1 sg. *for·dúnginn* 'I used to oppress' ML 115^o16 (in *fu·lungáta* 86^o13 the *a* (4, § 45) is due to the sound-group *-ung-*, § 166); 1 pl. *ne·téigmis* ZUP. ix. 340 § 52, *imma·réidmis* Hib. Min. 79, 6; 3 *no·feidtis* ML 54^o12. 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^o20, cp. § 164.

The endings *-is* and *-mis* also contain an old palatal vowel, as is clear from the spellings *-itis*, *-immis* (in the secondary future). *aras·celtais* 'they used to rob them' ML 26^o19 (from *ar·cela*), if not a misspelling, has been modelled on the syncopated forms (**·celtais*), where the neutral consonance is due to the elided *a*.

582. The above forms have not yet been satisfactorily explained. This is the only flexional type in which the passive 3 pl. falls together with the active. In the Britanniic dialects the personal endings show marked divergences from those of the other tenses in the singular only, not in the plural. Cp. Mid.W. *-æa* (with *a* from *á* ?), *-at*, *-at* (*-á*), *-em*, *-æcok*, *-æt*; Mid.Bret. *-enn*, *-æa*, *-a*, *-æmp*, *-æð*, *-ent*.

The neutral *-s* (*-is*) of the 3 sg. active has been taken to represent the earlier middle secondary ending *-to* (Gk. *t-φ(ε)ρα*.) 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. *gwydy/af* 'he knew' and *awros(f)af* 'he recognized', and since the former belongs to the deponent *gdyr* 'knows', a middle voice origin is quite possible. If Ir. *-s* in the present of the deponent goes back to *-to*, the imperfect ending would represent a still older form of this, without *-r*.

The 3 sg. in *-s* recalls the deponent ending *-to(s)*, but has a different vocalism. It may correspond to Mid.W. *-at*, but not to Bret. *-es*. The explanation of Ir. *-s* as due to the influence of IE. *-to*, the ending of the 3 sg. perf. act. (Kieckers, IF. xxxrv. 408 f.), is not convincing.

Pedersen (§ 636) 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. *-a(s)* from IE. *-a* (Skt. *i-āmarān*), which had become *-n* in Celtic; 1 pl. Ir. *-mís(s)* (Dor. *t-φ(ε)ρα*): 2 sg. Bret. *-es* (Gk. *t-φ(ε)ρα*). 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 *a*. The *-is* in the 2 pl. could also be regarded as a lengthened form of an earlier ending going back to original *-to* (Gk. *t-φ(ε)ρα*). 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 an extremely unlikely hypothesis.

The origin of the 3 pl. in *-is* might also be sought in a plural form of the Indo-European present participle (Gk. *φ(ε)ρα*), 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 *-at* of transitive verbs as passive cannot be compared, since survivals of such participles in Irish, e.g. *car(a)s* 'friend', literally 'the loving' (Celt. stem *karant*), are active in meaning. The Irish passive singular in *-is* may correspond to W. *-it*, Bret. *-es*.

3. THE IMPERATIVE

583.

A. ACTIVE

	A I	A II
sg. 1		(fulreim B II)
2 <i>mór</i>		<i>léic</i>
<i>mórad -ath</i>		<i>léicid -ath</i>
pl. 1 <i>móram</i>		<i>léeam</i>
2 <i>mór(a)id -a)ith</i>		<i>léicid -ith</i>
3 <i>mórat</i>		<i>léicil</i>

B I

sg. 1 blar	pl. beram
2 befr (ber, like B IV, cp. § 554)	berid -ith
3 *bered -eth (forcanad)	berat

584.

B. DEPENDENT

Paradigms: A I, -comalnadar 'fulfils'; A II, suidgidir 'places'; strong verbs, re-clu(l)nethar (B V) 'hears'.

A I

A II

sg. 1	(águr)
2 comaln(a)lthe -de	suidgithe
3 comalnad -eth	suidgied -eth
pl. 1 (finnamar B V)	suidgim (*suidgimer)
2 comaln(a)ld -(a)lth	suidgid -ith
3 comalnatar	*suidgietar

STRONG VERBS: B V (= B II)

sg. 1	pl. cluinem *-emmar
2 cluinte (§ 139)	cluinid -ith
3 cluinéd -eth	cluinetar

585.

C. PASSIVE

	A I	A II	B I
	(ACTIVE)	(DEPENDENT)	(ACTIVE)
gen. form	mórtar	suidgíther	berar, ta-barr
3 pl.	mórtar	suidgíter	bertar

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 *tiag-sa*, *tiash* 'let me go, I will go' is common. Cp. further *blar-sa*, *Met. Dinds. m. 210, 18*; *fuireim-si* (read -se) *Bürgschaft p.*

13 § 44, from *fo-r-le* 'finds'. Deponent: *á gur*, *Ériu* i. 68 § 6, from (*ad*)-*ágathar* 'fears' (§ 543 a).

tmsce-as LU 6093 is more likely to be an error for *fat. tmsce* or *-urr*.

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. *MI.* 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); *fridoiread* *Wb.* 14*27; but *timmargad* *MI.* 136*8, *forcanad* *Wb.* 22*8, *comtangad* 31*15, *indnadad* 11*14 (2 sg. *indnute* 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.* 26*6, *nú(a)llaigem* 'ploremus' *MI.* 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., *fechleamar* *TBC.* 3077 (*fo-clallathar* 'heeds'), *na-há gumar* *LI.* 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. ipe, amá, fát*; *Gael. gab, moir Dottin* no. 59, *de Dottin* p. 70; for other formations see §§ 583, 589. The 2 pl. had the secondary ending *-at* (*Gk. ἀπέρε*, 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 *-at* (*-at*), see § 574.

The 3 sg. act. and dep. apparently points to *-at*, with a neutral final vowel; hence it corresponds neither to *Lat. at* (*OLat. -at*) nor to *Slr. -a*. *Fraser, ZCP.* viii. 280, suggests an earlier ending *-at*, comparable with *Goth. at-stei-ahn* 'let him descend'. Since the same form is used for the deponent, the possibility has also been suggested that the ending is based on *-at*, 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 stem is unstressed, the stem vowel also (just as in the 3 sg. subj., §§ 627, 628):

at-réb (= *réb*) *ML*. 126*3, *com-éi-r* *NdL* Aug. 26, 'arise', from $\sqrt{\text{reg-}}$, subj. stem *ress-*.

alc(e) *ZCP*. xv. 368 n.2, from *ad-guid* 'invokes (as surety)', subj. stem *gess-*.

no-m-ala 'spare me' *BC*. vl. 175, 31, from $\sqrt{\text{aesp-}}$, subj. stem *aness-*.

With a long vowel in the subjunctive:

tog 'choose', *ZCP*. xix. 169, from *do-goa* (§ 522), subj. stem *göss-*.

talr 'come', from *t-ait-ic*, subj. stem *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 *-e* was used in a hortatory sense; thus *réb* theoretically < **reg-s-a*.

te-réh- 'help', 3 sg. ipv. *fairheth* *ZCP*. xi. 92 § 10, probably had a 2 sg. **teir*, with *to-*: **tefotr*, **tír*. This last form subsequently gave rise to a verb *tírím* 'I help', with long *o* as in the decompound. Cp. 2 sg. ipv. *to-n-tír* *IU* 8230, pl. 2 *to-n-ford* *LL* 12693.

PRESENT FORMS IN CLASSES A III AND B I-V

A III

588. The flexion of verbs in *-i* is generally modelled on that of *bild* (§ 784). Thus pres. conjunct: *-gnfu* (§ 561), *-gni*, *-gniam*, *-gnid*, *-gniat* (also *-gniam*, etc., § 47); pass. *-gnithor*, pl. *-gnitar*. Absolute: sg. 2 *gní*, 3 *gníth*; rel. *gnís*, pl. *gníte*. Ip. f.: sg. 1 *-gníla*, 3 *-gníth*, pl. 3 *-gnítis*; pass. *-gnítis*.

In the 1 sg. the ending fluctuates: *-dén(a)lm* (*de-grei-*), prototonic form of *de-gnú*; *-déccu* *Wb.* 24*13, beside *frís-alecím* *Thes.* II. 228, 31, to *ad-élu*; *llim* *Wb.* 13*18, conjunct *-llim* 10*1, *-llu* *IT.* I. 106, 21; *ad-rolílu* 'I deserve' *ML*. 75*11 (*ad-ro-áli-*).

For *-accatar* as pass. of *ad-élu* see § 609

In the 2 sg. ipv. act. *déne* 'do', *eungne frimm* 'help me' *ZCP*. VIII. 175, *dé(l)ces* '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: *cuirre* 'throw' *Thea.* II. 19, 36 beside the regular deponent form *cuirthis* *ML.* 56*5; *conainse* 'condemn' *ML.* 22*2 (*con-nessa*).

The 3 sg. *ipv.* *ceas* gl. *interde* *ML.* 69*4, from a verb with subj. stem *ceas-* (pass. as *ceas* 44*4, √*oid* ?), seems to combine this formation with that of § 488. *tala dam-sa a léig* 'give me the reward for it' *ML.* 39*32 probably does not belong here, but is the same as *dala* *LU.* 373, *dala* *LL.* 281*48 'give', which may be connected with *éile* 'hither' (§ 433).

chú 'weeps' has a divergent flexion: 3 sg. rel. *chú* (*diayl.*) *Fél. Epil.* 350; *ipf.* *-chú* *Imram Brain* I. 47, 6; *ipv.* 2 sg. *ná-éi* *ibid.*

590. Apart from these, most of the attested forms are of verbs in *-e-*: absolute 3 sg. *sóid*, rel. *soas*; conjunct sg. 1 *con-im-chláim*, 2 *-soi*, 3 *con-éi*, *-éai*, prototonic *-com(a)í*, deponent *con-oadar* *-comathar*; pl. 1 *do-intám* (**-iad-foam*), 2 *con-óith*, 3 *-soat*, enclitic *con-foat* (**-fo-foaf*), *-comthoet* *Sg.* 163*1; *con-out*, enclit. *-com-at*; pass. *-soithar*; *ipv.* 2 sg. *soi*.

as-*luí*, *-loí*, with enclitic stem *con-áilal* *-comlal* (*com-af-*) 'sets' *Ériu* XII. 20 § 25, *-soemlal* 'sets out', pl. as-*luat*. Deponent: *fo-llúir* 'I fly', 3 pl. *fo-luatar*. *Ipv.* 1 sg. *no-luon* 'I used to fly' *Imram Brain* II. 291 § 11; 3 as-*luad*.

Verbs in *-s* are inflected in the conjunct like *at(t)á* (§ 778). Thus 1 sg. *im-ré* *LU.* 3015; 2 (rel.) *imme-raí* *Imram Brain* I. 19 § 37; 3 *in-lía* 'inserts' *LU.* 5175 (read *-lá* ?), pl. *in-last*; *ipf.* 3 sg. *im-raad* *Imram Brain* I. 29 § 61.

colla 'go' (miswritten *collas* *LU.* 5991) seems to be 2 sg. imperative of *con-slá* 'goes'.

B I

591. In the 3 sg. present and imperative of *tíagu*, *-tiag* 'I go' a different stem appears: pres. absolute *téit*, rel. *téte* (§ 509, later spelt *téde*, hence *t = d*), conjunct *-tét* (written *-tét* *Wh.*, § 54); similarly *ipv.* *tét*. For *-táit*, *-táit* 'comes', from **-to-tháit*, see § 179. Only the compound with *com* and *an*

has prototonic 3 sg. *·coméitig* Wb. 22¹³ (beside deuterotonic *con-é-tét* Sg. 197¹⁷, 203²²) and ipv. 3 sg. *·coméitged* Wb. 10⁷.

The same stem appears in 2 pl. *for-téit-sí* Wb. 14³ (but *con-éitgid* 23²⁶), and in *taít* 2 pl. ipv. of *de-tét*. For the loss of the ending see § 110.

For the etymology of *tét* see § 769.

592. Apparently on the model of the 3 sg. conjunct of this common verb, ending in non-palatal *-t* (= *-d*), verbs in *-d* (= *-ð*) and *-tá* make present forms with the ending *-t^a*, 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 *tét* (§ 534): 3 sg. *do-cuat*, *·díchet*; with *to-*: *·tuíchet*. But the ending *-t^a* is also found in compounds of *féid*, *·féid* 'leads': *do-fét* (Imram Brain i. 13 § 21), *do-dí-at*, 1 sg. *do-díut* beside *assa-fíud* Sg. 221⁴; ipv. 3 sg. *du-m-fét* ZCP. vi. 258, 1. From *ar-coat* 'injures', beside ipf. (rel.) *ara-choídd* (with *oi*?) Ml. 83², *-t* has spread to the verbal noun *archoat*, *archoit* (cp. *W. ar-gy-wedd* 'harm'), and thence to the adjective *archoitesh* (Mod. Ir. *urchoídeach*) 'harmful'.

reith 'runs': *do-farmórat* 'follows', *do-fúarat* *·díurat* 'remains over', *du-starrat* 'includes', *con-tetarrat* 'comprehends', beside *in-reith*, *fo-reith*; probably also 1 sg. *fo-timédiríut* 'suffice' Sg. 185³.

ad-fiadat 'they relate', pass. *ad-fiadar*: 3 sg. act. *ad-fét*, *in-fét*, *do-ad-bat*, *as-ind-et* (cp. pass. *do-adbadar*, *as-indeáar*, also *as-indethar* Ml. 90¹⁸, cp. Sg. 70¹³), sg. 1 *as-indiut*, 2 *do-adbit*; ipv. 3 sg. *at-fét* Anecd. iii. 52, 20. The 1 sg. pres. *ad-fét* Imram Brain i. 15 § 29 is not certain: one ms. (ZCP. xviii. 414) reads *ad-fiad*, which may correspond to later *fiad*.

riadat 'they ride, drive': 3 sg. *·rét*, *im-rét*, *do-rét*, beside *inma-réid* Imram Brain i. 17 § 33, etc.

√sed-: sg. 3 *ar-néat*, *·airnet* 'expects, sustains' (3 pl. *ar-néithet*, see § 846), 1 *ar-néut-sa* Wb. 14¹⁸, 23²⁷ beside *in-néuth* Thes. ii. 42, 11 (ipv. 3 sg. *indnaded* § 586); also *ta-n-aurnat* 'bows himself down' Thes. ii. 253, 5.

Further, *t-in-fet* 'inspires', *do-n-infet* (*f* < *fo*), 1 pl. *do-n-infedam*; 3 sg. *lass ara-n-neget* 'when he prays' *Ml.* 61¹ (§ 846), 3 pl. *ar-neigdet*, 2 pl. *ipv. irnigdd* *Wb.* 22⁸ (cp. *guidid*); *-dithat* '(a pledge) is forfeit' *Laws v.* 398, 400, from *di* and *-tuit* 'falls'. The origin of *for-deret* gl. *illustrat* *Ml.* 78⁸, beside deponent preterite *for-derisur* gl. *lustrur* 133⁸, is uncertain.

The peculiar form *é re-selhet* 'after it has come to an end' *Mon. Tell.* 130, 23, 140, 13, perfective present of *sechid* (*seuchid*), if it has been correctly transmitted, has apparently been influenced by the compounds of *tét*.

B II

593. The absolute flexion is for the most part the same as in A II; e.g. 1 sg. *gu(i)dim(m)* *gu(i)dia*, 3 sg. *gu(i)dd*, rel. *gu(i)des(s)*; pl. 1 *guidmi*, 3 *gu(i)dit*, rel. *gu(i)te*. Similarly *ipf. no-gu(i)dm(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: *-galb*, *-gair*, *-daim*, *-guid*, etc., like B I and III.

In the remaining forms, too, there is confusion with the flexion of verbs without *i*. The 2 sg. seems, indeed, to have the ending *-i* consistently: *-daimi*, *-foghal*, *con-rigi*, *du-rigi*. But in the 1 sg. beside *-daimim*, *-galbim*, *-gu(i)dim* *-guidiu*, *for-con-grimm*, *con-gairiu*, *tacera* (with *do-ad-*), the forms *-gaur*, *for-con-garar* also occur, and in the plural *du-airrgerat* *Ml.* 87¹⁵, with neutral *r*, beside *-gairim*, *-gairit*. So too in the passive, particularly where the stem is unstressed: *de-fur-cabar*, *for-con-garar*, *ipv. cotab-ucabar*, beside *-galbther*. 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^h* (§ 184a). Cp. also § 549.

For the deponent cp. the paradigm in § 571.

B IV

594. Present conjunct: *-cren(a)dm* (*for-fun* like B I, § 554), *-cren(a)i*, *-cren*; 3 pl. *-crenat*; pass. *-crenar* (like B I), pl. *-crendar*, *-crentar*. Absolute: *cren(a)dm*, *cren(a)i*,

cren(a)id, rel. crenas; 3 pl. cren(a)id, rel. cren(a)e; pass. cren(a)ir. Ipf. 3 sg. ·crenad. Ipv. 2 sg. cren, 3 *crenad (stat-air-bined ML 86'10); pl. 1 crenam, 2 cren(a)id; pass. crenar. Similarly 3 sg. pres. fo-seru(n), pass. ·sernar; ipv. 2 sg. ernn *Theo.* II. 257, 11, sérnna gl. *stude* ML 56'12.

The 3 sg. pres. ·cren, from *crenát, shows that in Celtic the suffix-form -ad, which originally was confined to the plural (as opposed to -ad- in the singular; Gk. *Μαρούα, -δασα*), spread to the singular also. This is confirmed by the Britannie 1 sg. in -as: *W. prynaf, Mid.Bret. bewaff.*

cren(a)id has a 3 sg. ipv. eriad *Tec. Corm.* § 1, 41, formed from the subjunctive stem (§ 611). Similarly in 3 pl. ipv. ·ciplet ML 73'7, ciplet 104'2 (from at-baill 'dies', § 532), the palatal consonance points to formation from the subjunctive stem; cp. at-bela § 597. cosrad 'studeat' ML 124'6 and cosrid 'studete' 68'15 also recall the subjunctive stem sera-, but have non-palatal -r-, as though they went back to a basic form without a vowel co(m)-r-; cp. the vb.n. cossir 'stadium' *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 *buid, ·bī* (§ 784); e.g. hó bu-rorbaithe (bu· = fu·) 'when it has been completed' ML 15'6, from for-fen (cp. *ACL.* III. 230, 146), like hó ru-bíthe; tihí 'is wont to slay' *IT.* II. 185, 289 (*to-íad-ben-*); possibly even the simplex benaid: 3 sg. rel. bils (bis) *RC.* XVI. 46 § 86 (but cp. *Ériu* XI. 150 f.).

B V

595. Attested forms include: pres. ag. 1 ·gúin(a)im (poetic ·athgúinú § 562), 3 ·gúin; pl. 3 ·gúinat; pass. ·gúintar, pl. ·gúintar (= ·gúindar).

3 sg. ro-finnadar, pl. ·fínatar; pass. ·fíntar, pl. fínnatar. Ipf. 3 sg. ·fínnad. Ipv. (always without ro) 2 fínt(a)e, 3 fínnad; 1 pl. fínnamar.

ro-clu(t)íneithar is inflected like B II, cp. § 584.

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 *na*. It is attested for about fifty verbs altogether.

All other verbs have the *a*-subjunctive.

The strong verbs *agid* 'drives' and *ad-glidathar* 'addresses', despite the roots in *-g* and *-d*, have the *a*-subj. Later forms of *ad-glidathar* with *-s*, like 1 sg. *cauid-arissar* 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 *a*-subj.

In Latin also, a few archaic forms such as *advenat* subj. of *advenio*, *astigat* subj. of *astigo*, and *talat* beside *tallo*, show that the *a*-subjunctive did not originally belong to the present stem.

I. THE *a*-SUBJUNCTIVE

597. The stem is formed by adding an originally long *a* to the general verbal stem; the former quantity of the *a* is attested by the conjunct 3 sg. in *-a* < *-ā*. Accordingly the formation is the same as that found in the old Italic present subjunctive.

In the weak *a*-verbs (A I) the *d* of the subjunctive has fused with that of the stem final, so that the subjunctive stem (*mōra-*) is indistinguishable from the present stem. Somewhat clearer traces of the *-ā-* are found in A II (cp. Lat. *fīni-a-t*, *monē-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-*).

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 gainthir), men-a- (to ·meinethar, ·muinethar).

Those verbs of B IV whose present stem ends in -ca- have a subjunctive stem in -ia-, whether or not the -e- goes back to original i: hla-, eria-, fla-, gha-, ha-, ria-, tha-, (§ 611).
ern(a)id, sern(a)id, marn(a)id ·mairn, and at·balli have subjunctive ara-, sera-, mera-, bela-, inflected like B I.

In the past subj. pass. -serne Wb. 1878 a 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	
A I		A II	
ABSOLUTE			
sg. 1	méra		léca
	2 mér(a)e		léce
	3 mér(a)id -(a)ith		léid -ith
rel.	méras(s)		léces(s)
pl. 1	mérm(a)id -(a)immi		léimi
rel.	mérm(a)e (abraimme)		léime
	2 mérth(a)e		léithe
	3 mér(a)it		léit
rel.	mérd(a)e -t(a)e, mér(a)ite		lé(i)ede -te, léite

599.		CONJUNCT	
sg. 1	·mér		·léie
	2 ·mér(a)e		·léce
	3 ·méra		·léca
pl. 1	·méram		·lécem
	2 ·mér(a)id -aith		·léid -ith
	3 ·mórat		·lécot

600. STRONG VERBS (B I)

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	bera	-ber
2	ber(a)e	-ber(a)e
3	ber(a)ld -(a)lth	-bera
rel.	beras(s)	
pl. 1	berm(a)ld	-beram
rel.	berm(a)e	
2	berth(a)e	-ber(a)ld -(a)lth
3	ber(a)ll	-berat
rel.	berd(a)e bert(a)e	

601. B. DEPONENT

A paradigm of the absolute flexion is given only for the largest class, the weak *i*-verbs.

A II

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	*suidiger (eriadaigear)	-suidiger
2	suidigther	-suidigther
3	suidigidir	-suidigedar
rel.	suidigedar	
pl. 1	suidigmir	-suidigmer
rel.	suidigmer	
2	suidigthe	-suidigid -lth
3	suidigitir	-suidigetar
rel.	suidigetar	

602. A I

B

	CONJUNCT	
sg. 1	-comalnar	-menar
2	-comaln(a)lther -(a)lder	-mentar (§ 139)
3	-comalnathar -adar	-menathar -adar
pl. 1	-comalnammar	-menammar, -menmar
2	-comaln(a)ld -(a)lth	-men(a)ld -(a)lth
3	-comalnatar	-menatar.

603.

C. PASSIVE

The same paradigm covers both active and deponent verbs, which have identical forms in the passive.

A I	B	A II (DEPONENT)
ABSOLUTE		
sg. 3 mórth(a)ir	berth(a)ir	suidgthir
rel. mórthar	berthar	suidgthar
pl. 3 mórt(a)ir,	bert(a)ir	suidgthir
mór(a)thir		
rel. mórtar, mórtatar	bertar	suidgthar
CONJUNCT		
gen. form -mórthar	-berthar	-suidgthar
(-comalníthar)		
pl. 3 -mórtar,	-bertar	-suidgthar.
-mórtatar		

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 *-āe*, which disappeared in accordance with § 93. But such a basis form accounts only for *-ber* and *-mór*. It does not explain **-lúe*, *ne-fóld* Wb. 23^a1, *com-árim-se* 14^a17 (*ad-riml*), *aras-áe-r-lind* 10^a14 (*de-sluindl*), for an ending corresponding to Lat. *-iam*, *-eum* 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. *léca* and conj. 3 sg. *-léca*. 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^a36); it corresponds to Lat. *sequ-ar*, from *-ār*. After palatal consonance it becomes *-er*; of the absolute form there happens to be only one example, and this has the unusual spelling *erladaigear* Ml. 106^a6 (§ 87), possibly influenced by the active

ending *-ar*; but esp. the regular forms *galmigfer* Wb. 14^o, *adhartigfer* Ml. 37^o12 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)lr*, *-berthar* is clearly distinguishable from indicative *ber(a)lr*, *-berar*.

2. THE PAST OF THE *g*-SUBJUNCTIVE

605. Active and deponent are not distinguished. The weak *a*-verbs and the strong verbs are each represented by an active verb, the weak *i*-verbs by a deponent.

	A I	B	A II
sg. 1	<i>-mór(a)ln(n)</i>	<i>-ber(a)ln(n)</i>	<i>-suidgln(n)</i>
2	<i>-mórtha</i>	<i>-bertha</i>	<i>-suidgthea</i>
3	<i>-mórad -ath</i>	<i>-berad -ath</i>	<i>-suidged -eth</i>
pl. 1	<i>-mórm(a)ls</i>	<i>-berm(a)ls</i>	<i>-suidgmls</i>
2	<i>-móρθ(a)e</i>	<i>-berθ(a)e</i>	<i>-suidgthe</i>
3	<i>-mórt(a)ls</i> (<i>-intamllls</i>)	<i>-bert(a)ls</i> (<i>-tomnlls</i>)	<i>-suidgtls</i> (<i>-reisslls</i>)
PASSIVE			
gen. form	<i>-móρθ(a)e</i> (<i>-eomalnlls</i>)	<i>-berθ(a)e</i>	<i>-suidgthe</i>
pl. 3	<i>-mórt(a)ls</i>	<i>-bert(a)ls</i>	<i>-suidgtls</i>

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 *-d-*, 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 *ej^h*-, 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 syncopeated, the subjunctive shows the same palatalization as the indicative. In both cases the subjunctive has *o* for the *u* (< *o*) of the indicative.

Examples: *do-lugi* 'forgives' : subj. 2 sg. *du-logae*, 2 pl. *du-logaid*, but pass. *du-loigther*; *-cuirethar* 'puts, throws' : subj. 3 sg. *-corathar*, past *-corad*, but 2 sg. pres. *-coirther*, 3 pl. past *-coirtis*; *ad-suidl* 'holds fast' : subj. 2 sg. *ad-sode*; *-seihl* 'falsifies' : subj. 3 pl. *-seibat*; but *in-tuigther* 'inductur' : subj. *in-toichther*.

Where the verbal stem is unstressed its final consonant may or may not be palatalized. Examples: *do-lugi* : subj. sg. 3 *-dilga* *ML* 30²³, 46¹⁵ beside *d-a-ro-lga* *Wb.* 31², sg. 2 *-de-r-kaig[e]* *ML* 21⁷; *con-tuill* 'sleeps' : subj. (with *-ad-*, § 532) *-comtala* (*ms. -kals*) *LU* 5649.

Forms like *immo-ráda* *Wb.* 23²⁴, etc., 3 sg. subj. of *-ráid*, may also be classed here, though verbs with *-á-* have forms without palatalization even in the indicative: *im-rádaim*, *im-rádat*, etc.

Collection: *Fokorny, KZ.* XLIX. 76 ff. The development of these forms may be due in part to the influence of the *a*-preterite.

A III

608. (a) Among the verbs in *-i*, *gníid* 'does' agrees with *míid* in all the forms with stressed stem. Thus conjunct pres. *-gnéu* *-gnéa*, *-gné*, *-gné*; *-gnem*, *-gnetth* *-gneid*, *-gnet*; pass. *-gnet(i)ther*, pl. *-gnetar*. Absolute: 3 pl. rel. *gnete*. Past sg. 1 *-gnea* *-gneann* (*-gnén* *Wb.* 10¹⁶, see § 45), 3 *-gnetth* *-gnet*; pl. 1 *-gnemmis*, 3 *-gnetis*; pass. *-gnethe*.

But where the stem is unstressed it is inflected as though the *n* were the final of the root. Thus with the prep. *de*: pres. *-dén*, *-dén(a)e*, *-déna*; *-dénam*, *-dén(a)id*, *-dénat*; pass. *déntar*, pl. *-dénatar*; past 3 ag. *-dénad*, pl. *-dént(a)is*, etc.

In this position most of its forms had by regular development become identical with the *a*-flexion, which was then analogically extended to the few divergent personal forms.

Cp. *fo-gní* 'serves': subj. 3 ag. *-fogna*, pl. 1 *fo-gnem*, 2 *fo-gneith*, etc. *éid* 'weeps' has past subj. 3 pl. *-ceith* Wb. 10^b.

609. (b) The compounds of *-ei* 'sees' have deponent forms: pres. ag. 1 *ad-éar*, with enclitic stem *-accar*, 2 *-alcéithir* *-alcéithir*, *-déicidid* *do-éacáithir*, 3 *-accadar* *-accáithir*; pl. 1 *-décammar*, 3 *-accatar*. Past ag. 1 *-accáinn*, 3 *ad-éath ad-éad*; pl. 2 *ad-éithe*, 3 *-accáitis*. Passive pres. pl. *ad-éair*; past ag. *ad-éithe*.

In the passive, when the stem is unstressed, an *a*-subjunctive appears instead, which presumably represents the earlier formation: pres. ag. *-accatar*, *do-éacatar*. But the form *-accatar* is also used as indicative Wb. 25^a28, 26^a12, Trip. 206, 6 (deuterotonic *ad-éithir*). An active 2 ag. *fer-alek* (*foráise*, *foircis* MSS.) occurs Laws iv. 18, 21. The deponent flexion is doubtless due to the influence of *re-cláinethar* (§ 612).

610. (c) Forms from verbs in *-o* include ag. 2 *-soe*, with enclitic stem *du-intae* (*-*ind-*soe**), 3 *do-intá* (*-*ind-*soe**), 2 pl. *-tintáith*; past 3 ag. *-impád* (*-*imb-*soad**), etc.

But *isid* 'spends the night' has 3 ag. *-fa* Laws iv. 318, 2, 10, Ériu xii. 34 § 44 (from *-*acc-*í**), past *-fiad* Liadain and Cuirithir 20, 6. The relation of the isolated subjunctive 3 ag. *re-bría* 'he may spoil, destroy' O'Dav. 300, pass. *re-bríathar* (*sic*, not *-*brether*) *ibid.* 287 and 314, Laws iv. 100, 7, v. 168, 15, to pres. ind. *bronnáid* (A I) 'spoils, destroys' is obscure; cp. Marstrander, Observations sur les présents indo-europ. à nasale infixée, p. 26 ff.

ro-lá- (§§ 534, 782): ag. 1 *-ral*, 3 *-rala*, like A I.

há- 'die' : 3 pl. -baat; past 3 ag. -baad, -báad.

as-laf : 3 ag. as-los, -éla; past 1 ag. as-loin, fu-luinn,
3 pl. -élaíttis.

B IV

611. Pres. conjunct sg. 1 -crú (like -béu, § 787), 2 -erie
-erine, 3 -eria (with enclitic stem: -be, to beaid); pl. 1 -eriam,
3 -eriat (enclitic -bet); pass. -erether. Absolute: 3 pl. rel.
erete; pass. sg. erethír, pl. erethír. Past: 3 ag. -eríad (enclitic
-bed, -bath), 3 pl. -eréttis; pass. -erethe, pl. -eréttis.

B V

612. ara-chrín : 3 pl. (with -ro-) man-aure(h)riat Laws
iv. 318, 20; past 3 ag. ní-arehriat Liadain and Cuirthír 20, 7,
pl. ar-íd-roehriettis Ml. 85⁴l.

The attested subjunctive forms of -gnín are: pres. pass.
asa-gnoíther Sg. 180² (probably modelled on re-cluínethar;
the pl. -en-ggnatar 209¹³ is possibly indicative); past 3 pl.
act. remí-ergnáltis Ml. 19⁸ (cp. p. 346 footnote). In later mss.
there are forms like 3 ag. act. -aithgné (read -gae) LU 5870,
past at-gnead 10323.

re-clu(i)neithar has pres. -clóor, -clóother, -clóathar;
-clóammar, -clóid, -clóatar; pass. *-clóother (cp. -gnóíther);
past 3 pl. -clóíttis.

This is apparently formed from the stem of the old root-act. lícu-
(Sk. lícōt, Gk. lív. lícōt).

THE s-SUBJUNCTIVE

Collection: Strachan, Trans. Phil. Society 1889-1902, p. 291 ff.

613. The stem of the *s*-subjunctive is formed by adding
to the root an *s*, to which the final consonant of the root is
assimilated.

Examples (B I and II): fedid : fess-; rethid : ress-;
techid : tess-; aingid -anich : an(s)ss-; laigid (lag-) : less-;
sáidid (sod-) : sess-; dláigid : dless-; midithir : mess-; gu(i)did :
gess-, with the same ablaut as Gk. acc. *δίκωνοσα*, pres. *ροθίω*.

614. In verbal stems which do not contain *-s-* the quantity of the vowel varies :

(a) Of the roots with *a*, *saigd* certainly has long *a* : *sāss-* ; cp. 2 sg. *re-sāis* Thea. II. 28, 35 ; 3 pl. *fo-sāsat* Wb. 8¹⁹ ; past 3 sg. *·sāsad* Sg. 62².

So also has *maidd* 'breaks' (intrans.) : 3 sg. *māis* LL. 332⁵⁶ ; cp. fut. *·mema* with *a* retained (§ 607). The similar retention of *a* in *·nema*, future of *nassid* 'binds' ($\sqrt{\text{nad-}}$), and *·sela*, future of *slaidid* 'slays', points to subjunctive stems *nāss-*, *slāss-*.

On the strength of these instances it is safe to postulate *elāss-* and *snāss-* as subj. stems of *elaidid* 'digs' and *snaidid* 'carves', even though none of the attested forms has the mark of length.

615. (b) Some roots of the *i-ai-* series have *é, ía* ; e.g. *tiagu* (3 sg. *téit*) 'I go' : *tāss- tiass-* ; *con-rig* 'binds' : *rāss- riass-* ; *saigd* 'drips' : *snāss- sniass-*.

Of those with initial *f-* (from *w-*), *weid- weid-* (*re-fitr* 'knows') fluctuates in quantity : 3 sg. *·fesiar* and *·fiastar*, 2 *·fēsser* Féil. Feb. 4, Oct. 24, pl. 3 *·fesatar* Wb. 26²³ ; past 2 sg. *·festa* 10¹⁰, etc. For others only forms with short vocalism are attested ; e.g. *ad-fét in-fét* 'relates', pl. *·fiadat* ; 1 pl. past subj. *in-fesmals* ML. 17⁴⁸ ; *do-fich ·feich* 'avenges' ($\sqrt{\text{wék-weié-}}$) : subj. pass. *du-fessar* 32²⁰.

é, ía is doubtless earlier, *í* 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' : *dāss- diass-* (3 pl. pass. *·diassatar* ML. 33¹²) ; root *dhigh- dheigh-* (Lat. *finger, fectus*).

fo-loing 'supports, endures' : *·lāss-* (1 sg. *·lós* ML. 33², 62¹²) ; root *log- leug-*. From this may be inferred *bāss-* to *bongid* 'breaks', *tāss-* to *tongid* 'swears', etc., though neither

the mark of length nor the diphthong *áa* is ever found. Cp. also *·old* 'leads' (with *ð* < *u*) : 2 sg. *·óts* LU 3489.

617. (d) Roots in which *-a-* is not confined to present forms likewise show a long vowel. Thus *·ic* (from **iak-*) : *·iss-*; sennid, *do-seinn* : *séss-* (1 sg. *du-sés* ML. 61*16, past pass. *do-t-[s]ésta[s]* Ériu I. 200 § 25); *in-gleinn* 'investigates' : *gléss-* (2 sg. *in-gléts* ML. 140*7, cp. past 3 sg. *fo-gléssed* Ériu II. 63 § 1). This *é* is sometimes diphthongized to *ia* (through confusion with § 615 b); e.g. *in-greinn* 'persecutes' : past 3 pl. *·gríastais* ML. 38*5; *lingid* 'leaps' : 3 sg. rel. *llas* 33*8.

do-laf O'Dav. 326, 626, 1209, subj. 3 sg. of *do-bránn*, points to a stem *lraiss-*; cp. § 649.

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-ecírd* 'throws' : subj. stem *·ecerr-* (e.g. 2 sg. *fo-ecírr*); *orgid* 'slays' : *err-*; *múlgid* 'milks' (with *ú* < *í*) : *mall-* (with strong grade of the root, cp. OE. *melcan*, Gk. *μυλάω*).

619. Deponent flexion is found in the following stems; *midhítr* 'judges' : *mess-*; *ro-ftír* 'knows' : *fess-* (*fíess-*); *√ed-* 'eat' : *ess-* (§ 766). Further, the preterite-present *·dúthraecair* 'wishes' has subj. sg. 2 *·dúthraiser* LB 261*9, 3 *·dúthrastar*, pl. *ei[a]* *dúthraetar* (read *du-dúthraistar*?) ML. 56*7; and *·com-airc* 'asks' has 2 sg. prototonic *·comairser* Laws IV. 18, 18, O'Dav. 488 (cp. 1012), past 3 sg. *immo-chemairsed* ML. 20*18, 63*9 (present *-arc-* < **[s]rak-* for **p[ak-ak-*; subj. *·rass-*, full grade, < **prak-s-*, cp. Lat. *precas*, 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.

A. ACTIVE

	ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
sg. 1	tiasu	·tias	·gess (-é-ras)
2	téi	·téis	·geiss
3	téis	·téi, ·té	·gé (-sá, -i, -lá)
		enclit. -4	enclit. *-g (-l)
rel.	tias (gess)		
pl. 1	tiasm(a)i	·tiasam	·gessam
rel.	tiasm(a)e		
2		·tésid	·gessid
3	tias(a)it	·tiasat	·gessat
rel.	tias(a)e		

621.

B. DEPONENT

The only absolute forms quotable are sg. 2 *messer* Corm. 1135; 3 *estir* Wb. 6²⁴, rel. *mestar* Ml. 127¹². Conjunct (for by-forms with *fés- fíess-* see § 615):

sg. 1	·fessur	pl. ·fessamar (-fiasmar TBC. 1193)
2	·fē(l)esser	·fessid
3	·festar	·fessatar

622.

C. PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

	ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
sg. 3	gess(a)ir	gen. form	·gessar, ·messar
rel.	tiasar, gessar (mestar)		(du·Indnastar)
pl. 3	'		·gessatar
			(for·diugulstir)

623. The flexion of the *s*-subjunctive is identical with that of the *s*-preterite (§ 614 ff.) and, except for the absolute 1 sg. act., with that of the *s*-future (§ 618).

¹) The form *tiasid* LU 4764 is not old; but *nóressim* Wb. 9¹⁹ has been emended, doubtless correctly, to *ne-téssim* by Sarauw (Irish Studier p. 130). One would expect *tíssid.

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 2 sg. and the dependent 2 sg. the personal ending is added directly to the *-s* of the stem. (*s*)*at* has become *as* (2 sg. depon. *-asr* < *-s-ter*), except in the old group *-at-* of the 3 sg. depon.; the vowel in *estir*, *-festar* is a secondary development. The development of *-as+i* to *-as-* is regular only where the final *-as-* of the stem goes back to *-is-*; where it has come from *-is-* (*-is-*) one would expect rather *-ist-*; cp. *estir* 'outside of' from **eka, est-*, *estir* 'the upper part' from *is* 'above'. But guttural and dental stem-finals are treated alike. In final position *-as* is lost (*-rē* for **-reas, *-ret-s-i*). The absolute 2 sg. *éit*, *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*-series, like Homeric *ἐπέσσομαι, εἴσομαι*, Skt. *dayasā, nīpāsā*. 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 series indicative, but used modally.

Pedersen (Kgl. Danske Videnskabsberet. Selskab, Hist.-fil. Meddelelser III, 5, 1921, xxx. 2, 1923) has pointed out that in various languages, notably Fatic and Lithuanian, stems in *s* with non-thematic endings appear as futures; e.g. Osc. Umbr. *fast* 'erit', Umbr. *feres* 'feret', Osc. *permesant* 'prohibebit', where a vowel (-i) seems to have been lost after the *-s* 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—*tias*, *-is*, *-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 *de-re-thussa* gl. *decidam* ML 23*23, misspelt for *-re-thus-sa* (from *dí-* and *-tuit* 'falls'), as well as from later attested forms like *-lius*, *-sius*, *-árus* in Patrick's Hymn (Thea. II. 357, 17), to *laigid*, *sáidid*, *-érig* (*asr-rog-*), with the vocalism of *-liur*.

The palatal ending of *de-dúthris* Wb. 20*9, *de-futhris-as* 23*9, 'I would fail' (§ 514), is peculiar. This looks like a second sg. (cp. *ní-dúthrais* Thea. II. 291, 10, which seems to be actually 2 sg.), and is perhaps a petrified form. The verb is usually dependent (§ 519).

The 2 sg. act. *de-fess* ML 44*9 (to *de-fich* 'avenges') is merely an inaccurate spelling of *-fells* (§ 56); cp. 3 sg. *ela tias* 23*23, for *thés*.

625. In the conjunct 3 sg. the stem final *+s+* and the personal ending has disappeared; only in Wb. is *-i* written after *-s*: *-tél*, *ad-sléil* 20*2 to *ad-slig* 'induces' (§ 56). The

stem vowel has combined with a preceding vowel in *do-coí* 'he may go', from *dí-co-cess-* (§ 534, 4), in *ar-coí* *ML.* 48¹¹—cp. *indic.* 3 *sg. rel. ara-choat* 'prevents, injures', *ipf. ara-choided* (with *ó* or *é*?)—and in *-taí* *Sg.* 26⁷, *ML.* 31⁴⁶, *pres. subj. of do-téit*, *prototonic -taít*, 'comes' (§§ 591, 770); cp. *fo-roí* (§ 628).

Elsewhere *-í* is never found. A short final vowel, when stressed, is lengthened (§ 44 b); thus not only *-té* : *tiagu*, *-gré* : (*in*) *-greinn* (*gréss-*), *-ré* : *du-rig* (*réss-*, *riass-*), *-í* : *-le* (*iss-*), *-má* : *maidd*, *-ná* : *nascid*, *-sá* : *saigid*, *bó* : *bengid* and (*as-*) *boind*, *-lé* : *fo-leing*, *-tó* : *tongid*, but also *-ré* : *rethid*, *-fé* : *fedid*, *-gé* : *gu(l)did* (*gess-*); cp. *-fé* : *in-fét*, *ad-fíadat*.

626. Of all Irish verbal forms the most peculiar are those that are found here (i.e. in the conjunct 3 *sg.*) when the stress falls on a preverbal preposition, leaving the root syllable unstressed. The entire verbal stem is then often reduced to the initial consonant. This reduction is regular only where the stem vowel was originally short, but it is also found sometimes where the vowel was long; here it was doubtless mainly due to the fact that the two classes had fallen together in unstressed middle syllables, where long vowels were regularly shortened. In certain verbs (e.g. those with *-oag-*, *-oed-* in the *pres. ind.*) the *s*-future, where possibly the radical vowel had always been short (§ 609), may also have served as a model for the reduction.

Stems with original short vowel :

aingid, *-anleh* 'protects' ($\sqrt{aneg-}$) : *subj. stem aness-*, 3 *sg. -ain* *LL.* 251²⁵ (3 *pl. -anset* *Thea.* II. 301, 3).

ad-ar-rig 'repeats, amends' ($\sqrt{reg-}$) : *ath-clr*, *-err* *Ériu* VII. 146 § 32, 172 § 2, *-aithir* 162 § 4 (*pass. -aithirrestar* *ML.* 32¹³).

-diurat 'remains over' (*cpd. of rethid* § 592, *subj. stem res-*) : *for-dúair* (*read -díúair*) 'supersit' *ML.* 23⁴⁷ (*cp. past subj. 3 pl. dí-fúairéil*).

conden-féir *Thea.* II. 348, 4 belongs to *fo-reth-* 'succour'; but it rhymes with *neib* (*gen. sg. masc.*) and hence apparently contains the diphthong *éi*. Perhaps *foi-* has spread from the *fit-*, where it is easier to explain; cp. § 600, also § 588.

scœchid (later scœchid), subj. stem *scœss- (cp. gess-, § 613) : con·rei-sc 'until it has come to an end' LU 4673.

t·in-fet 'inspires' (§ 592) : t·in-b Wb. 4²⁷ (initial of root : *sw*).

do·tuft (later do·fuit), prototonic ·tuft 'falls' : ·ted ZCP. xviii. 403, do·fet(h), with -ro- : do·ro-th, ·deroth (with prep. de-) Laws. Cp. 3 pl. ·todsat, ·totsat (*t* from *t̥* before *s*) ; past con·dositis Wb. 5¹¹ (with assimilation of *t̥* to *s*, § 139) ; with -ro- : pres. 1 pl. ·torthissem 32¹⁶ ; 3 ·torthisset Laws iv. 318, 20, ·dort(h)iset v. 390y.

The last two examples (roots *scœss*-?, *tuft*-) could also belong to the class with original long vowel (IE. -*e*-, -*æ*- ; Ir. -*e*-, -*æ*-).

627. Stems with original long vowel :

saigid (sāss-) retains the -*s* : ·cuintea 'he may seek' ML 51¹⁸ (**cua-dī-sā*).

But tēt (tāgu), subj. stem tēss- : con·ēt-t Wb. 6¹, 7 (con·ētet 'yields'), do·ēt-t Laws iv. 192, 10 (do·ētet 'tracks down, follows') ; in·dāt-t 'he may enter' Ériu ix. 29 (1 pl. in·o-tsam ML 16¹⁶). Cp., however, con·imthæ (§ 656) from the same stem.

The compounds of ·ic (iss-) sometimes keep the stem vowel, sometimes drop it. Thus con·r·ic 'meets' : con·ri, prototonic ·cumair (< -*ær*) Wb. 24¹⁷ ; cp. 1 pl. ·ceamarsem Wb. II. 33⁹ (deuterotonic con·risam). con·ic, ·cumuing ·cumaing 'can' (§ 549) : con·i, prototonic ·cumal ML 31¹⁹, 32^{15b} (*s* in accordance with § 166) and ·cum 87¹³ (misspelt ·eu 129⁶) ; cp. 3 pl. ·cumset 39²⁶. ad·cumaing, ·ceumang 'happens' has only ·ceui Wb. 5³⁵, ·ceui ML 15⁵, 22⁸, 121¹³, 122⁵ ; cp. past subj. do·ceumoid Wb. 5²⁶, pl. ·teumalstis ML 102²⁴. So also ar·ic 'finds' : ar·i, prototonic ·airi ML 30²⁴, cp. 14¹⁶, 27¹². Beside tairi 'he may come' SP., etc., tair, do·mm·air is common in poetry.

as·boind, ·opaind 'refuses' : ·op ML 20⁶, ·oip 42² (with palatal *p* = *b̥*, modelled on roots with palatal vowel), as·re·b Ériu xi. 73 § 3 ; cp. 2 ag. ·obbais ZCP. iii. 454, 10.

hongid, subj. ·b̥ Ériu ii. 210 § 33 : to·aithi·b ibid. vii. 162 § 5 (cp. pass. to·aith·bestar Buirgshaft p. 30 § 81), ·to·raib

§ 533, and even *-toirb* *Anecl. III. 24, 20* (cp. 2 sg. *-torbais*); but *-comba* (read *-com-ba*) *Laws IV. 334, 5*.

fo-loing, subj. *fo-lá, fu-lá*: prototonic *-ful* *ML. 32⁶*; cp. 1 pl. *-fulsam* *Wb. 14^{2a}*.

im-clag 'disregards': *im-de-red-eh* *Laws V. 178, 3* (*H. 2. 15*); cp. pass. *cessair* (with *í*) *ZCP. XII. 362, 2 = cfasair* *Cóic Con. Fug. p. 43, 1*.

as-gleinn, -eclainn 'discuss' (*gléss-*): *-ecall* *ML. 56⁸*; *for-díuclainn* 'devours': *-fordíucall* *36³²*; cp. 3 pl. *for-díucallset* *4³²*.

But *in-greinn* 'persecutes': *arna-ingre* *ML. 111⁶*, with the vowel retained.

628. Since *w* is lost after vowels, and *-oos-* *-oos-* contract to *oi*, stems beginning with *f* (from *w*) often disappear almost completely in the 3 sg.; cp. *ar-cof, do-cof* (3 pl. *do-cofset*), § 625. The last form usually has prototonic *-dích -díg* (from *dí-c(om)-oos-*, see § 108), e.g. *Wb. 9²⁴, Thes. II. 349, 2*; with *to-*: *-tudíg* *ZCP. III. 453, 29* (*R*); less regularly *-decha*, e.g. *Wb. 18³⁰* (cp. § 769).

fo-fích 'injures': perfective subj. (rel.) *fo-rroí* *Laws IV. 220, 12*; cp. pass. *fo-rruastar* *II. 396y*, and past subj. act. *fo-róesad* (read *-soí*) *Corm. 883* (*Laud*).

to-dí-fed- 'conduct, bring', 3 sg. pres. ind. *do-díat* (§ 592): subj. *du-dí* *ML. 35³⁰*; cp. past pass. *du-díastae* *45⁴*.

as-ind *ML. 23²*, subj. of *as-ind-et (-íet)* 'expounds' (§ 592), would seem to have lost the ending of the disyllabic preposition *ind(e)* as well as the verbal stem. But forms like fut. *ass-índe* *ZCP. VII. 483* and 3 pl. subj. *as-indíset* *ML. 23¹⁹* suggest that it is a scribal error for *-índa*.

629. Final *rr* and *ll* (§ 618) are not lost. Hence *orgid* makes 3 sg. subj. *-arr*, with enclitic stem *du-com-arr* *ML. 85³*, *-comar* *23⁵*, etc. (3 pl. *-orrat*, pass. *-orratar* *ZCP. VII. 480*); and *mílgid* (with *to-índ-ass-*) makes *-íunmell* (ms. *tuimell*) 'he may assemble' (with false analysis *do-íunmell*) *ZCP.*

XVI. 275, *du-innall* gl. *díccat* (read *-int*) ML. 50^b1 (cp. pass. *-meltar* TBF. 179).

630. In the passive, forms with stressed stem always in the earlier MSS. have the ending *-ar* (absolute *-ð*), as in the pres. ind. of strong verbs; the only exception is rel. *mestar* Wb. 9^c6, ML. 24^a10, which has been influenced by the deponent form. On the other hand, where the stem is enclitic the ending is always *-tar*: *du-innastar*, *du-dichestar*, *con-dárbastar*, *-furastar*, *-accastar* (§ 609). In later sources *-tar* is also common in forms with stressed stem: rel. *diestar*, conjunct *-riastar*, *-nástar*, etc.

There are two examples of *-ar* in the passive: *es-ní-fessar* ML. 24^a22, *con-fetar* Sg. 209^a30. In both cases, however, it seems probable that the scribe was thinking of the 2 ag. deponent.

2. THE PAST OF THE *s*-SUBJUNCTIVE

631. Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike; e.g. *ro-fessinn* like *-gessinn*.

ag. 1	<i>-gessin(n)</i> (<i>-táissín</i> , <i>-séssainn</i>)	pl.	<i>-gesm(a)ls</i> (<i>-rol-másmáls</i>)
2	<i>-gesta</i>		<i>-gest(a)s</i> (<i>-orth(a)s</i>)
3	<i>-gessed</i> (<i>-bósad</i>)		<i>-gest(a)ls</i> (<i>-toisittis</i>)

PASSIVE

gen. form	<i>-gest(a)s</i> (<i>ðo-imm-arthae</i>)	3 pl.	<i>-gest(a)ls</i>
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632. The endings are the same as those of the imperfect indicative of B I. For *t* instead of *ð* after *s*, see § 139.

In ML. the ending *-ad* for *-ed* sometimes spreads to the 3 ag. from the *s*-subjunctive, and *-sinn* for *-inn* to the 1 ag.; e.g. *-bósad* 18^a7 (*hæugid*), *-orrad* 124^a8 (*orgid*), *-séssainn* 41^a5 (*-selnn*). In the plural too, ML. sometimes has *-maia*, *-taia* with neutral quality.

In the 1 pl. of the pres. subj. *-tessam* (not *-sem*) occurs as early as Cam. *-tae* later becomes *-ta* (§ 29).

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. *·icfa*;

(2) Those of *·meinetar*, *·muinetar*, such as *do·meinetar* 'thinks', fut. *·meinafethar*, *·muinafethar*;

(3) Sometimes those of *em-*; e.g. *do·emfa* 'will protect' ML. 128⁸ beside *du·éma* 67⁵.

Conversely, the weak verb *car(a)ð* 'loves' has a strong fut. *·cechra* (§ 648).

For the *ð*-future of certain weak verbs see § 651.

I. THE *f*-FUTURE

Collection: *Kloekers*, IP. 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 *-ab*).

In syllabic anslaut 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* 112³; 3 pl. *ar·túnsbet* 126¹²; pass. 3 sg. *for·brisedar* 51¹; beside act. *con·nestea* Wb. 4¹⁵. After other consonants *b* is very seldom found; e.g. secondary fut. 3 sg. *·soifbed* ML.

53⁹⁶; fut. *cof-n-erba* gl. *confidet* 112³ (pres. *erbi-*). For *f* < *bf* in *atretea* (**ad-tretea*), fut. of *atreba*, and in *con-titea*, fut. of *con-tibi*, see § 138; but we also find *atreba* ML 35²⁴, *-neitea* Wb. 13¹⁹.

Between unstressed vowels, *f* and *b* are used indifferently; e.g. *du-róscaltea* 'will surpass' ML 139³ beside *du-róscaltea* 89¹².

636. The vowel before the suffix *-fa-* was, of course, palatal in A II, so that here syncope results in a palatal sound-group (-*léictea*). But in the *a*-verbs also (A I) palatalization generally takes place. Examples: 1 sg. *ainfa* (Wb. 14⁸), sec. fut. 2 sg. *ainfeda*, 3 *ainfed*, to *-ana* 'stays'; 1 sg. *ad-e(i)llub*, to *ad-ella* 'visits'; 3 sg. *-soirtea*, to *-soira* 'frees' (the same sound may be represented by *-soirfa* Wb. 11⁴; see § 97); fu-*céilltea* ML 90¹⁵, to fu-*ciállathar* 'takes care of'; pass. fu-*m-áirfid^{er}-sa* 33¹⁰, to fu-*fera* 'prepares'; sec. fut. 3 pl. fu-*ceinnfitea*, to fu-*ceinna* '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. 12⁴, from *-labar..*; *-samlafammar* 'we shall liken' 17¹², from *-samal..*; similarly *-comáinabadar* ML 48²⁰ (*d* in accordance with § 45) 'he shall fulfil', from *comáin* 'fall'.

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. 9²², pl. 3 *molfait* ML 69¹, sec. fut. 3 sg. *-molfath* 94¹⁴, to *-moldar* 'praises'; *-eumsanfa* 80⁵, to *con-enna* 'rests'; 1 pl. *con-delfam* Wb. 17¹⁰, to *con-delga* 'compares'; *im-tine(h)éifam* ML 24⁷, to *im-tinechella* 'encircles', etc.

Further, neutral quality may appear even in original *i*-verbs whose final consonance had been depalatalized in other forms according to the rule in § 168. Examples: 3 sg. *-tuefa* Wb. 12³, etc., 2 pl. *da-uchaid* 21¹², to *-tue(a)il* 'understands'; *atluetham* (*ad-áicth-*) 17², to *atluethar buidí* 'gives thanks'; *du-lugfa* ML 58¹⁸ beside *du-luicitea* 128⁶, to *do-lugi* 'forgives'.

637. This formation, which is confined to Irish and is not found in Britannia, 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 hiatus, and may be either voiceless or voiced between unstressed vowels, thus corresponding exactly to *ti* (§ 123 ff.). This rules out the comparison, so frequently suggested, with the Latin future with *b* (Fulcan *f*): *confido*, *monedo*, Fulcan *carofo*, etc.; for here the *b* (*f*) goes back to IE. *bh*, which should have given *b* in Irish. The cases where, as a result of syncope, the labial came to stand after voiceless consonants, i.e. where *β* could have become *f* (§ 124), are too few to make it at all likely that *f* should have spread from them, and should be most firmly established precisely in the earliest sources. According to some scholars, Lat. *-b-* in the future and imperfect goes back to *-bh-* (to the root of *fat*, etc.), and Sommerfelt suggests (*Mém. Soc. Ling.* xxm. 230 E.) that Ir. *-f-* is the result of *-β-*; but he gives no other example of such a development. Nor does the Irish flexion with *-f-* correspond to that of the Latin future (but only to that of the imperfect). The isolated 1 sg. in *-ub* (but depon. *-far*) is certainly not a survival from an earlier flexion, but has doubtless taken its *u*-quality from the *s*-future, a development which was facilitated by the labial *β*.

It is impossible to ascertain whether the frequent palatalization of consonants in the *s*-verbs is inherited or has arisen by analogy with the *t*-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 *-hou-* (from *-ed-*), like *bristud* 'he will break', *caibant* 'they shall weep', seem to offer a more promising line of comparison. But Ir. *f* points to *-se-*, not to *-s-* alone, which in non-compound words is lost between vowels. The theory advanced by Pisanì (*R. Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. VI vol. iv (1933), 545 ff.) that *-s-* was added to the 1 sg. in *-ed* (< *-ed*), thus giving *-sed-*, is too artificial to be convincing. The Mid.W. 2 sg. pres. subj. *ce(h)ych* may conceivably go back to an old (middle) personal ending with *-se-*, as in the Sanskrit middle ipv. in *-se-*, 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 *-ses(f)*, whence *-sesh-*, and that *-s-* was syncope before *h* (from *f*) 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 dependent paradigm of the *t*-conjugation (A II). Examples with neutral consonance are given § 636.

1. FUTURE

ACTIVE	DEPONENT
	ABSOLUTE
sg. 1 lélefa	suidigfa
2 lélefi	suidigfði
3 lélefið -fið	suidigfðir *-fiðr
rel. lélefa(s)	*suidigfedar
pl. 1 lélfummi	*suidigfummi
rel. lélfumme	*suidigfummar
2 *lélfithu -fiðe	*suidigfiðe (fofnithu)
3 lélfir	*suidigfir
rel. lélfite	*suidigfetar

639.

CONJUNCT

sg. 1 -lélfub (do-lugub, -predchob)	-suidigfa (fo-sisefar)
2 -lélfe (do-nesbe)	*-suidigfði
3 -lélfa (do-róselbea)	*-suidigfedar (-comálnabedar)
pl. 1 -lélfem	*-suidigfummar (-labrafummar)
2 *-lélfid (da-uchald)	*-suidigfið (-samlið)
3 -lélfet (-cumgubaf)	-suidigfetar.

640.

PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 3 lélfir -fiðir	gen. form: -lélfðir (-diligfiðer, -predchabfiðar)
rel. lélfir	
pl. 3 lélfir	pl. 3 -lélfir -fetar
rel. lélfir -fetar	

2. SECONDARY FUTURE

641. Active and deponent verbs have the same flexion.

ACTIVE (AND DEPONENT)

sg. 1	·léicfin(n)	pl.	·léicfámmis
2	·léicfeda	*	·léicfide -fíthe
3	·léicfed -feth (-cumcaibed)		·léicfíthi.

PASSIVE

gen. form.	·léicfide -fíthe	pl. 3	·léicfíthi.
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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-fuircefa*, *do-aidíbea*; pl. 1 *do-aidíbeim*, 2 *cein-fedlaibid*, *-sámlíbid*; pass. *-díligíthar*; sec. fut. 3 sg. *do-cóiscífed*, *da-áircíbed*, *-cumcaibed* ML. 42^a32 (beside 3 pl. fut. *-cumgabat* 54^a19), etc.; and even conjunct 1 sg. *fo-dáib-sea* 78^a10, *ne-prítheib* 45^a8, cp. 53^a8.

Conversely, however, neutral *f* or *b* in place of palatal occurs in isolated forms: 1 sg. dep. *-sefhigfar* Thea. II. 5, 28; sec. fut. 3 sg. *do-n-lefad* Wb. 21^a3 (more frequently *-lefed*). In pass. *for-brisbedar* ML. 51^b1 *-dar* has replaced *-der*.

643. In ML. most of the short verbal stems remain unsyncopeated in the 1 sg. deponent: *fo-shefar* 58^a17, *iris-allefar* 38^a10, *do-cuirfar* 3^a1; but *ad-díshar* 68^a17, like *no-mollfar* Wb. 9^a22.

644.

A III

Most verbs with *-a-* and *-i-* have strong futures (§§ 642, 655). But *ad-roíthi* (*-ro-íth-*) 'deserves' has fut. 3 pl. *adid-roíthet* ML. 61^a20 (like A II).

adidid 'she will swim' LU 2263 is not an old form.

For the *c*-verbs, cp. ag. 2 -solfe ML. 33·1; 3 sóifid BC. XXVI. 40-42; pass. -cleiffathar ML. 67·11, pl. sóifithr Wb. 26·21 (read -of- in all cases?). Forms such as cot·n-ólathar (dep.) ZCP. XI. 91 § 6 are less likely to be original.

A peculiar future is formed by fóid 'spends the night', subj. -fa § 610; ag. 2 -fhaa IT. II. i. pp. 180, 186 L (doubtless to be read everywhere with *i*), 1 fhaa Ériu II. 3, with suffixed pronoun fhaa IT. III. 322 § 70; pl. 1 -[f]ham-ní LL. 274·7, 3 fhaif 116·6; pass. fhaifir ZCP. VIII. 565, fhaifir LL. 275·42. Cp. 3 pl. sec. fut. with *ra*: -raifhfa, -raifhfa Laws v. 132 n. 3 (read -raifhfa).

This formation may be based on a reduplicated future (with *ai*-) of the root *was*-, which, owing to the loss of the -*ai*- (and the -*a*- ?), had become obscure and was eventually attached to the *f*-future. Doubtless it would be rash to conjecture that an original **wa*'s- had by metathesis become **wa*'s-., which then gave *wa*'s-, *f*' (§ 132), and that the starting-point of the *f*-future is to be found here; the long *i* is an argument against it.

as·faif : ag. 1 -éifid, 2 -éifid, 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 *s*-future,
3. the future of the present class B IV (type *crenald*), 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 I sg. active.

647. Examples :(a) Reduplication with *i* :

gairníthir 'is born' subjunctive stem *gena-*, future stem *gigne-* < **gígēna-* : 3 sg. *gigníthir*, *-gignethar*, pl. *gignítir*; sec. fut. 3 sg. *-gigned*.

dairníd 'suffers, concedes', subj. stem *dama-* : sg. 2 *-dídmae*, 3 *-dídma*, pl. 3 *-dídmat* (1 sg. *-dídam* *Kriu* III. 138, 9, *-dídem* LU 5232); sec. fut. 3 sg. *-dídméd* Sg. 137^b5 (where the palatalization of *-dwa-* is peculiar). The prototonic 3 sg. fut. *-fuidema* Ml. 56⁹ is either written for **-foidema* (cp. § 660) or is an early instance of the spread of the *f*-future.

ro-la(i)methar 'dares' : fut. 3 pl. perhaps *ní-ílmatar* Ml. 69^b3 (so Strachan emends MS. *ní íb matar*).

The interpolator in LU 2473, 2004 writes 3 sg. *fo-ílmathar*. Other late MSS. (see *Contrib.* p. 474) have *-ílmathar*, *-ílmáthir*, modelled on the *f*-future.

íbid 'drinks', fut. stem *íba-* (with contraction of the reduplication vowel, cp. § 658a) : sg. 1 *íba*, *-íb*, 3 *-íba*, 3 pl. *íbait*.

648. (b) Reduplication with *e* :

caind '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. *cechralt*, *-cechrat*; sec. fut. 1 sg. *-cechrainn*.

ad-glídathar 'addresses' : sg. 1 *-gegallar* (*ll* < *ld*) LU 1489; 3 *-gegalláthar* *ibid.*, *-acelláthar* *Corm.* 1059 (*Harl.*).

In the reduplication the second *g* of **gegald-* should have disappeared; cp. § 126 and *-cechladar* below.

do-gea 'chooses' (§ 522), subj. 3 sg. *-gó* : fut. 3 sg. *do-gega*, pl. *-gegat*; sec. fut. sg. 1 *-gegainn*, 3 *-gegad*, 1 pl. *-gegmaís*.

A III verbs :

bá- 'die', subj. 3 pl. *-baat* : fut. sg. 1 *baba* ZCP. xx. 197, *-beb* RC. XVI. 41; 3 *bebaíd*, *-baba*; pl. 2 *bebthe* (*-thi* MS.) *Anecd.* III. 59, 2; 3 *-bebat* ZCP. III. 461, 24; rel. 3 pl. *bebthe* (*-thi* MS.) *Wh.* 25^b16.

rá- 'row' : 3 sg. *do-rera* ZCP. XI. 87 § 49, 97 § 57.

ad-co-ta, *-éta* 'obtains' (§ 544) : fut. 3 sg. *-étada* ML 129⁵ (*-a-* from older *-s-*, cp. § 680), 1 pl. *-étatham-[a]l* Cam. (Thes. II. 247, 23) ; pass. *-étastar* Trip. 118, 23, sec. fut. *-étaste* ML 43²⁰, both modelled on the *s*-future (cp. pret. pass. *-étas* § 708).

gnid 'does' (subj. § 608) : fut. ag. 1 *du-gén*, *fa-gén* (< *-ge-gn-*), 2 *-génas*, 3 *-géna* ; abs. rel. *génas* ; pl. 1 *-génam*, 2 *-génid*, 3 *-génat*. With enclitic stem : ag. 1 *-digén*, 3 *-dígna* ; pl. 1 *-dignam* (also *-dígnam* ML 30⁹⁰), 3 *-dignat*. Pass. *-géntar*. Sec. fut. 3 ag. *-génad*, 1 pl. *-génmís* ; enclit. 3 ag. *-dignéd*, pl. 1 (with *-ro-*) *do-rigenmáis* (read *-génmáis*) LU 4638, 2 *-dígénte*.

After this model *con-sni* 'contends' has fut. 3 ag. **con-séna* ; *-cosséna* LU 8791, pl. *im-cossénat* (ms. *-cossénat*) TBC. 3088, cp. LL 95⁴³ ; sec. fut. 3 ag. (with *ad-ro-*) *-sirc[h]sénad* Laws I. 150, 18.

B V verbs :

-gula 'knows' (subj. § 612) : 3 pl. *-génat*, pass. gen. form *-géntar*.

ro-elu(l)uethar 'hears', subj. *-cloathar* (§ 612) : fut. 3 ag. *-cechladar*. The passive has *s*-forms : *-cechlastar* TBC. 3379, sec. fut. *-cechlastai* (read *-tas*) LU 7180, probably influenced by *ad-el* 'sees' (§ 655). In poetry we also find passive forms without *s*, e.g. 3 pl. (rel. ?) *cechlastar* LL 47¹², and even active forms : 3 ag. *-cechla* 47¹³, pl. *-cechlat* RC. xxvi. 42 § 222.

649. (c) *eb-* instead of reduplication :

ernald, *-ern* 'bestows', subj. *-era*, has future stem *ebra-* : 3 ag., with suffixed pronoun, *ebarthi* ML. 46¹², pass. *ebarthir* Wb. 32²⁷. As the root originally began with *p-* (Gk. *εραεῖν*), *ebra-* must go back to earlier **péprā-* (§ 227 e).

Similarly *ebla-*, which serves as the future stem of *a(l)gld* 'drives', goes back to **péplā-*, if the comparison with Lat. *pellere* (Pokorny, IF. xxxviii. 115 f.) is correct : 3 ag. *-ebla*, rel. *ebtas*, pl. *ebtalt* ; sec. fut. 3 ag. *-eblad*.

Collection: Miscellany K. Meyer 82 ff.; *Manuscrdea*, IF. xxxviii. 194 ff.

But *eb-* has spread to other verbs also :

allid, -all 'rears' : 3 ag. -*sblla* (spelt -*cabla* Laws v. 200, 20 and n. 4, -*sbllae*, -*ai* IT. I. 141, 18) ; pass. **eballair* (*sbéllair*, -*tar*, *sbéllair* mss.) TBC. 537 ; sec. fut. pass. -*sbalta* BB. 397*16 (-*ebalta* RC. XVI. 154, 2).

airid 'ploughs' : 3 pl. -*ebrat* (-*ad* mss.) RC. XII. 106 § 160.

2. THE J-FUTURE

650. In place of the radical *s* or *a* of the subjunctive stem a compensatorily lengthened *ē* (§ 54) appears.

This future, which later becomes widespread, is found in the Old Irish period with the following verbs :

(a) Verbs with *s* in the subjunctive stem :

berid 'bears', subj. stem *bera-* : fut. 3 ag. -*béra*.

Similarly *ceid* 'conceals' : fut. -*céla* ; *meid* 'grinds' : -*méla* ; *fe-gair* 'heats' : -*géra* ; *do-fuisim* 'generates, creates' ($\sqrt{\text{sem-}}$) : fut. pass. *do-fuisimhar* Wh. 4*7 ; *di-sm-* 'protect' : -*éma* (beside -*smfae*, § 634).

mara(a)id, -*mairn* (B IV) 'betrays', subj. stem *mera-* : fut. -*méra*.

at-baill 'dies', subj. stem *beia-* : fut. -*béla*.

651. (b) Verbs with *a* in the subjunctive stem :

ga(l)id 'takes', subj. stem *gaba-* : fut. -*géba*.

ga(l)rid 'calls', subj. stem *gara-* : fut. -*géra*.

mar(a)idh, -*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 ag. -*scairiub* ML. 43*23 ; but its compounds *otir-scara* 'separates' and *con-scara* 'destroys' have -*scéra*.

(c) *gon(a)id*, -*gain* (§ 554) 'wounds, slays', subj. stem *gona-* : fut. -*géna*.

Forms like pass. -*ginechar* LL. 238*61 found in later sources do not appear to be old.

652. The flexion of the *ǫ*-future is the same as that of the *a*-subjunctive: *·bár*, *·bár(a)e*, *·béra*; *·béram*, *·bár(a)ld*, *·bérat*; pass. *·bérthar*, pl. *·bértar*; absolute sg. 3 *béraid*, rel. *béras*, etc.; sec. fut. 3 sg. *·bérad*; pl. *·bérmais*, *·bérth(a)e*, *·bért(a)ls*.

The prep. *fo-* when stressed before *-béra* has the form *fi-*: 1 sg. *·tibír* (deuterotonic *do-bír*). The model was probably *do-gén*, *·digén* (§ 648), with the prep. *af-* (§ 631).

As a rule enclitic forms do not drop the *ǫ*; e.g. *·tibéram* ML. 77¹⁶, *·tibérad* 97¹⁰, *·tibértais* 15⁷, *con-océba* 20⁵. But since syncopated forms like *·tibre* RC. XI. 12 § 20, *·tiberd* LU 3171, are found in texts of not much later date, the absence of such forms from our sources may be merely accidental. Cp. also *·digneá*, *·digneam*, *·dignet*, § 648.

3. THE FUTURE OF THE B IV VERBS

Collection: *Stochas*, ZCP. III. 481.

653. (a) Clearly reduplicated forms:

sg. 1 *as-ríru-sa* Wb. 18¹⁴; 2 absolute *llis* (? *ms.* *llé-sa*, *llé-sa*, etc., emended by Stokes to *lll*) F&L Prol. 309, 311; 3 *lllth Ériu* v. 242, 178, *as-riri* Wb. 25⁸, ML. 30¹³, rel. *llas* Wb. 10⁶; pl. 3 *lllth* Trip. 180, 26, *giulait* 'they shall adhere to' ML. 56⁷ (from **gi-gl-*); pass. *as-ríther* Wb. 1³, *do-riri(h)er* Laws IV. 20, 6 (H.3.17); sec. fut. 3 sg. *·giulad* LU 6822.

ara-chriú (B V) follows the same pattern: 3 sg. *·airchfuri* (*ms.* *·chíare*) ZCP. XI. 88 § 8, pl. *ara-chfurat* ML. 59⁹.

654. (b) In the fut. of *fen-*, with *f- < w-*, the loss of *-w-* after *-ǫ-* has resulted in seemingly non-reduplicated forms. Thus the fut. pass. of *alfh-fen-* 'requite' is written *ad-fíther* Wb. 20⁷ and, perhaps more correctly, *ad-fíther* *Ériu* I. 68 § 4.

The future of *ben(a)ld* is modelled on that of *fen-* (as is the preterite, § 691a), making reduplicated forms with **bís-* instead of **bís-* (from *bíb-*): cp. sg. 1 *coish bliu* 'whom shall I slay?' TBC. 3592, *ata-bliu* ZCP. III. 216, 28, LL 119³⁴⁰; 3 *du-fo-bi* ML. 96⁷, *ar-dí-bi* LU 5573, rel. *nas* TBC. 2651; sec. fut. *·biad* 2942, pass. *fo-ind-a-r-paíde* ML. 26¹.

If the absolute forms pres. 3 sg. *hœd*, pl. *hœt* Anecd. v. 28, 18, 29, 22 are not mistakes for *hœm*, *hœt*, they have been attracted to the future of the substantive verb (§ 788).

Similarly *de-rorban*, *-derban* 'hinders' (§ 852) : fut. 1 sg. *de-rorbia-sa* ZCP. III. 246 § 56.

4. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

655. The verb *-ei* 'sees' (A III) has future stem *cih-*, which, unlike the subjunctive (§ 609), has active flexion: 3 sg. *du-é-cigi* (misspelt *-écicigi*) ML. 111¹³, *-ceigi* Trip. 130, 16, pl. *-alcichet* *ibid.* 158, 11; sec. fut. 3 sg. *at-chichet* (-*ead* MS.) BDD. § 11, *-alciged* Trip. 130, 17, *-ceiged* LU 5336, 3 pl. *ad-cichitk* Wb. 7².

The flexion is the same as that of § 643. In the late poem printed Ériu vi. 122 § 6 the 2nd (not 3rd) sg. *condas-cibe* 'so that thou shalt see her' rhymes with *lipht*, and hence is to be read *-cichi*. This may be evidence in support of a form III in § 643. The flexion would then correspond entirely to that of the A II presents. The 2 sg. *-aire(h)echa* § 636b is a later transformation.

The passive has a sigmatic formation (like the enclitic subjunctive) : *atat-chigestar* ML. 59¹² (*at-chichestár* LU 2760 is more regular, since *ch* after a stressed vowel does not become *γ*). Sigmatic forms are, however, found in the active also: 3 pl. *at-chichset* Ériu III. 30 § 10; perhaps, too, 1 sg. *de-n-éuchussa* LU 1431, 1490 should be analysed *-as-sa* rather than *-u-see*.

cihd 'weeps' : fut. pl. 1 rel. *cihme* LL. 119¹¹; 3 *cihit* Anecd. v. 29, 22.

656. The verb 'to go' (§ 769), subj. stem *tias-*, *tias-*, has an unreduplicated future stem *rega-* or *riga-*, inflected like an *a*-subjunctive; e.g. 1 *-reg* Wb. 7¹⁵ beside *-rig* ML. 67¹⁸; 3 *-rega* 28¹⁰ (absolute *regald* Sg. 36¹) beside *-riga* ML. 85^{1a}, Wb. 25³⁸; sec. fut. *-regad* ML. 118⁶ beside *-rigad* Thes. II. 242, 6 (Arm.).

Before this stem the stressed vowel of the prep. *to-* assumes *e* or *i* quality; e.g. *-ti-rga* ML. 121¹⁷ beside 1 pl. *-te-rgan* 107¹¹, as if *-forega-* had been transformed into *-terega-* 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 *ad-rigud* Wb. 11*22 (cp. § 49) may be disregarded. For the origin of this formation, cp. § 768.

Compounds of *flagu* with two prepositions, however, have the *s*-future (without reduplication, § 661): *con-lm-thae* 'it will accompany' Wb. 12*4; *-inotsat* (*in-osa-*) 'they shall enter' 33*14.

III. THE *s*-FUTURE

Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1899-1902, p. 291 ff.; cp. ZCP. III. 474 ff.

657. The stem of the *s*-future is generally formed by reduplicating that of the *s*-subjunctive (§ 613 ff.). The stem vowel, being unstressed throughout, is always short when not elided.

The reduplication vowel is *i*. Only before stems with *a* is it usually lowered to *e*; e.g. *ma(l)did* 'breaks', subj. stem *mäss-* : fut. *mem.s-* (3 sg. *memals*); *nascid* 'binds' : *nen.s-*; *sla(l)did* 'strikes' : *sel.s-* (1 sg. *-selos* or *-selas* *Lisdaín* and *Cuirithir*, p. 20, 15.17).

But *ad-claid* 'hunts' has fut. 1 sg. *ad-clehtus* *Filargiriús* Gl. (*Thes.* II. 48, 6; 362a).

In the remaining stems it always appears as *i*, even where the subjunctive stem contains *e*; thus not only in

gu(l)did 'prays', subj. *gess-* : fut. *gigⁱ.s-*,
con-rig 'binds', subj. *räss-*, *riass-* : *-rirⁱ.s-*,
nigid 'washes' : *nimⁱ.s-*,
ligid 'licks' : *llⁱ.s-*,
con-clich 'daubes, tosses' : *-cicliⁱ.s-*,
cingid 'steps', subj. *cäss-*, *cíass-* : *cichⁱ.s-*,
for-ding 'oppresses', subj. *-däss-*, *-díass-* : *diⁱ.s-*,
tennid 'cuts' : *tithⁱ.s-*,
fo-gielann 'learns' : *-gigⁱ.s-*,
fo-ceird 'puts, throws', subj. *-carr-* (§ 618) : *-cicⁱharr-*;

but also in

bongid 'breaks', subj. *bäss-* : *bib.s-*,
fo-loing 'supports', subj. *-löss-* : *-llⁱ.s-*,
tongid 'swears', subj. *töss-* : *tith.s-*,
dlongid 'cleaves' : *didⁱ.s-*.

658. FORM OF THE REDUPLICATION SYLLABLE

Besides the irregular retention of *č*, *g*, and *d* before *l* in *etchl.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. *terr-* (flexion § 665). *ess-*, subjunctive of the verb 'to eat' (\sqrt{ed} , § 766) : fut. *iss-* (cp. § 113), which, however, by analogy with *lra-* (§ 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 *ll*, § 153 b), cp. *sel.s-* above (firt. of *sla(l)did*). So too *sligid* 'falls': fut. *sif.s-* (3 sg. *sills*); cp. *fu-sills* gl. *dawnobis notis* Filargirius Gl. (Thes. II. 46, 23; 361).

(c) *sennid* and *do-senn* ($\sqrt{sewn-}$, § 548), subj. *sēss-*, have regular *sif.s-*, with *f* from lenited *sw*: sg. 3 *sifs*, *-sib* (§ 667), 1 *sibsa* (§ 666).

(d) *saigid* 'seeks, makes for', subj. *sāss-* : fut. *siass-*, with *-s-* dropped: sg. 3 *sials* 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. (a) In roots with *f-* (subj. § 615) the initial *i* is regularly lost after the reduplication: *flass-*, *flass-* < **wiwess-*. Since *i* 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.

fičhid 'fights': sg. 1 *-fius*, but absol. *fessa*, 3 *-fi*; pass. *-fiastar* (trisyllabic, *Fianaig*. p. 36), but pl. *-fesatar*, abs. *fessaitir*.

in-fét 'relates', pl. *-fiadat* : 3 sg. *-fi* (as against subj. *-fē*); sec. fut. *in-fessed* LU 11048.

ro-fīir 'knows': sg. 3 *-fiastar* (*tar* < *tʃ*); but sg. 1 *-fessur*, pl. 2 *-fessid*, 3 *-fesatar*. In some forms the confusion

with the subjunctive spreads still further; thus *festar* as fut. Wb. 12*27.

So too *þær*, subjunctive rel. pass. of *skild*, is later used as future, ZCP. II. 482, 6.

míðithr 'judges' (subj. *vegas*) has been attracted by these verbs and forms a future stem **míðess-* instead of **míðess-*: sg. 3 con-*míastar* (four syllables) Éria I. 195 § 10, rel. *míastar* Wb. 1*9; pass. *míast(a)tr*, *míastar* (trisyllabic, Fiannaig. p. 36, or deponent !), rel. *míastar*; but 1 sg. dep. *mesur*, *mesor*, pl. *messimír*, *messammar*.

660. (f) Stressed *fo-* and *to-* before the reduplication syllable become *foi-* and *toi-*, *tóe-*, with loss of the reduplicator (§ 179); e.g.

fof[í]stis Wb. 15*20, < **fo-íll.stis*, to *fo-loing*.

fofchurr Ml. 78*8 (*fofchur* LL 251*20, with mark of length in *ms.*), deuterotonic *fo-elchurr* -*elchurr*, to *fo-celrd*.

do-tóeth 'will fall' Thes. II. 248, 8, pl. *tóetsat* LL 112*40, 1 sg. *do-tóethus-sa* ZCP. VIII. 318, 5, etc.: pres. *tuft* (*do-tuít*, *do-fuít*), subj. *toð* (§ 626).

Cp. *ocum-* for *com-* (§ 658) in *im-ocumus-sja* 'I shall ask' BDD. § 15 (Stowe *ms.*), to *im-com-afre* (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 *níus* 'I shall wash', fut. of *nígd*, TBC. 3625, but compounded with two prepositions *do-to-nus* Ml. 47*19.

ar-ful-ríg 'detains' (cp. *con-ríg*, fut. *rír'.s-*): 3 pl. *fulræt*.

orgíð, fut. *lorr-* (§§ 658a, 665): sg. 2 *to-ss-imm-úrr* *Bürgschaft* p. 22 § 65a, 3 *do-ess-arr* Wb. 5*12, and similar forms; pass. *du-imm-arthar* Ml. 90*9.

Op. further *ar-utalng* (-*uss-ding-*, § 550) 'refreshes' : 2 sg. *ar-utais* ML. 56¹; *du-fu-dharcar* 'wishes' : 3 pl. *du-futharset* 54²⁸; *im-roimðethar* -*ruimðethar* (-*ro-mæð-*) 'sins' : 3 pl. *im-roimset* -*ruimset* 54²³, 54²⁷; *do-fór-malg* 'increases' : 3 sg. pass. *du-fórmastar* 105⁸ (cp. subj. -*tórmastar* 20¹⁹). In the secondary fut. *do-foirmæd* 35¹⁷ the palatal quality more probably represents the influence of stems with a front vowel than a trace of the reduplication. *du-dí-chestar* 'will be led' 30²⁵, to pres. act. 3 pl. -*díchdet* Sg. 8⁸, ag. 1 *do-díchthim* ZCP. xv. 298 gl. 20 (*to-dí-c(om)-mæð-*).

tiagu 'I go' : 3 pl. -*inotsat* 'will enter' (§ 656) Wb. 33¹⁴, like subj. *in-otsam* ML. 16¹⁶; *do-coised* (probably = -*coised*) 'he would be able to go' LU 5919, like subj. (§ 625).

But -*indall* ML. 96⁸, fut. 3 sg. of *in-díotng* 'cleaves', with only one prep., is a scribal error for -*indall*; cp. pass. 3 pl. *in-dílotættar* (ms. *indílotættar*) TBC. 2428.

The reduplication is likewise obscured in the pretonic forms of *ro-saig* 'reaches', fut. stem -*siass-* (§ 658d) : ag. 2 -*róis* (dayll.) Sg. 229 (Thea. n. 290, 13), pl. 3 -*roisset* ML. 74¹¹; sec. fut. 3 sg. -*roissed* 39³⁴. Similarly *con-dæsat* 46¹³, to *con-dieig* *con-daig* (-*dí-æg-*) '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 that of the subjunctive :

aingid, -*anich* 'protects' : 3 sg. -*ain*; sec. fut. 3 pl. -*ansitis* TBC. 3557, etc.

la(l)gid 'lies' : 3 sg. *con-lee* (= -*lé*) *Inram* Brain r. 25 § 51, pl. -*lesat* (ms. *leasat*) TBC. 3449.

sa(l)did 'sits' : 3 sg. abs. *seiss* SR. 8273 (illegible in Wb. 26⁸); sec. fut. -*sesed* Mon. Tall. p. 140, 9, etc. Here also belongs deponent *ar-ta-nesamar* (for O.Ir. *arus-*) 'we shall await them' TBC. 3132 (-*ass-* < -*ne-sses-*).

reg- : ag. 1 *atamm-res* ML. 31¹⁴, enclitic *ad-er-rus* 89³, *du-sé-rus* 137⁷; 3 at-*ré* ZCP. viii. 200 § 9; pl. 3 -*resat* IT. iii. 490, 372, etc.

rethid 'runs' : sg. 3 reiss LL 252*93, in-ré ML 113*7, fu-ré Thes. II. 241, 13 (Arm.) ; pl. 3 f-a-rressat ZCP. XI. 92 § 10.
 techid 'flees' : 1 sg. -tess (misspelt -télis LU 5747).

The 1 sg. absolute is not quotable ; it is therefore impossible to say whether it had the same ending as the *s*-subjunctive or the *s*-future. Some of these verbs also have a peculiar form in the 2 sg. ipr. (§ 638).

FLEXION OF THE REDUPLICATED *s*-FUTURE

663.

I. FUTURE

A. ACTIVE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	*gigsea (bilisa)	-gigtus (fo-llus)
2		-gigtis (fo-llais)
3	gigtis (memais)	*-gig (-cich, -mema)
rel.	gigtis	
pl. 1	gigtim(m)i	-gigtim (-memsam)
rel.	*gigtim(m)s	
2	gigaste	-gigtid
3	gigtit	-gigtet (fo-llsat)
rel.	gigtite	

B. DEPONENT

The attested forms of re-lltir and midlltir as in § 659.

C. PASSIVE

sg. 3	mlastir	-rirastar, -llastar
rel.	gigestar, mlastar	
pl. 3	fessaitir	-didstir, -fesatar
rel.		

664.

2. SECONDARY FUTURE

Act. (dep.) sg. 1 -llsalm, 3 -gigtid ; pl. 3 -memsallit
 (-didlastais LU, -dedlaistis YBL, in BDD. §§ 128, 137) ; pass.
 -llastae, etc., as in the *s*-subjunctive.

665.

SPECIAL FORMATIONS

orgid (§ 638) : fut. sg. 1 -larr, 2 -lir (-lierr ML 77*16),
 3 -larr, -lor, pl. 3 -errat ML 100*9 (regular, from *terraf) beside

-lurat 33¹, abs. luraít ZCP. III. 465, 4; pass. -furihar LU 7478; sec. fut. pass. -furiha BDD. § 83.

It is uncertain if the 3 sg. rel. furas LU 7107, 7154, 7172, etc., is an old form.

fo-*ceird* 'throws': sg. 1 -*ceihur*(r) -*ceihar*(r) (-*fochihurr*, § 660), 3 -*ceiherr*, pl. 3 -*ceihret*; pass. -*ceiherthar*; sec. fut. 3 sg. act. -*ceihred*.

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. *seša* § 638d (to *saigid*), *fessa* LU 10921 (to *fiehid*), *bibhsa* O'Cl. (to *bongid*). After palatal consonance the normal spelling would be -*seš*; but in the attested forms either the glide -*e* remains unexpressed—e.g. *gigsa* Ériu I. 68 § 6, *sibhsa* (ms. *sibsa*) Filargirius Gl. (to *seanid*), and probably *silsa* LU 6328 (to *sligid*)—or -*sa* has become -*e*, e.g. *gigse-sa* Ml. 47⁴, *firse* ZCP. VII. 330, 9 (to *reg*).

In the conjunct 1 sg. *u*-quality is normal; but cp. *de-imm-arr* Wb. 9-20 (from -*lurr*, *orgid*), unless this is an error for -*urr*. In the late transmitted form *ar-nenas* RC. XII. 82, 80 (to *nasid*) the neutral quality may, according to § 170, be earlier than the *u*-quality in *ad-*ceihus**; cp. the fluctuation in the mss. between -*seles* and -*selas* (§ 657).

The absolute 3 sg. occurs only in the obviously misspelt *ceihsee* LL. 119¹12 (3 *ceihis*(s), pres. *cingid*); a form like **ceihis* 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(l)*did* 'breaks' (intrans.): -*mema* Ml. 89¹11 (absol. *mema*l).

do-fer-maig (or *do-fér-maig*) 'increases': *du-fer-ma* (Strachan, Trans. Phil. Society 1899-1902, p. 293).

nascid 'binds': tu-s-nena Zu Ir. Hss. I. 50, 8 (cp. 52, 24), ar-nena ZCP. III. 465, 14; but fo-nen *ibid.* 464, 12 and 465, 1, beside fo-nena 465, 22, etc.

sia(i)did 'strikes': ar-sela FéI. June 23, but -sel LU 8650.

saigid: -sia (§ 658d), e.g. ZCP. XI. 87 § 52, con-dia (com-di-sag-) *ibid.*

Verbs from other roots which keep the stem vowel are téit (1 sg. hiagu): con-im-thse 'will accompany' Wb. 12⁴.
bongid 'breaks, conquers': -bha Trip. 88, 1; far-bháha, for-bha (meaning obscure) TBF. 187 almost certainly belongs here (cp. ZCP. XIII. 101 f.; 1 sg. do-bibus).

Most verbs, however, drop the radical vowel:

aingid ($\sqrt{\text{ansg}}$) 'protects': -ain Wb. 1⁴¹, 25⁴¹⁴; do-ind-in 13²⁹.

do-brun 'drips, pours', subj. do-bré (§ 617): do-bibuir (< -bibr) LB 260³².

cingid 'steps': -cich ZCP. III. 463, 18, etc. (abs. cichis).

con-clich 'dashes': con-cluchail (for O.Ir. -cishuill) Anecd.

II. 8.

in-dioing: in(d)idail § 661 (palatal -i due to the influence of verbs with palatal root vowel).

fo-gleinn 'learns': -gigull ZCP. III. 448, 9.

fo-foing 'supports': fo-ll Éria II. 208 § 28, -foil Ml. 23⁸ (1 sg. -llus).

-dérig (di-ess-rog-) 'abandons': -dér Ml. 57⁷.

-diurat (di-ess-reté-) 'remains over': -diúair Ml. 56⁴².

fo-rig 'delays': -foir FéI. Prol. 322, 326 (fo-rir'.s-).

do-seinn 'pursues': do-s-sib LU 10677 (§ 658c).

sligid 'falls': ar-sil FéI. Sept. 29 (abs. sills).

do-tóeth 'will fall', § 660.

668. Verbs with initial *f* (cp. §§ 628, 659):

do-fch 'avenges': du-f Ml. 67⁸ (pass. do-fíastar § 659, -fíastar TBC. 2981).

ad-, in⁷tét 'relates', as-indet 'expounds': ad-fil (= -fil) Imram Brain I. 25 § 52, II. 285 § 1 (Laud), ass-inde ZCP. VII. 483 (cp. sg. 1 -ais-ná-lus, pl. 1 as-ind-ísem, 3 as-ind-íset).

ar-co-at 'injures': -trehof Wb. 7⁴¹¹ (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. xxxviii. 143 ff.). In the first place, the *s*-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. *étra-*, < **piprē-* (§ 649), beside subj. (*p*)*erē-*. Accordingly *étra-* can be traced back to **cechla-*, **kiklā-*, *géra-* (fut. of both *fo-gair* and *gairid*) to Celt. **piprē-*, *géra-* (fut. of *ganald*) to Celt. **gigēd*... From such models, reinforced by the example of *géra-* (future of both *gairid* and *·gairi*, § 648) the *s*-formation had already spread in the Old Irish period far beyond its original limits; thus *léra-* and *méra-* do not represent the regular development of **bibēd-*, **mirēd-*.

Furthermore, the sigmatic and asigmatic reduplicated futures originally constituted a single class. There exists in Sanskrit (and Old Iranian) a desiderative formation which, as Zimmer first noted (KZ. xxx. 128), corresponds substantially to the Irish *s*-future. The reduplication vowel is *i* (u with u-roots only); roots ending in a stop add *s* to the weak grade of the root; and the resulting stem is inflected like a thematic present indicative: 3 sg. *śīṣṭasi* from √*śī-* *śī-*, *śīṣṭasi* from √*śī-* *śī-*. The Irish formation differs but slightly from this: u-roots also have *i* as reduplication vowel, e.g. 3 sg. *lú-s-* from √*lup-* *lup-*; the 3 sg., and presumably the unattested 2 sg. dependent, have non-thematic forms—a feature which has already been discussed in connexion with the *a*-subjunctive § 628; and the absolute 1 sg. act. ends in *-es*, not *-es*, 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 (*lup-s* < √*lup-* *lup-*, as against subj. *lup-s-*, Ir. *lú-s-*) would explain why the *i* has not been lowered to *e*, and why in 3 sg. fo-III the root syllable has been reduced to *-l*.

Of the roots ending in a vowel, those in *-i* (§ 653) correspond to the above-mentioned Sanskrit formation. **·lila* (cp. *·lila*) may come from **lilitē* (*-es*) with regular loss of *-s*, 3 *·lil* from **lilitē* (**lilitē-s* seems to be excluded by absolute *lilit*), cp. Skt. *śīṣṭasi* 'wishes to buy' (√*śī-*). The 2 sg. *lile* is a very doubtful form; should it be correct, the ending must have been taken over from the other futures. On the other hand, roots in *-e* (§ 648), after the loss of *-s*, conformed to the flexion of the *a*-subjunctive.

Originally, as has been shown by Wilhelm Schulze (Kl. Schriften 101 ff.), in roots with final liquids and nasals *-s* did not immediately follow the final consonant of the root, but was separated from it by *a*. The *a* combined with the preceding liquid or nasal to give the sounds which de Saussure represents by *f*, *g*, *g*, etc., and which appear in Celtic as *es*, *is*, *es* (§ 216); e.g. Skt. *śīṣṭasi*, from √*śī-*, where *-lī-* corresponds to IE. **l̥*. This makes it almost certain that the primary forms postulated above for the *s*-future, such as **kiklā*, **gigēd*, **gigēd*, have likewise lost *-s* and thus go back to such as **kiklā* < **kiklā*, etc. It is probable that *gérald* 'will wound' corresponds exactly to Skt. *gīṣṭasi* (*-ep-* for *-g-*) from √*gī-*. 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-tícharr* (§ 666), theoretically < **tícharr-s-t*, not **tícharr-s-t*; ·*gígnethar* (§ 647), < **gígnetha-*, not **gígneth-*. Similar instances are also found in Sanskrit, e.g. the form *jíjñāṣati* itself. But it is quite possible that all such forms have developed independently in each language; e.g. ·*clóharr*, ·*gígnethar* by analogy with subjunctive ·*carr*, ·*gnathar*, 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. *ῥεω-* and Gk. *ῥέω*, *ἔρω-* and *ἔρωμαι*, also Lat. *facō*. 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 *re* 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 *re* developed rather early (§ 530).

671. The preterite stem is formed in one of three ways:

I. All weak verbs have the *a*-preterite.

Of the strong verbs the two stems in *-b* have adopted this formation, *éib* 'drinks' being inflected like an *i*-verb, and *gaib* 'takes' like an *a*-verb: 3 pl. ·*éab*, ·*gabab*. Only in the 3 sg. is ·*gab* sometimes written instead of ·*gab* in ML.

Further *ad-gídnathar* 'addresses', pret. ·*gídnastar*. The 1 pl. *ad-gídnastar-ní* IT. n. ii. 228, 49 is hardly correct, despite the occurrence of shortened forms with enclitic stem (and *-re-*) such as *ní-nígnastar* BDD. § 62, *ce-n-árlastar* (*-árlastar* ms.) LU 8289.

There are sporadic instances, particularly in the later Glosses, of s-preterite forms of other strong verbs also; e.g. *ar·ru·máinset* f(é)id 'they have honoured' ML 50^a1, *fo·ru·r·aíth·máinset* 'that they have remembered' 135^a1, beside strong *-máinset* (§ 687); *ní·ru·fréachset* 'they have not hoped' 72^a13 (cp. 34^a11), beside *ní·ru·fréachtar* 34^a17 (cp. 20^a25), to *ad·ed* 'see'; *ad·comháset* Wb. 4^a13, to *ad·cumáing* 'happens, hits'; *ní·ar·raímsat* 'who have not accepted' Wb. 20^a23, usually *ar·ro·ét* § 682 (*air·fo·em*); dependent *ro·díligetar* ML 29^a29, *pl.* of *díligid* 'is entitled to', *díligis* (with suffixed pronoun) *Alt. Ir. Dicht.* 1. 17 § 7. Cp. *for·derisat* gl. *Austron* ML 123^a8, *pres. ind.* 3 *sg.* *for·deret* § 592. *ad·ro·neatar*, *ar·ru·neatar* (§ 690), to 'in·neat, ar·neat (-ne·nef-) 'expects', may be old forms, but 3 *pl.* *ar·ru·neáthset*, and probably also *sg.* 1 *ar·ro·t·neáthas*, 3 *ar·ro·neáth*, 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 *-as* 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: Pipke, *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 *-dse-*; cp. O.Bret. *ro·gulúpias* 'has moistened', Mid.W. *bradas* 'he betrayed' (*pl.* *-asasat*). 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 *-as*, like *colles* 'he lost' (for verbs with medial *-c-* see § 677); Middle Welsh, however, also has forms in *-is*, like *erchis* 'he brought' (f from *i*, cp. § 677), and, most frequently of all, in *-ays* (*pl.* *-yasasat*; *ay*, *y* from earlier *i*). The Irish flexion is the same as that of the s-subjunctive (§§ 690 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*-preterite. This implies that only the non-thematic forms are original. But single *s* after a vowel should have been lost. It would be unsafe to assume that *s* has been kept either for the sake of clarity or by early analogy with roots ending in a consonant, as has been suggested in explanation of Gk. *ἔριπον*, etc. For even though *-se-* and *-s-* are already interchangeable in some of the Old Irish period, yet the writing of *-se-* in the great majority of forms (§ 676) seems to point definitely to double *s*, as do the Mid.W. spellings pl. 1 *-asara*, *-yasara*, 2 *-asant*, *-ysant*. It is true that the only comparable Gaelish form, 3 sg. *lagairt* Dottin no. 47, has single *s*; but that is a different formation from the Insular Celtic 3 sg., where the *t* of the ending came immediately after *s* (conjunct **-as-t*, absolute with additional palatal vowel after *t*); unless, indeed, *s* has been written for *se* in the Gaelish form, the ending of which would then correspond to that of *OW. pyssaid*. The source of the gemination of the *s* is not clear; perhaps final *-st* in the 3 sg. had become *-se* at an early period in Celtic, and from thence *se* spread to all the other forms in place of *s* (cp. the *t*-preterite § 683). The explanation suggested by Vendryes, *RC. XLII. 389*, is not convincing.

FLEXION OF THE *s*-PRETERITE

674.

A. ACTIVE

For the absolute flexion, which is rarely found outside the 3rd person, a composite paradigm of the attested forms is given.

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT	
		A I	A II
sg. 1	<i>gabtu</i>	<i>·mórus</i> (<i>·predchos</i>)	<i>·léctus</i> (<i>·mónus</i>)
2	<i>sóers(a)l</i>	<i>·mór(a)ls</i>	<i>·léclis</i>
3	<i>mór(a)ls, áils(s)</i>	<i>·mór</i>	<i>·léic</i> (<i>·cretl</i>)
rel.	<i>sóeras, fóides</i>		
pl. 1	(<i>*-sinami</i>)	<i>·mórsam</i> (<i>·predchissem</i>)	<i>·léicsem</i>
rel.	<i>celebirsimme</i>		
2		<i>·mórs(a)td</i> (<i>·roilglsid</i>)	<i>·léicsid</i>
3	<i>cars(a)lt,</i> <i>cretst</i>	<i>·mórsat</i>	<i>·léicset</i> (<i>at-roilhsset</i>).
rel.	<i>cáechstle</i> (<i>gláidsete</i>)		

675.

B. DEPENDENT

Only a few absolute forms are quotable: 3 sg. (A II) *eihnaigistír*, gl. *striderat* Sg. 152^b2, *eissistír* 'besought' *Inram Brain* i. 56, 7 (*ráthalgestair* 'perceived' (*raithigestair* ms.) TBC. 2043); 1 pl. rel. (A I) *eðlsammar* (-*ðr* ms.) 'which we foreboded' (?) LU 6974. The 3 pl. *túlsistír* 'they slept' in the late poem IT. i. 162 may be correctly formed.

A II (CONJUNCT)

sg. 1	·suidigstur	pl.	·suidigsemmar
2	·suidigser		·suidigsid
3	·suidigestar		·suidigsetar

In A I the only conjunct forms of common occurrence are those of the 3rd person: sg. *·molastar*, *·labrastar*, pl. *·samlastar*. An example of the 2 pl. in *·comalnisid* Wb. 26^b6. *con·fohmalisstur* 'I was on the point of' ML. 50^a8 seems to belong here also (3 sg. *fo·hámastar* Trip. 80, 1). The 2 sg. *mad·lebraiser* and *ro·samakir* *Festschrift Stokes* p. 3 § 2 are misspellings, probably for *·lebraiser* and *·samalsetar*.

In the 3 sg. the dependent ending begins to spread to active verbs at an early period: *a·rru·n·ðllestar* (to *as·léna*) 'when he polluted' ML. 63^a14 (where *ru* stands before a compound verb, a position which it normally occupies only when preceded by a conjunct particle, § 527a), *ro·ðligestar* § 671. This becomes common towards the end of the ninth century: *ro·bendachastar*, *ro·ordnastar*, etc., Trip.

676. In the plural of the active, when the vowel before *s(s)*, is retained, this has palatal quality: *·preðchalsem*, *·preðchissem* (A I), *fu·roðlissem*; *do·rlitset*, *con·ðenisset*, *at·roðlisset*, *·tartisset* (beside *·tartisset*). But this does not imply that the endings originally had a palatal vowel; for archaic forms have *-at*, e.g. *tu·sreomlastat* Wb. I. 7^a7, *·fuiglestat* *Anecd.* III. 27, 16; and the 1 pl. *ro·gellsom* *Inram Brain* i. 47, 21 shows that, as in the B I present, the endings once contained *-e*. The palatalization, therefore, probably started from

syncopated forms such as *·árlisem*, *·árliset*; cp. also *·felmaissur* above and the *s*-subj. *·forthissem* § 626.

FORMS OF THE *s*-PRETERITE IN CLASSES A II-III

A II

677. (a) In the preterite, as in the subjunctive, the group of verbs mentioned in § 607 show non-palatal consonance when the vowel of the suffix is kept, palatal when it is elided, and have *-o-* in the stem, against *-u-* in the present. Examples: *·eulrethar* : *·corastar*, pl. *d[e]·eulrestar* Y Cymmrodor XIV. 114 § 13: *·eom·ruiddur* 'I intend' Fél. Procl. 277 : *·redastar* Wb. 7¹⁴; *ad·su(i)ðl* 'holds fast' : *ad·ro·seid* Ml. 97¹⁶; *sluðl* 'swallows' : *·steis* LÚ 10652, with suffixed pron. *sluðsl* Trip. 130, 19, pl. *sluðsitt* 68, 12. The explanation is that the vowel before *-as-* was *e* (§ 672). But beside these we find forms like *do·sluðndi* 'denies' : *du·ru·sluðnd* Ml. 93⁸, etc., pl. *do·ru·sluðndset* 90¹⁷ (cp. pres. subj. *ofa slúndið* Sg. 197¹¹), which show either that *-ias-* also occurred or that forms with *-ias-* had modelled themselves on those with a short vowel (see § 678).

678. (b) *crestid* 'believes' : pret. sg. 3 *·crest* (only sporadically *·crest* Wb. 5², *·crest* Ml. 33⁵), 1 *·crestus*, pl. 3 *·crestset* *·crestset* etc. The stem had *i* < *ē* (§ 547).

ad·roilli 'deserves' (*ad·ro·sli-*) really belongs to A III, though generally inflected like A II; but pret. 3 sg. *ad·roilli* Ml. 124⁴⁷, pl. 1 *·roillissem*, *·árlisem*, 3 *·roills(s)et*, *·árl(i)set*, also *·árl(i)set* Ml. (no deuterotonic forms of the preterite of *fo-*, *do·sli* have hitherto been discovered).

But *-i* is found in other verbs also: *tíðl* 'laughs' : pret. (with *fo·ad-*) *fo·r·aithl* Tur. 62, *íð·aithl* Trip. 98, 7 (E); *ráðl* 'says' : *ru·ráðl* Wb. 7⁹ beside *ímme·ro·ráðl* Sg. 197¹⁵ (rel. *ím·ráðl* Ml. 90¹⁴, probably a misspelling); *ro·ða·uccal* 'which brought them' 46¹⁰, *ðu·ð·uccal* 27²³, usually *·uc*, *·uic*.

It is uncertain whether some of these verbs originally had *i* or whether the ending has been taken over from *·crest*, etc. In Fél. Procl. 177 *ro·sciflið*

appears instead of normal *ro-señich* (§ 692), and in the course of the ninth century the ending spreads even to *s*-verbs: *ro-celebral* Trip. 198, 4, *ro-Mgal* 208, 10, etc.

A III

679. (a) Verbs in *-š*; with stressed stem: sg. 2 *·clois*, 3 *·clot*, pl. 2 *·soisid*, 3 *·soisset* (with *-ot* ?); with enclitic stem: 3 sg. *de-intarraí* (*·iad-ro-so-*) Wb. 16^b18, *de-r-intal* ML. 3^a7, *du-intarrae* 54^a3, *·toroe* 123^b7 (probably to be read *-ot*, *-de*, *-de*). But *nš-*, 3 sg. pres. (or pret. ?) *at·noi* 'he entrusts (entrusted ?) him' Trip. 140, 3: *ad-ro-ní* Wb. 29^a29, *imm-r-á-ní* 'has bequeathed', pl. *imm-ránsat* Thes. II. 239, 12-13 (Arm.).

(b) (*as*)-*luí*: sg. 1 *as-ru-luís* (= *Jūs*) Wb. 17^a16; 3 *as-lóe* ZCP. XVI. 343 § 34, *as-ru-chum-láe*, *·rechumlaí*, *con-húa-lai* Thes. II. 320, 7, etc.; pl. 3 *as-luisset* (with *-ní* ?) Laws I. 64, 3, *ro-lussetar* 'they flew' Anecd. III. 59, 22, *·fo-lusset* ML. 67^a16 (probably with *de*).

680. (c) Verbs in *-š* and two verbs in *-i*, *gní-* and *sní-*, in which *i* goes back to *š*, have a mixed formation, an *s*-preterite combined with reduplication; the reduplication vowel is *e*.

bš- 'die': 3 sg. *bebais*, *·bebe*, later *·beba*; pl. 3 *bebsait*.

rš- 'row': 3 sg. *imm-rere* Sg. 62^b7, pl. *·rersat* LL. 134^a18. Here also seems to belong *rer(a)is* 'he moved (?)', rel. *reras* Imram Brain r. 29 § 61 and 43, 8.

con-slá 'goes (away)': 3 sg. *con-selai* *con-sela*, *cot-sela* (for O.Ir. *-lae*), pl. *con-selsat*, Contrib. p. 481f.

ad-co-ta, *·éta* 'obtains' (§ 544): sg. 1 *ad-cotadus* (*ad-chodades-sa* Wb. 7^a16), 3 *ad-cotedae* Thes. II. 240, 23 (Arm.), *ad-cotade*, *·étade* *·étada*; pl. 1 *ad-cotadsam*, 3 *ad-cotatsat*, *·étatsat*.

Another (and rarely found) *√š-* 'vanish, dwindle' (vb.n. *tám*), subj. *ama-ta* (for O.Ir. *-tae*) Mon. Tall. 159, 36: pres. *ro-teta* Fé. Prod. 193 (cp. § 772).

ro-lš- (§§ 534, 762) has unreduplicated forms but the same 3 sg. ending as the foregoing verbs: *ru-lae* (trissyllabic) Trip. 212, 23, *ro-laa* Sg. 75^a4, *r-a-lš-som* Tur. 80, *·rale* ML. 23^a16,

-rahae 90¹⁷; pl. 2 ro-láid, -raíid, 3 -roisat Ml. 16⁴²; cp. sg. 1 ro-da-láis; LL. 249⁴⁰, 2 ro-láis 251¹⁴.

The ending -(a) which, judging by ru-lá, was once disyllabic, is difficult to explain. Does it point to -d-tes-, the *s* of which did not contract with *a* in the 3 sg. ? And is it to be compared with W. -ays (§ 672) ? In compounds with more than one preposition the *s*-preterite is modelled on the *a*-verbs: 3 sg. ad-rochemul Ml. 58¹², do-rinét 51²¹.

For *smá*- 'swim' no reduplicated forms are attested: 3 sg. ro-smá as early as Imram Brain r. 31 § 43 (hardly pres. ind.), like later ro-smas-(s)a LU 9436, -rí(i)set, etc.

681. (i) *gnúid* 'does' has preterite stem *gáinís-* < **gagníis-*: 3 sg. *gáiní*, pl. *gáinset* Ml. 29⁴, *gáinset* 80⁶.

In the compound with *de* (di) and *ro* (which becomes *ri*, § 852) the forms are:

	DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE	NOMINATIVE
sg. 1	<i>de-rigínas, -rigénus</i>	<i>deirgénus, -dérnus</i>
2	<i>-rignís</i>	
3	<i>-rigní, -rigéni</i>	<i>de(i)rgéni, -deirgini, -deirgni</i>
pl. 1	<i>-rigénsam</i>	
2	<i>-rigénsid</i>	
3	<i>-rigénsat</i>	<i>-deirgénsat</i>

The mark of length in *de-rigéni*, *rigénsam*, *rigénsat* Wb. 11²⁸, 12²⁹, 24², 28¹⁹ has no significance (see § 46). In *de-rigénsat* Ml. 16⁴⁶ 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-smí* 'strives for' has been modelled on the above formation: *ad-ru-choisáiní* (or *ad-ru-?*) Ml. 69⁴, *con-séna(i)* Thes. II. 315, 3; pl. 3 (with *-ad-*, § 532) *con-asénsat* ZCP. VIII. 313, 31.

For the preterite of (*ad*)-*cl* 'sees' and *clíd* 'weeps', see §§ 702, 691.

II. THE *t*-PRETERITE

Collection: Windisch, *Kohls Beitr.* VIII. 442 ff.

682. In the stem of the *t*-preterite a *t* appears after the final consonant of the root; *-sw-t* becomes *-st*, with *t + d*, (§ 208), *-g-t* becomes *-cht* (§ 221).

berid 'bears' : preterite stem bert-; fo-geir 'heats' : -gert-; marn(a)id -mairn 'betrays' (subj. -mera) : mert-; sernid : con-serit 'conscript' (RC. xx. 431, 433), re-serit 'he has spread (†)' Féil. p. 248; dairid 'bulls' : dart-; gabrid 'calls' : gart-.

at-bull 'dies' (subj. beia) : *bait-, enclitic -bait-; celid 'conceals' : celt-; gelid 'grazes' : gelt-; melid 'grinds' : melt-; allid 'rears' : alt-.

(di- and air-fo-) em- : -ét-; (to-ess- and to-uss-) sem- : *-sét-, enclit. -sat-, -set-.

agid 'drives' : acht-; aingid 'protects' : snacht- (< *naccht-); do-for-maig 'increases' : -maecht-; ess-reg- : -recht, -é-recht; orgid 'slays' : ort- (< *orccht-).

saigid (§ 549) : slacht-, apparently with reduplication, is isolated; it may be an analogical formation after slasaír (§ 600). ro-slacht has prototonic -roecht.

Since the 3 ag. act. and pass. fell together in -acht, -ét, -ort, etc., other passive preterites in -t subsequently acquire an active meaning; e.g. talroét 'prophesied' Trip. 182, 24, to canid (§ 687); ro-dét 'endured' SR. 6873, to dairid (§ 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-drechtatar Laws v. 228, 20, beside ro-dleptar (§ 671), is old or comes from the passive ro-drecht. The meaning of recht LU 8324, Ériu ii. 3, 4 (Ég.) is obscure; but fo-rúchtatar Ériu ii. 44 § II (cp. Laws vi. 178, 17), da-rúchtatar Ériu vi. 148, 72, and ag. fo-rúcht Trip. 234, 15, suggest that fo-féih 'commits (a crime)' and di-féih 'avenges' had a preterite stem facht- (beside féih-, § 693), apparently formed like slacht-.

683. The *t*-preterite goes back to the IE. root *acriet*, in which the root itself (without suffix) functioned as the *acriet* stem, i.e. as preterite in the indicative. The *t* is really the personal ending of the 3 ag. but, being no longer felt as such, has been introduced into the other personal forms too (see KE. xxxvii. 111 ff.). The formation is also found in Britanni; e.g. W. ceis 'I sang', 3 cuit; kyneth kynyth 'he took' (3er-); aeth 'he went' (cp.). The suggestion that B is derived from original present stems with suffix *-t^h* (Sommerfelt, *Symbolae Grammaticae* in hon. T. Rozwadowski, i. 255 ff.) explains neither the flexion nor the preterite meaning satisfactorily. The 1 and 2 ag. (as in the *s*-preterite) have the flexion of the B I present. The plural flexion is modelled on that of the suffixless preterite, where the monosyllabic stems (§ 692) doubtless provided the pattern.

FLEXION OF THE *t*-PRETERITE

684.

CONJUNCT

	STRESSED STEM	ENCLITIC
sg. 1	·biurt (-dt)	as·ru·burt
2	·birt	·ru·b(a)irt
3	·bert (-alt, -ert)	·ru·bart (do·rósat)
pl. 1	·bertam(m)ar	·ru·bartm(m)ar (do·rochtammar)
2		·ru·bartid
3	·bertar, ·bertatar	·ru·bartatar (att·ru·baltar), ·ru·bartat (?)

In the absolute flexion only forms of the 3rd person are quotable: *sg. birt, sirt* ZCP. XIX. 200, *milt* ZCP. VIII. 308, 3, *uirt* *Ält. ir. Dicht.* II. 27, *rel. berte* *Fiannaig.* p. 28, *altas LU 10602*; *pl. 3 geltatar 4733*, *rel. bertar ML 127⁴⁶*, *bertatar Tur. 130*.

The only attested deponent forms belong to *con-sm-* 'preserve' (§ 767): 3 *sg.* (with *ro*) *con·roitar RC. XX. 162 § 13, 178 § 43, Olla Merceliana I. 128 § 23, conid·roitar (sic leg.) Laws I. 30, 24*; 1 *sg.* *con·róetar LL 119²³* (ending as in § 697); the 3 *pl.* form *con·roitar ML 55¹* may also be active.

685. For the 1 *sg.* *cp. do·m·biurt ZCP. IV. 43 4, doad·m·biurt·sa TBC. 3556*; *enclitic as·ruburt, ·tormalt, fo·s·rócurt, dunda·rairgiurt, fris·comurt*. On the other hand, *u*-quality is not shown in *do·rrét Wb. 31¹*, *ar·reidit·sa 6¹⁴* (*cp. §§ 54, 688*), *con·altecht (-ad·dt·sacét) ML 132⁵*; *cp. also as·comert Sg. 210⁶* (see § 101).

2 *sg.* *do·birt ML 56¹³*, *at·birt TBC. 1755* (in *re·mált Hüb. Min. p. 71* the vocalism is not original); *enclitic con·tochmalt ML 17², 19⁷*, *du·rairgiurt 74²⁰*, *do·romált LL 245⁸*. But forms with *-cét* are not palatalized (§ 162): *du·n·écomnacht ML 56¹⁸*, *·comnacht 60²⁰* (but *ma·ra·rubart 112⁵* is an error for *-halt*).

Similarly the later attested absolute 3 *sg.* forms *asacht, slacht* are regular, but *bert, alt* are secondary.

2 *pl.* *do·réachtid Wb. 18⁶*, *ar·[r]óitid 13³⁰*.

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*, *iris-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, KE. XIII. 202 ff.

686. Most of the forms of this class have the reduplicated formation, which is attested for upwards of forty verbs. Smaller groups have an unreduplicated preterite with medial *ā* and *ī*; there are also a few isolated formations.

A. THE REDUPLICATED PRETERITE

687.

STEM FORMATION

In most of the roots ending in a consonant the reduplication vowel is *e*. But since roots of the *a*-series reduplicate with *o* (from *a*), 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-*, *sa-* combine with the reduplication to give *sal-*, *san-* (§ 216, cp. 658b).

Examples: *braigid* 'farts, bleats': preterite stem *bebrag-*; *canid* 'sings': *cechan-*; *cla(i)did* 'digs': *cechlad-*; *ma(l)did* 'breaks' (intrans.): *memad-*; *nascid* 'binds': *nenasc-*; *reg-* 'regere': *rerag-*; *(fo)·gleinn* 'learns': *-geginn-*; *(ad)·greinn* 'persecutes': *-gegrann-*; Mod. Ir. *seinnim* 'I spring off, fly off': *seccann-* (or *seccand-* ?); *sennid* 'plays (an instrument)'; and *do·seinn* 'drives': *sephann-* (< *secc-*); *sligid* 'falls': *selag-*; *cingid* 'steps': *cechang-*; *gonaid* 'wounds, slays': *gegon-*; *brulanid* (§ 549): **behrann-* (3 pl. *behrannatar*). In

génair (< *gegn-*), 3 ag. pret. of *gainíthir* '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 ag. *re·cechain* 48^o11 (later common) instead of regular *·cechain* *·cechain* (also *·cechainn* 64^o22, 64^o12, with unlenited *-n*, which may have developed in front of the emphasising particle *sem*).

i-roots : *ligid* 'licks' : *lelag-* ; *nigid* 'washes' : *nenag-* ; *con·rig* 'binds' : *rerag-* ; *suigid* 'drips' : *senag-* ; (for)-*ding* 'oppresses' : *dedag-* ; *réd-*, *riad-* 'drive' : *rerad-* (O'Dav. 841).

u-roots : (oss-) *bond-* 'refuse' : *bobad-* (3 ag. *at·bobuid* LU 10954) ; *bongid* 'breaks' : *bobag-* (3 ag. *·bobig* RC. xi. 446, 69) ; (in)-*leing* 'unites, occupies' : *lolag-* (in-*lol(a)ig* Laws iv. 16, 21).

ro·clu(f)nothar 'hears' : pret. ag. 1 and 2 *·eúala* (< **·eóla*, **·ceólow-*, **·kúlow-* ; cp. Mid.W. 1 and 3 ag. *cigleu*), 3 *·eúal(a)e* ; pl. 1 *·eúalammar*, 2 *·eúal(a)id*, 3 *·eúalatar*.

It is not certain that *de·ru·teihalg* (meaning obscure) Tur. 17 and *con·teihalg* (with present meaning) 'has in common', pl. *con·teihgatar* (Laws), belong to *longid* 'swears'. If so, they are formed from the *by*-stem *ig-* (§ 550 ; cp. *du·rullig*, § 694b).

688. The combination of *re* with such a preterite stem in close composition gives *re·re-*, with loss of the reduplicator (§ 179) ; e.g. *·reíchan-*, *·reímad-*, *·reínasc-*, *·reígrann-*, etc.

By analogy with this the preposition *com-*, when used as a verbal particle (§ 533) in the same position, often becomes *coim-*, *ceim-*. Examples : 3 ag. *du·coimarraig* (*·com·reirig*), to *du·rig* 'strips', 3 pl. *du·coimrachtar* ; 1 ag. *fe·ceimallag* (*·com·lelag*), to *fe·leing* 'supports, endures', 3 pl. *fe·coimlachtar* ; *de·ceimnachtar*, to *de·nig* 'washes'.

Similarly *·coimneuir*, *·coimnacuir*, etc., prototonic forms of *con·ánacuir* (§ 689) ; but always for *·comneuir*, for *·comnacuir* and *teccomneuir* 'happened', *atot·chomnice*.

In ML confusion sets in among *re*-forms. Sometimes *re* appears for *rei-* : *for·re·chain* 48^o8, *in·re·grainn* 26^o24, *fe·re·raíd* 51^o23 (to *fe·raíd* 'reddens, darkens') ; sometimes *rei-* appears where the reduplication syllable is kept : *fortan·reíchechtatar* 63^o1, *ad·reígrannatar* 26^o11. So also *ceim-* for *coim-* : *de·ceimarraig* 48^o15, *·ceimnacuir* 79^o7.

On the other hand, *rd-* spreads rather early to non-reduplicated preterite forms; e.g. *ad-réothach* 'I have besought' *Thes. II* 363, 5, to *ad-tech-*, pret. *tích-* (§ 682); *ad-réagáid* LU 9810, to *gáidid*, pret. *gáid*; *do-réamadair* SR. 7985, to *má(a)r* (§ 693), etc. Cp. also the *t*-pret. (stem *é-*) of *air-fa-am-* 'accept': e.g. 1 *ar-roéit-sa* Wb. 6^o14; 3 *am-roiat* ML 24^o28 (beside *ar-roéit*). In this verb *roi* had arisen regularly by contraction of *ro-fa-é-* in forms like *am-roitmar* Wb. 9^o10, but spread further; cp. *con-roitir* (§ 684).

689. FORMS WITH PECULIAR REDUPLICATION

(a) Roots beginning with a vowel:

The compounds of *-ic(e)* (from *icb-*, § 208; cp. § 549) have preterite stem *-áicc-* (*c = g*, *-áicc-* Wb. 14^o40), which may be compared to Skt. *áśáśáś*, pf. of *áśáśi* '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-fa-* (§ 534), and the contraction of *fo* and the verbal stem gives *fód-*, *fúad-*; e.g. sg. 3 *do-fúaid*, prototonic *-dúaid*, *-dúaid*; pl. 3 *do-otar* (= *-fótar*) Trip. 198, 8, *du-fuatar* (read *-fúatar*) Ériu VII. 164 § 8, prototonic *-dótar*, *-dúatar*. But by-forms like *do-feotar* LL 291^o20, *deotar* Anecd. II. 59, 11, and 2 sg. *deodh-sa* (= *deod-se*) 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 *éod-*, with syllabic reduplication, which was presumably suppressed in the perfect after the two prepositions (cp. § 694b).

-oid 'lends', pass. *-édar* (*o < u*), has pret. sg. 2 *ro-húad-se*, 3 *-úaid* Laws, *Ótia Merciana* I. 123 § 6, with obscure stem formation (from *úed-* *woud-*? or *wuoud-*?)

(b) *lingid* 'leaps'; pret. stem *leblang-* (with *ro-* *-roblang-*), which points to a root with initial *p* (see § 649); cp. pres. *do-air-bling* gl. *deáilid* 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. *ébl-*, the *l-* of *leblang-* has been introduced from other forms of the verb. The *p* makes the equation with Skt. *linghāti* 'overleaps' and its cognates (cp. *Walde-Pokorny* II. 428)

unlikely. For the equation with Gk. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ 'I stride out', $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota$ 'interfeminium' (Osthoff, *Morphol. Untersuchungen* vi. 23), it would be necessary to assume that, starting from the present stem *ing-*, the root, under the influence of *eing-* 'step', had shifted to the *en-* grade (which W. Ram 'a leap' seems to suggest); for the equation with O.Slav. *plęsni* 'to dance' (if this goes back to *plęsē-*), that the final guttural of the root had become voiced (perhaps by analogy with *eing-* *slac*). All these comparisons are therefore uncertain.

(c) For roots with initial *f-*, from *w-*, see *·II and -fiair § 691, flu § 702 (also § 693).

690. The formation of *siasair* (disyllabic) 'she sat' Thea. II. 327, 13, rel. 3 pl. *sias(s)star* TBC. 822, narrative preterite of *saidid*, $\sqrt{said-}$, is unique (1 eg. -*sessar* Aial. MC. 93, 2 is probably a later form influenced by subj. and fut. *sēss-*). It looks like a mixture of a reduplicated pret. **sēsed-*, **sēsd-* and an old *s-*-acrist **sēd-s-*, **sēss-*. The perfect (with *ds-en-*, § 534) has active singular *ds-essid* *des(s)id* 'has sat, has been settled' (1 -*dessad-sa* Met. Dinda. III. 440, 3), pl. 3 *ds-eststar* (also *ds-es(s)star*), and may contain *sēsed-*. An exactly parallel formation to *des(s)id*, etc., is *dellig*, pl. *delligstar* (LL 43^b22), to *laigid* 'lies'.

Instead of *siasair* the form *siasair*, which could represent O.Ir. **siasair*, occurs in a poem (RC. v. 302, 1). Should this be the earlier form (with *i = d(d)*, as in *rs-ſhr* § 703), both the -*s(i)-* and the deponent flexion of *siasair* could have been taken over from *to-air-sas-* 'stand fast' (perfect -*tarrastar* Thea. II. 6, 26), just as *tarrastar* was later formed on the model of *siasair*. But two facts speak against this explanation: (1) a perfect form *ds(ess)star* occurs in poetry (RC. xx. 400 § 120), and (2) the old compounds of *said-* with *ind-ne-* and *air-ne-* 'await' have perfect *ad-ro-ssastar* (or *ad-ro-n-*) Wh. 4^b35, *ar-ro-ssastar* ML 50^a8. Hence it is probable that there was an old preterite stem *ssas-* with deponent flexion. Unfortunately no form of the narrative tense of *laigid* has so far been found. Cp. also *slacht-* § 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:

**dem(a)id* (3 pl. *denait*) 'sucks': eg. 3 **did* (written *dith*, *dith* Thea. II. 346, 3), rel. *dide* ZCP. xviii. 397.

eren(a)id 'buys' : sg. 1 ·eír (< echr.), 3 ·euir (< eichr.).

glen(a)id 'sticks fast' : sg. 3 ·gfuil, abs. rel. gfulæ.

len(a)id 'follows, adheres to' : sg. 3 ·ll, pl. ·leidar.

ren(a)id 'sells' : sg. 1 ·rer (as-com-rar), 3 ·rir, abs. rel. rira.

ten(a)id 'takes away' : sg. 3 ·ro-t[h]u[i] ZCP. xx. 212.

In compounds of *fen-* (§ 551), **uis-* would have regularly lost *-u-* after *i*, thus giving 3 sg. *·ll. The only attested form is *for-ehui* (ms. *forthui*) ML 33^a18, 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 *biu-* instead of *bis-*, whence sg. 1 *béo-sa* (FM. 701), *in-rá(r)ba* ML 46^b10; 2 ·*ruba* Wb. 13^a25; 3 *bí*, ·*rubal* LU 5334, ·*rindarpal* Wb. 5^a18, etc. (*etir-rudfí* ML 123^a10 has perhaps been remodelled after *-ll*, *-rir*); pl. 2 *fo-rubid* Wb. 27^a27; 3 ·*béotar* LU 5110.

(b) B V :

ara-chnin 'decays' : pf. 3 sg. *ara-ruelhuir* ML 136^a8, *ar-roelhuir* (or *ar-ro-*) Féil. Prol. 67, 127; pl. *ar-roelhuirtár* (read *-churtár* ?) LU 1698, ·*arre(h)óratar* ML 26^a6.

·*gnin* 'knows' : sg. 1, 2 ·*gín* (< *gyn-*), 3 ·*géin*, ·*géin*; pl. 1 ·*génammár*, 3 ·*génatar*.

(c) *eiid* 'weeps' : *eich* (written *eich* LU 10964, likewise *ro-ehich* BDD. § 106 (YBL), but *deichmo-* (read *dechmo-*) *roehich* EC. xviii. 188, with *í*).

(d) The active preterite corresponding to passive *-frith* 'was found' (§ 706) is sg. 1 ·*fúar*, 3 ·*fúair*, pl. 1 ·*fúaramar*, 3 ·*fúaratar* (*fúar-* < *fōr-*, *wour-*, *we-ur-*); cp. § 763.

This formation probably started from those verbs in which *i* is not inherited, i.e. where *li*, *ei* have developed from *l*, *r*, or where, as in *-gnin*, the vocalism is secondary (cp. Skt. pf. *jayádu*); in *-frith* the *i* may go back to *í* (cp. Gk. *ἵψω-αι*, *εἵψω-σαι*). 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. *lét-e* 'has given', from *√dō-*. The reduplication vowel was apparently *i* in (a) and (c), *e* in (b) (as all events in *gén-*) and (d). For the preterites of *gnid* and *con-sni* see § 681, of (*ad-*)*í* § 702.

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 *ē* or *ā* of their radical syllable :

teohid 'flee' : tīch- (for *ad-róthach* see § 688).

rethid 'run' : ráth-.

But in the ecclitic 3 pl. forms *in-ro-ríthar* ML 104^b, *do-rriáiríthar* Sg. 18^a, beside regular *in-reríthar* ML 33^aEL, *do-ríaríthar* Sg. 8^a13, the palatal *r* of the other forms of *rethid* has spread to the preterite; similarly in *ma du-d-r-imíthid* 'if she has attended' Wb. 29^a30 (cp. 32^a15), pl. *do-r-imíthíthar* 32^a.

fe(l)idid '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-fáidatar* Wb. 29^a13, later *ro-fáthatar*. More frequent than these forms is the compound of *fed-*, pret. *fáid-*, with *dí-co(m)-*, which supplies the perfective forms (§§ 534,4 ; 769) of the verb 'to go' (pres. *téit*, sg. 1 *tiagu*) : pl. sg. 1 *do-cood*, *-cood*, 3 *-coid*, *-cooid*, *-coaid*, *-cuaid*; pl. 1 *-commar* (= *-cómarr* ?), 3 *-cotar* (= *-cótarr* ?), *-custar*. Prototonic sg. 1 *-dechud*, 3 *-dechuid*, *-dechuth*; pl. 1 *-dechommar*, *-dechummar*, (2 *-digiúth* Wb. 9^a19 may be perfective present), 3 *-dechutar*.

That *-d-* is earlier than *-th-* is shown by Mid.W. *go-dí-wood* (*-d = -s*) 'he overtook'. The verb was probably the same as *fedid* 'leads' (cp. § 693).

fígid (fag-) 'weaves' : 3 sg. *fáig* RC. xx. 248 § 52, *ro-d-fáig* Met. Dánda. iv. 96, 52, *con-ru-aig* ML 99^a2.

The *í*-preterite *ro-fíth* Met. Dánda. iii. 100, 17 is not certain.

gu(l)idid 'prays' (subj. stem *gess-*) : *gáid-*.

seochid, later *seuchid*, 'departs, ends' (subj. stem **scess-*, § 626) : *scách-*.

ro-laimthar 'dares' : 3 sg. *-lám(a)lr*.

Plural forms are not attested in O.Ir. sources; *ro-lamatur* (read *-lar*) Circuit of Ireland 65 (composed 942) is certainly a late formation, like *ro-míthar* AU. 1098 for O.Ir. *-míatar* (§ 693).

dáimid 'grants, admits' : *-dámair*. The plural has the remarkable form *fu-ro-damnatar* ML. 96^b8, 105^b9 (misspelt *-damnatar* 90^a13); cp. *damnatar* LL 262^a30, *ro-damnatar*

Fél. ProL 32 (B³), *at-damnatar* ZCP. III. 243 § 46, *ad-rodamnatar* Ériu I. 214 (in later mss. often misspelt *damedatar*, *damedar*, etc.). Such forms suggest influence by the weak verb *damaid* 'tames' (hardly *damnaid* 'damns'), but the reason for this is not clear.

2. THE I-PRETERITE

693. A few verbs have medial *i* in the preterite :

ern(a)id 'grants', subj. *-era* : pret. 3 sg. *-ir* Wb. 17^b13, 20^a11, etc.

midithir 'judges' : sg. 1 *-mídar* Wb. 9^b5, encl. *-ammadar*, 3 *-míd(a)ir*, *de-ru-madir* ; pl. 3 *-mídatar* Trip. p. lix, 14, *-ir-madatar*, *-im-rul-mídetar*.

fiéid 'fights' : sg. 3 *fié*, rel. *fiéhe* ZCP. XI. 109 § 19, enclitic *da-ru-íé* Ml. 43^a19 ; pl. 1 *fiéhim(m)ar* (*-immir* LU) *Imram Brain* I. 48, 7.

in-, *ad-íét* (*féd-*, *fíed-*) 'relates' : 3 sg. *in-fíd* LL. 292^b6-7. It is uncertain if 3 pl. *ad-fíedatar* RC. XI. 442, 5 (*at-fíedhatar* ACL. III. 6, 1) is an old form. With *-eo(m)-* (§ 533) : 3 sg. *ad-cuid* *-cuidd*, prototon. *-éid* ; pl. 1 *ad-coidemmar*, 2 *-éidid*, 3 later *ad-cuidatar* (RC. III. 346, 1, etc.) ; for the prototonic form in BDD. § 52 the mss. point to *-éidatar* or *-éidatar*. Similarly the decompounds *as-íed-et* 'expounds' and *t-ad-bat* 'shows' (§ 592) : 3 sg. *as-ríedid* and *de-árbith* *-árbuid* *-árbuid* ; in the latter verb spirant *b* instead of *f* after *r(ó)* is due to the analogy of forms without *ro*, where *w* came immediately after *b* (cp. § 201 a).

In the pret. of *de-fét* (*féd-*) 'leads', *i* is not actually attested but may be postulated as certain : 3 sg. **-fid* (misspelt *du-d-fíé* RC. XI. 446, 44), enclitic *du-da-ruíd* Ml. 63^b12 (cp. *du-s-á-deráid* 99^b13, with *to-di-ro-*), 3 pl. rel. *du-fíedatar* Thes. II. 242, 13 (Arm.), probably to be read *du-d-fíedatar*.

t-in-fét 'inspires' has the same formation : 3 sg. *de-r-íuid* Hib. Min. p. 6, 173, *de-r-íuidh* Trip. 2, 7.

3. OTHER FORMS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION

694. (a) *fo-caird* 'throws, puts' : pret. 3 sg. *fo-caird*, pl. *fo-cartar*,

scerdid 'scrapes off' : 3 sg. *ro-scaird* *ML*. 14^b2.

This is possibly the same formation as that of § 692, with shortening of *ā* before the two consonants.

(b) Where a verb is compounded with more than one preposition, and the verbal stem is thus always unstressed, it is often difficult to decide whether the absence of reduplication is original or, as in the reduplicated future (§ 690), secondary. Thus *ad-con-daire* 'has seen' ($\sqrt{\text{darc-}}$) (§ 535b) may either be formed like *fo-caird* or go back to *-dadarc-*. Cp. further *do-ommalg* (§ 534, 3) 'I have milked' *Sg.* 23^b2, *du-r-inmalle gl. prowalpsaid* *ML*. 31^a3 (to *malgid*, $\sqrt{\text{malg-}}$); *du-futharcair*, *-dúthracair* 'he wished, wishes'; *im-*, *fris-comarcair* (§ 695).

con-rótalg '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-lidatar*, **-tuidatar* (whence *-tullatár* *LÜ* 8746), also *-tuitatar* *Thea.* n. 240, 25 (*Arm.*), *RC.* xvi. 63 § 112 (influenced by the *t*-preterite? Or by *do-estetar* § 690, where *ā* has become *ē* after *s*!).

A similar form is *-bulch* *RC.* xx. 174 § 39, *con-bulg* (*combuig* ms.) *Ált. ir. Dicht.* n. 18, archaic by-form of *-boblig* (§ 687), to *bongid* 'breaks'.

These are evidently old scribts like *Gk. φάω, φέρω*.

(d) For *ro-fithr* 'knows, knew', see § 703; for *do-car* 'fall', § 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 dependent flexion is found in ten verbs. Of these six are dependent in all other forms also :

gainithir 'is born' : pret. ·gém(a)ir; re-laimethar 'dares' : ·lám(a)ir; midithir 'judges' : ·míd(a)ir; (do)·moinethar, ·muinethar 'thinks' : ·mén(a)ir; and the two preterite-presents re·fithir (§ 708) and du·futharcair, ·dútharc(a)ir (§ 694b).

The remaining four have active inflexion in the present : da(l)mid 'admits' : ·dám(a)ir (probably modelled on ·lámair); con·le, prototonic ·cum(u)ing ·cumaing (§ 549), and its decompounds : con·ánaicuir, co·t·ánaiccar·sa Wb. 14^a40 (but active 3 sg. co·t·ánaic once, 8^a14), for·connucuir, teccomnucuir (but atot·chomnuc 6^a13, etc.); sa(l)did 'sits' : preterite slasair (but perfect do·essid, dässid) § 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 : fe·leing 'supports' : fe·th·rélagair Met. Dinda. rv. 38, 36; ·deilechuir Trip. 240, 20, instead of deilig (§ 690); con·é·let 'yields to' : con·r·élagair Ériu II. 234, 4, con·r·élagair Trip. 214, 10 (earlier pret. form unknown); con·ailig(a)ir 'besought' 238, 7, and 239, 17, instead of the t-preterite con·alacht; ar·rérachair 'attained' 104, 14, etc., apparently to ar·reth- (cp. § 708).

696.

A. ACTIVE (CONJUNCT)

sg. 1	·rerag (-gegon)	·ámac	·gáid
2	·rerag	·ámac	·gáid
3	·rer(a)ig (-cechuin § 172)	·ám(a)ic	·gáid

pl. 1	·rergammar	·ámammar	·gáidammar
2*	·rerg(a)id	·ám(a)id	*·gáidid
3	·rergatar (·leblangtar)	·ámatar	·gáidatar.

697.

B. DEPONENT (CONJUNCT)

sg. 1	·ménar	·coimnscar
2	·ménar	·coimnscar
3	·mén(a)ir	·coimnucuir ·coimnucuir

pl. 1	·ménammar (-derménmar)	·cofmmaemar
2	·mén(a)íd	·cofmmae(a)íd
3	·ménatar	·cofmmaetar.

698. The absolute flexion, of which there are very few examples in the early mss. (Íslid § 794c, táich Ml. 32*24), was identical with the conjunct in the singular, as is shown by numerous forms in late transmitted texts: eg. 1, 2 *léd*; 1 dep. *génar-sa Ériu* n. 102 § 9; 3 *rerig, selalg*, III, *bí, gáid, fích*, etc.; dep. *génair* Thes. n. 308, 16, *dámair* ZCP. xiii. 144 § 2. The active flexion had a 3 sg. relative form in *-e*; e.g. *luide* Ml. 127*3, etc.; *gíulæ* Tur. 125; *gegna[s]* Féil. Oct. 23 (R¹); *díde* ZCP. xviii. 397; *ríre* ZCP. xiii. 334, 8; *gáde* Thes. n. 339, 5; *Nehe* ZCP. xi. 109 § 19.

In the 1 and 3 pl. the non-relative forms show fluctuation between *-ar* and *-ár*: *bámar* § 789, 6 *lodmar-ní* LL 246*26, beside *femmir* § 702; *fehlmmar* or *-mmir* § 693; *bátar* and *bátír* (§ 789, op. § 810); *ráthatar* Féil. Sept. 18, *gádatar* Thes. n. 313, 1, *lelgatar* ZCP. ix. 127, 9, beside *mumdaítir* LU 5316, *táehaitír* Trip. 70, 28; *letír* (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 *-mír, -tír*, led to the occasional use of *-mír, -tír* 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. *ἄδω-α, -α; ἔδω-α, -α*) or the IE. perfect (Gk. *-α, -α*). Undoubtedly some of the Irish forms are old aorists (op. *luíd, -buig* § 694c, also § 704). But that the great majority go back to the perfect is suggested by (1) the *e*-endings in the plural; (2) the neutral quality of the initial radical consonant after the reduplication in roots which have a palatal vowel (*i* or *í*) in other forms; this is obviously the effect of the *o*-grade, which regularly appeared in the singular of the active perfect (Gk. *ἔδωγα, ἔδωγα*); further, the lowering of *u* to *o* in the reduplication syllable, e.g. *-botuíd* (§ 687), which

represents earlier **babbi-*, **baboud-*, cp. Skt. *babhōda*. The 2 sg., however, remains unexplained, for the old ending of the perfect was *-tha*, of the aorist *-ce*. It recalls the 2 sg. in *-set* in Middle Welsh irregular preterite forms like *addest* 'thou didst go', *lucet* 'thou wast', *depost* 'thou didst carry', *guddest* 'thou knowest', *amnesest* 'thou dost recognize'; here *-t* is doubtless a suffixed pronoun, so that the earlier ending would have been *-ce*. But the source of this *-t* is equally obscure (from a 1 sg. in **-on*, earlier **-on*?).

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-coimlachtar*, *du-coimrachtar*, *do-céimnachtar*, *for-ru-leblangtar*, *do-n-arnaetar*. Even though it is often retained in the second syllable (*-gádatar*, *-táchatar*, etc.), still forms like *-heldar*, *-lotar*, *do-cotar* (*-cétar*?) show that this is not regular.

Similarly in the 1 pl., beside *-gádammar*, *-génammar*, we find the more regular form *-ledmar*. *do-commar* (with *-ō*, § 602) 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. *-cétar*.

-r may be taken as the old 3 pl. ending of the active perfect, corresponding to Avest. *-ara*, Skt. *-aṣ* (= **-ar*); cp. Techar. 3 pl. pres. *-ar*, *-ar*, *-r*, and probably Lat. *-ere*. But *r* is attached to another active ending with *at*, possibly *-ant*. The fact that the vowel before *-ar* (*-dar*) may be elided, shows that in Irish this ending is not a development of *-ar* (as in the deponent), but that at an earlier period a vowel stood between *at* 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 (§ 603).

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. *tadchabair* (*sic*) LU 8867, 9156, from *do-dechuid* 'has come', *t-áncabair* SR. 3472, *-cáslaba*(*l*)-*si* 1393, etc. It is possible, though of course quite uncertain, that the use of this as the absolute ending dates from the Old Irish period, since *-id* appears nowhere else in the 2 pl. absolute; *-abair* seems to be based on the 2 pl. possessive pronoun *bar*.

700. The deponent flexion has *-r* in the singular also. But the quality of this *-r* is obviously conditioned by the active endings: neutral in the first and second persons, palatal in the third. In the forms that provided the starting-point, the *r*-ending seems to have come immediately after the final consonant of the root (see § 703).

The plural is also modelled on the active, for medial *a* in the third person may be elided here too: *-coimnaotar*, *du-futhraetar*. Similarly in the 1 pl.: *-coimnaemar*, *-derméamar*.

701. The *d*-preterite, in which *d* most probably represents old *s* rather than *ḡ*, was common to all the Insular Celtic languages. Cp. OW. *gao-rust*, *gao-rust* = O.Ir. *fo-rúth* 'he helped'; Mid.W. *dy-ussat* 'he said', *go-dí-ussat* (§ 692); O.Bret. *ar-in-rot gl. fessates est* RC. xxxi. 218 n.8. Preterite forms with a long vowel are found in other Indo-European languages also (see in particular Brugmann, LF. xxxii. 179 ff.), but it is not clear what place they occupy in the verbal system of the parent speech. Homer. *ῥάθε* (*plén-*), acc. *ἄρ-έθης*, is perhaps to be compared.

In the *t*-preterite two classes are doubtless to be distinguished: *ro-ir* and the remaining verbs. Since the former goes back to a root with initial *p* (§ 649c), *t < ḡ* is probably based on a very early contraction: **{p}(p)or.. (?)*. On phonological grounds one would expect rather a basic form **{p}(p)er..*, but the vocalism would be difficult to explain; an sricet form **per..* 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-p-lá-ḡid*, with *f < ḡ* as *ss*, which could easily have joined the others, and *-mid(a)ir*. But the future of *mid(a)ir* has obviously been modelled on that of the verbs with initial *f* (§ 698), 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 (*mid-*) in other languages (e.g. Goth. 1 pl. pret. *as-wistam*) 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. *uict*, *uicti*. Since two of them belong to the *t*-series (*ḡid*, *in-ḡid*), the origin of the formation is more likely to be connected with the loss of *w* after *i*, the stems having been **uicōib-*, **uicōid-* (or the like), with reduced grade of the root. *do-ḡid-* (*√fai-*) has doubtless displaced earlier *-ḡid-* (§ 692). In the plural the length of the *i* is not directly attested but is almost certain. *ro-ir* 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·ei 'sees', do·é·ei 'looks (at)' and their compounds :
 sg. 1 fris·raacha, 3 fros·n·aacha, ·frescahae ; pl. 1
 ·remdercahmar, 3 ·frescahtar (·frescahtar Ml. 34^d17),
 do·récahtar ; or with the reduplication suppressed : sg. 3
 ·aaca, pl. 1 ·aacammar, 3 ·aacahtar, frit·raacatar, do·réacatar.

The fact that *e* 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 syncopeated (otherwise Pokorny, *EZ.* XLVII. 148 f.).

From do·gea 'chooses', vb.n. togu ($\sqrt{\text{geus-}}$, *geu-*), only perfect forms with ro(l) are found in early MSS. : sg. 1, 2 do·roiga, 3 ·roiga ; pl. 2 ·roigaid, 3 ·roigatar.

The 3 sg. ending *-a* appears again in *fiu*, *fiu* 'he spent the night' Trip. 156, 19 ; 174, 6 ; 184, 15, etc. ; cp. pl. 1 femmir LU 10242 ; pl. 3 féotar, once féir LU 10602, (pres. foíd, vb.n. fess, $\sqrt{\text{seus-}}$) ; 2 sg., with enclitic stem, ·re-a (for *-fa*) Ériu II. 224, 3.

It is unlikely that O.Ir. *-a* could have come from *-ae*. On the other hand, a basic form *-ae* seems possible ; hence we should doubtless postulate forms with the reduced grade of the root *geu-*, *ue-*. The latter, with syllabic *e*-reduplication, would give **ueus-*, whence *fiu*, before a neutral ending *fiu-*. In later attested forms like *at·gea*, *ata·geal* ZCP. XVII. 325, the ending has probably been changed. In *femmir* and *féir* (read *fíe* ?), *-e-* (< *-ae*?) seems to have disappeared without leaving any trace.

SPECIAL FORMATIONS

703. (a) The preterite-present *ro·fetar* 'I know, knew' (*-fetor* only once, Thea. II. 241, 10, Arm.), 2 ·fetar, 3 ·fíir ; pl. 1 ·fitemmar Wb. Sg., ·fetammar Ml., 2 ·fíid (·fíis Wb. 6^b18, 14^b12, probably extracted from ·fíid(d)-si, cp. § 139), 3 usually ·fítetar, seldom ·fetatar Ml. 54^b14, ·fetar Wb. 28^b12, Ml. 96^b2 (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. *oía*, Skt. *váid* ; pl. *oíwem*, Sgr. *vidm* ; the 3 sg. ·fíir to Mid.W. *gápr* and Mid.Bret. *gear* 'knows', which, however, seem to have the grade **ueid-*. The closest parallel to the Irish forms is Vedic 3 pl. middle *váidat* ; a similar form was perhaps the starting-point of the Irish flexion. The explanations offered by Wachsmagel, *IF.* XXXI. 223, and Krause, ZCP. XV. 204 f., are not convincing.

704. (b) The 3 sg. *do-cer* 'he fell' has neutral *-r*; 3 pl. *do-certar* TBC. 2925, rel. *do-chertar* Anecd. III. 62, 19. The form with *ro* tends to be inflected normally: 3 sg. *do-rochair* Sg. 29⁸, 29⁷, Tur. 19, beside *-torchar* ML 34¹⁴; further, sg. 1 *-torchar* Trip. 124, 25, (2 *-torchair* LU 6039 = TBC. 1568 is scarcely correct); pl. 3 *do-rochrtar*, *-torchrtar* *-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 98⁸, *condid-apha* AU. 830, etc.

-cer (base **čert-*, principal ablaut forms **kew-* and **ért-*) is an old radical aorist **kew-*; cp. Skt. *a-čert-* 'he crushed', Ir. *erín* (adj.) 'rotten' and pres. ind. *ara-čhrín* (§ 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 use, it is often written *-báth*, *-báthatar*; but short *a* is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. Flanag. 12 § 22, Met. Dinds. 2. 45, 3, iv. 354, 43; cp. the abstract noun *báth* LU 2953.

STEM AND FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRETERITE

705. In Irish and Britannie the stem of the passive preterite corresponds to the Indo-European verbal adjective in *-to-*, *-tō-*, which was once used, as in Italic (Lat. *captus*, *-a*, *-um est*), to supply this tense-form. But in Irish the forms are felt entirely as verbs; compounds take the verbal, not the substantival stress.

706. The *t* of the suffix appears after vowels as *tá* or *d* (= *š*). Thus in all weak verbs: A I *móra-d*, A II *-léce-d*, *-su(l)dige-d* (from a deponent).

In Mid.W. the endings are *-at*, *-ast*, *-at*, *-it*.

For the vocalism of *for-cerad* ZCP. xv. 350 § 30, pass. pret. of *for-cu(l)rethar* (A II) 'ravishes', see § 677; *ad-redad* Laws I. 52, 3, Trip. 72, 21 (to *ad-su(l)di* 'holds fast'), from **ro-šodetā*, should regularly have *tá* from *š + š* (§ 131), but has kept the *-š* of the other forms.

bhí 'drinks' has adopted the formation of the *i*-verbs, **ga(i)bh**, 'takes' that of the *a*-verbs (cp. § 671): **-libed**, **-gabhad**.

a-verbs (A III): **clóid** 'subdues': **-clóad**; **seid** 'turns': **-sead**, 3 pl. **-seithe** (probably with *ei*) Sg. 73*11 (-e from -ea).

ro-lá- (§ 762): **ro-laad**, 3 pl. **-látha**.

gní 'does': **-gníth**, with enclitic stem **do-rénad** (< **-ro-gníthé**); **fo-fúair** 'he found' (§§ 691d, 543a): **fo-fríth**.

Long *i* is also found in the preterite passive of B IV verbs with **-ess-** in the present: **ben(a)id** 'strikes': **bíth**, enclitic **ro-im-dí-bed**, **du-fe-r-bad**; **cren(a)id** 'buys': **-críth**; **ren(a)id** 'sells': **-ríth**.

707. Before *t* a guttural appears as *ch* (§ 221); e.g. **aingid**, **-anich** 'protects': **-anacht** (from **-anecht*); **reg-** 'stretch out': **-recht**; **dligid** 'is entitled to': **-díecht**; **sligid** 'fells': **-slecht**; **fgid** 'weaves' and **fehd** 'fights': **-fecht**; **bongid** 'breaks, reaps': **-bocht** (for the vocalism of *to-n-aid-bocht* RC. xxii. 401 § 168, see § 550); **-ic** 'reaches', etc.: **-ícht** (cp. § 210), enclitic **-air-echt**.

argid 'slays': **-ort**, < **-ovcht*.

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-fíthir** 'knows, knew': **-fess** (used as present and preterite); **ad-fét** 'relates': **-fess** (with *to* and *ro*); **do-árhas**, like active **do-árbuid** § 693); **midfíthir** 'judges': **-mess** (*imme-ro-mas*); **gu(i)idid** 'prays' (subj. stem *gess-*): **-ges(s)**; **cla(i)did** 'digs': **-class**; **sla(i)did** 'strikes': **-slass**; **nasaid** 'binds' (vb.n. *naldm*): **-nass**; **renaid** 'reddens': **-ros** ZCP. viii. 419, 15 (cp. Ériu v. 238, 101); **do-dechuid** 'has come' (§ 692): **do-dechas**, **-tuícheas** Sg. 199*1.

Verbs with *ss* (from *-nda-*) 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**

'cuts open': -tís O'Mulc. 474; fo-gleinn 'learns': fo-glés *ibid.* 665; do-eclainn (-*ep-gleann*-) 'selects': perfect du-érglas *ML.* 120⁴².

do-étar-eat 'overtakes' (cpd. of *rathid*) has the peculiar form do-r-éarracht *ML.* 28²⁰ (cp. the vb.n. *comstracht*, § 737).

ad-cl 'sees' ($\sqrt{k^{21}is}$, $k^{21}is$): -cess, 3 pl. co-n-accassa *LU.* 5680. By analogy, re-clu(l)methar 'hears' has -closs beside earlier -cloth (*KZ.* xxviii. 549), 3 pl. -clotha *Fél. Aug.* 24.

-r has also spread beyond its original limits in fo-m-ámas áidud 'drowning impended over me' *Wb.* 17⁴ (fo-áimathar), ar-felmas (modelled on do-áras⁴); similarly in -éas 'was obtained' (*KZ.* xxviii. 360), cp. § 648.

On the other hand, do-goa 'chooses' (\sqrt{gus} , *gus*-) forms its preterite passive like a weak verb: do-roígad (cp. § 711) *ML.* 123¹⁴, do-roíad 124¹³.

709. Strong verbs which contain the sound-groups *er*, *el* have *ra*, *le* (representing IE. *r*, *l*) in the passive preterite. Examples: berid 'bears': -breth; fo-céird 'throws': -cress; sern(a)id 'spreads': -sreth (*Fél.*); cclid 'conceals': -cleth.

do-gair 'summons' has do-grath *Anecd.* i. 44, 20, enclitic ar-ro-grad, fo-r-érad, 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. -ir.

But aild 'rears': -alt.

710. Strong verbs with roots ending in single *a* and *m* have -*at* (*t* = *d*, § 208). Examples: canid 'sings': -cét; da(l)mid 'admits': -dét *LL.* 113¹³, *ZCP.* iii. 38, 2; ar-fo-em- 'receive': 3 pl. ar-feltes *ZCP.* viii. 312, 19; do-es-sim 'pours out, sheds': pf. do-r-esset; do-moimethar 'thinks': * -mét. -golt -góét, passive of -gaguin 'wounded', is peculiar.

A form *gét might have been expected. The -*a* may have come from pres. *gus(a)id*, pret. 1 sg. -gagan. For *ro-dét*, instead of -dét, see § 506.

711. Sometimes the passive preterite is influenced by the active form. Thus *roí-* (§ 688) is taken over, e.g. in do-roígad

(§ 708), *fo-rofbilachta* 'sunt praesenti' *ML*. 58^o6, modelled on *-rofbil(a)ing* (§ 689) 'has sprung'. Cp. further *con-árracht* 123^b2, with *rr* as in act. *con-árrig* (**ad-rr(a)ig*), to *con-rig* 'hinds'; *-sacht*, with reduplication like the active (§ 682). A somewhat later form is *-airnecht* 'was found' *Theo.* II 348, 1, instead of *-air-écht*, by analogy with act. *-airne* (**air-dníc*).

FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRETERITE

712.	ABSOLUTE		
	A I	A II	STRONG VERBS
3 sg. and rel.	<i>mórh(a)s</i>	<i>léithe</i>	<i>breth(a)s</i>
3 pl.	<i>mórh(a)í</i> ?	<i>léitheí</i> ?	
	CONJUNCT		
gen. form	<i>-mórad, -ath</i>	<i>-léced, -eth</i>	<i>-breth (-brad)</i>
3 pl.	<i>-mórtha</i>	<i>-léitheá</i>	<i>-bretha</i>

713. The conjunct form in neutral *-á, -í* corresponds to the old singular of the verbal adjective. The plural in *-s* is doubtless the same form as that which functions as feminine and neuter plural in the adjectival flexion (§ 356 f.)

In the absolute singular, which may also be used in relative construction (e.g. *Theo.* II 318, 7, *ZCP.* VIII 330, 8), the intrinsic quality of *-á* is neutral (*brethas*). The ending could have come from the masc. *-as*, to which an element with palatal vowel, perhaps *is* (or *ie*, as ?), 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 *bitha* 'they were slain' is also used as the absolute. But a few forms like *aisial-scóm* (A I) 'they were aided' *BC.* II. 18 § 15, *rudgithi* (A II dep.) 'they were placed' *LU* 1446, suggest that *i* was the earlier ending; and if the spelling *sléid* 'they were heard' *Anecd.* I. 54 § 28 can be relied upon, a form **briithi* 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 *-tjə-*, *-tjē-*, and inflected like the adjectives in § 354. The participle of a compound verb is stressed on the first syllable (§ 36).

Weak verbs: A I *mórtħae*, *órdnǽ* 'ordained, worthy'; A II *lǽtħe*, *fóitħe* (to *fóidid* 'sends'), *suidǽtħe*.

So also *clóitħe* (probably *clóitħe*), to *clóid* 'subdues'.

ad-cota, *-éta* 'obtains': *ét(ta)e* (as against pret. pass. *éias*. § 708).

gáibid 'takes': *df-*, *ter-* *tur-gáibħ(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': *bǽtħe*, *tóbaide* (with *to-ǽ-*), *imdbtħe*, *aidħuimtħe*, *fubǽ* (without syncope) ZCP. VII. 480; so also *im-fen* 'encloses': *imbitħe*, *-lǽ*; *fer-fen* 'completes': *ferbald* ML. (the syncopeated form *feirbtħe* serves as the adjective 'perfect').

-gáin 'knows': pl. *ǽtgnitħi* (read *etar-ǽ*) Wb. 1^b14, *ingnaide* ML.

reg- 'stretch out': *reht(a)e*; *déaracht(a)e* 'abandoned'.

de-fermaig 'increases': *térmacht(a)e*.

sag-: *larfaeht(a)e* 'asked'; *cuimtecht(a)e* 'sought'.

fo-slig 'smears': *fullecht(a)e*.

con-rig 'binds', *df-rig-* 'strip': *cuimreht(a)e*, *direht(a)e*.

for-ding 'oppresses': *fortecht(a)e*.

fo-loing 'supports', *in-loing* 'unites, occupies': *fulacht(a)e*, *ellacht(a)e*.

orgid 'slays': *timmort(a)e* *-art(a)e*, *frithort(a)e*, *esart(a)e*, etc.

míditħir 'judges': *me(i)isse*, *cuimse*, *toimse*.

ind-reth- 'invade': *indrisse*, *indirse*.

im-said 'besieges' ($\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$): *impeisse* (*-desse*).

as-indet 'expounds' : absindisse.

cla(i)dd 'digs' : claisse.

in-snaid 'grafts' : esnaisse.

ad-glédathar 'addresses' : acailse.

im-naise 'binds together' : immaise.

for-dfuclainn 'swallows' : fordfuclaíse.

roddid 'reddens' : ruisse (IT. II. ii. 191, 56, etc.).

do-goa 'chooses' : tuigse, tulaíse Ml. (tuigse Wb., with *to-uss*).

ro-clu(i)nothar 'hears' : clothe.

berid 'bears' : *brithe (cp. srithe 'exsertus' Ml. 31^o8).

In the syncopated participles of compounds there is fluctuation between palatal and non-palatal *rth* (cp. § 164); e.g. tairberthae Ml. 130^o7, pl. tairbírthi Thea. II. 234, 6; remeperthae Sg. 4^o7, acc. pl. (substantival) remeperthiu Ml. 69^o4.

In compounds of gairid 'calls' *rth* is as a rule non-palatal; e.g. ergarthae, dingarthae, esgarthae; but tairngirthe Ml. 110^o45. In pl. forngartí Sg. 31^o7 the *t* seems to be unlenited (if not a scribal error).

ceild 'conceals' : clithe; cp. neph-glúdi gl. *istowai* Filargirius Gl. (Thea. II. 46, 21; 361), to gæld 'grazes'.

ailid 'rears' : ailt(a)s.

canid 'sings' : céte; but the compounds, for-cain : foirethe Ml. 35^o8, do-er-chain : terehan(a)s (like a weak *a*-verb) 24^o6, are irregular. So is ataim (ad-daim) 'acknowledges' : ataimthe (-i MS.) Laws III. 12, 11.

air-em- or air-fe-em- 'receive' : erite.

do-es-sim 'pours out, sheds' : teste.

do-meinethar 'thinks' : toimte.

gonaid 'wounds, slays' : gofte.

The following show irregular formation :

gnúid 'does' : pl. gnúthi Ml. 115^o2, also in compounds like máir-, cain-, mí-, rem-gnúthi. The *e* was probably long; cp. gnúthid 'operarius' Wb. 36^o9, and later gnúthech, gen. -ige, 'active voice'. The source of the *é* is not clear (cp. snúthe 'twisted' Ml. 24^o7, to snúid); influence by gné 'form' is hardly probable.

Iris-accl (-ad-ci) 'hopes' : freascat(a)s, where *t* has been

restored, doubtless under the influence of *pass. subj.* *-accastar* (§ 609).

In *frithacuirimem gl. infectiosissimum* ML 106¹⁵, to *pres. pass.* *frith-acuirthe* 'obscitar' Sg. 21²⁴, *-ac* seems to have spread from other verbs; contrast *taidhoirthe* 'reuerus' ML 32⁶.

716. Besides having the force of past participles, these forms are sometimes used to express possibility; e.g. *rithis* 'uenalis' (to *renaid*) ML 38³⁷; *tinfeiste* (to *tinfet*, formed like *freceastae* above) 'flatilis' Sg. 17⁷; *neph-icthe* 'inmedicabilis' ML 76¹⁷.

Collection: *Zupitza*, KZ. XXXV. 436.

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 *-at, -af*; cp. Skt. *īpīyat* 'for desiring', *pitīyat* 'for drinking.'

The suffix *-ti, -thi, -thi* is not inflected. Only in ML is the dat. pl. ending *-ib* sometimes attached to it; e.g. *donalb déedib betis chloithib* (with *-oi-*?) *gl. ad convincendos desides* 131⁴¹¹; *alrthidib gl. perimendis (malis)* 116⁴. 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 *mórh(a)i, comalnaidh*.

A II *licthi, su(i)dicthi, fedlaidh*; without syncope: *sechidh* (to *sechithir* 'follows').

-cuirethar : *coirthi*.

Strong verbs: *con-rig* 'binds' : *cuirrechthi*.

do-fich 'avenges' : *diachthi*.

con-utuig 'builds' : cumtacht(a)l.

to-aithe-beng- (§ 550) : taidbecl gl. *exodanda* ZCP. vii. 482, 3.

to-(fo)-erg- 'crush' : túart(a)l.

canid 'sings' : céil (but for *cain* : *forethl* ML 132⁴ and *foreantl* Thes. ii. 22, 39).

de-am 'covers, protects' : díil.

719.

SPECIAL FORMATIONS

(a) Verbs whose radical final should have combined with the following *t* to give *st* sometimes have *st* in the verbal of necessity (cp. *freascatae* § 715, *infeste* § 716). Thus beside regular forms like *messi* to *míthair* 'judges', *gessi* to *ga(i)dlí* 'prays', *aisníssí* to *as-indet* 'expounds', *indrissi* to *ind-reth-* 'invade, lay waste', we find both *ecallí* 'discussendos' ML 15⁴⁷ and *ecalastal* Sg. 27¹⁵ to *as-gleinn*, *imcasti* 'consideranda' ML 18²² to *ad-el* (with *imm-*). Cp. *comítesti* Wb. 1¹², to *con-é-tet* -*coméitig* 'yields to'; here there has also been influence by the *s*-subjunctive *-éte-*, *-te-*.

(b) *bre(i)thl*, to *berid* 'bears', is only attested later (*Met. Dinds.* iii. 264, 51), but that it was the old form is shown by *srethl* 'substernendum' Sg. 68⁵ (pres. *sernaid*); cp. compounds like *tabarthl*, *tedbarthl*, *spérthl*. Cp. further *clethl* Thes. ii. 345, 1, to *celid* 'conceals', but *clíthl* (rhyming with *míchl*) Féil. Epil. 306.

benaid 'strikes' (*parte. bóthe*) : *betl* ML 114¹².

In Britannie the corresponding forms always have *d* before the dental : O.Bret. *in-astoe* 'incendum' from *sig-*; W. *-edey*, e.g. *credudey* 'credible'; Corn. *caradew* 'lovable', *caradew* 'hateful'. On these lines one could explain the *s* in *betl* as < *-de-*, but not that in *brethl*, *clethl*. That the last two forms were influenced by the verbal nouns *breth* and **cleth* is possible, but the reason for any such influence is obscure. *clíthl* is undoubtedly a secondary formation based on the participle.

3. THE VERBAL NOUN

Collections : Windisch, *Bezenbergers Beitr.* ii. 72 ff.; Fraser, *Miscellany Kuno Meyer* p. 216 ff.; Baudé, ZCP. ix. 330 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 bás leo-som in daim (nom.) do tháireuin* 'it is a custom with them that the oxen thresh' (lit. 'the oxen for (the) threshing') *Wb.* 10⁴⁶; *ní-guid dígail (acc.) du thabairt forailb* 'he prays not that punishment should be inflicted on them' (lit. 'he prays not for punishment for bringing on them') *ML.* 42⁴; *atof-ágarthar dia mraith (mbrath ms.)* 'he fears thou wilt betray them' *LU* 4707; *dénum maith (gen.) ocus imgabáil uile (gen.) do dénum* 'to do (lit. 'doing of') good and to avoid doing evil' *ML.* 14¹²; *dob-roíga-sa í-mmess (or ím mess?) fira do brith fer éach* 'I have chosen you to pass true judgement on all' 103¹⁵. Cp. also *ní-épur fríb éastearad (acc.) fri súidiu* 'I say not to you to separate from these' *Wb.* 9¹⁹.

But *is míthéah óna tírá infanscatal ní do dénum* 'it is time for us, then, to begin to do something' *ZCP.* viii. 175, with acc. *ní* instead of gen. *neith*, is probably a Latinism.

There is a difference between the two possible constructions *dénum talle dá* *ML.* 54⁵ and *tol dá do dénum* *Wb.* 30¹⁸ 'to do God's will'. The first is analytical and can therefore be resolved: 'The doing of what?' 'Of God's will'. In the second the two concepts form a closer unity which excludes such analysis: *scarad fri índeb in dámain* or *tol dá do dénum* 'to separate from the gain of the world and to do God's will'; here the parallel to *scarad* is not *tol* (*déb*) but the entire clause *tol dá 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 dáib-eí* 'your being' *Wb.* 10² beside a *m-buith* 'their being' 10⁴.

Many verbal nouns are used in a concrete sense also; e.g. *cúlureth* 'binding' and 'fetter', *áithne* '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 *fishid* 'fights' (*di-gal* of *di-fish-*, *to-gal* of *to-fish-*, etc.).

sere fem., vb.n. of *car(a)id* 'loves'.

óel neut., dat. sg. *óul* Ml., vb.n. of *ibid* 'drinks'.

luige lugae neut., vb.n. of *tongid* 'swears' (but *frétech* 'renouncing', dat. pl. *fritchib*, *to fris-toing*; *di-thech* 'denying on oath'; *e-tech* 'refusing', *to as-toing*; cp. § 560).

precept, *preesupt* (fem. *ǫ*-stem), vb.n. of *pridešid*, *predchid* 'preaches'.

722. An abstract noun from which a denominative verb has been formed usually serves as verbal noun of the latter. When such a verb is compounded with one or more prepositions, the verbal noun may be a similar compound of the abstract noun. Examples:

ás neut. 'growth' : *ásaid*.

cor masc. 'cast' : *·cu(l)rethar* (and *to-ceird*, § 762); similarly *to-chor*, *freacor*, *t-aid-chor* : *do-cu(l)rethar*, etc.

seor 'unyoking' : *seu(l)rid*.

gat (gait) fem. 'theft' : *gat(a)id*.

le(e) 'salvation' : *le(e)aid*.

ríd 'speech' : *ráidid* (but *im-ráidid*).

rím fem. 'counting, number' : *rímíd*; cp. *áram*, *tárem* : *ad-*, *do-rímí*.

samall fem. 'comparison, likeness' : *samlathir*; cp. *intam(a)il* : *in-samlathar* (but with *di-* : *diamlad* Ml. 52).

slond (dat. *slund*) 'signification' : *slundid* (but with *ad-* : *astondad* FéL., with *di-* : *diltoth*, *diltud* § 131; simplex also *slondad* Thes. II. 292, 2).

togais 'deceit', vb.n. of *do-gaitha*, is somewhat different, based on the noun *gais* 'wisdom', beside *gaith* 'wise'.

723. Otherwise the normal ending of *a*-verbs (A I) is *-ad*, *-aib*; of *i*-verbs (A II) *-iad*, *-iath*, *-ad*, *-aib*; with *a*-flexion (§ 305 ff.).

Examples: *móraid* : *mórad*, *-aib*; *·comalnadar* 'fulfils'

: *comalmad*, -*ath*; *léoid* : *léclud*, -*luth* (for *foit*, vb.n. of *foidid*, see § 110); *su(i)dígidir* : *su(i)díguð*, -*uth*.

sáid (A III) : *sáud* (with *imb-* : *impuud*, *impúth*, *impúd*; with *to-índ-* : *tintúð*, etc.); *sráid* : **sréud* (*as-sreud*, *æsreuth*); *líid* : *líud*.

The ending contains the IE. suffix *-to-* (cp. § 729). On the evidence of Welsh, *-s-to-* is to be postulated for some of the A II verbs; hence, e.g., *sleod* *Thes. n.* 285, 18, vb.n. of *sleud* '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-áid-bech*).

con-utuine, -*utainig* 'builds' : *cumdach*, *cumtach*; *ar-utainig* 'refreshes' : *ertach*.

in-dloing 'cleaves' : *indlach*.

fo-loing 'supports' : *fulach* (also *fulang*, with the *n* of the present stem), arch. *foleg* *Wb. I.* 17^b23; *in-loing* 'unites' : *allach*.

Other classes:

do-fer-maig 'increases' : *térmach*.

atleich (**ad-teich*) 'beseeches, takes refuge' : *aitach*.

do-fe-nig 'washes off' : *dfinnach*.

con-rig 'binds' : *cuirrech* (dat. pl. *cuirrigh* beside *cuirregalb*, § 280); *du-rig* 'strips' : *dirrech*.

ad-eir-rig 'repeats' : *aithirrech*, *aitherrech*.

ad-slig 'induces' : *aslach*; *ar-slig* 'slaughters' : *airrech*.

do-seinn 'pursues' : dat. sg. *tofun(n)*, written *tesun* *ML.* 55^a1.

do-ínfet 'inspires, aspirates' : *tinfeð*, *tinphed*.

ad-boind 'proclaims' : *apad*; *as-boind* 'refuses' : *obbad*, *opad*.

in-laat 'they put into, arrange' : inde-l; likewise ful-de-l, t-in-ó-l, aecomal, etc.

The verbal nouns of certain weak verbs also have this formation :

con-dalga 'compares' : condeig.

ad-ella 'visits', de-ella 'declinat', sechmo-ella 'passes by' : adall, diall, sechmall.

fo-fera 'prepares' : fuar.

in-tinnscan(a) 'begins' : intinnscann 'beginning' Sg. (cp. § 731).

In ML some examples are treated as masculine. These may be due to the influence of other verbal nouns which were always masculine, or they may be early examples of the disappearance of the neuter gender (§ 245). Thus comrac, vb.n. of con-ric 'meets', is treated as masculine in is hé cafn-*comrac* 19¹⁴, acc. pl. *comtherecomracu* 37⁸ beside neuter plural *comtherecomrac* 37⁶.

Cp. further int erchót ML 61⁸, vb.n. of ar-ecot 'hinders, injures', and acc. pl. *cuimlengu* 'congressūs' 112⁸ (Engld 'leaps').

There is no evidence to decide the gender (neut. or masc.) of airc (ar-le 'finds'), cumacc and cumang (con-le(s), -cum(a)ing 'can'), and teemang (de-ecm(a)ing 'happens').

Isolated formations: gen(a)ld 'wounds, slays' : guin (neut. i-stem); in-mald 'inserts, grafts' : esnald LU 4321, dat. esnald Wb. 5⁴²; do-mathl 'threatens' : tomad 11¹⁰, acc. dat. *tomaðh* ML 31²⁶, 33¹⁵, 18 (s-stem ?), but gen. *tomða* 26² (like a u-stem); con-senn 'studies' : cessir ZCP. vii, 434.

725. 2. Neuters in -e (iō-stems), e.g.

sa(l)ld 'sits' : su(l)de, indn(a)de 'awaiting'.

la(l)gld 'lies' : lge.

Compounds of gaird 'calls'; e.g. ar-gair 'forbids' : lrgaire ergaire; likewise esgaire, forngaire, talngire, dāng(a)e, dāner(a)e, fóur(a)e, freer(a)e, taer(a)e, etc.

de-é-rig 'abandons' : dé(l)rgs; similarly élrge, essélrge.

This formation is found especially in compounds belonging to the present-classes B IV and V, where in some cases the *i* (cf. *iō-) may be regarded as the old final of the root :

ben(a)ld 'strikes' : fub(a)e, tób(a)e, imdlbe, etardlbe, etc.

do·rorhan 'profits' : torb(a)s (see § 852A).

im·fen 'encloses', for·fen 'completes' : imbe, forb(a)s.

The v.b.n. of ad·fen 'requires' occurs later as aithe (*aith-fé); but in Wb. the acc. is always aithi, and in Eg. III³ and Thes. n. 227, 21 this form seems to be written even for the nom.; cp. also Trip. 34, 5.

do·tlen 'takes away' : dithle.

ara·chruin 'decays' : irehre, arehre.

ad·gna 'knows' : aithgne; similarly eeme, etaren(a)s, ingn(a)s.

do·lin 'floods' : tulle (with to·na- or to·fo- : tólas).

A peculiar formation is aithne, v.b.n. of ad·nol 'entrusts'; so also imm(a)s, timn(a)s 'bequest', with (to-)imm-ad- (but as·nol 'vows' : *énud or -núd, gen. enadha Laws III. 60, 20).

Here -na- may go back to -neufe-, and the palatal n in aithne may be due to aith-. But in faine, dat. fuin, v.b.n. of *fo·nol (pret. 3 pl. fo·nóes) 'cooks, bakes', the palatal n is hard to account for.

726. 3. Feminines in -e (id-stems), e.g.

cla(l)did 'digs' : cla(l)de.

sla(l)did 'strikes' : sla(l)de.

figid 'weaves' : fige (cei-bge).

sligid 'fells' : slige.

lithid 'eats' : liths.

reg- 'stretch out' : rige (cp. déirge, § 725).

for·ding 'oppresses' : fortige.

gu(l)did 'prays' : gu(l)de; with ad- : aiede (for the vocalism see § 549); knigde, ernaigde 'praying, prayer' (§ 846).

B. ENDINGS WITH ORIGINAL *t*

727. With a dental or *s* at the end of the root this *t* combines to give *ss*.

1. Feminines inflected partly as *i-*, partly as *a-*stems (but gen. sg. always in -e, cp. § 294b):

berid 'bears, passes (judgement)': brith and breth, gen. brithe, acc. dat. brith, breth; but in compounds a different grade of the root (-berf) appears: eperit, airbert, tabart and tabairt (§ 256), forb(b)art, idbart and edbart, etc.

ceidid 'conceals': cleith, cleith (pl. cleitha); di·cheit beside cleithid.

gellid 'grazes' : glith acc. sg. IT III 37 § 20, gleith Laws.
 mellid 'grinds' : mlith dat. sg. ; but to-malt (β -stem), as
 against eom-mlith ML 118*3.

sern(a)id 'spreads, arranges' : sreth (dat. sreith).

The verb 'to be' (§ 774 ff.) : buith, gen. buithe (rarely
 both, beith, biith, gen. biithe).

tiagu 'I go' : techt, but gen. tairmthecto (once) Wb. 3*6
 with the formation of § 729. Other compounds are sometimes
 inflected as *w*-stems (having adopted the formation of § 730) :
 acc. fortachtain beside fertacht, gen. -sg. fortachtan beside
 fortsachtas.

bendach(a)id 'blesses' and maldach(a)id 'curses' (A I) :
 bendachad, maldachad ; but also bendacht, maldacht (bendachtu
 Trip. 28, 26 ; 254, 20), acc. dat. bendachtin maldachtin beside
 bendacht, gen. bendachtan.

Lat. *bene*, *male-dictum* and *beno*, *male-dictio* were confused.

du-futhareair 'wishes' : nom. dat. dúthracht, gen.
 dúthrachtan (nom. acc. pl. dúthrachts).

With intermediate vowel : saigid 'seeks, makes for' :
 saigid -ith (*i*-stem) ; eon-dialg (com-di-) : euingid euingidh ;
 fo-saig : foethid 'tribulation' § 131.

728. 2. Neuter *e*-stems (suffix -*to*-), e.g.

maru(a)id, -mairn 'betrays' : marath (but fo-mraith,
 fo-mraid).

ern(a)id, -ern 'bestows' : rath.

Various compounds of *meimethar* such as dermat dermat
 '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' : dlíged.

techid 'flees' : teched (ataich, § 724).

729. 3. Masculine *u*-stems (suffix -*tu*-, as in § 723) :

midithir 'judges' : mess (to-mus, ammus, eom(m)us,
 immarmus, etc.).

ro-ftír 'knows' : flus(s), fls (for gen. sg. flss see § 309).

com-em- 'preserve' : comét, gen. sg. cométa Ml. 55⁴⁶,
Laws.

730. 4. Feminines with nom. sg. in *-fía (-fa)*, gen. *-fœ* (*-fœv*) ; cp. Lat. *tactio* :

t-le 'comes', r-le 'reaches' : tichtu, riehtu (cp. comrac, etc., § 724).

Compounds of *em-*, such as airtiu 'accepting', ditlu 'protecting'.

Compounds of *sem-* : te(1)stiu 'pouring out', taistiu '(pro)creating'.

Compounds of *-mœinethar* : tolmtiu 'thinking', folmtiu 'attending to', airmittiu (ermittiu) féid 'honouring'.

daimid 'admits, yields' : dœ(1)tiu ; fœditiu fœdaitiu 'enduring', a(1)ttiu 'acknowledging'.

By analogy with this : fœstiu 'confessing', to fœ-sixedar (cp. § 732).

ro-la(1)methar 'dares' : létu.

at-baill 'dies' : epeltu (apaltu Ml. 30⁴⁴).

ar-midethar 'discerns' : ermalslu (cp. mess, etc., § 729).

in-fét (ad-fét) 'relates' : indistu ; do-adbat 'shows' : taidistu.

But *as-índet* 'expounds' has nom. acc. dat. *áindis* (*áindís* Eg.) beside gen. sg. pl. *áindisen*, nom. pl. *áindisín*, acc. pl. *áindisœna* ; influenced by *fls* 'vision' ?

The suffix *-aie(s)iu* has spread by analogy to *foimablu* 'being about to, on the point of' LU 5019, vb.n. of *fo-íimadar*.

do-eprinn 'springs forth' : tepairsiu tepersiu tipirsiu ; cp. bréisiu, vb.n. of the simplex *bruinnid* (§ 549) ; with *dí-* : díbairsiu, dat. díbairsin.

ad-el 'sees' : alesiú (*frescissu* *frescisiu*, *im(m)caisiu*, *remeaisiu*) ; similarly *délesiú*.

'With intermediate vowel : áigthiu, vb.n. of the weak *f*-verb (ad)·ágather 'foars', later áigsú (acc. sg. áigsín Ml. 61⁴¹²).

731. 5. Neuters with suffix *-lœ-* (*-trœ-*) :

canid 'sings' : cœtal (*foœtial*, *talœhtal*, etc.) ; cp. W. *cutái*.

Modelled on this, *do-inscan(n)a* 'begins' : *tinseotal*, *intinseotal* (cp. *Intinseann* § 724).

aingid ($\sqrt{\text{ainse-}}$) 'protects, spares' : *anacol -sul* (*adnacul*, *tindnacol*, etc.); cp. Gaul. *ANEXTLO-MABVS*.

alid 'rears' : *altram*, gen. *altram(m)a*, an extension of **altar* (**altro-*) which is preserved in the compounds *mí-altar* 'bad fosterage', *ceim-altar* 'joint fosterage'. The model for this extension is not clear; *saltram* ZCP. vi. 264 § 13, vb.n. of *saltraid* 'tramples upon', would appear to have lenited *m*.

732. 6. Feminines in *-acht* (*-acht*), only associated with weak verbs containing *-as* :

ce(l)ssid 'grumbles' : *ceasacht*; *ar-cessi* 'pities' : *airechiscecht* *erechiscecht*, gen. *erechiscechtae* Ml. 120⁵.

dáistr imbi 'he goes mad' : *dásacht*.

glúaisid 'sets in motion' : *glúasacht* (*teglúasacht*).

gúasim 'I risk' *Theo. n.* 350, 16 : *gúasacht* 'danger'.

roissid 'hesitates' : *rossacht*, gen. *-achtae* Ml. 19⁵.

ar-, in *táisi* 'becomes silent, listens' : *erthásacht*, *éitsecth*, gen. *-secht(a)e*, (also 'dying').

The suffix resembles that of § 290. But if the proper name *Góascht* *Gúascht*, Ogam gen. *cececurrias* Macal. no. 41 (cp. *ibid.* 198, 222) belongs here, the vocalism was different.

C. ENDINGS WITH *m*

733. 1. Masculine *n*-stems (suffix *-mu-*), e.g.

guld 'does' : *guld* (*dénam*, gen. *dénma*, *frithgnom -gnam*, *foznam*, etc.).

do-sli 'earns' : *fullem* (similarly *fullem*); but *ad-roill* : *á(i)ruillud* (pl. nom. *áiriltin*, as in § 730, beside *áirili*, acc. *áiriltneá*).

ceim-sní 'contends for' : *ceimnam* (with *ad-* : *áicnam*, § 181).

im-rá 'navigat' : *imram*.

ceim-nessa 'condemns' : *ceimnsem* (likewise *áinsem*, *tul-nsem*).

fo-sis(s)edar 'protects' : *fóessam* (Mid.W. *guesssaf* 'guarantee'; for *fóisittu*, which has a different meaning, see § 730) : *do-airissedar* 'stays, stands' : *tairissam*, *terissam*.

If the Gaelic form *nuairissem nuairissem*, *ceassem* (*Dottin* no. 53) have not lost *-s*, there was also a neuter suffix *-sa*.

734. 2. Feminine *i*-stems (suffix *-oid-*), particularly with A II verbs:

- ca(i)thið 'consumes': ca(i)them.
 cretíð 'believes': cretim.
 ar·égl 'complains': airégem, arigem.
 fethíð 'attends': fethem (indíthem).
 ad·gláðathar 'addresses': ac(c)aldam.
 do·me(l)ceathar 'despises': dímiceem.
 moíðíð 'boasts': moídem.
 sechithír 'follows': sechem.

The distinction between the two classes § 733 and § 734 is not always rigidly observed. Cp. dat. sg. accaldam Wb. 3⁴, moídem 14²³⁷; conversely dímim Hib. Min. p. 16, 327, vb.n. of *da-nesa* 'despises'.

735. 3. Neuter *n*-stems (suffix Ir. *-men-*, more often *-men-*, whence *-rmen-*):

- maíðíð 'breaks' (intrans.): maídm (tomáídm).
 naseíð 'binds': naídm (fo-, for-naídm, etc.).

With original *-sm-*:

- eíngíð 'steps': eíim(m) (tochím); cp. W. *cam*.
 dríngíð 'climbs': dréim(m).
 língíð 'leaps': léim(m) (eumíleog, § 724); cp. W. *llaw*.
 réíðíð 'rides, drives': réim(m) (imrim(m), etc.).
 fo·gleímn 'learns': fogl(a)im(m); similarly eel(a)im(m);

for·dúclainn 'swallows': for dúclainm(m).

in·greímn (ad·greímn) 'persecutes': ingr(e)im(m),
 ingrain(m) (ML), pl. ingremmen Wb., ingramman ML (similarly tograinm).

ga(i)ríð 'calls': gairm (togairm), cp. Mid.W. *garre*; but *irgaire*, *freora*, etc., § 725. *gáir* fem., gen. *gáire*, 'shout' is apparently not felt as verbal noun of *gairíð*.

(do)·tullíð 'falls': toth(a)im(m); likewise cut(u)im, díthim, etc.

béim(m), vb.n. of *ben(a)íð* 'strikes', Bret. *boom*, seems to be formed from another root, IE. *bheid-*, *bhid-* (Lat. *fuldere*, OE. *bitan*, etc.). For compounds like *fub(a)s*, *imdíbe*, see § 725.

The old vb.n. *bith* survives possibly in LU 6932 and certainly in *fo bith*, *fa bithin* 'on account of, because' (§§ 858, 906).

With intermediate vowel: *seim* Wb. 13⁴¹⁸ (misspelt *seim* Hib. Min. p. 2, 36), dat. *seim(u)im*, vb.n. of *semaíð* '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 'lands': *ón (h)úan, óin (h)úain*.
bongid 'breaks, reaps': *búain* (**búan* not attested); for
combach, etc., see § 724.

The gen. sg. in *-s* (*áina, óna, búana*) probably goes back in every instance to *-(s)e*; cp. *áine* LU 436r.

2. Feminine *ǣ*-stems with intermediate vowel:

orgid 'slays': *oreun oreon orgun*, gen. *oirne* (but once masc. acc. pl. *ceomro(r)enlu* 'errors' Sg. 1st, as against *ceomrenea* Wb. 30th21).

fedid 'leads': *fedan*, gen. *fednae*; similarly *tuididen* (with *to-dí-*), etc.

3. Neuter *o*-stem:

mlegon, vb.n. of *mligid* 'milks', dat. sg. *tinnlegun* ML 71st18.

E. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

737. *ad-(h)aim* (*ad-* for pretonic *ind-*) 'washes (feet, hands)': *indmat* ML 126th16, etc.; also *indlat* Corm. 597, 943.

Bergin, *Ériu* x. 112. One would have expected **indat* from **-a* (§ 728); possibly the *a* has been taken over from other forms like 3 pl. **indmat*; *indlat* by analogy with *caplat* 'capitulation' (§ 917)?

clid 'weeps': *cof* (indeclinable? gen. not attested).

re-clu(i)methar 'hears': *clúas* (fem. *ǣ*-stem, but dat. sg. *clúas* Wb. 23rd2).

The *s* is not to be explained as in *-class* (§ 708); it appears also in *W. clud* 'ear'. Cp. *Skt. dṛuṣṭiḥ* 'obedience', OE. *lyst* 'hearing', etc.

cren(a)id 'buys', *ren(a)id* 'sells': acc. dat. sg. *orece*, *retee rice*, both fem.; nom. *taidchree* ML 123rd10, *taidchrioc* Wb. 2nd9, *fochr(a)ic* 'reward', *ár(a)ic* 'payment'; gen. always *-s*.

These forms have evidently been attracted by *icc* fem. 'healing, paying'. The starting-point was probably *ǣ-ric* (to *as-ren*), since the regular formation **ǣ-r(a)s* (as in § 726, cp. *áire* 'fine' to *dí-ren-*) fall together with **ár(a)s, ára* 'refusal'. An earlier form *erith* (to *arenad*) occurs only in the title of the law tract *Crith Gablach* Laws IV. 238. Cp. also *fochrach* 'mercennarius' Sg. 35th2, formed from **fochr(a)s*; **to-chr(a)s, techra* 'bride-price'.

glen(a)id 'sticks fast', len(a)id 'follows, adheres to', tien(a)id 'takes away' : glenenon (toglenenon Sg. 78¹), lenamon, tienamon (fem. *ā*-stems); cp. *dithle* § 725.

dairid 'bulls' : dáir, gen. dára.

ga(l)id 'takes' : gabál (fem. *ā*-stem); the nom. sg. is sometimes gabáil, and the dat. sg. gabál (e.g. Wb. 23¹18, 23²21, 26¹18). The numerous compounds have the same form : etargabál, fácbá(l)l, etc.

It corresponds to W. *gafoel*, *cafoel*; the ending is due to the influence of the synonym **kaþá*, W. *cael*.

do-icsa 'raises' : ticsál (modelled on forms like cumgabál, turebál 'raising').

-gainethar 'is born' : gein (neut. *a*-stem).

do-gea 'chooses' : togu (indeclinable neut.).

rethid 'runs' : riuth rith (masc. *u*-stem), likewise com-rud; but ind-red (neut. *o*-stem); aíd-ríus (formation of § 729); similarly aururas, comthururas, Intururas (formation of § 728 !). Here also belong tiarmórecht, to do-iarmórat 'follows'; comtetracht (read comá-!), to con-tetrarai 'seizes'; timthrecht Wb. (timdírecht Sg.), timthrecht Ml., to *do-limthreit 'serves' (pret. do-limthreid § 692); all probably modelled on the compounds of techt (§ 727).

scrib(a)id 'writes', lé(a)id 'reads, studies' : scribend, légend (neut. *o*-stems), from the Latin gerund. By analogy with these forms, diligend, vb.n. of do-lega 'destroys' (cp. Lat. *delendum*).

COMPLETE PARADIGMS OF THE WEAK VERBS

738. The following paradigms of Classes A I and II and of an A II deponent are arranged in the order followed in Latin grammars. Only the principal forms are included, not every possible variant. Conjectural forms are given without any special indication. Examples as above: *mor(a)im(m)* 'I magnify', *Meim(m)* 'I leave', *suidigur* 'I place'.

INDICATIVE

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
739. PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§§ 556, 570)			
sg. 1	mór(a)lm(m)	lélm(m) (állu)	suidigur
2	mór(a)l	lél	suidigther
3	mór(a)ld	léld	suidigðir
rel.	móras(s)	léces(s)	suidigedar
pl. 1	mórm(a)l	lélemi	suidigmír
rel.	mórm(a)e	léeme	suidigmer
2	mórth(a)e	léethe	suidigthe
3	mór(a)lt	lélt	suidigtír
rel.	mórd(a)s, móraite	léede, lécite	suidigetar

740. PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§§ 557, 570)			
sg. 1	·mór(a)lm(m)	·lélm(m) (·ráldiu)	·suidigur
2	·mór(a)l	·lél	·suidigther
3	·móra	·léld	·suidigedar
pl. 1	·móram	·léem	·suidigmer
2	·mór(a)ld	·léld	·suidigd
3	·mórat	·léet	·suidigetar

741. IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 580)			
sg. 1	·mór(a)lm(n)	·lélm(n)	·suidigin(n)
2	·mórtha	·léethea	·suidigthea
3	·mórad	·léed	·suidigd
pl. 1	·mórm(a)ls	·léemls	·suidigmis
2	·mórth(a)e	·léethe	·suidigthe
3	·mórt(a)ls	·léetls	·suidigtis

742. FUTURE, ABSOLUTE (§ 638)			
A I as a rule inflected like A II (see § 636).			
sg. 1		léicfa	suidigfer
2		léife	suidigðer
3		léicfd	suidigðir
rel.		léicfes(s)	suidigfedar

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
pl. 1		léifimmi	suidigfimmir
rel.		léifimma	suidigfemmar
2		léiefde	suidigfide
3		léieft	suidigftir
rel.		léiefta	suidigfetar

743.

FUTURE, CONJUNCT (§ 639)

sg. 1	-léifub	-suidigter
2	-léiefe	-suidigðer
3	-léiefa	-suidigfedar
pl. 1	-léifem	-suidigfemmar
2	-léiefd	-suidigfid
3	-léieft	-suidigfetar

744. SECONDARY FUTURE (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 641)

sg. 1	-léiefin(n)	-suidigfin(n)
2	-léiefeda	-suidigfeda
3	-léiefed	-suidigfed
pl. 1	-léiefimmis	-suidigfimmis
2	-léiefde	-suidigfide
3	-léieftis	-suidigftis

745. PRETERITE, ABSOLUTE (§§ 674, 675)

sg. 3	mór(a)ts	léis	suidigstir
pl. 3	mórs(a)tt	léisat	suidigsstir

For the other persons see § 672.

CONJUNCT (§§ 674, 675)

sg. 1	-mórus	-léicus	-suidigsur
2	-mór(a)is	-léis	-suidigser
3	-mór	-léie	-suidigestar
pl. 1	-mórsam	-léiesem	-suidigssemmar
2	-mórs(a)ðd	-léiesd	-suidigsd
3	-mórsat	-léiesat	-suidigsatar

SUBJUNCTIVE

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
746.	PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§§ 598, 601)		
sg. 1	móra	léca	suidiger
2	mór(a)e	léce	suidigther
3	mór(a)íd	lécid	suidigdir
rel.	móras(s)	léces(s)	suidigedar
pl. 1	mórm(a)í	lécmí	suidigmír
rel.	mórm(a)e	lécme	suidigmer
2	mórth(a)e	lécthe	suidigthe
3	mórait	lécit	suidigdir
rel.	mórd(a)e, móraitte	léctde, léctte	suidigetar

747.	PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§§ 599, 601)		
sg. 1	-mór	-léce	-suidiger
2	-mór(a)e	-léce	-suidigther
3	-móra	-lécca	-suidigedar
pl. 1	-móram	-lécem	-suidigmer
2	-mór(a)íd	-lécid	-suidigdir
3	-mórat	-lécet	-suidigetar

748.	PAST (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 605)		
sg. 1	-mór(a)ín(n)	-lécin(n)	-suidigin(n)
2	-mórtha	-lécthea	-suidigthea
3	-mórad	-léced	-suidiged
pl. 1	-mórm(a)ís	-lécmís	-suidigmís
2	-mórth(a)e	-lécthe	-suidigthe
3	-mórt(a)ís	-léctís	-suidigís

749. IMPERATIVE

(Absolute and Conjunct, see §§ 583, 584)

sg. 2	mór	léce	suidigthe
3	mórad	léced	suidiged
pl. 1	móram	lécem	(*suidigmer)
2	mór(a)íd	lécid	suidigdir
3	mórat	lécet	suidigetar

PASSIVE

INDICATIVE

A I

A II

DEPONENT

750.

PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§ 577)

sg. 3	mórth(a)ir	léithir	suidigthir
rel.	mórthar	léither	suidigther
pl. 3	mórtair, móraitir	léitir, léitir	suidigtir
rel.	mórtar, móratar	léictar, léictar	suidigter

PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§ 577)

gen. form	·mórthar	·léither	·suidigther
pl. 3	·mórtar, ·móratar	·léictar, ·léictar	·suidigter

IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 580)

gen. form	·mórth(a)e	·léiothe	·suidigthe
pl. 3	·mórt(a)is	·léiothis	·suidigthis

751.

FUTURE, ABSOLUTE (§ 640)

A I as a rule inflected like A II (§ 636).

sg. 3		léiofidir	suidigfidir
rel.		léiofedar	suidigfedar
pl. 3		léioftir	suidigftir
rel.		léiofter -fetar	suidigfter -fetar

CONJUNCT (§ 640)

gen. form		·léiofider	·suidigfider
pl. 3		·léiofter -fetar	·suidigfter -fetar

SECONDARY FUTURE (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 641)

gen. form		·léiofide	·suidigfide
pl. 3		·léiofthis	·suidigfthis

752.

PREFERITE, ABSOLUTE (§§ 712, 713)

sg. 3	mórth(a)e	léiothe	suidigthe
(and rel.)			
pl. 3	mórth(a)l (?)	léiothi (?)	suidigthi (?)

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
		CONJUNCT (§ 712)	
gen. form	·mórad	·léced	·suidiged
pl. 3	·mórtha	·léicthea	·suidigthea

753.

SUBJUNCTIVE

PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§ 603).

sg. 3	mórh(a)ir	léicthir	suidigthir
rel.	mórthar	léicther	suidigther
pl. 3	mórh(a)ir, móraitir	léicthir, léicthir	suidigthir
rel.	mórtar, móratar	léiceter, léicetar	suidigter

CONJUNCT (§ 603)

gen. form	·mórthar	·léicther	·suidigther
pl. 3	·mórtar, ·móratar	·léiceter, ·léicetar	·suidigter

PAST (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 605)

gen. form	·mórh(a)s	·léicthe	·suidigthe
pl. 3	·mórh(a)is	·léicthis	·suidigthis

754.

IMPERATIVE

(Absolute and Conjunct, § 585)

gen. form	mórthar	léicther	suidigther
pl. 3	mórtar	léiceter	suidigter

755.

VERBUM INFINITUM

PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE (§ 714)

mórh(a)s	léicthe	suidigthe
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VERBAL OF NECESSITY (§ 718)

mórh(a)i	léicthi	suidigthi
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VERBAL NOUN (§ 723)

	mórad	léicud	suidigud
gen.	mórthe -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', -*ag* § 548; subj. -*aga* § 596; fut. -*ehla* § 649; pret. -*acht* § 682, pass. **-acht*; vb.n. *án, áin* § 736, 1.

alld 'rears', -*all* § 548; subj. -*ala*, ep. § 597; fut. -*ehla* § 649; pret. -*alt* § 682, pass. -*alt* § 709; partic. *alt(a)e* § 715; vb.n. *altram* § 731.

alngid '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 -eul* § 731.

bá- 'die', 3 pl. -*baat* § 547; subj. -*baa* § 610; fut. *bebald* -*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. *bía*), enclit. -*bí*, § 654; pret. *bí* (1 sg. *béó*), enclit. -*bí* and -*b*, pl. -*béotar*, § 691, pass. -*bíth* § 708; partic. *bíthe* § 715; v. necess. *bethi* § 719; vb.n. *béim(m)* § 735, enclit. -*be* § 725.

as-boind, **-op(a)ind* 'refuses'; subj. *as-bó* (2 sg. -*bóis*), -*op -eip* (2 sg. -*obbais*), §§ 625, 627; pret. *as-bobuid* § 687; vb.n. *obhad opad* § 724.

hongid 'breaks, reaps', -*hoing* § 550; subj. -*bó*, pl. -*bés(s)at*, §§ 616, 625, 627; fut. 1 sg. *bíusa -bíus* §§ 657, 666; pret. *bohig* § 687, pass. -*bocht* § 707; vb.n. *búain* § 736, enclit. -*bag -bach -bech* § 724.

brúainid, *de-brúinn* (*dobruian* mss.) 'springs forth, flows' § 549; subj. *de-bré* § 617; fut. *de-bíuair* § 667; pret. 3 pl. *bebarntar* § 687; vb.n. *bréista, díbairsin*, § 730.

canid 'sings', -cain § 548 (rel. canas); subj. -cana § 597; fut. -cechna § 648; pret. -cechuin, -cechain (inter -cachain) § 687, pass. -cét § 710; partic. -cétte § 715; v. necess. cétte § 718; vb.n. cétal § 731.

ceillid 'conceals', -ceill § 548; subj. -ceila § 597; fut. -céla § 650; pret. -ceit § 682, pass. -cleth § 709; partic. cléthe § 715; v. necess. clethi (cléthe) § 719b; vb.n. cleth, cleth (clécheit) § 727.

fo-ceird -ceiri 'throws'; subj. fo-cerr, pl. fo-cerrat, § 618; fut. fo-céherr § 685; pret. fo-caird § 694a, pass. fo-cres(s) § 709; vb.n. cor § 722. Cp. also § 762.

ceid 'weeps' § 547, rel. céas; ipv. 2 ag. ce § 589; past subj. 3 pl. -cétis § 608; fut. 3 pl. céhit § 655; pret. céch (céch ?) § 691c; vb.n. eol § 737.

cingid 'steps', -cing § 548; subj. pass. clasair § 627; fut. -cích, pl. -cíchset, §§ 657, 666f.; pret. -cech(a)ing § 687; vb.n. céim(m) § 735.

claid 'digs', -claid § 548; subj. * -clá, pl. -clás(s)at (1 ag. past subj. written -clasaid RC x. 82), § 614; fut. 1 ag. -clíhus §§ 657, 666; pret. -cechl(a)id § 687, pass. -clas(s) § 708; partic. claise § 715; vb.n. cla(i)de § 726.

ro-clu(i)methar 'hears' §§ 552, 543a; subj. ro-cleathar, 1 ag. ro-cloor, § 612; fut. ro-cechladar, pass. ro-cechlastar § 648; perf. ro-céal(a)e, 1 ag. ro-cúala, § 687, pass. ro-cles(s) (-cloth) § 708; narrative pret. co-céal(a)e, pass. co-cless (-cloth), § 536; partic. clothe § 715; vb.n. clúas § 737.

ar-coat 'hinders, checks, injures' § 592; ipf. ar-coided (-coided ?); subj. ar-coi § 625, past subj. ar-coisced (-coisced ?); fut. -iréhof § 668; perf. pass. -archés (cp. § 708); partic. érehoisse; vb.n. érecoat, érehót §§ 592, 724.

The root is Ir. *coed*, but probably distinct from that of *feidil* (below); cp. *feidm* 'effort'!

cren(a)id 'buys', -cren §§ 551, 594; subj. -cria § 597; pret. -cúair, 1 ag. -cér, § 691a; pass. -crith § 706; vb.n. dat. ag. creice § 737.

ara-chrin 'decays' §§ 423, 552; subj. pl. -aurchriat § 612; fut. -airehfuri, pl. ara-chíurat, § 653; perf. ara-ruichfuir § 691b; vb.n. írechre, érechre § 725.

fo-daim 'endures', pl. fo-daimet, §§ 549, 553; subj. fo-dama § 597; fut. fo-didma § 647; pret. fo-dám(a)lr, pl. -damnatar, §§ 682, 695, pass. fo-dét § 710; vb.n. foditú § 730.

for-ding 'oppresses' § 550 (cp. con-utuíne -utáing 'builds'), pl. for-dengat; subj. pl. for-díassat § 616; fut. pass. pl. -dídsíter § 657; pret. for-ded(a)g § 687, con-rótaig § 694b, pass. con-rótacht, cp. § 707; partic. forrecht(a)e § 715; v. necess. cumtsacht(a)l § 718; vb.n. forrige § 725, cumtsach § 724.

dligid 'is entitled to', pass. dleg(a)lr -dlegar; subj. -dlé, pl. -díassat, § 613; pret. -dílgestar § 671 r. (cp. § 682), pass. -dílecht § 707; vb.n. dílged § 728.

do-e[li]m 'covers, protects'; subj. do-éma, prototonic -dímea, § 158, perfective -dereíma § 852A; fut. do-éma and do-émea §§ 634, 650; perf. do-r-ét § 682, pass. *do-r-ét (cp. § 710); v. necess. dífi § 718; vb.n. dífiu § 730.

ern(a)id 'bestows', -ern(n) § 551; subj. -era § 597; fut. -ebra § 649; pret. -ir § 693, pass. -raih § 709; vb.n. raih §§ 728, 215c.

fedid 'leads' § 548, do-fet § 592; subj. -fé, pl. -fessat, § 613; pret. (with to-ro-) dú-ruíd, pl. *dú-fídetar § 693; vb.n. fedan § 736.

ad-fét (in-fét) 'relates', pl. ad-fíadat, §§ 548, 592; subj. ad-fé, pl. ad-fessat, §§ 615, 625; fut. ad-fí, pl. ad-fessat, §§ 659, 668; perf. ad-cu(a)id, prototonic -éid, 2 pl. -éidfid, § 693, pret. pass. ad-fess § 708; vb.n. indísa § 730.

do-fích do-féich (§ 74) 'avenges, punishes', prototonic -díg Ml. 24^b17; ipv. 2 sg. deíeh; subj. pass. dú-fessar § 615; fut. dú-fí, pass. dú-fíastar, pl. dú-fesatar, §§ 659, 668; perf. do-ruíeh § 693, pass. dú-ruacht do-reaeht § 79; v. necess. díacht(a)l § 718; vb.n. dígal § 721.

ro-fítir 'knows, knew', 1 sg. ro-fetar, §§ 708, 543a, pass. ro-fess § 708; ro-fínnadar 'gets to know' §§ 562, 519, ipf. ro-fínnad, ipv. fínnad; subj. ro-festar ro-fíastar § 621; fut. ro-fíastar, pl. ro-fessatar, § 659; v. necess. fíad; vb.n. fíus(s), fíu § 729.

fo(a)id 'spends the night' § 522; subj. -fa § 610; fut. -fílea § 644; pret. fu fa § 702; vb.n. fess (feiss), cp. § 727.

ga(i)bid 'takes', -gaib, pl. -ga(i)bet, §§ 549, 593; subj. -gaba § 597; fut. -gába § 651; pret. -gab (-gaib), pl. -gabsat, § 671, pass. -gabad § 706; partic. gabth(a)e § 714; vb.n. gabál (gabáil) § 737.

-ga(i)netnar 'is born' § 549; subj. -genathar § 597; fut. -gignethar § 647; pret. -gén(a)ir §§ 687, 698; vb.n. gain § 737.

ar-gair 'forbids', pl. ar-gairret, §§ 549, 593; subj. ar-gara § 597; fut. ar-géra § 651; pret. ar-gart § 682, perf. pass. ar-rograd § 709; partic. ergarth(a)e § 715; vb.n. irgairre, ergairre § 725.

ad-gládathar 'addresses' § 548; subj. 1 pl. (with ro) -árladmar Wb. 29⁴10; fut. ad-gagaláthar § 648; pret. ad-gládastar, perf. -árlastar § 671 r.; partic. acailse § 715; vb.n. ac(e)aldam § 734.

fo-gleimn 'learns' § 548; past subj. -glésed § 617; fut. -gígull § 667; pret. -geglainn § 687; v. necess. fogallsi, cp. § 719a; vb.n. fogl(a)im(m) § 735.

glen(a)id 'sticks fast', -glen § 551, cp. § 594; subj. -gla § 597, cp. § 611; fut. 3 pl. giulati § 663; pret. -giuill § 691a; vb.n. glenamén § 737.

do-gní 'does' §§ 547, 589, prototonic -dén(a)l, perfective do-rón(a)l -darn(a)l, 1 sg. do-gniu, prototonic -dén(a)lm; ipv. 2 sg. déne § 589; subj. do-gné -déna § 608, perfective do-róna -darna; fut. do-géna -dígnea § 648; pret. do-géni, perf. do-rigni do-rigéni, pl. do-rigénsat -dorgénsat, § 681, pass. do-gníth -dénad, perf. do-rónad -darnad, § 706; v. necess. déntí déntí (misspelt déntí Wb. 1⁴7); vb.n. dénem dénum §§ 733, 170b.

as(a)-gnim 'knows' §§ 552, 595, 834B, 835b, pass. -gnitar; subj. pass. -gnoithar § 612; fut. géna § 648; pret. -géim, 1 sg. -gén, § 691; vb.n. ecne § 725.

do-goa 'chooses' § 522; ipv. 2 sg. tog § 588; subj. do-gó Laws, cp. § 625 (with *as-*: past subj. -uicced); fut. do-gega § 648; perf. do-roigu § 702, pass. do-roigad -rogad § 708; partic. tuigse tuichse § 715; vb.n. togu § 737.

gon(a)id 'wounds, slays' § 523, -goín § 554; subj. -gona; fut. -géna § 651; pret. -gegúin § 687, pass. -goit -góit § 710; partic. goite § 715; vb.n. guin § 724.

ad-greinn (in-greinn) 'persecutes' § 548; subj. 3 ag. -gré pl. -gríassat, §§ 617, 627; perf. -roígrainn §§ 687, 688; vb.n. ingrim(m), ingrain(m) § 735.

gu(l)idid 'prays' -guid, pl. gu(l)idat, §§ 549, 593 (2 ag. ipv. with ad-: aic(e) § 588); subj. -gé, pl. -gessat, §§ 613, 625; fut. 1 ag. gíga(e)a §§ 657, 666; pret. -gáid §§ 682, 686, pass. -ges(s) § 708; v. necess. gessi § 719a; vb.n. gu(l)ide § 726.

t-le 'comes' (and r-le 'reaches'), pl. teat, §§ 549, 535b; subj. tí, pl. tí(s)at, §§ 617, 625; fut. títea tífa §§ 634, 642; pret. tán(a)le(e) § 689, (pass. rícht § 707); vb.n. tíchtu § 730.

Cp. con-le 'can', -cum(a)le -cum(a)ing -cumaing § 549, 1 ag. con-le(c)im, -cumca -cumgalm, 3 pl. con-ecat, -cumeat -cumgat -cumget; subj. con-lí, -cumal -cum, pl. con-ls(s)at, -cu(l)msat, § 627; fut. 1 ag. con-leub, -cumgub § 634, cp. § 642; pret. con-ánacuir, -coimacuir -nacuir, §§ 689, 695, 697; vb.n. cumacc cumang § 724.

ro-lalmethar 'dares' §§ 549, 543; past subj. -lamad LU 8208; fut. ro-lalmathar ? § 647; pret. ro-lám(a)ir §§ 682, 685; vb.n. létu § 730.

len(a)id (with prep. di) 'adheres to, follows', -len § 551, cp. § 594; subj. -la § 597, cp. § 611; fut. líth § 653; pret. -lil, pl. -leidar, § 691; vb.n. lenamon § 737.

lingid 'leaps', -ling, pl. -lengat, § 548; subj. rel. lías § 617; pret. -leib(a)ing § 689b; vb.n. létim(m) § 735.

fo-leing 'supports' § 550; subj. fo-le -ful, pl. fo-lés(s)at, §§ 616, 625, 627; fut. fo-llí -foll, pl. fo-lls(s)at, §§ 657, 667; perf. (with com) ag. 1 fo-cóemallag § 688 (pret. ag. 3 in-le(a)ig § 687), pret. pass. fulacht(a)e § 715; vb.n. fulach, fulang § 724.

ma(l)idid 'breaks' (intrans.), -maid; subj. máis -má, pl. *-máis(s)at, §§ 614, 625; fut. memais -mema, pl. -memsat, §§ 657, 667; pret. -mem(a)id § 687; vb.n. maidm § 735.

do-for-malg (also -fór-, § 838) 'increases'; subj. 2 ag. -tórmais, pass. -tórmasar; fut. dú-forma, pass. dú-fórmasar,

§§ 661, 667; perf. *du-rórmacht* § 662, pass. *du-rórmacht*, cp. § 707; partic. *tórmacht(a)s* § 715; vb.n. *tórmach* § 724.

marn(a)id 'betrays', *-mairn* § 552; subj. *-mair* § 597; fut. *-mára* § 650; pret. *-mairt* § 682; vb.n. *mrath* § 723.

meilid 'grinds', *-meil* § 548; subj. *-mela* § 597; fut. *-méla* § 650; pret. *millt* *-meit* §§ 682, 684, pass. **-meith*, cp. § 709; vb.n. *míith* (*tomait*) § 727.

midhjár 'judges', *-mideðar* § 549; subj. *-mestar* §§ 613, 619; fut. *-míastar*, pl. *-messatar*, § 659; pret. *-míd(a)r* § 693, pass. *-mes(s)* § 708; partic. *me(l)ise* § 715; v. *neccsa*, *messl* § 719; vb.n. *mes(s)* § 729 (*ermalsetta* § 730).

do-moinethar (*-mu(l)jethar*) 'thinks' §§ 549, 213; subj. *do-menathar* §§ 597, 602; fut. *do-moinethar* § 634; pret. *do-mén(a)r* §§ 687, 697, pass. *du-mét* § 710; partic. *toimta* § 715; vb.n. *toimtu* § 730.

nase(a)id 'binds', *-nase* § 548; subj. *-ná*, pass. *-násar*, §§ 614, 625; fut. *-nena* (*-nen*), 1 sg. *-nacas*, §§ 657, 666, 667; pret. *-nenta(l)se* § 687, pass. *-nass* § 708; (partic. *immalnse*, to *im-nase*, § 715; cp. § 112); vb.n. *naldm* § 735.

ar-néat, *-arneit* 'expects, sustains', 1 sg. *ar-néut* in *-néuth*, 3 pl. *ar-nelthet*, § 592; ipv. 2 sg. (dep.) *indnita* § 137; subj. pass. *-eirnestar* ML 118¹⁰; fut. 1 pl. *ar-nesamar* § 662; perf. *ad-ronestor* *ar-runeastor* § 690; (in ML forms with weak flexion are also found: subj. 2 sg. *-nothe*, perf. 1 sg. *ar-ro-t-neithlus-sa*, etc.; see § 846); vb.n. *indn(a)ide* § 725.

-oid 'lends', pass. *-odar*; subj. 2 sg. *-óts* § 616; pret. *-óid* § 689a; vb.n. *ón* (*h)áan*, *éin* (*h)áain*) § 736, 1.

org(a)id, *oreid* 'slays', *-oirg* *-oir* § 548; subj. *-orr*, pl. *-errat*, § 618; fut. *-lar(r)* *-larr*, pl. *-errat* *-larat*, §§ 658a, 665; pret. *úirt* *-ort* §§ 682, 684, pass. *-ort* § 707; partic. *ort(a)s* § 715; vb.n. *organ*, *oreon* § 736.

ren(a)id 'sells', *-ren* § 551, cp. § 594; subj. *-rita* § 597, cp. § 611; fut. *-riri* § 653; pret. *-rir* § 691a, pass. *-rith* § 706; partic. *rithe* § 716; vb.n. *dat.* sg. *reice*, *rice* § 737.

rethid 'runs', *-reith* § 548, cp. § 692; subj. and fut. *-ré* pl. *-ressat*, §§ 613, 625, 662; pret. *-ráith* § 692; vb.n. *riuth* § 737.

do-é-rig 'abandons'; subj. and fut. *do-ér*, pl. *do-é(l)irset*, §§ 662, 667; perf. *do-r-érracht* § 682, pass. *do-r-érracht*; partic. *dérracht(a)e* § 715; vb.n. *dé(l)irge* § 725.

con-rig 'binds'; subj. 1 sg. *con-riás* § 615; fut. 2 sg. *con-riús* § 657; perf. (with ad. § 532) *con-árr(a)ig* § 687, pass. *con-árracht* § 711; participle *cuimrecht(a)s* § 715; v. necess. *cuimrechl* § 718; vb.n. *cuimrechl* § 724.

sa(l)idid 'sits', pl. *sedait*, §§ 83a, 549; subj. and fut. *seis* §§ 613, 662; pret. (narrative) *sias(sa)ir*, perf. *do-essid*, §§ 690, 694; partic. *-esse* § 715; vb.n. *su(l)de* § 725.

saigid 'seeks, makes for', *-saig*, pl. *-segaí*, §§ 83a, 549; subj. *·sá*, pl. *·sás(s)at*, §§ 614, 625; fut. *síais ·sia*, pl. *·seo(s)at* (*·roisset*), §§ 658d, 661; pret. *·slacht* (*·ro-aacht*) §§ 682, 685, pass. *·slacht* § 711; vb.n. *saigid* § 727.

do-es-sim 'pours out'; subj. **do-esmea* (pass. *do-esmíder*); fut. **do-esséma*, cp. § 660; perf. **do-r-e(l)isset* § 682 (with *fo-ro-uas-*: *do-résat* § 528), pass. *do-r-esset* § 710; partic. teste § 715; vb.n. *te(l)stín* § 730.

do-seinn 'pursues' § 548; subj. 1 sg. *do-sás* § 617; fut. *do-sib* §§ 658c, 667; pret. *do-sephainn* § 687, pass. *do-sés* § 708; vb.n. dat. sg. *tofun(n)* § 724.

fo-slig 'smears', 1 sg. *fo-sligim*; subj. *fo-slé(l)*, cp. § 625; fut. *fo-sll*, cp. § 667 (2 sg. *fu-sills* § 658b); pret. *fo-sé(a)ig*, pl. *fo-séigatar*, § 687, pf. pass. *fo-ruillecht* § 707; partic. *fuillecht(a)s* §§ 715, 153b.

con-sní 'contends', *·cosn(a)í*; subj. *·cosna* (past subj. pass. *·cosantae* Ml. 115*13); fut. *·cosséna* § 648; pret. *con-séna(l)* § 681; vb.n. *cosnam* § 733.

ad-co-ta 'obtains', *·éta* § 544; subj. *ad-cota*, *·éta*, 1 sg. *ad-cot*; fut. *·étada*, pass. *·étastar*, § 648; pret. *ad-cotedae* *ad-cotade* *·étad(a)s*, pl. *ad-cotatsat* *·étatsat*, § 680, pass. *·étas* § 708; partic. *ét(ta)s* § 714; vb.n. *ét*, acc. dat. *éit*.

techl 'flees', *·teich* § 548; subj. and fut. *·té*, pl. *·tessat*, §§ 613, 662; pret. *táich* §§ 692, 698; vb.n. *teched* § 728.

tongid 'swears', *·tong* § 550; subj. *·té*, pl. *·tós(s)at*, §§ 616, 625; fut. 2 sg. *·thís* § 657; perf. *du-cuitig* §§ 534, 694b; vb.n. *luige*, *lugae* §§ 721, 168.

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 *-bla*, fut. of *agid* 'drives', see § 543.

758. *at-bail(l)* 'dies' (prep. *ess-* with infixed pronoun, § 423), *ní-epil* (*-apall*) § 532; *ipv.* 3 pl. *-eiplet* § 594; *subj.* *at-béla* § 597; *fut.* *at-béla* § 650. In the earlier language the perfect is *at-ru-bait*, pl. *-baitar*, § 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: *apaltu* (*apaltu*) § 730, and *aptha*.

á't-bait-as LU 9496 (later hand) is probably an error for *á't-rubait-as* (cp. 4963, 9314); but in LL 24b-26a (Trip. 318-323) we find 3 *sg.* *co-n-erhált* (for O.Ir. *-árbait*) interchanging with *co-n-ebált*. The second form is obviously later; from it was formed a new plural *-ebaitar* ZCP. xviii. 308.

759. I. The simplex *berid* 'bears' (§ 548, *-beir* *-ber* § 554, *pass.* *-berar* *-berr* § 578; *subj.* *-béra* §§ 597, 600; *fut.* *-béra* §§ 650, 652; *pret.* *-bert* § 682, *pass.* *-breth* § 709; *vb.n.* *brith*, *breth* § 730) has no *ro-forms*, § 534, 4. These are supplied by the weak verb *ro-uc(ea)l* *ruc(ea)l* (*cc = gg*), pl. *-rucat*; *subj.* *-ruc(e)a*; *past subj.* *pass.* *-rueth(a)e*, pl. *-ruet(a)is*; *perf. sg.* 1 *ro-uccetus*, 3 *ro-ucco ro-uc*, *-ruc* (*-uccal* § 678b), pl. *-ruccat*, *pass.* *ro-uccad* *ruccad*, pl. *ro-uccetha* *ruccetha*; cp. § 166. The imperative 2 *sg.* *uc*, without *ro-*, occurs in *Tec. Corm.* § 18 (cp. *RC.* ix. 466, 22).

The compound *tremi-beir* 'transfers' also makes perf. pass. *trimi-rucad* *MI.* 2*17.

II. *do-beir*, *-ber*, prototonic *-tab(a)ir* (§ 82), 'brings' and 'gives', is conjugated like *-beir* (*fut.* *-tíbra* § 652); but vb.n. *tabart tabairt* § 727. The *ro*-forms are suppletive:

(a) In the meaning 'bring' by *do-uc(ea)l tue(ca)l*, pass. *-tucthar*; subj. *-tue(c)a*; perf. *du-uc tuce tue* (*-uccal* § 678), pl. *tucsat*, pass. *tue(c)ad tuiced*. Here, too, there is an imperative 2 *sg.* *tue tue*, pl. *tucaid*.

(b) In the meaning 'give' by *do-rat(t)l, -tartl* (*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 *-tartilset*; pass. *do-ratad -tardad*, pl. *do-rata -tarta*.

So also *húandl frís-tarat gl. obdendo* *MI.* 51*3.

It has been sought to connect *ro-dét* 'has been granted' (in poetry) etymologically with *-rat-* (*BC.* xi. 389). 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; *cp.* § 506.

III. The other compounds of *berid* make their perfective forms with *ro-*; thus *as-beir* 'says': *as-rohair*; *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* (*airchellad* only *ZCP.* xvii. 197); perf. *arid-rochell* *Sg.* 202*7.

There has apparently been confusion with another verb *do-lm-chella, do-air(m)chella* 'surrounds'. *ar-cela* has no connexion with *ar-céllathar*, which seems to mean 'takes care of, heeds', *ZCP.* xi. 83 § 27, *LL* 128*31, *Conn.* 792.

761. *ad-ci* 'sees' § 547, prototonic *-aleal* and *-accal* § 166, *sg.* 1 *ad-ciu*, pl. 3 *ad-clat*, pass. *ad-cether* (*cp.* § 589) *-accastar* § 609; subj. *sg.* 1 *ad-cear*, 3 *-accadar -accathar*, pass. *ad-cether -accastar*; past subj. *ad-ceth -ced* § 609; *fut.* **ad-clehl -ceolgi*, pass. *ad-clehestar*, § 655; pret. pass. *ad-cess* § 708; vb.n. *aleslu* § 730.

In general *ro*-forms are not distinguished. The prototonic perfect is *-ac(ea)e* § 702, but the corresponding deuterotonic

form (active) is supplied by *ad·con·dairo* § 694b, from a different root (cp. Gk. *ἀπειροθεός*), and the narrative pret. is preceded by meaningless *es** (with prototonic forms): *es·n·as(ca)e*. Perfective present *ad·re·darcar* 'can be seen', 1 sg. act. *-airleu* § 536b.

do·éi·ci, *do·écai* 'looks at', whose flexion is otherwise identical with that of *ad·ci* (ipv. 2 sg. *dé(i)ccc* § 589, fut. *du·éci* § 655), makes normal *ro*-forms; e.g. perf. 3 pl. *do·récaitar*, subj. 2 sg. *·derecaithir*; cp. § 527b.

The decomposed *fris·accal* 'hopes' has movable *ro*; e.g. perf. 3 pl. *fris·raecatar ní·ru·frescahtar*; partic. *frescast(a)s* § 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 *euirthe* and *euire* (§ 589), pl. *euirid*. In the future the simple verb is supplied by *fo·ciseharr*, its compounds by prototonic *·fofcherr*; e.g. 1 sg. *fris·fofchuirr céill* *ML* 78*8 (to *fris·euiruir céill* 'colo'), 3 pl. *farsindí . . . du·n·athfochret* (*do·athchuiredar* 'returns') 72*1.

There are no *ro*-forms of either verb, these being supplied by *ro·lá-* (§ 534, 4); e.g. pres. *ní·ro·láim* 'I cannot lay (an eye on)' *LU* 4774, pl. 3 *nad·(f)rith·rolat* *Laws* iv. 210; subj. sg. 1 *·ral*, 3 *·rala* (§ 610); perf. *ru·lao ro·las*, *·ral(a)s*, pl. *·ralsat ·rolsat*, § 680, pass. sg. *ro·laad*, *·ralad ·rolad* § 706.

Beside *do·curethar* 'puts, throws', sec. fut. *do·fofchred*, pret. *du·corastar*, perf. pass. *do·ralad*, vb.n. dat. sg. *tochar*, 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·re·chuirsemmar* *Sg.* 6*18; *do·cuirfar* *ML* 3*1; vb.n. *tochnirted*, the simplex *euirid* 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. *man·lao* *LU* 4766. There are many compounds of it, however, such as *lao·lá-*, 3 pl. *lao·lao*, vb.n. *lao*; *dí·lá-*, vb.n. *dí*; *do·lao·lá* 'collects' (perf. *do·rindí* *ML* 61*21, like *A* I), fut. pass. *lao·lá(h)ar* *Thec.* n. 38, 3, vb.n. *lao*; *ad·cum·lao* 'joins' (perf. *ad·rechomul* *ML* 68*12), vb.n. *accumul*, etc.

763. *fa-galb* 'finds', subj. *fa-gaba*, fut. *fa-góba* (see *ga(ly)id* § 756); but pret. *fa-fúair*, and *-fúair*, §§ 543a, 691d, pass. *fa-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' (fut. *góta* § 651, vb.n. *gat* § 722) does not make its perfective forms with *re* in the older language, these forms being supplied by the verb *t-all-*, *tall-* (subj. 1 sg. *-tall*, pass. *-talltar*; perf. *ma du-d-áll* Wb. 22²⁷, cp. § 83b). This is probably correct; still the perf. *nad-rogat* ZCP. XX. 212 occurs rather early.

765. *Ibid* 'drinks', *-ib*, pl. *ebait*, § 648; fut. *-iba* § 647; pret. *-ib*, pl. *-ibset*, § 671 I, pass. *-ibed* § 706; vb.n. *éol* § 721; perfective forms with *ess-* § 534, 3, e.g. 1 pl. perf. *ess-lheem* Wb. 12-17. As subjunctive *eba-* is occasionally found even in the Glosses, e.g. 3 pl. pass. rel. *n-ebtar* Ml. 101²⁵; but usually the forms are supplied by the *s*-subjunctive *lús(s)-*: sg. 3 *-lú*, as *-lú*, 1 *-lúa*, etc. (ZCP. X. 349, Ériu VII. 134, Mon. Tall. p. 126, KZ. XLVIII. 59).

Cp. *lám(m)* 'draught'. It is very doubtful if the weak *i*-verb *lang(a)id* 'eats' (subj. 3 sg. *-lange* Thes. II. 258, 31; vb.n. *longad*) is connected. The form *rólta* gl. (*oportet . . . aspiciopam . . . esse . . . non*) *uincantus* Wb. 21²⁹, where we should perhaps read [*ní*]-*raiba* 3 sg. subj., contains, not the verbal particle *ra*, but *re* in the sense of 'too much' (§ 822A), as in *rólta* gl. *capidatus a uino* Thes. I. 5, 21.

766. *Ithid* 'eats', *-ith* (pl. *ethait* Laws IV. 128, 9), vb.n. *ithe* § 726. All forms outside the present stem are based on the root *af-*, *af-*: subj. *estir* *-estar* (dep.) §§ 619, 621; fut. *issaid* *-is(s)a* § 658a; pret. probably 1 sg. **éod* (§ 659a), pass. **-ess*; partic. *es(s)a*. The perfective forms are preceded by the prepositions *de-fa-* (§ 534): subj. sg. 1 *-dóesur* (ms. *de eaur* LU 8457), 3 *du-d-uostar* (ms. *-uostar*) Ériu VII. 146 § 4 (ZCP. XIII. 103); perf. *do-fúaid*, *-dóid* *-dúaid* § 689a, pass. *-dóes* (KZ. XLVIII. 58).

767. *con-ol*, also *dep. con·eadar·comathar*, 'guards' § 590; subj. 2 sg. *con·olthar* (with *of* ?) *Ériu* I. 202 § 28b; fut. *cot·n·ólathar* ZCP. XI. 91 § 6. The preterite is supplied by *com·em·*: perf. 3 sg. *con·roíter*, pl. *con·roítatar*, § 684; but (with *for·*) pret. 3 sg. also *·foremastar* LL 123^b7; 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 syncopeated are supplied by the weak *i*-verb *·cose(a)l*, 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. *colsetir* Wb. 31^b25, *coseitir* 22^b10. Subj. *cut·n·asca* ZCP. III. 451, 26 (R), with *-ad* - (§ 532), but *maniro·chosa* Wb. 28^b28, with *ro*.

The simplex *sechid* 'pronounces' (used of a judge, physician, etc.), e.g. Corm. 611, is a weak *i*-verb, perf. pass. *ro·sechid*, etc. So doubtless are the compounds with *fo·ad* and *to·fo·ad* (vb.n. *físa*, *físa* 'announcing'): e.g. ipv. 2 sg. *físaig* ZCP. XI. 80 § 2, 91 § 2; perf. pass. *do·físaiged* Wb. 7^b11. But the verb corresponding to *in·che·ce* 'signifying' has strong flexion (like *saigid* § 756): 3 sg. *in·cois(s)ig*, also *·cossaig*, pl. *·colgat*, pass. *·colsegar* *·colsechar* (cp. § 123); past subj. *in·colais(s)ed*; pret. pass. rel. *in·cholsecht* ML 16^b10, etc. But with *to·* (vb.n. *fínchosa* and *leasca* 'teaching'): perf. *do·d·n·archoisig* TBC. 594 (*-ar·* for *-ar·*, *-m·ro·*) beside *do·fínchosa* 567.

769. I. *téit* 'goes' -*tét*, rel. *téite*, 2 pl. also *·téit*, forms the remaining persons of the present tense from the root *Ir*. *téy*: ag. 1 *tiagu·tiag*, 2 *téigi·téig*, pl. 3 *tiag(a)it·tiagat* § 591, pass. *·tiagar*; ipf. *no·téged*.

Imperative:

ag. 1 <i>tiag, tiach</i> (§ 586)	pl. <i>tiagam</i>
2 <i>airg(g) airg(g), airc</i> (§ 83a), neg. <i>na·téig</i>	* <i>erg(g)id</i> (<i>aireid</i> LU 8473, etc.)
3 <i>tét</i>	<i>tiagat</i>
pass. <i>tiagar</i>	

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 *weal-* combined with the preps. *di* and *co(m)*, §§ 534, 4, 830A, a; unstressed **-cwed-* became **-cwed-*, **-ched-* at an early period (§ 108): pres. *do-s-cust* 'he can go it' ('the road', fem.) Corm. 1082 (L), **-dieht* § 592, sg. 1 **-dichtim* (read *-thim*?) LU 5180-1, **-dighim* SR. 3203; subj. *do-cof*, prototonic **-dich -dig -decha*, 1 sg. **-dichius* Birth & Life of St. Moling (ed. Stokes) p. 20 § 26 (also **-dig(i)us -dechos*), 1 pl. **-dechsam*; past subj. and sec. fut. 3 pl. *du-coists*, prototonic **-dechsaitis -digsitis*, §§ 625, 628, 661; perf. *do-coid -dechuid* § 692, pass. (later) *do-coias* IT. i. 130, 8.

The root of *tiagu*, etc., corresponds to that of Gk. *τιανω*, Goth. *stigan* (§§ 184b, 217); the root of *luid* so that of (Homeric) *λυω*, (fut. *λυέωμαι*); for $\sqrt{\text{weal-}}$ (IE. *weal-*) see § 692. In *tét-tét* Bergin (*Ériu* xii. 227 § 21) sees, perhaps correctly, a form of IE. $\sqrt{\text{tes-}}$ 'stretch' (cp. Ir. *tét* 'string, rope'), either a non-thematic present or, more probably, an original preterite (cp. the *t*-preterites). The imperative *éig* is certainly cognate with Gk. *εγειναι*, and the fut. *-rega* may go back through **rybd-* to the same root. The pret. pass. **ethae* is a survival of the root found in Gk. *ἔω*, Lat. *ire*, Skt. *irī* '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 *tét* except for some of the imperative forms. But **-to-téig-* in the prototonic forms appears as *taig-*, *táig-* (§ 179); thus sg. 1 *do-tiag*, protot. **-taig -táig*, 3 *do-tét*, protot. **-taft*, pl. *do-tiagat*, protot. **-taigat*, etc.

Imperative: sg. 2 *tair* (§ 588) pl. *taft* (§ 110)
3 *taft tét* *taigat*

Subj. sg. 1 *do-tias*, protot. **-tías*, 3 *do-té(i)*, protot. **-taf*, etc.; fut. *do-rega do-riga*, protot. **-terga -tirga*, § 656; pret. *do-luid*, pl. *do-lotar -taltatar*, § 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 -tuidechised*, 1 pl. **-tuichesmala* (from **-tuidechsmala*, § 127); perf. 1 sg. *do-dechuid*, **-tuidehed*, 3 pl. *do-dechutar*, **-tuidehetar*.

771. III. The compound with *in(d)-oes-* (pres. 3 pl. *in-otgat* 'they enter', subj. 3 ag. *in-dait* § 627, vb.n. *inotacht*) forms its future like the subjunctive (3 pl. *in-otsat* § 661) and its perfective forms with *ro*, e.g. perf. *in-rúalaid* beside narrative *in-olaid*. *im-tét* 'goes about' also makes its perfective forms with *ro*: perf. 3 pl. *imrúaldatar* beside narrative rel. *imme-lotar*. The decomposed with *com-* has fut. 3 ag. *con-imithe* § 667 (vb.n. *comithecht* § 179).

In *con-é-tet* (*con-en-*) 'yields to, is indulgent', protot. *coméitig*, vb.n. *com(a)itecht cometecht* (read *-é-* ?), more forms are based on the stem *éip-* than in the simplex (§ 591): 2 pl. *con-éitigid*, ipv. 3 ag. *coméitigid*; subj. 2 ag. *coméitís*, 3 *con-éit* § 627; v. *necess. comitesti* § 719.

The flexion of other compounds, like *for-tét* 'helps', *remi-tét* 'precedes', is identical with that of I, though no imperative forms are quotable. Cp. further subj. 3 ag. *do-éit* § 627 (vb.n. *tetacht, itacht*).

772. *finaid* 'vanishes' is but sparsely represented in early texts (Sg. 4^o6). 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]*, prot. *·tetha[e]* § 680 (vb.n. *tám*) originally belonged to pres. *finaid*.

The weak verb *-dada* 'dwindles' (perf. *ro-dad*, pl. *ru-dadast*) in ML is apparently unconnected with the above, despite the isolated 3 ag. perf. *con-ro-dada* gl. *conobast* 118^o2. It is difficult to connect with either verb the noun *táim* (*a-stem*) 'patience', to whose influence the scribal error *no-tedmak*, for *-dedmak*, in ML 131^o4 should doubtless be attributed.

773. *do-tuit* 'falls', later *du-tuit*, protot. *·tuit*, §§ 110, 543, pl. *·tu(l)tet*, pass. *·tuiter*; subj. *do-foth* *·tod*, pl. I (perfective) *·torthissem*, 3 *·todsat* *·totsat*, *·torthalset*, § 626; fut. *do-tóeth*, pl. *·tóetsat*, §§ 660, 667; vb.n. *toth(a)im* § 735.

The preterite is supplied by *do-ear*; perf. *do-re-chair*, protot. *·torchar* and *·torchair*, § 704.

Since *·tuit* is apparently based on a compound *to-tud-* (cp. Lat. *tundere*), one would have expected denterotonic **do-tuid* and protot. **-tuit* 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-tuist* Sg. 203^o4 (vb.n. *cut(u)im*); with *di-*; ag. I *do-tuithim* gl. *decido* ZCP. xv. 298, ag. 3 *·dithat* § 692 (vb.n. *dithim*).

THE VERB 'TO BE'

Collection of all the forms occurring in early mss.: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1869-1902, p. 1 ff. An earlier collection (which does not observe a clear distinction between Old and Middle Irish forms): Stokes, *Ibid.* 1885-1887, p. 202 ff. = *KE* xxviii. 85 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 Néill, *Ériu* vi. 1 ff., Dillon, *ECP* xvi. 313 f., xvii. 307 ff.

774. The verb 'to be' has two sets of forms which are usually distinguished as the **substantive verb** and the **copula**. The copula consists of unstressed (proclitic) forms which immediately precede the predicate and denote the connexion between it and the subject.

The substantive verb is stressed and usually has a wider connotation: existence, presence, being in a certain condition, etc. But it can also have the meaning of the copula and is always so used when the predicate does not immediately follow.

This use is found:

1. Regularly, where the verb stands in a (nasalizing) relative clause (§ 500) and refers to a predicate expressed by a word in the principal clause; e.g. *óndí roind-gab* 'from that which it (the word *nupta*) is', *Thea.* ii., 227, 29; *is fálteach roind-buí-som* 'it is cautious he was' *ML*. 21⁴ (for the *-d-*, cp. § 424); cp. *eldaas, indaas* § 779, 1.

Cp. also the use of the pres. subj. of the substantive verb (*bed*) in *fer . . . naidp romár bed a semmm* 'a man . . . whose wealth should not be too great' *Thea.* 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 dia atach n-dán-ní ais déthrebe* 'God is a refuge to us the people of the Two Tribes' *ML*. 66¹; *a-ro-buí a ríghrech lán de rígaib* 'when the palace was full of kings' *Imram Brain* i. 3 § 1; *ataat mesal dá nphchomtetarraachtí amal abis* 'the judgements of God are incomprehensible like an abyss' *ML*. 55¹11 (perhaps an attempt to keep the order of the Latin *Judicia Domini abisus multa*). Isolated examples where the predicate follows the verb directly,

as in *Míd ersolletá ar e(h)junn fer rí* 'be ye (doors) opened before your king' 46*7, are unexplained.

Collection: Ó Máille, *Ériu* vi. 73 ff., who (p. 64) rightly amends (*staam fer*) *teclá!* *WB.* 16*13 to *teclacht*, cp. 13*6. Only in verse is the copula occasionally separated from the predicate, e.g. *nífu sanet-Brígit súanach* 'St. Brigid was not drowsy' *Thea.* iii. 312, 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 *cenmá*-, *cenma*-, *cenmo*- (cp. *cechmo-sechmá*- § 853) in this position. Examples: *béaire rom-bí bídrechalb* 'a bé-aire (freeman) who takes precedence of bé-aires' *Laws* iv. 318, 5; *donalb ehalb (read cenhalb) inme-rabtar Iudea* 'to the nations who were around the Jews' *ML* 37*16; *la rí fer-bí bídtha* '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. *dá i-rreabtar secht eát mill fer n-armach cenmo-robal (read -bas, eg.) mna ocus macca* 'where there had been 700,000 armed men besides women and children' *ibid.* 164 § 2. In particular the present-tense forms in *-thá* become mere by-forms of the prepositions; thus *cenmthá cenmthá cenmthá (cenmá* §g. 201*18), also used as a conjunction 'besides that' § 887; *farimthá deud* 'after the end' *ML* 52*16; *arathá sin* 'therefore' *Laws* v. 372, 7; (*h)othá* 'from'; *está* 'till'. Later *farmothá*, *risemethá* are also used adverbially for 'afterwards', 'previously'. A similar formation is *imethá*, *iothá* (with or without following *sambáid*) 'so is', neg. *nimthá* '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 *rom-gab* supplement each other. In the other tenses all forms begin with a *b* that comes from the root found in *Skt.* *bhāwati* 'is', *Gk.* *βίωμαι*, *βίω*, *Lat.* *fuī*, *futurus*, *fo*, 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 *m-* (§§ 784-786, 788) take *ro* (not *no* like other verbs) to support an infixed personal pronoun; e.g. *rom-bí* 'they (always) have', *rom-bíth* (ipv.) 'let us have', *rom-bia* 'I shall have', *rom-biad*

'that they would have'; but without an infixed pronoun *no-m-biá* 'that it would be', etc.

ECP. xx. 304. The exception *fechtáir na-m-bí* 'a reward that he gets' Ériu vii. 180, 2 is quite isolated.

THE ORDINARY PRESENT INDICATIVE

777. I. The commonest form is *aitá, 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. *ἵσταν*, etc.

These forms are used:

1. In sentences which are non-relative according to Irish syntax, when no conjunct particle precedes the verb.

Only once (Wb. 8^a17) does *stāt* and appear to be used in a leading relative clause.

2. After conjunct particles in clauses of every kind:

(a) When an infixed personal pronoun with a dative sense is attached to the particle (§ 409b); e.g. *ní-m-tá* 'there is not to us', 'we have not'; *iní indechál ne-b-tá* 'the glory ye have.'

(b) When the conjunct particle consists of a preposition + the relative element (*s)aⁿ* (§ 492), and after *Iⁿ* 'in which, whom'; e.g. *lassa-tá* 'with whom (which) is', *hua-taāt*, *bó-taāt* 'from whom (which) are', *i-táin* 'in which I am'.

778. Conjunct flexion:

sg. 1	<i>-táin, -tá</i>	pl.	<i>-taam</i>
2	<i>-taí</i>		<i>-taid, -taid (-taad),</i> <i>-taith</i>
3	<i>-tá (-táa Wb., § 27)</i>		<i>-taāt</i>
pass.	<i>-táihar</i>		

779. Absolute flexion is found only in the third person (sg. and pl.):

1. After comparatives in nasalizing subordinate clauses introduced by *si-* '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 *f-*: eg. *oldaas* (*oldaas* only once, *Thea.* II. 10, 10), *indaaas* (= *ind daas*) *indáas indás*; pl. *oldát(a)s oldáta*, *indát(a)s*.

The other persons and tenses are apparently not formed with absolute endings: eg. 1 *oldán-na oldá-na*, 2 *oldai* (*oldai* ML. 112*8), *indái-siu*; *consoet*. pres. 2 eg. *oldm ACL.* III. 312 § 4; pret. 3 eg. *oldmól, indmól* ML. 53*6 (read *indmól* or *indmól* ?), pl. *oldmólar*. Later forms with absolute endings, pl. 2 *oldáste* *IT.* II. I. 12, 318, pl. 1 *oldammit* *LL.* 53*25, are not evidence for the earlier usage.

Beside *ol-* and *in-* we sometimes find *a-*, the neuter accusative of the article. At first, presumably, this was used only after *amal* 'as' and after equative forms, which require the accusative; eg. *amal a-dáas* 'as it is', lit. 'like that which it is' *Ériu* II. 144 § 159. Thence it may have spread to the position after comparatives; e.g. *nech haa ferr nod-glóe . . . atá-siu* 'one who will decide it better than thou' *LU* 8751 f.; *adnaas gl. prier me Tur.* 29a (read *adá-na* ?), cp. *Sg.* 190*4. *ol* combines with *a* only in 2 pl. fut. *oldmóid-si* *Wb.* 29*25.

Later the 3 sg. is found with the ending *-dái* (perhaps already in *ML.* 83*8), pl. *-dái*.

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; eg. *cúis cúisre eobant geara* (gl. *oldáas*) *Óneaste Deum* ML. 63*7; *mea . . . indáe bíle cranna* 'more than if they had been trees' 92*6. Once, indeed, the singular occurs before a plural verb: *oldaas ata n-digáid* 'than that they are vindictory' 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 oldán a-mmag re-gab síll oldá-na* 'the field which the eye has taken in is more beautiful than mine' *Wb.* 19*25.

Cp. *ZCP.* XX. 244 ff.; for the various possible constructions, *Hertz.* 464. 232 ff.

2. In nasalizing relative clauses where *tá-* 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 re-m-both deosom* 19*9); act. *iss ed daas in* (for *O.Ír.* a) *conna* '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. *ní nach éin alls no-táid dom* 'it is not any other fault that makes you vexed with me' *Wb.* 19*25; eg. 1 *oid no-tá* *ZCP.* VII. 170, 6; 2 *oid no-tái* *IT.* I. 87, 9, *ZCP.* XIII. 24, 23, etc. (but *oid táí* *LU* 4897).

3. The 3 sg. with suffixed pronoun, e.g. *táthunn, táithlunn* 'there is to us, we have', § 430, 2.

780. II. Besides *at(t)á* the form *fil*, also *fel* (§ 168) *fall* (later sometimes *fall* 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 *gwel* '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.); *ní·s·fil* 'they are not' (*ní·s·tá* means 'they have not', lit. 'there is not to them'); *eo nad·fil gnfm* 'although there is action'; *ei·ní·n·fil lib* 'although we are not with you'.

2. In leniting relative clauses, where it often has the form *file fele* (cp. rel. *téts, 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·fall mall* (= *na all* or a *n·all*) *con·desta*'? '*Fil* 'el *Pátraic* "' '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. *carra·facaíl file eufurecha form·sa* 'so that ye may know that there are fetters on me' Wh. 23⁶, cp. 11⁶2, 12⁶12.

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) *dansu tre cenñle martre atta lógmara* 'there are, moreover, three kinds of martyrdom that are precious' Cam. 38b (Thes. II. 246, 27).

The compound *do·fil, do·fall* 'is nigh, approaches' is likewise followed by the accusative; e.g. *do·fil na stágu dún* 'the hosts are near to us' LU 5802.

781. III. In nasalizing relative clauses the perfect of the verb *ga(l)bid* 'takes' with infixed pronoun 3 sg. neut. is used in the sense of 'is', etc. (§ 424); the *d* can disappear between *w* and *g*: *ron(d)·gab*, 1 sg. *ron(d)·gabus*, 3 pl. *ron(d)·gabsat*. Examples: *amal ron·gab* 'as he is'; *is follus ron·d·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-coisín* 'as we (really) are' Wb. 17^b10. It usually has a somewhat wider meaning, e.g. 'to exist': *arnab uilib eumactib di-choisín* 'for all the powers which exist' 21^a13.

In a principal clause it occurs only in Laws iv. 329, 30 (written *dicoisís*).

(b) Etymologically connected with *do-cois(s)in* is the personal deponent *-dixinǵedar*, 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. *cia hé nu-n-dixinalǵther-siu gl. qui sis* Ml. 75^o.

In-dixinǵedar 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. *cúndas persine aittot-choimle* 'what sort of person art thou' Wb. 6^b13; cp. LU 4892, Trip. 238, 3 (where *atat-s(h)omnaisle-siu* means simply 'thee').

783. In composition (except with *ad*) *-tá* does not interchange with *fil* or *rend-gab*, but is used for the present indicative in every type of clause; e.g. rel. *ars-thá* 'who remains over', *ded-es-ta* 'which is lacking' (§ 425); after conjunct particles: *ní-dí-thát* 'non different', 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. *teshanat* beside *testat* 'they are lacking' (§ 551).

CONJUNCTIVAL PRESENT

784. Attested forms:

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>bíua</i> (-sa Wb. 16 ^a 8)	<i>-bíu</i>
2		<i>-bí</i>
3	<i>bíid, bíith, bíid</i>	<i>-bí, enclitic -ru-b(a)i</i>
rel.	<i>bís</i>	

ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
pl. 1	bimmi	·biam
rel.	bimme	
3	bíit, bíit	·biat, ·bíat, enclit. ·ru-bat
rel.	bite	
PASSIVE		
3 sg.	bíthir	·bíthar, enclit. ·rubthar
rel.	bíther	

The stem form, which is also found in the Imperfect and Imperative, as well as in *W. biddaf* 'I am wont to be', *Mid.Eng. beauff*, *Mod.Eng. beaue* (< *bif*), doubtless corresponds exactly to that of *Lat. fī*.

Those compounds which have been assimilated to *ben(a)id* in the ordinary cant (§ 551) retain none the less their own consuetudinal present forms: *ita-bí* 'he is wont to perceive'; *alcan-r-comí* 'it cannot touch' *ML. 78^a12*; *asa-r-comaither* *O'Dav. 1373. Cp. § 594.*

785.

IMPERFECT

sg. 1	·binn, ·bínn	pl. ·bímmis
3	·bíth	·bíthís
Pass. sg.	·bíthe	

786.

IMPERATIVE

sg. 2	bí	pl. bíid (na·bíth <i>Wb. 22^a28</i>)
3	bíth, bíd (bíth, bíid <i>Wb.</i> , § 27)	bíat

Monosyllabic 3 sg. *ipv. bíth* corresponds exactly to *Mid.W. bí*, which, however, has 3 pl. *béat*.

787.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
sg. 1	beu, beo	·béo
2		·beo
3	beith beid, both bed	·bé, enclit. ·rai-b
rel.	bes(s)	
pl. 1	be(l)mmid	·bem, enclit. ·ro-bam
2	be(l)the	·beith, ·beid, enclit. ·ro-bith
3	beit	·bet, enclit. ·ro-bat
rel.	bete	

PASSIVE

eg. 3	bethir		·bether
rel.	bether		

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

eg. 1	·beinn		pl. ·hemmis
2	·betha		·betho
3	·beth, enclit. ·ro-bad		·bethis, enclit. ·roibhis

The short *e* of the stem and the ending of 1 sg. *beu* seem to indicate that the Ir. subjunctive is really based on the IE. subjunctive of the root *es-* (see the copula § 781), i.e. 1 sg. originally **es-* = Gk. *es*, Lat. *ero*. The *h* has been taken over from the other forms. The conjunct 3 sg. *-bét*, enclit. *-h*, may have been formed like the *s*-subjunctive (§ 823) and theoretically go back to **eset* (cp. § 804). The remaining persons are formed as if the stem were *be-*.

The 3 sg. subj. *-bee* is inferred from *slán bee* gl. *sanis eís* ZCP. VII. 484, but this may be rather the absolute form (cp., however, *slán-seis* § 384). *de-eda* 'is lacking' makes subj. 3 sg. *tes(sa)ib* ZCP. XIII. 30 n.7, Laws v. 312, 4, rel. *de-d-eadib* (*sic* *leg.*) n. 328, 5 (pl. *-tesat*). In ML the subjunctive forms *fris-m-bia* gl. *mediri* (read *-ari*), pl. 3 *de-fórlat*, 1 *dund-fórlam-ni* gl. *peruenire* 27*10, 166*8 have been assimilated to *ben(a)id* (§ 811), like indicative *fris-ben*, *du-fórlan* (§ 561).

788.

FUTURE

	ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT
ag. 1	<i>bia</i>		
2	<i>bbe</i>		
3	<i>bheid, bled</i>		·bia, ·bia
rel.	<i>bias</i>		
pl. 1	<i>be(l)mmi</i>		·biam (ni- <i>piam</i>)
2	<i>betho</i>		·bheid, ·bled
3	<i>bheid, bled, blet</i>		·bhat
rel.	<i>be(l)te</i>		

SECONDARY FUTURE

ag. 1	·beinn (= ·beinn ?)	pl. ·hemmis
3	·blad	·bethis

Since the Welsh indicative *byddaf* means 'I shall be' in addition to 'I am wont to be', and Corn. *bedaff*, *byddaf* is likewise used as the future, it has been suggested with some probability that the inflexion of Irish *bh*

like an *a*-subjunctive is due to analogy with other futures. On the other hand, *ba* could conceivably be a real subjunctive of *būid*, formed like Lat. *flam*. In Middle Welsh, too, future forms like *byddwyt byddwyt*, pl. *byddwyt*, are found.

do-es-ta 'is lacking' makes fut. 3 sg. *-tessiba* (= *-tiba* ?) ZCP. XI. 81 § 9, *Eriu* III. 140, 169.

789.

PRÆTERITE

CONJUNCT

sg. 1 *·há*, enclit. *·roba ·raba*

2 *·há*

3 *·boi ·bai*, enclit. *·rob(s)e ·rab(s)e*

pl. 1 *·hámmar*, enclit. *·robammar*

2 *·baid* (= *·baid* ?), enclit. *·robaid*

3 *·hátar*, enclit. *·robatar ·rabatar* (*·rabtar* ML. 37*16)

Passive *·both*

ABSOLUTE: sg. 1 *há* LU 9407; 3 *boi bai*, rel. *bote*; pl. 1 *hámmar* Imram Brain I. 48, 5; 3 *hátar* (also relative), *háitr* Trip. 164, 19; pass. **both(s)e*, *botha* (also relative).

The 3 sg. *boi* could go back to **bōwe*, an unreduplicated perfect, or alternatively to **bāōwe* (whence Celt. **bāōwe*); but this would leave unexplained the *s* of the other forms, which show no trace of *w*. It is not certain that the conjunct 3 sg. of the copula *-bo* (*-bu*) § 810 represents a shortening of *boi*. It could also go back to **bōwe* (**bōwe*), with early loss of the ending, thus corresponding to Welsh *bu*. But in Britannic, too, the stem forms are obscure, and there may have been early levelling of the stressed and unstressed forms.

790. VERBAL OF NECESSITY: *bu(i)thi*.

VERBAL NOUN: *buith*, *buid* (gen. *bu(i)the*), rarely *both*, *biith* (gen. *biithe*), § 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 *būid*, *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 §§ 495c, 504d; for lenition in other clauses, § 233, 1; for gemination after *ní* (§ 794) and 3 sg. *ba* (§§ 802, 810, 813), see § 242.

PRESENT INDICATIVE

792.

1. ABSOLUTE

sg. 1 <i>am</i>	pl. <i>ammí</i> , rarely <i>ammin</i> , <i>amminn</i>
2 <i>at</i>	<i>adib</i>
3 <i>is</i>	<i>it</i>
rel. <i>as</i>	<i>ata</i> (in <i>Ml.</i> also <i>at</i>).

No relative form of the 1st plural is attested.

In close combination with *air* 'for' *a-* sometimes turns into *i-*: 2 sg. *air-it* *Ml.* 55^a11, pl. *ar-idib* *Wb.* 16^b9; for *air-ammí* we find *airní* *Ml.* 23^a23. Without preceding *air* the 2 sg. *it* occurs *Ml.* 108^a2. Conversely *airat* for *air-it* (3 pl.) 123^a3.

1 sg. *am* (later also written *amm*) may be traced back to IE. **es-mé*, *is* to **esú*, *it* to **esud* (§ 178); so too *ammí* to **esm-*. In *at* (*W. say*), *adib* (perhaps = *Msl. Bret. adouch*, *W. ydyech ydych*, cp. *IF. Ans.* xxxiii. 32), *ammin(n)* *Wb.* 14^a28, *Ml.* 83^a3, etc., the personal pronoun is suffixed. The form *adl* without *-b* *Wb.* 21^a17 is probably a mere scribal error, as is also 3 pl. rel. *et* (instead of *at*) *Ml.* 27^a9 (for *adimmaic* *Wb.* 9^a13, see § 152c). Cp. further §§ 115a, 516.

793. Combined with *ce*, *éa* 'although' and *ma*, *má* 'if' the forms of the third person are:

sg. <i>cesu éasu</i> , <i>ceso éase</i>	pl. <i>ceúu</i> , <i>ceúo éaúo</i>
<i>mas(s)u</i> (<i>másu</i>), <i>mase</i>	<i>matu</i>

These forms lenite (§ 233, 1d). The apparently suffixed *-u*, *-o* may have been taken over from *bésu*, *-o* 'is perhaps' (§ 804). In *Ml.* we also find *éasa* 34^a6 and *masa* 108^a16, 118^a5.

cid (§ 795) is apparently sometimes used as indicative also (*Wb.* 9^a16). The other persons, which are but scantily attested, show various formations: 2 pl. *ceúad* (with *no*, cp. § 425) *Wb.* 4^a16, *ceúad* *Wb.* II. 32^a8 (cp. § 795); but pl. 1 *clammin* *LU* 6807, sg. 2 *madá* *IF.* i. 81, 16 (possibly a later formation).

794.

2. CONJUNCT

	(a)	(b) WITH NEGATIVE <i>nī</i>
sg. 1	- <i>da</i>	<i>nīta</i> , - <i>da</i>
2	- <i>da</i>	<i>nīta</i> , * <i>-da</i>
3	- <i>t</i> , - <i>did</i> (- <i>id</i>)	<i>nī</i>
pl. 1	- <i>dan</i> (arch. - <i>dem</i>)	<i>nītan</i> , - <i>dan</i> (arch. - <i>tam</i>)
2	- <i>dad</i>	<i>nītat</i> , - <i>dad</i>
3	- <i>dat</i>	<i>nītat</i> , - <i>dat</i> (<i>nīt</i> Thes. I. 437 note <i>ā</i>).

Thus with *es* 'so that': sg. 1, 2 *conda*, 3 *condid*; *cond*; pl. 1 *condan*, 2 *condad*, 3 *condat*.

With *amal* 'as': sg. 1, 2 *amala nonda*, 3 *amala as*; pl. 1 *amala nondan*, 2 *amala nondad*, 3 *amala ata* (*no* only in those persons which have no absolute relative forms, see § 538, 2b).

795. Forms as in (b), written with *t*-, are found after *cañt* 'is not?' (2 sg. *cañta* Ml. 84³), and also after *sechī* 'whoever, whatever it is', pl. *sechītat* and *sechīt* (§ 461b); cp. further 2 pl. *ce-na-tad* § 793 (arch. *ceñudat* § 799).

ceda 'that I am' Ml. 44¹¹ is peculiar, since *ce* (without *n*-, § 895) normally takes absolute verbal forms; it has probably been influenced by the parallel *conda*.

796. After *es-ni*- 'although, not' and *ma-nī*- 'unless' the 3 sg. is *ceñid*, *ceñid* (*ceñith*) and *mañid*; the -*d* is the same as that of § 426.

In legal texts there occurs a 3 pl. form *nīt* 'they are not' (ZCP. xx. 371 f.), evidently composed of the 3 sg. *nī* and the affixed 3 pl. pronoun (cp. *dis* § 457). A similar formation is found in 2 sg. *nīt* Wd. March 1 and in later forms like 1 sg. *nīm* SR. 2069.

797. With the negatives *nī*(*d*), *nīch*- (§ 863) the third persons have the following forms:

In leniting relative clauses sg. *nād*, pl. *natat*.

In nasalizing relative clauses sg. *nant nan* (in Sg. *nand*), or *nāt*, or *nīch nīch*; pl. *nandat* (but *cid natat* 'why are they not!' Wb. 28¹). Similarly *in-nach* 'is not?'

With *eo* 'so that': sg. *connách*, pl. *connat* (*sic ms.*) Laws v. 516, 25.

Examples: *ní nad dír* 'something that is not proper' Ml. 25⁶; *nata* *beca* 'which are not small' 18⁶; *amal náit anse*, *amal nách anse* 'as it is not difficult' Wb. 17¹¹, 6⁹; *nant ní* 'that it is nothing' 10²⁶; *háire nand neutur* 'because it is not neuter' 8g. 64¹¹; *is follus nandat foibréid* 'it is manifest that they are not perfect' Wb. 26³.

Of the other persons only the 2 sg. is attested: *táls . . . forna-tálsing saig(h)e do sí(t)is* '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 *forna(t)* or is a scribal error for *forna(ta)*.

798. The forms of § 794 (a) appear in the same position as the infixed personal pronouns with *d* (§ 413), i.e. after the relative particle (s)aⁿ preceded by a preposition, also after *i*ⁿ 'in which', *eo*ⁿ 'until, so that', the interrogative particle *in*, and nasalizing *no*, *na* (§ 504).

The 3 sg. form *-íd* occurs only in *con-íd* 'that he is', beside more frequent *con-díd*, and in *béid* Ml. 51² beside *óndíd* Wb. 12²³. It has doubtless arisen by assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (*conníd* Ml. 91¹⁹), which then became *n* after an unstressed syllable.

Beside *-íd* there is a form consisting simply of a dental. As *-d* it appears only in *nand* in 8g. (§ 797), where it is due to the analogy of *nand* 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-saⁿ*, *ar-aⁿ*, *frí-saⁿ* (but not in *dí-aⁿ*, *fu-aⁿ*) has become *i* (cp. § 492); before forms constituting a syllable it has been elided (e.g. *arndíd*). In Ml. *nd* is occasionally replaced by *nn*.

Besides *condíd*, *óndíd* the following 3 sg. forms are attested:

díandíd and *díant*, *dían* (den Ir. Texts iv. 8); *arndíd* (later *arnd*) and *arin*; *indíd* (in Ml. *laníd*) 'in which is'; *frísa* (and later *frísaíd* < **frísaíd*); *lasa*, *lasian* (Ml.); *in*, *inn* (Ml.) 'is he?'

799. The 1 pl., in archaic sources still *dre nu-n-dem Cam., ni-tam* Wb. I. 12*21, has become *-dan* by analogy with the infixed pronoun (§ 415 C).

The series in § 794 (a) clearly contains the particle *d*, *id* discussed § 511; hence the original verbal form is only what appears after *d*. The form *-did* instead of *-id* has arisen through the influence of *-da, -dat, etc.*

In the 3 sg., including *nlich (nlich)* § 797, the verbal form, which was undoubtedly IE. **esit*, has disappeared. *ni (ni)* probably represents an old contraction **nisi* from **ne-sit*; the consonantal final is still shown by the gemination of the following initial and by the change of *d* to *t* in *diast* and *nant* (§§ 183d, 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 *ni* (*manid* and *sentid* in § 796 belong, of course, to a different category). Hence it has been conjectured that originally forms of the stem *is-* (§ 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 kaim* 'I am not a hand' Wb. 12*21; *nimptha (sic) firion* 'I am not righteous' 8*24. Possibly in the archaic period there was also a different vocalism after *ni* to that after (i)d; cp. *niam* above, as against *nundem*, 2 pl. *renuted* Thea. I. 713, 25, pl. 3 *do-n-nadlet* (S&L. 23, *nadlet* *Bürgschaft* p. 27 § 74c. 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 *renuted* (§ 793), where normally one would expect *renad-* (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-pl 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

	pl. 1	<i>han</i> (<i>haám</i> Wb. 5*22)
sg. 2	<i>ha</i>	2 <i>had, bed</i>
	3	<i>had (pad), bed</i>
		3 <i>bat</i>

802.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	ba	-ba
2	ba (be)	-ba
3	ba (bá § 48)	-b, -p, —, -dīb, -dīp (-be, -po, -bu)
rel.	bes, bas	
pl. 1		-ban
2	bede	-bad (-baid Ml. 115 ^b 10)
3		-bat, -pat
rel.	bete, beta, bata	

803. For *-mb-* we sometimes find *-mm-*, e.g. *comman* for *com-ban* 'that we may be'. The 3 sg. has the same variants as in the indicative (§ 794), except that the dental is replaced by a labial. Thus with *ara* 'in order that': *arimp*, *arim* and *airndīb*, *airndīp*, *arndīp*; with *eo* 'that': *condīb*, *condīp*; with *dia* 'if': *diam* (*dēm* Laws II. 122, 23. 25); with *ī* 'in which': *īm* and *īndīb*; with the interrogative particle *īn*: *īm̄b*, *īm*, *īm̄p* and *īndīp*; with *ro*: *rop*, *rob*, *rup*, *rub*; with the negatives *nī* and *na*: *nīp*, *nīb*, *nāp* (*naīb* Ml. 31^a9) and *nadīp*; with *sechl* 'whosoever': *sechīp*.

The 3 sg. conjunct has a rare by-form ending in *-o*, *-u*; e.g. *acht ropo* beside *acht rop* 'provided, if only (it) be'; *corbu* (with *con-ro-*); *nībo*, *nīpu* 'it shall not be' Wb. 27^a9, 9^a17. For *ro(d)bo robu* 'either, or', see § 806.

Here also belongs *bésu*, *béso* 'is perhaps', since *bés* 'perhaps' takes the subjunctive in Old Irish.

804. Most forms of the pres. subj. of the copula are shortened forms of the corresponding tense of the substantive verb. The *-dī-* in *-dīb*, *-dīp* has been taken over from indicative *-did*. The *p* doubtless represents an unlenited *b* in every form except the 3 sg. *arimp*, *īm̄p*, where it apparently points to a former ending with final *-s* (cp. § 787).

The absolute 3 sg. *ba* (Strochan, Ériu I. 206) and the conjunct by-forms *-ba*, *-bu* appear to be forms of the prescriptive (§ 810) which were used in a modal sense (§ 813) and so came to be classed as present subjunctive forms. In *béso*, *-u* the final vowel may have been taken from negative *bís nīpo*, *nīpu* (TBC. 601) beside *bís nīp* (Fh. Epl. 417); cp. § 793, and see KE. XLVIII. 60.

805. With *cia* 'although' and *mā* 'if':

3 sg. <i>cid</i> , <i>cith</i> , <i>ced</i> , <i>ceith</i>	pl. <i>cit</i> (<i>ciat</i> Pél.)
<i>mad</i> , (<i>maid</i> Thea. II. 251, 6. 8)	<i>mat</i>

These may contain old absolute subjunctive forms corresponding to indicative *is*, *it* (cp. Lat. *erit*, *erunt* < **eseti*, **esenti*). The other persons are formed regularly: sg. 1, 2 *cia ha* (*cia fa* ML. 36³², see § 124), 2 *mad* (read *ma*) *be* Laws IV. 340, 3. So also neg. 3 sg. *cinip*, *cenip*, *ceñib*; *manip*.

With the indefinite pronoun, however, the 3 sg. is *ci-p*, *ci-b* 'whoever, whatever may be'.

806.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

There is an absolute flexion, which is otherwise never found in this tense.

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1		- <i>bin</i> , - <i>bean</i>
2		- <i>p̄ha</i>
3 <i>bid</i> (<i>bith</i>)		- <i>bad</i> , - <i>pad</i> , - <i>bed</i> (<i>manibbad</i> Sg. 17 ⁶)
rel. <i>bed</i> , <i>bad</i>		
pl. 1 <i>bemmis</i> , <i>bimmis</i>		- <i>bemmis</i> , - <i>bim(m)is</i>
3 <i>betis</i> , <i>bītis</i>		- <i>bdis</i> , - <i>p̄dis</i> (- <i>dis</i> , - <i>dis</i>).

Here too *ma* (*m*) for *mā* is common; e.g. *commin* for *com-bin*, pl. 1 *commim(m)is*, 3 *comtis*; or sg. 3 *armad* beside *arhad* (*ara**), pl. *airmtis*, *airmdis*. On the other hand, the *m* has been elided in *arbed* Wb. 2⁴, *arbemmis* ML. 102¹⁶; also in 3 pl. *ardis* Wb. 4¹⁰. For *amal bid* ML. 37²² has *amal b̄id* (§ 124).

b̄id 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 *buth*; thus the original meaning of *selb̄id̄ir b̄id h̄i lughurt* SP. (Thea. 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 *ol̄has b̄id* 'then if it were' after comparatives. This apparently absolute form *b̄id* 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 *cia* 'although' and *mā* 'if':

sg. 3 <i>cid</i>	pl. <i>ctis, ctis</i>
<i>mad</i>	<i>matis</i>

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 accent.

808.

FUTURE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1 <i>be</i>		
2 <i>be, ba</i>		-be, -pa
3 <i>bíd bith</i>		-be -pe, -ba -pa (ní-bhá Sg. 36 ^b 1)
rel. <i>bes, bas</i>		
pl. 1 <i>becami, bimmi, bami</i>		
2		-beth (Fél. Prol. 188)
3 <i>bít</i>		-bat, -pat
rel. <i>beta</i> (in ML. also <i>bat</i>)		

The absolute 2 pl. *bethib* ZCP. viii. 318, 5 is presumably a development of O.Ir. **betha*.

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, ro-pad* (*rabad* Wb. 25^b17), with nasalization *ro-m-bad*; but *ní-bad, ní-bhad, ní-pad*; with interrog. pronoun: *cipad, cia-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^b14 (cp. 2^d2).

810. PRETERITE AND IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1 <i>basa</i>		-basa, -psa, -sa
2 <i>basa</i>		*-basa, -sa
3 (& rel.) <i>ba</i> (há § 48)		-bo, -po, -bu, -pu

ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
pl. 1	-bommar, -bum(m)ar
3 batir, batar	-btar, -ptar (-tar, -dar).
rel. batar	

ba geminates when non-relative and lenites when relative (§§ 242, 1, 495c). The conjunct form -bo, -bu is also found after conjunctions which are otherwise followed by absolute forms, such as *éia* 'although', *ó* 'since': *clábo, ceppu* (pl. *ciaptar*); *óbu* IT. III. 37 § 20.

811. In the 1 sg. the emphasizing particle -sa has fused with the verb and is no longer felt as a particle (cp. § 404): *ro-bsa ro-psa, ní-psa, ópsa* ZCP. XII. 365, 10; with -ms- from -mbe-: *romsa* (for *ro-m-b-sa*). In *du-ruménar romsa éia ocus rombith béu* 'I thought that I was God and that I was immortal' ML. 49^b13 the final words should certainly be emended to *rom[sa] bithbéu*, and hence *rom* is not to be regarded as an archaic form without -sa.

The 2 sg. also has -sa, not -so (-su), obviously because in the suffixless preterite the 1 and 2 sg. forms are always identical: *basa* RC. XXV. 22 § 4 (LL; in later mss. *baso*); *húare romsa* ML. 96^a1.

In the 3 pl. *m* always appears for *m̄* 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 *ní*, *n̄* or by *éia* 'although', the vowel of *ro* is elided and a nasal never appears before the *b*: eg. 1 *nírbsa, anarbsa* 'while I have not been' ML. 127^a17 (but *annarobsa* 45^a6), *clárpsa*; 3 *nírbo, einírbo, hóre narbo, clárbo*; pl. 1 *nírbommar*; 3 *connarbtar* 'so that they have not been'.

812. Examples of the conjunct forms:

With *ní*: eg. 1 *nípsa*, 3 *nibe nipo, níbu nípu níbbu*; pl. 3 *níptar*.

With *ro*: eg. 1 *roþsa*, 3 *roþe roþe* (Wb.), *roþu roþu rubu* (ML., etc.) *robba* (§g.); pl. 1 *roþum(m)ar*, 3 *roþtar roþtar*;

nasalized: sg. 1, 2 *romsa*, 3 *rombo rombu*; pl. 3 *romtar romdar rumtar*.

With *ní* + *re*: sg. 1 *nírbsa*, 3 *nírbo nírbo*; pl. 1 *nírbeommar*, 3 **nírbitar* (later *nírdar*).

813. In the later Glosses there is a tendency to use the form with *re* in place of that without *re*.

The 3 sg. without *re* 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, uisce, uisnu* 'it were good, better, most, moster'; *níbe deamng* 'it were not impossible', *ba hed ón ba cheir* 'that were proper' (Wb. 10⁴⁹), etc. Cp. the use of *ba* as present subjunctive, § 80d.

A similar modal use of *beí*, the preticite of the substantive verb, is occasionally found, e.g. Wb. 17¹⁷. Cp. Lat. *scilicet 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. 31²⁵; *níbe in tain no-m-beid ar súil tontam do-gneith toll far coimded* 'it should not be only when ye are before (his) eye that ye do your lord's will' 27⁹.

815. As a rule the copula stands immediately in front of the predicate (§ 774). But where the latter is a definite nominative other than a personal pronoun—i.e. (a) a substantive defined by the article, a possessive pronoun or a definite genitive, or (b) a proper noun, or (c) a substantival demonstrative—then, occasionally in Wb., frequently in ML, a pronoun of the 3rd person is inserted between the copula and the predicate. Examples: *is hé dia as éola indium-sa* 'it is God who is knowing in me' Wb. 8²³ beside *is dia ro-d-ordigestar* 'it is God that has ordained it' 6³; *mat hé na briathra-sa for-cane* 'if it is these words that thou teachest' 28²¹, beside *maíis mu námaíis*

duda-gnētis 'if it were my enemies who that had done them' MI. 73⁴¹; *is ed tobchátal nime in toralm* (pl. masc.) 'the thunders are the trumpet-song of heaven' MI. 40⁴⁷ (the copula agrees in number with what comes immediately after it, op. § 478). The pronoun must be inserted when the true predicate does not follow immediately, e.g. *ba hé a n-gnīm-som melad dē* 'their work was to praise God' MI. 24⁴ (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 gnīm umal, had hé do-n-gneith* 'every lowly deed, let it be it (masc.) that ye do' Wb. 5²⁷; *Crist didiu, is sí in eathair* 'Christ, then, he is the city' 21⁶, ('the city is he', but the fem. pronoun is used to agree with *eathair*).

Collection: G. Ó Nualláin, *Ir. Ecclesiastical Record*, 4th ser., vol. xxx. (1911) pp. 137 ff., 361 ff., 591 ff.

816. Where an adverbial phrase is predicated of a personal subject expressed by a pronoun, we find, not the nominative of the pronoun (which hardly ever appears as subject, § 406), but the prep. *de* with the suffixed pronoun. Examples: *níbad a óenur dé* 'he should not be alone' Wb. 14²¹; *mad ce techt dí co fer* 'if it comes to her going to a husband' 9³²; *is de corpore dísi* 'it (the ear, personified) is *de corpore*' 12²⁶; *dí Iudéib doib* (with suppressed copula) 'they (are) of the Jews' 27⁴.

This construction is rarer where the personal subject is expressed by a noun; e.g. *de Iudéib do Barnaib* 'Barnabas (was) of the Jews' 18⁴⁶ beside *dí chlaind Cham ind Egiptacdaí* 'the Egyptians (are) of the race of Ham' MI. 99⁷; *can día máthair* 'whence (was) his mother?' ZCP. XII. 246 § 21 beside *is iudéib Crist* 'Christ is of them' Wb. 4². Cp. also *can-so* 'whence (camest) thou?' (with the emphasizing particle *alone*) *Anecd. i.* 22, 8.

817. The verbal noun of the substantive verb, *búith*, may also be used for the copula, the construction with a

predicative nominative remaining; e.g. *buith nochtchenn* 'to be bareheaded' Wb. 11¹²; cp. *Ml.* 44⁶.

818. The copula is often omitted, especially when it would have been a form of the 3rd person indicative. This occurs regularly in singular interrogative clauses (§ 457); other forms are omitted only in a principal clause. Such clauses do not, however, constitute a separate class but are constructed exactly like those in which the copula is expressed; hence they cannot be compared with the nominal sentences of some Semitic languages. Thus *male-ni dosom* 'we are sons of his' Wb. 19⁸ is identical in construction with *ammi eland-ni dolb-som* *Ml.* 101⁹.

PREPOSITIONS.

819. The form assumed by a preposition may vary considerably according to its position. Here four main positions must be distinguished :

A. In close composition, i.e. in all nominal compounds and in verbal compounds under or after the stress.

B. Pretonic, as the first element of a deuterotonic verb (§ 37). For gemination, lenition, and nasalization of the following initial see §§ 343, 2, 495a, 504a.

C. Pretonic before a dependent case.

Collection of the forms in *Wb.*: *Fraser*, *ZCP.* viii. 1 ff.

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*, *ath*, *in*, *ind*, *ess*, and *ess* (*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; e.g. *ad* (§ 822) and *eo* (§ 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-*; *comtherchemracc* 'assembly', from *com-to-er-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* (= *aδ*); 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-cobra*) 'desires'; *·atrab* (*ad-treb*) 'dwelling'; *·aittiu*, with *t* = *d(d)*, 'acknowledgement' (*ad-déiu*); *·ac(c)aldam*, with *c(c)* = *g(g)*, 'addressing' (vb.n. of *ad-gládathar*); *·apaig*, with *p* = *b(b)*, 'ripe' (cp. *·bongid* 'reaps'); *·taisilúid* (*to-ad-selb*) 'attribution'; *·ammus* (*ad-mess*) 'attempt'.

For the form assumed by *d* before an original *u* in the following syllable in *·aúthirt* (acc. sg.), *·ldhart*, *·edhart*, 'oblation' and *·supaith*, *·epaid* 'charm' (*ad-baith*), etc., see § 80c. Cp. further *·tantat* (*to-ad-uas-tét*) 'comes near, arrives' LU 1579, 1581, *·da-n-aúat* 6199, *·da-n-éat* (acc. -*éat*) 6073; vb.n. *·titacht* Wb. 25^a13, *·tacht* Thes. I. 496, 26, in 8R. also *·taúttacht*, *·túttacht*.

Before *r*, *l*, *n* the preposition appears as *á* (§ 125); e.g. *·áram* (*ad-rim*) 'number', *·áirim* 'counts'; *·fo-álgim* (*fo-ad-log*) 'I overthrow'; *·áinsem* (*ad-nessam*) 'accusation'. But *ad-ro* is sometimes confused with *a(l)r-ro*; cp. *·árrachtu* 'overtaking' Thes. II. 32, 29 (cp. *ibid.* 33, 22) with long *a*- and double *r*; later *·tárrachtain* and *·tarrachtain* (with the same meaning), vb.n. of *to-ad-reth* or *to-a(i)r-reth* (3 pl. *·do-a-n-áirthe* LU 4657), but influenced by *·r-sechtu* 'reaching'. Cp. also *·ní-áireis* 'I cannot see' (§ 535b).

For *ad* as perfective particle see § 532.

B. Always *ad*, even before consonants; e.g. *·ad-alla* 'visits', *·ad-cobra* 'desires', *·ad-gládathar* 'addresses', *·ad-slig* 'induces', *·ad-midethar* 'attempts', *·ad-riml* 'counts', etc. The *d* is assimilated only to *t* and *d*: *·sitá stá* (*ad-tá*) 'is', *·atalmet*, with *t* = *d(d)*, 'they acknowledge' (*ad-daimet*).

With infixed pronouns: sg. 1 *·atom*· (*·addom*·, *·atdom*·) *·atam*·; 3 *·at*· (*·ad*·), in relative clauses *·adid*· (and *·assid*·), etc., §§ 412, 413.

The fact that *ad*- and *ess*- (§ 534) fall together before infixed pronouns has sometimes led to *ad* being replaced by *as* in pretonic position. Thus beside *·ad-roill* (*·ro-síl*) 'deserves' we often find *·as-roill* (prototonic *·áirill*, *·áirill*); *·as-teid* 'shines'

beside *ipv. attolded*, *vb.n. atoldud*; *as-toilther* (read *-of-?*) 'is kindled' *ML*. 38^d18 (cp. § 139), from *ad-d5-*, *vb.n.* later *atôd*.

C. D. *ad* is not found before a dependant case; here *es* (§ 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 *at*. For the etymology of *ad*, cp. *Vendryes*, *BC*. xii. 403. It is unlikely that *Ir. as-* for *ad-* originated in relative clauses containing a relative particle with initial *s* (see § 810).

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-dire* 'conspicuous' *Sg.*, *irdire Wb.*, *erdaire ML*; *t-air-issem* and *t-er-issem* 'standing fast' *ML*; *air-mitia* (*tôid*) 'honouring' *Wb.*, *ermitia ML*; *-airteris Wb.* beside *-erbitris ML*. (*ar-beir bliuth* 'enjoys'); *airehissect* 'pity' *Wb.*, *erohissect ML*; *irehre* 'decay' *Wb.*, *erehre ML*, and so on. The variation is limited only by a decided preference for *er* in *ML*, and for *air* in *Sg.* *ad-air-rig* 'reforms, repeats', with palatal *r*, is unique. The disyllabic form of the preposition is preserved in *aire-sc* 'stipulation' (cp. *airese*, § 824A).

Before *r(e)* the usual form is *ar*; e.g. *-arbartatar Sg.* 40^b9, prototonic perfect of *ar-beir*. But there are also instances of *air* in this position; e.g. *t-air-r-chet*, *de-airchet* beside *t-ar-r-chet*, *de-arrechet* 'has been prophesied'.

Before the prepositions *uss-* (*uss-*) and *to-*, which were often confused, the form *air-* developed in the first instance; e.g. *airuras* (*air-uss-russ-* or *air-fo-russ-*) 'course' *ML*. 2^b3; cp. *comthururas*, *intururas* (with *com-to-* and *ied-to-*). In our principal sources, however, this has generally been superseded by *air*, *er*, *ir*. Examples: *de-aurehanimm* 'I prophesy' *Sg.* 60^b12, *de-n-aurehain* *Thes.* ii. 21, 33, probably from *to-air-fo-oss-* (cp. *W. d-ar-o-gas*); but the *vb.n.* is *tairchital* in *Wb.*, *terchital* in *ML*. Similarly *airiam* 'ready' *Wb.* 8^d4, *ZCP.* vii. 481, from

air-fo-lam (cp. synonymous *adblam* = **ad-fo-lam*), but otherwise in Wb. *irlam* (*airlam* 3^d12) and in Ml. *erlam*. *ar-utalng* 'refreshes' (*air-uss-ding-*) has vb.n. *aurtach* Corm. 796 (L.Br.), but *irtach* Wb., *ertach* Ml., partic. *erdachtae*; cp. also *rem-erotsid* 'precursor' ZCP. VII. 485, pl. *remetersidi* (*sic*) Ml. 115^d1, from *aururas* above. The converse use of *aur-* in positions where it is not etymologically justified is rare in our sources; one example is *arnach-n-aurchoisid* 'that it might not hinder him' Wb. S⁴ beside fut. *·irchoi* 7^d11, partic. *ercholsse* Ml. (ipf. rel. *ara-choisid*). In other sources this *aur-* is often found, e.g. *ni-aurchoet* Ériu VII. 146 § 4, *aurgaire* 'prohibition' *ibid.* § 7, *aur(h)elebrad* 148 § 7, etc.; and in Middle Irish *ur-* becomes quite common.

B. Always *ar*; e.g. *ar-le* 'finds', *ar-tá* 'remains over', *ar-cessi* 'pities', etc.; in relative clauses usually *ara-*, arch. *ara-* (§ 493, 4), e.g. *ara-thá* 'which remains over'.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *arum*· *arom*· *aram*·, rel. *ardam*· *ardam*·, 3 *ara*·, rel. *arid*·, etc. (the 1 pl. *arin-* is isolated), §§ 411, 413.

C. *ar* 'before, for' (*air* Ml. 51^d2), leniting, with accusative and dative; e.g. (*techt*) *ar chenn* 'to meet', *ar chlunn* 'in front' (*cenn* 'head').

With the article: *arin*, *ara*, *arin(d)*, *arna*, *arnaib*; rarely *airind*, *airind* Ml. 53^d15, 31^d17, Tur. 110, *airnaib* Ml. 90^d11; with possessive pronoun: *arao*, *ara*, etc.; with the relative particle: *ara*·.

D. Here too *air* and *er* interchange as in A (*er* in Wb., never *ir*); e.g. sg. 1 *airtum* and *erum*, 2 *airtut* and *erut* (*aurut*), pl. 3 *airria* and *erria* (rarely *erria*); but always *er* in 3 sg. masc. neut. *airi* (§ 437).

air, also used as conjunction 'for' (§ 906), is clearly the same as Gael. *air* in *Ara-moricus* (beside *Armoricus*), *Ara-brigusa*, O.Brit. *Ara-clata*, etc. The syncope of the *e* in *Armorici* (Caesar) points to a short vowel despite the spelling *Arpyroreus* in Strabo, *Arpyroa*, *Arpyrota* in Ptolemy, and the scansion *Ar-mor-ic-us* in Late Latin poetry. It is doubtless cognate with Gk. *ἔμπροσθεν*, *ἔμπροσθεν*, Lat. *pro-ferre*, Goth. *fair*, *faúra*, OHG. *fora* *fori*, Eng. *for*, Skt. *para*, *para* 'before'.

aur. or. It is obviously the form assumed by the preposition before *u*; hence the depalatalized *r*; for the variation in rendering the vowel see § 80c. 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, I.E. **peri* '(round) about', Skt. *pári*, Glk. *vepi*, was merged in this at an early period. Cp. *híres(s)* 'faith' (with palatal *r*), with which the verb *ar-sáedar* 'imitator, stays, stops', v.h. *erisem*, may be connected (KE. xviii. 72f.); *hírad* Sg. 62*13, *hírad* O'Dav. 807 'margin' < **peri-ðu-s*? cp. Skt. *pariśa-ḥ* 'surrounded'.

There is a Mid.W. prep. *yr* 'for' before nouns and pronouns (non-leniting), in composition *ar-* (leniting, *ar-* 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-mínedar* and *t-aid-mínedar* 'remembers, mentions'. A fuller form *aithe-* is preserved in *aithe-se* 'answer' (cp. *co-se* 'check'). Before a non-palatal initial *ath ad* is sometimes found (§ 159); e.g. *athchumtach* 'rebuilding' Ml. 135*8, *adehumtach* 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. *de-r-ad-chofur* 'redēmit' Wb. 2*9 (beside rel. *de-rr-aid-chofur* 32*10); *ath-chian* 'very far' Sg. 67*12. For occasional *taich-, tach-* in place of *t-aith-chā...*, *t-aid-chā...*, see § 127.

A peculiar treatment of *aith-re-* (due to the analogy of *air-re-*) is found in *du-air-cher* Thes. i. 498, 14 (Arm.), *du-archífur* Ml. 73*6, beside *de-rraichífur* Wb. (above), where *re-* has a different position.

B. Nearly always *ad*, very rarely *aith*; e.g. *ad-eir-rig* 'repeats', subj. *ath-eir* § 626; *ad-gén-sa* 'I know'; *ad-gáinmar* 'we are reborn'; *ad-renar* gl. *remuneratur* ZCP. vii. 482; with assimilation to a following dental: *atairbir* (*ad-t(o)-air-*) 'redigit'.

With infixed pronouns the preposition is seldom found; e.g. 1 pl. *atann*· Ml. 114*10, 3 sg. neut. (rel.) *adid*· Wb. 12*13 (§§ 412, 417, 418).

C. D. do not occur.

This preposition, Brit. *at*, later *ad*, Gaul. *ate* in *Ate-guater* (Ir. *Abhgnath*), *Ate-ágnas*, *Ate-bodnos*, is related to O.Slav. *ata*, *ot* 'from, re-', Lith. *at* (*ata*), e.g. in *at-minti* 'to remember' (cp. Ir. *for-abhmet*), Lat. *at* 'but', etc.

825. *al* (*ol*-, etc.) 'beyond'

Collection: KE. xxviii. 55 ff.

C. With the accusative; e.g. *al euing* (read *ehuing*!) 'beyond (the) yoke' ZCP. III. 245 § 52; *al gl. ultra* Sg. 217^b14. But *ol* in *oldánu* 'than I' after comparatives, lit. 'beyond what I am' (§ 779, 1); similarly in the artificial compound *ol-foirbthfu* (dat. sg.) 'pluperfect' Sg. 151^b1 (*foirbths* 'perfect').

D. Here the preposition survives in the adverb *all(a)e* 'yonder', which contains the suffixed pronoun 3 sg. neut. ('beyond it'); cp. also *ol-chen(a)e* 'besides', lit. 'beyond (and) on this side of it' (cp. § 827).

This preposition is obsolescent in our period. The earliest form was presumably *oll*, corresponding to the adj. *oll* 'amplus', lit. 'being beyond' (cp. the advrb *ind oll gl. ultra* Sg. 220^a6). = O.Lat. *ollus* (later *olls*) 'that (there)', cp. *ultra*. In pretonic position *o* became *a* and *ll* was simplified to *l*. The intermediate stage *all* has, however, made its way into stressed forms: *all(a)e*, *t-all*, *an-oll* (§ 433), *all-muir* 'one from overseas', etc.; but *inn-ann* 'thither' appears to come from **inn-oll* with *o* retained. It is not certain that *ol* in *olse* 'says (said) he' and before nouns (§ 408) originally meant 'further' and so belongs here; already in *ML*. 44^b10-11 there is an instance of *ar* used instead (later *asa*. show constant fluctuation between *ol*, *or*, *al*, *ar*).

826. *amal* 'as, like'

C. *amal* (written in full *Wb*. II 33^b2, *Thes*. I. 5, 37, but usually abbreviated *amā*, § 35), leniting, must be regarded from the Irish standpoint as a preposition, since it is always followed by the accusative (§ 249, 4); e.g. *am(al) chlanda* 'like children' *ML*. 123^a8; *am(al) in n-aitain* 'like the razor' 72^a8.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *samlum*, 2 *samlut*, 3 *saml(a)id*; pl. 3 *samlalb*; see § 434.

amal, which also serves as a conjunction (*amall* and *amal* § 911), is in -origin adverbial derivative of *sam(a)ll* 'likeness' which has lost the *a*- in pretonic

position § 178). It corresponds to Bret. *ceaf*; cp. OW. *ceal*, later *ceif*, *ceif*. The use of *samith*, *sam(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 *fria* (*fēssa*) and *tarais* could also be explained in this way (as from *t + i* and *s + i* respectively). Perhaps the ending has been taken over from an adverb of similar meaning corresponding to W. *hefyd* 'also' (the Irish equivalent of which would have been **samith*).

827. cen 'without'

C. With the accusative, leniting, e.g. *cen chinta* 'without faults'. For *cen suidib* *ML*. 20^a3, see § 480.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 2 *cenut*, 3 *cen(a)s*, etc. (§ 434); for 3 pl. *cenalb* cp. § 451.

Cp. Corn. *ken* 'other'. The older meaning was 'on this side (of)', as is shown by the compound *cen-alpanō* 'disalpine' *Sg.* 217^a8-9 and the derivative *centar* 'this world' (cp. also *elchen(a)s* § 825). This agrees with Lat. *cis*, *citra*. Should *cē* in *bēth cē* 'this world' (gen. in domain *chis* once in poetry, *ZCP*. vii. 308, 1) correspond exactly to Ogam *c(c)it* (beside *cor*), translated 'here', (cp. Gaul. *du-ci* ? § 822), it would constitute an argument for Pedersen's theory that stressed *i* had to a large extent become *e* (§ 74); but an ablaut form **kef* is also conceivable. For *cenmathā*, *cenmīthā*, see § 775.

828. cēt-

Zimmer, *KZ*. xxvii. 470 ff.

Found only in composition with the substantive verb. A. *cēt-* (leniting), B. *cēta-*, *cēta-*: *cēta-bi* consuet. pres. 'feels', perf. 1 sg. *cēta-re-ba*, v.h.n. *cētbuid cēthaid* 'sense' (*cēthaid* § 124); *cen-cēthand* 'thou consentest' *Wb.* 1^a9 (§ 551).

The later attested *cēthach* -nd 'companionship, cohabitation' possibly belongs here. In Brittonic the preposition occurs not merely in W. *ceafed* = Ir. *cētbuidh*, but also as a living preposition meaning 'with': OW. *ceat*, later *ceat*, *ceat*; Corn. *ceat*, *ceat*; Mid.Bret. *ceat*. The Irish pretonic form *cēta* shows that this preposition corresponds exactly to Gk. *κατά* < **kepa* or *kepa*; cp. § 118.

829. co 'to, till'

C. *co*, in Arm. and other mss. *cu*, with the accusative, geminating; e.g. *co-lae*, *cu-lae* 'until the day'; Mid.Ir. *go h-* before vowels.

With the article : *cos(s)da, cos(s)a, cosna* ; with the relative particle : *cos(s)a·*.

D. See § 433. In *cuc(e)um, cuc(e)ut, cuc(s)i, cuc(e)unn, cuc(e)mb* the *c(e)* stands for *g(g)*, but in the fem. sg. *cuc(e)e* *cuc(e)as* and the pl. *cuc(e)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. (§ 893). When *so* used it lenites. *co·* (*com·*) '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' (§ 849). The peculiar form before suffixed pronouns is doubtless modelled on *cum, cumt*, etc.

The Mid.W. prep. *py* 'to', with possessive pronoun *bey* 'to its', shows that the original anlaut was *g·* or *kw*. The comparison with O.Slav. *ke* (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·rie(c)i, coriel* with the accusative, lit. 'until thou reachest', is often used; *con·diel* (from *to-to*) ZCP. vii. 431, 3.

830.

com 'with'

A. Before vowels and before *r, l, n* : *com* (with *r*) or, under the influence of the following vowel, *cum* ; e.g. *com-airie* 'counsel', *ad·com-la* 'joins', *com-nessam* 'neighbour', *cum-réih* 'bond, fetter', *cumsanad* (*com-uss-amad*) 'rest'. For *colm· cóm·* before a preterite, see § 688.

In earlier forms *com-imm-* has become *colm(m)-* (§ 179) ; e.g. *colmthecht* 'accompanying', *colmmchlóud, colmchlód -úd* 'exchange', beside later formations like *com-imm-airide* 'competens' Thes. II. 27, 37.

Before each of the remaining consonants two forms are generally found, representing (1) the older, (2) the later formation.

(1) Before *b* : *com* ; before *d* and *g* : *con* (pronounced *low* before *g*) ; before *t* and *c* : *co* (*eu*), the *t* and *c* being pronounced *d* and *g* (§ 208) ; before *s* : *co* with gemination of the *s* (§ 210). Examples : *com-bach* 'breaking' ; *con-déig* 'comparison' ; *con-gnam* 'assistance' ; *cultbiud* 'mockery' (*com-ábiud*) ; ipv. 2 sg. *cecart* 'correct' (*com-cert-*) ; *cosmil* 'similar' (*com-sawmil*).

Before *co-* (Ir. *f-*) the *m* was lost in the earliest formations, and, since *co-* disappears after *-c-* in Irish, nothing remains of the *-m-*; e.g. *có(a)ir* 'proper, fitting', W. *cyuair*, (*com-uari-*). This is particularly frequent where *com* is a perfective particle (§ 533); ep. *ad·cu(a)id*, perf. of *ad·fét* 'relates' (§ 693); *for·cu·ad* 'has been completed' Tur. 49, to *for·fen*; *de·coid* 'has gone' (§ 769). For the early loss of the *c* in the post-tonic syllable see § 108. In a second stratum, which obviously arose after *co-* had become spirant *v-*, *m* + Ir. *f-* give *b* (= *β*); e.g. *cubus* 'conscience' (*com-fius*); *cub(a)id* 'rhyming' (*com-fid*, § 345); *cobodius cobadius* 'fellowship', from *com* and *fod(a)il* 'share'.

So too *-m* + *m-* seems in the earliest period to have given single *m*: arch. *cumen*, later *cuman* 'remembered' (*com* + *meu-*), *culmne* 'remembrance', Mid.W. *coveia* (*v* < *m*), as against later *cum·mase* 'mixing' and the like.

(2) Later, prevocalic *com-* (with *μ*) came to be used before all consonants except *m* and *b*. It lenites by analogy with *rum-*, *trem-* (§§ 851, 856), *imm-* (§ 841), etc. Examples: *com·dlúthad* 'condensation', *com·thinól* 'gathering', *com·chéitbuid* 'consensus', *com·suidgud* 'composition', *com·fegur* 'consonant'.

For *com* as perfective particle see § 533.

B. Always *con-*; e.g. *con·ic* 'he can', *con·boing* 'breaks', *con·tífa* 'he will mock', *con·ceiríat* 'they correct', *con·suidgíther* 'is compounded', *con·fodlaibid* 'ye will share', *con·meseatar* 'they are mixed', etc.

With infixed pronoun: eg. 1 *cotam·cotam-*, 3 *cot-* (*cot-*); but rel. *conid-*, in nasalizing relative clauses *connid-*, 1 *ag·condom-*, etc. (§ 412 f.).

C. *co*, rarely *cu*, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. *co n·starecírí* 'with interpretation', *co feirbthetu* (*f* = *β*) 'with perfection'.

With the article: *cos(s)in(d)*, *cosnab*; with possessive pronoun: eg. 2 *cot* (*cot*), 3 *coma*, etc.

D. There are but few traces of this preposition combined with a suffixed pronoun of the third person: 3 *ag·masc·coco* Ériu xii. 32 § 39, neut. *conu* ZCP. viii. 310, 24, pl. *condalb*

Auric. 954. Otherwise it is always replaced by *la* (§ 845) in this position as well as before the relative particle (§)aⁿ.

com- (W. *cof.*, etc.) corresponds exactly to Lat. *com-* (*com-*), Osc. *com-*. The *-a* in B originated in the old final position (§ 175).

831. *di, de* 'of, from'

Marstrand, *RLA. Dict.*, Fasc. 1. 128 ff.; Sommerfelt, *De en Italo-Celtique* (1920).

A. Before consonants usually *dí*, but *dé-* before r(o), both leniting. Examples: *dí-riug* 'straight'; *dí-gháil* 'diminution'; *dí-thrub, déthrab* 'desert'; *dí-dnad* 'consolation'; *de-r-gaba* (perfective subj.) 'he may diminish'; *dermat* (*de-ro-mé*) 'forgetting'. But in composition with *gníid* 'does', *dí* before palatal consonance and *dé* before non-palatal; e.g. fut. 1 sg. *·dígn*, pres. 3 sg. *·déní* (with *w*, from **dē-gwī*), pl. *·dénat* (and perf. 3 sg. *·dérégní*); further in *dí-co(m)-wéd-*, perfective form of the verb 'to go' (§ 769), e.g. 3 sg. pres. *·díchet*, perf. *·dechníid*. For other compounds with *dé-* see below.

Before vowels usually *dí*; e.g. *díall* (*dí-áll*) 'declination'; in *díárim* (adv.) 'innumero' *ML* 17⁴⁶; *díupart* (*dí-uss-ber*) 'fraud'. (In this and similar words *díu-* is generally written, although the diphthong *iu* was doubtless pronounced). But *dé, de* in nonce formations such as *déainmneichthech* 'denominatum' *Sg.*, *ní-de-intamladar* 'non dissimilát' *ML* 27⁴¹².

With *é* it combines to give *dé*: ipv. 2 sg. *dé(t)ess* 'see' (*dí-ess-*), *·déríg* 'deserts' (*dí-ess-*), etc.; but *díliu* 'protection' (*dí-díu*, influenced by verbal forms like 3 sg. subj. *·díma* *ML* 88² from **dí-ema*). *dí-in* becomes *día*, e.g. *for-díngrat* 'they signify'; *deemaing deem(u)le* 'strange, unlikely', from *dí-ecm-* or *-acm-?*

In early examples it combines with the prep. *fo* to give *dá-*: *·dú-thraecar* 'I wish', *de-dú-rgímm* 'I excite'. But beside these we find forms like *déol(a)íd* 'gratis' (to *folad* 'substance'), *díunag* 'washing' (*dí-fo-níy-* or *dí-uss-níy-*, cp. 1 sg. *do-fo-nug* *Sg.* 23⁵, etc., and *únach* 'washing' § 849, A). Before other instances of old *w-*: *díad* and *dead* 'end' (W. *dí-wedd*), *dídenach* and *dédenach* 'last'. Corresponding to deuterotonic forms like ipf. *do-foirtad* 'he used to pour out' *ML* 36⁴²², perf. pass.

de-*rori*ad (read *·ror·* ?) Féll. May 27, we find later prototonic forms with *dōirt-* as well as *dōirt-*; the forms with a short vowel are doubtless the result of quantitative assimilation to denterotonic *·fort-*.

Before *é*, cp. *con·di*aig (*con·di·suig*) 'seeks' Wb. 23⁶, but more commonly *con·daig* (pass. *con·degar*), subj. *·cuiltea* (§ 185d); *i nde*gaid, *i ndi*gaid (= *di*gaid ?) 'after' (*di·de*gaid).

B. Generally *do*, *du*; e.g. *do·donaimm* 'I console', *du·roim*ibetar 'they will forget', *do·gní* 'does', *de·ella* 'declinat', *do·opir* 'defrauds', *do·fa·thra*ctar *du·fa·thra*ctar 'they wish'.

Possibly the earliest form is *do*; later *di* is found fairly often beside *do*. Examples: *de·meccim* 'I despise' Sg. 39¹, *di·mecc*ithar beside *do·mmec*ithar Wb. (vb.n. *dimeccem*); *de·é*ctar 'they are looked at' *Otia Merciana* l. 23 § 9 beside *de·é*caí Ml., *du·é*castar *Thea.* II. 239, 3 (Arm.); *di·ro*ghad beside *do·ro*ghad 'has been diminished'; *di·ró*scat beside *do·ró*scat *du·ró*scat 'they excel' (prototonic *·derscaiget*).

With infixed pronoun: eg. *l dem·dam·*, *3 da·*, rel. *do*d·, nasalized *do*o'd·, 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 = d*) 'little peace' Ml. 51⁶ beside *bec n·di* *de*chur (*d = s*) 'little difference' 72⁹.

With the article: *din*(d) (*den*, *don*, *dun*), *dinaib* (*donai*b); with possessive pronoun: *dím*, *dít*, *día* (*dus* *Thea.* II. 241, 13, Arm.), etc.; with the relative particle: *dia·*.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: *dím*, *dít*, *de*, etc., § 435.

The form *dí-* (Britann. *dí-*) corresponds exactly to Lat. *dē*. The relationship between it and the other stressed form *dí* *dē* is not clear. If the latter is by origin merely a shortened form of *dí-* in protonic position, it must have spread by analogy at a very early period, for it appears in obviously ancient forms of the verbs 'to do' and 'to go'. It is also apparently contained in *de* 'thereof, from him', and perhaps in Gaul *de* *se* *se* (§ 311). Further, *dē-* probably goes back to *dē-uo-* through intermediate *do*o(·) (§ 72, cp. § 69). But *de* in words like *de·bailh*, *de·eher* (and *de·red* 'and' ?) seems to be of different origin (see § 392).

It is difficult to explain on purely phonological grounds the pretonic *do, du* (B., C.) from either *di* (**d̥i*) or *da*. Its vocalism may have been levelled under that of other prepositions, particularly arch. *ta, tu* (later *do, du*) § 835 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 chosrad* 'to destruction'.

With the article: *don(d) dun(d), donalb dunalb*; with possessive pronoun: *dom, dot*, etc., but before *a*: *dla, diar* (dear Cam.), also *di alaflu* 'to the other'; with the relative particle: *dla*.

In other positions *di* for *do* is very rare; e.g. *bá brón di súidib* 'it was a sorrow to these' *ML. 44^b* (cp. 55^c).

D. With suffixed pronoun: *dom dam, dult dalt* (*delt, dlt*), *dó* (*dou, 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-briathar* 'adverbium'; *do-scaldmach* 'appellativus' (*scaldam* 'address'); *do-c[h]éthid* 'adensio' *ZCP. VII. 482*; *déscuidighil* (*sic*) 'apposita' *Sg. 63^b15*.

The older view that this is the same preposition as to (§ 855) has been shown to be incorrect by Holmer (*BC. I. 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, dundalb*; with suffixed pronoun *do = d̥o, dunn dunn = dún(n)*. If Gaul. *duci* 'and' has been correctly analysed as *do-oi*, 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 = *di*), Mid.W. *g*, Corn. *de* (only O.Bret. *do*, later *de*, 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 *dún(n), dib*. But **d̥u* < **du*, of which *du do* could be a shortened form, would correspond well to OE. *u*, OHG. *uo* (adv.) 'to'. Direct connexion with Goth. *du* 'to' seems improbable. Cp. also O.Slav. *dŭ* '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).

833. *echtar* 'outside, without' (*sechtar* 'out of, outside')

A. Only in nominal compounds, e.g. *echtargeinde* 'alien-born'.

C. With the accusative, e.g. *echtar comairbirt mh-bliuth* '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^b22 (cp. 54^c20).

echtar, together with Mid.W. *eithyr*, Mod.W. *eithr*, goes back to **akster*, **sch(ster)*; cp. *star* (§ 833) 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-artaí* 'smitten'; *-esngaba* (*ess-ind-*) subj. 'he may exceed'; *t-es-slm* 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-lúid* 'evasion', *é-náir* 'infirm'.

Before stops: *é* followed by gemination; e.g. *ecr(a)e* 'enemy' (*car(a)e* 'friend'); *e(l)itech* 'refusal', subj. 2 sg. *-ettis* LU 3488; *escal* (*c = gg*) 'timid' (*gal* 'valour'); *stroecht* (*sic* *ess-*, *t = dd*) 'shining' Féil. Feb. 10, *rug-strachtaib gl. procleris* Ml. 37^c3 (cp. *andracht* Sg. 113^a1, *indroecht* O'Dav. 1142, 'lustreless'), later *éstroecht*, probably with secondary lengthening; *e(l)ipe* (*p = bb*) 'cutting out' (*vb.n.* of *ess-bea-*).

(b) Before all the above sounds: *es-*; e.g. *es-rechtaid* 'exile' Sg. 113^b2, *es-car(a)e* 'enemy', *estgaire* 'proclamation' (*ess-com-gar-*, cp. § 180); *t-es-ta* 'is lacking', perf. *tesarbae* (*to-ess-ro-bóí*), *vb.n.* *t-es-buith*; *-es-gaibter* 'excipiantur' Ml. 145^a1; *es-bae*, *espe* 'uselessness, idleness' (*bae* 'good, profit').

DIVERGENT FORMATIONS: In the verb *ess-ren-* 'pay',

beside frequent regular forms like 3 sg. -érea Ériu VII. 156 § 11 and the vb.n. which is always é(r)aile, we find forms with *rr*: ipv. 2 pl. *errenaid* Ml. 20*2 (cp. Ériu VII. 160 § 2), pres. ind. 3 sg. -*sírren* Ériu I. 214; to judge from *érréthecha, hérréthecha* gl. *redditiua* Sg. 27*2, 30*16, *e-* was long in these forms also. If syncopeated forms, such as *érmem* (*proces*) gl. *impendemus* (sic Stokes, *Goidelica*² p. 64, from the *Liber Hymnorum*, but *ermem* Todd I. 75 and Bernard-Atkinson I. 19) are old, the unlenited (and hence doubled) *r* might have spread from them (cp. § 120).

In various compounds *a-* appears instead of *e-*. Thus always in *aisndís*, vb.n. of *aisndét* 'expounds' (deuterotonic *as-índ-ét*), 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 -*eperr* Sg. 73*11, vb.n. *aipert* Ml. 50*8, usually *epert*; only in Middle Irish does *ap-* become common. In the verb *at-bail(i)* 'dies' (prep. *ess-* + inf. pron., see § 423) the above explanation could account only for forms with *a-* in the subjunctive (stem *bail-*), e.g. past (arnach)-*aipled* Ml. 85*8 beside 3 pl. (coni)-*epéltais* 99*2. The early spread of *a* to other forms, e.g. pres. ind. (coni)-*apail* 91*2 instead of more frequent -*epil*, was due to the fact that in the deuterotonic forms with *at-* the prepositions *ess* and *ad* were indistinguishable. The form *as-sréud* 'scattering' Ml., beside *asreuth* (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. *Eruertini* ?), *es-foite* 'sent forth' (*ess-foid-*) belongs to (b). It is otherwise with *indasténad* (probably to be read *int asfénad*) gl. *detestatio* ZCP. VII. 481, vb.n. of *as-fénimm* 'testificor', in Ml. dat.sg. *aspenad -ud, aispenad* (read -*u* ?) with development of *sf* to *sp* (cp. Mid.Ir. *taisfénad* and *taisbénad* 'showing'); perf. *ad-ra-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(é)* the *a-* remains: perf. *de-sárfenus* Wb. 18*7, perfective subj. *de-sárfena* Laws v. 360, 18 f., etc.

B. Always as (ass); e.g. *ass-áirset* 'they will arise', *as-oíre* 'strikes', *as-in-gaib* 'exceeds', *as-toing* 'refuses', *as-to-asóther* '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-guinaim* 'I know' in Sg. (but in ML. *as-guintar*, etc.), vb.n. *eene*; *assa-fíud* 'ex[s]ero' Sg. 221^bd. In ML. *ess-gús(s)-* 'wish' (cp. partic. *eegúste* § 31d) has deuterotonic *assa-gúsi* and *ad-gúsi* in relative clauses, and the second form occurs also in Sg. 148^a4 (non-relative 1 sg. *ad-gúsiu* SP. (Thes. II. 293, 3-4), later *asa-gússim*, *assa-gússem* LU 3247); similarly *assa-foíter* ML. 48^b8 beside *airíndí as-foíte* 'because it used to be sent forth' Tur. 110 c. Elsewhere *as-* is the only form, even in relative clauses.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *atam-atam-*, 3 *at-(ad-)*, rel. *as(s)id-*, nasalized *as(s)imd-*, etc., § 412 f.

The homophony with the prep. *ad* in most of these forms has led to confusion of the two prepositions; e.g. *ad-gúsi*, *-apail* above, and also, according to Pedersen (§ 743, 2), *in-glennat* ML. 137^a2 'they investigate', etc., for *as-* (cp. sg. 3 *as-glínn*, 2 *eclalann*, etc.).

C. Before the dative of a noun *a* (§ § 48), geminating (Mid. Ir. *a h-*), e.g. *a-latin* 'from Latin', *a túath* '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)*, *asmaib*; with the relative particle: *as(s)a-*.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. 2 *essut*, 3 arch. *es(s)*, later *as(s)*, fem. *e(l)ssi*; pl. 3 *e(l)ssib*, § 436.

This preposition, as is shown by Gaul. *Es-cobas*, *Es-cingus*, Lat. *ex*, Gl. 6, goes back to **eka*, Celt. **echa*, which in Irish as a rule became *ess-*, pretonic *as-*, *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 *e* of **echa* was dropped before consonants, and *ch* (γ) was assimilated to a following stop, or at all events to a following media. For original *hét* *a* different, and presumably earlier, type of reduction is shown in *sesca* 'sixty' < **seska-hent-a*. But -*h* in *e(l)h(s)ech* cannot have developed from either *ch* 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, 466), *cy-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 *esta*·, *etta*· (§ 828).

835. *etar*, *etar* 'between, among'

A. Before consonants usually *etar*; e.g. *etar-scabad* 'separation', *etar-gne* 'distinguishing, knowledge', *t-etar-cor* 'interposing'. Occasionally *etar-cert* 'interpretation', ML. 2^o2, Tur. 64, otherwise *etarcert*; note also *etorsondi* 'baritone' *Theas*. II. 42, 4, *Itersmidith* 'spider' ZCP. VII. 483, lit. 'inter-spinner'. Only in the later Glosses (ML, Sg.) is lenition sometimes found after it, e.g. *etarthoðaim* 'interitus' ML. 40^o8.

Before a vowel: *etr-* in *etr-din* 'intervention', *etr-antach* 'intermittent' Wb. 23^o13.

B. In Wb. and Tur. mostly *etar*, e.g. *etar-scértar* 'will be separated'; in ML. *etir*, e.g. *etir-gén* 'I understood'. Less frequently *itir* Wb. 5^o24, Tur. 121; an exceptional form appears in the relative clause *itira-thá* 'which is between' Laws IV. 364, 9. 19 (formed like *ara*·).

Before infixed pronouns *etar-*; e.g. *lasse etardan-roscar-ni* 'when he has separated us' ML. 120^o3, but also *Hirnda-dibed* 'that he should destroy them' 45^o6. For the form of the pronoun see § 412.

In late O.Ir. *etar*, *itar* is more widely used; e.g. *etar-seartar* Sg. 175^o10 beside *etir-seartar* 73^o2; *itar-gén* *Theas*. II. 2, 26.

C. With the accusative, earlier *etar*, *itar*, *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-d-di*, § 467. With possessive pronoun: *etar-mo*, 3 *etar-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 proposition, the *t* in which is to be read as *d*, corresponds either to Lat. *inter* (O.Lat. *en[ter]*) Skt. *antir*, or to OHG. *antar* ('*gier*') 'between'.

Taking *eter as the basic form in Celtic, one would expect Ir. *éter; accordingly it would be necessary to assume that the *é* was shortened in proclitic position (B, C) and that *é* spread thence to the stressed forms. Perhaps, however, we should rather postulate an early intermediate stage *iater, attracted by the preposition *in-*; cp. OW. *iár*, Corn. *yatra*, Gaul. *Isater-melos* 'inter riuos' Endlicher's Gloss. In Irish *iat-* had become *éid-* in the first instance (§ 806).

In the second syllable *e* remained when the word was unstressed (*eter*, *Her*), cp. § 116; the palatal *r* in the by-form *etir*, *Hir* 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 accented.

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 *fiadam*, 3 masc. *fiado -a*, pl. 3 *fiad(a)ib*, etc., § 436.

This word is a petrified case-form of the noun corresponding to W. *gýpdd* 'presence'; cp. Mid.Bret. *a goaz*, *a goez* 'occam'. Its government of the dative may be modelled on *ar* 'before'.

837. fo 'under'

A. Before consonants *fo* or *fu* (fa §§ 81, 82), leniting; e.g. *fo-chr(a)lec* 'reward', *fo-dlíu* 'endurance', *fochith focheid* (*fo-saigith*, § 131) 'tribulation', *fu-dunuin fu-dunain* 'deep', *ar-fuí-rig* 'holds back', *-fofret* (*-fo-ferat*) 'they prepare'. For the position before *w-* (Ir. *f-*) + consonant, cp. *fúalascath* 'small branches, shrubbery', from *flesc* (**wliat-*) 'rod, wand'.

In medial position after the *z* of *ad* we find *b* (= *β*) instead of *f*, e.g. *adblam* 'ready' (*ad-fo-lam*).

sur- (and *air-*, *er-*, *ir-*) for *air-fo-*, § 823. *fo-fo-* becomes *t6-* (§ 855), and the *δ* sometimes spreads to deuterotonic forms, e.g. *du-tóbl* 'he will cut' ML 96*7 beside 1 sg. pres. *do-fuibimm* Sg. 12*1, 22*10, etc. (vb.n. *tóbe*); *de-fo* becomes *dú-*, *déo-*, *díu-* (§ 831).

The *o* fuses with following *o*, *u* to *ó* (*ú*); with *a* to *á*; and with *e*, *i* to *ei*, *é*. Examples: *féere* 'proclamation' (*fo-uss-gar-* or *-oss-gar-*), *fiúsnad* 'perturbation' *ML*. 16^b12 (*fo-ossnad*); *·fícaib* 'leaves' (*fo-ud-gab-*); *·féstatar* 'they accepted' *Anecd.* III. 63, 13 (*fo-áatar*), with *air-ro*: 1 pl. *ara-roitmar* *Wb.* 9^a10; *foindel* 'roaming' (*fo-ind-*). Here too the contracted vowel sometimes spreads to the deuterotonic forms; e.g. *fo-d-úacair* *Wb.* 11^a24, *fo-áebat* *Thea.* II. 12, 28.

Only in very late formations is *fo* retained in hiatus, e.g. *foammamugud* (*fo-ud-wám-*) 'subjugation'.

The interchange of unlenited and lenited (silent) *f* in *ar-fedm*, prototonic *·erofm* 'accepts', *im-folngi* and *·immolngi* 'causes' and the like, has not infrequently led to the introduction of *f-* into deuterotonic forms where the prep. *fo* is not present at all. Examples: *to-folng* 'which he swears' *Ériu* VII. 158 § 16, *do-d-fongad* *ML*. 36^a21, to the simplex *tongid*; *du-tuit* later deuterotonic form of *·tuit* 'falls' (*fo-tud-*), earlier *do-tuit* (§ 773). This is especially common before the prep. *oss*, *uss* (see § 849). So too the form *ar-femat* 'they receive' *ML*. 15^a4 (cp. 105^a6, *Wb.* 8^a28, 28^a19) is due, not to the loss of *o*, but to the fact that the compound *air-ss-* (cp. *v.b.n.* *airtíu*, *erítíu*, subj. *·airema* *Cam.*) was influenced by *air-fo-ss-* (3 pl. *ar-fóemat* *Wb.* 34^a6, etc.).

B. In all positions *fo*, *fu* (§ 101); e.g. *fo-dalm* 'suffers, endures', *fo-fera* 'prepares', *fo-líos* and *co fu-líos* subj. 'I may support', *fo-acainm* 'succino'.

But where the second element begins with a vowel, the prototonic form occasionally appears in place of the deuterotonic; e.g. *fícab* 'he left' *Thea.* II. 241, 17 (*Árm.*) instead of *fo-ácab*.

With infixed pronoun: eg. 1 *fom-fum-*, 3 *fa-*, rel. *fo-*, etc., §§ 411, 413.

C. *fo*, *fu*, with the accusative and dative, leniting; e.g. *fu ehsa* 'under the feet', *fo deud* 'at the end'.

With the article: acc. *fom fun*, neut. *fua*, dat. *fom(d) fun(d)*; pl. acc. *fonna* *ML*. 37^a14 (the form with the dative is not attested).

With the possessive pronoun: eg. 1 *fom*, 2 *fof*, 3 *foa*, *fua*, *fó*, § 439 (1 pl. *fóar* *Wb.* 9^a1); with the relative particle: *foa-*, *fua-*, *fo-* (= *fó-*), § 492.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *foam*, 3 acc. *fof*, dat. *foú*, etc., § 437.

fo—Britannic *geo-*, whence W. *geo-* and *go-*, Bret. *geu-*, Gaul. **uo-* as in *Uo-ruo-uirius*—goes back to **u-o*, **uo*, and corresponds exactly to Gk. *úvō*, Goth. *uf* 'under', Skt. *upa* 'to, at, on'; cp. Lat. *sub*.

838. *for* 'on, over'

A. Always *for* or *fur*; e.g. *fortacht* 'help' (-*techt*), *for-ás* 'increase', *fursundud* (*for-uss-andud*) 'illumination'. Sporadic examples of lenition after it first appear in the later Glosses, e.g. *forthaecht* ML. 93^o15.

For *tór-* < *to-for-* see § 855. The *ó* sometimes spreads to deuterotonic forms; e.g. *de-tórmgat* 'they increase' Sg. 53^o11 (vb.n. *tórmag*, *tórmach*) beside *de-n-fórmaig* Fél. Oct. 18; *du-tór-ban* 'arrives, happens' ML. 61^o22.

B. Usually *for*, sometimes *far* and *fur*; e.g. *for-tét* 'helps', *for-con-gair* 'orders', *for-ása* 'increases', *amal far-cuimsitís* 'as if they had occurred' Sg. 148^o5, *ocus fur-aitn-menter* 'and is remembered' ML. 17^o23.

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 *ro* or an infixed pronoun, e.g. in *fo-rro-r-bris*, *fo-da-r-aitninedar*, see §§ 529, 410b.

C. *for*, sometimes *far*, with the accusative and dative. There is only one example of lenition after it: *for cheam* ML. 44^o29 for normal *for eam*.

With the article: *forla*, *forsa*, *forsind*, *forsna* and *forna*, *forsnaib* and *fornaib*; with possessive pron.: sg. 1 **form* (*for-mu* § 439), 2 *fort*, 3 *fora*, etc.; with the relative particle: *forsa-* and *fora-*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: *form* (*foram-sa*), *fort*, *for feir feir* (§ 81), etc., § 437.

for, Britannic *gor-*, whence W. and Bret. *gor-*, appears in Gaul. *Car-cingeterix*, *Uer-casuallanenna*, etc., as *gor-*. This form has developed from **u-ger*, with loss of *p*, and corresponds to Gk. *úvō*, Goth. *ufor*; cp.

Sat. apóri, Lat. super. The influence of its opposite **uor* 'under' (§ 837) was responsible for the change of vocalism to **uor* in Insular Celtic. The late lenition after *for* was suggested by *air- str-, ar-*, § 823.

839. *frith* 'against'

Collection for A and B: Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II. 71 f.

A. Before vowels mostly *frith*, seldom *frid*; e.g. *frith-orcon* 'offence', *frid-circed* (ipr.) 'let him offend' Wb. 14*27; *-frith-alm* (read *-álm* ?) 'I expect' Ml. 49*3.

In some decompositions *fres-* appears instead: *-frescat* (*frith-ad-oi-*) 'they hope', vb.n. *fresclu, fresclslu*; [f]resndal attending, service' *Bürgschaft* p. 17 § 53, *fresdel* Wb. I 24*11 (later *frestal*, cp. pret. pass. *fris-lind-led* Féil. May 23). *frith-oss-seems* to have become *fres-* in *fresngabál* 'ascent, Ascension' (acc. *frisngabáil* Ml. 42*30, cp. *as-in-galb* 'exceeds'); also in *frélsáidís* 'dihudicatio' Wb. 13*11 (cp. *alsáidís* 'statement, explanation').

Before consonants an older (a) and a later (b) type of formation can be distinguished:

(a) The final dental is assimilated to a following initial stop; e.g. *frecre*, with *c = g(g)*, 'answer' (*frith-gaire*); *freend(a)ire*, with *c = k(k)*, 'present' (*frith-con-dere-*); *fritech* 'renunciation' (to *tongid* 'swears'); *frepaíd* (*frépaíd* Ml. 58*4), with *p = b(b)*, 'healing' (*frith-buith*). Before *l*: *fres-* in *freslige* 'lying (with)'.

(b) *frith* remains unchanged before all consonants and lenites them (by analogy with *airh*, § 824); e.g. *frith-chathugud* 'op-pugnatio'; *nad-frith-ehom-art* 'who has not offended' Ml. 47*2; *frith-gnam* 'of-ficium' (*gnám* 'deed, doing', subj. pass. *-frith-ro-gnaither* Laws II. 308, 16); *frithsuídigte* (*s = t*) 'op-positus'; even before *t* and *d*: *-frith-táid* (unlenited in accordance with § 231, 3) 'he should oppose' beside pres. *-fritáit* (*frith-to-táit*) Wb. 31*6, *frith-dán* 'ob-strue', etc.

B. Always *fris(s)*; e.g. *fris(s)-aire* 'offends', *fris-álethar* 'expects', *fris(s)-accat* 'they hope', *fris-gair* 'answers', *fris-toing* 'renounces', *fris-ben* 'heals', *fris-gní* 'practises', *fris-táit* 'opposes', *fris-dánaim* 'I obstruct', etc.

With infixed pronoun: eg. 1 *fritum-fritam-*, 3 *frit-*, rel. *frissid-*, etc., § 412 f.

C. fri (re ML. 44^b = fri) 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^b14, scribal error?).

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: eg. 1 frim frim(m), 2 fris(t) frint(t), 3 fris(s), fem. fris, etc. (pl. 1 rinn = frinn ML. 54^b3), § 433.

frith undoubtedly belongs to the root *vert-* 'turn'; cp. Lat. *vertere*, Eng. *-ward*. It points to a basic form **vert* without any ending (whence **urit*, § 215). Whether *frith* corresponds exactly to Brittonic **gwerth* (W. *gwrth*, *wrth*, Corn. *gwrth*, *wrth*, *wrth*, Bret. *eur*, *e*, *er*) is doubtful, as *t* becomes *th* in Brittonic only when it stands directly after *r*. Perhaps, then, the Brittonic forms go back rather to **wrt*, *metathesized* from **urit*? Cp. W. *gwr* 'man' for **wir*[*ur*].

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. *frí h-de* 'for godd'. The form *fri* eventually spread to the position before suffixed pronouns also; cp. 3 sg. fem. *frie*, 3 pl. *fria*. For the 3 pl. there are a few instances of a form *frithu* Laws II. 118, 15, *frithu* (? written *frithu*, *frithu* LU 4671, *SCF*. ix. 126, 3), which perhaps represents an early rather than a secondary form. The 3 sg. masc. *nost. fris(s)* is difficult to account for. Pedersen suggests wrong analysis of the emphatic form *fris(s)om*, the earlier form having been simply *fri* (*frí*). But the *s* is apparently always palatal (cp. *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-* ($m = \mu$), leniting; e.g. *do-farm-ó-rat* 'follows', *farm-uidigthe* (for *-suidigthe*) 'postponed' Sg. 3^b31, *farm-uid* (read *-al*!) 'abnepotes' ML. 119^b12.

Before *fo-saig*, where the same form would be expected, we always find *farf(a)igid* 'asking' (with unlenited *f*), pret. *r-farfact*, etc. Here *f* has probably replaced μ by analogy with deuterotonic forms like *farm-folg*.

In nominal compounds like *far-thúalscerddach* 'north-western' Thes. II. 26, 41 the *w* has doubtless been dropped between *r* and a consonant; cp. *far-bunatatú* 'posterity' ML. 45^b20. But in *far-testimín* 'conclusion of a period' ML.

the *t* is never lenited, presumably owing to the influence of the nasalizing form *far* (C). The disyllabic form in *faram-geindl* 'postgeniti' *ML*. 97*11 is isolated.

B. Generally *farmi*-; e.g. *farmi-foig* 'asks'; \int but cp. *farmu-ru-sudlgestar gl. postpossuit* *ML*. 130*7, *farmo-fuacht* *LL*. 234*48; in relative clauses also *farma*-: *farma-foich* *Sg.* 198*3.

With infixed pronoun 3 sg. rel. *farmid*-, § 413.

C. *far* with the dative, nasalizing, e.g. *far n-dligud* 'according to law'. The form *far* is found twice in *Arm.* (*Thea.* II. 240, 20, 24) and once, after the negative, in *Sg.* 197*10: *nlar n-etargnu* 'not after knowledge' (beside *far n-etargnu* *ibid.* 11).

With the article: *farsin(d)*, *farsnaib* (*farnaib* *Laws* IV. 176, 5); with possessive pronoun: 3 sg. and pl. *farna*, 1 pl. *farnaar*; with the relative particle: *farsa*-.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. 2 *farmut*, 3 *farum*, pl. 3 *farnaib*, § 436.

The original form of this preposition is unknown. In its various forms it resembles *re* 'before' (§ 851), and a great deal of leveling has undoubtedly occurred between the two prepositions. The composition form in *-ni*, *-no*, *-nu*, *-na*, which both have in common, appears also with *cen*, *sech*, *tar*, *tre* (and *dech*, § 384). Possibly *far* was at least one of the starting points from which this form developed, since *re* appears also in forms like *farmut* where it is not found with the other prepositions. It is conceivable that *far* represents a development of IE. **epi* (*Gk.* *epi*, *Skt.* *dpi*) with a suffix beginning with *r*; **epi*, with loss of the *p*, would have given *Celt. ei*, *Ir. é*, in (*cp.* *W. slyr* 'grandson'?).

In pretonic position, especially in C, one would expect shortened forms. Perhaps such forms are to be seen in *er súl* *Thea.* II. 239, 18 (written before A.D. 716), unless *s* here = *s*; in *erza nithalb* 'depest stantes' *Thea.* I. 5, 33; and in later expressions like *arn-a bátrach* (beside *fara-a*) 'on the next day'. As early as *Wh.*, however, *far* has been generalized in all positions, probably in order to avoid homophony with *ar* (§ 833).

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'; *·imbresnat* 'they contend' (deuterotonic *im-fresnat*); *imm-(a)ireide* *im-(a)ireide* 'fitting'; *im-fognam* *immognam* 'construction'; *t-imm-orte* 'constrained'; *immargal* (*imb-ro-gal*) 'strife'.

With a following *ð* it combines to give *imp-* (§ 187a); e.g. *impðd* (*imb-ðoud*) 'turning', past subj. *·impðd* (*imb-ðoud*); *impesse* (*imb-ðesse*) 'besieged'.

Before all other consonants *im*, less frequently *imm*, leniting; e.g. *im-thrénagud* 'strengthening'; *im(m)-ehom-are* 'inquiry, greeting'.

For *coim-* from *com-im(m)-*, see § 830.

B. Always *im-* or *imm-*; e.g. *imm-act* 'he drove', *im-ráðl* 'thinks', *im-sol* 'turns', *imm-hiádl* 'moves, agitates', *im-com-aire* 'inquires', etc. But in relative clauses *imma-*, *imma-* (§§ 483, 4, 509); e.g. *imme-ráðl*, *imma-ráðl* 'who thinks'; *immo-farling* 'who has caused' *Wb.* 10¹⁸ is isolated.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *immum*, *immim*, 3 *imma-* and *imma-*, rel. *immid*, etc., §§ 411, 413.

C. *im*, *imm* (*himm*) with the accusative, leniting, e.g. *m(m) chenn* 'about the head'.

With the article: *immim* *Wb.*, elsewhere *immum*, but in *Arm.* (*Theo. η.* 242, 15) once *immuan* (= *immúan*, modelled on *úan* § 847 ?); with possessive pronoun: sg. 2 *imdu*, 3 *imma* (also *imme*), etc.; with the relative particle: **imma-*, *immo-SP.*, *immua-* (= *immúa-* ?) *ML* 18¹⁴.

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 **ambí* < **ǵmbi*, corresponding to *Gael.* *ambí* in *Amhí-teutua*, **Amhí-lara*, *W. am.* *ym.*, *OHG.* *ambí*, *OE.* *gæbe*, *Skt.* *ambí*; cp. *Gk.* *ἀμφί*, *Lat.* *amb-*.

By prefixing *imm* and *a-* the prepositions in §§ 833, 845, 863 are turned into adverbs: *imm-an-atar*, *immeneatar* (*immeneatar* *Sg.* 28¹⁰) 'invisibly', *etrub immeneatar* 'among you mutually' *Wb.* 27²¹; *imm-a-la*, *immelle*, in *Wb.* *immalel* *immalel*, 'together, simultaneously'; *imm-a-sech* 'in turn'. When used before verbs in the sense of 'mutually, each other', *im(m)*, which is then always unstressed (§ 410a), may take the ordinary infixed pronouns after it; e.g. *immun-stalammar* 'we have heard of one another' *Wb.* 18²³, *immus-asnat* 'they advance towards one another' *Theo.* 1. 6, 4. But for

a pronoun of the third person *-a-* may be used also, the verb being then put either in the plural or the singular: *ní 'ma-n-digbat nemid* 'privileges do not diminish one another' *Ir. Recht* p. 12 n. 2; *as-bart ní 'ma-n-acuigib* 'he said they would not see one another' *Trip.* 212, 28, beside *conna'ma-n-darbara* 'so that they may not overreach one another' *Laws* n. 340, 2. With the singular verb there develops an impersonal construction in which the person concerned (not necessarily the third) is added by means of the prep. *do*; e.g. *Imma-tarraid dóm* 'we reached each other, we met' *LL* 113*2. Eventually we even get constructions like *ní'mma-n-acuigi dó frim-sa* 'he shall not see me' *Eriu* n. 194 § 8 (H), where *imma-* has virtually lost all meaning. The *a-*, which is undoubtedly the same both before prepositions and verbal forms, is more likely to be the petrified possessive pronoun 3 pl. (first used between the prepositions, and thence spreading to the verbal forms) than the infixed pron. 3 sg. masc., as some have suggested. On the other hand, we find *imma-* also petrified to some extent in *immas-apt(h)atar* . . . *ar n-da doagbair* 'our two cup-bearers died by each other's hand' *Fianng.* p. 12 § 19.

842. *in, ind, an* 'in, into'

A. Before vowels two forms occur: *in* and, more frequently, *ind*; e.g. *do-in-é-la* 'collects'; *neph-in-o-tacht* 'non-entrance'; *r-ind-úa-lad* 'thou hast entered' *ML* 93*14; *do-ind-naig* 'bestows' (to singl., -*anich*); *ind-o-chál* 'glory'.

Before consonants no less than three or four basic forms can be distinguished: *an-* (and probably also *in-*), *inl-*, *inde-*.

1. *an-*, e.g. *in an-gne* 'understanding' *Wb.*, *ML.*, pres. (subj. ?) pass. 3 pl. *-enggnatar* *Sg.* 209*13 (but also *Ingu(a)s* *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. *cometecht con(a)itecht*; *éitset (an-túas-)* ipv. 'let them listen' (where the media has reverted to *t* before *s*, § 139); *do-é(a)l* 'looks at' (*dí-an-cí*).

an-s..., *an-l...*, *an-r...* become *as...*, *al...*, *ar...*. Examples: *esn(a)ld* dat. sg. 'engrafting', to *an-snod-* (§ 724); *d-es-sid* 'has sat down'; *al-lach* 'union'; *airr*, gen. *arred*, 'warrior in chariot', probably to *rédid* 'rides, drives'.

In a few examples we find short *e* before *c* also. Thus beside *t-in-shore* (see 2 below) 'instruction' in *Wb.*, later texts have *teose*, *Mod.Ir.* *teagasc* (but *é-esse* 'mark, appearance, kind', *Scott.Gael.* *ceagay*). The verb *ad-cum-aing* 'happens' (where *ad-* represents *in-*, see 2 below) has *é* in prototonic forms like

subj. 3 sg. -eom(a)l and in the decomposed do-eomalg 'happens to', vb.n. teomang, Mod.Ir. teagmháil. Similarly do-e-em-alla 'gathers', vb.n. teomallad, Mod.Ir. teaglamhadh, perf. (arch.) tu-e-r-e[h]om-lasat Wb. I 7*7. Lastly, e-cor, Mod.Ir. eagar, 'arrangement', to cor 'putting'. These examples can best be explained by assuming that in them the preposition had at one time the form in-; *in-* gave *ig(g)-* (§ 206), whence *ig(g)-* (written *ec-*) before a neutral vowel. In somewhat later sources we find *-er-* in place of *-e-r-*; e.g. taru[h]omláid 'was gathered' LU 4480, do(d)-n-archessaig 'who has instructed him' 5052.

2. The leniting forms *in-* and *ind-* are often indistinguishable, for *ind-* has also become *in-* before most consonants (cp. the forms of the article, § 467 f.). It is impossible to say, for instance, whether *in-chess* contains *in-* or *ind-*. Disyllabic *ind-* is preserved in *inde-l* FéL. Feb. 16 (vb.n. of *in-laist* 'they put in, adjust', etc.), later *innell* (§ 139c); for *ind-* see below.

Before *r* the form *ind* can be clearly seen; e.g. *ind-reth* 'invasion', *ind-risse* and *indirise* 'invaded'; *t-ind-ar-sean* (*to-ind-ro-*) 'has begun'; the last form authorizes us to postulate the form *ind* in-pres. *do-in-seana* also.

There is also a clear distinction between *ind-* and *in-* before single *s*, for *ind + s* becomes *ist*; e.g. *int-samíl*, *intámíl*, *intamál* 'imitation' (inaccurately written *indsamíl* Wb. 13*27 and even *insamíl* 30*25); *do-intám* (*ind-íoom*) 'we turn, translate', vb.n. *intúth* (*ist* comes to be used before *ro* also, e.g. in perf. *do-intarraí* for *-ind-ro-íof*). On the other hand, examples with *in-* are: *insudighí* 'statute' (neut. pl.) Ml. 30*6, *insorchugud* (later written *insorchugud*, *insorchugud*) 'illumination'.

That leniting *in-* does not always represent merely the prevocalic form which has spread to all other positions (like *com* § 830 A, b, *es(s)-* § 834 A, b, *frith* § 839 A, b) is shown by early examples such as *in-gen* 'daughter' (*g = γ*), Ogam INI-GENA; also by *-t-ind-b*, 3 sg. subj. of *do-in-fet* (*-íof*) 'inspires, aspirates', where the second *i* is retained.

B. As a rule *in-*; e.g. *in-r-ís-lad* 'I have entered', *in-snadat* 'they graft', *in-longat* 'they unite', *in-t-in(n)-sean*

'begins', *in-samlathar* 'imitates'; later sporadically *inn-inn-árba(na)r* 'is expelled' *ML* 14'16 (cp. 15'5) beside *in-árba(na)r* 73'20 (vb.n. *indarb(a)s*).

But in words where the preposition has a meaning other than 'in(to)', it is sometimes replaced by other prepositions in pretonic position:

(1) Usually by *ad*: *ad-gréinn* 'persecutes' beside *in-gréinn*, but under the accent *in*-, e.g. *ipv.* 3 *sg.* *Ingrainned*, vb.n. *Ingraim Wb.*, *Ingraim ML*; *ad-fét* 'indicates, relates' beside *in-fét ML*, perf. *ad-cuaid* beside *in-cuaid* (§ 533), but prototonic 2 *pl.* *-éidid (-ea-c...)*, cp. *indidit* 'indicative mood' (*iscl-f...*); *ad-snádi* 'who postpones' *ML* 93'12 beside passive *in-snáir* 56'20, but prototonic *ipf. pl.* *-essnatis (ea-c...)* 98'3; *ad-co-ta* 'obtains' beside *pass. in-ctar* (O'Dav. 510), prototonic *-éta* (§ 544), etc. So too the forms of *as(a)-grúin-* § 834 B seem occasionally to be connected with the vb.n. *engus*, *ingn(a)s* rather than with *eene*.

(2) By *as*: e.g. *as-dloing* 'who cleaves' *ML* 48'32 beside 1 *sg.* *in-dlung* *Sg.* 15'5, vb.n. *Indlach*.

The fluctuation is due partly to the fact that *in*, *ad*, and *ess* fall together before infixed pronouns; partly also, perhaps, to the existence of different, but virtually synonymous, compounds which came to be used without distinction of meaning. Thus *de-ad-bat* 'shows' points to an old compound *ad-fét* beside *in-fét*; cp. also *atach* 'entreaty', to *ateich* (*ad-teich*) 'entreats', beside *íge* (*is-t...*).

With infixed pronoun: usually *sg.* 1 *atom.*, *atam.*, 3 *at.*, rel. *as(s)id* (e.g. *asid-grennat* 'who persecute him' *ML* 18'2), etc., § 412 f. But *in-d...* is also found, particularly in relative clauses: *indat-te-gar-sa* 'that I invoke thee' *ML* 72'4, a *n-unda* (read *-inda*.) *gréinn-siu* 'when thou dost persecute them' 36'2, *inda-túaisi (-se ms.)* 'who listens to it (fem.)' *Laws III* 32, 33; once in a non-relative form (Class B): *inda-árben* 2 *sg. ipv.* 'expel them' *Thes. I* 4, 31.

C. Always *i* (§ 48) with the accusative ('into') and dative ('in'), nasalizing. Where the nasalization is not shown, the preposition is often written *hi* (*hd*), § 25. Examples: *i n-airtítu* 'in the acceptance', *i m-béire* 'into a language', *hi tír* (*t = d*)

'into a land', *i tuil* 'in the will', *i-nuim* and *i nim* 'in heaven', *hi fáthib* 'in propheta', *i-hestur* 'in a vessel' and *i léu* 'in (the) day', *hi-riucht* 'in shape'. Later (ML, Tur.) also *inn-* before vowels: *innéin* 'in compulsion' Tur. 134, *innchealb* 'in horses' ML. 43⁴3.

With the article: *is(s)in*, *is(s)a*, *is(s)ind*, *isna*, *isnaib*; also *isín*, etc. With possessive pronoun: *im*, *it*, pl. 2 *ibar* and *ifar*; but with *na* before *a*: 3 sg. and pl. *inna* (but arch. *ine* Cam.), pl. 1 *innar* (also *inn-alcill* '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-imrudmdetar* 'in which they had sinned' 105⁴1; and of *in-ru* instead of *irru*: *in-ru-frescechas* 'in whom he had hoped' 44⁴19.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *indium*(m), 2 *induit*, 3 *ind*, *inte*, and, *indí*; pl. 1 *indium*, 2 *indib*, 3 *intiu*, *indib*, § 437.

The two forms of the preposition found in GK. *iv* and *ivl* 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 **in* < **eni*; but W. *ya*, *y'*, Corn. *ya*, Gaul. *is* *Alicie 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 *estn* for *isín* 'in the' *Thea* n. 4, 26 is archaic.

With this preposition, however, there has been confused another one containing *nd*, just as in Latin archaic *endo* *endu* (*ind-ens*, etc.) has been levelled under *in* (earlier *en*). The corresponding form in Gaulish is *ande-* (perhaps an intensive prefix) in names like *Ande-roufat*, *Ande-cornelus*, *Ande-cropirix*; in Brittonic *en(ne)-*, leniting, e.g. *enae-l* = Ir. *indél*, *en-ue* = Ir. *indech* 'woof' (cp. Ir. *fige*, W. *gwa* 'to weave'), *en-daw*, *gwr-en-daw* 'to listen' (*enai* '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-naicht*.

Ir. *ind(e)-*, Gaul. *ande* and W. *en(ne)-* could all go back to a basic Celtic form **nde*. But that leaves the vocalism of Ir. *and* 'in him' unexplained. It has been suggested that the letter is a totally unrelated adverb, which, however, is very improbable. It seems much more likely that *e* is the original vowel, especially as it is also found in Italic (e.g. Umbr. *en-cuicium* 'ind-nite'), and that Latin *endo* *endu*, Ir. *ind-* have been assimilated to the prep. *en*, *in*.

Sometimes *ind-* has non-palatal *-d-*, e.g. *indn(a)lde* 'expectation' (I sg. *in-neuth*). But this hardly justifies us in inferring a by-form in *-de* *-du*, which some scholars would see in Gaulish proper names containing *Ande-*,

Anda- (Holder II. 148; Ihm, Glotta II. 49 f.). More probably the *d* has been taken over either from forms where it stood before a neutral vowel (*do-infáig* < *ind-aiig*), or from pretonic **ind* which, having lost its palatalization (§ 168), had become, first *inn-* (*inn-ann*, §§ 503, 525), and then *in-*. This *inn-* is doubtless the starting point of the *na* that appears first before possessive pronouns (*inn-a*) and then more generally in preverbal position. A possible explanation of the *ad-* before infixed personal pronouns is that the form *ca-* was used before pronouns with initial *t-* (§ 455b), thus giving *ád(d)*, shortened in pretonic syllables to *ád(d)- ad(d)-* (written *at-*), which was responsible for the confusion with other prepositions, particularly with *ann-*.

843. *ings* 'except'

C. In the earlier language *ings* can govern the accusative like a preposition; e.g. *each sechur ocus each dochur . . . is astaithi . . . ings 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 case after it; e.g. *ní-buí* (*·buí* MS.) *l n-Héire eana l ings Cúpre* (*-ri* MS.) *Gal fill* (nom. sg.) 'there was no one in Ireland with his splendour but C.G. the poet' *Fianaig*, p. 32, 12; *ní mí claidib ina intluch ings claidib craind* 'there is no sword in his scabbard save a wooden sword' LU 5640.

D. does not occur.

Cp. ZCP. xv. 133. For *ings* as a conjunction see § 908. Cp. Skt. *śáśá* 'just, precisely'

844. (*h*)*is* 'underneath'

C. With the dative, probably without lenition in Old Irish, like *ós* (§ 850); e.g. *is néialb* 'below the clouds' Féil. Nov. 20.

There are no examples with the article, possessive pronoun, or relative particle.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. *l is(s)am*, *3 issa*, etc., § 436.

In Irish the word is exactly parallel to *ós*, *issá* 'above' (§ 850). Thus in addition to the adverbs *t-is*, *s-is*, *an-is* (§ 483), we have *ichtar* 'the lower part' (like *úachtar*), *íal* 'low' (like *íasal*). But Brittonic *is*, *íal* show that *s(s)* does not come from *is*, and that *ichtar* is therefore an analogical formation.

845.

la 'with, among'

C. With the accusative, geminating (Mid.Ir. la h-); e.g. la-mnacau 'with boys', la-ssé § 480, la auu 'among (the) descendants', arch. le dea (der ms.) 'with God' Cam. (Thea. II. 247, 22).

With the article: las(s)in, las(s)a, lasna; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 lam, 2 lat, 3 la (arch. la Zu ir. Has. I. 37 § 5), pl. 1 lar (so also ll aalle 'by the other', lelle 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 lumm, 2 lat, 3 leiss less laiss (letha), fem. lee; pl. 1 linn lann, 2 lb, 3 len leo (letha), § 433.

The oldest form was la, whence pretonic la (which spreads to D also), but ll before a in hiatus. The e is also found in l-le (llé Wb.) 'hither' (§ 483) and imm-a-le (-lel 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. xxxviii. 424 ff.), it is based on a short stem-form *le (whence *leaz, *le, le h-), which would account for leiss 'with him'; but this is rendered unlikely by the forms letha (= leth(a)e), letha, which are presumably archaic. It seems more probable that the preposition has been modelled on fri(ú) (§ 839), and the form leaz, with non-palatal az, on aaz (§ 834).

846.

ne (ní) 'down'

This preposition occurs only in close composition with the roots *ad-*, *ad-* and *g^hedh-* (Celt. *ged-*). Under the accent it usually has the form ne. Examples: con-nessa (from *ni-stá-*) 'tramples under foot, condemns', vb.n. conainsem; do-nessa 'contemns', vb.n. dainsem; tul-nsem 'crushing', áinsem (with *ad-*) 'accusing'. In-neuth ar-neut-sa (*ne-áed-*) 'I expect, sustain', 3 sg. ar-neat, -áinet, perf. ar-ru-neastar § 690 (from forms like 3 pl. pres. ar-neithet (*ne-áedat*) a weak verb develops, e.g. perf. ar-roneth, ar-rúneid Ml. 50*8, 68*6), vb.n. inaide, indn(a)ide; immid-nith ' (the bird) alighted' Anecd. III. 59, 27; tuinide 'possession', connaide 'abiding'. lase ara-n-neget (3 sg.) gl. *creado* Ml. 61*1, ipv. 2 pl. inuidid 'pray' Wb. 22*8, vb.n. inuidé (inlethe Wb. 17*6), ornaiide.

Bergin, *Ériu* x. 111, xl. 136. Cp. Skt. *ni* 'down', OE. *nifer* 'down', Mod.E. *nefer*; also *net* 'nest' (§ 213).

847. ó, óa 'from, by'

C. ó, óa, often hó, húa (oa Sg. 129*1), with the dative, leniting (§ 60).

With the article: ón(d) (h)úan(d), (h)ónaib (h)úanaib; with possessive pronoun: ag. 1 (h)úam, 2 (h)úat, 3 oa, (h)úa, ó, etc.; with the relative particle: oa-, (h)ua-, (h)ó-.

D. With suffixed pronoun: ag. 1 (h)úaim, 2 (h)úait, 3 (h)úad, fem. úadl, etc., § 435.

A is rarely found. An isolated formation is húa-béla 'open-mouthed' Sg. 7¹⁵ (bél 'lip'), later ó(l)béla, óbéla, Mod. Ir. óibhéala. In later nonce formations úad- (presumably leniting) is used; e.g. úad-fiallchúil 'reuelatá' Wb. 15⁴ (fial 'veil'); ind húad-airbertach bíth gl. abasius Sg. 3²⁴ (airbert bíth 'use'); húatúsalliothae 'absolutus' 30⁴. So too huaderet 'he uncovered' Ml. 51¹⁴ is to be analysed húad-de-r(o)-et, doubtless an artificial verbal compound.

The primary form of the preposition was óa, which is possibly retained as an adverb in oa nómad n-du 'to the ninth (generation) from him on' or 'from that on'; cp. Lat. ex(-fero), O.Fruss. ex-ndressa 'ablation', O.Slav. u-myú 'wash off'; OW. *hœ*, later *o*, 'if', *o* prep. 'from'. The *d* in óad (including the composition form óad-), óadl, and óa(d)ib may have been suggested by and, indib (§ 842).

For ó as conjunction, see § 303.

848. oo 'at'

C. oo, ooo, in Arm. *uo*, *ueo*, in Ml. very rarely *oo*, with the dative; e.g. oo tuiste 'at the creation' *uo scí* 'at the white-thorn', *oo tuidecht* 'coming'.

With the article: in Wb. always ooin(d), elsewhere also ooin(d), pl. ooinaib (ooina fem. Sg. 217*4). With possessive pronoun: ag. 1 ooinu ooino, 2 aedu Ml. (ooe t'adrad Wb. 5*25), pl. 2 ooinar; but before *a* usually with *oo*: 3 ag. and pl. ooaa, also ooce (ooe), ooce ooaa (= ooina or ooin-a?) Ml. 18⁴, pl. 1 ooccar. With the relative particle: ooaa-, oo-.

D. With suffixed pronoun: ag. 1 ooinu, 2 ooinu, 3 oo(e)o-oo(e)a, fem. oo(e)aí, etc., § 436.

A and B occur only in composition with the substantive verb in the sense of 'to touch', with *a*-forms in the pres. incl. (§ 551). In pretonic position the preposition has the form *oca* *occa*, under the accent *oc*; e.g. *oca-blat* 'they will touch', perf. *occa-ro-bas*, pres. pass. pl. *oca-bendar*, prototonic *-ocmanatar*, vb.n. *ocmith ocmaid*, gen. *ocmaide*. The substitution of *m* for *b* (presumably μ for β) in the prototonic forms is probably due to the influence of the prep. *a(s)ma*- (§ 830).

In this preposition *c(c) = g(g)*, cp. *Mid. Ir. ag, agam* 'with me'. It lenites with the article and the relative particle (which lose their *a*-), probably also in composition, but not immediately before a noun. Hence it is doubtful whether or not it originally ended in a consonant. *Ir. *oggu-* is probably cognate with *Mid.W. woc, wog* 'close, near', cp. *gn y woc* 'near him'.

849. *oc(s)* (usa) 'up, off'

A. Before vowels and *s* the form is *oc(s)*, which, however, has the same effect upon a preceding syllable as if the vowel were *a*. Examples: *oc-olgud* 'opening' *Laws iv. 312, 11* (*coluad* *ML. 46^a5*, cp. § 181), *ar-oc-allei* 'opens', vb.n. *ir-s-olcoth ar-s-olgud*; *ocnad* (*occa-ocnad*) 'aspiration' (where *ocnad* has its original sense of 'breathing'), *con-oc-na* 'rests, ceases', vb.n. *cum-s-anad*; *for-oc-s-ndi* 'which enlightens' *Anecd. v. 28, 12*, vb.n. *fursundud* (*andud* 'kindling'); *con-ocseiget, -cumseiget* 'they remove' (*occa*-).

The final is assimilated to a following media and also to *t* and *m*. Examples: *necu* 'choice' (cp. *regu, tegu*); before *gab-* the vowel fluctuates: *con-ocba* 'he may raise', past subj. *con-ocbad*, etc., vb.n. *cumgabál* (*gabál* *Theas. II. 13, 24*, error for *oc*-?); *con-utaine -utaing* 'builds (up)', (*occa-d...*), and vb.n. *cumtach, cumdach*; *obbad, opad* 'refusal', subj. *ag. 2 -obbas*, 3 *op -otp* (§ 627); *ad-opuir -opair* 'offers' (*occa-ber-*), vb.n. *edhart, idhart*, acc. *andbirt*, etc., *do-opir* 'defrauds', vb.n. *diupart*; *in-otgat* 'they enter', subj. 3 *ag. in-úait* (§ 627, the vocalism is peculiar and secondary), vb.n. *inotacht* (*úagu* 'I go'); *do-ommalg* 'I have milked' (§ 534, 3); *diummus* 'pride' (*dí-occa-mess*).

Before *l, r, n* the preposition appears as *ó* (*óa*), *ú*; e.g. *do-in-ó-la* 'gathers'; *-r-ind-úa-ldatar* 'have entered' (*tuid* 'he went'); *con-úa-r-gabad* 'has been raised'; *-dí-úal-r*

'will remain over' (§ 667), pres. *-diúrat* ML. 72^b17 (rethid 'runs'); *únaech* 'washing (off)' BR. p. 218, 19 (nigid 'washes').

fo + *o(ss)-* becomes *fó-, fúa-*, and *ro* + *o(ss)-* generally *ró-*; e.g. *fóere* (*fo-oss-geire*) 'proclamation' (the long vowel has spread by analogy to 3 ag. pres. *fo-d-úacair* Wb. 11^b24, beside pret. pass. *fo-ocraí* ZCP, VIII. 306, 22); *de-fúasallest*, *de-fúasalcat* 'they dissolve', vb.n. *túas(s)úleud* (perf. pass. *de-forsalleed*); *fúasnaid* 'disturbing' (but deuterotonic *fu-fúasna*, see § 543b); further, the perfects *at-répert*; *con-régtatar*, but beside *di-rróggal* 'has bought' Thea. II. 239, 15 (Arm.) we find pl. *d-a-rucellsat* ML. 136^a7 (*dí-oss-gell-*). On the other hand, *to* + *o(ss)-* apparently becomes *tó-, tū-*; e.g. *topur* 'well' (cp. *in(d)ber* 'river-mouth'); *tossach* 'beginning'; *tuchál* 'raising' Arm. (KZ. xxxi. 245), *ipv. tocaib* Laws, though the later language has forms with *tóe(a)b-*.

Forms such as *de-fúasallest* beside prototonic **-fúasallest* have given rise to deuterotonic forms with *de-f...* where the verb did not contain the prep. *fo* at all; e.g. *de-fúarat* 'remains over'; perf. *de-fúargabsat* 'they have raised' beside ag. *túargab* (*to-oss-ro-gab-*); *du-fúisledar* 'stumbles' beside 2 ag. *-fúislider* (*to-uss-s(w)sl-*); *de-fúisim* '(pro)creates' beside vb.n. *túistin* (*to-uss-ssm-*), so also perf. *de-forsat* for earlier *de-rósat* (§ 528); *du-furgaib* 'raises' beside **-turgaib*, vb.n. *turchál* (*to-ro-uss-gab-*, *ro* being the preposition, not the perfective particle), perf. *du-rurgab-galb*.

B. *as(s)-*; e.g. *ass-ollgi* 'opens' Corm. 803 (L); **as-beind* 'refuses' Laws (*aspoind, ispoind* *uss-*), pass. *as-bonnar* Ériu XII. 16 § 18; with infixed pronoun *at-m-olle* '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 **acis* in Celtic, comparable with Gk. *ἄψι* 'on high', etc. This suggestion is supported by the Brittonic form corresponding to Ir. *essad*, viz. W. *uch-essid* (Breit. *Aussad*) 'sigh', in which the prefix is replaced by that of § 850. But a primary form **ad-s, *as-*, as suggested by Skt. *ad-* 'up', is not absolutely excluded. The evidence of such Brittonic forms as contain traces of the preposition—Mid.W. *d-r-y-chesel, d-rychael* = Ir. *turchál* (but with *lab-* instead of *gab-*), *dí-s-bryd* = Ir. *dúpart, ar-ry-re* 'to rise up'—is inconclusive.

850.

ós 'above, over'

C. ós, (h)óas, with the dative, apparently without lenition in Old Irish, though leniting in the later language; cp. húas élan Crist 'over Christ's head' *ML* 74^bL.

With the article: ósin(d) óasin(d), ósnaib; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 óas mo, 3 óas a, etc. There are no examples with the relative particle.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 óasum, 3 óaso -a, pl. 3 óaib, etc., see § 436.

Besides the preposition the indeclinable form óas 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 es in *Bürgschaft* p. 28 § 72, read ós!); cp. *Mid.W.* nch 'above' and 'higher'. *Ir. s(s)* and *W.* cā go back to Celt. ós, see § 221b; the guttural appears in Irish also in óchtar, óachtar 'upper part' (§ 266). Cp. the adverbs t-ós, s-ós, an-ós (§ 483).

851.

re ri, rem- 'before, pre-'

A. rem, leniting; e.g. rem-suidigud 'preposition' (*remuidigthe* 'placed before'), rem-thechtas 'precedence'.

B. remi· (*remí*· § 48), in relative clauses also reme· (*remé*· *ML* 15^b3). Examples: remi-suidigdis 'they used to place before'; remi-taas 'praesent'; reme-bé do 'who may be over him' *Ériu* vii. 158 § 19; reme-n-úlesed 'that he should prefer' (*lit.* 'choose before') *ML* 47^b12.

With infixed pronoun: remita-tét 'which precedes them' § 412; amal remind-érbartamar 'as we have said it before' *Ériu* i. 215, 10.

C. Generally re (*ré* *Wb.* 9^b16, *Sg.* 169^a1, cp. § 48), less frequently ri, in later sources also ria, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. re n-airite 'before accepting', ri techt (*t = d*·) 'before going', ria cāch (*c = g*·) 'before everybody' *Thes.* ii. 240, 19 (*Arm.*).

With the article: resin(d), *resnaib; with the possessive

pronoun: *rena*, but before *a* usually written with double *n*: *renna*, *rinna* (*rena* Wb. 23¹⁵); with the relative particle: *ressa*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *riam*, 2 *riut*, 3 *riam* *riam*, fem. *remi*, pl. 3 *remib* (§ 436).

If this preposition is the same as Gaul. *ria* (with the dative), as has been suggested (ZCP. xv. 381), it represents earlier **pria*, reduced form of the comparative stem = Lat. *prior*, *prina*, which we also find in *pria-cua*, *pria-dleua*. 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 *a* like *riam*, *remi*, instead of being based on analogy with *iar*, *me*, could be derived from a superlative stem **prian-a-* (comparable with Lat. *primus* < **prifonus*). The *sa* in *ressa* 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-fíthir*, *ro-cluinethar*, *ro-laimethar*, see § 543a.

A. *ro*, *ru*, limiting. 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 fear*), *ru-bee* 'too small', *ro-élach* 'too bibulous'. Before nouns it rarely has this meaning, e.g. *ro-ól*, *ro-choillud* 'drinking, sleeping too much' Tec. Corm. p. 40 § 21. It may also be employed as a mere intensive prefix, e.g. *r-án* 'very splendid', *ro-mag* 'great field'; but when used with this meaning before an adjective *ro* is generally combined with other prepositions: *ér-* (*ess-ro-*) and *der-* (*de-ro-*); e.g. *érmall* 'very slow', *dermár* *dermar* 'very great, enormous' (W. *dirfear*, O.Bret. pl. *dermarion*).

In compound verbs *ro* seldom constitutes the first element, but is often found after other prepositions. Examples: *-ro-galnn* 'finds room' (KZ. LXIII. 114); *-ro-ig* 'reaches', for *-ro-sig* (to *saigid* 'seeks, makes for'); *de-roi-mnethar* 'forgets', vb.n. *dermat* *dermet*; *in-rui-méethar* 'sins' (to *midithir*), vb.n. *immarmus* *immormus*; *as-ro-choill* 'determines', vb.n. *érhoillud*.

Before vowels preverbal *ro*, whether preposition or particle, generally loses its *o* altogether, even where it should regularly bear the stress, except before *es(s)*, with which it combines to give *ró* (§ 849). Thus, e.g., *·r-le* 'reaches', *·rad-*, *·r-air-*, *·r-aið-*, *·r-asa-*, *·r-imm-*, etc. An exception is provided by some forms of the compounds of *em-*: perfective subj. pres. *·derofma* 'he may protect', past *·derofmed*, perf. *em·rofttr* '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. *·erofma*, perf. *ar·rôet·roft·rofat*), and that the *ó* has spread from the second; but perf. *ðo·r-ét* is regular.

For *re-* in place of *ro* see § 82. In the preterite of the verbs *do·gnf* 'does' and *do·stundf* 'denies' *rí, rí* replaces *ro* as perfective particle, with assimilation of the vocalism to the forms without *ro*: *do·rigéni* 'has done' (§ 681), after **di·géni*; *do·rifitset* 'they have denied', after **dilitset* (but *fo·gnf* 'serves' has perf. *fo·rulgén*). Later there is an increase in such forms, apparently based on false analysis of *di-* as *d-i-*: e.g. *do·rifucart* 'he shouted' Corm. 1059, to *dí-asa-gar-*, vb.n. *dinerae*. Before the verb *lécid* 'leaves' *re-* appears in place of *ro-*, e.g. perf. pass. *·roiced* ML 49·10 (deuterotonic *re·léced*), influenced perhaps, as has been suggested, by *re(l)lic* 'graveyard' from Lat. *reliquias*; cp. *·telle-* beside *do·léo-* § 855. *·ro-fo* and *·ro-fof* become *·rô-* and *·rôf-* (§§ 528, 529).

Between retained consonants unstressed *ro* usually becomes *or* (*r* in the first instance, § 112); e.g. *t-índ-ar-sean* 'has begun'; *t-es-ar-bee* 'was lacking'; *imm-ar-gal* 'strife'; cp. *immarmus*, *immarmus* above; similarly *imm·th-imm-er-shelsat* 'they have surrounded me' ML 44·25.

From *torb(a)e* 'profit', probably a compound of *has* 'profit' with *to-ro-*, a verb *·torban* 'profits' is formed by analogy with the compounds of *benald* (such as *fo·ben* beside vb.n. *fub(a)e*); in the deuterotonic it has the peculiar form *do·rerben* (Bürgschaft p. 30 § 70), *do·rerban*. An analogical formation with the opposite meaning, the compound *·de-r-ban* 'hinders', has similar deuterotonic forms: fut. 1 sg. *do·rerþu-sa* ZCP. III. 246 § 56.

B. *ro, ru* (§ 101); e.g. *ro·geinn* 'finds room', *ro·salf* 'reaches', *ro·fara* 'suffices'. In the verb *ro-le-* 'reach'

deuterotonic forms are often replaced by prototonic in a principal or a leniting relative clause; thus beside *ro-iccu*, *ru-icim*, subj. *ro-hi*, we find more frequently *ricu*, *ris*, *rānac*, etc. Similarly *rucad* for *ro-ucad* 'has been borne'.

With infixed pronoun: ag. 1 *rom*·, 3 *ra*·, rel. *rod*·, nasalized *rod*·, 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. *πρὸ*, Lat. *pro*·, Goth. *fra*, Skt. *pra*, etc. Cp. Gaul. *avo* 'nimium' (where *ā* has no significance) Endlicher's *Gloss.*, *Ro-tahes*.

853. *sech* 'past, beyond'

C. *sech* with the accusative, e.g. *sech positi* 'beyond the positives' Sg. 45¹⁸. 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: ag. 1 *sechum*, 2 *sechut*, 3 *sech(a)s*, fem. *seces*, etc., § 434.

A and B occur only with verbs of going. Pretonic *sechmo-ella* 'passes by, lacks' Sg. 196¹² beside *lase sechmi-n-ella* Ml. 61⁵, prototonic *-sechmalla*, vb.n. *sechmall*; *sechmadachte* 'preterite' (to *tāgu* 'I go').

sech, which also occurs as a conjunction (§ 882), corresponds to Mid.W. and Bret. *sep*, *seb* 'without', Lat. *secus* 'beside, otherwise'; cp. Lett. *sec* (*secus*) 'past'. For the forms with suffixed pronoun *seces*, *secca*, see § 451. If (nd) *sechald*, *sechald* '(it is no) mistake' Trip. 228, 25, RC. ix. 480 § xii., is a compound of *sech* and *buth*, either the preposition has here been compounded without the *n*-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; *tairmchruite* 'transformationis'. But also *tarmoreenn, tairmoreenn* 'termination' (to *foreenn* 'end'), dat. pl. *tharmmorennib* Sg. 43·5; *tairmchosald* 'praeparicator'. In *tarbid* 'abiding' Ml. 131·9 (-*buith*) *w* has been lost between *r* and *b*; but in Féil. June 4 the *ss*. have *ta(i)rnrith, tairmbreith* (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-regials* 'they would go over' Trip. 204, 10. It is normally replaced by *tremi* (§ 856); e.g. *tremi-berar* Wb. 8·5, *trimi-berar* Ml. 21·3, perf. *trimi-rucad* 2^b17; with infixed pronoun: *tremthiagat* = *tremid-t* Wb. 25^a14.

The form *do-airmesca* 'disturbs, prevents' Ériu III. 108 § 50 (cp. Mon. Tall. p. 127 § 2), beside vb.n. *tairmese* (*tairmese* Ériu VII. 198 § 5), has arisen from the *t*- in *tairm-mese*- being mistaken for the prep. *to*-; cp. W. *terfyyg* 'disturbance', OW. *termicetioion* gl. *solicitos*.

C. In Wb. *tar* and *dar*, in Ml. and Sg. *tar*, with the accusative; e.g. *tar erich* 'over the border', *dar timne* 'beyond the commandment'.

With the article: *tarsu, tarsa, tarsna*; with possessive pronoun: eg. 1 *tarmu tarm darm* (§ 439), 3 *tara dara* (in Ml. *fra* twice, 27^a4, 101^a3), etc.; with the relative particle: *tarsa-tara-dara*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: eg. 2 *torut*, 3 *tarals*, fem. *tairse*, pl. 3 *tairsu*, etc., § 434.

The basic form of the preposition, as most clearly shown in the forms with suffixed pronoun *tairse* and *tairsu*, was **tara*, which doubtless corresponds exactly to Skt. *tarā*, Avest. *tarō* 'across'; cp. the derivative *tairse* 'trespass (by cattle)', etc., Laws. For the (double) *s* in *tarals*, cp. *lets(s), tris(s)*; the neutral *r* by analogy with the pretonic form *tar*. The *ra*-suffix is the same as in *tram(i)-, rem(i)-*. The *d*- of the proclitic form *dar* (§ 178.3) has only partially superseded *t*- in pretonic position.

855. *to (do)* 'to, towards'

Collection of verbs compounded with *to*- alone: Holmer, BC. n. 109 ff.

A. Before consonants usually *to, tu*, leniting; e.g. *to-th(a)dm* 'fall'; *to-mus* 'measure' (mess); *-to-gaitha*

'deceives'; *to-déir* 'tearful' Ériu II. 65 § 11 (*dér* 'tear'); *tui-decht* 'coming' (§ 123b); *-tuidebhar* 'they have come' (§ 770). Before *s* and *f*: *can-toi* 'turns' (*·to-foi*), vb.n. *comthóid* *comthóid*; past subj. *·taissid* gl. *debellasset* MI. 40^a13 (*to-fich-*); *tób(a)e* 'cutting, lopping' (*to-fo-*); *túachl(i)* 'sly' (*fochall* 'heed', § 61); *térmach*, *-mag* 'increase' (*to-for-*); *túarastal* 'wages' (*frestal* 'attending').

For *to-* instead of *tu-* in *·ta-b(a)ir* 'gives', etc., see § 82; for *tí- te-* in *·tí-bér* 'I will give' and *·tí-rga* *·te-rga* 'he will come', §§ 652, 656. *te-* also appears in prototonic forms of *to-léa-* 'cast', e.g. ipv. 2 pl. *teileid*, vb.n. *te(l)luid*; here the *e* is obviously due to the influence of *raile-* (*ro-léa-*) § 852A, and may have spread to the compound from *ro-*forms like perf. 2 sg. *do-raigis* LL 113^a41. Forms with *ta-* (vb.n. *taileid*), meaning 'let (loose, down, etc.)' are probably by-forms of the same compound (cp. Marstrandar, RC. XXXVII. 23, 212 ff.), e.g. *ara-taileid* 'that he might let back' Thea. II. 240, 22 (Arm.), perf. *nað-tairlaic don* 'which has not yielded ground' MI. 131^b2 (as though compounded with *to-air-*; elsewhere *·tairlaic*). Since the preposition was felt to consist of the *t-* only, deuterotonic forms with *do-f-* arose (cp. § 837A), e.g. pres. *éa dúd-fallai don* MI. 111^b23, perf. *do-fairlaic don* Tur. 99.

Before vowels *t-*; e.g. *·t-ic* 'comes', *t-na(e)a(i)* 'understands'; further *·t-ad-*, *·t-air-* *·t-ar-*, *·t-airh-*, *·t-ess-*, *·t-éar*, *·t-ime-*, *·t-in(d)*, etc. An apparent exception is *to-org-* 'crush' (cp. pret. *do-s-n-ort* Ált. ir. Dicht. I. 17 § 4; with the perfective particle *-com-*: *do-com-art*, etc.), whose prototonic forms have *tár-*, e.g. ipv. pass. pl. *tárgatar*, vb.n. *tárcun*. But these may have been another compound *to-fo-org-* to which these forms belong, as well as such deuterotonic forms as pres. *do-fáirc*, subj. *du-fáir*, etc., which in that case are not analogical formations; cp. *ma fo-n-air* (read *fa-n-air*) 'if he injures him' Laws III. 34, 2 (without *to-*).

B. Archaic *tu-*, *te-*; e.g. *tu-théot* 'who come', *tu-esmot* 'who shed' Cam. (Thea. II. 247, 19); *tu-creomlassat* 'they have gathered' Wb. I. 7⁷; *tu-crecha* 'invents' Filargiriis Gl. (Thea. II. 46, 13; 361); *amaíl tond-echomnuchair* (read *·ecommnuair*) 'as it has happened' Cam. (Thea. II. 247, 11-12).

But from the time of Wb. on *do*, *du* is always found before-consonants (at least, examples of *to* are so rare that they are probably no more than scribal errors); e.g. *do-tuít* 'falls'; *du-mmíðethar* 'measures'; *do-gaítha* 'deceives'; *du-tét* 'comes', *do-dechuld* 'has come'; *do-sol* 'turns to'; *do-ful-bnímm* 'I cut off'; *do-for-malg* (also *do-férmalg*, attracted by A) 'increases'; *do-beir* 'gives', fut. pl. *do-bérat*; *do-léost* 'they cast', etc. For *du*, cp. § 101.

Before vowels the form of A often replaces that of B in a principal or a leniting relative clause; e.g. *tadbat* beside *do-áðbat* 'shows'; *tarrhet* beside *do-arrhet* 'has been foretold'; *tíndnagar* beside *do-índ-nagar* 'is bestowed'; always *t-án(a)ic(e)* 'came', etc.; in Wb. *túargab* (*to-oss-ro-*) 'has raised'.

C. and D. do not occur, *do du* (§ 832) being used instead.

For the change of *t-* to *d-* in pronominal 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-ús*, *t-áir*, etc. (§ 433), though both are undoubtedly connected with the IE. demonstrative stem *to-*.

856. *tri, tre, trem-* 'through'

C. *tri* (*tri* § 48) *tre*, with the accusative, leniting; e.g. *tri chreítm* 'through faith', *tre essannl* 'through fearlessness'.

With the article: *tris(s)in*, *tris(s)a*, *trísna*, also *tresín*, etc.; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *trím*, *trem*, 3 *tri-a*, *tre-a*, etc.; with the relative particle: *tresá*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *tríum*, 2 *tríut*, 3 *tríit*, fem. *tree*, etc., § 433.

A. and B. usually have forms modelled on *remí*, *rem-* (§ 851):

B. *tremí*, *trímí* (*tremí*, *trímí*, § 48), in relative clauses also *treme*, *trime*. It is often found in place of *tarmí* (examples § 854); elsewhere it occurs, e.g., in *trímédígedar* (read *trime-dígedar*) 'that he refers' *ML*. 54²², *treme-thaít* (? vs. *tremetáí* with *t* written under the *h*) 'which penetrates' 43¹⁴.

A. *trem-*, certainly leniting; e.g. *tremdirgedar* Sg. 190'6, *trem-feldliget* 'per-manent', *trem-amalresach* 'perfidus' Ml., *trem-bethe* 'sacculorum' Wb. 28'15 (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. 86'6); A., on the evidence of later examples, *trectalm* (*ct = gd*), *trectalm* Thes. II. 42, 21; the verb comes to be inflected as a simplex, e.g. 3 ag. rel. *tregtas* Ériu VII. 164 § 1a. In a few other compounds we also find *tre-* alone, but followed by lenition: *to(l)-thre-bach* neut. 'eruption' Ml. 123'2, 129'9 (*bongid* 'breaks'), later attested *tre-tholl* 'perforated, full of holes' Met. Dinda. IV. 218 (= W. *trydhol*).

In OW. the preposition is *trei*, in Mid.W. *treay*, *dreay* (in composition *dr-*), in Bret. and Corn. *dre* (O.Bret. *dre-organ* '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 Brittonic preposition; accordingly the basic form was **trei*. But the form with suffixed pronoun 3 ag. masc. neut. *trí* (Mod.-Ir. *tríd*) is impossible to reconcile with this; it looks like a neuter participle originally ending in *-at* + pronoun; cp. OHG. *drān*, OE. *drēan* 'to turn', Sk. *dr̥śas* '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 ag. is quoted, occasionally also the perfect.

DEUTEROTONIC	PROTONTONIC
<i>ad-cl</i> 'sees'	<i>-alci</i> <i>-acal</i> § 823
<i>ad-cuald</i> , <i>in-cuald</i> 'has told'	<i>-éid</i> § 842
<i>ad-strig</i> 'repeats, emends'	<i>-aithríg</i> § 824
<i>ad-greinn</i> , <i>in-greinn</i> 'persecutes'	<i>-Ingrainn</i> § 842
<i>ad-op(u)ir</i> 'offers'	<i>-audhír</i> <i>-idhír</i> <i>-edhír</i> § 822
<i>ad-riml</i> 'counts'	<i>-áirml</i> § 822.
<i>ad-slig</i> 'induces'	<i>-aslig</i> § 822

DEUTEROTONIC	PROTOTOEIC
ar·cessi 'pities'	-alrechissi ·erechissi § 823.
ar·utaing 'refreshes'	-lring ·ert(a)ing § 823
as·beir 'says', as·rubart	-epir (-apir), -érbart § 834
as·boind 'refuses'	-op(a)ind § 849
as·lul 'escapes'	-élaí § 834
as·óire 'strikes', as·comart	-essaire, ·esemart § 834
ca·ta·bí, ca·ta·bí 'feels' (con- suet. pres.)	-céibi § 828
con·certa 'corrects'	-cocarta § 830
con·le 'can', con·ánae(u)ir	-cumuing ·cumaing, ·coímaeair § 830
con·imchlaí 'exchanges'	-coímechlaí § 830
con·osna 'rests'	-cumsana § 830
con·tíbt 'mocks'	-cuiltbí § 830
do·beir 'gives', do·rat	-tab(a)ir, -tarat § 855
do·coid 'has gone'	-dechuid § 831
do·dona 'consoles'	-dídna § 831
do·essim 'sheds'	-tessim § 855
do·fouig 'washes (off)'	-díuig § 831
do·formalg 'increases'	-térmalg § 855
do·fúarat 'remains over'	-díarat § 849
do·fúasallai 'looses'	-túasallai § 849
du·fureaib 'raises'	-turgaib § 849
do·gaftha 'deceives'	-togaftha § 855
do·guf 'does', with ro: do·rén(a)í	-déo(a)í, -derna(a)í § 831
do·epir 'defrauds'	-díupir § 831
do·róse(a)í di·róseal 'surpasses'	-dersealgi § 831
etir·seara etir·seara 'separates'	-etarseara § 835
fris·gair 'answers'	-frecair § 839.
fris·óire 'injures'	-frithóire (-fridóire) § 839
iar·mí·foig 'asks, inquires'	-iarfaig § 840
im·rádi 'thinks'	-imbrádi imrádi § 841
im·sol 'turns'	-impal § 841

DEUTEROTONIC	PROTOTONIC
in(n)-árban 'expels'	·indarban § 842
in-snaðl 'grafts'	·esn(a)ld § 842
ocn-ben 'touches'	·ocman § 848
remi-saðlgedar 'places before'	·remsaðlgedar § 851
sechmo-ella sechmi-ella 'passes by'	·sechmalla § 853
tarmi-beir, tremi-beir 'transfers'	·tairmbir § 854
tremi-feidlgedar 'perseveres'	·tremfeidlgedar § 855
trís-gata 'pierces'	·treeta § 856

NOMINAL PREPOSITIONS

858. A few prepositions which are in origin case-forms of nouns govern the dative or accusative just like true prepositions; thus *fíad* § 836, *amað* § 824, *la* § 845. To this class belong also *túalith* 'north of' and *des(s)* '(less) 'south of', with the acc.; e.g. *túalith ericha Cuire* 'north of Core'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. *ísa maig des* '(less) *Argatnól* 'in the plain south of *Argatnól*' (?) *Intram Brain* I. 7 § 8, where, however, Meyer translates: 'in southern *Mag Argatnól*'. 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 á-dé* 'to God', *far á-dochum* 'to you'. It represents the proclitic form of *techm* neut. 'stepping towards' (vb.n. of *do-cing*).

sethnu, *sethno* 'through, across', e.g. *sethnu in ríghíge* 'throughout the royal house' ZCP. IV. 43, 1. Evidently an old dative (see ZCP. XII. 287), cp. *dí-a sethnaib* 'with (from) their bodies' or 'corpses' (?) *Sitzb. Pr. Akad.* 1919, p. 92 § 12.

i n-arraid 'near, with' (vb.n. of **ar-reth-** 'attack, overtake' ?).

fe bith, fu bithin '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. 201¹, **dag** (read **dág**) Wb. 5²⁹, with the same meaning; cp. **di ág mná Ceitcheair** 'on account of Ceitcheair's wife' LU 11062 (from **ág** 'fight').

fe bith and **dég** occur also as conjunctions, see § 905.

i n-degaid, i n-digaid (read **-digaid** ? acc. of ***dí-deigíd**) 'after'; e.g. **i n-degaid n-Ísu** 'following after Jesus' Tur. 74.

859. Among other nouns used in prepositional phrases are:

béal 'lip', pl. **béoil** 'mouth': **ar béalab** 'before'.

cenn 'head, end': **ar chiunn** 'facing, awaiting'; **ar cheunn** 'towards, against'; **tar, dar cenn** 'for'; cp. **ciunn, cinn** 'at the end of' (dative without preposition).

cult 'part, share': **ar chult** 'as regards, as for'.

cúl 'back': **far cúl** 'behind', for **cúlu** 'behind' (direction); **luid in grian for-a cúlu** 'the sun went backwards' ML 16¹⁰.

deud, diad 'end': **i n-deud, i n-diad** 'after'.

éis 'track': **do, di éis** '(to remain on) after (someone)'; **tar (dar) éis(i)** (acc. sg.) 'for, in place of'.

éllach 'joining, union': **i n-éllug** 'united with'.

ráth 'warranty, surety': **di ráth** 'for, in lieu of' Wb. 6¹⁴.

NEGATIVES

nl, nleon

860. The ordinary negative in both principal and subordinate clauses, apart from the cases enumerated in § 862 f., is *nl*, *nl* (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. *nl-dénat firta álll* '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 *nl* 'it is not' (§ 794); e.g. *nl ar formut fríb-si as-blur-sa* in so 'it is not because of envy of you (that) I say this' Wb. 12*29.

For *nl* . . . *nech* 'no one' see § 489. For the form of the infixed pronoun after *nl* see § 411; for the forms of the copula, § 794 ff.

861. In principal clauses *nl* is very often replaced by *nleon*. This negative lenites in Wb. and Sg.; e.g. *nleon-ehloor* 'let me not hear' Wb. 23*41, cp. 2*21, 19*10, 30*4, Sg. 188*4. In Ml. it nasalizes *t*- in *nleon-dét* 'it does not go' 53*17 (cp. *connacon-n-* § 896).

Before an infixed pronoun it is first found in Ml. (§ 430). In the Glosses it does not appear before forms of the copula; but *nleon* is used (like *nl*) for 'is not' in Féil. Prol. 111, Epil. 227, and later sources; e.g. *nleon 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 . . .'. *nleon* would then have arisen as the counterpart of the common *nl néd* '(it is) not that not', e.g. *nl néd-m-bla cunseugad* 'not that there will not be a change' Wb. 13*17. This explanation seems to be contradicted by the lenition that normally follows *nleon*; on the other hand, it is supported, perhaps, by arch. *nleo-pe*, *nleo-be* (3 sg. fut. of the copula) ZCP. xi. 94 § 32, 95 § 46, where *eo* looks like the by-form of the conjunction *con*. If it is correct, the lenition must be secondary, suggested, perhaps, by that after *nl-re-* (§ 234, 2).

nā, nāch, nād, naon, etc.

862. Before the imperative the negative is *nā* (geminating), before infixed pronouns *nāch-* (§ 419); e.g. *na·cuindig* 'seek not', *nachib·berar* 'be ye not borne'.

On the other hand, the jussive subjunctive has *ní* or *níonn*; e.g. *ní·gudá* 'ye shall not pray' Wb. 26*34 (ipv. *na·gudá*); cp. *níonn·chúor* § 861; *ní·re·hála* '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 *nād* (conjunct particle), before forms of the copula (other than the 3 sg. pres. ind.) *nā*, before infixed pronouns *nāch-*. If followed immediately by the verbal particle *re* it appears either as *nād* with the stress falling on *re*, or as *na* with *re* attached in enclisis.

Moreover, the forms *nā* and *nāch* are always used after the conjunctions *ara*^a (§ 898), *eo*^a (§ 896 f.), and *a*^a 'when, while' (§ 890), with which they combine to give respectively *arā·arna·*, *eonā·eona·* (*arnach-*, *eonach-*), *anna·ana·*; and usually, though not invariably, after prepositions with the relative particle, as well as after *í*^a 'in which' (examples § 492). Only once do we find *amal na·níl* '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 *nād*, *nan(t)*, *nāt*, *nā(t)ch*, *connāch*, subj. *nadip* and *nap*, §§ 797, 803.

Examples: *nahí nad·chrenat* 'those who do not buy' Wb. 10*7; *amal nād·n·dénl* 'as it does not make' Sg. 63*17; *in·nād·cúalaid·sí* 'have ye not heard?' Wb. 5*21; *aimser námha lebur* 'a time that he will not be feeble' 6*15; *nad·rognatha* 'which have not been done' Ml. 115*4; *na·ro·pridchissem·ní* 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17*31; *re·boí du cheisí Dauid eonna·regáid do dia digáil for Saul* 'such was the clemency of David that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul' Ml. 55*4; *dinad·ricthe nesh* '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.

na-digder 'in which are not feared' beside *inna-fers fleched* 'in which it does not rain' SP. (Thes. n. 284, 15). There are also sporadic instances of *na-* (not *nad-*) for *arna-* 'lest' and *con(n)a-* 'so that not': *na-inreimser* 'lest thou sin' Wb. 20^a; *nachin-rogha dall* 'that pride may not seize us' 18^a40; *na-biam* I *n-gortl* beside *conna-biam* I *n-gortl* 'so that we shall not be in hunger' 18^a3-8.

nad (with the 3 sg. of the copula *nāch*) may also introduce replies; e.g. 'da-bér (read *do-bér*) *stotu dait. Nad-géb-sa éu.* 'I will give thee treasures.' 'I will not take that.' LU 5806.

Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1899-1902, p. 54.

864. In the same way as *nācon* is used beside *ní* (§ 861), *nad-con* (in leniting relative clauses also *nad-chon*) appears beside *nād*, 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-riethar* 'a poison which cannot be healed' ML. 33^a10. We find *nacon* also after a preposition with the relative particle; e.g. *dinacon-bí* 'from which is not wont to be' ML. 85^b7, *teah arnacon-damar cert* (*cert* *na.*) 'a house out of which right is not granted' Laws v. 160, 4.

Collection of forms in ML: Ascoli, *Archiv. Glottolog. Ital.*, Suppl. n. 121. Cp. further Wb. 4^b2, 18^a11, Thes. n. 239, 1 (*Arna*).

865. Parallel non-verbal words or phrases in a negative clause are usually linked by *nā* (geminating), before proclitics *nach*. Examples: *ní-frithalim-se rucal na-mmebuil* 'I do not expect shame or disgrace' ML. 49^a3; *conna-biam* I *n-gortl na noshl* 'so that we shall not be in hunger or nakedness' Wb. 16^a8; *nachab-tíed* *fer ri nach far túad* '(they believed) that neither your king nor your people would come to you' ML. 46^a14.

But such words or phrases may also be linked together by the ordinary disjunctive *né* 'or' (§ 863); e.g. *ní hé mūd neit né chaine de-gairem-ní noíbu* 'not after the manner of (their) strength or beauty do we name the saints' ML. 37^a18.

866. In the earliest period two or more complete negative clauses could also be linked in this manner; e.g. *ní-tuillet díslí*

anfolta nath díless dá(a)ls dísparta 'improper objects (in a contract) do not impart 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^b22), or *ocus* was placed in front of the negative *na* (with the copula *ná(i)ch*); e.g. *ní ind fessin eirbthi ocus nach dó do-aisilhi na-nní de-gní* 'it is not in himself that he trusts and it is not to himself that he ascribes whatever he does' *ML.* 51^b12.

For later examples of *ocus na*, cp. *Pedersen* n. 264 (*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 *ní-thó*), the contrary of *tó* 'yes'; e.g. *hi-* (read *in-!*) *pridechabat!* 'nathó' of *Pól.* 'Shall they preach? "Nay", saith Paul' *Wb.* 13^b13.

(b) *natec*, which glosses *non utique*, *nihil minus*, etc. The forms *natec* and *nate(c)* are especially common in the second part of a disjunctive question; e.g. *in tree sém didiu fa natec* 'is it through it (fem.) then indeed or not?' *Wb.* 2^a4; *no-scrútain-se . . . in-ru-starstar fa natec* 'I used to examine . . . whether it had departed or not' *ML.* 91^b1. Cp. also *air nírbu chumachtach-som, natec* 'for he was not powerful, nay!' *ML.* 72^a4.

Cp. further the gloss on *non de nádo* *ML.* 75^b20: *ní dí natec díim .i. acht is dú díim* 'it is not of a non-thing, i.e. but it is of a thing', as against *it napháimí* 'nihil (sunt)' 130^a7 (cp. § 874).

(c) *náte náds*, which is used as an emphatic negative (cp. *ate (adde)* 'truly, indeed'); e.g. *Inn ed in sin fu-ruar (-ra or na.) dáit? náte, ní ed* 'is it that that caused (it) to thee? Nay, it is not' *ML.* 44^b10-11.

In one instance *náds* does not appear to have a negative meaning: in *Innan les perbhuas at nárúir? náds sém, is innon* 'Is *perbhuas* the same as *nárúir* according to him? Verily, it is the same' *Wb.* 34^b11. On the other hand, there are some examples in which *ate (adde)* is possibly, though not necessarily, negative; cp. *ML.* 114^a16, 24^a18, *Thés.* n. 4, 30. It is definitely positive in *IT.* n. 2. 190, 20; 214, 50; m. 190 § 16; cp. also *LL.* 120^a17.

868.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE FORMS

For the vocalism of *ni* 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 *nae*, *naŷ* before vowels (as *naŷ* only in subordinate clauses in *Mld.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 *na* in *Middle Welsh*). Accordingly Insular Celtic had a form **nak*, from which Britannic makes nouns and verbs also: *W.* *naŷ* 'denial', *scoppl* 'denier', *nacou* 'to deny', *Bret.* *naket* 'to conceal' (*k* < *gk*). The occasional long vowel in *Ir. na*, *nich* is thus probably secondary. In *na*(*ŷ*ee, etc.), the doubling of the guttural is due, perhaps, to a suffixal particle; cp. *Bret. nac'h* 'to deny' (*c'h* < *ik*).

The construction described in § 865 f. makes it almost certain that we have here a form cognate with *Lat. na-gua*, *nae*, *Goth. ni-ā*; the final vowel had been lost so early that *g^w* in auslaut became *h*, and hence does not appear as a labial in Britannic (cp. § 880). This equation would suggest that the use of *na* (*nach-*) in relative clauses is due to the conversion of earlier parataxis into hypotaxis; with the relational use is also connected its employment in answers to questions (cp. §§ 38, 3a, 780, 2). When it had come to be used in relative clauses it could combine with the particle (*ŷ*)d (§ 511) to give *nidd* (which is not identical with the above-mentioned *Mld.W. naŷ*).

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-dhē* 'nay' is paralleled by *W. na dīo* (*dīo* 'yes'), perhaps there was a form *na* without the final guttural; cp. also *nīde*, *nīde*. In all these forms the origin of the *a* is obscure.

In place of *nāket*, etc., other texts which are of about the same age as the *Glosses*, but are transmitted in later MSS., have *nīce*, *nae*, *nāce* 'nay', without *n-*. This recalls *taoue*, *taeco* 'verily' (perhaps originally 1 sg. of a verb) which, like *nīe*, is often used to mark an antithesis; e.g. *noune uoe aīe ? gl. taoue*, is *nī* 'yes verily, it is ye' *Wb.* 23^b; *namquid aīe ? gl. taoue*, *nī-adlīgīmar* 'nay, we need not' 15^a2 (cp. 15^a18).

COMPOSITION FORMS OF THE NEGATIVE

869. 1. The Irish forms descended from the Indo-European negative prefix **n-* (Britannic and Gaul. *an-*, *Skt. a-* *an-*, *Gk. d-*, *dī-*, *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. *anfias* 'ignorance' (hence *anfiasid*

'ignorant person' § 267), *anerstem* and *am(a)ires* 'unbelief', *anfehell* 'carelessness', *aneride* 'injustice' (to *eride* 'heart'), *a(l)mlis* 'disadvantage'.

870. IE. *p-* is represented in Irish by the following forms :

(a) *an-* before vowels and *m*; e.g. *an-sens* 'unwise', *an-irlithe* 'disobedient' (noun *anrlata*), *an-óg* 'incomplete', *an-min* '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 *anbud* 'unstable' (to *fossad*), *ainb* 'ignorant' (*nđ* 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', *anfus*, *anfoirthe*, *anfehell* above.

This *an-* comes to be used often before other consonants too; see below.

871. (b) *am-* (with lenited *m*) in *am-(a)ires* 'unbelief, distrust' and later attested *am-ulach*, *am-ulchach* 'beardless.'

This is the usual form before *r*, *l*, *n*; e.g. *am-réid* 'uneven, difficult', *am-labar* 'speechless'; later attested *am-nirt*, *am-nertach* 'strengthless' (*nert* 'strength'). But *an-* also occurs in this position, e.g. *a(l)nrecht* 'injustice, illegal claim' Laws.

In Welsh, too, *ap-* is the usual form before *r*, *l*, *n*, e.g. *ap-rwydd* 'difficult', *ap-lafur* 'speechless', *ap-nosth* 'not nude'; sometimes also before *j*; *ap-iaeth* '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 *ap* became *nđ* before a vowel (§ 188d); but *npl*, *npr* were doubtless reduced to *nđ*, *nř* (whence *nł*, *nř*), which provided the starting-point for the spread of lenited *n*.

(c) *am-*, with unlenited *m*, before *b* (and *p* in loanwords), e.g. *a(l)mbrit* (*-birit*) 'barren', *amprom* 'improbus'.

It may be conjectured that before *b* the earlier form was *im-* rather than *am-*. There are, however, no certain examples of this, though *imbl* 'of a fool' Ériu xii. 68 § 63, beside *ambl* *ibid.* p. 78, 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. *dimbían* 'short-lived' LU 5383 (*bían* 'lasting'); *dimdaeh* 'ungrateful' Ml. 45^v, 102^v (*buddeh* '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-ger* 'impious, undutiful'. But it is sometimes replaced by *an-*; e.g. *an-dach* 'worthlessness' (to *dag-* 'good'), whence *andg(a)id ang(a)id* 'worthless person'; *an-glan* 'impure' (noun *anglaine*) *Wb.*, *Ml.*, etc., beside *inglan* *Corm.* 601 (*L.Br.*).

ins(a)e beside *ans(a)e* 'difficult' (from *ans(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'; *ésamil* (-*cosmíl*) 'dissimilar' (noun *ésamilus*), *Mod.Ir.* *éagsamhail*; *é-toich* 'improper'; *é-tromm étrum* 'light' (*tromm* 'heavy') *Mod.Ir.* *éatrom*; *éscid* 'alert' (*seith* 'weary'). But before nouns with initial *c* we find mostly *an-*: *an-cretem* 'unbelief' (adj. *ancreitmech*), *an-eride* § 869; but *éer(a)e* 'enemy' (*ear(a)e* 'friend').

873. 2. The prepositions *ess-* (§ 834) and *di- de-* (§ 831) are sometimes used like *an-*, etc., as negative prefixes. Examples: *essar(a)e* (and *ear(a)e* § 834A) 'enemy'; *éu(a)iri* 'infirm' (*neit* 'strength'); *es(s)am(a)in* 'fearless' (*omun*, *ómun* 'fear'), cp. *Mid.W.* *shofya*, *Gaul. Exonius Exonius*; *dinnim* 'careless' (*snim* 'care'); *dithrub dithrab* 'desert' (*treb* 'dwelling'); *deserbdi* (*s = s'*) 'asymy' *Wb.* 9^b13 (*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 básad íalsub . . . necheitem an-ad-iadar di Christ* 'it is the custom of philosophers . . . not to believe (lit. 'non-belief') what is declared of Christ' *Wb.* 27^a10; *ancretem* 'unbelief' (§ 869) could not take any such complement. Similarly *nephís* (*neph-fís*) *ocus nephetaronas inna*

timnae n-dláde 'the non-knowing and the non-understanding of the divine commandments' ML. 58*20, whereas *anfus* always stands alone.

This prefix is chiefly used before verbal nouns and participles, also before nouns of agency. Examples: *tre nebhábrt dígle fuirib-si* 'through not inflicting punishment on you' Wb. 18*12; in *nehmaldachad* 'the non-cursing' 5*23; *neph-atdánigthe* 'not remunerated' ML. 56*10; *nephascaldid* 'non-obtainer' Sg. 106*1.

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. *nebeongabthetu* 'incontinentia', *nehmarbtu* 'immortalitas', *nephehumscaldthe* 'immutabilis'. So too before adjectives in *-de* and *-ad*, e.g. *nepheherpd(a)e* 'incorporeal', *nepkimmalreide* 'inconueniens', *nepthairismech* 'instans, unstable'.

Examples of this prefix before other words are *nephlar* 'inremissus' ML. 134*4; *nablaeac* 'non pigri' Wb. 5*17; *nepni* (to *ní* 'something' § 489), which repeatedly glosses *nihil* in ML.; *bíd tánd dom-sa mo nebhúad gl. uocabo non meam plebem plebem meam* Wb. 4*1.

This particle certainly contains the IE. negative *an*. 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. xrv. 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 chretim dáib*, 'it grieves me that ye do not believe' Wb. 4*28; *cid atob-aich cen dílgud cech aneicid* 'what impels you not to forgive every injustice?' 9*20, where *cen dílgud* is the negation of positive *do dílgud*.

Collection: *Bandá*, ZCP. ix. 385 f. The use of *cen* before a relative clause is quite exceptional: *is gels don ríe cen an-ro-ráid Briain do dénam dá* 'it is prohibited for the king not to do what B. has said' LU 10480.

CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONAL CLAUSES

876. Some conjunctions are in origin prepositions, having the same meaning when they govern an entire clause as when they govern a substantival case. The clause so governed has no further mark of subordination (except after *cenmíthá*, § 887).

Others are cases of nouns or pronouns, with or without a preposition. These are followed by a dependent clause, which may have the form of a nasalizing relative (§ 497 ff.) or a principal clause (§ 506). 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 cruth* 'in the way in which, how, as', we find *cruth* alone, e.g. *cruth nandat choms(uidlghthi) stáil leo* 'as in their opinion these are not compounded' Sg. 201^b12; similarly *indas* 'kind' ML 93^a14. That such nouns were to some extent felt as absolute nominatives is clear from *lune re-prídched dáib* 'as (i.e. in the sense in which it) has been preached to you' Wb. 25^a40, beside dative *luni re-mhátar riam hf tempul* 'as they had formerly been in the Temple' ML 62^b2 (cp. § 261, 3).

Similarly: *airm 1-fuirsitís in torce, arimbad and fu-rruitís a pralntech* 'there (lit. 'place') where they should find the bear, there they should put their refectory' Thea. II. 242, 4 (Arm.); so also with other words meaning 'place' such as *port 1^a, dú 1^a*. The same construction is common with *méit* 'amount, size'; e.g. *méit as á-do scribund gl. quantum ad scripturam* Sg. 3^a30. So, too, beside *in dul* (from *dul* 'going') 'in the way that', 'so that', also 'because', we find *dul* used alone (Wb. 30^b3).

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 substantial clauses are discussed under *eo**, *ara**, *cía*. Cp. also § 503).

The following is an alphabetical list of the conjunctions discussed :

<i>a</i> * § 890	<i>abamín</i> , <i>afameinn</i> § 899.
<i>acht</i> §§ 908, 904	<i>acus</i> § 878
<i>adas</i> § 909	<i>air</i> , <i>ar</i> § 906
<i>aire</i> , <i>airg(g)</i> § 886	<i>amal</i> § 911
<i>ara</i> *, <i>araí</i> , <i>aruae(h)om</i> § 898	<i>arindí</i> § 905
<i>ba</i> , <i>bá</i> §§ 464, 910	<i>calléic</i> § 880
<i>cammalb</i> , <i>camaiph</i> § 907	<i>ce</i> , <i>cein</i> § 909
<i>céin</i> , <i>cé(t)ne</i> § 892	<i>ceinmíthá</i> § 887
<i>-ch</i> § 880	<i>cía</i> , <i>cí</i> , <i>cini</i> , <i>cíd</i> §§ 909, 910
<i>eo</i> , <i>cein</i> §§ 896, 897	<i>eo</i> *, <i>con</i> *, <i>con(n)a</i> , <i>con(n)acon</i> , <i>connachon</i> §§ 896, 897
<i>damau</i> , <i>daniu</i> , <i>daneu</i> , <i>dano</i> , <i>dana</i> § 900	<i>dég</i> § 905
<i>dia</i> * §§ 889, 903	<i>didú</i> , <i>didu</i> § 901
<i>emid</i> § 884	<i>eter</i> , <i>stir</i> . . . <i>ocus</i> § 881
<i>fa</i> , <i>fá</i> §§ 464, 910	<i>feib</i> , <i>fb</i> , <i>fu</i> § 911
<i>fo béth</i> § 905	<i>farsindí</i> § 894
<i>immargu</i> § 907	<i>in</i> . . . <i>in</i> , <i>in</i> . . . <i>fa</i> § 910
<i>indid</i> , <i>indat</i> , <i>innásh</i> § 905	<i>inge</i> § 908
<i>in tain</i> , <i>in tan</i> § 888	<i>is</i> § 878
<i>istodí</i> § 891	<i>íter</i> . . . <i>ocus</i> § 881
<i>las(s)e</i> § 891	<i>má</i> , <i>mani</i> §§ 902, 908, 909
<i>ná</i> , <i>nach</i> § 886	<i>naech ma</i> , <i>i-naech ma</i> § 902
<i>nó</i> , <i>ní</i> §§ 885, 910	<i>noch</i> § 880
<i>(h)ó</i> § 893	<i>ocus</i> , <i>ocus</i> §§ 878, 911
<i>ol</i> § 906	<i>(h)óre</i> § 905

os § 878	resú, risú § 895
robo, robu, rodbo, rodbu § 886	'a § 878
soío, soíu § 879	sech §§ 882, 883
siú § 895	trá § 901
(h)úare § 905	

I. COPULATIVE AND DISJUNCTIVE CONJUNCTIONS

878. In the MSS. of our period the usual link between co-ordinate sentences or words is the symbol γ or Lat. *et* for which it originally stood. When written out it has the form *ocus* as a rule in the archaic Cambrai Homily, but *ocuis* five times; *acus* in Wb. 3^a15; *ecus* in ML 65^a7 and 94^a5. 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. *eo cumtuch γ che n-imbiud* 'with embellishment and with abundance' ML 94^a11; but *cp.* § 234, 3. Adjectives are not linked by *ocus* except when they are used predicatively and the copula is repeated between them. Examples: *erí leis et luxoriosus*, transl. *bíd (búd MS.) éitrom drúth*, ZCP. XIII. 48, 24; but *is séim γ is iméitrom γ is sídamail* in *tuaraseball* 'fine, light, and peaceful is the description' LL 266^a33 f.; *ba seúth γ ba torsech γ ba mertrech* (read *mernech*) 'he was weary, sad, and depressed' LU 9098.

In the rare exceptions, like *lethan déib ar thús in drochet, céil γ cuming is déis* 'at the beginning the bridge is wide for them, at the end narrow and strait' LU 2153, 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 *et* 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-óio form os-mese oc talreital cech maith dóib-som* 'they used to inflict every evil on me, though I was (lit. 'and I') prophesying every good to them' ML 54^a30; *déib anamdae íoraib ot-hé marbdal calléte* 'a living form on them, and they dead notwithstanding' 130^a3.

Collection: *M. Ó Beolán*, ZCP. xiv. 311 ff.; but *cp.* 484f., xvi. 275.

In early legal texts *os* = *oens* sometimes occurs in other positions also; cp. *Laws iv.* 128 (thrice); *Ir. Recht p.* 27 f., §§ 30, 31; *Bürgschaft p.* 14 §§ 46-7. It survives in *Mid.Ir.* as *is*, 'is'.

The oldest form seems to have been *oens*, the palatal quality of the final being subsequently lost (§ 188). It is doubtful whether the word is related to the adj. *oens*, *oens* (Welsh *oens*, Corn. *oens*), 'near'; perhaps it is rather to be connected with *os* 'at' (§ 848).

879. The conjunction *seó*, *seú* occurs in early poetry and 'rhetorics' with the same meaning and construction as *oens*; e.g. for *doine domnaib seó dób* 'over worlds of men and over gods' *Álb. ir. Dicht. II.* 10. It lenites, cp. *seó chonél LU* 6632.

In a few very archaic examples it is apparently used with the genitive, like a nominal preposition, e.g. *báigib Meib seó Ailélla* 'Meib and Ailéll boast of it' *ZCP. xiii.* 284.

880. In very early texts *-ch* 'and' occurs, usually infixcd after the proclitics *re-*, *to-*, and *ba*; e.g. *fer óa-n-éat be(l)eh roch-lamethar forgall (-gall ms.)* 'a man from whom bees swarm away and who ventures to testify' *Laws iv.* 190; *ba-ch ri Temraeh* 'and he was king of Tara' *ibid.* 178.

Collections: *ZCP. xiii.* 289 f.; *xviii.* 100 ff.; *xx.* 204 (and 272).

At the head of a principal clause *noch* sometimes serves as an emphatic form of 'and', e.g. *Laws II.* 388, 13. More frequently, however, it has rather adversative or causal force. For emphasis it may be accompanied by *ém*, *ám* 'indeed' (*Wb.* 5¹⁸, *Sg.* 121¹¹), *immurgu* 'however' (*ML.* 16¹², 74², *Sg.* 66¹⁴), or *calléic* 'yet, nevertheless,' (*ML.* 31²⁴). Examples: '*Anchises ergo Anchisades debuit facere, facit autem Anchisades*', quasi ab '*Anchisades nominatio gl. amal no-bed, noch ní-fall* 'as if it were; yet it is not' *Sg.* 32¹; *nunc et ego Irahelita sum gl. noch ém ám Irahéide Wb.* 5¹⁸. It is, however, also used with the copula simply for *id est*, being often followed by *són*, *ón* 'that' (§ 479); e.g. *psalterium emendatum gl. noch is con-acertus-sa ón* 'that is, I had emended it' *ML.* 2¹.

-ch corresponds to Lat. *-que*, Gk. *-τε*, Skt. *ca*, etc.; cp. Gaul. *eti-c*, 'and'

also'. So too *noch* may consist of *-ch* preceded by the particle *na*, which occurs without meaning before verbal forms and infixed pronouns (§ 838).

881. When a number of co-ordinate words are used to denote the constituent elements of a larger unit, they are linked to each other by *ocus* and governed by the preposition *eter* *iter etir* (§ 835), which precedes the first of them. Cp. the gloss on *per tractus terras* *ML.* 140²: *etir réid ḡ amréid ḡ etir fáu ḡ ardd* 'both level and unlevel, both valley and height'; *conse fri eách eter carit et escarit* 'gentleness towards everyone, both friend and foe', *Wb.* 30²27; *di-rróggel Óchter n-Achid cona seibh iter fid ḡ mag ḡ 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 bíd dia, bíd duine* 'He will be both God and man' *Inram Beain* p. 23 § 48; *sech ní-tharísat-som ní-comtaachtmar-ní* 'neither have they given it nor have we sought (it)' *Wb.* 24²20.

Collection: *KZ.* xxviii., 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 *et est*. Examples: *sech ba feirbthe (feirbtheas ms.) a íres sídi* 'although his faith was perfect' *Wb.* 19¹11; *motumbitur peccator gl. sech is ar-léicfithir són dun peathach ón* 'that is, that will be lent to the sinner' *ML.* 67¹13 (*ón* is the subject of *ar-léicfithir*); *negotius festibus gl. ambat feidreidí in dotal, sech it gnuimá són* 'when the distresses, that is deeds, shall be witnesses' *ML.* 75⁴6.

This seems to be a different word from the *prep.* *sech*: it may, like *noch*, contain *-ch*. The first element is not clear: possibly *se* 'this' (§ 477 f.)

884. The particle *emid* 'nearly, as it were', when repeated, stands for Lat. *tam . . . quam* 'as well . . . as'; e.g. (*contendit pœnâni LXXII huius similitudine coniungitur tam experiendâi (austera) quam (ob ea ipse libere) conquierendâi* gl. *emid du-secula, emid ara-n-éga* 'as well that he may experience as that he may lament' (as though the lemma were *conquierendâi*) *ML*. 95^a, 7.

885. Disjunctive *nô, nã* 'or' (commonly abbreviated *í* in mss., § 35) is used to separate co-ordinate clauses as well as members of the same clause. It lenites; e.g. *Is lour dá preceptóir í n-sealla no thrú* 'two preachers in a church, or three, are enough' *Wb.* 13^a9.

The O.Bret. form *non*, *W. neu*, points to **non(e)* from **nō-ue*. The word appears to contain the negative as well as the IE. particle *-ue* 'or' (Lat. *ue*, Skt. *ud*) and to have originally meant 'or not'. Presumably, as in *nach* (§ 481), the negative meaning was first lost in negative clauses.

886. In combinations of disjunctive phrases leniting *rodbo rodhu robo robu* appears (i) before the first member, the others being introduced by *nô*, (ii) before all the members, or (iii) only before the later members; e.g. *rodbo día ad-roni . . . í is hé som ad-roni do día* 'either it is God who has committed . . . or it is he who has committed to God' *Wb.* 29^a29. For further examples see *KZ.* xxxv. 404; *Ériu* vii. 162 § 5, 166 § 2; *Laws* iv. 340, 1.

The form is probably a potential *re*-subjunctive of the copula 'it may be'. The meaning of the *-d* in *rodbo, rodhu* is not clear.

Between disjunctive clauses 'or' is occasionally rendered by *aire, airg(g)*, perhaps originally the same word as *aire* 'dilemma'; cp. *ZCP.* x. 443. For *ta, ba* 'or' in disjunctive interrogative clauses, see § 464; for *nã, nach* in negative clauses, § 865; for concessive 'whether . . . or', § 910.

887. *ceumíthá* 'besides that' (cp. § 775) may be followed either by a principal clause (as in *Sg.* 3^b15) or by a nasalising relative clause: *ceumíthá ara-n-ecatar coltchena in -or da(no)* 'besides that common nouns in *-or* are also found' *Sg.* 65^b11.

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-téit spirítus ar n-éirí-ní, in tain bes n-inum accobor leann* 'it is then *spirítus* helps our weakness, when we have the same desire' (*bes* subjunctive of generalization) *Wb.* 4²⁷; *in tan do-rotaig dia dó in n-úall do-rígní, ro-éad farum* 'when God had forgiven him the pride he had shown (lit. 'done'), then he was healed' *MI.* 50¹⁵.

For 'whenever' *nach tan* is used, e.g. *MI.* 58²⁵, etc.

889. *dia*^a (i.e. *di-a*^a § 473, conjunct particle) 'when' is used only with the narrative preterite; e.g. *dia-luid Dauid for longais* 'when David went into exile' *MI.* 52.

More often it is a conditional conjunction; see § 893.

890. *a*^a (§ 473), neg. *an(n)a*, with *ro* : *arru-*, *anru-*, before a nasalizing relative clause indicates contemporaneity, and is often used to paraphrase Latin participles. Examples: *quia nuper cum Ebreo disputans quaedam testimonia protulisti* gl. *arru-cestaigser frissin n-Ebride* 'while thou didst dispute with the Hebrew' *MI.* 2⁴³; (*facile*) *cantato (speci mense apparebit)* gl. *am-has éite* 'when it shall have been sung' *Thea.* II. 17, 34.

an for *a* before *e*, *MI.* 39¹¹.

891. Simultaneous action is also indicated by *in-se*, *lasse* (§ 490), lit. 'with this (that)'; e.g. (*passus David*) *cum persequabatur (a filio suo)* gl. *lasse du-sente* 'when he was being pursued' *MI.* 142⁴.

More frequently, however, it has in addition instrumental force. Thus it often serves to paraphrase the ablative of a Latin gerund; e.g. (*non movebunt improbi*) *retinendo me* gl. *lase arúdam-fúrtset* 'by restraining me' *MI.* 114¹¹.

On the rare occasions when it has adversative force it does not necessarily indicate simultaneous action; e.g. *hl sunt trá con-rioc frissa lind serb in chérsachta, lass fo-rullecta béid in chalich di mil eosse 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. 7⁴⁹.

Occasionally *hindí*, lit. 'in that (that)', may also have instrumental force, e.g. Wb. 15¹⁴.

For *amal* as a temporal conjunction see § 911.

892. *eóin* and *eé(i)ne* 'so long as', originally accusative and genitive of *eían* 'long time'; e.g. *eóin has m-béo in fer* 'so long as the husband is alive' Wb. 10²³; *eéine no-soife-stu háim* 'so long as Thou wilt turn from me' Ml. 33¹.

893. *(h)ó*, leniting, means 'since', but when followed by the perfect it has the meaning 'after'. Examples: *hó boí me chenéil is ce frecur eóill dá atáa* 'since my kindred came into being, it has been engaged in worshipping God' Wb. 29⁴⁸; but *ó ad-cuaid rúin íce in chenéil doíne, as-ber íarum dane . . .* 'after he has declared the mystery of the salvation of mankind he then also says . . .' Wb. 21¹¹ (*ad-cuaid* is perfect of *ad-fét*, § 533).

ó 'if' (see Gwyon, *Hermathena* XL. 12) does not occur in the Glosses.

894. 'After' can also be expressed by *farsindí* (§ 474, 1), which as a rule, like *resú* (§ 895), is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause (cp., however, Ml. 125⁹); e.g. *farsindí dob-reígn-sa* 'after I had chosen you' Ml. 103¹⁵. Cp. *farsindí batir íaricel* 'after they were worthy' Wb. 5¹⁴, with the preterite, not the perfect, of the copula; similarly Ml. 21³.

895. *resú*, *risú* 'before' (lit. 'before this', § 480) is followed by the perfective subjunctive, but not—in the older Glosses at least—by a formal relative clause (cp., § 506).

Examples: *molld resiu ro-cúrsacha* 'he praises before he reprimands' Wb. 4*2; *resiu ris-sa* 'before I come' Wb. 14*17.

The use of *sé* alone in this sense—e.g. *éid sé* *táid Cúiríthir* 'before C. came' *Lindain and Corúthir*, 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), neg. *co-ní*, with *ro*: *coro*·, *coru*·;
2. *coⁿ* (§ 473), also *con* (abbreviated *o*, even in positions where the *-n* should be silent, § 236, 1), conjunct particle; neg. *conna*, *cona* (§ 146), *con(n)acon*, *connachon*; with *ro*: *corro* and *conro*.

This conjunction corresponds to the prep. *co* '(un)to' (§ 829) and has the following meanings:

- (a) purely temporal 'until';
- (b) consecutive 'so that', introducing a consequence or inference that follows from the principal clause;
- (c) final 'in order that';
- (d) 'that' introducing explicative and noun clauses (e.g. 'he says that . . .', 'it is right that . . .').

A slight difference of meaning between 1. *co* and 2. *coⁿ* 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. *coⁿ* *con* is also found at times. On the other hand, where the whole sentence is translated, 2. *coⁿ* *con* is nearly always used. Exceptions are very rare; e.g. Wb. 21*8, where *creati* in *Christe Iesus in operibus bonis quae praeceperunt donec ut in illis ambulare* is glossed *res-príoch, ros-comal(nastar), ros-dínigetar* *Sé* *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 *res-príoch*; this would represent the normal use of 1. *co*. More definite evidence is provided by a few examples where *co* is explicative: *canl gó dáib-sí an-as-berid, a Iúdaí, conl-eleitis gairní talrachlial Críst* 'is it not a lie of yours what ye say, O Jews, that the Gentiles did not hear prophesying of Christ?' Wb. 6*8; *seht namud is samlid is torbe sém co eir-certa an-as-beis at con-rucra in-actarua eilich* '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 *canl gó* and *samlid* (in the second example we find 2. *coⁿ* 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^a13, Ml. 23^a6). There appears to be no certain example of *l. co* outside the Glosses, and even in these it does not occur with the meaning 'until'. *ceda·rasedib* 'so that he delivered it (fam.)' RC. xv. 346, 32, may be an error for *conda·...*. For the frequent *omma·* (with *-imma·*) see § 117.

After final and explicative *co, co^a* 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 *co^a* is *condid condid*, neg. *connách*, subj. *condib condip*; see §§ 797, 798, 803.

Nasalization is also shown after the form *con* with restored *·n*; cp. *con-á-gastal* Ml. 131^a13, *con-dáice* Wb. 3^a27 (*táice*), *con-dóidís* 5^a11; even *con-n-áta* Ml. 32^a15, cp. *concon-n-áradatar* 54^a17.

897. Examples :

(a) 'until' : *nipo irgnae con-táice lex* 'it was not evident till (the) Law came' Wb. 3^a1. After a negative principal clause *co^a* in this sense is followed by the perfective subjunctive. Clear examples with *ro* first occur in later mss.; e.g. *ní-scarfom in cruth-sa co·rrue-sa do chen-sa / co-tarcab-sa me chend lat-su* 'we shall not part thus until I take away thy head or leave my head with thee' LU 5673.

(b) 'so that' : *ita accederit ut nullus quiverit id ignorare* gl. *coní-coimnaeair* 'so that he could not' Ml. 116^a5; *ní-fil ainm n-Assar isint salm, co·n-eperte 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^a8.

Where *co^a* introduces an inference, not a consequence, the clause may lose its dependent character. Cp. the gloss on the signature : *salutatio meo manu Pauli* Wb. 27^a16 : *comhad notire rod-scribad coise* 'so that it would have been a notary who had written it hitherto'. We have a completely independent clause in *canón, / comhad traichtad hule in so* 'Scripture-text, or all this may be commentary' (potential past subj.) Ml. 86^a9.

In narrative texts *co^a* '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^a10 :

is *hés desom anislu cose inna m-ban i tossug, combi farum coseitir ind fir* 'this is a custom of his, to correct the wives at first, and it is afterwards the husbands are corrected'. The conjunctional character of *co*ⁿ has been completely lost in the narrative preterites *co-súal(a)s*, *co-n-ae(sa)s* 'he heard, he saw', § 536. In a few cases *co*ⁿ introduces the principal clause after a dependent clause; e.g. a *mboi-side* (-*bai* ms.) *ooc imthecht i-mmuig co-farnaie Coirpre* 'while he was wandering about outside he found C.' Corm. 1618 (L).

(c) 'in order that': *si enim deus naturalibus rebus non pepercit, ne forte nec tibi parcat gl. coní-eemi nád-n-áirehlessa*, act is *co ar-cosca* 'in order that it may not happen that he spare not, but it is in order that he may spare' Wb. 5^b35; *is dó do-gníam-se anislu, combín eosmáil fri enca* 'it is for it I used to do that, in order that I might be like to the innocent ones' Ml. 91^b7.

(d) explicative: *díegair condib indubál du día anní as indubál día muntair* 'it is due that what is glory to His people be glory to God' Ml. 90^a13.

898. The most frequent final conjunction is *ara*ⁿ (i.e. *ar-a*ⁿ § 823, conjunct particle), neg. *arná*, *arnacon* *arnaehen*, which always takes the subjunctive. For the forms with the copula, such as *arimp arim*, *airndib airndip*, *arimbáí armad*, *airndis ardis*, etc., see §§ 803, 806.

Examples: *as-bertar a n-anman arna-gaba nech desimrecht díib* 'their names are mentioned so that no one may take example from them' Wb. 28^a20; *is dobar finchosa, ara-n-dernaíd an-do-gníam-ní et arna-dernaíd an-nad-déanam-ní* 'it is for your instruction, that ye may do what we do and that ye may not do what we do not' 16^a24 (perfective subj. of wish, § 531, 3).

*ara*ⁿ is also used, like *co*ⁿ, as an explicative conjunction, not only in clauses with final meaning like *as-rubart día fris-som ara-celebartis a sollumnu* 'God has said to them that they should celebrate His feasts' Ml. 102^a3, but also in *ní-torménmar-ní ara-m-béis in gníam-sin* 'we had not thought that those deeds would be' 115^b1.

899. An independent optative clause can be constructed either with the perfective subjunctive alone (§ 531, 3) or with *afameinn* (Sg. 207^b14), *abamin*, followed by the past subj. without *ro*; e.g. *abamin fer-s-aldminte* 'would that thou wouldst call to mind' Sg. 161^b11.

Preterital *afamenad* *affamenad* is used for past wishes (of another person): *afamenad ra-fesed* 'he would fain have known it' Sg. 148^a6 (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 *afamen-sa do-grethas* (*dogrethas sa*) 'would that thou wouldst do it' *Contrb. s.v. delmju*; *fomenalnn . . . ro-femalnn* 'would that I could expel . . .' *Ériu* II. 63. The forms are not clear. *Mid.W. go-fyon* 'request, ask' is possibly connected.

900. A particle which is usually abbreviated *dá* 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 *dania* and once as *daneu*; in *Wb.* several times as *dane* and once (5^a18) as *dana*; in *ML.* as *danau* 37^a8. Example: *is iriam ind anim do thuil dée*; *todfugadar 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^a18.

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-rigni inna gnimu sechmadachtai, da-géna da(nau) innabí tairngir hisa todocháde* 'as he has done the past deeds, so also will he do those he promises for the future' *ML.* 60^a10.

Probably from *dí-se-áa*, cp. § 483.

901. Similarly the weakly stressed particles *didiu*, *didú* and *trá* (*ML.* 42^a24, *Thea.* 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 siní t(rá)* 'it is evident from that, then' Sg. 5^a10; *nítat terti*

fri toil dáo ; is dílla lemm dídu aní as torbæ oldaas aní as díllain
 'they are not of use against God's will : now what is useful
 is dearer to me than what is permissible' Wb. 11^b17a.

dídu is shortened from *dí-túdu* (§ 430) and *trá* possibly from *tráth*
 'hour'. In the weakly stressed particles *dano* and *dílla*, such accent as there
 is falls on the second syllable ; hence the later forms *dno*, *dna* and *dú*.

III. CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS

902. The usual conjunction in conditional clauses is *ma*,
má (§ 48), mostly leniting (§ 234, 3b), neg. *maní* (before forms
 of the copula sometimes *maín-* ; *maín-p* beside *maní-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.

má 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 dúd-esta ní díbar n-tris íccúdir* 'if aught is
 lacking in your faith it will be made good' Wb. 25^a30 ;
maní-prídag at-béi ar gortí 'if I do not (i.e. shall not) preach
 I shall die of hunger' 10^a24 ; *ní tairmthecht rechte maní-airgara*
recht 'it is no transgression of (the) Law unless (the) Law
 forbid' (generalizing clause) 2^a18 ; *matís túesí ní-rígad* (*rígad*
ms.) 'if they had been elect, it (the vengeance) would not have
 fallen (lit. 'gone')' 11^a22.

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 dí rúnalb do-théi ar menmuin*
ind fir . . . at ad-reig (*ind.*) 'if aught of the mysteries should come
 before the mind of the man . . . and he rises' Wb. 13^a12.

In the Laws, *l-núech* (detag. of *ní*, § 439a) *ma* or *núech ma* is often
 found in place of *ma* alone ; see ZCP. xvi. 270.

903. In positive conditional clauses which require the
 subjunctive, *dis*^a, which is properly a temporal conjunction
 (§ 889), is used exactly like *ma* ; e.g. *ní lour in bendachad*

dia·mmaldachae; *ni leor dans in nebmaldachad mani·bendachae* 'it is not enough to bless if thou curse; nor is it enough not to curse if thou bless not' Wb. 5²³.

904. *acht* followed by the perfective subjunctive means 'if only, provided that'; e.g. *bith and bees acht ropo i tull dée* 'let him still abide therein provided it be in God's will' Wb. 10²⁵. But where an impossible condition is implied, the subjunctive without *re* is used (§ 530); e.g. *acht ni·bed úall and* 'if only there were no pride in it' 10²⁷.

In itself *acht* means 'only' (§ 903), 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 Pál. 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 *ére*, *háre*, *háare* (for the construction see §§ 497a, 505). Example: *is airi do·roígu dia geintí háre nárbu hae la Iuden creitsem* 'therefore hath God chosen the Gentiles because the Jews deemed belief of no account' Wb. 5¹².

Less frequently we find such clauses introduced by *fo bith*, *dég* (§ 858), and *ol* (neg. *ol ni*; *olais* for *ol* is Thea. II. 296, 9). Examples: *fo bith is talpe in so* 'since this is a fragment' Ml. 14⁴; *dég rombu éndaire dó* 'since he was absent from him' Sg. 148⁶; *ol is amain* 'since it is so' Wb. 6⁸.

ére is really the genitive of *úar* 'hour' (§ 250, 4). *ol* is used to render not only causal but occasionally also relative *quod* (§ 477); *quod . . . ol* is rendered by *ol ma* Ml. 3¹³. This particle is probably connected with Welsh *ol* 'tweak', its original meaning being 'in consequence of'.

For *indí*, *innéch* '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 renis* (non peperit) Wb. 5²⁴: *indat Iudei hír·rossat(xat) trí hírís n·Abarebe* '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 Inter Glosses it sometimes

lenites; e.g. *air cheso l n-as- con-osna s6n, n6 l n-am- do-gul* a neuter 'for, though this (*alius*) ends in *-as*, it does not make its neuter in *-am*' Sg. 206³.

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 camalph* (occasionally *camal*, e.g. Wb. 3⁴⁸), probably to be read with *-ai-*, 'however, nevertheless'; or (2) *im(m)urgu* (*immargu* Ériu VII., 162 § 5)—usually abbreviated *im* or *imr.* in the mss.—which is possibly less emphatic. The first is rarely found at the head of the clause (Sg. 209^{3a}, where it lenites), the second never. The two may also appear together: *camalph im(murgu)* Sg. 9²².

Examples: *nam si ovem lingua, spiritus meus orat, mens autem mea sine fructu est* gl. *n6-thucei mo manne im(murgu)* 'yet my mind does not understand it' Wb. 12⁴¹¹; *esse comprehensio litterarum, as-berr camalph* 'although (a syllable) is a *comprehensio litterarum*, nevertheless (a single vowel) is so called' Sg. 21¹.

cammaib is really an independent phrase: *camu-olp6* 'false appearance!'; 'false semblance!'. *imurgu* is perhaps from *im-ro-g6n* 'great untruth!'

908. *acht* (often written *act* § 28, in Sg. and later mss. abbreviated *6*, which is really the compendium for Lat. *sed*) corresponds etymologically to Gk. *εξωθεν* and thus originally meant 'outside', 'except'. It retains this meaning in negative clauses, where combined with the negative it expresses 'only'. Examples: *n6-b6 nach deithden foir act fognam* (nominative) *do d6a* 'there is no care upon him except serving God' Wb. 10⁴⁹; *n6-r6dat-som acht br6e 7 togais* (accusative) 'they speak only lying and deceit' Ml. 31¹⁸. It can be strengthened by the addition of *namm6*, which follows the word it refers to; e.g. *acht comparit neut. namm6*, lit. '(it is not found) outside the neuter comparative only' Sg. 41⁹. The combination *acht namm6* renders Lat. *nisi forte* Wb. 9²¹, 12³².

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 *re-légsat canóin amal runda-légsam-ní, acht renda-sálhset-som tantem* (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*. 24²⁴; *acht mairte a clocha* 'save that its (fem.) stones remain'. *Féil. Pról.* 194. In the same sense we find *acht má* (e.g. *Wb.* 5⁹), 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. *ní déib ad-rorsat, act is cosmullus délbe* 'it is not an image they have adored, but it is the likeness of an image' *Wb.* 1¹⁹.

inge (see § 843) is used as a synonym for *acht*: *inge má* 'unless' *Sg.* 79³, *TBC.* 263, 244; *inge in tan* 'except when' *Sg.* 29¹; *inge* 'but' *BC.* ix. 468, etc.; *inge namá as-rubairt* (read -art) 'when he had barely said' *Ériu* ii. 122 § 81.

SUBORDINATE CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

908. The usual concessive particle is *cia*, *ce* (as a rule leniting, § 234, 3b) 'although, even if'; before initial vowels *ci*; neg. *cení*, *cení*, *cíni*. 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; *cia* 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 *ciasa cesu cesu, cetu ceto, cenid, cid ced, cit, cets, cepu ciabo, ciaptar*, see §§ 793, 796, 805, 807, 810; cp. also the negative *cin-bat* *Wb.* 4⁶.

Examples: *cia rud-chúalatar libéire et ce nus-labratar, nípat ferr de* 'though they have heard many languages and though they speak them, they will not be the better for it' *Wb.* 12²⁸; *ci as-bera nech ropia (= reb-bia) nem cia du-gneid na rétu-sa, nípa fír* 'though any one say ye shall have Heaven though ye do these things, it will not be true' 22²³; *cia*

chou-desin far sáll, des-m-bérthe dom 'though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them to me' 19²⁴.

So too we often find *eid* (i.e. *eia* 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 *eit*. Examples: *eid ee hódr* 'even for an hour' Wb. 18¹⁰; *híalt eit geinti híressieh*, 'there will even be faithful Gentiles' 4⁴⁰; but also *ro-batar eid ferte dia Imthrengud* 'there have even been miracles to confirm it' 24⁵.

Indicative co-ordinated with the subjunctive (see § 902): *eia heid Crist 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. 4⁶.

eia 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 ee ru-samahtar tri Crist* 'it is right that he be compared to Christ' Wb. II. 34⁴; *deithbir ei as-berthar casus nominatiuus* 'it is reasonable that one should say *casus nominatiuus*' Sg. 71¹⁰.

In the combination *adas eia* Wb. 3², Ml. 68¹⁵, the expression of *anthesis* appears to be intensified. *adas* alone *glossae casuois, signidem*, etc., when isolated from their context (Fodensen II. 21, ZCP. XX. 249); *adas ma* Sg. 40²¹.

910. If an alternative is conceded, either *eia* 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. ei at-redillet, cini-árlillet* 'whether they deserve it or not' Wb. 31²³; *1-m-bem i m-bethu, i-m-bem i m-baás, had les-som* 'whether we be in life or in death, let it be with Him' 25¹²; *omnis pars orationis quocunque modo derivata, gl. Im tri dígháil fa thórmach in dírsuidíud* 'whether the derivation be through diminution or increase' Sg. 188⁸. The construction is often used also for the analysis of *sechí* 'whosoever, whatsoever'; e.g. *seruí estis eias cúí obceditis gl. sechíp hé, Im do dia, Im do pheccad* 'whosoever (i.e. to whomsoever) it be, whether to God or to sin' Wb. 3¹⁵.

More rarely we find *cith* . . . *no* (*nu*) Cam. 37d (Thea. II. 245, 36), also *cid* . . . *nó cid* ML. 145^o3, and *ba* . . . *ba Ériu* I. 196 § 10.

For concessive *cin* and *sechi* 'whosoever' with subj., see §§ 458, 461b.

VI. COMPARATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

911. The commonest conjunction is *amal* (arch. *amall* § 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 aithi[r]gi, amal dund·rigni* Ezechias 'that he may practise repentance as E. has practised it' ML. 51^o16; *sed* (*o*) *quasi consonanti dígamaa praeponeere recusantes* gl. *amal bith do chonsain, amal as á-di* 'as though it were to a consonant, (or) as it is to it' Sg. 9^o11.

feib (*fb* Wb. 23^o3), probably the dative of *feib* ' (good) quality', is occasionally used with the same meaning and construction; e.g. *feib feid·áir·som la auc(taru) is sam*(ld) *da·áruid* 'as he has found it in authors so he has shown it' Sg. 144^o3. The cognate adj. *fiu* 'worth' often glosses *quasi* when isolated from its context.

amal is also used as a temporal conjunction to express simultaneity; e.g. *amal imind·ráitset, con·acatar* Flacc *cuccu* 'as they were talking about it, they saw F. (coming) towards them' Thea. II. 241, 11 (Arm.).

After *is cumme* 'it is the same (as if)' the equated clause is attached by *onus*, not by *amal*; e.g. *is cumme ad·clau·si na rúna diadi et ad·oil nech ní trí scáith* 'we see the divine mysteries in the same way as one sees something through a mirror' Wb. 12^o11 (two nasalizing relative clauses). It. 'it is the same how we see . . . and how one sees'. There are rare instances where no conjunction is used; e.g. *is cumme di re·berthe* 'it is the same for her as if she had been shaved' 11^o13; with the prep. *trí*: *nía chumme·se tríu·som* 'I am not the same as they' 20^o25.

For *in* *chruth*, *cruth*, *inne*, *inni* 'so, as', see § 873.

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 in the principal clause or the antecedent placed at the end of the principal clause. Examples: *is in chrud-sin re-áitir inti i-m-bá in spruit noib rúna dée* 'it is thus that he in whom is the Holy Ghost knoweth God's mysteries' Wb. 8^o10; *eonnare-gáid do dia dígail for Saul inna n-óid do-rigéni-side fris* 'so that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul for the evils he had done to him' Ml. 55^o4, where the genitive *inna n-óid* is separated from *dígail*, on which it is dependent, in order to support the relative clause.

Other dependent clauses are not inserted in the principal clause. But where a period consists of three clauses, there is a tendency to place conditional and concessive clauses before the clause to which they are logically subordinate. Examples: *eonotad maic-si raith dano, ma im-roimsid, ni-dílgibther dúib* 'though ye, then, are sons of grace, if ye should sin ye will not be forgiven' Wb. II. 33^o8; *atúshur do dia ce ru-baid fo pheccad nachib-fel* 'I give thanks to God that, though ye were under sin, ye are not' Wb. 3^o19. Even a relative clause, together with its antecedent demonstrative pronoun, may be placed before the clause to which it is subordinate: *immaireide dídu ind-hi nad-arroimsat 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^o23. Exceptionally we find in such periods a conditional clause placed at the end as a kind of supplement; e.g. *is téchta eia im-ána bóaire cid lóg secht cumal do t[h]areud a e[h]uirp fúdesin . . . mad erba do-si (read -slé !)* 'it is lawful for a bóaire to bequeath even the equivalent of seven cumals from his own personal acquisition . . . if it be (his) hereditary land that earns (it)' Laws III. 48.

Cp. Federsen 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 *dúis* appears before the principal clause in Ml. 39^o24.

APPENDIX

FORM AND FLEXION OF LOAN-WORDS IN OLD IRISH

Collection (excluding proper names): Vendryes, *De hibernicis vocabulis quae a latina lingua originem duxerunt* (Paris dissertation) 1902. Cp. also Güterbock, *Bemerkungen über die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Irischen*, I. Teil: Lautlehre (Königsberg dissertation) 1832; Schuchardt, *RC.* v. 489 ff.; Sarsau, *Irish Studies* p. 3 ff.; Pedersen, i. 23 f. (loan-words from Britannic), p. 189 ff. (from Latin).

913. The language of the eighth and ninth centuries contains many loan-words from Latin, most of them introduced as a result of the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. These words have undergone various changes; but here only a few typical features, which do not conform to the regular sound-changes 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. δ for \bar{a} , as in Britannic, occurs fairly often; e.g. *altáir* 'altare', O.Corn. *alter*, Mid.W. *allawer*; *trindéit* 'trinitas,

-tate', W. *trindod* (the *-d-* for *-t-* is also Britannie); (h)umaldóit, omaldóit 'humilitas', W. *uſylltod*; féróil 'ferialis'; póc 'kiss' from *pax, pace* (= *oculum pacis*). For *-óir* = *-arius* see § 269.

Cp. *-óe* in hypocoristic names, with the Celtic suffix *-áko-*, § 271.

The *-ó-* of *notáic* fem. 'Christmas, natalis' appears also in Mid.W. *notáicpe* (O.Br. *notáic*), due to shortening of the unstressed syllable. But Ir. *trest* (gl. *trabe*) from *trástran*, as against W. *trawst*, Br. *trawst*, is peculiar; it is scarcely modelled on derivatives like W. *trostian*, *trostian*; perhaps it has been influenced by another word, Mid.Ir. *trest* 'crack, noise'. It is doubtful if Mid.Ir. *tráctad*, *trástrad* 'striking' preserves old *tráct(r)*.

915.

TREATMENT OF LATIN STOPS

In Britannie 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 sound-values of the letters. Thus the scribes of the earlier Britannie Glosses write, for instance, *decimint* 'addecimabant', W. *deguen* 'tithe'; *stratar* 'stratura', W. *gastrodyr*; *capister* 'capistrum' W. *cebystr*; *mod* 'modus' W. *modd* (*dd = δ*); *scribenn* 'scribendum', W. *gagrifen*. There is little doubt, therefore, that the similar orthography of Irish (§§ 29-31) arose under the influence of Britannie.

In Irish, on the other hand, single *c* and *t* after vowels in native words turn into the spirants *cá* and *tá* (§§ 119, 122), which in certain circumstances become voiced *γ* and *δ* (§§ 126, 128-130). In the Latin loan-words we find a twofold treatment of single postvocalic tenues:

(a) They follow the Irish sound-laws and become spirants. This treatment is found in undoubtedly early examples like *cu(l)ithe* 'puteus, pit'. Cp. also *srathar* 'stratura, pack-saddle' (the *d* perhaps by analogy with *srath* 'valley bottom'), *peccath* *peccad* 'peccatum', *tiach* 'theca', *mindech* 'mendicus',

prechid *príchid* 'praedicat', etc. (so also *ch* for *ct*, e.g. *tráchtaid* 'tractat', *interlecht* 'interiectio').

(b) Or, following the Britannic pronunciation, they are sounded as voiced stops (Mod.Ir. *g*, *d*, *b*). Examples: *spírut* 'spiritus', Mod.Ir. *spiorad*, *spioraid*; *páter* 'pater (noster)', Mod.Ir. *páidir*; *metur* 'metrum', Mod.Ir. *meadar*; *sacard* 'sacerdos' Mod.Ir. *sagart*; *re(l)lic(e)* 'reliquiae, graveyard', Mod.Ir. *reilig*; *popul* 'populus', Mod.Ir. *pobal*; *serepel* *serepul* 'scripulus (-um)', later *serebal*.

(c) In *cland* 'plants, plant, children, descendants' (W. *pland* 'children'), *-nd* for *-at* is probably due to the fact that at the time the word was borrowed *-at* did not exist in Irish (§ 208); nor even after syncope did final *-at* appear in native words, hence we find forms like *alcend*, *argumind* beside *alcant*, *argumint* 'accentus', 'argumentum'. So too the absence of *sk* in Irish accounts for *ung(a)e* 'uncia', as well as for *caingel* 'cancelli (-lii)' and *ingor* 'ancora' (cp. *in-ger* 'unduteous'), although the Britannic forms of the last two words are also based on *-og*.—Mid.W. *kngeſſ* *kngeſſ* (= *knell*), Bret. *kael*; O.Bret. *aior* (from **aeor*)—and it is not certain that these have been influenced by the Irish forms.

Ingeſt Ml. 61*15 reproduces according to Irish orthography the Latin pronunciation of *incensum* (see). 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 *s* (attracted by *chis* 'census').

(d) In Irish, as in Britannic, post-vocalic voiced stops became voiced spirants, and they are so treated in Latin loan-words also; e.g. *scrib(a)id* 'scribit', Mod.Ir. *scriobhaidh*; *légaid* 'legit', Mod.Ir. *Míghidh*; *mod* 'modus', Mod.Ir. *modh*.

In *martiale* 'martyrologium' (Fñ.), *ſetariate*(s) (nom. sg. later attested), gen. *ſetariſe*(s) *ſetari(a)ſe* and *ſetariſe* *ſetariſe*, 'Old Testament' (§ 286), from an oblique case of *ſetare* *ſe*, and in later *astroſale* 'astrologia' the ending has been assimilated to that of *ſacrſale*(s), with *-c*(s) = *ſ*(ſ). 'ſacrificium' (Mid.W. *ſagryſſe*) and of later attested *offic* 'officium'. The form *capall* 'work-horse' (acc.pl. *caſſlin*) does not correspond to Continental *caballus*; together with W. *caſſyl*, it points to a modified form such as **caſſyllus* (cp. Pokorny, ZCP. XIX, 180). In *abbgitr* (pl. *abbgitr*) 'abecedarium, alphabet' (W. *apwyldor*) the isolative pronunciation *a-be-(ce)-de-* may have had some influence.

(e) As *cā* and *tā* in absolute anlaut are unknown to Irish,

they are replaced by *c* and *t*; e.g. *éarachtar* 'character', *Crist* 'Christus', *théach* 'theca', *teoir teuir* 'theoria'; cp. *sefama* 'schema'.

Sometimes *p*- survives as *f*, e.g. *seisub* 'philosophia'; but *Filip(p)* for *Philippus*, *Fól*.

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. *aiscent* 'accentus', *tempul* 'templum', *breibh* 'breuis', etc. But in those Latin words where an *i* stood before the last vowel (*-ius*, *-ium*, *-ia*, *-io*, also *-eus*, *-uum*, *-ex*), 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', *parthe* 'parochia', *caimise* 'camisia', *ca(i)ise* 'caseus', *fine* 'uinea'; nouns with suffix *-ire* = *-arius* (§ 269), and Mid.Ir. *ortha* 'oratio' pointing to OI. **erthu* (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 *Britannia*. Examples: *oróit* 'oratio'; *féil* 'vigilia', 'feast', W. *gŷyl*; *scriu* 'scrinium', W. *gyrin*; *ecl(a)is* (*c = g*) 'ec(c)lesia', W. *eglyw*; *híróin* 'ironia'; *sanetáir* 'sanctuarium' (gl. *sacrarium* *Sg.* 33*6); *accuis* (flexion § 302, 3) 'causa', from late Lat. *accusio* (O.Fr. *acofocon*) for class. *occasio*, W. *achaus*; *fis* 'uisio'; *pais* 'passio', etc.

As to *eu(i)the* 'p̄s', the evidence of W. *pydes* indicates that *patens* was pronounced with the diphthong *-eu-*; the same applied to *clis* 'oleum', doubtless a somewhat later borrowing, W. *oleu*, Goth. *alfo*. Cp. also *sa(i)is* from *salus*, W. *salis*.

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 *quadagesima* 'Lent' is lost in W. *gaweyc* *gaweyc*,

Bret. *korais*, as likewise in Ir. *corgais*, gen. *corgais*; and Ir. *eangigis Ériu* VII. 150 § 36, *eandigis KZ. XXXI. 239* (Arm.), for *quingagesima* 'Pentecost', is a similar formation. *capitulum* as a name for Maundy Thursday appears in Welsh as *cabylt*, in Middle Breton as *caublit*, and in Irish correspondingly as *caplat* (-ait). Shortening of this kind is very frequent in Irish; e.g. *ult*, *penult* for *ultima*, *penultima*; *adiecht*, *posit*, *comparit*, *super(a)it*, *opt(a)it*, *inifit* for *adiectivum*, *positivum*, *comparativum*, etc. (on these is modelled the secondary formation *indifit*, gen. -*deto*, 'indicativum', from *ind-féd-*; but *genitlu*, gen. -*ten*, 'genitivum'); *oblae* Thea. II. 252, 8, *ablu* 251, 10, for *oblata* 'Host', gen. *oblae* 252, 19 but *oblann* I. 484, 26 (Arm.); **febras*, gen. *febral* (Fél.), 'februarius', as against *enár* 'ianuarius' or 'ianuarius'.

The use of *-ián* (cp. *Priscián* = *Priscianus*) in *septián* 'Septuagint' is peculiar. The same ending appears in *firián* beside *firián*, *firián* 'just' (gen. sg. and nom. pl. *firián*, *firián*, *firián*, *firián*) from W. *gwirica*; the abstract noun *firiann* has probably been influenced by *inne* 'sense'.

918. In general, Britannic influence must always be reckoned with. Ir. *pennit* 'penitence' obviously corresponds to W. *penyd*, Bret. *penet*, which have been taken directly from the verb *penitere*, and *an* (not *ad*) in the Irish form must be based on some modification. But it was equated with Lat. *penitentia* and thus provided the model for formations like *abstant*, *alcidit* for *abstinentia* and *accidentia* (also *accidens*). In *stoir* 'historia' (*h*)- has been lost, as in Bret. *ster* 'senes' (the *y-* of W. *ystyr* is a later development). The diphthong in *caithir* 'cathedra' is undoubtedly taken from Britannic (Mid.W. *cateir*). The vocalism of *laubir* *leubir* 'labor' (§ 80c) indicates that the second syllable formerly had *u*, cp. W. *llafur* from *labôr-*. The formation of *póilre* for *pupillare*, -*res*, -*ria* 'writing tablet' likewise recalls Britannic **peallôr*, Mid.W. *peullawr*. Already in the Britannic period *septimana* 'week' had been assimilated to the Celtic numeral 'seven' (cp. Bret. *seven* *seven*, Corn. *seithun* *septim*, beside Bret. *seis*, 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 Féilire, for instance, only such names as keep their Latin flexion are stressed on a later syllable; e.g. *Magdalena* March 28, *Pietrauis* Jan. 13, *Damianus* Sept. 27; but *Damian* Nov. 9, *Simplíce* July 29, etc.

In *Isru* 'Eau' SR. 2851, 2879, etc., the stress is quite exceptional, perhaps to avoid confusion with *Ís(x)u* 'Jesus'. It is doubtful if *amain* 'so' (§ 40) corresponds to Gk. *ἀμαίη*.

This led to syncope of interior vowels both in words borrowed before the time of syncope and in subsequent borrowings which were assimilated to Irish models; e.g. *apstal*, *abstal* 'apostolus', *epscop* 'episcopus', *feisub* 'philosophus', etc. In *montar* and *muintar* (also *muntar*) 'household', from *monasterium* (*monisterium*), the non-Irish group *-ast-* resulting from syncope has been reduced to *-at-*. Further, long vowels were sometimes, though not consistently, shortened; e.g. *persan*, gen. *persine* 'persóna'; *sechtmen* 'septimána'.

SUBSTITUTION OF IRISH SOUNDS FOR LATIN

920.

c FOR p AND qu

In its earlier stages Irish had no *p* (§ 226); in old loan-words *c* appears in place of it. Examples: *casc* 'Pascha, Easter' (like Lat. *pascha* treated partly as neut.pl., partly as fem.sg.); *corcur* 'purpura'; *elúm* 'pluma'; *caille* 'pallium, veil'; *cu(l)the* 'puteus, pit'; *cland* 'planta, plant, children', like W. *pland* 'children'. The same substitution probably occurs in *cichnaigistír* gl. *striderat* Sg. 152^b2, ep. OW. *pipenn*, Mod.W. *piéas* 'pipe'; *cúanáis* gl. *pagúil* (taken to be *pagillus*) Sg. 50^b12; *cann*, Mid.W. *pann*, 'cup', Late Lat. *panna* from *patina* (ep. Loth, RC. XLI. 51); *tescor* 'vesper'.

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 *crúimther* 'priest' (§ 223), probably also

by the *o* in *Cothr(a)lga*, the older Irish representation of *Patricius* (but the *gs* in *Quotiródo*, *Quadrige Colgan's Secunda Vita Patricii* c. 12 is perhaps merely graphic).

On the other hand, in the *Blanchfalteg* bilingual inscription the Latin genitive *voracronasus* is represented by Ogam *voracronasas*, not **voracq-* (*Academy*, 1896, p. 38). This name is not to be confused (as it has been by some) with *Uortiporius*, *Quortepir*. Cp. *Mid.W. godob* 'refuge' (*Loth, RC. xxxviii. 301*).

Later, when *b + k* 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 *a*-quality; cp. *precept*, *precept* *ML*. (declined as a feminine *a*-stem) beside *precept* 'ptaeceptum, sermon'; *haupt(a)ist* 'baptista'; *pupall*, later *puhall*, 'tent', Lat. *popólio*, *W. pelyll*. Further, in initial position it is not clearly distinguished from *b*; cp. *bóc* *Sg.* 46² for *póc* 'kiss'; *bellec* *Thea. II. 226, 29* for *pellec* 'small bag' (cp. Lat. *pellucius*). But *ps-* is represented by simple *s-* in *salm*, *salt(a)ir* 'psalmus, psalterium'. The loss of the *p* of *baptizare* in Ir. *baitisid* (and the substantive: acc. gen. sg. *baitis*, dat. *baitius*) had already occurred in *Britannic*; cp. *W. bedyddio*, substantive *bedydd*, *Bret. bades*.

Latin *qu* is usually represented by *c* in later borrowings; e.g. *cln* 'quinto, booklet', *re(l)le(s)* 'reliquiae, graveyard', *ceenocht* 'acquinoctium'; but also *acquinocht* (§ 23), *quart-dill* 'of the fourth declension' *Sg.* 187¹.

921.

s FOR f AND GERMANIC k

Loan-words which were evidently borrowed before initial *w* or *v* had turned into *f* (§ 202) have *s-* for *f-*. Examples: *sern(n)*, gen. *suirun*, 'furnus', *W. ffurn*; *senest(er)* *Sg.* 62¹, pl. *senistri*, 'fenestra', *W. ffenestr*; *slécht(a)id* 'sclerit, genufecta'; *srian* 'frenum', *W. ffreyw*; *sragell* 'flagellum (fragellum)', *W. ffreyll*; *seib*, gen. *sebe*, 'faba', *W. ffa* (the Irish form goes back, perhaps, to a *Britannic* plural with umlaut **foβi*); later attested *súist súist* 'fustis', *W. ffust*; *síball* '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 *ss-* (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, *Kriu* 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. ffrud*, in which *s-* is the older sound, served as models for the substitution; but the *o* in *sréall* apparently points to *swrag-*, so that here there was no direct substitution of *sr-* for *fr-*.

W. cūwant (from **suwant-*) '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. lat *subra* ML. 121^o14, dat. *du saint* 90^o9.

Later borrowings, as might be expected, keep Latin *f*-; e.g. *figer fugar* 'figura', *firmimint firmint* 'firmamentum', *felsub* 'philosophus'.

Similarly OE. *heafoc* 'hawk' was borrowed into Irish as *seboe(s)*, because initial *h-* occurred in Old Irish only as the lenited form of *s*.

But *Erab* ZCP. viii. 294, 33 (a name which dates from the beginning of the ninth century, see *ibid.* xiii. 103) = OE. *Herowulf, Herulf*. For similar omission of *h-* in the subsequent Viking period, see *Manxander, Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Island*, 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: *fln* 'uinum', *W. gwaís*; *flurt* 'uirtus, miracle', *W. gweyrtá*; *flal* 'uelum, veil'; cp. the borrowings from Britannie: *foich* 'wasp', O.Bret. *gwahí* *W. gweyohí* 'drones', O.Corn. *gwahí-cas* 'wasps'; *firión*, etc., 'just' (§ 217). A few words with Ir. *f-* may be still later borrowings, formed after such models, e.g. *fers* 'uersus'.

But *Ualerín* 'Valerianus' alliterates with the vocalic initial of *Mán Féil* Aug. 11.

Latin consonantal *w* combines with *a* to give the diphthong *au* (David § 205, 1). After *e*, however, it is lost in *rél(a)ld* 'reuelat', from which would seem to be derived the adj. *réll*

'manifest', influenced, perhaps, in its form by *réid* 'even' and *léir* 'zealous' (otherwise Loth, RC. xxxvi. 232). Final *b* (= *β*) or *f* in learned borrowings like *breib* 'breuis', *graif* 'gravis' indicates that Latin *s* was pronounced as spirant *e*.

923. False quantities are often found; nor are they always clearly attributable to the influence of native words, such as in *credal* 'crēdulus, religious', with *ē* by analogy with *cretid* 'believes'. To the Britannic pronunciation of Latin is doubtless due the representation of the preposition *proe-* by *pre-*: *precept* 'praecceptum, sermon', like W. *pregeſt*; *predehid* (and *pridehid*) 'praedicat, preaches', like Breton *prezek* 'to preach'. But elsewhere, too, as becomes Ir. *ē*: *caist* 'quaestio', *demon* 'daemon'. Cp. further *sprut* 'spiritus', *šeher* 'acer', where the short quantity is attested by later poetry; *scerepol* 'scrupulus (-um)'.
 Long vowels for short: *cárachtar* (dat.pl. *cárachtraib* Sg. 3^d27) 'character'; *harbár* 'harbárus' Wb. 12^o6; *Etáil* 'Itália' 6^o17, etc.; *Pátr(a)óc* 'Patricius' (*ā* established by rhyme as early as Fél. April 14); *lég(a)íd* 'légit', doubtless after *scrib(a)íd* 'scribit' (possibly supported by *hacht*, *hachtu* 'lectio'); *áre* (acc. *áire* ML 83^o4, gen. *áreae* 82^o1) 'arca', after *háre* 'bárea'; *Críst* 'Christus', after *Iſu* 'Iesus' (?).

924. As may be seen from some of the foregoing examples the loan-words were adapted as far as possible to the Irish language. Some were completely assimilated in form to existing native words, others were phonologically affected by such words (or by other loan-words). Cp. *callech* (masc. *o*-stem) 'calix', after *callech* 'cock'; *grád* (neut. *o*-stem) 'grádus', after *grád* 'love'; *Círins* 'Hieronymus', as if a diminutive of *cír* 'jet'; *Tiamdæ* 'Timotheus', after *tiamdæ* 'slow, weak' or 'obscure'; *saigul* *sáegul* 'saeculum', after *baigul* *báegul* 'unguarded position, danger'; *óene* *aíne* 'ieiunium' (cét-aín 'Wednesday', Et. 'first fast'), apparently modelled on *óin* 'one' because Britannic forms like Mid.Bret. *ywa*, *ian* resembled the numeral *wa*; *mésar* 'mensura', modelled on *mes(s)* 'estimation, weighing' (*ē* also in W. *mesur*); *membrum(m)*

'membrana', presumably after Lat. *membrum* (W. *membrum* is peculiar); *carmocol* 'carbunculus', after *mocol* 'macula, mesh'; *sollumun* 'sollemne' (acc.pl. *sollumnu*, hence masc. o-stem), after *immun* 'hymnus'; *oxal* 'axilla', perhaps after *foxal* 'taking away', or after *oche*, if this (which is explained as *oehsal* Féil. p. 180) is a real word; *súg* 'sucus', after *súgd* 'súgit' (both probably loan-words); *am-prom* 'improbus', *promad* 'probatio', with *m* after *prim-* 'primus'; *mebuir* 'memoria', with dissimilation of *m*—*μ* to *m*—*β* under the influence of *mebul* 'shame', etc.

sfól 'sail', OE. *sepel*, probably formed its nominative from the frequent genitive (*trann, ben*) *shull* (< **si*/**fi*) after such models as *sfól* 'music', gen. *shull*.

Levellings of this kind are also in part responsible for the frequent interchange of lenited and unlenited *m*, *n*, *l*. Single nasals occur, as one would expect, in *canóin* 'canon', *camall* 'camel(l)us', etc.; but we find *mm* in *immun* 'hymnus' and *caimnse* 'camisia', probably influenced by the prep. *imm-* and by *camb camm* 'crooked' (cp. also Bret. *kaupis*). Unlenited -*a* is regular in *mu(l)lenn* 'molinum, mill', and in *echtraan* 'extraneus' (§ 140); but it appears also in *cucann* 'cocina (coquina)', *móirtheann* 'morticinium'; cp. *persann* beside *persan* § 291, 2. Further, -*ll* in *bachall* fem. 'baculus (-um)', 'crook' (not *bacillus*, -*um*).

DECLENSION

925. There is a marked tendency to transfer Latin loan-words to the *i*-stem class. In words like *cauldleóir* 'candelarius', *mebuir* 'memoria', *ec(a)ls* '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^o4, *auctor* ML 44^o19, acc. pl. *auctaru* 35^o17), *trindóit* 'trinitas' W. *trindod*, *digaim* 'digamma', *canóin* 'canon', *argumint* *argumeint* 'argumentum', *cléir* (beside *cliar*) 'clerus', and the like. Some of these words have developed a special flexion, remaining unchanged throughout the singular (see § 302, 2).

Of the remainder, some are inflected as *o*- and *ā*-stems, even where they have a different flexion in Latin. Here too

the influence of certain Irish words has been operative; e.g. *demon* *démun* 'daemon', gen. *démuin*, after *dómun*, gen. *-uín*, 'world'; *ord*, gen. *uirđ*, 'ordo, ordinis', after *ord* 'hammer'; *croch*, gen. *eruche* (fem. *ā*-stem) 'cross' (as instrument) for *crux*, *crucis*, after *cloch* fem. 'stone'; *cross* 'cross' (as symbol), gen. *cruisse* *Thea*. II. 254, 19, from nom. *crux*, after *cois* fem. 'foot'. Cp. further *sacart*, gen. *sacairt* *sacaird*, 'sacerdos, -dotis'; *corp*, gen. *coirp*, (masc. *o*-stem) 'corpus, -oris'.

Others are assimilated to various Irish flexional types; e.g. *peccad*, gen. *pectho*, 'peccatum' to the masculine *u*-stems in *-ad* (§ 723); *genitín*, gen. *genitén*, 'genitívus' to the abstract nouns in *-tín*, *-tén* (§ 730); *precept*, gen. *precepte*, 'praecceptum' probably to those in *-cét* (§ 727); *fin* 'vinum' to the *u*-stem *lin* 'number'.

firt 'miracle, virtus' is a masc. *u*-stem, gen. *ferfo* (*fertae* — *ferfa* *ML*. 16⁹); 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 *spírat* *spíurt* 'spiritus' (§ 310) are likewise inflected as *u*-stems.

Occasionally, however, less usual Latin flexions are imitated; e.g. *ap abb*, acc. *abbath*, nom.pl. *apđ*, 'abbas, -atis'; *míl*, gen. *míled*, 'miles, -itis'.

926. Adjectives are usually given an Irish adjectival suffix; e.g. *rómándaé* and *rómánach* 'Romanus'; *geintíle* 'gentilis', *berensdaé* 'Beroensis', and, modelled on this, *ecleisdaé* 'Acolicus' *Sg.* 31¹⁸; *segeptaede egiptaedae* 'Aegyptiacus', on which are modelled *moabadaé* 'Moabite (pl.)' *ML*. 78¹⁰, in *doraedid* 'doricus' *Sg.* 204⁹. Forms without a suffix are rarer: *lax* 'laxus', negative *nephax*; *amprom* 'improbus'; *credal* 'credulus'; *annat* 'innocens (innocens)'.

CONJUGATION

927. Borrowed verbs follow the *a*-flexion; thus not only *-tráchta* 'tractat', *-scrúta* 'scrutat(ur)', *-réla* 'revelat', *-olna* 'sejunat', but also *-scrítha* 'scribit', *-léga* 'legit', *-stéhta* '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, *·erdan* Wb. II. 33^{·5}. In predehid *pridehid* *prithehid* 'praedicat' the quality fluctuates; e.g. 3 sg. rel. usually *pridehas* *prithehas*, but *pridhes* Wb. 23^{·24}. *ongid* 'ungit' is inflected both as an *i*- and as an *a*-verb; e.g. pass. 3 sg. rel. *eingther* Tur. 4, part. *eingthe* 3, beside dat. *ongithu* 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-ordais* Ml. 38^{·16}. So too *consecrare* *consecrare* seems to be always treated as a compound; e.g. *con-secratimm* Sg. 24^{·5}, *cut-secar* 'he consecrated it' Thea. II. 242, 8 (Arm.), perf. pass. (with *-ad-*, § 532) *con-asecrad* Corm. 892 (Laud). The 1 sg. form *conscrub-sa* Ml. 45^{·12} is an error for *con-sacrub*.

INDEXES

(The numbers in these Indexes refer to the pages.)

CELTIC LANGUAGES

IRISH

Old and Middle Irish forms are not indicated. m. = Modern Irish.

Words with initial *h* are listed under the following letter. The ligature *ae* (§ 24, 1) is counted as *e*.

Letters enclosed in round or square brackets are taken into account in fixing the alphabetical order of words.

Verbal forms separated by a turned period (§ 34) are normally listed under the initial of the element following the period; but they are also given under the initial of the first element where special attention is drawn to this element.

In general, forms appearing in set paradigms are not included.

<p><i>a, á</i> poss. pron. 34. 143. 149. 151. · 278 f. 285. 321. 322.</p> <p><i>a, á</i> art. and demonstr. 34. 111. 148. 294. 298. 316. 324.</p> <p><i>a</i> 'when, while' 149. 316. 491. 539. 552.</p> <p><i>a, á</i> 'out of' 34. 72. 110. 162. 274. 293. 509.</p> <p><i>a</i> bef. numerals 153. 343.</p> <p><i>a, á</i> bef. voc. 146. 156.</p> <p>-<i>a</i> inf. pron. 110. 143. 149. 152. 260.</p> <p>-<i>a</i> rel. part. 28. 149. 258. 312. 322. 327.</p> <p>m. <i>ab</i> 22.</p>	<p><i>abas</i> 103. 213. m. <i>abaidh</i> 92. <i>abairín</i> 557. <i>abb</i> 206. 575. <i>abbaidh</i> 23. 575. <i>abbgiteir</i> 191. 567. con-<i>abbog</i>- 344 <i>abinn</i> 51. 213 <i>ablu</i> 569. <i>abstal</i> 570. <i>abstairní</i> 569. <i>ac</i> 524 con-<i>acab</i>- 344. <i>accailte</i> 442. 464. <i>'accaldad</i> 32. <i>accaldam</i> 64. 90. <i>accaltam</i> 88. <i>'acat</i> 103. <i>foracbat</i> 512. <i>acc</i> 542. <i>fora-accaiche</i> 436. <i>'accadar</i> 386. 469. con-<i>ac(ca)je</i> 347. 469. 470. <i>'accai</i> 103. 469. 534.</p>	<p><i>fris'ac(c)a</i> 442. 470. <i>'accailte</i> 386. <i>ac(c)aldam</i> 23. 32. 64. 70. 88. 90. 92. 453. 464. 496. <i>'accam</i> 103. <i>'accamar</i> 436. <i>'accar</i> 386. <i>'accasa</i> 439. <i>'accaster</i> 375. 386. 395. 443. 469. <i>'acat</i> 67. <i>fris(s)'accat</i> 514. <i>'accatar</i> pret. 436. <i>'accatar</i> subj. 386. <i>'accathar</i> 386. 469. <i>con'acci</i> 28. <i>'acciged</i> 406. <i>'accinn</i> 386. <i>accobor</i> 108. 176. <i>'accobra</i> 406. <i>accobor</i> 108. 176. 219. <i>accomalte</i> 75. <i>accomal</i> 448. 470.</p>
--	--	--

- accubair 108.
 accuis 192. 568.
 ac(c)as 227. 235.
 acdu 524.
 'acú 436.
 'aculladar 402.
 achad, achad 103.
 105.
 acht 21. 72. 318.
 330. 342. 559.
 560 f.
 acht co 559.
 acht ma 561.
 acht namad 560.
 acht- 422.
 'acht 114. 135. 461.
 achúil 31.
 'aciam 103.
 dia'n-acomótar 28.
 act 21. 560.
 im'mact 517.
 acus 'and' 25. 72.
 145. 548.
 acus adj. 68. 72.
 549.
 ad prep. 138. 258.
 344. 495. 496 f.
 502. 509.
 ad' (to aith-) 105.
 499.
 ad' (for in') 520.
 ad' (with inf. pron.)
 258. 495.
 adabail 99.
 ad'ágathar 351.
 adais 80. 185.
 (n)d' ad(a)ig 161.
 185.
 ad'(h)aim 454.
 adail 32. 103. 445.
 adalras 168.
 adamras 496.
 'adamr(a)igedar
 104. 337.
 adamrigathar 82.
 adamrugad 104.
 'adamrugur 104.
 adas adj. 157.
 adas conj. 562.
 do-adbair 100. 356.
 368. 377.
 ad-bair 267.
 adbal 225.
 do-adbanar,
 do'n-adbanar
 356.
 adbar 219.
 adbartaigfer 384.
 adbartugad 65.
 do-adbat 27. 123.
 377. 451. 496.
 520. 533.
 ad-beir 262.
 do-adbit 361. 377.
 adblam 498. 511.
 adbal 225.
 adchais 81.
 adchumteach 499.
 ad-cite-acas 248.
 ad'cobra 496.
 adcow'rátaig 30.
 ad'cota 520.
 ad'cuaid 520. 534.
 ad'cumaing 518.
 addeas 478.
 adde 541.
 addom'suiter 261.
 addroghuine 91.
 ade 280. 301. 302.
 304.
 ad'eirrig 499. 534.
 ad'ella 496.
 adem 163.
 ad'fál 520.
 ad'gainemmar 499.
 ad'gán 499.
 ad'gláthar 496.
 ad'greinn 520. 534
 ad'gráicú 509.
 ad'gráic 509.
 adí pron. 302. 304.
 adí 2 pl. 484.
 adib 72. 94. 99. 484.
 adid'gáin 263.
 adid'n-opair 263.
 adid'roilifet 268.
 adid'trefas 267.
 adiecht 369.
 adill 32.
 adim 163.
 adimmaic 94. 484.
 ad'mídeathar 496.
 adnacul 452. 496.
 adnasa 478.
 adob'ragart 23.
 ad'op(u)ir 534.
 adrad 101.
 adram(a)il 80. 107.
 214. 220.
 adras 578.
 ad'renar 499.
 ad'rini 496. 534.
 ad'roili 496.
 ad'rubartmar 268.
 ad'slig 496. 534.
 ad'modi 520.
 adthramli 80.
 de 279 f. 285. 310.
 des m. 42. 195.
 des n. 43. 177.
 dequinocht 18. 571.
 desca 18.
 ofameinn 557.
 of(f)amenad 557.
 ofamensa 557.
 Afraic 100.
 m. ag 525.
 di áy 537.
 'aga 461.
 'agadar 82.
 agaldemathacha 23.
 m. agam 525.
 (ad)'ágathar 80. 82.
 103. 351. 358.
 374. 451.
 agid 135. 353. 380.
 403. 422. 454.
 461.
 ad'águr, 'águr 64.
 na'hógumar 374.
 águr 374.
 ai pron. 279 f. 285.
 308. 310. 311.
 322.

- ai subst. 206.
 aibe 83.
 aibnib 103. 213.
 aice neg. 542.
 aic(e) ipv. 375. 465.
 aicce 542.
 aiccend 103. 567.
 aiccend 103. 567.
 568.
 'aigci 103. 469. 534.
 'aichet, 'aicciged
 406.
 aiccidit 569.
 'aicther, 'aicther
 386.
 fris'aicim 375.
 aicde 355. 449.
 'aichther 355.
 aicdiu 29.
 cow'aicert- 344.
 atob'aich 83.
 Hi Aicher (-ir) 215.
 ad'dichfer 80. 400.
 for'aicis 386.
 aicms 10.
 ind aicnoid 239.
 aicse subst. 68.
 aicse parte. 221.
 aicsi 192.
 aicside 221.
 aicim (to aicim)
 165.
 aicim (to accuis)
 192.
 aicim 19. 165. 451.
 469.
 aic- 499.
 do'aicbdetar 100.
 do'aicbdetar 368.
 to'n-aicbecht 438.
 aicbi 225.
 aicbliged 64.
 aicbe, aicbi 80.
 185.
 aicchwintbe 441.
 aicchwintack 499.
 aicgne 499.
 aicgniu 80.
- do'aiclibea,
 'aiclibem 400.
 aicme, aicmi 163.
 aicrius 455.
 aig 54. 122. 169.
 191.
 ad'aig 35. 83. 262.
 'aigder 358.
 dige 104.
 aigred 169.
 digciu 451.
 ad'aigther 103.
 digthidiu-de 238.
 digthiu 451.
 ai, aib 280.
 ail subst. 204.
 ail pron. 307.
 amod'ail 268
 ail 75.
 aiald, aialid 52.
 aildiu 112. 233.
 aile 54. 61. 72. 121.
 229. 247. 248.
 249. 307. 309.
 337.
 ailech 204.
 fris'ailefar 400.
 ailestar 120.
 aili 61. 72.
 aili deac 260.
 ailikthiu 62.
 'ailgedar 337.
 aili 54.
 ailitir 309.
 ailitre 309.
 ailia 61.
 ail 57. 148. 307.
 309.
 ail . . ail 308.
 mod ail duib 75.
 a(i)abrit 543.
 a(i)ales 543.
 aimser 165.
 aimserad 165.
 aimsi 198.
 ain, 'ain ipv. 375.
 461.
 'ain subj. 392. 461.
- 'ain fut. 410. 413.
 461.
 ain 454. 461.
 aimb 129. 228. 543.
 ind aimb 238.
 aimb 228. 543.
 aimbhine 169.
 aine subst. 573.
 aine num. 43.
 ainech 49. 54.
 ainfa 397.
 ainfed, ainfeda 397.
 aingid 103. 271.
 353. 392. 410.
 413. 422. 436.
 452. 461.
 ainghu 98.
 aimb 228.
 ainim 214.
 ainm 56. 70. 100.
 101. 126. 129.
 337.
 Ainmire 203.
 ainm(m) 210.
 ainmnaicthe 80.
 ainmne 208.
 ainmnaea 208.
 ainmnid 171.
 'ainmnigedar 337.
 ainmnigthe 80.
 ainm(m)igud 80.
 Ainmurech, -reg
 203.
 a(i)arscht 543.
 ainsem 79. 452. 496.
 523.
 ainseid 171.
 ainstem 271.
 'aipar 54. 508.
 aipar 54. 508.
 aipled 57. 379.
 (armach)-aipled 508.
 'aiph 98. 214.
 air prep. and conj.
 105. 146. 497 ff.
 539 f.
 domm-air 393.

airat 484.
 airbert 449.
 'airbertis 497.
 atat-airbined 379.
 airbír 374.
 airc 'or' 551.
 airc ipv. 472.
 ním-airsecha 346.
 406.
 airchead, aircheallad
 469.
 dá-airchéir 79. 499.
 do-air[h]eatar 345.
 do-airchet 497.
 airchinneach 223.
 airchisecht 452.
 497.
 'airchias 535.
 'airchiar 405. 462.
 'air[h]énead 403.
 dá-airchead 400.
 ní-aircín 346. 470.
 496.
 airde 102.
 airdire 186. 497.
 airdircu 105.
 airdircus 163.
 airdina 19.
 aire 168. 202. 221.
 aires 448.
 airechas 106. 168.
 airechdas 221.
 'airecht 128. 438.
 airgde 221.
 airgeam 453.
 airem 172.
 'airema 512.
 airesc 497.
 do-airfena 508.
 do-airfenu 508.
 airfhínead 124. 134.
 air(g) 'or' 551.
 air(g) ipv. 54. 472.
 airí 275. 284. 498.
 'airí 393.
 airib 276. 286.
 a(i)rid 354.
 'airíllí 496.

d(i)riúinead 452.
 'airil(f)seal 419.
 airíllín, airíllíneal
 452.
 airind 498.
 airindí 498. 559.
 'airiseadar 96.
 do-airiseadar 452.
 airí 484.
 airítta 451. 512.
 airiu 275. 284.
 airiu(i)b 276.
 airium 275. 286.
 498.
 airíut 275. 498.
 airiam 498.
 airleach 447.
 airn 548.
 do-air(m)chella 469.
 airmdis 73. 312.
 489. 556.
 dírne 70. 101.
 do-airneasa 531.
 airní 484.
 'airní 496. 534.
 ind airníll 239.
 airníll 67. 337.
 451. 497.
 'airnílligeadar 337.
 airníll 312. 489.
 airnab 498.
 airnab 312. 488.
 556.
 airnab 312. 488.
 556.
 'airnecht 440.
 'airnet 377. 466.
 523.
 dá-airnéarat 27.
 378.
 'airne 440.
 airne 75.
 aire (-i) 275. 284.
 airria 96. 276. 284.
 498.
 airria 303.
 airribidib 443.

airther 170. 221.
 airtherach 221.
 dá-n-airthel 496.
 airteuil 101.
 ais m. 42. 194. 196.
 ais n. 43. 177.
 aisle 113.
 dá-aisibí 102. 338.
 aisdeis 451.
 'aisdeil 508.
 i-n-aisidethal 28.
 aisdeis 54. 113.
 192. 451. 508.
 514.
 aisdisen, -in 451.
 aisdisse 442.
 aisdisse 444.
 'aisdis 413.
 aispenad 508.
 fé-aisibí 419.
 con-aitché 344. 423.
 432.
 aith 105. 146. 258.
 499 f.
 aith 166.
 aithéir 219.
 to-aitheatar 355.
 393.
 do-aitheacht 355.
 aithe, aithe 80.
 185.
 aithe 449.
 aithe 166.
 aitherrach 447.
 aitheac 497. 499.
 aithgi 80.
 Aithgnath 500.
 aithgne 80. 263. 449.
 499.
 'aithne 387.
 aithí 449.
 to-aithib 393.
 'aithir, 'aithirreatar
 392.
 aithir 214. 215.
 aithirrech 262. 447.
 'aithirrig 534.
 aithirriach 161.

- a(i)thís* 186.
du-n-aithmenadar 358.
for-aithmentar 358.
for-aithmentar 513.
aithmet 450.
do-aithminedar 353.
forur-aithminset 416.
aithne 445. 449.
aithre 214. 215.
aithres 61. 98. 214. 215.
cow-aithig(a)ir 432.
a(i)ithiu 451. 496.
aithribhid 102.
cow-aithig 347.
aithrebud 231.
al 'says' 500.
al prep. 146. 158. 500.
ala 72. 73. 248. 307. 308. 309.
ala- 248.
-ala 461.
alacile 307.
alacher 248.
fo-dlagar 79. 368.
con-díai 376.
aláile 30. 119. 229. 307. 308. 309.
aláilí 307. 308. 309.
aláilí 34.
aláilín 239.
aláilí 110. 143. 148. 307. 308.
alancile 307.
alanman 309.
ALATTO 192.
albanach 221.
alé 71.
fois-dlethar 514.
fo-dáim 496.
alid 353. 439. 442. 452. 461.
díind 112. 233.
alís(a) 417.
all 95.
all- 248. 249. 309.
-all 500.
dúnd-alla 55.
all(a)e 500.
allaid 192. 227.
allaidchí 309.
alláilí 308.
alláilí 307.
ALLATO 192.
allmuir 500.
ALLOTO 192.
alltáige 248.
alltar 170.
almsan 70.
alo 204.
all 423.
-all 109. 423. 439. 461.
altac gen. pl. 227.
altac vb. 423.
all(a)e partic. 442. 461.
alldír 174. 565.
alldírnat 174.
altram 452. 461.
am 72. 94. 105. 362. 484.
dám 79. 549.
am 25. 500. 563.
amaíl 25. 105. 111. 145. 316. 563.
amainí 225.
am(a)ires 104. 543.
amaí 25. 105. 111. 145. 157. 273. 316. 319. 334. 478. 509. 536. 539. 553. 557. 563.
amaras, amaraís 104.
ambú 543.
ambus 94.
amein 30. 570.
amháires 19.
m. ambras 104.
amín 30. 570.
amires(a) 543.
amlabar 543.
amm 484.
-ammadar 430.
con-ammas- 344.
con-ammasít 344.
ammi 72. 362. 484.
ammas(n) 484.
ammas 94. 103. 106. 194. 195. 196. 450. 496.
ammasir 214.
ammas 225.
amms 30. 32.
ammsertach 543.
ammsin 30.
ammsit 543.
amprom 543. 574. 575.
amrader 233.
amráid 104.
ad-amr(a)igedar 337.
amráilthar 233.
amréid 543.
ad-amrigethar 82.
amrasine 168.
amrar 491.
amralach 543.
amralach 543.
amras 168.
am demonstr. 298.
am 'when, while' 539.
am 454. 461.
ana- 539. 552.
-anac- 426.
-anacht act. 103. 422. 423. 461.
-anacht pass. 438. 461.
anacól 108. 452. 461.
con-dnacuir 425. 432. 465.
anacól 108. 113. 135. 452. 461.
anad 525.
an(a)id 35. 337.

- anaim 214.
 anair 305.
 andir 305.
 anáí 32, 35.
 anall 305, 500.
 anamchairsíte 168.
 anamchar(a)s 168.
 214.
 anamtar 491.
 anarbas 491.
 ANAVLAMATLAS
 192.
 anbal 225.
 Anblamath 193.
 anbh 225.
 anbeud 106, 227.
 543.
 ancre(i)imeach 64.
 224, 544.
 ancretem 543, 544.
 ancretmiach 64, 224.
 ancreide 543, 544.
 and 275, 284, 509.
 521, 524.
 andach 112, 544.
 m. andara 151.
 andas 305.
 and(a)id 112, 544.
 andracht 92, 224.
 507.
 andsam 272.
 andud 525.
 ans (gen.) 454.
 -áinec 426.
 cot-áinecrae 432.
 anechair 305, 507.
 anechtar 305.
 aneas 104, 543.
 anéala 228.
 anéala 104.
 anfir 543.
 anfiseid 542.
 anfas 542, 545.
 anfochell 543.
 anfoirbé 542, 543.
 anfoirbéata 542.
 Anfolmithe 192.
 ang(a)id 112, 544.
- anglaine 544.
 anglan 544.
 angot 350.
 angraib 83.
 aní 298, 299, 310.
 aní (h)úas 301.
 anlar 305.
 cot-áic 432.
 -ánic 353, 392, 410.
 438, 461.
 anim 'blemish' 113.
 219.
 anim(m) 'soul' 214.
 221.
 anirlatu 543.
 anirbhe 543.
 anis 271.
 anis 305, 522.
 anisiu 301.
 anm(a)s 60, 100.
 anman 90.
 anmand(a)s 221.
 anman(n) 213.
 anmanna 200.
 anmie 543.
 anmannan 90.
 an(n)a- 539, 552.
 anarabas 491.
 anáí 310.
 anod-aíl 258.
 anse 75.
 anóy 543.
 anru- 552.
 ans(a)s 224, 544.
 ansam 224.
 -anset 392.
 -ansite 410.
 ansom 275.
 ant sin 304.
 antíaid 305.
 anúas 305, 527.
 do 44, 216.
 ap 22, 168, 206.
 575.
 apad 447.
 apaig 92, 496.
 -apai 267, 468, 508.
 509.
- apaltu 451, 468.
 -aparr 54.
 apdaine 168.
 apgáir 191.
 appáiri 567.
 apid 575.
 -apir 535.
 apstal 64, 67, 570.
 apstal 296.
 candid-aptha 437.
 aptha 468.
 ar prep. and conj.
 105, 145, 158.
 162, 245, 246.
 249, 297, 275.
 497 ff. 511, 559 f.
 ar (= al) 500.
 ar poss. pron. 149.
 277, 283.
 ar subst. 172.
 ár 79.
 ara subst. 301.
 ara conj. 28, 149.
 258, 298, 312.
 320, 539; 556.
 ara- prep. 314, 323.
 ar-a- 26, 312, 316.
 ara-cháirim 267.
 ara-crinat 267.
 ar(a)s 206.
 aráile 30, 119, 307.
 aráil 309.
 aráilín 239.
 aráil 308.
 aram 79, 101, 219.
 228, 496.
 ara-m-bera 324.
 ará-roif 34.
 ara-roimmar 43.
 arasa 86.
 ara-thá 314, 476.
 496.
 arathar 70.
 arat-mainfer 261.
 arb(a)s 213.
 do-árbaid 430.
 in(n)-árbán 536.
 in(n)-árbánar 520.

do-árba 340. 438.
arbed 73. 112. 489.
arbenais 489.
in-árben 61.
do-árbité 430.
arbor 213.
do-árbuíd 430. 438.
arbur 213.
árc 573.
ar-cessi 498. 535.
ar-éabáck 238.
do-archáir 499.
do-archómaricset 32.
·archóe 462.
do[d]-n-archos(s)aig
 472. 519.
·archriad 387.
ard 32. 124. 234.
ardam 234.
arda-táicisi 264.
ardchess 219.
ardé 86. 124.
ardis 73. 489. 556.
ard 234.
are 257. 314. 323.
ardé 308.
árdi 34.
arggít 23.
argumeint 191. 574.
argumentaib 191.
argumind 567.
argumint 191. 567.
 574.
ar-ic 498.
arid-garad 263.
aridib 484.
ci arid-roga(r) 269.
·áridi 496.
·áridem 419.
·áridet 419.
áridi 452.
arim 488. 556.
comi-drim 383.
arimp 150. 312. 488.
 556.
aria 486.
arind 259.

arind-éirin 267.
arind-épar 263. 312.
arin-droima 263.
arind-fessid 263.
arindi 318. 559.
arin-rogab 263.
·áridmar 464.
comid-arlacar 380.
·áristar 415. 464.
armad 489. 556.
armad 73. 112.
 312. 489. 556.
armuna 86.
armth(a)e 166.
armthata 166.
arna, arnd 28. 152.
 313. 539. 540. 556.
cid arna 313.
arnab 294.
arna báracé 516.
arnack- 539.
arnacka-icrúda
 256.
arnack-aipted 267.
arnackit-rindarpi-
íter 265.
arnackon 540. 556.
arnackit-fordiacuil
 265.
arnacón 540. 556.
do-n-arnactar 434.
arna-epiltis 267.
arnada-beth 264.
arnada-cumcabat 259.
aridam-fuirest 262.
arndid 486.
arndip 488.
arndom-roib 262.
arnid 486.
com-árracht 440. 467.
árrachtu 496.
i n-arrad 537.
com-árr(a)ig 440.
 467.
·árrbertatar 497.
·árr[A]óvatar 428.
do-árrchéit 69. 70.
 497. 533.

ma arro-dit 269.
nád-arroimeat 416.
arrot-neithiús 256.
arru 552.
arru-dégestar 314.
arru-dibaid 30.
arru-pridchad 298.
arsaid 166. 221.
arsat(a)e 221.
ar-ss, ar-éin 303.
arsideta 166.
art subst. 116. 131.
art adj. 32. 124.
ar-tá 498.
ar-thi 314.
artocol 101.
átrphersine 32.
arus-neithiús 261.
árucc 66.
as prep. 72. 509.
as (cop.), prep. 274.
as cop. 72. 323. 484.
 485.
as- (for *in-*) 520.
as- (preton. form of
oss-) 72. 526.
de 446.
asa (cop. + poss.)
 321. 322.
m. asad (prep. +
 poss.) 282.
asa-guinaim 509.
asa-gússim 509.
deaid 446.
cotam-ássig 472.
as-beir 509.
as-béat 68.
as-boind 535.
as-bonnar 526.
cut-n-assa 472.
asc(a)e 201. 206.
ascada 201. 206
com-ascar- 344.
ascat(a)e 201.
ascum 113. 452.
immus-ascnat 517.
as-comparar 509.
as-dloing 520.

- con-ascrad* 576.
con-ascraat 421.
asffead 117.
as-féinnis 117. 508.
as-foite 509.
as-guintar 509.
as-aid-biur 269.
asid-grennat 258.
 520.
as-aid-roiliasat 269.
asid-rubart 258.
asin-biur 264.
asin-chobra 264.
asind-bail 267.
asind-bathatar 267.
asind-biur 259. 264.
as-indet 508.
as-ingasb 509.
aslach 96. 178. 447.
aslig 534.
as-tú 509. 535.
asnacla-tucad 265.
 313.
asnacon-damar 540.
asna-fiadam 259.
asnaon-berat 264.
as-circ 509. 535.
aspenad, aspenud
 508.
as-rea 509.
as-roilí 496.
as-rubart 509.
as- prep 509.
as(s) conj. prep.
 274. 284. 509.
 523.
as(s) cop. 362. 364.
assa with cop. 153.
 235. 238.
assa- prep. 314. 509.
 510.
ass(a)s 75. 234. 544.
assa-flud 509.
assa-foiter 509.
assa-gúis 509.
assa-gúisem 509.
ass-díreat 509.
ass-ibeam 471.
asaid-roilíet 258.
asclonud 446.
as-óilgi 526.
asrend 447. 508.
asstai 98.
assa 234.
as-tasathar 509.
as-toidi 496.
as-toing 509.
as-toithar 497.
astrolaic 567.
at 2 sg. 72. 484.
at 3 pl. 494.
at- 258. 286.
ata, atá 3 pl. 34. 72.
 105. 323. 364.
 484. 485.
ata (= ata-a) 321.
atá 3 sg. 331. 351.
 476. 477. 496.
atab-corchai[g]thar
 262.
atab-techam 262.
atach 90. 91.
ata-comla 262.
atai 361.
ataim 442.
ataimet 91. 496.
atairbert 499.
atairbir 499.
atam-grennat 261.
atana-cirrig 262.
ata-rimat 262.
ata-samhúid 262.
at-at-airbined 379.
at-bail 267.
at-bailat 267.
at-beir 262.
at-comla 262.
atdom-indastar 261.
atdub-áilub 262.
ate 292. 541. 542.
ate-cobar 260.
ateich 520.
at-fé 377.
atá- 146. 499.
atá 122. 197.
atthach 81.
atá(a)ir 214.
atár 214. 215.
atharpeis 214.
atharoirneid 214.
atfáchan 499.
atfchuyatach 499.
at-cirr 499.
da-n-atfóichret 470.
-athgninis 362.
athir 35. 58. 80.
 138.
athiroirneid 214.
atáias 166.
atimaidched 99.
Atro Train 197.
athraim 80. 214.
 220.
atigid 82.
atluchedar 82.
atluclafem 397.
atlugud 90.
atmaíthe 442.
atma 29.
atód 497.
atoidiud 497.
at-n-óile 526.
atrab 64. 83. 100.
 102. 171. 231.
 496.
atreba 83. 88. 171.
atreba 88. 397.
atrefas 87. 397.
atrob 64.
at-roiliasat 268.
atrab 64.
at-tá 477. 496.
atthach 90. 91. 447.
 520.
attech 447.
atlugud 82. 90.
at(t)óibí 338.
atoided 497.
atrot-aig 262.
atúisid 305.
au subst. 43. 44.
 216.
du prep. 524.
au(a)s 44.

- aub 51. 103. 213.
 iap-auck 94. 106.
 auctaru 574.
 ductor 44. 574.
 -aubbir 534.
 aubbirt 51. 106.
 496. 525.
 audead 51.
 aue (gen. of *au*) 216.
 aue nom. 44. 61.
 151.
 augaire 45.
 augtar 44. 574.
 Augustin 174.
 aui 43.
 aui gen. 61.
 aui dat. 216.
 auid 52.
 aupaitk, aupaid 51.
 214. 496.
 auptack 51.
 dur 44.
 aur- 12. 52.
 do-n-aurchain 497.
 do-aurchainim
 362. 497.
 aurch(A)lebrad 498.
 -aurchaet 498.
 -aurchaiced 498.
 -aurchiat 387. 462.
 aurgaire 498.
 aurlam 497.
 ta-n-aurnat 377.
 aurtack 498.
 auras 455. 497.
 aurn 275. 498.
 do-n-aurat 496.
 aurtad 51.
 AVI 11. 61. 181.
 AVITFORIGES 188.
 AVVI 11. 61. 181.
 AXERAS 215.

 -b- 260.
 ba, bá 3 sg. 34. 152.
 291. 363. 484.
 488. 491. 492.
- ba, bá 'or' 78, 145,
 291. 551.
 bá (= ba-a) 321.
 -bá 1 sg. 483.
 -bá 'dies' 352.
 baæ 46. 180.
 -baæ 461.
 -baad -biad 387.
 baæn adj. 20.
 baæn 1 pl. 487.
 -baat 352. 387. 461.
 baatá 450.
 ba . . . ba 563.
 baek 549.
 baekall 574.
 baed 144.
 bá-d 269.
 bada 269.
 baæ 46. 507. 529.
 báe 217.
 -b(a)e 126. 196. 483.
 báguil 573.
 bai 'kine' 217.
 bai 3 sg. 483.
 báid 352.
 -baid 488.
 báguil 573.
 baill 50. 177.
 at-baill(i) 131. 267.
 357. 381. 404.
 422. 451. 468.
 508.
 bairstack 212.
 baio 166.
 baieu 271.
 baith 166. 176.
 baithé 271.
 Baithéne 175.
 -baithene 576.
 Baithin 174.
 baithis 88. 571.
 baithium 271.
 baithsed 88.
 baithum 271.
 baithut 271.
 baithid 571. 576.
 baithim 88.
 baithis 18.
- baill, báil 32. 50.
 177.
 at-baillat 267. 357.
 á-baillat 468.
 bámar 433. 483.
 baæ 129. 184.
 baæ- 164. 184.
 baeb 122.
 baeché 164.
 baeddiam 164.
 baende 164.
 baenmaic 164.
 baenm(a)e 164.
 baenstium 171.
 bá 217.
 baæ 277 f. 283.
 ba(a)e 212.
 baebár 573
 báre 573.
 Barra, Barra 175.
 Barryind 175. 218.
 báe 177. 450. 461.
 baæ 491.
 báat(a)e 220.
 bátar 433. 483.
 baith subet. 437.
 at-baith 437. 468.
 at-baitha 437. 468.
 at-baithator 437. 468.
 baithius 571.
 bátir 433. 483.
 báu 45. 217.
 baulla 61.
 baulla 50. 177.
 baup(a)iet 571.
 áu-bber 90.
 far-bbiba 413.
 ra-bé 38.
 m. baag 93.
 -beb 402.
 -beba 402. 420. 461.
 -beb(a)e 420. 461.
 bebaid 402. 461.
 bebais 420.
 bebarnator 424. 461.
 -bebat 402.
 bebrag- 424.
 bebaid 420.

- béite* 402.
béithe 402.
béidín 173.
béc(e) 93, 135, 223, 235.
Bécc 183.
Béccatán 175.
béde 362.
bédg 134.
-béc 482.
béicre 37.
béic 37.
béicad 37.
béic(e) 159, 224.
béim(m) 90, 453, 461.
béimnen 90.
béimní 90.
béin 184, 187.
beir 374.
-beir 46, 59, 336, 358, 360, 468.
ar-beir 469, 497.
as-beir 92, 469, 509, 535.
do-beir 345, 469, 533, 535.
for-beir 469.
beirthe 363.
beirthe 270, 284.
beith 450.
be(i)the 362.
ar-beithe 124.
béinil 56.
bél 56, 537.
at-béla 357, 379, 468.
béla 68, 191.
-béla 404, 468.
ar bélaib 537.
béilec 571.
béire 37, 113.
béimen, béimnen 90.
ben subst. 118, 129, 184.
ben ipv. 374.
-ben 336, 358, 461.
- fríe-ben* 356, 482, 514.
oca-ben 356, 536.
ben(a)id 61, 356, 379, 405, 428, 438, 441, 448, 453, 461, 480, 529, 537.
bendachad 81, 450.
bendach(a)id 450.
ro-bendachastar 418.
bendacht 460.
bendachtan, -ín 450.
Benn Étair 127.
bennach 221.
béo adj. 45, 117, 126, 221, 337.
béo 1 ag. 45.
béo (to *ben(a)id*) 428.
béod(a)s 221.
-béoidéar 337.
béoididir 125.
béoil 56, 537.
béobu 38.
-béotar 428, 461.
beothu 125.
ber 374.
-ber 1 ag. 60, 362, 383.
-ber 3 ag. 358, 468, 469.
-ber pass. 90.
bera 60, 362, 363.
-bera 60, 468.
-béra 404, 468.
-berad 368.
beraid 3 ag. subj. 362.
-berar 368, 384.
beras 364.
béras 364.
-berat 46, 109, 110.
berb(a)id 122.
Berchán 175.
berde 323.
bered 374.
-bered 69, 358.
- bermadz* 575.
beres 323, 364.
berid 3 ag. 38, 63, 117, 130, 345, 353, 362, 363, 439, 444, 449, 468.
berid ipv. 59.
berith 362.
béris 113.
(as)-berr 368, 468.
do-berr 90.
-berra 338.
berraid 75.
berrithar 75.
bert- 422.
bert 423.
-bert 109, 110, 468.
as-bert 341.
bertar 423.
bertatar 423.
berte 323, 364, 423.
berth(a)ir 384.
-berthar 384.
bérthi 270.
-bertis 371.
bés subst. 37, 106, 165.
bés 'perhaps' 241, 327, 329, 483.
bésa 198.
bésad 37, 165.
bésai 198.
bés-da 270.
bés-id 269.
béso 484, 488.
béas-a 322.
bésti 86.
bét(a)s 88, 221.
béus 484, 488.
bétha 46, 61, 195.
béthad 165.
béth(a)id 125.
béthi 444, 461.
béthib 490.
bétho 46, 61, 195.
béthur 125, 165, 166.
béthram 271.

- no-betis 68.
 béu adj. 45, 117.
 124. 125. 165.
 221. 224.
 béu, béu 1 sg. 45.
 481. 482.
 beuru 198.
 bí adj. 124. 224.
 bí (to ben(a)id) 429.
 433. 461.
 cúa-bí 481. 535.
 ro-bí 103. 348. 476.
 -bia fut. 66. 482.
 -bia (to ben(a)id)
 61. 461.
 fris-mbia 482.
 row-bia 476.
 biad 66.
 -biad (to ben(a)id)
 405.
 no-biad 68. 477.
 bíid 68. 191.
 bias (to ben(a)id)
 405.
 cúa-biad 27.
 -biba 413.
 bídamnach 168.
 bídu 124. 168. 207.
 bí(h)ax 412. 461.
 do-bíbuir 355. 413.
 461.
 (do)-bíbus 413. 461.
 bíd 489.
 bídbéo 231.
 bídbéu 231. 255.
 do-bídet 100.
 do-bídei 134.
 bíd subst. vb. 66.
 bíd (to ben(a)id)
 406. 461.
 bíid 66.
 bíid 66.
 bíet subst. vb. 66.
 bíet (to ben(a)id)
 406.
 bíid, bíidh 33. 72.
 331. 352. 365.
 379. 480. 483.
- bíid, bíidh gen. 66.
 bíis, bíis (to ben(a)id)
 379.
 in tan n-bimui 363.
 bíid 130. 166.
 bíidius 66. 166.
 bíidiusa 66. 166.
 Bíidh 178.
 bír 59.
 -bír 48. 49. 361.
 bíri 363.
 bírt 3-sg. 423.
 -bírt 2 sg. 48. 423.
 bíru 362. 363.
 bíth 'world' 46.
 162. 195.
 bíth vb. n. 231. 450.
 483.
 no-bíth ipv. 481.
 bíth- 231. 241.
 bíth ipv. 481.
 bíth cons. pr. 72.
 bíth (to ben(a)id)
 453.
 (ro)-bíth pass. 38.
 438. 461.
 fo bíth 318. 319.
 453. 537. 559.
 bíth 440.
 bíthbéo 231. 241.
 ro-bíthbéo 241.
 bíth 441. 444. 461.
 ru-bíth 379.
 bíth/atna 231.
 bíthgalat 241.
 bíth 271.
 fu bíthín 453. 537.
 bíthom 271.
 bíthphennit 231.
 bíu adj. 45. 224.
 bíu, bíu (to
 ben(a)id) 406. 461.
 -bíu 1 sg. 45. 58.
 122.
 bíuicát 174.
 in bíuic 238.
 bíud 66.
 bíur subst. 59. 198.
- bíur ipv. 373.
 as-bíur 105.
 (do)-bíur 48. 57.
 361. 362.
 (do-m)-bíurt 48. 423.
 bíut 162. 195.
 bíu 122. 480.
 BIVAIDONAS 59.
 bíth 35. 140.
 bíhad(a)in 185. 189.
 222.
 bíhad(a)ide 222.
 -bo 73. 491.
 bó 40. 45. 174. 216.
 217.
 -bó 392. 393. 461.
 bobad- 425.
 bobap- 425.
 -bobig 425. 431. 461.
 (at)-bobuid 425. 433.
 461.
 bó 571.
 boc(c) 92.
 bóchail 40.
 bócht 224.
 -bócht 438. 461.
 bodar 74.
 Bodb 123.
 bodra 74.
 m. bog 92.
 bó 125. 198. 271.
 483. 492.
 bócht 101. 224.
 bóle 483.
 bóll, bóll 32. 50.
 177.
 bóim 213.
 bóin 216.
 ad-bóind 447.
 as-bóind 392. 393.
 447. 461. 535.
 (do)-boing 355. 461.
 con-boing 47. 447.
 503.
 as-bóis 461.
 bóitus 271.
 bónat 174.

bongid 92. 355. 388.
 392. 431. 438.
 454. 461. 496.
 534.
as-bonnar 526.
-bóad 395.
-bó(s)at 461.
both vb. n. 170. 186.
 195. 450.
ro-both 328.
rom-both 478.
botha 483.
bóu gen. 45. 217.
bóu (to *boas*) 46. 180.
brá 197.
bráic 197.
bráig(a)s 208.
bráí 197.
bráigid 424.
bráithrám 173.
a bráithre 201.
bráth 198.
bráth(a)ír 77. 110.
 214.
bráthard(a)s 220.
a bráthria 201.
brat(t) 50. 93. 175.
 178.
bráu 211.
do-brá 355. 389. 413.
 461.
bréc 127.
brecc 135.
bréig 203.
breib 568. 573.
bréic 127.
bréisiu 355. 451.
 461.
bréith 449.
bre(i)thi 444.
Brénaid 175.
Bres(s)al, Bresnal
 89. 124.
bréth 130. 172. 186.
 449. 468.
-bréth 363. 439. 468.
bréth(a)s 363. 364.
 440.

bréthair 100. 184.
bréthre 100. 184.
bri 203.
ro-bria 386.
ro-bríathar 386.
bríathar 100. 184.
Brigit 187.
for-bríbedar 396.
 400.
for-bríssi 341.
bríth 130. 186. 449.
 468.
bríthe 130. 186. 449.
bríthem 187. 172.
 209.
brítheman 108.
bríthemanacht 167.
brítheman 108. 209.
bríthemanda 108.
bró 211.
broc 41.
BROCCAGE 79. 173.
Broccán 79. 173.
broc 211.
bróis 197.
bróitine 50. 175.
brón 41.
bronn 93. 209. 210.
bronnaid 386.
bronnat 174.
bróon 211.
brót 50. 178.
brothad -atá 69. 87.
a m-brotte 69. 87.
brú 93. 140. 174.
 209. 210.
fríe-brudemar 367.
do-brúinn
 (do-brúinn) 355.
 389. 413. 461.
brúinne 209.
brú(i)nnid 355. 424.
 451. 461.
BRUSCOS 197.
BRUSCO 197.
-bu 491.
bú 217.
buachasle 56.

búachail 40. 164.
búadach 222.
búade 191.
búaid 45. 217.
búaid 83. 191. 222.
búain 454. 461.
búaité 83.
búan 543.
búidigiu 234.
-buich 431.
buid 483.
bui(i)de subst. 222.
buide adj. 51. 117.
bui(i)dect 222. 234.
 543.
buidéctu 234.
bui(i)den 103. 183.
buidichiu 234.
buidir, buidre 74.
(com)-buig 431. 433.
builib, builani 95.
buiú 107. 170. 186.
 450. 483. 493.
bui(i)thi 483.
a buit-ann 88.
buúu 50. 177.
burbe, burpe 22.
lé bu-rovbáithar 341.
 379.
caoc 93.
caoch 33. 111. 141.
 159. 229. 250.
 310. 311.
caoch á-dirach 240.
caoch 33. 310. 311.
caocha 151. 188. 310.
caocha indef. pron.
 28. 289. 292.
caocha-n-dénaian
 290.
caocha-orr 289.
caocha 311.
-caocha 108. 425.
 462.
caocha 188. 310.
caochu 73. 230. 308.

- cáid 165.
 cáidín 308.
 cáidín 308, 307.
 cáidíne, cáidíne 307.
 cáidíneabul 247.
 cáicé 43.
 cáicéite 417.
 cáera 222.
 cáicé 310.
 cáicé 174.
 cáicéite 174.
 cáid 165.
 cáicé 'cock' 103, 573.
 cáicé 'calix' 103, 573.
 cáille 568, 570.
 cáillecha 65.
 cáimé 94.
 cáiméac 86, 568, 574.
 cáin (= ca-ni) 73, 292.
 for-cáin 442, 444.
 cáin- 241, 347.
 cáin-airbíthé 241.
 cáin-chomrac 448.
 cáinleóir 172, 574.
 cáingel 567.
 cáinno-móibad 73, 292.
 cáipéis 567.
 cáir 'why?' 289.
 cáir 'quære' 289.
 cáira 172, 203.
 cáircha, cáirchaib 203.
 cáirchaire 172.
 cáir(h)uide 203, 222.
 fo-cáird 431, 462.
 cáirdíne 168, 169.
 cáirdé 169.
 cáirdéa 127, 207.
 cáirdide 222.
 cáire 61, 121.
 cáiré 204.
- cáirgur 105.
 cáirín 358.
 cáiríca 127, 207.
 cáis 231.
 cá(i)se 568.
 cá(i)thém 453.
 cá(i)thid 453.
 cáithéir 202.
 cáithé 204.
 cálad 103.
 cáladgal 218.
 CALLAGE 103.
 calléic 30, 72, 549.
 calléicé 30, 72.
 CALUNOVIC, 51.
 cámas 83, 560.
 cámaspá 21, 83, 560.
 cámasá 574.
 cámb 94, 118, 574.
 cámas 94, 574.
 cámasaib 83, 94, 560.
 cámasaif 21, 83, 94, 560.
 cámasdara 94.
 cáas 289.
 -cána 462.
 -cámar 368.
 cámas 462.
 cámar gen. 208.
 cási 28, 73, 292, 485.
 cásid 108, 353, 424, 439, 442, 444, 451, 462.
 for-cáim 362.
 cáisín 307.
 cáno (-a) 208.
 cándín 186, 574.
 m. cáogad 246.
 cápaíl 567.
 cáplá 454, 569.
 cáir 59.
 -cára 110.
 cáraictéir 568, 573.
 car(a) 110, 168, 169, 207, 308, 372, 507, 544.
- car(a)id 119, 209, 396, 446.
 car(a)im 368.
 car(a)it 60, 207.
 carat 127, 207.
 caratán(a) 208.
 caratrad 169.
 carmacól 574.
 car(a)it 417.
 fo-caráir 431.
 cáse 570.
 cáte 290.
 cáteat 255, 290.
 cáteat 290.
 cáta 106, 195.
 cáta 165.
 cáthair 569.
 cáthéir 202.
 Cáthao 207.
 cáite 290.
 cáita 165, 166.
 cá(a)is 44.
 Cáulán(n) 51.
 cámas 51, 57.
 cáur, cáurad 51.
 c(a) 501.
 ce interrog. 28, 72, 152, 254, 286.
 ce conj. 34, 71, 72, 111, 145, 484, 561 ff.
 (bit) of 501.
 m. céad 22, 127.
 ad-céar 386, 469.
 céa 141, 159, 229, 310, 311.
 cécha 151, 159, 188, 310.
 cécha indef. pron. 28, 289, 292, 311.
 cécha-apert 289.
 céchas 289.
 -céch(a)ing 462.
 -céchán(n) 108, 425, 462.
 céchan- 424.
 -céchan 402.
 céchang- 424.

- ceas* 287, 292.
ceasín 306.
ceas 484, 561.
ad-cess 132, 352, 439, 469.
céasad 90.
ceasacht 462.
cé(s)aid 128.
ceasair 394.
cé(s)ath 67, 88.
ceasi 287.
ar-cesi 452, 535.
céate 362.
céato 67, 88.
ceas 144, 484, 561.
cé 'hundred' 22, 114, 127, 245.
-cé (pass.) 439, 462.
cé- prep. 33, 501.
cé- 'first' 127, 248, 249.
ceca- prep. 33, 733, 501.
ceca- 'first' 248.
ceca-bí 501, 535.
cécaín 573.
céal 70, 75, 127, 451, 462.
céamus 248.
céibaid 78, 107, 501.
-céibí 535.
céibuid (*céibuidh*) 37, 65, 78, 107, 501.
céibútho 65, 186.
céte 442, 462.
ad-ceter 386.
céifaid 78, 501.
ad-céth 386, 469.
céth(s)ír 114, 124, 242, 246.
céthar- 242.
céthard(s)e 77, 243.
céthargaraí 242.
ad-céthe 386.
céthóir 242, 246.
céthóira 242.
céthóra 151, 242.
céthorcho 245, 247.
- ceithr-* 242.
ceithread 230, 248, 250.
ceithreadín 250.
ceithreadhu 250.
ceithrar 244.
ceithri 151, 242, 246.
ceithrochaír 242.
ceili 444, 462.
ceis 386, 462, 490, 561.
ceili(a)id 170.
ceiliúth -ud 501.
ceimad 248.
ceimias 248.
ceimra 230.
ceim(s)e 37, 230, 248, 249, 306.
ceio 144, 484, 561.
ceimius 248.
ceimias 248.
ceiu 144, 484, 561.
ceiu- 'first' 241, 248, 249, 257, 347.
ceiuwpridach 248.
ceius 248.
ceiu 204.
m. ceud 22.
ceul 178.
-ch 'and' 549.
chích 144.
ce du chasad 109.
duim chaisín 143.
chích 144.
a chéile 20.
in chechtartid 311.
chéitbada 37.
chén 111, 144.
inno chend, -la 143.
donuib chendlaib 143.
ar chenn 537.
for chenn 145.
do-chertar 437.
dunuib cheithrairib 144.
fo chéoir 41.
- chis* 501.
ro-chích 428.
at-chíched 406.
at-chíchestár 406.
at-chíchest 406.
atat-chigestár 406.
ar chinn 177.
ar chinn 177, 537.
ara-chiurad 45, 405, 462.
chisín 93.
chíinn 93.
chíitib 443.
nicon-chloor 329, 538.
ro-chíinestár 33, 410.
ad-chodadas 420.
ara-choided 377, 392, 498.
a fo-cháimlich 355.
in-choischar 77.
in-choischt 472.
in-choisget 77.
chomallaide 65.
in-chomarcair 432.
atol-chomais(s) 425, 432, 480.
chom-daigi 315.
in chorpéid 78.
maniro-chocca 472.
nicon-choccam 28.
ce chotabosad 262.
corro-chraitea 54.
ara-chrin 45, 357, 428, 437, 449, 462.
ara-chrinat 367.
chrick 144.
in chruib 546, 563.
in chruith-so, -sin 88, 161.
in chruil-so, -sin 88.
chucam 145.
for-chruil 428.
ó e[á]midich 77.
ar chruil 537.

- ci* interrog. 28. 72.
 286 f.
ci conj. 71. 72. 561.
ad-ci 103. 328. 346.
 347. 352. 436.
 439. 444. 451.
 469. 534.
ná-ci 376.
ciá 204.
ciá interrog. 23. 37.
 72. 152. 254.
 286 f. 292. 563.
ciá conj. 34. 37.
 111. 145. 268.
 320. 324. 325.
 343. 484. 491.
 561 ff.
ciá-neca 287.
ciá-bdár 288.
ciá-bé 288.
ciábéd 490.
ciá-beir 287.
ciá-bith 288.
ciábo 491.
ciáck 204.
ciá cbein 292.
ciád 376.
ciádono 289.
ciá-h-imirbera 292.
ciáll 90. 132. 134.
 219. 338.
ar-ciállathar 469.
fo-ciállathar 75. 338.
 574.
fo-ciálar 368.
ciá-luid 287.
ad-ciam 103.
ciámmis 287. 292.
ciámmis 484.
cián 147. 159. 563.
ciáptar 145. 491.
 561.
ciár 173.
Ciárda 173.
ciárbo 491.
Ciárocaín 173.
ciárpa 491.
ciá(r)rice 287.
ciáde 376. 462.
ciása 484.
ciásair 394. 462.
ciáso, *ciásu* 484.
 561.
ciát 489.
ad-ciát 67. 103. 469.
ciáto-, *ciáto* 248.
 249.
ciá-tai 288.
ciá-tiácam 287.
ciáto 249. 484.
ciá-tormála 287.
ciáto 248. 249.
ciá 489.
ciá 288. 292.
ciá, *ciá* pres. 428.
 462.
-ciá fut. 413. 462.
cicé-brata 288.
condas-cicé 406.
fo-cicherr 75. 110.
 412. 415. 462.
fo-cicherthar 412.
ad-cichetar 469.
cichib-forwiré 288.
cichis(s) 412. 413.
cichit 406. 462.
ad-cichitis 406.
fo-cichiu(r) 409.
 412.
(ad)-cichlus 407.
 412. 462.
cichne 406.
cichnaigistir 418.
 570.
fo-cichred 412.
fo-cichret 412.
cichseo 412.
fo-cichur(r) 409.
 412.
cié interrog. 110.
 143. 148. 283.
 286 ff. 292.
cié (conj. + cop.)
 484. 489. 490.
 561. 562. 563.
ciernis (-neo) 289.
ciéid 352. 376. 428.
 454. 462.
Ciúla h-Achaidh 151.
ciúbid 94.
ciú 75. 110. 205.
 206.
ciú 571.
ciúaid 78. 205. 206.
ciúbal 561.
ciúdas 287.
ciúdraim 192.
ciúdrummaim 192.
ciúg 49. 206.
do-ciúg 536.
im-ciúg 394.
cinged -atá 49. 206.
cingid 49. 363. 413.
 424. 433. 462.
ciú 'nonne' 292.
ciú (co-ni) 561.
ciúid 485.
ciúip 489.
ciúirbo 491.
ciúith 485.
ciú gen. 47.
ciú 'at the end'
 161. 537.
-ciú 338.
ciúisín 289.
ciúisín 221.
ciúta 75. 205. 206.
ciúnta 221.
ciúta 127.
ciú 288. 489.
ciúad 490.
ciú can 288.
ciú *ciá* 288.
ci-pé 288.
ciú 573.
ciú 132.
ci-ric 287.
Ciúine 573.
ciú 287.
ciú 172. 567.
ciúisín 172.
ciúda-beir 288.
ciú 142. 287.

- cián* 287.
ciata-brata 289.
cú 489. 561.
cú prep. 33. 73. 501.
cú 'first' 241. 248. 257.
cú-bí 535.
cú-roba 501.
cú 489.
cú . . . *nó* 563.
ad-cú 386.
cú-*tuc* 264.
cú 490.
cú *n-d* 149. 254. 286 f.
ad-cú 133. 469.
com-cú 413.
cú 68. 178.
cú 45. 428. 462.
cú 47, 100. 161, 537.
cú 239.
ad-cú 407.
cú 175.
cú 103.
cú 449. 462.
cú 103. 175. 176.
cú 103.
cú 79. 353. 424. 438. 442. 449. 462.
cú 23. 86.
cú 56. 100.
cú 86.
cú 442. 462.
cú, *cú* 163.
cú 86. 93. 567. 570.
cú 462.
cú 438. 462.
cú 462.
cú 45. 61. 226.
cú 175.
cú 574.
cú 449. 462.
cú 223.
- cú*-*vb. n.* 449. 462.
cú 439.
cú 444. 462.
cú 61. 226.
cú 175.
cú 574.
com-cú 413.
cú 442. 462.
cú 444. 462.
cú 45. 61. 162. 226.
cú 438.
cú 352. 438. 441.
cú 387.
cú 387.
cú 387. 462.
cú 87.
cú 87.
cú 87. 170. 575.
cú, *cú* 105. 170.
cú 216.
cú 43.
m. cú 87.
cú 87.
cú 420.
cú 387.
cú 401.
m. cú 87.
cú 43.
cú 420.
cú 441.
cú 387.
cú 387.
cú 387. 462.
cú 439. 462.
cú 46. 136. 170. 221.
cú (pass.) 439. 462.
cú 439.
cú 221.
cú 170.
cú 442. 462.
cú 216.
cú 216.
cú 140. 151.
- Chú* 151.
cú 454. 462.
cú 216.
cú 104.
cú 104.
cú 104.
cú 374.
cú 357.
ro-cú 41. 79. 82. 216. 328. 347. 351. 354. 367. 379. 386. 387. 425. 439. 442. 454. 462.
cú 351.
cú 46.
cú 570.
cú 103. 169. 190.
cú 169.
cú 62. 103.
cú 197.
cú 197. 199.
cú 197.
cú 197. 199.
cú 221.
cú 93.
cú 136. 197.
co- interrog. 290. 292.
co prep. and conj. 'till', etc., 111. 145. 152. 158. 239. 273. 293. 324. 495. 497. 501 f. 554. ff.
co conj. 28. 149. 258. 299. 312. 320. 324. 330. 331. 342. 347. 486. 502. 539. 554 ff. 559.
co prep. 150. 162. 274. 293. 503.
cú 34.
co-cú 290.
do-cú, *do-cú* 429.

có(a)ir 123, 503.
ar-coat 377, 413, 448, 462.
cobadhus 503.
co-bais 123.
co-bia 290.
cobfodhus 123.
coblige 123.
cobodhus 123, 503.
ad-cobra 108, 139, 264, 496.
cobud 106, 123, 227.
coCAD 106.
coCART 502.
coCARTA 535.
co-cúal(a)e 347, 556.
coDa-rasaid 555.
coDa-accobra 290.
coCa 246.
coCaM 234.
fo-cóemalag 344, 425, 465.
coCaMAM 234.
do-cóemnachtar 425, 434.
im-coCERUS 409.
coGUD 106.
coI 501.
coI 'aukoo' 203.
coI vb. n. 454, 462.
ar-coI 392, 394, 462.
do-coI 392, 394, 473.
coIdelach 83.
coIdelag 83.
coIge 449.
coInest(a)e 220.
coInis 196.
coInius 166, 196, 220.
coIse 123.
coIc 127, 139, 146, 148, 242, 246 f.
coIca 43, 139, 245, 246.
coIcde 243.
coIced 246, 248, 250.
coIcer 244.

coIc (*coIc*) 288, 292.
coIcaith 66, 67, 98.
coIced 66, 67, 98.
coIcach 247.
coIcáth 106.
do-coId 429, 473, 503, 535.
ar-coIed 462.
ad-coIdemmar 430.
CoIbad 42.
COILLABOTAS 42.
coImanom. pl. masc. 224.
COIMAGNI 181.
do-coImarraig 344.
du-coImarraig 425.
-coImchlaí 535.
coImchlaí -ad 502.
coImdeannacht 167, 338.
-coImdeannigedar 338.
coImdú 167, 207.
coImdineacht 168.
fo-coImnachtar 425, 434.
coIm(m)chIdud 112, 502.
-coImnacmar 435.
-coImnactar 435.
-coImnacuir 425, 465, 535.
-coImnacuir 425, 465.
du-coImnachtar 425, 435.
coImthecht 112, 474, 502.
coIm 46, 47, 209.
coImdeuc 66, 107.
coImdeulg 66, 107.
coImne 57.
coImni 90.
coIr, coIR 41, 98, 123.
coIr (= cair) 289.
co coIR 239.

co(i)re 137.
coRm 192.
d[o]coIrsetar 419.
-coIrthar 385.
coIrthi 443.
-coIrthi 385.
do-coIachifed 400.
coIctir 472.
-coIsechar 472.
do-coIced 68, 410.
do-coIced 394.
do-coIgedar 77.
in-coIget 472.
coImni 102, 198.
ar-coIced 462.
in-coImnagar 77.
in-coI(s)ig 472.
dí-coI(s)iv 480.
do-coI(s)in 480.
in-coIseis(s)ed 472.
do-coIstis 473.
coIcheM 168.
coIcheMnas 168.
co-IÁ 91.
COLLABOT 42.
colbha 75.
colbde 221.
Colg(y)u 212.
Colgion 212.
colin(n) 75.
coll 95, 221.
colla, colla ipv. 376.
co-IÁ 91.
COLLABOTA 42.
co-Ias 501.
colle 75.
co-Iéir 240.
collnide 75.
Colman 94, 175, 178.
colmané 101.
coln(a)ide 222.
com- 146, 344, 347, 502 ff. 525.
comad 472.
-com(a)j 125, 376.
comaine 376.

- comainne* 452. 523.
im-comair 131. 432.
 517.
comairle 87. 502.
annad-comairdeib
 28.
comairle 75.
-comairseal 369.
-comairsean 393.
-comairser 389.
com(a)itecht 474.
 518.
comallada 82.
comallaide 362.
comallaídi 270.
comallnád 75.
-comallnádair 397.
comalnád 82. 447.
ro-comalnáda 65.
-comalnádair 81. 338.
 446.
comalnáidi 443.
comalnátha 82.
-comalnáthar 81.
 338.
-comalnáide 384.
-comalnáid 418.
no-comalnáithe 65.
-comalnáithir 108.
 383.
no-comalnánamar 75.
comaltar 75. 452.
ad-comaltar 88.
de-comar 394.
comarbas 166.
fris-comarcair 431.
 432.
im-comarcair 431.
 432.
comard(a)e 102.
comarpe 219.
de-comarr 394.
de-comarraig 425.
as-comart 345. 535.
do-comart 532.
fris-comartat 424.
-comat 376.
-comathar 376. 472.
- combach* 447. 454.
 502.
combad 555.
combag 447.
to-combaig 355.
comban 488.
combin 489.
comchéibuid 503.
ad-comciseal 416.
comdúknad, -natha
 81.
comdúthad 503.
coméir 375.
-coméitiged 377. 474.
-coméithe 474.
coméit 451. 472.
cometecht 474. 518.
-coméitig 377. 444.
 474.
comfogar 503.
comfulid 171.
comid 28.
fo-da-comilset 356.
comiusmaíride 502.
comilesti 444. 474.
ad-comla 75. 262.
 470. 502.
-comlai 376.
comláinse 166.
comlán 31. 75. 95.
 159. 166. 338.
comlín 100.
fo-comlong 344.
comluige 104.
comma- 73. 555.
comma-airic 73.
co-mmáitá 239.
commallaí 95.
common 488.
do-commar 429. 434.
co-mmenic 239.
commim(m)is 94. 489.
commim 489.
commúitá 450.
co-mmóir 239.
com(m)us 450.
for-commactar 425.
commáide 523.
- comessam* 126.
 233. 502.
do-commig- 344.
for-commucuir 346.
 425. 432.
comocus 68.
comocice 68.
-comolwither 108.
do-comorg- 344.
fris-comorg- 344.
as-comort 423.
comparit 226. 569.
comrac 448. 451.
as-comrar 428.
as-comren 344. 347.
do-comren 344.
do-comrig- 344.
comroircne 454.
comroir(r)neis 454.
comrorcan 108.
comrud 456.
comsúidigud 84. 503.
-comtecht 344. 423.
-comtala 385.
contanged 374.
comitracht 439. 455.
comtherchorrac
 495.
comtherchorrucu
 448.
comthíná 503.
-comthost 376.
comthóid 532.
comthuras 455.
 497.
comtis 489.
-comuir 393.
fris-comurt 107. 423.
con gen. 46. 59. 209.
 222.
con- 46.
con- prep. 110. 258.
 259. 503.
con- conj. 28. 259.
 299. 312. 342.
 502. 554 ff.
con- 28. 91. 313.
 539. 554.

co-n-ac(a)s 347.
 470. 556.
conacon-n-armadatar
 555.
Conall 19. 89.
cona'ma-n-darbana
 518.
Conamlo 226.
Conda 173.
conara-digestar 29.
-conbba 394.
condáchail 164.
con-baing 503.
condiachail 164.
con-certa 535.
con-certat 503.
cond 219.
conda 485.
condad 485.
cond(a)s 220. 222.
condasb 274. 503.
ad-condaire 346.
 431. 470.
condaman-ucobaitis
 263.
condan 485.
con-dénice 147. 555.
condan-samailter
 264.
con-dárbarar 343.
conda-risi 263.
condat 485.
conde 88.
condelgy 23. 66. 86.
condaic 22. 118.
condelg 22. 66. 448.
 502.
condelgy 118.
conde-tubert 260.
condib 486. 555.
condid 93. 485. 486.
 555.
condid- 259.
condid-apha 267.
condid-moladar 263.
condid-tactis 263.
condip 488. 555.
con-dositis 555.

condub-ténice 264.
con-follaibid 503.
as-congair 113.
for-congair 113. 513.
Congal 183.
for-congarar 378.
con-ni-gestais 555.
connam 119. 502.
for-congrinn 378.
for-congur 27. 378.
Congus 197.
coni 28. 152. 554 f.
con-ic 503. 535.
conid 93. 485. 486.
 555.
conid- 259.
conid-aphail 267.
conid-chumacaiged
 263.
conid-n-árraig 263.
conid-n-deroimad
 263.
conid-rairléis 264.
conid-reirb 263.
con-mesclatar 503.
conna- *conid-* 28.
 91. 162. 313. 539.
 540. 554.
con(n)ac(c)om- 540.
conadach 486. 555.
conasach- 539.
connacha-dánaigfas
 265.
connasach-gabad 265.
connasach-n-ingéin
 265.
connasach-moides 265.
connasachon 540. 554.
con(n)acon 554.
connarbhar 491.
connatat 486.
con-n-dia 555.
connid 486.
connid- 259. 503.
connid-rarb 263.
cono 274. 503.
con-oma 68.
conro- 554.

conrom-lead 256.
conru-failníthar 29
con-suidighthar 503
con-tífeas 503.
conu 274. 503.
Conual 19.
do-cood 429.
do-cooid 429.
cor 177. 220. 338.
 446. 462. 470.
-corad 385.
for-corad 437.
cor(a)s 41. 98.
(du)-conastar 419.
 470.
-corathar 385. 470.
CORBAGH 173.
Corbmac 88.
corbu 488.
corcur 570.
corpus 569.
Cormac 88.
corrainn 192.
coro- 554.
corp 107. 177. 576.
corpach 220.
corp(a)s 220.
corpp 86.
corp(a)s 220.
corpthe 78.
corrici-as 303.
corrici 502.
corro- 554.
corthán 220.
coru- 554.
cosa- 28. 312.
cosacrub 576.
in-cosaig 472.
-cosandae 467.
cosc 177. 219. 472.
 490.
-cos(a)s 472.
coscid 472.
coscúir 472.
in-coseram 28.
co-se 32. 303.
cosmail 107.
cosmailles 198.

- cornail* 64. 67. 502.
cornailé 166.
cornilinus 65.
cornuil 64. 107.
 166.
cornulibus 65. 166.
cornulitas 65.
 -*cornu* 467.
 (ad)-*corn(a)i* 113.
 467.
corn(a)ib 293.
cornam 100. 102.
 106. 128. 452.
 467.
cornama 102.
cornad 379.
cornid 379.
corn 48. 136. 575.
cornaiç 471.
cornec 86.
co-see 303.
 -*cornéus* 403. 467.
co-sin (= *co* + *sin*)
 303.
cos(s)in(d) (= *co* +
 art.) 502. 503.
cosir 379. 448.
cos-tigat 313.
cot 258. 259. 286.
ad-cot 467.
cota 485.
cotá 476.
ad-cota 347. 351.
 403. 420. 467.
 520.
cotack 356.
ad-cotad(a)s 351.
 420. 467.
ad-cotadum 420.
ad-cotadus 420.
ad-cotar 351.
do-cotar 429. 434.
in-cotar 520.
cotaren(a)s 165. 171.
cotarenai 225.
cotarenatu 165.
cotarsnid 171.
ad-cotatant 351. 420.
 467.
cota-ucbat 262.
cota-icc 23. 262.
cote 290. 292.
cot-ecat 262.
ad-cotodae 82. 420.
 467.
coteest 290.
cotest 290.
Cothr(a)ige 571.
cothud 126.
cot-n-erba 262. 397.
cotof-utvinc 262.
cotomelat 94.
cotom-erchloithir
 261.
coton-dalcum 262.
cot-occaigther 262.
cotol-nerf 262.
ad-cous 344.
craide 102.
crann 50. 178.
crdo, cráa, cráa-
 197. 222.
Craumtham(n) 52.
cré 206. 222.
tu-cracha 532.
credal 573. 575.
creicc 454. 462.
 -*creit* 419.
 (ro)-*crestest* 56. 419.
crem, crema 52.
Cremtham(n) 52.
creitem 90.
 -*crea* 60. 379. 462.
cren(a)id 45. 79.
 137. 356. 378 f.
 428. 438. 454.
 462.
créodae 222.
fo-cren(s) 439. 462.
 -*cret* 419.
crerar, cret(a)ir 74.
cretam 90. 222. 266.
 453.
cruth 137.
 -*cretí* 419.
cretid 46. 54. 91.
 352. 453. 573.
cretmech 222.
 (ro)-*crestest* 56. 419.
ro-cretaini 88. 252.
crestit 417.
 -*cretus* 419.
 -*cria* 387. 462.
criad gen. 206.
criad ipv. 379.
criathar 79.
criathraid 79.
cride 102. 130. 173.
 179. 543.
cridedain 173.
crim 52.
Crimthann 52.
crin 437.
Crist 568. 573.
critá 454.
 -*critá* 438. 462.
cro 197.
cro 197. 222.
croch 46. 338. 575.
 -*crocha* 338.
cród(a)s 102. 222.
croicé 46.
croide 102.
cross 575.
crotha 137.
cré 102. 136. 197.
 222.
crucks 575.
crucá 46.
cruim 137.
cruimathar 137. 570.
cruimn 50. 178.
cruisee 575.
Cru(s)thentáth 137.
crúthinech 137.
cruinn 50. 178.
cruth 46. 89. 137.
 161. 219. 337.
 546. 563.
cruthach 46.
 -*cruth(a)igedar* 337.
cruthugud 65.
cs. 26.

cu 'táil', etc., 152.
501.
cu 'with' 503.
cu subj. 393.
cú 46. 58. 124. 143.
164. 173. 209.
222.
iu-cu 344.
for-cuad 116. 344.
345. 503.
ad-cuadatar 430.
ad-cu(a)id 344. 430.
463. 503. 520.
534. 553.
do-cuaid 429.
-cuáda 125. 425. 462.
-cualaba(i)r 434.
-cual(a)e 41. 79. 198.
347. 425. 462.
imann-cualannar
517.
cuá 173.
Cuá 173.
cuá 140.
cuánna 570.
Cuána 203.
do-cuás 473.
do-cuat 377. 473.
do-cuatar 429.
cub(a)id 81. 166.
219. 503.
cubáinín 81.
cubus 48. 123. 222.
503.
cucas 273.
cucann 48. 574.
cu(c)cas 104. 284.
502.
cu(c)ai 273. 284.
cu(c)i 273. 502.
cucau 92. 273. 284.
512.
cu(c)uib 273. 502.
cu(c)uem 273. 502.
cu(c)una 273. 502.
cu(c)uat 273. 502.
cucht 48.
cuchtar, cuchtair 48.

cucligi 48.
m. cuclroma 126.
cuclú 166.
cuclú 222.
cuclú 246.
cu(c)cl 104. 273.
284. 502.
cuclú 246.
m. cuid 134.
ad-cuid 430.
cuid 77.
cu(i)lén 174.
culann 448.
culú 48. 100.
culú 100.
culú 503.
culú 94.
culú 48. 81.
100. 178. 445.
447. 502.
culú 81.
culú(a)e 441.
467.
culú 443. 467.
culú 81.
culú 178. 447.
culú 178. 447.
culú 49. 441.
-culú 116.
culú 450.
culú 29.
no-culú 539.
culú 48.
culú 450.
-culú 116.
-culú 116. 393.
505.
culú(a)e 441.
culú 116.
-culú 116.
culú 376. 470.
-cu(i)lú 338. 345.
443. 446. 470.
do-culú 446.
470.
for-culú 437.
culú 470.
do-culú 400. 470.

culú 470.
culú 192.
culú 60. 376. 470.
culú 48.
culú 44.
culú 134. 537.
-culú 535.
culú 48. 502.
ad-culú 344.
cu(i)lú 77. 366. 568.
570.
as-culú (ad-culú)
344. 345. 358.
do-culú 345. 355.
425. 431. 467.
culú 42. 537.
iar culú 537.
Culú 51.
cu-lú 501.
for culú 537.
com- 502.
-culú subj. 393. 465.
culú 354. 448.
465.
culú 67. 69.
77. 159. 221. 223.
234.
culú(a)e 62. 128.
179. 219. 221.
culú(a)i 62.
culú 69. 77.
234.
culú 67. 69. 86.
culú 69. 77.
223.
culú 77. 234.
culú 86.
-culú 393. 465.
-culú(a)e 354. 465.
-culú 354. 369.
ad-culú(a)e 354.
393. 480. 518.
for-culú 328.
culú 49. 108. 562.
culú 64. 354.
448. 465.
-culú 354. 368.
culú 48.

- do-cumbaig* 345.
cumbri 94.
-cumcibed 400.
cumcam 354.
-cumcat 22. 354.
 465.
cumcim 29.
-cumcu 465.
cumdach 447. 525.
cumen 503.
cumgalál 455. 525.
-cumgaim 465.
-cumgal -et 22. 465.
cumgubat 400.
cumma(a)s 220.
cummase 91. 503.
is cumme 334. 563.
-cumzana 68. 535.
cumzanad 502. 525.
-cumzanfa 397.
-cumzet 393.
cumscarichté 89.
-cumsciget 525.
cumtach 356. 447.
 463. 525.
cumtach(a)s 444.
 463.
-cum(a)ing 346. 354.
 398. 432. 465.
 535.
cumung adj. 115.
 119. 227.
cumung dat. 64.
-cumungar 354.
-cum 361.
for-cum 51. 362.
CUNAGUOS 59. 197.
CUNAMAGLI 59.
cungue 375.
CUNIGNI 174.
cur, curad 51.
CURLAGNI 173.
cúrsachad 20. 81.
cúrsagad 20. 81.
cúrruan(a)s 48.
 126. 186. 220.
cúrrumus 168.
cut(a)im 453. 474.
cúirsagad 20.
- d* 149. 260. 268.
 269.
da (dá) art. 294.
da, dá 143. 149.
 190. 242. 243.
-da 152. 256. 260.
 286.
dá 25. 557.
dans 478.
in-dás 33.
-dab- 260.
da-chotar 267.
dás 18.
dag- 54. 87. 230.
 235. 236. 544.
dág 537.
dagfer 230.
dagym 87.
dagnim 87.
dagtheist 99.
daidbir 219.
daig 54. 191.
Daig 192.
con-daig 66. 410.
 505.
dáil 172.
-daim 378.
fo-daim 118. 463.
 512.
fo-daimet 98. 358.
-daimi 378.
da(i)mid 118. 328.
 354. 429. 432.
 439. 451.
-daimim 378.
dainingen 100. 225.
dair 204.
dáir 455.
dáirdé 204. 220.
dairid 422. 455.
Dairmag 204.
dairt 171.
dáistir 452.
dait 274. 506.
dál 79.
DALAGNI 11.
dale, dalei 376.
dáilem 172.
- DALI** 11.
fo-dáib 263. 338.
fo-dáibh-sea 400.
dall(a)s 179. 198.
dám subst. 57. 118.
 211.
dám conj. prep. 274.
 506.
-dam- 286.
dám 169.
fo-dama 463.
dámair 433.
-dám(a)ir 429. 432.
 463.
-damdair 430.
Damian 570.
-dam(m)- 259.
damnaid 430.
-damnamtar 429.
damnatar, damnatar
 429. 430. 463.
dámrad 169.
-dan- 256. 286.
dán 35. 195.
dana 557.
danas 25. 557.
danes 557.
con-dánico 147. 555.
danic 557.
-dan(n)- 260.
-dánaigetar,
dánaigind 105.
dano 25. 30. 289.
 551. 557. 558.
dáo 243.
dar 111. 158. 273.
 531.
dareck 204.
con-dárbaster 395.
dardain 511.
darmi-regtais 531.
daro 204.
da-rrot 261.
dart- 422.
dartaíd 171.
-das- 260.
dásacht 452.
-dat- 259. 286.
dáthar 318. 478.

- Dau* 44.
dau num. 44. 58.
 124. 182. 190.
 242. 243. 246.
dau conj. prep. 45.
 274. 284. 506.
da-uaci 261.
Dáui 44. 203.
David (David) 125.
 572.
dawm 57. 211.
dawr 116. 204.
dawrd(a)e 204. 220.
de prep. 146. 246.
 504 ff. 544.
dé 'in two' 246.
 505.
-de pron. 260.
de demonstr. 301.
 302. 304.
de after *epv.* 156.
 238.
de conj. prep. 32.
 156. 238. 274. 280.
 284. 310. 311.
dé 32. 274. 284.
dé 'smoke' 306.
dé gen. 18. 37. 38.
 124. 178.
dé voc. 37.
(fri) dé 38. 217.
dé num. 242. 246.
den 37.
deac(c) 66. 245. 247.
deacht 33. 101. 124.
 167. 183.
deacht(a)e 101.
dead 68. 125. 504.
 537.
i n-dead 537.
m. déag 247.
deacoc 192.
déainneicéibéac
 504.
déainneicéibéacáib
 33.
deamir, deamrem
 234.
- dear* 506.
m. dearbá 123.
dearc 84.
deáide 246.
débláidain 244.
no-debthaiged 80.
-debhthigedar 337.
debháit 80. 246. 337.
 505.
déa 245.
-deacamar 386.
-déicu 103. 375.
dech 54. 88. 235.
 236. 241.
-decha 394. 473.
dó-dechabair 434.
dó-dechas 438.
[de]chéit 86.
dechmad 248. 250.
dechmo-charam 241.
dechmoro-chéic 241.
-dechammar 429.
dechar 246. 505.
déchorpdae 221. 242.
-dechoc 473.
-dechsam, -dechmitis
 473.
-dechud 429. 473.
-dechuid, -dechuáit
 57. 89. 429. 438.
 473. 504.
dó-dechuid 77.
-dechummar 429.
-dechutar 429. 473.
decmáing, decm(u)ic
 504.
ro-ded 474.
-ded 485. 487.
-deda 474.
dedag 425.
for-ded(a)ig 463.
dedárntai 32.
déde 243.
dédenach 68. 504.
-decláistis 411.
dé 20. 38.
déac 66. 245. 247.
de-éatar 505.
- déas* 167.
deatá 228.
deg superl. 54. 235.
 236. 241.
deg 54. 230.
dég 68. 318. 537.
 559.
i n-degaid 150. 505.
 537.
con-degam 354.
con-degar 505.
degeomairle 87.
degmo-aig 241.
degnima 196.
dego -a 54. 191.
DEGO 192.
m. dé á-aoine 151.
(fri) dei 38. 217.
déi 38. 178.
deib 242. 246.
déib 23. 178.
dé(i)acc 375. 470.
 504.
deic num. 36. 56.
 101. 114. 129.
 149. 243. 245.
 247.
deic *ipv.* 72.
deicde 243.
de(i)chendor 243.
 244.
deichenbur 146.
de(i)chib 244.
deichthriab 146. 194.
 244.
(ad)-deicider 386.
déicéiu 451.
deid 167. 228.
deidbir 219.
deis 100.
-deileet 345.
ní-deintamladar
 504.
déintí 464.
deirbba 102. 123.
deiroc 84.
dé(i)rpe 448. 449.
 467.

- de(i)rgéni 421.
 -deirgénuis 421.
 -deirgni 421.
 de(i)sestar 427.
 deit 274. 506.
 déit 127. 208.
 deitábir 219.
 de(i)áru 69. 451.
 no-déitnaigtiis 37.
 deib 100. 183.
 deib(a)s 100.
 con-deicfam 397.
 con-deilga 448.
 con-deigatar 23.
 con-á-deligpáddar 23.
 delackuir 432.
 deligatar 427.
 delig 345. 427. 431.
 432.
 dem 488.
 -dem 487.
 de-mecnia 505.
 demin 233.
 demnas 178.
 demnai 178.
 demnithír 82. 233.
 demon 178. 573.
 575.
 deman 178. 575.
 den 486.
 -déná 386. 464.
 dénad 28.
 -dénad 464.
 -den(a)i 535.
 -den(a)im 375. 464.
 denait 116. 356.
 427.
 denail 305.
 -dénat 504.
 dendib(h) 93. 293.
 déne subst. 165.
 déne ipv. 375. 464.
 for-dengat 463.
 -dénim 38.
 dénitthír 82. 233. 237.
 déniu 233.
 dénma 452.
 dénmo 101.
- dénom 64. 101. 106.
 464.
 dénti, dénti 464.
 dénias 305.
 dénum 64. 79. 101.
 106. 452. 464.
 deo 33. 61. 178.
 deoch 83. 195.
 do-deochuid, -aid 57.
 déod(a)s 222. 234.
 déodam 234.
 deoga 195. 198.
 déol(a)id 219. 504.
 -dephthigedar 337.
 dephthigim 80.
 der- 232.
 dér 78. 532.
 -dér fut. 413.
 dérach(a)s 441. 467.
 nicon-deraerachtatar
 340.
 dus-á-deraid 430.
 derb 102. 107.
 derb(a)s 166.
 -derban 406. 529.
 conda-dercacha 340.
 -dercaithir 470.
 niru-derchois 346.
 dercu 211.
 dered 505.
 dereptiú 171.
 for-deret 378. 416.
 derg 174.
 -dergaba 504.
 ní-dergemor 367.
 ní-dergénat 343.
 -dergéni 504.
 -dergéneat 421. 464.
 -dergini 421.
 dergnat 174.
 dérig 413. 504.
 for-derisiur 378.
 416.
 -derlaichta 89.
 -derlaig[e] 385.
 -derlind 383.
 dermár, dermar 31.
 528.
- dermat 450. 504.
 528.
 -dermfamar 433.
 435.
 dermat 450. 528.
 -derna 68.
 -dernad 464.
 -derna(a)i 464. 535.
 dernum 107.
 -dernuis 421.
 -deroima 463. 529.
 -deroimad 529.
 -deroth 393.
 nim-deroige 343.
 -deroiget 505.
 (ní)-deroigsi 28. 68.
 87. 535.
 -derthaisit 393.
 (ní)-derúarid 340.
 derucc 118. 211.
 con-dessat 410.
 deserbdi 544.
 desere, désere 84.
 déitillabchi 342.
 de-tiu 303. 305.
 desmercht,
 desmercht 113.
 desom 273.
 des(s) 169. 305. 536.
 -dessad 427.
 desse 169.
 desseirc 84.
 dessid 128. 345. 427.
 431. 432. 518.
 des(s)imrecht 113.
 dessial 161.
 desum 273.
 nad-desta 147.
 destetar 431.
 -det 487.
 ro-det 35. 439. 469.
 dè 109. 127. 207.
 208.
 -dét act. 422.
 -dét pass. 35. 439.
 463. 469.
 nicon-dét (= -dét)
 145.

- déa* 208.
déibán 208.
Ácre déte 147. 319.
déthach 206.
dét-so 274.
deu 33. 61. 178.
deud 125.
deug 83. 195.
(in) deurb 107.
dí prep. 145. 162.
 257. 259. 272.
 293. 504 ff.
dí, dí num. 143.
 189. 242.
dí conj. prep. 274.
 285. 506.
fo dí 243. 250.
du-dí 394.
dí-146. 504 ff. 544.
dí 25. 557.
dia subst. 151. 159.
 217.
dia-conj. 28. 149.
 258. 259. 298.
 312. 488. 552.
 558 f.
dí-a prep. + rel. 28.
 71. 312. 505. 506.
dí-a prep. + possess.
 71. 278. 505. 506.
con-dia 413.
dia 37. 124. 167.
 178. 222.
diabul 139. 246.
diachtas 171.
diachtid 170.
diacht(a) 443. 463.
diad 68. 125. 504.
 537.
i n-diad 537.
diads 222.
in tain diagma-ni
 62. 147.
diall 91. 448. 504.
diam 488.
diam(a)ir 234.
diamlad 446.
diamuis 113.
dian 486.
dian 155. 224. 233.
dian-chomalaínn
 263.
*dian-*259.
diandam-chondelc
 256.
diandes 305.
diandid 486.
diand-rathiasat
 263.
diamechtair 305.
dia-n-árbalam 267.
dianim 113. 219.
diant 486. 487.
dí-ar 277. 506.
díar 71.
díarim 219.
Diarmait 219.
diaru-chreid 29.
dias 160. 244.
for-diasat 463.
for-diasatar 388.
du-diasas 394.
-diastar 413.
do-diat 377. 394.
dib num. 149. 190.
 242. 246.
dib línasib 160.
*-dib-*pron. 259. 260.
 282.
-dib cop. 144. 488.
dib 71. 274.
dibad -ath 450.
dibair 134.
dibairis 451. 461.
im-diben, im-dibenar
 369.
ar-dibi 405.
dibireiad 119. 134.
dibuiris 451.
-dich 394. 473.
-dichet 410.
dichet 449. 462.
de-dichetar 395.
 410.
-dichet 377. 473. 504.
-dichius 473.
dichid, dichit 100.
 449.
-dichsed 68.
do-dichsed 473.
do-dichthim 410.
-dichtim 89. 473.
con-dici 502.
dictatóir 172.
di-cued- 345.
-did cop. 144. 487.
*-did-*pron. 280.
-didam 402.
dide 427. 433.
-diden 402.
didenach 68. 125.
 504.
didis 25. 30. 62.
 557 f.
-didlatais 411.
in-didloisiter 410.
-didma, -didmas
 402. 463.
-didmat 402.
-didmed 402.
-didna 535.
didnad 81. 504.
-didsiter 463.
didu 25. 62. 557.
die 217.
diechtoid 171.
con-dieig 66. 344.
 410. 450. 505.
-dig 394. 473.
-dig 72.
digabh(a) 441.
i n-digaid 505. 537.
digaim 91. 192. 574.
digal 62. 170. 239.
 446. 463.
digallre 75.
digas 19.
digbál 504.
diges gen. 83. 195.
-digen 403. 504.
-digéam 403.
-dig(i)us 473.
digl(a) 62.
digl(a)id 170. 239.

in diglaid 230.
-digne 403. 406. 464.
-digeitis 473.
-dighim 473.
-dighik 89. 429.
diib, diib 71. 274. 285.
diil 91.
diis, diis 244.
dii 470.
dile 212.
diles(s) 67. 165. 225.
-dilga 385.
-dilg(a)i 68.
dilgend 455.
-dilgáthar 400.
di-a-n-dilgíd 28.
dilgátho 65. 82.
dilgud 82.
dilguda, -o 65. 82.
dilgutha 65. 82.
-dillem 98.
dilse 67. 165.
dilestu 165.
-diltai 98.
diltath 446.
diltud 83. 84. 446.
diltuik 83.
di-lu- 352.
dím 274.
dímáan 543.
dímdach 543.
-díme 98. 463.
di-meccithar 505.
dímiccem 453. 505.
dímíthiu 233.
-dín- 259. 260. 282.
dínab 99.
dínaccon-bí 313. 540.
dínaió 99.
dín(d) 293.
for-díng 355. 425. 441. 449. 463.
díngartha 442.
dínged 374.
díngid 355.

for-díngian 371.
-díngue, -díngued 421.
díngr(a)s 448.
for-díngrat 504.
dínit 116.
dín(n) 274.
dínám 544.
dínámídir 82.
dínsem 523.
dínsem 453.
dínse 116. 208.
-díp 144. 488.
dínseu 211.
díre 454.
dírach 447.
dírecht(a)s 441.
díríuach 83. 119. 227.
díríng 83. 119. 227. 240. 504.
dí-roybad 505.
dí-rócaí 535.
dí-rócat 505.
-dírrudigeddar 84.
dírruidigeth 84. 95.
dírruidigud 84.
dírúch 240.
díruidigud 84.
dís 244.
dí-sín 303.
dís(a)i 274. 285.
dí-sund 303.
dít 274. 506.
-dít- 259. 281. 296.
dít 274.
dítá, dítá 427.
ní-dítáit 490.
dítbech 355. 446.
dítbim 453. 474.
dítbú 100. 449. 455.
dítmad 81.
díttrab, díttrab 100. 504. 544.
dítí 444. 463.
dítíu 451. 463. 504.
dítu 558.
-dítúair fut. 413. 525.

for-dítúair subj. 392.
for-dítúcal 394.
for-dítúclainn 394. 442. 453.
dítur(a)s 448. 529.
for-dítúcuilset 394.
dítud 125. 161.
dítút 67. 166. 219.
dítúitius 166.
dítúil 177.
m. díttáth 84.
dítúmmus 525.
dítúnach 447.
dítúnag 504.
-dítúnag 535.
dítúpart 504. 525. 526.
-dítúpir 535.
-dítúrat 377. 392. 413. 525. 535.
do-dítú 377.
dítú 19.
-dítúigedar 19. 480.
in-dítúigedar 480.
-dítú 463.
-díecht 422. 438. 463.
ro-díechtatar 422.
dítég(a)ir 463.
-díegar 463.
-díesat 463.
díestar 395.
dítged 67. 115. 450. 463.
dítged 33.
ro-dítgestar 416. 418. 422. 463.
dítgedh 67. 115.
dítgíd 438. 450. 463.
dítgíur 416.
dítgíthech 67.
dítgúth 161.
as-dítíng 355. 520.
in-dítíng 410. 447.
dítíng(a)id 138.
-dítíng 361. 530.
dítu, dítu 558.

do prep. 111. 145.
 158. 162. 165.
 255. 257. 269.
 272. 274. 279.
 289. 293. 493.
 495. 506. 518.
 533.
 do prep. (= di) 162.
 312. 505. 506.
 do 'thy' 73. 111.
 142. 143. 276 f.
 281.
 do- (ðev-) 146. 231.
 do- (for te-) 533.
 do- (for di-) 505.
 dó num. 44. 243.
 dó conj. prep. 45.
 274. 284. 506.
 doacaldmach 506.
 do-adbat 533.
 do(a)ib 71. 274. 285.
 506.
 do-arraht 533.
 -dob- 260. 286.
 Dobeadó 174.
 do-beir 533. 535.
 do-bmthar 261.
 do-bérat 533.
 do-borchá 173.
 do-brán 173.
 do-briathar 506.
 do-chénúil 38. 104.
 do-chénúil 38.
 do-chénúil 219.
 do-ch(a)ibid 506.
 do-chond 219.
 do-chor 231.
 do-chrud 219. 227.
 do-chuirde 228.
 do-chum 111. 150.
 536.
 do-chumacht 219.
 do-da-aidlea 263.
 do-da-essarr 264.
 do-dad 231.
 cia do-d-chommar
 269.

do-dechuid 533.
 do-d-esta 268.
 do-dona 535.
 do-donaimm 505.
 do-dúthraicair 351.
 doe 208.
 do-dóci 505.
 do-ella 505.
 do-ellenga 228.
 dóen, dóen- 180.
 -dóes 471.
 -dóesur 471.
 dóetar 314.
 do-fema 261. 282.
 do-fonag 504.
 do-forbad 88. 261.
 do-formaig
 (do-fórmaig) 533.
 535.
 do-fuibnimn 533.
 do-futharair 351.
 do-futharetar 505.
 do-futhraicair 351.
 do-futhraictar 505.
 dogaille 108.
 do-gaitha 533. 535.
 do-gai 505. 535.
 doguile 108.
 doí 228.
 doib 71. 274.
 -doid 426. 471.
 do-imchella 351.
 doin 180.
 doinacht 167.
 doinde 220.
 do-indagar 533.
 doina 180.
 doinecht 167.
 doini 167. 180. 220.
 296.
 do-inseanna 351.
 a doirsa 194.
 doirib 56. 103.
 doít 208.
 as-dotiher 88.
 DOLATIBIGAIINGOR.,
 182.

do-léat 533.
 do-lug(a)s 68.
 dom 274. 281. 506.
 -dom- 259. 286.
 domblas 76.
 domm(a)s 165.
 dommatu 66. 165.
 do-mnaicéithir 505.
 dommatu 66. 165.
 Donnall 89. 177.
 domuin gen. 70.
 domuin adj. 118.
 domus 46. 70. 118.
 575.
 domund(a)s 108.
 220.
 don (to dá) 212.
 -don- 260. 286.
 do-dona 81. 535.
 donaballasib 99. 294.
 donahi 295.
 donasib 73. 93. 99.
 293. 506.
 do-donaimm 505.
 don(d) 293. 506.
 donala 308.
 donda-rigéasat 264.
 dond-emaing 268.
 dond-icfa 267.
 donnatad 487.
 donn-éici 256.
 do-onlacht 345.
 do-onmaig 345.
 do-opir 505. 535.
 in doradid 575.
 doraid 104.
 doraidi 228.
 dorchada 166.
 dorchadas 166.
 dorah(a)s 116. 226.
 do-rea riasal 327.
 doru 338.
 do-roghad 505.
 do-roimníbetar 505.
 do-róna 68.
 doron-domad 261.
 do-róca(a)s 68. 535.

do-róicat 505.
dorus 103. 194. 198.
 -*doe* 260.
do-sin 303.
con-dositis 88. 393.
do-sá-béithe 261.
do-sá-guithá 261.
do-sol 533.
dos(s)om 274. 284.
 285.
dósuithigí 506.
do-sund 303.
 -*dótar* 426.
dot-défas 256.
dot-luid 256.
do-tuit 351. 533.
dóu 45. 274. 284.
 506.
drauc 211.
draebraing 426.
drae 211.
dréim(m) 453.
dre(i)téll 135.
dréacáit 128.
dric 211.
dringid 138. 353.
 426. 453.
dris 170.
dris-rogat 534.
dristen, dristenach
 170.
droch 135.
droch- 87. 230. 235.
drochdoim 230.
drocho 230.
drochemairle 87.
drop- 230.
drognim 87.
dropnim 87.
Droma h-Ing 151.
dron 46.
druid 124. 206.
drúailnide,
drúailníthe 232.
drucht 140.
drúí 43. 124. 206.
druid 124.

drúimm 135. 151.
 191. 192.
drúithá 201.
drumwai 191. 193.
du prep. 63. 111.
 495. 506. 533.
dú 34.
du' thy' 111. 276 f.
du- (for *to*, *tu-*) 533.
du- (for *dí-*) 505.
du- (*du-*) 146. 231:
dú subst. 58. 116.
 162. 212. 290.
 546.
du-a 278. 505.
Duack 44. 203.
duait 274.
Duaid 125.
-duaid 426. 471.
for-duair 392.
dúal 41.
-duatar 426.
dub 42. 173. 227.
-dub- 260. 286.
dubglass 218.
Dubucán 173.
Du-Channa 111.
du-cuitig 345.
dud-wic 268.
du-éantar 505.
du-fuit 351.
du-futharctar,
-futharctar 505.
Dui 44.
dúí 206.
dúib 274. 282. 506.
Duid 125.
dúil 172.
duindén 173. 174.
du(i)ne 173. 180.
 296.
dúine 179.
duindén 174.
duincet 174.
du(i)ní dat. 62. 180.
du(i)ní voc. 61.
dúine 104.
duit 274. 281. 282.

dul 46.
(in) dul 546.
dula 46.
duib(u)ir 107. 220.
duibúria 107.
dúilem 172.
-dum- 259.
in dumaickthiu 240.
du-remidethar 533.
-dun- 260.
dún 178.
fris-dúincim 514.
dunarructhac 313.
dundab-dárguthar
 264.
dundaib 73. 93. 293.
 506.
dund-alla 268.
dundat-mecetar 263.
dún(n) 274. 282. 506.
dunn-dúic 261.
dunpáil 219.
dúrai 104.
do-dárgim 504.
-durni 338.
du-roimnibetar 505.
du-róicat 505.
dús 71. 291. 564.
du-s-gní 261.
dusseculat 86.
duairctar 389.
du-tít 533.
du-tíledar 258.
-dúthairer 389.
-dúthraccair 351.
 389. 431. 432.
-dúthraccar 504.
dúthrackt 450.
dúthracktan 450.
-dúthraic 391.
-dúthracar 389.
do-dúthris 328. 391.
dunn 506.
dúinc 291.

e, æ possess. pron.
 285.

- d, Ad, Aed* pron. 19.
 38. 264. 280. 283.
 285. 310.
d, Ad, Aa subst. 50.
 203.
 -*adla* 404.
m. adhlrom 544.
m. adg 22.
m. adgal 91.
m. adgar 519.
m. adgannkail 544.
ad 255.
ad 83.
adait 353. 471.
adalla 404.
adartá 403.
adartáir 403.
adala 404.
-adla, adait (to agid)
 403. 461. 468.
-adla (to alid) 404.
 461.
-adlad 403.
-adrat 404.
n-adtar 471.
ad 22. 127.
do-ad(a)i 328. 436.
 470. 505. 518.
(techt) do adait 127.
-adail 394.
adaille 64.
ad(a)ille 186.
adaili 444.
adailid 171.
do-adaithe 386.
adal 91. 219. 507.
do-adatar 386. 505.
adalla 186.
adane 90.
-adatar, -adatar
 430.
aden 161. 337.
adenoct 18. 571.
adee 175.
-adatar 68.
adgata 509.
adgatai 23.
ach 36. 124. 172.
Echack gen. 175.
 203.
achaire 172.
Echack gen. 203.
tond-achomnuchair
 532.
achrad 169. 170.
achtar 158. 170. 391.
 507.
achtargeinde 507.
achtrann 574.
acha 57.
Echa 203.
Echaid 203.
da-achigí 406.
-achid 344. 430. 463.
 534.
da-achigí 82. 406.
 470.
achil 219.
achile 70.
achille 64.
achin 161.
-achin 344.
ach(a)im(m) 453.
do-achain 439.
-achainni 361. 509.
ach(a)is 186. 296.
 568. 574.
achatai 444.
achis 18.
achmacht 219.
-achm(a)i 393. 519.
do-achm(a)ing 328.
 354. 448. 519.
do-achmang 268.
-achmangam 354.
-achm 393.
do-achmoad 293.
do-achmuic 268. 346.
do-achmuing 346.
do-achmuingat 354.
achmadh 37. 83.
achne 90. 449. 464.
 509. 520.
achir 544.
achlea 186.
achlea 70.
do-achmach 345.
 521.
da-n-achmach 423.
achmad 219.
achm 519.
achne 177. 518.
ach(a)s 507. 544.
ach(a)s 544.
achmail 67. 544.
achmaili 67.
achmailas 544.
do-n-achmhuas 406.
ach, Aed pron. 19.
 110. 148. 254.
 255. 283. 292.
achart 22. 23. 51.
 449. 496. 525.
-achir 534.
achnowden 306.
achnan n-ach 306.
achn 25.
achpart 22.
ach pron. 20.
ach subst. 303.
aga 54. 191.
agaptacde 575.
agaptacdi 155.
ag-agi 27. 453.
agptacdas 575.
i-n-aghair 64. 370.
-agidid 430. 463.
 520.
do-agi 470.
agindag 37. 83.
con-aghigadar 337.
con-aghinad 418.
aghine 175.
-agither 64.
agiile 54. 308.
agiile 308.
aghitha 308.
arru-n-aghantar 418.
aghidid 95.
ad-agiilid 397.
aghilid 232.
aghinnim 76.
(do)-aim 49. 361.

- e(i)mige 178.
 e(i)pe 507.
 -eiplet 379. 468.
 do-eirbling 426.
 eircid 472.
 éirge 448.
 eirg(g) 54. 472. 473.
 -eirmestar 466.
 eirr 206. 518.
 ath-eirr 392. 490.
 -eirren 508.
 ad-eirrig 447. 497.
 489. 534.
 do-d(i)raet 467.
 do (dú) éis 537.
 e(i)bert 508.
 eia(e) 471.
 e(i)asi 274. 285. 509.
 e(i)asid 274. 285.
 509.
 eiasatár 418.
 éit 37.
 con-éit 393. 474.
 do-éit 474.
 e(i)teck 355. 446.
 507. 509.
 -eitegar 355.
 con-éitgid 377. 474.
 d(i)teck 355.
 -eitig 355.
 dítecht 171. 452.
 díteset 98. 518.
 -éitei 171.
 Néiteid 171.
 éisin 37. 177.
 -éla 387. 539.
 -élafe 401.
 -élai 535.
 élaid 52.
 éle, éli 54.
 éleatar 120.
 élig 52.
 élit 54.
 élitirigimí 308.
 éud-éil 55. 471.
 ad-élla 95. 103. 262.
 397. 448. 496.
 do-élla 505.
- aeclamo-élla 530.
 536.
 éllack 95. 518. 537.
 éllacht(a)e 441.
 i n-éllag 537.
 éllad 171.
 éllaithe 171.
 éllaitid 171.
 -éllub 401.
 éllud 507.
 éllm 549.
 do-élla 444. 463.
 do-élla 463.
 (du)-élla 396. 404.
 463.
 éllach 168.
 éllachas 168.
 (do)-éllach 396. 404.
 463.
 élláche 168.
 élláid 551.
 élláige 168.
 éllm-em-se 28.
 em- prep. 518 ff.
 éa 31. 37. 79. 127.
 177.
 éadár 31. 569.
 éa(a)irt 544.
 éamarkas 102.
 éameck 49. 50. 54.
 178.
 éangymatar 387. 518.
 éang(a)e 109. 119.
 518. 520.
 éniert 219. 507.
 énierte 102.
 énnac 75. 575.
 énnace 75.
 énnada 449.
 éo 203.
 E(o)chaid 175.
 éochu 57.
 E(o)cha 175.
 Éoganacht 168.
 éoin 37. 127. 177.
 Éoin 45.
 éoit 38. 127.
 éola 228.
- éolasta 575.
 éona 38. 177.
 épaid 51. 496.
 -épaidis 32. 508.
 épéllas 451. 468.
 -éper 91.
 -éperr 54. 91. 508.
 épert 54. 103. 449.
 508.
 éperthi 444.
 -épi 90. 357. 408.
 508.
 -épíllis 32.
 -épir 92. 105. 535.
 épistil 186.
 -épir 106.
 do-éprannat 355.
 -épret 68.
 do-éprina 451.
 épacop 177. 570.
 épacusp 177.
 épthai 98.
 -épur 105.
 er- 12. 52. 146.
 497 ff.
 er 85. 516.
 ér- 232. 528.
 do-ér 467.
 -era 131. 356. 381.
 430. 463.
 éra 454.
 -éracki 422.
 éra(a)ic 101. 454.
 érasnigathar 82.
 cat-n-érbas 262. 397.
 con-érbai 263.
 co-n-érbailt 468.
 dia-n-érbalam 267.
 342.
 -érbare 507.
 -érbart 340. 535.
 érbirigithar 82.
 -érbirmis 371. 497.
 Érc 188.
 ERCA 188.
 ERCAONI 173.
 ERCAIDANA 59.
 Heremith 59.

ERCCLA 61. 188.
 do-erchlain 442.
 ercheallad 469.
 erchisechtáe 86.
 erchiseacht 452. 497.
 -erchisi 535.
 erchoat 71. 177. 377.
 462.
 érchoilíad 528.
 erchoisse 462. 498.
 erchoiteach 377.
 erchó 71. 377. 448.
 462.
 erchre 449. 462. 497.
 ERCLAS 61. 188.
 tu-eromlassat 111.
 340. 418. 519.
 532.
 erochtas 498.
 erdaire 166. 497.
 ind erdaire 238.
 erdaireigidir 102.
 erdarcaigfes 102.
 erdarca 105. 107.
 erdarcaus 166.
 éren 508.
 Éren(a) 89. 210. 212.
 ergaire 448. 484.
 ergarth(a)s 442. 464.
 du-érglas 430.
 ergnae 346.
 remi-ergnaitis 346.
 387.
 do-érig 448. 467.
 erigem 453.
 Éríon 212.
 erissem 489.
 -erissider 365.
 erite 442.
 eritú 512.
 Ériu 89. 210.
 erladaigear 57. 383.
 erlam 233. 498.
 erlamaidir 82. 233.
 ermaisín 451. 468.
 érmall 529.
 ermitis 451. 497.

ern(a)id 131. 356.
 381. 403. 430.
 439. 450. 463.
 ernaiǵe 449. 523.
 érnem (ernem) 508.
 Érnéne 175.
 ernu ipv. 379.
 -ern(n) 356. 463.
 eroim 512.
 -eroima 529.
 erona 276.
 nom-éropimm 33.
 ath-err 392.
 errach 83.
 -errat 411. 466.
 errad 518.
 érraicha 508.
 errenaíd 508.
 érraicha 508.
 ad-errig 392.
 errindem 32.
 erriu 276. 498.
 ad-errius 410.
 errnaigthe 75.
 erru 96. 276. 284.
 498.
 errug 83.
 erua 516.
 ersaigad 525.
 ertach 447. 496.
 -ert(a)ing 535.
 értáasacht 452.
 eruib 276.
 Éruib 572.
 erum 275. 498.
 erua 276.
 -éru 390. 391.
 du-érua 410.
 erud 275. 498.
 es- 507 f.
 éia éa 56.
 doé-essib 482.
 esart(a)s 171. 441.
 507.
 esartaid 171.
 esbae 507.
 éca 18.
 éac(a)s 296. 297.

escuir 113.
 escar(a)s 507. 544.
 éscid 128. 544.
 -escmar 535.
 éscmálaí 376.
 éscoid 219.
 esce 376.
 escung, escungz 211.
 ésee 302.
 du-esemar 389.
 esfoite 508.
 -espaibter 507.
 tar ési 150.
 esin 521.
 éslám 254.
 eslína 113.
 da-n-esmar 369.
 do-esmat 360.
 do-esmider 467.
 tu-esmat 360. 532.
 em(a)id 448. 518.
 -em(a)id 536.
 emaisse 128.
 -emgaba 507.
 emgaire 113. 445.
 507.
 emgarthe 442.
 emid 448.
 (A)éom 254. 283.
 epe 507.
 éreachtaid 171. 507.
 éreuité 447. 508.
 es(s) conj. prep. 274.
 284. 509.
 es- 72. 258. 346.
 347. 495. 496.
 507 f.
 -esaire 535.
 es(s)am(a)in 159.
 544.
 do-esarr 409.
 esse 274. 285.
 essérge 448. 507.
 éessérge 19.
 essérgeis 62. 180.
 essérge 62. 180.
 do-es(s)tar 427.
 essi 274.

tar (*dar*) *ds(s)* 537.
*es(s)*ib 274.
do-casid 345. 427.
 432. 467.
do-casim 439. 442.
 467. 535.
casiat 274. 286. 509.
-casnais 520.
casoircaid 171.
háscam 254.
casorcus 171.
do-cata 268. 480.
 268. 356.
 482. 483.
-catar 471.
do-castar 427. 431.
castir 390. 391. 471.
castase 71. 177.
castec 71.
ct, *ctt* 'jealousy'
 38. 90. 122. 127.
 169.
ct vb. n. 351. 467.
-ct pret. 422.
-cta 351. 441. 467.
 520.
ctach 178.
-ctada 403. 420. 467.
-ctad(a)e 351. 420.
 467.
ctaiqe 178.
ctair 573.
Beann ctair 127.
ctar 146. 258. 510 f.
-ctar 351.
ctarcert 510.
ctarcnad 220.
ctaren(a)e 449.
ctarcnaid 220.
ctardam-dibéite 261.
ctardam-rostar 510.
ctardibe 448.
ctargabál 455.
ctargn(a)id 220.
ctargne 510.
ctar-a-dí 294. 510.
da-ctarrat 377. 439.
ctarro 273. 284. 510.

ctarogo 63.
ctarru 273. 284.
 510.
ctarru-suidige[d] 30.
-ctarscara 535.
ctarscraid 510.
ctar-scartar 510.
ctaríthoicim 510.
-ctas 403. 439. 441.
 467.
-ctastar 403. 467.
-ctaste 403.
da-n-ctat 496.
-ctatham 403.
-ctatcat 351. 420.
ctéchtá 239.
ctar 168. 261. 273.
 510 f. 550.
ctar-a 312.
ctarcert 510.
ctar-scara 535.
ctar-scartar 510.
com-ctat 393. 432.
 444. 474. 518.
do-ctat 393.
ctgníthe 441.
do-cth 473.
ctha 473.
ad-ctha 473.
cthaid 473.
cthaít subst. 50.
cthaít vb. 471.
cthemlagas 168.
ctir prep. 510 f.
 550.
ctir conj. prep. 273.
 284. 293. 510.
 511. 550.
ctir-a 312.
ctir-gén 510.
ctir-scara 535.
ctir-scartar 510.
ctnge 228.
ctoick 544.
ctraichtai 92.
ctrad 169.
ctranctach 510.

ctrocht (ctrocht) 92.
 507.
ctrom 273. 510.
ctromm 544.
ctruib(a) 273. 286.
 273. 286.
ctrum 273. 286. 510.
ctrumm 544.
ctru(n) 273.
ctrut 273.
ctrad 51.
 (h)ctt 90.
ct(ha)e 441. 467.
ctie 50.
-ctie 507.
ctiorcaid 510.
ctú 203.
m. eug 23.
ctuin 37. 177.
ctuit 38. 127.
ctula 228.
ctulach 228.
Euseph 45.
ctut(t) 38. 127.

-f. 260.

f. 24.

fa 'or' 78. 145.

291. 551.

fa (= *fo*) 511.

ctá fa 78. 489.

fáas, fáas 20.

fáacab 512.

-*fáacab* 512.

fácbá(i) 455.

fa-caird 261.

ro-fáadatar 429.

fádáin 30. 306.

fádá(i)isne 306.

fádáine 306.

fádá(is)isne 307.

fádáa 307.

fádéne 306.

fádas 305.

fádáin 307.

fádáine 307.

- fadessa* 30.
m. fadh 134.
fadraí 52.
fadúin 307.
faelid 43.
faeram 142.
du-fáid 429.
faig, fáig 429.
faíl 105. 479.
dud-faíci 532.
faileach 204.
faílig 204.
faílíd, faílíd 43.
 165. 233.
faillam 234.
faillithe 357.
faileigud 52.
faílte, faíte 43. 165.
faíltin 233.
fair 52. 275. 513.
fair-e 278.
fairge, fairge 52.
 86. 95.
fairringmenmaige
 27.
fairring 95. 113.
 234.
fairthé 375.
faiseine 88.
faitech 166.
faith 88. 169.
faith 429.
faithi 296.
faithsine 88. 168.
faithis 163.
faitsine 88. 168.
faíach, faíag 204.
(lín-)faíid 43.
faíis(s)in 307.
far 'your' 72. 149.
 277f. 283.
far prep. 72. 513.
farcaibis 340.
far-cuimnis 513.
farraib 53.
farid-gallad 267.
do-farlait 532.
farnan 298.
far-a-dendail 294.
do-fársiged 472.
fásach 170.
fásag ipv. 472.
fás 472.
fás(s) 20. 35. 170.
faíhar 279.
ro-fáthatar 429.
faíhuicé 305.
-fé (to *faid*) 110.
 392. 463.
-fé (to *in-fé*) 392.
ad-féad 377.
féal 37.
féb 316.
fébraí 569.
fébtu 166.
féchem 172.
-fécht 438.
fécht u-den 231.
ind fécht-so 161.
féda gen. 195.
féda 208.
fédaí 429.
fédan 454.
fédb 46. 68. 123.
ad-fédel 36.
Fedelmité 193.
fédein 307.
féid 110. 353. 377.
 454. 462. 463.
féda 46. 60. 195.
fédel 208.
féib 161. 166. 316.
 563.
do-feich 46. 388.
 463.
-feid 377.
féid 162.
fé(i)id 429.
féidm 462.
no-feidís 371.
féil 105. 479.
do-feil 479.
féil 166. 568.
féin 306. 307.
fé(i)ne 307.
féir 57.
con-feiser 395.
fé(i)in 306. 307.
fé(i)sine 307.
féis 464.
fé(i)sín 306. 307.
féis(s)ne 307.
do-feich 429.
féib 169.
féithine 169.
féuir 37.
féil 105. 479.
féle 479.
féllube 75.
féleub 83. 568. 570.
 572.
ar-femat 512.
femair 433. 436.
ad-fen 356. 449.
ar-fen 356.
for-fen 123. 344.
 356. 379. 428.
 441. 449. 503.
im-fen 344. 356.
 441. 449.
as-féimm 117.
 508.
fochuine 168.
féotar 436.
do-footar 426.
fer 21. 46. 59. 60.
 85. 97. 173. 176.
 243.
fér 37.
fo-fera 50. 142. 268.
 443. 512.
ro-fera 119. 529.
ferán 173.
fo-ferat 125.
fercaigthe 362.
fermac 164.
fermil 164.
ferm 170.
fér-díl 566.
ferr 235. 236.
ferra 236.
fers 572.
fer(a)s nom. pl. 46;
 gen. ag. 575.

ferto 575.
fés 128.
fessar 409.
-fesar (to *fichid*)
 408, 463.
fescor 570.
féin 307.
in-fecmais 388.
fess vb. n. 436, 464.
fess nom. pl. 196.
(ad)-fess 438, 463.
du-fess 391.
(ro)-fess 46, 438,
 463.
fessa 408, 412.
fessaitir 408.
du-fessar 388, 463.
ad-fessat 463.
-fessatar 408, 463.
in-fessed 408.
cani-fesser 395.
-féiser 388.
-fessid 408.
fés(s)ine 307.
fesso, -a 196.
-festa 388.
-festar 388, 391,
 409, 463.
-fessur 408.
ad-fét, in-fét 68, 123,
 344, 353, 377,
 388, 413, 430,
 438, 451, 463,
 503, 520, 553.
do-fet 377, 430, 463.
-fetammar 436.
fetar 1 sg. 351.
ro-fetar 436, 463.
-fetar 3 pl. 436.
fetarl(a)ic(e) 187,
 567.
fetarlaric(e) 187,
 567.
fetarl(a)ic(e)í 187,
 567.
fetarlic(e)s 567.
-fatar 436.
fethem 453.

ad-father 405.
fethid 429, 453.
fétir 438.
-feter 436.
dum-fet 377.
féulac 142.
-fí (to *ad-fét*) 408,
 463.
-fí, du-fí (to *fichid*)
 408, 413, 463.
-fia 386, 401, 464.
fíach 'debt' 172.
fíach 'raven' 168.
fíacht 422.
-fiad 386.
fiad subst. 162.
fiad prep. 36, 145,
 162, 274, 511,
 536.
fiada 'lord' 208.
fiada 'witness' 212.
fiada conj. prep.
 275, 511.
fiad(a)ib 275, 285,
 511.
fiadain 212.
fiadam 274.
ad-fiadar 36, 377.
ad-fiadat 344, 353,
 377, 388.
ad-fiadatar 430.
fiadcholam 94.
fiadib 275.
fiadnissi 160.
fiadnissi 45, 169.
fiado 'lord' 208.
fiado 'witness' 212.
fiado conj. prep.
 275, 294, 511.
fiadu 'witness' 124,
 169, 212.
fiadu 'lord' 209.
fiadam 275, 511.
fiadut 275.
fíal 36, 572.
Fiannamó 226.
-fiannar 390.

-fiatar (to *fichid*)
 408, 413, 463.
fáb 161, 318, 563.
fáa, fáait 401.
fáthair 401.
do-fích 46, 50, 388,
 413, 422, 443,
 446, 463.
fích 430, 433, 435,
ro-fích 429.
fíchatmá 248.
fíche 129, 207, 244,
 247.
fíchemmar, -ir 430,
 433.
fíchatmad 248.
fíchid 114, 430, 446.
fíd subst. 46, 170,
 195, 219.
amal fíd cop. 78,
 489.
in-fíd 430, 435.
fíhad 170.
dat-fíedar 430.
-fíea 401, 464.
fífísa 401.
fíge 449, 521.
fígid 429, 438, 449.
fígor 57, 64, 572.
ad-fí 413.
fíthair 401.
fí 105, 255, 315,
 323, 476, 479.
do-fí 479.
fíe 315, 323, 364,
 479.
fíed 58, 167, 205.
fíedacht 167.
fíe(a)e 222.
fíe 58, 167, 205,
 222.
Fíilatinib 21.
fílas 270, 479.
fíra 76, 572, 575.
fínd 38, 46, 123,
 174.
fíndbadaig 78.
Fíndbarr 175, 218.

fínd(i)uath 78. 195.
fíndbuidé 195.
Fíndén 175.
fíndfadach 78.
fíndfad 78.
[f]índfath 78.
Fíndnat 174.
fíne 166.
fíne 568.
fíngwine 164.
fínn 76.
fínnad 463.
ro-fínnadar 331.
 357. 379. 463.
fínnamar 374.
ro-fínnathar 351.
Fínnio, -a 175.
fíntan 170.
fír 38. 47. 59. 97.
fír 39. 123. 196.
 338.
fíra 196.
fíribhíem 230.
fíom-fírdéir 397.
ad-fíri 338.
fírián 234. 569.
fíriánamam 234.
fíriánichí 270.
fírióna 234.
fírión 569.
fírinnis 569.
fírión 569. 572.
fírlaige 104.
fírmimint 572.
fírmint 572.
ro-fírcáich 241.
fíro 61.
fírte 107.
fíru 57. 58. 60.
fo 90. 195. 196.
 451. 463.
fís 451. 568.
fís nom. 90.
fís(s) gen. 196. 451.
físi 463.
fítemmar 436.
fítatar 436.
ad-fíthar 405.

fíth 436.
(ro)-fítir 74. 351.
 357. 432. 436.
 438. 463.
-fítis 436.
fíu, fíu vb. 427.
 436. 464.
fíu adj. 157. 563.
assa-fíud 377.
fíugor 57. 64. 572.
ro-fíugrad 57.
fo-fíu 353. 378.
do-fíunmell 394.
fíur (to *fer*) 59. 97.
fíur (to *siur*) 84.
 215.
fíurt 46. 107. 197.
 572. 575.
-fíus (to *fíchid*) 408.
fíus(s) subst. 57. 60.
 90. 96. 123. 195.
 196. 451. 463.
fíuith 56. 123. 167.
 172. 193.
fíuithem 103. 167.
 172.
Fíuithem 172.
fíuithemna 201.
fíuithemnacht 56.
 167. 168.
fíuithemnas 168.
fíu(i)thí 60. 193.
fíuithemnacht 56.
fíochad 64.
fíod 87.
fíodgib 87.
fíoc 511.
fíocog 87.
fíochud 64.
fíoch 227.
fíochdara 219.
fo prep. 52. 139.
 145. 146. 158.
 162. 250. 257.
 259. 276. 293.
 511 ff.
fo conj. prep. (= *fó*)
 284.

fó conj. prep. 73.
 278. 512.
fo- (prep. + rel.)
 312. 512.
fo-a- 73. 312. 512.
fo-acaniam 512.
fo(a)id 336.
foam 276.
foammamagud 512.
fóar 512.
du-fóbi 405. 511.
fóchaid 84. 98. 450.
 511.
fóchell 41. 172. 219.
 532.
fóchíth 84. 511.
fóchíammar 374.
-fóchmaide 344.
-fóchomlaing 355.
-fóchomolam 356.
fóchrach 222. 454.
fóchr(a)íe(e) 79. 174.
 222. 454. 511.
fóchríonnet 174.
fóchud 19. 108.
fócr(a)e 448. 512.
 526.
fod(a)il 64. 123.
 503.
fo-daim 512.
fodaitiu 451.
fodar-aithmíne[dar]
 256. 263. 513.
foda-roccann 256.
 264. 341.
fod-ora 268.
fodil 64.
foditiu 69. 451. 463.
 511.
con-fodlaibid 400.
 503.
fodlaídi 443.
(ní)-fodmat 28. 98.
 368.
fod-ruar (*fod-ruar*)
 263. 268.
foe 276.
fóclair 112.

ar-fóemat 43.
ara-fóemi 361.
fóes(s)am 112. 452.
-fóetatar 512.
do-fóetkus 409.
fo-fera 268. 512.
fo-frith 351.
fo-fúair 351.
fo-gab 346.
fo-páisi 464.
-foghai 378.
fog(a)im(m) 171.
 453. 464.
foglmáthid 171.
-fogna 388.
fognam 79. 106.
 452.
fogor 108.
-fogr(a)igedar 337.
fogur 108. 337.
foi 276. 284. 513.
foib 276. 285.
foich 572.
-foikhiurr 409.
fria-foikhiurr 470.
foichledir 172.
foichlid 75.
do-foichrad 75. 112.
 470.
-foichur 409.
foid 386. 401. 436.
no-foid 383.
ro-foided 69.
foides 417.
foidd 441.
foidis 88. 270.
foidei 88. 270.
karmi-foig 515. 516.
 535.
foige 98. 355.
foil subat. 203. 204.
foil 413. 465.
foile 165.
foilei 67. 228.
-foileigedar 337.
ro-foileigedar 64.
foileigidir 65. 67.
foileigud 52.

-foi(l)aitis 409.
foilne 175.
ar-foim 512.
ar-foimat 43.
foimtiu 451.
foindel 512.
to-foing 512.
foir conj. prep. 52.
 275. 284. 513.
condon-foir 392.
ton-foir 375.
-foir fut. 413.
foirbthe 441. 500.
foircimem 236.
foirciunn 100.
-foirenea 100.
arna-foirenea 75.
foirthe 442.
do-foirde 112.
-foiré 125. 511.
foirgus 86.
fo(i)rib 47. 276.
foirim 375.
do-foirmesed 410.
do-foirude 62. 112.
 359.
foirree, foirgus 18.
 52. 86. 95. 113.
foirsingem 294.
foisithu 451. 452.
foit 69.
foite 441.
ar-foitea 439.
foitir 87.
foitri 88. 270.
folad 66. 219. 504.
im-folangar 338.
 369.
folaithe 365.
fo-llá 512.
folus 62. 67. 91.
 165. 227. 234.
 337.
folmáisiu 451.
con-folmáisiur 418.
 419.
ar-folmas 430.
ar-folmathar 346.

im-folang(a) 338.
 512.
im-folangar 369.
foláibthe 362. 399.
folag 447.
folk 107. 175. 177.
folbuidé 219.
-foluassat 420.
folud 66. 219.
foluss 91.
fom-d-ara 268.
fomenaiunn 557.
fom-lámas 256.
fomm-alagar 260.
fomraid, fomraith
 450.
fonaidm 453.
dad-fongad 512.
do-fonig 447. 635.
fonna 512.
fon-rotrath 255.
do-fonuch 83. 378.
do-fonug 83. 378.
 504.
do-fonus 409.
foot 72.
for prep. 47. 52. 72.
 146. 158. 232.
 256. 268. 341.
 513 f.
for conj. prep. 275.
 284. 285. 513.
for 'your' 72. 277 f.
 283.
for-a 28. 312. 513.
for(a)ib 276. 284.
 285.
foraitmet 450. 500.
forás 513.
for-áa 513.
du-forbad 438.
forb(a)e 449.
forbaide 123. 441.
du-forban
 (du-fórban) 341.
 366. 492. 513.
forbairt 86.
do-fórbai 482.

- forbrá* 197. 199.
forcaan 91. 100.
forcaanad 374.
forcaanti 444.
forcaen 91.
forcaen 91. 100. 338.
forceat 65. 127.
ar-forchella 340.
do-forchasaileam 340.
do-forchassol 108.
forceat 65. 127. 177. 451.
forceitlaid 167.
forceitlaidecht 167.
forceastar 472.
con-forceat 28.
for-congair 513.
forchei 444.
forcaun 100.
forda-cain 264.
fordhucail 394.
fordiscailse 442.
fordiscailm(s) 453.
fordob-moinetar 262.
fordom-chomaithe 261.
fordon . . . *bet* 267. 327.
fordon-cain 262.
fordub-cechua 264.
forgaire 65. 113.
forgaire 65.
for-gallat 267.
forg(g)u 236.
forguib 216.
ton-forid 375.
forid-té 263.
forin 293.
forlán 31.
forloicthe 68.
form 70. 275. 513.
du-forma 412. 465.
do-formagar 27. 368.
do-formaig
(do-fórmaig) 369. 410. 412. 422. 441. 447. 465. 513. 533. 535.
- du-fórmaist* 410. 465.
format 219. 450.
do-fórmagat 513.
forna 293. 513.
fornaídm 453.
fornua-congair 263.
fornuob-cassar 264.
fornuagaire 24. 65. 98. 113. 448.
fornuagarkid 171.
fornuagarti 442.
forn(s) 276.
fo-rorbar 341.
forn(a)s 275. 284.
fornaimem 236.
fo-rrorbris 341. 513.
forru 95. 276. 284.
forru-chongrad 30.
fornum-chennad 256.
forsa 28. 312. 513.
dun-forsailc 340.
dq-forsailced 526.
do-forsat 341. 526.
forsin 293. 513.
forana 293. 295. 513.
fort 275. 513.
fortacht 450. 513.
fortachtain-tan 450.
forta-comai 262.
forta-congair 262.
do-fortad 504.
fortat-té 262.
fortchide 78.
fort-chomi 262.
fortecht(a)s 441. 463.
for-té 513.
fort-galla 267.
fort-gallat 267.
fort-gillim 267.
fortgidiu 78.
fortthacht 513.
fortige 449. 463.
forum 275. 286. 513.
forun 275. 286.
foscud 106. 177.
fordidmat 261.
- fo-sin* 303.
fos(s) 'rent' 48. 106.
foss 'servant' 50.
fossad 136. 227. 543.
fos 50. 67. 219.
fót 72.
fota-bothad 258.
fat-chridigthe 261.
fat-dáili 263.
foth 48.
do-foth 393. 474.
fotha 84. 154.
foi, fóu 276. 284. 513.
foum 276. 513.
founn 276.
fout subst. 72.
fout conj. prep. 276.
focal 19. 108. 574.
focal 19. 108.
fochid 19.
foce 175.
foceatain 175.
foig 191.
foas 131.
m. foagra 92.
foebaid 514.
-foecair 535.
foecor 92. 162. 446.
foedaire 113.
foeid(a)irc 24. 70. 113. 514.
foer(a)s 67. 92. 98. 448. 453. 514.
foeur 92.
foega 191.
foisidie 514.
fo(i)tech 355. 446. 514.
foepaid 92. 514.
-foecachas 436.
-foecachar 436. 470.
foecast(a)s 442. 444. 470.
-foecat 514.

- inru-frescechae* 521.
(wiru)-frescechtar
 416, 436.
wiru-frescisset 416.
fresciasiu 451, 514.
frescaiu 451, 514.
frescél 514.
freslige 514.
im-fresnat 517.
[f]resndal 514.
fresngabál 514.
fresnal 514, 532.
fri 152, 158, 258,
 272, 293, 514 f.
 553.
fria 515.
frib 273.
-fridoirc 535.
fridoircéd 102, 374,
 514.
frie 272, 284, 515.
frim 272, 515.
frin(a) 273.
frinnech 515.
fria 28.
fria-déathar 514.
fria-ben 514.
friaicis-comrici 248.
fria-dánaim 514.
fria-gair 514, 535.
fria-gal 514.
fria 312.
fri-sin 303.
friaín (with cop.)
 486.
fria-m-bial 312.
fria 293.
friaingabál 514.
friaoid 486.
fria(s) 272, 601, 515.
fria(s)a- 28, 312,
 515.
fria(s)-accat 514.
friaid 258, 514.
friaid-n-airetis 263,
 313.
friaism 515.
fria(s)-oirc 514, 535.
fria-táit 514.
fria-tarddam 313.
fria-toing 514.
frit 281.
frita-indle 262.
fritamm-orcat 261.
fritat-n-tarr 259.
fritchib 446.
frit-curethar 262,
 314.
frith-138, 146, 514 f.
(fo)-frith 351, 428,
 438, 471.
-frithalim 514.
frithchathugud 514.
frithchomart 514.
frithdán 514.
frithnam 107, 432,
 514.
frithnams 107.
frithnom 106.
frithiu 515.
-frithoire 535.
inad frithoireoid 229.
frithorcoid 102.
frithorcon, -cun 239,
 514.
frithort(a)s 441.
frithrognaithe 514.
nad-[f]rithrolat 470.
frithsuidigthe 514.
frithaccairisimem
 443.
-frithaiséid 514.
fritha 515.
frit(t) 272, 281, 515.
-frittáit 514.
friu 273, 294, 515.
frium(m) 272, 515.
friust(t) 272, 281,
 515.
froicé 123.
fu 63, 259, 259,
 511 f.
fú 34.
fu-a (prep. +
 possess.) 71, 73,
 278, 512.
fu-a (prep. + rel.)
 28, 71, 312, 512.
do-fúaid 426, 471.
(fo)-fúair 346, 351,
 427, 428, 438,
 471.
do-fúaire, do-fúairey
 344, 532.
di-fúaireisín 392.
fúalascach 511.
fuand 259.
fuand-rogab 263.
fuar 50, 448.
-fuar 428.
fúaramar 428.
do-fúarat 377, 526,
 535.
-fúaratar 428.
do-fúargabait 341,
 526.
du-fúarr 532.
do-fúasailcét 526.
do-fúasailci 535.
do-fúasailcét 526.
-fúama 351, 526.
fúananad 512, 526.
fub(a)s 448, 453,
 529.
fubide 441.
fud-d-ora 268.
fudam(a)in 234,
 511.
fudamnai 193, 227.
fudamne 227.
fudamnu 234.
fudamsin 511.
fu-crud 268.
du-fuatar 426.
fu-fúama 351.
fugall 66, 105.
fugall 66, 105.
fugaithe 106.
do-fuibniam 41,
 511, 533.
du-fuibniter 357.
fuidel 448.
-fuideama 402.
fúigial 106.

- fuiglessat 418.
 fuil 171. 222.
 fuillecht(a)s 25. 441.
 467.
 fuilleam 452.
 fuine 449.
 do-fuirceis 400.
 fuircim 373.
 fu(i)ri 275. 285.
 fuirib 47. 276. 296.
 ar-fuirig 262. 409.
 511.
 ar-fuirset 409.
 fuis 50.
 do-fuisemthar 404.
 du-fuisledar 367.
 526.
 du-fuisledor 108.
 367.
 du-fuissemar 368.
 do-fuis(s)im 341.
 369. 526.
 fuil 50.
 du-fuil 351. 393.
 474. 512.
 do-fuittim 474.
 -ful 394. 465.
 fulach 447. 465.
 fulacht(a)s 441. 465.
 fulailiu 71.
 ·fula(i)ng 354.
 fulang 447. 465.
 ·fulig(s)am 112. 354.
 fulide 222.
 fu-llás 512.
 -fulngat 112.
 -fulngid 70.
 (ara)-fulsam 28. 394.
 funech 115.
 fur 513.
 fur-aithmentar 513.
 furastar 395.
 do-furcador 378.
 du-furcaib,
 du-furgaib 526.
 535.
 furi 275.
 furren 276.
- fureandud 99. 513.
 525.
 fus 48. 106.
 fut 50.
 do-futharcair 346.
 351. 410. 431.
 432. 450.
 do-futharcetar 505.
 du-futharset 410.
 do-futharcacair 351.
 do-futharctar 435.
 505.
 do-futhris 329. 391.
- gab 415. 464.
 ron(d)-gab 268. 476.
 479.
 (fo)-gaba 464. 471.
 gabad 438. 464.
 gabáil 165. 186. 455.
 464.
 gabáil 101. 165. 186.
 455. 464.
 gabáil(a)s 101. 186.
 atab-gabed 28.
 gabiam 64.
 gabor 79. 135. 139.
 174.
 -gabset 415.
 ron(d)-gabset 479.
 gabou 417.
 ro-gabtha 69.
 gabth(a)s 464.
 gabur 79. 139.
 ron(d)-gabus 479.
 gach 111.
 gád 429.
 -gádammar 434.
 gádatar 439.
 -gádatar 434.
 gáde 433.
 gáe 43.
 gaeas 167.
 gal 43.
 -gaib pres. 378. 464.
 -gaib pret. 415. 464.
 fo-gaib 471.
- ga(i)bid 94. 139.
 354. 415. 438.
 441. 455. 464.
 479.
 -gaibim 378.
 -gaibthar 378.
 gáid 428. 433.
 -gáid 432. 465.
 gáide 43.
 gaim 115.
 gaimigfer 384.
 gaimred 115. 169.
 ad-gaimemmar 499.
 gaimethar 129. 455.
 464.
 gaimithar 354. 425.
 432.
 gair bínce 239.
 -gair 378.
 ar-gair 448. 464.
 do-gair 131. 439.
 fris-gair 514. 535.
 gáir 453.
 -gairm 121. 378.
 -gairt 378.
 ga(i)rid 354. 422.
 442. 453.
 ga(i)rim 358.
 con-gairiu 378.
 gairm 453.
 gais 166. 446.
 gaité 166. 446.
 do-gaitha 446. 533.
 535.
 gal 171. 219. 446.
 507.
 galor 75. 177. 219.
 gammasi 94.
 gas 111.
 gáo 44. 184.
 M. Gaoidhealy 1.
 (ar)-gasa 131. 464.
 ar-gasad 439.
 garmain 135.
 gar- 422.
 ar-gart 464.
 gal 172. 446. 471.
 fris-gata 134. 536.

- gat(a)id 345. 404.
 446. 471.
 gataige 172.
 géa 44. 184. 337.
 géaforgeoll 44.
 gear 51. 378.
 gé conj. 111.
 gé vb. 32. 392. 465.
 (fo)-gēa 404. 464.
 471.
 gébaít 271.
 gébít 271.
 géc 135.
 do-gega 402. 464.
 gegad 402.
 ata-gegai 436.
 gegainn 402.
 gegallar 402.
 gegalldathar 402.
 464.
 do-gegat 402.
 at-gege 436.
 geglarinn 464.
 geglann- 424.
 gegmais 402.
 gegna[e] 433.
 gegni 270.
 gegoin 270.
 gegoin 57.
 gegon 439.
 gegrainn 353.
 gegrann- 424.
 geguín 57. 439. 465.
 géin 129. 212. 221.
 453. 464.
 nach géin 147.
 geinddas 221.
 geins 212.
 ro-geinn 129. 353.
 529.
 géinset 421.
 geinti 180. 296.
 geintíde 180. 575.
 geir 206.
 fo-geir 115. 404.
 422.
 géis 128.
 (ad)-gélúin 37. 428.
- gelid 353.
 gell 164.
 ro-gellsom 418.
 gell- 422.
 con-geltat 424.
 fo-geltat 424.
 geltatar 423.
 (ad)-gén 37. 79. 428.
 464.
 du-gén 403.
 fu-gén 403.
 géna- 414.
 -géna (to geinid) 403.
 -géna (to geinid) 404. 465.
 do-génas 403.
 génaid 414.
 génaír 425. 433.
 -gén(a)ír 432. 464.
 -génammar 428. 434.
 génaur 433.
 génas 403.
 -génat 403.
 -génatar 428.
 -genathar 464.
 (do)-géni 38. 421.
 génaid 403.
 genitín 210. 569.
 575.
 genitne 210.
 -génnis 403.
 -génset 421.
 -géntar 403.
 génthír 88.
 genti 180.
 gentlídi 180.
 ro-gegninn 57.
 -géna (to geinid) 404.
 464.
 fo-géna 404.
 -geri- 422.
 ges 391.
 géa(e)s 135.
 ges 390.
 -ges(s) 438.
 -gesam 32.
 -gessat 465.
 gesse 171.
- gessi 96. 444. 465.
 gessid 171.
 ni-gessid 539.
 -gēa 404. 471.
 -gēte 87.
 (ad)-gēuin 37. 428.
 464.
 nu-ggabod 152.
 giall 132. 168.
 giallas 168.
 gialla(s)e 168.
 -gigned 402.
 -gignethar (to
 geinithír) 402.
 415. 464.
 -gignethar (to
 geinid) 404.
 gignithír 402.
 gignitír 402.
 gígsea 465.
 -gígeed 411.
 gígse-er 412.
 fo-gígúil 413. 464.
 gin 195.
 -gínid 45. 428. 464.
 -gíulad 405.
 gíule 364. 428. 433.
 gíulair 101. 464.
 gíun 194. 195.
 ad-gíammar 415.
 -gíadastar 415. 464.
 ad-gíadathar 70. 88.
 380. 415. 442.
 453. 464. 496.
 gíaideste 417.
 gíains 175.
 gíainethar 175.
 gíainine 175.
 -gíana 339.
 gíanchoste 221.
 GLASTOCKAS 200.
 glasn 96.
 glé 124. 136. 227.
 glee 297.
 as-gleinn 353. 444.
 fo-gleinn 353. 413.
 424. 439. 453.
 464.

in-gléis 389.
 gléit 450.
 glen(a)id 45. 101.
 356. 428. 455.
 464.
 glenamón 455. 464.
 glenn 215.
 in-glennat 509.
 gléa 207.
 fo-gléa 439.
 fo-gléad 389.
 -glia 464.
 gliad 207.
 gliocú 105.
 as-gliann 353. 509.
 glith 450.
 gléacaid 452.
 gléacacht 452.
 gléac(a) 41.
 glán 178.
 gada 166.
 gadú 86. 115. 136.
 166. 544.
 gad 216. 442.
 da-gad 375.
 do-gad 464.
 at-gaad 387.
 gae 216.
 gai 216.
 -gaic 385.
 -gaic 385.
 -gaic 385.
 gaithéach 442.
 gaithi 442.
 gaithid 442.
 (do)-gai 365. 375.
 464. 505. 529.
 535.
 fo-gai 79.
 frio-gai 514.
 do-gaion 33. 375.
 -gaic 375.
 gaii 2 sg. 375.
 gaid 352. 438. 442.
 452. 504.
 -gaid 375.
 gait 375.
 do-a-gait 28.

gaim 106. 169. 195.
 452.
 gaima 198.
 gaimai 198.
 gaima, gaimi 198.
 gaimo acc. pl. 61.
 a gaimo-acc 61.
 gaimrad 169.
 -gaim 79. 346. 357.
 379. 441.
 ad-gaim 115. 357.
 449.
 as(a)-gaim 464.
 as-gaimaim 357.
 509.
 gais 375.
 as(a)-gaitar 464.
 do-gaiter 369.
 -gait ipf. 375.
 -gait pret. pass.
 438. 464.
 do-gaita 371.
 -gaita 375.
 -gaitis 375.
 (do)-gaim 38. 61.
 361. 375. 464.
 as-gaiter 387.
 464.
 go 111.
 gó subst. 44. 184.
 337.
 do-gó 464.
 goa 44. 184.
 do-goa 336. 375.
 436. 439. 442.
 455. 464.
 goach 44.
 gob(a) 212.
 gobann 212.
 -gét 43. 439. 465.
 go h. 501.
 goi 184.
 goibnecht 209.
 Goidel 1.
 Goidely 1.
 -goin 358. 465.
 -goit 439. 465.
 goite 442. 465.

gona 191.
 gon(a)id 336. 358.
 404. 424. 439.
 442. 449. 465.
 -gonar 358.
 gonit 271.
 Góacht 452.
 GOSUCTAS,
 GOSUCTAS 188.
 GOSUCTIAS 188.
 452.
 grád 'grade' 573.
 grád 'love' 573.
 graif 21. 573.
 graig 191.
 gráinne 175.
 grammach 192.
 grán 131. 175.
 gráine 175.
 do-gráth 131. 439.
 -grá 392. 465.
 greag 191.
 greim 101.
 ad-greinn, in-greinn
 3 sg. 171. 353.
 394. 424. 465.
 520. 534.
 ad-greinn 2 sg. 361.
 ad-greinn 32.
 gremac 101.
 gremaim 101.
 gremann 101. 213.
 asid-greim 258.
 520.
 gréacháil 77.
 gréagui 77.
 gréacach 159.
 grían 130. 136. 296.
 -gríacat 465.
 -gríacais 389.
 gríen 37.
 grinne 174.
 grinnénu 174.
 grís 130.
 gríad 130.
 gu 111.
 gú- 44.
 gua 44.

- gu(a)igedar 337.
 gúasacht 452.
 Gúasacht 452.
 gúasim 452.
 gúbrithemacht 44.
 gudid 56.
 na-gudid 539.
 gue 44. 184.
 gúforcell 44.
 -guid 56. 378. 465.
 ad-guid 355. 375.
 gu(i)de 81. 98. 222.
 449. 465.
 guidach 222.
 gu(i)did 32. 49. 56.
 96. 354. 378. 426.
 429. 438. 444.
 449. 465.
 -gu(i)dim 378.
 guidia 361. 378.
 guidne 323.
 guidmi 90. 323.
 guidmit 271.
 guin 164. 191. 448.
 465.
 guirid 115.
 ad-gú(i)ai 23. 509.
 ad-gúisín 509.
 asagúasem 509.
 asagúasim 509.
 guk 196.
- í, í, íi, íi prep. 19.
 34. 150. 158. 162.
 238. 275. 293.
 520 f.
- í, (í)í 28. 149.
 258. 259. 312.
 322. 324. 477.
 486. 488. 521.
- í. 25.
- í, íi demonstr. 19.
 146. 299. 301.
- í subj. 390. 392.
 ar-í 393.
 con-í 393.
 íach 50. 203.
- híisín 67.
 iar 150. 162. 275.
 293. 515 f.
- iarangeindi 516.
 iarbunalltu 515.
 iarfach(a)s 441.
 iarfaichíeo 62.
 -iarfaig 535.
 iarf(a)igid 515.
 iarfaigíeo 62.
 íarm- 146. 515.
 íarma- 314.
 íarma-foich 516.
 íarmaib 275. 516.
 íarmi- 257. 516.
 314.
 íarmid-oided 263.
 íarmi-foig 515. 516.
 535.
- íarmined-ochad 264.
 íarmíthé 476.
 íarma-fuacht 516.
 do-íarmárat 377.
 455. 515.
- íarmai 515.
 íarmaidigíeo 515.
 íarmaru-eudigestar
 516.
- íarmat 275. 281.
 516.
- íarn 67. 70. 132.
 175.
- íarr 411. 466.
- íar-sín 303.
- íaraindi 558.
- íar-sund 303.
- íarrestimín 515.
- íarthar 170.
- íartháiscerddach
 515.
- íarim 275. 284.
 516.
- íasc 177.
- íat 255.
- ib pres. and pret.
 471.
- ib 402.
- íeo 353. 402. 471.
- íbair 47.
- íbait 402.
- íbách 51.
- íbéd 438. 471.
- íbéd 38. 117. 345.
 353. 415. 438.
 446. 471.
- as-íbéam 471.
- íbéat 471.
- ar-íbéat 353.
- (í)ic 19. 90.
- (ic) 346. 396. 438.
- ar-ic(c) 128. 346.
 354. 393. 498.
- con-ic(c) 128. 328.
 346. 354. 393.
 432. 465. 503.
- ro-ic 126.
- (í)ic(c) 19. 39. 90.
 171. 446.
- ícc(a)id vb. 171.
 446.
- (í)icce 90.
- íccid subat. 171.
- (í)icce 90.
- ro-icce 130.
- do-n-icfad 400.
- igfa 396.
- (ar)-icht 128. 438.
- íchter 170. 522.
- índ íchtartha 240.
- do-icce 455.
- id- 143. 258. 260.
 269. 324 f.
- ídbarat 51.
- ídbart 23. 51. 449.
 496. 525.
- íde 304.
- ídi 304.
- ídi 77.
- ídén 26.
- íer 516.
- íern 67.
- íiarr 411.
- ífern 86.
- ífirna-86.
- ífirna 107.
- ífirna 86. 107.

licthe 20.
-iarr 411.
il 139, 221, 235, 244.
ind il 240.
ilach 52.
ilad 52.
ilar 64, 244.
ilbeim 244.
ilcathraig 146, 230.
ild(a)e 165, 221.
ildata 166.
ilgotha 196.
illai 75.
ille 32, 38, 305, 376, 523.
illei 38, 305, 523.
ilur 64.
im prep. 94, 145, 273, 516 f.
im interrog. + cop. 488.
im- interrog. 291.
im 25, 560.
im(a)ircide 517.
im subst. 117, 118, 130, 212.
im interrog. + cop. 488.
im- prep. 146, 516 f.
imbe 449.
imbechtach 94, 516.
imbi 273, 284, 517.
imbide 441.
imbil 543.
imbithe 441.
imbium 118.
imbium 117.
imboi 478.
-imbuidi 535.
imbráid 94, 517.
-imbrenat 517.
imcab 358.
imcaib 358.
-imcaib 351.
imcasti 444.
do-imchella 460.

con-imchlaí 535.
con-imchlaím 376.
dob-imchomarc 86.
do-imchomarc 344.
im-comaire 517.
imda 62.
imd(a)e 32, 62, 337.
imd(a)e 32.
-imd(a)igedar 337.
imda-ingabam 264.
imdid 105, 448, 453.
-imdidid 438.
imdidiu 105, 180.
imdidthe 441.
imdidu 105, 180.
ind imdu 238.
imfognam 517.
-imgaib 351.
im(m), himm prep. 94, 146, 158, 256, 257, 516 f.
imma- 314, 323, 517.
imma-airic 267.
immach 83.
imm-act 517.
immd(i)a 454.
immatae 70, 442, 466.
imm-airc 267.
imm-aircst 267.
imm(a)ircide 517.
du-immaircibe 371.
immalle 30, 32, 38, 57, 73, 517, 523.
immallei 30, 38, 517, 523.
immand-airi 267.
immancator 71, 517.
imma-n-imbab 281, 358.
imma-rádi 517.
immargal 517, 529.
immarga 560.
immarmas 70, 102, 450, 528, 529.
do-immarr 412.

du-immarrkar 409.
immasech 517.
imma-tarraid 518.
immathd 476.
imabi 86, 100.
im(m)caisid 451.
im(m)chomarc 517.
ind immdae 238.
immadogad 65.
imma- prep. 94, 257, 314, 517.
imma- (prep. + possess.) 278.
imma-airc 267.
imma-airic 267.
immachtar 170.
immachtrach 94, 516.
immadánach 221.
imma-folági 261.
immelei 517.
immelle 517.
immenetar 517.
immenetar 517.
imma-rádi 517.
immafognam 106.
im(m)folang,
immafolang 142, 338.
immi 273.
immi 273.
immid-airc 267.
immid-fórling 263.
immid-nith 523.
imm-imgaib 351.
immian-thabarthar 260.
immia 293.
immind-ráiste 263.
imm-láidi 517.
immo- 517.
immo-fórling 517.
immognam 517.
immognom 106.
immolang 142.
-immolági 512.
immormas 70, 102, 528, 529.
immuas- 517.

imman 293. 517.
 tos-immair 409.
 immann 273. 286.
 517.
 immann-raibed
 256.
 immann subet. 574.
 immann prep. + art.
 293. 517.
 immann-cialhamar
 517.
 immann conj. prep.
 94. 273.
 do-immann 107.
 im(m)arys 25. 549.
 560.
 immann-acaldat 261.
 immann-apt[á]atar
 518.
 immann-ascaat 517.
 immant 273. 281.
 517.
 imm(a)s 449.
 immind 64.
 imp 488.
 -impáid 71. 396. 517.
 -impáil 535.
 impo 100. 273. 284.
 517.
 impoase 441. 517.
 impo 273. 284.
 impu 105. 117. 273.
 284. 517.
 impáid 21. 71. 447.
 517.
 impu(i)de 84. 117.
 impúth 447.
 impúid 21. 71. 447.
 imr. 25. 560.
 im-ráid 314.
 im-ráid 517. 535.
 -imráid 535.
 imráid 94. 446.
 517.
 imram 452.
 imrim(m) 453.
 imrokaib 89.
 imroil 89.

-imruindatar 430.
 521.
 (nicon)-imruindatar
 345. 474.
 im-soil 517. 535.
 imthá 476.
 imthánad 196. 249.
 imthánad 196. 249.
 con-imthá 393. 407.
 474.
 imthecht 112.
 imthineall 351.
 imthréagud 517.
 imthuge 94.
 im-timchella 351.
 in art. 112. 294.
 in interrog. + cop.
 486.
 in- prep. 146. 258.
 495. 518 ff.
 in- interrog. part.
 28. 150. 256.
 290 f. 292. 486.
 488. 539.
 in . . . do, fo 291. 562.
 in . . . in 291. 562.
 ind imaim so 161.
 in-árbana[r] 520.
 in-árbenim 93.
 inchaib (inchaib) 49.
 54.
 inchinn 219.
 inchis 567.
 inchlidia 239.
 inchosc 472. 519.
 in-coter 520.
 in-cuaid 520. 534.
 ind art. 111. 112.
 294.
 ind conj. prep. 275.
 284. 521.
 ind- prep. 146. 258.
 495. 518 ff.
 as-ind subj. 394.
 inde 93. 293.
 inde-árbén 258. 520.
 indeas (indás) 33.
 147. 475. 477 f.

a n-inde-grain 258.
 inde-bierr 264.
 indai 478.
 -indail 410. 413.
 indala 230. 248.
 308. 312.
 indala-nmod 151.
 indam-erbaian 262.
 inde-muaidat 152.
 264.
 inden-comairléas
 264.
 indera 308.
 inderb(a)s 93. 520.
 -inderban 536.
 -inderbe 61.
 fo-indearid 340.
 inderon-comairléas
 256. 264.
 fo-inderpaide 405.
 indes 546.
 indís 478.
 indafenad 508.
 indat interrog.
 149. 291.
 indat rel. 559.
 indí(a)s 478.
 indat-topar-as 520.
 inde-táisi 520.
 in(d)ber 526.
 indís 86.
 ar-inde 394. 413.
 indí 'yesterday'
 117.
 i adé 'in two' 246.
 indect 521.
 indecht 161.
 indect 161.
 as-indeatar 81.
 indeirbás 102. 123.
 indai 89. 448. 470.
 519. 521.
 inderb 166. 168.
 218. 544.
 inderbanmaect 168.
 inderbás 123.
 inderbas 166. 168.
 544.

as(s)-indet 113, 377, 394, 413, 430, 442, 444, 451, 509.
 as-indethar 81, 377.
 indhí 299.
 indí 275, 285, 521.
 indí 299.
 indib conj. prep. 276, 285, 521, 524.
 indib (*i* + cop.) 488.
 indid 486, 559.
 indid- (prep. + inf. pron.) 259.
 -indidail 410, 413.
 indid-epiur 263.
 indidit 520, 569.
 indidit 276.
 do-indin 413.
 indip 488.
 indise 89, 441, 519.
 as-indisem 413.
 as-indist 394.
 indiseiu 451, 463.
 indiseiu 301.
 as-indisiet 413.
 indithem 453.
 indit-moide 263.
 indiu 162, 217.
 indium(m) 275, 521.
 indium 276, 521.
 indit 275, 521.
 as-indist 377.
 indlach 447, 520.
 indlat 454.
 fris-indled 514.
 indliged 544.
 indliguth 161.
 in-dlung 520.
 indmat 454.
 indnadad 374, 377.
 do-indnapar 533.
 indn(a)ide 448, 466, 521, 523.
 do-indnaig 518, 521, 522.

du-indnastar 390, 395.
 indnite 86, 374, 466.
 indob-fochad 264.
 indocbál 20.
 indocbál 20, 69, 518.
 indred 196, 455.
 indretá 519.
 indrisee 69, 96, 441, 519.
 indriasi 444.
 indrocht 507.
 indsamuil 519.
 inductbíl 69.
 in-e 278, 521.
 do-infedam 134, 378.
 do-infet 378, 519.
 in-fet 520.
 inftait 226, 569.
 as-inguib 27, 509, 514.
 ingain(n)te 102, 225.
 ingainti 225.
 ingalair 219.
 ingcert 567.
 ingobis 567.
 inge 188, 522, 561.
 ingen 'daughter' 18, 187, 519.
 ingen 'nail' 18, 119, 124, 130, 138.
 m. inghean 18.
 inglan 544.
 in-glennat 509.
 ingnad 102, 130, 225, 544.
 ingn(a)e 100, 119, 449, 520.
 ingnaide 441.
 ingne 161.
 ingor subst. 567.
 ingor adj. 544, 567.
 ingraim(m) 32, 261, 453, 465, 520.
 ingraimim 32.
 -ingraim 534.
 ingrainned 520.

ingraintid 171.
 ingramman 101, 453.
 -ingre 394.
 ingr(e)ine(m) 171, 453, 465, 520.
 in-greim 520.
 ingramman 101, 453.
 ingrentid 171.
 INGENA 18, 187, 519.
 inill 113, 233.
 inillia 233.
 inis 186.
 INMISSION 200.
 in-longat 519.
 du-inmail 395.
 inman 148.
 ina 488.
 ina art. 93, 151, 188, 246, 286, 293, 294, 295.
 ina-a (prep. + possess.) 278, 521, 522.
 inack 485, 559.
 ina-aci 291.
 in-add- 291, 539.
 ina-fara 540.
 inact 299.
 innaidit 142.
 innaif 305.
 ina-ar 278, 521.
 in(n)-arban 536.
 in-arba[na]r 520.
 inna 546, 563, 569.
 innachoib 521.
 innaem 521.
 innel 89, 519.
 innaock ma 558.
 in-neuth 521.
 inni 546, 563.
 ind inni-se 161.
 in-ni add- 291.
 inid 488.
 in-inruindetar 521.
 innaock 135, 162.

inson(n) 'thither' 30, 90, 305, 500, 522.
 in(n)on(n) adj. 305f.
 inuiccio 166.
 inuicchio 86.
 inuen(n) 'thither' 30, 305.
 in(n)on(n) adj. 305f.
 inuicoid 52.
 do-inolla 518, 525.
 inorchugud 519.
 inotacht 525.
 -inotat 407, 410.
 inp-ach 94, 106.
 inrice 186.
 in-rúlad 519.
 inuiccus 166.
 inru-chumnan 329.
 inru-ekarear 29.
 inru-freacechas 521.
 ina(a)e 544.
 inamíl 519.
 in-camlathar 520.
 do-inacana 358.
 do-inacan(n)a 358, 452, 519.
 in ac 32, 302.
 in sin 302, 304.
 in-madat 519.
 in-maid 536.
 in-máiter 520.
 in so 32, 302, 304.
 inorchugud, inorchugud 262, 519.
 inuicigthá 519.
 int 116, 150, 294.
 do-intá 386.
 do-intae 386.
 do-intai 96.
 int aile 116.
 do-intám 376, 519.
 intam(a)il 116, 186, 446, 519.
 -intamítis 384.
 du-intarrde 340, 420.

do-intarrai 95, 420, 519.
 inte 275, 284, 521.
 interíocht 567.
 intá 299.
 intí 299.
 intinscanna 351, 448, 452.
 in-tin(n)scanna 518.
 in-tiscana 351.
 intinscáil 452.
 intáin 301.
 intáin 301.
 intí tháil 301.
 intis 105, 276, 284, 521.
 intamíl, intám(a)il 186, 519.
 intarras 455, 495, 497.
 inuicigud 65.
 Iohán 45.
 -ior(r) 411, 466.
 Ai-pridchabát 291.
 ípthach 51.
 ir- 12, 52, 146, 497 ff.
 (ro)-ir 430, 435, 439, 463.
 irar 104.
 -irchoi 413, 462, 498.
 íochra 449, 462, 497.
 írdirc 497.
 írdorca 105, 107.
 írdorca 105, 107.
 íre (ire) 237.
 írea 237.
 íreiu 237.
 Áirem 237.
 Áirechtaib 108.
 Áireche 90, 165.
 (Á)írea(s) 19, 69, 104, 499.
 (Á)íreacach 82, 90, 106, 165.
 íressick 53.
 (Á)íressig 83.

írpaire 448, 453.
 írissa 69.
 írú 211.
 írúad 499.
 írúam 159, 234, 498.
 írúam 234.
 írútu 166.
 írútu 166.
 -írúadatar 430.
 írúchóe 81, 523.
 írúide 523.
 írúide 81, 449, 523.
 írúigid 378, 523.
 Áirém 568.
 sob-írúaid 52.
 i-rúináb 95.
 irae 69.
 írúcolóth 525.
 írúach 498.
 írú 237.
 Áiréd 499.
 is cop. 91, 327, 484.
 is 'and' 549.
 is, Áis 182, 170, 238, 275, 522.
 -is l. eg. 391.
 -is 408.
 íamhíd 91.
 ía[í] 269.
 íeal 103, 225, 522.
 (Á)íein demonstr. 301.
 íein prep. + art. 521.
 íeindí 553.
 íeint 295.
 (Á)íein demonstr. 300f.
 Ai-siu prep. + demonstr. 303.
 -íalíur 105.
 íma 293, 521.
 ím(a)ib 93, 293, 521.
 ímancici 73.
 ímíni, ímínní 254.
 Ísrahel 19.
 í(s) 72, 91, 96, 362, 363.

-*ia(s)* 408.
ia(s)a 293, 521.
iaa 275, 522.
-iaad 408.
iaaib 275.
iaaid 408, 471.
Iaau 570.
iaid 269.
ia(s)in 293, 521.
ia(s)in(d) 293, 521.
iafu 303.
Ia(s)a 570, 573.
iauum 269.
ia(s)um 275, 522.
istad 51.
-istais 408.
istait 271.
Iau 217.
Iauca 173.
iauna 275.
Ai-sunt 303.
it 3 pl. 72, 111, 363, 484.
it 2 sg. 484.
itar 510.
itar-gés 510.
itach 50.
iter 510 f. 520.
iteraidiú 510.
itge 520.
itá 87.
itá 39.
itáe 77, 449, 471.
itáid 270, 345, 449, 471.
itáige 87.
itáib 50.
itáige 87.
itár 273, 510 f.
itara-thá 510.
itirada-dibed 264, 510.
itius 270.
itandáib 51.
Aituiria 91.
Iudca, Iudcu, Iudciu 180.
Iudide 180.

iuait 412.
-iurat 412, 466.
-iurr 411.
iurrua 270.
-iurtha 412.
-iurthar 412.

kaide 18.

ka 32, 72, 152, 158, 269, 272, 279, 293, 495, 502, 504, 523, 536.
ká 46, 180.
ro-ká 420, 470.
kaa (ká) 46, 62, 180.
in-kaa 376.
mani-kaa 470.
ro-kaa 420, 470.
ro-kaad 438, 470.
ka n-den 231.
in-kaat 376, 448, 470, 519.
kaar 177, 220, 224.
ka(r)a 220.
-ka(r)ammar 397.
ka(r)am(m)ar 365.
ka(r)ar 383.
-ka(r)astar 418.
ka(r)astar 365.
ka(r)asthar 365.
-ka(r)asther 366.
kae 46, 62, 180.
ru-kae 420, 470.
káech 165.
káenrad 169.
káidib 161.
kae 272.
kaat 51, 167, 208, 236.
kaich, kaichess 164.
kaigéin 101, 174.
ka(i)gid 338, 345, 364, 391, 410, 427, 448.

kaigiu 51, 101, 103, 167, 174, 235.
kaid 56.
kaid kaigiu 240.
káim 56.
ni-ro-káim 470.
ro-ka(i)asthar 57, 104, 347, 351, 354, 451, 465.
kaimár 351.
ru-kaimár 51, 64, 104, 351.
kaimn 93.
káir 175.
kaism 272.
ka(i)siad-camaic 268.
kaia(s) 272, 523.
ka(i)the 35, 180, 222.
kaithéir 172.
káim 131.
-kaimad 465.
fo-káimadar 346.
káimáib 108.
káimár 351.
-kám(a)ir 429, 432, 465.
fo-káimas 439.
fo-káimastar 418.
-kám(m)aba 241.
ro-ka(r)astar 429.
káa 31, 131.
káa(a)i 104.
káam(a)in 168, 185.
káammas 168.
káaróca 219.
káafalid 43.
káa 46, 180.
káre 175.
ka-re 303, 316, 552 f.
ro-káid 421.
ka-sin 303.
ka(s)(n) (with cop.) 486.
ka(s)-raba 268.
ka-suid 313.
kausa 73, 523.
ka(s)a- 28, 312, 523.

- lass(a)id 139.
 lassar 139.
 lassu 303, 316, 552f.
 lathide 222.
 lat(i) 272, 523.
 lau 46, 180.
 laubir (-bair, -bair)
 51, 569.
 laugu 51, 105, 167,
 235.
 ro-lauumar 51, 57,
 104.
 laz 575.
 le 32, 72, 523.
 lé 272.
 lea 523.
 Leas 36.
 m. leat 281.
 -lebl(a)ing 465.
 leblang- 426.
 forru-leblangtar 434.
 lebur 102, 177.
 lebur gen. sg. 61.
 lebur 'labour' 569.
 lebur 102, 177.
 lecin 173.
 ro-léced 529.
 -léct 365.
 do-léct 533.
 lécid 72, 529.
 léciud, -iuth 447.
 led 83.
 ledmagtack 76.
 lee conj. prep. 272,
 284, 523.
 -lee fut. 410.
 do-lega 455.
 -lega 575.
 ro-légai 420.
 lég(a)id 455, 567,
 573.
 con-legat 354.
 légend 465.
 lego 191.
 -léic 383.
 léices 1 sg. 383.
 -léices 3 sg. 61,
 383.
- léicfidir 21.
 -lé(i)ci 336.
 léicthe 441.
 léicthi 443.
 m. léicthiá 567.
 leim 272.
 léim(m) 453, 465.
 leinn 273.
 léir 56, 233, 573.
 co léir 240.
 di léir 240.
 do léir 240.
 le(i)som 272.
 leias 272, 284, 501,
 523.
 leith 56, 216.
 le(i)thir 235, 237.
 lelag- 425.
 -leldar 428, 434,
 465.
 leléle 71, 523.
 lelgatar 433.
 lem(m) 272, 281,
 523.
 as-léna 95.
 len(a)id 356, 428,
 455, 465.
 as-lenaimm 76.
 lenamon 109, 453,
 465.
 lend 195.
 -leugat 465.
 lenn 273, 523.
 as-lennim 76.
 lennmasið 108.
 léo conj. prep. 61,
 273, 284, 523.
 léo subst. 214.
 leom 214.
 leomain 214.
 léoman, léoman 214.
 léritthir 82, 233, 240.
 lé 104, 227.
 -lést 410.
 le(s) 272, 284, 523.
 lestair 102.
 lestar 102, 130, 178,
 lestrui 178.
- léna 210.
 lénauch 221.
 leñ 'side' 56, 83,
 216, 523.
 leñ 'half' 250.
 letha cpv. 235, 236.
 letha conj. prep.
 272, 523.
 lethan 131, 138, 167.
 lethanackathack 221.
 lethet 167, 206, 236.
 lethille 104.
 lethidir 235, 237.
 lethacripal 250.
 letha 273, 523.
 léta 210, 221, 451,
 465.
 leu, léu 61, 71, 273,
 284, 523.
 le 38, 124.
 le subst. 63, 204.
 le, le cpv. 235,
 236.
 le prep. + possess.
 72, 523.
 -le 465.
 leac(e) 66, 173, 204.
 leacht, leachtu 573.
 leaic 67, 204.
 leig 63, 67, 191.
 leas 389, 465.
 le 273, 282, 523.
 lebur 102, 177.
 le 63, 66, 173, 204.
 leic 67, 204.
 leig 63, 67, 191.
 lige 448.
 léid 119, 425.
 léic 67, 204.
 léid 352, 447.
 léim, -léim 375.
 lé 433.
 -lé 428, 465.
 fo-lé 413, 414, 465.
 -lékastar 411.
 -lékastar 411.
 léle 405, 414.
 léles 405.

- lilic* 405.
lilic 405, 414, 465.
-lilmatar 402.
-lilcain 411.
fo-lilus 413.
fo-limathar 402.
lim(m) 272, 281, 523.
do-lin 357, 449.
lin 39, 76, 131, 196, 575.
linad 171.
do-linat 357.
linad 195.
-linfadhar,
-linfadhar 402.
lingid 353, 389, 426, 453, 465.
lin(n) 373.
linn 76.
lin(a)e 171.
linid 171.
lin 235, 237, 287.
cis lin 287.
linai 87.
linai 87.
linir 186.
linre 186.
linid 171.
-lin 375.
linad 447.
linm(m) 272, 281, 523.
-lin 391.
ro-linad 152.
ro-lin 421.
ro-lin 421.
fo-lin, fo-lin 512.
fo-lin(a)im(m) 49, 152.
fo-linir 376.
lin 46.
(fo)-lin 390, 392, 394, 465.
as-lin 387.
lin 72.
linthar 71, 108, 125.
linor 234.
-lin(a)igedar 337.
-linraiser 418.
linor 63, 234.
linor 234.
linor 234, 337.
lin 86.
lin 48, 86.
lin 51, 151, 196.
linad 206.
Linca *A-Bathach*
 151, 197.
linad 208.
linad 208.
lin 197.
lin 431, 433.
-lin 431.
linmar 431, 433.
-linmar 431, 434.
lin-lin 420.
lin 83.
du-lin 385.
du-lin 385.
lin 83.
as-lin 352, 376.
du-lin 385.
linm(m) 213, 471.
as-lin 387.
fo-lin 47, 112, 344, 355, 394, 409, 413, 425, 432, 441, 447, 465.
in-lin 95, 355, 425, 441.
linthach 221, 222.
linth 68, 100.
lin 425.
in-lin(a)ig 425, 465.
lin 94.
ro-lin 51.
lin 72.
lin 108, 240.
lin 32, 68, 168.
lin 32.
lin 68.
lin 186.
lin(a)id 471.
lin 221, 222, 471.
lin 72.
lin 125.
(fo)-lin 388.
lin 100.
fo-lin(s)at 465.
lin 433.
lin 87, 431, 433.
-lin 431, 434, 473.
lin 474.
lin 93.
lin 71, 108, 125.
lin 71, 108, 125.
lin 433.
lin 46, 180.
lin 119, 125, 166.
lin 166.
lin 166.
(as)-lin 471.
lin 83.
as-lin 376.
in-lin 336, 517.
lin(a)e 172.
lin 169, 175.
lin 175.
lin 169.
lin 172.
ro-lin 420.
as-lin 376.
di-lin 352.
fo-lin 376.
linthigher 233.
lin 51.
lin 113, 172.
lin 113, 172.
lin(a) 48, 86.
lin(a) 48, 86.
lin 206.
lin 197.
lin 124.
lin 198.
lin 103, 446, 467.
do-lin(a)i 68, 99, 385.
fo-lin(a)i 336.
lin 98.
lin 236.

- lugbart* 113.
Lugdach 98, 203.
Lugdach 64, 98, 203.
du-lugfa 397.
do-lugi 385.
lugimén 235.
Lugthiack 64.
luga 51, 105, 235.
ind luga 240.
LUGUDECA 200.
LUGUDECCA 98, 200, 203.
Lug(a)id 64, 98, 203.
as-lui 352, 376, 387, 509, 535.
luib 186.
luic 48.
du-leichfe 397.
luic 41, 56, 108, 323, 345, 431, 525.
-luic 431, 433, 473.
do-luic 473.
luide 323, 364, 433, 479.
Luidéach 98, 203.
luige 103, 446, 467.
m. luige 103.
luinde 168.
ind luindis 240.
fu-luina 387.
no-luina 376.
as-luisc 420.
luaise 69.
luigach 69.
fo-lang 361.
lungai 186.
fu-lungáin 371.
-lús 471.
- m', -m* possess. 143.
-m inf. pron. 143, 259.
m 24.
ma, md conj. 145, 152, 268, 324, 325, 342, 484, 558.
- ma* opv. 235, 236, 237.
-ma subj. 392, 465.
ma 173, 235, 236, 237.
madam 72, 235.
in madam 240.
madru 173.
mac 90.
m. mac 92.
macc 90, 92, 106, 173, 177.
maccailleck 164.
a maccáin 173.
MACCI 137.
maccleireck 164.
maccóim 42.
maccu 90, 110.
a maccuicín 173.
machad 89.
machad, machhad 89.
MACI 137.
Maccio 207.
macrad 169.
machí 78.
machu 90.
mad 489, 490, 558.
mad- 241, 347.
mad(a)s 125.
in madas 238.
madde 484.
mad-géatar 241, 347.
madm(a)s 100.
mad tó 252.
Máels Dáin 188.
maden 43.
mag 50, 83, 151, 215, 216.
mágy 33.
MAGLI 79.
maghad 89.
maid adj. 83.
maid conj. + cop. 489.
maidem 42.
- ma(i)id* 94, 388, 407, 412, 424, 453, 465.
maidm 94, 100, 453, 465.
maig 50, 216.
maige 83, 216.
Mail 42.
MAILAGNI 173.
mailgea 203.
main- 558.
main 43.
mainbed 73, 126.
mainéasib 174.
-mainethar 129.
mainip 558.
-mair 358.
mairb 50, 224.
(a) mairy 157.
-main 131, 357, 381, 422, 450, 468.
máis 388, 465.
maith 35, 56, 83, 105, 226, 230, 235, 241.
maithi 56, 83, 226.
máil 79.
mala 203.
maldeckad 81, 450.
maldeck(a)id 450.
maldecki 95, 450.
maldecktin 450.
mall 57, 224.
mallecti 95.
mám 235.
manack 164.
manach 164.
manchib 64.
manchúib 64, 108.
manatar 71.
mani, maní 28, 34, 152, 268, 558.
manibed 158.
manibbed 152, 489.
manid 485, 487, 558.
manid-chreid 269.

- masaid-tarti* 269.
masain-sderas 281.
masaip 489. 558.
mas 122. 173. 235. 236.
MAQI 11. 73. 137. 181.
MAQI-EROCLA 61. 188.
MAQI-ERTAS 61. 188.
MAQI-SITRAS 61.
MAQI-BIT(T)E 61.
MAQQI 11. 137. 181.
mas 31. 36. 224. 235. 236. 338.
in mas 238. 239.
masa 191.
-masa 338.
mas(a)itá 358. 404.
masa-ruba(i)r 269. 320.
masb 50. 129. 165. 224. 338.
-masb 338.
masb(a)s 166. 231.
maschasa 218.
masch 87.
masa(a)id 131. 357. 381. 404. 422. 450. 466.
masra-fests 145.
masrarakic 587.
masa 484.
masculinai 98.
maso 484.
mas(s)a 484. 558.
masa 144.
masa 484.
mas 489. 558.
mas(a)ir 118. 214.
masi 35. 56. 226.
do-masi 448.
masair 35. 58.
masirama(a)il 220.
masin 181.
masis 490. 533.
- masu* 144. 484. 558. 559.
Maugdorna 50.
masul 57. 224.
masas 76.
mas 32. 38. 253. 280 f.
m. masdar 567.
m. masdhy 134.
masol 79.
masuir 574.
masul 79. 574.
mas 94.
do-masdar 263.
ME-DALO 281.
medam 172.
medarsat 271.
medy 134.
medonáas 221.
Me-druad 281.
do-me(i)ccathar 453.
ro-meil 423.
in meiscda 173.
meiscigind 49.
meiss 236.
meisse pron. 253.
me(i)ase parte. 441. 466.
meit 127. 186. 546.
ba méite 159.
meithleoir 172.
-meis 466.
-meis 404. 466.
mei(a)s 78.
meilach 86.
melid 119. 130. 353. 422. 450. 466.
meil 95. 389.
meilach 95.
meilach 86. 95.
-melom 360.
meit 422.
-meit 466.
-memo 388. 412. 465.
memad 424.
-mem(a)id 465.
memais 407. 412. 465.
- membrum(m)* 573.
memdaitir 433.
-memacitis 411.
-me(a)ir 425. 432. 466.
menand 75.
-menatar 416.
do-menafkar 466.
(in) menic(s) 49. 173. 239.
menma 62. 212.
menm(a)s 62. 212.
menmain 107. 212.
menman 89. 212.
menmm(a)s 212.
menmmama 212.
menmaibí 20.
menmain 107. 212.
menogud 65.
-mendar 384.
meoir 127.
meir 127.
-mora 131. 466.
-mora 404. 466.
meirt 422.
(ro)-meirt 131. 466.
messi 198.
mesar 573.
mesabaid 113.
mesabaid -baid 113.
mesec 86.
mesa 253.
mesar 390.
-mesar 409.
mes(s) 106. 195. 391. 451. 466. 573.
mesa- subj. 96. 389.
-mes(s) pret. pass. 438: 466.
mesa 235.
mesam 235. 296.
-mesammar 409.
-mesatar 466.
mesa 32. 253. 280.
messi 444. 466.
messimuir 409.
mesar 390. 395.

-mestar 466.
 -mestar 409.
 með 186.
 -mél 439, 466.
 meðal 172.
 meðtíðir 237.
 meter 108, 567.
 meulus 142.
 mí 39, 110, 128,
 201, 202, 216, 222.
 mí 146, 231, 241.
 mið 84, 220.
 -miðpir 241.
 miðar 452.
 miastar 409, 466.
 miast(a)ir 409.
 miðhamill 220.
 miðhamle 84.
 mið 47, 116.
 -mið(a)ir 430, 432,
 466.
 -miðar 430, 435.
 -miðatar 430.
 -miðedar 82, 466.
 miðesmarkt 231.
 *miðethar 82.
 að-miðethar 496.
 ar-miðethar 451.
 re-miðhratar 429.
 miðithir 82, 96, 354,
 409, 430, 432,
 438, 441, 444,
 450, 466.
 miðjar 49, 58, 77,
 110.
 -miðjar 87.
 miðjhracht 231.
 miðfogur 231.
 miðgim 231.
 mið 47.
 mið 'animal' 39.
 mið 'soldier' 169,
 206, 575.
 mið 245.
 miðs 32, 47.
 Miðsac(c) 211.
 miðs 32.
 mið 423, 466.

miðs 169, 206.
 re-miðsigestar 49.
 mið 46, 143, 195,
 199.
 miðsamb 46, 195.
 miðsdeh 47, 223,
 566.
 m. miðic 49.
 miðin 93.
 miðr 37, 132, 212 f.
 mið 39, 128, 201,
 202, 216.
 miðsdeh 231.
 miðsuis 231.
 miðs-imbort 241,
 257.
 mið(a)s 220, 222.
 miðsöimtin 231.
 miðhal 231.
 mið-x-imbort 257.
 -miðjar 87.
 miðs 76.
 miðgon 454.
 miðin, miðin 78.
 miðsdeh 107.
 miðsig 95, 345, 389,
 431.
 miðs 130, 450, 466.
 miðsdeh 107, 128.
 -m(m)- inf. pron.
 259.
 do-m(m)ic(c)ithar
 365, 506.
 du-miðethar 533.
 miðsitha 151.
 do-miðsigestar 152.
 mið 118, 123, 184,
 188, 189.
 mið 184, 188, 189.
 mið 142, 143, 156,
 276 f, 281.
 mið opv. 52, 122,
 235, 236.
 mið 'soon' 241.
 in mið 240.
 mið 235.
 miðsdeh 575.
 miðin 235.

Mo-Bi 175.
 Mo-Chiaró 174.
 miðhratar 89.
 mið 574.
 mið 567.
 m. mið 567.
 mið, mið(a)s 50.
 mið 108.
 miðin 42, 453.
 miðsig 270, 453.
 mið 43.
 miðinmar 367.
 (do)-miðethar 129,
 354, 425, 432,
 439, 442, 450,
 466.
 (do)-miðethar 396,
 466.
 do-miðjar 27.
 (do)-miðjar 88, 366.
 mið 235, 237.
 mið 50, 224.
 miðsdeh 574.
 mið 270.
 -miðjar 418.
 miðsig 397.
 (re)-miðjar 397, 400.
 -miðsig 397.
 -mið 63, 366.
 mið 270.
 miðjar 370.
 mið 220.
 miðjar 570.
 mið 235.
 mið 20.
 mið 20, 52, 224,
 235, 236, 338.
 in mið 238, 239.
 -mið subj. 363.
 mið 224.
 -mið 336, 338.
 mið 446.
 mið(a)s 270, 417.
 miðsig 166.
 mið 65.
 miðsig 446.
 miðsdeh 218.
 miðsig 24.

- mórfes(s)er* 84, 244, 247.
Mor(r)ígan 185.
mórus 270.
mórk(a)í 443.
mórká 166.
mórkús 270.
mos 241.
mos-riccub 241.
móu 236.
mraithem 172.
mraib 131, 172, 450, 466.
mreacht(a)ígeadar 338.
mreachtad 169.
mruig 47, 128.
mu 276 f.
mu- (for *mos*) 241.
mucc 48, 78, 171, 195.
muccid 171.
mucda 78.
múca(s)e 165.
múcaí 165.
múcair-leos 197.
mudu 238.
mug 50, 168, 194.
mugaine 168.
muí, múi 279, 281.
muig 50, 216.
mu(i)leán 574.
muimne 103.
muin 47.
mu(i)neál 79.
(do)-mu(i)neáthar 129, 354, 432, 466.
-muinfeáthar 396.
muinter 88, 570.
muir 51, 59, 190.
mu(i)re 191.
muise 279.
Múna, Múna 89, 211.
Múna 89, 211.
muntar 168, 570.
muntaras 168.
muntar 88.
múir 42.
mus- 241.
mus-craifet 241.
-a- inf. pron. 260.
na, ná neg. 28, 110, 152, 153, 265, 313, 315, 318, 488, 539 f, 542.
na (neut. of *nacht*) 148, 151, 309, 311.
na art. 71, 151, 196, 293, 294.
ná 'nor' 153, 540, 551.
-ná subj. 392, 466.
'na-digler 540.
-nab 294.
na-biam 540.
nacc 541, 542.
nacca 541.
nacce 541.
nach 72, 229, 309, 311.
nách- neg. 28, 110, 152, 265, 292, 313, 539 f, 542.
nach 'nor' 540, 551.
nách neg. + cop. 152, 153, 486, 487, 539, 540.
nacha 188, 309.
nacha- 265.
nacham-dermaine 265.
nachan-soirainní 265.
nách-beir 265.
nachí- 265.
nachíó-bear 539.
nachíó-erpiú 265.
nachíó-cádalatar 265.
nachíó-farceib 265.
nachin-rogha 256, 540.
nachomairléca 265.
na-chomalaíd 261.
nacón 28, 145, 313, 540.
na-cuindig 539.
nád neg. 28, 29, 146, 265, 313, 315, 318, 324, 339, 340, 485, 539 f.
nád (neg. + cop.) 485, 539.
nád (to síe) 207.
nádach 313, 540.
nádach 145, 313, 540.
náde 541, 542.
náde 487.
nád-géb 540.
nádíó-céire 265.
nádip 488, 537.
nádman(s) 89, 213.
nádman 89, 213.
nádmanáib 213.
na-gaie 257.
na-guáid 539.
na h-aib 20.
nai 262.
naib 488.
naic(c) 541, 542.
naic gen. 309.
náic(h) (neg. + cop.) 485, 487, 539, 541.
naicíó-fíir 265.
naicíó-déirsed 265.
naidm 70, 89, 101, 213, 353, 438, 453, 468.
naidmea 126.
na-incoimser 540.
naimtes 67, 126, 201.
naimíde 222.
naimíne 168.
naitea 201.
in-naic 442, 466.

- na-lled* 151.
nam(a)s 168, 206, 222.
namis 67.
nammá 237, 560.
nan 324, 485.
nand 324, 485, 486, 539.
nandot 324, 485.
nanda-tibéad 265.
nanní 151, 310.
nan-rairigear 265.
nant 150, 324, 485, 497, 539.
nant-roobomairléic 266.
nap 488, 539.
napo 315.
nár 279, 283.
narbo 491.
naro-pridhiam 29.
-ndear 466.
nascid 363, 388, 412, 413, 424, 438, 453, 466.
-nass 438, 466.
-ndatar 395.
nã 485, 539.
nafat 485.
nãte 292, 541, 542.
nathar 279, 283.
nathir 100, 203, 204.
nathó 541, 542.
nathrach 100, 203.
náu 44, 184.
nawé mbat. 44, 184.
nawé adj. 45, 63, 118.
am(a) ñ-dond-foirde 319.
ne- prep. 523.
n. *nead* 134.
ar-neat 377, 416, 466, 523.
neb- 80, 146, 544.
nebitríú 80.
nebitríem 544.
nebcongabthait-si' 88.
nebcongabthata 545.
nebdéanam 80.
nebleisc 545.
nebmaldachad 545.
nebmarótu 80, 163, 186, 545.
nebhábirt 545.
nebháde 80.
nebháid 545.
nebud 87.
nech 57, 72, 309, 311, 539, 551.
necht 139.
nechtar 170, 310, 311, 312.
neide 243.
ad-ro-neistar 416.
-negar 378.
ar-neigdet 378.
neim 129, 214.
neime 56, 214.
neimi 214.
neimnech 214.
ar-neithet 377, 466, 523.
-neithius 416, 466.
-neithet 416.
nel 79, 177.
nem 49, 216, 222.
nemd(a)s 220, 222, 225.
nemed 189.
némiúthir 237.
neimhenga 228.
fo-nem 413, 466.
-nena 388, 413, 466.
nenag- 425.
-nenaig 115.
nenaisc, -nen(a)isc 363, 466.
(ar)-nenas 412, 466.
nenasc- 424.
neo 309.
neoch 57, 289, 309.
neoch ma 558.
nepuicé 23, 87.
neph- 80, 146, 544.
nephacamaidid 545.
nephadainigthe 545.
nephaceneil 37.
nephachorpa(a)s 78, 545.
nephchumscáicéte 545.
nephdeanam 80.
nephdimidí 541.
nepheterenas 544.
nephglidí 442.
nephicé 443.
nephiumscáicéide 545.
nephinotacht 80, 518.
nephis 544.
nephilar 545, 575.
nephni 309, 545.
nephriagolde 21.
nephthairimech 545.
nephtháde 80.
nepuid, nepuicé 23, 86.
nerf 43, 57, 102, 104, 107, 178, 219, 338, 543, 544.
neru gen. 87.
-neru 338.
nerimar 218.
ness 80.
arta-nessamar 410, 466.
do-nessé 396.
con-nessar 396.
nessa 90, 235, 236.
con-nessa 344, 452, 523.
(du)-nessa 453, 523.
nessam 235, 236.
nesso 235.
nel 134, 523.
NETACANI 181.
-NETAS 207.

- nodon-nerta* 264.
 313.
nos gen. 44. 184.
nos adj. 45.
nodóairéirib 230.
no-guibed 29.
noi 149. 243. 247.
ad-noi 352. 449.
as-noi 449.
at-noi 420.
noib 44. 184.
noib 224.
noibáib 108.
-noibéar 397.
noichtech 247.
noidéala 146.
noideuaht 167.
noideuda 173. 211.
noidiu 167. 173.
 211. 212.
Noindruimm 146.
 244.
fo-nolast 449.
noithiam 271.
noithint 271.
nómad 247. 249.
 260.
nom-biad 477.
nom-charat 348.
nom-choimmdiu
coima 267. 327.
nom-isligur 267.
nóndor, nóndur 146.
 243. 244.
nonda 485.
nondad 485.
nondan 485.
no-nno-diammasa-
niptis 145.
non-óder 267.
non-soir 348.
nos-bered 261.
nos-geoin 348.
nos-á-guid 261. 271.
notaitir 369.
not-ardarugub 267.
notire 172.
notáica 566.
- nótrastis* 390.
nu vb. part. 29. 63.
 496.
nú 25. 145. 561.
nuu- 63.
núabla 71.
Núado 209.
nu(a)s 45. 63. 71.
 118. 221. 226.
nuuachintáid 220.
nu(a)í 63. 226.
nu(a)ide 221.
nu(a)llaigem 374.
na nuu-baitisim 269.
nuda-chéiltis 264.
nuda-chelal 264.
nudam-chrocha 262.
na nudub-feil 269.
nuu 45. 63.
nu/iadnisee 187.
nuí 45. 63.
nuiznis(s)e 45.
nuis 45. 63. 118.
 226.
nuiednis(s)e 45.
nuic-táinic 241.
nuithicid 171.
nuuda-berstatar 263.
nuudem 487.
ce nuu-labratar 269.
nuu 226.
- d, ád* prep. and conj.
 19. 34. 40. 145.
 162. 259. 274.
 293. 324. 342.
 491. 524. 553.
ó (= *ó*+a possess.)
 71. 278. 524.
ó (= *ó*+a rel.) 312.
 524.
ó 'ear' 44. 216.
ó 'if' 553.
com-ó 362.
os 'ears' 44.
os 'grandson' 44.
ós cpv. 235. 236.
- ind ós* 240.
ó-a- 312. 524.
óc, óac 66. 71. 122.
 235.
con-óadar 376. 472.
oal 125.
óam 235.
óas 40.
con-óat 125. 376.
con-óathar 362.
ob 51. 213.
óbar 108.
ad-óbarar 23.
óbad 447. 461. 525.
-óbbais 393. 461.
 525.
óbeila 524.
óbie 509.
óblann 569.
óbu 491.
oc 162. 275. 524.
 549.
occe 275.
ocair 285.
ocai 219.
con-ocba 525.
ócbad 170.
ócbil 525.
occ 524.
oc(c)s 275.
oc(c)s- 29. 312. 524.
occae 275. 285.
oc(c)a(i) 275. 285.
occaib 275.
occar 524.
occi 275.
oc(c)o conj. prep.
 275. 524.
oc(c)o (prep. +
 possess.) 278.
 524.
occu-robae 525.
con-ocába 405.
ochaal 19. 574.
ocht 39. 114. 135.
 149. 243. 247.
ocht(a)s 243.
ochtar 244.

dóchtar 170. 527.
 dochtaróche 178.
 dóchtar 170.
 dochtmad 135. 248.
 250.
 dochtmaga 245.
 dochtmagaí 245. 247.
 dochtroch 178.
 doin(d) 293.
 dólach 71. 168.
 dólachas 168.
 domaid 525.
 domaidé 525.
 -doiman 536.
 -doimnatar 525.
 doimh 525.
 doina 524.
 doina-biaí 313.
 doo- 524.
 doom 275.
 doon(d) 293. 524.
 doocrad 526.
 doot 243.
 dootaróche 178.
 doosa 524.
 doosa-bendá 525.
 doosa-biaí 525.
 doosa 548. 549.
 doosa 275. 502. 524.
 doosaí 91.
 doosa 275.
 doosa adj. 68. 72.
 227. 235. 549.
 doosa 'and' 25. 72.
 145. 156. 548 f.
 550. 563.
 doosa na (sábh) 541.
 doosa níl 541.
 doosa 275. 281. 502.
 524.
 doosa adj. 74.
 -doosa 79. 426. 466.
 doosa 48. 134.
 doosa 274.
 doosa 41. 77.
 doosa 74. 108.

do 43. 216.
 do 66.
 doaire 46.
 doai 206.
 doai 376.
 doai 231. 242. 243.
 245.
 doai 229.
 doain 173.
 doar 173. 243.
 doaróimh 161.
 doaróimh 18.
 doaróimh 231.
 doar 573.
 doarócht 250.
 doarócht 248.
 doarócht 173.
 a doarócht 173.
 doar 42.
 doar-óifáthar 401.
 472.
 do 216.
 doai 103.
 doar-ó(a)í 111.
 m. doar 9.
 doar, doar 9.
 do dat. ag. 'ear'
 216.
 do 'sheep' 43. 45.
 137.
 doar-óí 125. 352. 376.
 472.
 do(a)í 524.
 m. do(a)í 524.
 doar 68.
 doar 389. 426. 454.
 466.
 doar 83.
 doar 567.
 doarócht 206.
 doai 206.
 doar-óí 526.
 doar 125.
 doar-óí 526.
 doar(i)u 48. 233.
 doar 274.
 doar 79. 454. 466.

doar nam. 43. 165.
 229. 242. 243.
 245. 573.
 doar acc. pl. 223.
 -doar 575.
 doar 160. 243.
 doarócht 78.
 doarócht 33.
 doar óid(a)í 239.
 doar 576.
 doar 576.
 doar 248.
 doarócht 18.
 doarócht 69.
 doar 60. 165. 205.
 doar 244.
 -doar 393. 461. 525.
 doar 21. 83. 560.
 doar-óí 532.
 doar 20.
 doaróimh 101.
 doar(a)-óir 514. 535.
 doar-óir 33.
 (doaróimh) doar 102.
 303.
 doar 100. 454.
 doaróimh 48. 575.
 doaróimh 81. 441.
 doaróimh 81.
 doar 42.
 -doar 389. 466.
 doar 274.
 doar-óir 244.
 doar-óir 376.
 doar-óir 472.
 doar 165. 166.
 do prep. 146. 158.
 232. 477. 500.
 do 'quod' 302. 318.
 559.
 do after cpv. 232.
 477.
 do 'inquit' 255.
 301. 500.
 doar 568.
 doar 108. 474.
 doar 71.
 doar 559.

- olambicid* 478.
olann 123.
olann ole 223.
Olann 173.
ol(c) 96, 224, 230, 235.
olchen(a)s 300, 500, 501.
oldann (oldánn) 33, 147, 473, 477 f.
oldai 478.
oldammis 478.
oldáta 478.
oldá(a)s 478.
oldáthe 478.
oldáa 317, 478, 500.
oldó 478.
oldóas 478.
olfoirbáhu 500.
oll 48, 233, 500.
oll oll 500.
oll na 539.
olmbálar 478.
olmbí 478.
olmbói 317, 478.
olmé 255.
oll ní 539.
olna (olna) 255, 500.
olnat 255.
oloi 255.
olomé 255.
olod(a)in 145, 301.
olou(a)de 145, 301.
oloi 478.
om 47.
omal(l)óidit 20, 186, 568.
om-n-omal 344.
do-omlacht 345.
do-omalgy 345, 525.
ómon 19.
omun 41, 544.
(á)ómun 19, 41, 544.
óm 12, 283, 301, 302, 303.
óm subet. 79, 454, 466.
(á)óm(a)ib 293, 523.
ómai gabláib 295.
ónamainéasib 295.
óm(d) 293, 524.
óndid 486.
-omg- 346.
ompad 576.
ompid 576.
omphu 576.
óndid 486.
óm-ni 274.
ómarid 52.
ood 274.
ool 446, 471.
op 393, 461, 525.
opad 461, 525.
op(a)ind 393, 461, 525.
ad-opair 525.
ad-oparar 23.
ad-opartha 371.
do-opir 505, 525, 535.
ópa 491.
opt(a)it 569.
ad-opuir 51, 103, 525, 534.
or 500.
ór 'gold' 44.
ór 'hour' 316.
orbam 101, 172.
orbe 39, 172, 219.
óund-órbiam 482.
orc 135.
(fris)-orcái 102, 361.
orcain 100.
orcid 353, 466.
orcun 454, 466.
orcuin 100.
orcun 100, 108, 454.
ord 'rank' 22, 48, 575.
ord 'hammer' 575.
órd(a)s 220.
ad-órdais 576.
órdan 576.
ord(a)s 211.
ro-ordnestar 418.
óra, óra 40, 150, 316, 318, 319, 559.
org(a)id 95, 109, 112, 344, 353, 389, 409, 422, 438, 441, 454, 466.
orge 63, 362.
organ 454.
oróit 568.
orpe 219.
orr 95, 389.
-orr 109, 394, 466.
-orrad 395.
-orras 394.
orvatar 394.
ort subet. 23.
m. ort prep. 281.
ort 422.
ort 112, 423, 438, 466.
doe-n-ort 532.
ortabair 434.
ort(a)s 466.
ortha 568.
os 254, 548 f.
os (=óis ?) 527.
ós prep. 40, 162, 170, 236, 275, 391, 522, 527.
ós (=óis) 71.
ar-osailei 525.
con-oscigat 65.
oscar 177.
con-oscigat 65, 525.
ósb 275, 285, 527.
osluad 113, 525.
con-orma 525, 535.
osnad 525.
oslgyud 525.
os- prep. 72, 258, 344, 465, 512, 525 f.
óssar 233.
ós(a)er 233.
for-óssái 525.
at 254, 548.

do-otar 426.
 in-otar 474. 525.
 (á)óthá 476.
 (á)óthad 41. 174.
 othar 74. 100.
 óthairnat 174.
 óthud 41.
 in-otam 383. 410.
 in-otant 474.
 oúb 51. 213.
 óul 446.
 ozal 574.
 ozalaib 19.
 ozile 19.

paiz 568.
 parche 568.
 pater 567.
 Pátr(a)ic(c) 217.
 573.
 peccad 77. 83. 141.
 566. 575.

peccath 83. 566.
 peodacta 77.
 peoda 77.
 peothach 77.
 ar peotha-ni 198.
 peotho 575.
 ar-pe(i)ot 124.
 pellec 571.
 péin, péine 36.
 penenill 569.
 pennit 569.
 perann(a) 184. 570.
 574.

peted 124.
 Pector 108.
 do pheccad 141.
 pherid 139. 206.
 phiar 215.
 a phéupal 178.
 in phreceptóirí 21.
 143.
 píen 36.
 Pilip(p) 568.
 m. pobal 567.

póc 566. 571.
 Pól 44.
 póllire 569.
 popul 567. 571.
 posit 226. 569.
 precept 446. 571.
 573. 575.
 preceptóir 172.
 precept 446. 571.
 prechúte 81.
 precept 571.
 predchid 81. 446.
 567. 573. 576.
 predchider rel. 369.
 predchidir 369.
 -predchissem 418.
 predchúte 364.
 re-predchid 81.
 -predchissem 418.
 pridchas 576.
 pridchas 576.
 pridchid 81. 446.
 567. 573. 576.
 pridchissem 90.
 prim 249. 574.
 pringaid 249.
 Priscida 569.
 prithchas 576.
 re-prithchib 400.
 prithchid 576.
 proind 93.
 proina 93.
 promad 574.
 promit 271.
 pronn 93.
 puball 571.
 pupall 571.
 purpatóir 571.

QUENLOCI 181.
 QUIMTIE 137.
 quardiall 249.
 quardiall 571.
 QUENQUENDANI 218.
 Quatiroche 571.
 QVOCRA 61.

im(m)-rá 352. 452.
 im-rand 376.
 rabad 490.
 -rab(a)e 53.
 -rabatar 53.
 fo-racab 340.
 frie-racacha 438.
 frie-racatar 470.
 frit-racatar 436.
 at-racht 54.
 rád 338. 446.
 imme-ráda 385.
 im-rádaim 385.
 do-radchúir 499.
 -rádi pres. 338.
 im-rádi 517. 535.
 re-rádi pret. 419.
 rádiid 88. 419.
 -ragtha 53. 69.
 ata-raglastar 415.
 imme-rai 361. 365.
 376.
 ad-ráichestor 80.
 ráid 362.
 im-raid 419.
 -ráidiu 361.
 a-raig 54.
 ad-ráigestor 80.
 rail 203. 204.
 raia 32.
 duada-rairgiurt 423.
 ceu-rairlestar 344.
 do-rairgerad 439.
 do-rairgerat 347.
 du-rairgiurt 423.
 do-rairgerad 439.
 -rd(i)est 421.
 fo-raithi 419.
 raith 151.
 di raith 537.
 (fo)raith 435. 466.
 raitha 169.
 re-ráitsem 88.
 -rai 53. 386.
 -raia 386. 470.
 do-raia 53.
 raiaid 470.
 do-raiaid 470.

-ra(a)s 420. 421.
470.
ra-llóic 261.
raiscat 470.
(aam)-raicid 29. 53.
421.
ra-m-bia 261.
ráin subst. 32.
ráin adj. 528.
ránaic 530.
imm-ráin 420.
raun 'part' 32.
250. 338.
raun 'strophe' 50.
rauna 338.
raungháilicid 171.
imm-ráinacat 420.
in-rá[r]ba 428.
do-raí 35. 53. 469.
535.
raíh 131. 450. 463.
(ro)-raíh 131. 439.
463.
raíh 537.
ráth- 429.
Ráth A. Airthir 151.
ráthagastair 418.
ráthatar 433.
do-raí 345.
do-raiscat 69. 469.
do-raífi 469.
do-ratais 469.
rá-uc 261.
re prep. 150. 162.
275. 293. 516.
527 f.
re (= fri) 145. 515.
ré subst. 186 f.
-ré (to raíh) 391.
392. 466.
at-ré, at-ré 375. 410.
du-ré 392.
fo-ré, in-ré 411.
res 187.
do-réachtar 340.
436.
do-réacatar 340. 436.
470.

recht 107. 119. 171.
172. 195. 196.
222.
recht 438.
at-recht 54.
recht(a)s 441.
recht(a)ide 222.
recht(a)ire 172.
na recte 196.
réde gen.: ag. fem.
36.
réde nom. acc. pl.
neut. 227.
réidid 94. 353. 453.
518.
res 187.
-reg 406.
-rega 406. 473.
do-rega 473.
rehe 19. 187.
reib 19. 187.
reicc 454. 466.
réid 36. 104. 227.
573.
imma-réid 377.
imma-réidneis 371.
at-reig 119.
réil 159. 234. 572.
-reilicid 529.
nad-raillieam 95.
do-reilgis 532.
re(i)llic(c) 529. 567.
571.
m. reilig 567.
reim(m) 94. 453.
reias 411.
fo-reiú 377.
in-reiú 377.
-reia 575.
réll(a)id 572.
rélem 234.
rem- 146. 527 f.
533.
remcaisiu 451.
-remderacchar 436.
reme subst. 236.
reme- (remé-) 314.
527.

reme-dé 527.
remé-érbart 34.
remeperthas 442.
remeperthiu 225.
442.
remereidi 498.
remereisid 498.
remet 167. 236.
reme-n-wicad 527.
remi 68. 275. 285.
528.
remi 73. 258. 527.
533.
remis 275. 285. 528.
remind-érbartamar
527.
remi-n-deracnigedar
34.
remi-raidigaddis 527.
remi-raidigedar 536.
remi-tat 527.
remita-tel 258. 527.
remithir 235.
remor 167.
-remi-raidigedar 536.
remi-raidigad 527.
remithecht 168.
remithechtas 168.
527.
remuidigthe 527.
remur 235.
reme 528.
rem(a)id 130. 356.
438. 443. 454.
466.
ad-remar 499.
renda 47.
rendaib 195.
rena-a 528.
do-rena 402.
do-réacht 467.
do-réachtid 423.
rerad- 425.
reray- 424.
rer(a)is 420.
reras 420.
imm-rera 420.
imm-reracat 420.

- atamna-ree* 410.
reac 528.
á-d-rearta 345.
-reast 410.
re-sin 303.
reáin 303, 316, 320.
 330, 342, 553 f.
na-d-reangabast 339.
reac 96, 375.
do-reast 439, 467.
ré 127, 195.
-ré 377.
do-ré (to *di-em*-)
 109, 463, 529.
do-ré (to *réid*) 377.
im-ré 377.
reac 87, 364.
reáin 198.
do-retarracht 439.
con-réagair 432.
réghu 212.
reáac 87, 364.
reáast 64.
-reáin 361.
reáid 96, 104, 116.
 169, 396, 353,
 377, 411, 429,
 526.
reáit 64.
reáic 87.
con-réagair 432.
réu 127.
reáib 275.
ri 'before' 150.
 162, 275, 527 f.
ri (= *frí*) 145.
riabast, 20, 39, 110.
 169, 202, 221.
con-ri 393.
ria 466.
ria prep. 150, 527.
fo-riachí 422.
riad 36, 170.
-riadast 36.
riadast 377.
riagol 36.
riam, *riam* 68, 275.
 285, 528.
- riamothá* 476.
rián 36.
-riarfact 516.
con-riac 467.
-riastar 395.
riathar, *riathor* 108.
ric, *rice* vb. 126, 128.
 354, 451, 465.
fo-ric 374.
rice vb.n. 454, 466.
con-ric(c)h 502.
riches 191.
richiáin 191.
richis(s) 191.
richas 191.
richt 466.
richtu 128, 451, 496.
rice 530.
-rig 1 sg. 406.
con-rig 27, 48, 81.
 263, 425, 440,
 441, 443, 447,
 467.
do-rig 344.
du-rig 447.
fo-rig 413.
rig 202 f.
-riga 406, 473.
do-riga 473.
ni-rigad 407.
rigain 185, 189.
rigan 186.
rigd(a) 221.
rige 449.
rige 169.
do-rigénaast 37.
do-rigéni 421, 464.
 529.
do-rigenmaís 403.
do-rigénaast 37, 421.
 464.
do-rigénaus 421.
con-rigi 378.
du-rigi 378.
rigid vb. 119.
rigid nom. du. 206.
do-rigni 421, 464.
do-rignius 421.
- riguáid* 146, 203.
rii 20.
do-riúast 418, 529.
rim 39, 79, 172, 338,
 446.
rimaire 172.
na-d-ringab 343.
ad-rimi 27, 262,
 338, 496, 534.
do-rimi 338.
do-rimthirid 429.
 455.
do-rimthirtatar 429.
do-rinchoisc 472.
rim 32, 47, 195, 198.
-rimdarpoi 428.
as-rindid 430.
do-rindnacht 345.
-rindálad 518.
(na-d)-rindáladatar
 339, 340, 525.
do-ringid 430, 435.
do-ringith 430.
as-ringabast 339.
do-ringenast 421.
du-riamais 431.
riam (= *fríam*) 145.
 515.
riam 528.
do-rind 421, 470.
do-riatai 340, 420.
-rir 428, 466.
-riastar 411.
(as)-riri 405, 466.
con-riris 407.
(as)-ririú 405, 414.
riac 412.
as-riithe 405.
do-riithe 405.
riá 530.
-ria 90.
con-riam 393.
riain 320, 553.
riá 195, 455.
-riá 438, 466.
riáic 443, 466.
do-riacart 529.
riacht 107.

do-ríochtatar 422.
ríam 275, 528.
ríam 275.
ríat 275.
ríocht 104, 195, 196,
 455, 466.
ro 29 f. 31, 136, 145,
 146, 152, 153,
 232, 256, 257,
 314, 315, 318,
 339, 348, 350,
 476, 488, 490,
 492, 528 ff.
ró 34.
im-ró 376.
-roa 436.
-roacht 422, 467.
do-roacht 50, 463.
rob 488.
as-rob 293.
robaid 490.
-rob(a)ic 53.
as-rob(a)ic 343, 469.
as-robarr 343.
-robatar 53.
rob-bia 261.
robba 491.
rob-car 261.
ro-bí 103, 348, 476.
robía 87, 261.
rob-bíocad 256.
robáil 231.
robo pret. 491.
robo disjunct. 486,
 551.
as-robaid 49, 341.
roba 491.
robtar 491.
rottis 490.
robu pret. 491.
robu disjunct. 488,
 551.
robá 34.
robam(m)ar 491.
for-robam 425.
do-rochair 437, 474.
arid-rocheil 469.
-rochick 428.

ní-rochim 346.
ar-rochúicir 428.
ar-rochúicirtar 428.
roch-kamthar 549.
atom-rochoil 28.
as-rochoilí 346, 528.
do-rochota 346.
ad-rochomail 421,
 470.
rochoilud 528.
con-rochra 30.
do-rochratar 437.
arid-rochrietas 387.
fo-rochánlat 19.
do-rochtammar 423.
far-rochtuid 345.
do-rochuirammar
 470.
as-rochtumlaí 420.
ro-cithe 346.
ro-cla(i)nthar 347,
 351, 528.
-rocmaithe 481.
nícon-rocmí 481.
fo-rócrad 439.
fos-rócurt 423.
ad-rodad 437.
ad-rodarcar 346, 470.
-rodammatar 429,
 430.
con-rodaster 419.
rodho, rodhu 486,
 551.
con-rodaly 344.
rod-n-dóibí 263.
ad-rógaic 426.
foth-rólagair 432.
do-rómadair 426.
ar-rórachair 432.
fo-róscad 394.
ar-róat 416, 426,
 529.
con-róatar 423.
ad-róthack 426, 429.
ro-fer 529.
ro-íicir 347, 351, 528.
ro-gab 29, 267.
do-rogaid 439, 464.

do-rogaib 346.
rog(a)ic 119.
-rogaim 528.
-rogat 471.
dris-rogat 534.
ara-rogaid 29.
do-rogaicim 358.
do-rogaicim 32.
hi-rogabá 30.
ro-geinn 529.
nad-rognatha 29.
ar-rognad 439, 464.
in-rograinn 425.
roga 63, 217, 525.
ro-áí 530.
ara-roiat 426, 529.
róiba 471.
fo-roibíachta 440.
ro-ic(c) 354.
ro-iccu 530.
-roicnan 425.
for-roicnan 112.
fortan-roichechnatar
 425.
arndam-roicéilí
 340.
roid 207.
roide 43.
roide 207.
ar-roieitax 423, 426.
-roig 528.
do-roiga 436.
do-roigaid 436.
do-roigatar 436.
ad-roigegrannatar
 426.
in-roigrainn 112,
 465.
do-roigu 436, 464.
roigpach 204.
-roigius 29.
ad-roilín 346, 419,
 452, 496.
adid-roilífet 400.
ad-roilíac 346.
ad-roilíacim 419.
fu-roilíacim 418.

- at-roillie(s)at* 418.
 419.
ad-roillie 375.
man-roimea 342.
-roimad- 425.
im-roimadthar 346.
 410.
do-roimadthar 346.
 528.
do-roimnibthar 505.
im-roimeat 410.
-roimeac- 425.
fo-roind 425.
roindid 355.
as-roinnea 93, 101.
-róis 410.
con-roisc 393.
dom-roischtatar 53.
-roissid 410.
roisset 410, 467.
roissid 452.
-roissit 394.
ar-roit 529.
con-roitatar 423.
 472.
con-roitir 423, 426.
 472, 529.
ro(i)itid 336.
ara-roitneac 43, 426.
 512.
ar(r)oitid 423.
ro-lá- 53, 345, 396.
-rolad 470.
rolaig 204.
ro-lanmthar 347.
 351, 528.
do-rolpa 343, 385.
do-rolpátha 65, 89.
 99.
do-rolpáda 65.
arnách-rólca 75.
(ní)-rolca 53, 421.
 470.
rom 491.
romag 528.
do-romait 423.
róimínach 220, 575,
- róimínd(s)* 220.
 575.
romár 528.
imne-romas 438.
romatar 492.
rom-bia 476.
rombo 492.
ro-mboth 318.
rombu 492.
romdar 491, 492.
romdís 490.
rom-gab 253.
romas 491, 492.
romtar 491, 492.
do-rósa 464.
do-rósc 343, 438.
 464.
do-rós(a)i 464, 535.
rosd 50.
rosda-biad 476.
rosdanna-icais 264.
rosd-bai 268.
rosd-chomallatar
 264.
ros(d)gab 268, 476.
 479.
ad-rosnatar 427.
 466.
ar-rosnít 416, 523.
ad-rosn 420.
rosn-lic 256.
rosn-lic 313.
ró-oirínd 34.
rosí 528.
roslách 471, 528.
rop 488.
ropad 490.
at-rópert 526.
ropia 87, 261.
ropo pret. 315, 491.
ocht ropo subj. 488.
roppad 152.
ropas 253, 491.
roptar 491.
roptis 490.
ropra 491.
fo-rosaid 425.
imne-rosaid 419,
- Ad bu-rosaitheir*
 341, 379.
do-rosban 406, 449.
 529.
do-rosbe 529.
do-rosbúa 406, 529.
do-rórpai 341.
ad-rosat 576.
do-rosad 505.
in-rosathar 429.
in-rosathar 429.
ros 438.
ro-saig 347, 529.
con-rocan 339.
do-rócat 60, 341.
 423, 467, 526.
ros-bí 476.
ros 220.
do-rós(a)i, di-róscat
 535.
du-róscáibea 397.
du-róscáifea 397.
do-róscáitheir 368.
di-rósci 87.
ad-rosaid 419.
ros 106.
rosacht 452.
rosan 170.
con-róacht 463.
con-rósaig 30, 431.
 463.
ros-bia 255.
con-rósgatar 526.
ros 39, 57, 116.
do-ros 393.
ní-rothachtas 29.
-rotháil 428.
do-rothánuac 391.
ro-uac 530.
ro-uc(e)- 345.
rosá 57, 106.
do-roidchúir 499.
fo-rrasat 411.
do-rrát 423.
do-rrigíní 152.
ní-robe 152.
di-rróppal 152, 526.
fo-rrói 392, 394.

- fo-rrobris* 341. 513.
fo-rrocul 19. 108.
do-rriairthatar 429.
fo-rruastar 394.
do-rrabid 134.
ma-rru-feste 145.
ru 29. 63. 145. 256.
 339. 528 f.
do-ruscht 50.
du-ruscht 463.
fo-rúachtatar 422.
riúad 40.
con-ruaig 429.
in-rúacáid 519.
in-rúalaid 345. 474.
in-rúaláatar 339.
 431.
fo-ruar 50.
do-rúarid 340.
do-rúarthatar 429.
rub 488.
-ruba (to *ben(a)id*)
 428.
-rub(a)i (to *bíid*)
 103. 348.
-rubai (to *ben(a)id*)
 428.
ce ru-baid 269.
at-rubáit 468.
at(i)-rubáitar 423.
 468.
ar-rubart 469.
ce-rubart 29. 49. 60.
 64. 340. 341. 423.
 509. 535.
fo-rubart 469.
ce-rúbart 33.
ce-rubartat 423. 424.
rubec 528.
(ce)-rubert 49. 60.
fo-rubid 428.
rubricu 87.
rubu 491.
ce-ruburt 107. 423.
ruc 468.
rucad 530.
trimi-rucaid 469.
rucc(a)e 92. 103.
ruc(a)i 468.
do-rucallast 526.
ad-ruchoisacai 421.
nod-ruchungab 340.
ce-ruchumáid 420.
ruclá 227. 232.
-ructh(a)e 468.
ruda-n-ordan 263.
ma rud-choisacat
 269.
atir-rudib 428.
-rufibis 401.
rug 232.
rugetrachtatib 507.
rugil 232.
rugsolus 232.
-ruihíis 401.
do-ruih 430.
do-ruih 50. 463.
ara-ruichuir 428.
 462.
ru-icim 530.
duda-ruid 430. 463.
im-ruidbed 339.
con-ruidiur 419.
fo-ruigíni 49. 101.
 529.
fo-ruillecht 467.
im-ruindethar 346.
 410. 528.
im-ruiméid 410.
ruise 442.
ru-laimar 351.
do-rulin 357.
ce-ruluid 420.
do-rumadr 430.
do-rumall 49.
do-ruménar 340.
rumtar 492.
ar-rumainest 416.
rún 20. 42.
ar-rumastar 416.
 427. 466. 523.
ar-rúneid 523.
ce(n)-runes 344.
runn, *runnu* 50.
rup 488.
do-rurgab (-*gaid*)
 341. 346. 526.
do-rushuid 419.
ad-ruspén 508.
rund 43.
rúan, *rúin* 20.

-s 149. 260.
's 'and' 549.
í 24.
ce demonstr. 300.
ce emph. part. 141.
 252. 282.
ce 305.
-ce rel. 149. 258.
 312. 322. 323.
 324. 327. 466.
-ce art. 111.
-ci 390. 392. 467.
sabbat 191.
accarbaic(c) 567.
accard 108. 567.
accardd 23. 177.
accart 23. 575.
sacht 290.
acdes 305.
adegal 573.
m. sagart 567.
sáib 234.
sáibem 233. 234.
sáichideta 166.
sáichi 290. 292.
-said 354.
im-said 441.
said 77.
saidai 303.
saidbir 219.
-sáided 354.
sáid demonstr. 304.
sáidi vb. 354.
ce(i)did 116. 328.
 336. 345. 354.
 391. 410. 448.
 467.
ce(i)did 336.
sáido 77.
-saig 354.

- fo-aoig* 450. 515.
ro-aoig 347. 410. 529.
aoigid vb. 54. 347. 354. 392. 413. 450. 467. 528.
aoigid vb. n. 166. 190. 450. 467.
aoigith 450.
aoigul 573.
aoil 60. 203.
ao(i)le 54.
aois 169. 220. 229.
aoisem(a)il 107. 173. 220. 226.
aoisemlón 173.
aoisred, -reth 169.
int aoisriud 161.
de aois 572.
aoisre 100.
aoir 305.
aoir 169.
aoisre 169.
ro-aois 388.
aoith 77. 170.
aoithor, -ar 170.
aoil-charna 164.
aoim 70. 107. 177. 571.
aoit 575.
aoit(a)ir 571.
aoitraid 452.
aoitram 452.
aoim 129. 252.
aoim(a)il 67. 111. 220. 239. 316. 446. 500.
-aoimair 418.
-aoimafammar 397.
samlaid 273. 284. 500.
saml(a)id 239. 273. 500. 501.
samlaitéir 446.
-samlasathar 418.
in-samlathar 446. 520.
-samlaidid 400.
samlid 273. 284.
samlith 239. 273. 501.
samlum 273. 500.
samlut 273. 500.
samarad 169.
samathéir 568.
Sannuch 572.
sant 572.
sasait 192.
sar 279. 283.
sáraigthe 362.
-sárad 368.
fo-sárad 388.
sástar 440.
sástar 271.
sáthaid 306.
sáich 429.
ro-sáichi 419.
ro-sáird 431.
-sáirind 404.
sáil 79.
sar(a)id 114. 129. 404.
sáith 106. 132. 177.
sáil 203. 204.
sáid 362.
m. sainnim 424.
sáil 38. 101. 172. 176. 338.
sáilrige 172.
sáio 549.
con-sáira 404.
sáir-sáira 404.
sáirdid 431.
sáru 549.
sáruil 36.
do-sáruil(a)il 53. 101. 338.
do-sáruilain 38.
du-sáruil 56.
sáil 204.
sáich 203. 204.
sáid 204.
sáim 36. 568.
sáim 114.
sáis 166.
sáith 166. 544.
ro-sáith 378.
-sáithigir 400.
sáio 132.
sáochid 336. 378. 393. 429.
sáor 129. 446.
sáorbail 567.
sáropol 250.
sáropol, -al 567. 573.
-sáirba 575.
sáir(b)a'id 455. 567. 573.
sáirbidid 113.
sáirbend 22. 113. 455.
sáirbent 22.
sáirbidid 113. 170.
sáris 568.
sárisre 172.
m. sáirbaidid 567.
sárisid vb. 132.
sárisid subst. 171.
-sárisa 575.
sáruaid 336. 378. 393. 429.
sáru(a)id 446.
se demonstr. 32. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 550.
se emph. part. 141. 252. 282.
se 32. 148. 153. 243. 247.
se demonstr. 300.
se emph. part. 252.
m. seacht 101.
seba(c) 572.
secach (= sech caich) 87.
cut-secar 576.
secc 167.
secco 273. 284. 530.
seccu 273. 284.
sech prep. 158. 273. 292. 530. 550.
sech conj. 550.
sech is. if 25. 550.

sech ni . . ni 550.
con-secha 472.
sech(a)s, *sechas* 273.
 284, 530.
sechfaid 530.
ro-seched 472.
sechem 171, 453.
sechfaid 530.
sechi 254, 290, 292.
 485, 488, 563.
sechib 290.
sechid 472.
sechidi 443.
sechiantáid 171.
sechíp 290, 488.
sechít 290, 485.
sechitat 149, 290.
 485.
sechitáir 114, 270.
 337, 443, 463.
sechitír 77.
sechmadach(a)s 82.
 530.
sechmaí 177, 448.
 530.
-sechmaíle 530, 536.
sechmaí-n-ella 530.
sechmaí-ella 530, 536.
Sechmaí 93, 94.
secht 101, 139, 149.
 243, 569.
secht(a)s 243.
sechtair 305, 507.
sechtar 158, 305.
 507.
sechtmad 230, 248.
 250.
sechtmaíne 569.
sechtmogat 82, 247.
sechtmogo 82, 245.
sechtmon 569, 570.
secht.n.íalbhich 146.
sechum 273, 530.
sechunn 273.
sechtat 273, 530.
sechdabó 249.
con-sechaiman 576.
sechár 354.

sechít 54, 116, 354.
 467.
seche 303.
seíle 243.
seghair 354.
seghat, *-seghat* 54, 354.
 467.
-seghar 354.
seib 571.
seichem 374.
m. seídídih 134.
se(i)le 54.
se(i)mágedar 337.
seim(m) 101.
do-seimn 85, 353.
 389, 408, 413.
 424, 438, 447.
 467.
seir 139, 206.
seiro 100.
seis 410, 467.
se(i)ssed 248, 250.
se(i)sser 244.
seít 127.
seítche 56.
sel 413.
(ar)-sela 388, 413.
con-sela 420.
selag 424.
selai 420.
selaig 433.
-sel(a)ig 113, 132.
 467.
-selas 407.
selb 102, 122, 338.
selg 139.
fo-selgatar 467.
selgus 270.
-selos 407.
con-selstat 420.
sem 252, 253, 285.
semann, semend 101.
sen 47, 118, 165.
 167, 233, 234.
sen (for *sin*) 300.
senap 425.
con-séna(i) 421, 467.
-senai 113, 132.

senatharhás 77.
senatár 172, 574.
senchaisi 198.
senchasa 198.
senester 571.
senim 212, 353, 453.
senistri 571.
senmasib 161.
senmim 64.
senm(u)im 64, 212.
 453.
sennid 353, 389.
 408, 424, 453.
 SENOMAGLI 79.
sen 26.
senfa 165, 166.
seo 300.
seól 574.
seótu 'chattels' 127.
seótu 'paths' 127.
do-sepfainn 85.
do-sepfainn 85, 467.
sepfann- 424.
septián 569.
ser 133.
-sera 356, 381.
serb 544.
ist serbu 240.
serc 84, 100, 170.
 446.
serc(a)s 100, 105.
serc(a)id 170.
serce 86.
con-sera 448.
seru(a)id 133, 256.
 381, 439, 444.
 450.
-seru(n) 356, 379.
serna 379.
-serufe 381.
serr 95.
con-seri 422.
ro-seri 422.
seó 36.
do-seó pret. pass.
 467.
du-seó subj. 389.
sera 408, 412.

- seasaid 408.
 (du)-seasáinn 32, 395.
 seasú 245, 509.
 seasúnn- 424.
 seascot 245.
 se-séas 438.
 -seasar 427.
 seasú 32, 64.
 -seas(s)ad 408, 410.
 seasar 24, 84.
 sear-séas 389.
 seá 'path' 31, 126.
 seá 'chattel' 127, 179.
 seáche 56.
 seáhar gen. 215.
 seáhar pron. 279, 283.
 seáharóirneoid 215.
 seáho, seáho 536.
 seáid 124, 134.
 seáig 58, 185, 187, 308.
 seáit 127.
 seáre 107.
 seáit 179.
 seáns 270.
 se emph. part. 3 ag. fem. 253, 285.
 se emph. part. 2 pl. 262, 262.
 se pron. 3 ag. fem. 142, 254, 263.
 se pron. 2 pl. 254, 282.
 se, se, se epv. 235, 236.
 -se 408, 413, 467.
 seacht 423.
 seacht 422, 427.
 (ro)-seacht 109, 422, 440, 467.
 seadair 427.
 seais 408, 467.
 seam 235.
 seans 36.
 seansai 198.
 sear 306.
 seasair 427, 432, 467.
 seas(s)atar 427.
 seathár 235.
 seá pron. 254, 282.
 -seá 408, 413, 467.
 seáil 571.
 seáru 412.
 seáru 408, 412.
 seáru 254.
 seá 167.
 seá 167.
 seá 303.
 seá, seá 301, 302, 303, 304.
 seá 303.
 seá 59, 215.
 seá 408.
 seá 254.
 seá 303.
 -seá 413, 467.
 seá 39.
 seá 408, 413.
 seá 408, 467.
 seá 412.
 Seá 570.
 seá demonstr. 142, 283, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304.
 -seá, -seá(d) art. 111, 294.
 seá 139.
 seá seá seá seá seá 31.
 seá 234.
 seá 167.
 seá 47, 233.
 seá seá 101.
 seá 254.
 seá 305 f.
 seá 233.
 -(s)seá 294.
 seá 233.
 seá 305 f.
 seá 235.
 seá 423.
 seá 300, 305, 522.
 seá seá 400.
 seá, seá 254, 282.
 ar-seá(s)seá 96, 337, 499.
 seá seá seá 337, 451, 452.
 seá pron. 2 pl. 264, 282.
 seá(s) pron. 3 ag. fem. 254.
 seá 231.
 seá seá 231.
 seá 235.
 seá seá, -seá 231, 235.
 seá emph. part. 262, 282.
 seá advb. 162, 303.
 seá demonstr. 303.
 seá conj. 554.
 seá 252, 285.
 seá 47.
 seá 59, 58, 60, 84, 109, 110, 124, 174, 215.
 seá 174.
 -seá 391.
 con-seá 376, 420.
 seá 169.
 seá seá 449.
 seá seá 388, 413, 438, 449.
 seá seá 169.
 seá 131, 165.
 seá seá 171.
 seá seá 241.
 seá 165.
 -seá 438.
 con-seá seá 67.
 -seá 438.
 -seá 575.
 seá seá seá 571.
 seá 175.
 seá 175.
 ad-seá 38, 391.
 seá seá seá 467.
 seá seá seá 101.
 seá 118.

- sléman* 118.
sléman 118.
do-slí 352, 452.
slíab 117, 118, 131, 215.
ad-slíg 96, 391, 447, 496, 534.
ar-slíg 447.
fo-slíg 95, 441, 467, 496, 449.
sligid 113, 132, 408, 413, 424, 438, 449.
fo-slígin 467.
slías 133.
slíod 447.
slíy 40, 64, 146, 177.
slíogá 126.
ro-slíogá 23.
slíogánu 352.
slíic 419.
slíicé 419.
slíicéit 419.
slíig 40, 56.
slíod 139, 338, 446.
slíodad 446.
slíoy 40, 177.
slúic 23, 75, 126, 419, 447.
slúind 59.
slúinde 91, 364.
slúinde 338, 364.
do-slúindi 98, 112, 419, 529.
slúindid indic. 83, 139, 364, 446.
slúindid subj. 419.
slúindite 364.
slúindítá 83.
do-slúindíder 112.
do slúind 142.
slúir 47, 131.
Súirith 131.
-(s)na 294.
ro-sná 421.
in-snádat 519.
ad-snádi 520.
-(s)naib 294.
snáid 352.
in-snáid 128, 442, 448, 536.
snáidstium 271.
snáidstiuma 271.
snáidfid 400.
snám 131.
in-snáter 520.
snécht(a)s 115, 135.
sní emph. part. 252.
sní pron. 254, 282.
con-sní 452.
snígid 113, 115, 132, 388, 425.
sníid 442.
sním 106, 544.
sníni 254.
sníni 254, 282.
snínní 254.
snítá 442.
so demonstr. 141, 300, 301, 302, 304.
so emph. part. 146, 252, 282.
so- 104, 146, 219, 231.
só 352.
só(a)id 352.
soas 376.
-soat 376.
sochadnaid 104, 219.
sochide 65.
sochmacht 69, 219.
sochoisc 219.
sochor 231.
sochraide 165.
sochrud 165, 219, 227.
sochuide 65.
sochuide 65, 134.
sochumacht 69, 219.
sod(a)in 301, 303, 304.
ad-sode 385.
-soe 386.
sóer 43.
non-sóer 329.
sóer(a)is 364.
sóeras 364, 417.
sóerfadat 271.
sóer(a)i 417.
sóerann 271.
sói adj. 228.
soi vb. 376.
soibat 385.
soibi 338, 385.
sóid 376, 438, 447.
soife 401.
sóifid 401.
sóifíor 401.
soilú 185.
sóinmech 82, 165.
sóinmiche 81, 82, 165.
sóinmíge 81, 82, 165.
sóir 43, 159, 338, 338.
soira 338.
soira-sia 329.
soirbad 396.
soirbídír 82, 233.
soirbítáir 82.
soirfa 397.
soirfas 397.
soirfed 63.
soirthe 104.
soirthe 104.
soisid 420.
ro-soisitei 252.
soisat 420.
soithe 438.
soithé 376.
soilumán 574.
soilú 104, 227.
soin 141, 252, 253, 272, 286.
soin(a)s 234.
soinmainem 234.
son 177.
són 301, 302, 303.
son(a)irt 70, 104, 165, 219, 234, 337.
sonairt 165.

sonartaídir 82.
-sonarta(a)igedar
 337.
sonarta 107, 234.
sonarta 70, 165.
sonorta 107, 234.
sonraí 104.
sonra(n) 571.
sonscéile 101.
sonscéile 38.
sonscéla 38.
na sothe 196.
sothage 228.
sóad 447.
m. spiora(i)d 567.
spírat 197, 567, 573,
 575.
spíart 107, 197, 575.
Spíatán 133.
sraib 566.
sraibhar 133, 566.
sraib 352, 447.
sraibh 133, 450.
sraibh 133, 450.
-sraibh 439.
sraibh 133, 444.
sraim 571.
sraibhe 133, 442.
sraipéil 571, 572.
sraon 41, 572.
sraotha 133.
sraoim(m) 40, 130,
 222.
sraoimnech 222.
sraoimna 222.
sraoimnech 222.
sraoibh 133.
sraoibh 41, 84, 130,
 131, 572.
di-sraoibhigedar 84.
du-sraoibhigedar 86.
ni-sraoibhigedar 152.
stair 192, 569.
Strofan 133.
su emph. part. 141,
 146, 252, 282.
su- 146, 231.
suaccubair 219.

suad 66, 206.
suaicneid 81.
suaigneid 81.
suaill 192.
suaithribhíde 231.
suaion 140.
suaionem 211.
suaion 306, 527.
suaibhíde 270.
suba 104.
subu 104.
ad-suidi 49.
súig 574.
súigid 574.
súí 206.
súibí 104.
su(i)de subst. 48,
 116, 337, 448,
 467.
su(i)de pron. 301,
 303, 304.
ad-suidem 131.
ad-su(i)di 49, 98,
 336, 385, 419,
 437.
le suidib 284, 303.
su(i)dicléidí 443.
-su(i)digedar 337.
suidigthe vb.n. 62.
suidigtheo, -a 62.
suidigthe 440.
su(i)digtheir 63.
suidigtheo 62.
su(i)digead 65, 84,
 104.
suidim 336.
súil 56, 190, 222.
súillech 222.
súill 56.
suir 43.
suirra 571, 572.
súit 571.
súithe 229.
súib(a)ir 107, 220.
súibairicthe 362.
súil 56.
sum 252.
suad 293, 303, 305.

suada 142, 305.
super(a)í 226, 569.
súat 571.
súit 300.
súib 196.
súibhe 229.
súibheir 82, 229
SUVALLOS 192.
SVAQUCHI 572.

-t inf. pron. 3 sg.
 260.
-t inf. pron. 2 sg.
 143, 259.
t', -t' thy' 142, 143'
 277, 281.
-t 25, 557.
-ta- 152, 260.
-tá 133, 351, 477.
ar-tá 498.
ar-tá 33, 133, 475,
 476, 477.
lasc-tá 477.
nin-tá 477.
no-tá 477.
-tá subst. vb. 477.
-ta[a] (to *ánaí*)
 474.
-tair 23.
-team 33, 364.
-teat 33, 364.
á-taot 477.
ána-taot 477.
-tab- 260.
tabair ipv. 374.
-tab(a)ir 53, 469,
 532, 535.
tabairt 165, 449,
 469.
tabairte 102.
fuá-tabair 28.
tabairt 103, 165, 449,
 469.
tabairte 102.
tabairthe 70.
tabairthe 444.
tabernacail 192.

tablaire 172.
 tacco 542.
 tacera 378.
 taccu 542.
 tách- 426, 429.
 táchtair 433.
 -táchtair 434.
 tachtur 81.
 taer(a) 448.
 fria-tacairthe 443.
 tádat 209.
 tadbat 430, 533.
 Tade 133.
 tadchor 99.
 Taddy 133.
 -táig 473.
 -táis 473.
 táit 473.
 -táit 376.
 tai pron. 279, 281.
 -tai 363, 392, 473.
 cecha-taire 28.
 maui-taire 28.
 -taibed 81.
 taibeis 81.
 táich 433.
 taichur 81.
 -táit 304.
 táid 169, 173.
 táidén 173.
 taidebch 447.
 taidebci 355, 444.
 taidebgar 355.
 taidebe 165.
 taideis 81, 165, 451.
 taidehoirthe 443.
 taidehor 81, 446.
 taideora 454.
 taideoricc 80, 454.
 taidehor 99.
 táide 209.
 taidemet 450.
 taideinadar 499.
 taig 216.
 -taig 473.
 taigut ipv. 473.
 -taigut 112, 473.

taige 216.
 taigach 52.
 -taiged 532.
 taigind 532.
 taigra 54, 191.
 in taig 105, 161, 316, 324, 552.
 tá(i)n 454.
 taivid 54, 207.
 taiv adv. 305, 533.
 taiv 2 sg. 112, 375, 473.
 taiv 3 sg. 393.
 taivberthas 442.
 taivberthi 442.
 taivbling 426.
 taivchet pret. act. 422.
 taivchital 451, 497.
 taivpire 112.
 taivi 393.
 taivsem 91.
 taivressedar 96.
 taivsem 53, 91, 452, 497.
 -taivtaic 532.
 ni-tairle 343.
 taivm- 146, 530 f.
 -taivmbir 536.
 taivmchostaid 531.
 taivmchrutto 531.
 taivmeseo, taivmeseo 531.
 taivmorsean 531.
 ta(i)rmairi 531.
 taivmthecht 530.
 taivmthecto 450.
 taivragire 112, 448.
 taivragirthe 442.
 taivrcel, taivrcel 69, 87, 497.
 taivreo 531.
 taivrae 273, 284, 531.
 taivrae 273, 284, 531.
 taivbenad 117, 506.
 taivceltai 53, 193.
 taivcelhud 53.

taivfenad 508.
 taivfuid 496.
 taiv ipv. 69, 377, 473.
 -taiv indic. 112, 376, 392, 473.
 taiv 169, 209.
 taivbhech 355.
 taivchricc 80.
 taivhuana 271, 478.
 taivhuinadar 499.
 TALAGSI 173.
 talam 129, 211, 221.
 talamant 174.
 tale 376.
 tal 193, 300, 305, 500.
 tal- 54, 345.
 -tal 55, 471.
 -talla 'takes away' 55.
 -talla 'there is room for' 55, 95.
 talman 211.
 talmand(a) 222.
 -tam cop. 485.
 tám 474.
 -tam(a)- inf. pron. 259.
 in tam 105, 316, 552.
 nach tam 552.
 tam(a) 125, 129, 234.
 táin(a)ic(c) 147, 465, 533.
 táin(a)ies 229, 247, 248, 249.
 táincahair 434.
 in táinra 238.
 -tan(n)- 260.
 tanu 234.
 tar 111, 158, 273, 293, 530 f.
 tarachtain 496.
 tarais 273, 284, 501, 531.
 tar(a)isnech 53.
 tar(a)iseo 53.

- tar(a)iasia* 53.
-tarat 53. 535.
fris-tarat 469.
tarb 122.
tarbíd 531.
tarca(h)omáid 519.
tarúad 53. 469.
targabáil 53.
tarla 53.
-tarlaic 532.
tarra- 146. 530 f.
tarra-breicá 531.
tarraí- 531. 533.
tarraí-beir 536.
tarraí-bearr 531.
tarra-mocean 531.
-tarra-thagat 531.
tarra-chóina 496.
tarra-saír 427.
-tarra-star 427.
tarra-chet 497. 533.
tarra 112. 131.
-tarra 35. 245. 469.
-tarraicet 69. 418. 469.
-tarraic 69. 418. 469.
táca 472.
tacaid 53. 77.
-taí- 259.
táth(a)í 271.
táthair 499.
-táthair 369.
táthas 209.
táthbongar 355.
táthuib 271.
táthunn 271. 478.
táthuas 271.
táthúad 271.
-táú 44. 122. 477.
i-táú 477.
taul 52.
taulaic 52.
taulaic 496.
taulaic 496.
té adj. 72. 139. 228.
-tá subj. 37. 110. 392. 467.
m. teagasc 518.
- m. teaglamhadh* 519.
m. teagmháil 519.
teacháil 52.
teacomaocair 425. 432.
teach subst. 49. 83. 84. 178. 216.
as teach superl. 88.
ad-teach 428.
teachad 450. 467.
teachid 136. 353. 411. 429. 450. 467.
teacht 77. 133. 135. 172. 183. 450.
téacht(a) 128.
teacht(a)ire 167. 172.
teachtairéacht 167.
teachtaité 364.
teachté 364.
teachtfaide 362.
teacmaingtheach 222.
-teacmaisia 393.
teacmálad 519.
teacmang 222. 354. 448. 519.
-teacmangat 354.
teacnaic 56.
teacosc 472. 518.
teachtairí 444.
téide 376.
teidmá 100.
no-teidmáic 474.
tee 50. 72. 139. 228.
teig 49. 64. 82. 83. 84. 86. 115. 148. 216.
-téig 36. 472.
teigé 167.
teigleach 64. 82. 146.
teiglig 83.
teiglag 83.
-téig 36. 60.
-téi 37. 110. 391.
do-téi 38. 473.
teicé 57. .
teidm 100. 474.
-téig indie. 38. 361.
na-téig 472.
- no-téigmeis* 371.
teileid 532.
te(i)leaid 532.
teilm 54. 191.
teim 206. 207.
teipereáil 451.
téis (to téit) 364. 391. 472.
-téis (to teichid) 411.
teist 56.
te(i)stia 451. 467.
téit 323. 345. 353. 376. 377. 429. 472. 473.
-téit 376.
for-téit 377.
téit 33.
teí 52.
teicé 52.
teicéas 52.
-tella 'takes away' 55. 345.
-tella 'there is room for' 55. 95.
telma 54. 191.
temel, temal 105.
tempul 108. 568.
Temraic 204.
Temro 204.
Tem(a)ir 204.
ten 206. 207.
ni-téat 152.
teme 32. 54. 59. 140. 206.
temgáil 207.
teng 130.
tengad 130.
teng(a)e 130. 206. 228.
tengtha 205.
tenlach 207.
tennid 439.
téntide 32.
teoir, téoir num. 67. 242. 245.
teoir subst. 568.
teóra 151. 242.
teopaireáil 210. 451.

tearnaimean 210.
 tarc 107, 224.
 tarchann(a)s 442.
 tarchatal 497.
 -targa 473, 532.
 -targam 406.
 tarriseam 452, 497.
 tertcoibedan 249.
 tertperann 249.
 -tís 391.
 -tír 439.
 tearbair 507, 529.
 teabannat 356, 480.
 -teabat 482.
 teabuité 507.
 tea(s) subat. 139, 195.
 tea prep. 536.
 teas 136.
 -teas 411.
 téas 136.
 -teasat 467.
 -teasca 483.
 teasin ipv. 507.
 -teasin 535.
 testa 147, 268, 356, 507.
 testas 168.
 testat 356, 480.
 teste 442, 467.
 testimáin 192.
 té ipv. 376, 472.
 -té 3 ag. 376, 472, 473.
 do-té 112, 345, 377, 473, 533.
 for-té 474, 513.
 im-té 474.
 rami-té 474.
 tetscht 474, 496.
 telarcor 510.
 con-telarrat 377, 455.
 téle 323, 364, 479.
 re-telha[s] 420, 474.
 con-telhaig 425.
 con-telhgatar 425.
 téuir num. 67, 242.

teuir subat. 568.
 nim-té 476.
 nach thain 161.
 thal 300.
 thall 144, 300, 301, [t]halm 79.
 tharmanorcnaib 531.
 tu-thágot 111, 126, 360, 532.
 cia thas 391.
 do-ra-thethaig 425.
 do-thágot 126, 360.
 imin-thimsercheleat 529.
 re-thimant 474.
 du-thinchedar 145.
 dún-thúichúir 145.
 ni-ra-thogaitasam 340.
 nim-thorgaité 340.
 no-thorinigiur 316.
 thórúthar 29, 314.
 thorum, thorum 273.
 thré 557.
 fo thri 250.
 thúaid 144.
 tiach subat. 566, 568.
 tiach ipv. 373, 472.
 tiag ipv. 329, 373, 472.
 -tiag indie. 376, 472.
 tiag(a)ú 363, 472.
 tiagar 328, 472.
 -tiagat 36, 60, 472.
 tiagu 36, 82, 110, 115, 133, 362, 376, 388, 410, 450, 472, 473, 525, 530.
 Tiandae 573.
 tiandae 573.
 tíar 306.
 tiarmoracht 455.
 tías 364, 391.
 tías- 136.
 -tías 391, 473.
 tíastá 390.

-tíbé 405, 532.
 -tíbéra 469.
 -tíbérad 405.
 -tíbéra 405.
 -tíbéraia 405.
 con-tíbi 88, 397, 535.
 -tíbe 405.
 -tíbrad 405.
 tic, -tic(c) 171, 346, 354, 451, 465, 532.
 ticktu 171, 209, 211, 451, 465.
 ticcál 455.
 con-tífa 88, 397, 503.
 tíge 49, 77, 83, 178, 216.
 tíget 167.
 tígib 84.
 tígú 105, 233.
 tílaid 52.
 tílchais 52.
 im-tínc[h]e/fam 75, 397.
 (im)-tínc[h]ella 75, 351.
 timmargad 374.
 timmort(a)s 441.
 fo-timmdírúit 377.
 timdiracht 455.
 timmort(a)s 441, 517.
 tínn(a)s 94, 449.
 timore 374.
 tímpre 94.
 tímhéreché 65.
 tímhéreché 65, 69, 455.
 tímhéreché 69, 455.
 tínnid 474.
 tínni 379.
 tínnose 472, 518.
 tínnorcan 519, 529.
 tínnocul 93, 452.
 tínnogur 533.
 tínged 21, 134, 447.
 tíngeste 443, 444.

naife 378, 393, 430, 443.
naife 134.
-naib 383, 519.
naimeagus 454.
naimeacul 93.
in-tia(n)scam(n)s 351, 448, 519.
naic 448, 470.
naic/áthar 470.
naiphe 21, 134, 447.
-naiscam(n)s 351.
naiscéal 452.
-naicéib 386.
naicid 447.
naicéib 21, 519.
naicéib 21.
naiphe 451.
na 39, 148, 175.
-na 406, 473, 532.
naim 39.
naicéib 175.
na 305, 522.
na(s)at 465.
naicéib 474, 496.
-naicéib 467.
na-naicéib 23, 152.
na 47, 227, 233.
-naicéib 109, 394.
naicéib 138.
naicéib 187.
naic 166.
na-naic 449.
na(n)icéib 356, 428, 455.
naicéib 455.
naicéib 455.
naicéib 138.
to prep. 111, 146, 495, 506, 531 f.
to, té possess. 73, 111, 276 f. 281.
tó 'yes' 32, 110, 286, 541.
-tó (to *-tá*) 122.
-tó (to *toigid*) 392, 467.

to-naicéib 355.
tóire 40.
as-toicéib 509.
con-toat 376.
-toib 260.
toicéib 447.
tó(a)s 41, 448, 511, 532.
tóicéib 441.
toicéib 171.
to-bong 355.
toicéib 23, 105, 106, 128, 128, 231.
toicéib 526.
toicéib(i) 52, 69.
toicéib 105, 106.
To Chlannu 111.
toicéib(m) 111, 453, 536.
con-toicéib 27, 423.
-toicéib 345.
toicéib 446, 470.
toicéib 454.
toicéib 470.
-toicéib 393, 474.
toicéib 532.
toicéib 107.
toicéib 77.
toicéib 77.
-toicéib 393, 474.
do-tóicéib 409, 413, 474.
-toicéib 409, 474.
-toicéib 260.
toicéib(n) 447, 467.
toicéib 375, 464.
toicéib 23, 126.
toicéib 217.
toicéib 453.
toicéib 446.
-toicéib 531, 535.
toicéib 446.
toicéib 171.
To-Giallóic 174.
toicéib 65.
toicéib 453.

toicéib 217, 436, 455, 464, 525.
toicéib 376.
con-toicéib 532.
toicéib 338.
-toicéib 355.
toicéib 85.
in-toicéib 385.
toicéib 43.
as-toicéib 496.
toicéib 184, 187.
toicéib 441.
toicéib 62, 67, 196.
toicéib 442, 466.
toicéib 67, 209, 451, 466.
-toicéib 355, 446, 467.
-toicéib 394.
a toicéib 23.
toicéib 159.
toicéib 196.
toicéib 43, 98, 234.
toicéib 234.
toicéib 234.
toicéib 234.
toicéib 234.
toicéib 234.
-toicéib 532.
as-toicéib 88, 497.
toicéib 534.
toicéib 184, 187.
tó(a)s 212, 449.
-tom 259.
tomad 448.
tomad 453.
tomad 196.
tomad 448.
tomad 450, 466.
tomad 28.
ar-as-tomad 28.
-tomad 67.
-tomad 69, 384.
-tomad 69.
tomad 448.
tomad 62, 67, 106, 195, 196, 450, 531.

- ton 260.
 tón 220.
 tond-schommuclúir 532.
 tongid 345, 355, 388, 425, 431, 446, 467, 512, 514.
 tongu 362.
 tons 174.
 tonnait 174.
 toot 69.
 topur 108, 526.
 torad 196.
 toraib 273.
 -toraib 345, 355, 393.
 tor(a)isneck 53.
 tor(a)ise 53.
 tor(a)isniu 53.
 torb(a)s 166, 449, 529.
 -torbais 345, 394.
 -torban 529.
 torbata 166.
 -torbogat 345.
 -torchair 474.
 -torchar 437, 474.
 -torcharlar 437.
 -torcharlar 437.
 torerad 169.
 torpaba 314.
 torpabál 53.
 torpabál(a)s 441.
 ni-torpabá 340.
 ..TORRAS 188.
 -torraigiar 105.
 tórmasch 447, 466, 532.
 tórmasch(a)s 441, 466.
 -tórmaig 535.
 -tórmasis 465.
 -tórmaslar 410, 465.
 -tórmaslar 340.
 -tórmasl 423.
 -toros 420.
 asa-torvimed 112.
 tost 101.
 torténe 101.
 -tortkaiser 393, 474.
 -tortkaiser 393, 419, 474.
 torud 196.
 torun(n) 273.
 torut 273, 281, 531.
 ni-toruli 33.
 -torulud 53.
 -torulid 53, 77.
 toru 178.
 no-torugochtaigthea 371.
 -toruoch 83, 178, 526.
 -toruam 395.
 -toru(s)at 467.
 -toruoch 178.
 -torugod 63.
 -toruoch 83, 178.
 -toruig 83, 178.
 -torun 447.
 -tot 259.
 totb(a)im(m) 453, 474, 531.
 Totbal 40.
 totbla 100.
 -totent 393, 474.
 to-uc(c)- 345.
 TOVIRACH 43, 49.
 tra (= tara) 531.
 trá 25, 30, 557 f.
 -tráchta 575.
 tráchtaid 567.
 traig 60, 205.
 traigeddub 205.
 traiglethan 205.
 traist 54.
 tráth 558.
 tre prep. 145, 272, 293, 533 f.
 tre num. 193, 242, 246.
 tre-, tré 242, 246, 249.
 treb 100, 544.
 trebliadain 244.
 trecativ 534.
 trechmál(a)s 219, 242.
 -trecht 536.
 -trechtim 534.
 -treche 222, 242, 243.
 -trechenas 242.
 tree (tré) 272, 284, 533.
 -treptas 534.
 -treis(s)e 167, 236, 250.
 -treit 54.
 -treit(t)ell 125.
 -treim 148, 534.
 -treimamaisoch 534.
 -treimthe 534.
 -treimligadar 534.
 -treim-thait 533.
 -treimfeidligadar 536.
 -treimfeidiget 534.
 -treim- 257, 531, 533.
 -treim-beir 536.
 -treim-beir 531.
 -treim-feidligadar 536.
 -trein 38, 167, 224, 235.
 TREINAGUSU 197.
 TREINAGUSU 197.
 tree 273, 284.
 -treod(a)s 222.
 -treos 145.
 -treos 312, 533.
 -treos-m-bi 313.
 -treos 145, 533.
 -treosid- 239.
 -treosinda-bia 259.
 -treosindippiat 264.
 -treosithir 235.
 -treos(s) 248, 249.
 -treos 167, 235, 236.
 -treosam 235.
 -treosall 534.
 -treu (tréu) 273, 284.
 -tri prep. 145, 158, 272, 293, 533 f.
 -tri prep. 34.

- tuiseach 43.
tuiste 171.
tuistid 171.
tuistiu 451. 526.
-tuit 351. 474. 512.
do-tuit 351. 393.
409. 453. 474.
533.
(con)-tuist 474.
tuil 52.
tulach 52.
-tullator 431.
-tullator 431. 473.
-tum- 259.
Tu-Medde 174.
TUNOCHTACE 126.
tunga 362.
turbáil 341. 455.
526.
-turgab 341.
turgab(h)(a)s 441.
-turgab 535.
tusa, tusa 263.
tussa 253. 281.
tu-théog 111. 532.
- ua subst. 44. 151.
u-a prep. + rel.
312. 524.
úa, úa prep. 40.
145. 162. 274.
293. 524.
úabar 108.
úabla 524.
fod-úacair 512. 526.
úachter 170. 391.
522. 527.
úacht-orta 164.
úad, úad 40. 274.
285. 524.
úad- 524.
ro-úad-ro 426.
úadab 274.
úadairbertach 524.
úade 274. 285.
úaderet 524.
úadfiachthá 524.
- úadl 274. 285. 524.
úadl 274.
úacare 58.
(h)úacab 274.
úacabrech 108.
(h)úacid 274. 285.
-úacid pret. 426. 466.
(h)úacidib 274. 285.
524.
úail 90.
úailbeu 165.
úail 90.
(h)úaim(m) 274.
524.
(h)úain vb. n. 454.
466.
(h)úain(n) 274. 282.
úair 20.
úair 236. 527.
(h)úai(i)ae 275.
úaislem 234.
úaisleu 165.
úaislimam 234.
úaisliu 56.
úaissem 236.
(h)úait 40. 274. 281.
282. 524.
ia-úait 393. 474.
525.
úaithe 40. 104. 243.
con-úaisai 420.
Ualard 572.
úaitib 165.
úail 90.
úama 108.
úamus 41.
úan 'lamb' 137.
(h)úan 'loan' 79.
454. 466.
úanaofachaidib 295.
(h)úan(n) 274. 282.
úar subst. 41. 159.
316. 559.
úar adj. 79.
(h)úarab 161.
(h)úare 40. 316. 559.
con-n-úargab 340.
con-úargabad 525.
- úas, úas 40. 162.
170. 275. 522.
527.
úasa 61. 275. 527.
úasal, úasal 19.
103. 136. 165.
225. 234. 522.
Úasalatkrackaib
204.
Úasalatkrug 204.
Úasallieig 69.
úasa 275.
úasa 61. 275. 284.
527.
(h)úasa(s)ab 275.
úasua 275. 527.
úasua 275.
úasua 275.
úath, uath gen. 206.
úath 41.
úathad 40. 77. 104.
221. 243.
úathad(a)s 221.
úathath 41.
úathasailcthae 524.
úath 32.
úathruic 220.
u prep. 524.
-u vb. 103.
ro-u 468.
cotab-uabar 378.
con-uacab 263.
con-uabad 525.
da-uabaid 397.
ucc 524.
-uccai 468.
-uccai 103.
do-u(cc)a(i) 469.
dud-uccai 419.
ro-u(cc)a(i) 468.
roda-uccai 419.
da-uccai 19.
uccu 217. 526.
ucht 48.
uchthann 218.
-uccat 103.
uccat 300.
udba 48.

ug(a)s 216.
 úgair 45.
 uic ipr. 468.
 -uic 103.
 -uic(e) 468, 469.
 -uicci 103.
 -uiccius 468.
 do-uicced 464.
 -uicced 103.
 u(i)dir 74.
 do-uidmen 356.
 uidre 74.
 u(i)le, Auile 19, 225.
 229, 297.
 dia n-uile-marbas
 347.
 uilen 47.
 u(i)ll 161.
 uilliu, Auilliu 48.
 233.
 uilt 569.
 (A)uinnias 211.
 uinniu 211.
 uird(d), uirt (úirt)
 48, 575.
 uisco 173.
 uisgne 18.
 Auisco 19.
 uisniu 233.

uith 206.
 uithir 74, 100.
 UICAGNUS 173.
 UICAGNI 173.
 ule 229.
 nis-n-ule-mairbfe
 241.
 Auli 225.
 um(a)s 47, 222.
 um(a)ide 81, 222.
 Aumaithe 81.
 (h)umaldóit 20, 186.
 566.
 únach 504, 526.
 uug(a)s 103, 175.
 185, 567, 568.
 uugniat 175.
 dud-uocaster,
 dud-uocstar 124.
 471.
 upaid 51.
 ur 498.
 iun-uicid 52.
 úr(a)igedar 337.
 m. urchóideach 377.
 urd(d), urt (úrt) 48.
 d'nn-urid 52.
 uroca 173.

us- prep. 72, 344.
 495, 512, 525 f.
 út 300.
 ar-uising 356, 410.
 447, 498, 535.
 con-uising 108, 447.
 463, 525.
 ar-uisis 410.
 ar-uisingar 356.
 con-uisingar 368.
 iud uisall 238.
 con-uisine 108, 356.
 447, 463, 525.
 con-uising 356, 431,
 444.

VELITAS 58.
 VOTECORIGAS 571.

Scottish Gaelic

agayg 518.
 faob 134.
 fróg 246.
 Ghidhig 1.

Britannie

See p. 2 l. 35f. o. = Old Britannie. cal. = Caledonian.

o. Abona 213.
 annel 521.
 anae 521.
 cal. 'Apyrriúcofos
 136.
 o. Areclata 498.
 o. Faßparr-o-uicow
 174.
 cepister 566.
 ci 58.
 decimint 566.

o. Eboracum 47.
 o. Gabro-senti 79.
 120, 139.
 o. Gibernio 209.
 guas 50.
 guo- 139, 513.
 guor 513.
 iach 39.
 ie 522.
 iael 522.
 wap 93, 137.

mod 566.
 na 542.
 nac, way 542.
 nep 311.
 prena 50.
 scribenn 566.
 strofur 566.
 tan 140.
 tír 39.
 trí 193.

Welsh

Middle and Modern Welsh are not indicated. o. = Old Welsh.

- achaus* 568.
addiant 122.
adwy 122.
aeth 135. 422.
aethost 434.
afnach 543.
afnaffar 543.
afnoeth 543.
afon 213.
afroydd 543.
agos 72. 549.
allmor 565.
alfro 309.
am 517.
o. amal 501.
an 283.
anodl 32. 35.
andaw 521.
ar 499.
aradr 70.
arall 309.
arbennig 223.
arh 131.
argywydd 377.
arh 116. 131.
arwyne 526.
o. ar 497.
atf 497.
atware(i)at 372.
atweuost 434.
awel 125.

bach 93.
bachgen 93.
ban 130.
banw 122.
bedydd 571.
bedyddig 571.
beris 122.
bint 481.
bit 481.
bleyddyn 189.
blwydd 189.

bradas 416.
brifant 208.
brithyn 93.
briwaut 208.
brithod 169.
o. briwaut 398.
bro 48.
brwydr 100.
brwyn 41.
brych 135.
bu 483.
bugail 40.
buost 434.
burne 134.
buy 502.
bychan 93. 135.
bydawot, bydawut
 483.
byddaf 122. 481.
 482.
byddar 74.
byddin 103.
byrgawd, byrgwys
 134.
byth 231.
bythawt 483.
bye 45. 117. 125.

cabhyd 569.
cael 455.
cafael 455.
capell, kappell 567.
caine 135.
cam, camm 94. 130.
 453.
can 501.
canfod 501.
cant 114. 127.
cant vb. 422.
o. cant prep. 501.
cardod 172.

cardatai 172.
o. card 61. 121.
carfan 135.
caru 119.
cateir 569.
cathl 70. 127. 451.
cabystr 566.
ceffyl 567.
cegin 48.
ceiling 103.
ceint 422.
celein 89.
ceuedl 32.
o. ceuedl 79.
o. ceudhlat 170.
cerenydd 169.
cer(h)ych 398.
ci 124.
ciglen 425.
cil 42.
o. ciuit 325.
cladd 61.
clawt 454.
coech 93.
coeg, coeg-ddall 43.
coes 136.
colles 416.
cowein 503.
craf 82.
credadwy 444.
credu 48. 91.
creir 74.
o. creitr 79.
o. creiwaut 398.
cu, cuod 292.
cyf 504.
cyfranc 126.
kymerth, kymyrth
 422.
kyndabot 237.
cyst 249.
cyntaf 249.
cywedd 128.
cyt 325.

cywaer 98. 503.
cywaer 123.
cywely 123.
cywir 123.

chwacer 124.
chwant 572.
chwach 247.
chwachet 250.
chwadl 101.
chwi 282.
chwiorydd 124.
chwythtu 134.

da 54. 230.
dant 109. 127.
dar 116.
darogan 497.
o. dadl 79.
dau 124.
de 54.
deg 114.
degot 250.
degwn 566.
derwen 116.
o. di 506.
diant 195.
diabryd 526.
dieu 217.
dirfawr 528.
diwedd 125. 504.
do 542.
doe 117.
o. dou 44. 182.
draig 58.
druc 230.
drwy 534.
drychapel, drychapel
 526.
drythyll 135.
du 42.
dued y nos 237.
dupost 434.
dy 111. 281.
dy- 533.
dydd 217.

dynu 116.
dynnau 435.
dynodlynt 365.
dyw llun 217.

efydd 47.
ephrys 70. 568.
egyddor 567.
ehauc 203.
ehafyn 544.
eiddau, eidi 285.
eil 249. 309.
airin 75.
eistedd 128.
eithyr, eithr 507.
elestr 120.
eli 54.
elin 47.
eloch 52.
erchie 416.
erall 119.
eryr 104.
eu 285.
evain 124. 130. 138.
ewythr 58.

vai 501.
fy 281.

ffa 571.
ffenestr 571.
ffer 139.
ffreyll 571.
ffraen 41. 572.
ffrad 41. 120. 572.
ffraeg 571.
ffust 571.
ffwrn 571.

gacaf 116.
gacafrawd 169.
gafael 455.
gafr 79. 139.

gan 501.
gann- 129. 353.
ganno 353.
garauys 588.
garm 453.
genni 353.
gau 44.
gloew 124. 227.
glynaf 356.
gne 216.
go- 513.
gotr, gotruy 222.
godeb 571.
godhauad 429. 435.
goffynn 557.
gotud 66.
gor- 513.
gori 115.
grawn 131.
grauys 568.
grug 123.
o. guorant 435.
grwa- 513.
grwccaf 452.
grweth 238.
guarant 435.
gwelst 434.
gweddu 68. 123.
gwelst 479.
gwell 236.
gwely 123.
gwemp 192.
gwennat gwennoc
 237.
gwen 521.
gwin 572.
gwir 123.
gwirion 569.
gwlad 123.
gwladoc 193.
gwlad 123.
gwladydd 193.
gwraf 111.
gwro 111.
gwron 367.
guer 515.
guraudaw 521.
gurus, gurus 130.

- guyák* 515.
guyáchi 572.
guyádd 511.
guyá(y)at 372.
guyáí 568.
guyámp 192.
guyáfyá 195.
guyá 372, 436.
guyárá 572.
guyáí 132.
- had* 35.
hadíe 569.
hadíed 169.
hadí 237.
hadíe 237.
hadíed 237.
hadíe 203.
hadíe 217.
hadíed 239, 501.
hadí 122.
hadí 118.
hadíed 167.
hadí, had 530.
o. hadíam 236.
o. hadí 524.
hadí 140.
hadí 37, 236.
hadí 231.
hadí 126, 239.
hadí-guyádd 104.
- ia* 54, 122.
iach 39.
ia 236.
ia 122.
o. ía cover 239.
o. ía 233.
ia 236.
o. ía 324.
o. ía 364.
o. ía 511.
íad 212.
íat 39.
- hachar* 139.
hadíar 52, 569.
y hadí 309.
hadí 427, 453.
hadí 119, 125, 247.
hadí 131.
hadí 58.
hadí 370.
hadí 120.
hadí, hadí 178.
hadí, hadí 236.
hadí 364.
hadí 38, 124.
hadí 40.
hadí 131, 136.
hadí 118.
hadí 117.
hadí 206.
hadí 124.
- had* 93.
hadí 42.
hadí 134.
hadí 501.
hadí 119.
hadí 129.
hadí 36.
hadí 167.
hadí 79.
hadí 171.
hadí 127, 186.
hadí 574.
hadí 573.
hadí 281.
hadí 281.
hadí 128.
hadí subat. 48, 195.
hadí advb. 241.
hadí 568.
hadí subat. 51.
hadí (w. equative)
 237.
hadí, hadí
 79.
hadí 49.
- hadí* 542.
- na ddo* 542.
na 542.
na 542.
na 247.
na 250.
na 49.
na 542.
na 50, 139.
na 218.
na 204.
na 236, 237.
na 236.
(cym)-na 237.
na vb. part. 348.
na 'or' 551.
na 45, 118.
na 282.
na 80.
na 139.
na 80.
na 568.
na 135.
na 542.
na 153.
na 153.
na 288.
na 134.
na 80.
- o* 524.
o 48, 134.
o 137.
o 79.
o 43.
o 41.
o 559.
o 568.
- pan* 289.
pan 570.
o. pan 311.
pan 571.
pan 246.
pan 247.
pan 137.
pan 87.

penn 47.
 pennoch 219.
 penwyn 218.
 penyd 569.
 o. petguar 114, 124.
 petheared 250.
 petwryd, -weryd
 250.
 peullaur 569.
 peunosth 135.
 piben 570.
 o. pimp 139, 246.
 o. pipenn 570.
 plant 567, 570.
 pregatâ 573.
 prein 93.
 o. prenter, printer
 137.
 pridd 206.
 pryd 137.
 pryda 137.
 prydysd 137.
 Prydyn 137.
 pryf 137.
 prymaf 379.
 prymasid 417.
 prynu 137.
 o. pui 292.
 pwy bynnog 292.
 pwyll 132.
 py 502.
 pydaw 668.
 pymhet 250.
 pynwoni 247.
 pyr 289.

 rhad 131.
 rhain, rhianedd
 189.
 rhin 42.
 rhyd 169.
 rhudd 40.
 ry 347.
 rhy 138.
 rhy four 528.

rhygryg 49.

 Sois 58.
 sarnu 356.
 o. scamahegiat 138.
 sgyrffyc 567.
 seith 139.
 seithnos 250.
 seran 133.
 o. serr 95.
 o. strath 133.
 sydd 324.

 tafant 130.
 taith 133, 135.
 tan 207.
 tarw 122.
 taw 44.
 teir 246.
 teithi 128.
 tenau 125.
 terfysg 531.
 o. termiscatcion
 531.
 tes 139.
 teu 281.
 tew 47.
 teui 521.
 teyrnos 168.
 ti 281.
 trawst 596.
 trech 236.
 tri 115.
 trindod 566, 574.
 tro 135.
 trot 135.
 trostan, trosten 566.
 tru 40, 133.
 o. trui 534.
 trum 135.
 trwy 534.
 try 534.
 trydell 534.
 trydydd 200.

trythgŵl 135.
 tud 40.
 tywysog 43.

 uch 236, 527.
 uchaf 236.
 uchel 103, 136.
 uchenaid 526.
 uffyllod 506.
 upaint 247.
 un 43.
 uwad 39.

 uwae, uwag 525.
 (ni) unedg 365.
 wrth 515.
 wy 283.
 wŷr 516.
 wyl 484.
 wylâ 114, 135, 162.

 y possess. 285.
 y prep. 580.
 yd (y) 324 f.
 ydywch, ydych 484.
 ym- 517.
 y-m galwir 324.
 ya, y^a 521.
 yst 111.
 yn caer 239.
 yr 499.
 ythyddad 204.
 ygar 114.
 ystia 114.
 ystyrfen 566.
 ystrin 568.
 ysit 299.
 ysyt 324.
 ysylg 133.
 ystrodwr 566.
 ystyr 569.
 ysyruceth 236.

Cornish

o. = Old Cornish; see p. 2 l. 12.

o. <i>alor</i> 565.	o. <i>diot</i> 195.	<i>grounder, pronter</i>
o. <i>amenen</i> 130.	o. <i>doy</i> 117.	137.
an def. art. 111. 293.	<i>dre</i> 534.	<i>pyw</i> 292.
an possess. 283.	<i>dynes</i> 195.	o. <i>scriuinist</i> 170.
o. <i>ason</i> 213.	o. <i>en</i> 293.	<i>seith</i> 569.
<i>bedaff</i> 482.	o. <i>fer</i> 139.	<i>seithun</i> 569.
<i>by</i> 231.	<i>gans</i> 501.	<i>soweth</i> 238.
<i>byth</i> 231.	<i>gorth-</i> 515.	<i>stern</i> 133.
<i>bythaf</i> 482.	o. <i>gubiana</i> 572.	<i>sythyn</i> 569.
<i>bythqueth</i> 231.	<i>guraf</i> 111.	<i>tanow</i> 125.
<i>cans</i> 501.	<i>iach</i> 39.	<i>worth</i> 515.
<i>caradow</i> 444.	o. <i>iat</i> 39.	<i>y</i> 285.
<i>ken</i> 501.	<i>mar</i> 237.	<i>yd</i> (<i>yth</i> , <i>y</i>) 324.
<i>da</i> 239.	<i>naw</i> 247.	<i>yn</i> 521.
<i>de</i> 506.	<i>ogas</i> 549.	<i>ynis</i> 239.
<i>dewes</i> 195.	<i>orth</i> 515.	<i>ynre</i> 511.

Breton

Middle and Modern Breton are not indicated. o. = Old Breton.

o. <i>aior</i> 567.	<i>bihan</i> 93.	<i>crosser</i> 79.
o. <i>air</i> 79.	<i>biscous</i> 231.	<i>da</i> 'good' 54. 230.
<i>all</i> 309.	<i>boem</i> 453.	<i>da</i> 'thy' 111.
<i>amans</i> 130.	<i>bong, bonk</i> 92.	<i>da</i> prep. 506.
an 111. 293.	<i>bouzar</i> 74.	o. <i>daer</i> 78.
<i>anaton</i> 214.	<i>kael</i> 567.	<i>decast</i> 291.
<i>ankow</i> 127.	<i>kalet</i> 103.	<i>deis</i> 217.
o. <i>ans</i> 129.	<i>camblit</i> 569.	o. <i>dermorion</i> 528.
o. <i>arimret</i> 435.	<i>karem</i> 118.	<i>diot</i> 195.
<i>ason, avas</i> 213.	<i>kamps</i> 574.	o. <i>do</i> 506.
<i>bader</i> 571.	<i>kanont</i> 361.	<i>dre</i> 534.
o. <i>bann</i> 130.	<i>cauret des</i> 237.	<i>drouk</i> 230.
<i>benaff</i> 256. 379.	<i>kental</i> 127.	<i>e</i> 285.
<i>benaff</i> 481.	<i>kerh-eg</i> 170.	<i>edouch</i> 484.
<i>benaz</i> 481.	<i>korais</i> 569.	<i>eil</i> 249. 309.
<i>bezgoaz, bezcoaz</i> 231.	<i>c'houi</i> 282.	
o. <i>bibid</i> 124.	<i>koulm</i> 101.	

Gaulish (and Gallo-Latin)

- Alisana* 181.
 (in) *Alisina* 188.
 (in) *Alisiz* 188.
Allobrogas 201.
Allobrogos 309.
allos 180. 249. 309.
 Ἀλλοβρογοί 517.
Ambitostus 517.
Andecamulos 180.
 521.
Anderoudus 40. 521.
Andetogiriz 521.
Ando-, Andu- 521-2.
Andecouvaße 182.
 ANEXTLOMARTS
 113. 452.
Anualonacou 181.
are 498.
Arabrigum 498.
Aremorici 51.
Aremoricus 498.
Armoricus 498.
Artio 116.
artuas 189.
Atedodus 500.
Atcingus 500.
Atignatus 500.
Ateknati Trutikni
 181.
 ATEXTORIC 135.
Atrebates 171.

Bannus, Banno 122.
Betoregas 201.
 Βηλορεγαί 188.
Bibracte 168.
bicartant 364.
Bitarigas 201.
Bitarigis 46.
Blätomagus 36.
Bodiocasses 51.
Boduogenus,
Boduognatus 123.
 Βοδοου-δε 198. 505.
- Briccus, Briccus*
 135.
Brigindoni 188. 200.
Briunton 110. 193.
Brogimarus 48.
Buscilla 187.

Caeracates 203.
caerocordion 110.
cantalou 110.
caurra 181.
Cantli 181.
Cantios 180.
Carantius, Caran-
tillus 119. 208.
Carantodius, -odia
 222.
casano 172.
casidani 181.
casidanno 182.
catilus 58. 181.
Catur(r)igas 201.
Catuslugi 40.
cellicnon 110. 180.
Centumnia 249.
Cernunnos 180.
 (Marti) *Cicollui*
 181.
Cingetorix 49. 146.
Cintu- 73.
Cintugenus 249.
Cintugnatus 249.
Cintusmus 249.
Conceisli 132.
Covirus, -coviras
 123.
curmi 192.
Cutios 180.

 (curmi) *de* 58. 374.
Dagodurnus 54.
 218.
Dagomarus 54.
- Dannotali* 181.
decametos 180.
dele 428.
 DECAMETOS 250.
Déacopelta 36.
 DIVERTOMV,
 DIVORTOMV 452.
druides 43.
Dubis 42.
Dubuo- 70. 118.
Dubnoreix 46. 118.
duci 501. 506.
dupliontiis 323.
 328. 364.
Dumno- 118.
Dumnorix 46.
Durati 231.

elo 285.
Eburomagus 47.
Elaontia 181.
Eporodorus 170.
Equi 181.
Egnos 180.
Ερωγορι Βλαδι-
ουκωνται 188.
Ερωγορουξ 110.
esoz, esocem 50. 203.
essedum 128.
eti-c 549.
Excingus 509.
Exobnus 509. 544.
Exomnus 544.
Exuertini 508.

Frontu 58.

gabi 374.
gabromagus 79. 139.
gacsum 43.
 Γαυόστας, Γαυόσται
 43.
 Γαλάται 171.

Glamon 115.
glatum 95.
gnatha 187.
Gobannilo 209.
gobebbi 182, 201.

Iantabus 122.
Iantumarus 122.
 127.

Icaunos 180.
Ientumarus 122.
ia (*Alixie*) 521.
Interambes 511.
Iouinca, Iouincillus
 122.
isax 203.

lat 35.
legasit 417.
liuot 357.
Litana silua 131.
litano 138.
Litanobriga 131.
lokan 110, 187.
Loucoriacos 206.
(localhus) Luciacus
 222.
Lucoticonos 174.
Lucotios 206.
Lugoues 198.
Lugouibus 199.
LVKTOS 197.

Magala 181.
Magurix 50.
Mackarroui 181.
Maiciu 58.
Māro, -māros,
-marus 36, 52.
Marzialus 230.
Martialis 192.
marrebo 182.
Meliasus 47.

Mocco 48.
(Mercurius) Moccus
 48, 195.
moni 374.
Morini 51.
Moritasgus 123.

Namauarus 171, 192.
Namauicaabo 182.
 189.

NAMET[os] 250.
Nantoniconos 174.
nata 187.
note 181.
neptos 110, 180.
Nertomarus 218.
Neuiodunum 45.
Noviacum castrum
 222.
Neuiodunum 45.
 230.
Noviomagus 118.

ocioamv 432.
Ogromi 79.
(Matribus) Ollototis 40, 48.
Oppidaniconos 174.
 180.
Orpocomescui 100.
Oialāda 59.
Ouarāllio 180.
Oūfēllio 126.
Oūfōrām 236.
OKTYMETO[s] 135,
 250.

Pennelocos 51, 197.
Penne-sandos 46, 47.
 75, 218.
Petra-corii 247.
petruccamelo 247.
PISSEKOS 139, 250.
prems 50.

ratia 110, 192.
Rālenus 36.
(Mart) Rigisamo
 172, 236.
Rigomagus 146, 201.
ris 528.
lro 530.
Ro-talus 530.
Rondius 40.

Segomari 181.
Sergomarus Ouilāwenos
 180.
Seuister 233.
SEXTAMETOS 139.
 250.
so-sin 293, 304.
so-sio 304.
Succarius, -ia 231.
SVEXOS 250.
suiorede 182.
(REKTYGENOS)
SVILLIAS 188.
Suvatus 231.

tararou 197.
Tarapucanus 197.
TAVROS 122.
Tasgetios 133.
Tasgillus 133.
te 281.
teuandō 201.
teuandō-cho 182.
Toutates 40.
tīdros 246.
tiaro 193.
to 281.
toni 304.
toctouos 197.
Toutatigenus 40.
(Matribus Ollototis)
 40.
(Mart) Toutati 40.
Toutissianos 174.
 180.

<i>Toutodiviciis</i> 40.	<i>Uassoria, uassus</i>	<i>Ueringatoris</i> 513.
<i>Toutillus</i> 40.	50.	<i>uercobrato</i> 182.
<i>tri</i> 193.	<i>Ucauda</i> 193.	<i>Uernacum</i> 170.
<i>trianis</i> 189. 193.	<i>Ucaetia</i> 110. 192.	<i>uimpi</i> 192.
TRICONTES 247.	193.	<i>Uiribus</i> 180.
<i>Trogus</i> 40.	<i>Uelada, Uelada</i> 69.	<i>Uoretourius</i> 513.
<i>Troupillus</i> 40.	<i>Ueragri</i> 79.	<i>Uzelledunum</i> 136.
<i>tuddus, tuððos</i> 58.	<i>Uercassiuellaunus</i>	
181.	513.	

NON-CELTIC LANGUAGES

Sanskrit¹	<i>ápa</i> 513.	<i>cáśaraś</i> 246.
	<i>upári</i> 514.	<i>catodraś</i> 124.
	<i>ṛjāś</i> 119.	<i>chāḍāti</i> 114.
	<i>śhāś</i> 116.	
<i>aiśā</i> 322.	<i>śi</i> 473.	<i>śajśāda</i> 428.
<i>ājati</i> 35.	<i>śhāś</i> 285.	<i>śāḍāte</i> 129. 354.
<i>andāti</i> 117.	<i>śyām</i> 285.	<i>śigāśmāti</i> 414.
<i>ānāś</i> 25. 337.		<i>śhāśāte</i> 415.
<i>antār</i> 510.	<i>śāśāś</i> 136.	<i>tāpanti</i> 129.
<i>āpi</i> 518.	<i>śhāś</i> 137.	<i>tāva</i> 281.
<i>āśhā</i> 517.	<i>śhāś, śhā</i> 282.	<i>tāś</i> 531.
<i>ay-ām</i> 283.	<i>śhāśāti</i> 137. 356.	<i>tāśhāti</i> 337.
<i>āśhāś</i> 124.	<i>śhāś</i> 116.	<i>tāśāś</i> 246.
<i>a-śarit</i> 437.	<i>śhāśāti</i> 134.	<i>tāśāś</i> 250.
<i>āśrot</i> 387.		<i>tāśāśim</i> 44.
<i>āśhā</i> 182.	<i>śhāś</i> 40.	<i>tāśāś</i> 250.
<i>āśhā</i> 114. 135.	<i>śhāśān-</i> 211.	<i>tāśāś</i> 131.
182.	<i>śhāśāś</i> 130.	<i>tā</i> 281.
<i>āśya</i> 283. 285.		<i>tāś</i> 304.
<i>āśhāś</i> 285.	<i>śhāśmāś</i> 115.	<i>tāśāś</i> 115.
<i>āśhā</i> 285.	<i>śhāśmāś</i> 130.	
<i>ā</i> 285.		<i>dāda</i> 114.
<i>āndāśā</i> 426.		
<i>āśā</i> 325.	<i>ca</i> 549.	
<i>ud-</i> 526.		

¹ ved. = Vedic.

dasamāḥ 250.
dāmyati 118.
dāru 116.
dāruṇāḥ 46.
died 217.
dṛghāḥ 353.
dadyāḥ 182.
dau 44, 124.

dāyati 116.

naḥ 282.
naptāḥ 139.
nāpāḥ 118.
nābhāḥ 117.
nāma 213.
nā 523.
nāḥ, -ām 134.
nājanam 116.
nauḥ, nāvāḥ 44.
nābhāḥ 135.
nāśām 130.
nagnāḥ 135.

pañca 139.
pañcathāḥ 250.
pāri 499.
partā-ḥ 499.
pīḥ 35.
pīḥ 38, 117, 353.
pīḥ 39.
pa 138, 530.
purāḥ, purā 498.
purāḥ 138.
pūrṇāḥ 131.
pṛthāḥ 131.
pṛthāḥ 135.
prāyāḥ 237.

badhiraḥ 74.
buddhā 434.
bṛhātī, bṛhātīyāḥ
187.
brāḥ, āruvāḥ 199.

bhāṇḍāḥ 130.
bhāṇḍāḥ 117.

bhāṇḍāḥ 92.
bhṛtāḥ 130.
bhṛtāḥ 127.

mādhū 116.
mānyatī 129, 354.
mā 231.
māḥ 118.
māḥ, mānyam 39.
māḥ 356.

yaḥ 323.
yāḥ 122.
yuvāḥ 122.

rātām 127.
rātāḥ 116.

lāghatī 426.
lāḥ 356.

naḥ 282.
vāṇḍāḥ 131.
vā 551.
vāḥ 436.
ved. vāḥ 436.
vāḥ 68.
vāḥ 38, 357.
vāḥ 131.
vāḥ 436.

śāḥ 135.
śāḥ 114, 127.
śāḥ 357.
śāḥ 357.
śāḥ 91.
352.
śāḥ 216.
śāḥ 46.
śāḥ 454.
śāḥ 58.

sa, sā 304.
sāḥ 116.
sāḥ 118.
sāḥ 111.
sāḥ 250.
sāḥ 285.

stīḥ 115, 133.
stīḥ 115.
stīḥ- 133.
stī, stī 304.
stīḥ 41.
stīḥ 120.
stīḥ 124.
stīḥ 353.

stīḥ 117.

Avestan

asaḥ 135.
qz 115.
araxā 119.
āru- 247.
tāḥ 140.
tāḥ 140.
tāḥ 531.
stīḥ 250.
mana 281.
raḥ 116.
araxā 138.
sā 116.
stīḥ 115.

Modern Persian

araxā 130.

Armenian

stī 237.
ar 39.

Greek¹

ἄγων 35.
 ἄγω 79.
 ἄγωον 115.
 ἄδρον ἴσχυος 127.
 ἄκος 39.
 ἄλλη 121.
 ἄλλος 309.
 ἀράγων 389.
 ἀμφί 30, 570.
 ἀμύς 137.
 ἀμφί 517.
 ἀναός 35.
 Ἀργηναῖα 498.
 Ἀργεῖοι 498.
 Ἀργεῖοίτινες 498.
 ἄρτος 116, 131.
 ἄρτη 95.
 ἄρτηρ 133.
 αἰτός 40.

 βαδέξ, βαλλεύς 78.
 βός 45.
 βοουέλος 40.

 γυνός 115.

 ἄκρον 78.
 ἀμύζω 118.
 ἀμύζων 118.
 ἄμα 36, 129.
 ἀνακῶν 470.
 ἀνάλος 139.
 ἄνθ 116.
 ἄνθ 116.
 ἄνθρον 35.

 ἄγχεῖοι 36.
 ἄθον 116.
 ἄθον 36.
 ἄθον 212.
 ἄθον 72, 560.
 ἄθον 337.

hom. ἀείδωμαι 473.
 ἄν 521.
 ἄν 521.
 ἄνθ 247.
 ἄξ 509.
 ἄνθ 114.
 ἄνθ 337.
 ἄνθ 516.
 ἄνθ 139.
 ἄνθ 131.
 ἄγχεῖοι 54, 473.
 ἄνθ 477.
 ἄνθ 96.
 ἄνθ 431.
 ἄνθ 428.
 ἄν 482.

 ἄνθ 247.

 ἄ 304.
 ἄθον 68, 123.
 ἄνθ 41.
 hom. ἄνθ 431.
 473.
 ἄνθ 283.
 ἄνθ 428.

 ἄνθ 115.
 ἄνθ 387.
 ἄνθ 116.

 ἄ 325.
 ἄνθ 436.
 ἄνθ 473.
 ἄνθ 38.
 ἄνθ 96.

 ἄνθ 93.
 ἄνθ 118.
 ἄνθ 139.
 ἄνθ 130.
 ἄνθ 501.
 ἄνθ 216.
 ἄνθ 140.
 ἄνθ 387.
 ἄνθ 46.

ἄνθ 52.
 ἄνθ 47.
 ἄνθ, ἄνθ 46.

 ἄνθ 51.
 ἄνθ 139.
 ἄνθ 119.
 ἄνθ 415.
 ἄνθ 93.
 ἄνθ 71, 125.

 ἄνθ 78.
 ἄνθ, ἄνθ 35.
 ἄνθ 281.
 ἄνθ 77.
 ἄνθ 47, 116.
 ἄνθ 47.
 ἄνθ 231.
 ἄνθ 39.
 ἄνθ, ἄνθ 39.
 ἄνθ 39.
 ἄνθ 68, 118.
 ἄνθ 119.
 ἄνθ 42.

 ἄνθ 115, 135.
 ἄνθ 127.
 ἄνθ (ἄνθ), ἄνθ
 115, 137.
 ἄνθ 187.

 ἄ 304.
 ἄ 323.
 ἄνθ 436.
 ἄνθ 39, 135.
 ἄνθ 79.
 ἄνθ 285.
 ἄνθ 117.
 ἄνθ 213.
 ἄνθ, ἄνθ 119.
 ἄνθ 130.
 ἄνθ, ἄνθ κα 311.
 ἄνθ 119.
 ἄνθ 415.
 ἄνθ 39.
 ἄνθ 134.

¹ hom. = Homeric, dor. = Doric.

leab. = Lesbian.

hom. *oïara* 44.
oïara† 299.
oïarâ, *oïarôs* 199.
καλάμος 131.
κάρα, *κάρα*, *κάρος*
 498.
κατίρας, *κατίρας* 215.
κατήρ 35. 58. 138.
καυρός 215.
δοτ. καί 292.
κίματος 250.
κίτις 139.
κίτρινα 131.
κράι 499.
κέρκη 135.
κέρκεος 135.
κέρσημα 130. 356.
κέρση 53.
δοτ. κέρση 52.
κίλαρα 95.
κίμελή 39.
κλάτις (*κλάτταος*)
 131.
κλάσσαμα 427.
κλίχης 427.
κοθίς 49. 96. 354.
 387.
κολός 138. 227.
κορύν 131. 403.
κρακεός 135.
κράσσαθα 137.
κρό 138. 339. 530.
βέγγων, *βέγγων* 41.
βέμμα 40.
βέγγος 41.
βιτός 41.
σκυμβός 118.
σεί 281.
σπλάγγνα 139.
σπλήν 139.
σπίγγος 115.
σπίγγων 36. 115.
 133. 135. 473.
σπίρη 133.

σπράγγωθαι 40. 133.
σεί 281.
σφυράν 139.
σχίζαν 114.

ταλαός 129.
ταυός 129.
τα 549.
τίγγος 49. 77. 115.
τίρρασθα 39. 112.
τίρραμα 131.
τρίς 115.
τρίδασατα 247.
τρήμα 534.
τυφλός 42.

ύδαρής 74.
ύδρα, *ύδρα* 74.
ύμίττος 283.
ύνιό 513.
ύπό 139. 513.
ύρ 526.
ύρρον 36. 117.

χαίος 43.
χαυδαίον 353.
χειμών 115.
χειρόμα 353.
χερ-αυβ 115.
χέγ 117.
χέγ 116.

Albanian

te 533.

Latin^a

ad 497.
aduenat 380.

ager 35. 83.
agens 137.
alí-cande, *alí-gaid*
 309.
alíus 309.
amb- 517.
angere 115.
anser 128.
arduas 124.
l. Ardenoricus 498.
Armorici 498.
(Alia) Atactorigiana
 135.
attigat 380.
au-fero 524.
au-ferre 40.
auris 44.
autoclona 21.
auere 125.
auunculus 58.

badius 51. 117.
bibit 38. 117.
bouis 45.

caecus 43.
caper, *capra* 139.
cārus 119.
centum 127.
cis, *citra* 501.
com- 504.
cord- 139.
corymbus 95.
coxa 136.
crādere 48.
cuīra 95.
cūlus 42.
cum 504.
cupere 139.
(Dica) Cupra 139.

dē 505.
decem 36. 129.
decumas 250.
decus 236.
dies 217.
dis- 246.

^a Only compared forms are indexed. o.—Old Lat. l.—Late Lat.
 m.—Medieval Lat.

- a. dīngua* 130.
domare 118.
dōnum 35.
drensare 128.
duo 182.
duōmūrām 60.
duplus 130.
 .
a. en 521.
a. endo 521.
a. ex[ter] 510.
equos 36, 124.
ero 482.
ex 110, 509.

facillimus 296.
fazo 415.
ferat 60.
ferre 38.
fernere 122.
factus 388.
findere 453.
per-fines 356.
fingerere 388.
fiō 45, 58, 476, 481.
fiōs 35.
formus 115.
frater 77.
fui, futurus 476.

gradior 353, 366.
grānum 131.

hasta 134.
heri, her-ternus 117.
l. Ai, Ais 19.
hiems 115.
humus 116.

id 283.
rem-igare, mit-igare
 338.
ille 500.
in 521.
in- neg. 542.
o. indu 521.
induere 521.
inter 510.

ire 473.
is 283, 362.

iānus 122.
m. iotta 39.
iuvencus 122.

lucus 51.
lucius 93.
m. latiniarius 172.
lingere 119.
lingua 130.
luor, luere 38.

magister 233.
māter 35, 118.
mātūrus 35.
mator 49, 58.
membrum 39, 213.
o. Menervai 188.
mēnsis 39.
m. megnus 134.
moenia 43.
molere 119.
monile 47.
munia 43.

nāvis 44.
nec 542.
neg-are, neg-otium
 545.
nepos 50.
neptis 139.
ne-que 542.
ne-scio 153.
nīquū 115, 136.
noct- 135.
nos 282.
nostr 283.

octo 39.
o. oino 43.
o. oñus 500.
orbis 39.
ovis 43.

pater 35.
pectus 48,

pellere 403.
(ap-)pellere 95, 337.
penes 216.
plēnus, plēri-que
 237.
plūma 94.
preces 389.
primus 528.
prior 528.
pris-cus, pris-tinus
 528.
prīs 528.
prō- 530.

quattuor 114.
-que 311, 549.
quidquid 292.
quisque 139.
quintus 250.
quisquis 292.
o. quoi 292.

rectus 119.
repere 119.
rēgia 39.
rēc 39.
per-rigere 119.
rītus 39.
rota 39, 116.
rūfus 40.

sagire 54.
salū 208.
saluos 131.
secus 530.
sedere 54, 116.
semen 39.
senex, senis 118.
senior 47.
septem 139.
septimus 250.
sequi 114.
sequitur 337.
sequuntur 77.
sinister 233.
sistere 96.
solium 48.
somnus 140.

sôpire 336.
soror 58. 109.
splendere 139.
stâre 133. 477.
stella 133.
sub 513.
super 514.

ta-n-go 355.
tegere 115.
tepere 139.
tertius 250.
testis 250.
tollo 356. 380.
tres 115.
trux 204.
tû 281.
tulat 380.
tundere 474.

ultra 500.
unguen 117. 118.
 130. 212.
unguis 18. 119. 130.
ureus 116.

uâtas 50.
uâtas 35.
ut 551.
uâlia 329.
ueru 89.
uêrus 39. 123.
uester 283.
uîci, uîdî 435.
uîdua 46.
uincere 46. 114.
uiri 38.
uîuos 117.
uos 282.

Italian

drappo 93.

French

anchoison 568.
drap 93.

Provençal

par, paioïol 137.

Oscan

bivus 117.
cisan-t 285.
es-idum 283.
is-idum 283.
kom 504.
messimass 236.
messimas 236.
terrâm 39.
toute 40.
trato-, trinto- 249.

Umbrian

anouitima 521.
manuv-e 197.
uasima 236.
rofa 40.
trifo 197.
vesklu, veskla
 120.

Venetis

Andeticobas 182.

Gothic

ahtau 182.
ains 43.
aleina 47.
alêu 568.
aljia 309.
arbi 39.
arjan 354.
at 497.
ausô 44.

bilaigôa 119.
blôma 35.
bruste 209.

dîngs 118.
du 506.
dulgs 115.
dumbe 42.

cisara 132.

fadar 35.
faïr, faïra 498.
fiduôr 124.
fla 138. 227.
fra 530.

gands 134.
gudjinnasus 166.

hairs 43.
hamfo 118.
hindumists 249.
klains 43.
lôra 119.
lund 127.

ie 283.
ita 283.
izai 285.
izuar, izuara 283.
juggs 122.
kaúra 131.
kálíká 180.
lagjan 49. 336.
liáan 120.
malan 119.
máca 39.
máikildáps 165.
missa- 231.
nama 120.
nagaþe 135.
nié 542.
níajis 45. 118.
níam 247.
gínó 118.
gíva 117.
rauþe 40.
rúna 42.
sama 285.
sandjan 126.
satjan 49. 336.
si 283.
sind 111.
sinþe 126.
skóhal 79.
steigan 36. 115. 133.
 473.
svistar 84. 124.
tagr 78.
tamjan 118.
tveijf 139.
tveistandan 246.
þeikán 126.
þiuda 40.

þridja 250.
uf 513.
ufar 513.
ufraokjan 119.
unsar, unvara 283.
unndham 435.
unonan 35.
wasit 436.
weithóde 212.
widawó 68. 123.
witum 436.

Old High German

ancho 120.
dröen 534.
felis, felica 95.
fora 498.
forakón 131.
furi 498.
gans 128.
gër 43.
gestaron 117.
här 132.
hasal 95.
isarn 132.
mana 47.
nift 139.
rim 39.
rítan 26.
sceran 114.
sia 284.
sind 126.
siu, si, si 284.
sligf 117.
swero 47.
switót 115.
stap 133.
sterra, sterno 133.
samar 129.
tíla 116.
trogfo, trogfo 140.

wmbi 517.
wntar 510.
wigan 46.
witá 46.
wícan 36.
wuotí 35.
zohán 36.
zuo 506.

Middle High German

habene 140.
slifan 117.
widen 114.

Old Saxon

driopan 140.

Tyrolese

noct 98.

Old English

bítan 453.
clugge 87.
dréopan 140.
dropa 140.
gíael 132.
lagfen 140.

haefoc 203. 572.
Herewulf, Herulf
572.

Kindema 249.

Algot 454.

huor 137.

Malcolm 42.

welcan 389.

mōdor 118.

negel 119.

ne- 153.

nest 134.

nīper 523.

riðan 36.

seoran 129.

segl 574.

sīþ 126.

smoro 47.

spanu 139.

staf 133.

strōam 120.

taþl 41.

tō 506.

Wolpan 117.

tunþe 120.

þrōucan 534.

þā 281.

þerst 131.

witan 36.

ymba 517.

Modern English

for 498.

nether 523.

-ward 515.

Old Norse

aka 35.

audr 40.

gǫl 132.

hafr 139.

hǫtt 48.

iski 122.

isarn 132.

Melpatrakr 42.

otr 74.

straumr 120.

tagl 41.

vǫr 282.

vǫrr, vǫr 283.

Old Norwegian

rō 246.

Runic

Masilvici 42.

Malmara 42.

Old Germanic

Harudez 51.

Harudez 51.

Lithuanian

apueikiā 114.

aštuoni 114.

atmišti 500.

ausis 44.

gyvas 117.

kenčiā 128.

keturi 114.

kirmis 137.

kyka 311.

lāti 120.

liečiā 119.

lietas 134.

matinas 43.

malā 119.

marti (gen. *marčiša*)
187.

naktis 135.

našjas 118.

nūnas 311.

pa- 348.

pišnas 131.

rōtas 116.

raudā 40.

seki 114.

sēnas 118.

skiriā 114. 129.

sniūga 115.

spenģis 129.

srauti 120.

stogas 115.

šimtas 114. 127.

širdis 130.

šilpnas 140.

šlaitas 43.

svē 281.

telpi, tīpti 55. 95.

vāra, vāras 74.

vaidas 36.

virkas 236.

šmē 116.

zieme 115.

ziedti 115.

Lettish

āra 119.

lāpa 139.

sec (secen) 530.
srps 95.

Prussian

sumūman 40, 524.
lopis 139.
wasno 128.

Old Slavonic

agw 174.
berca 36.
biti 38.
desati 132.
desce 114.
dlaga 115.
do 506.
dasoja 182.
gredp 353.
imę 219.

kata 311.
kosa 132.
ka 502.
lko 35.
melip 119.
wene 281.
wawip 129.
waga 135.
wogate 130.
wene 114.
ot-, ota 500.
pena 115.
plęati 427.
stni 39.
slaga 40.
spka 135.
stati 133.
stigrep 115.
strigę 133.
tata 209.
tebe 281.
ti 281.
zelo 129.
ty 281.
umęti 524.
wę 282.
węra 39.
wadown 68.
wraca 236.

nimez 115.
mati 115.
zreno 131.

Polish

upa 128.

Hittite

nu 348.
tegan, taka- 116.

Techarian

skan- 116.

TRANSLATORS' NOTES

1. p.1 L27. The date suggested for the beginning of Modern Irish is too late. A text written in 1475 (ZCP. II. 1 ff., 235 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. XIII. 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 practiced by some writers even in the seventeenth century.

2. p.5 L17. *Áed Róin* AU. 735, etc.; but cp. § 250 (a).

3. p.8 L29. 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*, xv. 88.

4. p.11 L22. All the extant Ogam inscriptions in Ireland and Britain have now been collected in *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* by R. A. S. Macalister. Vol. I. Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin. 1945.

5. p.18 L19 f. It should be noted that final unstressed *-ae* is not a diphthong. Cp. note 22.

6. p.23 L34. For *c t p* after *s*, cp. note 31.

7. p.25 L19. In examples of tmesis the turned point is placed after the pronic element or elements; e.g. *do' ra' ríneal*, etc. (p. 327).

8. p.30 L34. But cp. p.570 L11 f.

9. p.30 L34. These words are not really enclitics. In the MSS. they are written separately from the preceding word. Further, in Middle Irish verse *doo* (= *dao*), *dída* and *trí* not only take a full stress but may also alliterate and rhyme. For *doo* cp. RIA. Dict. D, col. 87 f., and for the later development of this word, O'Rahilly, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* III. 58 f. For *dída* see Meyer Contr. p.640; and for *trí* cp. Thea. II. 292, 1, SB. 1349, LL. 132^a8. Cp. further O'Rahilly, *Early Ir. History and Mythology*, p.87 note 3.

10. p.34 l.4. In some of these examples the mark of length has apparently been misplaced. Thus in ML 20^o12 the ms. has *ní fú* for *ní fu*; similarly 72^o12, 12^o2, and 22.
11. p.37 l.34. Add *feuir* ML 20^o2.
12. p.40 l.14. But the Mid. Ir. form *tuara* shows that this word really belongs to § 62 (c). Cp. Ériu III. 34 § 161 (Wb. 6^o8), KE. xav. 76.
13. p.42 l.30 f. In such personal names, *Maí*, being unstressed, lost the second element of its diphthong and was shortened. It is this shortened form that is represented in *Mabauru*, *Máskola*, and *Máipetra*.
14. p.44 l.31. Cp. Thes. II. 417. But the example is doubtful.
15. p.44 l.33. The usual form in the Glosses is *cóis*; e.g. *cóis* Wb. 2^o16, *cóis* Sp. 77^o4, *cóisid* 'conatus' 77^o2.
16. p.48 l.4. For 'Gaul.' read 'Gallo-Lat.'
17. p.49 l.4. But cp. *ar-robert* (to *ar-bertis*) p.333 l.31, unless we should read *ar-ro'bert* with unstressed *ro* after a prothetic preposition (p.30 l.3).
18. p.49 l.37. 'dat. pl.'. See note 21.
19. p.50 l.12. Cp. also *ní-roar* (sic ms.) Thes. II. 322, 16, pf. of the simplex *feraid*.
20. p.57 l.2 f. Here, since *tuara* is proclitic, the absence of the glide is quite regular, just as in *inn-remairi* p. 181 l.6, etc. Only when, in the later language, the accent has shifted, giving *maíle* (*ri*), is the glide admissible. Cp. O'Rahilly, Ériu IX. 14.
21. p.61 l.13. *Macalister* (*Corpus* no. 276) now reads *qvmca*.
22. p.62 l.29 f. As there was no 'double sound' (*Doppellaut*) here, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that after a palatal consonant an original non-palatal vowel was made palatal and vice versa.
23. p.72 l.34 f. But cp. p.549 l.6 f.
24. p.75 l.22. But see O'Rahilly, Ériu XIII. 173 f., where it is shown that the verb is derived from *comfusa*, the older compound, not from the later re-formation *com-fús*.
25. p.79 l.11. Cp. also *maccluctuan*, *maccluctuan*, *Macalister Corpus* nos. 426, 427

26. p.82 L12. *trísta*. See note 24.
27. p.85 L11. Better 'bilabial', cp. p.122 L25.
28. p.89 L21. For the doubling of *s* after *r* see MacNeill, *PRIA*. xxvii, Sect. C. p.247; cp. § 140.
29. p.96 L36. **ind-níR'Ma*. But see pp. 277, 523.
30. p.27 L34 f. See O'Rahilly, *Ériu* xiii. 140.
31. p.98 L8. By the late Middle Irish period the spelling *sp, sd, sb* becomes increasingly common. Cp. IGT. i. § 32, according to which *s* voices a following *c* or *t*. On the phonetic problem cp. Pedersen, *KZ* xxxvi. 107 ff.
32. p.99 L16 f. But for *-dicháin* see p.473 L7; cp. further *-dicháeth* (sic) LU 4797 = *-dicháeth* YBL (TBC, 305). Cp. *Ériu* xii. 231 f.
33. p.91 L20. It is doubtful whether the last example illustrates the rule, for the *-t* in *at* probably represents the sound *d*.
34. p.96 L18 f. *conáilaid, conáid*. See note 24.
35. p.101 L12. In Mid. Ir. *ms.* the group *cht* occasionally appears as palatal in unstressed syllables; e.g. *Indeicht*, gen. of *Indecht*, Rawl. 142^v35; *gléanicht* (: *chaip*) SR. 1238; *seanicht* LB. 9^v49 (= Rule of Tallaght p.66 § 11). Cp. IGT. iii. § 25. Cp. further *síocht* note 148. For final *-cht* in monosyllables, see p.224 L16 f.
36. p.102 L25. *líbair*, gen. sg. and nom. pl., is more likely to have been modelled on dat. sg. *líbar*, acc. pl. *líbar*. But cp. *do-tábir* p.113 L15.
37. p.103 L32. Add 3 pl. *-siccet* LL. 119^v24.
38. p.103 L35. The form *-occa* occurs LU 1513, also *-occa* 5347.
39. p.105 L24 f. *ta tu* (*tois*) and *faí* (*fois*) can hardly be regarded as preclitics; cp. §§ 588, 780. In Bardic poetry the form *ta dón(s)* is quite common.
40. p.103 L35. Add *Peter* Wh. 13^v12, Tur. 105; but *Peter* Ml. 23^v5.
41. p.112 L12 f. In *con-tam-áiloid* and *con-tam-thaicht* the *-am-* 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 L27. After the neg. prefix *an-* (§ 870a) the *f* of the simplex is sometimes written. Cp. note 198.

43. p.124 L31. At the time of the Ogam inscriptions intervocalic *w* still retained its consonantal value; cp. ANI (AVVI), TOVIRACI, etc.

44. p.125 L5. The name David occurs more than 130 times in ML, seven times written *dauid*, five times *dauid*, six times *daid*, otherwise always *dd* with contraction stroke. Cp. p. 572 L37.

45. p.125 L32. It should be noted that *beathu* is dat. in Wb. 3^o2. See p.205 L24.

46. p.127 L3. In Macalister's *Corpus Inscriptionum* (see note 4) there are seven examples of *macl*.

47. p.140 L19. *dracht*. The *u* is long in this word from the Mid. Ir. period at least. Cp. *dracht* LL 93^o3, *drúata* LU 7612; further *drúchtach* (: *súchtach*) ZCP. VII. 399.

48. p.149 L4. For the nasalization of verbal forms after the acc. sg. in the archaic construction described § 513b, see Ériu XII. 196 f.

49. p.150 L18. But cp. p.151 L12.

50. p.151 L23. In the older language *cláris* is masc.: gen. *Cláru* moir AU 778, 827, *Cláru moir* Fé. Prol. 184, cp. Feb. 17, Aug. 21, Dec. 23, in *Cláru* LL 374^o17; dat. *ó Cláruin Doctúin dárlach* Fé. Aug. 6, *ó Clá. Mór* (: *brón*) LL 394^o37.

Although in the later language the dat. *moig* is sometimes found with a feminine adjective, we know of no example where the gen. *moige*, etc., is treated as fem. Cp. RIA. Contrib. M, col. 25; IGE. II. § 21.

51. p.156 L14 f. This example is not taken from the text of the Laws, but from a MED. Ir. commentary. The construction does not occur in O. Ir. See RIA. Dict. D, col. 162 ff. Cp. also note 28.

52. p.157 L18. But see Dr. Macalister's edition L147, where the ms. readings are given as *cl- E*, *clá R*, *cláin LB*. Cp. also *cl- cláir Susannan cláin SR*. 7357.

53. p.157 L24. Otherwise O'Rahilly, Ériu XIII. 179.

54. p.158 L16. For early examples of the subjective gen. in this construction see note 193. Cp. also *cc tegrúisín ina cláir Cláir* (Thea. II. 247, 13).

55. p.162 L22. Otherwise Sarauw, Irish Studies p.87 f., who takes *meunais* as accusative.

56. p.162 L28. Add *das(s)* 'south of'; see note 184.

57. p.167 l.25. It may be noted that the identification of *Míd. Ir. leáid* (Mod. *leáidid*) with O. Ir. *leáid* (Mod. *leáidid*) proposed by Meyer in KW. § 188 is doubtful.

58. p.178 l.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. II. § 35.

59. p.178 l.18. *Vox, a pepuif* occurs ML 103*4.

60. p.178 l.17 f. For a different explanation of the plural of *demon* see O'Rahilly, *Ériu* xiii. 157 f.

61. p.178 l.25. The Mid. Ir. form *siainis* in Laws v. 506, 12 is a scribal innovation, taken over from the gloss (508, 14). In the earlier ms. H.2.15 (Senchas Már Facsimile p.1), which contains a copy of this tract, and in O'Dav. 880, where the relevant passage is cited, *siach* is written out; the Copenhagen ms., according to Stokes ZCP. iv. 228, has *siach*. Singular *siach* first appears in Mid. Ir.; O. Ir. has only plural forms, cp. RIA. Dict. E. col. 126 E.

62. p.180 l.8 f. For the plural forms of *de(j)ne* see Strachan, RC. xx. 198 note 6; O'Rahilly, *Ériu* xiii. 156; Borgström, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* xii. 83 E.

63. p.185 l.23. Nom. *uaga* occurs in Thea. II. 10, 7.

64. p.186 l.7. Add gen. sg. *triacét* ZCP. viii. 127 § 9.

65. p.186 l.13. *mó* also Sg. 49*15 and Thea. II. 11, 40

66. p.192 l.32. Instead of *deuo* (no. 38), Macalister (*Corpus* no. 187) now reads *deuuo*.

67. p.195 l.16. Add dat. sg. *fad*: *deu Fiuð*, Rawl. 157, 52 = LL 331*10.

68. p.196 l.31. The pl. form *feas*, which is found only as a gloss on *scite*, is more likely to have been a substantival adjective (or old participle, cp. Asc. p.357). Thus, preceded by the copula, *níad feasa* ? *níad deirb scite* ... for *n-Ereua BB 4920 = omnia monumenta Scottorum ... inserta erant* Rawl. 12*25. Alternatively it may be a back formation from pass. *ni'feas* '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, l.6. But also *cró*, e.g. LU 2803, *chródaing* (= *mórfaing*) LL 138*9.

70. p.197 L9. Add nom. pl. case *Thes.* II. 249, 7.
71. p.197 L11. Cp. O'Rahilly, *Ériu* xiii. 216.
72. p.197 L28. In some entries this is written *Adia Truim*.
73. p.197 L29 f. Macalister (*Corpus* no. 426) now reads *WERTASAGHL*. The second element may be gen. of an *s*-stem; cp. *Nasair* (= *Nat Sair*) *Fél.* July 12, *Rawl.* 127*35, etc. Of *WERTASAGUR* (*Corpus* no. 423) he writes: 'Possibly the original form was *-GUR* as in the Latin: two notches may have been broken from the stone.'
74. p.199 L32. For the adjective in the nom. qualifying such a *vec.* see *Ériu* ix. 92 and *Mélanges Pedersen* p.283 n.2.
75. p.204 L34. No case-form of *faíl* occurs in LU 9273, but cp. nom. pl. *faíle* 7625, dat. pl. *faíleib* 5770.
76. p.205 L3 f. For the masc. gender of *teap(s)e*, cp. nom. sg. *isf ceiteap*, nom. du. *is do* (A) *teap(s) Senechas Mór Facsimile* p.2a.
77. p.211 L9. Add gen. sg. *ceceap* LU 6096.
78. p.211 L11. Add *draic* Windisch Wörterbuch s.v. *draec*.
79. p.212 L4. Add acc. *don* ML 38*1, 111*23, 131*2, *Ter.* 99, and cp. p.238 L7.
80. p.216 L4. Add gen. sg. *tipt* *Wh.* 7*9, *Fél.* Ep. 94, etc.
81. p.216 L36. Add masc. *baí teap(s)ig* 'deceptive *kine*' *Thes.* II. 6, 32.
82. p.219 L5. Read perhaps *kin-brón*(act).
83. p.219 L21. Also *Derwalt*, cp. *AU.* 703, 713, 777, 822, etc.
84. p.231 L31. 't after s'. See note 31.
85. p.231 L17 f. Otherwise O'Rahilly, *Ériu* xiii. 158.
86. p.232 L10 f. See also § 806.
87. p.232 L36 f. We know of no example of the equative with a relative clause, except in cases like *déil bédit a-ambrotor Fiannig.* 14 § 31, *ad isf a-ambrotor* 18 § 39 (cp. p.233 L20), which belong to a different type.
88. p. 237 L32. Cp. *Ériu* xv. 140 ff.

89. p.238 L.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, *orda-ní de Ml. 23^o23*, but by a word never treated as enclitic, *stramma doib de 63^o11*; (3) that if it were enclitic, and therefore incorporated with the comparative, the *d* = unlenited *d* would be unparalleled. It is never written *-de* before the Mid. Ir. period, when the construction had changed. Cp. note 51.

90. p.238 L.28. Ascoli's collection is supplementary to that of Zeuss-Ebel 608 f.

91. p.242 L.5. But cp. pp. 231 L.38 f., 243 L.10 f., 306 L.7 f., 310 L.27.

92. p.242 L.14. It may be noted that in the older language such numerals agree in gender with the substantive to which they refer; e.g. *ár seib no ar a dr. Laws iv. 128, 5, cp. i 260, 7; a stera iv. 138, 22*.

93. p.244 L.23 f. When *ó-* 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 *óibíen* is doubtful; see Meyer, *Contr. p.38 a.v. aibíen*.

94. p.247 L.33. If the *i* of *fricks -a* was short in O. Ir., one would have expected it to be lowered to *e* (**fracks*) in accordance with the rule in § 73.

95. p.258 L.25. But cp. *Ériu xrv. 153*.

96. p.268 L.16. The 'pronoun' referred to here must mean the rel. particle, which, however, does not distinguish genders. In the Glosses at least this *d* apparently expresses only the subject relative.

97. p.269 L.18 f. But see p. 320 L.33.

98. p.270 L.6. But in the first example *be* may refer to *ceitardóit (Hre)*.

99. p.270 L.15. After 'indicative' add 'and subjunctive'; e.g. *Sg. 181^o6*.

100. p.271 L.11. Add *fat. béinnem Ériu xms. 20, 8*.

101. p.272 L.28. Add *pl. 2 ceoháil LL 504^o1*.

102. p.275 L.36. Add *err Ir. Hist. Studies i. 347*.

103. p.276 L.30. For the use of a possessive pronoun as subjective genitive in this construction, cp. *a chéapóidil a-gaoid LU 5125, a h-ó mada LL 49^o26*. Cp. further *viv domairéind-as Ml. 87^o9* contrasted with objective or *comairéind 87^o7*. Cp. note 54.

104. p.279 L23 (and p.281 L23). *ad* is the reading of YBL; cp. Ériu xm. 130 § 10.

105. p.280 L13. *nechtar* *u-of* means rather 'either of the two'; cp. p.310 L3.

105a. p.282 L22 f. But cp. p.361 L2 f. Has *a-* arisen through wrong separation of forms like *ain(a)n*? p.254 L3, *ae-ai* p.348 L28? Cp. the author's explanation of *siocna* beside *inca* p.306 L5.

106. p.284 L22. In all the forms of the conjugated preposition *atar* (*atar*) = *d*, except in the 3 pl. *atarra*. Here, to judge by the later language, the *d* has been unvoiced by the suffixed *-ra*, though separated from it by a vowel. Cp. Mod. Ir. pl. 1 *adrasna*, 3 *adarra*. Cp. also *de-atarraí* p.26 L38, p.619 L27, etc.

107. p.287 L36. After 'interrogative' add 'and indefinite'.

108. p.288 L25. The Mid. Ir. form is generally *oíck*. Cp. Meyer, Contr. p. 412.

109. p.291 L17. Here the Irish construction corresponds to English 'is it a fact that he does not consider?'—'that' being the conjunction, not the relative pronoun.

110. p.293 L12. But if the etymology of *in(a)ra* proposed on p.306 L5 f. is correct, the article takes the stress in this word.

111. p.298 L26. For *éanna* see note 101.

112. p.308 L7. Or perhaps in *ceana* (= *chéana*) 'in the same way'; cp. Meyer, Contr. p.361.

113. p.308 L23. 'Er bietet das, was er gegeben hat für das an, was ihm gegeben wird'. But the meaning is more likely to be 'he proposes that what he has given be given (back) to him'. Cp. Laws v. 428, 6. The other two examples of this construction are also doubtful.

114. p.304 L9. Add *and sía* ML 7241.

115. p.304 L21. But *ad* is also used for the fem. sg.; cp. the example on next line (ML 32*22), also ML 137*6.

116. p.305 L28. Add *siocna* Rawl. 130*23, LL 371*34.

117. p.307 L25. But *ad-mí* ML 89*9. Cp. further the open acc. pl. *ad-mí* Sg. 32*6.

118. p.208 L.6. Cp. *ais n-ais eall* 'of other churches' AU. 863 (*recte* 864).
119. p.309 L.24. For the use of *neoch* or *in-neoch* before *mí* see p.558 L.22.
120. p.310 L.11. For *de* as equivalent to a partitive gen. da. see p.289 L.16 f.
121. p.313 L.21. It should be noted that the first plural rel. form is never used to represent the subject. Cp. note 124.
122. p.313 L.23. The use of the absolute 2 pl. *cuíthe* in this construction is unparalleled. The text of the quatrain is uncertain. The original may have had a construction like *ais n-aisín bríge* p.321 L.19.
123. p.314 L.29. After *a^o, aní, 'that (which), what'* (§ 473) a leading clause is always obligatory.
124. p.316 L.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 L.26. But cp. p.269 L.13 f.
126. p.322 L.34 f. Here it is more probable that *causní* is felt as the antecedent both of *se day* and *re-chreist*. Cp. O'Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish* i. 114 f. ('Double Relative Construction').
127. p.327 L.6. After 'negative particles' *add* 'and the verbal particles *re* and *no*'.
128. p.327 L.22. But if, as seems more probable, *nod* is here the neg. of the copula in a leading relative clause (§ 797), this example belongs rather to L.26 f. below.
129. p.327 L.21. Here follows the sentence omitted from the text (see p. vii *supra*):

In leading relative clauses, however, simple verbs have absolute forms: *ibthus snechta fína fírless* 'one shall drink it who shall pour out a snow of wine' *Zu ir. Hss.* I. 51 § 19; and from *con-teathgatar* (read *teathgatar*) *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: 'Finnachta who shall pour shall drink it' (for *suicidib fira* = F. see Thurneysen, *op. cit.* p. 49). In the second example *con'icidigatar* seems to mean 'which they have in common', not 'who have . . . in common' (notwithstanding Thurneysen, *ZCP.* xv, 389).

130. p.331 l.38. But cp. LU 1736. Cp. also *Thea.* i, 497, 43 (quoted p.361 l.14), *Wh.* 25*18 (quoted p.364 l.18), *MI.* 143*4 (quoted p.362 l.26), *Tur.* 134 (quoted p. 261 l.9), and *MI.* 46*4.

131. p.333 l.31. See note 17.

132. p.336 l.33. But read perhaps *ed(i)gim* 'I suck' (cp. p.374 l.6).

133. p.338 l.26. See note 24.

134. p.346 l.35 f. Here, as often in *Mid. Ir.*, *re-* has replaced *ed-* (or *do-*). Cp. *re'cchaid* TBC. (ed. Windisch) 3235, *re'cchannic* 3746, etc.

135. p.349 l.33. For the use of the 1st pl. rel. form, see note 121.

136. p.362 l.14. For *scigim* see note 122.

137. p.370 l.22. In the archaic construction described § 513b the imperfect is used without *no*; cp. *Ériu* xii, 304.

138. p.374 l.19. Add *caisennar* LL 29*38.

139. p.375 l.30. See note 38, and add *'acim* LU 3656.

140. p.376 l.1. According to Meyer, the ms. readings are *dayns* E, *doas* h, *dayn* H, *dayn* UN.

141. p.380 l.23. Add *aba. nassic* ZCP, vii, 311 § 19.

142. p.397 l.1. It should be noted that in *col'a-eris* the *f* has been assimilated to the preceding unlenited *b*; cp. § 137.

143. p.397 l.23. See note 24.

144. p.412 l.16. *Filarginus* G1 = *Thea.* ii, 48, 5; 362.

145. p.418 l.5. But *caisennar* is possibly a conjunct form in the archaic construction described § 513b.

146. p.421 l.22. In *do'rigim*, etc., the mark of length may have been placed over the wrong syllable; cp. note 10.

147. p.421 L25. Cp. also the Mid. Ir. perf. *doitigse*, etc., Wl. Thin p. 303.
148. p.423 L13. Add *sláid* ZCP. viii. 308, 31.
149. p.426 L5. Add pret. 3 sg. *ar'fost* Ériu iii. 140, 177, *ar'fost* Y Cymmrodor xiv. 118 § 19.
150. p.426 L33. Both these forms are more likely to be preterite; cp. *pl. do'aridáig* Tur. 60.
151. p.429 L34. But cp. O'Rahilly, Ériu xiii. 121, where it is suggested that 'linguistic evidence stamps' this poem 'as a composition of later date'.
152. p.431 L22. But in *'fubstar* the second *t* may = *d*.
153. p.431 L34. See note 31.
154. p.434 L19. Except in compounds with the prep. *ad*; cp. § 152b.
155. p.437 L7. Add sg. 1 *do'rochar* PH. 3729; 2 *do'rochar* LB 27*85; 3 *do'rochar* Anecd. II. 60, 12.
156. p.444 L35. Add MacNeill, Gaelic Journ. iv. 116 f., 136 f.; vii. 14, 28 f., 41, 61 f.
157. p.445 L5 E. It should be noted that in a number of the examples cited §§ 731-737 the substantive, though it may be etymologically connected with the verb, has not the functions of the verbal noun as these are described here; e.g. *gal*, *ceas*, *ceannas* (*ceannag*), *torb(s)a*, *tuile* (and *folas*), *raib*, *léis*, *dúigad*, *faas*, *léis*, *dianacht*, *gánsacht*, *ceim(s)*. But compounds of *gal* (e.g. *dúgal*, *toisid*) are full verbal nouns.
158. p.445 L36 f. See note 103.
159. p.450 L1. Add *fo-gal*, *con-gal*.
160. p.450 L2. Add nom. sg. *riúid* Laws iv. 314, 13.
161. p.461 L10. For the pret. pass. form cp. *ad'adú* LL 117*51 (Ir. Texts. i. 34).
162. p.468 L17. But cp. pret. sg. 3 *'sláid* ZCP. viii. 307, 2.
163. p.471 L10. Cp. also *roda'gata* Laws iv. 188, 19, *roda'gata* 200, 1.
164. p.474 L34 f. But see Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1906, p. 261; Bergin, Ériu x. 193.

165. p.475 L29 f. Perhaps the meaning is rather 'because there is (a word *septis*)'. *ánda*, lit. 'from that', is sometimes used as a conjunction; e.g. *ándaí frá írat* 'in that he has opposed' *ML* 51²³ (cited p. 469 L15); *ánda* *BDD* § 20, transl. 'since'. Cp. *ándaí* § 894, *ándaí* § 891, *ándaí* § 906.
166. p.475 L24 f. Perhaps *áda* is better taken as past subj. without *na*; cp. *Ériu* xii. 204, 17 ff. and 211, 1.
167. p.476 L1. Cp. also *áin no' mletis léna aigter áidwéithi* *ML* 59²⁹; *á so' áatar áda líne dándaí* *Imram Brain* § 1.
168. p.476 L5 f. But the meaning may be rather 'She was no drowsy St. Brigid'.
169. p.476 L9. Some at least of these compounds show a tendency to govern the accusative.
170. p.479 L34. Cp. also *ándaí síle áda deochair* *RC* xv. 488 § 7.
171. p.481 L15. In O'Dav. 1873 the verb seems to be subjunctive. But cp. *ánda* pres. indic. pass. *ní á-ándaí* note 169.
172. p.484 L1 f. But cp. *Ériu* xii. 225 f.; further, *níste* *RC* xiii. 393, 7; *ándaí* *ZCP* xvii. 268, 13; *ándaí* *IT* n. ii. 33 (L265).
173. p.488 L5. But absolute eg. 3 *áda* *Ériu* vii. 144 § 27.
174. p.490 L25. After 'interrog.' add 'and indefinite'; cp. *Ériu* xii. 154 § 18, 219.
- 174a. p.492 L30. For *áda* ('versed in, having expert knowledge of', see *RIA* *Dict. E*, col. 150).
175. p.493 L32 f. As there seems to be no other example of an emphasizing particle being attached to words like *ánda*, read perhaps *ánda* so 'whence is this?' The general sense is not affected. Cp. *ánda* *áda* so 'whither away?' *RC* xiii. 381.
176. p.502 L23. For *ándaí* (*ándaí*) and *ándaí* (*ándaí*), where the prep. is in post-tonic position, see p.113, L5 f.
177. p.511 L13 f. On the position of the stress in *ándaí* see *Ériu* xii. 224.
178. p.515 L23. The following is a translation of Pedersen's actual words (n. 171): 'The conjugated prepositions *frá* and *leis* (*leis* by analogy) are abstracted from *fráson*, *leisson* (really *frá-son*, i.e. the pronoun *son* governed by the prep. *frá*, *le-son*).'

179. p.516 L10. Read perhaps *af ar* (cp. L29 f.).

180. p.516 L22. Add *ar* (§ 848); see note 188.

181. p.517 L22. The editors of *Thea*. take *insson* as the prep. + possess. 3 pl. Cp. *insson* *causid* SR. 3976; *insson-lic* *Raur.* 132*45 ('*mon-lic* 47); *insson* *foynas* BR 257*13. The contracted forms *inssid* and *inssó* are common in *Mod. Ir.* Cp. also *ceas* p.524 L39, *icás teich* 'at their house' LL 132*22; later *coá*, '*ceas*, etc., *Mod. Ir.* *apá*, 'pá.

182. p.518 L10. Perhaps rather 'we shall not see one another'.

183. p.518 L30 f. See note 31.

184. p.518 L39. The *Mod. Ir.* form is *áaprag*.

185. p.519 L3. The modern form appears to be *teaplasmá* with unlenited *v*, influenced by *teclain*, vb. n. of *do-teclain*; cp. *RIA. Contr. T.* col. 108 f.

186. p.519 L26 f. For the unvoicing of the dental in *do-fofarrá* see note 186.

187. p.523 L23. Read rather *inssid'n-díck* '(the bird) which sheltered itself' (i.e. took shelter). Cp. *inssid-níth* *Bürgschaft* p.14 § 45 for *inssid'n-díck* (from *inss-dí-fick*).

188. p.524 L32. For *ceas* see note 181.

189. p.525 L3 f. But cp. *ocaso-bái*, *ai'-á-ocasoáler* *Ériu* *xiii.* 37, 30. Hence, when the accent falls on *ce*, *-ce* (= *-cas-*) may represent the regular development of *-cá-* (see § 162c). Cp. notes 171, 189.

190. p.526 L14 f. On the later variants *tegháid* and *tegháil* see *IGT.* *iii.* § 108.

191. p.529 L11. The form *(ar)-roist* suggests disyllabic pronunciation; cp. p.416 L7. Cp. further *arce-roist* *ZCP.* *iii.* 21 § 8.

192. p.534 L6. Cp. also 3 sg. '*trápa* *Laws* *iv.* 336, 8.

193. p.536 L4. See note 188.

194. p.536 L18 f. For *de(s)* with the dative, cp. *de Fíad* note 67; *de Maig Míid* (sic *lep.*) *Fél. Procl.* 226; *de Maig Macátharai* LL 119*41.

195. p.541 L.30. The ms. reading seems to be *raar*.
196. p.543 L.13. Later spellings like *ainéáfor*, *ainéáfor*, *ainéáfor* (LU 1423), etc., show that the voiced consonant was retained in this position. Cp. note 42.
197. p.555 L.2 f. But cp. *co-ní cuimneigethar a chos Éiriu* VII. 162 § 3. In *co[n]-da-r-ainéá* (to *co-nd-ainéá*;) *da-* must be taken twice, as a Mid. Ir. form of pretonic *da-* and as the infixed pron. fem. sg. The O. Ir. form was probably *conda-trinéá*; *da-r-ainéá* would be pf. for pret. Cp. *conda-rairbert* LU 6390 = *conda-rairbert*, and *conda-raifactor* LL 280^a6 = *conda-raifactor*. There may have been confusion between *co* followed by deuterotonic and *co* by prototonic forms. Doubtless also the existence of *conda-raib* (to *co-rá*;) beside *conda-raib* (to *da-raib*;) had some influence on the construction.
198. p.557 L.17 and L.21. 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 L.16. Cp. also the similar use of *daid* note 165.
200. p.562 L.14. But cp. *aid* or *daicid* *aidid* *da-gud* *nach* γ *aid* or *daicid* Thea. II. 3, 30, where both verbs are subjunctive.
201. p.565 L.8. Add O'Rahilly, *The Goideals and their Predecessors* p.4 E. (loan-words from *Britannic*); *The Two Patricks* p.42 f. (loan-words from Latin).
202. p.566 L.25 E. For a different explanation of the final spirant in *peccatá*, *peccatá* see p.575, L.10, and Sarauw *op. cit.* p.8.
203. p.567 L.23. The classical Mod. Ir. form of this verb is *léighidh*, but it has since changed its conjugation, perhaps under the influence of the substantive *léighneas*.
204. p.572 L.33. On the Irish pronunciation of initial consonantal *s* as *f*, see Zimmer *SR&B. Pr. Akad.*, 1909, p. 29 note.
205. p.572 L.34. As alliteration in the Féilire is largely optional, there is nothing to show that *Uaferda* is meant to alliterate with *áda*.
206. p.572 L.37. See note 44.
207. p.575 L.8. Add gen. *caírp* Thea. II. 233, 21; 254, 1.

INDEX OF WORDS

The numbers refer to the notes. m. — Modern Irish.

- a** 'what' 123
'accu 38
ad-acht pass. 161
'acim 129
ad-droghdaise 22
ade 115
m. agd 181
'aicet 27
ainléifor 196
ainléifos 196
ainléif 117
ainléif 117
ainléif 118
ainléif 196
ainléif 114
ainléif 123
do-ardlaing 120
Ainle Truin 72
dar 14
AVI (AVVI) 42

baí masc. 81
bá 187
baí 188
baí 45
baí 28
baí 100
do-bháir 26

ca 175
caim(m) 127
caimmar 145
caim 175
caim 30
m. caimmar 20
caim 20
caim 71
'caim 181
caim 172
caimmar 24
caim 172
caim(m)-do-ruaib 127
caim 129
caim-caimmar 127

caí 69
caí 108
caimmar 122
caim 207
caim(m) (caimmar) 127

in cam(n) 29
cam (cam) 2, 128
cam 177
cam 127
cam 44
do after *cpv.* 29
cam 26
cam 20
Cam 22
cam (cam) 26, 67, 124
cam 116
in cam(m)-caim 127
-caim 22
cam 2, 128
cam 127
cam 127
cam 79
cam 78
cam 47
cam 44
cam 44
cam 22

m. cam 106
m. cam 124
m. cam 106
-caim 122
caim 21
caim 21
caim 174a
caim(m)-caim 122
caim 102
caimmar 77
caimmar 176
cam 106

caim 29
caim 75

m. cam 28
caim 29
caim 28
caim 28
caim 28

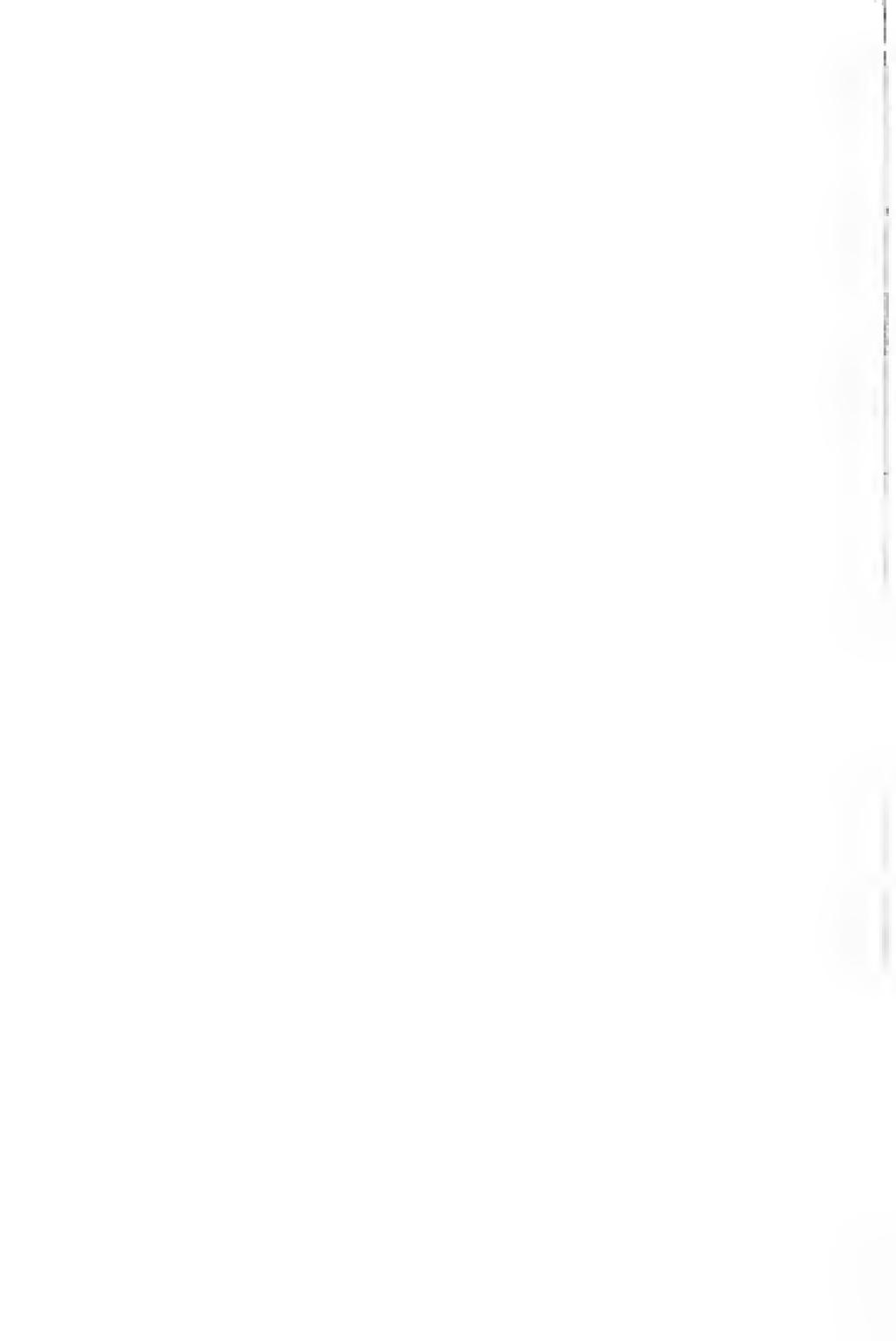
caim 181
caim 28
caim (caim) 181
caim 20
caim(m)-caim 127
caim 181
caim 112
caim 28
caim(m)-caim 119
caim(m)-caim 106, 128

caim(m)-caim 28
m. caim 200
caim 28
caim 178
caim 27
caim 27
caim 127
caim 26
caim 28

caim 26
caim 26
caim 13

mailla (ri) 20	ra-choumaic 134	m. taqfamaññ 185
mañ 65	ra-chouid 134	con-taqqafar 129
mi- 85	rañ 137	lang(a)s 76
mlah 160	de-rigmi 146	masair 141
Nazair 70	de-rigmi 147	sijs gen. sg. 80
neklar a-si 105	ni-roar 19	toqal 157
neqch mañ 119	ar-robar 17	taqqahil 180
NETALAGRI 70	de-rochar 155	taqqahil 190
niqta 172	rocmaiter 171	talas 157
ni-k-ocmaither 171,	rodo-patta 163	torb(a)s 157
189	rodo-pata 163	TOYBACI 42
ocmo-Mi 189	ardos-roñ 191	tri 3, 195
ocus (oed) 181	ar-roiat 191	trijda 192
oidid mousain 65	Aut Rén 3	TRINAGUSE 70
oedi 185, 190	fa-ruar 195	trico 94
peccatñ, peccad 202	niqta 122	trinoit gen. 64
Patir 40	rechañ 191	tuara 12
Patir 40	sera 157	tuñ 104
a papail voc. 59	sinicht 25, 148	tuñ 157
	smi (si) 105a.	tuñ 164
	si(i)pin 132	tuñator 152
QVETI 21		
	in fan (taix) 39	uqra 63

SUPPLEMENT



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In 1936 I received from the Irish Government a request to prepare a new edition of my *Handbuch des Altirischen*, this time in English. In addition to my advanced years, there were two obstacles that made me hesitate to accept such a formidable commitment: first, my failing eyesight, which would have been unequal to the task of verifying references and correcting proofs; second, my insufficient command of English. Both of these obstacles were removed by the unstinted and devoted industry of Mr. Michael Duignan, whose services the Irish Government generously placed at my disposal. Mr. Duignan collaborated with me for two years here in Bonn, relieving me of all the mechanical labour connected with the new edition and supplying me with an English translation which he was always ready to modify or recast in accordance with my views. Without him I could not have carried out the undertaking, and my most cordial thanks are due to him and to the Irish Government who provided me with such a capable assistant.

In this new edition I have adhered to the plan adopted in the first: to deal exclusively with the earliest stage of the Irish language of which the extant sources are sufficient to provide a reasonably full description. I have, however, included somewhat more material from late manuscripts in which old texts have been transmitted, sometimes correctly, sometimes with a certain amount of change. On the other hand, some restriction on the use of these sources was imposed by the fact that they often contain old forms in a later orthography; in such cases it would have been necessary, in order to avoid confusing the learner, to give the old spelling also, and considerations of space made this undesirable. Accordingly, where sufficient examples are available from old manuscripts, I have confined myself to these, using later sources only to supplement their deficiencies. Neither have I deemed it necessary, in a work of this kind, to discuss obvious scribal errors, which have long been recognized as such, in the old manuscripts.

The translation which accompanies almost every Irish word is intended merely to aid the student's memory, not to dispense him

from consulting dictionaries; in general only one of the principal meanings of the word is given. Nouns and adjectives are cited in the nom. sg., verbs in the 3 sg. pres. indic., even when these forms do not happen to be attested. In quoting verbal forms I have in general confined myself to those which are difficult to analyse; for the rest, I hope that the rules suggested by me will enable the student to recognize forms which are not cited here or which may turn up in the future. Naturally, however, a language so complicated as Old Irish cannot be mastered without a considerable amount of mental effort.

For corrections and additions to the matter of the first edition I am indebted primarily to the two Grammars by Holger Pedersen and to his review of the *Handbuch* in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1912, pp. 19 ff. Where I have adopted his views no specific reference to any of these works is given. Osborn Bergin read a section of the work in manuscript and sent me a number of valuable notes. I have also to thank Vernam Hull for allowing me to use his collection of examples of *-sa* as emphasizing particle 3 sg. (cp. p. 116 *infra*).

R. THURMEYSEN

Bonn

FROM THE PREFACE TO *HANDBUCH DES ALTIRISCHEN*
(1909)

On the relation of Old Irish to other Indo-European languages I have deemed it advisable to confine my remarks within the narrowest possible limits. For the materials for the grammar of Old Irish are so abundant, and the language itself is—one might almost say—so reluctant to be confined within grammatical rules, that a detailed treatment of such problems would have unduly increased the size of the book. Hence polemics have as a rule been excluded; I simply give what seems to me to be the correct or probable explanation. In doubtful cases I have preferred either to draw attention to the difficulties or to seek what enlightenment one can get from the purely Irish standpoint rather than to enumerate and discuss a number of possibilities. The book is not intended to introduce the reader to the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages, but rather to make Old Irish

accessible to readers who are already familiar with comparative philology. Even the Britannie dialects of Celtic have only been used in so far as they help to throw light on the prehistoric stage of Irish. I have been at pains to enumerate all scholarly publications which contain fuller collections of material than could be included in the present work; on the other hand, I have refrained from citing works which give the reader no further information than is to be found in it. The arrangement of the subject-matter has been determined by practical rather than by systematic considerations. Verbs are cited, not in the first person, the form of which is but too often unknown to us, but in the third, where the possibilities of error are considerably less.

- 52 line 30 *for has has read' as has*
 253 line 8 *add new par.:*
 In old texts we find *sa* used for *som*, e.g.
 as-berd-sa 'he said' LU 10916, *as-berad-sa* 10966;
 cp. a *m-bésa-sa* 'their customs' Wb. 9^b17.
 Collection; V. Hull, *Language* XVI. 12 f., 341 f.
- 254 line 8 *after 93^d3, insert 133^d7,*
 254 line 22 *after who are insert (3 pl.)*
 255 line 3 *after occurs in insert phrases like*
 255 line 33 *after shalt have' add ; ro-n-d-biad 'that he would*
 have' Wb. 16^b19
- 256 line 9 *for ni-m-tha read ní-m-tha*
 256 line 21 *after 18^d3 add ; similarly níma-ricfed 'it would*
 not have happened to him' Wb. 4^b13
- 256 line 38 (y) *after 'I insert have*
 257 line 10 *after verb insert (§ 513)*
 259 line 3 *after i' insert 'in which'*
 261 line 6 *after 94^f8; insert cta-n-accigi 'who shall first see*
 him' Trip. 130,18 (belongs here though the clause is
 relative);
- 261 line 31 *for -dibitis-se read -dibitis-se*
 264 line 28 *after 30^d12; insert cipe (sic leg.) asda-comra*
 (asdocomra ms.) 'whoever may have paid them'
 (vb. as-ran) Laws v. 182,7;
- 265 line 19 *after below insert , or from § 797*
 268 line 36 (y) *after cia insert , ce*
 271 line 30 *for (= -id) read (-t = -d)*
 273 line 28 *for 122^a4 read 122^a40*
 276 *delete last line*
 277 line 19 *for foisitiu read foisitiu*
 282 line 41 (x) *after you' add (§ 416)*
 283 line 18 *after cp. insert the third person*
 284 line 6 *after etc. add (§ 429)*
 284 line 38 *after Dative insert as separate par.:*

In the case of infixed pronouns and pronouns suffixed to *táith 'is' the forms of the acc. (sg. and pl.) serve also for the dat. See §§ 409b, 427, 430.

- 285 line 38 *at end of § 454 add* The archaic form *sa* might be the petrified nom. sg. masc. of the demonstrative pronoun, Gk. *ῥα* (*ῥα*), Skt. *sa* (*saḥ*), the *-o* having become *-a* (§ 90,4).
- 293 line 24 *for ua read úa*
- 296 line 26 *after Sept. 13 add* (cp. § 472)
- 296 line 27 *after obligatory insert in prose*
- 297 line 31 *for Ml. read Wb.*
- 298 line 7 *for cetna read cétna*
- 298 line 25 *for an- read an*
- 300 line 39 (x) *after cases' add* (§ 825)
- 301 line 10 *for mogae read moǵae*
- 302 line 22 *after pronoun insert* (cp. § 815)
- 303 line 10 *after § 422. add* From examples like the last comes the later use of *ón* as an intensive particle 'truly', etc.
- 303 line 19 *for ar-se read ar-se*
- 304 line 20 *after sídī, insert adī*
- 304 line 20 *for síde read ade* [Cp. Translators' Notes 115]
- 305 line 9 *for de-siu read de-síu*
- 305 line 26 *after § 8 add* (cp. §§ 858, 433)
- 307 line 21 *after io- insert iá-*
- 308 line 16 *for Saul read Saúil*
- 309 line 13 *for *allī read *allī-*
- 312 line 16 *after oc(c)-aⁿ; insert asaⁿ,*
- 312 line 17 *after forsaⁿ, insert taraⁿ and tarasaⁿ*
- 312 line 21 *for uaⁿ read úaⁿ*
- 312 line 25 *after frise-. add new par.:*
 Examples: *den chamull fora-m-boí* 'from the camel on which she was' Tur. 60; *na m-bríathar úa-m-bíat* 'of the verbs from which they come' Sg. 192^b3; *ónd áes túaithe etera-rrobæ* 'from the lay-folk amongst whom he has been' Wb. 28^b32; *fri nech tarsa-tochuirther scáth* 'to one over whom is placed a shield' Ml. 22^a1; *peccad dia-forgénsum* 'sin which we have served' Wb. 3^a15; *in magen i-n-déntar* 'the place wherein it is made' Thes. II. 230, 21.
- 313 line 6 *after particles, insert* taking the conjunct form of a simple verb and
- 313 line 16 *delete everything after the first three words*

- 317 line 8 *for soírad sin read soírad-sin*
- 318 line 14 *after noun add (§ 518)*
- 320 line 2 *for (that) it read (that) that*
- 322 line 12 *after thou insert thyself*
- 323 line 30 *delete , like that in § 509,*
- 324 line 27 *before prepositions insert simple*
- 326 line 8 *after 104 ff.; insert M. L. Sjoestedt-Jonval, Études
Celtiques m. 105 ff., 219 ff.;*
- 327 line 26 *after 348,89 add (see § 410)*
- 329 line 29 *for Snytax read Syntax*
- 331 line 8 *after with the insert past*
- 331 line 19 *after § 537 add and § 594*
- 332 line 31 *for mani esérsitis read mani-esérsitis*
- 341 line 11 *for 592 read 594*
- 341 line 29 *for 'says' read 'said'*
- 342 line 32 *after 'before' insert (§ 895)*
- 342 line 32 *after 'provided that' insert (§ 904)*
- 342 line 33 *after 'unless' insert (§ 897a)*
- 345 line 15 *for do-ommalg read do-ommalgg Sg. 23^{b2}*
- 346 line 36 (y) *for -e read -cithe*
- 348 line 25 *after (§ 542) add ; e.g. no-bered 'be used to bear',
no-berad, no-bérad*
- 351 line 30 *delete earlier*
- 354 line 16 *after 'calls', insert ma(i)did 'breaks',*
- 356 line 7 *after 'covenant'). add Cp. ipv. 2 sg. remfolaing
'prevent' Ml. 44^a24, 100^a12, a cpd. of lingid
(§ 548).*
- 358 line 26 *for B III read B II*
- 359 line 8 *for -tabair read -tab(a)ir*
- 360 line 27 *for tu-thégot read tu-thégot*
- 364 line 6 *after rethae insert , rethte*
- 370 line 11 *after consonance insert (or from examples like those
discussed in § 166b)*
- 371 line 4 *after (-bertis insert , -rethitis*
- 372 line 13 *after 408 f. insert and Ped.² p. iv*
- 372 lines 21-5 *for The -the in the 2pl. . . hypothesis, substitute
Accordingly J. A. Kerns (Language xv. 31ff.)
assumes that a reflexive pronoun -se was attached to
active forms in the 1 pl. -mes-se (whence Ir. -mis
and, by analogy, 3 pl. -is), 2 pl. -te-se (Ir. -the), 1 sg.*

-on-se, by metathesis -osne (whence -osne, Ir. -ina). These became confused with old medio-passive forms and, like them, were subsequently transferred to active verbs, the 3 pl. still retaining its passive force also.

- 373 line 4 *for *bered read bered*
 376 line 7 *after 36^a32 insert (cp. IT. m. 65 § 132)*
 379 line 6 *for *krenat read *krinat*
 379 line 31 *for finnatar read -finnatar*
 380 line 13 *for conid-arlasar read conid-árlasar*
 381 line 13 *after For insert other verbs of*
 383 line 27 *after as -e insert (§ 94)*
 383 line 29 *after -lécea add (instead of -e)*
 385 line 31 *after biid insert (§ 787)*
 387 line 13 *after ar-id-rochrietis insert (sic)*
 387 line 15 *after asu-gnoother insert (with -oi- ?)*
 387 line 19 *after 10323. add new par.:*
 For the subjunctive of marn(a)id and at-baill see § 597.
 387 line 22 *after -cloitis add (with -oi- ?)*
 391 line 16f. *delete the last sentence of this par*
 391 line 23 *for if it is old (as Pedersen suggests)*
 read which seems to be old
 392 line 33 *after di-fúairstis add 57^a3*
 393 line 26 *for a read -a-*
 394 line 7 *after p. 43,1. insert new par.:*
 remi-fo-ling- 'prevent'; remi-foil Ml. 23^a8; cp.
 lías § 617.
 394 line 22 *delete (read -sed)*
 395 lines 19 and 29 *for -sésalinn read -sésáinn*
 403 line 7 *for -ge-gn- read -gegn-, -gign-*
 403 line 11 *for -génmais read -géumais*
 403 line 31 *for a(i)gid read agid*
 404 line 17 *for B IV read B V*
 405 line 29 *for correctly read regularly*
 406 line 36 (y) *for -teroga read -teroga-*
 408 line 8 *delete (cp. § 113)*
 408 line 29 *for -fius read -fius*
 408 line 30 *after (trisyllabic, insert as the vowel before -r is secondary,*

- 408 line 34 (y) *delete* (*tar < tʳ*)
- 410 line 4 *for do-fár-maig read do-fór-maig*
- 410 line 12 *after subj. insert* 1 pl.
- 413 line 23 f. *delete* -foil Ml. 23^a8
- 413 line 26 *for -oss- read -uss-*
- 414 line 13 *after Furthermore, insert* it is probable that
- 414 line 27 *for lug-s read lúg-s*
- 414 lines 37-43 *for* Originally, . . . almost certain *substitute*
 In Sanskrit, where the root ends in a liquid or nasal,
 -s- is added not to the ordinary weak grade but to the
 lengthened form of it, i.e. to IE. *ʃ, ǵ, ǵ* (according to
 de Saussure's representation); e.g. Skt. 3 sg. *cākr̥ṣati*
 from $\sqrt{\text{kar-}}$, where -*k̥r-* corresponds to IE. -*kʷ-*. Cp.
 Wilhelm Schulze, *Kl. Schriften* 110 ff.; Kuiper, *Acta*
Orientalia XII. 300 ff. As *ʃ, ǵ, ǵ* became *rā, lā*
 (§ 215), and probably *nā* in Celtic, it seems very
 likely
- 415 line 2 *after a-subjunctive. add* Otherwise Vendryes, *MSL.*
xx. 121 f.
- 422 line 12 f. *for* -recht, é-racht *read* -recht-, é-racht-
- 422 line 15 *for síassair read síasair*
- 424 line 4 *for* By-forms *read* Occasional by-forms
- 427 line 6 *for* *plagk-* *read* *plegk-*
- 427 line 10 *delete* (also § 693)
- 428 line 16 *after* Ml. 123^b10 *insert* and *fos-roirtib* LL. 121^b47
 (*etir-* and *for-dí-ben-*)
- 428 line 16 *for* *has* *read* *have*
- 429 line 28 *for* *i-* *read* *í-*
- 430 line 20 *for* *ad-cuadatar* *read* *ad-cúadatar*
- 432 line 23 *add new par.:*
 It is uncertain whether the active form
do-ru-móin RC. *xx.* 278 § 108, instead of the usual
do-ruménair, is archaic or poetical.
- 435 line 17 *for* *pleu-* *read* $\sqrt{\text{pleu-}}$
- 436 line 35 *after* perfect: *insert* 1 sg.
- 437 line 28 *for* *móra-d* *read* -*múra-d*
- 439 line 10 *after* *ar-folmas* *insert* 21^a2
- 439 line 17 *after* *!* *insert*, § 215
- 439 line 33 (x) *after* § 50b *add* and § 759 II (b)
- 440 line 4 *after* -*slacht* *insert* Ml. 55^a2, etc.

- 442 line 30 *after goíte add* (cp. § 710)
 443 line 31 (x) *after coirthe add* Ml. 72^b13
 444 line 4 *after to-(fo)-org insert* (§ 855 A)
 446 line 34 (x) *after with insert* masculine
 448 line 17 *after 37^a6 add* ; similarly *aithreiu* Ml. 31^a21, acc. pl. of *aith-airec* 'argumentum'
 448 line 26 f. *delete* (*a*-stem ?), but
 448 line 27 *for* (like a *u*-stem) *read* (*i*-stem in Ml.)
 449 line 16 *after for add* (-*nuwio*-?)
 449 line 30 *for a*-stems *read a*-stems
 451 line 26 *after fo-lámadar add* (cp. § 708)
 452 line 4 *after ANEXTLO-MARVS add* (§ 180)
 452 line 9 *after lenited m add* (cp. § 733)
 454 line 2 *for a*- *read a*-
 454 line 10 *after oirene insert* , and numerous compounds
 454 line 37 (y) *after iv. 298 add* , O'Dav. 570
 461 line 10 *after pass. *-acht insert* (cp. § 707)
 461 line 15 *for -ainset read -a(i)inset*
 461 line 24 *after 'refuses' insert* (cp. § 550)
 461 line 29 *for* (2 sg. -*hóis*) *read* (pl. *-*hós(s)at*)
 462 line 17 *after § 687 insert* (-*buig* § 694c)
 462 line 32 *for cla(i)díd read claidíd*
 462 line 32 *after § 597 insert* and § 611
 463 line 5 *after subj. insert pass.*
for for-diassat read for-diassatar
 463 line 6 *after § 687, insert pf.*
 463 line 10 *after § 613 insert* (cp. § 625)
 463 line 27 *after 24^b17 insert* (§ 114)
after deich insert Ml. 72^d11
 463 line 29 *after § 693 insert* (cp. § 682)
after § 79 insert (cp. § 707)
 463 line 33 (x) *after ipv. finnad insert* § 595
 464 line 36 (y) *after § 702 insert* (cp. § 688)
 465 line 13 *after § 689 insert* (cp. § 696)
 465 line 29 *delete -foil*
 465 line 30 *after with com insert* , § 533
 465 line 32 *after -maid insert* § 549
 466 line 9 *after 619 insert* (cp. § 621 f.)
 466 line 14 *after §§ 687, insert 695,*
 467 line 2 *after pass. do-r-éruacht insert* (cp. § 707)

- 467 line 12 *after 625 insert*, 627
 467 line 19 *for do-sés read du-sés*
 468 line 25 *after § 578 insert*; *ipv. beir, ber (§§ 583, 586)*
 468 line 26 *after § 682 insert and § 684*
 470 line 3 *after co-n-ac(ca) insert (§ 536)*
 471 line 6 *for gēta read ·gēta*
 471 line 23 *for [ni]-róiba read [ni]-róiba*
 471 line 33 (y) *after 103 insert*; *cp. § 204,1*
 472 line 1 *after con-óí, insert ·com(a)í,*
 472 line 2 *after óí insert or ói*
 472 line 13 *for (§ 724) read (o-stem with ablaut *seq^o-, sq^o-)*
 472 line 28 *for § 591 read §§ 548, 591*
 472 line 33 *delete neg. na-téig*
 472 line 35 (y) *after tiagar insert new par.:*
 With the negative the 2 sg. form na-téig occurs
 early, e.g. Ériu i. 118 § 8, beside na-eirg (written
 na-herc YBL 60^b20).
 473 line 22 *after ethaid insert (A D)*
 473 line 37 (y) *after ·tuichesmais insert ML 93^b5*
 473 line 38 (z) *after ·tuidchetar add*, *pass. -tuidches*
 474 line 12 *for -coméitged read coméitged*
 474 line 17 *before vb. n. insert cp.*
 after titacht add § 822A
 476 line 16 *after míll insert (read -le)*
 476 line 22 *after 372, 7; insert urthá clunn 'later on' ML 132^a3;*
 476 line 25 *after etc. add (naich-imthá Sg. 20^a1).*
 477 line 32 (z) *for cp. read in a construction similar to that of*
 479 lines 2-3 *for is follows read follows is*
 552 line 4 *for § 167 read § 168*
 480 line 22 *for who read which*
 480 line 30 *add new par.:*
 For ad-co-ta, -é-ta 'obtains', which has a special
 flexion, cp. § 756.
 481 line 7 *for -rubthar read ·ru-lthar*
 484 line 24 *for 510 read 562, 565, 567*
 485 line 16 *before 2 sg. insert § 465,*
 489 line 11 *after ci-b insert (and cía-bé, etc.)*
 after may be' add; *see § 458*
 489 line 26 *after ML. insert 34^b11 and*
 492 line 14 *after 17^d17 add*, *Fél. Épíl. 391*

- 493 line 9 after predicate) *insert* ; further, when the copula would otherwise be immediately followed by a substantival demonstrative like (in) *so*, (in) *se*, (in) *sin*, *side*, *ade*, *són*, *ón* (§ 477 f.); e.g. *is hé side dano as fóla* and 'it is he (lit. 'that one'), also, that is wise therein' *Wb.* 6^b25, *is ed in so trá tosach ind libuir* 'this, then, is the beginning of the book' *Tur.* 39
- 496 line 2 after β *insert* , § 201a
- 496 line 15 after 6073; *insert* subj. *do-eit* § 627;
- 496 line 38 (z) before prototonic *insert* but always
- 497 line 1 after *-ol-* *insert* or *-di-*
- 497 line 20 for *erchre* read *erchr(a)e*
after *MI.* *insert* *Sg.*
- 499 line 4 after regular *add* (§ 168)
- 501 line 7 after **samith*). *add* *Cp. Skt. samitiḥ, samit*
'meeting, conflict'.
- 502 line 12 after (§ 845) *add* or *fri* 'against' (§ 839)
- 502 line 13 after etc. *add* (§ 848)
- 503 line 9 after spirant *v-* *insert* (§ 201 f.)
- 504 line 1 after 954 *add* (*cp.* § 436)
- 504 line 5 for *di* read *dí*
- 504 line 38 (z) before *ipf.* *insert* *do-forti* *ZCP.* xi. 85 § 38,
- 506 line 23 for *RC. L.* read *Études Celtiques* 1.
- 508 line 12 delete etc.
- 509 line 17 after *as(s)ind-*, *insert* *pl. asda-, usnda-*,
- 509 line 39 (y) for consonants read stops
- 511 line 31 after β *insert* , § 201a
- 514 line 8 read *-frith-álim* and delete (read *-álim* ?)
- 514 line 23 after Before *l* *insert* , however
- 514 line 31 after *oppose'* *insert* *MI.* 34^a8
- 514 line 36 (x) after 'opposes' *insert* (subj. *fres-tai* *MI.* 31^d6 beside *fris-tai* *Thes.* n. 357, 2)
- 515 line 34 after μ *insert* (which perhaps had been unvoiced by the following *s*)
- 518 line 33 delete *dat. sg.*
- 520 line 9 for *ingreim* read *ingr(e)im(m)*
- 521 line 36 after 'in him' *insert* , in it
- 522 line 9 after *at-*) delete remainder of sentence
- 522 line 31 after *issa*, *insert* *pl. issaib,*

- 528 line 35 (x) *after dermet; insert do-ro-choíni 'despairs' (vb. n. déirchoíniud Wb. 14^b27, gen. deirchoíntea Wb. 21^b1, influenced by déir 'tear' ?);*
- 531 line 34 *after to insert , tu
after (do insert , du*
- 531 line 35 (x) *for RC. L. read Études Celtiques I.*
- 532 line 23 *for t-uc(ca)í read -t-uc(ca)í*
- 533 line 29 *after B. insert , which are not often found,*
- 539 line 32 *for Saul read Saúl*
- 542 line 27 *after obscure, add Cp. Holmer, Études Celtiques m. 83.*
- 543 line 34 *after imblí insert (gen.)*
- 543 line 35 *for xii. 48 read xii. 50*
- 546 line 20 *after 93^b14 add ; mod 'manner' Wb. 21^c11*
- 548 line 37 (z) *after xvi. insert 138 f.*
- 549 line 34 (x) *before § 479 insert § 477 and*
- 552 line 8 *for ro-lead read ro-lead*
- 553 line 3 *for chúrsachta read chúrsachta*
- 555 line 22 *after accederit insert (= -ciderit)*
- 558 line 21 *for mani-pridag read mani-pridag*
- 558 line 31 *after 13^b12, add new par.:*
Occasionally the present subj. is also used when the condition is present but very doubtful;
cp. Ml. 14^b1.
- 561 line 24 *before ci insert also*
- 562 line 7 *for ro-batar read ro-bátar*
- 562 line 8 *for imthrenugud read imthrénuġud*
- 563 line 32 *after Inni insert , etc.*
- 564 line 7 *for Saul read Saúl*
- 567 line 34 *after sacarbáic(c) insert fem.*
- 569 line 32 *delete -res, -ria*
- 570 line 10 *for Issau read Issaú*
- 571 line 14 *for a-stem read á-stem*
- 573 line 4 *after was insert then*

1. p.157 l.4. The use of the acc. after *malg* is by no means confined to the archaic period. Cp. RIA Contr. M, col. 39 (b).

2. p.216 l.32. The quality of the *-r* in *már* varies like that of the *-g* in *rig* (§ 318). Cp. Ó Cuív, Éigse v. 229.

3. p.232 l.28f. The potential force of *da-rigénte* is due, not to the secondary future, but to the particle *ro*; cp. § 531.2.

4. p.379 l.24. *nírbí* is more likely to be gen. sg. of the vb. n, the following word (*céit*) being gen. pl.; the construction would be that described in § 250, l (b).

5. p.412 l.26. For an example of the form *cíchsi* see V. Hull, Language XIII. 423. The paradigm on p.411 may accordingly be completed (l.12): 2 **gígí* (*cíchí*).

6. p.480 l.22. *ara-thá* (Wb. 10^b3) means rather 'which is in store'; cp. also Wb. 30^b13.

7. p.481 l.21f. In the two examples of 3 sg. *búid* in Wb. (5^a33, 13^a28) the first *i* is marked long. In the 2 pl. form *na-bíth* the *i*, though not marked in the MS., was certainly long.

8. p.493 l.23. Here it is more probable that *dí* is used to express the agent after the vb. n., as in § 720.

9. p.501 l.17. In Macalister's *Corpus* XCI (of which there are nine examples) is the only form given.

10. p.515 l.3. Add *rúsa* Ml. 32^a2.

11. p.517 l.21. But Ml. 120^a2 also seems to have *íuwa*.

12. p.530 l.29. On *rechfaid*, *rechbaid* 'excess' see now M. O'Daly, Éigse VI. 76.

13. p.566 l.36 (y). The short vowels in *srathar* and *mésar* (p.573) are explained by K. Jackson, Speculum XIII. 338, as due to the shortening of pretonic long vowels in Vulgar Latin (*srátura*, *mésara*).

14. p.568 l.1f. These words were already pronounced with *c-* and *t-* in Vulgar Latin; cp. Jackson, *ibid.*

15. p.573 l.35 (y). *mésar*. See note 13.

16. p.574 l.29f. In some of these words the palatal final may have been due to the Latin oblique terminations *-em*, *-is*, *-i*. Cp. Jackson, *ibid.* p.339.

17. p.679 note 89. Cp. further RC. XVII. 142, where *de* rhymes with stressed *se*, and Ml. 24^a1, 35^a23.

18. p.679 note 94. We had overlooked the explanation suggested in Brugmann, *Grundriss*³ II. ii, 3 note 1, doubtless contributed by Thurneysen, of the alleged short *i* in *tricha*: "The form *tricha*, instead of the phonologically regular **trecha*, may have been due partly to the influence of *tri* "tria" (before nouns), partly to that of *fiche* "20".

The word is very rarely written out in the older MSS., being usually represented by .xxx. The *i* is marked long in LU 4639, 4640, 10274, and there seems to be no evidence that it was short in Old as opposed to Middle and Early Modern Irish. Cp. *trícha*: *crícha* IGT. II. ex. 7.