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VOL. XXIII

EDITED BY
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Price
THREE POUNDS

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THE LAMBETH COMMENTARY

INTRODUCTION

THE fragments edited here served at one time as fly-leaves of the late twelfth-century MS. London, Lambeth Palace 119 (G.n. 12–N. 14); they now form fols. 7 and 8 of a fascicle labelled 'Fragments 1229'. For their use as fly-leaves they were slightly pared down; this has resulted in some textual loss, that of the two top lines of fol. 7, and of the bottom line of fol. 8. They now measure 290 mm × 220 mm, and 290 mm × 209 mm respectively; the writing space has a width of 185 mm and (in its present mutilated state) a length of 277 mm. The material is vellum, and is generally in good condition; a small hole in fol. 7 was already present at the time of writing; the damage in fol. 8 is a tear, and there is, of course, some loss of text[1]. The writing is in two columns. There were 66 lines to the column on fol. 7, 62 on fol. 8; of these 64 and 61 respectively are generally preserved in full. The lines are of slightly irregular length, and the initials, marking the beginning of paragraphs, stand out into the margin. Ruling is by dry point.

These fragments are the remnants of a commentary, mainly in Irish, but with extensive Latin quotations, on the Sermon on the Mount according to St. Matthew. The first fragment comments on Matth. v. 5–7, the second on v. 20–22. It is, of course, impossible to say whether the complete commentary extended over the whole Gospel or was confined to the Sermon on the Mount (Matth. v–vii) as is that of St. Augustine, on which our exegete draws heavily. In any event, the author treats of his subject at considerable length. The Latin sections, which make up over one half of the surviving text, consist almost entirely of extracts from patristic sources; a certain amount of Latin is also interspersed in the sections which are predominantly Irish. As has already been said, one of the commentator's main sources was St. Augustine's *De sermone Domini in monte:* another was the more concise commentary on Matthew by St. Jerome. Other authorities invoked are St. Ambrose, specifically his commentary on Luke, and that favourite of the Irish Church, Gregory the Great. There is also a single quotation from the *Etymologiæ* of Isidore of Seville[2] and one from

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[1] There has been some slight textual loss as a result of the recent binding; see notes at 427, 442–3, 465, 471. Note also the damage (evidenced by the rubbed condition of the script surrounding the tear referred to above) resulting from repair and mounting.

[2] The editors acknowledge with sincere gratitude the help in the tracing of biblical and patristic sources given them by Dr. Bonifaz Fischer, O.S.B. (Beuron).

the *Fides Bachiarii* (early fifth century; see E. Dekkers-E. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 1961, no. 568). Collation of the passages quoted with the original texts reveals a number of minor variants. Many of these might easily be the result of quoting from memory, in particular the numerous instances of substituting an ordinary expression for a more specific one (e.g. ll. 11, 24, 225, 226). Deliberate is the occasional attempt at making the wording of a source more explicit, e.g. the insertion of *an non* and *iudices* at 379. In one instance a passage of Gregory's *Moralia* has been rearranged: in 68–82 the references to St. Paul, which in the original follow one by one upon the four *qualitates* which they illustrate, have been assembled at the end of the enumeration. In a number of instances the exegete's reading is supported by some part of the manuscript tradition of his author against the standard reading; but it is only in the case of Augustine's *De sermone Domini* that the variants of our text side consistently with one branch of the textual tradition, Mutzenbecher's family β. Scribal blunders are fairly frequent; they include the omission of a phrase by *homoiotes* (382). At 260 f. the scribe had strayed back two lines, but, realising his mistake halfway through the passage which he had begun to repeat, he stopped recopying; in the process of resuming the text he missed the crucial *non*, thus making nonsense of the argument. In a quotation from Jerome a Greek phrase has been omitted (473), and the Greek word κενός has been transliterated as *cenos* (455, 459). Most of these blunders can be corrected from the sources; only in one place, where the author advances an argument of his own, does an obscurity remain (285 f. *quae ex eo collegi debeant non habentur*) which we have not succeeded in elucidating.

The biblical text is generally the Vulgate. There is at least one distinctly 'Hibernian' reading, the insertion of *nunc* (from the parallel passage in Luke) in Matth. v. 5 (66 f.), which has the support of all the representative Gospel MSS. of the Irish family. The loose quotation of Phil. iii. 13 at 126 f. has parallels in patristic *testimonia*, and there may even be some closer than those which have been traced. The textual form of Rom. vii. 24 at 81 (which has only partial support from cod. *L*), seems to be unique.

Considering the small amount of original Latin apart from quotations, we are not surprised to find that Hibernicisms are few. There is the form *gaudiebant* (103), and the prepositional phrases *sitiunt erga iustitiam* (117) and *contra animam suam facit* (237 f.; cf. *contra corpus*, 239)[3].

Of some theological interest is the argument at 383–6: *Manifeste dicit: Qui dixerit fratri suo 'fatue', conuicium si in hodium non*

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[3] See further notes at 171, 279.

conuertetur, igni purgatorio purgabitur, when compared with Matth. v. 22 *reus erit gehennae*. If the abuse of one's neighbour has not hatred as its motive (cf. Matthew's *irasci*), it is not to be punished by the fire of hell, but to be 'cleansed' by a 'purifying fire'—one of the rare references to Purgatory in early Irish sources.

The script is a compressed Irish minuscule of expert penmanship. Ascenders and descenders are well developed; the former, as well as letters *f i m n p r s u*, have the characteristic triangular tops; the latter are noticeably pointed. The *a*, normally pointed at the top—a characteristic of insular minuscule—is found in a number of minor varieties, including one the loop of which is almost diamond-shaped; an *a* with 'helmet' is used occasionally, and in all positions; the use of the cursive open *a* is rare. The minuscule form of *d* and its small, flat, uncial form occur side by side. Initial and final *i* tend to go below the line. The angular form of *u* ('*v*') is found sporadically; it is the rule in the abbreviations *v̇* (*ut*) and *v̊* (*uero*). The letter *x* is formed with three strokes, one diagonal, slightly waved, descending from left to right, a hook above it, and a hairline below, which does not link up with the former. Interesting is the *z* (252 *ezechiel*); it is used also as a marginal mark at 357, where it probably stands for the Greek *zeta* (*zitise, require:* P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.* LXIII, 1945, 129 f.). The diphthong *ae*, in the Latin text, is rendered either by the ligature *æ* or by *e* with cedilla; it is rarely replaced by simple *e*. Of other ligatures those made with the help of the tongue of *e* are frequent, but neither that of *ex* nor that of *ed* (the tongue of *e* forming the flat top of small uncial *d*) is used. The ligatures *sp* and *ti* also occur, but those with *a i o u* appended below the line (*ha mi no*, etc.) are completely absent.

There are some marginal and interlinear glosses. Those on the first folio are apparently by the text-hand, but written on a smaller scale; those on the second folio would seem to be by another hand: the latter frequently uses cursive *a*, which is never found in the former. It may be pointed out, however, that glosses on both folios are written in an ink with a slightly reddish tint, and lighter than that of the general text.

Lemmata are written in a heavy majuscule. No alternative letter-forms are employed: *r m n* have always minuscule form, *d* and *s* are consistently majuscules. Ligatures and abbreviations are freely admitted. The initials are mostly enlargements of ordinary capitals, but include an enlarged *eg-* ligature and an enlarged *pro*-symbol. After *I* the following letter is also enlarged (*IN, IS*).

Abbreviations are numerous in the Latin text. Beside the *nomina sacra* we find the list of W. M. Lindsay (*Notae Latinae*, Cambridge

1915, pp. 498–500) almost completely represented, including, as might be expected, the specific insular symbols. Abbreviations are used indiscriminately for words or prefixes and for identical groups of letters anywhere within a word. 'Capricious' abbreviations are found occasionally where the context excludes doubt: *corpō(ri)* shortly after *corpori* (205), *testā(menti)* after *noui* (410, gloss). Conventional abbreviations are also used in the margin for biblical and patristic authorities.

Spelling is definitely 'Hibernian'. The most obvious 'Hibernicism' is the doubling of intervocalic *s* (over thirty instances); the opposite is rare (101 *amisione*, 358 *expresio*, 406 f. *leuisima*). Alternative spellings are common (*essurire—esurire, farisei—farissei, misericordia—missericordia*). No other intervocalic consonant is wrongly duplicated, and the few instances of irregular simplification of such consonants are not characteristic. Most of the other non-classical spellings are general late and vulgar Latin: irregular aspiration; mutual substitution of *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*; such instances of 'recomposition' as 125 *relegio*, 284 *collegent*, 346 *reteneat;* 105 *sociantur* for *sauciantur;* 67 *uechimenter*, and always *gechenna*, etc.). At the same time these phenomena affect in the main words for which such spellings are a 'Hibernian' symptom[4]: 96 *consulabuntur*, 106 *consulator*, 225 *consulationem;* 283 *eclissiam;* 234 *elimoysenam;* 244 *elemoysinis* (gl. *uel elimoysenas);* 59 *habundantia*, 266 *habundet*, 329 *habundauerit*, 490 *herimo*, 385 *hodium*, 245 *honera*. Also 'Hibernian' is the tendency to contract *ii* (63 *gaudís*).

Accents of the usual hooked type are placed over long syllables and over monosyllables. The same sign, followed by a dot, serves as *signe de renvoi* to marginal supplements (e.g. 2 r[a]). Syllabification follows no strict rules; there are no hyphens. Separation of words is fairly clear; groups of words which fall under one accent when spoken, e.g. a preposition and its noun, tend to be written as units both in Latin and in Irish. Punctuation is rare and irregular; it consists of a dot in half-height of the minims. There is no question-mark. Runovers are often carried back to the end of the preceding line and set off by two oblique strokes hooked at either end, constituting a symbol called in Irish *cenn fo eite* ('head under the wing').

Date of the Fragments. In general appearance the script of the fragments is reminiscent of the contemporary glossator's hand in the tenth-century MS. Rouen 24; it certainly looks earlier than the standard Irish minuscule of the 11th and 12th centuries. Late are, *inter alia*, the angular form of *v* and the abbreviations incorporating it, and the form of the initial N with its low-lying broken second stroke; one form of the tachygraphic symbol for *est* (2) is common

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[4] Cf. remarks in *The Irish Penitentials* (S.L.H.v., 1963), ed. Ludwig Bieler, p. 29 f.

only since the 11th century. Some of the abbreviations used by the scribe are not contained in Lindsay's list, which was compiled from MSS. written before 850, but have been listed in Doris Bains's Supplement to *Notae Latinae* (1936) which covers the period 850–1050: $\bar{m}$ (*men*), *oīa* beside *ōa* (*omnia*), and in particular $\bar{f} = for$ not only in Irish (where it almost certainly originated) but also in Latin, where the earliest occurrence on record is in the MacDurnan Gospels of c. 900; on the other hand the earlier of the two abbreviations of *ergo* (*ēr*) is never found. All things considered, a date within the 10th century would seem most likely.

We give here a transcript of the two fragments, with an edition of the text on the opposite pages. Lines are counted through, although there is a gap in the text between the two folios. Lines partially preserved are included in the count, but not lines that are lost, even though the text in such cases can occasionally be restored. In the transcript, the punctuation mark is represented by a dot on the line. Lacunae, whether filled or left vacant, are indicated by square brackets[ ]. Contractions have been silently expanded in the Latin text; in a few doubtful instances the expansion has been placed between round brackets ( ). We expand $\bar{p}$ as *prae* and $\bar{q}$ as *quae*; this seems justifiable in view of the rarity of *e* for *ae* in the Latin and because the scribe uses a different symbol (*q:*) for *-que*. In the edition square brackets indicate editorial deletion, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ editorial insertions. The apparatus given with the text calls attention to textual corruptions, refers to sources, and, in cases where the latter have been critically edited, lists deviations from the edited text and occasional agreement with individual manuscripts. Augustine *On the Sermon on the Mount* is quoted from the edition in *Corpus Christianorum* vol. XXXV (1967) by A. Mutzenbecher (M.), Jerome on Matthew from that by D. Hurst and M. Adriaen in vol. LXXVII of the same series, 1969 (H.–A.).

THE IRISH TEXT

We have seen above that the existing fragments of the Lambeth Commentary (hereinafter referred to as Lam. C.) were probably written in the tenth century. The dating of the composition of the text is, of course, a more difficult matter. While we may place a number of O.I. texts in a likely chronological order, we are greatly hampered in absolute datings by a lack of texts where the dates of composition and of manuscript coincide: such we would have had there survived in Ireland charters of monastic foundations and successive legal instruments granting additional lands and privileges. Furthermore, the assigning of various texts to the 'first quarter',

'middle', or 'end of' a given century carries a certain assumption
that is not necessarily true: that changes in scribal practice, and the
representation of linguistic change in MSS., happened evenly in
monastic institutions all over Ireland.   Only in rare cases can we
assign any of our older MSS. to a particular area of the country, and
sometimes, as in the association of the Milan codex with Bangor,
the evidence is, to say the least, dubious[5].   We thus lack a con-
tinuous view of development in any given area or institution.
Similarly, datings of texts at comparatively narrow intervals do
not allow for the possibility that a given MS., written in, say, 700,
might have been from the pen of a scholar of seventy who followed
the scribal habits of his youth, while another, much more advanced
linguistically, might have been written in the same year by one who
was his junior by a half century.

However, having formally recognised pitfalls, we must proceed as
if they did not exist and attempt to place Lam. C. at the most likely
point in the generally accepted chronology.   Of the sources men-
tioned by Thurneysen (*Gramm.* pp. 4–9) it will suffice to consider
three: the Cambrai Homily (*c.* 700, or somewhat earlier), the work
of the main glossator of the Würzburg glosses (*c.* 750), and the Milan
glosses (*c.* 800)[6].

Some brief comment may be made on the uncertainties surround-
ing Ml.   We know the name of the scribe: it was Diarmait[7].   In the
course of the commentary reference is made four times to an Irish
authority called Maíl Gaimrid, apparently the same as the authority
of that name referred to in the St. Gall glosses on Priscian.   Reference
is also made to a scholar called Coirpre.   The editors of the *Thesaurus*
comment (I, p. xvi): 'reference is made to two native authorities,
Coirpre and Mailgaimrid, the latter of whom is perhaps mentioned
in the Annals of Ulster A.D. 838: "scriba optimus et ancorita, abbas
Bennchair pausavit".'

The identification of Maíl Gaimrid with the abbot of Bangor of
A.D. 838 (*recte* 839) is an example of a speculation that in time
crystallizes into near certainty.   Thurneysen says (*Gramm.*, p. 5):
'The Maíl-Gaimrid cited . . . is almost certainly to be identified with
the *scriba optimus* . . . who died in 839.'   Best, in his facsimile edition
of the manuscript (p. 36) is even more emphatic : ' . . . and it can
hardly be doubted that he is the Maelgaimrid whose death is recorded

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[5] On this question see below.

[6] Thurneysen, while dating the main glossator of Wb. to the middle of the eighth
century, avoids giving specific dates for the Cambrai Homily or the Milan Glosses.
It is clear, however, that he would have assented to the dates as given above.   By his
hazardous suggested identification of the scribe Díarmait with the anchorite and
scholar, Díarmait, grandson of Áed Rón († 824) he commits himself to a date in the
late eighth or early ninth century for the Milan Codex.

[7] *Thes.* I, p. xv.

under A.D. 839.' He seems to clinch the matter when he adds: 'Maelgaimrid is a very uncommon name; in fact these are the only occurrences of it.' But at least one other apparent example is quotable: Māel Gemrid mac Indadgair of the Ciarraige (O'Brien, *Corpus Gen. Hib.*, p. 302, note n)[8].

Best builds up the association of the Milan Codex with Bangor still further. He says: 'For the connection of Bobbio with Bangor must have been close and continuous down to the sacking of that monastery in 824, as is evident from the Irish manuscripts which found their way to Bobbio' (*op. cit.*, p. 36). But the alleged connection of Bangor and Bobbio before 824 can hardly be relevant to the history of the MS. in view of a further statement concerning its history by the same author: 'Moreover, the fact that it cannot be identified in the late ninth-century catalogue found by Muratori at Bobbio would rather point to its having been imported after the catalogue had been compiled'. We may conclude that the internal evidence that has been adduced is useless for dating purposes, and we must return to Best's judgement made on purely paleographical grounds: 'The date cannot be settled by the handwriting alone, which may equally belong to the latter part of the eighth or the early ninth century' (*op. cit.*, p. 36). Since both the text and glosses seem to be copied from an older source the late eighth century rather than the early ninth might be considered a better dating for the language. There is a single gloss (63[a]18) that may refer to the Viking raids: *ruuc cách arainn disin. amal dundgniat* (sic. leg.) *geinti dinaib brataib bertae* hodie, 'each took his share of it, as do the heathens[9] of the spoils that they carry off to-day'.

Approaching the matter of the date of Lam. C. from internal historical evidence we may note the following. The latest authorities quoted are Gregory the Great († 604) and Isidore of Seville; in the case of the latter the work quoted is his *Etymologiae* which was written in Spain *c.* 616, and was already known in Ireland in the course of the seventh century. For what such negative evidence is worth we may note the absence of any reference to the Venerable Bede († 735). Thus, so far as concerns content, the work could have been written in the years 650–700. This possibility, though it may be considered unlikely, cannot be altogether excluded. In that case certain features such as the retention of pretonic *to-*, and the retention of *e* in *to-adbet*, 393, could be regarded as surviving traces of the original orthography. We might, however (even allowing for the probable fact that our present text is separated from the

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[8] Also compare the name in the late ogham inscription given by Macalister as *Molegomrid* (gen.) (*Corpus Inscript.*, p. 229); the *o*, in each case, is rendered by the *oi forfid* (*Leg. Maile Gaimrid* ?).

[9] *Thes.* 'nations'.

original by many transcriptions) expect at least an occasional example of undiphthongised $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{o}$, and of such there is no example.

The general character of the text is markedly more archaic than the Milan glosses. This is seen in the use of pretonic *to-*, the strong preference for forms without the *a*-glide (e.g. *menmin*, *dube* for later *menmain*, *dubae*, etc.), the predominance of genitives such as *recto* over later *recta*, etc. All things considered it would seem that Lam. C. in its present form is to be regarded as coeval with the main hand of Wb., or, more likely, perhaps marginally earlier. In the present state of our knowledge, and keeping in mind the reservations already mentioned, we may assign to it a notional date of *c.* 725.

A full study of the orthography of Lam. C. could only be undertaken as part of a general treatment of a great number of O.I. texts. Here we will restrict our comments to some of its more obvious characteristics.

The lenition of *f* and *s* is not indicated by the use of the *punctum delens*. Failure to mark the lenition of these consonants is a feature of the earlier glosses (*Gramm.*, p. 142), that is, of Wb. and Ml.

The consonant group *-cht-* is so consistently written *-ct-* that we may regard the rare exceptions as the result of transcription, e.g. *sechmadachtib*, 44, *Acht*, 405 (interlinear gloss)[10]. This feature is found in Wb., but not with such consistency.

r and *n* are occasionally found for *rr*, *nn*. For instances of the former see 171 n.; for *n* = *nn* note *fochun*, 427. *nn* is occasionally found for older *nd*, *nt*, e.g. *prainnid*, 133. Note also *conid*, *inid* for *condid*, *indid*, 108 n.

The ligature *æ* is used for *e*, e.g. *dubæ*, 43, alternating with *dube*, 44.

The *a* diphthongs and the *o* diphthongs are differentiated, e.g. *choí*, 52, *coí*, 94, *boí*, 54, etc.; *fáelte*, 87, 108, *táet*, 340. Note that *ái* is never used for the diphthong, and, in contrast with *áe*, represents *á* followed by a palatal consonant, e.g. *sáithech*, 119.

The voiceless dental spirant is frequently represented by *d*, e.g. *peccdaib*, 43, *pheccdæ*, 52, *peccdach*, 135, *pheccdu*, 137, *midig*, 198, *peccda*, 243, *frepda*, 335, *imdercda*, 372, *aithisigdo*, 388, 390, *rémeperdu* (= *-thiu*), 388, *fercigdo*, 415, *do-fichde*, 463, *imcabdi*, 466. The simplest explanation of this feature, which is also found in Wb., might be as follows. After the archaic period final unaccented *th* $>$ *d*, e.g. *molath* $>$ *molad*. This led to a feeling that *th* and *d* were equivalent orthographical symbols, and hence *búaith* (Wb. 11ᵃ7) could be written for *búaid*, and *maid* (Wb. 2ᵇ21) for *maith*.

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[10] The interlinear glosses are doubtless later than the main body of the text, but they have probably been transcribed from the immediate exemplar of the existing MS. They are not sufficiently extensive to allow any precise conclusions as to their date, beyond stating that they are O.I., and show no trace of Mid. Ir., such as they might did they originate with the scribe of the present MS.

In Wb. the pretonic preverbs *ro, no, do, fo* usually become *ru, nu, du, fu* between a particle and a verb, that is, when the *o* had the minimum amount of stress (*Gramm.*, p. 63). Later (in Wb. II) *ru, du,* etc., have become the usual forms of the prefixes under all circumstances. In the present text the *o* remains consistently, as it does in the tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal (*Thes.* II, 252 ff.).

The spelling *forcitel*, 288, 289, contrasting with *cocetal*, 320, may be noted. The *-el* may be regarded as arising from a post-archaic idea of orthographical equivalence. Faced with archaic spellings such as *do-adbet* (*to-adbet*), contrasting with the later *do-adbat*, an idea arose that in unstressed position, followed by a non-palatal consonant, *e* and *a* could be regarded as orthographical equivalents. Comparable are *enech fri enach*, Ml. 65ᵇ10, *erat*, 33ᵃ1, contrasting with *eret* elsewhere; hence it is not necessary to regard *et* (3 pl. rel. of cop.) as a 'scribal error' for *at*, as does *Gramm.*, p. 484.

The matter of abbreviations in early Irish MSS. is a large general question requiring attention. Here we will restrict comment to the bare minimum.

am̄ has been given as *amal*, rather than as the more archaic *amail*. Reversed *c* has been expanded as *con*, never as *co*. *Ihū* has been given in the edited text as *Íssu*. Amongst arbitrary suspensions are *frec̄* for *frecndirce*, 99 n., *frecndirc*, 108, *immaiȓ* for *immaircide*, 121, *sos̄* for *soscélu*, 169, *sosc* for *soscéle*, 176, *teis̄t* for *teistimin* or *teistmin* (see 321 n.), *m̄* for *maicc*, 45.

b-, t- and *p̂* are resolved as *ber, ter, per* or *bar, tar, par* according to whether the first consonant is palatal or non-palatal. This is a matter of some importance. If we follow the older practice in Irish MSS. and expand these abbreviations in all circumstances as *ber, ter, per* we will produce a number of forms of considerable archaism, e.g. *as-rubertmar*, 172, instead of *as-rubartmar* of the text. But difficulty would arise in the case of verbal forms in *-tar* which are frequently abbreviated, and where *-ter* would be possible only if we regarded it as an unusual spelling such as we find in *forcitel* (see above). For comparable expansions we can only quote *anichtardes-cerdach*, *Thes.* II, p. 255 (Stowe Missal) and *adrímfet*ar, *Thes.* II, p. 229 (Glosses on Priscian).[11]

In both texts presented expansions of the abbreviations just dealt with are shown in italics, as, indeed, are all abbreviations by suspension. Also italicized is the expansion of reversed *c* by *con*. Marks of length in the MS. are sometimes slightly out of position, and this has been silently regularized. In the edited text marks

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11 It may be remarked here that the amount of abbreviation in Lam. C. appears greater than what we find in Wb. and Ml. Future investigation may show whether or not this feature is one specially consistent with the comparatively late date of the MS.

of length absent in the MS., have been added. In the direct transcript an effort has been made to show word-division. But decisions on this matter may sometimes be subjective or inconsistent, and, in any matter of importance, the reader is advised to check with the accompanying photographic reproductions.

As a final remark on Lam. C. we must emphasise that Irish rather than Latin is the main language. That Latin predominates is due, as has already been remarked, to extensive quotation from the Fathers. The use of the formulaic *Ceist* (question) and *Ní anse* (Not difficult), introducing the answer, points to the monastic class room (336, 338). So also does the familiar *is mebir lib* (you remember), 329, and *da-mainib* (I shall estimate it), 464.

The first named editor carries the main responsibility for the Latin text, the second for the Irish. The latter read the Irish text in 1971–2 at a seminar in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies attended by a distinguished group of Celtic scholars. Gratitude is expressed for helpful comment to various members of that seminar. We are also grateful to the editor of *Ériu* for suggestions. The second editor wishes to express his gratitude to the first for bringing this document to his notice.

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A

THE LAMBETH COMMENTARY

(Fol. i, rᵃ)

securitas nascitur et in amore cę
lestium. gaudiorum animus inflammatur ⁊ qui prius flebat
né duceretur ad suplicium postmodum flere
amarissime incipit quia difertur a regno. con
5 templatur enim mens qui sunt illi chori angelorum
quae ipsa societas beatorum spirituum quae maes
tatis internæ uisionis dei ⁊ amplius plangit
quia a bonís perennibus deest quod flebat cum[1] prius mala
ęterna metuebat síc quae fit ut perfecta conpunc
10 tio formidinis tradat animum conpunctioni
dilectionis quod bene in sacra ueraque historia
figurata narratione describitur quae ait.
quod axa filia caléph. sedens super assinam
suspirauit cui dixit pater suus quid habes
15 at illa respondit dá mihi benedictionem
terram australem. et arentem dedisti mihi
iunge ⁊ inriguam. dedit illi pater suus inriguum
superius et inriguum inferius. axa quippe super assinam
sedet cum inrationabilibus carnis suæ motibus
20 anima praefidet quae susspirans a patre terram inriguam
petit quia a creatore nostro cum magno gemi
tu. quaerenda est lacrimarum gratia. sunt namque
nonnulli qui iam in dono. perciperunt libere pro
iustitia[2] loqui opere suo tueri. indigenti
25 bus possa tribuere ardorem fidei sed ad
húc gratiam lacrimarum non habent hí nímirum terram
australem ⁊ arentem habent sed adhúc inrigua
indigent quia in bonís operibus possiti. in quibus mag
ni atque feruentes sunt oportet nimis ut
30 aut timore supplicii. aut amore regni cę
lestis mala etiam qui ante ea perpetrauerunt deplo
rent sed quia ut dixi .II. sunt conpunctionis gene
ra dedit éi pater suus inriguum insuperius ⁊ inri
guum inferius. inriguum quippe superius accipit
35 anima cum sésé in lacrimís celesti regni
desiderio afligit inriguum uero inferius accipit

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[1] signe de renvoi *above and below* cum, *but no corresponding matter in margin.*
[2] *after* iustitia ∴ *in paler ink*

cum inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit et
quidem prius inferius ac post inriguum superius datur sed
quia conpunctio amoris dignitate praeminet
40 necesse fuit ut prius inriguum superius ⁊ post inri
guum inferius commemorari debuisset.
Ataat tra di erdil forssïndubu. spirtidiu ani
mæ .i. dubæ naithirge dinabpeccdaib
sechmadachtib ⁊ dube sírectæ imflaith
45 nime. issí insin in dingen caleph maicc effon
næ dorímther isinscriptúir issiede
doluid forsindassin. dochum a athar anas
mbert fris dedisti mihi terram aridam ⁊ aus
tralem. dá mihi terram inriguam inferius ⁊ superius issí
50 trá insin indanim roradi atoisc frisin
caleph rúnde fridia anasrubart fris
doratis dom chaíngnímu. ⁊ choí mopeccdæ
sechmodacte dá mihi dano sírect imflaith
nime. ISé inbrónsin roboí forsnabnoeb
55 ib ⁊ fors nafirionib amalronboí for dauid dicens
exitús aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei. is dindubusin
roradi gregorius dicens // dicat terrenarum rerum
g̅g̅ Memor fui dei ⁊ dilectatus sum ac sí aperte
mé nec habundantia refouet aucto
60 ris mei. quem adhúc uidere non ualeo uel sola
memoria dilectat. haec igitur amaritudo
sapientium quia dum spé in alta erecti sunt
nullís híc gaudís animum sternunt hinc
scriptum est cor sapientium ubi tristitia est

(Fol. 1, r^b)

(Two lines lost.)

65 in luctum conu[er]tat[ur] ⁊ gaudiu[m] i[n] merorem. hinc per
semet ipsam. ueritas attestatur dicens beati qui lugent
nunc ⁊ rl item dicit // in conpunctione uechimenter
g̅g̅ Quatuor qualitates de quibus uiri iusti anima
afficitur cum aut malorum suorum reminiscitur consi
70 derans ubi fuit aut iudiciorum dei sententiam
metuens ⁊ secum quaerens cogitat ubi erit aut cum
mala uitæ praesentis soler[ti]ter attendens
moriens considerat ubi est aut cum bona supernæ
contemplatur quae quia necdum adepiscitur langens con
75 spicit ubi non est malorum suorum paulus meminerat
cum diceret non sum dignus uocari apostolus rursus

diuinum iudicium metuebat dicens Castigo corpus
meum ⁊ rl usque efficiar rursum mala praesentis ui
tæ pensabat cum diceret.　Uideo aliam legem in
⁸⁰　membris ⁊ rl ⁊ iterum.　infelíx ego sum quis mé liberauit
de corpore huius peccati. ⁊ rl rursum bona ęterna
patrię considerabat dicens.　Nunc per speculum ⁊ enigma
⁊ rl híc fratres carissimi uanam lętitiam fugite
sí illíc flere formidatis nemo enim híc potest gau
⁸⁵　dere cum sęculo ⁊ illíc regnare cum christo // de ét
¹Ataat trá dacenele tarnic crist isin domun
ectu .i. faelte etéctæ ⁊ brón étectæ.　ar
ba etectæ fáeltæ² in mondo iarnimmormus
adim.　ideo dixit iesus beati qui lugent ⁊ iterum dicit uæ
⁹⁰　uobís qui riditis ⁊ rl ba téctæ dano brón isin
biuth diafochidib.　cum iacob dicit.　Omne gau
dium existimate ⁊ rl.　Item beati qui lugent ⁊ rl id est
contrariis sanantur .i. bocte tarési innanane cen
se taresi innacense cói tarési fáelte
⁹⁵　ítu immin firinni tarési nittad immin domun.
QUONIAM IPSI CONSULA(BUNTUR) id est quoniam
　　　　ridebunt dicente
christo beati estis qui fletis quoniam ridebitis.　ISed as
ber aug(ustinus) ité indubig findbothig asbertar ant in dí
connessat innafrecndirce ⁊ tochuiretar rint anin
¹⁰⁰　tliucta fridia ut dicit // conuersi autem ad deum ea
aḡ　Lugentes tristitia de amisione corporum.
quae in mondo cura amplectabant amittunt
non enim gaudent hís rebus quibus ante gaudiebant
et donec fiat in eís.　amor ęternorum nonnulla mis
¹⁰⁵　titia sociantur consulabuntur ergo spiritu sancto qui maxi
me propterea paracletus nominatur .i. consulator
ut temporalem amitentes ęterna lętitia perfru
antur.　Nifiú didiu seirc fáelte inbetho frecndirc inid
ed asber ihū uæ uobís qui nunc ridetis quia flebitis
¹¹⁰　et lugebitis is disuidiu asber intecnę ridere
paruulorum est .i. innandeidblán .i. ógnimib tris
titia perfectorum // ós suum ⁊ rl Nitatné
BEATI QUI ESSURIUNT ⁊ rl habet ubi dicit aperiéns
bendachas som híc híc³ qui uolunt et qui faci
¹¹⁵　unt ardosraithminestarsidi profeta dicens beati
qui custodiunt iudicium ⁊ faciunt iustitiam act

---

¹ *in left margin*: dt
² *Leg.* fáelte.　*There are marks that seem to indicate the deletion of the
first element in the ligature.*
³ híc híc] *There are three expunging dots over the first* híc.

B

　　　　ité bendachas qui esuriunt ⁊ sitiunt erga ius
　　　　titiam .i. aratesta abithaccobur arisdia
　　　　béss ib innafirinne níbísaithech di intí lasmbí
120　esāī　inde dicit. iustitia per essaiam. Qui mé comedunt
　　　　iterum essurient et qui mé bibunt iterum sitient.　IS
　　　　　　immaircide　.
　　aḡ　frisin acanas ag(ustinus). Quid est iterum essurire ⁊ iterum
　　　　sitíre nisi numquam fastudire de iustitia quæ est iesus
　　　　　　christus
　　　　Mad intí im*murgu* lasnafo*r*birsi. issercud sercassi lasui
125　hīr　de hironimo dicente. relegio decrescit quando non crescit.
　　　　ISed insin foroichlesta*r* aps*tal* dicens. praeterita obliuis
　　　　cens ⁊ in futurum conualescens.　Doratsom nace
　　　　dia m*en*min quod dixit christus in euangelio.　Cum feceritis

<center>(Fol. I, vᵃ)</center>

<center>(*A single line lost*)</center>

　　　　si andorigensid dimaith.　ISinnaluc coir t[*ra*]
130　　tárbid in bieitso. aris fris samaltir intí chom
　　　　al nas nabieitiso.　frifer seircc is besad
　　　　do sudiu niarrbirbiuth praint con*rétrom
　　　　migedar fair insáeth isiarsuidiu prainnid
　　　　⁊ gaibthir ciall fo*r*abethid.　Imtá samlid in
135　　peccdach níngaib ítu.　imminfinni[1] con*rochomalla
　　　　inmbieit innabocte ⁊ con*dipcennis ⁊ con*rochia
　　　　apheccdu. isant t*rá* sin gaibid c*um*sulcud foir
　　　　isant roucifair imlainni immin firinni inde dicit.
　　amb-　Ordinem igitur persequamur quia scriptum est ordinate
140　　in mé caritatem. depossui peccatum temperaui
　　　　mores delicta fleui.　essurire incipio et si
　　　　tire iustitiam. eger enim cum in graui morbo[2] est non essu
　　　　rit quia egretudinis dolor excludit famem.　ISi t*rá*
　　　　inmann adamræ innafirinne asb*er* firinni doac
145　　cobur ⁊ doimlainni impe fobíth asné sa
　　　　sad as dech ant is disudiu roradi ambróis dicens.
　　ambᵒ-　Sed quae ista famis iustitiæ qui sunt isti panes quos
　　　　esurit iustus.né forte pares illi de quibus dictum est
　　　　iuuenis fui ⁊ senui. et non uidi iustum derilictum
150　　nec semen eius quaerens panem. qui esurit utique uirium
　　　　　　quae

---

[1] imminfinni] *There is an* i *over the* f *in the hand of the text; following this is* ri *in a correcting hand. The intention is to correct* finni *to* firinni.
[2] morbo] *The* o *is added in a correcting hand.*

rit augmentum quod autem[1] maius uirtutis incrementum
quam norma iustitiae. ISed tra im*murgu* asber hir(onimus)
    nilour
dúnni accubur innafirinne manibé sírítu in
narnanmanib impe ut dicit. // tiamur famem

155 hir̄ **N**on nobís sufficit uelle iustitiam nisi iustitiae pa
ut sub hoc exemplo. numquam nós satis iustos sed semper
sitíre opera iustitiæ intellegamus. IS é sásad
fordingir híc nomine iustitiæ uoluntas dei is
desuidiu sasad radid cr*ist* fri aps*talu* andof

160 oircdet*ar*sidi praint dossom. Meus est cibus olse
ut faciam uoluntatem patris mei qui in cęlís est is é
insasad sin. fordingair aug(ustinus) nomine inconcussi boni.
et ueri boni dicens. // illo ergo cibo saturabuntur de quo

aḡ **I**am ipsos amatores dicit [2]ueri ꟳ inconcussi boni[2].
165 ipse dominus dicit meus est cibus ꟳ rl usque in cęlís est quod
    est
iustitiam ꟳ illa aqua de qua quisquis biberit
ut idem dixit fiat fons aque salientis in uitam ęternam.
Torimi magistrect *trá* asnainm iustitia don
scriptúir ꟳ dond sos*celu* indsainriud is de

170 sudiu asber here(mias). praedicabunt iustitiam[3] omnibus
populis non .i. tantum aranep*er* iustitia dondsoscelu fo
bíth neich asrub*ar*tmar sed nominatur nomine iustitiæ
arindí radas cr*ist* ant inninscise fria aps*talu.*
Adtendite né iustitiam uestram coram hominibus

175 faciatis. Et is*ed* fordingarar isuidiu nomine ueritatis
ieiunium uel elemoysena uel oratio insos*cele* di*diu* itá
taidmet ba immaircide ciadogarthe side
nomine iustitiæ IS sí indfirinne la hir(onimum) induile

hir̄ léire ꟳ anuile crabad dicens. Iustitia est non ali
180 ud quam non peccare non peccare autem est praecepta legis
obseruare praeceptorum autem obseruatio duplici
genere custoditur ut nihil horum quae prohibentur fa
cias ꟳ omnia quae iubentur inplere custodias. Quoniam ipsi
saturabuntur ut dicitur Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.,

185 **B**EATI MISERICORDES id est misserís concordes. habet
iš ubi dicit aperiens ós suum ꟳ rl. Tadbat is(idorus) ethemlig int
suin dicens. Misericors a conpatiendo alienæ mi
seriæ uocabulum sortitus est ꟳ hinc appellatam
misericordiam quia miserum cor dolentis faciat.

---

1 autem] *s.l.* interro(gatio).
2-2 .i. quando dicit beati qui essuriunt ꟳ rl. *There is a dot before the* u *of*
ueri *indicating that the gloss is on* dicit.
3 iustitiam] *s.l.* .i. euangelium

190   non autem occurrit ubique hec ethimologia nam est in deo
miséricordia sine ulla cordis miseria // dia
Ataat *trá* difodil *for*sintrocciri .i. missericor

(Fol. 1, v^b)

(*Single line lost*)

[misericordia hu]

milis ⁊ misericordia alta. iss í ém introci
195   re ísel troccire fricorpu innamboct
is ísel introciresin.   Arciabeith *conté* in
boct uanni *con*éri bés adcota ónachailiu
*con*naig eipla *con*dibmidig ladia.   IS sí im*murgu*
misericordia alta trócire docách
200   fricachnanmin ⁊ fria anmin feissin intsain
riud arisé boctsón nadriga doati
pur dochum tige nachaili.arised as
dilem ant deithiden dintanmin is defod
lide introccaire corporis .i. corpori
205   tuo ⁊ corpori proximorum is dintrocairi
frit anmin féin dicit gregorius // deo ⁊ iterum dicit
ḡḡ   **M**isserere animæ tuæ placens
Qui sibi malus est cui erit bonus.   Ní
diliu dún di*diu* nach tróg,[1] aile quam arna
210   nim.   madodallsam accenndi .i. cr*ist*.   mado
dallsam oculos prudentiæ ⁊ rl. trocai
re fritchorp féin .i. né habeat honera
grauia peccatorum.   Item corporibus proximo
rum .i. sí esurierint uel sitierint ⁊ rl uel sí
215   desit aliquod membrum ab eís. ut sís oculus
⁊ manus ⁊ pes ⁊ rl- uel sí sít[2] leprosus ⁊ rl- itimdai
da*no* afodli ⁊ agabail innatrócaire ní im
biud uel etúg tantum constat sicut dicit non solum ergo
qui dat esurienti ⁊ rl.   Inde dicit ag(ustinus) // potum
220   aḡ   **N**on solum ergo qui dat esurienti cibum sitienti
nudo uestimentum perigrinanti hospitium
fugienti latibulum ęgro uel inclusso uisi
tationem.   captiuo redemptionem.   debili
subuectionem cęco deductionem tristi
225   consulationem insano medellam. erranti uiam
dubitanti consilium ⁊ quod cuique neccessarium est
indigenti.   Uerum etiam qui dat ueniam peccan

---

[1] *The sign after g is probably a corrector's mark of word separation.*
[2] sit] *Inserted in corrector's hand.*

ti elemoysinam dat et qui emendat uerpere
in quem potestas datur uel coercet disciplina
230 aliqua ⁊ tamen peccatum eius quo ab illo lessus aut
offensus est dimittit ex corde uel orat ut
éi dimittatur non solum in eo[1] quod demittit atque orat
uerum etiam in eo quod corripit ⁊ aliqua emenda
toria pęna plectit elimoysenam
235 dat qui missericordiam praestet. // sericor
Ataat tr*á* difodil aili f*or*sintrociri .i. mi
dia specialis quam aliquis contra animam suam
facit propriam ⁊ missericordia generalis
quam aliquis contra corpus ⁊ animam alterius. Nied
240 amét tra ol hir(onimus) asnáil incoics*ed* colnide
act isáil incoicsed spirtalde co*n*roib
linn .i. cogeiss cách úan dia tarcenn
peccda acheli. ut dicit. // momento fratris
hir **N**on solum in elemoysinis[2] intelligitur sed in omni
245 sí alter alterius honera nostra portamus.
Ní diup*artar* tra introcir diatrociri. Is*ed* asb*er* ag(ustinus)
dicens
ag̅ **B**eati misericordes quoniam ipsorum
est deus beatos esse dicit qui subueniunt mi
serís quia éis ita rependitur ut de miseria
250 liberentur. Is figuir tr*á* innaimf *or*tacte
sin. bís it*er* inpopul inna ecilso f*or*com
nacir indfís adco*n*dirc ezechiél.
Uidens delba nacethrananmande
itésidi ananmandi rothectsat
255 sciathu. is díb asb*er* pennæ eorum erec
tæ alterius ad alterum is*ed* inchoisegar

* * * * * * * * *

(Fol. 2, rᵃ)

uestra non intrabitis in regnum cælorum ergo qui soluerit
illa minima et síc docuerit minimus uo
cabitur in regno cælorum qui autem fecerit illa mini
260 ma ⁊ síc docuerit[3] minimus uocabitur qui autem
fecerit illa minima ⁊ síc iam magnus
habendus est et idoneus regni cælestis.
sed tamen non tam minimus quam ille qui soluit ut
autem sit magnus. atque illi regno aptum fa

---

[1] in eo *supplied above the line.*
[2] elemoysinis] *s.l.* uel elimoysinas.
[3] *Gl.* .i. non facit eum magnum si minima conpleuerit.

265   cere debet et docere sicut nunc christus docet
id est ut habundet iustitia eius super scribarum
et farisseorum iustitia.   Iustitia faris
seorum est ut non occidant.   iustitia eorum qui in
traturhíi[1] sunt in regno dei ut non irascantur sine
270   causa minimum est ergo non occidere ⁊ qui illud
soluerit minimus uocabitur in regno cælorum qui autem
illud inpleuerit et non occidit non continuo
magnus erit ⁊ idoneus regni cęlestis
sed tamen ascendit ad aliquem gradum.   perfi
275   cetur autem   sí non irascitur sine causa quod sí
perficerit multo remotior ab homicidio.
ISed t*rá* asbiur frib ol ihū is é pes már
intí comalnabadar innauli timnæ
quasi dixisset intí nadbacosmil contra
280   scribas ⁊ fariseos dico enim ⁊ rl- armanip
ulliu. f*o*rrinne si quam scribarum ⁊ fariseorum non
intrabitis in regnum cęlorum.   regnum cælorum
praesentem eclissiam appellat de qua
scriptum est ⁊ collegent de regno eius omnia
285   scandala quæ ex eo collegi debeant non
habentur qui autem soluit opere ⁊ síc docet
uoce in isto regno cælorum minimus in illo
nec minus.   plus .i. achomalnad ⁊ af*o*rcitel
non ut farissei faciunt .i. af*o*rcitel tantum ut dicit.
290   **F**ariseos cogitabat cum ista diceret
qui soluebant legem factís ⁊ docebant
uerbís de quibus alio loco dicit quæ dicunt facite
quæ autem faciunt nolite facere dicunt enim
et non faciunt propterea ⁊ híc ita sequitur dico
295   autem uobís nisi habundauerit ⁊ rl- usque cęlorum
id est nisi uós feceritis ⁊ ita docueritis. quod
illi non faciunt ⁊ síc docent non intrabitis
in regnum cælorum. // abimaicc senchad
AUDISTIS QUIA DICTUM EST ANTIQUÍS ⁊ rl. .i.
300   rachu alid cinid tarnacid .i. rocualid
asrub*art* dia donab arsidib .i. domoysi
et doarón ⁊ atrub*art*atsidi .i. contra populum anas
rub*art* dia friu. Aliter rocualid aras
robrad antiquís .i. ónabarsidib .i.
305   ómoysi ⁊ arón .i. foroíchnatar sam
in popul cid óthimnib nadnerb*art* dia
friu ⁊ ní oén im*murgu* desudib hoc *con*id faitti

---

[1] intraturhíi] *The* híi *is added in margin as a correction.*

giu *trá* foanindassin pid ed asberthar
ant rocualid aras robrad antiquís.
310 .i. onabarsidib óre nad cinni híc ped
dia dodimmarnad uel nad mbed hé licet
in .x. uerbís dicit non occides. Is de gaib
thi achomuem in teist*imin*so. de eo quod
praedixit non ueni soluere legem ⁊ rl nidoth
315 uasulcud recto ol ihū dodechadsa
. . . . arsi
(*Single line lost*)

(Fol. 2, r^b)

silcimse da*no* insin actnapridchim ⁊ is*ed* as maith
limm achomalnad.   tectid trá da*no* inteist*imin*so
comuém cenelach .i. ⁊ aperiéns ós ⁊ rl. // lici do
320 **E**GO AUTEM DICO UOBÍS ⁊ rl. cocetal *trá* frifetar
cr*ist* is inteistmin rés*unt* arissí indiota innafe
tarlice roradi som isuidiu. ISé im*urgu* inta
pang innaiota ísin. immeradi infectse .i.
apang indnufiadnisi ⁊ af*orl*ínad fo*r*sin
325 . fetarlici ariss í inso in chét nef*or*tail inna
fe*tarlice*. IS de gaibthi comuem inteist*imin*so dindí
asrub*art* sed adinplere .i. is oén di*diu* dinafuil
nedib quod híc dicitur Comuém naill do da*no* quando dicit
nisi habundauerit iustitia uestra ⁊ rl ⁊ is mebir libsi
330 cissi firinne roboí lasuidiu .i. niaccobri
tis duinorcin. Ego autem dico ⁊ rl ised im*urgu* as
biursa fribsi arnaraib lib cida adb*ar*
innaduinoircne .i. ira ar bid bibdu. nach
oén lasambia .i. híc radix absciditur homi
335 cidii. eula frepda da*no* infer rodradi.
Ceist *trá* cia ort file fo*r*snatargabalib torimt*er*
híc quando dicitur qui irascitur et quando dicitur qui
            dixerit racha
et quando dicitur qui dixerit fatue ni *anse* ort indaís arin
tan asmb*er*ar qui irascitur is do me*n*min. tre
340 midírgedar indfercsin ⁊ nitáet imbrethir
d̄d̄ is dintfeircsin. roradi infáith dicens. Turbatus
sum ⁊ non sum locutus. Intí im*urgu* asb*er* racha foroch
luint*er* lasuide as ferg cach cinid imbir ai
this. Intí im*urgu* asb*er* fatue imb*er*side aithis sicut dicit.
345 aḡ **G**radús itaque sunt in istís peccatís ut primo quisque
irascatur et eum motum reteneat corde conceptum

iam si extorserit[1] uocem indig(nanti) ipsa commo
tatio non significantem aliquid. sed illum animo
tum[2] ipsa eruptione[3] testantem[4] quae[5] fereatur illa
350   cui irascimur plus est utique[6] quasi surgens[7]
ira silentio praemitur[8] sí uero non solum uóx indig
nantis. audiatur sed etiam uerbum quod certam uitu
perationem in quem profertur designat et notet quis
dubitet amplius hoc esse quam sí solus indignati
355   onis sonus ilederetur itaque in primo unum est.
id est ira sola in secundo .ii. ⁊ ira ⁊ uóx quæ iram
[9]significat. In tertio .iii. id est ira ⁊ uóx quæ iram significat
et ipsa certe uituperationis expraesio. atá
trá dano intás forsin pennint arised as etrummam
360   ant inphennint dognither nomine iudicii. aris
ed bis in iudicio [10]dei . . . . ús imb . . inpheinn
de inciun. fanacc. ⁊ is . . . .
ainmnigud ut dicitur iudicium qs . . . .
IS tromm immurgu concilium aris fri coceirt fr . . . . .
365   ecmaltarside ⁊ nitiagar dédil ass. ar [ni]
talla dítin na erlabræ foir inge choceir[t]
tantum ⁊ forus mbreithe óre tondechidison.
cisu cenaithis ní cummes ón. ⁊ iudicium as lui
ther asuidiu trithacre cenpennint ⁊ cid in
370   tan concerta pennint is gnáth nibí tromm. IS trum
mu trá dano gechenna ignis quam concilium .i. grís tei
ned do dílgiunt naruccæ ⁊ indimdercda
frecndirc ut dicit. // dicii. ⁊ concilii. nam in iudicio
ag̅   Uide nunc etiam .iii. reatús ⁊ gechennæ ignis ⁊ iu
375   adhúc difensioni datur locus. in concilio autem quan
quam ⁊ iudicium esse soleat tamen quia inter sé aliquid hóc
[loco fateri cogat ipsa] distinctio [uid]etur ad

(Fol. 2, vᵃ)

(*Single line lost*)

non iam cum ipso reo agitur utrum dampnandus sit
án non sed iudices inter sé conferunt quem iudicant. quo sup

---

[1] extorserit] *s.l.* .i. mad do fogluase (*Some letters rubbed between* .i. *and*
mad).
[2] motum] *s.l.* .i. significat.
[3] eruptione] *s.l.* .i. uocis.
[4] testantem] f *super* n.
[5] quae] *s.l.* uel qua, *a necessary correction*.
[6] utique] *s.l.* quam irasci.
[7] surgens] *s.l.* in corde.
[8] praemitur] *s.l.* uel praetermitur (*sic*).
[9] *in left margin:* z.
[10] *The letter(s) following* de *could be* r *or* it.

380   plicio dampnari oportet quem constat esse damp
nandum gechenna[1] uero ignis nec dampna
tionem habet dubiam sed iudicium in gechenna uero cer
ta est ⁊ dampnatio. et pęna dampnati manifes
te dicit qui dixerit fratri suo fatue conuicium in

385   fratrem sí in hodium non conuertetur igni purgatorio
purgabitur.   Cid foroar *con*id iudicium tar
esí nduinoircne ⁊ gechenna ignis im*murgu* ta
rési nathisigdo ni *anse* isé mes asb*er* issindrem
ep*er*du.   mess tromm gechennæ issí im*murgu* in gechenna

390   dob*er* tarési nathisigdo.   gechenna as etr*u*mmu.
alaili.   ar am*al* rondgab dechur fochricce
ladia atá dechur pian.   sicut ag(ustinus) ostendit
artoadbet ag(ustinus) meit in dechuir file inter ius
titiam farisseorum ⁊ iustitiam noui testamenti quae

395   ducit in regnum ⁊ doadbet da*no* cisiphian bias
doneuch dogena homicidium in nouo testamento cum in ge
chenna ignis punitur qui facit etiam conuicium
quod est leuius homicidio .i. bás in gechenna pes
tr*u*mmu alaili.   ar am*al* daas dechur fochricce

400   ladia atá dechur pían. ut dicit // risseorum

    aḡ **A**udiendum est itaque quantum intersit inter iustitiam fa
et iustitiam maiorem quae ducit in regnum cælorum quod
        cum
fit grauius occidere quam uerba inrogare con
uicium ibi occissio reum facit iudicio híc

405   [2]autem ira reum facit iudicio híc ira reum
facit iudicia quod trium illorum peccatorum leui
ssimum est.   Quia illi quaestionem homicidii inter homines
        [3]agi
tabant [4]híc autem omnia diuino iudicio [5]dimittun
tur ubi finis dampnatorum est gechenna ignis

410   quisquis autem dixerit quod grauiore supplicio in maiore[6]
iustitia punitur homicidium.   sí gechenna ig
nis punitur conuicium cogit   intellegi esse diferen
tias gechennarum.   Is machdad linn t*rá* anad
chiam híc .i. inid inunn pennint bís tarési n

415   duinoircne ⁊ tarési fercigdo.   *ar* is iudici

---

1 gechenna *appears to be preceded by an erasure.*
2 *beginning in margin, gloss (in second hand)* .i. Acht is mess doiness on.
3 *Over* agitabant *is written* .i. ueteres, *followed by an* e *in paler ink.*
4 *gloss (in second hand), partly cut away in left margin:*] in futuro friiu (?)
ni in futuro mes . . . /]ccidaide / mess de.
5 dimittuntur] *gloss (in second hand):* .i. leicthir in mess de in futuro.
6 maiore] *gloss (in second hand):* .i. noui testa(menti).

um. tob*er* taran esi diblínib. ni metesón issain
mess cacht*ar* de .i. mess dóine atoisech mess
dé andidenach.　Mad la ag(ustinum) tr*á* asb*er*side
biid sine causa i foeitsecht isna teura

420　inscib so. et síc dicit qui irascitur fratri[1] sine causa
et síc est sí dixerit [rach]a sine causa tof*or*
mig . . . . insci cenmitha sine
[causa] . . . tormach nísin .i. fratri suo[2]
. . . . . . patrem simul confitentur quod dicunt

425　. . . r ut dicit frater.　nullus est nisi qui eundem nobiscum
[habe]t patrem.　Ní maith tr*á* la hir(onimum) anísiu[3] ar
[4]ni coir lasuide infochun inna fercæ las
na eclastacdu.　act is*ed* as maith leis. a[5] neph
thabh*art* do m*en*min sechiráit*er* ⁊ sechi dent*ar* frinn

430　ut dicit.　Siue iuste siue iniuste non licet irasci.
Iterum dicit in alio loco. // in uerbís diffinita ius
[6]**IN** quibusdam codicibus additur sine causa ceterum
titia est et ira penitus tollitur scriptura di
cente qui irascitur fratri suo.　sí enim iubemur alteram

435　maxillam cedenti[7] præbere etiam inimicos nostros ama
re et orare pro sequentibus omnis iræ occassio
tollitur radendum est ergo sine cuasa quia ira uiri
ius[titiam de]i non operatur. Ised tr*á* [. . . . .]

(Fol. 2, v[b])

f*or*crach interpraetatur. act im*murgu* ol sessom. is ferr limm ar

440　rochula antnuu .i. iss*ed* asrub*art* frimm alai
le ebride.　is *inter*iect gotha digalrugud
m*en*man aní asracha ⁊ nítintathar . . .[8]

a͞g　**Pro**babilius est quod a quodam ebreo audiui
cum id interrogassem dixit enim esse uocem. non sig

445　nificantem aliquid sed indignantis ani
mi motum expraementem. has interiectiones
grammatici uocant particulas orati
onis significantes commoti animi af
fectum uelut cum dicitur a dolente heu. uel ab

---

[1] suo *supplied in right margin (by second hand)*.
[2] *in right margin*: deest
[3] *in right margin, gloss (by second hand)*: .i. sine causa.
[4] ni coir *etc.*] *s.l.* ni con etir diui thiu aranic hard eside (?).
[5] a neph] *The* a *is added s.l.*
[6] *A marginal reference has been partially cut away.　The reference is to Jerome's commentary on Matthew.*
[7] cedenti] *s.l.* verberanti.
[8] tintathar] *See Notes to Irish text.*

450   irascente hem.[1]   quae uoces quarumque linguarum
    sunt proprię nec in aliam linguam facile trans
    feruntur quae causa utique cogit tam grecum
    interpraetem quam latinum uocem ipsam ponere
    cum quomodo etiam interpraetetur non inueniret. Mad la
455   hir(onimum) tra[2] isson ebride aracha sed dicit interpraetur
           .i. cenos
    in greco sermone ⁊ inanis uel uacuus in la[tino]
    ⁊ isé rélad inna etercertę latinde absque
    cerebro. // id est inanis aut uacuus quem nos

hiꝛ   **H**oc uerbum proprie ebreorum est[3] racha enim dicitur cenos
460   possumus uulgata iniuria absce ce
    rebro nuncupare si [4]de otioso ser
    mone reddituri sumus rationem quanto ma
    gis de contumilia.   ISé brathir tra do
    fichde irect fetarlice int iudide arda
465   mainibse nír buidan a cubussam frisnageinti[5]
    ISé dano brathir as imcabdi dunni doaithi
    sigud .i. christianus ut dicit. // nullus enim frater noster est

hīr   **S**ignanter additur qui dixerit fratri suo racha
    nisi qui eundem habeat nobiscum patrem cum ergo si
470   militer in deum ⁊ christum dei nouerit sapientiam
    qua ratione iustitiæ est eulogio[6] de
    notari. qui autem dixerit fatue reus erit
    gechennæ. ex superioribus subauditur qui dix
    erit fratri suo fatue reus erit gechennæ
475   qui enim ęque dicit in deum credenti. fatue impius est
    in relegionem. IS machdad linn trá alaill
    adchiam híc ised asber sunt intí asbera dia
    brathir racha reus erit in concilio.
    ISsed immurgu asber bachier. qui dixerit fratri suo ra
480   cha reus erit gechennæ ignis. nime
    tesón iss ain andorécigi menmæ cáich
    ant .i. Indí lasnatrem dirgedar do
    nachaithis .a. racha is concilium a phe
    nnint leu. in dí immurgu lasatrem dirgedar
485   do aithis máir aní asracha at(?) atá
    antsam in chumdubart ísin. ut dixi
    mus ante is gechenna lasuidiu a phenint

---

    1 *Gloss (in second hand):* uel en.
    2 tra *added over line (by second hand?).*
    3 *s.l. as correction.*
    4 *gl.* .i. oc verbum otiosum ⁊ rl. *The c of oc is uncertain.*
    5 *See Notes to Irish text.*
    6 eulogio] *s.l.* .i. andoipli uel sinia⟨e⟩.

amb̄ Mad la ambro*is* t*ra* is in macc ró labras
      tar in ueteri testamento dicens. non pater in
490   rubo non pater in herimo ⁊ rl- reus erit
      iudicio .i. dús inn iar cóir recta ro
      ort.i. niorcad leusom intennac alai
      le ní orcad da*no* incinṭach innnen
      nac baedsin cóir arectosom. no
495   orcad im*murgu* intennac in cintach areut
      ommun firinni. Cur ergo mala est ira
      cum in natura esse dinoscitur animæ.
      Tris enim sunt . . .

B

(fol. 1, r^a)

. . . securitas nascitur et in amore cae-
lestium gaudiorum animus inflammatur et qui prius flebat
ne duceretur ad suplicium postmodum flere
amarissime incipit quia difertur a regno. Con-
templatur enim mens, qui sunt illi chori angelorum,
quae ipsa societas beatorum spirituum, quae maes-
ta[ti]s internae uisionis Dei, et amplius plangit
quia a bonis perennibus deest quam flebat cum prius mala
aeterna metuebat; sicque fit ut perfecta conpunc-
tio formidinis tradat animum conpunctioni
dilectionis. Quod bene in sacra ueraque historia
figurata narratione describitur, quae ait
quod Axa filia Caleph sedens super assinam
suspirauit. Cui dixit pater suus: 'Quid habes?'.
At illa respondit: 'Da mihi benedictionem.
Terram australem et arentem dedisti mihi;
iunge et inriguam.' Dedit illi pater suus inriguum
superius et inriguum inferius. Axa quippe super assinam
sedet, cum inrationabilibus carnis suae motibus
anima praesidet, quae su[s]spirans a patre terram inriguam
petit, quia a creatore nostro cum magno gemi-
tu quaerenda est lacrimarum gratia. Sunt namque
nonnulli qui iam in dono perciperunt libere pro
iustitia loqui, oppressos tueri, indigenti-
bus propria tribuere, ardorem fidei ⟨habere⟩, sed ad-
huc gratiam lacrimarum non habent. Hi nimirum terram
australem et arentem habent, sed adhuc inrigua
indigent, quia in bonis operibus possiti, in quibus mag-
ni atque feruentes sunt, oportet nimis ut
aut timore supplicii aut amore regni cae-
lestis mala etiam quae ante ea perpetrauerunt deplo-
rent. Sed quia, ut dixi, duo sunt conpunctionis gene-

---

8 quam *Greg.*: quod *MS*   9 sicque: sic quae *MS*.
20 praefidet *MS*   24 oppressos *Greg.*: opere suo *MS*
25 propria *Greg.*: possa *MS*.   31 quae *Greg.*: qui *MS*.

1–41 Greg. M., Epist. VII. 23 (ed. P. Ewald, MGH Epist. I,
1887–91, p. 466, 34–467,20) 5 qui sunt angelorum chori *Greg.* 6 ex. – 7
quae uisio internae claritatis Dei *Greg.* 8 quia: quae *Greg.* prius cum *Greg.*
11 ueracique *Greg.* (13–18 Ios. xv. 18–19) 13 quod *om. Greg.* 15 at (=
Vulg.): atque *Greg.*
17 ⟨Et⟩ dedit *Greg.* illi: ei (= *Vulg.*) *Greg.*   21–2 gemitu: desiderio
Greg.   24 loqui: eloqui *Greg.*   29 nimis: ualde *Greg.*
31–2 mala—deplorent: peccata sine quibus uiuere non possunt cotidie
plorent *Greg.*

ra, dedit ei pater suus inriguum [in]superius et inri-
guum inferius. Inriguum quippe superius accipit
35   anima cum sese in lacrimis celesti⟨s⟩ regni
desiderio afligit, inriguum uero inferius accipit
cum inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit; et
quidem prius inferius ac post inriguum superius datur, sed
quia conpunctio amoris dignitate praeminet
40   necesse fuit ut prius inriguum superius et post inri-
guum inferius commemorari debuisset.
Ataat, trá, *di erdil forssin dubu spirtidiu* ani-
mæ, *.i., dubæ n-aithirge dinab peccdaib*
sechmadachtib ⁊ *dube sírectæ im flaith*
45   *nime. Is sí in sin ind ingen Caleph* maicc *Effon-*
næ do-rímther isin scriptúir. Is si-ede
do-luid forsin assind dochum a athar a n-as-
mbert fris: 'Dedisti mihi terram aridam et aus-
tralem; da mihi terram inriguam inferius et superius'. *Is sí,*
50   *trá, in sin ind anim ro-rádi a toisc frisin*
*Caleph rúnde, fri Día, a n-as-rub*art *fris*:
'*Do-ratis dom chaingnimu* ⁊ *choí mo pheccdæ*
*sechmodacte; da mihi, da*no, *sírect im flaith*
nime'. Is é in brón-sin ro-boí forsnab noeb-
55   *ib* ⁊ *forsna fíriónib* am*a*l *ro-n-boí f*or *Dauid*, dicens:
'Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei'. *Is din dubu-sin*
ro-rádi Gregorius dicens: // dicat: Terrenarum rerum
G̅G̅   **M**emor fui Dei et dilectatus sum, ac si aperte
me nec habundantia refouet; aucto-
60   ris mei, quem adhuc uidere non ualeo, uel sola
memoria dilectat. Haec igitur amaritudo
sapientium, quia dum spe in alta erecti sunt
nullis hic gaudîs animum sternunt. Hinc
scriptum est: Cor sapientium ubi tristitia est

(Fol. i, rᵇ)

⟨et cor stultorum ubi laetitia. Hinc Iacobus dicit:
Miseri estote et lugete et plorate et risus uester⟩
65   in luctum conuertatur et gaudium in merorem. Hinc per
semet ipsam ueritas attestatur dicens: Beati qui lugent

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35 sese: se *Greg.* regni caelestis *Greg.* 38 ac: et *Greg.*
39 prae⟨e⟩minet *Greg.* 41 commemorari debuisset: diceretur *Greg.*
56 Ps. cxviii. 136 58–67 Greg. M., Moralia XVIII. 66 (PL
LXXVI. 76B3–15) (58 Memor—sum: Ps. lxxvi. 4) 60 ⟨autem⟩ mei *Greg.*
61 Haec ⟨est⟩ *Greg.* 63 Hinc ⟨enim⟩ *Greg.* (64 sq. Eccl. vii. 5)
(Miseri—65 merorem: Iac. iv. 9) (66–7 Matth. v. 5: nunc *add.* DE
PLRY ᵍˡ *ex* Luc. vi. 21; *om. Greg.*)

nunc ꝑ rl-. Item dicit: // in conpunctione uechimenter

$\overline{GG}$ Quatuor qualitates de quibus uiri iusti anima

afficitur, cum aut malorum suorum reminiscitur consi-

70 derans ubi fuit aut iudiciorum Dei sententiam

metuens et secum quaerens cogitat ubi erit aut cum

mala uitae praesentis solerter attendens

maerens considerat ubi est aut cum bona supernae ⟨patriae⟩

contemplatur, quae quia necdum adepiscitur langens con-

75 spicit ubi non est. Malorum suorum Paulus meminerat

cum diceret: Non sum dignus uocari apostolus; rursus

diuinum iudicium metuebat dicens: Castigo corpus

meum ꝑ rl- usque efficiar; rursum mala praesentis ui-

tae pensabat cum diceret: Uideo aliam legem in

80 membris ꝑ rl-; et iterum: Infelix ego sum; quis me liberauit

de corpore huius peccati ꝑ rl-; rursum bona aeterna

patriae considerabat dicens: Nunc per speculum et enigma

ꝑ rl-. Hic, fratres carissimi, uanam laetitiam fugite,

si illic flere formidatis. Nemo enim hic potest gau-

85 dere cum saeculo et illic regnare cum Christo. // de ét

A*taat, trá, da cenéle tarnic Críst isin domun*

ectu, .i., fáelte étectæ ꝑ brón étectæ. .Ar

ba étectæ fáelte in mondo *iar n-immormus*

Ádim. Ideo dixit Iesus: 'Beati qui lugent', et iterum dicit:

'Uae

90 uobis qui riditis ꝑ rl-. *Ba téctæ, dano, brón isin*

biuth dia fochidib cum Iacob dicit: 'Omne gau-

dium existimate', ꝑ rl-. Item: 'Beati qui lugent', ꝑ rl-, id est

contrariis sanantur .i. *bocte tar ési inna n-ane, cen-*

se tar ési inna ferccæ, coí tar ési fáelte,

95 *itu immin fírinni tar ési n-ittad immin domun.*

QUONIAM IPSI CONSULA(BUNTUR), id est, quoniam

ridebunt, dicente

Christo: 'Beati estis qui fletis quoniam ridebitis'. *Is ed as-*

ber Augustinus *it é in dubig findbothig as-*bertar *ant, ind í*

con-*nessat inna frec*ndirce ꝑ *to-chuiretar rind a n-in-*

100 *tliucta fri Día,* ut dicit:// Conuersi autem ad Deum ea

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73 maerens *Greg.*: moriens *MS. The exemplar might have had the*
'*Hibernian*' *spelling* meriens.

68–83 cf. Greg., Moralia XXIII. 41 (PL LXXVI. 276A1—B9)   (76 1
Cor. xv. 9   77–8 1 Cor. ix. 27   79–81 Rom. vii. 23–4: peccati *add.* L
82–3 1 Cor. xiii. 12)   83–5 Greg. M., Homil. in Euang. XI. 4 (PL
LXXVI, 1117D2)   84 nemo etenim potest et hic *Greg.*   85 Christo:
Domino *Greg.*   89 Matth. v. 5   89–90 Luc. vi. 25.   91–2 Iac. i. 2
92 Matth. v. 5   96 Matth. v. 5   97 Luc. vi. 21

Ag̅ Luctus est tristitia de amisione carorum.
quae in mondo cara amplectabant amittunt;
non enim gaudent his rebus quibus ante gaudiebant,
et donec fiat in eis amor aeternorum, nonnulla mis-
105 titia sociantur.   Consulabuntur ergo Spiritu Sancto, qui
maxi-   .
me propterea paracletus nominatur .i. consulator,
ut temporalem amitentes aeterna laetitia perfru-
antur.   *Ní fíu di*diu *seirc fáelte in betho frecn*dirc *inid
*ed as-*ber Íssu: 'Uae uobis qui nunc ridetis, quia flebitis
110 et lugebitis.' *Is di suidiu as-*ber *int ecnæ*: 'Ridere
paruulorum est' (.i., *inna ndeidblán*) 'tris-
titia perfectorum' (.i., *ó gnimib*)// os suum,' ⁊ rl-.   *Nitat n-é*
BEATI QUI ESSURIUNT, ⁊ rl- habet ubi dicit: 'Aperiens
bendachas-som hic qui uolunt et qui faci-
115 unt *ar do-s-raithminestar-sidi* profeta dicens: 'Beati
qui custodiunt iudicium et faciunt iustitiam,' *act*
it é bendachas qui esuriunt et sitiunt erga ius-
titiam, *.i., ara testa a bithaccobur, ar is día*
béssib inna fírinne ní bí sáithech di inti las mbi.
120 Esā̅ī Inde dicit iustitia per Essaiam: 'Qui me comedunt
iterum essurient et qui me bibunt iterum sitient.'   *Is*
*immair*cide
Ag̅ *fri sin a canas* Agustinus: 'Quid est iterum esurire et iterum
sitire nisi numquam fastidire de iustitia quae est Iesus
Christus?'
*Mad int í, im*murgu, *lasna forbir-si, is sercud sercas-si la sui-*
125 Hir̅ *de*, Hironimo dicente: 'Relegio decrescit quando non crescit.'
*Is ed in sin fo-roichlestar ap*stal, dicens: 'Praeterita obliuis-
cens et in futurum conualescens.' *Do-rat-som na ce*
*dia men*min quod dixit Christus in euangelio 'Cum
feceritis . . .'

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101 Luctus est *Aug.*: Lugentes *MS* carorum *Aug.*: corporum *MS*
102 cara Aug.: cura *MS*.   123 fastudire *MS*.

101–8 Aug. De sermone Domini in monte I. 2, p. 5, 85–92 M.   102 in
⟨hoc⟩ mundo *Aug.*

109–10 Luc. vi. 25 (nunc ridetis *e*: ridetis nunc *VLpl, Vulg.*; lugebitis et
flebitis *VLpl, Vulg*)   113 Matth. v. 6; 2   115–6 Ps. cv. 3.
120 per Essaiam: *recte* Sir. xxiv. 29; *cf.* Aug., Enarr. in Ps. lxxxv.
24 (C.C. vol. XXXIX. 1197, 81–2) dictum de Sapientia: Qui te (me *Sir.*)
manducant iterum esurient et qui te (me *Sir.*) bibunt iterum   sitient
122–3 Aug., op. cit., p. 1197, 84–6   125 Relegio — crescit:
Hieronymus, *unidentified*.
126–7 *cf.* Phil. iii. 13 quae uero retro sunt obliuiscens ad ea uero quae sunt
in priora extendens me (praeterita *Orig., Aug.*; in futurum *Hier.*).

(Fol. 1, vᵃ)

. . . .

si an do-rigénsid di maith. Is inna luc coir, t⟨rá⟩,
130 *tárbid in bieit so. Ar is fris samaltir int i chom-*
alnas na bieiti so: frí fer seircc. Is bésad
do sudiu ní arrbir biuth praint con-*r-étrom-*
migedar fair in sáeth. Is iar suidiu prainnid
⁊ gaibthir cíall for *a bethid. Im-tá samlid in*
135 *peccdach: ní-n gaib ítu immin fírinni* con*ro-chomalla*
in mbieit inna bocte ⁊ condip cennis ⁊ con*ro-chia*
a pheccdu. Is ant trá *sin gaibid cumsulcud foir;*
is ant ro-uci fair imlainni immin fírinni. Inde dicit:

Amb- **O**rdinem igitur persequamur, quia scriptum est: Ordinate
140 in me caritatem. Depossui peccatum, temperaui
mores, delicta fleui, essurire incipio et si-
tire iustitiam: eger enim, cum in graui morbo est, non essu-
rit, quia egretudinis dolor excludit famem. *Is í,* trá,
*in mann adamræ inna fírinne. As-*ber *fírinni do ac-*
145 *cobur ⁊ do imlainni impe fo bíth as n-é sá-*
sad as dech ant. Is di sudiu ro-rádi Ambróis, dicens:

Ambr̄o **S**ed quae ista famis iustitiae, qui sunt isti panes quos
esurit iustus? Ne forte panes illi, de quibus dictum est:
Iuuenis fui et senui, et non uidi iustum derilictum
150 nec semen eius quaerens panem? Qui esurit utique uirium
quae-
rit augmentum. Quod autem maius uirtutis incrementum
quam norma iustitiae? *Is* ed, *trá,* im*murgu, as-*ber *Hir-*
onimus: *ni lour*
dúnni accubur inna fírinne mani bé sírítu in
n-ar n-anmanib impe, ut dicit:// tiamur famem,

155 Hir̄ **N**on nobis sufficit uelle iustitiam nisi iustitiae pa-
ut sub hoc exemplo numquam nos satis iustos sed semper
sitire opera iustitiae intellegamus. *Is é sásad*
*for*dingir *hic nomine iustitiae uoluntas Dei. Is*
*de suidiu sásad rádid Crí*st *fri a*pstalu *a ndo-f-*
160 *oircdetar-sidi praint do-*ssom: 'Meus est cibus', *ol-se,*
'ut faciam uoluntatem patris mei qui in caelis est'. *Is é*
in sásad-sin for-dingair Augustinus nomine inconcussi boni
et ueri boni, dicens: // Illo ergo cibo saturabuntur de quo

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148 panes: pares *MS.*

139–43 Ambros., Expositio euangelii sec. Lucam V. 56 (139–40 Cant. ii. 4)
141 ⟨de⟩fleui Ambr. 147–52 Ambros., loc. cit. (149–50 Ps. xxxvi. 25).
155–7 Hier., Comm. in Matth. I, p. 25, 449–52 H.–A. 157 sitire
(= L): esurire *Hier.* 160–1 Ioh. iv. 34

C

Ag̅

Iam ipsos amatores dicit ueri et inconcussi boni.

165   ipse Dominus dicit: 'Meus est cibus', ⁊ rl- usque 'in caelis est',
         quod est

iustitia[m], et illa aqua de qua quisquis biberit,

ut idem dixit, fiat fons aque salientis in uitam aeternam.

To-rími magistrect, trá, *as n-ainm* iustitia *don*

scriptúir ⁊ *dond* soscélu *ind sainriud. Is de*

170   *sudiu as-*ber Heremias: Praedicabunt iustitiam omnibus

populis. Non .i. tantum *ara n-ep*er iustitia *dond soscélu fo*

*bíth neich as-rub*artmar sed nominatur nomine iustitiae

*arind i rádas Crí*st *ant in n-insci-se fri a ap*stalu:

'**A**dtendite ne iustitiam uestram coram hominibus

175   faciatis.' Et *is* ed *for-dingarar i suidiu* nomine ueritatis

ieiunium uel elemoysena uel oratio. *In* soscéle *did*iu *i-tá*

taidmet, ba immaircide cía do-garthe-side

nomine iustitiae. *Is sí ind fírinne la* Hironimum *ind uile*

Hir̅   *léire* ⁊ *a n-uile crábad*, dicens: Iustitia est non ali-

180   ud quam non peccare. Non peccare autem est praecepta
         legis

obseruare. Praeceptorum autem obseruatio duplici

genere custoditur: ut nihil horum quae prohibentur fa-

cias et omnia quae iubentur inplere custodias. Quoniam ipsi

saturabuntur: ut dicitur: Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria
         tua.

185   **B**EATI MISERICORDES, id est, misseris concordes. Habet

ubi dicit: Aperiens os suum ⁊ rl-. *Tadbat* Isidorus *ethemlig*
         int

Is̅   *suin*, dicens: Misericors a conpatiendo alienae mi-

seriae uocabulum sortitus est et hinc appellatam

misericordiam quia miserum cor dolentis faciat.

190   Non autem occurrit ubique hec ethimologia; nam est in Deo

misericordia sine ulla cordis miseria // dia

Ataat, trá, *di fodil f*orsin *tróc*ciri, .i., missericor

(Fol. i, vᵇ)

. . . . ⟨misericordia hu-⟩

milis et misericordia alta. *Is sí, ém, in tróci-*

164–7 Aug., De serm. Dom. I. 2, p. 5, 94–8 M.   164 ipsos: istos *Aug.*
165 cibus est *Aug.*   167 dixit: dicit *Aug.*   fiat (= BT *cum* Ioh. iv.
14 Θ*): fiet *Aug.*   fiet ⟨in eo⟩ *Aug. cum Ioh.*   170–1 *pro* Heremias *lege*
Oseas? Cf. Os. iii (iv) 9 (*VL*) praedicate haec (hoc) in gentibus
174–5 Matth. vi. 1   179–84 cf. Pelagius (Ps. -Hier.), Ad Demetriadem 15
(PL xxx. 19C–D).

183–4 Matth. v. 6   184 Ps. xvi. 15   185 Matth. v. 7 186 Matth. v. 2
187–9 Isid., Etymol. X. 164.   188–9 appellatam misericordiam (= CT):
appellata misericordia *Isid.*   189 quia: quod *Isid.* faciat dolentis *Isid.*

195 *re ísel tróccire fri corpu inna mboct.*
Is ísel in trócire-sin, ar cía beith con *té in*
boct úanni co n-*éri bés ad-cota ó nach ailiu*
con*naig eipla* con*dib midig la Día. Is sí, im*murgu,
misericordia alta *trócire do cách*
200 *fri cach n-anmin* ⁊ *fri a anmin feissin int sain-*
riud ar is é boct són nad riga doati
pur dochum tige nach aili, ar is ed as
dilem ant deithiden dint anmin. Is defod-
lide in tró*ccaire* corporis, .i., corpori
205 tuo et corpori proximorum. *Is din trócairi*
frit anmin féin dicit Gregorius: // Deo, et iterum dicit:

G̅G̅ Misserere animae tuae placens
Qui sibi malus est, cui erit bonus? *Ní*
*díliu dún di*diu *nach tróg aile* quam *ar n-a-*
210 *nim, ma do-d-all-sam a ccenn di, .i., Crí*st, *ma-do-*
d-all-sam oculos prudentiae ⁊ rl-. *Trócai-*
re frit chorp féin, .i., ne habeat honera
grauia peccatorum. Item corporibus proximo-
rum, .i., si esurierint uel sitierint ⁊ rl- uel si
215 desit aliquod membrum ab eis, ut sis oculus
·et manus et pes ⁊ rl- uel sit leprosus ⁊ rl-. *It imdai,*
*da*no, *a fodli* ⁊ *a gabail inna trócaire;* ní i m-
biud uel *étug* tantum constat, sicut dicit: Non solum ergo
qui dat esurienti ⁊ rl-. Inde dicit Agustinus // potum,
220 A̅g̅ Non solum ergo qui dat esurienti cibum, sitienti
nudo uestimentum, perigrinanti hospitium,
fugienti latibulum, aegro uel inclusso uisi-
tationem, captiuo redemptionem, debili
subuectionem, caeco deductionem, tristi
225 consulationem, insano medellam, erranti uiam,
dubitanti consilium et quod cuique necessarium est
indigenti, uerum etiam qui dat ueniam peccan-
ti elemoysinam dat et qui emendat uerpere
in quem potestas datur uel coercet disciplina
230 aliqua et tamen peccatum eius quo ab illo lessus aut
offensus est dimittit ex corde uel orat ut

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228 uerpere, *i.e.* uerbere.

207–8 Sir. xxx. 24 + xiv. 5 (malus: nequam; cui ⟨alii⟩ bonus erit); *cf.*
Fulgentius, De Trinitate 12, 1; (with text between the two quotations)
Greg. M., Moralia XIX. 38 (PL lxxvi. 122C) *and* Aug., Ciu. Dei XXI. 27.
218–9 *cf. infra,* 219 ff.   219–35 Aug., Enchirid. 72 (C.C. vol. XLVI. 88,
22–34)
225 insano: non sano *Aug.*   226 dubitanti: deliberanti *Aug.*
229–30 aliqua disciplina *Aug.*

ei dimittatur non solum in eo quod demittit atque orat
uerum etiam in eo quod corripit et aliqua emenda-
toria poena plectit elimoysenam

235   dat qui missericordiam praestet // sericor-
Ataat, trá, *di fodil aili f*orsin *tróciri*, *.i.*, mi-
dia specialis, quam aliquis contra animam suam
facit propriam, et missericordia generalis,
quam aliquis contra corpus et animam alterius.   '*Ni ed*

240   *a mét, trá*', ol Hironimus, '*as n-áil in coics*ed *colnide*
act is áil in coicsed spirtálde con *roib*
linn, .i., co geiss cách úan Día tar cenn
peccda a chéli, ut dicit: // momento fratris,

Hir̄   **N**on solum in elemoysinis intelligitur sed in omni
245   si alter alterius honera nostra portamus.
*Ni diup*artar, trá, *in trócir día tróciri*.   *Is* ed *as-*ber Agustinus
                        dicens:

Aḡ   **B**eati misericordes quoniam ipsorum
est Deus.   Beatos esse dicit qui subueniunt mi-
seris, quia eis ita rependitur, ut de miseria

250   liberentur.   *Is* ⟨*hi*⟩ *figuir*, trá, *inna imf*ortacte-
*sin bís it*er *in popul inna ecilso f*or-*com*-
nacir ind fís ad-condirc Ezechiél
uidens *delba na cethra n-anmande*
*it é-sidi a n-anmandi r*o-thectsat

255   *scíathu*.   *Is díb as-*ber 'pennae eorum erec-
tae alterius ad alterum.'   *Is* ed *in-choisegar*...

(Fol. 2, rᵃ)

uestra, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.   Ergo qui
                        soluerit
illa minima et sic docuerit, minimus uo-
cabitur in regno caelorum; qui autem fecerit illa mini-

260   ma et sic docuerit [minimus uocabitur qui autem
fecerit illa minima et sic] ⟨non⟩ iam magnus
habendus est et idoneus regni caelestis,

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    235 qui: quia *Aug.*
    244-5 Hier., Comm. in Matth. I, p. 25, 453-5 H.-A.   243 momento:
peccato *Hier.*   245 nostra *om. Hier.*   247-8 *cf.* Matth. v. 7
247-50 Aug., De serm. Dom. I.2, p. 5, 99-101 M.   248 est: miserebitur
Aug. Deus (= P²FWβ *cum VLalq*): *om. Aug.*   249 quia (= BT)
quoniam *Aug.*
    255-6 Ezech. i. 23 (erectae *C*: rectae *cett.*)   257 *cf.* Matth. v. 20
257 Ergo qui—276 Aug., De serm. Dom. 1. 9, p. 22, 476—23, 590 M.
259 in regno caelorum (= P) *om. Aug.*   262 regni: regno *Aug.* caelestis:
caelorum *Aug.*

sed tamen non tam minimus quam ille qui soluit. Vt
autem sit magnus atque illi regno aptus, fa-
cere debet et docere sicut nunc Christus docet,
id est ut habundet iustitia eius super scribarum
et farisseorum iustitia. Iustitia faris-
seorum est, ut non occidant; iustitia eorum qui in-
traturi sunt in regno Dei, ut non irascantur sine
causa. Minimum est ergo non occidere; et qui illud
soluerit, minimus uocabitur in regno caelorum. Qui autem
illud inpleuerit et non occidit, non continuo
magnus erit et idoneus regni caelestis,
sed tamen ascendit ad aliquem gradum. Perfi-
cetur autem, si non irascitur sine causa; quod si
perficerit, multo remotior ab homcidio.
'**IS** ed, trá, as-biur frib,' ol Íssu, 'is é pes már
int í comalnabadar inna uli timnæ',
quasi dixisset 'int í nadba cosmil contra
scribas et fariseos: Dico enim, ⁊ rl-; ar manip
ulliu for ⟨fi⟩rinne-si quam scribarum et fariseorum, non
intrabitis in regnum caelorum. Regnum caelorum
praesentem eclissiam appellat, de qua
scriptum est: Et collegent de regno eius omnia
scandala quae ex eo collegi debeant non
habentur; qui autem soluit opere et sic docet
uoce, in isto regno caelorum minimus in illo
nec minus plus, .i., a chomalnad ⁊ a forcitel
non ut farissei faciunt, .i., a forcitel tantum, ut dicit.
Fariseos cogitabat, cum ista diceret,
qui soluebant legem factis et docebant
uerbis, de quibus alio loco dicit: Quae dicunt, facite;
quae autem faciunt, nolite facere. Dicunt enim
et non faciunt. Propterea et hic ita sequitur: 'Dico
autem uobis: Nisi habundauerit' ⁊ rl- usque 'caelorum',
id est, nisi uos feceritis et ita docueritis, quod
illi non faciunt et sic docent, non intrabitis
in regnum caelorum. // abi maicc senchad;
AUDISTIS QUIA DICTUM EST ANTIQUIS ⁊ rl-, .i.,
ra-chúalid cini-d tarnacid, .i., ro-cúalid

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270
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280
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264 aptus *Aug.*: aptum *MS.*

267 iustitia (1) *om. Aug.*   269 regno (= CN¹VF): regnum *Aug.*
272 ut non occidat *Aug.*   273 regni caelestis: regno caelorum *Aug.*
274 ad (= P) *om. Aug.* Perficietur *Aug.*   275 non: nec *Aug.* irascitur:
irascetur *Aug.*   276 ⟨erit⟩ ab *Aug.*   280–2 Matth. v. 20   284–5
Matth. xiii. 41.
292–4 *cf.* Matth. xxiii. 3   294–5 Matth. v. 20   299 Matth. v. 21.

*as-rub*art *Día donab arsidib, .i., do Moysi*
et do Arón, ⅂ *at-rub*art*at-sidi, .i.*, contra populum *a n-as-*
*rub*art *Día friu.* Aliter, *ro-cúalid ar as-*
robrad antiquis, *.i., ónab arsidib, .i.,*

305   *ó Moysi* ⅂ *Arón, .i., for-roíchnatar-sam*
in popul cid ó thimnib nad n-érbart Día
friu ⅂ *ní óen,* immurgu, *de sudib* hoc *conid faitti-*
giu, trá, *fo a n-indas-sin þid ed as-berthar*
ant: *ro-cúalid ar as-robrad* antiquís,

310   *.i., ónab arsidib, óre nad cinni* hic *þed*
Día do-d-immarnad uel *nad mbed hé* licet
in .x. uerbis dicit: Non occides. *Is de gaib-*
*thi a chomúem in teisti*min *so* de eo quod
praedixit: Non ueni soluere legem ⅂ rl-, *.i.*, 'Ní *do th-*

315   *úasulcud recto,' ol* Íssu, '*do-dechad-sa*

. . . . *arsi*
. . . . ⟨*ní túa-*⟩

(Fol. 2, rᵇ)

silcim-se, dano, *in sin act na-þridchim,* ⅂ *is* ed *as maith*
limm a chomalnad. Techtid, trá, dano, *in teisti*min *so*
comúem cenélach, .i., et aperiens os ⅂ rl- // *lici do*

320   **E**GO AUTEM DICO UOBIS ⅂ rl- *Cocetal,* trá, *fri fetar-*
Chríst *isin testmin ré* sunt, *ar is sí ind iota inna fe-*
tarlice ro-rádi-som i suidiu. Is é, im*murgu, int a-*
þang inna iota isin imme-rádi in fect-se, .i.,
aþang ind núfiadnisi ⅂ *a for*linad *for*sin

325   *fetarlici, ar is sí in so in chétne for*tail *inna*
*fe*tarlice. *Is de gaibthi comúem in teisti*min *so, dind í*
*as-rub*art sed adinplere, *.i., is óen didiu dina fuil-*
nedib quod hic dicitur. *Comúem n-aill dó,* dano, quando
        dicit:

Nisi habundauerit iustitia uestra ⅂ rl-; ⅂ *is mebir lib-si*

330   *cissi fírinne ro-boí la suidiu, .i., ní accobri-*
tis duinorcin. Ego autem dico ⅂ rl-: *Is* ed, im*murgu, as-*
*biur-sa frib-si arna raib lib cid a adb*ar
inna duinoircne, .i., ira, *ar bid bibdu nach*
óen lasa mbia, .i., hic radix absciditur homi-

335   cidii. *Éula freþda,* dano, *in fer ro-d-rádi.*
Ceist trá: *Cia ort file for*sna *targabálib to-rím*ter
hic quando dicitur: 'Qui irascitur', et quando dicitur:
        'Qui dixerit "racha",'

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312 Ex. xx. 13   314 *cf.* Matth. v. 17.   319 Matth. v. 2
320 Matth. v. 22   329 Matth. v. 20.   331. 337–8 Matth. v. 22.

et quando dicitur: 'Qui dixerit "fatue"?' *Ní* anse: *ort ind*
          áis, ar in
tan as-mberar 'qui irascitur' *is do menmin tre-*
340   *mi-dírgedar ind ferc-sin ⁊ ní táet i mbréthir.*

DD̄   *Is dint feirc sin ro-rádi in fáith,* dicens: Turbatus
sum et non sum locutus. *Int í, immurgu, as-ber* 'racha' fo-r-
          och-
*luint*er *la suide as fergcach cini-d imbir ai-*
this. Int í, immurgu as-ber 'fatue', *im-ber-side aithis,* sicut
          dicit.

345 Aḡ **G**radus itaque sunt in istis peccatis, ut primo quisque
irascatur et eum motum reteneat corde conceptum.
Iam si extorserit uocem indig(nanti) ipsa commo-
[ta]tio non significantem aliquid, sed illum ani⟨mi⟩ mo-
tum ipsa eruptione testantem qua[e] fereatur ille
350   cui irascimur, plus est utique quam si surgens
ira silentio praemitur. Si uero non solum uox indig-
nantis audiatur, sed etiam uerbum quod certam uitu-
perationem ⟨eius⟩ in quem profertur designat et notet, quis
dubitet amplius hoc esse quam si solus indignati-
355   onis sonus [il]ederetur? Itaque in primo unum est,
·   id est ira sola; in secundo duo, et ira et uox quae iram
significat; in tertio tria, id est ira et uox quae iram significat
et ⟨in uoce⟩ ipsa certe uituperationis expraesio. *Atá*
*trá, dano, int ás forsin pennint, ar is ed as étru*mmam
360   *ant in phennint do-gníther* nomine iudicii. *Ar is*
ed bís in iudicio dei⟨thiden d⟩*ús imb*⟨i⟩ *inpheinn-*
de in ciun fa nacc; ⁊ is ⟨ . . . . ⟩
ainmigud ut dicitur iudicium qs⟨ . . . . ⟩
Is *tromm, immurgu,* concilium, *ar is fri coceirt fr*⟨is⟩-
365   *ecmaltar-side ⁊ ní tíagar dédil ass; ar ⟨ní⟩*
talla dítin na erlabræ foir inge choceir⟨t⟩
tantum ⁊ forus mbreithe, óre to-n-dechid i son.
Cisu cen aithis ní cumme són ⁊ iudicium: *as-luí-*
ther a suidiu tri thacre cen pennint, ⁊ cid in
370   *tan con-certa pennint, is gnáth ní bí tromm. Is trum-*
mu, trá, dano, gechenna ignis quam concilium, *.i., grís tei-*
ned do dílgiunt na ruccæ ⁊ ind imdercda
frecndirc, ut dicit: // dicii et concilii. Nam in iudicio

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349 ille *Aug.*: illa *MS*   350 quam si *Aug.*: quasi *MS*.

341–2 Ps. lxxvi. 5.
345–58 *Aug.*, De serm. Dom. I. 9, p. 25, 527–38 M.   350 irascimur
(= P²Wβ): irascitur *Aug.*   351 premeretur *Aug.*   352 ⟨iam. sed om.
K¹RT⟩ certam *Aug.*   353 designet *Aug.*

Ag   **U**ide nunc etiam tres reatus: et gechennae ignis et iu-
375   adhuc difensioni datur locus. In concilio autem, quan-
quam et iudicium esse soleat, tamen quia inter⟨es⟩se
aliquid hoc
loco fateri cogat ipsa distinctio, uidetur ad
⟨concilium pertinere sententiae prolatio, quando⟩

(Fol. 2, vᵃ)

non iam cum ipso reo agitur, utrum dampnandus sit
an non, sed iudices inter se conferunt [quem iudicant], quo
sup-
380   plicio dampnari oportet quem constat esse dampna-
nandum. Gechenna uero ignis nec dampna-
tionem habet dubiam sicut iudicium; in gechenna uero cer-
ta est et dampnatio et poena dampnati. Manifes-
te dicit: Qui dixerit fratri suo 'fatue', conuicium in
385   fratrem si in hodium non conuertetur, igni purgatorio
purgabitur. *Cid fo-roar* con*id* iudicium *tar
ési nduinoircne* ⁊ gechenna ignis, *imm*urgu, *ta-
r ési n-aithisigdo*? *Ní* anse: *is é mes as-ber issind rém-
ep*erdu mess tromm* gechennæ. *Is sí imm*urgu, in* gechenna
*do-*ber tar ési n-athisigdo* gechenna *as étrummu*
390   *alaili. Ar am*al ro-n-d-gab dechur fochricce
la Día atá dechur pían* sicut Agustinus ostendit.
Ar to-adbet Agustinus *méit in dechuir file* inter ius-
titiam farisseorum et iustitiam noui testamenti quae
395   ducit in regnum ⁊ *do-adbet, da*no, *cisi phían bias
do neuch do-géna* homicidium in nouo testamento cum in ge-
chenna ignis punitur qui facit etiam conuicium,
quod est leuius homicidio, *.i.*, *ba sí in* gechenna *pes
trummu* alaili. *Ar am*al daas dechur fochricce
400   *la Día atá dechur pían*, ut dicit: // risseorum
Ag   **A**udiendum est itaque, quantum intersit inter iustitiam fa-
et iustitiam maiorem quae ducit in regnum caelorum, quod,
cum

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382 sicut *Aug.*: sed *MS*.

374–84 *Aug*. De serm. Dom. I. 9, p. 25, 539–49 M.   374 *post*
reatus: iudicii concilii ⟨et P²FBR⟩ gehennae ignis *Aug*.
    379 an non *om. Aug*. iudices inter se: inter se qui iudicant *Aug*.
380 oporteat *Aug*.   382 iudicium ⟨nec damnati poenam sicut concilium⟩
Aug.   uero (= β): quippe *Aug*.   384 Matth. v. 22.

    392–8 *u. infra ad* 401   401–13 *Aug*., De serm. Dom. I. 9, p. 25,
552–26, 562   402 quae—caelorum: quae in regnum caelorum introducit
Aug.

sit grauius occidere quam uerbo inrogare con-
uicium, ibi occissio reum facit iudicio, hic
405 autem ira reum facit iudicio [hic ira reum
facit iudicia],   quod trium illorum peccatorum leuis-
simum est; quia illi quaestionem homicidii inter homines
            agi-
tabant, hic autem omnia diuino iudicio dimittun-
tur, ubi finis dampnatorum est gechenna ignis.
410 Quisquis autem dixerit quod grauiore supplicio in maiore
iustitia punitur homicidium, si gechenna ig-
nis punitur conuicium, cogit intellegi esse diferen-
tias gechennarum. *Is machdad linn, trá, a n-ad-
chiam hic, .i., inid inunn pennint bís tar ési n-*
415 *duinoircne ⁊ tar ési fercigdo;* ar *is* iudici-
um *to-ber tara n-ési díb línib. Ní méte són: is sain-
mess cachtar dé, .i., mess dóine a toísech, mess
Dé a ndídenach. Mad la* Agustinum, *trá, as-*ber-*side
biid* sine causa *i foeitsecht isna téura*
420 *inscib so* et sic dicit: Qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa,
et sic est: Si dixerit 'racha' sine causa; *to-for-
mig . . . . insci cenmithá* sine
⟨ causa . . . . .⟩ *tórmach n-isin* .i. fratri suo
. . . . patrem simul confitentur quod dicunt
425 . . . r dicit: Frater nullus est nisi qui eundem nobiscum
habet patrem. *Ní maith, trá, la* Hironimum *a ní-siu, ar
ní coir la suide in fochun inna fercæ las-
na eclastacdu. Act is* ed *as maith leis: a neph-
thabart do menmin, sechi-ráit*er ⁊ *sechi-dént*ar *frinn,*
430 ut dicit: Siue iuste siue iniuste non licet irasci.
Iterum dicit in alio loco: // in uerbis diffinita ius-
IN quibusdam codicibus additur: sine causa.   Ceterum
titia est et ira penitus tollitur scriptura di-
cente: Qui irascitur fratri suo. Si enim iubemur alteram
435 maxillam cedenti praebere et [iam] inimicos nostros ama-
re et orare pro ⟨per⟩sequentibus, omnis irae occassio
tollitur. Radendum est ergo: sine causa, quia ira uiri
iustitiam Dei non operatur. *Is ed* trá . . .

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403 sit *Aug.*: fit *MS* uerbo *Aug.*: uerba *MS.*
437 causa *Hier.*: cuasa *MS*

405 facit reum *Aug.*
430 *cf.* Cassianus, Conl. XVI. 6, 2 (CSEL vol. XIII. 443, 3) nec iustis
nec iniustis de causis penitus irascendum   (431)–3 iustitia: sententia *Hier.*
432–8 Hier., Comm. in Matth. I, p. 27, 529—28, 535 H.-A. (432 sine
causa [= εἰκῇ GR*pl*] add. *VL, Vulg.* OBE).
434–5 alteram—praebere: uerberanti alteram praebere maxillam *Hier.*
(percusserit Matth. v. 39 *VL et Vulg.*)   (437–8 Iac .i. 20).

forcrach interpraetatur.   '*Act, imm*urgu', *ol sessom.* '*is ferr*
     limm a r-
440   *ro-chúla ant nuu, .i., i*ssed *as-rubart frimm alai-*
     le Ebride: is inter*iect goṭha di galrugud*
     *men*man *aní as* racha ⁊ *ní tintathar*

Ag̅   **Pro**babilius est quod a quodam Ebreo audiui,
     cum id interrogassem.   Dixit enim esse uocem non sig-
445   nificantem aliquid, sed indignantis ani-
     mi motum expraementem.   Has interiectiones
     grammatici uocant particulas orati-
     onis significantes commoti animi af-
     fectum, uelut cum dicitur a dolente 'heu' uel ab
450   irascente 'hem'.   Quae uoces quarumque linguarum
     sunt propriae nec in aliam linguam facile trans-
     feruntur.   Quae causa utique cogit tam Grecum
     interpraetem quam Latinum uocem ipsam ponere,
     cum quomodo etiam interpraetetur non inueniret.   *Mad la*
455   Hironimum, *trá, is son E*bride *a* racha sed dicit interprae-
        ⟨ta⟩tur .i. cenos
     in Greco sermone et inanis uel uacuus in Latino
     ⁊ *is é rélad inna et*ercert*æ Latinde* 'absque
     cerebro.' // id est inanis aut uacuus, quem nos

Hiɼ   **H**oc uerbum proprie Hebreorum est.   'Racha' enim dicitur
        cenos,
460   possumus uulgata iniuria absce ce-
     rebro nuncupare.   Si de otioso ser-
     mone reddituri sumus rationem, quanto ma-
     gis de contumilia?   *Is é bráthir, trá, do-*
     fichde i rect fetarlice int Iudide, ar da-
465   *mainib-se nírbu idan a cubus-sam frisna geinti.*
     Is *é, dano, bráthir as imcabdi dún-ni do aithi-*
     sigud .i. Christianus, ut dicit // nullus enim frater noster est
     Signanter additur: Qui dixerit fratri suo 'racha'
     nisi qui eundum habeat nobiscum patrem.   Cum ergo si-
470   militer ⟨credat⟩ in Deum et Christum Dei nouerit sapientiam

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460 absce: *i.e.* absque

443–54 *Aug.*, De serm. Domini I. 9, p. 24, 517–26   443 est—
audiui: ⟨ergo⟩ est quod audiui a quodam Hebreo *Aug.*   452 cogit
(=BKR): coegit *Aug.*   454 etiam: eam *Aug.* interpraetaretur *Aug.*
    459–63 Hier., Comm. in Matth. I, p. 28, 536–40 H.—A.   468–76 Hier.,
op. cit., p. 28, 540–48   469 habeat nobiscum: nobiscum habet *Hier.*,
cf. 425 f.

qua ratione †iustitiae est eulogio† de-
notari? Qui autem dixerit 'fatue' reus erit
gechennae.   Ex superioribus subauditur: Qui dix-
erit fratri suo 'fatue', reus erit gechennae.
475 Qui enim aeque dicit in Deum credenti 'fatue' impius est
in religionem. *Is machdad linn*, trá, *alaill
ad-chiam* hic: *is* ed *as-ber* sunt *int i as-bera día
bráthir* 'racha' reus erit in concilio
IS*sed, immurgu, as-ber Bachier*: Qui dixerit fratri suo 'ra-
480 cha', reus erit gechennae ignis. *Ní mé-
te són: is sain a ndo-récigi menmæ cáich
ant, .i., ind i lasna tremdírgedar do
nach aithis a* racha *is* concilium *a phe-
nnint leu: ind i, immurgu, lasa tremdírgedar
485 do aithis máir aní as* racha *at*(?)*atá
ant-sam in chumdub*art *ísin*; ut dixi-
mus ante *is* gechenna *la suidiu a phennint.*
amb- **M**ad la Ambróis*, trá, is in macc ro-labras-
tar* in ueteri testamento dicens: Non pater in
490 rubo, non pater in herimo 7 rl-.   Reus erit
iudicio, .i., *dús inn íar cóir recta ro-
ort, .i., ní orcad leu-som int ennac alai-
le; ní orcad, dano, in cintach inn n-en-
nac; ba ed sin cóir a recto-som; no
495 orcad, immurgu, int ennac in cintach ar éut
ommun fírinni.* Cur ergo mala est ira,
cum in natura esse dinoscitur animæ?
Tris enim sunt . . .

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471 iustitiae est eulogio: stultitiae elogio *Hier.*   471-2 (de)notari ⟨potest⟩
Hier.   473 ⟨Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ⟩ ex *Hier.*   475 aeque in Deum credenti
dicit *Hier.*   476 religione (-em B^c) *Hier.*
479 Bachiarius, Fides 2 (PL xx. 1023 B).
489–90 Ambr., De fide I. 83 (PL xvi. 518A).

TRANSLATION OF IRISH TEXT

42–57. Now spiritual melancholy *animae* has two divisions, that is, melancholy of repentance for past sins, and melancholy of longing for the kingdom of heaven. That is (the case of) the daughter of Caleb, son of Jephunneh, recounted in scripture. It is she who came upon an ass to her father, saying to him: '*Dedisti mihi terram aridam et australem; da mihi terram inriguam inferius et superius*'. Now she is the soul that has spoken its message to the mystical Caleb, to God, having said to Him: 'You have given me (the ability to do) fair deeds, and lamentation for my past sins; *da mihi*, moreover, longing for the kingdom of heaven'. That is the sorrow experienced by the saints and the just as by David, *dicens*: '*Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei*'. It is of that melancholy that Gregory has spoken, *dicens:* '*Memor fui Dei*' . . . etc.

86–95. Now there are two kinds of unfittingness that Christ found in the world, that is, unfitting joy and unfitting sorrow. For joy was unfitting *in mondo* after the transgression of Adam. *Ideo dixit Iesus:* '*Beati qui lugent*'; *et iterum dicit:* '*Vae vobis qui riditis* . . . etc.'. Moreover, sorrow was fitting in the world because of its tribulations, *cum Iacob dicit:* '*Omne gaudium existimate*, etc'. *Item: Beati qui lugent, etc., id est, contrariis sanantur*, that is, poverty instead of riches, meekness instead of anger, weeping instead of joy, thirst for justice instead of thirst for the world.

96–100. *Quoniam ipsi consulabuntur, id est, quoniam ridebunt, dicente Christo:* '*Beati estis qui fletis quoniam ridebitis*'. This is what Augustine says, that the blessed mentioned there are the melancholy, those who trample upon present things and aim the point of their intellect at God.

105–12. *Consulabuntur ergo Spiritu Sancto* . . . *ut temporalem amitentes aeterna laetitia perfruantur*. Hence the love of the joy of the present world is not worthwhile, since Jesus says: '*Vae vobis qui nunc ridetis, quia flebitis et lugebitis*'. Thence the sage says '*ridere parvulorum est*' (that is, of the wretched), '*tristitia perfectorum*' (that is, by deeds).

113–38. *Beati qui essuriunt,* ⁊ *rl habet ubi dicit:* '*Aperiens os suum*', ⁊ *rl*. It is not they whom he blesses *hic qui volunt et qui faciunt*, for the *propheta* has called them to mind, *dicens:* '*Beati qui custodiunt iudicium et faciunt iustitiam*', but it is they whom he blesses *qui*

esuriunt et sitiunt erga iustitiam, that is, they who lack the constant desire of it,[1] for it is of the qualities of justice that he who possesses it is not replete with it. *Inde dicit iustitia per Essaiam: 'Qui me comedunt iterum essurient et qui me bibunt iterum sitient'*. Appropriate to that is what Augustine says: *'Quid est iterum esurire et iterum sitire nisi numquam fastidire de iustitia quae est Iesus Christus?'* However, as to him with whom it does not grow, it withers with him, *Hironimo dicente: 'Relegio decrescit quando non crescit'*. That is what the apostle has taken heed of, saying: *'praeterita obliviscens et in futurum convalescens.'* He has taken to heart a certain thing (?) *quod dixit Christus in evangelio. 'Cum feceritis'* . . . 'what of good you have done'. Now this beatitude has appeared in its proper place. For he who fulfils these beatitudes is likened to a sick man. It is such a one's habit that he cannot eat a meal until his sickness lightens Thereafter he eats and is expected to live. Similarly the sinner: thirst for justice does not lay hold of him until he fulfils the beatitude of poverty, and until he is meek, and laments his sins. Now it is then that he recuperates; it is then that he takes upon himself a greediness for justice.

142–63. *Eger enim, cum in gravi morbo est, non essurit, quia egritudinis dolor excludit famem.* Now that is the renowned manna of justice. He says to desire justice, and to be greedy for it, because it is the best food there is. It is of that that Ambrose has spoken, *dicens: 'Sed quae ista famis iustitiae, qui sunt isti panes quos esurit iustus? . . . Quod autem maius virtutis incrementum quam norma iustitiae?'* Now this, however, is what Jerome says: it is not sufficient for us to desire justice unless there be a constant thirst for it in our souls, *ut dicit: 'Non nobis sufficit velle iustitiam nisi iustitiae patiamur famem', ut sub hoc exemplo numquam nos satis iustos sed semper sitire opera iustitiae intellegamus.* The food that he signifies *hic nomine iustitiae* is *voluntas Dei.* It is of that food that Christ speaks to the apostles when they offered him refection: *'Meus est cibus',* said he, *'ut faciam voluntatem patris mei qui in caelis est'.* It is that food that Augustine signifies *nomine inconcussi boni et veri boni, dicens . . .*

168–80. Now teaching authority holds that the name *iustitia* belongs to the scriptures and to the Gospel in particular. It is of that that Jeremiah says: *'Praedicabunt iustitiam omnibus populis'.* It is not merely (*Non .i. tantum*) that the Gospel is called *iustitia* for the reason we have stated, *sed nominatur nomine iustitiae* because Christ speaks

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[1] See Notes.

therein this word to his apostles: *'Adtendite ne iustitiam vestram coram hominibus faciatis'. Et* it is this that is signified there *nomine veritatis, ieiunium vel elemoysena vel oratio.* Hence it would be fitting that the Gospel, in which there is record, should be called *nomine iustitiae.* According to Jerome justice is total diligence and total piety, *dicens: 'Iustitia est.non aliud quam non peccare . . .'*

185–219. *Beati misericordes, id est, misseris concordes . . .* Isidore shows the etymology of the word, *dicens: 'Misericors a conpatiendo alienae miseriae . . .'.*

Now there are two divisions of mercy, that is, *misericordia . . . humilis et misercordia alta.* Now that low mercy is mercy to the bodies of the poor. That mercy is 'low', for though it be that the poor man goes away from us with a refusal, perhaps he receives from another, so that he does not die until God thinks it time. *Misericordia alta,* however, is that all should have mercy for every soul, and for his own soul in particular (for that is the poor man that will not go from his own house (?) to the house of another) since what is most desirable is the care of the soul. Mercy *corporis* has a two-fold division, that is, *corpori tuo et corpori proximorum.* It is of mercy to your own soul *dicit Gregorius: 'Misserere animae tuae placens Deo', et iterum dicit: 'Qui sibi malus est, cui erit bonus?'* Hence, no other wretch is dearer to us *quam* our soul, if he has taken away from it its head, that is Christ, if he has taken away *oculos prudentiae,* etc. Mercy to your own body, that is, *ne habeat honera gravia peccatorum . . .* Many, moreover, are the divisions and branches of mercy; not in food *vel* clothing *tantum constat, sicut dicit: 'Non solum ergo qui dat esurienti,* etc.

236–56. Now there are two other divisions of mercy, that is, *misericordia specialis, quam aliquis contra animam suam facit propriam, et misericordia generalis, quam aliquis contra corpus et animam alterius.* 'Now, not merely', says Jerome, 'is it desirable to have physical compassion, but it is desirable that we should have spiritual compassion, that is, that each of us pray God for the sin of his fellow', *ut dicit: 'Non solum in elemoysinis intelligitur sed in omni momento fratris si alter alterius honera nostra portamus'.* Now the merciful are not deprived of the mercy that they show. That is what Augustine says, *dicens: 'Beati misericordes quoniam ipsorum est Deus'. Beatos esse dicit qui subveniunt miseris, quia eis ita rependitur, ut de miseria liberentur.*

Now it is as a figure of that mutual help that exists between the people of the Church there happened the vision that Ezechiel saw,

videns the forms of the four animals; they are the animals who possessed wings. It is of them he says '*pennae eorum erectae alterius ad alterum*'. This is what is signified . . .

277–82. 'Now this is what I say to you', says Jesus, 'it is he who shall be great, the one who shall fulfil all the commandments', *quasi dixisset* 'he who shall not resemble *scribas et fariseos*. *Dico enim*, etc.' For if your justice be not greater *quam scribarum et fariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum*'.

286–9. *qui autem soluit opere et sic docet voce, in isto regno caelorum minimus in illo nec minus plus*, that is, to fulfil it and to teach it, *non ut farissei faciunt*, that is, merely (*tantum*) to teach it, *ut dicit.*

299–319. *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis*, etc., that is, you are sons of historians. You have heard it though you did not experience, that is, you have heard that God has said to the ancients, that is, to Moses and Aaron, and they have said it, that is, *contra populum*, what God had said to them. *Aliter*, you have heard for it has been said *antiquis*, that is, by the ancients, that is, by Moses and Aaron, that is, they have taught the people even by commandments that God had not spoken to them; and, moreover, it was not merely one of them, so that it is then more cautious, in that way (to believe). that it is this that is said there: you have heard for it has been said *antiquis*, that is, by the ancients, for it (i.e. the scriptural text) does not decide *hic* that it was God who had enjoined it, *vel* that it was not He, *licet in decem verbis dicit: 'Non occides'*. It is from this that this text takes its harmony *de eo quod praedixit: 'Non veni solvere legem*, etc'., that is, 'It is not to destroy the law, that I have come', says Jesus . . . 'Moreover, I do not destroy it (lit. that), but I preach it, and this is what I will, that it be fulfilled'. Now this text, moreover, that is, *Et aperiens os*, etc., possesses a general harmony.

320–35. Now Christ, in the preceding text, harmonizes with the Old Testament for it is the jot of the Old Testament that he has mentioned there. It is, however, the tittle of that jot that he considers now, that is, the tittle of the New Testament and its fulfilment of the Old Testament, for this is the first strength of the Old Testament. It is from this that this text takes (its) harmony, from what he has said; '*sed adinplere*', that is, it is thence one of the completions *quod hic dicitur*. Moreover, it harmonizes again when he says: '*Nisi habundaverit iustitia vestra*', etc. And you remember what kind of justice they had, that is, that they should not commit

murder. *Ego autem dico*, etc.: 'It is this, however, that I say to
you, that you have not even the cause of murder, that is, *ira*, for
anyone who has it will be a criminal, that is, *hic radix absciditur
homicidii*. Indeed, the man who has said it was a sage in healing.

336–45. A question now. What order is given to the offences
recounted *hic quando dicitur 'Qui irascitur', et quando dicitur 'Qui
dixerit "racha"', et quando dicitur 'Qui dixerit "fatue"'?* Not
difficult: the order of increase. For when *'Qui irascitur'* is said it is
from the mind that that anger is directed, and it is not expressed in
word. It is of that anger the prophet has spoken, *dicens : 'Turbatus
sum et non sum locutus'*. The person, however, who says *'racha'*, it
can be heard in his case that he is angry though he does not perform
reviling. He, however, who says *'fatue'* performs reviling, *sicut dicit:
Gradus itaque sunt* . . .

358–73. Now there is, moreover, increase upon the penance, for
the lightest is the penance that is done *nomine iudicii*. For it is
this that is wont to be *in iudicio:* solicitude to find out if the crime
be punishable or not; and . . . naming, *ut dicitur iudicium* . . .

Concilium, however, is heavy, for it is for the purpose of correction
that it is assembled, and one does not leave it unshackled. For
protection or speech has no place at it, but only correction and
enactment of seizure, for expression has been made in word. Though
it be without reviling it is not the same as *iudicium:* one escapes
from that without punishment by pleading and even when a punish-
ment corrects it is not usually heavy.

Now *gechenna ignis*, moreover, is heavier *quam concilium*, that is
the heat of fire to remit the blushing and the present reddening.

386–413. What has caused it to be *iudicium* for murder and, then,
gechenna ignis for insult? Not difficult. The judgement that he
pronounces in the aforesaid is the heavy judgement of *gechenna*.
The *gechenna*, however, that he gives for insult is a *gechenna* that is
lighter than the other. For as there is a difference in rewards with
God there is also a difference in torments, *sicut Agustinus ostendit*.
For Augustine shows the amount of the difference there is *inter
iustitiam farisseonum et iustitiam novi testamenti quae ducit in regnum*,
and he shows, moreover, the torment there will be for him who shall
commit *homicidium in novo testamento cum in gechenna ignis punitur
qui facit etiam convicium, quod est levius homicidio*, that is, it will be
a *gechenna* that is heavier than the other. For as there is a difference
in rewards with God there is a difference in torments, *ut dicit:*

*Audiendum est itaque, quantum intersit inter iustitiam farisseorum
et iustitiam maiorem quae ducit in regnum caelorum, quod, cum sit
gravius occidere quam verbo inrogare convicium, ibi occissio reum facit
iudicio, hic* [1]*autem ira reum facit iudicio, quod trium illorum peccatorum
levisimum est; quia illi quaestionem homicidii inter homines* [2] *agitabant* [3]*,
hic autem omnia divino iudicio dimittuntur* [4]*, ubi finis dampnatorum est
gechenna ignis.   Quisquis autem dixerit quod graviore supplicio in
maiore iustitia punitur homicidium, sin gechenna ignis punitur
convicium, cogit intellegi esse differentias gechennarum.*

413–23.   Now we think it surprising what we see *hic*, that is, in
that there is the same punishment for murder and for anger, for it is
iudicium that he gives for both of them.   That is not likely: each
of them is a different judgement; the first is a human judgement,
the last divine.   Now, as to Augustine, he says that *sine causa* is
understood in each of these three sayings, *et sic dicit: 'Qui irascitur
fratri suo sine causa' et sic est: 'Si dixerit "racha" sine causa'*; it
increases . . . the saying apart from *sine causa* . . . that increase.

426–9.   Now Jerome does not approve of this[5], for he does not
think just[6] the cause of the anger as held by the churchmen.   But
this is what he approves of: not to take it to heart (lit. 'mind'), what-
ever may be said or done to us.

438–42.   Now it is that . . . *interpraetatur* 'gullet'.   'But, however,'
said he, 'I prefer what I have heard recently in this matter; that is,
it is this that a certain Jew has said to me: *Racha* is a vocal inter-
jection arising from mental distress and it is not translated . . .[7]

454–7.   Now according to Jerome *racha* is a Hebrew word . . . *id
est cenos in Greco sermone et inanis vel vacuus in Latino* and the
explanation of the Latin interpretation is *'absque cerebro'*.

463–7.   Now the brother that used to be avenged in the Old Law
was the Jew, for (I shall estimate it) their conscience has not been
sincere towards the gentiles.   He, however, is the brother whom we
must avoid reviling, that is, *Christianus*.

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[1] gl. that is, but that is a human judgement.
[2] gl. See Notes.
[3] gl. See Notes.
[4] gl. that is, the judgement of God is left *in futuro*.
[5] gl. that is, *sine causa*.
[6] gl. See Notes.
[7] See Notes.

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476–96.   Now we wonder at another thing that we see *hic:* he says here that he who says *racha* to his brother *reus erit in concilio.* This however, is what Bachiarius says: *Qui dixerit fratri suo 'racha' reus erit gechennae ignis.*   That is not likely: the minds of others will have looked differently at it, that is, those who do not direct *racha* towards any reviling, their penance for him is *concilium;* those, however, by whom *racha* is directed towards a great reviling, there exists that doubt in him (= in his case); *ut diximus ante* they think *gechenna* is his punishment.   Now according to Ambrose, however, it is the Son who has spoken *in veteri testamento dicens: 'Non pater in rubo, non pater in herimo,* etc.' *Reus erit iudicio,* that is, to discover if he was slain in accordance with the justice of the law, that is, with them an innocent person used not to slay another; moreover, the guilty one used not to slay an innocent one, that was the justice of their law; however, the innocent one used to slay the guilty one through zeal for justice.

NOTES

42.   *erdil.*   Used in same sense as *fodil* 192, 236, *fodli* 217; *erdil,* hitherto unrecorded, is perhaps best taken as v.n. of *ar-dáili,* 'distributes', as *fodil* is v.n. of *fo-dáili.*   There is, however, a possibility that the *d* is unlenited and that the word is cognate with *ernail* (< *erndail*), the ancestor of later *urdail;* see O'Rahilly, *Ériu* XIII, 182–3, and compare further his article on *airdeall, ibid.,* 217.

42–3.   *dubu . . . dubæ n-aithirge.   Contribb.,* s.v. *dubae,* suggest that *dubae,* later feminine, was originally a neut. io-stem.   The suggestion is confirmed here.   Cf. further 44, 56.

43.   *dinab peccdaib.*   In the present text, in combinations of preposition and article in the dat. pl., the final consonant is depalatized, assimilated to a following consonant, or lost; see 54, 55, 301, 304, 310, 336, 419. For occasional examples of this phenomenon see *Gramm.,* pp. 99, 294–5.   Note further *dinab gabalib,* Wb 13ᵈ 33.

44.   *sirectæ,* gen. of *sirect* 'longing', 53, thus a fem. ā-stem (queried in *Contribb.* s.v.).   The word is connected with the adj. *sír* 'long'.   Compare Wl. *hiraeth,* and, semantically, Eng. *longing.*

46.   *-ede,* shortened and enclitic form of the dem. pron. *suide.*   For *si-ede, si-ide* (instead of *si-ade*) see *Gramm.* p. 303.

52.   *chaingnimu.*   The lenition of the initial is to be noted.   In Ml. and Sg. lenition may be found after any verb, whether the following word be subject, object or attributive (*Gramm.,* p. 144); compare *ma ro-fessid phort i mbé,* 'if ye find out the place in which he is', *Poems of Blathmac,* l.55.   According to later teaching the object of a verb may or may not have its initial lenited, e.g. *do-chiú fear* (or *fhear*), IGT, Introd., § 81. In the present example a word (*dom*) intervenes between the verb and the lenited initial.   According to *Gramm.,* p. 144, this is possible.   But

the example chosen is not good: *amal duntlaichiursa cucut a dæ ar(duai)d thufortacht* 'as I ask of Thee, O God, says David, Thy help', Ml. 44°20. The lenition of the initial in *thufortacht* (= *th'fortacht*) is unlikely to have anything to do with the preceding verb, but is rather part of a tendency to lenite the initial of (or to weaken otherwise) unstressed or weakly stressed particles; compare *Thofolt scailti*, your loosened hair (to be read metrically as *Th'folt*), SR 1601. Unless further examples are forthcoming where such lenition is not impeded by an intervening word or phrase, the present example may perhaps be regarded as a scribal error; it might easily be caused by the initial lenition in *choi*, where lenition (after *ocus*) is regular.

87.   *étectæ . . . étectæ.* Note that the MS. in the first instance has *etéctæ*. We are, however, to read *étectæ*, regarding the present case as an example of the scribe's occasional habit of placing the mark of length somewhat forward of its correct position.

93–4.   The MS. has *cense taresi innacense*, 'meekness instead of meekness', where the second *cense* must be a scribal slip; *ferccæ* has been substituted. Nearer to the MS., but nevertheless unlikely, would be to emend to *écense*.

98.   *findbothig*, 'the blessed', pl. of *findbothach*, a derivative of *findboth*, 'happiness' (see *Dict.*, s.v. *findbad, -buth*). The present spelling would suggest that the second element is *both*, v.n. of the substantive verb; similarly gen. sg. *inna findbuide*, Ml. 14ᵇ4. On the other hand Wl. *gwynfyd* corresponds with *findfiud, findbiuth, findbiuth, findfiud, Ériu* II, 108 (§25), 144 (§159). Probably, at a very early stage, an original *findbiuth* was formally and declensionally attracted to *cétboth* (*cétbuid*, etc.), 'sense', v.n. of *ceta-bí*, 'perceives'.

99.   frec*ndirce*, 'present things'; abbreviation in MS., *frec*. The plural of the adj. *frecnd(a)irc* would be *frecnd(a)irci*; but the plural of the adj. used as a substantive would be *frecnd(a)irce* (See *Gramm.*, p. 227).
      to-chuiretar, 3 pl. rel. of *to-(do-)cuirethar*, 'puts', the lenition of *c* expressing relativity. Here, used with *fri*, the meaning must be 'aims'.

108.   *fiu . . . seirc.* Note that *seirc* is acc. and governed by *fiu*.
      inid, 'since that is what'. Compare *indid > inid* with *condid > conid*. The reduction is due to lack of stress. Cf. *inid*, 414.

111–2.   Notice that in the MS. *.i. inna ndeidblán .i. ó gnimib* is written continuously, 'that is, of the poor, that is, by deeds'. In the edited text the first phrase has been made to refer to *paruulorum*, the second to *perfectorum*. The difficulty is that, whereas *inna ndeidblán* is a correct explanation of *paruulorum*, *ó gnimib*, 'by deeds', gives no good sense as a further explanation of *inna ndeidblán*. This matter may have some importance for the pre-history of the text. It seems clear that *ó gnimib* must refer to *perfectorum*, suggesting that at some stage in the tradition two adjacent interlinear glosses were incorporated in the text, the scribe treating them as a single explanation of *paruulorum*.

115.   *do-s-raithminestar-sidi.* *Contribb.* give this verb under *do-aith-muinedar*, which does not occur: in compounds of *-muin-* (also *-moin-*, *main-*) *muin*, etc. is only found under the accent and in the pres. and fut. stems. The 3 sg. pres. indic. should be given as *do-aithminedar*; cf. *Dict.* where the related compound is given as *for-aithminedar*. The present form shows a weak preterite. Usually the pret. is strong: *-ménair*, (to *do-moinethar*), *niru-foraithmenair* (to *for-aithminedar*),

etc. This formation, however, is secondary, being based on *génair* (*Gramm.*, p. 425). A weak formation is found in *diaru-muinestar* (For reference to this and preceding forms see Pedersen VKG II, pp. 580–1). Cf. further *da-mainib-se*, 464n.

118. *ara testa a bithaccobur*, 'who lack the constant desire of it', lit. 'for whom its constant desiring is lacking'. The text as it stands gives a sense directly contrary to what we would expect. Some words may have been dropped by haplology, and we should perhaps restore somewhat as follows: *ara testa [ind firinne ocus lasa mbí] a bithaccobur*, 'those who lack justice and with whom there is a constant desire of it'.

119. *ní bí sáithech*. One might expect the copula rather than the subst. verb here and in *ní bí tromm*, 370. Ó Máille, *Verbs of Existence in Irish*, has only a single comparable example from an early source: *conabí tírim*, Ml. 15ᵇ15 (*Ériu* VI, p. 73).

126. *fo-roichlestar*. 3 sg. perf. of *fo-cíallathar*.

127. *Do-rat-som na ce* (*nace* MS.) *dia menmin*. The phrase *do-beir do menmin* = takes heed of, takes to heart. Compare *tren do-ratus do menmain*, *Contribb. Degra-Duus*, col. 285, 79–83, and *a nephthabart do menmin*, below, 428. *nace* is a difficulty. In Ml. 75ᵇ20 note *nidinacca dim .i. acht is du dim*, 'it is not of a non-something, i.e. but it is of a something', a gloss on *non de nihilo*. The glossator's point is that two negatives make a positive: a suggestion in *Contribb.* s.v. *nacca* that *nacca* and *dim* form a compound is probably correct; hence *nacca* (apparently = *naccae*) and *naccadim* = *nihil*, a non-something. The only other example of *nacc(a)e* is *air nírbu chumachtach som. nacce*, Ml. 72ᵇ4, translated in the *Thesaurus* as 'for he was not powerful, nay, not he'; *Contribb.* conjecture here that *nacce* means 'not at all, by no means'. A difficulty in associating *nace* of the present text with *nacca*, *nacce* of these glosses is that it would seem to negative or to weaken *do-rat*, etc., that is, we would have to translate something like 'he has by no means taken to heart'. This would hardly be likely, implying that St. Paul took lightly or indifferently some word of the Lord. Accordingly it is suggested that in *nace* of our text *na* is the neut. form of the indef. pronominal adj. *nach* 'any', 'whatever' and that *ce* is a substantive form of *cia*, *ce*, *ci*, 'who', 'what'; the meaning would be 'whatever', substantially = *na nní*. Unfortunately, the saying of Christ which the apostle took to heart has suffered in the cutting of the margins of the manuscript. It would seem, however, that *Cum feceritis* and *a ndo-rigénsid di maith* are to be related to *Cum ergo facis eleemosynam . . . te autem faciente eleemosynam*, etc., Matt. V, 2, 3.

130. *bieit* (disyll.). Normally *biait* (< Lat. *Beati*). The variation reflects the interchange of *e* and *a* before a palatal consonant as in *lieig, liaig*, etc. (*Gramm.*, p. 191); the lack of contraction in the pl. (acc. pl. *na bieiti*, 131) is due to its being a borrowing.

int í chomalnas. Lenition of the initial of rel. forms of simple verbs after forms of *inti* is sometimes found in Ml. (*Gramm.*, p. 315).

132. *arrbir* < *ar-ro-bir*, with potential *ro*.

132, 135–6. con-*rétrommigedar* . . . con*ro-chomalla* . . . ⁊ con*ro-chia*. The verbs are pres. subj. corresponding to the future, and *ro* gives the force of a future perfect (*Gramm.*, p. 342). In the first case, preceding a vowel, *ro* takes the stress, and is reduced to *r* (*Gramm.*, p. 529). In

the other two instances the treatment of *ro* as an unstressed particle avoids syncope of the root syllable. Compare *conrochomalnid* . . . 'so that ye may fulfil', Wb. 7ᶜ10, and contrast *conrochra cách alaile* 'that everyone may love the other', Wb. 6ᵈ1, where *ro* takes the stress and the vowel of the root (-*car*-) is syncopated. The lenition of the initial in -*chomalla* and -*chia* is regular (*Gramm.* § 234, 2).

134.   *gaibthir cíall for a bethid* 'is expected to live'. *Contribb.* s.v. *cíall*, give *gaibid céill for* as meaning 'expects, is intent on'. The meaning 'is intent on' is hardly established by the examples, and is, in fact, based on the translation of Wb. 13ᵇ13 given in the *Thesaurus*. This gloss has caused difficulty, partly because of a simple scribal slip: the scribe, influenced apparently by the final of the root syllable, wrote *rethith* 'he runs' instead of *rethit* 'they run'. Emending to *rethit* the gloss may be interpreted as follows: *is gnáth trā in so dond oís glicc : do-lleicet forru in dáil et fo-benat iarum inna deud hó ro-gaibther cíall for riuth . . . combi remib rethit iarum,* 'Now this is the habit of the clever folk: they let the crowd catch up on them and then they go into the attack after them when running is expected, so that afterwards they out-distance them. Further confusion is caused by the glossator's inconsistency: the 'crowd' is at first singular (*in dáil, inna deud*), but later a plurality (*remib*).

Another example, involving this idiom, has not been properly understood (Meyer, *Bruchst.* p. 53, § 116):

> Hi cētāin chrūaid scarus-sa
>   fri Māel Rūanaid rān rathach
> diä dardāin gabus-sa
>   cēill for ingnais maicc m'athar.

Meyer translates the last two lines 'am Donnerstag ward ich inne, dass ich den Sohn meines Vaters nicht wiedersehen werde' (*Contribb.* 'on Thursday I faced the fact that I should not see my father's son again'). The stanza is on the death of Mael Ruanaid, son of Flann, in 901. Meyer states that the lines are 'put in the mouth' of a brother of Mael Ruanaid. This view, deduced from the text, suggests that *gaibid céill for* 'expects' develops in meaning to 'becomes aware of' (Meyer), 'faces the fact that' (*Contribb.*). It is suggested here that Meyer's initial deduction is incorrect: *ingnais maicc m'athar* = 'the death (absence) of my father's son' = 'my own death'; the poet is speaking in his own person, and no brother of Mael Ruanaid is in question. We have to do with a not uncommon bardic conceit: my patron is dead, hence my life is finished. The stanza, which is probably part of a contemporary lament, may be translated: 'On a harsh Wednesday I parted with the famous gracious Mael Ruanaid; on Thursday I expected the death of my father's son'.

137.   *Is ant trá sin = Is ant sin trá.* The placing of *trá* between *ant* and *sin* seems to be without parallel. Contrast *is annsin tra* BDD², l.429.

cumsulcud. This word, of which no other example is quotable, would appear to be the v.n. of a verb **con-osailgi* (*com-uss-léic-* or *com-uss-olg*). Pedersen sees verbs such as *as-oilgi*, etc., as compounds of *léic-*, Thurneysen of *olg-*. Thurneysen's *olg-* seems to be a root constructed to explain the retention of the *s* in *oslucud, tuaslucud,* etc.). From the present context we can gather that **con-osailgi* would mean 'improves', 'pulls oneself together'.

138. *ro-uci*. Formally *ro-uci* could be taken as 3 sg. perf. of *berid*. But here *ro-uci* is to be taken as 3 sg. pres. indic. of the weak verb *ro-ucc(a)i* (which is that used as a suppletive verb to *berid*); in tense it corresponds with *gaibid*.

imlainni, acc. of *imlainne* (= intensive *imm* + *lainne*, 'eagerness, ardour', etc.); used as a v.n., 145. The word is apparently a staple compound; cf. *mét inna imlainne*, Ml. 62ᵃ2. Not in *Contribb*.

158. *Is de suidiu sásad*. One would expect *Is dint sásad sin* or *Is de suidiu*. We may have to do with an artificial rendering of Lat. *de illo cibo*.

159. *a ndo-foircdetar-sidi*. *do-foircdetar* is 3 pl. pret. of *do-fairget*, 'offers' (see Bergin, *Ériu*, XI, 139).

169. *soscélu*. *soscéle*, given as neut. in *Contribb*., is a masc. io-stem (note in *soscéle*, 176); see *Poems of Blathmac*, l.990 n.

171. *non. i. tantum* = *non id tantum*, a word for word rendering of Ir. *ní ed nammá*. Thurneysen, *ZCP* 18, 427–8, points out that the symbol *.i.* in early Irish sources may be used for *id* as well as for *id est*.

-eper = *eperr* pres. indic. sg. pass. conjunct. of *as-ber*. For *r* = *rr* cf. 305 n.

177. *taidmet*, or *taithmet*, v.n. of *do-aithminedar*.

179. *crábad*. Otherwise *crábud*; *crabud*, Wb. 12ᵇ27. But note gen. sg. *crabaith*, Wb. 33ᶜ13. Cf. 217 n.

186. *ethemlig*. Acc. sg. of **ethemlag* (< Lat. *etymologia*).

198. *connaig*. This would normally be *connach-* (*connaich-*, *connachid-*) (*Gramm.* p. 265); *-naig* represents *-nach*, the form of the negative with an infixed pron., the final consonant being palatalised before the following vowel. The infixed pron. is the 3 sg. neut. which is normally found with *at-bail*.

eipla = *eiplea*, 3 sg. pres. subj. conjunct of *at-bail*; for the absence of the glide-vowel between *l* and *a* cf. *deidblán*, 111.

201. *doati pur*. Neither the meaning nor the correct word-division is clear; one might suggest *do a thig féin*, 'from his own house', but the emendation would be somewhat violent.

203. *defodlide*, 'divisible in two'. We should possibly read *dé-* (*Gramm.*, p. 242).

210. *ma do-d-all-sam a ccenn di*, *.i. Críst, ma do-d-all-sam* oculos prudentiae. The subject of the verb is, apparently, the possessor of the soul. It is suggested here (if the sentence is complete) that Christ is the head, hence also the *oculi prudentiae*, of each individual soul. This seems to be an extension of the Pauline teaching, frequently referred to in the glosses (e.g. Wb. 5ᵈ2, 21ᵃ15), that Christ and the faithful constitute a single body, of which Christ is the head.

211. *trócaire frit* . . . etc. This sentence may originally have been a gloss on *corpori tuo*, 204.

217. *gabail*, better *gabuil*, npl. of *gabul*. Cf. 179 n.

241–2. *con-roib linn*, *.i., co geiss*. Note that here we have the two forms of the conjunction *co*: (1) *co*, leniting, with deuterotonic and absolute verbal forms; (2) *co* (nazalizing), *con*, followed by prototonic and conjunct forms. Thurneysen notes (*Gramm.*, p. 554–5) that (1) is used when the dependent clause is widely separated from the governing word or phrase, and where the clause is not so clearly felt as dependent, conditions that apply in the present instance.

250. ⟨hi⟩ figuir. The editorial addition of *i* or *hi* is perhaps more likely than that we have to do with a prepositionless use of the dative. Cf. *hifiguir nan coir*, 'symbolizing that it is improper', *Thes.* II. 255.

253. *cethra.* The gen. masc. or neut. of O.I. *cethair* has not previously been found in any early manuscript. *Crith Gablach*, ed. Binchy, has *cethre*, 135 (corrected in MS. to *ceithir*).

254. *it é-sidi a n-anmandi ro-thectsat sciathu*, lit. 'they are their animals (= the animals) who possessed wings'. The use of the pl. poss. pronoun may be idiomatic.

279. *cosmil* contra scribas et fariseos. *cosmil* contra is a literal rendering of Ir. *cosmil fri*. Compare Tirechán's 'Similis est Caluus contra Caplit' (Stokes, *Vita Trip.* II, 317). For similar Hiberno-Latin usages cf. facit contra = *do-gní fri*, 237, *at-rubartat-sidi*, *.i.*, contra populum, 302, Tirechán's dedit Patricius benedictionem super illum, a translation of Ir. *do-bert P. bendacht foir*, (*Vita Trip.* II, 309).

281. *for ⟨fí⟩rinne-si* Note in MS. the mechanical scribal slip *f̄rinnesi*.

298. *abi* is for *adib*, 2 pl. pres. indic. of copula. The form is not found elsewhere, but for the assimilation of the final consonant to a following *m* cf. *adimmaic*, Wb. 9ᵃ13. Thurneysen (with the editors of the *Thesaurus*) regards *adi* of Wb. 21ᶜ17 (*adiellachti*) as 'probably a mere scribal error' (*Gramm.*, p. 484). But the 1 pl. forms with and without a pronominal ending (*ammi*, *ammin*) might give rise to a similar doublet *adi*, *adib* in the 2 pl.

senchad, gen. pl.; cf. SR 1059, and for the general declensional complexity see *Contribb.* svv. *senchae*, *senchaid*. Thurneysen regards *senchae* (see *Contribb.*) as 'an old secondary form of *senchaid*'. But one might expect the oldest form of the word to be preserved in a proper name, that is, *Sencha* (= *Senchae*) mac Ailella (see Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, Index of names, etc.).

300. *cini-d tarnacid*, 2 pl. pret. perf. of *do-airicc* 'comes', etc. The meaning, 'though you had not come', = 'though you were not present'.

301. *donab.* Note the use of *do*, instead of the usual *fri*, with *as-beir*.
do Moysi. *Moysi* is indeclinable; cf. *inti Moysi*, Wb. 33ᵃ2, *iarmoysi*, 33ᵇ10, *ó Moysi*, infra, 305.

302. *at-rubartat-sidi.* For the ending *-at* in the 3 pl. t-pret. see *Poems of Blathmac*, 1.64 n.

305. *for-roíchnatar* (*foroíchnatar* MS.), 3 pl. perf. of *for-cain*. The scribe has used *r* for *rr*.

307. *hoc* here = Ir. *són*.

312–3. *Is de gaibthi a chomúem in teistimin so* de eo quod praedixit. The suffixed pronoun anticipates *comúem*; note that an almost identical sentence is found *infra*, 326–7 with *dind i as-rubart* corresponding to 'de eo quod praedixit'.

a chomúem, 'its harmonizing'; cf. 319, 326, 328. *comúem* = *comúaimm*, 'a stitching together'. This is a native term which has been taken over into the monastic vocabulary: note *comuaim coimgne*, 'harmonizing of synchronisms', *Tec. Cor.* 3, 19. 'Harmonizing' appears to mean the process of resolving any apparent contradictions that appear in the scriptures, and pointing out how one passage confirms or amplifies another. It was a highly regarded occupation. This is expressed in a proverbial phrase: *cád cach ráet co canóini comuaim* (quoted by Meyer, *Contribb.*, s.v. *cád*, from TCD MS. H. 3. 18, and cf. *Sanas Cormaic*,

Anec. IV, § 291), 'everything is pious until the harmonizing of the scriptures', that is, this activity represents the apex of piety; compare the syntactically similar *cruth cách co hÉtaín. Caem cách co hÉtaín*, 'all are beautiful until Étaín, all are fair until Étaín', that is, others may seem beautiful until one sees the perfection of Étaín (BDD², p. 1).

The spelling *comúem* is unusual: *ō*, later diphthongized to *úa*, is represented by *ú*; cf. *arro-chúla*, 440; *e* is used instead of *i* to indicate palatal quality. Compare *Maile ruen* (= *Rúain*) mentioned in a list of bishops in the Stowe Missal (*Thes.* II, p. 284).

321. *teistmin.* This is the only instance here where the word has been written in full. The usual form is *testimin. teistmin*, if not a scribal error, could be an older form with syncope (< Lat. *testimonium*).

322. *apang.* Again, 324. Borrowed from an oblique case of Lat. *apex*: *apic-* > **apec* > *apang*. For the nazalization of the final consonant cf. *cumacc*, *cumang*. The change of *-c* to *-ng* suggests that the word was in common use, and not an *ad hoc* borrowing in the present context: it would have been used, as was Lat. *apex*, for the mark of length over a vowel. Dom Patrick Nolan, *A Monetary History of Ireland* (1926) i. 200 first suggested that the Irish word *oiffing* (*afaing*) was a silver penny struck by Offa of Mercia (757–96); for the latest comment on this see Binchy *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin* (1963), p. 22. In the fourth and fifth centuries silver ingots were stamped with a formula such as *EX OFF PATRICII*, that is, *ex officina Patricii*, 'from the workshop of P.', the name indicating the official at the mint who was responsible for guaranteeing the purity of the particular piece. In this *ex off* formula the second word is found in a number of forms: *o, of, off, ofi, offi, ofic, offic* (See R. Cagnat *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, Paris, 1898). It is suggested here that Ir. *oiffing* may originally have been a popular borrowing of the contracted form of *officina*, and thus came, in later times, to be thought of as a small coin. The secondary form of this word (*affaing*) could have been affected by *apang*.

325. *fortail.* An adj. 'having the upper hand, dominant, victorious'. Here the adj. is used as a noun; it is the equivalent of *buaid*, 'victory'. used in the sense of 'advantage, excellent characteristic'.

330. *ní accobritis duinorcin*, lit. 'they should not desire murder'. The commentator is translating some such Latin phrase as *ne voluissent homicidium*. Compare *ní accobrae ad-n-áichther* translating *noli timere*, *Poems of Blathmac*, l. 892 n.

332. *raib.* A better spelling is *roib*, 241. The *a* here is badly made; possibly to be read as *a* corrected to *o*.

340. *ní táet i mbréthir*, 'is not expressed in word', lit. 'it does not come into word'. Cf. *óre to-n-dechid i son*, 367. In the tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal note *nitaet guth isson* (= 'the voice comes not into word' = 'no word is spoken'), *Thes.* II, 253; the editorial suggestion 'leg. *issen = issin*?' should be deleted.

342. *fo-rochluinter.* This verb is here analysed as pass. sg. pres. indic. of *fo-cluinethar* with potential *ro*. But *ro* might be a stable part of the verb (see *Dict.*, s.v. *for-cluinethar*). As v.n. of *fo-cluinethar* one would expect **fochlos*. This is not found, but note *adbchlos* 'great fame' (< intensive *ad* + *fo* + *clos*); similarly *erchlos* (< *ar-fo-clos*). Here, of course, we might, if necessary, read *for-ro-chluinter*; cf. 305 n.

347. The last three words of the gloss *mad do fogluase*, seem to mean 'if it be from (for) inciting'; but one would expect *fogluasacht*.

359. *int ás.* *ás*, v.n. of *ásaid*, is here masc. It is queried as an original
      neut. in *Contribb.* on the basis of *ass ningnama, Mon. Tall.*, 156.8.
361. *dei<thiden d>ús.* The manuscript is torn here, and the restored
      reading is conjectural; the slight portion of the letter remaining after
      dei is consistent with its being *t*. But it would be possible to read
      what has been taken here as *deit-* as *der-*.
          inpheinnde. Formed from *in-* 'fit for', etc., and *peinnde*, gs. of
      penn(a)ind(-t). Note that *pennint* here is used of judicial punishment,
      not of a penance imposed by the church.
364. *fr<is>-ecmaltar.* The restored *is* may be regarded as tolerably
      certain, but note, however, that the space involved could accommodate
      at least two extra letters. No finite forms of *fris-ecmalla* have hitherto
      been found, but the verb survives in the v.n. *freccomul.*
365. *dédil, <di-feidil*, lit. 'fetterless'. Not in *Contribb.*, but note *dedil
      .i. cen fedil . . . dedil cen cuimrech* quoted from O'Mulc. 298.
366. *inge choceir<t>.* *inge* is here used as a preposition, taking the acc.
      No other example, with following lenition, seems to be quotable.
367. *forus mbreithe.* For the various shades of meaning of *forus* see *Dict.*
      Here *forus* is referred to the meanings given under I c; the point is,
      that once this offence has been committed the council has no discretion,
      punishment being mandatory.
          to-n-dechid i son. See 340 n.
370. *ní bí tromm.* Cf. *ní bí sáithech,* 119 n.
372. *na ruccæ.* *ruccae* is given in *Contribb.* as a masc. *io-*stem, but many
      of the exx. (e.g. acc. *rucai*, Ml. 49^{d}3, *ruccai,* 49^{d}4, *in ruccai,* 57^{a}8, dat.
      sg. *ruccai*, 27^{c}9) suggest fem. gender. The gen. *ind rucae*, 87^{d}9 should
      probably be read as *ind rucai*, the *-ae* being a miswriting caused by
      the preceding *trummae* which is written overhead. The fluctuation in
      gender suggests that *ruccae* is an old neut. like *dubae.*
          Note the suggestion here of a poetic justice in avenging 'causing to
      redden' by fire.
391. *fochricce.* Here and at 399 taken as gen. pl. rather than gen. sg.;
      in each case it stands in comparison with the gen. pl. *pían.*
398. The emendation of *bás in* to *ba sí in* seems necessary.
407. The significance of the gloss *.i. ueteres* (if it has been correctly read) is
      not quite clear.
408. The beginning of the gloss has been cut away in the margin. The
      word following the first *in futuro* is apparently *friiu*, 'towards them'.
      There follows *ni* in futuro *mes* (*doine*?), 'not *in futuro* the judgement of
      people'. *-occaide* seems to be the end of a word, possibly a participle; it is
      followed by *mess Dé* 'judgement of God'.
414. *inid.* See 108 n.
417. *cachtar.* *cach* 'every' is the usual form in Wb. and Sg. as against
      cech in Ml. (*Gramm.*, p. 310). *cachtar*, a predictable and etymologically
      correct form, does not seem to occur outside the present source.
427. The gloss is in part difficult to decipher and no translation is attempted.
      It is given here as transcribed some years ago by the second editor.
      Since then the manuscript has suffered somewhat in the course of
      rebinding; the photostat made before rebinding is at this point better
      than the MS. as it exists to-day, from which the accompanying photo-
      graphs have been made. The second editor gives the following comments
      on his earlier transcription: *nicon* seems certain; the word following

(*etir*) is very uncertain and he would now read *túr* (?); what he originally read as *diui thiu* he would now read *demnithir*; in *aranic* what has been taken as a crossed *q* (= *ar*, *quia*) could be an *a*, and the crossing of a shaft may be illusory; the *ni*(?) is more probably an *m*.   See further 442–3 n., 465 n., 471 n.

428.   *nephthabart do menmin*, see 127 n.

429.   *sechi-ráiter ⁊ sechi-déntar*.   *sechi* is used like a preverbal particle. There does not appear to be any comparable example, but the construction is the same as that of *cecha-*, *cacha-* (*Gramm.*, p. 289).

439.   *forcrach*.   The *Dict.* has only a single ex. of this word: gl. *faux*, Sg. 24ᵇ5, and the meaning given, 'the gullet, throat', is queried.   The present context supports the meaning given.
         a rro-chúla.   For -*ú*- see *comúem*, 312–3 n.

440.   *nuu* 'recently', dat. sg. of the adj. *nuae* used adverbially; this is the only known occurrence in a prose context.

442–3.   Following *tintáthar* the MS. had *andiis vt dicit . . . deest*.   There seems to be a mark before *andiis* which may be intended to show that these words are to be taken as a marginal comment and are not part of the consecutive text.   At 443, well out in the margin, was written d*eest*.   Of these words only *andiis* 'the pair of them' now remain. The others have been trimmed or covered by the binding material, and, as can be seen from the accompanying photograph, the *s* of *andiis* has been partially lost.   For other comments on the deterioration of the MS. see 427 n., 465 n., 471 n.
         If there are some words missing after *tintáthar* one might suggest *i mbélre n-aill* 'into another language'; cf. *cona tintuuth i mbélre naill*, Wb. 13ᵃ1 and Augustine's text quoted above, 451 (upon which the present comment is based): *nec in aliam linguam facile transferuntur*.

464.   *da-mainib-se*, 'I shall estimate it'.   1 sg. fut. of *do-moinethar* (-*main*-), with *a*, 3 sg. neut. infixed pronoun, and -*se*-, 1 sg. emphasizing pronoun. The verb *do-muinethar* here, as often, has an active rather than a deponent form.   The ending -*ib* could be treated as -*iub*, and -*se* as the archaic form of the 1 sg. emphasing pronoun sometimes found after non-palatal finals (*Gramm.*, p. 252, *Poems of Blathmac*, l. 56 n.). But it is more likely that the final consonant group is palatal; cf. *fodalibsea*, Ml. 78ᵃ10.

465.   *geinti*.   The final *ti* has been lost in the course of binding, but is present in the earlier photostat; see 427 n., 442–3 n., 471 n.

466.   *imcabdi* = *imcabthi* (cf. Wb. 30ᵇ25).

471.   We do not understand the gloss *andoipli* vel *siniæ* (if the transcription is correct).   The second part of the ligature *æ* has been lost in the recent binding; see 427 n., 442–3 n., 465 n.

482.   *ind i . . . a phennint*, 'those . . . his'.   There is a change from plural to singular; similarly in *ind i . . . ant-sam*, 484, 486.

485.   *at*(?) *atá*.   *at* (or *ati*?) has not been translated.   It is possibly the result of dittography.

488ff.   Some text may be lost as the relevance of this passage to the question under discussion is not obvious.   Ambrose is quoted to show that God the Son rather than God the Father spoke to Moses in the burning bush and in the desert.   The following is the relevant passage in Ambrose's work on Faith: Et ideo qui dicit: *Hic est filius meus*, non dixit: Hic est temporalis; non dixit: Hæc est creatura mea; hæc factura mea, hic servus meus; sed hic Filius meus, quem videtis in gloria.   Hic est

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, qui apparuit in rubo Moysi, de quo Moyses ait: *Qui est, misit me.* Non Pater in rubo, non Pater in eremo: sed filius Moysi loquutus est. (*Sancti Ambrosii . . . Opera*, Venetiis, MDCCLXXXI, p. 319).

496.   *ommun firinni*. Contrast *immin firinni*, 95, 135, 138. The spelling *ommun* for *imm* + art. is probably phonetic (cf. later *uman*), but no other example appears to be quotable.

THE FIRST TWELVE FOLIA OF
RAWLINSON B 502

1. Introduction[1]

IT is commonly accepted, it seems, that the first twelve *folia* of
Rawlinson B 502 were written at the end of the eleventh or
the beginning of the twelfth century[2]. Whether this happened
in Ireland itself, in Great Britain or on the Continent is a question
which has not been considered yet; here again it seems commonly
accepted that the scribe's (scribes'?) *scriptorium* was situated in
Ireland. One may wonder, however, whether this "certainty" as
to Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 has not been influenced by the second
vellum part of the manuscript which indeed can hardly be earlier
than the middle or beginning of the twelfth century. The first
twelve leaves, however, are definitely of a different provenance, and
their contents (The Annals of Tigernach[3]) and, moreover, the
"scribal habits" show close relations with continental MSS like
for instance *Codex Sangallensis* 904. This does not necessarily
suggest a similar early date for Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12, but it does
suggest a tradition as far as "scribal habits" are concerned. From
this point of view I will discuss only the codicological and palaeo-
graphical features of the first twelve leaves of the manuscript.

The manuscript volume of which the gathering in question forms
the second part (it is preceded by some paper leaves which I did
not study[4]) owes its present form to Sir James Ware (1594–1666)[5];
so over five hundred years of its history are virtually unknown.

In the present article I shall not deal with the contents of
the gathering, neither with their relations to other fragments of

the so-called "Annals of Tigernach"[6].   Yet, they are of great
interest as a source for our knowledge of what sources the Irish
scholars were familiar with. A recent study by J. W. Smit on St.
Columban's works has shown that Celtic scholars may accept too
easily Celtic tradition where other scholars (from other disciplines)
suppose and show influences of patristic, biblical and classical
tradition which, in some cases, has distinct parallels with possibly
pre-Christian, Irish tradition[7].   Smit comes, for instance, to the
conclusion that particularly St. Jerome's works were very well
known and used to a great extent by Irish scribes. This seems
also to be supported by the "Annals of Tigernach".

2. The Vellum

The gathering is made up of six *bifolia* of vellum, presently
measuring 272 × 414 mms. The vellum is rather thick and rough
in places, though carefully prepared.   Originally the *bifolia* were
larger; at least 10 mms have been cut off the top and the sides.
Evidence for this may be found in ff. 1^r, 3^v, 4^r, 8^r, 8^v, 9^r, 9^v, 10^r,
10^v, 11^r, 11^v, 12^r, 12^v, and will be discussed below when dealing with
the separate leaves.

The gathering is kept in a very good state; the *folia* still form
bifolia.   In comparison with other Irish manuscripts time has caused
remarkably little damage, which suggests a less violent history than
we must assume for many other, often much later manuscripts.

In my opinion the edges were trimmed before Ware's time.   The
same has happened to the second vellum part of the MS, but here
the vellum has the same size as the paper leaves bound with the
vellum by Ware, whereas ff. 1–12 are smaller than the remainder
of the leaves.   Somebody, perhaps Ware's binder, has painted the
edges of the entire manuscript red.

Another feature of some of the leaves is that the lower edge is
slightly bent and rounded as if they have been pressed, for instance in
a box, or because the manuscript was standing upright for some time.

As to the separate leaves the following remarks must be made.

f. 1, *recto*.   Discoloured; the gathering must have existed separately
for a long time.   Two glosses in the outer margin are
partly cut off.

verso.   There is an erasure in the end of lines 17–18 of v°a.

f. 2, *recto*.   The surface here is slightly more rough than usual.
In the inner margin there are many parallel scratches
in the vellum, approx. 2.5 − 3 mms from each other,

[6] Published by W. Stokes, *RC* 17 (1896).
[7] J. W. Smit, *Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger (Columbanus)*,
Amsterdam 1971 (diss.).

all from the inner edge upwards in a 70° angle. Their length is about 10 mms. They may have been caused by the flaying knife.

verso. There is a large stain in the lefthand column, lines 25–29, caused by dampness. Of course there is a corresponding stain in f. 3ʳb. A date in Roman numerals is partly cut off in the lefthand margin.

f. 3, *recto.* There is an erasure in b 27. In particular the righthand half of 3ʳ is very rough.

verso. A gloss in the upper margin is partly lost as the edge is cut off.

f. 4, *recto.* There is an oval hole of approx. 3 × 11 mms above the b-column. The righthand upper corner of this *folio* has been folded backwards for some time. There are several scratches caused by the scraper running diagonally over the page.

f. 5, *recto.* There is a hole in the lower margin below the righthand column of approx. 1 × 1 mms. There are several scratches like those in f. 4ʳ.

f. 6, *recto.* It seems that this page is slightly rougher than the others (cf. also f. 7ᵛ). The vellum is considerably thinner than usual (cf. f. 7ᵛ), and I have even considered the possibility that *bifolia* 6–7 was erased on the hair-side (6ʳ–7ᵛ). There is no evidence, however. A very tiny hole appears in the upper edge above the left side of 6ʳa.

f. 7, *recto.* There are five holes, all of approx. 1·5 × 1·5 mms: two of them appear in the lefthand margin at 2 and 3 cms from the top, one in col. a 8, one col. a 12, and another in col. a 30. There are prickings through the inner margin and a few through the outer margin as well, but here most prickings have disappeared when the leaf was trimmed.

verso. This page is very rough; it may even have been erased. A particularly rough bit was left blank by the scribe: the first 15–20 mms of col. a 24–26.

f. 8, *recto.* There is a tiny hole in the righthand margin. The prickings through f. 7ʳ have pressed upon f. 8ʳ, so that brownish holes are pressed into the vellum.

verso. Some glosses in the outer margin are partly cut off. There are several scratches, especially in the righthand margin.

f. 9, *recto.* There are three holes: one of approx. 8 × 9 mms at the upper edge above the lefthand column, a second one of approx. 1 × 1·5 mms very close to the first, and a third of approx. 7 × 13 mms in col. a 3–4. In the latter instance no text has been lost. The prickings

through f. 7ʳ have caused brownish holes. In the right-hand margin, at lines 18–22, the vellum is very thin.

f. 10, *recto*. There are five tiny holes, four of which appear in the lefthand margin, one in the righthand margin. At several places the vellum is very rough and thin. The prickings through f. 7ʳ have caused brownish spots.

verso. A date in Roman numerals in the lefthand margin has been partly cut off.

f. 11, *recto*. There is a hole of approx. 6 × 7 mms in the upper edge. In the upper margin a gloss is partly cut off.

verso. In the lefthand margin a date in Roman numerals is partly cut off.

f. 12, *recto*. An addition in the righthand margin is partly cut off. There are two holes, both of approx. 1 × 1 mms, in the lefthand margin at 75 and 105 mms from the bottom.

verso. Discoloured. A gloss in the righthand margin is partly cut off.

3. Collation

Ff. 1–12 of Rawlinson B 502 form one *sexternio*, the leaves being put fleshside on hairside, 1ʳ–12ᵛ being a hairside:

f.	H/F on r°		length col.	number ll.	ruling (cf. also sub 4.)
1	H		v° 22·5	36	v° = F
2	H		v° 23	32	v° = F
3	H		v° 22·5	32	v° = F
4	H		v° 22·5	32	v° = F
5	H		r° 22·5	31	r° = H
6	H		v° 22·8	31	v° = F
7	F		r° 22·5	34	r° = F
8	F		v° 22·6	34	v° = H
9	F		r° 22·6	34	r° = F
10	F		r° 22·7	34	r° = F
11	F		r° 23·2	36	r° = F
12	F		r° 22·3	36	r° = F

4. Ruling

The ruling puts before us a problem, as the facts seem to contradict each other. The ruling, with a sharp point, took place on the flesh-sides, apart from ff. 5 and 8 (which form a *bifolio*). This would suggest that the scribe (or collator) ruled the *bifolia* rather than the separate *folia*. This is contradicted, however, by the fact that there are distinct differences between the numbers of lines on corresponding *folia*. On the other hand, the lengths of the columns do correspond. Apart from f. 7r no first prickings through the inner margins can be found in the gathering, whereas a few *folia* show traces of prickings through the outer margins. As the leaves have been trimmed, however, on several *folia* it is not clear whether prickings have been applied at all. Things become even more complicated as f. 8 is partly ruled on both sides (*verso* completely, *recto* lines 5–15). On f. 10 the rulings are hardly discernible, while on f. 6r the text is not written "on the lines".

Taking into consideration that *bifolia* 5–8 and 6–7 seem to be of a different quality of vellum, it is not impossible that *bifolia* 1–12, 2–11, 3–10 and 4–9 were meant to form a *quaternio* and were ruled according to tradition *per folio* (flesh on hair, ruling on the fleshside), whereas *bifolia* 5–8 and 6–7 were added from a different supply. In view of the quality of these two *bifolia* and of the fact that f. 6 is partly ruled at both sides, it is not impossible that *bifolia* 5–8 and 6–7 were erased before being added to the original *quaternio*. (Compare also the table *sub* 3).

5. Thonging and Binding

In ff. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 a small hole appears in the inner margin some 4 cms from the top. A brownish spot on ff. 7r and 8r, corresponding with these holes shows that something has pressed here for some time. Apparently the *sexternio* was kept together by one single thread of vellum put through the holes in the first half of the gathering, and knotted at both ends.

It seems, however, that the present binding is not the first one. By lifting up the cords in the centre of the gathering some holes become visible which suggest an earlier binding of the same kind as the present one.

6. Script

At first sight it seems that ff. 1–12 are all written by one hand. It is a clear, professional bookhand in quite a regular and rather large minuscule. However, on closer examination several peculiarities

become noticeable which cannot be explained by simply referring to changes of pen, influences of an exemplar or high spirits. Differences in script are evident between ff. 1ʳ–4ᵛ and the remainder of the MS, although ff. 11–12 differ slightly from both. The change in script however was first noticed by Best who concluded that there were two hands[8]. I tend to agree with him, although in my opinion only a few of the differences between the two "styles" of writing might justify such a conclusion, e.g. the slightly sloping script in the first four *folia* against the upright script (with a tendency to lean back) in the remainder. Moreover, two differences not mentioned by Best may also be significant: the sudden change from ; to 3 for *-us*, and the small but persistent difference in length of the shafts of *r*, *s* and *f*. All other differences in script can be explained in my opinion by the reasons mentioned above[9]. Particularly Best's reference to 1ᵛb 33 "where B has corrected A in ras". seems to underline this, as in my opinion the MS itself does not justify "in ras."[10] Yet, Best's conclusion that Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 was written by two different hands is probably correct; at the same time the MS shows how closely related the scripts may be of scribes trained in the same *scriptorium*: differences may be hardly more than one might expect to find between texts written by one hand under different circumstances.

(The hands of the glosses and corrections will be discussed *sub* 8.)

7. Illuminations

The few, rather crude illuminations in Rawlinson B 502, ff. 1–12 have been described by Françoise Henry and G. L. Marsh-Micheli. They consist of "only a few capitals with mosaic backgrounds of yellow and red and small spiral terminals. Though somewhat cruder, they belong to the same series as those of the Book of the Dun Cow. This would come as a confirmation of the early twelfth-century date generally given to the manuscript[11]".
The capitals in question occur in ff. 3ʳa 1, 3ᵛb 1, 9ᵛa 1.

8. Construe marks, corrections, glosses

In the gathering with which we are dealing various critical signs occur most of which have a clear significance. Many indicate the

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[8] *Ériu* vii, pp. 15–16.
[9] This opinion was also expressed by Mr. O'Sullivan when answering my "questionnaire".
[10] Best studied the facsimile edition, not the manuscript itself.
[11] 'A Century of Irish Illumination (1070–1170)', Proc. RIA 62 C 5 (1962), pp. 116–117.

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connection between two words in the text, a few refer to glosses in
the margins, and there are some whose function I do not understand.

1ᵛb 7–11   K̤ K K K.

hoc anno ezechias mort*us est.*

Rom̈ul*us* q*ui* rexit roma*m* xxxix. an*nis*
cu*m* ap*ud* palude*m* caprea*m* deam
bulasset n*usquam* comparuit

The marks here indicate that Romulus became king of the Romans
in the year represented by the first K(alender).   The same applies
to the following two sets of marks:

1ᵛb 27–32   K̤ K K K K K.

dinastia aegiptior*um inter*mittit*ur* an*nis*
.c.xii. rur*sed* aegiptior*um* dinastia
renascitur *et* reg*nauit* amartiu*s* saitis
a*nnis* .ui. Seẍto an*no* priore cepit
regnare medos cardeceas

2ʳa 12–16   K K K K̤̈ K. Q*ui*nto
              anno priore cepit regnare maci
                     uel acneus
              donios ameus an*nis* .xxxix regnans.
              Sec̈üdo an*no* priore regnare cepit
              latinorum *tertius* tulli*us* hostili*us*

The following instance shows the use of marks to refer to something
which "we have described before".

2ʳa 28–31   hịc mundata iudea *et* hierusalem
              ⸪
              templo etia*m* in*nouata* p*ost* abiectas
              sordes idolatriae pascha celiber̈ri
              mu*m* dom*in*o fecit .xuiii° anno regni svi.

to which is referred in

2ʳb 15   hóc an*no* ut praescrip̈s̈imu*s*

A syntactical explanation is given in the next instance:

2ᵛb 13–17   Tres pueri sedrac misac abdina
             go in caminum ignis a nabcodono
             sor missi sunt et inde eos incolumes
             deus eripuit. K. Daniel in laccum leonum
             mittitur.

that is, sent by Nabcodonosor.

The following instance is of the same kind as the first three:

3ʳa 13   K K K K K K K K K K K

3ʳa 22–24   Nono anno priore cepit regnare
             medos astiages qui et asuerus qui regnauit
             annis .xxxuiii.

In f. 4 two sets of marks occur indicating to which noun a relative
pronoun refers:

4ʳb 25–28   uerum hironymus in expositione danielis
             scribit post cambassén smerdén magum
             regnasse qui ⟨uel cuius⟩ pantharchen filiam cambassis
             duxit uxorem qui ......

4ᵛ a 9–13   sexto
             anno darii templi aedificatio com
             pleta est die tertia mensis adar qui est
             xl.mus ui.tus annus ex quo sub ciro funda
             menta eius sunt iecta.

The following set of marks indicates that the death of Alcemus as
mentioned in the text is based on Eusebius:

8ʳb 13–23   Unde post
             secessum oniae sacerdotis in aegiptum
             et mortem alcemi qui effugato onia

             pontificatum indignus possidere
             temptabat Omnium fabore iudeorum
             machabeo sacerdotium decernitur
             Quod post mortem eius frater ionathas sortitus
             est .xix. annis quod plurima ministrauit

             industria. refert enim eusebius egressum
             oniae in aegiptum multos de sacer
             dotio contendere.

In f. 9ʳa 25 a mark over a K connects this year with an event mentioned in the margin:

silla uas
tat athin   ˙ K K Ǩ K K K K K
enses

A corrective set of marks occurs in

                  apostolus ut alii aiunt
f. 12ʳb 30–31   Simon cleopae filius ieſ⋮
                     a traiano senex, cxxi. annorum
      K ui. ᴀrusolimorum episcopus crucifixus est

What has happened is clear: when copying his exemplar the scribe accidently passed over one line. He (or the corrector, see below) saw the mistake, and warned the readers how to read this passage: *Simon cleopae fiilius ierusolinorum episcopus crucifixus est. K ui.*

A last set of marks indicating the actual year in which some event has taken place may be found in

f. 12ʳa 27–29   K uiii. abi

        lius episcopus alaxandria annis xiii. K i. K ii.
        K iiii. Cremthand nia nar mortus est.

In f. 3ᵛ two marks appear which have no counterparts:

f. 3ᵛa 19   ••Heremias profeta ait
f. 3ᵛb 1–2   Persarum primus cirus regnauit
           annis .xxx.

Over column b, in the margin, we find a gloss reading

        adde .iiii annos super xx.ui praescriptos ut fiat
        numerus .xxx. annorum a [e]uersione hierusalem
        secundum eusebium et sic hic numerus congruit.—

As the upper edge is trimmed it may be that the ✗ in f. 3ᵛb 1 should correspond with a similar mark at the beginning of this gloss now cut off; f. 3ᵛb 1 is certainly the place to which the gloss refers. Compare also f. 3ʳb 18, *eusebius ait annos .xxx. a[b e]uersione hierusalem usque ad initium cirii regis persarum.*

Marks referring to glosses occur quite often.   In f. 8ᵛa, for instance, 𝕊 occurs between lines 18 and 19, referring to a long gloss in the outer margin which opens with the same 𝕊.   A similar mark may be found at the beginning of a gloss in the upper margin of f. 9ʳ; there is no counterpart in the text, however.   Finally, a set of marks indicating where an addition given in the margin should be inserted occurs in f. 11ʳb 6, *K iiii. Nero r*. . . . . .   The ∴ corresponds with the ∵ with which the gloss in the upper margin opens.

There remains a problem in

f. 8ᵛa 8   Demetri*us* r*exit in* sirja 7 minore simul

                 asia an*nis* .xii.

This mark has neither a counterpart in the text nor in the margin. As it is written *under* the line it should refer to something still to come; marks referring back or to glosses are written *over* the line. A mistake of the "marker"?

In two cases a date in the margin (there are many dates in the margin) is connected with a K in the text:

f. 10ᵛa 15   K u. K ui.K̈.i.
   refers to   iii*m*dccc   in the margin.
                        clxxx

f. 11ʳa 15   ......K ii

refers likewise to   iii*m*   in the margin.
                                   uiiii
                                 me*n*ses
                                 uii di
                                 es

Several corrections have been made in Rawlinson B 502, ff. 1–12. They can be divided into corrections according to a clear and systematic method, and others which lack this system.   The method is very simple, but excludes misunderstanding: two dots indicate where the correction should be inserted; in general we find one above the letter preceding the place of insertion, a second under the letter after the place of insertion or under the place itself.   The letter to be inserted is written over the place of insertion.   When a letter has to be taken out, again two dots indicate this: one above and one under the letter to be taken out.   Only once in such a case the necessary omission is indicated by two dots under the letter.

This happened probably either by accident or by a later hand, as ·· is one of the construe marks, and could therefore not be used for something else as well.

f. 1ᵛa 7,   *interpraetãtur, leg.* interpraetantur;
f. 1ᵛa 8,   custodi̤es, *leg.* custodes;

f. 1ᵛa 36,   mṳi̤ge, leg. muige;

f. 1ᵛb 33,   K.KK, *leg.* KKKK;

f. 2ʳa 14,   (gloss *supra*) *uel* aṇeus, leg. acneus;

f. 2ᵛa 18,   duct̤; *leg.* ductus est;
f. 2ᵛb 7,   svṳo̤s, *leg.* avos;

f. 3ʳb 6,   IOsepp;h̤, *leg.* IOseppus *autem* hoc (Stokes omits *autem*);

f. 5ᵛa 19,   de̤ce, *leg.* desce;

f. 6ᵛb 24,   oḷim, *leg.* ollim;
f. 9ᵛa 30,   perc̤usinum, *leg.* perusinum;
f. 10ʳb 3,   heroo̤i̤s, *leg.* herois.

The following corrections lack the system of those listed above[12]:

f. 2ᵛb 32,   congén ≪a≫ir;
f. 3ʳb 4,   hoc tempus ≪acht≫ ar méit [*acht* by l.h];
f. 3ʳb 7,   ad ≪e≫uersione [*e* by l.h.];
f. 3ʳb 27,   soluendam esse [*blank space*] de quo za- [*m esse* by l.h on eras.];
f. 4ʳa 22–3,   *et* rescripsit artarxerxes≪ne≫ ae- [*ne* by l.h.];
f. 4ʳb 19,   pithagoras fissicus clarus ≪filosophus≫ [*filosophus* by same hand];
f. 6ʳa 28,   cum suis exercitibus in hís bellis dileti *sunt* [*sunt* by l.h.];
f. 7ʳb 10,   so≪s≫tratus;
f. 7ᵛa 18,   mentionem. ≪KK≫ Seleucus;
f. 7ᵛa 34,   in signum ≪belli≫ cartiginensis;
f. 7ᵛb 1,   á≪u≫ctus;

[12] Because of the typographical problems involved when trying to reproduce the MS situation in print I use the following system: ≪a≫ indicates supra script *a* ≫a subscript *a*.

f. 8ʳa 18,   in em ⩽a ⩾in;
f. 8ʳa 23–4,   cal⩽ a⩾ mi[24]tate;
f. 8ᵛb 17–8,   ex⩽s⩾ uc[18]cissione;
f. 9ʳb 28,   germano⩽s⩾ et;
f. 9ᵛa 3,   princep⩽e⩾s;
f. 9ᵛa 17,   ali⩽i⩾qui = alliqui;
f. 9ᵛb 30,   ala⩽ xa⩾ ndria;
f. 10ᵛa 11,   tiberia⩽de⩾m et libi⩽a ⩾dem;
f. 10ᵛb 35,   cla⩽ u⩾ dii.

Several of the "unsystematic" corrections listed above are made
by a later hand. A few, like those in ff. 6ᵛa 25, 7ᵛa 18, 7ᵛa 34, seem
by scribe B. The correction in f. 4ʳb 19 is perhaps not a correction
in its true sense, the remaining instances can hardly be determined
because of the fact that they consist of too few letters to make
comparisons. It appears, however, that apart from the correction
in f. 2ᵛb 32 (of which I cannot determine the hand) no unsystematic
corrections occur in A's hand, so that B seems the man who saw
his own mistakes more quickly and who corrected them immediately.

The glosses occurring in Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 can be divided in
those which offer additional information and explanations of the
main text, and those which offer an alternative reading. Of the
latter there are quite a lot, and I will give them all as Stokes in his
edition has incorporated most of these alternative, mostly "better",
readings without mentioning that they are written *supra lin*.

f. 1ᵛa 17,   silicorum, gl. *uel* siclorum;
f. 1ᵛa 18,   xxx, gl. *uel* xx vt alii;
f. 2ʳa 14,   ameus, gl. *uel* acneus (cf. *sub* corrections);
f. 2ʳb 11,   .xxui, gl. *uel* xxxiii;
f. 2ᵛa 21,   xxxuii, gl. *uel* xxuii;
f. 2ᵛb 5,   .ccccxxx., gl. *uel* ccccxxxiiii;
f. 3ʳa 18,   esquinalem, gl. *uel* linum;
f. 3ʳb 11,   egessar, gl. *uel* negus ar [by later hand];
f. 3ʳb 15,   fertur, gl. *uel* dicit [by later hand];
f. 3ʳb 30,   baldastar, gl. *uel* z;
f. 4ʳb 27,   qui, gl. *uel* cuius;
f. 4ᵛa 2,   apud, gl. *uel* ad;
f. 4ᵛa 17,   .ui., gl. *uel* uii;
f. 5ʳa 7,   lu, gl. *uel* ii;
f. 6ʳa 1,   arsis, gl. *uel* xerxis;
f. 6ʳb 17,   restitutu, gl. *uel* o;
f. 6ᵛb 13,   cessander, gl. *uel* a [by later hand?];

f. 6ᵛb 31,	antigon*us*, gl. *uel* antipat*er* no*men eius* q*ui* m*atrem* suam tesolonicen manu sua *inter*fecit [by later hand?];
f. 8ʳa 8,	e*t* cireneorum multi[9]tudine, gl. *uel et* cirine eor*um* multitudi*ne*;
f. 8ʳa 11,	se magno anteoco, gl. *uel* seleúco philopatore magiis;
f. 8ʳb 9,	ptolemeo, gl. *uel* i;
f. 8ᵛa 20,	sebastem, gl. *uel* tia*m*;
f. 8ᵛb 24,	eḡḡio, gl. *uel* ex regio;
f. 10ᵛb 3,	germaniia, gl. *uel* i;
f. 10ᵛb 24,	.iiii., gl. *uel* iii. *uel* uii an*nis* me*n*sibus .x. dieb*us* uiii vt beda ait [by later hand?];
f. 12ᵛb 27,	canico, gl. *uel* canino;
f. 12ᵛb 28,	suppio, gl. *uel* sulpicio.

Most of the "alternative readings" listed above seem to me to be written by hand B. This must have happened shortly after the tract was finished, because the corrector (either one of the scribes or somebody else) worked at the MS after the alternative readings were added. This is clear from the occurrence of the corrector's hand (dots) in an alternative gloss in f. 2ʳa over line 14. It is not impossible of course that the alternative readings were copied from the exemplar, but as also those occurring in A's part of the gathering are probably written by B, addition afterwards from another version is more likely.

Of the other glosses and additions many are in B's hand, but several in hands which are definitely different from the scribes'. Best has identified one of the glossators as "the interpolator H" whose activities in *Lebor na hUidre* are well known[13]. His hand appears in ff. 9ᵛb 6, 10ʳa 4, 10ʳa 5, 10ʳa 11, 10ʳb 3, 10ʳb 4, 10ʳb 5, 10ᵛb 22, 11ʳa 23, 11ᵛa 8, 11ᵛa 9, 11ᵛa 11, 11ᵛb 19, and 12ʳa 20; moreover, H retouched several words in ff. 9ᵛb 1 and 10ᵛb 21. [Compare also Best in *Ériu* vii who also gives the text of these glosses]. Not by H, in my opinion, is the *esse* in ras. in f. 3ʳb 27 (see above, *sub* corrections) both because of the script and the different kind of ink.

In the following lines we find a gloss or addition by scribe B:

f. 1ʳa 3	4ᵛb 11–2	8ʳa 8	9ᵛb 10
1ʳb 10	5ʳa 26	8ʳa 11	10ʳb 29–31
1ʳb 11	5ʳb 6	8ʳa 16	10ᵛa 1–2
1ʳb 13	5ʳb 26	8ʳa 17	10ᵛa 19

[13] *Ériu* vii, pp. 114–115; cf. H. P. A. Oskamp, 'Notes on the History of Lebor na hUidre', *Proc.* RIA 65 C 6 (1967), pp. 117–135, and R. Powell, 'Further Notes on Lebor na hUidre', *Ériu* xxi (1969), pp. 99–102.

1ʳb 14	5ʳb 30	8ʳa 20	10ᵛa 32–3
2ʳa 23	5ᵛa 16	8ʳa 24	11ʳ over columns
2ʳa 25	6ᵛa 3	8ʳb 8	11ʳa 33
2ʳb 13 (2 x)	6ᵛa 22	8ʳb 9	11ʳb 12
2ᵛa 14	6ᵛb 11	8ᵛa 31	11ᵛb 16?
2ᵛb 1?	6ᵛb 16	9ʳa 10	11ᵛb 21
3ʳb 6	7ʳb 10	9ʳ inner marg.	12ʳa 15,
over 3ᵛb	7ᵛa 1	9ʳa 25	12ʳb 26
4ʳb 22	7ᵛa 24	9ʳa 26	12ʳb 30
4ᵛa 11	7ᵛb 5	9ʳb 8	12ʳb 31
4ᵛa 15	7ᵛb 7	9ᵛa 2	12ᵛa 5
4ᵛa 33	7ᵛb 12	9ᵛa 6	12ᵛa 6
			12ᵛb 4 [illeg.]

A third hand ("the interpolator I") has added glosses in the following ff.:

1ᵛa 31	4ʳb 15	7ʳ over col. *a*
1ᵛb 13	4ᵛb 7	7ʳa 2
2ʳa 1	5ʳa 26	8ʳ over col. *a*
2ʳb 19	6ʳa 24–6	8ʳa 3?
2ᵛb 1	6ʳa 28	8ʳa 7?
3ʳb 4	6ᵛb 13	8ᵛ outer marg. (2 x)
3ʳb 7 (2 x)	6ᵛb 18?	8ᵛa 6
4ʳa 22	6ᵛb 31–2	9ʳ over col. *a*

Finally a few glosses cannot be identified; they are written neither by A or B, nor by I or H; they occur in ff. 11ᵛa 15, 11ᵛa 26 and 11ᵛb 16.

The occurrence, listing and analysis of construe marks, corrections and glossing hands in Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 lead to some tentative conclusions. As far as the construe marks are concerned it is striking to notice that this late-eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript contains a system which was commonly nsed in the ninth century. Dr. Draak has discussed these early marks in detail in two papers[14], and a comparison of the material she has printed with our MS shows that there are close parallels. Dr. Draak concludes her *Construe Marks*: "The Irish Monastic Schools of the eighth and ninth centuries used a system of construe-marks laid as a first stratum of scholarly

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[14] Dr. Maartje Draak, 'Construe Marks in Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts', *Meded. d. K. Ned. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Lett.*, NR 20, 10 (Amsterdam 1957), pp. 261–282; 'The Higher Teaching of Latin Grammar in Ireland During the Ninth Century', *Meded. d. K. Ned. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Lett.*, NR 30, 4 (Amsterdam 1967), pp. 109–144.

comment over the Latin texts expounded in class".[15] But in view of the marks in Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 the question arises whether this use was confined to the eighth and ninth centuries, whether perhaps the tradition lived on in later ages, or whether perhaps marks like those in the Rawlinson MS were copied from earlier exemplars. In this connection it is most interesting that, as Mrs. O'Sullivan informs me, similar marks occur in the Book of Leinster[16]. Thorough research into this matter is apparently much needed.

From the sets of corrections (the systematic, the unsystematic by a probably contemporary hand, and the unsystematic one by a definitely later hand) a less tentative conclusion can be drawn.

The unsystematic corrections by a probably contemporary hand occur all but one (cf. above, f. 2^{v}b 12 _congénair_ which may be in I's hand) in the part written by B. It is likely, therefore, that they are his own work. A comparison between the corrections and B's script is however extremely difficult; one may only conclude that there are no clear indications that the corrections are _not_ in B's hand. If indeed B made these corrections he probably did so when writing the text, whereas the systematic corrections must be the work of a corrector who went through the text (the gathering) after it was finished.

In my opinion the "alternative glosses" are, as I stated before, in B's hand. Whether he copied them from a second version or, afterwards, from his own exemplar is difficult to say. But it is clear, at least, that he wrote them both in his own part of the gathering and in A's part. Many of these alternatives are, as we noticed, indeed "better readings", and therefore I suppose that they are copied from a second version.

As to the glosses and additions it appears that many are written by B, and that the "interpolator H" has only worked from f. 9^v on (unless Best was after all right, and _esse_ in ras. in f. 3^{r}b 27 was indeed by H). The glosses and additions in ff. 1^r–8^r are largely by another hand, probably contemporary with H's. The significance of this might be that H's activities (in Clonmacnois?) were less individual than one might suppose because of his work in LU. Here in Rawlinson B 502, ff. 1–12, it appears that another scribe collaborated with H, or did at least the same kind of work, the former (I) working on the first eight leaves and f. 9^r, H continuing this work from f. 9^v on. The hands of the few remaining glosses cannot be determined.

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[15] 'Construe Marks', p. 281.

[16] I understand that in the Book of Leinster the marks are used in the genealogies of the saints (Facs. p. 347, col. d) and on several other places in the secular genealogies, lists of kings, etc.

Now the following tentative "palaeographic history" of Rawlinson B 502, ff. 1–12 can be given:

1. A writes ff. 1–4;
2. B writes ff. 5–12, making several corrections in his own work;
3. B adds the "alternative glosses" and additions (from a second version?);
4. A corrector makes the systematic corrections;
5. The "interpolator I" adds several glosses in ff. 1ʳ–9ʳ;
6. The "interpolator H" continues this in ff. 9ᵛ–12ᵛ;
7. A few more glosses (and corrections?) are added by (an)other "user(s)" of the manuscript.

As to 7 it seems that these glosses belong to a stage not earlier than the "interpolators I and H". As far as the construe marks are concerned they may have been copied by both A and B from the exemplar, or added by either the second scribe (B) or the corrector after the gathering (text) was finished.

Finally, the codicological and palaeographical features of the gathering suggest a place of origin characterized by a strict system as far as the method of arranging the quires, of ruling, correcting and glossing are concerned. It may be possible, therefore, to trace more manuscripts written at the same time in the same *scriptorium*. As far as the construe marks are concerned, they suggest either an early source from which they were copied, or a strong traditionalism amongst scribes using a ninth-century, probably continental system of construe marks in twelfth-century manuscripts. Further study of the "Annals of Tigernach" has to take these possibilities into account.

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f.	corrections s: systematic uB: unsyst. by B ulh: unsyst. by l.h.	glosses by I/H	number lines	lengths cols.	ruling on recto/verso	prickings f: fresh i: inner m. o: outer m.	character of vellum	hair/flesh on rectos	hand	arrangement	f.
1	s v	I v	36	225	v	fo	thick, *recto* discoloured	H	A		1
2	s v; ulh v	I r v	32	230	v	fo	rough	H	A		2
3	s r; ulh r	I r	32	225	v	fo	partly very rough	H	A		3
4	ulh r	I r v	32	225	v		normal	H	A		4
5	s v	I r	34	225	r		normal	H	B		5
6	s v; ulh rv	I r v	31	228	v		thin and rough	H	B		6
7	s r; uB v	I r	34	225	r	fi, fo	thin and rough	F	B		7
8	uB? rv	I r v	34	226	vr	i	normal	F	B		8
9	s v; uB? rv	I r H v	34	226	r	i	normal	F	B		9
10	s r; uB? v	H r v	34	227	r	i	partly thin and rough	F	B		10
11		H r v	36	232	r		normal	F	B		11
12		H r	36	223	r		thick, *verso* discoloured	F	B		12

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE OLD IRISH VERB

THE researches of Calvert Watkins ('Preliminaries to a Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Syntax of the Old Irish Verb', *Celtica* 6:1–49) have in general succeeded in making clear the structure of the early Irish verbal complex. His conclusions, to state them briefly, are that the structure of the verb as it is attested in the Old Irish sources is the inheritance of Indo-European sentence patterns which have been reshaped by specifically Celtic and Irish syntactic and phonological changes. In this reshaped structure it is still possible to discern patterns of word order which stand un-obscured in Vedic Sanskrit and Hittite and in modified, though easily reconstructable, form elsewhere. Watkins was able not only to show that Irish has preserved in the structure of the verbal com-plex archaic Indo-European sentence patterns but also to explain such 'non-Indo-European' features as the infixed pronoun and the leniting relative clause.

Although our understanding of the history of the structure of the early Irish verb has been immeasurably enhanced by Watkin's findings, certain problems as yet remain unexplained. These problems have been discussed before by various scholars along much the same lines followed here, but it will be well to begin their con-sideration afresh. Earlier treatments are very helpfully summarized in Meid, *Die indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion*, pp. 10–52, and the reader is referred there for details.

In order to make the nature of these problems somewhat clearer, it will be helpful to approach the matter indirectly by first considering various points of historical Celtic and Irish phonology.

One of the most striking facts of the phonology of the Celtic languages is that in certain syntagmata no distinction is made in the operation of processes of phonological change between word-internal position and any other position. Such changes are, in other words, indifferent to the presence of word boundary. Two very clear examples of the ignoring of word boundary are the laxing of con-sonants (lenition) and nasal assimilation (nasalization); in neither does the presence of word boundary exercise any inhibiting effect of the operation of phonological change.

Thus, in the case of lenition, we have in Old Irish the following:

Word Boundary Involved	Word Boundary Not Involved
–V $\#$ $\#$ CV– $\to$ –V ChV–	–VCV– $\to$ –VChV–

For example:

*esyo $\#$ $\#$ tegos $\to$ a thech	*rīgotegos $\to$ rígthech
*sindā $\#$ $\#$ k^{w}eislā $\to$ in chíall	*wok^{w}eislā $\to$ fochelt

Although laxing and nasal assimilation clearly take place across word boundary in close syntactical groups, the presence of word boundary is nonetheless not without effect and in fact has a demarkative function. For even though it is ignored in the operation of *certain* phonological processes, the end of a word has a real phonological existence in such groups. Thus, at a certain point in the history of Irish, *final* syllables are truncated whether they belong to close syntactical groups or not. The fact that laxing and nasal assimilation take place without regard to word boundary, while at the same time the identity of the final syllable of a word is preserved, means in effect that we have to do with two types of word boundary. The one which does not permit laxing and nasal assimilation to take place across it we can call *open juncture;* the other, which does permit these processes and which exists between words in certain syntactic collocations, at the same time marking final syllables, we can call *close juncture* (hereinafter indicated by =). It is characteristic of both types of boundary that the vowel of the syllable immediately following bears the principal word stress[1].

What is true of such close syntactical groups as adjective + noun and preposition + noun, in which the members are separated by close juncture, is also true of the members of the verbal complex. It will be recalled that the Old Irish verbal complex is divided into two portions by the presence of the primary stress. What we may call the pretonic portion consists of the first preverb (or conjunct particle) and the infixed pronoun (if any); the tonic portion of the remainder of the verbal complex (other preverbs, the root, etc.). From a historical point of view, the Old Irish verbal complex results from the univerbation of the pretonic portion and the tonic portion, the latter originally standing at the end of the sentence. As Watkins has shown:

Prev (Connective) (Pronoun) . . . (Prev) Verb $\Rightarrow$
Prev (Connective) (Pronoun) = (Prev) Verb

Now the pretonic portion behaves, generally speaking, in no way differently from any other word connected to a following word by

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[1] We may assume, from the point of view of the synchronic grammar of Old Irish, that the word boundaries generated by the syntactic component are replaced at the appropriate stage, within certain bracketed syntactic groups, by = to give the correct surface structure to which the phonological rules apply.

close juncture. That is to say, the relationship between the pretonic and tonic portions is exactly parallel to that between noun and adjective or between preposition and noun. Thus, the initial phoneme of the tonic portion is affected by lenition and nasal assimilation, and the final syllable of the pretonic portion is truncated normally. For example:

With Final Vowel
ad de me k^{w}ise → atom·chi

With Final Consonant
wo sus(s)   k^{w}eislātor → fos·ciallathar

In the first of these examples /k^w/ is lenited: -ek^{w}i- → -ek^{w}hi-; in the second, lenition is prevented, regularly (cf. *wiros koilos → fer cóel*). In both, the final syllable is truncated. The forms are thus more fully:

ad de me = k^{w}ise
wo sus(s) = k^{w}eislātor[2]

and are precisely parallel to:

benā = koilā   (→ *ben chóel*)
wiros = koilos   (→ *fer cóel*)

It should be noted that the pretonic portion functions as a *word* and not as a collocation of separate words; i.e., there are no occurrences of word boundaries of any sort between the various formatives of the pretonic complex. If word boundaries did exist within the pretonic complex, we would expect something like *a de me chi* as a reflex of *ad = de = me = k^{w}ise* (since monosyllabic words do not lose their final vowels, even as proclitics). Whatever their origin as independent words, the formatives of the pretonic portion are not treated as such. It is as formatives of a single word that they undergo the operation of the processes of phonological change, and we would, on the face of things, expect the pretonic portion to show no exceptional phonological behavior other than that specifically brought into play by the rules governing proclitics, notably loss of palatalization and vowel quality. These are important points and will be returned to later. Finally, it should be pointed out that boundaries of a sort do indeed occur within the pretonic portion, but these are formative boundaries, which typically have no effect on the operation of the phonological rules. Using the symbol + for these, we may represent a form such as *ad de me = k^{w}ise* more precisely as *ad + de + me = k^{w}ise*.

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[2] The form *fo·ciallathar* is of course not a direct reflex of this form, because the expected syncope is lacking. See note 10.

At this point arise the various problems I wish to discuss. Before going into detail, however, it is necessary to consider briefly the effect of lenition (or, to use the more general term, 'laxing'). We note that wherever a single consonant occurs in a proto-form between vowels it appears in Old Irish as a single lax ('lenited') consonant. In the same environment (i.e. between vowels) we also note that a cluster of two identical consonants (i.e. a geminate) in a proto-form is represented in Old Irish by a single tense ('unlenited') consonant. It is easiest and most natural, given the identity of environment, to regard the change undergone by single consonants and geminates as the result of the operation of one and the same process, viz. laxing. That is to say, through laxing both single consonants and geminates undergo a reduction in tenseness: single consonants become simply lax, and the quantity of tenseness in reduced by half in the case of geminates. Granted this explanation, we may, using the terminology traditional in Celtic linguistics, speak of the lenition of geminates and say that geminates are lenited to single tense consonants and single consonants to single lax consonants. (Note that this is not to say that geminates are lenited in Old Irish; such a phonological process is impossible, because Old Irish has no geminates. In the discussion below, it will be assumed that 'unlenited' single consonants are the result of the lenition of original geminates and that 'lenited' single consonants are the result of the lenition of original single consonants).

Now we have just seen in the foregoing example that the initial phoneme of *k^wise* has been lenited (laxed) as expected: /k^w/ occurs between vowels and the conditions for laxing are fulfilled. Consider, however, the following forms:

*wo = k^weislátor	→ fo ·cíallathar	[fo¹k'í ªLathar]
*wo + me = k^weislátor	→ fom·chíallathar	[foM'kh'í ªLathar]

In the first of these the expected lenition of /k^w/ is lacking, though it is present in the second. In the second, moreover, /m/ remains unlenited, though it stands between vowels. Consider further the following forms:

*eks = bere	→ as·beir	[as¹b'er']
*writs = garit	→ fris·gair	[f'r'is¹gar']

Here the final consonants of the preverbs are not truncated, as against other elements of the pretonic portion in which they are truncated; e.g., *wo + sus(s) = k^weislátor → fos·cíallathar. We would expect *a·beir and *fri·gair (cf. a, fri before nouns, from *eks = Noun, *writ(s) = Noun).

One could suggest in explaining the lack of lenition in the pronominal form *me that proclitics as a class resist lenition. While

this is certainly true, it must be kept in mind that such proclitics as resist lenition maintain their status as independent words and cannot be used in explanation of the behavior of entities like the infixed pronouns which have no status as independent words. Not only does the resistance of independent proclitics to lenition offer no explanation to this problem, but it fails to explain why a fully stressed word like the tonic portion resists lenition after a preverb ending in a vowel and why a preverb ending in a consonant remains untruncated.

One might further suggest, as Watkins (*op. cit.*) has done, that the preverbs follow a rule of their own: as a result of the lateness of univerbation they do not cause lenition or undergo truncation. There are two objections to such an explanation:

(1) The pronouns, which must be assumed to be in the position they occupy before univerbation, do cause lenition and do undergo truncation.

(2) Certain of the pronouns remain unlenited after preverbs ending in a vowel, which can have nothing to do with the lateness of univerbation. Even if it were assumed that the lack of lenition is more general and extends not just to the initial of the tonic portion but to any element that follows the preverb, one would still have to explain the inconsistency inherent in the fact that other pronouns, as in the form *wo + swes = k^weislātor → fob·ciallathar [fov'k'ī ª Lathar], are lenited (if such forms reflect the pattern Prev + Pro = Verb, as Watkins's theory proposes), in the face of the overwhelming regularity of the phonological changes which have produced Old Irish as we see it.

There is an explanation which takes both absence of lenition and absence of truncation into account, viz. the effect of the disappearance of the relative particle *yo. Given the strong tendency to mark relative clauses in Old Irish, it could be suggested that after *yo disappears, a large class of verb forms, those having preverbs ending in a consonant, show a clear contrast between relative forms with lenited verbal initial and non-relative forms without it and that this convenient contrast is subsequently extended to all verbs. The regular operation of truncation, if it is assumed to have taken place, would of course give forms like *a·ci (non-relative) vs. ad·chi (relative), from *ad = k^wise and *ad + yo = k^wise respectively, where the contrast is not as straightforward as simple lack of lenition vs. lenition, but the final consonant of the preverb would be restored to the non-relative form under the influence of verbs containing the preverb *for*, in which the final consonant is not subject to truncation, together with the influence exerted by verbs containing preverbs ending in a vowel, which of course remain unchanged. These

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mechanisms would give rise, as Watkins has seen, to the analysis of non-relative forms as containing a 'zero particle' which has the practical effect of preventing lenition.

Ingenious as this solution is with respect to the non-lenition of the verbal initial, it says nothing to the problem of the non-lenition of the pronouns, unless it is extended to include them. The practical effect of the assumption of a non-leniting particle before the pronouns would be the automatic delenition of these formerly lenited entities. But if this is the case, why do we have such forms as *fob·cíallathar* where the pronoun *is* lenited? Again, in the case of the third person singular feminine and of the third person plural, how are we to explain the restoration of [s] from phonetic zero?

We may finally note that, when following *de, certain of the pronouns remain unlenited, while others undergo lenition; but the distribution of lenited and unlenited forms does not correspond to that of forms following preverbs ending in a vowel. Thus, for example, we have in the case of *-sus(s)- (pl. 3):

$$*wo + sus(s) = k^w eisl\bar{a}tor \;\rightarrow\; fos·cíallathar$$

but:

$$*wo + de + sus(s) = k^w eisl\bar{a}tor \;\rightarrow\; foda·cíallathar$$

In the face of these considerations we can say either that the infixed pronouns are provided with some inconsistently applied morphological mark or that they are inconsistently irregular. As an alternative, we might look for some principled explanation.

If the solution to these anomalies is not morphological, it may be suggested that it is phonological. A phonological solution has the advantage of assuming that the verbal complex behaves regularly with respect to phonological change. The consequences of this assumption are as follows:

(1) In order that the final consonant(s) of a preverb be retained in the pretonic portion, it (they) must be followed by a vowel. In the case of *eks, for example:

$$*eks \;= \rightarrow *a$$

but

$$*eks\text{-}V\text{-} \;\rightarrow\; *ess\text{-}V\text{-} \text{ (assimilation)} \;\rightarrow\; *es\text{-}V\text{-} \text{ (lenition)} \rightarrow$$
$$*es\text{-} \text{ (truncation)} \;\rightarrow\; as \text{ (loss of vowel quality)}$$

(2) Further, such a vocalic element must itself be followed by a consonant, if lenition is not to take place. In addition, this consonant must be either a stop or /s/, since liquids (/l, r/) are not subject to truncation, and nasals would of course nasalize the following segment. Thus, for example:

$$*ad = k^wise \quad\quad \rightarrow \quad *a\cdot c\acute{\imath}$$
$$*ad + V = k^wise \quad \rightarrow \quad *ad\cdot ch\acute{\imath} \text{ (non-relative)}$$
But: $\quad *ad + VC = k^wise \rightarrow \quad ad\cdot c\acute{\imath}$

The hypothetical element *-VC- will of course also explain the absence of lenition after preverbs ending in a vowel. Thus:

$$*wo + VC = k^weisl\bar{a}tor \quad \rightarrow \quad fo\cdot c\acute{\imath}allathar$$
$$*wo + VC + me = k^weisl\bar{a}tor \rightarrow fom\cdot ch\acute{\imath}allathar$$
$$[\text{foM}^l\text{kh}'\bar{\imath}\,{}^a\text{Lathar}]$$

(For the suggested development of the sequence *-V-VC-, see below).

The assumption of an element *-VC- thus explains satisfactorily the apparent phonological irregularities in the pretonic portion of the verbal complex: the presence of *-V- accounts for the preservation of final consonants of preverbs, and the presence of *-C- the lack of lenition wherever this occurs. From its position in the pretonic portion we would expect the element *-VC- to disappear entirely in the course of phonological change: in position immediately before close juncture it would undergo truncation like any other final syllable; in the interior of the pretonic portion, the vowel would be lost by syncope and the consonant would assimilate to any following consonant. (In actual fact the phonological treatment of *-VC- is somewhat more complicated than this; for details, see below). Granted these assumptions, there remains only the problem of determining what the element *-VC- is.

It will be noted that the foregoing hypothesis assigns the element *-VC- to second position in the pretonic portion, i.e. immediately after the preverb or conjunct particle. As Watkins has shown, this is the position occupied by various enclitic particles which served, from the historical point of view, as sentence 'connectors'. The structure of the verbal complex can be shown schematically as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Prev} \\ \text{Conj} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Conn}) + (\text{Pro}) = \text{Tonic Portion}$$

Illustrations of this structure are:

*ad	+	yo		= k^{w}ise	ad·chí 'who sees'
Prev		Conn			
*ad	+	de	+ me	= k^{w}ise	atom·chí 'sees me'
Prev		Conn	Pro		
*ne	+	de		= ad + k^{w}ise	nad·accai 'who does not see'
Conj		Conn			
*ne	+	k^{w}e	+ me	= ad + k^{w}ise	nacham·accai 'who does not see me'
Conj		Conn	Pro		

A comparison of these structures with the hypothetical constructs *ad + VC = k^{w}ise and *wo + VC + me = k^{w}eislātor suggests that

the element *-VC- is to be interpreted as a 'connector' on the same level as *de, *kʷe, and *yo. The scheme can then be represented as:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Prev} \\ \text{Conj} \end{Bmatrix} + \left(\begin{Bmatrix} *de \\ *k^we \\ *yo \\ *VC \end{Bmatrix} \right) . + (\text{Pro}) = \text{Tonic Portion}$$

What is the 'connector' *-VC-? Certain considerations aid us in determining the answer. These are:

(1) The restriction (see above) on the phonological specification of the *-C-; this must be either a stop or /s/.

(2) The close relationship between demonstrative stems and words used in the Indo-European languages for adverbial particles and 'connectors' (which are merely sentence adverbs). Very commonly such words are either stereotyped case forms, as, for example, Skt. tad (< *to-d) 'thus, then', yad (< *yo-d) 'if'; Lat. tum, tunc (< *to-m, to-m + ke) 'then', eō (< *e-ōd) 'thus'; Gk. (mén-)toi, toi(-gár) (< *to-i) ('therefore; yet'); Lat. sīc (< *se-i + ke) 'thus, so', or else forms undifferentiated for case and gender (i.e. the bare demonstrative stem), as in the case of the Old Irish relative particle *yo. The stems *to-, *kʷe/o-, *yo-, *se/o-, and *e(y)- all appear in this function. Note that because of the restriction mentioned in (1) above case forms ending in a vowel or a nasal cannot be used to explain the proposed Old Irish particle.

(3) The preponderance, expected on general semantic grounds and amply attested, of the neuter gender in forms such as those mentioned in (2) above. This virtually excludes the identification of *-C- with /s/, the sign of the nominative singular masculine.

When these considerations are taken into account, *-VC- is most easily and naturally identified with a neuter pronominal form *ed. The form *ed (rather than *id, see Watkins, 'The Celtic Masculine and Neuter Enclitic Pronouns', EC 12: 92–95) is of course the basis of the Old Irish third person singular neuter pronoun ed, which must reflect an extended form *ed-V; for such extended forms, cf. Go. ita 'it' < *id-a and Skt. idam 'it' < *id-em (= in form to Lat. idem 'the same' (neut.) beside id 'it').

The proposed occurrence at some stage in the history of Irish of *ed as a particle is closely paralleled by the Vedic usage of the neuter pronominal form id (with the difference that Vedic id usually has greater force and is stressed)[3]. For example (with verbs and preverbs underlined and sandhi suppressed in the case of id):

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[3] Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, p. 375: id (très fréquent) souligne le mot précédent ou la proposition dont cette particule suit le mot initial; le sens est parfois celui d'eva, parfois mal perceptible.

Compound Verbs

áva íd v indra *jalgulaḥ* RV 1, 28, 1 'mögest du Indra hinunterschlingen'
úpa íd ahám dhanadâm . . . *patāmi* RV 1, 33, 2 'ich fliege hin'
prá íd v agnír *vāvṛdhe* RV 3, 5, 2 'Agni hat sich erbaut'
úd íd nv àsya *ricyaté* RV 7, 32, 12 'hervorragt sein Anteil'

Simple Verbs

šyā́ma íd índrasya šarmaṇi RV 1, 4, 6 'wir möchten unter Indras
      Schutz sein'
ásat íd te vibhú prabhú RV 1, 9, 5 'sie sei ausreichend, reichlich'
artháyāse íd yójā nv indra te hárī RV 1, 82, 1 'ich will dir jetzt das
      Falbenpaar schirren, o Indra'
kárat íd naḥ surōdhasaḥ RV 3, 53, 13 'er möge uns reichbeschenkt
      machen'
bhávasi íd u dūtaḥ RV 4, 7, 9 'und du [geboren] sofort Bote wirst'

It will be seen that the position of Vedic *id* is strictly regulated:
it always occurs immediately after the preverb of a compound verb
and immediately after a simple verb. Thus in Vedic we have the
following patterns for the occurrence of *id* in relation to the verb:

        Simple Verb: Verb *id* . . .
        Compound Verb: Prev *id* . . . Verb

For the compound verb the pattern corresponds exactly to the
hypothetical construct of the Old Irish verb with *ed:

    Prev. + *ed . . . Verb   Before univerbation
    Prev + *ed = Verb (Tonic Portion)   After univerbation

It should be noted that Vedic *id* and Old Irish *ed are functional
correspondents: both form the basis of the third person singular
neuter pronoun and both are used only as particles.

Given the correspondence of the Vedic and Irish patterns contain-
ing compound verbs accompanied by the neuter pronominal form as
a particle we might reasonably expect an Irish correspondent to
the Vedic pattern involving simple verbs:

     Vedic   *Irish*
    Prev *id* . . . Verb   Prev *ed . . . Verb
    Verb *id* . . .   Verb *ed . . .

There are good reasons for assuming such a pattern existed. Consider
the following forms:

           táithiumm 'I have'
           táithiut   'you have'

In both of these the initial of the suffixed pronoun is unlenited. If it is assumed that these reflect simply

$$*tāti + me$$
$$*tāti + te$$

the absence of lenition remains unexplained. If, however, they reflect

$$*tāti + ed + me$$
$$*tāti + ed + te$$

unlenited /m/ and /t/ are perfectly regular.

Further, as Thurneysen noted in touching on the problem of lack of lenition (*ZCP* I: 6), the third person singular present indicative absolute of the copula does not lenite the following word. As a solution to this anomaly Thurneysen proposed that the form *esti* was remodelled to *esti-s(s)* under the influence of the negative form *nīs(s)* < *ne-est*. Later Thurneysen gives qualified approval (*IF Anz.* 33: 29f.) to Pedersen's suggestion in his *Vergleichende Grammatik* that lenition is prevented by the presence of the generalized pronominal form *is*: *esti-(i)s*. While either of these theories would explain lack of lenition, Thurneysen is more hesitant in his *Grammar of Old Irish* and concludes that absence of lenition after the third person singular of the copula, as after third person forms in general, is not decisive because of the great variation between lenition and non-lenition attested after such forms in the Old Irish texts. In the case of verbs other than the copula an examination of the evidence presented by Hessen (*KZ* 46: 2–24) will certainly convince one that this view is correct. But in the case of the copula, lack of lenition is decisive. This is because of the peculiar position of the copula vis-à-vis other verbs: unlike other verbs, the copula is always proclitic and, like other proclitics, is connected to the following word by close juncture. Indeed, the relation of the copula to the following word is precisely that of the pretonic portion to the tonic portion of the verbal complex. This means, in effect, that we would expect lenition and nasalization to take place across the close juncture, and this is exactly what we see, with the single major exception of the non-relative forms of the copula. Thus, we have with the conjunct forms (using only those forms which can be reconstructed with any degree of certainty):

Present Indicative

sg. 1	*+de+esan = C/V-*	-da Ch/V-	(irregular)
2	*+de+esi = CV-*	-da Ch-	
3	*ne+est = CV-*	nī C-	
	ne+n+de+est = CV-	nand C-	
	ne+kʷe+est = CV-	nach C-	

	*+de+est = CV-	-d C-
	*ne+de+est = CV-	nad Ch- (irregular)
pl. 1	*+de+esmo = CV-	-dan Ch-, -dam Ch-, -dem Ch-
2	*+de+sete = CV-	? (we would expect *-dad Ch-)
3	*+de+sent = CV-	-dat C-

Present Subjunctive

sg. 1	*+besū = CV-	-ba Ch-
2	*+beses = CV-	-ba C-
3	*+beset = CV-	-b C-
pl. 1	*+besomo = CV-	-ban Ch-
2	+besete = CV-	-bad Ch-
3	*+besont = CV-	-bat Ch- (irregular)

Preterite

sg. 3	*+bowe =CV-	-bo Ch-
pl. 1	*+bāsmor =CV-	-bommar C-
3	*+bāntor =CV-	-btar C-

The foregoing list could be extended, but it is sufficient as it stands to show the overriding regularity of the occurrence of lenition after forms originally ending in a vowel. To the sporadic irregularities noted above, we may contrast the consistent irregularities of the non-relative absolute forms with the respect of lenition (the relative forms of course lenite regularly; e.g., *esti+yo = CV- → as Ch-, *senti+yo = CV- → ata Ch-, etc.). Thus:

Present Indicative

sg. 1	*esmi = CV-	am C- (irregular)
3	*esti = CV-	is C- (irregular)
pl. 1	*esmesi = CV-	ammi C- (irregular)
3	*senti = CV-	it C- (irregular)

It may be noted here that the forms *ma+esti+u = CV- and *ma+senti+u = CV- give *massu* Ch- and *matu* Ch-, with expected lenition, as opposed to *esti = C- and *senti = C-, without it, although all four forms stand before close junctures. (The forms of the second person are left out of consideration above, because they have been combined with the personal pronouns and thus deviate from the pattern: *esi+tu → at, *sete+swes → adib.)

Present Subjunctive

sg. 1	*besū = CV-	ba C- (irregular)

(This is the only attested form which can securely be reconstructed with a final vowel.)

Preterite

    sg. 3 **bowe = CV-*   *ba C-* (irregular)

(The other forms of the absolute preterite are either combined with pronominal emphasizing particles or are not securely reconstructable).

    Even if it were argued that non-lenition has been extended throughout the paradigms of the present subjunctive and the preterite on the basis of the more numerous forms after which it is historically justified, one would still be left with the irregularities of the present indicative. The assumption of some entity as **is*, intervening between the copula and the predicate, would remove these irregularities. Those who have suggested this explanation of the facts have also proposed that the same entity stood between the preverb and the verb (tonic portion) and prevented lenition of the consonantal initial of the tonic portion. We have seen the difficulties involved in explaining the phonology of the compound verb if such an entity is not present. When we add to these the irregularities encountered in the phonology of the copula phrase, the great explanatory simplicity introduced by assuming the intervention of a particle is compelling. The only difference between the theory proposed here and those proposed by other scholars is in identifying the particle as **ed* rather than **is* (more properly, **es*). The choice of **ed* over **is* has been made not only because of the parallel of Vedic *id* but because the choice of **is* encounters various difficulties. Among these are:

    (1) The use of the nominative masculine *qua* particle is unlikely (see above, p. 11).

    (2) If it is assumed that **is* had a purely pronominal value, we find that the theory assigns it to a place in the pretonic complex otherwise occupied only by particles (**de*, **yo*, **kʷe*). Pronouns otherwise only in oblique cases, occupy *third* position (Prev+Conn+Pro).

    (3) Again, if **is* is purely pronominal in origin, there is no compelling reason for its extension to all persons, numbers, and genders.

    (4) Pronouns used to underline the subject (or object) of a verb, whether they are personal or demonstrative in origin, are placed *after* the verbal complex.

    Given these considerations, we may propose that at some stage in the history of Irish, the following patterns existed:

    Simple Verb: Verb + **ed* + (Pro)
    Compound Verb: Prev + **ed* + (Pro) = Verb (Tonic Portion)

    In the case of verbs other than the copula, these patterns would lead us to expect no lenition after forms of the simple verb and lenition after those forms of the compound verb which ended in a

vowel, *so long as the verb and any word following it are syntactically bracketed as a close group*. Such bracketing would be natural in the case of verb and following object or adverbial phrase, since these are expansions of the node 'verb phrase'. It appears, however, that for whatever reason, such phrases were not consistently bracketed as close groups, with the result that there is variation between lenition and non-lenition. This inconsistency in bracketing may well be connected with the effect of the 'scrambling' rule which introduces the subject noun, the expansion of the node 'noun phrase', between the members of the verb phrase. The 'scrambling' rule does not affect the copula-predicate noun/adjective phrase, and, as we have noted, lenition and non-lenition occur where our theory would predict them.

Our theory, then, assumes the presence, in every verb form, of a particle *ed*, unless it is replaced by some other particle, such as *yo*, *k^we*, or *de*. The distribution of these particles is clearcut in Old Irish, but we need not assume that this was the original distribution, and it is not essential to our theory to do so. We need only say that when at some stage in the history of Irish *de* and *k^we* (or their reflexes) became specialized in function, forms containing *ed* (or its reflexes) were used where these specialized functions were not required[4].

At this point we are confronted with a difficulty. We have seen that the presence of the particle *ed* will explain the absence of lenition in the infixed and suffixed pronouns of the first and second

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[4] The condition that preverbs originally ending in a consonant must be followed by *de* before a pronoun may be original; cf. the conditions governing the distribution of perfectives particles according to the shape of the preverb. But such a restriction is striking, and there is *a priori* no reason why the pattern with *ed* could not have included these preverbs as well. If such a pattern did exist, giving forms like *assum*, *assut*, *as* N/L < *eks+ed+me*, *eks+ed+te*, *eks+e(n)* (for the third person forms, see pp. 85–86), it is possible to see why it was given up. Watkins, *Celtica* 6:27, has shown that in the third person singular masculine and neuter new exclusively relative forms were created for preverbs ending in a consonant. On the model of the opposition *ar : arid* N/L the opposition *as : assid* N/L, *fris : frissid* N/L, etc., was developed, giving rise to a new paradigm *asdom, asdot*, etc., like *ardom, ardot* etc. Now in the case of *ar*, for example, the pattern for the third person singular masculine and neuter is:

	Preverb Alone	Preverb with Pronoun Non-Relative	Preverb with Pronoun Relative
		ara N/L	arid N/L
	ar		
Similarly:	fo	fa N/L (= fo + a N/L)	fod N/L
That is:	x_1	$x_1 + y_1$	$x_1 + z_1$

But in the case of *as*, for example, we have:

	Preverb Alone	Preverb with Pronoun Non-Relative	Preverb with Pronoun Relative
	as	as N/L	assid N/L
That is:	x_2	$x_2 + \phi$	$x_2 + z_2$

The pressure for isomorphism will tend towards the replacement of $x_2 + \phi$ (*as* N/L) by $x_2 + y_2$, i.e. by the form available in *at* N/L (= *as* + *d* N/L) with its attendant paradigm (*atom, atot*, etc.).

persons singular. If we fill out the paradigm by adding the pronouns of the third person singular masculine and neuter, the predicted forms do not correspond to the forms actually attested. That is to say, we have no forms like the following:

$$*wo+ed+e(n)^{\cdot} = \;\; \rightarrow \;\; *fod \text{ N/L}$$
$$*bereti+ed+e(n) \;\; \rightarrow \;\; *beirthid$$

but only:

$$*w(o)+e(n) = \;\; \rightarrow \;\; fa \text{ N/L}$$
$$*bereti+e(n) \;\; \rightarrow \;\; beirthi$$

Now we might be able to make a case for the reshaping of the infixed pronoun on the following lines: we could say that at a certain point the dental element is dropped in order to give a clear contrast between relative forms, henceforward containing the dental from *de, and non-relative forms, with the dental from *ed deleted. But it is virtually impossible to determine at what point such a reshaping might have taken place, and without the vital chronological information, we are at a complete loss to predict the phonological reflexes. Such an explanation would moreover say nothing to the problem of the suffixed pronouns, since these are out of the question in a relative form. In view of these difficulties, I think we must simply say that we have to do with an early reduction rule, which replaces the string $*+ed+e(n)$ with $*+\phi+e(n)$. We may note in this connection that there is a similar omission of a particle in the verbal system. The particle *de, for instance, is lacking when the negative particle is combined with the third person singular present indicative of the copula:

$$*ne+de+esan \;\; \rightarrow \;\; nida \text{ L}^{5}$$
$$*ne+de+esi \;\; \rightarrow \;\; nida \text{ L}^{5}$$
but: $*ne+\phi+est \;\; \rightarrow \;\; ní$

Note also that *de is present before the third person plural, just as *ed is present before the third person plural pronoun:

$$*ne+de+sent \;\; \rightarrow \;\; nidat$$
like: $*wo+ed+sus(s) \;\; \rightarrow \;\; fos$

We may in fact have a trace of a pattern in which *ed is not omitted before *e(n). As is well known, there is an anomalous shift

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[5] I assume with Greene, Ériu 19 : 73–74, that we do not have *nada in the first and second persons because the paradigm has been reshaped on the basis of the third person singular. See also p. 90. The forms nita, etc., are of course delenited from nida, etc., on the basis of the mutation behaviour of the negative particle.

from Class A to Class B in the third person 'infixed' pronouns used with the copula.   The paradigm in Old Irish is:

<div align="center">

sg. 1   *issum*

2   *issut*

3 m. *issid* N

n.   *issid* L

f.   *isda*

</div>

The first and second persons by our theory would reflect *esti+ed+me* and *esti+ed+te*.   A third person form *esti+ed+e(n)* would give the attested *issid* N/L, identical to the attested Class B forms. Because of this identity of the masculine and neuter pronouns in this form with those of Class B, the feminine form would be reshaped to bring it into line with Class B, giving *isda* rather than the expected *issus* (the same may be said for the third person plural form *isda*). This proposal seems preferable to leaving the shift from Class A to Class B unexplained; we need only assume that the copula has retained a pattern given up elsewhere.

We may now deal in detail with the phonological behavior of the particle *ed*.

With pronouns the /d/ of *ed* will assimilate regularly to the consonantal initial of the pronoun, and the resulting geminate will undergo simplification and lenition.   Thus:

		Assimila-tion	Simplifi-cation	Lenition
sg. 1	-ed-me-	-emme-[6]		-eMe-
2	-ed-te-	-ette-[6]		-ete-
3 f.	-ed-sen-[7]	-essen-		-esen-
pl. 1	-ed-snes-	-essnes-	-esnes-	-eNes-
2	-ed-swes-	-esswes-	-eswes-	-efes-
3	-ed-suss-	-essuss-	-essus-	-esus-

For such developments as *-edsnes- → *-essnes- → *-esnes- and *-edswes- → *-esswes- → *-eswes-, cf. *keng-smen → *kenk-smen → *kenssmen → *kensmen (→ *kēsmen → *kĕmmen → *k'ēm'men → *k'ēM'en → *k'ēM' céimm) and *org-st → *orsst → *orst → *ort → *oRt ort. This development of course explains why, in spite of the presence of the particle, the pronoun of the second person plural appears in lenited form.

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[6] Cf. *ammus* < *ad+med+tu-*, attach < *ad+tek+o-*.

[7] Whether the pronoun here was *siyān* originally is not at issue.   From the point of view of Old Irish phonology it behaves as if it were *sen*, and I have so represented it.   In like manner the forms given here and elsewhere in this paper for the other pronouns are portmanteau reconstructions, the vocalism of which is not important for our discussion.   We are only concerned with the consonantism.   The forms could equally well be represented as *snVs*, etc.

With an initial stop or /s/ of the tonic portion assimilation will take place, and the resulting geminate will be treated as above.   For example:

*eks+ed	= bere	
*esseb	= bere	Assimilation
*esse	= bbere	Metathesis
*ese	= bere	Lenition
*es'e	= b'er'e	Palatalization
*es'	= b'er'	Truncation
as	= b'er'	Depalatalization and Loss of Vowel Quality in Proclitics

as·beir

Tonic portions beginning with /l, r, n/ also appear with an unlenited initial, although we would expect to find these consonants lenited when following /d/, since such sequences normally remain unassimilated, with each member subsequently undergoing lenition.   Tonic portions beginning with /w/, moreover, appear with [f], whereas the normal development of /w/ after /d/ is to [v].   Since we are dealing with compound verbs, it is likely that we have to do here with the relationship between the simplex and its compounded forms.   Once the phonological changes have taken place and the original shape of the particles and pronouns obscured, the mere prefixation of a preverb to form a compound will have no effect on the following initial stop or /s/; e.g., cingid → do·cing.   Any change in the initial of the tonic portion will now take place only in certain morphologically or syntactically marked environments, as, for example, in relative clauses or in the presence of certain of the infixed pronouns.   We may assume that this pattern of relationships is extended from verbs with initial stop or /s/ to include all verbs, producing a uniform system.   Hence the phonologically unjustified presence of unlenited [L, N, R] and of [f].

Before a verb beginning with a vowel there will be no trace of */d/.   The syllable */ed/ will behave like any other final syllable before close juncture and be truncated to zero.

Since the process of consonantal assimilation can be placed in the Common Celtic period, we may ask here whether there are any traces of the particle *ed in Brythonic.   In answer to this we note that the infixed pronouns for the first and second persons singular have the shapes -m- [M] and -th- [th] in Welsh and Cornish and that the consonantism of the corresponding pronouns in Breton is m and z.   These must reflect *-mm- and *-tt-.   Since there is no sound reason for the rise of geminate clusters in the case of the pronouns other than assimilation, we may assume that such geminates show

the original presence of the particle and that the use of *ed goes back at least to the Common Celtic period. Note that the Brythonic evidence corroborates our theory about Irish, because the shapes -m- and -th- ~ -z-, rather than merely unlenited m and t, show that it is a question not of non-lenition but of gemination brought about by assimilation. Reflexes of geminate clusters do not of course appear in the initial consonant of the verb in Brythonic because of the pressure of verbs beginning with consonants other than /p t k/, where the operation of lenition on original geminate clusters has produced simple consonants which are identical to unlenited consonants (i.e., -d-b- → -bb- → -b-, identical to original /b/ which has not undergone lenition), and because of the abandonment of deuterotonic verb forms.

In the case of the combination of *ed with a preceding element ending in a vowel certain difficulties arise. Following most consonants a short vowel, either alone or followed by a consonant, as well as a long vowel *not* followed by a consonant, disappears as the result of the truncation of final syllables, as we have seen in the example of *eks+ed = bere above. When, however, certain short and long vowels stand in hiatus with certain other words, they are retained rather than truncated. The clearest cases in which this treatment is observed are as follows:

(1) *-Cīū → -C'íu ~ -C'u
  do·gníu < *de+ed = gnīū cf. do·biur < *to+ed = berū
  céiliu   < *keiliū   cf. fiur   < *wirū

(2) *-Cāe(C)   →   -Ce
  ·laë   <   * = lāest   cf. ·léic   <   * = lankest

(3) *-Cāī   →   -Ci
  ·mórai   <   * = mōrāi   cf. ·bir   <   * = berī

(4) *-Coī   →   -Coí ~ -Ci
  ·soí   <   * = soī   cf. ·bir   <   * = berī

(5) *-Coe   →   -Coí ~ -Ci
  foí   →   *wo+en
  cuccai   →   *konko+en (replacing earlier *ko+en → *coí)

On the basis of the above we would expect the following:
  *to+ed   →   tóe ~ toí (dóe ~ doí)   *dóe·beir
  *ro+ed   →   róe ~ roí   *róe·cluinethar
  *wo+ed   →   fóe ~ foí   *fóe·cíallathar

Again, when a pronoun follows the particle *ed, we might expect the following (using *me as an example):
  *to+ed+me   →   toäm (doäm)
  *ro+ed+me   →   roäm
  *wo+ed+me   →   foäm

For this treatment, cf. *doäib* < **do+ebis*, *diīb* < **de+ebis*; in the pretonic portion: *foä* N < **wo+sen*, *diä* N < **de/do+sen* (prepositional relative)[8].

The sequence **Co-ed* can therefore not have remained as such, and the vowel of one or the other syllable has been dropped: either **Co-ed* → **Co-d*, or **Co-ed* → **C-ed*. Further data make it possible to choose between the alternatives **Co-d* and **C-ed*. It appears certain that an original /e/ in a proclitic syllable has developed to]a] in Classical Old Irish. That this is true of proclitic syllables is evident from forms such as *ina* 'in his', Archaic Old Irish *ine*, < **in+esyo*. For proclitics, we have the following examples:

*sen	→	*a* N (neuter article)
*eks	→	*a*
*esyo	→	*a* L
*let(s)	→	*la*
*ne+kʷe	→	*nach* L
*ne+de	→	*nad* L
(**ari+yo* →) **are+(y)o*	→	*ara*

On the other hand an original /o/ is regularly preserved in proclitics, as will be clear from the following:

*ko	→	*co*
*kom	→	*co* N
*do	→	*do* L
*wo	→	*fo* L

It would appear then that the hypothetical sequence **C-ed* would result in **Ca* and that the product of elision in this case is **Co-d*, which would yield the expected and attested *Co*. This suggestion is given further support by the behavior of combinations of preverbs of the shape *Co* with the pronouns of the third person singular masculine and neuter. Here again elision has clearly taken place, and the result is most easily explained as follows (using **wo*):

Without pronoun: **wo+ed* = → **wo+d* = → **wo* =   *fo*
With pronoun: **wo+e(n)* = → **w̄+e(n)* = → **wa* = (*n*) *fa* N/L

The simplest conclusion to draw from these data is that the vowel of **ed* was elided after any vowel. This gives us the most natural explanation of the relative negative *na* (non-leniting): **ne+ed* → **ne+d* → *na*. That the sequence **-e-c-* did not always yield *-ē-* is clear from Class B and C infixed pronouns of the third person masculine and neuter; **de+e(n)* → **d+e(n)* → *-d-*N/L(**dēn* would of course have yielded **-dī-* N). The vocalism of the non-relative negative *nī* may be assumed to have been extended from the copula; since the copula is the 'zero verb', the form *nī* < **nēst* < **ne+est* is

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analyzed as $n\breve{\imath} + \phi$, equivalent in structure to $n\breve{\imath} + $ *full verb*. The vocalism is further reinforced by the result of the combination of the masculine and neuter pronouns with the negative particle: $*ne+e(n) \rightarrow *n\bar{e}(n) \rightarrow n\bar{\imath}$ N/L. We would otherwise expect the non-relative negative to be na[9].

There remains a final phonological detail to be dealt with. This has to do with the shape of the pronouns after the particle $*de$. We would expect these to be lenited, but in fact they are unlenited. That lenition took place after $*de$ cannot be doubted in the face of such forms as da (sg. 3 f.), dob (pl. 2), and da (pl. 3):

*de+sen	*de+swes	*de+sus(s)	
*dehen	*defeh	*dehus(s)	Lenition
*d'ehen	*d'ef'eh	*d'ehus(s)	Palatalization
*d'eh	*d'ef'	*d'eh	Truncation
*d'e		*d'e	Loss of *h*
	*d'ev'		Voicing
da	dov	da	Depalatalization and Loss of Vowel Quality

It seems clear that the lenited forms of the first and second person singular have been given up in favour of the unlenited forms of Class A. It is not difficult to understand why this has happened. From the point of view of Old Irish, the pronouns of Classes B and C are derived from those of Class A by the prefixing of an element -*do*- and thus stand in relation to Class A as derived forms to basic forms. This means that they will be subject to analogical pressure from the unlenited forms of Class A. To this we can add the fact that in the first and second persons plural the shape of the pronouns would be identical in all three classes; e.g., $*ed+swes \rightarrow -b-$, $*de+swes \rightarrow -do-b-$, as well as the fact that the forms of Classes A and C are in free variation in the first and second persons. All these factors will exert pressure in the direction of uniformity of shape. The lenited forms of Classes B and C, da (sg. 3 f.) and da (pl. 3) are capable of resisting pressure, because after the loss of *h* there is no clear phonological relationship between [s] and [h] on which analogical change can be based. In spite of this, however, the lenited forms begin to be replaced by unlenited forms dos (sg. 3 f.) and dos (pl. 3) in the course of the ninth century.

[9] The initial mutations associated with the non-relative negative particle in Mediaeval Welsh also support the idea that a particle such as $*ed$ was present. In Mediaeval Welsh we have the spirant mutation of /p t k/ after *ny*, which indicates original gemination. For /b d g m/ things are clearly in a state of flux; non-mutation (the result of the lenition of original geminate clusters) is giving way to lenition, whereby a new system develops in which *ny* is followed by some kind of mutation, i.e. all mutable consonants are mutated. In Cornish and Breton the system has been simplified; Cornish has uniform lenition and Breton has no mutation (lenition is assumed for Old Breton, but as this is not indicated in the writing system, it is not certain).

The result of the virtual abandonment of lenition after *de* is that Irish has simplified the phonological shape of the pronouns by giving up a variation in sound which is morphologically redundant; the sign of Classes B and C becomes simply prefixed -*do*-. This uniformity in the shape of the pronouns is further extended to the 'conjugated prepositions'. Here again we would expect lenition of *me*, *te*, etc. after prepositions ending in a vowel, as we have in Welsh in the case, e.g., of the first person singular ending -*f* [v] < *-V-me*, as against the corresponding infixed pronoun -*m*- [M]. The fact that in many cases the same words function as both preverbs and prepositions has of course assisted in this levelling. The explanation for the lack of levelling in Welsh may well have to do with the fact that the separate identity of the preverbs is not preserved.

Having dealt with the phonological particulars of the particle *ed*, we may now look at some further consequences of assuming the presence of such a particle (other than the explanation of the absence of lenition and truncation already mentioned).

The first of these has to do with the form of the passive preterite. As Thurneysen saw, these forms reflect the past passive participle in *-to*- which has been integrated into the verbal system as an inflexional form. The participial forms alone, however, are not sufficient to explain the Old Irish forms. Thus, for example, the absolute forms *brethae* (sg.) and *brithi* (pl.) (unattested, but not in doubt) cannot come from *britos* and *briti* (< *br̥tos*, *br̥tī*). Nor can *brethae* reflect *britios*, with substitution of the ending *-tio*-, as Watkins appears to suggest (*Indogermanische Grammatik*, Bd. III/1 *Formenlehre*, pp. 184–185). The form *britios* would yield *brithe*, with *i*-vocalism in the first syllable and palatalized *th*, not *e*-vocalism and non-palatalized *th*. If, however, we assume that singular *britos*, plural *britī*, integrated into the paradigm of the simple verb, are followed, like any other form of the simple verb, by *ed*, the forms *brethae* and *brithi* are sufficiently explained:

$$*britos+ed \qquad \rightarrow brethae$$
$$*britī+ed \quad \rightarrow *britī+d \rightarrow brithi$$

The development of the sequence *-osed* to -*e* is regular: short vowels in final syllables preceded by /w/ or /s/ are not truncated, as can be seen from *mogae* < *mugowes* and *benai* < *binasi*. In the case of *britos+ed*, the development is as follows:

*britos+ed	
*bretosed	Lowering
*brethohed	Lenition
*b'r'ethohed	Palatalization
*b'r'ethohe	Truncation

*b'r'eth-he	Syncope
b'r'ethe	Loss of *h*
brethae	

The conjunct forms ·*breth* (sg.) and ·*bretha* (pl.) are of course what we would expect. The schema for the preterite passive is then (using *berid* and *do·beir* as examples):

Absolute

sg.	**britōs+ed*	→	*brethae*	**to+d* = *britos*	→	*do·breth*
pl.	**britī+d*	→	**brithi*	**to+d* = *britās*	→	*do·bretha*

It may still be objected that *brethae* can reflect **britos+es*, with the subject pronoun, as well as **britos+ed*, with the particle. Certainly the use of the pronoun **es* with a form undifferentiated for person is reasonable, but then we would surely expect **britos+me*, **britos+tu*, etc., for the other persons, if the pronominal subject is to be made unambiguous. None of these is attested. Furthermore we would have to explain why, if there are no attestations of **britos+me*, etc., the form **britos+es* is extended to all persons, thus reestablishing the ambiguity. The situation is further not comparable to the extension, seen in other Indo-European languages, of the third person reflexive pronoun to all persons, because in these the identity of the subject is given by the verbal desinances or by personal pronouns. Again, if the subject is to be made clear by the use of pronouns, there is a separate set of emphasizing pronouns for this purpose. Finally, if **es* is to be interpreted as a mere particle rather than a pronoun, we may reiterate the objections to such an explanation given above (see p. 80). Thurneysen, who suggested that there must have been an entity of one sort or another after the absolute forms of the passive preterite to explain the attested shapes, was correct.

A second consequence of assuming the presence of a particle **ed* has to do with the shape of the absolute endings, particularly the endings -*u* (sg. 1) and -*i* (sg. 2). As is well known, such forms as *biru*, *biri* cannot reflect simply **berū*, **berī*, since these would yield *biur*, *bir*. If, however, we assume that **ed* follows the simple verb, according to the pattern **Verb + ed* suggested above, the attested forms of the absolute endings for these persons are precisely what we would predict, given the phonological behavior of the particle. Thus, with **ed*, the paradigm of the present indicative of the uncompounded root **ber-* would be:

sg.	1	**berū+d*	→	*biru*
	2	**berī+d*	→	*biri*
	3	**bereti+d*	→	*berid*
pl.	1	**berosmesi+d*	→	*bermai*
	3	**beronti+d*	→	*berait*

G

For the second person plural, the most doubtful of all the absolute forms, the form *beretes+ed would give the attested beirthe (for the form *beretes, see Meid, op. cit., pp. 58–59).

Such an explanation seems preferable to the suggestion that the relative forms of the first and second persons singular, *berū+yo and berī+yo (→ biru, biri), have shifted to a non-relative function, or to the various analogical processes that have been proposed. One of these analogies suggests that the forms biur and bir, originally serving for both absolute and conjunct, were replaced by biru, biri (absolute), biur, bir (conjunct) on the model of B II verbs, where final *-ū and *-ī are preserved because of the preceding stem formant *-i- (the suggestion is Wagner's and is endorsed by Meid, op. cit., p. 52). But this explanation cannot hold: the absolute and conjunct forms of the first and second persons singular of B II verbs are identical: e.g., absolute gaibiu, gaibi, conjunct ·gaibiu, ·gaibi < *gabiū, *gabiī. It is very difficult to see how a differentiation can be brought about by an identity. Why, for example, would the pair absolute gaibiu: conjunct gaibiu give absolute biru: conjunct biur rather than absolute biur: conjunct biur? And why not absolute biru: conjunct biru? Another, slightly more probable, analogical explanation is suggested by Watkins (Indogermanische Grammatik, B III/1, Formenlehre, p. 163 and proposes that a final u is restored to biur < *berū in much the same way that the Latin genitive singular feminine -ae < *-āī is later restored to -āī. In Latin there is a clear analogical proportion:

$$vir\text{-}\phi : vir\text{-}\bar{\imath} :: agricol\bar{a}\text{-}\phi : agricol\bar{a}\text{ -}\bar{\imath}$$

but it is very doubtful, if such pairs as biru : biur do not exist, whether there is any base-derivative relation in Irish between forms ending in -ᵘC (with glide) and -Cu (with full vowel). The model of fiur [f'iᵘr] (dat. sg.) : firu [f'iru] (acc. pl.) will not do, because the dative singular and accusative plural are not terms of a base-derivative pair. This explanation is even less satisfactory when applied to bir : biri, because here the alternates -ᶦC' : -C'i do not exist.

If our theory is to have any value, it must include the deponent as well as the active paradigm. The deponent paradigm with *ed accompanying the uncompounded forms would be as follows (using root *mol-):

	Absolute			Conjunct	
sg. 1	*molūr+ed	*moluir	(X+ed=)	*molūr	·molur
2	*molāter+ed	*moltair	,,	*molāter	·moltar
3	*molātori+d	molaithir[10]	,,	*molātor	·molathar[10]
pl. 1	*molāsmori+d	molaimmir[10]	,,	*molāsmor	·molammar[10]
3	*molāntori+d	molaitir[10]	,,	*molāntor	·molatar[10]

[10] These forms are of course not direct reflexes, since the expected syncope is absent and the initial consonants of the absolute endings are of the wrong quality. The absence

The forms *moluir and *moltair are not attested, but it is not very difficult to see the reason for this. The dominant pattern, to which only Class B I is an exception, is identity of absolute and conjunct endings for the first and second person singular. Since the absolute forms are derivational with respect to the conjunct forms (absolute = conjunct + vowel/palatalization, as well as the fact that absolute forms are a restricted subclass of the total class of verb forms), it is the conjunct forms which will provide the basis for reshaping the absolute endings. Hence, *moluir and *moltair are replaced by molur and moltar.

The explanation of the differentiation of the absolute and conjunct endings as arising in part from the effect of a particle or pronoun has been suggested by various scholars (for details, see Meid, op. cit.). One of the most damaging criticisms levelled against it has been the fact that the suffixless preterite, which reflects the Indo-European perfect, shows only a feeble and probably late distinction between absolute and conjunct endings, while at the same time there is no reason, other than a merely ad hoc one, for the absence of the particle or pronoun from this category.

There can be little doubt that, as far as the original endings themselves are concerned, there was no distinction between forms with the deictic particle *i and those lacking it, for the very good reason that endings with *i would not yield the attested absolute forms. This is not to say, however, that a particle such as *ed was not used with the perfect. Indeed, in view of the paucity and lateness of the attestation of absolute forms of the perfect, we have no sure way of telling whether the endings of the absolute and conjunct were originally identical or not and thus no way of conclusively rejecting the presence of a particle. Since there is no inherent reason, as there is in the case of the imperative (see below), why the proposed particle should be lacking in the perfect, let us assume that it was in fact present and examine the consequences. If we assume that uncompounded forms were followed by *ed, we would have the following paradigm (using the root *ret-):

	Simple		Compound		
1	*rāta+d	ráth	(X+ed=)	*rāta	·ráth
2	*rātas+ed	*ráthae	,,	*rātas	·ráth
3	*rāte+d	ráith	,,	*rāte	·ráith
1	*rātasmor+ed	ráthaimmir[10]	,,	*rātasmor	·ráthammar[10]
3	*rātantor+ed	ráthaitir[10]	,,	*rātantor	·ráthatar[10]

of syncope has been explained by Watkins, Indogermanische Grammatik, Bd. III/1, Formenlehre, pp. 185–186. As for the quality of the consonants in question, palatalization has been taken over from the active forms. It is interesting to note that the basic forms of these endings in the synchronic grammar of Old Irish are now ·tiri, ·smiri, and ·ntiri as a result of this change.

Now a very likely result of the fact that in the basic member of the paradigm, the third person singular, the forms are identical would be the tendency to abandon any distinction between simple and compound forms: ·*ráith* : *ráith* :: ·*ráth* : *ráth* :: ·*ráth* : *ráth* :: ·*ráthatar* : *ráthatar*, etc. That such identity of endings throughout a paradigm is possible is clearly shown by the paradigm of the imperative, where no distinction exists between absolute and conjunct forms, despite the pressure exerted by the rest of the verbal system. Countering this tendency, however, is the pressure to maintain a distinction, dictated by the presence of a clear distinction in forms of the preterite which reflect the aorist. Hence the variation between *ráthaitir* and *ráthatar* in the absolute. Before either tendency is brought to completion, however, the distinction between absolute and conjunct forms is made irrelevant by the extension of the perfective particle to all forms of the preterite.

The deponent endings of the suffixless preterite are of course identical to the active endings in the plural, and no special attention need be given them. In the singular, the deponent endings appear to have been reshaped on the model of the active endings: -*r*, -*r*, -*r′* like -*C*, -*C*, -*C′*, and can contribute nothing either for or against our theory. As for the deponent endings of the *s*-preterite, they appear to follow the model of the corresponding endings of the deponent present.

Another difficulty confronts us in the forms of the imperative. We have previously made the point that the phonological behavior of the copula phrase is very important in supporting the theory of an intervening particle. Now all forms of the imperative of the copula lenite the consonantal initial of the following word. This means that **ed* cannot have been present. The imperative, however, is precisely the verbal category where the absence of **ed* is natural; the imperative, like the vocative, is an extrasyntactic category, and one would not expect a 'connector'. That connectors of any of the attested varieties were absent is shown by the fact that compound verbs are protonic in the imperative; the connectors are always followed by the stress, and the presence of one after the first preverb would automatically engender a deuterotonic form. As soon as a pronominal object is used with the imperative, however, it follows the pattern dictated by the system: *Prev + Conn + Pro = Verb*. The presence of reflexes of connectors in this pattern can of course neither support nor weaken a theory proposing the absence of **ed* in the imperative, because the pattern for infixing pronouns is obligatory in the synchronic system of Old Irish.

A final consequence of assuming the presence of a particle **ed* has to do with the ending of the second person singular of the *ā*-subjunctive.

Although only the so-called secondary endings, i.e. those lacking the deictic particle *i, are proper to the subjunctive, there is *a priori* no reason why the Celtic languages, which use the particle in a rather different way, should not have extended it to the subjunctive. If we assume, however, that *i has been extended to the subjunctive, we have the greatest difficulty in explaining the ending -*e* of the second person singular. By the simplest possible hypothesis the second person singular of the root *$m\bar{o}r$-, for example, would be *$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}si$ (i.e., *$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}s$+i) which could only give *$m\acute{o}rai$. If, on the other hand, we take the form as *$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}s$+ed, we get the expected reflex *mórae*. Taking the paradigm as a whole, we would have

		Simple			*Compound*	
sg.	1	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}m$+ed	*$m\acute{o}raim$	(X+ed =)	*$m\bar{o}r\breve{a}m$	·*mór*
	2	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}s$+ed	*mórae*	,,	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}s$	*·*móra*
	3	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}t$+ed	*móraid*	,,	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}t$	·*móra*
pl.	1	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}smo$+d	*móram*	,,	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}smo$	·*móram*
	3	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}nt$+ed	*mórait*	,,	*$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}nt$	·*mórat*

Leaving the first person singular out of consideration for the moment, we see not only that the third person forms of the absolute are identical to the corresponding forms of the present indicative, but also that the conjunct forms, with the exception of the second person singular, do not differ from the present indicative. The second person singular conjunct, in being identical to the third person singular conjunct, deviates moreover from the pattern in a way that is unique in the system of the endings of the active and is therefore vuknerable. Since the subjunctive is clearly felt to be derived from the present indicative, as is shown in the case of A II verbs, in which the pfesent stem is extended to the subjunctive (i.e., the opposition $Root$+$\bar{i}$ (present) : $Root$+$\bar{a}$ (subjunctive) is replaced by $Root$+$\bar{i}$: $Root$+$\bar{i}$+$\bar{a}$), the pattern of the present is imposed on the subjunctive, giving identity in the endings of the second person singular absolute and conjunct (*mórai* : ·*mórai* :: *mórae* : X, X = ·*mórae*) and providing a distinction in the endings of the first person plural corresponding to that already present in the third person plural (*mórait* : ·*mórat*). The second person plural, whatever its original form, will be carried along with the other plural endings.

The first person singular stays outside the pattern and remains something of a mystery. Clearly, the conjunct form has not been touched by the processes which have reshaped the rest of the paradigm (perhaps because the first and second persons singular of the conjunct are the only forms which are distinct from the indicative). Given the untouched form ·*mór* < *$m\bar{o}r\breve{a}m$ < *$m\bar{o}r\bar{a}m$, there is a possibility of explaining why the absolute form *$m\acute{o}raim$ has been

replaced by *móra*. The form *·mór*, without a vocalic ending, has
the same shape as the corresponding form of the *s*-subjunctive; e.g.
·tías (= Stem + ϕ). Now the pattern of the endings of the first
person singular of the *s*-subjunctive is Stem + ϕ (conjunct) : Stem +
Vowel (absolute); e.g., *·tías* : *tíasu*. This pattern would appear to
have been imposed on the *ā*-subjunctive, with the result that the
final consonant of **móraim* is subtracted, giving *móra*. That there
is a special relationship between the first person singular endings
of the *ā*- and *s*-subjunctives is suggested by the fact that in the
future, which is formally based on the subjunctive, the endings
have been interchanged; e.g. *mórfa* : *·mórub* (not **·morab*), *gigsea*
(not **gigsiu*) : *·gigius*.

In conclusion we may summarize our main points:

(1) Lack of lenition and truncation lead us to posit the presence
of an entity **-VC-* as part of the pretonic portion of the verbal
complex. The position of unlenited and untruncated consonants
demands that this entity be located in second position in the pretonic
portion.

(2) Second position in the pretonic portion is that occupied by
'connecting' particles, which leads us to assume that the entity
*-VC- is a particle. Various further considerations suggest that
*-VC- be identified as **ed*.

(3) The pattern *Prev + *ed + (Pro) = Verb* is Common Celtic, as
indicated by Brythonic evidence. That the *dominant* pattern for
verbs without pronominal object is *Prev + *ed = Verb*, rather than
Prev + *kʷe = Verb or *Prev + *de = Verb*, suggests further that there
has been an early polarization of function in the 'connecting' particles
with **ed* generalized as a 'neutral' particle (with a grammatical
meaning 'beginning of sentence') and the other particles specialized
to certain morphological and semantic functions. That every verb
form is accompanied by a particle is striking, but in view of the luxuri-
ant use of particles in the early Celtic languages not surprising.
(Th function of **ed* as a 'connector' is incidentally renewed in Irish
by such particles as *dano*, *trá*, *iarum*. To this we may compare the
replacement of its functional counterpart *id* in Vedic by the particle
eva).

(4) The pattern *Verb + *ed* explains certain of the absolute endings.
The reflexes of the combination of **ed* with the original endings of
simple verbs have brought about, in certain persons of the paradigm,
a differentiation in form between simple and compound verbs which
reinforces that brought about by the deictic particle **i*.

(5) The foregoing pattern also explains the shape of the absolute
endings of the preterite passive and of the second person singular
of the *ā*-subjunctive.

The results of this investigation lead us to conclude that Pedersen, Thurneysen, Pokorny, and Dillon, all of whom have proposed the existence of an entity *-VC- of one shape or another, are correct.

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ADDENDUM

Since writing this paper, I have come to see the matters discussed on pages 89 and 90 in a somewhat different light. Such new thoughts as I have had I prefer to give here rather than in the body of the paper, because they do not affect the outcome of the argument in any way. They provide, I think, a more accurate account of what has happened in final syllables.

It has been suggested that a form like *gniu* is the result of a process *gnīū → *gnīujū → *gnīu, i.e. that the final *u* appearing in the historically attested form represents the epenthetic vowel ('*u*-glide') rather than the original final vowel. At first sight very attractive, this explanation encounters grave difficulties. In the first place, long vowels do not otherwise permit epenthesis. The verbal noun of *gniu*, for example, is *gnīm < *gnīmus*, not *gnium*. Again, the dative singular masculine and neuter of *fír* is *fír* (< *wīrū*), as opposed to *fiur* (< *wirū*). Forms like *éun*, dative singular of *én*, of course do not come into account here, because the vowel is originally short; in addition the *u* here is not epenthetic, because similar forms show that it has to do entirely with the presence of a following resonant (this is most clearly seen in the case of the genitive singular form *éuin*, since palatalization and *u*-epenthesis are mutually exclusive). In the second place, even if we were to allow epenthesis to take place here, in spite of its regular absence elsewhere in the system, there would remain the problem of the disappearance of *j*. It is noteworthy that the retention of the epenthetic vowel (or glide) depends on the presence of a tautosyllabic consonant following the vocalic nucleus; thus we have, for example, the difference between *fiur < *wirū* and *firu < *wirūs*, where the *r* in the second case goes with the following syllable and the glide has accordingly been deleted. This dependence on a tautosyllabic consonant is still true of the modern language, where, for example, *aīv'n'ə's → īv'n'əs* (*aoibhneas*), but *ən taīv'n'əs* (*an t-aoibhneas*) remains[1]. In order for the glide *u* of *gnīujū* to be retained therefore, the *j* must be present; in other words, after truncation, we must have *gnīuj*. Here we must ask how the sequence *uj* can have avoided identification with the diphthong *uj* (*ui*), giving a form *gníui*. If, on the other hand, we

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[1] The glide is of course *prevocalic* in Modern Irish because of the syllabic shift which has taken place.

awias	biwas	biwotūs(s)	
aweas	bewas	bewotūs(s)	
au̯eas	beu̯as	beǫtūs(s) beǫthūs(s)	
	b'eu̯as	b'eǫthūs(s)	
au̯e	b'eu̯	b'eǫthu	

b'ethu

	b'eǫ		
áue	*béo*	*bethu*	

logīswū	molāūr	kenoterākiū	gnīū
logiswu	molaur	kenoterakiu	gnīu
lugiswu			
lugiuswu			
lugiu̯swu	molau̯r	kenoterakiu̯	gnīu̯
lughiu̯fu²	molau̯r	kenotherakhiu̯	
lugh'iu̯fu		k'enoth'erakh'iu̯	g'n'īu̯
lugh'iu̯f			
		k'enth'erkh'iu̯	
		k'eNt'erkh'iu̯	
lughiu̯f		k'eNterkhiu̯	
lughau̯f		k'eNtarkhau̯	
lugbauf	molau̯r	k'eNtarkhau̯	
lughūf	molur	k'eNtarkhu	
lughuv			
·lugub	*molur*	*cen(n)tarchu*	*gníu*

² In actual fact, *f* is not the direct lenition product of /sw/; the produc
³ V→a between non-palatalized non-vocalics; V→e between a palatalized
⁴ Front glides are deleted before front vowels, back glides before back v
⁵ As, for example, in *·rubae.*
⁶ Since raising and u-epenthesis are closely related and since it cann
Hence *biwu* does not give *biuwu.*
⁷ That is to say, we have a low back glide after a low vowel (although th

₀os+ed	biwū	
	biwu	Vowel Shortening
tosed		Raising/Lowering
		Epenthesis
	biụ⁶	Diphthongization I
thohed		Lenition
thoęd		Diphthongization II
ethoęd	b'iụ	Palatalization
ethoę		Truncation
		Syncope
		Delenition
		Cons. Quality Adjustment
ethaę		Vowel Quality Adjustment
ethae		Syllabic Shift
		Glide Deletion
		Voicing
hae		Glide Assimilation[7]
	bíu	

ve	-Vbowe	binasi	mōrāī	mugowes	
			mōrai		Vowel Shortening
		benasi		mogowes	Raising/Lowering
					Epenthesis
	-Vboę		mōraị	mogoęs	Diphthongization I
	-Vbhoę	benahi	mōraị	moghoęh	Lenition
		benaị			Diphthongization II
		b'enaị			Palatalization
				moghoę	Truncation
					Syncope
					Delenition
					Cons. Quality Adjustment
	-Vbhaę			moghaę	Vowel Quality Adjustment[3]
	-Vbhaę	b'enaị	mōraị	moghaę	Syllabic Shift
					Glide Deletion[4]
					Voicing
	-Vbae[5]	benai	mórai	mogae	

t in order to simplify the table I have entered f at this point.

e and a non-palatalized non-vocalic; V→i between palatalized non-vocalics.

k glides which are postvocalic are also deleted before a heterosyllabic consonant.

n that w permits raising to take place, I assume here that w does not allow epenthesis.

to optional) and a high back glide after a high vowel. Hence $íu$ as opposed to $éo$.

assume that *j* has disappeared intervocalically in order to explain the absence of the expected diphthong, we return immediately to *gnīū*, since the glide vowel would also disappear. Again, if we do not grant, counter to the evidence provided by the system of the language, that the presence of the glide vowel is dependent on the presence of a following consonant, the disappearance of *j* would give *gnīu̯ū*, which could in no way be distinguished from *gnīū*.

There is a far simpler explanation which avoids all these difficulties, at the same time taking into account other phenomena connected with truncation and syncope. It is well known that resonants (l, r, m, n) and glides (w, y) frequently pattern closely together, and that in some languages, e.g. French, the liquids (l, r) in particular and the glides (w, y) behave alike. Thus in French it is the liquids and glides, of all the non-vocalic sounds, which escape truncation. In this connection it is significant that in Old Irish, the liquids are retained in final position. If we assume that a sequence like *īū* is diphthongized at some stage to *ĭu̯*, i.e. that we have a tautosyllabic glide rather than a heterosyllabic vowel, we can simply say that liquids and glides are not subject to truncation in Old Irish. Thus a form like *gnīū* becomes *gnīu̯* and remains untruncated exactly as does *for* < *wor*.

Now we know from a form like *cen(n)tarchu* > *kenoterākiū* that the final sound is *u*, not *u̯*, but this is no embarrassment, since we have to take into account shifts in syllabicity in any case to explain the development of Irish vocalism; we need the concept of syllabic shift, for example, to explain the vocalism of the final syllable of *do·lugub* < *to+ed* = *logīswū*, or of the final syllable of *molur* < *molāu̯r*. We need only assume that such syllabic shifts took place in Old Irish in *unstressed* syllables; in stressed syllables the syllabic center remains unshifted. The shift is of course later extended to include stressed syllables, giving the Modern Irish rising diphthongs. (Note that because of the syllabic shift, which restores the glides to full vocalic status, the original vowels are in effect retained).

We may finally note that the assumption of a diphthongal final syllable will remove some of the irregularities of syncope. In the form *k'enoth'erakh'iu̯* (< *kenoterākiū*), syncope proceeds regularly to give *k'en-th'er-kh'iu̯*, which after delenition, depatatalization, and syllabic shift becomes *cen(n)tarchu*. At the point where the form undergoes syncope, it has five syllables instead of six, and the second and fourth syllables are syncopated regularly, rather than the second, fourth, and fifth.

It is very possible that the process of diphthongization took place in two stages, one stage involving sequences containing intervocalic *w*, the other, those containing intervocalic *s*.

In the case of sequences with intervocalic *w*, it is most reasonable, from a phonetic point of view, to suppose that when *w* is preceded by a

rounded vowel (*o* or *u*), it disappears very early; there is virtually no audible difference between *owi* and *oi̯* or between *owe* and *oe̯*. This is because the *w* is merged into the rounding of the preceding vowel. With a preceding unrounded vowel, however, there is no merger, and there is the possibility of the *w* remaining to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel, leaving a following *e* or *i* syllabic. This happens, for example, with *awi* and *awe*, which become *au̯i* and *au̯e*. When the preceding vowel is both unrounded and front (*i* or *e*), there are two possibilities, depending on the vowel which follows *w*:

(1) If the following vowel is also front and unrounded (*i* or *e*), *w*, as far as Old Irish is concerned, disappears entirely. This is because a rounded glide, like *w*, is phonetically extremely unstable in sequences such as *iwe* or *iwi*. The most likely development of *w* in such environments is unrounding by assimilation to the surrounding unrounded vowels, giving *y*. Thus *iwi*, for example, would become *iyi*, which is barely distinguishable from *ii̯* (the development of *iyi* to *ii̯* is precisely analogous to the development of *owi* to *oi̯*).

(2) If the following vowel is *a*, the *w* forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel (e.g. *ewa* → *eu̯a*), and if it is *u* or *o*, the *w* will merge with the rounding of the vowel, giving, for example *iu̯* from *iwu*.

In the case of sequences involving intervocalic *s*, diphthongization cannot take place until *s* is replaced by *h*, whether this is regarded as a consequence of lenition or as an independent weakening. Since the alternation *s* : *h* patterns with the other tense : lax alternations in the system of initial mutations, the simplest hypothesis is to assume that the change of intervocalic *s* to *h* is a consequence of lenition. The weakening of *final s* may well be another process, one which goes together with the change of *o* to *a* in final syllables and the 'lenition' of final *l* and *r*.

Once *s* is replaced by *h* there is virtually no audible difference between, for example, *ahi* and *ai̯* or between *ohe* and *oe̯*, provided that the second of the two vowels is relatively unstressed, as would be the case at word end. (If the second of the two vowels is stressed, the *h* is quite naturally, from a phonetic point of view, retained; this explains why we have *a hech* 'her horse' < *esyās* = *ekʷas*.)

Finally, again from a phonetic point of view, diphthongs function as long vowels, so that whenever they occur in a final syllable followed by a tautosyllabic consonant they are retained like any other long vowel. The diphthongs, then, are retained when absolutely final because they represent sequences of vowel + glide, and glides (I suggest), like liquids, are not subject to truncation. Before final consonants they are 'protected' because they function as long vowels (that is to say, the sequence of vowel + glide is functionally equivalent to a long vowel).

The consequences of these assumptions may be seen from the examples between pages 99—100

MONGÁN MAC FIACHNA AND *IMMRAM BRAIN*

In Ireland the seventh century was marked by two closely related developments: the rapid extension of the use of writing in the Irish language and an extraordinary quickening of intellectual and artistic activity which was to continue far beyond the limit of the century. The immediate sources of this artistic renewal were the scriptoria of certain of the more progressive monasteries and its direct agents those monastic *literati* whom the Irish metrical tracts refer to by the significant title of *nualitride*, 'new men of *letters*'. While there is no reason to suppose that these individuals were confined to any one part of the country, nevertheless the evidence strongly suggests that it was only in the east, or more precisely in the south-east, of Ulster that their activities assumed something of the impetus and cohesiveness of a cultural movement. Here conservation and creativity went hand in hand: the relatively new skill of writing in the vernacular began to be vigorously exploited not only for the direct recording of secular oral tradition—heroic, mythological and the more strictly didactic—but also at the same time as a vehicle for the imaginative re-creation of certain segments of that tradition, so that one may with due reservations speak of this region of south-east Ulster as the cradle of written Irish literature.

In the present essay I propose to comment briefly on two of the products of these early scribes and littérateurs: *Immram Brain*, the lyrical account of Bran mac Febail's voyage to the otherworld, and *Cín Dromma Snechta* the lost manuscript compilation from which the several extant texts of the *Immram* ultimately derive. In subsequent articles I shall deal further with some of the matters touched upon here.

The literary importance of Cín Dromma Snechta lies primarily in the early date, approximately the first half of the eighth century, which Thurneysen felt justified in assigning to it on the basis of the linguistic character of a number of texts which, despite the fact that they survive in later manuscripts, can be shown with fair certainty to be derived from the older compilation[1]. Thurneysen himself speaks of the *Cín* as 'eine *fili*-Handschrift' and comments: 'Man kann mit

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[1] Assuming that it had already in the Old Irish period acquired some of the prestige that it enjoyed later, one might perhaps have expected to find the compiler's name among the scribes' obits which are comparatively numerous from the third to the fifth decade of the eighth century. That it is not might suggest that he died before it became customary to record scribes' obits. However, there are so many imponderables here that it would be unwise to lay too much stress on this possible inference.

Fug bezweilen, dass ein Klosterbruder diese Sammlung angelegt hat, die grossenteils Feen- und Elfen-geschichten enthält; sie macht eher den Eindruck, dass ein weltlicher Dichter und Sagenerzähler der Sammler gewesen ist.'[1] But, despite this, the internal evidence identifies it as the product of a monastic scriptorium and its very title says as much, referring it as it does to the monastery of Druim Snechta, situated a few miles to the south-west of the present town of Monaghan. This was the first church foundation of St Molua (or Lugaid), better known as the founder of Cluain Ferta Molua in the territory of the Osraige[2]. Apart from the fact that it was the home of the *Cín*, however, it has left little mark on the historico-ecclesiastical records and even the manuscript which commemorates it—as it were by proxy—seems at first glance to have stood strangely isolated and bereft of context But obviously this must be a misleading impression. In the first place, a manuscript such as Cín Droma Snechta cannot spring from a vacuum: it presupposes the existence of a scriptorium and implies a measure of literary continuity. More-over, it was doubtless in such a scriptorium that one of the three extant versions of the Life of Molua was written: that which relates particularly to Druim Snechta and which, as Kenney remarks, was evidently composed there. As they stand, none of the three versions seems to be older than the twelfth century, but Kenney considered that 'the greater part of the subject-matter may go back to a text or texts written when Bend-chor and Clúain-ferta-Molúa were still flourishing, that is, not later than the ninth century'.

Furthermore, Druim Snechta was a northern monastery (a fact which goes far towards explaining why practically all its contents pertain to the northern half of Ireland, and a large part of them to the Ulster cycle) and it seems to have experienced the same creative impulse which, as has already been remarked, produced something of a literary renaissance in east Ulster during this period. There is a suggestion of this bias towards learning and literature in the extant

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1 *Heldensage* 18. Elsewhere, op. cit., p. 72, he comments more generally on the provenance of the earliest written versions of native material: 'Woher die Sammel-handschriften der Klöster ihren Inhalt nahmen, geben sie in der Regel nicht an, oder wenn sie Quellen nennen, so sind es meist deutlich wieder Klosterhandschriften. Aber die ersten Niederschriften sind wohl nicht so entstanden, dass ein Klosterinsasse einem *fili* seine Geschichten abgefragt, sondern wir werden eher anzunehmen haben, dass manche *fili* sich die Lese- und Schreibkunst aneigneten und selber aufzeichneten, was ihnen erinnerungswert schien, und wohl auch eigene Erzeugnisse. Eine *fili*-Hand-schrift vermuteten wir oben (Kap. 3) in dem Heft von Druim Snechta'.

It is doubtful whether anyone would accept this view of things today. Legal texts apart, manuscripts of the MI period are exclusively monastic in origin and one supposes that the same must have been true *a fortiori* in the earliest period: it is only in the post-Norman centuries that we find clear evidence of the *fili* as scribe. In any event Thurneysen's view hinges upon his ascription of *Cín Dromma Snechta* to the *filid* and this will not bear examination.

2 Cf. Kenney, *Sources*, 395 f. A certain Commein (or Cuimmein), 'abbot of Druim Snechta', is commemorated in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal at September 4.

Life of Molua. For instance, when Comgall once asked his brethren which of them had besought a favour of God on the previous night, it was Molua who answered: 'Ego, postulavi intellectum'. And when Comgall warned him of the evils that might flow from this hazardous faculty, he declared stoutly that, were God to grant his wish, he would prove impervious to all the devil's wiles; to which Comgall replied: 'Fiet tibi sicut credidisti. Nam bonum intellectum habebis, et vitam eternam recta via intrabis'.[1] Another passage in the Life introduces a poet named Conán who was an inmate of Molua's monastery: the Druim Snechta version refers to him as *poetam conversam*, which evidently means that he was an *athláech*, 'ex-layman', like Colmán mac Lénéni[2]. The episode is not attached to Druim Snechta, nor indeed to any particular monastery, but it suggests that for an ex-*fili* to have been a member of their community would not have seemed so very extraordinary to the monks of Molua's *muinter* in the eight or ninth century. Still more impressive as evidence, however, is the stress laid on Molua's connections with Bangor. As we shall see presently, Bangor seems to have been the intellectual centre whence the cultural dynamic of the east Ulster region emanated, and at the same time it is clear from the Life of Molua that Druim Snechta gladly acknowledged its ties with the older monastery. It was Comgall who discovered Molua as a child and, with his parents' consent, brought him back to Bangor for instruction; and it was from Bangor that he set out in the fullness of his sanctity and learning to found his own church at Druim Snechta. The association is underlined by an anecdote in Félire Oengusso (Aug. 4) in which Comgall is made to choose his spiritual foster-son as his *anamchara* or confessor.

It was within this literary hinterland, if not in Bangor itself, that *Immram Brain* and the related stories of Mongán mac Fiachna of Dál nAraidi originated, texts for whose survival we are indebted to the unknown scribe or scribes of Druim Snechta. Much of the evidence for the literary and intellectual activity of this region has been drawn together by Robin Flower in a brief study to which he has given the neat though potentially misleading title 'The Founding of the Tradition'.[1] He has shown that the movement nurtured in the area to the north and south of Belfast Lough was characterized by a deep interest in native tradition combined with an enthusiasm for new literary forms and intellectual disciplines that had followed in the wake of Latin learning.

[1] *Vitae SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salmanticensi*, ed. W.W. Heist, 135 f. § 24, 384 § 9.
[2] Op. cit., 139 § 38, 386 § 21. For *conversus monachus* = *athláech* see *V.SS. Hib.* II, 249 § 21 and v. 11.
[1] *The Irish Tradition*, pp. 1-23.

The explanation for all this is not far to seek. It is almost axiomatic that isolation tends towards stagnation, or at least to a circumscribed vision, while conversely intercourse and cultural commerce encourage a greater intellectual curiosity and awareness, a greater readiness to adapt old ways and experiment with new ones. For such intercourse the east-Ulster region was ideally situated. It was a normal landing-place for travellers from northern Britain, which during the sixth and seventh centuries probably presented a more dramatic clash and confluence of cultures than any other part of Britain or Ireland; and, in addition, the religious, social and political ties that linked north-eastern Ireland and north-western Britain —particularly in that period—were numerous and close. Archaeologists speak of an 'Irish Sea culture-province' with its western flank in Ireland and its eastern flank in Britain; one might with comparable justification speak of a North Channel culture-province within which obtained a free currency of ideas, literary, intellectual and artistic.

On the Irish side the focal point of this commerce was the monastery of Bangor, 'welches Kloster', observed Zimmer, 'über 300 Jahre für die Irenwelt dieselbe Bedeutung als *wissenschaftliche* Metropole hatte, die Hi, Columbas Gründung a. 563, als *kirchenpolitische* Metropole rund hundertundfünfzig Jahre besass'.[1] It was from Bangor that Columbanus, who was a poet and something of a pioneer in Latin metrics as well as a churchman, set out on his famous mission to the Continent, and it was at the neighbouring monastery of Moville that Colum Cille, the great symbol and—if one may credit tradition—the main architect of the growing union of monastic and secular learning, received his first formal education. We have the testimony of Adamnán that Colum Cille and Comgall were close friends and that they met in Ireland and Scotland during their common period of abbotship[2] and in the notice of Colum Cille's death which Notker included in his Martyrology and which, Zimmer argues, was written almost as soon as the news reached Luxeuil, Comgall is referred to as the sole heir to his virtues and merits.[3]

Certainly his monastery appears to have inherited the attachment to native learning and literature which later tradition attributes so consistently to Colum Cille. As well as the purely ecclesiastical

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[1] *Über alte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland* no. 3, p. 591.

[2] *Vita S. Columbae* I, xlix; III, xiii, xvii. Cf. the following couplet from a late poem (*c.* 1000 according to Gerard Murphy) attributed to Colum Cille:

> feis ac Comgall, cuairt co Caindech,
> robad mellach,

'to pass the night with Comgall, to visit Cainnech—how pleasant that would be' (Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics, p.* 68).

[3] Zimmer, *op. cit.,* 586.

literature by which it was known—its Antiphonary and its Rule—the
evidence, exiguous and uncertain as it is, seems to indicate an in-
terest in chronological and perhaps annalistic learning, and, as has
already been noted, on the more exclusively secular side the weight
of probability favours Bangor as the home of *Immram Brain* and
the Mongán cycle.   For these latter the case is largely inferential,
but nonetheless impressive.   For one thing, in the prominence they
give to Mongán they reflect the close ties that existed between Bangor,
situated as it was in the land of the Dál Fiatach, and the kingdom
of Dál nAraidi, homeland of Comgall moccu Aridi, which extended
northwards from Belfast Lough; and in at least one instance in the
early literature Mongán is expressly associated with the monastery:

> *I mBendchur*
> *atá Mongán mac Fiachna*:
> *isle* (leg. *is leis?*) *atá Conchobur*
> *ar grafaind scaílte sciathcha.*[1]

But the tales of Mongán and Bran are exceptional in that they
constitute a sort of minor cycle belonging peculiarly to Bangor
and Dál nAraidi: no doubt many other tales passed into Irish litera-
ture via Bangor that do not bear such clear internal evidence of the
fact.   One recalls particularly those tales which relate in one way
or another to the commerce that existed between east Ulster and
Scotland: for instance, the story of Suibne Geilt, whom the later
evolution of his legend makes king of Dál Riata—by James Carney's
reasoning it must have passed from Scotland to Ireland before
c. 800; or the several thematically related tales which make up what
one might call the 'Tristan complex' and which also link Irish and
north British tradition.

In all this one is aware of a certain analogy between Irish literature
and Irish art, for this also, towards the end of the seventh century,
appears to pass suddenly from a rather undistinguished period to
one of high inspiration and great technical achievement.   During
the sixth and seventh centuries the way had been unobtrusively
prepared for the quick advance by the application and elaboration
of new artistic techniques, just as the renewal of Irish literature was
made possible by certain technical innovations in the course of the
preceding century and half, notably by a widening of vocabulary,
the evolving of a new metrical system and, not least, by the very
act of writing itself.

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[1] Met. Tracts, *Ir. Texte* iii, 87; Meyer and Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* i, 86.   In view
of the evident relationship between Druim Snechta and Bangor, it is perhaps also worth
noting that there existed a tradition that Mongán was buried in Cluain Airthir, which
Reeves identified with the modern Magheracloon in Co. Monaghan (*Voyage of Bran* i,
84, 138; AU s.a. 625; Reeves, *Adamnan*, 373 n.).

Above all, the new era in Irish art was brought about by the rapidly increasing intercourse between Ireland and Britain and Europe consequent on the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century. It was this contact, based mainly upon the cultural entrepôts which were the monasteries of Iona and Lindisfarne, that fortified the native resources of Irish art;[1] and it would appear from the scattered shreds of evidence that still survive that it also exerted a considerable, though in the circumstances not quite parallel, influence on the reconstituted literature as well.

The prose of Cín Droma Snechta.

It should be remembered, however, that this reconstituted literature was not the whole of Irish literature, but rather that part of it which was *written* and which was *monastic* in the sense that it was recorded, adapted or composed by monastic littérateurs, and that side by side with this written tradition there was another and no doubt more extensive tradition which existed solely by oral transmission. Of these the former begins, for all practical purposes, in the sixth century, the latter is a continuum from the past that has no definable point of departure. The relationship between these two traditions and their interaction during the Old Irish period and after pose problems which are fundamental to the critical analysis of the literature and therefore merit close and searching enquiry; they are both fascinating and complex and by their very nature render suspect any simple and clear-cut solution. In the context of Cín Droma Snechta and its period, the problem is first of all to determine as far as possible to what extent the extant written literature reflects pre-existing oral tradition—or diverges from it. In other words one must seek to measure the effects on the oral literature of the change of medium : in the first place those mainly formal effects which resulted directly and to some degree automatically from the transfer of oral tradition to writing, and secondly, those, both formal and thematic, which derived from the special cultural environment attached to the new medium.

Under the first heading one might include the abbreviation of pre-literate narrative arising from purely material considerations as well as the substantial discarding of some of the features considered characteristic of traditional oral narration, such as, for example, stylistic repetition and alliteration. These are well exemplified in the texts from Cín Droma Snechta. *Verba Scáthaige* is a prophetic *rosc* in which Cú Chulainn's amazonian tutor in arms foretells the

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[1] Cf. Máire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland*, 110f.; Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*, 43–85; Peter Hunter Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 319.

events of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* in words of elliptical brevity and obscurity: it is introduced, however, by a few phrases of limpid prose. *Forfes Fer Fálchae* appears in essentially the same form: an abstruse *rosc* prefaced by several sentences of conventional prose which are nevertheless too brief to give any adequate idea of the contents of the tale. *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* is a supposedly prophetic list of the kings who were to succeed Conn in Tara; it is couched in the contrived and somewhat archaic diction of the *filid* and lacks completely the explanatory setting that is implied by both internal and external evidence. In these three instances the passages of artistic speech which the scribe/compiler has recorded would no doubt have been constants even in oral recital; the variable element was the contextual narrative and this he reduces to a cursory notice, or, in the case of *Baile Chuinn*, ignores completely. There is an obvious comparison with two of the other items, *Immram Brain* and *Echtra Conlai*, both on the theme of the voyage to the otherworld, since these consist of nuclear passages of lyrical verse framed in a succint and straightforward prose text which carries the burden of the narrative. But the correspondence, such as it is, is rather superficial: not merely do these voyage tales differ profoundly from the three others by their overall lyrical temper and by the unpretentious and imaginative diction of their verse, but it is also noticeable that the linking prose passages, though brief, are for the most part well articulated and, particularly in the case of *Echtra Conlai*, effectively integrated with the verse sections and that, in general, they do not give the impression of having been unduly condensed. In other words there is no compelling reason to suppose that, in their totality, they have been abridged from a longer oral narrative.

The remaining self-contained texts which have been assigned with confidence to Cín Droma Snechta may be divided into two groups. First there are four short tales or anecdotes about Mongán mac Fiachna, of which one, *Compert Mongáin*, is closely related to the subject-matter of a passage in *Immram Brain*, and two—including the *Compert*—contain each a quatrain of rhyming syllabic verse. The other group comprises *Compert Con Culainn*, *Togail Bruidne uí Dergae* and *Echtra Machae*, this last the *dinnshenchas* of Emain Macha, ancient capital of the Ulaid and now once more in the ascendant as the metropolis of the Irish Church—a not inappropriate choice by a northern monastic *literatus* of the early eighth century or thereabouts. These three texts contain neither *rosc* nor rhymed verse, but tell their story concisely in unbroken prose. It is essentially the same prose as that of the linking and prefatory passages in the other texts in the manuscript, though within this general unity there are slight stylistic discrepancies between the

several texts which may be significant.[1]   Its salient features are
well illustrated by *Compert Con Culainn*, which of all these texts
offers the longest continuous prose sequence.   Here the tale of Cú
Chulainn's birth is told in a spare and uncomplicated style which
sets the pattern for classical Old Irish narrative in general, but which
at the same time offers certain indications that the Compert is not
very far removed from the first emergence of this kind of prose.   To
begin with, the spareness of the writing is one which suggests economy
rather than abridgement: the sequence of events is clearly marked
and at no point does it give an impression of serious hiatus.   On the
other hand, the narrative is concise to the point of abruptness and
lacks those stylistic features which are most typical of traditional
oral narration: alliteration, repetition, description and dialogue.
   The first two of these are by no means unknown in classical Old
Irish narrative, but they are relatively infrequent, and it is only
from the later Middle Irish period that they become commonplace
in the written literature.   The second two, on the other hand, are
familiar in classical prose: and indeed the best known tales of the
period consist of a more or less continuous interweave of narrative
and dialogue: for example, in *Scéla Mucce meic Dathó* it is this
intermingling of terse statement with pithy, quickwitted dialogue
that gives the story its pleasing pungency.   In *Compert Con Culainn*,
however, though there are several instances of characters speaking,
these are always in *oratio obliqua*.   Dialogue does appear briefly in
several of the other texts, including *Echtra Machae*, but with none
of the freedom that characterizes its use in later compositions.

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[1] It would be interesting to make a collection from the Cín Droma Snechta texts
of all those features which are referable to written, as opposed to spoken prose.   I shall
here note only one or two instances by way of illustration.   In one of the speeches in
Echtra Conlai in which the woman from the otherworld describes the land to which she
invites Conlae, the following two sentences occur: *Cáinchomracc lenn cen debuith.   Síd
már i-táam, conid de suidiu nonn-ainmnigther áess Síde*, 'We have peace without strife.
We live in a great *síd* (fairy mound), and that is why we are called the people of the *síd*.'
The second of these, or at least the first part of it, would be impossible by Modern
Irish usage.   More probably it is a syntactical aberration thrown up in the process of
writing this new economical prose.
   The first is a verbless sentence which may be compared with *The Voyage of Bran* i,
46.3; *Seóit ocus bíad hó Mongán*, '[He had] gifts and food from Mongán', or *Compert
Con Culainn, Zu ir. Hdschr. i*, 34 § 1. 5–8: *Conchobur dā hi ssudiu inna charput ⁊ a ingen
Deichtine ossi macdacht, is si ba harae dia hathair.   Eirrid Uloth olchenae inna carptib
.i. Conall et Loegaire ⁊ rl. Bricriu dā leu.*   Sentences in which the substantive verb is not
expressed are of course quite common at all periods of the language, but normally
they occur in a predicative relationship to a previously mentioned referent, which
is not the case with the instances quoted here: these are more likely to be the result of
conscious scribal ellipsis.   Already in the fourth Mongán anecdote, a sequence of verbless
sentences occurs in a passage of description: *Tíagait isin n-airecol n-amrae and.   Tonnach
crédumi forsin taig.   Grénán hóimind for a senestrechaib.   Márfessiur deligthe and.
Tárgud amra isin taig di cholcthechaib ocus brothrachaib ocus di sétaib ingantaib.   Secht
taulchubi de fin and.*   This appears to me to be an extension of the predicative use
found in spoken Irish, and it is one which subsequently becomes commonplace in
descriptive passages in the classical tales of Old Irish, e.g. TBDD, 1. 3 ff.; *Scéla Cano
meic Gartnáin*, 1.7 ff.; TBF, 1. 18 ff.

There is yet another feature of *Compert Con Culainn* which seems to mark a divergence from the oral mode, namely its relative lack of the sentence connectives which are virtually indispensable to spoken narrative. For its approximately 600 words it contains 10 explicit connectives (*et/ocus, co*[1]) and eight instances of what might be termed virtual connectives (of the type *ar, ó, in tan, is amlaid, is and*, etc.). If we denote the former by *A* and the latter by *B* we can thus present briefly in tabular form the relevant figures for the several texts of Cín Drom Snechta which contain prose sequences:

	A	*B*	*No. of words*	No. of connectors per 100 words
Compert Con Culainn	11	8	600 approx.	3.2
The four Mongán tales	32	14	1380 ,,	3.3
Echtra Machae	17	5	600 ,,	3.7
Echtra Conlai	5	11	390 ,,	4.1
Immram Brain	18	14	660 ,,	4.8
TBuíD	4	5	150 ,,	6
Forfes Fer Fálchae	3	2	75 ,,	6.6

In other words, *Compert Con Culainn* is particularly ill-supplied with connectives: taking *A* and *B* together it has relatively fewer instances than any other text, and, even if we have regard to *A* alone, it is still less well provided than any other text but *Echtra Conlai*. The discrepancy would probably be still greater were it not for the fact that *Compert Con Culainn* lacks the snatches of direct speech and dialogue found in *Echtra Machae, Echtra Conlai* and the Mongán tales: for quoted speech, by its variation of the narrative line and by its alternate naming of the speakers, reduces the need for formal connectives. One must of course be wary of drawing excessively firm or precise conclusions from such slender evidence as this single feature and these few short texts provide[2], but it is at least clear even from a casual reading of the several texts in question that the relative frequency of sentence connectives is a fairly true index of their structural-stylistic inequality[3].

[1] I disregard such forms as *co n-acca* in cases where *co* has no longer a conjunctive function.

[2] I hope on another occasion to attempt a more extensive and more exact analysis of such linguistic features: the present observations are no more than a preliminary essay in that direction.

I have for convenience combined the four Mongán anecdotes (*Voyage of Bran* i, 42 ff.), but in reality these show considerable disparity among themselves; thus the figures for I are A 14, B 6, no. of words 300, for II A 13, B 5, no. of words 600, for III A 5, B 1, no. of words 280, and for IV A 2, B 2, no. of words 200.

[3] As a partial check on the above figures, I have made a count of the independent sentences in the several texts, in other words those sentences which are not formally

Thus in *Compert Con Culainn* the verb, when there is one, stands nearly always in absolute initial position, and where the sentences are short the result is a remarkably clipped and uncompromising diction, for example:

Luid Conall ⁊ Bricriu do chur cuarta.   Fo-fuaratar óentech núe. Lotar ind.   Fo-rráncatar lánamain and.   Boíthus fáilte.   Lotar ass co a muintir.   As-bert Bricriu níbu fíu techt don taig cen bratt cen biad.   Ba cumung dā cid ar indus.   Lotar dó cammaib . . .[1]

By way of contrast *Echtra Machae*, while it has one brief series of short sentences with the verb in initial position, otherwise exploits a greater variety of word-order and sentence length, not to mention its snippets of dialogue, e.g.:

Marb iar suidhiu Dithorba mac Demain, co ngabsat a mec a forba flatha .i. Baeth ⁊ Brass ⁊ Betach ⁊ Uallach ⁊ Borbchass coic maic Dith[orbai] maic Demain.   Dorochair lobra dano for Ruad mac mBoduirn, diata Ess Ruaid isin tuaiscert.   Ni farcuib side cloinn inge aoninginn namma.   Macha a hainm-sidhe.   O ssniastar side in flaith a comarbus a hathar nissnarroet Cimbaeth i comflaithius. 'Dober-sa dam-sa illau catha', ol sissi.   Dognither son ⁊ feguir cath eturru ⁊ memaid for Cimbaeth.   Gebaid si in flaith co cend secht mbliadan.   Tanic do Chimbaeth aimser na flatha.   'Ni bera', ol in ingen, 'conidruca ar ecin'.[2]

The disparity between the texts is unmistakable: one appears to have for its primary purpose to provide a clear statement, precise and unembellished, of the incidents which constitute the saga, whereas the other shows the author/redactor consciously moulding this functional medium into the semblance of a literary style.   In so far as the *Compert* is concerned this is in effect to suggest that the extant text is a pared down recording of a pre-existing oral tale, one in which—so far as one can see—the matter and sequence are preserved intact while the narrative is reduced to a basic, functional prose shorn of most of its oral characteristics.   As we have seen,

linked to the preceding or following sentences.   The results are as follows:

	Sentences	Word Total	Sentences per 100 words
CCC	69	600	11.5
Mongán tales	157	1380	11.4
(I)	30	300	10
(II)	65	600	10.8
(III)	39	280	13.9
(IV)	23	200	11.5
Echtra Macha	59	600	9.8
Echtra Conlai	37	390	9.4
Immram Brain	57	660	8.6
TBuiD	9	150	6
Forfes F.F.	4	75	5.3

[1] Ed. Thurneysen, *Zu. ir. Hdschr.* i, 35 § 3.
[2] Printed by K. Meyer, *Archiv f, celt. Lex.* iii, 325.

this stark prose occurs in *Echtra Machae* as well, but instead of being
used consistently as in *Compert Con Culainn* it stands here as an
interlude within a somewhat more varied, though still relatively simple,
narrative context.   Indeed the same holds true substantially for the
typical narrative style of classical Old Irish storytelling in general,
for it is not difficult to visualize this as an artistic adaptation of the
rudimentary prose of *Compert Con Culainn*, its austere line now
laced with brisk dialogue and descriptive passages, its rigid word-
order diversified and its sentences more frequently linked in the
rhythms of a literary prose.   It is not part of my present purpose
to make detailed demonstration of this change, but perhaps a single—
and very minor—instance will suffice to exemplify the process of
change and to establish that it was consciously contrived.   I have
already adverted to the fact that *Immram Brain* has a rather higher
proportion of sentence connectors than *Compert Con Culainn*.   Now
one of the passages which contribute to this disparity is that which
closes the tale:

> *Adfét íar sin Bran a imthechta uili ó thossuch cotici sin do lucht
> ind airechtais ٦ scríbais inna rundu so tre ogum ٦ celebrais dóib
> íar sin, ٦ ní fessa a imthechta ónd úair sin.*

and here the effect of the sequence of coordinate sentences is to
round off the action of the tale.   It is, I suspect, a device taken
over from oral storytelling, but here in *Immram Brain* the straight
repetition of *ocus* is less usual and therefore more marked than it
would have been in oral narration.   Significantly, it is again brought
into use in tales of the classical period, for instance to close the
episode of Fraích and Conall Cernach's exploit at Sliab nAelpa in
Táin Bó Fraích:

> *Fúabbrait in less.   Focheirdd ind naithir bedg i criss Conaill Chernaig,
> ٦ orgait in dún fo chétóir.   Tessairgit íarum in mnaí ٦ na tri maccu, ٦
> doberat a n-as dech sét in dúine, ٦ léicid Conall in naithir assa chriss,
> ٦ ní dergéni nechtar de olc fria chéile.*[1]

or the episode concerning Illand mac Scanláin in *Scéla Cano meic
Gartnáin*:

[1] Ed. W. Meid (Dublin, 1967), § 29.   This passage is continued by another which
constitutes the virtual ending of the extant tale and which resumes the heroes' ad-
venturous return to Ulster by way of Pictland (here, as elsewhere, serial sentence-
linking is also a mark of synopsis).   The later passage is differentiated by a change of
connector and by a looser articulation:
٦ *dothíagat i crích Cruithentúathe* co tucsat téora bú dia mbúaib assaide.   Co *tullatar*
do Dún Ollaích maic Bríuin friu aniar co mbátar i nAird Húa nEchach.   Is and atbath
gilla Conaill oc timmáin na mbó .i. Bicne mac Láegaire.   Is de atá Inber mBicne oc
Bennchur.   Co tucsat a mbú taris illei.   Iss and ro lásat a n-adarca díb, conid de atá
Trácht mBennchoir.

Do-llotar leis trá íar sin Saxain ⁊ Bretain ⁊ fir Alban co tarad láim dar Corco Loígi, co romarbad leis mac Condaid ⁊ Cúán mac Sanaise cona fineochus. ⁊ ni t(h)ánic a c(h)rích Corco Loígi cor fáca(i)b mac Illaind i n(d)airdrígi[u] Corco Laígi, ⁊ cor fáca(i)b Dún mBaíthi fo sláne amail fon-ráca(i)b i mbethaid Illaind iter bú ⁊ damu ⁊ eocho ⁊ aitreb, ⁊ co ruc gíallu do Corco Loígi leis for inillius do mac Illaind sund.[1]

One thing which emerges clearly from this cursory survey of the contents of Cín Droma Snechta is the variety of treatment accorded his materials by the scribe/redactor. In the case of *Verba Scáthaige, Forfes Fer Fálchae* and *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* he has transcribed in full the artistic language of the central *rosc*, that is to say the part which would have remained more or less unchanged in oral transmission, and reduced to the barest minimum the contextual prose, that part which in oral transmission might have varied from one narrator to another. In *Compert Con Culainn*, on the other hand, he gives a relatively lengthy narrative in straight—but rather basic—prose, and the most likely inference is that he is seeking to record the whole substance of an existing tale while economizing those stylistic elements which would have extended the spoken form. In *Togail Bruidne uí Derga* the treatment differs again and the existing tale is reduced to a few notes which hardly give an adequate impression of the detail or sequence of events, but which by their very nature leave no room to doubt that the tale had a previous existence. This cannot be said with equal confidence of *Echtra Machae* which is written in a reasonably flexible and well wrought prose and shows no obvious signs of abbreviation: so far as style and structure are concerned. it could well be a new composition (but based, it need hardly be said, on a traditional theme). It might be argued, of course, that the stylistic disparity between *Echtra Machae* and *Compert Con Culainn* is due to the fact that in oral form one was so much shorter than the other, but while there is obviously some substance in this, it may not be the complete answer. For instance, the third and fourth of the Mongán anecdotes (*Scél Mongáin* and *Tucait Baile Mongáin*) are concise almost to the point of obscurity, yet, had he so wished, the scribe could have extended each by as much again and still remained well within the length of *Echtra Machae*. In short, it seems inconceivable that these Mongán texts could have been *composed* in this form and one can only assume that they have been abstracted from earlier, and most likely oral, versions, whereas in the case of *Echtra Machae* the stylistic evidence does not of itself presuppose a similar development.

[1] Ed. D. A. Binchy (Dublin, 1963), § 19.

The same problem is posed by *Immram Brain* and *Echtra Conlai*: as already remarked, there is little in their extant prose sections to suggest that they are simple abridgements of longer oral narratives. At the same time there is nothing to preclude the possibility that they are conscious variations of traditional themes or compounded of fresh composition and traditional oral narrative. To illustrate this let us juxtapose two passages of *Immram Brain*:

§2 *Is ed tossach in scéoil. Imluid Bran lda n-and a oínur i comocus dia dún co cóalae a céol íarna chúl. A ndonécad tara éssi, ba íarna chúl béus no bíth a ceol. Contuil asennad frissa céol ara bindi. Andofuisich asa chotlud, co n-accae in croíb n-arcait fua bláth find ina farruth, nápu hasse etarscarath a bláthe frissin croíb ísin. Dobert íarom Bran in croíb ina láim dia rígthaig. Óro bátar inna sochuidi isind ríghthaig co n-accatar in mnaí i n-étuch ingnath for lár in taige. Is and cachain in coícait rand so do Braun arrond chóalae in slóg, ⁊ adcondarcatar uili in mnaí.*

§ 62 *Níbu cían íar sin co rráncatar tír inna mban. Co n-accatar braini inna mban isin phurt. Asbert toísech inna mban: 'Tair ille isa tír, a Brain maic Febail! Is fochen do thíchtu'. 'Ní lámir Bran techt isa tír. Docuirethar in ben certli do Bran tara gnúis cach ndíriuch. Foceird Bran a láim forsin certli. Lil in chertle dia dernainn. Boí snáthe inna certle i lláim inna mná. Consreng in curach dochum poirt. Lotir íarom i tegdais máir. Arránic imdai cecha lánamne and .i. trí noí n-imdae. In praind dobreth for cech méis nír irchran dóib. Ba blédin donárfas dóib buith and. Ecmaing bátir ilblédni. Nís tesbi nach mlass.*

The contrast is obvious: in the first a remarkably mature prose which links sentences and varies their length and syntax so as to create an easy, rhythmical style; in the second the blunt, unvaried prose which is found in *Compert Con Culainn* and spasmodically throughout the early literature. Now this may be nothing more than an instance of the diversity of styles which is comprehended within the succint prose of Old Irish saga. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the first passage is stylistically free because it is a freshly composed introduction to the following verse while the second is stylistically bound because it is a précis of an episode from traditional *echtra* literature. Which is the most probable explanation can only be decided by other than purely formal criteria[1].

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[1] Incidentally, the word *asennad* which occurs in the first of the two passages is found also in *Echtra Macha*, in *Forfess Fer Fálchae*, and twice in the second and longest of the Mongán anecdotes. This is not an exceptionally common word in OI narrative prose and its relative frequency here suggests that the tales in question, as written in Cín Droma Snechta, may be the work of the same scribe/redactor/author.

At this point I should perhaps add that the view of the development of Old Irish narrative prose put forward in the present essay runs counter to that implied in some remarks by Professor Greene in *A View of the Irish Language*, ed. Brian Ó Cuív, p. 15 f. Pointing out the great importance of the religious prose-work the *Aipgitir Chrábaid*, 'The Alphabet of Piety', which was written by Colmán moccu Béognae sometime before his death in 611, Professor Greene draws attention to the relatively evolved character—and relative simplicity—of its language as compared with that of the nearly contemporary elegy on Colum Cille composed by the *fili* Dallán Forgaill. He notes for instance the replacement of conjunctive *-ch* of the older learned language by *ocus* and the evolution of the definite article *in*, *ind*, from what was originally a demonstrative particle, and he comments: 'When Colmán came to apply his knowledge of Latin writing to his native language for the purposes of didactic prose, it was the speech of the ordinary man which he adopted, and not that of Dallán Forgaill and his learned brethren, and these innovations were already well established. Once the writing of prose had become respectable, the way was clear for the development of the *scel*, or story, as a literary form, though it continued for a long time to be ornamented with passages in rhythmical or metrical patterns.' 'The overwhelmingly important thing about it [*Aipgitir Chrábaid*] is precisely that it *is* prose, for the ordinary rhythms of speech had no place in the traditional chanting and no doubt appeared remarkably vulgar and uncultivated to literary men'.

Here Professor Greene seems to regard *Aipgitir Chrábaid* as a sort of literary bridgehead which made possible the further extension of written prose into the domain of secular storytelling and which, furthermore, was instrumental in determining the character and quality of that prose. This suggestion raises all sorts of complex and far-reaching questions which cannot be discussed adequately in the present context, but I should like nevertheless to make one or two brief comments on it. To begin with it appears to me to assign too large and too formative a role to the *Aipgitir* (and to such other religious texts as may have been written in the period). Undoubtedly the writing of the *Aipgitir* was a matter of considerable consequence: by producing a didactic prose that was clear and effective it must have helped to win acceptance for this as a function of writing, and at the same time served to enrich and diversify the new medium whatever its application. But, nonetheless, given the cultural conditions obtaining in seventh-century Ireland, and expecially in east Ulster, one can only conclude that the emergence of a written, secular prose literature was virtually inevitable regardless of the *Aipgitir*: for instance, it is

inconceivable that those monastic *literati* who composed lyric verse
like that of *Immram Brain* from the seventh century onwards and who
drew upon traditional themes in the process would not have
felt compelled to redact some of the traditional narrative that
embodied these themes.

The question that one has then to decide for oneself is: how did
they come by the prose which they used in Cín Droma Snechta and
after? There is little similarity between the diction of the *Aipgitir*,
patterned as it is for the most part on a Latin original, and that of
the texts in the Cín except that both are relatively simple—that is,
by comparison with 'the native rhetorical literature represented by
such texts as the oldest law tracts and the *Amra Choluim Chille*'
(cf. V. Hull, *Celtica* viii, 52 f.); and doubtless it is in this relative
sense that one must read Professor Greene's statement that 'it
was the speech of the ordinary man which he [Colmán moccu Béognae]
adopted, and not that of Dallán Forgaill'. But, in point of fact,
the comparison with the law tracts and the *Amra* is misleading since
they belong to completely different *genres* of literature: the valid
comparison is with the pre-literate versions of the *scéla*, even though
in the nature of things these are now beyond our direct experience.
Louis Renou has remarked of Vedic literature: 'On constate des
habitudes différentes, dues aux besoins différents: un formulaire
s'environnant de symboles abscons, à tendance nettement archaïsante,
une prose emphatique—celle de la spéculation—, une prose réaliste,
objective—celle de la description des rites' (*Les écoles védiques et la
formation du Veda*, Paris, 1947, p. 211); and although the point he
was making is different to mine, nonetheless his observation serves
to remind us that even a sacred, institutional literature comprises a
plurality of styles. Obviously the same holds true—*a fortiori*—for
literature in general, comprising both the sacred and the secular.

Moreover, even if we can have no direct knowledge of the shape
and style of these oral *scéla*, we can still—by the process of analogy—
hazard some shrewd guesses: in particular, we can be virtually
certain that the prose of oral narrative (excluding *rosca* and other
passages in learned 'poetic' language) was a relatively simple and
flexible medium, by comparison with the abstruse and/or technical
language of the early legal tradition or of the *Amra Choluim Chille*,
and that it was precisely for this reason that the scribe/redactor
of Cín Droma Snechta sometimes drastically curtailed the prose
narrative while recording the *rosca* in full. In short, as I have
already suggested in discussing severally the texts in the Cín,
the prose which they use is perfectly explicable as a direct derivative

of the oral prose of the non-literate tradition, while it in its turn
marks the *point de départ* of the written prose of classical Old Irish
saga[1]. This is in no sense to deny that the religious prose of which
the *Aipgitir Chrábaid* forms a part helped to inform the cultural
climate which made the literary renaissance of the seventh century
possible and that it must have contributed directly—lexically and
otherwise—to the development of OI narrative: but while the exact
extent of this direct contribution can only be determined by future
investigation there is enough evidence to show that it had no essential
role in the shaping of the earliest written secular prose.

The contextual affinities of Immram Brain.

So far I have included within the scope of this enquiry all the
independent texts assigned by Thurneysen to Cín Droma Snechta;
for the remainder of the present article, however, I propose to direct
my remarks specifically to *Immram Brain* and other documents
closely related to it.

On the question of the sources and composition of *IB* we have
seen that the morphology of its prose passages offers no very decisive
evidence, but, for what it is worth, it suggests that part of the prose
narrative, notably the opening section, has been freshly composed
and need not reflect closely an existing oral tale, whereas some of the
closing passages are more like a straight abbreviation of sections of a
traditional *echtra*.   In this regard the verse is more explicit, for its
metrical structure belongs to the *nuachrotha* referred to in the metrical
tracts and thus marks it out as a new composition[2], though naturally

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[1] I refer my remarks specifically to Cín Droma Snechta as a matter of convenience;
it in no way implies that there were not other early compilations similar to the Cín,
but now less well documented.

[2] It consists of fifty-seven quatrains, the first in *rannaigecht recomarcach* and the
remainder in *deibide*.   In stanza 50 the rhyming words present some difficulty and
Professor Carney reads it as a form of *rannaigecht* (*The Poems of Blathmac*, 114, n. 43),
but it is questionable whether one need assume this momentary change of metre.

In general the metre of the verse is so irregular that one might be tempted to suppose
that the rules governing the use of *deibide* has not yet been fully evolved and stabilized
at the date of composition.   In several couplets the longer rhyming word (*airdrinn*)
precedes the shorter (*rinn*), while half of the end-rhymes are rhythmical.   It is true
that rhythmical rhyme is found in later *deibide* and in fact becomes the characteristic
rhyme of *deibide guilbnech*, but in IB the indiscriminate use of rhythmical and un-
rhythmical rhyme might seem rather to be the result of an undeveloped technique.
It is quite different to the simple, but on the whole consistent, use of rhyme in the ninth-
century 'clerical' lyrics preserved in continental manuscripts.   Indeed it differs also
from the poem which Professor Carney has edited in *The Poems of Blathmac*, p. 108 ff.
(= *Ériu* xviii, 26 ff.) and which he dates to *c.* 700, as well as from the Blathmac poems
themselves (op. cit. 2 ff.), which he places a little later.   In these there is a much more
regular use of *deibide*-rhymes than in IB.   There is no rhyming together of stressed
syllables and *rinn* always precedes *airdrinn*.   This would seem to represent a more
developed form of *deibide* than that of the *Immram*—that is unless the latter text can
be shown to be erratic rather than primitive in its use of rhyme.

The occasional reversal of *rinn* and *airdrinn*, not to mention the frequency of mono-
syllabic rhythmical rhymes in the *Immram*, weakens the force of Thurneysen's suggestion

it cannot tell us to what extent it incorporates exotic as well as native traditional material. This is something that can only be revealed by a detailed analysis of the content of the poem and of its prose context. Such an analysis was begun many years ago by Alfred Nutt in his copious commentary attached to Meyer's edition of *IB*[1] and more recently carried further—if in a somewhat different direction—by James Carney in a section of his *Studies in Irish Literature and History*[2], but both make it abundantly clear that they regard their work as exploratory rather than definitive: indeed, the present essay might almost have been written in response to a remark of Professor Carney's on Irish saga in general: 'the extent to which these sagas represent a pre-literate oral tradition is a matter for careful thought and investigation, rather than for gratuitous assumption'.

As an example of such gratuitous assumption he cites A. G. Van Hamel's introduction to his edition of *IB*: '*Immram Brain maic Febail* has come down to us in one version only. It consists of fifty-six quatrains in the metre *debide scáilte*, with a few brief connecting prose passages. Since it is stated in the prose that the woman from Elfland recites fifty stanzas, whereas the text contains twenty-eight only, and further that the number of quatrains sung by Manannán mac Lir is thirty, for twenty-eight of the transmitted text, it would seem that originally the body of poetry relating to Bran's adventure was larger than we have it now. Of the lost stanzas there is, however, no trace, so it is doubtful whether the written text was ever fuller than at present'.[3] Carney points out that the numerical discrepancy might be substantially reduced by reading *tricha* 'thirty' for *coíca* 'fifty' in the first prose passage, which would mean that only two stanzas had been lost from each poem (though in

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(RC vi, 339 ff.) that *deibide scáilte* was derived from the trochaic tetrameter catalectic by making the half-lines equal in length, thus giving $7^1\ 7^3$ instead of $8^2\ 7^3$, the successive lines rhyming on the model of Latin hymn-metres. Thurneysen considered that once the principle of rhyming an unstressed with a stressed syllable had thus been established, the transition from $7^1\ 7^3$ to $7^1\ 7^2$ would have come about naturally. Calvert Watkins is rather sceptical of this explanation and points out that in archaic heptasyllabic verse the normal cadence $'x\ x\ x$ has a variant with the final syllable stressed ($'x\ x\ 'x$) and that, while this is infrequent in the heptasyllabic itself, it 'is quite common in the pentasyllabic line which may serve as a clausula to a series of heptasyllabics'. In this he sees one of the possible sources of *deibide*-rhyme (*Celtica* vi, 224–6). His suggestion is not without its difficulties however: why should a rather exceptional cadence which was commonest in a pentasyllabic line have been generalized in heptasyllabic verse, why should the mingling of final stressed and unstressed syllables have given rise to unrhythmical couplet rhyme, and, even more important, how is one to account for the fairly frequent rhyming of stressed disyllables as well as stressed monosyllables in IB? Nonetheless, it is likely enough that the combination of unequally stressed cadences has contributed to the emergence of *deibide*-rhyme.

[1] Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, i, ii.
[2] Op. cit., Dublin, 1955, 280 ff.
[3] *Immrama*, Dublin, 1941, p. 1. His reckoning refers to the two main poems in the text and excludes the quatrain inserted in the final prose passage.

fact it is doubtful whether one need really expect such a rigorous correspondence between the round number given in the prose and the actual tally of the quatrains). But more important than the discrepancy itself is the inference drawn from it by Van Hamel. As Professor Carney says: 'Van Hamel is thinking of an orally transmitted text in prose and verse, and of the eighty quatrains existing orally only fifty-six were 'written down'. In his conception of this text he also implies that the connecting prose passages were transmitted orally, since it is from statements in the prose that he can deduce a loss of text in the verse. He is, then, thinking of an oral tradition which is identical not merely in substance but also in form with the written literature that we find in Ireland in the seventh and subsequent centuries.' Obviously this view of Van Hamel's will not bear examination: the language and metrical form of the verse indicate that it was *composed* in the seventh or eighth century, and Mongán mac Fiachna, whom it features prominently, evidently belonged to the early part of the seventh century, so that there was no very considerable interval for oral transmission before it was written into Cín Droma Snechta. Moreover, it bears all the marks, stylistic and otherwise, of having been composed in a monastic milieu and, to put the matter beyond any shadow of doubt, it draws an extended analogy between the Incarnation and the birth of Mongán. Several scholars have attempted to explain this Christian element away as an interpolation, but, as Carney rightly points out, 'no linguistic, metrical, or stylistic evidence has been adduced . . . to show that these stanzas differ from the rest of the poetry in authorship or period of composition'. *Immram Brain* must therefore be accepted as the product of a monastic scriptorium of the seventh or eighth century, showing clearly the marks of its immediate origin both in its form and in its content.

This acceptance is then a necessary premise to any further enquiry into the origins and composition of *IB*. It identifies the extant text as the work of a single *author*, places it squarely in its historical context, and by establishing the exotic and Christian elements as an integral part of the text raises the question whether *IB* should not be regarded simply as a thorough-going Christian composition drawing its inspiration and much of its material from sources outside of native tradition.

This is in essence the view propounded by Professor Carney. '*Immram Brain*', he holds, 'is, from beginning to end, a thoroughly Christian poem. It seems, in fact, to be an allegory showing Man setting out on the voyage to Paradise . . . The Christian nature of the poem is quite clear. It is pervaded by thoughts of the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Redemption. The Otherworld kingdom, as

described in the verse, so far from being presented in pre-Christian
terms, is an early medieval idea of what form human bliss would have
taken if Adam had not sinned'. It follows easily on his premise that
'failing any indication of later interference with a text the first effort of
scholarship must plainly be directed towards the understanding of the
work as a whole'. What Professor Carney means by it in the case of
IB is that since its Christian author had an obvious Christian moti-
vation in composing it, it can be assumed that everything in it has
been consciously modulated to that transcendent motivation and
therefore there is no necessity to canvas the problem of native,
traditional sources. It is a plausible interpretation and is argued
with cogency by Professor Carney. But, as I have said, it is not the
only one, and indeed one need only turn back to Alfred Nutt for a very
different perspective on *IB*. 'I think it extremely likely', he writes,
'that Bran's visit to the Otherworld was once told as an independent
tale, and that the Mongán episode is rather clumsily foisted in.
But it seems certain that the author of this contamination was
likewise the author of the Bran story, as it has come down to us;
in other words, that we are entitled to use the Mongán episode for
the purpose of dating the story *as we possess it*. I italicise the last
four words purposely. The oldest written form of a story *may* be the
starting point of a new literary organism; it may equally be the last
link of a long chain, all the predecessors of which have perished.
In either case it must be taken as the starting point of investigation,
but the second possibility must always be kept in mind.'

It will be observed that not merely does Nutt, like Carney, accept
that *IB* is the integral work of a single author, but he is also prepared
to accept it 'as a new literary organism', which is in effect what
Carney has argued in different words. The difference between them—
and it is an important one—is that Carney emphatically rejects
Nutt's view that *IB* may have a past history. He argues—rightly
as it seems to me—that Nutt's discussion understates the importance
of the Christian element in *IB* and in seeking to establish this he is
led, not merely to discard Nutt's suggestion that behind the extant
text there was once a traditional prototype, but also—at least by
implication—to dismiss the very idea that native tradition has
anything material to contribute to its investigation. This is an ex-
tremely rigorous view of the text, perhaps too rigorous, and in the
following pages I put forward certain considerations which suggest
that it requires some qualification.

To begin with, it might seem questionable whether a seventh
or eighth century monastic *literatus* with the kind of literary interests
reflected for example in Cín Droma Snechta could have composed a
tale in Irish—even one of such high Christian purpose as *Immram*

Brain—without drawing substantially on the traditional material, in prose and in verse, which must have been familiar and easily available to him: Professor Carney himself infers from the verse structure of the first poem that the poet was 'a person in full touch with the older type of versification based upon a particularly elaborate alliterative system' (op. cit., 280 n. 1). Obviously this is not something which is open to demonstration, but perhaps it is well to keep the question in mind. A more objective criterion is provided by the structure of the prose passages in *IB* and this—if I interpret it correctly—suggests that part of the prose narrative resumes an oral *echtra*. In other words it seems probable that the author of *IB* had in fact a prototype for at least part of his account of the otherworld journey, though to what extent this source-tale is reflected in the verse of *IB* or indeed whether Bran was its hero is best left open for the present.

Moreover, if our inference of such an oral tale is justified this immediately brings into question the extent of *IB*'s dependence on external sources for its picture of the happy otherworld. Both Carney and Nutt have drawn attention to the notable similarities between the description of the happy otherworld in *IB* and, on the other hand, the description of the terrestrial paradise in the Anglo-Saxon allegorical poem 'The Phoenix' and in the Latin poem *De Ave Phoenice* which is attributed to Lactantius and upon which the Anglo-Saxon poet based his own composition. Furthermore, as Nutt pointed out, it is clear that another, if somewhat later voyage-tale, 'The Voyage of Mael Dúin', drew upon 'The Phoenix' in some form or other. That *IB* should also have borrowed from the same source is therefore very possible, particularly in view of the close cultural ties that existed between Ireland and Northumbria in the seventh century. Nutt and Carney both examined the possibility at some length and came to different conclusions, the former rejecting it almost as firmly as the latter accepted it. Whereas Nutt believed that the similarities between the Irish and Christian accounts of the paradisiac land derived for the most part from a common heritage, Carney argued that, since there is so much in IB that is patently of Christian and therefore of external origin, 'a heavy onus of proof lies upon those who would maintain that *Mag Mell* is a cognate and not a derivative of the Elysian Plain'; as for *IB* in particular, he was convinced that it 'owes much of its inspiration to the Latin poem [of Lactantius]'. In keeping with this view he regards the vision of the otherworld in *IB* as an integral part of a consistent Christian allegory: 'The Otherworld kingdom, as described in the verse, so far from being presented in pre-Christian terms, is an early medieval idea of what form human bliss would have taken if Adam had not

sinned' and 'the Island of Women is to my mind obviously inspired by Greek material'. In other words most of *IB*'s description of the otherworld is Christian in inspiration and in origin, and, for the rest, it is largely modelled on Greek prototypes.

Now, while there is nothing improbable in the notion that the literary realization of the Irish concept of the happy otherworld in a text like *IB* which does little to conceal its Christian orientation should have been influenced by Christian analogues—as indeed it was, demonstrably, in some of the later voyage tales—the task remains to establish and to define this influence within the limits of the available evidence, and it is here the difficulty arises; for despite the consciously drawn parallels with Christian belief already referred to it is not easy to indicate specific instances in which *IB*'s account of the otherworld is necessarily, or even probably, dependent on sources external to Irish tradition. I hope to discuss this matter in some detail in a later article; for the present I shall refer to only one instance, that of the birds on the otherworld tree calling out at the canonical hours (*trátha*). This together with the similar reference in *The Phoenix* seems to me to constitute the most impressive item in the passages adduced by Professor Carney as evidence of the relationship between *IB* and the Anglo-Saxon poem. Moreover, if one is derived from the other, the Anglo-Saxon cannot be the derivative[1], since the reference is already present in the Latin poem. The relevant excerpts are:

IB 7 :   *Fil and bile co mbláthaib.*
             forsngairet éoin do thráthaib,
             is tre chocetal is gnáth
             congairet uili cach tráth.

The Phoenix (describing the bird in its earthly paradise):
   Then after its sport in the water it rises proudly to a lofty tree, whence most easily it can see the movement in the east when the taper of the sky, the gleaming light, shines clearly over the tossing waters . . . As soon as the sun towers high over the salt streams the grey bird goes in its brightness from the tree in the grove; swift in its wings, it flies aloft, pours forth harmony and song to the sky . . . Thus it sings and chants, blissfully glad, till the sun has sunk in the southern sky. Then it is silent and falls to listening; it lifts up its head, bold, safe in thought; and thrice it shakes its feathers swift in flight; the bird is mute. Ever it notes the hours twelve times day and night.[2]

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[1] On the question of the close similarities between the Anglo-Saxon poem and the Irish version of the otherword, Nutt suggested that these might be due to Irish influence on the rising Christian literature af eighth century Northumbria (*Voyage of Bran* i, 245 n.1).

[2] Transl. R. K Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 241 f.

De Ave Phoenice:
>   Ter quater illa pias immergit corpus in undas;
>   Ter, quater e vivo gurgite libat aquam.
>   Tollitur, ac summo consedit in arboris altae
>   Vertice, quæ totum despicit una nemus;
>   Et conversa novos Phœbi nascentis ad ortus,
>   Expectat radios, et jubar exoriens.
>   Atque ubi sol pepulit fulgentis limina portæ
>   Et primi emicuit luminis aura levis;
>   Incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus,
>   Et mira lucem voce movere novam; . . .
>   Illa ter alarum repetito verbere plaudit
>   Non errabilibus nocte dieque sonis.
>   Atque eadem celeres etiam discriminat horas;
>   Igniferumque caput ter venerata, silet.[1]

That there is a nuclear similarity between these passages is beyond doubt, even though it has here been somewhat exaggerated by setting forth the Irish quatrain in isolation from its poetic context. It is to be noted, however, that the 'hours' of the Anglo-Saxon poem are not the canonical hours, which means that *IB*, if indeed it borrowed from *The Phoenix*, must itself have added this particular feature. But the other elements in the Irish *mise-en-scène*—singing otherworld birds, the great otherworld tree (in contrast to the tree within a grove in *The Phoenix*)—have their origin in native tradition if I am not mistaken, in which case one may well ask whether a monastic littérateur might not have thought of this particular embellishment independently; after all, it is well known that great importance was attached to the celebration of the canonical hours in the early Irish church. The evidence for borrowing is therefore hardly conclusive.

However, Professor Carney's interpretation of *IB* as a sustained Christian allegory presents no serious problems in so far as the two central poems are concerned, for at the very least these draw a conscious parallel between Mongán's birth and the Incarnation and a clear if implicit equation between pagan otherworld and Christian paradise which in later voyage literature hardens into a virtual identification. But once he extends it to the prose it runs into difficulty, as he himself is the first to point out: 'The allegory has some features that at first sight might seem peculiar. Bran is to avoid sloth and intoxication, and is not to land on the *Inis Subai*, the island of foolish laughter. Yet his ultimate destination is the 'Island

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[1] Migne vii, 278 f.

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of Women', the happiness of which consists in gross satisfaction of
the senses.' But he goes on: 'This, however, is not a very great
difficulty when we realise that the author in presenting an allegory
was necessarily thinking on two levels, and that he sometimes,
perhaps, allows one level to intrude upon the other. He had to
express his Christian reality in symbols that were consistent with a
pagan historical background. He chose not to show Bran (who
on the superficial level of symbol was no more than a pagan setting
out on a voyage in a curragh) enjoying the intellectual refinement
of the Christian Paradise. He was, in fact, quite logical and kept
strictly within the terms of his allegory when he showed this old
pagan of antiquity coming to a mysterious island, the delights of
which consisted in the satisfaction of the senses and the annihilation
of time.'

This explanation does not carry an air of conviction. It is difficult—
on any level of the imagination—to think of the Bran of *Immram
Brain*, or to believe that the poet thought of him, as 'no more than a
pagan setting out on a voyage in a curragh': even for a privileged
pagan, not to mention a monastic *literatus* of the seventh or eighth
century, it cannot have been a banal experience to be invited on a
voyage of idyllic promise by a mysterious and beautiful lady. And
it is still no more clear why the poet, having wrought an allegory
'showing Man setting out on the voyage to Paradise' chose not to
let him enjoy the heavenly happiness of the Christian Paradise (the
expression 'intellectual refinement' carries the quite unwarranted
implication that pagan mythological tradition was somehow crass,
unsubtle and insensitive), but instead brought him to land in the
Island of Women, the very concept of which he himself or a monastic
predecessor is supposed to have introduced from classical sources.

But it must be remembered that these difficulties only arise and
the whole tortuous argument only becomes necessary if one discounts
the indigenous mythological element in *IB*: once it is accepted
that the poet probably used native traditions of the otherworld,
the problems ceases to exist; and if the theory of a sustained allegory
suffers thereby, then perhaps the theory is unsound. In this regard
it is relevant to recall that that part of the prose which poses problems
for Professor Carney's interpretation is precisely the part which an
entirely different criterion gave us reason to think might have been
derived from an oral *echtra*, and this in itself is surely some con-
firmation that there was such an oral source. Consequently it might
well seem that Carney's allegorical interpretation would have been
less vulnerable had he confined it strictly to the verse, for, after all,
it is the verse which incorporates the Christian element and which
by its very form declares itself a new composition. He himself

was not unaware of this distinction, for, as we saw already, he speaks of the otherworld kingdom 'as described in the verse' as embodying the early medieval notion of what human bliss would have been without the Fall, but nevertheless he evidently could not refrain from endeavouring to accommodate prose as well as verse within the scope of his interpretation. The reason may well have been that once having accepted the integral text of *Immram Brain* as the work of a single author, he realized that his allegorical interpretation must be valid for the whole text or not at all. And it is precisely on the basis of the same reasoning which I impute to Professor Carney that I find it impossible to accept his assessment of *Immram Brain* as 'a thoroughly Christian poem' and 'an allegory showing Man setting out on the voyage to Paradise'.

The Incarnation and the birth of Mongán.

One of the features of *IB* to which Professor Carney has drawn particular attention is the poet's use of the Incarnation as an analogue to the birth of Mongán. The circumstances in which Mongán was conceived are alluded to but not explicitly described in *IB*: for that we must turn to *Compert Mongáin*, another of the texts from Cín Droma Snechta[1]. In this version of the 'Birth of the Hero' myth Fiachna Lurga, king of Ulster, goes off to Scotland to aid his friend and ally Aedán mac Gabráin who was at war with the Saxons, and these then bring on a terrible warrior to slay Fiachna. At this point a noble-looking stranger presents himself to Fiachna's wife at home in Ráith Mór in Mag Line, warns her of her husband's mortal danger and undertakes to rescue him if only she will lie with himself, and he foretells that the son who will be born from their union will be famous, that 'he will be Mongán'. She consents and Mongán is conceived, and before taking his departure the stranger identifies himself as Manannán mac Lir: 'so that this Mongán is a son of Manannán mac Lir, though he is called Mongán son of Fiachna'. This then is the story alluded to in stanzas 49 seqq. of *IB* (and in the preceding prose synopsis), where Manannán identifies himself to Bran, foretells his visit to Fiachna's wife and the birth of Mongán, and then delivers a kaleidoscopic resumé of the latter's fabulous career. But, as both Carney and Nutt have remarked, it is only by reference to *Compert Mongáin* that the allusions in *IB* become completely intelligible and obviously the poet-author of *IB* used the *Compert* as one of his sources.

This immediately raises the question whether the analogy between Mongán's birth and the Incarnation which was pointed up by the

[1] *The Voyage of Bran*, i, 42 ff.

author of *IB* had already some bearing on the composition of the
prior birth-tale, or, as Professor Carney puts it, 'whether or not the
author of *Compert Mongáin* was influenced by the New Testament.'
Professor Carney, while acknowledging that the matter is open to
doubt, nevertheless inclines to the view that he was so influenced
and indeed regards it as 'not unlikely' that *IB* and the *Compert* share
a common authorship. On the latter point he may well be right
(see p. 122 n. 1 supra), but in fact this has no very real bearing on
the question of the conscious analogy once we accept the chronological
and thematic priority of the *Compert*. For even if we assume that it
was written by the same author who later composed *IB*, it does not
follow that the two texts share the same conceptual basis, nor indeed
is it at all certain that the *Compert* only came into existence when
written (as already remarked, the third and fourth of the Mongán
anecdotes cannot possibly have been composed in their extant form).
Even more important, there is nothing in the content of the *Compert*
to suggest that its author had the Incarnation in mind when writing
it, whereas on the other hand it fits easily within the traditional and
more or less universal pattern of the story of the birth of the hero.
    The normal constituent elements of this pattern are as follows:
(i) the hero's earthly father is a king; (ii) but he is also reputed to
be the son of a god; (iii) the manner of his conception and/or birth
must be non-empirical, whether it be by virgin birth, or by pre-
ternatural conception, or by abnormal, not to say unnatural, delivery.
The theme is abundantly attested in Irish, subject of course to the
usual omissions, extensions and other variations dictated by im-
mediate context, and there can be no question but that it was a
commonplace of oral tradition, in Ireland as elsewhere.

> Tusa mac Sadhbha saoire,
>   as tú an tslat abhla as áille;
> cá dia do bhrú na Bóinne
>   do-róine ria tú i dtáidhe?

'You are the son of noble Sadhbh, you are the most beautiful apple-
branch. What god from the brink of the Boyne begot you on her
in secret?[1]' When the poet addressed these lines to Raghnall grandson
of Gofraidh an Mhéaráin, king of Man and the Isles about the be-
ginning of the thirteenth century, it seemed a perfectly natural
thing to apply the motif of supernatural birth to him as an un-
ambiguous figure of eulogy.

Mongán and Hercules

    However, even if it can be shown with reasonable certainty that
an internationally attested theme is also an integral part of native

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[1] Ed. Brian Ó Cuív, *Éigse* viii, 289 § 9.

tradition, it does not necessarily follow that the same holds true for each and every variant of the theme that occurs in native literature. In the present instance, it has been suggested that the Birth of Mongán derives directly from the Greek tale of the Birth of Hercules.[1]   And indeed there is much that lends semblance to the suggestion.   The story has it that Amphitryon was absent on an expedition against the Teleboans, following Alcmene's promise that she would sleep with him once he had thus avenged her brothers' killing.   But even while he was returning to her, Zeus came in the likeness of Amphitryon and prolonged the night threefold while he lay with Alcmene. Later, when Amphitryon arrived, Alcmene recalled that he had been with her, but Tiresias revealed that it was really Zeus who had come to her in his stead.   When Alcmene's time was come, she bore two sons : Hercules, whom she had by Zeus and who was the elder by one night, and Iphicles, whom she had by Amphitryon. According to Professor Ó Broin, who had discussed the matter in some detail, there is 'ample' evidence to show that the Mongán tale is a 'conscious transplant' of this narrative, and indeed he has made quite an impressive case for this view—too impressive perhaps, for one feels that his treatment implies and presumes a closer correspondence than is required by the totality of the available evidence.

In the first place, though he regards the birth-tale of Mongán 'as coming directly from the classical source,' Professor Ó Broin neglects to define this source in any way: he uses the version of Apollodorus as his main basis of comparison, but merely as a matter of convenience.   He also neglects to explain how the Greek narrative became known in Ireland by approximately the seventh century, which is surely a matter of some importance considering the lack of evidence for any substantial knowledge of Greek language and literature in Ireland at this early date.   He also attaches considerable weight to the long Mod. Ir. version of *Compert Mongáin*,[2] because in several of its variants from the OI version it seems to approximate more closely to the Greek tale.   Now, it is true that, given the nature of traditional literature, a late written version of a traditional tale may easily preserve certain primitive features which have been erased or altered in an early written version; but, assuming that this applies to the Mongán tale, certain problems arise which Ó Broin does not seem to have adverted to.   It is generally agreed that *Compert Mongáin* belongs to c. 700 or earlier, and if Mongán was a

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[1] Cf. A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie Universelle* (Paris, 1930), 125; *Speculum* xx (1945), 413, and Tomás Ó Broin, ZCP xxviii, 262–271.
[2] *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. Meyer, 58 ff.

historical person of the early seventh century, as Ó Broin accepts
he was, one would have to assume that the Greek tale was borrowed
and attached to Fiachna and Mongán, and that at least one version
of it was composed, already incorporating certain alterations, before
the extant *Compert Mongáin* which would itself be a modification
of this prior version. This is by no means impossible, but the diffi-
culties merit some comment. So also does the problem of the trans-
mission of the 'primitive' version. Was this product of a seventh-
century *literatus* maintained orally until written down again in the
early Mod. Ir. period, or was it preserved in written form long
enough—but only just—to be rewritten and expanded in Mod. Ir.?
The first alternative seems to be excluded in Professor Ó Broin's
scheme of things, the second he does not discuss.

Since the primary OI version, being hypothetical, is not available
for scrutiny, Professor Ó Broin has to address himself to the extant
OI *compert*. With it in mind he writes: 'The corresponding Irish
tale, brief like its prototype [the Birth of Hercules], must be one of
the most finished and artistic in Irish literature. It has no lacunae,
illogicalities, inconsistencies: the style is of the classic kind, free from
prolixity and gaucherie: the plot is developed and presented with a
keen eye for dramatic effect, and is carried to a fine but not unnatural
climax. On reading it one gets something of the effect of a good
modern short story. It would be absurd to say that in MI [the extant
OI *compert*] we are dealing with some antique detritus or other, a
misunderstood or mangled myth, saved by a diligent but unen-
lightened scribe, and bearing all the stigmata of its chequered career.
Whatever the ultimate origin of the plot may be, it is here fashioned
by a cultured, conscious and subtle author.' With much of this one
can readily agree: the last sentence in particular is quite unexception-
able—if the writer did not so evidently feel that it clinched his
argument for a Greek source. The penultimate sentence is, however,
a rare example of colourful special pleading: not merely is it heavy
with false assumptions as to the nature of oral learning and literature
and the process by which they came to be written, but it contradicts
what has never been argued, nor is ever likely to be.

With regard to the actual occurrence of the theme it is perhaps
worth reiterating that it is not confined to Irish and Greek. Professor
Ó Broin seems to acknowledge this fact in a foot-note, but immediately
dismisses it without further consideration: 'Though I do not deny
the possibility of a widespread concept of the nature referred to,
or even a myth, it is wholly inadequate to account for the similarity
of the legend with its congeners [the Birth of Arthur and related tales

in Irish and Welsh], and particularly the close parallelism with the classical story, the obvious explanation in all cases being borrowing in one way or another.'   It could be argued, however—and with greater validity, it appears to me—that such a myth is not merely adequate, but even necessary, to explain the similarities between widespread versions of the theme (though naturally this is without prejudice to any particular instance of suggested borrowing).

As to the undoubted parallelism between the Mongán and Hercules tales, as it has been set forth by Professor Ó Broin, there are several points which might usefully be considered in seeking to decide whether it is a result of recent (that is OI) literary borrowing or of early dissemination.   Take for example the fact that both Mongán and Amphitryon are away at war when the deity visits their wives.   This is at first glance quite a striking similarity, but on more mature consideration, and given that the probability of borrowing normally stands in inverse ratio to the predictability of the analogies, it will be seen to be relatively insignificant: if heroic princes must be conveniently absent, then where more aptly than in pursuit of their characteristic calling?   In one of the versions of the Indian story of Indra's seduction of the beautiful Ahalyā, wife of the ascetic Gautama, the god was aided by the moon, who assumed the form of a cock and crowed at midnight.   Gautama was thus roused and went off to his devotions, whereupon Indra promptly entered in his place. Here it is almost as predictable that Gautama should be at his prayers as that Mongán and Amphitryon should be off fighting.

On the other hand, a less predictable feature is that of the deity assuming the husband's appearance in order to gain access to his wife, yet it is precisely this feature which is common to widely scattered versions of the seduction theme, including the story of Hercules, that of Indra and Ahalyā, and the Mod. Ir. version of the Birth of Mongán (though it is omitted from the OI form of the tale). This extensive distribution can scarcely be attributed to literary borrowing, and the presumption is that we have to do here with one of the constituent elements of the myth of the divine seducer.

Professor Ó Broin notes that according to some classical authors, though not Apollodorus, Hercules was brought away to Mount Olympus for a time to be raised, and he relates this to the statement in the Mod. Ir. version of the Birth of Mongán that when Mongán was three nights old Manannán took him away to be brought up in the Land of Promise until he should reach the age of twelve.   He furthermore sees in this latter reference an echo of the Greek tradition that Zeus tripled the length of the night during which he begot

Hercules. But here again one has to be wary of over-simplifying thematic relationships. In the first place, it is not unnatural that the son of a deity should be thought of as receiving his youthful training in the realm of the gods, and, in any event, one of the commonest constituent elements of the Birth of the Hero myth is that the child—whose life is usually threatened by his maternal grandfather or by another—is spirited away shortly after birth and reared in a distant country. As for the prolonging by the deity of the time of conception, there is a good example of this in the story of the begetting and birth of Mac ind Óc, both of which took place while the Dagda dallied with Bóand and stayed the sun in the heavens so that nine months went by as one day for the absent Elcmar; but no one is likely to argue that the story of Mac ind Óc is derived from that of Hercules.

In point of fact, of course, the motif in question does not actually occur in the Mongán legend; the correspondence between the Greek and Irish tales consists in the fact that Mongán is taken away to the Otherworld after three nights and Zeus prolongs the night threefold while begetting Hercules. Now this may or may not be significant, but in trying to decide which one should at least give due consideration to the fact that the Mongán incident has a congener elsewhere in insular Celtic tradition. One of the quests recounted in the MW tale of *Culhwch ac Olwe*n is that of Mabon son of Modron, 'who was taken when three nights old from between his mother and the wall', and who remained imprisoned ever since in Caer Loyw (Gloucester, but here merely a terrestrial localization of the Other-world) until he was released by Arthur and his men. Mabon, whose reputation as a legendary prisoner passed into Continental Arthurian literature, is the same as the god Maponos and his mother is the goddess Mātrona. This is consistent with scattered contextual evidence which suggests that the lost legend of Mabon was part of insular Celtic mythological tradition and, as such, it would have had points of contact with the Mongán legend and with other Irish traditional narratives. There is no obvious reason, therefore, to assume any direct literary connection between the Welsh and Irish narratives, and, not surprisingly, the abduction of the divine, or semi-divine, child does not seem to have the same motivation or sequel in the two instances.

This discussion of Professor Ó Broin's argument might easily be prolonged—at least threefold—but perhaps the foregoing comments are enough to explain why it appears to me to fail in its purpose: in short, it is too eclectic in its comparisons and restricts its scrutiny too closely to the narratives which it seeks to relate, and, by the same

token, it ignores almost completely the special character and the content of insular Celtic tradition.

Instances of the wonder-child in insular Celtic tradition

As it appears in the Mongán story—or more precisely, in the summary rendering of the extant text—the conception theme has no reference to virgin birth; but on the other hand, the notion of virgin birth is never far removed from the heroic birth-tale of the hero, for, as the Rees brothers have observed, in these stories 'the role of the earthly father is minimized or discounted altogether, as though to stress the third factor in conception—the mother is a maiden, she is secluded from contact with men, or, though married, she has proved barren until the intervention of the third factor.' In fact the birth of the child of heroic destiny has normally a strong element of enigma and paradox which both explains and prefigures his extraordinary greatness and virtue. Even from the very beginning of his existence he transcends the normal classification by rational earthbound categories. For if he is delivered by abnormal means, by caesarian birth for example, then in a certain sense he is not born at all, and if he is conceived through a supernatural agency it is arguable that he has in effect two fathers—or none.

This dynamic paradox has an important part in traditional Irish—and Celtic—thought and it makes its appearance at an early stage of the written literature. A good instance is the birth-tale of Cú Chulainn, *Compert Chon Culainn*, which in its written form is at least as old as Cín Droma Snechta. It makes Cú Chulainn the final issue of a series of three births and conceptions, so that he was, as one manuscript puts it, 'the son/child of three years.'[1] While Deichtire was pregnant with Cú Chulainn, the god Lugh appeared to her in her sleep and revealed that he was the child's father, but the Ulstermen, being less well informed than Deichtire now was, were not a little perplexed (*Ba ceist mór la hUltu nácon fes céle fora seilb*, LU 10605) and could only assume that Conchobor himself had begotten the child on his own daughter (or sister, as elsewhere) while in his cups. Conchobor then betrothed Deichtire to Sualdaim mac Roich, but she was ashamed to approach her new husband in her actual condition and therefore performed a kind of crude abortion. Subsequently, however, she became pregnant again and gave birth to the child who was later to be called Cú Chulainn. Thus the future hero of the Ulaid was the son of Lug as well as of the human Sualdaim. There is also the suggestion that he was conceived

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[1] Eg. 1782, *IT* I, 140.14: *ocus ba he dono mac na teoru mbliadan in sin.*

incestuously, thereby being endowed with another of the familiar
and sacred marks of heroic distinction.   And finally, when Deichtire's
pregnancy came to the notice of the Ulstermen she was still a virgin,
at least so far as they were aware.

In another early tale, where the text is unfortunately rather
uncertain, Mongán himself gives a cursory and allusive description
of the land that had once existed where Lough Foyle was now, and
in the course of this account he uses the phrase *acht naetfeiutir athair
mathair* (v. l. *acht naeth iter aothar maothar*), which Kuno Meyer
translates as 'though I know neither father or mother,' but which
might also mean 'though father does not know mother.'[1]   Whatever
be the exact literal translation of this phrase—and it is a matter
of some doubt—it is evidently yet another statement of the sacred
paradox associated with the birth of the hero.

From British tradition this motif is already attested by the be-
ginning of the ninth century in a celebrated passage of Nennius's
Historia Brittonum (§§ xl — xlii).   The story has it that Vortigern,
notorious ruler of much of Britain, was advised by his wise men
(*magi* in the Latin text, *druid* in the Irish translation) to build a
fortress in Eryri, or Snowdonia, in North Wales, at the place now
known as Dinas Emrys, near Beddgelert in Caernarvonshire.   The
builders soon discover, however, that whatever progress they make
during the day is completely undone during the following night,
and the materials carried away,   The 'druids' are consulted and their
advice is that the work can never be accomplished until a child
without a father is found and his blood sprinkled on the foundations.
Messengers are dispatched to search throughout Britain and they
finally arrive in Glamorgan in South Wales where they come upon
some boys playing ball.   A dispute arises between two of the boys
and one of them brands the other as a person without a father (*o homo
sine patre, bonum non habebis*). The messengers then enquire of this
boy's mother whether indeed he had a father and she replies that
he had not and that she does not know how he was conceived in her
womb.   (In Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the story the mother,
a nun, was visited by an incubus while she slept and it was thus the
boy was conceived).   The boy is brought back to Vortigern to be
sacrificed, but, when he learns that this is the counsel proposed by
the 'druids,' he proceeds to confound them by a series of questions as
to what lies hidden beneath the site of the fortress, thereby exposing
the utter ignorance of these seers and pundits while at the same time
delivering himself of the famous prophecy of the outcome of the
struggle beneath the British and the English.   He reveals that there

[1] *ZCP* ii, 315.

is a pool under the site, and in the pool two vessels containing two worms or dragons (*vermes/dracones*), one red, the other white. They fight together with varying fortunes, but in the end the red prevails. The two dragons, he explains, represent the opposing peoples and the victory of the red over the white prefigures the ultimate victory of the British over the English.

The boy then identifies himself as Ambrosius, otherwise Emrys Wledig, who is already identified by Nennius with the Romano-British leader Ambrosius Aurelianus; in Geoffrey of Monmouth, however, he becomes Merlinus Ambrosius, or more commonly Merlinus *tout court* (from the Welsh Myrddin).

But if the personae of Nennius's story, Vortigern and Ambrosius, are historical, clearly the story itself is not. It is in fact a complex of traditional story motifs—fatherless child, the dispute between the boys at play, foundation sacrifice, etc.—which have no necessary connection with the historical Ambrosius, or Vortigern, or indeed with North Wales.[1] With one exception, these constituent motifs

[1] There is a curious distorted analogue, or reflection, of this complex in the Early Modern Irish tale of *Echtra Airt meic Cuind* (ed. R. I. Best, *Ériu* iii, 150 ff.). The story hinges upon the widowed Conn Cétchathach's union with Bécuma Cneisgel, who had been banished from the Land of Promise for her unfaithfulness. During the first year that Conn and Bécuma were together in Tara the prosperity of the land was blighted and there was neither corn nor milk in Ireland. The druids were consulted and they attributed this calamity to Bécuma's depravity. Their counsel was that the son of a sinless couple should be brought to Ireland and slain at the entrance to Tara and his blood mingled with the soil of Tara. Conn set out alone from Beann Éadair in a curach and eventually came to a beautiful otherworld island where he found the object of his quest, a young boy whose father and mother had never come together save at his conception. They returned to Tara and the boy stood ready to be slain when the assembly was interrupted by the entrance of a wailing woman and a cow. She directed that the cow be slaughtered in lieu of the boy and its blood mingled with the soil of Tara. She asked the druids to declare what was in the two lumps, or swellings, on the cow's sides, and, when they confessed their ignorance, she declared that there were two birds inside, a bird with one leg and another with twelve. The cow was than slaughtered, opened, and the two birds released, and immediately they began to struggle together. The one-legged bird prevailed and the woman—obviously addressing herself to the druids—explained the meaning of the conflict: 'You are the bird with the twelve legs, and the little boy the bird with one leg, for it is he who is in the right.'

The resemblances between this story and the Nennius episode are evident: the king's predicament, the quest for a boy of abnormal parentage, the proposed foundation or purificatory sacrifice, the questioning and discomfiting of the druids, the two dragons/birds contending together, and the interpretation of the outcome. And in view of the marks of conscious revision of tradition which are so obvious in this text it is a fair assumption that its source was much closer to the *Historia Brittonum* narrative and that the original similarity has been obscured by secondary modifications, for example by the rather feeble christianization of the birth motif and by the substitution of the woman for the boy in the role of inquisitor of the druids. The question is whether the Irish tale actually derives from the *Historia Brittonum*, or rather from its Irish translation. The druids, it may be noted, are twelve in number in the Irish Nennius (though not in the Latin) and also, by implication, in *Echtra Airt*; but, as against this, the number twelve is used elsewhere in Irish literature of druids etc. The evidence of textual dating is indecisive: Van Hamel assigns the Irish translation of Nennius to the second half of the eleventh century and *Echtra Airt meic Cuind* seems to have been included in the original form of tale-list B, which was probably compiled

are familiar features of insular Celtic tradition. However, the one exception is in a sense the core of the whole episode: the confounding of the learned men by the wonder-child. This motif is not a common one[1]. Indeed if we look for an analogue among the early remains of the insular tradition, our enquiry will eventually bring us back to our point of departure, Mongán. By the testimony of legend Mongán is nothing if not knowledgeable, but the significant thing is that in at least two early tales he consciously uses his knowledge to deflate the pretensions of the *filid*, the trained poets who were historical heritors of the learning and status of the druids. In one of the tales, the well-known anecdote from Cín Droma Snechta[2], he has an argument with Forgoll the poet about the spot in which Fothad Airgdech met his death, and his stand is vindicated by the testimony of Caílte, who arrives from the otherworld to confirm Mongán's argument (and inadvertently identifies him with Finn mac Cumaill). In the other he humiliates Eochu Rígéices, 'the chief poet of Ireland,' while the latter is enjoying the patronage of his father Fiachna mac Baetáin. When Eochu accompanies Fiachna on a royal visitation he is accosted at one point on the route by four young clerics and at others by four noble youths. They ask him to identify certain monuments and raths and to recall who built them or lived in them, and each time when he is lost for an answer one of the youths promptly provides it, to the discomfiture of the great poet. When the identity of his tormentor finally dawns upon him, Eochu retaliates with the declaration that Mongán, for his impudence, shall be deprived of noble issue.[3]

Here we have the erudite and, in the second instance, the precocious Mongán who embarrassed the *filid* by the range of his knowledge on subjects which lay within their own professional province. Viewed in the context of the tradition that he was born through the intervention of the god Manannán, these two tales—or at least the second of them—suggest that there may have been a legend which told of the wonder-child Mongán's premature acquisition of knowledge and wisdom, as extant texts do of Noíndiu Noíbrethach, Aí mac Ollaman, Morann, Taliesin and, as we have already noted, Myrddin-Ambrosius. This suggestion seems to be borne out by

close to the year 1000; but this does not preclude borrowing, since there is no means of knowing how closely the extant *Echtra Airt* corresponds in its material content to the earlier text noted in list B. As the evidence stands, therefore, the episode in *Echtra Airt* may be borrowed from Nennius, but this is far from certain.

[1] It occurs also, of course, in the legend that grew up around the name of the historical poet Taliesin, but Sir Ifor Williams concludes that it has here been modelled on the story of Ambrosius, or Emrys Wledig (*Chwedl Taliesin*, Cardiff, 1957, p. 7 ff.).

[2] *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. Meyer, i, 49 ff.

[3] Ed. Eleanor Knott, *Ériu* viii, 155 ff.

another fragment of literary tradition. The genre of institutional literature known as *tecosc* (*ríg*), or *speculum principum*, which figured prominently in the professional learning of the *filid*, is usually represented in the extant examples as embodying the advice of a foster-father or wise cousellor to a young prince about to succeed to the kingship; but in Mongán's case, if the written evidence is to be believed, the roles were completely reversed, for there is a poem in the genealogies which is described as a *tecosc* delivered by Mongán to his father Fiachna![1] Admittedly, as it stands, it is a much later composition than the tales of Mongán referred to above and it bears little resemblance to the normal *tecosc*, for apart from the three opening stanzas it consists of a string of eulogistic references to the heroes of the Ulster Cycle, accompanied by the familiar moralistic observation that, while these for all their greatness have passed away, God remains; nonetheless, it does show that Mongán's wisdom, even while he was young in years, had become proverbial in the early period; so much so that he could be pictured as his father's superior and his guide in the discharging of his royal responsibilities. The fact that the declamation of the *tecosc* almost certainly formed part of the traditional ceremony of inauguration to the kingship underlines the association of youth with wisdom in Mongán mac Fiachna, since in all probability he must have been of tender years when his father became king (particularly if Fiachna's reign extended from *c.* 589, the year after the death of his predecessor, Aed Dub mac Suibni, to his own death in 626).

In the light of the extant evidence, therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that Mongán was once the focus of a tradition similar to that which tells how the wonder-child Ambrosius confounded the magicians and wise men of Vortigern by his superior knowledge and powers of divination. But whereas the latter legend has been preserved as an integrated historical narrative, that of Mongán has evidently been fragmented and dissipated throughout several different items of narrative, so that the underlying mythological motif has been transformed into something of a casual socio-cultural comment. In the absence of any indication of borrowing between the British and Irish legends one can only assume that insular Celtic oral tradition knew a version of the birth of the hero theme in which the wise wonder-child bested the druids of the king (his father?). Even then this additonal element of the story complex was no innovation, being but one of many realizations of the archetypal figure of the wonder-boy who is both sage and hero. Indian tradition provides a particularly striking analogy: 'In the *Brāhmana* literature a favourite theme is the young disciple, the *brahmachārin*, who comes to the

king's court and is there questioned by his elders until, by the wisdom
of his answers, the roles are changed and he starts questioning them,
thus showing himself master instead of pupil.[1]

There is a variant of this in a remarkable story cited by Heinrich
Zimmer from one of the Purānas. After his destruction of the dragon
Indra began to rebuild the shattered mansions of the city of the gods.
But he went about his task with such excess of ambition and with
such increasing appetite that the divine craftsman Vishvakarman
was finally obliged to seek the aid of Brahmā. Brahmā in turn had
recourse to the supreme authority of Vishnu, who received his
petition with favour.

'Early next morning a brahmin boy, carrying the staff of a pilgrim,
made his appearance at the gate of Indra, bidding the porter announce
his visit to the king. The gate-man hurried to the master, and the
master hastened to the entrance to welcome in person the auspicious
guest. The boy was slender, some ten years old, radiant with the
luster of wisdom. Indra discovered him amidst a cluster of en-
raptured, staring children. The boy greeted the host with a gentle
glance of his dark and brilliant eyes. The king bowed to the holy
child and the boy cheerfully gave his blessing. The two retired to
the hall of Indra, where the god ceremoniously proffered welcome
to his guest with oblations of honey, milk and fruits, then said "O
Venerable Boy, tell me of the purpose of your coming."

'The beautiful child replied with a voice that was as deep and
soft as the slow thundering of auspicious rain clouds. "O King of
Gods, I have heard of the mighty palace you are building, and have
come to refer to you the questions in my mind. How many years
will it require to complete this rich and extensive residence? What
further feats of engineering will Vishvakarman be expected to ac-
complish? O Highest of the Gods,"—the boy's luminous features
moved with a gentle, scarcely perceptible smile—"no Indra before
you has ever succeeded in completing such a palace as yours is to be."

'Full of the wine of triumph, the king of the gods was entertained
by this mere boy's pretension to a knowledge of Indras earlier than
himself. With a fatherly smile he put the question: "Tell me,
Child! Are they then so very many, the Indras and Vishvakarmans
whom you have seen—or at least, whom you have heard of?"'

The boy recalls quietly Indra's ancestors whom he had known
and also the recurrent dissolutions and recreations of the universe

[1] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Paladin Books, London, 1970), p. 134.

which he had lived through, and he gently impresses on Indra the utter impossibility of reckoning either these serial universes or the universes that even now exist side by side throughout the wide infinities of space. And while he speaks, a long column of ants, four yards wide, parades across the floor of the hall. He pauses, then laughs, and Indra asks him why and begs him to "reveal the secret of the ages".

'Thus requested to teach, the boy opened to the god the hidden wisdom. "I saw the ants, O Indra, filing in long parade. Each was once an Indra. Like you, each by virtue of pious deeds once ascended to the rank of a king of gods. But now, through many rebirths, each has become again an ant. This army is an army of former Indras . . .'[1].

Thus did Vishnu in the guise of a child convert a pretentious Indra to a sudden realization of his own insignificance and to a sobering vision of the cyclic rising and passing of the universe through endless aeons of time.

This theophany of Vishnu is reminiscent of a passage relating to the god Agni in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (II, 150 ff.):
'The maker of religious (re)birth and teacher of virtue,
a brahmin even though a boy becomes father of an older man according to 'dharma.'
The youthful poet descended from Angiras taught the fathers;
he addressed them as 'little boys', having surpassed them in knowledge.
They were angry and took the matter up with the gods;
the gods met together and said to them, 'the boy addressed you properly'.
An ignorant person is (rates as) a boy, a reciter of Veda as a father;
an ignorant man they call a boy and a reciter of Veda a father.'[2]

The point of such comparisons as these is, in the first place to underscore the fact that the theme of the prodigious child who proves more than a match for his seniors is a widespread one, and, secondly, to observe that Indian tradition, which otherwise preserves so many close analogues of items in insular Celtic tradition, has in this instance a rather close parallel to the form of the theme which is explicit

[1] Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* ed. Joseph Campbell, (Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1962), p. 3 ff.
[2] It is a curious coincidence, though perhaps nothing more, that Mongán appears as a kind of sympathetic guardian of the student poet in one of the Cín Droma Snechta anecdotes, *The Voyage of Bran*, ed. Meyer, 52 ff. While Agni has often a rather similar role in Indian tradition.

in the Ambrosius tale and, if I am correct, implicit in that of Mongán. And indeed I have already suggested that it may once have existed in Irish as an integrated tale. But if such a tale did exist, then it may never have been written down; at all events it appears to have perished, doubtless like much else of the material relating to the background of the Manannán-Mongán legend. Enough remains, however, to suggest that the central motif of the birth of the wonder-child had given rise to a whole web of related narratives which were current in the oral tradition of the seventh century. Let us take an example. We have seen that Manannán is represented as the otherworld father of Mongán in *Compert Mongáin* and *Immram Brain;* but it is clear that this was not the only version of the super-natural conception theme with which he was connected. Most likely he was the supernatural being (*scál*) who came from the sea and had intercourse with the daughter of Dáire mac Dedad, as a result of which she gave birth to Noíndiu Noíbrethach, one of the three infants who spoke directly after their birth.[1] But more interesting for our present purpose is a reference in several of the collections of genealogies to the birth of Rónán son of Domangort mac Predae of the Dál Fiatach, whose *floruit* is not far removed from that assigned to the historical Mongán: according to MacNeill 'Ronan's date should be *c.* 600'[2], but he may have been earlier.[3] The passage in question is as follows:

'The seven sons of Domangort, he to whom Rónán Laech ['warrior, layman'] is son in half his person; the other half, however, was like Manannán mac Lir, for Rónán belonged to them both, that is to say half of him from head to foot belonged to each of them, the right side being Domangort's, the left Manannán's. Rónán's mother was Findtan the daughter of Finchaem mac Faithgin of Uí Chrónáin of the Conaille, and [it was to her] Manannán said:

>The cool clear morning approaches.
>whence men will stand forth on the battle-field;
>Manannán mac Lir
>is the name of him who has come to you.'[4]

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[1] *ZCP* xx, 196, 198 (YBL); though in another version (LL 319 a, b; Rawl. B 502, 147 a 39 = ZCP xii, 332), which seems to have a different setting, Mac ind Óc is the supernatural father. (According to this version Noíndiu when born had long hair and a beard!) The tale reflects the more extended form of the birth of the hero myth represented by the Perseus or Lug-Balor legend, for Dáire's death results from his grandson's birth, in accordance with prophecy; though in this case the death of the grandfather is made to follow immediately upon the birth of his daughter's child.

Noíndiu addresses his mother after birth and, following the YBL text, says to her among other things: *deid-se as murchorta m'athair ⁊ me fein* 'Fur dich ist mein Vater und bin ich selbst ein Gestrandeter (vom Meere Gekommener).' This probably points to Manannán and thus provides a pendant to the Mongán narrative.

[2] *ZCP* viii, 418.

[3] Cf. Miss Dobbs, *ZCP* xiii, 355 n. 10.

[4] Lec. 131 a 34 (*ZCP* xiii, 354 f.): *vii [meic] Domainguirt cui Ronan laech filius eius* (v. 1. *est*) *demedia parte, pars vero altera Manannan* (v. 1. *Monannan*) *mac Lir fuit*

It is curious that one of the Dál Fiatach, close neighbours and traditional enemies of Dál nAraide, should have been the subject of a tale so similar to that of Mongán.[1]   That the general setting and motivation of the two stories correspond is clearly implied by Manannán's speech, which is in any case simply a variant version of the lines he addresses to Fiachna's wife in *Compert Mongáin*, the tale of Mongán's conception.[2]   There has obviously been borrowing in this instance, and the balance of probability suggests that the redactor of the Rónán anecdote as found in the genealogies was the borrower.   But even if that be the case, it is unlikely that the story of Rónán's birth could be based entirely upon that of Mongán.

One differentiating feature is Rónán's peculiar physical partition which has no counterpart in the extant materials of the Mongán legend.   It reminds one of the tale of Lugaid Reo (Riab) nDerg's conception, of which the *Cóir Anmann* gives this convenient resumé: 'Lugaid Reo nDerg, that is, of the red stripes; there were two red stripes across him, that is a circle round his throat and a circle over his waist.   His head resembled Nár's, his breast that of Bres and from the belt down he was like Lothar.'[3]   Lugaid was, of course, the fruit of the incestuous union of the Findemna, the three sons of Eochu Feidlech, with their sister Clothru.   Another similar story may lie behind the reference in *Mesca Ulad* to a certain Uanchend ('Lambhead') Arritech, who is described as the son of the three heroes Uma mac Remanfisig, Errgi Echbél and Celtchair mac Uthidir, but unfortunately the storyteller does not seem to have considered it necessary to offer any explanation of this rather unusual parentage.[4] To move further afield, the collective union of the Findemna with Clothru can hardly be dissociated entirely from the marriage of

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similis; ar fuit (v. 1. *nam p̃*) *illis duobus Ronan .i. a leath o chind co fonn la ceachtair nai, deis[r]i Domainguirt, tuaisri Manannain.   Fin[d]tan ingean Finntanain* (v. 1. *Finchaim*) *meic Faithgin de Uib Cronain de Conaillib mathair Ronain ⁊ dixit Manannan:*
> *Dofuil in madain nuarglain*
> *dia mbiat na fir anarmuig;*
> *ise Manannan mac Lir*
> *Comainm an fir dotharlaid.*

Also BB 167 a 46 (*ZCP* viii, 418), Lec. 128 vb 7, Uí M. 13 vb 44.

[1] The Dál Fiatach, claimed descent from Dáire who figures in the story already mentioned as grandfather of Noíndiu Noíbrethach.

[2] Incidentally, is it mere coincidence that the name Rónán (⟨*rón* 'seal' ?), like Mongán, seems to connote a connection with the sea?   The fact that the god of the sea is designated as the father in these cases suggests that perhaps it is not.   For boundless water as 'an organic part of the image of the Primordial Child' see C. Kerényi in C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi, *Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (London, 1951, 1970), pp. 67, 134 *et passim*.

[3] *IT* III, ii, 332 § 105. Cf. also FF ii. 232; RC xliii, 302; RC xvi, 148; Plummer, *VSSH* ii, 32 (. . . *Conceptique ab eis illa mulier, et peperit filium pu[lchrum] tribus conceptionibus commixtis eorum aglutinando se inuicem* . . . .).

[4] Ed. Watson, 1. 689 ff.

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Draupadī to the five Pāndava princes in the Mahābhārata, a poly-androus union which seems to be quite exceptional in the Brahmin tradition and which has been variously interpreted by various scholars.[1]

But the actual birth-tale as elaborated in the story of Lugaid Reo nDerg with its proportional representation motif seems to be a rarity. It differs from Stith Thompson T586. 3, 'Multiple birth as a result of relations with several men' (cf. also T587.1), and while this latter motif occurs elsewhere in Irish, as for example in the *dindshenchas* of Tlachtga, and is well attested internationally,[2] the 'composite' birth—if one may so term it—appears to have been noted only in the story of Lugaid Reo nDerg.[3] How then are we to explain the account of Rónán's birth given in the genealogies? The partitioning of Rónán's body reflects the combination of human and divine parentage, and in this it differs from the Lugaid tale. It also differs from it in not being explicitly related to a physical heteromorphism. Consequently one cannot simply regard the Rónán tale as a pendant to that of Lugaid Reo nDerg. But, equally, one cannot lightly dismiss it as a mere imitation of the Mongán tale, for nowhere in the estant texts is there any reference to Fiachna as an actual procreator of Mongán. More likely we have to do here with the conflation of two traditional concepts: that of multiple conception and single birth (as in the Lugaid tale) and that of the dual or divided nature which marks out the offspring of a diety and a mortal. Rónán (as indeed the Mongán of the *compert*) has something in common with Gilgamesh, who was, as the son of a goddess, two parts god and one part man,[4] and obviously it was this same duality that the author of the Irish tale sought to express, though in rather more graphic terms. Consequently, despite the fact that the written form of the Rónán tale has evidently borrowed its verse from the written form of the Mongán tale, there is a strong presumption that it had

[1] Cf. L. Renou, *The Civilisation of Ancient India*, p. 63: 'Thus it is a phratrogamy, a group marriage of an archaic type; the editors of the epic are aware of its strangeness and invent various explanations.' According to Stig Wikander the five Pāndavas are representative of the three functions which characterise Indo-European society, while Draupadī is the complementary goddess whose interests affect all three functions (Cf. G. Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée* (Paris, 1968), 42 ff.).

[2] On Tlachtga see *Met. D.*, ed. Gwynn, iv, 189. On the apparently universal belief that a multiple birth argues a multiple conception see Donald J. Ward in J. Puhvel (ed.), *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkely and Los Angeles, 1970), 195 ff.

[3] Cf. Stith Thompson T 563. 1 and adjacent head words.

[4] The unequal division of Gilgamesh's nature we can leave to the experts: cf. the following from a review in *The Times Literary Supplement*, Feb. 24, 1961, p. 125: 'The epic tells us several times that Gilgamesh was one-third mortal and two-thirds divine: this, as Campbell Thompson remarks, is most odd. He explains the mathematical probability by suggesting that Gilgamesh's father, who sired him on the goddess Ninsun, was one of the *idlû lilî*, that is, a male vampire or *incubus*, "by whatever daemono-genetic Mendelism the result may have been brought about."

previously existed in parallel with the latter tale in the seventh-century oral tradition of east-Ulster. At all events, it is clear that whoever gave it the form recorded in the genealogies was familiar with birth traditions that are little attested in extant texts, and certainly not in those relating to Mongán.

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If this is a fair statement of the position in regard to these particular tales, then it would appear to bear out the burden of my argument in the present article, which is that the extant texts provide only a very incomplete index of a rich and complex oral tradition and that one should therefore be wary of too readily assuming borrowing on the part of the Irish monastic *literati* in those cases where items in native narrative can be matched by analogues in classical or ecclesiastical literature. By the very nature of the subject, absolute certainty in these matters is difficult to achieve, but the interests of sound methodology at the very least require that the analogous items be subjected to two checks before borrowing can reasonably be assumed and its extent adequately defined. The first is to determine, so far as is possible, whether the compared items occur in traditions other than Irish and classical/ecclesiastical, and if so, how extensively; the second, whether these items stand rootless and relatively isolated in Irish tradition or whether they mesh closely with the extant remains of the tradition, for, obviously, if they relate easily and incidentally to other themes and narratives in native literature the argument for borrowing becomes correspondingly less cogent.

In this preliminary essay I have advanced certain considerations, both textual and thematic, which seem to speak for the traditional character of the substance of *Immram Brain* and which make it difficult to sustain the interpretation of Bran's adventure as an allegory of Man's voyage to Paradise. It is true that the poet saw the analogy between Mongán's birth and the Incarnation, but then, for a christian familiar with native tradition the collocation is a fairly natural one: in the sixteenth century the cleric Edmund Prys complained that the traditionalist poet Wiliam Cynwal 'was seeking to obscure the incarnation of Jesus Christ' when he mentioned in his verse 'that Merddyn's father was a spirit' (cf. p. 126 supra).[1] Early Irish *literati* adverted to this analogy just as easily as they adverted to the analogy between the traditional pagan otherworld and the christian Paradise. It is not so evident that the writer of the Ambrosius episode in the *Historia Brittonum* saw the parallel with the account of the child Jesus in the temple in Luke II, 41–52,;

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[1] Cf. D. J. Bowen, *Trans. Cymm. Soc.* 1969 [1970], 322; T. R. Roberts (Asaph), *Edmund Prys, Archddiacon Meirionydd* (Caernarfon, 1899), p. 208a.

but, whether he did or not, the brief biblical story has not affected the Welsh narrative, which is quite independent and, as we have noted, is probably related collaterally to extant elements of the Mongán cycle.

In later articles I propose to extend the enquiry here initiated into the traditional affiliations of *Immram Brain* and the Mongán tales. I also hope to discuss in some detail other individual items which are contained in *Cín Droma Snechta*.

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STAIR AN CHÓNAISC *ACHT GO*[1]

1. *Acht Co*ⁿ 'Provided That'

1.1 An cónasc seo a mbead ag cur síos anseo air, is mar chónasc coinníollach (*acht co*ⁿ) sa tSean-Ghaeilge a thagaimid ar dtús air; an foshuiteach a leanann é, agus 'if only', 'provided that', a bhrí (RIA *Contr.* A 21.59). Chomh fada agus is féidir liom a dhéanamh amach, ní thagtar ar an gcónasc sna dlíthe ná sna gluaiseanna[2] agus is go déanach i dtréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge a thagann sé chun cinn: *no teged día chonair cid míle chéimind no beth in chross acht co n-acced nó co fessad*[3] *a beith i fochraibh*, Trip² 1425; *acht co nde(r)nat maith/flaith uaidib co bráth*, 1798.

1.2 Gan amhras, tá an cónasc simplí *acht* (Thurneysen, *Gramm.* § 904) sa tSean-Ghaeilge leis agus an bhrí ('if only', 'provided that') agus an fheidhm (coinníoll + foshuiteach) chéanna aige: *is ríg ní gellas for óenach, acht rop coir ní gellas*, Críth Gabl. 505; *ni imned lim act rop Crist pridches*, Wb. 23ᵇ24; *act ranglana tre athirge*, Wb. 30ᵇ19. Tá dhá dhifríocht comhréire, ámh, idir *acht* agus *acht co*ⁿ: (i) tá foirm dhiúltach fhoirmiúil ag *acht* (*acht ní* sa tSean-Ghaeilge: *acht ní bed uall and*, Wb. 10ᵇ27; *act ní robat pecthe less*, Wb.

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[1] Tá an t-alt seo bunaithe ar chaint a thugas ag tionól in Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath um Cháisc 1971. Táim an-bhuíoch de eagarthóir *Ériu* as cuid de fhadhbanna na ceiste a phlé liom, den Ollamh Tomás De Bhaldraithe ar dheineas taobh na Nua-Ghaeilge den gceist a phlé go minic leis, agus de na faisnéiseoirí uile atá luaite thíos agam. Mé féin amháin, ámh, atá freagarthach as a bhfuil agam san alt, idir eolas agus thuairimíocht.

[2] Táim buíoch den Ollamh Séamus Caomhánach as an ráiteas sin a dheimhniú dom. Féach, áfach, an cónasc Laidne *sed ut* i bhFaoistin Phádraig (*unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum tam salubre Deum agnoscere vel diligere, sed ut patriam et parentes amitterem? Conf.* § 36) agus é ar aon dul, ó thaobh brí agus feidhme de, le *acht co*ⁿ. Áiríonn an tOllamh Mohrmann (*The Latin of Saint Patrick*, 12) an úsáid seo mar thréith de dhátheangachas Phádraig agus, más ea, is fianaise thánaisteach í go raibh *acht co*ⁿ sa teanga faoin am seo (níl an úsáid seo de *sed ut* ag teacht le ceart na Laidne Iarchlasaicí fiú) bíodh nach raibh sé tagtha chun cinn sa litríocht. Is suimiúil an rud é go bhfuil na samplaí de *acht co*ⁿ in Trip² (1.1) ar na samplaí is luaithe dá bhfuil againn.

An tOllamh Gearóid Mac Eoin is túisce a dhírigh m'aird ar an úsáid seo de *sed ut*, agus thug Donnchadh Ó Corráin, M.A., an sampla seo dom den úsáid chéanna: *Airtgen & Boindia .ii. mac Airt meic Cuinn quos genuit per ebrietatem de filia sua quorum unus proiectus est i mBóinn & alter a subulco eius proiectus ad lupum sed ut morientur lechsini hoc factum est* (tá na nodanna scaoilte anseo agam). Tá san tógtha as *disjecta membra* de thráchtas geinealach (TCD H.2.7, 160, 25–30) atá, dar leis an gCorránach, an-sheanda ar fad; go maith roimh an 8ú haois a scríobhadh é, dar leis.

[3] Tugtar faoi deara go gcailltear *acht* roimh an dara briathar san abairt chomhshuite seo. Féach: *acht co nderna airfided & co n-indsi scela* (1.7), *ach ar tóigeadh an trunc . . . agus ar groigeadh* (3.3), *ach go réidtighe sí . . . agus go dteaga*, T. Ó Máille, *An Ghaoth Aniar*, 58; ach níl mo dhóthain samplaí agam chum aon leathnú a dhéanamh ar an tréith seo de *acht co*ⁿ. Cf. abairtí mar *dá dtiocfá agus go bhfanfá* sa Nua-Ghaeilge (C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás na Gaedhilge*, 489).

11^{d}9; *acht ná* sa Meán-Ghaeilge: '*do-génam-ni sin*', *ar Cú Chulainn*, '*acht na tísir-siu etraind i cind blíadna*', MU² 123; *acht nar milter úaibsi a n-arach*, LU 5849); níl ag *acht co*^{n}.[4] (ii) An t-idirdhealú a dhéanann Thurneysen (*Gramm.*, § 904) idir *acht* + foirm fhoirfeach den bhfoshuiteach chun coinníoll oscailte a chur in iúl (*acht ropo i tuil dée*, Wb. 10 ^{a}25) agus *acht* gan foirm fhoirfeach chun coinníoll iata a chur in iúl (*acht ní bed uall and*, Wb. 10^{b}27), níl an t-idirdhealú sin i gceist le *acht co*^{n} in aon chor.[5] Féach, mar shampla, *acht co ndenat/acht co ndernat* in Trip² 1798 is gan aon difríocht feidhme ná brí idir an dá fhoirm, *acht co feasmais* mar mhalairt ar *acht ro feasmais* in BDD² 262, agus *acht co* + *ro* ar aon fheidhm le *acht co* gan *ro* in *cid mor in doichell bias roim fhir th'eladhan, acht co nderna airfided & co n-indsi scela, gan doichell reime*, *Acall.* 3477.

1.3 In ainneoin na ndifríochtaí comhréire sin, ámh, is mar a chéile an dá chónasc ó thaobh feidhme agus brí de; agus ón uair gur sine *acht* ná *acht co*^{n} do dhealródh gur fás tánaisteach é *acht co*^{n} agus gurb é atá ann, an cónasc simplí *acht* agus an cónasc *co*^{n} curtha leis. Tá an chuma air gur cuid de phróiseas níos leithne é seo (.i. leathnú úsáide *co*^{n} sa tSean-Ghaeilge agus sa Meán-Ghaeilge) mar go bhfuil samplaí eile againn dá leithéid chéanna do thitim amach i gcás cónasc eile. Féach, mar shampla, *ar(a)*^{n} → *ar co*^{n} (A 371.74): *arafulsam ar fochaidi*, Wb. 14^{c}2a/*ar comad tresiti iad*, *Ériu* viii (1915) 174.35; *cini* → *cen co*^{n} (C 114.78): *ciatroillet ciniarillet*, Wb. 31^{c}23/*cia fogabad cenco fagbad*, LL 7328; *dóigh, dócha* → *dóigh co*^{n}, *dócha co*^{n} (D 303.59): *doig bas fír*, Wb. 5^{d}36/*dóigh combad ó Dia thísta*, LL 13563; *is docha as misi*, Fél. 154/*is dochu conid tria shualchi Dé*, PH 2597; agus, níos déanaí, *gé* → *gé go*, *indas* → *ionnas go*, *dochum* → *dochum go*, *dáigh* → *dáigh go*.[6]

1.4 Tá, más ea, dhá chónasc againn (*acht* agus *acht co*^{n}) ó thréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge déanaí i leith, atá ar aon bhrí agus ar aon fheidhm agus faighimid an dá cheann acu ag malartú le chéile—fiú sna téacsaí céanna—in LU agus in LL:

[4] Cf. *ar(a) co*^{n} (< *ara* + *co*^{n}; A 371.71): tá foirm dhiúltach ag an gcónasc simplí (*ar ná*), níl ag *ar co*^{n}.

[5] Tugann eagarthóirí *Contr.* (A 21.59) le tuiscint go bhfuil. Mar shampla, in *Acallamh na Senórach* (1.7) níl ach aon tsampla amháin de *acht co*^{n} + foirm fhoirfeach den mbriathar (*acht co nderna*). Gan amhras fuoin am go raibh *acht co*^{n} tagtha chun cinn go hiomlán bhí a fheidhm fhoirfeach á cailliúint ag *ro* sa tslí nach mír bhriathartha a thuilleadh é *ro* i samplaí ar nós *acht co nderna* (1.7), acht cuid fhoirmiúil den mbriathar (cf. *ní dhearna, rinne*, etc, sa Nua-Ghaeilge). Féach leis na samplaí in 1.8.

Tá an chuma air gur chuaidh an t-idirdhealú sin ar ceal i gcás *acht* féin sa Meán-Ghaeilge leis. Féach *acht dober inn-ubull duit*, SR 1277; *acht bid ar galaib óenfer conristá friss*, LU 6679; a mbeifeá ag súil le foirm fhoirfeach sa dá chás.

[6] Féach C 170.85; I218.42; D 229.60, 19.44; faoi seach. Féach leis *céin* 'as long as'/*céin co*^{n} 'until' (C 180.39). Ní mór a chur san áireamh chomh maith teacht chun cinn agus leathnú *co*^{n} mar chónasc ráiteasach (D. Greene, 'Varia II' 2, *Ériu* xxi (1969) 90f.).

LU (*a*) **acht:** *amra brigi són, ol Cú Chulaind, acht ropa airdercsa,* LU 5059; *acht bid ar galaibh óenfer conristá friss,* 6679; *acht rofessin combad tú,* 6256; (*b*) **acht co**^{n}: *nípá mesc atchíu acht co risa,* 4787; *ríge laech nÉrend uaimse dait, ol Bricriu, acht co nderna mo chomarlissea,* 8114; *acht cor damthar fír fer dam,* 9213.

LL (*a*) **acht:** *acht com· messind-se mo maccu,* Fing. R. 498; *tíastaisi issin dún acht comtalat,* Fraech 370; *bid docho duit acht condrísem forsind áth,* TBC³ 1096;[7] (*b*) **acht co**^{n}: *acht co comrís féin fris,* Fing. R. 42; *dobérthar mo ingensa duit acht co tís,* Fraech 167; *dagébam ar síd fair acht co táeth in fer sain lind,* TBC³ 2523.

1.5 Is é an scéal céanna in SR é—malartaíonn *acht* (*acht dober inn-ubull duit* 1277,[8] *acht rissam nemthech* 2745) le *acht co*^{n} (*acht coross innunn* 1271, *acht cotorra int-ubull dam* 1263, *acht cotorchrorsa* 1533, *acht co romarbtais* 3252, *acht coromarba* 5856) ann, acht amháin gur coitinne i bhfad *acht co*^{n}. Tugann sin le tuiscint go raibh an cónasc simplí ag dul ar ceal faoin am seo agus tá fianaise eile ar fáil a thagann leis an tuairim sin. An dá líne seo in SR féin: *acht condechsat andís 'malé* 1161, *acht condessamar inn-ubull* 1266; ar samplaí de *acht co*^{n} go dromplach iad, ach ar gá coigeartú éigin a dhéanamh orthu de ghrá na meadarachta· (línte ochtsiollacha iad). Is féidir *co*^{n} a bhaint amach sa dá chás, ámh, agus *acht dechsat,* 'provided that they go', agus *acht dessamar,* 'provided that we eat', a léamh faoi seach[9]. An cónasc simplí *acht* a bhí sa bhuntéacs, is dócha, ach chuir scríobhaí éigin *co*^{n} leis toisc gurbh é *acht co*^{n} ba ghnáthaí.

1.6 Chomh maith leis sin faighimid *acht co*^{n} go minic i leaganacha déanacha de scéalta ag freagairt do *acht* sna leaganacha luatha. Féach, mar shampla, *buí cara damsa isin tírsea, for Conaire, acht ro feasmais* (v. l. *acht co feasmais*) *conair dá thig,* BDD² 262; *at-bér acht co rabat* (v. l. *acht roibt*) *glinni mo dingbála ría,* MU² 64; *tíastaisi issin dún acht comtalat* (v. l. *acht co collad na hoicc*), Fraech 370; *bid docho duit acht condrísem forsind áth* (*acht co risem* St. 1131), TBC³ 1096; *amra brigi són ol Cu Chulaind acht ropa airdercsa* (*acht co marat m'airscela* TBC³ 962), LU 5059.

1.7 Is léir, mar adeirim, go raibh *acht* ag dul ar ceal ó thréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge déanaí i leith agus *acht co*^{n} á chur ina áit do réir a chéile. Chuaidh sé ar ceal ar fad, is cosúil, i dtréimhse na Meán-

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[7] TBC³ = C. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bo Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster,* Dublin 1967.

[8] *acht dober* = I uath. foshuíteach láithreach, ach bheifeá ag súil le foirm fhoirfeach anseo (Thurneysen, § 904). Féach n.5 thuas, agus n.9 thíos.

[9] *dessamar* = I iolra foshuíteach láithreach foirfeach < *ithid; dechsat* = 3 iolra foshuíteach láithreach foirfeach < *téit.* Cf. *acht rissam nemthech,* SR 2745. Maidir le *dessamar* níl aon rian den *fo* foirfeach ann (Thurneysen, § 534.3). Cf. *dóesur, du-duoestar* (Thurneysen, § 766); *con daesur, doestar* (Lewis-Pedersen, § 571).

Ghaeilge is, mar sin, *acht co*ⁿ amháin atá in *Acallamh na Senórach: uair da tuctha ir-raibi a nEirinn & a nAlbain doibh ro thidlaicfidis acht co faghbadais nech da iarraid orro,* Acall.3274; *cid mor in doichell bias roim fhir th'eladhan acht co nderna airfided & co n-indsi scela, gan doichell reime,* 3477; *acht gu ngabasa mé, a rígfhéinnid, léic eadram & Fianna Éirenn,* 3564; '*reilec ríg Eirenn acut ina inad,*' ar Pátraic, '*acht co tí tú timchell na licci seo,*' 4515; *acht co mbeth,* 6559, *acht co tucad,* 7985.

1.8 Sin mar atá sa litríocht ina dhiaidh sin chomh maith—níl aon rian fanta den gcónasc simplí *acht* (.i. le foirmeacha finideacha den mbriathar) ach mhair *acht co*ⁿ/*acht go*ⁿ mar chónasc coinníollach ('provided that') sa litríocht anuas go dtí an lá atá inniu ann.

(*a*) 1200–1600: *cretfemit do Christ acht co rofhindamm a nert,* PH 345; *gach aband acht co roiched glún do geibthi bratán in gach aenmogall isin lín,* SG 69; *an cend do berrad ocus a nigi co minic as sugh in camamil ocus icaid acht co curtar aigéd trít,* O'Gr. Cat. 180; *ní hanbhuainighe leatsa a fagháil iná liomsa fén acht cco bhfagthar dóigh uirre,* Eachtra Uill. 419; *buaid catha acu acht co tucad fa adbar chóir,* Aided M. 216; *a cóir féine acht go bhfagha/ní dóigh Éire i n-aontamha* TD 24.1.

(*b*) 1600–1800: *do ghébhthá-sa é acht go mbeith gean agat féin ar a fagháil,* R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh,* 278; *os buidheach Dia don dealbhas/acht go ndearntar a fhulang,* Dánfhocail 46; *adeireadh nár mhisde do dhuine an uile pheacadh do dhéanamh acht go gcreideadh a g-creideamh-san,* Desid. 4233; *teach tearmainn fá dídean do gach aon ar a mbiadh guais nó coir bháis, acht go roicheadh ann,* TSh. 7649; *adubhairt nár ghairid leis féin téarma a shaoghail acht go bhfaghadh sé an méid sin,* E. Mac Néill, *Eachtra Lomn.,* 21; '*luighim fam armaibh*', ol an macaomh, '*go rachad cheana acht go bhfaomhadh m'athair cead dhamh*', A. Ní Chróinín, *Eachtra Ridire Na Leomhan,* 267; '*cuma liom*', ar Aodhagán, '*acht go bhfuighe seisean le n-a ól é,* St. Éamuinn 1585.[10]

(*c*) 1800—: '*tugaim-se sin duit*', ar síne Abráin, '*acht go bpósair mi*', M. McGrath, *Cinnlae* 1, 16; *dubhairt sé go ndéanfadh sé dán do'n rígh . . . ach go bhfaghadh sé póg uaimse,* P. Ua Laoghaire, *Guaire,* 199; *ní'l bac air é féin do leigheas . . . ach go ndéanfaidh sé na neithe a . . . ,* P. Ua Laoghaire, *An Craos-Deamhan,* 119; *ní bheadh a sárú mar bheirt sa Churrach ach go dtiocfadh sí leis,* Ó Céileachair, *Bullaí Mhártain,* 79.

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[10] Is fiú a thabhairt faoi deara gur sa bhfoshuiteach atá an briathar sna samplaí seo ar fad (agus i ngach sampla dá bhfuil bailithe agam ón tréimhse seo). Tá san ag teacht leis an seanriail (1.1), ach tá sé difreach go maith le *acht go* agus é á úsáid le bríonna eile (féach 2., 3., 7., thíos, mar shampla). Tugann san le tuiscint gur úsáid chalcaithe nó úsáid liteartha í *acht go* 'provided that' sa litríocht dhéanaigh. Féach n.11.

1.9 Ní foláir nó is úsáid liteartha amháin í, ámh, *acht go* sna samplaí deireannacha thuas (i saothar an Ath. Peadar[11] agus Uí Chéileachair) mar nár mhair *acht go* mar chónasc coiníollach ('provided that') i gcanúint na n-údar san ná, chomh fada agus is eol dom, in aon chanúint eile ach oiread.[12] Mhair *acht go*—agus maireann—ámh, le bríonna is le feidhmeanna eile sna canúintí agus is orthu san a thráchtfaidh mé anois.

2. *Acht Go* I nGaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne

2.1 Is cónasc ama é *acht go* i nGaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne, [axə] a réaladh fóneolaíoch, faightear le gach aimsir é, agus 'chomh luath is' nó 'nuair' a bhrí. Tugaim anseo roinnt bheag de na samplaí atá bailithe agam féin agus roinnt samplaí as na leabhra a tháinig ó Chorca Dhuibhne amach.[13]

2.2 Láithreach: [ih'im's'i g'r'əim' gax e:n i:h'i axə dagim' i's't'ax] *ithimse greim gach aon oíche ach a dtagaim isteach*, [axə m'i:n t'i xru:d'z'ir' k'r'i:xnih'i t'e:m' ə'val'i] *ach a mbíonn tigh Kruger críochnaithe téim abhaile*, Breandán Feirtéar, Dún Chaoin; [tagən n'iəl bil'i rom axə glos'im' ə bastərd] *tagann néall buile orm ach a gcloisim an bastard*, Mícheál Ó Fiannachta, Ceann Trá.

2.3 Caite: [ha:n'ig' bal'ix'r'i rom axə v'akən korp] *tháinig baillchrith orm ach a bhfaca an corp*, [axə rəus ə dol ə'val'i re:r] *ach a rabhas ag dul abhaile aréir*, Seán de hÓra, Clochar; [ə ki:n' l'at axə gir'ə x TB h'iər] *an cuimhin leat ach a gcuireadh TB thiar?* Seán Ó Cíobhán, An Ghráig; *chuaigh sé ar a phinsean ach a gcuaigh De Valera i bpower, tháinig a dhath féin air ach a suigh sé.*[14]

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[11] Chomh fada agus is féidir liom a dhéanamh amach, is sna hathdhéanaimh ar na seanscéalta is mó a úsáideann an tAth. Peadar *acht go* mar seo (féach C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás na Gaedhilge*, 490).

[12] Ach amháin i gcás na rá *ach a bé, ach a beag* (4.1, 5.1, thíos). Is deacair a bheith lándeimhnitheach den ráiteas seo, dar ndóigh (féach n. 16, 17, 23 thíos), ach, ina choinne sin, níl aon trácht ar *acht go* mar chónasc coiníollach in aon cheann de na tuarascálacha atá againn ar chanúintí na Nua-Ghaeilge.

[13] Ní foirm an-choitianta é sna leabhair seo, ámh, agus lasmuigh de na samplaí atá tabhartha agam in 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, agus in n. 14 thíos, ní cuimhin liom do chasadh orm ach na samplaí breise seo: '*déanfad*', ar sise, '*ach a dtiubhra tú chugham c'luith de ghiotairí glasa*', Seosamh Laoide, *Tonn Tóime*, 54; '*agus ní bheidh sé a d'ionntaoibh leis ach a bhfaghad-sa chum mo láimhe é*', ar sise, T. Ó Criomhthain, *An t-Oileánach*, 83; *d'fháiltigh Fionn roimis ach a dtáinig sé go Cathair Chonroí*, *Béaloideas* iii (1929) 390.

[14] Seosamh Ó Dálaigh agus a bhean Nóra (Dún Chaoin) a thug an dá shampla sin dom (de thoradh ceistiúcháin) i dteannta na samplaí breise seo: *ach a dtugas an té dho, ach a gcuala sé é, ach a ndeineadh an cleamhnas, ach a bhfuaireadar an t-airgead, ach a n-ith sé greim, ach a n-ól sé an té, ach a mbuail sé chugam isteach, ach a n-iseas an scéal do, ach a mbeir an bhó, ach a n-iarradh air deoch a sheasamh.* Is léir gur *ach a a bhíonn* sa chaite de shíor, is tá san ag teacht le riaradh *ro* i sistéam an bhriathair sa chanúint seo. Maidir le *ach ar bhraith sé an chú ag teacht*, *ach ar ghlan an crothóigin as radharc*, An Seabhac, *An Seanchuidhe Muimhneach*, 3, 1; ní foláir nó is é an t-eagarthóir féin a chuir an *-r* isteach.

2.4 Gnáthchaite: [hagəx s'e: s'̩t'ax axə m'i:x ə ɣo:hin' o:ltə g'e] *thagadh sé isteach ach a mbíodh a dhóthain ólta aige*, Pádraig Ua Maoileoin, Dún Chaoin; [va'̩l'i:x s'e: l'es' axə v'ik'əx s'e: xig' e:] *bhailíodh sé leis ach a bhfeiceadh sé chuige é*, Tomás Ó Cinnéide, An Ghráig; *ní raibh obair ná gnó le déanamh ag m'athair ach a mbriseadh an fharraige, ach ag . . .* , S. Ó Criomhthain, *Lá Dár Saol*, 103.

2.5 Fáistineach: [set' i'̩s'a n'is' e: axə d'ukədsə s'̩t'ax] *set isea anois é ach a dtiocfadsa isteach*, 'Pound', Dún Chaoin; [n'i: hik'i s'iəd f'e:n' ə x'e:l'i axə d'ukig' strəin' orhə] *ní thuigfidh siad féin a chéile ach a dtiocfaidh straidhn orthu*, Cáit, Bean an Fheirtéaraigh, Dún Chaoin; *díolfair as ach a dtiocfaidh t'athair/ach a dtiocfaidh t'athair díolfair as*.[15]

2.6 Foshuiteach: *dob é bun agus barr an sgéil go gcaithfí Seán a chrochadh ach a dtagadh sé abhaile*, An Seabhac, *An Seanchuidhe Muimhneach*, 195.[16]

2.7 Coinníollach: [axə du:rhin' gə b'l'a: k'l'ə i: xahin' i'̩s't'ax ə ŋra:s't' i: ə du:rt' s'e:] *'ach a dtabharfainn go Baile Átha Cliath í chaithfinn isteach i ngaráiste í'*, *adúirt sé*, Máire, Bean Uí Chíobháin, An Ghráig; *d'fhealltóch sé orm ach go bhfuigheadh sé an cothrom*, Mac Clúin, *Réiltíní Oir*, s.v. *feallaim*.[17]

2.8 Maidir le canúintí eile na Mumhan, ní eol dom go bhfuil an cónasc seo le fáil in aon cheann acu—i gCléire, i Múscraí, in Uíbh Ráthach, ná sa Rinn—ach bhí sé, is cosúil, i nGaeilge an Chláir: *imeóchaidh an tinneas cinn díom ach go bhfagha mé copán té*, Mac Clúin, *Caint an Chláir*, s.v. *ach*.

3. *Acht Go* i nGaeilge na Gaillimhe

3.1 Is cónasc ama é *acht go* i nGaeilge na Gaillimhe, [a:xə] a réaladh fóneolaíoch,[18] faightear le gach aimsir é, agus 'chomh luath is' nó 'nuair' a bhrí.[19] Tá an cónasc seo an-choitianta ar fad i saothar

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[15] Sampla i gCartlann na gCanúintí, An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, a shólathraigh Seosamh Ó Dálaigh (Dún Chaoin).
[16-17] Ba dhóigh leat gur brí 'dá' atá le *acht go* sna samplaí seo ach is féidir brí 'nuair' a bhaint astu chomh maith.
[18] T. De Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge*, 177, 288. Cf. an mhalairt *nach a* (*tiocfad nach a mbeidh sé críochnaithe agam, op. cit.* 178) sa chanúint seo.
[19] Sin í an bhrí a thugann Mícheál Breatnach (*Cnoc na Gabha* II, 37, 93, 108); Pádraig Óg Ó Conaire (*Ceol na nGiolcach*, 106); Colm Ó Gaora (*Sidheog na Rann* II, 18); Tomás Ó Máille (*An Ghaoth Aniar*, 145); agus Máirtín Ó Cadhain (*Idir Shúgra agus Dáiríre*, 284). Deir Ó Gaora (*ibid.*) gurb é an foshuiteach a leanann *acht go* de shíor, ach ní fíor san anois.

údar na canúna seo (féach n. 19 thíos) ach anseo is as saothar Mháirtín Uí Chadhain is mó a bhainim earraíocht[20] agus as samplaí a thug an Cadhnach féin dom de thoradh ceistiúcháin.

3.2 Láithreach: *fear é Sweeney a gcuireann muid aithne air agus é ag cur a pheirfhiacha póite dó ach a ndúisíonn a chomrádaí é le dul ag obair*, P. Ó Gaora, *Comhar* Aibreán 1971, 20.

3.3 Caite: (i) *ach a* leis na briathra *feicim, cloisim, tagaim, déanaim, faighim, táim: rinne sé orm ach a bhfaca sé mé, d'imigh sé ach a gcuala sé an scéal, chua sé go Meireacá ach a dtáinig an phaisinéaracht,*[21] *chua sé amach aríst ach a ndearna sé aitealla, d'ól sé a dhóthain ach a bhfuair sé an t-airgead, phós sé ach a raibh sé suas in a stócach,* Máirtín Ó Cadhain; (ii) *ach ar* le gach briathar eile: *'tugaigidh amach é sin agus ceangluigidh ar an jaunt é', adeir an mháthair ach ar tóigeadh an trunc anuas as an seomra agus ar groigeadh mar laogh óir ann ar an mbord é,* BB 154; *olc a chuireas ar an stiléara ach ar fhiafraíos do cé mhéad de dheontas a fuair sé . . . . Le ceist eile a d'fhreagair sé mé ach ar dhúras leis gur chuir,* P. Ó Gaora, *Comhar* Eanáir 1971, 16; *dhíol sé an bhó ach ar rug sí, ghread leis ach ar ith sé a dhóthain, níor labhair sé ní ba mhó liom ach ar dhúirt mé sin leis, cailleadh é ach ar cuireadh an ola air,* Máirtín Ó Cadhain.

3.4 Gnáthchaite: *d'éirighidís as a gcuid cabaireachta agus ealadhna ach a suidheadh sé síos agá n-a bhéilidhe,* BB 81; *ach a dtéití abhaile ó obair théití a cholla ar an saol sin,* Máirtín Ó Cadhain.

3.5 Fáistineach: [ta: s'iəd ə gel' er' wa:n't' ri: a:x ə d'ukə n' s'uk] *tá siad ag goil ar bhaint fhraoigh ach a dtiocfaidh an síoc,* T. De Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge,* 177; *coró sé go deoultaí ach go gcloise sé an scéal* 'he will get terribly vexed when he will hear the story';[22] *tá na mná rialta . . . le máistreás scoile a dhéanamh di ach a mbeidh a díol foghluma uirthi,* CNC 90.

3.6 Foshuiteach Láithreach: [a:x ə d'ig'ə s'e:] *ach a dtige sé,* T. De Bhaldraithe, *op.cit.,* 288; *ach a dteaga Hitler isteach go Sasana cuirfidh sé ag ithe cuit chaillte iad,* CNC 60; *ach a n-ithe sibh greim gabhfaidh Peadar se'againne ag iarraidh mná duit,* CNC 69; *bainfidh mé an leabadh amach ach a mbí an paidrín thart,* M. Ó Conaill, *Fá Sgáth Shléibh' Eachtgha,* 20.

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[20] Bainim úsáid as na nodanna seo: BB = *An Braon Broghach,* CNC = *Cré na Cille,* ST = *An tSraith Dhá Tógáil.*
[21] Ach féach '*chua sé a cholla ach ar tháinig sé abhaile*', M. Ó Cadhain. Cf. De Bhaldraithe, *op. cit.,* 235.
[22] Sampla i gCartlann na gCanúintí, An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, a sholáthraigh Tomás Lailéis, Mionlach, Gaillimh.

3.7 Foshuiteach Caite: *ach a bpósadh a mac bheadh cúram agus clann agus cantal arís ann*, BB 90; *ach a bhfoillsigheadh sé é féin dom-sa*, BB 90; *d'aithneochainn é go dearbhtha ach a dtagadh sé sáthach gar dom*, BB 83.[23]

3.8 Coinníollach: *cheartaigh mé dóibh faoi árachas páistí: go bhfaighidís an oiread seo airgid ach a mbeidís aois áirid*, CNC 135; *ach a mbainfeadh sé an baile amach d'fhéadfadh N. é féin a shaoradh*, ST 167; *cheapas go mbeinn ar mo sháimhín sógh ach go mbeinn ina measg*, M. Ó Conaill, *op. cit.*, 62.

4. *Acht* Go i nGaeilge Iorrais

4.1 Tá dhá fheidhm ag *acht go* i nGaeilge Iorrais: (i) mar chónasc ama (sa bhfoshuiteach láithreach amháin, ámh) leis an mbrí 'chomh luath is', 'nuair'; (ii) sa rá *ach go beag* in abairtí coinníollacha leis an mbrí 'mura'; [axə] a réaladh fóneolaíoch sa dá chás.[24] A bhfuil de shamplaí anseo thíos agam, mar aon lena n-aistriú, is ó Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh a fuaireas iad.

4.2 'chomh luath is', 'nuair': [axə sgox'ə mid' e: s'o] *acht go scoitheamuid é seo, bé muid ceart* 'as soon as we get past this spot, we'll be alright'; *acht go bhfága mé é seo thuas ag a' teach, tiocfa mé anuas agad* 'as soon as I leave this above at the house I'll come down to you'; *acht go mbí tú ansin, blaoidh oram-sa* 'as soon as you get there, call me'; *acht go bhfeice mé é, inseó' mé dhó é* 'as soon as I see him, I'll tell him about it'; *acht go mbaine mé an méid seo, racha mé abhaile* 'as soon as I cut this piece, I'll go home'.

4.3 'mura':[25] [axə b'eg kruəsəx Nə tra:wə xaL'h'i: iəd] *acht go beag cnuasach na trágha chaillfidhe iad*, [lohu: N arig'ə axə b'eg gə wil' ə saləN orhi:] *lobhfadh an fhairrge acht go beag go bhfuil an salann uirthe; bheith sinn caillte, acha beag thú* 'we'd be lost only for you'; *acha beag an margadh, tá an saol go maith* 'only for the market (.i. the loss of our market) times are quite good';[26] *acha beag go bhfaca mé i n-am é, bhí sé istigh sa bpoll* 'had I not seen him in time he would have gone into the hole'.[27]

[23] Ba dhóigh leat gur brí 'dá' atá le *ach a* anseo, ach is féidir brí 'nuair' a bhaint as chomh maith. Cf. n. 16–17.

[24] É. Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 66, 76, 147. [əxə] atá ar lgh. 66, 76 sa leabhar ach [axə] a scríobh an t-údar dom féin. Deir sé leis liom go bhfuil malairt shaor /ax/ ag *ach a* sa rá *ach a beag*: *ach beag Tom Mhártain bháthfaí iad*. Leanaim Mac an Fhailigh is scríobhaim *ach a beag* anseo, bíodh gur dóichí nach bhfuil aon bhaint aige leis an aidiacht *beag*. Freagraíonn *ach a beag* do *ach a bé* i nGaeilge Dhún na nGall is maidir leis an dá fhoirm féach n. 29 thíos.

[25] 'Murach', dar ndóigh, is brí don rá iomlán.

[26-27] Tá na habairtí sin le cur i gcomparáid le habairtí ar nós *mura mbéadh Séadna bhí sé thiar orainn, má thagann Cú Chulainn orm annso táim réidh*, C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *op. cit.*, 491.

5. *Acht Go* i nGaeilge Dhún na nGall

5.1 Tá dhá fheidhm ag *acht go* i nGaeilge Dhún na nGall: (i) mar chónasc ama leis an mbrí 'go dtí go';[28] (ii) sa rá *ach a bé*[29] in abairtí coinníollacha lesi an mbrí 'mura';[30] [axə] nó [a gə] a réaladh fóneolaíoch.[31]

5.2 'go dtí go': *ni imeóraidh sí an cluithche sin ach go mbidh sí cinnte de Sheán'*, arsa Nualaitín. *Nuair a bhéas . . .* , Máire, *Cioth is Dealán*, 39;[32] *ach go ndéantar loch den chreig/gus go bpillidh 'n sruth arais/ní chreidfidh mise d'aisling bhréige, ibid.*, 51; *cha dtig le a'n duine í bhaint amach ach go dtige tusa anuas agus í bhaint amach*, É. Ó Tuathail, 'Seanchus Ó Inis Eóghain', *Béaloideas* xi (1941) 86; *choinnigh sé beó a' baile uilig ach go dtainic tárthail go hÉirinn, ibid.*, 93; *thug Neddy leis ar a ghualainn é ach go dtainic sé 'un toighe, ibid.*, 104; *dá bhfanachad sí astuigh ach go mbuailfeadh sé a' dá bhuille dhéag, ibid.*, 106. Féach leis *ibid.*, 83,97, 101, 102, 105, 107.

5.3 'mura': *ach ab é an t-ól bheadh cóta maith ar mo dhruim, ach go 'b é Domhnall ní bheinn anseo*, Ó Searcaigh, *Coimhréir*, 249; *níl fhios agam goidé dhéanfainn acht go bé thú*, Máire, *Caisléain Oir*, 100; *b'fhada i dteach na mbocht nó 'cruinniú na déirce í acht go bé mise, ibid.*, 73; *bhal, ach go bé nach maith liomsa tuitim amach leis an Eaglais, bheadh tuilleadh calláin ann*, Máire, *Mo Dhá Róisín*, 23; *ach go bé go bhfuil mé 'dul fhagháil bháis, ní bheinn anseo, ibid.*, 80.

[28] Deir Niall Ó Dónaill liom nach dóigh leis gur úsáid bheo í seo anois. Chuala sé féin, ámh, leagan de *ach go ndéantar loch den chreig* (5.2) agus is dóigh leis gur [ax gə] a dúradh leis.
[29] Táim ag glacadh leis gurb iad na moirféimeanna atá sa rá *ach a bé* (agus *ach a beag*, 4.1) ná an cónasc *acht go* + an chopail (+ *é/eag*). Níl ach aon mhíniú amháin eile air .i. an cónasc *acht* + an cónasc ráiteasach *go* + an chopail (+ *é/eag*); ach ón uair gur malairtí comhlántacha comhréire iad *ach a bé/beag* (roimh ainmfhocal nó a chomhionann: *ach a bé an t-ól*) agus *ach a bé/beag go* (roimh fhoirm fhinideach den mbriathar: *ach a bé go bhfuil mé*), ní dócha gurb é an cónasc ráiteasach *go* atá sa chéad eilimint leis. Freagraíonn *ach a bé* do *ach a beag* i nGaeilge Iorrais (agus i nGaeilge Dhún na nGall leis—féach n. 31 thíos), do *murab* é i nGaeilge Dhún na nGall (S. Ó Searcaigh, *Coimhréir*, 248), do *murach, mura mbeadh* sna canúintí eile (C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *op. cit.*, 492–3), agus do *manibad* (I 303.51) sa tSean-Ghaeilge. Glactar leis de ghnáth (Ó Cadhlaigh, 494) gurb é atá san eilimint *é* in *ach a bé* an forainm pearsanta firinscneach á úsáid go réamhthagrach. Más ea, is dóichí gurb é atá in *eag* sa rá *ach a beag* an forainm neodrach *eadh*. Malartú coitianta é *eadh/é* in ionad réamhthagrach sa Ghaeilge (féach Ó Cadhlaigh, 554, 556, 618). B'fhéidir, ámh, gur foirmeacha den chopail atá in *bé* agus *beag*. Tá sé ar intinn agam an cheist seo a phlé níos miona in alt eile.
[30] 'Murach' is brí don rá iomlán.
[31] Ní thugaim anseo ach na halamorfanna is coitianta (féach H. Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas* I, 172). Ar na halamorfanna eile a thugann Wagner tá [axə b'og]. Cf. *ach a beag* i nGaeilge Iorrais.
[32] Cf. *tá eagla orm nach bhfanann sé agam acht go rabh sgoil le fagháil fá'n bhaile aige*, Máire. *Saoghal Corrach*, 70. Sa tsampla seo is é *nach . . . acht* ('only . . . until') an t-aonad diúltach.

6. *Acht Go* i nGaeilge na hAlban

6.1 Tá dhá fheidhm ag *acht go* i nGaeilge na hAlban: (i) mar chónasc ama leis an mbrí 'go dtí go'; (ii) mar chónasc aidhme leis an mbrí 'chun go'; [axə] a réaladh fóneolaíoch sa dá chás.

6.2 'go dtí go': *feithidh sinn ach an tig e* 'we shall wait until he comes', *Trans. Gael. Soc. Inverness* 25 (1901-3) 117;[33] *fuirich ansin ach an dig mi far a bheil thu* 'wait there until I come to where you are'.[34]

6.3 'chun go': *theid mi ach am faic mi* 'I shall go that I may see', M. Maclennan, *Pronouncing Dictionary*, s.v. *ach*;[35] *bha mo shùil air na gillean móra ach am faicinn ciamar a gheibheadh mo charaide fhìn air adhart*, Iain A. MacDhomhnaill, *Criochan Ura* (*Gairm*, Glaschú 1958), 110;[36] [tro-əd axə fek'u mbel s'ə ma gə L'o:r] 'come so that you will see', Oftedal, *Leurbost*, 259;[37] *thòisich mi a' ruith cho luath 's a b'urrainn dhomh, ach am faighinn roimh a' mulchag chàise* [axə faiN'] 'in order to get ahead', *ibid.*, 279; *thàinig ceannaiche-siubhail timchioll, ach am faiceadh e an e fhìrinn a bha e 'a cluinntinn* [axə fek'əγ] 'to see [literally *so that he might see*] if it was the truth', *ibid.*, 279.

6.4 Ní miste a lua anseo go meascann scríbhneoirí —agus scoláirí— Albanacha an cónasc aidhme seo (6.3) le cónasc aidhme eile *feuch* 'to see' go minic. Féach, mar shampla, *dh'fhalbh an sagart agus mi fhéin dh'fheuch am faigheamaid sealladh air Dùn Aonghuis*, Iain A. MacDhomhnaill, *op. cit.*, 66;[38] *'s ann a shin a' fear sin a mach feuch a' faigheadh e taigh na h-Eachlair Urlair a thoirt a mach* 'to try and get into the house', *Tocher* (School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh) 2 (1971) 40; *shin e a mach feuch a' faigheadh e staigh* 'to try and get inside', *ibid.*, 42.[39] Is é is mó is cúis leis an mearbhall, [ax] a bheith mar mhalairt shaor ag [fiax] *feuch* i gcanúintí áirithe: *ann sin chruinnich sluagh na sgìre, fheuch* [ax] *ciod a dhéanaist ris a' ghobha*, Borgstrøm, *The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides*, 247; *bha ise*

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[33] Mo chomhleacaí Gordon Mac Gill-Fhinnein, M.A., a thug an sampla seo dom.

[34] An tOllamh Derick S. Thomson, Ollscoil Ghlaschú, a sholáthraigh an sampla seo dom.

[35] Deir J. Fraser (RC 42 (1925) 409) i dtaobh an tsampla seo: 'this *ach*, as is shown by the following interrogative particle, has nothing to do with the conjunction. It is a phonetic spelling of *dh'fheuch* in unaccented position. The accented form /jiax/ is also used.' Níl an ceart aige, ámh. Féach thíos 6.4. Mo chomhleacaí Seosamh Watson, M.A., M.Litt., a thug an tagairt sin dom.

[36] Samplaí breise: *ach am bu léir*, *ibid.*, 31; *ach am faicinn*, *ibid.*, 109.

[37] Tá simpliú déanta agam ar an scríobh foghraíochta anseo.

[38] Sampla breise: *feuch am faicinn Curstaidh* 'so that I might see C.', *ibid.*, 29.

[39] Féach leis n. 35 thuas.

gu h-árd sa' chraoibh aig éisdeachd riutha, agus a cluas a' claisneachd
fheuch [ax] *ciod e a chluinneadh i, ibid.,* 259; *thubhairt a bhean ris a*
dhol bhar an robh sean-duine a bha 'sa' bhaile, feach [fiax] *ciod e dhéante*
ris, ibid., 261;[40] is mar sin nuair a leanann an mhír cheisteach (*an*)
feuch sna canúintí sin (*feuch an* 'to see if'), is mar [axə] a dhéantar é a
réaladh.   Chomh maith leis sin is deacair uaireanta idirdhealú
séimeantach a dhéanamh eatarthu (féach, mar shampla, *bha mi*
fhéin a' cumail cluas ri claistneachd feuch an cluinninn gu dé an seòrsa
rud a bh'ann, Iain A. MacDhomhnaill, *op.cit.,* 28; a bhféadfaí 'to
see if I might hear', nó 'so that I might hear', a chur mar aistriú air).
Is féidir idirdhealú foirmiúil agus idirdhealú feidhmiúil a dhéanamh
eatarthu, ámh: ceisteach (*an, cé, ciod, ciammar,* etc.,) a leanann
feuch ([fiax] nó [ax]) i gcónaí; foirm fhinideach den mbriathar amháin
a leanann *ach go* ([axə]) de shíor.

7. Réimse Shéimeantach *Acht Go*

7.1 Sa tuarascáil atá tabhartha thuas agam (2.—6.) ar riaradh,
ar fheidhm, is ar bhrí *acht go* i gcanúintí na Nua-Ghaeilge dheineas
talamh slán de, tríd síos, gurb aon leicséim amháin iad an focal
fóneolaíochta [axə] agus an focal ortagrafaíochta *acht go;* agus gur ó
acht go a shíolraíonn [axə] i ngach cás.   Níl aon deacracht comhréire
ná deacracht séimeantaice i gceist sa méid sin, dar liom (féach 8.
thíos), agus chomh fada leis an athrú foghraíochta *ach*(*t*) *go* → [axə],
féach, mar shampla, [b'ax aur'] *beach gabhair* 'wasp' i nGaeilge na
Mumhan.   Ní amháin sin, ach tá go leor fianaise sa litríocht, ó
thréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge anuas, a thaispeánann go soiléir go
bhfuil an réimse shéimeantach (agus an réimse fheidhmiúil) chéanna
ag *acht go* i dtéacsaí litríochta agus atá ag [axə] sna canúintí.   Tugaim
léiriú anseo ar réimse shéimeantach *acht go* i litríocht na Gaeilge
(ní áirím *acht go* 'provided that' anseo toisc é bheith pléite go mion
thuas (1.) agam).

7.2 *acht go* 'chomh luath is': *is dochu biaid imrádud la Laigniu*
formsa immon mbraitse acht co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaibh 'once I
have passed out of their protection', LL 13370, SCano 121n.;
dobérthar mo ingensa duit acht co tís (YBL *iar tiachtain don tloiged*)

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40 Féach leis: *bha iad a' faighneachd ach an e rinn e* 'they were asking whether it
was he who did it' (sampla ón Ollamh D. S. Thomson); *bha a' ghaoth tuath agus a'*
ghrian a' dearbhadh ach có bu làidire, (Sampla ón Ollamh M. Oftedal); ach i gcanúintí
eile (féach, mar shampla, G. Mac Gill-Fhinnein, *Gàidhlig Uidhist A Deas,* 60, 61, 65)
feuch/fiach amháin a fhaightear.
   Is fiú a thabhairt faoi deara go bhfuil an malartú céanna (.i. *féach/ach*) i nGaeilge
Chorca Dhuibhne: *do bhíodh cluas orm féin, cé ná liginn orm é féach an dtarraingeodh*
sí anuas ainm an fhir óig/bhí cluas orm féin sa leabaidh ag éisteacht ach a gcloisfinn an
raibh aon iasc, M. Ó Gaoithín, *Beatha Pheig Sayers,* 122, 125.

Fraech 168; *acht co ndernair hoc rechtair romhat dochum an prainn-tighe* 'as soon as you do that', RC 26 (1905) 374; *an bhratach le mbrisfe cath/do-ghéana achd go dtí an tobhach*, DDána 6, 22.[41]

7.3 *acht go* 'nuair': *do ordaig Cú Choingelt dá muintir acht co caithdis a ndáithin d'fheoil na muc techt 'na diaidh acht co ndorchaidead an tráth nóna*, CCellaig 805; *do ráid Cúchoingelt fria mhuintir techt ina diaidh acht co ndorchaiged agaid forru*, SG 62; *do-bhéara tusa gia go racha tú farrae mo mhnaoi-se agus farrae mo dheirbhshiair, acht go roichir an baile*, PCT 1385; *acht gé gurb mian linn tuilleadh foirceadail do thabhoirt acht go roicheam chuige*, P. Mac Aogáin, O.F.M., *GrAiméir na mBráthar*, 3550; *agus atáid trí coin nimhe aguinn & leig-feam ar a lorg iad acht go ffagham a sgéala*, 'when we get tidings of him', N. Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht* 559; *leig siad ar siubhal iad. Ach go dtángadar go huir an atha fuair siad a tár deanta*, P 210[42]; *ach go dtainig siad go huir an atha fuair siad a tar deanta*, P 211.

7.4 *acht go* 'go dtí go': *& coimedur torad an fherainn acht co ti* (v.l. *no go tí* BCC 10.25) *a tiagerna*, Killiney, A 8, 2c;[43] *adubairt nach ereochadh se dona gluinip sin acht co faghadh se* (v.l. *nó go fagad* BCC 72.36) *aisec a dalta fen o Dhia, ibid.,* 13c; *chan fhaca mi'n diugh no'n dé thu/chan fhaca mise fear t'eugais/ach an tig thu, Eoin mhic Shéamais,* Carmina Gadelica v, 16;[44] *atáid ó shoin agamsa/ach go bhfagham clár coimse, Ériu* 17 (1955) 9; *agus do chuireadar fios chum Uilliam Taffa nó Táa fuireach i ngleann coilleadh i bhfogus don Bhanna acht go dtigeadh na hAlbanaigh i bhfogus dóibh,* Cín Lae Ó Meall. 7; *ach go ndeanfamaoid suas an cás atá cruaidh/ní bhéarfa mé aon chuairt arís ort,* QUB Bunt. 7, 137; *acht go bhfásaigh an bláth buidhe thríd lár mo uaighe 'níos/do mhalairt-si nach ndéanam, a phéarla an chúil bháin,* Edinb. Univ. Db.7.1, 449; *bhídar a gabháil dá chéile ach gur thuit tuaidh & teannoil air gach taoibh dhíobhtha,* P 194; *bhuail sé cos faoi an dorus agus níor stad ach go raibh aig an mbord a raibh Ríg an Domhain féin aige,* P 214.[45]

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[41] Gheofar breis shamplaí in *Contr*. A 21.73. Tá an bhrí chéanna ('chomh luath is') ag an gcónasc simplí *acht* sna samplaí seo: *act arroilgither ind epistilse dúibsi berthir úaib Laudocensibus* 'as soon as this epistle (may) have been read', Wb. 26ᵇ6, Lewis-Pedersen, 251; *tiastaisi issin dún acht comtalat* 'let you go into the fort once they are asleep', Fraech 370, J. Carney, *Studies*, 13.

[42] P = RIA 24 P 10, lámhscríbhinn a scríobh Eoin Ó Gribpín ó Cho. an Dúin, sa bhliain 1798.

[43] Leagan luath é seo (roimh 1545) de *Betha Colaim Chille* agus *acht co* atá tríd síos ag freagairt do *no co* sa téacs atá i gcló. Táim an-bhuíoch den Ath. Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, O.F.M., as na samplaí seo (agus samplaí breise) a thabhairt dom.

[44] I lámhscríbhinn den 16ú haois atá an téacs seo. Bheifeá ag súil le *ach an táinig tu*, ámh ('go dtí gur tháinig tú' is brí leis).

[45] Is fiú a thabhairt faoi deara gur le hAlbain agus le Cúige Uladh a bhaineann na téacsaí as ar bhaineas na samplaí seo ar fad is tá san ag teacht le riaradh *acht go* 'go dtí go' sna canúintí (féach 5.2, 6.2).

7.5 *acht go* 'mura': *do dhiúlt bardaigh Achadh an dá Charad a' boile thabhairt d'arm na ríoghachta, acht go bhfaghdis toil Síor Feidhlim,* Cín Lae Ó Meall. 28; *adubhairt nach dtiobhradh acht go bhfaiceadh a' Gen. 's na gunnaidh móra, ibid.,* 46; *is eagail liom, an tan do-chíthfeas an inghean cruth agus deilbh Mhaine Liach, go dtiúbhraidh mise air dearmad, ach go dtiúbhrainn táin an Tuirc Fhinn,* M. Ní Chléirigh, *Eachtra,* 58; *'ní idir-si sin', air Oillioll, 'ach go dtugadh Meis Geartha, óir is é do thabhuidh na heich agus is ionmhus dílios dó féin iad',* M. Ní Chléirigh, *Coimheasgur,* 8; *ní mó a bhí Gréagaigh lasta in éad le Paris mac Prímh/ná bheinn féin ach go mbainfí Méabha do Mhánas Bhuí,* S. de Rís. Ó Doirnín, 33; *ní mó an t-éachtas a rinne Diomedes in ár na Traoi/ná dhéanfainn féin ach go mbuafainn Méabha do Mhánas Bhuí, ibid.,* 32 (v.l. RIA 3 C 4 i, 23 E 12: *muna bhfuighinn-si*); *gan suan gan sáimh gan chodladh sé bhead go bráth . . . ach go bhfagha mise amharc air ainndhir na maoth-chrobh bhreágh,* Edinb. Univ. Db. 7.1, 135.[46]

7.6 *acht go* 'chun go': *acht tiaghmuid asteach ameasg cháich acht go bfaighmuid air gcuid don choirm,* TCD H.5.28 (1679) 114b;[47] *dá deoin is dá héigean, mo ghrá go léigfinn ar lár ach go bhfaighinn/mo roghain féin ar gach seoid ba daoire óna bánchích síos,* S. de Rís, Ó Doirnín, 33; *bhéaraid proinn chéad do bhiadh liom ach go mbeidh mé gá mbealadh agus gá smearadh,* P 211; *is olc liom nach raibh tú agam a dtosach na haoidhche suil fa rannadh mo chorp nó air fhág mo chuid fola mé ach go ndéanfuin do dhíthcheannadh,* P 211; *tógfam pféin amach ó chianuibh a gcomhair agus a gcomhdháil chinn Fhinn Mhic Cubhail ach go dtiubhram a cheann linn,* P 209.

7.7 *acht go* 'sa tslí go': Níl an bhrí seo ag *acht go* (chomh fada agus is eol dom) in aon cheann de na canúintí, agus is deacair, uaireanta, idirdhealú a dhéanamh idir é agus 'go dtí go' (7.4); níl aon dabht, ámh, ach gurb in é an bhrí atá leis sna samplaí seo: *caithios Diarmuid a shleagh do bharr a craoise ach gur bhuail tríd croidhe an Mhic Meadhach,* P 213; *fuadar a gceann a sleagh agus clios armaibh 'na dhiaidh sin ach go raibh a dul air Fhianaibh Éireann go mór ansa chath sin,* P 220; *is ansin bhaineadar a stuic agus a n-argain, a n-adharca ciúil agus a mbeana buabhail ach gur chruinneadar aníos agus anuas, ó dheas agus ó thuaidh,* P 220.

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[46] Ní i gcónaí is féidir glanidirdhealú a dhéanamh idir 'mura' agus 'go dtí go' agus, mar sin, tá cuid de na samplaí seo a bhféadfadh an dá bhrí a bheith leo.
[47] Leagan (atá níos luaithe ná an t-eagrán atá i gcló) é seo de *Fís Merlino; teighmid i measg cháich no go bhfagham ar gcuid de'n chuirm* atá san eagrán sin (ZCP 4 (1903) 408).

8. Léiriú

8.1 Is féidir na bríonna agus na feidhmeanna éagsúla atá curtha síos againn do *acht go* ó thréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge anuas a liostáil mar seo anois:

1 cónasc coinníollach 'provided that' (1.)
2 cónasc coinníollach 'unless' (4.3, 5.3, 7.5)
3 cónasc ama 'as soon as', 'when' (2.1, 3.1, 4.2, 7.2, 7.3)
4 cónasc ama 'until' (5.2, 6.2, 7.4)
5 cónasc aidhme 'in order to' (6.3, 7.6)
6 cónasc iarmartach 'so that' (7.7).

8.2 Is féidir **1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, a thógaint le chéile. An bunmhalartú atá eatarthu (am/coinníoll), is malartú coitianta go leor é sa Ghaeilge. Féach, mar shampla, *dia*^{n} ar cónasc coinníollach sa bhfoshuíteach é agus cónasc ama sa phreiteiríteach (Thurneysen, *Gramm.*, § 903) nó *no co*^{n} ar cónasc coinníollach go bunúsach é (Ped. II, 318) agus ar dhein cónasc ama de.[48]

8.3 Ag glacadh leis gurb é **1** (cónasc coinníollach 'provided that') an fheidhm agus an bhrí phríomha a bhí ag *acht go*, is féidir a rá gurb é an bunleathnú feidhme agus brí a chuaidh air (go diacroineach) ná gur dhein cónasc ama den gcónasc coinníollach. Tugann an abairt *acht co ndechus-sa dia n-inchaibh* (7.2) nod dúinn i dtaobh conas gur tharlaigh an t-aistriú séimeantach ar dtús. Toisc gur fhoirm fhoirfeach í *dechus* a chiallaíonn gníomh atá, a bhí, nó (anseo) a bheidh curtha i gcrích níl aon éiginteacht ag baint leis; .i. ní i réimse an choinníll atá sé ach sa réimse ama. Is dóichí, mar sin, gurb é seo an t-aistriú séimeantach atá i gceist : 'provided that' → 'once' → 'as soon as' → 'when' agus gur lean an leathnú úsáide (foshuíteach amháin sa tSean-Ghaeilge, foshuíteach agus gach aimsir den táscach sa Nua-Ghaeilge) an leathnú brí.

8.4 Ní mór a cur san áireamh nach bhfuil aon difríocht fhoirmiúil idir *acht go* in **1** agus *acht go* in aon cheann eile de na bríonna atá aige. Murab ionann is *dia*^{n} (a bhfuil an mhalairt bhrí 'if/when' ag brath ar an malairt fhoirme foshuíteach/preiteiríteach) ní féidir idirdhealú foirmiúil a dhéanamh idir aon dá cheann acu. Idirdhealuithe séimeantacha amháin atá eatarthu agus is é an comhthéacs a shocraíonn gach ceann díobh. Ach go háirithe, níl aon fhoirm dhiúltach ag *acht go* (murab ionann is *dá, cia, chun go, le go*, etc.,)[49]

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[48] Féach leis *acht* sna samplaí i n. 41 thuas agus cf. *mais que* sa bhFraincis (RC 42 (1925) 394–6).

[49] Maidir le habairtí ar nós *cailin ciúin ciallmhar ach ná curfaí fearg uirthi* (Ó Cadhlaigh, 490) ní cónasc coinníollach é *acht ná* sa chás sin ach cónasc cuimsitheach.

ach ní foláir nó thabharfadh comhthéacs diúltach brí dhiúltach dó (cf.
dúirt sé go dtiocfadh sé dá dtiocfadh Seán/ach go dtiocfadh Seán//
dúirt sé nach dtiocfadh sé mura dtiocfadh Seán/ach go dtiocfadh Seán).
Sna habairtí *adubhairt nach dtiobhradh acht go bhfaiceadh a'* Gen. (7.5),
chan fhaca mise fear t'eugais ach an tig/thu (7.4) is é an comhthéacs
diúltach (*adubhairt nach, chan*) a thugann an bhrí dhiúltach do *acht
go*, agus ní foláir nó is in abairtí den tsaghas sin a tháinig **2** 'unless'
(foirm dhiúltach de **1**) agus **4** 'until' (foirm dhiúltach de **3**) chun cinn
ar dtús.

8.5 Iarracht é an méid sin ar mhíniú diacroineach a thabhairt
ar réimse bhrí *acht go* in **1**, **2**, **3**, **4**; ó thaobh struchtúr na teanga de,
ámh, dob fhéidir a rá gurb é atá againn in **1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, ná cheithre
léiriú séimeantach ar dhá rogha gramadaí (am/coinníoll,[50] dearfach/
diúltach) is féidir a chur in iúl mar seo:

	am	coinn.
+	3	1
−	4	2

8.6 Maidir le *acht go* in **5** (cónasc aidhme 'in order to') agus in **6**
(cónasc iarmartach 'so that'), ní mór míniú eile a thabhairt orthu
san. Sa dá chás is mar a chéile brí agus feidhm do *acht go* agus don
gcónasc simplí *go* (féach 6.3, 7.6, 7.7) sa tslí go ndealraíonn sé gurb é
atá againn in **5** agus in **6**, an cónasc aidhme agus an cónasc iarmartach
go, agus *acht* curtha leis mar a bheadh mír threise.

8.7 Is cuid de phróiseas níos leithne é seo, is cosúil,— *acht* do chur
le cónaisc shimplí chun iad do threisiú.[51] Sa tSean-Ghaeilge, mar
shampla, chomh maith leis na cónaisc shimplí *cía, ma, mani*, tá
ach cía, ach ma, ach mani (féach J. Vendryes, 'Irlandais *Acht Ma* et
Acht Mani', *Ériu* xvi (1952) 21–26; *Contr.* A 20.63) agus níos déanaí
faighimid (i) *acht gé*, (ii) *acht gé go*, (iii) *acht go*,[52] (iv) *acht mura*,
(v) *ach gus a* (i nGaeilge na hAlban): (i) *nír maith le Mac Reithe
fáistine d'iarraidh air acht gé do bhí sí aige*, Feis TC 1669; *do chind lé
Gedion briseadh ar a náimhdibh agas ar a eascairidhbh acht gér bheg a
mhuintear* R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, 174;
(ii) *as lór linn sin anos ar na síntibh acht gé gurab mian linn*

[50] Dob fhéidir a áiteamh, is dóigh liom, gurb í an bhundifríocht atá eatarthu seo
ná go bhfuil ceann (am) cinnte is an ceann eile (coinníoll) éiginnte.

[51] 'Négation abusive' a thugann Vendryes (*loc. cit.*) air i gcás *acht mani*, etc. Sa
chás áirithe seo (*acht go*) is gné de phróiseas diacroineach eile chomh maith é: an cónasc
go a neartú tré chónaisc is míreanna eile a cheangal leis. Is fíorannamh anois sa Nua-
Ghaeilge *go* ag feidhmiú leis féin mar chónasc, agus ina ionad, ag freagairt do con sa
tSean-Ghaeilge, tá *nó go, go dtí go, nó go dtí go, chun go, is go, le go, sa tslí go*, etc., etc.

[52] *go* = **1 co** 2 (C 272.51).

tuilleadh foirceadail do thabhairt, P. Mac Aogáin, O.F.M., *Graiméir,* 3550; (iii) *d'Aodh Breagh acht go triall tar tuinn/Treabh Chuinn ní ba fiadh ar faill,* DDána 93.6; *bímaoid dá mhuigheamh go racha mise chum do mhnása agus chum h'ingkine acht go dul do bhaile dham,* PCT 1383; (iv) *ach mur's bé go bhfuil sé doineanta, rachainn-sa 'na Carraice,* H. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn,* 538, 11; *nár ól aon deoch riamh, ach mura mbeidís ar phósadh,* P. Ua Maoileoin, *De Réir Uimhreacha,* 99; (v) *fuirich thus' ansin ach gus an téid mise far a bheil thu* 'wait you but till I come where you are', Dwelly, *Dictionary,* s.v. *ach am.*[53]

8.8 Bíodh, mar atá léirithe agam, nach mar a chéile go baileach an próiseas diacroineach is bun le *acht go* in **1, 2, 3, 4,** agus le *acht go* in **5, 6,** mar sin féin, ar an leibhéal sioncroineach, tá siad titithe le chéile anois agus is mar a chéile go foirmiúil iad. In gach cás tháinig *acht* agus *go* le chéile chun aonad nua gramadaí a dhéanamh arb é [axə] a ghnáthréaladh fóneolaíoch.[54]

8.9 Ní mór a thabhairt faoi deara, ámh, ná tarlaíonn an táthú seo idir *acht* agus *go* in gach ionad comhréire a mbíd taobh le chéile agus nach féidir na focail ortagrafaíochta *acht go* agus an focal gramadaí[55] *acht go* (cónasc 'provided that' etc.,) a ionannú le chéile i gcónaí. Ní mór, in gach tréimhse de stair na teanga, idirdhealú a dhéanamh idir (*a*) $\#$ *acht* + *co*^{n}/ *go*^{n} $\#$ (aon fhocal amháin, aon aonad gramadaí amháin → [axə] sa Nua-Ghaeilge) agus (*b*) $\#$ *acht* $\#$ *co*^{n}/*go*^{n} $\#$ (dhá fhocal, dhá aonad gramadaí, → /axt $\#$ gə/ sa Nua-Ghaeilge):

(*a*) *acht co nderna mo chomarlissea* LU 8114; *ro thidlaicfidis acht co faghbadais,* Acall. 3274; *fuireach i ngleann coilleadh i bhfogus don Bhanna acht go dtigeadh na hAlbanaigh,* Cín Lae Ó Meall. 7; *tiaghmuid asteach ameasg cháich acht go bhfaighmuid air gcuid don choirm,* TCD H. 5.28, 114b; *ní imeóraidh sí an cluithche sin ach go mbidh sí cinnte de Sheán,* Máire, *Cioth is Dealán,* 39; *ach go dtagaidh an lá sin beidh beagán le freagairt ag an bhfear a shaghd ann iad,* T. Ó Máille, *An Ghaoth Aniar,* 68.

[53] Féach leis *acht cheana* i dtús abairte (A 22.64); *ach cé, ach cé chomh, ach le,* i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge (De Bhaldraithe, 192, 193, 198); agus abairtí mar *bhíos ag cuimhneamh ach cad ba mhaith dom a dhéanamh,* M. Ó Gaoithín, *Beatha Pheig Sayers,* 71; *ní chreidfeá ach an mhaitheas a dhéanfaidh an t-eolas so dhom,* P. Ua Maoileoin, *De Réir Uimhreacha,* 191.

[54] Mar mhalairt de mhíniú ar stair an chónaisc, dob fhéidir a áiteamh gur tré analach (i) le *co*^{n} ('until', 'so that', 'in order to') nó (ii) le *no co*^{n} ('unless', 'until', 'in order to') a tharraing *acht go* na bríonna breise seo chuige féin ach níor mhór an dá cheann acu (*co*^{n} agus *no co*^{n}) a chur san áireamh chun réimse shéimeantach *acht go* a mhíniú go hiomlán.

[55] Mar leis an téarmaíocht seo, féach J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics,* 194 ff.

(*b*) *ni guid digail du thabhairt foraib acht corruanat inna arrad*,
Ml. 42 ᵃ4; *asbertside dano dá fessed acht combad fer ulcach nod ngonadh*,
LU 6110; *ní fhuil dar bfuirech-ne isin dúnadh acht co toirset ar bhfir*,
Acall. 965; *dot fhurtacht do rachainn féin acht go gcluin mé* . . . , C. Mhág
Craith, *Dán na mBráthar*, 39.5; *ní feas dúinne a ndíol ó sin gus aniú
acht go ccualamar* Eachtra Uill. 3107; *do chum nách diongnadh an
drong . . . ciúnas ná comhnaidhi innti . . . acht go ndéandaois deithneas*,
Desid. 3321; *óir go raibh sé i ndán do'n éan gan d'fhad saoghal a bheith
aige acht go dtiubhradh sé gaisgidheach leis do'n ghleann so*, Eachtra
Lomn. 58; *do tugadh san regeon céadna dís bhan i láthair Mhaol-
mhodhaigh acht gurab i Sabhall do bhí bean díobh*, M. Ó Domhnaill,
Beatha Naomh Maolmhodhaigh, 70; *as Bealach Féidh thuas annsin a
athair. Acht go bhfuil sé 'n-a philear thiar i gConndae Liathdroma*,
Máire, *Saoghal Corrach*, 64; *tá eagla orm nach bhfanann sé agam acht
go raibh sgoil le fagháil fá'n bhaile aige, ibid.*, 70; '*m'anamsa nach
n-osclóidh', adeir Colm Cille, 'ach go ndeirimse de ghlan-Ghaeilge go
gcaithfidh tú crapadh leat'*, M. Ó Cadhain, *Cré na Cille*, 183; '*er m'fhocal',
ar seisean, 'ach go bhfuil sí marbh'*, *Béaloideas* viii (1938) 31.

Sna samplaí sin ar fad in (*b*), murab ionann is na samplaí in (*a*),
ní tharlaíonn aon táthú idir *acht* agus *go*—dhá aonad gramadaí
neamhspleácha iad in gach cás.[56]

8.10 Trí phróiseas, mar sin, a thagann le chéile i stair an chónaisc
acht go: leathnú *co* ⁿ sa tSean-Ghaeilge, cónasc ama do dhéanamh
den gcónasc coinníollach, agus leathnú *acht* sa Nua-Ghaeilge.

Le críochnú, fillfidh mé ar an gcónasc simplí *acht*.

9. *Acht* sa Nua-Ghaeilge

9.1 Chuaidh an cónasc simplí *acht* ('provided that') ar ceal, mar a
chonaiceamar (1.7), i dtréimhse na Meán-Ghaeilge. Faightear
arís sa Nua-Ghaeilge é, ámh, leis an mbrí agus leis an bhfeidhm
chéanna (cónasc coinníollach) ach is le clásal ainm briathartha
amháin a fhaightear anois é: *noco nindligthech do gin co tuca abad
acht techtugadh do breith* 'provided that he has brought the means of
taking possession', Laws iv 4.15;[57] *do sgaipeadar soir siar, d'éis*

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[56] *Acht* 'but', 'except', 'only', atá i gceist in (b), dar ndóigh. Féach an abairt seo
a leanas, mar a bhfaightear (a) agus (b) taobh le chéile: *ach a bpósadh a mac bheadh
cúram agus clann agus cantal arís ann, ach gurb ar bhean a mic a bheadh sé annsin*,
M. Ó Cadhain, *An Braon Broghach*, 131. Lasmuigh den difríocht struchtúrtha atá
léirithe agam a bheith idir (a) agus (b) tá dhá dhifríocht eile: (i) tá foirm dhiúltach
fhoirmiúil (*acht nach* de ghnáth) ag (b), níl ag (a); (ii) is féidir focal eile a chur isteach
idir *acht* agus *go* (*ach amháin go, ach díreach go*, mar shampla) in (b), ní féidir in (a).

[57] Aistriú in *Contr.* A 21.57. Sin é an sampla de *acht* + ainm br. is luaithe (14ú nó
15ú haois?) atá agam. Cf. *acht* 'except', 'but', + ainm br. leis: *achd ré n-aithrighe
d'fhagháil*, DDána 64.9; *na cuiridh bhur litri nó bhur láinsgribheann a n-iomfholach*

mionna na hinneónach do thabhairt nach cruinneochadaois san áit chéadna go bráth, ag déanamh cirt ná córa, acht an tí budh treise do bheith a n-uachtar, PCT 1844; *atá corn cloch-bhuadhach ag an rígh, agus níl aimsiughadh draoidheachta ná diablaidheachta nach fóirfeadh acht deoch d'ól as,* Eachtra Lomn. 20.

9.2 Tá an bhrí agus an fheidhm sin ag *acht* (san ionad áirithe seo .i. le clásal ainm br.) sna canúintí ar fad, is cosúil: *thugadh sé dhó é ach díol as* 'he gave it to him but to pay for it = provided that he paid for it', P. Ua Laoghaire, *Aesop* ii, 68; *agus solus an íle a bhíonn ins na róinte seo ar fad ach iad a leaghadh,* T. Ó Criomhthain, *Allagar na hInise,* 83; *bheadh sé ceart ach páighe mhaith a bheith ann,* T. De Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge,* 184; *d'íosfadh sé clocha na machairí ach iad a bheith bog go leor,* M. Mac Gabhann, *Rotha Mór an tSaoil,* 53; *'is tusa gheibh sin, ors am bodach, ach a dhol dh'a h-iarraidh',* Borgstrøm, *Barra,* 207; agus chomh maith leis sin, tá feidhm agus brí cónaisc ama ('chomh luath is', 'nuair') leis aige, i gcuid de na canúintí: *pósfa sé ach a bheith ina mháistir scoile dó, pósfa sí sin aríst ach a bheith básaithe don tseanduine sin,* Máirtín Ó Cadhain;[58] *bhéarfaidh mise tobaca dó acht mé greim 'fhagháil air,* Máire, *Saoghal Corrach,* 43; *cuirfidh mé 'nuas a' sagart ach mé 'ghabháil 'na' bhaile,* Máire, *Cioth is Dealán,* 62; *ach na hoícheanna fada a theacht beidh imirt chardaí againn* 'when', *ach an nóta seo a bheith scríofa agam cuirfidh mé sa phost é, dúirt sé go mbeadh cuidiú aige ach a chlann a theacht i méadaíocht,* Niall Ó Dónaill.

9.3 Is fás nua é seo (*ach* + clásal ainm br.) ámh, mar gur le clásail fhinideacha (.i. clásail le foirmeacha finideacha den mbriathar) amháin a fhaightear *acht* (agus *acht co*[n]) sa tSean-Ghaeilge. Is malartú coitianta coimhréire é sa Nua-Ghaeilge, ámh, cónasc + clásal finideach/clásal ainm br.: *dáigh bid do chennach,* PH 1000/ *dáigh co ndechsum maraen,* PH 8343; *ar dáigh na ndóine do bhreith ó chomrorcain,* PH 2130/ *ar dáigh cumadh coimhdhi dóibh,* Acall. 2300; *do chum eisiomláire do thabhairt dúinne, do chum gan saidhbhrios saoghalta do bheith againn,* Desid. 2840/*do chum go gcuimhneóchainn,* Desid. 2857; *i ndóigh an pheacaidh do ruagadh uatha,* TSh 8962/ *i ndóigh go bhfuigheadh fosgadh,* TSh 2560; *go nach raibhe a húidh nó a haire ar aoibhnios ná ar urghairdiughadh eile, acht a beith a cceas*

bhur n-éudaigh nó bhur n-earradh idir, acht a mbeith ar bhar mbasaibh, Eachta Uill. 951; *ná connaimh ór ná airgead a gcisde nó a gcoimhtheagar acht a thabhairt do dhaoinibh daidhbhri, ibid.,* 4786; *ar thrí modhuibh do-nithear na peacuidh . . . ní foláir a leighios leis na trí modhuibh cédna achd a mbeith contrárdha,* SSA 2041; *tá sé go maith ach moill bheag éistigh a bheith air,* N. Ó Dónaill.

[58] Féach an mhalairt *nach* (*bhí mé sásta nach é bheith imthithe*) i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge (De Bhaldraithe, 178). Cf. n. 18 thuas agus abairtí ar nós *sé rud é sin nach an gráinne do bheith le feiscint ann,* Ó Cadhlaigh, 620.

bróin, Eachtra Uill. 347;[59] agus b'fhéidir gur tré analach leis an malartú sin, is é sin le rá, chun an bhearna sa phatrún *chun go bhfaigheadh sé bás/chun bás a fháil//ach go bhfaigheadh sé bás/*—, a líonadh a tháinig abairtí mar *ach bás a fháil* chun cinn.[60]

10. Conclúid

10.1 San alt seo tá idir thuarascáil dhiacroineach is thuarascáil shioncroineach tabhartha agam ar fheidhm, ar bhrí, is ar riaradh an chónaisc *acht go*. Is toisc go raibh an dá thuarascáil i gceist is go raibh an dá cheann á thagairt dá chéile agam is ea a tharraingíos *acht go* chugam mar bhonn tagartha is gur chloíos leis tríd síos. Tá de bhua aige, gan amhras, gur féidir foirmeacha éagsúla an chónaisc, ag stáideanna éagsúla (*acht co*[n], *ach go*, *ach a*) a thagairt dó ach, ina choinne sin, níl sé ag teacht a thuilleadh le gnáthréaladh fóneolaíoch an chónaisc sa Nua-Ghaeilge.

10.2 Ní ionadh, mar sin, go raibh cuid mhaith guagachta is éiginnteachta ann go dtí seo i dtaobh conas ba cheart an cónasc a scríobh do réir ortagrafaíocht na Nua-Ghaeilge[61] ach feasta b'fhearr cloí le *ach a* agus é a úsáid leis an réimse bhrí atá léirithe agam a bheith aige sa Nua-Ghaeilge. Dob fhéidir fós, dá mba ghá san, *acht go* a úsáid (go háirithe i saothar léannta, in aistriúcháin, i gcáipéisí oifigiúla, etc.,) is an bhunbhrí 'provided that' amháin aige.

BREANDÁN Ó BUACHALLA

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath

[59] Cf. malartú mar é in abairtí ar nós *dá gceannuightheá an bhó agus airgead do dhíol as an gceannach/dá mbeadh beirt bhan ag troid agus go bhfeicfidís ag teacht í*, Ó Cadhlaigh, 488—9.

[60] Ní mór a rá, áfach, gur pairailéachas dromplach ortagrafaíochta amháin atá idir *chun go* agus *acht go* sa chás so, mar go mbaineann *chun go* le struchtúr (b) in 8.9 thuas. Dob fhéidir, leis, gur tré analach le *cen/gan* (a fhaightear le hainm br. ó thréimhse na Sean-Ghaeilge anuas; féach C 112.83) a fhás an úsáid seo. Gan amhras, is ceist chasta inti féin í nach bhfuil puinn staidéir déanta uirthi leathnú an chlásail ainm br. sa Ghaeilge.

[61] Fiú amháin De Bhaldraithe (*English-Irish Dictionary*), tá idir *ach a* (s.v. *soon* I *b*) agus *ach go* (s.v. *when* II **2 d**) aige. Féach leis 2.–6. thuas.

PRELIMINARIES TO A GENERATIVE MORPHOLOGY OF THE MODERN IRISH VERB

0. Introductory

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0.   The present paper is an attempt to account for the impact of syntax on the phonetic shape of verbs in a dialect of Modern Irish. The section of the grammar concerned here thus corresponds essentially to what is generally known as 'morphology', although, in order to classify and explain such phenomena sufficiently it will be necessary to discuss a variety of syntactic and semantic aspects of the verb as well. The point at issue, then, is the analysis of specific parts of sentences into (i) primitive semantic configurations with the syntactic property of verb-function, and (ii) units which accompany and/or modify such elements within a verbal phrase. For the present purpose, the latter, (ii), are further defined by a phonological criterion in that they operate below the word-level (inflectional and derivational elements, proclitics and enclitics), or by a semantic criterion insofar as they are purely operational (auxiliaries). Except for derivation, it will be assumed that basically every verb, or at least a well-defined sub-set of verbs, is capable of representing in such a way a number of syntactical phenomena, which may be called the 'verbal categories'.

The linguistic model applied here is that of a generative grammar, which is largely characterized by its 'item and process' nature: all sentences which can be observed in a given language are related to and explained in terms of more primitive structures which may also occur in the language and which are ultimately derived from

elementary abstract units. This process of derivation is represented by a system of ordered explicit rules which account for, or 'generate', exactly the set of correct sentences of the language. The specific type of a generative grammar adopted here is the 'transformational' model as developed mainly by CHOMSKY[1].

A separate morphological level was not originally considered for a generative grammar, but this, it seems, is rather due to a general neglect of morphological processes in previous transformational studies than to a deliberate decision, based on thorough analysis, to account for phenomena like inflection and derivation fully within the lexical, syntactic or phonological component of the grammar. There are, however, sufficient reasons to assume that rules for inflection and derivation should form a coherent and comparatively autonomous component of the grammar, to be placed between syntax and phonology.[2] Morphological rules thus operate after the lexical items have been inserted into the 'pre-terminal' strings generated by the (universal) base-component and after these deep-structures have been subjected to (language-specific) syntactic transformations, but before the general phonological rules, which are largely independent of syntax, transform the underlying phonological representation of the sentence into a phonetic transcription.

An exhaustive analysis of the verbal system would necessarily require a more detailed study of syntax than has so far been carried out for Irish. The question of the exact derivation of each verbal category from deep-structure elements will therefore be omitted here, and for much the same reason the morphological units will not be specified in terms of strictly formalized rules. The rules given, however, are explicit enough to reveal a significant typological feature of Irish: in most cases verbal categories are not represented independently of each other but the form of one may be determined by the presence or absence of another, or two categories may be phonetically represented by only one morphological rule ('fusion'). The format of morphological rules can therefore be used as a tool for inferring certain typological features.

Another aspect of morphology in which languages differ greatly is regularity. In a generative grammar, it is possible to define this term strictly by saying that the lexicon in its redundancy-free state, i.e. before the application of redundancy conditions, contains exactly the information which cannot be stated in the rules of the grammar but which is necessary for generating only the correct sentences of the language. In other words, lexical information is unpredictable, and rules are predictions, generalized statements

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[1] For a discussion of this model see mainly CHOMSKY 1965.
[2] See WURZEL 1970, 15–18.

either about human language in general ('universals', which constitute the deepest level of a grammar) or about the language which is being described.   In LAKOFF 1965 it is shown that, in order to construct the optimal grammar for all available linguistic data it is necessary to allow for 'exceptions' to transformational rules, in much the same way as most traditional grammars do.   As exceptions are, by definition, unpredictable, it is the lexical component of a generative grammar that has to account for them, and each lexical item that constitutes an exception to a specific rule must be marked accordingly. All lexical information is contained in matrices consisting of binary features (mainly phonological features linked to semantic ones), and if an item is an exception to a rule it will be convenient to add a corresponding negative 'rule-feature' to its lexical matrix. There are rules, however, which express highly restricted, 'residual' generalizations and to which the majority of lexical items are exceptions.   It is obvious that for such rules only those items should be marked to which they must be applied, and the rule will be given a specific status ('minor rule') whereby a rule-feature with '+'-specification is required before it can operate.   Such minor rules, then, are essentially connected with grammatical irregularity although some of them are partly predictable (see e.g. (UVN) in 2.73).   In the present discussion of the verbal system particular attention will be given to the question of irregularity; the first section deals with the regular structure, the second specifies 'idiosyncratic' properties of lexical items with regard to that structure, as well as minor rules.

In generative phonology and morphology it is essential that segments should be analysed into binary[3] phonetic features and that all rules should operate on feature matrices.   For the present purpose, however, and also for the sake of clarity, it may be sufficient to use conventional phonetic symbols, although this leads to some disadvantages: the underlying forms appear in a highly redundant representation because each symbol includes, by definition, all phonetic features of the corresponding segment, many of which will be specified only later in the grammar; also, it is much more convenient to refer to classes of segments in terms of their common distinctive features than to list their members.   Unless a specific (earlier) phase of the derivation is considered the examples will be given in a broad phonetic transcription; the symbols used are those which are customary in Irish dialectology, with the exception of capital vowel letters for tense ('long') vowels: /U/ corresponds to /u:/, /A/ to /ɑ:/, /a/ to /a/, /a:/, /æ:/, etc.; palatalized consonants (including /s'/ and /x'/) are always distinguished by a following '/'. Most speakers of the dialect make a tense/lax distinction in laterals and dental nasals only in the palatalized series; it is however, necessary to assume /l/ and /n/ as well as /L/, /N/, /l'/, /n'/, /L'/, /N'/, in the

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[3] Stress-features, however, are non-binary; also, in the last phase of the derivation, binary specifications will be converted into numerical ones, indicating degrees of voicedness, opening, etc.

underlying system. A late rule will then change /l/ and /n/ to /L/ and /N/ resp.; in the forms quoted in the text this rule must usually be regarded as having applied. Elements which cause initial mutation of a following word are marked 'len' (lenition) or 'ecl' (eclipsis).

The study is based on field-work carried out at Carna, Co. Galway.[4] Previous grammatical descriptions of this and closely related dialects include: FINCK 1899 (Aran), DE BHALDRAITHE 953 (Cois Fhairrge), MURPHY 1970 (Carna; a generative study of the verbal system), and WIGGER 1970 (Carna; generative morphology of the noun).

1. Regular Morphological Structure

1.1 Representation of Verbal Categories

1.11 Tense

The general function of tense-elements is to express the time-relation between the event or state referred to in the verb and the moment of the speech-event. However, under various circumstances tense-elements achieve functions which differ from the purely time-relational function. Also, there are environments where specific tense-elements may not or cannot be represented phonetically although the respective time-relation exists. This shows that various transformations operate at a lower level in the syntax to introduce or delete tense-elements. Accordingly, the exact meaning of the term 'tense' changes to some extent between deep-structure and morphology: whereas 'future' as a deep-structure element means clearly 'later than this speech-event', on the level studied here it denotes, in a purely formal way, 'subject to the morphological rules for 'future''. Therefore, statements made here about tenses as well as some other categories must generally be taken as qualified in this way. Many of the derived functions of tense-elements will be mentioned, however.

There are two marked tenses, future and past, which both occur in aspectual and aspect-free environments. The remaining unmarked tense, the present, occurs usually in conjunction with either the habitual (see 1.124) or the progressive (see 1.121) aspect.

1.111 Future

The future is characterized by a suffix to the root or derived stem, the shape of which depends on (i) the previous application of a rule which introduces a stem-extension in /O/ (see 1.31), and (ii) whether the subject-person is definite or indefinite (see 1.14). For definite-subject forms, the future suffix takes the form /hə/ in verbs without

a stem-extension in /O/, otherwise it is Ø; it is always /f'/ in indefinite subject ('autonomous') forms.

Although very often the /h/ will not be phonetically represented the suffix should be established as /hə/: the deletion of /h/ following a plosive (and optionally any consonant) is governed by a general rule about /h/ (devoicing of preceding consonant; deletion after consonant). The first sub-rule, in this dialect, does not apply to sonorants after a morpheme-boundary, and the deletion is optional in that environment: /g'Arhə/ ∼ /g'Arə/ 'he will cut'.

By a general phonological rule, which says that the quality of all segments in a consonant cluster with regard to palatalization is determined by the last segment, the /f'/-suffix should regularly palatalize an unpalatalized consonant preceding it. But this assimilation does not normally take place; on the contrary, depalatalization of /f'/ occurs sporadically here.

Consistent with the usual analysis of Irish verbs, one might regard the /O/-element, which is restricted to the future, as the future-suffix for a certain morphological class of verbs (see 3.1), particularly because in non-autonomous forms there is no further suffix. It should be realized, however, that the /O/-element obviously replaces an /x'/-termination, which always precedes an inflectional ending (see 1.32). Furthermore, the fact that in autonomous forms the general /f'/-suffix follows the /O/, and the evidence of other dialects, which have a suffix (e.g. /x/) in the Ø-position, give sufficient justification for the analysis adopted here.

Some derived functions of the future may be mentioned. It can be used as an imperative, without requiring an interrogative structure as would be more clearly parallel to similar usages in other European languages. The semantic notion of 'future' is still preserved in such cases but a specific modal component is added. In fact, mood in Irish always implies a future tense (see 1.15) without taking the corresponding tense-marker. This quasi-imperative is thus the morphological opposite to normal modal forms, where the future morpheme is suppressed by the imperative/optative ending.[5] A 'consuetudinal future' of West Irish dialects, differing from the habitual present in denoting 'momentary occasional or periodic acts', is discussed by MHAC AN FHAILIGH 1948-52. This is an instance of tense-neutralization where the remaining tense-marker comes to denote manner of action (aspect) rather than temporal relation (tense). The verb /kah/ 'spend, throw', when followed by a verbal-noun construction, has the special meaning 'must' in the future. The verb here functions as an auxiliary which carries the inflectional elements the main verb cannot take, being a noun. The tense-marker, then, does not qualify the meaning of the auxiliary but that of the main verb which, in this modal construction, implicitly denotes a future event.

5 Cf. MURPHY 1970, 61.

There are certain structures, on the other hand, which contain the semantic notion of 'future' although the verb will not undergo the morphological future-rule. The general suppression of the future tense by mood has just been mentioned. Similarly, in subordinate clauses (mainly consecutive and final) governed by a present-tense verb, future is replaced by the 'present subjunctive' (see 1.164); some speakers, however, do not apply this rule but use future-tense forms here, thus expressing the tense of the clause rather than its subordination. Time reference can always be made explicit by temporal adverbs and adverbials. If the point of reference is in the future the adverb may be sufficient to express the tense and the 'neutral' tense, the present, may be used. The aspect required in such cases seems to be always progressive: (1) /tA m'E ə gol' gə gaL'ə əmAr'əx/ 'I am going to Galway tomorrow' is equivalent to (2) /gohə m'E gə gaL'ə əmAr'əx/. Finally, verbs in the prospective aspect (see 1.122) also contain an underlying future-element which is not represented by the future-morpheme.

The future may co-occur with the past, in which case it automatically takes the 'habitual' endings; the resulting set of forms is usually known as 'conditional'. It is often impossible to discover the primary meaning of each of these three components in a given conditional form. The habitual aspect in particular seems often semantically implausible, but it should be noted that a similar functional change takes place in the habitual present and past, which both occur in conditional subordinate clauses, under certain circumstances (see 1.1643). As to the configuration of tense-elements in the conditional, the semantic evidence for the analysis adopted here is much clearer: in reported speech, for example, the conditional denotes a future from a past viewpoint; the tense of the main clause is simply superimposed upon a future-tense in the subordinate clause, where present + future = future, but past + future = conditional. The main clause function of the conditional, however, can hardly be explained in a similar way, and it might be regarded as an underlying modal element (hence future), which is then transformed into a joint realization of two tenses and one aspect. From a morphological point of view, on the other hand, the proposed analysis of conditional forms is quite obvious, and it appears necessary to account for their formal structure by a derivation which somehow expresses the relation to each of the grammatical elements contained in it.[6]

The conditional may replace the habitual past; it seems that in such usages the element 'past' contained in every conditional form would dominate the future-component.

[6] It is a well-known fact that in many languages conditional forms, being the 'imperfect of the future' can or must be analysed morphologically in a way similar to that proposed here.

1.112 Past

The other marked member of the category 'tense' is phonetically represented by a prefix to the verbal root. Its final shape is controlled by the following factors:

(i) The presence of certain preverbal particles (see 1.16 and 1.17): /gə/, /Nax/, /əN/, /N'I/, /ə/*ecl*, /soLA/ require the past-prefix /r/*len*, unless the verb is in the habitual aspect (no prefix); when any other or no preverbal particle is present the prefix is /də/*len*.[7]

(ii) indefiniteness of the subject: lenition (by the past-prefix) does not affect autonomous forms, and non-lenition results in the appearance of /h/ before a verb-initial vowel.[8]

(iii) a phonological rule: the prefix /də/, after having caused lenition, is elided if the verb begins with a consonant other than /f/ or /f'/ (which is deleted by lenition).

The /d/ of the past-prefix is never lenited, e.g. by the 'direct relative' particle /ə/*len*.

The justification for postulating an underlying /də/ lies not only in the 'residual' occurrence of this form before a vowel (the /ə/ is elided by a general vowel-sandhi rule), but also in a comparison with southern dialects which have no rule for the deletion of this particle. The rule (which seems to be restricted to this element) operates in two steps: (i) deletion of /d/, if the first segment of the verb is C (where lenited /f/ $\neq$ C); (ii) elision of /ə/, with the optional condition that it may be retained after /mar/ 'because': forms like /mar ə v'I/, where often the /ə/ cannot be explained as a relative particle, support the assumption of underlying /də/. Step (ii) resembles the general, but largely optional, phonetic rule which elides pretonic /ə/ after speech-pause.

The selection of the past-tense also results in the choice of a particular set of endings for the category 'person' in the habitual aspect: the elements following the stem or the future-morpheme in the habitual past (including, of course, conditional) are quite different from those selected for the habitual present. But the primary past-marker is clearly the prefix because it is always realized independently.

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[7] Some irregular verbs (see 2.5) delete the past-prefix after any of these particles instead of replacing it with /r/.

[8] The appearance of prevocalic initial /h/ is regularly due to a pretonic particle which ends in a vowel and is not marked for causing initial mutation, e.g.:

		leniting	eclipsing
(article)	/NəhV/	————	/NəNV/
(possessive)	/əhV/	/əV/	/əNV/
(negative)	/NAhV/	⎰ /N'IV/	————
	/N'ThV/	⎱ /N'IV/	————
(patronymic)	/OhV/	/N'IV/	

etc. (suggested by J. Murphy)

The /h/ in autonomous forms, then, can best be explained by a 'non-mutation' rule which accounts for the above facts. This would require a preceding particle of the structure (C)V; obviously the past-prefix takes this place, as /h/ appears only in the past (habitual, non-habitual, conditional). To account for forms like /N'Ir hIkU/ 'one did not pay', /r/ would either have to be taken as an exception to the (C)V-condition or 'restored' to /rə/.

As pointed out above, there is one occurrence of the element 'past' which does not agree with the primary semantic characteristics of this tense, namely in conditional forms. Wherever such forms have a modal function the dominant tense-element is future, and this is also expressed phonetically. In the speech of some speakers, however, the pure past-tense forms may fulfil this function under certain conditions.[9] This striking usage suggests that the element 'past' has some connection with modal structures; this may explain its occurrence in conditional forms, which was postulated mainly for morphological reasons. On the whole, the element 'past' seems much less subject to functional transformations than the future. Also, there are far fewer environments where it can be left unexpressed; the only fairly frequent example for this is the 'historical present', which is used as a stylistic variant for dramatizing past events in narration. Where no specific aspect-free ('actual') forms of the present are available (see 1.124) the habitual forms are used for the 'historical present', although in such usages the aspect is often clearly non-habitual.

1.12 Aspect

Not all elements of this category agree completely with the general definitions of 'aspect' as used by most grammarians in that they are partly relative to the time of utterance.[10] Two of them, the prospective and perfective aspects, may be regarded as varieties of the future and past tenses resp.; both contain certain aspectual or modal notions in addition to the expression of time-relation. The progressive and habitual aspects represent aspects in the narrow sense as well as manners of action.[11] Also, there are various occurrences of aspect elements which, in conjunction with specific tenses, are only due to sentence structure or which are modal rather than aspectual (e.g. the conditional, which has the phonetic characteristics of the habitual aspect). Some such cases have been mentioned in the discussion of tense-elements.

From a morphological point of view there are two quite different types of aspect: the habitual aspect results in a specific set of amalgamated aspect/person endings, differentiated further according to the tense-element that has been selected.[12] The remaining three,

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[9] See WAGNER 1959, 29, MURPHY 1970, 64.
[10] See LYONS 1970, 315.
[11] This distinction is accepted by many linguists; in German linguistic usage, for example, 'Aspekt' is normally used in just such a restricted sense, referring to a category comparable to the opposition perfective/imperfective in Russian.
[12] MURPHY treats it as a tense, owing to this morphological peculiarity. In his system, then, 'habitual present' and 'habitual past', as well as 'conditional', are tense-elements equivalent to 'future' or 'past'. This corresponds to a lower level of the derivation proposed here.

on the other hand, result in 'periphrastic' forms of the verb, con-
sisting of an auxiliary which takes the normal inflectional endings
for tense, person, or habitual aspect, and a nominal form of the
main verb, together with a specific prepositional element.   In such
constructions, any object-noun that may be linked to the verb
takes, with certain restrictions, the adnominal form ('genitive'),
following a general rule of Irish concerning noun sequences; or,
if the object is pronominalized, the form of a 'possessive' pronoun
preceding the verbal noun and sometimes amalgamating phonetically
with the prepositional element.

The three aspects which result in periphrastic forms are the only
verbal structures of Irish which imply an option of voice (see 1.13).
Particularly in the progressive and perfective aspects, there are
passive constructions available for most verbs besides the active
ones, the choice being largely stylistic.

In certain complex sentence structures which are the result of 'embedding'
transformations, the auxiliary of a progressive or perfective-passive verb
is deleted or replaced by the verb of the 'matrix'-sentence or by a coordinative
conjunction:

(4) /xon'ək' m'E E/ + /v'I s'E e gol' əst'ax/ →
    'I saw him'   'He was going in'

                            /xon'ək' m'E ə gol' əst'ax E/[13]
                            'I saw him going in'

(5) /hAn'ək' m'E əwal'ə/ + /v'I p'Isə mOr gəN Ihə kat'ə/
    'I came home'   'A great part of the night was spent'
    → /hAn'ək' m'E əwal'ə agəs p'Isə mOr gəN Ihə kat'e/
      'When I came home a great part of the night was spent.'

(6) /v'I m'E ə t'axt əwal'ə/ + /v'I əN d'IN'Er rE/ →
    'I was coming home'   'The dinner was ready'
    /ə t'axt əwal'ə γəm v'I əN d'IN'Er rE/
    ' When I was coming home the dinner was ready'

(7) /kasU f'ar γOb'/ + /v'I f'ar ə gol' sUəs əN bOhər/ →
    'They met a man' 'A man was going up the road'
    /kasU f'ar γOb' ə gol' ən'Is əN bOhər/
    'They met a man who was coming up the road'

Also, the main verb component of a periphrastic form may be shifted
to front position, the result being a copular relative construction (see 1.161),
usually with Ø-copula:

(8) /v'Idər gA N'IL/   →   /gA N'IL ə v'Idər/
    'They were selling them'   'It is selling them they were'

1.121 Progressive Aspect

/əg/ is the characteristic preposition used in aspect forms which
generally denote the continuity of an event before and after the

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[13] Similarly with other verbs of perception.—This embedding-rule does not operate
when the noun-phrase of the embedded sentence is the 'thema'; the result would then
be: (4a)/xon'ək' m'E E NUər' ə v'I s'E ə gol' əs't'ax/.

time of reference.[14] The/g/ is deleted before any other consonant and
palatalized before a front vowel. When the object of the verb
appears as a pronoun /əg/ is substituted by /gə/, the vowel of which
amalgamates with any of the pronouns /ə/ to /A/; the same happens
in passive constructions, where the grammatical subject occupies
the positions of both the subject· and the object of the corresponding
active structure (see 1.13). The main verb always takes the form
of the verbal noun.

As the auxiliary, the 'substantive verb' /b′I/, is fully inflectible,
the progressive aspect combines freely with all tenses and moods
as well as with the habitual aspect. It may also co-occur with the
prospective aspect (see 1.122).

A small but semantically consistent group of verbs ('stative verbs') use
the preposition /ə/ 'in' instead of /əg/; furthermore, these verbs are con-
structed like passives here in that they require the 'possessive' pronoun in
front of the verbal noun, referring to the grammatical subject, although
they are intransitive: (9) /tA m′E ə mə hasə/ 'I am standing', cf. the passive
(10) /tA m′E gə mə hrIAl′/ 'I am being tried', When these verbs occur
in /əg/-constructions they have a non-stative meaning.

Apart from the complex sentence-structures mentioned in 1.12 there
are a few constructions with auxiliaries other than /b′I/ which may not be
regarded as embeddings but rather as further types of aspect. These seem
to occur in the active only. Constructions with /tosə/ 'begin' as auxiliary
represent what might be termed 'inceptive aspect', e.g. (11) /hosə s′E əg′
ihə/ 'He started eating'. A similar meaning is conveyed by the auxiliary
/t′E/ 'go', which, however, seems to be restricted to the non-habitual past,
in this function; when it appears in the present it itself takes the progressive
form, and the result is a variant of the prospective aspect (see 1.122), e.g.
(12) /xUədər ə sArhIxt/ 'They started arguing', but (13) /tA s′E ə gol′ gə
mə warU/ 'he is going to kill me'. The auxiliary function of the verb
/L′aN/ 'follow' gives rise to a 'continuative aspect': (14) /L′aNədər əg′
im′ir′t′/ 'They went on playing'.

In addition to its purely aspectual function, the auxiliary /t′E/ may
retain its original semantic feature of 'motion' if the main verb permits
this: (15) /xUədər ə tOrIxt/ 'they went searching' or 'they started searching'.
In these cases a transformational explanation might be considered, if one
could assume that 'inceptive' is an inherent feature of the verb /t′E/. —
Similarly, in the 'double-progressive', i.e. prospective, construction with
/t′E/ (see 1.122) the idea of motion may be preserved: (16) /tA mid′ ə gol′
ə xoLə/ 'we are going to bed'. In fact, many constructions with /t′E/
can be interpreted as partially aspectual: (17) /tA m′E ə gol′ gə gaL′ə/ 'I am
going to Galway' conveys a meaning similar to that expressed by (18)/ tA
m′E l′e v′e ə ηaL′ə/ 'I am to be in Galway.' (19) */tA m′E ə gol′ ə v′eh ə
ηaL′e/ seems ungrammatical.

1.122 Prospective Aspect

An aspect denoting immediate future and/or obligation is character-
ized by the occurrence of the preposition /l′e/, which is expanded

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[14] The exact semantic value of the progressive aspect depends to a large extent
on the semantic structure of the verb, as in English grammar. For the same reason,
many verbs are excluded from or restricted to this aspect.

to /l'es'/ before the article and to /l'eN/ before any other element beginning with a vowel. The main verb appears as a verbal noun, and the auxiliary is always /b'I/. Apparently no deletions or substitutions of the auxiliary are possible, except for the /agəs/-construction (see (5)).[15] For this aspect, transitive verbs take a construction different from that of the progressive aspect: the object-noun precedes the verbal noun in what is formally identical to an infinitive construction, with the invariable infinitive particle /ə/[len] prefixed to the verbal noun:[16]

(21) /v'et s'E l'e bAs ə Al'/ 'He would have to die'

When the object is pronominalized it may be introduced in the same way as in the /əg/- construction, using the 'possessive' pronoun:

(22) /tA m'E l'eN ə fAl'/ 'I am to get her'

but here also the 'infinitive' construction is possible, using the independent form of the pronoun:

(22a) /tA m'E l'en' I ə Al'/ 'id.'

There is also a difference in the passive construction insofar as the grammatical subject occurs only once (in the auxiliary) and is not taken up again by a 'possessive' pronoun before the verbal noun. Therefore the interpretation of the verbal phrase depends entirely on the nature of the main verb: a transitive verb in /l'e/-periphrasis must be regarded as passive if only one noun-phrase occurs with it. The agent may be introduced in the same way as in the progressive aspect; consequently, where the agent phrase is deleted there is no formal distinction between an intransitive and a passive verb in /l'e/-periphrasis:

(23) /tA s'E l'en' im'əxt/ 'He is going to leave', but

(24) /tA s'E l'en' ihə/ 'It is to be eaten'

This is by far the most common structure of a /l'e/-construction; the transitive-active construction tends to be replaced by the 'double-progressive' periphrasis using the verbal noun of /t'E/ 'go' (see 1.121), which, therefore, can be regarded as the main realization of the prospective aspect for active verbs.

The prospective aspect may co-occur with any other aspect and tense; modal forms are not eligible for it. Where the aspectual meaning is one of 'imminence', however, the future seems to be excluded: (25) */bej m'E l'e γol' əwal'ə/* 'I'll be to go home' seems ungrammatical in both Irish and English. This supports the view that the /l'e/-periphrasis also represents

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[15] It is doubtful whether constructions like (20a) /tA m'E k'apIhə l'e v'eh ə b'l'AN Nə bO/ 'I am supposed to milk the cow' should be regarded as realizations of the prospective aspect. The implied notion of 'future' here seems due to /k'apIhə/ rather than to the preposition /l'e/ used with it.

[16] This particle is also used with two intransitive verbs of motion: /t'E/ 'go' and /t'ag/ 'come'; after /l'e/, owing to elision, only the lenition effected by /ə/ remains phonetically: (20b) /tA m'E l'e γol' sU əs AN/ 'I am to go up there'. This is an irregularity (see 2.2).

a tense; it is, in fact, relative to the time of utterance.—In a prospective construction, the habitual aspect may occur only in the passive, where the meaning is usually rather one of possibility than of future: (26) /b'IN s'E l'e f'ek'Al'/ 'it can usually be seen'.

When the prospective is combined with the perfective aspect neither the habitual nor the progressive aspect may occur in the same phrase; also, this double-aspect construction is restricted to intransitive verbs, e.g. (27) /tA s'E l'e v'eh im'ihə/ 'He will be gone'. The corresponding passive construction supplies the passive of the combination prospective/progressive: (28) /tA s'E l'e v'eh gortIhə/ 'He is going to be hurt'. The expected (29) *tA s'E l'e v'eh gA γortU/ does not occur. Otherwise prospective-progressive periphrasis is regularly made up by placing the progressive phrase in the position of the verbal noun of a prospective construction, the auxiliary of the first taking the form of a verbal noun (/v'eh/): (30) /tA s'Iəd l'e v'eh əg' im'ər't'/ 'They are to be playing'. As (27) shows, the same embedding takes place in the same order in prospective-perfective constructions. For the relation between 'prospective' and 'inceptive' see 1.121.

1.123 Perfective Aspect

The notion of 'completed action' is expressed by a periphrastic construction using the auxiliary /b'I/ and (a) the preposition /hr'Es'/[17] 'after' with the verbal noun of the main verb, or (b) the verbal adjective of the main verb (see 1.22 and 2.8); construction (a) is active, whereas (b) is passive. The active construction follows the pattern of the active /l'e/-periphrasis in that it introduces the main verb by an 'infinitive' construction which follows the object noun or pronoun. Similarly, in the passive the grammatical subject is expressed in the auxiliary only, and not in the main verb component, as in the progressive aspect (there is no concord in the verbal adjective with the subject or, in fact, any other constituent, as is the case with all predicative adjectives).

Like the prospective aspect the perfective can be considered to represent also an element of the category tense, because it denotes a past event in relation to the time of utterance as well as expressing the specific aspectual notion of 'completed action'. Like the future in prospective constructions, the past here is not represented by any other element. The passive variety of the perfective aspect has, in fact, sometimes been regarded as an independent tense, and the analogy with 'have' -perfects of other languages is obvious, although not complete (see 1.13).

The perfective aspect co-occurs with any other verbal category that may be represented in the auxiliary, including moods and the habitual aspect. Among the periphrastic aspects mainly the progressive combines with it (cf. (27) however), the progressive construction being

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[17] This element may take various equivalent forms by (a) changing /r'/ into /l'/, (b) eliding the first and/or second consonant:

/(h) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{l'} \\ \text{r'} \end{array} \right\}$ Es'/.

'embedded' in the perfective one. As there is no verbal adjective available for the embedded auxiliary /b'I/ only that variant of the perfective aspect which involves a verbal noun can be used here, i.e. the active /hr'Es /-construction. The resulting double-aspect phrase reads e.g.:

(31) /tA m'E hr'Es' ə v'eh ə d'INə pot'In'/
        'I have just been making poteen'

When the progressive-aspect phrase is passive the same transformation which is required in prospective-passive/progressive configurations (see (28)-(29)) applies, i.e. the perfective passive form with the verbal adjective is used instead of the normal progressive verbal-noun passive: (32) /tA əN pot'In' hr'Es' ə v'eh d'INtə am/ 'The poteen has just been made by me', but not (33) */tA əN pot'In' hr'Es' ə v'eh gA jINə am/. In the same way as (28) this structure does not really contradict the rule that /hr'Es'/-periphrasis is chosen in active sentences only, because it is only for morphological reasons (/b'I/ lacking a verbal adjective) that the perfective passive has to appear in the active form here.

As the translation of (31) suggests, the specific notion expressed by the aspect combination progressive + perfective is one of 'immediate past' Given the meaning of 'continuity' for the progressive aspect, this is quite plausible. Some grammarians have assigned this specific meaning to /hr'Es'/-constructions in general[18]; the evidence of spoken Conamara Irish, however, does not support this view (see e.g. (34-35)). Generally, there seems to be no relevant semantic difference between the two perfective constructions which could not be explained in terms of voice. This interpretation was first proposed by MURPHY 1970.[19]

For most speakers, the passive construction outnumbers the active variety even more drastically than in the /l'e/-periphrasis. With intransitive verbs also generally the morphological pattern of the passive is followed: (34) tA s'E im'əhə/ 'He is gone', although constructions like (35) tA s'E hr'Es' ə im'ext/ 'id.' occur occasionally. Many transitive verbs can be used intransitively by deletion of the object, a process which often implies a semantic modification. Thus, as well as (36) /N'Ir ih s'E E/ 'He did not eat it' one can say (37) /N'Ir ih s'E/ 'He did not eat'. These quasi-intransitive verbs may occur in the perfective aspect, which gives rise to an ambiguity because the corresponding transitive verb in a passive construction would, after deletion of the agent-phrase, appear in exactly the same form: (38) /tA s'E it'ə/ can mean both 'He has eaten' and 'It has been eaten', according to whether the verb is considered intransitive or transitive, where the steps of the derivation would be: (39a) /d'ih s'E E/ 'He ate it' → (39b) /tA s'E it'ə ag'ə/ 'It has been eaten by him' → (39c) /tA s'E it'ə/ 'It has been eaten'.[20]

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[18] Cf. DILLON 1941.

[19] MURPHY 1970, 52: "It seems safe to assume that the essential difference between the two constructions is of a syntactic nature: the adjectival perfective construction, like the progressive construction exemplified, is passive, allowing as it does the omission of an agent-noun; by contrast with this the TAR EIS construction may be said to be active. It is true of course that both constructions are available for most intransitive verbs as well (TÁIM, for which there is no verbal adjective, being an important exception), and it is probably there primarily that possible semantic distinctions should be sought."

[20] This ambiguity is dealt with in a similar way in MURPHY 1970, 55. For a list of examples see DE BHALDRAITHE 1948.

It was said above that the perfective aspect 'automatically' expresses a
past tense, i.e. it is never independent of tense. There is, however, a gram-
matical phenomenon in Irish (and in a similar way in English) which seems
to represent an independent perfective aspect: many verbs can be qualified
by an adverb of direction, which, in its primary semantic function, refers to
'movement' of subject or object. This notion, however, which is often
accompanied by a modification of the meaning of the verb, can be replaced
by a purely aspectual function: /s'k'r'Iw s'E əmax/, /fUt'I əmax/, /f'IxAN
sŬəs/, /L'Inhə tU sUəs/ differ from /s'k'r'Iw s'E/ 'he wrote', /fUt'I/ 'one used
to sew', /f'IxAN/ 'to weave', /L'Inhə tU/ 'you will fill' resp. only in that
they are perfective. As can be seen from the examples given this 'perfective
aspect' is in no way restricted with regard to tense. In the present frame-
work, however, this question will not be discussed in any detail; it may be
sufficient to assume tentatively that any directional adverb qualifying a
transitive verb implies a notion of 'completed action'.[21]

1.124 Habitual Aspect

The primary semantic characteristic of the habitual aspect is
that the event takes or took place repeatedly; it is often used to
describe customary activities or recurrent events. However, it
should be pointed out that no other class of verbal forms has so
highly divergent functions as these have, and it is difficult, if not
impossible, to derive all these functions from the notion 'repeated
action' in a semantically plausible way. Therefore one might assume
that 'habitual aspect' is just one out of various unconnected functions
of the same form class, though perhaps the most characteristic.
Thus when referring to certain sets of forms which are not 'habitual'
in meaning (e.g. subordinate forms (see 1.16), imperatives (1.151),
and conditional forms), the term 'habitual' is used purely for reasons
of morphology, and means 'having the same realization as the
habitual aspect'. Accordingly, in a rule system which generates
the verbal forms the element 'habitual' will have different origins:
in subordinate clauses, conditional structures or 3. pers. imperative
sentences it will be introduced on a low level by means of a trans-
formational rule. Such a procedure is by no means unique; some
similar cases, though on a smaller scale, have already been mentioned
in the discussion of tenses (1.11).

This functional ambiguity of the element which represents the
habitual aspect occurs mainly in the past tense, but the forms of
the habitual present can also be used in a non-habitual function
('actual present'), except for the auxiliary /b'I/, which has two
different sets of forms here (see 2.2). As in this verb the form which
contains a suffix is clearly used for the habitual aspect it will be

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[21] Cf. the aspectual system of, for example, Hungarian or Russian. The perfective
meaning of directional adverbs is also evident from expressions like /əmax əs əmax/
'completely'.

assumed that this suffix represents the habitual present; all other verbs, which use the same suffix indiscriminately for both habitual and non-habitual present, will be provided with this suffix either on account of an underlying 'habitual aspect' element or, in the same way as in the subordinate, conditional, etc. forms mentioned, by means of a later rule which introduces a purely formal feature 'habitual'.

The habitual aspect is expressed in a quite different way from any of the other aspects, which all result in periphrastic constructions. The habitual forms are characterized by a suffix, the shape of which depends on the tense-element selected; in the past tense (including conditional) this suffix takes the form /ət/ if a pronoun beginning with /s'/ follows, otherwise it is /əx/; for the present-tense the suffix is /əN/. These suffixes are suppressed, however, by personal endings, and, consequently, forms containing one of these habitual-aspect suffixes are 'general' forms which do not incorporate the subject noun phrase (see 1.14). The personal endings which replace the aspect suffix are different for each aspect/tense set. The habitual aspect does not co-occur with the future, except in association with the past tense (conditional, see 1.111), but it combines freely with any other aspect.

1.13 Voice

A distinction of two 'voices', viz. 'active' and 'passive' is only possible in sentences for which one of the three aspect-elements 'progressive', 'prospective' or 'perfective' has been selected. Although the choice between active and passive is essentially stylistic it is necessary to establish the verbal category of 'voice' here in order to account for the ultimate formal representation of these aspects.

The formal characteristics of the passive have already been stated in the discussion of the 'periphrastic' aspects (see 1.121–1.123). As a full treatment of the numerous problems connected with the concept of 'voice' would necessarily require a thorough study of syntax dealing with the representation of the element 'agent' and with the relations between noun-phrases and verb-phrases in a sentence, little more will be said here about the matter.

It will be noted that the passive assumed here for Irish differs from what has been described as such by many other grammarians dealing with Irish. Due to a general neglect of the periphrastic forms in relation to the regular verbal paradigm, the three aspectual passive structures have often been overlooked or not recognized as passives. On the other hand, the 'autonomous' forms, referred to by some authors as passives, are here interpreted as 'indefinite subject' forms (see 1.141), as distinct from real passives. The criteria adopted here for defining a 'passive' are as follows:

(i)   the noun-phrase which does not represent the agent appears as the person of the finite verb, or as the first noun-phrase following the verb;

(ii) the construction must be generally relatable to an equally grammatical phrase with the agent in that position; there should normally be no difference in meaning between the two alternative constructions;

(iii) it must be possible to represent the agent by an adjunct adverbial phrase containing the preposition /eg'/.

These conditions agree with what most linguists have been accepting as a passive, and in Irish they are only fulfilled by the periphrastic aspectual passive. On the other hand, any two-place verb appearing in the autonomous form has only one noun-phrase following it besides the ending, and this noun-phrase does not represent the agent. Therefore one must assume that the agent is expressed by the verbal ending, just as in any other active transitive verbal form; and owing to the meaning of the sentence the agent here has to be considered 'indefinite'. As to condition (ii), such an impersonal expression cannot be related to a different structure with the agent represented by the person of the finite verb, because it already has that structure. With regard to (iii), there is no way of introducing the agent by means of a prepositional phrase in an 'autonomous' verbal phrase; only instrumental phrases referring to inanimate entities may be linked to it, but these also occur in real passive constructions beside the agent-phrase, using a different preposition (/l'e/).[22] The periphrastic aspectual passive, on the other hand, meets condition (i) as well as (ii) and (iii). The various possibilities arising from the application of the passive-transformation and the agent-deletion rule may be illustrated by the following example, using the transitive verb /d'IL/ 'sell' (present) and the nouns /Iəsk/ 'fish' and /m'E/ 'I' (agent):

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[22] An example is discussed in MURPHY 1970, 65: "47. *Maraíodh le bus é* 'he was killed by a bus' v. 48. *Maraoidh é* 'he was killed'. The use of 'impersonal', it appears, allows for the optional expression of the agent by means of an adjunct phrase introduced by LE. However this is possible only if the noun of the adjunct phrase is inanimate or at least non-human. Accordingly it seems justified to treat a sentence like 47. as syntactically 'active', with the agent introduced by 'impersonal' and LE introducing an instrument noun."

	Aspect	active	passive	agent-free passive
(44 a–c)	progressive	/tA m′E ə d′IL Es′k′/	/tA Iəsk gA jIL am/	/tA Iəsk gA jIL/
(45 a–c) (45 d)	prospective	/tA m′E l′e Iəsk ə jIL/ /tA m′E ə gol′ ə d′IL Es′k′/	/tA Iəsk l′e d′IL am/	/tA Iəsk l′e d′IL/
(46 a–c)	perfective	/tA m′E hr′Es′ Iəsk ə jIL/	/tA Iəsk d′ILtə am/	/tA Iəsk d′ILtə/
(47 a–c)	progressive + prospect.	/tA m′E l′e v′eh ə d′IL Es′k′/	/tA Iəsk l′e v′eh d′ILtə am/	/tA Iəsk l′e v′eh d′ILtə/
(48 a–c)	progressive + perfect.	/tA m′E hr′Es′ ə v′eh ə d′IL Es′k′/	/tA Iəsk hr′Es′ ə v′eh d′ILtə am/	/tA Iəsk hr′Es′ ə v′eh d′ILtə/
				impersonal active
(49) (50)	habitual	/d′ILəm′ Iəsk/	.	/d′ILtər Iəsk/

The striking formal similarities between active and passive constructions in the progressive and prospective aspects and the lack of a specific passive morpheme lead to the assumption that the verbal noun is ambivalent with regard to voice. This is most obvious in the progressive aspect, where the passive construction is regularly ambiguous in that it can also be interpreted as active with pronominalized object (see 1.121). Apart from the semantic restrictions in the nouns involved—in most actual sentences only one of the two nouns accompanying a transitive verb will be allowed as agent to that verb—the diathesis depends on the interpretation of the verbal noun:

(52) /tA s′E gA jIL/

means 'He is selling it' as well as 'He is being sold', literally 'He is at its *selling*' and 'He is at his *being sold*' resp. The further difference between the two—that the pronoun qualifying the verbal noun refers to a noun different from the subject in the active but identical with it in the passive—is not characteristic of the passive because this identity may occur in an active reflexive construction as well, with the element /hEn′/ 'self' following the verbal noun:

(53) /tA s′E gA jIL hEn′/

meaning 'He is selling himself', literally 'He is at his own *selling*'.[23]

[23] It becomes thus apparent that the Irish passive is closely related to the reflexive. Parallels to this may be found in many languages (Romance, Germanic, etc.).

The verbal adjective, on the other hand, is not used in active constructions of transitive verbs. It may thus be regarded as a joint realization of the perfective aspect and the passive. That intransitive verbs behave like passive transitive verbs here accounts for an 'ergative' structure in the system of Irish diatheses, however limited by aspectual criteria.

It has been pointed out[24] that the Irish passive-perfective constructions with agent-adjunct are closely parallel to the 'perfect' forms of, for instance, Germanic and Romance, in that they use a 'possessive' auxiliary: *tá X ag Y* is, in fact, the Irish equivalent to 'Y has X'. This is certainly not a mere coincidence, but it should not conceal the obvious passive character of the Irish 'perfect'; on the contrary, the Irish 'have' construction must be regarded as a kind of perfective passive insofar as the object of possession, which would appear as grammatical object to an active 'have'-verb, takes the position of the grammatical subject, while the possessor, instead of being the grammatical subject, is represented by an adjunct phrase, exactly as in the passive. The position of the 'have' verb, then, is simply left blank; it is filled, however, if the additional feature 'inchoative' is present: (54) /tA s'E fAt'ə am/ 'I have got it'.

1.14 Person

In every non-periphrastic[25] finite verb the final position may be occupied by an element representing one of the noun-phrases of the sentence. Generally this nominal element represents the agent of the verb, but many verbs may or must be constructed in such a way that the agent appears in a different position, the person represented in the verb thus corresponding to some other noun-phrase. The question of the relations between verbal phrases and noun-phrases constitutes one of the central problems of syntax and will not be discussed here in any detail; for the present purpose it will be sufficient to consider a lower level of the grammar on which the term 'subject' can be used to denote precisely the noun-phrase which is either inflectionally incorporated in the verb or follows it imemdiately.

In a given sentence, the personal ending of the verb has the full force of a noun-phrase, either owing to pronominalization or by bringing speaker or hearer into subject-position. Personal endings are, therefore, not mere elements of concord (like e.g. the -s in '*he writes*'); wherever the subject follows the verb explicitly or in the

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[24] E.g. by ZIMMER 1901, who also recognizes the passive character of the construction. DILLON 1941, against this, stresses the purely aspectual nature of the verbal adjective construction, which he regards as being active, the 'autonomous' retaining its historical passive function even in Modern Irish dialects. Although he admits that early examples like *rogabad aice Timmotius* 'Timothy was seized by him' (PH 290) where the historical passive is accompanied by an agent-phrase, "may have favored the new construction", he does not accept the *ag*-phrase in its later distribution as an agent-adjunct to a passive verb-phrase, owing to its occurrence in 'have'-expressions.

[25] For 'bipersonal' periphrastic forms see 1.121.

form of a pronoun the verb has no personal suffix but appears in a
'general' form ending in the future, optative or habitual aspect
morpheme or, if none of these has been selected, the root or derived
stem.   On the other hand, the pure habitual past and present suffixes
/əx/ and /əN/ resp. are replaced by specific forms of the personal
endings; similarly, the 'direct relative' suffix /s/ (see 1.161) is always
'suppressed' by a personal ending.

As both presence and form of personal endings depend completely
on the selection of tense and aspect elements they may be regarded as
joint realizations of all these categories; it is in this final section
of a verbal form that one finds the most radical fusion in the grammar
of the Irish verb.   Furthermore, the syntactic function of a verb
may to some extent influence the appearance of personal endings,
namely in certain verb-repetition structures (see 1.143).

From the morphological point of view there are seven different types of
subject representation in a verb, i.e. seven 'grammatical persons'.   Each
of these represents a certain configuration of features of the subject noun-
phrase. The relevant primary criteria are as follows: (i) indefiniteness,
(ii) speaker-identity, (iii) hearer-identity, (iv) plurality.   To each of these
features a positive or a negative value can be assigned, and one grammatical
person can represent more than one feature configuration.   The following
tree-diagram shows the relationship between the underlying semantic
units and the surface representation of persons:
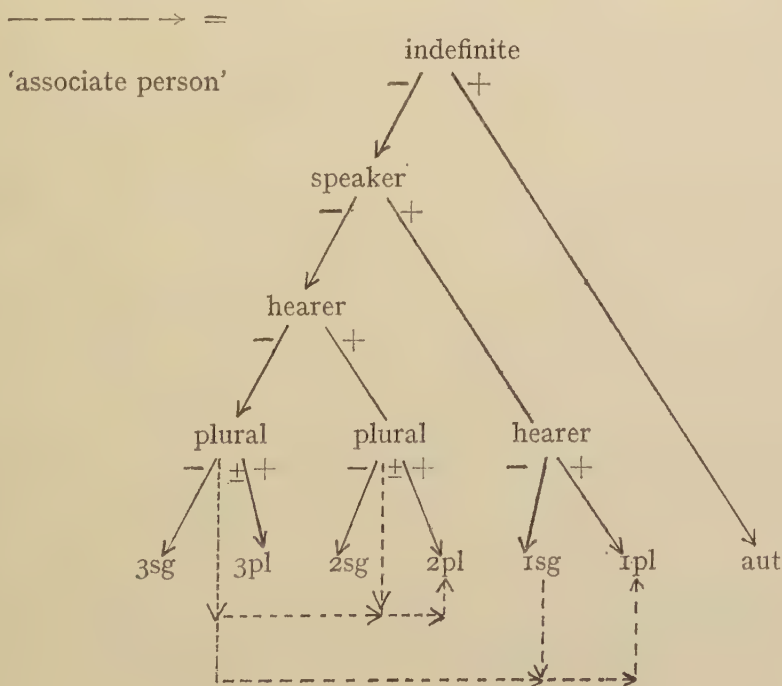
It will be noted that the criterion 'plural' is here applied in a different way from the common usage 'first person plural', etc. It refers only to homogenous plurality of hearers or third persons but can never apply to the speaker. Therefore, '1pl' and '2pl' are complex, derived grammatcial persons representing various associations of primary grammatical persons; generally speaking, they are ambiguous and, in fact, their semantic structure is not the same for all languages.

On a lower, perhaps mainly stylistic, level of the grammar various derived functions of the grammatical persons can be observed:

(i)   2sg may be used with a quasi-indefinite meaning; in fact, the in-definite agent form may be used instead in many such cases. For such usages, it seems generally necessary that the hearer should be a potential agent (or object) to the given verb.[26]

(ii) A different type of indefinite agent is often expressed by 3pl; here again the autonomous form would in most cases be equivalent. Obviously, the indefiniteness here contains the idea of universality or collectiveness.

(iii) The autonomous form, on the other hand, is sometimes used even if the speaker has some particular person or group of persons in his mind. In this way a 1sg or 1pl, but more often a 3pl, may be ex-pressed as an indefinite person.

(iv) Some speakers occasionally use 1pl for 1sg, as if some other person took part in the activity.

In the following sections the personal endings occurring in each tense/aspect/mood set of forms will be given. As the indefinite forms follow a pattern quite different from that of the definite persons the primary division will be according to this feature.

1.141 Indefinite Subject Forms ('Autonomous')

In non-past forms the ending is /ər/, and in the past tense the habitual aspect brings about a further differentiation: /U/ is used for the non-habitual past, /I/ for the habitual past. Some verbs take the ending /s/ instead of /U/ (see 2.3). All these forms resist lenition by the past-prefix.

The autonomous forms take a special future-morpheme, which is /f'/ (see 1.111). There is another element, however, which clearly occupies the position of a tense-morpheme but to which no specific tense or aspect meaning can be assigned: instead of the /f'/ of future-forms, in the present, subjunctive and habitual past the personal ending proper is preceded by /t'/, or /ət'/ in verbs which have final /x'/ or undergo extension in /əx'/ (see 1.32).

It may be argued that this element is simply a part of the personal ending, which should not be analysed any further; but as both the

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[26] That in this usage the hearer is not addressed directly, although 2sg is used, can be shown in answers to such expressions, where the verb is repeated in the same person, but not in 1sg.:

(55) A: /N'Il' tU əN aN ə γOl' ə Al'/ . . .'   B: /O wAkErə ə jofA I/.
     'you can't get the yeast . . .'   'you'd get it from a baker'

/ər/ and /I/ elements which follow it occur separately in the future forms it seems justified to give the /t'/-element the status of a separate unit which is introduced automatically where no future or non-habitual past has been selected.

1.142 Definite Subject Forms

While the autonomous forms are quite generally used the occurrence of the six remaining personal forms is much restricted by various factors. The system is defective in that three persons, namely 3sg, 1pl and 2pl (except for the imperative, see 1.151), have no endings at all: a pronoun is used instead. The rest are fully developed only in certain tenses; otherwise their use is governed by the syntactic position of the verb (see 1.143).

1.1421 1sg and 2sg

Unrestricted endings for both these persons are only available in the habitual past; they are /əN'/ and /hA/ resp. In certain subordinate clauses which automatically require the habitual past (in its 'subjunctive' function) the ending of the 2sg differs in its first segment, being /t'A/.

This difference in the 2sg (which is not made by all speakers) supplies, of course, a marginal distinction between the habitual past and what is known as 'past subjunctive'. It is, however, insufficient to prevent a unification of the two categories on the morphological level. As the various functions of the 'same' set of forms are derived quite differently in the grammar one can easily deal with this minor formal difference by referring back to the transformation rule that generates 'subjunctive' structure in specific environments.

In the non-habitual past and in the future, 1sg/2sg endings occur only when the verb has an 'echo' function; they are therefore optional (see 1.43). The past endings are /əs/ and /əs'/ resp., the future-endings /əd/ and /ər'/ resp.

In the present only the 1sg generally has an ending, /əm'/ (for an exception see 2.3). The ending of the 2sg, /ər'/, occurs only in echo forms.

1.1422 3pl

An ending for this person appears regularly in the past tense. It takes the form /ədər/ in the non-habitual and /əd'Is'/ in the habitual past.

1.143 Echo Forms

As stated above, certain personal endings are restricted to a specific syntactic function of the verb which may be termed 'echo'.

Although it affects the verb in a quite different way, this phenomenon
may be compared to the other purely syntactically motivated formal
changes in verbs which are due to subordination, and 'echo' may be
set up as an independent verbal category. Formally, however,
it is never expressed independently but only through another category,
'person'.[27]

A finite verb is used as a pro-form of a full sentence immediately
after that sentence has been uttered by the same speaker or by
another speaker. If there is a change of speakers such a pro-form
will normally function as a yes/no-answer to a question, or as affirma-
tion, questioning or negation of a statement. Where the speaker
does not change an echo form may also have any of these functions;
in addition, it may represent certain types of conditional clauses
containing (a) a negation of the previous sentence (/marə/), or (b) using
the sentence as a concessive qualifier to the following main clause
(/mA/ + verb + /hEn'/). In all these constructions the repetition of
the original noun-phrases together with the echo form of the verb
is highly restricted: the subject is either deleted (with the non-personal
form of the verb in echo position) or represented by a personal ending,
if available; this alternative seems to be subject to free variation
or individual usage.

Subject-nouns or pronouns are not normally allowed with such repeated
verbs; when they do occur they are normally separated from the verb by a
speech-pause, i.e. they are not felt to be syntactically closely connected
with the verb. An original object noun-phrase is never resumed in the echo
sentence.[28]

1.144 Further Pronominal Elements

Where none of these personal endings can appear the subject,
which follows the finite verb immediately, is either represented by
an explicit noun-phrase containing at least a noun or by a pronoun
replacing it, or by a quasi-pronoun corresponding to one of the
grammatical persons which refer to hearer and/or speaker. The
latter two types of representation are similar in that they use a set of
monosyllabic 'personal pronouns'. These are, in this position,
unstressed, and for the genuine (i.e. noun-phrase-replacing) pronoun
a specific enclitic form prefixed with /s'/ is selected. Generally,
there is concord in number and, in the singular, gender for these
3sg/pl pronouns: /s'E/ '3sg masc', /s'I/ '3sg fem', /s'Iəd/ '3pl'. — The
other persons are represented by /m'E/ '1sg', /tU/ '2sg', /mid'/
'1pl', /s'ib'/ '2pl'.

[27] For the restricted use of personal endings see also GREENE 1958.
[28] See DE BHALDRAITHE 1958, 67–68.—If one assumes that a transitive verb
is necessarily accompanied by two noun-phrases one would have to regard the personal
ending in echo-forms like (56) /v'r'is'əs/ '(Yes), I broke *it*' as an amalgamated subject/
object pronoun.

Any of the elements representing 'person' (endings as well as personal pronouns) can be qualified by a following particle the function of which is, roughly, emphasis.   If the subject-person contrasts explicitly or implicitly with some other noun-phrase of similar semantic structure[29] the particle will be /sə/ (but /səN/ for '3sg masc' and '3pl', and /ə/ for '1pl'); a tense vowel preceding this particle becomes lax, and the /s/ is palatalized after a front vowel or palatalized consonant.—Various other types of emphasis are realized by the element /hEn'/ 'self' (which becomes /p'En'/ after /m'/)[30], which occurs in exactly the same positions as /sə/, inside or outside a verbal phrase.—Pronominalization in the 3sg/pl may also result in the appearance of a demonstrative pronoun /s'o/ or /s'in'/ (again with prefixed /s'/ only when in enclitic position), which occupies the position of either the subject noun-phrase or the enclitic particle: (58) /hArlə s'in'/ 'this happened', (59) /hAn'ək'dər s'o/ 'these came'.

1.15 Mood

The discussion of moods will be restricted here in two ways: (i) from a morphological point of view only those modal elements will be considered which result in verb-final inflectional phenomena; therefore periphrastic and other analytic modal constructions will be excluded here, as well as interrogative forms (see. 1.17); and (ii) 'modal' forms which are due to subordination and thus are syntactically determined tense-replacements are not regarded as representations of underlying mood elements, in spite of the formal unity of the 'present subjunctive' which may function as a kind of subordinate future or as main-clause optative.   Sentences which contain neither of the two moods assumed here may have formally different realizations of moods or be unmarked for mood ('indicative'). The underlying tense of modal sentences is future, which, however, is never overtly represented in the presence of a modal inflection.

1.151 Imperative

The mood expressing command or incitement has different formal characteristics depending on the relation between the speaker and the prospective agent.   Except for a different form of the negative particle (/NA/) there is no common imperative marker, and the endings must be regarded as joint realizations of person and mood.

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[29] The feature [+ animate] seems to be required here.

[30] This /h/ ~ /p'/ interchange suggests an underlying /f'/; a rule /h/ → /p'/ would be phonologically less plausible than either /f'/ → /h/ or /f'/ → /p'/.   Other dialects, as well as the history of the language, support this approach.   The rule /f'/ → /p'/ does not operate when the word has the meaning 'even': (57) /agəs mA tAm' hEn'/ 'and even if I am'.

The purest 'command' situation exists when the hearer is the prospective agent, alone or among other persons; here the imperative takes a characteristic form which occurs nowhere else in the paradigm: if the agent is singular the root or derived stem is used, without any suffix or pronoun; if it is plural, verbs ending in a consonant other than /x'/ take the suffix /(əg')I/, whereas a root-final vowel or /x'/ always requires /g'I/ as imperative plural ending. When the imperative is used with other agent-persons the semantic notion of 'command' will be modified, and the forms used are identical with certain other forms of the paradigm: the optative is used for 1pl, present for 1sg and autonomous, and the habitual past for 3sg and 3pl (without preverbal particle or past-prefix, however).

1.152 Optative

The other mood-element, which is much less used, generally expresses a wish on behalf of the speaker. The main difference in meaning between this optative and the imperative seems to lie in the character of the fulfilment of the wish: whereas the action stated in an imperative is normally felt as depending mainly on the deliberate activity of the prospective agent the event referred to in an optative sentence implies the fulfilment of certain unexpressed conditions beyond the control of the agent. Therefore certain verbs and verbal expressions denoting involuntary action cannot appear in the imperative but take the optative instead.

Formally the optative is characterized by suffixation of /ə/ to the verbal root; furthermore, optative forms are always preceded by the preverbal particle /gə/[ecl], which also occurs in various subordinating constructions (see 1.16). In negative optative forms the past-tense marker is used arbitrarily although there is no 'past' meaning in optative sentences. The verb is then preceded by /Nar/[len] (/gə/ + /N'I/ + /r/, see 1.18).

The occurrence of /gə/, which otherwise represents subordination (see 1.163–4), in optative expressions suggests that such sentences might be derived as subordinate clauses. It would then be necessary to assume an underlying matrix sentence containing a verb meaning 'to wish', which would be deleted after the embedding of its object-clause. It cannot be decided, at present, whether such a procedure should be adopted or not; one advantage would be the 'unification' of the present subjunctive, which could then be regarded as a 'subordinate future' throughout (i.e. representation of future in specific embedded sentences).[31]

1.16 Subordination

Syntactic transformations which consist in (a) embedding of sentences or (b) front-shifting of constituents ('*mise en relief*'),

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[31] In fact, the relation between subordination and modality has often been felt as an important linguistic problem (see LYONS 1968, 311–13), and the suggested tentative explanation of the Irish optative might contribute to its clarification.

may influence the phonetic realization of a verb in various ways. All these processes have in common the appearance of various unstressed preverbal particles which cause initial mutation and, to some extent, amalgamate with a following past-tense prefix; for some verbs (see 2.5), in specific aspect-free tenses, most of these particles require a variant of the verbal root ('dependent form'). Moreover, the selection of personal, tense and aspect elements is affected substantially in certain subordinating constructions. As the discussion here concentrates upon the morphological aspects it is, of course, impossible to account for all related syntactical problems in detail.

1.161 Direct Relative

Certain derived sentence structures, arising from (a) embedding of a sentence connected by its subject or object, (b) front-shifting of entire constituents, including adverbials, or (c) adverbial embedding of a sentence connected by /agəs/ 'as' (comparative), /NA/ 'than', /mar/ (comparative or local) or /O/ 'since', may affect the finite form of a verb in the underlying main clause /(b)/, or in the embedded sentence /(a), (c)/.

By subsuming these different phenomena under the heading 'direct relative', the range of the term 'relative' is somewhat extended here, in agreement with the conventions of Celtic grammar, so that it covers all types of front-shifting, regardless of whether the shifted constituent is a noun-phrase or an adverbial; strictly speaking, the latter are more akin to /gə/-structures (see 1.163) insofar as they have no noun antecedent. Formally, however, all front-shifting structures behave in the same way, and the distinction between relative and 'that'-subordination is formally relevant only where embedding takes place.

The main effect on the form of the subordinate verb consists in the appearance of a particle /ə/[len] in front of the verb. If the tense of the verb is 'non-past' it takes the suffix /s/, which follows a tense or aspect morpheme unless that position is occupied by a personal ending.[32] Fronted constituents are further characterized by a preceding element which has certain properties of a verb ('copula'): it can be inflected for tense (past) and mood (optative), and it takes preverbal particles. Under certain syntactic and phonological conditions, however, it is Ø. This quasi-verbal particle, which is also used to introduce predicative adjectives and nouns, will not be studied here.

[32] As the appearance of personal endings is highly restricted in the non-past tenses (see 1.14) this condition for relative /s/ rarely becomes relevant, e.g. in forms like e/ d'er'əm'/ 'says I'.

The conditions for a direct relative construction should be made somewhat more precise. (*a*) applies only when the subject or object is explicitly represented by a noun-phrase outside the embedded sentence, i.e. when the relative clause functions as an attribute. Wherever the relative clause alone represents a constituent of the matrix sentence a different particle will appear at the head of the clause: /ə/*ecl*, formally identical with the indirect relative particle (see 1.162), for example:

(60) /ɣohəx Nə dIn'ə ə v'Ix sə t'ax ən's'in' gA gUərtU/
 'The people who were in the house would then go and search for them'.

but

(61) /ɣohəx ə m'Ix sə t'ax ən's'in' gA gUərtU/
 'All those who were in the house would then go . . .'

Apart from functioning as subject or object, these relative clauses without obvious antecedent may also appear in partitive adverbial expressions introduced by the partitive preposition /gə/, which amalgamates with the relative particle into /gA/: (62) /xon'ək' m'E əN At' ə bə AL'ə gA wakə m'E ər'Iəw/ 'I saw the most beautiful place I ever saw'. Furthermore, this relative particle seems always to express the semantic notion of 'all, every' in addition to its purely syntactic function; one may, therefore, regard it as referring to a zero-antecedent meaning 'everything' or 'everyone'.

A further formal difference between the two sentences appears very often, if not regularly; as the verbal-noun part of the periphrastic verbal phrase is separated from its auxiliary (which in (60–61) is suppressed by another finite verb) by a relative clause, the finite component of the verbal phrase may be repeated in order to 'restore' the original verbal phrase, the subject noun being pronominalized: (63) /ɣohəx Nə dIn'ə ə v'Ix sə t'ax ɣohəd'Is' gA gUərtU/ 'The people who were in the house, they went searching for them'. Verb repetitions of this kind are very common in spoken Irish. The influence of structure and length of the intervening constituent suggests that these are 'performance' modifications of grammatical sentences [32a].

There is one lexical exception to (*b*): the word /Uər'/ 'hour, time' formally requires a direct relative clause even when the clause is inside an adverbial and, consequently, the relative construction is 'indirect': (64) /əN x'Ed lA ə ɣohə tU AN/ . . . , but (65) /əN x'Ed Uər' ə ɣohəs tU AN/ . . . 'the first day/time you'll go there . . .' This exception affects mainly the conjunction /NUər'/ 'when', formed from /Uər'/ + article.

In negative relative clauses the formal distinction between direct and indirect is lost, and /ə/*len* is replaced by the general negative relative particle /Nax/*ecl* (see 1.17), which does not cause the verb to take the relative suffix /s/.

1.162 Indirect Relative

The verb of an embedded sentence which is linked by a noun functioning as or forming part of an adverbial within that sentence is preceded by the particle /ə/*ecl*[33]. If available, a form of the 'dependent' series (see 2.5) is selected for the verb. A negative particle preceding the verb amalgamates with this indirect relative particle to give /Nax/*ecl*.

[32a] On this term see CHOMSKY 1965. — For a study of verb repetition in spoken Irish and related questions, see A. WIGGER, 'Grammatik und Sprachverwendung in der Satzordnung des Neuirischen', in: *Festschrift für Wilhelm Giese*, Hamburg (forthcoming).

[33] Occasionally, some speakers replace /ə/ with /gə/.

It should be noted that the syntactic position of the noun is relevant for the distinction between the two types of relative clauses only with regard to the embedded sentence; a subject or object relation between a noun in an adverbial phrase of the matrix sentence and the embedded verb will always result in a direct relative clause. Thus, if we have two sentences containing an identical noun which belongs to an adverbial phrase in one of the sentences only one of the two possible embedding transformations will result in an indirect relative clause: (66) /t'ukə f'ar əs't'ax/ 'A man will come in' plus (67) /tA fat'Is orəm riv' ə v'ar/ 'I am afraid of the man' can be combined into either (68) /tA fat'Is orəm riv' ə v'ar ə x'ukəs əs't'ax/ ((66) in (67): direct), or (69) /t'ukə f'ar əs't'ax ə wil' fat'ls orəm riv'ə∫/ ((67) in (66): indirect).

A preposition which introduces the original adverbial phrase usually re-appears at the end of the relative clause in a form containing a pronoun which refers to the antecedent noun (/riv'ə/ in (69)); some prepositions may also appear in front of the relative clause instead, i.e. preceding the relative particle (e.g. /l'e/).

For /Uər'/ 'time' in adverbial function see 1.161.

1.163 Subject/Object Subordination

If a sentence is embedded in the position of a subject or object without sharing this function with a constituent of the matrix sentence its verb takes the preverbal particle /gə/[ecl], which amalgamates with a negative particle into /Nax/[ecl]. Like the indirect relative particle, /gə/ causes root-alternation in some verbs and tenses (see 2.5). Furthermore, the tense of the embedded sentence is influenced by that of the matrix sentence: if the main clause is in the past tense this will be transferred to the subordinate clause, thus re-placing present by past and future by conditional.

1.164 Adverbial Subordination
1.1641 Temporal

An embedded sentence in the position of an adverbial may express a specific time-relation to the matrix sentence. Two such cases should be mentioned here which have morphological effects on the verb in the embedded sentence comparable to those described above. If the subordinate event is subsequent to that of the matrix sentence it may be expressed by a temporal adverbial clause formed with the element /soLA/[ecl] 'before' immediately preceding the subordinate verb. This has the same effects on the form of the past prefix and, occasionally, the verbal root as the indirect relative particle.—If the aspectual notion is one of termination rather than posteriority the preverbal particle /gə/[ecl] 'until' will be used, which is morphologic-ally identical to the /gə/ introduced in 1.163. In these /gə/-con-structions, the tense of the embedded sentence is future. This is normally represented phonetically after the embedding transforma-tion has taken place; it is, however, possible to replace the normal

future by a special 'subordinate future', a form which is also used
to represent the optative (see 1.152). Such forms are known as
'present subjunctive', and it will be convenient to use this term here.

1.1642 Final

An embedded future-tense sentence which denotes the purpose of
the action expressed in the matrix sentence is characterized by
(i) the preverbal particle /gə/[ecl], and (ii) replacement of the under-
lying future by a subordinate form: by the habitual past if the main
clause has past tense, otherwise by the 'present subjunctive' (or
'subordinate future', see 1.1641 above).

1.1643 Conditional

Another type of adverbial sentence embedding which has con-
siderable influence on the subordinate verbal form is semantically
characterized by stating a condition which qualifies the event or
state expressed in the matrix sentence. Such conditional clauses
can be of two types, depending on whether a fulfilment of the con-
dition is considered possible or not.[34] In the first type, the verb
of the embedded sentence is preceded by the conjunction /mA/[len],
in the second, by /gA[ecl]/; if the condition is negative the conjunction
is /marəecl/ for both types. As well as that, the subordinate verb
may take a particular 'subjunctive' form which normally has the
formal characteristics of the habitual aspect: in /gA/-clauses the
habitual past is used or, optionally (but always in the verb /b'I/), the
conditional, which is also required in the main clause. In /mA/-
clauses a future is replaced by the habitual present; if the clause is
negative a form may be used instead which has no 'habitual' element:
the present subjunctive, formed by suffixing /ə/ to the verbal root.[35]

1.17 Interrogative

An underlying interrogative element on sentence level (i.e. in
yes/no-questions) gives rise to the preverbal particle /əN/[ecl], which
combines with the negative particle into /Nax/[ecl]. In past-tense
forms a phonological rule similar to that about /Nax/ (see. 1.18)
applies: /N/ is deleted before the /r/-prefix.

The deletion of /N/ could also be accounted for by the more general
late rule which deletes the nasal of the interrogative particle as well as of the
homonymous form of the article before any consonant unless a speech-
pause intervenes. As far as the article is concerned, there is the further
condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant, or that there
is a speech-pause. For the interrogative particle the constituent-boundary
preceding it may be taken to have the same effect.

34 'Real' and 'unreal' conditions, cf. WAGNER 1959, 34.
35 The same tense-replacements in conditional clauses are stated by MURPHY
1970, 63.

An interrogative local adverbial may be represented by the preverbal particle /kA/[ecl] 'where'.

1.18 Negative

An underlying negation element in a sentence generally results in the appearance of a negative preverbal particle which has phonological qualities similar to those of the particles appearing in subordinate clauses (see 1.6).   This particle is /N'I/[len] (for certain irregularities in initial mutation see 2.6)[36].   As each verb can have finally only one preverbal particle, apart from the past-prefix, which maintains a separate position, the negative particle amalgamates with any other such particle.   The result is always /Nax/[ecl], which loses its /x/ in front of the past (and optative) marker /r/. — In imperative sentences which represent this mood in the normal way (see 1.151) the negative particle is always /NA/.

1.2 Nominal Forms of Verbs

In 1.12 it was shown that the presence of certain aspect elements results in periphrastic constructions in which an auxiliary is used to carry the inflectional elements, while the main verb takes the form of a noun or adjective.   In order to generate the correct phonetic representation for these aspectual forms as well as for various other constructions the grammar has to provide rules which transform the lexical forms of verbs into the corresponding nouns or adjectives. It is, however, impossible to cover all verbs which are contained in the lexicon, or which are introduced as auxiliaries in the course of the derivation, by such rules, because a large number of verbs follow individual patterns.   Their morphological behaviour in this respect has to be accounted for by additional lexical information which either specifies the required nominal form fully or states the deviations from the general pattern in terms of rule features.   This forms the largest portion of irregularity in the verbal system of Irish, and the irregularities in verbal nouns and verbal adjectives will be dealt with in 2.7 and 2.8 resp.

Many previous authors have regarded the formation of verbal nouns and verbal adjectives as completely irregular, i.e. unpredictable, and have consequently excluded their description from the morphological grammar of the verb. Also MURPHY 1970, 48 holds that "the verbal noun associated with a given verb ought to be treated . . . as a separate lexeme", on the grounds that (i) "there is no systematic morphological relationship between the root of a verb and the associated verbal noun", (ii) "most verbal nouns can be used as ordinary nouns as well", and (iii) "several nouns . . . appear

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[36] Only those negative particles are discussed here which occur in association with finite verbs and appear as preverbal particles. In infinitive constructions, negation is usually expressed by /guN/.

in what are ostensibly progressive verbal forms, although they have no associated finite forms." Similarly, verbal adjectives are seen as autonomous lexical entries (p. 53). As to (i), it can be shown that it is possible to predict all nominal forms of the majority of verbs on the grounds of their phonological or derivational structure and that the neglect of the rules expressing this predictability would violate the principle of descriptive adequacy[37]. Even where irregularities occur, the information concerning them can usually be minimized by specifying rule-features rather than giving the whole nominal form in the lexical entry. The occurrence of a verbal noun or verbal adjective in subject, object or adjunct position, (ii), does not interfere with its derived status as such structures can be interpreted as the result of transformations: a noun denoting an event represents a sentence; the same has been postulated for attributive adjectives in general[38], and it is certainly plausible for such adjectives that can be morphologically related to an existing verb. Finally, (iii), nouns which take the position of a verbal noun in aspect forms should be regarded as 'defective' verbs which are either 'morphologically irregular' or whose semantic features confine them to certain aspect functions (see 2.2 and 3.3).

The rules which transform the lexical form of a verb into a verbal noun or adjective operate at the end of the verbal root; they modify the final segment or attach one or more segments to the root. Often two or more rules apply successively in a given order. As can be seen from the rules stated below the derivational status of the verb is relevant here. To that extent, the formation of these nominal forms is, of course, ultimately unpredictable; but this 'indirect irregularity' is insignificant, because the rule-features which account for it are not being introduced for this specific purpose but are part of the grammar of word-formation.

1.21 Verbal Noun

The following ordered rules cover the verbal noun formation of most verbs:

(VND) The derivational suffix /əx'/ is replaced by /U/.
(VNV) Monosyllabic stems take the suffix /ə/ when ending in a consonant, /w/ when ending in a vowel.
(VNT) Stems ending in /x/ or palatalized dental resonant take the suffix /t/.

Rule (VND) applies only to such cases where /əx'/ is introduced by a derivational process (see 3.31); lexical forms in /əx'/, or tense-restricted stem-extensions (see 1.32), are not affected by it. The rule operates in two steps: (i) deletion of /x'/, (ii) suffixation of /U/ (= rule (UVN), see 2.73). This is necessary because a separate rule-feature for step (ii) is required

[37] See CHOMSKY 1964, 63: "A second and higher level of success is achieved when the grammar gives a correct account of the linguistic intuition of the native speaker, and specifies the observed data (in particular) in terms of significant generalizations that express underlying regularities in the language."
[38] See MOTSCH 1967.

to account for such irregular non-denominative formations as /kuN'Al'/ 'keeping', which also lose the /x'/, but take a different suffix subsequently. (ii) functions as a minor rule; the positive rule-feature required for its operating is generated by the /x'/-deletion phase of (VND).

The auslaut palatalization required for (VNT) is in most cases the result of a palatalization rule which applies after all vocalic endings have been distributed ((PAL), see 1.33)[39]. The only completely regular cases dealt with by (VNT) are the dissyllabic roots of the type /oskəl'/ 'open' and /tumAn'/ 'drive'; but many irregular verbal noun formations, like monosyllabic roots exempted from (VND) and verbs with nominal stem extensions (see 2.37), have also a /t/-ending and meet the structural description of (VNT).

Examples:

	kas 'turn'	L'E 'read'	g'Er + əx' 'sharpen'	oskəl 'open'
VND			g'ErU	
VNV	kasə	L'Ew		
PAL				oskəl'
VNT				oskəl't
	kasə	L'Ew	g'ErU	oskəL't'

1.22 Verbal Adjective

Verbal adjectives are formed by (i) a consonantal stem-extension (only in monosyllabic verbs), and (ii) a vocalic suffix. The rules are as follows, in order of application:

(VA1) Monosyllabic roots
    ending in a plosive, /r/ or /w/ are extended in /h/,
    — — — continuant[40] or with /Al/-extension, in /t/,
    — — — vowel, in /t/.
(VA2) Verbs with a root-final plosive take the suffix /I/, all others /ə/.
(VA3) Forms thus ending in /I/ or /əx'ə/[41] take a final /hə/.

A later, optional rule deletes the /h/ introduced by (VA3), and consequently the /ə/ will be elided. An optional status for (VA3) would, of course, result in the same. Alternatively, the /I/ may be reduced to /i/.

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[39] This includes the /ə/-ending in /kodələ/ → /koLə/ 'sleeping' (irregular verbal noun, see 2.72); the endless past is /xodəl/.
[40] See 2.8 for exceptional admission to this rule.
[41] By a later phonological rule /əx'ə/ becomes /I/ (cf. noun-inflection: /b'aləx/ 'way', pl. /b'aləx'/ → /b'aləx'ə/ → /b'alI/).

Examples:

	'pay' Ik	'leave' fAg	'spread' skar	'rot' Low	'turn' kas	'wash' N'ix'	'go' im'əx'	'open' oskəl
VA1	Ikh	fAgh	skarh	Lowh	kast	N'ix't		
VA2	IkhI	fAghI	skarhə	Lowhə	kastə	N'ix'tə	im'əx'ə	oskələ
(1.32)								oskələx'ə
VA3	IkhIhə	fAghIhə					im'əx'əhə	oskələx'ə
	IkIhə	fAkIhə	skarhə	Lofə	kastə	N'it'ə	im'Ihə[42]	oskLIhə

1.3 Root Modification

The various inflectional rules for tense, aspect, etc., in a well-defined order, generally operate on the verbal root in its lexical form, or on a (semantically or syntactically characterized) derived stem. There are, however, certain types of verbs which are subject to predictable phonological modification before or after they are affected by the rules for inflectional suffixation. The relevant criteria for the application of such root-modification rules are (i) the phonological structure of the root, (ii) the phonological structure of the inflectional suffix, and (iii) the function of the inflectional suffix. The modification can be a stem-extension or a change in the final segment.

1.31 /O/-Future

All verbs with the structure $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3$, where V_2 = lax and C_3 = lax continuant other than /x'/, as well as dissyllabic verbs in /əx'/ (lexical or derivational) are extended in /O/ before the future-rule applies (see 1.111). The /x'/ is deleted.

For a discussion of the /O/-future see also 3.1 ('second conjugation').

1.32 Non-derivational /əx'/

The suffix /əx'/ (see 3.1) is automatically introduced in verbs with the structure defined above (1.31) before any ending beginning with a vowel, but not before the /O/-element in future-forms. Example: /oskəl/ 'open' + /əN/ 'hab. pres.' → /oskəl + əx' + əN/. In most such cases, two later phonological rules will bring further change: /oskəlIN/ (see 3.1) → /osklIN/ (syncope). The conditions about the last two segments (see 1.31) exclude verbs like /tumAn'/ 'drive' and /kon'ək'/ '(he) saw'.

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[42] A variant /im'ix'ə/ can be observed occasionally. This form is identical to a previous stage in the derivation (after (VA2)), and appears to be an exception to the rule /əx'ə/ → /I/. It is, however, due to (a) reduction of /I/, and (b) interchange /h/ ~ /x'/, which occurs sporadically in the dialect (cf. /Ihə/ ~ /Ix'ə/ 'night', /rih/ ~ /rix'/ 'running').

1.33 Palatalization (PAL)

After the inflectional rules, with the exception of (VNT) and (VA2), have been applied a stem-final lax resonant is palatalized if the preceding vowel is unstressed and no vowel follows. This rule affects dissyllabic bases (/oskəl/, /tumAn/) as well as forms extended by (LVN) or (NVN) (see. 2.73). Consequently, mono-syllabic verbs are not covered, unless they have stem-extensions in the verbal noun: /fan/ 'stay' has /daN/, /faNtə/, /fanhə/, etc.

2. Irregular Representation of Verbal Categories

In the following section all deviations from the rule system which covers the phonetic representation of underlying syntactic units in the verb will be described.   The formal treatment and, con-sequently, the meaning of the term 'irregularity' have been outlined in 0.; it is essential that morphological irregularities in this sense should be restricted to certain sets of lexical items and thus be ex-pressed and controlled by lexical information other than the context-free semantic, phonological and syntactic features assigned to each item.   In a similar way this applies to non-lexical verbs (auxiliaries) which are generated by syntactical rules.   Such 'idiosyncratic' properties of verbs are always restricted to certain environments, i.e. they exhibit themselves only in the representation of specific verbal categories.   The rule-features expressing irregularities (nega-tive: major rules, positive: minor rules), as well as alternative underlying representations (suppletion) therefore always require information about the syntactic context, and it is according to these syntactic conditions that statements about irregularities will be ordered here.

This form of presentation reveals a salient feature of the morphological irregularity in Irish verbs.   It is evident that the irregularities connected with tense, aspect, mood, person and preverbal particles are rather limited, and centered around a small number of verbs and auxiliaries which occur very frequently in speech; here the dominant type of irregularity is supple-tion.   The non-finite forms, on the other hand, are much less predictable, and it is only for them that minor rules must be established, the rule features of which may be regarded as morphological class labels attached to individual items.   This is an obvious parallel to the morphological structure of Modern Irish nouns, which, to a very large extent, require lexical information about their inflection for case and number[43].   It can be concluded that all elements which have the class feature 'noun', on the lexical level (nouns) or by trans-formation (verbal nouns), are immediately characterized as having a high degree of idiosyncrasy with regard to their ultimate phonetic representation, and potentially subject to a specific set of minor rules.

[43] See WIGGER 1970.

The exact range of irregularity as given here should be regarded as tentative because further investigation into the semantic and phonological structure of the lexicon may reveal additional regularities and thus enlarge the extent of predictability in the grammar of Irish.

2.1 Tense

A number of verbs use alternative roots in the presence of certain tense-elements alone[44]. For future-tense forms the following replacements are required:

/d'er'/[45] 'say'	→	/d'Er/
/b'er'/ 'seize', etc.		/b'Er/
/b'I/ 'be'		/b'ej/
/fA/ 'get'		/jow/ (see also 2.5)
/t'ag/ 'come'		/t'uk/
/t'E/ 'go'		/go/ ∼ /rax/ ∼ /t'uk/[46]
/tug/ 'give'		/t'Ur/ ∼ /b'Er/[46]
/ih/ 'eat'		/Is/

Strictly speaking, /d'Er/ and /b'Er/ are not cases of suppletion, because the difference between the two forms can be expressed by a (minor) rule which applies only to these two verbs. In fact, the information about root-alternants can often be minimized by merely changing the value of some phonetic features in one or more non-initial segments. For convenience, such 'micro-rules' will not be set up here, and these cases will simply be added to the more typical cases of suppletion, although there is certainly a difference in the degree of irregularity.

In /b'ej/, /ej/ is reduced to /e/ before the habitual past ending (conditional: /v'ex/), and also optionally in other environments.

The /g/ in /t'ag/ may become palatalized in any environment; as a consequence the /a/ will be raised to /i/ by a later umlaut rule: /t'ag/ ∼ t'ig'/, /t'agəx/ ∼ /t'ig'əx/, etc.

An optional rule applying to /t'E/ may, in any environment, diphthongize the stressed /E/: /t'E/ → /t'ej/, /t'EN/ → /t'ejN/, /t'Er'ə/ (see 2.4) → /t'ejr'ə/.

The variant /Is/ is not used by all speakers, cf. forms like /d'ihəx/ 'would eat' (< /də + ih + hə + x/), instead of /d'Isəx/ (< /də + Is + hə + x/).

In the non-habitual past the following root-alternations occur:

/klin'/ ∼ /klos'/ 'hear'	→	/kUələ/
/d'In/ 'make'		/riN'ə/
/f'ek'/ 'see'		/kon'ək'/
/abər'/ ∼ /d'ər'/ 'say'		/Ur/
/fA/ 'get'		/fUər'/[45]
/t'ag/ 'come'		/tAn'ək'/
/t'E/ 'go'		/kUə/
/b'er'/ 'seize', etc.		/rug/

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[44] More complex conditions which involve other verbal categories in conjunction with tense are not being considered for the moment (see aspect, subordination, person, etc.).

[45] This alternant has the additional property of not undergoing lenition in any environment.

[46] For this variant, cf. DE BHALDRAITHE 1953, 115 note 1. This is a change in semantic structure (directional distinction).

/Ur/ is further subject to palatalization unless it carries an ending (see 1.33); also the subsequent obligatory suffixation of /t/, which is otherwise character- istic of verbal nouns, is quite irregular /də + Ur + ədər/ → /dUrədər/, but /də + Ur + Ø/ → /dUr'/ → /dUr't'/.

These alternative roots will subsequently undergo the rules which supply the specific tense-elements.

Some verbs are exempted from the general tense-forming rules: the rule introducing the future-morpheme /hə/ is not applied to the future root-alternants /b'ej/ and /fI/ (see 2.5). Similarly, the past prefix does not occur with any of the root alternants for which a preceding eclipsing, or negative, preverbal particle is the necessary condition (see 2.5 and 2.6); it is optional with /tAn'ək'/, /kUələ/, /tug/ and the autonomous form of /fakə/ (see 2.3) after any of these par- ticles.

2.2 Aspect

The realization of the habitual aspect takes place in a regular way for almost every verb. Root-alternation occurs only in /b'I/, which takes the non-habitual form /tA/ in the present. The aspectual ending for the present tense, unless it amalgamates with the person (i.e. only in its 'general' form /əN/), does not occur with /d'er'/ and, in the 2sg, /m'as/ 'think'; it is also prevented from extending over the non-habitual function of the present tense in the auxiliary /b'I/: /tA/ therefore never occurs with the /əN/-ending, thus main- taining an exceptional formal distinction between habitual and non- habitual present. The verb /d'In/ 'make' has an optional root- alternant /N'I/ for the habitual aspect: /N'IN/ ~ /d'INəN/, /n'Ix/ ~ /jINəx/, etc.

With regard to the remaining aspects it is difficult to draw a clear line between regular and irregular formations without studying a large number of different periphrastic constructions and examining their aspectual qualities in relation to the semantic structure of such verbs. This, however, exceeds the scope of the present study. In the discussion of the progressive aspect (1.131) one construction has been mentioned which seems to repre- sent that aspect in an exceptional form for a small number of verbs. This may be seen as a case of 'irregularity', but, as has been suggested, this deviation from the general pattern is apparently due to the semantic pro- perites of the verbs in question and, therefore, predictable in terms of the semantic features specified in the lexical entries. Similar cases involving other types of verbal periphrasis may yet be found; for the present purpose it may be sufficient to restrict the terms 'progressive', etc., to certain formal phenomena of low-level syntax and consider all verbs to be morphologically regular with regard to these categories. There are many verbs which are confined to the progressive aspect, i.e. for which only a VN can be formed (sometimes, however, without applying any morphological rule: /k'OL/ 'make music', which is rather a derivational irregularity, see 3.). It will

be tentatively assumed here that such restrictions are due to the inherent semantic properties of such verbs.

The two main verbs of motion, /t'E/ and /t'ag/, are irregular in the prospective aspect in that they use the 'infinitive' construction with /ə/^{len} after the preposition /l'e/ instead of the plain verbal noun; ultimately this results only in lenition of the verbal noun: /l'e γol'/, /l'e hIxt/.

2.3 Person

The representation of the subject person operates in an almost regular way throughout. There is, however, a certain amount of partly optional root-alternation in non-habitual past autonomous forms. These alternants are in some verbs identical with the 'dependent' forms (see 2.5). They are:

/fA/ 'get'	→	/fr'I/
/f'ek'/ 'see'		/fakə/
/d'In/ 'make'		/d'arnə/ (optional)

Otherwise the roots are the same as those used for the other persons in the non-habitual past; for /d'In/, which has a special non-habitual past alternant /riN'e/ (see 2.1), the general root may also be used: /d'INU/ is a permitted past-autonomous form besides both /riN'U/ and /d'ArNU/.

There is still less irregularity connected with the form of the personal endings. Two verbs, /f'ek'/ 'see' and /b'er'/ 'seize' (but not in its other meanings), have a special ending for the non-habitual past autonomous: /əs/ (/fakəs/ and /rugəs/ resp.). The 1sg of the non-habitual present is not generally used in the auxiliary /b'I/, except in echo function (where, however, it is again optional).

2.4 Mood

Irregularities in modal forms (imperative, optative) seem to be restricted to a few cases of root alternation or modification. In the imperative these are confined to the endingless form (2sg)[47]: /t'ag/ 'come' takes /t'arə/ and /t'E/ 'go' takes /t'Er'ə/, /go/, or, by the same loss of directional distinction which sometimes occurs in the future, also /t'arə/. /tug/ 'give' is substituted by /tOr'/. Furthermore, /d'er'/ cannot be used in the imperative and the forms are supplied by the semantically closely related verb /abər'/[48].

For the optative, only /b'I/ uses an alternative root, /row/, which is also the 'dependent' past form (see 2.5). It does not undergo the regular /ə/-suffixation for the optative. /row/ is also irregular in that, unlike all other optative forms, it does not extend its function over the present subjunctive, which occurs in certain subordinate

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[47] There is a certain amount of individual free variation which extends irregularities over other imperative forms; this will be neglected here.

[48] The opposite happens in the non-habitual past (see 2.1).

clauses (see 1.6); here a regular form /b'I + ə/ → /b'I/ is used.   The
auxiliary /b'I/ therefore supplies a criterion for distinguishing
between optative and subjunctive, in the same way as it does in the
case of the habitual and non-habitual present.

2.5 Subordination

A group of verbs take root-alternants in some of the subordinating
constructions described in 1.16, namely those which require eclipsing
preverbal particles.   The selection of these 'dependent' forms is
further determined by the tense of the verb: most of the verbs in
question present this irregularity only in the non-habitual past,
one also in the present, and one in the future.   The alternations are
as follows:

    (i) non-hab. past: /d'In/ 'make'   →   /d'arnə/
                          /f'ek'/ 'see'   /fakə/
                          /t'E/ 'go'   /d'axə/
                          /b'I/ 'be'   /row/
   (ii) non-hab. pres.: /b'I/ 'be'   /fil'/
 (iii) future: /fA/ 'get'   /fI/

Although /row/ usually appears as /ro/ → ([rʌ]) it is necessary to 'restore'
a final /w/ for the underlying representation in order to account for forms
with personal endings like /rowəs/ → /rous/.   A phonological rule (the status
of which is uncertain) will delete the glide in final position, but not before a
'possessive' pronoun /ə/, cf. /N'I row ə is / → /N'I rou s/ 'he did not know'.

These alternants are also required after other preverbal particles
(negative and interrogative, see 2.6), and some of them also in auto-
nomous forms (see 2.3).   Thus they do not immediately represent
subordination but should be regarded rather as a morphophonological
phenomenon in connection with proclisis.

As was stated in 2.1, these forms never take the past-prefix /r/,
which is normally required after preverbal particles, thus allowing the
initial mutation inherent in the particle (mostly eclipsis) to operate.

The representation of tense and aspect in subordinate clauses
seems to be the same for all verbs, with the sole exception of /b'I/,
which always uses the conditional instead of the habitual past in
its 'subjunctive' function (for other verbs this replacement is only
optional, see 1.1643).

With the non-habitual present of /b'I/, /marə/ 'if not' takes the form
/marəb/ and causes lenition instead of eclipsis: /marəb il'/ 'if it is not'.

2.6 Negative and Interrogative

The same root-alternations to which some verbs are subject
in certain subordinating constructions are also used after the negative

particle in its independent (/N′I/) or amalgamated form (/Nax/, /marə/, see above 2.5) as well as after the interrogative particle (/əN/, /Nax/, /kA/). These alternations are shown above (2.5).

/N′I/ generally causes lenition; in some verbal forms, however, initial /f/ or /f′/ is eclipsed by preceding /N′I/. These exceptions are: /f′ek′f′I/′ one would see',./fI/ (see 2.5) and /fUər′/ (see 2.1).

2.7 Verbal Nouns

The derivation of verbal nouns from roots is much more subject to irregularity than the representation of tense, aspect and person in finite forms; many verbs which otherwise are fully governed by the general rules outlined in section 1. require special information in their lexical entries concerning the derivation of the appropriate verbal noun. As was pointed out in 1.2, however, the shape of a verbal noun is not completely unpredictable; there are sufficient recurrent formal relations between roots and verbal nouns to set up a regular pattern, only that the rate of exceptions to this pattern is higher than elsewhere.

The occurring irregularities can be assigned to three types:

(i)   root-alternation (only in verbs which have this irregularity in finite forms also);
(ii)   exceptional admission to, or exemption from, a major rule;
(iii) application of a minor rule, i.e. irregular verbal noun suffix.

Many verbs show complex irregularity, i.e. cases (i) - (iii) may be combined for one lexical item, and more than one minor rule may be applied to it.

2.71 Root Alternation in Verbal Nouns

In the following, typically 'irregular' verbs the general root is substituted with a different, and phonologically speaking practically unrelatable, form for the verbal noun:

/b′er′/ 'seize', etc.	/b′r′eh/
/b′I/ 'be'	/v′eh/
/t′ag/ 'come'	/t′axt/ ∼ /t′Ixt/
/t′E/ 'go'	/gol′/
/tug/ 'give'	/tOr′t/[49]
/abər′/ ∼ d′er′/ 'say'	/rA/

As no further morphological rules apply to these alternants they will also be exempted from the general verbal noun rules by means of a negative rule-feature. /rA/ is also the root-alternant on which the verbal adjective rule operates.

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[49] Later phonological rules change /tOr′t/ to /tOr′t′/ and further to /tOrt′/.

Some of these root-alternants might perhaps be analysed further: /tOr't/ and /t'axt/ may be seen as containing the regular /t/-suffix, and /gol'/ may be taken as /go + l'/, requiring an irregular application of rule (LVN) (see 2.73). The only advantage of such a procedure would be that the partial identity with other root-alternants of these verbs would become apparent: /tOr'/ is also the imperative for /tug/, /go/ occurs in the future and verbal adjective, and /t'ax/ is very similar to the general root /t'ag/. Only /b'r'eh/ and /v'eh/ would then remain typically 'suppletive', and confined to the verbal noun. But as these irregularities must be specified in any case it seems doubtful whether such an analysis would result in a considerable economy effect.

2.72 Exceptions to Major Rules for Verbal Nouns

The rules concerned are (in order of application) (VND), (VNV), (PAL), (VNT) (see 1.21). The exceptions are of two types: (*a*) a verb is exempted from a rule although it meets the structural description ([-Rule X]), or (*b*) a verb undergoes a rule the structural description of which it does not meet ([+ Rule X]). The verbs listed below do not represent the full number of exceptions; only those are given here which constitute separate types of verbal noun formation.

(i) [—VND]: /rEt' + əx'/ 'prepare', /korn + əx'/ 'roll', /ar'ə + x'/ 'watch' (see also 2.73).

These denominative verbs preserve the derivational suffix in the verbal noun.

[+ VND]: /tarləx'/ 'happen', /kuNəx'/ 'keep', /b'lix'/ 'milk'. The first type is treated completely as if the /əx'/ were a derivational suffix: it is deleted and (UVN) operates subsequently. In the remaining two types an alternative suffix-replacement rule other than (UVN) is applied.

(ii) [—VNV]: /kur'/ 'put', /Ik/ 'pay'.

The second type, where no further rule applies, contains a fairly large number of verbs (root = verbal noun).

[+ VNV]: /ejr'əx'/'rise', /kodəl/'sleep'

(iii) [—PAL]: /L'ag/ 'place', /k'angəl/ 'tie'.

After taking an /ən/-suffix (rule (NVN)), verbs of the first type meet the structural description of (PAL); the suffix remains unpalatalized, however.

(iv) [—VNT]: /rEt' + əx'/ 'prepare', /b'Ek'/ 'shout'.

Apart from the verbs which are already exempted from (PAL), these two verbs seem to be the only immediate exceptions to (VNT). The verbal nouns in /Al'/, for which the /t/-suffix is optional, are covered by a general convention in connection with the introduction of the /l/ (see (LVN) in 2.73).

2.73 Minor Rules for Verbal Nouns

The effect of minor rules in the formation of verbal nouns consists in the modification of the stem, or its extension in a VC-sequence, before the major rules (VNV), (PAL) or (VNT) apply (but not (VND)). These stem-extension rules are also ordered among themselves, and

often two or more of them must be applied successively for one verbal noun form.

In previous descriptions of Modern Irish verbal nouns the various endings which are here gradually generated by different combinations of rules have always been simply listed as elementary units. Formally, such a procedure would, of course, be possible also in a generative grammar, and it could be argued that this usual approach should be adopted here instead of the 'atomization' into single segments. There are, however, sufficient reasons which suggest that a deeper analysis of these elements results in a higher degree of 'descriptive adequacy': (i) it is obvious that, however numerous and diversified the ultimate verbal noun suffixes are, they are composed of only a very limited number of possible segments; (ii) the different combinations in which these segments occur are not arbitrary, but highly restricted by a specific sequential order, (which is reflected in the order of the rules given here), roughly thus (disregarding further restrictions):

$$\text{/x/} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{/A/} \\ \text{/U/} \end{matrix} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{/1/} \\ \text{/n/} \end{matrix} \right\} \quad \text{/t/}$$

(iii) the information about irregularity can be minimized, because the choice and combination of these elements is partly governed by rules, some of which are also valid outside these irregular formations (e.g. (PAL), (VNT)); (iv) most of the rules that emerge from an examination of verbal-noun endings play a comparable role in the derivation and inflection of nouns (particularly plural-formation), i.e. they have a wider range and more general motivation than is apparent from the present framework.[50]

The general verbal-noun rule (VNV) is never applied to verbs which are marked for any of the minor rules. It is, however, unnecessary to exempt those verbs explicitly from (VNV), because after any suffixation process the structural description of (VNV) will not be met any more.

The rules are, in order of application, together with sample verbs specified '+' for them:

(i) (DEP) (depalatalization of final consonant):[51]
/bUəl'/ 'strike', /glIx'/ 'call', /kur'/ 'put', /im'əx'/ 'go away', /ar'ə + x'/ 'watch', /rEt' + əx'/ 'prepare',

(ii) (XVN) (suffixation of /əx/):
/fan/ 'stay', /N'ix'/ 'wash', /tOrəx'/ 'seek', /iN'əs'/ 'tell'[52]

(iii) (AVN) (suffixation of /A/):
/fAg/ 'leave', /N'ix'/ 'wash', /kuN'əx'/ 'keep', /ar'ə + x'/ 'watch'.

In /kuN'əx'/ and similar verbs (AVN) applies irregularly instead of (UVN) after the deletion of /əx'/ (see also 2.72). /ar'ə + x'/ represents a type with double derivation of the verbal noun, i.e. the verb must pass twice through this part of the rule system. For the first phase it is marked [+ DEP] (/ar'əx'/ → /ar'əx/), and (VNT) applies regularly (→ /ar'əxt/),

[50] For practical reasons, however, these minor rules will here be regarded (and labelled) simply as verbal-noun rules.
[51] This rule is mentioned by Ó CUÍV 1958.—It seems impossible to explain these cases in terms of the general palatalization rule, which has the opposite effect; the process is unpredictable and can only be represented by a minor rule.
[52] Alternatively, (NVN) can be applied to this verb (→ /In's'iN't'/).

but then the derivation goes back to (AVN) and on to (LVN) ($\to$ /ar'əxtAl/).
A special feature in the lexical entry will account for this peculiarity and
ensure the return to a given earlier rule. (AVN) is never used as the only
stem-extension rule; it is usually followed by (LVN), sometimes by (NVN).
Therefore a rule can be formulated which, with the application of (AVN),
introduces the rule-feature [+ LVN], unless the verb has the (lexical)
feature [+ NVN]. The combination (AVN) + (LVN) is also used for a
general derivative purpose (see 3.2). As the verbs which are derived in
this way have no additional verbal noun ending in comparison with the
stem used for finite forms it seems appropriate to regard their whole paradigm
as derived from the verbal noun, i.e. to apply (AVN)/(LVN) also when finite
forms are being generated.

(iv) (UVN) (suffixation of /U/):
/goL'/ 'hurt'

Apart from applying to verbs which are subsequently subject to (NVN)
(type/goL'/ $\to$ /goL'UN't'/), this rule serves as the general replacement rule for
the derivational suffix /əx'/ in verbal nouns (see (VND) in 1.21). This
replacement is predictable, although, technically, (UVN) functions as a
minor rule.

(v) (LVN) (suffixation of /l/):

Except for /fA/ 'get' ($\to$ /fAl'/) and, perhaps, /t'E/ 'go' ($\to$ /gol'/, see 2.71),
and verbs in /Il'/ (see 3.3), this rule is restricted to cases where (AVN) has
been applied previously. The rule-feature [+ LVN], which is necessary
for the functioning of the rule, is therefore not contained in the lexical
matrices but is a part of the structural change brought about by (AVN).
(LVN) contains a convention concerning the later application of (VNT):
all forms to which (LVN) has been applied are specified [± VNT][53], i.e.
the /t/-ending is optional here, although after palatalization of the /l/ all
forms containing this suffix meet the structural description of (VNT).
—The palatalization will, in fact, take place much later, because any fol-
lowing vowel, within the same word, will leave the /l/ unpalatalized[54].
This is relevant mainly for the derived verbs in /Al'/, which, of course,
take inflectional endings, but also for verbal nouns when they appear in
adnominal position: a 'genitive' is then formed by adding /ə/[55]. All rules
supplying inflectional endings, with the exception of /h/-future, must
therefore precede the palatalization rule (see 1.33).

(vi) (NVN) (suffixation of /ən/):
/L'ag/ 'place', /f'Ex/ 'look', /goL'/ 'hurt', /N'ix'/ 'wash', /b'lix'/ 'milk'.

This rule is unordered with regard to (LVN); both are mutually exclusive.
The occurrence of (NVN) is, however, much more restricted. It is, with a
few exceptions, e.g. /L'ag/$\to$/L'agəN/, automatically followed by (PAL)
and (VNT).

(vii) (MVN) (suffixation of /əm/):
/t'it'/ 'fall'

Except for subsequent palatalization, this rule effects the only change
required for verbal nouns of the few verbs to which it is applied.

For further verbal noun formations see 3.3.

[53] It is uncertain whether there is a free variant in /AL't'/ to each of the numerous
verbal nouns in /Al'/. To clarify this it would be necessary to examine the usage of a
great number of speakers with regard to all verbs that undergo this rule.

[54] For most speakers it will then become /L/; underlying /l/ is required for the
palatalized forms (where the tense/lax distinction is generally preserved).

[55] The declension of verbal nouns is now very marginal in this dialect but genitives in
/ALə/ are still comparatively frequent and apparently not confined to certain set phrases.

O

2.8 Verbal Adjectives

In the same way as adjectives require far less lexical information than nouns for the correct derivation of their various forms, verbal adjectives are morphologically much more regular than verbal nouns. The rules given in 1.22 are valid and sufficient for nearly all verbs; hardly any items are exempted from them, and there are no minor rules which modify the stem before the general rules apply. The existing irregularities are of the same kind as those that are predominant in finite verbal forms: some of the verbs which use root-alternants elsewhere in their paradigms from also their verbal adjectives in a 'suppletive' manner. None of these alternants, however, are restricted to the verbal adjective: in three out of the four suppletive verbal adjectives the required from is also used for the future, and in one, /rA/, for the verbal noun. The alternations are:

/abər'/	∼ /d'ər'/ 'say'	→	/rA/
/t'ag/ 'come'			/t'uk/
/t'E/ 'go'			/go/
/tug/ 'give'			/t'Ur/

The general verbal-adjective rules then apply regularly, giving /rAt'ə/, /t'ukIhə/, /got'ə/ and /t'Urhə/ resp.

A small number of dissyllabic verbs ending in /l/ have, besides the regular verbal adjective in /Ihə/, variants in /tə/, which occur less frequently. Obviously these variant forms are due to the application of (VA1) instead of (VA2), although the roots are not monosyllabic as required for (VA1). Therefore, to account for forms like /oskəL't'ə/ a rule-feature [+ VA1] is required; in the lexical matrix this will be specified ' ± ', as this irregularity is optional. A similar verb, /f'OLəm'/ 'learn', is also exempted from (PAL) before undergoing (VA1): /f'OLəmtə/.

Some verbs appear to require a negative rule-feature for the whole set of verbal-adjective rules. An examination of these verbs shows that, with the exception of the auxiliary /b'I/, which has no verbal adjectives at all, they are all derivatives from underlying adjectives and that the original adjective is used in the perfective construction. This phenomenon, however, is apparently not of a morphological nature and it can only be explained with regard to the semantic and syntactic aspects of the derivational process. The question will not be studied here in any detail, but it should be noted that, semantically, the perfective aspect 'deletes' a causative relation, unless the notion of past activity is to be maintained. Consequently, the element which represents 'causative' phonetically, namely the derivational suffix, may be withdrawn in the perfective aspect and the primary lexical item is sufficient to express a 'state' even if the agent-phrase is retained. In fact, it is generally possible, in Irish, to construct 'perfective' phrases with adjectives and adverbs, without using a verbal form, i.e. verbal adjective: (70) /v'I əN p'Ipə d'arəg eg'ə/ 'He had his pipe lit' (where a verb

/darg + əx′/ exists), or (71) /v′I əN mALə əwus eg′ə/ 'He had the bag (taken) on his side', etc. It may be suggested that alternative constructions with simple adjective or adjective + derivational suffix + verbal adjective suffix imply a tense difference (present v. past). The restrictions to which many verbs/adjectives are subject in this tense-choice and which appear to be morphological irregularities are then probably due to the semantic structure of the lexical items involved, and to the type of syntactic transformation underlying the derivation.

3. Derivation

Derivational processes play a comparatively minor role in Modern Irish. However, in analysing verbal forms it is necessary to single out certain elements which appear in front of the inflectional endings and which clearly function as derivators. Their description is particularly relevant here because their presence and shape are to some extent influenced by the selection of inflectional endings.

Although it is possible to establish morphological rules for derivational processes it must be realized that, on the whole, the phonetic representation of nouns and adjectives which function as verbs and of semantically modified verbs is unpredictable. Therefore it is probably necessary to assign rule-features to all underlying elements that may undergo a derivational process, unless one can discover some connection with the semantic structure. This would mean that it must be stated (i) in the case of possible derivation, which rule is to be applied, and (ii), where no derived verb can be formed, which alternative construction will arise in a given environment. Phonologically, the distinction between (i) and (ii) is made by the concept of the word: derivation leads to the representation of the verbal notion within a pair of word boundaries, otherwise the underlying elements are represented as separate word-units and the verbal and nominal components of the construction enter the morphological section of the grammar separately. In the latter case the main formal characteristics of the surface representation of the phrase are arrived at in the syntactic component of the grammar; irregularities in such representations must therefore be regarded as syntactical rather than morphological, and it is mainly for this reason that the question of 'periphrastic' verbs using underived nouns or adjectives will not be discussed here, although these represent a very important and characteristic aspect of the Irish verbal system.

It will be assumed, then, that it is generally necessary to mark specifically all lexical items which are eligible for a derivational process, with the exception of English verbs, which automatically undergo rules (AVN) and (LVN) (see 3.2). But it seems doubtful whether, e.g., the derivation of causatives by /əx′/-suffixation

(see 3.1) is the 'normal', i.e. predictable representation of such a
syntactic relation in a given context.   In this sense, all derived
verbs in /əx'/ and some of those in /Al'/ may be regarded as 'irregular'.

3.1 Derived Verbs in /əx'/

Verbs can be formed from adjectives and nouns by adding the
suffix /əx'/. Although the number of verbs formed in this way is
fairly large and most of the underlying lexemes occur freely in the
dialect this derivational process must now be regarded as unpro-
ductive. Generally these denominative verbs are causative, factitive,
or inchoative, but various other syntactic relations occur as well;
their syntactic classification and hence the study of the transforma-
tions which lead to such derivations exceed the scope of the present
paper.

The rule which introduces /əx'/ operates in two steps: (i) the
suffix /əx/, which occurs elsewhere in the formation of derived
adjectives, is added, (ii) the final /x/ is palatalized. This analysis
is supported by the fact that adjectives which already have a final
/əx/ undergo only palatalization when a verb is being formed from
them: /d'Ir'əx/ 'straight', /tor's'əx/ 'tired'; /d'Irəx/ 'stretch', /tor's'əx/
'tire', resp.

Before the actual derivation operates some underlying elements
require a stem-extension: underived nouns ending in a consonant are
generally extended in /n/ (e.g. /anm'/ 'name' → /anm' + n + əx'/
to name'); but also phonologically motivated 'adjustments' occur
(e.g. /rE/ 'ready' → /rE + t' + əx'/ 'prepare').

Some adjectives are completely exempted from the /əx'/-suffixation
rule, although their verbal function is exactly parallel to that of
the overtly derived denominatives: /glan/ 'clean' → /glan/ 'to clean'.

All /əx'/-denominatives are subject to certain morphophonological changes
in connection with inflection and verbal-noun formation; these have been
discussed in previous sections (replacement of /əx'/ by /U/ (1.21), by /O/
(1.32 and 1.111)), It has also been mentioned (1.31) that the /əx'/-element,
which is mainly a characteristic of denominative verbs, as well as its re-
placement in the future, is regularly extended over certain primary verbs.
The set of verbs which is characterized by these various morphological
and phonological properties corresponds to what is known from previous
descriptions of the Modern Irish verbal system as the 'second conjugation'.
As the traditional concept of 'conjugational class' does not enter into the
present analysis it may be justified to remark briefly here on the customary
bipartition of the verbal inflection. In a grammar which distinguishes
between these two 'conjugations', the main difference between the classes
lies not in the inflectional endings as such but in the presence of an /I/-element
in certain sets of forms of 'class II' verbs. In a generative analysis this
/I/ can easily be explained by a general phonological rule of the dialect
(/əx'/ →/I/ / —V) and thus be related to most other forms of the same

paradigm, these forms containing the underlying /əx'/ in a different environment where another rule about non-initial /x'/ applies (/əx'/ → /ə/ /—{^{C}}) [56]. Also, the nominal forms of these verbs can be accounted for more easily if such an /əx'/-element is assumed.   The distinction in the future, on the other hand, has only a marginal effect on the selection of the inflectional ending proper (/hə/ v. ϕ, see 1.111), and the /O/ must be regarded as a stem-adjusting element not essentially different in function from, say the /n/ in denominative verbs. It may be noted that a rule assigning class-membership to verbs (taking the surface form of the root, e.g. /g'Erə/ 'sharpen') would not be difficult to formulate.   But as the formation of the future would be the only occasion where such a rule, or the class-feature assigned by it, would be relevant, the structural description given in it can, with certain modifications, be reduced to a context-restriction of the rule about the stem-extension in /O/.   Thus the distinction between the two conjugational classes is not only unnecessary, but also conceals a number of significant regularities which a grammar should account for.   In particular, purely phonological phenomena like the /I/-element should not be represented as specific inflectional properties.

To exemplify not only the derivational process discussed in this section but also the surface representation of selected verbal categories in verbs ending in /əx'/, as well as certain phonological rules which have been referred to at various occasions, the impact of the rule system on a denominative verb will now be shown.

3.2 Derived Verbs in /Al'/

The second derivational process to be discussed here is more transparent than the previous one because it is less subject to change by morphophonological and later phonological rules.—The suffix which has the final shape /Al'/ has two main derivational functions, both of which are productive: (i) denominative, mostly with an instrumental meaning; the underlying nouns may be lexical items of the dialect or of English; (ii) adaptation of English verbs for the dialect.   A clear distinction between (i) and (ii) with regard to borrowings is difficult to draw because of the verb/noun ambiguity of many English words. [57]

Apart from the derivational function discussed here, this suffix also occurs in verbal nouns (see 2.73).   The fact that verbs containing /Al'/ throughout never have any further verbal noun endings, and that the quality of the final /l/ is governed by the same palatalization rule ((PAL), see 1.33), suggest that it is the same formant; consequently, it is appropriate to generate it by means of the same set of rules: (AVN) and (LVN) (see 2.73), followed by (PAL).

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[56] Cf. note 41.
[57] The phonological aspects of borrowing from English will not be considered here. See DE BHALDRAITHE 1953a.

Lexical Adj. Causative	Hab. Pres. 1sg	Optative 3sg	Imperat. 2pl	Past 3sg	Past aut	Future aut	VN	VA
ard 'high' ardex' 'raise'								
VND							ard	
UVN							ardU	
VA2						ardO		ardex'e
VA3						ardOf'		ardex'ehe
O-Fut.								
Fut						ardOf'ər		
Imp								
Person indef	ardex'em'							
Person def			ardex'g'l		ardex'U			
Opt		gə+ardex'e						
Past		gə+ardex'+s'E		də+ardex' / də+ardex'+s'E	də+ardex'U			
Pronoun								
Lenition/h Eclipsis/n		gə+nardex'+e+s'E			də+hardex'U			
d-Deletion					ə+hardex'U			
I→'xe	ardIm'	gə+nardI+s'E	I,gəprə	də+ardə+ərdə+s'E	ə+hardIU			ardIhe
e→xe								
e-Deletion				d+ardə+s'E				
a→A	ardIm	gə+nArdI+s'E	Ardeg'l	d+Ardə+s'E	hardIU / hArdIU	ArdOf'ər	ArdU	ArdIhe

A small number of verbs which are borrowed from English do not undergo this process; they are inflected without any preceding stem extension but are otherwise quite regular (e.g. /p'ik/ 'pick', /stop/ 'stop', etc.) These may, of course, simply remain unmarked for the 'diacritic' feature 'foreign', which, in fact, is a kind of phonological rule-feature.

Examples:

(Noun) (Verb)	glas 'lock'	*spare*
AVN LVN Habit. Pres. PAL (VNT)	glasA glasAl glasAləN	spArA ∼ spArAl spArAl' (spArAl't)
	glasAləN gLasALəN	spArAl' spArAL't'

3.3 Derivation of Progressive Verbs

Finally, some further derivational processes should be outlined which share the semantic feature of implying the progressive aspect. This means that such verbs always appear as verbal nouns, because the progressive aspect can only be represented by a verbal-noun construction. From the point of view of surface syntax, however, these processes are, in fact, noun derivations, in the same sense that the formation of verbal nouns from fully inflectible verbs can be regarded as part of the morphology of nouns rather than of verbs. It is not surprising, then, that the elements which constitute these 'progressive verbs' occur elsewhere in nominal derivation processes; /əxt/, for example, has also the function of an 'abstract noun' derivator, mainly from adjectives.

Given the Aristotelian view that adjectives are quasi-verbs, one could regard the 'abstract' nouns as quasi-verbal-nouns, thus unifying the functions of the /əxt/-suffix. The reason why such nouns do not occur in periphrastic verbal constructions is probably the lack of aspectual contrast in adjectives: (72) /tA s'E bAN/ 'it is white' is neutral with regard to the progressive aspect (stative), and a corresponding (73)* /tA s'E ə bANəxt/ *'it is being white' is non-existent.

The derivational elements which characterize 'progressive verbs' are analysable in the same way as other verbal-noun endings; they are, in fact, composed of largely the same elements, i.e. the minor rules about verbal-noun formation apply here also, and in the same

order. The discussion here will be limited to a few frequent types which are productive.

3.31 Verbal Nouns from Agent Nouns

Agent nouns can be derived from other nouns with any of the suffixes /(d)Or'/, /Erə/, /ar'ə/, /Ur'/ and /I/. An 'abstract-noun' formed by adding /(ə)xt/ (i.e. (XVN) and (VNT)) to such an agent-noun results in the verbal notion of 'acting as a . . . '. Underived nouns denoting a profession may also occur here: /mIr/ 'water-bailiff' → /mIrs'əxt/[58].

Some stem-extensions are required with these suffixes. Nouns ending in /n/ or /l/ are extended in /t/ before /Or'/. The 'intrusive' /s'/ in /mIr's'əxt/ may be unpredictable, in the same way as the selection of the variant /dOr'/.

The meaning of both suffixes taken together in relation to the underlying noun can roughly be given as 'having to do with . . .'. It is plausible then that the whole derivational process may be applied to a noun without the 'intermediate' agent-noun being used independently. The whole sequence /Or'əxt/, etc., may thus be regarded as a complex suffix which transforms nouns into verbal nouns with specific aspectual characteristics. Such cases are, however, rather 'accidental gaps', and it is difficult to ascertain whether the agent-noun in question is definitely non-existent in the language, particularly because each of the derivational processes involved is productive.

In some cases the sequence /Or'əxt/ is suffixed to an underived agent-noun: /sagərtOr'əxt/ 'to act as a priest', where */sagərtəxt/ would be expected.

Examples:

(Noun)	bAd 'boat'	(sAw 'saw')	sIhər 'labour'
(Nomen Ag.)	bAdOr' 'boatman'	sAv'Erə[59] 'sawyer'	sIhərI 'labourer'
XVN	bAdOr'əx	sAv'Erəx	sIhərIx
VNT	bAdOr'əxt	sAv'Erəxt	sIhərIxt
	bAdOr'əxt 'boating'	sAv'Erəxt 'sawing'	sIrhIxt 'working hard'

3.32 Verbal Nouns from Diminutives

Most nouns can be semantically modified by the derivational suffix /In'/, which usually denotes 'reduced extension', or affection.

[58] For a list of examples see DE BHALDRAITHE 1953, 252–53.
[59] Agent-nouns in /Erə/ are mostly taken directly from English. /sAv'Erə/ is therefore, strictly speaking, not derived from the equally borrowed /sAw/. This may explain the apparent palatalization /w/ → /v'/ in the present example.

From these diminutives progressive verbs can be formed by adding the 'abstract noun' suffix /əxt/; a transitional consonant /t/ is automatically introduced before this suffix. The meaning of such verbs varies according to the semantic properties of the previous diminutive formation: where the derived noun denotes a person the verb is semantically of the same nature as those formed from agent-nouns (e.g. /spal'p'In'/ 'hired farm-labourer' → /spal'p'IN't'əxt 'working as a *spailpín*'). Similarly, where it denotes a specific object the verb can achieve an instrumental meaning, without entering the agent-noun phase of the derivation (e.g. /kros'In'/ 'tool for collecting seaweed' → /kros'IN't'əxt/ 'working with a *croisín*'). There is, however, a fairly large group of 'diminutive verbs' in which the meaning of the underlying noun is much more modified, resulting in the idea of 'repeated and reduced action', with a specific semantic component supplied by the noun. A number of such verbs means hardly more than 'fiddling, fingering'.

Examples: [60]

(Noun)	k'let'ə 'feather'	slam 'portion'	spr'ab 'shovelfull'
Diminutive Verbal Noun	k'let'In' k'let'In't'əxt	slamIn' slamIn'təxt	spr'abIn' spr'abIn'təxt
	k'let'IN't'əxt 'fiddling'	sLAm'IN't'əxt 'taking small loads'	sp'r'ab'IN't'əxt 'digging small spadefuls'

3.33 Verbal Nouns in /Il'/

Nouns denoting a sound-event can be transformed into the corresponding verb by adding the suffix /Il'/. This is one of the few occasions in the grammar where morphological properties of a lexeme can be inferred from the presence of specific semantic features. One might regard this class of verbs as a semantically determined ('expressive') phonological variant of the more common derivations in /Al'/. Consequently, they are to be analysed in the same way: the /I/ is an alternative realization of the vocalic stem-extension of verbal nouns, i.e. a rule '(IVN)' corresponds to both (AVN) and (UVN) (see 2.73), and the final lateral is due to the application of (LVN), like in /Al'/-verbs. The invariably palatalized quality of the /l'/ is due to the influence of the preceding front-vowel[61]. The suffix /Il'/ occurs also in noun-plurals.

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[60] These examples are from DE BHALDRAITHE 1953, 253.
[61] Assimilations of this type occur sporadically.

Examples:

(Noun)	f'ad 'whistle'	m'aw 'miaow'
'IVN' LVN	f'adI f'adIl	m'awI m'awIl
	f'adIl' 'whistling'	m'awIl' 'miaowing'

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AN LITRIÚ I BHFILÍOCHT AICEANTA
NA NUAGHAEILGE

Níl glactha fós go coitianta le modh cinnte eagarthóireachta sa mhéid a bhaineann leis an gcóras litrithe i bhfilíocht aiceanta na Nua-Ghaeilge.

Is é cuspóir an dréachta seo na modhanna éagsúla a chleachtaí go dtí seo a thabhairt chun grinnis agus féachaint le modh oiriúnach a aimsiú.

Modh na Lámhscríbhinní

Ar éigean is gá a rá go mbíonn éagsúlacht, neamhsheasmhacht is neamhionannas litrithe sna lámhscríbhinní, go háirithe i lámhscríbhinní ón ochtú haois déag amach, ar iontu is mó atá an fhilíocht aiceanta.

Ní miste a mheabhrú nach raibh ionannas litrithe i gceist riamh ag scríobhaithe an ama sin. Ag scríobh dóibh féin, nó do dhuine aonair a bhídís, agus ní ag foilsiú do phobal léitheoirí. Is ábhar iontais a laghad den fhilíocht a cuireadh i gcló, agus an chlódóireacht chomh héasca sin is nós billeoga na mbailéad Béarla chomh coitianta, go háirithe le linn na naoú haoise déag. Is iomaí cúis a bhí leis sin, nach mbaineann le hábhar anseo. B'fhéidir gur cheann acu an leisce a bheadh ar an gclódóir nó ar an bhfoilsitheoir plé leis an nGaeilge, is gan aon tslat tomhais chinnte i dtaobh an litrithe a bheith ann. Chuimhneodh an scríobhaí fadbhreathnaíoch go mb'fhéidir go gcuirfeadh an chlódóireacht choitianta agus an t-eolas ar scríobh na teanga i measc an phobail a d'fhásfadh dá thoradh, deireadh lena shaincheird rúndiamhair. Ar aon nós, níor cleachtadh an chlódóireacht go coitianta, agus toisc nár cleachtadh, níor facthas gur ghá ionannas litrithe.

Bhí an dá nós coitianta sna lámhscríbhinní, claonadh chun ársaíochta sa litriú is chun consain shéimhithe neamhbhunúsacha a chur isteach, agus ar an taobh eile litriú ba chóngaraí d'fhuaim na cainte a úsáid. De thaisme agus ní d'aon ghnó le heolas a thabhairt i dtaobh canúna ná le cuidiú leis an léitheoir an mheadaracht a thuiscint, a bhíodh an litriú 'foghrúil' ann.

Tús na Clódóireachta

Nuair a tosaíodh ar an fhilíocht a chur i gcló, leanadh de nósanna na lámhscríbhinní (ach gur héiríodh as na nodanna ar fad, beagnach). Mar shampla den litriú foghrúil, sa chéad leabhar filíochta a cuireadh

i gcló (C. Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, BÁC 1789), tá a leithéid
seo (san amhrán *An Droighneán Donn*):

> *go ffadh* (*go bhfaghaidh*), *fáil* (*faghail*), *léisfidis* (*leigheasfaidís*), *osnail*,
> *siopaidhe* (*síobtha*), *fágfeach* (*fágfadh*), *síleach* (*shaoileadh*); agus ar an taobh
> eile a leithéid seo: *comhradh, bhreoidh, airnidhe, croidhe, cúbhartha*
> (= *cumhra*).

Tá an meascán céanna sin den sean is den nua i saothar na
n-eagarthóirí anuas go dtí tarraingt ar dheireadh na haoise seo
caite. Tharla gur beag a léitear saothar na n-eagarthóirí sin anois,
ní miste roinnt samplaí[1] a thabhairt:

(*a*) A leac ata'd ghear-chluid air gheig uir,
        chomhmaisigh bhreagh,
  An a ló bhi feim-amhail, fear-game Club-
        Fiaig agus Ráis;
  Is leat a bheith pleadh-amhail, ceim-amhail
        mar is follas do chach
  's gur air do thaisge go laeth-amhail ta
        pleasúr Chonnacht arlar.[2]

(*b*) Go ffadh me feirin la an aonaig óm bhuacail doñ
  Is cómhrad seimhidhe no dheigsin ó phlur na ffear,
  Fáraoir gér nach ffuilim féin agus an sagart air fáil,
  No go ndúblamaois ar ccúrsaidhe sul fa dtéid se anon.[3]

(*c*) A Shaoí ghlain de phríomhsgoith na sár-fhear sáor,
  Is bínn, snaoíghte laoíthe agus ráidhte séimh';
  An aoíbhinn leat dibirt ar ná'id go léir
  'S an rígh ceart a luígheadh 'nois le Gráinne Mhaol?[4]

(*d*) Iosa do cheanuig go daoir me,
  Air an gcrann de haoine,
  Is do namhaid ad thraoicha,
  Tu a bhfad od ghaoidhealta
  Is do bhanaltra taoibh leat
  Go caitheach ad chuibhne.[5]

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1 Tá na samplaí á gcur anseo go díreach mar atá siad i gcló, gan aon cheartú.
2 J. C. Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, BÁC 1786, lch. 59, App.
3 C. Brooke, *op. cit.* lch. 306.
4 J. Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, Londain, 1831, II lch. 64.
5 P. Denn, *Timothy O'Sullivan's Pious Miscellany*, Corcaigh, 1831, lch. 7.

(e) Oidhche bhíos aig luighe am shuan,
    Is me air buairéadh tre na cathaighe
    Do shín am t-sígh-bhean shiléach shuairc
    Taoibh liom suas aig deanadh tathaighe;
    Ba chaol a comm, a craobh-fholt tróm,
    Aig tígheacht go boñ lei 'na shrataighe,
    Ba dhuibhe a gruaig 'na an gual
    Is ba ghile a gruadh ná 'na h-allaidhe.[6]

An Dá Chlaonadh

Riamh ó shin, táthar anonn is anall leis an litriú, agus an dá nós, (a) claonadh le seanlitriú éigin[7] (—go hiondúil an litriú a bhfuil glactha ó shin leis mar chaighdeán don fhilíocht chlasaiceach) agus (b) claonadh le litriú foghrúil éigin, ag coimhlint le chéile agus gan de thoradh ar an gcoimhlint sin ach meascán mearaí.

De réir mar bhíothas ag dul chun cinn le léann na NuaGhaeilge, ba chruinne a leantaí de chaighdeán na Gaeilge Clasaicí, mar shampla in obair eagarthóirí saothracha mar Thorna, Risteard Ó Foghlú agus Phádraig Ó Duinnín. Choinnítí na consain bhalbha ar fad, ní dhéantaí d'athrú ar na seanfhoirmeacha ach síneadh fada a chur uaireanta ar ghutaí áirithe a bhíodh gearr tráth. D'fhéadfaí a rá go raibh glacadh coitianta le seanlitriú caighdeánaithe go ceann tréimhse áirithe.

Ach ansin méadaíodh ar an spéis sa teanga bheo, agus tosaíodh ar iarrachtaí fánacha a dhéanamh ar fhuaim na cainte is ar dheilbh na meadarachta a léiriú sa litriú d'aon ghnó.

Sampla maith é saothar Thomáis Uí Rathaille ar an gclaonadh sin. Deir sé féin sa réamhrá le *Measgra Dánta*:

"The spelling employed in the text is in general a normalized and slightly modified form of the orthography in common use some three centuries ago . . . . On the other hand, in the occasional supplementary stanzas in accentual metre, as well as in a few of the *dánta*, a frankly modern pronunciation is required, and accordingly in these the orthography has been somewhat modernized."[8]

Agus ag caint dó ar *Mhachnamh an Duine Dhoilíosaigh* deir sé: "Furthermore, as his rimes show, Ó Coileáin's pronunciation was frankly modern; hence the archaic spelling which suits most of the other poems in our collection has to some extent been discarded . . ."[9]

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[6] John Daly, *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry*, BÁC 1844, lch. 6.
[7] Litriú nua agus cuma na seandachta air ag na consain bhalbha neamhbhunúsacha a bhíodh go minic ann, e.g. *gaoidhealta* (*gaolta*) (in (d) thuas), *máirseádhail* (*máirseáil*) (Daly, op. cit. lch. 120).
[8] T. F. O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*, lch. 61.
[9] *Ibid*. lch. 216.

Focail an-éiginnte iad an 'somewhat' agus 'to some extent' sin.
Ba é a bhí de thoradh ar an iarrachtín ar litriú nua a cheapadh,
meascán a bhí beagnach chomh dona agus chomh deacair a léamh le
hiarrachtaí na luath-eagarthóirí, nár d'aon turas a rinneadh.

Oirfidh dán Sheáin Uí Choileáin a luaigh an Rathailleach, ó tá sé
ar eolas ag gach duine, a thabhairt mar shampla. Seo cuid de na
foirmeacha 'simplithe' atá aige ann:

*uíche, doilig, faraige, dtunn, réig, chiunn, shuig mé, cúch, siunnach,
iumdha, unnat, chruí, chóir.*

Ní léir cé acu canúint chainte an údair nó an mheadaracht ba
mhó a bhí sé ag iarraidh a léiriú. Cibé ar bith cén cuspóir a bhí leis
an athrú litrithe, is léir nach bhfuil aon bhonn ionannais ná loighce
leis.

Mar shampla, tá *reulta* ann ach *dréachta* (: *cléir*), agus *féar* (: *déar*);
siunnach ach *fionnaim*; *ionad, iumdha, unnat; nglaeudh* ach *maon*
(: *raon*) agus *gaoth* (: *maoil*). Cé go léiríonn sé -*g* deiridh na canúna i
bhfocail mar *aghaig* (rud nach mbaineann le cúrsaí meadarachta),
fágann sé seanlitriú nach dtagann leis an bhfuaim i bhfocail eile,
e.g. *naomhtha, dá bhfóireadh, anfhorlann.*

Lean eagarthóirí eile nós an Rathailligh—agus chuaigh cuid
mhór acu nach raibh chomh cruinn leis féin ar seachrán ar fad.
D'athraídís is ghiorraídís an litriú nó d'fhágaidís an seanlitriú ann,
ach ní de réir rialach ar bith, ach mar bhuaileadh an spadhar iad.
Rinneadh gnás den mheascán gan riail.

Mar shampla sa réamhrá le *Five Seventeenth-Century Political
Poems,* deir an t-eagarthóir: 'In the four Munster poems the spelling
has been normalised in accordance with the S. Irish pronunciation'.[10]

Ach toisc nach ndearnadh an caighdeánú sin de réir scéime cinnte
ar bith, tá an-chuid míréitigh ag baint leis an toradh.

Seo roinnt samplaí:

(*a*) Meascán idir bealaí éagsúla le [i:] a scríobh.

cruí (I 138, 174, III 45), *croí* (IV 4); *cloí* (I 97); *chlaoig* (IV 191),
cuítheach (V 231), *uíche* (IV 39); *naoíon* (I 139), *nuíanta* (III 147),
cluíomh (IV 375), *cheannuíadh* (V 27).

(*b*) Meascán idir bealaí éagsúla le [e:] a scríobh:

aenfhir (V 151), *aoinfhir* (: *éisdeacht*) (IV 431), *aondeich* (: *bréaga*)
(IV 273), *éinfhir* (IV 54), *éanchois* (IV 157), *aonghuth* (IV 55); *Gaeul*
(IV 280), *aol* (: *cré*) (IV 52); *sgae* (V 85); *aorach* (IV 109), *aerach* (I 30),
aedhracht (V 171) (= *aodhaireacht*); *éinneach* (IV 375), *aenneach* (V 117,
122); *aonneach* (: *éadach*) (V 54), *aé* (V 7).

10 In eag. C. O'Rahilly, BÁC 1952, lch. ix.

(c) Consain bhalbha a choinneáil uaireanta is a chaitheamh amach uaireanta eile sna focail chéanna:

dubhach (: *tsiúil*) (I 4); *dúch* (III 9), *faobhrach* (I 81), *faorach* (III 20); *uabhar* (V 386), *uar* (III 302); *dó* (a.br.) (IV 252), *dóigheadh* (br.s.cte.) (IV 199).

(d) Consain bhalbha a choinneáil i ndiaidh défhoghair nó guta fhadaithe:

laogh (V 240), *diadhacht* (V 221) (: *Chríost*), *maidhm* (V 9) (: *chím*); *buadha* (I 57), *fuidhle* (I 94); *ealadhnaibh* (III 280), *aibhne* (: *díth*) (III 286), *osnadhach* (: *cogai*) (III 167), *luigheadh* (I 42), *shúghdar* (V 179); *iadhta* (V 142), *réidheadar* (IV 193); *sluaigh* (V 28).

(e) Consain bhalbha eile a choinneáil:

dúithche (III 63); *dúithe* (V 57); *faithche* (III 50), ach *cluithe* (V 345); *iomdha* (III 63; IV 234); *garrdha* (IV 40); *coitcheann* (IV 282); *d'ordó-chainn* (IV 224); *díothchuir* (III 78).

(f) *-th* deiridh i ndiaidh guta fhada;

fá (= *fáth*) (III 26); *gnáth* (V 308); *tnúth* (V 379); *tnú* (I 44); *díth* (V 287); *baoi* (= *baoth*) (V 280); *béith* (V 79) (= *bé*); *sgae* (= *sgaoth*)(V 85).

(g) *-dh* ar rinneadh *-g* de, e.g.:

chuaidh (III 239); *chuaig* (IV 15); *dheachaig* (IV 139); *ndeachaigh* (V 71): *dheachaidh* (V 99); *diadhacht* (IV 187); *diaga* (IV 230); *aordha* (V 34); *maorga* (III 98); *órdha* (V 261); *mórgacht* (V 230).

(h) Síneadh fada ar ghuta roimh *-nn*, *-ll*, *-m*:

cúm (= *com*) (I 53); *fuinn* (I 138), *fhoinn* (I 143); *fhíll* (I 132), *puínntí* (V 231), *droing* (I 154); ach *cloinn* (: *gclí*) (I 175), *cloinn* (: *laoi*) (V 12), *glinn* (: *dlí*) (III 267), *soillse* (: *draíocht*) (IV 167), *sinnsear* (: *díograis*) (IV 402), *thuill* (: *ní*) (IV 456), *liomsa* (: *tnú*) (I 44); *thiúnsgain* (III 80), ach *thionnsgna* (III 273), *cionntach* (: *crú*) (I 34).

(i) Síneadh ar ghuta fadaithe, ach an consan balbh a fhágáil ann freisin:

naímhdibh (V 330); *nimhnig* (I 102) (ach *Muimhnig* (IV 141)); *maidhm* (V 325) (ach *maidhm* (: *chím*) (V 9)); *coinghíol* (V 364); *chómhnaig* (III 149), *cómhroinn* (V 175), *cómhrac* (I 84) (ach *comhlann* (: *cróga*) (V 24); *comhnaí* (IV 82)) *fíoghar* (V 273); *d'úmhlaig* (IV 277) (ach *cúrtha* (I 53)).

(j) *thmh*, *mhth*, *bhth*, ar rinneadh *f* díobh:

naofa (IV 355); *rathmhar* (IV 145), *fuathmhar* (IV 114), *gobhtha* (V 194).

(k) Guta cúnta á theaspáint uaireanta:

ainim (V 166) (*ainm* (III 239)); *leinibh* (V 72) (*leinbh* (III 263)).

(*l*) *i/ei*, e.g. *dimhin* (: *uile*) (I 63); *teine* (: *Muire*) (V 264),

(*m*) *th* leathan nó caol:

> *na haithig* (IV 22); *na hathaig* (IV 446).

(*n*) Samplaí eile míréitigh:

> *ag iara déarca* (IV 476); *ag iarra déarca* (IV 354); *ag iarraidh déarca* (V 71); *ceanguilte* (V 203), *ceangailte* (V 360); *malluithe* (V 316), *mallaithe* (V 328).

Sa leabhar céanna sin deirtear (lch. IX) i dtaobh dáin eile 'An Síogaí Rómhánach' gur leanadh den 'traditional spelling'. Agus rinneadh sin tríd is tríd, ach mar sin féin, tá litriú nua agus an neamhsheasmhacht coitianta ann:

Gaeulaibh (57), *Gaol* (63), *Gaelge* (103), *Gaolach* (155), *Gaodhal* (255); *grámhar* (10), *ábhar* (10); *trua* (26); *a' dréim* (142) (áit a mbíonn *ag* go coitianta sna dánta eile); *grá* (123); *séide* (a.br.) (138); *tárrngaire* (223); *craorga* (125).

Is ábhar mór múisiaim is mearbhaill don dalta is don ghnáthléitheoir a leithéid de neamhsheasmhacht; agus ábhar míshástachta don scoláire a mbeadh súil aige le bonn éigin loighce faoin modh eagarthóireachta.

Modhanna Eile

Ní mór dhá mhodh eile eagarthóireachta a thabhairt chun suntais. Glactar le gnáthlitriú an lae inniu, ach de réir modha amháin acu cuirtear litriú nua 'foghrúil' sa téacs féin agus de réir an mhodha eile is i nóta bun leathanaigh (nó nóta aguisín) a chuirtear an litriú foghrúil. Bíonn de locht ar an dá mhodh seo nach iondúil go mbíonn loighic ná bonn soiléir scoláireachta faoi thogha na bhfocal a chuirtear sa litriú nua foghrúil.

Léireoidh iniúchadh ar an dá chnuasach d'fhilíocht Pheadair Uí Dhoirnín,[11] a foilsíodh ag an am céanna, an dá nós seo go pointeáilte. Leanann leagan R an chéad nós, leanann B an dara ceann.

Uaireanta, tá an dá leagan ag teacht le chéile sa mhéid go bhfuil litriú foghrúil iontu araon. Sa téacs féin atá sin ag R, agus sna nótaí ag B, mar shampla sna cásanna seo:[12]

saibhreas (*sae(i)bhreas*) 4. 13, 13. 12, 17. 19 (R); 34, 47, 51, 65 (B); *saibhir* (*sae(i)bhir*) 4. 36, 26. (i) (R); 35, 40 (B); *suirí* (*suirí*) 16. 1, 13. 2, 10. 34 (R); (*suire*) 38, 47, 58 (B); *ionadh* (*ionadh*) 25. 4, (R); 44 (B); *réalt* (*rialt*) 16. 19, 10. 5 (R); 38, 57 (B); *tréan* (*trian*) 10. 8 (R); 57 (B); *teampall* (*téampall*) 26.25 (R); 41 (B); *Bealtaine* (*Béaltaine*) 26. 38 (R); 41 (B); *nua-choill* (*nó-choill*) 10.4 (R); 57 (B); *Sadhbha* (*saebha*) 18.8 (R); 65 (B).

11 (i) Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Peadar Ó Doirnín, Amhráin* (BÁC 1969): B.
   (ii) Seán de Rís, *Peadar Ó Doirnín* (BÁC 1969): R.
12 An chéad fhoirm ag R; an ceann idir lúibíní ag B i bhfonóta. Uimh. amhráin agus líne i gcás R; uimh. lgh. i gcás B.

Ach ar an taobh eile i gcás fhurmhór na bhfonótaí foghrúla ag B[13], ní bhíonn ach an gnáthlitriú ag R, e.g.

buartha (*baertha*) 31; *buaireamh* (*baeradh*) 34; *fearr* (*féarr*) 33, 35, 70; *Seán* (*Séan*) 33; *bhearnaigh* (*bhéarnaigh*) 69; *adhairc* (*éarc*) 33; *adhaltranais* (*éaltranais*) 41; *cladhaire* (*claere*) 35; *claímh* (*claemh*) 37; *gadhar* (*gaer*) 69; *Laighean* (*Laen*) 37; *maighdean* (*maedean*) 35, etc; *oighir* (*éir*) 38; *oíche* (*aeche*) 40; *logha* (*lao*) 41; *ann* (*ánn*) 65; *roghain* (*raen*) 69; *ball* (*báll*) 49, 65, 70; *cam* (*cám*) 50; *dath* (*dáth*) 49; *dealramh* (*deálramh*) 49; *fad* (*fád*) 50; *gallta* (*gállta*) 51; *bathais* (*báis*) 50; *othar* (*ór*) 54; *corn* (*córn*) 36; *dtairnfeadh* (*dtáirnfeadh*) 50; *gabhair* (*góir*) 65; *labhras* (*lóbhras*) 53; *dtabharfadh* (*dtórfadh*) 56; *foghlaim* (*fólaim*) 54; *domhsa* (*dúsa*) 38; *lia* (*lé*) 47; *ionadh* (*éanadh*) 47; *fhaigheann* (*fhánn*) 46; *bhfaighidh* (*bhfuigh*) 58; *feidhm* (*féim*) 52, 65; *pingin* (*pín*) 66; *labhair* (*lavair*) 51; *dtáinig, th-* (*dtainig, th-*) 38, 59; *Traoi* (*Tró*) 52.

Is leor sin lena theaspáint cén difríocht mhór is féidir a bheith idir tuairim dhá eagarthóir de na lidí foghraíochta is cóir a thabhairt don léitheoir.

Ach, chomh maith leis sin, níl aon leanúntas i scéim B, mar tugann sé litriú foghrúil le focail uaireanta, agus fágann na focail chéanna, nó focail ar aon mhúnla leo, gan litriú foghrúil uaireanta eile,

e.g. *labhair* (*lavair*) 51, ach *meabhair* (: *dhearcas*) 57, *labhair* (: *ghoireas*) 57, *amharc* (: *tharraing l.* 11) 59, *labhairt* (: *Cheallaigh*) 59, *domhain* (: *tamaill*) 38; *tharr* (*thárr*) 61, ach *barr*, 42; *dealramh* (*deálramh*) 49, ach *dealramh* (: *tráchtann*) 59; *gadhar* (*gaer*) 69, ach *gadhair* (: *céim*) 37; *mongach* (*móngach*) 54, ach *longfort* (: *ceoil*) 54; *adhairc* (*éarc*) 33, ach *adharc* 33; *maighdean* (*maedean*) 35, etc, ach *maighdin* (: *Éirne*) 66; *saibhreas* (*saebhreas*) 34, etc., ach *saibhreas* (: *naofa*) 40.

Tá neart focal eile a thuillfeadh fonóta foghrúil chomh maith leis an gcuid ar tugadh sin dóibh,

e.g. *Sathairn air* (: *fáilteach*) 35; *leamhnacht* (: *arbhar*) 63; *Muimhneach* (: *díochadh* : *ríomh é*) 44; *chéanna* (: *tírse*) 46; *caoirigh* (: *saolsa* : *maighdean*) 65; *caitheamh liom* (: *cardaí*) 70.

Anuas ar an míréiteach sin, tá meascán ag B idir an dá nós atá i gceist, mar is sa téacs féin a chuireann sé an litriú foghrúil uaireanta,

e.g. *tórtha* (= *torthaí*) 34, 55; *scáird* 62 (ach *aird* 50); *déa-mhac* 40, *déachlainne* 34, *targaire* (= *tarngaire*) 44.

Is iondúil gur ag iarraidh cabhrú leis an léitheoir an mheadaracht a thuiscint a bhíonn eagarthóirí, nuair a athraíonn siad an gnáthlitriú, agus nach ag iarraidh eolas a thabhairt ar chanúint an údair. Sin mar

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[13] Uimhreacha na leathanach ag B atá i ndiaidh na samplaí.

atá i gcás R agus B, mar ní athraíonn siad litriú an fhocail nach bhfuil aiceann air sa líne—cé go mb'fhéidir go n-athróidís litriú an fhocail chéanna sa dán céanna ach é a bheith aiceanta. Ní dhéanann siad ach oiread aon iarracht ar an litriú a thabhairt de réir na canúna i gcás gutaí is consain bhreise, nó gutaí nó consain a bháitear (agus nach mbáitear sa ngnáthlitriú), giorrú is fadú gutaí, ná i gcás a liacht difríocht eile i bhforás na gconsan, nuair is focal neamhaiceanta atá i gceist.

Amhráin ón mBéaloideas

Ní mar a chéile baileach obair an eagarthóra nuair is ag plé le hamhrán atá sé ar ó insint bhéil a scríobhadh den chéad uair é. Is eagarthóireacht de shórt éigin an t-amhrán a bhreacadh ar pháipéar.

Cuid mhór den bhreacadh síos a rinneadh ó bhéal, go háirithe amach go dtí tuairim lár na haoise seo caite, is go liobarsach ar fad a rinneadh é, mar nach mbíodh na bailitheoirí oilte. Meascán neamh-sheasmhach idir brí na litreacha sa Bhéarla agus a mbrí sa Ghaeilge is minicí a bhíodh ann.

Tá neart samplaí den chineál sin sna lámhscríbhinní agus cuireadh roinnt acu i gcló go díreach mar a scríobhadh den chéad uair iad, gan aon eagarthóireacht a dhéanamh orthu, mar shampla san *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society*. Ní miste giota de *Anach Cuain* (*Eanach Dhúin*) a foilsíodh mar bhilleog aonair[14] am éigin le linn na haoise seo caite a thabhairt mar shampla:

> Daun sva slanta veith cauht aer go bragh,
> Er a meid sht baihn uin annagh Cloon,
> Laih cho bra leish—gon gee na basthee,
> Laun O waud ochu thuggoo er sool;
> Vei na fir gelistoch clei agus keitock,
> Trevoh creare agus craihu sheeul,
> Na marah ya yrear shin enough da chean nes,
> Snefuh breideen agus anrut cheeul.

Nuair is ag cur eagair ar amhrán béaloidis a bhítear anois, bíodh an t-eagarthóir á dhéanamh sin ó scríbhinn nó ó bhéal, is minic gurb í an chanúint is mó is cúram leis, agus go bhféachann sé le leanúint go dlúth don chaint. Tá deacracht bhunaidh ag baint leis an gcineál sin eagarthóireachta. Má cheaptar córas cruinn litrithe a oireann don chaint (i.e. na défhoghair, na gutaí cúnta, na gutaí báite, na *l*-anna, *n*-anna éagsúla, etc. a léiriú), beidh an t-ábhar ionann is do-léite, ach amháin ag an té a bhfuil an chanúint ar eolas cheana féin aige—an té sin go díreach nach gá an litriú a athrú dó.

14 I mbailiúchán billeoga bailéad atá sa Leabharlann Náisiúnta a fuarthas seo.

Mar shampla, sa leagan de *Cuíni Airt Í Laeri* a chuir Shán Ó Cuív amach, d'úsáid sé córas cruinn litrithe a ceapadh don chanúint sin amháin, e.g.

> Mo ghrá go daingean tu!
> Lá dá veaca hu
> Ig ceaun tí án varaguig
> Hug mo húil airi ghoit
> Hug mo chry tainghav doit
> D'éalys óm ahir leat
> A vad ó vaili leat.[15]

Ba mhór an chabhair sin don té a bhí oilte ar leas a bhaint as. Ach ba bheag an tairbhe é don té nach raibh an oiliúnt sin air, nó nach raibh sásta an staidéar riachtanach a dhéanamh. Ní mór a thuiscint nár chabhair bhreise ar bith é don té nach raibh in ann fuaimeanna na canúna (e.g. consain leathana is chaola, consain shéimhithe, etc.) a thabhairt leis roimhe ré.

Obair chruinn bheacht a rinne Shán Ó Cuív, ach níor leanadh dá shampla. Is iondúil nach gcuirtear córas canúnach i gcrích go cruinn baileach, agus dá réir sin gurb é toradh na heagarthóireachta meascán agus míréiteach nach neamhchosúil le toradh eagarthóra amhrán na lámhscríbhinní.

An Fhadhb

Ní deacair an fhadhb a fheiceáil ach ní furasta a réiteach.

Seo í an fhadhb mar sin: cén treoir is féidir a thabhairt sa scríobh a chuirfeadh ar chumas an léitheora an fhilíocht a chloisteáil, a thuiscint is a bhlaiseadh ina hiomláine?

Dá mba do scoláire na gcanúintí a bheadh an t-amhrán á chur i gcló is é rud ab fhearr leis téacs dioplamáideach agus tráchtas eagraithe canúineolaíochta bunaithe air.

Ach más don ghnáthléitheoir an téacs, nó don dalta ollscoile ar mó leis an t-ábhar is an fhilíocht féin ná eolas canúnach ar fhoirm na teanga, ní mór iarracht a dhéanamh ar theacht ar an modh is lú a chuirfeadh stróbh léitheoireachta air, agus is lú thógfadh a intinn ón ábhar.

Níor mhór cuimhneamh freisin go bhfuil cuid mhór pointí ann a bhfuil tábhacht don chanúineolaí iontu ach nach bhfuil éifeacht ar bith i gcúrsaí rithime nó meadarachta iontu, go háirithe nuair is sa siolla neamh-aiceanta a bhíonn siad.

Ní foláir gan a dhearmad nach bhfuil sna litreacha ach comharthaí, comharthaí nach bhfuil ar a gcumas cruinneas éisteachta ná aithrise a

· 15 Shán Ó Cuív, *Caoine Airt Uí Laoghaire*, BÁC. 1923.

mhúineadh. Ní féidir a bheith ag súil, mar shampla, gur leor comhartha ar leith lena chur ar chumas an neamhUltaigh an fhuaim [ʌ:] atá ag *ao* ansin a thabhairt leis ar ala na huaire, ar mhaithe leis an meadaracht.   Caithfear a bheith sásta le comhréiteach—go díreach mar a bhítear i gcás teanga ar bith eile a bhfuil foirm chaighdeánach den litriú inti.

Bhíothas tagtha ar réiteach, réiteach nár thug treoir don aineolaí, ach nár chuir an té a mbeadh eolas cothrom ar an teanga aige amú. Ba é an réiteach é féin litriú na Gaeilge Clasaicí, agus é tugtha chun caighdeáin, a úsáid.   Ní chuireadh an litriú fada, e.g. *-ughadh*, *-amhail*, ná leithéid *saoghal*, *ríoghacht*, stróbh ar léitheoir cothrom ar bith.   Ach tosaíodh ag cipiléireacht leis an litriú sin, gach eagarthóir is a litriú féin aige, sa chaoi go ndeachaigh an scéal chun fudairnéise.

Is fairsinge pobal léitheoirí na Gaeilge anois ná riamh roimhe seo—ar a laghad ar bith is fairsinge na hábhair léitheoirí.   I bhfairsing-eacht a bheidh sin ag dul, mura dtaga athrú tobann ar na gcóras meánscolaíochta is ollscolaíochta.   Ní miste a mheabhrú nach bhfuil an 'litriú nua' ina nuacht feasta, ach go bhfuil daltaí ag teacht chun na hOllscoile anois, ar 'cruaGhaeilge' dho-léite acu an litriú fada (—agus ar 'seanGhaeilge' amach is amach acu an cló 'Gaelach'!).

Má tá modh cinnte eagarthóireachta ag teastáil, agus feictear dom go bhfuil sin chomh riachtanach sa Ghaeilge is atá i nuatheanga ar bith eile, níl de rogha anois ann dar liom ach dul siar go dtí seanchaigh-deán na Gaeilge Clasaicí—rud a bheadh le moladh ar chúiseanna áirithe—sin, nó glacadh leis an gcaighdeán eile atá ann a bhfuil de bhuntáiste aige gur caighdeán cinnte é, gurb é atá i bhfurmhór na leabhar a foilsíodh le cúig bliana déag anuas (más leagan neamh-chruinn féin go minic é), gurb é is mó atá agus a bheidh ar eolas ag an bpobal óg, agus gurb é is cóngaraí do riachtanais na meadarachtaí is na gcanúintí.

Caighdeán Nua

Is furasta a mholadh go nglacfaí leis an litriú nua, ach is go stuama cáiréiseach a chaithfí é a chur i bhfeidhm.   Ar an gcéad dul síos, ní hé an deilbhíocht chaighdeánaithe (ná na rialacha i dtaobh séimhithe is uraithe) atá i gceist anseo ach an litriú féin.

Ní móide go mbeadh ábhar conspóide sna rialacha ginearálta a bhaineann le caighdeánú an litrithe (ní hionann agus giorrú), mar ní cheileann siad canúint ná meadaracht.   A leithéid seo atá i gceist agam:

   (i) *c*, *p*, *t* i ndiaidh *s*;

   (ii) *ea*, *a*, *ai* sa siolla gearr neamhaiceanta;

   (iii) *a* mar shleamhnán i ndiaidh *é* (e.g. *béal*); taobh amuigh den chéad siolla, *a* mar shleamhnán roimh *i*, *o* mar shleamhnán i ndiaidh *i* (e.g. *bacaí*, *ceannaíonn*);

(iv) *ll* in áit *dl, nl, ln* (le heisceachtaí);

(v) *ae* roimh chonsan leathan, *aei* roimh chonsan caol;

(vi) úsáid an tsínte fhada, i.e. (*a*) é a fhágáil ar lár ar ghutaí a bhí gearr ó bhunús; (*b*) é a scríobh nó gan é a scríobh nuair a thagann dhá ghuta fhada le chéile.

Tá rialacha caighdeánaithe eile ann nár mhór a iniúchadh féachaint an oirfidís a chur i bhfeidhm i gcónaí, mar shampla,

(i) guta gearr aiceanta na fréimhe a choinneáil nuair a chaolaítear an consan a leanann é sa díochlaonadh nó roimh -*in* díspeagtha (e.g. *gad, gaid, gaidín, clog, cloig, cloigín*);

(ii) (*e*)*a, ai* sa chéad siolla sa bhfocal a bhfuil *ó, á*, nó *é* sa dara ceann.

D'fhéadfaí a rá go bhfuil oiread cleachtaidh ag an léitheoir fuaim a chainte féin a thabhairt don *ai, oi, ui*, nach gcuirfeadh (i) amú é; agus maidir le (ii) go bhfuil an cleachtadh céanna aige ar *u* nó guta neodrach a chur in áit (*e*)*a, ai*, i bhfocail mar *macánta, leannán, sceachóir, faisnéis*, nach stróbh air a leithéid chéanna a dhéanamh i bhfocail eile den mhúnla sin.

Maidir le caighdeanú na réimíreanna agus na bhfocal úsáidtear mar réimíreanna, tá an scéal an-chasta ann féin, agus níl an t-eolas cruinn iomlán faoi nósanna na cainte le fáil. Is dóigh go n-oirfeadh an fhoirm chaighdeánach den réimír a chríochnaíonn le guta, (e.g. *mí-, dé-, dí-, so-, do-*, etc.) nó le -*mh* balbh (e.g. (*comh-*) nó le -*th* (e.g. *ath-*), ach níor mhór an chuid eile a scrúdú ina cheann is ina cheann.

An chuid eile den chaighdeánú, baineann sé le (i) malartú idir leathan agus caol, (ii) gutaí breise a chur isteach nó gutaí a fhágáil ar lár; (iii) consain bhreise a chur isteach nó consain a fhágáil ar lár; (iv) malartú consan; (v) malartú gutaí.

Is le focail aonair a bhaineann na hathraithe sin ach go mbaineann (i) le aicmí áirithe deirí (e.g. -*úir*(*eacht*), -*éir*(*eacht*), -*óir*(*eacht*), -*úlacht*, etc.); agus (ii) leis an nguta cúnta, chomh maith le gutaí breise eile. Nuair is focal aonair atá i gceist, ní mór gach ceann a mheas as féin—ach cuimhneamh nach leis na consain atá an tábhacht i gcúrsaí meadarachtaí aiceanta. Is leis na gutaí aiceanta atá an tábhacht, agus i gcás (v) chaithfí modh léirithe na meadarachta a cheapadh mura n-oirfeadh an caighdeán di. I gcás (ii) tá oiread cleachtaidh ar an nguta cúnta a rá is gan é a scríobh, agus tá na bunrialacha coiteann i ngach canúint sa chaoi nár ghá ach treoir éigin a thabhairt i dtaobh na n-eisceachtaí.

Maidir leis an ngiorrú, ní móide go ndiúltódh aon duine do na giorraithe seo, is cosúil a oireann do gach canúint; (*a*) *mh* nó *bh* le hais *th* > *f* (e.g. *naofa, dearfa*);

(*b*) *gh*/ *dh* leathan, i lár nó i ndeireadh focail i ndiaidh guta fhada a bhá (e.g. *bráid, rialta, rí, slua*);

(c) *bh/mh* lárnach a bhá i ndiaidh guta ghearr ar rinneadh an fadú céanna air i ngach canúint (e,g. *siúl*);

(d) *fh* lárnach a bhá (e.g. *móinéar, forás*);

(e) *i* in áit -*ighe* -*idhe* (deiridh); *ú* in áit -*ughadh* (deiridh);

(f) *th* a bhá roimh *ch* (e.g. *dúchas, faiche*); nó roimh *t*, (e.g. *leataobh*);

(g) *ch* a bhá i ndiaidh *t* (e.g. *faitíos*);

(h) consain uraithe i lár focail a bhá (e.g. *éiginnte, éadrom*);

(i) *l, n,* in áit, *ll, nn* roimh chonsain áirithe.

Maidir leis na giorraithe eile (*bh/mh, dh/gh* a bhá i ndiaidh guta ghearr aiceanta), ó tharla gurb é bunphrionsabal an litrithe chaighdeánaigh gan aon chonsan a bhá ach sa chás go n-oireann sin do gach canúint, ní ceart go mbeadh aon deacracht ann ach amháin nuair (i) a rinneadh botún; (ii) nuair a rinneadh eisceacht d'aon ghnó; agus (iii) nuair a mhaireann seanfhuaimniú san fhilíocht nach maireann sa chaint.

Maidir le (iii), is fusa an scéal a réiteach anois, ar mhodh.   An uair annamh a bhíonn an consan a bádh sa litriú le rá fós i dteanga na filíochta (e.g. *saogal, fearamhail*, in áit *saol, fearúil*) nó sa chanúint (e.g. [si:jə, pa:jə] in áit *suí, pá*), níl le déanamh ach *saogal, fearamhail, suidhe, páighe* a scríobh agus is fusa don léitheoir na siollaí a thabhairt faoi deara.

Maidir le (i) is (ii), ní féidir linne a rá cé acu d'aon ghnó nó de bhotún nár leanadh do na bunphrionsabail i gcás áirithe ar bith. Mura n-oireann an litriú nua giorraithe don mheadaracht, is ceart neamh-aird a thabhairt air mar shampla i gcás *leá* (a.br.), *luí, claí, graí*, atá sa chaighdeán (ach nach bhfuil de réir na mbunrialacha mar gur défhoghair atá sa chaint iontu in áiteanna).   Níl le déanamh ach an seanlitriú (*leaghadh, loighe, claidhe, groidhe*), a scríobh, más défhoghar a éilíonn an mheadaracht.   Níl stróbh ar an léitheoir gutaí fada nó défhoghair a dhéanamh de chonsain bhalbha, mar tá neart acu sin sa litriú fós, sa chás nach ionann forás dóibh ó áit go chéile, (e.g. *adhmad, labhair, faobhar, nimhe*).

Na focail aonair eile ar giorraíodh an litriú iontu, nach de réir rialach ginearálta é, ní féidir tuairim a thabhairt fúthu, mar caithfear gach aon fhocal acu a iniúchadh ann féin, go díreach mar a chaithfear a dhéanamh i gcás na bhfocal aonair ar toghadh foirm chaighdeánach dóibh.

Beidh sé riachtanach treoir éigin ghinearálta faoin bhfuaimniú a thabhairt don léitheoir i gcónaí.   Is in éineacht le cibé cuntas a bheidh ann ar an meadaracht agus ar rialacha ginearálta na canúna is fusa sin a thabhairt.

Ní ceart go mba ghá aon treoir eile a thabhairt ach amháin i gcás eisceachtaí,   Maidir leis na heisceachtaí féin, ní istigh sa téacs féin is ceart an treoir sin a thabhairt, ach amháin sa chás annamh a réitíonn an fhuaim eisceachtúil agus an litriú stairiúil le chéile (féach (a) thíos).

Is é atá i gceist agam le eisceachtaí, (*a*) foirm a léiríonn an sean-litriú uirthi an chanúint agus nach bhféadfaí an bhrí sin a bhaint as an litriú nua; (*b*) foirm nach bhfuil de réir gnáthrialacha chanúint an amhráin féin.

Exx.:

    (i) *Is mithid dom chroí bheith líonta de léithe*
         Is m'iongantas tríd gach smaointe baotha.

    (ii) *In aghaidh na srotha do thomainn mo léine*
          Ag súil trím chodladh le cogar óm chéile.

I gcás (i), ó tá na trí shiolla sa bhfocal *iongantas* agus nach bhféadfaí sin a bhaint as *iontas*, níl le déanamh ach an seanlitriú a chur sa téacs. I gcás (ii) an litriú caighdeánach *in aghaidh* (arb ionann anseo é agus seanlitriú) a chur sa téacs; agus treoir (i.e. *in ú*) a chur i bhfonóta leis.

Ní ag iarraidh baint de thábhacht na scoláireachta téacsúla ná na n-eagrán ina léireofaí fianaise lámhscríbhinní agus ina bpléifí malairtí is deacrachtaí, brainsí canúneolaíochta is meadarachta, atáthar sa dréacht seo. Do lucht léinn áirithe a leithéid sin d'eagráin agus beidh éileamh i gcónaí orthu.

Tá géarghá le modh eile eagarthóireachta, modh dearfa go háirithe sa mhéid a bhaineann le foirm chinnte na teanga scríofa, modh a mbeadh bonn ceart scoláireachta fúithi, agus a chuirfeadh toradh na scoláireachta sin ar fáil don léitheoir cothrom ar san fhilíocht féin atá a spéis.

<div style="text-align: right">TOMÁS DE BHALDRAITHE</div>

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath.

VARIA I

Primitive Irish vowels in final syllables following i̯

IT has been stated in the grammars that Primitive Irish final unstressed vowels were lost at the time of apocope unless they were preceded by *i̯ or *u̯. Warren Cowgill has shown this not to be true of final vowels after *u̯.[1] In what follows the other case of exception to the apocope rule, final vowels after *i̯, will be examined.

The descriptive facts are as follows: after *i̯ primitive Irish *i and *e appear as Old Irish -i, *o and *a as -e, and *u as -u. What remains to be explained by this account is why these vowels escape apocope and why their range of quality is reduced. This reduction does not correspond to any general restriction on unaccented final vowels: at this period in Old Irish all five short vowels are found in final unstressed position. Furthermore, it is not made clear what becomes of the *i̯ after apocope. An interpretation of the facts answering these questions has been put forth by David Greene.[2] Evidence is given below showing that this gives a more satisfying account of the historical processes.

In regard to *i̯ Thurneysen says, "In medial position after consonants unstressed syllabic i in hiatus (more exactly ii̯) has fallen together with consonantal i as also with earlier ei."[3] He gives the examples *ali̯a > aile, *kari̯i̯a > caire, and *sodei̯omos > ad·suidem, i.e., they all behave in a similar manner with respect to the following vowel. His wording suggests that *i̯ was the immediate interstage in all three cases. Pedersen puts it differently, "Idg. j nach Konsonanten wechselte schon von Alters her mit ij. Das Irische kennt überhaupt nur ij;"[4], as does Pokorny, "I.E. j disappears in O.I. . . . . When immediately preceded by u, v, or a consonant it had developed an i before it." (In a note he adds, "But never after a single initial consonant.")[5] The interpretation of Pedersen and Pokorny is to be preferred, i. e., that in final syllables (e) i̯ ⩾ ii̯, rather than the reverse. This is supported by Welsh parallels whereby penultimate *ei̯ became either -oedd as in the nominative plural of i-stems, gwladoedd < *u̯lateies, or of neuter s-stems: *ei̯a < *esa: tiroedd,[6] or

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[1] Warren Cowgill, "The Fate of *w in O.I.", *Language*, 43, pp. 129–138.
[2] I first heard this from Professor Greene in his lectures at the 1969 Summer School of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
[3] Rudolph Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, Dublin 1961, p. 121.
[4] Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, i, Göttingen, 1909, p. 68.
[5] Julius Pokorny, *A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader*, Part I Grammar, Dublin, 1914, p. 41.
[6] Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh, 1953, pp. 349–351.

as Pedersen suggests *$e\underset{.}{i}$ could also become *$i\underset{.}{i}es$.[7]   Note further that British *$\underset{.}{i}$ in final syllables after a consonant could become *$i\underset{.}{i}$ in Welsh, e.g. Mod. W. *newydd* Brit. *$no\underset{.}{u}ijo$ I.E. *$neu\underset{.}{i}o$.[8]

In conformity to the normal rules of Irish historical change, *$i\underset{.}{i}$ then underwent metaphonic lowering by the influence of a low back vowel in the following syllable:. *$-i\underset{.}{i}a$ or *$-i\underset{.}{i}o$ became *$-e\underset{.}{i}a/o$, e.g., *aile* 'other' Masc. and Fem. $<$ *$ale\underset{.}{i}os$, *$ale\underset{.}{i}a$ $<$ *$ali\underset{.}{i}os$, *$ali\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ $<$ *$al\underset{.}{i}os$, *$al\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$.[9]   The sequence *$i\underset{.}{i}u$ became *$u\underset{.}{i}u$ by u-infection, e.g., *ailiu* dat. $<$ *$alu\underset{.}{i}u$ $<$ *$ali\underset{.}{i}u$ $<$ *$al\underset{.}{i}u$. The remaining possible sequences *$i\underset{.}{i}i$ and *$i\underset{.}{i}e$ were unaffected by metaphony: *aili* gen. masc. and neut. from *$ali\underset{.}{i}i$ $<$ *$al\underset{.}{i}i$, and *duini* voc. sg. 'man' from *$duni\underset{.}{i}e$ $<$ *$don\underset{.}{i}e$. The final vowel (and consonant) was next lost by apocope. Since there was no hiatus here at this point the *$\underset{.}{i}$ disappeared.

For a parallel of metaphony operating on the sequence -$i\underset{.}{i}$-, one need look no farther afield than Welsh.   If, in those cases cited above where British *$\underset{.}{i}$ in a final syllable after a consonant became *-$i\underset{.}{i}$-, there followed an *$\bar{a}$, the sequence *$i\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ underwent metaphonic lowering to *$e\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$, e.g., nom. pl. of *ynys* 'island' *ynysedd* (the *$\underset{.}{i}$ having become *dd* in Welsh).   The same operations, *-$\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ $>$ *-$i\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$ then to *-$e\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$, occurred in Primitive Irish and in British.[10]

Further support for this analysis can be found in some late Ogham forms.   As MacNeill says, "-ias, from whatsoever stem, becomes -ia and lastly -e, which is the MS.   Sometimes -eas, ea are used, perhaps through inaccurate archaistic restoration from -e," and further on, "-ias becomes transitionally -ia, late Ogham and MS. -e."[11]   Metaphony had occurred in some late Ogham forms so that -*ea*(*s*) from older -*ia*(*s*), far from being a faulty anachronistic restoration, is precisely the expected form.

The third singular subjunctive absolute form in -*a* of the weak *i*-verbs has been regarded as analogically reformed on the pattern of the *a*- verbs.   Thurneysen says, "In forms such as ·*lé(i)cea*, subj. of *lé(i)cid* 'leaves', the -*a* was probably taken over from the verbs without -*i*-[12]; and so with Pokorny, "The final -*a* in the compositional 3 sg. pres. subj. of the weak -*i* verbs is due to the influence of the other verbal classes e.g. *ad-rīm-i-āt* (3. sg. pres. subj. of *ad-rími* 'reckons') would have regularly given *ad-ríme* and not *ad-rímea*,

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[7] Pedersen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 94.
[8] Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
[9] Jackson is in essential agreement here: *op. cit.*, p. 186.   It is not clear to what extent Ó Máille is proposing the same thing when he says, "*Aue* comes from *$au\underset{.}{i}os$*. The *o* of -*os* before it fell changed *i* to *e*." Tomás Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster*, Manchester, 1910, p. 50.
[10] Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
[11] John MacNeill, "Notes on Irish Ogham Inscriptions," *Proc RIA*, 27C, 1908–09, p. 343 and p. 357.
[12] Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

as we have it in O.Ir. . . . ."[13] i.e., the Prim. Ir. final $*-\bar{a}t$ after $*i$- should have been reduced to $*-e$. According to the analysis proposed in this paper, however, $-a$ is the expected result. The $-a$ from $*-\bar{a}t$ is regular by the apocope rule whereby a long vowel followed by a consonant later to be lost is shortened, not lost as would be a short vowel followed by a consonant or a vowel in absolute position, c.f. $*wir\bar{u}s > fir u$ voc. pl. 'men', $*wir\breve{o}s > fer$ nom. sg., $*wire > fir$ voc. sg. Thus in Pokorny's example the development would be as follows: $*r\bar{\imath}mi\underset{\,}{i}\bar{a}t > *r\bar{\imath}mi\underset{\,}{i}\bar{a}t > *r\bar{\imath}mei\underset{\,}{\bar{a}}t > *r\bar{\imath}mei\underset{\,}{a}$ by apocope and finally $r\acute{\imath}mea$ [Rĩμ'a] by syncope.

On the other hand some nominal forms present a difficulty for Greene's hypothesis that would not be encountered in the treatment of Thurneysen, Pedersen and Pokorny. The gen. sg. of $\bar{a}$-, $\bar{\imath}$-, and $i\bar{a}$- stems is reconstructed on comparative grounds as $*-i\bar{a}s$, c.f. Lat. *familiās*. According to Thurneysen *et al.* this would regularly give the required O. Ir. $-e$, e.g., *soilse* gen. sg. *soilse* 'light'. According to the interpretation proposed here, however, $*-i\bar{a}s$ would first become $*-i\underset{\,}{i}\bar{a}s > *-ei\underset{\,}{a}s$, then $*-ea$ by apocope, and finally $*-a$ by syncope, instead of the attested O. Ir. form $-e$. The best solution would seem to be to reconstruct the gen. sg. ending of these stem classes as $*-i\breve{a}s$, not $*-i\bar{a}s$, in spite of the comparative evidence, as was done in the case of the gen. pl. $*-\breve{o}m$ for all stem classes, instead of the form indicated on comparative grounds $*-\bar{o}m$, c.f. Gk. $-\omega\nu$. This, in any case, is a small point to argue against an interpretation of the facts which combines a high degree of phonetic plausibility with strict adherence to the general principles of Irish phonological development.

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[13] Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

VARIA II

Set and Anit verbal nouns in -n- in Celtic

Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* M-N-O-P, 1960, p. O–31 cites OIr. *orn* 'meurtre' from Cormac's glossary, but with the caution, "s'il est authentique". He relates it to the verbal theme **org-* 'slay', but takes the matter no farther.

Lewis and Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* §601, p. 387, actually give us more. After citing Cormac's *orn* .i. *orgon* as being perhaps **orgnā*, they call attention to Welsh *dyniorn* 'homicide', *cyfeiliorn* 'error' = OIr. *comrorcon*, referring to Sir Ifor Williams' original discussion BBCS 1, 227f. Calvert Watkins has recently (*Studia Celtica* 2, 1967, 99–100) refined our grasp of the situation by pointing out that *orn* is really a ghost from an etymological gloss on supposed complex forms which has been segmented and allotted in the traditional way. Regardless of the exact interpretation of the stem form of the first element, however, these early British verbal nominalizations still seem to assure **orgnā*.

Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish* §736.2, shows but two verbal roots making a verbal noun in *-n-* as a feminine in *-ā* **with an intermediate vowel:** *orgid* → *orcon* ∼ *orcun* gen. *oircne* (once a masc. acc. pl. *comroi[r]cniu* 'errors')[1] and *fedid* → *fedan* gen. *fednae*. We also find, §736.3, that there is one neuter *o*-stem of this sort: *mligid* 'milks' → *mlegon*.

I have recently discussed, *Die Sprache* 14, 1968, 156–9 the formation of *fedan* in connexion with the apparently fluctuating set and anit root **(H)ued(H)-*. In that discussion I had occasion to draw attention to the British selection of an anit formation in the matching verbal noun stem *-wein*. Once again in *-orn*: *orcon* we find both types represented within Celtic, and in the same distribution.

If we enquire into the background of these two, there seem reasonably to be two possibilities: (1) The set formation is old and the anit is newer; (2) Both are equally old.

From the Irish point of view the set formation is clearer since it preserves the form of the root clearly in evidence in the surface structure. We might then adduce this surface clarity as a reason for an early change from an older anit to a neo-set. However, we must remember that these clusters with *n* did not all simplify necessarily in earliest Celtic; therefore the later clarity of structure does not give us with any assurance the deciding argument for the direction of change here.

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[1] Vendryes, *op. cit.* 0–30 s.v. *org-* notes that Gaulish *Orgeno-*, in *Orgenomesqui* recalls *orcun*.

On the other hand, it is not likely that the seṭ formations are recent, since an excellent model in the opposite direction exists in Irish in *án*, *ón*, and *búain*, which have surely preserved their old shape. It therefore seems more likely that the aniṭ formation, while old, was new in Proto-Celtic time, perhaps after the pre-vocalic loss of *ə* (i.e. *H*).[2] British Celtic seems to have specialised in selecting the aniṭ form throughout in these formations.

I therefore reconstruct for *án*, *ón*, *búain* respectively **agnā*, **odnā*, **bugnā*[3]; but for *fedan*, *orcon* respectively **uedanā*, **organā* (> Brit. **uednā*, **orgnā*).

Now we may note an odd particularity of these roots for which I do not have an immediate solution, but in which the lone *mlegon*^{N} joins them. For pre-Celtic we reconstruct

$$*uedanā < *uedənā < *(H)ued\text{-}H\text{-}$$
$$*organā < *organā < *Horg\text{-}H\text{-}$$
$$*mliganon < *mlgənoN < *m(e)lǵ\text{-}H\text{-}$$

For the root *org-* both **perg-* and **org-* have been suggested; see Vendryes, s.v. However, I think **org-* (i.e. **Horg-*) much more the likely, in view of Hitt. *ḫarg-* 'destroy' and Armen. *harkanem* 'hit'. The etymon for 'milk' has abundant evidence for a laryngeal in it; it is the original sequential position that is uncertain. Meillet, MSL 17, 1911, 60–4 posited an old athematic verb **mĕlǵmi*; this, seen in Skt. *mā́rṣṭi*, looks in a mechanical reconstruction like **meHlǵ-*. Avestan *marəzaiti* and Tocharian *malk-* could go with that. But Goth. *miluks*, OHG *miluh*, OE *mioluc* look like a neo **melək-* (perhaps for earlier **melkə-?*); see my note on West Gmc. **wed(u)mo ∼wet-Die Sprache* 15, 1969, 63. Lith. *mélžti*, *mìlžti*, with their acute accent, could represent either **meHlǵ-* or **melHǵ-*.[4] Albanian *mjel* aor. *mola* (apparent **mel(ǵ)-*, *mēl(ǵ)-*) is ambiguous. Greek ἀμέλγω however looks like **Hmelǵ-*. OIr. *mlicht* Welsh *blith* would reflect **mlig-t-* after prevocalic loss of **H* in **mlig(H)eti > mligid*. We thus find the bewildering set **Hmelǵ-*, **meHlǵ-*, **melHǵ-*, and **melǵH-*.

Whatever the correct analysis, it appears that all three of these seṭ roots in Celtic show cognates with laryngeals present nearer the initial of the root.

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[2] It is also possible that in pre-vocalic position **H* fused with the obstruent as an aspirate, which then of course merged in Proto-Celtic with the corresponding media.

[3] Here also goes Welsh *-rein* < **-regn-*; see my note in *Celtica* 6, 1963, 66.

[4] The original accent of Slovene *mólsti mólzem*, *mólznica*, *molznik*, *mólza*, SCr. *mùsti*, *mùzara*, *mùzenica*, *mùzlica*, *mùžār*, *mùza* is not entirely clear to me. But on *mólzem*, *mólznica*, *mólža*, and *mùzlica*, *mùža* it appears to be the old acute.

VARIA III

A detail of syncope

FORMS such as *foidiam* and *égthiar* have been studied by a number of scholars; Calvert Watkins summarises the discussion in his *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb* (1962), 182 n. 2. As he points out, Thurneysen's account of these forms in *Gramm.* § 102.4 is far from clear, and much inferior to his explanation of them in his note in *ZCP* 14. 4–5. In the latter, he established that the digraph -*ia*- represented a sequence of two vowels in forms such as *égthiar*, while spellings such as gen. *Lugthiach* (for *Luigdech*) were entirely artificial. This is quite clear for the latter case, where the existence of Ogam *Lugudeccas* shows that the second vowel of *Luigdech* was historically -*e*- and that there can be no question of *Lugthiach* being an archaism. All forms with -*ia*- in a final syllable must, therefore, be examined on their merits; while, for example, the spelling *Cassial* appears to be just as artificial as *Lugthiach*, it might turn out—though this seems unlikely—to offer an alternative etymology to *castellum*, which fails to account for the palatalised -*ss*-, as shown by Cowgill, *Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt* (1969) 35.

In the note quoted above Watkins ended by saying that the relevance of forms like *foidiam*, *égthiar* for the dating of syncope in Irish had not been sufficiently brought out, and he later elaborated this point in another footnote in *Celtica* 6. 243 n. 6 (1963). Before dealing with the points he raised there, it will be necessary to discuss the precise meaning of one of the terms used: 'the syncope *ïa > e*' or 'the development *ïa > e*'. This, of course, is also found in *Gramm.* § 106, where it is laid down that 'Disyllabic *ia* becomes *e* as the result of syncope', and it is a useful synchronic rule in OIr., as examples such as -*bïad* 'he would be', -*betis* 'they would be' show. But diachronically the process is the reverse; the immediate pre-syncope forms must have been **-bëad* and **-bëatis* respectively, in accordance with the general metaphony (*Gramm.* § 73). It is -*betis* which conserves the vocalism of the stage of development preceding syncope; the raising of stressed *e* in hiatus to *i*, as in **-bëad > -bïad* (*Gramm.* § 79) is, as Cowgill says (*op. cit.* 36 n. 10), 'evidently later than syncope'. This post-syncope development has the effect of restoring the 'historic' vocalism of words such as -*bïad* and *ïarn*, which no doubt at least subconsciously influenced Thurneysen in his formulation of the changes resulting from syncope. It must, however, be rejected as a diachronic statement.

It is equally imprecise to speak of the development *ïa* > *e* in final syllables. The metaphony which affected stressed syllables later spread to unstressed syllables as well, cf. **donios* > **doniah* > ** duniah* > **dun'eah* > *duine*, so that no original -*ïa*- sequence could have survived into the OIr period. Ogam VLATIAMI points to a nom. **Vlatiamah*, and it is quite true that this is continued as OIr *Flaithem*. But the -*e*- in the latter form is not phonologically /e/, but rather /ə/ in the environment C'—C (*Gramm.* § 102.4). The pre-syncope form would have been **Flaithëam*, and the immediate post-syncope form **Flaitham*, with the timbre of the /a/ still preserved after the palatalised consonant. The evolution of the spelling -*ia*- to indicate this is entirely comprehensible, and this is what we must have in *foidiam*. Such spellings were required only as long as unstressed *a* and *e* in closed final syllables were kept distinct; once they fell together, the orthography of classical OIr wrote the resulting /ə/ as *e* after palatalised consonants and *a* after neutral consonants, cf. archaic OIr *toreth*, classical OIr *torad*.

We can now turn to the verbal forms *dringthiar*, *égthiar*, *rigthier*, etc., where the ending has been reconstructed by Watkins, *Ériu* xxi 19 = *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1 188) as **-tier/-tior*. A pre-syncope **rigithïer* will regularly give post-syncope *rigthïer*, which is precisely of the same phonetic pattern as words like *impüud* (*Gramm.* § 113), where the reduction of the post-tonic hiatus begins only in the classical Old Irish period. It is to be noted that *rigthïer* is formally compatible with the Old Irish sound system and, further, that its regular development would have been to **rigthíar*, like that of *impüud* to *impúd*. It is, therefore, not correct to say that *rigthier* developed to *rigther*; the ending of the latter is simply that of -*cuirther*, already satisfactorily explained by Watkins, *loc. cit.* This levelling of the passive endings has a parallel in modern Irish dialects, most of which have a future impersonal ending in -*hər*, modelled on that of the present, rather than the older -*hi꞉r*, classical modern Irish -*f(a)idhear*.

It will be clear that the forms containing -*ia*- cannot be a direct reflex of **-tior*, which could only have given **-thëar;* it is probably best to assume that they are variants of -*ie*-, utilising the spelling which had already been provided by the existence of words such as *foidiam*, though it would also be possible to argue that the post-syncope raising of *e* in hiatus to *i* took place in unstressed position too and that *dringthïar* represents an earlier **dringthëar*.

The archaic verbal endings in -*thïar* do not, therefore, demand any revision of the hitherto accepted rules for syncope. However, *foidiam* remains a problem. It has been argued above that the spelling was evolved to represent /a/ in a final closed syllable preceded

by a palatalised consonant; it was precisely the co-existence of archaic *foídiam* and classical *foídem* that permitted the devising of artificial forms such as *Lugthiach* and *Cassial*. But, though *foídiam* is disyllabic, the metre of the *Amra* seems to demand three syllables in the line *ar-don-bath// ba ar fiadat/ foídïam*, see Watkins, *Celtica* 6.243. Two explanations may be offered. Firstly, it may be a continuation of the pre-syncope **foídëam;* James Carney has recently shown (*Ériu* xxii 53ff.) that some archaic poetry shows disyllabic syncopated words in positions where three syllables would be required by metre, and he has suggested that we should restore the three-syllable presyncope forms in these cases. Alternatively, the well-established existence of verbal forms in *-thïar* may have caused the disyllabic *foídiam* to have been remoulded as *foídïam;* this would be a hypercorrection of the same kind as, at a later date, produced disyllabic *Dia* 'God', cf. *is maith ro bai Dia rind SR* 1905. Again, no revision of the syncope rules appears to be necessary.

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VARIA IV

A Crux in Táin Bó Fraích*

The passage TBF^1 403–5 = TBF^2 361–2 = TBF^3 338–9, has provided difficulties in its grammatical analysis and the division of the dialogue.   It reads in the 4 MSS. as follows:

LL (*LL* 33402ff):
. . . oc imdegail ind liss. nim thír ai*n*m ol Fraech.   Ni tairissi limm. Atarisisiu li*m*m. Rofetamar . . . [For Atarisisiu (printed: At arisisiu) the apparatus, wrongly, gives atairisiu as the reading of the MS.]

Ed. (from: *RC* 24 (1903), p. 153; corrig. in *ÉtC* 2. 27):
. . . ag imdegail inn lis.   Nimthir ainm ol fraeach.   Ni tairissi lium. Atairisisiu lium. Ro fedamur . . .

Eg. (from: *ZCP* 4 (1903), p. 46, ll. 3ff):
. . . oc imdeguil in dūini.' 'Nimthirim frissin mnāi sin', ol Frāech, 'a tairisi linn. Rofetamair-ne . . .

YBL (from: *TBF¹*, *Appendix*, p. 23):
. . . oc imdedail in lis.' 'Cid dodenam em?' ol Fraech fria, 'uair is tairisi lend. Rofhedam*ur* . . .

The following interpretations and emendations I find in print (arranged chronologically):

CROWE (p. 157; LL-text): "She is not my country-name", says Froech; "she is not constant in my estimation; thou are constant in my estimation; we know . . . "

ZIMMER (p. 260; LL-text): '*Nimthir* den namen, sagte Froech. ich traue nicht [sagte sie]. ich traue dir [erwiderte Froech], wir wissen . . . '

ANDERSON (p. 141f; Ed.-text): "Name me not", says Fraech. "I think her not faithful. I think thou art faithful. We know . . ."

MEYER's printing of the Eg.-text (p. 46) does not show his opinion.

BYRNE & DILLON print (*TBF*[1] 403ff) '*Nim thir ainm* (?)' *ol Fráech*. '*Ni tairissi limm. A*[*t*] *tarisisiu lim.*' In the vocabulary one finds: *ainm* ?, and *nim* (s.v. *ní* 'not') 'with infixed pron. sg. 1 (?)'.

POKORNY: '*Nimthir ainm* ist zweifellos Schreibfehler für *Nímthīs amin* und zu lesen *Nímthísed* oder *Nímthí-si amin*!'

DILLON accepts the latter's emendation (cf. Byrne & Dillon, in: *ÉtC* 2.12 and 19): "Let her not come to me", said Fróech. "I do not trust [her]. I trust thee. We know . . ."

MATHESON proposes: *nim thí* (or *nim thí-se*) *a neim* "May her venom not reach me".

CARNEY (p. 13) translates: "May the serpent not come to me then (?)", said Froech. "I do not trust it. I would rather trust you. We know . . ."

MEID (*TBF*[2] 361f) also accepts Pokorny's *nim thísi amin* (otherwise as *TBF*[1]); in the notes, however, he considers a number of other possibilities: *nim thir amin* "this is not my country indeed" [no other example for elided *m'* = *mo* in such surroundings is known to me; cf. Crowe's interpretation]; *nim thair amin* "may she not come to me"; *nim thair anim* (*anim* "blemish"), etc.

Most recently MEID (*TBF*[3] 338f; pp. 63 and 216) disposes of these possibilities and, instead of *nim thir ainm* (or emendations thereof), he chooses the reading of Eg. *because* of the additional *frissin mnai sin*, "das sicher nicht aus der Luft gegriffen ist": "*Nimthirim frissin mnai sin*", *ol Fróech*. "*Ni tairisse limm. At tairissi-siu lenn. Ro·fetamar . . .*"—"Ich will nicht in die Nähe der Frau gehen", sprach Froech; "ich vertraue ihr nicht. Wir vertrauen aber dir, denn wir wissen . . ." The rest is taken from LL and Ed., except the 1 pl. *lenn*, common to YBL (*lend*) and Eg. (*linn*), as against 1 sg. in LL (*limm*) and Ed. (*lium*). The form *Nimthirim*, "die wie eine 1. Sg. Praes. eines Verbums (mit einer Praepositionalphrase als Objekt) aussieht", remains unexplained; the conjectured *ni·inthigimm* is hardly to be expected before the later 11th century; the other conjecture mentioned is more remote. His suggestions *Ni·tairissiur* or *·tairissem* give up graphic connection to the MS. reading.

The passage does not, however, seem to be corrupt; LL and Ed. (= branch α ; cf. *TBF*³, p. 22) offer the same sound text, which might be written (orthographically acc. to LL) :

> '*Nim th'*[*f*]*ir-ainm*', *ol Fraech*.
> '*Ní*[*t*] *tairissi limm*' [*ol sí*].
> '*A*[*t*] *tarisi-siu limm*' [*ol Fraech*].

> "I do not know your actual name", said Fraech.
> "I do not trust you" [said she].
> "I do trust you, however" [said Fraech].

In branch *β* the text has been corrupted, and this differently on its way to Eg. and to YBL (their common variant 1 pl. *linn/lend* could arise independently before the following 1 pl. *Rofetamar/Ro fedamur*).

GRAMMAR AND IDIOM

Nim th' [*f*]*ir-ainm*, lit. "I have not your actual name"; *nim* = neg. cop. 3 sg. pres. ind. + inf. pron. 1 sg. The use of the 'copula' is unusual. O.I. *táthum* (suff. pron.), *rom bí* (cons. pres., inf. pron.); prepositional *atá dom*, *limm* (later also *ocum*). There are, however, other curious examples :

ACC §§ 16 (– 18) *Ar nin fissid* (*tathrid, forcetlaid*) "for we have not [any longer] the knowledgeable (the critic, the teacher)"[1]. Cases of the reverse in the same text[2] (e.g. § 26 *Boe sab suïthe* "He was a pillar of learning"; § 27 *Boe dind* "He was a peak") contain the copula according to Binchy[3], which in Archaic Irish was not yet formally (in its *b*-forms) distinguished from the subst. verb.

Doublets like *LU* 5349 (*TBC*) *Isam ómun ara aisnéis* "I am afraid to tell it"[4], beside (*is omun limm* x[5]) *PH* 1793f *is omun lium-sa do chlod-sa ⁊ do dílcend uadib* "I fear thou art vanquished and destroyed

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[1] ?'For not with us, of us, is . . .' (see below).—An interpretation of the inf. pron. as (logically redundant) *dat. ethicus* would make us all the more expect the subst. verb.— The *ACC*-commentary paraphrases (e.g. § 18) *ar ní mair in forcetlaid*.

[2] cf. M. Dillon, in: *ZCP* 17, pp. 334–7.

[3] in: *Ériu* 16, p. 46.—To account for *cia bé*, or *Thes.* II.6.31f: *is uera pictura ro bai sin*, Bergin had (in: *Ériu* 12, pp. 209–11) postulated emphatic, and for that reason non-reduced, forms of the copula (already archaic in the 8th c.), which could only syntactically be distinguished from the corresponding forms of the subst. verb.

[4] Or *RC* 17, p. 132 (*ATig*) *Isim omun arin mbein* "I am afraid of the woman'. (cf. MacCarthy 398.4, and *Aided M.*, p. XVI).

[5] x = subject proper. The relationship of the two constructions to each other is, therefore, *not* as e.g. *isam écen x* : *is écen dom x*.

by them".[6] Or[7] *SR* 1185 *nimhuain fri acallaim neich* 'I have no time
to talk to any one', beside (*is uain dam x*[5]) *Mac Carthy* 52 *ni huain
dam acallam neich.*[8]

DF II, poem 42 ('The standing stones of Ireland', 2nd h. 12th c.),
§Ia: *narsat bērla* "since you cannot speak" (in spite of Murphy, *DF
III*, p. 444, correcting *ibid.*, p. 98).

To follow this 'irregularity' up to the present time, it may be
suggested that the isolated Connamara idiom *ní mé go* (*an*) "I do
not know, I wonder"[9] (e.g. *Cré na Cille*, ll. 1–2: *Ní mé an ar Áit
an Phuint nó na Cúig Déag atá mé curtha?*) represents the same usage,
though the inf. pron. of an original *ním* . . ., was at some stage re-
placed by its nearest living counterpart, without, however, yielding
an otherwise known syntagma.[10]

As a prepositional example may be cited *Im. Brain* § 28: *céinmair
diamba findchride* "happy he that has a pure heart", though in
diamba an otherwise unexpressed dat. antecedent (then to be followed
by *ba-a aí f.*) may be contaminated.[11]

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[6] Or *Laws* II.164.22f Comm. *is omain leis a mac do facbail dia eis* "he is afraid to
leave his son behind him'.—Some substantives used predicatively in this way, show
variation in declension and/or genus. This may be *inter alia* due to the ambiguity of
interpreting the predicative as nomin. or (adjectival) gen.: Thus beside *omun* (*ómun*),
m. -*o*-, -*u*- (v. *RIA C* s.v.), *IGT Dec.* § 17.19 *úamhan omhan* (m. -*o*-) one finds a dat. sg.
TBC 1345 *ar m'uamain*, *LL* 4541 *ar uamain echta anfathaig* (hypermetr., *recte* Rawl.
B 512 *úaman échta anfáthaig*, v. *Ériu* 4.98.27), *IGT Dec.* § 150.6 *úamhain omhain* (f.):
beside *mebair*, f. -*i*- (v. *RIA C* s.v.) frequently M.I. *mebar* (-*or*, -*ur*), *memor*; etc.

[7] This doublet was pointed out to me by David Greene.

[8] Or *TBC* (*O'R*) 3089ff '*Indat mebair-siu* . . . *isna airigthib gascid* . . . ?' '*Isamm
mebair ám écin.*' "Do you remember . . . the choice of feats of arms . . . ?" "I remember
them indeed.", beside (*is mebair limm* *x*) *TBC St* 2920ff '*An meabair leat-sa* . . . *na
hairighe aigh ⁊ iorgaile* . . . ?' '*As meabair emh.*' The use (and therefore positioning)
of the pronominal emphasizing particle -*siu* in *Indat mebair-siu* . . . *isna* . . ., however,
shifts this phrase near a now personal, predicatively constructed idiom with adnominal
prepositional complement (cf. also *RIA C* s.v. 2 *úain*, col. 13, ll. 59ff). While *Indat*,
Isamm can as forms still be taken (with *RIA C* s.v. *mebair*) as cop. + inf. pron. (otherwise
2. sg. cop.), the process is complete e.g. in *PH* 701f *ropsam aithrech isin ngnim-sin* (other-
wise *Wb.* 5c9 *nipadnaidrech a ndurairngert*, or 9b20 *ni aidrech limm quod scripsi*).—The
complex of impersonally constructed expressions of sensation and modality in the
insular Celtic languages is dealt with at length by H. Wagner, 'Verbum', pp. 132–41 et
passim [this reference was supplied to me by the author]. (The example *LU* 5349 is
cited *ibid.* p. 141, though interpreted differently). Heinrich Wagner further writes to
me: 'Der Typus *isam omun* ist zweifellos alt, denn er scheint gemeininselkeltisch zu
sein.' On p. 45, fn. 1, Wagner uses the terms 'intrans.' and 'trans.' with such 'composite
verbs' for the difference in the construction of *tá eagla orm roimhis* and *tá a fhios agam é.*
(pp. 49f:). 'Wichtig ist, dass im Georgischen wie im Irischen auch 'haben, besitzen' zu
den Empfindungsverben gehort.'

[9] showing extension of representation of the subject by noun → vn. (subject) phrase →
dependent (conjunctional) clause. Similarly *LU* 8139 (= *FB* 10) *cid dait-siu* . . . *nád
bod latt curadmír?*, beside *TBC* 3042 *cid dait gan a gabail ani gabas cách?* Cf. the para-
taxis *do thalmain tairind* (i.e. *gaeth*] *cach sen*: *táthum do Bile Tortan* (cited below).

[10] This would be parallelled e.g. by the possible replacement of inf. pron. with
cé(i)nmair by poss. pron. (cf. note 11). —The idiom may have been further reinterpreted
as a verbal form if the initial is *n'* (instead of *N'*) as David Greene points out to me.

[11] *cé(i)nmair* could be constructed with the dative: *RC* 17.173.19 (Tig. poem)

The separation of the verb 'to be' into copula and subst. verb, and the remaining incongruities at all times, cannot be dealt with here.[12] But it may be pointed out: (1) The distinctive formal separation happened relatively late, and was, in some parts, never completed. (2) The clear distinction between expressions of 'belonging' (cop. + gen.) and ' possession' (subst. verb + dat.) was for some time somewhat obscured by the development of analytical constructions with prepositions, which on their part tended to overlap semantically and get confused in their functions.[13] This would be particularly effective (a) when at the same time synthetic constructions, e.g. with inf. pron., were still in use; (b) when there was semantic affinity in a given case to *dat. commodi, incommodi, ethicus*; (c) when lexemes involved would not easily render to the concept of possession. (3) There seems to be evidence for an intermediate construction with cop. + dat. (resp. analytically expressed) combining or overriding the distinct qualities of '(the) something belonging to *somebody*' and 'possession by somebody of *something*'.[14] (4) A hypothesis of a genitival function of the inf. pron. with the copula might be rewarding.[15]

cénmair (dia) tuathaib dian buachail [om. hypermetr. *dia*]; *TBC²* 3424 *cénmair hUltaib.* Inf. pron. used with this idiom probably had dat. function, v. Carney, *Blathm.*, p. 147, n. 825; *Fo réir Choloim*, § 8 *ma[d]-cloth mad-breth cenosmair | máthair idon iachta(i)s* (?) *de.* (cf. § 9 *cennot-mair*, ?*t*-form of 3 sg. m.; cf. the form after the copula, which Thurneysen (*GOI* § 427), however, describes as being of class C. After the components of this stereotyped phrase had become unrecognizable, the inf. pron. may have been replaced sometimes by poss. pron., their nearest intelligeable equivalents, without, however, yielding a known syntagma: *Blathm.*, § 207 (MS) *cein do mhair*; *O'Mulc.* 218 *cen mo mair,* on the other hand, could be an O.I. lemma.—There is parataxis to the idiom in *Blathm.*, § 34 (MS) *Canais moir crist do coic doibh.*—There is no other example of *ba-a air,* etc., with an indefinite subject .—Another at first sight relevant example would be *Wb.* 15c18 *ní ecne dúnn*, and Fraser ('Prep. in Wb.', p. 22) takes here *do* to indicate possession. It glosses (*Per fidem enim ambulamus et*) *non per spiciem.* Thus the construction rather is elliptic: *ní ecne dúnn* sc. *oc imthecht* (as *non per spiciem* sc. *ambulamus*) with *do* for *dat. comm.* Cf. *Béaloideas* 2.199 ('Sgéalta ó'n mBlascaod') *níor mhar sin do n-a bhean Cáit*; or better (with an admixture of agency) *FB* 1 *Bliadain lan dó oc tinól na flede,* or *TBC* 3042 *cid dait gan a gabail aní gabas cách?*

[12] Cf. e.g. E. Benveniste, "Être' et 'avoir' dans leur fonctions linguistiques,' in: *BSL* 55 (1960), pp. 113–34; C. Watkins, 'Remarks on the genitive,' in: *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 3, The Hague/Paris 1967, pp. 2191–8; M. Dillon, 'Nominal predicates in Irish,' in: *ZCP* 17 (1928), pp. 328–41; D. Greene, 'The analytic forms of the verb in Irish,' in: *Ériu* 18 (1958), pp. 108–12; D. Greene, 'The development of the construction '*is liom,*' in: *Éigse* 10 (1961–3), pp. 45–8; D. Greene, 'Old Irish *is . . . dom* 'I am',' in: *Festschrift Pokorny*, pp. 171–3; *RIA C* s.vv. *is* and *attá.*

[13] This one would expect to show up more strongly with forms other than the basic oppositional *is* and *atá*, and pronominal complement.

[14] This would also cover nominal sentences of the type *Blathm.*, § 34 *Crist do choic dóib.* Further *FB* 8 '*Rige láech nÉrend uaim-se duit,*' ol Bricriu, 'acht co n-derna mo chomarli-sea.' (cf. J. Baudiš, 'Nominalsätze und Nominalprädikate im Irischen,' in: *ZCP* 9 (1913), p. 324); cf. *Thes.* II. 341.19 *bid duit rige Lagen co brath,* beside *Anecd.* III. 63.14 *inti bess-a hai Cassel* (*rige Lagen~Cassel*, as *LL* 1913 *Gabais Ethriel . . . rige Herend*, ~ *LGÉ* V. 452 (*Min* MSS) *Ethrel . . . ro gab Herind.*—Cf. further frequent equivalents like e.g. *LL* 1128 *.XXIX. mbliadna d'uib in Dagdai i rrige Herend,* beside *LL* 15025 (= *Ériu ard inis na rig*) *Da bliadain Loegaire Luirc i rrige os Banba brecbuic.* —I do not find a difference in stress location.—Heinrich Wagner points out to me that in O.W. there probably was a construction *a* (rel.) + inf. dat. pron. + 'copula' *ys* for 'to have', cf. 'The Poems of Taliesin' (ed. I. Williams/J.E.C. Williams, 1968), p. 5(cf. pp. 66f) [V. 15] *Am ys gwir-ffeleic. Am ys gwir-mynyc (gyltwn).*

[15] cf. M.A. O'Brien, 'An unusual use of the Old Irish infixed pronouns,' in: *ÉtC* 3 (1938), pp. 371–2.

For the transference of meaning to "I know" (normally *is eol dam*, etc.) cf. e.g. *Met. Dinds*. IV.246.84 (in spite of the alternative offered *ibid.*, p. 441) *tāthum do Bile Tortan* "I know by the Tree of Tortu". Or Macalister, *LGÉ* II.120 (from *Min* MSS) *In bērla tōbaide tricc/ro lessaig Gaīdel glanglicc—/uathad do sīl Gaīdil gairb/duīne 'ca mbeth a fīrainm.* ". . . few are those of the race of rough Goídel who would know its true name" (poem possibly of the later 11th c.; also in YBL 219a44ff, cf. *Auraic.* 2283ff). Or *LU* 9003–5 (= *FB* 75) *Atá lim for Budi nech folimathar for mbrethugud . . . Dó dúib iarom dia saichthin . . .* I know someone,' said Bude, 'who will undertake to judge you . . .' (≠ *ata, inda(r) lim* 'methinks').

Ní[t] tairissi limm, lit. "you are not trustworthy in my opinion"; *nit* = neg. cop. 2 sg. pres. ind., classical O.I. also *nita*[16]. The replacement of endings of the copula by pronominal elements began before the M.I. period.[17]

CONTENTS

Conall Cernach, Fraech's companion from Ulster, initiates and sustains the conversations with the two herding women (*TBF*[3] §§ 27f). With the shepherdess, Fraech himself once interrupted (*TBF*[3] 323) and found out, that his own cows and his own family were the last to have been carried off. With the cow-maid, Fraech again interrupts at an important point (ll. 338–41) for the sake of further, positive information and possible support.[18] He skilfully uses his knowledge of her origin[19] to obtain her confidence. Thus after her discouraging warning of the dangerous serpent he turns the conversation to her name (*Nim th' fír-ainm*)[20]. She is afraid to

[16] hardly, therefore, to emend (after haplology) *Ní[ta] t(h)airissi*, though one might (as Gordon Quin pointed out to me) expect retention of *nita* before *t-* for clarity.

[17] Cf. G. Murphy, in: *Féil. Mhic Néill*, p. 73 and fn. 6; Thurneysen, 'Air. *nis* 'sind nicht', in: *ZCP* 20 (1936), pp. 371f; *Blathm.*, p. 118; etc.; later acc. to Meid (*TBF*[3], p. 164, n. 130 *im*).

[18] by making full use of *condalbae* (cf. l. 319).

[19] as indicated by the shepherdess, ll. 331f *Di feraib Érenn a cenél, di Ultaib int sainriuth*.

[20] She never introduced herself (not even to the extent as the shepherdess had done, ll. 317f: *Di feraib Érenn ém mo máthair-se*); the significance of giving or withholding one's name in the context of confidence or authentication need not be dealt with here. Conall and Fraech had made themselves known at the beginning (l. 333: *noda·sloindet di*); this, however, did not imply more than e.g. *Di feraib Érenn dún*, as the following dialogue shows. At line 45: *noda·sloindet* takes as complement *iarna slontib firaib*, to produce name and patronymic. Fraech uses *fír(-ainm)* because he knows already that the cow-maid is an Ulster woman.—For another example of the compound *fír-ainm* (with *fír* in the sense of 'real, true', contrasted with other names) v. *LGÉ* II. 120 (cited above); cf. further *Met. Dinds*. III 60.69ff ('Ceilbe') *Cairpre Coilbe is dlecht-ainm dó,/ do mac rolangach Rosso,/ Cairpre Nia-fer co faichlib, / cia lía fer le' fír-gairthir*.—For a subtle differentiation of the meanings of *fír* v. J. Hennig, 'Zum Gebrauch von ir. *fíor* als Präfix', in: *Sprache* 15, 1969, pp. 135–43.

give it (*Nít tairissi limm*). Fraech contrasts with this his own trusting in her (*At tarisi-siu limm*), because she is an Ulster woman (*Ro·fetamar nin·mérae úaire is di Ultaib duit*)[21].   She reacts as expected (*Can di Ultaib dúib?*) and thus gives Fraech the opportunity to introduce to her Conall Cernach as a fellow country-man.   Thereupon they get from her (ll. 342ff) knowledge of the prophesy of their success as well as advice and support.

Stylistically the established piece of dialogue tallies in its staccato-style with the dialogue text in *TBF* (and in early saga in general).[22] The lack of indication of the speakers is not remarkable in such texts.

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[21] With *Ro·fetamar nin·mérae* Fraech changes to the 1 pl., since he himself is not an Ulster man.
[22] For concise, antithetical pairs like *Nít tairissi limm*: *At tarisi-siu limm,* cf. e.g. ll. 156f . . . *is meth n-enig dúnn* : *Niba meth n-enig dúnn,* or *TBC (O'R)* 329f: *Anat i fus didiu* : *Ní anfat.*

A WRITER'S TESTAMENT

MÁIRTÍN Ó CADHAIN was the most remarkable example in modern Ireland of the writer *engagé*. His commitment, however, was such as one rarely encounters amongst writers of the major European literatures: because the main purpose of his life and work was that of rescuing the very language he was writing in—and therefore the nation it belonged to—from oblivion. His '*Páipéir Bhána agus Páipéir Bhreaca*'[1] a classic autobiographical lecture, comes both as apologia and as last will and testament of one who employed his extraordinary literary powers, and his unceasing turbulence of mind and heart, in the service of this cause.

The part of the Galway Gaeltacht where Ó Cadhain was reared —unlike some other Gaeltacht areas—had not a strong literary tradition. His natural heritage was rather the magnificent Irish oral literature. So much was this a part of his nature right up to his later years that on a trip to the USSR, as he tells us in this essay, he found himself instinctively identifying the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia with "the well at the end of the world", and the horses of Genghis Khan with "the slender brown steeds" from the stories related by his father and grandfather. One can better gauge how inextricably rooted in his own culture Ó Cadhain was when one considers that this same man, whose imagination was lit up to the end of his life by oral literature, spoke and read some half dozen European languages, and that the works of Shakespeare, Dante, Stendhal, Dostoievsky, Mauriac, Chekhov, Joyce, Valéry, Gogol, Tolstoy, Balzac, De Chardin, Saunders Lewis, Swift, Eliot, Aristotle, Croce, Roman Jakobson, René Wellek—all referred to in this work— formed only a small part of his voracious and most meticulous reading.

Ó Cadhain wrote the most consciously-patterned and richest-textured prose that any Irishman has written in this century, except Beckett and Joyce. For all that, what seemed to give him greatest pleasure was not that he was widely regarded by Irish critics as a writer of stature but that parts of his writing, such as his novel *Cré na Cille*, were being avidly read by the ordinary people of his own district, Cois Fhairrge. In his view, however,—as against the view promulgated by An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire and others at the beginning of the Irish revival—current idiomatic usage, even that of his own district, was no sacred cow. Colloquial speech was of course necessary in any dialogue purporting to represent native Irish

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[1] Dublin, An Clóchomhar, 1969.

speakers, but Ó Cadhain insists, quite rightly, that generally speaking it can only act as the necessary and fragile base of sophisticated writing. So it happened that it was he, above all other writers of modern Irish, who most sought and succeeded in making the language a flexible and compelling instrument of modern thought and feeling. Nobody of course in Ireland had a more complete and scholarly knowledge than him of his own dialect. As well he had an overall knowledge of other Gaelic dialects, Scottish and Irish, and obviously had read practically everything worthwhile in Old, Middle, and Modern Irish. With help from all these sources he built up, sometimes skilfully, sometimes clumsily, always passionately, a prose style which—whatever its faults—has an undeniable sweep and grandeur.

Páipéir Bhána agus Páipéir Bhreaca has all the bite and style of Ó Cadhain's non-fictional writing (which is starker and, to me, frequently more impressive than his fictional work). He is much more sparing of imagery and circumlocution here than in his novels and short stories; and the images or metaphors which do appear are often more telling, more organically conceived. He can blend modern and ancient, homely and sophisticated elements in a most distinguished manner. On the one hand he can tell us in distilled folk style of the old people of his district "in whose eyes the dead were more luminous than the living" (*go mba sholasaí in a súile an marbh ná an beo*); and on the other hand, in speaking some time later of the possible influence of a Dostoievsky story on his work, can tell of its having, perhaps, remained "refrigerated" (*cuisnithe*) in his mind, using unerringly here a classical Irish word to hit off a modern concept.

The quality of his thought and writing can only be properly experienced in the original, but a few passages in translation may help to give some indication of its pungency and lucidity:

> *It frightens me when I hear a person declare that he wrote something to prove that one can deal with modern life in Irish. One can. But I know that it causes me the greatest distress to deal with even the most random thought that occurs to me, and I feel the case is similar for other writers, or I hope it is. Words should be handled as carefully as eggs through which the unborn chicks are breaking* [P. 19].
>
> *The kind of style I am endeavouring to cultivate is, perhaps, a little clumsy, but not as clumsy as it was. The new stories I am writing now are not at all concerned with my own district, or with Galway. . . . I am a longer period in Dublin now than I ever had been in my native place. I had to garner a very accurate knowledge of the city, a knowledge more accurate than many true Dubliners have, when I was an active member of the I.R.A. There are more of my near relations in Dublin than at home.*

Very many of my neighbours and people from my native district are living quite close to me. We are a kind of ghetto, perhaps. Kafka and Heine, to mention only two whose work I know, both came from ghettoes. As far as I can see Dublin consists entirely of ghettoes. One could not say that it has been a community since Joyce's day, when the town was very much smaller, more integrated, more dynamic. It was Joyce who wrote the first of Dublin's novels, and perhaps the last. Neither of them is a novel of conflict or action. Ulysses *is of the picaresque type, a type which is not at all dissimilar to* Diarmaid agus Gráinne *. . . . I feel that a large labyrinth like Dublin lends itself easily to picaresque storytelling* [P. 22].

In the suburbs of the cities, where there is neither city nor country, live the rich, industrialists who are not industrious, intelligent people, often, but with no intellectual curiosity. . . . Suburban luxury has perhaps by now spread over rural Ireland. It is quite certain that a Synge today would come on very little. At the same time it is in rural Ireland one finds the more established type of community, and I feel that a writer who has evolved from such a community is thrice blessed. But I feel also that my kind of person, who has spent the greater part of his life in Dublin, should not leave Dublin uncreated, a blank page [P. 23].

This style of writing—even when the author avails, as he sometimes does, of rather daring neologisms such as *Nollaicigh* (Decembrists), *Dionysiusach* (Dionysian), *niamhghlantóir* (purist), *eachtarmhúrach* (extramural), *nua-aosóir* (innovator)—is recognisably in the tradition of the main corpus of Irish prose from the eight to the twentieth century. Yet it also has emanated quite plainly from the world and feeling of a typical modern West European writer. In Ó Cadhain's prose, as in Seán Ó Ríordáin's poetry, Europe and Gaelic Ireland renew, in varying degrees, their age-old alliance.

Ó Cadhain did not begin writing seriously, he tells us, until he was interned in the Curragh Camp, 'the Siberia of Ireland', in the early period of the second world war. His crime was suspected membership of the I.R.A., a crime which had already led to his dismissal from his post as a national teacher. Amongst his meagre possessions on the day he was captured was a French translation of a short story by Maxim Gorky, the first literary work which persuaded him that this kind of writing was within his own compass. Prison was his university as it has been traditionally for generations of Irish patriots. He studied and read avidly, and taught Irish most successfully to many of his fellow-internees. He also wrote some of the most important of the short stories in *An Braon Broghach*. One readily believes him when he says that he was loath to leave prison . . . . Soon after his release he managed—as do many ex-prisoners in Ireland

—to secure a Government job, in the parliamentary translation service. Finally, due to the most enlightened policy of Trinity College, he was invited to take up a post as Lecturer in Modern Irish, and on the resignation of Professor David Greene, was appointed to the Chair of Irish. His final apotheosis as professor of Irish in the oldest and most revered of the British colonial universities he accepted with great humility and the wryest good humour.

What we have of Máirtín Ó Cadhain's published work forms a moderately large *opus*, but, to judge by what he reveals in *Páipéir Bhána agus Páipéir Bhreaca* as much remains unpublished as has been published. At least two major fictional works should emerge posthumously, his prize-winning novel *Athnuachan*, and a further volume of short stories; and as well as these there is a keenly awaited critical work on modern Irish literature, and, doubtless, a collection of his essays and reviews. His creative work, in particular, awaits refined and detailed literary analysis, and not least of the critical skills involved here will be a complete knowledge of the enormously rich Connaught dialect which acts as its underlying stylistic base.

One can say immediately, however, that all Ó Cadhain's fiction bears the seal of one who passionately wanted to interpret and understand life, whether in the Connemara Gaeltacht or in the Dublin Galltacht. His two early books of short stories *An Braon Broghach* and *Cois Caoláire* are possibly the most significant in this respect. In many of these he treats of the minds and moods of Gaeltacht women with especial tenderness. However these will finally be estimated as literature, it is indisputable that they have absolute authenticity. There can be no doubt but that these works, as well as his novel *Cré na Cille*, and a few of his later short stories, add up to a major revelation of Connemara Gaeltacht life.

One must not conclude, however, that Ó Cadhain thought of his writing as a means of setting down a realistic picture of people or communities. As he tells it to us in this essay, his understanding of literature is that which has always been most prevalent amongst poets and informed critics: that it is rather an extension of lived life, a new possibility for living—anchored securely, however, to the main framework of reality. In this sense one can surely say that Ó Cadhain's fantasy novel, *Cré na Cille*, is as valid a picture of the talk and mind processes of a Gaeltacht community, as Synge's phantasmagoria *The Playboy of the Western World* is of a facet of the Aran Island's *psyche*. But even in fantasy or phantasmagoria a writer has to work through characters who have basic affiliations with life as we know it, and he cannot but reveal and develop—at least at crucial junctures— their convoluted and often self-contradictory characteristics. Here it is, I think, that Synge succeeds and Ó Cadhain, possibly, fails. His

characters in *Cré na Cille* remain static, typed, underdeveloped, so
that however valid a picture *in general* his novel is of a Connemara
Gaeltacht, it is not in any way a deeply felt depiction of *personal*
human life in detail as lived within that community.   This is in
essence Daniel Corkery's criticism of *Cré na Cille* to which Máirtín
Ó Cadhain refers a little bewilderedly in this essay.   Corkery pointed
out that his characters were 'folklore' characters, in that they re-
mained in the same state of development in the end as in the be-
ginning, the interest lying in the events they encountered.   One has
to modify this opinion, however, by saying that in Ó Cadhain the
superb dialogue of which he was a master more or less supplants the
external wonders of the folktale.   Folklore characters have never
talked as do the characters in *Cré na Cille*.

In his short stories Máirtín Ó Cadhain sets out deliberately to
avoid the folklore scaffolding of a set character enduring a series of
events leading to a wonder ending.   His stories are rather vast
interior monologues, or detailed narrative or dialogue pieces con-
cerning psychological states; or otherwise a circular-type comic
tale much akin to some of Chekhov's short comedies.   A few of these
comic tales, such as the celebrated *Fios*, are brilliant.   Many people,
however, will find his more serious work, despite its authenticity,
to be overloaded with not very felicitous imagery and metaphor.
There is, in fact, a boring tendency to verbosity.   For me, much of this
turgidity and unsureness of style in his fiction, is a result of his
efforts to get away from the traditional storytelling form he had in
his bones, and of his not having instinctively found another way of
structuring his moods and themes in the manner of the most ac-
complished modern short story writers.   His technique often seems
to be that of accumulation of detail or dialogue, in a way that does not
help build up, or climax, his very powerful insights.   I find, then,
that he has rarely achieved satisfying form in his short story work—
and, having said that, am only too conscious that similar strictures
were passed on Joyce and other pioneering artists in their day by
academic critics who were eventually proved to be disastrously
unperceptive in not recognising the emergence of new and unfamiliar
art-forms.

The style in his two later volumes of stories, *An tSraith ar Lár* and
An tSraith Dhá Tógáil, is somewhat more assured, and in these
Máirtín Ó Cadhain moves gradually away from his Gaeltacht material
and endeavours to come to grips, in particular, with Dublin city life.
He was convinced, as we have seen, that having spent more of his
feeling life in Dublin than in the west, that he could as an artist deal
with it in creative terms.   Again one feels that he may have only
partially succeeded.   There are almost insuperable literary difficulties

in dealing with modern urban life in a language which is not a current urban community language. Ó Cadhain certainly showed that most parts of this life could readily be *translated* into Irish. But in such translation one experiences only the denotative sense of language, rather than the connotative, so that it is quite dubious if Ó Cadhain ever manages to create verbally the mood of the city and its people for his readers. What does make an impact once more, however, is the author's gift for comic writing, for that kind of fantasy which could as easily be situated in a rural as in an urban milieu. Here Ó Cadhain is manifestly writing in the great Irish comic prose tradition of literary tale and folktale, from Mac Con Glinne down to Joyce. One foreign influence, however, in fantasies such as *An Eochair* must surely be Kafka. But the Irish tendency to mischievousness, to maliciousness, to absurdity supplants in Ó Cadhain the sense of threat and foreboding which Kafka so powerfully creates in his work.

Páipéir Bhána agus Páipéir Bhreaca touches tantalisingly then— and a little defensively—on the evolution of a unique writer and on the making of his books. The author may be unduly pessimistic or even wrongheaded from time to time about matters such as the future of writing in Irish or of writing in general (following as he does to some extent Edmund Wilson's lugubrious and obviously illfounded prophecy about the demise of poetry in *Axel's Castle*). But this is an altogether absorbing and human document, wise, mischievous, gossipy, and startingly poetic by turns. Much is left unsaid, or said obliquely. We hear very little of the process by which this great cultural nationalist became an active revolutionary, and apparently, in time, a committed socialist. Sufficient is said, however, to help us understand how it was that Ó Cadhain in the last decade or so of his life was continually in the vanguard of the protesters who sought civil rights for Irish speakers and their language, thus causing acute embarrassment to a Government which was nominally promoting the same cause. For Ó Cadhain, viewing the rapid liquidation of the *Gaeltacht* areas, such action had now become much more important even than his own writing. And in the final paragraph of this essay, for one short moment, he floods us in the depths of that feeling from which all his turbulence—and tenderness—emanated:

Irish is a new, though narrow medium, and it is to me a challenge. It is my own, and this I cannot say about any other medium. In the desolation of my heart I heard—I still hear:

the cry of the blackbird of Leiter Laoigh
and the music made by the Dord Fiann.

I am as old as the Hag of Beara, as old as Brú na Bóinne, as old as the great deer. There are two thousand years of that stinking sow which is Ireland, revolving in my ears, my mouth, my eyes, my head, my dreams. Hugh Mac Diarmid, a minority language man, if indeed his language is a language at all, has said it better:

> *The great rose of all the world is not for me*
> *For me the little white rose of 'Scotland*
> *That smells sweetly and breaks the heart.*

Nobody, and in particular an Irish speaker, could read this passage unmoved. After all the polemic, the apologia, the literary gossip and argument, here suddenly and unashamedly is the revelation of a great heart breaking.

Máirtín Ó Cadhain died in Dublin on the 18th of October 1970. It is difficult to believe that he rests in peace.

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