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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN IRISH.

§ 1. The subject of the following dissertation is the investigation of the development of the forms of the Substantive Verb and Copula from Old to Middle Irish and a comparison with the modern forms, together with a discussion of the syntactic changes which took place during the same period.

I have treated the subject in the following order :

- I.—The development of the forms of the copula and substantive verb from Old to Middle Irish.
- II.—The use of the adjective with the substantive verb.
- III.—The development of the phrase *atá sé ina fhear*.

### CHAP. I.

#### THE FORMS OF THE COPULA AND SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 2. As the basis of my investigations I have made use of the following four principal sources :

1. **The Würzburg, St. Gall, and Milan Glosses** written (approximately) 750-820 A.D.

2. **The Saltair na Rann**, written<sup>1</sup> 987 (v. ll. 2337-2635).

3. **The Passions and Homilies** from the *Leabhar Breac*,<sup>2</sup> written in the second half, or towards the end of the 11th century. This date can be assigned to the text with tolerable certainty in view of the condition of the compound verbs, such as *dorairngir* 3498, 3567, of the dative plural of the adjective, and of the infixed pronoun.

4. **The Acallam na Senórach**,<sup>3</sup> a text written about the middle of the 12th century.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also AU 986 (=987), 994.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Atkinson, Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Stokes, Jr. Texte IV.



The following linguistic facts point to the first half or middle of the 12th century as the approximate date of the latter text :

a. It has commonly accusative *n-*. This becomes irregular in AU after 1000 A.D. though it is much longer preserved in Mid. Ir.

b. It has the old equatives in *-thir*, e.g., *dergithir* 6636, *duibithir glaisithir* 6637, in the Franciscan\* copy.

c. The condition of the forms of *indaas*, 'than,' e.g., *is ferr inté atá ar do ghualainn innúsa* 2363 'than I.' *duine budh fherr anás* 2034, but *ferr é . . iná thusa* 2365, *innai-siu* 2372, *inait* 2540.

d. The 3 pl. of the *s-* perfect regularly ends in *-sat*, as *rucsat*, *ro iadsat* 2049, etc. The *-adar* ending in these verbs has begun in AU at 1041 A.D.

e. The passive pl. in *-it* : *ro luathaigit láma lind 7 ro bailcit beimenna 7 ro cruadaigit craidida* 6492. This seems to give a rough approximation of the date, as AU has these forms from 1014 to 1170, and *romarbait* 1187 (*romarbadh*, R).

f. Other circumstances such as the fall of *-ib* of the dative plural of the adjective, the use of the nominative plural *fir* for the accusative 976, if not due to the MSS., the independent pronoun, the nominative of the article, e.g. *int-ōr* for *inn ōr* 5872, etc., show that the text could not have been written before 1100. Judging by the condition of the infixed pronoun, the verbal forms, and the forms of the substantive verb and copula, it must be a generation, at least, later than the Passions and Homilies.

If the reference to Mainistir Droichit Átha, line 53, is in the body of the text, it cannot have been written before 1142, in which year the monastery was founded.<sup>1</sup> See Meyer, *Fianaighecht*, p. XXXI, Stokes, Notes, p. 273 and cf. the account of the consecration of the monastery AU 1157 and FM, the same year.

§ 3. In the following, I make use of the collections of Strachan in his papers on the Substantive Verbs and the Verbal system of *Saltair na Rann* in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, and of Atkinson's vocabulary to the Passions and Homilies

<sup>1</sup> The whole trend of the story which describes the break up of an earlier order of things would point to the post-Invasion period. Cf. names like *Teprofáne*, etc., 229, 2774. But this would be too late for the language of the text. The reference in the *Dindsenchas* is also against this. Some of the poetry is probably older than the prose, but not much. Cf. poem, line 446, with the same poem in LL 206a.



from the *Leabhar Breac*. These are compared with the forms of *Acallam na Senórach* and with the more important forms of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,<sup>1</sup> *Togal Bruidne Dá Derga* and of various Old and early Middle Irish texts. For early Modern Irish, I instance the forms of Keating and for Modern Irish those in spoken use.

The syntax of the substantive verb and copula is dealt with in Chapters II. and III.

### THE COPULA.

#### § 5.

#### PRESENT INDICATIVE.

Sg 1. Gl.<sup>2</sup> *am irlam* Wb 1<sup>b</sup>9; *am fir-israhelite* 23<sup>d</sup>20, *am slán* Sg 140<sup>b</sup>3 (=sanus sum) *ni-m-tha láam* Wb 12<sup>a</sup>21, *níta chumme se* Wb 20<sup>c</sup>25, *cota-beu* Ml 44<sup>c</sup>1, *amal no-n-da* Wb 9<sup>b</sup>4 Cf. *nída coimsech mo soirí* Trip. L. 252, 14, *nimthá duit, ol in Dagda* LL 246<sup>a</sup>5.

SR :<sup>3</sup> *am scíth* 3099, *ciam toebnocht* 1540, *nimdana* 2069 'I am not bold,' *nídam-snímach* 2382.

PH : (α) *isam urlam-sa* 596, *isam nemchinntach-sa* o .. 3282 (β) *is rig me* 2712, *is nemurchoitech* 2843.

AS : (α) *am eoluch-sa* 1582 (Li. p.<sup>3</sup>), *am comhaes* 1382 (Li. p.) (2 inst.), *isam senóir* 3523 (Li. p.), *isam eolach* 2546 (6 inst.) (β) *is cumachtach missi issin baile* 4191, *is slemain missi* 7223, γ *damna ollaman mé féin* 3353, (γ) *Bran misi* 877.

Neg. *ní ben mé* 6380.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *at firian-su* Ml 36<sup>a</sup>32, *at fechem dom* Wb 32<sup>a</sup>21, *air-it*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As regards the date of this text, it contains a reference to an individual who died in 897, and possibly to one who died in 936. Cf. Stokes, Introduction, p. lxiv. It has, however, such early forms as the dative plural of the article in *-ib* which occurs for the last time in AU at 892. Cf. LAU, pp. 123, 125.

<sup>2</sup> For fuller lists, cf. Strachan, Subst. Verb. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899-02.

<sup>3</sup> Li. stands for the Book of Lismore version; p. in these cases stands for 'poetry.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895-98; Thurneysen, Handbuch § 772 *isam aithrech* 7789 probably contains affixed pron. Cf. Thurneysen § 426.

Ml 55<sup>d</sup>11, *ce nita chungabtha-siu* Ml 84<sup>c</sup>3, *annu-n-da chocabaid-siu* Ml 58<sup>b</sup>6.

Cf. *massat fissid* Dá Derga<sup>1</sup> 50.

SR: *at gliccu* 1147, *ar it fiadu* 7800.

PH. *at firen* 794, *at mallachda-su* 2328, *isat fer anorach* 707, *cid at fir-Dhia* 163, *masat\*mac De* 4708, *indat sochenel* 695. (β) *is cristaige thu*; *is rig thusu* 2711.

AS: (α) *corsat noch* 4444, *inat eolach* 1581.

(β) *lennan dam thusa* 6368.

(γ) *cia thusa* 3642, cf. *cuich thusa* 7295.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *is follus* Wb 1<sup>a</sup>4, *is athir-som* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>11, *is din chorp in ball* Wb 22<sup>e</sup>18, *is snisni ata boues* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>7, *is lanchiall indib cheneae* Sg 140<sup>b</sup>3. *ní na persan a teclim act is* Wb 1<sup>d</sup>1, *hore ní tri sonirti* Wb 10<sup>e</sup>3, *in sí a meit* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>11.

Rel. *intí as hénirt hiress* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>9, *ithé aschorp . . . ind noib as chorp* Wb 21<sup>a</sup>15, (g.) *intí asa ainm bis* Ml 2<sup>e</sup>3, *an-as maith* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>18, *in deni as mbuidigthi* Wb 62<sup>e</sup>5.

Neg. *intí nád imdibthe* Wb 1<sup>d</sup>15, *amal nát anse* Wb 17<sup>e</sup>11, *nadchoir* Ml 37<sup>a</sup>8, *nant hæ rocrochsat* Ml 24<sup>d</sup>4. *huare nach maith leu* Ml 138<sup>e</sup>9, *onach ase* Sg 104<sup>b</sup>4. *innach cuman lib* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>9, *conid hinunn folad duib* Sg 9<sup>a</sup>15, *innid eula nech* Ml 42<sup>e</sup>4, *conid diib* Wb 24<sup>e</sup>14, *diandid nomen* H. Sg 100<sup>b</sup>1, *diant ainm* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>5, *cesu thréde* Wb 21<sup>d</sup>13, *massu made* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>34.

[Cf. *conid hé ind fírsoillsi hé triasa rosoillsiged* Trip. 6, 17; *indala hai is dub* Dá Derga, p. 126; *is maith in láech Mac Cecht* ib. 77, *isí orcain tuc a áin fen dosom*<sup>2</sup> ib. 23].

SR: *is mor ind rún* 3335, *is tú Jacob* 2876, *uair is mac díles* 1964, *ní sinn rogab* 1733, *conid crannchor roscóraig* 5127, *manid gau* 2866, *dianid ainm* 110, etc., *dian ainm* 6112. After *intan*: *tan is tussa rogni* 6147.

Rel. *ní as sia* 6031, *nech assa* ('whose is') *flesc* 4485, *massu thú ind Eua* 1189.

PH: *is maith lind* 23, *is borb he* 727, *is mise* 1745. *nít cara do C. he* 2816, *nocon é in cotlad* 3032, *conid nem-geinnté*

<sup>1</sup> Tegal Bruidne Dá Derga, ed. Stokes. The numbers refer to the pages.

<sup>2</sup> 'plunder was what his own impulse gave him.' leg. áinsén 'ill-luck' (Strachan).

*he* 240, *atbert gurab inand* 7690 (cf. *aderait gurab droch duine* 7682). *dianad ainm* 937, etc., *dianad erlam* 7874, *cia airm inad sháil* 5029.

Rel. *in rig as frecnairc* 4147, *as co laind as taburtha* 6030, *anas duiltadach* 7298, *in bannscal is a* ('whose is') *mac* 1354.

AS : *issé sin ciall* 3326, *is mé in fer dobhí* 3547, *is maith hí* 6405, 7 *as cuma* 6031, *an tussa in ingen* 6398, "is mé" 6399, *ní crodh cas* 817 (p), *ní cora duit* 5974, *nochon é* 7080, *conid hí sin étail* 4121, *conid tusa* 6158, *conad de* 1240, *is fir cora mé* 4208, *gurab ris ata* 1074, *lith nach gann* 2518, *cia dianad muintir* 1949, *ingen dan comainm* C. 3837, *fled dara buidécha*<sup>1</sup> 4604, *is uathad dar eoluch i* 3594, *massu thusa in t'oclach* 5970, *massa maith le Dia* 4120, *máse* 580.

Rel. *adhbúr is ferr* 5817, *ca tir as chomnessa dóib* 5961, *cíd aschóir* 6925, *cia as chora* 2784, *fer asa sleg sea* 5330.

Mod. : *is* for all persons : *is mé, is é, is sibh, is iat*, etc.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *ammi irlaim* Wb 4<sup>b</sup>21, *ammi óin chorp hí Crist* 12<sup>a</sup>12, *ammin eulig* 14<sup>d</sup>28; *annu-n-dan deeth-ni* Ml 120<sup>b</sup>3. *nidan chumachtig* Wb 14<sup>c</sup>41 *condan firianichthi* Wb 2<sup>d</sup>14. *nu-n-dem* Cambr. 37<sup>d</sup>. *nitam toirsech* Wb 15<sup>b</sup>21 (leg. *toirsich* ?).

Cf. *ciámmín bí amin mairb* Dá Derga 31.

SR : *ar troig* 7896, *dar slana* 3612, *ni-dar glain* 1609, *ni-darn-idain* 3626.

PH : (a) No instance. (β) *is erlam sinde* 1042, *condat dee sinne* 2069, cf. *cenel togaide sinne* 1703, *tuicfe-siu cen furech sinne conid fir-epertaig 'nar ndescipl-* do Christ 1843, *fúismimít annsin conid 'nar mec don Choimdid* 7869.

AS : (a) No instance. (β) *tri meic Uair sind* 6152.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *adib mairb* Wb 3<sup>b</sup>6, *adib ellachti* 22<sup>a</sup>24, *adib doine* 22<sup>a</sup>30, *ar idib maithi* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>9; *amal no-n-dad maicc* Wb 27<sup>b</sup>16, *ce notad maic-si* 33<sup>b</sup>8, *nitad lib fésin* Wb 9<sup>d</sup>11.

Cf. *ar itib ingena* Trip. L. 102, 9; *dáig abtar lia andúsa* Dá Derga 38.

<sup>1</sup> Notice comparative of this word. Cf. *uaibrecha* 356.



SR : (a) *atib troig* 7986, *ni-for-gliccu* 1235, *ni-forn-intliuchtach* 1238, *ni bar-troig* 3641. (β) No instance.

PH : (a) *cid ar n-atáuar anchretmig-si* 1752; *atabar glana-si* 5262, cf. 5264.

(β) *condat adbartnaigthi-sin* 1795; *ni huile isat glana sib* 5263.

AS : (γ) No instance. (β) *ni tairisse le Fiannaib sib-se* 6106. *is fír sib-se* 7486.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *it moirb in boill* Wb 11<sup>d</sup>11, *it carit dom-sa* 5<sup>c</sup>7; *huaire ithé atá huaislem* Ml 116<sup>a</sup>11, (rel.) *it hé ata mundus* Wb 5<sup>a</sup>14, *atá n-ili* 12<sup>a</sup>11, *an-at-n-acailsi* Ml 48<sup>a</sup>10.

Neg. *nitat cosmuli* Wb 9<sup>b</sup>17, *nidat chummai* Ml 115<sup>b</sup>3, *nidat huli it maicc* Wb 4<sup>c</sup>6, *indat mbriathra* Ml 44<sup>b</sup>9, *indat Iudei* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>34, *ind aimser indat sláin* Ml 76<sup>a</sup>6, *cetu chummaschthai* Sg 62<sup>a</sup>2, *matu hé ata orpamin* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>14.

Cf. *it ili* Dá Derga 50; *cidat crechtaig ib.* 70, *nidat bána ib.* 149, *trí brathir iat* 113.

SR : *it cosmaile* 7277, *hit imsláin* 194, (neg.) *nidat soirchi* 64, cf. 1571, 1611, etc., *condat cōra* 296, *indat glain*, 'are they pure,' 6176, *cidat ěcsamla* 7277, *ciat serba* 4071. Cf. *hitē remra* 364.

(Cf. *isiat sain* T. Ferbe 527, *isiat térnatar ib.* 568, *isat bána do bassa, ib.* 711).

PH : *at fira do briathra* 794, *ité inso* 964, *isat lána do bóide* 5876, *nidat dee sin itir* 2353, *nidat fira na scela sin* 2688. *condat firdee iat* 736, *ni hiat chomdidnus* 3392.

Rel. : *na rig atta dílsi do chraes* 4189, *na droch-dóine atta dílsi da cech ulc* 4191, *na súalchi atta airegda and* 4622, *but gé tát gnethi as trumma* 7422.

(β) *is iat usci* 5865 *isiat a scela* 360, cf. 435, 5859, 6013, *ni sine a chach iat* 1971, *ni hiat ro-adair* 2634, *aderait conid Iudaide iat* 2676.

AS : (a) *at casa finna* 797 (Li. p. one inst.), *nidat glasa* 797 (Li. p.) *nidat cenna* 809, (Li. p.) *nirsat carait fa deredh iat* 1377. (β) *iss iat ata* 3412, 7 *dimbuan . . iat* 3909, *is énlaithe . . iat* 6288, *is misdi óig Ylé* 4575.

Rel. (β) *is siat sin cethrar as díle* 2788, *is iat is comdine dam* 4442, etc.

## REMARKS.

§ 6. A comparison of the above forms shows that alongside of the 1 sg. *am* of the Glosses *isam* is found in SR which has further developed to *is . . . me* in PH, probably three-quarters of a century later. In AS, there are beside *isam*, *is . . . me*, two instances in the poetry of the older form *am* which had probably gone out of the spoken language a hundred years before the poem was written.

§ 7. We find, in AS, several instances of the construction *Falartach mac Ferghusa misi* (cf. 877, etc.) for older *atomchomnaic-sa* (cf. § 69) which was common in early Middle Irish, cf. *Étain . . . a sidib atomcomnaic* Tochm. Et. (Wi. I, 120), *Setanta mac Sualtain atomchomnaic-se* LU Táin (Strachan, p. 4), where YBL has *atomcomainm-sea*. The latter seems also to have been a real form and not a mistake of the MS.; cf. *carsat comainm thusa* 4205, (3490) 'what is your name,' for *ca comainm tusa* 4183 later *cia th'ainm-siu*, Mod. Ir. *cia h'ainm thú*. Similarly, *cia thusa* AS 3642 for the (artificial ?) *cia hé nu-n-dixnaigther-su* of the Glosses (Ml 75<sup>c</sup>9). The meaning of the forms of *atomchomnaic* must have been forgotten by the time of PH, judging by the way they are used in this text—e.g., *cait hi cuindigfem ata-bar-comnaic* 1536, 'Where shall we seek you?' *in leth togairmfe in coimdiu, Isu Críst ata-n-comnaic* 1838 (ib.), 'Jesus Christ who is present,' 'who is with us.' It can hardly mean 'who we are.' For another peculiar use, cf. *dogairet inna huile Éireннаigh atotchomnaicc*, Trip. Life 28, 8, beside *deochan atacomnaic*,<sup>1</sup> 'a deacon was he,' ib. 8, 6. *Cuich* from *coich*, 'whose,' seems to have lost its original meaning and to have become equal to 'who is,' 'who art,' as may be inferred from the examples—e.g., *cuich thusa* 7295. But cf. *coich thusa* SC (Wi. § 12). In the phrase, *cuich in macaemh* 1687, it has probably its original meaning; but it may here be compared to the phrase *cia leis thú* 'whose child are you,' used in speaking to children.

§ 8. The O. Ir. *níta* 'I am not' becomes *nídam* (*snímach*) SR. An intermediate form is *nímda saithech* LU 60<sup>b</sup>18 for which YBL has *nídam saithech*, *nímda macc* LU 62<sup>a</sup>37, *nídam macc* YBL. Of *nímda* we have probably the origin in O. Ir. in Wb 12<sup>a</sup>21 *hóre*

<sup>1</sup> Equals Mod. Ir. *a bhí ann*.



*nimtha laám*<sup>1</sup> 'because I am not hand.' With this latter form we should compare Wb 8<sup>d</sup>24 *nimþtha firion ara chuitside*, 'I am not righteous as to it' (or 'as far as that goes'). *Nidam* as it stands, however, seems to be a contamination of *nita* and *am* or an adding of the affixed pronoun to *nita*, as in the first and second persons plural. There is no instance of the form in PH, and it has disappeared in AS. The Tripartite Life preserves a fairly late instance of the O. Ir. form *nida*. In Dá Derga *nimthá* has its original meaning of 'have,' e.g., *nimthá-sa a samail*, p. 46, cf. 54; but SC (Wi. I, 209) *nimtha maith*, 'I am not good.'

§ 9. *Diandid* (*ainm*), *diant ainm* of the Glosses have become in SR *dianid ainm*, *dian ainm*, further *dianad ainm* PH and *dianad*, *dan* (*comainm*) AS, which latter form, *dan*, is giving place to *dara*, *dar*. We may compare the change of (*maní*), *muna* to *mur*<sup>2</sup> in Mid. Ir., but the form of the perfect *darab* may have influenced the development. The subjunctive *corub* is creeping into the indicative both in PH and AS—e.g., *corub rissin aderar* AS 777I, cf. *aderait gurab droch duine* PH 7682, otherwise *conid*. Cf. Keating, 7 *gurab eadh is leigheas di* Tri BB 214, and generally in Mod. Ir. In spoken Irish, *gurb* is used before a vowel, *gur* before a consonant, in present indicative.

*Is* and *as* are confused for the relative in AS, and, after such phrases as (*in*)*tan*, from SR onward. *As* is used for *is* in PH. The relative *as* still aspirates in AS, *as chomnessa* 596I.

§ 10. In the plural, great changes took place from O. Ir. to the time of SR. The O. Ir. 1 pl. *nidan* became *nidar n-* in SR. As is well known, the infixed pronouns of the 1 and 2 plural became *arn-*, *barn-* in Middle Irish.<sup>3</sup> The endings of *condan*, *nidan*, also those of 1 and 2 sg., which came before the accent resembled the infixed pronoun, which was also followed by the accent, and on that analogy *nidan* became *nidarn*. This spread to the positive forms and gave *dar slana*, *ar troig* with, in the latter case, a possessive pronoun taking the place of a verb. This spread to the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *nimtha maith* SC (Wi. I. 209), 'I am not good.' In Dá Derga, p. 46, and LL 246a5 the *a* of *nimthá* is marked long.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Quiggin, Greifsw. Dissert. p. 18; Quiggin *mar*, (Donegal dialect), Connacht *mur*; for instances v. ACG. Father O'Leary *mura*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Strachan, Ériu, 1.



person (negative) in *ní-for-gliccu*, etc., where already the positive had a *b* ending. Where the copula had an affixed pronoun denoting dative relation the 2 pl. also became *bar*. Thus *issum-ecen precept* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>24, 'it is necessary for me to preach,' cf. Wb 16<sup>e</sup>17 *níb écen lóg* where *b* is the affixed pronoun of the second plural, *isim écen-sa* LU 57<sup>a</sup>39, but LL 58<sup>a</sup>32 *amm ecensa*. For this phrase Fl. Bric (Wi. I, 255) has *atabair ecen* where MS. H. 3. 17 has simply the second plural of the copula itself *atib-ecen*.

A few instances of the 1 and 2 plural of the copula forms occur in PH—e.g., *cid ar n-atáuar anchretnig-si amal bar cenel* 1752, which I take to mean 'why are ye not unbelieving like your race?' Atkinson translates 'why are ye unbelieving like your race?' which does not make sense, and leaves the *n-* in that position unaccounted for. *Atáuar* here equals *atab (adib) + ar*. A further instance is *atabar glana-si* 5262 beside *ní huile isat glana sib* in the next line.

§ II. The instance *fuismimít annsin conid 'nar mec don Choimdid* PH 7869, 'we then confess that we are sons of the Lord' is peculiar and almost shows a mixture of two constructions *condan meic* and (the Mid. Ir.) *co failmet 'nar maccaib*. Such constructions, where it was thought desirable to keep the pronominal subject after the verb, would be likely to pass over easily to the new one with *ina*.

The phrase *tuicfe-siu cen fuirech sinne conid fir-epertaig 'nar ndeiscipuil do Christ* present some difficulty. If we take it (as Atkinson has done) to mean 'thou wilt see without delay that we are speakers of truth and disciples of Christ,' then we should expect, on the model of *condat dee sinne* 2069, some such phrase as *tuicfe-siu . . . condat fir-epertaig sinne ⁊ condat deiscipuil sinn do Christ*. But the writer may have wished to lay stress on *sinne*<sup>1</sup> 'that it is we who are the speakers of truth and that we are disciples of Christ,' and this is indicated by his putting *sinne* first. In that case again we should expect *conid sinne ata fir-epertaig ⁊ condan deiscipuil*

<sup>1</sup> For similar constructions cf. *co fesara na dóine-sea condat togoethaig* (PH) 1813, 'that thou mayest know that these men are deceivers,' *finnad in ri a chumachta conid aimserda* 4273, *is demin cuirp na heiseirge combat foille* 6745, *cretmít Dia athair conid nemgeinte* he 240, *no chredind Apaill co mba tigerna dam* 1293 'I believed that A. was my lord.' For corresponding constructions in O. Ir. we may compare Wb 4c6, 26b2, 29a29.

*do Christ*, or non-dependent . . . 7 *ammi deiscipuil do Christ*. For these O. Ir. forms, the writer would probably use (1) *condarn*- (pron. *connarn*-) or (2) *arn*-. The writer seems, as far as the MS. shows, to have been in a difficulty over this form, and in *conid eþertaig* found there was nothing to show that it was first person. Here he might have added *-ne*, and then have *tuicfe-siu* . . . *sinne conid fir-eþertaig-ne* [7] *ar ndescipuil do Christ*, 'thou wilt understand . . . that it is we who are speakers of truth (and) who are disciples of Christ.' Another MS. reading would be welcome here. The form *nar ndescipl-* reminds one very strongly of the noun preceded by the possessive pronoun in apposition to a pronoun (cf. § 107, 108) as suggested in the last instance, then we should read the dative '*nar ndesciplaib*, we, 'disciples of Christ.'

In the 3 pl. the *is* forms have come in, in PH, and have become general in AS. Beside 3 pl. (negative) *nídat*, the latter text has developed a form *nírsat* 1377, apparently from the prefixed *ní*, indicative. PH has already *ní hiat*. The 3 pl. relative has survived as far as PH, but has completely disappeared in AS.

## § 12.

## CONSUEITUDINAL PRESENT.

Sg. 1. } No instances.  
2. }

3. Gl. : *ni bi i fledaib* . . . *frisgni* Wb 22<sup>b</sup>3, *issind aimsir imbi failid nech* Ml 86<sup>d</sup>11, *nipi cian a masse* Wb 28<sup>c</sup>25, *combi<sup>1</sup> iarum coscitur ind fir* Wb 22<sup>c</sup>10 (sic MS), *indhi lasmbi accobur tol Dæ* Wb 30<sup>c</sup>23, *ar ni pi glæe et ni pi firderb anadchithir tri themel* Wb 12<sup>c</sup>12, *combi remib rethith iarum* Wb 13<sup>b</sup>13, etc., *combi discipul* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>12, 'so that he becomes an apostle.' Cf. further Wb 9<sup>d</sup>5, Sg 188<sup>a</sup>6, etc., *combi dias mor ind óengrânne* Wb 13<sup>c</sup>23. But not : 7 *intan as nomen habitatoris is and biid* neuter *huad* Sg 104<sup>b</sup>5. With *ro-* : *hórbi lán* Ml 36<sup>b</sup>3.

Im. Brain : *mescaid fairgge combi<sup>1</sup> fuil*, 'he mixes the sea

<sup>1</sup> The editors of Thes. wrongly read *eombi*.

until it becomes blood'; *i tig asmbi eggna<sup>\*</sup> suillsi tenead*  
Dá Derga 18, *γ imbi ecnai dammaig ib.*

SR, PH, AS—No instances.

Plural: No instances.

Mod.: Wanting.

REMARKS.

§ 13. The above instances are sufficient to show that there was a copula in the consuetudinal present in O. Ir. the usages of which were as distinct from the corresponding substantive verb as are those in the other parts of the verb. Instances outside the Glosses are found in Imr. Brain and Togal Bruidne Dá Derga. The use of *-bi* meaning 'to become' in so many instances, is worth noticing.

§ 14.

PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

Sg. 1. Gl.: (a) *basa Iudide* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>34, *nipsa trom for nech* Wb 17<sup>e</sup>2.  
(b) *doménar ropas beo* Wb 3<sup>e</sup>27, *corupsa lán diib* Ml 104<sup>d</sup>3,  
*annarobsa bithe* Ml 45<sup>d</sup>6, *nirbsa dagduine* Wb 18<sup>e</sup>14.

Cf. Tec. Corm.<sup>1</sup>, *basa costechtach caille* I.L. 344<sup>d</sup>38,  
*nipsa rochruid* L.L. 344<sup>d</sup>45 a *mbása éolach-sa* Da Derga 27.

SR: No instance.

PH: (a) *intan ba-sa beo* 3883, *bam trocair γ bam cendais fri b.*  
6105, (b) *ond uair robam noide* 6105, *ropsam aithrech* 701.

AS: (a) (a) *or baam luaithe* 1615 (p.) *nirbham gilla nirbam*  
*laech* 1426 (p). (b) *robsam cenn Féinne* 939 (p), *robsum*  
*álaind* 4044 (p).

(β) *ni ba sen missi* 3386, *rob 'fiadaigi mé* 2221.

Sg. 2. Gl.: perf. *huare romsa*<sup>2</sup>, Ml 96<sup>d</sup>1, cf. 103<sup>a</sup>4 ib.

Cf. *or bat*<sup>3</sup> *mac bec* Dá Derga 107.

<sup>1</sup> V. Ed. Meyer, R.I.A. Todd Lect. Vol. XV., p. 16 for further instances.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch § 792.

<sup>3</sup> *or bi mac* H. St. F., *obim mac* YBL.



\*

SR : *rosat gléichert* 3574, *narbsat firsath* 1318. Cf. *nirsat* LL 54<sup>a</sup>11, *nirsa eolach* LL 70<sup>b</sup>7.

PH : *ropsat cara* 3099.

AS : No instance. *corsat* 4444 is used as a present.

Sg. 3. Gl. : (a) *ba cosc carat* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>32, *ba liach a n-épelu* 4<sup>d</sup>20, *cia bo lobur* 16<sup>c</sup>26, *nibo mor a mbrig linn* Wb 18<sup>d</sup>10, *napo chenel domsa* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>20. *nibu ar chuingid* Wb 24<sup>d</sup>7, *doménarsa ba marb peccad* Wb 3<sup>c</sup>26.

(b) *robo diliu linn* Wb 14<sup>d</sup>13, *hóre ropo co fáilti tuccad* Wb 24<sup>b</sup>26, *huare ro-m-bu mór dorat* MI 136<sup>c</sup>11, *con rubu chrín* MI 99<sup>a</sup>2, *nirbo aís muintire* Wb 21<sup>b</sup>12, *nirbo sár leu* Wb 19<sup>a</sup>1, *hore nirbu foirbthe* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>4, *hore nárbu bae* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>12, *connarbu huain doib* MI 100<sup>a</sup>3, *corbu écen* Wb 32<sup>c</sup>17.

Rel. *ani narbu dilmain*.

Cf. *ba santach imm ór* Trip. Life 38, 2. *comba marb ib.* 14, 1, *ba slán fochétár ib.* 200 17 *arrubu[f]érach ind reilec ib.* 228, 15.

Cf. *nirbo thoirneach a flaith* Dá Derga 20.

SR : *ba formtech diabul* 1105, *ba briathar rig roráide* 2512, *combo frith<sup>a</sup>* 3144, *nipu heirge* 3778.

(b) *ciarbo glé do chruth* 1677, *corbo thláith* 1615.

PH : *ba habb* 556, *ba he int Eoin* 867, *airet ba beo* 212, *comba hathair* 4291, (b) *robo chubaid co . . .* 5445, *robo buidech Dia* 6102, *rop ecal leis* 911 *corba drúid cuilech* 1737, *corba lán nem* 3088, *cor fhír in ni* 107, *combafir* 1082 ; Neg. : *nirbo ail leis* 517 *nirba hoen* 3078, *nar choir* 2458.

AS : *ba mo issi* 5927, *ba marb hī* 1256 ('she died'), *dobo maith lemsa* 3336, *andar leo ba dabach* 6202, *do b'é* 2535, *fa minic* 3095.

Neg. : No instance.

*fa maith a lúth* 2007. [cf. *robai urlam fa comair é* 440 Fr.]. (b) *robo mhé in Cailte* 3614, *nirbo deggres* 3841. Neg. : *nirb' inmain hī* 4140, *nir messa* 4539, *nirchian* 235, *nochar*

<sup>1</sup> Leg. *co ro rith*, 'till he was sold.'

<sup>2</sup> This may be taken as second future which it is in form.

*b'i* 3850, *corbo tslemain* 7224, *cor ingen* 539, *ingen darbo chomainm* 6453, *ben dara comainm Clidna* 3844.

Rel. : *in drem ba nessa dó* 6203, *is sinde fa trén* 6496, *isse ba rí Connacht* 6358, *dob'ferr* 2536, *in facais ben bud mó* 5939, *Etain fa maith um biad* 7346 (p.), (pl.) *inmain triar fa blaithi lí* 7349, *in ba luaithe* 7393, *nár gann* 2570, *in mac roba tsine* 2730.

Mod : *ba, bu(dh) é, gurb é, níorbh é, gur,<sup>1</sup> níor* (asp.), etc.

Pl. 1. Gl. : (a) No instance ; (b) *robumar cuindrichthi*, Ml 43<sup>d</sup>6, *huare robummar bibdid-ní* 62<sup>d</sup>5, *nirbommar utmaill*. Wb 26<sup>b</sup>14.

SR : No instance.

PH : No instance.

AS : (β) *rob' ainicnech sind issin cath* 5219, *nir lucht comaimsire sinde* 5926, *roba subach sind* 642, *nir léir doibsiun sinde* 5238.

Cf. *giodh sinne niorsam malla* Duan. Finn XIII, 14, which is *cíd sinni nirsar malla* in LL, 206<sup>b</sup>42 ; *ba ro-mharb sinne dhe* Duan. 38 is *ropsar marb* LL, 207<sup>a</sup>38.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 3. Gl. : (a) *batir athissi sídí daitsiu* Ml 90<sup>d</sup>17, *air batar carait* Ml 31<sup>a</sup>3.

Rel. : *innahi batar buithi* Ml 23<sup>e</sup>16 ; *ciaptar móra a pecthai* Ml 98<sup>e</sup>5, *amtar mbati* (drowned) 84<sup>d</sup>5. (b) *robtar irlim* Wb 7<sup>b</sup>5, *foibith romatar indarmthi á oic* Ml 78<sup>b</sup>12, *connarbatar ní* Ml 99<sup>d</sup>7.

Cf. *amdar suidigthi na bissi* Trip. Life 10, 31, *bátar toirsich de* ib. 84, 19, *comdar so-imberta de* ib. 218, 21 ; *bátár comaltai dúnd* Dá Derga 46, *comdar scítha ind eich* ib. 15.

SR : (a) *batar toirsech in tuath* 3885, *batar mogaid* 7427, *batar debthaig* 6264 (rel.) *batar daingne* 1928 ; *giabdar ilarda[i]* 5781, *ciabtar glain* 2421, *ciamtar amrai* 5800, *comtar mairb* 5111, (neg.) *ní-ptar amra* 6540.

(b) *roptar snímaig* 3449, *robdar dimdaig* 4051.

<sup>1</sup> *Go mbu* is used in such phrases as *dubhairt gach uile dhuine go mbu mhór an truagh é, dubhairt sé go mb' fhíor dhom é, facthas dó go mb' fhíor dhom é*, etc.

(c) *bat homnaig* 7763, *nibat clihemail* 5515.

(d) *rosat triuin* 3983, *ciapsat glain* 8007.

(β) *ba dimdaig dib tōla trēn* 5579, *ba huamnaig* 5619, *ba cain intsluaig* 3959.

PH: (a) *batar sochruidē a cuirp* 1039, *comtar dáithnig* 846, *comtar lána on Spíruí* 5479, *niptar dligthach* 877, *niptar uaiti* 2522, *naptar dee* 731 (b) *Roptar tromda* 3061, *roptar lána* 5510, etc., *corbat sithamla doib* 4043.

(β) *ba hogslān a n-etaige* 1039, *doronais na crandú-corba*[t] *toirthech* 1358.

Rel.: *in fairend roptar tairissi dam* 4019, *nahí naptar* 6144.

AS: (γ) *robsat* 937 (p.), *nirsat cesachtaigh* 4037 (p), *nirsat míanaigh* 4037 (p.), *nirsat uircendaigh tecuisc* 4038 (p.), *gersat rulaidh*<sup>1</sup> *a bhfeadna* 457 (p.) ('passed away' Stokes); *gurbhat subaigh sobrónaigh iat* 2303; *nir'díl na mná* 655.

(β) *roba šaitheach triur* 3939 (for 'were'). *nirbo cromcendaigh a ruisc* 4038, *rob iat sin* 3813 (*ro bat*—Stokes), *corbo slemain* . . . *iat* 5264, *ba subach na sloig* 1232, *coma slán iat* 6208, etc., *robo tinoltá fir Eirenn* 7888.

Mod.: *ba, bu(dh) iad, gurb'iad, nirbh iad, gur, níor* (asp.), etc.

#### REMARKS.

§ 15. The 1 sg. *basa* does not occur in SR, but *Dá Derga* contains one instance of it. It has become *bam, robam, ropsam* in PH, of which the first has fallen together with the future *bam* which occurs 2017, 2427 and SR 851, and the last *ropsam* has added the pronominal ending. *Baam, robsam* still survive in AS, in the poetry. In the prose, a new analytic form *ba . . . mé, rob' . . . mé* is used, and is thus almost down to the level of Mod. Ir.

The second singular is rare. SR has *rosat*, PH has a form *ropsat* like 1 sg.

In 3 sg., in PH, *corbu, corbo* has become *corba, cor* which are

<sup>1</sup> Leg. *ge asrulatar* or *atruulatar* 'gone away.'



also in AS. In AS, there are no instances of the *ro*-less forms after *ní*; and *ro* is rare in both positive and relative forms in PH and AS, which also is in the direction of Mod. Ir.

Of the 1 pl. there is no instance in SR nor PH, and the new analytic form is developed in AS. Of the 2 pl. I have no example in any of the texts.

The 3 pl. is fairly well preserved in SR, but new forms *rosat*, *bat* and *ba* have developed. In this case, PH represents pretty much the same condition of things. In AS, all the old forms have disappeared, but some synthetic forms *ropsat*, *nírsat*, *gurbhat* are preserved in the poetry. The analytic construction with *roba*, *ba* is, in this text, regular.

## § 16.

## FUTURE.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *be sóir mo brethre* Wb 4<sup>e</sup>18.

SR : *bam ri* 851, *biam tigerna* 855 ; *in hed bam<sup>1</sup> beo ní fellub* 3188.

Cf. *biam cu-sa* LU 61<sup>a</sup>9, *ba[m] marb-sa* T. Ferbe 484, *bam tarb* ib. 647, *bam marb* ib. 681.

PH : *cen bam beo* 2017, *ar bam anoraigti* 2427, 7 *bam cintach sa desin* 6556.

AS : No instance .

Sg. 2. Gl. : *comba soilse-siu* Wb 22<sup>e</sup>3.

Cf. *biat ri-siu* LL 147<sup>a</sup>9, *biat forscailtech raith sochaide* LL 147<sup>a</sup>20.

SR : *ba baeth* 5955, *ba tuicse* 1599.

PH : (a) *nibat cara do Cesair* 2815. (β) *bid marb tussa* 298, *bid slan tú* 803.

AS : No instance.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bid fír a tairngire* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>19, *bith moircc domsa* 10<sup>d</sup>25, *niba maith* Wb 1<sup>d</sup>8, *namba lobur* 6<sup>d</sup>15, *niba chian* MI 56<sup>d</sup>7.

Rel. : *bas : doig bas fír* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>36 ; *ished bes chobuir do* 20<sup>e</sup>10.

Cf. *nocoba fotta a flaithius* Trip. L. 70, 16, *niba sonairt* ib. 70, 16, *is tu bas ri de Dá Derga* 16.

<sup>1</sup> Strachan gives this instance as present subjunctive.

SR : *niba glorach* 8187, *niba ceim soer* 8283, etc., *diamba comainm* 1968. Rel. : *bas huasal* 1843.

PH : *bid iffern a crích* 7616, *intan bid lainn la Dia* 1019, ( $\beta$ ) *bid tanaise damsá he* 1173, *niba hamlaid bias* 1346, *mac diamba lan nem* 2016, *comba dúntai doras* 6905.

Rel. : *ise bus liaig dam* 424.

AS : *bid hi* 1320, *bid anacal mor n-anum* 1840, *bid ordraic in topar* 6776, *niba comairce dho Diarmait* 1840, *ris ba cumhan* 3004 (p.).

Rel. :  $\gamma$  *bus maith let* 7825, *cein bus cumhan* 1445, *ni bhus mo* 2008.

Mod. : [*budh*<sup>1</sup>], rel. : *is*, neg. *ní*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *bimmi æcni et binmi foirbthi uli* Wb 12<sup>e</sup>9, *bami coeredes* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>17.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *bid-for-coscraig* 4706.

PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 3.<sup>2</sup> Gl. : *bit goacha* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>19, *bit bibdid huili* Wb 2<sup>a</sup>14, *bit filii Dei a n-ainm. nibat briathra nach aili* Ml 68<sup>e</sup>10, *combat foilsí* Ml 112<sup>b</sup>10, *anambet ecailsí* Ml 15<sup>d</sup>7.

Rel. : *beta téit* Wb 29<sup>a</sup>1.

Cf. *biat mathi do chland* LL 147<sup>a</sup>10 ; *frismbiat*<sup>3</sup> *formdig ardrigna* L. MacU., (Wi., p. 69, Lec. *frismbat*)

SR : *biat slana* 4167, *iatsom nípdar duthaine* 8355.

Cf. *bat mairb fir* Ferb 105 ; *bidat marthanaig* FA Wi. I, 174, L. Br. *bidat*.

PH : No instance.

AS : (a) *bat imfoicsí* 2616 (p.).

( $\beta$ ) *niba lóssa* 992, *is siat sin muirfithir* 7082.

Rel. : *is siat sin bus chomairchi* 7775 (p.), *ní fuighthir fir bus chosmail* 7796, *mná bus tochu* 993.

<sup>1</sup> Rare ; generally replaced by *is* or the substantive verb construction. Cf. such phrases as *is fada is lón duit é* 'it will last you a long time,' *dheamhan mórán is fearde í a bhfuighe sí* 'she will not be much the better of what she gets' ; *is fánach a bhéas sé*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit fir mora ar macaín bic* Cath Carn. Con. CZ. III., 204 is to be read *bit fir moir*, cf. *bit daim riata* (ib).

<sup>3</sup> The Egerton MS. has here *frissmu formdig airdrigo*.

## REMARKS.

§ 17. In 1 sg. future *bam* seems to be the general early Mid. Ir. form. The strong form *biam*, SR 855, indicates a tendency of the copula form to go over into that of the substantive verb, O. Ir. *bia*, AS *biat*. Cf. further *biam* LU 61<sup>a</sup>9, 2 sg. *biat* LL 147<sup>a</sup>9, etc., which point to an accented conjugation of the future of the copula in the tenth century. The new analytic form *bid . . tu* has developed in PH. It has also a negative *nibat*.

In the 3 sg., the O. Ir. forms are preserved pretty much in the same condition down to AS.

I have not found any instance of the first plural outside the Glosses. The 2 pl. in SR has *bid* plus the infix or affixed *for*. The 3 pl. *biat* of SR is in line with the 1 and 2 sg. above. A 3 pl. *bat* is preserved in the poetry of AS.

## § 18.

## SECONDARY FUTURE.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *robad maith a flaithemnas* MI 89<sup>b</sup>9, *ropad maith limsa* Wb 12<sup>c</sup>29, *rombad pater* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>21, *nibbad bind* Sg 58<sup>b</sup>5 ;  
*cia bed flaith* MI 89<sup>b</sup>7, *cipad a dene ind hesséirgi* Wb 25<sup>b</sup>27.

SR : *combad šainsercc sochaide ; deithbir bad chosc* 4997.

PH : *in dóig combad mesi sin* 5039, 5045, 5157, *asbert M. combad attreb do* 6314. *ropad sóinmech* 4039, *intan bud ail* 941.

Rel. : *in rig P. bud escop doib* 2166, *inni na bud maith* 7505.

AS : *nóbudh ail lib* 7262, *ór budh gairdiughad . . éisdecht* 301 (future?) ; *doba maith linn* 1088, *robad díil* 3998 (Stokes : *roba dáil*), *mac óclaig bad ferr* 6844 (rel.), *in uair budh chóir* 6911 (rel.).

Pl. 1. : (β) *robad olc le Find sind* AS 6488.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *robtis maithi* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>19, *roptis imdai* MI 15<sup>c</sup>8, *romdis direchtai* MI 48<sup>a</sup>12.

Cf. *asbert Patraic naptis torthig* Trip. Life 210, 3 ; *asbert roptis galraig* ib. 234, 27. 7 *ropad do chlannta betis comarbai indi* ib. 146, 27.

SR :

PH : (γ) γ *nibdais aingil diada* 1877, *a rád comtís dee* 731.

AS : (cf. *echt damad buidech fir Éirenn* 6876, 'a deed for which the men of Ireland would be thankful.').

Mod. : *budh*, all persons.

#### REMARKS.

§ 19. No first or second persons occur in the secondary future of the copula. The older forms survive till PH. In AS *budh*, *-ba*, *-bad* are used side by side.

§ 20.

#### IMPERATIVE.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *ba chuinnech* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup>29; *naba thoirsech* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>19.

Cf. *ba gaeth*, etc., Tec Corm., p. 30, 3, LL 346<sup>a</sup>3 *bat gaeth*; SC § 26 *bat umal*, etc.

SR : *nābdat dolam*, 1253.

PH : *bat cúimnech ina haimsire* 1208, *bat slan* 2319 (future?).

[Subst. Verb in *bíd críd-oirchisechtach dúind* 181].

AS : *nár bhat dian* 587 (p.), *nár bat buain-scelach*, *narbat labar*, 596 (p.), *nársad duiltadach* 602 (p.), *nársat ingnech* 598.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bed dlichthech* Wb 5<sup>e</sup>20, *bad amal asindbiur-sa* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>25, *fáilte cáich bad fáilte duibsi* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>24, *nabad lia diis* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>4, *bed amal asmbiur-sa dogneither* 13<sup>a</sup>29.

SR : *hed bad* (?) *fof* 2464 (MS. *bae*).

PH : cf. γ *bíd amlaid sin domela* . . . γ *ibas a chailech* 5344.

AS : No instance. [Cf. *narab cumthach duit ainíal* 602, *narub bés* 1442 p.].

Mod. Ir. : wanting.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *baán tairismich* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>22, *ban buidich* 29<sup>b</sup>17, *ban chosmailine* 33<sup>b</sup>2.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *bad bii* Wb 3<sup>b</sup>6, *bad foidnich* 5<sup>d</sup>21, *badí firiáinsi* Wb



22<sup>a</sup>24 (leg. *bad firiáin-si* ?), *bed imthuge-si* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>3, *na bad anfoirbthe-si* Wb 12<sup>d</sup>26.

SR : *nabid uamnaig* 4830, *nadib leisc* 7843.

PH : No instance. [Substantive verb in *bīd-siu cuimigthi* 2537, *bīd co dethitech do rēr na rig* 4069, *bid . . forpthi* 2413].

AS : No instance. [Subst. verb in *bidh co heistechtach cailli*, *bid co féchsanach muighi* 600].

Pl. 3. Gl. : *bat chosmali* Wb 17<sup>e</sup>5 ; cf. 20<sup>e</sup>2, 31<sup>e</sup>13, *bat hé berte bretha* 9<sup>e</sup>12. *nábat nacha arm aili* Wb 22<sup>d</sup>14.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : No instance.

## REMARKS.

§ 21. The imperative forms early underwent considerable changes and eventually totally disappeared as in Mod. Ir., being replaced by the substantive verb. Thus Wb 5<sup>e</sup>20 *cech irnigde dongneid ituil Dée bed dlichthech*=Mod. Ir. *gach urnaighthe a ghníós sibh le toil Dé bíod sí dlisteanach (dlichthech)*; *bed (bad) dliged* would be *bíod sé 'na dhligheadh*. The dating of the changes is difficult owing to the condition of the MSS. Thus *bat gaeth*, etc., LL 346<sup>a</sup>3 *Tecosca Corm.* is *ba gaeth* in some of the other MSS.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *bat umal*, etc., SC (Wi. I, § 26) in a similar piece. *Bat* was probably the 10th century form. There are also two instances of *bat* in PH, but it is in the same text replaced by the substantive verb *bid* for older *bī* with which it had probably fallen together in pronunciation. There are no real imperative forms in AS, except some *ro-* forms—*nārbat*, *narsad*, which occur in the poetry. These are repetitions of some of the maxims of *Tecosca Cormaic* under the guise of instructions by Finn to MacLughach, and are to be regarded more as a traditional embellishment than as the language of the time.<sup>2</sup> In the Franciscan MS. (of AS) *bidh co heistechtach cailli* 600, occurs side by side with the instances *nārbat*, *nārsat* of the Lismore MS. In the 2 pl. *narbad*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ed. Meyer, (R.I.A. Todd Lect. xv) p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> A good instance of the treatment of early Middle Irish poetry preserved in a more modernized form may be had by comparing some of the poems in *Duanaire Finn* with the older versions of them in LL.

of the Glosses becomes *na bid (uamnaig)* SR 4830, 'be ye not afraid,' which cannot be distinguished in form from the substantive verb. An attempt at a copula form is *nadib leisc* 7843. In PH all the instances of the 2 pl. have gone over to the substantive verb, plus adjective or the substantive verb, plus adverb. Thus, *biid-siu cuimigthi* (MS.?) *i forcetal in choimded* 2537, 'be ye girded<sup>1</sup>(?) in the teaching of the Lord,' *biid co dethitech do rér na rig* 4069. Thus we may take the imperative of the copula as having practically gone over to the substantive verb, by the time of PH.

## § 22.

## SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD—PRESENT.

Sg. 1. Gl.: *ni ba dimicthe-se libsi* Wb 21<sup>d</sup>3, *cia ba beo* 23<sup>b</sup>29; *main-ba* 17<sup>e</sup>10.

Cf. *corbam gaeth* Dá Derga 17. Cf. *corbar* LL.

SR:

(b) *nárbam crinnach* 3202.

PH: (β) No instance.

AS: (a) *mun báam buidech* 1071 (prose), *madam buidech-sa* 800 (p.).

(β) *acht mad<sup>2</sup> missi* 5881, *ni mairenn acht mád missi* 3320

Cf. *acht mad messi* Dá Derga 59.

Sg. 2. Gl.: *cia ba loingthech* Wb 6<sup>c</sup>9, *arm-ba cháinchomraccach-so* 30<sup>b</sup>23, *cia fa firián* MI 36<sup>a</sup>32, *co[m]-ba ingraintid cum-[ach]tach* MI 54<sup>b</sup>19.

Cf. *manibat ainmet<sup>3</sup>* Trip. Life 78, 19.

SR: *ni-ba dicheoil* 2197, *nír-ba truag* 3295. Cf. *diamsat fissid* T. Febe 352.

PH: *corbat cretmech* 6776, (2247), *conarbat ancretmech* 6675.

AS: *corbat sidhuigh . . . gurbhat duilig* 581 (p.), *nírsat siblead tigi* 598 (p.), *nírsat bidba* 597 (p.); *acht mad tusa at aenar* 3556.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *acht rop Crist pridches* Wb 23<sup>b</sup>24, *corub mebuil lem* MI 138<sup>c</sup>8, *níp sain* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>14, *arimp aighthidiu* Wb 23<sup>d</sup>23,

<sup>1</sup> Leg. *cuimrigthi*.

<sup>2</sup> A phrase='except.' <sup>3</sup> Stokes translates 'if I were not patient with thee.'

*arnap trom lib* Wb 14<sup>a</sup>1, *conaib fír* Ml 31<sup>d</sup>9, *cip cruth* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>33, *cip hé-ade* Ml 26<sup>a</sup>1, *manip sulbair* Wb 8<sup>a</sup>12, *sechíp* 13<sup>a</sup>3, *airndíp maith* Wb 25<sup>d</sup>21, *indib maith* 26<sup>b</sup>24, *condib cuimse* Wb 14<sup>a</sup>3 *act ropo* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>25, *corbu im-maith beith* Ml 90<sup>a</sup>11, *ní bo* Wb 27<sup>e</sup>9.

Rel. *bes meldach* Wb 4<sup>e</sup>19, *bas uisse* Wb 28<sup>b</sup>9.

Cf. *corab meissi féin bus breithem* Trip. Life 118, 21, *corab gel* 54, 22, *manip do chruas* ib. 120, 5.

SR : *duit rop sásad* 2908, *níba huathad* 1374, *acht corb dall* 2900, *menip cian* 6127.

Rel. : *nichuingem flaith bis mo hífus* 1219.

PH : *acht co rop dichra* 3345, *coro móti bus ingnad lib* 3745, *na rob guasacht he* 4220, *corop sib toisech innises* 3413, *manip ail duit* 2080, *minap* 1542 *cincob aire* 3237, *cípe cretiús* 1296, *secíp druí* 1172 ; *cíd inmain* 7437.

AS : *ní rab ilar a tredan* 519 *gurub é bias* 2261, *na rub bés* 1442, *acht co rub coir* 6664, *cingo somain* 3954, *cen gub nua* 5919, *munub olc* 575, *go mba gairdinghadh* 1062, *mad toisce*, *mad maith let* 2061, *gid lór mét* 1033.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *anumman* (=an-nu-m-ban) *aircheltai* Ml 27<sup>b</sup>10, *comman dessimrecht do chach* Wb 31<sup>e</sup>11.

Cf. *nípan córai* LL 277<sup>a</sup>22, 'we must not be at peace.'  
Stokes—'it shall not be un-peace.'

SR, PH, SR : No instance.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *bede preceptorí* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>10, *arna bad huilcc* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>38, *diambad mathi* 16<sup>a</sup>31, *combad accomailti-si limsa* 23<sup>a</sup>26.

SR : *níp-for-cétludaig*<sup>1</sup> 4872, 'ye must not be licentious.'  
*níburn-ecnaigid* 4876, *nar-bar-durcridig* 4842.

PH, AS : No instances.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *acht ropat sáini* Sg 199<sup>a</sup>1. *bés nibat chutrummai* Wb 9<sup>d</sup>27, *ambat n-erchoissi* Ml 73<sup>e</sup>9, *combat irlithi* Wb 7<sup>e</sup>14, *manibat fer[r]som* Ml 24<sup>e</sup>1, *arnapat* Wb 26<sup>d</sup>21.

Rel. : *bete gentilia* Sg 33<sup>a</sup>16, *beta cheti* Ml 126<sup>e</sup>4, *am-bata n-* Ml 127<sup>a</sup>4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AS 3881 *is cellud duit ceilebrad ; cétlúd sine samraid* Corm. s.v. *Cetsoman*. Ascoli Gloss 183, transl. "primus rigor tempestatis aestivae ;" cf. further Meyer, Contrib.

SR : *ni bat luamnaig* 4395, *diamat glain* 1461, *ciambat ilardai na sluaig*, *ciamtar imdai ind rig rorúaid* 4833, 4834.

PH : *dorigine corbat*<sup>1</sup> *sithamla doib* 4044, *corbat bairgin* 4918, *γ combat mallaigthe o Dia* 7302.  
(β) *cencob denta la ele iat* 7362.

AS : (α) *gérSAT imdha* (597 p.), *gursat maela a meidhe* 1034 (p.), 'until they are truncated.'

(β) *corub gairdiugud iat* 7758, *co ma slemain slanchrechtach iat* 5215, *γ cid iat in lin is lia* 7620.

Mod. : All persons *nárba*, *nárbudh*.

## § 23.

## REMARKS.

The personal forms rapidly underwent considerable changes. In the first person *-m* was added in SR, *nirbam* 3202. AS has *báam* 1071, in the prose.

The 2 sg. has a *-t* added in PH.<sup>2</sup> Of the first plural, I have been able to find only one instance outside the Glosses. In the 2 pl., SR has its usual pronominal ending *-for-* The 3 pl. was being replaced in PH, and had lost its old form in AS, where it is mostly replaced by the analytic form, except in poetry.

## § 24.

## PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *no-mbin dermatach* Ml 20<sup>d</sup>4, *com-bin cosmail fri encu* Ml 91<sup>b</sup>7, *námmin duine* Wb 17<sup>d</sup>23, *arm-benn duine* Ml 130<sup>d</sup>4.

SR, AS : No instance.

PH : *mar no-béind athair doib* 6107.

Mod. : *dá mbudh . . . mé* also corruptly *dhá mur mé*.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *níþtha labar* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>32 ; *arml[ha] tairismech* 5<sup>b</sup>32 (sic leg ?).

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bad foammamaigthe* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>16, *ce bad he frissa ndénte*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1358 *doronaís na crandú corba toirtheach*.  
side Wi. i, 213.

<sup>2</sup> *ba* and *bat* occur side by



9<sup>c</sup>24, *act robad tairismech linni* Wb 18<sup>d</sup>11; *corpad mithig lessom* Wb 4<sup>c</sup>37, *arm-bad peccad* Wb 3<sup>e</sup>20, *combad sníni for moidem-se* 15<sup>d</sup>6, *mainbad fortachtain Dé* Ml 134<sup>b</sup>3 *arna tomnathar bed foammamichthe* Wb 13<sup>c</sup>2, *combed hed nobed and* Sg 3<sup>b</sup>10. *bid*: *in doich bid frithorcan lib* Wb 18<sup>a</sup>9, *amal bid annu-mothaiged* Ml 25<sup>a</sup>12; *amal ni bad fíu* Ml 63<sup>d</sup>2.

Cf. *amal bid marb* Trip. 220, 23.

SR: *diám-bad athirge dognéth* 1409, *ciambad lond-brass* 3617; *ropad ferr dun* 2739, *mani-bed*<sup>1</sup> Moisi 4129, *menbad* 4643.

PH: *diambad ail do* 2375, *acht mani-bad droch duine he* 2698, 7 *mainbad tresi Pilip* 832. *amal bid i collad nobetis* 1011, *amal bid* 924, 1235, 1882, etc.

AS: *munbud coll* 127, *munbud tréigen* 128, *damad tsolus* 2921, *damad thusca* 6429, *gemad fann* 7911, *giamad lim noricthe a les* 1137, *comad lugaiti an-náire* 1764.

Mod.: *dá mbudh, murab*, 'unless.' Corruptly *dhá murb' é*.

Pl. 1. Gl.: *amal bemmis fordiucailsi* Ml 134<sup>b</sup>5, *amal bemmis bibdaid* 114<sup>d</sup>4, *amal bimmis maic deit* Ml 91<sup>b</sup>16, *commimms ecil* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>16.

SR, AS: No instance.

PH: *amal bemis*<sup>2</sup> *marb* 2967.

Pl. 2.

Gl, SR, PH: No instance.

AS: (α) No instance. (β) *damad esbaid leis sib* 6489, *damad dáine sib* 7704.

Pl. 3. Gl.: *olca betis mou* Ml 100<sup>c</sup>11; *inna intled betis dillithi .i. betis imgabthib* 29<sup>d</sup>6; *indate bitis cranna dufubaitis* 92<sup>d</sup>6; *airmdis hé iusti* Ml 54<sup>a</sup>12, *amtis forcmahti* Ml 34<sup>a</sup>10, *coniptis ersoilcthi, coniptis erlama* Ml 100<sup>c</sup>24, *matis huili* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>15, etc.

Cf. *amal bitis cóic sutralla* Trip. Life 126, 12.

SR: *ciabtis cosmaili* 2892, *comtis leir* 2808.

Cf. *diantis Ulaid nobetis immalle frim* T. Ferbe 396.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mod. *meirach Maoisi* 'but for M,' also *mur mbeidhinn-se*=*meirach mise*; *mur raibh Seán* 'but for John', where the substantive verb is used.

<sup>2</sup> Probably copula as it is without *no*-, but cf. 6108 *nobetis-seom mec*.

PH: *a tuarcain comtis leir a cnamu* 1395, *comtís slana i nDia* 1672, *comtís díрге mo šéta* 4008, *comtis fáiltigide* 7013; *amal betis* 2445, 7 [mar] *no-betis-seom mec dom-sa* 6108; *immarbdaís meic do* 4097.

AS: No instance.

Mod.: *dá mbudh*, etc.

## § 25

## REMARKS.

The 1 sg. is preserved to PH, 6107 *mar no-béind athair doib*, in the form of the substantive verb, with *no-* and with a stressed vowel. The form, as it stands, shows a danger of confusion even at that time, between copula and substantive verb.

The 1 pl. survived till PH. *amal bemís marb* 2967. This I take to be the copula.<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that the adjective is in the singular. The 3 pl. *betis*, *-btis* is also common in PH, but it is confused with the corresponding form of the substantive verb, witness *no-betis-seom mec damsa* 6108.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. note 2, last page.

## THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 26.

ATÁU.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *ní do chorp attóo-sa* Wb 12<sup>a</sup>21, *is occa attóo* 26<sup>a</sup>8, *ani ittóo* Wb 17<sup>d</sup>24, *itau dar cenn sosceli* 32<sup>a</sup>10.

Cf. *atáu* Trip Life 122, 27, *is fer a chach ito-sa* SC, Wi. I, § 28).

SR : *itú ic frithalim* 1187.

PH : *atú* lx. bl. and 507, *atú isna pianuib* 1397, *atú-sa cengailti* 2061, *is amlaid atú-sa* 5269, etc.

AS : *cian atúsa* 2546, *olc atú* 3369, *ór itú* 3561, *ara-túsa* 4576, *gach ní gá dtú fiafraighidh* 7595.

Cf. *ge atú fa thuirse* Duan. F. 32, 96, *atú gan biadh* (ib. 31, 1, 10 instances), *ge ataim gan ní* 32, 7, *ataim da ioc* 35, 7 (3 instances).

Mod. : *atáim, táim, tá mé.*

Sg. 2. Gl. : *is na n-aicci atái* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>27, *aní hi-tái* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>38.

SR. : *nocon-alaind mar atai* 1305, *asin baile atái* 4799, *cid tái diar fagail* 1753, *cia fora-tái iarair* 3096.

PH. : *for baile atái* 1298, *atai oc ráda, atái-siu it 'óclach do* C. 2818, *ma tai* 8116, *asatái* 694, etc.

AS. : *or atái* 2018, *ca lín atái* 3578, *arin dtulaig a dtái* 1336, *cid táissiu* 3079. Cf. *ataoi* Duan F. 2, 2, *mur taoi* 20, 67, etc.

Mod. : *ataoi, taoi.* [Rare in Connacht, where (a)táir, (a)tá tú are used].

Sg. 3. : *ata in coimdin* Ml 30<sup>b</sup>27, *ata trede tadbát som* Wb 13<sup>c</sup>26, *atá Dia atach ndúnni* Ml 66<sup>d</sup>1, *is amne atáa* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>19, *isand atá gním* Ml 31<sup>b</sup>23, *atá brithem la suidib* Wb 9<sup>c</sup>2, *no-m-tha* Wb 13<sup>e</sup>10, *ni-b-ta* 49<sup>b</sup>10, etc. Impers. -*tathar* 28<sup>d</sup>4.

Cf. *du ita* Trip. Life 70, 7.

SR : *ata sunn* 5995, *atá ní is messu* 1349; *ni-m-tha samail* 391, *ni-p-ta* 1444, *ni-s-ta* 4734, *atá for oen rith* 203, *cia dath ata for cach gaeth* 7948, *cia 'cata ind árim* 7558.

PH : *uair cuich ata etir amal tu* 158, *ata asa mo chind-sa* 805, *ata isin recht* 2794, *martir dia ta lith* 6523, *duine oca ta* 3829; *fochraicc ro-s-ta de* 1613; *ni-s-ta fochraicc* 5802.

Rel. : *is sinne ata for firinde* 2671, *ise log ata da cech oen* 6448.

AS : *ata* 3658, *atá dha mhét d'ulc* 3563. *is ann atá in típra* 3602, *arin doinind atá ann* 5015 ; *mátá ceol* 3485, *in lucht aca tá* 5217, *otá sin* 3821, *inni dia tá* 3385, *cíd diatá* 1160, *a dtá* 980, 1375, *áit itá* 1517. *otha* 936 ; *odá sin* 5387.

Rel. : *banchóic atá acum* 429, *inté atá*, *issiat atá* 3412, *int óclach atá* 3285, *is sib atá arin écóir* 7119, *ca hanmanna atá oraib* 2766, 6122, etc. Cf. *a lucht atá asttigh*<sup>1</sup> Duan F. 13, 26.

Mod. : *tá* ; Rel. *atá* ; with preps.<sup>2</sup> *ag a bhfuil*, *a bhfuil* . . . *aige* ; *nach bhfuil*, (*na fuil*), etc. Impersonal : (*a*)*táthar*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *ní uainn fesine ataam for tectiri* Wb 15<sup>a</sup>13, *ataam i cuimriug* 32<sup>a</sup>8.

Cf. *ataam sunn* Trip. Life 28, 22.

SR : *bráthir sinn huile mar tám* 3493, *itám hi cacht* 1727 ; *feib atam nocht* 1347.

PH : *ní an-oen inud ataum* 1556, *atám i pen* 2204, *inad hitaum* 1506, etc.

AS : *in triar atám ar in tuind* 3767 (p.) ; *in da nónbur itámaid* 36, *atámuir* 964, 1858, *atámaid ann* 5081, *ochtur* . . . *derb-rathar atám sunn* 5082. *int-ochtur atamaid* 5084 ; *i tam tig* 153, with perps. ; *ara tám* 719, *conice in mbaile-seo atám* 3583, *ca crich itamait* 3750.

Mod. : *atámuid* (*támuid*), *atámíd* (M.), *atá sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *isamlid ataid-si* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>4 ; *masu do reir spirito ataaith* Wb 20<sup>b</sup>16, *hóre ataad hi cath* Wb 22<sup>d</sup>14 ; *forsataith* Wb 20<sup>a</sup>6.

SR : *isamlaid ataid* 1240, *ataid i n-imgabud* 3630.

PH : *masa mesi ataid d' iarraid* 3109, *cia forsa-taid d'iarraid* 3103, *intan atathi a n-oen inad* 597, *in duine atathai do chasait* 2734.

AS : *in lín atáthi* 3497 (2451), *caíat atáthi* 6254, 714.

Mod. : [*atáthai* (rel.), *táthai*, rare], *tá sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ataat ám in chrutsin* Sg 140<sup>b</sup>1, *ataat mesai Dæ nephchom-tetarrachti amal abis* Ml 55<sup>d</sup>11, *ataat da n-orpe rogab Abracham ; ní sochude diib ataat and* Wb 8<sup>a</sup>17.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LL 207<sup>a</sup>13 for the same phrase in this poem.

<sup>2</sup> The *-fuil* forms are always used for the *atá* ones after prepositions and in negative and dependent position.



Cf. *an aes cetna attát* Trip. Life 120, 17, *ithé sídī itat do Patruicc* ib.

SR : *atat fo néim* 467, *atat im thaebaib Totham* 3104, *co ngili cinnas atat* 7949 ; *rí fotat huile na sloig* 3837, *nat*, 'than.'

PH : *atat for nim* 437, *atat a thaisi hi sund* 1440. *ataut di bl. o atbath D.* 1064 ; *gé tát gnethi as<sup>1</sup> trumma* 7422.

Rel. : *is iat atat in-umir na n.* 436, *is tri halta atat isin meor* 6837.

AS : *intan atát* 841, *atát* 3937 (p.), 3941 (p.), etc., *atat tri sreín* 3929 (Li. p.), *atáit* 2871, 5985, etc., *atáit ceathra dabcha* 3925 (p.), *atáit mo lín a Cluain* 4447 (Laud, p.).

Duan. Finn : *atáid* 17, 31 and 35, 122.

Rel. : *Da mac Ríg C. atáit a n-éccomlonn* 3155 (cf. *na tri náimde neoch ata* 6231).

With prep. : *inni dia táit* 2770 (Fr.), *inti 'ga táit<sup>2</sup> sin* 896.

Mod. : *atáid, táid, tá siad*. Very recently a 3 pl. *tádur* has been formed in Connacht, but it is not a literary form.

#### REMARKS.

§ 27. The old form *atau*, *attó* seems to have gone out with O. Ir. Cf. for a late occurrence *atáu*, Trip. Life, *ito* SC. (Wi. I, 28). *Atú* survives until AS and later. The modern form (*a*)*táim* occurs three times in Duanaire Finn. It is also in Fierabras<sup>2</sup>, early 15th cent.

With *-tá* the infixed pronoun survives till PH, e.g., *ní-s-ta* 5802. *Atá* is used as a relative<sup>3</sup> in this text, and it is also common in that use in AS, and for both numbers. *Atá* is common after prepositions in AS, but it begins to be replaced by *-fuil*.

In 1 pl. *atámaí* comes in for the first time in AS, where it is commoner than the shorter form. In 2 pl. *atáthi* has come in in PH, and is continued to Mod. Ir. In the 3 pl. *atát* generally gives place to *atáit* in AS.

<sup>1</sup> For *ata*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ataim-si a dul* Fierabras § 14, Ed. Stokes.

<sup>3</sup> In Wb 8a17 *ní sochude dúib ataat and, ataat* seems almost in relative usage.

## § 28.

## FIL.

Sg. 1.<sup>1</sup> Gl. : (Dependent) *condumfel fo mām pectho* Wb 3<sup>c</sup>38.

SR : \**nimfail* (?) *bith inna hesleis*.

PH : No. instance.

AS : *isin bethaidh a filim* 1576 (for older *itú, hi-to*).

Cf. *ní fhuilim*, Duan. F. 4, 61 ; 24, 36.

Mod. : Depend. and Neg. *nílim, níl mé, go bhfuilim*, etc.

Sg. 2. Gl. :

SR : *con-dat-fil fo deilb diabuil* 1739, cf. *da-dot-fail fo dein toimdig* 1747.

PH : (interrog.) *in file it chorp*, 8116, *tair asin croich a fhuile* 3335 (for *hitai*).

AS : *ara fuili at suidhe* 3217, (for older *hitdai*).

Mod. : Keating *-fuile, -fuil tú*, spoken *-fuilir, -fuil tú (-ful tú)*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : (Dependent) *conidfil in indocbáil* Wb 24<sup>a</sup>33.

Cf. : AU 758 *conid fail in adbai huire*.

Neg. : *conách fil etir*, 'so that it is not at all,' Wb 27<sup>a</sup>20, *nífil fial etronn* Wb 15<sup>a</sup>22, *nádfail* Sg 37<sup>b</sup>19, *nad fel dliged* Ml 20<sup>b</sup>10, *nicon fil frithorcain* 107<sup>b</sup>8. With conjunctions : *cenodfil posit gredda do*, 'though there is a Greek positive to it,' Sg 192<sup>b</sup>5, *cenudfil gnim 7 chesad hisuidiu* Sg 209<sup>b</sup>29, *manud fil etir á foraitmet leu* Ml 107<sup>d</sup>12 ; (neg.) *cinid fil chairi linn* Ml 30<sup>a</sup>2.

Rel. : *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* Sg 178<sup>a</sup>3, *a ndechur feil etarru* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>18, (pl.) *inna cialla fil and* Ml 26<sup>c</sup>2, *is mór dithiden file domsa díib-si* Wb 26<sup>d</sup>19, *ind huili doini file isin talam* Ml 51<sup>d</sup>11. *a fil innar cridiu-ni* Wb 15<sup>a</sup>7 ; (accus) *ni fél saithar n-ant* Ml 48<sup>c</sup>29. *ni feil titlu remib* Ml 2<sup>b</sup>4.

After .i. *fil ní de iar fir* Wb 11<sup>d</sup>2.

Cf. *fil-us tre chenelae martre* Camb. Hom. 38<sup>a</sup>.

Cf. *ní fil acht óen chomlaid n-airi* Dá Derga 27, *nísfil and* (fem.) ib. 137.

SR : (with 3 pers. infix. pron.) no instance.

Positive : *fail ann rig* 937, *fail bethu buan* 648 *fail leis secht nimi* 629. Cf. 637, etc.

<sup>1</sup> I have found it necessary to arrange the forms in this order owing to the later development.

Interrog. : *in fail tall mac n-Iessé* 5984.

Neg. : *ní fail . . . nech thucas* 333, etc.

Rel. : *cia arm sunn fil mac B.* 2942, *bess is mé fil for togaes* 2896 *meit fil in-escu* 298 ; *a fail do maith lár n-Dia* 649.

With preps. : *nem hi fail Fiadu* 636, *cia baile hi fail* 6135, 6137, *mad nofail d'ilphianaib ann* 933.

PH : Positive. No instance. Interrog. : *in fail I. innte* 3717, *in fil biad ocaib* 6709.

Neg. : *ni fil sund* 2970, 3566, *ni cofil i comand* (leg. *comang*) *do duine* 97, *is fir na fil celg lais* 786, *ni-s-fil nach cumang occa* 990, *nocon uil* 3181.

Rel. : *in crabud fil ocut* 3214, *do neoch fil etir neam* 7 *talam* 4344, *fil* 4234, 3527, 3986, and 40 other instances.

With perps. : *dia fhuil aige* 7637, *er a fhuil cengul* 7373, *olc ina fil* 7608, *mar a fil* 7506, etc.

With pron. : (cf. *ni-s-fil doba* 3887, *ni-s-fil sugrad* 7668).

AS : Positive : *fuil coma ar a tibursa* 2117, (*in muilenn rosmill*) *fuil re h-A.* 4878 ; *do fuil : do fuil a adbur sin acum* 3906.

Neg. : *nochan fuil* 862, *nil dom síl beo* 3709, *nochon uil ni* 3483, *nil a fis acaind* 2765 (Laud).

With preps. : *anní dia fuil* 1264, *cid dia fuil* 2486, *adbur da fuil* 1404, *cáit a fuil* 5836, *iman carn a fuil in cloch* 5437. *a : a bhfuil aige* 516.

(Pl.) *tri coeca uingi fuil* 2744.

Cf. : *in lia glan fuil fo chennoib* Duan. Finn 31, 53, *fuil san chathraigh* ib. 23, 226. *in fert fa a bhfuil Echtach* ib. 18, 33, also 22, 57 ; 35, 5.

Pl. I. Gl. : *cini-n-fil lib* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>9.

SR. : (γ) *at-ar-fuil cen duine trén* 3761, 'we are without an effective person.' (Cf. *nich-ar-fail tlacht* 1560, 'we have not raiment.')

(β) *ni failmet dar th 'airmitein* 6320.

PH : *co filem cen eslainte o sin cus indiu* 2780, *on gabud a filem . . .* 2885.

AS : *ni fuilmid-ne do lín* 5100, *cnoc so ara-fuilmid* 2477, *na muintire oca fuilmid* 5140.

Mod. : Keating *-fuilimid* : Connacht *-fuil-muid, -fuil sinn.*



Pl. 2. Gl. : *con-dib-feil i corp Crist* Wb 24<sup>e</sup>4, *manudub-feil in-ellug* 19<sup>e</sup>20, *nach-ib-feil* Wb 3<sup>b</sup>19.

SR, PH : No instance.

AS : *cid uma bhfuilte dubach* 962 (Li.), Cf. *ara ffuilte-se* Duan. F. 4, 68.

Mod. : *-fuilte* (cf. Fierabras § 69 *is follus co fuilte eacloch*) ; *-fuil sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ni-s-fil hodie* Sg 178<sup>b</sup>2 ; *ni-s-fil leo* 208<sup>b</sup>3.

Rel. : *inna cialla fil and* Ml 26<sup>e</sup>2 ; *corofessid file cuimrecha formsa* Wb 23<sup>a</sup>5, etc., cf. 3 sg.

Cf. : *in failet maic leis* Trip. Life 100, 12, *fuilte failet fair* Dá Derga 102, *filet ib.* 104, 112 ; generally *fil* 104, 105, 62, *condafil ib.* 70.

SR : *failet ann tri muir* 345, *filet ann brugi* 477, cf. 493, 497, 501, *failet in iffurn* 927. Rel. : *failet imon prīmcathraig* 400 (cf. *oc coisteacht frit filet mna* SC, Wi. § 40).

PH : *co fhilet aimsera ann* 1072, *co filet fom cumachta* 2216, *co filet* 5325 *in filet ocaib dee* ? 431.

Neg. : *ni fhilet acht da la déc* 2536, *nach filet na demna fomamaigti*.

Rel. : *na huli filet inntib* 435, 1808, *galaraib filet* 1210, *na haingil filet* 1979 ; (a) *tri coeca uinge fuil* 2744.

With Prep. : *dorcha hi filet srotha, ca hadbar fa filet* 2761.

AS : (abs.) *filet tri tulcha acaind* 2765 ; *co fuilet mo muinter* 4093 ; with preps. : *cid dia fuilet* 2765 (Laud), *inní dia fuilet* 2854, 3116, *caid a filet sin* 2589, *créd da fuilet* 4768, *isin tigh a fuilet* 5048, etc.

Mod. : *-fuilid, -fuil siad*. Impersonal :—*fuiltear*.

#### REMARKS.

§ 29. In the older language, the personal relation was expressed by means of infixed pronouns. This gradually gave place to the personal endings of which we have early examples in Dá Derga, SC (Wi. § 40) *filet mna*, and ScM (Wi. § 12) *ni fuilet*. The instance *ica fuilet* LL133<sup>b</sup>40 in a poem by Maelmuru of Fothan is probably due

to the MS. SR has already a 1 pl. *failmet* developed beside the older form with the infixed pronoun, which had become *ar*. *Filem* is the form in PH, and this again has given place, in AS, to the ending with palatal *-d*, *fuilmid*. The first instance I have of the first singular *-filim* is from AS, and here it has replaced an older *tá*. The second singular *fuile* is in PH, which is the form till Keating's time.

Of the 3rd singular *conid-fil* I have not met any relatively late instance. The essential function of *fil* as a relative begins to be usurped in PH<sup>1</sup> by *atá* and this is extremely common in AS where the instances are almost equally divided. There are some instances of *fuil* in relative usage even in the Duanaire. At the same time, *atá* after prepositions begins to be replaced by *-fuil* in SR<sup>2</sup> and the instances of the latter form are in the majority in AS.

§ 30. The last instance of the infixed pronoun is in PH, and this is 3 pl. The pronoun of the first plural had become *ar-* in SR, and is once used with *fil*=‘have.’ Some of the instances of the pronoun plus *fil* in PH, have also that meaning.

The absolute of *fail* has spread very much in SR, but it seems to have soon again fallen away. There is no instance in PH and only one or two (*do-fuil*) in AS. The decisive instances of *fail* are still followed, in SR, by the accusative and in one case, *in fail tall mac n-Iesse* 5984, by the accusative *n-*.

## § 31.

## Bíu.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *biuu-sa oc irbaig* Wb 16<sup>a</sup>8, *intain no-m-biu oc irbaig* Wb 20<sup>a</sup>3, *co mbiu i cuimrigib* 30<sup>a</sup>22.

SR : No instance.

PH : *baile a mbiu* 8264 ; *bim-se ic attach* 6393.

AS : *otá biu* 7460. In *cá fat biussa* 7019 (p.), *biu* as used as a future.

Mod. : *bím* ; rel. *mar bhím*, *nuair a bhím*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further LL 207a13 *a lucht atá as taig*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *airm hi fil* LU 33<sup>b</sup>36.

Sg. 2. Gl.

SR : *nach bí-siu fri cete* 2035.

PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bír, bíonn tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *biid intinnscann* and Sg. 148<sup>a</sup>11, *is i retaib nebaicsidib biid spes* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>24, *is trisan dede sin biid duine slán* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>33. *biid do anmair na cathrach* Sg 104<sup>b</sup>5.

Dependent : *nád bí iar fír* Ml 91<sup>d</sup>1, *coná bi talam* and Ml 31<sup>e</sup>29. Neg. : *ní bí cland dia n-æs* Ml 57<sup>d</sup>6.

With *ro* : *huare rombí cehtar de sech alail* Sg 29<sup>b</sup>16, *ní rubí nechtar de cen alail* Wb 11<sup>c</sup>17.

Impersonal : *bithir* Ml 56<sup>b</sup>15 ; *intan mbither* Ml 108<sup>b</sup>4, *i mbither* 100<sup>e</sup>21.

Rel. : *inni bis fuam-mám* Ml 75<sup>b</sup>6, *intan m-bis ar chonsain* Sg 6<sup>a</sup>1, *amal mbis cometaid lam-maccu* Wb 19<sup>c</sup>15.

SR : *bid grian in*<sup>1</sup> Capricornu 256, *da chubát bid il-lethet cech oen chláir* 4240 (rel.), *combí 'na chrichaib* 8140, *intan nad bi Adam hífos* 1193.

Rel. : *amal bis rothmol for luth* 199, *mairg bis fo crith feidm* 958.

PH : *bid lestar fon usce* 6357, *bid in bas beo indsin* 7465, *combí trédennus i mbás* 3438, *asind lucc i mbi* 4100, *ní bí fognam* 7815. Impers. : *cein bither* 7441.

Rel. : *is me bis i fhiadnaise* 7194.

AS : *bith in tres fer marb* 5479, *bith éscá ann* 6300, *ní bí mí aca* 6300, *ní bí diamair di* 6859, *na bí* 6861, *cáit ambi* 1888. *a mbí* 434.

Rel. : *isse bis* 6299, (6297), *in neoch bis* 7678, *is ann bhis* 1889.

Cf. : *ar a mbí rath* Duan. Finn 10, 12 ; *maircc bhíos* 10, 2 (ib.).

Mod. : Keat. -*bi* ; rel. : *bhíos* ; spoken : *bíonn*, rel. : *bhíos*.

Impersonal : *bítheat, bítear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *céin mbimme in corpore* Wb 12<sup>c</sup>11, *intan mbimme oca forbu* Ml 15<sup>a</sup>4 ; *na biam i ngorti* Wb 16<sup>a</sup>8 ; *inna imned sin i mbiam* Ml 21<sup>c</sup>3.

<sup>1</sup> The use of *in* before proper names, as in Modern Irish, is noticeable. Cf. however *hi Tair*, 239 ib, *i Canceir* 244, *il-Leo* 245.

SR, PH : No instance.

AS : *bidmaid-ne ic faire* 5481, 7 *bímit* 886 (Li.)

Mod. : Keat. and Munster *bímid* ; *biomuid*, *bíonn sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR, PH, AS. : No instance.

Mod. : [*bíthí* rare], *bíonn sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *biit alaile* and Wb 29<sup>a</sup>28, *is for óin ndeilb biit* Sg 201<sup>b</sup>6  
*biit a triur do anmain* Sg 93<sup>a</sup>2 ;

Rel. : *bite* ;

*ni biat* Sg 148<sup>a</sup>4, *huare nad mbiat* 40<sup>b</sup>14, *co mbiat fo deod*  
212<sup>a</sup>12, *fris-mbiat* 202<sup>b</sup>3. *lasa mbiat* Ml 75<sup>b</sup>2.

ro- : *robiat ar chuit folid* Sg 138<sup>a</sup>5, *robiat sidi cen*  
*árain* Sg 71<sup>b</sup>8.

Cf. : *biit dano na ferta cos indiu* Trip. Life 170, 8.

SR : (rel.) *do biastaib bit cen blaid* 7259, *amal bite 'na comsreith*  
4898.

PH : *is mar sin bít in lucht* 7739 ; *ica mbít na rig* 4189. *na*  
*sualcha bite ic deg-dóinib* 5791.

Rel. : (a) *cathrachaib bite co cloine* 6230.

(8) *foirend bit ic umaloit* 6223, *donlucht bit oc iarraid*  
2006, *tigerna bít oc denum adbair* 7528, etc.

(7) *foirend bís ina tost* 6222..

AS : *ind uair bid macraid* 7046. Rel. : *bidh* 451 [= *bít* LL,  
206<sup>a</sup>36.]

Mod. : *bíd*, *bíonn siad*, Rel. : *bhíos*.

#### REMARKS.

§ 32. The first person *bíu* survives until PH, where it is used side by side with *bím*. In the instance *ni bíusa reompo* AS 6179, *bíu* seems to be used in the sense of a subjunctive, 'I must not be before them,' 'I cannot be before them.' Should we compare the O. Ir. perfective present *ni rubi nechtar de cen alail* Wb. 11<sup>c</sup>17 ? *Bíu*, for the first singular future, is common in Duanaire Finn, e.g., *ni bhiú mar dobha*, 'I shall not be as I was' Duan. XXV. 3, *ní bíu ag fer ib*. X, 6, cf. further III, 44, XVII, 78. Cf. § 39.

For 3 pl. relative SR has already *bit*, PH has *bíte*, but has also



the singular form *bís*. *Bís* which is used for the 3 pl. relative in *trí cnuasa bís* and LL 206<sup>a</sup>40, is the form for both numbers in Mod. Ir. *bhíos*.

## § 33.

## IMPERFECT (HABITUAL PAST).

Sg. 1. Gl. : *intan no mbíinn hi sóinmigi* Ml. 108<sup>b</sup>1, *lase no-mbiinnse lasinni sin* Ml 58<sup>a</sup>9.

SR, PH, AS : No instances.

Mod. : Keating *do bhi[dh]inn* ; spoken : *bhí[dh]inn*, *-mbí[dh]inn*.

Sg. 2. Gl.

SR, PH : No instances. AS. : *intan no-bithea i Cromghlind* 156.

Mod. : *bhíthead*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *nóbíth digaim leo* Sg 9<sup>b</sup>10, *no-m-bíth* Sg 148<sup>b</sup>6 ; *ni bíth chomdiadnad domsa indib* Ml 62<sup>b</sup>6 ; *combíth* 129<sup>d</sup>15.

SR : *ba hé lín bíd na coemthecht* 4588.

PH : *nóbíd oc forcetul* 876, *a ndithreua nobíd a oenur* 871, *co mbíd for gluasacht* 1732.

AS : *a mbíth Find* 6534, *ni bíth* 6593 ; (with pl.) *a mbíd fianna* 2621.

Rel. : *is se nobíth roim cach* 6580, *in lín no bhídh* 195, *slabrad robíd a comet* 2058.

Impersonal : *airet bíte ag ól* 1685.

Mod. : Keat. *do bhíodh* ; spoken : *bhíodh* (pron. *bhī-ú*, *bhī-uch*, *bhī-uf* ; before *s*, *bhíod*.)

Impersonal : *bhílhí*, *bhítí*.

Pl. 1. Gl., SR, PH, AS : No instances.

Mod. : *bhíomuis*, *bhimis*, *bhíod sinn*.

Pl. 2. Gl, SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : [*bhíthi* rare], *bhíod sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl : *innahi nobítis dam huam chairtib* (rel.) Ml 86<sup>a</sup>6, *nobítis oc tímthirecht* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>17 ; *ind luicc hi mbítis airdixi e* 70 Sg 5<sup>a</sup>15.

SR : *co mbítis ar dreich* 1124, *bitis fri gartglóir* 4527.

PH : *is ann bítis oc airitiud* 1030 ('tending his cattle') ; *nobítis oc tinol cloch* 1033, *o robítis oc innsaigid* 1957, *is iat nobítis ic umaloit* 6013 (rel.).

AS : *intan nobídis údair* 4664, 'authors used to be.'

*Com-mbídis* 3762, *áit a mbídis* 6043.

Rel. (a) *tri cnuasa bitis ann* 455.

(β) *ór naenbor curad no bhídh* 3623, *bachlaich . . . robíth* 3796, *na heicne no bith* 3762, cf. 451.

Mod. : Keat. *dobhídís* ; spoken : *bhídís*. [*bhíod siad* rare]  
rel. : *bhíod*.

## REMARKS.

§ 34. The first person singular has undergone practically no change from the time of the Glosses until the present day. In Keating the *no-* has become *do-*, which is mostly dropped in spoken Irish. The 3 sg. is, in like manner, equally well preserved, but there is a considerable dialectical variety of pronunciation except before *s*.

In the plural *bitis* is generally replaced in relative usage by *bídh*, *bhídh* in AS. It has 3 pl. rel. *bitís* where LL 206<sup>a</sup>40 (in the same poem) has *bís* for 3 pl. rel. A comparison of these poems is a considerable help in dating the Acallam.

## § 35.

## PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

Sg. I. Gl. : *robá occ a n-aithisigiud* Wb 28<sup>a</sup>9, *ciarud-bá in imniud* Ml 44<sup>b</sup>19, *inna soinnmige hi-roba-sa* Ml 44<sup>c</sup>4.

Cf. : *intan robá in-innsib mara* Trip. Life 128, II, *robá oc aimless mo anma* ib. 124, 25.

SR : *ní raba cen chith* 1779.

PH : *isin fíis i mba* 445 ; *dobádus clam* 2790, *robádus dronnach* 2788.

AS : *ind aimsir do bádusa* 4415.

(b) *robádus* 2220, *robádusa a ndorus* 5018 : *nocho rabhasa* 1584 (p. Li.), *i rabadhus* 356.

Cf. : *intan roba* Duan. VII, 26, *a rabha* 23, 59, *a rabh* 24, 29, *do bhadhusa* 24, 1.

Mod. : Keating *do bhádh*as ; spoken : *bhíos* in all dialects, *bhí mé* ; -*rabhas*.

Sg. 2. Gl. :

Cf. : *olc robá rim* LL 125<sup>a</sup>31.

SR : *ní maith ro-m-ba a Adaim* 1400. Cf. *mór n-ingen irraba féin charde*<sup>1</sup> T. Ferbe 254.

PH : *carcair i rabádais ocaindi* 3725, *ní rabadais riam* 8121.

AS : No. instance.

Mod. : *bhídh*is, *bhí tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *robói aimser nad rochreitsid* Wb 5<sup>e</sup>10 ; *roboi frescissiu lesom* MI 60<sup>a</sup>4, *bói són in potestate mea* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>31.

Rel. : *ind fáilte robói dó libsi* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>2, *as ndath glas roboi forsind sl[é]ib* MI 84<sup>d</sup>4, *aní robói inchlidiu lat* 50<sup>e</sup>13. *indaas rond-bói n'ingnae* MI 136<sup>b</sup>7 ; *amal ru-m-bói Abram* 31<sup>a</sup>3, *cia rud-bói aururus form* MI 2<sup>a</sup>3, *ma ru-s-boi di humaldoit* Wb 28<sup>d</sup>29, *ram-bái cach maith* 2<sup>e</sup>13, *robui do for longais* MI 93<sup>e</sup>3.

Neg. : *ní-robae som ind ræ sin* MI 41<sup>a</sup>5, *ní robe* 18<sup>d</sup>7, *ní rabae*, MI 28<sup>d</sup>3, *dia robae* Sg 197<sup>a</sup>6. *i róbe* Wb 3<sup>d</sup>23 ; *ní-m-rabe* MI 73<sup>e</sup>5, *ní-s-rabæ* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>3. *olmbói dosom* Wb 9<sup>e</sup>10 (pret. of *oldaas*), *imoi* MI 53<sup>d</sup>6.

Cf. : *co rabái inna sessam* Hymns, Wi. I. 29n., *i rabai* Trip. Life 114, 10, *ní rabai* 136, 13, *irraba* 130, 26 ; 158, 17 ; *i raibi* 90, 18 ; *nad rabi* Fl. Br., Wi. I, 255, 6., *ní rabi* ib. 259, 10, 294, 20, 301, 9, *mani rabi* ib. 193, 27 ; *corrabi* 299, 20, *ir-rabi* 299, 22, *bale irrabe* 275, 2, *ir-raibe* 301, 19, *innád rubæ in sciath oca imdegail* Dá Derga 149, *cor-rabi* SC 226, 17, etc.

SR : *robai ann fo thromthur thenn* 2229, *robái longas* 2378, *rí robai* 9 (rel.), *ised robæ in aes Nõe* 2262, *ro-m-bai mor*

<sup>1</sup> Notice aspiration. For examples of post-verbal aspiration, cf. Pedersen, Vergl. Gram. p. 456 ; also the following miscellaneous instances from LL, in every one of which the aspirated letter is c, probably after the analogy of aspiration of *cach* : *dia n-ana chelide* LL 247<sup>a</sup>5, *co tuca chroib dam* LL 250<sup>a</sup>33, *co ndigsat chairdes* 245<sup>b</sup>7, *no diuplad chath* 205<sup>a</sup>1, *dogniat chori* 351<sup>a</sup>3, *cia chenglaid chuacha* 307<sup>b</sup>15, *ruadhas chru* 307<sup>b</sup>26 ; *fil chairi linn* MI 30<sup>a</sup>2. One also finds occasional instances of post-verbal aspiration of *f* and *t*, e.g. *ro addá theinið* AS 1378, etc.

*dom' gaes* 1907, *ro-n-bae biad ro-n-bae tlacht* 1557, *ro-sm-bái cennach* 3544, *nad robæ* 7748, *nocho-r-rubai for laith lain* 1241 (leg. *flaith* ?), *corabe lomnocht* 1316, *bai Adam tri trath* 1041, *bói* 6734, *diam-bai* 7543, *dia mbui* 7740; *dia mba*<sup>1</sup> *imbrair* 3151 (leg. *dia mbai*).

PH: *roboi 'na rig* 2572, *o roboi* 1149, *roboi* 312, 331, 133, etc. *ina raibe se* 78 (497), *co raibe* 3139, *ir-raibe* 3886, *bui aroile fer in Ir.* 818, *bui dia noime* 552, *boi oc toirsi* 812, *ni boi arm la H.* 850; *a mboi de* 998.

AS: *roboi* 3726, *ma robói* 2106, *roboi triur* 5194; *robhui* 622, 625, *robhoi* 1879, *is amlaid ro boi* 3640; *doboi* 3535, 4471, 4782, *ni raibi . . . acht triar* 7308, *ni raibhe* 674, *ica raibhi* 1657, *arna raibe scís* 6584, *gu raibhe* 1080; *dobhi* 370, 562, 996, 1089.

Cf.: *ni raibhe* Duan. 17, 56, and passim, *roibh* ib. 23, 208 rhymes with *cathaibh*.

Rel.: *coica ban . . . bói* 5537, *lán duirn . . búi i láim* 2368, *dobhi* 275, 1911, 1981, 3547, 3553, etc.; *cia dobhi* 3697, *dobi* 4042 (rel. p.) *dam . . do boi* 2910, *ri robi* 3388, *cú . . robói* 3414, *roboi* 3733, 4111, etc.

*Búi: bui díbergach* 4049, *i mbúi* 250 (F.); *dit a mbai* 709, 709, *oca mbái* 1588, *dia mbói* 4739.

Mod.: Keat. *do bhí, raibhe*; spoken (*do*) *bhí, ni raibh* (M), *ni rabh* (Con., Ul.), etc.

Impersonal: Gl. *roboth* Wb 19a9, 23a26, cf. 5b31.

SR: *inhd ro-m-bás 'con baitheis* 7564; PH *robás* 830, 4750.

AS: No instance.

Mod.: *bhíothus*.

Pl. I. Gl.: *ar isin doiri robámmar* Wb 20d12; *hi-robammar* MI 105b16, etc.

SR: *cein bamar cen tarimthecht* 1558; cf. 3286, *bámar i cuimriuch* 3286.

PH: *cen bamar mar oen* 521, *bamar co teirt* 524, *bamar-ni for a ecla* 2996, *robamair-ne ic caitthem, inud i mbamar* 1590.

AS: *robammar ann* 5661, *in seissir robammar* 5055 *i rabhumar* 1599, *dobamar* 4475, *dobhámar* 636, 638.

<sup>1</sup> Probably owing to the following *i*. Strachan includes here *ba sluag mor do lanamnaib* 2506, but this can well be copula 'it was a great crowd of the couples.'



- Duan. : *bámar*, *dobhammair-ne*, 2, 15, *robhámar* 21, 12, *dobhí sinn* 23, 91.
- Mod. : Keat. *do bhámar* ; late Mod. *bhiomar*, *bhi sinn*.
- Pl. 2. Gl. : *ce rubaid fo pheccad* Wb 3<sup>b</sup>19, *hi-robaid* Ml 46<sup>a</sup>8.
- SR, PH : No instance.
- AS : *ica rabhuir-si* 113.
- Mod. : (*do*) *bhiobhar*, *bhiobhair*, *bhi sibh*.
- Pl. 3. Gl. : *robatar cid ferte dia imthrenugud* Wb 24<sup>c</sup>5, *issamlaid sin robatar* Tur 14, *amal ro-m-bátar* Wb 30<sup>c</sup>21, *cia rod-batar tirbithi aili forn* Wb 14<sup>d</sup>13, *ni rabatar* Sg 148<sup>a</sup>9, *nad robatar* Sg. 4<sup>b</sup>51, *nis-rabatar* Wl 100<sup>e</sup>11, *cia batar deg-tacrae les* Tur. 81, *im-batar* Ml 55<sup>e</sup>2.
- SR : *robatar sind amsir sin* 2348. *ir-robatar* 1490, *húair ro-m-batar* 1477, *batar fout* 1734. *até batar and* (rel.) 2937, *combátar lanaib lergaib* 6779.
- PH : *cia robatar* 3144, 7 *aimsir . . . i rabatar fáide* 3525, *batar* 15, 48, 49. etc. 78 instances.
- Rel. : *sruithe robatar rompa* 256, *na huli threlma batar* 65.
- AS : *ni cian robadur ann* 7291, *robatur-sum* 4482, *in lin robadur* 4482, *co rabhadur ar cuirp* 6495, *a rabatur* 321, *ir-rabadur* 4469 7 *do bhátur* 290, 7 *do bhadur ar . . .* 3717, 7 *dobatur* 4054 ; 7 *do bídur* 5942.
- Rel. (a) *in cethrar bátar a n-Eirinn* 2380, *daine bátar* 3921, *tri meic robadur* 2715.
- (β) *da raith do bóí* 4755, *coica ban is ferr bóí* 5537, *na fir dobói* 5816 *da assa . . . robí* 1127, *cethrar is ferr eínech robói a n-Eirinn tri meic roboi* 6189.
- Duan. : *robhadar*, *dobhadar*, *batar*.
- Mod. : *bhiodar* (Keat. *do bhádar*), *bhi siad*.

## REMARKS.

§ 36. The 1 sg. *-bá* is still preserved in PH (without *ro-*), and in the same text the new forms *dobádus*, *robádus* resembling *s-* perfects are introduced. The *d* has no etymological value here, and it is clear that it was merely introduced to separate the stem from the

new ending, cf. *i-rabadhus* AS 356, but *nocho rabhasa* 1584. The 2 sg. *roba* is preserved till SR, but in PH a new form with palatal *s* is formed from the first person like the 2 sg. of an *s*-perfect.

§ 37. In the 3 sg. the old forms *robói*, *bói*, *bái* are still common in AS beside a new *doboi*. The negative in AS has always *ro* as in Mod. Ir. A new form *dobhi* is mostly confined to the relative, and this must have been the starting point of the modern *(do) bhí*. The origin of the palatal *bh* is not clear.<sup>1</sup> One is inclined to think of the influence of the negative, thus *ní raibhe* and then *ri robí* 3388 and from that, *do bhí*. In *raibhe* also the palatal *bh* is difficult of explanation. PH and AS have almost always *-raibhe* corresponding to modern Munster *-raibh*, whilst the Glosses point to a non-palatal *bh* as in Connacht and northern Irish. *Robae* of the Glosses seems to have been becoming *-rabai*, *-raba* in the early 10th century as is evidenced by such texts as the Tripartite Life.<sup>2</sup> The change to palatal *bh* in *raibhe* which seems to have become the general literary form for all dialects, is peculiar. It might be possible to regard it as due to a double form of the diphthong, the palatal consonant pointing to the *ói* (Mod. *aoi*) form borrowed from the positive, whilst the other goes back to the old *óe*, *áe* of the negative *-robae* *-robe* of ML. Fled Bricrend shows a stage in this development in *-rabi* (Wi. I, 255, 6). The simplest explanation is perhaps the influence of the present subjunctive *-roib*, *-raib*, but here there was no final *-e*.

When *-bhí* had once become established for the 3 sg. it is easy to see how it would spread to the 3 pl. *bhíodar*, and then to the other persons. The instance 7 *do bídur* 5942, by itself, one might be inclined to attribute to the MS. (Laud), but such a form is quite possible beside the numerous instances of *dobhi*. Keating still writes the non-palatal *bh* in *dobhámar dobhádar*, etc., and, in the negative after *ro*, it is, outside *raibh*, universal in modern Irish.

<sup>1</sup> It may be possible to regard it as an analogical formation from 3 sg. of consuetudinal *-bí* or *bíd*. Then one would expect 1 sg. *(do) bhídhus* beside *dobadus* in texts like AS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stokes, Introduction.

## § 38.

## FUTURE.

Sg. 1. *bia oc precept* Ml 60<sup>e</sup>4, *is sunt bia-sa in-eilithri* Ml 137<sup>b</sup>7.

Cf. (*cian*) *biasa hí fus* Dá Derga 51.

SR: No instance.

PH: *biat-sa immalle frit* 1244, *biat-sa ic fortacht* 6825. *biat-su fen eterra* 6756.

AS: *a bhíadnaisi* P. *biat* 2260, *biatsa* 6953; *cá fat biussa* (sic) 7019.

Cf. *ní bhiú mar do bhá* Duanaire 25, 3. *ní bhiú ar comairce* 3, 44, *ní biu ag fer* 10, 6, *nocha biusa* 17, 78; *ga fad bhíad sa riocht* so 8, 6.

Mod.: *béidhead, béad, bé(idh) mé*; Keat. *biaidh mé*.

Sg. 2. Gl.:

Cf. Trip. Life *bia-su fut gaiscid* 138, 12.

SR: *amal biaé* 1599; *ní bia fo griis* 2047, *no co-bia . . . sunn i péin* 2043.

PH: *bia for neim* 420, *bia-su immalle frim* 3344, *co bia tú* 2893.

AS: cf. *in chéin bheir* 592 (Li. p.; *comfad beir* Fr.).

Cf.: *biaidh tú* Duan. 8, 7, *biadh tú* 17, 58. Fier. *beir* § 35.

Mod.: *béidhir (béir), bé(idh) tú*; Keat. *biaidh tú*.

Sg. 3. Gl.: *bíeid aimser nad creitfidir* Wb 28<sup>e</sup>14, *bíeid dúnni a ndede sin* Wb 28<sup>a</sup>23; *bíed* Wb 14<sup>e</sup>1, *rom-bia buaid* Wb 11<sup>a</sup>10, *ro-t-bia less log* 6<sup>a</sup>11, etc., *arni bia senim iarsin* Wb 13<sup>d</sup>18, *connacon bia forailhmet nDe eter* Ml 61<sup>b</sup>12, *nicon bia* Sg. 29<sup>b</sup>10.

Rel.: *is hed ón biás and* Wb 23<sup>b</sup>38, *amal mbias* Ml 30<sup>d</sup>2.

Cf.: *bíeid* Trip. Life 74, 21, *ní bíá* 38, 16. *ní bia nech etarru* Dá Derga 30, *inum-bia-sa ib.* p. 8.

SR: *biaid fogur* 8021, *biaid in bith fo crithur* 8202; *biad* (leg. *biaid*) *araile . . . i ngradaib* 3275. *ro-t-bia grad* 3354, *nocho-for-bia airchra* 4064, *ro-m-bia* (leg. *ro-b-bia*) *mac* 1967, *for-bia for-n-eitteire fein* 3503, 'ye shall have your own hostages'; cf. 3511 *in cech uair for mbia*.

Rel.: *ri bias* 5045. Cf. impersonal *-bethir* LU 33<sup>a</sup>41.

PH.: *biaid teine for lassad* 2284, *biaid se slán* 3705, *co mbia*

1809, *findat co mbia esergi* 1074, *ait na bia teidm* 2110, *ní bia* 2187, *ní co-mbia maith duit* 1812, *ní-s-bia eserge doib* 6594.

AS. : *biaid* 1320, 2420, 3007 ; *indus na bia* 4100, *ní bia* 6175, *nach bia* 7261, *imma mbia* 7270, *ga mbia* 2420, *cia uainn da mbia* 827.

Rel. : *gach ní bias* 3715, *cid sochaide bias* 6193, 5425, *in comfat bias duine* 6138 ; [*cid*] *fat[a]* *bes Cailte* 2068.

Impersonal : *ca fat beither icá leighes* 5259.

Duanaire : *rod-fia tegh* 23, 215, *rod-fia comrac* 23, 46 ; *rel. bhías* 35, 92.

Mod. : Keat. *biaidh, bhias* ; spoken : *béidh*, *rel. bhías*.

Impersonal : *béithear, béifear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *bemmi-ní* Wb 9<sup>c</sup>10 ; *is i Crist beimmi* 21<sup>b</sup>7. *in biam fris* Wb 15<sup>a</sup>1, *nípiam fri aithirgi* 30<sup>b</sup>17.

Cf. : *beimi-ní cen áes* Trip. Life 28, 26.

SR : No instance.

PH : *cia hairet bemit* 1501.

AS : *bemaitne* 5432 (La. p.), *ní bém* 7333.

Duan. : *gidhbé áit a mbiam anocht* 19, 7.

Mod. : *bé(a)muid* (M. *béimíd*), *béidheam* ; Keat. *beimíd*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *indas no-m-bied-si* Wb 9<sup>a</sup>21, *ní bied-si hi cobodlus la suidiu* 9<sup>b</sup>17, *ol a mbeid-si* Wb 26<sup>d</sup>26, 'than ye.'

Trip. Life : *i mbeithi* 138, 7, *bethe isind usque* 182, 30, cf. 238, 23.

SR : *bethi . . . ir-richtain lessa* 3083 ; *bethi mairb* 1232, cf. 4062.

PH, AS : No instance [*bíthi-se*, AS 6139, is probably ipv.].

Mod. : [*béithi* rare], *bé(idh) sibh*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *bieit a namait fo a chossaib-som* Wb 32<sup>c</sup>13. *biet hi frendairc* Sg 153<sup>b</sup>4 ; *ní biat fo mam* Ml 134<sup>d</sup>2. *ní biat i n-oentu* Wb 9<sup>c</sup>28, *nadmbiet* Sg 40<sup>b</sup>14.

Rel. : *níba cian mbete and* Ml 66<sup>d</sup>14 ; *inna pian bete donaib pechachaib* Wb 13<sup>c</sup>26.

Cf. *beti fir hErenn ar crith* Trip. L. 152, 27, *mbeiti* 118, 17, 18, *beitit co brath* 120, 17, *beitit* 110, 25, *airet beti* Dá Derga 30, *airet beite* ib. 31.

SR : *biait fót* 835, *betit adhuatha* 8158, 'there will be horrors,'



*beti dorchai* 8157, *ni biat i n-oentaig* 1951, *hed beit mole fogris* 1435 (rel.), (cf. *beti cuirp i cossair* Ferb. 105).

PH : *beit na noim isin oirechus* 3649; *betit isin fechtnaigi* 1937; *atbeir co mbia triur* 7587 (leg. *biat* ?).

Rel. : *foirend beit hi carcair* 6002.

AS : (β) *ní bia . . . mná bus tochu* 992 (Franc.).

Duan. : *beidid ann garrgadha* Gall 34, 6; *béid na leabhair ann* 34, 3 (4). *Beid*, G. ÓDálaigh, *Ériu* v., p. 56.

Mod. : Keating *biaid*, *beid*; spoken *béid* (*béidhid*), *bé(idh) siad*.

#### REMARKS.

§ 39. The sg. 1. *bia* has become *biat* in PH. AS has, in addition, a form *biússa*, which is common in Duanaire Finn; it was possibly a contamination<sup>1</sup> of *bia-sa* and the 1 sg. pres. subj. *beu*. This tense has in Con. Ir. *é(i)* throughout instead of *ia*, possibly from *é* in 1 pl.<sup>2</sup> The interchange of *ia* and *éi* before a palatal consonant in the 3 sg. would be simple. The *e* may well have spread from the new 2 sg. *bé-ir*, a subjunctive *-r* form introduced in AS. Keating has still an archaic (?) *biaidh* in 3 sg.

In the 1 pl., PH has palatal *m* whilst AS has a non-palatal *onə* which is the Connacht form in Mod. Ir. The latter has also *ní bém* 7333, which still survives in Connacht (*ní bhé-am*).

§ 40. The 3 pl. forms *betit*, *beti* occur in Trip. Life, Dá Derga, SR, and PH. Cf. similar forms in Sc. L. Br. *beti and sin* (St. 5), and is *amlaid beti* § 29, ib. These forms may have been a development from 3 pl. rel. *bete*.

#### § 41.

#### SECONDARY FUTURE.

Sg. 1. Gl. : *airet no-m-beinn isnaib imnedaib* Ml 79<sup>a</sup>22, *ni beinn isin doiri* Ml 131<sup>d</sup>19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ní biu-sa reompa* AS 6179.

<sup>2</sup> In Munster the *e* is short, e.g. *beg* (= *béidh* before vowel). Cf. Bergin, *Ériu* ii. p. 46.

SR, PH : No instance. Cf. *cáin beinn* [MS. *bienn*] *do Mac cecht* Dá Derga 144.

AS : *is ferrde do beind* 3204, *gidh fada do-beinn-si* 1377.

Mod. : Keat. *bheinn* ; spoken : *bheidhinn*, *bheithinn*.

Sg. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bheitheá*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *no-m-biad iar fír* Ml 126<sup>e</sup>10, *ro-n-da-biad cech maith* Ml 33<sup>b</sup>13, *ni biad étrad* Wb 9<sup>a</sup>1.

Cf. : *ros-biad failti* Dá Derga 49 ; *eirged nech las mbeth* ib. 41.

SR : *ram-biad tír* 2792, *no-biad cen anmain* SR 6324.

PH : *iarmairt no-biad de* 4745, *ni-s-biad pian form* 8259.

AS : *ge bé nech ica mbiad pend : fada do biad ga scribend* 2894 (p.) *nach biad omun . . . orum* 5164 ; *nach biad* 3485, *ni biad* 6103, *do bhiath* 1796, *dobiad* 2139, *dobhiad* 352 (p.) *comad eacla ra biath fair* 6561, *ca ferr ainm da mbiath forro* 3501, cf. 7 *ca ferr ainm da mbeth*<sup>1</sup> *fair* 4435. *ca ferr ainm da mbiad ar* 6619. *ni beth díb duine* 6020 ; cf. 162.

Duan. : *na mbeith díol secht gcéad* 23, 20 ; *do bhiadh* 22, 50.

Mod. : *bheadh* ; Keating *bhiadh*.

Impersonal : *bheithidhe* (pron. *věhí*.)

Pl. 1. Gl. : *no-bemmis* Ml 134<sup>b</sup>3.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : Keat. and M. *bheimís* ; Con. *bhemuis* (*bheith-muis*).

Pl. 2. Gl. SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : [*bheithí* rare], *bhead sibh*.

Pl. 3. : *inna debthe nobetis la Israheldu* 100<sup>e</sup>7, *céin nombetis* Ml 58<sup>a</sup>9.

Cf. : *o nobetis fír hErend in óen magin* Dá Derga 132.

SR : No instance.

PH : *is uait nobetis rig fair* 4040.

AS : (Cf. *cen no-beidis-sim beo* 2147 subj.)

Mod. : *bheidis*, *bhead siad*.

<sup>1</sup> So Stokes. Probably written in the MS. *mbí*.

## REMARKS.

§ 42. The secondary future shows little change from O. Ir. to the present<sup>1</sup> day. In the 1 sg. a *h* is often introduced in the pronunciation, before the ending, on the analogy of other verbs, where *f* becomes *h* in the pronunciation—e.g., *bhainfinn*, pron. *bhainhinn*, *dféadfainn* pron. *déatainn*, and this serves as a distinction between 1 sg. conditional and 1 sg. past subjunctive. The 3 sg. is now *bheadh* (often written *bheidheadh*) pron. *vech*,<sup>1</sup> *ved*. The *d* of 3 sg. of verbs before *s*, is not an ordinary interdental *d*, but pronounced with the point of the tongue on the gum at the back of the upper teeth, like the Irish pronunciation of English *d*. This *bheadh* may have been taken over from the 3 sg. subjunctive *bethe* and there is evidence of confusion in LU (85a7) and AS—e.g., *ni, beth duin* 6020, and *ca ferr ainm da mbeth* 4435 written with the contraction for *et*. The form *bheith* survives dialectically (Roscommon, Mayo), but is confused with *bheadh* (*vech*). A 3 sg. *vech. ved* could also have been formed on the analogy of the other persons in modern Irish, but, as indicated, the development appears to be older. Keating still writes *bhiadh*, but there is no corresponding form preserved in Munster.

In 1 pl., the Connacht and northern form has its usual broad *m* and the Munster a slender *m*. The 3 pl. has remained unchanged with the exception of the loss of *no*.

## § 43.

## IMPERATIVE.

Sg. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *bii impu* 5014, *bi hi tost* 1603, *na bi for snim* 3282, *na bi istsruth* 1682.

PH : *bi a tost* 1987, *bí i n-erlaime* 3819, *na bí cosmail fris* 8364.

AS : *bidh co heistechtach cailli* 600 (p. Fr.) ; *bid co féchsanach* 600 (p.).

Mod. : *bí*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *bíid cach gnim inna thechtu* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>28, *bíith far cuit-si occa* Wb 11<sup>b</sup>4, *na bíd taidchur dúnni* Wb 3<sup>a</sup>14.

<sup>1</sup> With broad *ch*. In South Galway I have heard *v'ach* (*v'æch*).

SR : *nā bid* for *n-aittreib* 4417 ; *bid amne* 4421.

PH : *bid a fhis lib* 7689 ; *na bid immad erlabrai ocaib* 7839.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bíodh*. Impersonal : *bítear*.

Pl. 1. Gl. :

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : (Con.) *biom*, *biomuid*, Munst. *bímis*.

Pl. 2. Gl. : *biid ersoilcthi* Ml. 46<sup>a</sup>7, *biid amal rongabussa i ngnim* Wb. 23<sup>c</sup>11.

SR : *na bid* for *báis* 7988 ; possibly *na bid uamnaig* 4830.

PH : *bid-siu andsin* 624.

AS : 7 *in comfat bias duine am degheid-si bíthi-si* 6139 (fut. ?)

Duan. : *na bíthi* 17, 57.

Mod. : *bi[dh]idh*, often pron. *bígí*.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *biat amal idlu* Ml 130<sup>a</sup>10 ; *biat* Ml 51<sup>a</sup>13.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Mod. : *bídís*.

#### REMARKS.

§ 44. Modern Irish has developed a 1 sg. of the imperative, e.g. *bí(dh)im buidheach dhíom fein*, 'I may thank myself,' but this imperative is mostly used to strongly emphasise a supposition, as : 7 *bí(dh)im ag féachaint air, ar uaislibh Chonnacht(a)* 7 *bídhim 'mo cheannphort do dhéanfainn cleamhnas leat gan bó ná laogh*. In other verbs, this imperative has the same form as the 1 sg. present indicative.

In Munster, the past subjunctive and conditional ending *-mís* has spread to the 1st plural imperative ; in all the dialects the ending *-dís* has become general in the 3 pl.

§ 45. In the 2 pl. the *h* or *i* inserted before the ending has become *g*, thus *bídhidh*, pron. *bígí*. What appears to be an early development of this is *bíthi-si* AS 6139. In SR, the 2 pl. *na bid uamnaig*, where we should expect the copula, cannot, as far as the form is concerned, be distinguished from the substantive verb, and in view of the considerations discussed below (in Chap. II.) it may be



possible to take it as such. *Bid amlaid sin domela* PH 5344 seems also to be an imperative (of the copula) with a form like that of the substantive verb.

## § 46.

## SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD. PRESENT.

Sg. 1. Gl. : (a) *imb i céin fa in-accus beosa* Wb 23<sup>b</sup>41, *cia beo-sa hi carcair* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>19; (b) no instance; *beu-sa* Ml 53<sup>b</sup>8.

Trip. Life : *cén mbéo sa for nim* 116, 20.

SR : *cia beo i ngortai* 1540, *cein beo-sa* 1844; *in hed beo hi cri* 8004.

PH : *cén rabur-sa inniti* 2716. Cf. *céin beor-sa beo* LL 203a44.

AS : *ni bíusa reompa* 6179 (pres. form), *co rabhar ann* 775.

Mod. : *go mbidhead, go (mur) mbí(dh) mé; go rabhad, go raibh mé.*

Sg. 2. Gl. : No instance.

SR : *cia bé hi tóss* 1607.

PH : No instance. AS : *in chéin bheir* 592.

Mod. : *go mbí(dh) tú; go rabhair, go raibh tú.*

Sg. 3. Gl. : *cia rubé cen ní diib* Ml 20<sup>d</sup>4, *risín robáe cland less* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>23, *arna roib éicndag ind raith diadi* Wb 29<sup>a</sup>7; *con-roib deserc leu fri cách* Wb 26<sup>d</sup>22, *co[n]don roib* 20<sup>c</sup>14, *cia beith soilse isind lau* Ml 108<sup>a</sup>11, *ma beith nech and* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>4, *mani bée dechur isint senmuim* Wb 12<sup>c</sup>43; *mani-sm-be bethu* Wb 13<sup>b</sup>20; *ona bæ níi* Wb 11<sup>d</sup>8, *arna bæ etir* Wb 25<sup>d</sup>26. Impers. : *cia bethir* Wb 5d33, cf. Ml 107d8.

*bes : as ndifulai[n]g . . ní bes á fin* Ml 77<sup>d</sup>3; *condib réil less ind inne bess and* Wb 27<sup>b</sup>27; *ambess* Wb 5<sup>d</sup>14.

SR : *cia beith slog mor foib* 1237, *cia beith* 5997, *mani mbé sét* 2086, *cona raib accaib d'inluicht* 1252, *na raib form* 1584, *arna raib digal for slóig* 1743, *co rob linni búaid* 5499.

PH : *ce raib se ina fhir* 7324, *mina raib dearc accum, cona rab* 3283, *mine rab deirc accum* 5910, *co rab* 7250, *dia mbe nech i n-indlobru* 4982, *dia mbe* 6034, 6041, *mina be* 4120.

Sg. 3. AS : *oiret rabh grian ar deiseal* 520 (p.) *cona raib súil* 5286, (6294), *da raib a fis accaind* 6119, *da raib* 6294, *acht na*

*raib* 6195, *dá rabh ocumsa* 80, *noco mbia som tri bliadna* 5285.

Mod. : *go mbí[dh]*, *go raibh* ; Keating *dá raibhe*.

- Pl. 1. Gl. : *cia beimmi-ni in fide* Wb 19<sup>a</sup>6 ; *dia mbem-ni hí combás* Wb 24<sup>a</sup>10, *robam i flathemnacht* Wb 26<sup>c</sup>10.

SR : *ní ruibem cen rig* 5440.

PH : *co rabum-ne co noem ⁊ co nem-hélnide* 7899, *dia mbemm i n-ítaid* 5814 ; *céin bemm i fus* 7901.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *go (muna) mbidh-muid*, *-sinn* ; *go rabhmuid*, *go raibh sinn*.

- Pl. 2. Gl. : *robith in-indocbáil* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>28, *mad in chruth sin beithe* Wb 18<sup>b</sup>16, 24<sup>b</sup>13, *co bethe-si ut sum* 19<sup>d</sup>19, *ní beith si* Ml 46<sup>a</sup>10.

SR : *cia bethi com-meit for mbla* 1233. Cf. LU 32<sup>b</sup>48 *tait-si co mbethi*.

PH : *cia rabthai-si oca iarraid* 1977, *co rabthai i frecnarcus Dé* 2414, *is coir dib-se co rabthai do rér na rig* 4081, *cíd i cúimce rabthai* 5606.

AS : No instance.

Mod. : *go mbí[dh] sibh*, *go raibh (rabh) sibh*.

- Pl. 3. Gl. : *ce rubet i péin* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>23, *robát i n-ellug coirp crist i n-nem* Wb 29<sup>c</sup>8. *ma beit* Sg 40<sup>a</sup>21, *cia beit inna corp* Wb 11<sup>d</sup>11. *mani-bet andiis* Ml 14<sup>c</sup>4.

*bete : bete banscala occ ar timthirect* Wb 10<sup>c</sup>22.

SR : *cia beit fri brig* 2669.

PH : *co rabhut isin cadus cetna* 994, *dia rabut ina comairsin do* 7449 ; *is coir do chach co raput faen futhib ⁊ cor-rabat dia rér* 4068, *dia mbet fo'm chossaib* 761, *dia mbet da fhiadain oca forgell* 3374, *dena . . . co mbet fo thorud* 1254.

AS : *da rabhat sunn . . . clann* 6656, *no go rabhat mo sheoit* 1069 *cia bet andiu cen cinaidh* 4764 (Fr.) *ge bet indiu* 3721 (Fr.), *cia beit* 4766 (Fr.).

Duan. : *dia mbeitt fir Eirionn cugad* 23, 41.

Mod. : Keat. *dá rabhaid* ; *go mbí[dh] siad* ; *go rabhaid*, *go raibh siad*. Impersonal :—*bítear*.

## REMARKS.

§ 47. The 1 sg. *beo*, *beu*, is preserved in AS in the form *bíu-sa* 6179, whilst the deponential *beor* is introduced in LL. The origin of the modern *go mbidh* forms is not clear. They seem to show a displacement of *-bé* by the pres. *bí* forms. It is noticeable that *bíusa* (with long *i*) is used as subjunctive in AS, and this may have spread to the 3 sg. *-mbí(dh)*. The *-mbidh* forms are now confined to Connacht and northern Irish. *Go raibh* is the optative form and is also used dialectically for *-mbidh*. It may be pointed out that *dá* with the present subjunctive is used till the time of Keating, but now *dá* always takes the past subjunctive. The ending *-e* of *raibhe*, in Keating, is obviously artificial.

## § 48.

## PAST SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sg. 1. Gl., SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Duan. : *muna beinn budh-dheine*.

Mod. : (*go*, *mur*) *-mbeinn*, *-mbeidhinn*.

Sg. 2. Gl. : *cíd no-m-betha im etarceirt* Wb 4<sup>c</sup>24.

SR, PH, AS : No instance.

Duan. : *da mbethea* 30, 3.

Mod. : *-mbeitheá*.

Sg. 3. Gl. : *armbad hi tempul Dæ nobeth* MI 47<sup>c</sup>11, *coir cid caritas nobed i tossuch* Wb 20<sup>b</sup>22 ; *nibo decming rombed imthanad hisuidib* Wb 21<sup>a</sup>13, *orobad torbe dúibsi triit* Wb 17<sup>a</sup>13, *arna beth aní imnefolangar treæ dosom* MI 88<sup>b</sup>15, *minibed crois* Wb 9<sup>d</sup>1, *dorochóinset arn-da-beth in tair[i]sem* MI. 131<sup>e</sup>9, *act nibed uall and* Wb 10<sup>b</sup>27.

Trip. Life : Impersonal *arambethe iccon airi* 238, 23.

*Dá Derga* : *combad sé nobeth and* 55, 7 *cé nobeth* 132.

SR : *arna beth fo chleth* 1999, *ce nobeth cet mili fer* 929, *riasiu nobeth bith* 7851, *amal nobeth fri idnú* 3028.

PH : *dia mbeth mo chumachtu fort* 1376, *dia mbeth ecla formsa* 2383, *co mbeth aice* 60, *arna beth fén cen imrádud* 878, *mine beth cumachta occu* 2654, *mani beth borb* 4656, *cia beth do mét mo hirse* 5912.

AS : *da mbeth sunn nech* 7923, *da mbeth accainde* 7262 (976),  
*gia beth* 1588, *ge beth* 2412, *acht co mbeth* 6559, *gin gu beth*  
 7822, *muna beth sin* 3484. *dus cid \*rabiad* 3864.

Duan. : *día mbeith* 23, 221, *mona beith* 35, 17, *céin do bhiadh* 1, 24.

Mod. : Same as Secondary Future.

Pl. 1. Gl. : *amal no-m-bemmis érchóilti* Wb 9<sup>a</sup>3 ; *risiu robeimmis*  
*etir* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>23.

SR : No instance.

PH : *combad ann nobemis* 5007.

AS : *gidh cian do bheimís* 1447.

Mod. : *-mbe(a)muis. -mbe(a)d sinn.*

Pl. 2. Gl. : *et ní \*bethe fria acre* Wb 9<sup>e</sup>20.

SR : No instance. Cf. *cenco beth sibsi sund* Ferb. 115 (Wi. III).

PH, AS. : No instance.

Pl. 3. Gl. : *ní arindí no-m-betis cid in biuc* Sg 39<sup>a</sup>25, *ce chonistis*  
*nombetis ar chuit analoige* Sg. 138<sup>a</sup>9. *resiu robetis im*  
*gnais* Ml. 58<sup>a</sup>7 ; *co mbetis i ndoiri* 34<sup>a</sup>9.

SR : *siu nobetis moini* 7855, *arna-betis for inluad* 4482.

PH : *amal bid hi cotlad no-betis* 1011.

AS : *dá mbeitis* 2004, 7551, *acht muna beitis* 6223. *γ da mbeidis*  
*fir . . . ar oenlathair* 6019.

Duan. : *mar do beittis* 35, 34.

Mod. : *(da)-mbeidis. Impersonal : -mbeithí(dhe).*

## REMARKS.

§ 49. Of the 1 sg. I have no early instance. For the modern form, cf. remarks on Secondary Future. The 3 sg. *-mbeth* shows very little change in Mod. Ir. *mbeadh* (pronounced *mech*, *med* before *s*), and *-mbeith*. AS shows confusion with the conditional in *dus cid rabiad* 3864. In Mod. Ir. the subjunctive (in case of all verbs) is only used after *muna* (*mur*), *acht go*, *nó go*, *dá*, *sul* (=old *résiu*). The lengthening of the *i* before *s*, in the 3 plural, in PH and AS is noticeable. The reason for this lengthening is not clear.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

§ 50. As I have already noted, in an article in the *New Ireland Review*<sup>1</sup>, one of the peculiarities of (*a*)*tá* as distinguished from *is*, in Modern Irish, is its non-use with certain classes of adjectives. In Old-Irish, as is generally known (cf. Strachan, *Substantive Verb*, p. 51), the substantive verb is not, with a few special exceptions, used with an adjectival predicate at all.

§ 51. In the present chapter, I deal with the origin and development of the modern use of *tá* with the adjective. Before investigating the Old- and Middle-Irish conditions, I shall give :

1. A statement of the modern usages of *is* and *tá*, together with an arrangement of the various classes of adjectives as regards their use with the substantive verb.

2. A comparison of the usages of Irish *is* and *tá* with those of Spanish *ser* and *estar* respectively.

3. A recapitulation of the root forms of the verbs of existence in O. Ir. and a short account of their application.

## I. IS AND TÁ IN MODERN IRISH.

§ 52. We have in Mod. Ir. side by side two verbs (*a*)*tá* and *is* of which the usages will be clear from the following examples :--

1. *Tá* is used

(*a*) To denote existence, as *an té a bhí agus atá agus a bhéas go bráth*. *Tá*, to express existence, is now generally supplemented by *ann*, as *tá daoine ann ar mhaith leo gach uile sórt a alpadh chucu féin*, 'there are people who wish . . .'; *tá a leitheid ann*, 'there is such a thing.' Cf. also *bíonn an dearmad ann*. Hence this usage generally falls together with (*b*).

(*b*) To denote location or position : *tá an capall ar an tsráid*, 'the horse is on the street,' *tá sé istich sa teach*, 'he is within in the house,' *má tá faitchios ort caith dhíot é*.

(*c*) With *ag* to denote occupation or action : *tá sé ag baint an*

<sup>1</sup> Dublin, May, 1903.

*fhéir*, 'he is cutting the grass,' *tá sé ag dul abhaile*, 'he is going home,' *tá sé ag éalodh as*, 'he is fading away.'

(d) With *ag* to denote possession: *tá sgian aige*, 'he has a knife.'

(e) With *le* to denote purpose, application, success: *tá sé le* (O. Ir. *fri*) *teach a dhéanamh*, 'he is to build a house'; *béidh sé leis go millidh sé* (go *ndéanaidh sé*) *é*, 'he will be at it until he destroys it (does it).' *Tá sé leis le fada*, 'he is at it for a long time' (O. Ir. *occa*); *tá leat*, 'you have managed it,' 'you have succeeded in doing it.'

(f) With an adverb of manner: *tá sin amhlaidh*, *tá sin mar sin*, 'that is so'; *tá sé i ndroch-chruth*, 'he is in a bad way.'

(g) With adjectives: *tá sé réidh*, 'it is finished.' This I shall deal with further on.

(h) The construction (a) *tá sé ina rígh* 'he is king,' will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

§ 53. The above are instances of the principal usages of *tá*. In all these cases *tá* can be replaced by the other parts of the substantive verb, *bíonn*, *bhí*, *bheadh*, *-fuil*. The following are miscellaneous examples: *an té bhíos thíos buailtear cos air*; *an té bhíos ar an talamh*, 'he who is on the ground'; *an sionnach a bhíos 'na cholladh*, 'the fox that sleeps'; *an muilíonn a bhíos ag síor-mhílt*, 'the mill that is continually grinding'; *an té nach bhfuil bóllach ar chnoc aige*, 'he who has not live-stock on a hill'; *an té nach bfuil léim aige*, 'he who cannot<sup>1</sup> jump'; *an dreoilín a bhí ag bualadh an choirce*, 'the wren that was threshing the oats'; *bíodh mo bheannacht leat*, 'my blessing be with thee' = 'good-bye'; *bí 'un tosaigh ag dul an choill*, 'go in front in a wood'; *bhí sé i bpéin*, 'he was in pain,' etc.

## 2. *Is* is used

§ 54. (a) In equating two persons or things as: *an tú Séamus?* *Is mé*. 'Is that you, James? Yes.' *Is mise an Síodhuidhe suarach*, 'I am the insignificant sprite.' *Is mé an bád dár réabadh an seol*, 'I am a boat of which the sails have been torn away.' *Budh tusa mo roghain* (choice), *is maith in treoruidhe an t'anró*, 'trouble is a good guide.'

(b) To give some permanent description of a person or thing, as:

<sup>1</sup> We may compare the common construction *tá Gaedhilg aige* 'he can speak (lit. 'he has') Irish,' *tá amhrán aige* 'he can sing,' *tá snámh aige* 'he can swim.'

*Is breágh an fear thú*, 'you are a fine man'; *is maith an capall é*, *is dona an duine thú*, *b'olc an lá é*, *is olc an talmhaidhe mé*, 'I am a bad husbandman.'

A particular case of this is its use

(c) In comparisons :

*Is luaithe í ná an ghaoth*, 'she (it) is fleetier than the wind'; *ní fearr an cat ná an coimhhead*, 'the cat is not better than the guard'; *ní mó é ná an t'anró*, 'it is not better than the trouble (got from it).'

(d) With *le* to denote possession : *is leis an sgian*, 'the knife is his.'

As will be seen from the above examples, the main difference between *is* and *tá* is that *is* represents a permanent or abiding quality or is used to assert an identity, whilst *tá* represents existence of a temporary condition or position.

§ 55. This fundamental difference will be best understood by a consideration of the use of *is* and *tá* with adjectives. The following are examples :—

*is olc an lá é* but *tá an lá go holc*, 'the day is bad (rough)'  
*is maith an fear é* „ *tá an fear go maith*, 'the man is good.'  
*is deas in duine é* „ *tá sé go deas*, 'he is nice.'

It is not possible to say, in correct Irish, *tá an fear maith*, *ta sé deas*, in other words, a predicate to be used with *tá* must be made into an **adverb**. As, however, we find abundant examples in Mod. Ir. of adjectives used with *tá* it will be necessary to give some definition of the adjectives which can be so used. As regards their use with the substantive verb, adjectives may be divided into the following three principal classes :—

§ 56. I.—The **-ach and Participle** class. This class consists of adjectives denoting a temporary condition. They can be predicated by *tá* :

<i>Tá an fear brónach</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{May also be} \\ \text{expressed} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>Tá sé fá bhrón.</i> (or) <i>tá brón air</i>
<i>Tá an chaora tinn</i>		<i>Tá tinneas ar an gcaoirigh</i>
<i>Bhí sé buadhartha</i>		<i>Bhí buaidhreadh air, bhí sé fá bhuidhreadh.</i>
<i>Béidh an capall tuirseach</i>		

II.—The **Permanent attribute** class. These cannot, as adjectives, be predicated by *tá*.

## PREDICATION :

*Tá an fear go maith**Tá sí go breágh**Tá an teach go deas*

## CLASSIFICATION :

*Tá sé ina fhear mhaith**Tá sí ina mnaoi bhreágh**Tá sé ina theach dheas.*

*Tá an teach go deas* emphasises the *house* as distinguished from the *church*, the *barn* or something else. *Is deas an teach é* emphasises the *deas*—that is, not ‘ugly,’ and *is teach deas é* emphasises the *é*, ‘this particular house.’ *Tá an teach go deas* also carries the meaning ‘the house is nice now,’ ‘the house is nice in its present condition.’ Another expression, *sé anteach deas é*, is used as a formula of praise by implying that there is only one ‘nice house’ and that *this* is the one.

III.—The **méid or measure** class.*Tá méid mhór sa teach*, the house is large.*Tá leithead maith ann*, it is fairly broad.*Tá meadhachain maith innte*, it is heavy.

Adjective

{ *mór*{ *leathan*{ *trom*.

We may compare

*Tá dath dearg ar in leabhar**Is dath dearg atá ar in rós**Is rud dearg rós (Is dearg an rud rós).*

§ 57. In class II the adjective and noun form a closer identity, and thus they both may be taken together and classed as a new group. We have a difference of meaning between *is maith in fear é* or *is fear maith é* and *tá an fear go maith* (cf. above). In the first case the ‘man’ is put as belonging to the group *fir mhaith*, in the second case he is taken as if he had proved himself to be ‘good’ (*go maith*), which was, as it were, before doubted. The whole process may be expressed thus: that an adjective must be turned into an adverb in order to be predicated by *tá*. The phrase *tá sé ina fhear mhaith* coincides with this conception, because *ina fhear mhaith* may be regarded as an adverbial phrase denoting condition. But of this later.

Other words denoting permanent qualities are: adjectives of colour, such as *dearg*, *bán*, etc., and they may be classed under this head. We cannot, for instance, say *tá an plúr bán*, ‘the flour is white,’ because *bán* is considered a permanent condition as regards *plúr*, it has not *become* white. In the same way, from the Irish standpoint, it would be thought redundant to say *tá an rós dearg*, ‘the



rose is red,' because if it is a red rose it is permanently red. The correct way of expressing this fact would be *is dath*<sup>1</sup>*dearg atá ar an rós*. Another formula is *is rud dearg fuil*, 'blood is red.'

§ 58. An apparent exception is such a phrase as *tá do phiopa dearg* (=deargtha), 'your pipe is kindled.' But this is not a real exception as *dearg* here is the **result of an action** and it comes moreover under the head of **temporary condition**. Similarly may be treated *tá an talamh bán le aol aige*, 'he has made the land white with lime.' Another application of *bán* is *tá an talamh bán*, 'the land is waste'—i.e., *bánuighthe*. Similarly *bhí an spéir dubh*—i.e., 'black with clouds, birds, etc.' Compare *go dtéidhidh na spéartha dubh tré néaltaibh*, ACG, p. 9, 'until the sky becomes dark.'

§ 59. In all these instances, an adjective must be either turned into an adverb, or be one that can be used with verbs, or denote either the result of some action or a temporary condition. These are the modern conditions of the use of the adjective with *tá*. Adjectives denoting the result of a recent action are the **participles**—e.g., *tá sé claoidhte*, and those denoting a temporary condition are the **adjectives in -ach**, such as *gnothach*, 'busy.'

§ 60. In order to more fully illustrate the use of the adjective with *tá*, I give the following miscellaneous examples:—

*An té atá saor caithead sé cloch, comhairle chomhgarach* (convenient) *bíonn sí neamh-chailleanach, má bhíonn tú bocht ná bí tuatach* ('mean'), *tá sé stuacach, bhí sé beo tapaidh* (active), *murab fhuil sé díreach caithfe sé a beith cam, béidh sé mall, béidh a anam slán, ní bheithéa sásta* ('satisfied'), *an té a bhíos sáthach, ní bhéidh sé críonna go bráth, tá mé buidheach dhíot*, etc.

### CLASS III.

§ 61. As regards the third important class which consists of adjectives of weight, measurement, etc., we have here practically no predication by *tá*. These adjectives refer to a definite amount of a varying quantity, and the Irish form of expression is that the object in hand contains a greater or less amount of such a quantity or dimension, as : *tá airde mhór ann*, 'it is very high,' or 'he is very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *as ndath glas roboi forsind sléib* MI 84d4.

tall' ; *tá meadhachain maith sa mála*, 'the bag is heavy,' *nach beag an leithead atá ann*, *atá leithneacht mhór san abhainn*, *tá fad breágh ann*, etc. This way of expressing the idea : *tá leithneacht mhór san abhainn*, is in accordance with an important principle in Irish that **the leading or special idea must be brought forward to the beginning of the sentence**. One can also say *is abhainn (abha) leathan í*, 'it is a broad river.'

In making general statements, a convenient form is the use of *rúd*, as, *is trom an rud cearc i bhfad*, 'a hen is a heavy thing when carried for a long distance.' (Proverb).

#### SCOTTISH GAELIC.

§ 62. The use of the copula and substantive verb in Scottish Gaelic is practically the same as in Modern Irish, as is shown by the following examples from Scottish poetry :—

##### (a) Copula.

§ 63. *Ach fhir as curranta lamh Màiri* Alasdair Ruaidh, p. 26, *fhad is beo mì ar thalamh*, *Mo chailin donn òg*,<sup>1</sup> *'m fad 's a's beò mi*, *Màiri bhòidheach*.

*bu bhreac mìn dearg do ghnuis*. M. Alasdair Ruaidh,<sup>2</sup> p. 26. *bu tric a ghabh mi*, *Soraidh slàn le Fionn-airidh*, *bu tu mo cheud leannan*, *An cluinn thu, leannain*, *bu toil leò ceol*-*Moladh na Landaigh*, *bu glan na bruachan*—*An t-Eilean Muileach*, *an t' eilean Muileach bu lurach beannaibh*—*An t-Eilean Muileach*, *bu shocair sèimh a chaidilinn*—*Clachan Ghlinn da Ruail*, *'s ged bu rìgh mi*—*Màiri bhòidheach*.

##### (b) The Substantive Verb.

§ 64. **With prepositions** : *am bròn 'tha ndiugh air m'intinn*—*C'àite'n caidil an Rìbhinn*, *bìdh* (fut.) *mo ghaol ort gach là*—*Gur trom trom mo cheum*, *nach robh mi fhìn ann*—*C'àite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn*, *nuair a bha mi ann ad làthair*—*Mo nighean donn bhòidheach*, *bhiodh na lachan air an tsnàmh*—*Moladh na Landaigh*, *chaoidh*

<sup>1</sup> From *The Celtic Lyre*, a collection of Gaelic songs, by Fionn (Edinburgh).

<sup>2</sup> From *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, Mackenzie.

*bith'd tur na mbeann air m'aire*—An Gaedheal 'sa leannan, *na'n robh thu leam*, 'if thou wert with me'—C'àite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn.

**Various :** *bha mi deas*, 'I was south'—C'àite 'n caidil an Rìbhinn, *bìdh mi 'cuimhneach ort gu bràth*—Soraidh slàn le F.

**With adjectives :** *Ach gur mis' tha bochd truagh*—M. Alasdair Ruaidh, p. 26, *ged tha Stiubhartaich beachdail*—Cumha do mhacLeod, p. 25, *tha mo leannan dreachmhor dìreach A' mhaighdean àluinn*, *ged 'tha 'n Landaidh creagach ciar*—Moladh na Landaidh, *gaol bhiodh firinneach buan*—Gur trom trom mo cheum. *cò 'n a cuideachd a bhiodh brònach*, 'who in her company would be sad'—A mhaighdean àluinn, *a 'ghruag tha bachlach dualach riòmhach*, C'àite n' caidil an Rìbhinn, *na sìùil tha togta*—MacLeod, *tha thu ro-arda os cionn gach aon diubh*—Màiri bhòidheach.

*'s bithinn dìleas rim bhed*—Gur trom trom mo cheum, *'s ann bhios mo smuaintean diomhaireach*—Clachan Ghlinn da Ruail, *cha bhithinn brònach*—C'àite 'n Caidil an Rìbhinn, *gu mbithinn beo*—Mo rùn geal.

*gu bheil mi dubhach cianail*—Mo nighean donn bhòidheach, *ged nach eil e ro-dhearbhtha* Cumha do MhacLeod, p. 25.

*gu'n robh ise fallain slàn*, 'Ghruagach dhonn, *bha sud sgriobt' leat*—M. Alasdair Ruaidh, 26, *gur ioma fuil morgha bha reota sa chorp ud*—Cumha do MhacLeod, p. 25, *'s tric a bha sinn cridheil còmhla*—A' Mhaighdean àluinn. *saoil sibh fhèin nach mi 'bha truagh dheth*—Am fleasgach donn, 'ye thought that I was not sad therefrom.'

*cha dual dhomh bhi slàn*—Gur trom trom mo Cheum, *'se gaol a bhi mòr*—Mo chailin donn og *d'a bu dual a bhi còir*—M. Alasdair R. 26.

§ 65. **Ina :** *ged a bhiodh gach là na shamradh*—An Gaedheal 'sa leannan, *chionn's go bheil gach gleann ina fhàsach*—ib.

§ 66. We find occasional divergencies<sup>1</sup> from the Irish construction such as *tha'n latha math 'san soirbheas ciuin*—Soraidh slàn le F. (Dr. MacLeod), *mar tha mi gu tinn gad ionndrainn*—An cluinn thu leannain, *Tha cneas mo ghráidh geal mar chanach tlá nan glac*—M'Coll, Gaelic Poetry, p. 357. We have instances of this in Irish

<sup>1</sup> My friend Dr. Quiggin tells me that in the Hebrides in several phrases *is* is replaced by *tha*.

in such phrases as *mo bhrón ar an bhfairge isé atá mór*—Love Songs of Connacht, p. 28.

A COMPARISON OF IRISH *is* AND *tá* WITH SPANISH *ser* AND *estar*.

67. We have seen in the preceding section, that there are, in Modern Irish, certain classes of adjectives which can be used with *tá*—viz., adjectives denoting a temporary state or condition. There is another language—namely, Spanish, which has a parallel condition of things in its double form of the verb “to be,” where the usage is so similar that it may be interesting to compare it here. The two verbs in Spanish are :

(1) *ser* < \**essere*,<sup>1</sup> Lat. *esse* from a root *es-*, whose forms are mixed with forms of *sedere*. (2) *estar* from Lat. *stare*, ‘stand,’ which correspond respectively to Irish (1) *is* < \**esti*, cf. L. *est*, HG. *ist*, and (2) *atá* O. Ir. 1 sg. *atāu* < *ad-stāiō*, cf. L. *stō*, ‘stand.’ If the constructions of the two languages in the case of these two verbs are compared it will be seen that they coincide, step by step.

#### I. In Spanish *ser* is used :

1.—To connect a subject with its predicate or to equate two descriptions of the same person or thing as : *soy irlandés=is Éireannach mé*, *soy hombre=is fear mé*, ‘I am a man,’ *es bobarrón*<sup>2</sup> = *is bobarrán é* (or *tá sé na bhobarrán*).

2.—To indicate some permanent characteristic of the subject as : *esta rosa es blanca=is dath bán atá ar an rós*, *is rós bán é*.

3.—To denote possession or use : *este bastón es de Juan=is le Seán an maide seo*.

4.—In phrases like : *de donde es usted ?=cia’r b’as thú*, ‘where are you from ?’

#### II. *Estar* is used :

1.—To denote a temporary condition, as : *el niño está enfermo=tá an naoidheanán tinn*.

2.—To indicate position, as : *mis padres están en Madrid=tá*

<sup>1</sup> The subjunctive contains forms of *sea*, older *seya*, from *seer* ‘to sit’ L. *sedere* ; also gerund. *seyendo* (*siendo*).

<sup>2</sup> The Irish word *bobarrán* (‘a stupid, ignorant person’) must be a borrowing, probably during the 16th century.

*mo mhuintir i Madrid*; la casa de mio amigo está muy lejos de la ciudad: *tá teach mo charad i bhfad ón mbaile*.

3.—To denote activity: Juan estaba leyendo, *bhí Seán ag léigh-eadh*; el trabajo está aun por hacer, *tá an obair go fóill le [gan] déanamh*, 'the work is still to be done.'

68. The points of resemblance<sup>1</sup> between the constructions of the two languages might be more fully and minutely discussed, but as each language has its separate construction in other respects, it must be built according to its own idiom. Thus the similarity<sup>1</sup> between the two languages cannot be forced beyond a certain point, for example: el hombre está dormido: *tá an fear ina cholladh*, for here Irish has this particular construction.

Similarly, owing to the formation of the Irish adjective: *es tarde*, 'it is late,' but *tá sé deireannach*.

### 3.—A RECAPITULATION OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN OLD IRISH.

§ 69. In the foregoing I have set forth the usages of the copula and substantive verb in Mod. Ir. It remains to investigate the origin and development of these usages in Old- and Middle Irish. In what follows I give a brief account of the different forms of the verbs of existence and their usage in O. Ir.

§ 70. O. Ir. had the following eight root forms to indicate that a thing *was* or *existed*:

I.—**Attáu (Atáu), Attó** < \**ad-stāio*, cf. Lat. *stō* < \**stāo* < *stāio*. The simple form *-tá* is also found.

<sup>1</sup> The construction of *ser* with participles to form the passive as *soy alabado* 'I am praised' may be mentioned. In O. Ir. *is* was used with participles as *ithe sídi beta hācthi* Wb 3d29, *an-as suidigthe* 'when it is placed,' *amdar suidigthi na bissi*, Trip. Life 10, 31, etc., but this use has disappeared except in such phrases as *nach shíod é imthighthe uait é*, 'there he is gone away from you,' *cáide déanta é*, 'how long is it made?' etc. In the Irish preterite passive, however, we had possibly the remnant of *is* in the *h* of words like *harduigheadh* < *is* < *ist* < \**esti*. Cf. Thurneysen, Ériu II, 1, and Handbuch 152. For a discussion of the use of *ser* and *estar* with a passive participle, cf. Cirot, Mélanges de Philologie offerts à F. Brunot, Paris, 1904, p. 57.



2.—**Adcomnice** < ad-com-ān-icc=‘it happened,’ used with the infixed pronoun to express existence, but more particularly to introduce a personal name, *atomchomnic*=*ad-dom-chomn-ic*, ‘I am,’ e.g., *Setanta mac Sualtaim atomchomnaicse* LU 59<sup>b</sup>5 (YBL, *atom-comainm-se*), ‘I am Setanta son of Sualtam,’ or ‘Setanta mac Sualtaim is my name’<sup>1</sup> (YBL) in answer to *cia th’ ainm-siu*<sup>2</sup>. This construction<sup>3</sup> is replaced after a time by the formula *N. misi*, thus the phrase corresponding to the above in LL 62<sup>b</sup>42 (Táin) is *Setanta bec missi mac Sualtaim* in answer to *cia tussu*. *Atomchomnaic* is common in early Mid Ir. and survives till PH. Cf. Chap. I. § 7 above.

3.—**Bfu**, ‘I am wont to be’=W. *byddaf*. Cf. Sans. *bhavati*, L. *fiō*. The unaccented form (of 3 sg.) *-bi* used as a copula often means ‘become.’ Cf. above § 12, 13. The other *b*-forms are pret. (sg. 3) *bói*, fut. 1. *bia*, subj. 1. *beo*; verbal noun *buih*, *both*.

4. **Dixnigur**,<sup>4</sup> which can be conjugated, translates the forms of Latin *esse*, thus Ml 23<sup>a</sup>1 *neminem esse Dei memorem* gl. *nad ndixnigedar nech*, ‘that there is no one,’ which would in later Irish be expressed by *atá . . (ann)*, *ní fuil duine (ann)*. Cf. Ml 20<sup>e</sup>6 *in dixnigedar*. At 51<sup>e</sup>16 *indixnigedar* is answered by *atá sōn*, also Wb 9<sup>e</sup>14 *sic non est inter vos sapiens is nad dixnigedar nach aecne*, ‘it is that there is no wise man.’

On the other hand it is sometimes equivalent to the copula construction—e.g., Sg 37<sup>b</sup>17 *fá innadixnigedar cechtarde* ‘whether it is not each of the two.’ Similarly Ml 75<sup>e</sup>9 *qui sis* is glossed *cia hé nundixnaigther-siu* which seems equal to the later construction *cia thussu*. Cf. Sg 22<sup>b</sup>3 *dubium sit* ‘ab’ an ‘ad’ *praepositio sit*: *in díxnaigedar*, ‘whether it is.’

5.—**Dicoissin**, an impersonal form used in relative construction. It is employed to express existence and corresponds in meaning to *attá*—e.g., Wb 17<sup>b</sup>10 *frinn fanisin cotondelcfam .i. amal doncoisin*,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, ‘Setanta mac S. has chanced to me.’

<sup>2</sup> This becomes in Mod. Ir., *cé h’ainm thú* ‘what is your name?’ Cf. § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Further instances of *adcomnic* are *dogairet inna huile Erennaig atotchomnaice* Trip. Life 28, 8 *deochan atacomnaic* ib. 8, 6 7, *atacomnaicsi fadeisín* and she herself’ Dá Derga 13, but *cia do chomainm-si a banscal* ib. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Formed from an accented form of *dí-coissin*.

with ourselves we will compare ourselves—that is, as we are’; *arnaib uilib cumactib dichoisin in nim* Wb 21<sup>a</sup>13.

It is also used in the meaning of the later *atá* . . . *ann*—e.g., *as la Dia cech rann neirt duchoissin amal ata les inna nert* Ml 108<sup>e</sup>14, ‘that to God belongs every part of strength that there is, as to him belong the strengths.’ In this instance it may be noted that *duchoissin* is used independently whilst *atá* is used with *la*; cf. Sg 209<sup>b</sup>29 *ar cach genitiu dichoisin ata at indib in dí cheil-se sis* ‘for in every genitive that exists there are these two meanings.’ Outside the glosses, it occurs in the Old-Irish Metrical Treatise<sup>1</sup> *cis lir baird docuisin*, ‘how many (kinds of) bards are there?’ Ir. Texte III. 5. Cf. Laws III. 4, 16.

6. **Fil**, *fel*, *fail*, is (rel.) < *√vel*—see (Sarauw). Cf. W. *gweled*. *Fil* is impersonal and takes the accusative—e.g., *corrofessid file cuim-recha formsa* Wb 23<sup>a</sup>5, *ni feil tillu remib* Ml 2<sup>b</sup>4. It is used (1) after a relative which does not include a preposition, as *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* Sg 178<sup>a</sup>3, but not in such a construction as *an í i-táa*. (2) In enclisis, as *nicon fil frithorcuin* Ml 107<sup>b</sup>8. (3) With an infixed pronoun—‘is’—e.g., *conid fail in adbai huire* AU 758, ‘so that he is in a house of clay.’ (4) In answer to *in fil* in interrogation: *in fil imbass forosna lat?* ‘*fil ecin*’<sup>2</sup> IU 55<sup>b</sup>13. (5) Occasionally in absolute construction in poetry, *fil dún* . . . ‘we are,’ Im. Brain.

After a time, *fil* develops personal forms (cf. § 29). It is followed by the accusative till SR: *in fail tall mac n-Iesse* 5984, after which, it passes over into the construction of *atá* and becomes a part of the substantive verb.

7. **Ro-gab**: as *amal rondgab*, *cruth rongab*<sup>3</sup> ‘as it is,’ is used where an infixed *n-* is required: *amal rondgab saichdetu dochum luic in aduerbiis atá dano in praepositionibus* Sg 214<sup>b</sup>1, ‘as there is a striving towards a place in adverbs, so there is in prepositions.’ It corresponds in meaning to *atá*, as may be seen from the above example, and in PH and later Irish it is replaced by *amal atá*. Cf. further Wb 27<sup>a</sup>15 *amal rongab comadnacul dúun atá comeisseirge*.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Thurneysen, Ir. Texte III.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1899, pp. 54, 55.

<sup>3</sup> AU 640 (?) poem.

'as there is co-sepulture to us, so there is co-resurrection.' *Rongab*<sup>1</sup> has also a 1 sg., *rongabus* and a 3 pl. *ron(d)gabsat*.

8. **Is** : the copula=*is* < \**esti*, cf. Latin *est*, Goth., OHG *ist*. It is joined syntactically by the unaccented *b*- forms of the verbs of existence.

§ 71. From the above we see that of the eight forms of the verbs of existence in O. Ir. two, *rongab* and *dicoissin*, had disappeared in early Mid. Ir. and were replaced by *atá*; *fil* had fallen together syntactically with *atá* by about 1000 A.D., *dixnigur* of the Glosses disappeared and was represented partly by *atá* and partly by a copula construction; *atomchomníc* was replaced by the construction *N. misi*. In what follows, I shall endeavour to show that the accented *b*- forms of the verb of existence practically corresponded in their usage to those of *atá* already in O. Ir., whilst their unaccented forms corresponded to those of *is*. Hence the eight original forms had, in the 11th century, reduced themselves to two syntactical constructions—viz., that of the Copula and the Substantive Verb.

#### THE O. IR. USAGES OF ATÁU, BÍU, BÓI.

§ 72. The following is a comparison of the O. Ir. usages of *atáu* *bíu*, *bói*. Under *bíu* I include the imperfect (habitual past) *nóbíinn*, with *bói* the future *bía*.

1. To denote existence :

(a) **Atáu**, etc. : *atá són .i. soirad iudae* \*Ml 51<sup>c</sup>17 gl. *inest factis eius dignatio*—'that is, to wit, the deliverance of the Jews'; in answer to *indixnigedar*. *Atá inotacht dúnni* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>5 lit., 'there is entrance to us,' 'we have entrance.' It is in this case followed by the preposition. *Ataat da norpe rogab Abracham*, 'there are two heritages which A. has obtained'; *ataat alaili* (sic leg.) *feidligte ho aimsir* Ml 21<sup>d</sup>4.

(b) **Bíu**, etc. : *ni rubi nechtar de cen alail* Wb 11<sup>c</sup>17, 'neither of them can be without the other'; cf. Sg 29<sup>b</sup>16 *is follus dún tra as riagoldu leosom nad mbíet cid int superlati huare nad mbiat*

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller list of examples, v. Strachan, *The Substantive Verb*, pp. 12, 13.

*na comparití* Sg 40<sup>b</sup>14, 'it is clear to us that it is more regular with them that there will not be even the superlatives because the comparatives do not exist.' But the second (*-biat*) may be also future. *Biid do anmmaim na cathrach* Sg 104<sup>b</sup>5 '(Samnis) is as the name of the city.' This has also a preposition. *Is arindí nad biat etir* Sg 39<sup>a</sup>25, 'because they do not exist at all.'

(c) **Bói**: *nicon rabatar olca betis mou* Ml 100<sup>c</sup>11, 'there were no evils that could be greater'; *hó bóí mo chland* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>6, 'since my clan came into being'; *ní bóí ní nogabad* Ml 33<sup>a</sup>5.

(d) **bieid** *nach dréct diib hicfider* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>6, *bieid aimser nad creitfider* Wb 28<sup>c</sup>14; *niba cian mbias in pecthach* Ml 56<sup>c</sup>22.

§ 73. 2.—To denote location or position :

(a) **atáu**, etc. *Ataat alaaile interiecta AND it coitchena do cach ceniul* Sg 10<sup>a</sup>1, 'there are some interjections common to every nation'; *atá brithem and cenutsa* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>25, 'there is a judge (there) without thee.' Cf. *ní sochude diib ataat and* Wb 8<sup>a</sup>17.

*hi tintud Chirini atá inso* Ml 103<sup>d</sup>26; *in uinculsis euangelii itáu dar cenn sosceli* Wb 32<sup>a</sup>10, 'in which I am for the sake of the Gospel.' *áta olc n-aill lib* Wb 9<sup>c</sup>3.

(b) **bíu**: *ar biit alaile and rofinnatar a pecthe* Wb 29<sup>a</sup>28, 'there are some whose sins are found out'; *biit sualchi and it foilsí*, 'there are virtues which are magnificent' Wb 29<sup>a</sup>29. Stokes translates 'there are virtues there.' *is i retaib neb-aicsidib biid spes* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>24, *intan no-mbiin i soinnmigi* Ml 108<sup>b</sup>1.

(c) **bói**, etc. *robói crist i colinn* Wb 15<sup>d</sup>14, *ind fáilte robói do libse* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>2; *is and bieid finis* Wb 13<sup>b</sup>29, *biid rath somailse fora mbelru* Ml 89<sup>c</sup>15; *is fua<sup>a</sup> máam robói* Ml 71<sup>b</sup>14.

§ 74. 3. With *oc* to denote action :

(a) **atáu**: *ató oc combaig fríss*, 'I am contending with him,' Wb 16<sup>d</sup>8; *hore rofítis is oc maid atáa* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>18, 'because ye know that he is engaged in good'; *is oca ataaid* Wb 33<sup>d</sup>7.

(b) **bíu**: *intan no-m-biu oc irbáig* Wb 20<sup>a</sup>3, *intan mbimmi oca forbu son* Ml 15<sup>a</sup>4, *ba oc imrádud chloine nobíth* Ml 55<sup>c</sup>19.

(c) **bói**, etc.: *robói-som oc tatháir* Wb 23<sup>d</sup>5, *robatur oc imbresun* Wb 30<sup>c</sup>17; *bete oc comet ind fir* Ml 112<sup>b</sup>20.

§ 75. 4.—With *la* to express possession or accompaniment:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> May be included under (2).

(a) **atáu** : *is lib atá a rogu* Wb.

(b) **bía** : *biid sain laá leiss* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>16, 'he is wont to have a special day.'

(c) **bói** : *fides .i. robói la Abracham* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>15.

5.—With an adverb of manner or position :

§ 76. (a) **Atáu** : *is amne atáu* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>19, *ní fu indidit ata irascemini sunt* Ml 20<sup>b</sup>13, 'it is not in affirmation that irascemini is here,' *ataat am in chrut sin* Sg 140<sup>b</sup>1, *huare is intrinsecus atá in gním* Sg 139<sup>a</sup>3.

(b) **bíu** : *biid iar fir anisin* Ml 11<sup>a</sup>9, *ní rubai nach cruth ailiu* Sg. 7<sup>b</sup>3.

(c) **bói**, etc. : *mad in chrud so bemmi* Wb 31<sup>e</sup>11, *hore is in chruth so rumboi dossom* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>1.

§ 77. (6) With adjectives :

(a) **atáu** : *ataat mesai dæ nephchomtetarrachti amal abis* Ml 55<sup>d</sup>11, 'the judgments of God are incomprehensible like an abyss.' The word *nephchomtetarrachti* is formed from a verbal compound<sup>1</sup> *to-etar-rethim*.

(b) **bíu** : *is trissan dede sin biid duine slán et fírian* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>33. Cf. *cona bí tírim* Ml 15<sup>b</sup>15.

(c) *ipv* : *biid ersoilcithi archiunn for rí* Ml. 46<sup>a</sup>7, 'be ye opened,' *amal nobemmis érchóilti* Wb. 9<sup>a</sup>3, 'as though we were destined.'

(7) With nouns.

§ 78. (a) **Atáu** : *atá Dia atach ndúnna ais dethrebo* Ml 66<sup>d</sup>1, 'God is a refuge to us of the two tribes.' This, as it stands, is in contravention to the rule that *atá* cannot be used as an assertive particle nor connect two members of an identity, and is hard to justify. For similar constructions with other parts of the verb cf. *nobetis-som mec domsa* PH 6108, where the construction is due to the confusion, which existed at the time, between the forms of the copula and substantive verb. *Atá*, however, does not admit of such an explanation. Perhaps it was introduced to avoid the awkward construction owing to *dúnna* being followed by *ais dethrebo*, and hence the wide separation of *is* from its subject if *is* were used.

<sup>1</sup> As it stands the root seems to contain a guttural as if it were a participial form of *√reg*. But for similar forms in compounds of *-rethim*, cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch* § 707, 733.



In later Irish, it might be expressed *atá Dia ina atach dúinne* or *is atach dúinne . . . Dia*. The latter type of construction was, of course, also regular in O. Ir.

To be compared is Wb 15<sup>a</sup>13 *ni uainn fesine ataam for tectiri* which the editors of the Thesaurus translate: 'it is not from ourselves that we are messengers to you.' This is also an extraordinary construction if we are to take it in that sense. A simpler explanation would be to take *tectiri* as a mistake for *tectirecht*, 'it is not of our own accord that we are on an embassy.' Cf. Wb 13<sup>b</sup>5 *buid for tectairecht*<sup>1</sup> *hó Ísu*.

(b), (c)—No examples.

(8) With the infixed pronoun=have.

§ 79. (a) **Atáu :** (*mas*)*su bethu frecndirc tantum no-m-tha* Wb 13<sup>c</sup>10, 'if it is present life only that I have.' *ni-n-ta airli ar mban* Wb 31<sup>e</sup>7, 'we have not control over our wives,' *ind indocbál no-b-ta* in futuro, 'the glory which is in store for you in the future' Wb. . . . *ni-b-tá torbe de* Wb 19<sup>b</sup>10, *ni-m-tha son*, Táin bó Fr. CZ IV 44. 28. *ni-s-ta-som cumang domm orcuin-se* Ml 60<sup>d</sup>3, 'they have not power to slay me,' *ni-m-thá duit, ol in Dagda* LL 246<sup>a</sup>5. With *ni-tha dia meit* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>10, 'it is not so great,' lit. 'there is not to it of such greatness' we may compare for the construction *ma rus-bói di humaldóit* Wb 28<sup>d</sup>29, 'if she had so much humility.' In these constructions, we may notice the avoidance of adjectives of size and measure referred to above (§ 61) in dealing with the modern usages. These partitive constructions<sup>2</sup> are common in Mid. Ir., e.g., *do bī do mét gradha Poimh aco*, Cath Catharda 1235. 7 *búi do méd ecla*, ib. 1237.

As illustrated above *-ta* with the infixed pronoun means 'have,' e.g., *ni-m-tha*, 'I have not,' whilst *ni-m-fil*= 'I am not.' Already in O. Ir. we find exceptions to this distribution of meaning—e.g., Wb 12<sup>a</sup>21 *ni di chorh atóosa hóre nimtha laám*, 'I am not of the body because I am not hand.' But cf. Wb 8<sup>d</sup>24 *nimptha firíon arachuit sídi*, 'I am not righteous as to it.' The *p* in this latter instance is remarkable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *combad for tectairecht nothissad* LL 230b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further *roboi du chensi Duaid* Ml 55<sup>d</sup>4, such was the clemency of David, *air roboi du meit a pecthae som combu uisse; atá di thrummai na fochaide insin* Ml 23a19 'so heavy are the tribulations,' *ni rabae di esamni Duaid* Ml 33e17.

8 (b) **bíu, nobíinn** : No instance of the infixed pronoun in O. Ir. Cf. however *ro-s-bí crith* T. Bithnua § 122, Ériu II, p. 136, *miad ros-bí* Ir. Texte III, 2, p. 520, l. 789. The following are instances of the independent pronoun where it would be possible to have an infixed pronoun with *-tá* : *ní bii debuith do fri nech* Wb 28<sup>b</sup>25, 'he has not a quarrel with anyone.' *Cid innahi nobitis dom huam chairtib* MI 86<sup>d</sup>6, cf. Mod. *cia mhéad atá sa mbliadhain dó* how much a year has he?; *ní bith chomdidnad damsa indib* MI 62<sup>b</sup>6, 'I used not to have consolation in them.'

(c) **bói**, etc., *ma ru-s-bói di humaldóil* Wb 28<sup>d</sup>29, *is tria hiris ram-bái cech maith* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>13, 'it is through his faith that he has had every good,' *ni-s-rabae andurairngred doib* Wb 33<sup>b</sup>3, *ro-t-bia less lóg* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>11, 'thou shalt have with Him reward,' *r-am-bia* 27<sup>e</sup>13, *ro-n-bia-ni indocbal* 14<sup>e</sup>17, *arn-dom-roib-se fochricc* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>13, *co[n]-don-roib uita aeterna* Wb 20<sup>e</sup>14; *dorochóinset arn-da-beth in tairisem* MI 131<sup>e</sup>9, *no-n-da-biad cech maith* MI 33<sup>b</sup>13.

There is no instance in the Glosses of an infixed pronoun in the imperative. But cf. *ron-bith essomon* Stories from the Táin, p. 40.

§ 80. As can be seen from the above examples the usage of *atá* corresponds, in the main, to that of the accented forms of *bíu* *bíinn* and *bói*, *biid*, and these groups may consequently be considered to have virtually fallen together syntactically at the time of the Glosses. The non-use of the infixed pronoun with *bíu*, *bíinn*, may be to a certain extent accidental. The number of instances of *atá* to denote existence is also naturally less, owing to the use of *dixnigur* and *dicoissin* in that sense. The principal instances which are so used are, moreover, followed either by a preposition or a relative clause. On the other hand *bói* and *bieid* in this sense are common, and the construction frequently occurs with an adverb of time : *niba cian mbias in pecthach* MI 56<sup>c</sup>22.

§ 81. A very closely allied meaning to that of existence is the use of *atá* . . . and as, *ataat alaaili interjecta and it coitचना do cach ceniul* Sg 10<sup>a</sup>1 where *ataat* . . . and equals 'there are.' This construction also occurs with *bíu*, and is the common way of expressing existence<sup>1</sup> in Mid. and Mod. Ir.—e.g., *atá Dia and*, 'there is a God.' Cf. PH 3994 *atá fath aile and*, 'there is another reason,' *ata re cian ann* 1070, 'a long time ago,' *ar ataat teora aimsera and*

<sup>1</sup> Even with the copula *and* comes to be used to denote existence, e.g. *is nóin and* PH 510.

3524, 'for there are three times.' We should expect this construction to have originated with *atáu*, *attó* owing to its formation: \**ad-stāio* from a root, meaning to 'stand'; cf. Lat. *stō*. As the *būn* (similarly *bóí*) forms are from a common Indg. \**bhuijō-*, (cf. OE *beo*, OHG *bim*, Lat. *fio* and perf. *fui*), whilst *atáu* is a peculiarly Irish compound, and as the construction with the substantive verb in several respects is peculiarly<sup>1</sup> Irish we may conclude that *atá* has imposed its syntax on the others. Thus the accented *b-* forms have ranged themselves along with *atá* to form the substantive verb, whilst their unaccented forms are construed like *is* and become the copula.

### THE COPULA.

§ 82. As in the case of the substantive verb I give the *is*, *-bi* and *bo-* forms separately. The copula is used:

1.—With noun predicates:

(a) **is**: *hore am abstal et am forcilid do chách* Wb 10<sup>e</sup>16, *at firian-su* Ml 36<sup>a</sup>22, *huare is lanchiall indib chenae* Sg 140<sup>b</sup>3. (pl.) *ammi boill crist* Wb 12<sup>b</sup>2, *it carit domsa* Wb 5<sup>e</sup>7, *amal no-n-dad maicc coima* Wb 27<sup>b</sup>16, 'as ye are dear sons,' *nidat ní* Ml 130<sup>b</sup>1, *is athir som* Wb 2<sup>e</sup>11, *is bésad inna flatho* Wb 9<sup>d</sup>2, *is Dia bendach-the isnabithu* Wb 4<sup>e</sup>4, *hore is minister Deo* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>18.

(b) **bi**: *inti ropo magister prius combi discipul post* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>12, 'so that he becomes a disciple,' *indhi lasmbi accobur tol Dæ* Wb 30<sup>e</sup>23 (possibly), *combi elifas* Sg. 95<sup>b</sup>7.

Cf. Im. Brain, 16, *combi fuil*, 'until it becomes blood.'

(c) **ba**, **bid**, etc.: *basa Iudide* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>34, *ropsa airchinnech* Wb 18<sup>e</sup>15, *lasse ba snim fora menmain conidfessed cia bed flaith inna diad* Ml 89<sup>b</sup>7: *arm-benn duine acht durumenar romsa Dia* Ml 130<sup>d</sup>4, *hore ro-m-bu thoissech na fectae* Wb 33<sup>a</sup>20, 'because he was leader of the expedition.'

2.—With genitives:

(a) **is**: *ní la nech húain alaile ammi Dée huili* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>20; *amal as na n-Assar* Ml 54<sup>a</sup>22; cf. sicut Assiriorum; *is beic* (adj.) *lim in brig sin* Wb 8<sup>d</sup>21; cf. *is becc in brig* 11<sup>a</sup>9.

In the artificial Irish of Ml, we find such genitives as *amal is in denmada coitchinn* 27<sup>b</sup>13 gl. ut communis quippe factoris.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar construction in Spanish, cf. § 67 above.

(b) **-bi** : I have not been able to discover any instances.

(c) **ba, bid**, etc. *ba méite limm* Wb 29<sup>d</sup>8.

3.—With adjectives :

(a) **is** : *am irlam* Wb 1<sup>b</sup>9, *amal no-n-da frecndircc-sa* Wb 9<sup>b</sup>4, *cota béu triutsu* Ml. 44<sup>e</sup>11, 'so that I am alive through thee,' *ammi irlaim* Wb 4<sup>b</sup>21, *adib mairb* Wb 3<sup>b</sup>6, *intí nád imdibthe* Wb 1<sup>d</sup>15, *asniressach* pro fidelibus 23<sup>a</sup>13; *is móo iarna arigud* 3<sup>e</sup>35, *is nesa dogeintib* 2<sup>b</sup>17, *is marb in corp* 4<sup>a</sup>6, *am slán* Sg 143<sup>a</sup>1.

(b) **-bi** : *nípi glæe, nípi firderb* Wb 12<sup>e</sup>12, *nípi cian a masse* Wb 28<sup>e</sup>25, \**com-bi bidslán* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>33, *ní ib finn combi mescc* Wb 28<sup>b</sup>24 gl. non uiolentum, 'he drinks not wine so that<sup>1</sup> he is drunk,' *isind aimsir i mbi failid nech* Ml 86<sup>d</sup>11.

3 (c) **ba, bid**, etc. : *nipsa trom for nech* Wb 17<sup>e</sup>12, *amal ro-mbo marb* Wb 15<sup>b</sup>25, *cáinipsa sóir* Wb 10<sup>e</sup>24, *níbo liach a marbad* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>12, *ropsa huallach-sa* Ml 49<sup>b</sup>12, *níþ oirgnae* Wb 3<sup>a</sup>1.

*bid fír a tairngire* Wb 22<sup>e</sup>3, *bimmi nóibni* 3<sup>d</sup>27; *cia ba beo* 23<sup>b</sup>29, *acht ro[b] bronach* Ml 86<sup>d</sup>12, 'provided that he be sorrowful,' *no-m-bin dermatach* 20<sup>a</sup>4.

4.—With participles :

(a) **is** : *it he sidi beta hícthe* Wb 3<sup>d</sup>29, *anunda thinnachtae-se*, 'when I am given' Ml 126<sup>d</sup>12, *an-as n-esngabthe* Ml 22<sup>d</sup>9.

(b) **-bi** : No instance in Glosses.

(c) **ba, bid** : *rupsa frithortae-se* Wb 33<sup>a</sup>12, *arromsa cumscraigthe* Ml 46<sup>b</sup>9, *amtar mbati* Ml 84<sup>d</sup>5, 'when they were drowned,' *ar ro-m-bu suidigthe* Ml 48<sup>d</sup>6; *bed fomamichthe* Wb 13<sup>e</sup>2, etc.

5.—With a pronominal predicate :

*ishe Dia* Wb 15<sup>e</sup>17, *ished bunad mo chlainde* Wb 5<sup>a</sup>19, *ished for n-ainm insin* 5<sup>a</sup>17, *isí indso ind rún inso* Wb 13<sup>d</sup>16; either the first or second *inso* here must be omitted. For a similar repetition cf. Ml 86<sup>e</sup>3; *Crist didiu issi in chathair* Wb 21<sup>e</sup>5, *ished in honestum guide Dée* Wb 10<sup>b</sup>15, *huare issi aimsir sin indénta*; *asné Crist in lie asrubart* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>16, *ite uiui in doini bí* Sg 39<sup>a</sup>23; *is sissi in, tempul sin* Wb 8<sup>d</sup>7.

(b) **-bi** : No instance.

(c) **ba, bid** : *ar ba hé ind ord* 65<sup>d</sup>11, *ba hé a ordd coir* Ml 136<sup>e</sup>2, *combad snini far moidem-si* Wb 15<sup>d</sup>6, *bid sí a fochricc* Wb 20<sup>e</sup>13, 'this will be his reward,' *bit hé magistir donegat* Wb 30<sup>d</sup>8, *combad si amser sin rongabthe* Ml 24<sup>d</sup>7; *na bad (ipv) hed a méit* Wb 22<sup>b</sup>14.

<sup>1</sup> 'until he is drunk'—Editors of *Thes.*, which is ambiguous.



6.—To introduce an adverbial or prepositional phrase :

(a) **is** : *is samlaíd ataid-si* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>4, *is indil as ferr iudeus quam gentilis*, 'greatly is Judaeus better than gentilis,' *is amne as coir* Ml 114<sup>a</sup>9, *amal is i lou* Wb 6<sup>a</sup>30, *is hó siun co nuie dam far seirc* Wb 4<sup>b</sup>29, *is ond athir dó* 21<sup>d</sup>4, *is din chorp in ball* 22<sup>e</sup>18, *is huas nert dam* Sg 1<sup>a</sup>6.

(b) **bi** : *quid na bi samlaíd duibsi* Wb 18<sup>b</sup>9 : *combi iarum coiscitir indfir* Wb 22<sup>e</sup>10. In the MS the mark is over the *i* of *iarum* not of *bi*.

(c) **ba, bid**, etc. : *robu samlaíd robói* Sg 203<sup>b</sup>5.

*nipu uaib* Wb 13<sup>a</sup>20, *nirbu cen frithorcuin* Ml 63<sup>b</sup>7, *cepu fri aicned* Wb. 2<sup>e</sup>25, *ba inna elluch atarintis* Sg 188<sup>a</sup>3. *niba samlaíd* Ml 27<sup>d</sup>12, *combad ho suidiu pepigi* Sg 181<sup>a</sup>3.

7. With *la* :

(a) **is** : *is la Dia cid Calldea* Ml 45<sup>d</sup>9, 'even Chaldea belongs to God,' *ni la nech huáin alaile, cid less ar mbeo et ar mmarb* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>20, 'not to any of us belongs the other, though we are His alive and dead,' *commimis less huili* 6<sup>b</sup>21.

*cini dlúith lib int óintu-sin* Wb 12<sup>b</sup>9, 'though ye do not deem that union close,' *is galar leu uili* Wb 12<sup>b</sup>10, 'they all think themselves sick,' *is assu linn scarad fri ar corp* Wb 15<sup>e</sup>22 ; *inti lasinn accubar* Ml 53<sup>e</sup>16, 'he whose desire is,' *inti lasin formut* Ml 129<sup>b</sup>3, *indi nad ni libse*.

(b).

(c) **ba** : *conropu la Dia* Ml 67<sup>e</sup>9, 'so that it was God's.'

(Cf. with a different meaning *robo diliu linn* Wb 14<sup>d</sup>13, *robo scith linn* 14<sup>b</sup>26, *intain rombo mithig less* 31<sup>a</sup>10, *nirbu aithrech limsa* 16<sup>b</sup>6, *ba dochu lem* Wb 5<sup>b</sup>31, *ba ferr limm* Wb 10<sup>b</sup>24, *bid héet libsi geinti do bith in-hiris* 5<sup>a</sup>13. *niba fochen leu a forcetul* Wb 30<sup>d</sup>7.)

8. With *do* to express purpose :

*is do saidi-siu* Ml 101<sup>e</sup>6.

9. Relative construction introduced by *is*.

(a) *ishé sensus forchain* Wb 8<sup>e</sup>2, *is messe rophroidich* 10<sup>b</sup>22, *is hé-som doradchuir*, *is me m'óinur aidrochell* Sg 202<sup>a</sup>7, *as n-iress noibas* Wb 19<sup>b</sup>14, *it sib ata chomarpai* Wb 19<sup>e</sup>20, *is suisni ata boues* Wb 10<sup>d</sup>7, *is sisi nobcrete* Ml 46<sup>a</sup>13, *fubith is tri metur roceta* Ml 30<sup>a</sup>9, *it hé ata mundus* Wb 5<sup>a</sup>14, *it hé sidi beta hicthi* 3<sup>d</sup>29.

(c) With **-bu** : no instances except *nirbu chosc coir dorratsat forru-som*, and sentences of the type *nirbu jaás foruigéni* Wb 13<sup>b</sup>7.

**bid** : *bid uathad creitfes diib* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>5, *bid missericordia dodaess-arr-som* Wb 5<sup>e</sup>12.



## THE AFFIXED PRONOUN.

§ 83. (a) *issumecen* precept Wb 10<sup>d</sup>24, 'I am obliged,' *isa[t]-dilmainsiu* Ml 55<sup>d</sup>21, 'it is free to thee.'

*intan dogni nech olc issidnaithrech fochetoir*, 'he repents at once,' Ml 90<sup>d</sup>12.

(c) *nípadnaidrech andurairngert* Wb 5<sup>c</sup>9, 'what He has promised He will not repent of.' Cf. *batin aithrig*, 'we shall rue it,' Ériu I, 68.

In the above instances, the affixed pronoun is in dative relation. In *ní pa-dn-aidrech*, the dental form is surprising as the construction is not relative. Compare the following instances in O.Ir. texts:

*issinn-aithrech an-doringensam* LL 250<sup>b</sup>17 (Fraech), cf. for the same phrase *is arn-aithrech* CZ IV, 418 (Fraech), *is aithrech lind* T. Cf. *cen cop maith bid-it-ecen* LL 274<sup>b</sup>7, 'thou shalt be obliged,' *isiméicen* LL 125<sup>b</sup>1, *atabairecen*, 'ye must' F. Br. (Wi. I. 255), but *niba heicen duib* MD XXVIII. (RC X, 66, YBL); *isamómun* LU 65<sup>a</sup>18, 'I am afraid,' but *is omun liumsa*<sup>1</sup> PH 1793, *omun De do beth foraib* PH 3491; cf. *ris na rom-úath na hómun* LL 125<sup>b</sup>3 (leg. *narb-dom-uath*<sup>2</sup>?). *Ní badam beo* LL 276<sup>a</sup>46, 'I shall not be alive.' Cf. further *dia domnaig badid n-aithrech* CZ III, p. 228.

WITH COMPARATIVES.<sup>3</sup>

§ 84. The following are further instances of the affixed pronoun with the copula where it has the force of a dative of comparison:

*Senchaidh badhid amru* AU 879, 'an historian more excellent than he,' cf. SR 6627 *ní báí remi innach dú: rí n-aile bádad-amru; ní ffuaramar ar talmáin Almain badid redithir, ní rangamar iarsin cath Lilcach badid nemether* Frag. Ir. An. 722; *badid ciallidin-Liadain* and *Cuirithir* (ed. Meyer, p. 16). Cf. Thes II 292 *ní fáil bada crichidín*, 'none could be more shapely (?) than it,' and ib. note 1., where the instances *bes-idn-isle, bes-adn-uaisliu* YBL 261<sup>a</sup>14, 15 are quoted. Further *ní fíl fo gréin fairind find féil basid féiliu*, Archiv III, p. 297 = (Ir. Metr. p. 19).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fier. 83, *gurub eclach dóibh in aidhche anocht*.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. on the other hand, Marstrander, Ériu V, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LAU, p. 179.

## GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 85. I have considered above the principal points of the syntax of the *is-* forms in the present indicative, and have arranged the *b-* forms of the copula for separate consideration. As will be seen from the examples the syntactical usages of the *is-* and *b-* forms are the same. In addition it may be noted that :

1. The *b-* forms are the unaccented forms of the corresponding tenses of the substantive verb.

2. Where the subject was a noun, the order was copula, predicate, subject, as : *bíd fír a tairngire* Wb 22<sup>e</sup>3. Sometimes the subject was included in the verb.

3. The copula includes the unaccented 3 sing. *-bi* of the habitual present *bíu*. This is, in most cases, distinguished from the corresponding substantive verb form by the absence of the mark of length, but *combí* elifas Sg 95<sup>b</sup>7, etc., although often it can only be distinguished by the construction.

4. For the habitual past (imperfect) there were not any special copula forms ; cf. Strachan, Subst. Verb, p. 33.

4. The dependent *-ta* forms in the copula 1, 2 pers. *nita*, (pl.) *nídan*, *conda*, etc., were most probably borrowed from the substantive verb *-tan*, and as they were unaccented words they fell together in syntax with the *is-* forms of the copula.

5. The copula has an affixed pronoun, e.g., *issumecen*, Wb 10<sup>d</sup>24. This, however, does not point to accentuation, and is fundamentally different from the *-ta* forms which have the pronoun infixed.

7. The copula is the regular form used to predicate adjectives inclusive of participles.

8. The adjectives agrees in number with the subject as *ammi irlaim*.

9. The copula agrees in number with the subject as : *it corp in boill sin* Wb 12<sup>a</sup>13.

10. When the predicate is put at the beginning (or end) and a pronoun takes its place, this pronoun agrees with the subject, as : *Crist didiu isse* in chathair ; *ished* in *honestum guide Dee*. But *ni hed a méit*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch §406. In Ml 20a19 *mét* is either masculine or feminine. It has the masculine pronoun in Sergl. Con. 49, FB 20. It was followed by aspiration in FB 91 *meit chore*. The compound *com-méit* is neuter in LL 53b29 and this was probably the original gender of *méit* itself. *Eret* has masc. pron. in Ml 33a9, but neuter in SC 1 ; the modern usage *an oiread céanna* rather points to its being neuter. *Mét* has *n-* in AS 5873.

II. When used to introduce an adverbial phrase, another verb is required : *is samlaid ataid-si* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>4, *is amne as coir* Ml 114<sup>a</sup>9.

I append here a brief list of idiomatic expressions with the copula and the substantive verb.

## THE COPULA.

§ 86.

**Belong :** Copula + *la* + noun or pronoun = 'belongs,' as *is la Dia cid Calldea*. Remarkable is the use of *la* and the genitive side by side in *ni la nech hudaín alaile ammi Déa huili* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>20. This usage of *la* to denote possession is exactly the same as in modern Irish.

**Long for :** *is fada liom uaim go gcluine mé an fhuaim* (Mod.), 'I long to hear the sound.'

**Prefer :** *ba ferr limm* Wb 10<sup>b</sup>24, 'I had rather.'

**Regret, repent :** *nirbu aithrech lim-sa* Wb 16<sup>b</sup>6, 'I had no regret.' This usage is rather different from the foregoing. Cf. remarks on affixed pronoun above.

**Think :** Copula + adjective + *la* before a noun or pronoun generally = 'thinks,' as *cid cain lib in laechraid lainn*, 'though fair ye deem the valiant heroes.' But it sometimes varies with the adjective and is equal to **like**, **wish**, when the adjective is *maith*, as, *mad olc maith let*, 'whether you like it or no,' Fier. 33. Cf. *maith limsa mad maith la Ultu* Fl. Br. (Wi I., 255, 13), 'I am satisfied if the Ulstermen are.'

**Wonder :** *ba hadbal leo mét . . . in bhilair* AS 88, 'they wondered at the size of the water-cress.'

**Welcome :** *níba fochen leu a forcital* Wb 30<sup>d</sup>7, 'they will not welcome the teaching.' \**Fochen* might here also be taken as a noun.

With a noun instead of an adjective in the above cases there is a variety of meanings :

**Imagine :** *is dóigh lium*, 'I imagine, suppose,' Fier. 83. Cf. *is derb limm*.

**To be jealous :** *bid héet libsi geinti do beth in hiris* Wb 5<sup>a</sup>13, 'ye will be jealous.'

**Remember :** *in cumán lat a Adaim na fuarus d' ulcc* SR 1757, 'do you remember, Adam, all the harm that has been done me?'

With the above we may compare :

**Can :** *in etir leat*<sup>1</sup> : *is eidir*, 'can you ? I can.'

<sup>1</sup> Stokes reads *etar*, but cf. the reply which contains the modern (*f*)*eadir*.

We may here compare an idiomatic expression :

**come from, belong to :** *ór is do Leith Cuinn do* AS 2027, 'because he hails from Leth Cuinn,' *inn-a síthaib in do deib dúib* Trip. Life 100 6. (Cf. Thurneysen, Handbuch, § 797).

With the above meanings of the copula + *la* compare the Welsh *kany bo teilwg gan yr ysgymunedigyon Saeson cadw ffyd wrth-yfi*, 'although it did not seem meet to the accursed Saxons to keep faith with me,' Strachan, Early Welsh, 149, 30.

#### THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

§ 87. **Have :** *atá + la* (O.Ir.)=have. fides *.i. roboi la Abracham*, 'which Abracham had.' For the use of the infixed pronoun with *atá*=have, as *ní-s-ta som cumang*, 'they have not power'; cf. above, § 79. In Mod. Ir. the relation is expressed by *atá ag* : *atá sgian agam*, 'I have a knife.'

**To ail :** *cid daas in c[h]aillech?* Trip. Life 28. 1. 17. 'what is the matter with the nun?' Cf. *ished romboth dom* Wb 24<sup>a</sup>24, 'this is why people have been at me,' *ished dáthar dúin* Wb 28<sup>a</sup>4, 'it is therefore we are pestered.' Cf. *is airi bai Patraic do Euchaig* Trip. Life 224, 10; *cid rombá* Trip. Life 196, 10, 'what was the matter with thee?' Modern : *céard tá ort* 'what ails thee?'

**To succeed :** *tá leat*, 'thou hast succeeded in it', Mod. Ir. I have no instance of this from the older language.

## THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

## OLD IRISH DEVELOPMENT.

§ 88. For the sake of convenience of reference, I shall here give together all the instances I have been able to discover of the substantive verb with the adjective in the Glosses, in the O.Ir. texts, and in the following Early Mid. Ir. texts down to *Acallam na Senórach* :

**Glosses** :—*ataat mesai Dae nephchomtetarrachti amal abis* MI 55<sup>a</sup>11. *is trissan dede sin biid duine slán et fírian combi bid-slán et bidfírian* Wb 4<sup>a</sup>33. Cf. *conabí tírim* MI 15<sup>b</sup>15.

Ipv. : *biid ersoilcithi arciunn forrig* MI 46<sup>a</sup>7, 'be ye opened.'

Subj. : *amal nombemmis érchóilti* Wb 9<sup>a</sup>3, 'as though we were destined.'

Cf. : *amal mbís tegdís : fás (amm)edón ⁊ scópthé* Turin 14. Here *fás* begins a new sentence. A similar construction is *is amlaid robae in ben bān : torrach isa bru bith-lán* BB 371<sup>b</sup>37. In *no-m-bin dermatach*, 'that I should be forgetful' MI 20<sup>a</sup>4, *-bin* is obviously the copula form though *no* usually belongs to the subst. verb.

**Im. Brain** : *arrobói a rígtech lán de rígaib* § 1 'when the royal house was full of kings,' *ó robatar ind liss dúntai*, 'since the ramparts were closed', ib.

**Tochm. Emire** : The only instance is a verbal noun, *a beith ro-occ*, *a biith ro-danai*, *ro-alaind* CZ III. 230 (ed. Meyer). This usage is also in the Glosses<sup>1</sup> : *buith nochthenn* 'to be bareheaded,' Wb 11<sup>c</sup>12.

**Coph. Mucc.** : *bitíss meth<sup>2</sup> occ tinntúd* (Wi. 1. 23. Ir. Text III, Eg.). Cf. *is amlaid báí in Dond Cualngi, dubdond<sup>3</sup> diumsach<sup>4</sup>* etc.

**Táin bó Fráich, Tochmare Étaine** : No instance.

**Usn.** : No instance. In the phrase *biaid etach cid iartain dot daig* § 5, *etach* is to be taken as a noun='horror' (?)

**Compert Con.** : No instance. For *rubad torrach húad* (Wi I. 139) Eg. has *biad<sup>5</sup> torruch uaim-siu a ben*.

**Fled Brice** : The line *is tri chin mban bit fernai fer dlochtai* (Wi I. 267, 8), as it stands may mean 'for it is through the fault of women that the shields of men are wont to be split,' but perhaps

<sup>1</sup> v. Thurneysen, Handbuch § 798, and cf. further MI 44c6 with the construction in 53b8.

<sup>2</sup> Windisch leg. *méthi*.

<sup>3</sup> We should expect *⁊ é dond*, etc. <sup>4</sup> LL 247<sup>a</sup>8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *biat ri-siu* LL 147a9, the 2 sg. future of copula, cf. also LL 147a20, etc.



this may be merely an inversion of the word order owing to the *Rethoric* in which the poem is written, and may stand for *bit dlochtai fernai fer*, 'the shields of men will be split,' as in *nibu sanct Brigit suanach*, Broccán's Hymn, 20.

In *tingartatar Ulaid celebrad iar suidiu ocus bátár budig ocus doberat bennachtain* (ib. Wi I, 282, 10), *bátár* seems, from its accentuation and position, to be the substantive verb, but it might also be taken as the copula with the mark of accentuation wrongly inserted. Cf. *comtar budig* (Wi I, 295, 7).

The line *is mé a cnu chride glé diammbé-se baeth fiad etarlu* (ib., Wi I, 263, 9, R.) is in the other MS. *dia mbe se die mbe se baeth fiad etarlar*; probably we have to read: *glé dia mba bé-sa baeth . . .* 'I am the nut of their heart (i.e., 'their beloved'), it is clear that if I were a foolish woman in presence of . . .'

**Trip. Life**<sup>1</sup>: Cf. *bátár toirsich de*, p. 84, 19; *amal nobeithi fein beo and*, 252, 11, 'as if you yourself were alive there,' but *roptis galraig*.

**LU Táin**: *combítis tornochta*<sup>2</sup> Ériu 502, YBL 20<sup>a</sup>, *beit cuirp cerbtha* Ériu 80.

*toisechu bia marb oldas bia meirb* LL 147<sup>a</sup>9, 'thou wilt be sooner dead than weak.'

**Dá Derga**: *bia torrach uaim-sea*, p. 12 (Stowe: *acht chena atai torrach*); *robói fáen inna imdai*, p. 77. Cf. *bátár anachtai*, 'they were to be spared,' ib. 127.

**Sergl. Con.**: *bia slan*, 'thou wilt be well' (Wi § 13) is the only instance.

Various tenth cent. texts: *bia marb*<sup>3</sup> LL 271<sup>b</sup>33 (cf. ib. *biat marb* -so LL 271<sup>b</sup>40, 272<sup>a</sup>6)=thou wilt be dead, cf. *bia marb ria cind bliadna* LL 275<sup>a</sup>50 (Mór Muman), a very old text.

**SR**:<sup>4</sup> (v.n.) *a beith imnocht* 1298, *mo bith lomnacht* 1336, *corabe fesin lomnucht*<sup>5</sup> 1316, *feib atam nocht* 1347, *bethi mairb* 1232, 'ye will be dead.' In *ni chuingem flaith bis mo fus* 1219 *bis* is probably copula. Cf. copula *biat slana* 4167 (leg. *bit*<sup>6</sup>, Strachan).

<sup>1</sup> Also with verbal noun *a mbith cobsaid nencumscaighi in hule*, p. 4, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Strachan reads *tornocht* n. pl. of adj. which does not show palatalization.

<sup>3</sup> This text has nominative plural *ind fir*.

<sup>4</sup> In *fail mor do sostaib soer slan*, *soer slan* are to be taken as attributives to *mor*.

<sup>5</sup> The *u* is here to rhyme with *thucht*. Cf. *confacca a mnai lomnacht* 1304.

<sup>6</sup> But compare *biam tigerna* 855 and v. remarks on the future copula forms Chap. I.

Non-instance *nocon alaind mar atái* 1305, etc.

**Tochm. Ferbe** : *is triana cin atá sund in tarbech sinte comlund*.  
1. 260 (LL).

**FA** : No instance.

**Various Mid. Ir. texts** : *dursan do thriath cen beith beo* Er. MacCoisse (A.D. 1022, Archiv III), *co filim garb-liath ir-richt* LU 16<sup>a</sup>13, *co mbái marb ar in láthair* LL 207<sup>a</sup>43 (Poem on Finn<sup>1</sup>), *roboi-sium imnedach i tossuch a bethad* LL 51<sup>a</sup>2 12 from bot. ; *co rabadar saitheach* Muir. mac Earca<sup>3</sup> § 19, *ní boi occo-som do chumachta a mbíth beo iarna ndichennad . . .* ; *mór in glond dia mbetis beo*—Find mac Cumail, Wi. I, 160, *rodaim do bath co mbi toll* Fian. p. 24, *7 bai urlam forsín áth* LL 72<sup>a</sup>18—Táin, cf. *combatar subhaigh soforbailig* Corm. Sw., ed. Stokes § 52 (BB, where YBL has *comdar*) ; *ata m'ainm scribht[h]a*<sup>4</sup> and Corm. Sw. § 70.

**PH** : *bíd críd-oirchisechtach dúind* 181, *7 intan dosbiad si te* 382, 'when it would be warm,' *7 a beith slan iar sin* 383, *7 atberim a beith malarta escoitchend* 615, *atúsa cengailti o chuibrigib tened* 2061, *7 biid-siu cuimigthi (?) i forcetul* 2537, *co rabi in uli demnaigeacht fomamaigthi do* 2796, *intí thadbanus sechtair do dóinib a beith maith*, *7 sé olc ar medon* 6051, *triallaid-sium a beith maith* 6053, *bátar na hádnaicti óbela* 677, *a beth slan iar sin* 383, *beth beo co fata* 2439, *robádusa dronnach* 2787, *dobadus clam* 2790, *ca fáth nach fílet na demnu fomamaigti da bar . . .* 2798, *bíd forpíthi* 2413, 'be perfect,' *biaid se slán* 3705, *amal beti mairb* (leg. *betis*) 3742, *in tan bís arsaid* 7400 *na bí* (2 sg. imper.) *cosmail frisín mbreacaire* 8364, *7 bíd in bás beo indsín* 7465, *titul ata crosta o dligud eclaisi* De 7599, *amal bemís marb* 2967 (copula ?) ; *acht mani beth borb o chraide* 4656, *a beth cummair* 7863, *ata cuid dib díultadach 7 araile daingnighthe* 7298.

#### § 89. **Acallam na Senórach** :

Verbal noun<sup>5</sup> : *damna da mathair beith marb* 3834, *do beth slemain slanchrechtach* 6096, *gan beth ainbech* 6793 (leg. *ainmech*).

<sup>1</sup> A poem in the same series by Find has *ro thuit* (rel.) LL 204a38 for earlier *do rochair*, but has again *atrochair* LL 204a53.

<sup>2</sup> Text has *rodíbdait uili*. This form in *-it* occurs in AU 1014-1187.

<sup>3</sup> Text has infix. pron. *no-s-geib*, a. pl. *fíru*, imperf. *no-eirged*, but is probably 12th century.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ariacht ainm scribhtha* and Corm. Sw., ed. Stokes, Ir. Texte III. § 71.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, the adjective with the verbal noun already in Wb 11c12, *buith noch-chemn* and MI 44c6 *iarmbuith socumail*, but 53b8 *cíd i socumail beusa* ; cf. also Tochmarc Emire CZ, III, 230.

*atá* : *ata* [*in duan*] *urlumh*<sup>1</sup> *acumsa* 756, 'I have it ready.'

b-forms : *bith* (3 sg. pres.) *in tres fer marb* 5479, *co raibe in cuan lán do longaib* 6919, *cein nobeidis-sim beo* 2147, *do boi-sium anbhann imeslán* 7175, *uair robai urlum* 439 (Fr.).

*fil* : *cid um a bhfuilte dubach dobronach* 962, *ni fil dom síl beo* 3709.

In later Irish we might expect *atá* in the instances : *uair is slemain slanrechtach missi* 7233, *uair is scithech mé isin airechtus*, etc., *robo tinolta fir Eirenn* 7888, *is beo in flaith Find* 5357.

We have actually a transition from the copula to the substantive verb in the Franciscan MS. in the instances : *bidh co heisteachtach cailli*, *bid co féchsanach muighi* 600, whilst the Lismore MS. has in the same poem *corbhat sidhuigh* 581, *gurbhat duilig*, etc. This transition is a result of the loss of the 2 sg. subjunctive which was used for the older imperative form of the copula.

### Duanaire Finn<sup>2</sup> :

*intan do bhíodh in muir lán VIII*, 14, *san uisce go mbíodh lomlán XVII*, 5, *battar na lergga lán d'fuil XXIV*, 26, *robhádhus lan do mhenmain* 35, 96, *beith beo d' eis Osgair XXIII*, 17, *dia raibh beo XXIV*, 30, *go mbadar marbh in uair sin XIII*, 40, *a mbái toirrseach ón fhoirinn XXIII*, 164, *robhamoir uaithe toirrseach XXIV*, 60, *dia raibhe millti ón iomghuin XXIII*, 149, *gé ata mo chroidhi teinn XXXII*, 11, *uair robhádhus dighaltach XXXV*, 51, *but do bhadhus go sáirmhenmnach XXXV*, 53, *riú robhádhus cosantach XXXV*, 79, *rinn ni raiphe forffailteach XXXV*, 27. (cf. *nír adhbhar dhuinn bheith menmnach XXXV*, 27).

§ 90. **Fierabras**<sup>3</sup> (a text of the early fifteenth century, cf. Stokes, Introduction) :

*oir dobi se croda do laim 7 mor do mét*, par. 2, *da fuilit V. riga umal* 8, *an uair dobadais linta dfin* 10, *go mbeth se daingen agat* 19, (*na bi dorrdá* 16 MS. D.), *nach bía* (fut.) *slan* 35, 7 *beir slan* 35, *go fuilim slan* 39, *no co follus co roibhe se slán* 48, *is follus co fulti eaclach* 69, *co mbeth* (sec. fut.) *se slan* 74, *mur do beth marb* 57, 7 *dobi O. bán annsin re neim a chrecht* 79, *loitfidhter do sniper ata ullam* 82, *mar do beth marb* 87, *atai-se loittighe* 95, *da mbethmais deisighthe* 98, *in uair dobadar ullamh* 103, *do batar scithach* 107, *ata bur cuid*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with copula *roptar urlama ri techt in turais*, Tog. Troi LL 219a20, 219b222. and further 7 *is amlaid robói in baile*, 7 *fledh mor urlum ann* 4831.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. J. MacNeill, whose numbering of the poems and stanzas I give.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Stokes, RC xix.

*ullamh ann* 118, *ḡ bim-ne<sup>1</sup> ullamh* (let us be), *co mbeth saer o śin amach* 171, *ḡ cumaiḡ do beith gradach uman creidim* 247 (fulfil thy being loving to the faith), [Cf. *tír ata umhal don Imper-Maund.* 21].

§ 91. The following usages, in this text, of the foregoing or similar adjectives in connection with other verbs may be compared :

*nach tiucfa tú beo* 14, *nach tiucfa sé slán* 17, *mani tí se slán* 20, *uma techt slan* 22, *im O. do techt slan* 42, *do chuireadar cengailte ara n-echaib iat* 68, *ḡ do connuic R. ser Gido cengailte acu* 153, *docim sibh co heclach* 166, *do imigh in righ da thigh co atoirsech* 168, *is ferr duin a comét beo* 170, (cf. *im rochtain slán dó fen* 173), *tabair beo<sup>2</sup> let é* 229, *dochuaid si docum R. co dobronach* 242.

## NON-INSTANCES :

§ 92. In order to throw light on the development of the use of the adjective with the substantive verb, it is necessary to consider the possible non-instances or alternatives. These alternatives are from the texts above referred to.

## (a) Copula :

*rubad torrach huad*, 'that she would be pregnant from him,' Comp. Con. (Wi, I. 139), cf. Egerton *biad torruch huaim-siu, a ben*; *ropadat slán o chianaib dia fesmais* Toch. Et. (LU, Wi 124), 'you should have been well long ago if we had known it'; *cíd indiu bad-am-slán-sa*, 'even to-day I shall be well' (ib), *is-am slán-sa* (ib, Wi I, 128), *issat slán-sa* (ib), *cen bus beo* (ib, Wi 122, 14), *bát* (ipv.) *umal múnra o gaethaib* SC (Wi, I, par. 26), *bát cumnech* SC § 26, *nipat narchraidech* (ib), *robát astrach* ib. § 29, *cesu amul[c]ach is oc* ib. 37, *ogslan a suile iarsin aired robo beo* Mael Dúin XXX (p. 78), *corbo lan mo theach leam* ib. XXXIII, *bíd lán anosa di ghainimh* MD XXXIII, *intan ba lán an t-anacol* (ib), *ḡ bíd lan gach dhia*, 'and it (is wont to be) full every day,' *batar urlaim leis inni noragtais ina comaitecht* ib III (p. 458), *ba bronach de* ib (RC, ix, 458), *ḡ roptar sáthig* ib XVII; Cf. *ammi irlaim* Wb<sup>3</sup> 4<sup>b</sup>21, *robtar irlim* Wb 7<sup>b</sup>5.

*ropsat fraechda nirbsat meirb* Claid. Cerb. LL 47<sup>a</sup>, *combatar brónaig, Maelmuru<sup>4</sup> of Fothan* LL 134<sup>a</sup>4.

*nidam snímach Fiadat find*—Suibne gelt (Ériu II p. 195), 'I am not displeased with the blessed Lord.'

<sup>1</sup> Leg. *bimit-ne*, Stokes. Other MS. *bemmail-ne*, *bemaidne*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Táin *is a mbeo beres* LU 63a1, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances from the Glosses are *adib mairb* Wb 3b6, *annarbu buidech* MI 40d10, *naba* (ipv. 2) *thoirsech* Wb 29d19, etc.

<sup>4</sup> v AU 886.



**Tripartite Life :**

*lasse ní béu cid in teni* 10, 17, *amdar suidigthi na bissi* 10, 31, *huair rofitir ba sántach* 38, 2, *dodiussaig-som na bu comdar slana*, 12, 29, 38, 2, *comba marbh* 114, 1, *comba fliuch a aguid* 114, 5, *ba slán fochetóir* 200, 17, *asbert Patraic naptis torthig* 210, 3, *comdar so-imberta de* 218, 21, *amal bid marb* 220, 23, *arrubu[f]érach ind reilec* 228, 15, *acht asbert roptis galraig* 234, 27, *nida coimsech mo soirí* 252, 14

With adverbial phrase: *itá a athair a ngalar* ib, 76, 15.

**SR**: *fo riaguil do-s-rona in ri condat cora comchuidi* 296, (cf. *ciam \*toebnocht* 1540, 'though my side be naked'), *ba lan do gail* 1707 (no pronoun), *ro alt comba tren* 3709, *bagle glan* 3817, *aned ba beo ba huamnach* 3896, *nibtar foichligthi fri tóir* 3557.

*bidat marthanaig* FA (Wi I, 174), 'they will be lasting' (both MSS.), *is lomnan dia soilse nem* FA, p. 176, *roptar urlama ri techt in turais* LL 219<sup>a</sup>20, cf. 219<sup>b</sup>22—Tog. 'Troi, *comlís nert-menmnaig fri cach nith* LL 219<sup>b</sup>24, 'that they might have fortitude in every contest.' Cf. *buidech é<sup>1</sup> do mac Eogain* LL 206<sup>b</sup>24 (=Duan. Finn, p. 28), *in leth robo bruthe dhi osé odhar 7 in leth ele isé find* Moling § 45.

**PH**: *airet ba beo* 212, *ba marb N.* 212, 'N. died'<sup>2</sup> (no pron.), cf. 832, *ba dercach Silvester* 282, *uair isam urlam-sa* 596 *bid slan tú* 803, *comtar dáithnig*, 846, 'until they had their fill,' *intan ba beo a fer fen* 832, *is erlam sind* 988, 1042, *ropo chrochda in domun do* 1673, *is follus don lucht-sa conid clóthi 7 conid for buile atat* 1850, *a thuarcaín comad marb* 1907, *uair niptar dligthach* 877, *ar bam* (fut.) *anoraigti-sea oc Dia* 2428, *comba dúntai il-lo bratha doras* 6905, *roptar toirsig na meic* 6725, *roptar snimaig na deiscipuil* 6724, *cein bam beo* 2017 (fut.), *combad deligthi o Dia* 6597, *ic a mbít na rig atta dílsi do chraes* 4189, 7 *bat slan iarum* 2319, 'and thou shalt be whole afterwards.'

<sup>1</sup> This use of the pronoun following the adjective in the copula construction, became general in later Irish, after the loss of the synthetic conjugation of the copula. Cf. *condat iat na gemini indiu iat* LL 232a16. We may compare the somewhat similar use of the pronoun in apposition to the subject in *ba mhaith in fear é Pól* corresponding to an older *ba fer maith inté Pól*. Cf. *ropo fer amru airegda inti Conchobar* LL 106a1 (Cf. LU 117b8.) Here (*inté*) *inté* appears to give place to *é*. The pronoun was already in existence in the form *hi sin*, *hi*, e.g. in *bairgen hí-sin* 'that bread,' Wb 11b8, *ní'n chruth hi thall* Wb 26b13, 'not in that way.' The development of this construction requires further investigation.

<sup>2</sup> This is the regular expression in Old and Early Mid Ir.



(b) § 93. *co*+adjective.

*robid co hamra in cach berlu* Maelmuru LL, 133<sup>b</sup>36.

**PH** : *in lucht bui co serb domenmach* 406, *co mboi iarum co forpthe* isna gnimu sin 689, *ar mbeth-ne co forpthe fora scath* 7899, *co rabum co noem* 7 *co nemhélnide fo t'anmum* 7898, *biid* (2 pl. ipv.) *co dethitech do rér na rig* 4069, *amal nobetis co marthanach*. Cf. *bí in erlaime* 3819.

**AS** : *robatur co dubach domenmnach* 3756, *robi-sium co huchfadach écaintech* 4048, *robatur na senoire co toirsech truag* 7905, *dobatur co subach* 3200.

**Fierabras** : *ní frith nech bud cosmail ris* 2, *o ta [se] fein co sanntach cuige* 19, *do bí co tarcuisnech* 22, *na bí co dordha* 16, *ataim co tribulaidech*<sup>1</sup> 7 *ní heitir lium do freora* (Stokes translates 'I confess it with tribulation,' but 'I am troubled' seems to be the meaning); *dobi Ad. in aidhche sin co toirsech dobronach* 158, 7 *dobatar na ridiridha co attoirsech aga ndán* 162, 7 *dobhi co hacaintech toirreoch* 251.

**With a noun** : *is[ed] adfet a legend as ndath glas roboi forsind sl[é]ib* Ml 84<sup>d</sup>4; *robamar-ní fecht co cátaid acut*, SC § 43.

**Various** : *monuar ge táí co lan-olc* Death of Muirch. § 34 (RC).

#### REMARKS.

§ 94. We have seen that the adjective is used in the Glosses (1) with the verbal noun in the two instances *buith nochtchenn* Wb II<sup>c</sup>12, *m'aicsin in imniud iarmbuith socumail* Ml 44<sup>c</sup>6, (2) with the consuetudinal present of the substantive verb in *ind foisitiu i ngiun imfolgni in duine slán, is trisan dede sin biid duine slán et firian combi bidslán et bid firian* Wb 4<sup>d</sup>33 and *ní ib finn combi mescc*, 'he does not drink wine until he is drunk,' though the latter instance is probably the copula. (3) The instance with *ataat* quoted above. (4) The use with participles.

A consideration of the Old-Irish texts shows that the construction is equally rare in them also, and only a few valid instances can be quoted from these texts in the O. Ir. period. Amongst the Old Irish saga texts the most pronounced instances are (1) the use with **participles**: *ó robatar ind liss dúntai* Im. Brain I, and (2) the use with **lán**, in *robói a rígtech lán de rígaib ib.*, *lán* being one of a special class of adjectives with which I shall deal further on. The

<sup>1</sup> The other MS. has *hathmulta*.

instance with *bitis* in Coph. Mucc. (Eg.) is not to be distinguished from the copula; cf. 7 *beit methi mu mucco* for *bit*, etc., in the same text. In the early Middle Irish texts, we meet instances in SC *bía slán* LU 44<sup>b</sup>32, and LL 147<sup>a</sup>9 *toisechu bia marb oldas bia meirb* 'thou wilt sooner be dead than weak.' Both these texts<sup>1</sup> belong to the transition period from Old to Middle Irish. The 2 sg. fut. of the copula in the latter text seems to be *biat*, *biat ri-siu co derb doratad fort selb* LL 147<sup>a</sup>9, 'thou (?) wilt surely be a king, it has been given into thy possession,' subjunctive *corbat ri* 147<sup>a</sup>17, 18. The usage in early Middle Irish up to SR is still rare, and, as will be seen, is confined to a limited number of adjectives.

§ 95. The question now is, how did the adjective come to be used with the substantive verb forms? One is at first inclined to think of the possibility of the spreading of the usage from the forms of the present consuetudinal, for which we have instances in Old-Irish. The syntax of the accented forms of the consuetudinal present *bíu* in O. Ir. practically corresponds to that of the other parts of the substantive verb (cf. Chap. II. above), and its unaccented forms correspond in their usage to those of the copula. The only difference noticeable is its non-use with the infixed pronoun. The instance *slán* which is used with *bíid* is also one of the commonest adjectives with the substantive verb in O. Ir. The adjectives which are most generally construed with the substantive verb in O. Ir. and up to the time of SR are, as may be seen from the material § 88, confined to a certain number—viz., *slán*, *lán*, *beo*, *marb*, (*meirb*), *ersoilecthi*, *dúntai*, *érchóilti*. If we investigate the way in which these adjectives are construed with other verbs, we find that they are mostly **such as can be used in agreement with the subject** (or in the case of *marb* with the object) **of certain verbs, or adverbially**.

**Slán.** Taking *slán* first we find in the instance quoted not only *bíid duine slán*, but also *imfolgni induine slán*<sup>2</sup>, '(it) makes a man sound' (or 'well'). Cf. *docuatar imslán iarsin dia tig* Trip. Life 14, 9; *co tísad slán*, Cath Cairn Con. § 3; *raga slán úadib*, 'thou wilt go safe from them,' Dá Derga 137, *cach aen nothicfad slán úadi ib*.

<sup>1</sup> SC and LL 147a. The latter text has such old forms as *dia clor-sa do chui* LL 147a2, 'if I hear thy weeping,' *focicher i suan* LL 147a22, lit. 'it will put thee to sleep' = 'thou wilt go to sleep,' *nim-cicher i suan*, 'I shall not go to sleep.' *Focicher* occurs as late as SR, and Tochmarc Ferbe.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *imfolngi induine firian* Wb 4d 32.

57, *cach fír dar na tecar slán* LL 215<sup>a</sup>61, 7 *ticfad imslán co mbuaid* LL 229<sup>a</sup>1 (T. Troi); *iarum rancatar dia taig soera slana somenmnaig* SR 3517, *doroichi-siu imslán a ri* T. Ferbe 159, *co roichet og-slán* FA (Wi I, 185, 2), *rosiachtadar slán aris* CGG XXXV (where, as in two of the other instances, *slán* is singular with a plural verb). *in topar asa ticfa slan* PH 419, etc. The construction is common in later Irish.<sup>1</sup> An instance of *slán* with the object is *dobert in cú in cairig slán* 'the wolf brought the sheep whole' Trip. Life 12, 17, where *slán* is not declined.

**beo**: *ní fhetaim-se dul beo asti* PH 2467, cf. *ica chor beo i talmain* Aid. Crimth. § 17 (ed. Stokes RC), *cor chuir-sium na mairb beoa as suas* PH 36, and Mod. Ir. *bhfearr liom a dhul beo fán talamh glas*, etc., but *ro hadnaiced na geill tuctha andeas 7 siad beoa* Crimth. § 17, *nad roichet in cathraig asa mbíu* FA (Wi I, 178, 12). *Dia maireadh m'athair-si beó* Duanaire Finn XX. 28.

**nocht**: *rél do chach díb dath a chuirp o forfacaibthi gle-nuicht* (*nuicht* to rhyme with *chuirp*, 'since they were left stark naked') SR 1358. Cf. *confacca a mnai lomnocht* 1304, 'he saw his wife naked.'

**marb**: *ní fes ca galar ro-dn-uc acht a fhaigbáil marb* IL 18<sup>b</sup> 47 'it is not known what disease took him off except that he was found dead.' I have no other instance with *fo-gabaim*, but it could most likely be used with the other parts of the verb,<sup>2</sup>—e.g., *fo-frith marb*. Further *cona-tarlai marb*<sup>3</sup> LL 278<sup>b</sup>2, *condacattar marb* LL 279<sup>b</sup>47, *ná co torchair marb* Ferb 584.

Other instances of an adjective thus agreeing with the object of a verb are *cid dot-gní torsech* Toch. Et. (LU, Wi 126) 'what makes thee sad?' *dom-ringne dérach dubach* LL 125<sup>b</sup>8, *do ronsabar . . . mesi cunntabartach* PH 1805, 'ye have made me doubtful,' but *dorónais na cranda tirma corba[t] toirtheach* PH 1358, 'Thou hast made the dry trees fruitful,' *dorigine a máimtiu corbat síthamla doib* PH 4044, 'He made their enemies peaceful to them.' *Ratracaib in rúad rinnech cáinteach crechtach crolindech* LL 87<sup>b</sup>17 (Táin). We may compare in Mod. Ir *dá bhfághainn-se an chruithneacht curtha* ACG, p. 42, 'if I had got the wheat sowed.' *Fuicéb-sa inn les obéla* CZ IV, 46, 12, Fráech.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further *'s truagh nach d'fuirich thu slan* Máiri Alasdair Rusidh, p. 267, *iodhlaic mé slán a hEirinn*, Duanaire Finn 23, 39, *cuirfet-sa thu uatha slan* ib. 23, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *conidfuatarat secc* Trip. Life 222, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *nó conotarla is tu secmarb* Ferb 471.

Active instances : *dessid Moissi, ba mod gle, for ochair na conaire, snimach saethrach bec a nert, a oenur ic sir-imthecht* SR 3745. 'Moses sat in distress and trouble beside the way . . .,' *ac nech dorechad falum* ('empty') *uaithib-som gan ni* AS 3120, *7 ro sia immorro slán in cu* AS 6197.

Passive : *frith in seol timmarcthe* LU 3<sup>a</sup>14; *brothach* ('boiling') *focress ina hucht* Thes. II, p. 339.

§ 96. Non-instances<sup>1</sup> : *do taet chuco 7 caeco ban uimme osse ogshlan gin on Fraech* CZ IV, p. 42, *tintaid i mBruidin 7 sé crechtach* Dá D. 139, *7 imthiagat o Bruidin co créchtach aithbris[te] 7 athgoite* Dá Derga 14, *térna Eithne et si torrach* LL 23<sup>b</sup>15, *ergimmit suas issind<sup>2</sup> slán* LL 207<sup>a</sup>43 (= *eirghidmaoid suas go hóghlán* Duan. Finn 13, 41), *do chuatar co tren* SR 1701, etc., *lecar co foelid so-menmnach iat* PH 408, cf. 406, *túired co dethidech* 5344, *tangamar co créchtach crolintech as* Ac Sen 6505, *atconnarc-sa thu cu mor-bhuidnech* Ac Sen 15, 77, *do an co sidhchanta ina sesam*, 'he remained peacefully standing,' *atchonnacadur na tri hingena mongbuidhe 7 siat marb ar in tulaig sea* Ac Sen 3421, *dorochratar annsin 7 siat marb* PH 2161, *is turbaid em dam-sa, olsi, dul dia fhuaslucud-som 7 me alacht* LL 126<sup>a</sup>25, 'and I pregnant,' *atracht Crist isin tres la 7 se coscrach o bas* PH 2047 *teit co toirsech isin dun* Muir. Mac Earca.

If the adjective comes before the verb then *co* is never used, as : *nuie tanicc cuccum-sa* Wb 7<sup>e</sup>7. In *cruaidh ro-m-lensat tar gach lear* CGG XLVI, etc., we may suppose the copula understood : *is cruaidh*, etc. Cf. further : *truag rofersat an-nual* SR 1643, *tren doratus do menmain* SR 1866.

§ 97. I have added the above instances to show how far certain classes of adjectives may be used in connection with verbs, and in what cases they must be converted into adverbs. It is not clear that these adjectives could be used in earlier O. Ir.<sup>3</sup> in connection with the subject of the verb. The instances *dotaet chuco . . . ossé ogshlan* in Táin Fr., *7 siad beoa* Aid.Crimth. *7 siat marb* PH, *7 se coscrach* PH are against this, and point to *7 é slán* or *osé slán* as being the construction in the older language. Hence we see that

<sup>1</sup> Add SR. 364 : *ri ros delba . . . hite remra ro ardda*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *osni failli* Ml. 131b10, 'we glad.'

<sup>3</sup> The earliest instances, with the subject, quoted above are from Cath Cairn Con., and the Trip. Life, cf. §4, note. Some of the instances of adjectives agreeing with the object are from such old texts as Táin Bó Fráich and Toch. Étaine.



not only did the use of such adjectives with the substantive verb but also with other verbs extend itself in early Mid. Ir., a certain amount of freedom from the O. Ir. construction being allowed.

§ 98. No doubt the special meaning of *bíu*, 'I am wont to be' was favourable to the use of the adjective. But in SR, we find the special set of adjectives, already mentioned, used with various parts of the substantive verb, and there is a possibility that they may have spread from the *bíu* forms. As regards the second adjective *fírian* in Wb 4<sup>d</sup>33, it may be urged that it cannot be classed with the foregoing set of adjectives. If we translate into Mod. Ir., the two adjectives would not be connected by *agus*, but the order would be *bíonn sé slán fíreánach (fírinneach)*. Although *bhí sí deas* is not an allowable construction, still, when *deas* is preceded by another adjective, it is: e.g., *bhí sí óg deas*, and, in this way, *fírian* may have been used after another adjective. Again, *bid-slan* and *bid-fírian* obviously do not denote transient qualities. The explanation here is that *combi* is not the substantive verb, but the copula. The same explanation probably holds in the case of *combi mesc*.

§ 99. It is clear that, in the discussion of the use of the adjective with the substantive verb, such adjectives as those dealt with above must be treated separately. To these might be added *ersoilcthi* of Ml 46<sup>a</sup>7 as it is equivalent in meaning to *óbela* of *juicebsa in lis óbela* Fraech CZ IV, 40, and *dúntai* of Im. Brain has the opposite meaning, but it is not clear that we have not here a beginning of the use of the substantive verb with the participle, instead of the copula, of which *nómbemmis érchóilti* Wb 9<sup>a</sup>3 may be another instance. This latter has also the full form of the substantive verb. The instance *no-m-bin dermatach* Ml 20<sup>a</sup>4, 'that I should be forgetful,' already referred to above, is according to its form the copula, even though it is preceded by *no*. Still the *no-* here may be regarded as the beginning of the confusion between the substantive verb and copula, in the construction with adjectives.

§ 100. But whilst in the 10th century and earlier texts only a limited number of adjectives can be used with the substantive verb, the usage has spread widely in PH. In this text, there are in common use two important classes—viz., the participles and the adjectives in *-ach* and these latter constitute the principal classes which are so used in Mod. Ir.<sup>1</sup> For this sudden spread

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 56 above.



of the adjective with the substantive verb in Mid. Ir. there are several possible explanations, (1) *buith* served as a verbal noun to both substantive verb and copula, and in its character as a noun it could, of course, have an adjective in agreement with it. Then, as its noun character became less obvious, the adjective might spread to the other substantive verb forms and thus become general. But if we allow this, then we shall have all adjectives used with the substantive verb, whereas we have seen that even in Mod. Ir. the number of adjectives so used is limited, and in Mid. Ir. still more so. Cf. for instance, *a beith maith* PH 6051, 6053. We find the opposite tendency already in PH, that is, the verbal noun corresponding in its usage to the other forms—e.g., *ar mbeth co forpthe* 7899.

(2) Another possible source is the cases **where the copula strongly resembles the substantive verb**—e.g., *bátar toirsich* Trip. Life, p. 84, *batar buidig do Dia* SR 4049, *amal bemis marb* PH 2967, cf. *amal beti* (leg. *betis*) *mairb* PH 3742. In the discussion on the O. Ir. use of the verb of existence § 72 ff, I have pointed out that the principal differences between the *b*-forms of the substantive verb and the corresponding forms of the copula were that (1) the latter were the unaccented forms of the former and (2) the accented forms were used in the position of an ordinary verb followed by their subject whilst the unaccented forms were followed immediately by the predicate—e.g., *robad maith a flaithemnas* ML 89<sup>b</sup>9. In cases such as *bemmis*, *nombemmis* where the two forms were very much alike, and where, moreover, the subject was contained in the verb, one could easily come to be used for the other. Where the emphasising particles *-sa*, *-su* occurred they served to distinguish them. We find an interchange of forms in such an instance as *bia marb* (2 sg. fut.) LL 271<sup>b</sup>33 beside *biat marb-so* LL 271<sup>b</sup>40, a case where both forms could be used.

In the course of the 11th century, all verbs came to be accented on the first syllable<sup>1</sup> with a few exceptions which have survived to Mod. Ir., and this tendency was also present in the 10th century. In the same way, **the copula forms became, in certain positions, accented in the 10th century**, possibly being helped by the analogy of the substantive verb. Such positions were those in which the copula contained the subject: if the predicate came between it and the subject accentuation was not possible. Despite the affixed *-so*, *biat* (LL 271<sup>b</sup>40) cannot, from its vocalism, be anything

<sup>1</sup> v. LAU, pp. 173, 174.

but an accented form. Similarly *biam tigerna* SR 855 beside *bam ri* 851. A further instance is *mar nobeind athair doib* 7 *nobetis-seom mec dam-sa* PH 6107. On the other hand, we find the substantive verb becoming unaccented like the copula in poetry in SC (Wi § 11) *no-t-icfítis diamtis*<sup>1</sup> *lat ingena Aeda Abrat*, unless we regard it as the copula and translate 'the daughters of Aed Abrat would heal thee if they were thine' (=Mod. Ir. *dá mbudh leat iad*, 'if they were thine'); but the sense of the context is against this rendering. A similar instance is Trip. Life, p. 82, 15, *comtis secht maic lea* 7 *di ingin* where the context points to the meaning 'so that she had seven sons and two daughters.' Hence, we may conclude that there was a time when the substantive verb and copula became closely approximated. This, as I have indicated, was in the (late) tenth century<sup>2</sup> before the personal forms of the copula began to disappear. There was here a danger of the usages of the two sets of forms being levelled out, and such a levelling out actually took place in some cases. Amongst the most significant instances of the copula forms being replaced by the others, is the second person plural of the imperative, e.g. : *eirggid for set nabid namnaig imeclaig* SR 4831, where the copula form becomes that of the substantive verb. Cf. *na bid for báis* SR 7988, *na bith* (2 pl.) *i cobadliis* Wb 22<sup>b</sup>26, but *nadib leiscc* 7483 an attempt at a copula form. Cf. further *bed imthuge-si* Domino Wb 6<sup>b</sup>3, *na-bad anfoirbthi-si* Wb 12<sup>d</sup>26.

This levelling out did not spread very far, and instead of the imperative with the bare adjective there are instances in PH, such as *biid* (2 pl. ipv.) *co dethitech do rér na rig* 4061, where the substantive verb preserves its individuality of having an **adverbial predicate**. Side by side with this, is the usage with the adjective alone, as *biid-siu cuimigthi* (?) *i forcetul* 2537 (LBr 150<sup>a</sup>), *bid forpthi* 2413 and this is the **rule with the participles**. There was a struggle between the two sets of forms, in which the predominance of the substantive verb was helped by the fact that all the forms of the copula which resembled it rapidly fell away, perhaps we should say, were ousted by the others. They had disappeared by 1100

<sup>1</sup> The other MS has *diantis*.

<sup>2</sup> The Tripartite Life, according to various indications, must have been written in the first half of the tenth century, cf. p. 3, note 1. The confusion may have been beginning then.

and there is not a trace of them in AS.<sup>1</sup> In this latter text, the subjunctive-imperative *corbat sidhuig* 581, etc., is replaced in the Franciscan MS. by the other construction *bidh co heistechtach cailli*, *bid co féchsanach muighi* 600, with the adverbial predicate. In PH, a 2sg. of the imperative<sup>2</sup> is still employed : *bat cúimnech ina haimsire* 1208.

§ 101. In this way the copula,<sup>3</sup> which was at first conjugated throughout, gradually degenerated into either mere forms of asser-tion with only a 3rd person singular which, later still, became impersonal or were used to bring forward a word or clause to be emphasised. In their use with participles, they were replaced by the forms of the substantive verb. The participles so used, except when they had become ordinary adjectives, such as *foirbthe*, were not preceded by *co*. Of this replacing of the copula by the substantive verb form before participles, we have possibly an early instance in Wb 9<sup>a</sup>3 *amal nombemmis érchóilti* already referred to.

We should expect that with this widening of the usage of the substantive verb it would extend also to nouns, as it actually did in the instance *mar no-beind athair doib* ⁊ *nobetis-seom mec domsa*. But this tendency was met by the new development *atá sé ina rígh*, which was in existence (as will be seen in the next chapter) from the beginning of the 11th century<sup>3</sup> onward.

§ 102. Another question, in connection with this development, is why did the plural of the adjective in this construction become singular, why, for instance, did *nabid snímaigh*, *uamnaig*, *bid slána* become *na bid snímach*; etc? In the case of other verbs, *rancatar soera slana somenmnaig* of SR 3517 gives in the 11th century *coroicheḡ slán* FA and *rosiachtadar slán* CGG—that is, an adjective is used which does not agree with its pronoun in number. Perhaps these adjectives came to be understood as adverbs. Even with the copula, when its old plural forms disappeared, *batar buidig ind fir* became *batar buidech*, cf. *ni-forn-intliuchtach* SR 5238, and in this way we have the rule that **all predicated adjectives became singular**. In some cases, as *amal nobetis co marthanach* an adverb was formed

<sup>1</sup> The 3 pl. *batir*, *batar* is replaced by *robsat*, *robo*, *ba*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Unless we take it as a subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *comboi ina chrois tri Chonchobar* Tochm. Ferbe 419, a late 10th or early 11th century text, and v. § 108, 4 and § 118 below.

with *co*, and this was of course singular in form. On the analogy of these, other words which were felt to be adverbial would be changed to the singular. Words like *érchóilti* would become *érchóilte*<sup>1</sup> according to the laws of Irish phonology. Cf. LAU, p. 84.

In such sentences as *deissid Moissi for ochair na conaire, snímach, saethrach* SR 3745, we might take *snímach* as dative in apposition to *Moissi* rather than qualifying it, just as *a oenur* in the same sentence. The final *-ach* of such adjectives would not become *-uch*. We are here met by the difficulty that for the plural *rancatar slána* we should, in that event, expect *slánaib*. The adjective in *-ib* is still regular in SR and could hardly be replaced by the non *-ib* form.

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact participles like *bainte*, *molta* are pronounced *ba(i)nti*, *moltaí* in some Connacht dialects (North Galway). The influence of participles like *beannuighthe*, *arduighthe* may be suggested, but in them *-e* is not pronounced *-i*.

## CHAPTER III.

## ATÁ SÉ INA FHEAR.

§ 103. In this chapter I deal with a construction of interest in connection with the syntactic development of the substantive verb. This is the well-known idiomatic phrase (a) *atá sé ina fhear*, 'he is a man,' lit. 'he is in his man,' *bhí sé 'na rígh*, 'he was a king.'

As regards the development of phrases of this type, it may be definitely stated that they did not exist in O. Ir., at least there is no trace of them in the large amount of material written during the O. Ir. period. Their place was taken by the copula—e.g., *co mbúi ina lobar* would have been *combo lobur*.

I have thought it well at the outset to give the material from a Middle Irish text in which the construction appears fully developed. For this purpose I have selected *Acallam na Senórach*.<sup>1</sup>

## IN ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH.

§ 104. The following are instances (1) of the substantive verb with *inna* of the type *ata sé ina fhear*, (2) of *inna* in other constructions (a) with verbs, (b) without verbs:—

1. *gu raibhe 'na cholum ghel* 1080, *dobi 'na mnai gradaig ac Find* 2125, *mur teined umpu . . . bith 'na usci* 6133, *fuil do chuirp ina cru thécht* 7576 (supply *beith* after *chuirp*), *dobi or atái at aenar* 2018, *ge beth mo chraide ina mairg\** 4995.

Exceptions: *7 dobói d' aenmnai aici* 3333, *7 a beith don tres mnai acut* 2129, *mo beith d' aenmnai ac in fhir* 6679, *7 ar mbeith fein d' aenmnaib acaib* 7339.

2. *do riachtadar an Fhiann ina ndrongib 7 ina mbuidhnib* 3568, cf. 4701, *do eirgetar in Fiann ina tri cathaib cengailti* 6508, *tangadur ina cipe throm* 6623 (cf. LL 243<sup>a</sup>36 *ina chruadchipe chatha*), *cor chuir a chraide ina dublia fola tar a bél* 6999, *7 rochuir a craide ina lia fola tar a bél amach, is ussa leo foghal do dénam ina conaib ná ina ndáinib* (sic leg.) 7684, *roba ferr duib eistecht in bar ndáinib na in bar conaib* 7704, *leicid na aenur don dam* 5979, *cotarla in tech in [a] choirchi chiúil* 3794, *co rabadur ar cuirp ina crolintib fola* 6495, *co faccadur in mbuidhin moir . . . da n-indsaigid ina dá ndirma*<sup>2</sup> 5887.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §2 above.

<sup>2</sup> The possessive pronoun, as in Mod. Ir., acts over *dá*, cf. *adam ech* 4903. Compare also *a tri ndeogaire* LL 30d50, *a tri n-eich* LL 30d53, etc.



(b) *inn ingen as ī óc ⁊ tusa at senoir chrīn* 3904.

3. Apposition with *inna*.

⁊ *a dá trian duinde inar fiannaib* 3038, ⁊ *sibh in bar macaib óclach* 3292, *acht mad thusa at aenar* 3656, *damad at aenfer duit* 3752, *nach dingébmáis inar triar* 6521, *ní fuil gein aici acht missi am aenar* 4087, *dobi a[c] Cailti 'na aenor* 4042, *acht Conan 'na aenur* 6741, *créd ro dithaig sibh uili in bar bhFéinn* 1093, *gia rofhedta-se at aenar ní dī* 981.

Not to be confused are: ⁊ *tuc Find 'na thuarasdal do Chonan hí* 3915 (=in his wage), *tuc Cailte ina coibhche don inghin hi* 3918, cf. ⁊ *tabair d' Fir óc ina thuarastal* 3839, and *na hairm da ndernsamar maith ⁊ tucaissi a tuarustal duind*.

4. Apposition without *inna*:

*do eirigh C. a oenar* 1896, *tangamar . . . in seisir sciatharmach robamar* 5055, *tangamar-ne . . . in t-ochtar ar xx brathar so* 5079, ⁊ *ochtur ar xx derbrathar atam sunn* 5082, *ochtur ar fichit . . . atamaid* 5082, (cf. *do riachtadar Fianna Erenn co leir annsin etir fir ⁊ mnái ⁊ gilla* 5268), "in triur atamait," ar siat, "atá feidm ar leith ac cach aenfer acaind" 5460, *tangamar-ne . . . deichneabar* 5525, *tricha cét ac cach fir acaind im dís seo atamait* 6272, *ro fregamar-ne triúr don Féin* 6479, *rochomraicemar ar lar na trága ar seisser óclach* 6482, *ri Alban do beith ann triur óclach* 6483, *atámuid triur bráthar* 6168, *ro lensamar-ne hé seisiur óclach* 5009, ⁊ *Find seissir óclach* 5149, ⁊ *doluidsemar-ne amach ar in faithche in cethrar óclach slán robamar* 5202, "crét dogena sinne, in nonbar oclach so," ar Cailte 689, *bemaitni, bíd maith ar lí, triar álaind a n-aenbali* 5432.

IN EARLIER IRISH.

§ 105. The foregoing material shows that the construction *atá sé ina fhear* was fully developed by the time of *Acallam na Senórach*, though not so widespread as at a later time. Instances of the similar construction where *ina* = 'as'—e.g., *roba ferr duib éisteacht inbar ndáinib*, are also common. In view of the fact that the construction, as it appears in this text, practically coincides with the modern Irish usage it will not be necessary to follow up its history for any later period. It remains to trace the origin of the construction, and, if possible, to ascertain approximately the time of its development.

For this purpose I give material in illustration of the development of the construction in its earlier stages. This is arranged under two heads—viz: (1) the use of the possessive pronouns

*a*, *an*-, etc., before a noun in apposition to a pronoun, and (2) the introduction of *in*- in apposition. I shall afterwards give (3) instances of *in*-, *ina* in early Middle Irish where it may be possible to take *in* in its original meaning, but which may have served as model for the development of the construction *atá sé ina fhear*, and (4<sup>a</sup>) instances of *ina*=‘as’ ‘for’, (4<sup>b</sup>) *ina* in its modern usage.

§ 106. **Apposition (without *in*):**<sup>1</sup>

(a) Dative without pronoun.

O. Ir. *isnini firiónaib* Wb 33<sup>a</sup>7, *nanní adrochobursam firianaib* Ml 56<sup>b</sup>24, *dínna preceptorib* Wb 10<sup>a</sup>8, *indiunni israheldaib* Ml 94<sup>d</sup>6, errantes gl. *macaib israhel* Ml 92<sup>c</sup>3, et *hesom trius* Wb 7<sup>c</sup>8.

*nothegáis Ulaíd dond oenuch, fiur mnaí mac ingin* LL 125<sup>b</sup>54 Noenden Ul. Táin bó Fráich: *dochumlaí-som ass iarum trib nón-baraib* CZ IV, 44, 32, (LL 251<sup>b</sup>43); *doluid Oengus díb mbuidnib*<sup>1</sup> Trip. Life 130, 12, *anaís sechtmain occaí dí[b] feraib déac*, ib. 110, 10, *is ann duairthetar fir Muman inti Patraic .i. feraib, macaib, mnaib*, Tr. Life 216, 1, cf. ib. 216, 12; *bennacht for firu Muman feraib, maccaib mnaib* ib., *acht coro áinet 7 coro throiscet feraib mnaaib 7 maccaib sceo ingenaib* LL 215<sup>a</sup>24, *Ulaíd fir sceo mnaib ingenaib* LL 109<sup>b</sup>1 (Táin); *tancatar fir hErend mnaib, maccaib, ingenaib and*<sup>2</sup> LL 23<sup>b</sup>26, cf. Trip. Life 4, 6, 20; 7 *ro bámar ní xv feraib*<sup>3</sup> Dá Derga 102; *not-glúaisfiter dond oen phort macaib mnaib* T. Ferbe 788.

(b) Dative with pronoun.

Old Irish; from the Glosses:

*as mē m' oinur aridrochell* Sg 202<sup>a</sup>7, *intan mbite a n-óinur* Sg 207<sup>a</sup>7 (=Mod. *ina n-aonar*), *is doib a n-oinur adcomalltar* (sic. leg.) Sg 208<sup>a</sup>29, *ní bad a óenur dó* Wb 14<sup>a</sup>21, *bis a oinur* Ml 102<sup>a</sup>17, *ataam ar ndíss i cuimriug* Wb 32<sup>a</sup>28, *manibet a ndiis* Ml 14<sup>c</sup>4, 35<sup>d</sup>24, *ó ru-biam . . . innar tegdaís ar n-oendiis* Cod. S. Pauli II., (Mod. *an bheirt (dís) againn*); *manibet a triur* (=Mod. *an triúr aca*), *ar n-óis rechto* Wb 31<sup>d</sup>1.

Other sources:—

*ba fiu Eirinn a oenur* AU 901, *cona bui acht se a hoenur hissin lestur* Comp. Con. (=Mod. Ir. *acht é in 'aonar*), *cía táí th 'oenur innossa* Toch Ferbe 434, *bui-seom inti Noisi a aenur Usn.* (Wi § 8), *a óinur* ib. § 9, *dígélát m'oenur m'athair* LL 27<sup>b</sup>14—Corm. macCuil.

<sup>1</sup> This is rather a dative of accompanying circumstances, but cf. Dá Derga 102.

<sup>2</sup> Literally one might translate ‘the men of Ireland came there, with their wives, sons and daughters.’

<sup>3</sup> Some of the other MSS have *fer*:

*m'oenur* LL 65<sup>b</sup>27, *a oenor* LL 27<sup>b</sup>24 (ib.), *acht Ethne a hóenur* SC<sup>1</sup> (Wi § 6), *duit-siu th' oenur* (ib. Wi § 6). *acht Fand a hoenur* ib. 45, *condusced a œnur*, 'he used to awake of his own accord,' LL 59<sup>b</sup>25, *acht tu th'óinur* Trip. Life' 164, 22, *acht é a óenur*, Da D. 98, *no thogfaind-se* (leg. *dogegainn-*) *etruib far ndís* Usn. § 9, "*tiagam ar ndís*," ol Conaill Táin Bó Fraich CZ IV. 45<sup>37</sup>, *documlat ass a triar tar muir* ib. p. 45 127, *lotar a triur* Carn Con.<sup>2</sup> 11, *immacomarnic ndosom friu i triur* Toch. Em. CZ III 253, *gabsad a triur anside ithe na caer* Im. Maile D<sup>3</sup> XXX, *co rochuiréd cach díb a triur a druim* Usn. § 8, *lotar-som an-ocht feraib déc* MD<sup>3</sup> XXX (RC, x, 74), *anaid sund conda risa mo choicait* LL 276<sup>a</sup>31 (Mór Muman), *immos-tuarcát a ndíb cóicdaib* LL 276<sup>a</sup>26 (ib.), *la n-and dóib an-ingenaib uilib sind inbiur* Toch. Étaíne (LU Wi I., 131, 13).

Middle Irish :

*a oenur* LL 207<sup>a</sup>39, etc., *arna tiasair th'oenur* LL 65<sup>b</sup>27—Táin, *do lecuð th'oenur* LL 65<sup>b</sup>9 (ib.), *ar ndís* LL. . . etc., *orn ar triur in oeninud* LL 207<sup>a</sup>37 (Duan F. p. 30), *7 rabeind-se ara chind ar bru mara, mo thri choicait amus* LL 51<sup>b</sup>18 (non-dative), *is la demnaib a n-oenur* Fis. A. (Wi, p. 190, 1), *atúsa sund mo sain-teglach díb trichtaib cét* LU Táin, Ériu, 1. 178; *co torchrator a ndís* T. Ferbe 244, *notgluaisfiter dond oenphort maccaib mnaib* ib. 788.

SR : *a oenur* 2517, etc., *acht ind fic-omna a hoenur* 1362, *nobid acht mad maith a oenurán* 1242, but *acht se oenur*<sup>4</sup> *sa oenben* 1888, *condechsam ar ndís* 1155, *co ndechsát a ndís malé* 1161, *beith mole . . . a ndís do chorþ is t'aním* 1436, *acht Noe a ochtur fo brón* 2721, *ar fírinni a oenuran* 2786 *do deochad monenur* 3097 (leg. *m'oenur*), *7 mé . . . m'oenur* 401, *nobid a oenur* 871, *nochodlad a oenur* 875.

§ 107, 2. **Apposition with in.**

O. Ir. *acht messí am aenur* Mael Dúin<sup>5</sup> XXX (YBL).

Middle Irish :

*is bés duib-si in-farn-Ultaib*<sup>6</sup> LL 112<sup>b</sup>47—Muc M. Dathó<sup>7</sup>, *dúinni nar n-Ultaib* LU 56<sup>b</sup>30, 41, *is gess duib in far n-Ultaib* LL 65<sup>b</sup>43.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sergl. Conculaind, Wi. Ir. Texte I. This text cannot be classed as O. Ir., but it is at all events very early Middle Irish. See Zimmer, KZ 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Stokes CZ III, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Stokes RC. ix, x.

<sup>4</sup> Leg. *acht sé [a] óenur*.

<sup>5</sup> RC x p. 72. This instance is, in all probability, due to the Mid. Ir. MS.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pedersen, CZ II, 387.

<sup>7</sup> This text, in the LL version, has n. *in tech* 112b11.

<sup>8</sup> The Táin Bó Cuailnge. The LL version is in several respects very late.

*leic-siu etruind féin innar n-Ultaib* Ferb 218 (Wi., LL), *acht imsaíset na da feraib déc foe fa chetoir* Wi. Táin 2910, *is truag aní 'narta de 'nar ndaltaib* Scathaighe LL 88<sup>b</sup>22 (Táin) 'sad is the result to us.'

SR: *cocrail na mbrathreib a brath* 3131, 'they, the brothers, conspire to betray him,' cf. *tuctha co neoch ros-techtai 'na cimmidib cumrechtai* 3561, *na tiastais aidid ngorta inna lainib lomnochta* 3407, 'in naked multitudes' ('mani-ness') (cf. *issed robae in-aes Noe* 2262).

PH: *co rop sib tóisech in bar mbannscálaib indises*<sup>1</sup> 2972, *dénaid calma dún na ro-doerthar 'nar ndis* 3875 *7 do icfam-ne inar n-aingliu mar caeraib tened* 7260.

### 3. ina.

§ 108. O. Ir.:

'*Dírim atchui-so don dún,*' else '*ina llin,*' Fraech CZ IV, 34, 'I see a crowd coming in a body to the fort'; *folt forgarb forruad ina gibnib foa cend Toch.* Em. CZ III, 247, 'very rough, very red hair in jagged masses about her head.' *cach fiche inna lurg fo leith* Comp. Con. (Wi. I. 137, 1), 'every twenty formed a separate troop,' *combatar ina líní fon samail sin* Fled. Br. (Wi. I. 287, 1), 'so that in that manner they formed a line' (or 'formed themselves into a line'), *ibid ina dig iarom . . . al-lind* (ib. Wi. I. 283, 25, *Eg ina aendig*), 'he then drinks the wine at a draught,' cf. *ibid Cu iarum ina oéndig allán* (ib), *bátar Ulaid ina turchomruc im Chonchubur* SC 24, 'the Ulstermen were in an assembly together with Conchubur.'

Compare *foscercad ina mbuidne fochetoir* Táin 213 (LU; YBL has *buidneb*).

Non-instance: cf. *Loch Leibinn do shoudh i fuil co tarla a partiu croo amail scamhanu inna imbechtar* AU 865. 'Loch Leibhinn was turned into blood so that it became (lit. 'changed it') lumps of gore like lungs round its border,' cf. *Tochm. Ferbe*, l. 433, also (D. 4<sup>a</sup>), also *co mbói ina chroiss trí Chonchobar* T. Ferbe 419 below.

Middle Irish:

*amal bite na comsreith* SR 4898, 'as they are in an even row,' cf. *dia claind choir ina comsreith* 2986. Compare *na ule doeni do essergi i fer forbthe* Res. § 17 (LU), *atchondairc a archoin 'na gabtib rointi* IL 64<sup>a</sup>20—Táin, 'he saw his watch-dog cut up into pieces,' *mail robammar 'nar cathaib* LL 208<sup>a</sup>2, 'as (?) we were in batta-

<sup>1</sup> 'So that ye women may be the first who tell.'



lions,' *i torchratar ina tolaib, fir hErenn* LL 19<sup>b</sup>8, 'in which the men of Ireland fell in great masses' (lit. 'floods'), *conerracht in muir . . . ina immairib anfoille . . . ⁊ ina colbaib gorma* LL 219<sup>b</sup>35 Tog Troi, 'the sea in aroice in unsteady (i.e., moving) ridges . . . and in blue pillars,' *co mén-scailed in fecht aile ina ettrigib anfoilli ⁊ ina hallaib uathmara* LL 219<sup>b</sup>37, 'it used to yawn at another time in moving furrows and terrific cliffs,' *coméirgi in mara ina reib uath-mara* LL 236<sup>a</sup>44, *is and frith ina cruaiach isin gurt he* Corm. Sw. 46, 'it was then found as a stack in the field,' *is and frith ina aenchruaiach thuighthi isin les he* Corm. Sw. § 46, *⁊ is amlaid frith, ina crumaibh iarnabharach é* Moling, p. 40, *co rabi 'na crois triit* Tog. Trói 980; *conerracht in muir trén ina essaib ardda . . ⁊ ina coppib glegala ⁊ ina mbunnib gelglasa (ib)* LL 230<sup>b</sup>25, *tancatar Tuatha De ina caipaib ciach* LL 4<sup>b</sup>18.

FA. *naim thuascirt . . . ina ndib n-airechtaib dermáraib* (LU Wi I. 172, 12). LBr version has *noim tuaiscirt . . . a ndib oirechtaib dermaraib*, 'the saints of the north in two great assemblies,' *acht is amlaid ro-s-coraig . . . gnúis fri gnúis ina srethaib ocus ina corónib* (LU Wi. I. 177, 12, LBr id.), 'He arranged them thus . . . face to face in rows and crowns (circles).'

4 (a) **ina**=as, for.

§ 109. O. Ir. : Wb : *et gebtit iudei in apaid* Wb 26<sup>a</sup>8.

Im. Brain, Compert Con., Fled Bric. : No instance.

Tochm. Emire : *anmoin in anmoin, olsi* CZ III, 254 "a life for a life," says she.'

Táin bó Fráich : No instance. (A non-instance is *in tsuil do roglaisi osse maeth-oclach gin locht*, 'the eye of deepest blue and he a soft youth without a fault.') LL has *ishe maethoclach*.

Longes mac nU. : No instance.<sup>2</sup>

Im. Máile D. : No instance except *no-thairissed ina thost inna muir immon insi immacuairt* XXV (LU.). Stokes translates *inna muir* 'in its sea,' and it is possible to take *inna* in this sense, but to me the other meaning 'as a sea' seems more probable, at least as far as the text in this MS. is concerned. A possible non-instance is *atracht am-muir impe suas co ndearnai alle dimora impe* (ib XXII.), 'so that it became great cliffs around it.'

Sergl. Con. : No instance.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Stokes Ir. Texte III.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence *dolluid didiu Eogan ina thur iarsind faidche* Wi. I. most probably means 'E. went with (or 'in') his company across the plain.'



Middle Irish :

Tochm. Ferbe<sup>1</sup> : *i mbói (Mani ina chroligi fola) ⁊ ina chro-partaig* 433, 'where Mane was in a bed of gore and (as) a mass of blood.' This instance probably belongs to the next sub-division (4<sup>b</sup>). *Co mbói ina chrois trí Conchobar*, ib, 419. *Co rabi 'na crois triit Tog.* Troi 980, but *corbo chross thall tharsna triana chliab* (LL 255<sup>a</sup>17) T. Ferbe 243.

FA : *ní aicfeá delb duine fair . . . acht 'na dlúim thentide* (LU, Wi I, p. 176, 10 ; LBr. *acht ina dlúim deirg*), 'but as a fiery mass'; *trí leca logmara . . . ocus al-lethe uachtaracha ina locharnaib for lassad* (LU, Wi I. 178, 4 also L. Br.).

Various texts : *ar isé da-rigni ina nóidin*—Tog. Troi LL 222<sup>a</sup>4, 'for it is he who did it as a child.' Cf. LL 222<sup>b</sup>7 *donti dorigní sein ina nóidin*. Cf. \**tri haiscedha . . . ina cumain* Irish Ordeals § 28 'in return for it,' 'as its equivalent value.'

PH : *dáig co ro-n-gabthar inar mbraithrib do Christ ⁊ inar macaib togai* 7883, 'that we may be taken as brothers of Christ, etc.' : *gabaim-se in grian ina fiadain* 2945, *gabaim nem ⁊ talam na fhiadnaib* 2728, *ise ro-ordaig C. 'na iúdec foraib-si* 2770, *am dall ruccad me-si* 2785, 'I was born blind,' *ro-artraig in slog deman ina smúit chéó* 7237, *ro hergabaid ina gilla bec he* 6948 ; perhaps also *biaid t 'animm ina ghill co sír* 7451, 'your soul will be ever responsible for it,' lit. 'as a pledge for it.'

4 (b).

*bai slicht in chalaíd cu cnaim : 'na fhalaig 'mán find-láim* LL

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Windisch, Ir. Texte III, 2. T. Ferbe contains the nom. pl. masc. of the article *ind* : *ind óic* 93 which occurs for the last time in AU at 999, the n. pl. m. *na* commencing at 985. Nom. pl. *na* also occurs (155). The text has such old verbal forms as *co topacht* (*Gerg in cend di*) 231, *conattacht* (*dig*) 235 *docechaing* 73, *cechaing* 195, 843, *focicher* 648, *ar-nom-tha* 141, *rondirig* 416, which forms become rare in the early 11th century. Cf. LAU, pp. 170, 171. Its copula and substantive verb forms are generally later than those of SR, and it contains compound verbs with absolute endings—e.g., *tairlingit* 81, *tecait* 82, *tócbait* 116, also 179, 215, 236, 378, 863. Of this there are instances in SR, v. LAU, p. 174. It contains the 11th century *marend hé* 531 to rhyme with *choceile*. Also the perfect passives in *-it*, *ro-esráit* 65, *coro-múchait* 80, *ro-dichennait* 678 of which there are instances in Dá Derga, pp. 25, 58, 127, and in AU 1014 to 1187. It has 3sg. preterites like *tafnis* 429, *dúscis* 131, *imthigis* 389, perfects *rogon* 420, *rofodail* 513, *rolen* 739. Cf. LAU, p. 171. On the whole we shall be safe in placing this text at about the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century.

LL 49<sup>a</sup>35<sup>1</sup> *is amlaid atá in rigsadi sin inna chathair chumtachta co cethri colomnaib do liic logmair foi Fis Ad. (LU Wi I. 174, 15, cf. L. Br. ina chathair), isí robói ic Lug na lend . . . na hibur (as a yew shaft) alle bidbad LL 207<sup>b</sup>27. bes ina bibdaid Ériu V, p. 22.*

PH : *cen fis accu beos he buden ina cristaige 56, 7 tu hi t'erbraige 81 cen adbar . . . ata ina peccad marbtha and fein 7321, 7706, 7 atá in chuit-se . . . ina éthech 7322, ce raib se ina fhir 7324, bíd adbur acut luige . . . 7 bíd in-adbar<sup>2</sup> choir 7 i[n]a fírinde 7343, atat mo pheccaid ina n-eri throm for mo muin 7359, in comfhat bis in madrad ina chuilén 7416, ata si ina dubachus 7430, combi intí dobeir hi ina símontaig 7595, bui ina lobar 376, roboi 'na rig 2572, a beith ina chóraid chalma 6269, a beith ina gloir ac diablaib 7435, Ísu a beth na mac mná pósta 2677, atái-siu hi-t-óclach do 2817, bíd gadaige ina oclaechaib (sic) occu 7530 ata ina peccad ann fén 7612, co fil cech cêim ina peccad marbtha 7810, roboi Teodbair . . . 'na rig for in popul Iúdaide 2572, 7 tu fen at gredda 2619, gabaim-si in grian ina fiadain form 2696, atá peccad na drúisi ina dígbáil don chomarsain 7442, cf. dia rabut 'na comairsin dó 7449, co rab 'na luaithred 3623, batar ina niúl gel 7238, amal bis arán ina thúis da<sup>3</sup> cech caithem 7534.*

Duanaire Finn<sup>4</sup> : *sul rabhar mo ghuin ghalann 3, 25, Magh Maoin na fhasach 3, 39, do sir Goll an filidh sin 'na thechta go mac Cumhaill 4, 8, ó dobhádor na n' énar 4, 45, ad chuirr 8, 7 acht a beith . . . na adhbha 16, 14, o ataoi ad cliemain 17, 80, dobhi 'na fhiadhach meabla 18, 6, co mbiadh 'na airdrigh oraibh 20, 80, meisi féin um senoir 27, 3, Conn na ri ar Eirinn 35, 14, cf. raghaidh ina n-einech dhaibh.*

#### § 110. Adjectives :

*is a mbeo beres an-as beodu 7 an-as ségundo—Táin, Strachan, p. 23, cf. Mod. tabair beo let é, Fierabras § 229 ; ragaid do beo no do marb, ar in mac LL 66<sup>a</sup>34—Táin, is mo beo ragas . . . 7 is mo marb focbthar (ib) ; is a marb ricfad . . . nibad a beo LL 66<sup>b</sup>14, cf. LL 67<sup>b</sup>4.*

Cf. Wb *cid less ar mbéo et ar m-marb* Wb 6<sup>b</sup>20, but as adj. *dorochair marb*.

*otaám inarbiu Trip. Life 140, 11, 'since we have been alive,' ni accu si inna bíu ib. 168, 23.*

<sup>1</sup> In a poem immediately following one which tells of the death of Brian Boruma. The language of the poem is late.

<sup>2</sup> The possessive *a* 'its' probably fell out before a vowel as in Modern Irish.

<sup>3</sup> Notice *de* becoming *da* before *cech* as in Modern Irish *dá gach*.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers refer to the poems and stanzas respectively.

## § III. Exceptions :

I give here the following alternatives (a) to the use of the possessive pronoun in apposition, and (b) to the use of *ina*=as. It will of course be unnecessary to repeat the large number of instances of (a) in the case of numeral nouns, such as *cret dogena sinne in nonbar óclach so* (AS 689) which, I have already given under *Acallam na Senórach* § 104.

(a) *cia de as dilsiu doib for domun inda taedin* Maelmuru of Folhan (AD. 884), LL 133<sup>b</sup>8, 'which at all is the most proper for them, the two troops (Scots and Gaels).' *Luid Conchobar trí choicait laech impu sin* T. Ferbe 168, *erig-siu trí coicait cucu ib.* 130.

(b) : *ní bia mo mathair oc fognum 7 me mac<sup>1</sup> righ Herenn*—Eachtr. mac Eachach (§ 4 Ed. Stokes. B has *mo mac*) ; *int suil do roglaisi osse maeth-oclach gin locht Fraech* CZ III., 254 ; *na tuc colaind an pecthaigh forum os me duine naem craibdech* MD XXXIII, cf. *tu-sa 7 tu comarba Petair 7 cend na hecailsi . . . do slechtain* PH 586.

A different mode of expression is :

*conid in oenfhecht rángatar a thri gaibti rainti co talam uad* LL 72<sup>a</sup>36 (Táin), 'so that it was at the same time the three portions of him fell to the ground,' where *a thri gaibti* is subject.

*do : biid do anmaim na cathrach* Sg 104<sup>b</sup>5 ' (Samnis) is as the name of the city.' 7 *Benén do gillu leu* Trip. Life 46, 26, *roboi do cretraib leu ib* 14, 17, 'they held it as a relic.' *oc ool usci . . . do dig* SR 1893 ; *adcobrastar side in mnai .i. Ness do mnai do* LL 106<sup>a</sup>, *imm a beth ace do enmnai* LL 221<sup>b</sup>3 ; 7 *ingen Loeguirí leis do mnai* Trip. Life 168, 6, *Findabair do sen mná duit* YBL 35<sup>b</sup>16. *in lín robammar d' fíannaib* LL 207<sup>b</sup>50.

*di : ra thuisim claind airegda n-imdai dó di maccaib 7 d'ingenaiib* LL 226<sup>b</sup>44.

*etir . . . 7* = both and : *beti andsin na huli . . . eter pfecthachaib 7 fírenu* Sc L. Br. § 5 ; cf. with nouns *fir in tsithu etir righu ocus coemfíru ocum chuingid* Toch. Et. 120 ; *no-chuirfed in Troe fó gin gai 7 chlaidib etir fher 7 mnai* LL 220<sup>b</sup>36 : *marbad in tslóigh archena etir maccu 7 ingena* LL 230<sup>a</sup>10, 7 *sál chlaidib dar lucht na cathrach etir sen 7 óc* LL 230<sup>a</sup>7, *marbad in tslóigh archena etir maccu 7 ingena* LL 230<sup>a</sup>10, *ar diambetis etir biu 7 marbu Ulaíd in enbali* LL 109<sup>b</sup>3.

Copula<sup>2</sup> : A clear instance is *uair bá córu a bith combad aegairi*

<sup>1</sup> The B version has *me mo mac*.

<sup>2</sup> There are several instances of the copula, such as *bat ifernach* MD XXXIII, 'thou wilt be a dweller in hell,' which would in Mod. Ir. be expressed by the construction *is ifríonnach a bhéas ionnat*.

*cairech* Trip. Life 16, 29, 'for he should more fittingly be a shepherd'; cf. *tuc buille don torc gur macáomh óg* Duan. 17, 61. Where the pronoun was included in the copula form the instances are naturally very numerous, but a few typical examples must suffice:

*amal bed oen chloch calca uile* MDuin XI, *ranic dam iarom gursa coic innte* ib. XXXIII, *bassa droch coic* ib, etc.; *comtar comaltai optar noidin* LL, 278<sup>a</sup>, *rogo milid* SR 2701, *rogo felsam* 2702, *arnaptis táisig* Tog Tr. LL, 221<sup>b</sup>, *ond uair robam noide* PH 6105. Cf. further *co mbo óen smúit fhorloiscthe in macha uile* LL, 119<sup>a</sup>13, *fer atchichead ina chollad is e bad ri Dá Derga* II, *basa thóisech sa oro bá ir-richt setha* LU 16<sup>a</sup>14.

## REMARKS.

§ 112. In the above, I have endeavoured to arrange the material according to the separate stages of the development:

1. The use of the dative in apposition.
2. The use of the possessive pronoun with a noun (in dative) in apposition to a pronoun.
3. The development of *inna*.
4. The use of *in*, *ina* = 'as,' and (*b*) instances of the construction in question.

(1.) The use of the dative without the possessive, as, *isnini firíonaib*, is probably the oldest development, but as the construction with the possessive pronoun is also used in Wb, we have no satisfactory evidence of this. The use of the dative, in *dinni preceptorib*, would not be remarkable, but the instances of its occurrence with the nominative are sufficient. Such constructions as *notheigtis Ulaid dond óenuch, fiur, mnái, mac, ingin* would generally have *eter* (*etir*) in later Irish. Here it may be pointed out that the nominative, in this case, is a noun. In some of the archaic poetic language of the Old Ir. saga texts, the dative is often used without a preposition<sup>1</sup>, thus Usn. (Wi § 2) *bruidit (bruit) cluasaib cluinethar* (dat. instrum.) 'it crushes him who hears it with his ears,' *biat iarthur tromthoraib* 'they will be in the west with mighty multitudes' (?) For the latter instance *cona tromthoraib* or even *inna tromthoraib* might be used in later Irish. The phrase *biat iarthur tromthoraib* is very

<sup>1</sup> The sentence *is triana cin ata sund in tarbech sinte comlund* T. Ferbe 260 is hardly an instance, as *i* may have fallen out between *sinte* and *comlund*.



like the later construction. It only wants *in* plus the possessive pronoun.

Pedersen, CZ II, 380, adduces the instance *isé nobenfad a crand óenbémim di bun* LU 58<sup>b</sup>21, 'it is he who would cut the tree with one blow from the butt.' In this case *do* is used in later Irish—e.g., *Dubthach do marbad Mane . . . dond oenjorgam* (leg. *forgab*, 'a blow'). This is, however, an instrumental dative and never would give the construction in question, whilst the foregoing instance like *nanni adrochobursam firionaib* is a dative absolute or a dative of accompanying circumstances.

(2) The instances of the use of the possessive pronoun in O. Ir. with this dative absolute, if we may so term it, are largely confined to the numeral nouns *óinur*, *días*, *triur*, etc. Thus *bói a óinur*, 'he was "by himself" ' 'alone' in Modern Irish is often paraphrased *bhí sé leis fein* (= *bhí sé ina aonar*). Im. Máile Dúin has *a n-ocht feraib dec*, Mór Mumhan has *immos-tuarcát a ndíb cóicdaib*, etc. It is a remarkable fact that after a time in Mid. Ir. the possessive pronoun seems to be falling away from this construction, particularly in the larger numbers, and the dative is replaced by the nominative, e.g., *ro lensamar he seissiur óclach* AS, except in the case of *oenur* which develops *ina*. In the instance cited *seissiur* may be dative, but cf. n. *seissiur* 5027 ib.

§ 113. As regards the time of the appearance of *in* in this construction *ina oenur*—e.g., *dobi ac Cailti 'na aenor* Ac. Sen. 4042, (cf. 6741, etc.) there is not, as far as I have been able to determine, any trace of it in Old Irish, except the instance *messi am aenur* Mael Dúin XXX, which, in all probability, is to be attributed to the Mid. Ir. manuscript, YBL. Cf. also *á oenur* AU 901 (=902). Further, there is no instance of *ina oenur* in SR, though there are several instances of *a oenur*—e.g., *Enoc . . . a oenur o thuinn do thuinn* 2517, cf. *condechsam . . . ar ndís ib.* 1155, cf. 1242, 2786, etc. The instances of *oenur* in PH point to the form *ina oenur* as not having developed at the time the work was composed—probably in the second half of the 11th century. Hence, we cannot take *ina oenur* as helping in the development of *atá sé ina fher*, as there are several instances of the last mentioned type of phrase in the text of the Passions and Homilies.

§ 114. One might be inclined, at first sight, to take this construction *atá sé ina rígh* as a sort of predicative dative like the well-known constructions 'to be to his credit,' detriment (*honori*,



*detrimento esse*), but a consideration of its development does not show the explanation to be so simple.

I have given instances of the earliest appearances of what seems to be the origin of this phrase, beginning with the dative in apposition.

The phrase *ataam ar ndis i cuimriug* is however a different type from *atá sé ina fhear* and the latter cannot be immediately explained from the former without further proof. We have seen that O. Ir. had (1) a dative in apposition, and (2) before this dative a possessive pronoun. It now remains to be explained how *in-* got into the phrase under discussion.

§ 115. We had, in early Mid. Ir. and possibly even in O. Ir., the distributive use of *in-* with a possessive pronoun which more closely connected its noun with the foregoing noun which it describes—e.g., *folt forgarb forruad ina gibnib foa cend*—Toch. Emire, *conerracht in muir ina immairib* Tog. Troi, 'the sea arose in ridges.' Cf. (3) above for further instances. Side by side with this, we find a closely connected *in-*='as,' without the pronoun in *na ule doeni do essergi i fer forbthe*, 'that all human beings should arise **as** a perfect man.'<sup>1</sup> When we compare this latter with the foregoing it can be easily seen how a phrase *do essergi ina feraib forbthib* would be developed and from this the construction would spread to *bith (beth) ina feraib forbthib*, *bátar ina feraib forbthib*, etc. In like manner *do beth na mbrathirsi* SR 3056 would easily give rise to *cocrait 'na mbrathreib* 3131, 'they, the brothers, conspire,' and from this again *do beth 'na mbrathrib*. There were also phrases like *is and frith ina aenchruaich thuighthi isin les he*—Corm. Sword<sup>2</sup> 46, where it is not clear whether *in-* had its usual meaning of 'in' or not. A similar instance is *is amlaid frith ina crumaib iarnabarach e* Moling, p. 40. The meaning *in-*='for, as' is also very old; cf. *anmoin in anmoin* Toch. Em., 'a life for a life.'

An instance of *in-*, meaning 'as,' occurs in Wb 26<sup>a</sup>8 *gebtit<sup>3</sup> Iudei in apaid*, 'the Jews will receive him as a lord.' One is strongly tempted to compare this with a similar construction with a closely related verb *frith ina chruaich hé*. The transition from *frith* to *bói*, *atá* (cf. § 95, 96) would be very easy, and if we substitute *bói*, *atá*, etc., we have the other construction *bói ina apaid*. This assumed develop-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *in* in the meaning 'as.' I have given instances above, § 109.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Stokes, Ir. Texte III.

<sup>3</sup> We may also compare *gebeit im fiachu amal atá Da Derga* 61.

ment of *in*- 'as' to *ina* we have actually in SR 3561 *tuctha co neoch rostechtai 'na cimmidib cumrehtai*, 'they were brought<sup>1</sup> with that which they have (?) as fettered prisoners.'

§ 116. The gradual development of the phrase may be thus briefly summed up. The construction (*ina*) was not an accidental development. (1) There was already the ground for it in the old dative in apposition in sentences of the type *nanni adrocho-bursam firianaib*. (2) The possessive pronoun was introduced in order to connect more closely the word in apposition with a preceding pronoun or with the pronoun in the verb—e.g., *la n-and doib a n-ingenaib uilib Tochm. Et.* (Wi I. 131, 13) just as in *ibid ina dig . . . a l-lind Fl. Br.* (Wi I. 283, 25), etc. After a time, as in other positions also the use of a dative without a preposition was becoming obsolete, a preposition would here be sought out or taken over. (3) This preposition was already at hand in the closely related use of *in*='as'<sup>2</sup> of which I have given instances above. The preposition which replaced the old dative was not in every case *in*-. It was sometimes *do* which was regular for the old instrumental dative. For the sense of accompaniment *co* was used as *luid Niall co n-uatib AU 916, dorocht Medb co secht cêtaib láech le T. Ferbe 723*. The preposition *in* = 'as', itself became *ina* also on the analogy of a closely related *ina* in the sense of **distribution** as in the instances already quoted, *folt forgarb ina gibnib foa cend Toch. Em.* (CZ III, 247). There are instances where it is not quite clear whether *in* was used in its original sense or not, as *i mboi Mane . . . ina chro-partaig Toch. Ferbe*, and further ones like *7 al-lethe uachtaracha ina lócharnaib for lassad FA*, which help to merge the one construction into the other. When once the construction had developed for verbs of

<sup>1</sup> Leg. *nostehta* (?) Mid. Ir. It might be possible to translate 'they were brought with him who held them,' but this would do violence to the meaning of *techtain*.

<sup>2</sup> This use of *in*='as' is not confined to Irish. It is also common in the Romance languages—e.g., Ital. *il l' ha ricevuto in dono*, 'he has received it as a gift.' Cf. French *ils sont armés en chevaliers*, 'they are armed as knights,' *il a agi en preux*, 'he has acted as a valiant knight.' This usage in French is probably not very old; the last example would be in O. Fr. *il fist que preux*, cf. Roland 1209. The Welsh construction *yr oedd Arthur yn frenhin*, 'Arthur was a king,' is no parallel, as here *yn* is the dative of the article. Cf. the formation of adverbs in O. Ir.

motion, finding, bringing, etc., *táinic*, *frith*, *tucad*, (4) the use of *atá* for one of these verbs whose constructions it resembled in many respects<sup>1</sup> would be quite simple.

§ 117. The resulting phrase *robói 'na rí* was not inconsistent with the existing construction of *atá*. *Atá* was generally followed by a preposition or adverbial phrase and we have seen that, even in O. Ir., the forms of the substantive verb to express existence were supplemented by *and*, as *ataat alaaili interiecta* and Sg 10<sup>a</sup>1, etc. This is of course a separate construction, but it would help to spread the use of *in-* with *atá*. I may here mention the instance in Wb 6<sup>b</sup>6 *nách maith aní itáa*, 'that his state<sup>2</sup> (?) is not good,' instead of *nách maith amal rongab*<sup>3</sup> and from this it would seem as if the construction were starting from *atá* itself. A similar instance is Wb 17<sup>d</sup>24 *sech aní ittó*, 'beyond that which I am' for *sech aní nondixnigur-sa*, but cf. *ondi rondgab* Pcr. 53<sup>b</sup>1. But it is impossible to trace the development of the phrase in question to this source, as there are no instances of the fully developed form for two hundred years after the time of the Wb glosses.

§ 118. As regards the date of the development, the instances quoted above show that *ina* in apposition had developed by the time of SR, and LU *Táin*, though there is no instance of the full construction *atá sé ina fhear*. Moreover the frequent occurrences of the phrase with the substantive verb in its Mod. Ir. form, in the Passions and Homilies<sup>4</sup>, show that this latter form must have developed soon afterwards. Other early instances are *bái slicht in chalaíd co cnaim 'na fhalaig* [*i*]mán findlaim LL 49<sup>a</sup>35, and those quoted above from FA, etc.

Such occurrences, taken in connection with the condition of the development in SR, Tochmarc Ferbe and PH respectively, show that the phrase *robói 'na rí* developed in the first half of the 11th century, and from the beginning of that century onward. **The date of the development is more accurately fixed by the occurrences**

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above § 95, 96, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *is ferr a cháich itosa* SC § 28, 'my state is getting better and better.'

<sup>3</sup> Later *mar atá*.

<sup>4</sup> This text I have already attributed to the late 11th century. It has, however, the dat. pl. of adj. commonly without *-ib*. But this is probably to be largely attributed to the MS. Cf. the LBr. omission of *-ib* in Fís Ad. where LU has always the full d. pl. form.

in *Tochmarc Ferbe*<sup>1</sup> which cannot be later than the beginning of the 11th cent., and in *Fís Adamnáin* (in both LU and LBr.) a text which must, from other considerations, have been composed in the first quarter of the 11th century. Pedersen, CZ II, 380 translates Wb 24<sup>b21</sup> *ní robe cách réit inna dligud daratsidsi immurgu ar for foirbthetu* by "dies alles war keine Pflicht; Ihr habt es aber trotzdem wegen Eurer Vollkommenheit gegeben." Such an interpretation would practically put the date of the development in the 8th century, but the translation is not justified and should be as Stokes and Strachan have it, "all this was not as a due," or better 'in its due condition.' *Inna dligud* is the opposite of *assa dligud* which occurs in Wb 9<sup>d24</sup> *arna dich cách assa dligud*, 'lest every one should go out of his due state' (or 'duty').

The construction did not spread before the time of PH owing to the use of the copula forms which included the subject as *ba ri*, *bam ri*, etc. *Ba ri* became either *ba ri é* or *bói (sé) 'na righ*, in later Irish.

TOMÁS Ó MÁILLE

GALWAY

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 109, note 3, above.

## THE RULES OF ASSONANCE IN IRISH POETRY

**O**FTEN as the laws of Old- and Middle-Irish metrics have been investigated and expounded in mediaeval and modern times, there still remains a good deal to be discovered from the study of the poems themselves,<sup>1</sup> not only in matters of detail, but, as the following pages will show, with regard to essential and fundamental laws. It was only recently and by mere chance, as I was reading the Féilire of Oengus again, that there dawned upon me an important metrical law which seems to have escaped all modern investigators, while the compilers of the Middle-Irish tract on metrics and O'Molloy, though they must have been familiar with it, nowhere state it in so many words. It concerns the metrical phenomenon which has been variously termed assonance, consonance, or secondary rhyme, and, in Irish, *uaithne*.

Some of the general rules which distinguish assonance from full rhyme have been laid down by O'Molloy (p. 168) and formulated in a more scientific manner by Thurneysen,<sup>2</sup> while Strachan<sup>3</sup> ascertained more particularly the laws governing the assonance of final vowels. Their conclusions remain, but an essential addition has to be made, which may be briefly stated as follows: in every kind of assonance the vowels of the assinating words must agree in quantity. O'Molloy indeed seems to imply this when he defines assonance as follows (p. 168): 'Unio, vulgò *uaithne* est duarum conuenientia vocularum inter se, sicut dictum est de correspondentia, praeterquam quod non

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<sup>1</sup> 'Die Kenntniss der irischen Dichtkunst werden wir immer am besten aus den Gedichten selbst schöpfen,' Thurneysen, *Ir. T. III.*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ir. Texte III.*, p. 134 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Final Vowels in the Féilire Oengusso*, *Rev. Celt. XX.*, pp. 191-198, 295-305.



postulet vocales utrobique esse easdem,' &c. As his definition of 'correspondentia' or rhyme (p. 162) naturally includes agreement in quantity ('convenientia duarum vocalium in numero syllabarum et quantitate vocalium') it follows that this agreement also holds good in assonance.

It appears, however, that we have to distinguish two kinds of assonance, which I will call I. full assonance, and II. merely quantitative assonance.

I. Full assonance requires in addition to the well-known agreement of consonants and vowels in quality (palatal or non-palatal) that the vowels of the assonating word should be of the same quantity. This applies equally to monosyllables and disyllables. The following examples will illustrate the rule.

Félire Oengusso, Prol. 241 ff. :

Cía ronbeth do chingthecht  
cath fri demon détlæ,  
diar cobair—ard áge—  
maraid in Críst cétnæ.

Here it is not sufficient that the *-e* of *áge* should assonate with the *-æ* of the rhyme-words, it is essential also that the vowel of the root-syllable should be long.

ibid. Jan. 24 :

Dom anmain, dom chorpán  
rop múr ar cech merblén  
Babill, bruth óir forlán,  
cona thriür dedblén.

Here, the rhyme-words consisting of a short syllable followed by a long one, the assonating words show the same sequence of quantities.

If there is no agreement in quantity, even though the final vowels assonate, the lack of full assonance must be compensated by an internal rhyme in the fourth verse. This is the case e.g. in the opening stanza of the Prologue :

Sén, a Chríst, mo labrai,  
a Choimmdiu secht nime,  
domberthar búaid lére,  
a Rí gréne gile.

Here, though *lére* agrees in its final vowel with those of the rhyme-words, yet as it differs in the quantity of its root-syllable, the law of full assonance is violated, and accordingly we have internal rhyme with *gréne*. Stanzas of this kind are of course not frequent, but several such will be found under May 12, Aug. 27 (where read *dóë* and *róë*), Nov. 4, Epil. 305 and 425.

II. Merely quantitative assonance is identical with what O'Molloy calls *comharda briste* or 'broken rhyme' and defines thus (p. 165): 'Correspondentia fracta est duarum inter se vocum conuenientia in numero syllabarum et vocalium et *quantitate*, nulla habita ratione consonarum quoad speciem, vel genus, vel classem,' &c. But his examples are few and not well chosen as they all contain the same vowels. Better illustrations would be *bás : tír*, *búada : lére*, *dorigni : ainglech*, *dóaið : ligdath*.

When O'Molloy classes this kind of assonance with rhyme he does so because it may be substituted for it<sup>1</sup> and whole poems are composed in it<sup>2</sup>; but it seems preferable to regard it as a kind of assonance. For it is mainly employed in the final word of the first verse of all metres in which the couplets rhyme.

Example, Féil. Oeng., Jan. 2 :

Esodir in t-epscoþ,  
abb ecailse arddae,  
Manchéne án Airce,  
Scothíne mind Marggae.

Here *epscoþ* stands in merely quantitative assonance with the rhyme-words and consequently also with the last word of the third verse. When full assonance does not take place, the last word of the first verse may conform in quantity either to the rhyme-words or to the final word of the third verse. Examples of the former

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Féil. Sept. 8, merely quantitative assonance takes the place of rhyme — *terephít : martír* (sic leg.). The same words assonate in the poem on the Voyage of Maeldúin § 122, which is thus shown to have been composed after the Féilire. Again, under July 22 we have in place of rhyme, *dúnaid : Cúscraid*, and Epil. 231 *fíle : dorímiub*.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. O'Grady, Catalogue, p. 504.

practice will be found in Prol. I., 9, 157, 177, 237, 273, &c., of the latter Prol. 5<sup>1</sup>, 17 (leg. *dóaið*), 173, &c.

If however the first verse does not stand in quantitative assonance with the rhyme-word, the lack of such assonance is compensated by alliteration either (a) within the first verse, or, (b) more commonly, between the last word of the first and the first word of the second verse. Examples of (a) are to be found Prol. 1, Jan. 1, 5, 19, 31, &c., of the latter, Prol. 41, 65 (*lasrorta* : *co n-imbud*),<sup>2</sup> 89, 105, (*vígain* : *lasrort*), 137, 149, 153, 241, 253, 261, 277, 293, 309, 317, 325, 329. In (b) it is sufficient that alliteration should be merely for the eye—i.e., an unstressed word may alliterate with a stressed word, a licence of which there are many instances in the older rhythmical poetry, though always only, as here, between verse and verse, or stanza and stanza (*fidrad freccomail*). Examples of this practice will be found Prol. 49 (*oidid* : *asa*), 161 (*táam* : *ata*), 333 (*caiptel* : *cona*), Oct. 15 (*Maurórum* : *rocloss*), &c. In 117 alliteration between *Nerain* and *i n-airenuch* may be intended. In other cases compensatory alliteration seems to be confined to the second verse, as e.g. Sep. 3 :

Colmán Dromma Ferta

Lon-Garad grían álaib.

Similarly June 1, Oct. 20, Nov. 19, 20, Dec. 31, Epil. 77, 105, 209, 225, 237, 313, 341, 385.

In the following verses under Dec. 11 :

Damasus lam Šenóc

Mugnai túaith, mag lethan,

the *m* of *lam* (as it were *la M'Senóc*) seems to alliterate with *Mugnai*.

In some stanzas, it is true, I can discover no trace of any device to make up for the absence of merely quantitative assonance, as e.g., Prol. 85, 209, 265, 313, &c. ; Epil. 101, 109, 113, 197, 201, 325, 329, 337, 365, 393, 397, 437. In most of these cases we have

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *forosnai* (2 sg.) read *forosna* (3 sg.) according to the rule formulated by Thurneysen, Handbuch § 490 (small print). Similarly *conic* in the same stanza is of course not 2 sg. as stated in the glossarial index, but 3 sg. The use of the 2 sg. in such constructions would be Middle-Irish.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *epscoip* : *lasrort* (sic leg.), Oct. 22.

to do with proper names which, it is well known, admit of exceptional treatment in more than one way.

But with these exceptions the rules stated above are observed throughout the poem. The only other exceptions occur in that part of the Epilogue which Thurneysen long ago recognised as an insertion by another hand (R.C. VIII, p. 89). I agree with him in considering the stanzas from line 445 to 556 as spurious, and would add ll. 557-560 on account of the poor rhyme *áiliu : frisáiliur*. Then l. 561 will attach itself correctly to l. 444 with *fidrad freccomail* (*tan : talmain*).

There remain a few stanzas which are either corruptly handed down or which show that sometimes even good Oengus has nodded. This is the case e.g., with Epil. 124 ff.<sup>1</sup>

The metre called *rindard mór* may serve to illustrate these laws still further. The account given of this metre by Stokes in his edition of Gorman's Martyrology (p. xxx ff.) has to be largely modified, because assonance is not taken into consideration by him at all, though it plays such an important part in the metre. When Stokes speaks of assonance (p. xxxvi.) he means rhyme. The opening stanza may be printed thus :

For kalaind aird Enáir  
fo recht Ísu ergna  
octaua mar tharla,  
Da-Beóc beó, Brocán,  
5 Fainche chomlán chunnla,  
Ossén, Colmán cadla,  
Paragoda in glanraith,  
Fuilgeint, Almaich amra,  
Priscus beos co mbuidin  
10 dona cuirib calma.

Here *Enáir* stands in quantitative assonance with *Brocán*. The rhymes are *tharla*, *cadla*, *amra* and *calma*; the full assonance *ergna* (i.e. *eargna*) and *chunnla*. There being no full but merely quantitative assonance between *glanraith* and *buidin* and the rhyme-words, we have compensation by internal rhyme (*Almaich*, *cuirib*).

<sup>1</sup> But instead of *fo soas do chuibded* read *la soäs fo chuibded* and cp. *la soäs fo rédi*, Epil. 132.

But when the final word here has full assonance with the rhyme, then another word in these verses must stand in internal rhyme with some word in the next lines—e.g., Jan. 20 :

Sabaist cómdos calma,  
Crónán, Óengos urgna.

But, as there is full assonance between *calma* and *urgna* there is internal rhyme between *cómdos* and *Óengos*. Similarly Feb. 5 :

Liadnán léir nár' lochtach,  
Dubthach éim is Echtach.

Again, Feb. 6 :

féil Dura bháin b'laduill,  
Branduibh cháid is Choluimm.

Other examples will be found under Feb. 9 (*tuirmthir* : *cruimthir*), Feb. 11 (*án* : *bán*), 12 (*Lugaid* : *cubaid*), 13 (*raith* : *maith*), &c.<sup>1</sup>

These are the chief rules on which the rhymes and assonances of the various stanzas which vary from four to fourteen verses are based. In the latter (e.g., Dec. 23) we have no less than six rhymes, three quantitative assonances (*Colmán*, *anmín*, *glanbúaid*), four internal rhymes (*Luchair* : *duthain*, *érlam* : *gléglan*, *fesser* : *sesser*, *fortail* : *olcaib*), leaving only one verse without either rhyme or assonance (*Aeda*).

We have now obtained a valuable criterion enabling us to fix doubtful quantities as well as to discover and emend corrupt readings.

To begin with Féilire Oengusso. If Stokes had known the rule of quantitative assonance he would not in Epil. 195 have printed *ánae* instead of *anae* 'riches,' nor under Dec. 18 *ámm-sa* instead of *amm-sa*, as the former assonates with *cride* and *nime*, the latter with *mind-sa* and *frimm-sa*.

I will here put together all emendations which the application of our rules suggests.

Prol. 51, read *cróán* (= *fiām*, *riām*).

Jan. 1, read *remáin*<sup>2</sup> : *eráil* : *Endáir*.

Jan. 5, read *rongléä* : *Dub Réä*, and translate 'daughter of Dub Réä.'

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this kind of internal rhyme is found even when there is merely quantitative assonance, as e.g. Feb. 21, where we should read *dáig* (: *cáid*) = *dóig*.

<sup>2</sup> Dative of the verbal noun of \**remi-agim*.



Jan. 20, read *Mo-Écu* (: *nóebu, Óenu*), a pet form of the name *Féchin* (\**Mo-Fécu*).

Jan. 30, read *martír*, alliterating with *martrae*.

Feb. 8, read *écis*, alliterating with *án*.

March 2 and 22, read *dōē* (: *Lucilīae, Íae, bíae*).

March 3, read *remáin* : *Senáin*.

March 29, read *Báiti* or *Búiti* (: *féli*).

Apr. 5, read *cúla* (: *lére, Ére*).

Apr. 8, read *martír*, alliterating with *mór*.

Apr. 14, read *Tassach*, alliterating with *dobert*.<sup>1</sup>

Apr. 28, read *Crónán*, alliterating with *Cristofer*.

May 15, read *gelbain* : *dermair* (: *saidbir*).

June 7, read *martír*, alliterating with *mórgnīm*.

July 7, read *ríched*<sup>2</sup> (: *tóiden, Góidel*).

July 16, read *día, súabais* (: *-étis, Mammétis*).

July 21, read *martír*, alliterating with *mórais*.

Aug. 1, read *Mochábae* (: *brige, míle*).

Aug. 2, read *bóid-sin, móith-sin* (: *búaid-sin*), where *bóid* means 'fond' and *móith* 'gentle.' Stokes' *baid* is a vox nihili.

Aug. 4, read *dóche*,<sup>3</sup> *Óche*<sup>4</sup> (: *rigdae*).

Aug. 17, read *martír*, alliterating with *mírbuil*.

Aug. 19, read *síthbe* (: *bláthe, ráthe*).

Aug. 26, read *martír* (: *coméir, drobéil*).

Sept. 4, instead of *étail* read *attáil* with *R*<sup>1</sup> (: *beccáin, maccáin*), acc. sg. of *attál* f. (\**ath-dál*).

Sept. 6, read *tercphít* : *martír*.

Sept. 17, read *túirme* (: *blíadnae, riaglae*), 1 pl. rel. pres. ind. of *túirim* 'I search.'

Sept. 20, read *Daróma* (: *dála, snáda*).

Oct. 1, read *Lúcáis*, alliterating with *lith*.

Oct. 2, read *martír*, alliterating with *armuinter*.

Oct. 17, read *martír*, alliterating with *mór*.

<sup>1</sup> The alliteration between *t* and *d*—permissible only between verses and stanzas—dates from a time when unstressed *to-* had not yet become *do-*. On this analogy *g* may alliterate with *c*.

<sup>2</sup> This word seems early to have become obsolete and is often changed by the scribes into *rigthech*.

<sup>3</sup> Abstract noun of *dóich*, which, *pace* Pedersen, has nothing whatever to do with *toich*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Luigid mac Óche (=Molua), CZ. VIII., p. 315, 13.

Oct. 26, read *cōair* (: *sntāim*, *īair*).

Oct. 28, read *Simón* (: *dímór*).

Nov. 1, read *Crónán*, alliterating with *Colmán* and *cléir*.

Nov. 19, read *díllacht* (: *mélacht*, *gérat*).

Nov. 24, read *liäcc* (: *tuirinn*).

Dec. 26, read *dígdi* (: *áni*, *míli*).

Epil. 1, read *ro<sup>1</sup>ersam*, alliteration with *araili* being required.

Epil. 6, read *remáin*, 7 *eráin*, 8 *Endáir*.

Epil. 83, read *aille* (: *lindi*, *rindi*), gen. pl. of *aille* f., and render 'there are in it many noble hymns of praise.' The gloss too has *i. molad*.

ib. 193, read *etlae* (: *cride*, *anae*).

ib. 165, read *dia ráithsium*, 'in his stead, on his behalf.'

Epil. 281, read *dermar*, alliterating with *dedenach*.

Epil. 323, read *áltu* (: *röenu*, *tóebu*), acc. pl. of *álad* m. 'a wound.'<sup>1</sup>

The laws of assonance also throw light on the pronunciation of Latin names. Thus we have to read *Mágnus*, Feb. 4 and Aug. 19; *Theodótam*, Sept. 2; *Senóti*, Sept. 7; *Eusébi*, Sept. 25, Oct. 4, 22 &c.; *Séuir*, Oct. 24; *Herácli* Dec. 3; *Ambrósi* Epil. 137; *Hironími*, Epil. 139.

In conclusion I add a few examples from various poems in which the laws of assonance point out the correct reading. Thus in the

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity of adding some further corrections of the text and translation in Stokes' edition. Prol. 240, for *slébe* read *sléte* in order to have rhyme with *colléce*. ib. 241, read *do chingthecht*. ib. 287, read *sluindfem-ni cen loithi* 'we will declare without stammering.' ib. 299, read *cen loithi*. ib. 316, read *it dallchéilliu dóinib* 'thou art the most dull-witted of men.' Stokes always to the detriment of the meaning renders this construction by a comparative. We find the Irish idiom even in Hiberno-Latin, e.g., 'et ipsa est illustrior Laginiensibus pars' = *illustrissima pars Laginiensium* (i.e., of Leinster), Betha Moling, p. 58. Jan. 6, for *co a rig* read *co rig*. *co a* would scan as two syllables. Feb. 4, for *Etchen* read *Etchén*. Feb. 16, translate 'vomiting the tidings of his wickedness the Devil suffered yoking,' *sceith* being a verbal noun. March 14, translate 'they loved communion with Christ'; ib. 21, transl. 'To the world—it was many a victory—Benedict was a stout pillar'; ib. 30, read *Lind*. The reference is to Colmán Linde Uachaille. Apr. 10, read *cóem tar folaid*, cp. *cóem tar díli*, Epil. 66, and translate 'beloved beyond wealth.' May 2, read *Nechtain*; ib. 15, read *Sáran*; ib. 29, in the translation, read 'Cumman.' Sept. 10 translate 'over the blastful sea'; Nov. 24, transl. 'Colmán of the ink of holly.' Epil. 6, transl. 'we have enumerated them in the fore-front, so that we have hit (=reached) the van' (i.e., Christ); i.e., 'we have arrived again at the first of January,' ib. 81, read *suid*.

# THE RULES OF ASSONANCE IN IRISH POETRY 111

metrical Rule of Ailbe, printed in *ÉRIU* III., p. 96 ff., we should emend *for duine* in § 4 into *for dóini*, and *dergnech* in § 7 into *dérgnech*. In a poem printed in *Otia Merseiana* II., p. 87, *ráthach* (: *frithach*) and not *rathach* is the correct reading, which is found in another copy in *Cóir Anmann* § 118. In O'Grady's Catalogue, p. 488, l. 10, for *déise* read *deise* (gen. of *días*). In *Archiv* III., p. 237 § 31 read *mar tād* (= *tát*) and *fāt* (: *brēg, rōd*). *Ib.*, p. 306, § 7, read *ēisc* and *rēisc* (: *cāsc, trīst, Crīst*). In *Betha Moling*, p. 16, 10, read *dar slúag sáthe*.

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## FOUR RELIGIOUS POEMS

### I.

#### BLESSING THE ROAD BEFORE A JOURNEY.<sup>1</sup>

THE following Middle-Irish poem, perhaps composed by Mael-Ísu Ua Brolcháin, was first printed by me in the *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, Vol. III, p. 221. I here reprint it in normalised spelling and add a translation.

- 1 Rop soraid in sét-sa,      rop sét lessa im lámaib,  
Crist credal fri demnaib,      fri armaib, fri áraib !
- 2 Ísu ocus Athair,      Spirut Nóeb dar nóebad,  
Día díamair nách dorchá,      Rí sorchá dar sóerad !
- 3 Cross cuirp Christ is Muire      dar coimét for conair,<sup>3</sup>  
dúinne ná rab dóinmech,      rop sóinmech, rop soraid ! R.

1 *May this journey be expeditious,<sup>2</sup> may it be a journey of profit in my hands ! Holy Christ against demons, against weapons, against slaughters !*

2 *May Jesus and the Father, may the Holy Ghost sanctify us ! May mysterious God that is not hidden in darkness, may the bright King save us !*

3 *May the cross of Christ's body and Mary guard us on the road ! May it not be unlucky for us ! may it be prosperous, expeditious !*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Life of Maedoc, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, literally 'May this road be smooth' (\*so-réid, W. *hyrwydd*).

<sup>3</sup> The MS. has *ar chonair*. Perhaps *ar chonaib* 'against wolves' is the right reading.

## II.

## A PRAYER FOR TEARS.

This poem also has already been printed in *Archiv* Vol. III, p. 222. As the dat. sg. *cride* rhyming with *nige* (§ 4) and other peculiarities show, it belongs to the Middle-Irish period. Perhaps Máel-Ísu is the author. I have normalised the spelling.

- 1 Tuc dam, a Dé móir, for bith ché, ní chél,  
ar píana na plág tonna díana dér.
- 2 Domroiched for rith soithech, ná rop saich,  
co roich m' áenur moch ar cach mbáegul mbraith.
- 3 Uchán, a Chríst cháid, cen sruthán dom grúaid,  
feib tucais in linn don banscáil thimm thrúaig.
- 4 Uchán ar cach n-alt cen sruthán arm ucht,  
cu rob nige innocht dom chride is, dom churp.
- 5 Ar cach senóir sruith forfácaib a thoich,  
ar do ríge réil, ar do chéim ar croich.
- 6 Ar cach óen rochí a chin ar bith ché,  
mo chlóine, a Dé bí, co rochóine mé.
- 7 Ar do maith co mór, ar do flaith cen lén,  
co hopunn, co húain tuc dam topur dér.
- 8 A mo dile, a Dé, im chride do chrú  
déra dam, a Dé, cíá dobéra acht tú ?

1 Give me, O great God in this world—I will not hide it—against the pains of the torments swift showers of tears !

2 May there come to me a vessel quickly—may it not be bad ! that it may reach me betimes against every treacherous danger.

3 Alas, O holy Christ, that not a streamlet should come to my cheek as Thou gavest a flood of tears to the weak wretched woman.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Mary Magdalen.



4 *Alas for every joint that not a streamlet should come over my breast, that it may be a cleansing to my heart and to my body this night.*

5 *For the sake of each venerable elder that has forsaken his home, for Thy glorious Kingdom's sake, for the sake of Thy going upon the cross !*

6 *For the sake of each one that has wept for his sin in this world, let me bewail, O living God, my wickedness !*

7 *For the sake of Thy great goodness, for Thy Kingship without sorrow, speedily, opportunely, grant me a fountain of tears !*

8 *O my love, O God, who shall bring tears, O God, into my clogged heart but Thou ?*

### III.

#### A PRAYER TO CHRIST FOR HELP.

This late Old-Irish or early Middle-Irish poem, copies of which are found in the libraries of Trinity College (H.I. II, p. 155a) and of the British Museum (Additional 30,512, fo. 44a2), has not been printed or translated before.

- 1 A Chríst cobra, tair chucum, rim rocongba<sup>1</sup> co hopunn !  
a Ísu inmain inmain, tordacht cach<sup>2</sup> inbaid ocunn !
- 2 A Choimsid báid<sup>3</sup> co mbúadaib, co slúagaib soillsib slánaib,  
ná rabur<sup>4</sup> sel i slabraib aithnim m'anmain it lámaib.<sup>5</sup>
- 3 Iar techt óm cholainn chubaid, a Dé molaim cen mebail,  
nímrelge i<sup>6</sup> crích mo sáegail i<sup>6</sup> n-ingnib dáeraib demain !
- 4 Ar do nóime, a Chríst chredlaig, déna bóide ar<sup>7</sup> do bidbaid,  
dingaib díim cach n-olc n-angbaid, art<sup>8</sup> chorp, ar<sup>9</sup> th'anmain  
inmain !

<sup>1</sup> rium roncongba MSS.

<sup>2</sup> can H., cā A.

<sup>3</sup> coimsigh baigh MSS.

<sup>4</sup> rabair H., rabar A.

<sup>5</sup> psalmaib MSS.

<sup>6</sup> a MSS.

<sup>7</sup> er MSS.

<sup>8</sup> ar do MSS.

<sup>9</sup> air H.

5 Ar fuil, ar féoil romchomga,<sup>10</sup> ar Eóin, ar Muire molbda,  
ar do dóenacht cen duilge, a Chríst cuibre romchobra<sup>11</sup> !

6 In sét<sup>12</sup> atá form' aire, menbad hét, menbad bine,  
soirthig, a flaith síl Ádaim, a Chríst co ngrádaib nime !

7 Nírba fota do bliadnaib<sup>13</sup> co romthócba<sup>14</sup> cot nóebaib,  
conamthí techt do nemdaib dom brith<sup>15</sup> ó demnaib dóeraib.

8 Inní ráidim rit reime notáilim, a maic Muire,  
fot gairte beo for conair bí 'com chobair, a chride !  
A cr.

1 O *helpful Christ, come to me ! stand by me quickly ! O dear, dear Jesu . . .* <sup>16</sup> *every time with us !*

2 O *fond Lord with triumphs, with shining perfect hosts, lest I be for awhile in straights I commit my soul into Thy hands.*

3 *When I have parted from this harmonious body, O God whom I praise without deceit, leave me not at the end of my life in the villainous claws of the Devil !*

4 *For the sake of Thy holiness, O holy Christ, be kind to him who has sinned against thee ! Keep every wicked wrong off me, for the sake of Thy body, for Thy dear soul !*

5 *For the blood, for the flesh that protected me, for John, for Mary, the lauded, for Thy humanity without harshness, O helpful<sup>17</sup> Christ, help me !*

6 *Make smooth the road upon which I am intent, unless it be folly, unless it be harm, O Prince of Adam's race, O Christ with the orders of Heaven !*

7 *Let it not be many years<sup>18</sup> till Thou lift me up with Thy saints, till I come to enter the heavenly abode after being snatched away from vile demons.*

8 *What I have been saying to Thee before, I pray Thee, Son of Mary,—whether I be long or short upon the road, be there to help me, O heart !*

<sup>10</sup>romcomda MSS.

<sup>11</sup>romcobra A., rombrach H.

<sup>12</sup>s. MSS.

<sup>13</sup>bli—aib MSS.

<sup>14</sup>romtocba MSS.

<sup>15</sup>br— MSS.

<sup>16</sup>Both MSS. have *tordacht* which is quite obscure to me and may be corrupt.

<sup>17</sup>I take *cuibre* to be a palatal byform of *cobra*.

<sup>18</sup>Literally 'May I not be long of years.'

## IV.

## THREE WISHES.

The following undoubtedly Old-Irish poem has been preserved by Michael O'Clery in the Stowe MS. B.IV2, fo. 150a, and by Hugh O'Daly, the scribe of MS. H.I. 11 (Trin. Coll.), where it will be found on fo. 151a.

- 1 Mo theora ucse<sup>1</sup> forsin Ríg<sup>2</sup> in tan noscairiub<sup>3</sup> frim chrí :<sup>4</sup>  
nímraib dorat i coibsi<sup>5</sup>, nímraib náma,<sup>6</sup> nímraib ní.
- 2 Mo theora ucse<sup>7</sup> indiu for Ríg<sup>8</sup> fallnathar<sup>9</sup> gríana :  
nímraib orddan ná feba<sup>10</sup> nodombera i píana.
- 3 Ní dern<sup>11</sup> sáithar<sup>12</sup> cen fochraic<sup>13</sup> fiad Chríst in domain chía ;  
in tan bes<sup>14</sup> glainiu<sup>15</sup> m'aním, rop and dosucca<sup>16</sup> Día ;  
nírba<sup>17</sup> cintach armothá<sup>18</sup> in tan<sup>19</sup> dobretha<sup>20</sup> mo theora.

M. t. u.

1 *Three wishes<sup>21</sup> I ask of the King<sup>22</sup> when I shall part from my body : may I have nothing to confess, may I have no enemy, may I not own anything !*

2 *Three wishes I ask this day of the King who ruleth suns : may I have no dignity or honours that may bring me into torments !*

3 *May I do no work without reward before the Christ of this world ! When my soul is purest then may God take it ! Lastly,<sup>23</sup> may I not be guilty when my three wishes have been uttered !*

Berlin

KUNO MEYER

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<sup>1</sup> téora ucsi B., theorai ucsi H. <sup>2</sup> ri B. <sup>3</sup> indtan noscarud H. <sup>4</sup> fom cri B.  
<sup>5</sup> dorath icobcosiu H. coibsiu B. <sup>6</sup> niraib namai H. <sup>7</sup> ucsi BH. <sup>8</sup> ri B.  
<sup>9</sup> fallatar H. <sup>10</sup> na febai H., ra feba B. <sup>11</sup> dernd H., derd B. <sup>12</sup> saothor BH.  
<sup>13</sup> fochroig B. <sup>14</sup> bus BH. <sup>15</sup> glaine B., glan H. <sup>16</sup> rusfuccæ B., dosfuca H.  
<sup>17</sup> nirbo BH. <sup>18</sup> airmotha H. <sup>19</sup> indtan H. <sup>20</sup> dobreta B dobreth H. <sup>21</sup> ucse, from  
\*ud-gustio-. <sup>22</sup> The first and last verses of this poem have each eight syllables;  
read perhaps for Ríg, and tan instead of in tan. <sup>23</sup> armothá=O.Ir. iarmithá.  
Cf. armthá, Betha Colmáin meic Lúacháin, p. 80, 32.

## THE PEDIGREE OF PATRICK

AT the commencement of the Fourth Life of Patrick, the extant MS. of which was written in the XIIth century, we are informed that—"Quidam sanctum Patricium ex Iudæis dicunt originem duxisse." We find a similar statement in the Book of Leinster: *Domaccaib Israhel immorro cofir do Patraic, i.e.*, 'Patrick, however, was verily of the sons of Israel.' Dr. J. H. Todd characterised this belief as absurd, and attributed its origin to a passage at the beginning of the 'Confessio,' wherein Patrick speaks of his companions and kinsfolk as having been scattered abroad, even as the Israelites were. This, however, is not sufficient to explain the assertion. We find just the same remark made about the Britons of the Vth and VIth centuries, in Pseudo-Gildas, and in Geoffrey of Monmouth. In those unquiet times the use of verse 11 of Psalm XLIV, viz., *dedisti nos tamquam oves escarum et in gentibus dispersisti nos*, must have been too general, and too frequent, for it to have had any ethnic significance.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to show that the idea of Patrick's Jewish descent arose from an earlier notion that he was a Jute, or at least connected in some way with the people called Jutes.

In his 'Confessio' St. Patrick traces his pedigree up to his great-grandfather Odissus. While Secundinus and Fiacc in their hymns confine themselves to mentioning the names of the three immediate ancestors as given by Patrick himself, three other native sources at least pretend to give a pedigree far beyond Odissus. They are the following:

### A. The Irish *Liber Hymnorum*:

- 1.—in a MS. of Trin. Coll., Dublin; *scr. ca.* 1100;
- 2.—in a MS. of the Franciscan Monastery, Dublin; *scr. sæcl.* XII.

B. A poem attributed to Flann Mainistrech (+1056), printed in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' ed. O'Donovan, 1851, p. 130.

C. The 'Homily of St. Patrick' in the *Lebor Brecc*, *scr. sæc.* XV.

The pedigrees preserved in these sources contain 13, 14 and 16 names, respectively, which fall into five well-defined groups. The

statements in group *a* tally with those made in the 'Confessio.' The other groups are legendary, obscure, and misunderstood. I append a Table for purposes of comparison.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
<i>Lib. Hymn.</i>	<i>Flann</i>	<i>Homily</i>
Calpuirnd	Calprainn	Calpruind 1
Potide	Fotaide	Otide 2
Odissi	Deisse	Ōdissi 3
Gornaiaid	Cormuic mhóir	Gorníuth 4
<i>om.</i>	Leibriuth	Lubeniuth 5
Merc*uid	<i>om.</i>	Mercuit 6
<i>a</i> Ota	Ota	<i>a</i> Otta 7
<i>c</i> Oric	Orric	<i>c</i> Oricc 8
<i>b</i> Muric	Moiric	<i>b</i> Muric IX.
Leo	Leo	Leo X.
Maxim	Maximi	Maxim XI.
Hencreti	Encretta	Ecreti 9
<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	Eresi 10
<i>om.</i>	Pilist	Felesti 11
Fe(rin)i	Fereni	Ferine 12
Britti	Brittain	Britti 13

GROUP *c*.

A glance at the names under *B* will shew that Flann omitted one name; he then wrote *Ota*, *Orric*; then three other names; and at length *Encretta*. Flann, or his authority, may have omitted the name of Ota's son because the MS. on which he relied was here illegible. In *C* we get *Mercuit*. The scribe of *A* thought he had read the name, all but one letter which he omitted, and his copy yields *Merc\*uid*. The same letter was omitted in *C*. Now this particular name is the crux of the compilation.

The crucial name is actually *Ermenric*, and group *C* gives the descent of the king of the Jutes of Kent in the middle of the VIth century, from *Hencretus* the son of *Eresus*. These forms cannot be paralleled in Old-English documents, but the identity of the prince referred to is quite easy to determine.

The Venerable Bede gives the descent of Ethelbert, King of Kent (+614), as follows ('Hist. Eccl.' V. v., p. 90):—

"Erat autem Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa, cuius pater Oeric, cognomento Oisc . . . cuius pater Hengist qui cum filio suo Oisc inuitatus a Uurtigerno Brittaniam primus intrauit."



7. *Otta C, Ota B.* Bede wrote "Octa," where *c* stands for Old-English *h*. In Nennius we get "Ochta." "Ohta," the correct spelling, is the shortened form of some such name as Oht-ric, Oht-here, Oht-mund.

8. *Orric B.* Bede wrote "Oeric." In *A* and *C* *Muric, Moiric* is made father of *Ota, Otta*, and then *Oric* appears. Flann has kept the true order of father and son here.

9. *Ecretus, Encretta, Hencretus* represent hencert, in which *r* misrepresents *s*. "Hencret," then, is a copyist's error for *hencest*, i.e., Hengest. Bede gives "Irminric, Hengist"; Nennius has "Eormenric, Hengist"; whereas the original MS. of the Pedigree of Patrick yielded the later forms Ermenric and Hengest.

10. Hengest, the great-grandfather of Ermenric, was a Jute. But the word "Ēotena" (a gen. pl., = of the Ēotas, or Jutes) is applied to both Danes and Frisians; cf. Moritz Heyne, 'Beowulf,' ed. 4, 1879, *Glossar*, p. 163. Finn, the son of Folcwalda, was king over both Frisians and Jutes; *ibid.*, p. 121. Moreover, according to Procopius (+565) the race of the "Phrissones" was one of three very numerous nations who possessed an island called Brittia. The two other nations were "Brittones" and "Angili"; v. 'De Bello Gothico,' IV.xx. In Bede's History (IV. xx., p. 251), "Fresus" is a Frisian, and the nation is named either "gens Fresonum" (III. xiii., p. 152; V. xi., p. 302), or "Fresones" (V. ix., p. 296). In the 'Historia Brittonum,' we may read (cap. xxxviii., p. 179): "Et dixit Hengistus ad Guorthigirnum . . . 'inuitabo filium meum cum fratruele suo . . . et da illis regiones quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum qui uocatur Guaul' . . . et inuitauit Octham et Ebissam cum xl. ciulis . . . et uenerunt et occupauerunt regiones plurimas usque ad [sic Zimmer; *ultra libri*] mare Fresicum."

As "Eresus" is meaningless applied to Hengist; and *F* and *E* occasionally collide; and as *Fresus* might well be applied to the prince of the Jutes, I would emend the word in the pedigree to *Fresi*.

The meaning, then, of "Merc\*uit filius Otta f. Orric f. Hencreti f. Eresi" is—Ermenric f. Octa f. Oeric f. Hengest the Frisian; and the primary source of the Jutish pedigree in the Patrician documents we are considering was the 'Hist. Eccl.' of the Venerable Bede.

## GROUP c.

*ix. Moiric ; x. Leo ; xi. Maximus.*

The three Cymric names in the Jutish section are obviously intrusive. I cannot detect any connexion between them and Patrick. They appear to have been crowded in beside the column of Jutish names, in the first place, and subsequently incorporated.

## GROUP d.

*11. Pilist, Felesti ; 12. Fereni ; 13. Britti.*

The collision of *st* and *d* is pretty frequent in MSS. of the XIth and XIIth centuries. The forms given above stand for *Piledi*, *i.e.* Palladius the Deacon. In a gloss partly written in Latin to line 12 of Fiac's Hymn Palladius is named "Piledius," ('Tripartite Life,' p. 418). In another gloss which is wholly in Irish he is called "Pledius." So, likewise, in the Irish 'Nennius'; ed. Todd, p. 106.

*12. Fe(rin)i, Fereni, Ferine.* Fereni, or Ferinus, the son of Brittus, can only represent Merini. This is an infected form of Morini which appears in old Welsh as "Marini," in the epithet applied to Llyr Marini, the father of Caradawc Vreichvras: *v.* 'Llyvyr Gwyn Rhydderch,' Peniarth MS. No. 12, *scr. ca.* 1300. "Ferinus f. Britti" appears to represent the phrase "Morini Brython" or "Marini Brython" of the 'Red Book of Hergest,' ed. Skene, 'Four Ancient Bks. of Wales,' 1868, ii. 108, 301, 303. This is a composite folk-name like Angul-Saxon, Suevi-Angili, Winil-Géat, etc.

The meaning of the words *Pilist f. Ferini f. Britti* is that Palladius the Deacon was of the race of the Morini Brython, *i.e.*, the Morini of the Britannias. Palladius's selection by the Pope on the death of Ninian argues some particular fitness on his part, and it is possible that the note about his nationality preserved in the Pedigree of Patrick is trustworthy.

## GROUP b.

*(4) Gorniuth f. (5) Lubeniuth.*

The five minims in the second word are wrongly distributed: we must read *lubeinuth*. The word is Cymric and *uth* equals *ydd* in land-names such as *Meirion-ydd*, 'the region of Meirion.' It is possible that the second *u* is a misreading of *y*. The first *u* was certainly long and \**lūbeinyth* is intermediate between \**lēbōn-id* (or \**glēbōn-id*) and the modern Welsh *Llwyfeinydd*.

I have not succeeded in identifying Gorniuth, which evidently contains the Cymric prefix *gor-*, with any known proper name.

London

ALFRED ANSCOMBE

## THE MARCH ROLL OF THE MEN OF LEINSTER

THE poem here printed for the first time has been preserved in a single copy only in MS. Rawlinson B 502, p. 83b. Its chief interest is historical, as it gives a detailed account of the disposition of the Leinster forces in case of war with the neighbouring tribes and with the Norse invaders, here called *geinti* and *echtrainn*. I would assign the poem, which is anonymous, to the early tenth century. The language is sufficiently Old-Irish not to put it later. Notice e.g. the gen. pl. *blíadna* (: *tríamna*) 13, the relative verb-forms *regdai* 5 (O.Ir. \**regte*), *segta* 11, and the reduplicated future sg. 3 *con-das-cichi* 6. For *nocho beo* 8 we should restore *nicon beo*, with which compare *nicon chloor* 'let me not hear, I hope not to hear,' Wb. 23b41. The metre of the poem is *sétnad mór*, as to which see Thurneysen, Ir. Texte III., p. 156, or my Primer of Irish Metrics, § 53.

- 1 Dia ngaba apgitir Lágen,      bad léir nosaisnēidfe dōib :  
nertaiget fri flatha fōited,<sup>1</sup>      certaiget in cōiced cóir.
- 2 Athiget a n-armu deimni<sup>2</sup>      co mbat seirgi<sup>3</sup> fri cach rēim,  
do<sup>4</sup> chathrōe fri Connacht cubaid,      fri Mumain, fri sīl nār Nēill.
- 3 Mad hī Desmumu dosroö      ōthā Tuind Clidna co Cliu,  
is la hUib<sup>5</sup> Ceinselaich cētaig      crūadc[h]ongbāil a n-ētain friu.
- 4 Mad hī Tūathmumo dosfera,      nī ferr tēit in dam<sup>6</sup> nā<sup>7</sup> thicc,  
fri hOssairgi sin co fessaid      co frosaidbli<sup>8</sup> Bresail Bricc.
- 5 Mad hīat Connachta dosfera,      nī dlegat a ndola i mbiu,  
Læches, Commaind, Failgi, Bairchi, at hē regdai a n-airbri<sup>9</sup> friu.

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<sup>1</sup> *foeded* MS. The word rhymes with *coiced*.      <sup>2</sup> *deimne* MS.      <sup>3</sup> *seirge* MS.      <sup>4</sup> *dī* MS. Cf. *don chathrō* § 12.      <sup>5</sup> leg. *hU*.      <sup>6</sup> A punctum delens over *d* ? an leg. *am*, or *dām* ?      <sup>7</sup> The compendium for *ar* or *quam*, Ir. *nā*.  
<sup>8</sup> *frosaidble* MS. Rhyme with *Ossairgi*.      <sup>9</sup> *airbre* MS. Rhyme with *Bairchi*.

- 6 In tan atāgamar anrecht   ō chlaind chruthglain Colmāin Mōir,  
atraig Brētach Maighe Līphi   condas-cichi<sup>10</sup> srōin fri srōin.
- 7 Clanna Conaill ocus Eogain   a hAiliuch Nēit, nīsgeib ceas,  
fortūatha Laigen Fir Chūalann   congbat āg rūadarm fria cnes.
- 8 Nocho beo fri foimtein Ulad   a hollchūiciud Branduib bil,  
nī thargat do thrut frim choimniu   cēin bes in Coimdiu for nim.
- 9 Nī thabrainm ēisleis na ngeinti   dar glas[sa] in mara mōir,  
dia tīsat co hāt[h] nō hairer,   tēit cāch ar a chlaideb dōib.
- 10 Dianostora forlunn echtrann,   comrainnet a slūag hī trī,  
a trīan im chlaind Condlai cothaich,   rīam nīrbat opthaich im nī.  
[slūaig,
- 11 A dā trīan im chlannaib Luigdech,   ō Gabrān sair segta a  
ma contōiet fri fīr flatha,   clōiēt na catha co crūaid.  
[gleo,
- 12 Cengat cen chomfoirbb don chathrōi,   comēirget huili don  
do chosnam in chōicid chathaig.   forfācaib a n-athair leo.
- 13 Dia ngaba aipgitir Lagen   hūas iath Banba, breō do rath,  
nī bīat cen chath nō cen trīamna   ō chind na secht mblīadna  
[immach.
- 14 Lagin ō Étur co hInneōin,   co Femen fuind na dā dam,  
cosin coirthe<sup>11</sup> fil i nhUisniuch,   nī coibche tuislid rosgab.<sup>12</sup>  
[Dian.

<sup>10</sup> *ciche* MS. Rhyme with *Līphi*<sup>11</sup> *coirthe* MS.<sup>12</sup> *coibchi* MS.

## TRANSLATION

1 If you recite the 'alphabet' of the men of Leinster, set it studiously forth to them! Let them strengthen the fair province at the bidding<sup>1</sup> of the chief, let them set it right!

2 Let them take to their never-failing weapons that they may be ready for every attack,<sup>2</sup> for a battle-rout against united Connaught, against Munster, against the noble race of Niall.

3 If it be Munster that comes upon them<sup>3</sup> from Clidna's wave to Clú, it behoves the descendants of hundreded Censelach to confront them fiercely.<sup>4</sup>

4 If it be Thomond that assails them, . . . .,<sup>5</sup> know that it concerns the men of Ossory with the mighty onset<sup>6</sup> of Bresal Brecc.

5 If it be the men of Connaught that assail them, they must not be suffered to depart alive: Leix, Comainn, Offaly, Bairche,<sup>7</sup> 'tis they that shall go in their bands against them..

6 When we fear wrong from the fair-shaped race of Colmán Mór,<sup>8</sup> the Brétach<sup>9</sup> of Liffey's plain arises so that he sees them nose to nose.

7 As for the children of Conall and Eogan from Ailech Néit—no weariness holds them,—let the *fortúatha* of Leinster,<sup>10</sup> the men of Cualu, raise a red-weaponed fight against them.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *foited* v.n. of *foitim* 'I send,' derived from *foit* 'a sending,' ML 3426. The plural occurs in Togail Troi l. 529: *ó rasiachtatar fessa 7 foiti cucu*.

<sup>2</sup> nom. pl. of *serig*, glossed by *luath* 'swift' (LL 10b15) or by *láidir* 'strong' (O'Cl.). Other examples of the word will be found in LL 154a22, 184b51, SR 4758, 5356, 5655, and in Laud 615, p. 133: *fer serbh serigh sraigleoir*.

<sup>3</sup> *dosroö*=*dosroä*, 3 sg. fut. of *dorochim* (*do-ro-sagim*) used as subjunctive. Cf. *co roä*, SR 1368, 8108, *nä roä* 6371, *donruä* TBC 3331 Wi.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'fiercely to raise their foreheads against them.' As to the use of the singular *étain* see my note on 'na láim na maccédm in Betha Colmáin, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> I can make nothing of this verse.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, 'with a vastness of showers (of spears).'

<sup>7</sup> As to these tribes see Hogan, Onomasticon.

<sup>8</sup> See ib. s.v. Clann Cholmáin Móir.

<sup>9</sup> The MS. has *breta* with a stroke over *a* which the scribe often employs to denote *ch*. I cannot however among the various districts called *Brétach* enumerated by Hogan find one in Leinster. In MS D IV 2 fo. 25<sup>b</sup> this tribe is mentioned as one of the *tricha cét* of Meath.

<sup>10</sup> The *Fortúatha Laigen* comprise several tribes settled in Wicklow (*Cúalu*). See Hogan's Onomasticon. According to O'Donovan's Supplement *fortúath* means 'a stranger tribe in a territory.' The word occurs in SR 3230: *Eigept cona fortúathaib*, and in Tog. Troi, l. 1613 *fornerst fortúathi* (sic leg.). Kings of the *Fortúatha Laigen* are mentioned in AU 826, Tig. 973, LL 46a46.

<sup>11</sup> Literally, 'against their skins.'



8 I must not caution<sup>12</sup> the great province of blessed Brandub<sup>13</sup> against the men of Ulster. So long as the Lord rules over Heaven they shall not come to fight against my communities.<sup>14</sup>

9 I do not ignore the gentiles across the currents<sup>14</sup> of the great sea : if they come to ford or coast, let each one make for his sword.

10 If an overwhelming force of foreigners comes, let them divide their forces into three : one-third around the children of the warlike Conla<sup>16</sup>—they never refused anything.

11 Two-thirds around the children of Lugaid,<sup>17</sup> from Gabran their hosts come eastward : if they turn<sup>17</sup> to righteous princship, let them overthrow the battalions fiercely.

12 Let them march to the battle-rout without grumbling, <sup>18</sup> let them all rise up for the fight, to defend the warlike province which their father left them.

13 If you recite the alphabet of the men of Leinster over the land of Banva, a flame of grace,—they shall not be without battle or without trouble from the end of the seven years onward.

14 The men of Leinster from Etar to Inneoin, to Femen of the abode of the two oxen,<sup>20</sup> to the pillar-stone which is in Usnech— it is no dispensation of misfortune<sup>22</sup> that has befallen them.

KUNO MEYER

<sup>12</sup> Literally, 'I must not be on the guard against Ulster from the great province.'

<sup>13</sup> Brandub mac Echdach, King of Leinster, † 605.

<sup>14</sup> *coimniu*, acc. pl. of *commann* m. Hence the tribal name *Commainn* (n. pl.) above § 5.

<sup>15</sup> *glassa*, acc. pl. of *glass* f. 'a stream.' Cf. *cór iad glasa*, AU 835.

<sup>16</sup> i.e. Conla Cóem, son of Bressal Brecc, ancestor of the Ossorians. See LL 339a.

<sup>17</sup> i.e. Lugaid, son of Bressal Brecc, *senathair Lagen*, LL 339a.

<sup>18</sup> *contóiet*, 3 pl. pres. subj. of *con-tóim* (\**con-to-sóim*). See my Contributions s.v. and add *contoi* 'he turns' (intr.), ML 65a1.

<sup>19</sup> *comfoirbb* also occurs in Arch. III. 320 : *cen comoirb*, *cen tr*, and in the compound *imchomairb* LB261b (*cen fodord*, *cen i*).

<sup>20</sup> i.e. from Howth to a spot in Mag Femen. See Hogan s.v. *Indeóin*.

<sup>21</sup> This refers to the two 'roval oxen' Fe and Men from whom Femen is fabled to have been named. See Cormac's glossary, ed. Stokes, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *gabsat cóiced cen tused*, CZ. III. 41.

## A BOOK OF THE O'REILLYS

AN Irish MS. in the Cambridge University Library marked Add. 3082, which once belonged to Dr. Reeves, contains a number of Irish poems, an account of which may be of some interest to the readers of this Journal. The volume, which is of vellum, is made up of leaves of different dates now bound up together. A description of the book was given in Quaritch's Catalogue, No. 132 (1893), p. 28. The oldest portion is a leaf of a medical treatise in Irish with Latin headings (c. 1400 ?). In addition there are 14 pages of a treatise on Botany (c. 1500 ?). Written about the same time is a copy of the *Cath Catharda*, which, I believe, was utilised by Whitley Stokes in his edition. The remaining 16 leaves contain about a score of poems addressed to chiefs of the O'Reillys. The date of this portion of the MS. is fixed exactly by the following entries :—

fol. 1b2. *Iarla ou aixseux do thecht go herinn na ghiúistís rochumh-achtach o bhainríoghuin thsaxan, etc., 3 Maij, 1599.*

fol. 3b2. *Is truagh liom nach déuntar éndán don macaomh da ndernadh in dán sin ar bfagháil bháis angeimhlibh gall a mbaile atha cliath dhó 1598. ⁊ mo bennacht féin re a anmuin. Anglend ghaibhnend da ngoirter glenn ghaibhle anos atú aniodh lá fhél eóin baisti 1599. ⁊ is isin aimsir so tangadar dha luing remhra o righ na spáinne lán darmáil do chungnamh cogaidh go gaoidhealuibh ereand anaghaidh Shaxanach. Coimhlionadh. In different ink is added Ach cidh holc liom an macaomh so thuas is míle mesa liom pfein a athair ina é fein os dó féin is mó do rindedh do dhántaib agus go bfuil moran acu nach bfuil sa leapharsa.*

fol. 6b2. *Sin deit a maolmorrda mic filib i raghallaigh agus dair mo coinnsias fein do bferr liom go ndeanadh tigerna na breifne dhuit cidh gur thuill tu imdergedh damh air an adhbar go ttug tu orm lamh do chur a sgríbhneóracht nach roibhe eolas agum inte acht nar bháil liom thusa do diulte an bliaghainsi daois an tigerna 1620 agus así sin an aimsir fuair aifflín modarrdha ingean giolla*

*padraic mic airt mhaoilmeg mathgamna bás agus ba bean cháoin cumpanta an bheansin. ní beg sin. acht ataim ag iarraidh air an leighóir gabháil agum fa na dántasa nach fhuair me ughdar leo acht seannphuine dall dochur do mheabhair íad ata deich mbliaghna fithceat uadh. agus tugadh gach aon leighfios na dantasa do sgríbh me annso agus andsa bpaiber (?) beannocht air anmanna na muintire da ndernadh íad agus na deanadh dermad don sgríbhneóir gun guidhe air. ní beg sin.*

Nearly all the poems are addressed to Philip O'Reilly, son of Hugh and Lord of Breifne, whose name is mentioned by the Four Masters under the years 1581, 1596. None of the pieces seem to be contained in O'Curry's Index of first lines in the Royal Irish Academy.

Fol. 1a. Poem in 58 quatrains beginning :—

*Ré lán os cenn Chonnachtach. geall do gnáth ga geiniolach  
mac Aodha ní hiomarcach. slat sa gáol re gelfhíodhach.*

Fol. 2a. 4 quatrains in *deibide* representing the end of some poem on Philip O'Reilly, beginning *Loit a (?) graidh chliar an chruinne.*

ib. Anonymous poem of 20 quatrains beginning :—

*Foglaidd a cruiddh clú Filib. éigsi Erenn aithnighitt  
a chlu gan chleth mar do chuir. a bheith gan bhú sda bhuadhuibh*

2b. Poem in 38 quatrains attributed to MacCon O'Cleirigh with the note *in uair do bhí sé a láim a ccaislén in riogh a mBaile átha cliath.* Begins :—

*Cionnus do mholfuinn mac rígh. acht do rér úaisli is airdgníomh  
nar thúir a ghruaidh do ghoradh. dhuinn is úair da adhmholadh*

3a. Poem in 41 quatrains on Aodh son of Philip O'Reilly by Aodh mac Diarmuda Mic-an-Bhaird, beginning :—

*Buaidh nAodh ar aicme Fhergna. derbhtar le fen bfinnlemhna  
rioghradh Banbha do thúair thoil. búaidh gach nanma ar an  
[aodhuibh*

4a. Poems in 38 quatrains addressed to the same, beginning :—

*Clíath mínigh ar aicme riogh. do slatuibh an tire híar  
. móide mimhenma mac riogh. gníomh shlat ó ri-Feargna . . .*

At the foot of the same page is written *Sin deit a leabuir sisuim drochlitre re droch dhubh ní beg xxx iun 1620.*

4b. Poem in 47 quatrains beginning :—

*Réult Connacht[ach] clú Pilib. sgol ag éud fan cclú cuirid (?)  
dénamh barr is dó dhlighid. cló Pilib ann ní fhuighid*

5b. Poem in 35 quatrains beginning :—

*Fada téid teist Roghallaigh. fferr sa cach fás a feile  
a cclú mar lán rabarta. líon isé techt gach enfer*

6a. Poem in 20 quatrains beginning :—

*Dearbh do cumhacht a chroch naomh. ós tu bfoires gach  
[aontaobh  
a croinn air nach léir lochta. roinn air cléir do cumhochta*

6b. Poem in 15 quatrains addressed to Philip beginning :—

*As fein braiter an compánach. do taobh eolus is aithni  
focal gan bheth conntabhairteach. go mbionnrath ní bun caimhe*

7b. Poem by Lochluinn mac Taidhg Oig i Dálaigh. 52 quatrains beginning :—

*Frémh ghach uilc oighedh flatha. de tig tús ghach nemhratha  
clechtuidh sein siolachadh uilc. s neimh ghach fhíorfhaladh  
[daghuint*

Stanza 7 commences thus :—

*Oighedh filib así tug. combáidh foghla fúath carad*

8b. Poem written after the death of Maolmorrda, son of the Philip celebrated in the other poems. In the last stanza but one the date of writing is mentioned, viz., 1633 which was the year of Malmorrda's death. There are 51 quatrains in all. Begins :—

*Cia fhíorfás fuighle na bhfádh. cumhain lem liaide ar ttocrádh  
go lór dfáisdine ghach fir. ar shlógh bhfáistighe fuinn*

At the foot of the first column of fol. 9a. is the following entry :  
*Muna bhedh eglá orm in duilleóg ann a roibhe an dán sin thúos do  
dhol amugha ní sgríbeodhuinn é air olcus na litre sin fair. Iun. 28,  
1639.*

9b and 10b contain the dates of birth of various persons called Clery and Reilly ranging between 1722 and 1736.

11b. contains the following entry :—*Aois an tslanuightheora an  
tan do marbadh sealbhadoir an leabarsi edhón Philip mac Aodh  
Conallaig re muinntir ui Neill Anno Dni 1596. Also nar thúir  
maithesa bidh no éadaigh don tí leighfes so no eisdfes da leghadh é  
nach ttiubhrad míle bendacht ar anmoin fpilib. go ndenaid Día  
trocaire ornn. Amen.*

Something must have been lost between ff. 11 and 12, as 12a. begins in the middle of a poem on Philip. 15 stanzas are preserved. The catch-word at the end is *Cnú*.

12a. Poem in 34 quatrains addressed to Philip, begins :—

*Ní ar aois medhaighther mac ríog. rath ac techtaire don triall*  
*gidbé tí do thoga ríogh. an gníomh do ní roga riamh*

12b. Poem by Donnchadh Caoch O hUiginn in 25 quatrains :—

*Ní cluinim guth Filib fos. ro beg a guth mor a clu*  
*ní tesdá de ach a guth. ge atáid cach ag dul ar ccúl*

Stanza 9 contains the words *tri .x. mbliadhna do gan guth*.

13a. Poem in 27 quatrains attributed to the same writer beginning

*Mo chara apsduil Ilib. cara nach ligfíod deigsibh*  
*mo chara dioles duasbog. absdol uasal na Breithfni*

ib. Poem in 16 quatrains attributed to Domnoll Mac-an-Baird, begins :—

*Mogenar gabus cairde. cidh fath mairge co . . .*  
*ge madh doirbh le cach eili. cóir dogab meisi o Ilib*

13b. Three quatrains :—

*Nia ar bárcuibh cais gach taidhc. mo chor do chailg in mo cliu*  
*ma mor fein do chuaidh tar cheill. do luirg tnútha nár er duil*  
*Maorach morchan dailter lem. om dercaib tend rom tend romesg*  
*is dot shercsa a tsháoir tseing. tuigter let gan meing an mess*  
*Gusin tengaidh mbióthnuaidh tshoirb. beir a bille mhoirb co dian*  
*os hé sgaoiles maoin don sgoil. ar gach aon co raibh a nia. Nia.*

ib. Poem in 44 quatrains addressed to the same Philip and attributed to Feargal og mac Fergail (Mac-an-Bhaird). Begins :—

*Cía rer fhailtigh Inis Fáil. do bhraith cách uili den laimh*  
*go bfuil caphair a ndan dí. radh na ag(aidh) ní fhuighthi*

14a. Poem in 31 stanzas attributed to Aodh Mac-an-Bhaird mac Diarmuda. Begins :—

*Cindas doghébhúinn gradh Filib. fiafraigh damhsa da dreich*  
*gruaidh mar chritir gan cló hféili. no an mithid do rede rinn*  
[dhuin]

14. A poem attributed to the same writer in 7 quatrains ad-



dressed to Philip. The piece is incomplete as something has been lost between ff. 14 and 15. It begins :—

*Liaidh gach gona grás Muiri.      liaidh ren cosmail neime*  
*luibh chobra ar chiaig don uili.      Muiri ar liaidh cabra cnedhe*

15a. A poem written in a much larger hand, beginning :—

*Manonnan Fódla Ferghal.      Manunnan dfóccra a fóirníodh*  
*in gach tend da ufhúair Fergal.      do derpadh chrúaidhchend*  
[chóirrslegh.

16a. *Marbnoigh Philip óig Ui Réille sonn air na cuma risin nathair*  
*Tomas O Chléirigh 1703.* 12 quatrains beginning :—

*As tuirseach an dáil chabra.      a chlann bhuadhachsa fhinn*  
[Fheargna  
*as tuirseach sní hiongnadh dháibh.      Ulltoigh uile fan díoghbháil*

ib. A note *Aig so leabhar ann a bfuil iomat saothar dorinnedh do*  
*Philip mac Aodh Chonallaig per me TR.*

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E. C. QUIGGIN

## DE ŠÍL CHONAIRI MÓIR

THE following text forms part of that ancient cycle of Irish saga, which opens with the wooing of Étain and finds its tragic *dénoûment* in the sack of Daderga's Hostel and the death of Conaire; a group of legends so strangely different in their fatalistic spirit to the later heroic saga; that one is tempted straightway to read into them the tradition of a sudden overthrow of an ancient order of things. That the slaying of Conaire, king of Ireland, in Daderga's hostel was not merely an interesting legend, but as an event had left a deep mark on tradition, is clear from the place it takes in the annals; which after this event record without explanation a gap of five years in the succession of kings. Without doubt we have here a legend built up on the memory of some great catastrophe, bearing with it in its fatalism, in the dealings and relations of those who figure in it with beings of another world, the relics of customs and mythology far more primitive than those of Emain Macha.

This text is remarkable in giving a version of the incidents which led up to the birth of Conaire, his fosterage and finally his election as king of Ireland, totally different from that of the other tales of the cycle, and so divergent are the two narratives that it is impossible to attempt to unite them. Their points of difference as parts of the whole saga have been admirably dealt with by Nettlau in his series of articles on "The Tógail Bruidne Daderga and connected Stories"<sup>1</sup> to which I once and for all make reference.

Both versions seem to have stood side by side originally without even reference to each other, although the note below line 10 of which the end is lost may have contained a reference to the other version. The variant in Eg.<sup>2</sup> '*Ramarbad immorro iarsin Eterscel athair Conaire la Nuadait Necht do Laignib .i. i nAillind, 7 ba ri hErenn iartain (.i. co cend lethbliadna) Nuadu Necht 7 romarb Conaire iartain in Nuadait Necht.*' for the plain '*Marb in rí iarum*' of YBL and Stowe, is probably a reminiscence of the genealogies.

It is certainly noteworthy that the annals, historical poems, and genealogies all agree that Eterscéal was slain by Núadu Necht of

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1. RC XII, XIII, XIV.

2. Br. Daderga § 12.

Leinster, who thereafter reigned for six months and then was in his turn killed by Conaire. They thus echo to some extent the tradition of this text, which may well have been the foundation of the historical version. The changes in the latter can be explained as normalizations of the mediæval schools and synchronists in whose productions we find it; such a version fits in far better with preconceived ideas of history and does not leave Núadu Necht's deed unmotivated, nor unavenged. That this tradition was more or less artificial, and that the claiming of Núadu Necht as king of Ireland is to be regarded as a fiction of Lagenian patriotism seems to be proved by the verses of Fland Mainistrech<sup>1</sup>

. . . . ' *mac hu Iair Eterscél*  
*la Nuadait Necht na sluag sen*  
*docer imMaig muad Maisten.*  
*Atberat Lagin na llecht*  
*robo rí ced Nuadu Necht :*  
*a aided cen chobraind cain*  
*ni fogbaim i scribennaib.'*<sup>2</sup>

But Rawl B 502 fcs. 118a47 has a curious note, linguistically certainly of the Old Irish period, which combines both the versions of the schools and that of the text printed here. It runs:—  
 'Nuadu Necht tra in cethramad mac Setnai Sithbaicc, is uad ata bunad Laigen, ⁊ ba ri Temro se, ⁊ is leis docer Eterscela Mor mac .h. [hIair]<sup>3</sup> ri hErenn i nAilind .i. ar Lugdaig Reoðderg dogene Nuadu in gnim sin. Is iarum rogab Lugaid rigi nErenn, ⁊ is hua dond Nuadait Necht in Find hua Baiscne,' etc. No mention though is made here of Conaire.

The legends abound with the most bewildering dualities and contradictions: thus the names of Eochu Feidlech and Eochu Airem interchange; Nettleau has dealt at length with the different genealogies of Conaire and his mother; again in this text Lugaid Ríabnderg is represented as having attempted the ordeals before Conaire and failed, but in the 'Seirglige Conculaind' (where the passage is obviously interpolated) he was chosen by the rite of the *tarbfess*, as Conaire was in the Bruiden Daderga tale. This

1. † 1056. 2. LL 131b50; the poem begins 'Rig Themra dia tesband tnú.'

3. Missed out in MS at end of line.

warrior is dualized in everything, even the distinctive attribute to his name varies, now being Reoderg (by contamination Reonderg) now Ríabnderg, and two totally distinct accounts of his death are given: thus in Tigernach's annals<sup>1</sup>: '*Lugaid Reoderg occissus est óna Trib Ruadchennaib (.i. de Laignib); nó commad im claideb dodolécéd conabbad de chomaid a mná .i. Deirbeforgaill. nodechsad.*' It may be that a tradition actually existed that a king named Lugaid Reoderg (or Ríabderg) was chosen after Conaire's death, and also died at the hands of the mysterious Trí Rúadchinn; until later generations confused him both in name and identity with one of the minor characters of the Cúchulainn-saga, a *dalta* of Cúchulainn named Lugaid Ríabnderg (or on the other hand, Reoderg), the story of whose death is related in the Book of Leinster.<sup>2</sup> Such a coincidence of names would have been welcomed as a link between the two bodies of tradition, and gave them a desirable continuity.

Two of the ordeals, which in this text take the place of the *tarbfess* in the choice of a king, are mentioned in the Dindsenchas of Tara: '*Ataat teora clocha beca i tæb Ratha'na Senad tuaid .i. teora clocha rolaithi forsna druidib; hite a nanmand .i. Moel ⁊ Blocc ⁊ Bluicne: Moel soir ⁊ Blocc fodess ⁊ Bluicne fotuaid,*' and '*Fal hi tæb Dumæ na nGiall atuaid .i. in cloch nogeissed fo chosaib cach ríg nogeibed hErinn: fal ainm na cloichi sin .i. fo-aíl .i. aíl fo rígh*'; but, it is to be noted only in one of the recensions (Rennes and BB); the other recension (Édinb. and LL) omits this passage.<sup>3</sup>

The text '*Do šil Chonaire Móir*' is preserved amongst a mass of genealogical matter in three MSS all of the fifteenth century: the Book of Lecan, f. 228a, the Book of Ballymote (Fcs., p. 139b) and MS TCD H 2.7, col. 90<sup>4</sup>; it is here printed from the last named MS, which preserves the older forms and in some cases the text itself better than the other two, of which it is also entirely independent; BB and Lec. are very closely related, and possibly were copied from the same original, as in one or two instances they omit the same words. The variants, however, even of spelling have been carefully noted, although of course not mere modern-

1. RC XVII., p. II. 2. ed. Marstrander ÉRIU V 201.

3. It occurs however elsewhere in LL in the '*Suidigiud Tigi Midchuarta,*' p. 30a.

4. An abridgment by Duaid Mac Fírbisigh has been printed by Petrie in his '*Tara,*' p. 179; it is however copied from H with a few modernisations.

isations, such as the writing of aspiration; B also prefers sg- for sc- and L final -i for -e.

In conclusion, I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Thurneysen and MacNeill, and my gratitude to them for their help and advice; but for errors of judgment and inaccuracies in translation, I alone am responsible.

## DE ŠĪL CONAIRI MOIR

DE thuidecht Muscraige de Muig Breg Gnathal dolluid .i. mac Conruith meic Rodai meic Mafede meic Maforothe meic Oengusa Musc meic Carpri meic Conaire Moir meic Meise-buachalla meic Etersceoil Moir.

Conaire Mor mac Meisi Buachalla .i. a mathair; Eas, ingen Eochach Aireman ⁊ Etaine a mna, mathair Messebuachala. Bretha Ess hi Sith Breg Leith. Clasa a sith la hEtersceli, conluid forru ind. Nonbur nó coeca lathe gaili lais di Ulltuib. Toberr a ben do o sith aridisi isi ingen bertæ Mesbuachail (olsodain nad fir fobith . . .). Ba mor a hetche ⁊ a met, ⁊ forimtegeth side ⁊ mure ⁊ la aimitige; ⁊ bai i mbochailius hi Sleib Gergg ⁊ i Sleib Fuait oa aitdi o Eterscel Mor macchu Iair, ⁊ batir commoir, ⁊ is e Eterscel nodatoirchestar inna buachailius ⁊ concleth chuich in tairr[ches] coa ec Etarscele.

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Title *om.* L. *add.* annso sis. B. 1. do BL. Muscraige L. Muscraig B. Muig Breg .i. doluig (toluid L.) Gnathal mac Conruith BL. 2. Mofeda L. Mafoirethe B, Mofoirethe L. *Here B and L interpolate the genealogy of Cairbre Musc: meic Ængusa meic Cairpri meic Conairi Moir meic Etersceoil (⁊ irsceoil B) .i. Cairpri Musc mac Conairi meic Mogalama meic Lugdach Allathaich (-g B) meic Cairpri Chroimgind (-cinn B) meic Dairi Dornmoir meic Cairpri Find- (-nn B)-moir meic Conairi Moir meic Mesibuachalla .i. mac Etersceoil (-ir-B) Moir (meic Eogain meic Ailella add. L BL. 5 Conairi BL. Mesi L. Eassa L. 6. Eachach Aireamhan B Echach Airemun L. is Etaine B ⁊ Edaine L. Meisibuach-B Meisibuachalla L. 7. Breatha Eassa i sith hi Breag Leith L. het-scel (-sceol L.) BL. 8. forro BL. nonbur .i. laithe B nonbur coeca lathe H nonbar. Cæca laithi L: the original copyist prob. having been misled by the compendium for nó followed by .i. laithe. Ulltaib B. Toibearr L. 9. arrich isi ingen bertæ H aridisi berte BL. 10. The end of this note seems to have been lost. Fa L fo B. hetchi B heitchi L. forimthegid B forimtheigid L. 11. muire B muri L. bochilis L. ic Sleb Fuait ⁊ i Sleib Gerg (Derg B) BLaide BL. 12. mac uiiar B mac.h. hiair L. badar badur BL. 13. ⁊ irsgel B hodetoirrchestair ina BL. no detoirchestar H. concleath B concleith L. cepochuich H cepochuith B cepechuith L; *cepo seems a gloss on chuich.* 14. tairr coa H tairrches coa BL. æg L. Etsceoil L Et—sgel B.*



- 15 O robith Etarsceli (gegin Nuadu Necht mac Setnai Sithbaicc do Laignib ar Lugdaig Riabnderg), doaurscarad rige re Lugdaig Riabnderg a mbatar Laigin ⁊ Cenel Cuind Cetchathaig ac denam rig hi Temair dar eis Etersceoil.

- Bai carpat rig hi Temair nogabtais da ech oendatha nad  
 20 ragabaitis riam fon carpat. Inti nad airoemath flaith Temrach, conocbath in carpat fris conachmoceth ⁊ concligtis ind high fris. ⁊ bai casal rig isin carbad; inti nad aurimeth flaith Temrach ba romor do in chasal. ⁊ batar da liaic hi Temuir .i. Bloc ⁊ Bluigne; inti arfoemtis, arosilctis fris co teged in carpat  
 25 etarru. ⁊ bai Fal and, Ferp Cluche, for cind oenig in charbait; inti arfemath flaith Temrach gloedad in Fal fri fonnad in charpait conidcluneth cach. Inti nad aurimeth flaith Temrach, ni airslaictis riam na da liaic .i. Bloc ⁊ Blugne. Ise mod ticed hochair lame eturru; ⁊ inti nad auremeth  
 30 flaith Temrach, ni screted in Fal fria fonnad. Ni arroetatar Lugaid Riabnderg fochetoir iar nguinn Etersceoil.

- A mbath iarum ac arle ind rig, asbert a mathair Mesbuachail fri Conaire Mor: 'In fetar cid dognither i Temair?' 'Ni fetar,' ol Conaire. 'Rofetar-sa,' ol si, 'ised horbba do athar consuither  
 35 and.' 'Cair cia dana macsa?' ol se. 'Mac Etersceli Moir,' ol si. 'Dia mbetis fir limsa indorsa do chosnam in rige, ni leicfethe

15. rabith.	Eterscel BL.	geaguin Nuada BL.	Setna BL.
16. Lugaid BL.	urscarad rigi BL.	Lug- B. B Lugaid L.	17. cenl—B.
a Temraig BL.	Etersceoil Moir L areis Eidirsceil B.		18. i Teamuir B.
20. nadrogabaitis (-dis) BL.	nadairoemad BL.		connocbath BL.
sic MSS.	conclaigtis (-gh- L) in high BL.		21. indti B.
naduiruimeth BL.	22. ramor BL.	i Teamair B i Temair L.	23.
Bloc L Bluicne BL.	nofæmdais aroslaicdis L aræmdais aroslaigtis B.		24.
25. eturro BL.	rosbai B rusbai L.	fearp BL.	26. ariæmath B
arfaemath L.	glædad BL fondad BL.		27. cogluined B cocluinead L.
nadauræmad B	naduwræmad L.	28. niurosiaictis (-dis L) BL.	
liacc BL.	Bloc L.	Bluicne L Bluigne B.	30. a mod BL.
lochair laimi BL.	naduræmad B nadurfæmad L.		Tem B.
sgreidead L sgreided B.	31. fri fondad L.		mas rofeadadur L
mas roedatar B.	32. acetoir B achedoir L.		moir add. L.
ambadur L.	ac(om)airli with om inserted over line L.		in BL.
Measbuachalla L.	33. dognithir L.	34. Temraid L niconfeadar L dofeadarr	
doedarsa B ciadanam BL.	Cair dana macsa H.	Etirsceil B. Eidirsceoil L.	
36. sisi BL.	na L. rigi BL. leicfeithi B, leicfi L.	37. andenaid L. Mesbuachalla	
L. Mesbuachail B.	Derg B, hoshi sleib breag ⁊ hi sliab gerg L.	40. itad BL.	
nachdæmfæmdeabaid L.	Dthæt H, Datæt B.	imorro BL.	41. co Themf L.
rena B.	42. na sluaig bai ateamair B na bai i temraid with sluaig add. in marg. L.		
doib cotarlaic tar L.	43. na Temrach L.	Chonairi L.	cotarlaic L, cotarlaig B.
among BL.	44. thaitmidthe L, daithmigthe B.	-nemig BL.	raun- H. roimpi
H. fiansciath L.	cainte B.	46. cornaire B, cornairi L.	badur L, badar B,
bat- H.	in fir B, na firu (sic) L.		

doib a ndenat,' ol Conaire. 'Rotbiasu fir do,' ol Mesbochail, hos hi i Sleib Gergg.

Teit huad co tanic co sluagaib fochetoir i noenhuair. 'Faneirg !' ol si, 'atait sund sluaig nachdatfemdebat.' Dothæt iarum co 40 sluagaib tar Mag mBreg do Themair ⁊ a mathair riam resna slogaib. Conaccatar in sluaig batar hi Temraig na sluagu doib tar Mag mBreg dochum Temrach im Conaire Mor a mathair riam. Doarlaic a hinar impe coa cris anós. A mmong dub tathmigthe ima cend. Trelam dub mor le, ⁊ druith runnemnig rempi, ⁊ fian sceith, ⁊ canti 45 ⁊ chornaire resna slogaib moraib ; ⁊ batir mora ind fir.

Ni thairiset in tloig batar hi Temair ara cind. Dergit Temraig cona dusib ⁊ co carpat na flatha. Anais in carpat cona echaib ara chind, ⁊ co casail ind rige hisin carput. Ansait na heich and i leith ar cind Conaire. 'Ac sin carpat deit,' ar a mathair. 50 'Teit Conaire ind. Ardafoem in carpat he. 'Gab immot dano,' ol si, 'in casail.' Gabais ime inna hesam fiad na slogaib ; ba coimsi do in casal. Teit a charpat foe, is e inna šesam and. Teit dochum na da liac : arosailcet fris. Teit dochum Fail cosna slogaib ime, a mathair riam ; gloedith in Fal. 'Arræt 55 Fal !' forsint sluag huli.

Faemdet in tsluaig batar i Temraig cath friu, ⁊ giallait do Chonairiu, ⁊ doberat comarbus a athar do. Adtaimet immac do Etarscel, ⁊ doberat rige do ⁊ dusi a athar, ⁊ gaibthir gabal lais dia slogaib. Follongatar lais co de nomaide. 60 Facbait airmait fair : na funfed ⁊ na taurcebach grian fairsium i Temair.

Tiagait uad iarum. Ni fes can dodechatar, ní fes cid dochuatar, acht is doich bad iat lucht Sitha Breg Leith tancatar dia thorithin,

47. tairised B. tsloig B, shtloig L. 48. co carbad cona eachaib ara cind BL *omitting five words*. 49. co dasal BL. in rigi, B in rig L charbad L, carpat B. ansad L, ansat B. 50. leath L. Chonairi moir L. Assin H, acsin L, agsin B. 51. ardořem L, ardořem B. 52 Gab umat dō in casal olsi L, Gab umad dā in casail olsi B. ime om. BL. naseasam B, na shesam L. ifiad na slogaib B, ifiadnaisi na slog L. fiffadna slogaib H. 53. chasal L. fæ BL. na BL. da om. L. aroslaiced L, aroslaiget B. fail L. 55. sluagaib uime BL. Glædaig L, Glægaig B. asræd fal asræd fal L. fosin BL. tluaig L, tsluag B. huli om. BL. 57. fæmdaid BL. tluaig L. uili cath friu BL. 58. Conaire BL. Ataimet BL. 59. am im mac L. Eterscel mor L, Etirsgel B. ⁊ do L. gabthair gabail BL. 60. namaidne BL. 61. fagbait B, fogabaid L. .i. na funfed (-ead) BL. turgebad L, tuiurgebad B. atemraig fair (-seom L) BL. 63. uad H.

- 65 ara senmathair do bith riamothach accu ; ar ised atberat fairend, conid accu rotoirrched ben Etersceli, ⁊ corob dib Mesbuachail, ⁊ conid aire thancatar in tochraite. Atberat imorro araile is torrach rofucad a ben o Eterscel isin tith, ⁊ rop i ingen do Eterscel fein Mesbuachail, ⁊ is aire teged hi sidaib, ar is i [Sith] Breg Leith tanic
- 70 anim inti i mbroind a mathar ; ⁊ rofoglaim a mathair amaidecht ⁊ sithcharecht and ; ⁊ is Eterscel fein rostoircestar iartain, diarrucad Conaire, ⁊ is aire roceil Mesbuachail cuich in macc cen bai [ac] Eterscel, ar ba nar le a hathair dia toirched. Ise in Conairi sin iarum ri bertatar siabrai hirrige.
- Turnaysen,* 75 Gnathail macc Conruith ba ri Temrach. Carais a ben Art xi, p. 32, 124. nOenfir. Dobert a ben imchascell im Gnathal do thabairt a rige ar filidecht ⁊ ar chis den mach. Coblaithe fri rig do fadesin, ⁊ coblaithe dia mnai fri bein in rig. Is de bui Bron Gnathail i Temair (i. vii mblíadna do gan gair).
- 80 Tolluid Gnathal co Mumain co comarnic i mBregund fri maccu Ailella ; amail asbertatar fris cith imatanic, asbert ba [do] cungith tire. Asbertatar fris rombiath tir leo ar cath fri Macc Con machu Luigde. Is de fich Cath nEbrat. Memaid for Macc Con. Legis Gnathal sleig do Macc Con ; conscar cuir a colpdai fris. Is de
- 85 as a urgart do cach machu Laigde corr colpdai do brisiud fair hi tig. Is and docer Mac hIrmara, cathmil mar, mac seathar do Mac Con, mac Rignaidi. Dignaid a aimend la Mac Con : carnd

65. beith BL. *sic* MSS. acu BL. adberad BL. foirenn B, foirend L. 66. rothoirrched B, rotoirrched L. Etersceoil L, Etirsgeoil B. Meassbuachalla Mesbuachail B. 67. tangadar B. tsochraide B, sochraidi sin do chongnom le conair (*sic*) L. adberait B, adberad L. .h. H, *om.* BL. -aroili L. 68. rofucad ben (bean L) etirsceoil BL. isin sith BL. di BL. fein *om.* BL. Messbuachalla B, Mesbuachalla L. 69. notheigid L, notheged B. issa L, asa B, *om.* H. 70. anam BL. ind imbroind H. 71. rostoirrchestair B, rustoirrchistair L. rocheil L. Mesbuachalla L, Meshuach B. ⁊ ise BL. 73. ac *om.* H. Eitirsgeil B. da H. Conairi isin L. robertadar siabra BL. rigi BL. 75. Gnathgal L., Gnath- H. rig L. 76. Do atbert H. imachascell B, imachasaill L. Gnathal B, Gnathgal C. da B. rigi BL. 77. filigecht L. bai BL. Gnathaile B, Gnathgaili L. 79. *in marg.* H. *in text* BL. gan gaire B, gan gen gairi do denam L. Doluid BL. Gnathail B, Gnath- H. imumain L, *im* mumain B. 81. Ailella BL. *om.* H. ba do chuindgid thiri L. ba do chuindgid thiri B. 82. chath BL. *om.* L. mac Luaighdech fith cath Ebra mebaig B. 84. Gnathail B. mcc H, mac B, mac con hi cath cind ebra corscar L. corscar L. gurscar B. colpa B, cholpha L. ris BL. 85. ara L. mac .h. BL. cholpa L, colphtha B. brised L. 86. docher BL. mac irmara do araib L. cathmilig L. meic (written out) Con .i. mac rignaidi L., rignaide B. 88. carn BL. lacach fer L, lagach fer B. dia BL. adnocht I. na BL. 89. duma BL. ; *not written out in MSS.* Con *om.* BL. Callraige B, Callraidi, *with stroke through first -i-* L. 91. erend B, erind L. feis L. lais BL. Oill- B, All- H.

cloch *cach* fir da muintir. Adnact ina sesam ⁊ a sceith ara mbelaib in *cach* dumu. Cartha Meic (Con) Gubai, a cloch ba ferr i tirib Calraige ac Druim Lias.

90

Ba ri Erend Mac Con. Fæis Ailill Ulom leis, uair ise Ailill ⁊ Sadd ingen Cuind Cetcathaig ranalt Mac Con. Atberat araile conid aire sin tancatar ar dus a Mumain, .i. tri meic Conaire meic Mogalama; *ut dicunt alii* .i. Oengus, otait Muscraide Erend (⁊ Corco Duibne, *alii dicunt: alii uero non*); ⁊ Ailill Bascain, 95 otait Corco Baiscind; ⁊ Eochaid Rigfota, otait fir Alban ⁊ Dal Riatai. Tri hanmand doib dono .i. tri Cairbri, .i. Carpri Musc ⁊ Cairpri Bascain ⁊ Cairpri Rigfota. Ate rogabsat dibad a nErna Muman, iar tidacht a Feraib Breag; uair is ac Muscraib airthir Breag rogenair Cairpri Musc. Is aire rater Cairpri 100 Musc fris, *et ideo uocatur* Muscraige. Rogab gid Carpri Musc o Deargmonaid iar Loch Lein cu Fert Æda Dubdebtha, co tard Fiacho Mullethan do Cormac hu Cuind at o Brosnaig co hUisnech. Is i tir Carpri Bascain in tir forsa tait Corco Baiscind aniu. Rob i dono tir Cairbri Rigfota in tir atait Ciarraigi 105 Luachra ⁊ Orbraigi Dromma Imnocht, conid asin dolotar i nAlbain, gabsat Corco Duibne in tir atat.

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- |  |                                 |                                  |                                     |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 92. Chuind L.                                    | ronalt BL.                      | aroili L.                        | conad airi BL.                      |
| 93. tus L.                                       | imumain BL.                     | Conairi BL.                      | 94. Ængus L, Ængos B.               |
| Musgraide her B,                                 | Musraidi herind L.              | 95. ut alii L, ut aillí B        |                                     |
| Bascain BL.                                      | 96. -fada BL.                   | Riata B, Riada L.                | 97. na tri                          |
| Chairpri L.                                      | Cairbri B, Cairpri L.           | 98. anderna H.                   | 99. taidecht B,                     |
| taideacht L.                                     | Breg BL.                        | Musgraide B, Muscraidi L         | airi L.                             |
| 102. Muscraige om. BL.                           | co BL.                          | Duib i Tebtha L., Duibdeabtha B. | 101. ris B.                         |
| Fiacha Muilleathan mac Eogain.                   | 103. .h. Chuind L, .h. Cuind B. |                                  |                                     |
| at om. BL.                                       | 104. anniu B.                   | Chairpri L.                      | itait BL.                           |
| L, Ciarraige B.                                  | Osbraide B, Orbraide L.         |                                  | no or <i>suprascr.</i> B.           |
| (i.e., Fornocht).                                | conad BL.                       |                                  | as sin dolodar i n-Albain corgobsad |
| Corco Duibne in tir itad, osin inall cosaniug L. |                                 |                                  |                                     |

## OF THE RACE OF CONAIRE MÓR

## OF THE COMING OF THE MUSCRAIGE FROM MAG BREG

'T WAS Gnáthal who came ; the son of Conroth, son of Rode, son of Mafede, son of Mofoirethe, son of Ōengus Musc, son of Cairbre, son of Conaire Mór, the son of Mes Búachalla and Eterscéi Mór.

Conaire Mór was son of Mes Búachalla (that is, his mother). Ess, daughter of Eochu Airem and his wife Étain, was mother of Mesbúachalla. Ess was carried off into the elf-mound of Brí Leith ; Eterscéi dug out the mound, and forced his way in.<sup>1</sup> With him were nine warriors of Ulster (or fifty). His wife was<sup>2</sup> given back to him out of the elf-mound, and Mesbuachalla was the daughter whom she bore (which is not true, because . . . .). She was of great size and evil of aspect, and used to come and go in elf-mounds and seas, and that by sorcery ; and she herded<sup>3</sup> cattle for her foster-father Eterscéi Mór mocu Iair on Slíab Gerg and on Slíab Fúait ; and they were of like size. And Eterscéi it was who got her with child when she was herding for him, but<sup>4</sup> she kept secret whose the child was, until the death of Eterscéi.

After Eterscéi had been killed (Núadu Necht son of Sétna Sithbacc of the Leinstermen slew him for Lugaid Ríabnderg) Lugaid Ríabnderg was excluded from the kingship, when the men of Leinster and the race of Conn Cétchathach were choosing a king at Tara in succession to Eterscéi.

There was a king's chariot at Tara. To the chariot were yoked two steeds of the same colour, which had never before been harnessed. It would tilt up before any man who was not destined to receive the kingship of Tara, so that he could not control (?) it,

1. *lit.* 'until he went into it on them.'

2. *lit.* 'is.'

3. *lit.* was in herdship from her f.

4. *lit.* 'and.'



and the horses would spring at him. And there was a king's mantle in the chariot; whoso might not receive Tara's sovereignty the mantle was ever too big for him. And there were two flag-stones in Tara: 'Blocc' and 'Bluigne'; when they accepted a man, they would open before him until the chariot went through. And Fál was there, the 'stone penis' at the head of the chariot-course(?); when a man should have the kingship of Tara, it screeched against his chariot-axle, so that all might hear. But the two stones Blocc and Bluigne would not open before one who should not hold the sovereignty of Tara, and their usual position was such, that one's hand could only pass sideways between them; also he who was not to hold Tara's kingship, the Fál would not screech against his axle. They had not received Lugaid Ríabnderg, once Eterscél had been slain.

So while they held council about a king, Mes Búachalla, mother of Conaire Mór, asked of him, 'Knowest thou what is a-doing at Tara?' 'I know not,' said he. 'But I know,' quoth she. ''Tis the succession of thy father they are changing there.' 'A question!' quoth he, 'Whose son am I?' 'Son of Eterscél Mór,' she answered. 'If I had men now to win the sovereignty, they would not be let deal thus,' said Conaire. 'Thou shalt have men for it,' said Mes Búachalla, where she was on Slíab Gerg.

So she leaves him and straightway within the hour came back with armies. 'Up!' quoth she, 'Here be hosts who will not fail thee.' Then he comes across Breg Plain to Tara, and his mother went ahead of him out before the hosts. The armies in Tara saw the hosts come towards them across Mag Breg to Tara led by Conaire Mór with his mother out before him. She let fall her mantle as far as her girdle. From her head her black tresses fell loose. A great black corslet she wore, and druids spell-venomous went before her and a shield-bearer(?) and mockers and hornblowers ahead of the mighty hosts. And the men were full great.

The hosts in Tara stayed not before them. They leave Tara and its possessions and the chariot of kingship.<sup>1</sup> The chariot and its steeds awaited him with the cloak of kingship in the chariot. The steeds stayed behind there for Conaire. 'Lo! a chariot for

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1. *lit.* of the kingdom.

thee,' said his mother. Conaire enters the chariot, and it receives him. 'Gird the cloak about thee,' said she. He dons it standing in presence of the hosts; the cloak fitted him. He stands in the chariot and it moves under him. He goes towards the two stones, and they open before him. He goes to the Fál with all the host around him and his mother before him. The Fál cries out. 'Fál has accepted him!' cry the hosts.

The hosts in Tara decline to give them battle; and make submission to Conaire and render to him his father's heritage. They acknowledge him as son of Eterscéil Mór and give him the sovereignty and his father's territories; he makes seizure (of lands) for his hosts, and till the ninth day from then he provides for them. They leave a bidding with him: that the sun should neither set nor rise on him in Tara.

So they leave him. Whence they came, whither they went, none knew, but belike they were the folk of Síth Breg Leith, who came to help him, because his grandmother had been with them awhile (?), for some say 'twas by them that Eterscéil's wife had been got with child, and that Mes Búachalla was one of them, and for that reason the hosts came. Others, however, assert that Eterscéil's wife was with child when they carried her<sup>1</sup> away from him into the *síth*, and that Mesbúachalla was daughter to Eterscéil himself, and hence she used to enter elf-mounds, for 'tis in Síth Breg Leith she was quickened in her mother's womb, and that her mother had learnt witchcraft and sorcery therein; that Eterscéil himself had intercourse with Mes Búachalla afterwards, whence Conaire was born; wherefore Mes Búachalla kept secret whose her son was, while she was with Eterscéil, for she felt shame that her father should have gotten her with child. So that Conaire then is the king whom elves raised to the sovereignty.

Gnáthal mac Conruith was king of Tara. His wife loved Art Ōenfer. His (Gnáthal's) wife made a plot (?) against Gnathal to give up his kingship for some verses (?) and for the tribute of the plain (?); like sway (?) should he (Art?) hold with the king, and like rank his wife with the king's wife. Hence came 'Gnáthal's Woe in Tara' (i.e., seven years long he laughed not).

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1. *lit.* when she was carried.

Gnáthal came to Munster and met with the sons of Ailill in Bregond; when they asked of him why he had come thither, he answered he sought a territory. They told him that they could get lands if they fought Mac Con of Luigde. Wherefore he fought the battle of Ebra. Mac Con was defeated. (Gnáthal cast a spear at Mac Con which broke his knee-pit; whence the latter's prohibition to all of the Luigde to break a knee-pit in the house<sup>1</sup>). There fell Mac Irmara, a mighty warrior, the son of Rignat (?), sister of Mac Con. His mound was raised by Mac Con, and a cairn of stones for each one of his men. They were buried standing with their shields before them, each man in his cairn. The pillar of Mac Gubai was the best stone in the territories of the Calraige at Druimlías.

Mac Con was king of the Érainn. Ailill Ólom slept at his house, for Ailill and Sadb daughter of Conn Cétchathach it was, who had fostered Mac Con. Some say that is primarily the reason that they (i.e., the three sons of Conaire Mogalama) came into Munster; *ut dicunt alii*—Oengus from whom are the Muscraige of Ériu (and the Corco Duibne *ut alii dicunt: alii uero non*); and Ailell Baschain, from whom are the Corco Baiscinn; and Eochaid Rígfota, from whom are the men of Alba and the Dalriatai. Three names, then, have they—The three Cairbre's: Cairbre Musc, Cairbre Baschain and Cairbre Rígfota. 'Tis they who took possession in Érainn of Munster after coming from the Fir Breg, for Cairbre Musc was born in the Muscraige of eastern Bregia. Therefore he is called Cairbre Musc, *et ideo uocatur Muscraige*. So Cairbre Musc held sway from Dergmonaid west of Loch Léin to Fert Áeda Dubdebtha, till Fiacha Muillethan gave up to Cormac ua Cuind the lands from Brosnach to Uisnech. The country of Cairbre Baschain was where the Corco Baiscind are to-day. The country of Cairbre Rígfota was that land where the Ciarraige Luachra and the Orbraige Droma Imnocht are, but when they came to Scotland the Corco Duibne took possession of the land where they now dwell.

(Here follows De genealogia Muscraige Mitténe.)

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1. *fair* is untranslatable; it means 'in his despite.'

## NOTES

- Line 1. De thuidecht Muscraige. cf. l. 80. Possibly the two texts here strung together may be the *primscei* in the list in LL. 190b called 'Tochomlad Muscraigi de Maig Bregoin.'
1. 5. Es. so H, BB. Eassa in Lec. The name appears in the form 'Ésa' in the Dindsh. poem on Ráth Ésa, and in Gilla Modutu's poem on famous women, where it rhymes with *bésa*.
  1. 9. aridisi isi. None of the MSS. have this reading, but it seems a permissible correction.
  1. 10. (olsodain nad fir, fobith . . .) was probably in origin a scribal note, the conclusion of which was lost. Perhaps both this note and that in l. 8, 'nonbur (no coeca)' referred to the version of the tale in the Dindshenchas of Ráth Ésa, according to which it was Étáin, not Ésa, who was rescued from the Síth, and which further mentions 'cóica fer fuilngech,' who took part in the adventure.
  1. 15. conachmoceth. sic MSS. *an leg.* 'conach comceth' from *con-icc*? Prob. the *m* had been written over the line in compendium, and then misplaced when written out.
  1. 25. Fal, i.e. Lia Fáil. cf. LL. 9a13. 'Is iat Tuatha De Danann tucsat leo in Fál Mór .i. in lia fis báí i Temraig, diata Mag Fáil for hErind. Inti fo'ngessed saide, ba rí hErenn. Condasellacht Cuchulaind, 7 ní rogéis foe, nach fo' daltu .i. fo Lugaíd mac Tri Find Emna; ocs ní rogéis in chloch o sein ille, acht fo Chund *nammd.* Rosceind dano a cride estí otá Temraig co Taltin, conid e Cride Fáil sein. Ecmoing ní hed fodera; acht Crist do genemair, issed robris cumachta na n-ídal.' It was called Ferp Cluche on account of its shape (*ferp* from the Latin *uerpa*); in recent times it was nicknamed 'Bod Fhearghusa' for the same reason, as Petrie records in his 'Antiquities of Tara.' The Irish Nennius (BB 256b) mentions it as one of the Three Wonders of Ireland, and tells of its shrieking under the true king. Cf. also Acallam na Senórach l. 7995 sqq.
  1. 26. Oenach in Charpait, probably the 'Fán na Carpat' of the Dindgnai Temrach, LL30c.
  1. 27. fonnad. 'Wahrscheinlich ist *fonnad* der untere Theil des Wagens zwischen den Rädern, der den Boden des Capsus (*cret*), die Plätze des Kämpfers und seines Wagenlenkers bildete oder trug.' Windisch, Táin, p. 878.
  1. 29. hochair lame, lit 'the edge of the hand,' a word still in use, though generally spelt, as here in BB. and Lec., *eochair*.
  1. 34. consuither? from *con-sóim*; but cf. *consuiter* glossed by *cain-fastaighther* BB. 335b.
  1. 50. i leith. cf. mod. Ir. 'Gabh i leith isteach,' etc.
  1. 58. Gaibthir gabal lais dia slogaib. MacNeill (Pop. Groups, p. 94) compares the story of Eithne Uathach making a settlement of the conquered lands of the Ossairge on a part of her recruited forces. For *gabáil* meaning 'seizure' cf. Laws Glossary.
  1. 61. airmít .i. geiss. Corm Tr. 51. TBC., p. 115 (where another MS. reads *airmít*). bid sí do airmítu .i. do ghes. YBL, p. 92a=Br. Da Derga §16. The prohibition here mentioned does not occur amongst those laid on Conaire in the Bruiden Da Derga tale. A somewhat similar *geiss* was imposed on the kings of Tara (BB. 267a2).
  1. 64. Bri Leith. This name rhymes as *Léith* with *téith* and *tréith* in the Dindshenchas of Bri Léith (BB. 409a4).
  1. 65. ara senmathair do bith riamothach accu. Perhaps we should divide *ríam othach* (cf. 'Ba nuachesad cach tromm díofothuch .i. cach

trómíothach nochesad, ba amail núa leisseom, no ba truimmiu cach othaig dún in cesad, ar in Dall,' LU. 12b=Amr. Col. C.), if *othach* could mean something like 'in pains of childbirth.' But in the above quotation it seems rather to be a noun meaning 'pain.'

- l. 73. ri bertatar siabrai hirrige, seems to echo the phrase 'is e ri insin loingsige siabrai din bith,' in Br. Da Derga (YBL. 93a). (Note that LU. alone substitutes a different sentence in Br. Da Derga; it occurs in the other four MSS.).

- l. 72. Gnathal. so H. Lec. Gnathgal, BB. recte Gnāth-ail, 'firm rock.' He is mentioned in Broccan Cráibdech's panegyric on the men of Leinster (LL. 44b30):

'Cid Crimthand mac Lugada.      ni roinanacht ar Gnathail,  
Diarbo athair a derbrathair.      diarbo šenmathair a mathair.  
Gnathail, ba de Laignechaib.      do ringni mór de galgat,  
'se tarlaic in oenurchur. rias.      roemid Cath Chind Febrat.'

His name occurs also in the genealogy of the Muscraige Mittaine; but he is not mentioned in the lists of the Kings of Tara, nor yet in the accounts of Cath Chind Ebrat in LL. 288b45, and Anec. II. 79.

- l. 76. Do atbert. *Do* ends a line in H. Imchascell? If the reading of BB, L. 'dobert' be correct, this word may mean 'plot,' but I cannot find it elsewhere.
- l. 78. ar chis den mach; it is doubtful if *denmach* can mean 'of the plain,' as *maig* is the regular dative. *coblaith* seems to be the old form of *comflaith* Z.C.P. iii. 464, spelt also *cobhflaith*, FM. 914. *bein*, acc. sg. of *ben*; cf. *Contribb* s.v.
- l. 85. corr colpdai. cf. 'coræmdetar . . . corra a n-uillend' Dind. 85.
- l. 87. aimend. cf. Laws IV. 214, 25: 'Atait .iii. tire tar nach assa doairchestar uisce, nemed cille, no duin, no a maigen firt .i. feart aeibind ind oenaig, no aibinn, no aiminn.' cf. ib. I 58,30, 'im lot do aibinne .i. do šuide dala.'
- l. 88. Carnd cloch cach fir. cf. Br. Da Derga §57, and Dindshenchas of Carn Máil, LL. 170b.



*See Thurneysen's discussion and review,  
ZCP. xi, p. 30ff.*

## DE MACCAIB CONAIRE

THIS text is taken from the Book of Leinster (fcs. p. 292 a).

It contains the story of the vengeance which the sons of Conaire mac Moghaláma wrought on Nemed mac Srobcind who had slain their father. The following extract from the Book of Ballymote<sup>1</sup> will serve to show the traditional chronology of the events mentioned from the list of the kings of the period :

*Cond Cetchathach (.i. ced cath robris) cúig bliadhna trichat, (nó fichet, no coega bliadan a flaithus uli, ut alii aiunt) irrighi Ereenn, cotorchair la Tipraidi Tírech la rígh nUladh hi tuath Ambrais for incuibh a duine fessin, cofil a lecht forsin faigthi. Conaire Coem cliamain Cuind, ocht bliadhna, cotorchair la Neimid mac Sraibcind hi Cath Gruitine. Art mac Cuind tricha bliadan irrige Ereenn, cotorchair i Cath Mucroma : mac Moga Nuadat, Lugaid Laga dano rombi Art. Lugaid mac Con, tricha bliadan coroninnarb Cormac hua Cuind, cotorchair la Ferches mac Commain.*

For some reason the scribe of LL wished to make of this story a continuation of the Bruiden Da Derga saga ; and he seems to have actually altered the text so as to give it reference to the sons of Conaire Mór. This would seem a rash assumption, but it appears to be confirmed by the fact that Keating tells the same story,<sup>2</sup> in some cases paraphrasing the actual expressions of the LL text, about the three sons of Conaire mac Mogaláma. Keating's version is fuller and clearer than the older one ; it omits the rhetoric with which the piece here printed ends, but subjoins an account of the death of Neimed. The fact that this text in the Book of Leinster occurs amongst a number of other tales of this group of kings, and has much in common with their style of narrative seems also to prove that it belongs to this period and not to the Conaire-legend.

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1. Fcs 45a45.

2. Ed. Dinneen II. 276sq.

Briefly, Keating's version is as follows : Sárúit, daughter of Conn, was the wife of Conaire mac Moghalama, king of Ireland. Conaire was slain by Neimed mac Sraibgind who himself sought to become sovereign. On the death of Conaire his wife Sárúit married Neimed ; Conaire's sons however went to their uncle Art son of Conn.<sup>3</sup>

Cairbre Riada, one of the sons of Conaire, journeyed to Munster and came to Neimed's house, (perhaps deliberately in order to seek a quarrel). He met there Aingcéal<sup>4a</sup> mac Deighill, an enemy of his and his brothers', and killed Aingcéal's henchman, a certain 'gleacuidhe tréinfhir d'ar bh'ainm Dartadha' ; and returned on the morrow to Tara, where he told them his tidings.<sup>4</sup> On hearing that Aingcéal, with whom they were already at enmity, was with Neimed, Cairbre Riada's two brothers decide to seize their opportunity, and attack both Neimed and Aingcéal. All three set out for Munster, and are joined on their way by Eoghan Mór son of Oilill Olom. Neimed and Mac Con come to meet them and the battle of Feabhra is fought. Neimed's forces are routed, Aingcéal is slain and Mac Con is wounded. Neimed fled to his wife Sárúit (who was also the mother of the three sons of Conaire), and placed himself under her protection. She begs them to spare him, but Cairbre Músc kills him in her arms. 'Is áisc mhór sin, a Chairbre, ar sí ; gonadh de do lean Cairbre Músc de .i. mo a áisc ionaid a bhráithre, óir is é do mharbh fear a mháthar.'<sup>5</sup>

Here we have a far more connected narrative than that of LL, it leaves little unexplained and fits in with the period in which it is placed—namely, the reign of Ailill Olom, and is borne out by the following passage in the list of kings in the Book of Ballymote :<sup>6</sup>

3. He is the hero of a curious romantic tale, ed. Best, *Ériu* III., 149, 599.

4a. In this ed. this name is always spelt so, both here and in the Bruiden DD. narrative.

4. The correspondence of the versions here is remarkable : Agus leis sin tillis go Teamhraigh, agus ar nochtadh a dhal d' Art Aoinfhear, adubhairt Art gur riata an toisc ré ndeachaidh siar ané agus tigheacht aniar aniú, gonadh de sin adearar Cairbre Riada ris.

5. But BB 251a23 : 'Cairpri Musc .i. mí-aisc .i. mo aisc anait na braithri aili, air is e docuaid co Duibfind co deirbsiair, co ndernaid Corc Duibfinni ria.

6. Fcs. 251a17.

*Cairpri Musc* ⁊ *Cairpri Bascain* ⁊ *Cairpre rigfada*, *cid dia nabar Cairpri riu?* *Ni hansa.* *Dia tardad Cath Cind Abrad etir Lugaid mac Con* ⁊ *Eogan mac Oilella Uloim*, *romarbsat na Cairpri Nemhed mac Sraibcind ri Érand fear a mathar etir a di laim budein.* *Air i toirithin Meic Con robaiside* [sc. *Sárait*], ⁊ *i toirithin Eogain robadarsom* [sc. *na Cairpri*]; *conidesin aderar na Cairpri .i. 'corbaire' .i. lucht corbaid iad.* So too the Four Masters A.D. 190, and Tighernach's annals<sup>7</sup> RC XVII 10; and in the group of tales about Mac Con, which immediately precedes this tale in the Book of Leinster, the events which led to the battle of Cenn Ebrat are related; also with some difference of detail in the text 'Cath Cinn Abrad'; finally in the text printed above (p. 136); Gnáthal however is not mentioned in the other versions, nor can I find any mention of him anywhere else.

As will be seen on comparison, Keating's version and that of this text are substantially the same, to a large extent supplementing each other in details, and one scarcely need doubt that the relations to the Bruiden Daderga saga are fictitious. One point however may be noted: in Keating's version the sons of Conaire on hearing that Aingcéal is with Neimed, exclaim 'Is soirbhe sin, iona dul i mBreathnaibh d'á thóraidheacht'; therefore either this Ingcél was, like his name-sake in the Conaire-saga, a Briton, or Keating himself added these words; the latter explanation seems improbable, nor is it likely that this one character is interpolated from the saga.

The name Dergthene would seem also to be a difficulty, yet one might explain it as an elaboration of the scribe or whoever altered the tale—that is, assuming that it has been altered; the name of Eogan Mór is recorded as a descendant of Dergthene<sup>8</sup>: to bring

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7. *Cath Chind Abrad ria maccaib Ailella Uluim ⁊ risna tri Chairpri .i. ria maccaib Conaire maic Mogalama, for Lugaidh Mac Con ⁊ for descert Erenn, a torchair Nemidh mac Sraibcind ri Erand ⁊ Dareara druth Dairine. Docher Dareara la hEogan mac Ailella, ⁊ docear Nemeadh la Cairpri Rigjota, ⁊ is andsa chath sin dobacaighedh Mac Con la Corpre Musc nó la hEógan mac Oilella don rindne .i. do sleig Ailella.* Here again as above in the case of Lugaid Reoderg we have both versions given.

8. Thus Rawl. B 502, p. 149b 1. *Divissa Hibernia insola in duas partes comparas eter Conn Cetchathach ⁊ Eogan Mar, qui ⁊ Mug Nuadat mac Dergthene dicimus.*

him into line with the rest, what more natural than to call him by the name of his ancestor ?

The translation, with a text of this nature, and in the absence of a second copy, is necessarily very tentative ; yet it has seemed worth while to edit the tale on account of its connection with a part of the text printed above.

LUCIUS GWYNN

INCIPIT DE MACCAIB CONAIRE<sup>1</sup>

TRÍ bráthir Cairpre Músc 7 Cairpre Bascháin 7 Corpre Rigfota. Tri meic Conaire meic Etersceóil húi Ieir (*idem* 7 Conaire mac Messe buachalla) agus Sárarit ingen Chuind meic Oenláma Gába (no Caiphe)<sup>2</sup> mathair mac Conaire. (Batar trá na hanmand chetnasa for maccaib Conaire meic Moga Láma 7 ba Sárarit ingen Chuind cetchathaig a <sup>3</sup>mmathair saide ; 7 dano ba hindua dond Incél thóesech, lasro marbad Conaire Mór, in tIncel romarb Conaire mac Moga Láma ; masa Incel ros-marb : *aliter enim alii dicunt* .7c. 5

‘ Rathuit Conaire, ní chél,

la Erc .h. Echach Domlén : (.i. di Lagnib) 10

is and rongæt<sup>4</sup> cliamain Cuind

isin leittir ós Liath-Druimm.’<sup>5</sup>

Batar didiu meic Conaire imMaig Breg iar marbad a nathar i mBruidin Daderga. Báí Incél Cáech do Bretnaib in féinnid 7 tri meic .h. Désa (.i. Fer Gair 7 Fer Rogain 7 Fer Lé) . . . . <sup>6</sup> 15 Batar didiu tri meic Conaire oc Temuir i norbbu Féine hi cóiciud Chorpri Nio Fer (ar ité fénni in sin Muscraige, 7 Dál Matti, 7 Corcu Dubni, 7 Lagein ó Buais co Commur Trí nUsce ; is dibside doḡairther Dál Maitti beus). Bói didiu mathair mac Conaire la Neimed mac Srobciind<sup>7</sup> hi tírib húa Liatháin. (Is de atá Ard 20 Nemid). In Nemed hésin didiu bá rigbriuga side, 7 dĒrnaib a chenel<sup>8</sup>, agus isé ba rí hErand ; gabais co Belach Feda Máir.

1. In transcription the compendium et is extended as agus ; also the words didiu and meic do not occur written out in this text.

2. in marg. 3. MS a with suprascript stroke for m. Facs. a. 4. MS. has here a long ‘e caudata.’ 5. The passage in brackets stands in the lower margin of the page in MS.

6. The scribe seems here to have missed out the end of the sentence.

7. ‘ Óir is ag Neimhidh do bhí sí pósta d’éis Chonaire mic Moghalama ’ Keating. 8. chenl— MS.

Luid fecht and Eogán<sup>9</sup> Már (i. mac Etersceoil meic Eogain brathair Conaire) do acallaim mac Conaire do Themair Breg.  
<sup>25</sup> Infíd doáib scéla Muman, infíd dano dóib Íncel Cæch<sup>10</sup> do bith i llepaid ac Nemiud mac Srobcind. Is and asbert Corpre Músc, 'Ba menma dún ém saigid Ínceil i nAlbain iar nguín ar nathar, cen co tised in hErand nar ndóchum.' Is de sin fóidis Corpre Músc Fiachraig<sup>9</sup> Rigfota i noenló o Themraig corrici tech Nemid  
<sup>30</sup> meic Srobcind ríg hErand; 7 foranic Íncél and fora cind. Fertha fálti fri Fiachaich<sup>9</sup> Rigfota, fobíth ba dalta dóib uile, 7 ba mac na ríga.

Is uad atá Ros Ríatai fri Ard Nemid andes, fobíth in chluichi 7 ind ániusa dogníd in Ríata sin magin sin. Báí dano trénfer la  
<sup>35</sup> Íngél. Ni léiced raind na fodail i tig Nemid. Fer do imthrascrad fris do cech dáim ticed tech Nemid, dia tised dām anechtair and. Imchoemnacair<sup>11</sup> Ingcél didiu dús in bóí no in tánic<sup>11a</sup> dām anechtair issind aidchisin. Asbert Nemed: 'Ni thánic,' ol se, 'dām anechtair innocht.' Asbert dano Fiacha, 'Ced dano do Íngél  
<sup>40</sup> in dām do imchomarc do imthrascrad frisin trenfer ucut,' ol se, 'do muntir Ingcíúil: am dām-sa ém!' ol Fiacha: 'cia diachele<sup>11b</sup> seo innocht,' ol se, 'ní dichela i mbárach.' 'Tair forsa llár didiu!' ol Ingcél. 'Bid indossa duit ón,' ol Fíacha Rigfota.

Dothæt saide forsin lár: condrecat 7 in trénfer. Trascarthair in  
<sup>45</sup> trenfer forsin coire co memaid a dóe láma forsin drolam iarthairach,<sup>12</sup> 7 co memaid a choeldruim immon inber, co mbo marb de fochétoir.<sup>13</sup>

Is iarum asbert Ingcél, 'Ni cluchi aní sin,' ol se, 'acht is comlund: rommertabair,' ol Ingcél, 'lécud mo námat chucum i noentech frim.' Is iarum atbert Sáráit: 'Bá diánaich lemsa  
<sup>50</sup> cid cend Ingcél doberad mo mac, 7 ci atbalad oca ba sodeithber dó.' Is iarum asbert Fiacha fri Neimed ara fácbad Ingcél a theglach. Is iarum asbert Nemed: 'Ni chumgaba nech ellach na tellach im thegluchsa acht me fadéin.' Asbert Fiacha fri sodain: 'Foichlide didiu maccu Conaire, ar thicfat re cind chóic laithe déc do chath

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9. Sic MS. 10. 'e caudata.' 11. MS. Imchoemnacair. 11<sup>a</sup>. The 'nó in tánic' is meant to correct the 'in bóí.' 11<sup>b</sup> a of cia corr. over erasure, also i of diachele. 12. sic MS. with compendium for air. 13. 'Dochuaidh do gleic ré Dartadha, agus buailis ar riogh-choire an tighe é, gur marbhadh leis amhlaidh sin.' Kea.



fritsu co Belach Slige.' 'Díanaigid ém!' ol Nemed, 'Loscat, 55  
manisrí cath uaimse!'

Farumai iarum arna bárach co-ránic Temraig. (Is and assbreth  
fris, 'Is riátaide ind imrim sin,' oc dul dó dar Slige nAssail; is de  
sin asberarsom Fiacha Riatai).<sup>14</sup> Innisid iarum tuaid a natchonnaire  
i tegdais Nemid, ⁊ an roraid Nemed fris. Is de sin nenaisc Corpre 60  
Músc for Dergthene (i. otat Eoganacht ⁊ Dál Caiss)<sup>15</sup> 'folta dar  
ési flatha' i. filidecht cen ergnam act focul, cen chloen, cen rudrach.

Cét lath fri rí Cassil ocus nert ⁊ sochraite dóib oc dígail a nathar.  
Is iarum fichsetar cath, ⁊ Dergthene<sup>16</sup> leo, oc Beluch Feda Máir,  
ocus memaid for Nemed. Ocus dorochair Ingcél Cæch and, ⁊ 65  
ní thorchair Nemed. Ité indrema a cendaile fil fri Crossa Brenaind  
andess i mBeluch Feda Máir.

Is de sin imchemnacair Dergthene<sup>16</sup>: 'A Chorpri Múisc murnig,  
co dígis Nemed madorroach Lé?' (i. Lé Fír Flaith mac Conaire, *cf. Eriu ix,*  
docer i mBrudin Daderga). Is de sin frisrogart Corpre Músc: 70  
'Co rinnib sleg i mbrunnib bánaib, co fæbraib<sup>17</sup> claideb immunélaib  
slóg rosoiset gnee. Dariuchtatar meicc<sup>18</sup> dofessat hui digal  
immatorchair di láim im chend cnedach imchéil rochlois<sup>19</sup> ilach  
crúaid coṅgraimm.'

Is de sin gabsat meic Conaire crích Muman. Gabais Corpre 75  
Músc óta Brosnaig co Dergmónai<sup>20</sup> iar Loch Léin, atá hÉrand dar  
Mumain; co fil cach immaire and tæb<sup>21</sup> fri tæb<sup>21</sup> fri immaire  
nEoganachta, fobíth immfortachta ⁊ comairchisechta dóib co  
bráth.

Gabais Corpre Rigfota eter Diabul Múscraige gabais ⁊ hÉllne 80  
(crích Ciarraige Luachra hó Fornoct conici Lumnech); ocus  
gabais Corpre Bascháin in tír atá a chenél<sup>22</sup> indossa.

'Fochen cách tanic se

Sárait mathair tri Cairpre:

fochen don chach dománic

mathair tri Corpre Sarait.'

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14. 'Agus leis sin tillis go Teamhraigh, agus ar nochthead a dhal d'Art  
Aoinfhear, adubhairt Art gur riata an toisc ré' ndeachaidh siar ané agus  
tigheacht aniar aníu, gonadh de sin adearar Cairbre Riada ris.' Kea.  
15. *Added above line.* 16. *Over erasure.* 17. '*e caudata* MS.'

18. *Written out.*

19. *is distinctly in MS. not ss.*

20. *sic MS.*

21. '*e caudata.*'

22. *chenl— MS.*

.i. Sárail ingen Chuind (.i. Cond mac Oenláma Cáiphe di Chonnachtaib) is di rogab Nemed mac Srobcind in rand sa. Trí brathir imorro Ōengus mac Ōenláma ⁊ Cond ⁊ Gala Dána :

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‘ Co slóg tar buidne balca  
níf matulaid co Connachta :  
Mairg<sup>23</sup> atchondaire crú Cuind  
tar tæb claidib Con culaind ! ’

## TRANSLATION

OF THE SONS OF CONAIRE *incipit.*

THREE brothers were Cairbre Músc, Cairbre Baschain and Cairbre Rigfota, the three sons of Conaire son of Eterscéil grandson of Iar (he and Conaire son of Mesbuachalla are the same), and Sárail daughter of Conn mac Ōenláma Gába (or Cáiphe) was mother of the sons of Conaire. (The same names indeed had the sons of Conaire mac Mogaláma, and their mother was Sárail daughter of Conn Cetchathach ; moreover a descendant of that chieftain Ingcél by whom Conaire Mor was slain, was the Ingcél who slew Conaire mac Mogaláma—if indeed Ingcél slew him : *aliter autem alii dicunt* : ‘ Conaire fell (I shall not omit it) at the hands of Erc grand-son of Eochu Doimlén ; the son-in-law of Conn was stricken on the acclivity above Lúathdruimm.’

Conaire’s sons then were in Mag mBreg after their father had been slain in the Hostel of Daderga. Ingcél Cáech the freebooter of the Britons and the three sons of Ua Désa (Fer Gair and Fer Rogain and Fer Lé) were . . . . \* The sons of Conaire were in

23. *leg.* is mairg *metr. gr.* : so YBL. 185b, BB. 263b.

\* Zimmer with regard to this sentence writes (*Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum* xxxv.), ‘ Das heisst doch deutlich : Ingcél von den Briten war der Mörder, der Führer der *fiandyr* welche den Mord ausführten ’ ; the idiom however does not permit of this explanation ; but cf. Keat. 4325 : ‘ Téid Cairbre Riada don Mhumhain go teach Neimhidh agus Sáruide inghine Cuinn a mháthar féin, óir is ag Neimhidh do bhí sí pósta d’eis Chonaire mic Mogha Lámhá, agus tarla Aingceal i dtigh Neimhidh an tráth soin.’

the territory of the Féne at Tara in the province of Cairbre Nio Fer. (For these are Féne-peoples there : Muscraige and Dál Matti and Corco Duibne and Lagen from Buais to Commur-tri-n-uisce ; from them Dal Matti is still called). And the mother of Conaire's sons was with Nemed mac Srobcind in the lands of the Hui Líathain. (From him is named Árd Nemid). This Nemed then was a royal hospitaller, of the Érainn by descent, and 'twas he who was king of the Érainn and held sway as far as Belach Fedá Máir.

Then Eogan Már (i.e. the son of Eterscéil son of Eogan, Conaire's brother) went to Temair Breg to speak with the sons of Conaire. He told them tidings of Munster, he told them also that Ingcél Cáech slept nightly at the house of Nemed mac Srobcind. Whereon Cairbre Músc said : ' We were minded to pursue Ingcél in Scotland, even though he had not come to us here in Ireland, after our father had been slain.' So Cairbre Músc that same day sent Fiachra Rigfota from Tara to the house of Nemed mac Srobcind king of the Érainn ; and there he found Ingcél before him.

Fiacha Rigfota was welcomed, for he was foster-son to all of them, and also son of the queen [i.e. Sárail].

Now Ros Ríatai to the south of Árd Nemid is so named by reason of that feat and rash deed which the Ríata [i.e. Rig-fota] wrought therein. For Ingcél had a sturdy henchman with him ; this man, if any company of strangers came to Nemed's house, would allow neither meat nor drink to be served (unless) a man of the company first wrestled with him. Ingcél asked if a band of strangers had come that night. Nemed answered ' No such band,' quoth he, ' has come to-night.' Said Fíacha, ' Nay, let Ingcél ask of the company to wrestle with yon strong man of his own folk : for I am a company in myself,' quoth Fíacha : ' and though thou refuse it now,' said he, ' thou shalt not refuse to-morrow.' ' Come out then on the floor,' cried Ingcél. ' Then have it now !' quoth Fíacha Rigfota.

He comes out on the floor ; he and the warrior struggle ; the latter pitches on the cauldron and his shoulders broke against the further lug and his spine across the randle-tree, so that he straightway died.

Then spoke Ingcél, ' No game is this,' quoth he, ' but a conflict ; ye have plotted,' said Ingcél, ' to let mine enemies enter the house against me !' Whereat Sárail said, ' It were desirable (?) to me

that my son should carry off Ingcél's head, and though he died in getting it, 'twere full seemly for him.' Then Fíacha said to Nemed that Ingcél should leave his household. Nemed made answer, 'None shall have power to keep or send forth in mine own house save I myself.' Thereto Fíacha answered, 'Take heed then of the sons of Conairè, for they will come before a fortnight is out to do battle with thee at Belach Slige.' 'Haste ye then!' cried Nemed, 'Let them burn unless a battle from me reaches them (?).'

He (Fíacha) sets forth on the morrow and came to Tara. (There they said to him, 'Like driving was that errand,' as he went across Slige Assail—hence he is called 'Fíacha the driving-like.') He tells them then in the north what he had seen in Nemed's house, and what Nemed had said to him. Thereupon Cairbre Músc composed 'Lands for Sovereignty' (i.e. a poem without ornament (?)) save a word, without error or bombast (?) concerning Dergtheine, he from whom are Eoganacht and Dál Caiss.

A hundred warriors (?) against Cashel's king and forces and hosts had they with them to avenge their father. Then they gave battle, Dergtheine with them, at Belach Feda Máir, and Nemed was defeated; and Ingcél Cáech fell there, but not Nemed. Those are the tokens (?) of their head-spoils that are in Belach Feda Máir westwards from Brenann's Crosses.

Whence Dergtheine asked, 'O well-loved Cairbre Músc, how wilt thou go (?) to Nemed . . . . ?' (i.e. Lé Fír Flaith who fell in Bruiden Daderga). To which Cairbre Músc made answer: "With spear-points in white breasts, with edges of swords in their necks the faces of hosts have changed. Sons have avenged, descendants shall wreak vengeance (on him) by whose hand he fell. Around the wounded head, throughout the welkin (?) has been heard (?) the paean of stern strife.'

So thence the sons of Conaire ruled the lands of Munster. Cairbre Músc held from Brosnach to Dergmonai along Loch Léin where the Érainn are, across Munster; so that each ridge runs side by side with a ridge of the Eoganacht-people for the sake of mutual assistance and friendliness with these in perpetuity.

Cairbre Rigfota likewise held sway; between Diabul Muscraige and Éllne he ruled (the territory of Ciarraige Lúachra from Fornocht

to Limerick) ; and Cairbre Baschain held the land where his posterity still lives.

‘ Welcome were all that hither came to Sárail, mother of the Three Cairbre’s ; welcome all that came to me, Sárail mother of the Three Cairbre’s.’ That is Sárail daughter of Conn (i.e. Conn mac Óenláma Cáiphe of the men of Connacht) of her did Nemed speak this verse. Three brothers moreover were Óengus mac Óenláma, Conn and Gala Dána. ‘ With hosting past the sturdy squadrons, inauspiciously came they to Connacht ; woe to him who has beheld Conn’s blood upon Cúchulainn’s swordblade.’



## QUANTITATIVE ASSONANCE

IN his learned paper *Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern*, which opens up a new era in Irish literary research, Thurneysen has devoted a short chapter (p. 89) to a discussion of the laws of consonance in Irish poetry, as formulated by me in *Ériu VI.*, p. 103ff. While he agrees that quantity is an essential factor in ordinary consonance, he will not allow the existence of what I have called quantitative assonance, i.e., the agreement of verse-ends in quantity alone without regard to the quality of vowels and consonants. It is true that this kind of assonance is not strictly carried through by Oengus in his *Félire*; but I cannot agree with Thurneysen that its occurrence in so many stanzas is due to mere chance. I seem to recognise a principle of versification which has been a characteristic of all syllabising poetry composed, as the first Metrical Treatise expresses it, *iar fírdligiud na héitse* (Ir. T. III., p. 23, 23). The truth is that we must distinguish more carefully between poems by recognised professional poets (*filid*) and by those whom I may call literary dilettanti, especially clerics who had not undergone any professional training.

It has not hitherto been pointed out in what exactly the *tomus téchta* (Ir. T. III., p. 6, 10) consists which the author of the first Metrical Treatise considers as constituting *fírdliged na héitse*. I believe that it refers in its full extent and in its strictest form to four things:

1. Alliteration, not of the casual kind, or confined to certain verses only, especially the fourth, but alliteration throughout, from word to word, as in the following stanza from a poem by Orthanach úa Cóelláma (LL51b):

Masu de chlaind **E**chdach **A**ird      atái, a **b**aírd, **b**úaid cech óin,  
indid **e**tarlam nach **n**dúain      de **c**homram **c**hrúaid **C**hobthaich  
[**C**hóil.

'If thou art of the race of noble Echaíd, O bard, glory of every one, indite now some song of the fierce contest of Cobthach the Slender.'

This device was taken over into syllabic poetry from the older rhythmical alliterative poetry, both rhymed and unrhymed. The following stanza from Rawl. B 502, p. 116c may serve as an example of rhymed alliterative poetry:

Nida<sup>1</sup> **dír** **dermait**      **dála** cach **ríg** **rómdai**,  
reimsi **ríg** **Temro**,      **túatha** for **slicht** **slógdai**.

'It behoves me not to forget the doings of each renowned king, the periods of Tara's kings, hosted tribes upon the track of war.'

Here is an example of the earlier rhymeless poetry from Rawl. B 502, 115a, LL 311a, 377a (cf. O'Mulconry's Glossary 779):

Láithe gaile **Galeón**      gabsat ina lámaib laigni,  
Laigin iar<sup>2</sup> **sin**      slóg **Galeón** glonnach.

'The warriors of the Galeoin took lances in their hands: thereafter the bellicose host of the Galeoin (were called) Laigin.'

2. A link between all verses, from line to line as well as from stanza to stanza. This link consists either in full alliteration, or in alliteration merely for the eye. Examples will be found in all stanzas quoted above (**a**ird : **a**tái, **o**in : **i**ndid, **dú**ain : **d**e, &c.); for this device was likewise taken over into syllabic poetry from the practice in the older alliterative poetry.

### 3. Consonance.

4. Quantitative assonance. This, like consonance, is a new device of syllabising poetry. It may take the place of consonance in the first and third verses of the stanza, where we constantly find it when such metres as *rannaigecht*, *rindard*, and *dechnad* are handled in conformity with strict rules. Perhaps as the matter has not hitherto received much attention it may be well to give a number of examples from old- and early Middle-Irish poetry in illustration.

Let us take a poem in *dechnad* lately edited by Tadhg O'Donoghue

1. nidu MS.

2. de R.

in the Miscellany presented to me, p. 260ff. Here in 72 stanzas the first verse regularly<sup>3</sup> either consonates or assonates in quantity with the rhyme-words. We find e.g. such assonances as *móir : clíar* 2, *truimm : cell* 3, *fell : cill* 15, *mór : gréin* 16, *nós : gáis* 25, &c. Other examples will be found in Ir. T. III. 8, where in l. 12 *dermaít* assonates with *amrai*, and *cléithi* with *réilseng* in l. 20. A good example of *rindard* with consonance or quantitative assonance in the first and third verses is found in a poem preserved in Rawl. B 502, p. 83b and LL 35b1, the first stanza of which should read as follows :

Feidlimid athair<sup>4</sup> Echach,      ba<sup>5</sup> amra in<sup>6</sup> duine,  
ba flaith, ba fíal toga      dar<sup>7</sup> íath nĒrenn uile.

Here *Echach* and *toga* assonate with the rhyme-words, and throughout twelve stanzas no exception to the rule is found.

Good examples of *rannaigeacht*, both *mór* and *bec*, with consonance or quantitative assonance will be found in LU 51b (*Ān sin, a maic Maic ind Óc*), LL17b (*Eocho fáebor na féne*<sup>8</sup>); ib. 18a (*Fiacha Labraind láech*); ib. 51b (*Masu de chlaind Echdach aird*); in Rawl. B502, p. 137a (*Cia lín don rígraid ráin rúaid*); CZ VI. 263; ib. 264; ib. 266; ib. 269; Arch. III. 222 (*A fír féil and Etir min is mór*); ib. 232 (*Tuc dam, a Dé Móir*); ib. 304 (*Aed Ailig, inmain lim hé*); ib. 306 (*Uasalepscop Ērenn Aed*).

The above examples will, I hope, suffice to establish the principle of quantitative assonance beyond doubt. Further investigation must show how far each individual poet observed the rule, and whether in the course of time its observance became more strict and general, or the reverse. So far as I am acquainted with middle- and early modern-Irish poetry I should say that the former was the case, and that no professional bard of the later ages neglected it. See examples in O'Grady's Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, pp. 361, 449, 474; and in CZ II. 341 §13.

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3. In stanza 23 *leic* 'let' consonates with *ruit* and *cluic*, the originally long vowel of *lecim* having already been shortened as in the modern language. In the same stanza for *gád* read *gád* (: *bráth*) and translate: 'do not permit an outcry (of distress) nor any peril of the Church.'

4. athar R.      5. om. R.L.      6. om. L.      7. for R.

8. Here in the sixth stanza, though the facs. has *enir* (= *emir*, ib. l. 21), the right reading is *Enir* as is proved by the assonance with *forod* and *gabal*.

## AN OLD-IRISH PARALLEL TO THE MOTIVE OF THE BLEEDING LANCE

**I**N his recent essay on the Grail motive of the Bleeding Lance<sup>1</sup> Mr. Arthur C. L. Brown, declining any influence of the story of Longinus, seeks the origin of the legend in Celtic lore and quotes a large number of more or less close parallels from Irish stories. Here is one which has not been noticed before, though as in Mr. Brown's parallels we have to do not with a bleeding, but a bloody lance only.

According to an Old-Irish poem preserved in two 12th century MSS., Rawlinson B 502, p. 83b. and in the Book of Leinster, p. 35a, Echuid Fúath nAirt, chief of the tribe called Fothairt, was driven from hearth and home by King Art mac Cuinn for having polluted the hall of Tara by secretly and mischievously bringing into it a bloody head on a pole or lance of the quicken-tree, while the King was holding a feast. So far as I can judge from the language the poem was composed in the tenth century. Here follow the stanzas containing the incident. In the translation I have left out some of the almost meaningless 'chevilles.'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Cid frisndechaid<sup>2</sup> assa thír<sup>3</sup><br/>mac Fedelmthe<sup>5</sup> Rechtaid rúaid</p> | <p>Echaid co mbríg<sup>4</sup> brecctais géill<br/>di chúain Túathail Thecht-<br/>[mair thréin ?</p> |
| <p>2 Hécin frisndechaid<sup>6</sup> immach<br/>leis dobreth<sup>8</sup> fri selba sreth</p>              | <p>Echaid<sup>7</sup> ria cath, clú rochleth,<br/>cleth cháirthind hi Temra tech.</p>                |

1. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXV., I 1910.

2. frisndechaid R. ced rosndechaid L.      3. as tir R.      4. Eochuid  
breg dom (sic) L.      5. Fedelmid R, Feidl— L.      6. frisndechaid R,  
risndechaid L.      7. Echuid L.      8. dobert L.

- 3 Dobreth cenn fir forsin cleith      ar scáth in scéith, ba bíl braith,  
demin leis ba hed in sin      mescfad in fleid immon flaith.
- 4 Iar sin asbert fris in drúi      mac Tachair<sup>9</sup> nad chanad góí;<sup>10</sup>  
'dobreth cleth cháirthind co crú      tre thnú issin tech hi tói.'<sup>11</sup>
- 5 Frisin drúid adféded<sup>12</sup> chert      . asbert arddrí<sup>13</sup> Érenn Art :  
'cia don tslúag rochoirp<sup>14</sup> in tech ?      cia hairm<sup>15</sup> itá in chleth ?  
[cluinem lat.]
- 6 Lassais leis in chleth co crú,      anacht<sup>16</sup> in tech, nír on dó,  
in drúi diarbu demin clí<sup>17</sup>      adsúi<sup>18</sup> tenid co fí fó. F.

1 'Why did powerful Echaid depart out of his country, the son of Fedelmídechtaid of the race of mighty Tuathal Techtmar ?

2 It was by force Echaid went abroad, (fleeing) before a battle ; by him a lance of the rowan tree had been brought into the house of Tara.

3 The head of a man had been put upon the lance<sup>19</sup> behind the shield ; he knew well that that was what would mar the feast for the prince.

4 Thereupon the druid said to him,<sup>20</sup> Tachar's son who never spoke false : ' A rowan lance with gore has been brought mischievously into the house by stealth.'<sup>21</sup>

5 To the druid who was revealing truth Art, the high-king of Ireland, said : ' Which of the host has polluted the house ? where is the lance ? let us hear it from thee ! '

6 The gory lance flared up, the house was saved,—no disgrace to him ; the druid to whom protection was assured (?) kindles a fire with benign venom.'

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9. dachú L. 10. goe R, gái L. 11. toe R, táí L. 12. adfethed R. 13. oenri L. 14. to be read *cairm*. 15. rochorb R. 16. ranacht L. 17. ciarbo demin lais a chli L. 18. astui R. 19. cleith, dat. of cleth f. Here we have a good example of the importance attaching to the recognition of the principle of quantitative assonance, which forbids us to read *cleith* (acc. of *cliath*), though apparent rhyme with *scéith* might make us do so. The sense of course also demands *cleith*. 20. i.e., to Art. 21. Literally, 'in silence.'



## THE MIRACLE OF CIARAN'S HAND

THIS story is known from the LL (274<sup>a</sup>) copy published by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I 416,<sup>a</sup> and from the notices in the Annals of the Four Masters A.D. 539, in the Annals of Tighernach, and in the Annals of Inisfallen, (R.I.A. 23F9), A.D. 544, all evidently based on the LL or a similar version.<sup>b</sup> The following two copies of the anecdote from the R.I.A. MS. *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* contain some additional detail. To the first, which stands nearer to the LL text, I have added the most important variants of the latter.

I (L.F. 10 v<sup>o</sup>a.)

FERTHAIR dano aenach Tailltin la Diarmuid mac Cearbuill in cead<sup>1</sup> bliaduín ro gob rigi nEreann. Ciaran mac int saeir a anmcara isin oenach na farradh. Agtair cluithi<sup>2</sup> an aenai. Tic ben dinnsai a fir isin aenach,<sup>3</sup> ⁊ robao in fear iceilliugud in gnima sin. Gebadsa luighi fo lámh Ciarain uait, ar in bean. Dobeir in fear a luighi fo laimh Ciarain narbo cintach e isin gnim rolii an ben fair<sup>4</sup>, ⁊ ba luighi<sup>5</sup> eithchi tuc in fear, ⁊ geibi dono cnoc aillsi fora muinel in fer araba<sup>6</sup> lámh Ciarain fair, ⁊ teit a cend de comba e a fianuisi fear nEreann ac imthecht assin aenach ⁊ se cin cenn, co moradh ainm nDe ⁊ Ciarain trisin mirbuili sin. Rugadh an fear cin cenn<sup>7</sup> la Ciaran co Cluain iardain dia lesugud anert<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> O'Grady's text is merely an approximation to that of the MS. It may be noticed that, in addition to other mistakes O'Grady has omitted five words in the first sentence.

<sup>b</sup> The name of the perjurer is given as Ambacuc in LL, in the Annals of Tighernach and of Inisfallen, as Abacuc by the Four Masters. In the *Liber Flavus* copies the name does not occur.

1. om. 2. clucheda ⁊ fearthair graifni ind oenaig. 3. add. ⁊ atnaig ocliamain a fir for mnai aile. 4. féin. 5. et ba bréc dó. 6. áit imbái lám in chierig fair. 7. in dichennach. 8. airet nochindied Dia a bethu.

rocinneadh a bethugud, ⁊ roboedh co cenn .vii. mbliadhan na  
 bethaidh ac na manchaibh tareis Ciarain. Co tugud ben cuigi  
 fecht ann ⁊ coraentaidh fria ⁊ corotorrceadadh<sup>9</sup> an ben de,  
<sup>15</sup> ⁊<sup>10</sup> ba marb son focedoir iardain. Rug imorro in bean a mac ⁊  
 conad<sup>11</sup> a sil sighe na Sodhain Midhe ut quidam dicunt.<sup>12</sup> Quidam<sup>13</sup>  
 alii dicunt conad a sil ua mBeid in Airgiallaibh. Rohadnocht  
 iarum e. Tic<sup>14</sup> in meigach lasna cleircibh a cenn artharach imaire  
 Comghaill<sup>15</sup> co fuil leacc ⁊ ligi<sup>16</sup> annsin acuimniugud an sgeoil  
<sup>20</sup> sin do cach. Conadh ingnadh dingintuibh aonaidh Tailltin sin.

## II (L.F. 37 r<sup>o</sup>b.)

Laa diandech Diarmuid mac Cearbuil do comoradh aenaidh  
 Tailltean in bliadhan iar ngabhail Eireann do, ocus as se fo hanm-  
 cara do an tan sin .i. Ciaran mac ant šaer, ⁊ do bai an la sin  
 acoimhidecht Diarmada ar in aenach, ⁊ ar caithemh aibneasa  
 an aenaigh doibh co fagadar aenbean dia ninnsaighi ⁊ hi ag iaraidh  
 a fir, ⁊ arnasadail di dobi aga liamuint ar mnai aile, ⁊ do bui an  
 fear ageiliugud na mna uime sin. ⁊ atbeart an ben cogebadh luighi  
 folaimh Ciarain narfo cintach he isin gnim doli an ben fair, ⁊ budh  
 luighi eithigh tuc in fear ⁊ fosaidh<sup>1</sup> cnocc aillsi fora muinel an  
 ait laimhe Ciarain, gur toit a ceann de isan aenach a fianuisi fear  
 nEireann, cormoradh ainm De ⁊ Ciarain triasna miruile sin, ⁊  
 condeach la Ciaran co Cluainmicnois do leasugud a anma gein  
 do cinnfeadh Dia beatha dho. Ocus bui co ceann .vii. mbliadhan  
 in a beatha can ceann air ac na manchuib tareis Ciarain, co tarla  
 bean cuigi feacht ann ⁊ cur comruig simh fria corbo torrach hi,  
 ⁊ co fuair simh bas focedoir iarsin. Ocus a cinn aimsir iarsin ruc  
 an bean mac don meigach, ⁊ rohadhnaceadh an meigheach lais  
 na cleircibh, co fuill a leacc ⁊ a leighi a Cluain a cuimniugud an  
 sgeoil sin. Corub dingantaibh ⁊ do miruilbh laimhe Ciarain  
 do tabairt an eithech an scel sin.

J. FRASER

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9. corotorrched. 10. om. ⁊— iardain. 11. conde sen  
 Sogain imMide 12. add. iar comrac dosom imorro frisín mnái atbath  
 fochetóir. 13. om quidam—Airgiallaibh. 14. om. tic in meigach.  
 15. áit ifail cross Chomgaill indiu. 16. ligi Ambacuc.

1. i.e. fosaigh. The second i is smudged.

## NOTES ON THE SCRIPT OF LEBOR NA HUIDRE

THE Irish manuscript *Lebor na hUidre* or Book of the Dun, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, is too well known to need any special description. A lithographic transcription of it by Joseph O'Longan was published in 1870 by the Royal Irish Academy, and most of its contents have since been edited or translated by various scholars and in various places. The following notes are concerned only with the handwriting.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript in its present state is a fragment consisting of sixty-seven leaves of vellum varying in quality, and averaging eleven inches in height by eight in width: a few are smaller, and some have only a single column. They are now separated from their conjugates and laid down on a parchment mount, which makes it difficult if not impossible to determine their relations to one another, or the original sequence of the gatherings. The ink varies from light brown to jet black. Not only single letters have been touched over, but whole pages appear to have been renovated, the retracing occasionally leaving untouched some portion of the older ink, thus accounting for the unusual freshness of these portions.

The *probatio pennae* of Mail Muri mac meic Cuind na mBocht occurs on the upper margin of p. 55 (partly illegible) and p. 70 (pls. II, IV). And on p. 37, col. 2 has been inserted an *Oroit* or Prayer for this Mail Muri 'roscrib 7 roscrut a lebraib eggsamlaib in lebursa.' i.e., 'who wrote and collected this book from various books'

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1. Three pages, 43, 44, and 37 were reproduced by the photozincographic process in Gilbert's *National MSS. of Ireland*, Pt. I., 1874, Plates 27, 28, 29. Page 43, col. a, 1-26 was earlier reproduced in facsimile by O'Curry and prefixed to his edition of *Sergligi Conculaind*, *Atlantis I.*, 1858. Page 55a 1-10, the opening lines of the *Táin*, were also reproduced by him in the *Manuscript Materials*, 1861 (pl. 7). It should be stated here that the two pages entitled "Facsimile in Colours," published in the Appendix to the R.I. Acad. edition, are merely tinted reproductions of O'Longan's transcript.

(O'Curry). This entry was inserted in 1345, it goes on to state, by order of Domnall mac Muircheartaig 'rofuráil athnúighadh na persainnisin lerscribad in scíamhlebharsa ar *Shigraid* hua Cuirrndín,'<sup>1</sup> i.e., 'who directed the renewal of the name of the person who wrote this beautiful book, by Sigraídh O'Cuirnin' (O'Curry): a somewhat ambiguous statement if the rendering is accurate.<sup>2</sup> From this entry has arisen the tradition that *Lebor na hUidre* is the compilation of Maelduire mac Ceileachair, and it has never been questioned: on the contrary, it has been accepted by all scholars who have had to do with the manuscript since it came into the possession of Messrs. Hodges and Smith in the early part of the last century, and thence to the Royal Irish Academy.<sup>3</sup> Petrie in his paper on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill published in 1838, refers to it (p. 169) as a 'manuscript written at Clonmacnoise in the 12th century'; and in the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers, published in 1845, he describes it (p. 97) as 'one of the most celebrated Irish manuscripts—a work compiled at Clonmacnoise, and transcribed by Moelmuiri the son of Ceileachar, the grandson of Conn na mBocht, a distinguished writer of that great abode of learning—the Scotorum nobile culmen—in the twelfth century, and of which the original on vellum, the property of Messrs. Hodges and Smith is now before me.' It is referred to in similar terms by O'Donovan and O'Curry, and on the title-page of the lithographic edition, it is 'compiled and transcribed about A.D. 1100 by Moelmuiri mac Ceileachair.' The three photozincographic plates exhibiting a uniform script, published by Gilbert in his Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland, have tended to confirm this tradition. The death of Maelduire at the hands of marauders in the church of Clonmacnois, recorded by the Four Masters under the year 1106, has provided a terminus before which the manuscript must have been compiled, and thus given *Lebor na hUidre* a good

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1. Sigraídh ua Cuirrndín was a poet of Breifne, who, according to the Four Masters, died in the year 1347.

2. The explanation given in the description prefixed to the lithographic transcript of O'Longan (p. xi.) is that at this period the name of the 'original writer . . . seems to have disappeared, several leaves of the book, and amongst others that which contained it, having been lost.' But this is conjecture. It more probably refers to the renovation of the handwriting which had become faded, as many portions not touched over testify.

3. The provenance of the MS. is not mentioned by Gilbert.

claim to be considered the oldest manuscript written exclusively in Irish to which an almost exact date could be assigned. As such its importance for linguistic investigation could not well be overrated.

Recently, when making a collation of O'Longan's transcript with the original manuscript, I was struck by the marked difference exhibited by the handwriting throughout the volume, which it seemed to me was incompatible with its having been entirely the work of Maelmuire. I hope to be able to show here with the aid of photographic<sup>1</sup> reproductions that the handwriting is not uniform, but varies to such an extent as to make it impossible, in my opinion, any longer to acquiesce in this tradition of a single scribe. And moreover that in a number of the texts a change of hand shows itself precisely at places where there are lacunae in other versions that have been transmitted to us, or where they point to a different recension, thus affording evidence that the exemplar from which the present fragment was compiled was itself defective.<sup>2</sup>

Three principal hands can be distinguished, apart from the interlinear and marginal glosses and scholia, some of which are by the text hand, but others clearly later. To judge by the many features which these hands have in common—the letter-forms, method of placing accents, contractions, etc., they appear to belong to the same school, and are I think of the same period. Marked preference however for one particular form of letter rather than another, principally the tall *e* and *s* rising above the line, together with the general appearance of the handwriting, enable a change of hand to be discerned without difficulty. They are here denoted as A, M, H. Though H actually appears second, for reasons which will be seen presently it is placed third.

A. This is a careful well-formed book hand, the strokes boldly

1. The photographs are by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan of Essex Quay, and are the best that could be taken away from a properly lighted studio. Though several attempts were made with p. 55, it was unfortunately found impossible to bring out the *probatio pennae* on the upper margin of col. 2. The collotype plates are by the University Press, Oxford, and have been enlarged from half and quarter plates.

2. For an account of the family of Maelmuire and of his school, see Zimmer's learned and penetrating analysis of these texts in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxviii. 671 ff. Many of his conclusions as to the compilatory nature of the sagas, and the interpolations he conjectured, are borne out by the manuscript.



and firmly drawn, those extending below the line tapering to a point (pl. I, IVa). The letters are more uniform in height and maintain a more even level than either of the other hands. The salient and distinguishing feature of this hand is the hooked open *a*, more familiar as a capital, but here used in preference to the small open *a*, which however also occurs. This hooked *a* is used in the same manner in other manuscripts of the period, the Trinity College Liber Hymnorum, for example. The second marked peculiarity of A is the tall *e*, which occurs in two forms, having a slight droop at the top, but free of the following letter, and also occasionally looped and joined to the following letter. This is quite a common feature in certain Irish hands, but in this MS. is peculiar to one hand only. Similarly in *sr*, *sf*, *ss*, etc., the first *s* when it rises above the line is not joined to the succeeding letter. Characteristic is tall *e* followed by *i*, especially in *ein*, where the cross stroke indicating *n* is joined to the hook of *e*, but clear of the *i*; *a* in the compendium for *ar* is better drawn than in the other hands, where it has a tendency to rise above the line. Note *si*, how the *i* subscript is ligatured to the shaft of *s*, giving the latter the appearance of *h*; and the mark of aspiration curled up at the end, also the pronounced upward curl to the cross bar of *l* in the symbol for *nó* (uel), and the drooping character of *s*. Again the compendium for *fri*, where the hooked character above the *f* is more upright than in either M or H. The large ornamental capitals are elaborate and well formed. Contractions are not so numerous as in the other hands, *h* being more frequently written out. It is an elegant and somewhat formal hand, symmetrical, and uniformly good.

M. This is a graceful more pointed hand, not so regular as the former (pl. II). The letters are upright with a tendency to lean back, as if the writer held his pen sideways, which gives a somewhat broken appearance to the writing, but at the same time not unpleasing. It is a beautiful and refined hand, easy to distinguish. Occasionally it appears slightly larger and heavier, where I suspect it has been most skilfully retraced, but always careful and good. Its prominent characteristic is the tall *e*, which is invariably looped over and save in one or two instances joined to the succeeding letter, similarly *s* when raised above the line, notably in *ss*, *sf*, etc.; *si* is rarely ligatured, the subscript *i* being thrown well out from the shaft

of the *e*, but in the early pages it is straight, dropping below the line. Observe the 2-shaped *r*, how it drops gracefully below the line, often with a slight upward curl, contrasting with the same letter in the other hands, always short. The shafts of *s*, *r*, *f*, are as a rule long, finishing in a delicate hair-stroke. The accents are clearly and finely marked, very characteristic in this hand. The large ornamental capitals are well drawn like those of A. This is the hand which has transcribed the greater part of the manuscript, and as it is also that of the *probatio pennae* (pp. 55, 70) it is here designated M.

H. Here we have a hand exhibiting much greater variety than either of the preceding, liable to deteriorate, and ranging from a neat and careful script to an untidy scrawl, to account for which one is almost tempted to postulate a fourth hand. At present however I am inclined to think it can be attributed to a single scribe. In general it is a plain sloping hand, somewhat stiff and irregular, the strokes usually terminating squarely as if made by a broad pen. There is none of the delicacy and lightness of M. As it is the hand that transcribed the Homilies (p. 31-37) it is here denoted by H. (pl. III). Its distinguishing characteristic is again the tall *e*, which unlike that of M is never looped over, but always open, and clear of the following letter. This peculiarity is invariable. Precisely the same treatment is observed in *s* when rising above the line, e.g., in *ss*, *sf*, *sr*, *sp*, etc. The small round head of *f* is characteristic. In the Homilies, where a large amount of matter is compressed into a page, the writing is small and cramped: the stumpy appearance of *si* and the short tails of *r* and *s* will not fail to strike the eye. Elsewhere the writing is larger, in one place upright and carefully formed (pl. VIb), inclining to the round, in another angular and approximating to M (pl. VIa), but always with the tall *e* open. Again, rough and untidy (pl. VIIa), rapid and spread out (pl. VIIe), as if the object were to make a certain amount of matter extend to the end of the column. Occasionally the style is more free, seeming almost to borrow some of the features of M (pl. VIIf). Note also *ci*, the *i* subscript and drawn round, a favourite form with H, also used by A, but only sparingly by M (Pl. IIIa 20). The capitals and large ornamental letters are with one or two exceptions more rudely drawn and not so finished as those of A or M.

The distribution of the hands will best be seen in the following table. The asterisk indicates a chasm in the manuscript.

- P. \*1-2\*    **A.** Sex aetates mundi (fragment).  
           \*3-4    **A.** Historia Brittonum of Nennius (fragment).  
           5-14    **A.** Amra Choluimb chille. (Pl. I).  
           \*15    **A.** same. Col. *a* 34 Scél Tuain m. Cairill.  
           16\*    **H.** Scél Tuain m. Cairill contd. (breaks off).

This leaf is considerably thinner than the preceding and perforated in places by abrasion. This is the first appearance of H, and apparently as a reviser. Note that the poems forming a considerable portion of the page do not occur in Rawl. B 512 and H 3.18, which otherwise follow this recension, or in Laud 610, a different version.

- \*17-18    **M.** Dá Brón flatha Nime (acephalous).

This leaf (sig. s) should I think come immediately before p. 27 (sig. t). The end of col. *a* and the whole of col. *b* are left blank.

- \*19-20\*    **M.** Mesca Ulad (acephalous). Col. *b* 32 Táin Bó Dartada (5 lines only).

- \*21-22\*    **M.H.** Táin Bó Flidais (acephalous). Col. 22*a*31 Immram Curaig Máildúin.

Two columns have here been joined to form a leaf (pl. VIb). 21*a* and verso are in the handwriting of M, the other col. recto and verso in that of H. The unfilled space at the end of 22 *a* makes it evident that this column was written by H. after col. *b* by M. H. failed to space out his matter so as to coalesce with M. The writing along the lower margin appears to be that of H, relaxed and careless (cp. pl. VII a), which would show that the columns were joined at an early period.

- 23-24    **M.** Immram Curaig Máildúin contd.

- 25-26\*    **H.** same (breaks off).

These pages show the natural brown ink, untouched. The hand is more upright and slightly more pointed on p. 25 than is usual with H. See pl. VIa.

- 27        **A.M.** Fis Adamnán. First ten lines by A. (pl. V b).

- 28-30    **M.** same contd.

- 31        **M.H.** same concluded. Col. *b* 34-47 H begins Scéla láí Brátha *in ras*.

- 32-34    **H.** Scéla láí Brátha concluded; col. *a* 24 Scéla na Esérgi. (Pl. III).

Page 32 has been abraded; traces of former writing visible.

- 35-37    **H.** Scéla na Esérgi concluded, col. *b* 20.

The remainder of 37*b* and the lower margin contain the *Orait* for Maclmuire and that for Aodh Ruadh mac Néill. This last leaf has been rubbed down to the point of perforation. It is evident that older writing, no doubt that of M, which occupies the verso, was effaced by H. The portion covered by the *Orait* is exceedingly fragile. Reproductions in Gilbert's Facsimiles of National MSS. I., pl. 29

NOTES ON THE SCRIPT OF LEBOR NA HUDRE 167

P. 38 **M.** Aided Nathi. The verses in upper margin are by H. Col. *b* 13 atat, etc., by H.

39 **H.** same concluded 'conid senchas na relec insin.' Col. 39a22 Aided Echach m. Maireda.

The arrangement of this tract, Aided Nathi, is somewhat different in YBL 192a, where it is entitled Suidigud Tellaich Cruachna. The passage relating to the compilation of the piece, beginning Fland tra (39a15) there occurs after the poem, LU 38b2, and the opening sentence, LU 39a, is omitted. Note that this page has only 39 lines to the column, while the preceding by M has 44. In YBL. this tract is followed by the Mongán stories, of which there is only a single leaf in LU, now bound at the end, without signature, but having 44 lines to the col., p. 133. It, probably, with the missing leaves, came in here originally. The signatures, however, show no break, "amen" p. 39 being followed by "a" p. 40. But then they have been added by a later hand.

40 **H.** Aided Echach contd. Col. *b* 1-3 *in ras*.

41 **H.** same concluded. Col. *b* 9 Fotha Catha Cnucha.

42 **H.** Fotha Catha Cnucha concluded.

This leaf (41-42) has been considerably thinned by abrasion, and is plainly a rescription; older accents are visible in places, and traces of letters, 41b25. The writing has also the appearance of having been touched over. It is very rough and spread out (pl. VIIa).

43-46 **H.** Sergligi Conculaind.

The columns of these pages have only 37 and 38 lines. The superscription Slicht libair budi Slani is in paler ink, and apparently by another hand. Pages 43, 44 are reproduced in Gilbert's Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland. Pt. I., pls. 27, 28.

47 **M. interpol. H.** same contd. Col. *a* 1-18, col. *b* 17 Cisi, etc., 19 mad, etc., 20, 21, 24-33 are rewritten by H over an erased surface. (Pl. Va).

This and the succeeding pages were clearly written in the first instance by M. Observe that his columns have 45, 46 lines, augmented on pp. 48, 49 where H has rewritten passages. The intervention of H in the text here explains the confusion and repetitions to which Windisch (Ir. Texte, p. 202) and Zimmer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII. 599) have called attention.

48 **M. interpol. H.** same contd. Col. *b* 11 to end rewritten by H.

Col. *b* 11-19, the membrane here is very thin, having suffered abrasion on the recto as well.

49 **M. interpol. H.** same contd. Col. *a* 1-16 rewritten by H., who has added two lines.

Cp. Zimmer, KZ. XXVIII. 613 ff. on interpolation of verses l. 5-16.

50 **M.** same concluded. Col. *b* 15 Senchas na Relec.

51 **M. interpol. H.** Senchas na Relec contd. Col. *a* 42-44 himmaig, etc., rewritten by H, including hi temraig, etc. col. *b* 1 *supra lin*.



- P. 52 **M.** interpol. **H.** same concluded. Col. *a* 11 Genemain Aeda Sláne. Col. *b* 10 finden, etc., and portion of l. 12 *in ras.* by H; 7 eps. Aed beus *supra lin.* 30, also by H.
- 53 **M.** Genemain Aeda Sláne concluded. Col. *a* 33 'Tucait innarba na nDéssi.
- 54\* **M.** interpol. **H.** Tucait innarba na nDessi contd. Col. *a* 1-10 to Cormc, and glosses 35, 36; 44 Anaid to end of col.; col. *b* 1-2 and na tinscra, etc. 1, 3 rewritten by H. over a stained and abraded surface. Tale breaks off.
- 55 **A.H.** Táin Bó Cuailnge. Col. *b* 34 to end by H; membrane wrinkled here as if sponged (pl. IVa).

The *probatio pennae* of Maelmuire is on the upper margin of col. *b*, partly illegible. It would appear as if M had begun to transcribe at l. 34, his work being afterwards effaced by H. Col. *b* 11-13 has been corrected by M *in ras.*

- 56 **M.** interpol. **H.** same contd. Col. *a* 1-12 rewritten by H over sponged surface, the remainder of the page by M. (pl. IVb).

The poem is in the handwriting of H.; l. 40, Cosmail, etc., om. Stowe and B. Mus. Addl., also other variations in LL. version.

- 57-69 **M.** same contd.

There are several corrections and substitutions *in ras.* by H in this portion: 60 *b* 31 . . d fleid; 62 *a* 14 . . mandaidi; 63 *b* 30 se Dungail irruiss; 63 *b* 34-37 Mór in cuitbiud, etc.; 65 *a* 23 forsín glind sein; 65 *a* 28-30 sin to leo; 68 *a* 34 partially corr. H; 69 *a* 36 7 dobertar, etc., added between columns may also be by H.

- 70 **M.** interpol. **H.** same contd. Col. *b* 32 to end rewritten by H (pl. II).

The *probatio pennae* of Maelmuire occurs on upper margin of col. *a*. The passage interpolated here by H was undoubtedly substituted for that now occupying 72 *b* 24 to end of col., which in YBL comes in here, the intervening section to 72 *b* 24 being omitted in that MS. The col. of H (72 *b*) is much narrower than that of M (70 *b*), and his 23 lines would fit perfectly into the space now occupied by 70 *b* 32 to 47.

- 71-72 **H.** same contd.

70 *b* 32 to 72 *b* 24 omitted YBL. The ink of this intercalated leaf is brown, with rude dabs of colour to the initial capitals. Moreover the writing is spread out in col. 72*b*, particularly towards the end, in order to coalesce with 73*a*, but is a line short of col. *a*

- 73 **M.** same contd.

- 74 **M.** interpol. **H.** same contd. Col. *b* 38 to end rewritten by H.

The passage interpolated by H is not in YBL: membrane abraded here and a portion cut out (pl. VIIb), a patch of vellum being inset after M had



# NOTES ON THE SCRIPT OF LEBOR NA HUDRE 169

written last line of the recto ; the upper portions only of *ter* now remain here (73 a 44), which shows plainly that the interpolation must have been made some time later.

P. 75-76 H. same contd.

A short leaf intercalated by H, columns having only 30 and 29 lines. 75 a to end of 76 a are omitted in YBL. 76b varies in the latter MS., pointing to a different redaction for the imported passage.

77-81 M. same contd.

There are several erasures and retouching of letters in this portion, apparently by H. : 78a 22-24 do nert to a.m.

82\* M. interpol. H. same (breaks off). Col. b 23 to end, do domandchaib, etc., rewritten by H.

The passage interpolated by H is lacking in YBL. This portion of the page was no doubt occupied by what follows in YBL 35a, which also begins Foidis Medb, these words having been retained by H. But comrac Maind *in marg.* has been substituted by H *in ras.*

\*83-92 M. Togail Bruidne Dá Derga (acephalous).

The verses written along upper margins of 87-89 are in another hand.

93-94 H. same contd.

A smaller leaf, one col. to the page, and only 29, 31 lines. From 93, 1,4 to end of 94 and 95 a 1-5 lacking in YBL. Fermoy, and Stowe ; 93, 4-8, 94, 14-26, and 95a 1-5, lacking in Egerton. See Nettlau, Rev. Celt. XIII. 261.

95 M. interpol. H. same contd. Col. a 1-5 rewritten *in ras.* by H. (pl. VIIc).

The first five lines on this page, omitted in all other MSS., were clearly occupied originally by what is now 93, 1-3. See preceding note.

96-98 M. corr. H. same contd. Substitutions of H, 98a last line, and 1-2 col. b, where a line has been added ; also col. b 19-22 7 roleg (pl. VIId). Note the tall *e* of M. opened at top by H.

99 M. same concluded. Col. b Fled Bricrend.

100-102 M. Fled Bricrend contd.

103-104 H. same contd.

This intercalated leaf is of stouter vellum and the ink darker, 103 a 1-10 appear to have been rewritten : the surface has been abraded, and traces of older letters are visible. 104 a 34 to 105 a 42 appear in Egerton, etc., after 110 a 37.

105 H.M. Col.a H. Col.b M.

Col. a by H is wrinkled and stained in places, and thinned by abrasion. The writing is dark and spread out, (pl. VIIe). a 43-45 which connects with M varies considerably in Egerton. See Henderson's ed., p. 52.

106-107 M. same contd.

- P. 108 **M.H.** same contd. Col. *a* 1-42 7 luid by M.,  
thence to end of *b*, H. Col. *a* 36-38 re-  
touched, and partly rewritten by H.

The passage beginning 7 luid (*a* 42) to eich (*b* 2) is lacking in Egerton, and from this point to *b* 42 comes immediately after LU 107 *b* 23 in Egerton.

- 109-110 **H.** same contd.

The writing exhibits some variety on this leaf, becoming more cursive in places; 110 *b* to 38 is clearer and better written (pl. VIII). Note that this col. is a line shorter than *a*. The passage beginning Eircid 110 *a* 37 to *b* 38 is lacking in Egerton, etc., being replaced by that in 104 *a* 34 to 105 *a* 42, see note *supra*.

- 111-112\* **M.** same, breaks off (5 leaves lost).  
113-114 **M.** Siaburcharpat Conculaind.  
115-116 **H.** same concluded. Col. *b* 18 Cath Cairnd  
Chonaill.

This leaf is thin and perforated, as if by abrasion. Another recension containing additional stanzas has been interpolated by H

- 117 **H.** Cath Cairnd Chonaill concluded. Col. *b* 20  
Comthoth Loegairi co cretim.  
118 **H.** Comthoth Loegairi concluded.  
119 **M.** Fástini Airt mc. Cuind 7 a chretem.  
120\* **M.** Echtra Condla Chaim. Col. *b* 27 Cethri arda  
in domain (breaks off).  
121 **M.** Immram Brain (acephalous). Col. *a* 25 Toch-  
marc Emere. *b* 26 mc to cethair *in ras*. H.  
122 **M.** Tochmarc Emere contd.  
123-124 **H.** same contd.

A short leaf intercalated, having only 31 lines to col. Ink dark and re-touched. There is a chasm in the MS. here, equivalent to four leaves. Cp. Harleian ed. ZCP. III. 237, 9 to 254, 3.

- \*125-126\* **H.** same contd. One col. only left, col. *a*  
having been cut away, all save final letters.

This col. can be restored from Harl. ZCP. III. 254, 3.

- 127 **H.** same concluded.  
128\* **M.H.** Compert Conculaind. Col. *b* 25 7 doberar,  
etc., to end, by H *in ras*.

The superscription 'a libur dromma snechta' is in paler ink and added later. The portion by H is in a pale brown ink, upright script (cp. pl. VIIb). The rest of the page by M is dark, apparently touched over.

- \*129-130\* **M.** Tochmarc Etáine (acephalous).  
\*131-132\* **M.** same contd. One col. only, followed by  
chasm in MS.

# NOTES ON THE SCRIPT OF LEBOR NA HUIDRE 171

P. \*133-134\* M. Compert Mongán (acephalous). *a* 25 Scél asamberar combad hé Find mac Cumáill Mongán. 134 *a* 12 Scél Mongán. 134 *b* 9 Tucait Baile Mongán. *b* 36 Inna hinada hi filet cind erred Ulad, 6 lines only. MS. breaks off.

Two columns have been here joined together to form a leaf. 133 *a* was obviously the right hand col. of another leaf, out of place. The writing has been touched over.

The question naturally arises did these scribes work together, one relieving the other, as so constantly happens in Irish manuscripts. The book was begun by A, who I think it will be conceded was the best penman, if not the most accurate copyist. He also began to transcribe the *Fis Adamnán* and the *Táin*, when the pen was taken up by Maelmuire. The latter seems to have made some corrections on the opening page of the *Táin*, and as his *probatio pennae* appears on the upper margin, he began in all probability to write at line 34, H effacing it later, together with the first twelve lines of the next page. Maelmuire's hand also appears among the notes and glosses to the *Amra*, e.g. p. 5, l. 1, marg. and interlin. p. 9, p. 11 (pl. 1). He may have worked along with A. How much more the latter transcribed we cannot tell, so many leaves are now lost. The bulk of the manuscript is in the handwriting of Maelmuire. With H the case is different. The manner in which he intervenes in the work of Maelmuire, makes it clear that he was not a relieving hand, or even one of the principal scribes, but a late comer, supplementing from other sources what was defective in the exemplar of Maelmuire, or substituting what seemed to him a better version. It is remarkable that Maelmuire nowhere intervenes in the work of H. The leaves intercalated by H<sup>1</sup> cannot be said to coalesce naturally with the text of M, as they should if the pen had been merely taken up by him temporarily; the pages are either shorter or have been washed and scraped, or the columns have an unequal number of lines, and he has continually to break rudely into Maelmuire's neatly written text to effect a junction. Even the few texts which

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1. This is the hand that supplied the small folios (p. 75-6, 93-4, 123-4) referred to in O'Curry's description prefixed to the Facsimile (p. ix) as "though differing in vellum, and apparently in penmanship, from the rest of the book, they seem to be of the same antiquity, and written by the same hand."

are altogether in the handwriting of H appear to be in the nature of interpolations, namely the Homilies (p. 31-37)<sup>1</sup>; Aided Echach maic Maireda (p. 39a-41), which, it is significant, do not occur in other manuscripts; Fotha Catha Cnucha (41-42), Cath Cairnd Chonaill and Comthoth Loegaire (p. 116-118). The two Homilies on the end of the world were intercalated at this particular place (31 b 34) by H because of their close connection with the Vision of Adamnan. To make way for them H was obliged to efface writing, presumably Maelmuire's, from 31 b 34-45 and all of p. 32, where faint traces of the former writing can still be discerned (col. a 1-2, 33, col. b 1, 14); and it is noteworthy that the second homily ends on the recto of a leaf the verso of which is in Maelmuire's handwriting (p. 36), and which has been abraded to the point of perforation, as if writing had been removed to receive it. It is extremely unlikely that Maelmuire would have left the recto of a leaf blank, which was not the beginning of a book, and begun a text on the verso. Again, Aided Echach is begun on a leaf clearly intercalated by H to introduce a continuation of the Aided Nathi embodying what is evidently a scribal note incorporated into the text of another version. Cath Cairnd Chonaill also begins on a leaf introduced by H to interpolate another recension of Siaburcharpat Conculaind, containing additional stanzas not in the Egerton version, and presumably not in Maelmuire's. The work of H consists mainly of supplying the lacunae in Maelmuire's text from other sources, or in substituting other versions. Altogether H would appear to have contributed his share after Maelmuire had passed away. So the year of Maelmuire's death, 1106, cannot be taken as furnishing an inferior limit for the composition of those Middle Irish tracts which are in his hand.

Only the principal hands have been considered here, and the relationship of other manuscripts merely briefly indicated as their evidence seemed to support and in some degree account for the change of hand in *Lebor na hUidre*. The palaeography of the manuscript will be treated at greater length and with more detail

1. Zimmer in discussing the compilatory nature of the tracts in LU (KZ XXVIII, 676) draws attention to the identity of the subject of these three Homilies, which he conjectured were derived from three different monasteries, but were transcribed separately by Maelmuire, who found it impossible to amalgamate them.



in an edition of it now in course of preparation by Prof. Marstrander and myself. Meantime with the completion of the Táin Bó Cuailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan and Lebor na hUidre in the present number of Eriu, it became necessary to draw attention to the variety of the script. Furthermore, the sources of some of these texts have been recently made the subject of investigation,<sup>1</sup> and it is hoped that the publication of these notes will help to throw additional light upon their transmission.

R. I. BEST

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1. Notably by Prof. Rudolf Thurneysen in his paper *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* (Abhandl. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen XIV. 2), 1912.

### EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES

- Pl. I. Page 11. Natural size. Amra Choluimb Chille. Handwriting of A. See p. 164. The handwriting along the upper margin is that of M. It is quite legible in the MS., but came out badly in the negative. Note the tall *e*, and *si* l. 2.
- Pl. II. Page 70. Natural size. Táin Bó Cuailnge. Handwriting of M. with interpolation by H (col. b). See pp. 164, 168. The interpolated portion is written over a washed and abraded surface, the ink appearing somewhat paler than the rest of the page. There is evidence of re-tracing on this page. Note in col. a, last line but one, the *r* of *resin*. The *probatio pennae* on the upper margin was evidently written after the invocation Oémal\*, which is in darker ink, as if re-traced. Observe through the natural hole in the membrane, col. a, the *ess* of preceding leaf, which is in the handwriting of M, but the head, in paler ink, has been added later to the first *s*.
- Pl. III. Page 34. Natural size. Scéla na Esérgi. Handwriting of H. See p. 165. The ink of the original is not quite so heavy in places as appears in the specimen, and portions of col. a though faded are more legible than appears here. The polished surface of the membrane made it impossible to secure a perfect copy. Cp. the reproduction of p. 37 by the same hand, in Gilbert's National MSS. I. pl. 39.
- Pl. IV. a. Page 55. Reduced. Táin Bó Cuailnge. Handwriting of A. with interpolation by H. and corr. M (col. b. 11-13). See p. 168. This page is much faded in the original, and the stiff and wrinkled membrane with its polished surface resisted all attempts to obtain a legible reproduction. The *probatio pennae*, of which faint traces can be discerned above the word *duib*, col. b, line 1, is in part quite clear in the MS., but the membrane is stained, due I suspect to the use of a re-agent. The title, only dimly traceable here, appears to be in the hand of M., the line being left blank by A. Cp. 7b41, and p. 5, where the Amra begins without title, the first line being filled by a quatrain in the hand of M.
- b. Page 56 top. Reduced. Táin Bó Cuailnge. Handwriting of M. with interpolation by H. col. a. See p. 168. The surface is white as if washed, and the ink pale where this interpolation has been made. The rest of the page is in darker ink. The glosses col. a 17 and col. b 2 are apparently by H.; that to col. b 3 i. *nonbór 7c* is by M.



- Pl. V. *a*. Page 47, l. 1-39. Reduced. *Serglige Con Culaind*. Handwriting of M. with interpolations by H. See p. 167. Col. b 17 *Cisairm 7c* is written over a washed surface. The characteristics of H are more apparent in the original than in the reduced specimen. In col. a 1-18 the vellum has been abraded. The glosses in this portion appear to be likewise by H.
- *b*. Page 27 l. 1-16. Reduced. *Fis Adamnán*. Handwriting of A 1-10, rest of page by M. See p. 166. The title, which is obscure in the MS., but fairly legible, may have been added by M. (cp. note to pl. IV). The characteristics of A are clearly discernible here. Observe the tall *e*, the hooked open *a* (l. 10), the symbol for *ar*, the mark of aspiration, the symbol for *us* (l. 8) peculiar to A, and compare the same symbol by M. l. 13 col. a, b. The drawing of the letters is better also. Note the group *aigthe* in l. 1 & 2 how the horizontal strokes of *g* and *t* appear as one, and compare the same group by M below, l. 15.
- Pl. VI. *a*. Page 26 l. 1-33. Reduced. *Immram Máildúin*. Handwriting of H. See p. 166. Col. b exhibits better the characteristics of H., the writing in col. *a* being slightly larger in places and more spread.
- *b*. Page 21 lower part. Reduced. *Táin Bó Flidais*. Handwriting of M. (col. a) and H (col. b). See p. 166. The ink is not so heavy in col. b, which is in strong contrast to col. a, where there is evidence of re-touching. Observe in the last line, *morfesser*, where a top has been added to the first *s* and the second transformed into *f*. The space in the left hand corner of col. b has been left blank. The gloss in col. a is in the same hand as the writing along the lower margin.
- Pl. VII. *a*. Page 42 l. 1-13. Reduced. *Fotha Catha Cnucha*. Handwriting of H. See p. 167. Observe in col. a 12 the traces of an old mark of aspiration above the *a* of Cumall, and l. 13 the stroke above *n*.
- *b*. Page 74 lower part. Reduced. *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Handwriting of M with interpolation by H col. b. See p. 168. The writing along the lower margin is by another hand. Note the piece inset.
- *c*. Page 95 l. 1-8. Reduced. *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*. Handwriting of M with interpolation by H col. a 1-5. See p. 169.
- *d*. Page 98 l. 17-25. Reduced. *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*. Handwriting of M with interpolation by H. See p. 169. Observe the re-touching of letters in col. b, particularly how the tall *e* of M has been opened at top, the original loop still visible, in l. 22, 23, also the gloss added by H above l. 24.
- *e*. Page 105 l. 1-9. Reduced. *Fled Bricrend*. Handwriting of H (col. a) and M (col. b). See p. 169.
- *f*. Page 110 l. 35-41. Reduced. *Fled Bricrend*. Handwriting of H. See p. 170.

For kind permission to reproduce these specimens I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

R. I. B.

#### ADDENDUM ET CORRIGENDA

P. 170 l. 34. An enquiry from Prof. Thurneysen has revealed the omission of the following note here:—This page (127) has been abraded. Faint traces of former writing, no doubt that of M, are visible in col. *a* 8. The membrane is so thin that the writing shows through; where it has suffered abrasion on both sides (128 b 25ff.) there are several holes.

P. 168 l. 25 *read* 60 *b* 21. P. 169 l. 10 *read* 78a 32-34. P. 170 l. 14 *read* 115 col. b 18. *ibid.* 16, *after* recension *add* of the *Siaburcharpat*. P. 172 l. 5 *read* (115-118).

























[illegible][illegible][illegible]



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]





[illegible]

aacem. Tunc substat amicus. bilis  
 substat ruz que dicitur dicitur  
 put. Goldesred gay dicitur dicitur  
 que dicitur null. p. dicitur p. dicitur  
 caponbde biopom h. dicitur p. dicitur  
 dicitur enano que p. dicitur. dicitur p. dicitur  
 tot p. dicitur me dicitur p. dicitur dicitur. h.  
 no ut gay h. dicitur collino et. dicitur  
 dicitur h. dicitur p. dicitur. dicitur p. dicitur  
 dicitur p. dicitur dicitur. dicitur p. dicitur  
 dicitur p. dicitur dicitur. dicitur p. dicitur  
 et p. dicitur dicitur p. dicitur p. dicitur. dicitur  
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p. 74  
foot

1. <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> 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<sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> 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[illegible]

p. 95

[illegible][illegible]

p. 98  
centre

[illegible]

dōm cōfēt mōtāt ēm cēt mūmō hnd  
 olouq̄ eul tōpūm hōmā q̄. <sup>et</sup> bātōū  
 lēpāt mē dē pō q̄al mē cēt q̄uōlō  
 bnat q̄atū fūmē hē. **Tollat**  
 mē cēt q̄q̄ <sup>et</sup> q̄elōmō tōpūm  
 cō fūq̄ lū q̄ōfūmō dē lōq̄ fūmō  
 nō cōnat hēuē mē fūq̄ tōpūm  
 lū mē q̄q̄ <sup>et</sup> mōpō dōmō <sup>et</sup> cēt q̄mō  
 bōq̄tē q̄p dē mōlō tōpūm dūq̄ dōtō q̄

p. 10  
top

[illegible][illegible]

p. 110  
lower part

Quanto dicitur etiam monachos do  
 quod quia Enrico cabano me mba  
 pro causat iohanna emblema  
 quod dicitur quod coram  
 et quod puer de deo pueri  
 nra pueri de deo pueri  
 etiam omni huiusmodi

[illegible]





## REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE SCHOOL

SESSION 1910-1912.

SINCE the completion of the last volume of *ERIU*, two sessions of the SCHOOL have been brought to a close. During the Autumn term beginning October, 1910, Professor Marstrander held three courses two evenings in the week, one for beginners in the study of Old-Irish, and one for advanced students, in which the critical study of the Würzburg Glosses was continued. While the attendance at the elementary class was necessarily small, nineteen students regularly attended the advanced course. The third was devoted to Comparative Philology, and was intended to introduce students to the methods of scientific linguistic investigation. The Gothic language was made the basis of study, and was treated especially in its relation to the Celtic group. This course, which was a new departure in the School curriculum, proved a great attraction. Nineteen students were in constant attendance, some coming from a distance. These lectures were continued after the new year until the end of February when they were interrupted by the severe illness of Professor Marstrander, which necessitated his going abroad on leave of absence. The usual Summer classes were in consequence not held. The Governors were fortunate however in engaging the sympathy and interest of Professor Rudolf Thurneysen of Freiburg, who most kindly consented to give a course of lectures in the School. These took place in the month of July, the subject being *The Féilire or Calendar of Oengus—the MS. tradition and its restoration—the language and metre*. Thirty-four students attended the course, including many well-known scholars eager to avail themselves of the rare opportunity of listening to Professor Thurneysen and learning something of

his method. The accommodation of the School not being adequate for the occasion, the lectures were delivered in the Royal Irish Academy, the Council of which kindly placed their Meeting Room at the disposal of the School for this purpose.

Owing to the continued ill-health of Professor Marstrander the Autumn courses had to be abandoned, and early in the present year he was obliged by pressure of other work to resign his post, to the great regret of the Governors and of the students. The Governors take this opportunity of recording their warm appreciation of the services he rendered to the School.

In September of the present year Professor Kuno Meyer held a course on Old and Middle Irish Poetry and Metrics, which attracted several students from England and Scotland. In addition he delivered a public lecture, inaugurating the course, on Irish Learning and Civilization in the Fifth Century A.D.

During the nine years of its existence, the School has come to be recognized as a centre of Irish studies to which students have repaired from all parts of the kingdom, from the continent, and the United States. Many have been trained to do valuable and independent work. Its publications have become widely known in the learned world, and are used in all universities where the Celtic languages are studied.

That this has been possible is due to the generous support of a small number of friends, to the subscribers to *Eriu*, and to the grant in aid of publications contributed by the Treasury since 1905. This grant which amounted to £100 annually ceased in 1910, and the Governors have not been successful in their application for its renewal. The work of teaching and publication will not however be thereby interrupted. The Governors are happy to announce that they have secured the co-operation of Professor Holger Pedersen of Copenhagen, who has kindly consented to lecture in the School during the month of July next. Particulars of his course will be announced later on.