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A
Concise Comparative
Celtic Grammar

By

Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen



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Preface.

This book is not intended to replace the *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, but rather to serve as a sort of preparation for it, giving in condensed form as much of the material in the greater work as seems to suffice for university courses in the Celtic countries. We have therefore retained the same arrangement as in VKG, and have given, at the top of every page, references to the corresponding paragraphs of VKG.

All linguistic materials are here printed in italics, so that the principle followed in VKG of always representing by the same sign in italics the same sound is given up. Nevertheless we have in the main kept the notation used in VKG: thus *j* means *ɟ* in the IE or Germanic words or formulas, but for reasons of convenience we use *y* in Sanskrit words. When it is necessary to distinguish clearly between phonetic and orthographic spelling, phonetic signs or words spelled phonetically are put between / /: MnC'o words should therefore be given either in Lhuys's spelling or in phonetic spelling included in / /, we fear that we have not always been consistent in this respect. The special Co signs for *w* and *đ*, which would have given typographical difficulties, have been silently replaced by the ordinary signs. The sign < > indicates 'to be supplied' and [] 'to be deleted', ' denotes the real meaning and ' ' the supposed original meaning.

Many details many paragraphs and some chapters found in VKG have had to be omitted. Our decisions in these cases have not always been infallible, and in some cases the choice should no doubt have been different. But within the limits adopted for our Concise Grammar we have everywhere tried to bring the doctrine up to date (though we have not taken for granted that the latest theories are without exception preferable to the older ones), the reader will find many important improvements and additions to VKG in this shorter work.

For Irish Palatalization the rules of VKG are given here, they still seem to be nearest the truth. But the different system of Pokorny is referred to, and it is of course only by inadvertency that reference has not been made to the interesting system given by Thurneysen, *Handb.* p. 93ff., and repeated in a more precise form in *ZCP* 20-357.

The etymological explanation of the verbal endings is much shorter than in VKG. But as to the active endings this does not mean that the theories of VKG have been found incorrect. On the contrary we still believe that the difference between simple and conjunct endings in Celtic depends on the fact that the forms of the simplex contain a suffixed subject pronoun which of course could not be suffixed to forms preceded by a preverb (§ 448). But in building up the new system the Celts have utilized some inherited elements, thus they have utilized the old ending *-mi* confounding it with the 1 sg. pronoun: we therefore do not object to the idea that they may have utilized in the same way the inherited ending *-ti*, confounding it with *-t* + pronoun. We have for want of space entirely omitted the theory of the imperfect (VKG § 605.1). But the fact remains that the endings of the Celtic imperfect seem to be the secondary active endings with retained finals, looking as if they had been followed by a monosyllable with initial *e-*, this explanation (which cannot be applied to the 3 sg.) holds good even for the 2 sg. if we start from the ending *-tha* (Gk. *οἶσ-θα* etc.). In this way we get rid of the difficulty implied in the older explanation of Ir. act. ipf. 2 sg. *-bertha* as a middle form, since the 2 sg. ipv. dep. *labrúthe* shows a different vowel. If the monosyllable following the ipf. was **est*, it no doubt meant 'was', not 'is': it is well known that in Russian *byvalo* 'was' can be used to form a consuetudinal ipf. *stáruška mat', byvalo pod oknom sídela* 'the old mother used to be sitting at the window' (literally 'sat, it used to be'). Puškin, *Domik v Kolomně*, XXXI (for Lith. *būdavo* v. Niedermann, Senn, Brender *Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache*, I 93).

We gratefully acknowledge the very great help given by Mr G. Melville Richards in preparing the index to this work. Want of space has unfortunately compelled us to reduce the full index made by him to its printed size. We hope however that the index will be found practically complete for the Celtic words in the grammar properly speaking (though the MnIr. forms as a rule have

only been given when the corresponding older forms are not mentioned in the grammar) But as the list of verbs is in itself arranged alphabetically, we have only given from this list just as many forms as would seem sufficient to enable a student acquainted with Irish phonetics and orthography to find his way in the list of verbs And for the Non-Celtic languages we have only given a few references to some explanations not found in VKG (in § 637 note we have not quoted any Non-Celtic forms, but scholars will easily see the importance of the W materials here adduced for the reconstruction of the IE form of the root)

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Errata.

- P 36 l 10 Read *denon*
 P 42 l 7 Read MnW *llath*
 P 45 § 58 For I bought read 'he bought'
 P 50 § 69 l 7 For OBr read OBri
 P 72 l 10 For indeed read moreover
 P 76, end of § 115 Read melody
 P 78 l 10 For 'he carries' read 'he holds'
 P 97 § 166 last line Read MnU *urcha*
 P 116 § 192 last line For 390. 9 read 390, 8
 P 124 § 211 l 3 For *to saig-* read *to-ad saig-*
 P 151 end of § 254 Read *enmetiam*
 P 186 l 9 Read *diguedham*
 P 187 l 16 For wither read whiter
 P 206 second set-off l 2 Read *o if only* (not *ynq*)
 P 226 § 374 l 3 Read *duth*
 P 254 § 421 l 9 After *so* add in the ind and subj
 P 258 § 427 l 3 Read *ro-rucan ti*
 P 266 l 13 Read *echomnuhair*
 P 267 end of § 432 For *ad ro rsat* read *ad r-orat*
 P 277 Note 2 l 3 Read entrusts
 P 318 § 478 l last line For *at* read *at et it* (§ 388, 6)
 P 364 § 519 l 9 Read *-mthged*
 P 373 § 570 l 4 Read *are-r-ancabir*
 P 379 l 6 Read Pemurth
 P 399 Note 1 4 Read these

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Abbreviations.

(I) Grammatical

abbrev	abbreviated abbreviation	etym	etymological, etymology
abl	ablative	expl	explosive
acc	accusative	fem	feminine
accl	accented	FN	Proper Name, feminine
adj	adjective	fol	follow(ing)
adv	adverb	fut	future
altern	alternation	g(en)	genitive
amalg	amalgamated amalgamation	gl	glossing, gloss on
anal	analogical, analogy	GN	Proper Name (God)
art	article	ind	indicative
assim	assimilated, assimilation	indef	indefinite
bct	between	indep	independent
borr	borrowed, borrowing	inf(m)	infinitive
cent	century	init	initial
cog	cognate	instr(um)	instrumental
coll	collective	interrog	interrogative
colloq	colloquial(ly)	intervoc	intervocalic
comb	combination	ipf	imperfect
compa	comparative	ipv	imperative
conj	conjunction	irreg	irregular(ly)
cons(t)	consonant	len	lenited, lenition
consuet	consuetudinal	lit	literally
epd(s)	compound(s)	loc	locative
cop	copula	m(asc)	masculine
d(ut)	dative	monosyll(s)	monosyllabic, monosyllable(s)
decl	declined, declension	MN	ProperName (masculine)
dep	dependent	neg	negative
dep(on)	deponent	neut	neuter
deriv	derivative, derived	nom	nominative
devel	development	obj	object
dial	dialect	orig	original(ly)
diphth	diphthong	palat	palatal(ization)
disyll	disyllabic	part	(i) participle, (ii) particle
du	dual	perf	perfect
		pers	person(al)

XII

Abbreviations

plpf	pluperfect	rel	relative
pl(u)	plural	sent(s)	sentences
PN	Place Name	s(m)g	singular
posit	positive	st	stem
poss	possessive	subj	(1) subject, (u) subjunctive
prec	preceding	subst	substantive
pred	predicate, predicative	suff	suffix
pref	prefix	superl	superlative
prep	preposition	syll(s)	syllable(s)
pres	present	ton	tonic
pret	preterite	trisyll	trisyllabic, trisyllable
pr(im)	primitive	unacet	unaccented
prob	probably	vb	verb
procl	proclitic	vn	verb(al) noun
pron	(1) pronoun, (u) pronounced	voc	vocative
rdupl	reduplicate(d)	wr	written

(II) Languages

Aeol	Aeolian	Hitt	Hittite
Alb	Albanian	IE	Indo European
Arm(en)	Armenian	Ir	Irish
Arr	Arran	Lat	Latin
Av	Avesta, Avestic	Lett	Lettish
Bas vann	Bas Vannetais	Lith	Lithuanian
Br	Breton	MHG	Middle High German
Brit	British	Mn	Modern
C(elt)	Celtic	NW	North Welsh
Co	Cornish	O	Old
Corn	Cornouaille	OE	Old English
Cret	Cretan	Og	Ogam
Dan	Danish	OHG	Old High German
Don	Donegal	ON	Old Norse
Dor	Doric	Osc	Oscan
Du	Dutch	OSl	Old Slavonic
E	English	Pers	Persian
EW	Early Welsh	Pi	Old Prussian
Fr	French	Russ	Russian
G(aul)	Gaulish	Sc	Scottish (Gaelic)
Germ	German	Serb	Serbian
Gk	Greek	Skt	Sanskrit
Glam	Glamorgan	SW	South Welsh
G-Lat	Gaulish-Latin	Swed	Swedish
Gmc	Germanic	Treg	Treguier
Goth	Gothic	Umb(r)	Umbrian
Gothl	Gothland	V	Vannes, Vannetais
Gwent	Gwentian	W	Welsh
Gwyn	Gwynedd, Venedotian		

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- Ann de Bret Annales de Bretagne publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes 1885—
- Arch glott suppl Archivio Glottologico Italiano Supplementi all' Archivio Torino 1891—
- Arm St Armenische Studien Lidén, Göteborg 1906
- Asp i Irsk Aspirationer i Irsk Holger Pedersen Leipzig 1897
- Atk Keat Tri Bhoir ghaoithe an bhais of Rev Geoffrey Keating, edited with Glossary and Appendix by Robert Atkinson (Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscripts Series, Vol II Part I) Dublin 1890
- Atk LBr The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac Text, Translation and Glossary By Robert Atkinson (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series II) Dublin 1887
- BA The Book of Aneirin Facsimile and Text by J Gwenogvryn Evans Pwllheli 1908
- Barbe Le Mystère de Sainte Barbe, Émile Finault Paris 1888
- BB Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von A Bezzenger [und W Prellwitz] Göttingen 1877—1907
- BB The Book of Ballymore published by the Royal Irish Academy With Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index, by Robert Atkinson Dublin 1887
- BBC The Black Book of Carmarthen, Reproduced and Edited by J Gwenogvryn Evans Pwllheli 1907
- BBCS The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vols 1—8 Cardiff 1921—
- Berla na Filed, Kuno Meyer (ZCP 8 557—8, 1912)
- Betha Colmáin mac Luacháin, Kuno Meyer (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Ser XVII) Dublin 1911
- B(eun) M(ei) Beunans Meusek Whitley Stokes London 1872
- Bruchst d alt Lyrik Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands, Kuno Meyer Erster Teil (Kgl Preuß Akad No 7) 1919
- BT The Book of Taliesin Reproduced & Edited by J Gwenogvryn Evans Llanbedrog 1910
- Burgschaft Die Burgschaft im römischen Recht, Rudolf Thurneysen (Preuß Akad d Wiss, Phil-Hist Kl 2) Berlin 1928

XIV

Abbreviations.

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- Celtic Scotland, W F Skene 3 vols Edinburgh 1876—80
- Cerdd Dafod, sef Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Cymraeg, John Morris-Jones Rhydychen 1925
- Chrest(omathue) Bretonne, J Loth Paris 1890
- Ch(w)SD(R) Chwedlau Seith Doethon Rufein, Henry Lewis Wrecsam 1925
- CIRL Contributions to Irish Lexicography, Kuno Meyer Vol I, part I A—C Halle a S 1906 Part II D—Dno [publ ceased] Suppl to ACL
- C Llywarch Hen Canu Ll H, Ifor Williams Caerdydd 1935
- Cod Lichf in Lib Land
- Comp The Computus Fragment ZCP 8 408, BBCS 3 256
- Corm Sanas Cormaic An Old-Irish Glossary Kuno Meyer (*Anecd IV*) Halle a S 1912
- CW Gwreans an Bys The Creation of the World Ed Whitley Stokes Berlin 1863
- Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys, I Williams Bangor 1910
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- Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi), Henry Lewis & P Diverius Caerdydd 1928
- Dēsi-Irish A Contribution to the Phonology of Dēsi-Irish, R Henebry Gryphiswaldiae 1898
- DFfest see Darn o'r Ffestifal
- Dict Le Mystere de Sainte Barbe, avec traduction française et dictionnaire etymologique du breton moyen, Émile Ernault Paris 1888
- Diet br fr Legonidec Dictionnaire français-breton enrichi d'additions par Hersart de la Villemarqué Saint Briac 1847
- Dict de Pierre de Châlons Dictionnaire breton-français du diocèse de Vannes, Pierre de Châlons Vannes 1723 (New edition by J Loth Rennes 1895)
- Dinds see Metr Dinds
- Dingestow Brut Dingestow MS (c 1300) now in the National Library of Wales (an edition is being prepared for the University of Wales Press Board by Henry Lewis)
- EEW The English Element in Welsh, A Study of English Loanwords in

- Welsh, T H Parry-Williams (*Cymmrodorion Record Series X*) London 1923
- Eos Ceiriog, Sef casglad o bŵr ganiadau Huw Morus, o gymnulliad a diwygiad W D 2 vols Gwreasaŵ 1823
- Ériu, the Journal of the School of Irish Learning Dublin 1904—
- Et ordb *Etymologisk ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog*, H Falk og A Torp Kristiania 1903—1906
- EWG *Elementary Welsh Grammar*, J Morris-Jones Oxford 1921
- Fél *Félire Oengusso Céili De The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* Ed Whitley Stokes (*Henry Bradshaw Society, XXIX*) London 1905
- Festskrift Amund Larsen *Festskrift til Amund B Larsen* Kristiania 1924
- Fianaug(cht), Kuno Meyer (*R I A Todd Lecture Ser XVI*) Dublin 1910
- Från filologiska föreningen i Lund Herbert Petersson *Spåkliga uppsatser* IV, 1915
- Geirfa *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, J Lloyd-Jones A—Dauydd Caerdydd 1931—6
- Glossaire, GMB *Glossaire moyen-breton*, Émile Ernault Paris 1895—6
- Gramm *Petite Grammaire bretonne*, Émile Ernault Saint Brieuc 1897
- Guillevic & Le Goff, *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes* Vannes 1902
- Gwaith Twm o'r Nant *Gwaith Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant)* Liverpool 1874
- Gwreasaŵ an Bys, see CW
- Handb *Handbuch des Alt Irischen*, Rudolf Thurneysen I Teil Grammatik Heidelberg 1909
- Hen MSS *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS in the Peniarth Library* Ed by Robert Williams 2 vols London 1876, 1892
- Hermathena, a Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy By Members of Trinity College, Dublin Dublin, London
- HGCref *Hen Geirfa Crefyddol*, Henry Lewis Caerdydd 1931
- Hib Min *Hibernica Minora*, Kuno Meyer (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*) Oxford 1894
- Hist Gruff ap Cynan *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* Ed Arthur Jones Manchester 1910
- Ieuan Deulwyn *Casglad o Wraith Ieuan Deulwyn* Ed Ifor Williams Bangor 1909
- IF(Anz) *Indogermanische Forschungen*, herausg von Karl Brugmann und Wilhelm Streitberg Mit dem Beiblatt *Anzeigen für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, herausg von W Streitberg Straßburg 1892—
- IGE² *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill (Aigraffiad Newydd)* Golygwyd gan Henry Lewis, Thomas Roberts, Ifor Williams Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1937
- Ill Stud, see Misc Hib
- Imram Braim *The Voyage of Bran son of Fíabál to the Land of the Living* Ed Kuno Meyer London 1895
- Introd *An Introduction to Early Welsh* John Strachan Manchester 1909
- Ir Recht *Irishes Recht*, Rudolf Thurneysen (*Preuß Akad d Wiss*, phil-hist Kl 2) Berlin 1931

XVI

Abbreviations

- Irske Studier**, Chr Sarauw. Kobenhavn 1900
- Jés** Le grand mystere de Jésus, Hersart de la Villemarqué. Paris 1866
- Juv** Glosses in the Juvenius MS, Cambridge Univ Library. Published by Stokes in KB 4 385—421
- KB** Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung. herausg. von A Kuhn und A Schleicher. Berlin 1858—1876
- Keat** Tri Bli Ghaoithe an Bhaia. The Three Shafts of Death by Geoffrey Keating. Ed Osborn Bergin. Dublin (R I A) 1931
- Kelt St** Keltische Studien, Heft 1—2. H Zimmer. Berlin 1881—1884
- King and Hermit** A Colloquy between King Guaire and his brother Marban. Ed by Kuno Meyer. London 1901
- KZ** Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. Herausg. von A Kuhn. 1852—
- La Langue Bretonne** La langue bretonne en quarante leçons, François Vallée, septième édition. Saint Brieuc 1926
- Lhuyd** Archaeologia Britannica. By Edward Lhuyd. Oxford 1707
- Liad(am) and Cur(ithur)** ed Kuno Meyer. London 1902
- Lib Land** Liber Landavensis. The Text of the Book of Llan Dav by J Gwenogvryn Evans. and John Rhŷs. Oxford 1894
- Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland** Leipzig
- LL** The Book of Lismater sometimes called the Book of Glendalough published by the Royal Irish Academy, with Introduction, Analysis of Contents and Index by Robert Atkinson. Dublin 1880
- LU** Lebor na hUidre. Book of the Dun Cow. Ed R I Best and Osborn Bergin (R I A). Dublin 1929
- LIA** Llyvyr Aglyr Llanddwynre (1346). The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh. Ed by J Morris Jones. and John Rhŷs (Anecdota Oxoniensia). Oxford 1894
- Lawlyfr Cernywog Canol** Henry Lewis. Wrecsam 1924
- Lawlyfr Llydawog Canol²** (Argraffiad Newydd) Henry Lewis. Caerdydd 1935
- LI H** Canu Llywarch Hen. Ifor Williams. Caerdydd 1935
- MA** The Myvyrion Archaeology of Wales². Denbigh 1870
- Manx Phonology** Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic, John Rhŷs. Douglas 1894
- Mart Capella** Glosses on Martianus Capella in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ed. by Stokes in Archaeologia Cambrensis 1873, pp 1—21
- MBH** Middle-Breton Hours. Whitley Stokes. Calcutta 1876
- MC** Pascon agan Arluth (Mount Calvary). Whitley Stokes. 1861
- Melanges H d Arbois de Jubainville**. Paris 1905
- McL Loth** Melanges Bretons et Celtiques offerts à M J Loth. Rennes, Paris 1927
- Metr Dinds** The Metrical Dindenchas, Ed E J Gwynn (Todd Lecture Series VIII—XII). Dublin 1903—1935
- Mir Mort** Le Miroir de la Mort, Émile Ernault. Paris 1914 (also RC 31—37)

- Misc Hib *Miscellanea Hibernica*, Kuno Meyer (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature Vol II, November 1916, No 4) Illinois 1917
- Misc KM *Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed by Osborn Bergin and Carl Marstrand *Halle a S* 1912
- MI *Milan Glosses* (Thes I 7—483)
- Monast Tall *The Monastery of Tallaght*, E J Gwynn and W J Purton (Proc R I A XXIX, Sect C, No 5) Dublin 1911
- MSL *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* Paris 1882—
- Muršils *Sprachlehmung Ein hethitischer Text mit philologischen und linguistischen Erörterungen*, A Gotze and H Pedersen (Det Kgl Danske Videnskabs Selskab, Hist fil Medd XXI, I) 1934
- Nonne *La vie de sainte Nonne*, É Ernault RC 8 230—301, 406—491
- NTS *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* Utgitt av Carl J S Marstrand Oslo 1928—
- O Cl *O'Clery's Irish Glossary* edited and translated by Arthur W K Miller (RC 4 349—428, 5 1—69)
- O'Dav *O'Davoren's Glossary*, ed Whitley Stokes (ACL 2 197—504)
- OM *Ordinali de Origine Mundi* (in *The Ancient Cornish Drama* Edwin Norris Vol I Oxford 1859)
- O Mule *O Mulconry's Glossary*, ed Whitley Stokes (ACL I 232—324, 473—481 629) 1898
- Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg *Adroddiad Pwyllgor Llên Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd Prifysgol Cymru* Caerdydd 1928
- PC *Passio Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi* (in *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, Norris, Vol I Oxford 1859)
- Penarth MS 44 *A version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae*, 13th century, at the National Library of Wales
- Penarth MS 67 *Transcribed and Edited by E Stanton Roberts* (Reprints of Welsh MSS II, University of Wales, Guild of Graduates) Cardiff 1918
- PKM *Peder Kume y Mabinogi* Ifor Williams Caerdydd 1930
- Poemes Breit(ons) du moyen âge *Hersart de Villemarqué* Paris Nantes 1879
- Presentes à nasale infixe *Observations sur les presents indo-européens à nasale infixe en celtique* Par Carl J S Marstrand (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II, Hist-Filos Klasse 1924 No 4) Christiania 1924
- Proc Cambridge Philological Society *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Cambridge
- Rawl B *Rawlinson B 502* *A collection of pieces in prose and verse in the Irish language* published in facsimile With an introduction and indexes by Kuno Meyer Oxford 1909
- RB *The Red Book of Hergest* *Jesus College MS in the Bodleian Library* late 14th and early 15th century
- RBB *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* Ed by John Rhŷs and J Gwenogvryn Evans Oxford 1890
- RC *Revue Celtique* Paris, 51 vols, 1870—1934
- RD *Ordinali de Resurrectione Domini Nostri* (in *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, Norris, Vol II Oxford 1859)

XVIII

Abbreviations

- Rep of Welsh MSS** Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, J Gwengvryn Evans (Historical Manuscripts Commission) London 1898—1910
- Revue hittite et asianique** Paris 1930—
- RM** The Text of the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest Ed by John Rhŷs and J Gwengvryn Evans Oxford 1887
- RP** The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest, Reproduced and Edited by J Gwengvryn Evans Llanbedrog 1911
- Salt** *Saltair na Rann*, edited by Whitley Stokes (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*) Oxford 1883
- Sg** The St Gall Glosses (Thes II 49—224)
- Sitz(ungs)-Ber(ichte) der Kais(erlichen) Ak(ademie) der Wissenschaften in Wien**
- Sitzungsber preuß Ak(ademie) der Wissenschaften** Berlin
- SM(Gloss)** Ancient Laws of Ireland, Senchus Mor Vols I—V, Dublin 1865—1901 Glossary, vol VI Dublin 1901
- Spoken North Welsh**, Henry Sweet (Trans Phil Soc 1882—84 pp 409—484)
- SR** see Salt
- Staples**, On Gaelic Phonetics (Trans Phil Soc 1891—93, pp 396—404)
- Stories and Songs from Irish MSS**, Kuno Meyer (*Otia Meisiana*, Liverpool 1899—1903)
- Streitberg-Festschrift** Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg Heidelberg 1924
- Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski** I Cracow 1927
- TBC** The *Tam Bo Cuailnge* from the Yellow Book of Lecan Edited by John Strachan and J G O Kieffe Dublin 1912 (also as Supplement to *Ériu* 1904—1912)
- TBF** *Tam Bó Fiaich* Ed by Mary E Byrne and Myles Dillon Dublin, S O 1933 (Med and Mod Irish Series vol V)
- Tee Corm** *Tecosca Chormaic* The Instructions of King Cormac mac Airt Kuno Meyer (Todd Lecture Ser XV) Dublin 1909
- Thes** *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* Edited by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan 2 vols Cambridge 1901, 1903
- Todd Lect 7** Poems from the *Dindsenchas* Text, Translation and Vocabulary by Edward Gwynn (Todd Lecture Series, vol VII) Dublin 1900
- Trans Phil Soc** Transactions of the Philological Society London 1859—
- Trip L** The Tripartite Life of Patrick Ed by Whitley Stokes Rolls Series London 1887
- Tudur Aled** Gwauth Tudur Aled, T Gwynn Jones 2 vols Caerdydd, Wrecsam, Llundain 1926
- Tur** The Turin Glosses (Thes I 484—493 713—714)
- Vallec** v La Langue Bretonne
- VKG** Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, von Holger Pedersen 2 vols Göttingen 1909, 1913
- Vie de sainte Nonne**, see Nonne

- Vocab Bangor District The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District
By O H Fynes-Clinton Oxford University Press 1913
- Voy of Bran see Inram Bran
- Wb The Wurzburg Glosses (Thes I 499—712)
- Welsh Syntax An Unfinished Draft By Sir John Morris-Jones
Cardiff 1931
- WG A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative, by J Morris-Jones
Oxford 1913
- W1 Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch, Ernst Windisch Leipzig 1880
- W1 III Irische Texte, Vol III
- W1 Tam Die altirische Heldensage Tam Bó Cualnge Ernst Windisch
Leipzig 1905
- WM The White Book Mabinogion Edited by J Gwenogvryn Evans
Pwllheli 1907
- WML Welsh Medieval Law, A W Wade-Evans Oxford 1909
- Y Burniad, Cylchgrawn Chwarterol dan nawdd Cymdeithasau Cymreig y
Colegau Cenedlaethol a than olgyaeth J Morris-Jones 8 vols Lerpwl
1911—1920
- YBL The Yellow Book of Lecan published by the Royal Irish
Academy With Introduction, Analysis of Contents and Index, by
Robert Atkinson Dublin 1896
- YCM, Yst Cer Mag Ystorya de Carolo Magno Stephen J Williams
Caerdydd 1930
- ZA N F Zeitschrift für Assyriologie Neue Folge Berlin und Leipzig
1923—
- ZCP Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie Halle a S 1899—
- ZE Grammatica Celtica construxit I C Zsuss Editio altera curavit
H Ebel Berolini 1871
- Zu ir(ischen) Handschriften und Literatur-Denkmalen, Rudolf Thurneysen
(Kgl Gesellsch d Wissensch zu Göttingen Abhand Phil-Hist
Kl XIV Nr 2 1912, Nr 3, 1913) Berlin 1912—13

A. Phonology.

I. The development of the IE. sounds in Celtic.

§ 1 The primitive IE sound-system can be set out as follows

Syllabic vowels *a o u e i ā ō ū ē ī*,

Syllabic sonants *r l n m r̄ l̄ n̄ m̄*,

Non-syllabic vowels *w j* (forming diphthongs with *ā ō ē*),

Spirants *s, (þ)*.

Explosives	<i>g^h</i>	<i>g^uh</i>	<i>g^ʰh</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>bh</i>
	<i>g</i>	<i>g^u</i>	<i>g^ʰ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>
	<i>qh</i>	<i>k^uh</i>	<i>k^ʰh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ph</i>
	<i>q</i>	<i>k^u</i>	<i>k^ʰ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>

(Uvular) (Labiovelar) (Palatal) (Dental) Labial),

Non-syllabic sonants *r l n m*

In Celtic the short and the long vowels kept apart, but the short and the long diphthongs fell together. The diphthongs became in part monophthongs, while new diphthongs developed from monophthongs. The syllabic sonants gave groups of vowel + sonant. *p* became a fricative. The uvular and palatal consonants fell together. The labiovelars partly became labials (*g^u* in all the Celtic languages, *k^u* and *k^uh* in Gaulish and British, *g^uh* lost its labial character throughout, *k^u* and *k^uh* in Goidelic eventually lost their labial quality). The tenuis fell together completely with the voiceless aspiratae at a very early period, and similarly the mediae with the voiced aspiratae *w, s*, the explosives, and the non-syllabic sonants undergo the change known as lenition.

The IE. short syllabic sounds.

§ 2. IE *a* (Lat *a*, Gk *a*, Gmc *a*, Skr *a* or *i*) gives Celt *a*, Ir *salann* 'salt' W *halen* OCo *haloin* Br (with vowel metathesis) *c'hoalenn*, *holenn* Lat *sal* Gk *ἅλς* Goth *salt*, Ir *anál* 'breath'

W *anadl* MIBr *alazn* (Mn *alan*, *halan*, V *hanal*) Lat *animus*, *anima* Gk *ἄνεμος* Goth *us-anan* 'to expire', Ir *arathar* 'plough' W *aradr* OCo *aradar* MIBr *arazr* MnBr *arar* Lat *arātrum* Gk *ἄροτρον*

For the glide-vowels after the syllabic vowel in Irish denoting the quality of the following consonant see §§ 164, 167 For changes due to umlaut, epenthesis, etc., see §§ 178, 166, 181—3

§ 3 (1) IE *o* (Lat *o*, Gk *o*, Gmc *a*, Skr *a*, *ā*) gives Celt *o*, Ir *odb* 'knot (in wood)' W *oddf* 'lump' Gk *ὀσφύς* 'hip', Ir *roth* 'wheel' W *rhod* Co *ros* Lat *rota* OHG *rad*

For the various changes undergone by *o* through infection see § 178 (Ir) and §§ 181—3 (Brit)

(2) In W *o* before certain consonantal groups has become *u* (written *w*) in final syllables, *a* (wr *y*) elsewhere, W *twng* 'oath', *tyngu* 'swear' Ir *tong-*, W *mwng* 'mane' Ir *mong*, W *iwrch* 'roe-buck' OCo *yorch* gl caprea Br *iourc'h* Gk *ζόρξ*, *ζορκάς* 'gazelle', W *twrch* 'hog' OCo *torch* Br *tourc'h* Ir *torc* W *llwrw* 'track' Ir *lorg* Other instances of the same change are W *mŵn* 'neck, collar', *murnwgl* *mynwgl*, Ir *muin-torc* 'torquis', *murnel* 'neck' OHG *mana* 'mane', Lat *monile*, W *mynydd* 'mountain' Co *meneth* OBr *-monad* (Mn *menez*) < **monijo-* 'neck' (cf Gk *λόφος* 'neck, hill', *δευράς* 'ridge, neck')

(3) In Ml and MnIr and in Sc *o* has frequently become *a*, OIr *coss* 'foot' MnIr *cos* Sc *cas*, MlIr *boss* *bass* 'palm of the hand' MnIr and Sc *bas* (MIW *bos*), OIr *torbe* 'profit' MlIr *tarbe* MnIr *tairbhe*, OIr *muir*, g *mora* 'sea', MnIr *muir*, g *mara*

(4) In Brit *o* appears as *a* due to unrounding after original *w*, Ir *fossad* 'firm' W *gwastad* 'level, steady' (Br *goustad*), Ir *foscad* 'shadow' W *guasgod* 'shelter' Br *gwashed*, OIr *fodail* 'division' W *gwaddol* 'dowry', Ir *folt* 'hair' W *gwallt* OCo *gols*, Ir *folcarm* 'I wash' W *golchr* 'wash' Co *golhy* Br *gwalc'h* The same change occurs in G *Dago-uassus*, MlIr *foss* 'servant' W *guas* Co *guas* Br *guas* **upo-stho-*, cf Skr *upa-sthāna-m* 'attendance, service'

§ 4 IE *u* (Lat *u*, Skr *u*, Gk *v*, Gmc *o u*) appears in Gaulish as *u* (rarely *o*), in the other branches sometimes as *u* (W *w*, Br *ou*), sometimes as *o* Ir as a rule has *o*, and *u* only before *u* or *i* in the following syllable (§ 178), W has /*u*/ (in monosyll words and in final syllables), but *o* before original *-ā* (§ 184), Co has *o* In Br *u* is most usual but earlier as well as in modern dialects *o* frequently

appears (Ml *con* Mn *loun* 'dogs' Gk *κύνες*) Ir *sruth* 'stream', g *srotha* W *ffrud* OCo *frot* Br *froud* **srutu-s*, Ir *domun* 'world', *domain* 'deep' W *dwfn*, f *dofn* 'deep' Co *down* Br *doun* G *Dubno-reia* "worldking", Lith *dūgnas* (-*gn-* from -*bn-*) 'bottom', Ir *dobur* 'water' W *dwfr* Co *dour* (1 e /*dour*/) Br *dour* (1 e /*dur*/) G *Uernodubrum* "alder-water", MlIr *oss* 'deer' MnIr, Sc *os* Co *pl ohan* 'oxen' Br *pl ouhen*, oc'hen OHG *ohso* 'ox'

u in Brit undergoes umlaut (§§ 181—3 W /*y*/, wr *y*, Co, Br *e*), W *ych* 'ox' In sylls other than final *u* becomes in W *a* (wr *y*), W *pl ychen*, *dyffryn* 'valley' (*dyfr-hynt*)

§ 5 (1) IE *e* (Lat, Gk *e*, Gmc *e* i, Skr *a*) gives Celt *e*, Ir *ech* 'horse' W, OCo *ebol* Br *ebeul* 'colt' G *Epo-sognatus* "well-accustomed to horses", *Epona* 'horse-goddess' Lat *equus*, Ir *cethir* W *pedwar* Co *peswar* Br *pevar* 'four' G *petuar[ios]* 'fourth' Gk *τέτταρες* Goth *fidwōr*, Ir *sen* 'old' W, Co, Br *hen* G *Senognatus* Lat *senex*

For changes due to vowel affection in Ir (> *i*) v § 178, in W (> *y*, *ei*), § 181, in Co, § 182, in Br, § 183 In Co *y* is found written for *e* where there was no affection, as in *myrgh* 'maiden'

(2) *e* before nasal + explosive has become *i* (Ir, G *i*, W, Co *y*, Br *e*) In Ir the change seems to have occurred only before *i* and *u* W *gwynt* (o *gwyns* Br *gwent* 'wind' Lat *uentus*, OW *pūmp*, MlW *pūmp* (MnW *pump*) Co *pūmp* Br *pemp* G *pinpetos* 'fifth', *πεμπε-δουλα* Lat *quinque* Gk *πέντε* In Brit *e* before *sw*, *sp* appears to have fallen together with *i* W *gwyech* § 24, 4, *ucher* § 25, 1

(3) *e* appears in Ir as *i* in hiatus before *a*, *i*, *u* and final *e*, *næ*, g *niath* 'nephew', *siur* 'sister', *eo*, g *iach* 'salmon' In Celt *ej* has generally fallen together with *ij*, cf § 21, 2, § 24, 3, § 30

(4) For *ew* v § 18 In *k^{ue}ek^u*, *e* > Brit *o*, W *pobⁱ* MnCo *pobaz* 'bake' Br *pobet* 'baked' Gk *πέσσω* 'I cook'

(5) Before non-palatal consonants *e* has in MnIr become *a* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant) OIr *fer* 'man', MnIr *fear* /*f'ar*/, Sc has an open *e* (but spelt as in Ir) It is noteworthy that Ir *e* is represented by ON *ja*, ON *Kiallakr* Ir *Cellach*, ON *Kiuarualr* Ir *Cerball*, ON *biunak* 'blessing' Ir *ben-dacht*, ON *skiaþak* 'lohum temulentum' Ir *scethach* 'emetic, nauseating' (Marstrander, Festschrift Amund Larsen, 186) For *e* > *a* in unacet sylls in MnW (dialects) and in Co v § 125—6

§ 6. (1) IE *i* (Lat *i*, Gk *i*, Gmc *i*, *e*) appears in Gaulish as *i* (*e* in *ande-*, *are-*, *ate-*, but *ambi-* § 98), in Neo-Celt sometimes *i*, *y*, sometimes *e*. In Ir as a rule it is *e*, *i* occurs before *u* or *i* in the following syllable (§ 178), and further before *n* + consonant and before *nn*, and in hiatus before *a*, *i*, *u* and final *e*. In W *y* predominates, before original final *-ā* it became *e*. As a rule, Co has *e*, it became *y* before *nn* and nasal + stop, *e* and *y* (also wr *ey*) vary before certain consonants (*s*, *d*). Br has *e*, in OBr *i* also occurs, changing into *e* as in W (§ 184). Ir *fedb* 'widow' W *gweddw* OCo *guedeu* Lat *uidua* Goth *widuwō*, Ir *bith*, *g betho* W *byd* OCo *bit* MlCo *bys*, *beys* Br *bed* 'world' G *Bituriges* "World-kings", < **g*^u*i* *tu-*, root **q*^u*er-* 'live', Ir *find* 'white' W *gwyn*, *f gwen* Co *guyn* Br *gwenn*, OBr *Uuin-mael* and *Uuen-mael* (MN), *Uuen-brit* (FN), G *Uindo-bona* (PN) cf Gk *ivδάλλομαι* 'appear'. For *ij* and *i* in hiatus see § 21.

In pretonic syllables in W *i* becomes *ə* (wr *y*, § 118)

(2) In Br before final *-z* (< *d*, *þ*, *s*) the diphthong *ei* regularly appears. Ir *die* 'day' W *dydd* OCo *det* MlCo *deth*, *dyth*, *geyth* Br *deiz* Lat *diēs*, Br *feiz* 'faith' W *ffydd* < Lat *fidēs*, Br *neiz* 'nest' § 27, Br *Breiz* 'Brittany', cf Lat *Brittones*, but Br *nez* 'nuts' (Ir *sned* 'nut' W *nedd* 'nuts' Gk pl *κόνιδες* OE *hnitu*), Br *gwez* 'trees' (Ir *fid* 'tree', *g feda* W *gwŷdd* 'trees' MlCo *gweyth*) are re-formations from the sg *nezenn*, *gwezenn*.

(3) *ui* is represented by /*gu*/ in W *gŵr* (pl *gwŷr*) OCo *gur* MlCo *gour* Br *gour* OBr *Uur-gost* Ir *fer* Lat *uir*, W *gwn* 'I know' (Co *gon* Br *gounn*, *gonn*) Ir *ro-finnadar*, by /*y*/ (wr *u*) in W *ugain* '20' Co *ugens* Br *ugent* Ir *fiche*. With *uain* cf W *ucher* (§ 5, 2).

§ 7 (1) IE *r* (Skr *r*, Lat *or*, Gk *αῖ* *ρα*, Gmc *ur*, *or*) and IE *l* (Skr *l*, *r*, Lat *ul*, Gk *αλ*, *λα*, Gmc *ul*, *ol*) in prim Celtic before mutes and sonants became *ri* and *li*, the *i* developing as IE *i*. Ir *breth* 'judgment' W *bryd* 'mind' Co *brys* G *uergobretus* (with *-re-* instead of *-ri-*, as in *μαρτεβ* § 309) Lat *fors* OHG *giburt* 'birth', Skr *bṛti-ś* 'a bearing, maintenance', Ir *drech* 'face' W *drych* 'appearance, mirror' *drem* (MnW *trem*) Br *dremm* 'face' (**dṛk*/*smā*) Gk *ἐ-δραρον* 'I saw' OE *torht* 'bright' Skr *dṛś-* 'look', Ir *lethan* 'broad' W *llydan* Co *ledan* Br *ledan* G *Litano-briga* "Broad-town" Gk *πλάτανος* 'plane-tree' Gk *πλατός* Skr *pṛthi-ś* 'broad', Ir *dlig-im* MlW *dly-af* 'I am entitled to' Co *dylly* MlBr *dellit* 'to have a right

to' Goth *dulgs* 'debt' (cf MnW *dyled* 'debt', from older *dylgea* 'claim, right')

Under the influence of a preceding *k* an orig *r* appears in Ir as *ru*, Ir *cruth* 'shape', g *crotha* W *pryd* 'form, time' OCo *prut* 'time' MCo *prys* Br *pred* Skr *sa-krt* 'once' Osc *petiro-pert* 'four-times', Ir *cruim* 'worm' W Co *pryf* Br *preñv* Skr *kṛma-ṣ* This development probably took place only before a following *i* or *u*, cf Ir *creth* 'poetry' beside W *prydu*, *prydyddiaeth* — *wri* gave Brit *ur* in MIW *gwrth* MnW *wrth* 'by' Co *orth* Br *ouz* Ir *frith*, *fri*, root **wert-* in Lat *uertō* 'I turn' *uersus* 'against'

(2) Before vowels and spirants IE *r* and *l* developed as *ar*, *al* in Celtic (*ra*, *la* before two consonants) (a) Ir *carr* 'cart' W *car* Br *karr*, G-Lat *carrus* Lat *currus* OE *hors*, Ir *arco* 'I ask' W *archaf* Co *arghaf* MBr *archas* 'he bade' IE **prsk'ō* (earlier **prk'-sk'ō*) cf Lat *poscō* OHG *forsecōn* 'investigate', Ir *marb* W *marw* 'o marow Br *maro* 'dead' Lat *mortuus* OHG *mord* 'murder' (b) Before syllabic vowels and *j*, *r* and *l* have not remained in any IE language Ir *maraim* 'I remain' 'o Br *mar* 'hesitation' Lat *mora* 'delay', Ir *scaraim* 'I separate' W *ysgar* 'to separate' OHG *gi-scoran* 'cut'

§ 8 (1) IE *n* (Lat *en*, *in*, Gk *a*, before vowels *av*, Gmc *un*, *on*), and IE *m* (Lat *em*, *im*, Gk *a*, before vowels *am*, Gmc *um*, *om*), have in Celtic before stops and finally given Ir *en*, *em*, Brit and G *an*, *am* (a) Ir *in-derb* 'uncertain', *in-gnáth* 'unusual', W Co Br *an-* 'un-' (W *anhun* 'insomnia', etc) Lat *in-* Gk *a-* Goth *un-*, Ir *imb* 'about' W Co Br *am*, G *Ambi-trebius* OHG *umbi*, Ir *imb*, g *imbe* 'butter' OCo *amen-en* Br *amann*, *aman-enn* (W *ymenyn* for **emenyn*, cf OCo *emen-in*) (with different vocalization) Lat *unguen* 'ointment' OHG *ancho* 'butter' (b) Before *t* or *k*, Ir has *ē* from *en*, Ir *é-coir* 'unfitting' W *anghywir* 'incorrect', Ir *cét* MnIr *céad* '100' W *cant* Co *cans* Br *kant* Lat *centum* Gk *é-katón* Goth *hund*, Ir *dét* MnIr *déad* 'tooth' W Br *dant* Co *dans* Lat *dens*, g *dentis* Goth *tunþus*, Ir *éc g éca* 'death' MnIr *éag* MIW *angheu* MnW *angau* (*angheuol* 'mortal') Co *ankow* Br *ankou* **nk'u-*, cf Gk *nékus* 'corpse' Lat *nex* 'violent death' (c) Ir *deich n-* 'ten' W *deg* Co Br *dek* Lat *decem* Gk *déxa* Goth *taihrun*, cf accusative of consonantal stems, § 304

(2) The syllabic nasals before vowels, spirants and *m* gave Ir and Brit *an*, *am* (a) Ir *annm n-* 'name' OW *anu*, pl *enuern* (Mn

enw, enwau) Co *hanow* Br *hano* (Gk *ὄνομα* < **onom-*, Lat *nōmen*) (b) Ir *am-íress* 'unbelief', Ir *amulach amulchach* 'beardless' (*p-* lost, cf § 33) (c) *ns, ms* gave Ir *ēs*, with prim Celt loss of *k* before *s*, Ir *céim* 'step' W Co *cam* Br *kamm* cf Ir *cingid* 'steps' W *rhygyn* 'ambling pace', Ir *léim* 'leap' W *llam* Br *lamm* cf Ir *lingim*, cf final *-ns*, Ir acc pl *cona* 'dogs', Gk *κύνας* (d) Ir *banb* 'sucking-pig' W *banw*, OCo *baneu* gl *sus*, Br *bano*, Ir *-gainedar* 'is born' W *ganed* 'was born' cf Ir *gein* 'birth' (e) Ir (*ben* 'woman') g pl *ban* W *benyw* Co *benen* (with umlaut) Gk *βανά*, Ir W *an-* before vowels 'un-', Ir *samail* 'likeness' W *hafal* 'similar' Co *haval* Br *hañval* Lat *similis* Gk *ἄμα* 'at once'

The IE. long syllabic sounds

§ 9 (1) IE *ā* (Lat *ā*, Gk *ā*, *η*, Gmc *ō*) and IE *ō* (Lat, Gk, Gmc *ō*) fell together in Celt except in final sylls, appearing as Ir *ā*, G *ā*, Brit *ō* whence W *aw* (MIW in monosylls and final sylls only, MnW in monosylls only, elsewhere *o*), OCo and OBr *o*, MlCo and MlBr, MnBr *o* (wr Co *e, eu, ue, u, o*, Br *eu*), MnCo *e*, Vannes *e*, Ir *bráthar* 'brother' W *brawd* pl *brodyr* OCo *broder* MlCo *broder* *bruder* MnCo *bredar* Br *breur* pl *breudeur* V *brer* pl *breder* G *Bratrons* MN Lat *frāter* Gk *φράτηρ* Goth *brōþar*, Ir *dám* 'company, following' OW *dauu* gl *cliens* MIW *daw(f)* MnW *daw* 'son-in-law' pl *dofion* OCo *dof* gl *gener* MlCo *def duf* MlBr *deuff* MnBr V *deañ* Gk *δῆμος*, Dor *δᾶμος* 'common people', Ir *fáith* 'poet' W *gwawd* 'song' (Mn 'derision') G *οἰάταις* 'soothsayers' Lat *uātēs*, Ir *dán* 'gift' W *dawn* Lat *donum*, Ir *gnáth* 'known' W *gnawd* 'customary' G *Eposognatus* MN 'familiar with horses' Lat *nōtus* Gk *γνώτος*, OW *drauc* gl *segnem* MIW *drawg* MnW *drog* 'lazy' OCo *dioc* gl *piger* MlCo *mar thyec* 'so lazy' Br *diek* lit 'un-swift', cf Lat *ocior* 'swifter' Gk *ὥκύς* 'swift'

(2) Traces of *aw* in Br are found, Br *a-raok* 'before, forward' W *yrháwg* 'in future, for a long time to come', beside the proclitic forms Br *rak-*, W *rhag*, Br *penaos* 'how' W *naws*, older *gnaws* 'nature, temperament' Ir *gnás* 'custom', cf also OBr *annaor* gl *quandoquidem*, OW *oraur* 'since', lit 'of the hour' (prep + art + Lat *hōra*, cf Ir *óre* 'since', g of *úar* 'hour') Forms with *au* (< *ā, ō*) in OCo are probably Welsh

For *ā* before *w* in Brit v § 18

(3) *ā* is rounded in Ir after *m* in *mór, már* 'great' W *mawr*

Co Br *meur* G *Iantumarus* MN < **mā-ro-*, Ir *móin* 'bog' W *mawn* 'peat' Lat *mānāre* 'to flow, spread' The following Ir words with *ō* are borrowings Ir *nós* 'custom' = W *naws*, Ir *rón* = W *rhawn* 'horse-hair', cf Br *reun* 'bristles'

(4) Final IE *-ō* gave pr Celt *-ū*, G *Frontu* < Lat *Frontō*, Ir *cú* 'dog', W *ci* < **k'wō*, v § 91, § 93

§ 10 IE *ū* (Lat *ū*, Gk *υ*, Gmc *ū*) appears in OCelt and in Ir as *ū*, but became *ī* in Brit (the change taking place before the final sylls were lost, final *-ū* from IE *-ū* or *-ō* caused the same umlaut as IE *-ī*, v § 181, *ū* first became *u*, and thus at least prior to the Latin borrowings, v § 78, 3) Ir *rún* 'secret' W *rhin* OE *rūn*, Ir *dún* W *din-* OBrit *Branodunum* G *Lug(u)dūnum* 'Lyons' ON *tún*, OE *tún*, Ir *cúl* 'back' W *cil* OCo *chul* gl *ceruix* Br *kul* Lat *cūlus*

§ 11. IE *ē* (Lat *ē*, Gk *η*, Goth *ē*, OHG, ON *ā*, OE *é*, MnE *ee*) became Celt *ī* very early, and fell together with IE *ī* (Lat, Gk, Gmc *ī*) Ir *fír* 'true' W *gwir* Co *gyr* Br *gwir* G *Co-wirus* MN Lat *uērus* OHG *wār*, Ir *rí*, g *riq* 'king' W *rh* OBrit *Πηγόδουρον* PN G *Rigomagus* PN, *Caturix* Lat *rēx*, Ir *lín* 'number' Lat *plēnus*, Ir *síl* 'seed' W *kil*, *sil* 'posterity' Lat *sē-uī* 'I sowed' OHG *sāen* 'to sow', Ir *sír* 'long' W Co Br *hir* Lat *sērus*

Note In Gaulish *e* or *ei* (prob. a close *ē*) appears in some cases *Uisurix* *Bello-wesus*, *Dumno-coueros*, *Dubno-rer*, *Dubno-reix* This seems to suggest that the change from *ē* to *ī* did not take place in some unacc. non-init. syllables

Exx. of IE *ī* Ir *rim* 'number' W *rhif* OE *rīm* OHG *rīm*, Ir *cích* 'teat' W *cig* 'meat' OCo *chic* Br *kik* Gk *κίχως* 'strength', Ir *lí* 'colour' W *liu* OCo *liu* Br *liou* G *Liuo* *Linius* Lat *liuor*

§ 12 IE *ī* (Gk *ῑω*, *οῖ* Gmc *ur*, *or* Skr *īr*, *ūr*), IE *ī̄* (Gk *λω*, *ολ*, Gmc *ul*, *ol*, Skr *īr*, *ūr*), IE *ā* (Gmc *un* Skr *ā*), IE *m̄* (Gmc *um*, Skr *ā*) seem to have two sets of representatives in Lat and Celt *ar*, *al*, *an*, *am* and *rā* *lā* *nā*, *mā* (though the latter set may be doubted)

(1) Ir *ard* 'high, great' G *Arduenna* Lat *arduus* 'high' Gk *ὀρθός* 'straight, erect' Skr *ūrdhvā-s*, W Co Br *darn* 'piece' Skr *dirná-s* 'split', W *sarn* 'causeway, litter' Skr *stīrná-s* 'spread, strewn', Lat *strātus*, Ir *rann* 'part' W *rh*an MICo *ran* OBr *rannou* gl *partimonia* **pīsnā*, Lat *pars* Gk *πέπρωται* 'it has been fated' Skr *pūrtā-m* 'reward', MIr *caill* 'a wood' W *cell* 'grove' OCo

kellr Lat *callis* 'mountain-path, woodland pasture', cf ON *holt* 'wooded hill' OHG *holz* 'a wood, forest'

(2) Ir *grán* 'grain of corn' W *grawn*, sg *gronyn* OCo *gronen* Br *greun*, sg *greunenn* Lat *grānum* OHG *korn* 'corn', Ir *bráth* 'judgement' W *brawd* Co *bres* Br *breut* ('pleader'), G *Bratuspantium* PN Ir *barn* 'judge' W *barn* 'judgement', Ir *lán* 'full' W *llawn* Co *luen*, *leun*, *len* Br *leun* Goth *fulls* Skr *pūrṇá-s*, Ir *lám* 'hand' W *llaw* OCo *lof* MCo *lef*, *luef* OE *folm* Lat *palma* But there may have been alternation between IE $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$ and $\bar{r}ā$, $\bar{l}ā$

(3) Ir *maistre* 'churn' < **māgstrijā* cf Lith *minkau* 'I knead', Germ *mengen* 'mix' (for absence of compensatory lengthening in Ir before lost *n* see § 70, 3), G *Cintuqnatus* 'the first-born' Lat *nātus*

The IE w - and j -Diphthongs.

§ 13. (1) IE *au* (unchanged in most languages), *ou* and *eu* (Gk *ou*, *ev*, Goth *au*, *vu*, Lat *ū*) remained apart in Gaulish, but with evidence that *eu* and *ou* were already falling together as *ou* > $\bar{o}$, in Ir all three gave $\bar{o}$, which from the end of the 7th cent on, first before dentals and later before other consonants, became *ua* (§ 151), in Brit all three (with $\bar{o}$ in Lat loanwords) became *u* (written *u*), ong high mixed round, in MnW the rounding is lost and the vowel is pronounced /y/, MnCo *ι*, MnBr high front round = Germ *u* Cf ZCP 3 264ff, 275ff, 591ff Ir *ruad* 'red' W *rhudd* OCo *rud* MCo. *ruth* Br *ruz* G *Ande-roudos* Lat *rūfus* (*f* shows it to be borrr from an Italic dialect) ON *rauþ-r*, Ir *buacharl* 'shepherd, child' W *bugarl* 'shepherd' Co, Br *bugel* Gk *βουκόλος* 'cowherd', Ir *tuath* 'people' W *tud* 'people, land' Co *tus* 'people' Br *tud* G *Teutomatus* *Toutomatus* *Totatigenus* Osc *touto* Goth *þiuda* 'people', Ir *lóchet* 'lightning' W *llug* 'light' *lluched* 'lightning' (/x/ from *ks*) OCo *luhet* Br *luc'hed-enn* G *Leucetius* *Loucetius* (epithet of Mars) Goth *luhaþ* 'light' Lat *lūceō* 'I shine' Gk *λευκός* 'white'

(2) Diphthongs in insular Celt gave up their diphthongal character before lenited *s*, the *w* being transferred to the following syllable and developing as intervocalic *w*, cf § 18 This took place early enough for a long vowel as first element of a diphthong not to be shortened, Ir *bronnaim* 'I injure' (**bhrusnāmi*) subj *ro-bria* (*ι* to be read as $\bar{i}$ **bhrēusāt*) W *bruw* 'wound, bruised' Lat *frūstum* 'fragment', *frūstra* 'in vain' OE *brýsan* 'to break', MlIr *tó* 'silent',

OIr plur *inna tuar* gl silentia MI 112b 3 (an s-stem nom **taruos* > **tawos* > **tao* > *tō*, orig a substantive) W *taw* 'be silent' Br *tao* 'silence', W *tawel* 'silent' OBr *taguelguilhat* gl silicernum (misunderstood), *guo-teguis* gl compescuit MnBr *tevel* 'silent' Skr *tūšnim* 'silently'

(3) The w-diphthongs remained as diphthongs at the end of accented monosyllabic words, but in Ir they became monophthongs later, Ir *dau*, *dó* 'two' OW *dou* MIW *deu* MnW *dau* Co *dow* MIBr *dou* MnBr *daou* Skr *dvāu*, Ir *au*, *ó* 'ear', cf G *Su-auria* FN Gk *οὔς* Lat *auris* Goth *ausō*, Ir *nau*, *nó* 'ship', g *noe* Gk *ναῦς* Lat *nāuis*, Ir *bou* 'of a cow' Skr *gōṣ*

(4) The diphthong at first remained in Ir before j, but later became a monophthong, OIr *auē* gl nepos (but *ind iarm-uī* gl ab-nepotes) MIr *ón*, *úa* **aujo-* (Lat *auus* grandfather', *auunculus* 'maternal uncle', Goth *awō* 'grandmother', further W *ewythr* 'uncle' OCo *euntor* Br *eontr* > **awintro-* or **awentro-*), OIr *naue* 'new', *noe nue* Sg, *nuae* MI, *nure* Wb (**noujo-s*) W *newydd* Co *nowyth*, *newyth* OBr *nouind neuued* (in place-names) MnBr *nevez* (**noujo-s*), G *Neurodunum* *Nourodunum* IE **neujo-s*, Goth *naujs*, cf Lat *nouus*, Gk *νέος* There also appears to be a special development in Brit before j, Ir gerundive *bethi* 'to be cut' *srethi* 'to be stretched' (beside part *bithe*, *srithe*) W *caradwy* 'lovable' Co *caradow* OBr *nit inaatoe* gl non ineundum est Skr *kar-tavya-s* 'faciendus'

§ 14 IE *ai* (Lat *ae*, Gk, Gmc *ai*, Skr *ē*) appears in G as *ai*, *ē*, in Ir as *ái*, *óí* (both found in Wb), later *oe*, *ae* (almost only when beginning a word in Wb), monophthongized early (in ON. wr *e Melpatrekr*, Ir *Máelpatric*) and now in some dialects pronounced /j/, in others /ɜ/, since the 15th cent this monophthongal sound is written *ao* In Brit are found W *oe*, OCo *ui* MICo *oy* MnCo *ō*, *ū*, MnBr *oa* OIr *áis aēs*, *óis oēs* (Wb) 'age' W *oes* OCo *huus* MICo *oys* MnCo *ūz* G *Ēsus*, *Aesus* (GN), W *oed* 'age' MIBr *oet*, *oat*, *ouat* MnBr *oad* Lat *aevum* 'lifetime' Gk *αἰών* Goth *auws*, OIr *caech* 'one-eyed' W *coeg* 'empty', *coegddall* 'purblind' OCo *cuc* gl luscus uel monophthalmus Lat *caecus* 'blind' Goth *haihs* 'one-eyed' Skr *kēkara-s* 'squint-eyed', OIr *tíns-renn* (Wb), *táirs* (MI) 'dough' W *toes* Br *toaz* OHG *theismo*, *deismo* OE *þræisma* 'leaven' Gk *στρίψ* 'wheaten flour made into dough', W *hoedl* 'life-time' MIBr *hoazl* MnBr *hoal* OBrit *Deae Setlocennae* MIr *gar-séle* W *hoedledd* Lat *sae-culum* 'lifetime, age' (-kul- < kl < tl), W *coel* 'belief, omen' OW

corlou gl auspicius, *corbraucc* gl augur OCo *chuallic*, fem *curllhoges* OBr *coel* gl haruspiciem OE *hæll* 'lucky omen' ON *heil* 'health, luck' Goth *hails* 'healthy' (also a greeting) Lat *caelum* 'sky' (OIr *cél* 'augurium' borrr from W), W *coed* 'wood' OCo *cuit* MlCo *coys cos* Br *koat* G *Καϊτόβριξ*, *Cetobrica*, *mons Uocetius* Goth *haiþr* 'open land' In W *ae* appears instead of *oe* in *gwaew* 'spear' (now wr *gwayw*, for *gw-* v § 34, 3) G *γαῖσος* OBr *guugoruou* gl spiculis, and in *gwaed* 'blood' OCo *gurt* MlCo *goys* Br *goad* V *goed*

§ 15 IE *oi* (Lat *oe* > *ū*, Gk *oi*, Gmc *ai*, Skr *ē*) appears in G as *oi*, in Ir as *ói*, *ái* (both already in Wb), later *oe*, *ae* (only in absolute initials in Wb), with later development as IE *ai*, in Brit it became *ū* (cf § 85) and then *u*, which developed like *u* in § 13 Ir *óin*, *oen* 'one' W Co *un* Br *unan* OLat *oino(m)* Lat *ūnus* Gk *οἷν* Goth *ains* Skr *ēnam* 'him', Ir *oeth* 'oath' OW *anutonou* gl periuria MnW *anudon* 'perjury' Goth *aips*, OIr *corm* 'lovely, dear' W *cu* Co *cuf* OBr *cum-* (in names) MlBr *cuff* MnBr *kuñw* Goth *hairs* 'village' OHG *heim* 'home' OE *hæman* 'to sleep with' Gk *χοιμάω* 'to put to bed', W *hud* 'magic' Co *hus* (OCo *hudol* gl magus) Br *hud* ON *seipr*

§ 16. IE *ei* (Lat *i*, Gk *ei*, Gmc *i* Skr *ē*) gave *pi* (*i* and developed in Neo-Celtic in the same way as *ē* in Latin loan-words, in Ir it remained as *ē* before palatal consonants but elsewhere by the end of the 7th cent. became *ia* (diphthong), in W it gave the diphthong /*uy*/ (wr *wy*), OCo *ui*, MlCo *oy*, MnCo *ō*, *ū*, Br *oue* /*ue*/, diphthong, occasionally two syllables), *oe*, *oa* Ir *fiad* 'in presence of' W *gŵydd* /*gūyð*/ 'presence' MlBr *a goez* 'openly' MnBr *ac'huez* Gk *εἶδος* 'appearance', Ir *tiagu* 1 go, 2 sg *tégu* W *morduy* 'sea-voyage' (formerly also 'movement of the sea') Gk *στεῖχω* 'I walk', Ir *sciath* 'shield' W *ysgwyd* Br *skoed* 'écu' (< **sgento-*) Lat *scūtum* (< **sgonto-*), Ir *riad-* 'ride', 3sg pres *rét*, *dé-riad* 'two-wheeled chariot' G *rēda* 'cart' W *gorwydd* 'horse' G *para-uerēdus* 'spare horse' Ir *réd* 'smooth' W *rhwydd* 'easy' MnBr *rouez* 'thin-sown' OHG *rītan* 'to ride', W *byyd* 'food' OCo *buit* gl cibus uel esca MlCo *boys bos* MnCo *būz* OBr *boutolion* gl esciferis MnBr *boed boued* derivate of the root **g^{uei}-* 'live' (Ir *biad* neut. 'food' is disyllabic, perhaps influenced by *bethu* 'life', where *e* is from a disyll group, cf W *bywyd*), Ir *dia* 'god', g *dé*, OW *duru-tit* 'god-head' MlW *dryw-aul* 'divine' W *meudwy* 'hermit' (lit. "servant of God") G *Deuognata* (for subsequent devel. of *uyu* in Brit v § 154, 1)

Lat *dīuus* 'god(like)' Skr *dēvá-s*, Ir *cia* 'who' W *pyw* Co *pyw* Br *prou*, v § 154, § 373

IE *w* and *j*.

§ 17 IE *w* (Lat *u* /*w*/, Gk *ϕ*, Gmc *w*, Skr *v*) gave G *w*, Ir *f*-, medially *v* (wr *b* > *bh*), between vowels (already in the 7th cent.) nil, Brit *gw*, -*gw*- (whence later -*w*-), in finals -*w*. In sandhi Ir *f*- and Brit *gw*- undergo lenition (> Ir nil, Brit *w*) W *w* is pronounced as Eng *w*, Br *gw*- before back vowels as *gō* or *gū*, before front vowels as *gū*, Br *w*- as *v* (in Léon, in Tréguer *gw*- = *gū*, *w*- = *ū*), medial *w* is written *o* or *ou* in Br, but becomes *v* under certain circumstances

Exx initially Ir *fen* 'waggon' W *gwaïn* OBrit -Lat *co-winnus* 'war-chariot' ON *uagn* 'waggon', cf Lat *uehō* 'I carry' Gk *ὄχος* 'waggon' Skr *vahāmi* 'I carry, go', Ir *find* 'white' § 6, 1, Ir *fír* 'true' § 11 Before a rounded vowel *w* disappears W *gŵr* /*gūr*/ § 6, 3, Ir *folcarm* W *golchi* etc § 3, 4, Ir *fiar* 'crooked' W *gŵyr* Br *gour* *goar* 'courbe, tortu' (-*ua*- and -*oa*- are phonetically the same and represent IE *ev*) OE *wír* 'wire'

wr- and *wl*- regularly gave Ir *fr*-, *fl*-, and W *gwr*-, *gwl*- In spoken Welsh the *w* frequently disappears A pronunciation *r*°, *l*° is suggested by OCo and MIBr *ru*, *ro*, *lu* *lo* in Co writing *w* frequently disappears, and in MnBr dial of Léon *w* is lost, Ir *fracc* 'woman' W *gwrach* hag' OCo *gruah* MnCo *gurah* MIBr *groach* MnBr Léon *grac'h*, elsewhere *groac'h*, W *guraig* 'woman, wife' OCo *grueg*, greg MCo *gurek* MnCo *gwrēg* MIBr *gruec*, pl *groagez* MnBr Léon *grek*, elsewhere *groek*, *grouek*, Ir *froech* 'heather' W *grug* (Demetian dial *gwrīg*) Anglo-Co *griglan*, Ir *fluch* 'wet' OW *gulp* MnW *gwlyb* (colloq *glyb*) OCo *ghbor* gl humor MnCo *glēb* OBr *rogulpias* gl ohnaut MIBr *gloeb* *glueb* MnBr Léon *gleb* Trég *gloeb* Lat *liquidus* (*w* lost before *l*)

For *sw*- v § 24, 4, *k'w*- § 50, *skw*- § 25, 3, *dw*-, *dhw*- became *d*-, Ir *dau* 'two' § 13, 3, but cf OBrit *Δουηκαληδόνας*, Ir *dall* 'blind' W *dall* Co Br *dall* Goth *dwals* 'foolish', *bhw*- Ir *bíu* 'am' MIW *bí*- § 485

§ 18. Intervocalic *w* Ir *ahél*, *aval* 'breeze' W *awel* OCo *auhel* gl *aura* MCo *awel* Br *avel* Gk *ἄελλα* 'storm', OW *Litau* gl *Latío* MnW *Llydaw* 'Brittany' G *Letauia* Skr *prthivī* 'earth' (**plthawī*), W *ewythr* etc (with umlaut) § 13, 4

ow, *ew* appear in Ir as *ō* and also as *ū*, OW *ou* MIW *eu* MnW *eu* /əy/, in finals *au* /ay/, Co *ow*, OBr *ou* /ow/ MIBr *ou* MnBr *aou* /āw/ or /ow/, in post-tonic sylls MnBr *ou* /u/, the dial of Vannes has the diphthong *eu* /ou/ Exx Ir *lóathar* gl peluis, *lóthur* gl canalis, *lothor* gl alueus MIBr *louazr* 'trough' MnBr *laouer* G *lautro* gl balneo Gk *λοετρόν λουτρόν* 'bath', plur ending of *u*-stems OW *-ou* MIW *-eu* MnW *-au* Co *-ow* OBr *-ou* /ow/ MIBr *-ou* MnBr *-ou* /u/ G *Lugoues* 'tutelary gods of shoemakers' IE **-owes*, MIIr *crú* 'blood' MIW *creu* Co *crow* Gk *κρέας* 'flesh' Skr *kravīṣ* 'raw meat' (Lat *cruor* 'blood'), Ir *oac* 'young' W *ieuanic* OCo *iouenc* MICO *yowynk* Br *iaouank* G *Iouincillus* **jewnk*'o-, **jewenk*'o- (or **jow*-), Lat *iuuencus* Goth *juggs*, with umlaut W *newydd* etc § 13, 4, Ir *núna* 'famine' W *newyn* Co *noun* Br *naoun* Goth *naup̃s* 'need' Occasionally IE *ow*, *ew* appears as *aw*, W *naw* Co *naw* Br *nao* 'nine' (but Ir *nói*) Lat *nouem* Goth *nūn* Skr *nára*, W *llawen* 'happy', but OCo *louen* MICO *lowen* MIBr *louen* MnBr *laouen*, W *llawer* 'many' Co *lower* OIr *lour* 'enough' MIIr *lór* (*l*- from *r*- through dissimilation, cf Ir *ro-fera* 'it suffices', Thurneysen, ZCP 13 105)

IE *iw* Ir *beo* 'living', *bethu* 'life' W *byw*, *bywyd* Co *byw* bew Br *beo* **g*"*iwo*-s, to Lat *uīuus*

IE *āw* developed in W as *ow*, giving *eu* /əy/, *au* /ay/, but in Br (and Co ?), the long *ā* developed into /o/ and *e* W *breuan* 'hand-mill' OCo *brou* Br *breo* Ir *bró* *bráo*, g *broon* 'millstone' Skr *grāvan-* (Goth *l^aairnus* Eng *guern*), W *haul* 'sun' OCo *heuul* MICO *heul*, *houl* Br *heol* Gk *ἥλιος*, *ἥλιος* Lat *sōl* (In Br *āw* > *eo*) — IE *ēw* G *Briua* 'bridge' ON *brú* OSi *b(ī)rūvi*, IE *īw* Ir *lí* etc § 11 IE *ew* Ir *día* etc § 16

w after a disappearing vowel OBrit *Cuno-ual* W *Cynwal* Ir *Conall*

§ 19 Medially after consonants *w* became in Ir *v* (wr *b*), remained as *w* in Brit, very rarely has it been lost or coalesced with the prec consonant For *-sw-* (Ir *v*, wr *b*, W /x/, wr *ch*) v § 24, 4 *dw* Ir *fedb* 'widow' etc § 6 1, Ir *medb* 'intoxicated', *Medb* MnIr *Meadhbh* W *meddw* Br *mezo*, *meo*, *mezvi*, *meoi* 'to get drunk' Gk *μεθύω* 'to be drunken', Ir *bodb* (MnIr *badhbh*) 'scald-crow', also 'a war-goddess in the form of a scald-crow' G *Ateboduius* *Boduo-gnatus* OE *beadu* 'battle' — *-gw-* § 35, 4, *-ngw-* § 37, 4, *-k'w-* Ir *ech* § 5, 1, *-sqw-* § 54, *-tu-* Ir *cethir* 'four' § 5, 1

rw Ir *tarb* 'bull' MnIr *tarbh* W *tarw* Co *tarow* Br *taro*, *tarv* pl

trvi G *Taurus* GN Lat *taurus* Gk *ταῦρος*, Ir *berbaim* 'I boil' W. *berw* 'boiling' vn *berwn* Br *bero* *berw*, vn *birwn* Lat *ferueō*, Ir *marb* 'dead' § 7, 2, Ir *meirb* 'flabby, weak' MnIr *meirbh* W *merw* 'insipid' OHG *maro*, *marawēr* 'mellow' — *lw* Ir *selb* 'possession' MnIr *sealbh*, *seilbh* W *helw* G *Lugu-selua*, OIr *delb* 'figure' MnIr *dealbh*, *deilbh* W *delw* — *nw* Ir *banb* MnIr *banbh* § 8, 2d, W *llanw* 'tide, flow' Br *lano*, *lanw* Co *lanwes* 'fullness' Skr *prnō-ti* (beside *prnā-ti*) 'fills' Originally the prefix which gave Ir *co n-* W *cy-* ended in *m*, in the following examples *-m w-* became *w* Ir *cour* 'fit, correct' W *cywir* OBr *Keuuir-gar* G *Couirus*, *Dumno-coueros* Other instances of this are W *cywain* 'to carry', *cywaith* 'companion', *cywely* 'bedfellow', *cywlad* 'bordering country' In other cases, however, we find Ir *v* (wr *b*), W *ngw* Ir *cobsud* 'firm' (*fossad*) W *cyngwastad* 'equable' (*gwastad*), Ir *coibnes* 'affinitas' (*fine*), MlIr *cobled*, *cobled* 'feast' (*fled* W *gwledd*), MlW *cyngwasgar* 'scattering', *cyngwydd* 'presence' (*gwydd*)

Note 1 For the pronunciation of W *-u* Br *-o* v § 161

Note 2 In W *r* (wr *f*) is occasionally substituted for *w* *gwddf* = *gwddw*

§ 20 IE *j* (Lat *j* Gk *h-*, *ζ-*, Gmc *j*, Skr *y*, in many languages it disappeared between vowels, coalesced with a preceding consonant or became *ij* after a consonant) was retained in G, mostly retained in Brit, but medially under certain conditions became *đ* (whence Br *z*), in Ii *j* disappeared throughout

Initially OIr *huisse* 'fitting' **justigo-s*, cf Lat *iustus*, OIr *óac* 'young' § 18, W *iau* 'yoke' § 35, 3, W *nurch* etc § 3, 2, OIr *hét*, *ét* 'zeal, jealousy' W *addiant*, *addiad* 'longing' G *Iantu-marus*, *Ientumarus*, *Adiatunnus* *Adietuanus* Skr *yátatē* 'strives, takes pains', *yatná-s* 'effort', Ir *icht* 'race, people' MlW *ieith* 'people, language' MnW *iaith* 'language' Br *iez* OHG *giht* 'statement', *gehan* 'to state' Lat *iocus* 'joke', Ir *aig* 'ice', g *egu* W *ia* OCo *rey* 'ice', *iein* gl *frigus* MlCo *yeyn* *yen* 'cold' Br *ien* OE *qicel*, *is-qicel* E *icicle*, W *ias* 'a seething, violent heat or cold, thrill' Gk *ζέω* 'boil' OHG *gesan* 'to ferment' Skr *yasati* 'bubbles, seethes'

Note 1 Zupitza, ZCP 2 191, assumes that *j* + vowel can give Ir *í* or *i* The foll *exx* can be cited in favour (1) OIr *hicc* 'healing' W *iach* 'healthy' Co *yagh* Br *iach* Gk *ἔκος* 'a cure' Skr *yaśas* 'honour', (2) OIr *híth* gl *puls* OW *rot* gl *pulsu* MlW *rot* MnW *uud* (SW dial *uud* /*jūd*/) 'porridge' OCo *rot* gl *puls* Br *rod* 'pap' Lett *jaut* 'to mix dough' Skr *pra yāuti* 'to stir up' cf Lat *ūs* 'broth', (3) Ir *icht* v *supr*

Note 2 In W *uud* /*ju-*/ has become /*yw-*/ but it still remains in the

SW dial *wd*, in compound proper names whose first element in OW was *Iwi-*, *ju-* has in MI and MnW become *i-*, *Iudgual* *Idwal*, *Iudris* *Idrys* *Idris*, *Iudnou* *Idno* *Iudhail* *Ithael* *Ithel* (< *Iddhael*) *Iudic* *Iddig* (cf *Iddawg* OBr *Iudoc*), MIW *Iddas* 'Judas' (Lat *borr*), cf § 77, 3, otherwise this *ju* has become W *u*, as in *udd* 'lord', *Morgetrud* *Maredudd*, *Griprud* *Gripprud* *Griphrud* *Gruffudd* (cf *Griffri*) *Ehrudd* *Eludd*, *Morrudd* *Morudd*

§ 21. IE *j* between vowels (1) Ir *ae* > *ua*, *naue* > *nue*, W *caradwy* v § 13, 4 *āj* is represented in the comparative Ir *máo* 'greater' W *mwy* (also MIW *moe*) Co *moy* Br *mui*, posit Ir *mór* etc § 9, 3 *ōju-* could be assumed in W *wy* 'egg' pl *wyau* OCo *uy* MnCo *oy* MnBr *vi*, pl *viou* V *ui* OHG *ei* ON *egg* (Lat *ōvum* Gk *ὠόν*), but this leaves unexplained Ir *og* (*s*-decl), pl *ugar* MnIr *ubh*, g *uibhe*

(2) IE *ij* (also IE *is*- § 24, 3, *ip-* before vowels, and *ej*) appear in non-final sylls (esp before *a*) as W *ae* (OW *ai*, MIW *ay*) Co *oy*, *oe*, *oa* Br *oa*, *oua* Ir *gaim-red*, *gem-red* 'winter' (*e* < *i-a*, cf § 146, *gam* is re-formed after *sam* 'summer') OW *gaem* MnW *gaeaf* OCo *goyf* Br *goañv* G *Giamillus*, *Giamon* (abbrev name of a month) Lat *hiems* Gk *χιών* 'snow' (*χειμών* 'winter'), hence regularly W *cyn-haeaf* 'harvest', but OCo *kyniaf* is from **kintu-gjamo-*, not **-gijamo-*, — OW *dair*, *dayr* 'earth' MnW *dacar* (SW dial *dâr* for *daer* cf MIW *daerawl*) Co *doar*, *doer*, *dor*, *dour* Br *douar*, — Ir *trian* 'a third' OW *trean* MnW *traean*, — Ir *riathor* gl *torrens* OW *reatir* gl *torrentum* MnW *rhaeadr* 'waterfall' Lat *rī-uus* 'brook' Sk *raya-s* 'river' OE *riþ* 'river', — Ir *grian* 'sand' W *graeen* 'gravel' Br *grouan* After a labial, W *wy* Ir *smér* MnIr *sméar* 'blackberry' W *mwyar* (Gwent dial *mūar*) OCo *moyr-bren* gl *morus* MnCo *môr* Br *mouar* 'blackberries' Cf Ir *briail* 'axe' OW *bahell*, *lau-bael* MnW *bwyall*, *bwyell* MnCo *boell*, *bûl* MIBr *bouhazl* (with unetymological *z*) MnBr *bouc'h-al* OHG *bihal*, *bial*

(3) Under certain circumstances the *i* in the group *ij* (from IE *ij* or *ej*) remained unchanged, the *j* then as a rule giving *đ* in Brit Apparently the position of the accent partly accounted for this, probably *i* before *j* remained when accented or following the accent (giving later *y* or *e*) There is however no complete and satisfactory explanation In the following cases, too, *j* was lost after unchanged *i* Ir *in-diu* 'today' W *he-ddiw* (from *heddyw*) OCo *heþeu* MCo *hethew* MIBr *hiziu* MnBr *hirio* Lat *diū* 'by day', W *rhyw* 'kind, sex some' pl *rhai* 'some' (indef pron)

(4) Examples of *đ* W *trydydd* fem *trydedd* 'third' Lat *tertius*

Goth *þrūdja* Skr *trtiya-s*, W *newydd* etc § 13, 4, abstract nouns in W *-ydd*, *-edd*, and nouns denoting agent in *-ydd* etc, Ir *damnae* 'material' MnIr *damhna* W *defnydd* MIBr *daffnez* MnBr *danvez* Trég *danve*, W *mynydd* § 3, 2, Ir *bíu* 'am' W *byddaf* Co *bethaf* MIBr *bezaff* MnBr *bezann* Lat *fiō*, Ir *sní*- 'spin' W *nyddu* Co *nethe* Br *neza* to Lat *neō* Gk *véw* 'I spin', Ir *scé* 'hawthorn' pl *sciad* W *ysbyddad(en)* Co *spethes* ('briars, brambles') Br *spezad* ('gooseberries') < **sqhwya-t* to Lith *skujā* (g pl *skūjų* according to Kutschat, but now *skujū*) 'the needles of trees', Ir *clé* 'left' MIW *cledd* Br *kleaz*, Ir *fo-chla* 'north' W *go-gledd* Goth *hler-duma* 'left' Lat *ch-uvus* 'unfavourable', Ir *díe*, *día* 'day' W *dydd* etc § 6, 2, W *rhydd* 'free' Goth *freis*, accus *frijana* Skr *priyá-s* 'dear'

(5) W, Co, Br *i* before a vowel goes back to *ij* in the following Ir *scian* 'knife' W *ysgwen* Lat *sacēna*, *scēna* 'the pickaxe of the pontifex', Ir *sion* 'foxglove' OW *fionou* gl *rosarum* MnW *ffion* 'foxglove' Lat *spionia* a kind of grape-vine' (relation to MIBr *foeonnenn* 'privet' MnBr *feon*, *freon* 'jonquils' not clear), Ir *líu* 'more' W *llaw*s 'many' Br *hes* to Gk *πλεων* ON *fleiri* 'more'

Note In W (but not in Co and Br) *đ* appears in some instances in cases other than those mentioned under (3) and (4) Ir *cré* 'clay' f g *criud* W *pridd* MCo *pry* MnCo *prí* Br *prí* Lat *crēta* (*ē* < *ēje* ?), plur termination of *i*-stems MIW *guldoedd* 'countries' (< **-ejes*) —

§ 22. IE *j* after consonants interchanged from an early period with *ij* Ir had generally *ij* only, Brit had partly *ij* (v § 21, 4), partly *j* Before retained vowels *j* which did not become *ij* remained, before a disappearing final it was lost (after causing umlaut or epenthesis of the preceding vowel), occasionally it became *đ* For the treatment of Ir *ij* before finals v § 94

sj gave Brit *đ* (with epenthesis) W *haidd* Br *heiz* 'barley' Skr *sasyá-m* 'seed', W *eiddo* 'his' Skr *asyá* *gj* Ir *laigiú* 'smaller' MIW *lleir* MnW *llai* Gk *ἐλάσσων* *dj* W *gwraidd* 'roots' OCo *gruent-en* gl *radix* MIBr *gruizyenn* MnBr *grisienn* Lat *radius* 'staff', Ir *cráde* 'heart' MnIr *croidhe* W *craidd* 'centre' **l'radjo-* (Co *cres creys* Br *kreiz* V *kreis* seem to come from an old loc **l'rd-su*), cf Lat *cor* Gk *καρδιά* OHG *herza* *bj* W *cnaif* 'shearing, fleece' MnCo *kneu* Br *kreoñ* V *kaneo* Gk *κναφεύς* 'a fuller' *tj* Ir *sarthe* f 'swarm' W *hard* f Br *hed* m **satjā*, cf Lat *satiō* 'a sowing', W *rhard* 'necessity' Co *reys*, *res* Br *red* Lat *ratio* 'reckoning, account, reason' Goth *raþjō* 'number, reckoning' (all possibly borr from Lat) *ɾj*.

Ir *cove* 'cauldron' W *par* OCo *per* Br *per* to ON *huerr* Skr *čarú-š* *lj* Ir *aile* 'other' MIW *eil* MnW *aíl* Co *yll*, *eyll* Br *eil* Lat *alius* Gk *ἄλλος*, W *caill* 'testicle' Br *kell* G *calliomarcus* 'colt's foot' *nj* Ir *grán-ne* 'a grain' W *gron-yn* *mj* Ir *duine* 'man' W *dyn* Co Br *den* § 28

Retention of *j* before a remaining vowel Br *grisen* 'root', but W *gureiddyn* with loss of *j* before *y*, W *heidio* 'to swarm', Ir *cailech* 'cock' og g *Cahaci* W *ceihog* OCo *chehoc* MCo *kullyek* Br *kilheg* /*kil'ek*/ In Br *j* coalesces frequently with the preceding consonant *xj* > *š*, *kj*, *xj* > *j*, *tj*, *dj* > *š*, *ž*, *lj* > *l'*, *nj* > *ń*, v § 180,3 In W *j* drops after certain consonant groups *treiglo* for *treighlo* 'to roll', *teimlo* 'to feel' In MIW *j* is very frequently omitted in writing, and it is also not pronounced in Mn SW dialects MIW *offerrat* 'priest' MnW *offeriad* SW colloq 'fferrad', MIW *ceilawc* MnW *ceihog* SW colloq *ceilog* The MnW standard literary forms always have the *j* in such cases

rj before a retained vowel became *rd* Ir *Ériu* W *Iwerddon* 'Ireland', Ir *arim* 'I plough' W *arddaf*, vn MIW *erddi* cf Goth *arjan* 'to plough', W *morddwyd* 'thigh' OCo *morbout* (l *mordout*) gl femur uel coxa MIBr *morzat* MnBr *morzed* OHG *murrot*

IE *s* (*z*, *þ*)

§ 23 IE *s* (Lat *s*, intervoc *r*, Gk *h*, lost, assim , *s*, Gmc *s*, by Verner's Law *z* > *r*, Skr *s*, *ś*) in C' partly remained as *s*, partly became *h*, or was lost or assimilated to a sonant. Between *s* and *h* a loosely articulated *s* is probably to be assumed, and this may well have existed in G and OBrit though still represented in writing by *s*. Retained *s* is pronounced in MnIr as *s*, but when palatalized as *ś* (before a palat labial initially as *s* Arran /*sb'án*/ 'show' *taisbéan*, /*sm'ér*/ 'blackberry' *sméar*, /*s ír*/ 'it is true' *is fíor*) Ir *h* from *s* does not vary in timbre, *τ'* however occasionally appears

For final *s* v § 87 In the following paragraphs *s* will be treated in three groups (*s* with vowel, *s* with explosive, *s* with sonant), *s* before voiced stops, § 27

§ 24 (1) Initial *s* before vowels remains in Ir, but can undergo lenition (> *h*) in the sentence. Lenited *s* (= *h*) is written *s* in OIr, but in later OIr *s* begins to appear, and this is used in MnIr (*sh* in Latin script). In Brit also originally it doubtless remained as *s*, lenited to *h*, but early in the Roman period the alternation *s*-*h*- was given up, and *h*- predominated, very few words retain *s*

Exx Ir *sen* 'old' § 5,1, Ir *sam* 'summer' W *haf* Co *haf* Br *hañv* OHG *sumar* Gk *ἡμέρα* 'day' Skr *samā* 'year', Ir *salann* 'salt' § 2, Ir *sesc* 'dry, sterile' MnIr *seasg* W *hysb*, f *hesb* Br *hesp* *hesk* (**sisqu-*, **sisqwo-*) Av *hišku-* 'dry', OBrit *Sabrina* W *Hafren* OE *Sæfern* MnE *Severn*

(2) In Ir *amal* 'as, like' and other proclitics, the lenited form has been generalized, v § 113 The most important examples of retained *s* in Brit are W *sil* 'race, progeny' = *hil* § 11, Ir *secht* 'seven' W *sarth* Co *seyth* Br *seiz* Lat *septem* Gk *ἑπτὰ* Goth *sibun*, Br *se* 'this' § 369,3, Ir *sunde* 'seat' (**sodjo-*), *for-ud* 'bench' (**upo-pro-*) W *sedd* 'seat' (**sed-*), *gor-sedd* 'mound, throne' to Lat *sedeo* 'I sit', W *sawdd* 'depth, subsidence', *soddi* 'to sink', Ir *súgm* 'I suck' W vn *sugno* MBr *sunaff* MnBr *suna*, W *sugn* 'suction, sap' Br *sun* 'juice' Lat *sūcus* 'juice', *sūgō* 'I suck' OE *sūcan* 'suck', Ir *sáer* W *saer* 'craftsman' § 30, Ir *saltraim* 'I trample' W vn *sathru* OBr *saltrócion* gl *graciles* MnBr *saotra* 'to soil' V *sautrein* 'to trample, to soil' OHG *salo* 'dark-coloured, soiled' Goth *saldra* *scurritas*

(3) Medially between syllabic vowels *s* in Neo-Celtic became *h* In Ir this *h* entirely disappeared, in Brit after a lost vowel it remained as a rule in the earliest period and then coalesced with a preceding consonant, otherwise it eventually disappeared completely Ir *brú* (g *bronn*) 'paunch, womb' < **bhrusō*, cf OHG *brust* 'breast', Ir *tíge* 'houses' § 301, Ii *eo* 'salmon', g *iach* MIW *ehawc* MnW *eog* OCo *ehoc* MBr *ehouc*, *ehoc* MnBr *eok* Lat -G *esox*, Ir *Eogan* W Owain G *Esugen(us)* W *wyt* 'thou art' < **esi* + pronoun § 479

es, is before *a*, final *ā* and unaffected *o* (*e*) developed in the same way as *ij* in non-final sylls § 21,2 Ir *íarn*, *íarann* 'iron' W *haearn* OCo *hoern* MCo *horn* Br *houarn* OBrit *Iserninus* G *Isarnus*, *Isernodero*, *Ysarnodori* gl *ferrei ostii* Lat *aes* 'copper' Skr *ayas*, W *claear* 'lukewarm' Co *clor*, *clour* 'gentle' Br *klouar* 'lukewarm, gentle' Gk *χλιαρός* (*χλ-* instead of *kl-* through the influence of a medial -s-, which had become -h-), W *mwyalch* 'blackbird' OCo *moelh* gl *merula* Br *moualc'h* Lat *merula*, — Ir *siur* 'sister' W *chwaer* OCo *huar* MnCo *hoer*, *hor* Bt *c'hoar* **swesōr*, **swesor-* cf Lat *soror*, the W pl is *chworydd* (with *i* for *uy*, cf *miar-en* beside *mwyar*), *i* also alternates with *ae*, OW *guannunn* 'Spring' MIW *gwaeanhwyn*, *gwaeannwyn*, later *gwannwyn*, *gwanwyn* MnW *gwan-*

wyn OCo *guarntorn* (from **guranorn*) to Skr *vasantá-s* 'Spring' Gk *ἔα* Lat *uēr* In W *ǣ* has developed in *oedd* 'was' Co *o* Br *oa* **esāt*, cf Lat *erat*

-is- Ir *fíu* 'worthy' W *gwrw* Br *gwrou* 'merry' G *Uisu-riz*, *Bello-uesus* *Sego-uesus* **wēsu-* to Skr *vāsu-ś* 'good'

-s- after *w*-diphthongs, v § 13, 2 After *ɣ*-diphthongs Ir *gae* 'spear' MnIr *gaor* W *gwaew*, *gwayw* (§ 34, 3) OCo *hoch-wuyu* gl *uenabulum* MCo *gew* G -Lat *gaesum* G -Gr *γαῖσος*

s after lost vowel in the superlative OW *hnham* 'oldest' M₁W *hynaf*, MBr *querhaf* 'dearest' (§ 323), in the subjunctive M₁W 3 sg pres *canho* 'he may sing', 3 sg ipf *carher* 'he would love' (§ 453 n 1), in denominative verbs like OBr *etn-coil-ha-am* 'I take the auspices', Ir *sár-aig-im* 'I insult' W vn *sar-ha-u*, in the equative, as M₁W *trymhet*, *duhet* The *h* coalesces with voiced stops and spirants (§ 203) W *tecaf* 'fairest' (for *teg-haf*) OW *diguedham* 'last' MnW *dwethaf*, M₁W *bytho* 'he may be' (for *bydd-ho*) The retention of medial *h* in MnW depends upon the accent (§ 128)

(4) *sw* initially gave Ir *s*, lenited to *f*, Brit /*xw*/, medially Ir /*v*/ (wr *b*), Brit /*r*/ Ir *suir* 'sister', *mo fúir* 'my sister' etc v (3) above, Ir *sé* 'six', *seser* 'six persons', *mór-feser* 'seven persons' (*mór-feser* with *h* from *f*), Ir *Sadhb* cf G *Suadhu-genus* to Lat *suāuus* 'pleasant' Gk *ῥῆδύς* 'sweet' OE *swēte*, W *chwegr* 'mother-in-law' OCo *hweger*, W *chwegrwn* 'father-in-law' OCo *hwigeren* Lat *socrus*, m *socer*, Gk *ἐκρυά*, *ἐκρυός*, Ir *feb* f 'excellence' (d *ferb*, also 'as'), *febas* MnIr *feabhas*, OIr (*febtu*) g *febtad* (gl substantiae) W *gwyeh* 'fine, splendid' **weswā*, **weswo-s* to Ir *fíu* etc In reduplicated forms *f* M₁Ir *sephann* 'he played', cf OIr *no-d-seinn* 'who sounds it (the trumpet)' — For *s* in 2 pl pronouns in Co Br v § 357 — For *sj* v § 22

§ 25. (The groups *s* + explosive or explosive + *s*) (1) There is no sure evidence of *ss* *sp* gives initially Ir *s*, len to *f*, Brit *f* Ir *seir* 'heel', acc dual *dí pherid* W *ffêr* 'ankle' OCo *fer* gl *crus* to Lat *spernō* 'I despise' Skr *sphurdma* 'I kick, tread', — Ir *sion* § 21, 5, — Ir *sine* 'teat', *bó trí-phne* = *bó trí sine* 'a cow with three teats' M₁Ir *sine* *Searn* gl *uuula* MHG *span-varc* 'sucking pig' ON *speni* 'nipple', — Ir *selg* 'milt' Br *felc'h* Gk *σπλήν* 'spleen', — Ir *sonn* 'stake' W *ffon* 'stick' to Gk *σφήν* 'wedge' ON *spánn* 'chip' OE *spōn* 'chip of wood' Medially, -*sp*- gave W *ch*, (Co *h* M₁W *ucher* 'evening' OCo *gurthuher* (wr -*wer*) Lat *uesper* Gk *ἑσπερος*, it developed as -*ps*-

ps gave Ir *s*, W *ch*, Co *gh*, *h*, Br *c'h* W *crych* 'curly' G *Crixus*, *Crixsus* Lat *crispus* (*sp* < *ps*), MIW *gwychi*, *gwchi* 'wasps' OCo *guhi-en* gl *uespa* OBr *guohi* gl *fucos* (whence was borr OIr *fouch* gl *uespa*) **wops*-, cf Lat *uespa* OHG *wafsa*, Ir *ós*, *uas* 'above, over' MIW *uch* MnW *uwch* Co *ugh* Br *uc'h*, Ir *uasal* 'high' W *uchel* Co *huhel* Br *uc hel*, *huel* G *Uxello-dunum* Gk *θψι*, *ὄψηλός* 'high'. Ir *lassar* 'flame' W *llachar* 'bright' to Gk *λάμπω*

(2) *sq*, *sk'* appear in Ir as *sk*, in Brit partly as *sk*, partly as (transposed *ks* >) /*xw*/ (initially), /*x*/ (medially), before initial *sk* an inorganic vowel has regularly developed in W Ir *scáth* 'shadow' MIW *isgawd*, *cy-sgawd* MnW *cy-sgod* OCo *scod* MnCo *skēz* Br *skeud* Gk *σκότος* 'darkness' Goth *skadus* 'shadow', — MIr *scaman* 'lungs' MnIr *scamh*, *scamhán*, *scamhóg* (cf for meaning E *lights* 'lungs' Russ *lyógkoje* 'lungs', lit 'lights') W *ysgafn* 'light', *ysgyfaint* 'lungs' (SW colloq *sgefen*) Co *scaff* 'light' OCo *sceuens* 'lungs' Br *skañv* 'light', *skevent* 'lungs' ON *skammr* 'short' — Ir *sciath* 'shoulder, wing' (*th* by analogy with *sciath* 'shield') MnIr *sciath* 'wing' W *ysgwydd* 'shoulder' OCo *scuid* MnCo *scouth*, *soth* Br *skoz*, — Ir *sciath* 'shield' etc § 16, — Ir *scian* 'knife' § 21,5 Medial W *gurysg* 'stalks' to *gwraidd* etc § 22, Ir *mescarm* 'I mix' W vn *mysgu* Br *meski* **mik-sk'*-, cf Lat *misceō* Gk *μίσγω*, Ir *nasc*- 'bind' Br *naska* -*dhsk'*-, cf Skr *náhyati* 'he binds', Ir *sescenn* 'bog' MnIr *seiscenn*, *seisc* 'sedge' W *hesg* 'sedges' OCo *heschen* gl *canna*, *arundo* Br *hesk* 'sedge' ON *sef*, Ir *losc*- 'burn' W *llosg* Co *losky* Br *leski* (umlaut) **luq-sk'*- cf Armen *lučanem* 'I kindle' (ć < *sk'*, to Lat *lucēre* 'to light' etc), Ir *fāisc*- 'squeeze' W *gwasgu* Br *gwaska* (IE alternation *ō a*, pres suffix *-sk*-) cf Skr *vāhatē* 'squeezes'

Transposed Ir *scend*- 'spring' W *cy-chwynn-af* 'I start' (MIW 'I rise') Lat *scandō* 'I mount' Gk *σάνδαλον* 'trap, offence', MnIr *scéth* 'act of vomiting' W *chwydu* 'vomit' MnCo *hweža* Br *c'howeda* ON *skíta* 'excrete' Lat *scindō* 'I split' (IE altern *t d*), MnIr *crotach* 'left-handed' W *chwrth* 'left' (altern *k sk*) Lat *scaevus* Gk *σκαίος* 'left', MnIr *scoutim* 'I split' W *holit* 'split' MnCo *felža* (umlaut) Br *faouta* (/xwo-/ > /xo-/ > W *ho*-, Co Br *fo*-) Goth *skalja* 'tile' ON *skel* 'scale', Ir *scél* 'story' W *chwedl* Co *whethl*, MIW *cy-chwedl* MIBr *que-hezl* MnBr *kel* (**kom-skello*-, cf Ir *curscle* 'a great story') Medial Ir *basc* 'necklace' W *bairch* 'burden' MIBr *bech* MnBr *beac'h* Lat *fascia* 'bandage', *fascis* 'bundle'

The rules governing the transposition are not known Its oc-

currence is exceptional initially and (particularly) medially. Initially it presumably gave an unrounded /x/ which later became rounded and fell together with /xw/ from IE *sw*.

(3) IE *sk^u* and *skw* were not transposed. Ir *scé* W *ysbyddad* etc. § 21,4, Ir *sesc* W *hysb* etc. § 24,1, Ir *cosc* 'correction' W *cosb* 'punishment' **kon-sk^u*-, cf Lat *inseque*, Ir *aitheas* 'answer' W *ateb* G *Atepatus* **ati-* + **sek^u*-.

(4) IE *qs*, *k^us*, *k's* gave Ir *ss*, Brit /x/, *h*. Ir *oss* W *ych* § 4, W *llechwedd* 'slope' G *Lexouni*, *Lixouni* Gk *λοξός* 'slanting', W (MIW) *archel*, *echel* 'axle' Br *ael* (/x/ > /h/ > nil) Lat *axis*, Ir *sé* 'six' (*sessed* 'sixth') W *chwech*, *chwe* Co *whegh*, *weh* Br *c'houec'h* **swek's*, Lat *sex*, Ir *mo*, *mos-* 'soon', MIW *moch* Lat *mox*, Ir *dess* 'right' W *deheu*, *deau* (SW colloq *deche*) Co *dyghow*, *dyow* Br *dehou* G *Dexsua* Lat *dex-ter* Gk *δεξιός*, Ir *coss* § 3,3 (W *coes* is a Lat loanword), Ir *ess-* (preverb), *a, ass* (preposition) v § 431,10. Initial Ir *serb* 'bitter' W *chwerw* Co *wherow* Br *c'houero* Lat *serescō* 'I grow dry' Gk *ξηρός*, *ξηρός* 'dry' Skr *kṣāra-* 'biting, sharp', /*rw*/ from /*r*/, cf (2) above.

(5) IE *st* in conjunction with a vowel gave Celt *ts* (wr Gaul *D*, presumably also ogam *Z*), in Neo-Celt this *ts* became *ss*, initial *s* (leniting in Ir by analogy). Ir always has the transposed form, but occasionally initial *t* occurs (hardly always due to IE alternation). In Brit, besides the transposed form and initial *t*, in a few cases *st* remains. An inorganic vowel has developed in W before initial *st*, and this appears in OBr but did not prevail in that period. In MnW *ss* is never used, only *s*, in MnBr medial and final *s* from *ss* have often become *z*. Exx. Ir *ser* (Thurneysen, ZCP 19 200) W *seren* 'star' Co *steren* Br *steren* G *Ḍirona*, *Sirona* a goddess's name Lat *stella* Gk *ἀστὴρ* OHG *stern*, W *safn* 'mouth' OCo *stefenic* 'palate' MIBr *staffn* MnBr *staoñ* V *stan*, *san* (n = ñ) OBr *istomid* gl trifocalium Gk *στόμα* 'mouth', Ir *sál* 'heel' W *sawdl* MIBr *seuzl* MnBr *seul* **stāllā*, Ir *sellaim* 'I look at' W vn *syllu* Co *syllu* Br *sellout* (*ll* < *-lpn-*) Gk *στειλνός* 'glistering', — Ir *-tíu* 'am' W *taw* 'that it is' Lat *stāre* 'to stand', — Ir *tiagu* 'I go', *techt* 'going' W *tauth* 'journey' Br *tiz* 'haste', W *sarn* § 12, *ystarn* 'pack-saddle'.

Medial Ir *-sissiuir* 'I stand' Lat *sistō*, Ir *foss* 'servant' § 3,4, Ir *fossad* 'firm' W *gwastad* 'level' Br *goustad* to the root **sthā-* 'stand' compounded with **upo*, Ir *huisse* § 20, Ir *casachtach*

'cough' W *pas* 'whooping-cough', *peswch* 'cough' MnCo *pāz* Br *pas*. OE *hwōsta*, Ir *glass* 'green' W *glas* 'blue, green' Br *glas* G *glastum* a plant-name MHG *glast* 'gleam', Ir *társ* 'dough' § 14, Ir *bissi ega* 'eicle' W *bys* 'finger' OCo *bis*, *bes* Br *biz* (OCo *bisou* Br *bizou* 'ring', whence Fr *bijou* 'jewel') ON *il-kuistir* 'foot-twigs' = 'the toes', Ir *brissim* 'I break' Br *biesā* 'to rumple' OHG *brestan* 'to burst', W *ias* § 20, Ir *ross* 'wood, promontory' W *rhos* 'moor' MIBr *ros* 'hill' Skr *prastha-s* 'plateau', Ir *is* 'is' § 479, Ir *Oengus*, *Fergus* OW *Ungust*, *Gurgust* (*Llan-rwst*, *Glyn Grust*) OCo *Ungust* OBr *Uorgost*, *Uurgost* epds of **gustu-* 'choue', cf Lat *gustus* 'taste', and *do-roi-gu* § 34.2, Ir *feis*, *fess* 'feast', *ban-fheiss* 'wedding-feast' MnIr *bainfheis*, *bainis* W *guest* 'feast' Br *ban-ves* 'feast' ON *uist* 'food', Ir *cluas* 'ear' W *clust* ON *hlust*, MnIr *los* 'tail, point or end' MIBr *loss* W *llost* 'tail, spear' *arlllost* 'spear-shaft' *llosgurn* 'tail' (by analogy with *asgurn* 'bone'), *llostlydan* 'beaver' (ht "broad-tailed") Br *lost* 'tail' ON *lóstr* 'harpoon', *lustr* 'cudgel' to *lósta* 'strike', Ir *driss* gl uepres, *dris-tan-ach* gl dumetum (cf *fín-tan* gl unetum, *ros-tan* gl rosetum) W *drysi* 'briers' OCo *dreis* gl uepres Br *drez* 'brambles' with *st-* suff, to Gk *δρῖος* 'thicket' For the *-st-* suffixes cf *k^ust* in W *nos* 'night', *pst* in W *llys-* 'herb', combination of *-st-* suffix with an *r-* suffix in Ir *aimser* 'time' MnIr *aimsear* (to Ir *amm* MnIr *am* 'time') W *amser* OCo *anser* MIBr *ampser* MnBr *amzer*, the same suffix-comb in G *Epostero-uidus*, *Epotsoro-uidus* In some forms of the passive and deponent *st* is retained in Ir before *r* *cíchnaigistir* 'striderat', *míastir* 'will be judged', *mestar* gl iudicari

The rules governing the transposition are not known For *t + t* cf § 63

(6) 1E *ts* Ir *criss* 'girdle' MnIr *crios*, MIBr *fochrus* 'girdle' MnIr *fochras* 'bo-om' (to the vb *focrídgedar* gl accingat) W *crys* 'shirt', *guregys* for **gwe-grys* 'gudle' OCo *kreis* gl camisa, *grugis* gl cingulum Br *krez* 'shirt', *gouriz* 'girdle' V *grouiz* (*gur-* before the accent > *grw-*) **qrd(h)-su-*, cf Russ *čérez* 'girdle', Ir *nessam* 'nearest' W *nesaf* (Co *nessa* Br *nesa* O-c *nessimas* 'proximae' Umb *nesimer* 'proxime' to Skr *náhus* 'member of same race' (*h* < *dh*, cf *naddhá-s* 'bound'), Ir *is* 'under' W *is* lower' 1E **pēd-su* 'at the feet', cf OSI *podū* 'under'

§ 26 ((Combinations of *s* with sonants or with sonants and explosives) (1) An *s* between a sonant and an explosive is lost In *arco* § 7.2 Ir *tart* 'thirst' OHG *durst* In the groups *nsk*, *nst*

however the *n* dropped very early so that the *s* remained Ir *cosc* W *cosb* § 25,3, Ir *maistre*, v (2) below. An explosive between a sonant and *s* dropped, and the group developed as sonant + *s*, similarly an explosive disappeared before *s* + sonant. Frequently too an explosive between *s* and a sonant dropped.

(2) *spr* probably fell together with *sr* MnCo *frau* Br *frao* 'crow' Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow', W *ffrwst* 'haste' Goth *sprautō* 'quickly' — *skr* OIr *scret* 'cry' — *str* gave initially Ir *sr* (with anal lenition), medially remained, initially and medially Brit *str* Ir *srath* 'valley bottom, river-field' W *ystrad* 'valley' Br *strad* 'bottom' **strato-* to Lat *sternō* 'I spread out', OBr *strouns* gl *strau* MnBr V *streuein* 'to scatter' Goth *straujan*, Ir *sruth* 'old, venerable' **str-u-ti-* to OSI *starū* 'old' (OW *struthu* gl *antiquam* in Juv prob due to Ir scribe). Besides *str-* there can also be initial *tr-* Ir *sreod* 'sneeze' W *ystrew*, *trew* (SW *untrew*) MIBr vn *streuyaff* MnBr *strevia* **strw-* to Lat *sternuō* 'I sneeze' (*er* can be from *ri*), Ir *trét* 'herd' Gk *στρατός* 'camp, army' OSI *trātū* 'army', W *trin* 'battle' Lat *strēnuus* 'active' Gk *στρογγύος* 'strength'. Medial Ir *maistre* 'churn' MnIr *maistir* 'a churning' **māqstrigā* § 12,3.

(3) *sr-* in Ir remains initially, undergoing lenition to *hr* (now *rh*, voiceless *r*). The same initial mutation took place in Brit, where *sr-* became *str-*, and *hr-* became *fr-*, later the mutation was given up, and either *str-* or *fr-* was generalized. Ir *sruth* 'stream' etc § 4, Ir *sruaim* 'river' OBr *strum* gl *copia* (lactis) Gk *ῥεῦμα* ON *straumr*, OCo *stret* gl *latex* MCo *streith* 'stream' Gk *ῥόθος* 'a roaring' OHG *stredan* 'to bubble', OIr *srennim* gl *sterto* **srenk-nā-mi*, cf Gk *ῥέγω*, 'I snore', Ir *srón* 'nose' W *ffroen* 'nostril' MIBr *froan* MnBr *fron* < **srokñā*, cf Skr *srkvan-*, *srákva-* 'corner of the mouth' (Herbert Petersson, *Fran filologiska foreningen i Lund Sprachliga uppsatser IV*, 1915, p 127).

Medially *-sr-* gave *-rr-* Ir *errach* 'Spring' (with loss of *w-*, § 224,5) to Gk *ἔαρ*. After a long vowel it is *r* Ir *fáir* 'sunrise, east' W *gwawr* 'dawn' Br *gwerelaouenn* 'morning star' (lit 'dawn-light', *e* < *o* in a proclitic word) Skr *vasar-* 'early', *vāsarā-s* 'matutinal', Ir *mír* 'piece' orig 'piece of meat', with *-ro-* suffix to IE **mēs-*, **mēs-*, cf Lat *membrum* 'limb' (*br* < *sr*), *membrāna* 'membrane', Ir *nár* 'modest, bashful', Hitt *naḫšara-š* 'reverent' (Gotze & Holger Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlahmung*, p 61). Possibly *r* from *sr* was pre-Celt, cf Lat *uēr* 'Spring' ON *uār* — For forms compounded with Ir preverb *ess-*, v § 431,10.

(4) *rs* gives C *rr* Ir *carr* § 7, 2, Ir *err* MnIr *earr* 'tail' (with *r*, Ir *erball* MnIr *earball* 'tail' *ball* 'hmb') Gk *ῥερος* 'tail, rump' OHG *ars* 'buttocks', Ir *tarr* 'lower part, belly', Ir *torrach* MnIr *torrach*, *tarrach* 'pregnant' MIW *torr* MnW *tor* '(animal's) belly' *tor y llaw* 'palm of the hand', *torrog* 'pregnant (animal)' OBr *tar* gl uentrem MIBr *torr*, *tor* MnBr *tor* (with long closed o) 'paunch' (MnBr *teur*) Gk *ταπόός* 'flat of the foot' (Windisch, Lit Zentralblatt 1909, 1403, -*rtis*-), Ir *fo-ceurr* 2 sg pres subj of *fo-cerd-* 'throw', *orr* 3 sg pres subj of *org-* 'kill'

(5) IE *spl* gave Ir *sl*, Brit *stl* Ir *shasat*, *shasant* 'thigh', *sliss* 'side' MnIr *shios* W *ystlys* **splig'h-stu-*, to Gk *πλίσσομαι* 'I step out', *πλῆχός* 'groin' Skr *plēhatē* 'moves' (IE altern *sp p*) — *skl* is not represented — *stl* is kept in Brit, has given *sl* in Ir W *bustl* 'gall' OCo *bistel* MCo *bystel* Br *bestl* Lat *bīlis*, Ir *giall* 'hostage' W *gwystl* OCo *guistel* Br *goestl* 'pledge, surety', W *cynqwyystl* 'pledge' G *Congeristlus* MN

(6) IE *sl* gives initially Ir *sl-*, lenited to *hl* (also MnIr *lh* with voiceless *l*) A similar variation took place in Brit originally (*sl* > W *ysl*, *hl* > W voiceless *l*, (o and Br voiced *l*), but the distinction was set aside early, and one or other of the forms was generalized (the W voiceless *l* becoming subject to lenition to voiced *l* by analogy) Exx Ir *sluag* 'host' *teq-lach* 'family' W *llu* 'host', OW *telu* MIW *teulu* later *teulu* retinue MnW *teulu* 'family' OCo *luu* MCo *lu*, OCo *tealu* 'family' G *Catu-slugi* (for *-slogi*) OSi *sluga* 'servant', — Ir *slemun* 'smooth' W *llyfn* OBr *lmn-collin* gl *tiha*, *gurlmun* gl *dehniti* MIBr *dī-leffn* 'hard' Lat *lima* 'file' ON *slím* 'shme' — Ir *slat* 'rod' W *llath* *yslath* Br *laz* OE *læþþa* 'lath' OHG *latta* (IE altern *sl l*)

Medially *sl* became *ll* (in W voiceless *l*) Ir *coll* 'hazel' W *coll-en* OCo *col-widen* gl *corilus* OBr *lmn-collin* gl *tiha* Lat *corilus* OHG *hasal*, MnIr *díleacht*, *dílleacht* 'orphan' to Ir *slucht* 'family' Possibly *ll* was shortened after a long vowel Ir *tál* 'adze' **tóh'slo-*, OHG *dehsala* 'hatchet' OSi *tesla* 'axe' — For forms compounded with Ir *ess* v § 431, 10

(7) IE *ls* Ir *all* 'cliff' Gk *πέλλα λίθος* OHG *felis* 'rock', Ir *mellaím* 'I deceive' Lett *mēls-t* 'to speak confusedly'

(8) IE *skn-* became *sn-* Ir *sned* etc § 6 2

(9) IE *sn* remained initially in Ir, undergoing lenition to *hn* (MnIr *nh* also, with voiceless *n*) In Brit it gave eventually *n* (< *hn*)

throughout Exx Ir *snām* 'swimming' W *nawf* Br vn *neuñvn* Skr *snā-mi* 'I bathe' Umbr *snata* 'umecta' Lat *nō, nāre* 'swim', Ir *snírm* 'I spin' etc § 21,4, Ir *snáthat* 'needle' MnIr *snáthad* W *nodwydd* OCo *noturd* MCo *nasweth* MnCo *nadzhedh* MIBr *nadoez* MnBr *nadoz* to preceding word, cf Goth *nēpla* (IE altern *sn n*), Ir *snáthe* 'thread' Br *neud* to preceding word (W *ysnoden* 'band, ribbon' OCo *snod* gl uitta prob borrr from E *snood*), Ir *snád-* 'protect' W *nawdd* 'refuge, protection', Ir *snad-* 'cut, carve' W *naddu* OW *nedim* gl ascia MnW *neddyf, neddau* 'adze' (MIBr *ezeff* 'twibill' — **an nezeff* > *an ezeff* — MnBr *eze, neze*), Ir *snigid* 'rains', *snechte* 'snow' W *nyf* 'snow' Lat *ninguit* 'snows', *nix* 'snow' Goth *snaus*

Medially Ir *hunnus* gl *fraxinus* MnIr *fuinnseog* W *onn-en* OCo *onn-en* Br *ounn-enn* Lat *ornus* 'mountain ash' (*r* < *s*), Ir *crann* 'tree' (< **kʷrsno-*) W *pren* Co *pren* Br *prenn* (< **kʷresno-*) Gk *πῖνος* 'evergreen oak', Ir *bronnaim* § 13,2, g *bronn* § 24,3 (*brunne* 'breast' W *bryn* 'hill') After a long vowel MnIr *fáinne an lae* 'dawn of day' W *gwaun* 'gossamer' (Loth, RC 38 297) to Ir *fáir* etc (3) above W *ceinach* 'hare' is formed with the ending *-ach* from **cein* < **kʷasnī* OHG *haso*

(10) *ns* appears in Celt as *ss s* (with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in Ir § 70.3) G *essedum* 'war-chariot' **en* 'in' and the root **sed-* 'sit' Ir *géiss* 'swan' Lat *anser* 'goose' Gk *χῖψ* OHG *gans*, W *cesail* 'arm-pit' MnCo *kazal* Br *kazel* **qṛh's* to OHG *hahsa* (without *n*) 'joint of upper part of horse's hind-leg' OE *hóh* (without *s*), Ir *mí* 'month', g *mís* W *mis* OCo *mis* Br *miz* Lat *mensis*, G acc pl *Langonas, artuass* Ir *cona* Gk *χῶν-ας* (IE *-ns*)

(11) IE *sm-* remained initially in Ir, was orig subject to lenition (v E J Gwynn, *Hermathena*, 20 63), but early gave up the lenited form, in Brit it gave *m* Exx Ir *smech* 'chun' (MnIr *smeig* Sc *smig*) OE *már(e)* 'lip' Lith *smakrà* 'chim', Ir *smir* 'marrow' g *smera* MnIr *smior* g *smeura* W *mér* (Bí *mél* with *l* under the influence of Fr *moelle*) G *Smerius, Smertullus* OHG *smero* 'fat, grease', Ir *smér* 'blackberry' etc § 21 2

sm medially Ir *am* 'I am', *ammi* 'we are' § 479 numerous examples of *-sm-* suffix Ir *béim* 'a blow' Co *bom* Br *bomm* V *boem*, *bom* 'ridge between furrows' **bhei-smn* to Ir *benim* 'I strike', Ir *timme* 'heat' W *twym* 'hot' OCo *toim* 'hot', *tun-der* 'heat' MCo *tommans* 'let him heat', *tommys* 'heated' MnCo *tubm* 'calidus' MIBr *toem* MnBr *tomm* 'hot' v § 30, Ir *femmuin* 'sea-weed' W *gwmon*,

gwymon Br *goumon* 'sea-wrack' Skr *vapath* 'casts, sows', OW *rummein* gl *uincula* MnW *rhwym* 'bond' **reig-smn* to Ir *-rig* 'bind', W *drem* § 7, 1, Ir *cémm*, *léimm* § 8, 2c *-msm-* is perhaps represented in Ir *cumme* 'like' **k'om-smajo-* (prefix **k'om-* and a derivative of the numeral 'one', cf Gk fem *μία*) *-rsm-*, *-lsm-* in Ir *gorm*, *tailm* § 75, 5

§ 27 (Voiced *s* = *z*) IE *z* (a voiced *s*-sound occurring before voiced explosives) occurs in Gaulish written *s*, but in Neo-Celt gives *d* OIr *medc* MlIr *medg* 'whey' Mnlr *meadhg* W *maidd* (*dg* > *dj*) MnCo *merth* OBr *meid* G -Lat **mesga* (deduced from Fr *mêgue*) **msgā* to Gk *μίσγω* 'I mix' cf Skr *ā-mīkṣā* 'milk curds', Ir *Tadc*, *Tadg* Mnlr *Tadhg* G *Moritasgus*, *Tasgus*, *Tasgillus*, *Tasgetus*, Ir *bedg* 'leap', *dorrubidc* gl *iaculatum esse* Mnlr *béadhgaim*, *bíodhgaim* 'I start, rouse' (vowel lengthened owing to *dh*) W *beiddio* 'dare', Ir *odb* W *oddf* § 3 1 (< **osth-bh-*, to Skr *ásthi* 'bone') *dd* gave OIr MlIr *t*, Mnlr *d*, Brit *[ð]* Ir *net* 'nest' Mnlr *nead* W *nyth* OCo *neid* MnCo *neith* Br *neiz* Lat *nīdus* (loss of *z* with compensatory lengthening) OHG *nest* from the preverb **ni-* and root **sed-* 'sit', Ir *cet* permission' Mnlr *cead* Lat *cēdō* 'I yield' Av *syazd-*, *sīzd-* 'recede' (IE altern *k'y* *k'*), Ir *sétim* 'I blow' Mnlr *séidim* (**swēzid-*) W vn *chwyrthu* Co *whythe*, *whethe* Br *c'hwez* (**swēzid-*) OSI *zvizdati*, *smstatu* 'to whistle', Ir *gat* 'withe' Mnlr *gad* Lat *hasta* 'spear-shaft, lance' Goth *gazds* 'goad'

Initially Ir *tenge* Mnlr *teanga* 'tongue' MlW *tafawt* MnW *tafod* OCo *tauot* MlCo *tares*, *taras* Br *teod* Lat *dīngua* > *līngua* ON *tunga* Av *hiziā-* (*h* < *s*) *zd-* has therefore given initially OIr, Mnlr *t*, medially OIr *t* Mnlr *d*

§ 28 In certain cases between a *h*-sound and a vowel, where other languages have *s* Gk has *τ* (after original tenuis), *θ* (after original aspirata) The orig sound from which these consonants are derived is generally considered to be IE *þ*, which gave Gk *τ*, *θ*, Celt *t*, *d* Ir *art* 'bear' W *arth* G *Deae Artion* Lat *ursus* Gk *ἄρκτος* Skr *ṛkṣa-s*, Ir *tinaim* 'I vanish' OBr *tinsot* gl *sparsit* Gk *φθίρω* 'waste away' *φθίσις* *phthisis* Skr *kṣindāmi* 'I destroy'

Ir *in-dé* 'yesterday' W *doe* OCo *doγ* MnCo *de* MlBr *dech* MnBr *deac'h* Lat *heri* Gk *χθέρ* OHG *gestaron* Ir *du* 'place' (dat *dúu*, *dun*, *g*, also acc and dat, *don*) (Gk *χθόρ* 'earth' Lat *humus* Skr *kṣam-* Lith *žėme*, therefrom is derived a word meaning 'man' Ir *duine* W *dyn* (*y* is the umlaut form of *u*, from earlier *o*) Co, Br *den* cf Lat *homō* Goth *guma*

IE *p*.

§ 29. IE *p* (Lat , Gk *p*, Gmc *f*, Arm *h*-, lost, -*w*-, Skr *p*) was in Celt treated differently from all other IE explosives. It became throughout a spirant, first a bilabial *f*, an echo of this is found in the development of *sp* and in the *w*-diphthong resulting from *op* before *n* (§ 32). Before *s* (§ 25) and *t* (§ 31) *f* became /*x*/, elsewhere it became *h*, which disappeared entirely. The same applies to IE *ph*.

Initially Ir *athir* 'father' G *Ateronius* Lat *pater* Gk *πατήρ* Goth *fadar* Arm *harr* Skr *pitṛ*, MlIr *iasc* 'fish' Lat *piscis* Goth *fisks*, — Ir *én* 'bird' W *edn* OCo *hethen* MlCo *ethen* OBr *etn-coilhaam* 'I take the auspices' MlBr *ezn* 'bird' MnBr *evn, evn*, OW *eterin* 'bird', pl *atar*, MnW *aderyn*, *adar* MnW *adain* 'wing' OBr *atanocion* gl *aligeris*, *attanoi* gl *uoltans* to Lat *penna* 'feather' Gk *περόν* OHG *fedara*, Gk *πέτομαι* 'I fly' Skr *pātāmi* Lat *petō* 'I seek', cf also W *ehedeg* (*eh-ed-eg*) 'to fly', OIr *hul* 'many' Gk *πολύς* Goth *filu* Skr *puru-ṣ*, OIr *hith* 'corn' W *gd* OCo *yd* MlCo *ys, eys*, pl *esow* Br *ed* Skr *pitṛ-ṣ* 'food', Ir *arco* 'I ask' § 7, 2, Ir *is* § 25, 6, OIr *ibim* 'I drink' W vn *yfed* Co *ere* Br *eva* Skr *piba-ti* 'drinks' Lat *bibit* MlIr *orc* 'pig' Lat *porcus* OHG *farah*, Ir *ulcha* 'beard', *ul-fota* 'long-bearded' Gk *τύλγης* 'curly hair', OIr *hiress* 'belief' cpd of root **sthā-* 'stand' with prefix Ir *air-* G *are-*, to Gk *περί*, cf Gk *ἐπί-σταμαι* 'I understand, believe', Ir *uir* 'green' W *ir* Lat *pūrus* 'pure' Before consonants W *rhyd* 'ford' OCo *rid* OBr *rit* G *Augusto-ritum* Lat *portus* 'harbour' OHG *furt* 'ford', Ir *lán*, *lam* § 12, 2, Ir *lethan* § 7, 1

§ 30 (IE *p* between vowels) -*ap-* Ir *caera* 'sheep' MnIr *caora* W *caer-iwrch* 'roe-buck' **qapero-*, cf Lat *caper* 'he-goat' Gk *κάπρος* 'wild-boar', Ir *saer* 'artifex' MnIr *saor* W *saer* **sapero-*, to Lat *sapio* 'I understand' *ap-* initially gave pr C *w* Ii *fo-* 'under' G *ue-* OW *guo-* MlW *gwo-*, *gwa-*, *go-* MnW *gwa-* *go-* Co *go-*, *qua-* Br *gou-*, *gwa-* **upo-*, cf Lat *s-sub* Gk *ὑπό* Goth *uf*, Ir *for-* 'over' W *gor-*, *gwar-* Co *gor-* OBr *guor-* MnBr *gour-* G *uer-* **upor-*, to Lat *s-uper* Gk *ὑπέρ* Goth *ufar* Skr *upári*

-*ep-* before the final syllable Ir *té* 'hot' (nom pl *tét*) Lat *tepens* 'warm' Skr *tapant-*, Ir *nīae* 'nephew', g *nīath* W *nai* OCo *noi* Br *ni*, pl *nied* Lat *nepōs* 'grandson' OHG *nefo* 'nephew' (W *nai* goes back to **nepōt-*, -*ō-* in final syll > *ū* > *i*) *epe-* before the final syll fell together with the IE diphthong *ei* Ir *iar n-* 'after' (monosyll), *an-iar* from the west', *s-iar* 'westwards' **epero-m* cf

Goth *afar* 'after' Skr *apara-* 'later, westwards' to Gk *ἀπό* 'from', thus also Ir *tét*, pl of *té* 'hot' *epe-* before a non-final syll gave Ir *e* Ir *timme* 'heat' W *twym* 'hot' etc § 26, 11 from **tepesmijā*, **tepesmij*.

§ 31 (*p* before *s* and explosives) *ps* v § 25 — *pt* gave G *ft* > *xt*, and this has remained in Ir, in Brit *x* coalesced with the preceding vowel giving a diphthong or a long vowel Ir *secht* 'seven' MIW *seuth* etc § 24, 2 of G *sextametos* 'seventh', Ir *necht* gl *neptis* W *nith* OCo *nout* (influenced by masc *nai*) OBr *nith* gl *nepta* MnBr *niz* (? G *Neptacus*, with *pt* = *ft*) Lat *neptis* 'grand-daughter' OHG *nift* 'niece' Skr *napṭi* 'grand-daughter', Ir *richt* 'form' W *rhith* **prptu-*, of Gk *πρότεω* 'am conspicuous' Arm *ereum* 'I appear', *eres* (-*ps*-) 'face', — Ir *cacht* 'servant' W *caeth* 'slave, captive' OCo *m card*, *f cantes* MBr *quaez* 'captive' MnBr *leaz* 'unlucky, wretched, dear' G *Moenia-coeptus* (? *Moenicaptus*) Lat *captus* 'captive' OHG *haft*, — Ir *óchtar*, *uachtar* 'upper part' W *uthr* 'wonderful, tremendous' **ouptro-* to Goth *up* 'upwards' Ir *ós*, *uas* < **oup-su* § 25, 1

§ 32. (*p* medially before sonants) *-pn-* became *-n-*, after *o*, *-wn-* Ir *ten* 'fire', *tene* W *tán* Co *tan* Br *tan* Av *tafnah-* 'heat' Ir *swan* 'sleep' W *hun* Co Br *hun* **sopno-s*, cf Lat *somnus* Gk *ὕπνος* Skr *svápna-s*, Ir *cuan* 'haven' ON *hofn*

Note Thurneysen ZCP 13 106 thinks that *-pr-*, *-pl-* gave Celt *-br* *-bl* Ir *uccobor* 'desire' Lat *cupiō* 'I desire'

§ 33 (*p* after sonants) *rp* has been supposed to give C *rr*, but the alleged *exx* may all be questioned We have simply *r* in Ir *cethir* 'a quadruped cattle' **k²etuor-ped-s* and in Ir *curem* 'shoe-maker' W *crydd* OCo *chereor* Br *kere*, *kereour* to Gk *χορπῆς* 'shoe' Lat *carpusculum* 'a kind of shoes'

-lp- gave *l* Ir *clornn* gl *urceus* OIr (Juv) *culurnn* gl *urnam* MnW *celurn* 'pail' Br *kelorn* Lat *calpar* 'wine-cask' Gk *κάλπη*, *κάλπις* 'urn' Ir *col* 'sin, blame' W *cùl* Lat *culpa*, Ir *molad* 'praise' W *mawl*, vn *moh* Br *meuli* Gk *μέλω* 'I sing' *μοῦσιγ* 'song' — IE *mp* gave (lenited) *m* Ir *amires* 'disbelief' v OIr *uress* § 29 (cf Arm *amparišt-* 'irreligious', Pers *parast* 'worshipper', Maistrander, Ériu 5 251), *amulach* 'beardless' (cf *ulcha* § 29)

The Uvular and Palatal Voiced Aspiratae and Mediae.

§ 34 (1) IE *gh* (Lat *h*, Gk *χ*, Gmc *g*, Skr *gh*, *h*), IE *g* (Lat, Gk *g*, Gmc *k*, Skr *g*, *ḡ*), IE *g'h* (Lat *h*, Gk *χ*, Gmc *g*, Skr *h*) and

IE *g'* (Lat *g*, Gk *g*, Gmc *k*, Skr *ḡ*) all gave primitive Celt *g*. In Neo-Celt *g* remains initially, but undergoes lenition (becoming in Ir *gʰ*/, pronounced in MnIr */gʰ/*, but when palatalized */jʰ/*, in W and Co *nɪl*, in Br as a rule */x/*, cf § 224, 3). Between vowels *g* gave OIr */gʰ/* (wr *g*, MnIr *gh*), v further p 31 n 1, 2, in Brit it disappeared or gave *w*. Before consonants *g* disappeared in Ir with compensatory lengthening, but in Brit formed with the preceding vowel a diphthong ending in *e*, *y*, *i*. After consonants *g* was retained in OIr (wr *g* or *c*, MnIr *g*), in Brit was spirantized or vocalized after *d*, *r*, *l*.

(2) Exx initially. Ir *gabim* 'I take' W *gafael* 'to take hold' Co *gavel* Lat *habēre* 'I have' OHG *geban* 'give', Ir *gabul* 'furca, patibulum' W *gafl* 'fork' Br *gaol* G-Lat *gabulus* 'gallows' OHG *gabil* 'gable' ON *gafl* OHG *gabala* 'furca' Skr *gabhasṭi-* 'shafts', Ir *gat* § 27.

W *garan* 'crane' OCo Br *garan* G *tri-garanus* (epithet of the god Taruos) Gk *γίγαρος* OHG *chranuh* OE *cran*, Ir *glenaid* 'sticks fast' W vn *glynu* MIBr *en-glenaff* OHG *chlīnu* 'I stick, smear' cf Lat *glūten* 'glue' Gk *γλοιός* 'anything sticky'.

Ir *géis* § 26, 10, Ir *gam* § 21 2.

Ir *gein* 'birth' W *gein* 'he born, give birth' Br *genel* 'give birth' Lat *gignō* 'I beget' Gk *γίγνομαι* become OE *cennan* 'beget' Skr *ḡnāmi* 'I beget', Ir *gnáth* 'known' § 9 1, 11 *do-roígu* 'he has chosen' Gk *γεύομαι* 'I taste' Skr *ḡuḡátē* 'likes' (cf *Oengus* etc § 25, 5).

(3) In Brit *gw* occurs irregularly instead of *g*. Ir *gae* 'spear' W *gwayw* OCo *hoch-wuyw* Co *geir*, len *weir* G-Lat *gaesum* G-Gk *γαῖσος* (but according to Thurneysen IFAnz 26 25 W *quaew* is a cpd = Ir *fogha* 'a dart' OBr *guugoíuou* gl *spiculis*) ON *geirr* 'spear' Gk *χαῖος* 'crock', 11 *gelt*-both gl *pabulum* *gelim* 'graze' W *gwellt* 'grass' Co *gwels* OBr *quethiocion* gl *fenosa* MnBr Ouessant *guelt*, otherwise *geot*, *ieot* Lat *gula* 'gullet' OHG *kela* 'throat', Ir *gen* 'smile' W *gwén* Gk *γαῖάω* 'gleam, am cheerful', Ir *geir* 'tallow' W *guér* ON *gorn* Lat *hīra* 'gut'.

§ 35. (*gh*, *g*, *g'h*, *g'* between vowels) (1) *ag-* (> Brit *a*, *age* > Brit *ae*, *agi* > Brit *ei*) Ir *atom-ang* 'adigit me' W *á* 'goes' Co Br *a*, cf OW *agt* Lat *agō* 'I lead' Gk *άγω* ON *aka* 'to drive', — Ir *mag* 'plain, open field' (*im-maig* 'outside', *immach* 'out, forth') MIW *Ma-* (-*fa* in place-names still, *Guyn-fa*) 'place' Co -*fa* G *Arganto-magus* perhaps to Skr *māhī* 'earth', whence W *maes* 'field' (early MIW *ma-es*) Co *mes* Br *meaz*, — Ir *dag-* 'good' W Co Br *da*

G *Dago-uassus*, Ir *ag* 'ice' W *ia* § 20, Ir *draugen* 'blackthorn' W *draen* (pl MIW *drein* MnW *drain*) OCo *drain* (pl *drein*) MlCo pl *dreyn* MnCo *drēn* Br *drean* (pl *drein*) G *τέρξος* 'twig' OHG *turn-pauma* 'cornea silua' (IE altern *-ēr-* *-ra-*), W *haeddel* 'plough handle' MlBr *haezl* MnBr *heal* Gk *ἐχέτλη*, W *cae* 'hedge, field' MlBr *quae* 'thorn hedge' MnBr *lae* 'hedge, enclosure' OHG *hag* 'town' MHG *hac* 'thorn-bush, enclosure', Ir *laigen* 'lance' MnIr *langhean* W *llain* 'blade' (MIW monosyll and disyll), 'patch', pl *lleinau* to Gk *λαχαίρω* I hack, dig up' *agg-* (> Brit *ei*) Ir *languu*, *lugu* 'smaller' W *llai* OBr *naku-lei* gl nihilo minus Gk *ἐλάσσων* Final *agu-* (> Brit *au*) MIW *llaw* 'small' OBr *lau* (v Ifor Williams, Y Berniad 7 187) Gk *ἐλαχύς*

(2) *og* before a disappearing final gives Brit *o* Ir *trog* 'children' W *tro* 'turn' Co *tro* Br *tro* 'turn, rannet' W *go-dro* 'to milk' OBr *guo-trout* gl demulgitis MlBr *gozro* 'to milk' MnBr *goeio* Gk *τρόχος* 'course' Serb *trág* 'footstep, posterity', Ir *tuiqe* 'straw, thatch' W *to* 'roof' Co Br *to* Lat *toga* 'garment' OHG *dah* 'thatch' Ir *mrung* 'boundary, district' W (Co Br *bro* G *brogae* 'ager' *Allo-broges* Lat *margō* 'margin' Goth *marka* 'boundary' Before *-u-*, *og* became Brit *ow* Ir *mug* 'slave, servant', g *moga* W *meu-dwy* 'hermit' ('*servus Dei*') Co *mou-es* 'maiden' Br *maouez* woman' (Co *maw* youth, servant' Br *mao* 'happy' G *Magu-rir*) ON *mœgi* 'son' Goth *magus* 'lad', *mawi* 'maiden' (*w* < *gw*) Before a retained vowel *og* gave Brit *ow* which developed like IE *ow* § 18 OBr *rogedou* gl *orgus* W *rhewydd* (with umlaut) 'wanton', W *euod* 'worms in sheep' **ogh-* < **oghwi-*, Gk *ὄφις* 'snake' Armen *auz* (with IE *e*, Gk *ἔχις* 'adder' Skr *áhi-s* 'snake') This change however did not occur in W *troed* 'foot' (monosyll), pl *traed* (disyll in MIW verse) OCo *truitt* MlCo *troys*, pl *treys*, *trys* Br *troad*, pl *treid* Ir *traig*, acc *traigid* MnIr *trough* G *uertragus* 'swift-footed dog' Gk *τρόχος* 'course' Goth *þraggan* 'to run'

(3) *ug* gave Brit *ow* MnIr *ughaim* 'harness' OW *iou* 'yoke' W *iau* OCo *ieu* Br *io*, *geo* (Co and Br *e* due to *j* ? V *iao*) G *Uer-rugo-dumnus* Lat *rugum* Gk *ζυγόν* Goth *juk*, W *go-leu*, *go-lau* 'light' Co *golow* Br *goulou*, W *lleuad* 'moon', Br *gwer-e-laouen* 'morning star' § 26,3, G *Lugu-*, pl *Lugoues*, *Lugudunum*, OW *louber* 'light' MnW *lleufer* with IE altern *g q* to Lat *lūx* This did not occur in Ir *lurge* 'oath' W *llw* Br *le* Goth *luga* 'marriage'

(4) *eg* before a disappearing final gave Brit *e* W *lle* 'place' Co

le G *legasit* 'he placed' Gk *λέχος* 'bed' (Br *leac'h* 'place' is from a derived form **leghs-*, or to Gk *λέσχη* 'place of public resort' Pr *lascis* 'camp', but *eg* gives *y* in OW *guelh* 'bed' MnW *gwely* OCo *guelh* MlCo *guely* Br *gwele*), Ir *graig* 'herd, stud', g *grega* W *gre* OCo *gre-lin* gl *lacus* ('horse-pond') Br *gre* 'herd' Lat *grex*, g *gregis*, MIW *he-u* 'to sow seed', *he-af* (Mn *hau*, *heuaf*) Lat *seges*, Ir *figim* 'I weave' W *gwe* 'web' OCo *gurat* gl *tela* MnCo *gwra* 'to weave' OBr *gueg* (1 e *gue-gureic*, gl *textrix*, according to Ifor Williams, BBCS 6 112) MnBr *gwea* 'weave' Lat *uēlum* 'cloth, sail', *eg* gave Brit *ι* in the word Ir *tech* 'house', g *tige*, *targe* Mnlr *teach*, g *tughe* OW *tig* MnW *tij* OCo *ti* MlCo *chy* MnBr *ti* OBr *bou-tig* gl *stabulum* Gk *τέγος* 'roof', plural OW *in ir dol-te* gl *in fanis* (e = *ei*, cf OW *te-lu* etc § 26, 6) MIW *tei* MnW *tai* **tegga* < **tegesa*, Ir *tige*, e is retained before *y* in the derived form *teyrn* 'king' (disyll in MIW, cf MnW *Cyndeyrn*, disyll with accent on *ey*) OCo *Wendeern* OBr *Machtiern* OBrit *Cato-tigurni*, *Tegerno-mali* G *Thurgernum castrum* — *egw* gave Brit *ew* Ir *tuig* 'thick' W Co *tew* Br *teo* OHG *dicchi*

(5) *ig* Ir *dhigim* 'I deserve', *dhged* 'law' MIW *dlyaf*, *dylyaf* 'I have a right to', *dlyet*, *dylyet* 'merit' MnW *dylwn* 'I should', *dyléd dled dyled* 'debt' Goth *dulgs* 'debt' OSI *dilgā*, Ir *higim* 'I hck' W vn (SW) *llyo* Br *leat* Lat *lingō* 'I hck' Gk *λείγω*, — MlIr *buorach* gl *lora* MnIr *buarach* 'spancel' MIW *buruy*, MnIr *ceannrach* 'fillet, halter' W *penrhe* 'hair-lace, fillet' (but also MIW *penrwy*), Ir *cwmrech* 'fetter' Br *kevre* (but W *cyfrwy* 'saddle'), Ir *árach* 'fetter' Br *ere* (but W *aerwy* 'collar, torque'), Ir *indrach* MnIr *ionnrach* 'a tent or plug to keep a wound open' OBr *anre* gl *collyrio*, Ir *sciath-rach* 'strap of the shield' MIW *ysgwyt-rwy* (Loth, RC 41 220, who derives *-wy* from IE *-er-*) compounds of root Ir *rig-* 'bind', — Ir *bri* 'hill', acc *brigh*, g pl *breg* W *bre* (fem), cf *fry* 'up' Co *bre* 'hill' Br *bre* G *Admageto-briga* Goth *baurgs* 'town' cf *baurgs* 'mountain', related are Ir *Brigit* MnIr *Brighid*, g *Brighde*, OW *bryevnt*, later *braint* 'privilege' (MIW *breennhin* *brenhin* MnW *brenin* 'king' Co *brentyn* *bryntyn*), OBrit *Brigantia* Skr *bṛhatī*, fem of *bṛhant-* 'high'

(6) Primitive Celt *āg* (> OBrit *ōg*) before a lost final gave W *aw*, Co Br */o/*, before a retained vowel Brit *ow*, *āgg* gave Brit *ei* W *daw* 'he comes' Co *due* Br *deu* from **dōg(et)*, contracted from **do-ag(et)*, W *deuaf* 'I come' **dōgam(ι)* < **do-agam(ι)* (in W forms with *-o-*, e g *down* 'we come', and Co and Br forms with */-o-/*, e g

MIBr *deuaff* 'I come' the form which developed before an original lost final has been generalized), — Ir *bráge* 'neck, throat' MnIr *brághaid* OW pl *abal-brouannou* gl *gurgulionibus* ('Adam's apples') MnW *breuant* 'windpipe' (OCo *briansen* gl *guttur* MICo *bryangen* MnCo *branžian* OBr *Brehant-Dincat* gl *guttur receptaculi pugnae* have *r* perhaps in the first syll) (with IE *o*) Gk *βρόχθος* 'throat' MHG *krage* 'neck', Ir *bágm* 'I fight' W *bar* 'fault, blame' vn *beio* OHG *bágu* 'I fight' ON *bág-r* 'difficulty, obstacle', Ir *trág* 'beach', *trág-* 'to ebb' W *tran* 'elb', vn *treio* to Lat *trahō* 'I draw'

(7) Prim Celt *īg* Ir *bríg* strength, virtue' W *bri* 'repute' Co *bry* 'worth' MIBr *bri* 'regard', Ir *rígain* 'queen' W *rhain* 'maiden' to Ir *rí* 'king' etc § 11, Ir *dí-gal* 'vengeance' W *dial* 'vengeance' Co *dyal* prefix **dē* with Ir *gal* 'valour'

(8) *g* after diphthongs Ir *sluaq* etc § 26, 6, Ir *tróg, truag* 'wretched' W *tru* Co *tru* 'alas' MIBr *tru* 'wretched' to Gk *στρεύεσθαι* 'to be worn out' (Windisch, Lit Zentralblatt 1909, 1403), Ir *tiagu* 'I go' W *mordwy* § 16, Ir *liaq* 'spoon' MnIr *liach* W *llwy* OCo *loe* MnCo *lo* Br *loa* Lat *ligula* See (5) W *burwy, pen-wy, cyfrwy, aer-wy*, cf *modrwy* 'ring' (*maud* 'thumb' + *rw*)

(9) *g* after a lost vowel — Ogam INIGENA Ir *ingen* 'girl' MnIr *inghean* *inghin* Sc *nighean* **en-g'enā*, cf Lat *indigena* 'native-born', Ir *bairgen* 'bread' MnIr *bairghean* W Co Br *bara* **bharragen-* cf Lat *farrāgō* 'a mash', Ir *irgal* fem 'conflict' W *arial* 'vigour', W *anran* 'nature' **ndh + *g'en-, *g'nn-* 'to bear', cf MIW *adyan* 'progeny' (Loth, RC 39 63), Ir *tonngar* 'noise of waves' W *tonnar* 'breaker, wave', Ir *cenngal* 'a pressing' MIW *pennyal* (Vendryes, RC 43 396), Ir *Mathgen* MN MIW *Madyen* G *Matugenus*

Note 1 Non palatalized *g* finally after a short vowel became /x/ in Ir *im-mach, tech arach*, Ir *indech* MnIr *innach* 'wool' W *anwe* (preverb Ir *ind-* W *an-* and the root of Ir *figim* W *gwe*). There are numerous exceptions in inflected words, due to analogy, cf *mag* beside *im-mach*

Note 2 The MnIr development of medial *g* varies greatly. The main treatment is as follows: lost (finally without compensatory lengthening Arran *sl'a* — *sleagh*, but cf Donegal *a-muir* = *amugh* and *trix* = *trough*), *j* (Arran *ej*, Donegal *ej*, *ej* = *aghaidh* 'face'), *w* or *v* (after a rounded vowel Arran *fowl* 'damage by a trespassing cow' = *foghail*, Arran *u* 'egg' gen *w'a* Donegal *yv' yf'* = *ubh g uibh* OIr *og*)

In the South of Ireland *-g* is partly lost (esp. after long vowels), partly becomes *g*

§ 36. IE *g(h)*, *g'(h)* medially before consonants disappeared in Ir with compensatory lengthening, *i* and *e* becoming *ē*, *u* and *o* becoming *ō* > *ua*, before *i*, *u* in the following syll *eo*, *eu*, *iu* appear for *ē*, in Brit they became a *y*-like sound (non-syll *e*, *y*, *i*), which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel, *ig* giving the diphthong W *wy* /*uy*/ etc (just as IE *ei* did)

gr Ir *án* 'massacre' W *aer* OW *hair* OBr *air*, pl *airou* Gk *ἄγρῶν* 'hunt', Ir *árne* 'sloe' W *aeron* 'berries', *airin* 'plums' (with umlaut) MlBr *irin* MlBr *hirin* 'sloe' Goth *akran* 'fruit', Ir *fér* 'grass', *g feor* MIW *gweir* MnW *gwair* perhaps to Goth *wahsjan* 'to grow', Ir *uar* 'cold' MlIr *fuair* (cf Ir *uacht* 'cold' (noun) MlIr *fuacht*) W *oer* OCo *oir* G *Ogron* abbrev name of month **ougro-*

gl Ir *ál* 'litter, brood' W *ael* Gk *ἀγέλη* 'herd', Ir *mál* 'prince, noble' MIW *mael* W *Maelgwn*, *Cynfael* OBr *Mael*, *Iudmael* OBrit *Maglocunus* Goth *mukils* 'great', Ir *guil* 'stuck', pret of *glenaid*

gn Ir *áin* 'a driving', inf of *ag-* 'drive' Gk *ἀγών* 'assembly, contest', Ir *gráin* 'disgust', OIr *grande* 'horrid' MlIr *gránna* W *graen* 'grief' MIW *graendde* 'sad' to Ir *garg* 'rough' Gk *γοργός* 'frightful' In post-tonic syllables *-an* appears instead of *-aen* in Brit OBrit *Corbagu* W *Nant-carfan*, *Llan-carfan*, OBrit *Curcagna* OW *Circan*, Ir *becán*, *beccán* 'small' OW *bichan* MnW *bychan* OCo *boghan* MlCo *buhan* Br *bihan* V *bihan* — *ogn* Ir *suanem* 'rope' (with *egn* Ir *sén* 'snare') W *hoenyn* (with umlaut *hwyngyn*) 'snare' to Lith *segiù* 'I stitch' Skt *saṣṭhi* 'clings to', — Ir *brón* 'sorrow' W *brwyn* Gk *βρόχῳ* 'I gnash', W *brwyn* 'rushes', *brwynen* OCo *brunnen* *gl* *uncus*, *scirpus* MlCo *brunnen* Br *broenn-enn* OE *brog-nena* *gl* *frondium*, *gibrogne* 'urgultum' — Ir *fén* 'waggon' W *qwaín* G *couinnos* uocant quorum falcatis axibus utuntur ON *uagn* 'waggon', — Ir *cailén* 'whelp, cub' W *colwyn* OCo *coloin* Br *kolen* **koligno-*, Ir *mairenn* 'aunt do mnaí' (Oim (error for *-rén*) W *morwyn* 'maiden, virgin', pl *morynuon* OCo *moroin* MlCo *moren* *morán* **morignā* (OIr *muir-móru* *gl* *siren* borrowed from Brit) Ir fut *in digén* 'shall I make' of *do-qnúu*, Ir *ad-qén* 'I know', *ad-qéuín* 'he knows' (*-gnín-* 'know') W *adwaen* (Co 3sg *aswon* — In the initial of the second member of a compound *gn* is often treated as a lenited initial Ir *fo-gnam* 'serve' MlIr *foghnamh* Arran *fūnə* cf Co *go-nys*, *go-nes* 'to work' Br *gou-nid* 'to gain' (but in W *gweini* 'serve' *gn* is treated as medial with umlaut of the *o* of the prefix, cf W *heini(f)* 'active', similarly Ir *dénun* 'do', *ní dénat* 'they do not') — In W

ad-na-bod MIBr *az-naout* 'know' cf G *Ate-gnatus*, *gn* followed a disappearing vowel

§ 37. (IE *g(h)* and *g'(h)* after a consonant) (1) *zg* gave Ir *ḡg*, Brit *ḡg* > *ḡj*, *j* causing epenthesis and then disappearing (**mizgā* > **medga* > **medja* > W *maidd* § 27, or possibly *ḡg* > *ḡd* > *ḡd*)

(2) *rg* gives medially W *rj*, before a disappearing final *r* or *r* with a non-syllabic *y* or /*u*/ (wr *w*) or syllabic *a*, in Co and Br it gives /*rx*/ Ir *airget* 'silver' MnIr *airgead* W *arian(t)* OCo *argans* MiCo *arghans*, *arhans* Br *arc'hant* G *Arganto-magus*, *arcanto-dan* abbrev title 'mint-warden' Lat *argentum*, Ir *arg* 1 *bainne* 'drop' W *eira* 'snow' MIW *eiry* (monosyll) MnW *eir-law* 'sleet' (-*jo*- stem, hence umlaut) OCo *irch* MnCo *er* Br *erc'h* **pargo-*, **parggo-*, to Lat *spargō* 'I strew' Gk *σπαργίω* 'I crackle', Ir *lorg* gl *claua* MnIr *lorg* 'a club' MIBr *lurga* MnIr *lorga* 'shun' OCo *lorch* gl *baculus* Br *lorc'henn* 'shaft' ON *lurkr* 'cudgel', Ir *lorg* gl *trames* 'track' MnIr *lorg* W *llwry*, *llwrw* (MIW *yn llwrw y benn* 'head foremost' MnW (SW) *lur* 1 *ben*, *llw cefen* 'behind') Co *lergh*, *lyrgh* Br *lerc'h*, *warlerc'h* 'after' (Co and Br forms with umlaut) Armen *olork* 'smooth', Ir *di-bairg* 'throw' W *buru* 'throw, cast', MIW *byrtaf* MnW *buriaf*, W *bera* 'stack of hay or corn' OHG *berg* 'mountain' (?) -*rȳn-* in OCo Br *bern*), Ir *ferg* 'anger' MnIr *fearg* MIW *querry* (monosyll) 'active' OBr *guerg* gl *efficax* G *uirgo-bretus* 'chief magistrate, with power over life and death' Gk *ὀργή* 'anger' Skr *ūrjā* 'great vigour'

(3) *lg* was treated in the same way as *rg* Ir *bolg* 'bag' MnIr *bolg* 'belly, bag' *bolgach* 'a boil stout-bellied' MIW *boly* (monosyll) 'bag, belly', pl *byly* MnW *bol* *bola* (disyll) 'belly', *bollog* 'big-bellied' Br *bolc'h* 'husk of flax' G *bulga* 'leather bag' Goth *balgs* 'skin' E *belly*, — Ir *colg* 'sword, beard gl corn' OW *colginn* gl *aristam* MnW *col*, *cola* 'beard of corn', pl *colion* *colyn* 'a sting, hinge', with *a* MIW *caly* (monosyll) MnW *cal*, *cala* 'penis', pl *caliau* MnCo. *kal* 'penis' (with *h* lost) Br *kalc'h*, — W *gwala* 'enough' MIBr *gwalch* MnBr *a-walc'h*, *gwalc'ha* 'to satisfy' Lat *uulgus* 'the common people', MIW *daly* (monosyll), *dul* 'to hold' MnW *dal* *dala*, *dahaf* 'I hold' Co *dalhen* 'a taking hold of' Br *dalc'h* 'possession, jurisdiction', *derr'hel* 'to hold' (with umlaut, *l* > *r* by dissimilation, part *dalc'het*) Lat *in-dulgere* 'indulge in' Goth *tulgus* 'firm', — Ir *selg* § 25,1, — Ir *selg* 'hunt' MnIr *sealg*, *seilg* OW *in helcha* gl *in uenando*, *helgha-ti* gl *uenare* (ipv) MIW *hely* (monosyll) MnW *hel*, *hela* 'hunt', *hehur* 'hunter' OCo *helhwur* gl *uenator* MiCo *helhys*,

hellys 'hunted' MnCo *helfia* 'to hunt' Br *em-olc'h* 'to hunt', *di-
elc'hat* 'to lose breath' Skr *sržāt* 'sets free, darts'

(4) *ng* remained in OIr, but very early became *nn*, whence MnIr *n*. In Brit *ng* gave *nn* and *n* earlier than in Ir, in Br in certain cases it reverted to *ng*, then becoming *nk*, in other cases *n* disappeared in Co and Br. All the Brit languages have lost *n* (and *g*) in the group *ngw*. Exx. It *mong* 'mane', acc *moing* W *mwng* OBr pl *mogou* MnBr *moue* ON *makk* 'part of neck where mane grows' Dan *manke* 'mane', Ir *tongu* 'I swear' W *tung* 'swears', vn *tyngu* Co to- MIBr *toeff* MnBr *tou* perhaps to ON *þing* 'judicial assembly', Ir *drong* 'troop' MnIr *drong* OBr *drogn* gl coetus, *drog* gl factio G *drungus* to Goth *drugan* 'to do military service', Ir *cum-ung* 'narrow' MnIr *cumhang* W *cyf-ung*, *ung*, *wng* (*eh-ang*, *e-ang* 'wide', with prefix **eks-*) Br *enk* Lat *angō* 'I compress' Gk ἀγγω *ngw* OIr *ingen* '(finger-)nail' MIBr *inga* MnIr *ionga*, plur *ingne* OW *eguin* MnW *ewin* OCo *euuin* Br *win* Lat *unguis* Gk ὄνυξ OHG *nagal* (a suffixal *w* in Celt and Lat), Ir *tenge* 'tongue' § 27

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§ 38. IE *g^uh* (Lat *f*, -*w*-, -*b*- [before *r*], Gk φ, θ, Gmc *w*, *g*, Skr *gh*, *h*) fell together with IE *gh* and *g^h*. IE *g^u* (Lat *w*, Gk β, δ, Gmc *kw*, Skr *g*, ङ) initially (except before *u*) gave Celt *b*, falling together with IE *bh* and *b*, also medially after consonants, but between vowels and before consonants it gave Celt *g*.

g^uh initially Ir *gudimm* 'I pray' Gk *πoθέw* 'I wish' (with π for φ before θ), *θέσσασθαι* 'implore', Ir *gonim* 'I wound', *guan* 'wound, killing' Gk *φόρος* 'murder', *θείω* 'I strike' Skr *han-mi* 'I slay', Ir *gorim* 'I warm' MnIr *gor* 'heat, pus' W *gori* 'to brood, fester' Br *gor* 'heat, abscess' Lat *formus* 'warm' Gk *θερος* 'heat' Goth *warms* 'warm' Skr *haras* 'ardour', *gharmā-* 'warmth, ardour'

Note In Brit *gw* appears for *g* cf § 34.3 W *gweddi* 'prayer' Ir *gudimm* (but according to Osthoff, LF 27.173 W *gweddi* is **wo-godimā*, cf for the preverb Ir *foigde* 'begging'), Ir *gorm* 'blue' W *guern* 'dun dark blue' OBr *Uurm haelon* with brown brows possibly to Lat *formus* Gk *θερμός* 'warm' (but cf Gwynn, *Hermathena* 20.65) Ir *gris* 'fine' W *gures* 'heat' Br *groez* *grouez* **q^uhrēnsu-* **q^uhrenso* cf Skr *ghrīṣa* 'blaze of the sun'

g^u initially W *bwyd* § 16, Ir *beo* § 18, Ir *bith* § 6, 1, Ir *bó* 'cow' § 13, 3, Ir *ben* § 8, 2e, Ir *bró* § 18, W *blin* 'tired' OBr *blin* gl *re-missa* Skr *glānd-* 'weakened' Before *u* IE *g^u* appears as Celt *g*

Ir *guth* 'voice' Gk *βοή* 'a cry' Skr *gavatē* 'resounds' *g^un* Ir *mná*, *g* of *ben* 'woman'

§ 39. (1) IE *g^uh* between vowels Ir *snigd* 'rains' W *nyf* 'snow' § 26,9, MlIr *dang* 'fire', *g darged*, *dega* MlIr *dorgh* 'pang' W *deafio* 'singe, scorch' Br *devn* 'burn' to Lat *fouère* 'to warm', *febris* 'fever' Gk *τέφρα* 'ashes' Skr *dahānu* 'I burn' In Brit -*g^uh* might seem to have become -*b-* (cf *g^u-* § 38), lenited to -*v-*, as in W *nyf*, *nyfio* 'to snow', cf Loth, *Mélanges Havet* 237—240

(2) IE *g^u* between vowels Ir *nigim* 'I wash' Gk *νίζω* (*ζ* from *g^u*) 'I wash' Skr *nēnēḡmi*

§ 40. (1) IE *g^uh* medially before consonants no certain example

(2) IE *g^u* medially before consonants Ir *uan* 'lamb' W *oen* (pl *wyn*) OCo *onn* MlCo *oan*, *on* MnCo plur *ean*, *ennes* Br *oan* pl *ein* Lat *agnus* Gk *αμνός* The Gmc forms however (OE *éanran* 'to lamb' Dutch dial *oonen* Swed Gothl *oyna* Dan Bornh *ona*) suggest IE *g^uh*

§ 41 IE *ng^uh* W *llyngyr* '(intestinal) worms', sg *llyngyren* (SW dial *llynger llyngeren*) Br sg *lenker-enn*, *lenkern-enn* Lat *lumbricus*

IE *rg^u* OIr *borb*, *borp* 'foolish' MlIr *borb* 'rude' Armen *bark* 'violent, angry', MlIr *orband* 'grains' Lat *eruum* 'pulse' Gk *ῥοβός*, *ῥεβνθος* 'vetch' OHG *araweiz* 'pea' IE *ng^u* Ir *imb* 'butter' OW *emmen* W *ymenyn* etc § 8, 1a

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§ 42. IE *dh* (Lat *f-*, *-d-*, *-b-*, Gk *β*, Gmc *d*, Skr *dh*) and IE *d* (Lat, Gk *d*, Gmc *t*, Skr *d*) became Celt *d* Initially *d* is subject to lenition in Ir and Brit, becoming *đ*, this also took place medially between vowels Medially before consonants *d* is sometimes vocalized, after consonants *d* remained in Ir (wr partly *t* in OIr), in Brit it became *đ* after *r* The sound *đ* was in the earliest period written *d* — in OBr, OW, OIr and early MlIr In early MIW it was written *t*, then *d*, also occasionally *th*, the symbol *dd* appears in the 14th century and is now predominant In OCo it was written *d*, *t*, *th*, *þ*, *dh*, in MlCo usually *th* In MlBr and MnBr *đ* has become *z* (or been dropped) *đ* is retained in the dialects of Belle-Ile and Pontivy (Loth, *Chrest* p 379²) The symbol *dh* appears in MlIr and predominates in MnIr, *đ* and *g* fell together very

early in Ir, and initially *dh* is pronounced *g* in MnIr and Sc, *j* when palatalized, for medial *dh* cf § 43. Ir *dh* is represented in Old Icelandic by *þ* (1 e *ð*). OIcel *mnunþak* 'mixture of meal and butter' from Ir *menadach* 'meal and milk', OIcel *Dungapr* from Ir *Donnachadh*. Scandinavian *ð* in old loan-words gave Ir *dh*. MlIr *garda* 'garden' MnIr *gardha* Sc *garradh* W *gardd* from ON *garþr*. Later it gave *th*. Ir *Baethbarr iarla* ON *Böþuarr iarla* W *ð* is represented by Ir *th* in Ir *martham* 'I forgive, remit', inf *mathem* from W *maddau* 'to forgive, give up'.

Exx initially Ir *denim* 'I suck', *del* 'teat' MIW *dynu* 'to suck' MlCo *dene* Br *dene* Lat *fē-mīna* 'woman', *fēlix* 'fruitful, lucky', *fellāre* 'to suck' Gk *θησκατο* 'he sucked' Goth *daddjan* 'to suckle' Skr *dhayāmi* 'I suck', Ir *draigen* § 35, 1, Ir *drong* § 37, 4, Ir *deich* § 8, 1c.

§ 43. (IE *dh*, *d* between vowels) Ir *bodar* 'deaf' Mnlr *bodhar* Arr */bɔwr/* Don */bōr/*, compar */byrr'ə/* W *byddar* Co *bothar* Br *bouzar* Skr *badhīrā-s*, Ir *guide* 'prayer' Mnlr *guidhe* Arr */gov'ə/* Don */gỹ/*, */gyə/* § 38, Ir *buide*, *buidechas* 'thanks' Mnlr *buidhe*, *buidheachas* Arr */byjɔxəs/* Don */bwiɔxəs/* W *bodd* 'will' Co *both* cf OHG *gibot* 'command' Skr *budhyatē* 'is aware, knows', W *bedd* 'grave' Co *beth* Br *bez* Lat *fodiō* 'I dig' Goth *badī* 'hed' E *bed*, Ir *mīd* 'mead', *g meda* W *medd* Br *mez* Gk *μέθυ* Skr *mádhu*, Ir *buand* 'victory' Mnlr *buandh* Don */buz/* W *budd* 'profit' OBr *bud* gl *bra-dium* MIDu *būte* Mndu *buit* 'booty' ON *býti* 'exchange', Ir *ruad* (Arr */rūə/*) § 13, 1, Ir *suide* 'seat' Mnlr *suidhe* Arr */sỹ/* Don */sĩ/* § 24, 2, Ir *críde* 'heart' Mnlr *croidhe* Arr */krỹ/* § 22. For *dw* v § 19.

Note 1 Ir *ð* - *þ* is rare and irregular. Ir *sciath* 'shoulder-blade' W *ysgu ydd* etc. is influenced by *sciath* 'shield' § 25, 2. For *ð* > *d* after a homorganic sound v § 209, 210.

Note 2 Loss of *ð* in W. Ir *mīd* 'medius' *medon* 'middle' *immedon* 'within' Arr *thān* 'medius' Don *mān* MIW *mywn* in Mnlr *meien* (SW *mywn*) G *Medio lānum* Lat *medius* Skr *mādhyas* 'medius' (W *-wn* < *-ugno-* cf *an* < *-agno* § 36). Cf also W *rhōi* beside *rhoddi* 'give', in Co and Br the *ð* disappeared throughout in this verb, v § 506 n. In Br *ð* has disappeared in all dialects in *daouarn* 'the two hands' (from *daou* 'two' and *dourn* 'hand') *ð* > *r* in Br *hirio* 'today' § 21, 3, *dirion* 'Thursday' W *dydd* *Iau* cf also Br *ilio* 'ivy' W *eiddew* (MIW *ido* = *eiddio* cf *eiddiorwg*) Mnlr *idhio* Ir *edenn*.

Note 3 The rhymes suggest that Co final *d* tended to become voiceless. But it can hardly have become *þ*, for Lluyd gives *d* for Mnlr Co.

§ 44 (IE *dh*, *d* medially before consonants) *-dr-* was treated like *-gr-* (§ 36) in Brit, in Ir *d* gave OIr *t*, Mnlr *d*, in

compound formations *-d-r-* was treated like *-gr-* in Ir also, in addition there is a later development to *rr* Exx Ir *-fúir* 'knows' W *gŵyr* Co *gor* Br *goar* orig 3 plur **undri* < **widr* 'they know, one knows', cf Skr *vidúr* 'they know', Ir *cretar* 'relic, holy' MIW *creir* MnW *crair*, plur *creiriau* Br Trég (plur) *kreirio* Cf W *cadair* § 77,1 In epds Ir *áram* 'number' (to *ad-rími* 'reckons') W *eurif*, Ir *árach* (**ad-rig-*) etc § 35,5 Later, Ir *co-tob-árrig* 'has constrained you', from *rig-* 'bind' (*-rr* from anal restored *dr*)

Note. Ir *odor* MnIr *odhar* 'dun' must go back to a trisyllabic form, the *g* sg fem *uidhre* has an analogical *u* just as *buidhre* from *bodhar* 'deaf' Skr *badhra-s*

-dl- (in a compound) Ir *árlgen* 'soft', *álgenuid* 'softens', cf *laugeniu* gl minuscule For *-dl-* in W cf Loth, RC 38, 49

-dn- Ir *smuainim* 'I think' Gk *μῦθος* 'word' Goth *gamaudjan* 'remind' Before the accent in Brit *dn* became *n* in W *blynnedd* 'years' (after numerals) Br *he-vlene*, *he-lene* 'this year' W *e-lenn*, Br *uar-lene* 'last year' MIW *er-llynedd* MnW *y llynnedd*, *llynnedd* pl **blynniās*, dat sg **blynniāi*, nom sg **bleidnni* in Ir *bhadain* 'year' W *blwyddyn*, **blydnni* in OCo *bliþen* MCo *blythen*, *blethen* Br *blizenn*

-dm- Ir *frém* 'root' MnIr *fréamh* W *greddf* 'instinct, nature' (for **gureddf*) vn *greddfu* 'to become ingrained' cf W *guraidd* § 22 (J Morris-Jones, WG 160), W *deddf* ordinance, law' Gk *τεθμός* In a compound, *-mm-* OIr *cammadar* 'I have commanded' (*con-ad-m-*), to Ir *midiur* 'I judge' In reduplication *fo-dī-dmat* 'they will suffer', to Ir *dam-* 'suffer' (a vowel lost)

§ 45 (IE *dh* *d* after consonants) *-zd-* § 27 IE *-dd(h-)* Ir *cretim* 'I believe' W vn *credu* Co *cresy* MIBr *criidiff* MnBr *kridi*, *kredi* Lat *crēdō* Skr *śrad-dadhāmi* 'I believe'

rd Ir *cerd* 'art, handicraft' MnIr *céard*, *céird* 'trade, profession' W *cerdd* 'song' (MIW 'craft, song') Gk *τέγδος* 'profit, cunning', Ir *ord* 'hammer' OW *ord* MnW *gordd* OBr *or(d)* MnBr *horz* Armen *urn* (< **ōrdhm*, acc of *ōrdh-*), Ir *bard* 'poet' W *bardd* Co *barth* Br *barz* G *Bardo-magus*, Ir *ard* MnIr *árd* § 12,1 (*-rdhw-*)

ld retained in early OIr, later becoming *ll*, Brit *ll* Ir *meldach* 'pleasant' MnIr *meallach* Gk *μαλθαχός* 'soft' Goth *milders* 'mild', MIBr *caill* § 12,1, Ir *coll* 'loss' W *coll* OCo *collet* Br *koll* Goth *halts* 'lame'

nd was still retained in OIr but in later OIr began to change

to *nn* (cf ON *branak* < Ir *bendacht* 'blessing') Some forms of the article had *nn* or *n* from *nd* in OIr (*innna*, *na*, *donarb*), *nd* stood before vowels, *h*, lenited *f* (= *nl*), *s*, *l*, *n*, *r*, and occasionally before lenited *b*, *m*, the *d* dropped before non-lenited consonants *in recht* 'the law', *g ind recto* etc, similarly the prefix *ind-* dropped its *d* In Brit *nd* had become *nn* in OW and OBr Exx Ir *find* MnIr *fionn* § 6,1, Ir *scendim* MnIr *sgernnum* W *cy-chwyn* § 25,2

The Labial Voiced Aspirata and Media

§ 46. IE *bh* (Lat *f*, *-b-*, Gk *φ*, Gmc *b*, Skr *bh*) and the rare IE *b* (Lat, Gk *b*, Gmc *p*, Skr *b*) gave Celt *b* Initially *b* undergoes lenition in Ir and Brit, giving *b̂*, medially between vowels it became *b̃* in both branches, also between vowels and sonants (with certain further modifications) After sonants *b* is retained in Ir (occasionally wr *p* in OIr, MlIr), in Brit it became *b̃* after *r* and *l* The sound *b* was written *b* in OIr OW OBr, later *bh* in Ir, *w*, *u* or *f* in Brit (MnW *f*, MnBr *v*) The modern pronunciation is in Ir *w*, palatalized *v'*, in Brit *v* (whence occasionally Br *ϕ*)

Exx for *bh* initially Ir *benim* 'I strike' MlBr *benaff* 'to cut' OBr *butat* gl *resecaret*, *etbinam* gl *lanio* OW *dubeneticion* gl *exsectis* to Lat *perfinēs* 'perstringas' OSI *bi-ti* 'strike', Ir *herbaum* etc § 19 (related, with *t*-suffix, Ir *bruth* 'heat, wrath' OW Juv *brut* gl *animus* MnW *brud* 'hot, ardent' MIW pl *brydyon* OCo *bredion* gl *coctio* MnCo *brižan* 'coquere' OBr *brot* gl *zelotypiae* MnBr *broud* 'hot' Lat *dē-frutum* 'must boiled down, syrup' ON *broþ* 'broth', — Ir *berim* 'I carry' Lat *fero* (related, Ir *barn*, *bráth* § 12,2), Ir *brú* § 24,3, Ir *bláth* 'blossom' MIW *blawd* MnW (pl) *blodau* OCo *blodon* MnCo *bležan* MlBr (with *m*-suff) *bleuzuen* MnBr *bleuñ-enn*, *bleuñv-enn* to Lat *flōs* Goth *blōma* IE *b* appears perhaps in W *bustl* 'gall' OCo *bystel* MlBr *bestl* Lat *bīls*, MlIr *bend*, *benn* 'horn, peak' W *ban* MlBr *ban-* perhaps to MI Low Germ *pint* 'penis', Co *banne*, *banna* 'a drop, at all (after neg)' Br *banne* Trég *bannec'h* Skr *bindu-*

§ 47 IE *bh* and *b* between vowels Ir *gabim* § 34,2, Ir *abann* 'river' W *afon* OCo *auon* Br *Pont-aven* OBrit *Abona* Lat *amnīs* (mn < *bn*), Ir *dub* 'black' MnIr *dubh* OW *dub* MnW *du* OCo *duw* MlCo *du* Br *du* G *Dubis* to Goth *daubs* 'deaf' Gk *τυφλός* 'blind', *τῦφος* 'smoke, mist', Ir *lurb* 'herb' MnIr *lurbh* Goth *lubja-lers* 'poisoner' OHG *luppi* 'poison, magic' OE *lyb* (related, Ir *lubgort*, *lugbort* 'gar-

den' OW plur *luurd* gl horta MnW *luarth* OCo *luworchgust* gl uirgultum MCo *lowarth* 'garden' Br *lorz*, Ir *ibim* § 29, Ir *treb* 'residence' § 60, Ir *tóib* 'side' MnIr *taobh* W *tu* Co *tu* Br *tu* to Lat *tibia* 'shin-bone' Lith *stánbis*

Note For *-b-* > *-m-* in Ir cf § 186, 1 — In Brit *b* is lost after an *u*-sound, a short *u* being lengthened and like IE *oi* and Lat *ū* becoming *u* — In Ir *b* became *f* in certain circumstances *camaiph* = *cammab* 'tamen' Sg 209b3, for the future ending *-v* § 456—457 For *f* < *b* + *h* v § 203 final *b* > *f* in Co v Stokes Trans Phil Soc 1869, 138 (cf § 43 n 3),

§ 48. (IE *b(h)* medially before a sonant) *-br-* Ir *dobur* etc § 4, Ir *lobur* 'weak', *lobre* 'infirmity' MnIr *lobhar* 'leprous', *lobhra* 'leprosy' OIr (Juv) *lobur* gl *anhela* (fem adj) W *llufr* 'coward' MIBr *loffr* 'leprous' MnBr *lovr* with Ir *lobaim* 'putresco' MnIr *lobhaim* to Gk *λώβη* 'outrage, corruption', Ir *gabor* 'caper' MnIr *gabhar* W *gafr* OCo *gaur* MCo *gaver* OBr *mel-gabr* gl *ligustra* MnBr *gaor*, *gavr*, plur *geor*, *gevr* G *Gabro-magus* to Umbr *habina* 'agnas', Ir *ribar* MnIr *riobhar* 'sieve' r *meala* 'honeycomb' W *rhefr* 'rectum' Br *reor* **rebhru-* cf OSi *rebro* rib' OE *ribb* ON *rif* For *-mbr-* v § 49

-bl- Ir *mebul* 'shame' MnIr *meabhal* W *mebl* Co *meul*, v § 49, *-bn-* Ir *domuin* 'world' *domuin* 'deep' W *dufn* etc § 4

§ 49. (IE *bh*, *b* after consonants) *-zb-* v § 27 *-rb-* OIr *orpe* 'inheritance' *com-arpe* *heu*, *com-arbus* 'heritage' MnIr *comharba* 'successor' OW *Urb-gen* MnW *Urien* G *Orbins*, *Orbanuacus* Lat *orbus* 'bereft (of parents or children)' Gk *ὀρφανός* Goth *arþja* 'heir' Skr *arbha-s* 'little, boy', Ir *carbat* 'waggon, jawbone' MnIr *carbad* (cf MlW *gorcharuaneu* 'jaws, gums' MIBi *caruan* 'gums' MnBr *karvan* 'jaw') G-Lat *carpentum* G *Carbantia* OBrit *Kaßwartocipov* perhaps to Lat *corbis* 'basket'

-lb- OIr *gulban*, *gulpan* 'beak' MlIr *gulba* (*n*-stem) OW *gull* gl foratorium, *gilbin* gl acumine MnW *gylf*, *gylfin* OCo *geluin* gl rostrum OHG *kolbo* 'club' ON *kolfr* 'dart'

-mb- was retained in OIr, but the change to *mm* began in late OIr. The change took place in early OIr in proclisis, as in certain forms of the verb 'to be' (*námmán duine* 'that I were not man', but more frequently *-mb-*) and in the preposition *im* 'around', before other proclitics *imm-* (*imm-a-chomalnad* 'for its fulfilment', *imm-e-ruidbed* 'who had been circumcised'), but when accented *imb-* (*imb-a* 'about him') In Brit *-mb-* had already become *-mm-* in the OW-OBr

period (cf OW *emmen* § 41), in Br this assimilation was crossed by a later change *mm* > *mb* (*mp*), cf § 75 5 Exx MIIr *commar* 'confluence of valleys, rivers and roads' W *cymer* 'confluence of rivers' Br *kember* **k'om-* + IE root **bher-* 'carry', Ir *camm* 'bent' MNIr *cam* W Co *cam* Br *kamm* G *Cambo-dunum* Gk *σαμβός* 'bandy-legged', Ir *cum* 'vessel' W *cwm* 'valley' Br *komm* 'trough' G *Cumba* Gk *κύβη* 'cup' Skr *kumbhá-s* 'pot, mug' -*mbr-* became -*br-* > *br* in Ir *co-brith* 'help', *cobir*, *g cobra* **k'om-bhrti-* **k'om-bhri-*, to the root **bher-* 'carry', in Brit *mr*, *br* and *mbr* appear for it W *cymryd* 'take' MIBr *compret* Ir *cobruith*, W *hebrung* 'send, escort' OCo *hebrechniat* gl *dux* MlCo *hembronk* 'will lead', *hembrynkys*, *hombronkys* 'conducted' MIBr *hambrouc* 'lead' MNIr *ambroug* 'accompany' perhaps to Goth *briggan* 'bring', Ir *abra* 'eyehd', plur *abrait* MNIr. *abhra*, *fabhra* W *amrant* OCo *abrans* gl *supercilium* Br *abrant* 'eyehd' to Lat *frons* 'forehead', but all these forms can be due to (very early) innovations, and must be so explained if Loth, RC 47, 160, is right in interpreting OBr *Cobrant-*, *Courant-* and *-cobrant*, *-courant* (first or last member of several names of men) as 'helper' -*mb-* perhaps in Ir *mebul* etc, if these words are related to Gk. *μεμφομαι* 'I blame', *μεμπωλή* 'blame'

The Uvular and Palatal Voiceless Aspiratae and Tenues

§ 50. IE *q* (Lat, Gk *k*, Gmc *h*, -*g-*, Skr *ś*, Sl *k*, č, Lith *k*) and IE *k'* (Lat, Gk *κ*, Gmc *h* -*g-*, Skr *ś*, Sl *s*, Lith *š*) became *k'* in Celtic, and likewise the corresponding voiceless aspiratae (IE *qh* > Skr *kh*, IE *qh* and *k'h* > Gk *χ*, Lat *h*) The resulting *k'* remained initially in insular Celt, but is subject to lenition, in Ir to /*x*/ (*ch*), in Brit to *g*, the same changes took place medially between vowels. Before *t* it became in Ir and G /*x*/ (w1 Ir *ch*, rarely *c*, G *c* or *x*), in Brit the same spirant was vocalized, and with the preceding vowel formed a diphthong The same development occurred before *s* (*hs* > *xs* > Ir *ss*, Brit /*x*/, cf § 25, 4) Between vowels and sonants in Brit it developed partly as between vowels, partly became vocalized causing diphthongization, in Ir it was always vocalized (lost with compensatory lengthening) *sk* has become *sg* in MNIr and MNIW, after *r* and *l* in Ir *k'* remains, in Brit it became /*x*/ (*ch*) *nk'* gave Ir *g*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, remained in Co and Br and in finals in W, but medially in W became *nh* (which remains immediately before the accent in MNIW, elsewhere *n*)

IE *q*- Ir *cinn* 'am born descend (from)' *cenel* 'kindred' W *cedell* OCo *kinethel*, Ir *cét*- 'first' W *cynt* 'earlier' Co *kyns* Br *kent* G *Cintu-gnatus* 'the first-born' Gk *καιός* 'new' Skr *kanīṣṭhu-* 'the youngest' (here also Ir *cana*, *cana* 'wolf-cub, whelp' W *cenau* 'whelp' (formerly also 'offspring'), Ir *crim* W *craf* 'garlic' Gk *κρόμμον* 'onion' OE *hramse* 'wild garlic' Lith *kermūše*, *kermušis*

IE *k'* OW *calamennou* gl *culmos* MnW *calaf* 'stalk' Co *cala* 'straw' MIBr *colouenn* MnBr *kolō-enn* 'stalk' Lat *culmus* 'stalk', haulm' Gk *κάλαιος* 'reed' OHG *halm* 'haulm' OSi *slama*, Russ *solóma*, Ir *cét* '100' § 8, 1, W *clun* 'thigh' Co *clun* Br *klun* 'buttock' Lat *clūnis* 'buttock' (Gk *κλόνις* Skr *śṛṇi-*§ IE *k'w* with loss of *w* before *C* -*ū* from IE -*ō* Ir *cú* 'dog' etc § 9, 4

Note For *q*- from *k*- in proclitics v § 108 § 122

§ 51. (IE *qh*, *q*, *k'h*, *k'* between vowels) (1) Ir *múich* 'smoke' W *mug* Co *mok* Br *moug*, *mog* 'fire', *moged* 'smoke' Gk *σμόχομαι* 'burn in a smouldering fire' Armen *mux* 'smoke' (with IE *q* OE *sméocan* 'to smoke'), W *rhwyr* 'to tear' MIBr *roegaff* Skr *likhāmi* 'I scratch' MHG *rīhe* 'row, line' (with IE *q* Gk *ῥήγω* 'I break'), W *oged* 'harrow' OW *oet* gl raster Br *oged* Lat *occa* OHG *egida*, Ir *lóchet* 'lightening' W *llug* 'light', *am-llug* 'obvious', *go-llug* 'sight', Ir *lócharn*, *luacharn* 'light' W *llugorn* 'lantern' OCo *lugarn* Br *lugern* 'brightness' Lat *lūx* 'light', *lūcēre* 'to light', *lucerna* 'lamp' Gk *λευκός* 'white' Goth *liuhab* 'light' Skr *rōcā-tē* 'shines', Ir *deich* 'ten' § 8, 1c, Ir *fiche* 'twenty' § 6, 3, Ir *froech* § 17, W *diog* § 9, 1 — IE -*k'w*- occurs in Ir *ech* etc § 5, 1

(2) Palatal /*ɹ*/ in Ir becomes *q* in an unaccented syllable OIr *huressach* 'believing', pl *huressig* — Lenited *k* is always written *c* in OW and OBr, in MIW, MICO and MIBr it varies between *c* and *g* (*c* finally), MnW has *g* always, MnBr frequently *k*, especially in final position For *k* + *ɹ* > *ɹ* in Br (*marc'hek* 'rider', pl *marc'heren*) v § 180

§ 52 (IE *qh*, *q*, *k'h*, *k'* before explosives) -*akt*- Ir *do-sn-acht* 'he drove them', pret. of *aq*-, W *aeth* 'he went' Co *eth* MIBr *æz* MnBr *eaz* — -*okt*- Ir *in-nocht* 'to-night' MIW *henoeth* (MnW *heno*), MnW *peu-noeth* 'every night', *trannoeth* 'on the following day' (with *ɹ*-umlaut MIW *neith(ɹ)wyr* 'last night' MnW *neithiwr* MnCo *nehuer* MIBr *neyzor* MnBr *neizeur*) Lat *nox*, *g noctis* Goth *nahts* Skr *nākti-*§ (W Co *nos* Br *noz* 'night' < **noqt-stu-*), Ir *ocht* 'eight' (**oktōu*) W *wyth* MnCo *eath* Br *eiz* (**ok'tō*, with Brit *i*-umlaut).

cf Lat *octo* Gk *ὀκτώ* Goth *ahtau* Skr *aṣṭāu* — *-ukt-* Ir *lucht* 'portion, load, people' W *llwyth* 'load, tribe' G *luctos*, *Luctervus*, *Lucturnos* with the original meaning 'part' to Lith *lūž-ta* 'breaks', also probably Goth *lūkan* 'shut', and with different semantic development Gk *λυγρός* 'sad, mournful' Lat *lūctus* 'sorrow' — *-ekt-* Ir *recht* 'law' OW *cymreuth* MnW *cyfraith*, *rhaith* Br *reiz* 'order, arrangement' G *Rextugenos* to Lat *rēctus* 'right' Goth *rahts*, MIW *llarh* 'wet' Br *leiz* to Ir *leg-* 'melt' ON *leka* 'to trickle' In Br *e* occurs in certain cases for *ei*, perhaps regularly after *j* and *w* Br *iez* § 20, Ir *fecht* 'turn, time, warlike expedition' MIW *gweith* 'time, turn' MnW *gwanth* Co *gweith*, *gwyth* Br *gwez*, *gweach* (š < zj, from the pl, *a-wechou* 'occasionally') to Lat *uehō* 'I carry' part *uctus* — *-ikt-* Ir *techt* 'go' W *tarth* fem 'journey' Br *tiz* 'haste' to Ir *tagu* 'I go', W *nithio* 'winnow' Br *niza* to Gk *νιῶ* *λινῶ* 'winnows' Lith *mekō-ti* 'to winnow corn' (related, W *gwe-nith* 'wheat' MnCo *gwaneth* Br *gwi-niz*), Ir *mrecht-rad* 'varietas' MnIr *breacht-ach* 'mixed, spotted' OW *brith* gl *pictam*, *-breathet* 'speckled' MnW *brith*, fem *braith* 'mixed, speckled' OCo *brunt* gl *uarius* Br *briz* 'spotted, stained' to OSl *mŕk-nŕti* 'obscurari', Ir *mlacht*, *bhlcht* 'milk' W *blith* to Lat *mulgeō* 'I milk' Gk *ἀμέλγω* Goth *maluks* 'milk' — *-lt-* after a long vowel MIW *doeth* 'cane' Co *dueth* /doþ/ MIBr *deuz* /doz/ *dōkt- < *do-ag-t- After *r* Ir *ro-ort*, pret of *org-* 'murder', cf Ir *art* 'bear' with IE *kþ* § 28 In the group *-nkt-* the *n* disappeared Ir *téchte* 'fitting, right' W *teuth* 'characteristics, qualities' MIW *brenhin teithawc* 'rex legitimus' ON *þéttr* 'close, tight' Lith *tínkus*, Ir *cumachte* 'power' (to *con-iccim* 'I can') W *cyfoeth* OCo *chefudoc* gl *omnipotens*, Ir *crécht* 'wound' W *craith* 'scar' OBr *creith* gl *ulcera* MnBr *creizenn*, *crezenn* perhaps Lith *krenkù* 'I curdle' (but here *-n-* is present-forming), Ir *cécht* 'plough' § 54

§ 53 (IE *gh*, *q*, *k'h*, *k'* medially before sonants) *-kr-* Ir *dér* 'tear' MnIr *deór* W *deigr*, *deigryn* pl *dagrau* Co plur *dagrow* OBr *ḍacr-lon* gl *nuidus* MIBr pl *dazrou* MnBr pl *daerou*, *daelou* (sing *daeraouenn*, *daelaouenn*) Lat *dacruma*, *lacruma* Gk *δάκρυ* Goth *tagr* OE *téar*, W *gwa-gr*, *go-gr* 'sieve', *gogryn(u)* 'to riddle' Br *gourner* 'sieve' to Lat *cernō* 'I discern' (*er* < *re*) Gk *χωρίω* 'I separate', Ir *fo-chúur* (/x/ retained in a conscious compound) etc § 257, Ir *ar-ro-chúur* 'has vanished, perished', redupl perf of *ar-a-chrinnm*

-kl- Ir *munnél* 'neck' W *munwgl* § 3.2, W *huddygl* 'soot' Br *huzel* OE ON *sót* The explosive was retained in a conscious compound in Br *he-gleo* 'audible' W *hy-glyw* to Br *klesout* 'to hear'

-akn- Ir *brén* 'putrid' W *braen* MIBr *breyñ* MñBr *brein* to Lat *marceō* 'am weak' Lith *mirk-ti* 'to be soaked', Ir *blén* 'groy' W *blaen* 'tip, end' Co *blyn* MIBr *blein* 'somet' MñBr *blein* 'bout' — -okn- Ir *srón* etc § 26,3, W *croen* 'skin', plur *croyn* OCo *croun* gl *pellis* (with *kn* > *kk* § 73,2, Ir *crocenn* MñIr *croiceann* Co *crohen* Br *kroc'hén*), — -ukn- W *dwyn* 'to bear' (pres *dygaf*) Co *doen*, *doyn*, *don* Br *doen* to Ir *to-ucc-* — -ekn- Ir *scén* 'terror' to Ir *scuchum* 'I depart' W *ysgogi* 'budge' Br *diskogella* 'shake, disturb' OHG *gi-scehan* 'to happen' — -ikn- perhaps in Ir *Lén* G *Lincos* — -ūkn- and -īkn- fell together with -ukn- and -ikn- in Ir Ir *tón* 'podex' W *tin* Co *tyn* **tūqnā*, to OHG *diuh* OE *þéoh* (E *thugh*), Ir *mén* 1 *bél* 'mouth' W *mín* 'hp' Co *myn*, *meyn* Br *mín* 'snout' **mēkno-* or **mēknā*, to OHG *mago* 'maw' (cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1891—94, p 219) — -eukn- (-oukn-) MIBr *sunaff* § 24,2 () *k* restored in W *sugno*, cf OW *dissuncnetic* gl *exanc'lata*)

§ 54 (IE *qh*, *q* *k'h*, *k'* after consonants) *sk* § 25,2 *sqw* Ir *sesc* etc § 24,1 Dental + *k* Ir *ruice* 'shame' to Ir *ruad* 'red' *rk* Ir *cerc* MñIr *cearc* hen Gk κέρκος ἀλεκτρούων cock or hen', Ir *marc* 'horse' W *march* MlCo *margh* MñCo *marh* (MlCo *marrek* 'horseman' with *rr* < /*rx*/) Br *marc'h* G *Marco-durum* OHG *marah* OE *mearh* (fem OHG *meriha* OE *miere*), MñIr *earc* 'red, speckled' W *erch* 'speckled' Gk περχνός 'dusky' Skr *pṛṣṇi-ś* 'speckled' (MñIr *earc* 'trout, salmon' ore 'salmon' OHG *forhana* trout' Gk πέρκη 'perch', probably *rkk* from *rkn*, cf § 73) Ir *orc* § 29, W *worch* § 3,2

lk Ir *olc* 'bad' Lat *ulciscor* 'I take vengeance' Gk ὀλεω 'I destroy', W *talch* 'fragment gúst' OCo *talch* gl *furfures* Russ *tolōči* 'to pound', *toloknó* '(oat)meal prepared by grounding in a mortar', Ir *folcaim* etc § 3,4

nk Ir *éc* 'death' etc § 8,1b, Ir *écen* 'necessity' MñIr *éigean* MIW *anghen* MñW *angen*, pl *anghenon* Co Br *anken* 'anguish' Gk ἀνάγκη 'necessity', Ir *géc* 'branch' MñIr *géag* W *cainc*, pl MIW *cangheu* MñW *cangan* OSI *sakhū* 'twig' Skr *śankhú-* 'prop, peg' (related, Ir *cécht* 'plough'), Ir *oac* 'young' MñIr *óg* § 18 See further § 70

The Labiovelar Voiceless Aspirata and Tenuis.

§ 55 IE *k^u* (Lat *qu*, Gk π, τ, Gmc *hw*, *f*, -*w*-, -*q*- Skr *k*, *č*) and IE *k^h* (Lat *f*, Gk φ, θ, Skr *kh*) both gave Celt *k^u*, there are no clear instances of *k^h* in Celt The sound *k^u* was kept till the period

of the ogam inscriptions, but later became *k'* in Ir, developing as *k'* in § 50. For after-effects of the labialization (Ir *coire*, *cruim* etc.) v § 179, 1. In certain cases the labialization was lost in Brit, and the consonant developed like the *k*-sounds of the two other series, § 50. Thus occurred before *u* MIW *cw* 'where, whence, whither'. Lat *ne-cu-ter* 'neither of the two' OE *hū* 'how' Skr *ku-ha* 'where', cf Ir *cu* etc § 50. Also after *u* Ir *buachaill* W *bugail* etc § 13, 1 (similarly delabialization in Gk *βοι-κόλος*, cf *αἰ-πόλος* 'shepherd', Lat *colō* 'I cultivate' [*ko-* < *k^ue-*], *inquilīnus* 'sojourner'). Further, when *k^u* became the final consonant before the general disappearance of final syllables W *ac* 'and' Lat *atque*, W *nac*, *nag* Lat *neque* § 86, for G *-c* 'and' in *eti-c* and Ir infixed *-ch-* 'and' v Thurneysen, ZCP 16 287, 13 299, Br *a-raok*, W *rhag* etc § 9, 2. Skr *prāk* 'before, forward', neuter of the stem *prāñc-* 'turned forward' Lat *longinquus* 'far', *propinquus* 'near'. Lastly *k^u* lost its labialization when doubled and before *s* and *t* MIW *machteith* 'maid' OCo *mah-theird* gl uirgo MCo *maghteth*, *maghtlyth* Br *matez* 'servant-girl' to Ir *macc* 'son', Ir *ingen macc-dacht* 'grown-up young girl' OIr *ro-mac-dact* gl *superadulta* (double *k^u*), beside OW *map* 'son' W *mab* Co *mab* Br *mab*, *map*, W *gwtych* 'liquid' Br *glec'h* 'steeping', beside W *gwtyb* etc § 17 (double *k^u* or *k^us*) — When the labialization was not lost, IE *k^u* gave Brit *p*, which is subject initially to lenition to *b*, the same change occurring medially between vowels *sk^u* > MIW *sp*, MnW *sb* *rk^u* and *lk^u* gave Brit *rf*, *lf* *nk^u* gave Co and Br *mp*, similarly in W finals, but medially W *mh* (which remains in MnW immediately before the accent, otherwise becoming *m*)

Initially Ir *cia* 'who?' W *pwyl* Co *pyw* B1 *piou* cf Lat *quī*, *quis* Gk *πότερος* 'which of two', *τίς* 'who' Goth *h^uas*, Ir *ceithir* 'four' W *pedwar* etc § 5, 1, W *pell* 'far' Co Br *pell* Gk *τῆλε*, Aeol *πῆλυι*, Ir *casachtach* 'cough' W *pas* etc § 25, 5, Ir *crenim* 'I buy' W vn *prynu* Co *prenne*, perna Br *prena* Gk *ἐπιοράμην* 'I bought' Skr *krināmi* 'I buy', Ir *creth* 'poetry' W *prydydd* 'poet', *peri* 'to make, cause' Skr *karōmi* 'I make'

§ 56 (IE *k^u* between vowels) Ir *sechur* 'I follow' Lat *sequor* Gk *ἐπομαι*, Ir *sech* 'praeter' OW *hep* 'without' W *heb* Co *heb* Br *hep* Lat *secus* 'inferior, otherwise' (root **sek^u-* 'follow'), Ir *in-cho-sig* '(which) it signifies' OW *hepp* 'inquit' MIW *heb* MnW *eb* Lat *in-seque* 'say!' Gk *ἔννεπε*, W *pobi* 'to bake' Co *pobas* Br *pibi*, part *pobet* Lat *coquō* 'I cook' Skr *pacāmi* (IE *p-k^u* gave Lat and

Celt *k^u—k^u*), OW *modreped* gl *materterae* MnW *modryb* 'aunt', plur *modrybedd* OCo *modereb* 'matertera, amita' OBr *motrep* MIBr *mozrep* MnBr *moereb* Skr *mātrkā* 'grandmother', Ir *fluch* 'wet' W *gwlyb* etc § 17

Note The lenited sound was written *p* in OW OBr, in MlW Co, MIBr it varies between *p* and *b* MnW it is always *b*, in MnBr frequently final *p* For /*r*/ in Ir *q* occurs in unacc't sylls when palatalized cf *ancho* sig above

§ 57 IE *k^us* in Celt coincided with IE *qs* and *k's*, cf § 25, 4 Similarly IE *k^ut* with IE *qt* and *k't*, § 52, Ir *nocht* 'naked' OW *nord* (*d* = *þ*) MnW *noeth* Co *noyth* Br *noaz* Lat *nūdus* (< **noq^ued(h)os*) Goth *nak^uaþs*, Ir *snechte* 'snow' § 26, 9

§ 58. IE *-k^ur-* developed in Ir like IE *-kr-* (§ 53) Ir *cuir* 'I bought', redupl perf of *crenim* 'I buy'

§ 59 (IE *k^u* after sonants) Ir *forcenn* 'end' W *gorffen* Co *gorfen* MIBr *gourffenn* cpd of Ir *cenn* 'head' W *pen* etc

ph^u OIr *cóic* five Mnlr *cuig* OW *pump* MIW *pypm* MnW *pump* Co *pypm* Br *pemp* (OW *pimphet* 'fifth' [*m^h* = *m^h*] MIW *pymhet* MnW *pumed* Co *pypmes* MIBr *pempet*) Lat *quinque* Gk *πέντε* (IE *p—k^u* became Lat and Celt *k^u—k^u*) W *ymennydd* 'brain' (*m* instead of *m^h*, the MIW form *emhennydd* occurs) OCo *impinion* MlCo *empynnyon* Br *empenn* cpd of the prefix **en-* with W *pen* etc (in Ir the prefix is **en-* *inchinn* 'brain'), Ir *leicim* 'I leave' MlIr *leigim* (with short vowel) Lat *linquō* Gk *λείπω*, *λείπω*

The Dental Voiceless Aspirata and Tenuis

§ 60 IE *t* (Lat Gk *t*, Gmc *þ*, *d*, Skr *t*) and IE *th* (Lat *f*, Gk *θ*, Skr *th*) gave Celt *t^h* which remains initially in insular Celt, being subject to lenition in Ir to *þ* (*th*), in Brit to *d* The same changes occur medially between vowels (> Co s § 263), also in W before sonants but in Co occasionally, in MIBr always, it became a spirant which in MnBr has been vocalized or lost, in Ir it disappeared with compensatory lengthening IE *tt* in Celt coincided with *st* In Ir *t^h* remains after *p*, *k* *r* and *l*, *nt^h* became *d*, with preceding compensatory lengthening In Brit *t^h* after IE *p* *k* and *r* became *þ* (*th*), it remained after *l* and *n* in Br and finally in W, but medially in W *tt*, *nt* became voiceless *ll* and *nnh* (*nnh* in MnW immediately before the accent *nn* after the acct, elsewhere *n*)

The sound *þ* became *h* early in Ir Evidences of the old pronunciation *þ* are ON *Duffakr* from Ir *Dubthach*, W *byth* from Ir

bith, this probably predominated in early OIr. The pronunciation *h* predominated by the beginning of MIr. After the change *þ* > *h* in Ir, medial W *þ* is represented by Ir *t*. Ir *dretill* 'pet' from W *drythyll* 'well-fed, high-spirited'.

Initially IE *t-*. Ir *tana* 'thm' W *tenau* Co *tanow* Br *tanau*, *tano* Lat *tenuis* Gk *ταυν-*, *ταναός* 'long' OHG *dunna* 'thin' OE *þynne* Skr *tanú-ś*, — Ir *trub*, *treb* 'abode' W *tref* OBr *treb* Osk *triúbúm* 'domum' Goth *þaurp*, Ir *tri* 'three' W *tri* Co *try* Br *tri* Lat *trēs* Gk *τρεις* Goth *þreis*, Ir *tlánth* 'tender, weak' W *tlawd* 'poor' Gk *τλην-ναι* 'suffer, endure', Ir *tnúth* 'passion, jealousy', possibly to Lat *teneō* 'I hold' Skr *tanō-ti* 'extends', OW *tnou* W *tyno* 'plain, meadow' MIBr *tnou*, *tnaou* 'valley' MNBBr *traouñ* 'the lower part, below' (v § 71,3).

§ 61. (IE *th*, *t* between vowels) (1) Ir *lethan* 'broad' etc § 7,1, Ir *cath* 'battle' W *cad* Co *cas* G *Catu-riges* OHG *hadu-*, W *dafad* 'sheep' OCo *dauat* MCo *daves*, *dauas* Br *dañvad* lit. "tamed beast", cf Gk *ἀδάματος* 'indomitable' Lat *domitus* 'tamed' — *-tw-* Ir *ceithir* 'four' § 5,1 — For *-tj-* > *ž* in Br v § 180,3.

(2) In OIr *th* disappeared in proclitics, thus *laa* 'day' dat *láo*, *lón* beside *lanthe*, G *lat* OSi *lêto* 'summer', it became proclitic in such expressions as *laa m-brátha* 'doom-day'. Subsequently the shorter form predominated (MnIr *lá*).

(3) Finally in unaccented position in Ir *þ* became *ð*. Ir *tocad* § 70,3, Ir *biad* § 16 — In MNBBr *ð* from *þ* has been treated in the same way as *ð* from IE *d dh*. Its pronunciation varies in the different dialects.

(4) For modifications of Ir *þ* in contact with homorganic sounds v §§ 209—211.

§ 62 (IE *th*, *t* medially before sonants) *-tr-* Ir *criathar* 'sieve' OW *cruatr* (MnW *cruwydro* 'to wander' *cruwydr* 'a wandering') OCo *crouder* MnCo *krodar* (MCo *croddre* 'to sieve') MIBr *croezr* MNBBr *krouer* **qreistro-*, cf Lat *cribrum* (with suff. *-dhro-*) OE *hriddor*, *hriddel*, Ir *tarathar* 'auger' OW *tarater* MnW *taradr* Co *tardar* MIBr *tarazr* MNBBr *tarar* Gk *τερετρον* Lat (with *-dhr-* suff.) *terebra* Ir. *arathar* § 2, — Ir *nathir* 'natrix, serpens', g *nathrach* W *neidr*, pl *nadredd*, *nadroeddd* Co *nader* OBr *natrolion* gl *regulosis* MIBr *azr* MNBBr *aer* 'serpent' **natrik-* (Ir. Co., Br), **natri* (W), cf Lat *natrix* Goth *nadrs*, W *modryb* MIBr *mozrep* MNBBr *moereb* § 56.

-tl- Ir *dál* 'assembly' OW *datl* gl *foro*, *datlocou* gl *fora* MnW *dadl* ('debate') OBr *dadl* gl *concio* MNBBr *dael* 'dispute' IE root

**dē*- 'cut, divide', Ir *scél* § 25, 2, W *hoedl* MBr *hoazl* etc § 14, Ir *sál* 'heel' § 25, 5, Ir *anál* W *anadl* MBr *alazn* etc § 2, W *banadl* 'broom' OCo *banathel* MBr *balazn* MnBr *balan*, *banal*, Ir *cenél* 'kindred' W *cenedl* (BBC *kenetyl*, *t* = *đ*) OCo *knethel* § 50

-*tn*- Ir *én* 'bird' W *edn* etc § 29, W *llwdn* 'young (of animals)' MBr *lozn*, *loezn* MnBr *loen* cf (without *n*) Ir *loth* 'foal'

-*tm*- MBr *bleuzuen* 'flower' MnBr *bleuñ-enn* cf (without *m*) Ir *bláth* etc § 46

§ 63 For *st*, *pt*, *lt* v § 25, 5, § 31, § 52 For Br *š* from *ktj* (*gweach*) v § 180, 3 *t* + *t* had become *t't* in IE (Lat *ss*, *s*, Gk *στ*, Gmc *ss*, Skr *tt*) This gave C *st*, which developed like IE *st* W *ffrwt* § 26, 2, Ir *forbas*, *forbais*, *forfess* 'oppression, siege' W *gormes* 'oppression' OBrit -Lat *ormesta* 'misery' from the root found in Ir *midiur* 'I judge' with prefixes Ir *jo* + *ro* W *gor-*, Ir *ro-fess* 'scitum est', *fiuss* 'knowledge' W *gwýs* 'it is known', *gwýs* 'a summons' MBr *gous* 'it is known' cf Lat *uīsus* 'seen' Gk *ἴστω* 'knowing' OHG *ge-wiss* 'certain' Skr *vitti-* 'consciousness', Ir *tóisech* 'chief' (Ogam TOVISACI), *túus* 'beginning' W *tywys* 'lead', *tywysog* 'prince' from *to-* and IE **uid-* 'know'

§ 64 (IE *th*, *t* after sonants) (1) *rt* Ir *gorl* 'field' W *garth* 'enclosure' Br *garz* 'hedge', cf Ll *lub-gort* etc § 47 Lat *hortus* 'garden' Gk *χότρος* 'court-yard', Ir *nert* 'strength' W C'o *nerth* Br *nerz* G *Nerto-briga*, Ir *fertas* 'shaft' W *gwerthyd* 'spindle' OCo *gurhthut* gl *fusus* OBr *plui quartitou* gl *fusus* MBr *guerzu* MnBr *gwerzid* to Lat *uertō* 'I turn'

(2) *lt* Ir *alt* 'bank shore' MnIr *allt* 'cliff side of a glen' W *allt* 'hillside' (also formerly 'bank', (*g*)*allt y mor* 'sea cliff' BBOS 3 127) OCo *als* gl *litus* Br *aot*, *aod* 'bank' Lat *altus* 'high', — Ir *altain* 'razor' OW *clinn* MnW *cllyn* OBr *altin* (gl *terula*) MBr *autenn* MnBr *aotenn* Goth *falpan* 'told' (cf Dan *folde-kniv* 'clasp-knife'), — Ir *molt* 'wether' W *mollt* OCo MICo *mols* Br *maout* (whence Fr *mouton*), Ir *scoltun* § 25, 2, W *gwellt* § 34, 3

-*ltr*- gave W *thr* Ir *altram* 'nurture', *altru* 'foster-father' W *athro* 'teacher' OCo *altrou* gl *utricus* MnCo *aultra* 'susceptor, god-father' OCo *altruan* gl *nouerca* MnCo *aultruan* 'susceptrix, god-mother' OBr *eltroguen* gl *nouerca* MBr *autrou* MnBr *aotrou* 'seigneur, monsieur' to Ir *al-* 'nourish' (The usual pl form in W is *athrawon*, but *alltrawon* 'sponsors, guardians' occurs in MIW, cf MIW *elldrewyn* 'stepmother', also MBr *ytron* 'lady' MnBr *itron*, *itroun*)

(3) *nt* (*mt*) Ir *dét* 'tooth' etc § 8,1, Ir *hét* 'zeal' etc § 20, Ir *tét* 'string' MnIr *téad* W *tant*, pl *tannau* Skr *tántu-ṣ*, Ir *sét* 'road' W *hynt* OCo *cam-hinsic* gl *iniustus*, *eun-hinsic* gl *iustus* OBr *do-guo-hintliat* gl *inceduus* MIBr MnBr *hent* 'road' Goth *anamma sinþa* 'one time' OE *sip* 'journey, time (once, etc.)' Goth *sandjan* 'send', — OW *hanther* (*nth* = *nh*) 'half' W *hanner* Co *hanter* (*t* retained before *r*) OBr *hanter*- MnBr *hanter* **sntero-*, cf Gk *ἄτερος* 'the other of two', — Ir *Brigt* W *braint*, *brenn* etc § 35,5, Ir *bráge* etc § 35,6 — With IE *mt* Ir *cét*- OW *cant* 'with' W *gan* OCo *cans* MICO *gans* Br *gant* Gk *κατά*, related to Lat *cum*, Ir *cét* 100' W *cant*, pl *cannoedd*, etc § 70,1

-*ntr*- gave W *thr* Ir *eter* 'between' MnIr *eidir* OW *ithr* Co *ynre* Br *entre*, *etre* V *itre* (the loss of -*n*- in Br is due to accent, the final -*e* may be due to the influence of *dre* 'through') Lat *inter*, W *mathru* 'trample' Br *mantra*, part *mantret* 'abattu de douleur, stupéfait', W *ewythr* 'uncle' § 13,4, Ir *cutrumme* 'similis' MIW *cythrymet* (-*et* = *ed*, LIH 285 29), cf OW *cuthremmet* gl *balance libra* MIW *yn gythrymet* (-*et* = *ed*) 'evenly, exactly'

-*ntl*- gave W *thl* W *cathl* 'song' (Juv *centhliat*, *centhliat* gl *canorum*, which represent **ceithliad* 'songster', of which the pl is found in *gor-cheithleit* 'supreme songsters', v BB(S 4 56) Br *kentel* 'lesson' Ir *cétal* 'song' *forctal* 'teaching, lesson' to *can*- 'sing'

The IE Sonants

§ 65 The sonants *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* in Celtic had two sounds, non-lenited (*r*, *L* *Λ*, *M*) and lenited (*r*, *l* *n*, *m*) In Brit this difference was in part given up, and in part so increased that different graphic symbols were used to represent them The increase took place with *L* *l*, *R* *r* in W and with *M* *m* in all the Brit languages¹ A similar but lesser increase occurred in the case of Ir *M* *m*, resulting in lenition being denoted in writing In the case of *R* *L* *N* *r* *l* *n* the old sounds have been retained to this day, with dialectal variations (especially in *R* *r*), though they have never been distinguished orthographically But the existence of the difference in OIr is proved in particular by the fact that the article assumed a different form before *r*, *l*, *n* in accordance with the rules for lenition (*ind* when the following initial was lenited, *in* when it was not) *nom in rect* 'the

¹ For traces of the difference between initial *R*, *L*, *N* and *r*, *l*, *n* in Br v Parry-Williams RC 35 320 Loth RC 35 468-470

law', *g ind recto*, nom *in lie* 'the stone', *g ind hacc*, nom masc *in nuae-thintud sa* 'this new translation', nom fem *ind nóibe* 'the holiness' In OIr and MlIr gemination may denote the unlenited sound The non-lenited sounds *R L N* in Irish occur (1) in absolute initials, when syntax does not require lenition, (2) after *s*, (3) in gemination and in certain combinations with dentals (§ 66, 68, 71), (4) in finals (*-ll*, *-nn*) if the last (unaccented) syllable of a word begins with *-r*-, *-l*-, *-n*-

§ 66 IE *r* (Lat. Gk Gmc. Skr *r*) gave Celt *R* and *r* Initially *R* became in W voiceless *ɹ*, written *rh*, which can be lenited to *r*, medially *R* and *r* fell together (but *R* after *n* became *r* *an-rhég* 'gift', *an-rhanth* 'booty', lit. 'un-right', but *an-ras* 'gracelessness' to *gras* 'grace') In Co and Br the difference between *R* and *r* disappeared In Ir *R r* owing to palatalization gave *R*, *h'* *r*, *r'* But *h'* has lost its palatalization and become *p*, which initially fell together with *r* Medially and finally *R* mostly became *r*, but some traces remain of the distinction between *R* and *r* (For detailed descriptions see VKG I 142) In Scotland *R* and *r* kept apart

In MnIr and Sc *R* occurs (1) in absolute initials (subject to lenition), *hī* 'king', *mo rī* (Skve), *mo fī* (Kerry) 'my king', *ə fī* (Déisi) 'O king' (2) after *s* MlIr *sīan* 'bridle' Ari *ṡriān* Don *sreān* Kerry with *sR*-, (3) in old gemination, OIr *foirrce*, *fairrgae* 'sea' MnIr *fairrge* Arr and Don *farag's* (but with single *r* In *arget* MnIr *airgead* Arr *ařag'id* Don *ařag'ad*), (4) after *n* or *l*, MnIr *anró* 'misery' (with *R*), Déisi *d'awhə* = *deallradh* 'brightness', (5) before dentals, MnIr *árde* 'higher, height' Air *ejh.d's* Don *ord's* Kerry *īl d'v*, MnIr *árne* 'sloe' Ari pl *a^hv'v'ī* Don *ārN's* Kerry *ārN'v* For further details v VKG I 142 ff

§ 67 EAn of IE *r* in Celtic Ir *rath* 'grace' W *rhad* Skr *rāta* 'given', Ir *gáu* 'civ', *gáire* 'laughter' W *gawr* 'shout', W *gaur* 'word' Ir *garm* 'cry' W (Co Br *garm* Gk *γῆγος* 'voice' Lat *garrulus* 'talkative', Ir *dair*, *daur* 'oak' W *dár* OCo *dar*, W *derwen* Br *derr-enn* (pl *dero*) Gk *dógn* 'wood' Goth *triu* 'tree' Skr *dāru* 'wood' Consonant groups with *r* are given under the other elements For Celt *rr* v § 26, 3—4

§ 68 IE *l* (Lat. Gk. Gmc. *l*, Skr *r*, *l*) appears in Celt as *L* and *l* In W initially and medially *L* became voiceless *ɹ*, written *ll*, which can be lenited to *l* In Co and Br the distinction between

L and *l* was given up. In Ir owing to palatalization *L l* gave *L*, *L'* *l*, *l'* (For details of pronunciation v VKG I 145)

In MnIr and Sc *L*, *L'* occur (1) in absolute initials (subject to lenition), Arr *Lŷ* 'calf' (*laogh*), *mo lŷ* 'my calf', *Nđ L'an* 'do not follow' (*nđ lean*), *l'an* 'followed' (*do lean*), (2) after *s*, Arr *sLat* 'rod' (*slat*) (len *hlat*, with the article *əN flat*) Don *sLat* (len, instead of *hl-*, voiced *l*, with the article *tl-*), Arr *kyšL's* 'vein' Don *kušL's* (*cursle*), (3) in old gemination, or later gemination from *ld(Ld)*, *dl*, *tl*, *ln(LN)*, Arr and Don *kapəL* 'horse' MlIr *capull*, Arr *kaL'uww* (*do cailleadh*) 'he died' Don *uəL'* 'he lost' to MlIr *coll* 'loss', Arr *koLə* 'sleep' Don *koLuww* MnIr *codladh* OIr *collud*, (4) after *r* or *n*, Arr *kŷRL's* 'counsel' Don *kŷrL's* MnIr *comhairle*, (5) before dentals, Arr *moLt* 'wether' Don *məLt* (*molt*)

W *l* occurs in much the same circumstances (1) and (2) *llaw* 'hand', *dy lau* 'thy hand', initially 1E *l* and *sl* gave W *l*, *llath* 'yard', *dwylath* 'two yards', but after *s* in W *l* remains voiced, *bas-le* 'shallow place', (3) Celt and Lat *ll*, *ld*, *-lt-* gave W *l*, *coll* 'loss', *callor* 'cauldron' < Lat *caldārium*, *cangell* 'chancel' < Lat *cancellus*, (4) *iarll* 'earl', *Caerlleon* 'Chester', MlW *erllynedd* 'last year' MnW *y llynedd* § 44, *y llong* 'the ship' (the art *y* is from *yr*), *mor llon* 'so happy', *yn llawn* 'full' (*y* usually causes lenition in a fem noun, *mor* and *yn* usually cause lenition), (5) *mollt* 'wether' but in later forms and compounds *l* remains, *deildy* 'arbour' lit 'leaf-house'

§ 69 Exx of 1E *l* in Celt W *llau* 'hee', *lleuen* 'louse' OC'o *lowen* MnCo *lūan*, pl *low* Br *laouen* OHG *lūs*, Ir *lesc* gl *piger* W *llesq* 'weak' ON *lqskr* 'dull', Ir *cuil* gl *culex* W *cylion* 'gnats, flies' OC'o *kehonen* gl *musca* Br *kehen-enn* 'fly' Lat *culex* Consonant groups with *l* are given under the other elements. For the sources of *ll* v § 26, 5—7 and cf § 72. In Ir *ll* appears for *l* according to the rule in § 65, 4. *Conall* W *Cynwal* OBr *Cunouah* (g), Ir *fanall* 'swallow' W *guennol* — Before original *i* in final syllables *l* became *l* in W in unaccented syllables. Ir *bial* W *bwyl* (OW *bahell*, *lau-bael*) Br *bouc'hal*, Ir *fedil* 'enduring' W *gweddil* 'remainder' (whence Ir *fuidell*, but cf ZCP 14 392), W *sefyll* 'to stand' OC'o *seuel* 'to rise' Br *sevel* 'to erect' Lat *stabilis* 'steady' Cf the Lat loanwords W *Ebrill* 'April', *ufyll* 'humble' § 84, 2

§ 70 (The nasal diphthongs) (1) Only the nasals *n* and *m* occurred independently in 1E, but in the individual languages in the groups nasal + explosive there existed in addition to *m* (before

p and *b*) and *n* (before *t* and *d*) an *n* (before *k* and *g*) In prim Celt the nasal was generally assimilated to the following explosive W *cant* '100' Lith *kn̄mtas*, W *nant* 'valley' OCo *nans* G *nanto* Skr *natá-* 'bent', *námatai* 'inclines', numerous cpds with the prefix **k'om* Lat *cum* G *Contoutos*, *Condāte*, Ir *con-delig* 'comparison', *con-gnam* 'help' The sound *n* was written *n* in Celt usually, but cf G *Εσκιυροειξ* etc (in inscriptions with Gk letters), there is a special ogam symbol for *ng* In MnIr and MnW *n* is usually written *ng*, but *n* before *c* in MnW, e.g. *cainc* 'branch', also before *g* in *Bangor* /*Bangor*/, *dangos* /*dangos*/ 'to show'

(2) The various nasal + explosive groups have been treated above Probably W *nh*, *nh*, *mh* from *nk*, *nt*, *mp* (IE *nkʷ*) passed through the intermediate stage *nx*, *np*, *mf* (with bilabial *f*) This stage remains in the case of the original groups *ntr*, *nrl* (W *mathru*, *cathl*), with loss of the nasal (OW *hanther* half, *pimphet* 'fifth' probably represent *nh*, *mh* or *nh*, *mh*) Final IE *-n* in Co and Br caused spirant mutation of a following *k*-, *t*-, *p*- (V *me halon* 'my heart', *me zad* 'my father', *me fen* 'my head' = W *fy nghalon*, *fy nhad*, *fy mhen*) So probably the development *nl*, *nt*, *mp* > *nx*, *np*, *mf* was common Brit, medially also *x*, *p*, *f* must have occurred in (Co and Br, the spirants later becoming explosives, and remaining as spirants only after loss of the nasal The change to explosives undoubtedly took place also in W, where the development of *nh*, *nt*, *mp* was (1) *-nx*-, *-nx* (2) *-nh*-, *nx* (3) *-nh*-, *-nh* etc

(3) When a nasal is lost before an IE explosive and before *s* there occurs in Ir compensatory lengthening, the resulting nasal vowel becoming a long non-nasal vowel *an* and *en* (*n*) became *ē* *géiss* 'swan', *cécht* 'plough', *cét* '100' At first it became half-long, and the long vowel did not develop before certain consonant groups *esnid* 'ingraft' (3 pl pres *in-snadat*) Similarly a short (shortened) vowel occurs in unaccented sylls Ir *oac* 'young', *comrac* 'battle' W *cyffranc* — No lengthening took place in the case of *o* and *u* Ir *co-cad* 'battle' (*cath*) MnIr *cogadh*, Ir *tocad* 'luck' MlW *tynghet* 'fate' MnW *tynged* Br *tonkadur* Gk *τυγχάνω* 'I hit', *τύχη* 'luck, fortune', Ir *co-tlud* 'sleep' MnIr *codladh* (MlIr pret *con-tuil*) Goth *þulan* 'endure' — IE *in* seems to have given OIr half-long, MnIr short vowel Ir *léicim* 'I leave' MnIr *legim* Lat *linguō* § 59 That loss of the nasal did not cause full lengthening of the preceding vowel is supported by the fact that in Brit the vowel

developed as a short vowel W *cam* 'step', *teithi* 'qualities', Br *kazel* 'arm-pit' § 8, 2c, § 52, § 26, 10

Note There are some difficult Ir words *coic* 'five', *can-icc* 'can', etc., v VKG I 151, Pokorný, KZ 47 165 (contradicted by Thurneysen, KZ 59 11), IF 35 339

§ 71. (IE *n* as a separate sound) (1) IE *n* (Lat, Gk, Gmc, Skr *n*) divided into *N* and *n* in Celt This doubleness is really retained in Ir only, and owing to palatalization they became four sounds in Ir, *N*, *N'*, *n*, *n'* (For detailed descriptions v VKG I 152)

(2) *N*, *N'* are found in MnIr and Sc (a) in absolute initials (subject to lenition to *n*, *n'*), Arr */N'ad/* 'nest' (*nead*), */mo'had/* 'my nest', (b) after *s*, Arr */šN'ardə/* 'snow' (*sneachta*) Don */šN'artə/*, len Arr */f'l'niaxde/* 'sleet' (*flíchshneachta*), Don */tarkʷšN'ə/* 'contempt' (*tarcuisne*), (c) in old gemination or in later gemination from *nd*, *dn*, *tn*, Arr */baN'ə/* 'milk' (*bainne*) Don */bwaN'ə/*, (d) after *r*, Arr */kãKNãN/* 'heap' (*carnán*) Don */kãrNãN/* (Ÿ such MlIr forms as *co fernnu*, *carnd* etc., (e) before dentals, Arr */myN't'əf/* 'family, followers' OIr *muntar*, acc and dat *muntir* MnIr *muinntear*, *muinntir* Don */muwN't'ərə/* 'related' (*muinnteartha*), Arr */p'fN'sə/* 'prince' (*prionnsa*) */mãNLə/* 'modest' (*mánla*)

(3) After most consonants lenited *n* has become *r* in Scotland, Man and North Ireland Arr */gr̥y/* 'love' (len */gr-/*) Don */gr̥i/* 'good looks' (*gnaoi*), Arr */kr̥u/* 'nut' (len */ɹr-/*) Don */kr̥ɔ/* = *cnú*, *cnó*, Arr */mr̥ə/* (len */wr-/*) = *mná*, *g* of *bean* 'woman' This does not happen after */h/* (*sh*, *th*) nor medially after *gh*, *dh* In Scotland the *r* is nasalized, and many dialects retain *n* The change *n* > *r* occurs also in Br OBr *gruam* *gl suo* MlBr *gruyat* 'to sew' MnBr *Léon griat* 'Trég grouiañ' (but V *gouriat*) W *gwnio* After *k* and *t* in MlBr *n* still remains *knech* MnBr *kreač'h* 'hill', *cnouenn* MnBr *kraouenn* 'nut', pl *kraouñ* (but V *keneu* 'nut' W *cneuen*, *cnau* Ir *cnú*), *tnou* 'valley' MnBr *traouñ* § 60

§ 72. Exx of IE *n* in Celt Ir *ní* 'not' W *ní* Co *ny* Br *ne* Lat *nē* 'lest' Skr *na*, Ir *gin* 'mouth' *g* *geno* W *gēn*, *genau* OCo *genau* MlCo *ganow* Br *genou* MlBr *guen* 'cheek' G *Genaua* Lat *gena* 'cheek' Gk *γένος* 'chin'

Non-syll groups with *n* are treated under the other elements Exx of *rn* W *carn* 'hoof' OCo *eurn-carn* Br *karn* G *νάγρον* 'trumpet', W *carn* 'handle of a sword, of a knife' MlCo *karn* 'manu-

brum', Ir, W *carn* 'heap of stones' (with different vowel grade) Lat *cornū* 'horn' OHG *horn*, Ir *fern* 'alder, mast' MnIr *fearn*, *fearnóg* W *gwern* 'alders, swamp, meadow', *gwernen* 'alder' OCo *guernen* gl *alnus*, *guern* gl *malus* Br *gwern-enn* 'alder', *gwern* 'mast' G *Uerno-dubrum*

IE *ln* Ir *dall* 'blind' etc § 17, Ir *sellaim* etc § 25,5 Instances in OIr of unassimilated groups of *l* and *n* are explained by loss of vowel between these sounds Later in OIr they became assimilated OIr *inna burlanu* 'the stripes' MlIr MnIr *buille* 'a blow' Lat *uulnus* 'wound', OIr *tolnuid* 'artificer' *tollaidib* gl *fabris*, *no-d-chomalnadar* Wb 'who fulfils it', *dian-d-comallamar* Ml 'if we fulfil it' derivative from *comlán* 'full'

For the origin of *nn* v § 26,9 — In MnCo *nn* became *dn* MlCo *banne*, *banna* 'drops' MnCo *badna*, MlCo *ran* 'part' MnCo *radn*

§ 73. (Gemination of an explosive due to assimilated *n*) An explosive + *n* gave (presumably immediately before the accent) Ir *cc*, *tt*, *pp* (MnIr *l* and *g*, *t* and *d*, *b*), Brit /*x*/, /*β*/, /*f*/

(1) Ir *fracc* 'woman' Sc *frag* 'a kind wife' W *gwrach* 'hag' MlBr *groach* MnBr *grac'h* 'old woman' Lat *uirgō* 'maiden'

(2) Ir *brec* 'speckled' MnIr *breac* W *brych* Br *breac'h* 'poek' -*no*- participle beside the -*to*- participle Ir *mrecht*- § 52, Ir *crocenn* etc § 53 (primitive Celt **krokno*-), Ir *cnocc* 'hill' MnIr *cnoc* OBr *cnoch* MlBr *knech* MnBr *kreac'h* W *cnwch* joint, knuckle ON *hnakki* 'neck'

(3) OIr *gataim* 'I steal' Mnlr *gordim* Lat *pre-hendo* 'I seize' Gk *χανδάνω* 'I hold' (W *genn* 'to be contained')

(4) Ir *brat* 'mantle' MnIr *brat* W *brethyn* 'woollen cloth' OBr *brothrac* gl *taxam* MnBr *broz*, *brouz* 'woman's clothes' V *broh* MlIr *áitt*, *át* 'place' **pōthni*- to Skr *pāthas* 'place', *panthā*-s 'way'

(5) Ir *opunn*, *t-op* 'sudden' MnIr *obann*, *tobann* Gk *ἀπνω*

Note The rule here given has been frequently contested e.g. by Thurneysen JF 44 371 but it seems very difficult to do without it

§ 74 (IE *m* as a separate sound) IE *m* (Lat, Gk, Gmc, Skr *m*) divided in Celt into *M* and *m* *M* remained in all neo-Celt languages as an ordinary European *m*, geminated *MM* became *bm* in MnCo Lenited Celt *m* remained in OW, OBr and OIr (wr *m*), it was a loose *m* or a nasalized *v* It is still a nasalized *v* or *w* in Scotland, in Ireland (where *v* or *w* depends on palatalization or

non-palatalization) the nasalization is transferred to a neighbouring vowel or lost. In certain circumstances lenited *m* has disappeared with transfer of nasalization to the preceding vowel. The prevailing Mnlr symbol *m̃h* is comparatively late. In MlW, MnW and Co lenited *m* became *v* (now wr *W f*). Br has *v*, medially sometimes non-syll *o*, medial len *m* has transferred its nasalization to the preceding vowel (wr MlBr generally *ff*, MnBr *ñv*, *oñ*, where *ñ* is merely a mark of the nasalization of the vowel).

Non-lenited *m* occurs: (1) initially (subject to lenition) MnIr *mac* 'son', *do mhac* 'thy son', W *mab*, *dy fab*, Co *map*, *the vap*, Br *map*, *da vap*, (2) after initial *s* MnIr *sméar* 'blackberry', (3) in orig gemination, MnIr *céim* 'step' W *cam* etc, (4) in Ir after *r*, *l*, *n* if no intermediary vowel has disappeared (in Brit it is lenited), *v* § 75, 4, (5) before *b* and *p*, Ir *cimbd* 'prisoner' MnIr *cimeach*, W *pump* '5' etc *v* § 59.

§ 75 (Exx of IE *m* in Celt) (1) Initially Ir *míl* 'honey', g *mela* MnIr *míl*, g *meala* W *mél* Co Br *mel* Lat *mel* Gk μέλι, Ir *methel* 'party of reapers' W *medel* 'reaping (-party)' OCo *midil* gl messor OW *anter-metetic* gl semiputata MlBr *midiff* 'reap' MnBr *midí*, *medí* Lat *metō* 'I reap'.

mr-, *ml-* were at first retained in OIr but later became *br-*, *bl-*, this change occurs in Brit from the earliest period. Ir *mrug* W Co Br *bro* G *Allobroges* § 35, 2, Ir *mrecht-rad* W *brith* etc § 52, Ir *mrach*, *braich* 'malt' W *brag* OCo MlCo *brag* Br *bragez* 'germe des grains' G *bracem* (acc) 'genus farinū' Lat *marcēre* 'to be weak', — Ir *mláith*, *bláith* 'smooth, gentle' MlBr *blot* MnBr *blod*, W *blawd* 'meal' OCo *blot* OBr *un-blot* MnBr *bleud* cf Skr *mlā-ti* 'weakens, withers'.

(2) intervocalic *-m-* the superlative ending Ir *-am* OW *-ham* MnW *-af* Co *-a*, *-e* MlBr *-aff*, *-af*, *-a* MnBr *-a*, Ir *clam* 'leprous' MnIr *clamh* W *claf* 'sick' OCo *claf* MlBr *claff* MnBr *klañv*, *klañ* Gk ὀλιμνός 'weak' Skr *klāmati* 'is fatigued', — Ir *sam*, *samrad* 'summer' MnIr *samh*, *samhradh* W *haf* Co *haf* Br *hañv* § 24, 1 W *dafad* 'sheep' etc § 61, W *dof* 'tame' MlBr *doff* MnBr *doñ* cf Lat *domō*, Ir *om* 'raw' W *of* to Lat *amārus* 'bitter', Ir *cruim* W *pryf* etc § 7, 1, Ir *dám* W *daw* etc § 9, 1, Ir *lám* W *llaw* etc § 12, 2, Ir *cóim* W *cú* § 15.

Note 1 A possible example of lenited *m* in Gaulish is το Κεμμενον υγος = *mons Cebenna Cebenna*.

Note 2 Lenited *m* disappears in monosylls in W after *w* and *u*, in

Br after *o*, *o*, *u*, and sometimes after non-rounded vowels (nasalization remaining) It also disappeared in W in final unacc't sylls after *i* OW *erchum* MIW MnW *erchi* 'bid' and numerous such verb nouns In Co and Br it disappeared in final position after all unaccented vowels

The group *-mw-* became *w* in prim Celt Ir *coir* W *cywir* etc § 19, *-mj-* became *-nj-* Ir *duine* W *dyn* § 28 This did not occur in later compounds, such as W *cyfraith* 'of the same language', *cyfwerth* 'of equal value'

(3) (IE *m* medially before sonants) OIr *com-ram* 'combat' (**k'om-reidhmu-s*), MlIr *com-rád* 'conversation' MnIr *comhrádh* Don /*kōrā*/, *-mpl-* OIr MlIr *com-lan* 'full' W *cyflawn*, Ir *am-les* 'dis-advantage' MnIr *aimhleas* W *afles* (Ir *less* 'advantage' W *lles* OCo *les* gl commodum represent a derivative of the IE root **p-l-* seen in Gk *πολύς* etc.)

-mn- W *safn* 'mouth' etc, W *usgafn* 'light' etc § 25, 5, 2, Ir *damnae* etc § 21, 4, Ir *slemaun* etc § 26, 6

(4) (*m* after sonants) *rm* MlIr *coirm*, *cuirm* 'beer' MnIr Sc *cuirm* W *cierw* (MIW *cwryf*, *cwruſ*) OCo *coref*, *coruſ* MnCo *kor* (Γ *κοῦρι* Lat *cremor* 'thick juice obtained from grain', in composition Ir *for-mat* 'envy' MnIr *formad* W *gorfynt* Br *gourvent*, *gourvenn* cf Gk *ὕπερ-μενής* 'overweening' — *lm* MlIr MnIr *calma* 'brave' W *celfydd* 'skilful' OBr *celmed* gl efficax

Note 3 Perhaps *m* was lenited in G also Bormo, Boruo, *ceruēsia* 'beer', perhaps related to *κοῦρι*

nm OIr *menme* 'mind' MnIr *meanma* W *menw-ŷd* Skr *man-ma* OIr MnIr *anm* 'name' OW *anu* pl *enuen* MIW MnW *enw* Co *hanow* Br *hano*

(5) The chief source of ('elt *MM* (apart from the later development from *mb*) was IE *sm* v § 26, 11 Ir *gorm* W *gurm* etc (§ 38 n) and Ir *tairm* 'sling' g *telma* W *telm* 'snare' MlBr MnBr *talm* 'sling' V *talm* 'coup (de tonnerre)' Gk *τελαμῶν* 'strap' have an *-sm-* suffix

In MnCo *mm* became *bm* MlCo *lam* 'leap', *lammas* 'sprang' MnCo *lebmál* 'to leap' MlCo *cam* 'crooked' MnCo *cabm* (*m* < *mn* < *mb*), MlCo *hemma* 'thus' MnCo *hebma* A change *m* > *mb* occurs in Br under certain circumstances, thus before *s* MlBr *amser*, *ampser* 'time' MnBr *amzer*, cf *kamps* 'alb' < Lat *camisia*, MlBr *-mp* in 1 pl endings of verbs and prepositions MnBr *-mp* *-mb*

-m + *m-* in compounds was simplified in prim Celt to *m* Ir *cuman* 'memory', *cumnech* 'mindful' MnIr *cumhneach* W *cof* 'memory' MlCo *cof* MnCo *cor* MlBr *couff* MnBr *kouñ* pref **k'om-*

with root **men-* 'think' In new formations this did not occur Ir *commus* 'power' to *con-midethar* 'he governs'

II. The Latin borrowings in Celtic.

§ 76. A large number of Latin words were borrowed in Britain during the Roman occupation, and very many of these words found their way to Ireland In addition there are two classes of later borrowings, learned borrowings found in literary works and Latin words borrowed through French and English These two classes do not, except to a small extent, fall within the aims of this work whose main object is the earlier history of the Celt languages The old popular Latin borrowings in many respects afford more perspicuous material for phonological history than the native vocabulary, especially as regards chronology of sound changes They are also valuable for the study of Lat and Romance, for example as evidence of quantity in Lat words

Note The Vulgar Latin known to the Celts did not vary considerably from Class Lat The following points may be noted Lat *n* was lost before *s* with compensatory lengthening a long vowel in the syll immediately preceding the Lat accent was shortened the ending *ulus* after a cons. became *-lus*, the diphth *ae* was mostly monophthongized

The Lat. short syllabic vowels

§ 77. The short vowels were treated as a rule exactly like the native sounds

(1) Lat *a* remained unchanged (MIr *cathair* 'chair' W *cadair* MBr *cadoer* Lat *cathedra*, Mnlr *arc* 'coffer' W *arch* 'arch, coffin' Co pl *arghov* Br *arc'h* Lat *arca*) But it was changed in Brit before *j* (MIW *breich* MuW *braich* fem 'arm' OCo *brech* MCo *bregh* Br *breac'h* Lat *bracchium*), before lost *i* (W *saint* Co *syns* MBr *sent* Lat *san(c)tī*, W *lleidr* < **latrī* < Lat *latrō*), before retained *i* (W *cebystr* 'rope halter' Lat *capistrum* but Br *cabestr*), before retained *i* (W *Ebrill* Br *ebrel* Lat *Aprilis*)

(2) Lat *o* remained (Ir *corn* 'horn' W Co Br *corn* Lat *cornū*, Ir *corp* 'body' W *corff* Co *corf* Br *korf* Lat *corpus*) But it was changed in Brit before *j* (Ir *stoir* 'history' W *ystyr* 'meaning' MBr *ster* Lat *historia*), before lost *i* (W *esgyb* 'bishops' MBr *esquep* < **escopī* < Lat *episcopī*) before retained *i* (OIr *mulenn* 'mill' W Co *melin* Br *melin* *mulin* Lat *molina*) Before certain conson-

ant groups *o* sometimes gives W Br /*u*/, cf § 3, 2 (OIr *son* 'sound' W *sŷn* Co *son* Br *soun*, *son* Lat *sonus*, W *pwŷn* 'burden' Lat *pondus*, W *swllt* 'shilling' (MIW 'treasure' also) OCo *sols* gl pecunia Br *saout* 'cattle' Lat *solidus*), in non-final sylls, W /*ə*/ W *ffynnon* 'fountain' OCo *funten* MCo *fenten*, *fynten* Br *feunteun* Lat *fontāna* (Co and Br /*o*/ in the first syll is due to assimilation) Lat *o* becomes *a* in some cases W *carrai* 'thong' (OW *corruui*) Br *korre-enn* Lat *corrugia*, OIr *accuiss* 'cause' W *achos* Lat *occāsio*

(3) Lat *u*, cf IE *u* § 4 In W it becomes *o* before lost final -*a* (W *ffo* 'flight' Co *fo* Lat *fuga*), *y* before lost foll *j* (W *cŷn* 'chisel' < **cunius* Lat *cuneus*, *dilyw* 'deluge' Lat *diluvium*), *u* before labials in some cases (OIr *humal* 'humble' MIW *uŷyll* OCo *huuel* Br *uvel* Lat *humilis*, W *achub* 'to seize, save' OBr *acupet* gl occupat Lat *occupō*) In hiatus W *cystrawen* 'syntax' Lat *construendum* (-*ue*- > **-uwe*- > *awc*-), *rheurn* 'ruin' Lat *ruīna* (-*uī*- > **-uwī*- > **-awī*- > -*ei*-), *pydew* 'well' Lat *puteus* (-*eus* > **-ewus* > -*ew*-), *ystryw* 'trick' Lat *instruō* cf ZCP 7 464 Lat *ju-* W *Iddew* 'Jew' (Co *Ethow*, Yethow Br *Iuzeo* V *Uzeo* Lat *Iudaeus*, cf § 20 n 2

(4) Lat *e* remained (Ir *cell* 'church' W *cell* 'cell' Br *kel(l)* 'stall in a stable' Lat *cella*) But it was changed in Brit before *j* (MIW *teirthon* 'ague' Br *tersienn* Lat *teriāna*), before nasal + const (W *tymp* 'time of childbirth' Lat *tempus*, cf § 5, 2) In some cases it has become *a* (W *sarff* 'serpent' (Co *sarf* Lat *serpens* Ir *kalarind* 'calends' W *calan* MBr *qualan* Lat *calendar*) Note W *gosber* 'vespers' Br *gousber* Lat *uesper*

(5) Lat *i*, cf § 6 1 (Ir *cepp* 'block, stump' W *cyff* 'stock' MBr *queff* MBr *hef* Lat *cippus*, MBr *int* 'Shrove-Tuesday' W *ynydd* Br *enet* 'carnival' Lat *initium*) It becomes W *e* before lost final *a* *cest* 'paunch' Lat *cista* Lat -*ig-* Ir *féil* 'feast, holiday' W *gŷyl* Co *gol* Br *goel* Lat *uigilia* for *uigilia*, Ir *sén* 'luck' W *swyn* 'charm, sign' Co *sona* 'to bless' Lat *signum*

The Lat. long vowels

§ 78 (1) Lat *ā*, cf IE *ā* § 9, 1 (Ir *cāise* 'cheese' W *caws* OCo *cos* OBr *cos-mid* gl serum MBr *queus-uez* 'whey' Lat *cāseus*, Ir *altóir* 'altar' MIW *allawr* MnW *allor* OCo *altor* MCo *alter* Br *aoter* Lat *altāre*), the oldest Ir borrowings have *ā*, a later class have *ō*, the latest have *ā* Immediately before the accent it became *a* W

creadur 'creature' OCo *croadur* Br *krouadur* Lat *creātūra*, W *pechadur* 'sinner' Co *pehadur* Lat *peccatōr-em* (MlBr *pechezr* MnBr *pec'her* Lat *peccātor*), Ir *dia sathairnn* 'Saturday' W *dydd Sadwrn* MnCo *de zadarn* Br *sadorn* Lat *Sāturnus*, W *magwyr* 'wall' OBr *macoer* (MnBr *moger*) **macēria* < Lat *māceria* Lat *-āg-* W *pau* 'country' Co *pow* OBr *pou* in PN Lat *pāgus*, W *caul* 'rennet' (*ceulo* 'to coagulate, curdle') Br *kaouled* 'curds, clots' < **cāgl-* Lat *coāgulum*

(2) Lat *ō* became Ir *ō* (> *ua*), Brit *u* (cf Brit *ō* < IE *w-* diphthongs § 13, 1) MlIr *scuap* 'besom' W *ysgub* 'sheaf' (*ysgubell* 'besom', *ysgubo* 'to brush') MnCo *skibia* 'to sweep' Br *skub* 'sweeping' (*skuba* 'to sweep', *skubell* 'brush') Lat *scōpa* In two instances at least Lat *ō* developed like IE *ā*, *ō* in Brit MnIr *nón* 'noon' W *nawn* Lat *nōna* W *awr* OBr *ann-aor* (§ 9, 2) Br *eur* Lat *hōra* In hiatus OW *Jouan(n)* W *Ieuan* OBr *Iouuan* Lat *Iōhannēs* (-*ōa-* > **-owa-*) Lat final -*ō*, cf IE -*ō* § 9, 4 W *lleidr* § 77, 1

(3) Lat *ū* usually gave Brit *u* Ir *ū* (cf IE *oi* § 15) Ir *múr* 'wall' W *mur* Br *mur* Lat *mūrus* Only in very rare cases did it develop like IE *ū* W *rib* 'coffer' (MIW) husk Br *līb* 'axle-cap, shell' Lat *cūpa*

(4) Lat *ē* mostly fell together with *ē* from IE *ei* § 16 Ir *cér* W *cwyr* OCo *cour* MnCo *kor* Br *koar* Lat *cēra*, W *pwys* 'weight' Co *poys*, *pos* 'heavy' Br *poez*, *pouez* 'weight' < **pēs-* Lat *pensum* In rare cases it gave *i* Ir *dísirt* 'hermitage' W *diserth* Lat *désertum*, W *disgyn* 'to descend' Co *dyskynnough* 'descend ye!' Br *diskenn* 'to descend' Lat *dēscendō*

(5) Lat *i* normally like IE *i* § 11 OIr *fín* 'wine' W *guin* OCo *guin* MlCo *gwyn* Br *gwin* Lat *uinum*

The Lat. diphthongs

§ 79 (1) Lat *au* gave Ir *ō* and in the oldest Brit borrowings developed like Brit *ow* § 18 Ir *ór* 'gold' MIW *eur* MnW *aur* Co *our* Br *aour* Lat *aurum*, Ir *Pól* OW *Poul* MIW *Peul* (with /ey/, cf *Peulan*) Lat *Paulus* Mostly it gave Brit *aw* (Ir *ā*) Ir *cál* 'cabbage' W *caul* 'broth' (MIW 'cabbage') OCo *caul* Br *kaol* Lat *caulis* It was also kept in OIr learned borrh *augtor* 'author' Lat *auctor* (W *audur* < *au(c)tōr-em*)

(2) Lat *ae* gave W *oe* (cf IE *ai* § 14) in *bloesg* 'thick of speech'

Lat *blaesus*, *Groeg* Lat *Graeca* Otherwise it was treated in Celt as a short *e* Ir *prídchum* 'I preach' (*d* = /*d*/) MnBr *prezeg* 'to speak, sermon' Lat *praedicō*, OIr *precept* 'to preach' W *pregeth* 'sermon' Co *pregoth* Lat *praecepta*

(3) Exx of Lat *oe* are rare It seems to have fallen together with *ē* in Ir *pén, pian* 'pain' Lat *poena* (cf Co pl *ponow* Br *poan*, but W *poen*)

Lat *w* and *j*.

§ 80 (1) Lat *w* was treated like IE *w* § 17ff Ir *fin* etc § 78, 5, Ir *féil* etc § 77, 5, cf W *gosber* § 77 4 Medial W *cwddod* 'people' MIBr *queudel* 'town' Lat *civitatē* Lost before Brit *ō* MIW *priawt* 'one's own' MnW *prïod* OC'o *qui-priot* gl sponsus MICO *pryes* Br *pried* Lat *prīuātus*

(2) Lat *j* W *Iau* 'Jove', *dydd Iau* 'Thursday' Co *(de) yow* MIBr *(dez) yaou* Lat *diēs Iouis*, Ir *Enair* 'January' (< Vulgar Lat *Ienuarius*, cf Schuchardt, RC 5 492) Mnlr *Eanair, Geanair* W *Ionawr* MnCo *Genwar* Br *genver, genecur* Lat *iānuārius* (the *g*-forms are late) Intervoc Ir *óine* 'a fast' Mnlr *aoine* (also 'Friday'), Ir *cétoin* 'Wednesday' 'first fast' Mnlr *Ceadaoin*, Ir *din didin* 'Friday' 'last fast', *dardoen* 'Thursday' 'between the two fasts' Mnlr *Diaradaoin* Lat *iēūnium*, Mnlr *maor* 'steward, bailiff' OW *mair* gl praepositus W *maer* mayor OC'o *mair* gl praepositus MIBr *maer* MnBr *mear* mayor' Lat *maior*

Lat. *h, s, j*

§ 81. (1) Lat *h* was silent at the time of borrowing and so does not appear Ir *abann* 'scourge' W *afwyn* 'bridle, rein' (for Co *avond* v RC 48 37) Lat *habēna*

(2) Lat *s* is mostly retained Ir *sacc* 'sack' W *sach* OC'o *sach* Br *sac'h* Lat *saccus*, W *sarff, swllt* § 77, 4, 2 MlIr *asan* 'ass (female)' W *asyn* (male) Co *asen* Br *azen* Lat *asinus* In very few cases it gave Brit int *h*- (cf § 24, 1) W *hwyr* 'evening, late' Lat *sērus* Ir *sesra* OW *hestaur* 'sextarius' MIW *hestaur* MnW *hestor* 'two-bushel measure' Lat *sertārius* — Lat *sk* remained (with prosthetic W *ə*) OIr *scol* W *ysgol* OC'o *scol* Br *skol* 'school' Lat *schola*, *ks* gave Ir *ss*, later *ks*, /*xs*/, in W *j* + *s*, in Co, Br also *w* + *s* (MlIr *cross* 'cross' W *crwys* OC'o *crois* MlCo *crous* MIBr *croes*, *croas* MnBr *kroaz* Lat *cruz* from W *crwys* an anal sg *croes* fem was formed, W *coes* Lat *coxa* W *pais* 'coat, petticoat' OC'o *peis*

gl *tunica*, *peus* MCo *pous*, *pows* 'coat' Lat *peza*), *st* remained (with prosthetic *W* *a* *ystof* 'warp' Lat *stāmen*), similiary *sp* § 83, 4c, mit *ps* was treated as *s*, all other *s*-groups remained

(3) Lat *f*- was apparently treated as *hw*- at the earliest period in Ir, serving as a len form with *sw*- as non-len form, hence the correspondence Brit *f*- Ir *s*- in borrowings. Possibly the same explanation serves for MIW *Chwefrawr* 'February' MnW *Chwefror*, *Chwefrol* MCo *Hwevral* Br *c'houevrer* Lat *Februārius* Exx of Ir *s*- OIr *seib* 'bean' W *ffa* (plur) MnCo *fāv* MIBr *faff* MnBr *fav*, *fao* Lat *faba*, OIr *senester* gl *catarecta* W *ffenestr* 'window' OCo *fenester* MIBr *penestr*, *prenestr* MnBr *prenest* Lat *fenestra* — Otherwise *f*- is retained MnIr *feagha* 'beech' W pl *ffawydd* (*ffaw* + *gwýdd* 'trees') OBr *fau*, *fou* (in PN) MnBr *fao-enn* *fav-enn* Lat *fāgus* Medial Ir *oifrend* 'mass' W *offeren* Co *oferen* Br *ofe-renn* Lat *offerenda*

The Lat. voiced explosives

§ 82. (1) Lat *g* (a) Ir *gem(m)* 'gem' W *gem* Lat *gemma*, W *gefell* 'twin' Br *gevell* Lat *gemellus* (b) Ir *sarget* MnIr *sarghead* 'arrow' W *saeth* Co *seth* Br *saez*, *seaz* Lat *sagitta* Lat *og*, *ug* before a vowel gave Brit *ou* cf § 35 2 Ir *sroigell* MnIr *sroghall* 'whip' W *ffrewyll* Lat *flagellum*, Ir *pólaire* 'writing tablet' MIW *peullawr* OW pl *poullor-aur* Lat *pugillāris* Lat *āg*, v § 78, 1 (c) Lat *-gr-* OW *Aircol* MIW *Aercol* Lat *Agricola* Lat *-gl-*, *-gn-*, v § 77, 5 Lat *-rg-* Ir *margarét*, *inargreit* 'pearl' MIW *mery-erud* MnW *mererud* Br *Marc'harit* FN Lat *margarita*, MIW *llara*, *llary* (monosyll) 'gentle', W *llari-aidd* (disyll) Lat *largus*

(2) Lat *d* (a) Ir *dúr* 'hard' W *dur* 'steel' Br *dir* Lat *dūrus* (b) W *ffydd* 'faith' Co *fyth*, *feth* Br *feiz* Lat *fides* (c) Lat *-dr-* MIBr *cathair* etc § 77, 1, the *d* was lost before the Brit accent Ir *corgas* MnIr *corghas* 'fast' W *y Garawys*, *y Grawys* 'Lent' Br *ko-raiz* Lat *quadrāgēsima* Lat *-rd-* OIr *ord* MIBr *órd* 'order' W *urdd* Br *urz* Lat *órdō* Lat *-ld-* W *callawr*, *callor* 'cauldron' OCo *callor* MIBr *cauter* MnBr *kaoter* Lat *caldāria*, W *swllt* etc § 77, 2 Lat *-nd-* W *calan* etc § 77, 4, Ir *coinneal* W *cannwyll* OCo *cantuil* MIBr *cantoell* MnBr *cantol* Lat *candēla*

(3) Lat *b* (a) Ir *bachall* 'crook' W *bagl* Lat *bac(u)lus*, whence MnIr *bachlach* 'shepherd' MIW *baglaur* 'having a crook' MIBr *baelec* 'priest' MnBr *belek* (b) Ir *scribaim* 'I write' MnIr *sgríobhaim* W *ysgrif* 'script' Co *scryfas* 'he wrote' Br *skriva* 'to write' Lat

scribō (c) Lat *-br-* OIr *lebor* 'book' MnIr *leabhar* W *llyfr* Co *levar* Br *levr, leor* Lat *liber*, acc *librum* Lat *-rb-, -lb-* W *barf* 'beard' OCo *barf, baref* Br *baro* Lat *barba*, OIr *barbár* 'barbarian' MnIr *barbarach* 'foreigner' Lat *barbarus*, MIW *syberw* 'proud' (disyll) MnW *syber* 'neat' Lat *superbus*, in later Ir borrh *b > v* MnIr *balbh* 'dumb, stammering' Lat *balbus* Lat *-mb-* Ir *colum* 'dove' W *colom-en* OCo *colom* Br *koulm* V *klom* Lat *columba*

The Latin voiceless explosives.

§ 83. (1) Lat *k* (a) Ir *cert* right' W *certh* MIBr *querz* MnBr *kers* 'possession' Lat *certus* (b) Ir *bachall* etc § 82, 3, Ir *mun-chille* 'sleeve' W *maneg* 'glove' Co *mancu* Br *maneg* Lat *manica* (c) Lat *-kt-* after short vowels Ir *lacht* milk' W *llaeth* OCo *lant* MCo *leyth, leth* MIBr *laez* MnBr *leaz* V *leah* Lat *g lactis*, Ir *maldacht* 'curse' W *melltith* Co *molleth* MIBr *malloez* MnBr *malloz* Lat *maledictio* Lat *-nkt-*, cf IE *-nkt-* § 52 OW *Sauith* MN, MIW *serth Pedyr* 'St Peter' Lat *sānctus* (the MIW form has an affected vowel), W *pwyth* stitch Lat *punctum* But W *sant* 'saint' (Co *sans* Br *sant* are from a Lat *san(ct)us* Lat *-kr-* Ir *cosecraim, coisricim* (a learned borrh) MnIr *coisreacaim* I consecrate' W *cysegr* 'sanctuary' Lat *consecrō* Lat *-rk-* Ir *arc* 'chest' W *arch* 'arch, coffin' Co pl *arghov* Br *arc'h* Lat *arca* Lat *-lk-* MIBr *calc, caile* 'lime' W *calch* Lat acc *calcem* Lat *-nk-* Ir *canghel* 'chancel' W *cangell* MIBr *cancell* locus (Loth, Chrestomathie p 113) Lat *cancellus* (W *canghellor* 'chancellor' Lat *cancellārius*) Lat *-kk-* Ir *accuiss* § 77, 2, Ir *secc* dry' W *sygh* (Co *segh* Br *seac'h* Lat *siccus*

(2) Lat *qu* Traces of the labial articulation occur Ir *corgas* § 82, 2 Usually it is treated as *k* Ir *cucenn* kitchen' W *cegin* OCo *keghin* Br *kegin* Lat *coquina*

(3) Lat *t* (a) Ir *tennaim* I press, tighten' W *tynnaf* 'I pull' Co *tynn-, tenn-* Br *tenna* Lat *tendō* (b) Ir *cunthe* W *pydew* (4) below In later Ir borrowings intervocal *-t-* is treated as in Brit OIr *not* 'mark' MnIr *nod* W *nod* MnCo *noz* Br *nod* Lat *nota* (c) Lat *-tr-* W *lleidr* (Co *lader* MIBr *lazz* MnBr *laer* Lat *latrō* Ir *Cothraige* 'St Patrick', later *Patraicc* MnIr *Padraic* W *Padrig* Lat *Patricius* Lat *st* § 81, 2, *kt* 1c above, *pt* 4c below Lat *-rt-* Ir *tort* MnIr *toirt* 'cake' W *torth* 'loaf' (Co *torth* MIBr *torth* (12th cent) MnBr *torz, tors* V *torh* Lat *torta* Lat *-lt-* OIr *sallir* MnIr *saltair* 'psalter' W *sallwyrr, llaswyrr* Lat *psalterium*, OW *celell* MnW *cyll-*

ell 'knife' OCo *collel* MCo *collan* Br *kountell* (with dissimilation)
 Lat *cultellus* Lat *-nt-*, in Brit as IE *nt*, in Ir became *nd*, in later borrowings remained OIr *cland* 'children' MnIr *clann* W *plant*
 Lat *planta*, MIW *fynhawn* MnW *ffynnon* § 77, 2, OIr *genti* 'heathens'
 MIW *gynt* Lat *gentēs*, learned Ir borrowings display treatment similar to that of IE *nt* OIr *abstannt* 'abstinence' Lat *abstinentia*
 Lat *ntr* MnIr *contrár-dha* 'contrary', *contrál-ta* 'wrong' MIW *cythrawl*
 'contrary, the devil', *lythreur-awl* LLA 132, 17, *kythreul-awl* Hen MSS II 340 20 'contrary' MIW *cythreul* MnW *cythraul*
 'devil' OBr *controhaht* gl *controuersiam* (*ht* = /*þ*/) MIBr *contrell* 'contrary'
 Lat *contrārius* Lat *-tt-* Ir *cat* MnIr *cat* 'cat' W *cath* OCo *kat* (*t* = /*þ*/) Br *kaz* Lat *cattus*

(4) Lat *p* (a) In the oldest borrowings Ir treated it as *k*^u Og QRIMITIR MIIr *cruimther* 'priest' EW *prumter* MIW *prifder*
 Lat *presbyter* (**prebiter*) Ir *cuihe* W *pydew* Lat *puteus*, later, Ir has *p* Ir *Petar* MnIr *Peadar* W *Pedr* Lat *Petrus*, Ir *póc*
 'kiss' MnIr *póg* Lat acc *pācem* (b) OIr *opair* 'deed' MnIr *obair* MIW *ober*
 ('o ober Br *ober* 'to do' Lat *opera* (c) Lat *-pt-* retained in Ir, treated as *-tt-* in Brit OIr *precept* etc § 79, 2 Note MIW *Eifft* MnW *Aifft*
 Lat *Aegyptus*, for W *enghraifft* 'example' v BBCS 2, 44ff Lat *-pr-* MIIr *April* MnIr *Aibreán* W *Ebrill* § 77, 1 Lat *-pl-* OIr *popul* 'people' MnIr *pobal* W *pobl* Co *pobel*
 Br *pobl* Lat *pop(u)lus* Lat *sp* W *ysbard* 'space (of time)' Co *spys* Lat *spatium* Lat *-rp-* Ir *corcur* MIIr *corcair* W *porffor*
 Br *porfor* Lat *purpura*, Ir *corp* W *corff* § 77, 2 Lat *-lp-* W *Elffin* MN Lat *Alpinus* Lat *mp* is treated in Brit like IE *nk*^u § 59, remains unchanged in Ir W *ymherawdr*, later *ymerawdwr*
 'emperor' MIBr *impalaezr* MnBr *impalaer* Lat *imperātor* (MIIr *imper*, *impir* MnIr *impir* 'emperor' Lat *imperium*), W *tymp* § 77, 4 Lat *mpl* OIr *tempul* MnIr *teampall* MIW *temhyl* MnW *teml* MnCo *tempel*
 Lat *templum* Lat *pp* Ir *cepp* etc § 77, 5

The Latin sonants.

§ 84 (1) Lat *r*, like IE *r* OIr *riagol* 'rule' MnIr *riaghaíl* W *rheol* (through **ryol* MIW *ryoleu* LLA 119 24, **rywol* MIW *rywoli* MA 217b1, **rwyl* MIW *rwyloli* LIH 263 26, v Y Beirniad 6, 274) Co *rowl* Br *reol* Lat *rēgula*

(2) Lat *l*, like IE *l* OIr *lebor* etc § 82, 3c, *scol* etc § 81, 2 Lat *-ll-* gave W *l* W *cell* § 77, 4, similarly Lat *l* in W *pebyll*

(orig sg, now pl with anal sg *pabell* 'tent') Ir *pupall* Lat *pā-pihō*, W *cannwyll* § 82, 2c, W *Ebrill*, MIW *ufyll* § 77, 1, 3, cf § 69

(3) Lat *n* remains Ir final *-nn* occurs for Lat *-n*, particularly after a shortened long vowel Ir *abann* § 81, 1, *mullenn* § 77, 2, *cuccenn* § 83, 2, cf Ir *termann* 'protection, glebe-land' W *terfyn* 'end' Lat *terminus*

(4) Lat *m* (a) Ir *mídach* 'physician' W *meddyg* OCo *medhec* MCo *methek* Br *mezek* Lat *medicus* (b) MlIr *umír* MnIr *umhír* OW *numír* W *nifer* Co *nyuer* Br *niver* Lat *numerus*, OIr *testimín* 'text' W *testun* OCo *tistun* (leg *-n*) MnCo *testynye* 'testimony' Br *testenn* Lat *testimōnium* (len *m* lost in Brit), W *mynwent* 'grave-yard' Lat *monumentum* (len *m* > *w*) (c) Lat *mn* Ir *columa*, g *columan* MnIr *colamhan* 'column' W *colofn* Lat *columna* Lat *rm* Ir *arm* 'weapon' W *arf* Co pl *ariow* Lat *arma* Lat *lm* W *palf* 'palm of the hand' OCo *palj* Br *palv* Lat *palma*, later *borr* MlIr *pailm* 'palm-tree' MnIr *palmaire* 'pilgrim' W *palmwydden* 'palmtree' Co *palmor* 'pilgrim' Br *palmez* 'palm-trees' Lat *palma* Groups with explosives have been treated above

Evidence of the Lat. borrowings for the chronology of the Celt sound changes

§ 85 At the time of the oldest popular borrowings from Lat, the Brit vowel system was probably as follows *a, o, u, e, i, ā* (from IE *ā, ō*), *ō* (from IE *w*-diphthongs), *ū* (from IE *ou*) *ē* (from IE *ei*), *ī* (from IE *ē, ī*, possibly *u* from IE *ū*), the exact state of IE *ai* cannot be decided The pronunciation of Lat *au* gave no difficulty, as *w* was common The change *g* > *ǵ* was practically complete, and did not occur in Lat borrowings, in Ir *ǵ* had entirely disappeared Final sylls still remained, umlaut and epenthesis had not begun Loss and reduction of vowels in medial sylls due to the accent had not yet taken place Diphthongs and long vowels due to vocalization of explosives had not yet arisen

The main changes of IE *s* and *ss*-groups were well-nigh completed in Celtic IE *p* had long disappeared, IE *k** still remained in Ir but had long become *p* in Brit The Brit pairs *h* *ι*, *L* *l*, *N* *n*, *M* *m*, *g* *q*, *d* *ǵ*, *b* *ǵ*, *k'* *k* *t'* *t*, *p'* *p* probably existed as nuances of phonemes These nuances were taken over to the borrowed linguistic material For Brit *k'* *λ*, *t'* *t* the Ir substituted *k'* *x*, *t'* *þ* in the oldest period The group *xt* existed in Brit, and was substituted for Lat *kt*

III. Final and initial sounds.

§ 86. In G and in the ogam inscriptions most of the IE final sylls still remain. This was also generally the case during the period of early Latin borrowings. But in the oldest literary remains the final syllables are practically the same as they are today. The law of the loss of final syllables operated therefore between these two periods.

But certain proclitic and enclitic IE words ending in a vowel must have lost that vowel in Celt. before that, for they have not produced lenition of the initial const. of a following word. W *a*, *ac* 'and' Co *ha*, *hag* Br *ha*, *hag* Lat *at-que*, Ir *na*, *nach-* W *na*, *nac* Co *na*, *nag* Br *na*, *nag* (*nak*) *neque* Lat *ne-que*. In the following examples the nasal which in IE preceded the final vowel has in Celt influenced the initial consonant of the following word. W *fy* (causing nasal mutation) 'my' Br *ma*, *va* V *me* **me-me*, cf Skr *māma* Ir *a* (causing eclipsis, neuter of the article) G *σοσῶ* **so-sendha* 'that yonder'.

§ 87. IE *-s* was lost in neo-Celt, also a stop or a nasal immediately preceding *-s*, also *-st*. Ir nom *fer* 'man' **wiro-s*, Ir nom *ri* 'king' W *rhi* **rēg-s* Lat *rēx*, Ir nom *sui* 'a sage' (g *suad*) W *syw* 'wise' **su-wid-s* OIr *care* 'friend' (W *cār* 'kinsman') **qarānt-s*.

Before its disappearance it seems to have developed as it did medially. After a vowel *-s* became *h* before a word beginning with a vowel. OIr *int athir* 'the father' < **sendos atēr* (*t* < *d* + *h*, cf § 200, § 201). Similarly *-ks* gave Ir *ss* OIr *a* 'from', *ass-a-thóib* 'from his side' Lat *ex* Gk *ἐξ*, OIr *mo* 'soon', *mos-riccub-sa* 'I shall soon come' Lat *mox*, in Brit *-ks* gave */x/* W *chwech* 'six', *chwe* (adjective only), *moch* 'early' (adv.) OIr *mo*.

In G numerous examples occur of the retention of final *s* Σεργαπος, *Trutiknos*. Some instances of the loss of *-s* are found *Aneuno* *Aneunico* cf Thurneysen, ZCP 6 558.

§ 88. IE final explosives were lost in neo-Celt. Ir *-beir* 'carries' < IE **bheret*. In G *legasit* 'placed' a final vowel has disappeared, cf the verb *karnatu*. Apparently *-d* could remain in accented monosyllabic words. OIr *hed* 'it' Lat *id*, OIr *cud* 'what' Lat *quid*. After consonants (*s* excepted) *-t* remained. Ir *-é-racht* 'surrexit' **reg'-t*, *-bert* 'carried' **bher-t* (cf W *cymerth* 'took'), *-alt* 'nourished' **al-t*, *ar-ro-ét* 'received' **em-t*, *dét* (neut.) 'tooth' (W *dant*) **dnt*.

§ 89. Final *-r* remained and received the quality of the preceding vowel in Ir *athur* 'father' MnIr *athair* **patēr*, Ir *máthir* MnIr *máthair* **mātēr*, Ir *bráthir* 'brother' MnIr *bráthair* 'monk', *dearbhráthair* 'brother' (*dearbh* 'real') OCo *broder* (with svarabhakti vowel between *d* and *r*) MlBr *breuzr* MnBr *breur*, but W *brawd* **bhrātēr*. The vowel before *-r* is retained in all Celt languages in Ir *for* 'on' OW *guar* W *gor*- Co *gor*- Br *gour*- G *uer*- **upor*.

Final *-n* and *-m* became Celt *n* (strictly *N*) G *νεμῆτον* 'temple', *celicnon* 'tower'. In neo-Celt this *-n* with the preceding vowel disappeared in absolute finals Ir acc sg *fer* 'man' **wirom*, g pl *fer* 'of the men' **wirōm*. In the sentence before a closely joined word the *n* is either retained or assimilated to the following initial in Ir OIr *in gníum n-olc* (acc) 'the evil deed'. There are remains of the same phenomenon in Brit, v §§ 196—8. For *-n* and *-m* cf § 8.

§ 90. In words of more than one syll the short vowel whether final or before a disappearing final cons was lost. In Ir the lost vowel can often be recognized by the timbre of the preceding consonant or the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable. Ir *and* 'there' Gk *ἐνθα*, Ir pret 1sg *tánac* 'I came' Gk *τέποιθ-α*, *old-a*, Ir nom acc *fer man* **wiros*, **wirom*. An old *-o* is written *-a* in the ogam inscriptions LUGUDECCAS, DECCEDDAS (g of consonantal stems). But it appears as Ir *o* when it is retained, as Ir *beo* 'living' § 95,1 — Ir *cín* 'sin' MnIr *cíon* **kinuts*, Ir *míd* 'mead' MnIr *míodh* W *medd* Br *mez* Gk *μέθυ* **medhu* (*i* before a non-palat const points to the *u*-quality of the lost vowel) — IE *-e* became *-i* before disappearing Ir voc *fír* 'O man!' from **wiri* < **wire*, but not before a final explosive OIr *-beir* carries **bheret* — Ir *míl* 'honey' etc § 75,1 **meh* Ir nom acc *fáith* 'poet' **wāts*, **wātm*, Ir *deich* 'ten' § 8,1c **deken* (< IE *dek* 'm').

§ 91. Long vowels and the diphthongs disappear in polysyllables when absolutely final or before a final nasal *-ā* Ir nom *tuath* 'people' § 13,1 **teutā*. Final *-ā* changed *u* or *i* in the preceding syllable to *o*, *e* in W *trwm* 'heavy', fem *trom*, *hysb* 'dry', fem *hesb*, *brith* 'motley' (< **brikto-s*) § 52, fem MlW *breith* MnW *branth* (< **brektā*). Traces of the same change are found in OBr (RC 8, 168f) *-ām* Ir subj 1sg *-ber* **bherām* cf Lat *feram* — IE *-ō* first became *-ū*, this change appears in G, in cases where the vowel is retained in neo-Celt (§§ 92—5), and is also seen in its

effect upon the preceding syllable (in Ir rounding of the preceding const and raising of the vowel § 178, in Brit, where *ū* became *ī*, the same effect as before IE *-ī*) G *Frontu* (< Lat *Frontō*), MIW *gureic*, MnW *guraig* Co *gurek* Br *grek* **wrakō*, Ir 1sg pres ind *-biur* 'I carry' **bherō* Ir dat *fiur* 'to a man' IE instrumental in *-ō* or Dat in *-ōi* cf G dat *Ahsanu*, OIr *ar-chiunn* 'ahead' (dat of *cenn* 'head') W Co *erbyn* 'against', W *wyth* '8' etc § 52 **ok'tō* (v §§ 181—3) But *ō* in the g plur ending *-ōm* did not become *ū* Ir *fer n-* of men', this was due to a very early shortening of a long vowel before a nasal — IE *ī* Ir *Briqt* W *braint* § 35,5

IE *-oi* Ir nom pl *fir* 'men', Ir *uain* 'lambs' W *ūyn* MnCo *ean* Br *ein* (sg Ir *uan* W *oen* MI'co *oan*, *on* Br *oan*) Lat *agnī* Gk *ἀγνοί* IE *-āi* Ir dat sg *tuath* cf Lat *terrae* Gk *χώρα*

§ 92 In Ir long vowels and the diphthongs remained before *-s* or a final *s*-group, before *-ns* short vowels also remained *-ās* Ir nom pl *tuath-a* Goth *þiudōs* — *-ōs* Ir voc pl *firu* 'O men' Skr *virās*, *-ōks* Ir *Cuanu* (g *Cuanach*), *-ōts* OIr *bibdu* 'guilty' (pl *bibdid*) OW *bibid* MIBr *beuez* — *-ūts* Ir *bethu* 'life' W *bywyd* **g^uwo-tūt-s* — *-ēts* OIr nom *filh* 'poet' (g *filed*, cf W *gweled* see') — *-ous* Ir g sg *betho* (from *u*-stem *bith* 'world') — *-ois* Ir g sg *fátho* (from *i*-stem *fáith*)

The *-ns*-groups *-ns* Ir acc pl *cona* 'dogs' cf Gk *κύνας*, *-nts* Ir *fiche* '20' **wi-k'mt-s* *-ants* or *-ānts* Ir *care* 'friend' (g *carat*) Mnlr *cara* W *câr* 'kinsman' (pl MIW *carant*, MnW *ceraint*) ('o *car* (pl *kerens*) Br *kar* (pl *kerent*) — *-onts* OIr *sechtmogo* '70' — *-ōns* Ir acc pl of *o*-stem *firu* men cf Skr *virān*, *virqs* (for the Brit development v § 358) — *-ūns* Ir acc pl of *u*-stems *bithu* cf Skr acc pl *śatrūn*, *śatrūs* 'enemies', *-unts* or *-ūnts* OIr *dínu* 'lamb' (dat *dínit*) cf Gk *δεῖρνω* (partic of a *-nu*-present) — *-īns* Ir acc pl of *i*-stems *fáthi* cf Skr *agnīn*, *agnīs*

Further a long vowel before final *-t* was retained in Ir *-āt* 3sg subj *-bera*, *-ūt* dat sg *im-bethu* in life', *-ūt léccu* 'leaves'

Note In Brit the final vowels which remain in Ir are lost OW *bibid*, W *bywyd* *câr* Cf MIBr *breuzr* § 89

§ 93 In monosylls the final vowel, whether followed by a consonant or not, remains. The final consonant however disappears. Short vowels were lengthened in accented words. IE *-ō* Ir *cu* W *ci* Co *Bí* *kí* 'dog' **k'wō*, cf Skr *śvā*. The diphthongs in accented words developed as they did medially. Ir *dau* (*dó*) '2' § 13,3, Ir

mná, dat sg of *ben* 'woman', Ir *cra* 'who' W *pwyy* etc **k^uer*, cf Lat *quī* In proclitics the diphthongs were reduced in Ir Ir masc *da*, fem *dí*, dependent forms of the numeral '2', cf W *dau*, fem *dwy* (later the reduced forms were lengthened *dá*, *dí*)

Final *-e* became *-i* proclitic Ir *ní* 'not' MIW *ny* (MnW *ní*) Co *ny* Br *ne* **ne*, Skr *na* OSL *ne* The lengthened form Ir *ní* is to be explained in the same way as *dá*, *dí* In accented words the change *e* > *i* was in Ir obviated by the change of every unaffected *i* to *e*, hence Ir *mé* 'I' W *mí* 'o *my*, *me* Br *mé* IE **me*

§ 94. The unaccented final vowel with a preceding *j* appears in Ir as follows *-jos* > Ir *e* nom masc *aile* 'husb', *-je* > Ir *i* voc *ceili* 'fellow', *-já* > Ir *e* nom fem *aile* 'alia', *-jō-* > Ir *-iu* (i c 'u) dat masc and neut *airiu*, nom *for-mriu* 'meaning' (g *toimten*) cf Lat *mentio*, nom *coimriu* 'lord' (*-jōt-s*, g *coimred*), *-jāi* > Ir *i* dat sg of *i*-stems *insu* 'to an island' The result therefore is always a short vowel with preceding palatalization After certain const. and consonant-groups palatalization is lost OIr *cumachte* 'power' MIr *cumachta* MnIr *cumhachta*, Ir *Albu* 'Scotland' (*-jen-* stem, cf Gk-Lat **Albion*, *Albion*) In Brit *-j* became *đ* (after *i*) or was lost the vowel was lost (§ 21, 22)

§ 95. A final vowel was retained in many cases after a vowel

(1) After a lost *w* in Ir Ir *nó* MnIr *naon* '9' < **newn* Ir *ó* 'sheep' MnIr *ao-ghaire* 'shepherd' **owis*, cf W *ewig* 'hind' OCo *euhic* Lat *ouis*, Ir pret *bói* 'was' **bhouc* or **bhowe* (*-e* > *-i*), — Ir *beo* 'living' § 18 **g^uirwo-s* — Apparent instances of loss of the final vowel are due to its contraction with a preceding vowel Ir *clo* 'nail'

(2) After a lost *j* in Ir Ir *-táu*, *-to*, *atloo*, *attó* 'I am' **stājō*, *-tai*, *attái* 'thou art' **stājei*, Ir *bíu* 'I am' (cf W *buddaf*) **bharjō*, Ir *do-gnú* 'I do' **g^unijō* Old *-ije*, *-īje* (also *-ija*, *-ijo*) were contracted to *ē* Ir *clé* 'clay' **k^urījet s* (§ 21n), Ir *scé* 'hawthorn' **sgwījat-s*, Ir *clé* left **k^ulījo-s*, *k^ulījā* § 21.4 For Brit v § 21.3.

(3) After a lost *s* in Ir and Brit Ir *eo* 'salmon' § 24.3 **esok-s* (orig paradigm **esōk-s*, g **esok-os* etc, very early *-ok-* was transferred to the nom, and also *-ōk-* to the oblique cases MIW *ehawc* MIBr *ehenc* beside *ehoc*), Ir **feo* 'withered' (deduced from *feugud* gl *marcor*) W *gwyo* **wiso-* or **wisu-* ON *usinn*, Ir *fíu* 'worthy' W *gunw* etc § 24.3 **wēsu-* After a diphthong + *s* the final vowel disappeared in Ir but remained in Brit Ir *gae* 'spear' W *gwayw* etc § 34.3 **g^uhanso-*

(4) A final vowel coalesced with a preceding unaccented vowel giving in Ir a short vowel Ir 1sg *ro-cuala*, 3sg *ro-cuale* 'heard' W *cigleu* 1sg **-owa*, 3sg *-owe*, Ir pl of *u*-stems *gníme* 'deeds', cf G *Lugoues* § 18

§ 96 The final vowel of the first element of a compound has been dropped in neo-Celt G *Περρο-ουινδος* MlIr *cendfind*, *cen-and* 'white-headed' W *penwyn*. This was caused by the accent. The final consonant of a preverb remained in a loose cpd. OIr *as-biur* 'I say' **eks-bherō*. The same phenomenon occurs in some other combinations *mos-riucub-sa* 'I shall soon come', *ass-a-thóib* 'from his side. But when the word stands apart the final consonant is dropped *mó* 'soon', *a-bús* 'from death'

§ 97. (Initials) In the modern languages there is frequently found a vacillation between an initial *n*- and an initial vowel, this is usually due to an old *n*- being wrongly taken as part of the preceding article. The contrary transference of a preceding *-n* to a word beginning with a vowel is less common. OIr *nathir* 'snake' MlIr *nathair neimhe* ('adder') and *athair neimhe* OManx *arnæyf*, now *ard-næu* MlBr *azr* MlBr *aer*, Manx *edd* 'nest' MlIr *nead* § 27, Ir *nem* 'heaven' MlIr *neamh* W (*o nef* MlBr *neff*, *eff* MlBr *eñr* Gk *νέφος* cloud W *neddyf* 'adze' MlBr *ezeff* 'besaigue' MlBr *eze*, *neze*, cf Ir *snad-* 'to cut' Non-original *n*- Brl *noabrenn* 'sky' W *wybren* OC'o *huibren* gl nubes

IV Accent.

§ 98 The accent was free in prim IE and could fall upon any syllable. It was predominantly musical. In neo-Celt as in most IE languages it was replaced by regular accentuation systems. The surest trace of the original IE accent is found in the different treatment of IE *-i* in G *ande-*, *are-*, *ate-* and *ambi-* Skl *ádhi*, *pári átu* beside *abhi* Gk *τέτι ἐτι* beside *ἀμφί*. There are no materials for knowing the rules of the accent in prim Celt. The accent in Gaulish can be deduced from the later development of G place-names in French, though this may have been to some extent confused by the Latin accent. According to Meyer-Lubke (Sitz-Ber der Kais Ak der W in Wien, phil-hist Kl (XLIII II) the G accent frequently fell on the ante-penult *Tríacasses* *Bodriócasses*, *Durocasses* Fr *Troyes*, *Bayeux* *Dreux* *Bituriges* *Caturiges* Fr

Bourges, Chorges, Balódurum Fr *Balleure, Cambóritum* Fr *Chambort, Eburóuces* Fr *Evreux* But the penult and perhaps the ultima could also be accented *Nemáusus* Fr *Nemours* (beside *Némausus* Fr *Nîmes*), *Areláte, Condáte* Fr *Arlet, Condé* (beside *Cóndate* Fr *Condes*) This may represent a trace of the free IE accent On the contrary, in Brit and in Ir the accent rules have become mechanical

The Irish Accent.

§ 99 The accent in Ir as a rule falls on the first syll This rule does not apply in the case of later coalesced groups such as *do-lgrés* 'always', *a'laile* 'the other' There are special considerations in the case of the finite verb when it is joined to a preverb The following serve as preverbs (1) the IE preverbs, which for the most part also serve as prepositions with nouns, (2) the relative prepositions (OIr *foran-idparar* 'on which is offered'), (3) the negatives, (4) the interrogative particle *m* The combination preverb (preverb-) + verb is normally accented on the first syllable of the second element (whether preverb or verb) *as-lbiur* 'I say', *ní'epur* 'I say not' But the accent falls on the first preverb in the following cases (1) in the imperative (*do-beir* 'he gives', *ltaibred* 'let him give'), (2) occasionally in a relative subject or object clause and in answers A preverb-verb combination changes considerably in form with the change in accent This is not exclusively due to the accent, but for the most part to the fact that from a very early period the accented preverb has been felt to form a close compound with the following element (preverb or verb), while the proclitic was felt to form a loose compound Thus in *as-biur ní epur* the vowel changes are due to the accent, but the different development of the consonant group (**eks-bherō*) was caused purely by the different morphological analysis The assimilation which occurred medially in a consonant group did not take place between two separate words Also the removal of hiatus medially in a form like *frisa-teícomnacht* 'to which it has been imparted' does not occur in *do-écomnacht* 'has been imparted' Further no word can be put between the accented preverb and the following element, while a proclitic preverb is frequently separated from the verb or the accented preverb by infixed elements (particularly pronominal forms) This difference again is not due to the accent

The Ir system of accentuation of the preverbs is inherited

from an older period Cf Russ *vos-pri-njal* 'received', Gk *συν-έχ-δος*, *παρ-έν-θες* The preverb Ir *od* (IE **ud*) appears only in close cpds (it cannot be proclitic), the Russ *vy-* (IE **ūd*) cannot be proclitic in perfective verbs *vy-nes* 'he carried away'

§ 100 The sylls immediately preceding and following the accented syllable became in Ir the weakest

Two proclitic words regularly contract into one in Ir, the first remaining practically in full, the second being very much reduced This contraction occurred before the loss of final consonants in monosylls OIr *ass-a anmin* from his soul beside *a oentu* 'from unity'

A slight secondary accent fell on the 2nd (4th etc) syll after the main accent The (new) final syllable has always been comparatively well retained (its vowel was never lost, and if it was absolutely final its quality persisted) Ir *cosmil* 'like' (vowel lost between *s* and *m*), *écsamil* 'unlike' (vowel lost between *c* and *s*), *écsamlus* (vowels of the orig 2nd and 4th sylls lost), nom pl *námair* 'enemies' acc pl *náimtea*, *áilind* 'beautiful' compar *dúidiu*

§ 101 The effects of the accent in Ir are shortening and loss of unaccented vowels, modification of their quality towards *a* or the timbre of the following consonant various modifications of the consonants of unaccented syllables These effects point to a markedly intensive accent

The vowels of unaccented syllables in Ir.

§ 102 (Shortening of long vowels) The long vowels were shortened in Ir in all sylls not bearing the main accent Ir *marcach* 'rider' MlW *marchaur*, Ir *teag-lach* 'family' cpd of *sluaq* 'host' Shortening also occurs in proclitics Ir *cach* 'every' (adj) *cách* W *paub*

But after these shortenings had taken place there again arose some long vowels in unaccented sylls (1) when a stop coalesced with a preceding vowel (Ir *beccán* 'small' § 36, *anál* 'breath' § 62), (2) in the second member of a cpd by analogy with the simplex (Ir *com-lán* 'full', *in-gnáth* 'wonderful'), (3) in later borrowings (Ir *oróit* MlIr *óránd* 'prayer', Ir *altóir* 'altar', the suffix MlIr *-óc* MlIr *-óg* borr from Brit MlW *-awc*)

§ 103. (Loss of vowel in post-tonic syllables.) The vowels in the orig second and fourth sylls (when medial) disappeared in Ir Ir

céssad 'suffering', *g césto*, further exx § 100. The same rule applies to vowels in hiatus — through loss of *w* OIr *oac* 'young', but *óclachdr* gl *iunénalis*, *ócmil* gl *tiro*, MlIr *Héiru* 'Ireland' (W. *Iwerddon* Gk *Πιέριος Πιερία*), OIr *covr* 'fit', but *córe* 'fitness, peace' MlIr *córa*, — through loss of other consonants Ir *scian* 'knife', pl *scena*, *iarn* iron, *ern-bás* death by iron'

If a sonant stood in the syll whose vowel was lost, it became syllabic between two consonants and ultimately became a vowel + sonant Ir *gnímrád* 'deed' (the suffix = W *-red* in *gwerthred* etc), dat pl *deg-gnímrathaib* 'good deeds', *comlán* *comalnad*, *ingnáth ingantach* (*nt < nþ*) Before homorganic explosives the nasal remained non-syllabic (and often disappeared) *áilind* beautiful' *áildiu* 'more beautiful' *díltud* denial' **dihltudud* from *di-* + *slondud* 'designation', *ecndairce* invisible, absent' (**n-k'om-dork'i-*)

The vowel of the second syll, if this syll was the orig IE penult, remained after the loss of the IE last syll, whether a svarabhakti vowel developed between following consonants or not Ir *tarathar*, *arathar* § 62, *essamin* 'fearless' W *rofn*

The loss of the vowel can be prevented by analogy OIr acc pl *marcachiu* 'riders' partly by analogy with the cases having two sylls and partly with acc pl *peccachiu* 'sinners', where *a* stood in the orig third syll (cf *peccad* 'sin'), *híressach* 'believing' by analogy with *híress* 'belief'

Unaccented vowels long by compensation and unaccented long vowels in borrowings (§ 102) remain even in weak sylls OIr *cenéle* 'a kind'

§ 104 (Loss of non-initial vowels in pretonic syllables) In disyllabic and trisyllabic groups the vowel of the second syll frequently drops in Ir OIr *cút séitche* 'with thy wife', *dur-m-chenn* 'for me' (lit 'over my head'), conjunct forms of the verb 'to be' *imb i-cén fa in-accus* 'whether it be far or near', *ro-p-sa omnia* 'I have been all things', *ní-r-bu faás* 'was not vain', copula + preposition + poss pronoun *is n-an aicci* Wh 5b 27 'it is in their fosterage' In a four-syllabled group the second and the fourth vowel drop *condi-p follus* 'so that it can be clear' (*-di-* IE **idhe*, Skr *isha* 'here') Monosyll proclitics which do not combine with others drop their vowel in hiatus *m-óinur* 'I alone' (lit 'my oneman'), MlIr *c-andche* 'till night', this is no consequence of the accent but a continuation of an IE habit

§ 105 (Loss of initial vowels in pretonic syllables; MlIr. loss of the first proclitic syllable). In OIr the vowel of the first or only proclitic syll can drop only when initial *fír n-uile* Wb 16b 22 'the whole (an uile) is true', *na rúna* Wb 8d 19 'the mysteries' This is comparatively rare in OIr but becomes very frequent in MlIr OIr *imm-a-lle* MlIr *malle* 'together', OIr *inn-a-dochum* 'to him' MlIr *na dochum*, prep + art MlIr *sin, sind* = OIr *i-sin, i-sind* 'in the' MlIr *san*, prep + pron MlIr *co-m thogairm* 'summoning me' (prep *oc*), *cá rád* 'saying it' = OIr *occ-a rád* Further still consonants also dropped OIr *dano* 'indeed' MlIr *no*, OIr *dochum* 'to' MlIr *Sc chum*

MlIr loss of the initial vowel of the only proclitic syll *sand-sin* 'it is there' = *is and-sin* Proclitics with initial consonants are also reduced, and comparatively meaningless unaccented preverbs were eventually lost in MlIr or retained in the form *do* MlIr *do-chím* or *chím* 'I see' OIr *ad-cíu* OIr perfect preverb *ro* appears in MlIr as *do*, only the orig accented *ro* is retained MlIr *gur chaill* 'that he lost', *níor chaill* 'he did not lose' Preverbs other than *do* are only exceptionally retained in MlIr The prep *do* is reduced in formal combinations MlIr *a-bhaile* 'homewards', Arr */xūā šē xolā/* 'he went to sleep' *a chodladh*

§ 106 (1) (The quality of the retained non-final unaccented vowels) The short and long vowels and diphthongs in post-tonic sylls in Ir were usually reduced to *-a-* OIr *apstal* 'apostle' < Lat *apostolus*, OIr *as-ru-bart* 'he has said' *as-ibert* 'he said', OIr *humal* 'humble' < Lat *humilis*, OIr 3 pl *do-berat* 'they give' IE **bheront* But if the preceding consonant was palatalized (by phonetic development or by anal) *-e* appears instead of *-a-* OIr *mulenn* 'mill' MlIr *muileann* < Lat *molina* Before a palatalized consonant the treatment is *-i-*, before a rounded consonant *-u-* OIr *pridchimm* 'I preach' cf W *caraf* 'I love' (ending *-m-i*), OIr *cubus* 'conscience' (**k'om-* 'with' + *u*-stem Ir *fiuss* 'knowledge')

Deviations from these rules are mostly due to analogy *écoscc* 'appearance' (cf *cosc*)

(2) (The quality of the OIr svarabhakti vowels). The OIr svarabhakti vowel is normally *a* OIr *immarmus* 'transgression' (*imm-ro-midiur* 'I transgress'), OIr pl *ingainti* gl *inusitata* MI 115b 4 OIr sg *ingnad* 'wonderful' (*gnáth* 'usual, known') It is *i* in cases of *i*-umlaut, and *u* or *o* in cases of *u*-umlaut, and *u* or *o*

regularly in the last syll after a labial OIr *cobir* 'help' **k'ombhri-*, OIr *ess-amin* 'fearless' Celt **eks-obnis*. A retained *u* or *o* can cause *u*-umlaut OIr *ecolso*, *g* of *echis* 'church', OIr *sonortu*, compar of *so-nurt* 'strong', a lost *u* has caused it in OIr *cethorcha* '40' **k^uetruk'omts*. A labial has caused *o* in OIr *lobor*, *lobur* 'weak', *domun* 'world' etc *cobuir* = *cobir* Wb 20c 10

§ 107. (The quality of unaccented vowels in MlIr. and MnIr.). In OIr the unaccented vowels had a distinct quality, and not only *o*, *u*, *i*, but also *a* and *e* had the same sounds in unaccented as in accented syllables. But a weakening can be observed in the last part of the OIr period (*e* and *i* after non-palat consonants being written *ae* > *a* and *ai*). In the MlIr period the same rule prevailed as in MnIr, all short unaccented vowels being pronounced *a*.

Consequently the traditional orthography became uncertain in MlIr. Thus OIr nom *céle* 'fellow', *g* *célh* dat *célru* are all written *céle* or *célh* indiscriminately (in addition to the traditional way). The vowel *a* is written *e* or *i* after a palat consonant, after a non-palat consonant *u* (*o*, *u*, before a palat consonant *ai*, *ui*). In MnIr *i* is written only before a palat consonant, by the rule *caol lé caol agus leathan le leathan* (§ 168), after a non-palat consonant *a* (*ai* before a palat consonant) is written, after a palat consonant finally *e* (*ea* before a non-palat, *i* before a palat consonant). MnIr *cumhachta* 'power' *teagasg* 'teaching' MlIr *tecosc* *leabhar* 'book' *g* *leabharr*, *céile* 'fellow', *deisceabal* 'disciple', *airgead* 'silver' *g* *airgid*.

The consonants of unaccented syllables in Ir

§ 108. Pretonic tenuis (at the beginning of proclitics) became mediae. The change *t* > *d* took place before the fixing of OIr orthography, the change *k* > *g* was later, being first written sporadically in MlIr then regularly in MnIr (OIr *co* 'to', *co n-* 'with' MnIr *go* (but OIr *cuccum* 'to me' MnIr *chugam*), OIr *cach* 'every' (adj.) MnIr *gach* (but when independent OIr MnIr *cách*), OIr *cua*, *ce*, *ci* 'though' MnIr *gidh*, OIr *do* 'thy', but *t-esérge* 'thy resurrection', OIr preverb unaccet *do-*, *do-m-meil* 'which he consumes' accented *to-*, *to-mil* 'consume (thou)' (the preposition never has *t-*, in the oldest OIr pretonic *t-* is found with verbs *tu-thegot* '(they) who come', *tu-esmot* '(they) who pour forth').

§ 109. *f* and *v* (wr *b* in OIr) at the beginning of proclitics are interchangeable. An *f* comes from *b* in *fa* 'or', which is really a

form of the verb 'to be' *im-b i-céin fa in accus* Wb 23b 41 'whether it be far or near', *fa-nacc* 'or not', but *ba* in *im-ba bás ba bethu* Wb 23b 32 'be it death or be it life' Cf OIr *fer fas sruthu* Thes II 258 31 'a man who is older' On the contrary *v* comes from *f* in the pronoun *for, far* 'your', where *f* is from lenited *sw*, the form *bar* occurs in Wb only after a prep (*oc, ar, tri, fri, i, do*), the change therefore really took place medially in a proclitic group

§ 110 In proclisis a final, medial and apparently an initial consonant loses its palatalization To the accented preverbs *aith-, ar-* correspond proclitically *ad-, ar-*, OIr *maith* 'good' *mad-genatar* 'bene nati sunt', OIr *samail* 'likeness' *amal* 'as' (also *amail* in Cam and the first hand of Wb), *ocus* 'and' Cam elsewhere OIr *ocus acus*, OIr *is* 'is' (MnIr with *s, ʃ* only before certain pronouns MnIr *Arí /ʃé/* = OIr *is hé*) from **est-i*, OIr *aile ind ala* 'the one, one of the two', OIr accented preverb *di-* proclitic *do-*, OIr *cen* 'without' MnIr *gan* This change can be disturbed by analogy, in Wb *in-tain* 'when' is more frequent than *in-tan*, but in MlIr *intan*

Similarly a final consonant loses its rounding in a proclitic OIr *cinn rehe* 'after a time' Wb 4c 11, but accented *ciunn* as dat of *cenn* 'end'

§ 111. In proclisis *l* became *r* (to some extent in OIr, but mostly later) OIr (Wb) *arele* 'another', neut *arall* beside the more frequent *alarle, alarll*, this is a case of dissimilation OIr *ol* 'inquit quoth' (*ol in macc* said the son) appears in Ml sporadically in the form *ar*, MlIr *for, or, ar, bar* In MnIr this word has been confused with the prep *ar* *arsan rí* 'said the king', *arsa Tomás* 'said Thomas', *arsa mise* 'said I', the form *arsa* has ultimately been regarded as a verb

Where the change *l > r* has not been caused by dissimilation or analogy with other words, it first appears in MlIr, OIr *olchene* 'besides' MlIr *archena*, OIr *ind-ala* MlIr *indara* (MnIr *an dara* 'the second'), OIr *amal* 'as' MlIr MnIr *mar*

§ 112. Lenited *n* became *r* in proclisis before non-homorganic consonants OIr *main-bad* 'if it were not' MlIr *marbad*

§ 113 In proclisis forms that were at first due to the working of sandhi-rules (lenition) have become standard forms The lenited form of *s* has been generalized, the *h* is entirely lost before vowels Examples the definite article (*in, ind, a n-* etc, *s-* is retained after non-leniting preps *for-sin* etc), *amal* 'as' § 110 (accented *samlum-*

sa 'as I'), *it* 'are' **sent-i sw-* appears as *f* in *for*, *far* 'your' uncompounded *sethar*, cf *sib* 'you' W *chwi* etc

In the case of the other consonants the non-lenited forms were generalized, thus *cach*, *rech* 'every' (adj), *mo* 'my' always non-lenited. But the accented forms are subject to lenition *cách* 'everyone' dat *do chách*, *t-* 'thy' before a vowel (*tussu th-énnur* 'thyself alone', but *-t* is not lenited after other proclitics *dí-t gní-maib* 'of thy deeds', cf *dí-mm as* 'after me', *hua-m m-óintaid* 'from my society') Accented prepositions with suffixed personal pronouns may be lenited

There are exceptions in OIr to the non-leniting of proclitics *act ropo chon clarcert* 'provided it be with interpretation' Wb 13a 26

Proclitic words are as a rule not subject to eclipsis, v § 188

§ 114 Consonants are lost or assimilated in proclisis (and enclisis) in some cases according to rules which do not apply to accented or post-tonic syllables of independent accented words

(1) Medial or final *h* disappears in proclisis. Accented preverb *frith-* prep *frí* 'against', *leth* 'side' *la* 'with', *sethar* *for*, *far*, *bar* 'your', *athar* 'nostrum' (*cechtar u-athar* 'each of us') *ar* 'our'

(2) Beside proclitic *agus*, *agus* 'and' is found in MlIr *is*, *s* (MnIr *as*, *s* beside *agus*) A similar contraction is found in MlIr *út* 'yonder' OIr *ucut*

(3) Further weakening of consonants is found in MlIr and MnIr in proclisis. Final *n* or *nn* frequently disappears. OIr *ní-con-* 'not at all' MlIr *noco* Sc *cha* 'not' (before a vowel *chan cha'n* 'eul' 'is not'), MnIr *Máire ní Laoighaire* 'Mary daughter of L' to OIr *ingen* 'daughter' MnIr Air *oúin* § 35,9. Final *n(n)* of the art disappears often. MnIr *sa* = OIr *i-sand* (*sa bhaile* 'at home'), such forms already occur in MlIr *a-fecht-sa i-fecht-sa* — OIr *in fecht so* 'this time'

The British Accent.

§ 115 The accent in the modern British languages as in Irish is intensive. In Welsh and in the Breton dialects of Tréguier, Leon and Cornouaille it falls on the (present) penult (the IE antepenult), the same applied in the case of Cornish. In the Breton dialect of Vannes the accent falls on the (present) final syllable (the IE penult), and this must have once been the case in all British languages

There are exceptions to the above rule (1) Disyll words beginning with *y* + *s* + cons which are late borrowings (from monosylls) are accented in W on the final syll *y|sgrech* 'cry' (cf E *screech*, v Pokorny Streitberg-Festschrift 293f), *y|stén* 'pitcher' (ME *stene*), *y|stól* 'stool' *y|stryd* 'street' *y|stūr* 'noise' (cf E dial *stour* 'commotion') In such words the *y*- is often omitted, generally so when spoken But in genuine W words and old Lat borrowings the accent keeps the general rule *y|sgol* (MIW *y|scawl*) 'ladder' Lat, *scāla*, *y|sgub* § 78.2, *y|sbaid* 'space (of time)' Lat *spatium*, *y|stieyll* 'Epiphany' Lat *stēlla* With *y|stōr* 'store' contrast *y|stor* 'resin' < Lat *storax* (W *y|sgrin* 'shrine, coffin cannot therefore be an old direct borrow from Lat *scrinium*) (2) Some disyll cpds in W with the prefix *ym*- are sometimes accented on the final syll *ym|wél* 'visits', *ym|drin* 'to treat' (also *ym|wel*, *ym|drin*) Difference of accent is sometimes accompanied by difference of meaning *ym|ddūyn* 'to bear child', *ym|ddwyn* 'to behave', *ym|lādd* 'to tire one's self', *ym|ladd* 'to fight' (3) A final syll is accented when it is a contraction (due to loss of intervoc -g-) W *gwel|had* 'improvement' Br *gwel|ât*, also in W in other cases of contraction *am|gau* 'to enclose' (for *am-gae-u*), *guran|dawn* 'we listen' (for *guran-law-wn*) (4) The final syll is accented in certain coalesced groups W *ym|hllth* 'among' *heb|law* 'besides' (prep + noun), *pryd|nawn* *pryn|hawn* 'afternoon' *Caer|dydd* 'Cardiff' *pen|rharth* 'lord', Br *kres|terz* 'midday' (*kreiz* 'middle', *deiz* 'day'), *Kreiz|ker* 'middle of the town' (a church in St Pol-de-Léon) *antro|noz* 'next day' (noun + dep genitive) In disyll cpds in W the position varies as the cpds are close (usually on the penult) or loose (always on the ultima) (5) Some late borrowings preserve in W their old accent *a|pél* 'appeal' *l|melodi* 'melodi' *phi|losophi* 'philosophy' — Cf Orgtaff yr Iuth Gymraeg, pp 1—15

Effects of the accent in pretonic syllables of independent words in Brit.

§ 116 The Brit *ō* (§ 9, § 78.1) appears in MIW as *o* in the syllables before the prim Brit accent, but as *aw* in the final syllables MIW *pechawt* 'sin', pl *pechodeu*, *braut* 'brother', pl *brodyr*, *ebawl* 'colt', pl *ebolyon*, *marchawc* 'knight', pl *marchogyon*, *clotfawr* 'celebrated', superl *clotforaf*, *llawn* 'full' *lloneit* 'fulness'

§ 117 (1) Loss of a short vowel in a medial (usually open)

syll before the prim Brit accent occurs in all Brit languages W *arial* 'vigour' § 35,9 Cf Latin borrowings, W *meltrith* *maledictio*, W *cwddod* 'tribe' MIBr *queudet* 'town' Lat acc *cīuitāt-em* In W *esgob* OCo *escop* Br *eskop* from Lat *episcopus* the Lat accent has been replaced by the Brit accent But there are exceptions among the Lat borrowings W *anifarl* Co pl *anevalles* Br *aneval* Lat *animal*, W *ymherawdr* (later *ymeraudwr*) MIBr *impalaezr* MnBr *impalaer* Lat *imperātor* § 83,4

(2) Loss of the vowel of an initial syllable when pretonic occurs rarely, and only before sonants W *drus* 'door' to Ir *dorus*, W *crydd* 'shoemaker' § 33

Note For loss of vowels in the Br dialect of Vannes v § 120

(3) A pretonic vowel can be dropped owing to the new accent MnW *clomen* 'dove' for *colomen*, *Clynnog* for *Celynnog*, MnW *gwarando* MIW *gwarandaw* *cymydog* 'neighbour', pl *cymdogion*, *cristion* 'Christian', pl *cristnogion*, *Cristnogaeth* 'Christianity' This is particularly frequent in spoken Welsh *lamera* 'I take', [*Knarvon*] *Caernarfon*, [*sgota*] *pysgota* 'to fish'

§ 118 The W vowels /u/ and /y/ (wr *w* *y*) in non-final sylls become ə (wr *y*) W *drus* 'door' *drysoi* 'doorkeeper', *drysau* 'doors' *dwrn* 'hist' pl *dyrnau*, *dyrnod* 'blow', *dyn* 'man' /*dyn*/ pl *dynion* /*dənjon*/, *dynoliaeth* 'humanity' /*dənoljəɪθ*/, *dydd* 'day' /*dyd*/ pl *dyddiau* /*dəɪdjəɪ*/, *dyddiol* 'daily' /*dəɪdjoɪ*/ The rule therefore is *y* = /y/ in the final syll *y* = ə in non-final sylls

There are few exceptions to this rule some of which may be old, such as *gwygo* 'to wither' (*y* = /y/) possibly also *amrywio* 'to vary', *amrywiaeth* 'variety', others being modern (and varying in dialects), such as *bywiog* 'lively' (N W /-w-/, S W /-w-/, but *bywyd* 'life' everywhere has /-w-/) Also *y* = /y/ before a vowel *dyall* 'to understand', *lletya* 'to lodge' An /ə/ sometimes becomes /u/ before /u/ in the following syllable *mwnwgl* 'neck' *mywogl*, *cumud* 'commote' *cymud* Br *kombod* 'compartment' (Y also *cwrwgl* (l) 'coracle', *cwmwl* 'cloud' This takes place frequently in dialects *cumws* (SW) *cymwys* 'fit, suitable', *bwgwth* (SW) *bygwth* 'to threaten', *twlwth* (occasionally, usually *tylwth* SW) *tylwyth* 'family'

§ 119 MIW *ei*, *eu* in the final syll of accented words appears in MnW as *ai*, *au* MIW *meint* 'size' MnW *maint*, MIW *deu* 'two' MnW *dau* But *-eu* remains in the proclitics *eu* 'their', *neu*

'or', and in cases where *eu* is a contraction of *e-u* (through loss of -*g*- usually) MnW *di-lleu* 'to delete', *cyflleu* 'to place', *creu* 'to create', or of *eu-u* *amheus* 'doubtful' Even in such cases however the change to -*au* has sometimes taken place *gwau* 'to knit', also *gweu* MIW *gweu*, *hau* 'to sow' MIW *heu* The enclitic *ynteu* 'then' is always so written, but *yntau* 'he too'

ei remains in final sylls before certain consonant groups with *r* or *l* *neidr* 'snake', *beirdd* 'poets', *meirir* (pl) 'dead', *geibu* 'calls', also in *ceir* 'cars' pl of *car*, *ieir* 'hens' pl of *iâr*, *geist* 'bitches' pl of *gast*, *deir* 'he carries', *lleill* '(the) others' Similarly where -*ei* is a contraction of *e-i* *ceir* 'is found', *ceid* 'was found', *bwyteig* 'voracious', *Cymreig* 'Welsh'

§ 120. (Effects of the accent in independent words in the dialect of Vannes) The accent has produced various modifications (esp loss or weakening of vowels) in the pretonic sylls in the dialect of Vannes V *kloim* 'dove' OIr *colum*, V *berder* 'brothers' (sg *brer*) Léon *breudeur* (sg *breur*), V *menal* 'sheaf' Léon *malan*, V *bean* 'swift' Léon *buan* V *benal* 'broom' Léon *balan* A diphthong may become a monophthong V *estik* 'nightingale' Léon *eastik*, V *rantelch* (also *rouantelch*) Léon *rouantelch* 'kingdom'

Effects of the accent in proclisis in Brit

§ 121 (1) In proclisis the same vowel reductions occur as in pretonic sylls of independent words Thus W *pob* 'every' (adj) *paub* everyone (pron), cf § 116 A proclitic *a* for *ā* occurs in W *rhay* § 9,2 The diphthong *eu* remains in W *eu* 'their', *neu* or cf § 119

(2) An orig *o* (or *é, i*) is reduced to *ə* in proclisis W pref *cyf-*, *cyn-*, *cy-* Co *ké-* etc (also *co-* *co-lenvel* 'to fill') Br *ker-*, *ken-* etc In *con-*, *com-* Lat *cum-* *com-*, MIW preverb *ry* Co *re* OBr *ro* MIBr MnBr *ra re* Ir *ro* OSl *pro*, W pref *dy-* Co *de-* Br *di-* W *dy-fod* 'to come' Co *devos* Br *di-redek* 'to run' Ir *do-*

Note 1 When the forms here treated have the character of accented monosyllables the vowel is pronounced not /ə/ but /y/ in W *cyn* with the equative (/kyn/, not /kən/) *rhay* with an adj as *rhay dda* 'too good' (/ɹy/ not /rə/), the prep OW *dí dy* 'to' MIW *y* MnW *i* (Co *the* OBr *do* MIBr *da*, *de* MnBr *da*)

Note 2 The reduction of pr Celt **kom* (which originated in loose verbal cpds) takes place even in noun cpds in W, but in Co and Br only when the meaning of the prefix is clearly felt — thus OBr (with *a* represen-

tang the reduced vowel) *camadas* gl *habilis* OW *camadas* gl *par* MnW *eyfaddas* 'fitting' OIr *comadas* Otherwise *o* remains in Co and Br Co *compys* 'straight' Br *kompoez* 'smooth' W *cymwys* 'fitting' (SW dial also 'straight') from *pwys* 'weight'

W *fy* 'my' Br *ma*, *va* **meme* § 86 — OW article *ir* MIW MnW *yr*, *y* Co *an* *en* MIBr *an*, *en* MnBr *an*, *ar* — Also certain diphthongs were reduced to /ə/ W *pa*, *py* (MIW) Co *py*, *pe* Br *pe* W *pwyl* 'who' Co *pyr* Br *piou*, W *try*- Co Br *dre* 'through' W *trwy*

§ 122. Initial *tenuis* of prepositions became *mediae* OW *cant* 'with' MIW *can gan* MnW *gan* O'co *cans* Ml'co *gans* Br *gant* § 64.3 (but in W after *a* 'and', *na* 'nor' *a chan*, *na chan* generally, as prefix always *can-*, *canfod* 'to perceive'), W *drwy*, *trwy* 'through' (Co Br *dre*)

§ 123. Consonants are frequently lost or modified in proclitic words in Brit as in MlIr and MnIr (cf § 114) OIr *amal* 'as' (MIW *fa* MnW *fa*) (Co *avel* Br *evel* W *hafal* 'similar', MIW *y* MnW *i* 'to' from OW *di* § 121 n 1 In personal names W *mab* 'son' became *fab* and then *ab* *Peredur ab Efraug* (further *ab Owain* became *Bowen*, *ab Howel* became *Powel* etc) — In W *r* drops before a consonant OW *ait ir* (before vowels and consonants), later *yr* (before vowels, *j* and *h*), *y* (before consonants, *w* and *g*) But *r* remains always when *y* is elided after a vowel, as *i r pen* 'to the end' MIW *erllynedd* 'last year', MnW *y llynedd*, *llynedd* Br *war-lene* § 44 Ir *fi* against OW *gurt* (*t = þ*) MIW MnW *urth* (Co *worth*, *orth*, but with the verb-noun (infinitive) *ow* (*ow crenne* 'shivering'), MIBr *oz*, *ouz* but with the infinitive to form a pres participle *wr o* (since mid 17th cent))

Effects of the accent in post-tonic syllables of independent words in Brit

§ 124. (Welsh vowels after the accent) (1) MIW *aw* (from *ā*, *ō*) in post-tonic sylls gave MnW *o* MIW *marchawc* 'rider' MnW *marchog*, *an(h)awdd* *anodd* 'difficult' There are some exceptions, such as compounds with *mawr* 'great' as the final element, *enfawr*, *dirfawr* 'very great', *canllaw* 'hand-rail' etc

(2) In modern spoken W the *i*- and *y*- diphthongs are regularly monophthongized in final unaccented sylls Thus standard literary *-au* *-ai*, *-ae* are *-a* in NW and Gwentian dialects, *-e* else-

where *petheu* 'things' /peþa/, /peþe/, *bugarl* 'shepherd' /bigal/, /bigel/, *gadael* 'leave' /gadal/ (/gatal/), /gadel/ (/gatel/), unaccented -*oe* has generally become *o* in SW *miloedd* 'thousands' /milod/, cf NW /ədod/ 'was' *ydoedd*. Final *ai* occasionally becomes *i*, as /erɪl/ 'others' *eraill*, NW /k'ɪmɪnt/ 'as many' *cymaint* (SW /kəment/)

§ 125 Post-tonic *e* becomes *a* in the Arfon and Gwentian dialects /pentra/ 'village' *pentref*, /atab/ 'answer' *ateb*, /ia/ (disyll) 'yes' *ie*

§ 126 (Cornish vowels after the accent) MlCo *e* regularly becomes MnCo *a* in post-tonic syllables MlCo *yssel* 'low' (W *isel*) MnCo *izal*, MlCo *ere* 'to drink' MnCo *eva*, MlCo *broder* 'brother' (*e* = svarabhakti vowel) MnCo *bredar*. Also MlCo *e* from OBrit *ō* MlCo *marrek* 'horseman' (MlW *marharc*) MnCo *marhag*, MlCo *pehes*, *peghes* and also *peghas*

§ 127. (Breton vowels after the accent) In Br various diphthongs have become monophthongs when they come after the accent. Old *ow* becomes /u/ (wr *ou*) in post-tonic sylls, but when accented the diphthong remains (wr *dou*), the Vannes dialect has *eu* (i e 'ou') always. Br *ankou* 'death' V *ankeu* ('o *ancow* § 8.1). — The diphthong *ae* becomes *e*, the noun suffix Ir *-echt* W *-aeth* ('o *-eth* Br *-ez* V *-eh*, *-eah*). — MlBr *az* + liquid which became *ae* under the accent became *a* in post-tonic sylls. MlBr *alazn* 'breath' MnBr *halan* § 2. — The diphthong *oe* became *o* in MnBr in post-tonic sylls. MlBr *nadoez* 'needle' MnBr *nadoz*, MlBr *cantoell* MnBr *kantol* 'light'. — OBrit *ō* (IE *ā*, *ō*) which gave MlBr MnBr /o/ (wr *eu*) in an accented syll appears as *e* post-tonically (V has *e* everywhere). MlW *pechaut* 'sin' MlBr *pechet* MnBr *pe'hed* MlW *marharc* 'horseman' MlBr *marchek* MnBr *marc'hek* W *llhaws* 'many' MlBr *lies* MnBr *liez*. — The old ending *-ion* became Br *-ien* after the accent. OBr *natrol-ion* gl *regulus* MlBr *mib-ien* 'sons'.

§ 128. (Consonants in post-tonic sylls in W., Co, Br) For lenited *m* in post-tonic sylls v § 75 n 2 (MlBr *pidiff* 'to pray' *bezaf* 'to be', *bihanaff* 'smallest' MnBr *pidi*, *beza*, *bihana*, but V *bikaññañ* etc). Most consonant modifications in post-tonic positions are comparatively late.

In MnW *-h-* generally disappears except when it immediately precedes the accent *brenin* 'king' *brenhines* 'queen' pl *brennesau*, *eang* 'wide' *ehangder* 'expanse' pl *eangderau*.

V. Quantity.

§ 129 In primitive IE quantity was not mechanical and was independent of neighbouring sounds and the accent. This old quantitative system has remained in Ir, with partial disarrangements, to this day. It also remained in Gaulish. In Brit it must have persisted until the Roman period, but ultimately it was mechanically fixed in accordance with neighbouring sounds and the accent.

Note. In OIr a long vowel was denoted sometimes by doubling, more frequently by the sign ' , which however is frequently omitted. In MnIr ' is used to denote a long sound, in Sc ' is used. — In OW and OBr there was no sign of quantity. In MnW ' is placed above a long vowel when necessary, ' to denote a short vowel, ' to denote the accent. In Co there are no quantity signs (Lhuyd frequently marks the quantity). — For further details v. VKG I 291f. *Thurneysen Handb.* §§ 25-52 (for Ir), *Orgraff v. Irish Gynraig* pp. 15-24-46.

The partial disarrangements in the old quantitative system

§ 130. The IE. long diphthongs (i e the *w-, j-*, liquid-, and nasal-diphthongs with the first element long) were shortened in (Celt *W* *gwynt* 'wind' (Co *gwyns* Br *gwent* Lat *uentus* Skt *rānt-* 'blowing'). The shortening in (Celt is later than the loss of a nasal before *v*, thus it has not occurred in Ir *mis*, gen. of *mī* 'month' *W* *mis* OCo *mis* Br *miz* § 26, 10 *W* *traws* 'adverse cross', *ar draws* 'across' (Co *tres* 'froward', *trus* 'thwart' Br *treuz* 'de travers' Cf. also long *w-*diphthongs before *s* § 13-2.

§ 131 Shortening in unaccented syllables took place in Ir § 102. Examples of final sylls. in § 92, § 95. In the Brit. languages long vowels were treated in the same way in unaccented as in accented syllables. IE *ō ā ī* in the final syll. which disappeared had a different effect on the preceding syllable from that of the corresponding short vowels cf. §§ 181--3.

§ 132 (Lengthening in finals.) In accented mono-syll. words in Ir a final vowel is lengthened. Ir *mē* 'I' with augens *mēi-sse* (*i* denotes timbre), *tu* 'thou' with augens *tu-ssu*, *cé* (*bethad cé* 'of this life', by analogy in *domoin chūa* ZCP 7 309) cf. Lat *ci-trā*, *sé* 'six' Lat *sex*. This lengthening does not occur in unaccented words.

§ 133 Compensatory lengthening due to the loss of a nasal in Ir has been discussed in § 70, 3. The change from *a* to *ī* was due to the timbre of *a*. An original *ā* had probably an *a*-like timbre (as

still in Arran), while short *a* was a pure Italian *a*. When this short *a* was lengthened, the difference between it and an old *ā* became intensified, and it assumed an *a*-like timbre, eventually becoming *ē*. Diphthongization of this *ē* (to *ie*) is rare and analogical: thus OIr *has* gl 'prosilere', 3 sg subj rel of *lingid* 'leaps', inf *léim*, MlIr *ciasto*, 3 pl subj rel of *cingid* 'steps', cf *céim* 'a step, pace' (by analogy with such forms as *tias* 3 sg subj rel of *tiagu* 'I go')

§ 134. (1) A much later compensatory lengthening occurred in Ir due to the loss of certain explosives before sonants in the case of all vowels and in unaccented as well as accented sylls.

(a) (the vowel *a*) Ir *ár* 'slaughter', *árne* 'sloe', *mál* 'prince' (lost *g*), *áram* 'number', *árach* 'spancel', *áilgen* 'soft' (lost *d*), *dál* 'assembly', *sál* 'heel', *anál* 'breath' (lost *t*). In a few cases the lengthened vowel is *ē* here also: Ir *dér* 'tear', Ir *brén* 'putrid', *blén* 'grom' (lost *h*), W *braen blaen* require an older *a*, but Br *brein blein* might suggest orig *e*. (b) (the vowel *o*) Ir *suanem* 'rope' (lost *g*), *uan* 'lamb' (lost labio-velar), *srón* 'nose' (lost *k*). (c) (the vowel *u*) Ir *brón* 'sorrow' (lost *g*), *ro-cuale* 'heard' (lost *k*). (d) (the vowel *e*) Ir *fér* 'grass', *fén* 'waggon' (lost *g*), *frém* 'root' (-*dm*-), *scén* 'terror' (-*kn*-), *scél* 'story', *en* 'bird' (-*tl*-, -*tn*-). (e) (the vowel *i*) Ir *cuilén* 'cub', *múinél* 'neck', *Lén* (-*gn*-, -*hl*- -*kn*-).

(2) The *ī* due to this compensatory lengthening alternates with *eo*, *eu*, *vu*, the diphthongs appearing in the same circumstances as cause IE *e* (and *i*) to become *i* (§ 178). In these diphthongs *e* and *i* were originally syllabic and *o*, *u* non-syllabic. Later the *e* *i* became non-syll and *o*, *u* syllabic, giving ultimately MnIr *ō*, *ū* with preceding palatalization. OIr *feul* 'flesh' MnIr *feul* Arr /f'ól'.

Exx. (a) Before lost -*ū* dat *ceneul*, *ceníul* 'race'. Before retained -*u* acc pl *beolu*, *beulu* 'lips'. (b) Before lost -*i*, -*i* g *feuir* 'of a vegetable', g sg *scéul*, *ceneóil* *ceníuil* *ceneuil* and *eíuin* 'of the bird'.

The diphthong also appears before medially retained or lost *u*, *ū*, *i*, *ī*. Before lost *ī* *feuldae* 'of flesh'. — Before retained (though reduced) continuations of *ī* *do-scéulaim* gl 'expierior' (*ī*-stem cf 3 sg *du-sceulari*), *ara-chiurad* 'they will perish' (from *ara-chrimm*). — This diphthongization in the future tense has spread in MnIr and has become a regular feature in a large number of future forms. MnIr *athnim* 'I know', fut 1 sg *athéonad*, *dibrim* 'I expel', fut *dibeorad*, also in forms which in OIr had no *ē* MnIr *árdughim*

'I exalt' fut *áirdeóchad*, *foillsighim* 'I reveal' fut *foillseóchad* etc

The diphthong (*eo*, *eu*, *iu*) also alternates analogically with *ē* which does not come from *e*, *i* + explosive *dér* 'tear' has the *g* and *dat* forms *deóir*, *deór* (in LL), and the irregular *eo* has in MnIr spread to the nom *deor* (fem *diuir* 'a drop'), *blén* 'groin', acc *bleoin*. The diphthongization of the *ē* discussed in § 133 is equally irregular *eort*, *euit* *g*, *éutt*, *éut* *dat* of *ét* 'jealousy', MlIr *deort* 'teeth'. The regular form however is often retained.

The *ī* (> *ia* § 16) from IE *ei* was not affected by these analogical innovations, v VKG I 300

(3) Compensatory lengthening has occurred in Ir owing to the loss of IE *w* which stood immediately before a consonant as the result of a lost vowel. OIr *córc* 'fitness', *oc-míl* *gl tiro*, MlIr *Héiru* 'Ireland' § 103. The short vowel is exceptional before *þ* in *bethu* § 92, but *tossach* 'beginning' hardly belongs to *tuus* § 63 (cf Thurneysen, Handb p 475) — For long vowels due to contraction of two vowels cf §§ 142—6

§ 135. (Later lengthening) In MnIr dialects lengthening occurs before certain consonant groups. Cf such OIr written forms as *báill* 'member', pl *bóill* Wb 12a 18 10c 11, *rán* 'part' 12c 13, *tualáng* *gl potens* 31b 11, *mílsi* acc pl 'sweet' 6c 7, *órd* 'ordo' 9c 17 *g uirt*, *dat urt* 13b 26 27

The new quantitative systems.

§ 136 (Quantity in Welsh¹). The following are the rules for accented ultima in W (1) The vowel is long (a) when final and also before all consonants which were short in MIW, so before MnW *d*, *r*, *g*, *d*, *b*, before orig single *r*, *l*, *n*, before *x*, *þ*, *f* *s*, also in SW before *l* *tŷ* 'house', *bedd* 'grave' /*bēd*/, *dydd* 'day' /*dýd*/, *cof* 'memory' /*kōl*/, *deg* 'ten' /*dēg*/, *gwlad* 'country' /*gwlād*/, *mab* 'son' /*māb*/, *gŵr* 'man' *tâl* 'pay', *dyn* 'man' /*dyn*/ *bach* 'small' /*bāx*/, *peth* 'thing' /*pēþ*/, *clawf* 'lame' /*klōf*/, *nos* 'night' /*nōs*/, *pell* 'far' (SW /*pēl*/, NW /*pet*/), (b) also before *llt*, *sg*, *st*, *sb* in NW *gwallt* 'hair' (-ā-, SW -ā-), *cwsg* 'sleep' (-ū-, SW -ū-), *Críst* 'Christ' (-ī-, SW -ī-), *cosb* 'punishment' (-ō-, SW -ō-)

(2) The vowel is short before a consonant-group *plant* 'children', *barf* 'beard', *porth* 'gate', also before former *rr*, *nn* (now wr *r*, *n*), before *ŵ* (from *ng*) and before *m* (which is always from

¹ Cf Orgraif yr Iaith Gymraeg, pp 15—28

mm) *car* 'car' (à) *MIW carr*, *glan* 'bank, shore' *MIW glann*, *pen* 'head' (è) *MIW penn*, *ing* 'anguish' (ì), *llam* 'leap' Before voiced *l* the vowel may be short where an old *g* has been lost after the *l* *dal* 'to hold' (à), *hel* 'to hunt' (è), also in late borrowings (English) as *gwal* 'wall' (à), *trol* 'cart' (ò) The vowel is short before *MnW k*, *t*, *p* *llac* 'loose' *cap* 'cap', *het* 'hat' There are some exceptions the vowel may be long before *nt* if there is contraction of two sylls (usually due to loss of a consonant), *ánt* 'they go', *gwnánt* 'they do' (loss of *g*), *cánt* 'they shall get', also by analogy *bônt* 'they may be', *ýnt* 'they are' There are a few cases of the vowel being long before *n*, *m*, *l*, *t*, *p* *gwréng* 'yeoman' (from *gŵr ŷeuan* BBCS 1 15-8), *bŷm* 'I have been' (for *bu-um*), *ŷm* 'we are', *bôm* 'we may be', *ffrâm* 'frame', *strôc* 'stroke', *sêl* 'scat', *siáp* 'shape' (Eng borrowings)

(J) Welsh has long and short diphthongs The syllabic *a* *o*, *u* is long in the diphthongs *ae*, *oe*, *wy* (/äy/, öy', üy/), and the non-syllabic element frequently disappears in spoken W *cael* 'to have' (/käyl/ or /käl/), *oer* 'cold' (/öy/ or /ör/), *dwyn* 'to take' (/düyn/) In SW *wy* is usually short, and this is also the case before two consonants or *m* in all parts in some words such as *pwyt* 'point' *cwymp* 'fall', *rhwystr* 'obstruction', *twym* 'warm' The other diphthongs are usually short *llai* 'less', *flawd* 'poor', *deur* 'brave', *lliw* 'colour', *cwec* 'frown', *byu* 'alive', *brau* 'bottle', *haul* 'sun', *creu* 'to create' (from *cre-u*) *troi* 'to turn' (from *tro-i*) *teyrn* 'monarch' (from *te-yrn*), *rhowch* 'give' (from *rho-uch*), *euch* 'go' (from *e-uch*), *teuch* 'be silent' (from *tew-uch*) The diphthongs *aw*, *ew* when not followed by a consonant are long in NW *baw* 'dnt' /bāw/, *llaw* 'lion' /lēw/, *tau* 'be silent' *tawel* 'silent' (āw) Also *ai* *oi* *au*, when contractions of *a-ai(ei)*, *o-ai(ei)*, *a-au(eu)*, are long *gwnâi* 'he made', *rhôl* 'he gave' *plâu* 'plagues'

§ 137 In the acct penult the vowel is (1) long when followed by a syllabic vowel or *h* *eog* 'salmon', *deau* 'south, right (hand)', *traha* 'arrogance' (2) medium (half long, short open) when followed by *d*, *r*, *g* *d*, *b*, by originally single *r*, *l*, *n*, and before *x*, *þ*, *f* *beddau* 'graves', *tafod* 'tongue', *agor* 'to open', *rhedeg* 'to run' *ebol* 'colt', *caru* 'to love' *halen* 'salt' *tanau* 'fires', *achub* 'to save', *pettau* 'things', *hoffi* 'to like' (the vowel tends to become short before *þ*, *f*), (3) short (short closed) when followed by more than one consonant *morfil* 'whale' (epd of *môr* 'sea' + *mil* 'beast'), *tanio* 'to

fire' (from *tân* 'fire' + /-jo/), *tannau* '(harp) strings' (from *tant*), *glan-warth* 'clean' (*glân* + *w-*), *cannu* 'to bleach' (*can* 'white' < *cand-*), also when followed by *l*, *t*, *p*, *n*, *m*, *s*, *l*, which all derive from more than one consonant *tecaf* 'fairest' (-*gh-*), *ateb* 'answer' (-*dh-*), *epil* 'progeny' (-*bh-*), *angof* 'oblivion' (-*nc-*), *cymorth* 'help' (-*mp-*), *bysedd* 'fingers' (pl of *bys* = /*bys*/), *collen* 'hazel-tree' (-*sl-*), *allor* 'altar' (-*lt-*), similarly when followed by *l* which stands for double *l* *calon* 'heart' *MIW* *callon colyn* 'sting' (for **kol-gyn*, *OW* *colginn* § 37,3)

In unaccented syllables vowels and diphthongs are always short

§ 138 (Quantity in Co) According to Lhuyd's orthography quantity in Co was the same as in W. Certain deviations explain themselves, thus old *ll* did not become a spirant as in W and can therefore not have had the same effect as W *l*. An important variation is that the vowel of the penult followed by a consonant may be long *mānah* 'monk'

§ 139. (Quantity in Br) The quantitative system is greatly complicated in Br by the variations in the dialects. The main rules are as in W: long vowels before orig. single consonants *mad* 'good', *ed* 'wheat', *skol* 'school', *leun* 'full', short vowels before consonant groups and orig. long consonants *lost* 'tail', *kant* '100', *pell* 'far', *pcnn* 'head'

VI. Vowel groups.

§ 140 Groups of syllabic vowels did not occur in prim. IE (at least in non-compounded words). The sequence *syll* *v*, *u* + vowel, very frequent in the individual languages, was orig. pronounced *ij* + vowel, *uw* + vowel, cf. W *dydd* 'day' Lat *dies*, W *clywed* 'to hear' (O *clewas* Br *klet* Lat *chūere* 'to be named')

If two vowels came together in composition, the hiatus was avoided in IE by contraction or elision (G *Art-albinnum* beside *Agroßgrya*). Elision has persisted in neo-Celt (cf. § 104), but principally in close compounds of preverb and verb *fri-sa-téicommacht* Wb 19c 8 'to which it has been imparted', but *do-éicommacht* Wb 14c 33 'has been imparted'

But in Celt. numerous cases of hiatus have arisen through loss of *p* (prim. Celt.), of *s* (in both insular Celt. branches), of *w* or *j* (in Ir.), of *g* (in Brit.), and also through morphological occurrences (composition etc.). They have largely been abolished by contraction, or more rarely by the formation of a non-syll. glide sound in hiatus

Contraction in Irish.

§ 141 In post-tonic sylls hiatus has always been suppressed in Ir, and an OIr short vowel has resulted. Similarly in proclisis OIr *dond óis* 'to the people' (prep *do* + dat of the art *ind*)

When the first of two vowels is at the end of a proclitic preverb or infixed pron, and the second is the initial sound of a verbal form there is no contraction in Ir. Examples from the oldest metrical texts (Thes II 190—359) *ro-anacht* 'has protected', *ar-do-utacht* 'who refreshed her'

Contraction of an accented vowel with a following vowel depends on the quality of the vowels, in the case of *a* or *o* + *e* or *i*, *o* + *o*, and in certain circumstances *e* + *e* there is contraction

§ 142 *a* + *u* are contracted in dat *láu* 'day' Thes II 294 3 (wr *lathru*, but a monosyll Thes II 319 2), in Wb *lau*, *láo* *láu* (and *lauthru*), MnIr *lo*

ā + *ə* are not contracted in OIr Wb *áer* 'air', *g aéir* (MnIr monosyll *aer*), *a* + *e* MlIr *ahél*, *aval* 'a breeze'. In some cases *a* + *e* has become *ā* (through *a* + *a* OIr nom sg *lae* 'day' (disyll), *laa* (can be monosyll), MnIr *lá*

§ 143. *o* + *a* in OIr are not contracted *foaid* 'he slept' Thes II 315 6 Wb *oac* 'young', MlIr *óc*, MnIr *óg*. Monosyll in proclisis *fua chru* 'under his hut' Thes II 331 4

o + *o* contracted *tuarcun* gl tribulatio Wb 1c 19 (inf of *do-org*), OIr Wb *focre* 'warning' (*fo-od-gair*-)

o + *u*, not contracted in *sous* 'knowledge' *m-atthous* 'if I relate' Thes II 337 2 (cf Wb *lour* 'enough' *loun* 'provision' (MlIr MnIr *lór*, *lon*))

o + *e*, *i*, contracted *ara-forma* 'that [he] may assume' Ml 17c3 *ar-fo-em*- (elision in *ar-f-ema* gl excipiat), *g roida* for *ro-fida* of the great forest' Thes II 290 11. In *toisech* 'leader' Thes II 300 9 (W *tyeysog* Og *g rovisaci* MnIr *taoiseach*) *óitiu* 'youth' **jow-entūt-s* we should not assume contraction (for the retention of the vowel after *w* would be enigmatic) but epenthesis, **tóús*-, **uūt*-yielding **tóús*-, **uūt*- (cf Pokorny, ZCP 11,5) and ultimately **toi(ū)ś*-, **oi(u)l'*-. No contraction in the foreign name *Noe* Thes II 300 5 and in *fut ro-it* gl fut erehora 'the length of a cast' Thes II 345 2. *o* + *i*, not contracted in OIr *co-ir* 'fit' (W *cywr* § 19) contracted in MnIr *coir*, Arr *[kōr]*

§ 144 *u* does not coalesce with a following vowel *druud* wíz-

ards' Thes II 314 4 (MnIr monosyll nom sg *draoi*, g pl *druadh*) Similarly the diphthong *au* *aue* 'descendant' Thes II 295 10 (MnIr proclitic only, *ua*, *ó*), *núae* 'new' acc fem *nua* Thes II 314 2, 346 1 (MnIr monosyll *nua*)

§ 145 *e* + *a*, not contracted in OIr *deacht* 'godhead' *e* + final *o*, contracted in *breo* 'flame', *leo* 'to them' — *e* + *e*, contracted in *iar* § 30, not contracted in *dí míl déec* '12000' Wb 15 b 1, *deec* later became *deac* (disyll Thes II 308 17), MlIr *déc*, MnIr *déag* (Arr /d'ég/), Wb *deserce* '(Christian) love', *dearc*, dat *deirc* MlIr *dérc* MnIr (monosyll) *dearc déirc* 'charity'

§ 146 Mostly *i* is not contracted with a following vowel *o ru-biam* 'when we are' Thes II 293 18, *triur* 'three persons' 331 3, *iach* 'of a salmon' 345 2, *friu* 'against them' 340 5, *liae* 'flood' 315 4 But in proclitics an orig. hiatus-group *ia* is generally monosyll *dia rath* 'from her grace' Thes II 326 6 *fria sain-dán* 'at his special art' 293 14, *liar n-athair* 'with our father' 305 3 From *dia*, *diar* developed MlIr *da du* Disyll *dia*, *fria*, *lia* are rarer

Contraction of *i* + final *i* occurs in *bí voc*, g 'living' Thes II 291 17, 332 5 of *i* + final *u* in *i-t bu* 'in thy lifetime' Thes II 319 1, of *i* + *u* in the penult in *dos-fiuscad* 'he awoke' Thes II 316 2 (*dí-od-sech*-, ModIr *duisgim*, *duisghim*)

Disyll *ia* can be distinguished from the diphthong *ia*, apart from metre, by the fact that only disyll *ia* can be affected to *ian*, *iu* or *iu* cf *biad* 'food', dat *biud*, g *biud*, also only disyll *ia* can alternate with *e* g *lega* dat pl *legib* from *laig*, Ir *iarn* 'iron' *enn-bas* 'death by iron'

Contraction and Hiatus-insertion in Brit

§ 147 In Welsh contraction has very extensively occurred in the case of two vowels originally separated W *maes* § 35, *gwelldhad* § 115, *ánt* § 136,2 *deugarn* 40 (*deu* 2' + *uarn* 20), *meurn* m' (monosyll) Ir *medon* § 43, n 2 It has occurred where the two vowels were similar, and where the second was a narrow vowel (*u*, *u*, *y*, *i*) or where an *e* followed an *a* or an *o* But in these combinations the vowels frequently remain uncontracted as late as the 15th century, as metre shows (v Orgraaff vi *Iaith Gymraeg* § 3, § 38,4), and this has persisted to the present day in formations like *broydd* 'regions', *cloyn* 'knob', *cloedig* 'locked' (cf Morris-Jones, W G § 33)

Unaccented *i* before a vowel sometimes became *j* *erioed* 'ever'

/er-|joed/ MIW *erygoet* for prep *er* + *i* 'his' + *oed* 'since his time', *diodef* 'suffer' (/djoðev/, also /di|oðev/) It always remains syllabic in disyllables *dial* 'revenge', *rhain* 'lady', *ie* 'yes', the only exceptions are MIW *droer* /djoyr/ (an oath) and *diawl* 'devil' /djawl/ The plur *diefyl* is a trisyllable however

§ 148. In Cornish contraction is as extensive as in W *Co mes* 'field' §35,1, *dor* 'earth', *horn* 'iron', MnCo *môr* 'blackberries' Also *i* is treated generally as in W *dyenkys* 'escaped' (trisyll), *pryes* 'spouse', *golyow* 'wounds' (trisyll, cf MIW *gwelheu*), *dyowl*, *dyawl*, *gawl* 'devil' is monosyllabic (with initial *ǝ*, cf Lhuyd p 54), its plur being *dywolow*

§ 149 In Breton also contraction is practically as extensive as in Welsh After an initial consonant *i* remains syllabic before a vowel MIBr *diaoul* 'devil' *priet* 'spouse', *liammou* 'bonds' The MIBr proclitic *diar* 'from', *diouz* 'from' are monosyll In absolute initials *i* can remain syllabic MIBr *youll eoll* 'désir, bonne volonté' MnBr *ioul*, cf OBr *aui* (*i e a iul*) gl ultro Br *ia* 'yes' is a monosyll, formerly also disyll Disyll words with hiatus in MIBr have often become monosyllables in MnBr

§ 150 In sentence groups *jʝ* has been inserted in hiatus frequently in MIBr and in MnBr MIBr *me a i-a*, *me y-a* 'I go', *me y-el*, *me y-elo* 'I shall go', *a i-ou* 'who was' In MnBr *v* is inserted in hiatus before the diphthongs *oa* *oe* *aoual* 'h a v-oad ak a v-oelran' 'enough blood and weeping'

VII The Diphthongs.

§ 151. (Origin of diphthongs) New diphthongs arose by contraction of two separate vowels §§ 142—9, by vocalization of an explosive following a vowel § 134 2 in Br by the change *l > w*, cf § 64 2, in Brit from the IE group vowel + *w* or *j* + vowel (for dissimilation of the group *ij* v § 21 2 § 24, 3), by epenthesis § 176, § 181ff In addition diphthongs have arisen out of long vowels

(1) (a) The long vowel *ē* from IE *e_i* (§ 16) in Ir before non-palatal consonants became (*ea* and then) *ia* *dea* 'God' Thes II xv, *féal* Wb 13a 29 gl honeste = MIBr *fial* W *gŷyl* 'modest', it is also written *ie* *ier-sin* afterwards Thes II xvi — Lat *ē* and early contracted *e + e* (§ 145) also became *ia* But an *ē* long by

compensation (probably a closed $\bar{e}$) was not diphthongized (§133, 134)

(b) The long vowel $\bar{o}$ from an IE w -diphthong and also from other sources gave in Ir the diphthong ua . The oldest materials still had $\bar{o}$ (cf Wb *prima manus boid* 'triumph', later *buid*). The chief glossator of Wb has the diphthong before certain consonants only the dentals $s, \bar{d}, \bar{b}, t, r, l, n$, further before mm . The diphthong was developing before $\bar{b}$ *obar vanity* Wb 27a 9, but *uabar* 13b 14, it does not occur before lenited m . It is not found before back consonants $\acute{o}g$ 'virgin' *tróg* 'wretched' (MnIr *truagh*), $\acute{o}cht$ 'coldness' (Ml *huacht*, MnIr *fuacht*). Final o of certain preverbs with a following o gave sometimes ua sometimes $\bar{o}$ *tuarcun* gl tribulatio, *tuargab* 'has arisen', but *tobc* excision, *fócre* 'proclaim' 'denounce'. It should be noted that diphthongization occurs only in an accented syllable *suas* 'above', but *os cech annimm* 'above every name' ($\bar{o}$ by analogy in the accented form *ósib* 'above them') *uáir* 'hour', but *hóre* 'since' (proclitic but cf also *huare huaire*).

The diphthongization $\bar{o} \rightarrow ua$ must have reached its fullest extent before the beginning of the MlIr period. It occurred in the following cases: (1) $\bar{o}$ from an IE diphthong § 13, IE op before n § 32, (2) $\bar{o}$ from $o + o$ § 143, (3) $\bar{o}$ due to compensatory lengthening described in § 134, (4) $\bar{o}$ in Lat borrowings from Lat $\bar{o}$ § 78 2, (5) $\bar{o}$ from $\bar{a}$ in *obar, uabar* 'vanity' (W *ofer* 'van' Br *euver* '(goût) fade, paresseux, négligent' V *voer* 'insipid'). But there are Ir $\bar{o}$ -sounds which were not diphthongized: (1) $\bar{o}$ from $o + a$, $o + u$ MlIr *óc* MnIr *óg* 'young' from OIr *oac* MlIr *lór* 'enough' from OIr *lour*. These contractions are perhaps subsequent to the period of diphthongization. (2) $\bar{o}$ in final position and before vowels *dá* 'to him', OIr *goo* 'lic' *máo, mó* 'more', cf § 13, 3, (3) $\bar{o}$ from *ow* before a consonant § 134, 3 *córe* 'fitness'. (4) $\bar{o}$ from Lat *au* Brit *ow* *ór* 'gold', Pól Paul. (5) $\bar{o}$ from $\bar{a}$ in OIr *mór, már* 'great', cf *móin* 'bog' § 9 3, (6) $\bar{o}$ from Lat $\bar{a}$ (*póc* 'kiss' < Lat *pāc(-em)*, *pāx*) and Lat $\bar{o}$ (when this has in Brit fallen together with Lat $\bar{a}$ *nón* 'noon' W *naun* < Lat *nōna*) $\bar{o} = W$ *aw* (*nós* 'habit' W *naws* 'nature' 'disposition' *ron* 'horse-hair' W *rhawn*), $\bar{o}$ in English borrowings (OE $\bar{a}$ *rón* 'seal' < OE *hrán*). (7) $\bar{o}$ in *cóc* 'five'. (8) $\bar{o}$ in Wb *bron* 'sorrow' MlIr *brón*, MnIr *srón* 'nose', MnIr *tón* 'podex', OIr *do-ronad* 'has been done' (to *do-gniu*).

Some of the non-diphthongized $\bar{o}$ -sounds have in MnIr become $\bar{u}$ (mostly in dialects)

(2) (a) Primitive Celt $\bar{e}$ from IE ei was diphthongized in Brit, but not in the same way as in Ir. It gave W $/uy/$ (wy), MlCo oy , Br oue (ue), oa — Lat $\bar{e}$ was similarly treated

(b) A later diphthongization of a (close) $\bar{e}$ to ei before d , b , s in Br has been mentioned in § 6, 2, c^f § 183 n 1 — More extensive is the diphthongization of (open) $\bar{e}$ to ea before $-r$ in Br (Léon) Léon *beac'h* 'burden', *brec'h* 'arm' MlBr *bech*, *brech* — In Léon the open $\bar{e}$ -sound from an earlier ae (§ 155) before final consonants is diphthongized to ea Léon *kear* 'town', *mean* 'stone' W *caer*, *maen*, but not before a non-final consonant Léon *bélek* 'priest' MlBr *baelec* — Diphthongization of (open) $\bar{e}$ to ea occurs in the Vannes dial also, $\bar{e}$ from ae has been diphthongized before x in Haut-Vannetais *leah* 'milk', *madeleah* 'goodness' (the ending = W $-aeth$ § 127), but an old e before x , and e from ae before sounds other than x , are not diphthongized *huch* 'six', *ker* 'town' In Bas-Vannetais *leh*, *madeleh* etc. Diphthongization is found in V before lenited m *ean* 'he', *ean* 'heaven', *mean* 'soul'

In MlCo $\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$ are often diphthongized to ea oa *dean* 'man', *mean* 'stone', *noath* 'naked', *oan* 'lamb' MlCo *den* *noyth* (*noth*), *on*

Note. For W au from OBrit $\bar{a}u$ § 116 § 9, 1–2. Co $\bar{o}$ *ow* (*ow* from *worth* *orth* § 123) *oy* $\bar{o}$ *ou* MlCo *toyth* *toth* *touth* *haste* **stregh* (*u* = cf W *touth* § 52. OCo *crus* MlCo *crous* § 81. 2)

§ 152 The loosening of a diphthong to two separate vowels is not rare in Br. *done* 'God', *roue* 'king' were monosyllabic in MlBr, but are now disyllabic. In Ouessant *meanad* 'stone-cast' is trisyllabic, *mean* 'stone' a monosyll. (cf Ernault-Giamm p. 66. Les diphthongues peuvent en général compter pour une ou deux syllabes')

§ 153 Shifting of the syllabic element of a diphthong has occurred in Ir. in the diphthongs *eo*, *eu*, *iu* § 134, 2

In W $/uy/$ has occasionally become $'uy$ in polysyllables *au yr* 'an' ($'au yr$ formerly *'au yr*) *awydd* 'desire' ($'awydd$ formerly *'auydd*) *tyu yll* 'dark' ($-au y$ formerly $-au y$). On the other hand $/uy/$ has become $'uy$ in *cyfruy* 'shrewd' (*kərruys* formerly */kərruys/* rhyming with *myys*)

Note. The change from uy to $'uy$ is very common in the penult in spoken Welsh *guyddau* 'goose' (pl. of *gwydd* = *e* *gūyd*) dial *gwydda*, *gwyddu* ($'uy$) *chuyddu* 'to swell' *chuydd* 'swelling' ($'ūyd$) dial *'auyddu* *churdo*, *uŷlo* 'to weep' ($'uŷlo$), *uŷ* ($'gg$ $'ūy$) has in SW become */uŷ/*, cf Br *u* = V *u* etc. Absolute initial uy is uy ($'ūy$) in standard W, but

/u y/ in *wyneb* 'face' */u yneb/* in all dialects has become */w y/* (though the form *wmed* still found in SW retains the syllabic quality of the *w* in *wy*), *g* has been prefixed to the word, giving *qwyneb* (*/g w y n e b/*) a form which occurs as early as the 16th cent, v BBCS 4 331 8. Note that this */w y/* which is the result of shifting in */u y/* does not in the penult give *wa* as an old */w y/* does. Further, in the penult *wy* often becomes *w* (i.e. */u/*) in the dialects *chwyan* 'to sweat' */t w a s y/* NW */t a u s y/* SW */t h u s t/* and *usw*, *t y w y l l u* 'to darken' */t a w a l y/* — orig. with */u y/*, v supra — dial *t u l l u* */t u l y/*, SW *cwnnu* 'rise' for *cwnnu* < *c y h a n n u* < *c y h w y n n u* (-*wa*). But this did not occur in *trawyddol* 'eternal' (from *trawgydd* which rhymes with *ffydd* *Dofydd* etc.), all dialects pronounce */u y/* (SW */w a/*) not */u/* and the regular *u* is never heard. See Orgraff y r Iaith Gymraeg §§ 70—72, Morris-Jones Cerdd Dafod §§ 418—421.

§ 154 (1) The original syllabic element (*/u/*) is lost through dissimilation in the triphthong *uyu* in W and (Co) W *duw* 'God' (from *dyw* < *dw yw*) M(Co) *deu*. But it is the *w* that has disappeared in W *meudry* 'hermit' lit. 'servant of God' *Dyfrdwy* 'Dee'.

(2) The diphthong */u y/* has been metathesized in two cases in (Co) and Br. W *duy* (fem.) 'two' (OW *du*) O(Co) *du* or *du-rion* 'breast' M(Co) *dyw*, *deu* Br *dion*, W *pyw* 'who' (Co) *pyw* Br *piou*. This also occurs in M(W) *rw y*, *ryw*, the perfect particle *ry* (Ir *ro*) + the infixed pron. 3 sg (cf M(W) *nwy nyu* the (relative) negative + the infixed pron. 3 sg). It is also seen in MnW *'u w* 'to his, her, then' M(W) *yw* < *w y* < *oe*¹. W *yw* 'is' (Co) *yu* Br *eo* 'is' for an earlier **u y* (cf *w y-t* 'art') cf OW *hittol* (i.e. *ytoe*, M(W) *ytyw* MnW *ydyw*) v BBCS 5 243. The reverse metathesis occurs in colloquial W, as *rhw y* for *rhyw* 'some'.

§ 155 (Monophthongization) The IE diphthongs were almost entirely monophthongized sooner or later in Celt, as also were some of the newer diphthongs (cf §§ 13—16, for W also § 124, § 136, 3, for Br § 127. The tendency has gone much further in the modern dialects. Thus in Br (1) *ao* has become *ô*, particularly in Treguer: Léon *paotr* 'boy', *aotrou* M(r) 'Trég *pôtr*, *ôtro*, (2) *ae* in Léon is monophthongized only before consonants (remains finally (*ae* < MBr *az* is never monophthongized) OW *castor* gl. pube MBr *quaezour* 'public hair' MnBr *kezour*, — W *cacr* 'fort' MBr *kaer* 'town' MnBr 'Trég (Cornouaille) V *kêr* Léon *kear*, — W *cae* 'field' (earlier 'hedge') Léon *kae*, W *sae* 'say (a cloth)' Léon *sae*, but other Br dialects *kê*, *sê* — MBr *azr* 'snake' MnBr Léon *aer* V *êr*.

¹ For interchange of *oe* and *wy* cf M(W) *mwy*, *moe* 'greater'.

VIII. Vowels between similar consonants.

§ 156. In Ir when *e* (*i*) stood between two similar consonants, with *o* preceding the group, the first consonant dropped and the result was the diphthong *oi* OIr *do-rói-gu* 'has chosen' (*do-ro-^{*}gegu*) MlIr *dorróegu*, OIr *for-roí-chan* 'has taught' (*for-ro-^{*}cechan*), Ir *cóica* '50' MlIr *caogad* from Ir *cóic* MlIr *cuiq* (IE *^{*}penk²e*) with the same ending as in *cethor-cha* '40', in this case the consts between which the (lost) vowel stood were only approximately similar Between len and non-len *m* OIr *coimmchloud* 'exchange' MlIr *coemchlod* (*^{*}com-imm-chloud*) OIr *coimthecht* 'society' MlIr *cácmthecht* (*com-imm-techt*)

A vowel also disappeared in Ir between two similar consonants in circumstances which could not produce a diphthong OIr *dí-a-tabarr* 'to whom is given', *ní eperr* 'is not said', *céin as-m-berr* 'while it is said' *do-berar* 'is given', *as-berar* 'is said', inf *fóit* 'to send' (root *fóid-* + *iud*)

IX Svarabhakti, Non-syllabic Vowels becoming Syllabic

§ 157 Svarabhakti (the development of an independent vowel out of the pitch of a consonant) occurred in Celt in the case of IE syllabic sonants, v § 7 § 8, § 12 It also developed later in the case of new syllabic sonants of non-syllabic sonants, rarely in the case of other consonants

§ 158 (Svarabhakti in OIr) A non-syll sonant standing between two consonants after the dropping of an unaccented vowel became syllabic giving vowel + sonant, § 103 The same occurred when a sonant followed an explosive or *m* finally after the disappearance of the vowel in the final IE syll *cobir* 'help', *criathar* 'sieve', *mebul* 'shame' *domun* 'world' There are numerous examples of the same thing in Lat borrowings *lebor* 'book', Ir *bachall* < Lat *bac(u)lus*, Ir *immon* (a late learned borr) 'hymn' < Lat *hymnus* Other borrowings MlIr Sc *ocar* 'loan' < ON *okr* 'usury' Svarabhakti in final sylls is later than the loss of vowel in post-tonic sylls

For the quality of the OIr svarabhakti vowel v § 106,2

§ 159 (1) Svarabhakti between a liquid or nasal and a following non-homorganic voiced explosive, a spirant or *m* and *mh* is a regular development in the modern dialects of Ireland, Man and Scotland Arr */oraxər*, */oroxor/* 'east' Don */oraxər* 'urchar', Arr */arʔag'id* 'silver' Don */arʔag'əd*, *airgead*, Arr Don */taruʔ/* 'bull'

tarbh, Arr /d'arəmud/ 'forgetfulness' Don /d'arəməd/ *dearmad*, Arr /saləxər/, /salaxər/ 'dirt' *salchar*, Arr Don /d'aləg/ 'thorn' *dealg*, Arr /ʃel'əv/ 'possession' Don /ʃel'əv/ *seilbh*, Don /kaləmə/ 'brave' *calma*, Arr /ʃanaxəs/ 'story' *seanchas*, Arr /banuw/ 'pig' *banbh*, pl /ban'əv/ *bainbh* There is no svarabhakti before originally voiceless explosives (*searc* 'love', *olc* 'bad') or before an homorganic consonant (*ord* 'hammer')

(2) The svarabhakti vowel had the sound ə But in some cases it assumed the quality and strength of the preceding vowel which gradually weakened and ultimately disappeared, in this case there is apparent metathesis Arr /Mɔɪrəl/ *Murchadh*, /prugədōr/ 'purgatory' *purgadóir*, Arr /Krozūr/ Don /Kroɪən/ *Conchobair*

(3) The svarabhakti vowel described in (1) appears in sandhi Thus in such Sc Gaelic cpds as *bana-chompanach* 'female companion', *ana-blasda* 'insipid', *uile-bheist* 'monster' (MnIr *uill-phrast*) In Ir it has in these cases been dropped Arr /ʃan-ɪ an/ 'old woman', but *seana-* sometimes occurs as a prefix *an seana-thart* 'our old friend Thirst' Svarabhakti is found between words which do not form a cpd Sc *aona chat deug* 'eleven cats' Arr /ʃe f'ars d'ēg/ '16 men'

§ 160 (Svarabhakti in Brit) (1) In MnW in all dialects a svarabhakti vowel has developed before a final sonant preceded by a consonant, it has the same quality as the preceding vowel or the second element of the preceding diphthong /oxor/ 'side' *ochr*, /bydyr/ 'dirty' *budr* /konol/ 'corner' *congl* /kubul/ 'whole' *cubl* /leidr/ 'thief' *lleidr* /soudul/ 'heel' *sawdl*, /gwydyn/ (SW /gudyn/) 'tough' *gwydn* In Gwynedd a svarabhakti vowel *e* or *i* has become *a*, in Gwent also *e* has become *a* /ledar/ (elsewhere /leder/, /leter/) 'leather' *lledr* /toygar/ /loigar/ (elsewhere /toygerr/ /loigerr/) 'England' *Lloegr* /mɪstar/ (elsewhere /mɪstir/, SW /mɪstɪr/) 'master' *meistr*, *ledar* 'thief' In SW a svarabhakti vowel has also developed before a final sonant preceded by a *v* /lɪvr/ (NW /lyer/) 'book' *llyfr*, /gavar/ (NW /gavri/) goat' *gafr*, /gevrir/ (NW /gever/) goats' *geifr*, /keven/ (Gwent /kevan/ (Dyfed /kewen/, NW /kevn/) back' *refn*, /ovon/, /ovan/ (NW /ovn/) fear' *ofn* In MIW *y* is found in all cases in which the svarabhakti vowel described above is found This *y* had probably the *ə* sound and it never counted as syllabic in metre even when it was written Cf Morris-Jones, WG pp 17—18 When a polysyllabic word ends in an explosive + *r*, the *r* is usually dropped in spoken W /arad/ 'plough' *aradr*, similarly final *l* after *g* /hɪdɪg/ 'soot' *huddyg*, but in the group *-dl* the explosive is lost

in SW /anal/ (NW /anadl/) 'breath' *anadl*, /banal/ 'broom' (NW /banadl/), the SW dial form /cenel/ 'nation, race' is found in writing, but now the standard form *ceddl* is regularly used. The word *amherawdr* 'emperor', wr in MIW usually *amheraudyr*, apparently developed regularly in the dialects, becoming *amherod* or *ymherod* (*amherawd* in Eos Ceiriog — Huw Morus — II 314 14, *emerod* in Gwaith Twm o'r Nant 304 31). But this form became disused in favour of that formed with the svarabhakti vowel *w*, *ymeraudwr*, with the accent on *aw* which (contrary to rule) has not become *o*. The *-wr* was later taken as the mutated form of *gŵr*, and the analogical plur *ymeraudwyr* was formed (the older pl being *ymherodron*), similarly *creawdr* 'creator' gave *creawdur*, pl *creawdwyr*, *dysgawdr* 'teacher' gave *dysgawdur*, pl *dysgawdwyr* (earlier *dysgodron*). In a few cases metathesis has occurred in these final groups in spoken W *ewyrth* 'uncle' *ewythr*, cf the literary form *cynglwyst* 'pledge' *cyngwystl* (from *guystl* 'hostage').

In Co a svarabhakti vowel appears regularly before a final sonant after a consonant. MC'o *hager* 'ugly', *lader* 'thief', occasionally after *v*. MC'o *levar*, *levyr* 'book', *gaver* (OC'o *qauar*) 'goat'. These forms are disyllabic.

The svarabhakti vowel does not appear in Br, the sonant remains non-syllabic. *louabr* 'clouds', *paotr* 'boy' etc.

(2) In a few cases a svarabhakti vowel has developed in W between initial consonant + sonant, becoming syllabic. MIW *dlyet* 'merit' *dyl̥y̥et* MnW *dled*, *dyl̥éd*, *dyled*. Ir *dl̥ged*, OW *tnou* W *tyno* 'plain, meadow' (accented on the penult). (The late W *tylawd* 'poor' (from *tlawd*) is found occasionally as a disyllable in MnW free verse but is always accented on the final syll.) Similarly MC'o *dylly* 'to deserve, owe' (MIW *dlyu*, *dly̥u*). A few forms are found in Br. V Léon *dle* V *delé* 'debt', MIBr *cnou-enn* 'nut' V *keneu* 'nuts' (cf also MIBr *barat* 'treachery' OBr *brat* W *brad*, Cornouaille *duluf* = Leon *dluz* 'trouts').

(3) Svarabhakti after a sonant. MIW and MnW (SW dial) *baraf* 'beard' *barf*, NW *burum* SW *berem* 'barm'. OE *bearm* MIE *ber̥n(e)* SW *helem* 'stack, rick' (pl *helma*) *helm*, MnW *culum* 'knot' beside *culm* and *clum*. Co *colm* Br *koulm* (OIr *colmméne* gl *neruus*). In MIW non-syllabic *y* is generally found in such cases. MIW *hel̥ym* 'helmet' *kul̥ym* 'knot', cf also MIW *ded̥yf* 'custom' MnW *ded̥df* 'law' MIW *gred̥yf* MnW *gred̥df* 'instinct' OC'o *coref*, *coruf* 'beer' *baref*, *barf* 'beard'.

§ 161. (*w, g* becoming syllabic) A final -w after a non-syll sound has become syllabic in W. In verse *wr* in the close metres it is still generally regarded as non-syllabic, as the bulk of W poetry down to the 16th cent. was written in these metres it cannot be stated when -w became syllabic, but the change is as old as the 15th cent., cf. Morris-Jones, WG p. 53. Forms like *marw* 'dead', *gloyu* 'bright', *meddu* 'drunk', *enw* 'name', formerly monosyllables, are now disyllabic. When a syllable is added the resulting word is however a disyllable: *marwol* 'deadly', *enwau* 'names', *marwnad* 'elegy' (often pron. /márnad/) *meddwdod* 'drunkenness' (generally pron. /médwdod/).

In Co svarabhakti has developed before final -w after a consonant: OCo *guedeu* 'widow', *erw* and *ereu* gl. *ager*, *caruu* gl. *ceruus*, MCo *lusow* 'ashes' (*lusu* BM 2094) *marow* 'dead', *galow* 'call' (cf. *geluel* 'to call'), *hanow* 'name' (cf. the treatment in Ir § 159).

In Br final -w after a cons. became -o (-u). Br *mezo* 'drunken', *ludu* 'ashes' (for *u* cf. § 162) *maro* 'dead'. The -o can be non-syll in MBr: *pan duy an maro so garo meurbet* (8 sylls.) 'when the dead shall come — which is very grievous' Loth, Chrest 301.2. In V it is a non-syll *u*, which has been *wr* variously *hue w*, *ù*, *ú*, now *ù* *marhue* 'dead', *garhue* 'rough, severe' Loth 344, 3, 4, now *marù*, *garù*, etc.

For the development of a syllabic vowel (*a*, in some cases /*u*/ *wr u*) from *g* after *r* or *l* in final position in W v § 37, 2, 3. In MlW it was usually written *y* (i.e. /*ə*/), occasionally *a*, but in verse was non-syllabic.

§ 162. Vowel-harmony (assimilation of vowels) occurs in Mnlr in the case of the svarabhakti vowels *a* being assimilated to the preceding vowel (§ 159 /*oroxor*/) (cf. also /*ō muruxū*/ 'O' Murchadha and /*bonūs*/ (sic recte) *bunadhas* 'origin' Bergin, Ériu 3, 76. See further § 159, 2. The same phenomenon occurs in MnW svarabhakti § 160, 1.

Assimilation appears further in Br *ludu* 'ashes' (W *lludw*, also *lludu* v. Delw y Byd p. 63.8, still in SW dial. Co *lusow*, *lusu*. Ir *luath*), *breudeur* 'brothers' from IE **bhrāter-es*. Backward assimilation Br *kurun-enn* 'crown' (OCo *curun* MCo *curyn* W *corun* 'crown of the head', Br *muzur* 'measure' W *mesur*, Br *feunteun* < Lat. *fontāna*. This must have been followed in Br by a forward assimilation, for *o* in the second syll. would otherwise have given *e* § 127 (MBr *feunteun*).

X Infection (Palatalization, Rounding, Umlaut, Epenthesis)

§ 163 A great part has been played in Ir by the palatalized pronunciation of consonants due chiefly to an anticipation of the position in the mouth of a following (retained or lost) vowel. By still further anticipation the quality of the vowel preceding the consonant can be changed by approaching the *i*-position (umlaut), or a *j* can develop out of the palatalized consonant and unite with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong (epenthesis). Umlaut becomes frequent only in MnIr; in OIr it is not prominent, epenthesis is rare in Ir. In the Brit. languages palatalization has now little importance, and where it exists it is of late origin. But it had very great importance in an older period in Brit., as is shown by the numerous cases of umlaut and epenthesis.

Analogous with palatalization is rounding of consonants (the lips rounded to the *u*-position), which in OIr appears as the effect of a lost *ū*-sound and can produce *u*-umlaut. The difference between rounded and non-rounded consonants has been given up in MnIr. But non-palatalized labials are in some dialects rounded (*f^u*, *b^u*, *p^u*, *m^u*). Arr. */bal'a/* or */b^ual'a/* 'town'. Don. */bural'a/* *baile* etc.)

Rounding in OIr (MlIr), *u* as Indication

§ 164. The indication of rounding is particularly prevalent in OIr. Before a lost *ū*, it occurs more rarely before a lost *u*. Exx. of rounding indicated in OIr: *caum*, dat. of the *o*-stem *cam* 'bent'. Ml 55a 9, *deug* 'drunk'. Thes. I 489 29 (nom. of an *ū*-stem), *fiur*, dat. of *fer* 'man'. The difference in the effect of *-u* and *-ū* is clear in the *u*-stems: nom. *bith* 'world', dat. *bruith* (sixteen times in Wb.), but *bith* twice (10b 8, d 18), similarly *fid* 'tree', *il* 'much' (*u*-stems) etc. On the other hand, nom. acc. *fiuss*, *fius* 'knowledge' is far more common than *fiss*, similarly nom. acc. *riuth* 'running' is more frequent than *rith* (but beside the regular dat. *riuth* the form *rith* appears twice in Ml. and Sg.). In later forms many examples occur of analogical rounding. Thus in *fiugrae*, *g* of *figor* 'figure', an *ū* is lost (from Lat. *figūra*), in nom. *fiugor* Ml 45a 3 rounding is indicated by analogy, while it is not indicated, as it should in dat. pl. *fiqraib* Thes. II 255 13. The slight rounding of the *r* in nom. *spirut* 'spirit' has been transferred to the *g* *spirto* (where *f* would be regular) in Tur. *spirto*, while Ml. has a new nom. *spirt*.

Note 1. For loss of rounding in proclisis v § 110

Note 2 After *u*, a long vowel or a diphthong rounding is not indicated in OIr *bull*, dat of *ball* 'member', *u-sin dan sin* 'in this art' (dat *u-st*), *and aes* 'from the people' (dat *u st*), *a suan* 'out of sleep' (dat *o-st*)

Note 3 In MIr after *e* before *ch* an *-o-* is used as glide-vowel denoting rounding *each*, dat of *ech* 'horse', *deoch* 'drink' This *-o-* is also found after the diphthong *ae* *laeochu* 'heroes' Consonants are marked round in MIr which were never so indicated in OIr OIr 3 pl *-dechutar* 'have gone' MIr *-deochatar* (MnIr *-deachadar*), OIr *diltud* 'denial' MIr *driultad* MnIr *driultadh* Arr *[d'ũl.tə]* Don *[d'ũL.tuw]*

§ 165. Labials tended to become rounded spontaneously (cf § 163) OIr *precept* (acc) 'preaching' Ml 129b 1, g *preceptuae* Ml 89b 12 (Wb *precept*, *precepte*), MIr *baupstaist* 'baptist'

§ 166 In certain cases where both palatalization and rounding could be expected OIr-MIr orthography varies between *au* and *ai*, and also at times *i*, *e*, *u* OIr *laugi* 'less', *laigi*, *lugu* compar ending **-jōs*, *ro-laumur ru-laumur* 'I dare' ending of 1 sg depon prim Celt **-jōr* — Numerous examples in preverb groups *air-ud-* in Wb *irtach* 'refreshment', Ml *ertach*, MlIr *aurtach* cf (OI) *ar-un-utangur* 'we are refreshed', — *air-fo-* MlIr *erqnam*, *irqnam*, *urqnam* 'to prepare (food drink)', *ní mad-airgenus* 'not well have I prepared', ipv 2 pl *aurgnaid* cf pres ind 3 pl *ar-fo-gnat*, — *air-com-* Wb 7a 11 *ní-m-irchor* 'I shall not be delayed', 8a 4 *ar-nach n-aurchoisced* 'that he might not be hindered', Sg *erchoitech* gl nocens, MnIr *urchoíd* damage, harm' W *ar-gy-weddu* to harm' OBr *arcoqued* gl meiuos, — *air-* before *o*, *u* *aur-uras* Ml 2a 3 'haste', MlIr *aur-chor*, *urchor*, *erchor*, *irchor* 'a throw', MnIr *urchor*

The Indication of Palatalization in Ir.

§ 167. (1) The principal means of indicating palatalization in OIr is the use of an *-i-* as glide-vowel before the affected consonant OIr *aile* 'another' *[a'l'e]*, *boill* 'members' *'boL'L'*, *duine* 'man' *[duíne]* Also after the consonant *-e-* is sometimes written before *a* or *o*, and *-i-* before *u* *derchóinte* g of *derchóiniud* 'despair' *[d'erroiút'a]*, *[d'erroiúid]*, *ní-b-nóibfe* 'will not sanctify you' *[-Noib'f'a]*, *aileu* *[a'l'u]*, dat of *aile*, *feidligtheo* Ml 15a 5 'of remaining' *[f'eð'l'ig'p'o]*

The glide-vowel is sometimes omitted before the consonant if the following vowel has the same timbre *céle* 'fellow', more rarely *céile* *[k'el'e]*, *cenél* 'race' *[k'enél]*, *fáthi* and *fáthi* 'prophets' *[fāp'i]* After *i* an *i* as glide-vowel is never found *fir*, g of *fer* 'man' *[f'ir]*,

nóib 'sancti' /*Noið*/, MnIr *naoimbh*, but nom *nóib* 'sanctus' /*Noið*/, MnIr *naomh*) It is never written after a consonant before *e*, *i*, also it is sometimes omitted before *a* (*o*) or *u* if a glide-vowel precedes the consonant *aínfá* 'I shall remain' Wb 14a 8 /*aíf'a*/, *iarn esséirgu* 'after the resurrection' Wb 3c 2 /*e'sséirg'u*/, but *iarn esséirgu* Wb 4a 27 ('f further *sinu* older Wb 34a 5, but elsewhere in Wb *sinu* /*sinu*/, also *ghccu* 'acuter' Wb 26d 26 may be /*g'V'ik'k'u*/

(2) There was no particular way of indicating the non-palatal articulation of the consonant in OIr, and a consonantal symbol before *e* or *i* could denote a pal or a non-pal consonant OIr *fil* 'is' (/fV/, MnIr *fuil*), OIr *snechte* 'snow' (/sN'exte/, MnIr *sneachta*) But non-final *ai*, *ui* in unaccented sylls was often pronounced as *i*, so that *-a-* or *-u-* can be a glide-vowel indicating the non-pal timbre of the preceding consonant *ra-pridchaisem* 'we have preached it' Wb 5a 7, but *ma ru-d-predchaisem* 'if we have preached' 10d 9, *cobair* 'help' 20c 10, but *cobir* 5c 5

The use of *-a-* as glide-vowel before *i* became much commoner in later OIr, and after non-pal consonants final *-e* was written *-ae*, later *-a*, and final *-i* was written *-ai* Wb *cumachte* 'power' g *cumachti*, Ml nom *cumachtae* g *cumachtai*

Note As a general rule it is easy to distinguish between *-i-* as a vowel and as a glide-vowel. The greatest difficulty is presented by *ai* and *oi* which can mean (1) *ā* *ō* before a palatal consonant, (2) *ai* *oi*, they can sometimes be distinguished by means of variant forms (in the case of (1) *a* *o*, of (2) *ai* *oe*) *éi* sometimes denotes a closed *ē* as *euindag* 'slander' Wb 1c 6, *euindira* 'absent' Wb 25d 24 - *ei* for short *e* before non pal cons is exceptional nom acc *feir* 'man' Wb 13a 6 20 (- *fer*) *beira* 'small' - *bura* Wb 24d 26

§ 168 In MnIr a complete system has developed whereby the colouring of non-palatal as well as of palatal consonants is indicated. The non-pal glide is mostly a further development. Thus in the case of *duine* OIr /*duíne*/, MnIr /*dyíne*/, the old vowel has become a glide, the old glide has become a vowel. OIr *-u-* after *i* has been replaced by *-o-* OIr *fiur*, dat of *fer* 'man', MnIr (now obsolete) *fior*. In some cases *iu* remains. MnIr *fliuch* 'wet' Arr /*f'V'ox*/ Don /*f'V'ur*/ Further *-o-* is written after long *ī* *fíor* 'true'. After *e*, *-a-* is written *-deachadar* 'they have gone' § 164 n 3, *fear* 'man' (Arr Don /*f'ar*/ the old glide has become a vowel and the old vowel a glide) After long *ē* sometimes *-a-* sometimes *-u-* *féar* or *feur* 'grass' /*f'ēr*/ *aeo* § 164 n 3 has been shortened to *ao* (pro-

nounced /y/ or /ē/), before pal consonants *aor saoghal* 'life' Arr Don /s̪il/, *daoine* 'men' Arr /d̪iɲa/

This produced in MnIr the rule *caol lé caol agus leathan lé leathan* ('slender with slender and broad with broad') by which the vowels on either side of a consonant must be of the same quality MnIr *líon* 'number' is therefore /L'ín/, the *g lín* on the other hand /L'ín̪/

Rules of Palatalization in Ir.¹

§ 169. (Ir palatalization in relation to a following vowel, loss of vowel and accent.) (1) Palatalization occurs before a lost final front vowel OIr *do-beir* 'he gives' **bheret*, *fir* MnIr *fir*, *g* of OIr *fer* 'man' **urí*

Before a medial front vowel lost owing to the accent palatalization occurs OIr *ní tabbrem* 'we do not give', cf *do-beram* 'we give', dat pl *anamcharúib*, acc pl *anamcharúea* 'soul-friends, teachers' (between *r* and *t* a medium or half-long *e* from *an* is lost § 70, 3) This does not take place if the cons before the lost vowel becomes syllabic OIr *ecolso*, *g* of *echis* 'church', similarly in analogical formations *nach-a-rochlat* Wb 19c 15 'who cannot take care of themselves' (*fo-cel-*, *fo-ciall-*)

(2) It occurs before every front vowel in accented syllables (not being indicated in writing in OIr), also before *ē* developed by compensatory lengthening from *a géiss* swan', *dér* 'tear'

(3) Palatalization before post-tonic vowels (a) Before a final vowel from an original front vowel or from *ɟ* + vowel OIr *fáithi* 'prophets', *guide* 'prayer', *duine* 'man', pl *dóini* (MnIr *duine*, pl *daoine*) There are many exceptions, some are noted in § 170, 2 Palatalization does not occur before OIr *-e* and *-i* from an orig disyll group beginning with back vowel, § 95 4, (later *-e* > *-ae* > *-a*, *-i* > *-ai*) Wb *-cualē* heard', MlIr *-cuala*, cf further Wb *asse* 'easy', compar *assu*, Wb *cenc* 'already' Ml *cenac* MnIr *cheana*, and forms like *care* 'friend' Analogical palat in the gerundive in *-thi*, *-ti* (§ 13 4) *léicthi* 'to be left' (b) Before *ɟ* + post-tonic non-final vowel *caul-ech* 'cock', *cúimnech* 'mindful' (*cuman* 'memory' + suff *-iɲāko-*) There are numerous exceptions due to analogy (c) Palat is not regularly found before an orig non-final post-tonic front vowel

¹ Cf Thurneysen, KZ 26, 311¹, Holger Pedersen Asp 1 Irsk p 6f, Strachan, Middle Irish Declension p 4f (Trans Phil Soc 1905), Bergin, Ériu 3 50-91 Pokorny, Concise Old Ir Gr 23ff Altir Gramm 31ff

which may appear as *a*, *u*, or *i* OIr *cucann* 'kitchen', OIr *carpat* 'waggon' dat pl *carptib*, — OIr *ammus* 'attempt' (*ad-* + *mess*, *midur* 'I judge'), OIr *dénam* 'do' (*dí-* and *gním*), — *athar*, *athair* 'father', *eclis*, *eclais* 'church' < Lat *ecclesiā*. There are numerous exceptions (due to analogy) in which palat occurs, after the palatalized cons *e* appears instead of *a*, *-iu-* is written instead of *-u-*, and no *-ai-* appears beside *-i-* OIr *ainmnid* 'nominative' by anal with *ainm* 'name', OIr *crocenn* gl *tergus* (beside *g crocainn*) Mnlr *croiceann* by anal with forms like dat pl MlIr *crownib* etc. A regular and an analogical form occasionally occur side by side OIr *ho amaraís* 'from unbelief' Ml 97d 13, *amairis* 'with unbelief' Ml 97d 10 MlIr *amaras* and *amaires* Mnlr *amhras* 'doubt' and *amhreas*

(4) In proclisis palat is not regular, v § 110

§ 170 (Palatalization in relation to consonant groups and single consonants). (1) When consonants orig differing in colour come together secondarily, the palatal colouring prevails OIr *derchóinteā* *g* of *derchóinud* 'despair' (*N't* from *ní* + *t*), *ar-na fóirceā* 'that it may not end' beside *for-|cenna* (*fk'n'* from *r* + *k'* + *ā*)

(2) Certain non-syll groups resist palatalization. Before the lost final syllable, *rt* gives up palatalization OIr *secht* Mnlr *seacht* 'seven' **septm*. This occurs much more frequently before a retained final vowel Sg *derba* 'certainly' (to *derb* 'certain' Mnlr *dearbh*), Wb *delbe* *g* of *delb* 'form' Ml *delbae* MlIr *delba* Ml *nu-n-dn-erba* gl *confidentia* (*i*-present but before a lost vowel *eirbth-i* Ml 51b 12) Wb *serce*, Ml *sercae*, *g* of *serc* 'love' OIr *bladne*, *g* of *bladin*, *bladain* 'year', MlIr *bladna* — Palatalization does not appear in the case of a liquid preceded by compensatory lengthening before a retained final vowel OIr *áru* 'kidney' (*-jen-*-stem), Wb *cenéle* 'kind race' dat *cenelu*, Ml *cenélae*, Sg *cenela* — Certain double consonants resulting from late assimilation resist palat in *giallaí* Ml 63a 12 gl in *dicionem*, *g giallae* Ml 141d 1, *ruce*, *ruce* 'shame', dat *ruccu*, Ml *ruccae* (*kk* < *d-k* Ir *ruad* 'red') — Palat does not occur in the case of a single or double labial before a retained final vowel Sg *lubae*, *g* of *luib* 'herb', Wb *humae* 'copper', cf W *efydd*

Note. In the case of the sound *g* the use of the palatal glide varies *oge* 'integrata' never has it in Wb Ml has dat *ogaí* MlIr *uarge*, Wb *luige* 'oath' Ml *lugae* MlIr *luige* and *luga*

Palatalization due to the loss of a medial front vowel remains also before a final vowel OIr *cúimse* 'fit' (from **k'om-* and the root of *mádur* 'I judge', inf *mess*), OIr *cobge* 'contextus' (**k'om-* + *fige* 'weaving'), OIr *fichteá*, pl of *fiche* 'twenty' OIr *córe* 'peace', MlIr *córa* (to OIr *coir* W *cywr*) is an exception

§ 171. Palatalization under the influence of the preceding vowel is rare in Ir It occurs in the case of an IE final *r* retained in Ir OIr *athir*, *athair* MlIr *athair* 'father' On the other hand OIr *hed* MlIr *eadh* Lat *id*

A preceding unaccented vowel affects the initial cons of an enclitic *ad drog-duine siu* Wb 1c 10 'thou art a bad man', — *na-ta chumme se* Wb 20c 25 'I am not like', — *inna epistle se* Wb 14a 15 'of this epistle'

As an exception to § 169, 3c, a (short or long) consonant (in rare cases a cons group) is palatalized before a post-tonic front vowel if it is immediately preceded by a front vowel OIr *tabart* 'to give', but *epert* 'to sav', — OIr *anman* 'names', but *cémmen* 'steps', *bémmen* 'blows', — MlIr *cumbair*, *cummair* 'short', but OIr *cimbed* 'prisoner', MlIr *cime cimeach* Some of these cases are of course analogical (*mils* 'sweet' by anal with the OIr pl *milsí* and OIr MlIr *mil* 'honey' etc) — In *dénun* 'do' cpd of *gním* 'deed', the group *-gn-* has resisted palatalization

§ 172 (Analogical formations with reference to palatalization). Numerous references have already been made to perturbations of the rules governing palatalization (learned influence in Lat borrowings, influence of simple forms in cpds, forms with cons groups affecting those with separate consonants MlIr *gairit* 'short' MlIr *gairid* beside OIr *garait* Ml 135a 13, due to pl *gairidh* Sg 5a 14 etc, a medial cons influenced by a related word in which the cons is final MlIr *cóiced* 'a fifth, province' MlIr *cúigeadh*, due to OIr *cóic* 'five', MlIr *cúig* etc) The mutual influence of different words of the same category should be noted (1) Abstract nouns in *-c* are clearly partial to palatalization MlIr acc *meibai* 'mistake', but MlIr *meibhe*, Ml acc *meibai*, MlIr MlIr *meisce* 'drunkenness', by anal with such forms MlIr *taibhe* 'advantage' beside Wb *torbe*, Ml *torbae*, MlIr *torba*, *tarba*, though not deriv from an adj (2) Also the *g* sg of *ā*-stems MlIr *Medba* and *Meidbe*, *g* of *Medb*, Ml *g delbae* 'form', MlIr *deilbi*, MlIr *deilbhe*, Ml *g sercae* 'love', MlIr *serci*, *seirce*, MlIr *seirce*, and other *g* forms in *-e* OIr

MIr *slébe*, MNIr *sléibhe*, *g* of neut *slab* 'mountain' (3) Anal palatalization often occurs in comparatives MI *serbu* 'bitterer', MIr *seirbiu*, MIr *trummu* 'heavier' (*trómmi* heavy'), MNIr *truime*. But anal forms without palat are equally frequent, thus regularly with *x* OIr *bronchu* 'sadder', *cumachtgu* 'mightier' are regular, but *buidechu* 'more thankful', *tóisechu* 'prior' (beside *toisiqu*) are analogical (4) The infinitive ending *-ud* has extended at the expense of *-ud* *erbud*, inf of *erbaid* MI 14d 15, *nu-n-dn-erba* gl 'confident' MI 65b 6. Deriv verbs in *-aig-* have inf in *-ud* *étugud* 'emulate', *arigud* 'observe'.

§ 173. The age of palatalization is difficult to define precisely, but it is most probable that it is older than the loss of vowels caused by the rules of finals and of the accent but later than the development of *ē* by compensatory lengthening from *a*.

Umlaut, Epenthesis, Raising etc. in Ir

§ 174. In post-tonic sylls. in OIr *u*-umlaut (whereby all vowels become *u*) and *i*-umlaut (whereby all vowels become *i*) are exceedingly frequent. (1) The *u*-umlaut is due to the rounded colour of the following consonant, caused by (a) loss of *ū* *-epur* *-epiu* 'I say' *'epur*/, *'ep'ur*/ beside *as-biur*, *as-b'ir*°, **bhucō* (*-ō* *ā* § 9,4), (b) loss of *-u* *ammus* *áepum* § 169,3c, (c) a toll retained *u* (of whatever origin) OIr *inruccus* 'worthiness' (*inrice* 'worthy'), OIr *sollumun* *sollumun* 'solemnity' a learned borrowing from Lat *sollemne*. Umlaut is not found before retained *u* in OIr after a palat cons *arigud* 'observe' *foilsigud* 'make clear' (in these cases MI has *-igud* *dennigud* certify MNIr *dennigud* MNIr *dennhneughadh* cf Ériu 3 71). It does not occur before a palat cons OIr *tandiu* 'dat of *tande* thin'.

Note. The *u*-umlaut is not found in the dat of derivatives in *-ach* *don* *brathir hriessach* 'to the faithful brother' in infn of *ā* verbs *crad* 'suffer' *comabud* 'fulfil' etc (*u* stems) in nom of many *u* stems in *as* OIr *senchus* 'story' in OIr *fo gnám* 'servi' (cf *denuim* 'do').

(2) The *i*-umlaut occurs in post-tonic sylls (a) before a palat cons OIr *pridhim* 'I preach' (stem-vowel *-a-*), *cosmil* 'similar', cf W *hafal* etc OIr *iarfigid* 'to question' (*iar-fo-* + *saigud* 'seek'), (b) after a palat cons non-final *a* became *e* MNIr *airget* 'silver' OIr *crocenn* etc § 169,3c, final *a* or *o* can also become *e* in the same way OIr *arille*, *g* of *arillud* 'merit', beside *derchóinte*, *g* of *derchoimud* 'despair'.

§ 175 OIr. *i*-umlaut in accented sylls. is rare Exx OIr *cride* 'heart' MnIr *croidhe* Arr /kry/ W *craidd*, OIr *lige* 'bed' MnIr *luighe* Other apparent examples are probably anal, thus OIr *dorígén* 'he has done' (*di* + *gim-* with perf *ro*) by anal with *-dign* 'did' *air-* in certain cpds undergoes umlaut to *er-*, *ir-* *irgal* 'conflict' W *arial* § 35, 9, but *air-* often side by side with *er-*, *ir-* *airmitiu féid* 'reverence' (Wb) and *ermitiu feid* (Ml) For combined *i-* and *u*-umlaut v § 166

OIr open *ē* from IE *e₁* which otherwise became *ia* § 151, 1a always underwent umlaut to close *ē* (which was never diphthongized) before a pal cons OIr nom dat sg *fiach* 'debt', nom pl *féich*, Ir *ciall* 'sense', acc dat *ceill*, g *ceille* (cf exx in § 16)

§ 176. Epenthesis in OIr occurs in the circumstances mentioned in § 156 and § 143 (For other apparent instances v VKG § 250)

§ 177 Umlaut in MnIr is extensive OIr *aite* 'teacher' MnIr *oide* Arr Don *ed'ə*, Arr *dynə* 'man' Don *diúnə* 'duine', — Arr *f'lor*, Don *f'lur*, wet *fluch*, — OIr MlIr *fer* MnIr *fear* Arr Don *f'ar*, Unaccet *ē* undergoes *a*-umlaut MlIr *muinel* 'neck' MnIr *muineal* Arr *myñál* Otherwise only OIr short vowels undergo umlaut (the modified vowel being lengthened or monophthongized before certain consonants § 135)

§ 178 (Raising in Ir) Before *u* or *i* in the following syll, *a* (< *ā*), *o*, *u*, *e*, *i* in Ir become more closed This change is here called raising It occurs in the Ogam inscriptions INIGENA, QRIMITIR

(1) Prim Celt *a* in a syll beginning with a labial or an IE labiovelar, or before a labial became in a prehistoric period of Ir rounded (*ā*), thus *a* under the influence of *i* or *u* became *o*, *u* MlIr dat sg *brot*, *brutt*, acc pl *bruttu*, nom pl *brost* of *brat* 'mantle', OIr dat *crunn*, g *crunn* of *crann* 'tree', OIr *pupall* gl tentorium < Lat *pāpiliō*

(2) Orig *o* and *u* normally gave Ir *o* by raising they become Ir *u* (a) Before lost final *u* OIr nom acc *mug* 'slave, servant', g *moga* nom pl *moga* § 35, 2, MlIr *bun* 'stock, bottom', g *bona* W *bón*, pl *bonau*, — OIr *sruth* 'stream', g *srotho* W *ffrud*, OIr *cruth* 'shape' § 7, 1 (b) Before lost final *ū* in the dat of *u*-stems (*mug*, *cruth* etc), and of *o*-stems OIr *mud*, dat of *mod* 'manner' < Lat *modus* (c) Before retained final *-u* (< *-ūns*, *-ōns*) in acc pl of *u*- and *o*-stems MlIr acc pl *udbu* from *odb* 'knot', — OIr *suthu* from *suth* 'fruit' g *sotho* (d) Before lost medial *u* OIr

cumscugud 'change' **kom-ud-* + Ir *scuch-* (e) Before retained old -u- (whatever its later form) MlIr *curach* 'boat' MIW *corwc* But secondary u (due to umlaut) does not cause raising OIr *dorus* 'door', dat pl *doursib* (**dhworestu-*) (f) Before lost final i OIr *muir* 'sea', g *mora*, Ir *cruim* 'worm' W *pryf* (g) Before lost final i (from IE *i* or from a diphthong) MlIr *cub*, g sg of *cob* 'victory', OIr *suin*, g sg of *son* 'sound < Lat *sonus* (h) Before retained final i *cruman* 'worms' (i) Before j, which first became ij OIr *guide* 'prayer' Gk *πρωεω* § 38 MlIr *cure* 'troop' G *Tri-cora*, *Petru-coru* Goth *hargis* 'army', OIr *cuiriur* 'I place', inf *cor* (o-stem), cf W *hep-gor* 'put aside', OIr *ungae* < Lat *uncia* (i) Before medial lost i, i OIr *ni fuirni* 'does not set', pret pass perf *fo-rui-rmed* (-rim- to Lath *rim-ti* to grow still'), OIr *ni-s-tuirma* 'records them not' (*rim-* count) (k) Before retained medial i, i (whatever the later form of this i) OIr *cubus* 'conscience' (**kom-* + Ir *fuiss* 'knowledge'), OIr *cucann* 'kitchen' < Lat *coquina*, MlIr *buiden* 'army' W *byddin* OBr *bodin*

Note 1 Raising does not occur before an orig c MlIr *coin* nom pl 'dogs' **k unes* *coin* acc sg **k uom* **kunem* hence anal dat *coin*

Note 2 An *ō* long by compensation through loss of an explosive is not raised cf § 151 lb

Note 3 Anal formations are very frequent and alternations due to raising occasionally acquire morphological value and are imposed upon words in which raising is not regular the learned Lat bor *trop* 'trope' has g *trup* Ir *bodar* 'dumb' § 43 has (despite the old vowel of the second syll) dat fem *buidir* Ml 38c 15 nom pl masc MlIr *buidir* abstr *buidre* 'daintiness' Ml 59a 12 Sometimes the same vowel spreads through all forms etymologically related OIr *lobur* 'weak' (W *lliefr*) has g *lobuir* dat *lobur* compar *lobru* abstr *lobre*, the *o* of the preverbs *fo-* *to-*, *ro-* and the *o* (from IE *u*) of *so* 'good' (Ski *su*) and *do* 'bad' (Ski *duš*) as a rule remain OIr *to qu ro qu* choice *fo-chrua* 'reward' *so lus* 'clear' (**su-luqu* s) *ro-chruith* 'beautiful' *do-chruith* 'ugly' The preverb *com* has been frequently generalized with *u* OIr *cunachte* 'might' *cunnech* 'mindful' etc., but *o* in OIr *coir* 'fitting', *core* 'peace'

Note 4 Consonants have presumably prevented regular raising in some exceptions thus a consonant group in OIr *coise* dat sg MlIr *coise* g sg of *coise* 'correction', OIr *orddu* 'thumb' OIr *orbe* 'hair' Ir *cource* 'oats' W *ceirch* MnCo *kerh* Br *kere h* (but OIr *tareu* acc pl of *tore* 'boat'), OIr *corp* dat sg, *corp* g *corpu* acc pl of *corp* 'body' from Lat *corpus* (MlIr dat *corp*, nom pl *curp* acc pl *curpu*) etc. The forms with raising are probably analogical

(3) Orig *e* and *i* appear normally in Ir as *e*, by raising they become *i*. Where a consonant prevents raising the orig difference

between *e* and *i* is perceptible (v note 8) For *e, i* before a vowel cf § 5, 3, § 94 (a) Before lost final *u* MlIr *tuag* 'thick' § 35, 4, Ir *bir* 'spit' W *bêr* 'lance, spit' OCo *ber* gl ueru Br *ber* Lat *uerû* 'spit, dart', MlIr *crim* § 50 (b) Before lost final -*û* OIr *as-biur* 'I say' **eks-bherô*, *ciunn*, dat of *cenn* 'head' (c) Before retained final *u* OIr *firu*, acc pl of *fer* 'man', but if a syll is lost -*u* does not cause raising OIr *sentu* 'age' **senotût-s*, *bethu* 'life' **g"iwotût-s* (d) Before lost medial *u* OIr *fiugrae*, g of *figor* 'figure' from Lat *figûra* (e) Before retained old medial *u, û* MlIr *ibhar* OIr g *ibair* 'yew' G *Eburo-magus*, MlIr *biror* 'water-cress' W *berur* OCo *beler* Br *beler* G *berula*, v § 256 (f) Before lost final -*i* MlIr nom *mil* 'honey', g *mela*, MnIr *mil*, *meala* (g) Before lost final -*i* OIr *ciunn*, g of *cenn* 'head', — *fir*, g sg and nom pl of *fer* 'man' (h) Before retained final -*i* *fil* poet § 92 (i) Before *ɣ*, which first became *ɣ* OIr *tigiu* 'thicker', *simu* 'older', also *es* before a vowel § 5, 3, § 24 3 OIr *tige*, g sg of *s*-stem *tech* (j) Before lost medial *i, î* OIr *ingen* 'maiden', Og INIGENA, beside OIr *pridchim* 'I preach' from Lat *praedicô* comes the 'learned' form *predchim* (k) Before retained medial old *i, î* OIr *filed*, g of *fil* 'poet'

Note 5 Before orig *e* (except *e* in hiatus v supr (i)) raising does not occur Ir *seir* 'hecl' dat *serid* (*et* stem), *as-beir* 'he says' **eks bheret* In OIr *fir*, voc of *fer* 'man', orig -*e* became -*i* and so caused -*i*- to remain, v § 90

Note 6 Ir open *ē* > *ia* from IE *ei* is not raised For raising of *e, i* which became long by compensation through loss of explosive v § 134, 2

Note 7 The *us* stems (like *crim* 'garlic') have taken over the alternation of the *u*-stems by anal (g *crema*) The *u* stems have given up the raising in dat pl by anal OIr *fedaib* from *fid* 'tree' MlIr *bethaib* from *bith* world A noteworthy anal formation is OIr *deug* 'drink', the rounding of the *g* points to an *û*-stem, but reconstruction after the fashion of *â* stems gave an *e* in the nom A similar reconstruction in nom pl neut OIr *beura* from *bir* 'spit'

Note 8 Consonants have very considerably prevented the raising of *e*, but much more rarely that of orig *i* Raising of *e* does not occur (a) before old *x* OIr *neuch* dat, *neuch* g of *nech* 'anyone' W *neb*, OIr *recht* 'law', g *rectho* Raising of *i* before *u* occurs Ir *fluich* wet' (*flechud* 'moisture', ending -*oto*-), OIr *ar-fluich* 'I vanquish' Ths II 249 7, cf 3-g *do feich* 'attacks' (anal *do-fich*) to Lat *uincô* 'I conquer', OIr *sluicht* 'following' Sg 200a 7, MnIr *sluht* 'track' (bv anal with which *intsluicht*, *intluicht* 'intelligence' from Lat *intellectus*) But raising of *i* before *ɣ* is prevented by the group *xt* Ir *snechte* 'snow' (b) perhaps before old *þ*, but the chief example given in VKG must be retracted, v § 596 (-*neuth* is **ni-sedd*) Raising of *i* Ir *ith* 'corn' gen *hetho* (W *îd* OCo *yd* MlCo *ys*, *cys*, pl *esow* Br *ed*), *bith*

'world', *g* *betho*, MlIr *grith* 'cry' nom pl *gretha* MlW *gryd* (*æ*) Before *ss* OIr *messa* 'judgment' *g* *messo* Raising of *i* Ir *criss* 'girdle' W *crys* 'shirt', *fuass* 'knowledge' § 63, Ir *bissu ega* 'cables' W *bys* etc. (*d*) Before *sk* *st* OIr nom pl *leisce* gl *pigri* from *lesc* to W *llesg* 'feeble', OIr *mesce* 'ebrietas' to *mesc* 'ebrius', *cl* (Gk *μυθίζω* 'I get drunk' OIr *céist* 'question' from Lat *questiō* Raising of *i* OIr *flisc*, nom du of *ā* stem *flisc* 'rod' (*e*) Before *r* or *l* + cons. MlIr *meirb* 'flabby' § 19 (OIr pl *merbi*), *ferce* *g* of *ferc*, *ferg* 'anger' § 37, 2, OIr *neurt* dat, *neirt* *g* of *neirt* 'strength', OIr *deilb* dat, *delbe* *g* of *delb* figure Raising of *i* MlIr *fiurt* *firt* 'miracle' OIr acc pl *firtu* *g* sg *ferto* from Lat *virtūs* Anal forms occur in MlIr dat *sirg* 'illness' OIr *hi searc* 'in illness', dat *nurt* *nirt* *g* *nirt* 'strength' — The group nasal + explosive does not prevent raising of *e* before *u* or before *i* Ir *lind* 'drink' *cinquin* 'I stop' Raising occurs before all vowels in the case of *i* before nasal + explosive OIr *find* 'white', *ro finnadau* 'he knows'

§ 179 (1) (Effects of IE *k*^u) Progressive umlaut of *e* or *i* caused by IE *k*^u is seen in *cóic* 'five' § 59 Ir *cuit* part' MlIr *cuid* (W *peth* 'thing' (to *peth* Br *pez*), Ir *cruth* 'shape', *crum* 'worm' (W *pryd*, *pryf*), MlIr *crumther* 'priest', Og QRIMITIR from Lat *pre(s)byter*

(2) (*a*-umlaut in Ir.) Accented *o* becomes *a* in Ir before lost medial *a* in the following syll. OIr *ro-lasid* 'you have cast' *ni ralsid* 'you have not cast' *do-ratsat* 'they have given' *ni tartsat* 'they have not given' MlIr *-fagbaim* 'I find' from *fo-gaib-*, also before retained *a* in *nacham-ratae* 'that I have not been put' Ml 90c 17 *ro-laa* 'he has put' Sg 75a 4, *ni fagaib* 'he does not find' Etym *o* is frequently restored in such cases. On the contrary anal *a* occurs for *o* *ni-s-rabae* 'they had not' Wb 33b 3 (*ro-boi* 'has been')

Infection in British.

§ 180 (Palatalization and consequent consonant transitions in Brit.) (1) In spoken W (Gwynedd dialect) the back cons. (except *x*) are palatalized before *e* *i* *k'efyl* *ceffyl* 'horse', *k'ī ci* 'dog' *k'īdjo/cuddio* 'to hide' *g'enap geneth* 'girl' *īa newyn/fyngewyn* 'my sinew', *īa nhefyl/fyngheffyl* 'my horse' *sj* in spoken W has become *š* NW *īšo* SW *īšē*, *īša* *eisian* 'want', *si-* denotes *š* in Eng borrowings *shop* = *īšop* 'Eng shop' In SW *s* before or after *i* is occasionally spoken *š* *īš* 'is lower', *prīš* *pris* 'price', *īšiglo* *siglo* 'to rock' *dj-* becomes *ž-* occasionally in SW *īžoni* beside *džoni* *daioni* 'goodness', *īžogel* beside *džogel/diogel* (trisyll) 'safe', *īžawl* *dīawl* (monosyll) 'devil' *tj-* in SW has become *č* in *ca bre* beside *ītja bre* from *tia bre tua thre* 'home(wards)', and in other expressions in which *tua(g)* 'towards' is proclitic

(2) In Co *t*- and *d*- became *t'*, *d'*, later *č*, *ž* in the words MCo *chy* 'house', Lhuyd /čau/ (len MCo *the gy* 'thy house', but spir *ow thy* 'my house'), OCo *ti* § 35, 4, and MCo *geyth* 'day', OCo *det* § 6, 2 (also MCo *deyth*, *deth*, *dyth*, Lhuyd /dydʃ/, /déd/ but /en žed/ 'in the day', len *d*- MCo *yn y thythow* 'in his days') *ž*- also occurs in Co *ievan* /ževan/ < Lat *daemon*, and *jawl*, *dyowl*, *dyawl*, Lhuyd *dzhawl* 'devil' § 148 — Medial *dj* gave *ž* MnCo *ndzheon*, *odgan* 'ox' OCo *odion* W *erdion* Br *ijenn*, MCo *nyge* 'fly, swim' W *nerdio* 'jump' Bi *njal* 'fly' For other cases of *d* > *ž* v § 263

(3) In Bi the stem-ending consonant in 3 sg and 2 pl pres ind of verbs whose verb-noun ends in *-ia* is palatalized *glebia* to 'damp', 3sg *gleb* 2pl *glebit*. This was caused by the foll *j* and then transferred to forms without *j*. Frequently *l*, *n*, *d*, *t* are palat after *i* *dillad* 'clothes' now w1 *dilhād* *din* 'to me', *int* 'are' (with *it*'), *treud* 'feet'. In Tréguier and V the back consonants are palatalized before front vowels and after *i* *k ik* ' = *kik* flesh in Tréguier.

There has been in Br much further development of the palatalized sounds *s* before *e* and *i* became *š* *chetu* — *setu* 'voice', V *chelen* Léon *selaou* 'listen' MBr *sezlou* Co *go-Isouars* Fr *š* became *s* before *i* *siminal* chimney (also *chi-*, V *che-*) *sifern* 'cold in the head' cf Fr *enchifrener* 'to cause a cold in the head' *sk* before front vowels gave V *š* *dichen* 'descent' (also *disken*), *chuéh* 'tired' (also *skueh*) Léon *skuiz* also in sandhi *n'en dès chet é bar ar en doar* 'his equal is not on the earth' (Leon *n'en deuz ket*) Palat *t* and *d* tend to become *k'*, *q'* Bas vann *kec* = *tiec* 'head of the house'. Most important are the old changes of cons + *j* *ɛj*, *ɟj* become *š* Bi *arechou* 'sometimes' W *weithiau*, Br *foz* 'grave', pl *fochou* from Lat *fossa*, *kj* became *j* Bi *marc'hek*, pl *marc'heven* 'under -s', cf W *marchog* -*ion*, *ɟj* became *j* *kloc'h* 'bell', pl *kleier* (but not after a cons *ial'h* 'purse', pl *ilh'ier*), *tj* became *š* *hent* 'way', pl *heñchou* cf W *hynt*, -*iau* *dj* became *ž* *oad* 'age', pl *oujou*, *ijenn* 'ox', *njal* 'to fly' v above (2) *dq* > *dj* > *z* (in proper names) *Prit-gen* > *Prid-gen* > *Prijen*, *Lan-Ratien* (**Rat-gen*) > *Larrajén*, *Tut-gen*, *Lan-tutian*, *Lan-dujan*

In Br *l* mouillé is now w1 *lh*, *ñ* is w1 *gn*

§ 181 (*i*-umlaut and epenthesis in W.) Epenthesis in the case of *a* (wh becomes M1W *ei* MnW -*ei*- -*ai*) occurs in W before lost *-i*, and in the case of *a*, *o*, *e* before *j* in the following syll, umlaut occurs in the case of *a* before a retained *i* etc and in the case of

o and *e* also before lost *-ī*, *u* undergoes umlaut before *-ī* and before *j*. An *j* from *g* does not cause modification of the preceding vowel, nor does an orig *e* or an *i* that has been lowered to *e* according to § 184

(1) (*a* without foll *g* or *xt*) *a* before retained or lost *j* in the foll syll W *ceiliog* 'cock' Og *Cahaci*, W *ail* 'second' Lat *alius*, OW *reid* gl *spicum* MnW *rhaidd* 'spear' from Lat *radius* — *a* before lost *-ī* W *meirch*, pl of *march* 'horse' (*-ī* < *-oi*), MIW *ceint* 'I sang' (ending *-ō* 3sg *cant*), *deigr* tear (pl *dagrau*) **dak'rū*, W *neidr* 'snake' (pl *nadr-edd*, *-oedd*) **natrī*. In unaccent sylls *ei* became *y* in certain cases *ceraint*, *cerynt* pl of *câr* 'kinsman', *bustych* pl of *bustach* 'steer' *meneich*, *menych* pl of *mynach* 'monk' (cf Morris-Jones, WG 90f) — *a* before retained *i*, *y*, before *ei* (*ai*) or *e* due to epenthesis or umlaut OW *erchim* MnW *erchi* *archaf* 'I bid ask', W *gwen-did* 'weakness' *gwan* 'weak' W *cenir* 'is sung' *cân* 'song', OW *selsic* gl *lucania* MnW *selsig* 'black-pudding, sausage' from Lat *salsicius* salted', OW *elinn* MnW *ellyn* 'razor' Ir *altain*, W *defnydd* 'material' Ir *damnae*, W *Selyf* Lat *Salomon* (treated in Celt as native *n*-stem nom *Salomō*), MIW *deuert* MnW *defard*, pl of *dafad* 'sheep'. An *a* in a syll or sylls preceding such an affected *a* also undergoes umlaut MIW *cerennyd* 'kinship' MnW *carennnydd* OIr *cairde* (neut) **qarantiyo-m*, OW *eterin* 'bird' MIW *ederyn* MnW *aderyn* pl OW *atar* MnW *adar*, in OW *leguennid* MIW *llewenyid* 'joy' (MnW *llawenydd*) the *a* in the ante-penult was changed before an orig *e* influenced by a following *y*. In such forms the *a* is analogically restored in MnW. But no umlaut before an uninfluenced orig *e* or before a lowered *i* *llawen* 'glad', *maneg* 'glove', *pedwaredd* 'fourth' (fem, but masc *pedwerydd*), *gwagedd* 'women'.

Note 1 The W diphthong *ae* in a syll preceding that in which an *a* has undergone umlaut or epenthesis became *e* *y* or *ey* MIW *ryeydr* (= *rhyeidr*), *reydyr* (= *rheidr*) pl of *rhacadr* 'cataract' W *heyryn* (formerly disyll) pl of *haearn* 'iron' W *deyerydd* 'lands' *deyeryn* 'earthen buried', from *daear* 'earth', *heyrynn* 'of iron', *greiyennyn* 'grain of gravel' from *gracan*.

Note 2 The W diphthong *aw* (not from *ā* or *ō*) before lost *-i* became *eu*, Mn *au* *y* MIW *teu* MnW *tau*, 3 sg pres of *tawaf* 'I am silent', MIW *qwarendeu* 'listens hears' *qwarandawaf* 'I hear' (MnW *qwendy* *qwarandawaf*), MIW *tereu* 'strikes' *tarawaf* 'I strike' (MnW *tery* 'strikes'), MIW *edeu* 'promises', *addawaf* 'I promise' (MnW *eddy*, later *addaw* *addawa*), MIW *edeu* *edy* 'leaves' *adawaf* 'I leave' (MnW *gedy*, *gadawaf*). Before retained *i* or *y* this *aw* becomes *ew* *teui* 'to be silent' MIW *teuiy* MnW *teui* 'thou art

silent', MIW *edewt* MnW *addewid* (anal restoration of *a*) 'promise', MIW *gwerendewych* 'thou mayest listen' MnW *gurandewych*

(2) (*a* with following *g*, *xs* *xt*, *dr*) MIW *drein* MnW *draen*, pl of *draen* 'thorn' § 35,1 — W *Sais* 'Englishman' from Lat *Saxō*, MIW *ceithwedd* 'captivity' from Lat *captiuitās* (MnW *caethwedd*, analogically restored from *caeth* 'captive') W *enrif* 'number' Ir *áram* § 44 MIW *imterth* (= *ymdderth*) 'I went', cf *aeth* 'went', the simple form **erth* 'I went' was later extended to *erthum* which then became *euthum*, the form regularly found, similarly *gurneuthum* 'I made', the umlaut (*ei*) was caused by the original ending of the 1 sg -ō, then *ei* became *eu* through assimilation to the *u* of -um

(3) (*o* without following *g* *rt*, etc) *o* before retained or lost *j* W *meirhiad* 'swineherd' *moch* 'swine', W *ceirch* oats' Ir *cource* W *myfyr* study', *ystyr* meaning' from Lat *memoria*, *historia* — *o* before lost -ī *esgyb* bishops' § 77 2, *bywyd* life' § 92 *tyr* breaks' (ending -ī) *torraf* 'I break' — *o* before retained *i*, *y* or an affected vowel gives *e* OW *guetig* (cod Lachf) MIW (*y*) *wedy* MnW *wedi* OW *quotig* Ox 1 (from the prefix *quo-* Ir *fo-* with -*tig* cf OIr *tig-bae* gl superstitute) W *lehyg* like likely Ir *toich* Gk τειχός 'belonging to place' W *rheuydd* wanton § 35 2

(4) (*o* with following *g*, *rt*) Before lost -ī is found *'iuy'* otherwise *eu* Before *j* W *neithiur* last night § 52 Before lost -ī W *āyn*, pl of *oen* lamb § 40,2, *crwyn* pl of *crocn* skin' § 53, *wyth* eight from **ok'tō* — Before retained *i* *gwein* serve' § 36

(5) (Umlaut of *u*) The umlaut of *u* is W *y* — *u* before *j* *dyn* 'man' § 28 — *u* before lost -ī *yeh* ox' (ending -ō), *llyg* 'mouse' **lukōt-s* — For W *llys* herb' (pl *llysiaw*, new sg *llysieuyn*, coll *llyseuyn*) cf § 182,5

(6) (Umlaut and epenthesis of *e*) *e* before *j* *herbio* 'past' *heb* 'without' (formerly also past') — *e* before lost *i* *erbyn* 'against' Ir *archiunn* before' (dat of W *pen* Ir *cenn* head and ending -ō > -ī), *gwyl* sees' (ending -ī) from *gweil* 'see'

e + *xt* before lost -ī *nuth* 'niece' § 31

The W compar *hŷn* 'older' comes from a nominative form in -*gōs*, the -*gō-* having first become -*i-*, cf W *llith* lesson' from Lat *lēctiō* (in the form **lectiō* with short *e*)

§ 182 (Umlaut in Co.) Umlaut (epenthesis) occurs in Co under the same conditions as in W (1) (Umlaut of *a* without a foll vocalized consonant) Before *j* OCo *chelloc* 'cock' (MiCo *colyek*, *kullyek*), MiCo

reys, *res* 'necessary', *yll*, *eyll* 'another' — Before lost *-i* *mergh* 'horses' (sg *margh*), *gurek* 'woman' — Before a retained vowel Ml'Co *seuel* 'stand' § 69, *escarn*, *yscarn* pl of *ascorn* 'bone' *denes*, pl of *dauas*, *daves* 'sheep', *kerense* 'friendship'

(2) (*a* with a foll. vocalized consonant) O'Co *dreim* Ml'Co *dreyrn* Mn'Co *drēn* pl of O'Co *drain* gl *spina*, Ml'Co *yth* 'I went', 3sg *eth*

(3) (*o* without a foll. voc. consonant) O'Co *hearch* 'oats' Ml'Co *kerh*, — *ter* 'breaks' *torraf* 'I break', — Ml'Co *terry*, *tyrry* 'break', *kelly* 'lose' W *collu*

(4) (*o* with a foll. voc. consonant). Mn'Co *nehuer* 'last night', *ean* 'lambs' (for diphthongization v § 151 2b), Mn'Co *eath* 'eight'

(5) (Umlaut of *u*) Ml'Co *tell* *tel* pl of *toll*, *tol* 'hole' W *tull* Br *toull* O'Co *les* gl *herba* Ml'Co *leys* pl *losou* W *llysiau* Br *louzou* Ir sg *luss*

(6) Umlaut of *e* is obscured by the Ml'Co. varied orthography Ml'Co *erbyn* 'against', *er ou fyn* 'against me' (always with *-y-*) *pen* 'head' (always with *-e-*) O'Co *idne* 'auceps' *ydnir* 'pullus'

Note 1 The Ml'Co *ey* can be identical with *-y* (cf *leys* 'herb' and § 6, O'Co *neid* 'nest') But O'Co *ei* Ml'Co *ey* occurring in the same circumstances as W *ei* (and *iuy*) was originally, no doubt, a diphthong

Note 2 Variations between W and Co are due to analogy or to different derivations. Thus in Co *we* sc 'after' W *iridi* Co *go nys* 'to work' W *gerinn* 'serve' the orig. vowel has been restored in the first syll. in Co. O'Co *amén en* 'butter' is due to the influence of a shorter form (without the suffix *-en*) cf Br *amann* (and *aman-enn*)

§ 183 (Umlaut in Br.) Umlaut appears in Br. in the same circumstances as epenthesis or umlaut in W. The modified vowel is always *e*, but when *i* (MnBr *i*) or *y* (and *ie*, *z* § 180 3) occurs in the foll. syll. the *e* has generally become *i*. Rarely *ei* v n 1

(1) (*a* without a foll. vocalized consonant). Before *j* Br 'kil'ek/ 'cock' (wr *killek*, *kilhek* etc) *grisienn* 'root' (pl *grisiou*, *grichou*), 'red necessary' *ger* word' W *gair* Co *ger* Ir *for-n-gaire* 'command', Br *eil* 'another' — Before lost *-i* *grek* 'wife' *-iz* in 1sg *pret* (*heiriz*, 3sg *lavaraz*) — Before a retained vowel *brinn*, *trvri* pl of *bran* 'clow' *taro* bull *seiel* stand OBr *celmed* gl *efficax* W *celfydd* 'skilful' MnBr *eskern* pl of *askourn* 'bone', MnBr *ebestel*, pl of *abostol* 'apostle' — *ao* > 'oi' in *teurel* 'throw', part *taolet* (W *taflu* Co *terlet*), *leuskel* 'loosen', part *laosket*

(2) (*a* with a foll. voc. consonant) Br *dreim*, pl of *drean* 'thorn', OBr *nahu-lei* gl *nihilo-minus* MnBr *iz* 'I went' beside 3sg *eaz*

(3) (*o* without a foll. voc. consonant) MIBr *ster* 'valeur, signification' from Lat *historia* — Br *meot*, pl of *maout* 'wether' — *kigi*, pl of *koh* 'cock', MIBr *nevez* 'new', *levenez* 'joy' *laouen* 'glad', *terri* 'break', *gwelc'h* (and *gwalc'h*) 'wash' W *golchi* *o* was occasionally retained in OBr *rogedou* gl *orgus* § 35, 2, *nouuid* 'new' § 13, 4 (then *neuued*) (Cf OW *quoting* § 181, 3)

(4) (*o* with a foll voc consonant) Br *neizeur* 'last night', *evn*, pl of *oan* 'lamb', *eiz* eight' Inf *trei* 'turn', *tei* 'to thatch'

(5) (*u*) Br *le* 'oath' Ir *luge* § 35, 3

(6) (*e*) Before retained *i* (i e MIBr *i*) and *j*, old *e* and Br *e* from IE *i* have become *i* Br *imn* 'finger-nail' W *ewyn*, Br *hario* 'to-day' W *heddiw* — Umlaut of *e* + *xt* Br *niz* 'mece' § 31

Note 1 In *eil* another *tail* 'dung' (W *tail* MIBr *tail* 'fumus', cf OSI *tijga* 'corruptio' **iljo* **iljā*) there appears anthesis which must be due to special circumstances (perhaps a before *l* + lost *j*, it does not appear in *kell* 'testicle' § 22, so not before *lj*) Further umlaut *e* before final Br *z* from *d*, *þ* *s*, as well as IE *i* (§ 6, 2 *kleiz* 'left' § 21, 4), became *i* Br *preiz* 'booty' W *praidd* from Lat *praedium* *bleiz* 'wolf' W *blaidd* OCo *bleit* Ir *bled* gl *postrix*, Br *heiz* 'barley' W *hardd* § 22 this does not occur in the case of unaffected IE *e* Br *pez* W *peith* 'thing' § 179 Br *bez* W *bedd* 'grave', Br *mez* W *madd* 'moad'

Note 2 The change to *i* before *u* retained *i* /*j*/ frequently does not take place, mostly owing to analogy (thus *kegi* and *keger* beside *kigi* 'cocks', *leski* 'burn' W *llosgi* cf MIBr *lisquidic* 'burnt') It does not happen when *j*/ immediately follows the vowel *kleier*, pl of *kloc'h* 'bull'

Note 3 Br differs from W in numerous cases, due generally to analogy, cf § 182 n 2, and v VKG 1382

§ 184 (Lowering of *i* and *u*) Short *u* and *i* before a final *-ā* became *o* and *e* in W and originally in Co and Br also

The most numerous examples occur in nouns and adjectives with *-ā*-stems W *gwedd* fem 'aspect' to Lat *uideō* 'I see', W *dofn* fem of *dwsfn* 'deep', *gwen*, fem of *gwyn* 'white', W *blynedd* 'years' (ending *-*ijās*) /-*ict*-/ /-*ext*-/ in W *brith* 'speckled', fem MIBr *breith* MIBr *brauth*

This change took place only in the case of pr Brit accented *u* and *i*, and so the resultant *o* and *e* occur only in a final syll in W The unlowered vowels *u* and *i* came to be regarded as a sign of the masculine gender, and *o* and *e* of the feminine This has caused anal changes of gender, thus *cylllell* 'knife' (from Lat *cultellus*) is fem in W as also is *pont* 'bridge' (from Lat *pont-em*) The form *bechan* fem of *bychan* 'small' is analogical

Lowering occurred also in Co and Br MlCo *graget* (without umlaut), pl of *gurek* 'wife', OBr *Uuin-mael* (man's name), *Uuenbrít* (woman's name) v Loth, RC 8 168f, cf also Br *kountell fem* 'knife' from Lat *cultellus*. But the spontaneous change of short *i* to *e* in Co and in MlBr, MnBr has in general obscured the alternation due to lowering.

§ 185 (1) (Rounding of vowels in Brit.) For *wi* > /wu/ > /u/ v § 6,3 — In W there occur a few cases of the rounding of *y* to *u* after a labial W *bustl* 'gall' Br *bestl*, W *pump*, MlW *pypm* OW *pmp* (the unrounded vowel has persisted in *pymtheg* 'fifteen' and *pythefnos* 'fortnight') In MnW /u/ has lost its rounding, being pronounced /y/ (in SW /i/) — For /uy/ (wy) from *y* after a labial (W *mwyar*, *buryall*) v § 21,2 — In post-tonic sylls *y* has become /u/ in W 2pl *ceriwech* 'you love' (1sg *caraf*) (cf *peswech* 'cough' (beside *pas* 'whooping-cough'))

A Co example of rounding after a labial is OC'o *boghan* 'small' beside MlCo *byhan*, *beghan* Ir *beccán* OW *bichan* MlW MnW *bychan* Br *bihan* (cf MlCo *boghes* 'little' W *bychod* OC'o *bochodoc* 'poor' MlCo pl *bohosogyon*, all from a pr (' **bigno-* = Ir *becc*)

(2) (Unrounding of vowels in Brit) *ju* > *i* in W W *Iddew* 'Jew' Co *ethow* § 77.3, MlW *Idas* 'Judas', etc v § 20 n.2

Unrounding of *o* after *w* has occurred in all Brit languages W *quasgod* Br *quashed* beside Ir *foscud* 'shadow' etc § 3,4 Instances of unrounding of *oe* to *ae* in W *gwaew* 'spear' (*gwayw*) § 34,3 *chwaer* 'sister' § 24,3, *quaed* 'blood' OC'o *gut* MlCo *goys* Br *goad* (also wr *quad*), W *gwaelod* 'bottom' OW *guolaut* Br *goeled*

XI. Nasalization.

§ 186 In MlIr and Br a vowel is frequently nasalized under the influence of a neighbouring nasal. In certain circumstances also a consonantal nasal can develop from a nasal vowel.

(1) There are traces of nasalization in the Arran dialect: it is more frequently found in the dial. of Donegal (where lenited *m* is frequently pronounced *u'* and *v'*) *'N'í'* 'not' *ní*, *mu'y'* 'pliable' *muoth*, /krp/ 'nut' *cnu*, *cno*. Cf exx in § 71, also Arr /kl̥ʲz/ 'feather' *clúmhach*, /l̥ʲs/ 'riddle' *tomhas* (Don /t̥ʲs/), /k̥ʲx̥d̥ə/ 'power' *cumhachta*. For nasalization in Manx cf Rhys, Manx Phonology pp 31ff, and in Sc v Staples and cf Henderson, ZCP 4 493ff

Nasalization of consonants nasalized *l*-sound in Ir *lámh* 'hand' (Henebry, *Dēsi-Irish* p 73), in Sc *amhlúadh* 'confusion, dismay', *Domhnall*, nasal /g/ in Sc *dhomh* 'to me', nasal /j/ in Sc *ordhche* 'night' (Staples) Also len *b* (*bh*) became *mh* in OIr *nórb* 'holy' MlIr *nóeb*, *noem* MnIr *naomh* Further, *r* could become *n* *cnuimh* 'worm' = *cruimh*

(2) A vowel can be nasalized in Br by a lenited *m* (> *v*), the nasalization being indicated by *ñ* after the vowel *hañv*, *hañ* 'summer' (/hqv/ or /hqo/, /hq/), *preñv* 'worm' (/preu/), *dañvad* 'sheep' After *n* > *r* *kraoun* 'nuts' § 71, 3

Note This *ñ* must be distinguished from the pure *n* (cf *dañvad* sheep' *danvez* 'material', *hañv* 'summer' *hanv* 'name')

XII Sandhi-*n* (Eclipsis)¹.

Eclipsis in Irish

§ 187 Original final *n* (from IE *n* or *m*) is in certain word-groups in Ir either retained or to be recognized by its effect upon the following initial consonant Before a vowel it appears as *N* Before *g*, *d*, *b* it appears as *n* *V*, *m* (*ng*, *nd*, *mb* eventually giving *v*, *N*, *m*, cf § 37, 4, § 45, § 49) The nasal coalesces with a foll *k*, *t*, eventually giving *q*, *d* (§ 54, § 64, 3, § 70) The similar development of nasal + mut *p* to *b* is analogical, as *p* occurs in loan-words only After the nasal an initial *w*-remains voiced (> *ɪ*), the nasal being lost The nasal is assimilated to a foll *s*, *r*, *l* *n*, *m*

The modification of an initial consonant by eclipsis is not regularly denoted in OIr orthography In MnIr the nasal is regularly attached (with or without a hyphen) to the foll word, initial *g*, *d*, *b*, *v* (from *k*, *t*, *p*, *f*) are written *gc*, *dt*, *bp*, *bhf* (or *g-c* etc) OIr *imbétre naill* 'into another language', *rad ndé* 'the grace of God', *cofer n aile* 'to another man' Wb 9d 31, in *hélt gl* in *aemulationem*, *icorp* 'in the body' Eclipsis of *k* and *t* is occasionally denoted in writing in OIr *nachgéin* '(for) any long (time)' (acc of *cían*) Wb 7a 11, *intairn diagman* 'when we go' (*tiag-*) Wb 3a 15, *oldo*, *oldár*, *oldaas* 'than I am, than thou art, than he is' (after a compar, *-táin* 'am') MnIr *ɪ n-aimsir* 'in time', *cur ɪ géill* 'to remind' ('to put in mind'), *ɪ bhfiadhnaise* 'in presence', *na ndéor* 'of the tears' (*nd* = *N*)

¹ Cf Zimmer Eclipsis destituens im Altirischen, KZ 27 449—468, Holger Pedersen KZ 35 385ff, Thurneysen, ZCP 5 1—19

§ 188. Sandhi-*n* is not found before unaccented words. OIr *forcital a'lla'la'li* 'to teach another' (*forcital* is neuter), *lóg a'p'e'cthe* 'the price of his sins' (*lóg* neuter), *is fír ón* 'this is true'. Exceptions occur in MI and Sg (cf Thurneysen, ZCP 5 3) *c'ud becn d'í ulc* 'even a little of evil' MI 46a 1

Note Exx of eclipsis between two proclitics regarded as one word *co-m bad adramail in macc* 'so that the son would be like the father' *is follus na n d-at foirb'ithe u'ile* it is clear that all are not perfect

§ 189. (Eclipsing words in Ir) Sandhi-*n* appears in Ir (1) after the interrogative particle *i* OIr *h'í príd'chabat* 'will they preach?' Wb 13a 13 *im-ba im'male'í* 'will it be at the same time?' Wb 4b 16 Usually *in* is restored before all consonants *in b'iam* 'shall we be?' MnIr *a, an* with regular eclipsis (2) After certain prepositions *co* 'with' (Lat *cum*), *i* 'in' (Lat *in*, Gaul OW OBr *in* MIW MnW *yn* Co *yn* Br *en*), *iar* 'after' (compar neut § 30), *re* 'before' (Gk *πρίν*) (3) After infixed pers pron 3sg masc fem and after pl -s- (4) In *cechtar n-á'í* 'each of the two', *nechtar n-a'í* 'either of the two' *cechtar n-athar* 'each of us two' (but *cechtar de, nechtar de* = *c n n-á'í*), *ind-ala-n-á'í* 'one of them' (5) After *a* 'their', *ar* 'our' *for far, bar* 'your' (6) After the numerals 7—10 *secht, ocht, noí, deich* (anal after *ocht*) (7) After all neut cases of '2', and after the dat of '2' in all genders After the nom acc dual neut of nouns in MIr eclipsis occurs (no exx from OIr), no eclipsis after the dat dual of nouns OIr *da n-or'pe* 'two inheritances' MIr *da n-all n-á'ebda* 'two fine bridles' LU 8595, OIr *in d'ib n-uar'ib deac* 'by twelve hours' Thes II 10 4 *for d'ib m'ilib ec'h* 'on two thousand horses' MI 43d 1, *in dan s* 'of the two s's' Sg 16b 6 (8) After declined words in g pl, acc sg, nom acc sg neut (also after *cét* 109' in nom acc and after the g of *tri* '3', *cethir* '4', and by anal the g of *coic* '5 and *sé* 6 further after *indegaid* after, *tar'esi* after for', *dochum* 'to') After the acc sg masc fem of the article *sechtar in deg'dais* 'outside the house' MI 61b 22 (*teg'dais* 'house'), but eclipsis has been given up before *g d b in bé'stá'id n-is'ín* 'that morality' (acc) Wb 12d 39 (9) As 'relative eclipsis' (10) After relative preverbs

§ 190 Combinations in which eclipsis occurs in Ir. (§ 189, 5—8)

(1) The attribute preceding the word to which it is related OIr *da n-or'pe* 'two inheritances' (2) The attribute following the related word *in g'nim n-olc* (acc) 'the evil deed' The nasal mostly

does not occur between two consonants in Wb (*inna tol domunde* 'of the worldly desires' Wb 21a 8), not so in Ml (3) Apposition and the like OIr *fri dia n-athir* 'to God the Father' Ml 127d 8, Tur 26, MlIr *is cendtromm n-imthursech n-anfáld n-osnadach dothæt mo phopa Læg* (§ 193 2) 'heavy-headed, sad, joyless, sighing comes my father L' LL 74b 25 (4) A g foll the word to which it belongs OIr *laa m brátha* 'day of judgment' Wb 26a 1 (but *laa brátha* 29a 28), *dochum n dée* 'to God', *rad ndé* 'the grace of God' Wb 7d 3 (but often *rad dái*) (5) A noun (preceded by the art) with the demonstratives *i-sin*, *i-siu*, *ucut an uathath n-isiu* 'this one' Wb 5a 26, *in tegdais n-ucut* (acc) 'that house' Wb 33a 4 (6) Occasionally between a noun and a conjugated preposition *no-n-guidim-se dia n-erut-su* 'that I pray to God for thee' Wb 27d 19 (but *guidid dia eruib-si* 'he prays to God for you' Wb 27d 7) (7) *cia inn erhirt m-bruth* (acc) 'to what use' Ml 46b 28 (inf of *arber bruth* 'he uses') (8) A noun followed by relative verb *a cobás m-bis star n* (art) *di raunn* 'the connection which is between the two parts' Sg 2b 2, *tri-sinn-oipred n-doqniat* 'through the work that they do' Ml 42c 2

§ 191 (The psychological value of sandhi -n in Ir.) Apparently sandhi-n came to be regarded in OIr and MlIr as a separate morphological element to denote some grammatical relationship, and so was used even after an intervening non-eclipsing word MlIr *a bunsraig m-báisi* (g sg) *m-bunlosrthi* 'his toy-javelin with its fire-hardened butt-end (lit "his rod of play bottom-burnt")' LL 62a 48, *dely n-argit* (g sg) *n-and* 'a silver brooch therein' LU 5205f, *déde didiu n-and* 'two things, then, are therein' Wb 1a 5 (*didiu* 'then' from *di sudiu*)

§ 192 (Origin and position of relative eclipsis). The development of sandhi-n as a morphological element became progressive only in its use to denote a relative verb (§ 190, 8). The phonologically regular use of relative eclipsis was thus extended in two directions. First, eclipsis was used after originally non-eclipsing forms *is hed dathar dín* 'therefore people are angry with us' Wb 28d 4 (*dathar* eclipsed impers of *-táu* 'I am'). Many cases are doubtful, as the forms followed by eclipsis may have been dat or acc, thus *cén mbus* 'so long as he is' Wb 8b 1, *in tain mbís* 'when he is' Wb 17b 3 (*cén* may be acc, *tain* may be dat), *amal mbís* 'as is' Wb 10b 4 (*amal* may be acc, though this is doubtful). Secondly, eclipsis occurs before the verb when another word, particularly a preverb,

comes between it and the eclipsing word *in-tain ro-mbón* 'when he has been' Wb 2c 5 Only in late OIr does *-n* come before both preverb and verb *amal n do-n-d-fourde ainmm ndiles* 'as the proper name signifies it' Sg 26b 12

Sandhi-*n* after a preverb was associated with the infixed pronouns With a simple verb sandhi-*n* (like a pronoun) is preceded by the preverb *no is lerithur inso no-nguidim se dia* 'so urgently do I pray to God' Also like the pers prons relative *n* comes between the copula and the predicate *doadbadar sunt atá-nih dāna in sperto* 'here is shewn that the Spirit's gifts are many' Wb 12a 11 (but not if the copula has a preverb *in-tain ro-mbo mithig* 'when it was seasonable' Wb 31a 9) — When the verb is preceded by a preverb and an infixed pron, relative *n* comes before the latter, but it can come before a pron of the *d*-series (§ 342) only (*in-tain do-n-d iecfa* 'when it will so come' Wb 5c 5), before the other forms without *d* it is dropped (electionem 1 *do-b-rograd* 'wherewith ye have been called' Wb 24c 4) Irregular *an atamm-re sa gl* exurgente me Ml 31c 14 (the *n* dropped between the two *d* sounds which have coalesced into *-t-*), *ci-o-fut fritat-n-iarr su* 'how long shall he offend thee' Ml 93a 15 (the *n* comes after the pron because *p* and *d* have coalesced) For *nad-n-* and *nand-* v § 390, 9

§ 193 (The use of the relative eclipsis) Relative eclipsis occurs (1) optionally as object *chech urnagde do-ngneid* 'every prayer that ye make' Wb 5c 20 As subject only when phonologically regular (*a robás mbis* § 190, 8) But lenition can occur as object as well as eclipsis *an imdibe adhi cách* 'the circumcision which everyone sees' Wb 2a 2 (2) After adjs of manner *is dinnimu do-ngní alaill* 'it is more carelessly that he makes the other' Wb 4c 33 (the adj was neuter, and so mostly ended in *-n*) (3) After nouns when the rel has the force of an adverbial case (instrumental, locative) *méit do-nindnagar fornui fochuth* 'in proportion as suffering is bestowed upon us' Wb 14b 15 Also in cases of figura etymologica *ní legend ro-llegusa la petor act is cúrsagad ro-n-d-cursagusa* 'it is not a reading which I have read with Peter but a reprimand with which I have reprimanded him' Wb 19a 6 (4) After certain nominal forms used as conjunctions, *amal* 'as' *amal as-n-don-bírat* 'as they say of us' Wb 2a 12 (not when *amal* means 'as if' *amal ní curmsimms* 'as if we should not have been able' Wb 17c 18), — *céin* 'as long as', *in-tain* 'when', *la-sse* 'when', *an* 'when' (neut

article) *lasse do-ngní* 'when thou dost' Wb 1c 10, *an no-nderbid* gl probantes Wb 22b 24, — *hóre* 'because' *óre do-nécomnacht* 'because he has imparted' Wb 1a 1 (but as a rule not before proclitic words *huare as in deacht* 'because it is the Godhead' Ml 25c 5, frequently also not after the copula *hore am essamin se* 'since I am fearless' Wb 23b 7), — *fo-bíth* 'because', *dég* 'because' *dég ro-mbu écndaircc* 'since he was absent' Also after *ol* 'because' *ol do-necmaing* gl quod accidit Sg 40a 16 (but *ol is amein* 'as it is so', *ol atá lee dano an ingnad so* 'since it has this marvel too' Sg 167a 4) — No eclipsis after *resiu* 'before', *acht* 'provided that', *na* 'so that not', *ó* 'since, from the time that' (5) When it has the force of a predicate-noun *cia hé nu-ndirnaighther siu gl qui sis* Ml 75c 9, *co-mbi óin-chorp pectho as-mberar* 'so that it is said to be one body of sin' Wb 9d 5 (6) When it has the force of a dative or genitive in cases like *in talamgeirdi 1 as ndi thalam do* 'the earth-horn, 1 e who is of the earth' Ml 68c 4 ('to whom origin is from earth'), *im cech réi ru-necat les* 'in respect of everything which they need' Ml 57b 4 (7) When it means 'that' (in reported speech, etc) *epert friss ro mbad pater multarum gentium* 'to say to him that he should be pater multarum gentium' Wb 2c 24 *ní nád m bed ar-se di chorp* 'not that it is not therefore of the body' Wb 12a 22 (8) In the formula *cit-n-é* in subordinate interrog sentes *assindet sunt tra citné cumacte diandid coir in fognam* 'he declares here, then, what are the powers unto which the service is proper' Wb 6a 9 In Ml and in MlIr *citné* occurs in principal sentences also, v Strachan, Ériu I 9, and § 376

§ 194. (The relative preverbs) When the relative is dependent upon a preposition, the preposition originally in Ir stood as a preverb before the verb and in loose composition with it, without any sign of the relative (cf Eng *the age I live in*) In such circumstances relative eclipsis spread considerably (anal formations like the cases § 193, 3). Thus however did not occur (1) at all in the case of the preverb *i-n* *intí im-bí in spirut* 'he in whom is the Spirit' Wb 8b 10, (2) very frequently with the negative *ní* *ful ceneel di-nad-ricthe nech* 'there is no race of which some one shall not have been saved' Wb 28b 1, *di-nacon-bí móin* 'from which no treasure is wont to be' Ml 85b 7

Exx of relative eclipsis *cid ar-mbad spirituais ind aul* 'why should the rock be spiritualis?' Wb 11a 19, *in sians ondíd accobor*

'the understanding from which is desire' Wb 12d 23 It was also added to the relative (subj and obj) preverb form *ara- is hed torbe aratobarr labrad ubélre* 'this is the profit for which is given speaking many tongues' Wb 12d 29

The form *aran-* was wrongly regarded as *ar + an* (neut. of the demonstrative pron. used as article), and by anal. most relative preverbs assumed forms which seemed identical with a cpd. of the prep. and the article *in rinnd dia-ruba* 'the sting wherewith thou hast struck' Wb 13d 25, *foran-idparar* 'on which offering is made' 5b 6, *forsam-mitter* 'on whom thou passest judgment' 6b 22, *indhí lasm-bi accobur* 'they with whom is desire' 30c 23, *tresin-dip-piat fochricci* 'through which ye will have rewards' 25d 8

Prepositions used as conjunctions, but not compounding with verbs, must be distinguished from the preverbs *o* 'since, from the time that', *ol* 'because' (§ 193.4), *co* 'until, so that' (*co ní bé éter in peccato, act co beid in pœnitentia* 'so that he may not be at all in peccato, but that he may be in penitencia' Wb 9b 2) But *co* has been influenced by the relative preverbs *co-mbi óin-chorp* 'so that it is one body' Wb 9b 5, *co-n-da-ríccad dia* 'that God might save them' Wb 4d 19 The *-n* occasionally remains before *s f k, t, r* *co-n-fesatar imbed in raith* 'that they may know the abundance of the grace' Wb 26d 33 (Actual rel. preverbs which have become conjunctions *ara-n* 'in order that' *ar-na* 'in order that not', *di-a-n* 'if')

§ 195 (The later history of eclipsis in Ir) Rel. eclipsis has disappeared in M^lIr (for traces v § 393) Otherwise too eclipsis is much restricted, it no longer appears after substantives (for MⁿIr eclipsis after the art. v § 231) In Sc. the old eclipsis has practically disappeared. But the eclipsing *n-* has united with the preceding word in some cases. OIr *a* 'their', *co* 'that' Sc. *an, gun*. Further the *-n* of these and other proclitics voices a following explosive or *f*, the modified pronunciation not being as a rule expressed in the orthography. In the case of *c, t, p* and *f* the result is identical with that of old eclipsis, but it is caused even by some originally non-eclipsing forms of the article *an fáillear* 'the tailor', *am piobair* 'the piper' are pronounced with *d'* and *b'*. And the changing of the voiceless *g, d, b* into voiced *g, d, b* after proclitic words in *-n* cannot have anything to do with the old eclipsis. For details v. Francis C. Diack, RC 39 125—128 and J. Fraser, RC 40 139—142.

Eclipsis in Brit.

§ 196. (Eclipsis in W.) In Brit, eclipsis has best been preserved in W Initial *g, d, b, k, t, p* become *ŋ, n, m, nh, nh, mh* (v § 37, 4, § 19, § 45, § 70, 2) Eclipsis is not regularly denoted in MIW It occurs (1) (cf § 189, 2) after the prep *yn* 'in' (wr *yn*g before *ng-*, *ym* before *m-*) MIW *yggwisc derw* MnW *yn*g *ngwisc dderw* 'in a garment of oak (coffin)', MIW *yn*gkernyw [*anhernyw*] MnW *yn*g Nghernyw 'in Cornwall', MIW *yglyfranc Powys* MnW *yn*g nghyfranc Powys 'in the battle of Powys', MnW *ym mhoen* 'in pain' The *-n* of *yn* becomes *-m* before a radical *m-* *ym Morgannwg* 'in Glamorgan' The form *yn* remains unchanged before a verb-noun (infin) the initial consonant of the vn being also unmodified *yn canu* 'singing', *yn prynu* 'buying', *yn myned* 'going' (2) (cf § 189, 5) After *fy* 'my' MIW *vyggwreic* MnW *fy ngwraig* 'my wife', MIW *vyn dwyn* [*va nuyn*] MnW *fy nwyn* 'my bearing, bearing me', MIW *rygret* (/*-ph-*/) MnW *fy nghred* 'my faith' *fy* often becomes *y* which is frequently dropped in poetry after a vowel *a thorri 'nhŷ a thre 'nhad* 'destroying my house and my father's home' This is general in Mn spoken Welsh (3) (cf § 189, 6) Traces of eclipsis remain after *saith* '7', *naw* '9', *deg* '10', *can(t)* '100', whence it spread by anal to *pum(p)* '5', *wyth* '8', *ugain* '20' and rarely to *tri* '3', *chwe(ch)* '6' It is however confined to a few words ('years', 'days', 'cows', 'men') MIW *chwech mlyned* 'six years', *seith mlyned* 'seven years', *deugein neu* 'forty days', *naw myu* 'nine cows', *seithnyn* 'seven men' It is now found only in *diwrnod* 'day', *blynedd* 'years' and the adj *blwydd* 'year-old', after *pum saith*, *wyth*, *naw*, *deg* 'ten', *pymtheng* '15', *ugain*, *can* '100', v Orgraif yr Iaith Gymraeg, § 88 Before a nasal *deg*, *deuddeg* '12', *pymtheg* become *deng*, *deuddeng*, *pymtheng*, and *-ng* frequently appears before a vowel *deng awr* 'ten hours' (4) (cf § 189, 8) In *beunydd* 'daily', a mutated form of *peunydd*, from **peu-n dydd*, where **peu-n* represents the acc of *pawb*, cf *beunoeth* 'mightly' (and the new formation *beunos*)

§ 197. (Eclipsis in Co. and Br.) Eclipsis does not occur in Co or Br, but the voiceless stops are changed into spirants in some cases where eclipsis is found in W or Ir, after Br *va*, *me* 'my' V *me halon* 'my heart', *me zad* 'my father', *me fen* 'my head' (but *men dorn* 'my hand', *mem bis* 'my finger'), Léon *va c'haloun*, *va zad*, *va fenn* (*va dourn*, *va biz*), — after Br *nao* 'nine' *nao c'hant* '900'

Later fusion of final *n*- with a following initial

§ 198. *-n d- > n* in Br MIBr *an nou* 'the two', *en noar* 'in the earth' (Co *yn nor*), *an or* (*an nor*) 'the door', *crochen an nnuquell* 'the skin of the two testicles', *en ha parres* 'in thy parish', *en a holl devotion* 'in all thy devotion' MnBr V *en eu*, *en vù* 'the two' (masc and fem), *en erùen* 'the oak' But cf Thurneysen, ZCP 16, 295, Loth, RC 36, 105f

For younger effects of final *n* in Sc v § 195 and the dialectal forms quoted by Quiggin, Proc Cambridge Philol Soc LXXVI—LXXVIII p 16 /ə nör/ *an gabhar*, /ə n̥rəs/ *an dorus*, /ə mārð/ *am bārd*, /ə n̥aht/ *an cat*, /ə n̥haran/ *an t-aran*, /ə m̥hepər/ *am parpear* 'the goat, the door, the poet, the cat, the bread, the paper'

XIII. The history of *h*.

§ 199 In OW OBr orthography the use of *h* is irregular It was written initially before monosylls beginning with a vowel OW *ho* 'from', *hū* 'in', *hair* gl clades (later *aer*) It had no phonetic value in such cases, nor, for example, in OW *gurehic* MiW *gureic* MnW *gwrang*, where *ei* can never have been a disyll Similar irregularity in the use of *h* is seen in OCo and particularly in OIr

§ 200. (Sandhi-*h* in Ir.) In MnIr *h* is put before an initial vowel after a preceding word ending in a vowel and not producing lenition The chief instances are (1) After *a* her' *a h-aínm* 'her name' (2) After the art *na h-aíse* 'of the age', *na h-éin* 'the birds' (3) After *día* 'day' *día h-aíne* 'Friday' (4) After *o* 'nepos' **aujo-s* O *h-Airt* MN (5) After *a* before substantival numerals *a haon* 'one', *a hocht* 'eight' (6) After *trí* 'three', *ceithre* 'four' (7) After *sé* 'six' **swek's* and *a* 'from' **eks* *a hanbhroid an aithbheirseóra* 'from the captivity of the devil' (8) After *lé* 'with' (OIr *la* § 114, 1) and *go* 'to' *ó áit go h-áit* 'from place to place' (9) After the negative *ná* *ná hadhair dee bréige* 'pray not to false gods' (10) After *ní*, when it does not cause lenition *ní háill hom* 'I do not wish' (11) After the preverb *do* (for OIr *ro*) before the pret pass *do hordugheadh* 'it was ordered', also *níor hóladh é* 'it was not drunk', *má hóltar* 'if is drunk' (12) After *cia* 'who' *cia hé* 'who is he', *cá haois* 'what age' (13) After *fá* 'was' *an mac fá hóige* 'the youngest son' 'the son who was youngest' (14) After *an dara* 'the second' (from OIr *indala* 'other') *an dara háit* 'the second place' (15) After ordinal numerals in *-mhadh* and after *chomh* as *an seachtmhadh*

halt 'the seventh chapter', *chomh hóg* 'as young', Arr /xo hóg/ (more frequently *chomh óg*)

In cases 1—4, 6, and 14 (when nom masc) the *h* follows a word originally ending in IE *-s* which regularly gives Ir *h* before a vowel. Such sandhi-*h* from IE *-s* must have remained in OIr, but it is not regularly denoted in OIr orthography: *a ainm* 'her name', *inna anme* 'of the mind', *a óen* 'one', *la adam* 'with Adam', *ní áil dúin* 'we desire not'. But it is sometimes denoted: *ní hé* 'not it', *ní hé* 'not he'.

Sandhi-*h* is much more frequently found in Sg than in Wb and Ml, and in this Sg represents the change to MlIr where sandhi-*h* is exceptionally frequent if not regular.

§ 201 (Sandhi-*h* in W.) Sandhi-*h* in W represents IE *-s* after MIW *y* MnW *'i*, *ei* (pron /i/) 'her' MIW *y henw*, MnW *ei henw* 'her name'. In all other cases it is anal. (1) after the infixed pron MIW *e* MnW *'i* 'him, her', *'u* 'them' MIW *mí ae harhoaf* 'I will await him (her)', (2) after the infixed pron *'m* 'my' MIW *om hanuod* 'against my will', also the infixed pron *'m* 'me' MIW *am hýmlytíassant* 'who pursued me', in both these instances the *h* is regularly inserted in MnW, but in MIW usage varied between *h*- and no *h*-, (3) after MIW *an*, *yn* MnW *ein* (pron /ən/) 'our', *h*- always in MnW, with and without *h*- in MIW, (4) after *eu* 'their' *eu harghwydd* 'their lord', (5) in numerals above '20', *un ar hugain* '21', *dau ar hugain* '22' etc.

Note Sandhi-*h* does not regularly occur in Co or Br as it does in W.

§ 202 (Coalescence of *h* with a cons. in OIr.) *d* + *h* > *t* OIr *inte* 'into her', *intiu* 'into them', OIr *do-intarráir* 'he returned' (-*ntarr*- from -*nd-r-h*-, *-*ind-ro-so*-), *díltud* 'denial' v § 103, *b* + *h* > *p* *impe* 'about her', *impu* 'about them' *d* + *h* > *þ* *miathamh* (dat) 'majesty' (*miad* 'honour' and *samair* 'likeness') *g* + *h* > *x* *ríched* 'heaven' from **ríg-sed* 'king's seat' Kuno Meyer, Sitzungsber preuß Ak 1913, p 955 *h* + *g* > *x* *fochard* 'tribulation' (*fo* + *sairid* § 612) *x* + *h* *seccu* 'past them' (*sech* 'past').

d + sandhi-*h* (orig *-s*) gave *t* when the nom sg masc art comes before a vowel (*int óin ball* 'the one member', *int athir* 'the father' MnIr *an t-athair*). Similarly the *d* of the art with a foll init len *s* (the *s* was retained in writing) OIr *int serc* 'the love' MnIr *an t-searc* /ən t'ark/.

§ 203 (Cons + *h* in Brit.) W *teg* 'fair', superl *tecaf*, *drycin*

'bad weather' (*drwg + hwn*), *ateb* 'answer' (**ati-* + **sek^u-*, cf Ir *athesc* 'advice'), *epil* 'offspring' (**eb* 'horse' + *hwl* 'offspring'), *dygaf* 'I bear', 3sg subj *dyco*, *bwyd* 'food', *bwyta* 'eat'. Also when *w* or *r*, *l*, *n* intervenes *cadw* 'keep', 3sg subj *catwo*, *hagr* 'ugly', superl *hacraf*, *gwydn* 'tough', superl *gwytnaf* *dh* > *þ* *diwethaf* OW *di-guedham* 'last' (*diwedd* 'end'), *bytho* 'may be' (*bydd* 'will be'), *v + h* *coffa* 'remember' (*cof* 'memory'), *lloffa* 'glean' (*llaw(f)* 'hand'), *vr + h* *dyffryn* 'valley' MIW *dyffrynt* (*dwfr* 'water' + *hynt* 'way') — In late MnW the hardening caused originally by *h* is given up in the subj forms of the verb

The same changes occur in Co and Br, but not so extensively as in W. Co subj *re-thokko* 'may bring' (beside *dogo*), *tekra* 'the fairest'. Br *pesketa* 'to fish' (*pesked* 'fish'). Final *g*, *d*, *b* became *h*, *t*, *p* in Br as in W in the superlative of adjectives, the same change spread analogically to the comparative.

§ 204 (Initial *h* in OIr) In a number of words the OIr (and still the MIr) orthography shows more or less regularly an initial *h-*, sometimes perhaps as the continuation of IE *p-* or *j-*, but sometimes clearly without etymological value. In MnIr this *h-* has disappeared.

§ 205 (Initial *h* in Brit.) Initial *h-* from orig *s-* has in general remained: it tends to disappear in MnBr. (It has disappeared in spoken W in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire). A non-etymological *h* occurs in some words. OW *ocolun* MnW *agalen* 'whetstone' MIBr *hygoulen* MnBr *higolenn* cf W *hogi* 'to whet' (**āk-* cf Lat *ācer* 'sharp' Gk *ἀρώνη* 'whetstone'), Co *hanow* Br *hano* 'name' (occasionally W *henw*, usually *enw*) § 8,2. Also in W *hun*, *hunan* 'self' (after *fy* 'my', *dy* 'thy' etc.) Co *ow honan* etc. MIBr *ma human* etc. (to W *un* 'one'), W *herwydd* in *oheru ydd*, *yn herwydd* 'because Co *yn the herwyth* 'with thee', *herwyth* 'according to' Br *hervez* (containing the prefix *er-*) — A non-etym *h-* has developed under the influence of an earlier medial *h* in W *haearn* OCo *hoern* Br *houarn* 'iron', Br *hemolc'h*, *emolc'h* 'hunt', Br *huanad* W *uchenard* 'sigh', Br *huel*, *uc'hel* 'high' — For loss of *h* in proclisis v § 123.

XIV The Spirant Mutation in British

§ 206 In Brit medial stops after consonants for the most part changed into spirants, v the paragraphs treating of the different sounds. Moreover intervoc double stops gave /*x*/, /*þ*/, /*f*/

W *gwrach* 'hag', *brych* 'speckled', *peth* 'thing', *brethyn* 'cloth' § 73, W *nyth* 'nest' (orig *zd* § 27), W *pechod* 'sin', *llythyr* 'letter', *cyff* 'stock, stem' (Lat borrowings), W *achul* 'narrow' (**ad* + *cul*), *athrugar* 'merciful' (**ad* + *trugar*), *athref* 'abode' (**ad* + *tref*) Ir *atrab*

§ 207. (Spirant mutation in sandhi) The tenues are changed into spirants in Brit (1) After MIW *y* MnW *ei* (pron /i/) Co *y* Br *he* 'her' (g sg fem, **asjās*) MIW *y* *challon* MnW *ei chalon* Co *y holon* Br *he c'haloun* 'her heart' (2) After W *tri* Co *try* Br *tri* 'three' (masc) W *tri chant* Co *tryhans* Br *tri c'hant* '300' (3) After W *tra* 'very, excessive' *trachas*, *tra chas* 'very hateful', MIW *tra* 'over, across', *ton tra thon* 'wave over wave', cf MnW *dra'chefn* 'again', *blith draphlith* (4) In W only, after *chwe* 'six', *a* 'and', *d* 'with' *na* 'neque', 'than' (after a comparative MIW *no*), also the compounds *gyda* 'with', *tua* 'towards', NW *efo* 'with' (earlier *ef a* 'he and MIW *llyma gor yn dyuot y mywn ef a chorres* a dwarf came in with a female dwarf' RM 197) (5) After MIW *ny* MnW *ni* 'not', W *na* 'not, that not', also in early MIW after the perfect particle *ry*, v § 240 (6) After W *o* 'if' (7) After MIW *cu* 'where?' *moi cu threia duwyr cu threuna* the sea, where it ebbs water where it settles' BBC 88 (8) Br *h-* after the definite and indefinite art in nom masc sg and nom pl fem *ar c'here* the shoemaker', *eur c'here* a shoemaker', *ar c'heginou* 'the kitchens', also in nom pl masc of nouns not denoting persons *ar c'hestel* 'the castles' (9) In Br *h*, *t*, *p* after *teir* (fem) '3' *perar* (masc), *peder* (fem) '4' (10) Spirant mutation does not occur after substantives, but there are remains in Br *dour zomm* 'hot water', *sul Fask* 'Easter Day', also in composition *leu'r-zl* 'floor' (cf OBr *Poucher*, *Poher* = *Pou-caer* PN, *Pen-hoet* PN, cf W *Pencoed*, Loth (Hrest 77)

XV Provection

§ 208 After a homorganic sonant, spirants become explosives in Ir and Brit, also, particularly in Ir, when in contact with homorg spirants or explosives, and occasionally with non-homorg spirants (*s*, *x*, *h*) Two homorg voiced spirants (or an orig voiceless and a voiced spirant) give in Co and Br a voiceless explosive

§ 209 (*ď*, *b̌* > *d*, *t* after *l*, *n* medially in Ir) OIr *dál-dde* gl forensis Sg 57a 13, — *-réltar* 'is explained', *rélto* g of *rélad* 'ex-

planation', — *dóin-de* 'human' MnIr *daonna*, — OIr *dén-ti* 'faciendus', Ir *ingantach* 'wonderful' *ingnáth*

§ 210. (Explosive from spirant + spirant in Ir. medially and finally). (1) *g* + *g* OIr *tecnate* gl domesticus, MnIr *én n-eteagnáth* 'of wild birds', from *tech* 'house' and *gnáth* 'usual' *g* + *x* Ir *trócaire* 'mercy' (*tróg* 'wretched', *carim* 'I love') *x* + *x* Ir *clocan* 'skull' (*cloch* 'stone', *cenn* 'head', MnIr *cloigeann*) — *g* + *x* Ir *cóica* MnIr *caoga* '50' § 156 *x* + *l* *secachnguidi* 'beyond every prayer' Wb 25a 28 (for *sech cach nguidi*)

(2) *þ* + *ð* OIr *túati* gl qui foris sunt MnIr *tuata* 'rustic' (*tuath* 'people', suff -*de*), OIr *date* 'agreeable' (*dath* 'colour'), OIr *tecnate* v (1) *ð* + *þ* OIr *fletech* 'banqueting-house' (*fled* 'feast', *tech* 'house') *þ* + *þ* *ítige* (etymological spelling *ithige*) 'granaries' Ml 98a 4,5 (*ith* 'corn', *tech* 'house') — *t* + *þ* OIr *nerta*, gen of *nertad* 'exhortation' Wb 31b 11 *d* + *þ* *nád crette* 'that he was not believed' Wb 15a 31 *ð* + (*t* >) *d* *docotar* 'they have gone' (verb *tag*-) Cf Ir *net* 'nest' § 27

(3) *b* + *b* OIr *nepuid* 'non-being' Ml 122a 11 (*neb* + *buith*) Forms like OIr *atrefea* 'will dwell' are restored forms — *b* + *b*, *p* *ropa*, *ro-bia-si* 'ye shall have' ("will be to you") Wb 16a 13, 21c 17, *nepproinde* 'of not dining' Wb 19a 10 (or perhaps *b* + *f*, len of *p*)

§ 211 (Spirant becoming explosive owing to a heterorganic spirant medially and finally in Ir) (1) *s* + *g*, *x* is retained in OIr (Wb), but later becomes *sk* OIr *toschad* 'sustenance' (*to-saig*-) MlIr *tarscid* MnIr *tarscíd* 'keeping' (OIr *tasgíd* Wb 29a 13, etymological spelling '), MnIr *ois-céim* 'pace' — (2) *g* + *s* OIr *tuicse* 'chosen' (cf inf *toqu* 'choose') *x* + *s* OIr, MlIr *ochsal* 'armpit' MnIr *asgall* — (3) *s* + *ð*, *þ* had become *st* before the literary period OIr *bés-te* (adj) 'moral' (*bes* 'custom', suff -*de*), OIr *césto*, g of *ésad* 'suffering' (IE suffix -*tu*-) — (4) *ð*, *þ* + *s* had become *ts* (later *st*) before the literary period OIr *ro-n-moitsem* 'we have boasted' (inf *móidem*), OIr *baisim* 'I baptize' MnIr *baisim* (OIr *baitias* 'baptizm'), OIr *fáitsine* 'prophecy' Wb (to *fáith* prophet', etym spelling Ml *faithsine*) Frequent before an enclitic *in chrut sin* 'thus', MlIr *i-trasta* 'now' (for *in tráth sa*), *do-adbat som* 'he shows' (cf pass *do-adbadar*) The -*t* originally caused by the *s*- of a supplementary pron often occurs in a number of pres tense forms without the pron *do-adbat* 'thou showest' Sg 159a 2, *hore do-n-infet* 'because it inspires' Wb 4b 3 (inf *tinfed*) The rare final group -*ts*

became -s OIr *ro-fitis* 'you know' from *ro-fítud-si* — For traces of the old rules in MnIr dialects (Arr */hagəx/* 'he used to come', but */hagəd šē/*, wr *theagadh*, *theagadh sé*) v Asp 1 Irsk 161 (5) *s* + *ð*, *f* remains in Wb, later *sp*, both forms occur side by side in MnIr OIr *esbe-tu* 'uselessness' Wb 9b 15 (-*b* = *ð*), but *espe* 'useless' 19d 17, *espach* MI 35c 25, MnIr *easbaidh* 'need', but also *easbha* (Sc *easbhuidh*, Arr */asbə/*, but Don */aswī/*, cf Henebry p 46 and p 9 — (6) -*h*- + -*s*- remained OIr *tuidbsiu* 'show' (inf of *doadbadar* 'is shown') MnIr *tuidhbhse* 'ghost' Arr */tejvšə/* Don */tavšə/* (IE *w*)

(7) *x* + *d*, *þ* OIr *mach-digith* so that ye have not so gone' Wb 9b 19, MIr *ní díchúim* 'I cannot go' LU 5181 OIr *docord* 'is gone' (*di-con-* + root beginning with *w*, § 639) But *þ* is very frequently restored by analogy OIr *machdad*, *machthad*, *magthad* 'wonder', MIr *machtad* — (8) *x* + *h* OIr *seccu* § 202

§ 212 (Provection and spirant becoming explosive medially and finally in Brit) (1) Instances of spirants after homorganic sonants are rare, occurring mostly in compounds or derived forms in which regular development is disturbed by etymological consciousness W *tandde* 'fiery', *cyn-ddaredd* 'rabies, madness' (*ci*, pl *cŵn* 'dog', dial *cyndaredd*, *cyndeiriog* 'mad'), the regular development is seen in OBr *cunnaret* gl rabies MnBr *kounnar* (*nd* > *nd* > *nn*)

(2) Instances of homorganic spirants or of homorganic spirants and explosives coming together medially are rare in Brit (a) Spirant as last element Co *worto* 'against him' MIBr *outaff* Co *worth* MIBr *ouz* with the ending seen in OW *rac-dam* etc (§ 350) 'before him' but W *wrtho*, cf *gwrthrych* 'object' (*gwrth-ddrych*) MIW *gantaw* 'with him' (OW *cant* 'with', also MIW *gantaw* MnW *ganddo*, dial *ganto*) Co *ganso* MIBr *gantaff* W *adyn* 'wretch' **ad-dyn* (*ad-* < IE **ati-*), *edrych* 'look' **ati-drk'o-* (b) Spirant + explosive W *dwedydd* 'evening' (*dweddd*, *dydd*) MnBr *sei-teh* '17' MIBr *seiz-dec*, MICo *byteweth* 'ever' (*byth* 'ever', *deweth* 'end')

(3) *s* + *d* MIW *tros-taw* 'over him' MnW *trosto* 'o dres-to *x* + *d* OCo *maktheid* gl virgo MICo *maghteth* 'servant girl' etc v § 55, MIW *uch-taw* § 350

(4) Provection of explosives W *cytir* 'common land' (*cyd-dir*), *llety* 'lodging' (*lled-dý*), *wynepryd* 'face' (*wyneb-bryd*) Groups of non-homorganic explosives are as follows in MnW *pt* (*b-d*), *pg* (*b-g*), *th* (*d-b*), *tg* (*d-g*), *ct* (*g-d*), *cb* (*g-b*), v Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg § 79 Cf Morris-Jones, WG 181ff

Provection and spirant becoming explosive in the initial in sandhi

§ 213 In Ir initial *d-*, *t-* are not lenited in sandhi after final *l*, *n*. OIr *amal tuthle* gl ut cancer Wb 30b 13, *cen torbatid* 'without profitableness' Wb 12d 33. Similarly after *s* *an as tech* 'what is best (*dech*)' Ml 37d 3 (but *as chóir* 'what is fitting' Wb 33c 15).

Lenition does not occur after a homorganic explosive or spirant *cairch cennúil* 'of every nation' Wb 5c 3.

§ 214 In W initial *d-* becomes *d-* in sandhi after final *s* in *nos da* 'good night' (*nos fem*), and (in spoken W) *yr wythnos diwe-thaf* 'last week'. The same occurred formerly in other cases also, v Morris-Jones, WG 186.

§ 215 (Co) (1) *d* > *d* after *n* and *l* *vn lenyn da* 'a good woman', *pan deth* 'when he came'.

(2) Explosive from spirant + spirant *d* becomes *t* after the verbal particle *y* (and *ma-y*) which originally ended in *d* *y tons* 'they come', *may telh* (*ma-telh*) 'so that there came'. Also *maga* 'so, as' *maga ta* 'as good', *maga tek* 'as fair' *p* + *d* *reth tenyrghys* 'has greeted thee' Ml 115 (but *ath dynyrghys* 'who has greeted thee' PC 565) — *t* from *d* occurs in *yn ta* 'well'.

(3) Provection of a spirant (len *g*, which later disappeared, was still *g* when provection occurred, through provection it became *h*) *y hyller* 'it is possible' (*gall-* 'be able'), *y uhelas* 'he saw' (*gueles* 'see'), *y fyth* 'it will be' (*-b-*), *y fyn* 'he wants' (*m-*), — *may halle* 'that he might', *may whane* 'that he pierced', *maga whyn* 'as white', — *reth fo* 'will be to thee', *ty a fyth* 'thú erit'. Also after adverbial *yn* and after *lyn* 'although' *yn harow* 'roughly' (*garou*), *yn fas* 'good' (*mas*), *lyn fy* 'quamuís sis'.

(4) Provection of an explosive. After the particle *ow* (Br o W *urth*) *g*, *d*, *b* become *k* *t*, *p* *ow crowethe* 'lying' (*gr-*), *ow tybbry* 'eating' (*d-*), *ow pewe* 'living' (*b-*). Cf *tothda*, *toth ta*, *totta* 'quickly' PC 643, OM 1001, 1036. After *can* (*cans* '100') in *dek can quyth* (*gw-*) 'ten hundred times', after *mar* 'if', *mar calle* 'if he could' (*g-*), *mar teffa* 'if he would come' (*d-*), after *a* 'if', *a calla* 'if he could', *a pe* 'if he were'.

§ 216 (Br) (1) *d* instead of *d* after *n* *ann douar* 'the earth', *máin dour* 'water mill' *p* instead of *f* after *m* *dam pec'hedou* 'to my sins' (but *em c'halon* 'in my heart'), *c'hour am pedo* 'you will ask me' (but *c'hour am c'haro* 'you will love me', *c'hour am zenno* 'you

will draw me' from *tenna* 'to draw'), v Legonidec, Dict br-fr p 10

(2) Explosive from spirant + spirant The verbal particle *e* (MIBr *ez*), the conjunction *ma* 'that' (MIBr *maz* from *ma* + *ez*) and the prep *o* (MIBr *oz* W *wrth*) used in forming the pres participle, all of which cause lenition of *g*-, *gw*-, *b*-, *m*-, change initial *d* (through *d*) to *t* *e tigeuezaz* 'it happened', *gant ma teuot* 'provided that you come', *o tont* 'coming'

The initial *d*- of an adj does not undergo lenition after a fem noun ending in *-d*, *-t*, *-z*, *-s*

(3) Provection of a spirant appears in certain MIBr forms of *bezaff* 'to be' with the preceding verbal particle *ez* *effezo* 'will be' Such forms are still current in V and Cornouaille, v Loth, RC 9 354ff

(4) Provection of an explosive *g*, *d*, *b* become *k*, *t*, *p* after *ho* 'you, your' (before vowels *hoc'h*, MIBr *hoz*) and after the infixed *-z* 'thee, thine' *me ho kalv* 'I call you', *me ho kwel* 'I see you', *me ho talc'h* 'I catch you', *ho tourn* 'your hand', *me az kalv* 'I call you'

XVI Lenition¹.

§ 217. In Celtic practically all non-syllabic sounds between two vowels and in certain other positions had a pronunciation different from that which they normally had, in those circumstances they were lenited. In initial positions, too, (apart from exceptions mentioned in § 213—6) they were lenited before a syllabic or non-syllabic vowel before IE *p* (§ 25, 1) or before a sonant (for *sm*- cf § 26, 11) if the preceding word originally ended in a vowel and was in close grammatical connection with its following word.

Note The fact that in the older literary periods initial lenition is not denoted orthographically does not mean the non-existence of lenition. In OIr originally only lenition of the tenues is regularly denoted (*ch* = /x/ *th* = /θ/, later (esp. in Sg) len *f* and *s* were written *f*, *s*). But the lenition of *r* *l* *n* *s*, *f* (partly also *b* and *m*) in OIr is proved by the form of the article *in* before the non-len sounds, *ind* before len sounds (Asp 1 Irsk p 75ff) *in sen-duine* 'the old man', *g ind sen-duine*.

The two pronunciations of the non-syllabic sounds and conditions under which they occur

§ 218. Evidences for a double pronunciation of IE *w* medially are rare. The rules for the loss or retention of *w* medially in Ir

¹ Cf Holger Pedersen, Asp 1 Irsk

(§ 18—19) afford a certain similarity to the rules for lenition (Ir *oac* 'young' *tarb* 'bull' = *fiche* '20' *marc* 'horse') Initially when uninflected *w* was pronounced with abnormal narrowing of the mouth-channel, and this over-narrow sound remained in Ir (later *f*-), while the normal *w*-sound was lost

§ 219 There is no evidence for an old double pronunciation of IE *j* medially

§ 220. For IE *s* see § 24, 3

§ 221 There are no grounds for maintaining an open and a closed pron. of IE *p*

§ 222 The IE mediae and voiced aspiratae between vowels became *g*, *d*, *b* in Ir and in Brit., cf. § 34, 1, § 42, § 46 In Ir the tenues became *x*, *þ*, in Brit. *g*, *b*, *d*, cf. § 50, § 55, § 60

Lenition of explosives occurs medially (1) between two vowels, (2) between a vowel and a sonant (the resulting spirant being sometimes vocalized, giving compensatory lengthening in Ir and a diphthong in Brit.) § 36, § 44, § 48, § 53, § 58, § 62, (3) *g* and *k* are lenited between a vowel and an explosive (and partly later becoming vocalized) Ir *ocht* W *wyð* 'eight' § 52

§ 223 For *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* cf. § 65—75 The lenited pronunciation occurs (1) between vowels, (2) between vowels and non-homorganic explosives or sonants (len. *r*, *l* before *g*, *b*, *k*, *kʰ*, len. *r*, *l*, *n* before *m*, len. *m* before *r*, *l*, *n*), (3) between explosives or *m* and a vowel, (4) *r* is lenited in an old final (*athir* 'father') but not *n* (cf. VKG I 158)

System of Lenition Contrast between medial and initial Analogy in initial lenition

§ 224 (1) Non-lenited pronunciation of sounds referred to in § 218—223 occurred (a) in absolute initials, (b) in gemination, (c) after non-lenited *s*, (d) *s* was not lenited before an explosive and after a nasal, and (in Ir) after an explosive

(2) As regards lenition and non-lenition, non-syllabic groups were treated in sandhi as they were medially But the further development of the lenited sounds which occurred medially did not take place initially thus OIr *dér* 'tear' (*-l-r-*), but *ara-chrimum* gl. *defetiscor*, etc

(3) There was a tendency to retain in initial position a lenited sound which was lost medially Thus len. *s* disappeared medially

in Ir, but remains initially as *h*. In Br /*g*-/ as a rule has become *c'h* *he c'har* 'his leg' (*gar*), but *n'ellan ket* 'I cannot' (*gallout* 'to be able'), also wr *n'hellan ket*. Thus *c'h* has sometimes also spread to len forms of *gw* (IE *w*) *he c'hoad* 'his blood' beside *he oad*, also *he voad* with *v* inserted in hiatus (*gwad* 'blood', Léon *good*), but the regular lenited form of Br *gw-* is *w-*.

(4) Initial lenition has caused many analogical forms. Ir *s* from *st*, which could not be lenited originally and which remains in Brit as *s*, undergoes lenition by analogy. OIr *int serc* 'the love'. Ir *p-*, which occurs in borrowings only and so was introduced after the period of lenition, was lenited to *f* (wr *ph*), by analogy with *k-* /*x-*/, *t-* /*β-*/, it occurs already in Wb (*fo pheccad* 'under sin'), but twice as often *p* is left unlenited, later the lenition became general. In colloquial MnW /*č*/ in borrowed words is sometimes lenited to /*ž*/ /*čain*/ 'chain' /*ə žain*/ 'the chain' (Sweet, Spoken North Welsh p 433, cf Fynes-Clinton, Vocab Bangor District p 554), SW /*čaf*/ 'chaff' /*inžin žaf*/ 'chaffing machine' ('chaff engine'). In MuCo *f* is lenited analogically to *v* /*ford*/ 'way' /*an vord*/ 'the way' (Lhuyd p 241). In Br *s* is lenited to *z* *sae* 'jacket' *he zae* 'his jacket'. — A media due to lenition is treated as an old media in Br *bete vremañ* 'till now' (*bremañ* 'now' from *pred* 'time'). Similarly in the W adj *beunyddiol* 'daily', from the adverb *beunydd*, mutated form of *peunydd*, cf § 196.4, in colloquial W *hen fobol* 'old people' (*bobl* mutated form of *pobl*).

(5) In sandhi one of the two (as len- and non-len-) historically alternating sounds is not infrequently replaced by another which to the mind of the speakers seemed to fit in (better or as well) with the other sound. Thus IE *sw-*, *sp-* regularly gave the Ir alternation *s* /*f*. Ir *siur* 'sister' *mo fiur* 'my sister' § 24.4, § 25.1. In MNIr *s* /*h* is substituted for it. Occasionally, too, *p-* is made the radical for *f-*. Sc *pruthar* 'sister', MNIr *ar-do-petel* 'they play for them, entertain them' inf *ar-fituad* (cpd of *sét* 'blow' W *chwythu*). — In Brit *b-* for the historically correct *m-*, or *m-* for *b-* is made the non-lenited form of *v-*. W *men* = *ben* 'waggon' G *benna* 'genus uehiculi', MnW *bawd* 'thumb' OW *maut* (MnW *mod-rwy* 'ring') MIBr *meut* MnBr *meud*, Br *begin*, *megin* 'bellows' W *megin* Co pl *mygenow*. — As *s-* and *t-* have in MNIr the lenited form *h-*, they are interchanged MNIr *socht* 'silence' MNIr *tocht* (possibly influenced by MNIr *tó* 'silent'). As *h* cannot be palatalized, *š-* and

s-, *t'-* and *t-* are occasionally interchanged *sílim*, *saolím* 'I think', Arr /*tōrəN'*/ 'boundary' *teora* — In Ir an *f-* is often made the non-len form of a vocalic initial MlIr *uar* 'cold' (adj), *uacht* 'cold' (noun) MnIr *fuair*, *fuacht* § 36, *anam*, *fanam* 'I wait' More rarely an old *f-* is analogically dropped Ir *errach* 'Spring' § 26, 3, *espartain* 'twilight, evening' from Lat *uespertina* (*hōra*) Similarly in W a non-historical *g-* occurs OW *ord* MnW *gordd* 'hammer', *allt*, *gallt* § 64, MIW *odidawc* 'rare' MnW *godidog* 'excellent', *wyneb* and *gwyneb* 'face' This is less frequent in Br *goelo* 'weep' W *wylo*, *gober* beside *ober* 'to make' An initial *g-* has been dropped in W *naws*, Br *neuz* § 9, 2, in W *euog* 'guilty' MIW *geuawc* (from MIW *geu* 'false' MnW *gau* OIr *gáo* 'Co' *gow* MlBr *gou* MnBr *gaou*), and in W *elor* 'bier' MIW *gelor* 'Co' *geler* Br *geler*

Interchange of len and non-len forms *f* for *p* in MnIr *fairche* 'parish' (*pairche* < Lat *parochia*), MnIr *fromhadh* 'proof' MlIr *fro-mud* OIr *promad* Lat *probō*, MnIr *failm*, *pailm* 'palm' *p* for *f* in MnIr *préamh* = *fréamh* 'root', MlIr *peterlaicc* 'the Old Testament' OIr *g* *fetarlicce* Also in Br *golc hed* 'feather-bed' OBr *colcet gl agipam*, from Lat *culcita*

In borrowings, the initial is frequently taken as a lenited form Sc *sainnseal* 'handsel', MnIr *taisteal* 'hackle' from Eng *hatchel*, W *mantais* 'advantage' from Eng *vantage*

Syntax of lenition.

Lenition of nouns and adverbs

§ 225 After the vocative particle Ir *a* *phopuil* 'O people', MIW *a vorwyn* 'O maiden' (*morwyn*), Co *a das* 'O father' (For the W forms of the particle v Morris-Jones, WG p 450) The vocative is frequently lenited in W when not preceded by a particle Cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 172ff

§ 226 After prepositions orig ending in a vowel. (a) Ir *ar* for 'etc' (= G *are-* § 6, 1), cf OIr *ar-chiunn* 'before' W *er-byn* against' (*pen* 'head') Co *er-byn* § 181, 6 — (b) W *at* 'to' apparently from the cpd prep **ad-to*, **ad* gave OW *ad* = /*ad*/, v Ifor Williams, BBCS 3, 261 — (c) Ir *cen* 'without' § 372 — (d) Ir *dí* 'from' (OW *dí* MIW *y*, in MnW *o-ddi* occurring generally in compos with other preps) To Lat *dē* — (e) Ir *do* 'to' OW *dí* MIW *dý* /*dý*/, *y* MnW i Co *the* OBr *do* MlBr *da*, *de* MnBr *da* § 121 n 1, **to* — (f) Ir *fo* 'under' < **upo* (in Brit as prefix only, v § 30) — (g) W *gan*

'with' Gk κατά § 64,3 No len after Co *gans* Br *gant* — (h) Ir *im*, *imm*- 'about' W *am* § 8,1 — (i) W *is* 'below' only in *islaw* 'below' (accented on ult) — (j) Ir *ó* 'from' W *o* Co Br *a* — (k) Ir *ol* 'on account of, beyond' *ol sodán* 'therefore', *ol-chene* 'besides' — (l) Ir *tre* 'through' W *trwy*, *drwy* Co Br *dre*, **trei* — (m) Ir *uas* 'above' W *uwch* (only in *uwchben* and *uwchlaw* 'above' acct on ult) § 25,1

Note 1. No lenition after the living prep W *er* 'for, since' Co *er* 'for, by' (in which no doubt etymologically different prepositions have been mixed) But W *ar* 'on' Co Br *war* (= Ir *for*) cause lenition, this agrees with the treatment of medial *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, after *r* but contrasts with the treatment of medial *rc*, *rt*, *rp*

Len occurs after some nouns which have come to be used as prepositions, but this lenition cannot be regarded as sure evidence for an original vocalic ending Thus Ir *amal* 'as, like' § 24,2 (as a conjunction it eclipses a verb § 192), Ir *fiad* 'in presence of' § 16, W *hyd* 'as far as, till' (but radical after *ar hyd* 'along', *hyd* is really a noun 'length')

Some preps cause lenition in some of the languages only, or in certain periods only, not due to orig vocalic ending OIr *eter* 'between' § 64,3 did not cause len, but MlIr *eter chorcair 7 gorm* 'both purple and blue' LL 54a 36, MnIr Arr */ed'ir' v'og agas wōr/* 'both small and great' *idiv bheag agus mhór* — OIr MlIr *tur* 'across', no lenition, MnIr Sc len — W *tros*, *dros* 'over' causes lenition, but not Co *dres*, *dreys* Br *dreist* (W *o* in proclisis from *ā*, Co *e*, *ei* umlaut of *a*, for *ā* *a* cf § 121,1, cf W *traws* 'cross', *ar draws* 'across' Co *tres*, *trus* 'cross, adverse' Br *treuz* 'de travers') — W *wrth* 'over against' MlBr *oz*, *ouz* MnBr *o* cause len (but cf § 215,4, § 216,2), but not Ir *fri* Co *worth*, *orth*, *ow* — W Co *heb* 'without' cause lenition, but not Br *hep*, nor Ir *sech* (but cf *sech thech* 'past the house' LL 117a46), v § 56 — W *tan*, *dan* 'under' Co *yn dan* cause lenition, also Br *din-dan* in *dindan boan* 'under punishment' only, not elsewhere

Note 2 In Br if a noun is followed by a dependent genitive or an adjective, then lenition may not occur after a preposition *dre toul (doul) an alc'houez* 'through the keyhole' (Ernault, Gramm p 8), *war moriou ar C'hreisteiz* 'on the seas of the south' (Vallée, La Langue Bretonne 1926 p 69)

§ 227 After certain adverbs: W *mor* Co *mar* MlBr *mar* (RC 31,196 n 5) 'so' W *mor ddu â'r frân* 'as black as the crow', Co

mar was 'so great' They are weakened forms of *W mawr* 'great' etc (§ 9, 3), for *o a* from *ā v* § 121, 1 So this was orig a case of composition, cf *MIr mór-dóig* 'very difficult' Initial *ll-* and *rh-* are not lenited after *mor* Similarly *W Co pur* 'fairly, rather' (*W pur garedig* 'rather kind', *Co pur wyr* 'quite true') See further § 244 — *Co maga* 'as' § 215, 2 — *Co sul Br seul* '(so much) the' followed by a compar adj *Co sul voy ancov* BM 2351 'the more deaths', *Br seul vrasoc'h* 'the greater' (*V sel* does not cause len) — *Co the* '(so much) the' followed by a compar adj *the well* 'the better', *the voy* 'the greater' ZE 298

Note *Co the* in *the wyr* 'truly' corresponds to *W y v* Ifor Williams, PKM 122, G Melville Richards, BBCS 7 98 ff, Henry Lewis, BBCS 7 279 ff

§ 228. **After conjunctions.** *Ir no* 'or' *W neu*, and *Ir acus* 'and' (often wr OIr 7, cf *airde cáinnchumraic et chóre* 'a sign of benevolence and peace' Wb 7b 4, where Lat *et* is a sort of compendium for *Ir acus*) In OIr (MI) a verbal form is lenited after *no*, occasionally after *W neu* but generally not lenited In *MnIr* len is given up after *nó*, while it occurs after *agus* only if the preceding word is lenited *idir bheag agus mhór* § 226 p 131 — For *Ir ro-d-bo*, *ba (fa)* 'or' *Br pe*, v § 237, 1aβ, 2a

§ 229 **After numerals** orig ending in a vowel *Ir nom acc g* masc and *g* fem *da, dá* '2', *W dau* (masc) *Co dow, dew* *Br daou* *Ir nom acc fem dā, dí* '2' *W dwy* ('*Co dyu, dew*, *Br diou* (For the eclipsing forms v § 189, 7) *Ir trí* '3' and *cethir* '4' cause len when neuter *Ir rōu* '5' (nom acc dat) causes lenition v Bergin, Ériu 11 226 Traces occur in *MnW* of the expected len after *wyth* '8' (tenuis only) — There are numerous analogical instances, '8' eclipses by analogy with '7, 9, 10', similarly *W pum(p)* '5', *W saith* '7' lenites tenuis in a few cases by anal with *wyth*, cf *MIW hwech wraged* 'six women' WM 28 18 *MIW MnW canner* 100 men', *MIW trywyr* 3 men', *MnW canwarth* '100 times' etc are all compounds In *Ir* '5' and '6' are influenced by the preceding declinable numerals (and so eclipse in *g*) In *MnIr* '3', '4', '5', '6' are joined with a non-len plural form or with a len singular form Exceptional len in *Br deh vloaz* 10 years' In *V elai* 'years' follows all numerals but 1, 3, 4, 5, also *pet* 'how many?' *MIW pet* 'how many?' also causes lenition, v Morris-Jones WG 290

MIr tricha chét '30 hundreds, cantred' is due to anal with *trí*

chét, cf *ocht trichant chét* The regular len after '1000' is found in MIW and Co MIW *mil vanyeri* '1000 banners', Co *myl woly* '1000 wounds'

For 'one' and the ordinal numerals v § 232, 3, § 233

§ 230. After certain indeclinable pronominal forms. (1) Ir *do*, -t 'thy' W *dy*, -th Co *the* Br *da*, Ir *mo*, -m 'my', Ir *a* 'his' MIW *y*, -e MnW *ei*, 'i, 'w (only in 'w 'to his') Co *y* Br *e* cf § 358 (2) After Ir pronouns in -i and after MIW *ynteu* Ir *aní thuas* 'that above', W *ynteu Gei* 'he, Ceir'

§ 231. After forms of the article orig. ending in a vowel. In Ir after the nom sg fem and nom pl masc, dat sg of all genders, g sg masc and neut

Note 1 No len occurred after nom acc pl neut In MIr and MnIr nom pl the form of the fem (and neut) art spread to the masc MnIr *na fir* 'the men' In MnIr use of cases has changed Even in MIr instances occur of prepositions orig governing the accus being used with the dat *imm-on chorthi* 'around the columns' LL 73a 28 In MnIr (where the nom form has taken the place of the accus) the art after a prep sometimes causes lenition (as in the old dat, thus after *do* = OIr *do* 'to', *di* 'from'), sometimes eclipsis (after the other preps *on bh-fear* 'from the man', *air an bh-fairste* 'on the sea', *air an saoghal* 'in the world', but not before a masc or fem noun beginning with *d* or *t* or a fem beginning with *s* *on doras* 'from the door', *anns an teach* 'in the house', *air an t-sraid* 'in the street') The preps *gan* 'without', *idir* 'between' have the same rule as the nom *gan an t-aran* 'without the bread', *idir an t-aer agus an t-uisge* 'between the air and the water'

In W the art causes len in fem sg and in the dual *y fren-hines* 'the queen', *y ddau ddyn* 'the two men', *y ddwy eneth* 'the two girls' — In Co the art lenites the fem sg and occasionally the masc pl *an venyn* 'the woman', *an vein* 'the stones', but *den menydyow* 'to the mountains' — In Br the art lenites the fem sg and also masc pl denoting persons *ar vaz* 'the stick', pl *ar bizier*, *ar verc'h* 'the girl', pl *ar merc'hed*, *ar veleien* 'the priests' (*beleg*) A noun masc pl or fem sg beginning with *d* is not lenited after the article Certain masc nouns denoting persons are never lenited in the plur (*tadou* 'fathers', *testou* 'witnesses', *priedou* 'spouses', *Turked* 'Turks', occasionally also *breudeur* 'brothers', *mupien* 'sons'), v Ernault, Gramm p 8, Guillevic & Le Goff p 9 For mutation of initial *k*- cf § 207, 8 In Br the art lenites a foll ordinal numeral even when masc sg *an drede deiz* 'the third day' V *en drivet* 'the third' (masc), Ernault, Gramm p 9, Guillevic & Le Goff p 9

Note 2. In W the art foll by *pobloedd*, pl of *pobl* 'people' causes lenition *y bobl*, *y bobloedd*

§ 232 After Ir *in(d)* W. Co *yn* MIBr *en in* adverbial and predicative formulas. OIr *in chorpdad* gl corporahter, *ind fir* 'truly', W *yn dda* 'well', *yn faur* 'greatly', MIW *gororeu y dyffryn oed yn goet* 'the sides of the valley were wood', Co *yn lan* 'cleanly', MIBr *en fat* MIBr *ervád* 'well' For W *yn llawn* v § 68, for Co *yn ta*, *yn harow* v § 215, 2 3

§ 233 After declinable pronouns. (1) The interrogative adj MIW *py*, *pa* MnW *pa* 'what' Co *py* Br *pe* W *pa le* 'where', Co *py gymmys* 'how many', MIBr *pedu* 'quorsus' (*tu* 'side', but MIBr *pe-tra* 'what'), after Ir *cia* in a few expressions only OIr *cia chruth* 'in what way', *cia chum* gl quando MnIr *cá mhéad* 'how much' may be a relic of this lenition, Sc *co mheud*, and *co meud*, *cia meud*

(2) OIr *cach* 'every', *nach* 'any', *alaile* 'another', *ind-ala* 'the one', *huile* 'all', *ceitne* 'the first', *inonn* 'the same' lenite in the same circumstances as the article There are early deviations from this rule *ind-uile tegdais* 'the whole house' [Wb] 33a 3 *inonn cretem* 'the same belief' Wb 7d 10

W *neb* Co Br *nep*, *neb* 'any' and W *pob* ('o *pup* *pop*, *pep* Br *pep*, *peb* 'every' do not cause lenition — W *holl* 'all' Br *holl* always cause len — W *ail* 'second' lenites the initial consonant of a foll fem noun, and thus gradually spreads to masc nouns as well Br *eil* 'second' always causes lenition W *y naill* MIW *y neill* 'the one' lenites, this does not occur with ('o *yll*, *eyll*, *nyl*, *neyl* before masc nouns, examples are wanting of fem nouns The ordinals after 'second' lenite a fem, but not a masc in W, they do not cause lenition in Co and Br — Other pronominal words after which len occurs W *rhwy* 'some' and its compounds *unrhwy* 'any', *cyfryw* 'such', *amryw* 'various', Br *ar re* *ar re goz* 'the old ones' (W *rhai* does not cause len), — MIW *y sawl* 'as many' (adj) *y sawl vorynyon* 'all the maidens', *y sawl velineu* 'so many mills', it is no longer used in this way For Co *sul* Br *seul* v § 227, — W *aml* 'many a', pl 'many', *ambell* 'an occasional', *ychydig* 'a little', pl 'a few', — W *cwbl* 'complete'

Note In MIW in adverbial expressions a numeral is len after *pob* (*bob deu*, *d* = *id*), 'two by two', MnW *bob yn ddau*) cf Morris Jones, Welsh Syntax 145 f

§ 234 (1) After adjectives When an adj comes before its noun, it forms a compound with it and so the initial consonant of the noun

is lenited OIr *inna sen-chomrorcan* 'of the old errors' MI 2a 6, MIW *amrauaelon vwydeu* 'various foods', W *yr hen ūr* 'the old man', Co *guyr vres* 'true judgment', Br *e berr gomzou* 'in a few words' — In Brit len does not occur after compared forms of the adj. Thus in W after the equative, comparative and superlative, a few cases of len after *mwyr* 'more' and *llai* 'less' are found in MIW, Strachan, Introd 12f, in MnW len occurs sometimes after the superlative, cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 47. Cf Co *an gokyne den* 'the silliest man', *gwel guyn* 'a better wine'. Br V *ged braset plijadur* 'with such great pleasure', Br *ar gwellu den* 'the best man'.

Note 1 Ir *oin* and Co *un* 'one' follow the rule of prefixed adjectives (always lenition) but W *un* and Br *eun*, *eur* lenite only in fem. W *un* meaning 'same' causes lenition always (v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax 138), and there is always lenition of the infinitive after Br *enn eur* *cenn eur* *gana* 'singing'.

(2) **Lenition of a following adjective.** In Ir len of the adj. after nom sg fem, nom pl masc, dat sg of all genders, g sg masc and neut, voc sg masc and fem, nom acc dual masc and fem of *o*- and *ā*-stems. OIr *i-rrá choir* 'at the right time' Wb 23d 30, *di guttar fodlaidi* 'two separate vowels' Sg 54a 14. Cf § 231.

The other stems in a number of instances follow the *o*- and *ā*-stems. MIr *gnuis chorera* 'a purple face' LL 55b 36 (nom *i*-stem), *in chon chetna* 'of the same dog' (g *n*-stem). Traces of the regular influence of the orig. endings are found, nom masc *cú* 'dog' **k'wō* causes len (*mo chú charm chain* 'my dear fine dog'), len is not found after the nom pl masc of *i*- and *u*-stems.

In W, Co, Br an adj. is lenited after a fem sg noun, in Br also after the nom pl masc of personal nouns. In Co too len may occur after a pl masc noun. In MIW lenition occurs after the dual *deu vilgi vronwynnyon vrychyon* 'two white-breasted speckled greyhounds' RM 225, this is found even without the numeral, thus *golygon dduon* 'dark eyes', v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 67f.

Note 2 In NW *bach* 'small' is not lenited after a fem sg noun *yr eneth bach* 'the little girl'. Cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p 19.

An adj. following a proper name as an epithet is lenited in W and Br. W *Hywel Dda* 'H. the Good', Br *Pipi Goz* 'Peter the Old', cf also Br *vikel vraz* 'grand vicar' (Ernault, Gram p 10). There are several exceptions in W *Rhodri Mawr* 'Rh. the Great' (but *Alexander Fawr*), *Ifor Bach* 'I. the Small', etc.

§ 235 Lenition of the genitive and other case-forms foll. a noun.

(1) In Ir noun-forms which lenite a foll. adj. lenite also a foll. genitive in close connection with them. (a) This occurs in Wb when both nouns practically form a compound or when the *g* has the value of an adjective. OIr *do immarchor chóre* 'on an errand of peace' Wb 5a 5, *trebaire chollno* 'prudence of (the) flesh' 3d 30, *ciall chesta* 'passive sense' Sg 142b 1. (b) In later OIr and in MlIr len. occurs when the governing noun functions prepositionally, or as an infinitive, or as denoting number. OIr *hua chiunn chomair* 'from before' (gl. e regione) Ml 119a 9, MlIr *i cind chóic mbl(iadne)* 'after five years, at the end of five years' LL 63a 14, OIr *do tabairt chomairle* 'to give advice' Ml 23d 12, MlIr *a triur churad* 'the three heroes' ('in their three-men of heroes') Wl 293 1. But in Wb *iar cúil cáich* 'behind everyone' 31c 15, *do irgairiu cotulta* 'to prohibit sleep' 25c 12. (c) In later OIr and in MlIr len. occurs in the *g* of *cách* or of a proper name. OIr *iar n-grad chách* 'according to the rank of each' Ml 116b 5, *esérgi chríst* 'of the resurrection of Christ' Ml 81d 1, MlIr *do gním chon* 'owing to the feat of (u)chulainn' LL 60 17. The *g* of *cách* remains unlen. in Wb.

The rules in late OIr and in MlIr practically prevail in MnIr (cf. MnIr *a measg mhadradh állta* 'among wolves'). Len. after a dat. infinitive does not occur in MnIr. Len. of a proper name which occasionally occurs in MlIr after a non-leniting case (*dolleic i mbuidín Chonaill Chernaig* 'he betook himself to the army of C.' Wl 257 7) has in MnIr become general *mac Thaidhg* 'son of Tadhg' (the old rule remains only in surnames: *O' Domhnaill, Mac Domhnaill, g. Uí Dhomhnaill, Mí Dhomhnaill*).

(2) In W. a *g* noun used as an attribute has lenition after a fem. sg. noun. MlW *llech varmor* 'a marble slab' RM 167, MnW *nodwydd ddur* 'steel needle', *y felin wynt* 'the windmill'. A proper name is frequently lenited after a fem. sg. noun. *Branwen verch Llyr* 'B. daughter of Llŷr', *Llan Badarn* ('the church of Padarn'), len. occurs after *tŷ* 'house'. MlW *ty urach* 'the house of a hag', *ty vurgeis* 'the house of a burgess', *ty gustennin* 'the house of C.' RM 119, and this has survived in *Tyddewi* St David's, and *tŷ Dduw* 'the house of God'. Cf. Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax p. 22ff., 37—44. The infin. (verb-noun) is generally followed by the radical, but *bod* 'to be' is very frequently lenited after a verb-noun: *a menegi uot y crydyon wedi duunaw ar y lad* 'and saying that the shoemakers

had united to kill him' RM 52 Cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP 17 81ff — Co MlCo *fynten woy's* 'a fountain of blood', *benneth Varya* 'the blessing of Mary', *careh Veryasek* 'M's rock' Also after a masc MnCo *cletha dan* 'a fire-sword' — Br. *avel dro* 'whirlwind', *poan galoun* 'heart-ache', *mlin vrear'h* 'handmill' After masc *laer vor* 'pirate', *dour vor* 'sea-water'

§ 236. Lenition of a noun in apposition occurs when both nouns are closely connected, particularly in surnames Mnlr *Maighdean Mhuire* 'the Virgin Mary', *Maire Mháthair* 'Mary Mother', MlIr *a popa Choncobair* 'Father C' W1 209 14

In W len is common in surnames and titles MIW *Llud vrenhin* 'King Lludd', *Pryderi uab Pwyll* 'P son of P', *Aranrot verch Don* 'A daughter of D', MnW *Ioan Fedyddiwr* 'John the Baptist', *Mair Forwyn* 'the Virgin Mary', *Dafydd frenin* 'D the king' When the title precedes, len occurs after a fem only *y forwyn Fawr*, *y brenin Dafydd*, but *arglwydd* is frequently foll by len *yr Arglwydd Dduw* 'the Lord God', *arglwydd ganghellor* 'lord chancellor'

Note A noun in apposition describing a name of relation is lenited in W MIW *ath cwythyr diheu*, *crwat dy fam* 'and thy uncle, thy mother's brother' RM 201 *nei y Arthur uab y chwaer* 'A's nephew, his sister's son' 114.

Br *sant Iann Vedezour* 'St John the Baptist', *ann Itroun Varia* 'Lady Mary'

§ 237. Lenition after verbal forms. (1) In Ir. (a) Lenition of the predicate-noun and of the subject after the verb 'to be' (a) The pred noun is lenited after the rel form of the copula when the rel is subject *is hed as chomairlle l'm* '(it is) this (which) is my advice' Wb 16c 12, *in marb ata thestis* 'the dead (who) are witnesses' 30a 11, *ní bes chotarsne* 'something which is contrary' 11a 24, *nad choir* 'which is not fitting' Ml 37a 8

Note 1 After an adverb rel len did not occur *is do is coir indocbaa* 'to him is praise fitting' Wb 7c 14, but it occurs in MlIr *is dart as chóir a thabairt* 'it is right to give it to you' W1 257 Len for rel eclipsais *doadbadar as choms(uidgthe)* 'it is shown that it is a compound' Sg 207b 9 Len is also found in early Mnlr *nídh sa-mho* '(something which is) more' Now *níos m'd*

The subject is not len after rel forms of 'to be' in Wb *ferr oldaas cách* 'better than everyone', but len occurs in later OIr *is laigiu son indaas chumachtaí doinnachtaí crist* 'is less than (the measure) of the power of the Manhood of Christ' Ml 26b 6

(β) After copula forms denoting 'or' *rodbo chosmáhus* 'or a similitude' Wb 14c 24, *im fochróib bá chían* 'near or far' Sg 151b 2

(γ) The pred noun is len after the copula forms *da* 1 sg, *dan*, *ban* 1 pl, *da*, *ba* 2 sg, *bad* 2 pl, *bo*, *bu* 3 sg, *bad*, *bed* 3 sg 1pv and 1pf, *bat* 3 pl, *masu* 'if it is', *cesu*, *cefu* 'though it is, they are', *issi* 'it is' (before a fem noun) *ni-ta-chumme se friu som* 'I am not like them' Wb 20c 25, etc

Note 2 Len was gradually extended to other forms as well *am chéili se* 'I am a companion' LL 70b 28. In MnIr only the forms of the 3 sg of the cop are used, len after *gur níor*

(δ) In Wb *cách* as subject is len after *biad is-samlid inso no-biad chách* 'it is thus that everyone would be' Wb 9d 25. No other subj is len in Wb, but later *ro-bói chorad* 'there had been war' MI 137c 8. This len does not occur in MnIr.

(b) **Lenition of the object and of the subject after other verbs**
Neither the subj nor the obj is len after the other verbs in Wb, except that *cách* as obj is len after those verbal forms which correspond to the leniting forms of the verb 'to be' *nertad chách* 'let him encourage everyone' 5d 11. In later OIr and in MIr there are numerous instances of the len of the object *toглуáset chombairt* 'they abort offspring' Thes II 235 5, *atcliu churach* 'I see a boat' LL 108a 37. Len of the subj is much rarer *ní taet chomsuridigud friu* 'there is no composition with them' ('comp comes not to them') Sg 197a 4, *citabiat chluasa* 'which ears perceive' Sg 3a 1. In MnIr len of the object has been given up. — For lenition in the Ir construction described in § 392,2 (*an fear irrofaideamar thig* 'the man in whose house we have slept') v Thurneysen, KZ 44, 117.

(c) **Postverbal lenition of adverbs** does not occur in Wb, but does later in OIr *contóat chucar* 'who turn to him' MI 46c 1. Also when the adv is separated from the verb *ní-r-bu cognomen challéc* 'it was not a cognomen however' Sg 31b 22. The len form of some adverbs gradually became constant *cach pronomén dano chene* 'also every pronoun besides' Sg 203b 1. This constant len is very frequent in conjugated preps in MIr (*chucund* 'to us', *forru* 'on them'), and in *chaidche* 'ever', *chétus*, *chétumus* 'at first', *thra* 'then'. This continues in MnIr *chugam* 'to me', *orm* 'on me'.

(2) In Brit postverbal len is plentifully found in W. (a) **Lenition of the predicate-noun and of the subject after the verb 'to be'**. Len of the pred occurs in MIW. after most forms of the verb 'to be',

instances occur in [̃]MIW after indic pres sg 1 *wyf*, 2 *wyt*, 3 *rel yssy(d)*, pl 1 *ym*, 3 *ynt*, consuetudinal pres and fut sg 1 *bydaf*, 2 *bydy*, 3 *bit*, *byd* (rarely), pl 1 *bydwn*, 3 *bydant*, *bint*, *bynt*, ipf sg 2 *oedut*, 3 *oed*, pl 3 *oedynt*, consuet imperf sg 2 *bydut*, 3 *bydei*, pl 3 *bydynt*, ipv sg 2 *byd*, 3 *bit*, pl 1 *bydwn*, 2 *bydwch*, subjunctive pres sg 1 *bwyf*, 2 *bych*, pl 1 *bom*, 3 *bont*, *bwynt*, ipf 1 *bewn*, *bydwn*, 3 *bei*, *per*, pl 1 *beym*, 3 *beynt*, perf sg 1 *buwm* (rare), 2 *buost*, 3 *bu*, pl 3 *buant*, plpf sg 3 *buassei*, for copious examples see VKG I 458, Strachan, Introd p 15, Baudiš, RC 49 348 (subject and predicate are mixed up), Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa, p 60ff (the older poetry) Len of the subject in MIW occurs after indic pres sg 3 *oes*, *yssit*, consuet pres sg 3 *bit*, *byd* (rare), ipf sg 3 *oed*, consuet ipf 3 *bydei*, subjunctive pres sg 3 *bo* (rare), ipf sg 3 *bei*, perf sg 3 *bu*, exx as above — If the subj or pred is separated from the verb len can occur after all forms *y mae yno wr du* 'there is yonder a black man' RM 240

Note 3 In MnW len of the pred can occur as above and also after indic pres pl 2 (*yd*)*ych*, consuet pres pl 2 *byddwch*, ipf and consuet ipf all forms, ipv sg 3 *bydded boed* subjunctive pres sg 3 *bo* pl 2 *boch* ipf sg 2 *byddit* pl 2 *byddech* perf pl 1 *buom*, 2 *buoch*, plpf, all forms

Co *rs ras* 'which is good', *cusyll nag-o ras* 'counsel which was not good' **Br** len after *pe* 'or' only *daou pe dri* 'two or three'

(b) **Lenition of the object and the subject after the other verbs** The object is lenited in MIW. after practically all verbal forms, but is less frequent after some forms than others. Thus after indic pres sg 3 and pl 3, pret sg 3, and subjunctive pres sg 3 non-lenition is more general. For examples v VKG I 459f, Strachan, Introd 14f, Baudiš, RC 49 340ff. Lenition of the obj may occur after all verbal forms when it is separated from them. Lenition after the impersonal forms is very rare *pan dreithir draethawd* 'when a song is sung' Lih 36, *ual yd las ureichuras y urawd* 'as his brother Breichfras was killed' ib 177

After verbs denoting motion towards, len is general *gwyr a aeth ododin*, *gwyr a aeth gatraeth* 'the men who went to Gododdin, to Catraeth' BA 2, *dybyd gymry gwarth* 'shame will come to the Welsh' RP 582, len occurs even after the verb-noun *yn mynet gamlan* 'going to Camlan' Cymmr 7 129, cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP 17 98ff

Lenition of the subject is rarer. It occurs chiefly after the 3 sg ipf and plpf *ny doe wr* 'no man would come' RM 33, *yr*

atleb a rodasser Uatholwch 'the answer which M had given' 30. Instances occur of len after pret sg 3 *a fan welas Uranwen y mab* 'and when B saw her son' WM 55 (*a phan welas Branwen* RM 39), *a phan gogleu Ger eu bot yn dyuot* 'and when Cai heard they were coming' RM 214, also after ipv sg 3 *ymgefflybet bawp ohonawch ae gilyd* 'everyone of you match together' RM 223. Three instances occur of a len subj after subjunctive pres sg 3 in BBC 35f *A[th uendicco-de] vastad A[th uendicco-de] vuchet A[th uendicco-de] vascul* 'may the level, life, male bless thee'. When a pl subject follows a pl verb, the subject is generally lenited *yt ganant gogeu* 'that cuckoos sing' RP 1034, v Henry Lewis, ZCP 17 107ff, cf 1b above. Of course len is common when the subject is separated from the verb.

Note 4 The modern rule is non-len of the subject, len of the obj when they immediately follow the verb. Many of the MIW rules described above were observed up to the end of the 16th century (cf Henry Lewis Darn o'r Ffestival p 14, also Morris Jones Welsh Syntax, p 192ff). Subsequently the present custom has become established. The subject is now always lenited when separated from the verb. The impersonal forms are followed by the radical.

Co. As a rule both subject and object are not lenited, with very few exceptions in the case of the object *nefre ny thebraf iare* 'never will I taste bread' OM 2186, *a henna my ny wraf vry* 'I shall not make account of that' PC 2244, *na wre vry* 'that he made no account' MC 26, also after the verb-noun *gul vry* 'to make account' OM 519. — **Br** Len is rare *grit rad d'ann dud holl* 'do good to all people', *ne ra van* (also *man*) 'he pretends not to', also *ober rad* 'to do good', *ober van* 'to pretend'. The subject is len after *eme* 'said', *nann*, *eme Varc'harit* 'no, said M'.

(c) Postverbal lenition of adverbs. Except at the beginning of a sentence, a noun, pronoun or adjective used adverbially to denote time, measure or manner has its initial consonant lenited. MIW *ac yno erchi gur y ymwan deir gweith* and then bid a man fight three times' RM 242, *bot vluwydyn yn llys Arthur* 'to be a year in A's court' 198, *nac euch bellach hynny* 'do not go further than that' RM 23, *mynet a wnaethant law yn llaw* 'they went hand in hand' 214. The lenition is not confined to the position immediately after verbs, it occurs after all words *y dyd gynt* 'the day previous' 229, *yr deu hynny ac yr vn gynt* 'to those two as to the one before' 224. For further exx v VKG I 461f, Strachan, Introd 16, Baudis

RC 49 356f This len is the rule in MnW, cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax, p 72, 144ff, 171f At the beginning of a sentence non-len was formerly the rule, but len is gradually spreading here too in MnW The adv forms *mwyl*, *myyach* 'henceforth' are never lenited

Co. *cleves vyth nyth kemerse* 'sickness never had seized thee' etc ZE 202b, *na anothans y bys voye me ny settyaf gwawle gala* 'nor of them ever more will I set the stalks of straw' CW 1355 Br V *deh vitin* 'yesterday morning', *arhoah vitin* 'to-morrow morning'

Lenition of the verb.

§ 238 **Lenition after the infixed (non-relative) pronouns** In Ir after sg 1 *-m-*, *-dom-*, 2 *-t-*, *-dot-*, 3 neut *-a-*, *-e-*, nil, *-d-* OIr *manm-chobrad rad dá* 'unless God's grace should help me' Wb 3d 16, *cindas persine at-tot-chomnucc* 'what sort of person art thou?' (lit 'befalls thee, reaches thee') 6b 13, *r-a-chualatar* 'they have heard it' 5a 8, *ní cheil* 'he does not conceal it' 5b 5, *nach thoimled* 'let him not eat it' 11b 18, *in linn no-d-chreitfeá* 'they who will believe it' 4d 7 *ní-con-* (§ 381) causes lenition (later sometimes eclipsis)

Note In *no m choimindiu-coima* 'may the Lord protect me' Thes II 290 11 the pron *m* lenites the subst *choimindiu*

In Brit len occurs only after the pron sg 2, in Co and Br this has been further restricted by provection, resulting in MnBr non-lenition MlW *nyth gredaf* MnW *ní 'th gredaf* 'I believe thee not', (Co *mar nyth wolhaff* 'if I wash thee not', *reth fo* 'may there be to thee', MlBr *tregont digner az rezo antver* 'thirty pennies shalt thou have (shall be to thee) entirely' ZE 375 (MnBr *az pezo*)

§ 239 **Relative lenition and lenition after preverbs in loose composition in Ir** (1) Preverbs (even ending in a vowel) in loose composition did not produce len of the initial consonant of the verb in OIr thus *ní ceil som* 'he does not conceal' Wb 4d 16, *is cumme ad-ciam-ní* 'similarly we see' 12c 11, *for-cain* 'he teaches' 27c 8 *is frí-de im-tiagam* 'it is by day that we travel' 6a 30

If however such a verb is used relatively, the relative being subject or object, the unaccented preverb produces lenition (also eclipsis if the rel is object, v § 193) Len is due to an infixed element which is seen in a few cases only (after *ar-* and *imm-*) OIr *ní torbe do an imdúbe ad-chú cách* 'no profit to him the circumcision which everyone sees' Wb 2a 2, *intí for-chain* 'he who teaches'

5 d 10, *is hed inso ara-thá* 'this is what awaiteth' 10 b 3, *is hed ar-thá inso* 'it is this that remains' 30 d 13, *innaní prechate et imme-churetar cori* 'of those that preach and carry peace' 5 a 5, *dund óis nad charthú cach tuairi* 'to the people who do not eat every food' 6 c 11 — The copula is not len even when relative *intí ro-po magister* 'he that was master' Wb 13 a 12 — Len is naturally restricted by the rules in § 213 *dundi con-tuarcar* 'to him who is pounded' MI 34 a 27

Note 1 In later OIr len occurs when the rel is neither subject nor object *ní frís ru-chélt* 'not for that was it sung' MI 64 a 13, *rusu ad cheth* 'before he saw' 38 c 9

(2) In MIr len of the active verb occurs after all pretonic preverbs even in non-relative sentences, and after *ní* even without an infixed object MIr *ní thibér sa mo tharb* 'I will not give my bull' LL 55 a 25, *at-chúu-sa carrpteoh* 'I see a charioteer' W1 275 22 (MnIr *do-chím, chidhim* 'I see', cf MnIr *do-chuadh, chuadh* 'he went') In MnIr those tenses which in OIr and MIr were accompanied by temporal preverbs (ipf, conditional, pret) are always lenited except where eclipsis is required (*ghlanaimn* 'I used to cleanse', *ghlanfaimn* 'I would cleanse', *ghlanas* 'I did cleanse')

Note 2 Analogically MnIr *thainig camé thug gacé* 'So thubhairt (MnIr *dubhairt*) 'he said'

Note 3 MIr *na* before the ipv or the optative subjunctive does not cause len *ná deuna gaid* 'thou shouldst not steal' In early MnIr *nach* 'that not' did not modify the initial of the foll verb but now it produces eclipsis. The predicate remains unchanged in MnIr as in OIr after a negative (*ní, nach*) *ní maith é* 'it is not good'

Note 4. Len of the passive does not occur after a (lost) temporal preverb or after *ní* in MnIr *glantaor é* 'he used to be cleansed', *glanadh é* 'he was cleansed' Even in MIr len of the passive did not regularly occur after *no, ro ní* In Scotland the passive as well the active is lenited *do bhuailleadh mi* 'I was struck', v KZ 35, 370 ff

(3) Non-compounded verbs when relative remain unlenited in OIr *dondí creites* 'to him who believes' Wb 2 b 27 In later OIr len occurs after *intí* and *amal aní chanas* 'what it says' MI 24 d 14, *amal chondegam ní* 'as we ask' 107 c 8 Len further occurs, as under (1), when *intí* or *amal* does not precede the verb *chontar-chomraic in pecthach* 'which the sinner collected' MI 57 a 14, *cíod folad slúndes* 'what substance it signifies' Sg 25 b 17 This extended later, as under (2), to cases where the rel was neither subject nor object *is do thucad* 'for this it has been put' Sg 45 d 19 This

remains in MlIr and MnIr MlIr *is do thánac sa* 'for that have I come' LL 71b 26, MnIr *an fear, mholas* 'the man who praises', *an fear, mholas sé* 'the man whom he praises', *an tan bhíos ag gleic* 'when he is fighting' Bergin, Keat 183 An *a* is frequently inserted before the len verb *an fear a mholas*, by anal with the cases in which *do* has been lost § 105

Note 5 This len is not found in the passive in MnIr, v KZ 35 369

§ 240. Relative lenition and lenition after preverbs in loose compounds in Brit (1) There is evidence in the older W poetry that the same rule once existed in W as in OIr regarding non-len after preverbs except when the verb was used relatively, the rel being subject or object The examples in W occur with the temporal preverb *ry* and with the negative *ny*, v Strachan, Ériu 3 20ff When the verb was non-relative, *ny* and *ry* were followed by the spirant mutation (*k-*, *t-*, *p-* > *x-*, *b-*, *f-*, *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, *ll-*, *rh-*, *m-* were unchanged) *ny chenir buyeid ar ffo* 'the Beatitudes are not sung in flight' BB^C 8 11, *ny phercheiste guener* 'thou respectedst not Friday' 21 6, *ni cheuntoste pader* 'thou didst not sing the Paternoster' 21 8, *ry chedwis detyf* 'he kept the law' 14 7, *rythrychynt* 'they cut down' BT 76 18, *ryphrydaf y iawn llin* 'I sing its true lineage' BT 19 22 (Cf the affirmative particle *neu neu cheint* 'I have sung' BT 19 1, *neu cholleis y arglwyf neu chyuyd ynof cof* 'I have lost a lord memory rises in me' Llh 126 27, 29) For exx of the other consonants v Morris-Jones, WG 423 When the verb was relative, *ny* and *ry* were followed by lenition *a quir ny gilint rac gvaev* 'and men who would not flee from a spear' BBC 72 6, *neb drut ny drefnwy guascawt* 'any fool who may not arrange protection' RP 1176 1, *pawb or pobloed ny bara* 'all the people who will not last' 1175 2 For word-forming prefixes v § 242, v G P Williams, ZCP 7, 347ff, Loth, R^C 31, 365

(2) In later MIW and in MnW these rules were changed After MIW *ry* and its compounds len of all const. became regular, after MIW *ny* (*o-ny*, *po-ny*), MnW *ni* (*o-ni*) len of mediae and sonants, spirant mutation of tenses Similarly *na* 'that not', 'not' (with the ipv) Traces of the early rule linger in the later MIW poetry in the non-len of *m-* and *b-* after the negative *Ni mynne* 'am ei einioes Noethi cravr' 'they would not lay bare a relic for his life' D ab Edmwnd (80 1), *Ni bodd y, ni'th rybuddwyd* 'thou wilt not be drowned, thou hast not been warned' D ap G (Ifor Williams,

Cywyddau D ap G 48 23), *Oni badd f'wyneb iddaw* 'if my face dare not approach it' Ieuan Deulwyn (84 24) In MnW only forms of the verb 'to be' in *b-* may remain unlenited In MIW the pred is len in *na wir* 'it is not true' (so in MnW), *na well* 'it is not better' (in answers)

In Co and Br there is no trace of the distinction between rel and non-rel forms Len occurs after Co *re* Br *ra*, Co *ny* Br *ne* 'not', Co *na* 'not, that not' MIBr *na*, there are a few instances of non-len Co *praga dampnys re-bee* 'why he was condemned' MC 187, cf G P Williams, ZCP 7 347, Loth, RC 31 365

(3) (a) In positive rel sentences not containing a temporal preverb the relative when subject or object has the form *a*, which lenites the following verb *yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw* 'the pack which had killed the stag' RM 2, *y peth a ovyntaf ytti* 'the thing which I ask of thee', Co *neb a thue* 'anyone who will come', *pur wyr a lawaraf thys* 'it is the real truth which I say to thee', *pan-dra wylly* 'what (thing) thou canst see' (with elided *a*), Br *ar re a garo Doue* 'they who love God', *Doue a garann* 'I love God', *pet tra oulennom-ni* 'how many things shall we ask for' (with elided *a*) — In W *a* is often elided before a vowel, and sometimes before a consonant, particularly in verse

(b) When a verb is preceded by a predicate (complement) in W the verb is len MIW *gwr idaw vydaf* 'I shall be his man' RM 199, *kynuoethawc vydui* 'thou wouldst be rich' 223 The relative *a* has spread by analogy into this construction in MnW *mawr a fydd ef ryw ddydd* 'great will he be one day', but it is unnecessary The analogy is probably due to the len, to the elision of *a* in relative construction, and was perhaps strengthened by such expressions as *pwy fydd* 'who will he be?' beside *pwy (a) fydd* 'who will he?' The former corresponds to the pres tense *pwy yw* 'who is he?' the latter to the pres tense relative *pwy sydd* 'who is?' — Co *lader rye* 'he was a thief', *gwel rya* 'it were better' — MIBr *guell ue gueneff* 'I should prefer' Cf ZE 197

(c) The particle MIW *yd* or *yt* /əd/, used only before verbs beginning with consonant, causes len It occurs at the head of a sentence *yd welese guendoleu* 'I saw Gwenddolau' BBC 53,16, but more frequently after an adverbial expression *tec yd gan yr adaren* 'finely does the bird sing' 107 6, *vrth cant id lather* '(it was) by the hundred that he would slay' 96 8 Cf Strachan, Introd p 54 This

part has been displaced by *y*, which does not modify a foll int cons (before vowels, MIW *yd* = /æd/, MnW *yr*) The corresponding Co *y* (*yth* before vowels), Br *ε* (*ez* before vowels) orig. caused len, which was modified by the rules in § 215, 2, 3, § 216, 2, 3

Note 1 At an early period the personal forms of the verb could probably be preceded at the head of the sentence by the corresponding simple personal pronoun In the early literature this has developed to the extent that *ef* 'he' is found before forms other than the 3 sg *ef gwneif* 'I shall make' BT 63 22, *ew kuynhw* 'I shall lament' BBC 100 15, *ef dyf gorofyn* 'fear will grow' LIH 63 31 The pron had become a preverbal particle When the object was an infixed pron the preverbal pron was followed by *a ef* *ae tawd* 'he will melt them' BT 41 4, *wynt ach [c]aran* 'they will love you' 53 18 *mi ae gowinweis* 'I asked it' BBC 84,2 also with an indirect obj *ef am rodeis med* 'he gave me mead' BT 43 14 Then the pron + *a* came to be used as a particle leniting the verb *mi* (*mufi*, *minnau*) *a wnaif* 'I shall do', etc In MnW the *a* is frequently omitted, the len of the verb remaining *mi wnaif* *m gawn* 'we shall have' The forms *e*, *fe*, *fo* frequently occur before the verb in MnW literature and in spoken MnW *fe* (SW) and *mi* (NW) are used before all forms Cf Morris-Jones, WG p 427, Welsh Syntax pp 184 7, also § 399 n

Note 2 For Co *as* = MIW *yt* (RD 40 *as wrussough cam tremene* 'you have done wrong' 'a wrong passing') cf Henry Lewis, Llawlyfr Cernywig Canol p 80

§ 241 Lenition of verbs after conjunctions and adverbs. (1) In Ir after *ó* 'since', *co* 'until', *cia* 'though', *ma* 'if' Len does not occur in Wb after *ar* 'for' (= prep 'for'), but does occasionally in Ml and Sg, probably by anal with len before nominal forms, cf *amal* 'as' § 239 3 After *camarph* 'however' *camarph thechtait ainmndi* 'however they have nominatives' Sg 209 b 3

(2) In Brit after W Co *pan* 'when', Br *pa* 'when' (*aba* 'since'), after MIW *tra* 'whilst', Co *hedre*, Br *endra*, after MIW *yny* 'until', Co *erna* (these forms contain the negative), Co *kyn len* 'though' (§ 215,3) In MnW *tra* is generally followed by the radical, occasionally even by the spirant mutation (*x*-, *p*-, *f*-), *oni* (for MIW *yny*) by the spirant mutation of the tenues and the soft mutation of the other mutable consonants

Len after the W interrog part *a*, after Co *del*, *fattel*, *fettel* 'as' (*del* = Ir *deib* W *deiw* 'form'), *kettel* 'as' (temporal), MIW *cwt* '*kūd*' 'where', Co *pe*, *p-le* 'where' (with provection *pe feste* 'where have you been' OM 467, *ple fugh why* RD 2243)

§ 242. Lenition after prefixes in close verb-compounds. In close compound verbal forms len occurs in Ir after prefixes orig ending

in a vowel (*ath-*, *air-*, *di-*, *fo-*, *imb-*, *ind-*, *ro-*, *to-*), also after *rem-*, *iar-*, *tarm-* (but not after *iar-*) *diand-remithasat gnúma* 'if works go before it' Wb 5a 22, these formations being late (*rem-* from *remi-* which contained a pronoun) Anal len occurs in *nad frithchomart* 'who did not injure' Ml 47a 2 (anal with *ath-*) Also confusion between *for-* (non-len) and *fo-r-* (from *fo-ro-*, len)

In Brit distinction between close and loose composition with word-forming prefixes has not been kept (it is only in the older literature that infixed pronouns are inserted after these prefixes) As a rule len is found after prefixes orig ending in a vowel MIW *dy-gwydaw* 'fall', MnW *di-gwydd* 'befall, happen' (*cwyddo* 'to fall'), Br *dygouezout* 'happen', W *ym-olchr* 'wash', Co *myghtern nep a ym-wra* 'whoever makes himself lord' PC 2222, Br *en em wrskann* 'I dress myself', V *ni hum gar* 'we love ourselves' Non-len after a prefix orig ending in a consonant is seen in W *gorffen* 'finish', *gwarchadw* 'guard' (the mediac and *m* are len after *r* W *gor-foli* 'over-praise', but cf Co *gormel* 'praise' BM 1420 2241 MnCo *gormola* 'praise', in loose comp the *r* should not cause len)

There are however in W traces of non-len in loose composition *dychanu* 'to sing, to satirize' and *dyganu* 'to sing', *dyfforthu* and *dyborthu* 'to bear', *dybrysio* and *dyfrysio* 'to hasten', *gogel* and *gochel* 'to avoid', v Strachan, Ériu 3 26f

Note The finite verb is not compounded with a nominal stem as a rule in Ir beside *nire-thicid* gl neophytum Wb 28b 29 cf *nire tannucuccum-sa* 'he has newly come to me' 7c 7 where *nire* is an independent adverb For further exx, Vendryes, RC 31 515 An adverb preceding the verb which it modifies often forms a compound with it in W causing len MIW *hi a hawt borther* 'she easily sustained' MA 227b 53 *raun oberthaw* 'to hope rightly' RP 1182 21 (cf 1183 3,4 1165 28, 30), *dyreut ny haudbert hedwch* 'the wicked does not easily endure peace' BBCS 4 6 This is still common in W Br *eil-zimezi* 're marry', *peur zibri* 'eat entirely'

Lenition in Nominal Compounds

§ 243 As in the cases of close compound verbs, when a compound noun is formed with a prefix the latter if orig ending in a vowel produces lenition, but not if it orig ended in a consonant If the first element of the compound was a noun-stem, this always ended in a vowel and produced lenition

But lenition often occurs by analogy, beside the old compound of **k'om-* and *tromm* 'heavy' OIr *cutrumme* 'equal' (cf MIW *cy-*

thrymmet 'evenly') comes MlIr *comthrom* 'of the same weight' MnIr *comhthrom*, OIr *Wb forcenn* 'end' *W gorffen*, but *forchenn* Ml 118b 6, *W gorthwif* and *gordwif* 'overgrowth'

§ 244. In many cases len is really due to composition though to the present linguistic consciousness the first element is a separate word. Thus after *W go* 'rather', *rhy* 'too' *Co re Br re* (*W go dda* 'rather good', *rhy ddrwg* 'too bad', *Co re got* 'too short', *Br re vraz* 'too big', cf MnIr *ró-mhoch* 'too early') In Sc len after *co* 'as', but in Ir no len after *chomh* (except when the compound is felt to be so, as in *chomh-mhór* 'equally great'), *W cyn deced* 'as fair' (anal len), after *Br ken*, *ker* no len *ker bras* 'as big'. Also len after *W lled* and *pur* 'somewhat' *lled dda* 'rather good', *pur ddymunol* 'somewhat desirable', *W prin* 'scarcely', *Br hanter zall* 'half blind'. Cf § 227, § 234, 1. In *W* when a genitive precedes the noun on which it depends a compound is formed, and the latter noun is lenited *bore waur* 'the morning dawn', *daear lawr* '(the floor of) the earth', MlW *radeu wallofyad* 'bestower of gifts', *pechawt ordyfnest* 'being accustomed to sin' (*gorddyfnard pechawd*)

XVII. Length of Consonants.

§ 245 Double consonants were rare in IE, probably occurring only when two morphological elements came together

New double consonants arose in various ways. For the assimilation of groups whose last element was *s*, *v* § 25, § 26, 10, § 63. Double explosives arose partly through assimilation with a following *n* (§ 73), partly through assim with a preceding explosive *gg* in OIr *accaldam* 'addressing' MnIr *agallamh* OIr *ad-gládur* 'I address', *ll* in OIr *accobor* 'desire' MnIr (Keat) *accobhar* OIr *ad-cobra* 'desires', Ir *accas* 'poison, spite' *W achas* 'hated' (from *ad-* and Ir *cas* 'hatred' *W cas*), *bb* in OIr *opad*, *obbad* 'refusal' MnIr *obadh* (*od* + *bo-n-d-*). Two similar explosives often come together in composition Ir *atrab* *W athref* 'abode' § 206. For IE *zd* > *C dd v* § 27. Later combinations of homorganic explosives or of explosives and *h* are discussed in § 202 f, § 210, 212. For OIr *rr*, *ll*, *nn*, *mm* cf § 69, § 26, § 65, 4, § 75, 5. Exx of late combinations of two similar sonants (through loss of vowel) OIr *do-arrchet* 'has been prophesied' (*to-arr-ro-* + *can-*, cf *W darogan*), Ir *fírin-ne* 'righteousness', from *fírian* 'just' and a suffix like that in *cairddíne* 'friendship'. In both branches occurs assimilation of *ng*,

ld, *nd*, *mb* to *nn*, *ll*, *nn*, *mm* (§ 37, 4, § 45, § 49), MnIr *tl* > *LL*, *tn* > *NN* (§ 68, 3, § 71, 2c), *nn* > *NN* § 252, in W in certain cases *nn*, *nn*, *mm* from *nk*, *nl*, *mp*, cf also W *càlyn* from *canlyn* 'follow'

The IE habit of expressive doubling in hypocoristic names (VKG § 404) was continued in C, thus, G-Lat *Eppius*, *Eppo*, from a name compounded with *epo*- 'horse' Cf Ir *macc* § 55

§ 246. (Gemination in Ir) (1) In the oldest Ir literature (particularly Wb) gemination chiefly denoted the length of a consonant, but the orthography even in Wb is not consistent in this respect. An originally long consonant is frequently written single, particularly in unaccented syllables or after a long vowel or in consonant groups (*do-ar-chet* often for *do-arr-chet* 'is prophesied', — 1 sg pres *-im*, more frequently than *-imm*, *béim* 'blow' § 26.11, *cúimse* 'suitable' MlIr *commus* 'power', — *peccad* 'sin', rarely *pecad*, but as a rule *g pectho*, occasionally *pecctho*) Intervoc *-cc-* is very frequent, *-tt-* comparatively rare, intervoc *-pp-* does not occur. Also *-ff-* is not found.

Doubling is frequent in certain consonant groups *tesst* 'witness', *cosacc* 'reprimand', *sercc* 'love', *olcc* 'evil', *claindde*, *g* of *cland* 'children', etc.

In sandhi every non-len sound can be represented by a double cons *i-ssuidiu* 'in this', *i-ccach lucc* 'in every place', *di-si* 'to her' *do-rrigeni* 'he has done', *do-llacet* 'they leave' *do-mmeircither* 'thou dishonourest'. For Wb *inn-a chorp in oen chorp* v VKG § 165.

(2) Ml deviates considerably from Wb as regards writing double consonants. Most interesting is the use of gemination to denote the quality of the sound *accubur* 'desire', *macc* 'son' (*-kk-*) but *acaldam* 'addressing', *bec* 'small' (*-gg-*). In Sg and MlIr *-gg-*, *-dd-*, *-bb-*, *-mm-* often denote merely non-len pronunciation. The more exact representation of lenition in MnIr has made gemination unnecessary for this purpose.

§ 247. (Gemination in Brit.) (1) Lengthened explosives arising from secondary combination of expl + expl or *h* were long in MIW before vowels and consonants. MIW *teckaf* 'fairest', *cyn hackret* 'as ugly', *lletty* 'lodging', *atteppych* 'thou mayest answer'. But the orthography is not consistent *bwyta* 'to eat' beside *bwytta*, *-p-* is not doubled as a rule. The doubled explosives were (aspirated) */k, t, p/*, while *-c, -t, -p* were in MIW pronounced *g, d, b*, gemination therefore could also denote quality, as well as quantity. Mainly

however it denoted length. The long quantity was common Brit, cf Co *hackre* 'uglier' (v § 203). — The spirants *x*, *þ*, *f* (§ 206, § 25, 1, 2, 4, § 203), whose representation (*ch*, *th*, *ff*) precluded doubling, were short as the vowel quantity shows (§ 136, 1, § 137). The same applies to Co and Br.

Note 1 In the OW glosses on Mart Capella gemination seems to indicate lenition: *carrecc* 'stone' pl *cericca*, *casulheticc* gl *penulata*, *coihauce* gl *augur*, *custnudeticc* gl *confecta*, *guoceleseticc* gl *titillata*, *leuesicc* gl *carientem*, *deuolion* gl *decadibus*, *catterraul* *retteticc* (sella curulis), *uncenetticcon* gl *solicunar*, *hepp* sand' *letehepp* 'page'. Cf also *eccluy*s 'church' in Lib Land.

Finally *ss* was regularly shortened in MIW: *nes* 'nearer', *nessaf* 'nearest', Co *nes*, *nessa*, MIBr *nes*, *nessaff*. The corresponding shortening of *ll* can only be deduced from MnW (§ 136, 1, § 137). The voiced sonants (*rr*, *nn*) were not shortened finally in MIW (it was not necessary to write *mm* as non-len short *-m*; *-m* did not occur). In Co the sonants were shortened finally and before a consonant: *ter* 'breaks', *torsans* 'they broke' from *terry* to break'. For *nn*, *mm* - MnCo *dn*, *bm* v § 72, § 75, 5. In MIBr forms like *bei* 'short', *pel* 'far', *pen* 'head' occur, *mam* 'mother', pl *mammou* is regular.

Note 2 Gemination can also denote quality in Brit (particularly in W): W *ll* - /l/ (§ 68), *ff* - /f/; W *dd* - /d/ is later (it occurs as early as the 14th cent.) § 42.

(2) The only consonants now doubled in W are intervocalic *rr*, *nn* after the accented vowel (*pen* 'head', pl *pennau*, *correg* 'stone'), v § 137. In MnBr the only consonants usually written double are *rr*, *ll*, *nn*, *mm* (medial and final).

XVIII. Non-syllabic Groups.

§ 248 (Origin of non-syll. groups.) The non-syll groups in Celts are partly derived from prim. IE, and partly new developments in Celt itself. The most important source of these new groups is due to the loss of vowels occasioned by the accent particularly prevalent in Ir. Non-syll groups have been simplified in various ways.

§ 249 One of the sounds in a non-syll group may become syllabic, or may be separated through svarabhakti from its neighbouring consonants § 103, § 158—161.

In other cases an explosive is partially or fully assimilated to the

preceding vowel. In Ir complete assimilation (compensatory lengthening) is mostly the case, partial assum in the case of the diphthongs *eo*, *iu*, *v* § 134,2 In Brit a number of diphthongs have arisen through partial assimilation

§ 250 Non-syll groups are frequently simplified by loss of a sound **Initially** Loss of the first sound *k*, *gh* before 'IE *p*' (Ir *tínarm*, *dú* § 28), *t* before *s* § 25,5, Br *Trég daou lá* 'two years', *Léon daou vloaz* — Loss of the middle sound *gwr-*, *gwl-*, *gwn-* in Brit § 17, IE *spr-*, *str-*, *spl-*, *skn-* § 26,2,5,8 — Loss of the last sound *dw-* > *d-* etc § 17 — **Medially** Loss of the first of two sounds W *gwybod* 'know' (**gwyddbod*), Br *pevar* 'four', *mw* > *w* Ir *covr* 'fit' etc § 19 — Loss of the latter of two sounds MñIr *adeur* 'says' OIr *atbeir* 'he says it' /-*db-*/, W *ymarth* MIW *ymenth* 'away' from *ymdeith* — Loss of the first of three sounds IE expl before an *s-* group § 25,2,5, § 26,1,11 MñIr *escop* W *esgob* 'bishop' (< Lat *episcopus*) -*ltr-*, -*ntr-*, -*ntl-* § 64,2,3 -*mbr-*, -*mb-* § 49 -*ngw-* > Brit -(*g*)*w-* § 37,4 — Loss of the middle sound IE *s* between sonant and expl § 26,1, IE expl bet *s* and sonant, or sonant and *s* § 26 In Ir a nasal is frequently dropped between two consonants OIr *forgare*, *tairgire* beside *forngaire* 'command' (cf *a forchon-gair* 'what he orders'), *tairngire* 'promise', *freddairc* 'present' Thes II 229,32 beside *freddairce* (*frith-com-* + **dork'-*) — Loss of the last of three sounds OIr *apstal* 'apostle' MñIr *apsal* (< Lat *apostolus*, but *v* § 254) — **Finally.** Loss of -*r* and -*l* in W and Br § 160 Secondary -*ts* became -*s* in Ir (not medially) OIr *ro-fitis* 'you know' from *ro-fitid-si*, *beres* 'who carries' from *berid* 'carries' + a suffixed *s*

§ 251. Often in a non-syll group a glide develops which may become a full sound *t* between *s* and *r*, *l* OBr *strum* § 26,3, in a secondary group Br *stlaon* 'young eel' from **sil hañv* Medially in Ir -*p-* develops between *m* and *n* OIr *timpne* 'commandment' beside *timne*, cf *ní-mp-tha fíon* 'I am not righteous' Wb 8d 24, and Br *ms* > *mps* etc § 75,5

§ 252. **Partial or complete assimilation** is frequent Partial assum is seen in the modification in the colour of a cons (§ 170,1), in the change in place of articulation (cf § 70,1), in the change of a spirant into an explosive as in the case of *đ*, *þ* becoming *d*, *t* (§ 209, § 212), in cases of nasalization (*ǵ'ín* > *nín* > *ǵín* in OIr *dorignu* 'has done' MñIr *doringnu* MñIr *do rinne*, *gn* > *nn* in W *deng*

niwrnod 'ten days', etc § 196, 3, IE *-bn-* > Ir *-mhn-* in *domun* 'world' § 48), in cases of unvoicing (*macth* 'childish' acc pl, *anthe* beside *andche*, g sg of *adarg* 'night')

Complete assimilation produced double consonants, for examples v § 245

§ 253 Dissimilation often occurred in non-syll groups Thus *tl* > *kl* (change in place of articulation) W *clws* for *tlws* 'pretty', colloq *clawd* for *tlawd* 'poor', Br *gwentlou* 'labour-pains', Trég *war oenklo* in labour-pains' Spirant > explosive beside *s*, *x*, *k* § 211—2

§ 254 Metathesis in non-syll groups For *gur-*, *gul-* in Brit v § 17 (and Grammont, *La métatèse en breton armoricain*, Mélanges H d'Arbois de Jubainville p 83—96) IE *st* > C *ts*, IE *sp*, *sk* > *ps*, *ks* (in Brit) § 25, 1, 2, 5 Later in Ir, and occasionally in Brit, a consonant + *s* tended to become *s* + consonant OIr *ascnam* 'strive after', vb nn to pres ind 3 pl *ad-(o)-snat*, OIr *ochsall* 'armpit' MnIr *ascall*, OIr *baisim* 'I baptize' MlIr MnIr *baisim*, MnIr *páiste* 'a child' from E *page*, *-pst-* > *-spt-* > *-sp-* in OIr *apstal* MnIr *easpal* 'apostle' § 250 In Brit W *asgell* 'wing' Co *ascall* Br *askell* (< Lat *axilla*) — Ir *lúb-gort* > *lúgbort* 'garden' § 47, OIr *bibdu* 'guilty' (pl *bibdid*) MlIr *budba* 'enemy' MnIr *bíodhbha* 'defendant, enemy, robber' OW *bibid* gl rei MlBr *buez* 'coupable', orig a perf part **bhíbhídwōt-* 'who has injured', to Lat *findō* etc — OIr *bélre* 'language' (to *bél* 'lip', g *bérh* once in Wb) MnIr *Béarla* 'English' V *berpet* 'always' Léon *bepred* (*bep pred* every time) Ir *rétglu* > *rétla* 'star' pl *rétglanna*, *rétlanna* MnIr *réalt* pl *réaltanna* (influenced by MlIr *rél* 'clear') OW *enmetuou* gl per nutus OBr *enmetiam* gl innuo MnW *amnaud* 'a nod' W *defnydd*, colloq *denfydd* Br *danvez* § 21, 4

XIX Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of separated non-syllabic sounds

§ 255 Assimilation. Partial assimilation occurs when a final *-n* becomes *-m* under the influence of a labial W *offrwm* 'offering' Co *offryn* (< Lat *offerenda*), W *saffrwm* 'saffron', but in some cases, *-n* > *-m* in W is not due to a preceding labial (*rheswm*, from MlE *resoun*), v Parry-Williams, *English Element in Welsh* p 246f Br *patroum*, *patrom* 'portrait, patron' from Fr *patron* MnIr *meamram* W *memrwn* 'parchment' (< Lat *membrāna*)

Assim of an *s*-sound to an *š*-sound Br V *choŋgal* 'think' from Fr *songer*, *chuget* 'sujet', *Joŋeb* 'Joseph' — In the common Celt period init IE *p*- became *k*^u if the foll syll began with *k*^u Ir *cóc* OW *pŋmp* etc '5', W *pobi* 'bake' etc — MlIr *tascraib* 'released' (*to-scar*-), beside *ro tascraib* 'laid low', fut pass *trascertar*, falsely analysed ipf ind *dorascaid som* LU 4989, Mnlr vb nn *trascart* — MlIr *coemchlód* 'exchange' (§ 156), also *cloechlód* Mnlr *claochlódh*

§ 256. **Dissimilation.** Very frequent in the case of sonants. An *r* is lost by dissim in W *brawd* 'brother' § 9, § 89, W *trawst* 'beam' Br *treust* from Lat *transtrum* (MIW pl *trostreu*), W *rhef* 'thick' Ir *remor*. Similarly after a vowel W *berw* foi *berur* 'water-cress' § 178,3, OIr *comrar* gl capsá (with suffix *-rā*-, to Lat *cumera* 'corn-bin') MlIr *comra* 'shrine' Mnlr *comhra* 'coffin' — *r* became *l* by dissim in Ir *rrar* (Thurneysen KZ 48 61), *rlar* Mnlr *rolar* 'eagle' W *eryr* OCo *er* MlBr *erer* MnlBr *er* **eriro*- to Gk *ōpvi* 'bird' Goth *ara* 'eagle' (v BBOS 4 140f), Ir *biror*, *biolor* 'water-cress' Mnlr *biolar* with suff *-ro*-, *-rā*- to **g^ueru*- (Ir *bir* etc § 178,3) ultimately rel to OHG *kresso* 'cress' (Falk og Torp, Et ordb II 506), Br *arar*, *alar* 'plough' § 2, Br *tarar*, *talar* 'auger' § 62. The latter of two *r*'s > *l* Mnlr *contrál-ta* MIW *cythrawl* MlB₁ *contrell* from Lat *contrārius* § 83,3, W *Chwefrol* beside *Chwefron* MnCo */hæwral/* from Lat *Februārius*, cf Parry-Williams, EEW 249

l can become *r* by dissim OIr *alaile*, *arele* § 111 W *arall* Co *arall* Br *arall*, Br *der'hel* § 37,3, *teurel* 'throw', part *taolet* W *taflu* Co *teitlel*, Br *gervel* 'call', part *galvet* W *galw* Co *gelwel* (also Br vb nn *delc'her*, *teuler*, *gelver*), W *llefrith* 'sweet milk' OCo *leverid* gl lac *dulce* Br *lerviz* 'beestings' Ir *lemlacht* 'sweet milk' (explained by Cormac as "warm milk", Mnlr *leamh* 'unsalted raw') — *l* can become *n* Ir *lemnacht* (Mnlr *leamhnacht*) = *lemlacht*, *lomán* 'very full' = *lomlán*, MlIr *lelap* and *lenab* 'child' Mnlr *leanbh* Br *kountell* from Lat *cultellus*

n can become *l* by dissim (from *n* or *m*) V *velm* 'poison', cf Fr *venim-eux* 'poisonous', Co *lemmyn* 'but' W *namyn*, OCo *linhaden* gl *urtica* Br *linad* 'nettle' (associated with *lin* 'flax' and *had* 'seed') Ir *nenaid*. Further *N* can become *d*, len *m* can become *b* Sc *deanntag* (also *ionntag* with loss of the first *n*) MIW *dynad*, sg *dynhaden* MnW *danadl* 'nettles' (SW dial *dynad*, also *dyned* and even *dryned*, the *-ed* probably by anal with spoken pl forms

in *-ed* for *-ad*, *dr-* probably by association with *dravn* 'thorns', the literary form *danadl* is probably by anal with *banadl* 'broom', the orig was prob **ninasati-* **nnosati-*, or if W and Co *h* is due to popular etym, **ninati-*), Ir *mebuir* from Lat *memoria* A nasal may be lost by dissim Br *eñvor* < Lat *memoria*, OIr *snisna*, *sníni* and *síni*, *sínni* 'we', Mnlr *sínn*

§ 257. **Metathesis** (Cf Ernault, Glossaire p 457) Due to anticipation of a *w* (which was originally the first part of a diphthong) Br *oade*, *ode* 'gap in a hedge' Ouessant *ado* (Loth, RC 29 70), from **adoe* W *adwy* 'breach, pass', Br *moger* 'wall' OBr *macoer* W *magwyr* Br *c'hoalenn*, *holenn* 'salt', Br Trég *noade* 'needle' MlBr *nadoez* § 26, 9, MlBr *quoalen* Mnlr *kolen* 'whelp' § 36 Anticipation of an *h*, v § 205, of an *s* MlIr *fertas* Mnlr *fearsard* § 64 *s ll > ll s* in W *sallwyr* > *llaswyr* § 83, 3c — *v ð > d v* W *crefydd* and *creddeyf* 'religion' cf Ir *crabud*, *tangnefedd* and *tangneddyf* 'peace' *ð v > v ð* W *cleddyf* 'sword' pl *cleddyfau* and MlW *clefydeu* *cleddyfod* 'stroke of a sword' and MlW *cleuy-dau* — Anticipation of an *r* Ir *cosecraim* Mnlr *cóisreacaim* 'I consecrate' § 83, 1c, W *gwregys* 'girdle' (for **gwe-grys* < **gwa-* + *crys*) OCn *grugis* gl *cingulum* Ir *fochrus* Br *gouriz* V *grouiz* (with *gru-* from *gur-*, cf § 17 and v Grammont, Mél d'Arb de Jub p 92) Postponement of an *r* Mnlr *searmóin* and *seanmóir* 'sermon' from E *sermon* (infl by Mnlr *seanchas* 'tale'), Bt Trég and Corn *gregon-enn* 'wild plum' MlBr *goagronenn* — Anticipation of an *l* Br *gouestl* V *gloestr* 'vow', W *casglu* colloq *clisgu* 'collect' *n l* Br *halan* 'breath' W *anadl*, colloq *anal* Bt *balan* and *banal* 'broom' § 62

XX. Pronunciation of the Explosives.

§ 258 **Interchange between tenuis and media initially in Celt** occurs rather frequently, quite apart from IE alternation It is due mostly to analogy with the regular syntactical mutations (lenition or soft mutation in Brit, eclipsis in Ir) Examples of *k* and *g* OIr *caile* 'spot' MlIr *gaile*, OIr *coll* gl *luscum* Thes II 236 3, MlIr *goll* 'one-eyed' Ir *géc* 'branch' *gésca* W *cavnc* *t* and *d* W *drem* and *trem* 'sight', Ir *tretell*, *dretill* 'pet' from W *drythyll*, *trythyll* ('wanton'), Ir *drum* 'back' W *drum* *trum* 'ridge', OIr *drualned* 'corruption' *drualnthe* 'corrupt' MlIr *ro truallned* 'has

been corrupted' MnIr *truailleadh* 'corruption', MnIr *truid*, *druid* 'starling' MIW *drydw*, *trydw*, *drudwy* etc (v Ifor Williams, PKM 188f) MnCo /troʒan/ Br *dred*, *tred* $p \ b$ in Lat *borr* Ir *béist*, MnIr *péist* 'a beast' < Lat *bēstia*

§ 259. The four types of IE explosives (§ 1) became two in Celt, b, d, g and (aspirated) (p), t, k . The mutations gave rise to a third type pure tenues, which however soon became mediae, the mod languages therefore have only two types

Note. The two types are sometimes mixed in post tonic sylls in MnIr *munic* 'often', earlier *menucc* W *mynych* Co *menough* (Goth *manags* 'much'), but Sc *munig*, MnIr *éiric* 'ransom' OIr *eric* Sc *erig* (to *as-renim* 'I pay, give away') Sc *reic* 'sell' OIr dat *reicc* (*renim* 'I sell') Cf Thurneysen, Handb 1 89 MIr *fertas* MnIr *fearsaid* § 257

§ 260. The new mediae (older pure tenues) have developed in Ir. from prim Celt aspir t, k, k^u in the foll cases (1) eclipsis § 187, (2) two homorganic spirants (due to len) coming together secondarily § 210, (3) in proclisis § 108 (aspir t, k becoming pure tenues directly), (4) after s and x . Many instances of pure tenues (> mediae) occur in (Lat and Celt) borrowings from Brit OIr suff -óc MnIr -óg, MIr *secul* MnIr *seagal* 'rye' < Lat *secale*

§ 261. The change from pure tenues to mediae was complete in OIr or at least was completed in that period, but the use of the symbols for the tenues was retained in the OIr and MIr orthography. For occasional deviations v § 187

§ 262. In Brit mediae have developed from tenues (1) in cases of lenition § 222 (2) in proclisis § 122, (3) in W after s (MnW *sg*, *sb*, *st*, for groups of spirants + explosives v Orgraff vr Iaith Gymraeg, p 53f) In all cases the mediae came from pure tenues

Co. $t > s^1$.

§ 263. An original t appears in Co medially and finally, in most cases, as -s- -s, which according to Lhuyd's orthography is to be pronounced sometimes /z/, sometimes /ʒ/ (rarely /č/) Two kinds of change have been considerably mixed (1) final t became /s/ > /z/, the intermediary stage between t and s was probably /c/, cf $t > /c/$ (wr z) in High German, also -*tw-* > -*sw-*, — (2) -*t-*, -*d-* before /j/ or a front vowel became /č/, /ʒ/ (with palat /t'/, /d'/ as intermediary stage) The z of (1) was extended to medial positions

¹ Cf Loth RC 18 402—422

(e *g* in plurals in *-ow* of nouns), and also the /č/, /ž/ of (2) was extended analogically to finals and the position before back vowels

(1) (a) The change *-t* > *-s* occurred in two different periods. After *l* and *n* it appears already in OCo *sola* gl pecunia § 77, 2, *gols* gl caesaries § 3, 4, *als* gl litus, *mols* 'wether' § 64, 2 (MiCo *mols* MnCo *molz*), *dans* 'tooth' § 8, 1 (MnCo *danz*), *cans* 'with' § 64, 3, *guins* gl uentus § 5, 2 (MiCo *gwyns* MnCo *gwenz*). The *s* was extended to a medial position beside *els* gl priuignus (**altjo-s*, cf. MlIr *com-alta* 'foster-brother') the fem *elses* 'step-daughter', *cam-hinsic*, *eun-hinsic* § 64, 3, *denshoc* dour gl luceus, 'dentatus aquae' (derived from the pl of *dans*), *brians-en* gl guttur § 35, 6 (cf. n 3 below). Otherwise OCo has *-lt-*, *-nt-* *altor* gl altare, *altrou* gl utricus § 64, 2, *caltor* 'cauldron', *guaintoun* gl uer § 24, 3, *mantel* gl mantellum. Final *nt* occurs twice *skient* (MiCo *skyens*) knowledge *sant* gl daps (from OE *sand* meal') — probably remains of an earlier orthography.

Note 1 OCo *collet* gl cultellus *dannet* gl dentes are W words.

(b) After a vowel *-t* remains in OCo *hoet* duck', *tauot* 'tongue', *tat* 'father' (but *bros* gl aculeus Ir *brot* goad' MnIr *brod* Br *broud*). The change is probably explained thus, pure tenuis *-t* > *-t'* > *c* > *s* > *z* (*-s* since 1300). MiCo *hos* 'duck' MnCo /hâz/, MiCo *taves*, *taras* 'tongue' MnCo *tavaz*, MiCo *tas* 'father' MnCo *tâz*. Extension to medial position OCo *lagat* 'eye' MiCo *lagas*, pl *lagasow*.

(c) *tw* became /cw/ not only finally (cf. Germ *Zwerg*, *zwingen* and *tw* > *ss* in Gk *τέσσαρες* '4'), /cw/ regularly became /zw/, and was then confused with *ž* by anal. MiCo *peswar* '4' (MnCo /pažar/), MiCo *lusow* 'ashes' § 162 (MnCo *ludzhū* /lūžu/), MiCo *nasweth* 'needle' § 26, 9 (MnCo /nažed/).

(2) The change *t* > /t'/ > /c/, *d* > /d'/ > /ž/ occurred before /j/ (and /ž/ so formed can be extended to forms without /j/ MiCo *y a ngy* 'they fly'), further, it occurred also before every unaccented front vowel MiCo *pysy*, *pygy* pray' Br *pedi* *pidi* MiCo *cresy*, *crygy* 'believe' § 45 (3 sg pres *pys*, *peys* *crys* *creys* to be explained as (1) above, the *-s* being orig. /z/, these forms have /ž/ in MnCo, Loth, op. cit. 405, already in MiCo *t*, *d* were anal. changed in forms of the paradigm where they should have remained according to rule. MiCo *pysaf* 'I pray', *pysough* 'pray ye', *nyn* *cresons* 'they will not believe it'), — *wose*, *woge* 'after' W *wedi* Br *goude* § 181 3 MiCo *resek* run' W *rhedeq* Br *redeq*, — before /o/ from

IE *ā*, *ō*, Lat *ā* MlCo *dewsys* 'Godhead' W *duwdod trenses trengys* 'Trinity' from Lat *trīnitāt-em*

The palatalization did not occur before *-er*, *-el*, *-en* MlCo *broder* 'brother', *lader* 'robber', MnCo *padal* OCo *padel* from Lat *patella*, MlCo *cuntel* 'collects', *fynten* 'fountain' § 77,2 MnCo */mɜ́zar/* 'reaper' is influenced by */mɜ́ʒv/* 'reap' It is also wanting before back vowels MlCo *caradow* 'lovable', *ledan* 'broad' § 7,1 — The enclitic pron 2 sg appears as *-sy -gy, -se -ge*, also as *-ta* — Palatalization is not found in late E borrowings MlCo *redye* 'read' MC 187, *settyas* 'placed' ib 71

Note 2. Anal formations MlCo *ganso* 'with him' after *gynsy* 'with her', *ganse* 'with them' to *gans* 'with' (1) above, *legessa* 'catch mice' (W *llygota* Br *logota*) after MnCo */lagoʒan/* 'mouse' (*ss* = */ʒ/*)

Note 3 */ʒ/* often occurs where */z/* would be expected When */z/* and */ʒ/* alternate in a paradigm */z/* is often displaced by */ʒ/* In other cases */ʒ/* appears to be a palatalized */z/* OCo *brians-en* > MlCo *bryangen* MnCo (Lhuyd) *brandzhan* */branʒan/* (cf the treatment of old *s* in MlCo *martegen* for *martesen* perhaps MnCo *vendzhu* *voudrait* Loth op cit 416 Lhuyd p 253)

The Celtic Spirants

§ 264. (Sonority of the spirants) (1) In Ir spirants which arose out of explosives vary with regard to sonority The main rules have already been given A tendency to become voiceless finally is seen only in the case of non-palatalized non-rounded back spirants (*/-g* > */-x/* § 35, n 1), */gʷ/*, */qʷ/*, */d̪/* and */b/* remain voiced finally (for */gʷ/* v Thurneysen, Handb 78, Ir *tug* 'thick', OIr *deug* 'drunk', but MlIr and MnIr *deoch*, for */b/* cf § 47 for */d̪/* cf § 43, n 1) — The originally voiceless sounds tend to become voiced in unacc sylls, except only non-pal non-rounded back spirants, */cʷ/* */xʷ/* after an unacc vowel become */gʷ/*, */qʷ/* medially and finally (OIr *sechtmogo* '70', *atllugud* 'thank', vb nn of *atluchur* 'I thank', *tossug* and *tossuch*, dat of *tossach* 'beginning', *hressach* pl *hressig* § 51,2, but */xʷ/* can remain medially *sonmache* 'luck') */p/* as a rule became */d̪/* in final unacc sylls § 61,3, also medially except in a third syll ending in *r* *adcotade* 'obtained' (§ 636), *sonar-taidir* 'as strong' beside *leruthir* 'as diligent' (Thurneysen, ZCP 12,412), *-f* became */b̪/* after an unacc vowel OIr *felsub* 'philosopher' — Initially */b̪/* > *f* § 109, this occurs also in the second member of a compound OIr *find-fadach* 'blessed' (is *find an-bethu* gl beati, 'white is their life' W *gwyn ei fyd* 'blessed is he' (1)

gvyn agan beys 'blessed are we' MIBr *ez vezo guenn hoz bet* 'votre sort sera heureux' —

(2) (a) In W. both forms of articulation have been preserved to this day. For the change /*ð*/ /*þ*/, /*v*/ /*f*/ medially due to a following *h* v § 203. For *-xw-* *-w-* cf. MIW *erchwys, erwys* 'pack of hounds', *damchwain, damwain* 'happen, accident' v. Ifor Williams, PKM 94. Also *chware*, MIW *gware* 'play', *darware* id. In SW dialects *rw-* does not occur, but *hw-* (*wh-*) or (Glam. and Gwent) *w-*, in late borrowings *ku-* *chwarter* 'quarter' SW *cwarter*.

(b) In Co. final voiced spirants tend to become voiceless § 43, n 3 § 47n. *s* > *z* in MnCo. OCo *seit* gl. *olla* (*-t* = /*þ*/) MnCo *ceith*, MnCo /*zowz*/ 'Englishman' < Lat. *Saxō*.

(c) In Br. the back spirants and *ʒ* incline to be voiceless, the other spirants to be voiced. Old /*x*/ and V /*x*/ or *h* from old /*þ*/ remain voiceless. Br. *sac'h* 'sack', V *eih* '8'. — For initial /*r*/ from /*g*/ v § 224, 3. — In certain Br. dialects *z* (< *s*, *þ*, *ð*) became *h* (Loth, RC 17 287).

For *s* > *z* in sandhi cf. § 224, 4. Medially and finally after vowels *z* prevails *kazek* 'mare', *miz* 'month', *braz* 'big'. But compare *brasoc'h* 'bigger', *brasa* 'biggest', *s* from *s* + *h*. — In Br. old /*þ*/ and /*ð*/ have become mixed with common Brit. *s* (but not in all dialects), this *s* also became *z* and is regularly so written since 1300 (Loth 'Hrest' p. 184). This *z* too becomes *s* in compared forms. *gwaz* 'worse' (W. *gwaeth* Co. *gweth*) superl. *gwasa*. — Voiceless *ʃ* from *s* + *j*, *þ* + *j* § 180, also from /*d*/ + *j* *grisienn* 'root', pl. *grisiou*, *guchou* § 22, further from *t* + *j* after *l* and *n* *heñchou* § 180, MIBr. *melchonenn* MnBr. *melchen-enn* 'trefoil' OW. *meilhonou* gl. *uolus* MnW. *meillion* 'clover' (MHG. *melde* 'orchard') *ž* from *d* + *j* § 180.

The change *f* > *v* occurs in V. and Trég. V. *sul vask* 'Easter-day', *korv* 'body', Trég. *hon veden* 'our prayer', *vui* 'wise'. For a difference between the old *v* and the new *v* (from *f*) v. P. le Roux, Ann. de Bret. 12, 4 (and J. Le Gall, Ann. de Bret. 19, 266).

§ 265. (Interchange of spirants and explosives). A regular change of *j*-like sounds of various origins to *g* occurs in Munster Ir., v. Hennebrv, p. 64ff., Asp. 1 Irsk. p. 16.

In a district of Cornouaille old /*þ*/ has become finally *d* *erd* 'eight' *meurd* 'Tuesday', v. Loth, RC 17 59—63.

B. Accidence and Syntax.

XXI. Gender

§ 266 (406) The three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, of the IE nouns, were to a slight extent denoted by their proper form, but chiefly by the forms of the accompanying adjectives (Lat *novus rex, nova arx* etc.) These distinctions are mostly lost in Neo-Celt due to the loss of endings, but new signs of gender arose owing to the effect of these old endings on a foll initial, and also on the preceding vowel in the root-syll (-u-, -i- > -o-, -e- in the fem in Brit § 184)

§ 267 (407) Syntax (1) The masc is used in Ir to denote some indefinite person, even in some cases where it is clear that such a person is a female. MlIr *issi ro-bad ban-rígan in chóicid uh, inti dúb cétna-ragad i-ssa tech* 'she would be queen of the whole province, who (intí) first reached the house' W₁ 260 31f. The neut is found in the same sense. OIr *cechtar n-ái, nechtar n-ái, cechtár n-athar, ind-ala-n-ái* § 189, *ní ru-bí nechtar de cen alarl* 'neither of them (man and woman) can be without the other' Wb 11c 17.

(2) A neut pron can refer to a prec masc or fem. OIr *ba hé cúrsagad mard ma d-a-choisged dílgud* 'that were a good reproof (masc) if forgiveness should follow it (neut)' Wb 14d 19, *mad aill dúb cid accaldam neich dúb, d-a-rigente* 'if ye desired even to converse with any of them, ye could do it' (-a- is neut, *accaldam* fem) Wb 13b 3.

A pronoun representing an indefinite neuter 'it, this' as subject has the same gender as the predicate noun. *na-bad hé for n-imbgradud* 'let it not be your opinion', *is sí trebair* 'this is prudence', *is sí regnum* 'this is the kingdom' (Ir *flath* fem) Wb 6b 6, 3d 30, 6c 10. But the pron refers to a definite substantive in the following.

is hed a dúlchinne 'that is its reward' (*bás* 'death' neut) Wb 3 b 16, *is he a dúlchinne (bethu* 'life' masc) 3 b 18, *is si ede dúlchinne (lann* 'crown' fem) 11 a 5

§ 268. (The neuter) (1) In OIr. the three genders still occur, but during MIr the neut disappeared. Old neuters as a rule became masc, rarely fem (-i-, -s-, -n-stems chiefly, a few -jo-stems). Thus OIr (MIr) neut, MnIr masc *bás* 'death', *bunad* 'origin', *dliged* 'law', *biad* 'food', *cenél* 'race', *scél* 'story', — *dorus* 'door', — *dún* 'fort', *tech* 'house', — *ainm* 'name', *druim* 'back' (*céim* 'step' MnIr masc and fem) OIr (MIr) neut, MnIr fem *ré* 'time', *tuale* 'flood', *muir* 'sea', *glún* 'knee', *nem* 'heaven', *tír* 'land', *léim* 'leap', etc

Note Signs of the disappearing of the neut are found in OIr. The foll oscillate between neut and masc, *lin* 'number', *imthanad* 'change', *recht* 'law', *ais* 'our age', between neut and fem *fetarlicce* 'law' and *ré* 'time'.

(2) In Brit. the neut remained long enough for **Latin** neuters to be taken as neuters in Ir. *ór* 'gold', *fin* 'wine', *lín* 'net', *scribend* 'writing' (MnIr *sgríbhann* fem), *arm* 'weapon'. The instances in which a Lat neut appears in Ir not as neut are possibly due to the loss of neut in Lat, not in Brit. OIr *corp* 'body', *peccad* 'sin', *tempul* 'temple', *testimin* 'text' (Lat *testimónium*), all masc.

(3) In the historic period the neut was given up in Brit., orig neuters becoming masc or fem. Masc W *tro* 'turn' (Br *tro* fem), W *bwyd* 'food' Br *boed*, *boued*, W *galar* 'grief' (Br *glac* 'har' fem), W *aur* 'gold' Co *our* Br *aour*, W *drws* 'door', W *môr* 'sea' Co Br *mor*, W *tŷ* 'house' Co *chy* Br *ti*, W Br *glyn* 'knee' Fem W *dyled* 'debt', *cenedl* 'nation', *cathl* 'song' Br *kentel* 'lesson' (Ir *cétal* 'song' neut), *nef* 'heaven' (Br *eñv* masc). This accounts for some nouns of vacillating gender W *braich* 'arm' from Lat *brachium*, *chwedl* 'story' MIW masc, MnW fem, Br *kel* masc, *grudd* 'cheek' m and f (OIr *gruad* neut, MnIr m and f), *llyn* 'lake' m and f (OIr *lind* n, MnIr *lunn* f).

Traces of the old neut are found. A certain example is the treatment of Br *tra* 'thing' sometimes as masc, sometimes as fem *ann dra* 'the thing', *eunn dra vad* 'a good thing', but *daou zra*, *tri zra* (with masc numerals) 'two, three things', v Loth, RC 15 96, Ernault, ib 386 (MIW *tra* 'thing' is fem, Ll H 59 2 *a genniw pob tra trwydri beruet* 'who sees everything right through'). Non-len after W *dau* 'two', as in *dau cant* '200', *dau tu* 'two sides' (also *dau gant*, *dau du*) may be a relic of the neut, cf Br *daou chant*.

XXII. Plurals and Collectives.

§ 269 In prim IE the plural was distinguished from the singular by the fact that plural case-endings differed from singular case-endings. The collectives in IE were distinguished from the plurals not only by difference in meaning but also (to a greater degree) by syntactical rules of concord. Thus with a plur subject the verb had plur endings, but not necessarily with a collective. And the distinction was always strictly maintained in the case of an accompanying adjective. Irish has preserved the distinction between plurals and collectives, due to its retention of inflected cases. But in Brit collective formations have to a large extent been fused with the old plurals.

§ 270. In Ir, collectives which hardly differ in meaning from plurals, are frequent. They are partly compounds (*ech-rad* 'horses', *ingen-rad* 'maids', *én-lath* 'birds', *flath* 'kingdom', *dét-gen*, *dét-gein* 'teeth'), partly derivatives (*bu-ar* 'cows', *lebr-ar* 'books'), partly simple words (*cland* 'children'). They were accompanied by a singular adj. (*én-lath gle-gel* 'bright-white birds' W1 259 5). In OIr and MlIr a plur verb occurs often with such forms: *tibit in macrad* 'the youths laugh' W1 286, 10.

Note. For Ir plurals v § 284-314. MnIr retains the old ways of forming the plur. but certain endings have spread greatly (esp those derived from *-t-* and *-k-* stems), *sgéal* story pl *sgéal-ta* *obair* work pl *oibr-eacha* *baic* 'a stone' pl *leac-racha*, *lunn* 'a pool' pl *lunn-treacha*. For MnIr nouns with numerals v § 333.

§ 271. In Brit. the endings of collectives functioning as plurals are: *-i* (W *llestr-i* 'vessels' OCo *lustr-i* 'ships', sg *lester* Br *lustr-i* sg *lestr*, sg collective, W *celli* fem 'grove' OCo *kelh* § 12, etc.), Br *-ad* (V *gouri-ad* 'roots', *tuéz-ad* 'ears of corn', sg coll *karr-ad* 'wagonful', *bag-ad* 'boat-load'), MIW *-ot* MnW *-od* (*hydd-od* 'stags' *llydn-od* 'young animals'), MIW *-et* MnW *-ed* (*merch-ed* 'girls' Co *myrhes* Br *merc'hed*, cf sg *lluched* 'lightening' OCo *luhet* MlCo *luhes* Br *luc'hed*), MIW *-eist*, *-yest* MnW *-aid*, *-iard* (MIW *machwy-eist* 'youths', MnW *pechadur-iard* 'sinners'), MIW *-awt* MnW *-od* (MIW *gorwydawt*, pl of *gorwydd* 'steed', *edystrawd*, pl of *eddyst* 'steed', MIW *pyscawt* MnW *pysgod* 'fish' Co *puskes* Br *pesked* Lat *piscātus*), MIW *-awr*, *-ar* (*kledyu-awr* 'swords', *bydyn-awr* 'armies', *byss-awr* 'fingers', *yscwyd-awr* 'shields', *llyfr-awr* 'books' *gwayw-awr* 'spears', later *gwaewar* whence by anal vowel change *gweywyr* which gave MnW *gwewyr* 'pains', but MIW *gwaewyr*

'spears' also occurs, Co *pren-y-er*, *prenn-y-er* 'trees', Br *kleze-i-er* 'swords' pl of *kleze*, *kle-i-er* 'bells' pl of *kloc'h*)

Note 1 The terminations derived from *-t* suffixes are very frequently used in names of animals, sometimes in names of persons, as the above examples show, *et*, *awt* fell together in Co and Br, Br has also *ed* for *MIW -ot* irregularly *MIW llydn-ot* *MnW llydn-od* *Br loen-ed*, the original *'o* ending *es* paved the way for Eng plurals like *streaks* blows

The sing of coll-plurs with no ending was formed by means of singulative terminations, W *-yn* (masc), *-en* (fem) Co *-en* *Br -enn* W *plent-yn* child' pl *plant*, W *gwyn-wydd-en* 'vine' from *gwydd* 'trees' Co *gveith-en* 'tree' pl *gveyth* Br *gwez-enn* pl *gwez* ('f Br *kloareg* 'clerc', pl *kloer* In Br the sg is sometimes denoted by a non-related word *tud* 'people' pl of *den* 'man' *chas* 'dogs' (Fr *chasse*) pl of *li*, *saout* 'cows' pl of *buoc'h*

The following plur terminations are derived from old plurals W *-edd*, *-oedd*, *-ydd*, OW *-on* *MIW -eu*, *-yeu* *MnW -au*, *-iau*, W *-ant*, *-yr -on*, *-ion*, *-en*, *MIW -ein* (W *gwrwg-edd* 'women', *MIW gwlad-oed* *MnW gwled-ydd* countries', W *crys-au* shirts', *cer-aint* kinsmen', *brod-yr* brothers' *lladr-on* thieves', *ych-en* oxen', OW *enw-ein* *MIW enw-ein* names'), also a few isolated forms W *tai* houses' *cŵn* dogs' further, plurals formed by internal vowel change, derived from *-o*-stem inflections *gwŷh* 'men', pl of *gŵr*, v the section on the declensions For forms of the nouns with numerals v § 333 names of parts of the body which are in pairs often form compounds with the numeral '2' in Brit W *deu-lin* 'knees' (sg *glin*) ('o *dow-lyn* Br *daou-lin*, ('o *defreg*h arms' Br *dwyreac'h*, W *dwylaw* (*dwyllo*) is the ordinary pl of *llaw* hand' (cf *am gleddau yn llaw am gleddde dwyddwyllo* 'for a one-handed sword for a two-handed sword' Rep of Welsh MSS 1554)

Note 2 It is not always easy to distinguish between Brit plur endings derived from old collectives and those derived from the old declension. Thus the *-t* plurals may well be derived from the old declension as well as from old collectives W *llyg* mouse pl *llygod* corresponds to Ir *luch g lochad* (but cf the sg W *llygod-en* OC'o *loquad en* *Mn'o loquad an* *Br loquad enn*)

XXIII. Cases of nouns.

§ 272. Prim IE had 8 cases nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative ablative, genitive and locative. The system was simplified in Celt. In Ir the instrumental, ablative and locative fell together with the dative the resulting case being

called dative Case inflections have disappeared in the Brit dialects

Note. Remains of cases in Brit Accus W *beu nydd* § 196, 4, Br *bem-dez* (-m from -pn-) Dat W *erbyn* against Co *erbyn* - Ir *ar-chruinn* before, W *hddur* 'to-day' etc

Use of Cases.

§ 273. The **Accusative** denotes the object Ir *connessat in gnáim n-olcc* 'they condemn the evil deed' Wb 1d 7, — destination *do-sn-icfa cobir* 'help will come to them' 5c 5, *tiagant báas n-anapang* 'they go to premature death' 11d 12, cf MIW *exx* in § 237, 2b, — a space of time *n imdidnabt[h]er arnech and a-llae sin* 'no person will be protected there on that day' Wb 15c 25, *ro-arvus inn arthch n-unh* 'I have watched the whole night' MI 95d 9, cf W *beunydd* 'every day', for the dat in the same sense v § 281, — destination, after the preps Ir *fo* 'under', *for* 'on', *i n-* 'into' (which govern the dat after the question 'where?'), — it comes after the prep *ar* 'for' in various uses (destination *techt ar-chenn crist* 'to go before Christ' Wb 25d 25, — price, aim *ar brad et ártach* 'for food and raiment' 24d 14, *do-mm-anucul ar cech n-duine* 'to secure me against every man' W1 56, *n ar oén-fer na dus ro-cess* 'not for one man or two did he suffer' Wb 4b 13, — as' *ní ármí som ar chumactte* 'he does not count it as a power' 6a 1, — v § 274 for *ar* with dat), — after *co* 'to, up to', *fri* 'against', *tar* 'across, over', *sech* 'past', *ol* 'on account of', *cen* 'without' *im* 'about' *eler* 'between', *echtar* 'outside', *sechtar* 'outside', after (originally substantives) *la* 'with, by' and *amal* 'as' In MIr the dat often takes the place of the accus *fri-sna il-tuatharb* 'according to the many tribes' LL 57b 3, *im Ultaib* 'about the Ulstermen'

In a comparison the equative is followed by the accus OIr *sonartaidir slébe* 'as strong as mountains' MI 90b 4, MIr *móir béolu midchuach* 'as large as the mouth of a meadcup' LU 4882

§ 274. The **Dative** follows prepositions in an instrumental, ablative or locative sense Instrumental after Ir *co n-* 'with' — Abl after *di* 'from', *o* 'from, since', *a, ass-* 'out of', apparently also after *do* 'to' — Loc after *fo, for, i n-* after the question 'where', after *ar* in various senses (after the question 'where?' *hóre nád robe tit ar-mo-chvunn* 'since Titus was not ahead of me' Wb 14d 29, — instead of *foirbthe ar anfoirbthvu* 'a perfect (number) for an imperfect' 9a 10, — reason *n ar formut frib-si asbiur-sa inso* 'it

is not because of envy towards you that I say this' 12c 29), after *oc* 'at', *fiad* 'in presence of' (orig a substantive), *ís* 'below', *ós* 'above', *iar* 'after', *re n-* 'before'

§ 275 The Ir dat represents the old Instrumental without a preposition in denoting manner *in chruth as coir* 'in the way that is proper' Wb 7b 1, *condroch óir sen-mesib sen-aíroib* 'with a circlet of gold according to old standards' Thes II 239, *is é no-benfad a crand óen-bémam di bun* 'he would cut the tree at one blow from the trunk' LU 4829, *léir ingnu* 'with diligent science' Thes II 293 16, *huaraib* 'at times'

§ 276. This use of the dat-instr leads directly to its use as apposition case *a triur* 'all three' ('in their three-men'), *tussu th-benur* 'thyself alone' ('thou in thy one-man'), *ba miscuis atroullisset dib linaib* 'it was hatred they had both deserved' Wb 4c 15, *isnini firíonaib* 'we being righteous' 33a 7

In MIr the prep *i n-* precedes the possessive pron *is bás dúib-si in-farn-Ultaib* 'it is usual for you Ulstermen' LL 112b 47, *dúinn n-arn-Ultaib* 'to us Ulstermen' LU 4637f In MñIr a predicate-case with the substantive verb has arisen out of the MIr OIr apposition-case *tá sé 'n-a rígh* 'he is king', but with the verbum assertivum *is rígh é* 'he is a king' Cf ZCP 2 377f, 17 307ff

§ 277. Examples of the apposition-instrumental are found also in Brit OW *hun map di iob gl Ioue dignus* '(as) a son of Jupiter', MIW *gororeu y dyffryn oed yn goet* 'the sides of the valley were wooded', MñW *Duwr a alwodd y goleuni yn ddydd* 'God called the light day' (C'o *deugh yn rag yn kettep quas* 'come forward, every fellow' PC 1350

Note In some cases an older instrumental is expressed in W by a construction with *ar*, MIW *mi a af u ym deudecuet* 'I will go with eleven others' (on my twelfth) (Cf Strachan RC 28 207

§ 278 The instrumental of an adj (as a rule accompanied by *ind*, *in*) functions in Ir as an adverb OIr *in chruth as coir et as inricc sanctis i. ind inricc donaib nóibairb* 'in the way that is proper and worthy sanctis, i e worthily of the saints' Wb 7b 1, *in chotarsnu* 'contrary-wise' Sg 17b 9 As the particle came to be regarded as the essential mark of the adverb, and as many adjectives had the same forms for nom and dat, forms like *ind immdae* 'abundantly' Sg 26a 5 *in madæ in van* Wb 19d 16 arose Further, adjectives in *-de*, *-the* used as adverbs took as a rule the

ending *-id* in *chorpdid* 'bodily' Instrumental forms without the particle used as adverbs *arailhu* 'otherwise' Wb 21a 13 (= *alailhu chruth* MI 98d 1), *talmardiu* 'suddenly' MI 35d 1, *sainriud* 'specially' 120d 2, *arri-siu sund bic* 'wait here a little' LL 68a 33

The adverbial instrumental forms are also abundantly used in W and Co, preceded by *yn*, less frequently in Br (the adj can function as an adv in Br alone and unmodified) W *yn dda* 'well', *yn bell* 'far' (also with the IE prep **en* causing eclipsis *ymhell*), Co *yn fras* 'greatly', *yn harow* 'roughly' cf § 215,3 MIBr *en or ent ent seder* 'tranquillement', *en mat* 'well' MIBr *ervad*

§ 279. An actual Dative occurs in Gaul *Dovros Segomari vouru Alisanu* 'Doiros, son of Segomarios, made [this] for Ahsanos' In Ir and Brit such expressions have been supplanted by the use of the prep **to* with (presumably) the abl OIr *ind indobál doratad do crist* 'the glory which has been given to Christ' Wb 4a 18, MIW *rodi bonchust mawr y Wenhwyyfar* 'he gave a strong blow to Gwenhwyyfar' In Neo-Celt only the infixed pronouns functioned as datives (mostly with 'to be') OIr *massu bethu frendirc tantum no-m-thá* 'if it is a present life only that I have' ('is to me') Wb 13c 10, MIW *nym dauw* 'I care not' ('it matters not to me') Co *ny-m der* PC' 682, *ny-m duer*, *ny-m dur* 'I care not', *nar a-th dur* 'if thou carest' RD 1897, 1059, 845, Br *ne-m-deur* 'je ne veux pas' etc Cf Lloyd-Jones, ZCP 17 90ff

§ 280 In the sense of the old ablative the dative without a preposition denotes the second member of a comparison after the comparative in Ir OIr *na-bad lia dus no thrur* 'let it not be more than two or three persons' Wb 13a 4 *ni dilu nech himm alailhu* 'no one is dearer to me than another' 23a 14

§ 281. As the earlier locative the dat without a preposition denotes place where Ir *siu* 'here', *cinn rehe* 'at the end of a space' Wb 4c 11 (MIBr *i g-ciunn*), — time when OIr *ind-echt-so* 'now', Ir *in-diu* 'today' W *heddiw* etc, *andchi* 'one night' MI 55c 1

§ 282. The adverbial genitive is rare It occurs in Ir denoting time *oenach dognathe la Ultu cecha bhadna* 'a fair was held by the Ulstermen every year' W₁ 205 Further some adjectives in L₁ are joined with the g *be sóir mo brethre* 'I shall be free as regards my word' Wb 4c 18, *am essamin-se precepte* 'I am fearless in preaching' 23b 7, *gréssich foigde* constant in begging' 31b 23, *réil arsoilethe beol* 'manifest in the opening of the mouth' Sg 14a 16 *am iriam*

techte martre 'I am ready to go to martyrdom' Wb 13c 8, *nidan chumachtig forn-urisse* 'we have no power over your faith' 14c 41, *am tualang dano a hétarcerta* 'I am fit also to interpret it' Wb 12d 22 (also with accus *is tualang Dia sin* 'God can do that' ZCP 7, 306, v Thurneysen, IF Anz 33 26)

§ 283. The adjectival genitive occurs frequently in Ir with different shades of meaning (possessive descriptive, objective, genitivus generis, rarely as partitive) and can be attributive or predicative OIr *rad dá* 'the grace of God', *is dá int soilse amal as-n-dá inna dorche* 'the light is God's even as the darkness is God's' Ml 140c 5, — *muince III n-ungae* 'a necklace of three ounces', *bás etarscartha corp et anme* 'death of separation of body and soul' Wb 13c 1, — *icc in domuin* 'the salvation of the world' Wb 5c 14, *oc turste dúile* 'in creating the elements' 5c 16, — *mór n-amrú* 'much of marvel' Wb 13a 33, *ocht fichet* 'eight of twenty' twenty-eight' The genitivus generis and the partitive genitive are however mostly expressed by means of the prep *dí* *mór dí marth* 'much of good'

The *g* follows most nouns used as preps *cinn rehe* 'at the end of a space', *dochum Poil* 'to Paul', *is archenn focheda dochommar* 'it is to meet suffering that we have come' Wb 25a 12

Note In prose the *g* regularly follows its governing noun. It is by means of this word-order that the old construction could be retained in Brit after the loss of the inflection. MlW *drws y pebyll* 'the door of the tent', Co *both ou thas* 'the will of my Father then both men to the stone grave' RD 157, 389, Br *tud an ti* 'the people of the house' Cf exx § 235, 2. A prepositional expression is substituted for the old construction far more frequently in Co and Br than in W. Co *yn beth a ven* 'in a stone grave' RD 2, Br *an dud euz an ti* 'the people of the house', Ernault, Gramm p 14.

In Ir poetry the *g* can precede its governing noun, OIr *fairggae find* 'felt the ocean's white hair' Thes II 290 4. For the same in W v § 244.

Inflection of the *-o*-stems.

§ 284 Ir. paradigms: *fer* 'man' masc, *cenél* 'race' neut

	Sing	Plur	Dual
N	<i>in fer</i>	<i>ind fir</i>	N A <i>in da fer</i>
V	<i>á fir</i>	<i>á firu</i>	D <i>don dib ferarb</i>
A	<i>in fer n-</i>	<i>inna firu</i>	G <i>in da fer</i>
D	<i>dond fíur</i>	<i>donarb ferarb</i>	
G	<i>ind fir</i>	<i>inna fer n-</i>	
N A	<i>a cenél n-</i>	<i>inna cenél, cenéla</i>	<i>in da cenél n-</i>
D	<i>don chenél</i>	<i>donarb cenélarb</i>	<i>don dib cenélarb</i>
G	<i>in chenél</i>	<i>inna cenél n-</i>	<i>in da cenél</i>

Note 1 Exx of vowel infection *crann* 'tree' (neut) D *crunn*, Gen *crunnn*, *ball* 'limb', D *bull*, Gen *boill*, Pl N *boill*, *baill*, A *bullu*, *baillu*, *rath* 'grace' (neut), D *rath*, Gen *raith* (similarly *maec* 'son'), *son* 'sound', D *sun*, Gen *suin*, Pl A *sunu*, *fol* 'hair', D *fol* (MlIr *full*), *ech* 'horse', D *eo*ch, Gen *eich* Pl A *eo*chu, *neit* 'strength' (neut) D *neurt*, Gen *neirt*, *lebur* 'book', D *libur*, Gen *libuir*, *cenn* 'head' (neut), D *ciunn* (*cinn* § 110), Gen *cinn*, *fiach* 'debt', D *fiach*, Gen *féich*, — in post ton syll. *galar* 'illness' (neut), D *galar*, *hiressach* 'faithful, believing', D *hiressach* Gen *hiressach*, *hiressig*, Pl A *hiresschu* (§ 174 n), *sai*thar 'labour, trouble' (neut) D *sai*thur, (Gen *sai*thir, *biad* 'food' (disyll), neut) D *biud*, Gen *bud*

Note 2 Brit remains Sing v § 272n Brit plurals formed by umlaut are derived from Pl N W *march* horse Co *margh*, Pl W *meirch* Co *mergh*, W *mollt* 'wether' Br *maout*, Pl W *myllt* Br *meot*, W *oen* 'lamb' Co *oan* Br *oan*, Pl W *wyn* MnCo *can* Br *em* Such pl formations were greatly increased by analogy

§ 285 Reconstruction of the orig forms (by means of the rules of vowel modifications in Ir and Brit, cf § 163—184, of sandhi-rules, cf § 187—207, § 217—242, and of Gaul and Ogam forms, together with a comparison of other IE languages) The endings were

Sing Masc N -os Gaul *Σεγομαγος* MN, cf Gk *λόγ-ος* — V *-e*, cf Gk *λόγ-ε* (v § 178, n 5), — A (and N neut) *-om* Gaul *νεμητον* 'sanctuary', cf Gk *λόγον*, Lat *dominium*, — D *-ū* (> Brit *ī*), Gaul *Ahsanu* MN, this *-u* came from *-ō* which represents IE *-ō* (instrumental, Skr *vrkā* 'by the wolf'), IE *-ōi* (D, Gk *λόγω*), IE *-ōd* (Abl, OLat *Gnauiōd* *prognātus* 'of Gnaeus begotten'), the IE locative ending *-oi* was replaced by *-ōi*, on the analogy of the *-ā*-stems, whose D and L ended in *-āi*, — Gen *-i* Og MAQI 'of the son', Gaul *Segomari* MN, cf Lat *g* in *-i* (*dominī*) and Skr adverbial case in *-i*

Plur Masc N -oi cf Gk *λόγοι*, Lat *dominī* The ending *-oi* was orig pronominal, nouns had the ending *-ōs*, cf Goth *wulfōs* 'wolves', — V *-ōs* (the old N ending), — A *-ōns* cf Gk Cret *οδελ-ος* 'obols', — N A neut *-ā* (Ir *cenél*, the form *cenéla* has an ending taken from the fem) The Brit forms with umlaut (W *erydr* 'ploughs' Br *erer*) are analogical, — D *-o-bhos* (possibly, though the vowel before the case-ending cannot be decided, the Ir *-a-* may represent various sounds, v § 106, 1), cf Skr instrum *vrkē-bhūś* 'by the wolves' Gaul had a case-ending derived from *-bhos* with a dat function (in an *-r*-stem and an *-ā*-stem, *ματρεβο* *Ναμανσικαβο* 'to the Nemausian Mother-goddesses'), cf Lat fem

deā-bus, — Gen *-ōm* > *-om* (§ 91) Og TRIA MAQA 'of the three sons' (for *-a* cf § 90), cf Gk *θεῶν*, Lat gen pl *deum*

Dual. Masc N A *-ōu* > *-ou* (cf. § 13,3), cf Skr *vrkāu* 'the two wolves', — neut N A in IE had the same endings as fem *-ā-*stems, in Celt (as in Gk and Lat) the masc ending was taken over, but the neut took eclipsis (§ 189,7), — D *-o-bhēm* possibly, cf Skr *vrkā-bhyām* 'to the two wolves', — Gen *-ou* possibly, for sandhi-rules v § 229

§ 286 *-o-*stems with retained finals (§ 95) Paradigm Ir *beo* 'living'

	Sing	Plur
N	<i>beo</i>	<i>bui</i> > <i>bí</i>
V	(<i>bui</i> >) <i>bí</i>	
A	<i>beo n-</i>	MIr <i>bíu</i> (and <i>beoa</i> , <i>beou</i>)
D	<i>i-t bui</i> 'in thy life	(MIr <i>beoarb</i>)
G	<i>bui</i> > <i>bí</i>	<i>beo n-</i>

The paradigm N A D *dia* 'god', V Gen *dé*, Pl N *dé*, A *deu*, D *déib*, Gen *dia* shows loss of final vowel in the same cases as the paradigms in § 285, and the reduction of prim Celt *ē* (< IE *er*) to *e* (later *ē*) in hiatus

§ 287. *-jo-*stems. Paradigm Ir *céle* 'fellow'

Sing N	<i>céle</i>	Pl N	<i>célh</i>	Du N A	<i>céle</i>
V	<i>á chélu</i>		<i>á chélui</i>	D	<i>célhb</i>
A	<i>céle n-</i>		<i>célhu</i>	G	<i>céle</i>
D	<i>célhu</i>		<i>célhb</i>		
G	<i>célh</i>		<i>céle n-</i>		

The special neut forms N A sg (and N A du) *críde n-* 'heart' N A pl *críde* Where palatalization is lost the ending *-e* is represented by *-e* > *-ae* > *-a*, *-iu* by *-u*, *-i* by *-i*, *-ai* N *dálte*, *dáltae*, *dálta* 'fosterling', D *daltu*, Gen *daltu*, *daltan*

This declension could not give different forms for sg and pl in Brit New plurals were formed analogically W *dynnon* 'men', *creddiau* 'hearts'

§ 288. Isolated irregular forms Ir *demun* 'devil', g *demun* is inflected in the pl like a neut *-jo-*stem pl g *demne* Wb 11b 13, N *demna*, na *demna* LU 3236, 4036 — The *-jo-*stem Ir *duine* 'man' /*duíne*/ is supplemented by a pl *-i-*, *-í-* or *-já-*stem with a diphthong in the root-syllable. N A *dóinu* /*doviu*/, D *dóinib*, Gen *dóine* (for sg *doen* v Vendryes, RC 40 440) — Cf § 301 n 1

Inflection of *-ā*-, *-ū*-, *-jā*-, *-ī*-stems.§ 289 Paradigm of *-ā*-stems: *tuath* 'people'

Sing	Plur	Dual
N <i>in tuath</i>	N A <i>inna tuatha</i>	N A <i>in dī thuath</i>
V <i>á thuath</i>	D <i>donarb tuatharb</i>	D <i>don dīb tuatharb</i>
A <i>in tuath n-</i>	G <i>inna tuath n-</i>	G <i>in da thuath</i>
D <i>don tuath</i>		
G <i>inna tuathe</i>		

Note 1 Exx of vowel inflection call sense A D *call* Gen *ceille*, *tol* 'will', A *toil* D *tuil*, Gen *tuile*, *deib* form, A D *deilb*, Gen *delbe*, *delbac*, *delba* *gabail* taking' A D *gabail*, Gen *gabalaē*, N A D *deacht* 'divinity' Gen *deachte* > *drachtae* > *deachta* Verbal nouns often use D A forms as N *gabail* taking', *brith* carrying (beside *breth*) In MñIr even other A D forms have frequently become the nom *seilbh* *sealbh* 'possession'

Note 2 **British.** For lowering of *u* and *i* in the root-syll of the fem v § 184 Some old *-ā*-stems have plurals formed by umlaut W *maneg* 'glove' (< Lat *manica*) pl *meneg* (older *menyg*) W *asgell* Br *askell* wing (< Lat *axilla*), pl W *esgyll* Br *eskell*, W *carreg* stone Br *karrek*, pl W *cerryg* (older *cerryg*) Br *kerrek*, W *iâr* hen' Br *iar*, pl W *ieir* Br *ier*, v § 290

§ 290. **Reconstruction of the inflection of *-ā*-stems.** Cf MSL 3 79—80, Mél H d'Arbois de Jubainville, pp 229—236

Sing N *-ā* Og INIGENA 'daughter', cf Gk *χῳῳᾱ*, — V *-a* cf Gk *νύμφα*, — A (in Ir) *-em* The IE ending was *-ām* (Gk *χῳῳᾱν*, Lat *terram*) which may appear in Gaul *lohan* 'grave', — D *-āi* (IE D and loc, cf Gk *χῳῳᾱ*), the IE instrum in *-ā* is not represented in Ir, — Gen (in Ir) *-jās* (like *-ī*- or *-jā*-stems) The IE ending was *-ās* (Gk *χῳῳᾱς*), seen in Ir *mnā* § 291

Pl. N *-ās*, cf Skr *sēnās* 'armies' The Brit plurals formed by internal vowel change are either by anal with the masc, or are old duals (cf Gk *χῳῳᾱ*, Lat *terrae*, thus **manicai* would regularly give *menyg*), — A either *-ās* (cf Skr *sēnās*) or *-āns* (cf 'ret *δραχμας* 'drachmas'), — D *-ā-bhās* (IE instrum, cf Skr *sēnā-bhās*) The IE D appears in Gaul *Napavovixafo* § 285, cf Skt *sēnābhyaś*, — Gen *-ōm* > *-om*

Dual N A *-ai*, — D *-ā-bhēm* cf Skr *sēnā-bhyām*, — Gen ending terminated in a *w*-diphthong

§ 291 A retained final appears in most cases of the paradigm *ben* 'woman'

Sg N <i>ben</i>	Pl N A <i>mnā</i>	Du N A <i>mnāi</i>
A <i>mnāi n-</i>	D <i>mnārb</i>	D <i>mnārb</i>
D <i>mnāi</i>	G <i>ban n-</i>	G <i>ban</i>
G. <i>mnā</i>		

The A sg is formed by anal with D sg (for an old A sg *bern* v Thurneysen, KZ 48 65). In both these cases and in N A dual *-ái* is a diphthong (MnIr D. sg *mnaoi*), the D form *mnaib* is to be read */mnaibʰ/*, cf Mnlr *mnaibh*. The root-syll shows the IE alternation **gʰenā*, **gʰnā-*, **gʰnnā-*.

§ 292. The *-ū-*stems ended in *-wā*, which in certain cases (esp N sg) alternated in IE with *-ū*. The Celt inflection was N *-ū*, D *-wāi*, Gen *-wās*. By loss of *-w-* after certain consonants (§ 19) the *-wā-* cases fell together with the inflection of pure *-ā-*stems, only the N sg preserves a form which points to the ending *-ū*. Ir *mucc* 'pig', D A *mucc*, Gen *mucce* (N A pl irregularly *mucca*) cf *deug* 'drink' (§ 178, n 7), D A *dag*, Gen *dige*. If the *-w-* in the *-wā-* cases could not disappear, the ending *-wā* penetrated into N OIr *deib* 'figure'.

A trace of the *-ū-*declension occurs in W *cainc* branch' with pl *cangau* like *-u-*stems.

§ 293. Paradigm of *-jā-*stems *insce* 'speech'

Sg N V	<i>insce</i>	Pl N A	<i>insci</i>	Du N A	<i>insci</i>
A	<i>insci n-</i>	D	<i>insci b</i>	D	<i>insci b</i>
D	<i>insci</i>	G	<i>insce n-</i>	G	<i>insce</i>
G	<i>insce</i>				

Only the N A pl shows ending different from *-ā-*stems, possibly the *-ī-* stem endings were adopted.

§ 294. In the inflection of *-ī-*stems the stem-ending *-ī-* alternated with *-jā-* or *-jē-*. Irish paradigm *adarg* 'night'

Sg N	<i>adarg</i>	Pl N A	<i>aidchi</i>	Du N A	<i>adarg</i>
A	<i>aidchi n-</i>	D	<i>aidchi b</i>	D	<i>aidchi b</i>
D	<i>aidchi</i>	G	<i>aidche n-</i>	G	<i>aidche</i>
G	<i>aidche</i>				

The N sg represents a form in *-ī*, the A sg a form in *-jēm* (Ir *-i* < **-iē-* in an unaccented final). The N A dual is formed by anal with *-i-*stems.

Further exx *sétig* 'wife' (lit 'companion', from *sét* 'way'), A D *sétchi*, Gen *sétche*, Brigit FN, A D *Brigti*, Gen *Brigte*. The *-ī-*stems have in Ir passed over to the *-jā-* decl (the N sg form without an ending being suppressed. MlIr N *aidche* 'night' MnIr *oidhche*), or have on the anal of the *-i-*stems extended the forms without an ending to the A D. OIr *mét* 'size', A D *mét*, Gen. *méite*. This led in some cases to complete passing over to the *-i-*decl.

(*colonn* 'flesh', *g colno*, cf *W celain* 'corpse'), or to the *-ā*-decl (*rīgan* 'queen', *g. rīgnæ* > *rīgnā*, cf *W rhwain* 'maiden') For mixed inflection of *ins* 'island', MlIr A D *insī*, OIr Gen *inse* and *inseo*

§ 295. The Brit. *-i*-stems had nom sg in *-ī* (which caused vowel affection), and nom pl in *-iās* (which gave *W -edd*) *W celain* 'corpse', pl *celanedd*, *rhwain* 'maiden', pl *rhwanedd*, *ynys* 'island', pl MlW *ynysedd*, *blwyddyn* 'year', pl (after numerals only) *blynedd*, *W neidr* 'snake', pl *nadredd*

Inflection of the *-u*-, *-u-*, *-i-*, *-j*-stems

§ 296 Paradigms of *-u*-stems *mug* 'slave' masc, *rind* 'star' neut

Sing		Plur	Dual
N V	<i>mug</i>	N <i>moge, moga, mogn</i>	N A <i>mug</i>
A	<i>mug n-</i>	A <i>mugu</i>	D <i>mogaib</i>
D	<i>mug</i>	D <i>mogaib</i>	G <i>mogo, moga</i>
G	<i>mogo, moga</i>	G <i>moge n-</i>	
N A	<i>rind n-</i>	N A <i>rind</i>	N A <i>rind n-</i>
D	<i>rind</i>	D <i>rendaib</i>	D <i>rendaib</i>
G	<i>rendo, renda</i>	G <i>rende n-</i>	G <i>rendo, renda</i>

Note 1. Exx of vowel inflection, N A D *cath* battle Gen *catha*, *daur* oak, *daro*, *guth* voice' *gotho*, mid mead, *meda bith* 'world', D *bruth*, Gen *betho*, *gin* mouth' D *quin* Gen *gino* mess judgment', D *mess*, Gen *mess* N A D *gnim* deed, Gen *gnimo* *césad* 'suffering, *cesto fodsigid* manifestation, *foilsichtho* *foilsigthe* The D pl of *mind* neut 'diadem' is *mundaib*

The consonant preceding the endings *-e*, *-i* is non palat, whence *-ae*, *-ai* In N pl masc *-i* is the older ending, very frequently occurring in *Wh*, but *-i* predominates in *MI*, adjectives have *-i* in the oldest period (*bl* many) In later OIr the N pl masc ending occasionally occurs in the A pl, cf *no-lectad il-gutha* 'that it should possess many sounds' Sg 197a 11 The neut *-u*-stem *dorus* door has N A pl *dorus* and (like *-o-st*) *doirsea*, cf *beura* spits § 178, n 7 The *-u*- and the *-o*-declensions are sometimes mixed *torad* fruit', Gen *torard* *Wh* 3 b 29 (neut *-o-st*) N pl *toirthe* *MI* 46 c 14 (masc *-u-st*)

Note 2 In Brit the plurals in OW *-ou* MlW *-eu* MnW *-au* etc § 18 belong to this declension *W cad* battle, pl *cadau*, *W crys* shirt, pl *crysau* (= Ir *criss* girdle *criss* Thes II 42. 16, pl *cressa*, whence *W gwregys* 'girdle' pl *gwregysau* Br *gouriz*, pl *gourizou* Ir *fochrus* § 257) Some old plurals have become sing *W genau* mouth (pl *geneuau*), orig pl of *gēn* 'jaw' § 72, *angau* death' § 8, 1 (orig pl v RC 28 202). The ending *-ou* etc became very productive in Brit When added to old *jo-*,

jā- stems it became OW *iou* etc. OW *hestorïou* sextain (sg *hestaur*) This new ending in its turn spread and often replaced the older form

§ 297. **Reconstruction of the inflection of the *-u*-stems** Sing N masc *-us* cf Lat *fructus* — A masc *-um*, cf Lat *fructum* — N A neut *-u* cf Gk μέθυ, Skr *madhu* 'honey' — D *-ū* (IE instrum), cf Gaul *βγατοϋ-δε*, the IE loc (in *-ēu*) may be represented, with dat function, in Gaul *Tagavooϋ* 'to Taranus' — Gen *-ous* (Og CUNAGUSSOS), cf Lat *fructūs*

Plur. N masc *-owes* from *-ewes* Gaul *Lugoues* Ir *-e* could in Wb become *-a* before an enclitic (*ar-pectha-ni* 'our sins' Wb 2a 6, like *intain diagma-ni* 'when we go' 3a 15) this *-a* spread analogically to absolute finals *gníma* Wb 5a 30 The ending *-i* is taken from *-i*-stems, the non-pal quality of the preceding consonant being on the anal of the old *-u-* inflection — A masc *-ūns* — N A neut *-ū* — D orig *-u-bhūs*, but the Ir form has not developed regularly from this — Gen had the ending of *-i-* stems, preceded however by the timbre of the old *-u-* inflection

Dual N A *-ū* — D *-u-bhēm* (with remodelled vocalism as D pl) — Gen *-owou*

§ 298. **Stems in a *w*-diphthong, monosyllabic *-w*-stems** (1) Ir *die* 'day' N *die* (Cormac), OIr proclitic *día* (*día brátha* 'dooms day', *día domnach* 'Sunday') < **dyēu-s*, cf Skr *dyāu-ṣ* 'sky' (W *dydd* Co *deth*, *dyth* Br *deiz*), — A *fri-de*, *fri-dei* 'by day' < **dyēm*, cf Skr *dyām*, Lat *diem*, — D *in-diu* 'to-day' (W *heddw* etc) < (instrum) **dyū*, cf Lat *diū* 'by day', in W *dyw* is also used proclitically, MlW *dyw ieu* 'Thursday' (MnW dial /*dīua*/) etc — In W an old plur form occurs, chiefly after numerals MlW *dieu* MnW *diau* < **dyewes*, also extended MlW *dieuod* (*d'ewed*, *dieuod*, *droed* Dingestow Brut 41, 209 227) The usual plur is the re-formed *dyddiau*

(2) Ir *bó* 'cow', A D *boin* Gen *bou*, *bó*, pl N *ban*, *ba*, A *bú*, D *buanb*, Gen *bó*, *ba* (Sg 22b 11) In MlW the forms *biw* (sometimes sg, mostly pl) and *bu* (pl, after numerals) occur, v Lloyd-Jones, *Gerfa*, 56, 81 It has been replaced by MlW *buck* MnW *buuch*, pl *buchod* OCo *buch* MlCo *bugh* Br *buc'h*

(3) Ir *nau* 'ship', A D *noir*, Gen *naue*, *noe*, pl N *noa*, D *noub*

§ 299. **Paradigms of the *-i*-stems.** Ir *fáith* masc 'prophet' (the feminines like *síul* 'eye' have the same endings as the masc), *muir* neut 'sea'

Sing			Plur			Dual		
N	V	<i>fáth</i>	N	A	<i>fáthi</i>	N	A	<i>fáth</i>
	A	<i>fáth n-</i>		D	<i>fáthib</i>		D	<i>fáthib</i>
	A	<i>fáth</i>		G	<i>fáthe n-</i>		G	<i>fátho, -a</i>
	G	<i>fátho, fátha</i>						
N	A	<i>muir n-</i>	N	A	<i>muire</i>	N	A	<i>muir -n</i>
	D	<i>muir</i>		D	<i>muirib</i>		D	<i>muirib</i>
	G	<i>moro, mora</i>		G	<i>muire n-</i>		G	<i>moro, mora</i>

Note 1. Peculiar vowel changes *aig* fem ice *g ega*, *graigne*ut herd *g aiga* *tailu* fem shag *g telma* *laig* masc doctor, *g lega*, *biaid* fem axe, *g bela*. Some borrowed words show no ending in *g* *sg* (through the influence of *-o*-stems) *abbgitir* alphabet, *testimin* text *posit* positive. Variations in N A pl neut OIr *drumma* (after masc and fem) from *drum* 'back' Mli *mara* seas (after *-o*-stems)

Note 2 From *-i*-stems developed the W plur endings *-oedd* and *-ydd* MlW *guladoed* 'countries' MnW *gwledydd* pl of *gulad* MlW *reithoed* (also *reithu* BT 11 19 cf EMnW *geithav* D Ffest 91, cf Hr *iez* 'dialect, manner of speaking', pl *iezou* Troude 302, *ieçziou* Ernault, GMB 332) MnW *reithoedd* 'languages' pl of *reith*. In an old neut, MlW *moroedd* MnW *moroedd*, pl of *môr* 'sea'. The ending *oedd* sometimes replaces an older *ede* § 295 MlW *ynyssed* 'islands' MnW *ynysoedd* (*Ynyse* PN)

§ 300. Reconstruction of the inflection of the *-i*-stems Sing. N masc *-is* Gaul *Nemausus* 'a Nemausian', cf Lat *turris*, *hostis* — V *-i*, cf Gk *ῥῆι* — A masc *-im* Gaul *ratin* 'rampart', cf Lat *turrim* — N A neut *-i* cf Lat *mare*, Gk *ῥῆι* 'skulful' — D represents IE instrum in *-i* and IE loc in *-ēi* (Gaul *Ucuete* D beside *Ucuetin* A) — Gen Og -OS IVAC(ATTOS) The Ir ending is probably taken over from the *-u*-stems (The IE ending was *-ois*)

Plur. N masc the old ending *-eges* (Skr *āvayās* Lat *ovēs* 'sheep') appears in W *-oedd* § 21 n, possibly also in Ir *-i* — A masc *-ins*, cf Goth *gastins* 'guests' — N A neut *-ija*, cf Lat *maria* — D *-ibhis* (old instrum) — Gen *-ijōm* cf Lat *avium*. This gave W *-ydd* in *gwledydd* etc

Dual. N A *-i* — D *-i-bhēm* — Gen took over the ending of the *-u*-stems. The regular ending would be **-e* < **-ijou*

Inflection of the *-s*-stems.

§ 301. Paradigm of the *-os*-stems: *shab* neut 'mountain'

Sing	N	A <i>shab n-</i>	Plur	N	A <i>sléibe</i>	Dual	N	A <i>shab n-</i>
		D <i>sléib</i>			D <i>sléibib</i>			D <i>sléibib</i>
		G <i>sléibe</i>			G <i>sléibe n-</i>			G <i>sléibe</i>

Note 1 Exx of vowel inflection *mag* plain, D *maig*, *murg*, Gen *maige*, *muige* *nem* 'heaven', D *nim*, Gen *nime*, *leth* 'side' D *leith*, Gen *leithe*, *tebh* 'house' D *taig*, Gen *tige*

Variations between *-os-* and *-o* inflections *cumrech* bond, D pl *cumrigh* Wb 23b 11 but *cumregarb* 26d 21 D sg *cumrrug* N A pl *cumrega*, - N pl *tosge* Ml 96b 5, *ochtarche* Wb 9a 7, *étaige* (MlIr), from *-o*-stems *fossach* 'beginning', *ochtrach* 'dung' *etach* 'garment' — *log* 'price', D *log*, Gen *loge*

Variations between *os* and *i*-inflections, OIr *lend* gl 'liquamen' Ths 11 42 21 *lind* Sg 73a 8 MnIr *lann* 'pool' (also an *-u-* stem MnIr *lonn* *ah*) OIr *thir* 'land' D *thi* Gen *thre*, pl N A *thic*, MnIr N sg *tú* /t'ú/

Note 2. Brit. W *nef* 'heaven', pl *nefoedd*, *tir* 'land', pl MlW *tirod* MlW *tiroedd*, *llyn* 'lake', pl MlW *llynneu* MnW *llynnoedd* *glyn* 'valley' pl *glynnoedd* For W *tŷ* 'house' pl OW *te* MlW *tei* MnW *tau* v § 35 4 (Br *ti* pl *tez* Trég *tie* Ernault Gramm 21)

Reconstruction. Sing N A *-os*, cf Gk *τέπος* 'roof' — D *-es* — Gen *-esos*, cf Gk *τέρεος* — **Plur.** N A *-esa*, cf Lat *genera* — D Celt *-es-o-bhis* (IE instrum *-es-bhis*) — Gen *-esōm*, cf Lat *generum* — **Dual** N A by anal with *-o*-stems (IE *-ī*) — D remodelled in the same way as D pl — Gen *-esou*

§ 302 *-us-*, *-is-* stems; *-s*-stems with old hiatus The orig *-us-* stems passed over to the *-u*-decl. The best ex is Ir *bun* 'trunk', g *bona* W *bôn* pl *bonau* (cf Ir *bunad* 'origin' MlW *bonhed*, MnW *bonheddiq* 'noble'), further, OIr *hucht* 'breast', g MlIr *ochta* Lat *pectus* g *pectoris*, Ir *crim* 'garlic' g *crema*, v § 178, n 7 (*crem*, MnIr *creamh* are remodelled after g) — The survival of *-is-* stems in Celt is doubtful — The *-s*-stems with old hiatus (after loss of *s*, *p* or — in Ir — *w*) cannot be distinguished with certainty from other classes *au* 'ear' **ous* Gen sg *ae* N pl *hoe* ~ *oa*, N du *dá n-ó* (and *dí óe*), — MlIr *clú* 'fame' (OIr *líu*) neut Gen *clua* (*clue* Wl III 38 § 27) Gk *ῥέος* 'rumour' (v N *-ū*, instead of *-ō*, taken from the other cases) — OIr *gné* 'form, look' (W *gne* 'colour') varies between *-os-* and *-o*-declensions sg N A *gné*, D (as *-s*-stem) *gné*, Gen (MlIr, *-s*-stem) *gne* du N *gne*, pl N (*-o*-stem) *gne*

§ 303 The *-ns*-stem Ir *ma* 'month' (masc) has the regular inflection of the cons stems (cf § 304) sg N *mí* **mēns* A *mís* n- **mēns-m*, D *mís* **mēns-i* (loc) or **mēnsai* (D) also *mí* in OIr poetry (loc without ending) Gen *mís* **mēns-os*, pl N *mís* **mēns-es*, Gen *mís* n- **mēns-ōm* The du N A *dá mí* imitates the *-o*-stems this form also spread to the du g (the regular *dá mís* also occurs

in MlIr) — The non-N form was standardized in Brit W OCo MlBr *mis* MnBr *miz*

Inflection of the stems ending in explosives.

§ 304. Monosyll -g- and -k-stems Paradigm Ir <i>rí</i> 'king'					
Sing N V	<i>rí</i>	Plur N	<i>ríg</i>	Dual N A	<i>ríg</i>
	A <i>ríg</i> n-		V A <i>ríga</i>		D <i>ríganb</i>
	D <i>ríg</i>		D <i>ríganb</i>		G <i>ríg</i>
	G <i>ríg</i>		G <i>ríg</i> n-		

Also Ir *brí* fem 'hill', A *brig* n-, D *brig* and *brí* Gen *breg*, *trú* one fated to die', A D *troich*, Gen *troch* (Lat *trux* wild', Thurneysen, IF 14 130)

Reconstruction. Sing N **rēg'-s* Gaul *Εσκιγγο-ρεϊξ* cf Lat *rēx* — V **rēg'* or **rēg'-s* — A **rēg'-m*, cf Lat *rēgem* — D **rēg'-i* (IE loc) or **rēg'-ai* (IE D) IE had also a loc without an ending, this would give in Ir a form identical with N This similarity between N and D spread in Ir — G **rēg'-os* Og LUGUDECCAS, DECCEDDAS

Plur N **rēg'-es* — V took the form of A like the -o-stems — A **rēg'-ns* (Gaul-Lat *Lingon-as*) — D **rēg'-bhns*, remodelled to **rēg'-o-bhns* — Gen **rēg'-ōm*, cf Lat *rēgum*

Dual N A **rēg'-e* — D **rēg'-bhēm*, remodelled to **rēg'-o-bhēm* — Gen **rēg'-ou*

§ 305. Polysyllabic -k-stems. (1) With a short vowel, disappearing in N sg, before the -k-, -ik-stems *dair* 'oak', g *durach*, *sail* fem 'willow', D *sailg*, Gen *sailech* (Lat *salix*) *aíl* fem 'oak', D *aíl*g, Gen *ailech*, foil 'ring', D pl *faíl*gib, Lugaid *Lugid* MN, g *Lugdech*, *Lugdach* (Og g LUGUDE('AS), *nathir* fem 'snake', Gen *nathrach* A pl *nathracha*, *cathir* fem 'city', D *cathraig* and *cathir* Gen *cathrach* As -ik- was mostly a derivative suffix, stems without -k- could occur side by side with -ik-stems *dair*, g *daró* beside *dair*, *darach*, W *neidr* from **natrī* beside Ir *nathir* Later, many words ending in -i- assumed the -k- inflection OIr *lassar* 'flame', D *lassir*, MlIr Gen *lassrach*, OIr D pl *húasal-athracharb* 'patriarchs' Wb 30d 1, from -r-stem *athir* 'father', Ir *Temair* 'Tara', g *Temro*, later *Temrach* Thes II 314k, *Fíndabair* (W *Gwenhwyfar*), g *Fíndabrech*

(2) With a long vowel, retained in N sg, before the -k-, -āk- OIr *eola* experienced, N pl *eohy* (cf Lat *aud-ax*, *aud-ācem* in

MI, a re-formed N sg *eulach*), — MIr *mala* 'eyebrow', D *malarg*, Gen *malach*, du N A *malarg*, pl A *mairgea* (palatalization by anal with forms like *cavrtea*, § 307), D *mairgab*, — MIr *caera* 'sheep', Gen *caerach*, pl N *cavrig*, A *cávrcha*, D *cavrcharb*, v § 30, and cf Gaul *Caerac-ates*, — MIr *ara* 'temple of the head', Gen *aruch*, OIr dual N A *da are* (Thes II 249 2), but cf Thurneysen, KZ 59, 13 — *-ōk-* Eochu MN, g *Echach*, OIr *Coonu* MIr *Cuano* MN, A D *Cuanarg*, g *Críanach* Cf Lat *uēlox*, *uēlōcem*

(3) The vowel before the *-k-* was retained in cases of old hiatus Ir *eo* 'salmon', g *iach* MIW *ehawc* etc § 95, 3, *ceo* 'mist', A *ciach* *n-*, *ciarg* *n-*, Gen *ciach* **hiwōk-*, — Ir *aire* 'noble', D *airig*, Gen *airech* stem in *-jāk-* or *-jak-*

(4) *-nk-* Ir *le*, later *lia* 'stone' masc, D *luc*, Gen *liac*, pl N *leic*, A *lecca*

§ 306 Dental stems (1) Polysyll. *-d-* and *-t-* stems with short vowel before *-d-*, *-t-*, *-et-* Ir *cing* 'warrior' g *cinged*, cf Gaul-Lat *Cingēs* MN, g *Cingetis*, — *traig* 'foot', A *traigid* *n-* (also *traig*), Gen *traiged* pl N *traigid*, A *traigthea*, — *seir* 'heel', D *serid*, du N A *dí pherid* (W *ffêr* 'ankle', pl *fferau*), — *eirr* 'fighter in a chariot', Gen *erred*, pl D *erredaib*, — loanwords *míl* 'soldier', A *máild* *n-*, pl D *míledaib*, Gen *míled* *n-*, *ap*, *abb* abbot', Gen *apad*, pl D *aptharb* — *-ut-* Ir *cin* masc *sin*' (MnIr *cion*), A *cinad* *n-*, D *cinad*, Gen *cinad*, pl N *cinad*, A *cinta*, anal A sg *cin* (D *cin* may be old) — Ir *luch* 'mouse', A D *lochaid*, Gen *lochad*, pl A *lochtha* **pluk-ōt-s*, g **pluk-ot-os* cf W *llyg*, pl *llygod* (whence sg *llygoden*) The development in Ir is irregular, *-ōt-s* should have given *-u*, **luchu*, while *-ōt-s* would have given **loch*, in the N

(2) Polysyll *-t-* stems with long vowel before *-t-* (Ir N disyllabic) *-āt-* OIr *tenge* 'tongue' MIr *tenga*, Gen *tengad*, pl A *tengtha*, *ascae* 'rival', pl D *ascadib*, Gen *innan ascad* (pl V *á ascadu* by anal with *-o-* stems), MIr *ara* 'charioteer', D *araid*, Gen *arad*, pl A *arada* — *-ēt-* OIr *fuí* 'poet', D *filid*, Gen *filed*, pl A *fileda*, *oeg*, *gucst*, pl N *óegud*, A *oigetha*, Gen *oiged* *n-* — *-ōt-* *bíddu* 'guilty person', Gen *bíddad*, pl N *bíddid*, *coimdir* 'lord', D *coimdid*, Gen *coimded* (**k'om-mēd-uōt-*, to *nad coimnestar* gl *nequirit* MI 127a 19, cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1891—94 457) — *-ūt-* *bethu* 'life', A *bethid*, *bethith*, D *bethu*, cf W *bywyd*, similarly many abstract nouns in *-tu*

(3) Cases of hiatus. Ir *cré* fem 'clay', A *cruid* *n-*, Gen *cruid*,

— Ir *scé* 'hawthorn', g *sciath* (remodelled *sciach*, MnIr pl *sceacha*, sg *sceach* fem), — Ir *dé* 'smoke', g *diad*, — MlIr *gleo* 'fight', A *ghad* LL 68b 20 (*ghed* LU 5283), Gen *ghad* **ghliwot-s*, also irreg N A *gleo n-* (D *gleó* may be old), pl Gen *gleó*, — Ir *næ* 'nephew', g *nath* (Og NIOTTA, *nieth* Annals of Ulster, a 692) — *-d-*stems *druu* 'druid', g *druad*, *sur* 'a sage', g *suad* — Stems in *-jāt-*, *-jat-* or *-jot-* Ir *léne* fem 'shirt', D *lénith*, Gen *léned*, pl A *lénite*, — *seiche* fem 'hide', A *sechad n-*, pl D *sechedaib*, — *slige* fem 'road', D *sligud*, Gen *sliged*, pl A *sligeda*

§ 307 *-nt-*stems. (1) *Non-neuters*. Stem *-ont-* OIr (Ml) *sechtmogo* 'seventy', g *sechtmogat*, *-a* appears early for *-o* OIr ('Carlsr Bede) *tricha* '30', pl *trichat*, OIr (Sg) *cóica* '50', g *cóicat* The *-a* is puzzling in archaic *feda* 'lord' g *fedot* Thes II 244 later N *fiado*, *fiadu*, g *fiadat* — *-unt-* OIr *dínu* 'lamb', D *dínit* — The stems in *-ānt-* have N *-e* without preceding palatalization OIr *care* 'friend' (> MlIr *cara*), D *carit*, *carait*, Gen *carat*, pl N *carit*, *carait*, A *caritea*, D *caritib* (W *câr* 'kinsman', pl MIW *carant*, later, by anal with *-o-*stems, *ceraint*) — Stems in *-ūt-* (and *-ent-*) have N *-e* with preceding palatalization In *fiche* '20', g *fichet* (MIW *ugeint*, v (2) below)

Note. Analogical *-nt-* plur in W MIW *meigant* MnW *meiant* in plurals, pl of *nar* (*t* stem) (§ 306 3), *gofaint* smiths pl of *gof* (*n*-stem) pl MIW *gofaint*

(2) *Neuters* *dét n-* 'tooth' D *dét* Gen *dét*, pl N A *dét* (later *déta*, *déout*), D *détuib*, Gen *dét n-*, *lóchet n-*, *lóchat n-* 'lightening', D *lóchant*, Gen *lóchet* N sg *-nt*, pl *-nta*, dual *-nti* MIW *ugeint* '20' v (1) above, cf MIW *deint* 'teeth' (O *dyns* Br *dent*, pl of W *dant* (O *dans* Br *dant* (W *daunt* is also sg, generally so in NW, the pl is *dannedd*) 'The word for 'tooth' in the other IE languages is not neuter

Inflection of sonant stems.

§ 308 The *-o-*stems Paradigm OIr *athar* 'father' (MnIr *athair*)

Sg N V	<i>athar</i>	Pl N	<i>athra</i>	Du N A	(<i>athar</i>)
	A <i>athra n-</i> (V)	A	<i>athrea</i>	D	<i>athreib</i>
	D <i>athar</i>	D	<i>athreib</i>	G	<i>athar</i>
	G <i>athra</i>	G	<i>athre n-</i>		

So *bráthar máthar* *sua* 'sister', A D *sua*, Gen *setha*, pl N *sethir* (Fél 30 Sept) A *sethra* D *sethraib* du N A *dí sua* *dí fiu*

Anal forms (*-k*-stems) D pl *húasal-athracharb* Wb 30d 1, MIBr N pl *sethracha*

Brit remains: W *brawd* 'brother', pl MIW *broder*, *brodyr* MnW *brodyr* Co *broder*, *bruder*, pl *breder*, *bredereth*, MIBr *breuzr*, pl *breuder*, *breudeur* MnBr *breur*, pl *breudeur* In MIW *brodoryon* occurs as pl for *brawd*, also in the sense of 'fellow-countrymen' In MnW it has come to mean 'natives', and a new sg *brodor* has been deduced Cf MnW *cymrodorion*, where the vowel *-o-* is regular (cf Gk ἀ-πάτωρ πατήρ) — W *chwaer* 'sister', pl MIW *chwiorod*, *chwioryd* MnW *chwiorydd* (Br *c'hoar*, pl *c'hoarezed*)

§ 309. Reconstruction of the inflection of the *-r*-stems. Sing. N IE **patēr* **swesō*, Celt **patēr*, **swesōr* (with *-r* taken from the other cases, cf Gk πατήρ, Lat *pater*, *soror*) — For other case-endings v § 304 The IE alternation *-ter-*, *-tr-* (cf Gk A πατήρ, D πατήρ Gen πατέρω) in the stem occurred in Celt also Ir g *athar* < **patī-os* — **Plur** N Brit *-ter-es* *-or-es* (W *brodyr* is by anal with *-o*-stems), *-edd*, later *-ydd* was added to **chwior*, the orig form of the pl of *chwaer* Ir N *athur* < **patr-es* — Ir D *athrib* < **patr-bhis* **atribis* (cf Gaul ματρεβο) it was thus identical in form with *-i*-stems, and the analogy spread to the g pl *athre* (the IE form was **patr-ōm*)

§ 310 Masc. and fem *-n*-stems with lost final in nom sing. Ir. paradigm: *brithem* 'judge

Sing	Plur	Dual
N V <i>brithem</i>	N <i>brithemin</i>	N A <i>brithemin</i>
A <i>brithemin n-</i>	(V) A <i>brithemna</i>	D <i>brithemnarb</i>
D <i>brithemin</i>	D <i>brithemnarb</i>	G <i>britheman</i>
G <i>britheman</i>	G <i>britheman n-</i>	

Besides *-min* are found *-main*, *-muin*, besides *-man* appears *-mon* — Further exx Ir *derucc* 'acorn', g *dercon*, *Milucc* MN, g *Milcon*, *esc-ung* fem 'eel', g *escongan* The *-u*-affection in N sg does not occur in words with *-a-* or *-e-* (from *-ja-*) in the final syll *talam* (masc, MnIr sometimes fem) 'earth', D *talam*, Gen *talman*, pl D *talmanarb*, du A *talam* (ureg), *triath* 'sea' g *trethan*, *dúlem* 'creator', *suanem* masc 'rope' etc

British W *yeh* 'ox', pl *yehen* (the anal form *ychain* also occurs in MnW, and is current in the Gwyn dialect, but it is now discarded in literature), Mn(o) *ohan* MIBr *ouhen* MnBr *ouch'en*, *oc'hen* (for the sg are used O(o) *odion*, Br *ijenn*), — W *lleidr* 'thief',

pl *lladron* Co *lader*, pl *laddron* MIBr *lazr*, pl *lazron* MnBr *laer*, pl *laeroun* (< Lat *latrō*), W *Sais* 'Englishman', pl *Saeson* MnCo /zowz/, pl /zowzon/ Br *Saoz*, pl *Saozon* (< Lat *Saxō*), W *cenau* 'whelp' **qanawō*, pl MIW *kanawon*, *canaon*, *cynawon*, *cynavon* (v Morris-Jones, WG 211), MnW *cenawon* — The plur ending -on spread in Brit Br V *aer* 'adder', pl *aeron* (W *neidr* § 295), W *Iddew* 'Jew', pl *Iddewon* Co *yuthewon*, W *meddyg* 'physician', pl *meddygon* (< Lat *medicus*) W -ion is more common, the -j- is partly due to the palatalized finals of -o- and -jo-stems *mab* 'son', pl MIW *meib* (after numerals only) **mapī*, whence OW *mepron* MIW *meibon*, *meibon* MnW *meibon*, Co *mebyon* Br *mapien*, cf W *gwas* 'servant', pl MIW *gwersson*, *gwersion* MnW *gwersion* ('o *guesyon* MIBr *gursien*, W *dyn* **dungos* man', pl *dynion* The -j- is frequently omitted in SW dial particularly in plurals of monosyllabic words /*dənon*/ 'men', /*uyron*/ *wyryon* 'grandchildren' Br *gad* 'hare' has pl *gedon*, with umlaut of the old -o-stem but without -j-

Reconstruction. Sing N -ō Gaul *Frontu* MN cf Lat *sermō* For the other endings v § 304 (D pl perhaps -en-o-bhis -on-o-bhis) N pl -en-es, -on-es

§ 311 Monosyllabic (or with hiatus) masc. and fem -n-stems. Ir *cú* masc 'hound' A D *coin*, Gen *con*, pl N *coin*, A *cona*, D *conarb*, Gen *con n-*, W *ca*, pl *cūn*, OC'o *li* MnCo *ky*, pl *luen* (i e /*kon*/, Lhuyd *kēn*), Br *kī* pl *koun* — Ir *braó*, *bró* 'quern', A *bróin n-*, Gen *broon*, *brón*, W *breuan* (with non-N stem **g^urāwunn-*) (OC'o *brou* Br *breo* (N form **g^urāwō*) — Ir *leo* 'lion' (Lat *bori*) pl Gen *leon* (but N *leom* LL 57b 41, pl *leomain* MI 80a 10) — Ir *bru* 'belly', D MIr *bruinn*, *broind*, *brú*, Gen MIr *brond* pl D *brionnaib* **bhrusō*, Gen **bhrusno-s* Ir *rét-glu*, 'star', pl D *rét-glannaib*, du N A *dí rétglainn*

§ 312. The -gen-stems		Paradigm Ir <i>toimtiu</i> fem		meaning
Sing	Plur		Dual	
N <i>toimtiu</i>	N <i>toimtin</i>	N A <i>toimtin</i>		
A <i>toimtin n-</i>	A <i>toimtena</i>	D <i>toimtenaib</i>		
D <i>toimtin</i> , <i>toimte</i> , <i>toimtiu</i>	D <i>toimtenaib</i>	G <i>toimten</i>		
G <i>toimten</i>	G <i>toimten n-</i>			

The D -e represents the regular development of the loc which had no ending -iu is by anal with the N On the other hand -e sometimes occurs in the N *díle* 'flood' MI 48d 17 (*dílu* frequently

in MlIr), D *díle* (Gen *díleinn* v sub), *corbse* 'confession' Thes II 238

Many nomina actionis and other nouns are declined like *toimtu*, also *nóidiu* 'child', *genitú* 'genitive', Gen *geniten*, pl A *genitne* If the last syll begins in *r*, *l*, *n*, not -*n* but -*nn* occurs *íru* 'land' g *írenn*, *Hérvu* 'Ireland', D *Hérvnn*, Gen *Hérenn* (W *Iwerddon*), *Derdru* FN, g (MlIr) *Derdrend*, *Brícrú* MN, Gen MlIr *Brícrend*, *imblú* 'navel', g *imblenn*, MlIr *dílu*, g *díleinn*

With lost palatalization (§ 170,2) *tichtu* coming' A D *tíchtarn*, Gen *tichtan*, *richtu* 'arrival', *epeltu* 'death', MlIr *ortha* 'prayer' (-*a* from OIr -*u* < Lat *ōrātiō*), MlIr *lurga* 'shin-bone', pl D *lurgnab*, du N A *lurgavn*, OIr *orddu* 'thumb', MlIr *Albu*, *Alba* 'Scotland', g *Alban*, *ulcha* 'beard', D *ulchain*, *Mumu* 'Munster', D *Mumain* *Mumu*, Gen *Muman* If the last syll begins with *r*, *l* *n* final -*nn* Ir *aru* 'kidney', g *árann*, MlIr *Áru*, *Ara* 'Arran', D *Araind* 'obla consecrated host', g *oblann*, *qualu* 'shoulder' g *qualand*, *dernu* 'palm of the hand', g *dernand*

Reconstruction In all cases but the N the stem suffix was -*gon*-, cf Og g INISSIONAS The loc ended in -*gon* (or -*gen*)!

§ 313 Mixed and anomalous forms. (1) Some Lat or Celt nomina actionis vacillate between -*n*-declension and vocalic declension Ir *bendacht* 'blessing' (< Lat *benedictiō*), A *bendachtin*, Gen *bendachtan* *bendachtae* (cf W pl *bendithion*), Ir *maldacht* 'curse' (< Lat *maledictiō*), A *maldactin* Gen MlIr *mallachtan*, pl A OIr *maldachta* (cf W pl *melltithion*), *fortacht* 'help', A *fortacht* Wb, *fortachtain* Ml *duthracht* 'desire', D *dúthracht* Wb, Gen *duthrachtan* Ml, N A D sg, N A du *accurs* 'cause', A sg, N pl *arsin*, D pl *arsenarb* (W pl *achosion*), *aisndis* fem 'exposition', A D *aisndis*, but (in Ml) Gen *aisndisen*, pl A *aisndisnea* — OIr *anim animm* fem 'soul' (*anaim*, *ainim*), A D *anim animin anmain*, *annuin* Gen *anne*, pl N *annin anmain*, A *anmana* D *anmanarb*, Gen *anman*

(2) Several -*nā*-stems pass over to the -*n*-decl in MlIr OIr-*persan* 'person', Gen *persine*, pl N *persin* ('-o-decl'), MlIr N *persu*, *persa* A D *persain*, *persuand*, but Gen *persaine*, *persuinde*, MlIr *pearsa*, Gen *pearsan* MlIr *coloma*, *columa* 'column' (for **coloman* < Lat *columna*), the old inflection is seen in MlIr N pl *colomna* OIr *ingen* fem 'finger-nail' § 37,4, D *ingín*, N pl *ingnea*, MlIr *inga*, MlIr *ionga*, Gen *iongan*

(3) Unexplained are Ir *menme* (later *menmae*, *menma*) masc 'mind', A D *menmairn*, *menmuin*, Gen *menman* (Sg *menmann*), pl A *menmana*, D *menmanib* § 75, 4, and MlIr *goba* 'smith', D *gobaird*, pl Gen *goband*, W *gof*

§ 314. The neuter *n*-stems Paradigm Ir *béim* 'blow'

Sing		Plur		Dual	
N	A <i>béim</i> <i>n</i> -	N	A <i>béimen</i> , <i>béimenn</i>	N	A <i>béim</i> <i>n</i> -
	D <i>béimimm</i> , <i>béim</i>		D <i>béimennarb</i>		D <i>béimennarb</i>
G	<i>beime</i>	G	<i>beimen</i> <i>n</i> - <i>béimenn</i> <i>n</i> -	G	<i>béimen</i> , <i>béimenn</i>

aim *n*- 'name' has non-palat consonants before all endings
D *anmairm*, *anmimm* Gen *anme* > *anna*, pl N A *anman* *anmann* etc — The N A pl later has the ending *-a* *anmanna* — *senim* 'sound', D *senmuim*, pl N *senman*, *gein* 'birth', D *geinim*, Gen *geine*, *imb* 'butter', D MlIr *immim*, Gen *imbe*, *mír* 'morsel, portion', pl A MlIr *mírend*

British W *cam* 'step', pl OW *cemmein*, MnW *camau*, OW *anu* 'name', pl *enuein*, MlW *enw*, pl *enwein*, later *enueu*, MnW *enw*, pl *enwau*, Co *hanow*, pl *henwyn*, *hynwyn* Co *tam* 'bit, piece', pl *tymmyn*, Co *bran* 'fart' pl *bremmyn* Co *bom* 'blow' pl *bommyn*, Co *coln* 'knot' pl *colmennow*, W *rhwym* 'bond' pl OW *ruimein*, MnW *rhwymau*

Reconstruction Sing N *n*- cf Lat *nōmen*, Gk *ὄνομα* — D *-*n-bhi* (cf Armen *anyam-b* instrum of *anun* 'name') — G *-en-s* — Pl N A *-na*

XXIV. Adjectives.

§ 315 (Position) The attributive adj in Ir and Brit stands as a rule after the noun OIr *miad mór* 'great honour', W *dyn da* 'a good man' Co *gobar bras* 'a great reward', Br *gwin gwen* 'white wine'

Pronominal words and numerals are placed before the noun, cf § 233 Adjectives may precede the noun, in such cases the adjective causes lenition § 234, 1 and is indeclinable in Ir But in W when an adj is placed before a fem noun the fem form of the adj is used *gwen eneth* 'a fair maiden', similarly, as a rule, the plur form of an adj before a plur noun *each mwyron resymau chwí* 'your kind reasons'

§ 316 Agreement of the adjective In Ir. an attrib or predicative adj agrees with its noun in gender number and case *airde serce*

móre 'a sign of great love' Wb 24c 2, *it móra na bretha* 'great are the judgments' 17b 2 But a neuter predicative adj can refer to a fem abstract noun *ba erchoutech n-dorb toimtru* 'thinking was hurtful to them' Ml 35b 25, cf § 267, 2 Also a neuter predicative adj is used when the subject of the sentence is expressed by the "nominative with infinitive" construction *uisse* (neut sg) *in boill do áss ó-n chiunn* 'it is proper for the members to grow from the head' Wb 22a 17, v § 475 2b In Mnlr the pred adj is uninflected *gu-rab cosmhaíl cuirp na n-daoinc ré taolsleadh cruadh* 'so that men's bodies are like a lump of clay', *go rabadar na síúle dall aige* 'so that his eyes were blind' — In Brit. The attributive adj in W always agrees with its noun in gender It also agrees with its noun in number if the pl of the adj is formed by change of vowel, agreement is optional when the pl is formed with a pl ending, but it occurs often, cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax, p 16ff A predicative adj need not agree with its noun *llym awel* 'keen is the wind' The adj is indeclinable in C'o and Br, cf § 184

§ 317. Declension (1) Masc and neut an -o-stem, fem an -ā-stem Oll N sg masc and fem *mall* 'slow', neut *mall n-*, pl masc *maill*, fem and neut *malla* The N A pl neut with no ending is used only as a noun *inna olc* 'the evils' In Ml and later the (V and) A pl masc has the ending -a *lucu arda* 'high places' (accus) Ml 23d 23 *rétu noiba* 'holy things' (accus) Sg 33a 6 In MlIr this -a spread to N pl masc MlIr *lauch londa* 'angry warriors' The few instances in which this occurs in OIr may be errors (or perhaps evidence that it already existed in colloquial speech) *maicc cóma* 'dear sons' Wb 27b 16, cf *fira* 'true' Ml 51b 8, *mora* 'great' 98c 5 (both predicative) Cf Strachan Ériu 1.4 In N A pl the ending -i occurs after a palatalized consonant in disyllabic adjectives (by anal with -go-, -gā-stems) *diless* 'proper', N A pl *dílsi*, v ZE 236, Thurneysen, Handb 216

From -o- and -ā-stems is derived the W gender inflection W *trum* 'heavy', fem *trom* (ll *tromm*), *gwyn* 'white', fem *gwen* (Olr *find*, g *find*), for (C'o and Br v § 184 This modification spread to other adjectives with -w-, -y-, of whatever orig declension (W *cruu* 'round', Ir *cruind*, -i-stem, also W *cúta cota* 'short', *bychan* 'bechan' 'small') From -o-stems is derived the Brit pl inflection of adjectives W *ieuanc* 'young', pl *ieuainc* As in the case of nouns, the endings -on and /-jon/ were added to adjectives

182 Declension of adjectives. Comparison § 317, 318 (459—461)

OBr *blinnon* gl inertes, *buenion* gl concitis (sg Br *buan*) The -j-drops regularly in W after certain sounds *geirwon*, pl of *garw* 'rough', *budron*, pl of *budr* 'dirty', *gwineuon*, pl of *gwinau* 'auburn' These endings were added to other stem classes as well W *duon*, pl of *du* 'black' (Ir *dub*, -u-stem), *crynion*, pl of *crwn* 'round' (-i-stem), OBr *tirohon* gl agrica (Lat suff -ālis) There are no special fem pl forms

With this declension cf Lat *nouus*, *noua*, *nouum*, Gk νέος, νέα, νέον

(2) Masc and neut a -jo-stem, fem a -jā-stem Ir masc fem *burde* 'yellow', neut *burde* n-, N V A pl, all genders, in -i *tri gnímu rechtídi* 'through deeds of Law' Wb 2b 24 Substantival forms pl neut *inna remeperthi* 'the aforesaid' MI 23d 4, but *inna dorche* 'the dark' 140c 5, pl A *remeperthu* gl quos 69a 4 (cf Strachan, Ériu 1 5 — Cf Lat *sērius*, *sēria*, *sērium*)

(3) Adjectival -u-stems are rare Ir *fluch* 'wet' *tuug* 'thick' *dub* 'black', *il* 'many', *ocus* 'near', *cum-ung* 'narrow', *fo-llus* 'clear', *an-bsud* 'unstable', *dí-ruug*, *dí-ruuch* 'straight' (MIr *dírech*, MnIr *díreach* as -o-stem) and some other cpds In N sg the fem is like the masc In D Gen sg (and A sg fem) the forms are like the -o- -ā-stems, the pl is formed like the -i-stems OIr Gen sg *in drrig*, sg A fem *in dub* 'the black one' (Thurneysen ZCP 12 287), D fem *follais*, Gen *foilse*, pl N masc *foilsí* (regularly without palatalization MIr N pl *dubai*), pl Gen *ile*

(4) Adjectival -i-stems are plentiful Ir N masc and fem *marth*, neut *marth* n- The g sg and often the g pl are like the -o- -ā-declension (g sg masc and neut *marth*, fem *marthe*, g pl all genders *marthe* n- or *marth* n-, the latter form not substantival) The N A pl neut ends in -i (*marthi*), substantivally in -e or in -i (*fudumne* 'the deep' Wb 5c 16 8b 6, but *fudumnai* MI 81a 4, 118a 9)

(5) Consonantal stems are rare An -s-stem Ir *tó* § 13,2 — Explosive stems Ir *éola* § 305,2 An -nt-stem *té* 'hot', pl N fem *téit*, cf Lat masc fem *tepens*

Comparison

§ 318 The equative. Ir *léirithir* 'so diligent' (*léir*), *dennathir* 'so certain' (*denn*) Formed from nouns MIr *métithir* 'so great' (*mét* 'size'), *sithathir* 'so long' (W *hyd* 'length'), related to the

comparative forms § 320 OIr *MIr moir* 'so great', *MIr hr* 'so many', *sia-thir* 'so long', *tresi-thir* 'so strong', *rema-thir* 'so fat' — The suffix *-ithir* is from *-tri-*, cf Lat *camp-es-ter*, *camp-es-tris*, cf Ascoli, Arch glott suppl I 53ff, II 97ff

The W equative is formed by adding *-hed* to the positive, with prefixed *cyn* MIW *kyn duhet ar muchud* MnW *cyn ddued d'r muchudd* 'as black as jet' For coalescing of the *h* with a preceding consonant v § 203 In some instances the suffix is added to the comparative form *nesed* 'so near' (*agos* 'near'), *lleded* 'so small' (*bychan* 'small'), *hawwed* 'so easy' (*hawdd* 'easy'), *hyned* 'so old' (*hen* 'old') Some equatives are close cpds of the prefix with a noun *cymaint* 'so great' (*mawr* 'great'), *maint* 'size, number'), *cyhyd* 'so long' (*hrr* 'long', *hyd* 'length'), *cyfled* 'so wide' (*llydan* 'wide', *lled* 'width'), MIW *kystadyl*, *kystal* MnW *cystal* 'so good' (*da* 'good', cf *distadl* 'insignificant'), — with the comparative *cyfuwch* 'so high' (*uchel* 'high'), — with the positive MIW *kynna* 'so good' (*da* 'good'), *cynddrwg* 'so bad' (*drwg* 'bad')

Note 1 Without *cyn*, the equative is exclamative *hardded yw* 'how beautiful it is', cf Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax 47ff The same occurs in Br, MIBr *guelhet tra* 'what a good thing', *cazret den* 'what a fine man!', MnBr *V lartel* 'how big', cf Ernault, GMB 268ff

Note 2 The ending *-hed* is not added to some adjectives (mostly derivatives), in such cases the equative is expressed by putting *mor* before the positive, *mor amddedaf* 'so destitute' With this is to be compared Co *mar* (also *maga* § 215) Br *V mar* with the positive, v § 227, cf Henry Lewis *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, p 20f, Ll *Llydaweg Canol*², § 19, Ernault, GMB 393 Also MIBr *quen* MnBr *ken* (*ker*, *kcl*) is used before the positive MIBr *quen buan* 'so swiftly' *W cyn fuaned*, v Ernault, GMB 535ff — In W *mor* is frequently used with all adjectives, and in the dialects it is even used before the equative forms

On the W equative v Zimmer, KZ 34 161ff, Loth, RC 18 392, Morris Jones WC 243ff

§ 319. The comparative in Ir generally ends in *-iu* or *-u* *dihru* 'dearer' (*dul*), *sinru* 'older' (*sen*), *áldau* 'more beautiful' (*áilnd*), *foillsiu* 'clearer' (*foillus*), *ardu* 'higher' (*ard*) Further exx, § 172,3 Ir *langu*, *lugu* 'smaller' is compar of *becc*, W *llar* 'smaller' is MnW *compar* of *bach* (but the original positive occurs in MIW *llaw* 'small' v § 35,1), Co *le* 'smaller' (positive *byhan*) Another W ex of the same ending *hýn* 'older' (pos *hen*) § 181,6 — The orig ending was *-jōs*, nom sg masc of prim IE comparative, cf Lat *senior* 'older'

§ 320. The IE comparative could be formed from the same root as the positive, but without the suffix of the positive form, the vowel grade could also vary. Exx in Celt are with different vowel grade, Ir *il* 'many' (**pelu-*), compar *la* (**plē-*, cf W *ll-aws* 'many'), Ir *lethan* 'broad' W *llydan* (**pl̥t-* § 7,1), compar Ir *letha* W *lled* (**plet-*) — Suffix of posit lacking in compar Ir *mór*, *már* 'great' W *maur* Co *muir* Br *meur* (**mā-ro-*), compar Ir *máa*, *móa*, *má*, *mao*, *móo*, *mou*, *mó* OW *mor* MIW *moē*, *muwy* MnW *muwy* Co *moy* Br *mur* (**mā-*), Ir *sir* 'long' W *hir* (**sē-ro-*), compar Ir *sia* W *hwy* (**sē-*), Ir *oac* 'young' W *ieuanic* (**jeun-k'o-*) compar Ir *óa* W *iau* (**jeu-*) Some comparatives show trace of an *-s-* suffix Ir *trén* 'strong', compar Ir *tressa* W *trech* Br *treac'h*, Ir *nesso*, *nessa* 'nearer' W *nes* Co *nes* (Br *nez* 'near', posit *li ocus* W *agos* Co *ogas*), W *haws* 'easier', posit *hawdd* Ir *messa* worse posit *droch-*, *ole*

The ending of these forms is explained by means of the old neuter of the comparative with the ending *-jos* or *-is* (cf Lat *melius*, *mag-is*). Thus **mā-jos* > W *muwy*, **sēis* > W *hwy* **pletis* > W *lled*. The Ir (syllabic) *-a* is probably in most cases a later development, thus Ir *sia* was probably monosyll at first (= W *hwy*) Ir *máa* represents the old neuter *mao*, *móo*, *mou* *mo* the old masc

§ 321. Some words, originally not comparative, have acquired a comparative sense in Celtic. Examples are W *is* 'lower' (§ 25,6 *isel*), *uwch* 'higher' (§ 25,1 *uchel*), *cynt* 'earlier, quicker' (§ 50 *cynnar* 'early', *buan* 'quick') Ir *ferr* 'better' (*dag-*, *maith*), W *gwel* (*da*) Co *guel* (*da*, *mas*) Br *guell* (also *gwelloc'h* § 322 *mad*) were orig probably substantives meaning 'preference, choice' v VKG II 121. Probably also W *gwaeth* 'worse' (*drug*) Co *gueth* (*drug*) Br *gwaz* (*drouk*)

§ 322. The regular compar suffix in Brit is W *-ach* (Co *-a* > Br *-oc'h* MIW *teg-ach* 'fairer'). Provection of the final explosive of the positive has spread to the compar by anal with the equative and the superlative in which it was caused by the *-h-* of the suffix. MnW *tecach* Co *tekke*, MnW *hacrach* 'ugher' Co *hakere*, Br *pinvidikoc'h* 'richer' *brasoc'h* 'greater' (*braz*). The suffix is often added in Br to forms already compar *gwelloc'h* 'better', *nesoc'h* 'nearer' *guasoc'h* 'worse'. It occurs also in re-formations Br *hiroc'h* 'longer' (*hir*), *iaouankoc'h* 'younger', cf W *ieuangach* beside the regular

form *iau* (W *-ach* is similarly used in some of the dialects *hawddach* 'easier' beside *haws*, *hwrach* 'longer' beside *hwy*, etc.)

Note The comparative may be expressed periphrastically in W by means of *mwyr* 'more' preceding the positive *mwyr dymunol* 'more desirable'. This is obligatory with adjectives not possessing a compar. form, but it often occurs even concurrently with a form in *-ach* *cryfach*, *mwyr cryf* 'stronger'. Cf. Br Trég *muoc'h brâs* 'bigger'. — On the comparative, v. Sommer, IF 11 217—244, Zimmer, KZ 20 370ff., Ernault, RC 22 371ff.

§ 323. (1) The Celt. **superlative** suffix was *-samo-*. The lenited *-m-* became W and MIBr *-f* (1 e. /-v/), it was lost in Co. (so that the superlative and the comparative forms became identical) and also in MIBr. The *-f* is lost also in spoken W (such forms appearing sometimes in literature).

(2) (a) A vowel generally stood before the *-s-*. The Ir. ending *-em* points to **-is-amo-* or **-es-amo-* 'dearest' (*dul*), 'dearest' (*dúnd*), 'most beautiful' (*dúnd*), 'foillesem' 'clearest' (*foillus*). After a vowel, *-em* regularly became *-am* 'youngest', *maam* 'greatest', by analogy *-am* appears after consonants if the comparative *-u* is not preceded by palatalization *ansam* 'most difficult', compar. *ansu*, posit. *anse*. — In Brit. *-s-* gave *-h-* which was retained (at least in writing) down to MIW, but later disappeared. OW *hinhām* 'oldest', later *hynaf*, MIW *hyshaf* 'lowest' (in the Laws), usually *isaf*, MIW *duhaf* 'blackest', MnW *duaf*, MIW *myrhaf* 'greatest', MnW *myraf* (Co. *moygha*, *mogha*, *moghya*, *moghye* (-gh- = /-h-/, -ghy- = /-j-/, Lhuyd has *moya*), MIBr *querhaf* 'dearest', MnBr *kera*. The *-h-* coalesced with a preceding consonant, causing protraction. MIW *teckaf* 'fairest', MnW *tecaf*, Co. *tekca*, MnBr *brasa* 'greatest', v. § 203. — The following Gaul. forms may have the same suffix. *Belisama* GN, *Trigisamum* PN, *Rigisamus* GN, *Blesamus*, *Blesamius* MN, *Cintusmus* MN (cf. W *cynt* etc. § 50), *Ουξισαμιν* PN etc.

(b) In a few cases the *-s-* immediately followed a consonant. Ir. *tressam* 'strongest', W *trechaf*, Br. *trec'ha* (-g-s- cf. ON *þrek* 'strength'), Ir. *nessam* 'nearest', W *nesaf* etc. (-dh-s- § 25, 6), W *hawsaf* 'easiest' (*hawdd*). Perhaps cf. Gaul. *Rixamae* PN. With a further suffix OW *cisemic*, MnW *cysefin* 'primitive' (*cynt*).

(3) (a) The suffix may be added to a form similar to the comparative. Ir. *óam* 'youngest', MIW *ieuhaf* beside compar. Ir. *óa*, MIW *ieu*, Ir. *máam* 'greatest' beside compar. *máa*, MIW *llettaf*, MnW *lletaf* 'widest' beside compar. *lled*. § 320. The affected vowel

of the compar due to *-j-* is transferred in Brit to the superl OW *hynham* W *hynaf* 'oldest', W *lleraf* 'smallest' OBr *lerham* (cf § 319), also the *-j-* of the compar W *hwyaſ* 'longest' OBr *-horam* (in personal names, cf Loth, RC 15 94), MlW *mwyhaf* MnW *mwyaf* 'greatest' Co *moygha* Br *maua*

(b) Some superlatives are formed from nouns or adverbs W *olaf* 'last' (*ól* rear, track'), *blaenaf* 'foremost, first' (*blaen* 'front'), *pennaf* 'chief' (*pen* 'head', also compar *pennach*), OW Comp *diguedhaf* MnW *diwethaf* 'last' (*diwedd* 'end') With the suffix *-tamo-* W *eithaf* 'uttermost', **ek-tamo-* (cf Lat *extimus*), cf W *guarthaſ* 'summit' Co *guartha*, **uor-tamo-*, **upor-tmmo-* beside OW *guor*, *guar* over', v Parry-Williams, BBCS 1 112

Note 1 The suffix is reduplicated in a few cases in OIr *diſgunem* from *dſriug* direct', *fſrianamam* from *fſrian* 'righteous', *ſaribibem* gl *peruer-issimū* (-*ibem* from *-imem*)

Note 2 Ir *dag*, *marth* good has for superlative *dech* (Lat *decus* ornament'), W *da* 'good has for superlative *gorau* (possibly a compound, **upor-esu*, cf Gk *ὑπερ-εὖ* 'exceedingly well') Co and Br have a superl formed from the compar Co *guella* Br *quilla*

Note 3 The superl may be expressed periphrastically in W by means of *mwyaf* most' preceding the positive *mwyaf dymunol* most desirable

§ 324. (Syntax of the compared forms). In Ir the compared forms are predicative only *is moir sleb(e) fſinne dá* 'God's righteousness is as great as mountains' Ml 55d11, *arm-bat irlamu de ind fſir* 'in order that the husbands may be the readier Wb 22c10 *hſi telag ba nessam dind sloſ* to the hull that was next the army' Ml 55c1 The following examples illustrate the construction used when the compar or superl is attributive, substantival or adverbial in meaning *fſreſcſiu fogchricce as móo* 'hope of a greater reward' ' of a reward that is greater' Wb 10c21, *a ben ind fſir as dech in Ére* O wife of the best man in Ireland' "of the man that is best" W1 260, *r-a-fſtir as hſa* 'most (of them) know it' "what is the greater part knows it" Wb 23c21, *intí asémſiu* (= *as sému*) gl *tenuior* 'the thinner' 'he who is thinner' Ml 19d8, *nſ-mmſerat beſ hſre* they shall not deceive further' "what is further" Wb 30c20, *nachtachtad fſri-a choſcc ní beſ íre* 'let it not wear thee out in admon-ishing him any longer' "that which is longer" 31d11

Note. OIr *ní as* 'what is' before a compar has become a particle in MnIr *ntos* — The following apparent exceptions to the rule are Latinisms *doinn ſaribibem* gl *peruerissimū* homines Ml 3a5, *du thurchſſimem* gl *acceptissimū* tui (g sg) 71b21, *in máam* gl *primum* Wb 1c20

In Brit the compared forms can be used attributively MIW *ny buost gyn hegaret gwas dithau* 'thou wert not so lovable a youth RM 7, *teckaf morwyn oed yn y hoës* 'she was the fairest maiden of her day' 59 This may be an innovation, and originally the construction in Brit may have resembled that of Ir This hypothesis would explain the introduction of substantival forms into the system of comparison

The second member of a comparison is put in the dative case without prep in Ir after the comparative, v § 280, or preceded by the verb *oldáu*, later *indáu*, § 481 For the equative v § 273 In Brit it is preceded by a particle MIW *no, noc* MnW *na, nag* 'than', Co *ys, es, ages* Br *eget, euit* Instances occur in W without the particle MIW *nar ewch bellach hynny* 'go not further than that' v Ifor Williams, PKM 156, cf *Golchi ddu gydwybod aflan Lawer gwynach eira mân* 'Thou wastest the black filthy conscience much wither than fine snow', Wms Pantycelyn With the equative the particle 'as' MIW *a, ac* MnW *â ag* Co *auel*, Br *ha, hag*

XXV. The Numerals.

§ 325 A special development in Celt is the difference between the numeral when accompanying a noun (dependent) and when standing apart (independent) Before the latter in Ir stands the particle *a* § 200,5

§ 326 **One.** Ir *óin*, W *un*, (Co *un*, independent *onan*, Br *eun*, indep *unan* Etym § 15 W *un* causes lenition in the foll fem sg noun (except when it begins with *ll-* and *rh-*), v also § 234, 1 n (Co *un* Br *eun* are used as an indefinite article, Br *eun*, *eur* cause len in the foll fem sg noun With a prefixed pronoun the numeral expresses 'self' W *fy hun*, *fy hunan* 'myself', pl *hun*, *hunain*, Co *ow honan* 'myself', *agan honan* 'ourselves', Br *me va unan* 'I myself', *ni hon unan* 'we ourselves', these forms are used in conjunction with pronominal forms W *fy nhŷ fy hun* 'my own house', *arnaf fy hun* 'on myself', etc (For the *h-* v § 205) — The numeral is often unexpressed in Ir *bó ar fhacht* '21 cows', RC 26 378, MnIr *ceann aca* 'one of them' (lit "a head with them")

§ 327. **Two** Ir (dep) NA masc *da*, fem *di*, neut *da n-*, D masc fem neut *dib n-*, Gen masc fem *da*, neut *da n*, (indep) *dau* > *dó* Brit masc OW *dou* MIW *deu* MnW *dau* (dial *dou*) Co *dou* *dew* MIBr *dou* MnBr *daou*, fem W *dwy* OCo *dun* MICO *dyw*,

dew Br *diou* These forms are regular forms of -o- -ā-stems, the Brit forms are old nominatives, Ir *dau* the old nom masc For sandhi-rules v § 189, § 229 Traces of the old neut in Brit are found in W *deucant* '200', *deutu* 'both sides', and in Br *daou c'hant* '200', *daou zra* 'two things' (§ 268, 3, cf § 70, 2) — In composition the Ir form is *dé-* *dé-dúth* 'bipennis', *dé-chorpdae* gl *bucorpor dé-riad* gl *bigae* cf *Milli in-dé* 'in two'

§ 328 **Three.** Ir NA masc *trí* (non-len) neut *trí* (len), D masc neut *trib*, Gen *trí n-* Fem N *teor*, *teora*, A *teora*, D *teorab*, Gen *teora n-* Brit masc W *tri* C'o *try* Br *tri*, fem *MIW teor* MnW *taur* C'o *ter*, *tyr* Br *teir* (for Brit sandhi-rules v § 207, 2, 9) — The masc and neut are inflected like the -i-decl, the IE N **trejes* (Skr *trayas* Lat *trēs*) was replaced in Celt by the A **tríns* Ir NA neut < IE **trī* (Ski *trī*) The Ir g masc neut is irregular (Og *TRIA MAQA* 'of the three sons', IE **trijōm* cf Gk *τριών*) The fem was an -r-stem, orig N **tisores* (Ir *teoir*) A **tisornis* (Ir *teora*, used as N in Wb) Ir D Gen are analogical formations The Brit affected vowel in the fem forms of '3' (and '4') is due to some remodelling *MIW teor* is for **ty-en* cf OW *bryeint* *MIW breint* 'privilege' See § 329 n — 'Thrice' Ir *fothrí* (prep + acc neut) — Ir form in composition *tre-*, *tré-* (< IE **tri-*) OIr *i-sinn tre-chostu* gl in tripod *MIr tréthond* 'three waves'

§ 329 **Four.** Ir masc N *cethar*, A *cethri* neut NA *cethir* (len) fem *cetheor*, *cetheora* etc, with the same endings as in 'three' *Milli* has *cethri* as dependent form in all genders MnIr *ceathair* dependent *ceithre* or *cheithre* Brit masc OW *petquar* MnW *pedwar* Co *peswar* MnCo /*pažar*/ Br *pevar*, fem *MIW peder* MnW *pedair* Co *peder* *pedyr* Br *peder* (sandhi-rules § 207 9) — Ir N masc and Brit masc forms < **k^uetwores* (Brit *uo* *ua* § 3, 4) The Ir fem N represents **k^uetesores*

Note The fem suffix -*sor-* of '3' and '4' is found only in Celtic and Indo-Iranian (Skr fem *tisras* '3', *čatasras* '4') It has been compared to Lat *uxor* (which might very well mean "mistress" but a masc **uk-* 'husband', though easily conceivable beside Skr *śkas* 'home', is merely a guess) The Hittite fem suffix -*šara-* (*š-* /*s*/), c g in *išha-ššara-* 'mistress of the house' *išhā-* 'master' (Eicholf ZA NF 9 184ff) if not borrowed from a foreign language, could also be considered

'Four times' Ir *fo cethir* — Compos form **k^uetwor-* Gaul *petor-ritum* 'four-wheeled cart', Ir *cethar-denus* 'four days', with different vowel grade Gaul *Petru-cori* TN 'the four hosts' § 178 21,

cf W *pedry-* in *pedryfan* '(with) four corners, square', *pedryollt* '(with) four notches' BA 8 5 (*pedry-hollt*), also *pedr-ael* 'four-cornered' (v BBC 26 11) and *pedry-f-ael* (RP 578 15)

§ 330 **Five — ten** (indeclinable) 'Five' Ir *cóic* Mnlr *cúig* OW *pump* MIW *pymp*, *pump* MnW *pump* Co *pymp* Br *pemp* 'Six' Ir *sé* W *chwe* (dep), *chwech* (mostly indep) Co *whé* (indep *deu* rgens *blythen ha whe* '46 years' PC 351), *whegh* Br *c'hovec'h* 'Seven' Ir *secht n-* MIW *seith* MnW *saitth* Co *seyth*, *syth* Br *seiz* 'Eight' Ir *ocht n-* W *wyth* MnCo *eath* Br *eiz* 'Nine' Ir *nóí n-* W *naw* Co *naw* Br *nao* 'Ten' Ir *deich n-* MIW *dec* MnW *deg* (*deng* § 196,3) Co *dek* Br *dek*, § 8.1c For the sandhi-rules cf § 189 6,8, § 196,3, § 197, § 229

§ 331 **The tens.** In Ir the tens are derived from old IE proper compounds (fem sg) with the final clement **-k'mt-*, **-k'omt-* (to **dek'm* **dek'm-t* 'ten'), for their inflection v § 307,1 Thus applied to Brit from 30 to 90 but only traces remain Brit 20' is derived from a neut du form (**-k'mtī*, Lat *uiginti*) — 20' OIr *fiche* MIW *ugeint* MnW *ugain* Co *ugens*, *ugans* Br *ugent* (Ir **wi-k'mt-s*, Brit **m-k'mt-ī*, cf § 6,3) — 30' OIr *tricha* OW *trimuceant* Br *tregont* (Gaul-Lat abl pl *tricontis* (*omnibus tricontis* 'in all the months with thirty days'), OW *trimuceant* is influenced by the old forms of '70' and 20' — '40' MlIr *cethorcha* *cethracha* **k^uetruk'omt-s* (cf Gaul *Petru-*, W *pedry-* § 329) — '50' OIr *cóica* (*cóice* ZCP 8 310 1) Mnlr *caogad* — 60' MlIr *sesca* **swek's-k'omt-s* — '70' OIr *sechtmogo* **septmmo-k'ont-s* or **septmmu-k'ont-s* (with -u- by anal with '40') — 80' MlIr *ochtmoga* (OIr g *ochtmugat*), formed by anal with 70' — 90' Mnlr *nócha* (OIr derivative *nouchtech* 'nonagenarian') **neuo-k'omt-s*

§ 332 **Hundred and thousand** '100' Ir *cét* (neut -o-stem) Mnlr *céad* W *cant* Co *cans* Br *kant* — 1000 Ir *míle* (fem -gā-stem) W *mil* Co *myl* Br *mil* from Lat *mīlia*

Note A few late forms occur for numbers above a thousand W *myrdd* 10,000' a medieval learned borrowing from Lat *myriad em* W *myrddiwn* 1 000 000' Mnlr *milliwn* million MnW *mlrwn* Co *mylyon* Br *mlion*

§ 333 **Syntax of the numerals** In OIr (as in the other old IE languages) the numerals 1—10 are adjectives (placed before the noun, of course they may, as other adjectives, be used substantivally and combined with a partitive prepositional group *óin di arrchinn-chib asyia* 'one of the leaders of Asia' Wb 7b 11), the numerals

from 20 up are substantives governing the *g* case (as a *genitivus generis*) In *Brit* the contrast between the numerals 1—10 and the numerals from 20 up has been obliterated, they may be used adjectivally, and also substantivally followed by a prepositional group equivalent to a *genitivus generis* *W* *sauth o blant Br* *seiz a rugale* 'seven children', in *W* they have also plural forms *degau* 'tens' *cannoedd* 'hundreds'

The dual form after '2' came to be regarded as a singular in *MnIr*, and by anal this singular form occurs after the numerals up to '6', with lenition *Arr* /t'r'ī wuk/ 'three pigs' Otherwise the non-len plur form is used *Arr* /t'r'ī k'īn/ 'three head (of cattle, etc)' The development in *Brit* was different The difference between *du* and *pl* is retained in *MIW* *deu uab* 'two sons', *tri meib* 'three sons' The *du* form was identical with the *sing* in *-o*-stems, but in other stems it was identical with the *pl* thus *MIW* *deu ychen* 'two oxen' can be a *du* which came to be regarded as a *pl* The result was oscillation between the *sg* and the *pl* after 'two' Ultimately the *sg* form prevailed The regularly derived *pl* of *-o*-stems remained after numerals while otherwise extended forms were used as plurals *MIW* *tri meib* 'three sons', but *meibon* (*MnW* *meibon*) 'sons' But in many instances the internal vowel would not be modified in the *pl*, thus *dyn* 'man' could also be derived from the old *N* *du* or *pl* So we have *W* *dau ddyn* 'two men', *tri dyn* 'three men', but *dynion* 'men' Similarly in *-ā*-stems *W* *tair morwyn* 'three maidens', but *morynion* 'maidens', *naw eglwys* 'nine churches' (*Lat* *ecclēsia*), but *MIW* *eglwysseu*, *eglwysyd* *MnW* *eglwys* 'churches' These forms were ultimately regarded as *sg*, with the result that it became the rule for all (adjectival) numerals to be followed by the *sg* form Numerous instances occur in *MIW* of the regular *pl* *teir chworyd* 'three sisters' *pump guraed* 'five women' The old regular *pl* *dieu* 'days' is still used in *tridiau* (*disyll*) 'three days', § 298, 1, also *blynedd* 'years' after all numerals (even after *un* 'one' in composite numbers *un mlynedd ar ddeg* 'eleven years') § 44 — In *Co* the *sg* always occurs *naw alweth* 'nine keys', *cans dauas* '100 sheep', *myl vlythen* '1000 years' — In *Br* also the *sg* is used

For the use of the *W* numerals v *Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax*, p 61 ff

§ 334. Addition and multiplication in the numeral system (1) The

numbers between the tens are denoted by the addition of units and tens. The unit in Ir stands before the noun, which is followed by *deec* 'of ten', later *deac* (disyll), *déc*, MnIr *déag* /d'ég/ 'teen', or by the *g* of the higher tens *dí míl deec* '12,000', *dí huúr deac* '12 hours', *da darscúip sechtmogat* '72 disciples'. Instead of the *g* (*fichet* etc.), there appears later a construction with *ar* (*ar fichit*), which predominates in the higher numbers *fiche ar chét* '120', *deich ar dúb cétaib* '210', *coic míl ochtmugat ar chét* '185 000'. Also *ocus* 'and' is used. MlIr *deich mbliadhna ocus ceathri fichit* '90 years'.

The Brit numbers 11—19 are mostly old cpds of the units and ten. W *deuddeg* '12', *pymtheg* '15', MnCo *ednack* '11', MlCo *dewthek* '12', MnCo *tardhak*, *trethek* '13', *puzwarthack* '14', MlCo *pymthek* '15', MnCo *huettag*, *whettak* '16', *seitag* '17', *eatag* '18', *nawnzack* '19', Br *unnek*, *daouzek*, *trizek*, *pevarzek*, *pemzek*, *c'houezek*, *setek* '11—17', MlBr *eizdec* '18', Br *naontek* '19'. This system was formerly more extensive in W as is shown by OW *naunec* in the word *naunecant* 'a period of 19 years', and MlW *undec* '11', v Henry Lewis, BBCS 5.95. A trace of it occurs in MlIr *corthiges* 'fortnight' (from *cóic* '5' + *deich* '10', cf W *pythefnos*, *pythewnos* 'fortnight', '15 nights'). Apart from '12' and '15', the old system was replaced in W by the construction with the prep *ar* *un ar ddeg* '11', *tri (tair) ar ddeg* '13', *pedwar (pedair) ar ddeg* '14'. The noun (sg) follows the unit *un march ar ddeg* '11 horses', or follows the composite number, in which case it is pl and is preceded by *o* 'of' *un ar ddeg o feirch*. After '15' addition is to '15' *un ar bymtheg* '16' etc. The numeral 18 can also be expressed by multiplication W *deunaw* 'two × nine', Br *trouec'h* 'three × six'. Addition to '20' is expressed by the prep W *ar*, Co Br *war*. W *un ar hugarn* etc., Co *dek-warn-ugans sterlyn* 'thirty sterling', Br *daou zen war-n-ugent* '22 persons'. The Co Br *-n-* may be a relic of an original construction without the prep, arising first from the numerals 7, 9, 10 which orig. ended in *-n*, then spreading by analogy the *-n* then being retained after the introduction of *war* **dek n-ugans*, *dek war n-ugans*. Addition to tens above '20' is expressed by the conjunction W *a* ('o Br *ha* 'and' W *deg a degarn* '50' ('10 and 2 × 20'), ('o *dew ngens blythen ha whe* '46 years', Br *daou ha tregont* '32'.

(2) Multiplication is expressed by placing the multiplicator before the multiplicand. Ir *tri fichit* '3 × 20', *dí chaicant* '2 × 50',

trí nói n-immaire 'thrice nine ridges' Thes II 298, *cóc deich cóica* 'five tens are fifty' Sg 4a 5, OW *tri pimp* 'three fives', MnW *tri phump*, Co *myl vyl* 'million', W *deunaw*, Br *triouec'h* '18'

(3) Counting in twenties is very common OIr *tri fichit fer* '60 (3×20) men' Thes II 242, MlIr *nói fichit* '180', *deich mnua* '7 secht fichit 150 women' This has resulted in a regular vigesimal system in MnIr and Sc, the old ten forms 30—90 being obsolete A similar, but more rapid development is seen in Brit, in this respect MIW corresponds to MnIr MIW *dec ar hugent* '30', OW *doucent* MIW *deugeint* '40', MIW *tri vgein*, *trugeint*, *trugein* MnW *trigain* '60', MnW *pedwar ugain* '80', *sarth ugain* '140', etc to *naw ugain* '180', '50' is *deg a deugain* and *hanner cant* (half a hundred) Similarly in Co Mn('o *dewthak warn-ygans* '32' MlCo *dei ygens* '40', *try-ygons* '60', etc, and in Br *daou-ugent* '40' *tri-ugent* '60', '50' is Co *hanter-cans*, B1 *hanter-kant* (cf MlIr *leith-chéad*), Br alone has kept the old ten name *tregont* '30'

§ 335. **Ordinals and numeral substantives** (1) The ordinals 1—2 are quite distinct from the cardinals Ir *cét*-, *cétne*, W *cyntaf* Co *kensa* MlBr *quentaf* MnBr *kenta* 'first' (cf § 50) Gaul *cinturo(s)* (R^c 41 34), Ir *tánaise*, *tánaise* (cf *im-thánad* 'alternation'), MIW *eil* MnW *aíl* § 371, Co *nessa* § 25, 6, *secund* (English), Br *eil* 'second' Gaul *alos*, *allos* (*alhos*) 'Third' Ir *tris*-, *tres*-, *tress*- (also indep, cf *hé-som trüss* (dat) 'he as a third' Wb 7c 8) < **tristi*- **tristo*-, cf Lat *testis* 'witness' < **tersti*-s < **tristi*-s, Osc *tristuaementud* 'testamento', but W *trydydd*, fem *trydedd* ('o *trysse*, *trege* Br *riede* < **trthjo*-, cf Lat *tertius* Goth *þridja* 'Fourth' Ir *cethramad* (with the derivative *cethramthu* 'quarter g *cethramthan*, pl N *cethramdán*) is formed by anal with the ordinals 7—10, Brit has a deriv in -*ijo*- W *pedwerydd* (also MIW *pedwrydd*), fem *pedwaredd*, ('o *peswere* B1 *pevare*

The ordinals from 5 up had the ending -*eto*-, with the final of the ordinals 7 and 10, this gave -*m-eto*-, which spread in the derived languages to other numbers (OIr *cethramad* 'fourth', MlIr *triomhadh* 'third' *aonmhadh déag* MIW *unvet ar dec* MnW *unfed ar ddeg* '11th', W *eulfed ar bymtheg* '17th' (beside *aíl ar bymtheg*), MnBr *trived*, fem *teirved* 'third', *pevarved* fem *pederved* 'fourth') Fifth' Ir *cóiced* OW *pimphet* MIW *pymhet* MnW *pumed* ('o *pypmes* MlBr *pempet* MnBr also *pemved* Gaul *pinpetos*, 'sixth' Ir *sessed* MIW *chwechet* MnW *chweched* (SW colloq *uechfed*) ('o *whefes* B1

c'houec'hved Gaul *suevos*, 'seventh' Ir *sechtmad* W *seithfed* Co *seythves* Br *seizved* Gaul *sextametos*, 'eighth' Ir *ochtmad* W. *wythfed* MnCo *eathas* Br *eizved* Gaul *octumetos*, 'ninth' Ir *nómad* W *nawfed* MnCo *nawas* Br *naved* Gaul *navumetos* (RC 41 38), 'tenth' Ir *dechmad* W *degfed* ('o *degves* Br *dekved* Gaul *decametos* (cf ZCP 16, 289), 'fourteenth' MIBr *peuardecuet* MnBr *pevarzekved* Gaul -Lat *petrudecametus*, a similar formation is MIW *undecuet* 'eleventh', cf W *deuddegfed* 'twelfth', v BBCS 5 95 'Thirtieth' MIBr *tregontuet*, MnBr *tregontved*, 'fiftieth' Ir *cóicetmad*, 'hundredth' Ir *cétmad* W *canfed* Br *kantved*, 'thousandth' W *milfed* Br *milved* Ordinals formed by syntactical combination are mostly regular, 'twenty-third' Ir *tris fichet* ('third of twenty'), 'forty-seventh' Ir *sechtmad cethorchat* ('seventh of forty') A similar formation probably existed in W, as shown by MIW *trydydec* 'thirteenth', v BBCS 5 95, but the prep *ar* came to be inserted regularly W *trydydd* (*trydedd*) *ar ddeg* 'thirteenth' 'Fiftieth' W *degfed a deugain*, also *hanner canfed* ('half-hundredth') Note further Ir *cín ar fichet* '21st quire' (cf § 326), Ir indep *arle deac* 'the twelfth', dep *ala rann deac* 'twelfth part' Thes II 13, 29, *indala discipul sechtmogat* 'the 72nd disciple' (whence Mnlr *an dara* 'the second')

For sandhi rules cf § 233.2, § 231

(2) Designations of a number of persons 1—10 Ir *ógnar, dias* (fem, disyll, D *dias*, Gen *desse*), *triár* (g *triúr*), *cethrar, cóicer, seser, mor-feser* ('great six-number'), *ochtar nóubar, dechenbar* (*dechnebar*) — Of things 2 Ir *déde*, 3 *tréde*, 4 *cetharde*, 7 *sechte* (orig neut adjectives in *-de*, used substantivally) — Of days *trichtaige* '30 days', *noichtiche* 29 days' (*noichtech* 'containing 29 days', from *nói fichet*, with diphthong *oi*) For *cóicthiges* 'fortnight' v § 334.1

XXVI. The Personal Pronouns.

§ 336. The Ir. system The OIr personal pronouns were not used as subject of a verb, the subject being expressed by the verbal ending, the pron therefore occurs in the nom when independent only As object and after preps the pers prons appear in an unaccented and reduced form, and are either suffixed or infixed (after the first prefix of a compound verb) The g has a dependent and an independent form, the former always unaccented

The personal idea expressed by a verbal ending, an infixed or

suffixed pron, or a dependent g pron can be stressed by an enclitic emphasizing pronoun *tiagu* 'I go', *tiagu-sa*, *am beo* 'I am alive', *am beo sa*, *ro-m-icc* 'has healed me', *ro-m-icc-sa*, *do-m* 'to me', *do-m-sa*, *mo chruimrega* 'my fetters', *mo chruimrega sa*

Note. That the personal ending of the verb has the force of a subject pron is seen in sentences in which a first subject is added to by means of 'and' *ro-suiris indiu 7 in bath morbrugi Erend* 'I have visited today, and the grey, the chief districts of Ireland LU 8464, *na fetar-su 7 Fergus 7 matha Ulad* 'do you not know, and Fergus and the nobles of Ulster' LL 73a 10 If the idea expressed by a personal ending or a pron is added to by means of 'and', this addition is frequently anticipated in the form of the ending or of the pronoun *conránuatar* (3 pl) 7 *Dubthach* he and Dubthach met' *Thes II* 241 5 *darala eburru* (3 pl) 7 *imburt fadchallh 7 Fergus* a quarrel had arisen between him and Fergus at a game of chess' LL 103b 39 In such cases in MlIr after a dative pron (after the conjugated prep *do*) the addition is in the nom case *scith linnm conrac dúib* (2 pl) 7 *Cuchulaind* 1 dislike a fight between you and C' (lit a fight for you and C'') LU 562B

In MnIr the suffixed and infixed verb objects are obsolete, the orig indep forms appear as object and as subject

§ 337. OIr. paradigms

	1 sing	2 sing	1 plur	2 plur
Nom (indep)	<i>mé</i>	<i>tú</i>	<i>sinisni sníní</i> <i>sib, sissí sin</i> <i>síní sinní sní</i>	
Nom with augens	<i>meisse</i>	<i>tusnu</i>		
Infixed	-m- (len)	-t- (len)	-nn-	-b-
Infixed in rel sentences	-dom- (len)	-dot- (len)	-don-	-dob-
Infixed after neg na	-chim- (len)	-chut- (len)	-chin-	-chib-
Suffixed	-m	-t	-nn	-b
Dependent gen	<i>mo</i> (len)	<i>do</i> (len)	<i>ar n-</i>	<i>far n- for n-</i> <i>baí n-</i>
Dep gen before m- vowel		<i>t-</i>		
Dep gen after preps	-m (len)	-t (len)		
Independent gen	<i>mui muisse</i>	<i>tái</i>	<i>athar ar</i>	<i>sethar, sethar-</i> <i>si, sar, fathar</i> W ₁ 336, 13
Emphasizing (augens)	<i>sa se</i>	<i>su su</i>	<i>ni (sni</i> Wb 15c 20)	<i>si</i>

	3 sing masc	fem	neut	plur
Nom (indep)	<i>hé</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>hed</i>	<i>hé</i>
Nom with augens	<i>hésom,</i> <i>héside</i>	<i>sí ede</i>	<i>hedón</i> (Sg <i>he(d) se</i>)	<i>hésudi</i> (Sg <i>hésé</i>)
Infixed	<i>-a n-</i> , Nil (eclips)	<i>-s n-</i>	<i>-a-, -e-, Nil</i> (len)	<i>-s n-</i>
Infixed in rel sentences	<i>-d n-</i>	<i>-da-</i>	<i>-d-</i> (len)	<i>-da-</i>
Infixed after neg <i>na</i>	<i>-ch n-</i>	<i>-cha-</i>	<i>(-chud-, -did-</i> § 342 n 1)	<i>-cha-</i>
Suffixed with verbs (acc)	<i>-i, -it</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-i, -it</i>	<i>-s</i>
Suffixed with preps (acc)	<i>-i</i>	<i>-he</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-hu</i>
Suffixed with preps (dat)	<i>-o</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ib</i>
Dependent gen	<i>a</i> (len)	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> (len)	<i>a n-</i>
Independent gen	<i>ái</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ái</i>	<i>ái</i> (æ)
Emphasizing	<i>som sem,</i> <i>siuim</i> (and nom <i>side,</i> g <i>sidi</i>)	<i>si</i> (and nom <i>side, acc</i> after verbs <i>sidi</i>)	<i>som</i> (rare), nom <i>side,</i> g <i>sidi</i> (MÍr and- <i>aide</i> 'there'), <i>so, sin, són,</i> <i>ón</i> § 368, 9	<i>som sem, siuim</i> (and nom <i>sidi,</i> g <i>side,</i> <i>a m-bésa sa</i> 'their customs' Wb 9b 17)

Note The form *t-* thy before vowels can be len to *th*, but *-t-* thy after preps is never lenited *tussu th oenur* 'thou alone' Wb 5a 28, *do-t-edbartuib* to thy sacrifices' MÍ 45b 6, cf § 113 The g 3rd pers in archaic OIr is *e in-e chuiss* in his foot etc Thes II 245 The forms *se siu, sem, siuim* are used after palatal consonants cf § 171

§ 338. The independent forms. Nom *is mé as apstal geinte* I am the apostle of the gentiles' Wb 5b 17, *ní mé as beo* 'it is not I that am alive' 19a 18, *ní fil nech and acht meisse móinur* there is no one therein save me alone' 5a 25, *is hé dobeir lóg dert* 'it is he that gives thee a reward' 6a 11 The 3rd pers pron occurs as subject after the copula and after *cia* 'who is?' *at hé coisnimm inso file lib-si* 'these are the contentions that are among you' 7d 13, *ce hé ro-scrib* 'who it is that has written' Sg 197a 19 — Possessive

gen *is and nad bí mui na tui* 'there there is neither mine nor thine' LU 10848, *eclais dé bí leic di an as n-an* 'the church of the living God, leave it what is its' LL 149a 1 (The conjugated forms of the prep *la* are however more frequently used to express the meaning of the possessive gen *ní lat in cách* *for-sam-mitter* 'not thine is everyone on whom thou passest judgment' Wb 6b 22) — Partitive gen *cechtar n-ár* 'each of us two' Thes II 294 2, *cechtar n-athar* Wb 20c 26, also *cia n-athar* Anecd 3 27 18

§ 339. OIr *olse*, *olse-som* 'said he' seems to be from *ols-e*, fem *olsi* 'said she', the pl *olseat-som* 'said they' is formed by adding the verbal ending. Before nouns the form is *ol ol in popul* 'said the people', *ol Pol* 'said Paul'. The form *ol mé* 'said I' occurs in LU 4931, elsewhere MlIr *olsme*. The MlIr pronouns *sé* 'he', *siad* 'they' owe their origin to some extent probably to *olse*, *olseat* being analysed as *ol-se*, *ol-seat*. Later OIr *ar ar crist* 'said (Christ)', MlIr *ar*, for § 111, also *or*

§ 340. Syntax of the dependent forms (1) Object of a verb *ce no-n-mohid ce no-n-airid* 'whether ye praise us whether ye blame us' Wb 16a 1, *berth-a leiss* 'he will bear it with him' 23a 19, — reflexive *connách morda nech* 'so that no one may boast (himself)' 2b 4, *massu i-ssoiri et imdibu mót-i nech* 'if any one boasteth himself in nobility and circumcision' 23d 29 — with the passive (only 1st and 2nd pers pronouns infixed) *ni-n-incébthar* 'we shall not be blamed' 15d 27 — The objective pron often refers to the action of the verb (a kind of cognate accus.) *bríg inna persine do-d-icfa* 'the might of the Person that will so come' (lit. 'that will come it') Wb 29c 4, *bíd sochuide atrefea indit-siu 7 bíd* (leg *bíd*) *faillid nach óin ad-id-trefea* 'many will dwell in thee, and joyful will be every one that shall so dwell' (lit. 'that shall dwell it') Ml 107a 15

Note 1 The infixed pron often anticipates a following object (with incorrect gender *nithucat beos ruin ind rechto* 'they do not yet understand it the mystery of the Law' Wb 15a 34, *ruin* is fem.)

Note 2 Some verbs always contain a pron *ar* a *chrimim* 'I perish' Sg 145b 1, *atbail* 'he dies', *amal ro n gabus sa* ('*ro-n* from *ro n-d-*') 'as I am' (lit. 'as I have taken it')

(2) Denoting the goal after verbs of moving *do-sn-icfa cobir* 'help will come to them' Wb 5c 5 (3) As dative with the verb 'to be' to express 'to have' *ro-sm-bia lóg* 'they shall have (the) reward' Wb 6a 5. The idea 'to have' is mostly expressed with the help of the prep *la* *ait leu* 'they envv' ('envy with them they have envy')

23 b 13, MnIr expresses 'to have' by means of the prep *ag*, *arg* (OIr *oc*) *tá airgead aige* 'he has money' (4) As dat with the verb 'to be' with a substantival adj (more rarely a substantive) as subject, to express the existence or possession of something *ní-m-p-tha fírión ar-a-chunt-sídi* 'I am not righteous for that' Wb 8 d 24, *ní dī chorp atóo-sa hóre ní-m-tha laám* 'I am not of the body because I am not hand' 12 a 21 (5) As dat with the copula and a predicative adj *nípa-d n-aídrech a n-durairngert* 'he will not repent of what he has promised' Wb 5 c 9 But more frequent is the use of the prep *la* *ní-r-bu anthech lín-sa* 'I had no regret' 16 b 6 (6) As dat with transitive verbs *cíchi-b-ro-erad* 'what has happened to you' ('what has been caused to you') W1 III 237 62 But the prep *do* is more usual *is hé dobeir lóg deit* 'it is he that gives thee a reward' Wb 6 a 11 Cf Thurneysen, KZ 48, 48 ff (7) The infixed pron occurs as dat with compared adjectives *bes-idn-íslé* 'who is lower than he', *bes-da-nesom* 'which is nearest to them', v Thes II 292 fn 1 (8) The dep gen forms are partly subjective, partly objective genitives *trí a precept* 'through his preaching' (i e preaching by him) Wb 1 b 5 *inn-a precept et inn-a chomalnád* 'in teaching it and in fulfilling it' 24 d 12 When a subjective gen and an objective gen depend on the same noun, the former is expressed by means of the prep *do* or *la* *iar n-ar n-etargnu duib* 'after your knowing us' ('our knowing to you') Wb 15 a 1, *for seir sí lín-sa* 'my love for you' ('your love with me') 23 a 27 — Anticipatory *a ainmm in druadh* 'his name, the druid's' W1 129

§ 341. Form of the infixed pronoun. Infixed *-m-* 'me' is not lenited, Ml has *-mm-* between vowels The regular *-nn-* 'us' is sometimes written *-n-* before vowels in Wb Before consonants *-nn-* is shortened to *-n-* regularly The nil form of the 3rd sg m and n occurs after *ní* 'not' *ní cheil* 'he conceals it not' Wb 5 b 5, *maní n-airí* 'if he find him not' Ml 30 d 24 — A vowel appears before *-m-*, *-t-*, *-nn-*, *-b-* when preceded by a prefix ending in a consonant (after which an orig vowel has dropped) *imm-um-forling* 'has caused me' Wb 13 b 6, *ar-ob-róinasc* 'I have betrothed you' 17 b 27 This vowel represents the orig final vowel of the prefix, and its quality varies greatly For the infixed pron after prefixes orig ending in a consonant v § 342, 5 — The medial vowel of the *-ch-* and *-d-* forms (1 and 2 pers) varies, *-i-* occurs in Wb, *-o-*, *-u-* in Wb and Sg, *-a-* in Ml

§ 342 The *-d-* series (1) The *-d-* forms appear in relative sent-

ences in which the rel is subject, further, beside relative *-n-* (§ 193) and after the rel preverbs (§ 194, also *co n-* 'so that') *in linn no-d-chreutféa* 'they (the number) who shall believe it' Wb 4d 7, *amal do-n-d-beir* 'as he gives it' 5c 24, *tresin-dip-piat foichricci* 'through which you shall have rewards' ('rewards shall be to you') 25d 8, *mod con-id-tuccid* 'in such wise that ye may understand it' 21c 11, *con-did-tuictis* 'so that they might understand it' 21c 21, *ind arim in-did-epnur* 'the place wherein I say it' 4b 26

Note 1 The only instances of *-d* forms after the negative *na* in Old glosses happen to be 3 sg neut *na-did chreli* 'who does not believe it' Wb 15b 14, *ind na-chid-chualatar* 'those who did not hear it' 25d 14. Strachan, Ériu 1 157 quotes an example of 3 sg masc in Hib Min 462 (Rawl B 502) *na-chid-farcarb som* 'who did not abandon him' (for *na-chid n*). A form without *ch-* after the neg *na* occurs once in Wb *arna m tomnad nammin duine* 'that he should not suppose me not to be a human being' 17d 23, cf *na-did-* above.

Note 2 The 1 and 2 pers pronouns without *-d-* are found in rel. clauses as *hé no t-air* 'it is he that supports you' Wb 5b 28.

(2) The *-d*-forms, especially 3 sg m and n, frequently occur after the conjunctions *cia, ma* *cia do-d-rigénsid cosse* 'though you have done it hitherto' Wb 20d 3, *ma nu-dub-feil* 'if you are' 19c 20. Cf § 390, 2, RC 21 412.

(3) *nípa-d n-aidrech* § 340, 5, *iss-id n-aithrech* 'he repents' Ml 90d 12.

(4) After the interrogative particle *in* *duus in-d-aithriseit* 'if perchance they may repent it' Wb 30b 30.

(5) After prefixes orig. ending in a consonant (*ess-*, *ad-*, *frith-*, *for-*, *etar-*, *in-*, *com-*), *-d*-forms appear also in constructions other than relative *a-t-biur* 'I say it' Wb 9b 20 (*as-biur* 'I say'), *a-tob-cí side* 'he sees you' 25a 26 (*ad-cín* 'he sees'), *fri-tun-chomart-sa* 'I have been offended' 33a 12 (*frith-org-*), *for-t-gillim* 'I attest it', *co etar-dam-dibet-sa* 'so that they may destroy me' Ml 44c 31, *co a-tom-snasar* 'that I may be grafted in' Wb 5b 30 (*in-snad-*), *co-tin-imthæ* 'it will accompany him' 12c 4 (*com-imb- + tag-*). But in this case we always find a /d/ (which only after *ad-* and *frith-* could be a phonologically regular development of /ð/).

The same forms appear also in rel. sentences *massu thol a-tom-ag* 'if it is desire that drives me' Wb 10d 26 (*ad-ag-*), etc. But in the 3 sg m and n *-idn-*, *-id-* appear (beside *-tn-*, *-t-* of non-rel. sents) *ass-id-beir* 'who says it' Wb 20a 10, with rel. *-n-* *amal as-*

in-d-buir-sa 'as I say it' 13a 25, — *for-id-tet* 'who helps him' MI 30c 3, *for-id-gellat* 'who attest it' 116d 6, — *friss-idn-ovrchs* 'who used to injure him' 39a 20

Note 3 After *ath-* the same forms are used as after *ad* .

§ 343. Pronouns suffixed to verbs were already rare in OIr, infixed pronouns were generally preferred. Verbs with no prefix were preceded by the prefix *no-* when an infixed pron was required *no-s-nerta* 'he encourages them' Wb 10c 3. Exx of suffixed pronouns: MIr *tath-um* 'I have', *tath-ut* 'thou hast', *tath-us* 'she has', OIr *tath-runn* MIr *tath-und* 'we have' (the verb *tá-* 'is' does not occur with the ending *-id* except in these forms), *berth-i* 'he bears it' Wb 23a 19 (*berid* + pron), *móit-i* 'boasts himself' 23a 29 (*móidid* + pron), *ní na téit do menma su, teit-i menma neich aile* 'what your mind does not penetrate, the mind of another penetrates it' W1 97 19, *leics-i huad* 'he let him go (from him)' MI 52, *sáids-i* 'he fixed it' 55c 1 (*léicsis* *sáidis* + pron), *ful-us* 'there are' Thes II 246, 247, *itrus anuas 7 du-s-claid anís* 'it (the wild boar) eats it (the vine) from above and roots it up from below' MI 102a 15 (*athad*). The *-th-* or *-s-* before the pron is mechanically transferred *foilsigth-i* 'manifests it' Wb 12a 7 (*foillsigidr*), *snáids-runn* 'may (he) save us' Thes II 300 (the *-s-* transferred from *-s-*subjunctives), *bouthus* 'they had' W1 137 8 (*bói* 'was'). When the pron *-i* was suffixed to a 3 pl the personal ending of the verb was repeated after the pron giving *-tit* *bertit* 'they take it' Wb 13a 16, then by anal, 1 pl *-mit* *gudmit* 'we pray it' 15d 18.

§ 344. The conjugated prepositions: *cen* 'without' *co* 'to', *eter* 'between' *frí* 'against', *im* 'about', *la* 'with, by', *amal* 'like, as', *ech* 'past' *tar* 'over, across' *trí* 'through' (with the accusative), — *ar* 'for' *fo* 'under', *for* 'on' *i n-* 'in' (with accus and dat) — *a* 'out of' *dí* 'from', *do* 'to', *fiad* 'in presence of', *iar n-* 'after' *is* 'below', *o* 'from', *oc* 'at', *os* 'above', *re n-* 'before' (with dat)

	<i>cen</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>eter</i>	<i>frí</i>
Sing 1		<i>cuccum</i>	<i>etrum</i>	<i>frimm, fruumm</i>
2	<i>cenut</i>	<i>cucut</i>		<i>frut, frut</i>
3 m n acc	<i>cene</i>	<i>cuci</i>	<i>etr, utr</i>	<i>friss</i>
3 f acc		<i>cucce, cucar</i>		<i>frue</i>
Plur 1		<i>cucunn</i>	<i>etrunn</i>	<i>frunn</i>
2	<i>cenuib</i>	<i>cucuib</i>	<i>etruib</i>	<i>fruib</i>
3 acc	<i>cenuib</i>	<i>cuccu</i>	<i>etarru</i>	<i>fruu</i>

	<i>im</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>sech</i>
Sing 1	<i>immum</i>	<i>lem, lmm, lum</i>	<i>samlum</i>	MIr <i>sechum</i>
Sing 2	<i>immut</i>	<i>lat</i>	MIr <i>samlut</i>	MIr <i>sechut</i>
3 m n acc	<i>imbi</i>	<i>less, leiss, larss</i>	<i>samlhd</i>	<i>sechæ</i>
3 f acc	<i>impe</i>	<i>laee, læ, lee</i>		MIr <i>secc</i>
Plur 1	<i>imunn</i>	<i>lunn, leunn</i>		
2	<i>immb</i>	<i>lib</i>		
3 acc	<i>impu</i>	<i>leu, leo</i>	<i>samlarb</i>	<i>seccu</i>

	<i>tar</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>fo</i>
Sing 1	MIr <i>torum</i>	<i>trium</i>	<i>airum, erum</i>	
2	<i>torut</i>	<i>truit</i>	<i>erut</i>	
3 m n acc	<i>tarais</i>	<i>trit</i>	<i>airi</i>	<i>foi</i>
dat				<i>fo, fou</i>
3 f acc	MIr <i>tairse</i>	<i>tree</i>		MIr <i>foæ</i>
dat				
Plur 1	<i>torunn</i>	<i>triunn</i>	<i>erunn</i>	
2		<i>trib</i>	<i>airib, eruib</i>	
			<i>si airiub</i>	
3 acc	MIr <i>taarsiu</i>	<i>treu</i>	<i>airsiu</i>	
			<i>erriu, erru</i>	
3 dat				<i>foib</i>

	<i>for</i>	<i>i n-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>dí</i>
Sing 1	<i>form</i>	<i>indrum</i>		<i>dívm</i>
2	<i>fort</i>	<i>indrut</i>	<i>essrut</i>	<i>dút</i>
3 m n acc	<i>foir, fair</i>	<i>ind</i>		
dat		<i>and</i>	<i>ass</i>	<i>de</i>
3 f acc	<i>forrae</i>	<i>inte</i>		
dat	<i>fuiri</i>	<i>indi</i>	<i>essi, esse</i>	<i>dí</i>
Plur 1	<i>fornn</i>	<i>indunn</i>		<i>dívn</i>
2	<i>forib, fuirib</i>	<i>indib</i>		<i>dír</i>
3 acc	<i>forru</i>	<i>intu</i>		
dat	<i>forib, forarb</i>	<i>indib</i>	<i>essib</i>	<i>dírb</i>

	<i>do</i>	<i>fiad</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>iar</i>
Sing 1	<i>dom, dam</i>	<i>fiadam</i>	<i>issum</i>	
2	<i>durt, dart, dert,</i> <i>dit</i>			<i>iarmut</i>
3 m n dat	<i>do, dó, dau</i>	MlIr <i>fiada</i>	MlIr <i>issa</i>	<i>iarum</i>
3 f dat	<i>di, dí</i>			
Plur 1	<i>dúin</i>			
2	<i>dúib</i>	<i>fiadib</i>		
3 dat	<i>doarb, doib,</i> <i>dóib, dourb</i>	<i>fiadib</i>		

	<i>ó</i>	<i>oc</i>	<i>ós</i>	<i>re n-</i>
Sing 1	<i>huaimm</i>	MlIr <i>ocum</i>	<i>uasum</i>	MlIr <i>rium</i>
2	<i>huait</i>	MlIr <i>ocut</i>		<i>remut, MlIr</i> <i>rvut</i>
3 m n dat	<i>huad, huaid</i>	<i>occo, occa</i>	MlIr <i>uaso,</i> <i>uasa</i>	<i>riam</i>
3 f dat	<i>huadi</i>	<i>occi, occae</i>	MlIr <i>uaise</i>	<i>remi</i>
Plur 1	<i>huainn, on-ni,</i> <i>huann</i>	<i>ocunn</i>		MlIr <i>riun,</i> <i>remunn</i>
2	<i>huarb</i>	MlIr <i>occarb</i>		
3 dat	<i>huadib</i>	<i>occarb</i>	<i>osib</i>	<i>remib</i>

Note Similar formations are *dess-um* 'on my right', *tuath um* 'on my left'. The 1 sg *-m* was generally non len, len *-m* occurs in MlIr only in *damh* (also *dam*) Sc *dhomh* (also *dhom*) Manx *dou* 'to me' — The final conson of the 1 sg, 2 sg, 1 pl was generally non-palatal and rounded, but occasionally palatal, MlIr has *díom*, *díot*, *dínn* from me, thee, us', *líom* *línn* with me, us. For *uadib*, *uadairb* v Pokorný, ZCP 11 12

§ 345. Emphasizing pronouns. The pron *síde* (*sede*), which alone is declinable, has various forms. The form *ede* follows the independent pron *sí* 'she'. After leniting words the form *ide* occurs: a *n-úic ide* 'their salvation' Wb 4c 39, *for-a lám-ide* 'beside him, her' ('on his, her, hand') Ll 56b 28, 47 (but *for-a lám síde* LU 4620, 4624). The very lightly accented form *ade* follows leniting and non-leniting words: a *serc ade* 'their love' ('to love them') Wb 15c 10, a *n-esséirge ade* 'their resurrection' 25b 21, a *bés ade* 'his custom' 24a 17, also g masc *adri* a *eregem adri* 'his complaint' MI 35a 20. From *ade*, *adri* come *de*, *di* as-n *du christ rocét de* 'that it (*faissine* 'prophecy' f) was sung of Christ' MI 25b 6, *ni-s-rothechtusa* (= *-us-sa*) *di* 'I had them not' 44b 10—11

§ 346 (1) 'Self' in Ir (cf Asp 1 Irsk, 93f) was expressed by a word consisting of a form of the verb 'to be' (*f-*, *fad-*) or *cia*, *cíd* 'although' (reduced to *c-*, *cad-*) + a personal pron as predicate + a demonstrative as subject. There have however been many modifications and readjustments. The forms which occur are as follows (the component parts being hyphenated in those cases where the composition is etymologically regular) sg 1 *féin*, *fadéin*, *céin* *cadéin*, 2 *féin*, *fadéin*, 3 m *fad-e-sin*, *f-e-sin* *f-e-in*, *cad-e-sin*, *c-e-sin*, 3 f *fad-i-sin*, *f-i-sin* (MI 131c 3), *féisne*, *féisne*, plur 1 *fa-n-sin*, *ca-ni-sin*, *féisne*, 2 *fad-i-sin* (with analogical lenition of *s* of *si* 'you' to *h* > *ni*, instead of to *f* > *b*), *féisne*, *fadéisne*, 3 *fad-e-sin* *fad-e-sine* *fad-é-sne*, *f-e-sin* *f-e-sine* *f-ei-sne*, *cad-é-in*, *cad-e-sin* *cad-e-sne* — In MnIr the form for all persons is *féin*.

(2) A predicative addition to the subject or some other element of a preceding sentence is introduced in Ir through a pers pron preceded by *os*, *as*, *is* (cf Lat *et quidem*) *ba mór a mélacht lea techt cosin fer in imdaí, ossi alacht* 'she was much ashamed to go to the man into the bed, she being pregnant' LU 10609, *inuenti sumus et ipsi peccatores* = *osní credentes in christo* 'we being (though being) believers in Christ' Wb 19 a 15, *quae domus sumus nos isani furónaib* 'we are that house, we being (if we are) righteous' 33 a 7. Thus *os* is from *ocus* 'and' § 114, 2. Restored MnIr *agus mé*, archaic li *sí-ch* = *os sí* (*-ch* Lat *que* Gk *τε* Thurneysen, ZCP 18 103²). But some confusion with the forms mentioned under (1) has arisen. Before the 3 pl pron a pseudo-plur form is used *ot-he* MI 130 a 3, *ot-é* Sg 77 a 8, *at-é* LL 72 b 28, *at-é* 248 a 17. Cf the writing *is*. On the other hand we find *os* in groups clearly related to (1) *cíd os-tu* gl ipse MI 43 a 18 (cf *cithisse* [Wb] 22 a 7), and groups without *cíd* are used gl ipse (*os-tú* MI 47 b 12, 57 c 10 127 c 21, *os-me* 103 b 1 Wb 11 a 14), but all these examples are disconnected glosses, and we have no instances of *os-tú* *os-mé*, meaning 'self' in coherent sentences.

Cf the examples in VKG § 179, 2 and Mícheál O'Briain ZCP 14 311ff, Thurneysen, ZCP 16 275f, Tomás OMáille, Ériu 6 82, Myles Dillon, ZCP 16 353f.

§ 347 The MlIr. and MnIr. development of the system (Cf Strachan, Ériu 1 153—179) The most important modifications only are noted here. The infixed pronouns greatly lost their significance. The 1 and 2 pers *-d-* forms disappeared, the 3 pers

-s- form spread, being used as masc and occurring in relative sentences, also a form *-das-* arose, *-ar-*, *-bar-* occur beside *-nn-* and *-b-* as accusatives. The independent forms appear already in LU and LL as object (placed at the end of the sentence) *in lá thúrus-sa thu* 'the day I took you' LL 53 b 16, *ro-buadír in rograd hí* 'the great love perplexed her' LU 3923. With the same word order, the indep forms appear as subject of the copula *ba gabalta i cumail é* 'it was equal in value to a bondmaid' LL 54 a 41. For OIr *hé* appear sing *se* plur *siat*.

These MlIr tendencies developed fully in MnIr. The infixed and post-verbal suffixed prons disappeared entirely (the old form *-mit* § 343 became the usual MnIr 1 pl ending of the verb *-mid*, *-maid*). The indep pronouns *thú*, *é*, *í* *iad* 'thou, he, she, they', separated from the verb, function as subj of the copula and as object, the forms *tú*, *sé*, *sí* *nad* immediately following the verb function as subject similarly 1 pl *inn*, *sinn*, 2 pl *ibh* *sibh* occasionally.

§ 348 The personal pronouns in British. The main lines of development were similar to those in Ir, but the Brit system is in a more advanced stage and so differs in many points from the Ir. The difference between the independent and the dependent forms is not so sharp as in OIr. Enclitic forms in Brit correspond in function to the emphasizing pronouns (*augentia*) in Ir, and they are also used where infixed and post-verbal suffixed forms were (more freely) used in OIr. With the imperative the object is always expressed by an enclitic form in W and Co (Vendryes RC 32 480, is wrong in saying that the infixed form is used in W. In the exx quoted by him the verb is not ipv but 3 sg pres indic.) For obj with ipv in Br v § 354 n.

The infixed prons are combined with the verb 'to be' in Co and Br 'to express to have' cf § 340, 3 (Ir). Traces of the same construction appear in W (§ 349 n p 207).

Peculiar to W is the "conjunctive" class in *-eu*. These forms are independent and also dependent (enclitic), and mean '(I, thou ...) also on the other hand'. Corresponding forms occur in Co in the 3 pers, enclitic only.

For 'self' in Brit v § 326.

§ 349 W. paradigms (with MnW literary forms in [brackets] when they differ from MlW forms)

	1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
Independent				
Simple	<i>mi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>chw</i>
Reduplicated	<i>myu, myy mi</i> [<i>myfi</i>]	<i>tydi, tidi</i> [<i>tydi</i>]	<i>nini</i> [<i>nyni</i>]	<i>chwchw, chu- chw</i> [<i>chwychw</i>]
Conjunctive	<i>myheu, minheu, minneu</i> [<i>minnau</i>]	<i>titheu</i> [<i>tithau</i>]	<i>ninheu, ninneu</i> [<i>ninnau</i>]	<i>chwstheu</i> [<i>chw- stau</i>]
Enclitic				
Simple	OW <i>mi</i> , MIW <i>i, iy e i, ydi, dy, de, te</i> [<i>i, di</i>]			as above
Reduplicated	<i>yyn iuu</i> [<i>yfi</i>]	<i>dydi, dydy</i> [<i>dydi</i>]		
Conjunctive	<i>inneu, inheu, ynnneu</i> [<i>innau, innau</i>]	<i>ynheu dithau</i> [<i>dithau</i>]		
Infixed	<i>-m-</i> (<i>sandhi -h</i>)	<i>-th-</i> (<i>len</i>)	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-ch-</i>
Suffixed	<i>-f</i>	<i>-d, -t</i> [<i>-t</i>]	<i>-m, n(n)</i>	<i>-ch</i>
Dependent gen (prefixed)	OW <i>mi</i> , MIW <i>my vy</i> [<i>fy</i>]	<i>dy</i> (<i>len</i>)	<i>an, yn</i> [<i>ein</i>] (<i>sandhi -h</i>)	<i>auch ych</i> [<i>ech</i>]
Dep gen after prep or conj	(eclipsis) <i>-m</i> (<i>sandhi -h</i>)	<i>-th</i> (<i>len</i>)	<i>-n</i> (<i>sandhi -h</i>)	<i>-ch</i>
Independent gen	<i>meu</i> [<i>eiddof</i>]	<i>teu</i> [<i>eiddof</i>]	<i>enym, einom</i> [<i>eiddom</i>]	<i>emurh, emyurh</i> [<i>eiddoch</i>]

	3 sg masc		3 sg fem	3 pl
Independent	Simple	OW <i>em</i> , MIW <i>ef</i>	<i>hi</i>	(<i>h</i>) <i>wy</i> , (<i>h</i>) <i>wynt</i> [<i>hw</i>], <i>hwynŋ</i>
	Reduplicated (Conjunctive)	<i>efo</i> [<i>efo ef</i>] OW <i>yntou</i> MIW <i>ynteu</i> [<i>yntau</i>]	<i>hihi</i> [<i>hihi</i>] OW <i>hihou</i> MIW <i>hiheu</i> [<i>hihau</i>]	(<i>h</i>) <i>wyntary</i> [<i>hwynt-hwy</i>] (<i>h</i>) <i>wynteu</i> [<i>hwynthau</i>]
Infixed		- <i>e</i> -, <i>ni</i> l (sandhi- <i>h</i>), - <i>s</i> - [<i>-e</i> -, - <i>s</i> -]	- <i>e</i> -, <i>ni</i> l (sandhi- <i>h</i>), - <i>s</i> - [<i>-e</i> -, - <i>s</i> -]	- <i>e</i> -, <i>ni</i> l (sandhi- <i>h</i>), - <i>s</i> - [<i>-e</i> -, - <i>s</i> -]
Infixed in relative sentences		(MIW only) - <i>wy</i> -, - <i>yu</i> - (sandhi- <i>h</i>)	(MIW only) - <i>wy</i> -, - <i>yu</i> - (sandhi- <i>h</i>)	(MIW only) - <i>wy</i> -, - <i>yu</i> - (sandhi- <i>h</i>)
Suffixed		- <i>au</i> , - <i>daw</i> [- <i>o</i> -, - <i>ddo</i>]	- <i>ei</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>d</i> [- <i>i</i> - <i>ddi</i>]	- <i>ud</i> (- <i>d</i> '), - <i>u</i> -, - <i>unt</i> -, - <i>du</i> -, - <i>dunt</i> [- <i>ynt</i> -, - <i>ddynŋ</i>]
Dependent genitive (prefixed)		<i>y</i> [<i>ei</i>] (<i>len</i>)	<i>y</i> [<i>ei</i>] (sandhi- <i>h</i> - <i>pu</i>)	OW <i>ou</i> MIW <i>y eu</i> [<i>eu</i>] (sandhi- <i>h</i>)
Dep gen after prep or conjunction		- <i>e</i> -, - <i>u</i> [- <i>i</i> -, - <i>u</i>] (<i>len</i>)	- <i>e</i> - <i>w</i> [- <i>i</i> -, - <i>u</i>] (sandhi- <i>h</i> - <i>pu</i>)	- <i>e</i> -, - <i>w</i> [- <i>u</i> - <i>w</i>] (sandhi- <i>h</i>)
Independent genitive		<i>eidau</i> (- <i>d</i> -) [<i>eiddo</i>]	<i>eidu</i> (- <i>d</i> -) [<i>eiddi</i>]	<i>eidunt</i> (- <i>d</i> -) [<i>eiddynt</i>]

Note The indep. forms are used very much like the Ir. indep. nom. They also follow uninflected prepositions. For detailed accounts of the use of the pronouns and examples v. Morris-Jones, WG 270ff, EWG 84ff, Welsh Syntax 78ff, Strachan, Introd. 32ff, 40ff. — For the simple forms as affirmative particles, v. § 240 n. 1. Composite forms (partly redupl., partly conjunct) 3 sg. f. *hy hithen* WM 104.22, 2 pl. *huchwitheu* RC 33.232.11, cf. colloq. *fynte* from *efyntau* he (also). — The simple and conjunctive enclitic forms may be substantive or auxiliary. The 1 sg. *i* is auxiliary only *gwelais i* I saw *deuthum i* I came *i m'le* in my place', *fi* is substantive (accus.) *gwelodd fi* he saw me', but is also auxiliary when the verb or prep. ends in *f* *ny allaf ui* WM 21.6, *yd af ui* 72.21, *o faraf umheu* if I cause 105.6, *dywedaf ui* Dingestow Brut 195, *ragof ui* *ynof ui* 180.256. The form *i* (*umheu*) is very common also after both verbs and preps in *f* and in MnW both *fi* and *i* are used as auxiliary forms. OW *mi* is auxiliary in Juv. *pwsawn mi* I should desire, v. BBCS 6.206.218.

Infixed forms occur after the verbal particles *a*, *y*, *neu* and the negatives *ni*, *na* after the conjunctions *o* if' *yny* MnW *oni* unless *yny* MnW (*hyd*) *oni* until MnW *pe* (for MW *pei* *pei* *y*) if' *tra* while' after the rel. *a*. After the conjunctions *pan* when (cf. § 351 n. § 354 n.) MW *kylt* although, MW *kan* since the non-vocalic prons. assume syllabic forms (cf. § 341) 1 sg. MW *am im kan am coffawys* since he has remembered me LIH 45.4, *kid im gneut* though thou makest me', *pan im raled* when it was given me BBC 23.4.12. 2 sg. MW *ath ket ath ro* though there be to thee RP 1150.12, 3 sg. MW *as kylt as porthwyf* though I bear it 1425.36. Similar forms occur in MW poetry after the particles *yd*, *yt* (/æf/) *yt ym dogned* that it has been allotted me LIH 130.9, *yt ym gwelynt* that they could see me LIH 130.9.121.26 *yd yth geisaf* that I shall seek thee 223.16 *yt yn kyuyd* that he will raise us 253.26. Also after *tra* while *tra ym donnwydau* while God may grant me 31.26. In MW poetry infixing is found after the preverb *ny* and also after the prefixes *dy* *er* *gor* *hand-*, *cyf* *ry* *ni* *goruc* has made me (later *g* *y-th* *ry* *gereis* I have loved thee) *dy m-kyueirch* greets me *er y'h gwyaunt* they will lament thee, *gor yth yolaf* (MS *goreythoylaf*) I praise thee *hand yth-nagwyd* thou hast been reared *kry ym goluch* praises me LIH 30.15, 171.14.225.29, 208.19, 20.9. The infixed 3 pers. forms *uy* *-yue* occur in rel. sentences after the neg. and *ry* only in poetry *yr neb ni y keis* to anyone who seeks it not BBC 86.13, *nyd kertawr nyu molyu* there is no minstrel who may not praise him' LIH 156.8 *vy rwyf rwy guna* my lord who will do it RP 1174.25. These forms also occur in non-rel. sentences. Cf. Loth, RC 31.31.35, Morris-Jones, WG 278f. The more usual forms are *-s* after the negative the particles *neu* *ry*, the conj. *o* if', *ony* MnW *oni* if not *per y* MnW *pe* if' *-e* (MnW sg. *i* pl. *-u*) after *a* *tra*, the vocalic form also followed the particle *y* with which it contracted *llyma yr wed y keffy* 'this is the way in which thou shalt have it'. After *pan* the infixed pron. is MW *y* *pan y gwelas* when he saw him' in MnW sg. *y* i, pl. *y* u are written, due to the syllabic forms of the 1 and 2 being wrongly analysed as *y m* *y th* etc. also *ei* *eu* are written after *pan*. The infixed prons. are

accus, also sometimes *dat a-n gunel rechid* 'may (he) make salvation for us' BBC 40 9, *dy-m ryt* 'gives me' LIH 280 9. As *dat* they are found with the verb 'to be' expressing 'to have' *yn tal a-e bu* 'they had the same father', *ac awch bi wynnyeth* 'and you shall have punishment' BT 12 20 (*awch* = the particle *a* + *-ch-*), this construction disappeared in favour of prepositional forms MnW *y mae im*, more frequently *y mae gennyf* 'I have', etc. — Cf Rhys, RC 6 50ff, Strachan, Ériu 3 28, Loth, RC 31 24, 321f, Morris-Jones, WG 278f, Henry Lewis, HGCref 170.

The *g* forms *-ni*, *-th* in MIW occur only after *a* and', *a* with' (MnW *d*) and its compounds, *na* 'nor', *no* (MnW *na*) 'than', *i* 'to', *o* 'from'. In all other positions *vy* (MnW *fy*), *dy* were used. This rule was breaking down in literature already in the 17th cent., prefixed forms being used after the above words: *o'nghalon* 'from my heart', *d f' enaid* 'with my soul', the infixed forms after other words: *neu' th ewyllys* 'or thy will', *wedi' th ddarparu* 'after thy being prepared', *neu' m tyb* 'or my opinion'. This later usage spread apace, but the present day tendency in literature is to restore the old rule. In spoken W the forms *-m*, *th* very rarely occur — 3 pers *-u* occurs only after MIW *y* 'to' (occasionally) MnW *i* 'to' (regularly). MIW *yu* is by metathesis for *wy* (*wy thad* 'to her father'), from *o-e* (*o-e gwladod* 'to their countries'), a very early contraction of the prep **(d)o* (Ir *do*) with the pron *v*. Ifor Williams, Cyf Lludd a Llevelys, 20. More frequently in MIW occurs *y* 'to his, etc.' a contraction of *y* 'to' (Ir *do*) with the pron *y* *y gyuoeth ac y wlat* 'to his dominion and to his country', *y cheussaw* 'in order to seek her', cf OW *dy thir hac di dair* 'to its territory and to its land'. MIW *y y* 'to his, etc.' also gave *yd y* (/d/) and *yw y*, v. Henry Lewis, ChSD 35ff. Thomas Jones, BBCS 8 17ff. The MnW literary form is *i'w*, in the dialects *i* and (SW) *iddi*. The MnW written forms *ei*, *ein* 'each' are in spoken W always pronounced /i/ /an/, /ach/.

Indep gen *neu gyuanned* 'my abode' RP 1208.12, *mawr fraw fu'r mau* 'a great fright was mine' Cyw D ap G 88 11, *y meu i mine*, *yr einym* 'ours', *y pelheu einym* 'our things', *dy ymadrawd teu* 'thy saying'. Cf Strachan, Introd 41, Morris Jones, WG 282f, Welsh Syntax 86ff.

§ 350. The conjugated prepositions in MIW. There are three conjugations, distinguished by the vowel preceding the suffixed pron *-a-*, *-o-*, *-y-* the conjug of *i* is irregular

	<i>ar</i> 'on'	<i>rac</i> 'before'	<i>gan</i> 'with'	<i>y</i> 'to'
Sg 1	<i>arnaf</i>	<i>ragof</i>	<i>genhyf, gennyf</i>	<i>ym, im</i>
2	<i>arnat</i>	<i>ragot</i>	<i>genhyt, gennyt</i>	<i>ytt, itt</i>
3 m	<i>arnau</i>	OW <i>racdam</i> , MIW <i>racdaw</i>	<i>gantaw</i> , <i>ganthaw</i>	<i>idaw, itaut</i> BB(' 14 5 (t = /d/))
t	<i>arnei, erni</i> , <i>arni</i>	<i>racdi, recdi</i>	<i>genti, genthi</i>	<i>idi</i> OW <i>didi</i>

	<i>ar</i> 'on'	<i>rac</i> 'before'	<i>gan</i> 'with'	<i>y</i> 'to'
Pl 1	<i>arnam, arnan</i>	<i>ragom</i>	<i>genhym, gennym, genhyn, gennyn</i>	<i>ynn, in</i>
2	<i>arnauch</i>	<i>ragoch</i>	<i>genhwch, gennwch</i>	<i>ywch, iwch</i>
3	<i>arnadud</i> (/i- <i>d</i> - <i>d</i> /), <i>arnadunt,</i> <i>arnu, arnunt,</i> <i>arnun</i>	<i>racdud</i> (<i>t</i> = <i>d</i> /), <i>racdu,</i> <i>racdunt</i>	<i>gantud, gantu, gantunt,</i> <i>ganthud,</i> <i>ganthu,</i> <i>ganthunt</i>	<i>udud, udu, udunt</i>

Like *ar* *am* around, about (stem *amdan-* *ymdan-*, 3 sg. f *amdaner* *ymdaner* OW *amtannu* 1 pl *amdanam, amdanan*, 3 pl *ymdanadud ymdanadunt, ymdannunt* (*amdanurynt*), *at* 'to' (3 sg. f *atter, etti*, 1 pl *attam, attan attom* 2 pl *attauch, attoch* 3 pl *attadunt, attunt*), *o* from of' (stem *ohon-*, *ohan-* 1 sg. *-af -of*, 2 sg. *-at, -ot -awt*, 3 sg. f *ohoner ohaner oheni*, 3 pl *onadu(nt)*, *ohonu(nt)*, cf. sg. 1 *honaf* Lh 66 4, sg. 3 m OW *hanaud*, cf. BBOS 3 258), *tan, dan* 'under' (usually prec. by *a* or *y* 1 pl *y danan*, 3 pl *adanunt adanadunt*) — Like *rac* *heb* 'without' *rung, grieng* 'between' (*y-rof, y-rot, y-rynghot, y-rydau y-ryngthau, y-ryngtau, y-rydi, y-ryngtha, y-ryngti y-rom y-rynghom y-roch, y-rydunt e-reqthut y-ryngthunt y-ryngtunt*, OW *igridu* (/ənrədy/) also with *cyf-* 2 pl *kyfryngoch*, 3 pl *kyfryngthut*), *tros, dros* over' (3 sg. m *trostaw* f *trosti*, 3 pl *trostut* (/d/), *trostunt*), *trwy, dru y* 'through' (1 sg. *trwydof*, 2 sg. *trwydot drwot*, 3 pl *drwydunt*), *yn* 'in', *yr* MnW *er, 'for'* (*yrof, yrot, yrdau* etc.), also *uch* 'above' (only 3 sg. m *uchtau, f uchti*, 1 pl *uchom*), and *is* 'below' (only 3 sg. m *istaw, f isti*) — Like *gan* *wrth* 'by, to' (2 pl *wrthy(u)ch*, 3 pl *wrthu(nt)*) — Cf. *nogyd* RP 1040 31, *noc yd* BT 53 24 /*nogyd* 'than they'

Note 1 The prep *gan* is also found as *kan*, fully conjugated. In MnW *gan* alone occurs but after *a* and the spirant mutation is often found *a chan, a chennuf* etc. — The MnW (present day) conjugations 3 sg. m *-o, f i* (with prec. *a* unmodified *arni, rhagddi* etc.), 3 pl *-ynt* (with *-y-* by anal. with verbal forms, *arnynt*, etc.), 1 pl. of the first conjugation (*ar* etc.), *-om, o* is conjugated *ohon-of, -ot, o, -i, -om, -och, -ynt, rhung, rhyng of, -ot, -ddo, -ddi -om, och, -ddynt, gan* 3 sg. *gan dau, -ddi*, 2 pl *gennych*, 3 pl *ganddynt wrth* 2 pl *wrthyeh, i om, imi i mi, it iti i ti, iddo, iddi, in, inni i ni, iehu i chu, iddynt*

Note 2 Some of these preps have derivative adverbs *truo* Lib Land 196 14 (*trio* 123 1), *trusso* 258 17 'over (to), across (to)' (these forms cannot be 3 sg, for as personal forms they could only refer in the context to river names, which are fem), later, MIW and MnW *drwodd*, MnW *drwsodd*, MnW *danodd* underneath, *odd*: *arnodd* 'over', — MIW *racko*, *racce* vonder MnW *acw*, SW dual (a)co, — MIW *herbyaw* past, MnW *heibio*

§ 351 Co Paradigms.

	1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
Independent	<i>my, me</i>	<i>ty, te</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>why, wy</i>
Enclitic	simple <i>-vy -ma</i> <i>-e, -a</i>	<i>-te, -ta</i> (after <i>-th</i> and <i>-s</i>), <i>-se, -sa, -sy,</i> <i>-ge -gy</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>why, wy</i>
	reduplicated <i>-ma ry, -e</i> <i>vy, -a ve</i> <i>avy, evy</i>	<i>-te se, -te sy,</i> <i>-te qey, -te gy,</i> <i>-ta gy, -the sy,</i> <i>-the gy, -ge gy</i>	<i>ny ny</i>	<i>-why</i> <i>why</i>
Infix	<i>-m-</i>	<i>-th-, -d-, -n-</i> (len, prov, § 238, § 215, 2, 3)	<i>-n-</i> <i>-gan-,</i> <i>-gen-</i>	<i>-s-, -gas-,</i> <i>-ges-,</i> <i>-gis-,</i> <i>-gys-</i>
Suffixed	<i>-f, -ff</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ugh</i>
Dependent genitive	<i>ow, oi</i>	<i>the, /de' (len)</i>	<i>an, agan,</i> <i>agen</i>	<i>as, agas,</i> <i>ages, agys</i>
Dep gen after prep or conjunction	<i>-m</i>	<i>-th, -t, -d (len,</i> <i>prov)</i>	<i>-n, -gan,</i> <i>-gen</i>	<i>-gas,</i> <i>-ges, -gys</i>
	3 sg masc	3 sg fem	3 pl	
Independent	<i>ef, eff</i>	<i>hy, hyhy</i>	<i>i, y</i>	
Enclitic	simple <i>-e, -a, ef, eff</i>	<i>-y, hy</i>	<i>-y</i>	
	reduplicated <i>-e ef, -(e) ve,</i> <i>-(e)va, -eue ef</i>	<i>-y hy</i>		
	conjunctive <i>-ense</i>	<i>-ensy</i>	<i>-ensy, -engy</i>	
Infix	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	
Suffixed	<i>-tho (th = /d/)</i>	<i>-thy (th = /d/)</i>	<i>-the (th = /d/)</i>	
Dependent genitive	<i>i, y (len)</i>	<i>i, y, hy</i> (spirant)	<i>aga, age</i> (spirant)	
Dep gen after prep or conjunction	<i>-y (len)</i>	<i>-y (spirant)</i>	<i>-ga (spirant)</i>	

Note. The enclitic forms are generally amalgamated with the verb or the preposition. They may be substantive *dro-v-e* bring it *trogh-y hy* kill her, but are mostly auxiliary *a wylys vy* which I saw', *pe n dia wia-ma* 'what shall I do' (*guraſ* I shall do') *gena ma* with me' (*genef* with me'), *ny el tegy* 'thou canst not' (*gyllŷth* thou canst). The conjunctive forms occur only after *ott* *wott-*, *att lo* *ott enſe* behold him (cf VKG II 161, Henry Lewis *Llawlyfr* Cernyweg Canol, 26ff. — Infixing occurs after the verbal particles *a y* the preverb *re* the negatives, the rel *a ty nu-m* *gruk* 'thou hast made me', *neb a m gruk y* the one who made me, *beruans iŷel a feth* thou shalt have a royal life (*a feth* < **a th ieth*). The 3rd sg m has the syllabic form *-yn-* after *pan* *pan yn guellons* when they see it. PC 3048 (cf § 349 n) — The dep g 1 and 2 sg forms *m*, *th* etc occur only after *ha* and, *a* of, *the* to' *y in'* *yn mes a m iog ha m uhektar* out of my joy and my delight, *preder a d enef* think of thy soul *the th ty ha thy th kyn-gow* for thy breakfast and for thy dinner *der the ingynous ha th hus* 'through thy tricks and thy magic Beun Mer 1376 *y th ober* in thy deed, *y m colon* in my heart.

§ 352 The verb 'to have' in Co This consists of the infixed dat pron and the verb 'to be'

Pres. Sg 1 *am bes* (*bus bues*) *nyn bus* etc 2 *maſ thes* (*thues*) if thou hast', *na thues* that thou hast not' 3 m *an geſis* (*iues*) he has', *nyn geſes* (*geuas*) he has not' (-*g-* -*j-* — *z*.) pl 2 *as bues*, *agas bus* — **Pl** sg 1 *am bo*, 3 m *an geſo* neg *nan geſo*, pl 1 *ny gen bo* 'we had not' — **Fut** sg 1 *am byth* neg *nyn byth* 2 *a fyth*, *y feth*, neg *ny fyth* (*feth*) 3 m *an geuyth*, *yn geuyth* neg *nyn geuyth* 3 f neg *nys teuyth* pl 1 neg *ny an* (*gen agan*) *byth* (*beth*) 2 *as* (*agas*, *agis*) *byth*, *es* (*ys*) *byth* neg *ny gys byth*, 3 *as tevyt* neg *nys tevyth* — **Subjunctive Pres** sg 1 *yn* (*rom*) *bo* neg *nam bo*, 2 *nyth* (*reth*) *fo* *a retho*, neg *na* (*nath*) *fo*, 3 m *an* (*yn*, *ren*) *geſſo* *man ieffo* 'if he have', pl 1 *ma-gan bo* 'if we may have' neg *ny gen bo* 2 *gas* (*res re ges*, *ragas*) *bo*, 3 *as* (*res*) *teſſo*, *mays teſſo* 'if they may have' — **Subj. Pl** sg 1 *am be* (*bethe*) 3 m *an geſſe* (*gyſſe*, *geſſa*) pl 1 neg *na-gyn-re* — **Pret** sg 1 *am be* *am* (*rum*) *bue*, 2 *re ſue* 3 m *an* (*yn*) *geve* *an geſa* neg *nyn geve* (*geſe*) 3 f neg *nys tere* (*tera*), pl 1 neg *ny gen bue*, 3 pl neg *nys teve* — **Plpl** sg 2 neg *ny vea* 3 m neg *nyn gyſſe*, pl 2 neg *nys rye*

The respective forms of the verb 'to be' are *us* *os* *o*, *byth*, *bo* (*betho*), *be*, *bue* *be*, *bye*, *b* has been prefixed to *us* and *o* by anal. The infixed pron is preceded by various particles. The combination dat pron + verb 'to be' came to be felt as a transitive form 'I have' etc, and was preceded by the corresponding indep pron. Thus beside *gallos a-m bues* 'power to me is' 'I have power' are

found forms like *why a-s byth ancow* "you to you will be death" 'you will have death, will die' (for the more correct *ancow a-s byth* "death to you will be") Further, the combination used as a transitive form assumed personal endings (corresponding to the infixed pron) Thus beside *an ken a-gas bus* 'the cause which to you is' the cause which you have' we find *an tekter a-s bethough why* 'the beauty which to you you will be' 'the beauty which you will have (for *a-s beth*) Other exx fut pl 1 *ny-gyn bethen* (for *ny-gyn beth*) subj pres pl 1 *na-n beyn* that we may not have' (for *na-n bo*), 3 neg *ny-stufons* (for *ny-s-teffo*), subj ipf sg 1 *a-m been* (for *a-m be*), *ma-m vethen* so that I might have' (for *ma-m bethe*), pret sg 1 *a-m buef*, *na-m buef* 'that I did not have' (for *-m bue*) 2 *a fus* which you had' (for *a fue* < **a-th vne*), plpf sg 2 neg *ny fyas* (for *ny fye* < **ny-th iye*) pl 1 neg *ny-gen byen* (for *ny-gen bye*) The verb-noun used is *caffos*

§ 353 The conjugated prepositions in Co

	<i>uar</i> 'on'	<i>rag, rak</i> 'for'	<i>gans</i> 'with'	<i>the, thy</i> 'to'
Sg 1	<i>uarnaf</i>	<i>ragof</i>	<i>genef</i> (-af -e)	<i>thym(mo)</i> , <i>dym(mo)</i>
2	<i>uarnas</i> (-es, -os)	<i>ragos</i>	<i>genes</i> (-as), <i>gyne</i> s	<i>thys(o)</i> <i>dys(o)</i>
3 m	<i>uarnotho</i>	<i>ragtho</i>	<i>ganso</i>	<i>thotho</i> <i>dotho</i> , <i>thy</i> , <i>dy</i>
f	<i>uarnethy</i> (-ythy)	<i>rygthy</i>	<i>gensy</i> , <i>gynsy</i>	<i>thethy</i> , <i>thythy</i> <i>dethy</i>
Pl 1	<i>uarnan</i> (-en)	<i>ragon</i>	<i>genen</i> , <i>gynen</i>	<i>thyn(ny)</i> , <i>dyn(ny)</i>
2	<i>uarnough</i> (-ogh)	<i>ragough</i>	<i>geneugh</i> (-ough, -ogh)	<i>theugh</i> <i>though</i> <i>deugh</i> etc
3	<i>uarnethe</i>	<i>ragthe</i>	<i>ganso</i>	<i>thethe</i> , <i>dethe</i>

Like *uar* *a* of (sg 1 *ahanaf*, 2 *ahanas*, -es, 3 m *anotho*, f *anethy*, pl 3 *anethe*) Like *rag* *dre* through' (sg 1 *dreth-of* 2 -os, 3 m -o, f -y, pl 1 -on, etc), *dres* over' (3 sg m *dreosto*), *heb* without' (sg 1 *heboff*, pl 2 *hebogh*), *ryb* 'beside' (pl 1 *rybon*, *rebon*), *yn* 'in' (sg 1 *ynnof*, 3 m *ynno*, f *ynny*, pl 3 *ynne*), *yntre* 'between' (sg 3 m *yntreth-o*, pl 1 -on, 2 -ough, *ynterthogh*, 3 *yntrethe*), *a* *ugh* 'above' (pl 1 *a vghon* OM 1861), also *ages*, *es* 'than', after comparatives (sg 2 *agesos*, 3 m *ageaso*, pl 2 *agesough*, *esough*) Like *gans*

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worth 'by' (sg 1 *worthyf orthyf*, 2 *worthys orthys*, 3 m *worto orto*, f *worty orty*, pl 1 *worthyn orthyn*, 2 *wortheugh orthough* *worthough*, 3 *worte orta*)

In MnCo the 3 pl has been remodelled by anal with the verb *warnothans*, *unothans*, *dothans* ('to them')

§ 354 MIBr. paradigms.

	1 sg	2 sg	1 pl	2 pl
Indep	<i>me</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ni, ny</i>	<i>hui, huy</i> , MnBr <i>c hou</i>
Enclitic	<i>-me</i>	<i>-de</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-huy, -hu, -uy, -u</i>
Infixed	<i>-m-</i> (spir <i>k-</i> and <i>t-</i>)	<i>-z-</i> (len , prov , § 238, § 216)	<i>-n-</i> <i>-on-</i> <i>-hon-</i> (spir <i>k-</i>)	<i>-oz-</i> <i>-(h)ou-z-</i> <i>-ho(z)</i> (MnBr <i>-ho-</i> <i>-hoc'h-</i> prov , § 216, 4)
Suffixed	<i>-ff</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-mp</i>	<i>-ch</i> , MnBr <i>-c'h</i>
Dep gen	<i>ma, va</i> (spir , V <i>me</i> eclipsis § 197)	<i>da</i> (len)	<i>on, hon</i> MnBr <i>hon</i>	<i>oz, ouz, hoz, houz, ho</i> (MnBr <i>ho, hoc h</i> prov § 216 4)
Dep gen after prep and conj	<i>-m</i> (spir <i>k-</i> and <i>t-</i>)	<i>-z</i> [(len) prov)	<i>-n, -on</i> (spir <i>k-</i>)	<i>-oz -ouz</i> (prov)

	3 sg masc	3 sg fem	3 pl
Indep and encl	<i>eff</i> , MnBr <i>heñ</i>	<i>hi hy</i>	<i>y</i> , MnBr <i>hi, hint</i>
Infixed	<i>-en-</i> , <i>-hen-</i> (MnBr <i>-hen-</i> , <i>-her-</i> , <i>-hel-</i> , spir <i>k-</i>)	<i>-he-</i> (spir)	<i>-ho-</i> (spir)
Suffixed	<i>-(h)aff</i> (MnBr <i>-hañ</i>), <i>-zaff</i>	<i>-(h)i</i> , <i>-zi</i>	<i>-(h)e</i> , <i>-(h)o</i> , <i>-ze</i> , <i>-zo</i>
Dep gen	<i>c</i> (len)	<i>he</i> (spir)	<i>ho</i> (spir)
Dep gen after prep and conj	<i>-e</i> (len)	<i>-e</i> (spir)	<i>-o</i> (spir)

Note The enclitic forms may be substantive (only after the ipv) *cret ef* 'believe him', *leset hy* 'leave it' (form referring to *kaer* city), *let y* 'let them' J6s 74, 21, 73, but are generally auxiliary (after verbs or conjug prepositions) *deoch huy* 'to you', *maz caremp ny* 'that we may love' — Infixing occurs after the verb particles *a*, *e*, the preverb *ra*, the negatives and the rel MIBr *doe ra-m pardono* 'God forgive me', *me a-z guel* 'I see thee' The syllabic form *-em-* occurs after *pan* *pan em ganat* 'when I was

born' Mir Mort 447 (cf § 349 n) The particles *a*, *e* are dropped before syllabic forms *ef on care* he loved us Before the ipv *a* prefixed pron is used *hon sicour* help us, the identity in form with the *g* in the 1 and 2 pl led to the *g* form being used in the 1 and 2 sg *ma sicour* help me, *da em tenn* 'withdraw (thyself)', *da em lam* 'deliver thyself' (cf 2 pl *hoz em lemet*) The forms of the 3 pers followed the ipv *quemeret ef* 'prenez-le' In MnBr the rule is the same (enclitic forms of the 3 pers only), v Vallée 91 f, in Vannes, enclitic 1 sg also, Guillevic & Le Goff, 76 - The dep *g -m*, *-z* occur in MIBr only after *a* of, from' *da* 'to', *e* 'in', *ha* and, *na* 'nor' *ha-n curun flam a-m pen e m clem eff he tennas* and the brilliant crown from my head, in (spite of) my complaint he has pulled it' Mir Mort 281, *da-z map* to thy son, *ma map ha m tat ha m croeadur* 'my son and my father and my child', *da merch ha-z map* thy daughter and thy son, *na me na-m deffuet* neither I nor my sheep But many instances of *ha ma* 'and my', *ha da* 'and thy' occur already in MIBr In MnBr *-m*, *-z* occur after *da* and *e*, written *d am* 'to my', *em* 'in my', *d az* *ez*, *Λ d'em* 'to my' *d'ha* 'to thy' - (cf Henry Lewis Llwllyfi Llydawg Canol², § 25-28)

§ 355 The verb 'to have' in Br (ZE 569ff, MSL 1 63-71, 4 37-44) MIBr paradigm Pres sg 1 *em-eus me am-eux*, 2 *az eux, aheus ez eux*, 3 m *en deveux*, f *he deveux*, pl 1 *hon eux*, 2 *hoz eux*, 3 *ho deveux* - Ipf. sg 1 *am oa em oa*, 3 m *en devoa, en devoe, en doa*, pl 1 *hon oa*, 2 *oz oa*, 3 *ho devoe* - Consuetudinal pres sg 1 *em bez*, 3 m *en devez*, pl 2 *ho bez* - Ipv. sg 1 *ham bezet*, 2 *haz vezet*, pl 1 *hon bezet* - Subj. pres. sg 1 *am bezo, em bezo*, 2 *az vezo, ez vezo* (*te vezo* R^c 8 242 54), 3 m *en devezo*, pl 1 *on bezo*, 2 *oz bezo* - Subj ipf. sg 1 *am be, em be*, 2 (neg) *nez ve*, 3 m *en deffe*, pl 1 *on be*, 2 *ouz be* - Pret sg 1 *em boe*, 2 *az voe*, 3 m *en deffoe*, f *he devoe*, pl 2 *oz boe*, 3 *ho deffoe* - Plpf sg 3 m *en divise*

From the MnBr paradigm Pres 1 *em euz*, 2 *ec h euz*, 3 m *en deveuz, en deuz*, pl 2 *hor'h euz* - Ipf sg 1 *em boa*, 2 *ez pou*, 3 m *en devoa, en doa*, f *he devoa he doa*, pl 1 *hor boa*, 2 *ho poa*, 3 *o devoa, o doa* - Consuet pres sg 1 *em bez*, 2 *ez pez*, 3 m *en devez, en dez* - Ipv sg 2 *az pez*, 3 m *en defet*, f *he defet*, pl 1 *hor bezet*, 2 *ho pezet*, 3 *o defent* - Subj pres sg 1 *em bezo*, 2 *ez pezo*, 3 m *en devezo, en dezo* - Subj ipf sg 1 *em be, em befe*, 2 *ez pe, ez pefe*, 3 m *en defe, en de* - Pret sg 1 *em boe*, 2 *ez poe*, 3 m *en devoe, en doe* - Plpf sg 1 *em biye*, 2 *ez piye*, 3 *en divije, en dye*

This combination developed in the same way as in Co The assumption of personal endings first appears in the ipv, and occurs

in MIBr *Crist haz-uez trugarez ouzump* 'Christ, have mercy upon us' In MNB the ipv 3 pl always has the personal ending In the dialects the personal inflection is frequent, v Ernault, R(' 9 258—266 The vb nn MIBr *cafout*, *caffout*, MNB *laout*

§ 356. The conjugated prepositions in Br. MIBr paradigm

	oar on	gant 'with'	ouz by, against'	da 'to'
Sg 1	<i>oarnouf</i>	<i>gueneff</i> <i>guenef(u)</i>	<i>ouzaiff</i> <i>ouzi(fu)</i>	<i>dijf difu</i>
2	<i>oarnot</i>	<i>guenez, guenet</i>	<i>ouzat</i>	<i>dit</i>
3 m	<i>oarnezaiff</i>	<i>gantaff gantaf</i>	<i>outaiff outafu</i>	<i>dezaiff dezaif(u)</i>
f	<i>oarnezi</i>	<i>gantf</i>	<i>outf</i>	<i>dezy dizf</i>
Pl 1	<i>oarnomp</i>	<i>quen(e)omp,</i> <i>quenemp</i> <i>qaneomp</i>	<i>ouzump</i> <i>ouzomp</i>	<i>deom(p) dimp</i> <i>dym-ny</i>
2	<i>oarnoch</i>	<i>gueneoch,</i> <i>guenech</i>	<i>ouzech ouzoch</i> <i>ouzech ozoch</i>	<i>deoch dech</i> <i>dich-ny</i>
3	<i>oarnezi</i>	<i>gante</i>	<i>oute</i>	<i>deze dezo</i>

like oar a of from' (*ahan-off -ot anez-aff -y* pl 3 *aneze*), *davet* towards' (sg 1 *daved-off -off* 3 m *davetaf f daguyty*, *davyty*, pl 2 *daved-och -ouch*, 3 *davedc*) *diac* before (sg 1 *dirazoff*, 3 m *dirazaff*), *dre* through' (sg 1 *drezouff*, *dreizoff* 2 *dreizoude*, with augens, 3 m *dreizaff f dreizy* pl 2 *dreiz-och*, *-ouch* 3 *dreize*), *eguit evit* for' (sg 1 *eguid-off -afu eguytdouf euidoff* 2 *equidot* 3 m *eguitaff euitaff f eguythy* pl 1 *eguidomp euidomp* 3 *equite*) *en* 'in' (sg 1 *enouf*, 2 *ennot*, 3 m *enhaff ennaff*, f *enhy*, pl 1 *enomp* 2 *enoch* 3 *ennhc*), *entre* 'between' (pl 1 *entromp*, 2 *entrock* 3 *entreze*) *egut* 'than', after comparatives (sg 1 *eguedoff*, 2 *eguedot*)

MNB *warnoun* on me *uarnout* 3 m *warn-añ -ezañ*, f *warn-i -ezi* pl *warn-omp -oc'h*, 3 *warn-o -ezo* — *ennoun* in me 3 sg m *ennañ f enni* pl *enno* — *a'chanoun* of me' 3 sg m *anezañ*, f *anezi*, pl *anezo* — *drezoun* 'through me', 3 sg m *drezañ*, f *dreizi* pl *dreze*, *razoun* 'against me', *dirazoun* before me' (*dirak*) *arazoun* before me (*araok*), *etrezoun* between me' (*etre*), *hepzoun* 'without me' (also *hepdoun*), *herrezoun* 'according to me' (*hervez*) — *euidoun* 'for me' (*evit*), 3 sg m *evitañ*, f *eviti*, pl *evito*, *eveldoun* 'like me' (*eiel*) *davedoun* 'towards me' (*davet*) *nemedoun* 'but me'

(*nemet*), *egedown* 'than me' (*eget*, after compai) — *gant* 'with' sg 1 *ganeñ* Trég *ganñ*, 2 *ganez*, Trég *ganit*, 3 m *gantañ*, f *gantr*, pl 1 *ganeomp* Trég *ganump*, 2 *ganeoc'h*, Trég *ganec'h*, 3 *ganto*, Trég *gante* — *ouz* against, by *ouz-in* -it, *out-añ*, -i, *ouz-imp*, -oc'h *outo*

Etymology of the personal pronouns.

§ 357 The 1 and 2 persons 1 sg. The indep (simple) forms come from an accus **me*, cf Gk *με* v § 93 The infixed pron presumably goes back to accus **me*, dat **moi* cf Gk *μοι* it is followed in Ir by *len* (non-*len* in Br), **me*, **moi* were also suffixed after preps, -*m*- being unlen in Ir (except sometimes after *do*) and *len* in Brit (except after MIW *y* MnW *i* Co *the*

Ir *do*) The timbre of -*m*-, -*m* may have been influenced by the g or by the 2 sg — The orig form of the g was **meme* (cf Skr *máma*) This could explain most of the Brit forms especially W *fy* (with eclipsis), cf § 86 But W *men* Ir indep *mu* dep *mo* (with lenition) and Co *ow* rather point to **meue* (by anal with 2 sg)

2 sg Ir *tu* < nom **tu*, cf Gk (Dor) *τυ*, the Brit forms are parallel with 1 sg, Ir -*su* < **stu*, amalgamation with -s of a preceding verbal form Infixes and suffixed after preps acc **tu* (Thurneysen, Handb 267, cf Dor *τυ*), dat **t(w)oi* (cf Gk *σοι*, *τοι*) similarly the infixed forms — All the g forms are from **toire* < **teue* cf Skr *táca*

1. 2. pl The indep forms may represent orig non-nominative **snēs*, **swēs*, cf Skr acc dat g *nas nas* Lat *nōs uōs* Similarly the infixed and suffixed forms, but with a back vowel in the 1 pl in Ir (**snōs*), Co 2 pl -s- possibly from **swōs* > **sōs*, hence also the corresp Br form which furthermore adopted the syllable *ho-* of the gen the result being *-hoz-* *-houz-* For Co -*gan-* -*gas-* v § 359 4

The Ir g *athar*, *sethar* have compai endings like Lat *nostrum*, *uestrum*, but do not represent directly any old forms Possibly **nserōm*, **sweserōm* > **ēsar* (unacēt **asar*), **sear*, then by mixing the suff **-ero-* with **-tero-*, **sear* became *sethar*, the -*th-* being transferred to the 1 pl, *athar* In unacēt positions *athar* *sethar* became *ar* *far* or *for*, causing eclipsis

The Brit g MIW *an*, *awch* (*ych*), Co *an*, *as* Br *hon*, *hoz* may represent a combination of a pron used as article (IE **so*, cf Br

ho-) + an enclitic g pronoun Co *agan*, *agas* were influenced by the infixed pron (§ 359, 4) The MIW indep g forms are probably late re-formations by anal with the 3 pers forms

§ 358 The 3 pers. Nom sg m **is* Ir *hé* (cf § 132) The Brit forms are related to Ir *som*, though the difference in vowels is difficult to explain, cf Goth *sama* 'the same' — Fem **sī*, cf Goth *sī* — Neut **id* or **idā* Ir *hed*, cf Lat *id*, Goth *ita* — Pl m **joi* perhaps > **jei* > **ei* ~ W *wy*, cf Lith *jū* Pl f **ijās* Ir *hé* (*ē* contracted from **ea*), cf Goth *ijōs* Pl n **ī* (Co MBr *y* MnBr *hi*, cf Avest *ī* MnIr *siad* W (*h*)*wynt* Br *hūt* are remodelled by anal with verbs and preps

Acc sg m **im* Ir *-a n-*, W *-e-* (non-syll), (Co *-n-*, MBr *-en-* (anal *-hen-*), suff after verbs Ir *-i*, after preps sometimes *-i*, sometimes nul with prec palatalization (cf OLat *im* — Fem **siām* Ir *-s n-*, after preps *-e* with prec provection due to *h* (*impe*, *sece*), *-se* (*tairse*), in Brit a non-len form (W *-s-*, also masc, Co *-s-*, Br *-s-*, v R(8 84 4 *he-s em recomandas* 'she commended herself'), also a len form (W *-e-*, B *-he-*) For Brit the form **sim* < **sīm* may also be supposed — Pl m **sōns* Ir after verbs *-s* (with *u-* timbre, *-s n-* by anal with fem sg), after preps *-u* with prec provection (*impu*, *seccu*), *-su* (*tairsu* palat by anal with fem sg), in Brit a non-len form (W Co *-s-*) also a len form (in Br *-ho-*, after preps (Co Br *-o*, so *-ōns* apparently gave Brit *-ons* *-os* > *-o*, not *-ōs* as it did medially)

Note 1 OIr *friss* and *less* are abstracted from *frissom*, *lessom* (*frissom*, *le ssom*, prep + pron *som*) — The prep forms in Brit are obscure doubtful guesses VKG II 172

Dat sg m n **jō* (instr), **jōi* (IE dat), **jōd* (abl) Ir after preps *-u*, *-o* *fou*, *dau*, *occo*, *uaso*, possibly lost in *iurum*, *riam huad* (anal *huaid*) — Fem **jāi* or **ijāi* Ir after preps *-i* — Pl m n **jōbhis* (f **jābhis*?) Ir after preps *-ib* *-aib* — The preps were amalgamated with these forms after loss of the *j-*

Note 2 Some Ir conjugated preps 3 sg m n seem to have been adverbs not containing any suffixed element and in it was not even etymologically connected with the prep *i n-*

Gen sg m **esjo*, f **esjās* (Ir > **esjo*, **esjās*) I indep *ái* (the vowel *a* irregular), dep *a* These forms when accented may have given W **eīd* which by anal with preps became MIW m *eidaw*, f *edi* Unaccet they gave MIW *y* (MnW spoken *i*, written *ei*), Co *y*, Br m *e*, f *he* (cf Skr m *asya*, f *asyās* — Pl m n

esōm* Ir *a*, OW *ou* MIW *eu* (ewo* < **e-o*), Br *ho* The other dependent and all the independent forms are analogical With **esōm* cf the ending in Skr *ē-śām*, OHG *iro*

§ 359. Elements amalgamated with the pers. pronouns (1) The W conjunctive pronouns are based on the 3 sg m *ynteu*

(2) For *-d-* in Ir infixed prons in rel sentences cf § 390, § 397, 2 — The dental element appearing in non-rel sentences after preverbs orig ending in consonants had probably the same origin In these cases however it came to be regarded as *-t-*, not as *-d-* The *-t-* arose by amalgamation with the preverb in the case of *ad-*, *frith-*, it doubtless spread by analogy

(3) Brit *-d-* in conjug preps had possibly the same origin as Ir *-d-*, similarly perhaps in Ir *huad* 'from him', etc (but v Thurncysen, Handb 476, Morris-Jones, WG 400)

(4) For *-ch-* before the pron after the neg *na* in Ir v § 409 n 3 To this *-ch-* probably corresponds *-g-* in ('o *-gan-* 'us', etc (*ha na-gan-byth gobyr cyth* and no reward will ever be for us' OM 2821, cf Ir *na-chin-rogha uall* that pride may not seize us' Wb 15d 40) From being orig the final of the neg the *-g-* became the initial of the pronoun It then spread to the g forms *-gan agan* 'our' (beside *-n an*) etc

XXVII. The demonstrative pronouns.

§ 360 The definite article in Irish.

	Masc	Fem	Neut
Sg N	<i>in</i> (before cons), <i>int</i> (before vowel)	<i>ind</i>	<i>a n-</i>
A	<i>in n-</i>	<i>in n-</i>	<i>a n-</i>
D	<i>ind</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>ind</i>
G	<i>ind</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>ind</i>
Pl N	<i>ind</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>inna</i>
A	<i>inna</i>		
D	<i>-nairb</i>		
G	<i>inna n-</i>		

Dual, in all forms, *in*

Note 1 The forms given as *ind* cause len The *-d* is retained before vowels, before initial *h-*, before len *f-, s-, r-, l-, n-*, occasionally before len *m-* and *b-*, it disappears before len *g-, k-, p-* and before all non-lenited sounds, § 45, § 65, § 284, § 289 With init len *s* (= *h-*) the *-d* becomes *t-* (*int seic*

the love'), though this is not regularly denoted by the orthography (thus normally written *ind serc*, but pronounced /i N't' erk/, exceptional, in *seti* 'the ways' Wb 9a 18, pron /i N't' ed'i/, in *firinne* 'the righteousness' 4d 23, pron /i N'd' i ri N'N'e/)

Note 2 Amalgamation with leniting preps *do nd* 'to the idol', *do naib* 'to the limbs', *di-nd* *soscebu* 'of the Gospel', *ar-naib* *grádib* 'for the orders'. After non-leniting preps the orig. init *s-* of the article appears *eo sain oin* 'to the one', *fri ina*, *for-sna* (*-sna* acc. pl. m. n.) *i snaib* 'forchaidib' 'in the tribulations'. Irregularities occur *oc in* 'forchaid' at the teaching 'tre sin fuil' 'through the blood' after *for* occurs *n-* instead of *sn-* for *naib* *qntaib* 'on the deeds', cf. MlIr *iar-naib* ZCP 12 441.

Note 3 Archaic forms. Neut. sg. *se fri-se* 'to the ground' Ml 36d 18. n. pl. *inda fodb* 'the spoils' Thcs II 47 24. *inda crind* gl. 'stigmata' [Wb.] 20d 5. cf. Thurneysen, ZCP 3 53.

Later development. MlIr nom. pl. m. (f. n.) *na na maic* 'the sons'. The nom. acc. sg. neut. form gradually fell into disuse, similarly the dat. pl. *b do na* for *do naib*.

§ 361. The definite article in Brit. OW. *ir* 'ir pamphet' 'the fifth', *ir anamou* 'the blemishes', *-r* after *o* 'from', *di* 'to', *or* 'domestic' gl. *domito*, *dir arpeteticion* gl. *nucris*. MlW *yr* (before vowels, *y-* and *h-*), *y* (before consonants, *w-* and sometimes *y-*) *yr eiry* 'the snow', *yr iarll* 'the earl', *yr heul* 'the sun', *y nab* 'the son', *y uelgi* 'the sea', *y iarll* 'the earl', *yn y lllys* 'in the court'. After preps ending in a vowel *-r* *o-r mab* 'of the son', *a-r geisfyr* 'with the goats', also after *a* 'and' *a-r meirch* 'and the horses'. MnW practically as in MlW but the form *-r* is more freely written both after vowels and diphthongs.

OCo *en* MlCo *an en* also *n* *ha-n map* 'and the son', *the-n tas* 'to the father'.

OBr. *en*, after *do* 'to' *-n*. MlBr *en*, *an* also *-n* *da-n bet* 'to the world', *Doe-n tat* 'God the Father'. MnBr. *ann* (before vowels, *h-*, *d-*, *t-*, *n-*) *al* (before *l-*), *ar* (before other consonants, *y-* and *w-*) *ann ene* 'the soul', *ar iar* 'the hen', *an waz* (oaz) 'the goose', *an zac'h* 'the sack'. Amalg. with the prep. *cnn*, *el*, *er* in the '.

Note 1 Forms with *-n* in W. *yn au* 'now' (this hour), *y null* § 371. The common origin of the W. *r* forms and *n* forms has often been questioned (cf. Vendryes, ZCP 17 73ff). But there is no phonological difficulty. The original rule must have been *yr* - Ir in *yn* - Ir ind with *yn au* cf. Ir *ind-or-sa* afterwards *yr* must have spread by analogy. It has been urged that no other instance of a change *n* > *r* is known in W., but this is no objection. For the phonetic conditions presented by the forms of the art. did not otherwise occur. It is very evident indeed that e.g. a proclitic word ending originally in a nasal (as *yn* in) could not occur in

the same consonant groups as the *W* form corresp to the *Ir* art *in*, as it would coalesce with a foll *l t p, q d b*. One might ask whether *OW cant* with *di* did not present the same phonetic conditions as the presumed art corresp to *Ir ind, in*, but the answer must be in the negative. For evidently the *t* of *cant* resisted dropping much longer than the *d* of the article. There being no phonological difficulty to the theory of a common orig of *W yn* and *yn* the question must be put thus: is it likely that the three Brit languages which as late as 400 A.D. were only three dialects of the same language, should have developed their art independently of each other? And is it likely that *W* should have developed two (or even different sets of articles (*yn* and *yn*)? Is it likely that one of these sets (*yn*) should have developed from a pronoun which has left no traces whatever in *CElt* and which is not quotable from any other IE tongue? Umbrian *uio illo* etc. is not known as a pronominal stem, but as the stem of a series of ablatives: it therefore admits of the analysis *u u i f u r a p l u r i s* from **oi sūd* etc. (pronominal stem **o-*), cf *ci u i a r a t e* — *Osc ci sud* (pronom. stem *c*) and it hardly admits of any other plausible explanation.

Note 2 Cf Gaul *sanctir refugior* (acc. sg. n.), this sanctuary.

§ 362. Use of the article. The art. may be (1) adjectival always proclitic, (2) substantival § 364.

§ 363. Omission of the article. (1) The art. is omitted before a noun foll by a definite genitive. *Olir ícc in domuin* 'the salvation of the world' *Wb* 5c 14. — *MIW ystlys y fforest* 'the side of the forest' — *Co crayl an tas* 'the advice of the Father', — *MIR Roue n bet* 'the King of the world'. It is used however if the *g* is indef. *Olir á cenné ndoine* 'the race of men' *Wb* 5c 16. *MnW y llyfr Gwedd* 'the Prayer Book'.

(2) It is omitted before proper names as a rule. In *MnIr* and in *W* certain geographical proper names have the article. *MnIr an Spáin* *W yr Ysbaen* 'Spain'.

(3) It is omitted in *Olir* before appellatives which approach in meaning to proper names. *dia* 'God' (so *W Duw* *Co dew* *Br Doue*) *deacht* 'Godhead', *apstl* 'the Apostles', *la-mmabru* with the dead, *tempul* 'in the Temple', *hires* 'the faith', etc.

§ 364. The neuter article is substantival before a relative sentence. *Olir ni dignem an dogniat som* 'we will not do that which they do' *Wb* 17d 9. The art. stands immediately before the rel. sent. as a rule, but a partitive *g* or its equivalent may intervene. *MIR an gaisceda tuc o Scathag* 'what of fighting he brought (learned) from Scáthach' *LL* 107a 41. *Olir an du innedaib 7 frithoucnib fodaime* 'what of afflictions and injuries thou sufferest' *Ml* 55d 11, cf Thurneysen, *IFAnz* 33 27. The art. is not governed by a prep in *Ir* in this use (for exceptions v Thurneysen *ZCP* 20 244).

The *W* art is used in a similar sense, but it can be dependent on a prep. MIW *ef a dely medhecynyat rad y-r a uo en e llys* 'he must give free medical treatment to them that may be in the court' ZCP 20 41 26, *y roder pob dim o-r a archei y brenhin* 'that he would give every thing (of that) which the king requested' RBB 286 12. When it is not dependent on a prep its form is *ar*. MIW *nyl atwna duw ar a unel* 'God undoes not that which he may do', *llad pob anencil a wna o-r a gaffo yndi ac ar nys llado marw rydant o newyn* 'it kills every animal (of those) which it may find therein and those which it kills not will die of famine' WM 176 9. It survived into MnW only in the form *a'r a* (for *o'r a*), this is now an archaism.

Note. The *I* neut art before a rel sent developed into a conj. *an* when *an no-n-geiss* 'when thou bestechest' gl. testificans Wb 30b 4, *an asluw grien fo a fumed, dosoi dand orient* 'when the sun goes away to its setting it turns to the east' Thes II 21 36. It takes relative (clipsis, cf. § 193, 1. 'The corresponding form OW in MIW *yn* has developed similarly meaning 'when', 'where'. OW *in ut oia* 'when it was' MIW *teirfford y deuant etrued ar duw yn y dyuyd parwb yr wrant gyhed* 'by three ways will mankind (offspring) come to God when everyone comes to the general judgement' RP 1144 37, *bassaf dwuyr yn yt leuen* 'shallowest is water where (when) it speaks' BHC'S 4 4, *dyuot a unnaeth yn yd oed y kawc* 'he came (there) where the bowl was' RM 50 24 (*yn* denotes destination after a vb of movement cf. § 273). It is frequently used in MIW in lit. trans. of the Lat. abl. abs. v. Strachan, RC' 28 198. It became confused with the conj. *yny* 'until', so that often it is followed by *len* which is not regular after the particle *y*. MIW *yny* (also *hyny*) 'until' represents OW *hit ni* 'while not' (MnW *oni* later *hyd oni*) after which *len* could occur.

§ 365. In *I* the particle *-i* can be combined with the art, and it is usually followed by *sin* when the art is adjectival. *in bairgen hi sin* 'that bread' Wb 11b 8, *a m-bás n-u-sin* 'that death' 15d 12. The substantival *int-i*, *intú* (f. *ind-i* n. *an-i*, acc. m. f. *inn-i*, g. sg. f. , nom. pl. f. n. , acc. pl. *inna-hi*, g. pl. *innan-i* etc.) for *ind-i* is often found written *ind-hi* occurs in *Ir* (1) before a rel sent *intú labrathar íbélre* 'he who speaks many tongues' Wb 12c 19 *for-sna-hi comalnatar toil dá* 'on those who fulfil God's will' 20d 1, (2) appositionally before a proper name *intú Moysi* 'he, Moses' 33a 2, (3) before an emphasizing pron. or an adv. of place *fri genti asbeir som an-siu* 'to the Gentiles he says this' 4d 17, *ání thías* 'that above' 10a 15, *titul indí archuinn* 'the title of that (which is) ahead' 28a 11.

Note. *Ir inti* was accented on the last syll. An early false analysis into

in ti lead to forms like *MIr dat don-ti imm-on-ti thanu* 'concerning him who came' *LL* 72a 47

§ 366. The *MIW* pers pron *ynteu* often stands in apposition before a proper name, like *Ir inti ynteu Bwyll* 'he, Pwyll', it also occurs after the noun *Troilus ynteu Troilus*, he' It came to be used as a conjunction meaning 'then' and is still so used (*wr ynteu* or *ynte*, as a pron it is now usually written *yntau*) (Cf Strachan, *Introd* 34, Morris-Jones, *WG* 273, 448 It is always accented on the penult

§ 367 (1) The chief *augentia* (emphasizing elements) with the adj art in *Ir* are *so* (also *sa*, *se* § 171) denoting 'here', and *sin* denoting 'there' *in-fect-so*, *ind-or-sa* 'now', *in tain sin* 'then', in other instances *so* refers to what follows, *sin* to what precedes *a trede so i bona et placens et perfecta* 'these three things, i e bona etc' *Wb* 5c 22, *in glaine sin et ind nôibe et in fîrinne* *dûib-si a trede sin* 'that purity and holness and righteousness to you those three things' 9c 30

The substantival combinations *in-so* (*MI in-se* also) and *in-sin* are neuter in meaning *ma rufeste inso* 'if you knew thus' *Wb* 9d 9, *jomnid insin* 'take heed of that' 20b 15 They tend to become mere *augentia* *is hed insin forchun* 'that is what I teach' 10a 13, *it hé coisnmu inso* 'these are the contentions' 7d 13, *is do inso noainfeda* it is for this thou wouldst have remained' 27d 20 (*do* 'to it')

Note Certain adverbs are similarly used *cenmutha in tegdais n ucet* besides yonder house *Wb* 33a 4

(2) The *W* cognate of *Ir sin* is used with the art *y qûr hun* 'this man', v § 369 Other *augentia* with the art are the adverbs *yma* 'here' (*y tu yma* 'on this side'), *yman* (Morris-Jones *WG* 433), *hwt*, *MIW racko MnW acw*, *draw* 'yonder' (*y tu hwt*, *y tu draw* 'on yonder side', *y qûr acw* 'that man yonder', *MnW yna* 'there', *MIW gynheu*, *gynneu* 'a little time ago' (*y dyn gynheu WM* 251 13 'that man, whom you have just seen', *y gwr gynneu* 'that man, the man just referred to') — *Co ma, na* (= *W yma, yna*) *an den ma* 'this man', *an nos na* 'that night' — *Br mañ, ma* (= *W yma*), *se, hont MIBr an mab man* 'this child', *an clezef se* 'that sword', *an kaer hont* 'yonder town'

§ 368. The other representatives of the demonstrative stem **so-* in *Ir*. (1) *sa, se*, 1 sg emphasizing pron § 336, 337 (2) *se* 'thus' after preps *co-sse* 'thus far', *corricci se gl* *adhuc*, *cenmutha se* 'besides

this', *ar-se* 'therefore' (3) *siu* loc 'here', also *i-siu* § 281 *re-siu* 'before' (conj) *de-siu* 'hence' (4) *sin* (MnIr with pal *-n*), used with the art with *mti* § 365, § 367, with 3 *-g* n pers pron *d-a-gnú-sa sin* 'I do that' Wb 14d 26, *a fíus sin* 'the knowledge of that' As indep pron *creilmech sin* 'that is a believer' 28d 23 (*-insin*) mostly after preps *co-sin* 'so far', *fri-sin* 'with regard to that' (5) *suid* 'here' (cog with *sin* and W *hun*) (6) *suide* 'he the latter' as subject in MlIr *ol suide* 'said he', Strachan, Ériu I 5, *-g* acc in *suide*, dat m n *suidiu*, f *suidi*, pl acc m *suidiu* dat *suidib* It is used chiefly after prepositions, also after the comparative *moð suidiu* 'more than this' Wb 24a 5 In unacct position *di suidiu* became *didiu* 'therefore' In modified form due to its being unacct the pron is used as augens with the pers pron *suide* etc v § 345 (7) *sodin* neut, 'this', after preps governing acc *la sodin* 'therewith' *amal sodin* 'in that case' (8) *són* 'that' a contracted form of *sodin* as subject *is fir son* 'that is true' Wb 17c 22, meaning namely 'that is to say' *le n-airte gránd són* 'that is to say, before ordination' 28c 6 emph pron (with the object) *d-a-lugub són* 'I will forgive it' 32a 21 (9) *ón* 'that' a weak form of *són* *is coru dúib-si ón* 'that is more fitting for you' 5d 37 After *ed* 'it', *ón* is always the augens used (cf also Hans Hessen, KZ 46 11)

§ 369. The other representatives of the demonstrative stem **so-* in Brit (1) Br *ho-* W 'o *a-* m Br *ho-n* MIW 'o *a-n* 'our' Bt *ho-z* MIW *a-uch* 'o *a-s* 'you' § 357 (2) *he-* m W *he-ddiu* 'to-day' § 21, 3 OW *he-noid* MIW *he-noeth*, later *he-no* 'to-night' Bt *he-rlenc* W *e-lem* 'this year' (3) MIBr MnBt *se* 'this' (as subj, obj and after preps, *erel se* 'thus', also augens with the art § 367 2 MIBt *quement se* 'this much') (4) W *hun* (m) *hon* (f) *hyn* (n) 'this' MIW *hyn a dywedaf ythi* 'this will I tell thee', with the art, *yr hun* etc before a rel clause MIW *yr hynn a geissy* 'what thou seekest', sometimes before a superlative MIW *o-r hyn goren* 'of the best' (in the pl *y rhan* is used), adjectivally with the art *y gŵr hun* 'this man', *y peth hun* 'this thing', *y uraig hon* 'this woman' *y gwŷr (pethau, gwragedd) hyn* 'these men (things, women)' Extended *hwnnw* (m), *honno* (f), *hynny* (n and pl) 'that' MIW *bendigaiduran oed hwnnw* 'that was B' *honno oed tryded prif rieni* 'that one (Branwen) was one of the three chief parents', *a hynny a wnaethpwyf* 'and that was done', *na qur na gurreic o hynny* 'neither man nor woman'

of those', the substantival pl however is usually MIW *y rei hynny* MnW *y rhar hynny* (also *y rheiny*, *y rheini*), adjectivally with the art *y gŵr hunnuw* 'that man' — The OW forms are *hinn* (neut *ni deruid hinn* 'this does not happen', pl *enuern int hinn* 'these are names'), *ir hinn* (the one', before rel clauses), *hir-unn* gl quem, *breennhined hinn* 'these kings', *y bryeint hunn* 'this privilege Lib Land 120 5, 121 4 Extended sg m *hunnoud*, n *hynnoid*, *hinnuth*, adjectival *ir gur hunnuud* 'that man', *ir loc quac hinnuth* (*hinnuuth*) 'that empty space', *ir did hinnuuth* 'that day', *ir e hinnuth* 'that e', *ir bloidin hunnuuth* 'that year', *ir outh aur hinnuth* 'these eight hours' (so, apparently, masc *hunnuid*, *hinnuuth*, *hinnuth*, fem *hinnuith*, *hunnuith* pl *hinnuth*) — ('o m n *hen-ma hemma*, *hema*, *hem*, *helma* 'this', f *homma*, *holma* m *hen-na hena*, f *honna* 'that', (also m *hen t hon* 'that', before *yw* 'is' and *o* 'was'), all forms are substantival only, for the pl *an re-ma an re-na* — *pup hyny* 'every one', *leas hyny* 'many a one' — MIBr *henn* 'this' (*evel-henn* 'thus', *cret henn* 'believe this'), *he-man* masc, *homan*, *houman* fem (MnBr *he-mañ*, fem *hou-mañ*) 'this', *henez* 'ste, istud' fem *honnez* (MnBr *hennez*, fem *hounnez*, V *heneh t honeh*), *hen hont hennont* 'ille illud' (MnBr *hen-hont*, t *houn-hont*) Pl MIBr *an re-man*, *an re-se* MnBr *ar re mañ*, *ar re ze ar re hont* MIBr *heny* (MnBr *hini*) 'that' with the art *ann heny a fazio* 'the one who will fail with the g *malloz doe ha heny Iuzas* 'the curse of God and that of Judas', also, *ma heny* 'mine' *pe heny* 'which', *nep heny* 'anyone', *pep heny* 'everyone', in the pl, *an re*

Note 1 In Co and Br the old neut form (*hen*, *henn* MIW *hynn*) became masc In SW dial *hyn* has practically replaced *hwn* and *hon* adjectivally

Note 2 MIW *evelly*, *yvelly* *felly* 'so', MnW *felly* Br *evelhenn* The form *fell hyn* (and *fellyn*, acct on the ultima) also occurs in MnW, sometimes *yn Uyn*

(5) W *hwnt* 'yonder', Br *hont* (6) W *y sawl* 'such, as many' (before rel sents), adj MIW *y sawl* 'as many' (foll by pl nouns with lenition) MnW *pa sawl* 'how many' (foll by sing nouns, non-len), ('o *suel*, *py suel* (before rel sents), also before comparatives § 227, MIBr *seul*, rarely substantival *suel a anquen a gouzafvel* 'such anguish as you suffer', 'the amount of anguish which you suffer', before compar *seul mwy* 'the more', adj *seul guez* 'as many times' (cf MnW *sawl gwaith*, *sawl tro* 'many times') MnBr *seul*, before compar (len)

§ 370 **Etymology of the *s*-demonstratives** The Celt *s*-demonstratives go back to the IE pron **so*, **sā*, **tod* (Gk *ὁ, ἡ, τό* Skr *sa, sā, tad*, a parallel stem **sjo-*, **tjo-* is represented by Skr *syā*, *syā*, *tyad* 'that') Celt has generalized the init *s-* in all genders and cases Without any addition the pronoun **so-* appears in Ir *so*, Br *ho-n*, *ho-z* etc (and the pron **sjo-* in Ir *se* 'this') The other Celt forms do not seem to be derivatives from the stem **so-* (with the exception of W *sawl*, which contains the same suffix as Lat *tālis*), but combinations of the pron **so-* with different enclitic elements (cf especially Gaul *so-on*) The enclitics were amalgamated with the pron, underwent different phonetic changes and took inflectional endings For detailed identifications and guesses v VKG II 192ff

§ 371 **Demonstratives with initial vowel.** (1) For Celt forms corresponding to Lat *is* etc v § 358 (2) A demonstr stem **an-on-* appears in Ir *and* 'there', and in Ir *inn-onn* 'thither, to that side', MnIr *anonn* (acct on ultima) (3) Ir *aile*, nom acc sg neut *aill* (otherwise a regular *-jo-* *-jā-* stem), mostly adjectival (after the substantive), definite and indef *rann aile* 'another part', *donarb ballarb aihb* 'to the other members' Wb 10d 18, 12b 11, substantival, indef *nach aile* 'someone else', definite (rare) *an aill* (n), *ind aile* (m), alone, *aill aill* 'some others' In the first of a series of alternatives *aile* is not used, but a substantive alone or accompanied by a reduced proclitic form of *aile* *-la* after *cach* (*cach-la sel in sel aile* 'at one time at another time' Wb 15d 9) and *-ala* with the art (*ind-ala dond-ala lucht dond lucht aihv* 'to the one party to the other party' Wb 16c 20, *ind-ala* is substantival only before a g pron *ind-ala n-ai* 'the one of them' *ala* without the art is rare *ala rann deac brotto* 'the twelfth part of a moment' § 335, 1 p 193) From *ala* + *aile* comes *alaile*, nom acc sg n *alanill*, acc sg m *alarle*, dat *alailv* etc g sg f *ala-aile*, g pl *alan-aile* *alaile* is mostly substantival, but is never used with the article It is occasionally adjectival *di chosscc alailv* 'by another correction' Wb 9a 23 It occurs repeated in alternatives 'some others', (*alaih alaih* Wb 29a 28) Form with dissimilation *arale* Variant forms *éle*, *aréle*

The corresponding simple forms in Brit are MIW *eil* MnW *ail* 'second' Co *yll*, *eyll* 'the one' Br *eil* 'the one' The W and Br forms are used as ordinal numerals meaning 'second', and in

distributives with W *pob* Br *peb* 'every' (MIW *bop eilwrs* 'alternatively') In MnW *yn* is inserted between *pob* and *aíl* (*bob yn aíl* 'alternately every other', *bob yn eilddydd* 'every other day', Br *peb eil deiz*, cf § 383, 1) In expressing the first of two alternatives the forms are MIW *y neill* MnW *y naill*, ('o *yll* (with preceding genitive pron *ha-y yll troys* and one of his feet'), *an nyl* (*neyll*), MIBi *an eil* 'the one' The second alternative is expressed by W *y llall* 'the other' pl *y lleill*, *arall* other pl MIW *ereill* MnW *eraill* ('o *y gyle* masc *y-ben* fem 'the other', *arall* 'other' pl *erell*, MIBi *e-gule* m *he-ben* f MnBr *e-gile*, *e-ben* 'the other' *all*, *arall* 'other' In MIW *y lleill* is found for *y neill* (*y lleill a-i llall* WM 91 26, *hanher y lleill gyllell* 'half of the one blade' 487 25) ('o *py nyl* 'which (of two)', *na nyl* 'neither'

In composition Ir *all-slaige* 'the second clearing', *al-anman* 'other names' MI 2a 6 48c 34 W *all-tud* 'exile', G *Allo-broges* § 35 2

Adverb Ir *i-all* 'there' *an-all* 'from that side'

Etymology The Celt forms with a single *l* go back to a pron **alpo-*, cf Lat *alius* The double *ll* may have started from an adverb **al-nā* with the same suffix as *cen* (§ 372) It has spread much more in Brit than in Ir The Ir neut *aíl* may be the adverb (cf the use of the adverb *cen-e* for 'other' Wb 3d 34 etc.), which has taken the palatalized timbre from the other forms of the paradigm (cf Kieckers, *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis*, B IX 5 (1926), p 3—4

§ 372. Demonstratives with initial *k*- (1) Ir *cé bethad cé* 'of the present life' For Ogam forms v Marstrander, Ériu 5 144 (2) Possibly akin is ('o *an keth* 'that the above mentioned', adj *yn keth forth-na* 'in that same road' OM 713, *an keth map eth alemma* 'that same Son who went hence' RD 2509, *an keth hon-na* (fem), *an keth hen-na* (neut) 'that same' OM 1172, 2645, *an keth re re-n crouse* 'those same people who had crucified him' MC' 185 With *del* § 241 *yn ketel-ma* 'in this manner', *yn ketella* 'in that manner' (**yn keth del na*), *kettel* 'as soon as'

(3) Ir *cen* 'on this side' (*cen-alpande* gl *cisalpinus* Sg 217b 9), 'without' (lit "remaining this side, not reaching") Deriv *centar pars ceterior* (4) Co *ken* 'other' *ken mygtiern* 'another king', *de gen le* 'to another place', *dar ken* 'beyond other' MC' 148, 255 135 — Br *ne ouzounn netra ken* 'je n'en sais pas davantage' *tra quen*

'anything else' Mir de la Mort 1978, MnBr *heb ken*, *heb-mur-ken* 'sans plus' — W *am-gen* 'other, better, otherwise'

Ir *cé* < **k'i* § 132 Ir *cen*, Co Br *ken*, (W -*gen*) < **k'inā*, for suffix, cf Gk *ἵνα* 'in order that'

XXVIII. Interrogative, indefinite relative and indefinite pronouns.

§ 373 The interrogative pronoun Irish Independent sg nom m f *cia*, n *cí*, g *cíoch* Dependent sg nom m f, dat of all genders *ce*, *cí*, *cía*, *c-* (before vowels), nom n *cía*, *ced* Pl (dep) *ce-*, *cí-* (*cit né* § 376, 2) For *cía*, *cí-* as neut v note and § 376 1 4 § 379

Welsh Indep *pu* y who (MIW also what'), g *pu-* Dep MIW *py*, *pa*, rarely *pu* y MnW *pa* For still more reduced forms (*mae*, *p'le*, *peth*, *beth* = *pa beth*, cf Co *pyth* Br *pez*) v § 377, 1, 7

Cornish Indep *pyw* *pye* *pu*, g *pe-w* 'cuius est' Dep *py*, *pe*

Breton Indep *piou*, g *bi-ou*, *bi-aou* 'cuius est' Dep *pe*

Note Ir *cía* W *pu* y Co *pyw* Br *piou* (§ 154 2) < **k^uei* (**k^uoi* ') cf Lat *quī* Ir *ced* < **k^urdā*, a by form of **k^urd* cf Lat *quid* the form *cí* is due to confusion with *cí* though it be The dat form is possibly from a loc **k^uei* (**k^uoi* ') The Brit g < **k^ui* the Ir g may be from a redupl form **k^uo k^ui*, MIr has also a redupl nom *cíche* 'who, what' fr nom pl may be from **k^uei* (**k^uoi* ') Ir neut *cía* (*cía de dogega* 'which of the two I shall choose') and MIW *pu* y what (OW *pu* gl *quid*) may be old pl forms

§ 374. Use of the indep interrog pron. in Ir. and Brit The indep interrog pron stands at the beginning of the sentence, followed as a rule by relative construction Ir *cía rannas duib* 'who divides for you' W 103 20 MIW *gwybyddurh pwy a dylyo bot yn u yr ymi* 'know who should be my men' WM 8 18, Co *pyw a thys-quethes thysa the vos noeth* 'who disclosed to thee that thou art naked OM 261, MIr *pyou a pigno e menez an autrou* 'who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord' RC 8 78 A non-rel construction is found in the older poetry in W *pu* y *quant cath paluc* 'who wounded P's cat' BBC 96 14 (cf in § 377, 8 such examples as *py gynherf y byt* 'what supports the world' BT 80 10)

The genitive occurs only as predicate with the copula Ir *is nderb coich in mug* 'it is uncertain whose is the slave' Sg 209b 30 (in MIr *coich* is used as subject also, 'who', poss nom pl *coichu* 'cujus sunt') MIW *pe-eu* *cuius est* ' also as rel (with and without

initial len) *minneu breu y dwy iarllaelh* 'it is I who own the two earldoms' RM 239 It occasionally occurs used as a transitive verb *ni ae preifydwn* 'we shall possess them' YCM 64 29, cf Morris-Jones, WG 357ff In *C'o pew* is entirely a transitive verb *me a-s pew* 'I have it' PC 2858 MIBr *biou, biau*, uninflected *an re man biou glan an bel* 'these possess the world entirely', *me-n biau* 'I possess it', v Ernault, Diet

Note OW *pi* occurs in *passerenn pi gurthet loyr* 'what constellation (is it) to which the moon is opposite' BBCS 3 256 4 It is here used as a relative

§ 375. The dependent forms of the interrog. pron. in Ir. used attributively and with prepositions (1) Before a substantive When the combination is governed by a prep, the latter comes between the pron and the noun Ir *c-airm* 'where' *cia aivet* 'how long', *ce-néit* 'how much', *cid maith* 'what good' Wb 1d 7, *ced torbe* 'what profit' Dat *cia indas, c-indas* 'how' *cia chruth* 'in what manner' With prep *cia du forcunn* 'to what end' Ml 33a 9 (2) In combination with the pron *nech*, neut *ní* (dat m n *neuch*) *cia du neuch gl ad quem* Ml 16a 9, *cia ar neoch dorrignis* 'for what hast thou done it' Sg 217a 5 (3) *c-air* 'how', 'why' Thes II 1 26, (*coir* [Wb] 19d 10), cf MIW *pyr* § 377, 3

§ 376. The dependent interrogative in verbal expressions in Ir. (1) As predicate with the copula (neut *ci-*) *ni bu chumme dúib ce-bad hé fri-san-dénte* 'it were not the same for you who it were you should do it unto' Wb 9c 24, *ci-p ed techtas nech* 'whatever it is that anyone has' 12d 41, *ci-b cenel tra di-a-roscubad* 'whatever be the nation to which it has been written' 3b 20 (2) As pred before a pers pron subject *ce hé roscub* 'who is he who has written' Sg 197a 19 The pron subj comes between the interrog pron and a noun *ci-sí chiall bis indib* 'what is the meaning that is in them' Sg 217a 2, *ce-sí aram* 'what number' 197b 3 (cf *ci-t n-é cit né robatar* 'what were they' Ml 61b 8, *cit né briathra robatar* 'what were the words' 61b 7 (cf § 193 8 The *-t* is the 3rd pl of the copula Instead of the pers pron *intí-sin* may occur *c-inní-sin frisnarccai-siu* 'whom dost thou expect' Thes II 227 30 (3) *cote*, *catte* 'where is', cf *cate in firinne hó hiriss* 'wherein consists the righteousness (which is) of faith' Wb 4d 23 Before a pl subject, *coteet, cateel, cateat* *coteet mo béss-se* 'what way are my manners' Wb 9a 17 (4) *ciaricc, ciarricc, cericc gl* 'quid ergo, quid enim, quid', cf *ciarricc i ní airicc ní* 'what profits i e it profits

nothing' Wb 9b 24 — *ce róich* 'how far it extends' Sg 26a 11 — With infixed pron *cichu-b-ro-erad* 'what has been prepared for you?' W₁ III 237

§ 377. The use of the dependent form of the Interrog pron in Brit.

(1) Before substantives MIW *pa diaspedein* 'what shout?', *py gampau* 'what feats?' *pa le, py le*, MnW *pa le, p'le, b'le* 'where?', *pa beth, peth, beth* 'what thing?', 'what?', MIW *py gy-bellet* 'how far?' RM 222 29 MnW *pa gyn belled, pa mor bell* 'Co py'r 'what hour?', *pe-le, ple* 'where?', *pyth* 'what?', *py gymmys* 'how much?' (W *pa faint*) MIBr *pe marchadouryen* 'what traders?', *pe eur* 'when?' *pebez pez* 'what?', *pe rac tra* 'why?', *pe en lech* 'where?', *pe a lech* 'whence?' (*pe* + prep + noun, cf *pe a linguez* 'of what family?' R₁ 8 80 27), *pe-guement* 'how much?', *pe-guen-calet* 'how hard?' (2) Before certain pronouns W *pa un, p'un* 'which one?', pl *pa rai* MIW *pa gyfryw, pa ryw*, MnW *pa ryw* 'what manner of?' (*pa gyfryw i'r* 'qualis i'r'), *pa ryw* also means 'what?' often contracted to *pa ry, pa r', p'r'* (*pa r un p'r un* 'which one?'), *pa sawl* 'how many?' (with following sg noun) 'Co *py nyl* 'which (of two)', *py suel* 'how much?', *py lues* 'how many?' Beun Mer 2829 (*py lues puns* 'how many pounds?') MIBr *pe heny* 'which' (interrog and rel), *pe en heny* 'in which', pl *pe re* (3) Before certain prepositions W *pa-h-am, pam* 'why?', MIW *py ar, pa-h-ar* 'what on?' (BT 80, 11 AL₁ 108 20) *py all* 'to whom?' (AL₁ 316 17) *py-yr, py-r* 'what for?' 'why?' (RP 1054 3, WM 456 3 *yr* = MnW *er* 'for'), cf Ir *cair* § 375 3 *pa rac py rac* 'what for?' (R₁ 33 243 22 RM 126 14) 'Co *p-raq*, MIBr *pe-rac*, MIBr *pe dri* 'par où?' (also rel) For other examples of *pe* + prep as relative (*dren mari pe gant ez marvas* J_{és} 64 etc) v Ernault, Gloss 467, Dict 350 (4) Before a conjugated prep 'Co *ef dysmegys py gansse y fue guyskys* 'let him declare by whom he was struck' P₁ 1373 MIW *geyr eu y eyr padyu y rodes* 'his word is word (i.e. decides) to whom he gave it' ZCP 20 51 8, *ac yn betrus gantaw or diwed pa diw y damweiner y uudugolyaet* 'and he was doubtful at last to whom the victory would happen' RBB 57 29 (*dyw* 'to him', but *nac y bydiw* 'nor to whom?' RBB 162 6, with *y* 'to' before the interrog, suggests that the force of *diw* was no longer clearly understood, Havod MS 2, fo 123a reads *na pha dyw e delhey e wudugolyaeth* 'nor to whom the victory would come'), OW *padru gl* 'quid' 'what for?' This expression can also be relative

MIW *gwynn y vyt pydwi y rodwr kerennyd diw* 'blessed is he to whom is given God's love' RP 1056 42 Cf Strachan, Introd 48f (5) Before a prep governing a rel pron *MIBr pe da prou* 'to whom?' Ernault, Gloss 492f Cf *MIBr pe-ban* 'whence?' § 378, 2 (6) Before the article + noun *Co pa-h-an pleyt yma pilat ha p-an semlant vs ganso* 'what plight is Pilat in and what appearance has he?' RD 2058—60, *p-an-dra uraf* OM 1565, *p-en-dra uraf* PC 2609 'what shall I do?', *p-an dr-ew* MC 105, *p-en-dr-yw* Beun Mer 2370 'what is?' (Cf *MnIr cia an áit* 'what place?') Also *pan a* 'what of?', with *pan* as a single word meaning 'what?' *pan-a goys* 'what blood?' Beun Mei 1501 (7) Before verbs, *Co py, pe* = 'where?' *pe feste* 'where have you been?' OM 467, *py halles an re-ma moys* 'where could these have gone?' Beun Mer 3304 (with *(y)th*, cf *py th-eth the rroder* 'where has thy brother gone?' OM 606) *Co pe-ma, py-ma* 'where is?' *pe-ma neb a cyn de guhuda* 'where is he who would accuse thee?' MC 34, *py-ma thym ov margh* 'where is my steed for me?' Beun Mer 2111 *W mae* alone can mean 'where is?' *mae y mab* 'where is the child?' WM 29 8 cf *mae dy gyghor di* 'what is thy advice?' RM 237 28 (8) Before verbs MIW *pa, py* = 'what?' *py gynheil y byt* 'what supports the world?' BT 80 10 (cf 27 14, 23, 28 2, 3), *pa wnaŷ* 'what shall I do?' RP 1045 25, *py holy di* 'what dost thou claim?' RM 128 22 It can also mean 'why?' *py hwy ti* 'why dost thou blush?' WM 454 24 *pe dauant anant* 'why are the bards silent?' LIH 1 12, cf RP 1032 31, 1054 15, *py + ry* gave *pyr* 'why?' (followed by lenition in the verb) *pyr ddywettwn parabyt* 'why should I say a word?' LIH 308 3, *pyr puyllut-te hun* 'why shouldst thou think of sleep?' BBC 49 12 (v 1 *byrr buylly di nun* BBCS 4 122 15 from Pen MS 3) *MIBr pe* 'what?' *pe rif* 'what I shall do?' JÉS 189, *pe leueret hu* 'what do you say?' Barbe 133

Note. MIW *pyr* — *py-yr* (3) above, must be distinguished from MIW *pyr* — *py-ry*, (8) When the former occurs at the head of an affirmative clause it is followed by the particle *y* *pyr y kyuerchy dy* 'why dost thou call?' WM 486 25, the latter however is followed immediately by the verb *pyr* (— *py-ry*) occurs in the older poetry as a conjunction meaning 'that', followed immediately by the verb *gwae vi pyr imterth genhad e in kyueith* 'woe is me that I have sojourned with thee as companion' BBC 22 10, v Henry Lewis, HGCref 127ff

§ 378. Derivatives from the interrog. stem (1) *Ir canr, canr, canr, canr* 'nonne', MIW *pony, ponyt* 'nonne' The first element

may be from **k^uā* (NA pl neut ?) (2) Ir *can* 'whence?', MIW *pan* (*pan doy di* 'whence comest thou?' WM 18 1, repeated in the answer *a phan doy titheu pan deuaf o lys arthur* 'whence comest thou? I come from A's court' 168 23f, as relative *py le pan deuy ti* 'what place dost thou come from?' 125 36), MIBr *pe-ban* (*pe ban ind y* 'whence are they?' Barbe 109, as relative *lavar an rout peban out duet* 'tell me the way you have come' Poèmes Bret 82, *guerches huec peban prezegaff* 'sweet Virgin of whom I speak' 213, with the form of MIBr *cia-chan*), also *pe-a-ban* Mir Mort 1986 Possibly from **k^uanā* (3) Ir *cun* 'when?' (also *cia chun*) MIW *pan*, *pann* MnW *pan* Co MIBr *pan* are relative, not interrog, they usually mean 'when', sometimes 'as, since' (causal), MIW *hyt pan* 'until', *o-r pan*, *yr pan* 'since' MnW *hyd pan*, *er pan*, *erbyn pan* 'by the time when', Co *le par ha pan* 'as when, as if', *bys pan* 'until' *a-ban* 'since', MIBr *a-ban* 'since', *pa na* quum non (and so *pa aba*) Possibly from **k^uam*, but if *-nn* in W *pann* is original then cf Umbr *ponne* 'quum'

Note MIW *pan* occurs as a declarative conjunction meaning that *ar y dywedir pan yw ohonunt yd henyw* and it is said that it is from them that comes Delw y Byd, A 47 5, *ny wydyem pan oed ti a grogem* 'we knew not that it was Thou whom we were crucifying' BT 12 9 The form *pan yw* became constant in such constructions *a dywedassant y gnteu pan yw merchet ierll oedynt* and they said that they were daughters of earls RM 191 15 This use of *pan* is probably a development of (2) cf OW *or bisseu pan disconetent i'r outh aur hunnith* 'it is from the *bisseu* that (lit whence) these eight hours are made up' BRCs 3 256 3 MIW *bonhed quenynt o paradwys pan yw* 'the origin of bees is from paradise', from paradise that (lit whence) it is' MIW *y mae, mae* 'that it is' completely replaced *pan yw* in this sense (it is written MnW *mae*), also MIW *y taw dywedwn y taw ti oed bown* 'I should say that (it is) you were B' Heng MSS II 142 20 MnW (SW) *taw*, cf § 481 n

(4) MIW *cw*, *cud* *cwt* 'whence' where 'whither', v Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 188 For *c-*, v § 55 (*cud*, with /-d/, and *cwt*, with /-d/, are foll by len, *cw*, by len and also by spir mut of a dental)

(5) MIW *pet* (len) 'how many?', Br *pet* (these are followed by a sg noun), cf Lat *quot*, Skr *kati* 'how many?'

§ 379. The indefinite relative In Ir (1) The independent form *cia* (neut, probably orig neut pl) and the dep form *ci-* in the group *ci-p* can be indefinite rel pronouns ('quodcunque') Exx cf *ci-* in § 376, *cia cia bé a-mmet* 'however great it may be' 'whatever be its size' MI 61b 28, *cia beith noco-bia-so fó mebaul* 'whatever may

be, you will not be in disgrace' LL 260a 49 (2) The compound *se-chi* is also an indefinite relative *sechi-p hé* 'whosoever he be' Wb 1d 19, *sechi hed bás sôn* 'whatsoever death that may be' 13c 1, *sechi chruth do-n-d-rón* 'in whatsoever manner I may be able to do it' 5b 18, *sechi-ó óenraínn* 'from whatever single part' Thes II 2 25 Ir *sech is* 'that is' (in explanation)

§ 380. The indefinite relative in Brit consists of MW *pynnac* MnW *bynnag* Co *pynak*, *pynag*, *penag* (*penag-ol*, with enclit *oll* 'all', MnCo *pennagel*, and with mute *-e*, *pennagle*) MIBr *pennac*, preceded by the interrogative W *pw y bynnag* 'whoever', (*pa*) *beth bynnag* (OW *papedpinnac*), *peth bynnag* 'whatever', *pa le bynnag* 'wherever', *pa ddyn bynnag* 'whatever man', Co *pyw penagh* 'whoever', *pe penag*, *py penag*, *pe pynag ol* 'whatever', *py le penag* 'wherever', *py nyl pynag-ol* 'whichever (of two)' (PC 1462), MIBr *piu pennac* MIBr *piou bennak* 'whoever', MIBr *pe-tra pennac* 'whatever' Co *pynak* can also stand alone *pynak vo* 'whatever he be' PC 681, *penag a worthya ken du* 'whoever worships another god' Beun Mer 764, it also follows *pup* 'every' *puppenak ma fo redys* 'wherever it be read' PC 550, *puppenag-ol a vo ef* 'whoever he be' PC 23 (this is probably a later development of *pe-penak*) Br *pennac* may follow *un* 'one' + noun *un lechac pennac* 'some little place or other' JÉS 154 — As early as the 15th cent W *bynnac* occurs preceding a noun *bynnac vyd ar ben aic vo* 'whatever world be on a chief' ('whatever his circumstances may be') Hywel ap Dafydd, Peniarth MS 67, p 98, l 40, cf *pynnag o by wlad j her iu* 'whatever country he is from' BBCS 6 316 11 (from a MS of 1575—6) This construction spread, especially in SW, where *bynnag* became *gynnag*, then *gan nad*, which is now often found in writing *gan nad pw y* 'whoever', *gan nad beth* 'whatever' *pynnac* etc is formed from the unaccented interrog pron + a negative, cf Russ *kto n* 'quicumque' and the MIBr idioms like *nac eu mar fier* 'however proud he is' JÉS 3

§ 381 Ir *-con-* infixed after a negative is a pronominal element denoting originally 'in some connection or other' It frequently occurs before *nech* 'anyone', *ní* 'anything' (adj *nach*, neut *na*) or before *etr* 'at all', *ni-con-* translates Lat 'numquam' and 'omnino non' OIr *ní c-chloor act for cárn-scéil* 'may I hear nothing but good of you' Wb 23b 41, *con-na-ccon-bet acht degnamar less* 'so that there may be only good works with him' MI 129a 9, *ni-con-sech-*

mallad nech 'no one avoided' 33c 21, *ɔ-na-con-beth leu etir* 'that it should not be with them at all' 35c 2

This pronominal *-con-* was later confused with the preverb *lcon-* (*com-*), and so caused eclipsis. The *-c-* is lenited in the same circumstances as the initial of the preverb (hence MIr *no-chon-Sc cha*). Also in later OIr and in MIr an infixed pers pron occasionally occurs after *ni-con-* (never in Wb) *ni-ɔ-d-robae* 'he had not' MI 41a 5, *no-chon-om-tha-sa dúib acht* 'I have nothing for you but' W1 265 14, other MIr exx by Strachan, Ériu 1 161

-con- is possibly an adverb with the ending *-nā* like *all cen* § 371—2

§ 382 The ordinary indefinite pron is Ir indep *nech*, neut NA *ní* (DG *neuch*, *neich*), dep *nach*, neut NA *na* (DG sg m u *nach*, G sg f, pl NA f n, A m *nacha*, pl D *ho nach mundaib* 'by any signs' MI 35d 16), MIW *nep* MnW *neb*, (Co MIBr *nep* 'someone, anyone, something, anything', adj 'some any', with a neg, 'no one, nothing'. This pron often precedes a rel sent Ir *arcass do neoch bes meldach less* 'he has compassion on anyone he pleases' Wb 4c 19, *hua neuch as aircendam* 'from that which is first' MI 56b 22, MIW (always with the article, as also in MnW) *ponyt oed raun y tithen kanhadu y-r neb y deleir hwnnu attaw llad y benn ae rodi y-r neb y mynhei* 'would it not be right for thee to allow anyone to whom that one came to cut off his head and to give it to anyone he liked' RM 246, (Co *neb a wheleugh why me yiv* 'I am the one whom you are looking for' MC 68 MIBr *nep a lavare compson all qui dirait d'autres paroles* Ernault Gloss 442 (redundantly *doe nep am croueas* 'God who created me' Vie de sainte Nonne 1007, *Jesus pe henry nep a clesquet* 'Jesus whom you are seeking' JÉS 185), in MnBr as in W the art can be used with the pron *an neb a gollo a baeo ar mizou* 'whoever loses shall pay the expenses' Vallée, La Langue Bretonne (1926) 120, V *en neb e ia liés d'er foér* 'whoever goes often to the fair' (also *en nemb*).

Note The Ir dep form comes before a substantive, before *aile* (*mu ru-d-baisius nach n aile* 'if I have baptized any other' Wb 8a 3), before *ar* (*na ae none of them* 12b 33), before substantival adjs (*nach gem* 'for any long time' [cuan] 7a 11, *nach mor*, dat neut 'to any great extent, modifying a neg 11d 5, MI 64d 13 W *nemawr*, *nemor* Br *nemur*, cf Co *namur ny gar namur in bysma doys in ov syght* 'not many in this world like to come into my sight' Beun Mer 4215) — For the use in W v Morris-Jones, WG 313f, in Co, Lewis Llawlyfr Cern Canol 38, in MIBr, Lewis, Llawlyfr Llyd Canol² § 44

The Ir indep NA sg neut *ní* developed into a substantive meaning 'thing' in MlIr *cach ní* 'every thing', with pl *nechi*, *nethi* MlIr *ní*, *nídh*, pl *neithe*

The primitive form was **ne-kʷos* (for **kʷos ne kʷos* 'someone, someone not') For the loss of final *-od* in the n, cf § 86

Derivatives Ir *nechtar* 'either of two', MIW *nebawl* 'anyone' (BT 60 17), 'anything' (RP 1040 35, cf *heb nebawl eissyued* 'without any want' LIH 140 14), Co *nebes* 'something' (PC 208), 'little' (OM 389), Br *nebeud*, *neubeud* 'a little'

§ 383. 'Everybody', 'every' (1) Ir indep *cách.g cách*, dep *cach* (D m n *cach* Gen m n *cach* and *caich* Wb 16a 31, 5c 3, Gen f *cacha*, older *cache* Thes II 255 4, pl D *caíha* Wb 16a 27) W indep *paub*, dep *pob* Co *pup*, *pop*, *pep* (i e /*pop*/, the orig accented form, it is used substantivally, e g OM 596, and adjectivally, e g PC 1081) Br *pep* (the orig unacct form, adjectival only) For W *beunydd* (*beunoeth*), Br *bemde* v § 272 n

The Ir dep form stands before a substantive (*cach ball* 'every member', *cach maid* 'every good thing'), before *óen* (OIr *cach óen* 'everyone' Wb 4d 21), and before the g of the pers pron 3rd pers (*cach na*, *cach ha* Wb 12c 46, 19c 19) W *pob* stands before a substantive (usually sg, occasionally pl), before *un* (*pob un* 'every one' pl *pob rha*), before *rhyw* and *cyfryw*, before cardinal numerals to form distributives (orig with len, *bob ddau* 'two by two', now *bob yn ddau*, etc, cf OIr *cach dá* 'two by two'), *bop eil* § 371 The Co forms occur before a substantive, before *onan* and *huny* (*pup onan*, *pup huny* 'every one'), similarly, MlBr *pep unan*, *pep heny* 'every one', pl *pep re*

Primitive form **kʷākʷo-s*, cf OSl *lakū* 'which'

(2) Ir dependent form *cech* (D Gen m n *cech*, Gen sg f, A pl m (Ml 56a 20), N pl f *cecha*, also Gen pl *cecha* Ml 91c 12) 'Thus proclitic pron may contain as its first element the interrog pron (= Ir *cia*), the second element may be either the repeated interrog pron (cf Lat *quis-quis*) or the particle **kʷe* (cf Lat *quis-que*) From it is derived *cechtar* 'each of two'

§ 384 'Every' = 'all' Co *kettep* (*kettep dyner* 'every penny' PC 1514, *ketep tam* 'every bit' OM 2743, *kettep onan* 'everyone', *ketoponon oll* MC 181 4, *ketep pol* = *ketep ol* 'all'), MlBr *guitibunan* Mir Mort 3289, *guyteb-unan*, *guitib-unan*, *guyteb-un-tam*, MlBr *guitibunan* V *kotibunan* Co *kettep* Br *guyteb*- represent an old

compound whose first element is the same as W *cyd* in MIW *y gyt* MnW *i gyd* 'all together', *tir cyd* 'common land', MIW *y gyt a* MnW *gyda* 'with', *cyderstedd* 'sit together', OCo *chetua* 'conuentus uel conuentio', MCo *kes-colon* 'with one heart' PC 2, MBr *quet-breuzr* 'confrère' Cf Lat *cun-ctus* from **com-ctus* The last element of the Brit word corresponds to Ir *sech*-, *sech* § 379, 2

§ 385 Indefinite pronouns not derived from the interrogative stem

(1) Ir *huile* 'all' (before or after the substantive when adjectival) W *oll*, substantival, always used adverbially following the word to which it is connected (*y byd oll* 'the whole world' 'the world entirely', cf also MIW *ber oll yt uer val hynn* 'were it all thus', 'were it wholly that it were like this' WM 487 28), *holl*, adj, always preceding its noun (MIW *naut oll yr holl merthyri* 'the protection of all the saints, entirely' BBC 71 4, it takes len after it), v Morris-Jones, Welsh Syntax 147ff a pl form possibly in MIW *yll, ill, ell* MnW *ill* before numerals MnW *aethant ill dau* 'they went, the two of them' (otherwise Morris-Jones, WG 281) Co *ol, oll*, substantival, used as in W (*the'n beys ol* 'to the whole world' OM 34, *pandra y' ol guyrioneth* 'what entirely is truth' PC 2029) also as object of a verb, a usage not found in W (*my a ura ol thu'm gallus* 'I shall do everything in my power' OM 2148—9), adjectival, (*in oll kernou* 'in all Cornwall' Beun Mer 2205, usually with foll art or pron *yn oll an bys* 'in all the world' MC 225 4, *oll y voth* 'all his desire' 9 3, possibly an English construction), cf also *pepynag ol* § 380, *kettep pol* § 384 MBr *oll*, substantival as in W (*quement am eur a roaf oll* 'as much as I have I give entirely' Jês 99, *ed oll en maes* 'go out, all of you' Nonne 513), also *an oll, ann oll* 'entirely completely' (Nonne 645 Jês 130, cf *ann oll oll* Jês 43, *ann oll da-nn oll* Barbe 802), *holl, hol*, adj (*da hol mennat* 'all thy desire' Barbe 676, *paeaf oll dle an holl bet* 'to pay entirely the debt of the whole world' Jês 44, rarely *oll ann oll faccon* 'entirely' 'the whole manner' Barbe 112), in MBr *holl* is used in both senses (2) Ir *dim* gl quippiam, gl quicquam Ml 27d 9, 70c 14b W *dim* 'anything', *heb Dduw, heb ddim* 'without God, without anything', often with the negative *ni chlywaf ddim* 'I do not hear anything', and especially in spoken W used like Fr *pas* with the neg (*ni*) *wn i ddim beth a wna* 'I don't know what he will do', hence *dim* has acquired the meaning 'nothing' Often followed by *o ni welais ddim o'r dyn* 'I did not see (anything of) the man',

usually contracted to *mo ni welars mo'r dyn* (also *ddim ohono* > *mohono* > *mono* '(of) him' etc.) In MnW *dim ond* 'anything but' has come to be used in the sense 'only' *dim ond lleuad borffor* 'only the purple moon' Etym obscure

(3) MIW *ryu* MnW *rhyw* 'a (kind of)', 'a (certain)', 'some', *pa ryw* § 377,2, *neb rhyw* 'any (kind of)' *neb ryw gristawn* 'any Christian' RM 219 3, *pob rhyw* 'every (kind of)' Cpds *amryw* 'various, several', *cyfryw* 'such', *unrhyw*, *un rhyw* 'same' (also with prec article), later *unrhyw* 'some', Br dial *reo* (RC 37 36) In W this word is also a noun kind', later 'sex', usually masc, now occasionally fem, *rhyw* ' (it is) natural to' *rhyw it oddd rei* 'it was natural to thee to give' Tudur Aled (I 88) — MIW *rei* MnW *rhai* pl 'some' MIW *rei onadunt* 'some of them' RM 144 (MnW *rhai* is also used adjectivally with a pl noun *rhai prydiau* 'some times'), *C'o re a-n eduron* 'some of the Jews' MC 203 This pron also means 'ones' MIW *y rei* MnW *y rhai* 'the ones, those', MnW *(y) rhai eraill* '(the) others', *pob rhai* § 383,1 *pa rai* § 377,2, *C'o an re ma* § 369, 4, *re erell* 'others' Br *ar re mañ* 'these', MIBr *an hol re* 'all' (W *yr holl rai*), *pep re* 'all' (Br *re* also occurs as sing *un re* 'someone' Nonne 507, Barbe 7) Except in V, Br *re* takes len *re vihan* 'small ones' It is adj in Trég *tri re dud* 'three families' (this in W would be *tri rhyw dud*, apparently the Br forms corresponding to W *rhyw* and *rhai* have been confused, cf Loth Dict de Pierre de Châlons 77)

(4) *Ir céle* 'fellow' is used pronominally, meaning 'the other (of two)' *as cor do chách gurde dée h-a chéle* 'that it is proper for every one to pray to God for the other' Wb 7a 13, for the fem *sétig* 'wife' ('companion' § 294) is used *indara sul* 'a setig 'the one eye the other' LU 6454—6 W *cilydd* 'fellow' is similarly used, always accompanied in MIW by the pron *y* 'his' MIW *dyrnodedu calet tost a roder bau p onadunt y gilyd* 'hard severe blows did each of them give to the other' "to his fellow" (*y = y y*), 'they gave each other hard severe blows' RM 282 22, *y gilydd*, written in MnW *ei gilydd*, became stereotyped later and was used with other antecedents besides those of the 3 pers sg masc, and the len form *gilydd* was used even after *ein* 'our', *eich* 'your', *eu* 'their', the development may be illustrated thus *gwelodd pawb ohonom ei gilydd* 'each of us saw the other' > *gwelsom bawb ei gilydd* 'we saw each one his fellow' > *gwelsom ei gilydd* > *gwelsom*

ein gilydd 'we saw each other', MIW *or mor bwy gilyd* 'from one sea to the other', MnW *o ben bwy-gilydd* 'from one end to the other' (*bwy* for *puw* < **po-i*, the prep **po* (Ir *co*) occurs before a noun as *py* 'to' cf MIW *py* RM 83 20 for *py y*) Co *y gele* MC 179, *y gyle* PC 506, *-y gela* Beun Mer 607 MIBr *e-quile* MnBr *e-gile*, fem MIBr *he-ben* MnBr *e-ben* (Co *hy-ben y-ben* is used for both m and f)

XXIX. The relative pronouns.

§ 386. In both branches of insular Celt there is a fundamental difference between relative sentences in which the rel is subject or object and those in which the rel has some other function. In the former class old pronominal elements with rel meaning appear, in the latter such elements either do not exist or are secondary. The former type is here styled 'proper' relative sentences the latter 'improper'

The relative pronouns in Irish

§ 387. Relative eclipsis (a new development in Ir § 192—4) established itself to a certain extent in both proper and improper rel sentences, and it became the rule that it was always accompanied by the same suffixed and infixed elements as appeared in proper rel sentences. In the course of the literary period the characteristics of the proper rel sent tend to spread more and more to the improper class, v § 393, 1. A pronominal element *-d-*, in itself not relative, often appears in Ir rel sents

§ 388. The suffixed elements in proper relative sentences and in eclipsing sentences in Ir (1) Verbal forms 3 sg with the ending *-d* substitute for this, in rel function, a non-palatal *-s* *berid* 'carries', *beres* 'who carries', *beras* 'who may carry', *intí cretfe* 'he who will believe' Wb 1a 3, *tuicc a n-garbes in salm* 'he understands that which the salm says' 12d 42, *amal gnís crist* 'as Christ worketh' 21b 2, *mairg bias oc estecht* 'woe (to him) who will be listening' W₁ 190

(2) A suffixed *-e* occurs after verbal forms 3 pl in *-t* and after certain 3 sg monosyllabic forms *berit* 'they carry', *a m-bertae éin* 'what the birds carry' LU 1454, *intain creitfite* 'when they will believe' Wb 5c 12, — to the copula 3 pl *it* 'they are' corresponds as rel the form *ata it sib ata chomarp* 'it is you who are heirs'

19c 20, — *téte* 'who goes' 9d 5, *it hé coisnimm inso file lib-si* 'these are the contentions that are with you' 7d 13

(3) The 1 pl ending *-mí* with the suffixed rel becomes *-me* *mat réte frendirci gesme* 'if it be present things which we (may) ask' Wb 4a 27, *a m-bás tiayme-ní* 'the death which we go to' 15b 28

(4) The passive and middle forms of the 3 sg and 1 and 3 pl in *-ir* have corresponding rel forms in *-er*, *-ar* *os cech annmim ainm-nagther* 'over every name that is named' 21a 14, *inn almsin berar* 'the alms (acc) that is taken' 16d 7, *for-sna-hí comalnatar toil dá*

on those who fulfil God's will 20d 1 (5) Some 3 sg subjunctive, fut or pret forms in palatal *-s* have corresponding rel forms in non-pal *-s* *ma theis* 'if he go' Wb 14a 14 rel *tuas* Thes II 39 25, — *fóidís* 'he sent', *soerais* 'he delivered' rel *amal fóides* 'as he sent' *soeras* 'who delivered' Thes II 304 1 302 5 (6) The suffixed element disappears after some unacct verbal forms, thus *feil*, *fil*, *feil* Wb 4c 1, 10b 21 13c 26 beside *file*, *at*, *et*, *it* Ml 45d 1, 27a 9, Wb 29a 29, beside *ata* The 3 sg *is* 'is' has the corresp rel *as* *brothchán as choir duib* 'it is pottage that is meet for you' 33c 15

§ 389. The infixed element in proper rel sentences and in eclipsing sentences in Ir The only real infixed rel element is a leniting *-e-* *-a-* or nil The form *-e-* occurs after the preverb *imb-* (occasionally after *air-*) the form *-a-* after *air-* and occasionally after *ess-*, in other cases the lenition alone occurs *innamí prechite et imm-e-churetar cori* 'those who preach and bring peace' Wb 5a 5 (with rel eclipsis *imm-e-n-imyabad* gl declinate), *raier imm-a-* Wb 16b 8 Ml 17b 6, *imm-o-forling* 'that has caused' Wb 10c 18 — *it hesom ba moam ar-e-rancatar* and it was they that they found there most' ZCP 8 308 34, *cach réit ar-a-ro-gart som* 'everything that he has forbidden' Wb 5c 23 (with rel eclipsis *a n-ar-a-n-eqí* 'when he bewails' Ml 18d 1), with lost pron *is hed ar-thá inso* 'it is this that is before (me)' Wb 30d 13 — *indi ass-a-quiset* 'those who wish' Ml 61b 17, with lost pron *as-chom-arta* 'who have been killed' 26d 11

Exx of lenition due to the rel element, and which remains after the latter disappears, are given in § 239, cf also *cach led do-choid som* 'every side that he went' Wb 14c 20, *nech fris-chom-arr doib* 'some one who opposes them' Ml 77a 12

§ 390. The infixed element *-d-* Thus occurs (1) In proper rel sents and in eclipsing sentences before an infixed pers pron,

- v § 342 (2) After the conjunctions *cia* 'though', *ma* 'if' before an indicative verb *cia do-d-chommar* 'though we have gone' Wb 23d 23, *ma ru-d-choiscset a-mmuintir* 'if they have corrected their household' 28c 7 (3) After the interrogative particle *in* *duís in-di-p fochunn úice* 'to see if it may be cause of salvation' 26b 27 (4) After relative preverbs before the copula *con-di-b didnad dom-sa* 'so that it may be a comfort to me' 1b 1, *indid* 'in which it is' 12d 18 (5) In eclipsing sentences after *ro-* and *no-* before the verb 'to be' *is fantech ro-n-d-boi-som* 'it was careful that he was' Ml 21d 4 (6) Frequently with the verb *do-es-ta* 'is wanting' in rel construction *an du-d-esta* 'that which is wanting' Wb 1a 9, also, *do-ecmaing* 'happens' *is menic do-n-d-ecmaing* 'frequently it happens' Ml 54a 7 (7) In *ro-d-bo* 'or, either' = *ro-bo* v KZ 35 404 (lit. "what can be")

(8) In proper rel sents and in eclipsing sents, after rel preverbs and after the interrog particle *in*, -d-occurs in the neg *nad* (except before an infix pers pron) *aní nad nóib* 'that which is not holy' Wb 31c 1, *dund óis nad-chartha cach tuair* § 239, 1, *co-ní-ecma nad-n-aurchissa* 'that it may not happen that he spare not' Wb 5b 35, *ní fíl ceneel di-nad-ricthe nech* 'there is no nation of which some one shall not be saved' 28b 1, *in-nád-cualaid-si* 'have you not heard?' 5a 21 — Relative -n- comes before -d- before the indicative copula *nant ní idól* 'that an idol is nothing' 10b 26, *hóre na-n-d-at filu* 'since they are not filu' 4c 8 — In the cases here described the use of -d- is optional (*na*, *na-n-* = *nad*, *nad-n-*)

§ 391. Improper relative sentences in Ir. The relative is not formally expressed (1) after prepositional groups *is do thabirt di glae berid in claideb sin* 'it is to inflict punishment that he bears that sword' Wb 6a 13 (2) After nouns referred to adverbially and after some nominal conjunctions (but in these cases the relative eclipses) is the more common construction, v § 193, 3, 4) *is ed á erel is gessi dia* 'so long must God be supplicated' "that is the length in which God must be supplicated" Ml 107d 8, *hóre ní-ro-undubed* 'because he had not been circumcised' Wb 23d 25 Also after *amal* 'as if' ('as'), *resiu* before *dul*, *in dul* 'so that' (3) Occasionally when it means 'that' (conjunction), instead of the more usual construction with eclipsis *is glé lmm nadigente etrad* 'it is clear to me that you would not commit fornication' Wb 9d 9, cf also *is cumme doib bid idalle* 'it is the same to them as though it were an idol-offering' 10c 3 (4) Occasionally with rel preverbs, v § 194

§ 392. The genitive of the relative is expressed (1) by an improper rel sent with an anaphoric genitive pronoun *but alarh and rofinn-atar a pecthe* 'there are some whose sins are known' Wb 29a 28 In such cases the form of the 3 sg copula is *as inti as a ainm* 'he whose name it is' 2c 3 (before a pl noun *at* is used *in gilla sa at a chomrama óen-aidche so ule* 'the youth whose battles in one night are so many', lit "all these" W1 300 8, v KZ 35 399, (IrL 132)

(2) The rel sent may have no anaphoric pron, and in such cases it is introduced by *as* 'who is', by a rel preverb, by the neg *na* or by rel eclipsis *inti as hénart hress* 'he whose faith is weak' Wb 6d 9, *la-sna cumachtgu foambat accar 7 mām* 'with the mighty ones under whose fosterage and yoke they are' Ml 59d 7, *o crist nad célla celar* 'from Christ whose songs are not hidden' Thes II 352 1, *in cech réit ru-n-ecat les* 'in respect of everything they need' ("whose need they reach") Ml 57b 4

§ 393. The later development of the relative sentence in Ir. (1) Suffixed and infixed relative elements spread to improper relative sentences in later OIr, they even sometimes took the place of rel eclipsis *amal imm-e-chomarsed* 'as though someone had asked him' Ml 63c 9 Relative construction is found after prepositional groups (§ 391,1) *ní fris ru-chét* 'not of it was it sung' 64a 13 These tendencies developed still further in MlIr *is dib beres in coimdid a briathra* 'it is from them that the Lord delivers his judgments' Atk LBr 6239

(2) Lenition after preverbs ceased in MlIr to be a mark of relative construction (§ 239,2), but the initial of a simple verb or of a preverb-verb group came to be lenited when relative, and in MnIr an analogical *a* is frequently found before such len forms *an fear a mholas* 'the man who praises' § 239,3 The 1 pl endings *-me* and *-mí* are already confused in Ml (KZ 35 376) The 3 pl rel form was gradually given up in MlIr *ferend sin chormetait cosmarlus dé* 'those are the people who preserve the likeness of God' W1 170 8, in MnIr the 3 sg rel form is used when the rel is subject *na fir bhuarleas* 'the men who strike', in the spoken language the use of this form is still more extended *an té rarras siad* 'he whom they seek', *an fear bhuarleas tú* 'the man whom you hit', v KZ 35 374

(3) The OIr demonstrative *a n-* before a rel sent gradually

came to be regarded as a rel pron. It is frequently re-formed in MlIr as *ina n-*, *ana n-*, *na n-*, on the model of *in-a n-* 'in which' (because *a n-* 'that' and *i n-* 'in which' had coincided phonetically), this new rel pron (whence Manx *ny*, Sc *na*) is naturally followed by the prototonic verbal form, as is also Mnlr *a n-*. Cf KZ 35 397ff ZCP 2 381

The relative pronouns in Brit. and Gaulish

§ 394. **Suffixed and infixed relative elements in Brit and Gaulish.** MlBr *s-o* 'who (which) is' (*me so*, MnBr *me a zo* 'I am') Gaul *duguontuo* 'who serve' (3 pl), Thurneysen, ZCP 6 558. A suffixed rel similar in form to that in the Gaul verb may underlie OW *issid* MIW *yssyd* (*yssy*, *sy*, *syd*) MnW *y sydd* (*y sy*, *sy*, *sydd*) 'who (which) is' (for *ys-ydd* /*ɔs-ȳd̪*/, accented on the ultima). Traces of an infixed rel are evidenced in the older W poetry by lenition following the preverb *ry* and the negative in rel sentences beside non-len (spirant mutation) in non-rel sentences, for exx v § 240. A remnant may well occur in *onid imuaredit* or *druc digonit* 'unless thou deliverest thyself from the evil which thou doest' BBC 19 7, with len of *-c-* after the prefix *di-*, as contrasted with *di-chon*, cf Juv englynion *ti dicones* 'thou who hast made' *gur dicones* 'He who made' BBCS 6 206 ('*-c-* = /-g-/ and '*-c-* = /-ch/ in *dicones pater* 'the Father made'), v Loth, R 37 58. But only very meagre ruins of the infixed rel are found in MIW and all traces of it have long disappeared.

§ 395. **The usual form of the proper relative sentence in Brit.** In OW the proper rel sent is introduced by the relative *hai di erchim tir telih hai oid i lau elcu* 'to claim the land of Telvch which was in the possession ("hand") of Elcu' Lib Land xliii, *ir seren n hai bu in arcmeir o* 'the star which was opposite o' BBCS 3 256 7 (cf 1 8, 11, 17, 22), in 1 9 *ha*. In early MIW MSS this occurs as *aī, ay yr neb aī torro hac ay dimanuo y bryeint hunn* 'any one who may violate or curtail this privilege' Lib Land 121, *onit e keureyth ay deueyt y deleu* 'unless the law says (unless it is the law that says)' it is due' ZCP 20 60 38, in early MIW poetry as *ae pwyr byw ae diadas gwaet* 'who is the living one who shed blood' BT 19 20, *pnei y bet ae tut mor* 'whose is the grave which the sea covers' BBC 64 15. But the usual form is W Co Br *a*, which causes lenition. The rel *a* is never used before *sydd* 'who is', it

sometimes occurs, especially in MnW, before *biau* (unnecessarily, as the rel pron. here is *bi-*, v § 374 with *n*)

The rel *a* is not used when the rel sent 'is negative, in MIW the neg rel sentence was introduced by *ny* (*nyt*), later *ni* (*nid*), now usually *na* (*nad*), in Co and Br the form is *na* MIW *nat oed gyueir arner hi ny ber yn llawn o e garyat ef* 'there was no part of her which was not full of his love' WM 102 20, Co *neb na grys* 'anyone who does not believe' RD 2418, MIBr *unan na duy* 'one who will not come' Nonne 28 Similarly when the verb is preceded by the temporal preverb MIW *wedy y gynvuer collet a sarhaet ry-wnaethost titheu ymi* 'after the many losses and insults which you have caused to me' RM 99 13, Co *pyth yw en drok re-wrussys* 'what is the evil which thou hast done' MC 101, MIBr *doe ra-m pardono* 'God pardon me' Nonne 388 But in MIW *a ry* occurs frequently, cf § 424

Note. Occasionally in MIW, often in Br and Co, *a* drops before a vowel, in late MnW it was frequently omitted even before a consonant, but in modern literary usage this is carefully avoided

§ 396. The improper relative sentence in Brit. In OW the rel. is not formally expressed in improper rel sentences *in trited retec retit loyr* 'in the third course (that, in which) the moon travels', *is gur tum turnetor ir loc guac* 'it is as an increment (that) the empty space is reckoned', *is gwrth ir serenenn retit loyr* 'it is opposite the constellation (that) the moon travels' BBCS 3 256 2, 7, 11 In MIW and MnW, in Co and in Br the rule was to introduce an improper rel sent with the particle MIW *y*, *yt* (= /æd/ § 240, 3c), *yd* (= /æð/), rarely *yr* MnW *y*, *yr* Co *y*, *yth* Br *e*, *ez*, occasionally *a* is also used in W (v 3, 4 below) The particle is used (1) whenever the relative has the force of an oblique case or functions adverbially MIW *ac yr fforest yd aer* 'and (it was) to the forest that he used to go' RM 193 18, *ny bu hir y buant* 'it was not long that they were' 23 7, Co *den meneth olyff yd-eth* '(it was) to the Mount of Olives that he went' MC 52, MIBr *nen deu quet dre humanitez ez eu gouarnet ho chastetaz* 'it is not through human nature that your chastity is preserved' MBH 3 Cf also MIW *Gwaechmer y-m gelwir* 'I am called G', "(it is) G that I am called" LIH 17 29, Co *Barabas yth-o gylwys* 'he was called B' MC 124 (2) After certain forms used as conjunctions MIW *ac ual yd yttod yn kerdet* 'and as he was going' RM 236 7, (v Morris-Jones, WG 435, 449) After the Co and Br conjunction *ma* 'that' Co, *may fo colenwys* 'so

that it may be fulfilled' MC 48, MIBr *maz rentimp deoch enor* 'so that we may render to you honour' MBH 2 Co *may*, Br *maz* are also used for *y(th)*, ez Co *an pris may wruk the thon* 'the time that I bore thee' RD 486, MIBr *an bez maz oae laquat* 'the grave where he was put' Poèmes Bret 124

(3) When the relative is governed by a preposition, the rel sent may in W be introduced by the particle *y*, the preposition being not expressed MIW *a cheisswn greft y caffom yn ymborth* 'let us seek a trade by which we may get our food' WM 65 25 But usually the rel sent contains a conjugated preposition or a pronoun governed by a prep MIW *yny delych yr koet y doethost trwydaw* 'until you come to the wood through which you came' RM 166 6, the rel *a* sometimes occurs MIW *ffiol eur a anho llawn draut y brenhin yndi* 'a gold cup in which may be contained the king's full draught' WML 3 4, *y gwayw a dywawt y coruwyn du amdanaw* 'the spear about which the black maiden spoke' WM 167 22 — Co *ma*, *may* Br *maz* are used in such rel sentences Co *nep ma-n ressys the wethe* 'he to whom thou gavest him to keep' OM 574, *frut may fen kellys* 'fruit by which we were lost' MC' 153 4, Br *dren curun spern maz uoe cernel e pen* 'through the crown of thorns with which his head was encircled' MBH 45 In (Co and MnBr *a* is used also Co *onan a gotho ynno cresy* 'one in whom one should believe' OM 1761, MnBr *ar marc'hadour a gom-zomp anezañ*, or *ma komzomp anezañ* 'the merchant of whom we speak' Ernault Gramm 31, cf Vallée p 166f The interrogative pron, followed by a prep, is also used relatively in Br MIBr *dre-n marv pe gant ez marvas* 'by the death by which he died' JÉS 64, *an croas pe en heny ez gouzaffuas hon Salueur* 'the cross on which our Saviour suffered' MBH 58 8

(4) When the relative is genitive, the rel sent is in W introduced either by *a* or by *y*, the noun governing the g being accompanied by a g personal pronoun MIW *teithi hen a oresgynnawys mor y kyuoeth* 'T H, whose country the sea overran' RM 108 24, *ar gur y buost nesthwyr yn y ty* 'and the man in whose house thou wert last night' 203 5 For W *prau v* § 374 — Co *a nep a vo y gorf golhys* 'he whose body may be washed' PC 861 — MnBr *a Doue a veulomp e vadelez* 'God, whose goodness we praise', Vallée 166

Note The demonstrative pron sg m *yr hun*, f *yr hon*, n *yr hyn*, pl *y rhai* is frequently used in written W as relative in cases 3 and 4 (part-

icularly in translations) MIW *y llyfyr hwnn yn yr hwnn yd edeuer arwystyl* hic libellus in quo pignus relinquatur' Delw y Byd p 23 In 16th cent prose the interrog pron was also used in W as rel, numerous instances occur in the Bible *pechaduriaid, o ba rai pennaf ydwyff fi* sinners, of whom I am chief' ITim 1 15, but it has not in W established itself so firmly as in Br, and its use is now avoided

Etymology of the relative pronouns.

§ 397 (1) Ir relative eclipsis originated in the meaningless sandhi-*n*, v § 192, § 193,2 It probably developed as a relative first in improper rel sents For rel -*n* as object v § 193,1, with relative preverbs, § 194

(2) Ir infixed -*d*-, MIW *yd* Co *yth* Br *ez* have all the same origin, an adverbial form **idhe* (cf Skr *ihá* 'here', v Ebel, KB 5 148), not relative originally (In MIW and Co it can immediately precede the verb at the head of a principal sentence MIW *yd afi* 'I shall go' WM 118 27, Co *hag yd ethons dy besy* 'and they went to entreat him' MC 154, v ZCP 7 337) It came to be regarded as a relative (1) in improper rel sents in which the relative was not expressed (the Brit development) and (2) when the usual expression of the rel (lenition) was obscured by a following infixed pers pron (the Ir development)

(3) The infixed and suffixed elements of the proper rel sents are the remains of the IE rel pron (**jo-s*), NA sg neut **jod* (Skr *yad* Gk *δ*) This is represented in Ir by -*e* in 1 and 3 pl rel forms of verbs (*bert-e* 'who carry', 'whom, which they carry', *berm-e* 'whom, which we carry'), by -*a* in the proclitic *at-a* 'who are', § 388,2 After prefixes, v § 389 No trace of the rel remains in *as* 'who, which is', by anal with sg *as*, pl *ata* there arose 3 sg rel forms like *beres* 'who carries', *caras* 'who loves' — The rel pron appears as -*jo* in Gaul *dugnonthio* § 394, **-jo* could become **-ijo* and then give W -*ydd*, § 21,3, which probably appears in MIW *ysayd* MnW *y sydd*, regularly used in proper rel sents with rel subject The assumption that -*ydd* in this word is the same as the MIW particle *yd* /*æd*/ implies that *yd* can be subject, but *yd* is never found as subject (the exx given by Loth, RC 31 33 are incorrectly explained by him, v ZCP 17 107f, in each case the sentence is an improper rel sentence) The rel pron is represented by -*o* in Br *s-o* 'who is' After preverbs and the negative it was lost (thus after MIW *ry-* etc IE **pro*) In Brit the rel pron could

also stand before the verb, the oldest form is OW (*h*)*ar* MIW *ay, ae*, but the form *a* has prevailed in W, Co and Br. The development of all these forms is not clear (The rel pron *a* being unaccented was liable to be weakened to /ə/, and this weakened pronunciation is represented by *y* in W, v Delw y Byd 126f, and cf Co *ham banneth y roff theth vam* 'and my blessing (which) I give to thy mother' Beun Mer 3706)

Negatives and verbs in relative sentences.

Use of relative sentences.

§ 398. (1) The negative occasionally has in relative sent a form different from that in a principal sent, v § 409 — For the accent on the first prefix of a rel verb in Ir v § 402, 4

(2) When the relative is subject, the verb is generally in the 3 sg OIr. *as-mné m-ónnur ar-id-rochell* 'that it is I alone who have taken it away' Sg 202a 7, *ní sní cet-id-deirgní* 'it is not we who have done it first' Ml 124b 3 MIW. *ae ti a eirch uy merch ys mi ae heirch* 'is it thou who askest for my daughter' It is I who ask for her' WM 479 29, *gwyr a gauas clot mawr* 'men who got great fame' RM 138 14 Co. *ol an bestes a gertho* 'all the animals which go' OM 313 MIBr *a me a dle ober en dra se* 'is it I who should do that thing?' JEs 59, *han dazrou gloeb a gulchy dyen ho eneb* 'and the wet tears which washed your face quite' MBH 45 14

Exceptions occur In OIr the 3 pl of the copula comes after 'we', 'you' *it sib ata chomarpí Abracham* 'it is ye that are A's heirs' Wb 19c 20, the 3 pl also follows a 3 pl antecedent *indhí prídchúte et forchanat brethir dáé* 'they that preach and teach God's word' 29a 12, *innani as-id-grennat* 'of those that persecute him' Ml 18d 2 In MIW the verb is frequently 3 pl after a 3 pl antecedent *gwelers wyr goruawr a dygyrchynt awr* 'I saw huge men who were going to battle' BT 42 11, *gwae yr sawl a gredan* 'woe to those who believe' RP 1164 15 The 3 pl is usual in MnW in a neg rel sentence, but 3 sg and 3 pl were formerly used MIW *gwyr ny techer* (MS *nyt echer*) 'men who would not run away' BA 1 13, *y ryw bryuet ni doeth* 'animals which have not come' WM 83 7, *dynyon ny ellynt* 'men who could not' RM 193 14, *guir ny ghlnt* 'men who would not escape' BBC 72 6 Gaulish also affords an instance of the 3 pl after a 3 pl antecedent *gobedbr dugvontno ucuetm* 'to the priests who serve Ucuetis (qui colunt Ucuetim)' ZCP 6 558

§ 300. When any word in a sentence is to be emphasized, it is placed as predicate after the copula, and is followed by the remainder of the statement in a (proper or improper) *rel* sentence. Ir *is recht nórbas* 'it is the Law that sanctifies' Wb 24a 28, *is immaller rofórtea* 'it is together that they have been sent' 27c 35. The copula is occasionally omitted *brothchán as chóir dub* '(it is) pottage that is meet for you' 33c 15, *a persin ind iudidi asbeir som aní-siu* '(it is) in the person of the Jew that he says this' 5a 1 — MIW *oed maelgun a uelun* 'it was M that I could see' BBC 1 8, OW *is gwrth ir serenenn reit loyr* § 396, MIW *bit chuero y talhaur* 'it will be bitterly that it will be paid for' BBC 31 11, *ys guers yd wyf yn keissaw* 'it is for some time that I have been seeking' WM 487 8. But as a rule the copula is omitted. MIW *mi yd wyt yn y geissaw* '(it is) I whom thou art seeking' WM 138 21, *mi a-e heurch* '(it is) I who ask for her' 479 24, *kimri a orust* '(it will be) the Welsh who will conquer' BBC 59 4, in MnW the omission of the copula is the rule.

Note. The rule requiring relative construction if any word other than the verb begins the sentence did not obtain in Gaul. *ratun Frontu Tarbawsonios seuru* 'F T made the fortress'. It never prevailed completely in W. *gwr deur kymynnt* 'brave men cut down' BBC 72 9. But the use of the particle *a* spread very much, no doubt first into (non-emphasizing) sentences in which it could serve as an infixing particle (*mi a-e crogaf* 'I shall hang it' WM 76 1), but later also into (non-emphasizing) sentences without an infixing pronoun. This however did not change the linguistic feeling of the speakers, who continued to distinguish syntactically between emphasizing sentences with a real relative (pronoun) *a* and non-emphasizing sentences with a meaningless (particle) *a*. MnW *myfi a aeth* 'it was I who went', *cenhadau a aeth* 'it was messengers that went', but *myfi a eithum* 'I went', *cenhadau a aethant* 'messengers went'. Occasionally however we find in MIW instances like *Kennadeu a aeth* WM 51 8 in which no emphasis is required or intended upon *kennadeu*. This state of things in W explains how *mi* and other pronouns could come to be felt as particles, § 240 n 1.

In Co. and Br., however, the construction of the emphasizing sentence apparently became general and normal in non-emphasizing sentences. Co. *eleth de rygthy a seff* 'angels rise before her' MC 226, *me a gris* 'I believe', MIBr *me a gourchemen* 'I command', *he mestr he les he hunan hac a ya* 'her master leaves her by herself and goes' Barbe 125.

XXX. The preverbs.

§ 400. For close and loose composition of preverbs with verbs
▼ § 99 The personal endings of a compound verb are shorter than

those of the simple verb § 448 In loose composition (1) the preverb is proclitic (2) Certain elements can be infixed between preverb and verb, e.g. pronouns (3) The orig. final consonant of the preverb does not coalesce with the initial of the verb (4) Elision does not occur when a preverb ending in a vowel precedes a verb with initial vowel (5) A preverb orig. ending in a vowel does not cause lenition of the initial of the verb § 239, nor does eclipsis occur § 431, 7

The occurrence of close and loose composition.

§ 401 The negatives, the interrog. particle and the relative preverbs in OIr. always form loose compounds with the verb. This is also the case when another preverb precedes the neg. *arnach-naurchosset* 'that it should not detain him' Wb. 8a.4

§ 402. (1) In the indic. and subjunctive in OIr. the accent falls on the second preverb. Verbs compounded with a prefix (word-forming preverb) or the temporal preverb *ro* always change in form when preceded by a neg., the interrog. part. or a rel. preverb (syntactic preverbs) *ind fochúth fo-llongam* 'the suffering which we endure' Wb. 14b.15, but *amal nad fulgam* 'as we do not endure', *ní fulgam* 'we do not endure' Ml. 77d.7, *co chonscarad* 'that he should destroy' Ml. 23b.14, but *in coscram-na* 'do we destroy?' Wb. 2b.20, *ass-éirset* 'who will arise' Wb. 25b.16, but *in-es-éirset* 'in which they will arise' 13c.20

(2) No pronoun can be infixed between a neg. or *ro* and the copula *ní-pa-dn andrech* 'he will not be sorry for it' Wb. 5c.9, *in-í-ro-po magister* § 239,1. But the adverbial *-d-* and rel. *n* are infixed between preverb and copula *in-di-p* 'whether it may be', *in-di-d* 'in which it is', *ro-d-bo* 'or' § 390, 3, 4, 8, *amal ro-m-bo marb ísu* 'as Jesus was dead' Wb. 15b.25

(3) There is already in OIr. some evidence of a new development by which *ro* even after another preverb forms a loose compound with the verb *ní ru-m-chomairleicis-se* 'Thou hast not permitted me' Ml. 76d.5. In MlIr. *ro* is regularly proclitic after a syntactic preverb, and in such cases a pron. is infixed after *ro*, v. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895—98, p. 186 *ní-r-thiargairset* 'they could not lift it' LU. 8389, *uair na-r-chomairill* 'since he had not fulfilled' Atk. LBr. 4035, MlIr. metre proves that it was the syll. following after *ro* that was accented (Strachan, op. cit. 185). But a few instances of the older order occur in MlIr., while *-raibhsa*

'was' has persisted up to MnIr (*go raibhe* 'so that he was', *ní raibhe* 'he was not' etc.), otherwise MnIr has only *-r gu-r, nío-r, ná-r* (= MIr *cor, nar, nar*)

(4) Close composition with the first preverb occasionally occurs in proper rel sentences *di neuch thórnther* 'of anything which is denoted' Sg 59b 18 (*to-fo-rind-*), *is hed foirfea* 'it is this which will cause' Wb 11d 3 (*fo-fera* 'causes') Close composition in rel sents occurs more frequently in MIr

(5) Close composition with the first preverb occurs in answers *ní chumcaí son cumcam écin* 'you cannot do it I can indeed' LU 5166f, *garb i-t láim mo fóesom Atmu ol Conchobar* 'take in thy hand my protection I recognize it, said C' 4895f

§ 403 In the imperative close composition with the first preverb is the rule *taibrid* 'give ye' Wb 16c 17, *taibrem* 'let us give' 13d 15 Loose composition occurs when an infixed pron is used *du-m-em-se 7 deich tar-m-chenn* 'protect me and take vengeance for me' Ml 72d 11, if the verb is simple, *no* is used to infix the pron *n-an-glanad* 'let him purify himself' Wb 11d 8 — Close comp in the nominal forms of the verb *tabart* 'to give', gerundive *tabartha*, part *tairberthae* gl *incuruatum* Ml 130c 7

§ 404 Further distinctions between the forms in close and loose composition (cf Saraaw, *Irske Studier* p 53—67) Difference in the root appears between *con-icc* 'he can' and *ní cum-ainn* 'he cannot' Also *ad-lcon-darc* 'I have seen' (pres *ad-leu*) and *ní lacca* 'I have not seen', a further distinction here is the presence of the preverb *-com-* in loose composition only, cf *ad-co-tade* gl *consecutus est* Ml 89c 1 *ní létade* (no change of root, the preverb *in-* interchanging with *ad-*) There is an instance of a word-forming preverb in a loose cpd being lost where a close compound is expected *at-láu* 'I am' *ní láu* 'I am not', also verbs in which the same preverb is put twice in loose composition *do-tuit* 'it falls' (*do-tui-t*), *fora-tuit* 'on which it falls' (in late OIr *du-fuit* occurs for *du-tuit*, as if the verb contained the preverb *-fo-*)

§ 405 The later development of close and loose composition in Ir. The old system was already breaking down in OIr, and the reduction and loss of pretonic preverbs in MIr (§ 105) completed the breakdown In MnIr, forms in which close composition has been generalized (*díultairm* 'I deny', OIr *do-islurndi* 'he denies' *ní díltar*) exist side by side with forms which have lost a pretonic preverb (*fuaalairm*

'I release', OIr *do-fuaslaic* 'he undoes', inf *tuasulaicud*) It is only in certain irregular verbs that the old differences are still retained in MnIr (*do*)*chonnarc* 'he saw', *ní fhaca* 'he did not see' (to OIr *ad-cí* 'sees'), *chuardh* 'he went', *go n-deuchardh* 'that he went' (to OIr *tiagu* 'I go'), (*do*) *bhí* 'he was', *ní raibhe* 'he was not'

§ 406 In Brit. the rules for lenition and infixing in older W poetry (§ 240, § 242, § 349n, § 394) show that originally a similar system of compounding to that of OIr existed. But the Brit accent (§ 115) destroyed the system as it became impossible to distinguish between proclitic and originally accented preverbs

The negatives.

§ 407 The usual forms of the simple negative in principal sentences are Ir *ní*, *ní* MIW *ny* MnW *ní* Co *ny* Br *ne* § 93 In combination Ir *cain*, *cainn*, *cain*, *cinn* 'nonne' MIW *pony* § 378, 1, Ir *cinn*, *cín* 'although not', *maní*, *main*, *minn* 'if not', MIW *ny-t*, *pony-t* (MnW *níd*, *oníd*, cf OW Juv *ant arber bit gl num uescitur*, MIW *anet ry vaethpwynt* 'unless one had been fed' BA 1 20), OIr *neb-*, *neph-* MlIr *nem-* MnIr *neamh-* OIr *neb-leiscc gl non pigra* Wb 5d 17, *i-etaib neb-aicsidib* 'in invisible things' 4a 24 For OIr *ní-con-*, MlIr *nochon-*, *nocha*, Sc *chu* v § 381

§ 408 Ir *na* MnIr *ná* W Co Br *na* 'nor', 'neither' 'nor' in Ir 'neither' is not expressed (*síu ná tál* 'neither here nor there' Wb 3d 17), in W and Br *na* is often repeated, in Co 'neither' is expressed by *na nýll*. Before a syllabic vowel the form is W *nar* (pronounced *nag*) (Co *nag* Br *nag* *nak*, in Ir *na* before an accented vowel, *nach* before a proclitic word *in rí nach in popul* 'neither the king nor the people' The orig. ('elt form was probably **ne-k^{ue}* cf § 86, the *a* is however difficult to explain

§ 409. (1) Ir *na* regularly negatives a proper relative sentence and an eclipsing sentence *na ro-pridchissem-ní dúib* 'which we have not preached to you' Wb 17b 31, *bred aimsir ná-m-ba lobur* 'there will be a time that he will not be feeble' 6h 15, *ar-na* 'in order that not', *co-na* 'so that not', also *coní* — In MIW *ny* usually negatives rel sentences, MnW *ní*, but *ní* has now generally been replaced by *na*. After verbs of saying etc. a negative dependent sent. begins with *na* 'that not' *dywed na ddeuaf* 'say that I will not come', similarly after nominal conjunctions MIW *hyt na* 'so that not', *pryt na* 'since not' (causal), and after preps used as conjunctions MIW *yr na*

MnW *er na* 'though not' etc But *ny* occurs in MIW *cyn ny* OW *cen nat* (Comp) 'though not', OW *hit ni* (Comp) MIW *hyny, yny* MnW *oni* (also *hyd oni*) until, MIW *o-ny* MnW *ôni* 'if not' For MIW *na = am na* 'because not' v Williams, PKM 245 — Co *na* negatives a rel sentence *neb na ylly* 'anyone who could not' MC 20 It also negatives dependent sentences as in W, but whereas in MIW *nat* MnW *nad* is used before initial vowels in Co *nag* is used *kyn nag-off* 'though I am not' MC 8, *aban nag vs ken maner* 'since there is not another way' PC 1513 — Br agrees with Co *vnan na duy* 'one who will not come' Nonne 28, *ioae nac eux fin dezy* 'joy, to which there is no end' Barbe 789 A peculiar use of the neg occurs in expressions like *nac eu mar fier* 'however proud he is' Jês 3

Note 1. The neg *na* is very frequently used in answers (= that not) Ir *in dóig* 'nad dóig em' 'is it likely' 'It is certainly not likely' LL 61b 7, *dabér seótu dait nad géb-sa ón* 'I will give you treasures I will not take it' LU 5806, *anat didru ol Aihill nách amfet dano ol Medb* let them stay then, said A They shall not stay, said M' 4632f — MIW *dyro nawd rdaw na rodaf* give him protection I will not give it RM 217 20, *ae guell y gwna neb no mi uu hun na well* 'will any one do better than I myself' 'No' (lit. 'not better', in MnW *nid gwell*, or more frequently *na* alone, or *nage*) WM 84 16 Co *nagha ol the gous gulan na nahaf* recant all thy talk entirely I will not recant OM 2655 — MIBr *y ouz banisso Na ravn quet* they will banish you They will not' Barbe 767 Cf ZF 751, KZ 35 364, Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1899–1902, p 54

(2) The neg *na* is used before the ipv Ir *na tuic séitche* 'take not a wife' Wb 10a 30 MIW *na dos* 'go not' RM 204 6, *nac ewch* 'go (ye) not' Co *na ol* weep thou not' RD 853 MIBr *na vez* 'be thou not', *na ehan quet* 'delay not' Nonne 615, 10 — Ir *ni W ni* are used to negative the subjunctive Ir *nín-s-courther* thou shalt not put her away' Wb 10a 21, MIW *ny bo gwaeth* 'may it not be worse' RM 105 10 Co *na na allons caffus cheson* 'may they not be able to find cause' OM 1835 In MnIr *ná-r* regularly introduces a negative wish

(3) A negative clause following another clause is introduced by *na* (always preceded by 'and') Ir *o ro-bitis tra na buidne oc vnnsaigud Astoróth 7 na tabrad freccra doib 7 na híccad rat* 'as the crowds had come to A and no response was given to them and they were not cured' Atk LBr 1958 Similarly in a principal sentence Ir *ro-bádusa bhadaín imlán for oen lepard 7 na-r fetus ergi* 'I have been a whole year on one bed and have not been able to rise 2777, cf *ní ind fessin eirbthi 7 nach do duarsilbi na-nní*

dogni 'it is not in himself that he trusts, and it is not to himself that he ascribes what he does' MI 51b 12 — MIW *o gwely vwyt a drawt ac na bo o wybot a dayonr y rodi itt* 'if thou seest food and drink, and there be no courtesy and goodness to give it to thee' RM 195 18 — Co *cuth ken ym bo ha nagan byth goby*r 'though sorrow be to me and that we shall have no reward' OM 2821

Note 2. A peculiar use of *na* occurs in MIW *brenhin na vrenhin* 'a king and (yet) not a king' RP 580 33, 36 (cf BBC 62 16), *mi na vi* I and (yet) not I' BA 12 12 Cf Ir *mod nad mod* 'hardly', *comraic nad chomraic* 'joins, and yet not' W₁ 702, *becc nat beg* King and Hermit 12 10

Note 3 Before a personal pron or before the lost 3 *sg* copula (KZ 35 412f) a **final back cons.** appears in the Ir neg (cf also § 408) *cid nách intsamhd* 'why do ye not imitate it?' Wb 14a 28, *amal nách annse n dub* as it is not difficult for you' 6d 9 The form *nach* later spread to other cases — In Brit forms ending in a consonant came to be used to avoid hiatus In W *na* is used before non-syll sounds and before a (lost) lenited *g* (MIW *yr na allei* MnW *er na allas* 'though he could not'), before (original) initial vowels MIW *nat* MnW *nad*, with the *ipv* and in answers (where the part *y*, *yd* was not used in affirmative sentences) *nac* (pronounced *nag* in MnW) MIW *am nat aer* 'since he would not go' RM 184 27 MnW *am nad dr, nac ewch* 'go ye not', *nac ef* 'no', 'it is not so' WM 161 13 The expression *nac ef* is written in MnW *nage* 'no' It is used even when any person is referred to, thus MIW *myri a rannaf y bwyt nac ef* 'I will share out the food No', but cf *dywedwn y taw ti oed bown Na vi* 'I should say that thou wert B No' (not I') Hengwrt MSS II 142 21, *ae myri ath uwryawd dr Na thi* was it I who threw thee? No' ('not thou') RC 33 193 15 In Co numerous *exx* occur of *na* before a syll vowel, before forms of the verb to be with initial vowel, *nag* always *prag nag vwy ef genes* 'why is he not with thee?' OM 573, also before an infixed pron (*na-gan byth* 3 above) In MIBr *nac, nag* is the regular form before forms of 'to be' with init vowel *nac ouf* 'that I am not J_{és}. 41a, *mysterou nac ynt llet da recitaff* 'mysteries which are not allowed to be recited' 62a But usually *na* before a vowel with the *ipv* *na ehan quet v* 2 above

§ 410 **Complex negatives with initial na-** (1) OIr *nade, nate* 'nay!', from *nad, nat* + *he* 'it is not he' (cf MIW *nac ef*) (2) OIr *nathó* 'no' (cf *tó* 'yes' LL 280a 15), MIW *na do* WM 425 28, *nado* RM 275 23 MnW *naddo* (answering questions in the preterite or perfect, cf *do* 'yes') (3) OIr *fa-nacc* 'or not' *in tree fa-nacc* 'is it through it or not?' Wb 2c 4, also *fa-naic* MI 91c 1, *naicc* 'no', *ni di nacca dim* 'not of a non-something' MI 75b 20, *naice* 'by no means' 72b 4 Co *nagh-a, -e, nahe* MIBr *nach* MnBr *nac'h* 'to deny' (MIW *naccav* WM 644 10, from *nag-ha-*, cf *necau* 83 24, v Williams, PKM 257, MnW *nacáu* is formed from MIW *nac*,

-c = /-g/, 'denial' RM 136 7, MnW *nāg*, also MIBr *hep nac* 'without denial', *naquat* 'deny, refuse' Nonne 986, 360, MnBr *nakat* 'conceal, dissimulate')

Note Negative forms like those under (1) and (3) occur without *n-* *ate* 'no' MI 114a 15, MIBr *acce*, *acc* 'no'

The temporal preverbs.

§ 411. In Ir several preverbs, the most important being *ro-*, are used with indicative or subjunctive verb forms to express a perfect meaning, in other cases the same shade of meaning is expressed without the use of a preverb. Only one such preverb is found in Brit, corresponding to Ir *ro-*. The Ir preverb *no-*, used in certain cases in loose composition with non-perfect simple verbs, pretty well corresponds in use to the Brit preverbs *W y*, *yd*, etc. and *W* 'Co Br *a*, it is treated in this section though it is hardly a temporal preverb.

Meaning of the perfect verb forms in Ir.

§ 412 The meaning of perfect. (1) The preterite with a perfect preverb has the meaning of a perfect or pluperfect. OIr *ro-comal-nisid-si an ro-pridchissem-ni dúib* 'you have fulfilled what we have preached to you' Wb 26b 6, *argart doib nant marth 3-ro-riatar a-rrig* 'he reproached them that they had not guarded their king well' MI 55c 1 (*com-* + *em-*)

(2) The pres ind with a perfect preverb has the meaning of a praesens consuetudinale perfectum in *nuall do-n-gniat ho ru-marth for a narmtea remib* 'the cry which they make when they have defeated their enemies' MI 51c 9

(3) The pres and ipf subjunctive with a perfect preverb *act ar-roi-lgithir ind episthl so* 'as soon as this epistle (may) have been read' Wb 27d 13, *com-bad notire ro-d-scribad cosse* 'so that it was a notary who had written it hitherto' 27d 16

§ 413 The meaning of possibility (1) Pres *ciasu ariegdu in fer ni ru-bi nechtar de cen alail* 'although the man is nobler neither of them can be without the other' Wb 11c 17. Occasionally the meaning is 'to be wont' *másu thú ém, ar Nadcranndair, noco-rucarm-se cend úann bíc don dúnnud, ni bér do chend n-gillar n-amularg* 'if it is thou indeed, said N, I am not in the habit of carrying the head of a little lamb to the camp, I will not carry thy beardless boy's head' LU 5755, cf Strachan, Ériu 2 61^a

252 The Ir. perfect preverbs (meaning, form) § 413—415 (563—565)

(2) Fut *ní de-r-genat mui bás* 'they will not be able to accomplish my death' MI 80a 9 Conditional *mad will dubh cid accadam neich dub d-a-rí-gente* 'if you desired even to converse with any of them, you could have done it' Wb 13b 3

(3) Subjunctive *cia ru-bé cen ní dub ní ru-bar cenarb huli* 'though it can be without some of them it cannot be without all of them' MI 20d 4

§ 414 Optative meaning and the like. (1) Wish *ro-p coræ doib* 'peace be with them' Wb 20d 1 (2) Command (the preverb in neg. sent. only) *ní to-r-gaitha* 'he should not defraud' 25b 5 (3) Purpose *arna de-r-lind* 'lest I should scandalize' 10c 14 (*sluind-*) (4) Necessity *is toich cia dorathd-sí ní dia muinntir* 'it is right that ye should give something to his household' 16c 11 (*ber-*), *bóir ní ro-glante* and there was something to be purified there' 31c 18 (5) Concessive (in indefinite rel. sentences) *sechí chruth do-n-d-rón* 'in whatever manner I may do it' 5b 18 (*gní-*), *na marth ro-bé* 'whatever good there may be' 5d 30 (6) After *acht* 'provided that' *act ní ro-bat pecthe less* 'provided he have no sins' 11d 9, cf. § 412, 3

Morphology of the Ir. perfect-system.

§ 415 Ir. *ro-* (*ru-*, proclitic sometimes *ru-*, *ra-* § 179, 2, *rói-* § 156, *-r-* by elision *r-accub-sa* 'I will come' Wb 9a 19, *r-a-fetar* 'I know it', *-rí-* § 175, post-tonic *ro-* is reduced to *-r-*, *-ar-* *lad-ro- > ár-*, *less-ro- > ér-*, etc.) stands immediately before the verb *on-d-ár-bastar* 'that it should be shown' Sg 211a 10 (*do-ad-badar* 'is shown'), *do-intarráir* § 202 That is the oldest rule. In some cases the perfect preverb stands before the last word-forming preverb *ní-m-de-r-saige* 'do not awake me' ('thou mayest not awake me') LU 5119 (*dí-od-* + *sech-*), *arna-fa-r-cabtais* 'lest they should be left' Wb 31d 13 (*fo-ad-* + *gab-*, v. § 179, 2); the last preverb had become inseparable from the verb. A more extensive deviation from the old rule was the placing of *ro-* after the first preverb, thus resulted in *ro-* becoming movable *do-ro-churestar* 'has brought forth', *ní ru-tho-churestar* MI 16c 6, 18d 6, v. also § 402, 3. The beginnings of a still further deviation are seen in OIr, whereby *ro-* is put before the first preverb *ru-tuirset* 'they have searched' MI 44d 23 (*to-sír-*), MIr. exx. are not rare *ro-im-ráidset* 'they considered' LU 5845. In MNIr. *ro-* remains as *-r-* with syntactic preverbs (e.g. *níor labhair se* 'he did not speak'), accented or post-tonic *ro-* is

retained only in a few irreg verbs *ní raibh* 'he was not', *go ndearna* 'that he did' (to OIr *do-gníu* 'I do'), otherwise it has been replaced by *do*, v § 105, § 423

§ 416. The perfect preverb *-com-* frequently occurs, thus with all compounds of *org-* *manu-bé nech fris-chom-arr doib-som* 'if there be not someone who can harm them' MI 77a 12 (but after a syntactic preverb, *ro-* is used *ho r-es-arta* 'by which they have been killed' 34b 13), — *fochith nad-fo-chom-olsam* 'tribulation which we cannot endure' Wb 14b 15 (cf *fochith fo-llongam* 'trib which we endure'), — *o ad-cu-and* 'when he has declared' 21d 11 (*ad-fét* 'he declares', 3 pl *ad-fradat*)

§ 417. In verbs in which *com-* is the first word-forming preverb, *ad-* is used as perfect preverb *co-tob-á-rrig* 'has constrained you' Wb 9b 19 (*o-riug* 'I bind'), — *con-a-scrad* 'has been broken down' 21b 15 (*com-* + *scar-*), — *ma o-a-tíl brucc* 'if he has slept a little' 29d 15 (*con-tuíl* 'he slept' Thes II 327 14) — *ad-* cannot always be clearly distinguished from *od-* *con-ai-t-echt* 'which I have sought' MI 132d 5, but *con-oi-t-echtatar* 'which they have sought' Wb 8a 14, *ad-* occurs in *ní com-tacht* 'he has not sought' MI 59c 3 (*com-di-* + *sag-*, inf *cuingid*)

In verbs compounded with *com-od-*, the perf preverb is *ro-* *con-ro-saig* 'he has moved' MI 45c 2 (*com-od-* + *saigh-*), also in verbs with *com-* as second preverb *for-ru-chon-grad* 'it had been commanded' 34d 4 (*gair-*)

§ 418. Possibly *ess-* is a perf preverb with *ibid* 'he drinks' *ass-ibsem* 'we have drunk' Wb 12a 7 But old instances of the narrative pret do not occur Similarly *long-* 'to eat, drink' uses *ess-* subjunctive 3 sg *as-lu* Ériu 7, 192

§ 419. As the perf preverbs *com-*, *od-* never come first, *to-* or *di-* is used before them with a simple verb *du-cui-tig* 'he has sworn' Wb 33d 10, *dara-do-ch-tarsad* 'by which he could swear' MI 78a 4 (*tong-*), cf *do-cu-and* § 420, — *do-o-mmalgg* 'I have milked' Sg. 23b 2, pret pass *do-o-mlacht* Annals of Ulster 732 (inf MIIr *blegon*), — *desid* 'had settled itself' Wb 3a 7, cf *du-n-essid* gl *deseidisse* MI 121a 11 (narrative *siasair*, *sad-*), *delhg* 'has fallen, has subsided' (cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895—98, p 62, *largid* 'hes down'), these two forms have affected each other, they contain either *di-ess-* or *di-en-*

§ 420. Different roots in perfect and non-perfect forms occur in

some cases *taqu* 'I go', perf pret 3 sg *do-cu-ard* (with a root in *w-*) 'has gone', *ni duchtim* 'I cannot go' LU 5181, perf pres subj 3 sg *do-cói* 'may go' Wb 29a 28, narrative pret 3 sg *luid* 'he went' — *fo-ceird* 'throws', *-cuirethar* (pret narrative *fo-cairt*, *-corastar*), perf pret *ro-laa* 'has put' Sg 75a 4, pres subj *ɔ-a-l* 'so that I may put' Wb 7a 4. So *du-corastar* 'he put' Ml 52, but *du-s-ra-le* 'he has put them' 23c 16, on the other hand *do-cuiriuir* 'I invite' is regular (pret perf 3 sg *do-ro-churestar*) — *birt* 'he carried' (*ber-*), perfect *ro-uc* 'he has carried', *nad-r-ucat* 'they have not borne' (praesens consuetudinale perfectum) Ml 87c 3, *con-r-ucca* 'that he may bring' Wb 12c 32, *do-bert* 'he gave, brought', *do-ra-t* 'he has given', *do-uc* 'he has brought' (cf § 422, 6). The other cpds of *ber-* are regular — *gat-* 'steal', *gatsat* 'they stole', *ma du-d-éll* 'if he has stolen' Wb 22b 7, *ɔ-t-all* 'so that I may take away' Ml 58c 6, but MlIr 3 sg pret *ro gat* is found.

§ 421. Perfect preverbs in non-perf function. (1) *ro-* is used to infix a pers pron before forms of the root *bí-* 'to be' if no other preverb occurs (Thurneysen, ZCP 20 204) *ro-t-bia lóg* 'thou shalt have reward' (but *ní-m-bia fochrioc* 'I shall not have reward'), *ro-n-d-biad fáilte* 'that he would have welcome' Wb 16b 19. Before the conditional of the copula *ro-* is always used (to distinguish it from the ipf) *ro-bad bethu dom* 'it would have been life for me' 3c 28. (2) *ro-fúir* 'he knows', *ro-laimethar* 'he dares', *ro-cluinnethar* 'he hears' always have *ro-* in the absence of some other syntactic preverb. (3) In two verbs *com-* is inserted without significance between the word-forming preverb and the verb when the preverb is proclitic *ad-co-lat* 'they obtain', *ad-co-tade* 'he obtained', but *ní étade*, *ad-con-darc* 'I have seen', but *ní acca* 'I have not seen' (*-con-* in pret only), cf § 404.

Note The narrative pret of *hear* and *see* is often accompanied by a superfluous *co n-* until, (and) then *amail imm ind-rastet*, *co n acatar Fiacca Fínd curcu* 'as they were thinking of him, they saw F the Fau (coming) towards them' Thes II 241 11 (Thurneysen, KZ 37 58²).

§ 422. Some verbs take no perfect preverb, the same forms being used as perfect and non-perfect. (1) Verbs compounded with *ro-as-ro-choilsem* 'we have determined' (inf *erchoiluid*), *do-ro-choinset* 'they have despaired' (inf *derchoinuid*). If by the rules given in § 415 it can be separated from the word-forming *ro-*, then a perf *ro-* may be used: *dian-d-r-e-r-choil* 'to whom he has decreed it' 46c 7,

ní ru-de-r-choin 'he has not despaired' 44a 1 (2) The forms of the verb *gnin- etir-gén-sa* 'I have known' 79a 11. The pret of this verb usually has a present meaning (3) The verb *dúthracht* 'wish', whose pret has a pres meaning (4) The verb *fo-gab-* 'find' with pret 1 sg *-fuar* (the other cpds of *gab-* take perf *ro-*) (5) All forms of *ic-* with the auxiliary root *ang-* *ní-n-t-áincc* 'it has not come to us' Wb 1d 1 (6) *do-urc* 'he has brought' functions as perfect § 420, but in the sense 'understand' the verb has a full paradigm without distinction of perf and non-perf forms (*t-uicci*, *do-sn-uicci* 'he understands, he understands them'; the OIr vb noun is *tabairt* Ml 42c 13, MlIr *tucsvu*) (7) *ad-* + *bath-* 'die' (*as-in-d-bathatar* gl *aduersarios interisse* Ml 36d 10) (8) *ithim* 'I eat'

§ 423 The later history of the system of perfect preverbs. Signs of the breaking up of the system appear early in MlIr, and the perf pret is found encroaching upon the narrative pret about the year 1100. In MnIr the old narrative pret has been given up entirely. The only living perf preverb, *-r* and *do* § 415, accompanies the pret, even in verbs which in OIr did not take *ro-* *nío-r thug* 'he did not give', cf § 239, 2. Only one instance is retained of OIr *ro-* with non-pret verb forms: the use of *ná-r* before a negative wish *ná-r bheiridh tú choidhche air* 'may you never catch him'

The perfect preverbs in British.

§ 424 The morphology of the perfect forms in Brit. is simple. The only form is that corresponding to Ir *ro-*. It stands before all verbs, even such verbs as have no perf preverb in Ir. MIW *ry duc* 'he has brought', (Co *re thokko* 'he may bring'). A very notable exception is Co *gallas* 'has gone, has become', which is always perfect but never takes a perf preverb (G. P. Williams, ZCP 7 338, 342), as non-perf pret *eth* 'he went' occurs, which can also be used as a perfect.

The original rule whereby **ro-* came after all word-forming preverbs is seen in OW *da-r-gatasse* gl *concesserat* (vn MIW *dyadu* 'leave, cast'). But apart from this instance the perf preverb MIW *ry* Co *re* Br *ra* precedes all cpd verbs as well as simple verbs. It can be followed by the infixed pron, and exx abound, v numerous instances from early MIW, Co and MlBr given by Loth, RC 31 30ff, 364f. Its form is modified when combined with some infixed prons. MIW *rwy-* § 349 n, Co *ru-m* (*ty ru-m gruik* 'thou hast made

me' OM 88, *re-m* is very rare) The rel pron was also originally infixed after **ro* (§ 240, 1, § 394), two instances of the orig adverbial *yd* infixed after it occur in OW *rit pucsaun mi* 'I should have desired', *rit ercis* 'he has required' BBOS 6 218f (the MIW. instances given by Loth, RC 31 32f are very doubtful, v Lewis, HGCref 200), also Co *re-s-eth*, *re-g-eth* 'has gone' ZCP 7 339 But in MIW *a* or *y* were also used to infix the pers pron before *ry* *y-th ry-gereis* 'that I have loved thee', *duw a-n ry amwc* 'God can protect us' BT 29 20, ultimately *a ry*, *y ry* were freely used when no infixed pron occurred In Co and Br however the original rule was strictly adhered to

After certain words ending in a vowel W *ry* is reduced to *r* *neu-r* (the preverb *neu* § 430), *ny-r* (*ny* 'not', more frequently *ny ry*), *gwedy-r* (before the vb *nn*, *gwedy* 'after'), *py-r* (§ 377, 8) This also occurs after the particle *y*, giving *y-r ef a dybygei yr ymor-dwedei a hi* 'he thought that he could overtake her' WM 15 35, from such uses as this arose probably the MnW preverb *yr* before vowels, in MIW it occurs even before const's (with lenition) *ac y-r gycwys* 'and he has slept' WM 41 21 (In MIW MSS *yr* is frequently written when it can only be for non-syllabic *r* = *ry* *pechu yr digonsam* 'we have sinned' RP 1145 12, where the metre requires *pechu r-ddigonsam* '(it is) sinning that we have done'), cf Loth, RC 31 343—356 — The form *r* from *re* occurs in Co *do-r-sona dyugh* 'God bless you', MnCo *du-r-dala the why* 'God reward you' (RC 3 84)

§ 425 Use of the perfect preverb *ry* in W. (1) Perfect meaning.

(a) The pret with *ry* has the meaning of a perfect *peth ryued ryweleis* 'I have seen a strange thing' RM 194 5 The perf pret can also mean what was customary in the past *ry duc oe lowlen glas larnawr* 'he was wont to bear blue blades with his gauntlet' BA 19 20, it approaches the pres meaning (like Gk gnomic aorist) in proverbial statements *ny ry golles nef ny uo ynnyd* 'he who may not be foolish has not lost (is not wont to lose) heaven' LIH 254 4 Cf Loth, RC 29 14, 24f, 30 22, Strachan, Ériu 2 219 — The pret without *ry* may be perfect or narrative, it is never narrative with *ry*

(b) With the pluperfect *ry* rarely modifies the meaning, but it can suggest a state prior to the plpf *beth uwasser y arglwydhaeth ef arnadiant hwy y ulwydyn honno y urth ryuwasser kyn no hynny*

'what his lordship over them had been that year as compared with what it had been before that' RM. 7 22, of Zimmer, KZ 36 536

(c) With the pres ind *ry* gives a consuetudinal perfect present meaning *ti a nodyd a ry-geryd o pop karchar* 'thou dost protect whom thou hast loved from every prison' BT 53 9, *a nodo duw ry-nodir* 'whom God may protect has been (is wont to be) protected' BBCS 4 3

(d) With the ipf *ry* can denote habitual plpf *ni atwanei ri guanei* 'he would not strike again (the one) whom he had struck' BA 36 22 It also seems to denote what was customary *ban ry-reint brein ar crev* 'when ravens were wont to croak over gore' BBC 100 1

(e) With the subjunctive, pres OW *hit ni-ri-tarnher* 'until it be reckoned' BBCS 3 256, MIW *nyt oes ar y helw namyn yr un ty hunn ny-s ry-dycko iarl* 'there is not in her possession but this one house (anything) that some earl may not have taken' RM 184 25, *kyt ry-wnelych di sarhaedeu llawer kyn no hynn ny-s gwney bellach* 'though thou mayest have done many injuries before this thou shalt not do them henceforth' 99 2, — ipf *mynet a oruc serch y uorwyn ym pob aelawt i law kyn nys rywelhei eirot* 'love for the maiden entered every limb of his though he had never seen her' WM 454, 22 (*yr nu-s gwelser* RM 102 5)

(f) With the verb-noun it denotes a perfect infinitive *y vynegr chuedyl nyt amgen ry-lad y oresgynnur* 'to tell news, namely that his oppressor had been killed' Hist Gruff ap Cynan 114 18 This usage is a new development in W

(2) The meaning of possibility: *ry-sew gur ar vn corn* 'a man can stand on a single stalk' BBC 89 2, *racod ny ry-vmgelir* 'from thee one can not be concealed' 98 10, *ry-dieig glev o lawer trwm* 'a hero can (is wont to) escape from many a difficulty' 91 8 — With verbs referring to the future *ry* sometimes expresses certainty *ry dabit diw maurth di guthlonet* 'Tuesday will (surely) come, a day of wrath' 57 3 Very frequently however *ry* seems to have no meaning Cf Loth, RC 29 48—54, Strachan, Ériu 2 215ff

(3) Optative *ry phrinom-ne di gerenhit* 'may we deserve thy friendship' BBC 88 15, *ry-m-awyr dy wedi, rac ygres ry-m-gwares dy vol* 'mayest thou grant me my prayer to thee, may my praise of thee deliver me from persecution' BT 3, 12 — Very rarely with the ipv *nev-r vmwaredun* 'let us deliver each other' BBC 24 10,

y kam ry-wnaetham na ry-noetha 'the wrong we have done do not expose' RP 1285 38

Note MIW *ry* is used in negative sentences also, RC 31 28ff., this is probably a new development in W, as it does not occur in Co and Br. It also occurs after the interrog. part *a a ry-fu ef genhyt ti, na ry fu* has he been with thee? No, he has not been' WM 121 20.

§ 426. **Use of the perfect preverb *re* in Co** (1) In a perfect sense with the pret and plpf *ny re-n welas* 'we have sought him' Beun Mer 1038, *an tol re wrussens* 'the hole which they had made' MC 180, but *re* is not obligatory. It is never used with the narrative pret or the modal plpf.

(2) In one instance it denotes possibility *ow holen gwak dyvotter ru-m kymmer hag awel bos* 'my stomach being empty, famine and desire for food can take hold of me' OM 366 (v. Loth, RC 30 18).

(3) Optative *beneges re bo an tas* 'blessed be the father' OM 1745. In a dependent sentence *my a pys an tas u nef re thanfono yngeans* 'I pray the Father from heaven that he send vengeance' PC 2631.

Note. Co *re* is never used with the neg. (*ny* or *na*), but it is used with *byner*, *bener* which has a neg. force *ffrut da byner re-thokko* may it never bear good fruit OM 583. It does not occur after the interrog. part, nor after *pan* 'since' PC 1338, 2861, MC 208, 223. - In MnCo *re* is used only in an optative sense.

§ 427. **Use of the perfect preverb *ro* > *ra* in Br.** (1) The perf. use with the pret and plpf occurs in OBr. only *ro-luncas* gl. gutur-icaurt, *ro-guhprās* gl. oluauit, *ro-ricsefn]t-i* gl. sulcaussent.

(2) MIBr and MnBr *ra* is found only with the optative meaning. MnBr *Doue ra vezo meulet* 'God be praised'. In Trégouet *ra* is replaced by *da* (also MIBr, v. RC 30 21).

Note. Br *ra* does not occur after a negative.

Etymological explanation of the system of perfect preverbs.

§ 428. The preverbs used in the perfect-system are such whose etymological meaning made them suitable to indicate thoroughness or intensity. With Celt. **ro* < **pro* cf. SI *pro* 'through', with Celt. **k'om* cf. Lat. *con-ficiō* 'I do thoroughly', *com-edō* 'I eat up, devour', with the preverb **ad-* cf. the intensive prefix **ad-* (Ir. *appriscc* 'brittle' *brisc*, W. *add-oer* 'very cold' *oer* 'cold'). Hence the meaning 'posse' and 'consuesse' ('he does it entirely, to the end' = 'he can do it', or 'it is his custom [nature] to do it'). Moreover at a time when the IE. perfect and the IE.

aorist were tending to coalesce (as in Latin), these preverbs could be used to emphasize the perfect meaning of a preterite (but they were superfluous in this function in the cases where perfect and aorist did not coalesce Ir *do-uic* 'he has brought', originally an IE perfect, cf W *d-ug*, but *do-bert* 'he brought', aorist) For details v VKG II § 578—582

§ 429. (1) The perf preverbs were not used originally with nominal forms of the verb nor with the ipv. The MIW use of *ry* with the vb noun and the isolated instances of *ry* with the ipv are new formations. Ir *serc* 'to love' properly means 'love', and so with an intensive preverb could only mean 'great love' (Mnlr *ró-shearc*), not 'to have loved'. In a command a preverb whose force is 'completely, to the end' is hardly necessary.

(2) They were not used originally after a negative. With verbs the neg was the antithesis of the emphasizing preverb, cf in nominal composition Ir *co-bsud* 'steady' (*fossud*) *an-bsud* 'unsteady'. This may well have been originally the case after the interrogative particle also, cf C'o, § 426 n. These old restrictions on the use of the preverbs were not maintained in W or in Li.

The Irish preverb *no*.

§ 430. The Ir preverb *no* forms a loose compound only, and only with simple verbs. No other preverb can be used with it. With the pres ind and subj, the fut and pret, and the ipv, *no* is only used to infix a pers or rel pron or rel *n*. With the ipf ind and subj and with the conditional, *no* is always found even without a pron if no other preverb occurs. Exx *is hed inso no-chairigur* 'it is this which I reprimand' Wb 11d 1, *is leirithir inso no-n-guidim-se dia* 'so urgently do I beseech God' 27d 19, *n-an-glanad* 'let him purify him(self)' 11d 8.

With Ir *no* cf MIW preverb *neu* (with infixed pron *neu-m*, *neu-s*, etc, before verbs with init vowel, and before substantives, *neu-t*, with *ry*, *neu ry* or *neu-r*) used as an affirmative particle, v Morris-Jones, WG 426, Strachan, Introd 125, Gotze & Holger Pedersen, *Murših's Sprachlahmung*, p 62, also C'o *na- in na-nš-yw* 'is' (OM 2758), *na-nš-o* 'was' (MC 230).

The word-forming preverbs.

§ 431. In Ir various adverbs standing before the verb came to be preverbs. This did not happen to the same extent in Brit

In Ir a verb accompanied by a preverb has special personal endings, but not in Brit. A list of all words regarded with certainty as preverbs in Ir follows here.

(1) Ir *ad-*, before pers. prons *at-*, but in rel. sents. sometimes *ad-id-*, *ass-id-* § 342, 5. In close composition *-d* is assimilated to a following *s*, an explosive or an *m*, is lost with compensatory lengthening before *r*, *l*, *n* § 245, § 44, *ad-* remains intact in close comp. before a retained or lost syllabic vowel and before IE *w* *ad-all* 'visit', *ní adhvub* 'I shall not visit', *do-ad-bat* 'he shows', *ad-* can disappear after the accent, cf. *ní com-tacht* § 417.

Note 1. *ad-* is often in loose comp. mixed with *ess-* and *in-*, with which it fell together before a pronoun, similarly *ind-* and *aith-*, *in-* is very frequently replaced by *ad-* *in-cu-ad*, *ad-cu-ad* 'he declared', *ad-greinn* 'who pursues' Ml 140c 2, vb. nn. *in-greimm*. *ad-* became *ass-*, first in certain rel. constructions (§ 389) then in other cases *as-fenimm* 'I testify' Wb 22a 20 beside *do-ar-r-fenus* 'I have declared' 18d 7, on the contrary *ad-* for *ass-* (*ess-*) *ad-ru-bartmar* 'whom we have mentioned' Sg 197b 16. Cf. Sarauw, *Irske Studier*, p. 61—66.

W *add-* in *add-œr* 'very cold', G *Ad-mageto-briga* PN, OW *ad* (= *ad/*) 'to' (v. BCS 3 261) Lat *ad* 'to' ON *at* OE *æt* E *at*.

(2) Ir *air-*, proclitic *ar-*, with rel. pron. *ar-a-*, *ar-e-*, when accented, liable to be modified to *er-*, *ir-* § 175, *laur-* § 166, *larr-* (*larr-*) from *laur* + *ro-* § 245. It is also a preposition, as rel. preverb *ar-an-* Wb 2a 10 etc., *ar-in-d-* 5a 31 (*ar-id-* 7d 2) *ar-a n-* is also used as a conjunction 'so that, that', neg. *ar-na-*. Cf. W *ar-fer* 'use', *er-grynu* 'tremble', Co *er-vyre* 'consider', Br *ar-boella* 'save', G *Are-brigium* PN.

(3) Ir *aith-*, procl. *ad-*, before pers. pron. *at-*, *laud-*, *led-*, *led-* cf. § 166, *lath-* + *ro* > *air-* *du-air-chér* 'I have bought' Thes I 498, 14 (*to-aith-* + *cren-*).

For mixing with other preverbs v. Note 1 (*as-gen-su* 'thou knowest' Ml 140b 3, *asa-gninnaim* 'I know' Sg 146b 16, vb. nn. *aith-gne*).

Cf. W *ad-fer*, *ed-fryd* 'restore', W *ad-waen* Co *as-won* 'I know', Br *ad-ober* 'refaire', G *Ate-bodurus* MN.

(4) Ir *cáin-* 'good, fine' occurs as preverb *cáin-lro-gnatha* 'which were well done' Ml 39a 24. Cf. OW *ní cein-guodemisauch* gl. *non bene passa* (for the reading v. BCS 5 5).

(5) Ir *cét-*, procl. *ceta-*, *cita-* *cét-buid*, *céibaid*, *cétfaid* 'sense',

ceta-bwnn gl. *sapiebam*, *ceta-brat* 'they feel', *lase* > *lécet-bani* 'when thou consentest' Wb 1c 9

W *can-fod* 'perceive' (pres 3 sg *cenn-yw*, pret *can-fu*), *ar-gan-fod* 'perceive'. OW *cant* 'with' W. *gan* etc

(6) Ir procl *ceta-*, *cita-*, *cetú-*, *ciátu-* 'first' *it hé ciátu-ru-chreitsset* 'it is they who have first believed' Wb 14a 29, *ceta-thurdchetar* 'who have first come' 21c 5 It was not orig a preverb, but an infixed adverb with a cpd vb *intan ad-cita-acæ* 'when she first saw' Thes. I 488 21 — Related to W *gynneu* (from **cynneu*) 'a (short) while ago' Co *a-gynsow* MIBr *a-guelou*, cf Ir *cét-* W *cynt* etc Ir *ciátu-* is by anal with the conjunction *cia* (*cetu* 'although they are' etc.)

(7) Ir *com-*, procl *con-* (non-eclipsing *con-cela-siu* 'thou mayest hide'), before pers prons *cot-*, in rel sents sometimes *com-id-* § 342, 5 In close comp *-m-* becomes */n-/* (wr *-n-*) before *g-*, *n* (/N/) before *d-*, it disappears before *s-*, *l-*, *t-* § 70, disappears regularly before *w-* § 75, 2 cf *ad-cu-and* § 416 The form *com-* (*cum-*) is regularly retained before vowels and before *r*, *l*, *n*, it is often restored analogically in other cases, especially in nominal forms, cf § 243 It is reduced after the accent *for-n-gaire* 'command', cf *a for-chon-gair* 'what he commands' Wb 5c 23 For *com-*, *coem-* v § 156 — As prep, *co n-* 'with' (but as rel preverb *la-* is used)

W *cyf-ar-fod* 'meet', *cy-r-haedd* 'reach', *cynnal* 'hold' (**cyn-dal*), Co *kev-ar-wouth* 'comfort thou' PC 1043, W *ar-gy-weddu* 'to harm', OBr *ar-co-gued* gl *iniquos*, G *Uer-com-bogrus* MN, Lat *cum*

(8) Ir *dechmo-* 'best' *dechmo-derech* 'who has best avenged' (*dí-* + *fich-*), v ZCP 18, 398, Ériu 11, 168 Cf *dech* 'best' § 323 n 2

(9) Ir *dí-*, *dí-*, *de-*, procl *do-* Reduced after the acct *nád cuin-t-gim* 'that I seek not' Wb 14c 12, *ní cuin-gem* 'we seek not' 14d 38 beside *amal chon-de-gam-ní* 'as we ask' MI 107c 8 (*com-dí-* + *sarg-*) *dí-* + *od-* > *díu-*, Thurneysen, KZ 28 150, considers *dú-* (*dú-thract* 'wish', *do-dú-rgímm* 'I excite') to be a continuation of *de-* + *fo-* Also prep, *dí* 'from', rel preverb *dían-* Wb 8c 11 etc (cf conj *día n-* 'if'), *dí-na-d-*, *dí-na-con-* § 194

W *dí-* "out, extreme" *dí-noethi* 'denude', *dí-ddanu* 'comfort, amuse' Co *dy-thane* OBr *dí-danuud* gl *ehcio* BBCS 5 3f (cf OIr *do-donamm* gl *solor* Sg 53b 7, vn *didnad* 'comfort'), *dí-* "without", negative. W *dí-flas* 'tasteless', *dí-flas* 'disagreeable' Co *dyflas* 'un-

pleasant, shameful' MnBr *divlaz* 'insipid' As postposition in Gaul *βγαρον-δε* § 297, Lat *dē* All from an original **dē* (in Celt also **de*) Cf Sommerfelt, *Dē en italo-celtique*, Christiania (= Oslo) 1920 (Videnskapsselskapets skrifter)

(10) Ir *ess-*, procl *as-*, before a pers pron *at-*, in rel sents sometimes *assid-* § 342, 5, with the rel pron *as-* or *assa-* (the latter form appears fixed in non-rel use *asa-gninaim* gl sapio, v 3) The form *ess* < **eks* interchanges with **ek*, whose *-l* is assimilated to a foll explosive *epert* § 506, 3, *eitech* § 644, 2, *ecra* 'enemy' (*care* 'friend'), *-l* is lost with compens lengthening before *r-*, *l-*, *n-*, *m-* *éirge* 'rising' The form *less-* occurs before vowels *ess-éirge* 'resurrection', also before a voiceless explosive *do-es-la* 'is wanting' *ess-* is analogically restored before *f-* *es-fóit* 'sent' (g m) Ml 48c 8 Before liquids **eks* is rarely restored, the restored *-ksl-*, *-ksr-* gave *-ll-*, *-rr-* *errenad* 'pay ye' Ml 20c 2 (*as-ren* 'he pays'), cf *dellug* § 419 There is later restoration of *es-* before a voiced expl *ni es-gabter* gl nec excipiuntur Ml 145c 1 *a* for *e* is analogical in *as-and-is* 'exposition' beside *ass-ind-et* 'expounds' — Reduction after the accent *cosna* 'it ends' Sg 22a 4, vn *cum-s-anad* 'rest' (*com-od-ess- + an-*) — Cf also note 1 above

As prep. *a*, *as* 'out of', rel preverb *as-an-* Wb 5b 39 etc *as-na-* Ml 125b 7

As preverb in MIW *ech-tywynnu* 'to glitter' *ech-dihenedic* 'exhausted' (BBCS 1 114f), W *es-gor* 'to be delivered', MlBr *eh-anaff* 's'arrêter' As nominal prefix in MIW *eh-ofyn* MnW *ehofn*, *eofn* 'bold, fearless', G *Ex-obnus* MN (Ir *ess-amín*), MIW *es-gar* 'foe' (o *eskar* As prep, MIW *ech y gadwynnawr* 'out of its chains' BT 10 23 Lat *ex* Gk *ἐξ*

(11) Ir *etar-*, procl *eter-*, *etir-*, *itir-*, takes prons of the *-d-* series § 342, 5 Exx *etar-scarad* 'separation' Wb 9b 19, *eter-scértar* 'they will be separated' 8b 3 As prep, *eter*, *etir* 'between', rel preverb *eter-an-* Wb 28b 3

OW *amal iter-cludant* gl ut subigant, W *cyf-athn-ach* 'affinity, intercourse', prep OW *ithr* etc § 64, 3

(12) Ir *fo-*, procl *fo-*, *fu-* In close comp it can become *fu-* (vowel raising, *fu-bae* 'flaw', MlIr *fu-ba* 'hewing', vn of *fo-ben-*), *fa-* (*a*-umlaut, *ni fa-gaib* 'he does not find' cf § 179, 2), or be contracted with a foll vowel (*fócre* 'proclaiming', *fo-od- + gair-*, *ara-foima* 'that it may assume' Ml 17c 3, *ar-fo-em-* § 143, *facbáil* 'to

leave' < **fa-ad-* < **fo-ad-* + *gab-*) Reduced after the accent *laurnaid* 'prepare ye', *ar-fo-* + *gni-* cf § 166, *tó-be* 'cutting off', *to-fo-* + *ben-*, cf (9) — As prep, 'under', rel preverb *fo-an-*

OW *ní cein guo-demisauch* gl non bene passa, MnW. *go-ddef*, *di-o-ddef* 'suffer', Br *gou-zañv* (Ir *fo-daimm* 'I suffer') Etym § 30

(13) Ir *for-*, takes prons of the *d-* series § 342,5 *to-for* *tór-mach*, vn of *do-for-maig* 'he increases' — Prep 'on' Rel preverb *for-an-* (Wb 29a 23), *for-san-* (6b 22), with neg *for-na-*, *form-bed* 'on whom should be' MI 23d 17

OW *di-guor-mechis* 'he added' RC 11 205 (cf Ir *do-for-maig*), *guar-phenn* 'end' MnW *gorffen* Co *gorfen* Br *gourfenn*, OBr *guor-cedron* gl circumcellionum, G *uer-tragus* Etym § 30

(14) Ir *frith-*, procl *friss-*, before a pers pron *frí-*, but in rel sents sometimes *frissid-* § 342,5 In close comp there occurs sometimes apparent assimilation to a foll explosive *frecre* 'answer', *frebaid*, vn of *fris-ben* 'heals', but forms with *-th* followed by analogical lenition are also found *nad frith-chomart* 'who injured not' MI 47a 2, and also forms with *fres-* *fres-ciu* 'hope' (*fris-accim* gl opperior Thes II 228 31, to *ad-ci-*), *fresndis* 'refutation' Wb 13a 11 < *frith-ess-und-* + verb (*-fiad-*) — As prep, *frí* 'against', rel preverb *frissan-* — Etymology § 7,1, cf § 226

Originally not a preverb, *friss-* is really the 3 sg conjugated form — MIW *gwrth-eb* 'answer', Co *gorth-ebý* 'to answer'

(15) Ir *iar-*, *iar-*, procl *iaru-*, *iaru-*, *iarma-* *iar-m-uidigthe* gl postposita Sg 3b 31, *iar-mu-ru-suidigstar* gl postposit MI 130a 7, *iar-faigud* 'to question', *iar-mi-faig* 'which he asks for' 70c 6 — Prep *iar n-* 'after'

Orig not a preverb, the procl forms contain a pron (*iar-mu-* = *iarum* 3 sg masc, *iar-mi-* 3 sg fem), thence apparently is derived the form in close comp, with loss of the vowel of the second syll (*iar-faigud* with unlen *f*, cf MnIr *fiafrughe*, the len in *iar-m-uidigthe* is analogical) In nominal comp *iar n-* may occur *an-iar-túaid* 'from the north-west' Thes II 13 30

(16) Ir *imb-*, procl *im-*, *imm-*, with rel pron *imme-*, *imma-* The form *imb-* can come before a vowel and *r-* (even after loss of len *f-*), it coalesces with len *s-* to *imp-* *imb-radud*, *im-radud* 'thought', *impúd* 'turning', *imme-soi-siu* 'which thou turnest' MI 111a 6 Before other const. *im-*, before vowels often *imm-* — In some cases it became a syntactic preverb denoting reflexive or

reciprocal action *imm-un-cualammar ní-m-un-accammar* 'we had heard of one another, we had not seen one another' Wb 18d 3 — Prep *im*, *imm* 'about' Rel preverb *imman-*, *immon-*, *immuan-*, MlIr *mo-an-* (cf § 105), *im-* (*cíd im-lurd sú* LL 71a 39)

Etym § 8 W Co Br *am-*, more often W *ym-* Co *em-*, *ym-*, (*om-*) Br *em-*, the latter group of forms are freely used to form reflexive and reciprocal verbs MIW *yd ym-gerynt* 'that they loved each other' RM 234 13, *nyd ym-gelaf* 'I shall not hide myself' 209 3, Co *em-lathe y honan* 'to kill himself' RD 2073, MlBr *em-rentaff* 'se rendre' Cf Vendryes, *Les verbes composés avec ym dans les Mabinogions*, Mélanges Loth, 1927, 49ff

(17) Ir *in-*, before a pers pron *at-*, in rel sents occasionally *assid-* § 342,5 The *-n* is the IE final and coalesces with foll explosives and certain other consonants *écosc* 'appearance' (*in-com-* + *sech-* 'signify'), a short vowel appears in MlIr *teosc* 'instruction' MlIr *teagasg* (OIr *tinchos* Wb 5c 16) By contamination with *ind-* (18), the form *in-* is followed by lenition *in-chosc* 'denotation, mark' Sg 209b 11, Wb 15a 29, *t-in-chosc*, also *ind-* for *in-* before vowels *hua-r-ind-uallad-su* 'whereby thou hast entered' MI 93c 14 Cf also note 1 — Prep *i n-* 'in', rel preverb *in-* (cf § 393,3)

For the Brit forms of the prep *v* § 196, § 350, § 353, § 356 As preverb G *e-ssedum* 'war-chariot' § 26,10 Lat *in* Gk *ἐν*, *ἐνί* Goth *in* The by-form **en* occurs in nominal comp (Ir *ingen* 'maiden' § 35,9), in verbal comp another by-form **n* (Skr *ni* 'downward, into') *ar-ner-gdet* 'they pray' Wb 25c 23

(18) Ir *ind-*, procl *in-*, before pers prons *at-* (*in-samlathar* 'he imitates' Wb 9a 15, *a-ta-samlibid* 'ye will imitate them' 5a 13) For a rel form *inde-*, *inda-* v Thurneysen, ZCP 14 373 In close comp the form *ind-* before vowels and certain (lenited) consonants *ind-ar-pe* 'expulsion', *intamul* 'imitation' (*-t* < *-d-* + len *s*) It is not always easy to distinguish between *ind-* and *in-* (17) Gaul *ande-* § 98, VKG II 10.

(19) Ir *mad-* *mad-bocht* 'it was well reaped' Thes II 334 3, *mad-genatar á thimthirthid* 'blessed are his servants' 'well born' MI 90b 12 — MIW *mat mat ganet* 'luckily was he born', *ny mad aeth* 'not luckily did it go', v BBS 2 121ff, Ériu 2 219³

(20) Ir *mí-* *mí-tu-imret* 'that they deceive him' MI 74b 22, vn *mí-imbirt*, *mí-thoimtru* 'false opinion' Orig not a preverb

(21) Ir *oc-*, procl *ocu- ocu-bat* 'they will touch' MI 126 b 12, *nad ocmanatar* 'who are not touched' 54 a 12 — Prep *oc* 'at' The procl form is the 3 sg neut of the conjugated preposition The *-m-* after *oc-* in close comp may be from the *b-* of the verb, cf § 186, 1, but it is influenced by *iar-m-*, *re-m-* etc

(22) Ir **od-*, in close composition only The *-d-* coalesces with a foll consonant and disappears with compensatory lengthening before *r-*, *l-*, *n-*, *-d-m-* > *-mm-* The preverb is recognizable after the accent only by the condition of the preceding and following consonant (it contracts with a preceding vowel *fócre* 12) It often occupies the first position in verbal nouns *uccu* 'choice' (*gu-*), *opad*, *obbad* 'refusal' (*od-* + *bo-n-d-*), *ind ócbál* 'the rising' Thes II 13 24 f In the finite verb it is always preceded by another preverb *co-ta-ocbat* 'they raise themselves' Thes II 13 26

(23) Ir *rem-*, procl *remi-*, with rel pron also *reme- remi-suidigddis* 'they used to set it before' Sg 28 a 9, *a tréde remi-érbart* 'the three things which he has said before' Wh 5 c 22, *reme-n-uicsed* 'that he preferred' MI 47 c 12, *rem-suidigud* 'placing before' Sg 215 a 4 — Prep *re n-* 'before' (temporal) Not an old preverb, the procl form is 3 sg fem of the conjugated preposition

(24) Ir *ro-* as a word-forming preverb usually stands immediately before the verb (and so after any other preverbs), v § 422, 1, but cf *turbál* 'raising' (*to-ro-od-* + *garb-*), *dirósci* 'surpasses' Sg 42 b 2 (*di-ro-od-* + *scurch-*) For its position as perf preverb v § 415

MIW *ry-buched* (/d/) 'a desire, wish', *ry-buchaw* 'to desire' (also *puchaw*), W *rhy-gyng* 'ambling pace', MIW *ry-o-dres* 'pomp' BA 5 10, *rodres* RP 1324 39 MnW *rhodres*, in second position in MIW *cy-r-haedd* 'reach' MnW *cyrraedd* Co *d-re-heth-o* it may reach' PC 2758 MBr *di-r-haes* 'reach' MBr *direxa* (Ir *ro-sang* 'reaches') v Loth, RC 30 259 f, MIW *cy-r-bwyll* MnW *crybwyll* 'mention', Loth, RC 38 167 As perf preverb, § 424 — Gk *πρό*, Lat *pro-ficiscor*, Goth *fra-*, Skr *pra-* The preverb seems to have stood orig in all IE languages immediately before the verb, cf Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1895—8, p 170, KZ 35 612 f, Jackson, KZ 36 149 ff

(25) Ir *sechm-*, procl *sechmi-*, *sechmo- lasse sechmi-n-ella* 'when he passes by' MI 61 a 5, *sechmo-ella* 'lacks' Sg 196 b 2, *nad sechm-alla* gl qui non omittit MI 35 d 13 — Prep *sech* 'past' § 56, § 226, rel preverb *sech-an-* MI 120 b 2 Not an old preverb,

sechm-, *sechmo-*, *sechm-* by anal with *tarm-* etc 15, cf 21, 23, 26, 29

(26) Ir *tarm-*, procl *tarma-* *tarmi-berar* 'it is transferred' Hüb Min 1 24, *tairm-thecht* 'transgression' Wb 2c 18 Prep *tar* 'across, over' § 226, rel preverb *tar-an-*, *dar-an-* Not an old preverb, *tarm-*, *tarmi-*, by anal with 15, 23

(27) Ir *to-*, procl *do-* *to-* can become *tu-* (vowel raising *ceta-thui-dchetar* 'who first have come' Wb 21c 5 beside *do-dechud* 'he has come', *do-trag-*), *ta-* (-a-uml, *nicon-ta-rat* 'he has not given' Ml 36a 1, cf § 179, 2) For the forms *ti-*, *te-* v § 506, 9, § 576, 3, § 639, 5 Before a vowel it becomes *t-*, before a lost IE *w-* it contracts with a foll vowel (*tor-mach* 'increase', *do-for-mang* 'increases') In the earliest OIr texts proclitic *to-*, *tu-* *to-nd-echomnuair* (-ch- = -c-, /-g-/) 'has happened', *tu-thegot* 'who go' Thes II 247 11, 17 — Prep *do* 'to', rel preverb *di-an-*

Note 2 Nils Holmer, RC 50 105ff, separates the prep *do* from the preverb *to-*. But the preverb has very clearly in a great many instances the meaning 'to'. It is true that in some cases it has a different semantic development from the prep, quite as the preverb *air-* often differs from the prep *ar* (*air-* means 'negl' in *con-er-chlá* and many other cpds, this meaning being unknown in the case of the prep *ar*). But this is no objection to identity. It may be surprising that the prep has completely (or perhaps only almost completely, cf *t-air* 'in the east', *an air* 'from the east', both of which may contain prepositions) generalized the initial *d-*, but in Brit even the preverb has almost completely generalized the initial *d*. The identification of Ir *do* with OE *tō* E *to* is therefore inadmissible.

W *dy-* Co *de-* Br *di-* W *dy-chwel* 'return' Co *de-wheles* OM 728, W *dy-huddo* 'console' MIBr *di-huzaff*, MIW *dy-gymer* 'takes' LIH 289 25 Co *de-gemerys* 'taken' MIBr *di-guerner* 'take thou' MBH 18 16 W *ty-* in nominal comp *ty-wysog* 'prince' § 143, possibly too in *ty-wynnu* 'to shine' and (with elision) in *t-er-fysg* 'disturbance' (OIr *t-air-mescc*, cf *do-air-mescad* 'it might disturb' Monast Tall 127 18) There are numerous cpd groups of this preverb + other preverbs, v VKG II 300f

Note 3 Thurneysen, ZCP 14 9f, suggests that this preverb occurs in G *tozezeclar*, /to-med-ek-lar/ *ponit* (posuit) me

(28) Ir *trem-*, *tre-*, procl *tremi-*, *tris-* *tremi-berar* 'it is transferred' Wb 8a 5, *ní trem-feidhget i-asa suthin* 'they do not endure for ever' Ml 21d 4, *tris-n-gatal* 'that they pierce' 75b 9, *ro-t-tre-gdastar* 'has pierced thee' LL 108b 47 — Prep *tri*, *tre* 'through'; rel preverb *tre-san-*, *tre-sin-* — *tremi-*, *trem-* by anal with *remi-*, *rem-* 23, *tris-* by anal with *fris-* 14

W *try- try-wanu* 'to transfix, pierce', *try-dwll* 'perforated', *try-dar* MW 'noise' MnW 'birds' chatter' (v RC.20,355) OBr *tre-orgam* gl *perforo*

Etym § 226, 1

Note 4 An old preverb not found in Ir is seen in W *he brung* etc § 49, cf Skr *sam-* together

§ 432. Accumulation of preverbs is exceedingly common in Celt, as can be seen by the exx in § 431, but groups of more than three preverbs are rare. As a general rule it is only the last preverb that seems to have a definite meaning, those preceding it give the impression of having been added later, v VKG II 302. The different preverbs in a group have often become confused in Ir, *fo-ro-* is mixed with *for-* *for-ath-minedar* 'calls to mind' MI 55c 1, *fo-da-r-ath-minedar* 'that remembers it' 25c 5, *to-ro-* (*to-r-be* 'profit') is treated as *to-for-* (*do-r-or-ban* 'can be of use' MI 62a 20). A simple verb is treated as a compound *tongu* 'I swear', *no-thongad* 'that he used to swear', *do-d-fongad* 'who swore it' MI 36a 20, 21, *lasse nad-n-adraim-se* 'when I do not worship' MI 132c 1 *ud-ro-rsat* 'they have worshipped' Wb 1b 19 (< Lat *adōrō*)

XXXI. The Verb.

Syntax of the finite verb.

§ 433. Position of the verb. Normally in insular Celt the verb stands at the head of the sentence. Placing some other part of the sentence first, for the sake of emphasis, is avoided by the relative circumlocution (§ 399). The verb can only be preceded by (1) conjunctions, (2) the adverb Ir *bés* 'perhaps', (3) the preverbs and negatives, (4) the infixed pronouns, (5) certain adverbs, (6) interrogative particles and pronouns.

Note This fixed position of the verb is a special development in insular Celt, v Vendryes, MSL 17 337ff. But Thurneysen, ZCP 16 301ff, 14 9f, suggests that the Gaul graffiti may offer instances of a verb at the head of a sentence. — There are numerous examples in the older W poetry of principal sentences in which the verb is preceded by some other part of the sentence *keith kwynynt* 'captives lamented' LIH 5 3, *Dewi differwys y eghoyasseu* 'D defended his churches' 205 1, *dyhet dy-m goryw* (MS *gorwy*) 'strife overcomes me' 24 16. In the last example the accus. pron. is infixed after the preverb, when the verb was simple a pron. was infixed by means of the particle *a* *Duw a-m dyfero* 'may God defend me' 33 30. Then the particle *a* was used even in the absence of an infixed pronoun *dihw a dyvu*

dythrawd a dyu 'the flood has come, doomsday will come' Sentences of this type did not differ in appearance from mixed sentences (relative circumlocution, § 399) They are freely used in literature to this day, but are rare in spoken W Cf Henry Lewis, BBOS 4 149ff, *Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg*, 112ff

§ 434. Tenses. (1) The indicative has a present, an imperfect and a preterite, in Ir a future and a conditional, in Brit a pluperfect (a) The Ir pres has the usual functions of a pres and can also denote an action continuing up to the present *atât tri laa 7 teora ardchi* and 'they have been there three days and three nights' LL 249b 11, similarly MIW *ys gwers yd wyf yn keissaw* 'I have been seeking for a while' RM 126 28, Br *tri miz zo ez eo klañv* 'he has been ill three months' In W and Co, which have no future tense, the pres has also a fut meaning, in Br it is the pres subjunctive that has a fut meaning

(b) The ipf denotes in Ir repeated or customary action in the past *dogniŷe a n-asbered Moysi* 'what Moses used to say used to be done' Wb 15a 18 In Brit it has a much wider scope of meaning, it denotes not only what used to be, but also what continued in the past MIW *ual y kyrcher ef y boni* 'as he was approaching the bridge' WM 433 8, *pan deuthum i yma gyntaf evngon gof a oed yma* 'when I first came here there was a smith's anvil here' RM 129 12 In W and Co the ipf corresponds in meaning to the Ir conditional MIW *oed llessach yr march* 'it would have been more beneficial' WM 17 29, *ny wydyat hi beth a wnaei* 'she knew not what she would do' RM 268 29. Co *fy thyso pan leuersys temple deu y-n tystrewys* 'fie on thee that thou hast said thou wouldst destroy God's temple' PC 2862 The ipf of 'to see' and 'to hear' are used in narrative in W MIW *ym pell yn y coel ef a glyweis draspat Sef y gweler urew* 'far in the wood he heard a cry, he saw a woman', the meaning is very nearly 'he could hear, he could see' cf Morris-Jones, WG 315f, EWG 107f, and the same meaning occurs in Co and MBr, v § 445 n 3

(c) The Celt preterite corresponds to the IE aorist and perfect and derives its functions from both sources

(2) The imperative has only one tense, the present The subjunctive, corresponding to the IE subjunctive and to the IE optative, has two tenses, pres and ipf, in Brit it has also a pluperfect

§ 435. Person and number (1) The insular Celt verb has three

singular and three plural persons For simple and conjunct endings
 v § 448 (2) In the Brit languages from the earliest period the verb stands in the 3rd sg when it precedes even a plur subject (except when the subject is a pers pron) Numerous examples occur however in the older W literature, particularly in poetry, of agreement in number between the verb and its following plural subject, the subject noun in such cases having an initial consonant lenited *atchwelwynt wydyl* BT 18 8, v ZCP 17 107ff, BBCS 5 194 In MnW the verb is invariably sg when it precedes its subject In early MIW the verb agreed in number with its preceding subject noun *guir deur kymynnt a dur* 'brave men slew with steel' BBC 72 9, cf § 433 n In the later development of this construction with the particle *a* preceding the verb, this agreement has persisted in literature even to this day Such sentences, though resembling in form mixed sentences (relative circumlocution), are as a rule distinguishable from the latter, which usually have the verb in the 3rd sg after a subject rel pronoun MnW *ni a aethom* 'we went' but *ni (nyna) a aeth* 'it was we who went' In Co and Br however this distinction has not been observed, and in the 'impersonal' conjugation the verb is always 3rd sg Co *my a gar* Br *me a gar* 'I love', etc, v Ernault, RC 9 249—258

Note 1. In MnIr, persons of the verb are expressed either synthetically (with the inherited personal endings) or analytically (the verb 3rd sg + independent pers pronouns, *ceoladh mé, tú*, etc 'I conceal etc'), also 3 sg before a plural noun as subject

(3) Transitive verbs are often used impersonally in Ir *rojetar ní-m-irchóir nach géin lib-si* 'I know I shall not be delayed for any long time with you' ('that it will not delay me') Wb 7a 11, *bec nach-am-rálae i n-derchoimíud* 'I have almost fallen into despair' ('it has thrown me') MI 90c 17

Note 2. In the later language a personal construction has been substituted, the verb being made intransitive and the original object becoming subject *ro lá i socht mór uill Mac Dathó* 'M D fell into long silence' (orig 'it threw him') W1 97 6

The use of the subjunctive in Irish.

§ 436. The subjunctive in Ir expresses a wish *d-a-ro-lgea dra doib* 'God forgive it to them' Wb 31a 2 Also a command (when not to be obeyed at once, the subj often corresponds to the Lat ipv in -tō) *dogné-su marth fris-som* 'thou shalt do good to him' Wb 5d 39, *sonra-su* 'thou shalt set free' gl liberato MI 61c 15

§ 437. It can also be **potential**. (1) In principal sentences *dofuthris-se a burth i-m gnaís féin* 'I could wish that he were with myself' Wb 32a 9 (2) After *bés* 'perhaps' *béss risat ude aní asatorbatha* 'perhaps they may reach that out of which they were cut' 5b 39 (3) In a dependent question *nihil horum sciens i in-dam-sorathae du lamarb nru námat fa-narc* 'whether I might be saved from the hands of my enemies or not' Ml 91d 4 (4) In conditional or concessive sentences (and in rel clauses integrating the cond or concess sents) *maní pridag atbél ar ocht et gorti* 'if I preach not, I shall die of cold and hunger' Wb 10d 24, *cia fudama in firídn ní du imnedarb lu-sin bruth frendaire sorfuthir dano in céin n-aah dano* 'though the righteous man endure something of troubles in the present world, he will also be delivered the other time' Ml 68d 14

Note The subj is not required in dependent interrog sents or in conditional or concessive clauses as such, when they have no potential meaning *ma du d esta ní di bar n-iris i ccfidir per aduentum* 'if anything is lacking in your faith it will be made good per aduentum' Wb 25a 30, *cia ru-d-chualatar íbélre* 'though they have heard many languages' 12d 28 — *cíd, cút, mad, mat* are subjunctives (*cíd* functions as an indic in Wb 5a 16), cf Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895-98, p. 267¹

As a conditional conjunction *dia n-* always takes the subjunctive, as a temporal conj. it takes the indicative, *acht* (eclipsing) save that takes the indic, *acht* 'provided that' takes the subjunctive

(5) In relative clauses of an indefinite character *cíd a-tob-aich cen dílgud (ech ancrídi doynethe fríb* 'what compels you not to forgive every injury that may be done to you' Wb 5c 20 (6) After *amal* 'as', *indaas* 'than' *acht amal fu-n-d-ló* 'but as he can (may be able to) endure it' Ml 32d 2, *indaas bemmi i n-doiri corceci sentand* 'than that we should be in captivity till old age' Ml 105b 6 They take the indic. when the meaning is not potential

§ 438 The subjunctive denotes **purpose** in Ir (1) In final clauses proper (after *ara n-*, *co n-* and *co* 'in order that', *coní*, *cona*, *arna*, *na* 'in order that not') *coní bé eir in peccato act co beid in poenitentia* 'that he may not be at all in peccato but that he may be in poenitentia' Wb 9b 2, *arm-bad i rlamu de don buáith* 'that he might be the reader for the victory' 11a 7 Also after *co n-*, *co* 'until' to express purpose *ní tarbre grád for nech a-feser a inruccus don grád sin* 'thou shalt not confer orders on anyone till thou knowest his fitness for those orders' 29a 22

Note If *co n-*, *co* does not denote purpose it takes the indic. *roptar*

irithi ar moge dun o-tanacc hress 'our slaves were obedient to us until the faith came' Wb 29b 2

(2) In objective sentences *ci as-id-ru-bart-sa nad-tintae-su* 'though I have said that thou shouldst not translate' Ml 3a 15, *pestilentiae proprium est inficere* 1 *fris-norr* Ml 15a 10

(3) In rel sents *bói ní ro-glunte* and 'there was something to be purified there' Wb 31c 18, *co m-betis degnamar leu trissan-etis bethand afrithissi* 'that they should have good works through which they might obtain life again' Ml 107c 12 Also in rel sents expressing some restriction or limitation of the purpose or desire *conná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech doyned na gnamu sin* 'that ye might not believe in any one save one who did those deeds' Wb 17a 13, *toisc lmm fer oín-sétthe du-nna-rructhae act oen tuistvu* 'I desire a husband of one wife, unto whom hath been borne only one child' Thes II 241 9

(4) In dependent interrog sents *ara scrúta id forchana do hícc cáich* 'that he may scrutinize what he may teach to save every one' Wb 31b 10 Also in a direct question *cinnaas fuirechlem* 'how may we beware' LL 120b 13

§ 439 The subjunctive in Irish denotes what is **unreal** or **impossible** (1) In rel clauses forming part of what is denied in a negative sentence *ní tabar dia fornna fochith nád-fochomolsam* 'God puts not on us suffering that we cannot endure' Wb 14b 15, *nad-fil nech congne fris acht dia* 'that there is no one who helps him but God' Ml 114b 18, also in a sent virtually negative *in sí a meit friscom-artatar co n-dositis hurl a fide Christi* 'have they offended so greatly that all fell a fide ('hrisi' Wb 5b 11, *doiachónset arn-da-beth in tairsem hi-robatar riam* they had despaired of having the state in which they had been before' Ml 131c 9

(2) After *resíu* 'before' *mohd 7 álgeniqid resíu rocúrsacha* 'he praises and soothes before he reprimands' Wb 4a 2 (3) In a quoted statement etc which is doubtful or incorrect *asberat alarh co m-bad du dethriub no-tesad án Iacob* 'some say that the word Jacob would apply to the Two Tribes' Ml 34d 6, *inda leu-som ni-s-roissed imned* 'it seemed to them that trouble could not reach them' 39c 34

(4) In conditional clauses (ipf subj, the conditional in the principal sentence) *docaith dígal forru matís tuicsi ní ríyad* 'vengeance fell upon them, if they had been elect it would not have fallen' Wb. 11a 22

(5) In sentences of comparison and in relative clauses in them as part of the unreality which is expressed (ipf subj) *ropridchad dúib céasad críst amal adcelthe l forócrad dúib amal bíd fiadab no-crochthe* 'Christ's passion has been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if he had been crucified in your presence' Wb 19b 6, *amal ní cúmsaín hÍ frendírc a n-asberínn per epístolas* 'as though I being present could not do what I said per epístolas' 17b 1

The use of the subjunctive in British.

§ 440. The subj can express a wish or a command in Brit OW *anbuc guell gl aue* MIW *hanpych gwell, henpych gwell* MnW *henffych well*, MIW *duw a rodo da ytt* 'God prosper thee' RM 15 2 Co *yn della thyn re wharfo* 'so may it happen to us' OM 667 MIBr *doe guar roe tron ra-m pardono* 'God, the true king, pardon me' Nonne 388

§ 441. The subj has in Brit a potential meaning (1) In principal sentences The subjunctive here closely approaches a future, this use often occurs in earlier W poetry, but becomes rare later, in Br the use of the subj as future became regular MIW *nyt arbettwy car corff y gilyd* 'a kinsman shall not spare his companion's body' BT 16 13, MIBr *pebez anquenou a gouzafhet oar ann bet man* 'what anguish you would suffer in this world' Jés 44b

(2) In a dependent interrog sentence MIW *manac ditheu y mi pa furyf y gallwyf hynny* 'do thou tell me how I may be able to do that' RM 3 5, *heb wybot pwy ver eu gelynyon* 'without knowing who their enemies might be' RBB 105 5 Co *prederys peb ay worfen fettyl allo gorfenne* 'let every one consider his end, how he may be able to end' OM 228, *myr pa-n-dra wyllly ynnny* 'look what thou mayest be able to see in it' 801

Note 1 When the potential meaning is absent the indic is used MIW *mi a unn pwy wyt tu* 'I know who thou art' RM 2 11

(3) In a conditional or concessive clause In W in a second (negative) conditional clause following, without a conditional conjunction, a preceding conditional clause MIW *o gwely vwyt a drawt or byd rest itt wrthaw ac na bo o wybot a dayon y rodi itt kymer dy hun ef* 'if thou seest food and drink, if thou hast need of it and there be not the courtesy and goodness to give it thee, take it thyself' RM 195, 18, also in a rel clause forming part of the con-

dition in a future conditional clause MIW *or byd ae gwarauunko it hedw* 'if there will be to-day anyone who will refuse it to thee' 253, 21 After MIW *cyn, cyt* 'though', neg *cyn ny, cyny*, Co *kyn, ken* MIW *a chyt archo ef itti yr eil* 'and though he ask of thee the second (blow)' RM 3 19, Co *kyn leuerryf gwyr den fyth àhanough ny vyn crygy* 'though I speak the truth no man of you will believe' PC 1481, — also after MIW *yr na* 'although not' MnW *er na* MIW *darogan yw idaw kaffel etrued ohonat ti yr na-s kaffo o arall* 'it is prophecied that he shall have an heir by thee though he may not have had one by another' RM 101 23 — In expressions like 'the more, the better' MIW *goreu yw gennyf-i bo kyntaf* 'the sooner the better for me' 12 4, *a pher vwyhaf ver y vrys ef pellaf vydei hatheu ywrthaw ef* 'and the more his haste the farther she would be from him' 9 5 — Disjunctive MIW *pan dycko beich na mawr na bychan uo* 'when he carries a burden whether great or small' 109 19, *na marchawc na phedestyr y del idaw* 'be it a rider or a pedestrian he come to' 246 9

Note 2 After W o, (and MIW or) the indicative is used, also after Co, Br *mar* 'if' Co *mar myn dev* 'if God wills' OM 650, MIBr *mar tech* 'if she escapes' Barbe 401 But after OW *hou* 'if' the subj occurs *hou bort cwtun ceng yr escor* 'if it be along the back of the limb' BBCS 5 246 (cf *hou bern atar i* 'if they be birds' 236), for the subj OW *bort ef* MIW *boet, bwyd* (-d = /d/) after *cyt kyt boet keuynderw y m* though he be a cousin to me WM 62 2, *kyd bwyd drwg ganhaw* 'though he regret' 449 35, v Williams, PKM 228 In Co the indic of the verb 'to be' sometimes follows *ken ken nag of gwyw* though I am not worthy' PC 481 — In MIBr the indic is used in such sentences as *nac eu mar fier* § 409, 1

It is difficult to distinguish between conditional and temporal conjunctions In MIW the subjunctive follows *pan* 'when', *gwedy* 'after', *tra* while when the action of the verb is future or is repeated *pan delych dy hun yth wlat ti a wely a wneuthum yrot ti* 'when thou comest to thy own country thou shalt see what I have done for thee' RM 6 10, *a phan dywetter Arthur y dywedon ynneu* and when A would say I also would say' 147 24, *gwedy delych atref par uessuraw yr ynys* 'when thou comest home cause the island to be measured' 96 28, *hedw a pheunydt tra barhao y wled* 'to-day and daily while the feast lasts' 17 10 In Co *pan* is followed by the subjunctive when the action is future *marow vyth pan yn kyffyf* 'he shall die when I get him' RD 1777

(4) In indef rel clauses MIW *yr a ymbiho a thi* 'however much he may beseech thee' RM 3 19, *pa diaspettych di bynnac* 'however much thou mayest shout' 104 7 Co *suel a vynno bos sylwys golsowens ow lawarow* 'whoso would be saved let him hearken to

my words' MC 2 MIBr *da ober seder a querhet* 'to do surely what ye desire' Jës 45a, *hoaruezet a hoaruezo* 'happen what may' Nonne 1593

(5) After MIW *ual* MnW *fel* 'as' MIW *mi a wnaſ ual y dywettŷch di* 'I will do as thou sayest' RM 276 27 After Co *del* 'as' *my a wra ol del vynny* 'I will do entirely as thou wishest' OM 246, *mar scon del y-n guylly* 'as soon as thou seest him' RD 1694

Note 3 The comparative conjunction *as* such does not require the subj. MIW *ual y daw y mywn* 'as he comes in' RM 226 5, Co *an arluth ker del yu e luen a versy* 'the dear Lord, as he is full of mercy' OM 1822

§ 442 The subjunctive in Brit denotes **purpose**. (1) In final clauses proper MIW *mal y crettoc'h* 'that ye may believe' RM 131 10, *carchara wynt hyt nat elont drachenyn* 'imprison them so that they may not go again' 34 14 Co *may hyllyŷ clewas* 'that I may be able to hear' PC' 554, *rag na ro degees* 'that it may not be opened' OM 964 MIBr *euit maz guli* 'that thou mayest see' Nonne 1156 After MIW *yny* 'until' MnW *oni, hyd oni*, referring to the future or when purpose is directly denoted MIW *ny russya dim ragot yny delych y-m kyuoeth* 'nothing will hinder thee till thou comest to my domain' RM 3 26 Also after MIW *hyt pan* 'until', v BBCS 1 104 After Co *erna* 'until' *gans myyn gureugh hy knoukye erna wrelo tremene* 'beat her with stones till she pass away' OM 2695, after Co *bys ma ty a reur bys may fy loys* 'thou shalt live till thou be grey' OM 72 After MIBr *quen na* 'until' *ahanenn em tennet quen na duy pret da donet dauedoff* 'retire hence till the time comes to come to me' Nonne 537, MnBr *ken na*, v Vallée 206, 208 (*gortozit ken na zeuo* 'wait till he comes')

Note MIW *yny* takes the indic. when the idea of future or purpose is absent *ny bu hir yny vyryaud Piredur ef* 'it was not long before P overthrew him' RM 200 8 Similarly MnBr *ken na skei a reas gantañ ken na varvas* 'he hit him till he died' Vallée 209, MIBr *gant eur boan quen terribl que na uot eur mis cren en poan* 'with such terrible pain that he was a whole month in pain' Loth, Chrest 348 7

(2) In objective clauses MIW *mi a baraf na bo i-th gyouech na gur na gureic a wyppo na bo tidi wuyf* 'I will cause that there be in thy domain neither man nor woman who may know that it be not thou that I be' WM 4 28, *deuis di ae kerdet ae na cherdych* 'choose thou to walk or not' RM 150 25, *uory y mae oet dyd grof i ac ef y rodi y vorwyn honno idaw neu ynteu a ladho vy merbon* 'and to-morrow I have an appointment with him to give him that maiden

or for him to kill my sons' 189 10 Co *me a-th pys may leuery* 'I beg thee to speak' RD 2046, *ha my a wyth na-n lyttry* 'and I will watch that thou steal him not' 58 MIBr *m-oz pet ez autrehet ez marvif affet da quentlaff* 'I beseech you to grant me that I indeed die first' Jës 35a

(3) In rel clauses MIW *llyma a wnelych* 'this is what thou shalt do' RM 201 30, *a cheisswn greft y caffom yn ymborth* 'let us seek a trade by which we may have our food' WM 65 25, *py derw yth pryt nat atteppych y neb hedw* 'what has happened to thee that thou dost not answer anyone to-day' RM 176 20 (In exx like the last the clause is almost causal) Co *lyf bras my a thoro a gutho ol an nor beys* 'I will bring a great flood to cover all the face of the earth' OM 982

(4) In dep interrog clauses (asking what should be done) MIW *rodwch im kynghor pa uorwyn a geiswyf* 'give me counsel what maiden I shall seek' WM 93 9 This use of the subj occurs in W only The indic also occurs in such sentences in W

§ 443. The subj in Brit denotes the unreal or impossible. (1) In rel clauses forming part of what is denied in neg sents MIW *nyl oes yndi neb ny-th adnapo* 'there is in it no one who knows thee not' RM 3 29, *ny wnn i neb a-e gwypo* 'I know of no one who knows it' 131 2 Co *tra ny vyth yn pow adro na wothfo the tharrypas* 'there is not a thing in the country which he knows not how to discover' OM 190 MIBr *na nemeux quet tra en bet nemet huy, tra a carhenn* 'and there is nothing in the world that I would love but you' Barbe 101

(2) Co *kyns del vy serryys my a wra ol del vynny* 'rather than thou be angry I will do entirely as thou wishest' OM 245

(3) In a quoted statement which is doubtful or incorrect MIW *hawd yw gennyf kaffel hynny kyt tybyckych di na bo hawd* 'I can easily get that though you may think it not easy' RM 120 26, *nyl er tebygu ohonaw ef na bei deilwg* 'not that he thought he was not worthy' RBB 26 15

(4) In conditional clauses (ipf subj the indic ipf or plpf in the principal sentence) In MIW such clauses are mostly introduced by the conjunction *per*, itself in origin the 3 sg ipf subj of the verb 'to be' *per iach dy anghew uydei* 'were he well he would be the death of thee' RM 133 27, *ber dywetut ti minneu a dywedwn* 'if thou wouldst say I would say' 194 22, *minneu a*

baraf pei dothst yssyd yn y seith cantref hynn o wryt a llynn yndi na bo llawnach no chynt 'I will cause that it be no fuller than before, (even) if all the food and drink of the seven cantrefs were put in it' (here the principal sentence is not 'unreal') RM 13 29 — *Co a-n cafffen er an ascal y-n toulusen yn creys an tan* 'if I caught him by the armpit I would throw him into the fire' RD 289, *mar-s-ellen hep cous orty hy holon hy a torse* 'if I were to go without speaking to her, her heart would break' OM 2173 — In MIBr the subj also occurs in the main sentence *mar carhe me-n rohe dezaff* 'if he liked I would give it to him' Nonne 1568

(5) In sentences of comparison (ipf subj) MIW *mal per y cledyf a dotter yn y wein* 'as if he were sheathing the sword' RM. 128 7 *Co kepar ha pan ve hegar* 'as if he were a friend' MC 40 (but indic in *kepar ha del ens* 'as if they were going' MC 64) MIBr *euel pan ve me ma hunan en deffe y gret* 'as if it were I myself who had done them' Loth Chrest 297 23

Active Inflection of the pres. and ipf. ind and of the imperative

§ 444. Irish present paradigms (*biru* 'I carry', *benimm* 'I strike', *carimm* 'I love', *garbimm* 'I take', *léicimm* 'I leave')

	-o- stems	-e- stems	-na- stems	-ā- stems	-i- stems	-ī- stems

Pres. simp

Sg 1	<i>biru</i>	<i>benimm</i>	<i>carimm</i>	<i>garbimm</i>	<i>léicimm</i>
2	<i>bir</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>garb</i>	<i>léic</i>
3	<i>berid</i>	<i>benid</i>	<i>carid</i>	<i>garbid</i>	<i>léicid</i>
Pl 1	<i>bermr</i>	<i>benmr</i>	<i>carmr</i>	<i>garbmr</i>	<i>léicmr</i>
2	<i>berthe</i>	<i>benthe</i>	<i>carthe</i>	<i>garbthe</i>	<i>léicthe</i>
3	<i>berit</i>	<i>benit</i>	<i>carit</i>	<i>garbit</i>	<i>léicit</i>

Pres. conj.

Sg 1	<i>-bivur</i>	<i>-benimm</i>	<i>-caru,</i> <i>-carimm</i>	<i>-garbiv,</i> <i>-garbimm</i>	<i>-léiciv,</i> <i>-léicimm</i>
2	<i>-bir</i>	<i>-ben</i>	<i>-car</i>	<i>-garb</i>	<i>-léic</i>
3	<i>-beir</i>	<i>-ben</i>	<i>-cara</i>	<i>-garb</i>	<i>-léic</i>
Pl 1	<i>-beram</i>	<i>-benam</i>	<i>-caram</i>	<i>-garbem</i>	<i>-léicem</i>
2	<i>-berid</i>	<i>-benid</i>	<i>-carid</i>	<i>-garbid</i>	<i>-léicid</i>
3	<i>-berat</i>	<i>-benat</i>	<i>-carat</i>	<i>-garbet</i>	<i>-léicet</i>

	-o- -e- stems	-na- stems	-ā- stems	-i- stems	-ī- stems
IpI.					
Sg 1	-berinn	-beninn	-carinn	-garbinn	-léicinn
2	-bertha	-benta	-cartha	-garbthea	-léicthea
3	-bered	-benad	-carad	-garbed	-léiced
Pl 1	-bermis	-benmis	-carmis	-garbmis	-léicmis
2	-berthe	-bente	-carthe	-garbthe	-léicthe
3	-bertis	-bentis	-cartis	-garbtis	-léictis
Ipv.					
Sg 2	beir	ben	car	garb	léic
3	berad	benad	carad	garbed	léiced
Pl 1	beram	benam	caram	garbem	léicem
2	berid	benid	carid	garbid	léicid
3	berat	benat	carat	garbet	léicet

Note 1 The difference between the various classes of stems as regards inflection is seen almost only in the 2 and particularly the 3 sing of the praesens compositum (conjunct). A more important difference is that of the quality of the final root consonant. In the -o- -e-stems it is non-palatal in the 1 sg, 1 and 3 pl of the pres conjunct, in the ipf palatalization distinguished the ind from the subjunctive *at beirmis* we used to say it' Wb 26b 19, *as-beirtis* (they) who used to say' 4c 23, palatalization does not occur in 3 sg, 1 and 3 pl ipv. The -na- and -ā-stems had non-palatalization, the -i- and -ī-stems had palatalization. But these rules for palat can be regularly modified *taibred* 'let him give' Wb 22b 7 (palat caused by the -b-). There are also mixed and analogical formations.

Vowel changes can occur only in Class I. Raising of *e* is regular in 1 sg of the conjunct and in the 1 sg of the simple present (-*biur*, *biru*), it also occurs in the 2 sg, *biru* (Skene, Celtic Scotland III 426 12), -*bir*, cf *du-fich* Ml 71b 18, *con-rig* 119b 8, but *ara-rethi* n 3.

Note 2. As a sub-section of the -o- -e class can be considered verbs whose root ends in a vowel (after loss of *w*, *j* or *s*). They are distinguished by the retention of the otherwise lost final vowel *at-nor* 'he entrusted him' (vn *athnue* gl depositum, W *ad-nau* deposit, pledge'), *o-óir* 'guards', *do-gntu* 'I do', *ad-clu* (and *ad-clu*) 'sees'.

Note 3 Varying endings of the present. The 1 sg pres simp regularly ends in -*u* in Class I in OIr (*biru*, *traqu* 'I go', *arco* 'I beseech', MlIr *tongu* 'I swear', cf *biuu-sa* Wb 16d 8), but there are exceptions as *dhigim* 'I am entitled to', *ithim* 'I eat', *melim* 'I grind', *sargim* 'I seek'. In the other classes the ending -*u* is rare *garbu* 'I take', *ibru* 'I drink' Trp L 54 15 (v K Meyer, Miscell Hib 51, but *ib-*, 3 pl *ebant* originally belonged to Class I). In MlIr the ending -*imm* prevails throughout. The simple ending -*imm* is also often

used in conj. forms, it is the usual form in all but the *-o-* *-e-* stems where it is not so common (*for-chanaim* 'which I teach' Wb 8c 3 beside *for-chun* 10a 13) The 2 sg simple ending can occur as conj ending *ar-a-rethi* 'which thou assailest' Wb 6b 22 In archaic OIr the 3 pl pres sump ends in *-ot* *tuthegot* '(they) who come', *tuesmot* '(they) who pour' Thes II 247 17, 19

Note 4 Forms with relative subject or object 3 sg rel *beres*, *benas*, *caras*, *garbas*, *léces*, 1 pl rel *berme* etc, 3 pl rel *berte* etc For forms with suffixed pers prons v § 343

Note 5 The imperative has a 1 sg form *tiag-sa* let me go, I will go Ml 58c 6 In rare cases forms in origin subjunctive have become ipv *déce* lat 'see' Wb 10c 20, *na-dene amnuit* 'do not do patience' 'be not patient' Ml 55a 1 (verbs *cl-*, *qui-*) *cuire* 'put' Thes II 19 36 For other subjunctives used as imperatives v § 452 n 3

Note 6 Mnlr. development The endings of the non comp verbs have been generalized in all regular verbs, but the 3 sg ending *-ann*, *eann* long remained as a special dependent form (after syntactic preverbs), ultimately replacing almost entirely the simple ending of the 3 sg *-idh* (For the origin of this ending v VKG II 334f) The old conjunct form of the 3 sg is retained in a few irreg verbs (*adeir* says, etc) The 2 sg has the ending *-ir*, probably taken from the deponent, it occurs already in MlIr *d-a fhuingir* 'which thou obtainest' Atk LBr 7538 In the 1 pl OIr *-mit* (verbal ending + pron object) became the usual pl ending in Mnlr *-mid*, *-maid*, v § 347

§ 445. Brit. present paradigms (MIW 'Co MlBr *caraf* 'I love')

		MIW	Co	MIBr	
Pres	Sg	1	<i>caraf</i>	<i>caraf</i>	<i>caraff</i>
		2	<i>kery</i>	<i>keryth</i>	<i>querez</i>
		3	<i>car</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>car</i>
	Pl	1	<i>carun</i>	<i>keryn</i>	<i>queromp</i>
		2	<i>kerwch</i>	<i>kerough, kereugh</i>	<i>queret quarit</i>
		3	<i>carant</i>	<i>kerons</i>	<i>queront</i>
Ipt.	Sg	1	<i>carun</i>	<i>caren</i>	<i>carenn</i>
		2	<i>carul</i>	<i>cares</i>	<i>cares</i>
		3	<i>carei</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>care</i>
	Pl	1	<i>carem</i>	<i>caren</i>	<i>caremp</i>
		2	<i>carewch</i>	<i>careugh</i>	<i>carech</i>
		3	<i>kerynt</i>	<i>kerens</i>	<i>carent</i>
Ipv.	Sg	2	<i>car</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>car</i>
		3	<i>caret</i>	<i>cares, carens</i>	<i>caret</i>
	Pl	1	<i>carun</i>	<i>keryn</i>	<i>queromp</i>
		2	<i>kerwch</i>	<i>kerough, kereugh</i>	<i>queret, quirit</i>
		3	<i>carent</i>	<i>carens, cares</i>	<i>carent</i>

Note 1. Traces occur in Brit of different classes of stems. A series of forms derived from *-i*-stems differ from the above paradigms pres. sg 1 in *-yf* in older MIW (*kenif* 'I sing', *kwynif* 'I complain', *bythf* 'I shall be', *dygff* 'I bring', *gwennu* 'I serve', *keru* 'I love' LIH 1 16, 4 3, 6 23, 8 1, 24 12, *mudif* 'I change' RP 1037 10, *gwneif* 'I do, make' BA 1 5, B T 63 21, *kuynhw* 'I (shall) lament' BBC 100 15, — 3 sg forms with affected vowel (*i*-umlaut) in W Co and Br W *geill* 'he can' (also *gall*) Co *gyll* MIBr *guell*, W *gerlw* 'he calls' (1 sg *galwaf*) Co *gelow*, W *tyr* 'breaks' (1 sg *torraf*) Co *ter*, W *cyll* 'loses' (1 sg *collaf*) Co *a geyl* OM 319, — archaic MIW 3 sg in *-id* (note 3), and perhaps the archaic MIW 3 pl pres forms in *ynt* (note 3), — the archaic MIW 3 sg ipf in *-i* with umlaut of the vowel in the penult, also Co MIBr *-y* (note 3), — 3 sg ipv in *-ut* in MIW and 3 sg, pl ipv in *-ys* (*es*), *-yws* with umlaut in Co (note 3)

Except in the 3 sg pres only the vowel *a* undergoes umlaut in W. The affected vowel in Co is written *e*, *y* or *ey*. In MnBr umlaut has as a rule been set aside.

Note 2. Verbs with old hiatus (due to lost *a* or *p*) are hardly attested. But verbs with later hiatus due to loss of lenited *g* are frequent, the deriv. verbs in 1 sg MIW *-haaf*. The regular inflection in MIW is pres sg 1 *rydhaaf* 'I set free', 2 *rydhey*, 3 *rydha*, ipv sg 2 *rydha*, 3 *rydhaet* etc. The pres sg 3 and ipv sg 2 forms were regularly accented on the penult, cf *llleha* 'will place', *lrydha* '(it) will set free', *na m lcaasa* 'hate me not' RP 1174 23, 25, 35. The final unaccented *-a* came to be regarded as a personal ending and was added to stems other than those in *-ha*. MIW *cerda* 'goes' MnW *cerdda* 'walks'. Another consequence has been the accenting of the final *-ha* in MnW *rhyddilha* 'sets free' (as if the form were *-ha-a*).

Note 3. Older or variant forms. Pres 1 sg OW *ni chorlam* 'I do not believe' *ni guardam* 'I laugh not' BBCS 5 234 6 102, OBr *rannam* gl *parthoi*, *lemhaam* gl *acuo*, *enmetham* gl *innuo*, *guwrgiriam* gl *hinnuo do-guorenniam* gl *perfuno*. For MIW *-yf* v note 1 — 2 sg OW *nerthi-ti* gl *hortabere*, *gurt trichi-ti* 'thou decidest' (BBCS 3 267f), *ha chepi* 'and thou shalt find' (ib 256), in the older MIW verse the 2 sg ending *-yd* = /yd/ occurs *atebyd* 'answerest', *dywedyd* 'sayest', *kyuerchyd* 'greatest' RP 582 36-9, *doit comest* BBC 102 1, *keed* (= *ke-yd*) 'obtainest' LIA 151 23, v Strachan, Introd 83, Morris-Jones, WG 319 — 3 sg in *-id* = /id/ OW *prinit* 'buys' (Ir *crend*, *-na*-stem), *retri* 'runs' (Ir *rethud*, *-o-* *-e*-stem), *hegt* 'goes', MIW *othud*, *tohud* '(snow) falls, covers' BBC 89 14, *dyrcheut* 'rises' HGCref 90 4, 3 sg in *-yt* = /yd/ MIW *eyt* 'goes' RP 1055 16, *perheyt* 'lasts' 1168 28, *llwytyd* 'prosperes' LIH 45 14, 3 sg in MIW *-awt* = /awd/ OBr *-ot* MIW *dyrchauawt* 'will arise' RP 579 19, *gwasgarawt* 'will scatter' 581 39, *gunahawd* 'will make' BBC 54 4, *bruahawd* 'will break' 58 9 *kym-erawd* 'will take' LIH 37 2, *llewycharw* 'shines' 252 24 *methawd* 'will fail', *ymhoelawd* 'will turn' WM 457, 11, 13, OBr *crhot* gl *uibrat*, *fleriot* gl *redolet*, *cospitot* gl *titubauerit*. These forms correspond to the Ir forms with simple endings, those in *-id* often occur side by side with conjunct forms *trenght qolud*, *ny threnght molud* 'wealth perishes, fame does not perish', *tyut maban*,

ny thyf y gadachan a babe grows, his swaddling-clothes grow not' RB 1082, *chwarynt mab noeth, ny chware mab newynawc* 'a naked child plays, a hungry child plays not' 1060. A few instances occur in MIW of a 3 sg in *-yd*, OW *-id* = /yð/ OW *nut egid* 'goes not' BBCS 3 256 8, 17, MIW *n glwrt* 'that hears not' BBC 20 5, *a uedyd* 'that rules' BT 40 23, *na welgyd* 'that he sees not' RP 1159 24 (in all the MIW *exx* the verb is in a rel clause, v Morris-Jones, WG 323) — 1 pl OBr *na docordom-ni* (? *docondom*) gl *arcemus* RC 8 493 — 2 pl OBr *guotroit* gl *demulgatis* — 3 pl OW *amal itercludant* gl *cernis ut subigant* Juv, OW *-int* MIW *-ynt* OW *lwnynt* gl *tendent*, *nertheint* gl *armant*, *scamneigint* gl *leuant* Juv, MIW *dotint* 'they set', *diuryant* 'they hasten' BBC 58 8, 89 14, *torrynt* 'they will break' RP 582 5, *teihyn* 'will flee' BT 15 24, OBr *ent imcbleont* gl *apocant*, OW *-haunt* MIW *(h)awnt* *cwinhaunt* 'will lament' Juv, *gunahaunt* 'they will make' BT 13 8, *peylllyaunt* 'they will encamp' 77 15, *bydaunt* 'they will be' 78 5 — In the 3 sg and pl forms *-h-* has been taken over from the subjunctive. The 3 sg ending *-id* occurs in *eht* 'goes' RP 581 20, *gunehit* 'does', indicative in meaning though *el* and *gunel* are generally subjunctive § 451 n 2, v BBCS 4 15.

1pf 1 sg Co *-yn* *ny yllyn* 'I could not' (vn *gallos*) RD 533 *ny welyn* 'I saw not, could not see' MC 220 3, *ny uyllyn* RD 434, PC 3022 (rhyming with *deulyn*, W *deulni*), *ny gyffyn* 'I could not find' (vn *cafes*) RD 1850 (rhyming with *terfyn*, W *terfyn*), *ny gowdyn* 'I used not to speak' MC 79 4 — 3 sg MIW *-i* Co MIBr *-y* MIW *renni* 'he shared' (*rannaf*) LIH 4 9, *kerr* 'he loved' (*caraf*) 29 3, v Strachan, Introd 84, Morris Jones, WG 324, Co *keffy* 'he found' (vn *caffos*) MC 187 4 *a wodevy* 'he suffered' (vn *gothaf*) 54 1, *leuery* 'he spoke' (*lauaraf*) 146 1, *ny ylly* 'he could not' 60 3, 83, 3, *fyilly* 'it lacked' (*fallaf*) 180 2, MIBr *diguery* 'he opened' Jës 209b (*digor* 'open thou'), *guilly* 'he was able' Barbe 336 (vn *gallout*), *ne guily* 'saw not, could not see' PBret 109 1, v Ernault, RC 32 75* 3 sg MIW *at -yat* in certain verbs *atwaenyat*, *atwaenat* 'was acquainted with', *gwydyat*, *gwydat* 'he knew', *adwaeniad*, *gwyddiad* occur often in early MnW poetry, and *gwyddad* is still used in spoken W in Cardiganshire. This ending also occurs in forms of the verb 'to be', v § 485 — 3 pl MIW *eint* (by anal with 3 sg) *achubeint* 'they seized' WM 466 38, v Morris Jones, WG 324f.

An ipv 3 sg in *-id* occurs in W MIW *kedurd* 'may he keep' LIH 48 2, *ruydehyt* 'may he make easy' WM 161 30, cf Morris Jones, WG 329.

Note 4 Later forms The 2 sg pres in MnW ends in *-i* (*ceri*), the 2 sg ipf in *-it* (*carit*, *cerit*), 2 pl ipf in *-ech* (*carech*), 3 pl ipf in *-ent* (*carent*) — MnBr 1 sg pres in *an* (*karan*, in Trég *añ* Vallée 352), 2 sg pres in *ez* and in *-es*, cf Loth, RC 10 348. In the pres tense the vowel in the penult is often not modified *karit* or *kirit* 'you love'.

A 3 sg pres ending *-iff*, with a variant *-ith* is very common in spoken W, without modification of a preceding vowel *caniff* 'he will sing'. The origin is to be found in *cariff* 'he will get', this led to *aiff* 'goes', *gunaiff* 'does', *troiff* 'turns' etc., a form like *troiff* could be wrongly analysed as *tro-iff*, cf *troir* for *tro-ir* etc. This deduced *-iff* then spread to all verbs. This explanation is preferable to that given by Morris-Jones, WG 323, 332.

Etymological explanation of the present paradigm.

§ 446. The stem classes. The *-o-* *-e-* class corresponds to the type represented by Gk *φέρω* (pl *φέρομεν*, *φέρετε*, *φέρουσι*), Lat *scribō* etc. This class has also absorbed some of the original consonantal stems, in particular some verbs with an infixed nasal (forming the present) *bo-n-gud*, *-boi-n-g* 'breaks', pret pass *-bocht*, cf Skr 1 sg *bha-na-ṣ-mi*, 3 sg *bha-na-k-ti*, 1 pl *bha-n-ṣ-más*, part *bhag-ná-s* 'I break' etc., *to-n-gu* 'I swear', pret (perf) *du-cui-tig*

Note The only consonantal stem retained in Celt is Ir *am* 'I am', cf Skr *asmī* Gk *εἰμὶ* etc.

The Ir *-na-* stems correspond to the type of Gk *πέρωμι* 'I sell' (Ir *renim* 'I sell', subj 3 sg *ní ríat*), mid *πέρωμαι* IE *-nā-* (pres act sg) alternated with *-na-* (in the other forms) in this type, the form *-na-* became general in Celt. With this type a large number of verbs mixed in which IE *-neu-* alternated with *-nu-*, in Celt *-nu-* became general (consequently the root vowel was raised in Ir) Ir *ar-a-chrimm* gl defetiscor, 3 sg *ar-a-chrín*, 3 pl *hore arín-chrínat* 'because they decay' Wb 27b 1

The Ir *-ā-* stems correspond to the *-ā-* stems or to the *-ājo-* *-āje-* stems in the other IE languages. The rare Ir *-ājo-* *-āje-* stems were probably mixed up with the *-ājo-* *-āje-* stems in Celt.

The Ir *-i-* stems correspond to the type of Lat *capīō*. In this class a stem in *-jo-* *-je-* became mixed up with a stem in *-i-*.

The Ir *-ī-* stems correspond to different original types, in part the *-ī-* stems alternating with stems in *-jo-* *-je-* (*-ijo-* *-ije-*) in other languages (cf Lat *farcīō*, 1 pl *farcīmus*, *fīnīō*, 1 pl *fīnīmus*), with which stems in *-ējo-* *-ēje-* could be confused in Celt, in part the old causatives and intensives in *-ējō* (with IE *-o-* grade in the root syll) Ir *at-suidi* 'establishes' Goth *satjþ* 'places' Skr *sādhya-ti*. Also some orig nasal presents have passed over to this class. Ir *-léici* 'leaves' to Lat *linquō*.

§ 447. The IE. personal endings to some extent differed in the *-o-* *-e-* stems and in the stems not ending in *-o-* *-e-* (Gk *φέρω*, but *πέρωμι*, *εἰμὶ*). Also IE distinguished between primary and secondary endings, the pres ind had primary endings, the ipf ind secondary endings. Skr pres *krīnā-mi* 'I buy', 2 sg *krīnā-si*, 3 sg *krīnā-ti*, ipf sg 1 *á-krīnā-m*, 2 *á-krīnā-s*, 3 *á-krīnā-t*. Many IE languages partially have secondary endings in the present.

§ 448. The contrast between simple and conjunct endings in Celt.

does not depend on the old distinction between primary and secondary endings, but (according to the theory of VKG) on the habit of suffixing a subject pron after the uncompounded verbal forms — Some of the personal endings derived from IE which resembled to some extent the Celt subject pronouns became of use in the new system, in particular the 1 sg ending of stems other than *-o*-stems, *-mī*, which is identical in form with the Celt pron **mī* 'I' — The distinction between simple and conjunct endings was given up very early in Brit (as it was later in MnIr), as a rule the simple endings became general, but in the 3 sg (and pl) the conjunct endings prevailed

§ 449. Explanation of the individual personal endings of the present.

1. sg. The *-o-* *-e*-stems have kept the ending *-ō* (Ir *-biur* Gk *φέρω*), the *-na*-stems the ending *-mī* (Ir *renim* Gk *πέρημι*), in the *-ā-*, *-i-*, and *-ī-*stems, which alternate with *-ājo-* *-āje-*, *-jo-* *-je-*stems etc, both endings could be found Ir *carim* goes back to **garā-mī*, Ir *-caru* to **garājō*, Ir *léicim* to **huk^u-ī-mī*, Ir *-léicim* to **huk^u-jō* Cf the hiatus verbs Ir *-tau*, *-hu* 'am The Ir simple ending *-u* (*biru* 'I carry', *taqu* 'I go') may have been formed, as suggested by Thurneysen, Handb p 339, on the anal of the 2 sg (*-u* corresponding to the *-u*-quality of the conjunct ending as the 2 sg *-i* corresponds to the *-i*-quality of the conjunct ending) — The *-m* of the Ir ending *-im* must have been lenited originally, cf W Co MBr *caraf* etc, but in the historical period it is always non-lenited in Ir, and this is probably due to the influence of the verb 'to be' (Ir *am* < **esmī*, but in Brit **esmī* has been replaced by a form with anal lenition, W *wyf* etc) In Brit before the lenited *-m* (*-f*) stands the vowel *-a-* which is derived from the *-na*-stems, spreading thence most probably at a very early period to the *-ā*-stems The MW ending *-if* has the vowel *-i-*, derived from orig *-ī*-stems

2. sg. Meillet, MSL 14 412ff, assumes an ending *-ei* for *-o*-stems, and derives Ir *-bir* from **bhereti* (cf Lith *vedti* 'thou leadest', reflexive *vedie-s*) The other stems had the ending *-si* (Skr *krinā-si* 'thou buyest'), Ir *bem* may be from **bhina-si* The ending *-si* may have been treated as the simple ending (as if it were a pronoun, cf 1 sg *-mī*), and *-ei* as the conjunct ending, in this way analogical double endings would arise **bhereti-si* along with **-bhereti*, **bhina-si* and **-bhina-jei* etc, **bhereti-si* would yield Ir *birī*, but in the other classes the two sets of endings would fall together Forms like *do-*

esm 'thou protectest' are irregular. The endings of the *-ā*-stems (Ir *cari*, *-cari*) must be analogical. — The Brit endings are derived from the *-i*-stems. OW *cepi* MIW *keyr* from *-i-si*, MIW *keyrd* Co *keyrth* MIBr *queiez* from *-i-gei*. — In Ir *a-t* 'thou art' W *wy-t* Co *o-s* MIBr *ou-t* an actual pronoun is added to the simple ending.

3. sg. The Ir conjunct forms are derived from forms with IE secondary endings. Ir *-beir*, *-ben*, *-cara*, *-garb*, *-léici* from **bhere-t*, **bhina-t*, **qarā-t*, **ghabhi-t*, **lukh^u-t*, similarly W *rhed* 'runs' from **rete-t* *cēl* 'conceals' from **k'ele-t*, the vowel affection in Brit. (§ 445 n 1), is derived from forms orig in *-it*. The IE primary ending was *-ti*, Ir *berid*, *benid*, *léicid* could come from **bhere-ti*, **bhina-ti*, **lukh^u-ti* (but also from **bheret* etc.) The W ending *-id* can be from *-i-ti*, MIW *-awd* OBr *-ot* from *-ā-ti*.

1. pl. Ir *-beram*, *-benam*, *-caram*, *-garbem*, *-léicem* < **bherom*, **bhina-mos*, **qarā-mos*, **ghabhi-mos*, **lukh^u-i-mos*, the *-m* is as a rule lenited. Ir *bermā*, *benmā* (with non-len *m*) can be explained from **berom nā* etc. The Brit. forms are late re-formations, W Co *-n* is probably a survival of an affixed pers pron (W *nā* Co *ny*), the *-n* being retained after loss of **-v* the len form of the *-m-* of the orig ending, the Co vocalism has probably been influenced by the 2 pl. The Br non-len *-m-* may be influenced by the form of the verb 'to be' *omp*, the *-p* developing between the non-len *m* and the initial *n* of the affixed pers pron (MIBr *nā*), *-mn-* > *-mpn-* § 75.5, the umlaut in the penult. MIBr *queromp*, is by anal with the 2 pl.

2 pl. The orig personal ending was perhaps *-te* (Gk pres φέρετε). Ir *-berid*, *-benid*, *-carid*, *-garbid*, *-léicid* from **bhere-te*, **bhina-te*, **qarā-te*, **ghabhi-te*, **lukh^u-i-te*. The simplex (Ir *berthe* etc.) may be from very early amalgamation with an affixed pers pron **bhere-te wes* etc. The orig IE ending would give in Brit forms in *-t* (= /d/), with an affixed pron **swēs* § 357 this would give **-trw-*, the umlaut in the penult shows that Brit had before the personal ending a short *-i-* (derived from *-i*-stems, or from *-e-* or *-a-* affected by *i* in **swīs* < **swēs*), **-itxw-* > **ixw-* > **iwx-* > *-uā* (W *-uch*, Co *-ough*), in Br the *-t* was later restored.

3. pl. The IE primary ending was *-nti*, the secondary ending *-nt*. Ir *-berut*, *-benut*, *-carat*, *-garbet*, *-léicet* < **bheront*, **bhinant*, **qarānt*, **ghabhjont*, **lukh^ujont*, for instances of old forms in *-ot* v § 444 n 3. Ir *berit* < **bhero nti* (or **bheront ei*). The umlaut

in the Co and Br penult by anal with the 2 pl — OW *-(h)awnt* MIW *-(h)awnt* is derived by anal with 3 sg *-awt*

§ 450. **The forms of the ipf.** The origin of these forms is obscure. The IE *ipf* was distinguished from the pres by the augment **e-* and by secondary endings (Gk *ἔφερον* Skr *ā-bharam* 'I carried'), the augment was lost in most languages, so that there was no characteristic difference between the pres and the *ipf* in forms directly derived from IE. Some languages supplied the deficiency by modifying the stem, this seems to have been the case in Brit, judging by the *-e-* in Co Br and in the W pl. But the chief peculiarity of the Celt *ipf* is the form of the endings. Some of these are middle — 3 sg Ir *-ed*, *-ad* are derived from old middle forms with the ending *-to* Ir *-bered* etc < **bhere-to* etc, cf Gk *ἔφετε-το*, similarly the *-ad* in MIW *gwydat* (which belonged in Celtic to a middle paradigm, cf Ir *ro-finnadar*, *ro-fatar* 'knows'), after which the synonymous MIW *atwaenat* was formed *-ad* < *-a-to*. But the other endings seem to be a modification of the active endings.

§ 451. **The imperative.** The 2 sg was the bare stem **bhere* > Ir *beir*, **rete* > W *rhed* 'run' etc, cf Gk *πέτε*, Lat *scribe*. This was probably the case in all stems, so that we may safely assume for Celt *ipvs* **bhina*, **qurā*, **ghabhā*, **lūk** — The 3 sg forms can be traced to old middles with the secondary ending *-to* **bhere-to*, **bhina-to* etc, in Brit the form of the *-o*-stems became normal, *-e-to* > *-ed* (W *-id* may be a survival from *-i*-stems), and a 3 pl *-ent* (Co *-ens*) was modelled upon it (in MnW *-ant* occurs by anal with the pres indic.) — The other forms are identical with the pres indicative (in Ir the conjunct forms).

Active inflection of the subjunctive

§ 452 Ir. subjunctive paradigms (*ber-* 'carry', *léic-* 'leave', *tug-* 'go')

		<i>-ā</i> -subjunctive	<i>-s</i> -subjunctive
Pres simp.	Sg 1	<i>bera</i>	<i>trasa</i>
	2	<i>bere</i>	<i>tesa</i>
	3	<i>berid</i>	<i>térs</i>
Pl 1	1	<i>bermi</i>	<i>trasmí</i>
	2	<i>berthe</i>	<i>*traste</i>
	3	<i>berit</i>	<i>trast</i>

		<i>ā</i> -subjunctive		<i>-s</i> -subjunctive
Pres. conj.	Sg 1	<i>-ber</i>	<i>-léic</i>	<i>-tias</i>
	2	<i>-bere</i>	<i>-léice</i>	<i>-léis</i>
	3	<i>-bera</i>	<i>-léicea</i>	<i>-té, -tér</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-beram</i>	<i>-léicem</i>	<i>-tiasam</i>
	2	<i>-berid</i>	<i>-léicid</i>	<i>-tésid</i>
	3	<i>-berat</i>	<i>-léicet</i>	<i>-tiasat</i>
Ipf.	Sg 1	<i>-berinn</i>	<i>-léicinn</i>	<i>-tésinn</i>
	2	<i>-bertha</i>	<i>-léicthea</i>	<i>-tiasa</i>
	3	<i>-berad</i>	<i>-léiced</i>	<i>-lésed</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-bermis</i>	<i>-léicmis</i>	<i>-tiasmis</i>
	2	<i>-berthe</i>	<i>-léicthe</i>	<i>-tiasa</i>
	3	<i>-bertis</i>	<i>-léicis</i>	<i>-tiasis</i>

Note 1 The stem of the *-ā*-subjunctive is mostly formed by adding *-ā-* to the root, the elements forming the present of *-o-* *-e*-stems, *-na*-stems and *-i*-stems disappear in the subj. thus *renim* 'I buy', *gabim* 'I take' have subj. 3 sg *ria*, *gaba*, occasionally the root-vowel differs in the subj. ind *mairnid* 'betrays', *at-baird* 'dies', subj. 3 sg *-mera*, *at-bela*. The final consonant of the root is always non palatal in the subj., except that ind *-i*-stems have an *-ā*-subjunctive with palatal final root cons. (*-ea* and *-e* for *-a* and *-ā-* in the endings).

The quality of the *-s-* of *-s*-subjunctives varies in much the same way as consonants in the ind. of *-o-* *-e*-stems. The *-s-* is added directly to the root (ending in a back consonant or in a dental), and consonantal changes occur which are usual in the case of *-s*-groups, pres. infixed *-n-* disappears 1 sg *tiagu*, 2 sg *con-lis*, 3 sg *in-fé*, *in-ré*, *fris-n-orr*, 3 pl *fris-n-orrat* from *tiag-* 'go' *com-* + *ic-* 'be able', *in* + *fiad* 'relate', *in-* + *reth-* 'attack', *frith-* + *org-* 'offend'. A final vowel in the 3 sg pres. conj. is regularly lengthened when the verbal form is accented, this lengthening is sometimes transferred analogically to other forms 1 sg *fu-los* after 3 sg *fo-lló* from *fo-lo-n-g* 'endure' etc. § 132, and the diphthong *-ia-* is substituted by anal. for an *-e*-before non-palatal consonants 3 pl ipf. *in griastais* from *in grennat* 'who persecute' (**Ghre-n-dh-na-*), cf. § 133. In the case of verbs whose 3 sg pres. conj. ends in a vowel, the vowel if originally short is lost when the verbal form loses the accent *na-d-fu-l* 'which he may not endure', *fo-lo-n-g*, an originally long vowel, which should remain, is often lost also *con-ét-l* 'who may be indulgent', *com-in-* + *tiag-*, occasionally a short vowel is retained *arna-in-gre* 'that he may not persecute' Ml 111c 6. As a result of such loss of vowels forms occur in which only the initial consonant of the verbal root remains, in some cases not even that *as-n-ind* Ml 23d 2 (1 ind *as-ind-iut* gl. obseo) — The root vowel rarely shows a different grade from the ind. in

the *-s*-subjunctive *guidimm* 'I pray', subj 2 sg *-geiss*, *con-da-rias* 'that I may bind them', *reg-* 'bind'

Note 2 Forms of the *-ā* subj and of the *-s*-subj are mixed in hiatus verbs

Thus mid *bnu* I am *-gntu* 'I do', 3 sg *buid*, *-bi*, *gntuth*, *-gni* subj 1 sg *beo*, *gnéo*, 3 sg *beid*, *be*, *gné* (with the vowel *-e-* in the subjunctive throughout ipf 1 pl *-bemmas*, *-gnemmas*, etc.) Ind *-i-* beside subj *-e-* occurs also in *ad-clu* 'sees', subj 2 pl *ad-red* Wb 11b 22 (the subj of this verb has middle endings-)

The subjunctive of *-na* stems shows mixed inflection 1 sg *con-gleu* gl ut non haeream Ml 86b 8 (ind *glenaid* 'sticks'), 3 sg *-ria*, 3 pl *riat* (*renim* 'buy') 3 pl rel *glet e* which stick The attested forms are *-ā*-subjunctives, except the 1 sg

Note 3 Variant endings The 1 pl conjunct of the copula is *-ban*, with which the ipv *buam*, *ban* is identical Forms of the *-s*-subj used as ipv are *tair* 'come' (*to air-* + *ire*), *a t rá* 'arise' Ml 126c 3, *coméur* 'arise' Féil Aug 26 (*reg-*), *foir* 'help' (*fo rath-*), *no-m ain* 'protect me' (*aingid* 'protects')

Note 4. Forms combined with pronouns 3 sg rel *beras*, *tias*, 1 pl rel *berne*, *tuasme*, 3 pl rel *berte*, *tuaste*

Note 5. For the subjunctive in Mnlr of Saraw, LUP 4 72ff

§ 453. Brit. subjunctive paradigms MIW *caraf* 'I love', (Co MIBr *qallaf* 'I can' (MIBr *beuaff* 'to live', *deceff* 'to deceive')

		MIW	Co	MIBr.
Pres.	Sg 1	<i>car(h)wyf</i>	<i>gyllf</i>	<i>guilhf</i>
		<i>cer(h)ych</i>	<i>gyllf</i>	<i>guilly</i>
		<i>car(h)o</i>	<i>gallo</i>	<i>gallo</i>
	Pl 1	<i>car(h)om</i>	<i>gyllyn</i>	<i>guelhomp</i> (<i>beohomp</i>)
		<i>cer(h)och</i>	<i>gallough</i>	<i>guelhet</i>
		<i>car(h)ont</i>	<i>gallons</i>	<i>galhnt</i> (<i>deceffont</i>)
Ipl.	Sg 1	<i>car(h)un</i>	<i>gallen</i>	<i>galhenn</i>
		<i>car(h)ut</i>	<i>galles</i>	<i>galhes</i>
		<i>car(h)ei</i>	<i>galle</i>	<i>galhe</i>
	Pl 1	<i>car(h)em</i>	<i>gallen</i>	<i>galhemp</i>
		<i>car(h)ewch</i>	<i>galleugh</i>	<i>galhech</i>
		<i>cer(h)ynt</i>	<i>gallens</i>	<i>galhent</i>

Note 1 The characteristic *h* of the subjunctive stem is attested in the present tense only in the pl in MIBr, it never occurs in Co The *h* coalesces with a preceding consonant according to the rules explained in § 203, and the resulting projection is attested also in Co MIW 3 sg *dycko*, *dywetto*,

eustetho (beside *lladho*), Co pres 2 sg *lyttry*, ipf 3 sg *ladtre* RD 58, OM 2232 from *laddru* 'to steal'; pres 3 sg *deppro* OM 187 from *dybbry* to eat' (but *na-n laddro* 'that he may not steal him' RD 380, *may tebro* 'that he may eat' OM 200) In MnW the *h* has entirely disappeared, and provection is nowadays rare — In MIW the *h* has spread to non-subjunctive forms § 445 n 3 In MnBr *f < vh* (MlBr *marohenn*, *bevhenn*, ipf subj of *meruell* 'die', *beuaff* 'live') spread through the ipf subj MnBr *kansfenn* 'I would sing', *h* has disappeared from the pres subj pl *kanimp* etc (dialectal *fomp*, *-fet*, *-font*)

The *h* comes from *s*, three MIW forms occur in which this *s* combined directly with the final consonant of the root *duch* may bring, pres and *dygaf* (*-/x/ < ks*), v Loth, RC 20 79f and cf *dyduch* LiH 212 10, *gwares* 'he may succour', vn *guared* (*-s < ts*), v Rhys, RC 6 36, *gwech* 'he may do' (*-/x/ < ks*, with *k* from *g* which has generally disappeared after being lenited in other forms of the verb, *gunaf* 'I do' etc, of OW *gurarun* 'let us make' Lib Land XLII 8, MnW *gunawn*, *gwech* also shows different grade of root vowel), v Morris-Jones, WG 339 (a further example BT 37 18)

Note 2 (Supplementary forms, -l-subjunctive) The verb to go, whose ind is formed from the IE root **ag* (Lat *agō* § 35, 1), W Co af MlBr *aff* 'I go', 3 sg *a*, has a subjunctive from a different root MIW pres sg 1 *el(h)wyf*, 2 *el(h)ych*, 3 *el*, pl *el(h)om*, *el(h)och*, *el(h)ont*, ipf *el(h)um* etc, Co pres *yllyf*, *ylly*, *ello*, *yllyn*, *ylough*, ipf *ellen* etc (*ll- < -lh-*), MlBr 3 sg *me a y-el*, *me a y-elo* 'I shall go' (the only form of this root frequently occurring in MlBr, v § 150), 2 pl *net elot* 'you will not go' JEs 201b There are also regular forms from the root **ag'* MIW 3 sg *aho*, pl *ahont* RB 140 16, BT 17 6, with future meaning, these are the prevalent forms in MlBr pres sg 1 *yf(f)*, 2 *y*, 3 *ay*, pl 1 *a(h)ump*, *ehomp*, 2 *ehet*, *ehcut*, 3 *ahnt*, ipf sg 1 *ahenn*, 3 *ahe*, pl 2 *ahech* — Similar supplementary forms occur in the case of the verb 'to come' (W ind *deuaf* 'I come' etc) MIW pres sg 1 *del(h)wyf*, 3 *del* etc, besides these forms there occur in MIW a 3 pl *deuhont* BT 3 8 and also forms composed of *dy-* with the verb to be sg 1 *dy-bwyf*, 3 *dybo*, *dyvo*, *dyppo*, *dyffo*, etc, v Morris-Jones, WG 366, these compounds are the prevalent forms in Co *dyffyf*, *dyffy*, *deffo* *dyffo*, etc, in Br pres sg 1 *dufff*, 2 *duy*, 3 *duy*, *deuy*, pl 1 *deuhymp*, 3 *du(h)ynt*, ipf sg 3 *deuhe*, pl 2 *deuhech*, 3 *dehent*

The root used in these supplementary forms is used in Ir to form the fut of *ag-*, v § 491 For the pres ind *-ella* (*ll* from *ln*) v § 540

By analogy with these two verbs the verb 'to do' in W (*gunaf* 'I do') and Co (*gurf*) has assumed an *-l-subj* MIW *gunel(h)wyf*, 3 sg *gunel* (beside *gunaho* BT 16 2, *gwech*, note 1 above, also 3 pl *gunahont* BBC 61 15), Co *guryllyf*, *gurylly*, *gurello* etc (beside 3 pl *may urons* 'that they may do' OM 2034) Only regular forms occur in Br MlBr sg 1 *gruif*, *grif*, 2 *gruy*, *gry*, 3 *groay*, *greay*, *gray*, pl 1 *gr(o)ahymp*, 2 *grehet*, *grehent*, 3 *grahint*, *groaint*, ipf 1 *grahenn*, etc — The *-l-* is treated as a derivative element in Co in the verb 'to give' (rof 'I give') subj pres sg 3 *rollo* (beside *roy*), pl 3 *rollons*, ipf sg 1 *rollen*, 3 *rolle*, *rolla*

Note 3. Variant endings. The pres 3 sg ending *-wy* occurs in MIW poetry *rodwy* 'he may give' RP 1030 8, *donnwy* 'he may endow' LjH 31 26, v further examples Henry Lewis, HGCref 174, a variant of *-wy* is *-oe* (cf *mnwy*, *moe* 'greater' § 21, 1) *creddoe* 'he may believe' BBC 53 15, OW *bot* 'it may be', pl *-wynt eluwint* 'they may go' ZCP 20 60 1, *eluwint* BA 2 16, *kaffwynt* 'they may find' RP 1054 24, *-oent deuedoent*, *deuetoent* 'they may say' ZCP 20 64 11, 33, *talhoent* 'they may pay' ALW I 228 10, *deloent* 'they may come' Delw y Byd 81 This *-oe-* is also found in the 1 sg *talloaf* 'I may pay' ZCP 20 54 23, *-o-* also occurs *gwiscof* 'I may dress' WM 97 31 For traces of old deponents in MIW v § 467 - In MIBr the *-i-* of the 1 sg spread to 1, 3 pl, these forms being thus distinguished from the ind, 3 pl in *-(h)ont* occurs more rarely (Ernault, RC 37 116), absence of unlaut in the penult shows that the ending *-(h)nt* cannot be old OBr forms *decmnt* 'they will tithe', *iolent* gl presentur (with unexpected *-e-*) In MnBr the pres 1 sg *f* has been replaced by *-nn* (ipf) *kanynn* 'I shall sing', 2 pl *-ot kanot* you will sing

Etymological explanation of the subjunctive.

§ 454. Pres subj The Ir *-ā-* subjunctive has an exact counterpart in Lat 1 sg *scribam*, 1 pl *scribāmus* beside the ind *-o-* *-e-stem scribō*, (O)Lat 3 sg *ad-uenat*, *per-uenat* beside *ueniō* Both the *-ā-* subj and the *-s-* subj (an *-s-* stem or mostly a *-so-* *-se-* stem) are related to the aorist forms of the other IE languages

The individual forms of the Ir *-ā-* subjunctive 1 sg *-ber* < **bherām* cf Lat *feram*, the simple *bera* is formed from *-ber* as ind *beru* from *-biur* Forms in which originally a *-j-* stood before the IE ending **-ām* should have given Ir conjunct forms with the ending **-e*, but forms without this ending have displaced them analogically (*no-fónd* gl mittere 'that I may send' Wb 23d 1, an old *-ī-* stem) 2 sg *berie* < **bherāsi*, *-bere* possibly from **bherā-ei* 3 sg *-bera* < **bherāt* § 92, *ber(a)nd* < **bherā-ti* The pl forms as for ind *-ā-* stems — *-s-* subj 1 sg *-tias* < **stergh-s-ō*, 2 sg *-téris* < **stergh-s-ei*, simple forms as for ind *-o-* stems 2 sg *a-t-rá* (used as ipv) < **reg'-s-s*, 3 sg *-téi*, *-te* < **stergh-s-t* The pl forms as for ind *-o-* stems

The origin of the Brit forms is obscure The *-h-* is obviously derived from the *-s-* subj, but the only real *-s-* subjunctives are the three MIW forms cited in § 453 n 1, which suggest an original *-se-* stem (e g *gwares* < **wo-ret-se-t*) W *el* 'may go', etc, may go back to an ending *-ūt* (*ā-* subj) But the explanation of the vowels of the actual endings is extremely difficult Cf VKG II 356, Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 30f, Morris-Jones, WG 339

§ 455. The ipf. subj. is a new formation based on the old *-s*-subj, with ipf endings. The *-h-* found in Brit disappeared entirely in Ir. In forms like Ir *-ber(a)inn* etc the quality of the final root cons. was influenced by the *-ā*-subjunctive. MW *carhut* goes back to an old optative (*-u-* = Gk *-oi-*, the ind *carut* must then be analogical).

Active inflection of the Future and Conditional.

§ 456. Irish future paradigms (*rannad* 'shares', *léicid* 'leaves', *canad* 'sings', *berid* 'carries', *guidid* 'prays')

	<i>-b</i> -future		<i>-ā</i> -future		<i>-s</i> -future
Fut. simp.					
Sg 1	<i>rannfa</i>	<i>léicfea</i>	<i>cechna</i>	<i>béra</i>	<i>gigsea</i>
	2 <i>rannfe</i>	<i>léicfe</i>	<i>cechne</i>	<i>bére</i>	(<i>gigs¹</i>)
	3 <i>rannfid</i>	<i>léicfid</i>	<i>cechnid</i>	<i>bérid</i>	<i>gigis</i>
Pl 1	<i>rannfimm</i>	<i>léicfimm</i>	<i>cechnimm</i>	<i>bérmi</i>	<i>gigsimm</i>
	2 <i>rannfide</i>	<i>léicfide</i>	<i>cechnide</i>	<i>bérthe</i>	<i>gigeste</i>
	3 <i>rannfit</i>	<i>léicfit</i>	<i>cechnat</i>	<i>bérit</i>	<i>gigsut</i>
Fut. conj.					
Sg 1	<i>-rannub</i>	<i>-léicrub</i>	<i>-cechan</i>	<i>-bér</i>	<i>-gigvus</i>
	2 <i>-rannfe</i>	<i>-léicfe</i>	<i>-cechne</i>	<i>-bére</i>	<i>-gigis</i>
	3 <i>-rannfa</i>	<i>-léicfea</i>	<i>-cechna</i>	<i>-béra</i>	<i>-gig</i>
Pl 1	<i>-rannfam</i>	<i>-léicfem</i>	<i>-cechnam</i>	<i>-béram</i>	<i>-gigsem</i>
	2 <i>-rannfid</i>	<i>-léicfid</i>	<i>-cechnid</i>	<i>-bérid</i>	<i>-gigsid</i>
	3 <i>-rannfat</i>	<i>-léicfet</i>	<i>-cechnat</i>	<i>-bérat</i>	<i>-gigset</i>
Conditional					
Sg 1	<i>-rannfinn</i>	<i>-léicfinn</i>	<i>-cechninn</i>	<i>-bérinn</i>	<i>-giginn</i>
	2 <i>-rannfada</i>	<i>-léicfeda</i>	<i>-cechnada</i>	<i>-héirha</i>	<i>-gigesta</i>
	3 <i>-rannfid</i>	<i>-léicfed</i>	<i>-cechnad</i>	<i>-bérad</i>	<i>-gigsed</i>
Pl 1	<i>-rannfimmis</i>	<i>-léicfimmis</i>	<i>-cechnimmis</i>	<i>-bérmis</i>	<i>-gigsimmis</i>
	2 <i>-rannfide</i>	<i>-léicfide</i>	<i>-cechnide</i>	<i>-bérthe</i>	<i>*-gigeste</i>
	3 <i>-rannfatis</i>	<i>-léicfatis</i>	<i>-cechnatis</i>	<i>-bértis</i>	<i>-gigsitis</i>

Note 1. Stem-formation (a) The *-b-* future has the inflection of the *-o-* *-e-* stems in 1 sg fut conj, and the endings of the *-ā*-subj in 1, 2 sg fut simp, 2, 3 sg fut conj. — The quality of the future *-f-* or *-b-* depends in part on the immediately preceding final of the root of the verb (*rannfa*, with *-ā*-pres *rannad*, non pal *-nn-*, *léicfea*, with *-i*-pres *léicid*, pal *-c-*), fut forms with pal *-f-*, *-b-* often occur beside *-ā*-presents (*atrefea* 'will dwell',

pres. *atreba* 'dwells') If a vowel stands between the final of the root and the *-f-*, *-b-*, the quality of the latter varies, but palatalization is more frequent than otherwise, final *-b* of 1 sg fut conj is always non-pal, in *nó-anib sa* 'I shall not rest' MI 53 b 8 etc *-r-* is written for *-ru-* — As regards the sonority of the fut cons (1) *-b-*, *-b* appears at the end of a syllable (1 sg fut conj *-leibub*, cf *folnibthe* 'you will reign'), (2) *-b-* as a rule between vowels, but *-f-* also occurs often, (3) *-f-* always after consonants, except after *-s-* (and in other rare cases, as *d-a-ucbaud* 'you will understand it' Wb 21c 12, *nacha-sorbed* 'that he would not deliver them' MI 53 d 6), *-b* coalesces with the *-f-* (*atrefea* 'will dwell', with variant spelling *atrebea*)

(b) The *-ā-fut* has the endings of the *-ā* subjunctive. The final consonant of the root is always non-palatal *no-n da bértais* 'that they would carry them' MI 124 b 6. The *-ā-fut* is as a rule reduplicated, two types are to be distinguished one with a zero grade root, and one without. Instances of the latter type are *-cechna* 'will sing', *nio-chechrat* 'they will not love' (*carid* 'he loves'), retention of the *-ch-* is regular only if it is assumed that a vowel stood between *-ch* and *-n-* or *-r-* also *f a-didmed* 'would suffer it' (*fo-dammam* 'I endure'), where palatalization of the secondary consonant group implies loss of a front vowel.

A zero-grade root vowel occurs in the fut. as in the pres. in *gn i-u*, *do-gn i-u* 'I do', fut. 1 sg *do-gen*, 3 sg *do-géna* (**g'eg'nāi* or **g'ig'nāi*), also in *slar-gninnm* gl sapio, fut. 3 pl *etir-genat* (to be read as *-ē-*). A zero-grade root vowel in the fut. beside another grade in the pres. *celid* 'conceals', fut. 1 sg *-cél* (**k'ek'lām* or **k'ik'lām*), *gairid* 'calls', *ar-gair* forbids, *fris gair* 'answers', fut. 3 pl *ar gerat*, 3 sg *fris-cera* (to be read as *-ē-*, **gegrā-* or **gigrā-*). This type of future with long *-ē-* spread analogically *gatid* 'steals', fut. 1 sg *-gét*, *gabrid* 'takes', fut. 3 sg *gebaud* (*-ē*). Reduplication is carried out in various ways in verbs with initial vowel *di-em-* 'protect' follows the *-ē-* type (fut. 3 sg *du-ema* MI 67c 5, *-ē*), *ib-* 'drink' has the subj. stem *eba-*, a fut. stem *iba*, fut. 1 sg *nach hib*, with *-i-* from *-u*, beside the subj. stem *era-* 'grant' (pret. 3 sg *ro-ir*), fut. 3 sg with suffixed object *ebarthi* 'will grant it' (Thurneysen, ZCP 13 10⁷ derives **ebraid* from *(*p*)*uprā s*, IE. *pr-* > Ir. *ōr*), and by analogy with this, *alid* 'nourishes' has MIr. fut. 3 sg *no-dn eblae* (for *ehla*) who will rear him W1 141 18. Cf § 491, § 493.

An *-ā* fut. without redupl. occurs in fut. 3 sg *regaid*, *do-rega*, 1 sg *do-reg*, supplementary paradigm to *tiagu* 'I go', *do tiagu* 'I come'. Sarauw, *Irake studier* 96 f., takes them to be an old pres. ind. (= Gk. *ἐρχομαι*) which assumed a fut. meaning and took *-ā*-fut. endings.

(c) The *-s-fut* had originally the same inflection as the *-s*-subjunctive. The 1 sg fut. simp. assumed the ending *-a* early *gigsa* LL 278 a 34 (for **gigsea*, *-gs-* palatal owing to the front vowel lost after *-g-*, the palatalization is attested by *gigse-sa* gl supplicabo MI 47 d 4). The *s*-combines with the final consonant (dental or guttural) of the root as in the subjunctive. In the 3 sg fut. conj. as in the corresponding enclitic form of the subj., the root vowel sometimes remains as a final and is sometimes lost *ní mema* 'will not break' (*maidid* 'breaks'), *co tn imthae* 'it will accompany him' (*com imb-*

+ *trag-*), but *do-da-cich* ZCP 3 463 18 from *do-cing* 'comes', *ní ndárl* 'he will not part' MI 96a 8 (*dlongud* severs', possibly from *ind- *ndhr-* + **de-dlughat* or **dudlughat*, *-d-d-d-* > *-d-*, anal palatalization of *-l*), *du-fl* gl *und-icabit* MI 67c 5 (**weurqst* or **wurqst*, pres *do-feich*, *do-fich*)

The *-s-fut* is as a rule reduplicated. The reduplicator has sometimes the vowel *-e-* (*ní mema* will not break' *maid* breaks'), sometimes the vowel *-i-*. The groups *-dl-*, *-chl-* remain after the vowel of the reduplicator *no-dúllastais* they would split' LU 7701 (*dlongud* above), *ad-ciehtus* gl *uenabor* Thes II 48 6 (*an ad-cladat* 'when they hunt for MI 112b 2) Exx with *mit s* and *f*. MIIr *no-t-selas* 'I shall kill thee' to *slandud* 'kills', MIIr *do-suib* 'he will pursue' LU 10678 to *an du-m-sennat* 'when they chase me' MI 39c 28 (the root had IE **sw-*), MIIr *ro-sia* 'will reach' LU 7243 (**sesadgt* or **swadgt*), pl 1 2 *ro-sesum*, *ro-sesand* (with *-e-* from disyllabic *-ia-* cf § 103, 146), OIr *lase do-n-da-fius* 'when I shall vanquish them' MI 126c 19 (*to-* + *fich-*), *fessa* 'I shall fight' LU 10921 (with *-e-* from the hiatus group, so that the fut stem accidentally resembles the non-redupl subj stem *fess-*). Reduplication with initial vowel *friss-vurr* gl *auersabor*, *fr-i-tamm urat* 'they will afflict me' MI 37c 12, 33a 1 to *friss-oir* 'hurts' (regular reduction of the hiatus group in a *friss-n-errat* 'when they will injure' MI 100c 9), *ithim* 'I eat', subj stem *ess-*, fut stem *is-* (with vocalization like *ib-* 'drink', subj *eba-*, fut *ib-*) — Disappearance of reduplicator with compensatory diphthongization (cf § 156) *fo-churchur-sa* 'I shall throw' LU 5761 (to *fo-cheurt* 'throws'), but *ní foichur-sa* LL 251b 20 — *s-future* without reduplication occurs in a few verbs *ní-en-ann* 'it will not protect them' Wb 1d 1 (*anqud* protects'), *an atamm re(s) sa* 'when I shall arise' MI 31c 14 (*ess-* + *reg-*), *m-ré* will invade 113a 7 (*ind-* + *reth-*), *seiss* 'he will sit' Salt 8266, Wb 26a 8 (*saidud* sits), *con-lee* will lie' Voy of Bran I § 51 (*laigid* lies'), *ní téis* (log *teis*) 'I shall not flee' LU 5747 (*techud* flees'), v VKG II 362, Thurneysen, IF 38 145

Note 2. The hiatus verbs in part have an *-s-future*, the *-s* disappears between vowels *as-riru-sa* 'I shall pay' Wb 18a 14 (*as ren* pays'), 3 sg *as-riri*, 2 sg MIIr *lile* 'thou wilt follow' (*lenand* 'follows') has *-ā*-inflection. In the fut pl and in the conditional, *-s-* and *-ā*-inflections fell together *lilit* 'they will follow', *gulant* gl *haerebunt* (with regular development of *-gl-*) to *glenad* 'sticks', *ara-churur* 'they will perish' to *arachrum* gl *defetascor*. The forms *imm-us-aiccichet* 'they will see each other' TripL 158 11, *m acciged* 'where he would see' LU 5336, are *-ā* futures, *du-é-cigr* 'who will see' MI 111c 13 (MS *dué-cigr*), (*di-en-* + *cl-*), is by anal with *-s-fut* *as-riri*, *do-gega* 'I shall choose' Wb 23b 33 is an *-ā* fut (*to-* + *gu-*, to Lat *gus-tus* etc) — The verb *to be* has a non-redupl *-ā*-fut *breid*, *-bia* will be', also its cpds which have pres stem *ben-* *fris-bia* 'will heal' (*fris-ben* 'heals', vn *frebad*). Also *ben-* 'strike' has non-redupl fut, but with *-s*-inflection *du-fó-bi* gl *absceidit* MI 96a 7, non-reduplication in this case is due to anal with cpds. of the verb *to be* and also of a root **wi-*, whose redupl fut stem in Ir regularly has the appearance of a non-redupl form (*ud-felher* 'it will be paid back' Wb 20b 7, to *fen-*, v Thurneysen, Handb 378)

Note 3. An archaic ending occurs in *in-eresom-ni* 'in which we will raise' Thes I 713 26

Note 4 Forms with suffixed pronouns Rel 3 sg *rannfas, léicfas, cechnas, béras, gíges, híles* 'which will follow' Wb 10 a 5 (*lenaid* 'follows'); pl 1 *rannfime* etc., pl 3 *rannfite, léicfite, cechnite, berté, gígsite, beblé* 'who will die' Wb 25 b 16 (to *no-m-baad* gl *mori*, 3 sg ipf subj) Forms with suffixed object *ébarth-i* 'he will give it' Ml 46 b 12, *bl-th-us* 'he will kill them' LU 10481, *gebtit* 'they will receive him' Wb 26 a 8, v § 343 By anal with the 3 and 1 pl forms in *-tit, -mit* a 1 sg in *-at* was formed *raga-t sa* 'I shall so go' LU 1493, while *-at* also occurs (v Bergin, Ériu 11 136), the pronoun is often meaningless in MlIr *cloenfat-sa* 'I shall bend', *biat-sa* 'I shall be' LU 5183, 1338 (cf Strachan, ZCP 2 488) In Mnlr *-ad* has become the usual ending of the 1 sg

Note 5 Mnlr development The *-f-* came to be pronounced *h*, which can further be dropped It is variously treated in the dialects, cf VKG II 363 - The *-f* fut (*-béra* etc.) has developed to an *-eo*-fut See Bergin, Ériu 2 36—48 - In Sc the fut has been displaced completely by the pres

Etymological explanation of the future paradigms.

§ 457. (1) The 11 *-b*-fut, in origin predominantly an *-o-* *-e*-stem (§ 456 n 1), was later remodelled partly on the *-ā*-fut and the *-ā*-subjunctive As original forms, 1 sg **-ā-bhō*, **-ī-bhō*, 3 sg **-ā-bhet*, **-ī-bhet* may be assumed, cf Lat *amā-bō* etc

(2) The *-ā*-fut and the *-s*-fut differ from the *-ā*-subj and the *-s*-subj in the reduplication only — The regular *s*-fut recalls the Indo-Iran desiderative (Skr *śru-śrū-ṣa-tē* 'wishes to hear', root *śru-*), the *-s*-futures without reduplication recall the Gk futures (Ir *lessa-* to *laignd* 'des', Gk *λέξεται*) Cf Thurneysen, IF 38 143ff, Vendryes, RC 38 105ff

§ 458 The conditional can be a new formation modelled on the ipf ind and the ipf subj

The active inflection of the Preterite and Pluperfect

§ 459. Ir. preterite paradigms (*carid* 'loves', *léicid* 'leaves', *ráidid* 'speaks', *berid* 'carries', *gúidid* 'prays', *canid* 'sings')

	-s-preterite	-t-preterite	Suffixless preterite
Pret. simp			
Sg 1	<i>carsu léicsu</i>		<i>gád cechán</i>
2	<i>carsi léicsi</i>		
3	<i>carsa léicsa</i>	<i>birt</i>	<i>gáid cechuan</i>
Pl 1	<i>carsummi léicsummi</i>		<i>gáidumir cechnumir</i>
2			
3	<i>carsat léicsat</i>		<i>gádistir cechnutir</i>

	<i>-s-preterite</i>		<i>-t-preterite</i>	<i>Suffixless preterite</i>	
Pret. conj.					
Sg 1	<i>-carus</i>	<i>-léicvus</i>	<i>-burt, -ru-burt</i>	<i>-gád</i>	<i>-cechan</i>
	2 <i>-caris</i>	<i>-léicis</i>	<i>-birt, -ru-bairt</i>	<i>-gád</i>	<i>-cechan</i>
	3 <i>-car</i>	<i>-léic (-ráde)</i>	<i>-bert, -ru-bart</i>	<i>-gád</i>	<i>-cechun</i>
Pl 1	<i>-carsam</i>	<i>-léicsem</i>	<i>*-bertammar, -ru-bartmar</i>	<i>-gádammar</i>	<i>-cechnammar</i>
	2 <i>-carsid</i>	<i>-léicid</i>	<i>-bertid, -ru-bartid</i>	<i>-gádíd</i>	<i>-cechnid</i>
	3 <i>-carsat</i>	<i>-léicset</i>	<i>-bertatar, -ru-bartatar</i>	<i>-gádatar</i>	<i>-cechnatar</i>

Note 1 Stem-formation The -s- in the -s-pret when intervocalic has as a rule analogical palatal quality in the 1 and 3 pl *ro-pridhissem* 'we have preached' s-pret with non pal final consonant of the root beside an -i-present 1 sg *ro-gabus*, 3 sg *ro-gab* to *gabid* takes'

Only roots ending in *g*, *r*, *l*, *m* form -t-preterites *as-r-é-racht* has arisen' (*ess-ess-* + *reg-*), *ro ort* 'has slain' (*org-*, /x/ lost between *r* and *t*), *ro alt* 'has nourished' (*ail* nourishes), *do-r-et* 'has protected' (*di-* + *em-*) Final -cht regularly (§ 170.2) remains non-palatal *ní comtacht su* 'thou didst not ask' *MI* 60 b 20

The suffixless pret is formed either with reduplication or without reduplication (1) *lod* I went, 3 sg *luid* (*hagu* 'I go'), the irregular *do-cer* 'he fell' (3 sg with non-pal final, in enclisis the -r is as a rule palatalized *do-ro-chair* has fallen, to *do-tuit* 'falls', 3 pl *do-ro-chratar* 'have fallen'), (2) a series of verbs which lengthen the root vowel to -a- *gaid* (*gaidid* 'prays'), *raith* (*reithid* 'runs'), *táich* (*teichid* 'flees'), *searbh* (*searbhid* 'yields'), also *fo-caird* (*fo ceird* 'throws'), cf *ro-huaid* 'has lent' *RC* 24 407 (*oides* 'who lends' *SM* V 272 4) In the majority of cases the suffixless pret is reduplicated, the reduplicator always having the vowel -e- *cechaim* 'he went' (pres *cingid*), *secaim* sprang forward' (*seicimid*), *fo-nenag* 'washed' (*ingid*), *leiburg* hiked' (*ligid*) In isolated late OIr and MIr instances the reduplicator has assumed the root vowel *ro-cachain* 'has sung' *MI* 48 b 11, *at-bobud* 'refused' *LU* 10954 (*bo-n-d-*) *-bobig* 'broke' *RC* 11 446 69 (to *bongid* 'breaks' Thurneysen, *Handb* 394), cf *ZCP* 13 101f The groups (explosive (> spirant) + sonant remain analogically *ro-cechladatair* 'they have dug' (*claudid*), non-syllabic groups beginning with -s- *sephairn* 'played' (pres *seinn*, -ph- = *f* represents the lenited sound of IE *sw-), *-selang* 'he cut down' (*sligid* 'cuts down', lenited -s- disappears), *-senach* 'dropped' (pres *enigid*, len -s- disappears) In roots with init *f-* (IE *w-*) reduplication may be obscured by loss of intervocalic -w- and of the vowel of the second syll *fichummar* 'we fought' *LU* 10986 (with -s- instead of -e- by anal with the present, with *fich-* cf Lat *vincō*) Peculiar reduplication the root *ucc-*, *t-áucc* 'he came' (1 sg *t anac*, 3 pl *t-áncatar*), cf *Skr* *ānāṣa* 'reached', for

ro-ir 'has granted' v § 456 n.1 b, *-leblaing* 'he leapt' (*lingid* 'leaps'), with *-bl-* from IE **pl-*, v ZCP 13 107 (though *lingid* does not appear to derive from an original with **pl-*, thus suggests that *-leblaing* is analogical though no model is attested), by anal. with *-leblaing*, *drebraing* 'advanced' (*drungid* 'steps') After the accent the reduplicator disappears, sometimes with compensatory diphthongization (*for-roichan* 'I have taught' etc., § 156), sometimes leaving no trace (*ad-con-daire* 'has seen' to *ad-ch* 'sees' cf Gk *δέδοξε*)

Note 2 Hiatus verbs An orig final vowel is retained in the 3 sg *bóí* 'was' (suffixless pret, 3 pl *bátar*), *ro-clóí* 'has conquered' (*-s*-pret) The diphthong thus arising in the accented 3 sg spread to enclitic forms in the case of the root *so* 'turn' Wb *do-intarái*, Ml *du intarrae* turned back (*to-índ-ro* + *soi*), similarly the root *lu-* 'move, agitate' (*as-ru-luús* 'I have escaped' Wb 17d 16) pret *as-ro-chum-lai* has gone out Sg 7b 19, *as-ru-chum-lae* Ml 17b 2 A simple vowel is regular in an unaccented syllable *ní ro-be* 'has not been' (accented *ro bóí* 'has been') *ro cuale* 'has heard' (perhaps **k'uk'lowe*, with irregular reduplicator 1 sg *-cuata*, pl *-cualammar*, *-cualud*, *-cualatar*, pres *ro-chuinnethar*), *-aca* 'saw' (perhaps **ad-k'ek'ose* or **ad-k'ek'ose* to *ad-ch* 'sees', root **k'ek-* or **k'ek-*) Cf *ro-bebe* 'has died' (1pf subj 3 sg *-baad*), *ad-co-tedar*, *ad-co-tade* 'has obtained', *imm rercæ* 'sailed' Sg 62b 7 (vn *im-ram*, 1pf *-raad*) From such cases the ending *-e* has been taken in *-ra le* beside *ro-lae* 'has thrown' (an *-s*-pret of the type *-car*) — 3 sg in *-i*, *-i* *bí* he struck (3 pl *beotar* formed on the model of roots with initial *f*, § 456 n 2), pres *benaid*, *ro géní* 'has done' to *gníu* 'I do' (*do-ri-géní* and *do-ri-gnú*), *ad-ru choiséní* 'has striven after', pres 3 pl *ad-co-snat*, to *sní-*, *as-roilí* 'has deserved', to *slí-* (*-s* pret, 3 pl *ad roilíset*) From such cases was possibly taken the *-i* in *ad-ro-ní* 'has entrusted', *imm r-anní* 'has bequeathed', cf pres *atnói* 'entrusts himself' — Only the initial consonant of the root remains after the reduplicator (which shows vowel raising) in a series of verbs in *-i-* *-fuair* has found (**weur-* > **weur-*, pret pass *-frith*, to *fo-gaib-*, pret 1 sg *fuair*), *dith* sucked (*denud* 'sucks'), *cich* to *cud* 'weeps', *-rur* 'sold' (*renaid*), *lil* (3 pl *ro-leldar*) to *lenaid* 'follows', *-cuir* bought' (*crenaid* 'buys' *do-r-ad-chvuir* 'has ransomed' 1 sg *du-arr-cher*), *ara-ru-chvuir* (3 pl *-ar r-c(h)eoratar*) to *ara-chruim* 'I perish' *-gnul* to *glenaid* 'sticks fast', *ad geutn* 'knew' (1 2 sg *-gén*, 1 pl *-genammar*, pres 1 sg *-guinam*) The groups of explosives and sonants develop regularly after the reduplicator — Some roots orig ending in a vowel have preterites with combined reduplication and *-s*-pret 1 sg *ad-co-tadus*, 3 pl *ad-co-tatsat* (*ad-cota* 'obtains'), 3 sg *rers* Voy of Bran I § 61, 3 pl *-rersat* (to *rā-* 'sail' with the secondary meaning 'betake oneself'), 3 sg *bebais* 'died' FéI, 3 pl *bebais* (cf *-bebe* above), 1 sg *dorignuis*, 2 sg *dorignuis*, pl *dorigénusam*, *dorigénud*, *dorigénsat* (*do-gní* 'does'), v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 103f — The root of *do-ra-t* 'has given', 3 pl *do-ra-t-sat* § 179, 2, § 420, is attested only in the perf pret and the related perf forms

Note 3 The endings The sg of the *-i-* pret may be assumed to be the same as the *-s* pret 1 sg **birtu* etc., the 2 sg of the suffixless pret as the

conjunct form, the 2 pl of the *-s*-pret, **léisciste* (cf *-s*-fut), of the *-t*-pret and suffixless pret, **berte*, **cechnide*

The 1 and 3 pl conjunct forms in *-mar* and *-tar* were also used as simple forms. MlIr *lodmar*, *lotar* 'we, they went' (beside *lotir*), OIr *bátar* (acc'd), *batar* and *batir* (proclitic) 'they were'. The distribution of the forms *-ammur*, *-atar* and *-mar*, *-tar* is not constant, the shorter ending seems to be preferred in particularly long forms *as-ru-bartmar* 'we have said' (but 3 pl *as-ru-bartatar*, where apparently coalescence of the two *-t* was avoided, this was not the case with *-d*- and *-t*-, cf *lotar* 'they went', on which was modelled 1 pl *lodmar*, so *do-cotar* 'they have gone', 1 pl *do-commar*, cf *do-dechommar* 'we have come'). Cf Thurneysen, KZ 37 97. — In Ml *-t*-pret forms like *ad-r-obartat* gl obtulerant, *con-antechtat* gl quaesiverunt etc occur.

The 3 sg conjunct ending *-i* is found in some verbs in *-i*, but is gradually given up *ru-radh* 'has spoken' Wb 7d 9 but *imm-e-ro-raid* 'whom he has mentioned' Sg 197b 15.

In the 2 pl (conjunct), MlIr *bair* (by anal with 1 pl *-mur*, *-mar*, and influenced by the infixed pron *-bar*) occurs *t-ancabair* 'you have come', v exx from LU given by Strachan, ZCP 2 492f, the *r* is palatal, probably because the old ending *id* had a palat *-d*. MnIr *-bhar*.

Note 4. Forms with suffixed pronouns. 3 sg rel of the *-s*-pret *soeras* 'who delivered' Thes II 302 25, *amal foides* 'as he sent' 304 33 (cf *intan reras* 'when it fared' Voy of Bran I 43 8), of the *-t*-pret *in tan berta* 'when she bore' LU 10614, of the suffixless pret *lud-e* 'who went', *gád-e* 'who prayed', *gúl æ* which adhered. 1, 3 pl of the *-s*-pret *carsimne*, *carsite* (*glauðsete* 'who roared' gl rugientibus Thes I 713 29), of the *-t*-pret and the suffixless pret *bertar*, *bertatar*, *lodmar*.

3 sg with object *leics-i* 'he let him go' Ml 52, *said-s-us* 'he put it (fem)'. LU 4796, *gab-s-us* 'took them' 8217, *boi-th-us* 'was to them' § 343, *bi-th-us* 'he killed them' LU 6184.

Note 5. In MnIr a uniform pret has been formed by mixing the *-s* pret and the suffixless pret: sg 1 *do ghabhas* 'I took', 2 *do ghabhars*, 3 *do ghabh*, pl 1 *do ghabhamar*, 2 *do ghabhabhar*, 3 *do ghabhadar*, sg 1 *adubhras* 'I said', 2 *adubhrars*, 3 *adubharr* (OIr *at-ru-bart*), pl 1 *adubhramar*, 2 *adubhrabhar*, 3 *adubhradar*, sg 1 *do chualas* 'I heard', 2 *do chualars*, 3 *do chuala*, pl 1 *do chualamar* etc.

§ 460 The Brit preterite paradigm consists of a preterite and a pluperfect. The pluperfect is used (1) as a plpf ind (in W and Co), (2) as a conditional, and (3) as a subjunctive. As ex of the inflection the verb 'to love' is given.

	MIW	Co	MlBr
Pret. Sg 1	<i>kereis</i>	<i>kerys</i>	<i>quiris</i>
2	<i>kereist</i>	<i>kersys, kersta</i>	<i>quersot</i>
3	<i>carawd</i> (<i>cafás</i> 'got')	<i>caras</i>	<i>caras</i>

	MIW	Co	MIBr
Pl 1	<i>carassam</i>	<i>kersyn</i>	<i>quersomp</i>
2	<i>carassawch</i>	<i>kersough</i>	<i>quersoch</i>
3	<i>carassant</i>	<i>carsons</i>	<i>quersont</i>
PiPl. Sg 1	<i>carassun</i>	<i>carsen</i>	<i>carsenn</i>
2	<i>carassut</i>	<i>carses</i>	<i>carses</i>
3	<i>carassei</i>	<i>carse</i>	<i>carse</i>
Pl 1	<i>carassem</i>	<i>carsen</i>	<i>carsemp</i>
2	<i>carassewch</i>	<i>carseugh</i>	<i>carsech</i>
3	<i>carassynt</i>	<i>carsens</i>	<i>carsent</i>

Note 1 (a) Traces of different classes of stems are found, especially in W. Before the *-ss-* of the pret pl and of the piplf occurs sometimes *a-* (*car a-ss-am* etc.), sometimes *-y-* (*mynn-y-ss-ynt* 'they had wished'). The vowel is occasionally lost, cf Co and Br *adaussei* 'he had promised', *cawssant* 'they obtained' (sg *cef eis*, *eist*, *cafus*), *kymersant* (and *kymerassant*) 'they took', *gwelssant* 'they saw'. In the 3 sg pret before the *-s* stands *a-* (*cawas* 'got', *gwelas* 'saw'), *e-* (stems with *-o* or *oe-* OW *dicones* made, MIW *anfones* 'sent', *ymhaeles* 'returned', cf Loth, RC' 31 492), *-i-* (stems with *-a-* or *aw > -e-*, *-ew-* *peris* caused, *sefis* stood, *querendewys* listened, cf also *dechreus* commenced WM 27 22, *ymceurilis* seized RC 33 247 11 vb nn *ymafael*), *wy* or *-u-* (*kerdwys* 'walked' went WM 8 33, *kerdus* Hist Gr ap Cynan 112 2, *dechreus* began' 116 18, *us* remains to this day in the spoken W of Glamorgan and Gwent), cf Morris Jones, WG 325f. Co 3 sg *leuwys* 'spoke', *gylwys* called *toys*, *toys* swore, *kemeres*, *kemeras* took'.

(b) In the 3 sg pret in W forms occur in MIW *-awd* MnW *-odd* *lladawd*, *lladdodd* killed (1 sg *lledaw*, *lledaws*), *dygwyrddawd* 'fell' *kerdawd* 'went'. In MnW *odd* is the regular ending in literary and spoken W, *rhoes* gave', *troes* 'turned' however still occur spoken and written (for *-us* v supra).

(c) Remains of the *-t*-pret (cf Rhys RC 6 24ff) MIW 3 sg *kymerth*, *kymyrth* took' Co *kemert(h)* MC' 3, MIW 3 sg *differth*, *diffyrth* 'defended (also *differwys*), cf Ir *-bert* - MIW 1 sg *gwaint* 'I pierced, charged' LIH 17 30, 3 sg *gwant*, 1 sg *keint* 'I sang' BT 23 20, *keintum* LIH 40 17, 2 *ceuntost* BBC 21 8, 3 *cant*, 3 sg *maeth* nourished LIH 255, 3 (*magu* 'nurse') 3 sg *dyrreith* returned' BT 54 24 (root **reg-*, cf Ir *as-r é-racht* has arisen), 3 sg *amwyth* defended LIH 20 25 (v *amuc* (d) below, vb nn *amwyrn*). A full *-t* pret occurs in the verbs 'to go', 'to come' 'to do' MIW sg 1 *eithum* 'I went' LIH 3 21, *eithum*, 2 *aethost*, 3 *aeth* (MIW simple form *eithyd* BT 52 22, 23 *eithyt* RP 1145 28, cf the pres forms § 445 n 3), pl 1 *aetham*, 2 *aethawch*, 3 *aeth-ant*, *-ont*, sg 1 *deuthum*, *doethum* 'I came', 2 *deuthost*, *doethost*, 3 *deuth*, *doeth*, pl 1 *doetham*, 2 *doeth-awch*, *-och*, 3 *deuthant* *doeth-ant*, *-ont*, sg 1 *guneithum* LIH 316, 9, *guneithum*, 2 *guneithost* LIH 72 26, *gunaethost*, 3 *gunaeth*, pl 1 *gunaetham* etc., sg 1 *am-t-eith*

'I went' BBC 22 10, 3 *ym-d-aeth*, also an analogical re-formation MIW 1 sg *ymdeers* Chw SDR 1 851, with which of the MnW spoken forms *es* 'I went', *est* 'thou didst go', *des* 'I came', etc.), Co sg 1 *yth* 'I went' 2 *ythys*, 3 *eth*, pl 2 *etheugh*, 3 *ethons*, MIBr sg 1 *yz* 'I went' (Ernault, RC 32 81^a), 3 sg *aez*, *eaz*, pl 1 *ezomp*, 3 *ezont*, sg 1 *duiz* 'I came', 2 *deuzout*, 3 *deuz* (late MIBr *deuas*, by anal with forms in *-as*, Ernault, RC 33 82 n), pl 2 *deuzoch*, 3 *deuzont*, MIBr sg 1 *gris* 'I did' (with *-s* instead of *-z* by anal with the regular conjugation)

Plpf stem in *-je-* Co sg 3 *dethye*, *dothye*, *dothe* 'had come', pl 3 *dothians*, *dethens*, v ZE 595, MIBr 3 pl *azyent* 'they had gone' Barbe 183 (2 sg *azes* J6s 213b), sg 1 *deuzien* 'I had come' Barbe 294, 3 *deuzye* J6s 232a, *deuze* Barbe 180, pl 2 *deuzech* Jes 7a, 3 *deuzient* RC 10 303 7 The MIW plpf of these verbs is formed by composition with the ipf of the verb 'to be' sg 1 *ath-oedwn* 'I had gone', 3 *ath oed*, *ad oed*, pl 3 *ath oedynt*, -sg 1 *duth-oedwn* 'I had come', 3 *doeth oed*, *doth-oed*, *dath-oed*, pl 3 *doeth-oedynt*, *doth-oedynt*, sg 1 *gwnath-oedwn* 'I had done', 2 *gwnaeth-oedut* *gwnath-oedut* 3 *gwnaeth-oed*, *gwnath-oed*, *gwnad-oed*, pl 3 *gwnaeth-oedynt*

(d) **Suffixless preterites** (cf Rhys, RC 6 16ff) MIW 1 sg *cigleu*, (later MIW and early MnW *ciglef*), 3 sg *cigleu* 'heard' (vn *cly-bot*, *clyw-et*, pres 1 sg *clywaf*), cf Ir 1 sg *cuala*, 3 sg *cuale* the vowel *-y-* would be expected in the reduplicator, not *-i-* (with present meaning) MIW sg 1 *atwaen* 'I know', *atwen* 2 *atwaenost*, 3 *atwaen*, *atwen* (MnW *edwyn*), pl 1 *adwaen-am* vn (MnW *om*), 2 *adwaenawch*, *etweynwch* (MnW *adwaenoch*), 3 *atwaenant*, plpf with ipf meaning MIW sg 1 *atwaenium*, 2 *atwaenut*, 3 *atwaenat* § 445 n 3, § 450 pl 1 *adwaenem*, 3 *atwaenynt*, Co sg 1 *aswen* Beun Mei 73, 3 *aswon* pl 1 *aswonyn*, cf Ir redupl pret-pres sg 1 *ad-gén*, 3 *ad-geun*, to *gnin*, MIW *adwaen* BBC 70 2 seems to be for **adwoen*, as it rhymes with *hœn*, *poen*, Rhys, RC 6 21f suggests that the form contains **uo* < **upo-*, cf Morris-Jones WG 356, but it is also possible that the *-y* of the reduplicator may have developed as *-gw-*, cf § 34, 3 (no trace of the **wo-* appears in the vn *ad-na bod*), and in this case the vowel of the reduplicator must have been *a* or *o* § 185 2, — MIW 3 sg *dywawt* 'he said' also *dywat*, *dywot*, MnW dial *dwead* (all other forms are *-s* forms, 1 sg *dyweders*, etc., vn MIW *dywedwyt*, *dywedut*, MnW *dyweddyd*, *dweud*), 3 sg *godiwawd* 'overtook' (vn MIW *godwies* MnW *goddweddyd*), 3 sg *gwa-rawt* 'succoured' (vn *gwa ret*, cf Ir *fu-rráth* to *reth-*), 3 sg *amkawd* 'said' WM 453, 454, 3 pl *amkeudant* 486 11, 488 14 (*amkeudawt* 473 2 477 6, 478 29, 479 18), obscure forms — MIW sg 1 *dugum* 'I brought', 2 *dugost*, 3 *duc*, pl 3 *dugant* (*ducsant* Yst Car Mag 52 25, *dugassant* RC 33 223 11), plpf sg 3 *ducser* Hen MSS II 140 7, pl 3 *dugessynt* RC 33 187 11 (pres *d-ygaf*, vn *dwyn*, also the other compounds of this root 3 sg *am uc* 'he defended' 3 pl *amugant* BT 44 12, but *amucant* BA 15 21, plpf sg 3 *amucser* RP 1044 19, sg 1 *gorugum* 'I did', 2 *gorugost*, 3 *goruc*, pl 1 *gorugam*, 2 *gorugawch*, 3 *gorugant*, without plpf, beside *guneuthum*, *gwnaeth*, to *gwnaf* 'I do', Co pret 3 sg *duk*, plpf 2 pl *decasygh* MC 50 (Co 1, 3 sg *gruk* 'did', len *wruk*, *wreg*, the remainder consists of *-s*-forms sg 2 *grusays*,

gressys, 3 sg len. *ros*, pl 1 *grussyn*, 2 *grussough*, 3 *grussions*, plpf *grussen* etc.), — archaic MIW 3 sg *goreu* 'did', MIBr *guerue*, *geure*, *guere*, MnBr *geure* (MIBr sg 1 *gris* v (c) above, pl 1 *gresomp*, 2 *gruesoch*, 3 *gruesont*, *gresont*, plpf *grassenn*, *grassen* etc.), — MIW sg 1 *buum*, *bum* 'I was', Co sg 1 *buf*, *buf*, *bef* (1 e /bov/), MIBr sg 1 *buof*, *biouf*, etc v § 485

Note 2 Older or variant forms. Regular forms of the *-s*-pret in OW, and OBr 1 sg OBr *skrouas* gl *strau*, 3 sg OW *dyguormechis* 'he added' RC 11 205, OBr *ro-gulypnas* gl *oliuaut*, *ro-luncas* gl *guturicaunt*, 2 pl OW *ni cein guodemisauch* gl *non bene passa* (v BBCS 5 5), 3 pl OW *linasant* gl *lauare* (v BBCS 6 118), plpf 3 pl OBr *ro-rucse(n)t-t* gl *sulcauasent* — By anal with 3 sg pres forms in MIW *-id*, *-yd* (= /d/), OBr *-ot*, § 445 n 3, these terminations were added to *-s*- and *-t*-preterites MIW *kenylessid* 'he conquered' LjH 26 15, *delyessid* 'he held' 10 7, *medressid* 'he ruled' 26 21, *prynesid* 'he bought' 10 19, *rodyssit* 'he gave' RP 1149 40, *keressyt* 'he loved' RP 1168 25, *llochesid* 'he harboured' (rhyming with *-yd*) LjH 173 27, *pregethyssit* 'he preached', *yscoryssit* 'she begot' (both rhyming with *-yt*) BT 54 12, OBr *toreussit* gl *attriuit*, MIW *ethyid* 'he went' BT 52 22, 59 15, RP 1145 28 — 1 pl *-som*, 3 pl *-sont*, *-ont* also occur in MIW, cf Loth, RC 31 493 Morris Jones, Wt 326 — The verbs 'to go' 'to come' have pret forms compounded with the pres of the verb to be' in MIW 1 sg *ath-wyf*, *ad wyf* 'I went', 2 sg *athwyf*, 3 sg *ethwyf*, *ethw* (*-t* = /d-/), *ethyw*, *edyw*, pl 1 *ethym*, 3 *ethynt*, sg 1 *doth wyf*, *dod-wyf* 'I came', 2 *doth-wyt*, 3 *doth-yw*, *dod-yw*, *ded-yw*, pl 1 *dod-ym*, 2 *dod ywch*, 3 *ded ynt* Analogical forms are found in other verbs in the plpf sg 1 *kawss-oedum* 'I had got', 2 *kawss-oedut*, 3 *kawss-oed*, *causs-oedat* RC 33 221 20, *kawss-odyat* 220 28, *kawss-oedri* Hon MSS II 170 10, pl 3 *kawss-oedynt* (vn *cael*, *caffael*), sg 3 *roess oed* 'he had given', pl 3 *roess oedynt*, v Strachan, Intro 87, Morris Jones, WG 342, 344 similarly pret forms of the verb 'to do', were fashioned later *gunedd-wyf* 'I did' etc These compound pret forms are still used (with modifications) in spoken W in South Wales in 1 and 2 sg sg 1 *etho* 'I went' (from *ethwyf*), *detho* 'I came', *gunetho* 'I did', also *ceso* 'I got' (beside *ces* for literary *cefa s*), 2 *ethot*, *dethot*, *gunethot*, *cesot* Similar compound formations are Co *gals* of 'I have gone' OM 373, *gals-na* 'thou hast gone' RD 1470 beside 3 sg *gallas*, 3 pl *galsons*, plpf sg 3 *galse* (*galsof pur claf* 'I have become very sick' RD 775, lit 'I have gone very sick', cf the W idiom, *euthum yn bur glaf*)

Note 3. Later development In MnW the pret 3 sg ending is *-odd*, with a few instances of *-es*, v note 1 (b), 1 pl *-om* (*-t*-prets) *-asom*, *-som*, also dial *-on*, 2 pl *-och* (*-t*-prets), *-asoch*, *-soch*, dial *och*, 3 pl *ant* (*-t*-prets), *-asant*, *-sant*, dial *-son*, *-on*, for MIW *dugum* etc, n 1 (d) above, MnW has *dyg as*, *-arat*, *dug* and *dygodd*, *dygas-on*, *-och*, *-ant* MnBr pret sg 1 *-as*, 2 *jout*, 3 *as*, pl 1 *-jomp*, 2 *-joc'h*, 3 *-jont*, the medial *-j-* (/ʒ-/) has replaced an earlier *-z-*, v Ernault, RC 37 123 on the palat *-ž* Plpf (conditional) *-jen*, *-jes*, etc, also *-fen* *-fes*, *-j-* being replaced by analogical *f*, v § 453 n 1 and cf Ernault, RC 11 479ff

Etymological explanation of the preterite paradigms.

§ 461. (1) The -s-preterite comes from a formation going back to the IE -s-aorist (Gk *ἔ-δειξα* etc.) It is found in Ir in derivative verbs in -*ā-* and -*ī-*, and in some other verbs (e.g., -*gabus* 'I took', *do-uccus* 'I have brought', beside the suffixless pret MIW 3 sg *duc*) In all cases a vowel occurs between the final consonant of the root and the -s-, unless it has disappeared by syncope, this vowel was either short (-*car*) or long (-*rádi*) Similarly, a vowel always occurs in Brit and is regularly retained in the pret sg It is particularly clear in W 3 sg, a short -*a-* in verbs with -*ā-* (-*as*, cf MIW *cavas* 'he got'), a long -*ī-* in verbs with -*ī-* (W *erchis* 'bade'), beside which a short -*i-* must have existed (MIW *erstedyssant* 'they sat'), the other endings are -*es* and -*uys*, -*us* In the plur and the plpf a short vowel should disappear in Brit, MIW -*assam*, -*yssynt*, etc., were probably remodelled by analogy

The -s- pret is a new formation in Celt, as derivative verbs in -*ā-* -*ī-*, -*ī-* had no -s-aorist in prim IE Intervocalic -s- would regularly disappear in Celt (as in Gk), the -s- was retained in these new forms by analogy with primitive aorist forms in which the -s- immediately followed the final consonant of the root

(2) Personal endings **Sing 1.** -*sō* Ir -*carus* MIW *cereis* etc Ir simple forms (*carsu*) may be explained in the same way as the 1 sg pres (*tuagu* § 449) — **2.** -*sei* Ir -*caris* The W form is distinguished from that of sg 1 by suffixing the *t-* of the pers pron, Co -*ys* and MIBr -*ot* seem to be forms of the verb 'to be' (cf MIW *lawss-oedwn*, Co *gals-of* § 460 n 2), Co *kersta* < *kersys* + pers pron — **3.** -*a-st*, -*ī-st* etc Ir -*car*, -*rádi*, -*léic*, simplex has similar formation to the pres Ir *caris* MIW *cavas*, Ir *rádis* MIW *erchis* etc — **Pl 1.** -*ssamos* Ir -*carsam* MIW *carassam*, cf. Gk *ἔ-δείξαμεν* Lat *diximus* The Co and Br forms are remodelled on the pres, Ir simplex (*carsummi*) has similar formation to the pres — **2.** -*sate*, with -*a-* taken over from pl 1 and 3 (as in Gk *ἔ-δείξατε*), may be assumed for the W form (for -*wch* v § 449), and possibly for the Ir (-*carsid*) The Co form is remodelled on the present, while the MIBr form (*quersoch*) may be influenced by the verb 'to be' — **3** -*spl* Ir -*carsat*, the simplex forms are characterized in the same way as in the pres Ir *carsit* MIW *carassant* The Co and MIBr forms are remodelled on the present

§ 462. The **pluperfect of the s-pret.** is a new formation in Brit on the model of the ipf and

§ 463. The *-t-preterite* is derived from the 3 sg of consonantal stems of IE asigmatic aorist. Ir *-bert*, *-alt*, *-ét* etc go back to **bher-t*, **al-t*, **em-t*, the simplex (Ir *birt*) has the same enlargement as in the present. The final *-t* was regarded as part of the stem, and the other persons were formed from this stem by means of the personal endings of the *-s-pret*, 1 sg *-t-ō* Ir *-biurt*, MIW *gueint*, *ceint*, (Co *yth*, MIBr *yz*, 2 sg *-t-ei* Ir *-birt*. Later in W the endings of the suffixless *pret* were added to these new 1 and 2 sg *-t-preterites* 1 sg **euth > euthum ~ euthum*, *ceint > ceintum*, 2 sg *ceunt-ost* (for earlier **ceint-ost* due to 1 sg **ceunt-um*), *-eu-* (from *-ei-* before the *-u-* in *-um*) often occurs in the 2 sg, for the ending in Co *yth-ys* v § 461.2. In Ir the pl assumed the endings of the suffixless *pret*.

Note For a different explanation of the *t-pret* v Alf Sommerfelt, *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski* I (Cracow 1927) p. 255ff.

§ 464 (1) The suffixless *preterite* in a few cases is an IE asigmatic aorist with vowel stem. An *-o-* *-e-* stem Ir *lod* 'I went', *lud* 'he went' **ludho-m*, **ludhe-t* cf Gk *ἤλυθον*, *ἤλυθε*, an *-a-* stem *do-er* 'he fell' **k'era-t*, a monosyll long vowel stem Ir *-bi* 'he struck' **bhī-t*.

(2) In most cases the suffixless *pret* is an IE perfect, with or without reduplication. In non-redupl forms the vowel is usually (elt *ā* Ir *-raith* (*rethim* 'I run') MIW *qua-raut* (*gwa-redaf* 'I succour') *pret* IE *ou* beside *pres* IE *u* in Ir *ro-kuaid* and MIW *duc* 'brought' < **d-ouge*. For Ir *bói* W *bu* (Co *bue* Br *boe* and some difficult redupl forms (Ir *ad-grn* etc) v VKG II 379f.

(3) The 3 sg MIW *-awd* (MnW *-odd*) is derived from the old perfect, cf MIW *godī-uawd* 'he overtook', 1 sg *pres* *godī-wedaf*. By anal with *pret* sg 1 *godīwedens*, 2 *godīweders* the 3 sg *godīuawd* became *godīwedawd*, and from some such form the new ending *-awd* was deduced.

(4) Personal endings of the suffixless *pret*, derived from the IE perf. Sing. 1 *-a* Ir *-cechan* **geqana*, MIW *cigleu* **k'uk'loua*, cf Gk *πέποιθα*, Skr *čākāra* 'I have done'. The origin of W *-um* (MIW *buum* 'I have been', *dug-um*, *qorug-um*) is obscure, Co *buef* has the subj pron suffixed (MIBr *biof*, *biouf* are analogical reformations) — 2 IE *-tha* Skr *čakartha* 'hast done', Gk *οἶσθα* 'knowest', (elt *-as* Ir *-cechan* **geqanas* cf Gk *πείσθας* (Thurn-

eysen, Handb 400), W -ost with suffixed pron (*bu-ost*, with -o- for -a-, possibly under the influence of an originally preceding -w-, -ost then spread to other verbs) Co *bues* is formed by anal with the ipf, MIBr *biout* by anal with *out* 'thou art'. — 3. -e Ir -*cechuin* **qeqane*, Gaul *desde* 'has given' Cf Gk *πέποιθε*, Skr *čakāra* 'has done' — Plur. 1. -*me* (-*mo*'), -*mme* MIW *dugam*, cf Gk *πεποίδαμεν* The Ir form is modelled on the 3 pl, Co *buen* on the pres or ipf, MIBr *biomp* on *omp* 'we are' — 2. -*a-te* may perhaps be assumed for Ir and W, cf Gk *πεποιδατε* Co *bugh*, *beugh* is modelled on the pres or ipf, MIBr *broch* on *ouc'h* 'you are' — 3. IE probably -*r* Skr *ča-kr-ur* 'they have done' This became contaminated in Italic and Celt with an -*nt-* ending Lat *uīdē-r-unt*, Ir -*cechnatar*, *cechnitir* The orig form may have been -*ont-r* or -*nt-r*, yielding a form ending in -*ntri* This explains the Ir simple forms, the conjunct forms have been influenced by the deponent and passive The MIW, Co and MIBr forms are late and analogical

(5) The **pluperfect** has been modelled on the ipf ind and subj The plpf of the verb 'to be' Co *byen* MIBr *bihenn*, *bisenn* is formed from the stem **bhū-* Apparently a subjunctive form with -*h-* fell together with an indic form without -*h-* in Co, in Br the forms with -*h-* alone survived (*bihenn*), to be re-formed later after the -*s-* pret to *bisenn*

Deponent and Passive.

§ 465 Ir. deponent paradigm (*labrur* 'I speak', *midvur* 'I judge')

Present simple	Sg 1	<i>labrur</i>	<i>midvur</i>
	2	<i>labrither</i>	<i>mitter</i>
	3	<i>labrithir</i>	<i>midithir</i>
	Pl 1	<i>labrimmar</i>	<i>midimmar</i>
	2	<i>labrithe</i>	<i>mitte</i>
	3	<i>labritir</i>	<i>miditir</i>
Present conjunct.	Sg 1	- <i>labrur</i>	- <i>midvur</i>
	2	- <i>labrither</i>	- <i>mitter</i>
	3	- <i>labrathar</i>	- <i>midethar</i>
	Pl 1	- <i>labrammar</i>	- <i>midemmar</i>
	2	- <i>labrid</i>	- <i>midid</i>
	3	- <i>labratatir</i>	- <i>midetir</i>

1pl.	Sg 1	<i>-labrinn</i>	<i>-midinn</i>
	2	<i>-labratha</i>	<i>-mittea</i>
	3	<i>-labrad</i>	<i>-mided</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-labrimmis</i>	<i>-midmis</i>
	2	<i>-labrithe</i>	<i>-mitte</i>
	3	<i>-labritis</i>	<i>-mitlis</i>
1pv.	Sg 2	<i>labrithe</i>	<i>mitte</i>
	3	<i>labrad</i>	<i>mided</i>
	Pl 1	<i>labram(mar)</i>	<i>midem(mar)</i>
	2	<i>labrid</i>	<i>midid</i>
	3	<i>labratar</i>	<i>midetar</i>
Subj. pres. simp.	Sg 1	<i>labrar</i>	<i>messur</i>
	2	<i>labrithe</i>	<i>messer</i>
	3	<i>labritir</i>	<i>mestir</i>
	Pl 1	<i>labrimmir</i>	<i>messimmir</i>
	2	<i>labrithe</i>	<i>meste</i>
	3	<i>labritir</i>	<i>messitir</i>
Subj. pres. conj	Sg 1	<i>-labrar</i>	<i>-messur</i>
	2	<i>-labrithe</i>	<i>-messer</i>
	3	<i>-labrathar</i>	<i>-mestar</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-labrammar</i>	<i>-messammar</i>
	2	<i>-labrid</i>	<i>-messid</i>
	3	<i>-labratar</i>	<i>-messatar</i>
Subj. 1pl.	Sg 1	<i>-labrinn</i>	<i>-messinn</i>
	2	<i>-labratha</i>	<i>-mesta</i>
	3	<i>-labrad</i>	<i>-messed</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-labrimmis</i>	<i>-messmis</i>
	2	<i>-labrithe</i>	<i>-meste</i>
	3	<i>-labritis</i>	<i>-mestis</i>
Fut. simp.	Sg 1	<i>labrafar</i>	<i>messur</i>
	2	<i>labrafider</i>	<i>messer</i>
	3	<i>labrafidr</i>	<i>mestir</i>
	Pl 1	<i>labrafimmir</i>	<i>messimmir</i>
	2	<i>labrafide</i>	<i>meste</i>
	3	<i>labrafitir</i>	<i>messitir</i>

Fut. conj.	Sg 1	<i>-labrafar</i>	<i>-messur</i>
	2	<i>-labrafider</i>	<i>-messer</i>
	3	<i>-labrafadar</i>	<i>-mrastur</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-labrafammar</i>	<i>-messammar</i>
	2	<i>-labrafid</i>	<i>-messid</i>
	3	<i>-labrafatar</i>	<i>-messatar</i>
Conditional.	Sg 1	<i>-labrafinn</i>	<i>-messinn</i>
	2	<i>-labrafada</i>	etc
	3	<i>-labrafad</i>	
	Pl 1	<i>-labrafammis</i>	
	2	<i>-labrafide</i>	
	3	<i>-labrafitis</i>	
Pret. simp.	Sg 3	<i>labristur</i>	<i>míðurr</i>
Pret. conj	Sg 1	<i>-labrasur</i>	<i>-míðar</i>
	2	<i>-labrísar</i>	<i>-míðar</i>
	3	<i>-labrastar</i>	<i>-míðar</i>
	Pl 1	<i>-labrasammar</i>	<i>-míðammar</i>
	2	<i>-labrísid</i>	<i>-míðid</i>
	3	<i>-labrasatar</i>	<i>-míðatar</i>

Note 1. The deponent endings The dep is identical with the active in the ipf ind and subj and in the conditional, also in the 2 pl of the other tenses and in the 3 sg ipv. Originally the 1 pl ipv had no *-r*-form *na seichem* 'let us not follow' Wb 25c 6.

The dep *-clurnethar* 'hears' has an act pret (*-cuale*, 1 sg *cuale*).

There is no distinction between act and dep in the plur of the suffixless pret, for the 1 and 3 pl act forms end in *-r*. The sg of the suffixless pret of some act verbs has taken over *-r*-endings 3 sg pret *-damair* to *damaid* 'suffers', *teccomnocur* 'has happened' to pres *doecmair*. A few similar instances occur in the *-s*-pret *forderisur* gl *lustraui* MI 133b 8 (to *forderet* gl *inlustrat* 78b 8), *adroneestar* 'he has endured' Wb 4c 35 (to *inneuth* 'I expect') — Dep subj and fut forms are rare with an act verb subj sg 1 *ad-cear*, 3 *-accadar*, fut sg 2 MIr *at-chíchúther* (younger act forms, § 456 n 2) to *ad-chi* 'sees', subj sg 1 *-esur*, 3 *estur*, *-estar* to *ithid* 'eats'.

Simple and conjunct endings are distinguished only in 3 sg, 1 and 3 pl (*-ir* *-ar*) Archaic forms *du-fuasledor* 'falls' Thes II 24 34, *frisbríðemur* gl *aporiamur* [Wb] 15b 22.

Dep forms do not take suffixed obj prons, active forms are used *fíríamchúth-a híress* 'his faith justifies him' Wb 2b 28 (*fíríamgudar*). Forms in *-ir* have corresponding relative forms in *-er*, *-ar* *carrigedar* 'which he

blames' Wb 25b 9, *i-sind hursu labramar-ni* in all that we say' MI 31b 23, a *coemthgimmer* when we compare' Sg 211a 14

Note 2. Later history of the dep. endings. The dep. was falling into disuse early in the historical period, thus in Wb *oldas do-n-thuchur* gl quam petimus 21d 9 (to *do-thuchur* 'I pray') Such forms are more frequent in MI and increasingly so in Sg. During the MIr period the dep. died out, giving rise however to new formations. The ending *-ur* (*-ar*, *-er*) became the mark of the 1 sg. subj. of act. verbs *ci-p e uair fogabur bás* 'whosoever I may die' Atk LBr 617. This ending was treated as part of the stem, and from it were formed a 2 sg. in *-ra*, a 3 pl. in *-rat* *cofessara* that thou mayest learn' LL 254b 42 (*-futr* 'knows'), *náco-clorat* but that they may hear' LL 95a 17 (*-clunethar* 'hears'). For 2 sg. pres. ind. in *-ur* v § 444 n 6. In the pret. appear forms like *ro-lámrat* 'have dared', *ro-midratar* 'have judged' (Thurneysen, Handb 401) — In the 3 sg. *-s-pret* the ending *-estar*, *-astar*, *-ustar* is very frequent even in orig. active verbs *ro-gabustar* 'has taken' Atk LBr 3239, it appears as early as MI *ro-dligestar* 36a 29 (*dligim* 'I have a right to')

Note 3. Present stem-formation. Besides *-ā* stems (*labrur*) and *-i*-stems (*madur*), *-o* *-e*-stems occur, with non-pal. root finals in the 1 sg., but agreeing with *-i*-stems otherwise *do-thuchur* 'I bid', 3 sg. *do-thuchethar*, *-sechetar* 'they follow' (to Lat. *sequor*). The nasal pres. *-clunur* 'I hear' has been taken into the *-i*-stem class, 3 sg. *-clunethar*.

Syncope has had a certain effect on the forms. Thus the *i* in 2 sg. *labrúther*, beside *mutter* etc., is retained because a vowel is lost between *-b* and *-r*. (cf. W. *llafar* etc.) Note also derivative verbs in *-arg*, *-ig* *-foilsigur* 'I make clear', 2 sg. *foilsigther*, *foilsigther*, 3 sg. *foilsigidr*, *foilsigedar*, 1 pl. *foilsigimur*, *foilsigimur*, 2 pl. *foilsigthe*, 3 pl. *foilsigitur*, *foilsigetar*.

Note 4. Subjunctive stem-formation. The *-ā*-subj. has the 2 sg. ending *-thar* following a non-pal. consonant after which a vowel is lost *fo-mentar* gl scito Wb 30c 2, the *-ā*-subj. of an *-i*-pres. has the endings 1 sg. *-er*, 2 sg. *-ther* *foilsiger*, *foilsiger*, *foilsigther*, *foilsigther*.

The stem-formation of the *-ā*-subj. and the *-s*-subj. has the same peculiarities as in the active (§ 452 n 1). IE vowel alternation and *gamúthr* 'is born', subj. ipf. 3 sg. *-genad*, ind. do *múthr*, do *múthr* 'I think', subj. 3 sg. *dúmmenathar* MI 49a 15, pl. 1 *dúmmenamar* 78b 34, *dúmmenamar* 15d 5.

Hiatus verbs subj. 1 sg. *adcear* to *ad-ci* sees, *clóor* (MIr *-clor*, subj. ipf. 1, 3 pl. OIr. *clóimmas*, *-clóitis*) to *-clunethar* 'hears'.

Note 5. Future stem-formation. In the *-b*-fut. the same difference in quality appears as in the act., after pal. *f* the vowel *-e* appears *-molfar* 'I shall praise', *ad-achfer* 'I shall fear'.

Instances of the *-ā*-fut. *-gignethar* will be born, cond. 3 sg. *-gigned* (pres. *gamúthr*), MIr fut. 1 sg. *ata-gegallar*, 3 sg. *ata-gegallathar* to *ad-gladur* 'I speak to', MIr *at-chichúther* thou wilt see' (*ad-ch* 'sees'), *ro-cehladar* 'he will hear' (*ro-clunethar* 'hears').

The stem-formation of the *-s*-fut. agrees with the act. In *-fessur* 'I shall know', 3 sg. *-fiastar* (pres. 3 sg. *-finnadar* pret. *-futr*) the reduplication is

obscured by regular phonological changes, 1 sg *messur*, 3 sg *maistr*, *-maistr* are analogical (Thurneysen, Handb 381)

Note 6. Pret stem-formation The dep has only *-s*-pret and suffixless pret. The *-s-* is in some instances added directly to the final cons of the root (cf Thurneysen, KZ 28 151ff), thus with *ad-gláður* 'I speak to' MÍr *co n-arlástár* 'she spoke to' LU 8269 (also *ad-gláðastar*), redupl pret 3 sg *nasair* 'sat', *-nasair*, 3 pl rel *nasatár* to *sardid* 'sits' (v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 104), *forderisnur*, *ad ro-neestar*, v note 1

The *-s*-pret of *-l*-verbs has palatalization 1, 3 sg *-foilsigisnur*, *-foilsigestar*, 1, 3 pl *-foilsigsemmar*, *-foilsigsetar*

The suffixless pret can be formed without reduplication sg 1, 2 *-fetar*, 3 *-futr* 'knows' (pret-pres), pl *futemmar*, *-fítid*, *-fítetar* and *-fetatar*, with IE long grade *-míðair* 'he judged' (í = IE ē), *-lamair* 'he dared' (pres *-larmethar*), redupl *-génair* 'was born', 3 pl *-génatar* to *gavnúthir* 'is born', anal *do-ménar* 'I thought', 1 pl *nú to-r-ménmar* (*do-móinnur*)

§ 466. The Ir. passive paradigm (the active verbs in § 444 and the deponent *múður* 'I judge')

Pres. simp	Sg 3	<i>berir</i>	<i>benir</i>	<i>carthir</i>	<i>garbthir</i>	<i>léicthir</i>
	Pl 3	<i>bertir</i>	<i>bentir</i>	<i>cartir</i>	<i>garbthir</i>	<i>léictir</i>
Pres. conj	Sg 3	<i>-berar</i>	<i>-benar</i>	<i>-carthar</i>	<i>-garbther</i>	<i>-léicther</i>
	Pl 3	<i>-bertar</i>	<i>-bentar</i>	<i>-cartar</i>	<i>-garbter</i>	<i>-léictir</i>
Ipf	Sg 3	<i>-berthe</i>	<i>-bente</i>	<i>-carthe</i>	<i>-garbthe</i>	<i>-léicthe</i>
	Pl 3	<i>-bertis</i>	<i>-bentis</i>	<i>-cartis</i>	<i>-garbthi</i>	<i>-léictis</i>
Ipv.	Sg 3	<i>berar</i>	<i>benar</i>	<i>carthar</i>	<i>garbther</i>	<i>léicther</i>
	Pl 3	<i>bertar</i>	<i>bentar</i>	<i>cartar</i>	<i>garbter</i>	<i>léictir</i>
Subj pres simp	Sg 3	<i>berthir</i>	<i>léicthir</i>	<i>messir</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>bertir</i>	<i>léictir</i>	<i>messir</i>		
Subj pres conj.	Sg 3	<i>-berthar</i>	<i>-léicther</i>	<i>-messar (-mestar)</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>-bertar</i>	<i>-léictir</i>	<i>-messatar</i>		
Subj. ipf	Sg 3	<i>-berthe</i>	<i>-léicthe</i>	<i>-meste</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>-bertis</i>	<i>-léictis</i>	<i>-mestis</i>		
Fut simp	Sg 3	<i>bérthir</i>	<i>léicfidir</i>	<i>maistr</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>bértir</i>	<i>léicfútr</i>	<i>messair</i>		
Fut. conj.	Sg 3	<i>-bérthar</i>	<i>-léicfider</i>	<i>-maistar</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>-bértar</i>	<i>-léicfiter</i>	<i>-messatar</i>		
Conditional	Sg 3	<i>-béithe</i>	<i>-léicfide</i>	<i>-maiste</i>		
	Pl 3	<i>-béithi</i>	<i>-léicfithi</i>			
Pret. sp.	Sg 3	<i>brethe</i>	<i>bíthe</i>	<i>carthe</i>	<i>gabthe</i>	<i>léicthe messe</i>
Pret cj.	Sg 3	<i>-breth</i>	<i>-bíth</i>	<i>-carad</i>	<i>-gabad</i>	<i>-léiced mess</i>
	Pl 3	<i>-bretha</i>	<i>-bítha</i>	<i>-cartha</i>	<i>-gabtha</i>	<i>-léicthea messa</i>

Note 1 The stem-formation in the pres, subj., and fut passive is the same as in the act or dep (for exceptions v verb list *ad-cl* and *-clunethar*, subj and fut) All tenses end in *-r* except the ipf ind, ipf subj and the cond — The endings *-ir*, *-ar* occur in the pres ind and ipv of *-o-* *-e-* stems and *-na-* stems, often in *-i* stems (*con-garar* 'is called' to *gair-*), also in the *-s-* subj (beside *-tar*, especially in long forms with accented preverb *cra du-ind-nastar* 'that it be given' Ml 56a 13, to *do-ind-nauch*), the endings *-thir*, *-thar* (after *-s-* etc *-thir*, *-tar*) occur in *-ā-* and *-ī-* pres, in *-ā-* subj and fut — The endings *-thir*, *-thar*, pl *-thir*, *-tar* in the orig third or fifth syll cause syncope of the vowel of second or fourth syll, the pass being thus clearly distinguished from the dep 3 sg, pl *suidigdir*, *-suidigedar* places', *suidigtir*, *-suidigetar*, pass *suidigthir*, *-suidigther* 'is placed', *suidigthir*, *-suidigther* There are exceptions, especially in the 3 pl, cf VKG II 390 Mostly syncope does not occur before *-ar* The *-a-* is dropped in *as-berr* 'is said', *do-berr* 'is given', beside *as-berar*, *do-berar* — The quality of the final cons of the root is palatal in *-i-* verbs, also in the ind pres and ipf of *-i-* verbs with the endings *-thir*, *-ther*, and in the ind ipf of *-o-* *-e-* stems, elsewhere it is non-palatal, as also is the *-s-* of the *-s-* subj and *-s-* fut The quality of the *-th-* and *-t-* of the endings is determined by that of the immediately preceding final cons of the root, if separated from the latter by a retained vowel they tend to be palatal

The only forms with amalgamated pronouns are the relative forms in *-ar* (*-er*) *pruchabthar*, *miastar* etc

Note 2 The preterite stem is quite distinct from the act (dep) pret The characteristic of the tense is added directly to the root in the case of *-o-* *-e-* presents *-bre-th* (*-re-* < IE *r-*), *ad cess* to *ad-cl* 'sees' (*-ss* < *-s-t*), *-bocht* to *boingid* 'breaks, reaps' (§ 446), *-ort* to *orgid* 'slays' (*-rt* < *-rg-t-*), *-cét* to *canid* 'sings', similarly *-bi-th*, *-mess* (*-ss* < *-d-t-* § 63) With *-i-* presents the ending is sometimes added to a stem in *-a-* *gabad*, *-grad* in cpds of *gairid* 'calls' (*ar-a-ro-grad* 'which has been forbidden') With *-ā-* and *-ī-* presents the ending is added to the stem ending in *-ā-* and *-ī-* — The 3 sg. simple form has a non-pal consonant before *-e* It is also used as relative, cf RC 28 347

In the later language various new formations appear The final *-s* (from *-s-t*, *-t-t-*) spreads *ro bás* for older *ro-both*, perf pass of the vb 'to be', *t-ancas*, pret impers pass of *do-ic* 'comes' A pl form in *-ait*, *-it* is formed corresponding to the 3 sg pret conjunct in *ad ro gabait* have been taken' LU 4028

§ 467 Deponent and passive in Brit The only form of the dep remaining in all Brit languages is W *gŵyr* 'he knows' Co *gor* MIBr. *goar* = Ir *-fithir* A few traces of the dep remain in the earlier W poetry *bwyrr*, in *a-n bwyrr gwar* 'mayest thou be gentle to us' BT 7 5, *awyr*, in *ry-m-awyr dy wedi* '(mayest thou) grant me my prayer to thee' 3 12, cf *ry-m-awyr ym pa** (1 *ry-m-awyr pater*) 'grant me a prayer' 4 2, *edrychuir-de varanres mor* 'look thou upon

the fury of the sea' BBC 106 6, *amwarandawyr* 'hearken thou' BBCS 2 121 37, *rothwyr*, in *a-m rothwyr dy volawt* '(mayest thou) give me thy praise', 'let me praise thee' BT 3 25, also perhaps *tauawyr* 'touch thou' BT 12 5 (cf Lewis, HG Cref 156f) These forms are all 2 sg pres subj used optatively, the ending being *-wyr* (*-uwr*), a further ex occurs in *ry-m-afuwr culuit kyrrerfeint* 'grant me, Lord, forgiveness' BBCS 4 45 (where *afuwr* is probably for an orig reading *awuwr*), cf BT 35 22, the 2 sg ipv was *aw ry-m-aw-y awen* 'grant me muse' BBC 9 1 (*-y* is the auxiliary pron corresponding to *-m-*, 1 sg) Cf BBCS 2 127

Note 1 Other forms given by Rhys, RC 6 40ff, Loth, RC 31 481ff, can hardly be classed as deponents, *dydeuhawr* BT 77 23, 78, 10 is impersonal (cf MnW *deuwr*), also *ry-glywawr* (*gwlat kadwallawm pedryguel byt ry glywawr* the power of C will be heard of in the four corners of the world') RP 578 15, *glywanawr* is deduced from *kerd glywanawr* BT 55 9, where the rhyme proves that *-or* should be read (cf Lloyd-Jones, Gorfia 152), it is probably not a verb, neither is *gundyanhawr* BT 56 8, beside *gundanhor* 56 5, *delawr*, *drangawr* are from a late MS

Paradigm of the Brit. passive (MIW, Co, MIBr *caraf* 'I love').

	MIW	Co	MIBr
Pres	<i>cerir</i>	<i>keryr</i>	<i>carer</i>
Ipf	<i>cerit</i>	<i>kerys</i>	<i>caret</i>
Subj pres	<i>cer(h)er</i>	<i>carer</i>	<i>carher</i>
Subj ipf	<i>cer(h)it</i>	<i>*kerys</i>	<i>carhet</i>
Pret	<i>carwyt</i> (<i>caffat</i> 'was had')	<i>caras</i>	<i>carat</i>
Plpf	<i>carassit</i>	'	<i>carsel</i>

Note 2 The doubtful Co *danwan-sys* had been sent MC¹ 93 may be a plpf, corresponding to MIW and MIBr, *galser* could have been' PC¹ 537 seems to be a plpf subj

Note 3. Traces of different verbal stems appear. The pres ending W *-ir* (Co *-yr*, *gyllyr* 'one can', with variant spelling *gyllr*, *geller*, MIBr *guallr* 'one can', *guallr* 'one sees') derives from *-i*-stems, MIW *-awr* (*agorawr* 'will be opened', *lladawr* 'will be killed') MIBr *-eur* (*mircur* 'is watched', subj *guelheur* 'will be seen') from *-ā* stems. In the pret the vowel before *-t* in MIW may be *-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, *-wy* or *-w-* (as in the 3 sg pret act § 460 n 1a) *rodet* 'was given', *edewit* 'was left' WM 60 26 (vn *adaw*), *byrywyt* 'was thrown' (vn *burw*), *rannwt* 'was shared'. Old forms also occur with *-s* < *-d t* *llas* 'was killed', *gwys* 'it is known' cf MIBr *gous*

Note 4 In archaic MIW present forms occur in *-aiwr*, *-otor*, *-etor*, *otor eiryachator* 'is spared' LIH 86 2, *canotor* 'is sung' MA 133b 44, *kymyscator* 'is mixed' BT 55 10, OW *cephitor* 'is got' BBCS 3 256 1, *guelitor* will

be seen' RP 1174, 16, *kenitor* 'is sung' LIH 86 8, *treuthitor* 'is spoken of' 85 14, *telitor* 'is paid' 86 4. An anal *-h-* is found before the ending *gwelthator* 'are seen' LIH 44 28, *carthator* 'is sung' BT 75 9, *gwelthitor* 'will be seen' HGCref 90 n 3. The *-t-* was orig *-d-* (cf *dygedawr* below), but *-d* + anal *-h-* became *-t-* (wr *tt-*), these forms with *-tt* may also be preceded by *-h-* *traethattor* 'is spoken' BT 22 16, *gwelattor*, *gwelhattor* 'will be seen' RP 1054 28, 1388 25, *brithottor* 'are variegated' BBC 33 5, *megittor* 'will be bred' 62 5, *telittor* 'is paid' RB 1083 (cf MA 859a 5), *kenhattor* 'will be sounded' (lit "sung") BBC 52 7. A *-j-* can follow the *-t-* as if it were actually the root final *llemattyor* 'is leapt (upon)' RP 1055 20. — These forms may orig be simple forms, as opposed to conjunct forms without *-t-*, by anal with the active, cf *telitor* *gwedy halawclw* 'there is retribution after a false oath', beside *ny their gwel taxawt namyn y arglwyd* 'a wound by the tongue is not paid for but to a lord'. There occur a few *-t-* forms modified under the influence of forms without *-t-* *dygedawr* are brought' BT 75 20, *dygetawr* 'is brought' 10 16, *dygettaur* BBC 25 8, *galwetaur*, *galwettaur* 'is called' BT 41 1, 2, *lloscetaur* will be burnt' 10 19, *golchettawr* 'are washed' 41 6, *dysgogettaur* 'is moved' 79 1, *berwhodawr* is boiled 75 8, a pres subj form *traethattor* may be uttered' RP 1051 33.

Note 5 Traces of difference between singular and plural appear in the preterite in OW and MIW, a 3 pl ending being added to the usual form. OW *diconetent* have been made up' (*-ent* = *-eunt*, added to the pret form represented by MIW *dygonet*), v BBCS 3 260 for this and similar forms, MIW *llesseint* 'were killed' RP 1046 34, from *llas* was killed', also *lledesseint* RP 1038 12, *lledessynt* (apparently subjunctive after *ket* though') BA 9 8, vn *llad* Cf OW (Juv) *planthonnor* gl fodientur.

Note 6 The pret form in MIW is sometimes compounded with the verb 'to be' in the form *-pwyt*, which is added to the pret *aeth pwyt* there was a going, *gwnaeth-pwyt* 'it was done', *deuthpwyt*, *doethpwyt* there was a coming, or to the pres stem *gwassanaeth-pwyt* was served, *gwan pwyt* 'was pierced', *tal pwyt* was paid', beside *dywet-pwyd* was said, the form *dywes-pwyd*, cf *clyws pwyt* 'was heard' (*cly bot* to hear'), *dechreus-pwyt* 'was begun', *roes-pwyt* was given. The forms *aethpwyd*, *daethpwyd* and *gwnaethpwyd* are still in current use, *duc-pwyd* 'was brought' is frequently used also, while *dywes-pwyd* persists in spoken W (SW *gwes-pwd*, *fe wes-pwd*, also *gwnes-pwd* was done) — A plpf in some verbs was formed by adding the act oed was' to a pret pass form *ganad-oed*, *ganyd-oed* 'had been born'. Hen MSS II 263 5, 142 2, *kaffad-oed* 'had been found' 265 34, corresponding to *gwnath oed* had done there occurs the pass *gwnath-oedi*.

Note 7 In MBr. the subj (fut) ends in *or* *kanor* it will be sung' (Trég kanfer), pret *kanyod*, or *kanzeur*, *kanzeur*

§ 468. Use of the deponent and the passive in Ir. and Brit. (1) The deponent is used just as the active. The deponent inflection in Ir occurs in verbs which in IE had the middle inflection, Ir *sechtithir* 'follows' Gk *ἑπομαι* 'I follow', Skr 3 sg *saçatē* (cf Lat *sequor*), Ir *midithir* 'judges' Gk *μῆδομαι*, *μέδομαι* (cf Lat *medeor*)

(2) In OIr, the passive takes a subject in the 3 pers *berir breth* 'judgment is passed upon him' Wb 12d 38, *intain bertar drognim essib* 'when evil deeds are put away from them' 25c 23. The pass pl form is also current in MlIr. When the subject is 1 or 2 pers, an impersonal construction is used with an infixed objective pron *ni-m-tharberar* 'one does not bring me', 'I am not brought' Wb 9c 31, *ni-b-iccfithe* 'ye will not be saved' 20a 11, *do-b-ro-grad* 'ye have been called' 24c 4. The impers construction is always used in Mnlr, with the acc of all pronouns *an tan bheir-thear iad* 'when they are born' Bergin, Keat 2594, *nó gur fágbhadh folamh foghtha é* 'till it was left empty and desolate' 645 — The Brit. use from the earliest corresponds with that of Mnlr, the pass is regarded as an impersonal. The 1 and 2 persons, as in OIr, are expressed by the infixed obj pron *y-m gelwir* '(that) I am called', *y-th elwir* '(that) thou art called' RM 147 16, Co *y-m gylwyr* 'I am called' OM 1, MlBr *ne-m gueler quet* 'I am not seen' Nonne 485. The 3 sg is not expressed in cases like MIW *na rodher* 'that it be not given' RM 258 28, MlBr *me venn ez graher* 'I wish that it be done' JÉS 23b, the infixed pron is found in Co, and MlBr. Co *ma-n gueller* 'as (it) will be seen' PC 1940, MlBr *e-n astennat* '(that) he was stretched', *e-n gryat* '(that) he was nailed' RC 13 153, it is freely used in MnW. Enclitic or affixed prons of all persons (1 sg *fi*, 2 sg *di*) are also used in MnW.

Intransitive verbs have passive forms, used impersonally. OIr *thagar* 'let one go' MI 16c 5, *riothur* 'one will go' Wb 9a 23, MlIr *docúas* 'one has gone' W₁ 130 8, cf W *er* 'one goes', *aeth-pwyd* 'one has gone', OIr *cia bethir* 'though one is' Wb 5d 33, *ro-both* 'one has been', W *byddir, buwyd*, Co *may fether* 'that one may be' OM 46, MlBr MnBr *bezer* (combined with a passive part in MlBr *pan vezer aman ganet* 'when one is born here' Nonne 148, cf MnBr *bet e oar* 'on a été', *bet e oad* 'on avait été' Vallée p 157). The passive forms of the verbs 'to be able', 'to do', 'to be obliged to' are freely used with a verb-noun in Brit. MIW *y gellir dywedut* 'it can be said' RM 175 23, *y neb y dylyer y kymryt* 'whoever should be taken' 16 20, *yn carcharu a wneit* 'we should be imprisoned', 'our imprisonment would be done' WM 66 18, Co *mara keller y wythe* 'if he can be kept' PC 3058, *mar ny urer y wythe* 'if his watching be not done', 'if he be not watched' RD 341, MlBr *maz galler ma blam* 'so that I may be blamed' Nonne 1665, *da lacat a*

rer en un pechet 'thou art brought to a sin', "thy bringing is done" Barbe 756

Etymological explanation of the deponent and the passive.

§ 469. A system of *-r*-forms with middle or passive meaning is found in Italic, in Phrygian, in Hittite and in Tokharian. The *-r*-element is in some cases clearly added to verbal forms identical with the middle forms known from Gk and Skr, and sometimes double forms occur, with or without the *-r*-element. Phryg *ἀδάκετο* (etymologically a middle form, to Lat *afficit*), but *ἀββίετο* (cf Lat *affert*), Hitt *i-ia-at-ta* and *i-ia-at-ta-ri* 'he goes'. It should be noted that a distinction between passive and middle forms is a Celtic peculiarity not shared by Latin, Hittite and Tokharian (the *-r*-forms of the Celtic passive are identical with Hittite middle forms, with Ir *-berar*, *-carthar* we may compare Hittite *e-ša-ri* 'he sits', *i-ia-at-ta-ri* 'he goes', stem *eš-*, *i-ia-*). As to the special endings of the different deponent forms the following remarks may be made

1 sg pres ind goes back to *-ōr* Ir *do-thluchur* Lat *loquor*, cf also Hitt *i-ia-aḥ-ḫa-ri* 'I go'. With the *-ā*-subj 1 sg Ir *labrar* cf Lat *loquar*

2 sg *-ther*, cf Hitt *i-ia-at-ta-ri* 'thou goest' and corresponding Tokharian forms. The Lat forms are not comparable

3 sg and 3 pl. According to the phonetic laws the Ir forms must go back to *-tr-* and *-ntr-* without any vowel between *-t-* and *-r-*. This does not agree with the Italic forms (Lat *sequitur*, *sequuntur*) nor with the Phrygian and Hittite forms (Hitt *i-ia-at-ta-ri*, pl *i-ia-an-ta-ri*), no doubt some re-formation has taken place in Celtic (perhaps due to the influence of the active ending **-ntri* of pret 3 pl, v § 464, 4), the old forms being retained only when functioning as passive (often impersonally). The distinction between simple and conj forms is of course a Celtic development

1 pl The Celt forms recall Lat *sequimur*

2 pl The absence of *r*-endings is a common feature of Celt and Lat (certainly old)

Note Ir *-fítr* W *gŵyr* Co *gor* Br *goar* did not originally belong to the deponent system, it was a 3 pl active (cf Skr *vidur* 'they know') which came to be regarded as a sg ("they know" > "one knows" > 'he knows')

§ 470. The tenses without an *-r*-ending in the deponent the ipf ind

and subj and the conditional are identical with the active The ipv sg has old middle endings, the pl has in part -r-endings, and in part old act endings without r

The pret pass is a -to-participle (Ir *breth* < **bhrto-*, pl *-bretha*, cf fem neut pl of the adjective § 317, 1), cf MIW *llas* < **slad-to-* The explanation of the Ir simple form *brethe* gives rise to doubts The participle is combined with the verb 'was' in certain MIW plpf forms § 467 n 5

The origin of the pass ipf (and cond and Brit plpf) is not clear, but cf VKG II 407f

The nominal forms of the verb and their use.

§ 471. The pret passive participle in Ir Co, Br is formed with the suffix -*tjo-* With primitive verbs (-o- -e-stems, consonantal stems, -na-presents) the suffix was added directly to the root, this type is found in Ir only *bi-the* 'struck' (pres *benid*), *im-di-bthe* 'circumcised', *ch-the* (*cehd* 'conceals', -h- < -t-, cf W *clyd* 'sheltered'), *ad-nach-te* 'buried' (to *aingid* 'protects'), *t-imm-artae* MI, *t-imm-orta* Sg 'compressed, shortened' (*org-*, -rt- < -rkt-), *claisse* 'dug' (*claidid*, -ss- < -d-t-), *céte* 'sung' (*canid*) With -ā- and -ī- verbs the suffix was added to a stem in -a- and -ī-, an -a-stem also in a number of -i-presents Thus *croch-the* 'crucified' (-ā-stem), *in-fo-lg-i-the* 'hidden' (from **folgthe*, to *fo-lug-*, -ī-stem), *suidigthe* 'placed' (**sodesagijtjo-*), *aur-gabtha* 'taken away' (*garbid*) In Brit the type -*atjo-* seems to have been generalized Co *keris* 'loved', *beneges*, *benegas* 'blessed', MIBr *hanuet* 'named', *prenet* 'bought' (the W adj and subst ending -*aid* has this origin also *euraid* 'golden', *dyrnard* 'handful')

The -*tjo-*participle can have the meaning of a gerundive OIr *neph-fodhde* 'indivisible' Sg 189 b 6 (*fo-dálh* 'divides'), *neph-chum-scarigthe* 'immovable' MI 40 d 23 (*com-od-* + *scarich-*)

Periphrastic verbal forms in MnIr, Co and Br are made with the help of the -*tjo-*participle MnIr *tá sé déanta agam* 'I have done it', *nuair bhí sí deargtha aige* 'when he had lit it' (the fire, MnIr *teine* fem), Co *ty o gylwys* 'thou wast called' RD 1096, *cryst a fue lythys garow* 'Christ who was cruelly slain' 903, MIBr *en deueux groaet* 'he has done' Barbe 791, *ez oamp blamet* 'that we were blamed' RC 12 33 5, MnBr *kared oun* 'I am loved' etc

Note. An extension of the -*to-* participle occurs in forms like Ir *car-*

thach 'loving' W *car-s-dig* 'kind', OBr *hanter-to-e-tic* 'half-covered'. These forms are extensively used in W, but only adjectivally

§ 472. The gerundive has in Ir the ending *-thi* without raising of the preceding vowel, W *-dwy* Co *-dow* OBr *-toe*, all from *-tougjo-* (or *-teugjo-*, *-taugjo-*), cf Skr *kar-tavya-s* 'faciendus'. It is in Ir used predicatively only and is never inflected (except in slavish translation from Lat.) It can govern the acc *is oissi menmairn* 'it is to be heeded', gl *intamanda* MI 115c 6. With primitive verbs the ending is added directly to the root (this type is found in Ir only): *innahí batar buthi ar thuus* 'the things that should have been first' MI 23c 16 (the irreg form *buthi* is influenced by *butth* 'to be'), *bethi* 'to be struck', *clethi* 'to be concealed' (cf the past part *bithe*, *clithe*), *bed curmrechthi* gl *adstringendam* MI 137c 12 (*con-rug* 'binds'), *is gessi* gl *adorandus* (*gudid* 'prays', *-ss-* < *-dt-*) some forms have *-st-* instead of *-ss-* *imcasti* gl *consideranda* MI 18d 22 (*imb-ad-* + *ci-*, **k^ues-*), quite irregular *comitesti* 'to be indulged' Wb 1c 12 (*com-in-* + *taq-*), *donarb hí beta cheti* 'to the things which are to be sung' MI 126c 4 (*canad* 'sings'). With *-ā-* and *-ī-* verbs the ending is added to a stem in *-a-* and *-ī-* *áirmathi* 'to be counted' (*ad-rím-*), *léicthi* 'to be left'. In Brit the type *-a-tougjo-* became general W. *car-a-dwy* 'lovable' Co *caradow* MIBr *Karadou* FN, OBr *nit-ina-toe* gl *non ineundum est*, W *saf-a-dwy* 'steadfast'.

§ 473. In OIr, verbal nouns are used as infinitives¹, they are declinable and have substantival construction (the object being genitive). This was common to the other Celt languages, but in Brit the verb-noun like other substantives has lost all case-inflection.

§ 474. Form of the infinitive. It can be etymologically different from the finite verb. OIr *aerc* 'love, to love', *carimm* 'I love', *precept* 'to preach', *pridchimm* 'I preach', MIBr *ober* 'to do' (< Lat. *opera*), *groaff* 'I do'; W *myned* Co *mones*, mos MIBr *monet*, *mont* 'to go', W Co MIBr *af* 'I go'.

But as a rule the inf has the same root as the fin verb. It has (1) a vocalic suffix Ir *rím*, *áram* 'to count' (*rímud*, *ad-rími* 'counts'), *fu-lang* 'to support' (*fo-loing* 'supports'), *slaide* 'kill' (fem.) MIW *llad*, Co *cows* 'to-speak', MIBr *comps* — (2) an *-st-* suffix (very rare) *togais* 'to cheat' (pres 1 sg *do-gáthavimm*), — (3) a

¹ Cf Windisch, BB 2 72ff, Vendryes, MSL 16 249ff, Baudiš, ZCP

-g-l-suffix Ir *anacol* 'to protect', *gabál* 'to take', W *gafael* 'to take hold', *caffael* 'to have', *dyrchafael* 'to raise', *gadael* 'to leave', Co *drehevel* 'to raise', — (4) a -d-suffix Ir *sagúid* 'to strive towards' (cf W *haedd-* in MnW *cyr-haedd-af* 'I reach', vn *cyrraedd* Co *hethy* MIBr *di-r-haes* MnBr *direza*, v Loth, RC 30 259f, cf BBCS 3 261), — (5) an -nd-suffix (borrowed) OIr *scribend* 'to write' (W *ysgrifen* 'a writing', *ysgrifennu* 'to write'), *legend* 'to read', — (6) a -k-suffix MIW *reded* 'to run' Co *resed* MIBr *reded*, MnW *ehedeg* 'to fly', a -kn-suffix Ir *dat reacc* 'to sell', *creac* 'to buy' (3 sg *pres reind*, *creind*), — (7) a -kt-suffix OIr *rossacht* 'to hesitate' (*rossid* 'hesitates'), *airchisrecht* 'to have compassion' (3 sg *ar-cessi*, *étsrecht* 'to listen' (*in-* + *tóis-*, ipv 3 pl *étsset*), W *marchogaeth* 'to ride' (Co *marogeth* MIBr *marheguez*, — (8) a -t-suffix Ir *búth* 'to be' W *bod* Co *bos* (bones by anal with *mones* 'to go') MIBr *bout*, Ir *mess* 'to judge' (*mídvur*), Ir *breth* 'to carry' (*-re-* < *-r-*, *berid* 'carries'), W *cymryd* 'to take' (*cymer-af* 'I take' **k'om-* + *bher-*), with a later re-formed MnW *cymeryd*, Co *kemeres*, MIBr *quemeret*, W *cdfryd* 'to restore' (1 sg *ad-feraf*, later *adfer*, *adferyd*), MIW *diffrýd* 'to defend' (*differ-af*), MIW *dilit* 'to follow' (1 sg *dilynaf*, whence MnW vn *dilyn*), *erlit* 'to chase, persecute' (1 sg *erlynaf*, in MnW *erlud* has been used as base for a new stem *erludaf* 'I chase, persecute', and a new vn *erlyn* has been formed for *erlynaf* with the meaning 'prosecute'), v Lloyd-Jones, BBCS 2 107f for similar MIW forms, MIW *godwies* 'to overtake' (1 sg *godwiedaf*, MnW vn *goddweddýd*), — a -t-suffix is particularly common with a polysyllabic stem ending in a vowel Ir *comalnad* 'to fulfil', *imradud* 'to meditate', W *gweled* Co *gweles* MnBr *gulet* 'to see', W *yfed* 'to drink', MIBr *sellet* 'to observe', MIW *dywedwyt* 'to speak, say', later *dywedut* (*dywedyt* WM 158 26, MnW *dywedýd*, *dweud*), MIW *catwyt* 'to keep' BA 1 21 (*kedun* BBC 43 12, MIW MnW *cadw*), MIW *kyscwyt* 'to sleep' (/ -uyd/) BT 27 25, usually *kyscu*, MnW *cysgu*, — Br -out (*gallout* 'to be able', *caffout* 'to obtain') is analogically deduced from cpds of *bout* 'to be' (MIBr *gouzuout*, *gouzuout* 'to know', MIW *gwybot*), — (9) a -t-k-suffix MIW *eredic* MnW *aredig* 'to plough' (1 sg *arddaf*), — (10) a -t-r-suffix MIW *gunerthur* 'to do' Delw y Byd 57, § 51 2, later and MnW *guneuthur*, Br Cornouaille *mezur* 'to nourish' (beside *maga*), a -tr-m-suffix Ir *altram* 'to rear', — (11) a -tl-suffix Ir *for-cital* 'to teach' (*for-carn* 'teaches'), and by anal *intniscital* beside *in-t-inn-scann* 'to begin',

— (12) the suffix **-tjen-* Ir *angthru* 'to fear' (*-águr* 'I fear'), *fo-ditrú* 'to endure' (*fo-daim* 'endures'), W *chwerthn* 'to laugh' (*chwarddaf* 'I laugh' with *-rdd-* from *-rj-*), — (13) an *-l-*suffix W *sefyll* 'to stand' Co *seuall* MIBr *seuell*, *-el* is very common in Co and Br Co *gelwel* 'to call' MIBr *gueruell*, MIBr *guenell* MNBBr *genel* 'to give birth', Ir *oul* (dat, disyll) 'to drink' (*ibid* 'drinks'), — (14) an *-n-*suffix Ir *áin* 'to play' (3 pl pres *agant*), W *dwyn* 'to carry' (pres *dygaf*) Co *doen*, *doyn*, *don* MIBr *doen* (pres *dougaf*, MNBBr *vn dougen*), MIW *am-wyn* 'to defend', *adolwyn* 'to pray' (*adolygaf*, cf Ir *do-thuchur*), MIW *olreim* 'to trace' (3 sg pret *olreuwys* WM 469 21, MNBW *olrhain*, *olrheinaf*), MIW *arwein* 'to carry' (*arwedaf*, MNBW *arwain* 'to lead', *arweinaf*), Br *eren* 'to bind' (*ereet* 'bound', to Ir *ad-* + *rig-* 'bind', and by anal MIBr *antre-n* 'to enter' (*antreas* 'he entered'), — (15) an *-m-*suffix Ir *gním*, *dénúm* 'to do' (*do-gní* 'does'), Ir *ingreimm* 'to persecute' (with *-sm* § 26, 11, pres 3 pl *in-grennat*), Ir *accaldam* 'to address' (1 sg *ad-gládur*), *cretem* 'to believe', OW *erchm* 'to bid', *molim* 'to praise' MIW MNBW *erchu*, *moh*, OBr *diprim* 'to eat' MIBr *dibreiff* MNBBr *dibri*, MIW *guisgaw* 'to dress' MNBW *guisgo* Co *guyske* MIBr *guisquaiff* MNBBr *guiska*, (W *-im*, *-i* < *-i-m-*, W *-aw* < **-ā-m-*), W *gallu* 'to be able', *prynu* 'to buy' (Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 25, suggests relating W *-u* with OBr *-om*, possibly from *-umu-* or *-omu-*, OBr *do-uo-hinnom* gl *austum* W *gwe-hynnu* 'to empty, draw', OBr *linom* gl *lituram* MIW *ed-lynu* 'to smear', cf BBBS 1 113, 6 118, OBr *meplaom* gl *confutari* MIW *meſlhau* 'to disgrace'), — (16) *-m-n-* MIBr *len-main* 'to adhere to', W *cwyn-fan* 'to lament', *ehed-fan* 'to fly', with affected vowel, W *wylofain* 'to weep', also with *-mm-* (< *-sm-*) W *germain* 'to shout' (*garm* 'a shout', Ir *gairm*, an *-n-*stem), *llemain* 'to leap' (*llam* 'a leap', Ir *léimm*), by anal with *germain*, *diasbedarn* 'to shout' (*diasbad* 'a shout', 3 sg ipf MIW *diaspader*, *diaspedei* ChSDR p 99)

§ 475. Use of the infinitive¹. (1) Subject, object and predicate of the inf The obj of the inf in OIr is in the genitive *comalnad ind huib rechtio* 'to fulfil the whole law' Wb 20a 12 The subj is introduced by the prep *do auitru colno do christ* 'taking of flesh by Christ', 'that Christ has taken flesh' Wb 31d 2 With an intrans vb the subj may be in the gen *forcomnacair buith a marcc som hi Róim* 'it happened that his son was in Rome' Sg 148a 6 The

¹ Cf Lewis, Y Berfenw, BBBS 4 179ff

predicate of 'to be' is in the nom *burth nochtchenn* 'to be bare-headed' Wb 11c 12

In Brit the obj, if a pers pron, is in the gen MIW *y wan* 'to pierce him', 'his piercing' RM 219 11 (MnW *ei wanu*), *vyndwyn* 'to bear me' 213 25 (*fy nwyn*), Co *y derry* 'to break it' MC 35, MIBr *ma lacat* 'to send me' Barbe 687, case-inflection of the noun has disappeared, but it can be inferred that a substantival object of the inf is in the gen. The subj in MIW is introduced by the prep *o* 'from' following the vn *rac dy lad ohonaw* 'lest he kill thee' RM 204 7, by the prep *y* 'to' either following the vn *emystynnu idaw ynteu* 'he stretched himself' WM 56 27, or preceding it *ny thebygaf i y un o hyn wynet ar dy geuyn dr* 'I do not suppose any one of these will go on thy back' 35 17. In MnW the last mentioned form is the commonest, the first is still in use, but the second has disappeared. With an intrans vb the subj may be in the gen *or mynnar vy nyvot y mywn* 'if it is desired that I come in' RM 205 17. Cf Co *drefen agen bos vnwoys* 'because we are of one blood' Beun Mer 235, MIBr *dre he bout parfet* 'because she was perfect' RC 10 9 13.

(2) **The inf. in the sentence** (a) It can be used like any noun as subj or obj, in the gen, and depending upon a prep. In Ir and W it is very commonly used with a subject expressed (as in 1 above) as equivalent to a subordinate sentence, Co and Br more usually use an actual subordinate sentence.

(b) A particular type of inf sentence occurs very frequently in OIr¹, in which the logical subject or object is followed by the vn governed by the prep *do* 'to' *usse in boill do áss ó-n chrunn* § 316, *is bás leu-som in daim do thuarcuin* 'it is a custom among them for the oxen to thresh' Wb 10d 6, *denum maith 7 imgabail ualc do denum* 'to do good and to avoid doing evil' MI 14c 12. — Similarly in Co *leuereugh my thy thanfon* 'say that I sent him' PC 1615, *mur a roy a-s kemeras y de deank yn della* 'great joy took them that they escaped thus' MC 251.

Note 1 This is an old IE construction. Cf Lith *kulinys* (nom masc) *kásti neleŋgva* (neut) 'it is not easy to dig a well' Senn, Lit Sprachl 201, Lett *man ir atl auts* (nom sing masc = neut) *rieksti* (nom pl) *ēst* 'it is permitted to me to eat nuts' Endzlin, Lett Gramm 770¹.

(c) Certain combinations of the vn with preps function as

¹ Cf Fraser, A use of the verbal noun in Irish, Misc KM 216ff

participles OIr *oc oc nertad* 'confirming' Wb 7b 12, *ce ru-d-bóu Iudas occ-a thrudnacul som* 'though Judas was delivering him up' 4b 13, in MnIr *ag W yn* (foll by the radical consonant) *yn myned* 'going', other preps are used in a similar sense MIW *y* 'to', *val y bydynt y kerdet* 'as they were walking' WM 58 3 (Richards, BBCS 7 103), *ar* 'on', MIW *a humnuw ar gerdet* 'and that moving' 51 1, also *dan, gan* Co *ow*, before vowels *owth*, before the gen pron *worth*, MIBr *oz*, MnBr *o* (§ 123, § 215, 4) Co *ow kelwel* 'calling' OM 2430, *ow th-ysethe* 'sitting' PC 2342, *worth de welas* 'seeing thee' MC 172, MIBr *ouz gouuernn* 'ruling', *oz ma souten* 'sustaining me' Barbe 357 — W *ar* with the vn can have the meaning of a fut part *yr wyf ar fyled* 'I am about to go' — MIW *gwedy* MnW *wedy* 'after' with the vn are equivalent to a past part *y mae gwedy mynet* 'he has gone' WM 408 7 Cf Ir *iarn-a linad* 'filled', *iarn-a fuine* 'baked' W1 256 23,31

Note 2 In early MIW poetry the vn alone is used as a present part, particularly in compound adjectival expressions in which the noun depending upon the vn precedes it, the initial of the vn being lenited MIW *arghult new gueng/u/lad vad verdrol* 'the Lord of heaven, ruling a good holy land', *gwnngar gwar gwronet kedun* 'gentle blessed truth-preserving kinsman' BBC 43 10, 12 (cf references in HGCref 264)

(d) The vn with the prep *yn* forms with the verb 'to be' a periphrastic conjug in W *yr wyf yn meddwl* 'I am thinking' When the vn is put first *yn* may be omitted MIW *medyllyaw yd wyf* 'I am thinking' RM 75 26, but *yn hela yd oedwn* 'I was hunting' WM 45 29, v BBCS 7 102f

In all Brit languages the vn is very frequently combined with the vb 'to do', in W this chiefly occurs in sentences of inverted order MIW *a-th gyrchu a wna* 'and he will attack thee' RM 168 8, but cf *delw yd oreu duw y dewissaw* 'as God chose him' L1H 143 11, Co *ny wreugh why tryge* 'you will not remain' OM 317, MIBr *hoz trugarecat a raf* 'I thank you' Jés 15a

(e) In W the vn can be used instead of a finite vb either continuing a finite verb construction or as a historic inf MIW *a llawen uu y uorwyn wrthaw a chyfarch gwell idaw* 'and the maiden welcomed and greeted him' RM 196 6, *kymryt gwrogaeth y gwyr a dechreu guereskynn y wlat* 'he took the homage of the men and began to conquer the country' WM 8 27 Similarly in Co *may d-eth war ben y dŵwleyn ha pesy* 'so that he went on his knees and

prayed' MC 54 (v Stokes, KB 3 161), and MIBr *e-n dougenn hac e caret* 'I respected him and loved him' Nonne 1145

For inf = ipv in Ir v Windisch, BB 2 85

(3) The vn is compounded with MIW *ry* to express a perf inf § 425, 1f A passive inf is expressed in Co and MIBr by the verb 'to be' and a participle Co *ny yllons bos nyfyrys* 'they cannot be numbered' OM 1544 (for the older construction v § 468, 2), MIBr *a guell bezaf consideret* 'which can be considered' JÉS 235a For passive and impers use in W v BBBS 4 185ff

(4) The vn is negatived in OIr by the prep *cen* 'without' *cíd atob-arch cen dílgud* 'what impels you not to forgive' Wb 9c 20, MIW *heb* 'without' *heb coffav duv* 'not to remember God' BBC 70 12

XXXII. Full paradigms of the verbs.

The verb 'to be'.

§ 476. (1) The paradigm of the verb 'to be' consisted in Italo-Celtic of forms of the roots **es-* and **bheu-* In Celtic a pres stem **bhwi-*, **bhwyje-*, derived from **bheu-*, also appears This latter present denotes either a praesens consuetudinale or a future, a natural development from an orig meaning 'to become' (Lat *fiō*) The same root is also used in the subjunctive The root **es-* stands only in the pres and ipf ind in Celtic, in Ir it is not found in the ipf

(2) In Ir the paradigm is complicated by the distinction between dependent (standing immediately before a predicate) and independent finite forms The former are used as the copula, the latter as the substantive verb (denoting existence) The forms derived from the root **es-* are confined to the present of the copula, the corresponding forms of the substantive verb are supplied by synonymous verbs, of which *-tá* (§ 481) belongs entirely to the paradigm in OIr, while *fu* (§ 482) developed into a regular member of the paradigm during MIr and MnIr, the verbs mentioned in § 483—4 were never entirely absorbed into the paradigm The

¹ Stokes, Trans Phil Soc 1885—1887 202ff, KZ 28 55—109, Strachan, Trans Phil Soc 1899—1902 1—82, Pokorný, KZ 63 298, Atk Keat App I—XIII, Anderson, ZCP 7 439ff, 8 236ff, Loth, RC 31 318, Ó Máille, Ériu 6 1—102, Myles Dillon, ZCP 17 328—341, Baudiš, RC 50 30ff

other parts of the copula and the substantive verb derive from the root *bheu-, the copula forms being unstressed and so reduced, those of the substantive verb stressed

§ 477. The pres. and ipf. of the root *es-

Pres simp	Ir	MIW	Co	MIBr	MnBr
Sg 1	<i>am</i>	<i>wyf</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>ouff, of</i>	<i>ounn</i>
2	<i>at, it</i>	<i>wyt</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>out</i>	<i>oud</i>
3	<i>is</i>	<i>yw</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>eo, eu</i>	<i>eo</i>
Pl 1	<i>ammr, ammin</i>	<i>ym</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>omp</i>	<i>omp</i>
2	<i>adib, adr, idib</i>	<i>ywch</i>	<i>ough</i>	<i>ouch</i>	<i>oc'h</i>
3	<i>it</i>	<i>ynt</i> (OW <i>hnt</i>)	<i>yns</i>	<i>ynt</i>	<i>int</i>

Pres conj. Ir Sing 1	<i>-d-a, -t-a, -t-am</i>
2	<i>-d-a, -t-a,</i>
3	<i>nul, -d</i>
Pl 1	<i>-d-em, -d-an, -t-an</i>
2	<i>-d-ed, -d-ad</i>
3	<i>-d-et, -d-at</i>

IpI.	MIW	Co	MIBr
Sg 1	<i>oedrn</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>oann</i>
2	<i>oedut</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>oas</i>
3	<i>oed</i> (OW <i>oid</i>)	<i>o</i>	<i>oa</i>
Pl 1	<i>oedem</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>oamp</i>
2	<i>oedewch</i>	<i>*eugh</i>	<i>oach</i>
3	<i>oedynt</i> (<i>oedern</i>)	<i>ens</i>	<i>oant</i>

Note Passive (impersonal) forms occur in Br pres MIBr *eur* (Ernault, Diet 202), MnBr *oar, eur*, ipf MIBr *oat*, MnBr *oad*, cf § 468, 2 Similarly Co *ed-er* (Loth, RC 23 256 n) W *ys* is used as an impersonal, also ipf MIW *oedut*, MnW *oeddd*

§ 478 Remarks on the paradigm of the root *es- (1) Relative forms Ir 3 sg *ce-so, ce-su, ma-su*, 3 pl *ce-to, ce-tu, ma-tu* (*cia* 'though', *ma* 'if'), MIBr 3 sg *so* MnBr *zo*, MIW *yssyd*, v § 394 The usual rel forms in Ir are 3 sg *as*, 3 pl *ata, at*

(2) Forms with dental addition Exx of the Ir conjunct forms *in-d-a apstal* 'am I an apostle?' Wb 10c 20, *an nu-n-d-a chocuhsid su* 'when thou art conscious' MI 58b 6, *cenr-t-a chumgabtha su* 'art thou not exalted?' 84c 3, — *ní anse* 'it is not difficult'

Wb 24b 11, *amal nách annse n-dub* § 409 n 3, *ci-d* 'though it is', *ma-d* 'if it is', *ma-ni-d* 'if it is not', — *ovre nu-n-d-em membur uili du dea* 'for we are all members unto God' Thes II 246 5, — *ni-d-ad foirbithi si* 'ye are not perfect' Wb 14a 8, *ce nu-d-ed issidh* 'though ye are knowing' Thes I 713 25 — The forms with -e- are archaic

Note 1 The forms *mad*, *cid* have assumed a subjunctive meaning by anal with the ipf subj in -ad. Further a 3 pl ipf subj *matas* was formed by anal with forms like *com-tis* p 326 — In the 3 sg a verbal form **est* has disappeared after -d- and -ch-

In Brit the present forms of **es-* may be compounded with a (prefixed) particle MlW *yd-* (= /əd/), *ytt-* MnW *yd-* Co *es-*, *eg-* (*g* = /ʒ/ § 263) MlBr *ed-*. The particle always forms a close cpd with the vb, and as the latter is a monosyllable the accent falls on the particle 1 sg MlW *yd-wyff*, *ytt-wyff* MnW *yd-wyff*, 3 sg OW *hitt-on* (BBCS 5 243) MlW *yd-iw*, *yt(t)-iw* MnW *yd-yw*, 2 pl MlW *yd-ywch* MnW *yd-ych*, etc, the foll ipf forms are also attested 1 sg MlW *ytt-oedwn*, 3 sg MlW *ytt-oed* MnW *yd-oedd*, 3 pl MlW *ytt-oedynt*, — Co pres sg 1 *es-of*, 2 *es-os*, 3 *es-e*, *vs-y*, *vg-y* (*v* = /o/, through confusion with 3 sg *vs* 3c below), pl 1 *es-on*, 2 *es-ough*, ipf sg 1 *es-en*, *eg-en*, 2 *es-es*, 3 *es-e*, *eg-e*, pl 1 *es-en*, 2 *es-ough*, — MlBr pres sg 1 *ed-off*, 2 *ed-out*, 3 *ed-y*, pl 1 *ed-omp*, 2 *ed-ouch*, 3 *ed-ynt*, ipf sg 3 *ed-oa*, *ed-o*, pl 1 *ed-oamp*, 3 *ed-oent*, *ed-ont* — In W an element -d (MlW wr -d and -t) occurs in the neg MlW *nyt*, *nat* MnW *níd*, *nád*, the affirmative part MlW *neut*, the conjunction MlW *ot* MnW *od* 'if', neg MlW *anet* BA 1 20, *onyt* MnW *oníd* 'if not', and in the interrog part OW (Juv) *anít* gl num MlW *ponyt* MnW *oníd* (*oníd wyff* 'am I not?') — It is used in Co and MlBr after certain particles Co sg 1 *mar-s-of* 'if I am', 2 *mar-s-os*, 3 *mar-s-ew*, pl 2 *mar-s-ewhy*, 3 *mar-s-ens*, also *mara* (*mar* + a 'if'), *mar-a-s-os* 'if thou art', *mar-a-s-gyns* 'if they are', *a-ss-o-ma squyith* 'I am so tired' OM 684, *a-ss-yw whek* 'it is so sweet' 2074, also ipf sg 3 *a-ss-o mur tyn* 'it was so grievous' RD 2556, after the neg *ny* and the affirmative particle *na* (MlW *neu*) the form -*ns-*, -*ng-* (= /nʒ/) occurs *ny-ng-of* 'I am not', *ny-ns-ot* 'thou art not', ipf sg 3 *ny-ng-o*, *ny-ni-o*, *na-ns-yw an voren marow* 'the maiden is dead' OM 2758, ipf sg 3 *na-ns-o* MC 230 1, *mar(-a-)* and the neg take this element before forms of the vb 'to go' also *mar-s-eth* 'if thou goest', *mar-a-s-aff* 'if I go', *ny-ns-a* 'goes not', — MlBr *mar-d-ouf* 'if I am', *mar-d-eo* 'if he is', *ne-d-ouf*

'I am not', *ne-d-eu* 'is not' and also the exact counterpart of the OW. interrog part *anſt-* in the form *a-ne-d-* *a-ne-d-eu* *me* 'is it not I?' Jés 59b, more frequently abbreviated to *a-nd-* (cf spoken MnW *on'd yw e* 'is he not?') *a-nd-eu* 'is he not?', *a-nd-oa* 'was it not?' Jés 112a, 207b These MIBr forms are found confused in *a-ne-nd-*, written *an n-en doa* (= *a-ne-nd-oa*) 'was it not?' RC 12 33 20 The mixed form *a-ne-nd-* was probably the origin of the MIBr *-nd-* after the neg (*ne-nd-ouf* 'I am not', *ne-nd-eu* 'is not'), cf Co *-ns* — The forms just described stand before verbs with initial vowel Cf § 491, p 335

MIW *nyt*, *nat* MnW *nd*, *nad*, MIW *neut*, the conditional conj OW *hou nat* (BBCS 3 271f) MIW *onyt* MnW *onnd* and the interrog part MIW *ponyt* MnW *onnd* may stand before forms other than verbs, in which case the verb 'to be' is omitted MnW *nd ef a ddaw* '(it is) not he who will come' Cf Co *mar-na-s*, *mar-ne-s* 'unless, except' ('if not') *mar-ne-s drethos ny'm byth gueres* 'I shall have no help unless it be through thee' (cf W *onnd drwot*) RD 2220, also *mars* OM 226

(j) The 3 sg pres forms in Brit (a) Variant forms of W *yw* Co *yu* MIBr *eo* occur MIW *pi-eu* MnW *pi-au* 'cuius est' Co *p-ew* Br *bi-ou*, *bi-aou* § 373, 374 MnW *ydyw*, for earlier *ydiw*, is a restored form by anal with *yw* (cf *heddiw* 'today', from *he-ddyw* 'this day' § 21, 3) The final labial is lost in Co *vs-y*, *vg-y* MIBr *ed-y*, also MIBr *e*, *ez e* beside *eo*, *ez eo*, cf spoken MnW *ydi* (SW *odi* in questions and answers) The interrog part MIW *ae* 'is it?', used before forms other than verbs, seems to contain the particle *a* (used before verbs) and a form of the verb 'to be' with the final labial lost, also *ae* *ae* 'whether or', it is written *ai* in MnW

A variant of *yw* etc probably occurs in 3 sg MIW MnW (*y*) *mae* 'there is', 'is', *mae* 'where is?', MIW (*y*)*mae* MnW *mar* 'that it is', Co *ym(m)a*, *ma* 'is', *pe-ma*, *py-ma* 'where is?', MIBr *ema* 'is', 3 pl W (*y*) *maent* Co *mons* MIBr *emahnt* In MIBr a complete tense ("présent d'actualité") has been formed sg 1 *emaoun*, *emoun*, 2 *emaout*, *emout*, 3 *ema(n)*, pl 1 *emaomp*, *emomp*, 2 *emaoc'h*, *emoc'h*, 3 *emant*, *emeint*, a corresponding ipf tense has also arisen sg 1 *edon*, 2 *edos*, 3 *edo*, pl 1 *edomp*, 2 *edoc'h*, 3 *edont* (Vallée 156, Ernault, Gramm 41f)

(b) OW *is*, *iss* MIW MnW *ys* (= /*is*/) is identical with Ir *is*, it is used before a predicate *ys gunr* 'it is true', — it is compounded

with the conjunctions MIW *kan* 'since', *o* 'if', and *canyys, os* still retain sometimes their orig meaning 'since it is', 'if it is', though usually they mean 'since', 'if' (cf Ifor Williams, PKM 111), — it is used in temporal expressions like MIW *ys guers* 'for some time past', *ys blwydyn* 'for a year past' WM 487 8, 10 1 (cf Br V *guerso* = *guers* so 'il y a longtemps' RC 37 53), it is also preceded by *yr* 'since' *yr ys seith mlyned* 'for seven years past' RM 55 12 (*neut seith mlyned* WM 76 28), MnW *er ys, ers, es, v* Williams, PKM 114, — in the expression OW *iss-em*, later *sef* 'that is, namely'

MIW *yd ys* /æd ys/, *yd ydys* /æd ædys/ MnW *yr ys* (= /ȳs/), *yr ydys* are used with a vb noun in an impersonal or passive sense *yd ys yn llwydaw yn an ol* 'there is mustering after us' 'a host is being gathered in pursuit of us' WM 86 21

The form *ys* occurs in MIW *yss-ut* 'there is', pl *yss-ydynt* WM 54 31, 487 1, MIW *o-ss-ut* 'if there is' WM 122 5, MIW *yss-yd* etc MIBr *s-o* 'which is' v 1 above It is also found in MIW *yss-ym, ess-ym* 'there is to me' 'I have' LIH 39 15, 159 18, 1 pl *yss-yn* 217 2, Strachan, Introd 102, explains *-ym* as the unfixed pers pron, cf Ir *iss-um ecen* 'I must' 'necessity is to me' Wb 10d 24, it may however well be the prep *y* 'to' + the pron *-m*, for besides *yss-ym* the expression *yssit ym* also occurs *essym arglwyt* 'I have a lord', *essid ym arglwyt* LIH 159 18, 22 (*ys ym, yssit ym* RP 1394 22, 25 (cf Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 62)

(c) W *oes, Co es, vs, evs, ues, uys* (= /os/), MIBr *euz, eur* (= /os/) W *oes* immediately follows the interrog part *a* and also stands in the answer MIW *a oes borthawr? oes* 'is there a doorkeeper?' 'yes' ('there is') RM 103 6, similarly in MnW after the interrog *omd*, the negative answer is *nac oes* 'no' ('there is not') Cf MnBr *ha n'eus den en ti? eus (n'eus ket)* 'n'y a-t-il personne dans la maison?' si (non)' Vallée 186, the form *geus* is also used in answers Co *us dour omma* 'is there water here?' Beun Mer 655 The Co form is found in (proper) rel sentences *thu-m seruons lel yn prysen evs* 'to my loyal servants who are in prison' RD 316 — This form is used in all three languages after the negative MIW *nut oes yndi nep* 'there is no one in it' WM 5 5, Co *ny-ns-us (-ues, -es), ny-ng-es* 'there is not' PC 2674, 2362, OM 1236, MC 34, *aban nag-es a wothfe* 'since there is none that would know' MC 158, MIBr *ne d-euz sy* 'there is no doubt' JÉS 23a After the conjunctions W *od*

'if', Co MIBr *mar* 'if' Co *mar-s-us* 'if there is' PC 2978, *mar-a-s-us* Beun Mer 635, MIBr *mar-d-eux* Nonne 97, further, W *cany's er pan oes cof am ddim* 'ex omni enim memoria' M Kyffin, Deff Ffydd [2] 18, Co *a-s-s-us lues den* 'how many men there are', *na-n-s-us* 'there is' Beun Mer 757, 3949, *kyn-th-us* 'though there is' 2364 (with pl, *kyn-th-usons* 2366) — In W the subject is usually indefinite, but *exx* of a definite subject occur OW *ni hors ir loc guac hinnath* 'that empty space is not' BBCS 3 256 6 (cf 14), v Morris-Jones, WG 350 MIBr *ez eux* MnBr *ez eus* 'is, there is' occurs very commonly

The form is also used in the Co and Br idiom expressing 'to have' § 352, 355. Traces of *oes* in a similar construction appear in MIW *a-m oes* 'I have' BBC 97 15 *ny-m oes* 'I have not' RP. 1047 20, *ny-th oes* 'thou hast not' BT 58 6, *ny-s oes* 'he has not' LJH 12 5, 215 32, v § 349, p 207

§ 479. Etymological explanation of the pres of the root **es-* 1 sg **esmī* (cf Skr *āsmi* Gk *εἰμὶ*) Ir *am* (*a* < *e* in prothesis), the *-d-* of the conjunct forms has the same origin as W *yd-* etc § 478, 2

The Brit forms (W *wyf* etc) are analogical, based on the 2 sg 2 sg **esi* (cf Skr *āsi* Gk *εἶ*) Ir *a-t* MIW *wy-t* Co *o-s* MIBr *ou-t*, **esi* > **ei*, which is *wy-* in W, but appears in a reduced form in the other languages. To this the 2 sg pron was added, Ir *-t* etc

3 sg **est* (cf Lat *est*) thus explains the nul-forms Ir *nach*, *-d*. **esti* or **est is* Ir *is* W *ys* **est jo(d)* > MIW *yssyd*, **est (j)o(d)* > Br *so* W *yw* is from **wy* of which the variant form OW *-oi* is seen in OW *hutor* 'is' § 478, 2, Co *yw* Br *eo* are similarly metathetized forms. They are based on the orig 2 sg form, from which a new 1 sg and 2 sg were fashioned by adding the appropriate pron, the diphthong *oe-* occurs in MIW *oe-f* 'I am' BBC 50 2. Another variant appears in W *pi-eu* etc § 478, 3a

The 1 pl goes back to a form **es-mos* (by anal with 1 sg) Ir *-d-em ym*, a suffixed pron appears in Ir *ammī*, *ammīn*, *-d-an*. Co *on* MIBr *omp* are probably influenced by the form of the regular verb

The 2 pl is also based on new formations which are not clear. Ir *adib* seems to contain the IE 2 pl ending *-te* § 449 + the pron. **swes* (*-b* representing len *-sw-* § 264), the conjunct forms contain **te* only. The Brit forms also contain the pers pronoun

3 pl *sent etc, cf Skr *s-ántr* OW *hint* may have *h-* < *s-

§ 480 The Brit. ipl. of the root *es- is built on the 3 sg, except in Co MIW *oed* Co *o* Br *oa* are derived from *esāt, cf Lat *erat* MIW *oed-* Br *oa-* were used as stems for the other persons, the endings of the regular vb being added. The other Co forms arose by anal with the regular verb, this analogy went further still in the forms *es-e* (for *es-o, § 478, 2), *a bewe* 'which he owned' OM 2393 (*pew-e* for *pew-o* MC 207 3, cf MIW *pew-oed*)

§ 481 The commonest form used as substantive verb in Ir in the present is -tá sg 1 -táru, -táo, -tó, 2 -tár, 3 -táa, -tá, pl 1 -taam, 2 -taard, -tárd, 3 -taat. It is almost always compounded (1) with a rel preverb *u-táru* 'in which I am', *forsa-tanth* 'on which you are' Wb 32a 10, 20b 6, (2) with the neg *ní* before an infixed pron *ní-t-ta* 'thou hast not' 2b 12, *ní-ta cumacc do cháingnín* 'it [the body, *corp* (masc)] has no ability for well-doing' it is not able to do well' 4a 6 [with infixed pron 3 sg m], *ní-mp-tha jírion* 'I am not righteous', *ní-m-tha luám* 'I am not hand' 8d 24, 12a 21, (3) with *no* before an infixed pron *no-m-thá* 'which I have' 13c 10, (4) otherwise regularly with a preverb *at-* sg 1 *attáo*, 2 *attár*, 3 *attá*, pl 1 *attaam*, 2 *attaard*, 3 *attaat*.

Further uses (a) -tá is compounded with the conjunction *ó* 'since, from' which otherwise is never a preverb *ó-thá quod si* 'from where quod si is Wb 15a 22, *o tú sund* 'since I have been here' LU 2985 (MIW *o tú* may be a contraction of **o attú*), (b) with *ol* 'than' (after a comparative), the 3 pers having a suffixed rel pron (sg *oldaas*, *oldoas* Thes II 10 10, pl *oldáte*), which shows that orig a simple form of -tá followed *ol*, later *oldaas* was used as a simple conjunction *moa oldaas do-n-thucham* 'more than we ask it' Wb 21d 9, in MI *indaas* 135a 13, pl *indate* 92d 6.

The verb is not compounded (a) in the 3 sg with suffixed pron *taith-vunn* 'we have', etc § 343, (β) in the impersonal passive form (used relatively, with init eclipsis) *dathar* '(which) ails' *is hed dathar dom* 'this is why they are (lit "one is") angry with me' Wb 21c 9 (in perf pass *is hed ro-m-both dossom* 'this is why they were angry with him' 19a 9).

Note The form -ta belongs to the IE root *sthā (Lat *stāre*). Its cognate seems to be W *taw* 'that it is, still used (as a conjunction) in SW to introduce a dependent sentence for the more usual form *mar*. Examples *mi a dywedwn y taw ti oed bown* v p 230, note, *tyb-wyd taw ti oedd*

Fedrod 'it was thought that thou wert M' IGE^a 233 18, cf *Salesbury, New Test Matth XVI* [14] *taw*, as v 1. for *mae*, also OW (Juv) *uast padru uau gulat* ('it is to whom is lordship') gl est cui regia, v KB 4 396

The verb *-tá* rarely occurs in proper rel sents and rel sentences with *-n-*, never comes after the neg except with an infixed pron, and is never used with the conjunctions *ma, cia, co n-*

§ 482 Where *-tá* is rarely or never used, *fil* (*feil, fel*, MIIr *faul, fuil*) occurs, this was orig a transitive imperative meaning 'behold' (*Sarauw, RC* 17 276) Its rel forms are *file, fil*, with 3 pl objective pron *filus* 'they are' OIr *exx coisnima file lib-si* 'contentions that are among you' Wb 7d 13, *amal file óentid eter baullu corp duinn* 'as there is unity among the members of a man's body' 12b 12, *ma nu-d-fel in spirut nóib indium-sa* 'if there is the Holy Spirit in me' 11c 1, *ní fil linn in béas so* 'we have not this custom' 11c 21

In MIIr *fil* occurs very frequently in answers, this is due to the repetition in the answer of the verb of the question The subjectless and transitive character of the verb gradually became obscure, in MIIr a 3 pl *filet* arose, in MNIr a complete tense, used for *tá* after a syntactic preverb *fuilm, fuilr* etc

§ 483 Another transitive verb used as substantive verb is OIr *dícoisín* which seems to have a nuance of emphatic assertion It occurs four times in OIr *arnab uilb cumactib díchóissín i ním et talam* 'for all powers which exist in heaven and earth' Wb 21a 13, *amal do-n-coisín* 'as we (actually) are' 17b 10, also MI 108c 14, Sg 209b 29 In MIIr a 3 pl was formed, *dochúisneat*

From *di-coisín* is derived the vb 2 sg *-díxnigther*, 3 sg *-díxnigedar* (also as simple rel *díxnigedar* Wb 4c 24), 3 pl rel *díxnigetar*, which has the same nuance

§ 484 The form *ro-n-gabus* 'I have taken it', 'I have it', 'I am' is used as a synonym of the verb 'to be', v § 340 n 2, 3 sg *ro-n-gab, ro-n-d-gab*, 3 pl *ro-n-gabsat* It occurs in eclipsing rel sentences, mostly after *amal* 'as'

Finally, the pret of *in-com-* + *icc-* is so used *cindas persíne at-tot-chomnacc* 'what sort of person art thou?' 'has befallen thee' Wb 6b 13, MIIr *Setanta mac Sualtairm atom-chomnacc-se* 'I am S mac S' LU 4892

§ 485. Paradigm of the forms of the root **bheu-*, **bhwī-*

Pres. ¹	Ir		MIW	Co	MIBr
	simp	conj			
Sg 1	<i>bíuu</i>	<i>-bíu</i>	<i>bydaf</i>	<i>bethaf</i>	<i>bezaff</i>
	2	<i>-bí</i>	<i>bydy</i>	<i>bethyth</i>	<i>bezez</i>
	3	<i>-bí</i>	<i>byd</i>	<i>beth, byth</i>	<i>bez</i>
Pl 1	<i>bímme</i>	<i>-biam</i>	<i>bydwn</i>	<i>bethyn</i>	
	2		<i>bydwch</i>	<i>bytheugh</i>	
	3	<i>-biat</i>	<i>bydant</i>	<i>bethons</i>	<i>bezont</i>

Amalgamated forms in Ir 3 sg. 1 pl and 3 pl relative *bíu*, *bímme*, *bíte* Enclitic 3 sg *-ru-b(a)*. As copula *-bi, -pi (ni-pi cian a masse in choirp* 'not for long is the beauty of the body' Wb 28c 25)

Archaic MIW forms with fut meaning 1 sg *bydaf* BT 57 12, 3 sg *bydawt, bydhawt, bythawt*, 3 pl *bydawnt*, also *bwyant* BBC 46 2, BT 44 10, 3 sg *bi* RP 577 15, *biawt* 581 14 The 3 sg *bit* often occurs in the sense 'is wont to be', cf RP 1030 (cf Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 63f)

The **IpI** is regular Ir sg 1 *-bínn*, 3 *-bíth*, pl 1 *-bímms*, 3 *-bíts* (there are no copula forms), MIW *bydwn* etc, Co sg 1 *bethen* (Beun Mer 1731), 3 *bethe, betha*, MIBr 3 sg *beze* (Barbe 727), MnBr *bezen* etc (Vallée 156) Archaic MIW forms 3 sg *buci* RP 1045 23, *buad* BBC 50 17, *bwyt* RP 1048 3, *oydat* 1038 15 (for the termination v § 445 n 3), 3 pl *buynnt* BBC 96 2, *bwyn* (disyll) RP 1038 7, v Lloyd-Jones, Geirfa 65

Ipv	Ir	MIW	Co	MIBr
Sg 2	<i>bí</i>	<i>byd</i>	<i>byth, beth</i>	<i>bez</i>
	3 <i>bínd, bíth</i>	<i>bit, boet, poet</i>	<i>bethens</i>	<i>bezet</i>
Pl 1		<i>bydwn</i>	<i>bethen</i>	<i>bezomp</i>
	2 <i>bínd, bíth</i>	<i>bydwch</i>	<i>bethough</i>	<i>bezet, bezut, bet</i>
	3 <i>biat</i>	<i>biwt</i>	<i>bethens</i>	<i>bezent, bent</i>

Copula forms in Ir sg 2 *ba*, 3 *bed, bad*, pl 1 *baán, ban*, 2 *bed, bad*, 3 *bat*

¹ In Ir W and MIBr praesens consuetudinale, in W and Co fut

Subj. Pres.	Ir		MIW	Co	MIBr
	simp	conj			
Sg 1	<i>beo, beu</i>	<i>-béo</i>	<i>bwyf</i>	<i>byf, beyf</i>	<i>bezuff, bizuff</i>
	2 <i>bee</i>		<i>bych</i>	<i>by, bey</i>	<i>bezy, bzy</i>
	3 <i>beid</i>	<i>-bé</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bezo</i>
Pl 1	<i>bemmi</i>	<i>-bem</i>	<i>bom</i>	<i>byyn, beyn</i>	<i>bezump, bizump</i>
	2 <i>bethe</i>	<i>-beid</i>	<i>boch</i>	<i>byugh, beugh</i>	<i>bizhyt, bezot</i>
	3 <i>beit</i>	<i>-bet</i>	<i>bont</i>	<i>bons, byns</i>	<i>bezint, bizint</i>

Ir rel forms 3 sg *bess*, 3 pl *bete* Enclitic forms 3 sg *-roi-b*, pl 1 *-ro-bam*, 2 *-ro-bid*, 3 *-ro-bat* Copula forms sg 1 *ba*, *-ba*, 2 *ba*, *-ba*, 3 *ba*, *-b*, *-p* (*condi-b*, *indi-b*, *arndi-p*), *-bo*, *-bu* (*ro-po*, *co-r-bu*, *ni-bo*), rel *bes*, *bas*, pl 1 *-ban* (*comman* 'that we may be' Wb 31c 11), 2 *bede*, *-bad*, 3 *-bat*, rel *bete*, *beta*, *bata* — Archaic forms in W sg 2 *bwyf* § 467, 3 sg OW *boi* (BBCS 3 256 12, cf 266f, where OW *hae-boi* gl erit is cited and also *prou-boi* 'may possess' BBCS 6 206 8 2, MIW *pieu-fo*), *boit* (BBCS 5 246 27, *hou boit* 'if it be') MIW *boet* ZCP 20 55 21, 3 pl MIW *boent* ZCP 20 76 1, *bwynt* BT 5 15 The pres subj is also formed with the pres stem MIW *bydwyf*, *bythwyf* MnW *byddwyf* etc, cf the Br forms — MIBr pl 1 *bihomp*, 2 *biket* (with the plpf stem)

Subj	Ipf.	Ii	MIW	Co	MIBr
Sg 1	<i>-beinn</i>		<i>beun</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>benn</i>
	2 <i>-betha</i>		<i>beut</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>bes</i>
	3 <i>-beth</i>		<i>bei</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>be</i>
Pl 1	<i>-bemmis</i>		<i>beyn</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>bemp</i>
	2 <i>-bethe</i>			<i>beugh</i>	<i>bech</i>
	3 <i>-betis</i>		<i>beynt</i>	<i>bens</i>	<i>bent</i>

Ir enclitic form 3 sg *-ro-bad* Copula sg 1 *-benn*, *-bin*, 2 *-ptha*, 3 *bed*, *bad*, *bid*, *-bed*, *-bad*, pl 1 *bemmis*, *bimmis*, *-bimmis*, 3 *betis*, *bitis*, *-bitis* (*ar-dis* 'that they might be' Wb 4a 10, *com-tis* 'so that they might be' 10d 33) — Forms with the pres stem in W MIW sg 1 *bydun*, *bythwn*, 2 *bydut*, 3 *bydei*, *bythei*, pl 1 *bydem*, 3 *bydent* MnW *bawn*, *baut* (*baut*), *bai*, *baem*, *baech*, *baent*, also *byddwn*, *byddit*, etc

Fut. and Condit. (Ir)	Fut simp	Fut conj	Condit
Sg 1	<i>bía</i>		<i>-beinn</i>
2	<i>bíe</i>		
3	<i>bíed, bíed</i>	<i>-bíe</i>	<i>-bíed.</i>
Pl 1	<i>bemmi</i>	<i>-bíam</i>	<i>-bemmis</i>
2	<i>bethe</i>	<i>-bíed, -bíed</i>	
3	<i>bíet, bíet</i>	<i>-bíat</i>	<i>-bíetis</i>

Rel forms fut 3 sg *bías*, pl *bete* Copula fut sg 1 *be*, 2 *be*, *-ba*, 3 *bíd*, *-ba*, rel *bes*, *bas*, pl 1 *bimmi*, *bemmi*, *bami*, 3 *bít*, *-bat*, rel *beta*, *bat*, cond sg 3 *bed*, *-pad*, *-bad*, pl 3 *beitis*, *-ptis* (*ro-m-dis* 'that they would be' MI 48d 12) For use with *ro-* v § 421

Pret.	Ir		MIW	Co	MIr
	simp	conj			
Sg 1	<i>bá</i>	<i>-bá</i>	<i>buum bum</i>	<i>buf, buf, buf</i>	<i>bíof, bíouf</i>
2	<i>bá</i>	<i>-bá</i>	<i>buost</i>	<i>bus, bues, bes</i>	<i>bíout, bíot</i>
3	<i>bói, báí</i>	<i>-bói</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>bue, be</i>	<i>boe</i>
Pl 1		<i>-bámmaí</i>	<i>buam, buom</i>	<i>buen, ben</i>	<i>bíomp</i>
2		<i>-baid</i>	<i>buauich</i>	<i>bugh, beugh</i>	<i>bíoch</i>
3	<i>bátar</i>	<i>-bátar</i>	<i>buant, buont</i>	<i>bons</i>	<i>bíont</i>

Amalgamated forms in Ir rel 3 sg *bóie*, with suffixed pron MIr *boithus, boithius* 'they had' § 343 Enclitic forms sg 1 *-ro-ba*, 3 *-ro-be*, *-ra-be*, pl 1 *-ro-bammar*, 2 *-ro-baid*, 3 *-ro-batar*, *-ra-batar* Copula sg 1 *ba-sa*, *-p-sa* (in eclipsing sentences, *-sa* or nil *du-rumenar ro-m-sa dia 7 ro-m bíthbéu* 'I thought that I was a god and that I was immortal' MI 49b 13), 2 *intun ro-p-sa* W1 127 23, *huare ro-m-sa* 'since thou wast' MI 96d 1 MIr *ro-p-sa-t, na-r-b-sa-t, ni-r-sa-t* (Vendryes, RC' 33 388) 3 *ba*, *-bo*, *-bu*, *-po*, *pu*, pl 1 *-bommar*, *-bummar*, 3 *-ptar*, *-btar* (*arru-m-tar* 'when they have been' MI 34d 10) — In MnBr a new tense has been modelled on the 3 sg by anal with the ipf (*b)oen*, (*b)oes* etc — The MIW form *buuf* in *pir uuuf* 'that I have been' BBC 22 12 is obscure

Pluperf.	MIW	Co	MIr
Sg 1	<i>buassun</i>	<i>byen</i>	<i>bíhenn</i>
2	<i>buassut</i>	<i>byes</i>	<i>bíhes</i>
3	<i>buasser, bysser</i>	<i>bye</i>	<i>bíhe, bye, bíse</i>
Pl 1	(MnW <i>buasem</i>)	<i>byen</i>	<i>bíhemp</i>
2	(MnW <i>buasech</i>)	<i>byeugh</i>	<i>bíhech</i>
3	<i>buassynt, buessynt</i>		<i>bíhent, bísent</i>

Impers.pass.	Ir		MIW	Co	MIBr
Pres Ind	<i>bíthir</i>	<i>-bíther</i>	(MnW <i>byddir</i>)		<i>bezer</i>
Ipf Ind			<i>bydt</i>		(MnBr <i>bezed</i>)
Subj Pres	<i>bethir</i>	<i>-bether</i>	<i>byther</i>	<i>bether</i>	<i>bezher, biher</i> (RC 32 75)
Subj Ipf			<i>bythit</i>		
Pret	<i>botha</i>	<i>-both</i>	<i>bruwt</i>		(MnBr <i>(b)oad</i>)
Plpf			(MnW <i>buasid</i>)		

Nominal forms. Participle MIBr *bezet*, *bet* Gerundive Ir *burthi*.
Inf Ir *butth* (*both, beth, bith*), MIW *bot*, Co *bos* (re-formed *bones*),
MIBr *bout* (re-formed *bezout, bezaff*)

§ 486. **Etym. explanation of the forms of the root **bheu-*** The endings have already been discussed in the sections dealing with the other verbs. The stem MIW *byd*- Co *beth*- MIBr *bez-* goes back to be form **bhwrge-*, MIW and MIBr *bi-* to **bhwi-*

Compounds of the verb 'to be'

§ 487. **Preverb-compounds** The root *es-* occurs only in Brit in the pres, Ir has in the pres cpds with *-tá*, rarely *-fil*, and also the two forms *-bí*, *-ben* related to the root **bheu-*. The pres form *-ben* is confused with *ben-* 'strike' and *fen-* 'wind'. Provection is common in W subj forms (*-f* > *-ff*-, *-b* > *-p*-), this is analogical, cf § 453 n 1

(1) With W *ad-* (= Ir *arth-*) OW *hatbid* 'will pass away' (Ifor Williams, BBCS 3 271), MIW *atvyd* 'will be', *adurt*, ipf *atuer*, subj *atvo* (Henry Lewis, Delw y Byd 129), vn *adfod*. The original meaning of the preverb ('again'?) is very much obscured

(2) With *ar* Ir *ar-ta* gl restat Thes II 44 4, *ar-táa* 'survives' Sg 215 b 4, rel *ar-tha crúnn* (recte *ar-thá crúnn*) 'which is before' Ml 132 a 3, *ar-thá*, *ar-a-thá* Wb 30 d 13, 10 b 3, *hóre ar-un-táa* 'because it remains for us', *ar-a-ditha* gl quae maneat Ml 128 d 16, *ar-a-bí* 'which is left' Sg 58 b 7, ipf 3 pl *ar-a-bitis* gl quae instabant Ml 43 d 15, *ar-ro-be* 'it has been ensuing' Wb 27 d 13 — MIW *cyf-ar-fot* 'to meet', pres 3 sg *cyf-er-yw*, *cyf-er-fyd*, subj *cyf-ar-ffo*, 3 pl *cyf-er-ffynt* etc — MIW *d-ar-fot* 'to happen, to end', pres 3 sg *d-er-yw*, *d-er-w*, ipf *d-ar-oed*, pres (fut) *d-er-fyd*, subj *d-ar-ffo*, subj ipf *d-ar-ffei*, pret *d-ar-fu*, Co pret *d-ar-fe*, *d-ar-fa* Beun Mer 3727, 1868, MnBr *d-ar-vout* *d-ar-vezout* 'to take place', MIBr

dareu, *dare* (= MIW *deryw*) has become an adjective 'ready, cooked' (whence the participle *darevet* 'cooked'), MnBr. *dare(v)* 'ready, cooked', vn *darev*

Note 1. The preverb is obscured, probably through confusion with a verbal root (cf Loth, RC 40, 373 f., Henry Lewis, BBCS 4 136 f.), in Co *whar-foa* 'to happen', pres 3 sg *whyr-vyth*, *whyr-felh*, subj pres *whar-fo*, pret *whar-fe*, part *whar-felhys*, *whyr-fys* (remodelled forms by anal with the regular verb pret 3 sg *whyrys* RD 1190, plpf *wharse* MC 132 4, part *werys* Beun Mer 1412, MBr *hoar-uout*, pres 3 sg *hoar-vez*, subj *hoar-uezo* subj ipf *hoar-f(f)e*, *hoar-f(f)he*, pret *hoar-voe*, part *hoar-vezel*

(3) With Ir *cét-*, *cita-* Ir *intan cita-m-bí* 'when it feels' MI 36b 1, 3 pl *cita-brat* 22d 7, ipf 1 sg *ceta binn* Wb 12c 8, subj 3 sg *cita-bé* MI 68d 15, subj ipf 1 sg *cita-m-bénn* 44c 15, 3 pl *cita-m-betis* 29c 13, pret 1 sg *cita-ro-ba-sa* 44b 22, vn *cét-buid* 'feeling, sense', MBr *célfard* MIW *can-fot* 'perceive', pres sg 1 *ca(n)nh-wyf*, 3 *cenn(h)-yw*, pl 3 *cennh-ynt* LIH 277 11, ipf *canh-oed*, pret *can-vu* — MIW *ar-gan-fot*, subj 3 sg *ar-gan-ffo* OBr *er-cent-bidi-te* gl notabis, agnosces — Ir *lase c-|cét-bani* 'when thou consentest' Wb 1c 9, *co-t-chét-banam* 'we consent to it' 15c 21, vn *com-chét-buid* 'consent'

(4) With Ir *dí* *dí-tá* 'it differs' MI 120a 6, *ní dí-thút* 'they are not apart' 113a 2, *dí-taam n* gl distamus 117b 9, vn *de-burth*, *de-buid* 'strife'

(5) With Ir *ess-* MBr *aran-|es-bat* 'in whom (some limbs) are lacking' LU 2554, vn *es-bard* MBr *easbhardh* 'want, deficiency' — OIr *do-es-ta* 'is wanting', *t-es-ta*, frequently with infixes *-d-*, *du d-es-ta*, 3 pl *t-es-banat*, pres perf 3 sg *manid-t-es-ar-bi ní* 'if nothing has been wanting' Wb 28d 31, pret 3 sg *t-es-ar-ba*, vn *tesburth* MBr *tesbard*

(6) With Ir *etar-* MBr *aní etar-bí fiachu etar-bí comlardre* Cán Adamnán § 47 (paraphrased by K Meyer 'such as the fine was such shall be that of accomplices', lit *etar-bí* with acc may mean 'corresponds to, is equivalent to', v M A O'Brien, Ériu 11 161), condit sg 3 *etar-bíad* LU 4993f

(7) With Ir *for-*, W *gor-* MBr *fordotá* 'on thee is' (*for-dot-tá*) LU 10007, *for-bí* Ériu 7 166 § 2, Monast Tall 128 7, subj sg 3 *for-bé* 148 19, *con-ad-fuirb* (for *con-íd-fuirb*) ZCP 14 391, *for-rar-b* Monast Tall 130 13, *día for-rar-b* Salt 3919, *for-bíad a ainm Herind* 'his name would be on Ireland' LU 5063 MIW *gor-fot* 'to overcome', pres sg 2 *gor-wytt* LIH 277, 3, pres (fut) sg 1 *gor-uydaf*, 3 *gor-*

vyð, subj sg 3 *gor-ffo*, *gor-po*, pret *gor-fu*, impers subj pres *gorffer* (by anal with the regular vb)

With Ir *to-for-* 'to come on' Pres sg 3 *du-fór-ban* MI 61a 22, subj pl 1 *du-nd-ór-bíam* 'that we may reach' gl *peruenire* 105 b 6, pl 3 *do-fór-bíat* 27a 10, pret sg 1 *ní ru-thór-ba-sa* 'I arrived not' 44b 29, sg 3 *an-do-r-ór-pai* gl *veniens* Sg 196 b 8, pl 3 *hí ro-thor-batar* 'at which they arrived' MI 44b 29, pass subj ipf *du-for-banthe* gl *ueniretur* 31c 11 -- MIW pres sg 3 *dy-m-gor-yw* 'overcomes me' LIH 24 16, fut *di-gor-bit* [*də-or-vyð*] BBC 52 14, *dy-wor-pi* RP 585 18, pret *dy-gor-fu* BT 16 19, *dy- + ym- + gor-* pres (fut) 3 sg *di-m-gor-bit* [*dəmorvyð*] BBC 27 3 — Cf Lat *super-sum*

(8) With Ir *fris-* Ir *fris-ben* 'heals', subj *fris-m-bia*, fut *fris-bia*, part *nephrepthae* gl *inmedicabile* MI 58a 17, vn *frebard*, gen *freptha* (whence the vb *frepthanarg-* *a-rru-freptanaigthissur*, to be read *-frepthanagsur* 'when I had healed' MI 103a 6)

(9) With MIW *han* (also *han-d-*) MIW *han-fot* 'to be from, to come', pres sg 1 *han-wyf*, *han-d-wyf*, *hen-wyf* (with umlaut from 3 sg and the pl), *and-wyf* BA 15 22 (*anth-um* 36 4, with OW orthography), 2 *han-wyt*, *han-d-wyt*, *hen-wyt*, 3 *hen-yw* (also *han-d-it*), pl 1 *han-d-ym*, *hen-ym*, 3 *hen-ynt*, ipf sg 2 *han-d-oetud*, 3 *han-oed*, *han-d-oed*, pl 3 *han-hoedynt*, pres (fut) sg 2 *hen-bydy*, 3 *han-byd*, *hen-byd*, subj sg 1 *han-bwyf*, 2 OW *an-buc* *quell* gl *aue* (MnW *kenffych* *well*) MIW *han-pych*, *han-bych*, 3 *han-ffo*, pl 3 *han-fu ynt* The vn *hanu* occurs in the 13th cent Peniarth MS 44, p 65, *hanu* is still in use MnW ipf 3 sg *hanai*, *hanoedd* (for which *hanodd* also occurs) — MIBr *am-bout*, *ham-bout*, *han-bout* 'condition, state'

('fr Skr *saṃ-bharaṭi* 'comes from')

(10) With Ir *oc-* Ir pres *nicon-r-ocmu* 'it cannot touch' MI 76a 12, fut 3 pl *ocu-bíat* 126b 12, pass pres 3 pl *ocu-bendar*, *nad ocmanatar* 54a 12 vn (g) *ocmaide* 39a 10

(11) With *remu-* *remu-taat* 'they are before' Wb 25c 15, subj sg 3 rel *rem-e-be* Ériu 7 158 § 19, 195

(12) With *ro-* Ir *to-ro-ben-* (perhaps partially taken as *to-for-fen-*) 'to profit' pres 3 sg *do-ro-r-ban* 'can profit' MI 62a 20, *ní tor-ban* Wb 12b 32, pl 3 *du-ro-r-banat* MI 43b 5, *an-nad-tor-banat* 'when they are not profitable' Thes II 29 35, fut 3 pl *du-nd-ór-bíat* gl *mortalibus profuturos* MI 120d 14, pret *do-ro-r-bai* 123d 5, vn *torbe* neut 'profit'

Note 2. For *du-fór-ban* 'it comes' v (7) For the simple vb *torb* 'to perturb, confuse' (= *W* *tyrfu* 'to make a noise', *cynhyrfu* 'to disturb') v Michael A O'Brien, *Ériu* 11 91, Plummer, *Ériu* 9 32 erroneously treats it as a cpd. A different word is *taurbard*, *turbard* SM, *W* 97, 11, pl *trubith* *Wb* 14d 13 'exemption, a circumstance which hinders something' (to *air-ro* + *buaith*)

Ir *du-ro* + *ben-* pres *ní de-r-ban* 'hinders not' *Thes* II 294 1, subj sg 3 *manáid-derba* 'if it does not hinder him' *Ériu* 7 148 § 7, fut sg 1 *do-ro-r-bu sa* ZCP 3 246 18

Cf Lat *prō-sum*

(13) With Ir *do-* Ir *do-fil* 'is at hand' *Wb* 4d 29 — MIW *dy-fot* 'come', pres (fut) sg 1 *dy-bydaf*, 3 *dy-byd*, *dy-vyd*, *dy-bydhawt*, *dy-bi*, *dy-vi* *dy-pi*, pl 3 *dy-bydant*, subj pres sg 1 *dy-bwyf*, 3 *dy-vo*, *dy-ffo*, *dy-ppo*, pl 3 *dy-ffont*, ipf sg 3 *dy-bea*, *dy-fer*, *dy-ffer*, pret sg 2 *dy-ruost*, 3 *dy-bu*, *dy-vu*, pl 3 *dy-vuant*, *dy-buant*, impers pass subj pres *dyffer* WM 483 2 Co subj pres sg 1 *dyffyf*, 2 *dyffy*, 3 *dyffo*, *deffo*, pl 1 *deffyn*, 2 *dyffough*, 3 *dyffons*, *deffons*, subj ipf sg 1 *deffen*, 2 *deffes*, 3 *deffe*, *deffa*, pl 3 *deffens*, pret sg 3 *deve*, *duse*, *dufa*, part *devethys* *dyvythys*, vn *devos*, *devones*. The other forms of the vb contain the root **ag'*-

§ 488 Compounds of the verb 'to be' with another verbal stem occur only in Brit

(1) MIW (archaic) pres sg 3 *deu-byd*, *deu-bi*, *deu-pi* 'will come', subj pres sg 3 *deu-po*, pret sg 3 *deu-bu*. The form *deu-* contains the verbal root **ag'*-

(2) The verb 'to know' MIW consuet pres and fut sg 1 *gwy-bydaf* etc (archaic 3 sg *gwy-bi*), ipv sg 2 *gwy-byd*, 3 *gwy-bydet*, *gwypet*, pl 3 *gwy-bydent*, *gwypent*, subj pres sg 1 *gwy-pwyf*, 3 *gwy-po*, *gwy-pwy*, ipf sg 1 *gwy-pwn*, *gwy-bydwn*, 3 pl *gwy-pynt*, pret sg 1 *gwy-buam*, plpf *gwy-buasswn*, impers pass pres *gwy-bydir*, ipv *gwy-byder* subj pres *gwy-per*, pret *gwy-buwyt*, vb nn *gwy-bot* — Co pres (fut) sg 3 *goth-vyth*, *a wovyth*, pl 2 *goth-vedough*, *goth-fetheugh*, ipv sg 2 *goth-feth*, pl 2 *goth-vetheugh*, subj pres sg 2 *goth-fy*, 3 *goth-fo*, pl 2 *goth-fough*, 3 *goth-fons*, ipf sg 1 *goth-fen*, 2 *goth-fes*, 3 *goth-fe*, *re-woffe*, plpf *a woth-fye*, part *goth-vethys*, vb nn *goth-vos*, *go-vos* — MIBr consuet pres sg 1 *gouezaff* (Nonne 848), ipv sg 2 *gouz-uez*, *gou-uez*, pl 2 *gouz-uezet*, *gou-uezet*, subj pres sg 1 *gouzriff*, 2 *gouz-uezy*, *gou-fezy*, 3 *gouz-uezo*, pl 1 *gouezhimp*, 2 (with plpf stem) *gouz-uhet*, *gou-viet*, subj ipf sg 1 *gouffen*, 3 *gouffe*, *goffe*, pl 1 *goufhemp*, impers

pass subj pres *gouz-uezher*, ipf *gouffet*, part *gouz-uezet*, *gouezet*;
vb nn *gouz-uout*, *gouzout*

The other forms pres MIW *gwnn* Co *gon* MIBr *gounn*, ipf MIW *gwydwn*, *gwydywn* Co *gothyen* MIBr *gouzyenn*

(3) The verb 'to know, to be acquainted with' The pres. proper is in MIW 1 sg *adwaen* (ipf *adwaenwn*), Co 3 sg *aswon*. Difficult forms are Co *me annabow dyougel* 'I know certainly' RD 2120 (Loth, RC 23 286 will read *me an avow* 'I avow it', but this cutting of the knot is too arbitrary), MIBr pres sg 1 *aznauaff*, 2 *esneuez* (-eu- = /ew/) Barbe 448, 3 *ezneu*, ipv sg 2 *ezneou* RC 8 98 7, pl 2 *ezneuet* (-eu- = /ew-) Barbe 470

Forms compounded with **bheu-* MIW consuet pres and fut sg 1 *adna-bydaf*, 3 *adne-byd*, *edne-byd*, ipv sg 2 *adne-byd*, *edne-byd*, subj pres sg 1 *adna-pwyff*, 3 *adna-po*, etc, ipf sg 1 *adna-pwn*, *adna-bydwn*, 3 pl *etne-pynt* (RC 33 189 2), pret *adna-buwm* etc, plpf *adna-buasswn*, impers pass pres *adna-bydir*, subj pres *adna-per*, ipf *adne-pit*, vb nn *adna-bot* — Co pres (fut) sg 3 *ana-fyth*, vb nn *aswon-vos*, *aswon-fos* — MIBr subj pres sg 3 *azna-uezo*, *anna-uezo*, 2 pl (with plpf stem) *azna-vihet*, subj ipf 3 sg *azna-ffe*, pret 3 sg *azna-voe*, part *azna-vezet*, vb nn *azna-uout*, *azna-out*

The stem W *ad-na-* etc goes back to **ati-g'na-*, a different form of the root appears in OW *hep am-gnau-bot* gl *sine mente*

(4) The vb 'to hear' is compounded with the verb 'to be' in MIW in the vb nn *cly-bot* (pres *clyw-af* etc), cf also the impers pass pret *clywysbwyt*, *clywspwyt* v § 467 n 5 Co pres (fut) sg 3 *clew-fyth*, *clew-fyth*, *clewyth*, subj sg 1 *clew-fyf*, 3 *clew-fo*. The other forms are not compounded

(5) MIW *ni-m dor-br* 'it will not interest me' BBC 60 8 (pres *ny-m dauw*), MIBr ipf (conditional) *deur-fe*, pret *deur-foe*, vb nn *deur-uout* (pres *ne-m deur*)

(6) Co pres (fut) sg 1 *tal-uethaf* 'I shall pay', 3 *tal-vyth*, subj ipf 3 pl *tal-fens* 'they would be worth' MIBr *tal-uout* 'to be worth', MnBr *tal-vezo* 'will be worth'

(7) In Co only *pren-vyth* 'will buy' MC 155, *car-uyth* 'will love', *gwyl-vyth* 'will see'

(8) In Br only MnBr *fal-vezout*, *fallout* 'fallor', subj 3 sg *fal-vezo*, pret 3 sg *fal-vezaz*, part *fal-vezet*. See further Ernault, RC 11 465f

Full paradigms of the other verbs.

§ 489. Most verbs with pres *-ā-* or *-ī-*stems are regular in Ir, they have an *-ā-subj*, a *-b-fut*, an *-s-preterite*. All verbs with other pres stems (including some *-ā-* and *-ī-*stems, e g *carad* 'loves', *do-gní* 'does') are irregular, and no general rule can be given as to the subj, fut, pret corresponding to a given present. Verbs whose root ends in a dental or back consonant alone have an *-s-subj* and an *-s-fut*, the *-t-pret* is found only when the root ends in a back cons or a sonant, the *-ā-fut* with compensatory lengthening instead of reduplication [*-béra*] chiefly (not entirely) in OIr when the root ends in *-r-*, *-l-*, *-m-*. Certain present-forming elements do not occur outside the pres in the irregular verbs (*-n-* § 446, *-i-* cf § 452 n 1, *-sk-* as in Lat *discō*, pret *didicī*, v under *nasc-* but in other verbs *-sk-* has become fixed throughout the paradigm). Many verbs have a paradigm containing different roots (supplementary verbs, e g *tagu* 'I go' *reqard* 'will go', *lurd* 'went', *docoad* 'has gone'). Irregularities have been increased by the preverb system and by enclisis.

In Brit irregular inflections have mostly disappeared, the *-ā-subj* (with *-h-* taken from the *-s-subj*) and the *-s-pret* have been taken over by almost all verbs. There are no present-forming elements (in *prynu* 'to buy', for example, the *-n-* has become fixed throughout). The vast majority of Brit verbs are therefore regular, the Brit irregular verbs can be conveniently treated in the following list in notes appended to the Ir forms.

For the sake of economy references are omitted in this list except in the case of forms not found in VKG, and the forms are classified as follows: present tense I, ipf II, ipv III, subj pres IV, subj ipf V, fut VI, cond VII, pret VIII, part IX, inf or vb nn X, singular S, plural P, relative r, passive p (thus I S 3 r denotes "present singular third person relative form"). Conject forms are preceded by a hyphen (thus *-beir*, *-tabir*). Further, we have omitted many forms and many verbs which did not seem to us to present any practical difficulty or great theoretical importance, especially when we have nothing to add to VKG. We have done so reluctantly, and therefore no doubt inconsistently, paying more attention to the flexional forms than to the preverbs.

List of verbs.

§ 490. *ador-* 'worship' IS 1 *-adraum*, 3r *adras*, IIP 3 *adordans*, III P 3 *adrat*, IV S p *-adranther*, V S 3 *ad-r-odar* (leg *-orad*), VI S 3 *ad-n-orfa*, *-adrafu*, VIII S 3 (with obj) *at-r-or*, P 3 *ad-r-orat*, X *adrad*, gen *adartha*

Lat *borr*, sometimes treated as Ir compound, W *addoh*
Br *azeuh*

§ 491 *ag-* 'drive, lead' I S 3 r *ages*, p *agarr*, p r *agar*, P 3 *agart*, III S 2 *arg*, P 3 *agat*, V S p *ro-hagtha*, VI S 3 *eblard*, r *eblas*, P 3 *eblart* (v Misc KM 62ff, ZCP 13 107, IF 38 194ff), VIII S 3 *-acht*, X *áin*, gen *ána*, *áne*, also *arge*

Compounds (1) With *ad-* I S 3 *a-tob-arg* (*-arch*), VI S 3 *a-tan-ebla* (Misc KM 63), VIII P 3 *ad-achtatar*

(2) With *di-* VII S 3 *di-eblad* K Meyer, *Alteste ir Dichtung* II 22

(3) With *im-* I S 3 *im-d(a)-arg*, P 3 *im-íd-ágat*, IV S 2 *im-aga*, VIII S 3 *imm-act*, *imm-m-r-acht* (Ériu 2 102 § 11), X MÍr *imm-áin* Mnír *iománaim* 'I drive'

With *to-im-* VIII P 3 *-t-im-achtatár* LU 5828, X *tím-máin* Mnír *t-íománaim* 'I drive'

(4) With *ind-* III S 2 *ind-arg*, P 2 *in-ágid*

(5) With *to-* III S 2 *aigh tairg* 'go and come back', P 2 *inagid tagid*, IV S 2 *t-aya*, VIII S 3 *do-acht*, X *t-áin*

Note 1 The corresponding Brit forms are mostly intransitive (a) OW *agit*, *hegit*, *egid* (/d/) 'goes' MlW I *af*, *ey* (MnW *ei*), *a* (archaic *eyt*), *awn*, *ewch*, *ant*, II *awn*, *aut* (MnW *aut*), *aei* (MnW *ái*), *aem*, MnW *aech*, *eynt* (MnW *aent*), III S 2 *dos*, 3 *aet*, P *awn*, *ewch*, *aent*, IV *el(h)wyf*, *el(h)ych*, *el*, *el(h)om* etc (MnW without *-h*, 3 *sg íl*, *elo*), V *el(h)un*, etc (MnW without *-h*), VIII S 1 *eithum*, *euthum*, 2 *aethost*, 3 *aeth* (arch *eithyt* § 460 n 1c), P *aeth-am*, *-awch*, *-ant* or *ont* (perfect S 1 *ath-wyff*, *ad wyff*, also *eth-*, *ed*, 2 *ath wyt*, *ad-wyt*, 3 *eth yw*, *ed-yw*, P 1 *eth-ym*, 3 *eth-ynt*, *ed-ynt*); pluperf S 1 *ath-oedwn*, 3 *ath oed*, *ad-oed* P 3 *aeth-oedynt*, *ath oedynt* (MnW *aethum*, *aethit*, etc), impers pass I *eir*, II *eit*, IV *el(h)er*, V *el(h)it*, VIII *aeth-pwyt*, X *mynt* The pres subj forms S 3 *aho*, P 3 *ahont*, *aon* occur with fut meaning (RM 140 16, BT 17 6, BBC 26 2) — Co I *af*, *eth*, *a*, *en*, *eugh* (*egh*), II S 1 *en*, 3 *e*, *ee*, P 3 *ens*, III S 2 *ke* (a Beun Mer 2022), 3 *ens*, P 2 *eugh* (MnCo *keugh*), 3 *ens*, IV *ylllyf*, *yllly*, *ello* (*ella*), *ylllyn*, *yllough* (*ylleugh* OM 1587), V S 1 *ellen*, 3 *elle*, P 1 *ellen*, 3 *ellens*, VIII *yth*, *ythys*, *eth*, P 2 *etheugh*, 3 *edons* (perf S 1 *galsof*, 2 *galsoe*, 3 *gallas*, *galles*, P 3 *galsons* v § 460 n 2), plpf S 3 *galse*, IX *gyllys*, X *mones*, *monas*, *mos*, *moys* — MÍr I *aff*, *ez*, *a eomp*, *et* (*aet*), *eont*, II S 1 *aenn*, 3 *ae*, *yea*, *a*, *aemp*, III S 2 *que*, *quae* (MnBr *ke kea*), 3 *aet*, P 1 *eomp*, 2 *it*, *et* (MnBr

kat also), IV *iff*, *y*, *ay*, *a(h)imp*, *ehent* (*ehet*), *ahint* (also S 3 *a y-el*, *a y-elo*), VS 1 *ahenn*, 3 *ahē*, P 2 *ahēch*, VIII S 1 *yz*, 3 *aez*, *eaz*, P 1 *ezomp*, 3 *ezont* (v RC 32 81^a, MnBr 1 *iz*, 2 *ejoud*, 3 *eaz*), plpf S 2 *azes*, P 3 *azyent*, IX *aet*, *eat*, X *monet*, *mont* — In Co and MBr the same particle appears before this verb as before 'to be' § 478, 2 Co *es eth* 'thou wilt go', *mar-a-ss aff* 'if I go', *ny ns-a* 'he goes not', *re g-eth*, *re-s-eth* has gone, MBr *mar-d-eomp* 'if we go', *ne-d-ahenn* 'I should not go' Cf also § 150

(b) MlW I *d-euaf* (*doaf*) 'I come', *deuy* (*doy*, arch *dort* — /*doyt*/ BBC 102 1), *daw*, *deuwm* (*dnum*), *deuwch* (*dowch*), *deuant* (*doant*), II S 1 *deuwn*, *dawn*, 2 *deuut*, *dout*, 3 *deuer*, *doer*, P 3 *deuynt*, *doynt*, III S 2 *dyret*, *dabre* (now *tyred*, *tyrd*, dial *dere*, *tyd*), 3 *deuet*, *doet*, P 1 *dawn*, 2 *dowch*, *deuwch*, 3 *deuent*, *doent*, IV *del(h)wyf*, etc, like *el(h)wyf*, V *del(h)wn* etc (P 2 *del-ewch* RM 137, 21), VIII *deuthum* (*doethum*), *deuthost* (*doethost*), *deuth* (*doeth*), *doethum*, *doethawch* (-och), *deuthant* (*doeth-ant*, *ont*), perf S 1 *doth-wyf*, *dod-wyf*, 2 *doth wyt*, *dod-wyt*, 3 *doeth-yw* (*doth*, *dod*, *ded*), P 1 *dod ym*, 2 *dod-ywch* (*doeth ywch*), 3 *dod ynt*, *deth ynt*, plpf S 1 *dath-oedwn*, 3 *doeth oed* (*doth-*, *dath-*), P 3 *dath-oedynt* (*doth*), MnW *daethum*, *daethat*, etc, impers pass II *deut*, VIII *deuth prwynt* (*doeth-*), X *dyvot* For *dy-byiaf* etc v § 487, 13 Compounds I S 3 *dy daw*, *dy do*, impers *dy-deuhawr*, etc, OW *gurth do* resist gl obstat, J Morris Jones, WG 364 — Co I S 1 *dof*, *duff*, 2 *dueth*, *duth*, *deth*, 3 *due*, *de*, P 1 *duen*, *dun*, 2 *deugh*, 3 *dons*, II S 2 *dues*, III S 2 *dus*, *dues*, *des*, 3 *dens*, P 1 *duen*, *dun*, *den*, 2 *duegh*, *dugh*, *deugh*, 3 *dens*, IV *dyffyf* etc, V *deffen* etc § 487, 13, VIII S 1 *duth*, *duyth*, *drueyth*, 2 *duthys*, 3 *duth*, *dueth*, *deth* (perf *de ve*, *du fe*, *du fu*), P 1 *duthen*, 2 *dutheugh*, 3 *dethons*, plpf S 3 *dethye*, *dothye*, *dothe*, P 3 *dodlyans*, *dedens*, impers I *deer*, IX *devethys*, *dyvythys* X *devones*, *deios*, *dones*, *dos*, *doys* — MBr I S 1 *deuaff* 2 *duez*, 3 *deu*, P 2 *duet*, 3 *deuont*, II S 1 *duenn*, *druenn*, 3 *due*, *deue*, III S 2 *deux*, *deuz*, 3 *deuet*, *deut*, *duet*, P 1 *dcomp*, *demp*, 2 *deuet*, *duet*, 3 *druent*, IV S 1 *duiff*, 2 *duy*, 3 *duy*, *deuy*, P 1 *deuhymp*, 3 *dihynt* (*duymd* Barbe 665), V S 3 *deuhe*, P 2 *deuheich*, 3 *duehent*, VIII *duiz*, *deuzout*, *deuz*, P 2 *deuzoch*, 3 *deuzont*, plpf S 1 *deuzien*, 3 *deuzye*, P 2 *deuzerh* 3 *deuzyent*, IX *deuet*, *duet* X *donet*, *dont*, *don* RC 31 226^b

MlW *-aw-* corresponds to Co Br /o/- (wr Co *o*, *u-*, *-ue-*, *-eu*, *-e-*, Br mostly *-eu-*, before front vowel also *-u-*)

(c) MlW I 3 *ym-d-a* 'goes about', VIII S 1 *im t-eth*, *ym d-eth* (v § 460 n 1c), 3 *ym d-aeth*, (X *ym-deith* to Ir *tagu* 'I go'), with **upor-* **mbhu-* *gor-ym-d a* goes about' RP 1045 42

(d) OBr *nit inaatoe* gl non incundum est (*in-a atoe*)

This verb is cognate with Lat *agō* etc § 35, 1 The Brit subjunctive (W *el-* etc) and the Ir redupl fut (*ehl-*) are from **el-*, **ela-* (Gk *ἐλαύνω*) § 453 n 2 (not from **pel-*, for Gk *ἄγω ἐλῶ ἡλασα*, cf Specht, KZ 63 224f, 270) The Brit ipv sg 2 is probably derived from some adverbial word ('away', 'hither'), the oldest substitute for 'go' probably underlies W *dos*, the init *d-* probably

led to its being transferred to the verb 'to come' in Co and Br., with anal assumption of the vowel /o/ (an instance of MIBr *deus* meaning 'go' is found RC 47 108 23) The W forms for 'come' are compounds of **ret-* (W *rhedeg* 'run', cf Ir *rethid* 'runs') and probably **reg-* 'rise' (*dab-re*, MnW *dy-re*, *de-re*, v § 604 n) The oldest forms of the vb nn are represented by W *myned* and *dy-fod*, Co *devones*, beside the earlier form *de-vos*, is by anal with 'to go', *dos* and *dones* being contractions of *devos* and *devones* respectively, in a similar way the Br forms are to be explained, variants of W *dy-fod* are *dywod*, *dywad*, the latter still used colloquially as *dŵad* The form W *dod* (cf Co *dos*) is not attested in literature before the 18th cent W *myned* (*myned*, cf MIBr *mont*) belongs to a pres **mi-na-mi* 'I go (past)', cf OSI *mi-na-ti* 'to pass', Lat *metāre* 'wander, go', the vowel -o- in the Co and Br forms is due to the verb 'to come', the old vowel is retained in W *tremynu* Co *tremene* MIBr *tremen* 'to pass' (the vowel of the prefix, cf W *tra*, being affected by the old -i-) But cf RC 35 223

Note 2 The verb 'to make, do' in Brit imitates in some of its forms the root **ag-*, though it is not (or at least only partially) a cpd of **ag-*, the archaic MIW *guereit* BA 37 11 stands for *gureith* 'deed', and belongs to Gk *ἔργον*, *ἔλξω*, OE *weorc* 'work', *wyrcan* 'to work', v Morris-Jones, WG 367, *guragun* 'let us make' in the Early W memorandum in the Book of St Chad may have -a- for -e- in the same way as W *ia* 'ice', Ir *ag*, g *ega* The later W *gunawm* may have -n- instead of -r- through some analogical influence (probably through the influence of a vb corresp to Ir *gní-* § 563) The subj stem *gunel-* imitates the vb 'to go', the pret *gor-uc* agrees with *d-uc* § 506 n, for VIII S 3 *goreu* a real etymological connection with the root **ag-* is not unlikely (*-āge, this would be the transitive preterite of the root, whereas *aeth* would be the intransitive or passive form, *gor-uc* in the transitive paradigm of **ag-* might be compared with Ir *ro-uc* in the paradigm of **ber-*, for Lat *ferō* and *agō* are synonyms) The forms are

MIW I S 1 *gunaf*, arch *gumerf*, 2 *gurney*, 3 *guma*, *gunahawt* BT 31 9, arch (rel) *guneyd* (/d/), P 1 *gunawm*, 2 *gunewch*, 3 *gunant*, II *gunawm*, *gunaut*, etc, III S 2 *guma*, 3 *gumaet*, P 1 OW *guragun*, MIW *gunawm*, etc, IV *gunel(h)wyf* etc § 453 n 2, also S 3 *gunech* § 453 n 1, V *gunel(h)wm*, etc, VIII S 1 *guneithum*, *guneuthum*, 2 *gunaeithost*, *guneuthost* RP 1321 23, 3 *gunaeith*, P 1 *gunaeith-am* (-om), etc, also S 1 *gorugum* etc, v p 297, also S 3 *guoreu*, *goreu*, plpf *gunathoedwn*, etc § 460 n 1c (MnW *gunaeithwn* etc), impers forms I *gumeir*, II *gumest*, III *gunel(h)er*, IV *gunel(h)er*, V *gunel(h)ut*, VIII *gunaeithpwyf*, *gorucpwyf*, plpf *gunathoedut*, X *guneithur*, *guneuthur*, *guneuthud* IGE¹ 191 7 (MnW *guneithur*, *guneuthyd*, *guneud*)

- The forms *gunelst* RP 1034 4, 12, *gunelyt* 16 are indicative in meaning, 'is wont to be', similarly *el(h)ut* 'is wont to go' BECS 4 15

Co I S 1 *guraf*, (*g*)*wrehaf* OM 521, 2 *gureth*, 3 *gura*, *grua*, P 1 *guren*, 2 *gureugh*, *guregh*, 3 *gurons*, II S 1 *guren*, 2 *gures*, 3 *gure*, P 1 *guren*, 3 *gurens*, III S 2 *gura*, *grua*, 3 *gurens*, P 1 *gruen*, 2 *gruegh*, *grugh*, *greugh*, *greh*, IV S 1 *guryllyf*, 2 *gurylly*, 3 *gurello*, P 1 *guryllyn*, 2 *gurellough*, 3 *gurellons* (*gurons* OM 2034), V S 1 *gurellen*, 2 *gurelles*, 3 *gurella*, P 1 *gurellen*, 3 *gurellens*, VIII S 1 *gruk*, 2 *grussys* 3 *gruk*, (*g*)*ros*, (*oberys* OM 291), P 1 *grussyn*, 2 *grussough* 3 *grussens*, plpf S 1 *grussen*, 2 *grusses*, 3 *grusse*, *gresse*, P 2 *grussyugh*, 3 *grussens*, IX *qurys* *gureys* (*oberys* OM 15), X *gruthyl*, *guthyl*(l), *gwethyll*, *guthel*(l), *gul*(l), *qwyll*, (*g*)*wyth* RD 2250, impers I *gurer*

MIr I S 1 *groaff*, *graf*, 2 *gr(u)ez*, 3 *gr(o)a*, P 1 *gr(u)eomp*, *graeomp*, 2 *gruyt*, *gr(u)et*, 3 *gr(u)eont*, II S 1 *gren*, 3 *grae* *gren*, P 3 *grent*, III S 2 *gr(o)a*, 3 *groaet*, *gret*, P 1 *gr(u)eomp*, *graeomp* *gruemp*, 2 *gr(u)et*, *grael*, *gr(u)yt*, IV S 1 *gr(u)f*, 2 *gr(u)y*, 3 *gr(o)ay*, *greay* (*g*)*rayn* Mir Mort 1809 P 1 *groahmp*, *grahymp*, 2 *gr(u)ehet*, *grehent* 3 *groaint*, *grahant*, V S 1 *grahenn*, 3 *gr(o)ahe*, P 1 *gr(o)ahemp* 2 *graheth*, (*g*)*rech*, VIII S 1 *gris* 3 *guerue*, *geure* *guere*, P 1 *gresomp*, 2 *gruesoch* 3 *gr(u)esont*, plpf S 1 *gr(o)asenn*, *graesenn*, 2 *grases*, 3 *gr(o)ase*, P 1 (*g*)*rasemp*, 3 *groasenn* impers I *gruer*, (*g*)*rer* II *grael*, IV *graher*, V *gr(o)ahet* IX *grael*, *great*, X *ober*

§ 492. *ág-* 'to fear', deponent, in the ind and subj it takes the prefix *ad-* if not preceded by a neg or a rel preverb (Thurneysen, Handb 328) I S 1 *ad-n-agur*, *ní ágor*, 3 *ad-agadar*, *ní-sn-agathar*, p *ad-n-aigther*, P 3 *ní agetar* p *na ágder*, II S 1 *ad-again*, III P 3 *agatar*, IV S 2 *ní aigther*, 3 *-ru-agathar*, VI S 1 *ad-aichfer*, 3 *ad-aichfedar*, P 3 *ní aichfetar*, VIII P 3 *ad-r-aigsetar*, IX gerund *aigthi*, *aichthi*, X *áigthiu*, gen *aichthen*, later *aigsin* (acc) — (f Goth *ôg* I fear

§ 493. *air-* 'to plough' I S 3 *-air* IV S 3 *-ara* SM 4 124 11 p *-arrharr* (leg *-arrthar*) SM Gloss 71 VI P 3 *-ebrad* Misc KM 64, X *ar* SM

§ 494. *al-* 'to nourish, to rear' I S 3 *-ail*, p *olar* Anecd III 28 9, *ailtir* Féil 50 7, V P 1 *-almars*, VI S 3 MIr *-eblar* (for *-ebla*, anal re-formation *-ebela*), VIII S 3 *alt* W1 138 6, *-alt* (MIr *-ebail*), r *altar* W1 139 6, p *alte* ZCP 8 311 17, *-alt* (MIr *-eblad*), IX (nom pl) *altai*, X *altram* g *altrammo* — (f Lat *alō*

§ 495 *am-* with *ind-* 'to wash hands and feet' I S 3 *indaim* Mon Tall 143 30, *adhaim* LU 10962, 10965, 10967 (p e *ad-haim* v Bergin, Ériu 10 112), *ad-n-aim* Corm 597, P p *-indmatar* MI 126c 17, X *indmat* MI 126c 16, Corm 943 A later form of X is *indlat* Corm 597, 943, Atk LBr, it may be due to assimilation (and dissimilation) in the group *indmat lám* (Mon Tall 143 27), from X *-l-* penetrated into the finite forms, v Atk LBr p 767

Note. Perhaps even *indmat* is analogical instead of **ind-at* (from **am-to-*) under the influence of the other forms of the paradigm. If used originally of the washing of the hands the Ir vb could be compared with Skr *yam-* with *ni-* 'to put (e.g. the hands) together'.

§ 496. *an-* 'to remain, rest' I S 3 MlIr *anad*, r *anas*, II S 3 *-anad*, P 3 *-andais*, III S 2 *an*, P 1 *anam*, IV S 1 *-an*, P 3 *-anat*, VI S 1 *anfa*, *-ainb* (for *-ainvub*), *-anub*, VII S 2 *-ainfeda*, 3 *-ainfed*, VIII S 1 *-anus*, 2 *-anis*, 3 *anis*, *-an*, P 1 *-ansam*, X (nom. acc. dat.) *anad*.

With *od-ess-* *osnad* 'sigh'. With *com-od-ess-* 'to end, cease' I S 3 *osna*, P 3 *conosnat*, IV S 2 *conosnaissiu* (**conosne siu*), 3 *conosna*, V P 3 *cosnartis*, VI S 3 *-cumsanfa*, VIII S 1 *-chumsanus*, 3 *-chumsan*, *co-r-osan* (for *con-*), X *cumsanad*, g *cumsanto*.

With *fo-od-ess-* 'to rage, to disturb' (*fo-* is reduplicated in the absence of a syntactic preverb) I S 3 *fufuasna*, p *fufuasnther*, IX gen *fuasnardi*, X *fuasnad*.

Note W *uchenaid*, *ochenaid* 'sigh' MlBr *huanat*. Cf. Skr *an* 'ti breathes', Goth *us anan* 'to expire'.

§ 497. *aneg-* 'to protect' I S 3 *angud*, *-anich*, III S 2 *no-m-ain* 'spare me' (cf. § 452 n 3), p *ná hanagar*, IV S 3 *ains-ium* 'may he protect me', *-ain*, P 3 *-anset*, VI S 3 *-ain*, p *-anister* RC 14 191 30, VII P 3 *-ansitis* TBC (Str-O'K) 3557, VIII S 3 *-anacht*, r *anacht*, p *anachtar* TBC (Str-O'K) 2775, X *anacul*, g *anacul* (the *-c-* spread into the finite verb in MlIr).

With *ad-* 'to bury, to escort' IV S 1 *-adhnas* RC 10 82 22, 2 *-adnaiss*, V S p *a-tom-anaste* *-adnasta* TripL 252 23, P p *adanastais*, VI S p *-adnastar* TripL 252 28, VIII S p *ad-r-anact*, IX *adnachte*, X *adnacul* neut.

With *ad- ind-* 'to escort, to lead' IV S p *at-dom-ind-nastar* gl. deducar, VI S 3 *ad-ind-ain* LU 5077.

With *to-ind-* (*to-in-*) 'to bestow' I S 3 *doindnaich*, *duindnag*, *do-n-indnig*, p *doindnagar*, P 3 *-tinnagat*, p r *-tindnagtar*, IV S p *doindnastar*, P p *doindnasatar*, V S 1 *do-ndn-indninsin*, 3 *duind-ansed*, *-tindnised*, P 2 *do-dn-indnasti se* (leg. *-ste si*), VI S 3 *do-n-indin*, p *doindnastar*, P p *doindnasatar*, VIII (with perf. *-com-*) S 2 *duécomnacht*, 3 *doecomnacht*, r *tecomnacht*, p (with *-ro-*) *do-rr-indnacht*, (with *-com-*) *doécomnacht*, *-técomnacht*, IX *tinnachtae*, X *tindnacul*, *tindnacul*.

§ 498. *and-* 'to kindle' IX *andithe*, X *andud*, *andod* 'beginning', *annudh*.

With *ad-* 'to kindle, to begin' I S p *adaintir*, P 3 *adandad* (= -at) RC 36 256f, VIII S p *ad-r-andad*, IX *adanta*, X *adandad*, *adnad*

With *for-od-(e)ss-* 'to enlighten' I S 3 *forosnai*, *forosna*, *forossndi* Anecd V 28 12 *for-don-osdá* LL 123a 7, P p *forosnaitir*, III S 2 *fursain*, VIII P 3 *foruasnaisiut* W₁ III 238 110, X *fursundud*, *fursunnud*

§ 499. *arco*, *arcu* 'I beseech'

With *com-* I S 1 *comaircim* 'I inquire' (a remodelled form), IV S 2 *comairser*

With *aith-com-* I S 3 *adcomairce* Rawl B 502 126b 33, p *adcomarcar* SM IV 154 21, X *co n-aithchomaircib* 'with questions', gen *cenn adchomairc* 'chief counsellor' (Vmmr 14 116 14 *aithchomairc* 'asking leave' SM)

With *frith-com-* I S 3 *freemairc* Mon Tall 135 16 IV S 2 *fiscomarser*, VIII S 3 *fiscomarcair* 'asked', X (acc) *freemore* ZCP 12 363 34, (g) *freemairce* 'consulting'

With *imb-com-* 'to ask' I S 3 *imm-e-chomairc* p *imm-e-chomarcar*, P p *imm-e-chomarcatar* III S 3 *na imchomarcad*, P 1 *imchomarcam*, V S 3 *imm-e-chomairsed*, VIII S 3 *imchomarcair*, X neut *imchomarc* 'question'

With *to-com-* I S 3 *tochomairc* Ériu 3 138 92, X *tochmarc* 'wooing, courting', dat *tochmure*

Note. Brit OW X *erchim*, MW I S 1 *archaf* 'I request', 3 *erch*, III S 2 *arch* VIII S 3 *erchis*, X *erchi*, Co I S 1 *arghaf*, 3 *ergh*, I S 3 *yrghys* III S 2 *argh* VIII S 1 *yrghys*, 2 *yrghsys*, 3 *erghys*, *yrghys*, *yrghys*, IX *ghys*, MBr VIII S 3 *archas*, with **k'om-* W *cyfarchaf* 'I greet', X *cyfarch*, with **ndhi-* W *annerchi* 'to greet, greeting', with **to nithi* MW I S 3 *denneirch* 'greet' LIH 20 9 Co VIII S 3 *dynyrghys* 'greeted', X *dynnuargh* — Etym § 7, 2

§ 500 *ba-* 'to die' I S 3 *-ba* W₁ III 53 15, III S 3 *baad* SM I 12 12, V S 3 *-baad*, *-báad*, P 3 *-batis*, VI S 3 *beba* ZCP 13 101 (properly the conjunct form) P 2 *bebithi* Anecd III 59 2, 3 i *bebte*, VIII S 3 *-bebe* *-beba* (later *bebais*), X *bás* ('f *bath* 'death' (*baath* RC' 20 170 § 31, disyll), *bathach* gl *morbundus*)

With *di-* 'to become extinct' IV S 3 *dobá*, VI S 3 *dobeba* LL 294b 8, VIII P 3 *-dibatur* (= -tar) SM IV 292 5, X *dibad* SM, W₁, (TrL)

§ 501. *báid-* (*bāid'-_i*) 'to immerse, to drown' Regular *-i*-stem (I S 3 *n báid* is a new formation), V P p *-badaitis*, IX *báte*, X *bádud*.

With *dí-* 'to extinguish, to destroy' I S 3 *dobádr* LL 37b 34, *-díbdar* Cáu Ad § 39 (intrans), P 3 *dobadet* Rawl B 502 103a 29, VIII S p *-de-r-badad*, X *díbdud*

With *ar-dí-* I S 3 *ardíbdar*, VIII S 3 *ar-ro-díbard*

With *imb-dí-* I S 3 *imm-án-díbdar* LU 1748, IX nom pl *im-dí-batar*

With *fo-* 'to immerse' I S p *fobádrithir*, *fo-m-barter*, X *fobdod*

Note. Cf W *boddi* 'to drown' (I S 3 *bawdd*) Co *buthy*, Br *beuzi*, also MW *diffaud* 'goes out' Delw y Byd 129 Co *du fyth* 'extinguish' OM 2617, cf BBCS 1 1f To Skr *gāha-tē* 'dives' *gādhā m foid*

§ 502. *ess-* + *ball-* with infixed obj ('it') 'to die' I S 3 *at-bairl*, r *ad-bairl* (*as-índ-bairl*), *-eipil* (*-apail*), p *-abbalar* Cáu Ad § 45, P 3 *at-ballat*, III P 3 *arpleat*, *-eiplet*, IV S 1 *as-índ-bel*, 3 *at-bela*, *as-ín-bela*, *-eple* (*-e* for *-ea*), perf *at-roí-ble* Cáu Ad § 41, *-é-r-bala*, P 1 perf *-é-r-balam*, 3 *-eplet*, V S 1 *at-belain*, *as-índ-belain*, 3 *as-índ-belad*, *-arpled*, P 1 *at-belmaís*, 3 *at-beltaís*, *-epéltáís* (*-epíltáís*), VI S 1 *at-bél*, P 2 *at-belaíd*, 3 *at-bélat*, VII S 3 *at-bela(d)*, P 1 *at-bélmáís*, VIII S 1 *at-ru-balt*, 3 *át-ru-balt*, *-ebailt* LL 25b 20, P 3 *att-ru-baltar*, *-e-r-baltatar*, *-eblatar* Rawl B 502 75a 6, X *epelltu*, *apalltu*

The pres *-ll-* is from *-ln-* with present-forming *-n-* Lat "to eject it (life)", cf Gk *ex-βάλλω*, cognate Skr *gala-ti* 'drops, disappears', OHG *quellen* 'to flow', for meaning cf OE *cwelan* 'to die', *cwellan* 'to kill', Lat *vallesit* 'perierit' Festus

§ 503 *ad-bath-* 'to die' VIII (narrat and perf) S 3 *at-bath*, *-abbad* (*-apad*, *-appad*), P 3 *at-batha*, *-aptha*, also *at-bathatar*, *ad-batar* *as-índ-bathatar*, *-aphatar*, X *aptu*, acc *apthín*, *apthain*

§ 504. *beg-*, *bo-n-g-* (1) With *to-anth-* I S 1 *doanthbruch* gl abrogo, p *tairdbegar* TripL 160 19, *tathbongar* 'is broken' O'Dav 980, *do-n-athmongar* SM V 506 12, P 3 *-tathbongat*, IV S 2 *-tathmes* (leg *-mis*) Thurneysen, Burgschaft 59⁶, 3 *toanthib* Ériu 7 162 § 5, *-tathim*, VIII S p *to-n-andbecht* LU 8015, IX *tairdbecti*, X *tairdbech*, *tathmech*, dat *tathbruch*

(2) With *to-* 'to levy (tribute etc.)' (with perf *-com-*, also irreg *-ro-*) I S 3 *doboing*, *-tobuing*, p *dobongar*, *†tobgar*, P 3 *-tobget*, IV S 2 *-tu-r-bais*, 3 *tobo* Cáu Ad § 48 *dobo*, *-tob*, p *dobosar*, *dobostar*, perf *†ochmastar*, P 3 *dobosat*, VI S 1 *dobibús*, VIII S 3 *to-chom-barg*, X *tobach*, d *tobuch*, g *tobarg*

Note *bo-n-g* is identical with *bo n-g* s 510 cf Mar-triander NTS. 2 298² With *beg-* cf Arm *bekanem* I break, for another theory v ZCP 13 102

§ 505. *ben-* 'to strike' I S 1 *benim*, 3 *benard*, *benith*, p r *benar*, P p *-bentar*, *-fe(n)dar*, III S p *benar*, IV S 2 *-ru-bæ*, 3 *-bia* SM IV 124 10, p *bethur*, P p *betur*, V S p *-bethe*, VI S 1 *bru* TBC (Str - O'K) 3592, 3 *bied* (= *-eid*) Anecd V 28 18, *bith-us* 'he will strike them', r *bias* W₁ Tain 3453, P 3 *biet* (= *-eit*) Anecd V 29 22, VII S 3, *-biad*, VIII S 1 *beo* Ériu 11 149, 2 *-ru-ba*, 3 *bí*, *-bí*, *-ru-bai*, *-ru-ba* Ériu 5 32 24, p *ro-bíth*, P 3 *ro-béotar*, p *ro-bitha*, IX *bith*, ger *bethi*, X *beim*

(1) With *ad-* VI S 1 *a-ta-bru* 'I will slay her' ZCP 3 216 5, cf LL 119b 40, 3 *a-tm-bia* RC 22 178 5 — With *to-ad-* *taipe* 'epitome'

(2) With *com-* I S 3 *comben* 'cuts off' (for *con-*), VIII P 3 *co-tm-beotur* (= *-tar*) Corm § 698, X *cumbae* — With *arth-com-* I S 3 *a-dom-chumben* 'tears me', P 3 *adcumnet* 'wound' Ml 77a 1, IX *ardchumthe*, X *arthchumbe*, *adcumbe* — With *fo-com-* V S p *-fochmaide* 'had been diminished' Ériu 12 72 § 53

(3) With *air-dí-* I S 3 *-airdben* 'destroys', p *ná hardbenar* SM V 486 11, IX *airdbide*, ger *airdbidi*, X *airdbe*, *arthe* — With *etar-dí-* I S 3 *etardiben* 'destroys', P 3 *etardibnet*, II P 3 *etardibnatis*, IV S p *etardibther*, P 3 *etardibet*, V S 3 *etir-n-da-dibed* 'that he should destroy them', P 3 *itar-dam-dibitis*, VIII S 3 *etir-ru-dib*, X *etardibe* — With *imb-dí-* 'to cut off, to circumcise' I S p *imdbenar*, III P 1 *imdbnem*, V S p *-imdbithe*, VIII S p *imm-um-rui-dbed*, *-ro-imdbed*, IX *imdbithe*, X *imdbibe* (neut), dat *imdbiu*, — With *to-imb-dí-* (? *dí-imb-dí-*) I S 1 *doimdbnim* 'I abridge', 3 *tímdibhen* O'Dav 1538, V (latinism for II) S p *du-n-imdbithe* (leg *-imd-*) — With *to-dí-* IV S 3 *do-ro-dba* 'may she destroy'

(4) With *ess-* X *eipe* 'act of cutting (wood etc)' SM Gloss 284 — With *to-ess-* I S p *duepenar* BB 319b 38, 39, consuetud (without *-n-*) *doepethar* 'is usually cut off' Corm § 674, VIII S 3 perf *doérbai* gl *concidit*, IX *tebede* BB 319b 42, X *tepi* (= *-e*) W₁ II 2 83 969

(5) With *fo-* 'to overthrow, destroy, frustrate' I P 3 *fobenat*, IV S 3 *fo-m-bia*, *!fuba* Ériu 7 148 § 11, V P 3 *-fubitis* Ériu 3 140 181, VIII P 2 *fo-ru-bid*, IX *fubide*, X *fubae*, Ml_r *fuba* 'hewing' — With *air-fo-* 'to cut, break down' IV S 3 *-orba* SM IV 124 11, X *aurba*, *orba* SM — With *to-fo-* I S 1 *dofubnim* 'I cut off', P p *dufubniter*, IV S p *dufobither*, V S 3 *dufubath*, P 3 *dufubatis*,

VI S 3 *dufóbi*, VIII S p *du-fo-r-bad*, P p *-torbatha*, IX P nom *tóbandi*, X *tobae* (neut), *tóbe*

(6) With *to-ınd-* I S 3 *tındben* W₁ 217 6 (*tınben* 329) 'strikes' (as pres consuet *tınbi* W₁ II¹ 185 289 'which is wont to strike', Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 33)

(7) With *air-od-* I P 1 *co arubnem* gl *ut euisceremus* — With *ınd-air-od-* 'to expel' I S 1 *ınarbenım*, *ınarbenım*, 3 *ınarben* ZCP 3 452 21, *lasse a-ta-árban* 'when he drives them', p *ınáršana(r)*, P p *ınáršantar*, III S 2 *ınd-a-árben* 'banish them', 3 *a-tat-árbined* 'let it impel thee', p *-ındarbanar*, IV S 3 *-ındurbe* (leg *-ındarbe*), p *-ındarputher* V P p *ındarpıtis*, VIII S 1 *ın-r-a(r)ba*, 3 *at-r-arpı* Trans Phil Soc 1891—2—3 156 12 (*atrorbe* Anecd IV 64 17) 'he banished that', *-ındarpar*, P 3 *ın-r-arpıtar*, X *ındarpe*, *ındarbae* (neut) — With *fo-ınd-air-od-* VII S p *nı foındarpaide* 'would not be put under' — With *dı-od-* 'to cut off' VIII S p *dorıupad* W₁ III 38 23, X *dıupa* 'digging'

(8) With *to* VIII S p *do-n-rubad* 'we have been slain' LL 193b 60, X *tuba* 'breaking up, attack'

Note Cog with MBr *benaff* 'to cut' VIII S 3 *quemenas*, *quemenar* MBr *komenar* talui W *cımpıar* lower (with **k'om*) OW *dubeneticıon* gl *ıccıstıs* OBr *etınam* gl *ıano* (the pres forming *n* is absent in the deriv OBr *bıtat* gl *ıreıaret* W *bıd* 'quicksst hedge' *bıdıo* 'to set a hedge', *bıdıoı* 'bayonet' cf Ir *bıth* 'a wound' v RC 35 363), to Lat *perfinis* 'perstringas'

§ 506 *ber-* 'to bear' carıv' (*ro-ucc-* in perf forms) v §§ 444, 452, 456, 459, 466 — Perf forms I S p *ruucthar* 'can be applied', P 3 *-ıucat*, *-ıugat*, III S 2 *ıuc* Tec Corm § 18, IV S 3 *-rucca*, V S p *-ructhae* P p *-ructais*, VIII S 1 *rouccıus* 3 *rouıc*, *ruuc*, *ro-da-ucarı*, *-ıuc*, p *rucad*, *rohucad*, *ru(ı)ced* ACL 1 253 § 402, 256 § 456, P 3 *r-a-ıucarı* *-ıucarı* p *rouctha* *ructha*

(1) With *air-* (with dat *biıth* = 'partakes of', with foll prep *a*, *ass-* = 'brings out, expresses') I S 3 *arber*, *ar-a-ber*, p *arberar*, *arberi*, *-arberar*, P 1 *ar-ıd-berarı*, 3 *arberat*, p *arbertar*, II P 1 *-erbırmıs*, 3 *ar-m-berııs*, III S 2 *arıbu* IV S 2 *ar-a-m-berı* 3 *arbera*, *ar-a-ıoi-bıra*, p *ar-m-berıthar*, P 1 *ar-a-m-berarı*, *-arbararı*, 2 *-arıbirıd*, 3 *-arbarat*, p *arbertar*, V S 3 *ar-a-m-berad*, P 3 *-arıbertıs*, VI S 1 *nı arıbéer fırtı* 'I will not reproach thee with it', 3 *-erbaıra*, *-erbera*, VII S 3 *-erberad*, VIII S 1 *ar-a-ru-bırt* 3 *ar-ru-bart*, *-ar-bart*, P 3 *ar-ru-bartatar*, *ar-a-ru-bartat*, *-ar-r-bartatar*, IX nom pl *arıbirıthı*, ger *erbirıthı*, X *arbert* (fem), *erbert*

With *to-air-* 'to bring, reduce, to bend' I S p *du-n-erbarar*, *-tar-berar*, P p *doarbertar*, III P p *tairbertar*, IV S p *du-mm-erbertkar*, VIII S 3 *doarbart* ZCP 3 208 17, P p *duarbartha*, IX *tairberthae*, X dat *do therbirt* — With *ad-to-air-* (*aith-to-air-*?) 'redigere' IS3 *atairbir*, X *atairbert* — With *ind-to-air-* 'bow down' III S 2 *intatrbir*

(2) With *com-* 'to conceive, to become pregnant' V S p *conbertha* Ériu 8 160, VII S 3 *o-m-berad* Thes I 488 25, VIII S 3 *com-bert*, X *in chombart*, MIIr usually *compert*

(3) With *ess-* 'to say' I S 1 *asbiur*, *-ep(i)ur*, 2 *asbir*, *-apir*, 3 *asbeir*, *as-ro-ba(i)r*, *-epir*, *-eper*, p *asberar*, *asberr*, *-eperr*, P 1 *asberam*, *-eprem*, 2 *asberid*, 3 *as-n-don-berat* p *asbertar*, *-epertar*, II S 1 *asberin(n)*, 3 *asbered*, p *asberthe*, P 1 a *t-beirmis*, 3 *asbe(i)rtis* III S 3 *na epred*, IV S 1 *asber*, *-eper*, 2 *asbere*, *asbera*, *-á-r-bará*, 3 *asbera*, p *asberthar*, *as-ro-barthar*, *-epert(h)ar*, *-é-r-barthar*, P 1 *as-m-beram*, 2 *asberaid*, *-é-r-barid*, 3 *asberat*, *-epret*, *-é-r-barut*, V S 1 *asberin(n)*, 2 *asbertha*, 3 *asberad*, *-epred* perf *as-ind-ro-brad*, p, *asberth(a)e*, *-eperth(a)e*, P 1 *asbermis*, 3 *as-n-da-ro-bartis*, *-epertais*, VI S 1 *asbéar*, *asbéer*, *-épéer*, 3 *asbéra*, perf *-e-r-biéra*, P 1 *asbéram*, 3 *asbérat*, p *asbertar*, VII S p *-eperthar*, VIII S 1 *as-id-ru-burt*, *-á-r-burt*, 2 *a-t-burt* 'TBC' (Str-O'K) 1755, 3 *asbert*, *as-ru-bart*, *-epert*, *-é-r-bart*, p *as-ro-brad*, *-e-r-brad* *-é-r-brath*, *-æ-r-barad*, P 1 *as-ru-bartmar*, 3 *as-ind-bertatar*, *as-ru-bartatar*, *as-in-ru-bartat* *-æ-r-b(art)atar*, IX ger *epertu*, X *epert*

(4) With *for-* to increase to grow I S 1 *forbiur*, 3 *forbeir*, P 3 *for-m-berat*, *-foirpret*, II S 1 *for-m-birinn*, 3 *forberad*, IV S p *-forberther*, P 3 *-foirbret*, VI S 3 *forbéra*, VIII S 3 *for-ru-bart*, P 1 *for-ru-bartmar* 3 *forbertatar* *for-ru-bartatar*, *for-ru-bartat* X *forbart*, *forbbart*

(5) With *frith-* I S 1 *frisbiur* 'I oppose', 3 *nand rithbeir*, P 3 *fris-m-berat*, IV S 1 *fris-a-ber* (lig *fris-m-ber*), 3 *fris-bera*, VI S 1 *frishér*, X *fruthbert* SM

(6) With *imb-* 'to ply, to play to practise' I S 2 *imbir* 'puttest', p *imber(r)*, *-imber(r)*, P 3 *imm-a-mi-berat*, perf *im-ro-bhrad* (= *-at*) RC' 36 257, III S 2 *imbir* 'put', IV S 3 *imm-a-bera* 'employs it', perf *imb-e-roi-bra* 'commits' Ériu 7 148 § 8, VI S 1 *-immér*, VIII S 3 *im-da-ru-bart*, *-imbert*, X acc pl *imberta* — With *mí-imb-* IV P 3 *mí-tn-imret* 'that they deceive him', X *mimbert*

(7) With *aith-od-* 'to offer' I S 3 *adopuir*, *ad-idn-opuir*, p *adobarar*, *adoparar*, *adopar*, *-idparar*, P 3 *-idbarat*, p *adopartar*,

adobartar, II S p *adoparthe*, VIII S 3 *a-t-r-ópert*, *adopart*, *ad-r-obart*, p. *a-tam-r-óipred*, P 3 *ad-r-obartat*, p *aidopartha*, IX *edberthe*, X *idbart* (also *ed-*) — With *to-anh-od-* 'to offer, to bring' I S p *du-n-edbarar*, P p *-dedbardar*, IV P 2 *-tdbard*, V S 3 *do-n-edbarad*, IX *tedbarthe*, *taudbartha*, ger *tedbarthu*, *tedparthu* — With *di-od-* 'to deprive, to defraud' I S 3 *doopir*, p *-dvubarar*, P 2 *dioprid*, 3 *-diu-prat* ZCP 13 22 11, III S 3 *na trubrad*, IX *diuparth(a)e*, X *diupart*, oc *diupirt* (*dvubeirt*) 'a-waning' — With *imb-di-od-* 'to defraud mutually' IV S 3 perf *cona m-an-derbara*, *-derbra* SM II 340 2, O'Dav 709 — With *fo-od-* 'to attack, set about' I S 3 *fuabair*, *fo-sn-opair*, III P 1 *foipremm* ZCP 4 39 12, *fiuiprem* TBF (Byrne-Dillon) 189, VIII S 3 *fo-rr-ópart*, X *fóbart*

(8) With *tarm-* I S p *tarmúberar* 'is transferred', X *tarmbreith* Féil² Jul 3, acc *tarmbreith* Jun 4

(9) With *to-* 'to bring, to give' (Zimmer, Kelt St II 112f, 45—47, perf *to-rat-* 'to give', *to-ucc-* 'to bring', for *to-ucc-* 'to understand' cf § 422, 6) I S 1 *dobuir*, *-tabur*, 2 *dobir*, *-tabair*, 3 *dobe(i)r*, *-tab(a)ir*, p *dober(r)*, *doberar*, *-tabar(r)*, P 1 *doberam*, *-tabbrem*, 2 *d-a-berid*, 3 *doberat*, *-tabbret*, p *dobertar*, *-tabartar*, II S 3 *-tab-(red)*, p *doberthe*, P 3 *dobertis*, *do-m-beirtis*, p *dobertis*, III S 2 *tabair*, *taber*, 3 *tabbred*, p *tabarr*, P 1 *tabbrem*, 2 *tabbrid*, IV S 2. *doberae*, *-tabbre*, *-toibre*, 3 *du-m-bera*, *-tabbrea*, *-tobrea*, p *dobertar*, P 2 *do-n-berad*, *-tabbrid*, 3 *duberat*, p *do-m-bertar*, V S 2 *duberttha*, 3 *doberad*, *-tabbred*, p *-tabarth(a)e*, P 2 *doberthe*, p *dubertis*, *dobertais*, VI S 1 *dobéer*, *-tibér*, 2 *doberae*, *-tibéræ*, *-tibre* RC 20 12 20, 3 *do-sm-béra*, MIIr *-tibre*, p *dobérthar*, *-tibérthar*, P 3 *dobérat*, p *du-m-béartar*, VII S 3 *do-m-berad*, *-tiberad* (MIIr *-tibre*d), P 2 *do-sm-bérthe*, 3 *-tibertais*, p *-tibertais*, VIII S 1 *do-m-biurt*, 2 *dobirt*, 3 *dobert*, *-tubart*, r. *dubert*, P 3 *do-s-bertar*, IX g *tabarthu*, ger *tabarthu*, X *tabart*

Perf forms 'to give' I S 3 *-tarti*, P 3 *-tartat*, II P 3 *-tardatis*, IV S 1 *-tart*, 3 *durata*, *-tarta*, p *-tartar*, P 1 *-tarddam*, 2 *dorattid*, *-tartaid*, 3 *-tardat*, p *con-dartaiter* ACL 3 22 10, V S 1 *con-dartim*, 3 *o-dardad*, VIII S 1 *doratus*, 2 *dorat(a)is*, 3 *dorat*, *-tarat*, p *doratad*, *doradad*, *-tartad*, *-tardad*, P 1 *doratsam*, 2 *d-a-ratsid*, 3 *doratsat*, *-tartsat*, *-tartsisset*, p *dorata*, *-tarta*

Perf forms 'to bring' I S p *-tucthar*, III S 2 *tuc*, P 2 *tucad*, IV S p *con-ducthar*, P p *in-duccatar*, V S 3 *-tucad*, VIII S 1 *do-n-uccus*, 2 *tucais*, 3 *do-n-uc*, *douc*, *du(u)ic*, *tuc(c)*, *duuc*, *tuc*, *du-d-*

uccar, *ni tunc*, *-tuc*, *p* *tuc(c)ad*, *ducad*, *-tuced*, *P* 1 *-tucsam*, 3 *du-nn-ucsat*

to-ucc- 'to understand' *I* *S* 1 *-tucu*, 3 *do-sn-uccr* (*-uccar*), *tucca*, *thuccar*, *-tucci*, *-tucar*, *p* *dohucthar*, *duucthar*, *tuucthar*, *-tucthar*, *P* 3 *do-nd-ucet*, *-tucat*, *p* *-tucatar*, *-tuctar*, *II* *P* 3 *-tuctars*, *IV* *S* 1 (*ce*) *thuc*, 2 *-tu(v)ce*, *-tucca*, *p* *du-n-ucthar*, *P* 1 *do-n-d-uccam*, 2 *-tucrd*, *V* *S* 1 *-tuccin*, *p* *con-ducthe*, *P* 1 *-tucmis*, *VI* *S* 3 *-tucfa*, *p* *-tuccfither*, *P* 2 *d-a-ucbard*, *VIII* *S* 1 *-tucus*, *P* 2 *-tucsd*, 3 *-tucsat*, *-tucset*, *X* *tabart* (*tabart*), *MIr.* *tucaru*

(11) With *trem-* 'transfer' *I* *S* *p* *tremiberur*, *VIII* *perf* *S* *p* *trimirucad*

Note **Brit** (a) The root *ber-* has no simple forms (for *W* *bryd* *mund* etc v § 7, 1) Compounds *OW* *anit arber bit g* *num uesclur*, *MnW* *arfer*, *arferyd* 'to use, to be accustomed', *Co* *ernyre* 'to decide', cf (1) above — With **k'om-* *W* *cymryd* (also *MnW* *cymeyd*) 'to take' *I* *cyngraf*, *VIII* *S* 3 *cymerth* (also *MnW* *cymerodd*), *Co* *kemeres*, *VIII* *S* 3 *k'onest(h)*, *MIr* *guemeret*, *guempret*, *compret* *MnBr* *kemeret* — With **ati-ud* *OW* *aperth*, *MIW* *MnW* *aberth* 'sacrifice', *X* *aberthu*, with **dē-ud-* (**dē-ad*) *MIW* *diubryt* 'withholding, depriving', *dieberedū* *diebrid* *c* 'frustrated' **AL** *I* 398 1, 7 *dieberur* 'withholder' **WM** 126 7 (*diuberur* *p* 289 29) v **RC** 37 299, (no finite forms), cf (7) above — With **dī-eks* *MIW* *diffryt* 'to defend', *VIII* *S* 3 *differth*, *diffyrrth* (*differwys* **LH** 205 1), *Co* *dyffres*, — with **dē-uf(p)o* *W* *diofryd* 'vow, renunciation', *MIW* *dioferaf* *I* 'forswear' **BT** 65 20, *diofredaf* **RP** 583 27, *MIr* *diouerat* 'to be deprived of', v **RC** 37 300

(b) The root in *I* *do-rat* (and without *to* *Ir* *rodet* **Maistrander** **RC** 40 399, without *to-* and *ro-* *Ir* *con da i cotuca* **Bérna na Fild** 13 **Maistrander**, **Présents à nasale infixée** 25, (*l* *dide*) forms a close cpd with **(p)ro* in **Brit** in the verb *to give*, this verb is compounded with **to-* in *W* without change of meaning but in *Co* the cpd means to bring. The perf meaning of **(p)ro-* is lost. The */d-/* from the *d-* in **(p)ro-d-* disappears sometimes in *W* always in *Co* and *Br*. The conjugation is mostly regular.

MIW *I* *S* 1 *rodaf* (*MnW* *rhoddaf*, *rhof*), 2 *rody*, *roy* (*rhoddi*, *rhoi*), 3 *rud* (*rhyydd*, *rhyy*, *dyry*) etc., *II* *S* 1 *rodwn* (*rhoddun*, *rhown*), 2 *rodut* (*rhoddut*, *rhout*), etc., *III* *S* 2 *ro*, *dyro* (*rho*, *dyro*), *IV* *S* 3 *rodo*, *rotho*, *ioho*, *io* (*rhoddo*), cf § 453 n 3, *VIII* *S* 1 *rodwis* (*rhoddais*, *rhois*), 3 *rodes* (*rhoddes*, *rhoes*, *rhoddodd*), etc., *plpf* *rodasswn* (*rhoddasswn*, *rhoesun*) etc., *X* *rodi*, *roy* (*rhoddi*, *rhoi*), also with inflection of suffixless pret. *VIII* *S* 1 *roessum*, 2 *roessost*, *plpf* *S* 3 *roesser*, *roessoed*. Also used as *ipx*, *S* 2 *mocs*, *P* 2 *mocuch*.

Co *S* 1 *rof*, 2 *reyth* *reth*, 3 *re* (*rea* **OM** 2770), *P* 1 *ren*, *II* *S* 1 *ren*, 3 *rey*, *III* *S* 2 *ro*, *roq*, *P* 1 *ren*, 2 *regh*, *IV* *S* 3 *roy*, *rollo* v § 453 n 2, *V* *S* 1 *rollen*, 3 *rolle*, *rolla*, *VIII* *S* 1 *rys* *rev*, 2 *rysays*, *ressays*, 3 *rof(y)s* *reys*, *plpf* *S* 1 *rosen*, 3 *rose*, *IX* *reys*, *roys*, *X* *ry* *rey* — With **to-* *I* *S* 1 *droff*, 3 *doro*, *III* *S* 2 *doro*, *drou*, *dorc*, 3 *drens*, *P* 2 *dre(u)gh* *drewhy* (with *augens*), *VIII* *S* 3 *dros*, *droys* *plpf* *S* 3 *drossa*, *P* 1 *drosen*, *IX* *dreys*, *X* *dry*, *drey*

MIr I S 1 *roaff*, *rof*, 2 *rez*, 3 *ro*, *re*, P 2 *reit*, III S 2 *ro*, P 1 *reomp*, 2 *reit*, *roit*, 3 *roent*, IV S 1 *reif*, 3 *roy*, P 1 *rehomp*, 2 *rehet*, 3 *rohint*, V S 1 *rohen*, 3 *rohe*, P 2 *rohech*, 3 *rohent*, X *reiff*, *rei* — MnBr I S 1 *roann*, II *roenn*, III S 2 *ro*, IV S 1 *rounn*, V *rofenn*, VIII *roiz*, IX *roet*, X *rei*

(c) Corresponding to Ir *to ucc-* there is in Brit a verb (with IE ablaut in the root syll) meaning 'to carry, to bring'

MIW I S 1 *dygaf*, 3 *dwc* (MnW *dwg*), etc., II *dygum* etc., III S 2 *dwc* (*dwg*), etc., IV S 3 *dycko* (*dyco*, *dygo*), aich *duch* § 453 n 1, VIII S 1 *dugum* (*dygas*), 2 *dugost* (*dygaist*), 3 *duc* (*dug*, *dygodd*), P 1 *dugam* (*dygasom*) etc., plpf S 3 *ducses* (*dygasas*), X *dwyn*

Co I S 3 *dog del* (with umlaut) P 1 *degen*, III S 2 *doh*, 3 *degens* *degyns*, P 2 *degeugh*, *degogh*, IV S 3 *re thokko*, *dogo*, V S 3 *degy*, VIII S 3 *duk*, plpf P 2 *decsyugh*, IX *dcqys*, X *doen*, *doun* *don*

MIr I S 1 *dougaf*, 2 *doguez*, 3 *douc*, III S 2 *douc* P 1 *douguomp*, 2 *douguit*, *douget* IV S 1 *douguiff*, 3 *dougo*, V S 3 *dou(c)que* VIII S 3 *dougas*, IX *douguet*, X *doen* (MnBr *dougen*) (cf OBr *dodoecet* gl *mlatam*)

Similar formations MIW *go ruc did* Co *g uk*, MIW *am ygaf* I defend, I contend, VIII S 3 *amur*, X *amwyn* cf MIr *amouc* *clay*

The root *ber-* is related to Lat *ferō* Gk *φέρω* 'I bear', Skr *bharāmi* — *ro-d-* to Lat *dō* Gk *δίδωμ*. Skr *dādāmi* — W *dygaf* etc to Lat *dūcō* 'I lead', Goth *tuhan* to draw' Ir *-ucc-* < **u-n-q-* (a present formation) See further VKG II 475, Vendryes RC 43 211f

§ 507 *bert-* with *air-* 'to prepare, determine' I S 3 *ar-a-berta*, II S 3 *ar-a-m-bertad*, VIII S 1 *ar-ro-mertus*, 3 *ar-ro-bert*, X *erbert*, *airmert* (neutr), dat *airmurt*, *airmburt* (and *airimbert*, as if comp with *air-imb-*, (Irl 59) — With *to-air-* VIII S 3 *tarmairt* was within a little of' Trans Phil Soc 1895—98 74, p *tarmartad*, P 3 *tarmart(atar)* 'they were about to' Mon Tall 153 14

Note. Cf W *armurth d armerth* preparation Br *armerheim ménager* (cf BBCS 2 106 Ernault Gloss 409 RC 32 66²)

§ 508 *bidg-* 'to startle, to leap' VIII S 3 *bidcars*, *bidgars*, X *bidgud* (an *-i-*verb, regular loss of palat) Cf *bedg* 'a start, leap' — With *di-* 'to throw' (replaced by *di-bairg-* in close cpds, *-bidg-* remains after accented *ro*) I P 3 *dubidcet*, II S 3 *du-m-bidced*, V P 3 *dubidctis* VIII S 3 *d-am-bidc*, *do-ro-bidc* Forms of *di-bairg-* I S 1 *dibairgim*, III S 2 *dibairg*, V S 3 *-dibairged*, *-diburged*, VIII S 3 *ro-dibairg*, X *dibirciud*, *dibiercud*, MIr *diburgud*, *dibrugud*, also *diburgun* (influenced by inf of *org-*) — Cf § 27, W *burw* § 37, 2

§ 509 *bo-n-d-* (1) with *ad-* 'to proclaim, declare', (2) with *od-* 'to refuse' (these cpds appear to be confused)

(1) I S 3 *isboind*, *a-ta-bairnd*, *a-t-boind*, III S p *adbonnar*, IV S 2 *a-t-bois*, 3 *adbo*, X *apad*, *abad*, gen *apuid*

(2) IV S 2 *-obbaibis* ZCP 3 454 10, 3 (*a*)*sbo* ZCP 14 381 3 *-op* *-oip* (anal palat), VI S 1 *-opus*, VIII S 3 *a-t-bobuid* (with *ad-*), perf *atroeband* Salt 3997 X *obbad*, *opad*

To Gk *πρ-ρ-θ άρρωαι* 'I ask', Goth *biudan* 'to bid', Skt *bōdhati* 'is awake is aware of' — A further cpd is Ir *ro-bud* 'warning', gen *robaid*, W *rhybudd*

§ 510 *bo-n-g-* 'to break, reap' I S 1 *m-bung* 3 *-boing* VI S 1 *bibhsa*, P 3 *-bihsad* (= *-at*) RC' 12 106 160 VIII S 3 *-bobug*, p *-bocht* X *buain*, gen *buana*

With *com-* 'to break' I S 3 *sboing* p *conbongar* V S 3 *cho-ta-bosad* VI S p *-bibustar*, VIII S 3 *-chombar* X *combach* — With *imb-com-* 'to break mutually' IV S 3 *arna mm-a-conbba dóib* SM IV 334 5

With *to-* 'to break' I S 3 *dobuing* ZCP 13 20 12 *dobuing* Hib Min 72 18, III S 2 *tobuing* 72 17 VIII S 3 *-t-o-pacht* (pass form used as act) *tóe-r-baig*

§ 511 *both-* with *fo-* 'to frighten' I S 1 *fobotham*, 2 *-būp-thai* V S 3 *fo-ta-bothad* VIII S 1 *mo-s-rubthus* (leg *f-*) Michael A O'Brien, Ériu 11 88 X *subthad* *bupthad*

§ 512 *brenn-* 'to spring forth to bubble' VIII P 3 *bebarnatar*, X *breisiu* (with *í-ē-*) Corm 180

With *to-ess-* I S 3 *do-n-eprinn* P 3 *do-prannat* gl 'affluent', *do-n-eprennet* gl 'liquefient', VIII P 3 *do-r-eprendset* 'flowed' (MH form), X *tepresiu*, gen *teipersen*, nom pl *tepairsneat*, *tepairsneat*, gen pl *tepairsen* — With *to-od-* I P 3 *toiprinnet* gl 'influent'

Note Celt **briud na-* from a simpler form **bri-* found with *to-od-* in OIr *topur* well with *to-ess-* in MH *tipia* well, dat *tipiad* ultimately cog with Lat *frucō* etc s 46 Gk *gēnō* well OHG *bruno* Lat *fructus*

§ 513 *bronn-* 'injure damage spoil' I S 3 *brondaid ni bronna* 'it wears not away', p *bronnair* IV S 3 *ro-bria* p *ro-bruathar* Mostly reg *-ā-* verb forms, as also *bronn-* 'to bestow, present spend, consume', which is identical etymologically ('spoil' > 'spend' > 'bestow', cf § 514) (cf § 13, 2 RC' 28 195)

With *di-* IV S 3 *do-bre* *do-bria*, X *diburndud* O'Dav 620 (Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 33)

§ 514 *caith-* (MnIr 'throw, hurl, fling, cast, waste, wear, spend, eat drink, consume, use') I S 3 *-chaithe* 'eats', X *caithem*

— With *to-* I S 3 *dochanthi* 'spends', *dicathri*, p *ducha(v)ter*, III S 3 *nachn-tochthad* 'let it not wear thee out', VIII P 3 *du-ro-chthaisset*, X *tochanthem*

§ 515. *can-* 'to sing' (in pres sometimes *-ā-st*, sometimes *-e-o-st*) I S 2 *cani*, 3 *canad*, r *canas*, p *cana(v)r*, *-canar*, p r *canar*, P 3 *canant*, p *-cantar*, II S 3 *-chanad*, p *-cante*, P 3 *-chantas*, III S 2 *can* (*cain*), P 2 *canad*, VIII S 3 *cachain*, p *-cét*, P 3. *cachnaitir*, *cechnatar*, p *-ceta*, IX *cete*, ger *ceti*, X *ceul*, *céol*, dat *ciul*, also *cétal* (later dat *cantarn*)

(1) With *ad-* 'to recite, sound' I S p *adcanar* K Meyer, Betha Colmáin 78, 13, X *arcetal* SM, O'Dav — With *fo-ad-* I S 1 *foacanaim* gl *succino*

(2) With *air-* I S 3 *arcain* '(the law) says', *ar-a-cain* gl *incinere*, p *arcanar* gl *cantatur*, P p *arcantar*, II S p *arcanta*, VIII S 3 *arcáchain*, X *airchetal* 'song'

(3) With *com-* 'to sing together, agree' I S p *con-CHANAIR* (leg. *-ar*), P 3 *canat*, X *cocetal*

(4) With *dí-* 'to sing spells' I S 3 *dichan*, *dicain* Corm nescoit, RC 25 348 7, VIII S 3 *dicachain* Ériu 3 137 66, X *dichetal* W₁, CILrL

(5) With *fo-* I S 3 *fo-m-chain* 'sings to me', II S 3 *fo-m-CHANAD* Liad and Cur 24 14

(6) With *for-* 'to teach' I S 1 *for-CHANAIM*, *for-chun*, 3 *for-chain*, *-forcaim*, p *forcanar*, P 3 *forcanat*, p *forcantar*, III S 3 *forcanad*, P 2 *forcanid*, IV S 1 *cu farcan*, 2 *forcane*, *-forcane*, 3 *for-chana*, P 2 *forcanit(h)*, 3 *-farcana*, V S 1 *forcanaimn*, VI S 1 *for-(d)ab-cechan*, 2 *forcechnae*, 3 *for-dub-cechna*, VIII perf S 1 *forroichan*, 2 *for-tan-roichan*, 3 *forroichain*, P 3 *for-tan-roichechnatar*, IX *forrethe* (*-th-* for older *-t-*), ger *forrethi*, *forcanth* (new form), X *forcital* neut

(7) With *to-ind-* IV P 3 *du-n-inchanat* gl *incantare*, X pl *tinchtla*

(8) With *to-air-ro* (or *to-air-fo-*?) 'prophecy' I S 1 *doaurchanaim*, 3 *doerchain*, *du-n-aurchain*, p *duerchanar* P 3 *do-n-erchanat*, II S 3 *do-n-erchanad*, P 3 *doaircaintris* ACL 3 12 16, VIII S 3 *du-nd-archechainn*, *du-n-uircechainn*, *-tairchechain*, p (perf) *doairchet*, *doar(r)chet*, *-tair(r)chet*, *-tar(r)chet*, P 3 *d-an-uircechnatar*, *-tairchechnatar*, p *taircheta*, IX dat *terchantu* (new form), X *tairchital*, *terchital*

Note *Brit.* *W canu* 'to sing' (MIW VIII S 1 *keint*, etc § 460 n 1c), *Co cane*, MIBr *canaff*, MIBr *kana* (Cpds (5) *W goganu* 'to satirize, lampoon' (MIW VIII S 3 *goganu* 'praised' LIH 268 31, cf *gochanant* (sic leg) they praise' 277 17) MIW *dyoganu* 'to prophesy' MIBr *dioguan* *diogan* promise, prediction, MIW *dyogogan* 'predicts' BT 13 2, LIH 132 14 oftener *diagogan*, (6) MIW *gwarchan* later *qorchan* 'song (with Ir *forait*) of MIW *qorcheithl-eit* singers' BBCS 4 56) OBr *machoniat* gl incantator Br V *diourgan* prediction Loth RC 41 378 (8) *W darogan* to prophesy prophecy, OBr *darcenneti* gl haecsis - Cf Lat *cano*

§ 516. *car-* 'to love' I (mostly -ā-st) S 1 *caram*, -*caram*, -*caurim*, -*caru*, 2 -*cari*, 3 *caraid*, *carid*, -*cara*, r *caras*, *caris* (arch), p r *carthar*, P 3 *carait*, -*carat*, p r *cartar*, II S 3 -*carad*, III S 3 *carad*, IV S 2 *care*, 3 *con-ro-chia*, P 3 -*carat* V S 3 -*carad* VI S 3 -*cechra* ZCP 12 364 30, P 3 -*chechrat*, VIII S 3 *ro-l-car*, -*car*, P 1 *ro-n-dob-carsam*, IX ger *carthi* X *serce*

Cf W *caru* Co *care* Br *karet*

§ 517 *cel-* 'to conceal' I S 1 -*ciul* Ériu 11 137, 3 -*ceil* p -*celar*, P 3 -*chelut*, II P 3 -*chéltis*, VI S 1 -*cél*, P 1 -*celam*, VIII S 3 -*chelt*, p *ro-chleth* Rawl B 502 84a 14, IX *clithe*, ger *clethi*, X *in chleth*, *cleith*, acc *chid*, dat *clith* pl acc *cletha*

Cpds of *cel-* are almost inextricably mixed up with a root *ciall-* (deponent, from *ciall* 'sense') and a root *cell-* 'to go round'

(1) With *air-* 'to steal, rob' I S 1 *arcelim*, 3 *ar-a-chela*, *ar-a-ciallathar*, p -*ercheltar* P 2 *arcelith* 3 *ar-a-chelat*, II P 3 *ai-as-celatars*, IV S 3 *ar-a-cela*, VI S 3 *ar-a-chelfea*, VIII S 3 *ar-id-ro-chell*, p *ar-roi-chled* Coim § 1301, X *archellad* *erchellad* — With *to-air-* I S 3 *do-don-archéil* which conceals us' or which removes us'

Note 1 *ara-tairchela* that he may restrict Wb 'd I in spite of the single -l seems to belong to *cell*. The cpds of *cel* are regular ā-stem. With *to-air-* to go round, encircle constrain I S 3 *taircella* X *tairchell* - With *imb* to surround I S 3 *immi c'hella* with *to imb* I S 3 *duimchella* X *tinchell* d *tinchull*, with *imb to imb* I S 3 *imthinchella* X *imthinchell* d *imthinchull*, with *to air imb* VIII S 3 *do sn aruchell* he constrained them Salt 6552 X *tairmchell* a circuit

(2) With *com-* 'to hide' I S 3 *conceil* ZCP 3 454 11, IV S 2 *chon-chelae* *concela*, 3 *cho-t-chela*, V S 3 r *o-chelad* VIII S 3 *con-celt*, perf *con-ai-celt*

(3) With *di-* 'to conceal, hide' I S 2 -*dichil* p *ducelltar*, P p -*dichliter*, VIII S 3 -*de-r-chelt* ZCP 3 510, IX (° ger) MIBr *dichelta*, X *dichleth*, acc *díc(h)lith* (also *dicelt*, *dichelt*)

(4) With *fo-* 'to care for, take heed of, expect, revere' I S 3 *fuciallathar*, -*foichlidar*, p *focialtar*, P 1 *fochellamar*, 3 *nach-a-ro-*

chlat 'who cannot take care of themselves', III S 2 *fo-m-cialta* 'beware of me' RC 25 346 15, P 1 *fochleamar* (-ea = -e), 2 *fochlhd* IV S p *-fochluther*, VI S 3 *fuchellfea*, P 3 *fochelfatar*, VIII S 3. *fochallastar*, p *fo-n-ro-chled*, *fo-ro-chlad*, *v-rr-ochloth* 'where it had been predestined', P 1 *ni ro-bar-fachlsem* W₁ 99 10 (*ni farcelsam* Anecd V 10 14), 3 *-ro-fochlitar*, X *fochell*, g *faichle* Cymmr 14, 106 8 All these forms derive from *ciall-*, *fochelfatar* seems to be influenced by *cel-* Cf ZCP 5 516f

With *air-fo-* 'to heed, take care of, consider, expect' I S 1. *arfochlm*, 3 *ar-a-focladar*, p *urfochluther*, III P 2 *iranchld*, *erachld*, IV S 2 *-airichlea* (MlIr -ea for -e), P 1 ¹*fuirechlem* VIII S 2 *ar-n-dam-r-ochlis* 'that Thou hast guarded me', P p *ar-fo-r-chelta*; IX *ercheltae* 'delivered', X *erfochill*, dat *erochill*, *airichill* (MnIr *oirchill*) Contains *ciall-* A derivative *nat-eroichligend* 'who can not guard against', VIII S 3 *airichligis*

Note 2 Ir *cel-* corresponds to W *celu* to conceal (OW *imn it cel* 'hides itself' Thurneysen, ZCP 16 301, Ifoi Williams, BBCS 5 240) with epds *ar-gelu* to conceal, *go chlyd*, *go-chel* later *go chelyd* (I S 1 *go chelaf*), MlW *go-glyt* (st *go-gel-*) 'to avoid, beware' MnW *diogelu* to protect, *ymweglyd* 'to beware' (I S 1 *ymogelaf*), Henry Lewis, Dain o'i Ffestifol 81 (these forms show that with Ir *fo ciall-* is mixed a *fo-cel-*) Cf further Lat *cēlō*, *occulō*, OHG *helan*

Corresponding to Ir *ciall-* the foll forms occur in Brit W *puyllo* to pause, consider', epds *cynwyll*, *cynhuyllō* 'to mention', *darbuyllō* to convince', MlW *gobuyllit* may be have regard to' BT 67 19, Br *arboella* 'to save take care of'

Ir *cell-* is from an old -na pres **k^hel-na-mi* and is related to Lat *colō*

§ 518 *cés-* 'to suffer, endure' (-ā-st) I S 1 *-céssim*, 3 r *cessas*, IV S 3 *rucesa*, P 2 *cia cheste*, VI P 3 with obj *cesfartit*, VIII S 1 *ro-chéssus*, 3 *ro-cées*, X *cesad*

With *com-* IV S 3 *aure-coicsa* 'that he suffer with', X *coicsath* 'fellow-suffering', *coicsed* 'pity'

Perhaps **kent-sā-*, to Lith *kenčvū* 'I suffer'

§ 519 *cess-* with *air-* 'to spare, have compassion' (-ī-st) I S 3 *arcessi*, *-archissi*, III S 2 *archisa*, IV S 3 *arcesssea*, *-archissa*, *-erchissea*, *ar-don-roi-gse* 'may he have compassion on us' (MlIr -e for -ea), V S 3 *-erchissed*, VIII S 3 *ar-ro-chers*, X *di-a archissect* 'to spare him'

Perhaps **k^het-sī-*, to W *ar-bed* 'to spare', OCo *henbidiat gl parcus*

§ 520 *ci-* 'to weep, lament' I S 2 *cí* RC 12 60 § 18, 3 *cud*,

r cias, P 3 *-chuat*, III S 2 *ná cú*, IV S 3 *-cra*, V S 3 *-chrad*, P 3 *-ceis*, VI P 3 *cuchit* Anead V 29 22, VIII S 3 *cuch* RC 12 60 § 18, *cích*, X MIr *cói*, *cán*, *cú*

§ 521. *ci-* (1) With *ad-* 'to see' (cf § 404, § 421, 3) I S 1 *a-t-chíu*, *-accvu*, 2 *a-t-chí*, *-aci* *-accar*, 3 *adci*, *adciú*, *-a(i)cci*, p *adcither*, *-aic(c)ither* H 3 18 20a, b, *-ac(c)astar*, perf *ad-ro-darcar* 'can be seen', P 1 *adciam*, *as-id-ciam*, *-accam*, 3 *adciat*, *-acat*, II S 3 *ass-id-chúid* Anead IV IX 13, IV S 1 *adcear*, 2 *-aic(c)ther* LU 6023, *-aiccither* Anead III 57 19, 3 *-accadar*, *-acathar*, p *-accastar*, P 2 *adced*, 3 *adceter*, V S 3 *adcheth*, *-acced*, *-aiced*, p *adcthe*, *-aiciste* Ériu 2 106 § 16, P 2 *adcelthe*, 3 *-accantis*, VI S 2 *atichichther*, p *a-tat-chigestar*, *atichichstár*, P 3 *atichichset* Ériu 3 30 § 10, VII S 3 *-acciged*, P 3 *adcichitis*, VIII S 1 *a-t-chondarc*, *adcondarc*, *-acca*, 3 *ad-idairc* (also MIr *adconnarc*), p *ad-chess*, *-access*, P 3 *atcondar-catar* (also *atconnatar*), *-accatar*, p *-accassa* TBC (Str -O'K) 1413, X *aicsiu*, *aicsin*

With *air-ad-* 'to observe, witness, look on inactively' I S 1 *-airciu* LU 6213 (but cf Thurneysen ZCP 12 286), 3 *ar-do-aice* (*-do-* = *-da-*) Plummer, Ériu 9 112f, *ar-dos-faicce* Rawl B 502 132a 51, *ar-id-accar* Cáin Ad § 35, IV S p *arcastar* O'Dav 109, VI S 2 *-arcecha* LU 6098, X *aicsiu* SM An aberrating form is IV S 3 *ar-dos-cé* Salt 4165 — With *to-air-ad-* 'to surpass, excell' (for **to-for-ad-*) I S 3 *-tarcar* Fél June 29, X *tuirgsin* SM V 436 13

With *ad-cita-ad-* VIII S 3 *adcitaaca* — With *for-ad-* 'to see, look on' (a corruption of *air-ad-*?) I S 3 *foraccar*, P 3 *foraccat* ZCP 18 313, III S p *foircither* O'Dav 881, IX *foircsin*, *farcsi* SM, W1 Táin — With *to-for-ad-* 'to overlook' I S 3 *do-m-farcar* Thes II 290 6, P 3 *dofarcac* 'who excell, surpass' Fél July 15, II S 3 *do-s-fairced* ZCP 11 158 § 148, IV S 3 *do-don-furcadar* Rawl B 502 125b 10

With *frith-ad-* 'to expect' I S 1 *frisaccim*, 2 *fris-n-accar*, 3 *frisaccar*, *-frescar*, P 1 *frisaccam*, 3 *frisaccat*, *-frescat*, II S 1 *frisaccinn*, P 3 *fris-n-aiccitis*, IV S 1 *frisaccar*, P 2 *frisaccid*, 3 *fris-n-accatar*, *frisaccat*, V S 3 *-fresced*, VIII S 1 *fris-r-acacha*, 3 *fris-r-a(ca)chae*, *fres-n-accache*, *-ru-frescachae*, P 3 *fri-t-r-acatar*, *-ru-frescachtar*, *-ru-frescechtar*, *-ru-frescisset*, *-ru-rescesset*, IX *fresca-stae*, dat neut (neg) *neph-frescestu*, X *fresciu*, *frescissiu*

With *imb-ad-* I S 3 *imm-a-n-accar* 'which he watches over',

im-accu 'inspects' Anecd III 57 17, *-imcar*, VI P 3 *imm-us-accichet*, VIII P 1 *ni-m-un-accammar* 'we have not seen one another', IX ger *imcasti* gl *consideranda*, X *immcarisn*

With *to-in-ad-* 'to look towards, to attend to' IV S p *-tincestar*, *-tincerstar*, *-tincustar* SM, VIII S p *do-r-enca[na]s*, X *tincisn* SM In Mlr *tinc-* is treated as a regular simple verb

With *rem-ad-* IX *ind remcastard* 'providentially', X *rem-carissu* 'providence', *remcisnu*

(2) With *di-in-* 'to see' I S 1 *-déccu*, 3 *do-nn-éicci*, *doécar*, *-déci*, III S 2 *dé(ri)cce*, 3 *decad*, P 2 *décuth*, *décard*, IV S 2 *de-n-ecauter*, *-de-r-cauter*, p *duécastar*, *doécastar*, P 1 *-decamar*, VI S 3 *duéci[ci]gi*, VIII S 1 *do-r-eccacha*, 3 *do-sn-écacha*, P 3 *do-r-ecatar*, *do-r-ecachtar*, X *deicisnu*, acc *deicisn*

With *ath-di-in-* IV S 2 *addécider* gl *respicies* — With *etar-di-in* I S 3 *etirdécar* gl *introspect* — With *iarm-di-in-* I S 3 *iarmodécar* 'who looks back' — With *rem-di-in-* I S 2 *remideci* gl *consulis*, 3 *remideci*, *remidéccar*, VIII P 1 *-remde-r-cachmar*, X *remdeicisnu* 'providence'

Note *air ad-* and *for ad-* seem to have been confused. No doubt *air-* was the original preverb in the cpd meaning 'to look on inactively', cf Gk *τετ-ορᾶω*, and *for-* gave the meaning 'to overlook, overhang, surpass, excel' *no-m-dercædar* 'that sees me' Thes II 358. I is hardly a cpd of *ci-* (with *di-ro-in-* or *di-ro-ad-*) but a simple verb corresponding to Gk *δὲρξαται*, but X g *dercaisen* Trip L 216.3 is modelled on the cpds of *ci-*

In Mlr an inorganic *f-* frequently appears before the init vowel of the accented preverbs *ad-* and *in-* *in-do-m fucia* 'where thou hast seen me' LL 113a 17, *do fcar* LU 1706. MnIr I *do-chim* 'I see' after a syntactic preverb *feicim*, VIII *do-chonnac* 'I saw', *-fucca* X *feisaint*

The root *ci-* 'to see' is from IE **k^ues* (cf the redupl Skt *śa-kṣāte* 'sees') or **k^uey-* (to Ir *ciall* 'sense' W *pwyll* Br *poill*, where *ll* < *sl*, v. Thurneysen, *Handb.* 130)

§ 522 *cing-* 'to go, step' I S 3 *cingud*, p *cengair*, P 3 *cengat*, r *cengta*, II S 3 *-cinged*, III S 2 *cing*, 3 *ceingeth*, IV S p *ciarasar*, P 3 r *ciasto*, V S 3 *-chess(ed)*, VI S 3 *cichis*, P 1 *cichsimu* (for *-m*), VII S 3 *cichsed*, VIII S 3 *cechuing*, X *ceimm* 'a step'

With *to-* 'to come' I S 3 *docing*, *tocing*, II S 3 *docinged*, P 3 *docingtis*, VI S 3 *do-da-cich*, P 3 *adcichset*, X *tochim*

Etymology § 8, 2c

§ 523. *clad-* 'to dig' I S 3 r *claudes*, p *cladar* (for *-air*), P 3 *cladant*, II S 3 *no-chlauded*, V S 1 *-clavaind*, p *co-r clasta*, VIII

S p *clasa* Ériu 6 133 7, -*class*, P 3 *co cechlatár*, *ro-cechladatar*; IX *classi*, X *clande*, dat *cland*

With *ad-* 'to pursue, hunt, fish' I S 3 *ad-clardh*, -*aclard*, P 3 *adcladat*, -*accladat*, VI S 1 *adcechlus*, X *aclande*, *aclard*

With *com-* 'to dig, excavate' I S 3 *concland*, IV P 3 *conclasat*, VIII S 3 *cechland*, perf *con-ac-clard*

With *fo-* I S 3 r *fochland* Ériu 7 156 1, VIII S 3 *fo-rochland* gl effodit, X *fochland* Cárán Ad

With *to-* I S 3 *du-s-clard* 'roots it up', X *tocharlt*

Note. Ir *clad-* is cognate with W *claddu* 'to bury', Br *klasa*, cf Co *clath-vu* 'burial-place', with long vowel, W *clawdd* 'hedge (of earth), dyke', MnCo *kledh* 'ditch', *cleath*, Br *kleuz* To Lat *clādēs*

§ 524. *clech-*, *chich-* (meaning uncertain) III P 2 *chicht* (leg -*id*), VIII S 3 *chichis* (-s-pret a new formation), *ro-chichlang* 'shook'

With *air-* 'to ward off' I S 3 *archich*, p *arcechar*, II S 3 *ar-a-chiched*, IV P 2 *ar-a-clessid*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-chich* (the -s-pret a MlIr new formation), X *archlige* (MlIr *ersclarge*, *airsclarge*, *ursclarge* by contamination with *slarde* and *shige* 'to strike')

With *com-* 'to dash, toss' I S 3 *cechich*, p *celechar*, VI S 3 *concruchail* Anecd II 8 11, VII S p *concruchlansti*, X *cuel(a)ige* 'a shaking, trembling, swerving, tossing'

Note Ir *cluche* neut game, *cless* g *clessa* feat, *clechtairm* (-ā-nt) 'I am wont, practise are related

§ 525. *cluin-* 'to hear' I S 1 *ro-cluinnur*, 3 -*cluinnethar*, P 1 -*cluinnemmar*, 3 -*chlúnnetar*, III S 2 *cluinte*, P 1 *cluinem*, IV S 1 -*cloor*, -*clór*, 2 -*cloithar*, 3 -*chloathar*, P 1 -*cloammar*, 3 -*cloatar*, VS 3 -*cload*, P 1 -*cloimms*, 2 -*chlóithe*, 3 -*cloitis*, VI S 3 -*cechladar*, p -*cechlastar*, P p *cechlanter* (irreg non-comp form), VII S p -*cechlastar*, VIII S 2 -*cuala*, 3 -*cual(a)e*, -*cuala*, p -*chlos*, -*cloth* KZ 28 549, P 1 -*chualammar*, 2 -*cual(a)id*, 3 -*chualatar*, p *cloisi* Anecd I 54 3, -*clotha* Féil 24 Aug, IX g in *chloithi*, X dat *do chluas*, acc *cluas* For *ro-* in ind and subj v § 421 2

With *imb-* VIII P 1 *imm-un-cualammar*

With *fo-ro-* 'to hear unexpectedly' I S p -*forchluniter*, V P 3 -*forchlóits*, VIII S 2 -*forcuala*, 3 -*forchuala*, P 3 -*forchialatár*

Note MlW *clywaf* 'I hear' (VIII S 1, 3 *cigleu*, 2 *clwyerst*, P 3 *clwysont*, plpf S 3 *clwysser*, P 3 *clwyssynt*, v § 460 n 1d, § 467 n 6), Co X *clawas* v § 488, 4, MlBr X *cleuet*, I S 1 *clewaf* Cf Lat *cluēre*, OHG *hlū t* 'loud', Skr *śr nō-ti* 'he hears' — A W cpd is MlW *ar-o gleu* MnW *aroglaui* 'smell', vn *arogleuo* (MlW II S 3 *aroglywys*), v Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein

p 95, Loth, RC 40 359 — In W *clwyed* denotes 'to perceive (with all the senses but sight)', cf the cognate Russ *slýkat* 'to hear, smell'

§ 526. *cna-* 'to gnaw, consume' II P 3 *-chnaetis* W₁ II 2 65. 742, IV S 3 *-chná* Salt 6975, VIII S 3 *-cnár* 5787, X *cnám* ClrL 397 — With *com-* 'to gnaw, eat' I S 3 *cná* Corm 756, IX *cogant* ClrL 464, X *cocnam* Ml 75 b 7

Note Cf W *cnoi* 'to gnaw, chew, bite' (with *yn cnoi eu cil* 'chewing their cud' cf Ir *ac cognam a ctre* 'chewing their cud' Corm 603, cf Loth, RC 42 83) For MlW *go-gnaw* v Ifor Williams, C Llywarch Hen 236

§ 527. *cren-* 'to buy' I S 3 r *crenas*, p r *crenar*, P 3 *-chrenat*, III S p *crenar*, IV S 2 *-crie* ZCP 13 21 33, *-criae* Ériu 1 199 2, Thurneysen, Burgschaft 31 § 82, 3 *-cria* p *-chreder* ZCP 8 319 32 (*-crither* Rawl B 502 141a 15), V S 3 *-criad*, VIII S 3 *-cuir*, X acc *cen chreic*, g *crece* (*crith* O'Dav 425, 570)

With *to-anth-* 'to ransom' III P 2 (*ta*)*ndchrenid*, IV S 2 *-tathcria* O'Dav 1520, V P p *doathchretis*, VIII S 1 (with perf *-ro-*) *duan-r-chér*, 3 *do-r-adchúir*, *do-rr-andchúir*, *dua-r-chúir*, P p *do-r-athchratha*, X nom *taidchrec*, nom dat *taidchricc*, *taithchricc*, g *taidchrecce*

With *fo-* 'to buy, hire' IV S p *focrethther*, X *fochricc* (fem), g *fochricce* 'reward', *fochraic* 'payment, rent, hire' — With *to-air-fo-* (a legal term, 'to make a bargain of giving so much stock in return for so much food-rent' SM Gloss 742, cf Thurneysen, ZCP 14 363) IV S 3 *-taurcria*, X *taurchreic* ZCP 13 46 Cf OSc *turhochret* RC 47 168 The same preverbs are contained in OIr *ter(f)ochraic* 'reward'

With *to-* VI S 3 *do-s-cicher* 'will purchase' RC 20 282, X *tochra* 'bride-price' K Meyer, Betha 'Colmáin 92 1, 2, W₁

Note Brit forms § 55 OW *prinit* 'buys' § 445 n 3, MlW *go brit*, *go-brynu* to merit (W *qobr*, *gwobr*, *gobruy* 'reward', Co *gober*, Br *gobr*)

§ 528 *crin-* with *air-* and fixed obj pron (KZ 35 406f) 'to perish' I S 1 *ar-a-chrinim*, 3 *ar-a-chrin*, *ar-in-d-chrin*, P 3 *ar-a-crinat*, *ar-in-chrinat*, V P 3 *ar-ind-ro-chrietis*, VI P 3 *ar-a-chiurat*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-rui-chúir*, *-archúir*, P 3 *-ar-r-c-(h)eoratar*, X *irchre*, *erchrae* — With *fo-ess-* I S 3 *fo-feiscen* 'fails', X *feiscere*

Cf § 446 Cognate Ir *crín* 'withered' (*crínaim* 'I wither' I S 3 r *crinas*), W *crin* (*crino* 'to wither')

§ 529 *cuir-* (deponent), subj and pret *cora-*, 'to put, place, throw', in ind and subj supplemented by *fo-cerd-* when not preceded

by a preverb, *fo-cerd-* is also used with an infix pron in the ipv, the fut is formed from *fo-cerd-*, the perf forms from *ro-la-*

I S 3 r *cuirethar*, P 3 *-cuiretar*, p *-cuarter*, III S 2 *cuirthe*, *curre* (§ 444 n 5), *cure*, P 2 *currid*, IV S 2 *-courther*, 3 *-corathar*, VIII S 3 *-corastar*, IX ger *courthu*, X cor, acc pl *curu*

fo-cerd- I S 3 *fo-cheirt*, *f-a-cheird*, p *fucertar*, *focerddar*, P 1 *focertam*, 3 *focerdat*, *fu-chertat*, p *focerdatar*, III P 1 *fo-n-cerddam* LL 283 a 19, *fu-s-cerdm* (v Bergin, Ériu 11 137), IV S 2 *focerrr*, V S 3 *f-a-cherred*, VI S 1 *fochichur*, *-foíchur*, 3 *focicher(r)*, (remodelled *fochiuchra*), p *focichertar*, P p *fochichritar* VII S 3 *fochichred*, VIII S 3 *focairt*, *focaird*, p *focress*, P 3 *f-a-chartar*, *fochartatár*

ro-la- I S 1 *ro-láo*, *-ro-láim*, IV S 1 *-ra-l*, *-ro-l* ZCP 4 43 22, 2 *ro-lá* ZCP 6 257, 3 *-ra-la*, P 1 *ro-lam*, VIII S 2 *ro-llaís*, 3 *ro-laa*, *r-a-la*, *-ra-lae*, p *ro-l(l)aad*, *-ro-lád*, P 2 *ro-lasid*, *-ra-lsid*, 3 *-ro-lsat*, p *ru-latha*

Cpds (1) With *to-ad-* X *tacur* 'act of coming towards' — With *fruth-to-ad-* I S p *fristacuirther* gl obicitur, V P 3 *co fristacor<tais>* gl ut obicerent

(2) With *air-* I S 1 *ar-in-d-chuiru(r) (?)* 3 *arcuirethar* 'lengthens (life)', P 3 *-erchuiretar* 'increase (the number)' Cf *erchor*, *irchor*, (*a*)*urchor* 'a throw', dat pl *erchuraib*, *erchoraib* gl telis, iaculis, *archor arathir* gl temo — With *imb-air-* X *do immarchor chóre* 'to offer peace' (finite forms W1 621)

(3) With *aith-* I S 3 *adcuirethar*, P 3 *adcuireddar* 'they return', V P 3 *-aidchuiris* gl obicerent, X *athchor* 'sending back', gen *aithchuir* gl recursus Supplem IV perf S 2 *jorsna-hath-ro-la* — With *to-aith-* I S 3 *an do-n-aithchuinedar* gl redeunte, *du-ad-churidar* 'that returns', IX *tandchoirthe*, X *tandchur*, *tandchor*, gen *tandchuir* Supplem VI S 3 *do-n-aithfoicherr* 'shall return', P 3 *du-n-aithfoichret*, VIII perf S 3 (§ 435, 3) *tath-ar-la*

(4) With *com-* V S 3 *cia concorad* 'though he contract (covenants)', VIII P 3 *concoirsetar* R(17 175 19, X *do chocur chóre* (also 'whisper, secret talk, council')

(5) With *to-etar-* I S 3 *do-etar-cuirethar* 'intercedes', X *tetarcor* 'interpose' — With *etar-to-etar-* X dat *etartetarcur* 'intercession, interval'

(6) With *for-* 'to violate' VIII S 3 *forcorastar* Rawl B 502 143 b 9, p *forcorad* ZCP 15 350, P 3 *for-da-corsatar (?)* Thes II 343, X *forcor*

(7) With *frith*- I S 1 *friscuirur* 'I except', *friscuirur cel gl. colo* ZCP 15 298, 3 *frith-curethar cheill* 'who worships him', III S 2 *frecurthe ceill*, IV P p *friscourter ceill*, V S p *friscourthe*, X *freccor céill* 'adoration' Supplem VI S 1 *frisfouchiurr ceill*

(8) With *imb*- I P 3 *imm-e-churetar* 'who bring', X MnIr. *iomchar* 'to carry' Supplem IV P 3 *co-mm-os-ralat* 'let them flee'.

(9) With *in*- I S 3 *incuirther* 'puts in, brings in' ZCP 14 379 § 43 (cf 373 § 35), IV S p *-acranther* (-*a*- for -*ea*-, -*e*) l c, X *ecor* l. c (*ecor* MnIr *eagar* also means 'arrangement') Suppl VIII S p *in-ro-lad* By-form with *ē*, MnIr *téagar* 'shelter', denom OIr *imm-e-the-crathar* 'what covers', also *t-in-chor* 'furniture'

(10) With *to*- meaning 'to put, throw' I S 3 *ducurredar*, *du-nd-churethar*, p *-tochuirther*, *-tochar*, III S 2 *tochre*, V S 3 r *to-chorad*, VIII S 3 *ducorastar*, *-tochrastar*, X dat *do thochur* Supplem VI P 3 *con-dichret*, VII S 3 *dofoichred* Perf forms IV S 3 *to-lrala*, *-tarla*, VIII S 3 *du-s-rale*, p *doralad*

Note 1 Different in flexion and probably even in origin is the regular *-i*-stem *to cuir*- 'to invite' I S 1 *docuirur* 3 *docuirethar do choirethar*, p *dofoicuarther*, VI S 1 *docuirifar*, VII S p *-tochuiribthe*, VIII S 3 *do-ro-churestar*, *do-ro-chuistat*, n *ru-thochuistat*, P 1 *do-ro-chuirsemmar*, X *tochuiruadh*

Note 2 The Brit. cognate form of Ir *cuir*- occurs in numerous cpds. with **to ate*, Br *daskon* 'to restore', with **k'om*-, W *cyngor* 'council, advice' (Ir *cocu*), OBr *hep-corum* gl *cassum* W *hepgor* 'dispense with', cf BBCS 1 1f

§ 530 *dál*- (-*i*-st) 'to divide, dispense' III S 2 *dale*, VIII S 3 *dáls*, X *dáil*

(1) With *com*- 'to divide' I S p *-condlanther*, X *condáil* — With *air-com*- I S 3 *ní erchondla* 'does not participate' (for -*ai*), X *ernail* 'participation, division, kind'

(2) With *fo*- 'to distribute, divide' I S 2 *fodalh*, 3 *fodálh*, p *fodailter*, P 3 *fodalet*, *-fodlat*, p *-fodlanter*, *-fodlatar*, III S 3 *jodlad*, VI S 1 *fudalh*, 3 *fodallfea*, VIII S 3 *fo-n-d-ro-dil*, p *fo-ro-dlad* LU 4793, P p *fo-ro-dalta*, IX *fodlarde*, *fodlide*, X *fodail*, *fodál* — With *com-fo*- 'to participate, share' I P 2 *confodh(d)*, 3 *confodlat* SM IV 168 27, X *cobdail*, *cobfodail* SM, *cobdail* ZCP 9 143 3 Deriv *cobodlus*, *cobadlus*, *cobfodlus* 'fellowship'

(3) With *to*- 'to pour' I S 1 *doddálm*, p *dudailter*, IV P p *du-n-daleter*, VIII S 1. *do-ro-dalus*, X *todáil*

Note Cf W *gwa-ddol* 'portion, dowry' (v RC 38 170) This has no

connection with another Ir *dal-* (*dalarm* 'I arrange a meeting', from *dál* W *dadl* § 62)

§ 531. *dam-* 'to suffer, allow' (orig *-i-pres* and *-ā-subj*) I S 3 *-darm* (also *-dam*), p *-damar*, P 3 *-darmet*, IV S 3 *-dama*, p *-damthar*, P 3 *-damat*, V P 3 *-darmtis*, VI S 1 *-didam*, 2 *-didma* (later forms S 1 *-didém*, P 1 *-didemam*, 3 *déamit*), VIII S 1 *-ro-damar*, 3 *ro-dámair*, *-ro-dámair* (often without sign of length), p *ro-det*, P 3 *ro-damatar*, *-ro-dmatár*, *ro-damdatar*, *dumdatar*, *-damthatar*, *ro-damnatar*, X *deiru*, acc *détin*

With *ad-* 'to admit, confess, acknowledge' I S 1 *a-ta-domu* (for *ad-dat-*) RC 26 52 289, *latmu* (§ 402, 5), 2 *-atmar*, 3 *at(a)im*, P 3 *atarmet*, *a-ta-darmet*, III P 2 *atmaid*, IV P 3 perf *co n-á-r-damat*, VI S 2 *a-tum-didmae*, 3 *ad-n-didma*, VIII S 1 *ad-ro-damar*, 2 *ad-ro(da)mar*, *-atamar*, 3 *ad-ro-damair*, p *ad-ro-dat* ZCP 8 314 1, P 3 *atdamnatar* 3 243 28, X *atitru*

With *fo-* 'to endure' I S 1 *fodaimim*, 2 *fodaimu*, *-fodmar*, 3 *fodaim*, *-fodaim*, P 1 *fodaimem*, 2 *fodaimud*, 3 *fodarmet*, *-fodmat*, IV S 1 *f-a-dam*, 3 *fudama*, P p *fo-n-damtar*, V S 1 *-fodmain*, *nad fo-r-damainn*, P 3 *fo-n-damtis*, VI S 2 *fo-n-didmae*, 3 *-fudema*, P 3 *fo-s-didmat* (new form *fodémat*), VII S 3 *f-a-didmed*, VIII S 1 *fo-rro-damar*, *-fo-r-damar*, 3 *fo-ro-damair*, *-fo-r-dámair*. P 3 *fo-ro-dmotar*, *fu-ro-damnatar*, X *fod(a)itru* — With *com-fo-* I S 3 *afodim* 'co-endures', IV P 1 *má confodma(m)* 'if we suffer together'

Note W *addef* Br *añsav* to admit, W *cyfaddef* 'to admit' OW *ni cain guodemisauch* gl non bene passa, MnW *go ddef* to suffer, Co *gothaf*, Br *gouzañv*, W *di o-ddef* to suffer

§ 532. *dar-* 'to bull (a cow)' II S 3 *-dairred*, VIII S 3 *-ro-dart*, X *dair*, g *dara*

§ 533. *ded-* 'to waste away melt' I perf S 3 *ru-deda*, II P 1. *-tedmars*, 3 *-dedars*, IV S 3 r *dedas*, P 3 *dedant* (fut ?), V P 3 *-dedars*, VI P 3 *dedant*, VIII S 1 *ro-dedus*, 3 *ro-ded*, *ro-tetha* FéI Prol 193, P 3 *ru-dedsat*

With *com-* VIII S 3 *o-ro-deda* gl *contaburt*

§ 534. *de-n-* 'to suck' I P 3 *denant*, II P 3 *-déndais*, VIII S 3 *dith*, r *dide*, X *deol* The *-n-* became fixed in Mllr VIII S 3 *ro-dinestar* — Etym § 42

§ 535. *di-n-g-* 'to repress' VIII S 3 *dedang*, X Mllr *dinge*.

(1) With *for-* 'to suppress' I S p *fordengar*, P 3 *fordengat*, II S 1 *for-n-dingunn*, IV P p *for-n-diassatar*, VI P p *ardidster*;

VIII S 2 *for-ru-dedach*, P 3 *for-ru-dedqatar*, IX pl *fortechtar*, X *fortage*, *di-a fordinge*

(2) With *air-od-* 'to refresh' I S 3 *arutaing*, p *ar-ún-utangar*, VI S 2 *arutais*, VIII S 3 *arutacht*, *ar-do-utacht*, IX ger *erdachtaib*, X *ertach* neut, *irtach*, *aurtach* — With *com-od-* 'build, upbuild' I S 1 *conutgim*, 3 *conutuinc*, *co-tof-utainc*, *conutunag* (leg *-tuing*), *co-ta-utaing* 'supports them', p *chonutangar*, III S 3 *comtangad*, V S 1 *outsin*, VI S p *conutastar*, P 3 *conutsat*, VIII S 3 *o-id-r-otig*, *o-r-otaug*, *con-r-otoich*, *-cumtaing* Salt 1103, p *con-r-otacht*, P 3 *con-r-ótgatar*, p *o-r-otoichá*, IX *cumtachtae*, *cumtuchta*, ger *cumtachtaib* gl *figendis*, X *cumtach*, *cumdach* (MnIr *cumhdach*) — With *ad-com-od-* 'to build up' I S 3 *-adchumtig*, VIII S 3 *ad-o-r-otaug* (with irregular accent)

Note The very different meanings of the cpds seem to point to two different roots: one meaning 'to build' (with *air-od-* and *com-od-*) and another meaning 'to press'. To the latter root may belong a cpd with *fo od-* 'to carry off by force' I S 3 *ni s-fuatnge* SM 11 122 28, IV S 2 *ni fuadus* SM I 264 9, cf O'Dav 1167, X *fuatach* SM, MnIr *fuadach* (most of the other forms occurring are late re-formations)

§ 536 *dleg-*, *dlig-* 'to be entitled to, deserve' I S 1 *dligim*, 2 *-dligi*, 3 *-dlig*, p *dlegair*, *-dlegar*, P 3 *dlegait*, *-dlegat*, p *dlegt(a)r*, IV S 3 *dlé* (conj form used as simplex), *-dle*, p r *dlestar*, V S 1 *-dlessauid*, 3 *-dlessad*, p *-dlest(e)a*, P 3 *-dlesdais*, VI S 3 r *dligfes*, VII S p *-dligfithi*, VIII S 3 *ro-dlig*, *ro-dligestar*, p *ro-dlecht*, P 3 *-ro-dlechtatar*, X *dliged* neut — With *air-* I S 3 *nad airdlig* 'deserves not'

Note Cf MIW *dlyu*, *dyllyu* to have a right to, be obliged to. Co *dylly* 'to deserve', MIBi *dellit* cf § 7, 1 § 35, 5

§ 537 *dlo-n-g-* 'to split' I S p *dlongar*, VI S 3 *-dedlar* (the old fut form is mistakenly used in MIBi as pret *-dedail*), VII P 3 *-dídlastáis*, VIII S 3 *ro-s-dedlar*, X *dlunge* — With *in-* or *ind-* (also *as-* in loose comp) I S 1 *indlung* 3 *as-dlong*, II P p *in-dlongtis*, VI S 3 *-indail*, IX dat masc *neph-indlachtu*, X *indlach* neut

A regular *-i-st* *dlung-* also occurs

§ 538. *don-* 'to comfort' X *donad*, *danad* — With *di-* I S 1 *dodonaimm*, 3 *-didna*, II S p *du-m-dontae*, III P 2 *d-an-donad*, IV P 3 *dodonat*, V S 3 *du-dam-donad*, VIII S p *do-ro-n-donad*, X *didnad*, *dithnad* — With *com-di-* X *comdidnad* 'consolation', *comdithnad* — With *imb-di-* (cf Sarauw, ZCP 5 513) I S 3 *imm-*

us-didnathar ZCP 11 83 27, VI S p *ni imdidnabt(h)er* 'no person will be released, or exempted', X *du-mm imdidnaad* 'that I may be released'

Cf W *diddanu* 'to comfort, amuse', *ym-ddiddan* 'to converse', Co *dythane* 'to gladden', OBr *didanuud* gl uoco, elcio (cf BBCS 5 3f)

§ 539 *dring-* 'to step, advance' I S 3 *dringid*, P 3 *drengait*, p *drengaitir* 'are climbed', VIII S 3 *drebraing*, *dreblaing*, X *dréimm* 'to climb' — With *for-* 'to climb upon' II P 3 *fodringtís* LU 6566 — With *frith-* v SMGloss 419

Cf W *dringo* 'to climb'

§ 540 *ell-*, *la-* 'to go, set in motion' They occur only in cpds, *la-* with *od-* and *com-*, *ind-* (v also *curr-* § 529), *ell-* in the other cpds

(1) With *ad-* 'to visit' I S 3 *a-ta-ella*, P 3 *ad-n-ellat*, VI S 1 *ad-n-ellrub*, *adeillrub*, *-adlirub*, VIII S 3 *adella*, *adell*, X *adall*, g *adill*, *adaill* — With *to-ad-* 'to visit, approach' I S 3 *do-da-andlea*, II S 3 r *tardled*, III S 2 *tadall*, IV perf S 2 *-tár-r-le*, VI S 3 *do-sn-andlirbea*, P 1 *doandlirbem*, VIII perf S 2 *do-m-ar-r-liss*, 3 *ta-r-aill*, *do-n-a-r-aill*, X *tadal(l)*, gen *tadill*

(2) With *com-* 'to fulfil' I S 3 *con-la* ZCP 12 362 1, X *comall* (MnIr *comhall*) 'fulfilment, covenant', *comol*, *comul* 'union, assembly' — With *ad-com-* 'to join' I S 3 *adcomla*, p *adcomaltar*, *-accomaltar*, P 3 *ad-ind-chomlat*, p *adcomlalar*, *-accomlalar*, IV S p *adcomaltar*, *-acomoltar*, P p *ad-chomlalar*, V S p *ad-ro-chomolta*, *-ro-accomalta*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-chomul*, IX *accomallte* gl socius, *acomoltæ* gl conjunx, *accomolta* 'connected', X (neut) *accomol*, *accumul* — With *fo-ad-com-* I S 3 *foaccomla* 'he subjoins', X *foac(c)omol* — With *to-in-com-* 'to gather' I S 3 *doemalla*, P 3 perf *-ta-r-comlat* RC 36 260f, III P 2 *tecmallid*, VIII P 3 *túercómlássát*, IX dat fem *tecmaltar*, X *tecmallad* (In MII₁ *-cmall-* often becomes *-clam-* VIII S 3 *ta-r-glaim*, p *ta-r-clamad*, X *hi teclom*, acc *teclaim*) — With *imb-to-in-com-* IV S 3 *co mm-a-te-r-chomla* so that he may collect them'

(3) With *dí-* 'to turn aside, decline' I S 3 *doella* *ḁilla* O'Mulc 479, p *do-n-elltar*, P p *doellatar*, II S 3 *-dilled*, P 3 *d-a-eltans*, IV S 3 *ḁilla* SM V 418 14, P 1 *-dille*m, 3 *-de-r-lat* Ériu 12 58, p *duellatar*, V S 3 *du-n-ellad*, P 3 *du-n-ells*, p *duelltis*, VIII S 3 *du-r-ell*, P 3 *do-r-ellsat*, *du-r-elsat*, *dí-r-ellsat*, IX ger *dillith*, X *diall* 'declension' (neut) — With *fo-dí-* 'to leave, deduct' (or 'to be left,

deducted'?) I S 3 *fodila* (-l- for -ll-), X *fundell* 'remnant'; v Thurneysen, ZCP 14 392 — With *to-di-* VIII S 3 *dodihel* gl *deerrauerat*, *todiel*

(4) With *ind-* 'to arrange, yoke' I S 3 *in-la* Fianaig 38 8, ZCP 12. 364 10, 11, *inlāa* 9 138 29, p *inlathar* O'Dav 1113, ZCP 13 25 1, cf 14, 373 § 36, VIII S p *in-ro-lad* 13 21 3, X *indell*

(5) With *to-in-od-* 'to collect' I S 3 *do-in-ola*, IV S 3 *-tinola*, p *do-n-molltar*, P p *-tinolatar*, VI S p *tinolfst(h)er*, VIII S 3 *do-r-inól*, IX *tinolta*, X *tin(ól)*, dat *do thínóol* — With *com-to-in-od-* 'to collect' VIII S 3 *o-ro-thinoll*, X *comthínól* 'gathering', g *comthínól*

(6) With *sechm-* 'to pass by, dispense with' I S 3 *sechm-n-ella*, *sechmoella*, *-sechmalla*, II S 3 *-sechmallad*, VI S p *-sechmalfarder*, P 1 *-sechmalfam*, VIII S 1 *asa-r-sechmaillrus*, X dat *sechmall*, gen *sechmarill*

(7) With *to-* (α) 'to take away, steal' (only perf, otherwise supplemented by *gat-*), (β) 'to give room, admit', (otherwise Thurneysen, Handb 49) I S 3 (β) *du-nd-alla*, *-talla*, *-tella*, IV S 1 (α) *-tall*, VI S 3 (β) *-telfea*, VIII S 3 (α) *du-d-ell*, P 3 (α) *tallsad*, X (β) *tellad*

§ 541 *em-* (1) With *com-* 'to guard' VIII S 1 (with perf *-ro-*) *conróetar* Ériu 11 86 (LL 119a 33), 3 *con-id-roter*, *conroiter* ZCP 16 175 § 1, 185, P 3 *orotatar*, X *comét*, g *cometa* Cf *com-* + *o-* (from which the deponent flexion of the preterite seems to have been taken over)

Note *-cóima* given in VKG as IV S 3 of this cpd is explained by Thurneysen, ZCP 11 165 as a simple verb, and it is indeed treated as a simple verb, cf I S 3 *coemt(h)-und* 'protects us' (together with *saerth-und*) K Meyer, Bruchst d alt Lyrik 48 26 (cf 48²) and IV S 3 *caoms um*, *caemhs am* 'may he protect me' (together with *saors um*, *ams-um*, *-s-* due to imitation of the latter verb) ZCP 10 347 16, Ériu 11 149 For reasons of meaning *com-* cannot well be derived from *coim* 'dear', no doubt the older explanation from *com-em-* is the correct one, the forms with suffixed pron have no proving force whatever, for they are due to the mechanical methods of the later poets who wishing to cumulate as many synonyms as possible ('protect, guard, deliver' etc) in order to increase the magic power of the prayers, have imitated in their additions the verbs of the older and simpler formulas (*snardsium*, *caonsium* are modelled on *amsium*) But *com-* may have been associated with *coim* 'dear', cf Metr Dinds I 28 *is caem in gairm no-s-céma*

(2) With *di-* 'to protect' I S 2 *do-n-eim*, 3 *du-n-em*, p *duemar*, P 3 *do-n-emat*, p *-dymter*, II P 3 *duemtis*, III S 2 *du-m-em*, IV

S 2 *du-m-emaē*, 3. *duema*, -*dīmea*, (with perf -*ro-*) -*deroima*, p *do-n-emthar*, V S 3 *do-n-emađ*, (with -*ro-*) -*deroimed*, p *do-n-emithæ*, -*dimithe*, -*dimthe*, P 1 *du-n-emmaīs*, VI S 1 *duem*, 3 *duema*, *doemfeā*, p *do-emthar*, P 3 *do-t-emfet*, VIII S 1 *do-rr-et*, 3 *do-r-et*, IX (neg) *neph-dite*, X *ditru* — With *imb-di-* I S 3 *imm-us-dīm* ZCP 11 83 27, X g *imditen* — With *huad-di-* VIII S 3 *huade-r-et* 'uncovered' (artificial form)

(3) With *air-fo-* 'to assume, receive' I S 2 *ar-a-foimā*, 3 *ar-a-foim*, -*eróim*, p -*eróimer*, P 3 *ar-a-fóimat*, *arfoemat*, p *ar-a-fóimtar*, III S 2 *eróim*, 3 *íroimed*, IV S 2 *arfema* (-*a* from -*e*), 3 *ar-a-foima*, -*airema*, -*eróima*, p *arfemthar*, P 1 *arfoimam*, 3 *arfemat*, -*eróimet*, *arroimat*, p *ar-a-fóimtar*, V S 2 *arfemtha*, P 3 *ar-a-foimtis*, -*eróimtis*, VI S 3 *arfema*, VIII perf S 1 *ar-roi-ét*, 3 *ar-ro-é(ī)t*, *arróit*, *ar-aróiat*, -*arroit*, -*arroet*, P 1 *ar-a-róitmar*, 2 *aróittad*, 3 -*arróimsat*, IX dat pl *eritib*, ger *eriti*, *airiti*, X *airitru*, *eritru*

§ 542 *er-* 'to grant' I S 3 *r ernes* SM V 358, 7, p *ernnavr* ZCP 16 272, IV S 3 *r-a-éra*, p *ro-erthar*, V S p *ro-erthe*, VI S 3 (with obj) *ebarth-i*, p *ebarthar*, VIII S 3 *ro-ír*, p *ro-rath* SM II 316 21, 338 30, cf ZCP 6 257 § 6, P p *ro-ratha*, X *rath* W₁ 98 2, cf *rath* 'tenure' SM

§ 543 *eth-* 'to go, find, take' (cf KZ 30 71—78) I S 3 *ethard*, VIII S 3 *ethais* Imr Brain § 46, p *etha*, *etta*, P 3 *ra-ethsat*, X acc *ri hethamavn*

(1) With *ad-* I S 3 *adetha* 'attacks', *atetha* 'seizes, takes', P 2 *atethard*, 3 *atethát*, p *atethatar*, III S 2 *atetha*, IV S 2 *atetha*, VIII S 3 *ad-r-eth*, P 3 *ad-r-ethsat*, ? X *aided* 'violent death'

(2) With *auth-* 'to escape' I P 3 *authet*, X *authed*

(3) With *air-fo-* 'to go, depart' (only in close cpds, treated as simple forms) III S 2 *urtha*, *ortha*, V P 3 -*urthaitis*, VIII S 3 *urtha*, P 3 *urthatar* — With *to-air-fo-*, III S 2 *tortha* LL 166a 23

(4) With *to-* 'to come' VIII S p *doeth* TBC' (Str-O'K) 112b, 1131

(5) With *trem-* 'to penetrate' I S 3 *trema-etha* SM IV 348 18 (*tremuethart* MI 43c 14?), IX ger *tremedti*

§ 544 *fed-* 'to bear' I S 3 *fedid*, p *fedir*, p r *fedar*, Plr *fedme*, II P p -*fedtis*, VIII P 3 *ro-fadatar*, X *fedan* 'yoke', g *inna fednaē* gl inuentionis

Note 1 *ro-fadatar* Wb 29c 13 seems to be intransitive 'they went' or 'they rushed' For MIIr forms with -*th-* (influenced by *eth-* § 543) and

meaning 'to go' (I S 3 *fethd*, VIII S 3 *ro-fath*, *ro-faid*, P 3 *ro-fathatar* LL 119b 27), v Stokes BB 23 55, Thurneysen, IFAnz 33 36. Note that *-th-* is more constant in I (where the influence of *eth-* was direct) than in VIII.

(1) With *air-com-* 'to hinder, injure' I S 3 *ar-a-choat*, II S 3 *ar-a-choided*, IV S 3 *arcói*, V S 3 *-aurchoissed*, VI S 3 *-archói*, VIII S p *-airchós*, IX (nom pl masc) *erchoissi*, X *ercho(a)t*, *archoid*, *erchoit*, *rchoit* — With *air-di-com-* IX *airdixa* 'productus, long' VKG § 684 — With *to-di-com-* 'to lead' I S 1 *dodichthim* gl *educio* ZCP 15 298, P 3 *d-an-dichdet*, VI S p *dudrichestar*, IX *tudchisse* — With *fo-to-di-com-* IV S p *fuduidchestar* gl *subduci*

(2) With *air-di-* X *airdiden* 'productio lengthening' — With *to-di-* 'to lead' I S 1 *doduit*, 3 *d-an-diat*, IV S 3 *dudí*, V S 3 *du-m-dised*, p *du-n-diastae*, VIII S 3 *du-sn-de-r-aid*, X dat *tuididen*, acc dat *tuidin*, g *tui(di)dne*

(3) With *to-* 'to lead' II S 3 *du-da-feded*, P 3 *do-d-fetis*, III S 2 *to-n-feid* Hib Min 39, *ná tuid* TBC (Str-O'K) 234, IV S 3 *do-n-fe*, V S 3 *du-d-fessed*, VI S 1 *-tuidis* (for *-us*) TB((Str-O'K) 238, VIII S 3 *du-da-ru-ad*, P 3 *du-t-fidedar*, X acc *tuidhin* O'Dav 820

Note 2 Cf W *quedd* 'yoke', *cy-wain* 'to carry' (MW stem *ky wed-*), MIW *ar-wein* 'to carry' (*ar-wed af*), MIW *ar gy wedu* 'to harm' OBr *ar-co-qued* — Two roots appear in these verbs IE **wedh* 'to bind' (Ir *sedan* 'voke', *air com-* + *fed-*), IE **wedh* 'to conduct, carry' (the remaining cpds.)

§ 545 *fe-n-* IX *fithe* 'made of wickers' SM, Ériu 11 44 27, TBC (Str-O'K) 2342, X dat *fenamain* 'wattle-work of a house' W1, Ériu 11 157

(1) With *air-* 'to exclude' I S 3 *ar-a-fen*, P 3 *arfenat* K Meyer, Sitzungsber 1918 630, Thurneysen, ZCP 14, 387, X *aire* 'a hedge, a dam, fishing-weir' CIL

(2) With *ath-* 'to repay' I S p *adfenar*, IV S 3 *-anthea*, V P 3 *-athdas*, VI S p *adfether*, *adfather* Ériu 1 68 § 4, X *anthe*, acc *anthi*

(3) With *for-* 'to complete' (VKG § 647 11) I 1 *forfiun*, 3 *forfen*, P 3 *-forbait* 'can fulfil' RC 36 256f, IV S 3 *furfa*, P 3 *forfiat*, VIII perf S 3 v VKG, p *for-cu-ad*, *far-ro-chu-ad* ZCP 7 479, IX *forbaide* (adj *forbthe*), X *forbe*, dat *forbu*

(4) With *imb-* 'to fence' I S 3 *imfen*, IV S 3 (with perf *-com-*) *-imcua*, P 3 *-imcuaad* (*-ad* for older *-at*), V S p *imm-a-fethe*, IX *imbithe*, *imbide*, X *imbe* (neut), Mllr *ime*

§ 546 *fén-* with *ess-* (also *ad-spén-*) 'to explain, swear' (*-ā-st*) I S 1 *asfenimm*, 3 *aspena*, VIII S 3 *ad-ru-spen* X dat *aspenuad*,

aspenad, aspenud — With *to-ess-* 'to show' I S 3 *doarsbena*, II P 3 *-taisfentars*, IV S 3 *-taisfena*, perf *doarfena*, VI S 3 *doasfénpha*, VIII perf S 1 *doarfenus*, 3 *do-s-airfen*, *-tarfen* (newer form *rotsaféoin*), X *taisbenad, taisfénad*

§ 547. *fer-* 'to grant' (perf 'to suffice') I S 3 *ferid, ro-fera*, P 3 *ro-m-ferat*, III S 2 *fer*, IV perf S 3 *-rovea*, P 3 *-róiret*, VIII S 3 *jerars, ro-fer*, p *-roerad* W₁ III 237 62, X Mlr *ferthain* — With *air-* 'to provide' I P 1 *ar-a-feram* ACL 3 296 42, X *arrer* 'feasting, food' Crlr. — With *fo-* 'to cause' I S 1 *fufirim*, 2 *foferar*, 3 *fofera*, *fo-d-era*, P 1 *f-a-eram*, 3 *-fóiret*, III S 3 *foired*, V S 1 *-fóirin*, 3 *fu-erad*, *-foired*, VI S 3 r *fourfea*, p *fo-m-firfider*, VIII S 3 *fo-ru-ar*, IX *foiride*, X *fuar* neut — With *com-fo-* 'provide, prepare' I S 2 *confoir(i)*, P 1 *confoirem*, VIII perf P 3 *conforoirisset*, IX ger *confoiride* (leg *-di*) — With *rem-fo-* VIII perf S p *reme-roired*, IX *remfoiride*, X *remfuar remuar* — With *to-* I S p *dufer-thargl conditur*, X *tuar* 'procuring' K Meyer, Sitzungsber 1918 628, 'manure' SM. Mlr 'causing, presaging'

§ 548. *fiad-* (1) With *ad-* 'to relate' (only in loose cpds, where *ad-* may be for *in-* § 431 n 1) I S 3 *adfeit, adfét* p *adfiadar* p r *ad-iadar*, P 1 *adfiadam*, 3 *adfiadat*, p *adfiadatar*, IV perf S 1 *atichous* VI S 1 *adivus* ZCP 7 299 13, 3 *adfiu*, p *adfiustar* W₁ 214 18, P 1 *adféssam* LL 131b 37, VIII (with perf *-com-*) S 3 *adcuaid, adcuud*, P 1 *at-chuadamar, adcóidemmar*, 3 *adfiadatar* RC 11 442 5 6, *atfiadhatar* ACL 3 6 1, perf *atcuadatar* RC 3 346 1 — With *to-ad-* 'to show' I S 2 *doadbit*, 3 *doadbat -tadbat*, p *doadbadar, -tadbadar*, P 1 *do-n-aibdem*, 3 *du-n-aibdet*, p *duaribdetar*, II P 3 *du-n-aibditis* ('p), III P 2 *tairbbit*, IV perf S 2 *con-dá-r-bais*, p *con-dá-r-bastar*, V S 3 *do-n-aibsed, -taibsed*, p *do-n-aibastae*, VIII perf S 3 *d-a-á-r-buid, du-a-r-buid*, p *do-á-r-bas, do-n-a-r-fas, -tarbas*, X *tairbsiu* — By confusion with *do-ais-bena* § 546, forms like I S p *-tadbamar* etc

(2) With *in-, ind-* 'to relate' I S 3 *infét*, II S 3 *infedét* III S 1 *indrad*, 2 *indid* YBL 413b 12, IV S 1 perf *-écus*, 3 *infé*, p perf *-ecestar*, V P 1 *infesmars*, VII S 3 *infessed*, VIII S 3 *infid* LL 292b 6, 7, perf *incuaid*, P 2 *-eicidid*, X Mlr *innisin* — With *ess-ind-* 'to relate, describe' I S 3 *assindet, -aisndet, -asndét*, p *asindedar, assindethar, -aisndedar*, P 2 *as-n-indid* 3 *as-n-indedat, -aisndedat, -aisndethat*, p *asindetar*, II S 3 *atindided*, III S 2 *aisndid*, IV P 3 *asindiset*, V S 3 *as-n-indised*, VI S 1 *-aisndius*,

3 *assinde*, P 1 *asindissem*, 3 *asindisset*, VIII S 3 *as-r-indid*, p *as-r-ndes*, IX *-asindisse*, ger *asindissi*, X *asindís*, gen *asindisen* — With *rem-ess-nd-* I S p *remasindider* gl *praefatur*

§ 549 *fich-*, *fech-* 'to fight' I S p *-fechar*, P 3 *-fechad* (= *-at*); III P 2 *fichith*, VI S 1 *fessa*, P p *fessar(tir)*, VIII S 3 *fich*, *-fich*, *-fích* LU 7997, p r *fechta*, X *fich*, *fích*

(1) With *air-* 'to fight, conquer' I S 1 *arfíuch*, 3 *arfích*; X *irgal*, acc *irgail*, P nom acc *irgala*

(2) With *di-* 'to punish, avenge' I S 1 *-díchim*, 2 *duficha*, 3 *dofeich*, *dofich*, *-díg*, p *diagar*, III S 2 *deich*, IV S 2 *dufess*, *-dér-ais*, p *dufessar*, perf *-derustar* Anead III 29 2, V P p *dofestais*; VI S 3 *dufí*, p *dufiastar*, *-diastar* BB 109 b 11, P 3 *dofessat* Ériu 6 149 72, p *dufesatar*, VIII S 3 *d-a-ru-ich*, p *du-ru-acht*, IX neg *neph-diachtae*, ger *diachtr*, X *dígal* fem, dat *dígail*, g *dígle* — With *imb-di-* 'to protect' I S 3 *im-ús-dích* W 1 262, 5, *imm-an-dig* LU 4723, *imdích* SM, P 3 *im-an-dichet* O'Dav 714, II S 3 *imdíched* LL 100 a 47, *imthiged* H 1 b Min 51 5, IV S 3 *-imde* SM I 236 19, VI S 1 *imdíus* LU 5028, X dat *imdegail*

(3) With *fo-* 'to inflict (injury, damage)' I S 3 *fofích*, *-fíuch*, p *fofechar*, P 3 *fofechat*, IV S 3 perf *fo-rro-i*, *forae* Ériu 10 127, p *fofeseiar* 126, *-fuasdar*, perf *fo-rru-astar*, VIII S p *-foruacht* ZCP 15 348 17, IX *foachta*, X *fogal* (later *fuachtain*) — With *imb-fo-* 'to impugn' I S 3 *imfíuch*, IV S 3 *imfo*, perf *imorae* Ériu 10 127

(4) With *to-* 'to attack, destroy' V S 3 *dufesed*, *-toissed*, P 3. perf *-toirsitis*, VI S 1 *do-n-da-fíus*, IX neg *neph-thoachtae*, X *togal*

§ 550. *fig-* 'to weave' I S p *-figther*, P 3 r *fichte*, VIII S 3 *ro-d-fág*, Gwynn, Todd Lect 7 83, *ro-fhárdh* (for *-gh*) Dinds III 101¹⁷, p *ro-fecht* LL 181 a 12, X *fige* fem — With *com-* VIII S 3 *conru-ang* gl contextuit, X *coibge* 'context' — Etym § 35, 4 Cf W. *cynwe* 'web', also Ir *indech* 'woof' O'Mulc 717, *indech*, *innech* Fianaig, *innech* Corm 761, g *indich* SMGloss 502, W *anwe*

§ 551. *finn-* 'to know' (for *ro-* in the ind and subj in the absence of a syntactic preverb v § 421, 2) I S 3 *-finnadar*, p *-fintar*, P 3 *-finnatar*, p *-finnatar*, II S 3 *-finnad*, III S 2 *fin(n)ta*, 3 *finnad*, P 1 *finnamár*, 2 *finnard*, 3 *finnatar*, IV S 1 *-fessur*, 2 *-fesser*, *-fes(s)er*, *-fesur*, 3 *-fesar*, *-fiastar*, p *-fessar*, MIIr *-fesar*, P 1. *-fessammar*, *-fiasmar* YBL 28 a 49, 2 *-fessid*, 3 *-fesatar*, V S 1.

-fessinn, 2 *-festa*, 3 *-fesed*, *-fessad*, p *-festa*, P 1 *-fesmáns*, 2 *-feste*, 3 *-festaís* (the root vowel in the subj is sometimes long *ē*, sometimes short *ĕ*, v IFAnz 33 34), VI S 1 *-fessur*, 3 *-fiastur*, *-festar*, P 1 *-fessammar*, 2 *-fessid*, 3 *-fessatar*, VIII (with pres meaning) S 1 *-fetar*, 2 *-fetar*, 3 *-fitir*, p *-fess*, P 1 *-fitemmar*, *-fetam(m)ar*, 2 *-fitid*, 3 *-fitetar*, *-fetatar*, p *-fessa*, IX ger *fissi*, X *fius(s)*’

With *air-* I S 3 *ar-a-finnathar* ZCP 13 22 31, X *airius* ‘knowledge (containing a warning)’

With *fo-ro-* ‘to know (something which is expected not to be known)’ VIII (with pres meaning) S 1 *forfetar*, 3 *foritir*, P 1 *foretammarr*, 3 *foretatar*, X *foris* neut MI 63c 6

Note Brit forms MIW I S 1 *gwnn*, 2 *gw(y)dost*, 3 *gwyr*, P 1 *gwdam*, *gudom*, 2 *gwdawch*, *gwydawch*, *gwdoch*, 3 *gw(y)dant*, II S 1 *gwyd(y)wn*, 2 *gwyd(y)ut*, 3 *gwyd(y)at*, P 1 *gwyd(y)em*, 2 *gwydewch* 3 *gwydynt*, imper- II *gwydit* VIII (with pres meaning) *gwys* The other forms are cpds with to be § 488 2

Co I S 1 *gon*, 2 *gothes*, 3 *gor*, P 1 *gothen* 2 *gothouh*, 3 *gothons*, II S 1 *gothien* *gothyan*, 3 *god ye*, *god ya*, P 1 *ny wythen* ‘we know not’, 3 *god yens*, *god yans* Cf § 488 2

MLBr I S 1 *goun* *goun*, 2 *gousot* 3 *gour*, P 1 *gousomp*, 2 *gousoch*, 3 *gousont*, II S 1 *gouzyenn* 3 *gouzye* P 2 *gouzyech* 3 *gouzyent*, imper- VIII (with pres meaning) *gous* Cf § 488, 2

§ 552. *fo-* ‘to sleep, pass the night’ I S 3 *foard*, r *foas(s)*, P 3 *foant*, *-foat* Rawl B 502 118b 16, II S 3 *-foed*, *-foad*, III S 2 *fōi*, 3 *foad*, *fōedh*, IV S 3 *-fia* SM IV 318 2, V S 3 *-fiad* Liad and Cur 20, VI S 1 *fiba* Ériu 2 3 6, *fifit*, 3 *-fifea*, r *fibas*, p *fubthir* Thurneysen, Zu ir Handschriften 54, P 2 *fibard* LL 251b 24, VIII S 2 *-r-oa* Mon Tall 155 21 *-rr-oa*, 3 *-foe* Rawl B 502 126b 27, *foæ* 35 (looks like *foute*) *fíu*, P 1 *femmir*, 2 *-febair*, 3 *fétir* W1 139 5, *fétar* X *feiss*, *fess* For varying forms (with the vowels *-o-*, *-a-*, *-æ-* promiscuous and with *-s-* flexion in the pret) v VKG

§ 553. *gaib-* ‘to take’, ‘to sing’ v § 444, § 466, IV S 3 *-gaba*, *-ro-gba*, r *gabas*, p *gabthar*, P 1 *gammair*, 2 *-ro-gbard*, 3 *-ro-gbat*, p *-ra-gbat[h]jar*, V S 3 *-gabad*, *-ro-gbad*, p *-gabthae*, P 2 *-gabthae*, 3 *-gabthas*, p *-gabthas*, VI S 3 *gebard*, r *gebas*, P 3 *-gebat*, *-gebat*, with obj *gebtir*, VII P 3 *-gebtis*, *-gebtas*, VIII S 1 *gabsu*, *-gabus*, 3 *gab(a)s*, with obj *gabs-i*, *ro-gab*, p *gabthe*, *ro-gabad*, *-ro-gbad*, P 1 *-ro-gabsam*, 2 *-ro-gabsid*, 3 *ro-gabsat*, p *ro-gabtha*, *-ra-gbtha*, IX ger *gabthi*, X *gabál*

(1) With *fo-ad-* ‘to leave’ I S 3 *-facaib*, P 3 *fuáibat*, IV P 2 *-fa-r-gband*, V P p *-fa-r-cabthas*, VI S 1 *fo-t-ungeb*, P 3 *-faicebat*,

VIII S 1 *fo-t-r-ácbus*, 3 *facab*, *fo-r-acab*, *-fa-r-ggarb*, p *fo-r-acbad*, P 3 *fo-r-agabsat*, X *fácbáil*

(2) With *com-* 'to hold' I S 3 *congarb*, p *congarbther*, P 3. *cgarbet*, p *cgarbter*, *congarbetar*, II S 3 *ní congebéd*, P 3 *-congbairis*, VIII S 3 *congab*, (with perf *-ad-*) *conacab*, P 3 *cgabsat*, X *congbáil*.

(3) With *dí-* 'to take away, diminish' I S p *dogaribther*, P p *do-n-garibter*, IV S 3 *-de-r-gaba*, VI P p *-digehtar*, VIII S 3 *du-ro-gab*, *-dígarb* p *do-ro-gbad*, *dí-ro-gbad*, P 3 *du-ro-gabsat* IX *dígabthe*, X *dígbáil*

(4) With *to-for-ess-* I S 3 *dofuarasgarb* O'Dav 822, cf Corm 756, 1301, P 3 *-tuarascbat* 'express', X *tuarascbáil* 'description'

(5) With *fo-* 'to find' S 1 *-fágbaím*, 2 *-fogbái*, 3 *fogaib*, *-fagaib*, p *fogabar*, *-fagabar*, P 1 *fogabum*, IV S 3 *fógaba*, P 3 *-fagbat*, V P 3 *-fagbairis*, VI P 3 *-forgebat*, VII P 3 *f-a-gebtis*, X *fagbáil* — Supplem VIII S 1 *-fuar*, 3 *fo-nd-uáir*, p *fofruth* *-frith*, IX *frithe*

(6) With *frith-* 'to restrain' I S 3 *-frithgarb*, II S 3 *frisgarbéd*, VIII S 3 *-ru-frithgab*, IX neg *neph-frithgabthe* X dat pl *frithgabálaib* O'Mulc 521

(7) With *in-* 'to reproach' I S 3 *ingarb* Ériu 7 162 § 6, III S 3 *a-tab-gabéd*, IV S 3 *-ingaba*, p *ingabthar*, P p *ingabtar*, V S p *-ingabthe*, VI S 1 *ingeb*, p *-incebthar*, X *ingabál* — With *dí-in-* 'to take away, ward off, repel' I S 3 *-dingaib*, p *-dingabar* ZCP 15 335 § 27, III S 2 *dingaib*, IV S 3 *-dingba*, *do-r-ingba*, VI S 1 *-dingeb*, 3 *do-t-ingeba*, X *dingbail* 'to ward off', 'an equal' — With *ess-in-* 'to exceed' I S 3 *asingaib*, IV S 3 *as-r-ingba*, *-esngaba*, P 3 *usingbat* VIII S 1 *as-r-ingbus*, 3 *as-r-ingaib*, P 3 *as-r-ingabsat*, *-r-esngabsat*, IX *esngabthi* (leg *-the*)

(8) With *com-od-* 'to raise' I S p *conocaba(r)*, P 3 *co-ta-ocbat*, *co-ta-ucbat*, II S 3 *co-tín-ucbad*, P 3 *chonucbairis*, III S p *co-tab-ucabar*, IV S 2 *-cumgabæ*, 3 *conocba*, P 3 *-cuncabat*, V S 3 *conucbad*, P p *conucabais*, VI S 3 *conocæba*, p *conuicgebthar*, VIII S 3 *conuccaib*, perf *connuargab*, *-ru-chumgab*, p *conuargabad*, P 3 *conocabsa(t)*, *cnucaibset*, IX *cumgabthæ*, X *cumgabál* — With *to-for-od-* (or *to-ro-od-*) 'to raise, make known' I S 3 *dufurgaib*, perf *tuargaib*, p *dofurcabar*, *-turgabar*, P 3 *dufurga(ba)t*, II S 3 *dufurcbad*, V P p *dufurgabairis*, VIII S 1 *-tuárgabus*, 3 *du-r-urgab*, *du-r-urgairb*, *tuargab*, *tuargaib*, p *tuárgabad*, P 1 *du-r-urgabsam*, 3 *dofuargabsat*, p *du-r-urgabtha*, IX *turgabthæ*, X *turcbál* — With *imb-od-* 'to avoid' I S 1 *immimgabuim*, 3 *imimgaib*, *-imgaib*, III S 2 *imcaib*,

imm-an-umcab, P 2 *umgabard*, IV S 1 *imm-e-n-umgarb* (leg. *-umgarb*), *-r-umgarb*, 3 *im-n-umgaba*, P 1 *immumgabab*, *-umgabab*, V S 3 *imm-e-n-umgabab*, VI S 3 *-umgeba*, VIII P 3 *im-r-umgabsat*, IX ger *umgabithi*, X *umgabáil* — With *to-od-* 'to raise' X *tucbál*, no finite forms in OIr, but in MlIr this cpd replaced *to-for-od-garb-*, being mostly treated as simple I S 3 *tochard* etc, MnIr I S 1 *tógaim*, X *togáil*

(9) With *air-ro-* (in some cases treated as if it were simply *air-*) 'to seize' I P 3 *ar-da-garbet*, V S 3 *-arrgabab*, VIII P 3 *ar-an-gabsat*, IX *aurgabtha*, X dat *ergabail*, gen *aurgabale* — With *to-ro-* 'to commit a crime' I S 1 *dorogbaum*, 3 *dorogarb*, P 3 *dorogbat*, IV S 3 *dorogba*, P 2 *dorogbuid*, V S 1 *dorogbáinn*, VIII S 1 *durogbus*, 3 *dorogab*, *-torgab*, p *dorogbad*, P 3 *dorogabsat*, IX *torgabthe*, X *torgabal*, *turgabáil*

Note W *gafael*, *gafel* 'to take hold' ('a hold') is conjugated regularly with *gafael-* as stem, Co *gauel* 'a hold' — A variant of the root, with init *h-* (IE *gh-* *q-*), occurs in Brit. MIW *caffael*, *cahel* (WM 130 8), *cael*, *caffu* BBC 53 13, MnW *caffael*, *cael* 'to get, obtain, find', MIW I S 1 *caffaf*, *cahaf*, *caf*, 2 *ceffy*, *cehy*, *cey*, 3 *ceiff*, *caffawd* LIH 104 21, *keffid* 17, p *ceffer*, *caffaur*, *ceffutor* (OW *cephutor*), *ceir*, P 1 *caffwn*, *cawen*, 2 *ceffwch*, *cewch*, 3 *caffant*, *keffynt* LIH 104 18, II S 1 *cawen*, 2 *caffud*, etc IV S 1 *caffwyf*, 2 *ceffych*, 3 *caffo*, *caho*, *caffwy*, etc, V S 1 *kaffwn*, *kahwn* WM 127 32, etc, VIII S 1 *cevers*, 2 *ceverst*, 3 *cavas*, p *caffat*, *cahat*, *cat*, P 1 *cawss-am*, *-om*, 3 *cawss-ant*, *-ont*, plpf S 1 *cawssum* etc, also 1 *cawssordun*, 3 *cawssod*, *cawssorder*, *cawssodet* RC 33 221 20, *kawssodyat* 220 28, *cathod* (v RC 46 73¹) — Co *caf(f)os*, *cafes*, *cafus*, I S 1 *cafaf*, 2 *cefyth*, 3 *cef*, *vyf* p *cefyry*, P 1 *cefyn*, 2 *cefough*, 3 *ceffons*, II S 1 *cyffyn* RD 1850, IV S 2 *cyffu*, P 3 *caffons*, V S 1 *caffen*, P 1 *caffan* MC 240 3, VIII S 3 *cafes*, *es*, P 3 *caffsons*, IX *ceff(f)ys* — MlBr *caff(f)out*, *caff(o)et* I S 1 *caff(f)af(f)*, 3 *queff*, p *caffet*, P 2 *caffet*, II P 1 *cafemp*, IV S 1 *quiff(f)*, 2 *quiff(f)u*, 3 *caff(f)o*, P 1 *caffymp*, *caf(h)ymp*, 2 *queffet*, V S 1 *caffen*, 2 *caffes*, 3 *caffr*, *caf(h)e* p *caffet*, P 2 *caffech*, VIII S 3 *caffas*, p *caffet*, P 3 *quff(f)ont*, plpf S 3 *cafse*, p *cafset*, IX *caf(f)et* — Cf § 445 n 3, p 280

§ 554. *garn-* 'to be born' (dep.) I S 3 *-gainedar*, r *garnethar*, P 3 *-garnetar*, V S 3 *-genad*, VI S 3 *-gignethair* (MlIr for *-thar*), r *gignuther* Ériu 7 4 9, VII S 3 *-gigned*, VIII S 1 *genar* Ériu 2 102 § 9, *-genar*, 3 *génair*, *-gén(a)ir*, *-gen(u)ir*, P 3 *-génar[r]lar*, *-genatar*, X *gen*, dat *ge(i)nim*, gen *ge(i)ne* — With *auth-* I P 1 *adgarnemmar* 'we are born again'

Note Cf W *gen* 'to give birth', Co *genys*, *gynys* 'born', Br *genel* 'to give birth', in W as a rule only the passive forms are used. But, as in Br, instances occur in MIW of the use of an act form VIII S 3 *genus* 'gave

birth to' Yst Car Mag 28 27, 30 3, RC 33 240 16 (*a enis llewenyd begat joy*) Etym § 34, 2

§ 555. *gair-* 'to call' I S 3 *-gair*, P 3 *-gairret*, X *gairm* neut, gen *garma*

(1) With *ad-* 'to sue, claim, summon' I S 1 *adgair*, 3 *adgair*, *-acair*, P 2 *a-t-gairuth*, IV S 3 *adgara*, VI S 3 *-aigera*, P 3 *-aicerat*, VIII S 3 *a-dob-ra-gart*, p *ad-ro-grad*, X *acre* — With *to-ad-* 'to sue, plead' I S 1 *taccru* Aneed III 28 1, 3 *duacair*, VI S 3 *taccéra*, VIII P 1 *do-r-acartmar*, X *tacre*

(2) With *air-* 'to forbid' I S 3 *argair*, P 3 *ar-an-gairret*, IV S 3 *-airgara*, V S 3 *ar-id-garad*, VI P 3 *argerat*, VIII S 3 *argart* 'called', *argart* 'herded', *ar-a-ro-gart*, *-argart*, p *ar-ro-grad*, IX *argarthae*, X *irgaire*, *ergairi* (leg -e)

(3) With *com-* 'to call, cry' I S 1 *congairru*, *congairum*, 3 *congair*, p *congarar*, P 3 *congairret*, VIII S 3 (with perf *-ad-*) *conacart*, p perf *conacrad*, P 3 *conacartatar* — With *to-air-com-* (*to-air-in-*) 'to promise' I S 3 *duairngir*, r *duairngir*, *tairngir*, P 3 *duairngerat*, V S p *duairngerthe*, VI P 3 *-tairngérat*, VIII S 1 *du-n-da-r-uirguart*, 2 *du-r-uirngirt*, 3 *du-r-uirngert*, p *do-r-uirngred*, *do-r-uirngerad*, IX *tairngirthe*, X *tairngire* neut — With *ess-* *com-* 'to declare' I S p *ascongarar*, VI S 1 *ascongér*, VIII S p *as-ro-chongrad*, IX gen *csngarthi*, X pl (neut) *esngaire* — With *for-com-* 'to order' I S 1 *forcongur*, *for-chongrimm*, 3 *forcongar*, *-forgair*, p *-forconga(rar)*, II S 3 *far-chongrad*, IV P 1 *for-chongram* VIII S 3 *for-ro-chongart*, p *for-ru-chongrad*, *fo-rr-orcongrad*, IX nom pl *forngarthi* (leg -*thi*), X *forngaire* neut, *forga(i)re*

(4) With *frith-* 'to answer' I S 3 *frisgair*, VI S 3 *friscera*, VIII S 3 *frisgart*, X *frecre* neut

(5) With *to-imb-* 'to demand' VI S 1 *-timgér* ZCP 10 45 23, VIII S 3 *timgart*, *do-m-r-imgart*, X *timgairi*

(6) With *ind-* 'to guard, tend' X *ingaire* — With *di-in-* 'to call' VI S p *-dingertar* Rawl B 502 125b 18, IX *dingarthae*, X *dingrae* 'appellation' — With *for-di-in-* 'to express' I S 3 *fordingair*, P 3 *fordingrat* — With *to-in-* 'to guard, tend' I S 3 *tin-gair* ZCP 8 197 § 12, IV P 3 *do-n-r-ingrat*

(7) With *di-od-* VIII S 3 *do-r-ivucart* 'shouted', X *drucrae* gl clamor — With *fo-od-* 'to proclaim, denounce' I S 3 *fo-d-uacair*, *-fuacair*, VIII S 1 *fo-s-r-ocurt*, 3 *fu-s-ocart*, p *fo-r-ócrad*, X *fócre* — With *air-fo-od-* 'to suggest, announce' I S 3 *ar-a-focair*, p *arfo-carar*, X *irócre*, *irfócre* 'a warning'

(8) With *to-* 'to call' I S 3 *dogair*, P 1 *dogairem*, 3 *dugavret*, IV S p *to-ro-garther*, VIII S 3 *do-ro-gart*, p *dograth*, *do-ro-grad*, X *togairm*

Note. Cf OBr *ar-uio-art* gl fascinauit Etym § 67

§ 556. *gat-* 'to steal' I S 2 *-gath*, 3 *-gatda*, III S 3 *gatad*, VI S 1 *-gét*, VII P 2 *-gette*, VIII S 3 with obj *gats-ai*, X *gait* — With *tre-* 'to pierce' I S 1 *trisgataim*, *trecatim*, IV P 3 *tris-n-gatat*; VI P 3 *-thregtaifet*, VIII S 3 *dris-ro-gat*, *ro-t-tregdastar*, IX *inna tragdan(de)* gl fossorum

§ 557. *gel-* 'to consume, graze' I S 3 *gelhd*, P 3 r *gélðae*, VIII S 3 *ro-gelt*, IX nom pl *neph-glhd*, X dat *gleath*, *geilt* Etym § 34, 3

§ 558. *gell-, gill-* 'to pledge, promise' IV S 3 *gellaid*, VI S 1 *gullfit*, X *gellad* — With *for-* 'to testify, promise' I S 1 *forgell(um)*, *for-t-gullim*, 3 *forceulla*, P 3 *forgellat*, V S 3 *far-íd-gellad*, VIII S 3 *for-ru-géll*, P 1 *for-ro-gelsam*, X *forgell* neut, *forcell*, *forcal* — With *dí-od-* 'to buy' I S p *diuchlither* ZCP 18 323, *-dergeltar* SM Gloss 276, IV S 3 *doruacle*, *-deirgle* SM, V P 1 *deirclimmas*, VIII S 3 *dírrógel*, p *doruaclead* Atk LBr p 854, P 3 *d-a-rucllssat*

§ 559. *ger-* with *fo-* 'to heat' I S 3 *fogear*, IV S 3 *fogera*, VIII S 3 *fo-sn-gert*

§ 560. *glád-* with *ad-* to address (dep) I S 1 *adgládur*, 3 *adgládathar*, *-acalladar*, II S 1 *a-tut-gládunn*, 3 *-acáldad*, III S 2 *a-tom-glaite*, IV S 1 perf *-arladur* (for *-ar*), *-acillhur* (for *-er*), P 1 perf *-arladmar*, 2 perf *-arlaidid* (also in MBr *-s*-forms S 1 perf *-arlasar*), VI S 1 *a-ta-gegallar*, 3 *a-ta-gegalldathar*, *a-ta-gegalthar*, VIII (cf § 465 n 6) S perf 2 *ad-ro-gaulser*, 3 *a-ta-ra-glastar*, *-arlastar*, *-arlasair* (also *adgládestar*, *-aclestar*) P 1 *ad-glaasmar*, IX nom pl *acarlai*, X *acalldam* fem

§ 561. *gle-n-* 'to stick fast' I S 3 *glenaid*, *-glen*, II P 3 *-glendaiss*, IV S 1 *-gléu*, 2 *-ghe* Anecd I 11 30, P 3 r *glete*, VI P 3 *giulant* VII S 3 *-gíulad*, VIII S 3 *ro-gíuil*, r *giulæ*, X dat *glenamavn* — With *to-* 'adhere' I S 3 *doglen* Corm § 676, *-toglen*, X *toglenmain*, *toglenemon*, *toglenamon*

Note Cf W *glynnu* 'to adhere', *erlid* to chase, persecute (MlW *erlynaf*, MnW *erlidiaf* 'I persecute', but *erlynaf* 'I prosecute' with a new vn *erlyn*), MlW *dilit* 'to follow' (*dilynaf* 'I follow', MnW vn *dilyn*), MlW *canlit* to follow (*canlynaf* MnW vn *canlyn*), v BBOS 2 108, MBr *en-glenaff* Cf § 34, 2

§ 562. *glenn-* (1) With *dí-* 'to glean' I S 1 *díghlunn* O'Dav

631, *doghlunn* (for *-vunn*), 3 *doghlunn*, p *doglennar*, X *diglarm*, MnIr *dioghluim*

(2) With *ess-* (for which *in-* appears in proclisis) 'to examine' I S 1 *adghlunn* ('I examine' = 'I reject') RC 24 48 § 6, 2 *-eclannn*, 3 *as-n-gleinn*, *asghlunn*, P 3 *inglennat*, II S 1 *asgleinn(vinn)*, IV S 2 *ingléis*, 3 *-ecail*, perf *-ergail* ('examines' = 'rejects') Ériu 7 187, IX neg *neph-ecailse*, X *eclarm* neut, *echm* — With *to-ess-* 'to seek out, choose' I P 3 *doeclannat*, p *du-n-eclan(nar)*, VI S p *-derglastar* RC 45 58 1, VIII S p perf *duérglas*, *doerglas*, *-térglas*, IX *tecarl(se)*, X *teclimm*

(3) With *fo-* 'to learn' I S 1 *foghlunn*, 3 *fo-d-gleim*, P 3 *foglennat* O'Mulc 5, IV S 1 (?) *fogles* O'Mulc 665, VIII perf S 3 *-roeglarnd*, IX ger *fogarlse* (for *-si*) ZCP 3 449 10, X *foglarm*

(4) With *for-di-od-* 'to swallow', I S p *for-n-diuclannar*, IV S 3 *-fordrucail*, P 3 *for-tam-drucuilset*, VI P p *fordrugulsiter*, IX nom pl *fordrucailsi*, X *fordruglarm*

Note. The root in the case of 1-3 probably was Pr Celt **glend-na-*, 4 had a different origin, prob IE **gl̥nd-m̥*, and is cognate with *gel-* § 557 The 3 sg **glen* > **glenn*, **glann* (cf § 312), and then became confused with *glenn* of 1-3

§ 563. *gní-* 'to do' I S 1 *n-a-gníu*, 3 *gnuid*, *gnuth*, *-gní*, r *gnís*, p r *gníther*, P 3 r *gníte*, p *gnítir*, p r *gníter*, III P 2 *gnid*, IV P 3 r *gnete*, V P 1 *-gnemmas*, 3 *-gnetis*, VI S p *gént[h]ir*, p r *géntar*, P 3 r *gende*, VIII S 3 *genais*, *ro-géni*, p *ro-gníth*, *ro-n-gníth*, P 3 *ro-n-da-geinset*, p *ro-gnítha*, *-ro-gnatha*, IX acc pl *gnethi*, X *gním* (*-u-st*)

(1) With *com-* 'to help' I S 3 *ogní*, P 1 *congniam*, IV S 2 *cungne* (?) III, 3 *congné*, perf *conacna* Thes II 349 6, VI S 3 *congéna*, X *cungnam*, *conggnam*

(2) With *di-* 'to do' I S 1 *dogníu*, *-denim*, 2 *dogní*, *-deni*, 3 *dogní*, *-dén*, perf *-de-r-ni*, p *dogníther*, *-déntar*, P 1 *dogníam*, *-denam*, 2 *dogníth*, *-denid*, 3 *dogníat*, *-dénat*, perf *-dernat*, p *dogníter*, *-denatar*, II S 3 *dugníth*, p *dogníthe*, *-dentae*, P 3 *dugnitis*, III S 2 *dene*, 3 *d-an-g(n)írd*, *dénad*, P 2 *do-sn-gnuth*, *démid*, IV S 1 *dognéo*, perf *do-nd-rón*, 2 *dogné*, *-déne*, perf *dorronar*, 3 *dogné*, *-dena*, perf *doróna*, *-derna*, p *dogne(v)ther*, *-dentar*, perf *dorróntar*, *-derntar*, P 1 *do-s-gnem*, *-denam*, perf *-dernam*, 2 *dogneid*, *-denarth*, *-dernard*, 3 *dugnet*, p *dugnetar*, *-dénatar*, V S 1 *d-a-gnenn*, *dugnén*, *dognein*, perf *duróinnn*, *-derinnn*, 3 *dogned*, *dogneth*, perf *duronad*,

-*dernad*, p *dognethe*, -*dente*, perf *dorónta*, P 1 *dugnemmas*, -*denmis*, perf *dernmis*, 2 *dognethe*, -*dénte*, perf *doróntæ*, 3 *dugnetis*, -*dentis*, perf *derntars*, VI S 1 *dugén*, -*digén*, 2 *dugene*, 3 *dogéna*, p *dogéntar*, P 1 *du-n-genam*, -*digenam*, -*dignem*, 2 *do-n-génad*, 3 *dogénat*, -*dignet*, perf *-dergenat*, VII S 3 *dogenad*, -*digned*, P 1 *dogenmis*, 2 *-digénte*, perf *d-a-ri-gente*, VIII S 1 perf *do-ri-genu[a]s*, *do-ri-gnuus*, -*deir-genus*, -*dernus*, 2 perf *do-m-ri-gnus*, -*dernars*, 3 *di-gén*, *dogén*, -*dign*, perf *do-nd-ri-gén*, *do-ri-gni*, -*de(ι)rgéna*, -*dergini* (MIR -*dérnar*, -*derna*), p perf *du-d-rónath* ZCP 17 224, *doronad*, -*dernad*, P 1 perf *do-ri-génsam*, 2 perf *do-d-ri-génsid*, 3 *dogensat*, perf *do-ri-génsat*, -*dergensat* (MIR -*dernsat*), p *dugnitha*, p perf *dorónta*, IX ger *dénth*, *de(ι)nth*, X *dénom*, *dénun*, gen *dénma*

(3) With *fo-* 'to serve' I S 3 *fo-n-gní*, p *fognúther*, P 3 *fo-n-gnat*, -*fognat*, p *fognúter*, II S 3 -*fognad*, III S 3 *fognad*, P 2 *fognad*, IV S 3 -*fogna*, P 1 *fognem*, 2 *fognerith*, VI S 1 *fu n-gen*, 3 *fogéna*, VIII perf S 3 *foruigén*, -*forgen*, P 1 -*forgénsam*, 2 *foruigénsid*, 3 *foruigénsat*, X *fognam*, gen *fognama*, also *fognad* — With *aur-fo-* 'to be serviceable', 'to prepare food or drink' I S 3 *arfogni*, P 3 *arfognat*, II S 3 *arfognad*, III S 3 *érgnad*, P 2 *aurgnad*, IV S 3 *arda-fogna*, VI P 1 -*orgenam* 'will obey, follow the advice' LL 175 b 50, 173 b 46, VII S 2 -*ernta* 'would obey' 71a 41, 72a 20, 109a 26, 110a 43, VIII S 1 -*argenus*, 3 -*forgéni* (*for-* instead of *aur-*), P 3 -*argénsat*, X *urgnam* (*er-*, *ir-*, *for-*), new form *aurfognum* — With *imb-fo-* 'to be construed' I S 3 -*imfogni*, V S 3 -*imfognad*, X *immognam*, *imfognam* 'construction'

Note *gní-* belongs to the same group as Lat *gignō* etc. § 34, 2, the semantic development was 'to beget' > 'to bring forth' > 'to make'. There is a tendency in Ir to use a stem **g'ní-* or **g'nige-*, **g'nigo-* throughout the paradigm, but orig. the subj. had a stem **g'nā-*, thus 3 sg -*déna* < **de g'nāt*, 3 sg fut -*géna* < **g'eg'nāt* or **gignāt*. For the Brit. vbs. denoting 'to make, do' v. § 491 n 2.

A W cognate is OW *gnam* MLW *gnif* 'labour, toil'. Corresponding to the Ir cpd with *fo-* are W *gwein* 'to serve' § 181, 4 (-*m-inf*, like Ir *fognam*), Co *gonys*, *gonas* 'to work, serve' MIBr *gounit* 'to merit' § 36 (-*t-inf*, like Ir *fognad*, cf W *gweinid-og* 'minister'), in the finite forms the stem was in -*ij-* (> W -*ydd-* etc.) W *gweinyddaf* 'I serve', Co *gonetheugh* 'serve vo', MIBr IV S 3 *gounezo*, etc., in W a new vb. nn *gweinyddu* has been formed.

§ 564 *gni-n-* 'to know', only in cpds with almost identical meaning

(1) With *ath-* I S p -*athgnúntar*, IV S 3 -*athgné* LU 5870, V S 3 *atgnead* LU 10323, VI S p *a-tat-gentar*, VIII (with pres.

sense) S 1 *adgén*, 3 *adgwin*, -*arthgeurn*, P 1. *adgenammar*, IX nom. pl. *ætgñuthr* (for *arthgñuthr*), X *arthgne*, *ardgne* (MIr *archne*)

(2) With *ess-* I S 1 *asagninnam*, p *as(s)agnintar*, P p *asagnintar*, *asgnintar*, IV S p *asagnother*, VIII (with pres. sense) S 2 *asgen*, -*acen* (with *a-* for *e-* influenced by *arth-*), X *ecne* 'wisdom, knowledge'

(3) With *etar-* I S 1 *itargninnam*, 3 *itargnin*, VI P 3 *etirgenat*, VIII (partly with pres. sense) S 1 *etirgén*, *itargén*, 3 *etirgein*, -*etargéurn*, X *etargne*, *etarcne*

(4) With *in-* IV P p -*enggnatar*, VIII S 3 -*ingewin*, IX acc. fem. du. *ingnardi*, ger. *ingnardi*, X *engne* 'understanding'

Note. The old pret. has pres. sense in Brit. throughout, the plpf. has ipf. sense. MIW pret.-pres. *adwaen*, *adwen*, *atuen* etc. § 460 n. 1d, plpf. -ipf. *atwaennum* etc., imper. *etweinint*. Co. pret.-pres. S 1 *aswen* Beun. Mer. 73, 3 *aswon*, P 1 *aswonyn*, VIII S 1 (a new formation) *aswonys* RD 1319, MC 84, X (new form) *aswon* OM 1488. Cf. § 488, 3.

§ 565. *gon-* 'to wound, kill' I S 1 *gono* ZCP 13 106, 3 *gonard*, -*gurn*, -*goin*, r. *gonas* ZCP 11 86 1, p. r. *gonar*, IV S 2 -*gona* (MIr for -e), P 3 *ro-n-gonat*, VI S 1 *gegna*, *gena*, -*gén*, 3 *genard*, p. -*gignether*, *geogantur*, VIII S 3 *geguin*, r. *gegna* LL 170b 42, p. *gôte*, *gôeta*, *gosta*, -*gæt*, P 3 -*gegnatar*, IX *gorte*, X *gurn* neut. — Etym. § 38

§ 566. *grenn-* X *greim* 'authority, power' — With *in-* 'to persecute' I S 3 *adgreinn*, P 3 *ingrennat*, *a-tam-grennat*, *as-id-grennat*, II S 3 *ingrenned*, P 3 *ingreintis*, III S 3 *ingrannned*, IV S 3 -*ingre*, V P 3 *ingriastars*, VIII perf. S 2 *inroigrann*, 3 *inroigrannn*, P 3 *adroigegrannatar* (with restored redupl.), X *ingreimm*, *ingraim* (neut. -n-stem)

Note. From **ghrendh-nā-*, cf. Lat. *gradior*. Cf. BBBS 3 54f.

§ 567. *gu-*, *go-* 'to choose', only in epds. — With *ess-* 'to wish' IV S 3 *asagú*, *adgo*, for other MIr forms v. ZCP 18 325. From the subj. a stem *guis-* developed I S 1 *adgúisru*, 3 *adgusi*, IV S 3 *ass-a-gusea*, VIII P 3 *as-ru-geset*, IX gen. sg. neut. *ecguisti*, compar. *ecguistru*, X *arcsu*. — With *rem-od-* V S 3 *reme-n-urcsed* gl. *praeoptare*. — With *to-* 'to choose' I S 3 *dogoa*, P 3 *do-n-goat*, VI S 1 *dogega*, P 3 *do-n-gegat*, VIII perf. S 1 *doi-b-roiga*, 2 *duroiga*, *dorroega*, 3 *doróigu*, p. *do-ro-gad*, *doroigad*, P 2 *doroigard*, 3 *doroigatar*, IX dat. pl. *turgsib*, superl. *turchsimem* (Wb. has always *turcse*, so from *to-od-gu-*), X *toгу*. Etym. § 25, 5.

§ 568. *gurd-* 'to pray' I S 1 *gurdm(m)*, *-gurdv*, *-gurdm(m)*, 3 *gurdid*, *-gurd*, p r *gurter*, P 1 *gurdm*, *-gurdem*, 3 *-gurdet*, r *gute*, III P 2 *gudid*, IV S 1 *-ges*, 2 *-geiss*, 3 *ges*, *-gé*, p *gessir*, P 1 *-gessam*, r *gesme*, 2 *-gessid*, 3 perf *-ro-gset*, V P 1 *-gesmais*, 3 *-gestars*, perf *-ro-gsitis*, VI, VII, v § 456, VIII, v § 459, S p *gesse* ZCP 9 191 § 5, *gessa*, *ro-n-gess* LU 5985, IX ger *gessi*, X *gurde* fem — Etym § 38

With *ad-* 'to request, to give the security of a surety' I S 1 *adgurdh* (for *adgurdv*) RC 17 230 15, *aiçdv* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 15 § 51d, 3 *adgurd*, p *atgurdter*, *-aucter* ZCP 13 23 3, 4, P p *adguter*, *-aucter* ZCP 13 22 16f, III S 2 *aicc* ZCP 15 366², V S p *ad-ro-gesta* SMGloss 16, VIII S 3 *adroegard*, X *aicde*

With *di-* 'to deprecate, beg pardon' (Ériu 7 193) S I 3 *d-an-gurd*, III S 3 *d-an-gurdeth*, *digded*, X *digde*

With *air-ni-* 'to pray' I S 3 *ar-a-n-neget*, P 3 *arneigdet*, II S 3 *arnig(d)ed*, III P 2 *irnidid*, X *irnidge*, *ernaigde*

§ 569 *ib-* 'to drink' I S 3 *-ib*, p *-ebar*, P 3 *ebait*, III P 2 *ibid*, V S 2 *-eba*, 3 perf *róiba*, P p r *ebtar*, V S 3 *-ebad*, VI S 1 *iba* LL 119b 41, *-hib*, P 3 *ibait*, VII S 3 *-ibad*, VIII S 3 *ibis*, perf *-essib*, p perf *asibed*, *-esbed*, P perf 1 *assibsem*, 3 *atibset*, *-esbetar*, X dat *oul* — Etym § 29

§ 570. *icc-* (cf § 422, 5) (1) With *air-* 'to bring about, find' I S 3 *-airic(c)*, p *arecar*, *-airecar*, P p *ar-a-n-ecatar*, IV S 3 *arí*, *-airi*, p *arisar*, V S p *arista*, *aristae*, VIII S 3 *ar-a-anic* *-airnic*, p *aricht*, *-airecht*, P 3 *are-r-ancatas* § 389 (with *-ro-*), *-airnechtar*, X *airec* — With *imb-air-* and permanent infixed neut pron 'to suit, have reference to' I S 3 *imm-e-airic*, *imm-e-airc* (*immairc*), P 3 *immaircet*, IV S 3 *imm-e-n-airi*, VIII S 3 *imm-e-arnaic*, P 3 *imm-id-arnactar*, X *immairecc* 'conflict' (without the neut pron we have VI S 3 *cona-m-an-airceba* 'so that they will not meet' RC 11 442 10, VIII S 3 *imm-an-arnaic dóib* 'they came together' LL 285b 47, *co-mm-an-arnaic dóib* Ériu 4 22 § 3, for the impersonal construction v VKG II 311 *Muršils Sprachlahmung* 81) — With *fo-air-* (mixed with *fo-ro-*) 'to find' IV S p *-furestar*, V P 3 *-fuirsitis*, VI S 3 *foricfa* LL 294a 22 (Gwynn, *Hermathena* 19 94), VIII S 3 *fo-n-airnacc*, *-farnic*, p *-furecht*, X *furec* welcome, feast' — With *to-fo-air-* (*to-fo-ro-*) 'to find' VI S 3 *dofuircifea* — With *to-air-* 'to come' III S 2 *tair* (properly a subj, cf § 452 n 3), 3 *tairced*, IV S 3 *do-mm-air*, *ni-m-thair*, P 3 *tairset*, V P 1 *-tair-*

summis, VIII S 3 *tarnac* 'was finished', *-tarnac*, P 1 *tarnecmar*
Ériu 3 4 11, 3 *do-n-arnactar*, X *tairrec* 'preparations'

Note 1 Different from *to-air-icc-* is the regular *-i-*stem OIr I S 3 *doáirci*, X *tairciud* (with *-ā-*), *táircud* 'to cause', 'to offer' (for the latter meaning cf. especially MI 72b 10), v VKG. This verb has undergone a curious transformation in MÍr: the long *-a-* has been replaced by a short vowel (by anal. with *to-air-icc-*?), VIII S p took the form *tarcas* following a general tendency (§ 466 n 2), this again gave rise to an active VIII S 3 *-targad* etc. The vb. thus looks as if it were a cpd. of *gud* 'to pray' with *to-ro-ad-* (Bergin, Ériu 11 140), but neither is such a grouping of the preverbs normal nor is *gud-* likely to have developed the meaning 'to offer'.

(2) With *com-* 'to be able' I S 1 *comccim*, *-cumcu*, *-cumgaim*, 2 *co-tu-ici*, *-cumci*, 3 *conacc*, *cunic*, *-cum(a)ing*, *-cumuing*, p *cumangar*, P 1 *-cumcam*, 3 *conecat*, *-cumcat*, *-cumget*, II P 3 *-cumgartis*, IV S 2 *chonús*, 3 *óí*, *-cumar*, *nád chum*, P 3 *-cumset*, V S 1 *-cuimsin*, 3 *-cuimsed*, P 1 *cho-t-ismis*, *-cuimsimmis*, 3 *chonístis*, VI S 1 *conicub*, *-cumgub*, P 2 *conicfid*, *conicfed*, 3 *-cumgubát*, VII S 3 *icfed*, *-cumcarbed*, P 1 *icfimmis*, 3 *connicfartis*, VIII S 1 *co-t-aneccar*, 2 *-coemnacar*, 3 *co-t-ánac*, *canacuir*, *-coimnacuir*, P 1 *-coimnacmar*, 2 *-cóimnacard*, 3 *-co(i)mnactar*, X *cumang* — With *to-ad-com-* 'to reach to' I P 3 *-tacmainget* LU 5932, II S 3 *tacmungaú*, *tacmarcced*, P 3 *-thacmurchis* RC 3 345 23 — With *for-com-* 'to happen' V S 3 *forcuimsed*, P 3 *farcuimsitis*, *farcuimsitis*, VIII S 3 *forcomnucuir*, *forcomnacuir*, *forcomnacuir*, *-forcomnucuir*, P 3 *forcomnactar*, *-forcomnactar*, IX *formachite* — With *in-com-* 'to strike, chance, happen' II S 3 *adcomced* W₁ 281 14, III (?) S 3 *adcomged* O'Mulc 578, IV S 3 *adcumar[d]* SM IV 278 18, *-ecm(a)i*, *-ecma*, VIII (with pres. sense, S 3 *at-tot-chomnacc* 'thou art' § 484), S 1 *a-ta-comcus*, 3 *adcumaring* (MÍr also *ad-cho-marc*), *-ecmaring*, P 1 *-ecmaringsem*, 3 *adcomcisset*, X *ecmong* — With *to-in-com-* 'to happen' I S 3 *do-nd-ecmaring*, *-tecmaring*, P 3 *doemungat*, *-thecmongat*, IV S 3 *do-n-ecmar*, V S 3 *doemorsed*, *-thecmarsed*, VIII S 3 *tecomnucuir*, (without syncope) *tecomnucuir*, *to-nd-echomnucuir* (*-ch-* = */g/*), X *tecmang*

(3) With *ro-* 'to reach, come' (*roiccu* less with *g* 'I need') IS 1 *roiccu*, *ricu*, *ruicim*, *-riccim*, 2 *co-rricci* 'until', 3 *-ricc*, p *recar*, P 1 *-recam*, 3 *ru-n-ecat*, *-recat*, III P 1 *recam*, IV S 1 *ris*, 2 *rois*, 3 *rohí*, *rú*, *-rí*, P 1 *risam*, 2 *risid*, 3 *risat*, *-risat*, V S 1 *risin*, *-risin*, VI S 1 *riccub*, *ro-n-icub*, *-ricub*, 3 *ro-n-icfeá*, p *-ricfider*, VIII S 1 *ránac*, *-ránac*, 3 *ránic*, *ro-b-ánic*, p *-richt*, P 3 *ránacatar*, *-rancatar*,

X *richtu*. — With *com-ro* 'to meet' (in MIIr a *-d-* intrudes between *-n-* and *-r-* in loose comp) I S 3 *oricc*, *-comraic*, P 3 *condrecat*, *-comrucat*, II S 3 *condriced*, IV S 3 *-comuir*, P 1 *co-t-rissam*, *-comairsem*, 3 *co-t-risat*, V P 3 *-comaurstis*, VI S 3 *condricfa*, *-comricfea*, VIII S 3 *condránic*, *conranaric*, X *comrac* 'encounter, combat' — With *imb-com-ro* 'to meet, come together' (W1 622) VIII S 3 *imm-a-comarn(a)ic*, X *imchomrac* — With *imb-ro* 'to happen' IV S 3 *co mm-a-rí*, *conna mm-an-airí* (as if from *imb-air-*), VI S 3 *imm-a-ricfa*, VII S 3 *ní m-a-ricfed*

(4) With *to-* 'to come' I S 2 *con-did-ticcí* 'until (thou comest to) it', *con-dici* ZCP 7 481 9 'until', 3 *do-da-ic*, *tíc*, p *tecar*, II S 3 *-ticed*, III S 3 *ticed*, P 3 *tecat*, IV S 3 *to-sn-í* Ériu 7 144 § 30, *-tí*, P 3 *-tísat*, V S 3 *tised*, *do-da-issed*, *-tised*, VI S 3 *do-sn-icfa*, *-ticefa*, P 3 *du-nd-icfet*, VII S 3 *do-n-icfad*, *-ticefed*, P 3 *du-nd-icfiths*, VIII S 1 *tanac*, 2 *tánac*, 3 *du-nn-ánic*, *tánicc*, *-tínaric*, p *ticht* Rawl B 502 132a 21, P 1 *tancamar*, 2 *do-n-fancid*, 3 *doancatar*, *táncatar*, *-tancatar*, X *tichtu* (MIIr *tiachtan*)

Note The same root appears in W MIW *aghet* 'would escape' BA 22 20, W *diunc* to 'escape' (stem *dihang-* with *-h-* due to accent), MIW *ranc* in *ranc bod* 'to satisfy' (MnW *rhynghu bodd*), *cyfranc* 'encounter, story', cf BBCS 1 6

§ 571 *ith-* 'to eat' (suppl paradigm) I S 1 *ithm*, 3 *ithid*, with fem obj *ithus*, r *hithes*, P 3 *ithit*, II S 3 *-ithed*, P 3 *-attis*, III S 3 *ithed*, P 1 *etham*, 3 *ethat*, IV S 1 perf *co n-daesur*, 2 *eser* ZCP 7 269 § 15, 3 *estir*, *-estar*, perf *doestar* Ériu 7 146 § 2 (oe diphthong, cf *ibid* § 4), P 1 perf *con-dessamar*, V S 3 *-essad*, P 3 *-estars*, VI S 1 *-isa* (*-is sa*) Ériu 5 234 51, *ro-forn-iss* Dinds 4 140 104, P 3 with obj *istant*, VII S 3 *-issad*, P 3 *-istars*, VIII S 2 *deodh* ZCP 12 285, 3 *aduard*, *duard*, *dond*, *dofuard* Salt 1287, *-duard*, *-dond*, p *-dæs* Trip L 180 25, *-does*, P 3 *dootar*, *dujuetar* Ériu 7 164 § 8, *dofeotar*, *deotar* Anecd II 59 11, *duatar* (disyll) Salt 3328, *aduatar*, *-dotar*, IX dat pl *esib*, X *hithé*

§ 572 *larg-* 'to lie down' I S 3 *largid*, II S 3 *larged*, III S 3 *larged*, P 2 *largid*, IV S 1 *i-llrus* 'where I may lie down', P 3 perf *-dellset*, *-deilset*, V S 3 *-less(ed)*, P 3 *-lestars* TBC (Str-O'K) 3451, VIII perf S 3 *dellig* (v Trans Phil Soc 1895—98 62), *-dellechuir*, P 3 *dellgetar*, X *hge* — With *com-* VI S 3 *conlee*, X *coblige* 'copulation' has *com-fo-* (Thurneysen, Handb 120), cf W *cywely* 'bedfellow' (*gwely* 'bed' = **upo-* + a cognate of Ir *hge*, cf § 35, 4)

§ 573. *laim-*, dep, 'to dare' (for *ro-* in ind and subj v § 421, 2) I S 1 *ro-laumur*, *ro-laimur*, *ro-lomur*, 3 *ro-laimethar*, p r *lamar* (without *ro-*), P 1 *ro-laimemmar*, II S 3 *na laimed*, p *oná laimtheá*, P 3 *ní laimtris*, III P 3 *na laimetar*, IV S 1 *ro-llámar*, 3 *ní lá-mathair* (for *-thar*), V S 3 *no-lamad*, VI S 3 *ro-t-lemathar*, *noco-lémarther*, p *na leimthar*, VIII S 3 *ro-lámar*, P 3 *ro-lámratur*, X nom pl *inna letena gl ausus* (later *laimiud*)

Note 1 The vowel of the vb 'to dare' was short in the pres, long in the pret. Perhaps cognate is *lamas-* (*lamos-*) (cf Thurneysen, ZCP 1 182 14) with *fo-* 'to threaten' (active flexion and abstract subject), 'to be on the point of' (deponent flexion, subject a living being) VIII S 3 act *fo-m-lámas báduð fothrí* 'drowning threatened me thrice', S 1 dep *con folmaissur derchoimud* 'so that I was on the point of despairing' (the *s-* of the stem and the flexional *-s-* have coalesced), 3 *co folmastar each díb aidið a chéle isin tig* 'so that every one in the house was on the point of killing the other' ('so that they had nearly killed one another'), X *folmaissu*. The coalescence of the two *-s-* in the pret. has given rise to an *ā*-stem pres (I S 3 *folamadár*) — With *air-fo-* 'to await one, to be in store' (active, abstract subject), 'to purpose' (dep) I S 3 *ar-a-folmathar* (anal. *ā*-stem), P 3 *arfolmotar* 'they purpose', VIII S 3 *is élan arfolmas dun insin* 'of old this has been in store for us'

Note 2 Cf W *llafasu* *llyfasu* 'to dare' (MIW I S 3 *lleuers*, *lleuys*), Co *lauasos* 'to venture', MIBr *lafuauez* 'permitted', v RC 32 304f, where Loth connects with this the W *cylfllafan* 'outrage, massacre' ('daring act')

§ 574. *leg-* 'to read' (*ā*-st) V S 3 *-légad*, VIII S 1 *ro-llegusa* (= *-us sa*), *-roilgius* 2 *ro-legais*, 3 *in ro-lég (-leg)*, P 1 *ru-n-da-legsam*, 2 *ro-légsid*, *-roilgisid*, 3 *ro-legsat*, X *legend* neut. — With *air-* 'to recite' I S 3 *arlega*, p *ar-a-llegthar*, P p *ar-a-légatar*, III S 2 *arléch*, IV S p *-arlégthar*, *-árlægthar*, perf *arroilgither*, P 2 *-arlégid*, VIII S 3 *-arleg*, X *airlegend*

Note From Lat *lego*, whence also the Brit. forms. MIW *lleu* (= *-u*) 'to read' RC 33 229 9, *lleer* will be read RP 1051 35, *meibyon llen* (trans. Lat *clerum*) 'clerics, scholars' Llanstephan MS 1 138 17 (= *yscolheigon* RBB 169 3), W *gŵr llen* — Ir *fer legind* With **to-are-* MIW *darlleaw* 'to read' BT 12 19, more common *darlleim* (I S 3 *darlle* RC 33 190 21, P 1 *darllewn*, 2 *darllewch* Hen MS II 261 5, 4, VIII S 3 *darlleuys* RP 580 25), the stem *darlle-* persisted in MnW but is now replaced entirely by the stem *darllen-* (*darllenaf* 'I read') from the vb nn *darllen* which was orig. a spoken form of *darlleim*, the form *darlleim* may be due to MIW *dileim* 'to destroy' (stem *dile-*), v § 575 Br *lenn*

§ 575. *leg-* 'to dissolve, melt' (reg. *ā*-st) I S 3 r *legas*, VIII P 3 *legsit* Anecd. III 59 11, X *legad*, gen *legtha*, *lechtha* — With *di-* 'to destroy' I S 3 *dolega*, III S p *dilegar*, IV S 2 *-de-r-*

legae, p *du-n-dam-legthar*, VII P 3 *du-s-leicthfithis*, VIII S p perf *durolged*, X *dilgend* (formed by anal with *leg-* 'to read')

Note Etym § 52 W cpd with *dile-* MIW *dilein* 'to destroy' (st *dile-*, v ACL 1 507, the infinitive goes back to *gn-* and is not identical with Ir *dilgend*), *dileith* 'destruction', MnW *dileu* 'to destroy, delete' (st *dile-*), with **to-ate-* *dadlath* 'to thaw' The root also occurs in W *lleas* 'death', MIW *lleassu* 'to kill' WM 152 21, cf BBCS 3 270

§ 576. *léic-* 'to leave' v § 444, 452, 456, 459, 466, X *le(í)cruid*

(1) With *air-* 'to lend' I S p *ar-á-leicthar*, *-airleicther*, VI S p *arleicfithir*, VIII S p *ar-a-rei-lced*, *o-r-arleced*, X *airlcud* — With *com-air-* 'to permit' I S 2 *conairleci*, 3 *airleci*, P 3 *conairleceit*, p *conairleceitir*, III S 2 *-chom[m]airlic*, IV S 2 *-comairlece*, 3 *condamm-airleicea*, *-comairlecea*, p *airleicther*, V S p *-comairleicthe*, VI S 1 *-comairleciub*, VIII S 1 *con-r-airleicrus*, 2 *o-id-r-airlecis*, *-comairlecis*, 3 *con-r-airleic*, *-chomairleic*, IX *comairleicthe*, X *comairleciud*

(2) With *od-ess-* (in loose comp *ess-od-*) 'to open' I S 3 *asóilgi*, VIII S 3 *ad-r-olaic* W₁ 297 21, *asóilgg*, *asóilg*, *a-tñ-olaic*, X *osluicud* From OIr close comp MlIr *oslargud* 'opens', MnIr *osglaim* 'I open' — With *air-od-(e)ss-* 'to open' I S 3 *ar-n-da-osailci*, p *arosailcither*, P 1 *arosailcim* (leg *-cem*), 3 *ar-da-osailcet*, III S 3 *ersoilced*, IV S 3 *ar-an-osailcea*, P 3 *ar-an-osailcet*, *-ersoilcet*, p *ar-an-osailceitir*, V S 3 *arosailced* VI S 1 *arosulcub*, 3 *-ersoilcefa*, VII S p *-ersoilcfithe*, P p *-ersoilcfithis*, VIII P 3 *-airsoilset* (for *-lceset*), X *ersoilcud* (*-gud*), *irsoilcoth* — With *to-od-ess-* 'to deliver, release' I S 3 *dufuasailci*, p *dofuasailcither*, *dofuasailcith(er)*, P 3 *dofúasailcet*, *dofuasailcat*, IV S 2 *dufuasailce*, 3 perf *do-n-fo-r-slance* (for *-ea*), VI P p *tuáslaicfith(er)* VIII S 3 *du-n-fo-r-sailc*, r *tarslaic*, p *dofu-r-sailced*, IX pl nom *tuasailcithi*, X *tuas(s)ailcud*, *tuasolcud*, *tuasulgud*, *tuasluicud* By loss of proclitic preverb, MnIr *fuasglaim* 'I release, redeem' (or is it a cpd with *fo-od-ess-*? cf SMGloss 424, SR 7319, 7399 and Thurneysen, ZCP 13 298)

(3) With *to-* 'to let, cast' (*to-leic-*, but *-teic-*, rarely *-tailc-*, with perf *ro* the forms are *do-reic-*, but *-tarlic-*, v Marstrander, RC 37 23, 212ff) I S 1 *do-s-leicim* W₁ 101 16, 3 *dolléici trairgid* TBC (Str-O'K) 2153, P 3 *dolléicet*, III S 2 *teic* Thes II 258 12, *teic trairgid* TBC (Str-O'K) 2151, P 2 *-teicud*, IV P 2 *-ta-r-lcud trairgid*, V S 3 *-teicced trairgid* TBC (Str-O'K) 2155, *-tailced*, p *-da-r-lcithe*, VI S 1 *tailce*, *teicgfe* (sc *trairgid*) TBC (Str-O'K) 2152, VIII S 3 *do-*

rei-lg LL 146a 38, *-tarlanc* RC 22 282 1, *tarlanc* W₁ 101 15, IX dat *teirleithru*, X *tarlcruid*, *teirleirud* Analogically *-tarlc-* could lead to *do-farlc-* and *tarlc-* to *dofarlc-*, this is found in OIr only in combination with *don* 'to yield' I S 3 *du-d-farlc don*, V S 3 *dufarlced don*, VIII S 3 *do-fa-r-lanc don*, *-tarlanc don*

Note. Etym § 59

§ 577. *le-n-* 'to adhere to, follow' (with the prep *di*) I S 3 *len(a)id*, P 3 *lenit*, V S 3 *-had*, VI S 2 *hle*, 3 *hlith* Ériu 5 242 178, r *hles*, P 3 *hlit*, VIII S 3 *ro-d-hil*, P 3 *ro-leidar*, *-ruilidetar* (*-ld-* = *ll*) W₁ 207 6, X *lenamain*

Note The orig meaning was 'to adhere to', cf Lat *linō* 'I besmear', Skr *li-nā ti* 'clings to' With older meaning OIr *ua lenomnaib gl* lituris, OBr *linom gl* litura, cf W *llynu* 'to infect', *edllynu* 'to besmear', OW *imm-is hne gl* allinebat *linisant* ? 'they befouled', v BBCS 6 118

§ 578 *len-* (*lén-*?) with *ess-* 'to pollute' (reg *-ā-st*) I S 1 *aslenaimm*, *aslennim*, p *as(s)lentar*, II P 3 *aslentis*, *a-t-léntais*, IV P p *aslentar*, V S p *aslentae*, VIII S 3 *ru-n-eillestar* (*-ll-* < *-ln-*), p *as-ro-llennad*, *ro-heilled*, P 1 *-r-eildiseim* (*-ld-* = *-ll-*), 3 *as-ru-lensat*, p *as-ru-lenta*, IX *éilmithe*, ger *eillnithi*, X *déilled*, *eilled*

Note This cpd has hardly anything to do with MlIr X *leunath*, *lénnud* (Pokorny, ZCP 15 203), MlIr *léanadh*, I S 1 *léanam* 'I damage, injure, ruin, destroy' For *as len-* seems to have a short vowel and the definite meaning 'to defile, pollute' (in spite of its being used to translate Lat *violāre* Ml 63a 16, 127a 13, 128 d 2)

§ 579. *lg-* 'to hck' I S 1 *lígim*, VI P 3 *hlst*, VIII S 3 *ro-lelung*, P 3 *lelgatar* — Cf § 35, 5

§ 580 *lng-*, *leng-* 'to leap' I S 3 *lngud*, P 3 r *lengtae*, IV S 3 r *has*, VII S 3 *-ribulsed* (*-rib-* = the redupl **lib-*), VIII S 3 *ro-leblaing*, X *léim* — With *fo-* 'to jump up, anticipate, prevent' I S 3 *folingg* ZCP 10 46 § 9, P 3 *folengat* LL 126b 19, VIII S 1, 2 perf *fo(r)roiblang*, P 3 *fo-rru-leblangtar*, p *foroiblachta*, X *folairimm* Salt 3253, *folam* Ml 38d 1 — With *to-arr-fo-* 'to dismount' VI S 2 *-tarblais*, VIII S 3 *doeirblíng*, *doarblaing*, *tarblíng*, *tarblaing*, P 3 *taurlaingset*, X *turlaim* — With *rem-fo-* 'to anticipate, prevent' III S 2 *remfolaing*, IV S 3 *remiforl* — With *to-* 'to leap, spring before' I S 3 *dolíng*, II S 3 *dolínged*, VIII S 3 *dolleblaing*, *dorroeb-laing* — Cf § 8, 2c

§ 581 *long-* 'to eat, drink' (*-o-* *-e-st*) I S 1 *-lungu*, 3 *loingud*, r *loingis*, P 3 *longat*, IV *-ā-subj* S 2 *-longe*, 3 *-longe* (leg *-a*), *-s-forms* S 1 *-lu(s)*, 3 perf *as-lú*, *at-lu* Ériu 7 192, r *lús*, *lús* 194,

p *lusarr*, P 1 *lorsiom*, 3 *lusant*, *ad-lúsat*, V S 3 *-lúsad*, P 3 *-lúists*, X *longud*.

Note Cf W *llewa* 'to drink, eat', I S 2 *llewr* Hen MSS II 340 24, VIII S 1 *llewers* BT 68 7, 3 *llewas* LIA 111 27, *llewas* RP 1274 36, *lleuawd* RC 33 218 5, P 3 *llewyssant* 224 1, *ny lawssant* LIA 117 27 (for *-ew-*), *lleussant* Penasth MS 44 21 16, plpf S 3 *llewset* RP 1045 32

§ 582. *lo-n-g-* With *fo-* 'to support, sustain' I S 1 *folung*, 3 *folovng*, *follovcn*, *-fulavng*, P 1 *follongam*, *-fulgam*, 2 *-fulngud*, 3 *folongat*, *-fulngat*, II S 1 *fulungáin*, III P 2 *fulget* (for *-ith*), 3 *fulngat*, IV S 1 *fulós*, *follós*, 3 *folló*, *-ful*, P 1 *-fulsam*, perf *-fo-chom-olsam*, 2 perf *-fo-chom-alsid*, 3 *follosat*, V P 3 *folostars*, VI S 1 *fohlus*, *-fóelusa*, 2 *-fóelars*, 3 *fohl* Ériu 2 208 § 28, *-faol* (*-ao-* = OIr *-oi-*), p *fulilastar*, *-faelustar*, P 2 *-faelsaid*, 3 *fohlisat*, VII S 1 *fulilsain*, 3 *-fóelsad*, p *fulilastæ*, P 3 *-foi(l)stis*, VIII perf S 1 *focoemallag*, P 3 *focormlachtar*, IX *fulachtae*, X *folog*, *fulach*, *fulang*

With *imb-fo-* 'to cause' I S 3 *imfolngi*, *-immolngai*, p *imfolngar*, *-immolnganthær*, P 3 *imm-e-folngat* (*-lngat*), *-imfolngat*, IV S 1 *-r-im-folngar* (dep, Thurneysen, KZ 37 105¹), 2 *imfolngae*, *-imfo-r-larng*, 3 *imm-e-folnga*, p *imm-e-folngither*, P 3 *imm-a-folngat*, V S 3 *imm-e-folnged*, *imfolnged*, p *-imfolangde*, P 3 *-imfolngitis*, VI S 3 *imfolnguba*, VIII S 2 *im-im-fo-r-larngis* (*-im-* 'me'), 3 *imfo-r-l(a)ng*, X *imfolang*

With *in-* 'to put in, put together, to furnish (with live stock, MI 84a 6), to engage' I S 3 *inloing*, *-ellaing* Corm 447, p *inlongar*, *ellangar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 28 § 76, 15 § 51, VIII S 3 *inolang* p *ro-ellacht* Salt 3551 (late *ro-heilged* O'Dav 1130), IX *ellachtae*, X *ellach*, g *ellang* — With *to-in-* 'to take possession' IV S 2 *tellars*, X *tellach*

§ 583. *lu-* 'to move, fly' (orig dep) I S 1 *-lurur*, II S 1 *-lurnn* Imr Br II 291, 4, VIII S 3 *lurs*, X *lirud* 'impulse', *luamavn* 'flying'

(1) With *com-ad-* 'to stir up' (Binehy, Ériu 12 62) I S 3 *conalar*, *-comlar*, X *comlúth*

(2) With *ess-com-* gl *proficiet* I S 3 *-æscmlar*, VIII S 3 *as-ro-chumlar*, *as-ru-chumláe*, X *escumlúid* gl *ingressus*, *migratio* — With *to-com-* 'to set forth' I S 3 *documlar*, P 3 *documlát*, *documlat*, VIII S 3 *documlarset*, X *tochumlud*

(3) With *ess-* 'to go away, escape' I S 3 *aslur* (*-oi*), *atlúr* (*-oi*), P 3 *asluat*, II S 3 *asluad*, IV S 3 *-ro-héla*, P 1 *-elammar*, 2 *ciacloird*

(leg *ei a-t-loid* Irake St 55), V S 1 *aslórn*, VI S 1 *-élub*, 2 *-éláfa*; VIII S 1 *as-ru-luís*, 2 *at-ru-llais*, 3 *ad-ru-llur* W1 380 (*-ll-* by analogy), *-erla* (*-ē-*) YBL 122b 5, P 3 *aslurset*, X *élud*

(4) With *fo-* 'to fly' I S 1 *folliur*, P 3 *foluatar* O'Mulc 368; V S 1 *fulunn*, X *fuluth* K Meyer, Bruchst d alt Lyrik 68 159

(5) With *com-od-* 'to rise, ascend' I S 3 *conhualar*

§ 584 *lug-* (1) With *fo-ad-* 'to overthrow' I S 1 *foalgim*, 2 *fufálgí*, p *fo-mm-álagar*; VIII S 3 *fo-r-alaig*, X *falgud* — With *to-ad-* 'to lay down, soothe, appease' (cf Marstrander, RC 37 216, in VKG erroneously under *léic-*) III S 2 *talang*, X *talgud* (*-ā-*)

(2) With *di-* 'to forgive' (subj st *di-loga-*) I S 1 *dolugim*, 2 *-dílgaí*, 3 *do-d-lugi*, *dulugai*, P 2 *-dílgaí*, *-dílgaí*, 3 *duluget*, p *dulugter*, III S 2 *dilich*, P 2 *dilgáí*, IV S 2 *dulogae*, *-de-r-lang(e)*, 3 *-dílga*, *d-a-ro-lgea*, p *dulougther*, P 2 *dulogáí*, *d-a-ro-lged* (for *-id*), V S 3 *-de-r-lged*, p *-de-r-langthe*, VI S 1 *d-a-lugub*, *-dílgaib*, 3 *dulughefa*, *dulugfa*, p *-dílgaibther*, VIII S 2 *do-ro-lgis*, 3 *do-ro-lang*, p *du-ro-lged*, P p *do-ro-lgetha*, *do-ro-lgida*, *-de-r-lauhta*, X *dilgud*

(3) With *fo-* 'to hide' I S 1 *fullugaimm*, 3 *foluigi* Anecd III 57 14, VIII S p *fo-roí-lged* ibid 1 3 1, X *folach* — With *ind-fo-* 'to hide' IX *infolgitha*, g *infolgitha*

§ 585 *mag-* with *to-for-* 'to increase' I S 3 *doformarg*, *dofór-march* p *doformagar*, *-tórmarag*, P 3 *dofórmgat*, p *do-formmagddar*, III S 2 *tórmarag*, IV S 2 *-tormars*, 3 *do-r-ormar*, *-thorma* O'Dav 1505, p *-tormastar*, P 2 *-thormassid*, VI S 2 *duforma*, p *dufórmastar*, *doformastar*, VII S 3 *dofoirmsed*, VIII S 3 *do-r-ormacht*, r *tormacht*, p *du-r-ormacht*, IX *tórmachte*, ger *tormachtaí*, X *tórmach*, *tórmag*, gen *tórmag*

Note Cf OW *di-guor mechis* has added' (v Thurneysen RC 11 205, *-ch-* may be = *-gh-*, cf OW *helcha* 'to hunt', *helgha* 'hunt thou')

§ 586. *mard-* 'to break' (in the pres an *-i-st*, intrans, *mardid* re n- 'it breaks before (someone)' '(someone) vanquishes', *mardid* for 'it breaks on (someone)' '(someone) is defeated') I S 3 *-mard*, *-marth*, P 3 *mardit*, III S 3 *maided*, IV S 3 *máris* LL 332c 57 *-má*, *-mæ*, V S 3 *-marissed*, VI S 3 *memars*, *mebars*, *-mema*, perf *-roirma*, P 1 *mebusmet*, *-memsam*, 3 *-mebsat*, r *memsite*, VII S 3 *-mebsad*, P 3 *mebsaitis*, VIII S 3 *ro-mmemard* (perf), *co-mmebard*, *co-rróemrd* (perf), P 3 *memdaitir*, *-mebdatar*, perf *-raimdetar*, X *mardm*, gen *madmae* — With *to-* 'to break forth' IV S 3 *doma*, VI S 3

dommema, VIII S 3 *dommemad*, perf *-toróimad* (for *-mid*), X *tomadb*

§ 587. *mair-n* 'to betray' (Asp 1 Irsk 104) I S 3 *-mairn*, r *mairnes*, *marnas* LL 346b 53, P 3 *mairnit*, IV S 2 *-mera*, P 3 perf *-ro-mrat*; V S 3 *-merad*, VI S 2 *-mera*, P 3 *-merat*, VII S 3 *-merad*, VIII S 3 *ro-mert*, P 1 *-mertamar*, 3 *ro-me(r)tatar*, X *mrath* neut (MlIr *brath*, cf W *brad* 'treachery' Co *bras*)

§ 588. *mel* 'to grind' I S 1 *melm*, 3 r *meles*, p *melair*, III P 3 *melat*, IV P 3 *-melat*, Eleanor Knott, Hermathena 22 274, VI S 3 *-méla*, VIII S 2 *ro-melit*, 3 *milt* ZCP 8 308 3, *-melt* X dat *mlith*, *bleth* — With *com-* 'to rub, grind' I S 3 *co-t-mel*, VI S 1 *mel*, 3 *cu-tan-méla*, P 3 *co-to-mélat* (-to- for -to-), VIII perf S 3 *con-a-mmelt*, *co-tin-o-malt* W₁ 296 10, X dat *c(o)mmelith*, *commilt* MlIr *cuimlim* 'I rub, grind between the palms' — With *fo-* 'to spend, use up' IV S 3 *co-ro-formh* (-i for OIr *-ea*), X *fomerit* — With *to-* 'to consume' I S 3 *dommel* P 1 *dumelam*, 3 *d-a-melat*, III S 2 *tomel*, 3 *-thoimled*, IV S 1 *-to-r-mal*, V S 3 *d-a-melad*, *do-ro-mlad*, P 1 *dumelmis*, 3 *domeltris*, VIII S 1 *-to-r-mult*, 2 *do-ro-mait* LL 246a 8 X acc *tomaill*

Note W *mahu* to grind Br *mala* (Skr *mṛāmi* 'I crush', Lat *molō*)

§ 589 *me-n* with *to-di-* 'to bind' (v Marstrander, *Présents à nasale 11—13*, Thurneysen, ZCP 16 273f) I S p *do-n-uidmenar* O'Dav 1511, *-uidmenar* SM IV 374 27, IV S 2 *do-sn-dime* O'Dav 702, IX pl *tuidmathi* Ml 58a 9, cf O'Dav 1522, X *tuidme* O'Dav 1511, cf O'Mulc 507, Salt 4278

Note Cf Skr *mī nō ti* he establishes, builds

§ 590 *mad-* to judge' v § 465—6, IX *messe*, X *mess*, g *messā*

(1) With *ad-* 'to attempt' I S 3 *admidethar*, III S 3 *aimmeded*, P 3 *-aimdetar*, IV S 3 *admestar*, VI S 3 *a-tot-miastar* Fianaig 36 19, VIII S 3 *admaidir*, *ad-ro-madair*, X *ammus*, gen *aimsea*

(2) With *air-* 'to hit upon, attain, understand' I S 3 *-irmad-adar*, IV P 2 *-irmissid*, V S p *-irmastá*, VIII S 3 *-ér-r-madair*, P 3 *-irmadatar*, *-armadatar*, X *ermaissiu*, *urmaisí* For MlIr finite forms modelled on X (stem *ermaiss-*) v C'IrL 62, W₁ 129 32

(3) With *com-* 'to give orders, have power over, be able' I S 3 *conmidethar*, III S 2 *amittu* (leg *com-*), IV S 1 *mesar* (for *-sur*), 2 *conmeser*, 3 *amestar*, *-commestar*, V S 1 *conmeasairid* (= *con-messairin*) Anecd I 13 1, 3 *-coimsed*, VI S 3 *conmiastar*, VIII S 1 perf *a-a-mmadar*, 3 *amidir*, perf *a-a-mmadir*, p perf *con-air*

mes, *con-a-mmas* Ériu 7 142 1, P 3 *camthatar*, IX *cumse* 'fitting', X *comus* 'power' Cf *coimdu* 'lord'

(4) With *ess-* 'to refuse, fail, beware' (only MlIr forms with active endings) I S 3 *emid*, III S 2 *eimide*, *émhde*, IV P 3 *-r-emset* LL 287a 11 — With *fo-ess-* 'to be unable, at a loss to' (only MlIr act forms) I S 1 *fo-r-emdm*, P 3 *femdit*, VIII S 3. *fo-r-émmid*, *fo-r-émid*, P 3 *fo-r-emdetar*

(5) With *imb-ro-* 'to transgress, sin' I S 3 *-imruimdetar*, P 3 *imm-e-ruimdetar*, II S 3 *imm-e-romded*; IV S 2 *-imroimser*, 3 *imm-e-romastar*, *-imromastar*, P 2 *imroimsid*, V P 1. *imroimsimmas*, 3 *-imroimsitis*, VI P 3 *imroimset*, VIII S 3 *imrumadir*, *imm-e-ruimediar* (leg *-dair*), p *imm-e-romas*, P 3 *-imruimdetar*, X *imm-armus* (MlIr *imabus*)

(6) With *to-* 'to measure, weigh' I S 3 *dummidetar*, IV S 3 *dumestatar*, P 3 *domessatar*, VI S 1 *dummessur*, VIII S 3 *do-ru-madir*, P 3 *du-ru-mdetar*, IX *toimse*; X *tomus*, g *toimseo*

Note Cf MlW *medu* 'to be able, rule, control' MnW *meddu* 'to possess', W *gomedd* 'to refuse' (cf MlIr *fo-r-emdm* 'I cannot', with *fo ess-*), MlW *cymes* 'measure, due' (cf Ir *cumse*), *anghymes* 'inordinate', *amryfes* 'sin' (cf Ir *immarmus*), *amryfys* 'wrongful' (whence MnW *amryfus* 'erroneous', *amryfusedd* 'error'), etc., cf BBOS 1 23ff, further MlW *med* MnW *medd* 'inquit' (used in pres and ipf only, v Morris-Jones, WG 378), Co *y-n meth* 'inquit', pl 3 *y-n medens* (1 sg *methaf* Gwreans an Bys 1352, vn *methes*), MlBr *emez* 'inquit' MnBr *eme* (with pronominal subj MlBr *emezaff* 'inquit' MnBr masc *emezhañ* fem *emezhi* pl *emezho*, cf Ernault, RC 11 465, 476), also W *meddul* 'to think' To Lat *medeor*

§ 591. *mleg-* 'to milk' I S p r (m) *blegar*, II S 3. *-blghed*, P 3 *-mblghts*, VIII perf S 1 *doommalgg*, p *doomlacht*, X *blegon*, g *mblegun* — With *in-od-* 'to levy' I S 3 *inomblegb*, p *inomblegar*, X *in(m)bleogan* — With *fo-in-od-* 'to be indulgent to' I S 3. *-fóinblig* Tec Corm 34 105, V S 3 *-furnmised* RC 22 401 33, X *foenblegon* Tec Corm 34 106 — With *to-in-od-* 'to draw out, elicit, levy', used twice in Ml as translation of Lat *promulgare* (no doubt inaccurately) IV S 3 *duinmail*, *-turnmell* SM IV 332 14 ('which not the whole country levies'), O'Dav 1597 ('-tinola'), VIII S 3 *du-r-inmailc*, X dat *tinmlegun*

§ 592. *moin-*, *murn-*, subj *mena-* 'to think' (dep) VIII S 3 *ro-ménair*, *-ru-murnestair*

(1) With *air-* (always with *féid*) 'to honour' I S 3 *ar-as-murnethar*, p *armunter*, IV S 3 *armentar*, p *ar-a-mmentar*, VI

S 1 *ar-at-muinfer*, P 3 *ar-a-mmurnfetar*, VIII P 3. *ar-ru-murnset*, X *ermtru*, *armtru*

(2) With *arith-* 'to honour, admire' I S 1 *admurnur*, 2 *admurnter*, P 1 *admunemar* — With *for-arith-* 'to remember, mention' I S 3 *forarithminedar*, *fo-da-rarithmine(dar)* (by confusion of *for-* with *fo-ro-*), p *forarithmenter*, *forarithmentar* (for *-minter*), P 3 *forarithmenatar*, V S 2 *for-n-ardminte* (for *-menta*), VIII perf S 3 *-ru-forarithmenaur*, P 3 *fo-r-urarithmunset*, X *forarithmet* neut — With *to-arith-* I S 3 *doarithminedar*, *-tardmenadar*, r *tardminedar*, X *tardmet*

(3) With *fo-* 'to beware of' III S 2 *fomnae*, P 2 *fomnid*, IV S 2 *fomentar*, P 2 *fomenaid*, 3 *fummenatar*, X *fomtru*

(4) With *for-* 'to envy' I S 3 *farmunethar*, P 3 *for-dob-mornetar*, VIII P 3 *formenatar*, X *format*

(5) With *di-ro-* 'to forget' III S 2 *-dermarnte*, IV S 3 *-dermanadar*, P 1 *-dermanammar*, V S 3 *do-roimned* VI S 2 *du-n-dam-roimnife*, P 3 *duroimnabetar*, VIII P 1 *-dermenmar*, X *dermet*, *dermat*

(6) With *to-* 'to think' I S 1 *domurn(v)ur*, *domournur*, 2 *domointer*, P 3 *domurnetar*, *do-d-maintar*, IV S 3 *dummenathar*, *-tomnathar*, P 1 *dumenammar*, *dumenmar*, *-tomnammar*, 3 *-tomnatar*, V S 3 *domenad*, *-tomnad*, p *-tomarnte*, P 3 *-tomnats*, *-tomonts*, VI S p *-tomnabther*, VII S p *dommurnfide*, VIII S 1 *doménar*, *du-ru-menar*, *-to-r-menar*, 3 *do-ru-menaur*, *du-ru-menar som*, P 1 *-to-r-ménmar*, 2 *-tho-r-menad*, 3 *do-ru-menatar*, *-to-r-menatar*, IX dat sg neut neg *neph-t(h)omtru*, X *toimtru*

§ 593. *nasc-* 'to bind' I S 3 *-naisc*, p *nascarr*, *-nascar*, P 3. *-nascat*, IV S 2 *-nais*, 3 *-na*, p *nasarr*, *-nasar*, *-nastar*, P p *-nasatar*, VI S 2 *nenais* O'Dav 1594, P p *nensitr* ZCP 3 463^e, VIII S 1 *-nenasc*, 3 *nenaisc*, p *ro-nas*, X *nardm*, g *nadma*

(1) With *air-* 'to betroth' III S 2 *ar-ot-naisc*, IV S p *-ar[a]-nastar*, VI S 1 *arnenas*, VIII S 1 perf *ar-ob-rórnasc*, 3 *arnenaisc*, X *urnardm*

(2) With *fo-* 'to bind' I S p *fonascar*, IV S 2 *fonais*, p *-for-nastar*, VI S 3 *fonena*, X *fonardm* — With *imb-fo-* 'to bind, fasten together' III S 2 *immonaisc*, IX *immarise*

Note. Etym § 25, 2 The root ended in *-d-* < IE *dh-*, *-sc* forms the pres stem, subj and fut *-s-* < IE *-dhs-*, pret pass *-s-* < IE *-dh-* + *-t-*

§ 594. *ned-* with *fo-* X *furned*, g *furnid* 'setting (of the sun)'

The MlIr finite forms from a stem *fuin-* are re-formations — With *to-air-fo-* 'to lower, take down' I S 3 *t-an-aurnat*, II P 3 *dofaurnathis*, III P 2 *tairinnud* (*-nn-* < *-nd*) Analogical forms I S 3 *tairindh*, *tairnud* 'hes down' RC 24 198 § 14 (with the ending of a simple vb), III S 2 *tairinn*, X *tairinnud*, *tairnud* — With *to-fo-* 'to come down' X *toined*, remodelled *tóinnud* The MlIr finite forms from a stem *tóin-* are analogical

Note VKG § 733 *ned-* consists of the preverb *ni* and the weak grade of IE **dhē-*, cf Skr *ni-dhā-* 'to lay down', Skr *upa-ni-dhā-* contains the same preverbs as Ir *fuined* The infinitive *ned* is **ni-dh-o m* For the preverb *ni-* cf *ir-ni gde* § 568, *ness-*, *neth-*, the root **dhē-* **dha-* also in *iad-* 'to close' VKG § 750, cf Skr *api-dhā-* 'to close', Gk *θύρα* *ἐπέθηκε* 'he closed the door' (quoted by Marstrander, NTS 2 297)

§ 595 *ness-* (stem in *-ā-*) (1) With *ad-* 'to accuse' X *ánsem*

(2) With *com-* 'to trample, condemn' I S 3 *connessa* ZCP 3 27 16, p *conestar*, P 3 *connessat*, III S 2 *comainse*, IV S 3 *-cho-mainsea*, VI S 1 *co-t-nessiu(b)*, 3 *onesfea*, VIII S 3 *co-ru-nes*, X *comainsem*

(3) With *di-* 'to despise' IV S 3 *dunessa*, *-de-r-nessa*, VI S 2 *donesbe*, VIII S 1 *d-a-ru-nesus*, X *dínsem*

(4) With *for-* 'to tread, kick', also 'to accuse, censure' (O'Dav 861) I S 3 *fornessa* LU 6021, cf W₁ Táin 294⁴, RC 11 452 4, VI S 1 *for-da-nesiub* W₁ II 2 246 66

(5) With *to-* 'to walk, step, to crush', I S 3 *do(n)essa* Pokorny, ZCP 10 200, P 3 *-tuinset* W₁ 280 10, V S 3 *-tuinset* K Meyer, III Stud 2 590, X *tuinsem* By wrong analysis I S 3 *dounsi* W₁

Note The meanings 'to trample, to tread' point to **ni-stā-*, cf § 623 And even the fig. meanings could be explained from this starting point For the semantic development we might compare Lat *insistere* 'to step upon' (*jacentibus*), 'to pursue press upon' (*hostibus*) From 'pursue' to 'accuse' the way is not long, cf Gk *διώκειν* 'to pursue' and 'to prosecute, bring an action against, accuse', *πρόκειν* 'to be accused', *ness-* with *com-* 'to condemn' may have meant 'to cause to be condemned, to succeed in pursuing, to tread on the neck of the adversary'

§ 596 *neth-* (1) With *air-* 'to expect' I S 1 *arneut*, 3 *ar-dom-neat* LU 3019, cf ZCP 8 196 20, p *ar-a-neter*, P 1 *ar-a-nethem*, 3 *arneithet*, II P 3 *ar-un-nethathis*, IV S 2 *ar-a-nethe*, p *-eirnestar*, VI P 1 *ar-da-nesamar*, 3 *bar-da-nessat*, VIII S 1 *ar-ut-nethruis*, *ar-ro-t-nethruis*, 3 *ar-ro-neth*, *ar-rú-neid*, *ar-ru-neastar* P 3 *ar-ru-nethset*, X *vrnaide*

(2) With *ind-* 'to expect' I S 1 *inneuth*, *adneot* W₁ III 51 21

(cf 19), III S 2 (dep) *indnute*, 3 *indnadad*, VI S 1 *ni-sn-ndnus*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-neestar*, X *indn(a)nde* (neut)

(3) With *to-* I S 3 *t-a-neat* (perhaps 'is due', v Bergin, Ériu 11 136), p *tuinther* ZCP 13 24 2, X *tuinnde* 'a holding, possession'

Note. According to the brilliant explanation given by Bergin, Ériu 10 111, *neth-* comes from **ni-sed-* (-*th* from -*hd-*) This is confirmed by the form of the infinitive, cf *suide* § 611 The semantic development of (1) and (2) is very clear, *to sit* often develops a nuance of 'awaiting', as *to tuinde* we must wait for more finite forms before trying to trace the development of meaning

§ 597 *nig-*, *neg-* 'to wash' I S 3 *-nigh*, r *niges*, p *-negar*, p r *negar*, V S 2 *-nestá*, VI S 1 *-ninus*, p perf *-roe-nastar*, VIII S p perf *-roenacht*, X *nige* — With *dí-* I S 3 *dínigh*, VIII perf P 3 *docoemnagtar*, X *dínech* — With *fo-* VIII S 3 *forenarg*, X *funech* — With *dí-fo-* I S 1 *dofonug*, *-uch*, P 3 *dufonget*, VI S 1 *dofonus*, X *díun(n)ach* — Etym § 39, 2

§ 598. *no-* 'to proclaim, make public' I S 3 *nóith-iun*, *nóith-vut* 'magnifies (?) me, thee' W1 261 22 ZCP 11 80 § 2, p *nurt(h)ar* Ériu 12 50 § 62, X *noad* SM, *noudh* O'Dav 1287

(1) With *imb-ad-* 'to delegate, bequeath' II P 3 *imm-an-ántis*, V S 3 *immánad*, VIII S 3 *imm-e-r-ánn*, p *ro-immanad*, P 3 *imm-r-ansat*, X *imna* 'gift, bequest' — With *to-imb-ad-* 'to bequeath, commit, command' I S 1 *timnaim* O'Dav 1566, 3 *ni thimuin* ZCP 6 261 27, P 3 *-timnat* Cárán Ad § 43, VIII S 3 perf *t-an-immairni*, p perf *doimmarnad*, *timarnad*, X *tim(p)ne*, *timnos* neut

(2) With *ath-* 'to entrust' I S 3 *a-t-nói*, III S 3 *atnoad* W1 142 15, IV S 3 *adnoodur*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-ni* Wb 29d 29, X *athne* 'deposit, wealth'

(3) With *ess-* (or *ad-*, *ath-*, or *in-*, *ind-*?) 'to swear' I S 1 *adnuu* ZCP 3 216 4 (Stokes 'I promise'), VIII S 3 *asnoi* Hib Min 50 7, *asnar* RC 6 178 34

Note. To Li *athne* corresponds W *adnau* 'deposit, pledge' — The vb *fo-no-* 'to cook' is quite different I S p *fonther*, IV S p *fonather*, VIII S p *fonoad*, P 3 *fonoset*, IX *fonathe*, X *fuine*

§ 599. *o-* With *com-* 'to guard' I S 3 *ónóir*, *co-ta-óer*, P 3 *co-tn-oat*, III S 2 *co-t-o* RC 25 22 3, 3 *comad*, P 2 *comud*, *co-tá-óith*, IV S 3 *conoadar*, *-comathar* LL 119a 29, Ériu 2 204 § 24, p *co-tum-r-othar*, VI S 3 *co-tn-óba*, *co-tn-oaba*, *co-tn-ojadar*, X *comad*, v Michael A O'Brien, Ériu 11 86 — With *for-com-* I S 3 *for-ta-comar*, *for-t-chomr*, *-foremr*, p *for-dom-chomarther*, P 1 *-forcomam*,

3 *forcomat*, -*foremat*, p *forcomardder*, IV S 3 *forcomedar*, V P 3. -*formatis*, VIII S 3 -*formastar*, X *forcomét*

§ 600. *od-* 'to lend' I S 3. r *oides*, p *odur* (for -*ar*), P p r. *odatar*, III S 2 *ód*, p *odar*, IV S 2 -*ois* Tec Corm 38 21, -*uis* Ériu 11 126 (Eoin MacNeill), 3 -*o l c*, VIII S 2 -*huad*, 3 -*huand*, IX ger. *oissi*, X OIr *huán*, dat *uáin* (nom *huáin* 'leisure'), MÍr SM *oin*, *on*, g *ona*

§ 601. *org-* 'to kill, destroy' I S 1 *orgo* ZCP 13 106, -*urg* 18 332, 3 *orcaid*, -*ourg*, r *orcas*, *oirges*, p r *orgar* Ériu 2 210 3, II S p -*oircthe*, III S 2 *orge*, *orge* ACL 1 280, 629, p *orgar*, IV S 3 -*orr*, -*ovr*, p -*ortar*, P 3 -*orat*, V S p -*ortha*, VI S 2 -*írr*, -*hierr*, 3 *úr-th-und* 'will kill us', r *íuras*, p *ní huirthar*, VII S p -*vurtha*, VIII S 3 *ort* Rawl B 502 118a 34, *ro-ort*, p r *orta*, *ro-hort*, -*ort*, -*r-ort*, P p *ro-horta*, -*r-orta*, X *orcun*, g *oircne*

(1) With *com-air-* 'to err' VIII P 3 perf *con-r-erortatar*, X *comrorcon* 'error', g *comrorcne*

(2) With *ess-* 'to strike' I S 1 *essurg* (leg *assurg*) O'Mulc 306, 3 *asourc*, *asóircc*, VIII perf S 1 *as-com-ort*, 3 r *as-chom-art*, p *as-com-art*, P p *as-chom-arta* (r), -*r-esarta*, IX *esartae*, X *essarcon* — With *di-ess-* 'to slay' VIII S 3 perf *duescma(r)t*, X dat *diusarcuun* (leg *dias-*) — With *ind-ess-* 'to move, drive, thrust' I S 1 -*innsurg*, p *ní hinnsorgar*, VIII S 3 -*indsort* Ériu 2 122 § 61, IX *insarta*, X *innsorguun* — With *air-ind-ess* 'to move' (intrans) VIII P 3 *ar-r-insartat(ar)* — With *to-ind-ess* 'to thrust into, against' VIII S 3 *do-da-insort*, *do-insort* Thurneysen, Ir Recht 12 — With *to-ess-* 'to rescue' I S 1 *tessurc*, *do-m-esurc*, 3 *du-n-esaurc*, P 3 *du-n-escarat* (leg -*esarcat*), IV S 2 *d-a-essoir* (?), V S p *do-n-esartha* LL 283b 41, VI S 3 *do-da-essarr*, VIII (with perf -*com-*) S 3 *do-nn-esmart*, p *tesmart* Anecd I 59 78, X *tesarcon*

(3) With *frith-* 'to offend' I S 2 *frisorcai*, 3 *frisoirc*, p *frissorcar*, P 3 *frisorcat*, -*frithorgat*, II S 3 *frisorcad*, P 3 *frisourctis*, III S 3 -*fridoirced*, P 2 -*frithorcad*, IV S 3 *fris-n-orr*, perf r *fris-chom-arr*, P 3 *fris-n-orrat*, p *fris-n-orratar*, V S 3 *fris-n-orrat*, P 2 *frisortha*, VI S 1 *frissuurr*, 3 *fri-tamm-iur*, *fri-latn-iarr*, P 3 *fri-tamm-vurat*, *fris-n-errat*, VIII perf S 1 *fris-com-urt*, 3 *fris-com-art*, -*frith-chom-art*, p *fri-tum-chomart*, P 3 *friscomartatar*, IX *frithortae*, X *frithorgon*

(4) With *to-imb-* 'to compress, shorten, chastise' I S 1 *doimmurc*, 3 *do-m-immurc*, p -*timmorcar*, II S p *duimmarcthe*,

P p *dowmmarctis*, III S 3 *tm margad*, IV perf S 3 *d-a-im-chom-arr*, V S p *do-n-ummarthae*, VI S 1 *dowmmarr*, p *du-ummarthar*, VIII S 3 *d-an-ummart*, perf *do-b-im-chom-artt*, IX *tm martae* 'short', X dat *tm marcun*, g *tm moircne*

(5) With *to-* 'to crush, grind' (in loose comp *f-* appears before the verb, this led to the form *tuarg-* in close comp instead of **torg-*, and then *-ua-* was transferred to the loose comp forms, this did not happen in perf forms), I S 3 *dofuáircc*, *dofuairc*, P 3 *dofuargat*, II P 3 *dufu[í]arctis*, p *dofuairctis*, III P p *tuargatar*, IV S 3. *dofuarr*, perf *do-com-ar*, P 2 *dofuarrad*, V S 3 *-tuarrad*, P p *-tuartis*, VI S 1 *dufuurr*, *-tuur(r)* ZCP 10 46 4, 2 *dufurr* (leg *-fuurr*), 3 perf *du-com-arr*, VIII perf S 3 *do-com-art*, p *du-com-art*, P 3 *do-com-artatar*, IX nom pl *tuartai*, ger *tuarti*, X *tuarcun* — With *com-to-* I S p *contuarcar*, III S 2 *contuairc* VIII perf S 2 *conto-chm-art*, X *comtuarcun*

Note Ir *orn* 1 *orgon* Corm 1010, O'Cl (RC 5 31) may be **orgnā* Lúdn, Arm St 87, compares Ir *org-*, or *n* with Armen *harkanem* 'I strike', aor *hark*, assuming an IE root beginning with *p-*, but the Armen *h-* (usually < *p-*) might be unetymological Cuny, *Revue hittite et asianique* 2 205, compares Hitt *hark-* 'to be destroyed', *harganu-* 'to destroy', which would point to a root without *p-*. The third possibility, a root beginning with *j-*, is excluded by the Brit cognates OBr *treorgam* gl *perforo*, *orgat* gl *caesar*, G *Orgetorix*. The ingenious explanation of W *dynorn* 'homicide', *cyffelhorn* 'error' (= Ir *comrorcon*) proposed by Ifor Williams, BCS 1 227f, therefore presupposes that final *-i-* with initial *o-* has given *-jo-*, which would seem to be possible, if these cpds be very old

§ 602. *rá-* 'to row' I P 3 *raut* K Meyer, *Otia Merseiana* 1 125 16, p *-rathar*, VIII S 3 *reris*, *rerars*, r *reras* ZCP 13 103 (later form P 3 *ro-ráiset*) — With *di-* 'to go away, come down' VI S 3 *dorera* ZCP 11 85 4 (according to the conjecture of Thurneysen), IX *dirathe* gl *demersus* (? cf VKG § 820) X *diram* ZCP 18 333 — With *imb-* I S 2 *imm-e-rái*, II S 3 *imm-e-raad*, VIII S 3 *imnreræ* (later forms S 1 *-rous*, P 3 *-rouset*, *-raset*), X *imram*

§ 603. *reg-*, *rig-* 'to bind' (only in cpds) (1) With *ad-* 'to bind' I S p *adregar* (*adragar*), *-arragar*, IV S p *adriastar*, VI S 2 perf *adroeris*, VIII P 3 *atrechtudur* (for *-atar*), X *árach*

(2) With *com-* 'to bind' I S 1 *criug*, 2 *conrigi*, 3 *conrig*, p *conregar*, P 3 *conregat*, IV S 1 *con-da-rias*, VI S 2 *oriris*, p *co-tan-rirastar*, VIII S 3 *rerarig*, perf *o-idn-arrang*, *co-tob-árrig*, p perf *conarracht*, IX *cwmrechta*, ger *cwmrechti*, X *cwmrech* neut

(3) With *di-* 'to uncover' I S 2 *durig*, 3 *durig*, III P p *dírgetar*, IV S 3 *du-n-dat-re*, V S 3 *dureised*, VIII perf S 3 *do-com-arrang*, *do-choimarraig*, P 3 *ducoimrachtar*, IX *directae*, X *dírech* — With *fo-di-* X *fúndreach* 1 *nochtadh* O'Cl

(4) With *di-ess-* 'to strip' II S 3 *do-sn-erged* LU 4990, X *dérach*

(5) With *fo-* 'to delay' I S 3 *fo-d-rig*, IV S p *foriastar*, P p *forasantar*, VI S 3 *-foer*, *-fævr*, *-foir*, VIII S 3 perf (with *ro-*) *fo-t-rovrang*, P 3 *fo-t-rergatar*, X *fúirech* — With *air-fo-* I S 3 *ar-ad-fuirig*, p *ar-a-furechar*, IV S 2 *arfuris*, V S p *arfúirestae*, VI S 2 *ar-a-fóiris*, P 3 *ar-n-dam-fúirset* — Cf § 604, 3

Note Cf Br *ere*, *leerre* § 35, 5, W *rhwym* § 26, 11

§ 604. *reg-, rig-* 'to stretch out' I S 3 *rigid*, VI P 3 *rigfet* Caim Ad § 11, VIII S 3 *rerang*, p *ro-recht*, P 3 *ro-rergadar*, IX *rechtae*, X *hi rigi* 'straight'

(1) With *ath-air-* 'to repeat, emend', intrans 'to repent' I S 3 *ade(v)rrig*, III P 2 *athirgid*, IV S 3 *atherr*, *atherr*, *-athir* Ériu 7 146 § 32 172 § 2, 162 § 4, p *-athirrestar*, P 3 *-athirset*, p *adersetar*, VI S 1 *aderrius*, VIII S 3 *-r-atherracht*, X *athirrech* neut 'to repeat, reform', *athirge* fem 'to repent, repentance'

(2) With *ess-* (with infixed reflexive obj which may drop in [MIr] close cpds) 'to arise' I S 1 *a-tom-rig*, 3 *a-d-reig* (*-d-* for usual *-t-*), MIr *a-t-rang*, P 3 *a-ta-regat*, *a-ta-fregat*, III S 2 *a-t-ráe* (v § 452 n 3), *e(v)rig* (MIr *erig*, *evrigg*, *airg*, *aurc*, /g/ may have arisen before *su*, otherwise Thurneysen, KZ 59, 7), 3 *erged*, P 2 *éircid*, IV S 1 *-erus*, 3 *eir*, P 3 *-érsset*, *-eirset*, (*-érsat*), V S 3 *a-t-ressed*, *-eised*, VI S 1 *a-tamm-res*, *-érus*, 3 *a-t-ré*, P 1 *-eresom*, 3 *a-t-resat* (for *-ta-*), VII P 3 *a-t-restáris* (for *-ta-*), VIII S 1 *-ér-racht*, 3 *a-t-racht*, *as-ra-racht*, *-ér-racht*, X *éirge* — With doubled *ess-* (without reflex pron) 'to rise' V P 3 *-esersitis*, *-esérsitis*, VI P 3 *asseirset*, *-eséirset*, VIII S 3 *as-r-éracht*, X *esséirge* neut — With *com-ess-* (sometimes with infixed reflex pron) 'to rise' I S 1 *vergim*, 3 *verig*, *-comérg*, P 3 *co-ta-ériget*, III S 2 *comeir*, *comérg*, P 2 *comérgid*, IV S 3 *-choméir*, VI P 3 *érsset*, VIII S 3 *co-t-r-éracht*, X *coméirge* neut — With *di-ess-* 'to desert' I S 3 *-derig*, p *duæragar*, P 1 *-dergemar* (dep), 3 *duærget*, IV P 2 *-dé(v)rand*, V S 1 *duærsinn*, VI S 1 *duærus*, 3 *-dér*, VII S 3 *-deised*, VIII S 3 *du-r-eracht*, P 2 *do-r-érachtid*, 3 *-de-r-aerachtatar*, IX *dérachtae*, ger *derachtar*, X *déirge* neut

(3) With *to-di-fo-* 'to irritate' I S 1 *dodúrgimm*, p *du-n-dab-durgathar*, P 3 *dodúrget*, II S p *dudurgathe*, P p *dudurgat(ís)*, V S 3 *dudursed*, IX pl *tudrachtar*, X *tudrach* Perhaps to § 603

Note. The same root appears in OW *ar cib-renou* gl *sepulti*, MIW *ar-gyu-rein* 'to lay out (a corpse), bury', MIW *ar-wyrein*, *ar-wyre* 'to rise, exalt' (I S 3 *arwyre*), *cyff-wyrein* 'to rise', 'exaltation', *d-wyrein* 'to rise' (I S 3 *dwyre* BT 60 8, the vn *dwyrâu* occurs in Delw y Byd A 86 1), also *east*' (MnW *dwyrain* *east*'), *ar-d-wyrein* 'to exalt, praise' (IS 1 *ardwyrcraf*), *d ad-wyrein* id (VIII S 3 *datwygreith* 'raised', -*t-pret*, BT 27 17), *dy-rein* 'to arise, come' (I S 3 *dyre*, VIII S 3 *dyrreith* cf III S 2 *dyre* MnW *dere* come thou) Cf BBCS 4 53 ff

§ 605 *re-n-* 'to sell' I S 3 *-ren*, r *renas*, p r *renar*, P 3 r. *rendæ*, IV S 2 *-riae*, *-ria*, 3 *-ria*, P 3 *-riat*, VIII S 3 *-rir*, p *rithæ*, IX ger *ritha*, X *reic*, g *reca*

(1) With *di-* 'to pay' I S 3 *doren*, *di'ren*, p *di'renar*, P 3 *di'renat*, p *di'renaster*, *dorenaster* -*di'renaster*, VI S p *dorirtar*, VIII perf p *do-com-rad* ZCP 15 348, X *díre* 'compensation'

(2) With *ess-* 'to (re)pay, expend' IS 2 *asrenar*, 3 *asren*, *-eren*, perf *as-com-ren*, p *asrenar*, *-erantar*, perf *ascomrenur* (= *-ar*), P 3 *asrenat*, perf *-es-comh-rad* (= *-at*) IFAnz 33 35, II S 3 *asrenad*, III S 2 *ernn*, P 1 *érnem*, 2 *errenaid*, IV S 2 *asria*, 3 *asria*, *-eirre*, perf *as-com-ra*, p *asrethar*, p perf *-es-com-rant(h)er*, P p perf *-escomriter*, V S 3 *asriad*, VI S 1 *asririu*, 3 *asrir*, p *asrirther*, VIII S 1 perf *as-com-rar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 18 § 56, 3 *asrir*, perf *as-com-rair*, p perf *as-com-rad* IX ger *evritha*, X *ér(a)ic*

Note Etym § 446 With Ii *díre* cf W *dirwy* 'fine' (? *-wy* by anal with *qobrwý* § 527 n)

§ 606. *reth-* 'to run' I S 3 *rethid*, r *rethes(s)*, P 1 *-retham*, 3 *reth(a)it*, r *rethae*, II P 3 *-reithis* (for *-tis*), IV P 1 *resmar* FéI Prol 257, V S 3 *-ressed*, VIII S 3 *rath*, P 3 *rathatar*, *-ro-(r)thatar*, X *ruith*, *rith*, g *retha* (-o)

(1) With *ad-* 'to catch' I P 3 *a-t-rethat*, IV S 3 perf *ad-roi-r*, p perf *ad-ro-rasdar* (-*tar*), V S p perf *ad-ro-reasta*, VIII P 3 *a-ta-roi-rthet(ar)*

(2) With *air-* 'to seize, assail' I S 1 *ar-ruith*, 2 *ar-a-rethi*, P 3 *arrethat* IV S 2 *-arraais*, VI S 2 *-arraais*, VIII S 3 *-arraid* — With *to-air-* 'to overtake, hit upon' I P 3 *do-sn-árthet*, II S 3 *-tarrthed*, VI S 2 *tarraais*, VIII S 3 *do-m-árraid* *tarrand*, *do-s-farraid*, p *tarras*, P 1 *-tart(h)amar*, 3 *dofarrit(h)atar*, *tarrthatar*, X *tairrecht* Ériu 7 7¹

(3) With *to-imb-ds* 'to serve' VIII S 3 *do-d-r-imthvrd*, P 3 *do-r-imthvthetar*, X *imdvrecht*, *imthvrecht*, *imthvrecht*

(4) With *to-etar-* 'to seize, overtake, reach' I S 3 *duetarrat*, P p *do-n-etarvthatar*, IV S 2 *-thetarras*, V S 3 *d-an-etarred* (leg *-etarsed*), VI S 1. *-thetarras*, VIII S 3 *duetarrid*, *-tetarrard*, p *do-r-etarracht*, X *etarracht*

(5) With *fo-* 'to help' I S 1 *forrvuth*, 3 *forevth*, p *forevthar* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 19 § 59, IV S 3 *-fóir*, VI S 3 *fu-m-ré*, P 3 *furresat* ZCP 11 92 § 10, VII S 3 *forevssed*, VIII S 3 *furrárvth*, perf *fo-ro-rard*, P 3 *fo-s-rárvthatar*, IX *fovrse* Thurneysen, Burgschaft 20 — With *to-iarm-fo-* 'to follow' I S 3 *do-d-iarmorat*, VI P 3 *do-t-iarmórset*, *tiarmórset*, X *tiarmóracht*

(6) With *ind-* 'to invade, lay waste' I S 3 *invrevth*, IV S 3 *invré*, V P 3 *invrestas*, VI S 3 *invré*, VIII S 2 *in-ro-rad*, 3 *in-ro-rard*, P 3 *in-ro-rvthatar*, *in-ro-rvthetar*, IX *indrissse*, g *indrissv*, ger *indrissv*, X *indred* (neut), *indruth*

(7) With *ds-od-* 'to remain over' I S 3 *dofuarat*, P 3 *dofuavrvthet*, II S 3 *dofuavrvthed*, V P 3 *dofuavrvstis*, VI S 3 *-dvuav*, VIII S 3 *du-r-uarid*, *-de-r-uarid*, P 3 *do-r-uavrvthatar*, *do-rr-uavrvthetar*, X *dvurad* 'remainder'

Note. MIW *redec* MnW *rhedeg* 'to run' (I S 1 *rhedaf*, etc.) Co *resek* MIBr *redec* MIW *gva-ret* 'to save, deliver' (IV S 3 *gwares* § 453 n 1, VIII S 3 *gvaravt* § 460, n 1d) MnW *gwared*, Co *gveres*, MIBr *goret* (in phrases like *ne allaff goret* 'I cannot help it')

§ 607. *rim-* with *fo-* 'to place' (*-i-st*) I S 3 *-fuvrvm*, V S p *-fuvrvmvthea* (for *-the*), P perf 3 *furrvmvms* (for *-ruvrvmvms*), VIII perf S 1 *fo-ru-rvmv*, 3 *fo-ruv-rim*, *forrvvm* (*-m < -rm*), *forrvvb*, p *fo-ruv-rmed*, X MIBr *fuvrmed* — For MIBr forms with non-palatal *-m- v* ZCP 18 335

§ 608 *rim-* 'to count' (*-i-st*) I S 1 perf *-ruv-rmv*, 2 (dep) *rimvther*, p r *rimvther*, II P p *-rvmtis*, VII S 3 *rimfed*, VIII S 3 *ro-rvm*, *ro-rvm*, p *ro-rvmed*, P p *ro-rvmvthea*, X *rim*, g *rvmae* — With *ad-* 'to reckon' I S 1 *-arvmv*, *-arvmv*, 2 *adrvm*, 3 *adrvm*, *-árvmv*, p *adrvmvther*, P 3 *adrvmet*, p *adrvmvter*, *adrvmvter*, *adrvmetar*, IV S 1 *-arvm*, 2 *adrvm*, p *adrvmvther*, P 3 *adrvmet*, V S 3 *adrvmred*, *-arvmed*, VI P 1 *adrvmvfem*, p *adrvmvfeter* (*-fetar*), VIII perf S 3 *ad-ruv-rim*, *-arvrm*, p *ad-ruv-rmed*, P 3 *ad-ruv-rvmvssset*, IX ger *árvmvthv*, X *árvam*, g *árvme* — With *to-* 'to recount' I S 1 *dorvm*, 3 *dorvm*, *-tvvrvm*, p *dorvmvther*, P 1 (dep) *do-s-rvmvemar*, *-tvvrvmemar*,

IV S 3 perf *do-rui-rme* (for *-rmea*), P 1 *dorímem*, VI S 1 *dorimvub*, P 1 *dorímfeim*, VIII perf S 1 *do-rui-rmuis*, 3 *do-rui-rmi*, *do-rui-rim*, P 1 *do-nd-rui-rmissem*, X *turrem*

Note Denom vb from *rím* 'number' § 11

§ 609. *rind-* with *to-fo-* 'to signify' I S 3 *dofoirndea*, *dofoirnde*, p *dufoirndither*, p r *thórnther*, P 3 *dofoirndet*, *-tóirndet*, p *dufoirnditer*, V S 3 *do-foirnded*, VIII S 3 perf *tororan*, *do-s-rorann* Ériu 7 28¹, IX *toirndide*, X *tórand* neut, gen *tóraind*

Note. Denom vb from *rind* 'point'

§ 610. *ro-n-d-* 'to redden' VIII S 3 *rerid* ZCP 8 600, p *-ros* 330, 3 — With *fo-* I S p (-) *forondar*, IV S p *-furastar*, VIII S 3 *fo-ro-rard*

§ 611. *said-* 'to sit' I S 2 *saidi*, 3 *-said*, r *sardes*, p *sedair* Ériu 2 210 3, P 3 *sedair*, II S 3 *-sarded*, P 3 *-sarditis*, IV S 1 *-sius*, 2 *-seiss*, V S 3 *-sessed*, VI S 3 *seiss*, VII S 3 *-sessed*, VIII S 3 *síasair* (also MÍr *seiss*), perf *des(s)id*, *dofessid*, *du-n-essid*, P 3 r *siasatár*, X *suide* neut, gen *suidi* — With *imb-* 'to besiege' I S p r *imm-æ-saitar*, VIII S 3 r *imm-a-siassair*, IX *impesse*, X *imp(s)uide* — Etym § 24, 2

§ 612 *sarg-* 'to make for, seek' I S 1 *sargim*, 3 *sargid*, *-sarg*, r *saiges*, p r *segar*, P 3 *segair*, *-segat*, IV S 3 *-sa*, V S 3 *-sásad*, VI S 1 *-sius* Gwynn, DmDs IV 330, 3 *sais* IFAnz 33 35, *-sa* Cám Ad § 31, VIII S 3 *siacht* IFAnz 33 35, X *sargid*

(1) With *to-com-* 'to preserve, support' I S 3 *tocoursigh* O'Dav 1563, II S 3 *do-d-coursed* Wb 9a 6, IV S 2 *du-s-cours* Fianaigecht 16 § 40

(2) With *com-di-* 'to seek, ask' I S 1 *-cuirtgim*, 2 *chondargi*, MÍr *naigi*, perf *cattgi*, 3 *condiarg* (regular), *condarg* (anal), perf *conarttaig*, p *condegair*, P 1 *condegam* (MÍr *inagam*), *-cuirngem*, 3 *-cuirngat*, p *-cuirngelair*, II S 3 *-otagad*, III S 2 *cuirndig*, 3 *cuirnged*, IV S 3 *-cuirntea*, p *condesar*, *-comtastar* (perf), *conniestar* (the old fut form?), V S 1 *condesin*, 2 *condesta*, P 3 *condestis*, VI P 3 *condesat*, VIII S 1 perf *conartecht*, 3 *con(n)acht* (MÍr *-nn-*, *-n-* for *-nd-*), perf *conartecht*, *-comtacht*, p perf *-comtacht*, IX pl *cuirntechtar*, ger *cuirntechtr*, *cuirntesta*, X *cuirngid*, *cuirndchid*, g *cungeda*

(3) With *fo-* 'to assail, tempt' I S p *fo-n-segar*, P 3 *fo-dan-segat*, II S 3 *-fochad*, P 3 *fosargtis*, IV P 3 *f-a-sásat*, X *fochuid*, *fochaid*, *fochith* (very frequent as noun, 'tribulation') — With *íarm-fo-* 'to ask' I S 3 *íarma-foich*, *íarmifoig*, II S 3 *íarmi-nd-*

ochad, IV S 1 *-iarfus*, V S 3 *iarfu-d-oided*, VI P 3 *iarfufoisset*, *iarfassat*, VII P 3 *iarfufoistis*, VIII S 3 *iarfufoacht*, *-r-iarfact*, IX *iarfachta*, X *iarf(a)igid*, g *iarfaigtho*

(4) With *to-od-* 'to preserve, support' VIII P 3 *do-m-r-oidsechtatar*, X *toschad*

(5) With *ro-* 'to reach' I S 3 *rosarg*, *-roig*, *-róich*, p *rosegar*, *rosechar*, *-roagar* ZCP 3 453 § 26, P 3 *rosegut* (for *-at*), *-roichet* (in MIr *-o-* for *-a-* occurs by anal in loose comp, e g S 2 *rosorchu*), II S 3 *rosarged*, *-roched* (anal *rosoiged*), P 3 *-rochtis*, III S 3 *roched*, IVS 2 *rosais*, 3 *ró-d-sá*, *-roa*, *-ro*, p *rosasar*, *roastar* Ériu 7 154 § 3, *-rostr* (for *-ster*), P 2 *-rrossid*, 3 *-rrosset*, VS 1 *-roissinn*, 3 *rosassad*, *rosaissead*, *-roisedh*, *-rossed*, P 3 *-rostis*, VI S 2 *-róis*, 3 *rosia*, *-ró*, P 1 *rosesium* (*-ium* for *-em*), 2 *rosesaid*, 3 *rasesset*, *-roisset*, VII S 3 *roseisead* (*-ea-* for older *-e-*), *-roissed*, VIII S 3 *rosnacht*, *-roacht*, X MIr *rochtain*, *riachtain* (new formations) — With *to-ro-* 'to reach' I S 3 *do-n-roig*, *doroich*, *-torag*, III S 3 *do-m-ro(i)ched*, IV S 3 *-tora*, P 3 *-tourset*, V S 3 *doroised(h)*, *-tórised*, P 3 *dorostais*, VI S 2 *do-m-ruis*, 3 *do-n-rua*, *doria* (anal), *do-b-ro*, *-tora*, VIII S 3 *doroacht* (anal *doriacht*), *-toracht*, P 3 *doroachtatar*, *-torrachtatur*, *-torachtatar*, X MIr *torachtain*, *tarrachtain* (new formations)

Note MIW *haedu* 'to reach deserve' MnW *haeddu* 'to deserve', MIW *cyrhaed* MnW *cyrraedd* 'to reach', Co *hethy* 'to reach' (cf IV S 3 *d-re-heth-o*), MIr *di r-haes* MnBr *direza*, OW *pan aedbid* 'where it shall have arrived', cf RC 30 259f BBCS 3 261 To Lat *sāgiō* 'I perceive acutely', Gk *ἡγέομαι* 'I lead', Goth *sōkjan* 'to seek'

§ 613 *scar-* 'to part, separate' (*-ā-st*) I S 3 *-scara*, r *scaras*, P 3 r *scarde*, II S 1 *-scarinn*, III S 3 *scarad*, IV S 3 perf *-rasca*, V S 2 *-scartha*, VI S 1 *-scairiub* (MIr new form *-scér*), VIII S 3 *scaraais*, *-ro-scar* (new form *-ro-scart*), P 1 *ro-scarsam*, 2 *ru-d-scarsid*, 3 *ro-scarsat*, X *scarad*

(1) With *com-* 'to destroy' I P 1 *-coscram*, V S 3 *chonscarad*, *-coscrad*, VI S 3 *oscéra*, VIII perf S 2 *co-t-ascaais*, 3 *conascar*, *-comscar*, p *conascrad*, P 3 *oscarsat*, IX *leth-chosgarthar* gl *semi-rutas*, X *coscrad* (*coscur* 'victory')

(2) With *etar-* 'to sever, to part with' I S p *etarscarthar*, P p *etarscartar*, IV S 3 *-etarscara*, perf *eter-ró-sca*, p *-etarscarthar*, P p *etirscartar*, V S p *etirscarthe*, VI P p *eterscértar*, VIII S 3 *etardan-ro-scar*, *-ru-etarscar*, *-r-etarscar*, IX *etarscarthe*, X *etarscarad*

(3) With *to-* 'to overthrow' I S 3 *doscara*, p *doscarthar*, III S 3 *-tascrad* (?), VIII S 3 *tascraais*, *do-s-tascar*, *ro-thascar*, p

doscarad, *ro-tascrad*, P p *to|scartha*, X *tascrad* From *tascr-* developed later *trascr-* e g I S 3 *trascrand*, X *trascrad*

Note. Etym § 7, 2 W *ysgar* 'to part', *gwa-sgar* 'to scatter' Cf also VKG II 615, Lloyd-Jones, BBCS 1 7f

§ 614. *scend-* 'to leap, start' II S 3 *-scended*, VIII S 3 *-sescarnd*, X *sceinnm*

Note Cf MIW *cy-chwynnu* 'to rise, start' MnW *cy-chwyn* 'to start' (SW dial *cunnu* 'to rise', v Delw y Byd 128) Etym § 25 2

§ 615. *scunch-* 'to depart, end' I S 3 *scuchardh*, r *scuchas*, P 3 *scuchart*, *scurchat* III S 2 *scunch*, P 2 *scuchard*, IV S 3 *-ro|sc-*, VIII S 3 *ro-scáich*, *ro-scáig*, X *scucht*

(1) With *fo-* 'to remove, change' I P 3 *fosco(ι)chet*, IV P 3 *-ro-oi|scet*, X *foscugud*

(2) With *com-od-* 'to remove, alter' I S p *oscarngther*, *-cum-scarngther*, *-cumscichther*, perf *-ro-chumscigther*, P 3 *ois|scet*, *ois|sciget*, *-cumsciget*, p *conoscarngter*, IV S 1 *co-tamm-oscarg*, 2 *conoscarng*, p *con-dat-oscargther*, P 3 *conoscarget*, *chonoschiget*, *-cumsciget*, V S 3 *-chumscargad*, VI S 2 *connoscarngfe*, VIII S 2 *con-r-oscargis*, 3 *con-r-oscarg*, *oscarng*, p *o-r-oscargad*, *-comarscarng*, IX *cum-scarngthe*, ger *cumscarngthi*, X *cumscugud* — With *di-ro-od-* 'to surpass, excel' I S 3 *duróscar*, *dirósc(a)ι* *-derscargi*, p *diróscarngther*, *doróscarngther*, *doróschngther*, P 1 *-derscigem*, 3 *duróscat*, *diroscat*, II P 3 *doróscantis*, IV S 3 *doroscea*, P 3 *doroscát*, V S 1 *duroscainn*, 3 *durosced*, *dirosced*, P 1 *doroscaimis*, VI S 3 *duróscarbea*, *duroscaifea*, P 3 *durosuibet*, *duroscaifet*, p *duroscaibtar*, VIII S p *du-n-dan-roscad*, P 3 *duróscarisset*, IX *derscarngthe*, X *derscugud*

Note Etym § 53

§ 616. *sech-* (act) 'to say' I S 3 *-sich* Thurneysen, ZCP 16 223

(1) With *fo-ad-* 'to announce' III S 2 *fásarg* ZCP 13 299, X *fásc* 'notice, renown' — With *to-ad-* 'to announce' VIII S 3 *t-a-faisig* 'she announced him' RC 11 446 63, p perf *dofa-r-|sged*, X *tásc*

(2) With *com-* 'to correct, reprimand' I S 3 *secha*, p *sechthar*, P 3 *sechat*, p *coisctir*, *coiscuir* (as simp), III P 2 *n-a-coscud*, IV S 3 *-ro-chosca*, VI S p *co-tob-sechfider*, VIII P 3 *ru-d-chois|scet*, p *ro-coscad* (as simp), IX g *coiscthi*, X *cosc* — With *ind-com-* 'to signify' I S 3 *incois|sig*, *in-chos(a)ig*, *-inchoisig*, p *incoissegar*, P 3 *in-choisget*, *-inchoisget*, p *incoisgedar* (*-d-* = */d/*), II S 3 *in-coisged*, *a-t-coisged*, V S 3 *incois|sisset*, VIII S p *in-chois|secht*, *in-*

ro-choissecht, X *inchoosc*, g *inchoisc* With *in-com-* *écosc* 'appearance' — With *to-ind-com-* VIII S 3 *do-r-inchoisig* LL 287a 35, X *tinchoosc* 'teaching' With *to-in-com-* I S 3 *tezsardh* (leg *tecsarg*) 'that teaches', III S 2 *tecoisc*, VIII S 3 *do-m-r-ecurisc*, *d-a-rr-ecoisc*, *tecoiscisc*, *tecoscisc*, *ro-m-thecoisc*, X *tecosc* 'teaching'

(2) With *di-od-* 'to awake' I S 3 *dofúscir*, *-driuschir*, II S 3 *do-s-fursced*, IV S 2 *-díusca*, perf *-de-r-sarge*, 3 *do-n-fosca*, *-driusgea*, V S 3 *-driuscad*, VIII S 1 *do-s-r-uisces* (for *-ius*), 3 *dofriúsing*, *ro-dúsing*, *-de-r-sarg* — With *to-di-od-* I P 3 *to'ddriusgat*, III S p *todriusgadar*, V S 2 *du-n-driusgada*, VI S p *dodriusgabther*, VIII S 3 perf *d-an-de-r-sarg*, p *do-ro-driusgad*, X *todriusgud* (*-chud*)

Note. The simplex occurs in OW *hepp* 'inquit' MIW *hebyr*, *heby* MnW *ebr*, *eb*, *ebe*, also MIW *hebu* 'to speak' Cpds W *cosb* 'punishment' Ir *cosc*, — W *ateb* 'to answer, an answer' Ir *aithesc* neut 'answer', — W *gurtheb* 'answer' (MIW), 'objection' (MnW) Co *gordeby* 'to respond' MC 144 3, — W *gohebu* 'to respond' (MIW), 'to correspond' (MnW), — MIW *dhaereb* 'proverb', pl *dhaerhebyon* This word has nothing to do with Ir *aireac*, *arusc* 'stipulation' (*air-* + *sech-*, *air-* has here a temporal meaning, previously') But this juridical term must be etymologically different from Ir *arasc* 'saying, proverb' Ml 55a 13, dat *arusc rere* 'for instance', lit 'with a saying of voluntariness' K Meyer, Círl 127, may be right in ascribing to this word an initial *long a*, it may have been shortened in the proclitic locution *arusc rere* If so, *arasc* could easily be combined with the synonymous W word, the Ir word containing **ad-ro-* and the W word **di-ad ro-* Cf § 56

§ 617. *sech-* (dep) 'to follow' I P 3 *sechtir*, *-sechetar*, III S 3 *seiched*, P 1 *seichem*, IV S 3 *-sechethar*, P 1 *-sechemmar*, V P 2 *-sechide*, 3 *-sechitis*, VI S 3 *seichfed* (leg *-fid*), VIII S 3 *ro-sechestar*, IX ger *sechidr*, X *sechem* fem — With *to-com-* 'to follow' I S 3 *docoisgedar*, P 3 *du-d-choisgetar*, II P 3 *du-choisgiths*, IV S 3 *docoisgedar*, V S 3 *d-u-choisged*, VII S 3 *docoischifed*, VIII S 3 *du-ru-choisgestar*, X *tochoisgem* — With *com-to-com-* I S 3 *otochosgedar*, P 2 *contochosgud*, VIII S 2 *o-ru-thochaisgesser*

§ 618. *sel-* (1) With *fo-com-* 'to take away' I S 3 *focaisle* (*-e* for *-ea*), IV S 3 *-fozla*, VIII S 3 perf *forrózul*, p *forozlad*, P 3 *forochsalsat*, X *fozol*, *fozal* — With *to-fo-com-* 'to draw, take, distract, inherit' I S 3 *dofozla*, II P 3 *tofozlariths*, VIII perf S 3 *dofor-chossol*, P 1 *dofor-chosalsam*, X *tozal*, *tózal*

(2) With *to-od-* 'to slp, fall' (deponent) I S 1 *dofurslhm*, 2 *-turslher*, 3 *durfursledor*, IV S 3 *durfursledar*, VI S 3 *-turslfeá*, X *tursled*

Note *sel-* with active endings was transitive, with deponent endings

it was intransitive But infractions to this rule are common in MlIr, here *sel-* (act) with *com-* is found with the meaning 'to go (away)', and deponent forms may be transitive *focorslethar* = *focorsle* O'Mulc 849 The paradigms of *axal* 'approach, visit' (*ad-com-* + *sel-* K Meyer, III, Stud II 576) and *tarmchossal* 'transgression' are not known (we should expect deponent flexion) Cf Ir *sel* 'a turn, a time, a while', *des-sel* 'righthandwise', *tuath-bil* 'left-handwise' (with **sw-*), W *chwyl* 'a turn, a course'

§ 619. *sem-* (1) With *to-ess-* 'to pour out' I S 3 *doessim*, *-tersim* Ériu 7 142 § 14, § 12, p *du-n-esmar*, *duesemar*, P 3 *doesmet*, arch. *tuesmot*, p *du-n-esmoter*, *-tersmetar*, III S 2 *tessim*, IV S p *do-n-esmider*, V S p *du-mm-esmide*, VIII S p *do-r-esset*, X *teistriu*

(2) With *to-od-* 'to produce, bring forth' I S 1 *dofurssim*, *dufurssmu*, 3 *dofurssim*, p *dufurssemar* P 3 *dofursmet*, IV S 3 *dufusme* Ériu 7 142 § 11, V S 3 perf *-to-r-samad*, VI S p *dofur-sémthar*, VIII S 3 perf *dorósat*, *dofo-r-sat*, (*do-rea-rúasat* 'who has created the heavens', v Bergin, Ériu 8 99), P 3 *dufo-r-saisset*, p *-to-r-sata*, IX *tuiste*, X *tuistriu* 'generation, creation'

§ 620. *senn-* 'to play, make music' I S 3 *-seinn*, r *sennes*, p *-sennar*, P 3 *sennart*, II S 3 *-senned*, P 3 *-senditis*, III P 3 *sennat*, VI S 1 *sibra* (leg *sibsa*), 3 *sifais*, VIII S 3 *sephavn*, *seafavn*, X *senim*, pl nom *senman* — With *to-* 'to chase' I P 3 *du-m-sennat*, II S 3 *duseinned*, p *dusente*, III S 3 *toibned*, IV S 1 *dusés*, V S 1 *dusésavn*, VI S 3 *dossib*, VIII S 3 *du-n-da-sepfavn*, *dosephavn*, P 3 *dosefnatar* (*tafnetar*, *taifnitar*, perf *do-m-roi-pnitar*, *-d-a-ra-fnetar* are late irreg formations), p *to'sessa*, X *tosun* (dat), *toffunn*, *topund*, cf Mnlr *tafann* 'act of chasing, barking at'

§ 621. *ser-n-* 'to spread' (also with various abstract meanings) I P 3 *-sernat*, III S 2 *sérnn* gl *stude*, IV S 3 *-sera* SM IV 318 13, VIII S p *-sreth*, IX *srithe*, ger *srethi*, X *sreth* — With *com-* (same meanings) III S 3 *cosrad* gl *studeat*, P 2 *cosrid* gl *studete*, VIII S 3 *consert*, IX ger *comsrithe*, X *cossir*, *cossair*

§ 622. *selh-* with *to-ind-* 'to blow, inspire' I S 3 *do-n-infet*, *tinfet* (rel), P 1 *do-n-infedam*, IV S 3 *-thimab*, VIII S 3 *du-r-infud*, p *do-r-infess*, X *tinfed* 'inspiration, aspiration, breathing', g *tinfid*

§ 623. *siss-* (dep) X *sessam* 'to stand'

(1) With *air-* 'to rest' I S 1 *ar-a-sissuir*, 3 *ar-a-sissedar*, *-arissedar*, P 3 *ar-a-sissetar*, *-arresetar*, IV S 3 *arsisset(h)ar*, *-arissae-dar*, V S 1 *arsissavn*, VIII S 1 perf *arroississuir*, 3 *-arssir*, perf *arrossestar*, X *erissem* — With *to-air-* 'to rest, remain' I S 1.

duarissur, *do-n-airissur*, 3 *-tairissidar*, P 2 *do-n-airissid*, IV S 2 *du-n-erissider*, P 3 *-tairissetar*, VIII perf S 3 *tar-r-asar*, *-tar-r-astar*, X *tairissem*, *terissem*, *tairsem*

(2) With *fo-* 'to acknowledge', 'to protect' (the latter meaning not attested in OIr) I S 1 *fosissur*, 3 *fosisedar*, P 1 *fo-b-sissimar*, 3 *fosissetar*, *-fusedar*, IV S 2 *fosisider*, 3 *fasisidar*, P 3 *fosisetar*, VI S 1 *fosisefar*, VIII perf S 3 *furoissetar*, X *foessam* 'protection', *foisithu* 'confession'

§ 624. *slaid-* 'to strike' I S 3 *slaidid*, *-slaid*, p r *sládar*, IV S 2 *-slauss*, VI S 1 *-selos*, 3 *-sel* (and *-sela*?, v Thurneysen, ZCP 13 102¹), VIII P p *-slassa* ZCP 8 118 § 31, X *slade* — With *air-* 'to defend' I S 3 *arslanthi*, VI S 3 *ar-don-sela* Fel June 23 — With *to-* I S 3 *du-slaid*, p *do-sladar* LL 294b 1

Note Cf W *Uadd* 'to kill' (also 'to strike, cut'), MlW VIII p *Uas* § 467 n 3, OBr *ladam* gl *caedo*, MlBr vn *lazaff* MnBr *laza* 'to kill'

§ 625. *slí-* (1) With *ad-ro-* 'to deserve' I S 1 *adroullhu*, 3 *adroullh*, *asroullh*, *-áruillh*, IV S 3 *asroullea*, VI P 3 *as-ad-roullhset*, VIII S 3 *asroullh*, p *asroulled*, P 1 *as-and-roullhissem*, *-arilsem*, IX *airuillte*, ger *airuillth* X *airillhud*, g *airilteo*, pl nom *arillh* (also pl nom *áruillthn*, acc *airilthnea*)

(2) With *to-* 'to deserve' I S 1 *-tuillim*, 3 *doslí*, *-tuillh*, P 3. *doshat*, perf *do-rui-llet* SM IV 196 1, II S 3 *-tuilled*, VI S 1 *do-su-uillhub* (wrong form, based on the close cpds), VIII P 1 *-ro-thuillisem*, X *tuillem*

Note Cf W *dyrlllyddu* 'to deserve' Br *delleza*, Loth ACL 1 499, Ifor Williams, BBCS 6 131

§ 626. *slig-* 'to slay' III S 2 *slig*, VI S 3 *súls*, P 1 *súlsimr*, VIII S 1 *ro-selach*, 3 *ro-selaig*, p *-slecht*, P 3 *ro-selgatar*, p *ro-slechta*, X *slige* fem

(1) With *ad-* 'to persuade to' I S 3 *adslig*, IV S 3 *adslér*, X *aslach* neut

(2) With *air-* 'to kill' I S 3 *arshig*, VI S 3 *arsil*, P p *arsilsiter*, VIII S p *-airlecht*, IX pl *airlechtar*, X *airlech* 'slaughter', g *airhig*.

(3) With *fo-* 'to smear' I S 1 *foshigim*, p *fuslegar*, VI S 2 *fusáls*, VIII P 3 *foselgatar*, p *fo-rui-llecta*, IX *fuillectae*

§ 627. *sluc-* 'to swallow' I S 3 *slucith-r*, r *sluces*, P 3 *slogant*, IV S 3 perf *-ró-llca*, VIII S p *-slogeth*, X *slocod*, *slucud*

Note. Cf W *Ulyncu* 'to swallow' Br *lonka*

§ 628 *sluind-* 'to signify' I S 3 *sluindid*, *-sluindh*, p *sluintir*, *ro-sluinter*, *-ro-sluinter*, P 3 *sluindit*, r *sluindite*, *sluindte*, *sluinde*,

VI P 1 *-slurmfem*, X *slondod*, *slond* — With *di-* 'to deny' I S 3 *dyslurndi*, *doslurndi*, *-diltar*, IV perf S 1 *-de-r-lind*, V S 3 *-diltad*, VI S p. *doslurmfider*, VIII S 3 *do-ru-slurnd*, *do-d-ro-llurnd*, P 3 *do-ru-slurndset*, *do-r-iltiset*, X *diltud*, *diltuth*, *diltod*

§ 629. *sná-* 'to swim', regular X *snám* — With *to-* IV S 3 *-tonda* (*-nd-* = */-nn-/*) Thurneysen, ZCP 12 288 — Cf § 26, 9

§ 630. *snad-* 'to chip, cut' I S 3 r *snardes*, IX *snarse*, X *snarde*, *snass* — With *in-* 'to insert, graft' I P 3 *insnadat*, IV S p *a-tom-snassar*, V P 3 *insnastis*, IX *esnarsse*, X (dat) *esnud* — Cf § 26, 9

§ 631 *sní-* 'to spin, turn, strive' I S 3 r *sníes*, VIII S 3 *snidis*, *ro-sniastar*, *ra-sniestar* (all new formations), P 3 *snist*, IX *snithe*, X *snim* 'to spin', 'sorrow'

(1) With *com-* 'to contend, contest, defend' I S 3 *consní*, *-chosnai*, P 3 *osnat*, IV S 3 *-chosna*, V S 3 *osniad*, VI S 3 *-chossena*, VIII S 3 *consena*, *-cossena*, P 3 perf *conasensat* ZCP 8 313 31, X *cosnam*, gen *cosnama* — With *ad-com-* 'to strive after' I S 3 *-ascnai*, P 3 *adcosnat*, II S 1 *adcosnain*, P 3 *adcosnaidis*, IV S 2 *adcosnae*, *-ascnae*, 3 *adcosna*, V S p *adcosantae*, VIII S 3 *ad-ru-choisséni*, IX dat masc *ascnaidiu*, fem *ascnaidi*, X *ascnam*

(2) With *ess-ro-* 'to escape' II P 3 *-ernatais* ACL 3 16 13, IV S 3 *asroinnea*, VIII S 3 *-érna*, IX g *neph-árnardi*, X *ernam* Imr Br II 287 3

Note Cf W *nyddu* 'to spin' Oo *nethe* Br *neza* § 21 4 With **kom-* W *cynnydd* 'increase', vn *cynyddu*, MIW *lwynnydu* 'to conquer, try to win', *lwynnyd* 'land obtained by conquest' *lwynnif* 'contention, to strive for', v BBS 2 299ff

§ 632. *snig-* 'to drop, snow' I S 3 r *sniges*, VI S 3 *snigfid*, VIII S 3 *senarch*, X *snige* — Cf § 26, 9

§ 633 *so-* 'to turn' I S 2 *-soi*, 3 *soid*, r *soas*, IV S 2 *-soe*, VI S 2 *-soife*, 3 r *sarbes*, P p *sórfuter*, *sárfuter*, VIII S 3 *soais*, p *ru-soad*, P 2 *r-a-soisut si*, 3 *ro-soisset*, p *-ro-southe* (for *-thea*), IX *southe*, X *soud*

(1) With *imb-* 'to turn round' I S 2 *imm-e-soi*, 3 *imsoi*, p *imm-e-souther*, II S 3 *imsoad*, P 3 *imsóitis*, V S 3 *-impád*, VIII S 3 *-r-impo*, IX ger *imparthi*, X *impu(u)d*, *impúd*, *imputh*

(2) With *to-vnd-* 'to return convert, translate' I P 1 *dovntám*, IV S 2 *durntae*, *-tintae*, 3 r *tintá*, *do-da-íntá*, p *-tintither*, P 2 *tintáith*, V S 3 *durntad*, perf *-tintarrad*, VIII S 3 *do-r-íntar*, *do-n-íntarrái*, *durntarrae*, X *tintuúth*, *tintúth*, *tintúd*

(3) With *ess-ro-* 'to fail' (orig the person who failed was the object, what he failed to achieve was the subject, e g *a-t-roi a n-guinn* 'their killing turned him away' 'he failed to kill them' Hib Min 70 10, cf the older construction of W *methu* 'to fail' *metha genf gael ganddynt dderbyn iau Crist* 'getting them to receive Christ's yoke fails with me' 'I am unable to get them to receive Christ's yoke', cf Morris-Jones, WG 376) II S p *atrouthe*, IV S 2 *-éra*, VIII S 3 *a-t-roi, a-t-roe, addró* (with the infixed pron petrified, this is a step in the direction of a personal construction, seen in P 3 *adraiset Lagur* 'they were unable to cross the Loire'), p *atroas, atros, asrous* (leg *-as*)

Note. The same elements *ess-ro-* + *so-* are most probably contained in *éra* 'refusal' and in some verbal forms with *-ér-* meaning 'refuse', e g IV S 2 *arnáchn-éra* that thou shouldst not refuse it' Féil Epil 338 (lit 'turn it away') — *ess-* + *so-* is found in VIII S 3 *uar* (r) *δ-essa* LU 6815 'since it was not possible' (K Meyer, ZCP 18 340)

(4) With *to-* 'to turn' I S 3 *dosoi, dosoi, p dosonther*, P 3 *dosoiat*, III (? IV) S 2 *toe* — With *com-to-* I S 3 *stoi*, P 3 *contoiat, -comthoiat*, V S 3 *-comthad*, VIII S 3 *co-ru-thói, conto-r-oe, conto-r-i, p oto-r-ád*, X *comthoud, comthód*

§ 634. *sreng-* 'to draw, drag' (reg *-ā-st*) — With *to-* I S 3 *dosrenga*, P 3 *-tairrengat*, X (dat) *tairraing*

§ 635 *sund-* (subj *soda-*) (1) With *ad-* 'to fix, hold back' I S 2 *adsudi*, 3 *a-t-sudi, -asstar*, p *adsunter, -astander*, P 3 *adsundet*, III S 3 *-astad*, IV S 2 *a-d-sode, -astae*, 3 *-asta*, P 3 *-astat*, VIII S 3 *ad-ro-sord*, p *adrodad* ZCP 16 177 § 13, IX *astide*, X *astud, asdud*

(2) With *com-* I P 3 *consundet*, X *costud* 'a restraining, checking', v RC 36 261

(3) With *fo-* 'to entertain' I S 3 *fosundither* SM, X *fothud* ZCP 13 301

(4) With *frith-* 'to be equivalent to' I S 3 *frisund*, X *frithsurde, frithurde* ZCP 15 309

(5) With *imb-* 'to request' I P 3 *imsundet* RC 36 254, X *impide*

§ 636. *ta-* with *in-*, in loose comp *in-com-* (cf § 421, 3) 'to obtain' (the pret can also have a pres meaning, 'has') I S 3 *adcota, -eta*, p *adcotar, -etar*, P 3 *adcotat*, IV S 1 *adcot*, 3 *adcota, -eta*, p *-etar*, P 2 *-étid*, 3 *-état*, V S 3 *adcotad*, p *ad-choatae*, P 3 *-etastis*,

-*etrs*, VI S 3 -*etada*, p -*étastar* Trip L 118 23, P 1 -*etatham*, VII S p -*étaste*, P 3 -*étatars*, VIII S 1 *adcotadus*, 3 *adcotadae*, *adcotade*, *adcotad*, -*etade*, -*étada*, P 1 *adcotadsam*, 3 *adcotatsat*, -*étatsat*, IX *étrte*, *ettæ*, *étae*, X acc *ért*, dat *ért*

Note. *ta-* < IE **sthā-* 'to stand', with the redupl in VI and VIII cf Lat *steti*

§ 637. *tech-* 'to flee' I S 3 *techid*, IV S 1 -*tes*, V S 3 -*tesed*; VI S 1 -*thers* (for -*thessa*) VIII S 3 *tárch*, P 3 -*tachatar*, X *teched* — With *ad-* 'to beseech' I S 1 *ateoch*, 3 *aterch*, P 1 *a-tab-techam*, III S 2 *atarch*, VI P 1 *adessam*, VIII S 1 *adroethach*, 3 *atroethích* ZCP 6 257 § 6, X *attach* — For the verb 'to run away with' (X *fuatach*) v § 535 note

Note MIW I S 1 *techaf* 'I flee' RP 1037 18, 3 *tech* 1039 13, II S 2 *techut* BA 31 16f, 3 *techet* 5 7, P 3 *techyn* 33 20, IV S 3 *ry-decho* RP 1056 39, VIII S 3 *techas* 1037 28 — With *ad-* I S 1 *athechaf*, v Lloyd-Jones, Genfa 47 — Br X *techet* These forms are probably based on the subjunctive stem Cf also MIW *tebet* (*A vo y uryt ar debet ny wna da kynyn y u(yn)et* 'he whose mind is upon flight will do no good before going' RB 1057, cf *ar y gerdet* 'upon going (away)' in a variant form of the proverb BBOS 4 3 76), *godep* 'shelter retreat' cf RC 38 301

§ 638. *tend-* 'to break, cut, crack (a nut), solve' I P 3 -*tendat*, VIII S 3 -*tetharnd*, with obj *tethn-ar*, P 3 -*tethnatar*, X *tennm*, v Pokorny, ZCP 10 198, E J Gwynn, ZCP 17 156

§ 639. *trag-* 'to go' (v § 420) I S 1 *tiagu*, 2 *thégn*, 3 *tét*, -*té(v)t*, with obj *teit-v*, r *téte*, *therte*, p *tiagar*, p r *tiagar*, P 1 *tiagm*, 3 *tiagant*, II S 3 -*teged*, P 3 -*thegtis*, III S 1 *ting*, *trach*, 2 *téig*, 3 *téit*, p *tiagar*, P 3 *tiagat*, IV (S p -*tiasar*, -*tiastar*, p r *tiastar*) and V, v § 452, VI S 1 *riga*, *ragat* (§ 456 n 4), -*rag*, -*rig*, 3 *regard*, -*raga*, p *rigthir*, P 1 *rigm*, -*ragam*, 2 *ragthar*, 3 *regart*, -*regat*, VII S 2 -*rigtha*, 3 -*rigad*, -*rigad*, -*regad*, -*ragud*, P 1 -*ragmars* Anecd I 45 12, 3 -*regtars*, -*rachdars*, VIII S 1 *lód*, 2 *lod* RC 14 406 2, 3 *lud*, -*lud*, with obj *lu(v)d-v*, r *lude*, P 1 *lodomar*, *lodmar*, -*lodmar*, 2 *lodsard* TBC (Str-O'K) 823, 3 *lodatar*, *lotir*, *lotar*, X *techt*, g *techte*, also *dul*, gen *dula* 'to go, way, manner'

The perf supplem vb I S 1 -*dichtim*, 3 -*dichet*, II S 3 -*díchtheth*, IV S 1 -*dechos*, -*deochus*, -*díg(v)us*, 2 *docurs*, -*dechars*, -*deochars*, -*dígrs*, -*dichrs*, 3 *docór*, -*decha*, -*dích*, -*díg*, -*dech*, -*deoch*, P 1 -*dechsam*, 2 -*dígrsd*, 3 *docorset*, *dochaesat*, -*dechsaat*, -*dígaet*, V S 1 -*deochsarnd*, 3 -*dechsad*, -*dichsed*, P 3 *ducorstis*, *do-cho(v)stis*, -*dechsa(v)stis*, -*dígrstis*, VII S 3 *docorised*, -*dechsad*, P 3 *docóestis*,

VIII S 1 *docoad*, *do-chood*, *-dechud*, 3 *ducuard*, *docord*, *-dechurd*, p *docúas*, P 1 *do-d-chommar*, *-dechummar*, 2 *-digrith*, 3 *docotar*, *ducutar*

(1) With *for-* 'to help' I S 1 *fortiag*, 2 *fortéig*, 3 *fortét*, *fortét*, *-fortét*, P 2 *fortét*, *fo(r)tegid*, III S 3 *for-tat-tet*, IV S 2 *fortéis*, 3 *for-don-te*, P 2 *far-dum-thésid*, 3 *fortiassat*, VI S 2 *forregae*, VIII perf S 2 *for-n-dechud*, 3 *fordechuid*, X *fortacht* (§ 313)

(2) With *imb-* 'to go about, set forth' I S 3 *imtéit*, *imm-e-(t)ét*, P 1 *imtiagam*, II S 3 *imm-á-theged*, P 1 *imthéigmis*, III P 2 *imthigid*, IV P 1 *-imthiasam*, 2 *-imthesid*, VIII S 3 perf *im-ru-lánth*, *imm-á-ru-laid*, P 3 *imm-e-lotar*, perf *im-á-n-dechatár*, *imm-a-n-deochatar*, *-im-ru-ldatar*, X *imthecht* — With *com-imb-* 'to accompany' I S 3 *conimt(h)et*, P 3 *conimt(h)ragant* (for *-at*), V S 3 *conimt(h)éised* VI S 3 *co-tu-imthæ*, X *coimthecht*

(3) With *com-in-* 'to be indulgent to', also 'to accompany' (the orig meaning) I S 3 *conéitet*, *-chometig*, P 2 *céitgid*, III S 3 *coméitged*, IV S 2 *-coméitis*, 3 *conéit*, p *-cometestar*, P 1 *-cometsam*, V P 3 *ceitsutis*, VI S 3 *conéit*, IX ger *comitesti*, X *comitecht*, *comatecht*, *comatecht*

(4) With *in-od-* (*ind-od-*) 'to enter' I P 1 *inotgam*, 3 *inotgat*, IV P 1 *inotsam*, VI P 3 *-inotsat*, VIII S 1 perf *inruualad*, 2 *-r-indualad*, 3 *inolaid*, perf *inruualaid*, P 3 perf *inruualdatar*, *-r-indualdatar*, X *inotacht*

(5) With *to-* 'to come' (*to-tiag-* > *taig-*) I S 2 *dothéig*, 3 *dotét*, *dotét*, *-táit*, *-táiet*, *-taet*, p *dotiagar*, P 3 *tu-thegot* (archaic), *dotiagat*, p *dutriagtar*, II P 3 *dutéigtis*, III S 3 *tát*, *tánt*, *toet*, P 2 *tánt*, IV S 1 *dutias*, 3 *do-thei*, *-tán*, *-tæ*, p *dothiasar*, P 2 *-thaisid*, 3 *-taesat*, V S 3 *-taised* VI S 1 *doreg*, 3 *dorriga*, *dorega*, *-terga*, *-tirga*, *-taurga*, Anecd 1 42 2, P 1 *duregam*, *-tergam*, 2 *d-a-regaid*, 3 *doregat*, *durigat*, VIII S 1 *dolud* 2 *dolod*, *dollot*, 3 *doluid*, *dulurth*, *-tulid*, *-tulaid*, P 3 *dollotar*, *-tultatar*, *-tullatar*, X *tudecht* — The perf supplem vb I S 3 *-duidched* ZCP 3 448 14, IV S 3 *do-da-decha*, P 3 *dodechsat*, V S 3 *dodichsed* *-turdchassed*, P 1 *-tu(d)chesmars*, 3 *do-n-dichsuis*, VIII S 1 *-turdched*, 3 *dodechuid*, *-turdchaid*, p *dodechas*, *-turdches*, P 1 *dodechommar*, 3 *du-n-dechutar*

With *frith-to-* 'to oppose' I S 1 *-frithtáig*, 3 *fristant*, *-fristánt*, P 3 *-frithtasgat* (leg *-taigat*), IV S 1 *fristáes*, 3 *fristar*, *fristán*, V S 1 *fristassuinn*, 3 *-frithtaised*, VIII perf P 3 *fristuidchetar*, X *fristuidecht*, *frithuidecht*

Note. Brit cognates of *tiag-* W *mordwy* § 16, MBr *mor-derff* *naviguer* MnBr *mer-der* (W has IE *-er-*, Br has IE *-i-*), G *Moritez* MN (ZCP 6 430), — W *taith* 'journey', Br *tiz* 'speed', Co *toyth* 'speed' (W and Br have IE *-i-*, Co has IE *-ei-*) — Ir *tiag-* is related to Gk *αἰτέω* 'I walk', Ir fut *regard* to Gk *ἔρχομαι* 'I come', Ir *luid* to Gk *ῥίπτει*, Ir *dul* to Alb *dal* 'I go out', Ir *duciuid* has gone' (with *di-com-*) possibly to *fed-* as intransitive verb, cf *ro-fáid* § 544 n 1

§ 640 *tle-n-* 'to steal' IV S p *-tlethar*, VIII S 3 *-ro-tuul* (for *-rothtuul*) Thurneysen, ZCP 20 212, X *tlenamann* — With *fo-* I S 3 *fóilen*, IV S 3 *fo-da-ro-thla*, p *fo-tlethar*, X *fothla*

§ 641. *tluch-* (1) With *ad-* (and obj *buidi*, with the vn gen *buide*) 'to thank' I S 1 *atluchur*, 3 *atluchedar*, III S 2 *atlargthe*, P 2 *athgid*, VI P 1 *atluchfam*, VIII S 3 *atluchestar*, X *atlugud*

(2) With *to-* 'to ask' I S 1 *duttluchur*, *duthlucham*, 2 *-todlan(g)-ther*, 3 *duthluchedar*, *dottluchethar*, P 1 *do-n-tlucham* Wb 21 d 9, 3 *du-thluchetar*, IV S 1 *duthlucher*, *todlarger*, V S 3 *duthlurch(ed)*, VIII S 3 *dottluchestar*, *-ro-todlargestar*, IX *todlargthe*, X *todlugud*

§ 642 *toc-* 'to predestine' IV S p *-thowther*, *-ro-thcawther*, VIII Sp *ro-togad*, *ra-tocad*, v Vendryes, Ét Celt I 162, *-rro-dcad* Wb 126 27, X *toceh*, *tocad*

Note MIW *tynghaf*, W *tynged* 'fate' MIW *tynghet*, MBr X *tonquaff* 'prédestiner' MnBr *tonka* — In MIW the forms of this verb were confused with those of *tyngu* to swear § 644, v Loth, RC' 29 59 Etym § 70, 3

§ 643 *tóis-*, *tuais-* (1) With *air-* 'to be silent, listen' I S 3 *ar-da-tuaisi*, IV S 2 *-erthaisse*, VI P 3 *artúaisbet*, X *erthuasacht*, *urtuasacht*, *aurthuasacht*

(2) With *com-* 'to hearken, listen to' I S 3 *contuasi*, P 3 *contóiset*, *contúaset*, *-coiset* (*-st-* < *-ts-*), III S 2 *coiste*, IV S 3 *-coitsea*, P 2 *-coisi* (= *-sid*), V S 2 *-coistithe*, VI P 3 *-coistifet*, VIII P 3 *otúaisset*, X *coitsecht*

(3) With *in-* 'to hear' III P 3 *étset*, IX *étside* gl audible, X *étsecht*

Note Related to *to silent* § 13, 2 Cf MIW *an-daw* to listen to' (III S 2 *andau* — *-aw* BBC 49 12, VIII S 1 *endewers* LIH 17 5, 2 *endewerst* BBC 22 6), *gwar-an-daw* MnW *gurandaw*, *gurando*, MIW *am uar-undawyr* 'mayest thou listen' § 467, MIW *gorthaw* to be silent' LIH 122 8 (VIII S 3 *gorthewis* 7), *kynhewi* to remain silent' v Williams PKM 132 (cf 2 above) The simplex *teu* (I S 3 MIW *teu*, MnW *tau*) is common

§ 644 *to-n-g-* 'to swear' (cf § 419) I S 1 *tongu*, 3 with obj *toingth-i*, r *toingdes*, P 3 *-tongat*, II S 3 *no-thongad*, *do-d-fongad*, IV S 2 *-thois*, 3 *-tó*, p *-tosar* Ériu 7 156 § 15, V S 3 *-toissed*, perf

dara-do-ch-tarsed, VI S 2 *-tithis*, p *titsant(h)er*, VIII perf S 3 *ducuntich*, *ducuntig*, P 3 *tocuntichetar* Cāin Ad § 29, X *luge*

(1) With *di-* 'to deny' I S 1 *dothung*, III S p *ditongar*, VIII S 3. *do-ru-thethang*¹, X *dtthech*

(2) With *ess-* 'to refuse' I S 3 *astoring*, *istoring*, IV S 2 *-ettis*, 3 *istoo*, *asto*, VIII perf S p *ad-cui-techt*, X *eitech*

(3) With *for-* 'to swear, give evidence' I S 3 *fortoring*, p *fortongar*, VI P 3 *fortithsat*, X *fortach* 'act of attesting'

(4) With *frith-* 'to deny by oath' I S 3 *fristoring*, P 3 *fristongat*, IV P 1 *fristossam*, X *fretech*

(5) With *ia-* (Gk *ἐπί*, cf *ia-d-* § 594 n) X *és-thech* 'perjury', g *eithach* Cf Gk *ἐπι-ορκος*, *ἐπι-ορκων*, *ἐπι-ορκέω* For the meaning of IE **ep-* cf Germ *Aber-witz* etc, Gk *Ἐν-μυθεύς*

Note Cf W *tyngu* 'to swear', Co I S 1 *tof*, 3 *to*, VIII S 3 *toys*, X *ty* 'oath', MBr X *toeaff*, MnBr *tour*, cf § 37, 4, § 642 n For Ir *luge* v § 35, 3

§ 645. *tracc-* with *di-fo* (in loose comp often *di-di-fo-*) 'to wish' IV S 1 *doduthris*, *dofuthris*, 2 *-dúthrais*, P 3 *duairsetar*, V S 3 *-duthrised*, VI P 3 *du-n-futharset*, VIII (with pres sense) S 1 *d-a-duthracar*, *-duthracar*, 3 *du-d-futharcarr*, P 3 *doduihractar*, *do-futhractar*, *dufutharctar*, X *dúthracht*, *dúdract*, gen *duithrachtan*

§ 646. *tuil-* 'to sleep' IV S 1 *-ro-tholur* (late ending), VIII S 3 *tolris*, P 3 *tuilsitar* — With *com-* 'to sleep' I S 1 *-choitlu*, *-chaitlam*, 3 *contulh*, P 1 *contulem*, 3 *stulet*, *stolat*, II S 3 *contuled*, P 1 *stulmis*, IV S 1 *-ro-choitlur*, 2 (with perf *-ad-*) *-comi[h]ala*, 3 *contola* RC 17 189 2, V S 3 perf *-comi[h]olad*, VIII S 1 *contolus*, 3 *contuil*, perf *con-a-til*, *con-a-tail*, P 3 *contolsat*, perf *con-a-tuilset*, *-comtolsatar*, X *coitlud*, g *cotulta*

§ 647. *-tut-*, *do-tut*, later *do-fuit* 'he falls' I S 3 *dotut*, *dufuit*, *-tut*, p *toituter*, *-tuter*, P 3 *-tutet*, IV S 1 perf *do-ro-thuus* (leg *do-ro-thu(d)us*), 2 *-túthais*, P 1 perf *-to-r-thussem*, 3 *dotodsat*, *-todsat*,

¹ This form cannot mean 'had possessed' as Stokes guessed and Thurneysen, ZCP 18 356, still thinks. The gloss belongs to *quod in deserto amissum est* and runs thus *ant doruthethaig adam hipardus robu dithrub hó chríst intan immermediar adam*. The chief intention of the glossator is to state that in *deserto* really means 'in Paradise', he says "in Paradise, which was a desert from Christ (a place where God did not dwell), after Adam had sinned" (and in the following gloss he speaks of "the desert of Paradise"). It is then perfectly clear that *ant doruthethaig adam* corresponds to *quod amissum est*. It means 'what Adam had denied' (as Strachan suggested) = 'had given up' = 'had lost'

perf *-to-r-thaiset*, V S 1 *dotodsinn*, P 3 *-do(d)sitis* (with *mit* eclipsis), VI S 3 *dotóeth*, *dofaeth*, *-tarth*, P 3 *do-thoetsat*, *dofóethsat*, *-taethsat*, VII S 3 *dofáthsad*, *-tæthsad*, VIII S 1 perf *-to-r-char*, 2 perf *-to-r-char*, 3 *docer*, perf. *do-ro-chaur* (*-chour*), *-to-r-char*, P 3 *docertar* TBC (Str-O'K) 2925, perf *do-ro-chratar*, *-to-r-chartar*, X *toth(a)m* MlIr new formations I S 3 *tutid*, VI S 3 *tutfid*, X *tutimm*, MnIr *tutim* 'I fall', X *tutim*

Note The true form of the root cannot be ascertained, but the verb may be described as consisting of the preverb *'to-* or *'tu-* followed by the remnants or traces of a syllable beginning and ending with a dental, and always preceded by a proclitic preverb (if no other proclitic is needed, *do-* is used). The root may have been **tit-* (subj **test s-*) or **tut-* (subj **teut s-*). The pret is formed from a different root — There were some double cpds, e.g. with *com-to-* (I P 3 *stutlet*, IV P 3 *contoteat*, VIII P 3 perf *con-to-r-chratar*, X *cuturm*), and two cpds without *to-* X *taurthim*, *taurthim* 'numbness, swoon, trance' and *dithaim* (with some finite forms) 'delay in pound (for forfeit cattle)'

Index.

I. Goldelic.

The arrangement follows quite mechanically the orthography with the only exception that double and single consonants (*cc* and *c* etc.), lenited and non-lenited consonants (*ch* and *c*) have the same place, *æ* and *e* are taken as identical, and *h-* has no influence on the arrangement

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II. British and Gaulish.

Welsh words are as a rule not marked, when necessary they are denoted by W (OW = Old Welsh). Cornish words are denoted by C, Breton words by B, OBrit = Old British, G = Gaulish. The Welsh alphabetical order has been adopted, and the other Brit languages have been made to conform to it. Therefore *ch* = /x/ follows after *c*, and *f*, *v*, *u* = /v/ comes after *e* and before *ff*, *f* = /f/. References to some cpd forms are given under the simple form (e.g. for *gochel* v. *celu*) to save space. Likewise references to verbal forms have been put with the verb-noun, usually in brackets. When the W, C, and B words are written approximately the same, only one form (usually W) is given in the index.

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