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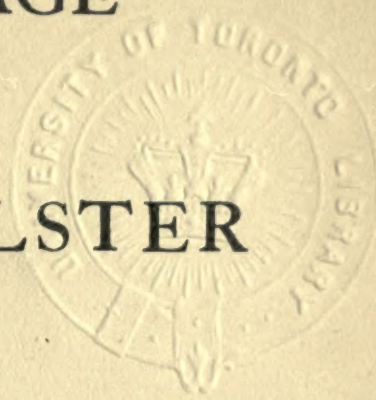
No. II.

The Language of the Annals of Ulster

Printed by The Aberdeen University Press
Published by SHERRATT & HUGHES
Publishers to the Victoria University of Manchester
Manchester: 34 Cross Street
London: 33 Soho Square W.

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0.544k

THE LANGUAGE
OF THE
ANNALS OF ULSTER



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MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER PUBLICATIONS
No. LIII.

TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN STRACHAN



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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH the grammatical system of Old Irish is now fairly well established, very little systematic work has as yet been done at the grammar of the later periods of the language. It had long been my intention to undertake some investigations on the history of the Irish language, and accordingly, when, on the lamented death of the late Professor Strachan, Professor Kuno Meyer suggested to me to take up "The Language of the Annals of Ulster" as a subject for a dissertation for the M.A. degree of Manchester University, I thought it well to treat the material at my disposal from an historical point of view. Whilst keeping this before me, I have not in the present volume deemed it advisable to deal with the whole of Old- and Early Middle-Irish grammar beyond comparing the material of the Annals with that of contemporary documents. In the course of the work, I endeavour to show that the Annals, from the early eighth century onwards, consist of a chronicle taken from contemporary records, and so may be expected to afford a means of dating various Irish documents from the eighth to the eleventh century.

Before proceeding to thank those from whom I have received kind assistance and encouragement, I wish, first of all, to place on record my indebtedness to the great scholar to whose memory this book is dedicated, for a valuable training in the scientific study of Old Irish, and for his many important papers on Irish grammar which have served as my guide.

My best thanks are due to Professor Kuno Meyer, of

Liverpool, who suggested to me the subject of this dissertation, and whose great knowledge of Irish has always been at my disposal. He has also been so kind as to read through the proofs of the book, and to make many important corrections.

I have further to record my sincere thanks to Professor Thurneysen of Freiburg i./B., and Professor Zimmer of Berlin, both of whom read a considerable part of the manuscript, and made many valuable suggestions. To the work of these scholars in the department of Irish philology I have in the course of the book often referred. As the present volume was in the hands of the printer before the former's "Handbuch des Alt-irischen" appeared, the references to this invaluable book are much fewer than would otherwise have been the case.

Last, but not least, I wish to express my very especial thanks to Dr. E. C. Quiggin, of Caius College, Cambridge, who has read carefully through nearly the whole of the manuscript and all the proofs, making several important corrections and suggestions.

I have also to thank Professor Tout for kindly taking charge, on the part of the Publication Committee of the University of Manchester, of the printing of the thesis, and for his solicitude for the success of the work.

I have further to thank the authorities of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for their kindness in placing the MSS. of the Annals at my disposal.

Whilst thanking the above-mentioned for a good deal of valuable aid ungrudgingly given, I deem it my duty to state that, for the general accuracy of the work and for any theories put forward, I am alone responsible.

TOMÁS Ó MÁILLE.

GALWAY, *July*, 1910.

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO.

- Archiv = Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie, ed. K. Meyer.
 Ascoli = Glossario dell' antico Irlandese.
 BB. = Book of Ballymote.
 CZ. = Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, ed. K. Meyer and
 L. C. Stern.
 Ériu = The Journal of the School of Irish Learning, ed.
 Meyer, Strachan, and Bergin.
 Féil. Oen. = Féilire Oengusso, ed. Stokes (Bradshaw Society).
 Hogan = Outlines of the Grammar of Old Irish, and Treatise
 on Irish Neuter Substantives (Cath Ruis na Rig).
 Im. Brain = Voyage of Brain, ed. Meyer.
 KZ. = Papers by Thurneysen, Zimmer, Pedersen, Zupitza,
 etc., in Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende
 Sprachforschung.
 L. Ardm. = The Book of Armagh.
 LL. = Leabhar Laighneach (The Book of Leinster).
 LU. = Leabhar na h-Uidhre.
 Macal. = Macalister, Studies in Irish Epigraphy.
 Pedersen = Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen.
 Quiggin = A Dialect of Donegal.
 RC. = Revue Celtique, ed D'Arbois de Jubainville.
 SR. = Saltair na Rann, ed. Stokes.
 Thes. = Thesaurus Paleohibernicus, ed. Stokes and Strachan.
 Thurneysen = Handbuch des Alt-irischen.
 Trip. Life = Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, ed. Stokes.
 Wi. = Windisch, Irische Texte.
 YBL. = Yellow Book of Lecan.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANNALS OF ULSTER.

I. INTRODUCTION.

§ I. In the following dissertation I propose to give some account of the language of the Annals of Ulster from the earliest entries down to about A.D. 1050.

Professor Kuno Meyer was the first to draw attention¹ to the importance of the Ulster Annals as a help in dating the various changes that took place in Old Irish, inasmuch as these Annals are taken from contemporary documents from the seventh century onwards, and represent more or less faithfully the Old and Early Irish² sources from which they were compiled. Hence, when carefully investigated, the Annals will show the development the language underwent during the Old and Middle Irish periods. In this way they serve, so to speak, as a history of the Irish language as well as a history of Ireland.

Dr. Meyer was preparing a collection of the nominal forms to form the nucleus of a history of Old and Middle Irish declension. The late Professor Strachan was, at the same time, engaged in working at the language of the Annals, when, to the great grief and loss of all Irish scholars, death so abruptly took him away. Dr. Meyer suggested that I should take in hand the treatment of the whole subject. He kindly lent me the material he had collected, and Dr. Strachan's notes³ and collections were also, through the kindness of Mrs.

¹ See "Triads of Ireland," p. x.

² By Early Irish I mean the language before A.D. 700; cf. Thurneysen, *Celt. Zeitschrift*, iii. p. 47 ff., in his article on the age of the Würzburg glosses.

³ Dr. Strachan's notes consist of a collection of verbal forms from the Annals down to A.D. 1536 and of sundry collections of material from A.D. 800

Strachan, placed in my hands. Thus it became my mournful privilege to continue the work of my former teacher, Professor Strachan.

§ 2. I have arranged the work in the following order: (1) The sources of the Annals, (2) Orthography, (3) Phonology (an investigation of the dates of the various vowel and consonant changes in Old Irish), (4) Declension, (5) the Verb (including Infixed Pronoun), (6) Syntax.¹ In addition, I propose to add as an appendix a critical edition of the quotations in verse scattered throughout the Annals, together with a translation.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

§ 3. In preparing the thesis, I have collated Hennessy's edition down to A.D. 1000 with its two sources:—

(1) H 1. 8, a vellum MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, to which I refer as H.

(2) The Rawlinson MS. B 489, a vellum MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This I indicate by R.

In the Trinity copy² it is possible to distinguish three different hands: A, the original hand in which the bulk of the entries are written; B, a second hand in which some of both the interlinear and marginal glosses are written;³ C, a continuation of the paragraph in a late hand. The entries in this (C) hand are, as a rule, very late. The scribe of C is also responsible for some of the marginal and interlinear

to 1100, which he intended to arrange later. The verbs from 800 onwards he had collated with the MSS.

¹ The syntax I do not deal with in the present part.

² I only refer here to the portion of the "Annals" prior to A.D. 1050.

³ Hennessy often prints the whole text consecutively, both original hand and glosses, without drawing any distinction between the different hands though he occasionally refers to them in the notes. In making this remark, I do not wish to belittle Hennessy's edition which has a good many excellent points, but which, from a scientific point of view, leaves much room for improvement. An edition of the earlier portion to about 1100 showing in different type the glosses, and later additions in H 1. 8, with expansion of contractions indicated, is greatly to be desired.

glosses. I treat only of such entries as are in the original hand (in H), except that I sometimes use the other entries for purposes of comparison.

In the Rawlinson MS. the entries corresponding to A and C (of the Trinity MS.) are, as a rule, written in one continuous hand, and there are, in addition, a few interlinear and marginal glosses. Some of the marginal and interlinear glosses of H are also written in the body of the text in R.¹ As R contains many old forms² not preserved in H, I conclude that R was based on H, with, however, the help of some of the original sources for checking the correctness of the work, although it is possible that the scribe of R may have corrected some of the scribal blunders of H by a comparison of the entries themselves.

§ 4. The text of the Annals is drawn from different sources. Sources actually mentioned are the Book of Cuanu, the Book of Dubdalethe, and a writer, Mochta. To these for the present I shall merely refer.³ It is clear that these different sources are, in part, responsible for the variation of the language of the entries in the earlier periods. Another source of confusion is the occasional modernization⁴ of the entries by the Middle Irish scribe. The Middle Irish scribe who was familiar with a certain form of a name in the language of his own time would be liable to write down inadvertently this late form when copying Old Irish entries. He would, as in the case *Amalngado* referred to, be less liable to tamper with a name, with the form of which he was not familiar.

¹ For instance the entry at the year 752 *mil mor dorala dochum tire*, which in H is added on the margin in a different hand, is written in R in the same hand as the rest of the entry.

² For example at 717, 721 (gloss), H has *g. Aedha*, R has *Aedo*. Cf. also the writing *nareš 810*.

³ The Book of Cuanu is mentioned at 467, 468, 471 and down to 628. See Zimmer, "Nennius Vindicated," p. 250. I shall endeavour to deal more fully with this subject in the next section (v. "Sources of the Annals").

⁴ A striking instance of this modernization is the entry *Mors Aengusa mic Amalngado* at the year 592. Here *Aengusa* is a very late form (O. Ir. *Oengusso*, *Oingusso*), whilst the other part of the name *Amalngado* might be taken as the correct form of the name at the beginning of the Old Irish period. Such modernization, however, as will be seen, is very rare and seems to occur only in the case of very common names. Cf. further diphthongs *oe*, *ae*, and writings such as *Ceallach*, etc.

In view of this possibility of confusion of forms one must check the evidence of the Annals, step by step, by the various Old and Middle Irish documents which can be approximately dated.

Even where it is not possible to work out from the text an approximately exact date for a certain change, as in the case of *-o* and *-a* in the genitive singular of *u*- and *i*-stems, I hope the material collected and arranged will still be of value as showing what was actually written and what was possible in the orthography of the Annals, and other Old Irish documents at a particular date.

When all the various changes here discussed are taken into account it will be possible to decide with more or less certainty the date of Old or Early Middle Irish texts and to estimate with greater accuracy their relative value or authenticity.

I have in the course of the work compared forms from various sources, but it is for the present impossible to note all the instances which occur of an interesting Old Irish form. A careful consideration of the Old Irish texts in LU such as *Compert Conculaind* and *Fled Bricrenn*, and *Longes mac n-Usnig*, *Táin Bó Fráich*, etc., in LL. with a view to deciding how far the text has been tampered with by the compiler, would be sure to yield valuable results.

§ 5. I give, throughout, the dates of the Annals themselves, which are antedated by one year from 486 till 1013 (cf. MacCarthy, Introduction to the Annals, xcvi. *seq.*) and not the corrected date. The years 891 to 1012 are corrected in the MS. (H 1. 8) and 1013 is a blank, after which they bear the correct date.

II. THE SOURCES OF THE ANNALS.

§ 6. The Annals of Ulster are compiled from various sources. The investigation of the sources is a difficult problem, and though a good deal of light can be thrown on the subject by a consideration of the language itself, still much remains that is not clear. The Annals, as we have them, were compiled by Cathal Mac Maghnusa Mheg Uidhir,¹ who died in 1498 at Senaid, L. Erne, and were taken from earlier compilations. After his death they were continued to 1504 in the MS. H 1. 8 and to 1588² in R 489. At 1498 they contain the entry of Mag Uidhir's own death: "*Mac Maghnusa Mheg Uidhir do ég in bliadhain-si idon Cathal og Mac Cathail . . . in nech robui lan do rath 7 do ecna in gach uile eladhain co haimsir a eitsechta eter dlighedh 7 diaghacht, fhisighecht 7 fhellsaime 7 ealadhain Gaedhilge airchena 7 nech ro chumdaigh 7 ro theglaim 7 ro thinol an leabhar-su a leabhraibh ilimdai ailibh. . . . Ocus tabrad gach nech dia leghfa ind lebur-sa 7 dia foighena a bennacht for an anmain sin mic Maghnusa.*" "Mac Maghnusa Mag Uidhir died this year, that is Cathal Óg son of Cathal . . . a man full of good qualities and knowledge in every science, both law and divinity, physic and philosophy, and a scientific knowledge of Irish besides, who planned out and compiled and collected this book from several other books. . . . And let every one who will read this book and to whom it will be of service bestow a blessing on the soul of Mac Maghnusa." This eulogy was certainly deserved, for Mag Uidhir succeeded remarkably well in an extremely difficult task and did his work in a scientific

¹ H 1. 8 from fol. 49 (A.D. 1115) onwards is written in a different hand to the earlier portion. From 1051 to 1115 some of the entries are either re-inked or written in different ink, which gives the appearance of a different hand. The earlier portion was presumably written by Mag Uidhir himself, who when he had got to the twelfth century probably considered the matter plain sailing and handed over the writing to some scribes.

² With several intermissions.

manner from the point of view both of language and history, which reflects credit on the Irish scholarship of his time.

§ 7. The book, as said, is a compilation, and moreover makes use of an earlier compilation or compilations. This double compilation would naturally be a source of confusion, but when we come to compare the forms from year to year and from decade to decade it is surprising how remarkably free from errors the work is, and how clearly the development of forms can be seen as time goes on. But this is not the case from the first. During the very early period the language is comparatively late, and can be shown in some cases to belong to the late ninth century—some entries at least being as late as this and others not later. After a time, towards the end of the sixth century, the language becomes distinctly older, and during the seventh century we have occasional old entries side by side with later ones. The obvious conclusion from this is that when, during this early period, the compiler had old entries for a year he left them unchanged, hence when we come to the period where all the entries belong to the language of the time it is clear that the compiler was drawing altogether from contemporary chronicles or documents. Further, we must conclude that MagUidhir, during the Old and Early Irish period, reproduced what he had got before him with occasional slips, some of which are corrected in the R manuscript. How far Mag Uidhir is responsible for the later form of a familiar name¹ during the Early Old Irish period is not clear.

§ 8. The period when the language of the consecutive entries for each year² begins to be contemporary is, as will be seen, the last few years of the seventh century. This can be proved by a comparison of the language of the entries of this and the following decade or so with texts which can be dated with comparative accuracy, such as Adamnán's Life of Columba and Muirchu Maccu Machtheni's Memoirs of St. Patrick, and³ Tirechán's notes in the Book of

¹ The writing of *Cellach* as *Ceallach* and the marking the aspiration of the mediae I refer to under Orthography. The various possible instances of modernization I deal with separately under their separate heads.

² Of course such an entry as at 941, *natiuitas Briain mic Cennetig*, was not inserted for at least thirty years after this date.

³ Cf. v. Stokes and Strachan, Introduction, Thes. Pal. Hib., Zimmer, K.Z. xxxvi. 474.

Armagh, etc. After this the gradual and regular changes of the forms from time to time show by abundant examples that we are dealing with the language of contemporary chronicles. This is further borne out by a comparison of the entries with various Old Irish documents whose forms show them to be written at different periods, and which have already been approximately dated. To make this clearer I shall deal in full with the forms from 700 onwards. During the seventh century we have occasional entries which possibly go back to the time at which they are inserted, i.e. about the middle of the seventh century. I give a list of these, and shall deal with them later. Only in one case (viz., §§ 128, 129) do they serve to give an approximate date for a change. Outside this they are too rare to be of much value and cannot serve to fix an inferior limit.

§ 9. Up to the end of the Old Irish period, with the exception of the verse quotations, the great bulk of the Annals are in Latin. The names, as in the case of the *Vita Columbae* and the *Book of Armagh*, preserve in most cases the Irish declension. The Annals are dated according to the *Anno Domini* system. This points to the first compilation as being later than the time of Beda who was the first to use this system in Western Europe. This does not prevent the record of the events themselves belonging to a much older period written according to *Anno Mundi* and transferred according to some well-known landmark to the new system.

§ 10. Among the books and writings made use of in the compilation of the Annals are the following: those of a writer, Maucteus or Mochta, who is also mentioned in *Adamnán's Vita Columbae*:¹ "quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii discipulus Maucteus nomine". His death is mentioned at 534 which seems late.

Foreign works mentioned are the histories of Isidorus, Marcellinus and Beda. These are all quoted in reference to foreign events except the coming of St. Patrick to Ireland. Isidorus is mentioned at 432, 583, 616, Marcellinus at 432, 449, 456, 536. Beda's "Chronicle" is mentioned at 432, 440, 460, and he is quoted at 565, 583, 605, a reference to his "great book" at 711 and his death is

¹ Ed. Reeves, p. 6; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of S. Patrick*, 227, 498; *Thes.* ii. 272.

entered in a late hand at 734. Cf. also quatrain A.D. 1060, *do rēir ro-Bēid robuilid*.

§ II. The Book of Cuanu is mentioned for the first time at 467 as an authority for the entry *Cēna Temhra la h-Ailill Molt* (and possibly also for the preceding entry *quies Benigni episcopi*). *Sic in libro Cuanach inveni*. The following entry is not in H and is added in a late hand in B. The use of the first person "inueni" points to the compiler Mag Uidhir himself as having the book in his possession unless he was directly quoting an older compiler. At 468, *bellum Dumai Achir*. i. *for Aillill Molt, sicut inueni in libro Cuanach*. This battle is given in a late hand at 474, and also at 476. St. Mochtae or Maucteus is mentioned at 471 as the source of the statement that "the second prey of the Saxons from Ireland was carried off in this year". This the compiler also found in the Book of Cuanu. From this it would appear that Cuanu himself made use of the writings of Maucteus.

The Book of Cuanu is next mentioned at 475, as the source for the entry *Bellum Breg hEile re n-Ailill molt*. At 482 *ut Cuana scripsit* is cited in connection with the battle of Oche in Meath and the death of Ailill Molt thereat. At 489, Cuanu is cited as the source of information regarding the "battle of Cenn Losnado in which fell Oengus, son of Nadfraich".¹ At 544, we find: *Diarmait regnare incipit secundum librum Cuanach*. At 552: *sic in libro Cuanach inveni* i. *Reilci*² *Patraic do tabairt i scrin tri fichit bliadnae iar n-etsecht Patraic la Colum Cille*, etc. It is clear that the language of Cuanu has been altered here.³ At 598, "*Ailither ab clono maccu Nois. Quies Cainnigh in Achaid bo, ut Cuana docet*." At 600, "*Sic inveni in libro Cuanach: bellum Slemne 7 bellum Cuile coil 7 pausa Comgaill 7 mors Oddach mic Aeda in isto anno perfecta esse*". This is a good instance of the treatment of his sources by the compiler. These entries the scribe does not give in the language of the Book of Cuanu, but collects them and gives them in his own. He writes *Aedo*, *Aeda*, but *Oddach* he leaves unchanged. All these are

¹ King of Munster.

² Reliquie, R.

³ Cf. *rofhoghail*, O. Ir. *forodil*, *fein*, *dogarar*, *soiscela*, etc. It is possible, however, that Cuanu may have written the entry in Latin. The first part of the entry may be old.

given from a different source, and in different spelling in the following year. At 602, the writer states "*omnia que scripta sunt in anno subsequente inveni in libro Cuanach in isto esse perfecta*".

At 610, "*quies Colmani¹ Elo. Sic est in libro Cuanach Aed Roin 7 Aedh Laighen.*" The Book of Cuanu is referred to for the last time at 628 where the Book of Dubdalethe commences. It is noticeable that *Cuanu* is spelled *Cuana* in all these entries 482, 489, 721, which form is at least as late as the tenth century, while it is spelled *Cuanu* at 777, 817, 824. The spelling *Cuana* may be due to MagUidhir himself. Who this *Cuanu* was remains undetermined. Zimmer (Nennius Vindictus, p. 250, 1888) was of the opinion that he was the same as the King-warrior of Fermoy whose death is mentioned in the Chron. Scottorum, 641.² He draws this conclusion on the ground that citations from *Cuanu* deal mainly with Munster affairs. This, as we see, does not hold good, as the entries for which *Cuanu* is cited deal also with Meath and Leinster and Columcille (north of Ireland). The death is mentioned of a *Cuana* of *Druim Cuilinn* (King's Co.) at 721. At 738³ there is an entry *Cuanu nepos Bessain scriba pausat*. This latter *Cuanu* is more likely to have been the author of the chronicle than the one who died at 641, and even he seems rather early for some of the language⁴ attributed to the Book of *Cuanu*. It is certainly very remarkable that where the Book of *Cuanu* ceases to be quoted the Book of *Dubdalethe* begins. Another *Cuanu* "*sapiens et episcopus*" is mentioned at 824.

§ 12. The Book of *Dubdaleithi* is mentioned at 628, 962, 1003, and for the last time at 1021. At 749 is entered the death of *Dubdalethe*, Abbot of *Cill Scire*. His obit is given at 745 by the Four Masters who call him "of the writing," and Hennessy suggested that he was probably the compiler of the book mentioned at 628. However, under 962 he suggests as compiler of the Book of *Dubdal-*

¹ Cf. g. *Columbani*, 667. See also 675.

² "*Bas Cuanach mic Cailcin i. laoch Liathmhuine Ri Fermuighe.*" This in Chr. Sc. is a mistake for *Fermuighe*. For a story of this *Cuanu*, cf. LL. 274a40, 275b20.

³ For other *Cuanu*'s v. Guttural stems.

⁴ Part of the entries may have been in Latin in *L. Cuanach* and translated into Irish in quotation.

ethe the warlike Abbot Dubdalethe of Armagh from 1049 to 1064, and this latter seems more correct if we are to judge by the last entry at 1021. But very often a chronicle was continued after the death of the writer or compiler. Witness the Annals of Tighernach who died A.D. 1088 which were continued down to 1164. And further the Annals of Ulster which were continued after MagUidhir's death. Moreover the Dubdalethe of Armagh (1049-64) was a very warlike personage and not the kind of man one would expect to compile such tedious work as a chronicle. If we could imagine the first Dubdalethe (d. 749) as having begun the book and brought it down to the time of his death after which it was continued till 1021, and that it was afterwards used by the compiler of the present Annals, this hypothesis would well suit the character of the language of the Annals of Ulster. A Dubdaleithe introduces the "Canon of Patrick" into Cruachan in 782, and another Dubdalethe became Abbot of Armagh in 964 (A. U.), who is probably the one referred to in Saltair na Rann (A.D. 987): *ocus Dubdaletha loir . . . síi cosaidbri segtai rainn osmur maigni meic Alprainn*. Hence in the absence of some special reference it is difficult to decide the question.

§ 13. As regards the language in the early periods, I shall, to make the matter clearer, consider in detail the various entries from the beginning of the Annals down to about 700. As already stated, it will be seen that with the exception of a few rare words and entries, the language during that period cannot as a whole be shown to be older than the last decade of the seventh century, whilst during the same period for the most part it can be proved to be later than the eighth.

The first Irish entry¹ is *cetna brat Saxan di Ere*, 434. The non-nasal form of the dative is used for the last time at *Ere* 901 but *dat. iar n-Erinn* at 916,² *Er-* 964, *Er-* 979 (H and R). Cf. Fiacc's Hymn where both MSS. have *dond Erinn* (*Erind*). The n-dative seems to have disappeared³ in the tenth century. *Dat. h-Ere*

¹ I do not take account of the history previous to A.D. 431 in the first few folios of H I. 8 which is in Irish not earlier than the eleventh century, and which was obviously added at a later time.

² Sic Hennessy. H has *Erinn*. The readings of R I have not noted.

³ But see *n-stems*, § 161.

occurs Fel. Oen. Jul. 31, d. *Ere* in Tochmarc Etaine, and Compert Conculainn. For *Ere*, Poem¹ on death of Maelsechlainn, 862. The next consecutive entry in Irish is at 438, *Senchus mor do scribunn*, where *nn* should then be *nd*.² At 444, *Ard Macha fundata est*, very late for *Ard Mach[a]e*, at least as late as second half of the ninth century,³ identical with the entry in LL24a.

At 445 is entered the death of *Nathi mac Fiachrach Mhaighe Tail* which is placed with more probability⁴ by the Four Masters at 428. The Annals of Innisfallen also place the event at 446, hence we may conclude that for this entry the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Innisfallen drew from a common source different from that of the Four Masters. The entry as it stands is written in late Irish orthography, e.g. *mhaighe*, *ag*, *og*, etc. But with slight emendations for old Irish orthography there is nothing in the entry which would not go back to the Early Irish period, except *Fiachrach*.⁵ The fall of Coerthin[n], son of C  elub, at 446 corresponds to the entry in the Annals of Innisfallen at 448.

§ 14. The birth of St. Brigid is given both at 452 and 456, but in the Annals of Innisfallen at 455. The entry at 453 *cathroineadh ria Loeghaire* is Middle Irish in orthography and language. The entry *cena* (alias *feis*) *Temhra apud* (alias *la*) *Loeghaire filium Neill* at 454 is in the old hand.⁶ If the entry in the original hand was not altered by the compiler of the Annals we have here the language of the ninth century, as the change of *o* to *a* took place orthographically during the ninth century.⁷ It cannot be much later, as *Temra* gave way to *Temrach* in the early tenth century.⁸ The older *g. Temhro* occurs at 461. A similar *g. Ailella* at 463, and *cena Temhra* again at 467.

At 458 is the entry *Cath atho Dara for Laighaire re Laighnibh*,

¹ Meyer, Selections of Old Irish Poetry.

² Cf. change of *nd* to *nn*, Phonology. ³ v. change of *-ae* to *-a*.

⁴ He succeeded at the death of Niall of the Nine Hostages in 405 and reigned twenty-three years.

⁵ Cf. "Vitae Columbae".

⁶ To avoid confusion in this portion I only deal with such entries as are in the original hand in H 1. 8.

⁷ See change of *-o* to *-a* in gen. sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems. There are a good many instances of gen. in *-a* during the 8th century.

⁸ See guttural stems.

all in correct Old Irish. The *-aire* of *Laighaire* is instead of older *-uire*. The gen. *Dara* for *Daro* side by side with *Atho* must be either due to tampering by the scribe or else written at a time when the final *-o* and *-a* were confused, i.e. during the ninth century. The entry at 459 is in a late hand. 462. *Eriu 7 Albu*.¹ The last sentence in late hand. 464. *ria Laighnibh* in different ink. 465. *Eogan mac Neill*, belongs at the earliest to about the middle of the ninth century.² The change of *-ě* to *-ǎ* in second syllable shows that the entry did not belong to the very early period. 467. *in libro Cuanach*.³ 468. Isserninus, called at 439 Serninus. 469 in late hand. 471. *Maucteus* (i. *Mochtae*), R. *Mocteus*. 470. *Feis Temra la Ailill Molt*. 473. *Dorngal*, etc., in a late hand. Correct gen. *Breg*, 475, 477. 476. *ria* late. 477. g. *Tocco*. 479. *Ianair* for the first time, no entry. Before this always *Ien-*. 481. g. *Iarlathi*.⁴ 482. *Bellum Oche*, at least in early eighth century orthography. *la Lugaid*, etc., in old hand over line. *Cuana*, notice final *a*.⁵ This may be due to MagUidhir himself. LL. 24a has *bellum Ocha*, hence the present entry cannot have been borrowed from it.

482. *Cormac* (<**Corp-maquos*,⁶ **Corbo-maquos*) is not the old form. 483. *Ennai* older *Endai*, *Endi*. 484. g. *Lugdech* fairly old. Cf. Oghum *Lugudeccas*. R has *Luġ*. 485. *Fincath* (R *Finchat*) with final *-th* in unaccented syllable⁷ preserved. 487. *in Ard-Achuth*, an old form. 489. *Cuana*.⁸ 491. *Scotti*. 492. *Bellum Srotha* which the An. Innisfallen have at 485 as *Srath Conaill*. 493. *Cath Tailten* a late spelling, cf. 495 *Talten*; *ria* also late. 494. *Eochu*, earlier *Echu*. 496. g. *Ardmacha*, very late, at least late ninth century. *Mochoei*, old, later *Mochuae*. Cf. *Mochoe* 498. 497. *i crich oa n Gabhla*.⁹

¹ Not identical with the entry in LL. 24a.

² Cf. change of *eu* to *eo*, but instance *Eogain* 786. In LL. 24a the entry is *Eogan mac Neil*.

³ For other references to *Cuanu* see above.

⁴ Identical with entry in LL. 24a.

⁵ Final *-u* did not become *-a* till after the end of tenth century. See Final Vowels.

⁶ Cf. *Corbmac*, L.Br. p. 220, col. 2.

⁷ See *-th > -dh* in Phonology. The form cannot be much later than the middle of eighth century.

⁸ Probably by Mag Uidhir himself from a gen. *Cuanach*.

⁹ See declension *ae* for possible date.

501. *Dauí* (glossed *Duach*) *tinga-umhai*. *Dauí* with *au* preserved is a very old form, and may be as old as the time for which it is entered, though it is also possible orthographically a good deal later.¹ 502. (in old hand) *ria Laighniu* (R *Laighnib*) for *Huibh* (R *ibh*) *Neill*, with confusion of cases is very late. 503. *o Ferti Cherpain*.² 505. *g. espuc* a very late form, again (*espuc*) 512. 511. *Ciarani* doubtless a Latin form. 512. *g. Aird Machai*, confusion of *-ae*, *-ai*. 515. *Droma derge*, cf. LL. 24a29. 516. Poem by *Cennfaelad* (R *Cenn*). His death is at 678. 518. *g. Coluim Cille* at least eighth century,³ also 522 *Colum Cille*. 519. *Detnae*. Final *-ae* points to date between 700-850. *i n Drumbaibh Bregh* is remarkable. *Mac Erca* is late,⁴ cf. 527. *Cath Dethna* 522 in a somewhat later hand. 525. *Dormitatio sancte Brigite* corresponds to LL. 24a31. 525. *g. Ard Macha* (R *Armach*-), see above. 527. *Erce*, early orthography. *Librum Mochod*⁵ in a later hand. 533. *g. Ailbe Imlecha*, ninth century or later. cf. LL. 24b16. 534. *Dormitatio Muchti*, i.e. *Mauchteus*. 535. *Aird Macha*. 536. *Tuathal*, cf. again at 538. 537. *g. Cloenlocha*. 542. *g. Torten*, an old form in which *ǽ* between non-palatal consonants is preserved in unaccented syllable. R has *Tortan*. The same entry has *Erce filius Ailella Molt*. The following entry has *Eugen bel*⁶ with unaccented *-ǽ* preserved. 543. *mac Setna* and *mac Setni*. 545. *g. Coluim*. 546. *Eugen*. 548. *g. Cluana Eois*.⁷ At 836 we find *Cluaen Eoais* which is the next time the spelling *eo* occurs in this word. Hence the form is at least as late as ninth century. 547. *g. Ard Macha* (R *Arda*). There are some very late Irish entries during this period. Cf. again at 551 *g. Ard Macha*. 549. *i Ceru*, etc. Cf. LL. 24b for a similar entry. 552. *Colum Cille* and a long passage already referred to quoted from the Book of Cuanu, which contains such late forms as *rofhoghail*,⁸ *fein*, etc. 554. *Achid*, an old spelling. 556. *Mors Fergna . . . Uloth*. *Fergna* is a very late form (cf. again at 581 but *g. Fergnai* 622) and *Uloth* though apparently old is a spelling still common in the ninth

¹ See development of *au*.² See *i*-stems.³ See change of *mb* to *mm*.⁴ See *-ae* (*-e*) > *-a*.⁵ Hennessy equates this with the reference at 511.⁶ LL. 24b has *Eogan bēl ri Connacht*.⁷ Clones, Co. Monaghan.⁸ In O.Ir. we should expect *forodil*, cf. *forodail*, perf. of *fo-dālim*, LU. 53a13. For date of this change see position of *ro* in verbs, § 198. The last two sentences at least are probably an eleventh century translation from the Latin.

century. 557. *Ceana* (R *cena*) *Temra la Diarmait, Diarmata, Cluain Ferta* may be taken as ninth century¹ forms; cf. 559, *Feiss Temhra*. It is also possible that they may be due to scribal corruption. 562. g. *Mona* for *Monae*; ² *re n-uib* for *auib*. In poem at 562 *nauch* (?) rhymes with *Duach* (leg. *Dauch*). This seems old. Except where the rhyme comes to our aid much cannot be dated from the forms in the poems.

563. *Chluana Ferta*. 564. *Diarmato . . . Erce*: these are eighth or early ninth century forms. 565. g. *Earca*, but *Setni* an old spelling. 565. *Gabrae Liphí*, LL. 24b has *Gabra*. 567. *Diarmato*. 568. g. *Setna*. 569. *Oena*, LL. 24b has *Oenu*, hence perhaps a misreading of *a* for *u*. 569. *Gillas* (= Gildas) sic LL. 24b. *ld* became *ll* about the middle of the ninth century. 571. g. *Ferta*. G. dual *da aeu* (R *æu*). 572. g. *Diarmato, Gabrae* (R *Gabhre*). 574. *Droma Ceata* (*Ceta* R). In these instances R preserves the earlier forms. *Colum Cille*. 575. *Duncath*, g. *Telocho, mic Setna*. 576. g. *Brendain Clona Ferta*. *Clona, Ferta* have late endings, but *Clona* appears to be due to scribal corruption as the change of *ō* to *ua* was on the whole earlier than that of *-o* to *-a*. 576. g. *Uloth, Gillas*, cf. 569. 577. g. *Uloth*, g. *Boetan*, notice gen. *-ān*. g. *Ardmacha*. 578. g. *Aedha mic Geno*. We have here the preservation of *-o* in the gen. of the non-familiar word. 578. *Uinniani*,³ the initial *u* if not due to Latin influence is a very ancient form. 579. *Droma mic Erce*. 580. *Ercae* (*Erce* R). 583. *Cill Biein*, a seemingly old form; *Fergusso*; *Osrige*, an old spelling. 585. *Ninnedho, Temro*. Here the language seems to become somewhat older. 587. *epscoip*. 588. *espuic Aeda*, g. *Tethba*, very late. 593. *romeбайд*, n. *Fiachna* (bis). 594. *Coluimcille*. 595. g. *Ratho*. 596. *Brannub* written after change of *nd* to *nn*. Cf. 589 where R has *Brandubh*. 596.

¹ See change of *-o* to *-a*. ² See I-stems.

³ Finnian of Maghbile, see change of *nd* to *nn*. Columban of Bobbio (615) in a letter written (A.D. 600) to Pope Gregory wrote *Vennianus*. Cf. "Monumenta Germaniae Epistolae," iii. 156. Printed by Mommsen, "Chronica Minora," iii. 21. This refers to *Finnian* or *Finnio* of Clonard (v. 548). As Latin *ĩ* in passing from popular Latin to O. French became *e fermé*, Columban may have written *e* under this influence. As regards *nn*, Professor Zimmer considers change of *nd* to *nn* in inlaut as being earlier than that of *nd* in auslaut, and compares W. *cant* but *cannoeth*. The dat. pl. *dendib* 726 is against this. Cf. also Thurneysen, CZ i. 347 for an explanation of *nn*, and see below, change of *nd* to *nn*, Phonology.

Mumen, an old form, but n. *Fiachna* in the same entry. 597. *Eocho abb Aird Macha*. The form *Machae* occurs hardly at all during the early period. G. *righmedho* 7 *Aedha*, preservation of ending of less familiar word. *Beacc mac Cuanach*. 598. *Clono*. 599. g. *Colmaen*, a ninth century¹ spelling. 600. *Mors Oddach mic Aeda*, which Hennessy equates with *mors hUatach*² mic *Aedho* at 601. In one respect (*Aedho*) the latter is the earlier entry, but *ō* for *ua* shows that the former is really the oldest, the form *Aeda* to be attributed rather to scribal corruption. 602. *Finntain*. 603. poem, *ce du* for later *cia du*. G. *Aedho* twice, *Aedha* once. g. *Locha*. 604. g. *Branduib, Lagen*. *Triginta annis*, etc., is in small writing in a different hand, and the poem is a continuation of this hand. 605. g. *Beugnai*, an older form than g. *Beognai* of Vit. Columb.³ 608. *Lugdach maccu Ochae* (H R). 609. *Aird Macha; Sillani*.⁴ 610. *Uloth; g. Colmani Elo* (L. Cuanu). 611. *Aedo Alddain; Temro*. The entries in this year are old except *Maalcobha*. 614. *Aedho; g. Tueth, LL. 24b Toad*. 617. *int immairecc in Eiluin*, g. *Colggen*. 617. (poem) *mai* 'if' which is possibly the oldest form of this word, *hua leg. aue*; ⁵ g. *gono Fergusso* where the final *-o* rhymes with *ō* of *dō*. 617. *Epscop; Eogan Ratha; g. Macha*. 618. *Sillani*. Cf. *Silnanus, Vita Columbae*⁶ from an earlier *Sinlanus* and *Mosinu*. 620. *Duncath mac Eugain (Eougain, R)*. 621. *Mors Mailembracho mic Rimedho*. This was obviously written at the period of transition of *mr* to *br*. This change had not taken place at 729⁷ but had taken place at 834, hence this entry is in the language of about the year 800, *i.e.* either late 8th or early 9th century. G. *Colggen* is also fairly old.

622. G. *Uinei abbatis Neir*. The initial *u* of *Uinei* must be very old and points to *u-* not having become *f* at this time.

623. G. *Aedho Alddain*. 624. g. *Comgellain*, a very early form. 624. (poem) *forsriadhat* rhymes with *Fiachach*. 626. *Guaire*. Cf. *Goreus*, Vit. Columb. 626. *Furseus*. 627. g. *Laegen*, *ae* ninth century orthography;⁸ g. *Luatha (Luatho R)*, g. *Eogain*, g. *Columbani*,⁹ g. *Clono; Lagen*. 628. The Book of Cuanu and the Book of

¹ See Orthography, *-aen*.

² Called *Uadu*, "Chron. Scot." 592.

³ Thes. ii. pp. 273, 278.

⁴ Cf. 618.

⁵ See section on Poetry Appendix under 617.

⁶ Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. 282.

⁷ See change of *mr* to *br* and cf. *mbleguin*, 732.

⁸ See Orthography, § 19.

⁹ See change of *mb* to *mm*. Later *Colmain*.

Dubdalethe, cf. § 11. G. *Fiachna*. 635. g. *Aedho Alddain*. 636. g. *Euagain*. This word may possibly be very old, but the value of the first *a* is not clear. Cf. further *eu* > *eo*. G. *Muman*. 642. *Loscoth*. 646. *Uloth, Duncath aue Ronain*, an old entry¹ not later than the middle of the eighth century; it may belong to the period for which it was entered. G. *Colgan*, and gen. plur. *huae* are considerably later. 648. *Raghallaigh*, late ninth century.² 649. g. *Maelcobha (Maelcobho, R)*. This points to the scribe of R as having some of the older sources at his disposal. 651. G. *Aidlogo, imairicc* (cf. *immbairecc* 709). 652. G. *Totholain*. 653. *maccu Delduibh, Lochre H (Lochrae, R)*, not later than eighth century.³

653. *Fergusso, Rogailnigh, Aedo, Sratho, Duncath*. This year contains several fairly old entries. 657. *Fiachrach Telnain*,⁴ *Alo Cluathe, Ronain mic Coluimb*. This latter entry was written before change of *mb* to *mm* and may possibly belong to this period. 659. G. *Finnani, Glinne da locho, Eunganan mac Tothalain*, eighth century.⁵ 662. *maccu Chuind* (H and R), probably earlier than change of *nd* to *nn* (which see). G. *Morgaind, Tothalain*. 663. *Comgan maccu Teimne*.⁶ 664. *fili Silni*. 666. *Eugen*, eighth, or perhaps seventh, century. 667. *Columbani*. Cf. LL. 25a which corresponds as far as "Sanctorum"; also change of *mb* to *mm*. G. *Erend*, confusion of *nd*, *nn*. 669. *Dunchado hui*⁷ *Ronain*. N. *Columbana*, 675. 676. g. *Cuandai*. 677. *maccu Retai*. 679. *Dūch* (Dunc, R). 681. *Colgen*. 682. *na g. f. article*. 683. *Concoluim*. 685. *Rotachtaigh*, otherwise *Rotechtaigh* with *ě* preserved. 687. g. *Arđmachae*. In poem, *cro* rhymes with *Imblecho*. Notice *mbl*. 688. *Tuathalain*. 690. *Cronan maccu Chualne*.⁸ 691. *Conchadh*, with final *th* (?) having become *dh*. *Euganain*.

692. G. *Faelaen*. This gen. in *-aen* does not occur at all during the eighth century nor until the year 800 when we have the next instance, hence it indicates ninth century orthography. The genitives *nieth Neill* and *Boendo*⁹ are however very old forms and *Nectin* is

¹ See Declension *aue*.

² Possibly later, see change of *ln* to *ll*.

³ See *ō* > *ua*, and *-ae* > *-a*.

⁴ See *ln* > *ll*.

⁵ See *ō* > *ua*, *ě* > *a*.

⁶ See dialogue between Comgan and Cummene Fota in YBL.

⁷ See Declension, *io-* stems, *aue*.

⁸ Cf. Tighernach corres. to 690, *Cronan maccu Caulne*.

⁹ The MS. (H 1. 8) may be either read *Boendo* or *Boento*; cf. *Boanta*.

an old spelling. 693. *mac Auin*.¹ *Alocluathe, Balni, Cluana*. 696. *immarecc*, g. *Lochair*.² 697. *Duin Onlaigh*, and again at 700, the last instance of the word in this form. 697. *Forannain, Daro, Muirguisa (Muirgisa, R)*. 698. *Fiannamla*. 699. All entries except g. *Suibne* appear to be contemporary. 700. *Auae, Muman, imbairecc, Cuandai*.

§ 15. The above are examples from 432 to 700 to illustrate the language of the entries. Here, and perhaps somewhat earlier, as has been already pointed out, we come into touch with contemporary language. Thus we see that in these entries up to 700 we have a good many instances which can be shown to belong to the ninth century, some tenth century or later,³ whilst others point to the eighth century and may go back even to 700 or before it. Ancient forms occur before 700, but decisive instances are rare. The following are the most striking: *Dauí*, 501, g. *Uinniani*,⁴ 578, i.e. Finnian of Magh Bile (Chron. Scot. *Finniani*, 578). Cf. *Finnio*, 548, 858 (g), g. *Finnen*, 972, and at 775 *Uiniaui* (H), *Finniaui*⁵ (R). *Eiluuin*, 617, *mai* 'if' 617, g. *Uinei* 622, g. *Euagain* 636 (cf. *Euogain*, R 620), *Duncath aue Ronain* 646, *Nem*⁶ (?) 654, *Ronain mic Columb* 657, *maccu Chuind* 662, g. *Columbani* 667, n. *Columbana* 675, d. *Laind abae* 675, *Cuandai* 676, *maccu Retai* 677, *Imblecho* 684, *Duin Onlaig* 697, 700. These ancient forms are mostly from the early seventh century onward. Some instances in this early period (cf. *Mailembracho*) can be fixed as the language of about 800.

§ 16. The following entries regarding meteorological, atmospheric, and sundry natural phenomena may be referred to. These phenomena must have been noted by an eye-witness, or one who had lived through them: *Nix magna* 587, not said where; *aestas torrida* 588, *matutina tenebrosa* 591, *terremotus in Gallia* 617, *nix magna*

¹ Cf. *Oan*, 724. ² Leg. *Lochrae (Luachra, R)*.

³ For instance *Cuana*. This I think may safely be attributed to Mag Uidhir himself who had the gen. *Cuanach* before him.

⁴ Cf. also *Finnani*, 659. The origin of *nn* in this word is doubtful. See Zimmer, *KZ.* xxxii. p. 160; Thurneysen, *CZ.* i. 346; and note on the word above at 578.

⁵ The final *-aui* of this word may have been taken as the g. of *aue*, 'grandson, descendant,' placed after the noun as in *Corbmac*.

⁶ Should we read *ē*?

occidit multos in campo *Bregb* 634, cf. 669, 747, 759, etc. *Oscolt mor* 669. 688. obscura est pars solis. 691. Luna in sanguinem colorem, etc. 699. Fames et pestilentia in Hibernia. 706. Duo terremotus in mense Decembri in aquiloni parte Hiberniae. 719. *Murbrucht mor.* 720. Terrimotus in Octimbre. 724. Luna tenebrosa. 733. Eclipsis lunae. 747. Nix insolitae magnitudinis . . . Hibernie. 748. Naues in aere uisae sunt; a mirage. 734. Draco ingens¹ . . . cum tonitru. 745. Dracones in coelo.

§ 17. It is evident that from the latter part of the seventh century onwards, chronicles in contemporary language, or containing contemporary forms, were available. There is then the possibility that, side by side with the contemporary forms, for the first few decades of the eighth century an occasional ninth century² form may have been inserted. Such possibly are *Flann Febla* 714, cf. *Fland Feblae* 739, *Ard Macha* 718 and several of the genitives in *-a* for *-e*, but I think if we begin with about A.D. 740 or 750 (cf. § 12) that we shall be absolutely safe in concluding that we are dealing with *bona fide* contemporary language³ from that onwards. To make the matter clear, I shall consider in detail every instance between 700 and about the middle of the eleventh century, in an endeavour to date the various phonological changes which took place in Old and Early Middle Irish. These are given under their various heads in the section on Phonology.

By the year 900 all the phonetic changes enumerated (under Phonology) had taken place with the exception of the change of *-u* and *-ai* to *a*. The date of the latter change, however, is owing to the orthography, not clear. 901 is the last instance of *d*. *Ere* in the Annals. At 912 the entries begin to be almost consecutively in Irish instead of in Latin. At 914 the guttural genitive *Temrach*

¹ v. Du Cange, draco . . . Draconis Anglicani originem ab ipso Uter Pen-dracone accersit Matth. Westmon. ann. 498 qui cum stellam Draconis ignei effigie horridam in caelo conspexisset, etc.

² The later forms are generally added in later hands and can thus be distinguished. Thus at the year 803 is added in the margin, in what I have designated as the C hand: *Tabhairt Cheanannsa cen chath do Cholium chille cheolach*, which is a quotation from Gilla Coemain's poem. See LL. 131a (printed by Stokes, Tripart. Life S. Patrick).

³ We must also in case of final vowels allow for the possibility of slips on the part of the scribe. Cf. Wb. 19b12 *nitat gnima*.

occurs for the first time. By 917 we have the loss of the *-ib* of dat. plur. of article. With all these changes we come to the end of the Old Irish period at about the first quarter of the tenth century. It is, however, difficult to draw a hard and fast line as to when Old Irish ceased and Middle Irish began. The Old Irish verbal system survived this period, but if we are to include this then we must add at least another half a century. Professor Zimmer would place the end of the Old Irish period at the break down of the neuter,¹ and this is a good criterion.

¹ The neuter article *a* is used in the Annals for the last time at 911 but may have survived for some time longer. For the fall of neuter *n*-, v. Declension.

III. ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 18. In dealing with orthographical peculiarities it will not be necessary to do more than refer to such well-known Old Irish methods of orthography as the writing of tenues for unaspirated mediæ in the interior of a word. For instance, *p* for *b* in *dianepred*, 'of which was said,' 771, 798. A better representation of the sound is given at the year 928, viz. *Abbred nech fri Donnchad donn*. The sound was, of course, *b*,¹ < $\sqrt{\text{ber-}}$. In Old Irish there were several cases where mediæ *g*, *d* arose out of the loss of *n* before tenues *c*, *t*, as, to give a common example, *cēt* (pr. *cēd*) W. *cant*, L. *centum*, < **centom*, fr. **k'ntóm*; *tēt*, Mod. Ir. *téad*, cf. L. *tentus* > **tytos*, etc.

The Latin alphabet, which was adopted into Irish, had no sign to express the spirants *bh*, *dh*, *gh*; so for these in Irish *b*, *d*, *g* were reserved. This usage spread to forms where the mediæ originally began a word. Thus from *moa* + *de* was formed *móite*;² modern, *móide*. *Lugu* + *de* became *lugait*; modern, *lughaide*. In some words borrowed from Latin—for instance, *opair*, from an oblique case of Latin *opus*—the intervocalic tenuis was pronounced as a media when the word reached our language. The tenuis, however, continued to be written, and thus we have *opair* written but *obair* pronounced. In the same way L. *sacerdōt*-³ gave *sagart*, written *sacart*. Both these words must have been incorporated into the language after the law of the aspiration of an intervocalic consonant had worked itself out. The writing of the mark of aspiration over the mediæ is a relatively

¹ Consonants were often written double to show non-aspiration. It is unlikely that *bb* denoted sound distinct from un-aspirated *b*.

² In Modern Irish the phrase *cé is muite* "except" is often analysed as *cé is mó* + *de*. It may be a contamination of this and the O. Ir. *cen-motha*.

³ The final *t* in *sagart* must be due to the falling together of the *d* and *t*. If the word were borrowed from the nominative *sacerdōs* the final *-d* would have remained.

late innovation in Irish, and its appearance in the Annals, even in the earliest periods, is presumably due to the scribe or compiler Mag Uidhir himself. He may have thought it necessary to prevent ambiguity by indicating the pronunciation, and this restoration is often very important. I should, however, prefer to make the whole question of Old Irish pronunciation a subject for a separate investigation, and shall, for the present, confine myself to a few remarks on the material.

VOWELS.

(a) Simple.

áe for ái.

§ 19. At the year 599 we find the first instance of this peculiar spelling of *ae* for *ai*¹ (likewise *oe* for *oi*), which occurs mostly in the genitives of derivatives in *-án* < **-agnos*, e.g. g. *Colmaen moer*, 599. The origin of this spelling is not clear to me. It has sometimes been attributed to Latin influence, i.e. that the Irish scribe in endeavouring to avoid combinations (*ai*, *oi*) not existing in Latin may have changed *ai* to *ae*. These sounds were, however, not diphthongs, but equal to *ā* and *ō* respectively, the *i* (as in Modern Irish) being the vowel glide before a palatal consonant. A more probable explanation is that when the older diphthong *ái* was changed into *ae* a number of the *ā*ⁱ and *ō*ⁱ forms were treated in the same way by mistake. This also happened in the middle of a word, e.g. g. *Maeni* 626, 676. Cf. *Mane* 711, 712, *Maini* 721, *Maine* R.

The instances of *ae* for *ai* are: **Cairlaen* 587, g. *Meccnaen* 603, g. *Stellaen* 623, g. *Mæni* 626, 676, *Coelæn* 634, *Cridæn* 638, *mac *Acithæn*² 685, g. *Fœlæn* 692, g. *Ronaen* 800 (= *Rónain*), g. *Quiaraen* 808, g. *Iellaen* 825, g. *Aerdd Machae* 835 (cf. *Cluaen* 844), g. *Mael* 848 (= *Mail*), g. *Dubaen* 851 (cf. *Dubain* 804), g. *Tommaen* 870.

Compare *aei* for *ai* in *Mac Aedhaein* (= *Aedáin*) 806. Not to be

¹ With long *a*.

² Doubtful instances I mark throughout with an asterisk.

confused is *Libraen*¹ 585 (= *Librén*, Chr. Scot.). It is noticeable that, so far as I can detect, no instance of this *a^e* for *aⁱ* occurs during the eighth century. It is common in the entries for the sixth and seventh centuries and reappears again abruptly at the beginning of the ninth. For the later periods I have not noted any instances. This would go to show that several of the entries up to the last decade of the seventh century are practically ninth century in orthography and language. The instance *Colmaen* 599 obviously does not belong to the writing of the early period as it contains the change of *mb* to *mm*.² After 870 the genitive in *-ān* becomes common.

Side by side with this spelling we have the more usually *-ain* in g. *Aedain* 628, 691, 700, g. *Ultain* 676, *Moelain* 677, *Mongain* 697, *Comain* 704, *Colmain* 706, 735, *Faelain* 718, *Brecaín* 718, 735, *Broccain* 724, *Moudain* 726, *Corcraín* 735, *Ciarain* 742, etc.

The instances quoted of *a^e* for *aⁱ* all occur before *n* with the exception of *a^e* before *r* in *Aerdd* (*Machae*) 835, *ae* before *l* in g. *Mael* (= *Mail*) 848.

Short (?) *a^e* occurs in g. *Laegen*, *Aenmire* (= *Ainmire*) 876, *Mæni* 676. In *Faelbei* 672, 677, 694, *Faelbe* 675, 736, but *Failbhi* 709, *Fælbeus* 712, *Faelbi* 799, the quality of the *ae*, *ai* is not clear.

ō^e for ōⁱ.

§ 20. The spelling *o^e* for *oⁱ* extends over much the same periods. Instances are: g. (*Lis*) *moer* 591, 745, 759, 780, 782, 855; g. m. *moer* 599, (*Cluana*) *moer* 778, 827, (bis) 834; n. (*mess*) *moer* 805 (sic H); g. *Roiss moer* 839, (*Droma*) *moer* 841, *Domnaigh moer* 844, but *moir* 751, 756, 775, etc.

All the instances I have noted of *ō^e* for *ōⁱ* occur before *r* in the adjective *moer*. Doubtful is *mac Broen* (= *Broin*?) 861. Chron. Scot. has g. *Broin*, but cf. n. *Broen mac Ruadrach* 813; cf. diphthong *æ*.

¹ But g. *Librain* 621.

² See below, Phonology, *mb* > *mm*.

ān for **-āin**.

§ 21. In many cases, particularly during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, the palatal nature of the *-n* in the genitive of masculines in *-ān* was not expressed at all, the genitive being spelled like the nominative (cf. Strachan, CZ. iii. 414). This spelling is common in LL.

Instances : genitives *Boetan* 577 (cf. g. *Baetain* 585, etc.); g. *Becan* 745 (cf. n. *De Becan* 676, 972); g. *Colman* 750 (R Colmā); g. (ri.h.) *Liathan* 789, *Oa n- *Olcan* 794 (*aird*¹) *mBrecan* 821 (cf. *Breacain* 718, 735, 764, 781), *Forannan* 829, *Dolcan* 832; g. *Faelan* 834, *Dromman* 835, *Boadan* 862, *Forindan* 868, *Spelan* 868, *mac Brocan* 872, *Flannacan* 872, 890, *Cuileannan* (sic H) 906, 950, *Muirecan* 907, 908, *mac Cathan* 915, *Rubucan* 932, *Conallan* 948, *Canannan* 948, 949, 966, *Lapan* 958, 983, *Domnallan* 960, 983, 999, *mac Uchtan* 968, *Ciaran* 978, *Mothran* 982, *Cairellan* 987, *Robocan* 988 (*mac*) *Maelciaran* 982 (cf. *mac Beoan* 1002), *Brecan* 1002, *Comaltan* 1003, *Baigellan* 1006 (cf. g. *Crichain* 1006), etc.

It is noticeable that there are very few instances² during the eighth century, and the spelling does not become common till the late ninth. It becomes almost regular in the Annals during the tenth and eleventh centuries.³ Side by side with this genitive in *-ān* we find also *-āin* as in the above instances. Cf. also the following genitives:—

Garbain 821, *Commāin* 823, *Colmain* 826, *Scannlain* 833, *Broccain*, 833, 876, *Cendercain* 833, *Tommāin* 837, *Faelain* 837, *Colmain* 845, 854, 859, *Forindan* 848, *Ultain* 851, *Aedhacain* 865, 913, *Ronain* 866, 868, *Ciannain* 880, *Ciarain* 881, *Breacain* 882, *Muirecain* 882, *Flannacain* 890, 892, 893, 895, 896, 901, 902, 913; n. *Maelchiarain* 893, *Eochacain* 894, 914, *Cernachain* 900, *Muiricain* 901, *Tornain* 912, *Giblechain* 913, *Cellachain* 913, etc.

With the foregoing we may compare the writing of *a* (and *o*, *u*) before palatal consonants; thus, *Slane* 634, 653, etc., *Mani* 754, 777, 821, etc., *Ernani* 660 (and also *Lagen*).⁴ In all these cases

¹ Accus. after *corici*.

² Those given above.

³ I have not continued the collection for the eleventh century.

⁴ See below, § 23.

however the palatal¹ nature of the consonant is indicated by the following vowel.

ēn.

§ 22. Something similar to the foregoing we find in the treatment of final *-ēn*. Thus:—

n. *Laidhggen* 660; g. *Eiliuin* 672, *mac Acithaen*² 685, *Laidggin* 721; g. *Deilggden* 722; g. *Cuilen rigi* 732, 802; g. *Maileathcen* 737; g. *Macedaithnein* 738; g. *Aui Liuin*³ 741; g. *Laidggnéin* 743 (cf. n. *Laidgnean* 726); g. *Ailiuin*⁴ 743; g. *Telaigh Findin* 751, *voc. cheirchen* (?)⁵ 758; g. *Laidggnen* 768; g. *Laithgnaen* 760; n. *Breslen* 778; g. *Laidhghnein*⁶ 779; g. *Laidhgnein* 781, 792; (cf. g. *den* 861 (gloss)); g. *Foibrein* 815; g. *Temhnen* 827; g. *Locha Lein* 837; g. *mac nDaimen* 868; g. *Foillein* 871; g. *Cruinnein* 887; g. *Duilgein* 911; g. *Draigen* 915, **Duiligen* 925; n. *Cuilen* 932; g. *Duilgen* 956; g. *Coimgen* (?) 958, *Maelfinnen* 968 (cf. g. *Finnen* 972); g. *Finnen* 992 (cf. n. *Maelfinnian* 992); g. *Mellen* 1034, g. *Finnen* 1006, 1012, 1019; g. *Finnein* 1015, 1025; g. *Laidgnen* 1022; g. *Machainen* 1023; g. *Ceithnen* 1030.

As can be seen from the above, both forms of the genitive *-ēn* and *-ein* occur. We find names in *-ene* having later this genitive (and nominative also) in *-ēn*, *-īn*, e.g. g. *Daimeni* 608, 784, but g. *Daimen* 868, *Daimin* 1127 (cf. *Ossene* 705); g. *Osseni* 778, *Alene mac Ossene* 1019, but An. Loch Ce, *Alen mac Oissein*, Mod. Ir. *Ó hOisín*.⁷

¹ N. *Slana* occurs once with non-palatal *n*. The question of palatal and non-palatal consonants did not seem to be clearly decided during the eighth century, at least so far as orthography was concerned. For instances of *i* for *ai* after dentals, cf. *ai*, *i* below, § 26.

² A Pict.

³ N. *Lēn* < **Lecnos*, Gaulish *Licnos*; *i* > *e* before loss of *c*.

⁴ N. *Ailen* (cf. *Gormghal in Ard-ailean* 1017).

⁵ *Cleirchen* 911, sic leg. (?) ⁶ *Laidgnein*, R.

⁷ *Oissén*, 'a fawn,' occurs in *Acallam na Senorach*, l. 6283 (Ed. Stokes).

a before a palatal consonant (later *ai*).

§ 23.

- g. *Slane* 658.
- g. *Ernani* 661, *Critani*¹ 668, *alaliu*² 668, *Lagenorum* 679 (cf. 717, 718), *immarecc* 686.
- g. *Slane* 711; n. *Mane* 711 (g.), 712, *Alen* 713, *Lagen* 714.
- Talten* 716, *Laghen* 720 (*Lægen*, R).
- Slane* 736, 786, 788, 801, 813, 824, 833, 866, 876, 889.
- Galeng* 737, *Ernani* 740.
- Mani* 754, 777, 786, 817, 821.
- Lagen* 758, 759, 807, 810.
- Rathin* 756, 762, *bare* 758.
- Mane* 774
- Maghen* 793 (but *magan* 801, 831).
- Darii* 811, *Dari* 825.
- Manistrech* 833, *Slane* 837, 848.
- ro-badis* 845.
- mathe* 858.
- g. *Ernaine* 661.
- Maini* 683, *Gaimide* 694, *imbairrecc* 700, *immbairecc* 709.
- Bairche* 711, *Laigen* 708, 720, 721.
- Maige* 719, *Maini* 721, 722.
- Tailtae* 732, *Maigi* 735, 824, etc.
- Laignin* 731, 817, etc., *Taichleach* 733.
- Maini* 742, *Saighrae* 743, *Slaine* 750.
- Maine* 774, 783, *Muaide* 784.
- Laigen* 792, 803, 826, 836, 837, 852.
- Tailten* 810, 830, 872, 876, 888, *Cainnigh*, 821, 888.
- Taillten* 826, *Laigen* 827, 833, 869.
- Tailtin* 877, *Laigin* 840, *sochaide*³ (*mora*) 830.
- Mainisdreach*⁴ 830, *Alddailed* 835 (sic H).
- draighnibh* 840, *alaile* 844.
- baislicce* 845, *maithi* 850, *laithi* 850.
- Caisil* 847, 852, etc.; d. *Taillte* 856.

¹ The usual Latin form.

² Cf. *alaile* 844, *alailiu* Sg. 28br, *alaailiu* 32b5.

³ Cf. *sochude* Wb. 9a4; d. *sochudi* 11c6, but *sochide* Carls. Beda 32b3. For change of *u(i)* in unaccented syllables to *ai* I have no special collections.

⁴ The spelling seems late.

Cluathe 869, *Cluade* 871.

Mainisdrech 865, 877, *Saighre* 866.

Galengaibh 883, *dunetathe* 884.

laisre 884, *maithibh* 886, *mainistrech* 890.

The spelling *ai* (*caol le caol*) grows commoner as time goes on, and eventually becomes regular. The spelling *a* (before a palatal consonant) becomes very rare in the late ninth century, except in a few fixed forms. The above list is not complete, and the conditions require further investigation (cf. change of *-ae* to *-a*, and *i*, *ai*, § 27 below).

u and o before a palatal consonant.

§ 24. With the foregoing may be compared the spellings of *o*, *u*, *e* before a slender consonant. The following are examples:—

g. *Lurggeni* 667; n. *Aurthulae* *Oirggnech* 679, *Loingsich* 695, 675, *Fother* 693, *Cule* 651. *Aurthuile* 699, *Muirsce* 706, *Loingsigh* 706, *shleibhe* 716, *Oithin* 717 (cf. g. *Othnae* 724).

Rubin 724.

Buiti 722, 763, 865, 875.

*Mume*¹ 734.

Cuirrigh 731, *oircnich* 731.

Mursce 734.

Luighne 733.

Fobrich 741, *forbthe* 747.

foirtbe 741, *foirdde* 757.

more 756, 799, 851, *ule* 776, *chuile* 758, *Muime* 775.

chule 794.

Turges 844, *Buti* 845.

The above list may be largely added to. *o* becomes *u* in *lunge* before *e* of genitive.² This is not the case in *Loingsech*. I hope to deal with the subject more fully in a separate article on *u*-infection. We may also compare *genntib* 831, 832, 833, 841, etc.; g. *Celi* 715, etc. For *u* before a palatal consonant cf. *sochude* Wb. 8a17, etc. Such spellings were preserved pretty late.

¹ Cf. change of *-e* to *-a*.

² This indicates a palatal *ng*, but the word appears later with non-palatal *ng*.

ea for e.

§ 25. There are several instances of this spelling in common words such as *Ceallach* 802; (g.) 803, 813, 815; (n.) 846, etc., also *Caireall* 800, *cealtrae* 836, *mainisdreach* 830, etc. (cf. *conrusleachta* Ml. 53d11, *coineas* 102a23). For pronunciation we may compare O. Norse *Kiallakr* (= *Cellach*), etc.

The actual date of its introduction and the change of pronunciation it represents I have not investigated.

ai, -i.

§ 26. The following is a list of the writings *-ai*, *-i* from the late seventh to the early ninth century:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| g. <i>Riati</i> 628, 699. | <i>Eochaidh</i> 665, <i>Riatai</i> 672, g. |
| | <i>Cuanai</i> 669, <i>Maelrubai</i> 670, |
| | 672. |
| * <i>Finntin</i> 686, <i>Balni</i> 693. | <i>Cuandai</i> 676, <i>Osraigi</i> 677, <i>Bre-</i> |
| | <i>sail</i> 684, <i>Retai</i> 677, <i>-umai</i> 681, |
| <i>Nectin</i> 692, <i>Moling</i> 694, 696. | <i>Nechtain</i> 685, <i>-riadai</i> 694, <i>Ac-</i> |
| | <i>haid</i> 694, <i>Tethbai</i> 699. |
| <i>Riaiti</i> 703 (<i>Riati</i> , R), <i>Lothri</i> 709. | <i>Cuandai</i> 700, <i>Clochair</i> 701, <i>Ul-</i> |
| <i>Riati</i> 710, 716, 730, 740; g. <i>fotti</i> | <i>aith</i> 702, <i>Nectain</i> 709, 728, |
| 718. | <i>Comghaill</i> 709, <i>-gualai</i> 711, |
| <i>Mrachidi</i> 726, <i>Maelrubi</i> 736. | <i>rubai</i> 716, <i>brathair</i> 718, <i>culaibh</i> |
| <i>Petir</i> 733; g. <i>Ostich</i> 742, <i>Lucridh</i> | 729, <i>Riatai</i> 735, 740, <i>Tuathail</i> |
| 752. | 731 (and passim), <i>Cathail</i> 732 |
| <i>Osrighu</i> 753, <i>Foling</i> 759, <i>Fabri</i> | (and passim), <i>Amalghaidh</i> 736, |
| 761 (<i>Faibri</i> , R). | <i>Rechrainne</i> 738, <i>Fobair</i> 739, |
| | <i>Riatai</i> 740, <i>Aithecdai</i> 741, <i>esclai</i> |
| <i>Finsnechti</i> 760. | 747, <i>Mobai</i> 752, <i>Comgaill</i> 754, |
| <i>Lothri</i> 762, 787, 891. | <i>nathraich</i> 758, <i>Conaith</i> 759, |
| | <i>dumai</i> 760, 779, <i>Duachail</i> |
| | 762, <i>argait</i> 763, <i>Diarmait</i> 763 |
| | (and passim), <i>Maelumai</i> 766, |
| | <i>Tolai</i> 764, <i>Bresail</i> 767, <i>Fiach-</i> |

Balni 779, *Cruachnib* 782.

Goli 786, *Humil* 786.

* *Muccirt* 787, *Donncorci* 791, *Toli* 792.

Borime 797.

g. *Umill* 812.

(oiss) *allti* 817.

g. *Tarbgí* 821, *ind Fochli* 821,

Achidh 829, *tanisi* 874; g.

Finsnehti 836, *Delbhni* 842.

rai 769, *Letubai* 772, *mathair* 776, *Achaid* 781, *Umail* 783.

Echaidh 784, *Osraige* 785,

Conaing 785 (and passim),

Cnodhbai 788, *Tethbai* 788,

argai 791, *Achaidh* 795, *argait*¹

799, *Conlaid* 799, *Osraighi* 801,

rubhai 802; g. *Achaidh* 804,

mélai 808, *Umhaill* 811, *cumai*

817, *notlaic* 817, *Cnodbai* 817,

Mochtai 817, *Delbnai* 821; g.

Finsnehtai 828.

For a further list of forms in *-ai*, *-i*, see *-ai*, *-i* > *a*, *-e*. I have noted no instance of *-i* for *-ai* before a final *gh*, but cf. in L. Ardm. *Feradig*, etc. The *-ail* of genitives of compounds of *yal-*,² e.g. *Cathal*, *W. Cadwal*, is never *-il* (cf. *Tuathail*, *Bresail*).

The above instances of *-i* for *-ai* are mostly after tenues,³ unspirated mediae and *l*, *n*, *r*; for *i* instead of *ui* after *mh* at 786, 812 *Umill* cf. *cosmil* Wb. 2a11, 2c20, *cosmilius* 3a14, but *cosmulius* 3a15, Ml. 51a8 *fochosmailius*. Sg. has both writings. In L. Ardm. *-i* not *-ai* is written after a non-palatal consonant, as *Calpdi*, *Machi*, *Cetni*, *Achid*, *Dumi*, etc., but *Chungai*, *Humail* and the later notes, which have also *-ai*.

§ 27. With the above may be compared the writing of *a* and *o* before a palatal consonant. In general it may be noted that slender *s* with or without a consonant is always indicated by a palatal vowel on both sides. This is usually the case with palatal *r*, also in Wb., but cf. *Dari* 825. The development of slender *s* in Irish must be very early. A similar slender *s* (š) before palatal vowels (*e*, *i*) occurs in Russian (cf. Sievers, "Phonetik," p. 102), and palatalisation of *s* is common also in Portuguese.

We find the guttural group (*c*, *g*) early split up into front and back qualities (palatal and non-palatal).

¹ Later palatal.

² Compounds of *yal-* do not show *u*-infection in dative.

³ Cf. *rechtidi* Wb. 2b24, *fochrioc* 2b26, *Finsnehti* 760. The *cht* would not be easily palatalized.

We have the slender dentals distinguished from the corresponding broad ones in Wb. in the middle of a word, thus *creitem* 4d32, *creitfess* 4d21, *rochretti* 5a7 (*tt* for slender *d*), *geintib* 5a10, etc. But we should hardly be justified in assuming palatalisation from spellings like *Talten* 716 standing by themselves. For the spelling compare Wb. 5b25 *accomallte*. In some cases Wb. is not clear¹ in the writing of a non-palatal group, e.g. *ferte* Wb. 12b15, but *fertae* Ml. 40c22. The O. Ir. initial dentals before *i*, *e* must, as in Mod. Ir., have been palatal.

uae for uai.

§ 28. With the writing of *ae* for *ai* referred to above (§ 19) we may compare the writing of *uae* for the diphthong *ua* + palatal glide *i*. Instances:—

i nDun Chuaer 803 (*chuer*, R.), *Cluaen* 844 (cf. *Cluen* 817).

These instances occur before *r*, *n* respectively.

oe for oi (or uai).

d. *i Cloen* 844 (cf. *Cloin* 794).

ae for ě.

§ 29. *indraedh* 617 (= *indred*); g. *Bairdaeni* 627 (cf. *Bardene*).

i for iu.

§ 30.

Before *s*: n. *Muirgis* 791, 795, 798, 809 = *Muirgius*; a. *Muirgis* 804 (cf. acc. *Muirgius* 792); g. *Muirgiusso* 809, *Muirgiussa* 697, 743, 804, 807, but *Muirgissa* 815, *Muirgessa* 825.

¹ Cf. Bergin, "Palatalisation in Irish," p. 6.

Before *l, ll*: *du Chaissil* 714; d. *ghil* 764; n. **Cairill* 808 (cf. *Caireall* 800, *Cairell* 850).

Before *nn*: d. *chinn* 928, 1014 (cf. *ciunn* 848, etc.).

For this phenomenon cf. Strachan, s-Future and Subjunctive (Trans. Phil. Soc. p. 22): "The effect of the final \bar{o} appears in the future *-gigius* and in later Irish spellings like *-rius*, in the glosses *-ris*¹ (with u-timbre unexpressed)." Compare however the 1 sing. subjunctive *do-futhris-se* where the particle *-se* shows that the final *-s* had no u-quality but was palatal. In the instance *Cairill* 808 *i* seems rather to be intended to denote the weak vowel and *ll* had not a u-quality.

oa of various origin.

§ 31. n. *coach*² 552 (bis), g. *Atho Goan* 632, g. *Noais* 664, g. *Loairnn* 677, *doaihb* 687 (poem), *Loairn* 718, *Loairnd* 732, *Noais* 739, *Loarnn* (< *Loërn*) 764, g. *Doadaín* 768, *mac Oac*³ 787, *doaihb* 797 (bis = *döib*, a dissyll.) 851, 935, *Maelgoan* 846, *fheirt Boadaín* 862, a. *ócu* 912, *doib* 920, *Boaínn* 921 (= *Bóind*, *Bó-fhind* cf. *Boinde* 817, also 836, 841), *soas* 922 (= *so-fhios*), *Goach* (*mac Duibroa*) 926, *Ath da Loarc*⁴ 938 (cf. *Telaig n-Ooc* 1011, 1031), g. *Goaigh* 1015.

I have here collected instances of various origin. In most of them *oa* represents a dissyllable which became \bar{o} in the first half of the tenth century. Cf. *oa* in surnames > \bar{o} at 953 (and in gen. plur. at 881), and *ócu* 912.

We may compare here the spellings of (*Cluain maccu*) *Nóis*. It is spelled *Noois* at 723, *Noais* at 664, 739, *Nois* 849, 874, etc. This word was probably in the first place dissyllabic and later had long *o*. At 730 it is spelled *Nuis* (R. *Nois*) that is $\bar{o} > \bar{u}$ in connection with a nasal as sometimes in Modern Irish as in *nú* for *nó*, *mú* for *mó*, *trathnóna*, pron. *trathnúna* with nasal quality of *ú*. For \bar{o} before *n* see note on *don*. The \bar{o} of *Nóis* does not become diphthongised to *ua*.

¹ A 1 sing. pres. subjunctive in Wb. 14217, 920.

² Later *cuach*.

³ Cf. *Mac Uag* of Modern Irish.

⁴ Cf. (*Ath*) *da Loarc*, L. Ardm. (Thes. ii. p. 266).

au for u.

§ 32. *mac Caunga* 664, *g. Caustantin*¹ 899 (= Constantine)
**Maelchaurarda* 871, 880, 884.

The pronunciation of these words is not clear. *Custantin* (789, 819, etc.) goes back to *Constantinus*, already **Kōstantinus* in Latin, Gr. *Κωσταντινος*, Gothic *Kustanteinus*. It is probable that the *u* (*au*) was short. Cf. W. *Cystenhyn*. As to *Maelchaurarda* we may compare *Maelchererda* LL. 338g4, *Maelcairarda* BB. 75d, and cf. next paragraph.

Variation of au with e, i.

§ 33. *g. Craumtain* (*Craumthain*), 483,² 548, 725, 731, 737. *Craumthainn* 741, cf. *Cremtann* 632, 718, *Craumthain* 849, *Aurthulae* 675, *Aurthuile* 699, *Aurtaile* 726, cf. *Ertuile*³ 718, *Dairtaighe* 718, *daurthige* 817 (891), *dairthighe* 835, *daurmes* 835, *derthach* 850, *derthaighi* (873), 894, *ernaichti* 894.

The variation between *er-*, *aur-* in *Aurthuile* corresponds to the variation of *er-*, *ir-*, *aur-*, *ur-* in words like *erchor*, *aurchor*, *irchor*, *irgal*, *aurgal* where the *er-*, *aur-*, etc., may be due to the want of accent⁴ on these particles in the early period. Instances generally occur in connection with *r*, *th*. As to *Craumthan(n)*, *Cremtann* the vowel must have been originally *ɾ* < **kɾm* < *q^uɾm* (?) In *daurthige*, *daur(-mes)* the *u* is due to *u* in stem.

¹ *Custantin* 789, 819, 875, 951, *Constantinus* (Lat.) 672, *Constantin* 788.

² At 484 for this word Chron. Scot. has *Criomtainn*.

³ A different person however.

⁴ There is hardly sufficient ground to suppose a different element in the composition of one and the same word such as *orchor aurchor*.

DOUBLING OF VOWELS TO EXPRESS LENGTH.

oo for ō.

§ 34. *Fooith*¹ 652, *Aporcroosan* 672, *Loogdae* 728 (*Loegdae* R), *croo* 779 (poem),² (*Achaidh*) *boo* 788, 811, g. dual *da boo* 803, g. *croo* 868, *Telaigh n-Ooc* 1011, *n-Ooc* 1031.

ee : *inna lee* 562.

uu for *u*.

Conall cuu 601, *Chonaille Chuu* 603. *Cuu* (*cen mathair*). *Cuu* (*Dimerggo*) 718, *Blathuug* 728, *Cuu* 808.

ii for *i*.

Scii 700, *triiit*.

aa for *ā*.

758 *Garaalt* 731, *hitaat* (758) poem. In *-taat* the *aa* represent a dissyllable.

aa (for *ǻ*?). *Tuaatan* 560.

DIPHTHONGS.

ái.

§ 35. (a) Before a non-palatal consonant (modern *ao*).

n. * *Maelcaich* 628, g. *Aidlogo* 651, g. *Aido* 713, g. *Mainaigh* 720 n. *Aid*³ 731, * *Ailgal* 755 (Tig. *Aelgal*) 764, 790, n. *Aidhain* 767, 791.⁴ g. (*Ratho*) *Aidho* 775, 787, g. *Aida* 810.

(b) Before a palatal consonant (modern *aoi*).

g. *caich* 640. *mac Maileduin* 720, *Caintigernd* 733, *maine*⁵ 737, *main* 742 (wealth), *Maileoctrig* 741, g. *Crunnmhail* 818 *caincomraicc*⁶ 858, *Chaich* 866, g. *Mailmorda*⁷ 911, *cainid* 911 (= *cóinid*), *i* * *Cair* (*Ebhroc*) 866, n. *Aideid* 897 (cf. d. *Aeddeid* 894), *Mhailmithidh* 943 (*Mhailmithigh*, R), g. *int sair*⁷ 947, *Maelmuire*⁷ 969.

¹ *Wid* of the Pictish Chronicle.

² Not printed by Hennessy : *croo dosnegat srotha*.

³ -i. *Aedh*, in a gloss. ⁴ Cf. *Aedhan* in the same entry.

⁵ Cf. L. *mūnus*. * *oi* > *oe* > *ū* in Latin. Cf. *óin*, L. *ūnus*, v. *oi*.

⁶ O. W. *céin* corresponds to Ir. *cáin*, *caoin*.

⁷ Cf. *mael* under *auc*. O. W. *mail*.

(c) Final.

g. *lai* 1020 (mod. *lae*). Cf. in *Toai* 1020. (Campi) *Ai* 701, and passim, is dissyllabic. Cf. *Aii* 753, and LL. 151b9, LU. 57b5.

This *ai* corresponds to Indg. **ai*. Cf. *-caich* 628, 640, W. *coeg*, Lat. *caecus*, Gothic *haihs*, *Aid* 731, L. *Aedui*. We have, however, *oi* and *ái* confused in *main*¹ 742, corresponding to Latin *mūnus*.² As instances such as *Aid*, g. *Aido* are very rare in the Annals the change of *ai* to *ae* must have taken place very early. Cf. *áis*, Wb. 21b13, but *óis* 21c4 for confusion of *ói* and *ái*. Some of the forms, in *ail*-³ are doubtful. In L. Ardm. (Muirchu's Memoirs) *ai* and *ae* are found, e.g. *-mail*, *-mael*. In the later editions to Tirechan's notes *ái* is general but also *Aed*. In Vit. Columb. *ái* is the general form: *Aido*, etc.

ae (from *ái*, *ói*).

§ 36. (a) Before a non-palatal consonant (Mod. *ao*):

g. *Baetain* 572, g. *Aedo* 603, 650, 653, 664, 694 (R), *mael* 682 (bis), *mac Aedain* 691, *Aedho* 690, 704, 710, 711, 741, 778, g. *Faelaen* 692, g. *Aengusa* 695, *Aed* 697, g. *Cinnfaelad* 681, 701, **mac Maelcon* 702, n. *Faelchu* 715, 723, *Faelchon* 717, *Faelan* 721, 726, n. *Mael* 721, *caech* 723, *Maelduin* 727, *Faeldobur* 730, *Aedo* 732, *Laechraid* 763, g. *Maelrubi* 736, *Aedgaile* 763, 809, *Saerghal* 780, *gaeth* 776, *laech* 867, *Braen* 882, *maer* 881, 893, *caech* 915, *ardmaer* 923, *Faelan* 942, *Maenaig* 991, *Maelan* 1008, 1018, d. *taeb* 1012, *fhaesamh* 1015, *aenach* 1021, *aen* 1024.

ae.

§ 37. (b) Before a palatal consonant (gen. Mod. Ir. *aoi*):

g. *Maeletuile* 679, *Maele*⁴ 679, g. *na Craeibhe* 682 (Modern *aoi*),

¹ Cf. also *Mainaigh* 720.

² Cf. Priscian and note in St. Gall 1901, *ardofuasalcat Greic oe in u sic Latini*.

³ Such as *Ailchon* 722, 726. With *Ailgal* 790, etc., cf. *Algaile* 798. As to *Ailgnad* 780, cf. *Failgnad*, L. Ardm.

⁴ For a full list of *maele*, *maile* 700-950, see *mael*, under *aue*.

mac Crunnmael 655, 687, *Maeleduin* 689. Cf. g. *Macilduin* 689, *Maele* 718, 720, 724, 735 (bis), 862, etc., *ind. shaer* 766, **Aedgen* 770, *aensit* (fasted) 771, *Aedan* 791, *-gaedhelaibh* 856 (etc.), *maer* 887, g. *Crunnmhaeil* 878, *Aeddeid* 894, *laei* 916, *Formaeile* 966, g. *Braen* 988.

Some of the above instances of *ae* go back to an earlier *ói*, as well as to *ái* and, after a time, *ae* comes to be written for earlier *oe*. Cf. § 43.

ói.

§ 38. (a) Before a non-palatal consonant, later *oe* :

g. *Loighaire* 641, *Noindrommo* 642, n. *doirad* 677, *Noindromo* 683, *Doirgarto* 709, 711, *Ointribh* 727, *oinaigh* 730, *Noindromma* 734, 754, *Moinaigh* 751, 752, 775, n. *Moinan* 778, *Moinach* 782, *Moinaigh* 782, 785, 786 (*Móinaigh*), g. *Oinbo* 786, *Loigaire* 796, *Loighaire* 799, 812 (cf. *Laigaire* 458), *fon oin cumai* 818, g. *Móinaigh* 821, *oinaig* 826 (cf. *oenaign*, next entry), *Coimhan* 867.

This *oi* comes from Idg. **oi*. Cf. *oin* 818, Lat. *ūnus*; *móine* 850, Goth. *ga-mains*, L. *munus*; cf. *máin* 742. It becomes *oe* very early before a non-palatal consonant. Cf. the following lists, also Wb. 2a21 *cossin nóin*, but *oen* 16a17, etc. (at the beginning of a word). In the middle of a word *ar-ro-throithad* Ml. 121dg.; Mod. Ir. *traothadh*. In L. Ardm. *ói* is regular, but in the later notes there are instances of *óe*, *oen*.

ói.

§ 39. (b) Before a palatal consonant (modern *aoi*, *ae*) :

g. (*Conaill*) *choil* 680, g. (*Monid*) *chroib* 727, *Moinigh*¹ 747, g. (*Aedha*) *roin* 750, **Maccoiged* 752, g. *Coimgin* 789, n. pl. *Goidil* 775 (modern *ae*), g. *Goidil* 775, **foroireth* 777, *Curoi* 796 (final), *roiniud* 821 (bis), 824, 845, 847, 863, 896, *cathroinedh* 827, *doinib* 849, *doine* 850,

¹ The *n* must have been palatal in this case as *i* is not written for *ai* before *gh*.

859, *moine* 850, *Goidheluibh* 852, 855 (861) (cf. *Gaeidhelu* 855, *Gaedhe-laibh* 856), **toisech* 868 (*Gaidhel* 878, poem), *dhoinibh* 880, *Goidelaib* 881, *cathroiniud* 896, 912, 919, 925, *-roinidh* 909, *roined* 912, 925, 941, **toisech*¹ 913 (cf. *tosech* 913, 915), *coil* 913, *roinis* 916, 917, *Goidhelu* 917, *nói* 923 (final), 927, *roiniud* 932, 942, 982, *Goidil* 941, *Gaidhel* 942 (poem), *Goidel* 946, 956, *-roimid*² 946, *Lis oeiged* 1008, *Coeimghin* 1002, *cloin* 1014, *Goeidhil* 1042, **toisech* 1042, *i croeibh* 1037.

The last example of *Goidhel-* is at 986. Thence onwards it has *ái*, *Gaidel-* 997, 1014, etc., except *Goeidhil* 1042. The pronunciation of this is, however, not *aoi* but *ae*; in Modern Irish, *Gaedheal*. Similarly, g. *craibe* 1003, d. pl. *dainibh* 992, 1032, g. pl. *doene* 1041, *dhainibh* 1043, g. pl. *daine* 1005, 1012, 1049.

oe. (Earlier *ói*, Mod. *ao*.)

§ 40. (a) Before a non-palatal consonant: *Cloen*³ 537, *Coemain* 528, *Oena* 569, *Moenu* 571, n. *Boetán* 571 (g. *Baetain* 572, cf. g. *Baodain* Chron. Scot. 585), *Coelan* 634, (*Conall*) *coel* 636, g. *Moelain* 677, *Boendo* 692, g. *Doergairt* 692 (cf. g. *Doirgarto* 711), g. *Moenaigh* 701,⁴ *Oengusa* 702, 735, *Cloenath* 703, n. *Croen* 707, *Oengus* 709, 721, 728, 729, 738, 788, 882, g. *noe* 674, 710, *Moenaigh* 730, 805, 813, 877, (955 n.), *Oengusso* 733, g. m. *ind Róes* 746 (F. M. *ind rois*), *oen* 771, 882, 973, *oenach* 771, 830, 872, 875, 877, 888, 918, 1006, *boed* 777, *Cloento* 781, *oenaigh* 776, 783, 807, 826 (cf. *ói*), g. *roen* 783 (poem, cf. g. *roin* 818), 788, *Loegaire* 789, 800, *Boetain* 798, *moer* (= Mod. Ir. *maor*) 812, *Broen* 813, 849, 882, *foesmaib* 850, *soeraib* 856, *Noendrommo* 872, *Coemhain* 899, *boeghul* 902 (poem), *oenur* 902 (poem), d. *oenuch* 902, *Soergussa* 902, *moer* 917, *noemhu* 911, *Foelan* 940, *Noendromma* 975, *soerlaidh* 968, *cloen* 971, 982, *toebh* 1006, *Cloenloch* 1009, *Coencomrac* 1011, *Oentrubh* 1018.

¹ From *to-uess-acos*, W. *tywyssawg*. The Mod. Ir. word for 'front,' 'beginning,' is *toisech* (beside *tosach*).

² From *ro-memaid*. It becomes later *co remaid* 995, 998, 1003, 1005.

³ Modern *claon*, earlier *clóin*.

⁴ Cf. *Mainaigh* 720.

oe.

§ 41. (b) Before a palatal consonant:

**Coeddi* 711, *Ogedchar*¹ 734, g. **roen*² 783, **toesch* 855, g. *Broen* 861, *oc Croeb* 884, *doenib* 960, *roeniudh* 973, *doeine* 986, *soere* 1011 (cf. *oeigedh* 1003, R has *oeidhedh*), *coectighas*³ 1023.

oe for ae.

§ 42. g. *Oeda* 804, 914. n. *Moedhoc* 834, 976 (= *m' Aed* + British ending -*óc[óg]*), *Foelan* 941, *Moedhoic* (?)⁴ 1002 (R *Moē*), etc.

§ 43. On the whole we see by the foregoing that *oi* before a non-palatal consonant became early *oe*, whilst as a rule *oi* before a palatal consonant was preserved till it became *ai* which writing became general towards the end of the tenth century. In some cases during the period of the change we find the writing *oei*. About the same time *oe* became *ae*. Cf. *oin* at 786, 818; *oen* 771, 882, 973; *aen* 1024, similarly *oinaigh* 730, *oenaiigh* 776, 783, 807 (918), (1006), *aenach* 1021. This, in Modern Irish, is written *aonach* but pronounced in Munster with an ē-quality, in Connacht with an ī-quality and in Ulster with an ü-quality⁵ (approx.). For the development of *ói* in the reduplicated perfect as *-roimid*, *-reimid*, *-remaid*, see § 191.

¹ Cf. n. pl. *óegid* Wb. 21b14.

² Cf. *roin* 818, but it may be a gen. pl.

³ Mod. Ir. *coicthighis* is pron. both *caighcighis* and *cocaighis*.

⁴ Leg. *Moedhóc*. Declension of names in *-oc* is unusual. I have not noted the reading of H, and it may also be written with a contraction.

⁵ For a description of the Donegal pronunciation v. Quiggin, *A Dialect of Donegal*, p. 10.

IV. ORTHOGRAPHY—CONSONANTS.

§ 44. Some peculiarities in the writings of consonants have a certain phonetic significance, such as *gg* to express unaspirated *g*, *bb* for unaspirated *b*, and so on. Others, however, such as *cc* in *cocadh* 776, 777 (cf. *cocath* 648) have no such significance, as *cc* generally represents *c* in pronunciation, *c* represents *g* and *t*, *d*. For an exhaustive article on this subject, with a large number of examples, cf. Zupitza, KZ. xxxvi. 206 *seq.*

I. GUTTURALS.

gg for *g* (unaspirated).

§ 45. Instances: *Colggu* 579 (cf. *Colgu* 519, 622, 780, etc.), *g. Colggen* 609, 621, 677, 721, 730, 731, 735, 737, 745, 769, 775 (cf. *g. Colgen* 702, 714, etc.). *g. Lurggeni* 667, *g. Builgg* 646, *Oirggnech* 679, *Deilggden* 621, 723, *Dimerggo* 718, *g. Laidggin* 721, *g. Dromo Dergg* 728, *in Muirbuilgg* 730, *d. Delggenis* 732, **Ferggus* 745, *Tadgg* 757, 809, *g. Arggamain* 763, *g. Taidgg* 759, *Dubcalggaid* 768, *g. Laidggnen* 768 (*Laiggnen* R), *g. Cairgge* 775, *in bolggach* 778, *g. Taidhgg* 781, 782, 799, *n. Soerbergg*¹ 790, *Dubbibeirgg* 786, *g. Deilgge* 798, *g. Muirggusso* 809, *g. Luirgg* 811, *Orggan* 820, *Orggain* 823, 831, *g. Sceilgg* 823, *Orggan* 826 (cf. *organ* 826). *Colggu* 850, *Tadhgg* 899, *Tolairgg* 907.

Initially, *g. na ggiallne* 720 (doubtful).

RULE.—Further examples might be given for the later periods, but they would merely be a repetition of the same phenomena as the

¹ i.e. 'free robber' or 'freebooter'.

preceding. It will be noticed that *g* is doubled after *l*, *r* and *dh* (aspirated *d*). This seems to be regular during the period from which the material is taken. For the *gg* initially in *na ggiallne*, 720 compare *la gglais*, *cu bbrath* in L. Ardm. It may probably be written on the analogy of the other spellings above of *gg* for a *g* which was not aspirated.¹ I may point out that in Modern Irish between *l*, *r* and a following *g*, an obscure vowel has developed. Perhaps *gg* was written to denote the unaspirated character of *g* in this position.

I have one instance of *gg* after *r* where the *g* is aspirated. *Ferggus* 745. The scribe was doubtless led into this blunder by the proximity of the *r*. There is also one instance of *gg* (= *g*) after a vowel: *Daimliagg* 724.

For doubling of *g* after *l* cf. St. Gall, 23b2, *do omalgg* gl. *mulsi*; *hi coindeulgg* ib. 25b2, 40a20 and passim.

gg for c (pron. c).

§ 46. The first instance I have is the corrupt entry *ei legg* (leg. *ec leic* ?) in *Riaddai* 614; *Ruargg* 842, cf. *Ruarcc* 861, etc.

gc for c.

bolgcach 679. The *c* took the place of the second *g* which would have given the ordinary spelling after *l* (see above, § 45).

cc for c (pron. g).

§ 47. *g*. *Liacc* 677, 758, *coccadh* 776, 777 (cf. *cocath* 648), *Maedhoicc* 624 (Chr. Scot. *Maodhog*), *doimliacc* 782, 838, 899, *occ* 783, 826, *occo* 870, *g*. *daimliacc* 831, *i ccaisiul* 855, *occo* 862, cf. *oco* 890, *Taidhcc* 900.

¹ If we take *giallne* as gen. pl. then *gg* would represent *ng*. This would be difficult if we are to take *-ne* as a singulative ending. Cf. *gg* for *ng* next page.

cc (pron. *c*).

Blaimicc 650, etc., *Beccan* 676 (C.S. *Becan*), *Becce* 645, 769, *anaiccenta* 812 (cf. *anaiccenta* 812), *Muccirt* 786, *maicc Rime* 791, *Patraicc* 797 (cf. *Phatraic* 813), 845, 850, *Rua[r]cc* 845, *Ruarcc* 861, *-patraicc* 884, 887, 893, *maccaibh* 900.

cc for **ng**.

*g. Conaicc*¹ 732 (= *Conaing*). Cf. *Loigsich* 798 (*g.* of *Loingsech* 799).

gg for **ng**. No instance. I may here point out that in Modern Irish *ng* in words like *sreangán*, a string, is sometimes denasalized and pronounced *g* (*gg*).

ct for **cht**.

Nectan 712, 725, 728, *Indrectach* 740, *Maileoctrig* 741 (cf. *Aithecdai* 741), *Rectabrat* 751, 758, *Fectach* 780, *Ectgaile* 787, *Airectach* 793, *Reclaiten* 782, *Finsnecti* 814, *Ciannactai* 831, 838, *cact* 835.

This spelling of the sound *cht* possibly finds its explanation in the desire of Early Irish orthographers to avoid combinations of letters not familiar from Latin. Our instances are not sufficient to establish anything definite with regard to the date of the aspiration of the *c*.

qu for **c**.

*Lex Quiarani*² 813, *uisque*² 617 (poem), is written *uiriq3* in H. The *q* is here written in *Quiarani* probably on analogy of Latin *quia*, etc. The *c* of *Ciaran* was originally *qu*, but it could have been preserved in pronunciation so late as 813. In both the above instances *qu* represents a palatal *c*. As regards the early development of *qu* to *c*, cf. *macci menueh* on Inchagill stone. We may also compare the use of *qu* for *c* in comparatively late documents.

II. DENTALS.

dd for **t** (pron. *d*).

§ 48. *g. Deilgdden* 620 (Chron. Scot., *Deilgten*), more usual spelling *Deilggden*.³ *Foirddbe* (usually *foirtbe* (741) = for-di-ben-) 743, 751

¹ R has also *Conaicc*.

² See above, *gg* for *g*.

³ v. above *gg* for *g*.

(bis). This last instance may be taken as a doubling of a *d* after *r*, cf. below.

d for **th**.

fridguin 748, *do brid* 820 (= *do breith*), (*Sratha*) *Cluade* 871.

dd for **d**.

g. (*Aedo*) *Alddain* 735, g. *Conneldde* 723, g. *Iraird* 735, 863, *Alddan* 736, 737, *Olddain* 742, *Ardd* 745, 757, g. *Alddain* 786, *Brann*¹ *arddcenn* 794, *Arddgail* 799, *Airdd Machae* 807, *Arddae* 827, *Ardd* 822, 826, 850, *comardd* 849, *Norrdmannaib* 836, *Norrdmannis* 852, 855, g. *Alddai* 862, *Norrdmannorum* 874, 880, *Maelchaurardda* 871, 880.

All the above instances of doubling of *d* occur after *l* or *r*. Cf. doubling of *g* after *l*,² *r*. For *Norrdmannaib* 836, cf. O. Norse *norð-norðr*-, "north," that is, our forefathers then substituted Irish *d* for the spirant *ð*, just as at the present day we substitute for English *ð* in 'then' an Irish *d*, and for the corresponding voiceless *th* an Irish *t*.

d to represent **d** after **r**.

*deiscerd*³ 750, *deisceird* 745, 769, 811, 814, *Ardae* 718, etc. After vowel, *Rechtabad* 852.

t for **th**.

*forsriadhat*⁴ 624, *iartar* 632, *Cartaigh* 635, *indreth* 793 (sic leg.). The *th* in this latter example and *foroireth* 791 become *d* (*h*) with the change of *th* to *dh* in unaccented syllables (q.v.).

tt for **t** (pron. *d*).

g. *fotti* 718.

Other instances of *tt* (= ?) are: g. *Littain*, 730, *Dublittir* 735, 795.

III. LABIALS.

bb for **p** (pron. *b*).

§ 49. g. *comarbbai* 850, *mac Oirbb* 809, *abbrev* 928.

¹ Leg. *Bran*.

² Cf. change of *ld* to *ll*.

³ From *dess* and *cerd*, the south (or right hand) quarter.

⁴ F. M. *forsriadhadh*.

I have not collected further examples, but the phenomenon in the first two instances must be brought into line with the doubling of consonants after *r*, *l*.

bb for **b** (initially).

robbadhadh 769, to express non-aspiration of *b*.

b for **f**.

Breibne 804 (= *Bréifne*) 804, 814, 821.

ff for **f**.

Beccan Liffecairi 781, *Affiath* 793 is doubtful (*Afiath*, Tig.).

IV. LIQUIDS.

ll for l.¹

§ 50. (a) *g. Aillello* 780, *n. Dongall* 817 (leg. *Donngal*).

These are simply cases of bad spelling for the usual *Aillelló*, *Donngal*. In the latter case the *nn* is also misspelled.

(b) Doubling of **l** before **t**.

g. Taillten 826 (cf. *Talten* 716, 722 and *Tailten* 830), *d. Taillte* 856, *d. Ulltu* 881, *Ulltaib* 877, 881, *Taillten* 888 (cf. *Tailten* 887).

This doubling of *l* before *t* represents a real phonetic development. The pronunciation of *l* before *t* was probably then (826), as in modern Irish, *ll*.

Compare the doubling of *n* before *t*, *genntib* 833, etc. (cf. *gentib* 833), which I need not deal with separately.

rr for r.

§ 51. *g. Forrigo* 676, *Cearrnaigh* 723, *Ferrdomnach* 731, *conarr-gabad*, *conarrgabtha* 830.

¹The doubling of *l* at the beginning of a word, e.g. *illan mora* 769, is phonetic, from original *-nl-*. In Modern Irish initial *l* is also pronounced double in fully stressed words except when it is in "aspirated" position.

rr from original *nr* like *ll* from *nl* is common, thus, *dú irroladh* 836. Corresponding to this we find *dú in ro marbad* 844, which form becomes common in the later periods. I shall refer to the instances under the Verb.

V. NASALS.

Doubling of *n* after *r*.

§ 52. (*i nDun*) *Ceithirnn* 678, *Caintigernd* 733, *Iarnnbodb* 642, *Mughthigernd* 784, *Mugdornne* 793, *carnd* 857.

This also is a phonetic spelling¹ as *n* would be doubled in pronunciation after *r* as in Modern Irish. I have included *-rnd* as *nd* was (at 732) becoming confused with *nn*, and instances like the above help to fix the date of this confusion; cf. § 130, also Sg. 24a16 *amail in lochairnn*, 29a24 g. *ifirnn*.

Doubling of *m*.

§ 53. *Gormman* 769, *Commain* 816, *chaim* 826, 835 (cf. *cumai* 832), *Tommain* 837, *greamma* 848, *rommeabaid* 851, *Achaidh drum-mota* (sic) 888. For further instances of *mm* such as *caimm* from *caimb*, v. *mb* > *mm* below.

¹I prefer to consider it in this light, rather than as the doubling in writing of a consonant after *r* as in the case of the mediæ, *b*, *g*, *d*.

V. PHONOLOGY.

ASPIRATION¹—NOUNS.

§ 54. We should expect aspiration after an original final vowel, such, for instance, as in nouns after the nominative feminine (*ā-* and *iā-* stems), genitive masculine (*o-* and *io-* stems), dative singular (all genders) and nominative plural (masc. and neuter *o-* stems), nominative dual, etc. The rule may have spread by analogy to the same cases of other stems.

As is well known the aspiration of *mediæ* is not shown in Old Irish orthography. Hence if a *media* is found aspirated it is due to late orthography, and accordingly is not so reliable. In our text, however, we find *mediæ* commonly written aspirated in the interior of a word, even when the correct old form of the word is preserved in other respects.² On the other hand aspiration of initial *tenuis* is not marked in many cases where we should expect it.

The foregoing causes considerably reduce the value of the available material. This material I have collected and arranged, but as it does not serve to throw light on any point of interest beyond the cases already sufficiently established, I do not print it here. A few special instances may be discussed.

¹Cf. Pedersen, *Aspir.* i Irsk and K.Z. xxxv.

²Even when the aspiration of the *media* in internal position was not marked we can decide whether it was aspirated or not by the modern usage and by the rule that every intervocalic consonant was aspirated. We have, moreover, the collateral evidence of Irish names occurring in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, such as n. *Aedan* 599 which is referred to as *Aegthan* in the Saxon Chronicle at 603. The combination *-gth-* to represent Irish (aspirated) *d* would indicate that the pronunciation of Irish (aspirated) *d* was at that time somewhat the same as *g'th'* in O. English *aegther*. The original termination of the nominative must have fallen by this time. We must not lay too much stress however on the foreign representation of an Irish word. The writer may have had the word from written sources. Witness too the Mod. Ir. representation of Engl. *th* by Irish *t*. For reproduction of spelling cf. *Mac Carthy* Ir. *Mac Carrthaigh*.

§ 55. As regards the aspiration after nominatives, I find the following cases after masculine nouns.

*Cath Cind Ailbhe*¹ 500, *Cath Dhroma Lothmhuidhe* 592; *Cath Shleibhe Cua* 602; n. *Ultan macu*² *Chonchubair* 662 late (R has *i* *Chonchubair*), n. *Cronan maccu Chualne* 690 (R *maccu*).

After Latin nominatives: *Iugulatio Chraumthain* 493, *bellum Chuile Uinsen* 561, *quies Bhrenuinn* 582; *quies Choluim Chille* 600, *mors Chonaill Chuu* 603, *iugulatio Dhoir* 623, *iugulatio Conaill Choil*³ 680.

Mac Oncon scriba Chille Daro 729 (R has *Cille*) *mors Fhlainn* 753 (*Flainn*, R) *sapiens Chille Maighnenn* 786 (*Cille* R), *episcopus Chille Daro* 786 (*Cille* R).

The cases of non-aspiration I have not collected. The aspiration after *cath*, *bellum*, etc. must be due to late Irish⁴ when aspiration of genitive of proper names became general. As regards aspiration after *quies*, *mors*, *iugulatio*, it is noticeable that the Irish of these substantives would be either masculine or neuter, thus *bas*, n., *ēc*, (m.)? *guin*, n. In this respect there is an exception to the usual law that the Irish writer had the Irish gender of the substantive in his mind. *Scriba*, as it belonged to the *a*-declension may have been considered a feminine noun, but compare the correction of R in this and two other cases of aspiration after a masculine noun.

As to *forus chano Patricii* 782, *forus* is a masculine noun, read with H⁵ 1. 8 *forus cano* (without aspiration).

§ 56. I have the following instances of aspiration after *ocus*:—

7 *Choblaith* 689; *ocus Chais Chobo* 724; *Commotatio martirium Petir ocus Phoil ocus Phatraicc* 733; *Abbas Findubrach abae* 7 *Chille moinni* 808; *eitir brith* 7 *mharbad* 7 *slat*⁶ *mor* 868. 7 *Finnein* 7 *Chronain* 7 *Fheichin* 1015.

¹ Late Irish. Notice *nd* of *Cind*, *g. Ailbe*, and *ria Cairbre* at end of sentence. Cf. aspiration after *bellum*.

² Gender? For aspiration after this word compare *Luguid Mocu Themne* (v. Thes. ii. 281), *gente Mocu Curin* (id. 274), but *Chonrii Moccu Cein* (ib.) and at A. U. 663, *Macu Teimhne*, *Maccu Cormaicc*; *g. Segain Maccu Chuind* 662; *g. Ultain Macu Chonchobair* (R has *Macu Concubair*).

³ Aspiration not marked in noun. Aspiration of adjective is not marked in *g. m. Colmain Cutlaigh* 743. *g. m. Fercair Fotti* 718.

⁴ There are instances of such aspiration in *Acallam na Senorach*.

⁵ Hennessy also prints *abbas Chluana* 800, but both R and H have *Cluana*.

⁶ Aspiration prevented by *s* of *ocus*.

Aspiration of, and in connection with verbs, I shall deal with under verbs.

Aspiration after *etir*: *etir theirt* 916, *etir fhiru* 1050.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 57. A great number of important changes took place in the language within the historic period, at least as far as orthography is concerned. Of these changes a large number are the result of the working of the laws of accent. It might be concluded that several such changes took place at the same time, e.g. the change of *th* to *dh*, and the weakening of *ě* to *a* in unaccented syllables, though there may be slight divergencies in the time in which they fully worked out. It is best however to deal with the evidence regarding such change separately, and afterwards to generalize where generalization is possible. The question (of dating) resolves itself into: first, determining when a change took place orthographically, and then, from various indications in the writing and in chance forms where the writer was off his guard, to determine when the phonetic change took place. As is obvious, the changes did not take place instantaneously or even in a year or two, but usually took a longer time to develop. When we come to deal with persons' names it may be pointed out that, as a rule, an individual does not change the spelling of his name¹ during his life-time, that is, a man of seventy-five would continue to write it as he wrote it fifty years before. Still it will be seen that in Old Irish the phonetic change is in most cases quickly followed by the general orthographical change.

In some instances we have to deal with the possibility of modernization of well-known names by the scribe and this is often a source of difficulty. This modernization is for the most part confined to very common names. The worst case is that of the vowels in the genitive of *i*- and *u*-stems. Thus side by side with the genitive *Aedo* we

¹ Cf. § 76.

find written *g. Aeda*¹ 717, 738, *g. Fergus* 709, etc., and genitives in *-a* all through the eighth century, whilst on the other hand we find the final *-o* of the genitive of *i-* and *u-* stems preserved as late as 941, 959 (*Fergusso*), 979 (*atho*). But even the earliest collection of glosses (the Wb. codex) has the *-o* and *-a* forms side by side. Changes which are clearly orthographical² such as *Ceallach* for *Cellach* in the earlier periods are easier dealt with. In the case of consonants the confusion due to the scribe is not so great, and with correct readings is almost reduced to nil. I have already referred in the Introduction, § 3, note 2, to Hennessy's habit of sometimes printing in the body of the text both the glosses which were written over the line, or on the margin, and the continuation of entries in a later hand, without at the same time always drawing attention in the notes to this distinction. As far as Hennessy's edition is concerned this blunder effects such important matters as the change of *ln* to *ll* and the change of a word from one declension to another, and this has made a careful collation necessary. For example, he writes the entry *mac Rogallaigh* at 704 whilst both in H and R it is *mac Rogallnig*. His writing of the entry *Aedh Alldan ri Temrach* at 737 might lead one to suppose that the guttural declension of *Temair* was then beginning, whereas in H the word (*Temrach*) is not in the body of the text at all, but over the line is written a word of which one can now read the final *ach*. R has here *Rex Temoriae*.³

§ 58. As far as the language of the Annals throws light on the subject, I have dealt with the following points in phonology as being of importance in helping to fix the date of an Old Irish text :—

- (1) Weakening of *e* to *a* in unaccented syllables.
- (2) Change of *ie* to *ia*.
- (3) Change of *ue* to *ua*.
- (4) Weakening of *o* to *a* in unaccented syllables.
- (5) Change of final *o* to *a* in gen. sing. of *i-* and *u-* stems.
- (6) Treatment of the diphthong *au*.
- (7) Change of *é* to *ia*, *éi*.

¹ At 717, 723 (gloss in H) we find it corrected to *Aedo* in R. At 738 H has *g. Aeda*, R has only *g. Aedh*. Cf. above under diphthong *ái*. At 738 there is a writing of *Ath* for a genitive in the previous line to *Aedh*, R has *At*.

² But cf. § 25.

³ For change of declension of *Temair* see Declension, Guttural Stems.

- (8) Diphthongization of *ó* to *ua*.
 (9) Change of *eu* to *eo*.
 (10) Treatment of vowels (*ae, ai, i*) of final open¹ syllables.
 (11) Change of final *u* to *a*.
 (12) Change of *mb* to *mm*.
 (13) „ *mr-* „ *br-*.
 (14) „ *ml-* „ *bl-*.
 (15) „ *ld* „ *ll*.
 (16) „ *ln* „ *ll*.
 (17) „ *nd* „ *nn*.
 (18) „ *th* „ *ð* in final position of unaccented syllables.
 (19) „ pre-tonic *to-* to *do-*.
 (20) *y* > *f* (instances of initial *y*).

(a) VOWEL CHANGES.

e > *a*.

§ 59. With regard to the treatment of *ǣ* between non-palatal consonants in unaccented syllables, I have the following material. For the present I include only one or two instances (such as *auē* of final *ǣ*). For the sake of clearness I shall afterwards deal with this case separately:—

NON-WEAKENING.

g. *Lugdech* 484.
 g. *Torten* 542 (*Tortan*, R), n.
Eugen 542.
 g. *Mumen* 596, g. *Colggen* 609,
 621, 677.
 g. **Comgellain* 624.
 n. *auē* 646, n. *Eugen* 666.

WEAKENING.

g. *Lugdach* 506, 608.
 g. *Muman* 551, 589, 636.
 (g. *Eugain* 562, 593, 610, 699,
 726, 729, always with *a*.)
 g. *Rechrann* 634, g. *Colgan* 646.
 g. *Rogaillnigh* 653, g. *Muman*
 664, 677, 695, 700, 712, *g.
*Cualann*² 703, 708, 714.

¹ I use "open" syllables to mean syllables which end in a vowel.

² Cf. Lat. *Coolennorum* in L. Ardm.

NON-WEAKENING.

g. *Colgen* 681, 702, 714, 734, *auae* 700.

g. *Rogellnaich* 721, g. *Fortrend*¹ 724.

g. *Colggen* 721, 730, 731, 735, 737 (bis), 745, 748, 769, 775, g. *Colgen* 746, 784.

g. *Fogertaig* 747, 750, 760. *Foghertaigh* 766, 768.

g. *Rogellnigh* 769, *Fogertaig* 770 (bis).

acc. *Muime* 775.

immelle (together) 771, 9 pl. *hue* 771.

g. *Mumen*³ 778 ('of the Munster-men').

d. *Colggen* 779, n. *Fogertach* 780.

g. *Colgen* 784, g. *Colggen* 790.

g. *Lugedon* 789,* *Rotechtach*⁴ 796.

g. *Mumen* 792, *cene* 797 (= *cen* + *é*).

a. *Sogen* 802, *ined*⁶ 803.

g. *Colggen* 813.

Iarmumen 832.

g. *Fogertaigh* 824, g. *Colgen* 831.

g. *Iarmumen* 834.

g. *Colgen* 848.

n. *Fogertach* 849, 851, *derthech* 855.

WEAKENING.

g. *Rogallnigh* 704, *Fogartach* 713, 716, 723, (737).

g. *Bethach* 727, *Mumhan* 724, 727, 734.

g. *Cinadon* 729, 748.

g. *Colgan*² 737, n. *aua* 742, g. **Noiscan* 753, n. *Robartach* 761 (sic R), n. *oa* 762, 795, etc.

n. *Eugan* 773, 775.

n. *Cumuscc* = (*Cum-mesc*) 776.

g. *Lugadon* 780, 800.

Fogartach 786, g. *Desmuman* 778 (cf. *mac Oac* 787 < **oec*).

Focartaigh 784 (FM. *Focartai*).

Fogartach 785, 788, *Fogartaigh* 796 (cf. *Finnubrath* 718, 798), *imrubart*⁵ 809.

**Congaltach* 812 (cf. g. *Sogain* 815).

n. *Rogaillnech* 814, n. *Eugan* 833 (cf. *inad* 834).

Desmuman 832.

*Finnubrath*⁷ 833, *Robartach* 844.

derthach 849, g. **Focartai* 864.

Rogaillnich 872.

¹ The *tr* of *Fortrend* is probably palatal, and the word is always so written.

² A gloss.

³ Cf. accus. *Muime* 775. Cf. also Latin acc. pl. *Mumanensis* 774, *Mumhanenses* 756.

⁴ Cf. *Rotochtaigh* 685. ⁵ = 'plied'. From *imb-ro-bert*.

⁶ *Ined* may equal *in* + *fed* (later *feadh*), 'a space'.

⁷ Cf. *Findubrecc* of L. Ardm.

NON-WEAKENING.

Fogertaigh 881, 886.

Sloged 881, 914 (cf. *sloiged* 821, 859).

WEAKENING.

Rogaillnech 883, g. *Colcan* 885.

Fhoghartach 894.

§ 60. As the weakening of *ě* would not be noticeable after palatal consonants we must, in discussing the instances, leave out of account those consonants and consonant groups which would become palatalized by following *e*. From the foregoing mass of rather conflicting evidence it is difficult to decide at what date the change of *e* to *a* in unaccented syllables took place. At the outset, I think we may for the present leave out of consideration all instances occurring before A.D. 700. Reliable instances of *ě* before this time, and which afterwards were weakened, are *n. Eugen* 542, g. *Colggen* 621, 677, and (in final position) *auē* (descendant) 646.

§ 61. *auē*. Taking the instances in detail we find the final *-e* of *auē* broadened to *-ae* in *auae*¹ at 700 (and written in the MSS—both H and R as *auē*).² There is no other instance of the word in the nominative till 744, by which time it has become *aua*. The writing of the initial *a*³ which does not occur after 763⁴ shows that the spelling of the form is well preserved and may be taken as reliable. Hence I should be inclined to take the weakening of this *-ě* to *-a* as a separate case from *-ae* to *-a* (<*-ē*) and to place the date of the change at about this time. That this is not too late is borne out by nom. dual *auae*⁵ 743 (Auē R) which is the last instance of the final *-e* (*-ae*) of this word *auē* in its full form with *-ě* following an accent. *Aua* occurs again at 763 and its equivalent *oa* at 762, 795, etc.

The word *auē* is, however, exceptional inasmuch as it contains no consonant. An original semi-vowel *ɥ* which, between vowels, either

¹ Tighernach corresponding to 700 has *auē*.

² *ē* is the usual way of writing *-ae* in the MSS. of the Annals.

³ Initial *a* occurs commonly till 744, a. pl. *auu*, 742; n. dual *auae* 743, afterwards g. sing. *auī* 747, 749; d. pl. *auib* 743, 756, last instance *aua* 763. At 762, 895, etc. *oa*, g. pl. at 740, 748, 794. For a full list of the forms of *auē* see below, Declension, *io*-stems.

⁴ Except in the very archaic dative *auib* 877.

⁵ The broadening to *-ae* might denote the transition period, but cf. *auae* 700.

disappears in Irish (after a long vowel) or becomes a diphthong in conjunction with the preceding vowel is retained before *í*.¹ As its development is interesting and is very fully shown in the Annals, a discussion of its phonology may not be out of place here.² *Aue* comes from **auios* < **ayios*. The *o* of *-os* before it fell changed *i* to *e*. We have thus *aue* 646, and (before vowels) *aue h-*. Final *-ě* is preserved till 743 (n. dual *auae*, *auē*, R). Various changes then took place.

I. Final *-ě* becomes weakened to *-a* in *aua* 743 as explained above.

II. *Au* becomes *ó*³ which gives the g. pl. *oa* at 740, 748, 794, 831, etc. It does not occur in nom. sing. till 762 and *aua* is preserved till 763, thus the change works out in twenty-three years.

III. The initial *a* of the diphthong *au* fell away. This occurs before *i* in *ui* at 733, 769, 770, etc., and before *e* at *hue* 771,⁴ 780 before *uu* at 742 (*uu*), 751, written *u* at 769, 775, etc.

IV. We find a few instances where *ō* seems to have become again *ua*. Thus acc. dual *ua*, 775. n. dual *ua*, 780.

This may be rather a weakening of *ě*-, cf. *ue*, unless we imagine that *au* first became *ō* as usual, and then *ua*, and that both changes took place simultaneously, but cf. § 62.

The fall of the initial *a* in *aue*, and the development of *ue*, *uae* might be compared to the fall of the *a* of *au* in words borrowed from Latin,⁵ and in such names as *Augaire*,⁵ *Ugair*, or to the development of *au* (before *s* and *i*) in diphthongs such as n. *gáu*,⁶ Wb. 14C24, g. *gue*, Wb. 14C29, Ml. 31B12; *guaigedar*, Ml. 31B1, which is *gú-* also in composition; ⁷ *nūe*, *nua* fr. **nouios* < **neuios*. Gaul. *Novio*. An older form is n. *naue*, St. Gall. p. 217 margin (Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. Introduction xxii.).

§ 62. But then we are met by the fact that there are two developments side by side, thus *oa* 740, 748, 762, 794, 795, 858, etc. (in

¹ For treatment of diphthong *au* before *j*, v. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, 37, 4.

² For a full list of its forms, see Declension, *io*-stems.

³ See diphthong *au*, § 79.

⁴ G. pl. < **auē n-* < **ayiom*. Cf. n. sing. *huae* 767, 768, 770, 772, 778, etc. and g. pl. *huae* 829.

⁵ Such as *ughdar*. See diphthong *au*; cf. *au-gaire*, a pastor, < **ovi-* 'a sheep' + *gaire*.

⁶ Cf. n. *gáo* Wb. 14C22.

⁷ Cf. *guforcell*, Wb. 13B15, perhaps there may have been a loss of accent.

which the dissyllabic character of the word is indicated) beside *huc* 771, 780; *huæ*¹ 767, 768, 770, 772, 824, acc. pl. *ou* 849, 867, 912, beside *uu* 751, 775, etc. from earlier *auu*² (742).

A more satisfactory explanation of this dual development is a dual system of accentuation of the word *auē*. Up to about the middle of the eighth century *auē* was used as an ordinary noun with normal accentuation, afterwards (737, 771) a change took place and *auē* in certain positions came to be used as a patronymic and took on the accentuation of a pro-clitic word. Thus we might postulate two sets of forms *àue*, *àua* with normal accentuation, *auè*, *auà* with secondary accentuation. For the loss of accent of *auē* we may also compare the word *Mael*³ in Modern Irish in such names as *Maeleoin*, *Mael-sheachlainn*, *Maelchiaráin* which becomes reduced to *muil*, and further to *ml* in the name *Muelsheachlainn* which becomes *Mleachlainn*, *Bleachlainn* in Modern Irish. Compare further *mac* in surnames which becomes with loss of *m* in pretonic position, *'ac*, and later *æc* with a reduced vowel.⁴ The weak form *ui* of *g. aui* occurs at (669, 674),⁵ 733, 769, 770, 816, whilst the weak form *uib* of the dative plural occurs for the first time at 913, again at 941, 961, 983, 987, 1037, 1044, the strong form *oib* occurring for the last time at 964. The nominative singular *huæ* begins at 767, then at 768, 770, 772, etc., whilst the form *oa* appears for the last time at 949, *ua* occurring at 919, 992, 1031. The accusative plural *ou* appears for the last time at 912, the accusative singular *oa* at 948. The entry *oa* 949, and the corresponding dat. pl. *oib*⁶ 964 are the last entries of the strong (dissyllabic) forms. At 953 we have a dative singular *o* which is confused with n. sing. form *oa* 912, 918 which indicates that the

¹ This I take to be another way of writing *ue* with the broadening of the final *-e* marked.

² Cf. also *la Au Ercae*, Memoranda in the Book of Armagh, Thes. II. p. 365. It might be possible to regard *oa* as a stage in the diphthongization of *ō* to *ua*, but the *oa* here is generally dissyllabic. Acc. pl. *auu* occurs in Trip. Life S. Patrick, p. 94 (ed. Stokes).

³ See note next page on the treatment of *Mael*.

⁴ It becomes *Mag*, *Meg* before a vowel, *l*, and *r* in Mid. and Mod. Ir. (*'g*). Cf. A. U. 1418, 1384.

⁵ Sic in H. The old form *auī* occurs at 706, 730, 737 (four times), 741, 749.

⁶ Cf. *oaib* at 789, 822.

n. sing. form had by that time become monosyllabic.¹ This period 912-964 corresponds to the period of the establishing Irish surnames with O, often popularly attributed to Brian Borumha, which in reality arose out of the natural development of the language during his youth.

§ 63. The weakening of other instances of -*ě* in the n. sing. of iostems I shall consider separately. For the sake of clearness I shall consider cases of final -*ě* following a non-palatal consonant apart from final -*ae* from (long) *ē*, *ǣ*. See *ě* > *a* below.

NOTE.—Mael. The following are the occurrences of the genitive of *mael* during the Old Irish period: g. *Maelmbracho* 621, g. *Maelduibh* 626, g. *Maelcobha* 649 (cf. n. *Maelcobho* 646), g. *Maelodrain* 650, *Moelcobha* 653, g. *Moelcobho* 653, *Maelecobha* 657, *Maelefuataigh* 651, *Maelecobha* 663, *Maeleduin* 664, 668, 675, 681, 682, 688, *Crunn mail* 666, 670, *Maelcobho* 669, *Maelefothartaigh* 669, 735, *Maeletuile* 671, *Maelduibh* 673, 682, 696, *Maelefithrich* 680, *mac Crunnmael* 687, *Maeleumai* 681, *Maielduin* 689 (H, *Maeleduin*, R) *Maeleditraibh* 691, *Maeleodrae* 692, 693, *Maeledoith* 696, *Maeleduin* 697, 705, 706, 711, 717, 740, 777, 787, 818, *Crunnmail* 699, *Maeletuile* 699, 735, *Maeleracho* 700, g. *Maelcon* 702, *Maeleanfaid* 709, *Maileduin* 715, 821, *Maelefothartaigh* 718, *Maelefithrich* 721, *Maeleanfaith* 724, 745, *Maelrubi* 736, *Maeleaitcen* 737, *auí Maeluidir* 737, *Maileotrigh* 741, *Maeleimorchair* 750, *Maelemanach* 775, *Maeletolai* 778 (cf. n. *Crunnmail* 792), *Maelruain* 802, *Maeleruain* 810, *Maelehumai* 815, *Maeleduin* 822, 824, 862, 867, 881, *Maelefothartaigh* 832, *Maelchonoc* 834, *Maelcron* 837 (cf. d. *Maelsechnaill* 838), *Maelruanaidh* 838, 842 (cf. a. *Maelsechnaill* 840, 844, 845, 858), g. *Maele tuile* 842, 847, 870, 885, *Maelebresail* 844, 852, 857, *Maelruanaig* 844, 846, 855 (cf. d. *Maelsechnaill* 847, 850), *Maelpatraic* 846, *Mailbrigtae* 849, g. *Maelsechnaill* 849, 859, *Maeluidhir* 851 (cf. n. *Maelsechnaill* 853, 855, 857), *Maelbrigti* 854, n. *Maelsechlainn* 857, 913, 914, *Maeleruain* 869, g. *Maelsechnaill* 876, *Maelecothaidh* 871, *Maelecorcraí* 878, *Maelchaurarda* 880, *Maelsechlainn* (g.) 881, *Maelteimin* 883, *Maelecaurarda* 884, *Maelghualai* 894, *Maelsechnaill* 904, 912, 913, *Maelphatraicc* 909, 943, *Mailmorda* 911, *Maeldomnaigh* 911, *Maelfhind* 912, *Maelbrihte* 912, 914 (cf. *im Maelmbrighti* 913), *Maelsechlainn* 914, 915, 918, 920, 937 (947), *Maelshechnaill* 919, *Maelbrigte* 934, 954, *Maelmuire* 938, g. *Maelmithig* 941 (947, 955), *Mailmithidh* 943, *Maelmordai* 943 (946), *Maelfiachrach* 951, *Maeldoid*, 957.

It will be noticed that the declined forms of *mael* get scarce at about 850, when the g. *maele* seems to be replaced by *mael* (*mail*) with aspiration, and have gone out by 950. *Mael* however appears as a full word followed by eclipsing *m* (of accusative) at 913, cf. *Maelmbuad* 977. In Modern Irish *mael* (*muil*) is not aspirated after *ui* (and *ni*) in surnames.

¹ The *o* at 737 which Hennessy translates as the gen. pl. of *ui* (*Faelain*) is the preposition *o* 'from'. The entry is *co rucc giallu o Faelan* (not *Faelain*) "and

e > a (continued).

§ 64. The genitives *Muman* 695,¹ 700, 712, 724, 727, 734. N. *Fogartach* 713, 716 (acc.), 723, 737, g. *Cinadon* (a from ē?) 729, 748, and the genitives of the guttural stems *Bethach* 727, *Finnubrach*² 718, (798), *Rogallnig* 704, *slogad*³ 706, 714, are our oldest instances of weakening between consonants.

If we may place any reliance on the spelling of these instances, which are all written thus, in full, in H, we should be inclined to put the weakening of ē between consonants early in the first half, or at the very beginning, of the eighth century. Moreover, as we shall see continually as we go along, the Annals are very fond of preserving archaic forms, and the gen. *Colgen* (with one g) is preserved till 848. When a particular spelling was established for a certain word it was liable to be kept on without change for a considerable period, as was the ē in this case, without the weakening of the vowel being noticed or taken into account. In this instance for the e in the genitive from nominative *Colggu*⁴ 701, 721, etc., compare in *Vita Columbae* g. *Colgion* side by side with *Colgen*, as if from a nom. **Colgiu*. The genitive *Colggene*, 777, is probably a diminutive (leg. *Colggēni*).

A more helpful word is *Eugen* = *Eu* + *gen*.⁵ It is noticeable that no instance with -ē- occurs after *Eugen* 666, the next instance, *Eugan* 773, showing the change to a. N. *Eugan* occurs again at 775, and *Eugen* does not reappear. *Cumuscc*, at 776, which I take = *cum* + *mesc*, also shows a weakening, the u being used in connection with m (a labial). N. *Aedgen* occurs at 770, and again at 863. The group dg appears to be one easily palatalized by following slender vowel, and there is no sufficient evidence that it is not so here. Cf. g. *Aedgein* LL. 351g26, etc. Moreover, *Aedgen Britt* 863 is given in *Chron. Scotorum* as *Edged Brit*, which is probably more correct.

took hostages from Faelan". This Faelan died in the same year. For construction, cf. *co tucc giallu o Domnall*, 778. G. pl. o occurs as early as 881. Cf. also *ócu* 912.

¹ Instances also occur—636, 664, 677—but they may be influenced by late handling.

² Cf. *Findubrec* L. Ardm., Theo. Palhib ii. 261. The present instance has *nn* for *nd*.

³ *Slogad* 706, 714 appears as *sloged* 881, 914, *sloiged* 821, but it is doubtful.

⁴ This seems to indicate a palatal nature of -n, but that is unusual.

⁵ Lat. *Eugenius*, Gr. *Εὐγένιος*, but cf. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.* p. 73. Gaul. *Esugen(us)*.

Another instance of weakening is at 761, *Robartach*, if it is, as I take it, from *Ro* + *bertach*. No earlier instance of the word appears. In *g. Rogellnaich*¹ 721 occurs the last instance of *e* in a possible non-palatal position in this word, as the *-lln-* is here non-palatal. This, moreover, is the form which gave the dialectical *Raghallaig*, which continually occurs in the later years in the Annals side by side with *Raghaillig*.² In all these questions, where considerations of palatalization or non-palatalization are involved, there is a tendency for separate dialectical forms to develop, all of which were liable to get thrown together in the Annals. It seems to me that we have in this word an instance of this. In the *g. Rogellnigh* 769 the *-lln-* is palatal, as is general in Modern Irish. The instances *n. Rogailnech* 814, 883, *g. Rogailnich* 872 are not much to the point.³ The *-lln-* is palatal, and in all such positions *ai* occurs in other words,⁴ e.g. *g. Eugain* 699, 726, 729, etc., *g. Comgaill* 600, and sometimes *i* (v. Orthography *ai, i*).

N. Rotechtach, which appears at 796, seems to be the same word as *g. Rotachtaig* 685. The instance of this word occurring at 720 has unfortunately the vowel of the second syllable omitted. There seems to be what one might call a revival of the *é* at about 800; for example, *a. Sogen* 802 is followed by *ined*,⁵ 'a place,' 803, but the latter is doubtful.

The genitives *Mumen*, 778⁶ ('of the Munstermen') at 778 and later at 792. *Iarmumen*⁷ 834, we should also probably regard as a mere archaic preservation⁸ of a well-known spelling. Compare *Iarmuman*, *Desmuman* 832. In this connection, I would call attention to accus. *Muime*⁹ 775, with a clearly palatal *m* (cf. also dat. *de-*

¹ From *Ro-gell-nech*. ² Cf. Annals of Loch Ce for usage with palatal *-ll-*.

³ The last instances are in any case obviously archaic, as *-lln-* would then have become *-ll-*.

⁴ But cf. *immelle* together, 771. This form occurs in *Ml.* 53b15, 68d9, beside *immalle*. Strachan, *CZ.* iv. 50.

⁵ This would be a bad spelling, if we could derive from *in* + *fo*. The derivation *in* + *fed* (later *feadh*) is more likely. Cf. § 59 note.

⁶ At 774 the Latin has both acc. *Mumanenses* and *g. pl. Muminensium*. Cf. further *Muminensium*, *Vit. Col.*, *Thes.* ii. 276.

⁷ Here, however, notice *e* is in third syllable.

⁸ Cf. *Thes. Pal. Hib.* ii. xxxiv. note 3. But *g. Muman* occurs from 700 on, and I have no very early instance of *g. Mumen* except the instance at 596 which may be due to the copyist.

⁹ Accusative generally *Mumain*, cf. 734; for *Muime*, R has *Muimnecha*.

Mume "of the Munstermen," 775), and we must not forget that in the derivative *Muimnech*, a Munsterman, the *mn* is palatal. The modern *g. Mumhan* (cf. *Muman* 724, 727) has a non-palatal *mh*. The non-palatal *m* is also shown in the dat. *Mumae* 825. Cf. *Tuad-mumu*, Notes in Book of Armagh (Thes. ii. p. 365).

I have now dealt with all the instances except the ubiquitous *Fogertach* (modern *Foghártach*, pron. *Fághartach*) who appears first as *Foghartach* 713, 716, 723, 737, then *Fogertach* 747, 750, 760, 766, 768, 770 (bis), 780, 824, 849, 851, 881, 886, which is the last appearance. It is noticeable that *Fogertach* does not appear from 780 till 824, and in this interval *Fogartach* is common at 785, 786, 788, 796, 894, etc.

Here again a palatal *g* is possible,¹ and dialect may be in part responsible for the preservation of the *e* of *Fogertach* though different authors or sources may also help to account for it.

§ 65. As regards the evidence of other texts L. Armagh has nearly all instances of *ǣ* in unaccented position preserved, as *ached*, *atropert*, *clocher*, *Findubrecc*, but weakening in *adopart*, *contubart* which latter may be due to scribe who wrote after A.D. 800.

The prima manus in the Wb. glosses preserves its unaccented *ǣ*, 's without weakening. So also does the Cambray Homily.

In Life of St. Columba, about 700, *ǣ* (and *ǫ*) are preserved: *ached*, *Lathreg*, etc.

The final *-ech* of genitive of guttural stems, such as *Lugdech* < *Lugudeccas* seems to have become weakened very early. Our text has no instance after *Lugdech* 484.

§ 66. On the whole, making allowance for some obviously archaic spellings, there are no significant instances in the Annals to show that the change of *-ǣ-* to *-a-* (between non-palatal consonants) did not take place very early in the eighth century. Nearly all the words which show *-ǣ-* later have weakened forms in the earlier years of the eighth century. The treatment of *-ǣ-* in *Vita Columbae* and *Book of Armagh* fixes the superior limit. There are, however, in the Annals, some remarkable instances of *-ǣ-* throughout the eighth and up to the middle of the ninth century (cf. § 76).

¹ Cf. O. Ir. *slogad* which becomes by dialect *sloiged* 821, 859, written *sloged* 914, written *sluaiged* in Chron Scot.

(b) $-\check{e} > a$.

§ 67. I give here for special consideration instances¹ of final $-e$ following a non-palatal consonant in the nominative singular of io - and dental stems, and in a few other words. Sometimes $-e$ stands for $-ae$, as in *insole* 735 for *insolae*, etc., and, *vice versa*, d. *Tailtae* 732, and the quality of the consonant preceding the final $-e$ is not always clear. In § 92 below, I consider the whole question of the weakening of $-ae$ ($-e$) to $-a$, of which the largest number of instances are from the genitives of a -stems.²

(g. **lunge* 672), *amne* (thus) 687 (poem), *Chualne* 690, n. *Rechtabrae* 733 (*Rechtubre*, R). n. *Oitechde* 729 (cf. g. *Aitechtai* 721), n. *Tole* 737 (cf. g. *Tolai* 764, g. *Toli* 792), g. *Delmne* 741, g. *Slana* 757, g. **Dochre* 769, a. *isin Fochla* 770, 778, *olchena* 776, n. *Flannabra*³ 777, n. *Rechtabra* 786, *cene*⁴ 797, *dalta* 813, but *daltae* 869.

The final $-e$ of *Rechtubre* 733 (from earlier \check{e}) has become $-a$ by 786; similarly *Flannabra* 777. In *Slane*, when the n became non-palatal, we find $-e$ becoming $-a$ at 757. We have $-e$ without weakening in *cene* 797, but *olchena* 776. The $-e$ is here from \bar{e} ; cf. $-e$, ae of genitive of a -stems from $-\bar{e}$ - or $-ia$ -.⁵ *Fochla* 770, 778, 'north,' goes back to n. **fochlae* < **fo-chle*⁶; cf. W. *gogledd*. On the whole this case seems to be parallel to the weakening of \check{e} in *ae*, but this material does not offer sufficient evidence to show that the change took place before the last quarter of the eighth century.

(2) $\left. \begin{array}{l} ia \\ io \end{array} \right\} > ia$.⁷

§ 68. *Finnio* 548, g. *Biein* 583 (cf. *Biaín* 589) *iar*⁸ 687, g. *liac* 677 (of n. *lié*).

¹The instances of *ae* are given above.

²The final $-e$ of a -stems is not Indo-Germanic, but is an innovation in Irish. It comes from $-ias$ or $\bar{e}s$. There are certain analogies for both: Ogham g. *Ercias* (Macalister, iii. p. 152), g. of *Erc*; cf. g. *Erce* 560. As to $-es$ there is an Ogham *Avitoriges*.

³Cf. *abre*, *abrae* of *Rechtabrae* 733. ⁴*cen* + \bar{e} , 'already'. ⁵Cf. note above.

⁶'On the left,' i.e. north. ⁷Cf. weakening of \check{e} to a in unstressed syllables.

⁸Cf. L. Ardm. *iersúidiu*, *iersin*. But it probably goes back to **epero-m*: Goth. *afar*, Sans. *aṃpara*. Cf. Pedersen § 54.

- 590, *Nieth*¹ 692 (cf. *niadh* *Maccnia* 701.
494), cf. *Dermato* 703, 714, *Flaithnia* 714, 754, 777.
Macnio, 708, 779. *Diarmoda* 723 (*Diarmata*, R),
liag 724.
- g. *Triein*² 737, (*Imlecho*) *Fea* 746. (*Imlecho*) *Fia* 736, *Flaithniadh*
Ferfio 761, *Cathnio* 769. 754, g. *macniadh* 751.
Dermaid 777, *Macnio* 779. *liac*³ 758, *atha Cliath* 769.
die (samnae) 780. *liag* 775, *nia* 775.
Flaithniadh 780, n. *Rechnia* 783.
Diarmait 790, n. *Cathnia* 793.
(Imlecho) Fia 797, *-liacc* 809.
- Dermaid* 822, 838, 850. *Diarmitius* 810, 813.
*mac Iellaen*⁴ 825, *Abnier* 826. *Diarmait*, 847, (848), etc.
(*Imlecho*) *Fio* 842, *Diermaid* 847. *mac Iallain* 859.
*Iercne*⁵ 851, g. *Finnio* 858.
*er*⁶ *cath* 868, g. *Iergni* 882.
cf. g. *Ergni* 885.
Dermaid 952.

In discussing this change it is important to bear in mind that *ie* was often merely a way of writing the diphthong later expressed by *ia*. *Vadum Clied* = *ath Cliath* occurs in Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (v. Thes. ii. p. 277), but another MS.⁷ has *vadum Cleeth*, which is obviously the older form. Even so, the occurrence of the form *Clied* at this period (early eighth century) is important, and together with *Dermato*⁸ at 703 points to the confusion of *ie*, *ia* and *ē* at that period. In like manner we have *Maccnia* at 701, though *Macnio* occurs at 708, 779. The writings of *ie* in the ninth century must be taken as a method of expressing the diphthong *ia*, and have hardly any dialectical significance. The spelling *Fio* 842 must be also an archaism, as we find *Fia* at 736, 797. On the other hand *Finnio* occurs at 858.

¹ A dental stem. Nom. **nie* < **nepos*, a nephew (or a warrior). Cf. *Nia* 775 and g. *Nioth*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 267, but *Niath*, id. p. 271.

² Cf. Thes. ii. 262, 36, *Trian*.

³ Rhymes with *nodchiath*.

⁴ *mac Iallain* 859.

⁵ *Eircne* R.

⁶ A weakening of *iar*, which becomes later *ar*.

⁷ See Zimmer, KZ. xxxvi. 476.

⁸ Cf. *Diormitius* (=di-format) Vit. Columb. Thes. ii. 275, 278, 281, *Dērmait*, id. 273, 274.

(3) *ue* > *ua*.

§ 69. Apart from the forms of *aue* in *ue* at 771, 780, we have no instance of *ue* except *Tueth* 614 and **Cathrue* 785. In Chron. Scot. it is *Toath* vel *Taeth*; in Four Masters and LL. it is *Toadh*. In R *Tueth* is written $\tau u \zeta$ (i.e. *Tu* + *h* over the contraction for *et*).

Tuenog = *Tu* + *en* + *og* does not occur again, and is hardly a genuine instance. In *Maelruanaig* 798 (802, 810) *ruan-* may come from *ro-ān*, or shall we analyse *ruanaid* = *ro-fhēinid*, 'a great warrior'?

Mochonno Chuerni (?) 714 is probably corrupt. We might also compare *Flathruae* 773, but in this case the *e* is final.

(4) *o* > *a*.

§ 70. In the following section on the change of *ǫ* to *a* in unaccented syllables, I arrange the material in two main classes:—

- (1) the change of *ǫ* to *a* between consonants;
- (2) the change of *ǫ* to *a* in final position.

The latter, which will consist mainly of the genitives of *i-* and *u-* stems, I shall deal with separately.

Amongst the first group I include all the possible instances of original *ǫ* and shall afterwards discuss such of the instances as may not be valid.

g. *Telocho* 575.

g. *Illannon* 585, *Illandon* 586.

g. pl. *Uloth* 556, 576, 577, 610.

Canonn 620, 672.

Rigullon 628, *Cinedon* 630.

loscoth 642, *Aidlogo* 651.

n. *Cathusach*¹ 667, 681; *Uloth*² 673, *fota* 696.

g. *Canonn* 705.

Ulath 701, 734.

¹ But v. Meyer Contrib. *cathas*. i. *cath-fesach*. H 3. 18, p. 67.

² It is *Ulod* in the place names in the Book of Armagh.

- g. *Manonn* 710, *Diccolan* 710. *Amhalngaidh*¹ 717.
*Forbasach*² 713.
 (cf. g. *Diarmoda*, 723).
- g. *Bodbchoda* 725.
 g. (*droma*) *Fornocht* 726.
 g. *Feroth* 728.
- n. (*Cochul*) *odhor* 729.
 **Tetomun* 729.
 g. **Fallomuin* 732.
*Talorggan*³ 733.
*anacol*⁴ 742, poem.
 g. *Cinadon* 748.
 g. *Biror* 749.
 g. *Dunchodha*⁵ 757.
 g. *Mugdhorne* 758.
- n. **Fallomon* 764.
 g. *Murcodha* 764 (sic R).
 n. *Encorach* 768.
flechodh 776.
Forbosach 778, *Murchodha* 779.
 g. *Cinadon*⁷ 777.
 g. *Cenond* 784.
 n. *Aoran* 782.
 n. **Febordaith* 785 (= *Faebur-*
daith, Rawl. B. 502).
 g. *Lugadon* 789.
hodur 796, *Murchoda* 796.
 g. *Uloth* 809, g. *Loch Echoch* 817.
- g. *Nodot* 817, n. *loscuth* 824.
 g. *Bodbchoda* 824, *Sechonnann* 858.
- Amhalngaidh*¹ 717.
*Forbasach*² 713.
 (cf. g. *Diarmoda*, 723).
- g. **Telcha* 730. (Cf. g. *Telocho*
 575, 576.) (H has *Delocho*.)
 g. *Ulath* 734.
 g. *Amalgada* 741.
- g. (*Becc*) *Baili mic Echach* 748.
- g. *Nuadhat* 750.
 g. *Noiscan*⁶ 753.
 n. *ascalt* 763.
 cf. g. *Follamhain* 765.
- Bodbchad* 773.
- g. *Forbasaig* 785.
 g. *Follamain* 796.
 g. *Lugadon* 800.
 g. *Uladh* 808 (poem), *Forbusaich*
 821, g. pl. *Ulath*⁸ 826.
- n. *Fallomhan* 829, g. *Bodhb-*
cadha 834.

¹ *Amolngid* occurs thus three times in L. Ardm.

² Probably from *forbas*, but cf. *Forbosach* 775.

³ A foreign name.

⁴ More usually *anacul*.

⁵ From a n *Dunchath*, *Dunchad*.

⁶ Original vowel of final syllable doubtful.

⁷ A king of the Scottish Picts.

⁸ To rhyme with *ulach*, bearded.

* The instances where *o* would be preserved owing to *m*, *b*, I mark with an asterisk.

- g. *Donncodha*, 832 a. *Matodan* *Loscadh* 834 (*bis*) 839.
 850,¹ *Maelodor* 869, a. *Feronn* g. pl. *Ulath* 852, 856, 869 (*occa*
 862, 845, 871; **Gabhor* 864, 862).
 g. *Foclado* 870, *ascolt* 878 (rex), *Mac Cinadan* 877.
Uloth 894, 897, *Cair Ebroc*
 866 (*occo* 870).
- g. *Eochocain* 894, 913, 918,
Ascolt 899.
- g. *Ecoch* 913, *in-erloch* 917. *do anacal* 920, *Follamhain*, 920.
- g. *Locha Echoch* 944.
- (*Oa Canannan* 949), *dī-ulochta*² *Loch n-Echach* 954.
 964.

§ 71. The material is not very satisfactory owing to the non-recurrence of names showing the development. The period of change is perhaps best indicated by the confusion of *o*-forms where *a*-forms were original. Such are g. *Bodbchoda*³ 725, g. *Dunchoda* 757 (cf. g. *Dunchado* 669, 673, 700, 705, 734, etc.), and *Murchoda*⁴ 764.

If we could rely on these as being the spellings of the time they would lead us to the conclusion that not only had inter-consonantal *-ð* become *-a* but that the final *-o* of *i*- and *u*-stems had also become *-a*, an impossible conclusion in view of the weight of evidence on the change of final *-o* to *-a*.⁵ (See below *o* in gen. of *i*- and *u*-stems.) Moreover, the change of inter-consonantal *-ð* to *-a* was largely a question of accent, whereas the final *-ð* of *i*- and *u*-stems is a contraction of **-ōs*, **-ous*, and the *-o* survived after the force of the accent had spent itself. The confusion of final vowels⁶ was as a rule a much later change than weakening after accent.

Perhaps in these entries, however, we have merely a transposition of *-a* and *-o*, and that *Dunchoda*, *Bodbchoda*, *Murchoda* are merely

¹ Cf. *Matudhan* 932, 948, 969.

² Cf. *Fochloth* of L. Ardm.?

³ Cf. *Bodbcaith* 703.

⁴ Cf. *Murchadho* 729.

⁵ But cf. Introduction. The final *-o* was more likely to be tampered with by the scribe. The confusion in Wb. must be also taken into account.

⁶ Whether considerations of declension had anything to do with the matter is not clear. Cf. further remarks on vowels.

* The instances where *o* would be preserved owing to *m*, *b*, I mark with an asterisk.

wrong expansions by some of the scribes of such a writing as Dūcĥō ¹ for *Dunchado*.²

As regards other instances, we have such varying evidence as g. *Echach* 748,³ but *Echoch* 817 (fr. n. *Echu*), *ascalt* 763, but *ascolt* 878, g. *Nuadhat* 750, but *Nodot* 817, < *nōdens*, **nōdentos*, or **nōdons*, **nōdontos*.

It is, however, worth noticing that of the thirty-five valid instances of -*ġ*- in unaccented syllables between consonants, from 725 onwards to 950, twenty-one, or three-fifths of the examples occur after *c* (one word) or *ch*.⁴ Of the remainder we have in *di-ulochta* 964, *in-eroloch* 917 (second *ġ*-) instances in which the *ġ* precedes *ch*. *Ciall trógh* 745 has double accentuation. We may add that in later Irish -*o* develops before *ch* in g. *Eochach*, side by side with g. *Eachach*.

Of the remaining instance in this period, except *Biror* 749, g. *Cenond* 784, a. *feronn* 862, we have *ġ* in connection with *dh* or *th* (for *dh*).⁵

In this way we find *Echoch* as genitive of *Echu*, though *Echach* also occurs, preserved till 949. We also have *Uloth*, an established spelling preserved till 897. The cause of this preservation or revival during the ninth century is difficult to account for.

On the whole the earliest instances of the weakened forms are in this case better evidence as to the date of the change than the later survivals of old forms. The first real instances of the change of -*ġ*, to -*a* are *Amhalngaidh*⁶ 717 (again at 741, with *n* lost). *Ulath* 701-734, with weakening from the very beginning of the eighth century: g. *Echach* 748 (fr. n. *Echu*), **Forbasach*⁷ 713, and g. *Crothrann* 719 are doubtful. The spelling *Amhalngaidh* (717), as the word loses

¹ Cf. the contraction Dūncĥō , H, at 673, 699, Duchĥō 680, Dunchā 706, 718, 731. For readings of these forms v. *th* > *dh*.

² Cf. *Dunchadō* 700, 705, 734, etc.

³ Cf. *Moccu Echach* in the Book of Armagh.

⁴ Cf. also the gen. dual in *Glinne da locho* 903, but *Glinne da locha* 774. This use of *ġ* after *ch* may help us with the forms *Murchoda*, etc., referred to above. The spellings *Donnchoda*, *Bodbchoda*, etc., become very common during the ninth century.

⁵ Cf. change of *th* to *dh* in an unaccented syllable. The accentuation of *Feroth* 725 is doubtful. Possibly both changes took place about the same time.

⁶ If L. Arm. has the correct spelling where *Amolnged* occurs three times.

⁷ Cf. *Forbosach* 778, and note on § 70 above.

its *-n* early (741), seems pretty reliable. Thus we see that the evidence of the earliest appearances¹ of weakened forms, together with the somewhat unreliable evidence of confusion between *-ǰ* and *-ð*, indicate that the change took place in the early part of the eighth century.

§ 72. With regard to the evidence of other texts, unaccented *ð* is preserved between consonants, with a few exceptions, in the Book of Armagh. This book was transcribed in the early ninth century, but the language of Muirchu's memoirs and Tirechan's notes, as is pointed out by the editors (Stokes and Strachan) in the Introduction to the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*, vol. ii., belongs to the end of the seventh century. The exceptions referred to must be due to later annotators or to the scribe Ferdomnach, who wrote the book. Instances,² such as *Fochluth* for earlier *Fochloth*, show weakening.

In the place names in Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (about 700) unaccented *ð* is preserved.

In the *prima manus* of the Würzburg glosses *ð* (unaccented) between consonants is preserved.

These considerations bring the superior limit of the change up to about the year 700, and, as already pointed out, the *Annals* preserve no significant instances of the preservation of *ð* much later.

(5) *o* > *a* in Gen. Sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems.

§ 73. The material offered by the *Annals* is abundant but suffers from the same defect as in the last instance—perhaps even more so—that is, the very late survival of obviously archaic forms. In addition, we have here the opposite error of writing genitives in *-a* even in the very early periods.

Beginning with the year 687 where the *-o* in *g. Imblecho* is established by the rhyme,³ we have the following instances of gen. *-o* of

¹ *G. Cinad n* 748, 777 > *Cinadon*, and *Lugadon* 789 > *Lugadon* 800 (*e* > *a*). I have not discussed. In both words the *o* is in the third syllable. The former, probably foreign, is the name of one of the Pictish kings.

² For further instances cf. *Thes.* ii. Introduction.

³ For further instances of final *-o* established by rhyme cf. poetry in *Cath. Cairn Conaill*, ed. Stokes, *Frag. Ann.* (the *Cummene* story), etc.

i- and u-stems. For the purpose of convenience of comparison I give the writings in *-a* in the opposite column.

g. *Aedho* 689, 699, g. *Boendo*¹

Moelcobho 653, 663, 692 (cf. g.

Moelcobho 653).

g. *Maeleracho* 700, g. *Trego* 699.

Dunchado 609, 700, 706, g. *Aedo*

702, 704, 710, 711, g. *Conamlo*
704.

g. *Daro* 708, 709, *Aedo* 710.

g. *Doirgarto* 709, g. *Ailello* 712,

727, *Murcadho* 714.

g. *Aedo*³ 717 (R), *Ceninso* 717.

Dimerggo 718, g. *Alo* 720 (cf.

Nuado 721).

locho 721, *Muirgiso* 721.

Daro 724, **Chobo* 724.

Ailello 725, *carno* 728, *Dromo* 728

(*droma*, R), *Murchadho* 729,
739.

Daro 731, 742; *Duinechdo* 731.

Aedo 732, 736, 741; *cobo* 732,

738.

Fergusso 732, 735, 736, 740;

Congusso 733.

Duncado 734, *Atho* 737, 745.

Ailello 738, 739, 740; *Cluano*

739, *Fiannamlo* (-a, R).

Forgusso 740, *Treno* 742, *Dromo*

744 (*Droma*, R), *Drommo foto*

[*Aeda* 709]² *Aedha* 717 (*Aedo*
R).

Oengusa 702.

g. *Fergusa* 709, 711, 712, 713,
none in *-a*.

Murchada 714.

Cluana 715, 717; *Aeda*³ 717 (H).

Dunchada 718.

Dromma 721, 727; *Clona* 722.

g. *Dunch-* 721 (H), *cluana* 723.

[*Aeda*⁴ 723 (H), *Aedo* R],

Bodbchodha 725, *Cluana* 726,

732, 737; *Oengussa* 729, 730;

Congusso 730.

Dunchā 731.

Fergussa 737, 742.

Aeda 738 (H, R has *Aedh*).

Echdroma 740, *Murchā* 740.

Aedha 742, *Muirgiussa* 743.

Cluana 744, 747, 748, 751 (bis),

¹ Or *Boento*, cf. g. *Boanta* 838. From the MS. it may be either one or the other.

² A gloss.

³ This correction by the scribe of R is probably due to the influence of the forms at 702, 704, 710, 711, or was he here utilising some of the original sources? But cf. next note.

⁴ A gloss in H, corrected to *Aedo* in R as he had corrected the others.

- 745, *Imlecho* 746, *flatho* 749, *Fergusso* 749, *Aedho*, 749, *Murchado* 748, *Conguso* 751 (*Congiso*, R).
Esso 752, *Atho* 753, 760, *Daro* 751, 761.
Aedho 758, *Clono* 759, *Feidilmtho* 760.
Airledo 771, *Daro* 772, 774; *Bero* 773.
Aido 775, *Cobho* 775, *Caladromo* 776.
Aedo 777, 778, 783 (bis); *Cluano* 778, *Daro* 778, 781.
Temro 779, *Imlecho* 780, *Cloento* 781.
Ratho 781, 783, 787; *Atho* 783, 789.
Duncadho 783, *Dego* 783, 788.
Fochlado 784, *Daro* 786 (three times), 797, 803.
Aidho 787, *Ailello* 788, 791; *Bochallo* 790.
Muirmhedho 797, *Aedo* (*Oirdnidhi*), 803.³
Fergusso 804, 821; *Muirgiusso* 809.
ratho 809, *Ailello* 815, 844, 845.
Murchadho 817, *Atho* 820, 837.
Duncado 821 (sic H, *Dunchada*, R).
Aedo 822, *Feidilmtho* 821, *Cinaedo* 848.
- 755, 763; g. *Cluana fota*¹ 745; *Aeda* 746, *Oengussa* 749, *Fergusa* 750.
Nargusa 752, *Noindroma* 754.
Murchā 762, 763; *Duncodha* 757 (*Dunchodha*, R), *Murcodha*² 764 (R *Murchoda*), *Murchada* 766, *dairmesa* 768, *Clona* 769, *Dunchada* 769, *Dega* 770, *Cluana* 770, 771, 772, 774; *Ectgusa* 773.
ela 777, *folā* 777, *locha* 777, 785, *cluana* 777, 778, 779; *Murchoda*. 779.
Aedha 785, 786, 787.
Ailella 800, 801; *Dunchada* 800, 807.
Anmcadha 801, *locka* 801, 804.
Donnchada 802, 807; *Niallgusa* 810, *Aida* 810.
Cenindsa 813, *Ailgusa* 813, *Donnchada* 821.
Cinaeda 827, *Bodhbodha* 829.
Ruamlusa 832, 841; *Aeda* 839 (bis), 844, 845 (bis), *Boanta* 838, *Donnchada* 844, 860, 861;

¹ Cf. *Drommo foto*. This case may be due to the scribe.

² Leg. *Murchado*?

³ The ninth century instances I have considered in detail, but have not filled them in fully here.

- Temro* 845, 853, 858, 859, 863, 869. *Diarmata* 841, 842, 848, 864, 873, 875 (bis); *Atha* 844, 845. *Diarmota* 845, *locha* 848, 849.
- Artgusso* 864, *Diarmato* 866, *occo* 870. *Cinaeda* 850, 878, 884, 912.
- Aedo* 869, 870, 882, 885, 888; *Sratha* 851, 889; *Dega* 854, 872, 883; *occa* 862. *Cinaedo* 871.
- Noindromo* 872, *Maelcobo* 878. *Fiangusa* 873, (*Rosa*¹ 873).
- Temru*² 886, *Oengusso* 884, *Daro* 884, 917. *Cluana* 870, 879, 880; *Maelchobha* 876.
- Imlecho* 887, 889, 898, 912 (cf. *foa* 877, *flatha* 877, *broga* 878. *oco* 890).
- Atho* 892, 894; g. *da locho* 903. *Cluana* 881, 883; *fota* 890.
- Aedo* 907 (bis), 909, 911, 912, 913, 914, 917. *Atha* (*Cliath*) 901, *Soergusa* 902.
- Murchado* 920, *Atho* 930, *Aedo* 932.
- Atho* (*Cliath*) 941, 979.³ *Fergussa* 959.

§ 74. The above are instances of i- and u-stems from about A.D. 700 to 979. The genitives in *-o* before 700, with the exception of the few quoted, I have not thought it necessary to put down. I have, however, given instances of the writing of genitives in *-a* in the early periods, because even though they afford no help in fixing the date of the change,⁴ they may be of value as showing how far the influence of the scribe and late orthography are responsible for the condition of the earlier entries.

From the material we see genitives in *-o* and *-a* written side by side during almost the whole of the Old Irish period. On the one hand we find genitives in *a-* in the early years of the eighth century, whilst on the other we find genitives in *-o* so late as *Murchado* 920, *Atho* 946, *Fergusso* 959, *Atho* 979,⁵ which is the last instance of *-o* in the genitive of an u-stem occurring in the Annals.

¹ Change of declension : cf. g. *Rois*.

² The last instance before change to guttural declension.

³ The last instance of *-o* in gen. sing.

⁴ Cf. discussion in the chapter on the Sources of the Annals above.

⁵ Sic H i. 8.

An explanation of the genitive in *-a* in the earlier entries might be sought in the carelessness of the scribe who, for example, made *Oengusso*, *Oingusso* into *Oengusa* 702, through ignorance of Old Irish forms.¹ A further instance is *Aedha* at 717 in H, which is corrected to *Aedho*² in R. The scribe of R also corrected the gloss *Aedha* at 723 in H to *Aedho*, probably on the analogy of the entries of *Aedo* previous to this. Mistakes of *-a* for *-o* in the early entries may also possibly be due to wrong expansion, and we must not place too much reliance on contracted forms. It is, however, more likely that the scribe should make the slip of writing the genitive of such a familiar word as *Aeda* for *Aedo* at 717, than that he should interfere with or mis-write the form of a less usual word. Whether the spelling of such a word as *Aedo* (918), *Atho* (941, 978), is attributable to the scribe or to the material he had before him is not clear. In any case, we are justified in attaching more importance to the form of an unusual name³ such as g. *Boanta* 839, g. *Ruamlusa* 832, 841, or g. *Fochlado* 784, *Bochallo* 790, *Muirmhedho* 797, than to that of a frequently recurring name, as the scribe being less familiar with these unusual words would be more careful in writing them. Another circumstance, as already pointed out,⁴ which must not be lost sight of in these discussions, is the different sources⁵ from which the Annals have been taken, and the probability of dialectical and individual peculiarities in those sources. In considering this question it is well to recollect that whilst in the early stages *o* represented, as in Modern Irish, a mid back rounded vowel,⁶ that later on it became weakened to a more or less indeterminable mixed vowel *ə* which may have been considered to lie between *ō* and *ǫ*, and to which different value

¹ But cf. final *-a* for *-o* in Wb. *Airdsratha*, L. Arm., or were the sources of these instances somewhat later?

² If he had the real old form before him we should expect *Aido*.

³ Cf. also the entry *Aengusa mic Amalngado* already referred to (Introduction).

⁴ Introduction, and Sources of the Annals.

⁵ It is also possible, as pointed out in the chapter on the Sources of the Annals, that the compiler may have, in these cases, used sources written somewhat later during the period of confusion, but we cannot build much on this change of *-o* to *-a*, which is perhaps the most indecisive of all the Old Irish changes. Further, most of the cases concerned are very common names; cf. § 76. As regards possibilities of dialect, it is difficult to determine anything decisive.

⁶ Cf. rhyme *cro*: *Imblecho*, etc., referred to above.

was attached by different writers, or by the same writer at different times.

§ 75. It will be noticed that at about 810 the genitives in *-o* become very scarce. In the five years, 805-809, there are twelve genitives in *-a* (of *i-* and *u-*stems), and only three instances in *-o* in the same period. In the five years, 810-814, there are twelve instances in *-a*, inclusive of *Aido*, and none in *-o*. In the ten years, 815-824, the genitives in *-a* and *-o* are pretty evenly balanced, there being no marked instance on either side. All are familiar names, such as in *-o*—*Ratho*, *Murchado*, *Mugrcado*, *Ailello*, *Atho*, *Fergusso*, *Dunchado* (R has *unchā*); in *-a*—*Aeda*, *Fergussa*, *Congusa*, *Cluana*, *Donnchadha*, *Cocha*, etc. The material would suffer little if the words *Cluana*, *Aeda* could be left altogether out of account. The statistical method seems to be the usual way of treating this subject, and I tabulate here the number of occurrences from 780-800 and 836-863:—

780-784—13	in <i>-o</i> ,	mostly unusual names;	5	in <i>-a</i> ,	common names.
795-789—13	„	<i>Ratho</i> , <i>Ailello</i> , etc.;	13	„	„
790-796—9	„	mostly unusual names;	24	„	„
836-840—2	„	—	13	„	—
841-845—4	„	—	14	„	—

Later *o* becomes more frequent; 863 has 3 in *-o*, 1 in *-a*, and 882 *g. Aedo* twice; none in *-a*.

§ 76. After this the gen. in *-o* becomes very rare, except that it was always used of Niall (Glundub) mac Aedho, King of Ireland, till the time of his death (918), and of the northern chieftains (920) and kings,¹ e.g. *Fergal mac Domnaill mic Aedo* 932. Thus we see that *Aedo*, which was one of the first names to show the *-a* forms, was preserved very late, possibly as a form of distinction. As the Annals are at this time so reliable in other respects, we must conclude that here the compiler wrote down what he had got before him.

The *-o* is also preserved in the formula *Gallaib atho Cliath* at 892, 894, 874, 941, 979, and *Atho Truim* 820, 837, 930. *Imlecho Ibhair* (Tipperary) also keeps the *-o* form very late.

¹ But *Niall mac Aeda rex Temhro*, with *-a* in one and *-o* in the other.

These later instances have probably got nothing to do with phonetic development.

§ 77. The Book of Armagh (Tirechan's notes, late seventh century) preserves the *-o* in gen. of *i*- and *u*-stems such as *Clōno*, *Drommo*, *Fergusso*, with one exception.¹ So also do the later additions in that book, v. Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. pp. xv-xvi. In the foregoing I have not considered any instance of final *-a* before 780. But even in the Wb. glosses there are several instances of final *a*- in gen. of *i*- and *u*-stems, thus : g. *daggníma* 6a11, but g. *dagnimo* in the same entry ; g. *droggnímo* 6a8, *fessa* 26d15, etc. The Milan and St. Gall glosses have both *-o* and *-a* in the gen. of *i*- and *u*-stems. Cf. Strachan, CZ. iv. 472, 473, for examples. The Félire of Oengus² has original *-o* to rhyme with *-a* fr. *-ae*, e.g. Pr. 177, 182 *Cluana* (= *Cluano*) : *búada* (= *buadae*), thus final *-o* had become weakened at the time.

§ 78. As already pointed out, I should be inclined to attach importance to such rare words as *Cloento* 781, *Fochlado* 784, *Bochallo* 790, *Muirmedho* 797, as indicating that *-o* had a distinct phonetic value towards the end of the eighth century. Ten years afterwards, as already noted, genitives in *-o* become very scarce. In endeavouring to fix an inferior limit some importance must be attached to such forms as g. *Ruamlusa* 832, 841, *Boanta* 838, as indicating that at that period the change—phonetic at least—had taken place. On the other hand, as we have seen above, the gen. in *-o* was traditionally preserved in individual place and personal names till the end of the Old Irish period, and even later. It is clear that this practice was kept on long after the genitive in *-o* had gone out of the ordinary language.

Although the evidence of the Annals does not help to establish the date of the change very accurately, still it is important as indicating that the change of final *-o* to *-a* cannot be taken as an exact criterion in dating an Old Irish text, though the presence of *-o* may in a general way be taken as an indication of age.

¹ This is probably due to the ninth century transcriber.

² Cf. Strachan, RC. xx. 195 note.

(6) The Diphthong **au**.

§ 79. I include all the cases where *a* and *u* come together. The instances where the diphthong has become *ō* I have added for purposes of comparison.

*Dau*¹ 501, *Mauchteus*² 534, g. *Muchti* 534 (*Mochta* R), *nauch* (?) 562 (poem, rhymes with *Duach*), *Duach* 582, 583, *Muchautu*³ 636, *Aublo* 631, g. **Nao* 640, *mac *Caunga*⁴ 664, *Guaire*⁵ 674, g. *Nōe*⁶ 674, *mac Auin*⁷ 693, (*Cluana*) *Auis* 700, g. *Noe* 710, *Auis* 716, *Eoain* 717 (cf. *Moudain* 726), g. *Phoil* 733, *Auis* 745, 750, 777, 805, *Guaire* 751, 787, *Au-inis* 749, g. **Dochuae* 770, g. f. *nuae* 778, *Augustin* 779, g. *croo* 779 (poem),⁸ *ochtar*⁹ 779, g. *Noe* 789, g. *Mochtai* 817, *Ausaile*¹⁰ 827 (cf. *im Chluæn Eoais* 836), *Auis*¹¹ 839, (*Cluain*) *Auis* 850, (879), *Auisle* 862, 866 (*Óisle*, Frag. Ann.), *Ausili* 871, 873, *mic Ausli* 882, a. *goi* 882, *Cluana hAuis* (**Auis*, R) 930, *Augaire*¹² 916, 957 (*Aughaire*), *Augran* 916, (*isind*) *láu*¹³ 916 (cf. *Goach* 926), 944, *Ugaire* 973, 977, 1021, 1044, *isind ló* 1088, *lo* 1090.

§ 80. To the above instances may be added the (strongly accented) forms of *auē*, which I give under Declension.¹⁴ The origin and after-development of many of the above instances are not clear. The general development is that Idg. *au* (which in Irish fell together with *eu*, *ou*¹⁵) became *ō*, which was after liable to become diphthongized to *ua*. Compare L. *aurum*, Ir. *ōr*, *Paulus*, Ir. *Pōl*,¹⁶ *au*, *ō*, an ear

¹ Glossed *Duach* (*tinga umhai*). Cf. 560, 562.

² Cf. *Mauchteus*, *Vita Columbae*.

³ Corrected to *Mochuta* on margin.

⁴ H has *ñ caūga*.

⁵ Cf. *Gōre*, Latin, *Vit. Columb.*; Gr. *γαῦρος*, 'proud,' Stokes.

⁶ Cf. *Mac Naue*, *Vit. Columb. Thes.* ii. 272. For g. *Noe*, cf. Sg. 69a24.

⁷ Cf. *Oan* 724, and *Ovanos* on an Ogham stone at Killeen Cormac.

⁸ Not printed by Hennessy. Cf. Welsh *creu*, *crau* < **kroyos*, **kreyos* and *Conall crau*, *Frag. An.* 722, g. *cráu*, *Imr. Br.* 59, *crón* B. in *Scáil* 46, *cráo* LL. 173a12, v. Meyer. *Contrib.*

⁹ Cf. *ōs*, *uas*, W. *uch*, (*uchel*) < **aukʷos* (Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxx. 492).

¹⁰ = St. *Auxilius*. Notice *s* for *x*. Cf. 439, 459.

¹¹ *Eois* in *Chron. Scot.* 840.

¹² Cf. *Ugaire* 973, 977.

¹³ A long diphthong.

¹⁴ See io-stems and § 61 above.

¹⁵ For a discussion on this point, cf. Foy, *CZ.* iii. 265, and Zupitza, pp. 275 and 591, in the same volume.

¹⁶ In some words *au* had already become *o* in popular Latin.

(L. *auris* > **ausis*,¹ Lit. *ausis*). This change (of *au* to *ō*) had, in most cases, taken place at the beginning of the O. Ir. period—the end of the seventh century. After this we have instances of the *au* of *auē* < **aujos*, the last of which *aua* occurs in the Annals at 763, with the exception of the very late *auib* 877; *oa* appears from 740 onwards.

§ 81. The long diphthong d. *lāu* 916 is an instance of *ā* and *u* placed side by side. This also becomes *ō* in *lō* (1088). Compare *dāu*, *dō* < **dyou*, and *atdu* becoming *hitó*, Ml. 92b8, etc. Dative *Flaunn* occurs at 863, 876, 913, but the *āu* resulting from *u*-infection I prefer to consider separately.

§ 82. Another development of *au* (which does not take place till a later period) is the fall of the *a*. Thus *Augaire*² 916, 957 becomes *Ugaire* 973, etc., *Augran* 916, *Ugran*, Frag. Ann. 908, where the phenomenon occurs before *g*. Compare³ Mod. Ir. *ughdar*, L. *auctor*, g. pl. *Auctor*, Wb. 3c4, Mod. Ir. *cúis*, L. *causa*, O. Ir. *cōis*, and the *u*-infection in *baullu* (Wb. 3b26), which sometimes results in *-u* as in *bullu*; further, *Maugdornu* (= *Mugdornu*) in L. Ardm., in the Annals always *Mug-*.

au occurs before *r* in *Aurchath* 944, *Maelchaurardda* 871, 880, 884, and *Aurthulae* 675, 699, 726, where it varies with *er-*, *ir-*. This I have already referred to under Orthography, § 33. We cannot build much, however, on forms the pronunciation of which is not clear.

For the usual *Cluain auis* we find *Cluaen Eoais* 836, which seems to be the *Cluain Eois* of later times. The Danish name, *Auisle* 862, 866 is *Óisle* in the Fragments of Irish Annals 866. Unfortunately several of these words in *au* do not occur in other Irish Annals and documents, hence their later development is not clear.

¹ Intervocalic *s* was lost in Celtic.

² The pronunciation was probably nearer to *ǔ* than *au*.

³ Also Ir. *nūe*, *nua* < *naue*, from **noūjos*, *noūjos*, Gr. *vé (F)os*, Sans. *návyas*, but this is hardly an exact parallel, as here a diphthong remains. For an older form *naue*, 'new,' cf. St. Gall, p. 217, margin. The archaic character of some of the entries in the St. Gall glosses I have already referred to elsewhere.

(7) $\bar{e} > ia$.

§ 83. The following list includes all the possible instances of original long \bar{e} which became *ia*, together with some cases, for purposes of comparison, of non-original \bar{e} written \bar{e} .

g. *Fiatach* 578, *Fiachna* 593, 601; ¹ g. *Fiachrach* ² 602, *ce du* 603 (= *cia du*), *Fiachna* (593, 596), 622, 627 (g.); g. *Fiachnai* 624, g. *Fiachnae* 624, g. *Fiachach* ³ 624 (*Dal Riati* 628, g. *Fiachae* 635, **Liathdana* 639, g. *Fiachrach* 657 (cf. *Diarmato* ⁴ 663), *srianach* 670, *Riatai* 672, *maccu Retai* 677, *rigriadaí* 694 (poem), **Fiannamail* 695, 708; *Dal Riati* 699, 716, 730; g. *Riatai* 703 (*Riati R*), (cf. g. *Dermato* 703, 714); *Fiachra* 708, *Niall* ⁵ 717, *ggiallne* 720 (cf. g. *Fia* 736, *Fea* 746), g. *Fiachach* 739, 765; *Riatai* 740, *Ciannachtae* 741, 747; g. *Reguil* 747, g. *Fiachna* 751, g. *Fiachrach* (sic leg.), 757, 758, 763, 766; *giall* 763, n. *Fiachrai* 769, *ria* 769, *inna dead* ⁶ 772, **Fianchu* ⁷ 774, g. *Riati* 777 (cf. *Dermaid* 777, 822); n. *Fiachnae* 783, *Ciannachta* 785 (cf. *Diarmait* 790), *re* 783, n. *Fiachrai* 785, **Liathan* 789 (cf. *Imlecho Fia* 797), g. **riach* 801 (*Diarmitius* 810, 813); (*Dermaid* 838, 850, 869, 952; *Dermata* (?) 869, *Diermaid* 847).

§ 84. The only instances of original \bar{e} we have so preserved in the Annals are *maccu Retai* 677, **Reguil* 747. The name *dal Riatai* never occurs with \bar{e} at all. *Fiacha*, *Fiachrai*, *Fiachnae* never occur with an \bar{e} , though they are thus written in the Vita Columbae, and the Book of Armagh.⁸ We find an instance g. *Dermato* at 703 which points to confusion or interchange between \bar{e} and *ia* at this period. *Diarmait* had not an original \bar{e} as its oldest form seems to have been

¹ *Fechno*, Vita Columbae, Thes. ii. pp. 272, 275, 281.

² This form occurs at 607, 617, 657, 708 and passim with *ia*. No instance of the word with \bar{e} occurs in the Annals. G. *Fechrach* occurs in L. Ardm., *Fēchreg* in Vit. Columb.

³ Cf. *Fēchach*, Thes. ii. 264.

⁴ = Di-format, Thurneysen. It occurs as *Diormitius* in Vit. Columb.

⁵ Cf. *Neel*, L. Ardm.

⁶ A dissyllable (?), W. *diwedd*; cf. *indead* Sg. 1a5, 18b2, Wb. 11a77, *inna deud* Sg. 11b4.

⁷ Shall we compare Ogham *Voenacunas*, Macalister, iii. 4, 15, etc.? But this we should rather expect to give *Fōenchú*.

⁸ See Thes. ii. and Index.

* Doubtful cases are marked with an asterisk.

Diormatius,¹ though the form *Dermít* occurs in the *Vita Columbae*. *Dermait* occurs as late as 952. There is a possibility of confusion between the genitive of *Dērmait* for *Diarmait* and that of the form with a short *e* from which the modern *Ó Dearmada* is derived.

Towards the middle of the century forms such as *Fianchu* 774, *Ciannachtae*² 741, *Fíachna* 751, *Fiachrach* 757, etc., always show the *ia* and *ē* must at least have become *ia* by this time. As the instances of (original) *ē* written as *ē* are so very few in the *Annals* the change must have taken place very early, probably by the end of the seventh century.³

§ 85. The *Vita Columbae* preserves *ē* as in *Fēchnus*, *Nēth*, etc. This represents the language of the period before A.D. 700. In the *Dorbēne* manuscript written 713,⁴ the transitional form *ea* appears, e.g. *Ceannachte* 56a (= *Cenacte* B⁵), *Ceate* 58a (= *Cete* B), *Feachnaus* 32a (= *Fechnus* B, C, F, S), *Leathain* 118a (= *Lethani* B), *Clíed* 55b (= *Cleeth* B) and once *Niath*. The later MSS. preserve the earlier form. The earlier portions of the *Book of Armagh*⁶ have *ē* undiphthongized. Later additions have the *ea* form thus *Druim Leas*, and *ie* in *Fíechrach* but commonly also *ia*. Our text has the transitional form in *Fea* 746 beside *Fío*.

(8) $\bar{o} > ua$.

§ 86.

*Clono*⁷ 548, 598, 627; *Mochoei hUatach* 601.

496.

Oddach 600, g. *Lochre* (H) 653. *tuathaib* . . . *Tuathail*⁸ 624
(poem).

¹ Cf. note 4, preceding page.

² Cf. *Ceannachte*, *Vit. Columb.* 56a.

³ Cf. the condition of *ē* in *Vita Columbae*, and the *Book of Armagh*. The word *Dermato* at 703 points to confusion between *ie*, *ia* and *ē*.

⁴ See A. U. 712, Zimmer, *KZ.* xxxii. 199, xxxvi. 476, and *Thes. ii.*, Introduction xxxi. and remarks on vowels below.

⁵ See *Life of Columba*, ed. Reeves.

⁶ See *Thes. ii.* Introduction xv, for a list of instances.

⁷ Cf. *Clono*, *Auiss*, L. *Ardm. Thes. ii.* 262; *Cloni*, *Vit. Col. Thes. ii.* p. 280.

⁸ Cf. *Tothail*, *Vita Columbae*.

- g. *Tothalain* 622, 652, 659. *hUatach* 648; g. *Cuanach*⁶ 628.
 g. *Clona*¹ 664; (*Cluano*, R). *Guaire*⁷ 662, 665, 674.
 (*Moling*) *Lochair* 696. *Cluana*⁸ 664; *Tuathalain* 688.
slogadh 706; (*Teclae*) *Olaind* g. **Cualann*⁹ 703, 708, 714,
 710; g. **Condi* 710. 726, 730, 732.
sloghadh 714; *Clona* 722, 736. *Alo Cluathe* 721; **Cuanan* 721.
*Moudain*² 726. *Nuado* 721; *telcha h-Ualand*
 730; **Cualand* 730, 732;
Irlochrae 732; *Slogad* 737. *Cluano* 738.
*Tomae*³ 739; *Bochail* 744. *Tuathail* 731; *Cluana* 726, 732,
 745, 748; *Cuanu*⁶ 734, 738,
 741.
Tome 748; *Tomae* 750. *Cuan*, *Cuain* 747; **Suaaich*
 747, 762.
slogad 755; *Clona* 751, 752, 764, *Anluain* 743; *Tuathalain* 746;
 769. **Cuanan*, 746.
*Clono*¹ 759 (cf. *Loarnn* 764; *Do-* *Nuadhat* 750; *Guaire* 751;
adain 768). **Cualann*⁹ 747, 777.
crodha 763; *Tothail*⁴ 765. g. **Luaith* 758; **Duachail* 762.
Tomae 767. g. *Cuanach* 761; *Cluana* 764,
 769, 771, 784; g. *Tuae* 769.
Telcha Oland, 770; *Slogad* 776, *Tuathal* 771, 777, 803; (cf. *Luan*
 776).
 779; *Ochtur* 779. *Flathruae*¹⁰ 773; *Cuanu*⁶ 777,
 817, 824.
 g. *Croo* 779 (poem)⁵; *Ochtair* *Ruadrach* 779; *sluaigh* 779
 779 (poem).⁵ (poem),⁵ *Nuada* 780.
Tommae da Olann (sic), 780. *Alo Cluade* 779; (*Tomae da*)
Ghualann 780; *Cluain* 781;
h Uargaile 781; *Muaidhe* 784.

¹ Cf. *Clono*, *Auiss*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 262; *Cloni*, Vit. Col. Thes. ii. p. 280.

² Cf. *Muadain*, Memoranda in L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 364, and Ogham *Moddagni*, Macalister iii.

³ Cf. indorso *Tomme*, Vit. Columb. Thes. ii. p. 280.

⁴ Cf. *Tothail*, Vita Columbae.

⁵ Poem, not printed by Hennessy.

⁶ Cf. *Coonu*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 266.

⁷ Cf. *Gore*, Latin, Vit. Columb. Thes. ii. 276.

⁸ *Cloithe*, Vit. Columb. and Ptol. Κλώτα, W. Clud.

⁹ Cf. *Coolennorum*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 259.

¹⁰ G. *Flathrui* 776.

<i>Irlochre</i> 785; <i>Mac *Oac</i> ¹ 787.	<i>Cruachnib</i> ² 782; n. <i>Cathrue</i> 785; <i>Guaire</i> 787; <i>Cluano</i> 788.
* <i>Bochallo</i> 789; <i>Tomae (greine)</i> 793.	<i>Tuathal</i> 790; <i>Cathrue</i> 785.
<i>sloghadh</i> 793; <i>Cloin ferta</i> , 794.	<i>Mochuae</i> 789; <i>Guaire</i> 793.
<i>sloghad</i> 803; * <i>Nodan</i> 808.	<i>Cluana</i> 810.
<i>Anlon</i> ³ 809; <i>Cille Tome</i> 812.	
<i>Nodot</i> (?) 817; (<i>Lodot</i> , H, R).	<i>Nuada</i> 811.
<i>slogad</i> 814, 819, 820, 825; <i>sloiged</i> 821.	<i>Cluana</i> 814, 815.
<i>Sloghadhaigh</i> 823.	<i>Tuathal</i> 815 (bis), 816, 821; <i>sluagaibh</i> 817.
* <i>Flaithroa</i> 836; <i>d. cloen</i> 844.	<i>Cluana</i> 832, 834.
<i>g. Tomae</i> 885; <i>slogad</i> 858, 887, 905, 913; <i>sloged</i> 912.	<i>Cluade</i> 871. <i>Nuadat</i> 900.
<i>slogad</i> 923, 928, 937, 948.	
<i>slog</i> 913, 923; <i>slogad</i> 959.	<i>uadh</i> 913; n. <i>Flathruae</i> 913.
<i>sloigh</i> 918 (rhymes with <i>brōin</i>).	<i>Fuacarta</i> 926; <i>Tuama</i> 948. <i>sluagad</i> 988, 991.

§ 87. The precise conditions under which \bar{o} became *ua* are not clear. With regard to the change as illustrated by the material of the Annals the following points may be noted: (1) The change did not take place in full for all words. This change was particularly late before *ch*, *gh*, *mm*, and a vowel,⁴ e.g. *slogad* 948, 959, *sluagad* 988, 991; (2) After the change had taken place both forms seem to have been used side by side, e.g. *cloin* 794, *cloen* 844, besides *cluain*, *cluana*. *Sloigh* rhymes with *broin* 918, and is often pronounced *slōigh* even to the present day. This dual form may have been due to the influence of dialect.⁵ After a time \bar{o} seems to have again come into use, or there was a confusion in writing between \bar{o} , *ua*. Compare *Nodot* 817 with *Nuado* 721, *Anlon* 809 with *Anluain* 743.

¹ *Oac* a dissyllable, I insert for purpose of comparison.

² Cf. *Crochan*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 265, 267. ³ Chron. Scot. *Anlon* 810.

⁴ Cf. *noois* 723 = *noais* 664, 739, *nois* 849, 874, where the *o* did not become diphthongized. This word was originally dissyllabic. Cf. Pedersen, Verg. Gram. § 37.

⁵ Cf. the extensive use of \bar{o} for *ua* in the pronunciation of Munster to the present day.

Leaving out of consideration for the present the development of \bar{o} before gutturals and m we have with regard to its treatment in other positions the following evidence. We find *Tothalan* at 662 but *Tuathalan* 688, 746, *Tuathail* 731. After 700 the first instance of \bar{o} having become *ua* is *Alo Cluathe* 721. *Olaind* occurs at 710, but *Ualand* 730. *Cluana* occurs at 726, 732, etc., but the form may not be reliable,¹ and we cannot build very much on such a familiar word. Moreover, the \bar{o} is preserved till 769, 794, 844. *Nuado* occurs at 721, 750, though the o reappears in the ninth century. *Guaire* (674) and again at 751. On the other hand *Tothail* occurs as late as 765, but *Tuathal* 771, and the forms of *Cloin*, *Clono* much later. *Cuanu*, earlier *Cōnu*, occurs at 734 (*Cuanach*), 738, 741, 761.

§ 88. The comparison of such forms in the Book of Armagh² as *dirrogel*, *ódib* (= from them), *Maccu Booin*, *Clono*, *Coonu*, *Boonrige*,³ but *Buain*, *Buas*, *Ruaid*, *Muaide*⁴ (bis), *Mruig thuaithe Cluáin* (bis), and (Petra) *Cloithe*, *Tothail*, *Mōdam* in the *Vita Columbae* show that the change had not taken place by the beginning of the eighth century, but if the *ua* forms⁵ in the Book of Armagh (Tirechan's notes) are not due to the scribe the change must have been taking place at this time.

As regards other texts, we find the only instance *ood* occurring in the Cambrai Homily not diphthongized. The *prima manus* in the Würzburg codex preserves the \bar{o} ,⁶ e.g. *soos*, *coirt-tobe*, *boid*. In the main codex of Wb. we find *ar ocht* 10d24, *cen. log.* 10d, 29, 23, 27, where \bar{o} is preserved before gutturals, and *docoith* 11a22.

The next great collection of Old Irish, the St. Gall Glosses, have uniformly *ua*, except in words in which the \bar{o} is kept in later times, e.g. *ōnd*, 'from the,' *ondi*, 'from the thing,' 56b8. An exception is, how-

¹ Cf. change of final *-o* to *-a* above. We should probably read *Cluano* as at 738, 788.

² If *Cualann* has original \bar{o} as in Latin *Coolennorum* in L. Arm., then we have instances of \bar{o} having become *ua* from 702 onwards.

³ Cf. Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. 238 foll., and before gutturals *ochter*, *lōg*, *Irlochir*, where the \bar{o} was longer preserved.

⁴ *Mōdam* in Vit. Columb.

⁵ They are mostly before a broad consonant.

⁶ See preface to the Thes. Pal. Hib. i.

ever, *Mochoe*¹ *Noindrommo*, p. 226, margin. The Milan glosses have *ua* in all these cases²: *huandisin*, Ml. 91c3, *huanfir* 91c5, *hua* 91b11, 91c6 and *passim*.

§ 89. Thus we may conclude that the diphthongization of *ō* to *ua*, whilst possibly not so early as that of *e* to *ia*, took place early in the first half of the eighth century, and had worked itself out by the middle of the century. The Annals show instances of the change having taken place at 721, with a preservation of the *ō* in *Tothail* (765), and an archaic preservation of it in *Cloin* 794, *cloen* 844. The change of *ō* to *ua* before gutturals³ occurred later, and was only partial even then.

(9) *eu* > *eo*.

§ 90. I include instances of *eo* not from earlier *eu*.

g. Beugnai 605, *g. Euagain*⁴ 636,

g. Eujanain 676.

*Eochaidh*⁵ 665.

Eu 720, *Eughain*⁴ 726, 729, 731.

Eudus 727; *Eutighirn* 761.

Eugain 763, 773, 775, 788.

Maighi h-Eu 782, *Eudus* 797, *Eogain* 786.

821.

Euginis 801, *Eugain* 802.

Neutir 809, (*Europae* 812).

*Euchu*⁵ 822, *Eugain* 822, 826, **Eochaid*⁵ 823, **Deoninni* 836,

830.

beos 841, *leo* 841, 862; *Echu*

Euganacht 847, (*Europae*⁶ 851). 850.

¹ Cf. *Mochoei*, A.U. 496, but *Mochuae* 789. As has already been pointed out by Strachan, part of the St. Gall glosses are very old (cf. Thes. ii. Introduction xxiii).

² Cf. *na trogi*, Ml. 91a13.

³ But cf. the phrase *ostu*, 92a14, *ósme*, 92b7, 'even I,' *ho londas*, 92c12.

⁴ Cf. Lat. *Eugenius*, Gr. *Εὐγένιος*, and W. Owein; Gaulish *Esugenos* Meyer, Festschr. für Stokes, and Pedersen, Vergl. Gram. p. 73.

⁵ In these words *Euchu*, *Eochaid* a vowel develops before *ch*. In both cases the vowel *eo* is short.

⁶ *Eorpa* 1021.

leu 851, *Indeuin* 853.

Eugain 865, 870, 876, 889.

Eugain 907, 961.

*leu*¹ 922, 923.

Eugain 961, 963, 966, 974.

**Eachach* 866.

**Eochaccan* 882, *Eoloir* 885.

Eogain 892, 904, 907; **Eochacain* 894.

Eoganachta 895, *heo* 902 (poem).

breo 902 (poem).

leo 907, 913, **seola* 911.

Eochacain 913, 914, 918.

beos 914, 915.

Eoganacht 916.

Eogain 946 (bis), 963, 980, 988, 990, 992.

g. *Leogan* 992.

§ 91. I have included above instances of *eu* from all sources. The evidence of the Annals on this point is clear. There is only one instance of *eo* for earlier *eu* in the eighth century. In the ninth century we find the first instances, *beos*, *leo* at 841. From this onward we find both forms *eu*, *eo* till what we may term the end of the Old Irish period (about 920). The last instances of *eu* (with the exception of *Eugain*—a fixed spelling) are *leu* 922, 923.

The isolated form at 786 of a common word *Eogain* might not mean much by itself, but when we compare it with such forms as Wb. *leosom*² 10d6, etc., it seems reliable for the period. Cf. also *bithbeo* ib. 3b2, 4, *beo* 3c27, which are not quite parallel.

The Milan glosses have however regularly *eu*: 63b2 *a n-eulas*, 65c3 *leu*, 65c8 *beus*, 65c16 *leusom*, 57c11 *ho eulassaib*, 63b12 *leu*, 87b6 *feutdai*, 87b9 *beuidbart*, 87c3 455, 88b4, 90b11, 92d6 *leu*, *dungneu* 92a17, etc.

This agrees with the evidence of Annals which has only one instance of *eo* until close on the middle of the ninth century. Moreover *eu* appears to be the standard literary form till the end of the Old Irish period.

Of the St. Gall glosses I have made no collections, and Strachan

¹ *le + u*, cf. *lethu*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 241.

² Compare also g. *Beognai*, Vit. Columb. Thes. ii. pp. 273, 278, which is *Beognai* 605 in the Annals, but *leu*, Wb. 5b42.

has not dealt with the point in his articles on the Ml. and Sg. glosses, CZ. iv. pp. 48, 470.

The Felire has *colais* Prol. 317, *eo* Ap. 10 (one MS. has *eú*). In Prol. 197 we have *eobail* rhyming with *Eogain* which may both have had *eu*, cf. *breo* Ap. 15, Aug. 20, p. 258. At Jan. 22 we find *Beognae, dignae, ceoldae*. The date of the phonetic change I have not investigated. Cf. Remarks on Vowels, § 133. Judging from the occurrences of *eo* forms in Wb. the change in certain words at least must have been very early.

FINAL VOWELS.

(10) -ae > -a.

§ 92. The following instances of final -ae are mostly genitives singular of feminine, a- iā- and ī- stems,¹ together with a few instances of nominatives singular of io- and dental stems, and various forms in -ae added for purposes of comparison :—

g. *Oche* 552, 553, g. *Erce* 560, g. *Gabrae* 564, 565, 572 (cf. g. *Gabrai* 735), g. *Ciannachtae* 571, 615, g. *Tola* 572, g. *Ochae* 608, g. pl. *Mogdornae* 610, g. *Torchae* 616, g. *Fiachae*² 635, g. *Fiachna* 627, 646, g. *Fiachnae* 651, *corre* 651, g. *Lochrae* 653, g. *Machae* 671, 689, g. *Ardmachae* 660, 687, g. *lunge* 672, *Finechta* 674, *Finechtae* 675, 676, *Finshnechta* 687, 694, *amne* 687 (poem), g. *Crannchae* 696, g. *Selggae*³ 708, g. *Telchae* 710 (Telce, R), n. *Cuchercae* 712, *Singittae* (?) 713, g. *Febla* 714, **Garbsalcha* 713, g. *Ardae nesbi* 718, g. *Ard Macha* 718, g. *Collae* 721, 731, *Machae* 724, 731, g. *Loogdae* 728, g. *Sinnae* 731, g. *Irlochrae* 734, d. *Tailtae*⁴ 732, n. *Rechtabrae* 733, *Tole* 737, g. *Feblae* 739, g. *Tigernae* 739, g. *Tomae* 739, 750, 767, g. *Tethba* 740, g. *Delmne* 741, g. *Ciannachtae* 741, *Feillae* 745, *Arda*, *Airde* 748, *Ciannachte* 747, *Machae* 749, *Lecnae* 750, (Lecne, R), g. *Tethbae* 751, g. *Fiachna* 751, g. *Ferta* 752, g. *Delbnae* 755, g. *Gronnae* 755, g. *Slana* 757, g. pl. *Mughdhorne* 758, g. *Emnae* 758, g. *Othnae* 761, g. *Ercae* 762, 796, g. *Sruthrae* 765, g. *dathe* 768, g. *Dochre* 769, g. *Tethbae* 770, g. *Dochae* 770, g. *Telcha* 770, g. *Lamcomartha* 771, g. *Ferta* 772, g. **Cruachna* 773, n. *Flathruae* 773, 788, g. *Othnae* 773, g. *Ercae* 773, g. *Erce*⁵ 775, *olchena* 776,

¹ For gen. of a-stems v. final -e > a, § 67, note 2, and § 133.

² Cf. g. *Fiachach*.

³ Notice non-palatal gg, and cf. g. *Deilgge* 742, but g. *Delca* (867), 887.

⁴ i.e. *Tailte*; cf. i. *Tailti* 790, and dat. *Teilte*, Vit. Columb.

⁵ *Erce* may have represented a palatal, c.

Mugdorne 778, g. pl. *Locha* 777, n. *Flannabra*¹ 777, *Ochae* 779, n. pl. *srotha* (rhymes with *ocha*, poem² 779), *Die Samnae* 780, *Tommae* 780, 781, g. *Edargnae* 780, g. *Ferta* 782, g. *Fernae* 782, g. *Senchuae* 782, g. *Aird*³ *Machae* 782, 783.

a. *Fiachnae* 783, *Irlochre* 784, *Ferta* 784 (-*ta* a contraction).
Celtrae 784.

Cugamnae 783, g. pl. *Mugdornae* 785. g. *Ciannachta* 785.

Ardae 785 (*arde*, R), n. *Cathrue* 785, g. *Rechtabra* 786.
Rechtabra 786.

n. *Fiachnae* 788, g. *Fertae* 788,
g. *Slane* 788.

Ablae 788, 790, *Mochuae* 789.

(*Glinne da Locha* 789, cf. g. *da lachae* 867, g. *da locho* 903).

Techbae 790, *rathae* 792.

g. *Tamlachtai* 791.

Machae 792, 795, g. pl. *Mugdorne* 793.

Cernae 793, *Earcae* 796 (cf. g. *Finsnechta*⁴ 796 (cf. g. *Finsnechte* 802).
Erce 560, 775).

Connlae 779, g. *Fiachnae* 799,
808, 809.

g. *Fitae* 803, *Mugdorne* 801, 802. g. *Ferta* 801 (-*ta* a contraction in R).

Machae 806, *Crae* 806, *Mugdornae* 811. g. *Telcha*⁵ 808 (bis).

g. *Tamlachtae* 810, g. *Tóme* 812. g. *Tamhlacta* 810, g. *Tamlachtai* 810.

*Ferta*⁶ 812, n. *dalta* 813, cf. g. **Dudubtae* 813.

Ardae 816, *ind lochae* (n. pl.) 817. *Rechtabra*⁷ 817.

g. *Coccae* 817, g. *Delbnae* 817,
iarmae 817.

¹ Compare *-abrae*, *-abre* of *Rechtabre* 733.

² Not printed by Hennessy. The prose, however, has *Ochae*.

³ Cf. g. pl. *Ardae* 718, g. *Airde*, *Ardda* 748, a. pl. *airtiu* 823.

⁴ Original final *e*; cf. g. *Finsnechti* 836, g. *Finsnechtai* 828.

⁵ Cf. *Telche* 710.

⁶ Cf. *d. Ferti*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. pp. 259, 263, *Fertae*, Thes. ii. p. 260.

⁷ This appears to represent original final *-e*. Cf. however, *Rechtabrae* 733.

- Fothnae* 818, g. *Fiachnae* 818. n. pl. *Locha* 821.
 g. *Tethbae* 822, 823, 825, 827, g. *baga* 823 (poem).
 g. *Tamlachtae* 824.
Machae 822, 825, *martre* 824,
 827.
 d. (*di*) *Mumae*¹ 825, n. pl. *adomnae*
 825.
Arddae,² *ardae* 827, *Ciannachtae* *Ciannachta* 827, g. *Delbna* 827,
 823, 827. 828.
Cumbae 829, *Ercae* 829.
Machae 830, 831, 832, 833, 835, *Rechtabra* 832, in *Ard Macha*³
 838. 834.
Mugdorne 833, *Abae* 833, 837 n. d. *Maelcerna* 835.
 (*macu Blae* 831).
 g. *Innseo Cealtra* 836; *Inbir Flaithroa* 836 (cf. *Flathruae*
Deaae 835. 913); *Crea* 838.
 g. *Linnae* 841; *Ferta* 843. n. *Fiachna* 844; g. pl. *Mugdorna*
 848, 849.
Machae 844, 845, 847, 851, 859; *Ciannachta* 850; *cena* ('besides')
Ciannachtae 849; *Lindae* 851. 854; *sneachta* 854.
Othnae 851. *Locha* 854; *prim-locha* 855; g.
Rois Crea 858.
Machae 862. *Macha* 861; *Tamlachta* 864.
 g. *Glinne da lachae* 867. g. *Aird Macha* 868.
Tamlachtae 867, 869.
 g. pl. *Mugdorne* 868. *Cille Delga* 867; *Rechtabra* 867.
Daltae 869. *chena* 868; *Foghla* 868; g. *Cara*
 869; *Macha* 869, g. *da locha*
 874.
Tamlachtae 873, 874; *Machae* g. *Macha* 877; *Macha* 878, 881,
 876. 882, 887.
Mac na Cerda 874. g. *Tethbai* 879, 893; g. *da locha*
 874.
 n. *Fiachnae* 885. g. *Delca* 887.

¹ Cf. g. *Muman* 825.² Cf. g. *Airde Ciannachtae* 748, g. *Ardda Oa Cennfaelad* 748.³ Cf. *i n- Ard Machae* 847.

g. *Aird Machae* 902.
Rois Creae 917.

g. *Macha* 892, 894, 896, 898.
Eoganachta 895; *Emna* 902.
g. *Da locho* 903; g. *Ferna*.
Tamlachta 914; *amra* 917.
na congbala 914; *Macha* 914, 915.
n. pl. *locha* 916; g. *lunga*¹ 920
(cf. acc. *lungai*² 920).
Macha 920, 921; *Mugdorna* 954.

§ 93. After a time the final *-e* split up³ into *-e* and *-ae*, the former to be used after palatal consonants, the latter after non-palatal consonants. Thus after groups of consonants not easily palatalized the result of the change was that *a-* and *i-*stems fell together in the genitive with *i-* and *u-*stems. Strachan (RC. xx. 192) pointed out that this splitting up had taken place in the Féilire as in primary rhyme *-e* rhymes with *-e*⁴ but not with *-ae*.

The cases where the *-e* was accompanied by palatalization of the final consonant do not belong here, as weakened *-e* after a palatal consonant is not represented as different from *-e* and hence cannot be further investigated. In some words *e* falls away before palatalization is effected, thus *Slana* 757. The word however afterwards appears with palatal *n* as *Slaine*, *Slane* 786, 788, 801, etc. Some groups again appear as palatal in the early period and become non-palatal afterwards towards the end of the Old Irish period. Thus *maige lunge*⁵ 672, *Maighe Luinge* 774, g. *lunga* 920. Cf. (*Cille*) *Deilgge* 742, 763, 778, 798. *Deilge* 757, but (*Cille*) *Delga* 867, g. *Delca* 887.

Sometimes we find *-ae* after a palatal group or the nature of the

¹ Cf. *maighe luingi* 774.

² A change to the *i-* declension in this word.

³ Cf. Strachan, Middle Irish Declension, p. 5. Cf. such forms as g. pl. *fertae* Wb. 12b15, but *fertae* Ml. 17c9.

⁴ Later on (RC. xx. 297) he instances g. *Machae* as rhyming with a word containing a palatal consonant, viz. Pr. 165 (g. p.) *flathe* : *Machae*. But the *th* in this word is not necessarily to be taken as palatal. Again, however, May 28, *sathe* : *Machae*.

⁵ The change of *o* to *u* indicates palatalization of *ng*. Forms like the modern g. *luinge* might be better regarded as a survival of the palatal beside the non-palatal form than as a new analogical development from the nominative.

group unsettled, e.g. d. *Tailtae* 732 = *Tailte*, cf. d. *Tailti* 790, g. *Feille* 745 (H, R), *Saighrae* 743 H (*Saighre* R), *Saigre* 787. Cf. Sg. 27b3 *cheillae*, 66b15 *deirbbæ*.

The instances in the Annals of the change of a palatal to a non-palatal consonant or vice versa are perhaps not decisive enough to be brought into connection with the dating of the change of *-ae* to *-a* and the subject requires further investigation.

§ 94. The material of the Annals shows change of final *-ae* to have been taking place from 800 onwards. The isolated example *Febla* 714 seems too early to be genuine, cf. *Feblae* 739. For *Rectabrae* 733 we find *Rechtabra* 786. This change of *-ě* to *-a* in the third syllable evidently took place earlier¹ than the change of *-ae* (*-e*) which comes from an original *-ē* fr. **-ēs*, **-ias* in the genitive of a-stems and in the nominative plural of u-stems, and is more in the nature of the change *-ě* to *-a* in unaccented syllables. The instance in *Ard Macha*² 718 is presumably nothing more than a scribal blunder.³ In a poem⁴ at 779 we find n. pl. *srotha* rhyming with *Ocha* but then both may have ended in *-ae* though not so preserved by the manuscript. The prose, moreover, has got *-ae*. The g. *Fiachna* at 751 is improbable as *Fiachnae* is preserved till 885.

After 800 the entries *-a* from *ae* begin to get numerous and at 810 we find beside the g. *Tamlachtae* two other forms *Tamhlachta* and *Tamlachtai*. If not due to scribal corruption the first would indicate weakening of *-ae* to *-a*, the second confusion of *-ae*, *ai*. This latter aspect would point to *-ae* as having a value distinct from *-a*, unless we could take both *-ae* and *-ai* as having become levelled to *-a* which is too early for the latter.⁵

The orthographical change is decisive. The g. pl. *Mugdornae* which regularly ends in *-e*⁶ till 833 becomes *Mugdorna* 848, 849 and final *-e* in this word does not recur. The g. *Machae* is regular till

¹ The change of *ae* to *aua* at 744, 763 already dealt with, I have included in this category.

² This phrase in *Ard Macha* occurs again at 834. We find the two parts of this word declined together, thus g. *Ardmachae* 660, 687, 757. Is this a Latinised form, or was the word *Ard* at that time not fully accented? Also g. *Ard Macha* at 1096.

³ But cf. § 16.

⁴ Not printed by Hennessy.

⁵ Cf. *-ai* > *a*.

⁶ *-rn-* is palatal in *Moghdairne*, 749.

862, after which *g. Macha* becomes regular. Before this, *Macha* occurs at 834 and afterwards *Machae* at 876 with an isolated survival at 902. We see from these instances that the orthographical change of *-ae* to *-a* is practically complete by about 860.

§ 95. In the St. Gall and Milan¹ glosses final *-ae* is often confused with *-a*, though in the genitive plural of *i-* and *u-*stems *-ae* is pretty well preserved in *MI*.

In a poem² composed by Fingen mac Flainn (about 850) we find *arddae*³ rhyming with *garge*. The Imram Brain preserves final *-e*, *-ae* in all the best MSS.: e.g. *amre* 10, *amrae* 33 (R, H).⁴ Some of the MSS. of this text have the orthography of *Wb.*, cf. *bledne*, 5 (R), etc.

As regards the Féilire *-ae* can in most cases be restored from the rhyme. We find instances however where the rhyme shows the change of *-ae* to *-a* as having taken place. This has been pointed out by Strachan (RC. xx. 295) where he gives the examples: *nua* (= *nuae*) in primary rhyme with subjunctive *ronglea*, and with *Duibrea*, Ep. 38 *arnach nera* (2 sg.) with *ban, dera*, and concludes that the change was beginning to make its way into the language of poetry. Moreover *-ae* and final *-o* had fallen together, e.g. Pr. 177, 182, *búada* (= *búadae*) to rhyme with *Cluana* (= *Cluano*). Cf. § 77 above. Still as *-ae* was used in so many cases to rhyme with *-ae* it must have had a distinct phonetic value in the standard speech of the time.

(10) (b) *-ai*⁵ > *-a*.
-i > *-e*.

§ 96. Instances from the end of the eighth century onward are:—

¹ For instances see Strachan, CZ. iv. p. 477, Thes. i. Introduction, and RC. xx. 303.

² See Meyer, Archiv f. Celt. Lex. iii. p. 293.

³ The BB. version has *arda, garga*, so have both versions at strophe 55, etc.

⁴ See The Voyage of Bran, ed. Meyer, for further instances and variants. I give the paragraphs as numbered by Meyer.

⁵ This *-ai* is mostly from an earlier writing *-i* in the genitive of *io-*stems. The *Wb.* glosses have also generally *-i* for later *-ai*: v. *ai, -i*, Orthography, § 23.

- g. *Segeni* 800; n. *Macoigi* 800; g. *Fhinsnechti* 814, 836; g. *Mochtai* 817; ind *fochli* 821; *Delbnai* 821; *Dari* 825; g. *Tarbgí* 821; *Liphi* 831, 836; *cumai* 832; g. *Finsnechti* 836; d. *Delbni* 842.
- Lifi* 846; d. *Tethbai* 839.
- g. *Comardai* 844; g. *Comarbbai* 850.
- g. *Tarbnai* 857; g. *Dumhai* 859.
- g. *Midhi* 860, 861; a. a *cennlai* 7 a *n-eti* 7 a *croda* 865; ind *fhochlai* 867, 871. In 877, poem, g. *crídhe*, d. *aire*, g. *bile* may be restored to *-i*; a. *dolmai* 879; g. *Liphi* 883; *muintir Fini* 890; g. *Lothri* 891 (sic leg.).
- g. *Fethgnai* 892; mac *Maelgualai* 894; acc. *Delmnai* 895; acc. *martrai* 895; g. *Turbi* 902.
- ind *fhochlai* 913, 914, 918; ind (*f*)*ochla* 920; acc. *in lungai* 920; *imbi* 923.
- d. f. *cednai*, 934.
- g. *Fethgnai* 952.
- d. *Tethbai* 953.
- g. *ecnai* 978; mac *Riadai* 979.
- g. *Dubdai* 981.
- g. *fota* 798; *Moenmaighi* 800; g. *Tamlachtai* 791, 810; g. *Finsnechte* 802; g. *Aidhne* 809¹ (cf. g. *Dudubtae* 814); d. *Berba* 814; n. pl. *cnama* 823 (poem); g. *Breibne*² 821; g. *Mide* 829, 839; *Maigi* 830; g. *Finsnechta*³ 828.
- g. *innsi* 824; g. *Tethbai* 840.
- g. *Luibnighi* 847; n. *Finsnechtai* 854.
- g. *Mide* 850 (860), (861), (863); na *nDeisi* 853.
- n. *Finsnechtai* 854; g. *cairgi* 858 (cf. g. *cairge* 880); g. *duine* 866; g. *Cerna*⁴ 867; g. *innsi* 872, 881, 883; *muighi* 873; g. *taighi* 866; *Ainmeri* 878; g. *Tetbai* 878; g. *Maighi Bile* 889.
- derthaighi* 894 rhymes with *ernaichti* and in both *-e* may be restored.
- n. **Dublachtnai* 894; g. *leithi* 896.
- g. *Midhe* 914; g. *Brighti* 915; d. m. *chetnai* 916.
- g. *loingsi* 944.
- g. *taighi*, 952, 963 (*taigi*).
- g. *bile* 953.
- g. **Lachtna* 957.
- g. *Brighti* 963.

¹ Cf. d. *in-Aidniu* 783.

² Cf. g. *Breifni* 791.

³ The nom. had become *Finsnechta* 796, and may have been regarded as indeclinable. But cf. n. *Finsnechtai* 854, g. *Finsnechti* 836.

⁴ Cf. g. *Cernai* 661, poem. But as a rule, in the poems, the endings are not well preserved.

- g. *Dal Riatai* 988. *i meisce* 988.
 g. *Fiachnai*¹ 990.
 g. *Ciardai* 992 ; *Feichini* 992. g. *innsi* 994, 1010.
 g. *Fiacna* 1003 ; g. *Aedai* 1003.
 d. *ind ecnai* 1004. (g. of *Aedh*) ; g. *leithi* 1004.
 g. *Dubtai* 1005.
arai in comdaig dendai 1006. g. *lethi* 1006 ; g. *Muigi Bile* 1006.
 g. *Endai* 1010 ; g. *Tolai* 1010. g. *in fochla* 1010.
 g. *Ciardai* 1011 ; *dal Riatai*, 1012. g. *saraighti* 1012 ; *bristi* 1012.
 g. *bachlai* 1011. Cf. g. *na bachla*
 1015.
 g. *Maighi* 1014. d. *ic are* 1014.
 g. *Lothra*² 1015.
 d. *in Fhodbai*³ 1017. *Dun Lethglaisi* 1016, a. *tir n-*
Enna 1019.
 g. *Dermaighi* 1019.
 d. *tuighi* 1020. g. *Osene* 1020 ; d. *do luaidhe*
 1020.
 g. *lai* ('of a day,') 1020. g. *tuaithe* 1020 ; g. *eclaisi* 1020.
ime (about. him), 1021 ; *forsind*
arce 1022.
 g. *escai* 1023. g. *innsi* 1022.
 g. *ind escai cednai* 1023. g. *Darmaighi* 1022 ; g. *Fern-*
muighi 1022 ; n. *erchrai* 1023.
cen taisi 1024 (poem). *no croisí* 1024 (and poem)⁴ ;
*maisí*⁴ 1024.
Ennai 1036. d. *Tebtha* 1024.
 g. *Daire* 1025.
 g. *Mochta* 1026.
 g. *Tola* 1056.

§ 97. As these are two similar changes I have taken them together. From 800 on⁵ we find confusion, particularly in the case

¹ Probably a *iā*-stem. See g. *Fiachnae* 651, 799, 808, 809, 818.

² Cf. g. *Lothri* 762. ³ i.e. *Odba*, near *Navan*, n. *Odbae*.

⁴ In the poem at 1024 *croisí* rhymes with n. *taisi* and n. *maisí*.

⁵ We find instances of *-i* for *-e* even early in the eighth century. g. *Maighi Bile* 742, 746 ; g. *Dermaighi* 763, *maighe luingi* 774, g. *Rigi* beside *Rige* 780, g.

of *i*. The genitives *Mide*, *Maigi* need, however, not be too strongly dwelt on. *Mide*¹ was a common word, and one likely to be corrupted by the scribe. As for *maigi*, *muigi*, *-i* seems to become regular in the genitive singular of neuter *s*-stems. This may be due to the analogy of the genitive of masculine *io*-stems. Final *-ai* appears to be much better preserved. We find it confused with *-ae* as early as 791, 810, 821; witness the genitives *Tamlachtai* 810, *Delbnai* 821, *Tethbai* 839. This form in *-ai* can hardly be considered as a weakening of final *-ai* but rather as a confusion of declension. At any rate we find the gen. *-ai* (of *io*-stems) pretty well preserved in writing till 1000, after which there are several cases of writing of the weak form (in *-a*), and the confusion becomes complete. Thus g. *Fiachnai*² 990, g. *Aedai* for *Aeda* 1003, *bachlai* 1011, side by side with *fhochla* 1015, *Lothra* 1015, *Enna* 1019. On the other hand we find g. *-ai* preserved as a traditional spelling to a much later period, as g. *Ua Ciardai* 1077, 1128, g. *Ceniuil Ennai* 1078, but g. *Einne Arann* 1114, g. *Dubdai* 1119, 1120, 1126. Strachan, *Cormac's Rule*, Eriu, vol. ii. part i., points out that final *-e* and *-i* were then distinct—that is towards the end of the ninth century.

Of the nom. pl. in *-ai* I have no instance after *cnama* 823 (poem). But the forms in the poetry are, as a rule, much more corrupted than the prose,³ and we cannot draw conclusions from a single example.

Thus though the changes seem similar in some respects the chronological difference is considerable.⁴ In the poetry in *Imram Brain*, which, according to other evidences,⁵ goes back at least to the early ninth century, we find (at par. 13⁶) the rhyme *combindi* with g. (*fino*) *oingrindi*,⁷ which is best construed as a feminine genitive.

Rigi, digi in poem may be restored to *Rige, dige*; *Maighi* 782, g. *Loigaire* 783, g. *Finghlaisi* 790, 795; g. *Maine* 798; g. *Corcaighi* 791, g. *duine* 792; but g. *maighe, tige* 783, etc., *Mani* 790, *Ailbhi* 792.

¹ The g. of *Mide* was written *Mide* much earlier. Cf. g. *Mide* 714, 748, 750, 752. Cf. also g. *Guair* 751, 793, etc.; g. *Midi* 765. Also *sochaidi* (sing.) 769 for *sochaide*.

² This might simply be a change of declension.

³ Cf. the poem at 779, which has *Ocha*, but prose *Ochae*.

⁴ But cf. the preservation of the distinction in *Cormac's Rule*, Eriu, vol. ii. part i. if this was not a survival in poetry alone.

⁵ See the change of *mr* to *br*, *ml* > *bl*, *ld* > *ll*.

⁶ Meyer's ed.

⁷ The MSS. H, R have *-grinde*.

(11) Final -u.

§ 98. Instances of final -u in the nominative and dative singular and accusative plural:—

- co tuc giallu* 855, *uisciu* 863.
- do indarbu*¹ 864, 970.
- aicsiu* 867, a. *Dubhghallu* 874.
- Temru* . . . *turu, muru : marbu :*
- amru* 886, *firu* 907, 912, 948.
- d. *ala laithiu* 916, *eturru* 916.
- isind lau* 916, for *Goidhelu* 918.
- culu* 916, *h-Eiriu* 918, d. *deir-ghiu* 926.
- d. *rubu* 932, *etarru* 948.
- Saxanu* 951, *Bretnu* 951, *Moch-utu* 952.
- giallu* 954, 964, 978, 997, 1001, 1025.
- la h-Albanchu fein*⁴ 966, *Moch-utu* 978.
- tadbsiu* 991, *isin bliadain-siu* 992.
- iarsuidhiu* 998, *rempu* 999, *chulu* 999, 1001, 1004.
- firu* 998, 1000, 1008, 1012, *forglu* 1003, *Ultu* 1005.
- impu* 1014, *gallu* 1014, 1022, *firu* 1018, 1019.
- ind retlu* 1018, a. *Gailengu* 1019, *etarru* 1021, *giallu* 1026.
- co h-Osraigiu*⁶ 1026, *co Gollu* 1026.
- d. *daire* (cf. *Dairiu* 847).
- a *ngialla (do tabairt)* 853, (*Cuana* 804).
- a. *giallo* 865.
- g. pl. *Airgiallu* 918 (v. u-stems).
- for *Midiu*² for *Bregu* 948.
- i *Connachtu*³ 954 (a. *Connachta* 912, 984).
- do innarba* 993.
- acc. *Connachtu* 997, o *Laigniu* 999.
- (*maidm re*) *Connachtu* 997⁵ . . . for⁵ *soeraib* 1008.
- n. **Clothna* 1008, 1048, *etorra* 1014.
- Cuana* 1023.
- forra* 1024, *co Golla* 1026 (= *co Gallu*).
- Eire* (poem, fol. 26 over 1020).

¹ Cf. n. *indarba* 901.

² By analogy with plural forms *Laigniu*, etc., but it may simply be an instance of confusion of cases after prepositions; cf. n. 5.

³ Probably by analogy with *Laigniu*.

⁴ But 3 s. m. *fesin* 963.

⁵ Confusion of cases after prepositions.

⁶ Cf. accus. *Osraige* 785.

impu 1029, 1034 (acc. *Cuanu*¹ *isin bliadain-si* 1037, *treotho* 1041.
1037).

a. *Albanchu etarru* 1045.

i mBregu 1047, *firu* 1050, 1053,
1054.

Airghiallu 1058.

Etrú 1056.

Ultu 1071, g. *murú* 1074.

firu 1076, 1087, 1092, *Colcu* 1077. acc. *feru* 1084.

macu 1087.

giallu 1088, 1090, 1101, 1104.

Ulltu 1089, 1103, *Mochutu* 1090. *Connachtu* 1093.

feru 1100, 1103, *Mura* 1101.

§ 99. We find instances of the accusative *-u* weakened to *-o* at 998 (*forro*), and to *-a* at 1024, 1026. Final *-o* occurs again at 1041. We find conclusive proof of the change at 1077, 1080, 1084 where the older *firu* becomes *feru*. Though *-u* is written, the change of *i* to *e* shows that the change of *u* to *a* had taken place.

In *Saltair na Rann* (A.D. 987) there is only one example of *-a* for *-u* where *-a* was established by the rhyme, i.e. *fora cúla* to rhyme with *dúra* 3560. Strachan, *Mid. Ir. Decl.* p. 216, had not noted any examples of *-a* from LU., but this depends on the nature of the texts copied. The acc. plur. *catha* (bis) 917 is probably a question of declension.

The *-u* in nominative singular of *n-* and guttural stems seems to have been preserved equally long, e.g. *h-Eriu* 918, *ind retlu* 1018, *Etrú* 1056. The final *-u* of *Eriu*⁴ had fallen by about the middle of the eleventh century, but the *Annals* do not furnish any evidence on this point except the instance *Éire* in the poetry on fol. 26 which is not so reliable. This and the whole question of *u*-infection I intend to return to and to deal with in greater detail later on.

¹ i.e. *Kuono* or *Kuonrad*.

² Cf. g. *bachlu* 758, B.

³ *Feraib*, R.

⁴ Cf. *Éire* in poem on death of Aed Mac Domnaill (A.D. 1004), *Archiv f. Celt. Lex.* iii. 304, where it rhymes with *gréine*.

(b) CONSONANT CHANGES.

§ 100. The evidence for consonant changes is, as a rule, more definite than that for vowel changes except that the conditions under which the change operated were somewhat different. Thus when a certain phonetic development came about, such as the change of *ld* to *ll*, the change continued to operate wherever combinations of *ld* came together so long as the law was a living force.¹ Thus it is possible that a certain development may take place in different words at different times.

The position of the letters with relation to the neighbouring syllables i.e. whether they belong to the same or different syllables, has also a considerable effect on the development. For example, whilst as a rule *ml* becomes *bl*, the *ml* of Mod. Ir. *domlas* < **dus-mlass-* does not become *bl* at all. Compare also *doomlacht* 732, where probably the change did not take place. Further Mod. Ir. *cúimligheann*, *cúimleochaidh* 'rubs' from *con-meil-*. On the other hand, the *m* and *l* of unaccented *Mael* coming together at the beginning of a name become *bl*, e.g. *Maelsheachlainn* > *Bleachlainn*.

(12) *mb* > *mm*.

§ 101.

*i n Drumbaibh*² *Bregh* 519.

i n Drommaibh Bregh 522.

g. Coluim 545, 560, 562.

Colum 552, *im chnass* 562.

¹ *d* following *ll* in modern Irish would not assimilate with it, as *gallda*, foreign. Cf. *miondaigheacht*, but *gránna* = *gran* + *da*. Compare *étaldai*, Sg. 3424, *coldde* = *colurnus*, Sg. 35b10 and other examples in St. Gall Glosses. *Etaldai* fr. *etal* + *da* adjectival suffix. *Acaldmaiche* Sg. 28a1. Also 28a4.

² If this spelling *Drumbaibh* has any value, which is doubtful, it would disprove the etymology of *druim* from **drosmen*; cf. Latin *dorsum*. L. Ardm. has *drommo*. In the plural it becomes later an n-stem though it is not so here.

- g. *Columbe* 573. *Colman* 572, 585, 586, 601, 624,
Colmaen 599.
Colmani 610, 623, *int immairecc*
617 (*Colmain* 603, 611, 612,
627 bis).
athcumai 626 (poem).
**in-Druimm* 640, *Colmain* 641,
659.
- g. *Columbani* 627 (Latin). g. *Imlecho* (*Ibair*) 660, *Colman*
664, 679.
- n. *Columbana* episcopus, 675. g. **Ruimm*, 676.
- g. *Imblecho* 687. g. *Concoluim* 683, g. *Imlecho* (sic)
687.
- Imbairecc* 700. *n-immarecc* 696.
*Colman*¹ 700, 702, *Colmain* 706,
*mac *Concoluinn* 708 (leg. *Con*
coluim?).
- immbairecc* 709. *imesech* 713, *Dromma* 721 (and
passim).
Imlecho 729, 736, **Tomae* 739.
- Concumbu* 729. **Cormaicc* 745, n. pl. *cimmidi* 745.
Imlecho Fea 748, g. *Colman* 750.
**Tome* 748, **Tommae*² 750, 780.
- mbleguin* 732. n. *Imairecc* 759, 774.
- g. (*cuain*) *caimb* 747.
- (lex) *Columbae Cille* 756 (Latin; g. *Coluim* 752, **Tomae* 767.
Col, R).
- g. *Duibhchombair* 771, 786. *immelle*, 'together,' 771, g.
Coluim 777.
- Maelcombair* 789. *imdai* 776, g. *cathimairecc* 776.
g. *Concumbu*³ 791. *imda* 777, *chaimm* 778.
**Commain* 779 (cf. 640 poem).
**Dimman* 810.
- Columbae cille* 806 (Latin). *im* (= *imb*) 836.
- dimbaigh* 814, *cumbae* 829.
- Fiambur* 830, *Imblecho Fio* 842.

¹ Cf. *Colman* in *Vita Columbae*.² Cf. L. Ardm. *Tomme*. See *Thes.* ii.; obviously not a case of *mb*.³ F.M. has *Concumba*.

* Doubtful instances I mark with an asterisk.

imbi 847 (along with him).

imbechtair 865, 868, *imbi* 903,

949.

Imbleach 1058, *Cill Combair ime* 1004, *Imleacha* 1058.

1031.

§ 102. I think the best results will be obtained if we divide the subject into three cases: (1) *mb* in pretonic position, (2) *mb* in the syllable following the accent, and (3) *mb* in the accented syllable. The results of (1) and (2) go closely together.

We find the preposition *im* at 562 and *imesech* 713, and never *imb*, whilst *imbi* occurs at 847, 903, 949. Cf. *imbi* . . *imbi*, Wb. 10a12, but *im* when followed by a consonant *imdo dia imdo* . . 3b15; *ite immelotar immuaneclis*, L. Arm. 18b1.¹

It is noticeable that there are no instances of *Coluimb* (with *mb*) in the Annals after 657, if we except the obviously Latin genitives *Columbae* 756; 806. *Columbana episcopus* 675 represents² an early derivative from *Columb*, with the final vowel in the *-a* stage.³ At 702 it is *m* in *Colman*, which is also the form used in *Vita Columbae* and *Book of Armagh*. At 709 we have a name, *Concoluinn*, which should probably be read *Concoluim*, as at 683. Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (A.D. 700) contains the nominative *Columm* once and *Columb* three times and *Cambas* (bis). The *Book of Armagh* preserves the *mb* as in d. *Imbliuch*, n. *Colombcille*, g. *Coluimbille*. In our next instance of the word in the Annals we have g. *Coluim* 752. All this evidence points to the change of *mb* to *mm* in unaccented syllables as having practically taken place by the end of the seventh century. The name *Colman* at 702 is a good instance, as in this spelling the derivation was forgotten.⁴

As regards *mb* in the accented syllable there is a possibility of different treatment according as *mb* came at the end of a word or

¹ Also *immrani*, etc.

² If the ending is not a Latin one to correspond to *Columba*. But the Latin genitive form occurs in *Columbani* 627, 667. Cf. *Colman*. *Columban* is common in *Vit. Col.*

³ Cf. Ogham *Glassiconas*, *-a*, etc. *Columbana* has the vowel *u* still preserved. According to the laws of Irish accentuation this *u* should disappear. In the modern form of *Columb* also the *u* has fallen; n. *Colm*, g. *Coilm*, with palatal *l*, which is vocalic.

⁴ The spelling *Colman* during the sixth and early seventh century is presumably due to late compiler.

was followed by a consonant or a vowel. We find the last instance of *mb* following an accented vowel in *g. caimb*¹ 747 (= crooked). In its next occurrence it is *mm*, *g. m. chaimm* 778. With the exception of this word we have no instance of final *mb* (after an accented vowel) after 700. The material, however, is scanty.

Imb before *l* practically disappears after 687, *Imblecho*.² It is *Imlecho* at 729, 736, 748, though, strange to say, it reappears as *Imblecho (Fio)* at 842, and *Imbleach* 1048, but the latter two should probably be simply regarded as archaisms.

§ 103. The foregoing evidence would lead us to the conclusion that, in these two cases at least, the change of *mb* to *mm* had begun about the beginning of the eighth century, and had worked itself out at about 750,³ which I should be inclined to put as the inferior limit of the phonetic change. The genitive *mbleguin* 732, though not coming directly under this head, is significant as showing that the combination *mb* was a familiar sound in the pronunciation of the period.

If we may take *immarecc*⁴ 696 as authentic we should be led to the same conclusion for *mb* when followed by a vowel, as in the last case. *Imbairc* occurs at 700 and *immbairc* at 709, which is the last instance⁵ of this word with *mb*. The writing of *immbairc* with two *m*'s seems to be a provision for expressing the change which was taking place within the knowledge of the writer. We may look at *immarecc* from two points of view, as an ordinary noun or as a compound of *imb* + *airecc*. In the latter case, when *imb* had become *imm*, *imbairc* would be rebuilt *immairecc*.⁶ Another instance is *cimmidi* 745, where *mb* has become *mm*. Cf. *cimbid* in Wb. 27c22. The bulk of the glosses in the Würzburg codex preserve *mb* in medial position before vowels, as *cimbid* 27c22, *imbi* . . . *imbi* 10a12, but *immarchor* 5a5, *romatar* from *rombatur*, *immib* ('about ye') 27b16, but *m* before a consonant: *timthirect* 5d9, *imrool*

¹ Goes back to **cambi*. Cf. More-cambe, 'hook of the sea'.

² Cf. *Imbliuch*, L. Ardm.

³ Cf. further Wb. 12a17, *imróol*, 'a great draught,' < *imb-ro-ōl*, but *imbradud*, 6a6, both cases of *imb* + *r*.

⁴ *Immairecc* also occurs at 617. The present instance is rather early.

⁵ At 759, 774 it is *immairecc*.

⁶ Cf. *do immarchor chore*, Wb. 5a5, with *mm* for *mb* in accented position.

(= *imb-ro-ól*) 12a17, but *timpne* (= *to-imb-ane*) 4d24, for *n-imbradud* 6b6. The phonetic writings, such as *commimis* in Wb. 6b21, shows that the change had taken place then but was not in most cases orthographically expressed. In the *prima manus* it has *adcumbe*¹ (*carnis*) 23d22, with accent on the first syllable.

The Cambrai Homily has *imratib* from *imb-rādim*, but *membur*, Latin, *membrum*. The St. Gall codex, p. 217 margin, has *memmbrum nauz*, 'new parchment,' p. 195a, *in memr*.

§ 104. As regards instances, such as *cumbae* 829 (fr. *com* + *be*), this represents the regular condition of things in Ml., where the writing *mb* in accented position, followed by a vowel, is common. Thus *imbed*, *imbiud* 56a13, 71c3, and at 56b9, 56b23, but followed by a consonant, *chamdeicsin* 55a8, *n-imdae* 62b23; *mb* has become *mm* in *immaircide*, 'fitting,' 61b16. That the change had taken place in Ml. is proved by *mec* (= *mbe*) 40a20, and we have such writings as *ambus* 75d8 for *ammus* (?); cf. Strachan, CZ. iv. 56. Such an instance of archaic preservation² of *mb* we have in the inscription³ on the (lost) case of the Book of Durrow, g. *Choluimb*, which was written for Flann mac Mailsechnaill, who is for the first time mentioned in the Annals at 876 (d. 915). As for *Duibhcombair* 771, 786, *Maelcombair* 789, compare *Cill Combair* 1031, where the *mb* is merely a way of writing *mm*. With regard to *cen dimbaig* 814, it may be pointed out that the writing of *mb* for *mm* in compounds with *dim-* extended into the middle or even Modern Irish period. Witness the corresponding *ṛiombáir*, Dinneen, Irish-English Dictionary, p. 243, and a long list *ṛiombáirteac*, *ṛiombuair*, etc., p. 244, which are of course pronounced with *m(m)*—that is written *mb* for *m(m)* at least 1,100 years after the change had taken place. In *ṛombair* (ib. p. 256) *ml*, and not *mbl*, is pronounced. The writing *imbi* is kept late. It occurs in a passage in LU., 130b19, 20, which contains g. *Temrach* twice, that is, after 914.⁴ *Imbirt*, *imberat* occur in the Tain Bo Cúailnge (LU.).

¹ Cf. *athcumai* 626 (poem).

² *Maelmbuadh* 977 beside *Maelmuadh* may be a way of indicating unaspirated *m* after accus. *Mael*. Cf. *im Mael mBrighti*.

³ See Thes. ii. p. 289.

⁴ See Declension, Guttural Stems, for change of declension of *Temair*.

(13, 14) *mr* > *br*; *ml* > *bl*.

§ 105. Instances:—

- g. *Maile mbracho* 621 (cf. *Imblecho* 687, 688, 842). (ard) *Breccain* 718, 735 (*Domnaill*) *Bricc* 688.
- g. *Mrachidi* (H and R), 726 (**Brecc* 724.) (Tigernach, *Mbrachaighe*).
- g. *Mruichesaich* 729. (**Brecc Berbha* 730.)
- g. *mbleguim* 732, *doomlacht* 732. *foirddbe* **Brecrighe* 751.
(Cf. a. *Corcumruadh* 762.) *Breccain* 764, 780 (*Breccan*) 781, 821,¹ 848, etc.
Cairge Brachaidhe 834.
*Conn in Broga*² (in poem on top of folio 39 b. circ. 850).
**Bricc* 858, g. *Cairge Brachaide* 880.
g. *Broga* 878 (cf. *Mruig*, L. Ardm.), (*Corcumbruad* 1045).

As there are two similar changes I take both together. The material is scarce but pretty valuable as far as it goes. The first instance—*mbracho* 621 belongs to the later period when the transition was taking place. The instances *Mraichidhi* 726 and *Mruichesaich* 729, establish decisively that the change had not taken place by that time. The origin of *Brecrighe* is doubtful and cannot, I think, be brought into line with *mrecht*,² *brecht*.³ It is, however, important to note that the kindred change of *ml* to *bl* was also taking place about this time, compare g. *mbleguim* 732. Further, it is clear that the change had taken place at *Brachaidhe* 834, also in g. *broga* 850 (?), 878. It is remarkable that the proper names in *Brec-* during the eighth century have no instance of initial *mr-*. Can it be that we had two roots *mrec-*, *brecc-*?

If not, we must conclude that they were, as familiar names, modernised by the scribe. Even if we could establish the change as having taken place in the early eighth century we should expect the transition form *mbr*. Thus the Annals point to 729-834 as the period of

¹ Accus. *corici Aird m- Breccan*.

² Cf. *im Mruig*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 263; *mruig mrecht*, *Imram Brain*.

³ *Brecc*, as far as I know, never occurs as *mrecc*.

transition, but from them alone it is not possible to narrow down the limit any further.

§ 106. The Würzburg glosses have always *mr* initially. I have not noted any instance of *br*¹ (for original *mr*), e.g. *mratha* 18a22, *nirbo mraithem* 32d15, *mrechtrad* 15c2. The St. Gall codex has n. *mrechtrad* 197a11, 16, g. in *mrechtraid* 197a11 where the *m* is aspirated.² Similarly the Ml. Glosses have *tri mrechtrad* 2d5.

A poem in the Codex S. Pauli³ has *mrugaib* in an alliterative line. For further instances,⁴ cf. Ascoli under *mr*. Cath Cairnd Chonaill,⁵ LU. 117a7 has *moroga*, leg. *mrogo*.

The poetry in Longes mac n-Uisnig has *mbrogtar* (Windisch, i. 2, p. 68) in an alliterative line. The Voyage of Bran⁶ has *mruig* 23, 24; *mroga* 56, in the best MSS. In stanza 23 *mbrecht* in four MSS., *brecht* in one. In par. 9 *mbrath* is found in four MSS., *mbrad* in one. Thus the text belongs at the latest to the period when *mr* was at the transition stage of *mbr*.

§ 107. The only one instance of change of *ml* to *bl*, g. *mblegiun* 732 shows the transition period, with a *b* developing between *m* and *l*. In *doomlacht* in the same entry (at 732) the change has not taken place,⁷ and probably did not take place as *m* and *l* may have been considered to belong to different syllables; cf. § 100 above. *Corcumruadh* occurs at 762, but *Corcumudruadh* (sic H) at 743 represents an older form of the word which is also written *Corcu medruad* (with palatal *m*). The *b* in the writing *Corcumbruadh* 1045 has hardly any significance.

The instances g. *Imblecho* 687, 688, 842 are not valid as here

¹ Wb. 18a15 *ar for mraith* does not, by itself, count, but there are independent instances of the *mr* form.

² This instance is valid as it would of course be possible to distinguish *mh* from *bh*. Cf. Mod. Ir. *samhradh* where the nasal character of the *mh* is quite distinct.

³ Thes. ii. 295.

⁴ The original form of various Irish words with initial *br-* is still obscure.

⁵ Ed. Stokes, CZ. iii. 214, q.v. for variants.

⁶ For variants, v. Meyer, Voyage of Bran, and for further instances of this word cf. Meyer Contrib. *briug*.

⁷ Compare also Modern Irish *domlas* < *do + *mlas* < **dus-mlas-* in which the change never takes place at all.

the *mb* and *l* belonged to different syllables and the reverse change took place, i.e. *mb* became *mm*.

In the Old Irish incantation in the Codex St. Pauli (Thes. ii. p. 293) *mlicht* occurs twice. Cf. *mliuchtaib* Ml. 100b15, *mlichtaib* 100b20. Cf. *mblicht* in O. Ir. Homily published by Strachan, Eriu iii. 1. In Munich Glossary (Thes. ii. p. 43) *blén* occurs. This is *mleen* (MS. *melen*) in Gloss. Philarg. 10b (Thes. ii. p. 47).

The text Longes mac n-Usnig has *no mbligtis* (Ir. Texte i. 2). Cf. *no mbrogtais* referred to above where both changes are in the same condition. Imram Bran has *mlas*, par. 62,¹ which seems to be the reading of all the manuscripts.

The material from the Annals is not sufficient to indicate the period of the change more exactly than that it takes place sometime between 729 and 834, whilst *mbleguin* 732 shows the transition stage.

(15) *ld ll.*

§ 108.

n. *Gillas* (= *Gildas*) 569.

g. *Aedho Alddain* 635, 611.

Maccu Delduibh (sic MSS.), 653; (Chron. Scot. *Telluibh.*)

Aldfrith 703.

g. **Conneldde* 723 (cf. *Ild* 712).

**Conmaeldae*² 726 (*Connelde*, R).

Aldchu 724.

[a. *Aedh Allan*³ 733.]

Alddan 736.

[*Aedh Ollan* 733 in late hand.]

Alddan 737, n. *Olddain* 742, g.

[*Allan* 737, a gloss.]

Aldain 742.

(Cf. *dollotar* 758, poem.)

**Aildobur* 756, 799.

Caille (*Tuidbig*) 761.

[**Edalbold* (King of Saxons) 756.]

[*Allcellach* 770.]

*Aldchu*⁴ 786, g. *Alddain* 786, 787.

**Ellbrigh* (abbatissa) 784.

**Mael-doborchon* 827 (cf. *Notlaic* 817).

¹ Ed. Meyer.

² G. of *Cu-mael-de*.

³ This entry is a gloss in late Irish and has not accus. n. *Aedh Ollan* is added in a late hand. Hennessy printed both without pointing this out.

⁴ F. M. *Aladhchu* 782.

*Co h-anumaloit*¹ 835.

g. *Alddailedh* (sic H) 835.

Coille (Follamhain) 850, 884.

Raith Aldain 851, *Uamh Achaidh*

*Alddai*² 862.

g. *Aldniadh (innseo Clothrann)* g. *Duin Caillenn* 864.
870.

g. *Duin Chaillden*³ 872.

(Cf. *cadla* 882.)

**Mac Allacain* 913.

Aeda Allain 914 (poem), *Ragnall*⁴ 913, 916, 917.

**Maelcallan* 922, *Mac Allchon*

953.

**Gilla* 976, 982 (cf. *gilldae*, Corm.).

(Cf. *Adlai* 947.)

§ 109. Evidence of other texts:—

The Cambrai homily contains no instance of *ld* or *ll*.

The Wb. glosses: 8d26, *umaldoit*; 2a23, *maldactin*; 4c19, *bes meldach less*; ⁵ 3c4, *accaldam*; 9d17, *act mad melltach lass*; 4d4, *accaltam*; 5d23, *diammaldachae*, *maldachad*; 12a25, *is áildiu*,⁶ etc. There is no instance in the Wb. glosses of *ld* having become *ll*, and the writings *melltach* and *accaltam*, in which *t* is written for *d*, prove clearly that the change had not then taken place.

The St. Gall glosses contain the following examples: 38a12, *colde*⁷ = hazel (gl. *colurnus*), 34a4, *etaldai*; ⁷ 35b10, *coldde*; 33b5, *muldae*; 2ga1, 4, *do accaldmaiche*; 30b10, *inchernaldai*. I have no instance of *ld* having become *ll* in Sg.

In the Féire of Oengus the instances of *ld* are rare: *geldu*, Aug. 20 (in all MSS.); *ceoldai*, Jan. 22; at Ap. 4 Stokes restores *álne*, the MSS. have *álle*, *áille*, *alaind*, of which I think the last is correct.

¹ Cf. Wb. 6a5, *umaldoit*.

² Cf. *Alla*, Meyer, Contrib.; *uáim Alla* 1063, *mac Allai* LL. 394b; also R.C. xii. 58, p. 12.

³ Dunkeld in Perth.

⁴ King of the Dubgail = Raginald, Reginald.

⁵ Cf. Goth. *mildeis*, 'mild'.

⁶ Cf. *alind*, Wb. 7c1, 22a13, 31b35.

⁷ There are instances of adjectives formed from nouns with the adjectival ending *-de* (*-dae*), *-da*. It is doubtful whether in these instances *d* ever became assimilated to *l*. Cf. *Gallda* in Modern Irish. This latter word may, however, have been formed at a time when the law had worked itself out.

At Prol. 133, n. pl. *ailli*, MSS.; *aibbli* L, *alle* F, *aille* LB, Jan. 9, *áildi*. At Ep. 83 the gen. *aille* is the reading of all the MSS. Compare *mell*, "an error," p. 10 (Introduction), where the *ll* appears to be original. Cf. Pedersen, p. 85, who compares *mellaim* with Lett. *me'ls-t*.

The Milan glosses: 58c4, *dobert maldachta*; 57d9, *populdaib*; 62b13, *Cáldai*; 62b16 *na Cáld*; 68c14, *illdai* (=plural); 70a8, 87b6, *feuldae, immusacaldat*, 62, etc. Ml. 63d15 has *lase nad reil-dissemni*, for which read *-reillisemni*¹ from **ro-éilnissem*, cf. Ml. 74a3, *asrulensat* > *as-ro-len-* fr. *asléna*, 'he pollutes'. This instance points to confusion of *ld*, *ll*. Strachan (CZ. iv. 55) considered this the only proof that *ld* had become *ll* in the Milan glosses. If we compare (in Ml.) *gell*, 'a pledge,' with O. Norse *gjald*, 'payment,' Ger. *Geld*, we have an instance of original *ld* having become *ll* at the end of a word. I have not noted any other instances. Cf. *ro-leldar*, Ml. 96c13, with LU. 43b22 *co-ruildetar*, for which H has *co-ruileatar*.

The Voyage of Bran² has *meld*, par. 34 (sic E), *meld*, 39 (sic MS. R, *meallt*, E), all the other MSS. have *mell* in these instances. *Geldod* (= *gel-dath*?) 36 (sic RB, *geltot* E). Par. 61 *accaldaim* but *nisnaicilled*. These instances show that the change had not taken place by the time the Voyage of Bran was written down.

In a poem³ by Fingen macFlainn (circ. 850) *ald* occurs, but it is likely a misspelling for *alt*.

§ 110. The material of the Annals shows that *ld* was preserved well into the second half of the 9th century. The last instance of *ld* is *Dun Chaillden*⁴ 872. That the change had at any rate then taken place is shown by the occurrence of the same word, *Dun Caillenn*, at 864. One instance, and possibly two, indicate the phonetic change of original *ld* to *ll* as having taken place much earlier, viz. *caille* 761, *Allcellach* 770. The latter instance is doubtful, as there is no evidence that the *all-* in *Allcellach* is from original *ald-*, since it does not so occur elsewhere. There is a possibility that it may be the same as *ald-* in *Ald-chu* 724, 786, in which latter instance it has not changed to *all*. The *ld* of *Alddain* also occurs at 786, 787, 851, and

¹ Cf. also Ml. 63a14, *arruneillestaar*.

² See Meyer, Archiv iii. p. 293.

³ See Meyer's edition.

⁴ Dunkeld in Perth, Scotland.

all the earlier instances of this name with *ll* are (in H 1. 8) due to glosses in an earlier hand. If the original of *caille* 761 is not due to similar sources (which we have no sufficient reason to conclude, seeing the general accuracy of the Annals about this time), the phonetic change of original *ld* to *ll* must have begun by the second half of the 8th century. The *g. Coille* occurs at 850. The dative of this word occurs in "The King and Hermit"¹ as *coild*, which goes back to **kaldi* (cf. Lat. *callis*, Ger. *holz*, O. Icel., etc., *holt*), and which, if genuine (cf. § 111 and n. 1), points to this text as being very old. The instances *gell* and *reildisseمني* (63d15) in the Ml. glosses and the evidence of the Féilire point also to an early date of the change. It may further be urged that those words which show *ld* are mostly personal names where the old spelling would be longer preserved (cf. § 57).

§ III. It would probably be best to consider the two cases separately: (1) the change of original *ld* to *ll*, which took place first, and (2) that of syncopated *ld* to *ll*, which took place soon afterwards. Instances of *ld* by syncopation are *accaltam* Wb. 4d4, etc., *umaldoit* Wb. 6a5, *omaldoit* Turin 60. This word *umaldoit*, which comes (through British) from Latin (h)umilitāt-, appears as (*an*-)*umaloit* 835, in which the *d* has fallen as in Mod. Irish. The disappearance of the *d* (here in an unaccented syllable) is hardly parallel with the change of *ld* to *ll*, but I give it for purposes of comparison. It is noticeable that *ld* is (with the exception of *nd*) the only one of the O. Ir. consonant groups which is extensively preserved in the Mid. Ir. manuscripts of O. Ir. texts, e.g. *aildiu maigib* LL. 275b43 (Story of Mor Muman), *fon cailde* (?), CZ. iii. 239, Tochmarc Emire. Such instances probably induced the scribe (Gilla Ríabhach O'Clery) to use *ld* in words which ought to have *ll* as *Colum cilde*, etc.; *meild* Slan Seiss LL. 49b16; *ald* LL. 50a, 21, 29, etc.

ld has become *ll* in Serglige Conculaind, e.g. *illānach* (Wi. i. § 33), 'of many gifts'; fr. *il-dān*-.

§ II2. In fixing an inferior limit for the date of the change we must bear in mind that *ld* became *ll* in foreign borrowings, such as O. Norse. *Reginald- (cf. O.H.G. Raginald, Regenald, later Icel.

¹ Ed. Meyer, from Harleian MS. 5280 (Brit. Mus.), written by Gilla Ríabhach O'Clery.

Rögnvaldr), with which the Irish could not have become familiar before the middle of the 9th century, has changed *ld* to *ll* in *Ragnall* (913), and which shows that the law was a living force in the second half of the 9th century. I have no instance of *Gilla* as a personal name before 976, *Gilla colaim*, and 982 *Gilla Patraic mac Imhair*, after which it is common; cf. LU. 55a36, 60b36, 66a2. The derivation of *gilla*, *gilldae* is uncertain; some have suggested O. Norse *gildr*, "of full worth," "one serviceable". The word *gilla* also occurs commonly in *Fled Bricrenn*, *Serg. Conculaind*.

§ 113. The change of *ld* to *ll* shows an important development in O. Ir. pronunciation. The resulting sound was probably, as in Modern Irish, *ll*, a single sound. It is not clear whether original *ll* was pronounced as one ("double" *ll*) sound or no. It is probable in any case that it had fallen together with *ll* from *ld* and *ll* from *ln* by the time of the change. Initial unaspirated *l* is written double in *dollotar* 768 (poem). Instances of this are common in the O. Ir. texts of LU.

The date of the kindred change of *dl* to *ll* cannot be easily decided owing to the orthography which, as in Mod. Ir., has *dl*. There is the same difficulty with regard to the change of *dn* to *nn*, as in *céadna*; pron. *céanna*.

(16) *ln* > *ll*.

§ 114.

Cuilne 551, a. *Eilne* 562.

giallno 562, *Amalngado* 591.

**Daill* 607.

a. *Chuilne* 617, *mogalna*¹ (?) 621
(poem).

**Sillani*² 618.

Raghallaigh 648, *Raghallaich* 655
(late).

Rogaillnigh 653, *Telnain* 657.

(*Domus*)* *Tailli* 671.

g. *Silni* 664,³ g. *Eilne* 689 (g. of
Eilinn?).⁴

Rogailligh 679 (H., but *Rogail-R*).

¹ Probably corrupt.

² Cf. *Silnan* Thes. ii. pp. 276, 277, 278.

³ Cf. Martyr. Donegal, 11th Nov.

⁴ Cf. g. *Eilni* 708, and v. n. 4, next page.

- Chualne* 690, *Balni*¹ 693. **Conailli*² 687 (poem), *Duin Ollaigh* 685.
- Duin Onlaig* 697, *Onlaig* 700. (**Domnall* 693, 727, 758, 783, etc.)
- Rogallnigh*³ 704, (*campo*) *Eilni*⁴ 708.
- Silni* 710, *n. Amhalngaidh* 717. *Ollaigh* (= *Onlaigh*) 713.
- na ggiallne* 720. *il-loch* 718.
- Rogellnaich* 721. **Theille*⁵ 725, *g. Ollaigh* 733.
- g. Amhalghaidh* 736, *g. Amalgado* 740.
- g. Amalgaidh* 741, *alleth *n-aill* 746.
- g. Cuilnige mare* 762. **mic Fallaigh* 751, *il-lan mora* 769.
- Balni* 779, *Ailngnad* 780.
- n. Rogailnech* 814, *hi foigailnaig* *Niall Cailli*⁶ 832.
(*leg. fogiallnaig*) 830.
- fianlach*⁷ 846. *il loch uair* 844, *dallad* 286.
- Rogailnich* 872, *Rogailnech* 883. *collin* 869, *col-Luimnech* 905.
- for Ou Amalgaid* 912. *mac Amalgaid* 908, *Grellaigh*⁸ *Eillti* 913.

§ 115. I have included the instances in which *nl* becomes *ll*. From prehistoric times we find eclipsing *n*- assimilating with initial *l* and written *ll*.⁹ In this case no vowel intervened between *n* and *l*. In

¹ Balla, Co. Mayo.

² Cf. *Conalneos* (?) Thes. ii. p. 259, *Conailli* (id.) p. 309.

³ So H and R though Hennessy prints *Rogallaigh*.

⁴ Cf. *Campi Eilni*, Vit. Columb. Thes. ii. 277, and L. Ardm. 1522. Also d. *Eilniu* L. Ardm. and see Father Hogan's Irish Grammar.

⁵ Cf. *Daire Meilli* 809, but see Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 796. *Taille* occurs again at 744.

⁶ Cf. *Challand* in poem 845, MS. *Kt*, and the gloss 845 *ic linne Neill for Callaind*. See also LL. 16b37 17a19, d. *Challaind* 130a50.

⁷ Cf. *fialach*, Tog. Br. Da D. etc.

⁸ Cf. *Grenlach Fote*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 265.

⁹ We have no evidence that this *ll* was pronounced different from the ordinary initial (unaspirated) *l*. Cf. *dollotar* 758 (poem), *follongam* Wb. 14b15.

the middle of a word we find a similar change taking place, thus *Onlaig* 697, 700 becomes *Ollaigh*¹ 713 which is *Ollaigh* again 733. The origin of *Onlaig* is not clear. In most cases where *n* and *l* came together by syncope no change took place. Cf. *rollegusa* Wb. 19a6 = *ron-legusa*.

As regards *ln* before a spirant we find the *n* of *Amhalngaidh* 717 disappearing at 740 (*Amalgado*), which is *Amalgaidh* 741, 790, though the *n* appears in the writing *Amalngaid* 912. As regards *Ailngnad* 780, it is not clear whether the *g* was a spirant or no.

During the eighth century (single) *l + n* occurs at 708, 710, 762, 779 (*Balni*) 780 (*Ailngnad*), whilst during the same period there is no authentic instance (in the Annals) of *ln* having become *ll*. Unfortunately no instance of *ln* occurs for over fifty years from 780 to 832 when the change is represented as having taken place. *Cailli* 832 represents the genitive of *Calland*² (or *Callann*). This is a good instance as, in the genitive, the origin of *ll* was likely to have been forgotten. The Annals have thus the change between 780 and 832, but it was probably nearer to the former date.

§ 116. The treatment of *lln* seems to have been somewhat different, as, during the ninth century, the combination occurs in *Rogaillnech* 814, *forgaillnaig* 830, *Rogaillnich* 872, *Rogaillnech* 883. The last two, however, may be mere archaic survivals as *Amalngaid* 912. Such spellings are common even among modern Irish writers, thus *guailne*³ for *guaille* (*guailli*) and our Mod. Irish dictionaries give also such forms (*guailne*) that is with *ln* for *ll* more than a thousand years after the change had taken place.

Domnall 702, 731, etc. is doubtful. It is Latinized *g. Domnallis*, Vit. Columb. 69b. Perhaps **Domno-yallos* (?) < **Dumno-ualnos*. The variation with single *l* in gen. *Domnail* ib. 108a is peculiar. Cf. *Cerball* 650, 693, *Fallomon* 824, *Follomhon* 828, 829. Shall we compare *irrufollnastar* Wb. 13b29 'in which he has reigned'?

Other texts: Vita Columbae *g. Campi Eilni* (Thes. ii. 277); *Kailli au inde* (?) (ib. p. 278) is doubtful. A place name *g. Cainle* also occurs.

¹ Dunolly in Scotland.

² We should probably more correctly read *Callann* as the treatment of the combination *ln* was different. See note 6, p. 102.

³ v. An Claidheamh Soluis, 24th October, 1908, etc.

In the Cambrai Homily the change had not taken place. Instances: *comalnnamar*, *colnide*. In the bulk of the Wb. codex the change had not taken place. Instances: *chomalnad* 2b26, *comallnad* 2c14, *comollnither* 2c17, *cholnide* 3c38, *chollno* 3d1, *a aellnad* (to pollute it) 8d6, *cholno* 6b4, *irrufollnastar* 13b29, *atmuilniur* 18c12, *lie uilnech* 21c6. *Inna builnni* 17d2, Mod. Ir. *builli* is probably a case of original *ln*.

Exceptions in Wb.: *atballat* Wb. 9d6 probably comes from a present stem **-baln-*¹ and is an early instance of this change. The treatment of *dildiu*, Wb. 12a25, is peculiar. Here we have a combination of *lnd*, with a fall of *n* between *l* and *d*² whilst *d* was still pronounced. At all events *ld* is the result which does not change to *ll* before the general change of syncopated *ld* to *ll*, i.e. after the time of the Milan glosses. Cf. *aildi*, Ml. 32a22, *ara aildi ade*. Thus we see that the change was beginning in Wb. in case of original *ln* but not in the case of syncopated *ln*.

In the St. Gall glosses *ln* had not changed to *ll*: e.g. 38a5 *tolnaid*, an artificer; 110b2, *comalne* = dropsy, but *fallnacdib*, Palatine 217a4, and possibly *alail* 96a4, etc. The Carlsruhe gl. Priscian have *comalnae*.

In the Milan glosses, however, the change had taken place: 74d5 *arrocomallus*, 81d4 *rocomallad*, 89b11 *comallaibther*. Also at 94b1, 3, 4; 74c20, 62c5, 82d5 *follaiter*³-*su* (gl. regis); 60b16, *inchollugud*⁴ *Crist*; 63a14, *sechis arruneillestar*; ⁵ 69b6 *dofuilled*, fr. *to-fo-lin-*.

Exceptions in Ml.: before *g*: 69d7 *etuilngigedar*, and 60d4, 7 *fulngat*.

ll before *n*: *follnaiter* 90a9, and 98b10 *induillnedche*⁶ 'voracity'.

Tochmare Emire, ed. Meyer, CZ. iii. 244 has a word *Tailne*, *Tailne*; *duilnib*, LL. 49b37 (Slan Seiss).

In the Feilire (A.D. 808) the only instance I have noted has *ln*:

¹ So Stokes. But the change of *ln* coming together by syncope would be later.

² Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. v. 1; further *diltud*, from *di-sluindi* where *lt* results from the combination *-slnd-*. Cf. loss of *n* between *r* and *d*.

³ Cf. Wb. 13b29 *follnastar*.

⁴ Cf. Wb. 4d27 *incholnichto*.

⁵ From *as-lena*, he pollutes: cf. 63d15 *lase nadreildissemni*, and see above *ld*.

⁶ Cf. Ml. 98b11 *arindolintaigi*.

reim calne 'of the Calends,' Prol. 305, and as this is rather an artificial form, much cannot be built on it.

§ 117. Thus our evidence serves to show that the change had not taken place by the time of the Wb. and St. Gall¹ glosses but may have begun for original *ln*. It had taken place by the time of the Milan glosses, though it had not worked itself out fully for all words. The entry in the Annals *Niall Cailli* 832 serves to fix the inferior limit of the change.

(17) *nd* > *nn*.

§ 118.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>g. Illaind</i> 526, <i>g. Cuilind</i> 548. | <i>Finnio</i> 548, <i>Uinniani</i> 578. |
| <i>g. Brendain</i> 575, 600; <i>g. Illandon</i> | <i>donaib</i> 603 (poem), <i>lann</i> 624 |
| 586, 621. | (poem). |
| <i>brandhal</i> (?) 604 (poem), <i>Lindair</i> | <i>Flainn</i> ⁵ 643, <i>a muilinn</i> 650 |
| 621. | (poem). |
| <i>Midind</i> 625, <i>adrandat</i> 622 (poem). | <i>thuirinn</i> 650, <i>Fortrinn</i> 653. |
| <i>muilind</i> 650, <i>tuirind</i> 650. | <i>Crunnmail</i> 646, 653, 655. |
| <i>Forindain</i> 628, 651; <i>Delend</i> 656. | <i>inna</i> 661 (fol. 24 a poem). ⁶ |
| <i>Condire</i> 658. | <i>g. Finnani</i> 659, * <i>glinne</i> 659. |
| <i>morgaind</i> 662, <i>alaind</i> 661 (poem), | <i>Scannail</i> 665, <i>Flainnesso</i> 665, |
| <i>find</i> ² 661 (poem), <i>Chuind</i> 662, | <i>Erend</i> 667 (late spelling). |
| <i>Cuandai</i> 676, 700. | <i>finn</i> ² 669, 670; <i>Crunnmail</i> 670, |
| | 687 (poem). |
| <i>Coraind</i> 682, <i>Scandail</i> ³ 689. | <i>Pante</i> 674, <i>il laind</i> (<i>abae</i>) 675. |
| <i>Fortrend</i> 692, 724, <i>Boendo</i> ⁴ 692. | (cf. <i>Loairnn</i> 677), <i>Finnbair</i> 683. |
| <i>Crandamnai</i> 695. | <i>Crannamhna</i> 688, <i>Flainn</i> 690. |
| | <i>ina</i> 694 (poem), <i>Finnguine</i> ⁷ 694, |
| | 720. |

¹ But cf. *pallnacdib* 217a4 referred to above.

² Cf. *Find-* in Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. pp. 272, 275, 276, 277, 284, Vit. Columb., also Gaulish *uindos* and *Fiacc Find*, Thes. ii. pp. 241, 242. See note 5.

³ Cf. *Scandal*, Vit. Columb. Thes. Pal. ii. p. 281.

⁴ In H the *o* is written into the *t* and it may be read *Boento*, cf. *g Boanta* 838.

⁵ Cf. *Fland Feblae*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. p. 242, additions to Tirechan's notes.

⁶ Not printed by Hennessy.

⁷ Also with one *n*, *Finguinne* 728.

- g. *Olaind* 710 (*Olainn*, R). *na n-* 696, *Crunnmail* 699, *Forannan* 697.
- Condi* (?) 710, *Condalach* 716. *Flann* 699, 711, 716; g. *Finnbarr* 702.
- Indrechtach* 722, 731. *Cualann* 703, 708, 714; g. *Ceninnsó*¹ 717.
- Condere* 725. *Loairn* 718; g. *Finnghlinne* 718.
- d. pl. *dendib* 726. *innred* 720 (*indred*, R); g. *Cuannai* 720, *inna* 720.
- g. *Ualand* 730 (*Ualann*, R). Cf. g. *Cualann*² 726, 732, 733, and note ³.
- Flaind* 731. g. *Finnguine* 734, 737, 741.
- Indreachtaig* 731. *Flann* 731, 732, 733, *Loairnd*⁴ 732.
- g. *Gertindi* 735. *Dun leith finn* 733.
- Etarlinddu* 735 (H), *Etarlindu* *Caintigernd*⁵ 733.
735. *Flainn* 734, *Crunnmail* 735.
- Noindenaigh* 737. *Cuinn* 737.
- Crundmhail* 738 (*Crunnmhail*, R). *Fernbeand* 737 (*Fernbeann* R) (cf. Gaul. *Canto-bennum*).
- Fland Feblae* 739 (*Flād*, H). *Flann* 738, 739.
- Secndi* 739 (H), *Sechndi* (R). g. *Flainn* 740.
- Indrechtach* 740. *Innrechtach* 742, *Cualann* 742.
- Flaind* 742, 753 (R *Flainn*). *dianommansed* 742 (poem) for *diandomansed*.
- tiugrand* 742. *Cualand* 743, *Cuilinn* 744.
- Brendain*⁶ 743, *Fernand* 748. *Forannan* 744.

¹ Cf. *Cenondas*, L. Arm. Thes. ii. p. 266.

² Cf. *Cuindless*, Christian Inscriptions i. fig. ii. (Thes. ii. p. 286).

³ G. *Cualann*, in a poem in the Codex S. Pauli Thes. ii. p. 295, fr. n. *Cualu*, and Latin form *Coolennorum*, L. Arm. Thes. ii. 259.

⁴ Cf. *Loarn*, L. Arm. Thes. ii. p. 271; *Loarnn* 764, *Loairn* 718 and Gaul. *Lovernios*.

⁵ Cf. *Fortchernn*, L. Arm. Thes. Pal. Hib. ii. p. 270 (422); Life of Columbae, Thes. Pal. ii. p. 278, g. *Fortgirni*.

⁶ Cf. Vita Columbae, Thes. ii. pp. 277, 279, 281, etc.

- Dubhdabhairend* 745, *Indreac-Flann* 747.
taigh 747 (*Indrechtai*, R).
*Findin*¹ 751, *Forindain* 751, 755.
Indrechtach 751, *Fhlaind* 753. *Flainn* 754, 757; *Innse bo finne*
 754.
Linde 756.
Condam 759.
 g. *Endai*² 759. *linne* 762, *Finnglaisi* 762, *tuirinne*⁴ 763.
Dubinnrecht 765, 767, 798.
Fernand 768, *Nindedo* 768.
Brendain 769, g. *Oland* 770, *Flainn* 769 (bis), *inna* 775, g. s. f.
phraind 771. *ina* 771.
ind 776. *Brennainn* 772.
fhinn 775, *Conna* 778, *Flannabra*,
Finn 777.
Dubhinnrecht 780, *Scannal* 781.
Innrechtach 783, 789, 796; *Flann*
 783.
Cenond 785. *Noennenaigh* 783, *Mughthigernd*
 784, g. *Cualand* 787.
Faindelaigh 792, *Dindanaigh* 792, *na* 789, *ann* 792.
indreth 793.
Condmach 797, 803. *Finnglaisi* 795, *Forinnan* 797.
indreda 798, *Dindataigh* 798. *Crunmael* 796, *Finnubhrach* 798.³
Indrechtai 798, *Nindidh* 800. *Finshnechta*, *Finsnechta* 796, *Finn*
 796.
Brendain 801, 806; *Condmach* *Airfhinnan* 802.
 806.
*Findubhrach*³ 808, *indred* 808. *Connmach* 805.
and 808, *Flaind* 808. *Ceninnus* 806, *Finbil* 808.
Cenindsa 813, *andes* 814, *indi* *Finnglaise* 811.
 814 (ref. to *cluain cremo*).

¹ Cf. *Findan*, Thes. ii. pp. 258, 287.

² Cf. *Ende*, L. Arm. Thes. ii. pp. 267, 268; 263, 264 (Lat. *Endeus*), 281.

³ Cf. *Findubrec* L. Arm. Thes. ii. p. 261.

⁴ It rhymes with *Uilinne*. Cf. various forms of the word at 650.

Boinde 817, *Andola* 717.

tighi Mundu 816.

ind lochae 817, *ind*¹ *eich* 819, 821.

Cendin 822, *Forindain* 823,

Findubrach 823, 828.

Fland 824, *Brenaind* 825.

Mundu 827, *indred* 821.

Cuilind, *mind* 830.

Forindan 835, *indnu* 835.

Finndubrach 837.

i ndon, *Forindan* 838.

Flaind 840.

Brendain 843.

Finndubrach abae 844, 906.

Calaind 845 (poem).

Forindan 845, 847, 868.

Indrechtach 848.

Lomaind 850.

Lind Duachail 850, *indi* 935.

Lindae 851, *Fland* 853.

**Bannaig* 814, *Scannlain* 817,
aband 817.

Dubinnrecht 817, *ann* 818.

Crunnmael 820.

inna 821 (bis), *Crunnmail* 826.

Flannabra 824.

Forannan 829, *h-Eirind* 830 (late
spelling).

Scannlain 833, 834, *innon* 834
(R = *indon*).

Finnubhrach 833.

Connmhach 836.

Boinn 836, 841.

Crunnmhael 838.

g. *Fortrenn* 838.

Duiblinn 841, *linnae* 841.

Forannain 842.

Connmhach 845, 846, *linne* 845.

ann 849, g. *Rechrand* 849.

Flann 852.

Finn 856 (poem).

(Cf. g. *Etmonn*² 974.)

§ 118. There is no characteristic of Irish orthography which has survived so long as the writing of *nd* for *nn*. Throughout the Middle Irish period *nd* was written where *nn* was pronounced, not only for original *nd* but also for original *nn*. This, of course, makes the investigation of the time of the change of *nd* to *nn* very difficult, and we must, in considering this subject, not forget that the writing of *nd* for *nn* survives even to the present day.

Accordingly, we must take for our criteria, not the survival of *nd* in orthography, but rather the confusion in writing, of *nd* for

¹ For a further list of forms, see Article, p. 123.

² King of the Saxons.

original *nn*, taken in connection with the earliest appearance of *nn* for original *nd*. As orthography follows pronunciation more or less slowly, we may expect to find that a certain condition of things is frequently not represented in writing until long after the phonetic change had taken place.

Starting with 700 we find the first clear cases of confusion¹ of *nd* for *nn* at *Cualand* 730, but *Cualann* 703, 708, 714, *Loairnd*² 732, and in the following year 733 *Caintigernd*. This spelling of *rnd* for original *rn* indicates a confusion between *nd* and *nn* at that time. The pronunciation is probably best represented by *Loairnn* at (677), 762. It is not clear that there was not a confusion also between *rnd* and *rnn* in the pronunciation as well as in the orthography of the period, and *nd* may have then actually developed and been pronounced after *r*. In this connection the fact is worth considering that we actually find *rd* written for *rn* in later Old Irish, e.g. *Serglige Conculaind*, Ir. Texte, i. 218, *sin card* rhyming with *arm*.³ This could have come from a pronunciation *carnd*, as *n* falls between *r* and *d* as well as between *l* and *d* in Old Irish.⁴ Even supposing that *nd* was the final sound of *Loairnd* at 732, the entry *Loarnn* at 764 shows that at that time the sound was *nn*.

As regards the earliest appearances of *nn* from *nd* we have abundant instances of it from 700 onwards. Thus *Fland* with original *nd* is written *Flann*⁵ at 699, 711, 716, 727, 732, 733, 734 (g), 738, 739, side by side with *g*. *Flaind* 731, *Fland* 739, and of course the *nd* is written at a much later period. Other early instances of *nn*

¹ *Olaind* 708, *Ualand* 730, are doubtful. I cannot find the word in any Early Irish text.

² Cf. *Loairn* 718, *Loarnn* 764, Gaul. *Lovernios*.

³ Cf. also in same piece S.C. 31 (Ir. Texte, i. 218), *ni maird* for *ni mairn*, 3rd sing. of present *mairnim*, I betray; pres. subj. *meraid*.

⁴ Cf. Thurneysen, *Zeit. für Celt. Phil.* vol. v. p. 1, for a discussion on this subject.

⁵ We cannot lay overmuch stress on the spelling of a common word like *Flann* by itself, as it may be on a parallel with the writing of *Aeda* for *Aedo* in the early 8th century. *Fland Feblae* occurs in L. Ardm. (Thes. ii. 242), in the additions to Tirechan's Notes on the Life of S. Patrick. This text has *é*, *ea*, and *ia* and belongs to the very early eighth century. Cf. Introduction to Thes. ii. xv. It also has *Éndi*, *Éndae*, *andooit Naindid*, *find*, *and* (bis), *dothoorund*, *durind*, but *donn*, *Crimthunn*, etc. If *Fland* had not original *nd* then the confusion would indicate that the change had taken place at the time of the Notes.

for *nd* are *Forannan*¹ 697, *Finnbarr*² 702, *Ceninnsó* 717, *Finnnglinne* 718, *Cuinnles* 723, whilst *g. Cuandai* with *nd* at 676, 700 is *Cuannai* at 720. Later on, *Linne* 762, but *Linde* 756, *Noennenaigh* 783, *Noindenaigh* 737, *Flannabre* 777, a derivative of *Fland*. In pretonic position *nd* occurs in the gen. fem. of the article *inna* 720, *g. pl. na* 696. On the other hand the dat. pl. *dendib* occurs at 726. Nom. fem. and gen. masc. *ind* occur throughout the Old Irish period. For a full list, see Declension, the Article, p. 123. There is no instance of *find* from 661 till 751 (in composition), *Findin*, whilst *Finn* occurs at 669, 670, and often in composition.

§ 119. The evidence of the Annals on this point certainly goes to show that the phonetic change—at least, of *nd* to *nn*—had taken place by the beginning of the 8th or the end of the 7th century, and we cannot safely trust the Annals³ much earlier. The change of *nd* to *nn* is of a similar nature to the change of *mb* to *mm*, and it is not unlikely that both changes took place in Irish about the same time, though the evidence of other texts is rather against this.

But though the phonetic change (of *nd* to *nn*) had probably taken place by the early part of the 8th century we find *nd* distinguished from *nn* in orthography till a much later time.

§ 120. In the bulk of the glosses of the Wb. codex *nd* is not confused with *nn*.⁴ Instances are abundant:⁵ *mo chlainde* 6a19, *in bendachad* 5d23, 7b21, *frissalind* 7d9, *cland* 2c12, 21d6, *scribinnd* 15a30, *rinnd* 13d25. Exceptions: *pronnd*,⁶ 31b22, *in clainn*⁷ 5b33, *re proinn*⁸ 28c20, *no finnatar*⁹ 29a28, Sans. *vindáti*, cf. S. *véda*, L. *video*.

¹ *Forannan* seems a late form owing to weak vowel; cf. *Forindain* 751, 755.

² See Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschrift xxxii. 160, 173.

³ See chapter on the Sources of the Annals. There are some possible late entries in the first half of the 8th century.

⁴ Cf. Thurneysen, Zeitschr. Celt. Phil. i. 346.

⁵ For further examples of *nd* in Wb. glosses cf. Pedersen: *Aspirationen i Irsk*, p. 110.

⁶ From Latin *prandium*.

⁷ Strachan reads *in clainnd*, and compares *scribinnd*, Wb. 15a30. For form, cf. W. *plant*, L. *planta*.

⁸ Cf. Strachan, Zeitschr. Celt. Phil. iv. p. 55.

⁹ A phonetic spelling, the derivation of the word having been overlooked.

Loss of *d* is found between *n* and *g* and *n* and *ch* in Wb.

The gen. sing. and n. pl. of the article has become *nn* in Wb. glosses: *inna lobri* 6c23, *inna aithissi* 6c29, etc.

All this shows that the change of *nd* to *nn*, in certain positions at least, such as in pretonic words, had taken place by the time that the bulk of the Wb. codex was written. The occasional instances of *nn* for original *nd* (in Wb.) also seem to me to indicate that, phonetically, the change had taken place throughout, though *nd* was sufficiently familiar to remain the standard form. For the writing of *nd* we may, moreover, compare the writing of *mb* in accented syllables,¹ with the exception already referred to—*commimis* 6b21.

§ 121. In the Félire of Oengus² the manuscripts vary very much. As *nd* and *nn* were promiscuously written for one another throughout the Middle Irish period the value of the readings of manuscripts written during this time is considerably obscured. In this respect the investigation of the change of *nd* to *nn* is entirely different from the other consonant changes, such as *mb* to *mm*, *ld* to *ll*, as in the latter cases the original spellings entirely disappear after a certain time. The evidence of the manuscripts of the Félire points clearly in some instances to *nd* having become *nn*, and in some cases, such as *glind*, June 3, all the MSS. have *nd* for original *nn*. Thurneysen,³ moreover, proves by the rhyme of *nd* with an original *ll* (thus: *finde*—*Basille*, May 17; *finde*—*Bille*, August 8; *clainde*—*daille* Epil., 509) that *nd* had become *nn* by the time of the Félire (circ. 808).

§ 122. The St. Gall glosses have preserved *nd* except in the gen. fem. and plural of the article, which has *nn*, e.g. 9a6 *inna*, g. pl. *na* 9a19, 2a1 *inna*, 4a1, etc., and the exceptions *masculinni* 67a17, *ansom* = *andsom* 151a4. Examples are: 9a1 *dindi as*, 9a12 *dofoirnde* (cf. 9a16 *iar indigbail*), 9a21 *hi scribiunt*, 22 *hi scribunt*, 9b4 *sluindid*, 2a7 *ind inducbail*, 3b15, 6b28 *ind rann*,⁴ 3b18 *ind toraind*, *cruindae*, 4a1 *inna toranda*, 4b4 *indib*, 5a23 *inbindius*, *ndondfoirde* 26a12, 42a4 *condeilgg*, p. 114 margin *bendacht*, 28b6 *álaind*. The instances

¹ *mb* is generally written *mm* in unaccented syllables in Wb. Cf. the instances given above and 8b9 *immidrâdi*, 5a5 *immarchor chore*, but 10a12.

² In Stokes' edition for the Bradshaw Society *nd* is restored.

³ KZ. xxxvii. 55.

⁴ Cf. Félire. On the other hand *torand* 26b12, 15, etc.

scribunt, *scribiunt* point to a pronunciation *nd* with the usual Old Irish writing of *t* for *d*.¹ The reason for this in the St. Gall glosses is not clear, except that it be owing to a different dialect or to glosses of a different date. We may compare, however, the writing of *-nt* for *-nd* in the article in St. Gall thus: *isint aimsir* 14b13, *int aithlaichtho* 66c5, *isint erchru* 30d27, etc.; cf. Strachan, CZ. iv. 62. The phonetic value of this *nt* is not clear. As already pointed out, in a good many respects the St. Gall glosses show evidences² of very archaic Irish.

§ 123. The Milan glosses have for the most part preserved *nd*. For example, 99d4 *huand londas*, 65c16 *torand*, *torund*; 67c1 *condalb*, 67c12 *indithern*, 59d4 *domundaib*,³ 59a17 *londasa*, 60b4 *forbanda*, *ind anmandai*. As Wb. has instances of *nd* having become *nn* it is hardly necessary to point out the following forms:—

In Ml. *nd* has become *nn* at 99b10, *amal nad finnatar* 26d12, g. pl. article passim, 29b8 *tororansom*, “he signified,” < *to-ro-rand-*, 30a8 (and passim) *donaið*. Also 30b2, 18d2, 140c2 *atamgrennat*, *chlainn* 91b17, *rinn* 145d3, *dilgiunn* 33c5, *tinnagat* 93a20, 126d12; *doinnastar* 30c17, *tinnacul* 93d6, 96d6, 97a7, etc. With single *n*, *clain* 23d12, etc.

§ 124. As regards the earlier texts we have *nd* in the Book of Armagh. The following are instances from the biblical glosses⁴ of this book: *condid*, *tarsende*, etc., *indloingtis*, *sluindim*, *lindae*, *indeb*, but *inna luæ* ‘of the steer,’ *conid*, *dunaið*. In the place names in L. Arm. we find the following forms: *Findubrecc*, *Alo Find*, *Cenondas*, *Find-maige*, **Cainnechus Éndi*, *Lee Benndrigi*, *Boindeo*, **Gluinn*, *Findglaiss*; and in the Irish notes in the same book: *leth-indli*, **mennut*, *Endi*, *Endae*, *andooit*, *find*, *immindraitset*, *Naindid*, and *Iland*, *thoorund*, *rind*.

¹ Cf. *mþ* for *mb* in the Würzburg glosses.

² Cf. *au*, p. 70, n. 3, and their treatment of *au* above. Cf. also Strachan in RC. xx. 191, 295, and Zeit. Celt. Phil. iv. 470, “in an isolated point like the use of *forsa* not *fora* it seems more archaic than Wb.”

³ But cf. in Modern Irish *n* + adjectival suffix *da* remaining *nd*, thus *miondaigheacht*. In *sean-duine*, however, *nd* > *nn*, pron. *seannuine*. Cf. *éanduine*, pr. *éannuine*.

⁴ See Thes. Pal. Hib. i. 494 and foll.

* Most probably original *nn*.

In Adamnan's Life of Columba: *Find, Fint . . . Lathrag inden*,¹ *Finnio*² (106b), *Findchanus, Kailli au inde, Fendae*.

Thus from the preceding early Irish texts we may conclude (1) that *nd* had become *nn* in pretonic position, e.g. in the cases of the article, by the time of these texts, that is, by about A.D. 700; (2) that *nd* had not become *nn* in words with full stress. To this there is the possible exception of *Finnio*.³ This word appears as *Uiniano*, Adamnan, 53b, *Uinniani*, in the Carlsruhe Beda (Thess. ii.), *Finnio*, in the Stowe Missal, and A.U. 548, *Uinniani*, A.U. 578. At 775 it has *Uiniani*, R. *Finniani*. At 858 *comarba Finnio*, 890 *minna Finnia*, 943 *comarba Finnia*, 972 *comarba Finnen*; Chron. Scot., *Finnian* 551, *Finniani* 578. Columbanus,⁴ at 600, referred to *Vennianus*. It is noteworthy that in some of the cases the word occurs with single *n*. Zimmer (KZ. xxxii. 160) equates *Finnio* with *Findbarr, Finnbarr*.⁵ Thurneysen (CZ. i. 347) explains the *nn* of this word as being due to the Welsh form of the name⁶ **Winnion* or **Guinion*, where the change of *nd* to *nn* took place at a much earlier period, and compares the diphthong in adjectival forms *firian, firion, firén*, borrowed from W. *gwirion*.

The Cambrai Homily contains the following instances: *assindber, assindbeir, oire mundem, indarbe, dundaib, but i pennit*.

The Annals put the change very early, and even if we except such common names as *Flann* we still find the change at 702, 717, 718, 720. As regards such a foreign word as *Etmonn* 974, it may have been borrowed whilst the sound change was active. As the writing *nd* was so common it could in any case become *nn* by analogy.

¹ "Perhaps for *Lathreg Finden*, gen. sg. of *Finnio*, *infra* 106b. If so, *lathreg* is a fem. form of the masc. (or neut.) *lathrach*."—Stokes.

² Cf. *Uinniani*, Carlsruhe Beda; *Finnio*, in the Stowe Missal.

³ See Thurneysen, CZ. p. 346, and v. above the sources, § 15.

⁴ Mon. Germ. Hist. Epistolae, iii. 156, and v. CZ. i. 346.

⁵ Cf. *Finnbarr*, A.U. 702.

⁶ A similar ending occurs in *Macnio* 708, 779, *Maccnia* 701, but *g. macniadh* 751, *Cathnio* 769, *Cathnia* 793. But must we necessarily take *Finnio, Vennianus* as a derivative from *find*?

(18) *th* > *dh*.

§ 125. *th* becomes *dh* in unaccented syllables. Instances:—

- Fincath* 485, *Duncath* 575. *Losnado* 486.
 g. *Tueth* 614 (R, *Tueth*), *Duncath* n. *Dunchath* 650, 676, 679, 682.
 620, *loscoth* 642.
Duncath 646, 653; *Uloth* 646, n. *Dunchadh* 658 (H), *Cinn-*
*cocath*¹ 648. *garadh*⁵ 659.
 g. *Dunchatha* 669, 673, 699, 700.
 g. *Dunchatho*² 680, *Nieth* 687, n. *doirad* 679.
 692.
Cinngarath 688, *Cathboth* 700. n. *Conchad* 691, *Duncadho* 706.
Uloth 701, *Ulaith* 702, 711.
forcraith 702 (H, R), *Dunchath* *slogadh* 706, 714 (*sloghadh*),
 706. *Maeleanfaidh* 709.
coscradh 710, 713 (*coscradh*), *Mur-*
chadho 714.
Murchada 714, *Dunchad* 716,
 720, 726, 727.
Cinaeth 722, *Maeleanfaith* 724. *Dunchad* 718, g. *Dunchada* 718,
 g. *Dunchada* 721.
 (*Monith* 728), *Feroth*³ 728. *Murchadho* 727, 736, 748; *Gar-*
radh 731.
coscrath 732, *Calathros* 735. *coscradh* 732, *Dunchado* 734,
slogad 737.
Affiath 742. *Fergusa forcraidh* 742, 775, *bad-*
hud 747 (cf. *fridguin* 748),
slogad 775, 776; *Garadh* 762.
Murchad 764, *Donnchad* 764,
Donnchad 768, 769, 774;
Dunchada 769, *coscradh* 769
 (bis).
 g. *Tobaith* 775. *Bodbcadh* 773, *Cinaedh* 775.
*foroireth*⁴ 777 (poem), *Sithmaith*³ *cathcoscrad* 775, *Dunchada* 775.
 777.

¹ con + cath.

² MS. *Dūchā*, leg. *Dunchatho* ?

³ There may be a double accent on these words. With *Sithmaith* cf. *Cob-*
laith 730, 770, etc., *Bodbraith* 773, *Forbflaith* 779, but *Gormlaidh* 947.

⁴ This appears to be the MS. reading: *foroiret*—Hennessy.

⁵ Kingarth in Bute—Hennessy.

Monoth 781.

Ulaith 783, *Febordaith*¹ 785.

Cinaeth 789.

indreth 793.

Uloth 809.

cath Forath (?) 817.

foruth 822.

loscuth 824.

Uloth 826, 852, 856, 869, 881,
885.

*manrath*² 839.

coscrath 880, *Donncath* 887, *Foth-
uth* 890.

g. *Uloth* 894, 897; *in-eisriuth*
892.

d. *brisiuth* 901, *do innriuth* 915.

do indriuth 941.

Cinngaradh 775, *conbadh* 775.

Donnchad 777, 779, 783.

flechodh 776, *coccadh* 776, 777.

g. *Flaithniadh* 780, *Fochlado* 784.

Ulad 789, *cathchoscradh* 790.

Cinaedh 792, *innred* 792, *los-
cad* 794.

lomradh 794, *Murchad* 798, 806.

Dunchad 802, *sluaiged* 803
(margin).

slogad 804, 807; *Cinaedha* 805,
807.

indredh 808, *Ulaid* 808, *indred*
811, 821.

Uladh 808, *Cinaedh* 813, *slogad*
813, 814, 819.

loscadh 815, *fothud* 818.

(cf. *do brid* = *breith* 820), *Mur-
chadh* 822.

roiniudh 824, *loscadh* 825, 827,
829.

coscradh 826, *innreadh* 826.

roiniudh 832, *badudh* 844.

§ 126. I have not thought it necessary to collect instances of *dh* in the later periods as it is very common. Final *-th* is pretty frequent till 732, which has both *coscrath* and *coscrad*. After this there are no instances³ of *th* for a long period until it is revived in the 9th century, and preserved as late as 901 in *brisiuth* 915, 941. The spelling *Uloth* (g. pl.) is very common during the 9th century, and seems an

¹ With accent also on *-daith*.

² To rhyme with *cath*.

³ Except poetical forms such as *foroireth*.

artificial one both as regards the *ð* and the *-th*. This spelling must be a borrowing from early 8th century documents.

The change of *-th* to *-dh* in unaccented syllable belongs clearly, according to the Annals, to the early 8th century. We find *-th*, however, preserved in poetry at 777 and again at 839. Most of the earlier instances are indecisive, as the final *-ath-* or *-ad* is expressed by a contraction thus: *ṛuncn̄* 706, which may be either one or the other (*th*, *d*). We have, however, some clear instances of final *-ad* in *Duncado* 706, *coscrad* 710, 713, *Murchado* 714, etc., *slogadh* 706, 710, which show that the change was an early 8th century one. We find final *-th* preserved in poetry in the 9th century thus: *manrath* 839 (poem), to rhyme with *cath*. In the 10th century 901, 915, 944 we find *-th* after the dative *u*. The entry *natiuitas Donnchada* 732 was probably not entered until about thirty years later.

(19) **to-> do-** in pretonic position.

§ 127. In connection with the change of *th* to *dh* we may take the change of *to-* to *do-* in pretonic position.

Tolfa 613 (F.M. *Tolua*).

Tuenog 662.

Teroc (leg. *Ternoc*² 791)

*Disirt Teornoc*² 818.

docher 516, *domised* 617.

dolaissi (*maccu Imse*¹) 638.

Dochuae 653.

g. *Ducinni* 688.

g. *Dochumai conōc* 686, *Dobecoc* 689.

Duchanna 705.

Duchonna 725, *Dochumai* 732.

g. *Dodimóc* 747.

n. *Documai* 747, g. *Dulassi* 750.

n. *Duceta* (?) 762.

g. *Dochonna* 797, *Docutu* 837.

Dosenchiaroc 837, *Dabeoc* 1070, etc.

§ 128. The verbs furnish no evidence. In the earliest instances, *docher* 516, *domised* 617 (in poetry, cf. § 94, 97), the change of *to-* to

¹ Sic leg.

² Accented on first syllable.

do- is represented as having already taken place. The last instance of *to* (*tu-*) is *Tuenoc* 662, where the *Tu-* was probably not completely unaccented and moreover *To* survives as *t'* before a vowel as *Ter(n)oc* 791. It is probable that this change of *to-* to *do-* took place much at the same time as the other weakenings due to accent. Cf. *tuthegot*, *tuesmot*, Cambrai Homily. *To Channu*, *To Cummi*, Rel. St. Columba (v. Thes. ii. 281).

(20) $\text{u} > f$.

§ 129. The only instances of initial u are: g. *Uinniani* 578, i.e. *Finnian* of Magh Bile, Chron. Scot. *Finniani* 578. Cf. *Finnio* 548. G. *Uinniani* (?) 775 which is *Uiniani* H, *Finniani* R (cf. *Eiluwin* (?)¹ 617), G. *Uinei* 622 = *Fine*. Several instances such as *Firth* 634 (= *Wid*), 640, 652, *Fursu*, *Fursi* 647, 648 with *f* might be adduced.

§ 130. Instances of initial *f* such as *Fiachrach* 645, *Fiachnae* 650, *Fergusso* 653, I have not collected. To the above may be added: *Vennianus* written by Columbanus (A.D. 600) in a letter² to Pope Gregory, *Uinniaui* in the Carls. Beda and *Uinauo*, Adamnan. Such occurrences and the examples up to 622 are sufficient to show that the change had not taken place until the beginning of the seventh century.

Looking at this change phonetically we find a rather remarkable development. In initial position u lost its voice by a process which is not altogether clear, thus giving *f*. If we could imagine that u was followed by a breath glide which in course of time became a full aspirate *h*, then $\text{u} + h$ would become like the *wh-* in English *which*. Then this *h* would unvoice the u and it would become *f*, just as English *which* is pronounced *fuɪtʃ* by Irish speakers. Intervocalic u fell in Irish, thus we have "a fear" 'her husband' but *m'fhear* (= *mofhear*), or in other words the change of initial u to *f* in Irish is later than aspiration. Professor Zimmer, with his usual keenness, was the first, to my knowledge, to draw this latter conclusion. The change must be later than the borrowing of the Latin *vīnum* fr. * uoinom , O. Ir. *fīn*, W. *gwin*.

¹ *Eluim*, R.

² Cf. Monum. German. Epistol. iii. printed by Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* iii. p. 21.

CONSONANT CHANGES.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 131. We see by the foregoing that many important developments took place in Old Irish pronunciation from A.D. 650 to 900. I have already discussed these as far as they can be determined from orthographical indications. I may mention, in the first place, the weakening of the vowels (approximately) in the early eighth century which is due to the working of the Irish laws of accent. A considerable period elapsed between the various consonant changes. Thus, on the one hand, the assimilation of *nd* to *nn* had taken place, roughly speaking, by the beginning of the Old Irish period whilst the change of *ld* to *ll* had not ceased till about the middle of the ninth century.¹ Apart from orthographical considerations and written records, one might state that the change of *nd* to *nn* had not taken place before the assimilation of the Latin *benedictio* into Irish as *bendacht* and thus determine a superior limit, whilst the change of *ld* to *ll* was a living force when the Norsemen in Ireland began to be assimilated towards the end of the ninth century. These principles no longer hold; cf. *galldacht*, *conndae* (*nd* from *nt*), *miondaigheacht*, *prionda* ('print'), etc.

§ 132. Lying between these two changes we have the change of *ln* to *ll* which had taken place by the time of the Milan Glosses. There is a difference of time between the change of original *ln* to *ll* and the change of *ln* brought together by syncope. Thus *atballat* in Wb. which I have already noted. Still this change (of original *ln* to *ll*) must have taken place only a short time before the change of syncopated *l-n* to *ll*. In the modern g. *olla* we make use of an old form ready at hand rather than go through the performance of

¹ Outside the Glosses and the Félire *ld* seems to be the only unassimilated group which is frequently met with in Old Irish documents.

building a gen. **olnna* and then, at the same time, changing *lnn* into *ll*. Similarly, *aille*, *guaille* (*guailli*). To say that we do this latter would be equivalent to saying that the aspiration after *a* "his" in *a cheann* "his head" is an instantaneous phonetic change. It now serves to show a difference of meaning from a 'her,' whilst we know that the change took place more than 1200 years ago as the result of Irish Sandhi laws, probably at the same time as the corresponding simple consonants between vowels became aspirated. Moreover, in the syncopated forms, it took at least 100 years to operate when we compare the Annals, Vita Columbae, Wb. and Ml.

We find similar changes in other languages, thus Lat. *collis* from **con-lis*, *sella* from **sedlā*, *stēlla* fr. **stēr-lā*¹ (Gr. ἀστῆρ, Sans. *stār*, Got. *stairno*), *sallo* fr. **saldō*, Got. *salta*, etc. Irish, however, retained the primitive conditions very late. We find this also in initial *mr-* for later *br-* in words such as *mruig*, *Mruichesach* late in the eighth century. In Latin this *mr* initially became *fr*, cf. *fraces*, fr. **mrac-* to *marceo*, cf. Ir. *mraich*, *braich*.

In all these changes the assimilation of original combinations (*nd*, *ln*, *ld*) probably took place before the syncopated forms. Thus *ld* had probably become *ll* in *coill* before it took place in syncopated forms such as *ailde* fr. **ailnde*. As long as the change was alive in people's recollection the law would probably continue to operate where combinations to which it applied were brought together.

In these changes *ld*, *ln* > *ll* the first stage of the development was probably that *l* became double² and then that the *d*, *n* became gradually weaker. Further, the assimilation of *d* by *n* and *l*, *n* by *l* presupposes that the *d*, *n*, *l* were in the same tongue position; cf. above, § 27.

¹ In Irish *l* is now doubled after *r*, but the change of *rl* to *ll* did not, in general, take place. There is, however, a tendency among individuals to pron. *rl* in *tharla* as *ll*.

² We have doubling of *l* before *t* in *Taillten* 829, etc., as in Mod. Irish.

VOWEL CHANGES.

§ 133. As I have already noted, several important vowel changes, such as weakening of vowels after the accent, took place approximately at the beginning of the 8th century, and were accompanied, as it were, by a new welding together of the word. Then we have weakening of final *-o* and *-ae* to *-a*, which had not come to pass till the beginning of the 9th century. The writing of *-a* for *-ae* did not become general till the middle of the 9th century. Looked at from a phonetic point of view, one might expect that these changes took place at the same time as the first. The change is the weakening of a mid-back (*o*) or mid-front (*-e*) to the weak vowel *ə*, *ɐ* being the representative of the weakened vowel in non-palatal position. In non-palatal position *-ae* would not be so much a mixed front as a mid-mixed. When the consonant was palatal the weakened vowel was represented by *e*.

But we must recollect that the *-o* represented a contraction of *ou* from earlier **ous*, and *-e* (*-ae*) represents a contraction of earlier **ias*, **ēs*; cf. Ogham *g. Ercias* and *Avitoriges*. In the case of *io*-stems the *e* would be from **ios*, etc. The forms *-o*, *-e* (*-ae*) survived after the force of the accent had spent itself out.

A much later change was the weakening of final *-ai*, *-i*, which (at least the former) probably had not taken place before the end of the 9th century, and which is preserved in orthography until much later. The exact phonetic value of this *-ai*, *-i* is not easily determined, but it was apparently a high front vowel. The *-ai* may have been further back or less tense than *-i*.

As regards final *u* there is no evidence that it was weakened to *-a* much before the end of the 10th century except where this was due to change of declension. It was, after a broad consonant, presumably a short high back, rounded vowel. In positions like *Eriu*, *Bricriu* it must have been more towards the front.

Thus we see that the high vowels held out a good deal longer without weakening than did the middle ones.

§ 134. **Diphthongs.** In Early and Old Irish we had mostly ascending diphthongs, thus *au* (from *au*,¹ *eu*, *ou*), *ái*, *ói*. The value of *eu* from *e + u* is not clear. It eventually became *eo*, *ō* (preceded by slender consonant). *au* became *ō*, which again, in most cases, became *ua*, with the position of the vowels reversed. *ái*, *ói* became *ae*, *oe* before a broad consonant, where the phonetic change is not clear.

To the diphthongs was added *ia* from (tense) *ē* from original **ei*. Before a non-palatal consonant the second part of the vowel became opener and broader; thus *cēn* became *cē-en*. This became *cēan*, with the accent on the first part of the diphthong, and *cēan* again became *cian* by dissimilation. These various stages are to be seen in the manuscripts of Adamnan's *Vita Columba*. One might postulate similar stages for the development of *o* to *ua*. The open long *ē*, from *ě* by compensatory lengthening through the loss of a consonant, did not diphthongize. Thus already in the 8th century the old ascending diphthongs were largely replaced by descending diphthongs, a change as great as any of the consonant changes referred to above.

¹ Cf. Zupitza, CZ. iii. 275 sq. and 591 sq.; Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.* § 37.

V. DECLENSION.

§ 135. I have, where possible, arranged the words according to the various stems to which they belong. With the exception of the article and the declension of *an*, I have not aimed at giving complete lists, and only include with their declension some interesting and unusual words and names whose oldest forms occur in the Annals. I have also included the declension of some common words and names whose declension has already been fully established wherever I thought such words might prove of interest from the point of view of either their phonology or of the date at which certain forms of them appear. Irish place names form by themselves a subject of interest for a separate investigation. Considerable additional light will be thrown on this subject by Father Hogan's great collection, which will soon be complete.

In the lists of declensions I give, as a rule, the names in alphabetical order for the sake of greater convenience in consulting them. In addition to classifying the nouns according to their declensions I deal with the subject of declension under the following heads:—

- (1) Declension of the article.
- (2) Fall of *-ib* in dative plural of the article.
- (3) *-ib* in dative plural of adjective.
- (4) *n* in dative.
- (5) Neuter *n*.
- (6) Accusative *n*-.
- (7) Change of declension.¹

¹ Change of final vowels I deal with separately under Phonology.

§ 136. Declension of the Article.

SING.

FEM.

{ *in* 624, 560(?),¹ 763, 771, 783, 798, 920, 969, 992.
ind 603, 776, (914); *indala* 892.
ind (l-, r-) 776, 777, 892, 1018.
int (s) 1020.

{ *inna* 661 (poem), 720.
ina 694, 771.
na 682, 720, 835, 874, 938, 985, etc.
na h- 1003, 1010.

{ *isind* (+ vow.) 890, 1006, 1050; *isin* 1012.
isin (+ cons.) 916; *resin* 916.
isint (s-) 934; *din* 814.
icon 1021; *forsind* (*arce*) 1022.

{ *in* 758, 859, 920.
in (+ vow.) 1011.
forsin (*d*) 835.

PLUR.

{ *inna* (*aibni*) 821.
na 923, 944.
inna (*con*), 775; *na* 797, 826, 846.
na n- 700, 731, 757, 853.
oconaib 851.

{ *isnaib* 891.
dina 917.
lasna 895.
na 940.

DUAL.

in di (*longais*) 836.

¹ Cf. LL, 101A17, 35. *cuma caich*, ⁴ *na n- A'virgialla*; cf. *na n- A'virgiall* 96A.

MASC.

{ *in* 562, 640, 650, 742, 763, 777 (l), 808,
 811, 839, 884, 819, 918, 938, 941,
 1011.

{ *int* 763, 911, 964.
ind (s) 626, 766; *int* (s) 947, 1004, 1011.
ind 819, 867, 1023, 1039.

{ *ind* (f-) 744, 787, 821, 826, 867, 871, 894,
 920, 921, 946, 1003.
ind (r-, l-) 746, 963.

{ *in* 562, ³ 691, 1010; *in* 595, 650, 746, 758, 819,
 840, 888, 949; *an* 862 (*sic*); *ant* (s) 1011.
issind (+ v.) 878 (bis); *astind* 1006; *isin* (+
 vow.) 1006.

isind (s-) 776.

isint (s-) 920 (+ s) 923.

cosint (s-) 915, 920; *cosind* (l-) 920.

icon 1012; *asin* 916; *don* 1012, 1030.

isin (f-) 770, 778, 859.

isa *fochla* 881; *forin* 561; *fon* 882.

in (+ vow.) 845 (poem), 985.

in m- 954; *lasin* 886; *frisin* 916, 928.

{ *ind* (u-) 622; *in* 894, 916 (3 times), 917, 999.
na 985, 1012, 1021.

ina 823; *na* 750 (m), 783, 789, 822.

na n- 696,⁴ 747, 790, 820, 856, 876.

dendibh 726.

{ *donaib* 603; *dinaib* 826; *isna* 840 (poem).

ona 942; *riasna* 986.

{ *itir* *na* h- 775, 799; *forsna* 779, 848, 917.

lasna h- 917; *darsna* 954.

N. *na da* (*iarla*) 917.

G. *in da* (*tigerna*) 718; *na da sluag* 1008.

¹ MS. an. The gender of O. Ir. *men* is not clear.

NEUT.

{ *a* 640 (poem),² 670, 862, 911.
al- 746.
in (*nem*) 991; *in* (*imguin*) 1003.
in (*cloicthech*) 1020; *an muir* 1045.

{ *in* 835, 859, 912, 963, 970.
ind (l-) 921, 923.
in (l-) 927.

{ *asin* (+ d) 913.
isind (+ l) 916; *dind* (l-) 923.
dont (s) 1011.

forsa 822.

{ *an-* 859; *issin* (*tir*) 916, 1012.
in (*magh*) 1014; *in* (*dun*) 1010.
in 1012 (bis), 1014.

{ *inna* (*locha*, *muire*) 821.
ind (*lockae*) 817; *na* 920; *na locka* 944.

forsna maighibh 877.

na 891 (bis).

§ 137. It will be noticed that *ind* + *í* in the genitive and dative masculine had not become *int* at 626, 766, 776, but *isint shamrad* 923, *isint sechtmhain* (d. f) 934, g. *int shair* 947. This is common in Ml., e.g. *isind salm* ; *huand soud* 118c1, etc. Dat. fem. *isind saltair* Ml. 2d2. (Cf. Strachan, CZ. iv. 62, 488.)

The last instance of *a* as nom. sing. neuter of the article is at 911, *a minn*. It has become *in* (nom.) at 991, 1003, 1020, *an* 1045. In the accusative neuter *in* occurs at 916, 1014 in the form *issin*. In the accus. masc. *isa* occurs for *isin* at 881. This indicates a confusion¹ between masculine and neuter article. In *Saltair na Rann*² the neuter article only occurs three times, viz., *an-nem* 112, *al-leith n-aill* 5152, *a m-be* 5974, of which the first may be a scribal error, and the second is a traditional formula. Strachan (Middle Irish Declension, p. 208) pointed out that the neuter article had practically disappeared by A.D. 1000. I should be inclined to put its disappearance much earlier.³

In *Fled Bricrenn* *a* as the neuter article is regular. There are in this text some instances of *in* after prepositions, thus *issintech* (acc.), Wi. i. p. 264, l. 17 *imman rigthech*, Wi. i. 265, l. 3. The *n* form probably began in the accusative after prepositions. With confusion of cases after prepositions it is only natural that the two forms should get interchanged. In the texts of LU. and LL. it is not clear how far the compiler tampered with the text he had before him. In such a text as *Fled Bricrenn* where there is such interpolation and harmonising⁴ of different versions it is not surprising that some late forms should have crept in. Cf. further *a n-dunad* LL. 276a21,⁵ etc.

§ 138. The nom. plur. masc. *in* occurs for the last time at 999. The form *na* occurs at 985, again at 1012 and from that onward. *Na* occurs in the dual as early as 917. In Modern Irish *in* is the regular form for the dual, but *na* is also used in some localities.

The phrase *indala rann* occurs at 892. At the time when this

¹ In the accus. *a baile*, *a* may stand for poss. pron. Otherwise we must attribute it to confusion of gender.

² Cf. Strachan, Mid. Ir. Declension, p. 208, for further examples from LL.

³ Cf. instance (acc.) at 916 above.

⁴ Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. iv. 200 sq.; Zimmer, Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum, xxxv. 1, 172.

⁵ The Story of Mor Mumhan.

combination (*indala*) was formed the *d* of *ind* was still pronounced. The *ala* (a weakening of *aile*) took over the *d* and thus became *in dala*. *L* in pretonic words became *r* in Middle Irish,¹ cf. *amail*, *amal*, Mid. Ir. *mar*, O. Ir. *ol* > *ar*. Thus *indala* > *in dara*. With masculines we should expect *int*, *in tara*, which is still used in Munster. Cf. *in tarna* (Munster) corresponding to Connacht *in darna* fr. *indala n-ai*. *Acallamh na Senorach* (4976) has already *darna la*.

Ind is used beside *inna* as nom. plur. neuter at 817. The *a* in *a leath na cille* 835 is probably the anticipatory pronoun as the *l* is not doubled.

-ib in Dative Plural of Article.

§ 139. Of the dat. plur. of the article we have the following instances: *dendibh* 726, *dinaib* 826, *isna*² *draighnibh* 840, *oconuib* 851, *forsna maighibh* 877, *isnaib caillib*, 891, *dina genntibh* 917, *ona Gallaib cetnaibh* 942, *riasna Danaraibh* 986, *ar forsna Danaraibh* 986. Thus the *-ib-* of the dative plural of the article survives till 891. It has fallen by 917, that is, at the end of the Old Irish period. Instances of dative plural of article without *-ib* are already common in Ml. (cf. Strachan, CZ. iv. 63). *Forsna huilib remshuidigthib* occurs in St. Gall, 212a13, *ocna fothaircthib* Sg. 217a4, with the intermediate stage³ *donab huilib doinib*, 189b9 (Strachan, CZ. iv. 489). Compare *isnaib dālaib* in a poem by Fingen mac Flainn (about 850). *Isnaib renduib*, Gl. Carlsruhe Beda, 18c4, *dunaib*, id. 18d2.

-ib in Dative Plural of Adjective.

§ 140. I do not intend to deal here with the adjective, but for the sake of comparison I give the instances of adjectives in the dative plural up to 1100:—

¹ We have *ara* for *ala* at 1116, *don dara cur*. SR. 19 has *indara n-ai* . . . *araile*. Fís Adamnain has *indara (fecht)* in both MSS. *Alaile* occurs at 918. *Ar* for earlier *ol* occurs Ml. 38c12 *ar Crist*, 44c20 *ar Duaid*, thus the change must have begun in O. Ir.

² Cf. *isna fochaidib*, Ml. 74d5.

³ Cf. *arnab* Wb. 2a15, 21a13, *dinab* 13d33, *donaballaib* 12b2.

Cosaib tirmaib (dat. abs.) 817, *cona chellaibh huilibh* 831, *for soeraibh setaib* 856, *o Galengaibh moraibh* 883, *co forcetlaib maithib ailib* 886, *fo riaghlaibh reilibh* 927 (established by rhyme with *cleirigh*), *maidm . . . for Galenga moraib*¹ 938, *o na Gallaibh cetnaibh* 942, *d' airnib dubcorcra* 1030 (?),² *cona uilibh templaibh* 1074, *co setaibh imdhaibh* 1103, *im shetaib imdaibh* 1103, *cuana sloghaibh remhratibh* 1113, *imdaib* 1130, 1162, 1165, 1171; *dlightechaibh* 1170, *cetna* 1171, 1172; *moraib* 1171, *dimhoraibh* 1178.

dib: *dib cetaibh long* 870, *condib longaib* 920, *ar dib misaib* 1006.

The above are instances of both the ordinary adjective and *dib* up to 1100. I have noted one instance without *-ib* at 1030 and an instance of *-ib* in an adjective at 938 whilst the noun has not the *-ib* form. The *-ib* form is of course the normal one in LU. but there are already some instances of the non *-ib* form such as *ossaib alta* 16a15, *ona maccaib aile* 52b7. The final *-ib* is however artificially preserved very late in Middle Irish, witness *fo cethrib hairdib an domain*, The Gaelic Maundeville, ed. Stokes, CZ. ii. 2, written in 1475, v. Introduction, ib. The d. pl. of adjective without *-ib* is common in LL.

In SR.³ we have instances of the non *-ib* forms in such adjectives as (*in étgodaib*) *cilecda* 6872, *diarmidi* 387 etc.

u in Dative.

§ 141. For the sake of convenience I include here the instances of *u* in dative of *io-* and *u-*stems as well as that of *o-*stems.

Achuth 487, *ecc leccū*⁴ *lias* (leg. *leccun*) 532, *Ciunn* 575, 680, 685; *Fhoghlu* 650, *Lathrug* 656, *raithiun* 635, *Uaircridiu* 687, *Sleibtiu* 699, *Cuinciu* (?) 710, *Biliu* 713, *Midiu* 713, *iarthur* 732, *cheniul* 751, *ciunn* 758, 848; *argut* 763, *cruithniucht* 763, *tinntud* 769, *omhun* 771, *ochtur* 779, *frecur* 781, *Ceninnus* 806, *ciunn* 806, 848; (*do*) *thofunn* 817, (*do*) *dhenum* 823, *do cumusc* 830, (*do*) *innriud* 830, cf. n. *indred* 830, *Domnuch* 831, *Caisiul* 835, *deisciurt* 835, *Coirpriu* 835,

¹ *7 beccaib* added over line.

² But cf. entry at 1097.

³ For instances, v. Strachan, Mid. Ir. Declension, p. 246.

⁴ M.S. H. 1. 8, clearly *leccū* = (*leccun*).

do riuth 835, *inbiur* 836, *dilgiunn* 836, *nī*¹ 840 (cf. n. *cumsundud* 840), *anneurt* 849, *indriud* 846, 861; *uisciu* 863, *Olcobur* 847 (cf. n. *Olcobar* 850), *Belut* 857, *denum* 858, *-fhocus* 859, *Flaunn* 863 (*Flann*, R) 876, *du indarbu* 864, (cf. n. *indred* 869), *ogumur* 878, *erruch* 878, *esriuth* 892, *denum* 884, *Caisiul* 900, *oenuch* 902, *brisiuth* 901, 919; d. abs. *oenur* 902, *airiur* 912, *Flaunn* 913, *lurg* 913 (bis), *Fregabul* 913, *innriuth* 915, *lius* 915, *ailiu* 916, *cobluch* 916, *chocud* 916, *lau* 916, *dergiu* 917, *maithius* (abs.) 918, *laithiu* 918, *do deirgiu* 917, 919; *brisiuth* 919, *Sathurn* 920, *ciunn* 920, 923; *escairdiu* 920, *dergiu* 919, 920; *drochut* 925, *deirghiu* 926, *indriuth* 941, *do dhelchudh* 944 (*thel:udh* R); *cheniul* 940, 946, 963, 966; *argut gil* 946, *allurg* 954, *iar fut* 960, *Dhabull* 962, *cumscugud* 969; *do innarbu* 970, *dorus*² 970, *Imur* 981, *do indriud* 984, *Domnuch* 985, *ceniuil* 990, 1000, 1003, 1006; *deisciurt* 1000, *crabud* 1004 (*don*) *Durc* 1006 (leg. *dond Turc* cf. in *Torc* 1006); *dheirgiu* 1006, *comarbus* 1006 (cf. g. *comarbuis* 1006), *escur* 1008, *chotlud* 1012, *Cenannus* 1017, *tairriucht* 1018, *brisiud*, 1019 (*on*) *Gut* 1022, *airiucht* 1023, *Corunn* 1024, *argut* 1029, *don Urc* 1030, *brisiudh* 1042, *do eludh*³ 1054, *disiurt* 1056, *Surd* 1056, *cloiccthiuch* 1076 (for proper dative), *galur* 1075, *Luimniuch* 1083, etc.

u in Dative: Non-instances.

§ 142. *iarthar* 632, *Caisil* 714, *il-loch* 718 (and passim), *Cathal* 618, 732, *Lilcach* 729, 747, *Domnall* 732, 778, 783 (and passim), *ar modh* 742 (leg. *ar mugh*), *Donnchad* 768, (*iar n-a*) *bharach* 776, 777, *ar oenach* 788, *cath* 797, *sarugad* 810, *sharugad* 817, *Cellach* 817, *Bennchor* 823, *Oentrob* 823, *in airer* 827, *Ceallach* 832, *Dunadach* 833, *i ndon*⁴ 834

¹ Leg. *niurt*, the same line has (in H) *a ct*.

² Also *dorus* in nom.

³ *Udh* and *adh* were probably pronounced the same about then. Cf. *innarbad* 1051 (M. S. reading I have not noted). The modern form is *éalódh* or *éalógh*.

⁴ 'In the place of.' For *don* cf. Ml. 111b23 *ciadud failci don*, 'though it yields ground'; Ml. 131b2, *nad tarlaic don*; Ml. 35c1, *codufailcedon*; Turin 99, *dofarlaic don*, 'he has yielded ground'. We have here possibly the origin of the Modern Irish, *i ndan*, 'fit to,' 'able to'; that is, 'in a position to'. The development of meaning is quite possible. Cf. Ger. im Stande. For change of

(*innon* R), *Tigernach* 850, *re Cerball* 846, *cathugad* 851, *Bruatar* 852 (*Bruatur*, R), *Fland* 853, *loscad* 856, 873, 890, 919, *dalladh* 862, *Shochlathan* 866, *do coscrath* 880, *do labradh* 884, *re Flann* 909, *Niall* 909, *rith* 910, *dunadh* 913, *il-lorg* 917, *Topor* 916, *longport* 916, *belach* 921, *shamradh* 918, 923, *dhalladh* 918, *loscad* 919, *airer* 920, *anacal* 920, *snam* 925, *Muircertach* 926, *chinn* 928 (poem, leg. *chiunn*).

co coiced 932, *Congalach* 944, *marbad* 944, 946, 947, 950, 953 (and *passim*), *loscad* 949, *argat* 963, *biadh*¹ 964, *bathad* 972, *airer* 985, *do innarba* 993, *dhallad* 996, *escor* 1003, *oenach* 1006, *innred* 1010, *ol* 1012, *Draighnen* 1012, *chocadh* 1012, *denam* 1012, *samradh* 1014, *cinn* 1014, *fhaesamh* 1015, *cheneol* 1015, *cenel* 1017, *tairrecht* 1021, *cinn* 1021, *innarbad* 1051.

§ 143. It will be noticed that names in *-at*, *-all*, fr. **yal-*, *yall-*, as *Cathal*, *Domnall*, never have *u* in the dative.² Such also is the case with nouns in *-ān* > **anu*, **agnō*, as is well known. *Cath* has not the *u* in dative, but the *u* appears in the compound *chocud*³ 916. Sometimes the *u* is not written, as in *Caisil* 714, *chinn*⁴ 928, 1021.

An interesting word is d. *innarbu* 864, 970, *indarba n-* 901.⁵ It appears as d. *innarba* 993, 1093, and as d. *innarbad* 1051. The former (at 993) might be taken to indicate that final *-u* and *-a* had then fallen together. The d. *innarbad* 1051 we are probably to regard as a new verbal noun built to *innarbaim* from *indarbenim*. This *-adh* form might also possibly be regarded as a recollection of the earlier dative *-u*, with *-adh*, pronounced then, as in Modern Irish, approximately as *-ū*. We have something similar in n. *innarbu* SR, 3732 to rhyme with *du*. The final *u* in dative was then going out, and might have been used in the nominative through confusion, but perhaps the *-u* could best be explained from the development *innarbadh*, pro-

pronunciation, cf. modern pronunciation of *dona* occasionally as *dana*, *sona* as *sana*, etc. I have no instance of a mid-back vowel *o* occurring before *n* in pronunciation. Cf. g. *con*, pr. *cun long*, pr. *lung*, etc. Before *nn*, as in *tonn*, *donn*, the vowel is also different from *o*, but here again we have influence of double consonant. The mark of length in Ml. 35c1 may not have any meaning. Instances of this word *don* in late Mid. Ir. would be welcome.

¹ A dissyllable.

² But d. *Chathul* LL. 183b58.

³ This passes in Mid. Ir. to the *o*-declension; cf. g. *cocaid* S.R. 3042, etc.

⁴ Cf. Mod. Ir. *os cionn* and locative *Cionn tSáile*.

⁵ *Indarba nGennti a h Ere*, an entry in good Old Ir., the importance of which is not generally dwelt upon by Irish historians. For older *indarbae*, cf. Ml. 23c8.

nounced with *-u*. Outside of this possibility, I have no instance of final unaccented *u* becoming *ū*. The Irish Nennius (second half of 11th century) has still the form without *-d*, e.g. *iar na hinnarba* (Todd's ed. p. 54, etc.). As another development¹ in *-edh*, *-eadh* we may compare g. pl. *na n-innsed* 979, *innseadh* 984.

As regards forms such as *coiced* 932, Strachan (Mid. Ir. Decl. p. 215) sought the explanation of this in the falling together of *u*, *iu* with *a*, *e* in the unaccented syllable. In forms like *loscad* 856, *dhallad* 862, 918, etc., where *-ad* came from a prehistoric **ātus* (cf. L. *amātum*), there was no *u*-infection; cf. *molad* Turin 98a. It is only natural that there should, after a time, be confusion between these and forms which had *u*-infection, such as *innriud* 830, etc. The dative *indon* I have referred to in a note above. Later on, dative *-u* becomes very general, and extends to cases where it did not originally belong, as d. *cloiccthiuch* 1076. Perhaps we should compare d. *cennuch* SR. 3428, etc. The subject requires further investigation.

Neuter n-

§ 144.

	<i>coscradh atha</i> 769.
	<i>coscrad Ochtair</i> 779.
<i>slogad n-Aedo</i> 803, <i>slogad n-</i> 804.	
<i>indred n-Ulad</i> 808.	<i>ar gennte</i> 811, <i>indred deisceird</i> 821.
<i>ar n-Umill</i> 812 (but cf. <i>in bo-ar mor</i> 776, 777).	<i>*guin Artrach</i> 825, <i>coscrad oinaigh</i> 826 (bis), <i>ar Dealbhna</i> 827.
	<i>ar (?) aile</i> 851, <i>ar dimhor</i> 855.
<i>gas n-oir</i> 867.	
<i>minn n-aine</i> 877, <i>rigdomna mBreg</i> 892.	<i>rigdomna deisceirt</i> 886, <i>rigdomna i[n]d Fhochlai</i> 886.
<i>n. ar nGall</i> 895, <i>n. ar n-Eoganahta</i> 895.	<i>ridomna Breg</i> 894, 895; <i>rigdomna Breg</i> 895.

¹ As regards pronunciation of (slender) *dh* we may note *afrithisi* 870, *doridhisi* 1011, but *doriisi* 999, where the *dh* has fallen out. SR. has generally the *d* form of this word; cf. l. 3538, 3500, etc.

n. *indarba n-* 901, *ar . . . n-*
imbi 903.

ar nGall 916, *ar n-aile* 916.

voc. *a tir n-alaind n-* 918.

acc. *ār ndimar* 917, *a Magh*
mBregh m- 918, *ār ndimhar*
919.

coscradh n- 926.

cleithi n-ordain 938.

terca n-etha 970 (fol. 51b, poem).

sluagad n-aill 997.

cenel n-Eogain 1003 (bis), 1006.¹

(acc. *i magh n- ai* 1015.)

ard mBreacain 1036.

g. cenul (?) n- 904.

a leith deiscertach 915, *a. ar dib*
917.

indred . . . uadib 920.

ridomna Ailigh 934, 993.

ridomna Erend 949.

maidm aile 973.

n. *derg-ar Gall* 979, *ridomna*
Ailigh 979, *ridomna Osraighi*
990.

acc. *i magh Bregh* 999.

slogad Aedha 1001.

toisech sil n-Anmchada 1006.

co cenul Eogain 1006, *primmind*
iarthair 1006.

mind 1006.

ridomna Ulad 1007.

ar impu 1014.

ridomna Erenn 1017, 1042.

ar Gall 1017.

la cenel Eogain 1018.

g. ceneoil mBinnig 1030.

cenel Eogain 1053.

ridomna 1054.

§ 145. The word *ār*, 'slaughter, destruction,' seems in the earlier period (cf. 776, 777) to have been masculine and later to have become neuter. Compare also *coscrad* at 769, 779, which took *n-* at 926. Operating with such instances is not very satisfactory. The

¹Confusion of cases. I have not noted the MS. reading, and it may be a contraction *cen-l*.

examples, however, show that the neuter *n-*, which began to fall early in the 10th century, survived till 1000, but not much longer. The difference between voc. *a magh m-* 918 and acc. *mag* 999 without *m* is striking. On the other hand a poem at 970 has *terca n-etha*, with *n* preserved. Of the original gender of *terca* I have, outside this occurrence, no decisive instance.¹ In *sluagad n-aill* 997 we have a late preservation of the neuter pronoun *aill*, with which the instances at 916, 973 are to be compared; cf. SR. 5152. *al-leth n-aill* and this was probably then rather an historical formula; cf. *in leth aili* SR. 275. After 1000 we find a few instances—of *n*, where it ought not to be, as g. *ceneoil mBinnigh* 1030, which show that the proper conception of neuter *n-* was then lost. The neuter *n-* is still common in *Saltair na Rann*.²

The neuter *n-* in fixed formulæ, like *la n-ann*, survived into late Middle and early Modern Irish. The neuter dual in Modern Irish and Sc. Gaelic, *dá dtrian*, 'two thirds,' may be further compared, and also the neuter *n-* in place names.³

ACCUSATIVE -N.

§ 146.

itir D. mac n- 7 Fiachnae.

mac n- 783, la dal n- 789.

la G. mac n- 792.

la C. mac n- 807.

la C. mac n- 820, 821, 826.

corici Aird mBrecaín 821.

for h- Erind n-uile 825.

for M. rig n- 826.

corici Octhar n-Ugan 826.

for muinntir n-Airdd 830.

slogad la Aed iarum 814.

*la Niall mac Aedho 7 la cenel n-
Eughain 822.*

*i n-airer n-Arddae 827 (n wrongly
used).*

¹ Wi. (Wörterbuch) gives it as fem., but his instance is late.

² For instances and exceptions v. Strachan, *Mid. Ir. Decl.* p. 207 (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1904-5).

³ Cf. Hogan, *Irish Neuter Substantives*, *Cath Rois na Rig*, for traces of the neuter *n-* in place names.

for *C. mac n-* 832.

in *uisce nduabais* 845.

a. *hEreenn n- uile* 848 (sic).

la *R. mac M.righ mBretan* 855.

for *Aedh n-iaramh* 859.

for *D. mac n-* 863.

etir cenel n- 865 (892), 7.

dal n- 865.

co *Dun mBolcc* 869.

la *cenel n-* 870.

la *D. mac Aedho* 888.

la *mac n-* 892, la *Sichfrith n-Ierll*,¹ 892.

fo *Ceallach n-* 894.

*brised cech ndrong*² *ndolbach* 902, la *Niall mac Aedho* 907.

la *Niall mac n-* 912, 913, 914 ;

itir Niall mac n- 913.

im *U. mac n-* 913.

*fri Donnchad donn*³ 928.

for *loch n- Echach* 954.

for *loch n- Eirne* 954.

for *loch n- U.* 954.

co *ro- ort in mB.* 954.

co *loch n-Aindenne* 962.

la *C. mac D.* 976.

la *F. mac C. ri Ailigh* 987.

im *Chulen mac n- Etigen* 999.

co *Belach n[D]uin* 1005.

Tracht n-Eothaili 1011.

im *Aralt mac Amlaimh*, 998 (cf.

im *maithib Gall*), co *Dun*

Echdach 1003, for *loch Eirne*

1006.

Telaigh n-Ooc 1011, la *Cathal*

mac nDonnchada 1012, *tir n-*

Enna 1019, co *Talaigh n-Ooc* la *mac Eochada* 1031.

1031, la *mac mBr*, la *D. mac D.*

1031.

¹From O. Norse *jarl*, cf. A. S. *eorl*, W. *iarll*. The above is the earliest occurrence of the word in Irish that I have noted. Cf. n. dual *iarla* 917.

²*Drong* has here still its old declension.

³There is alliteration here.

la righ n- Ailigh 1044.

la h n- 1055.

im C. mac Dergan 1056.

*co ro-bris in m[b]ile*¹ 1056.

We see by the instances that accus. *n-* was pretty firm till towards the close of the tenth century, and Siegfried, the Earl, is subjected to its laws at 892. The number of non-instances² occurring at about 1000 is most probably due to the confusion of cases after prepositions as we find it regularly preserved till much later. The accus. *ro-bris in mile* (= *mbile*) at 1056 shows that the accus. *n-* was a living force in the middle of the eleventh century. After that I have noted *la M. mac mBriain* 1057, *la T. hua m-* 1067, *la D. hua n-* 1071, *for M. hua mBriain* 1075, *le righ n- Ailigh* 1085, *ina ngrianan ngle* 1088, *la M. hua mBriain* 1094, but *la Mael Coluim*³ *mac D.* 1058, and *la righ Oiligh* 1091.

¹ R *in mile*, H *in mile* with punctum delens under *m*, and *b* written above it. Cf. Hennessy AU. i. p. 598, note 7.

² These are moreover accus. neuter which had then practically died out.

³ Who slew Macbeth (Mac Beathadh).

o-Stems.

§ 147. Amongst o-stems I include adjectival derivatives in *-ach*, w- *awg.* < * *ācos*, such as *Cathusach* 667, 681, 947, and to which the article can be prefixed in later Irish: thus *An Cathusach*. These derivatives in *-ach* do not take *u* in dative (see below, and cf. § 143). Neuters in *-ach* pass over to s-stems in the plural; thus dat. plur. *marclaighibh*, 'horseloads,' 855. Of this I have noted very few instances. The gen. plur. *Airgialla* 696, 851, 875, 913 becomes *Airgiall* 962, 998, 1022, and thus becomes an o-stem. N. *Dunlaing* 835, g. *Dunlainge* 526, 733, 816, 818, 870 becomes an o-stem, n. *Dunlang* 987, 1014, g. *Dunluing* 1016, 1021.

-uch in Dative.

§ 148. I have here collected the instances of *-uch* in dative, together with non-instances of *u* before *ch* (cf. *il-Lathrugh*¹ *Briuin* 656); (o) *Domnuch* 831, *erruch* 878, *Oenuch* 902, *cobluch* 916, *Domnuch* 985, *Luimniuch* 1083.

Non-instances: *il-loch* 718 (and passim), *Lilcach* 729, 747, (*iar na*) *bharach* 776, 777, *ar oenach* 788, *du Cellach* 817, *Ceallach* 832, (*re n*) *Dunadach* 833, *o Tigernach* 850, *belach* 921, (o) *Muircertach* 926, *do Congalach* 944, *oenach* 1006.

§ 149. The following o-stems I give in alphabetical order:—

N. * *Abnier* 826, g. *Achaidh* 774, 788, 795, d. *Achadh* 788, 687 (note); g. *Accidain* 648; n. *Aedan*² 562, 599, etc., g. *Aedain* 595; n. *Ailbran* 780 (cf. g. *Albrain* 773); n. *Ailen* 713, 724, g. *Ailiuin* 743;

¹ Cf. d. pl. *lathraigib* 891; v. Hogan's Irish Neuter Substantives, pp. 171-81, and Stokes, BB. xi. 97 seq.

² This Aedan is called Aegthan in the Saxon Chronicle, 603.

n. *Ainfceallach* 718, g. *Ainfceallaigh* 797 (*Ainfcellaich* 732); n. *Airectach*¹ 793, g. *Airechtaigh* 741; n. *Airmedach* 717, n. *Airmedhach* 830; g. *Amalghaidh*² 736, 741; g. *Anfadain*³ 762; n. *Anlon* 809, g. *Anluain* 743; g. *argait* 763 (poem), 799 (*airgit*⁴ R), d. *argut* 763; g. *Artablaire* 708; n. *baccach* 708 (a plague); g. *Baith* 731; n. *bas*⁵ 511; g. *Beluit* 761, d. (o) *Belut* 857; g. *Bennchoir* 629, 631, *Benncaire* 558, 729, *Benncuir* 519, 727, d. *Benncor* 823; g. *Beoigh* 523; g. *Berich* 800; g. *Bessain* 738; g. *Biein* 583, *Biain* 590; g. pl. *Biror* 563, 764, *Biroir* 659, d. pl. *Birraib* 826; n. *Blathmac* 642, g. *Blaithmic* 657, *Blathmicc* 729, *Blaimhicc* 824, d. *Blathmac* 650, *Blaimac* 664, *Blaimic* 650, 670; g. *Blaisleib* 680, leg. (with Chron. Scot. 677) *Blaisleibe*; a. *Brandubh* 597, *Brannubh* 596; g. *Brenainn* 582, 594, *Brenaind*⁶ 825, g. *Brendain* 575, 576, 600, etc.; g. *Brice* 588; g. *Broccain* 718; 833, g. *Cairlaen* 587; g. *Caratbrain* 803; g. *Carthuinn* 504; n. *Cathal*⁷ 743, g. *Cathail* 728, d. *Cathal* 720; g. *Cathasaig* 806, *Cathusaig* 649; g. *Cepais* 670; n. *Cerpān*⁸ 503, g. *Cherpain* 502, 503; g. *in choicid* 691, d. *coiced* 763 (leg. *coiciud*); n. *Coidbenach* 706; n. *Cochul odar* 729, a scribe; g. *Collbraind* 775; g. **Conaith* 759; n. *Conan*⁹ 815; **conbadh* 775 (leg. with Stokes *confad*); n. *Condam* 759, g. *Cendercain* 833; n. *Conid*¹⁰ *cerr* 628 (cf. g. *Conaeth cirr* 693); g. *Conlaid* 799 (cf. g. *Conleid* 552, *Conlaith* 557 gloss); n. *Cremtann* 632, 718, g. *Craumthain* 552, 731, 737, *Cranmthainn* 741; g. *Cridaen* 638; n. *Cronan Ua hEoain*¹¹ 717, n. *Cron becc* 693; g. *Cruinn* 806 (cf. *Cron*, Meyer), g. *Cruip* (?) 741 (*Cuirp*, R), g. *Crumtain* 716 (leg. *Craumthain*); g. *Cumminn* 609, n. *Cuirrech*, g. *Cuirrich* 781; g. *Daimargit* 513, 564; g. *Dathail* 816, g. *Derforgaill* 683 (*Derforgail* R); n. *Diccolan* 710; g. *Dindagaidh* 805; g. *Doadain* 768; n. *Dom-*

¹ *Mac Airechtaigh* is anglicized Geraghty.

² A change of declension g. *Amalngado* 592, here, in reality, indeclinable.

³ Cf. *Ainfcclach*, F. M. *Ainbhcellach*.

⁴ Notice palatalization in R version.

⁵ The commoner usage is the Latin *quies*.

⁶ Chron. Scot. has *Brenaind* 575; at 576 it has also *Brenainn* and *Brenuinn* for the equivalent of the A.U. entry at 600.

⁷ *Cathal* = *Cath* + *ual*-, W. Kadwal. But d. *Chathul* LL. 183b58.

⁸ Cf. declension of *ae*.

⁹ In the Cambrian Annals he is Kinan, a king of the Britons.

¹⁰ Chron. Scot. has *Connadh Cerr*. This is the origin of the well-known surname Ker, Kerr.

¹¹ Indeclinable as a name.

*nall*¹ 546, 562, 565, g. *Domnaill* 565, d. *Domnall* 732; g. *Domangairt* 537, 595; n. *Dothaidh* 759; n. *Drucan* 828; n. *Dub-da-doss* 743; n. *Dub da inber* 726; g. *Duin*² 685, 872, g. *Dunadhaigh* 834, d. *Dunadhach* 833; n. *Ecomras* 696; g. *Ecuilp* 640, *Ecuilp* 640, *Ecuilb* 716; g. *Eiliuin* 672.

n. *Elarius*³; *Eirc*⁴ 783, 795; *Etirscel* 726, 769; d. oc *Eudonn* 593; n. **Eudus* 727, 797; g. *Euin* 628; g. *Eutigirn* 761; g. *Faelchair*⁵ 734; n. *Fedach* 738; g. *Feirnn* 662; g. pl. (*Atha*) *Fen* 795; g. *Fidhcain*⁶ 786, n. **flechodh* 776; g. *Foibrain* 758 (cf. *Artbran*, *Osbran*); n. *Forbasach* 713; g. *Droma Fornocht*⁷ 726, acc. *foruth*, a seat, 822; g. *Froich*, 801, n. (*Froech*); g. *Furudrain* 661, 644; g. pl. *Gaileng* 737; g. *Galluist* 704; n. *giall*, g. pl. *giall* 763, a. pl. *giallu* (compare gen.-fem. *giallne* 720, and *bertair giallno*, poem, 562); g. *Ibdaig* 556; n. *Laidgnen* 987, *Laidgnean* 726, g. *Laidhgnein* 658, 779, 792, *Laidggen*⁸ 768, g. *Laithgnaen* 760.

g. *Leith moir* 751; d. pl. *lathraigib*⁹ 891, g. *lathraigh* 900, n. *Lēn* (?), g. (*au*) *Liuin* 741; g. *Lochdheirc*¹⁰ 813; *Mac Oirbb* (filius *Neutir*) 809; g. *Masoit* 707, d. pl. *marclaighibh* (neuter) "horseloads," 855, *Methuis tuirm* 755 (leg. *truim* ?); *Meccnaen* 603; n. pl. *ceithre* (sic) (may be an expansion of iv.) *meic* 737, g. *Monid Chroibh* 727, *Monith Carno* 728; g. *Muccirt* 787; g. *Muiredaigh* (R) 593, 804; n. *Muircertac*¹¹ 527, g. *Muircertaig* 546; g. **Neir* 622; n. *Oegadchar*¹² 734; g. *Ogomon* 661; g. *Ointribh* 727; n. *ol*. n 732, *ol n-ais*, 'a drink of

¹ *Domnall* = **Domno uallos*, < **Dumnoualnos* "ruler of the world". W. Dyfnwal, early W. Dumngual.

² Change to g. *duine* 866, etc. See change of declension, § 165.

³ A Latinized form.

⁴ This I take to be from a masculine form *Erc* rather than a change of declension from the older gen. *Erce*.

⁵ "Wolf-loving."

⁶ Leg. *Fidhchain* and cf. *Baile Ui bhFiadhchain* = Newport, Co. Mayo.

⁷ Strachan, Middle Irish Declension compares n. pl. *fornocht*, Y.B.L. 50b33, and thinks it may be a way of expressing the non-palatal *ch* beside the palatal *t* as in gen. of *bocht* in Modern Irish.

⁸ Words in *-én* do not generally show any change in the genitive and hence appear indeclinable.

⁹ Neuter, cf. d. sing. *du lathruch da Arad*, L. Ardm. Thes. ii. 240.

¹⁰ = "Lake eye."

¹¹ = *Muir* + *certach*, "arbiter of the sea". Notice non-aspiration of *c*.

¹² = Guest-loving.

milk'; n. *Olcobhur*¹ 795; n. *Orach* 780; g. *Osbrain*² 757; g. *Ostich* 742; g. (*Imlecho*) *Pich* 686, 687; g. *Raithin* 730, d. *Raithiun* 635; n. *Rogaillnech*³ 814; n. *Rotechtach* 794 (= the great possessing one), cf. g. *Rothegetaigh* 720, *Rotegthaig* R; n. *Ruamnus*⁴ 800 (a Latinized form?); g. *rois* 720, n. *in saer* 763, g. *ind saer* 766; g. *Segain* 662; n. *Senach* 619, g. *Senaich* 632, 739; n. *Sneidbrain* 786; n. *Suairlech*⁵ 773; g. *Tail* 548; *Teig* 803; g. **Tobaith* 775; *thraightechaibh* 855 "pedestrians"; n. *Tuatchar*⁶ 833, g. *Tuidbig* 761, g. *hUmaill*⁷ 783, *hUmil* 786, *hUmhaill* 811 (*ar n-*) *Umill* 812, *hUmill* 812, *hUmaill* 912 cf. *mac Uilling Umaill* 1352).

io-Stems.

§ 150. I shall interrupt the alphabetical order so as to begin with the declension of *ae*, 'a grandson, descendant,' which is interesting as its older forms are well preserved, and its frequent occurrence shows the development very clearly. I have already dealt with its phonological development above (v. § 61, Phonology).

ae, a grandson, M.

SING.

- N. { *ae* 646, *auae* 744, 763; *hue* 780, *ua*.⁸
auae 700,⁹ *oa* 762, 858, 895; *hoa* 795, 861; *huae* 767, 768,
772, 778, 824; *hua*¹⁰ 617 (poem).
G. { *ai* 706, 730, 737 (4 times), 741, 749.
hoi 675, *hui* 653, 669, 674, 733,¹¹ 769, 770, 816.

¹ = *Mac Olchobhuir* = Gallagher (?). ² N = os + bran.

³ = Ro + gell + nech, 'the man of the great pledges'.

⁴ Change of declension to g. *Rosa* 873.

⁵ = Su + airlech, 'one giving good counsel'.

⁶ Tuath + char, 'lover of his people'.

⁷ Cf. *Umall*, Eg. version of *Fled Bricrenn* Wi. Ir. T. I. 268, d. *Umall*, Trip. Life, p. 81.

⁸ At 717, 723 Henn. prints *Ua* but H and R read simply *h*.

⁹ Tigernach *ae*.

¹⁰ At 617 in poem read *ae*.

¹¹ Sic in MS. H.

- D. *hu* 617, *d'uu* 810, *ria* . . . *oa* 912.
 A.¹ *oa* 948.

PLUR.

- N. *oi* 840, *hui* 769, 821.
 G. { *oa* 740, 748, 859, 867, 868 (bis), 878, 880 (bis), 890.
oa n- (497), 794, 831, 867, 851; *o* 881.
hue 771, *huae n-* 648, *huae* 646, 829; *ua*² 644, 817; *hu* 736.
 D. { *o auib* 756, 877; (*ne n- oaib*) 789, 822; (*re n-*) *uib* 562.
 (*dī*) *auib* 731, 743, 749; *oib* 819 (bis); (*for*) *uib* 650 (poem).
 (*itir*) *auu* 742, (*for*) *uu* 589, (*itir*) *hu* 666, 769; (*for*) *hu* 815.
 A. { *ou* 849, 867, 912; *uu* 742, 751; (*la*) *u* 743; *u* 775, 808; *hu*
 792, 812.
 (*cu*) *hu* 888, (*ua* 742), (*la h- ua* 811), *uu* (*m Maine*) 813.

DUAL.

- N. *da auae* (Cheallaigh, H) 743 (auē R), G. *da ua* (Conaing) 780.
 G. *da aeu* 571.
 A. *itir da ua Cernaigh* 776, *itir da huae* 817.

Later development of *auē*.

SING.

- N. *oa* 918, 949; *ua h-* 919,³ *hua* 992, *ua* 1031.
 G. *hoi* 944, *hui* 954.
 D. { *oa* 912, 918, 920; *u* 952 (leg. *uib* ?), *hu* 964, (*d'*) *o Fhaelan*
 1038.
o 953, *ua* 1012, (*o*) *hui* 1039, 1043; 1041 (?) (*do hui Ch*).
 (*do h-*) *ui* 1043, 1044; *hui* (*Osseni*) 1044, *u* 1053, 1054.
 A. *oa n-* 948, (*for*) *u* 1024.

PLUR.

- N. *ui* 1037.
 G. *oa* 923 (bis), *hu* 937, *ua* 978, *a oa* (his grandsons), 1177.
 D. { *o huib* 913, 983; *oib* 964, *o huib* 1044.
uib 941, 987; *uibh* 961, *huibh* 1037.
for huibh 996.
 A. *ou* 912, *hu* 940.

¹ No instance before 900.

² Hennessy prints *hua* also at 690 but H reads merely *h*.

³ *Sitriuc Ua h Imair*.

DUAL.

N. *da ua Chanannan* 992, 1003.

§ 151. As we have seen (Phonology, § 62) *oa* from *auē*, prefixed to names, became monosyllabic about the middle of the tenth century, and in this form together with the name was used to form surnames, thus *O'Ruairc*. Of surnames formed with *O* in Modern Irish the following classification can be made. (1) Those to which *-ach* can be suffixed, e.g. *Ruairceach*, *Cathusach*, *Ceallach*, etc. (2) Those to which it cannot, e.g. *Niall*. (3) Compounds with *Mael-*. Surnames in *-ach* (Class I.) have the article prefixed when used without the Christian name, e.g. *An Ruairceach*, *Cathusach*, etc. Surnames to which *-ach* cannot be suffixed (Class II.) have not the article, and to specify an individual *Mac Uí* is used, thus *Mac Uí Néill* = Mr. O'Neill. In Middle Irish *ant-Ua Neill*, "the O'Neill," was used to designate the chief of the clan. To names in *Mael-* *Mac Uí* is also prefixed, thus *Mac Uí Maeleoin*¹ = O'Malone. In the latter case, it is noticeable that *Mael* (*Mul*, *Muil*) is not aspirated after *Uí*. Again (I.) 'a man named O'Brian,' or 'Casey' would be *fear de Bhrianach*, *de Chathasach*, etc. (or *de na Brianaigh*, *Cathasaigh*). This form probably spread from words like *Ceallach*, *Cathasach*, to *Brianach*, *Ruairceach*. "A man named O'Neill," "an O'Neill" is *fear de mhuinntir Néill*. For names in *Mael-* the form is *fear de Chlainn*, *Uí Maeleoin*. We have also for the plural, *Clann* with such names as *Clann nDomhnaill*, *Clann nDonnchadha*. *Clann* is the regular form used with *Mac*, e.g. *Clann 'ac* (= *mhic*) *an Fhaola*, *duine de Chlainn (mh)ic Conmara*.

§ 152. The following io-stems are arranged in alphabetical order:—

G. *Ai* 700, d. *in-Aidniu* 783, 833, g. *Oidni* 797, but g. *Aidhne* 809; g. *Aitechdai* 736 (721), cf. n. *Oitechde* 731; d. *alaliu* 668; g. *Aleni* 610, etc., g. *Argai* 791; g. *(*Baeth-*) *Bet[h]ri* 750, g. *Bairche*² 729, but d. *Bairchiu* 600, 610, 752 (late); g. *Balni* 693, 779, g. *Berri* 778, but g. *Beirre* 798; g. *Beugnai* 605; g. *Breifni* 791, but g. *Breibne* 821; g. *Breni* 808 (poem) (v. Meyer, Contrib.); g. *Bronni* 511, n.

¹ The *Mael-* is pronounced *Mul*, *Muil-* with accent on the following syllable.

² Cf. g. *Bile* 694, 824, d. *Biliu* 713.

* Doubtful instance.

Bute 518, g. *Buiti* 721, *Buitti* 763; g. **Cinrighmonai* 746; g. *Cnodh-bai* 817; g. *Condi* 710; n. *Connlae* 799; g. *Conli* 740; g. **cruí*¹ 775, g. *Cuandai* 676, 700, *Cuannai* 720; d. *Cuinchiu* 710; n. *Cummaene* 583, g. *Cummeni* 710; g. *Daimeni* 608; n. *Daire*² 545, g. *Daire* 723, 809, g. *Darii* 811, 812, 825, d. (*do*) *Dhairiu* 668, 847; n. *derghe* 923, d. *dergiu* 917, 919, 920, 926 (*deirgiu*); g. *Dibcheini* 710; n. **Dorbeni* 712, g. *Dorbeni* 715; g. *duine*³ 792, 814, g. *Eilniu* 708; g. *Endai* 759, *Ennai* 483; g. *Ernani* 740; g. *Esclai* 747 (cf. *ar esclu* LU. Táin), g. *Fabri* 761; g. *Ferblai* 752; g. *Fergnai* 622; n. *Fursu* 647, 660, g. *Fursi* 648, 752, g. *Fursui* 752, g. *Goli* 786, g. **Locheni* 736; g. *Lothri* 709; g. *Meilli* 809; g. *Mrachidi* 726; g. *Muchti* 634; n. *Ossene*⁴ 705, g. *Osseni* 686; g. *Predeni* 783; g. **Reothaide* 762; g. *Retai* 677, g. *Riati* 710, 716, 730, *Riatai* 672; n. *righe* 603 (poem); g. **Robairgi* 710; g. *scuili* 723; g. **Sechndi* 739; g. *Silni* 710; d. *Sleibtiu* 699; d. *Tlachtgu* 732; n. *Uarcride* 769, d. *Uarcridiu* 686; n. *uisque* 617; d. *uisciu*, 863.

a-Stems.

§ 153. The following instances of a-stems are mostly from the early periods of the Annals. To be noticed are the class of men's names formed by the ending *-gal*. These belong to a-stems in the nominative and genitive, but have a broad consonant in the accusative. In the latter respect they resemble s-stems: thus n. *Fergal* 705, g. *Fergaile*⁵ 651, d. (*ria*) *Fergail* 932, a. *Fergal* 717, 720, 721; n. *Dungal* 680, 742; g. *Dungaile* 671, 689, 709, a. (apud) *Dunghal* 730; *Gormgaile* 800, a. *Gormgal* 792, 798.

The non-palatalization of the accusative may be due to the fact that the words were names of men, and hence partially considered masculine o-stems. In some cases we find them so declined; e.g. g. *Ardghail* 836, etc.

Other a-stems (arranged in alphabetical order) are:—

¹ An epithet.

² It has L. *fundata* in agreement with it.

³ For pl. see Diph. *oi*, § 39.

⁴ Cf. § 22 for later development of ending *-éne*.

⁵ Cf. g. *Fergail* 763 (poem).

g. (*achadh*) *Ablae*¹ 788; g. *Ailche* 675; g. *Ailenne* 727; g. *Ailgaile* 798; g. *Almuine* 533; g. *Bairne*² (*no Inse Bregainn*) 726, g. *Baslice* 763, 804.

n. *Becc*³ 673, 717, *Bec* 706, g. *Bece* 645, 646, 711, 713, 729, *Beice* 706, a. *Beicc n-* 678; g. *Boinde*⁴ 817 (*for*) *Boinn* 836, 841, d. *Boainn* 921; n. *bachal* 840 (poem), *bachall* 949, g. *bachlae*⁵ 648, *na bachla* 1015. The g. *bachlu* also occurs; g. (*Niall*) *Cailli*; ⁶ g. *cairgge* 775; n. pl. *cialla cain*⁷ 796 (poem); g. *Comraire* 761; n. *Condal* 796; d. *congail* (? 562) 808; g. *Corcaighi more* 791; g. **Crannchae* 796; g. *Cremthainne* 480 (cf. *Cremthainn* 483).

G. *Cruachna* 733, d. *Cruachain* (*clannaigh*) 814, a. *Cruachna*, d. pl. *Cruachnibh* 782, varies in its declension, but is best taken as an a-stem. Fled Bricrenn (Windisch 274) has acc. *co Cruachain* (3 times), *co Cruachnaib*, *Cruachna*, g. *Cruachan*, *Cruachna*, *na Cruachna*. L. Ardm. has g. *Cróchan*, probably gen. pl., and super *Cróchan Aigli* 267. Later, it was taken as an n-stem. LL. 157a6, in a Dindsenchas on the name, has n. *Cruachu*, g. *Cruachna*, d. *Cruachain*, but also uses n. *Crochen*.

N. *cul*, g. *cule* 601, *cuile* 549, 559, 560, g. pl. *cul* 742, 809; n. *digal* 942, *digail* 914, d. *dighail* 650; g. **Edargnae* 780, g. *Eiblinne* 532, 536; g. *Erce* 485, 527, 542, 549, 579, 775, *Ercae* 762, 796, *Ercae* 580; **Feblae* 739; d. *foigallnaig* 830 (leg. *foigiallnaig*); g. *Foire* 829; n. *fross* 763, a. *frois* 763, n. pl. *frossa* 763; g. *glaisse* 745, 757, 884; g. dual *da glas* 883, a. dual *di glais* 951, a. pl. *glasa* 835; n. dual *di grein* 910; d. *Greamaigh* 462, g. *Gronnae* 755; n. *ingin* 729 (accus. for nom.), g. *Laitne* 762; g. **Laithlinne*

¹ 'The field of the apple-tree.'

² Varies in gen. with *Bairenn* (change of declension).

³ Leg. *Bécc*; another instance of a man's name belonging to the a-stems.

⁴ Cf. n. *Boend*, Vita Columba 59a, n. *Boand* in notes on Fiach's Hymn, *Boindeo*, L. Ardm. 16a2 (Thes. ii. 269), 16b1, d. *Boind*, L. Ardm. 11a1. In this word the nom. form becomes generalized, whence g. *Boinde*, *Boindeo*. M. *Innse bo finne* 754, the gen. becomes generalized. For g. *Boindeo*, cf. g. *innseo* (v. i-stems). The -end of *Boend* indicates the non-pal. nd of **ginda*.

⁵ Occasionally g. *bachlu*.

⁶ Nom. *callann* or *Calland*, which is usually written with a contraction in the Annals, and hence not clear. For this name cf. also LL. 16b37, 17a19, 130a50, etc.

⁷ *Cain* has short *ai* here, is almost a synonym with *cáin* (*caoin*), and generally means 'fair,' 'excellent'. If it is an adj. it is indeclinable. Cf. g. *Innsi cain Dega* 1022.

847, 852 (= g. *Lochlaind* 1014, etc.), n. (*ind*) *lamcomart* 771, 798, g. *lamcomartha* 771; g. **Lecnae* 750 (*Lecne*, R); g. *Licce* 725; n. *longas* (a fleet) 836, 923, 926, 928, 931, *longus* (a fleet) 920, 921, g. *loingsi*¹ 944, 1014, a. (*condici*) *longaiss* 938, n. dual *in di longais*, n. *longus*, banishment, 768, a. *longais* 817.

G. *lunge* 672, *luingi* 774, g. *lunga* 920, d. *luing*, a. *lungai* 920, n. pl. *longa* 851, 962, 985. Though the final vowel is *a* at 920 the *u* does not change to *o* (v. Strachan, *Mid. Ir. Declension*, p. 229). Compare, however, the Mod. Ir. pronunciation of *long* which is pronounced *lung* rather than *long*, *o* before *n*² being generally pronounced *u*.

N. *Mor* 631 (g. *Moire*, Chr. Sc. 633); g. *Muaide* 784; g. *Muirisce* 602, 705, *Mursce* 682, 734, d. *Muiruisc* 602; g. *Othnae* 724; g. *Rechrainne*³ 742, 768, 798; g. *Samhdainne* 738; n. *Sebdann* 731, g. *Selgga* 708 (*Selge*, R); g. **Singittae* 713; g. *Slemne* 600 (cf. *deissoicc*,⁴ leg. *dess Soicc* 813); *Tamlachtae*⁵ 824, etc.; g. *Telcha* 808, 1051, d. *Telaigh* 751 (913); a. *Talaig n-* 1031, *Telaigh n-* 1011; *toghal* 801, 938; n. *Tomnat* 694; g. *Torchae* 616, a. *Toraich* 732, n. *thuirind*⁶ 650, g. *tuirinne* 763 (poem), d. *thuirinn* 650.

iā-Stems.

§ 154. I have not noted many interesting instances of these stems: cf. n. *Fiachnae* (*Fiachna* 625), g. *Fiachnae* 624, 799, 808, 809, but accus. *Fiachnae* 783. Cf. *Fiachnai*, Imram Brain. The g. *Fiachnai* occurs at 624 (poem). G. **Fitae* 803; g. *Itae* 576.

N. (sing.⁷) *sochaidi* 769, *sochaide mor* 949, a. *sochaide moir* 1027, n. pl. *sochaide mora* 830.

With confusion of final *-i* and *-e* these forms became virtually indeclinable.

¹ Cf. g. *Mochloingse* 710.

² Cf. *u* in Dat. note 2, § 142.

³ v. change of declension.

⁴ 'South of the Succ' (?). Cf. *desgabair*, *des abaind*. Hennessy reads *deissoicc* 'of the south'. But RC xviii. 158 n. *in t Suca*, L. Ardm. flumen *Succae*, Keating g. *Shuca*, BB 23a, g. pl. *na tri Succa*.

⁵ v. change of *-ae* to *-a*.

⁶ Leg. *thuirend* to rhyme with *muilend*, MS. *muilind*.

⁷ With a singular verb.

i-Stems.

§ 155. In the section on Phonology (change of *-o* to *-a*) I have already given several instances of genitives of *i*- and *u*-stems. In the list of instances of *u* in the dative I include several *u*-stems. I add the few following examples, which may be of interest from various points of view. In the absence of decisive cases, such as *u* in dative singular or accusative plural, it is difficult to tell an *i*- from a *u*-stem.

N. *Aig* 817, 821 (*aigh*), 916, fr. **iagi*, g. *éga*. Cf. *saigid*, *segait*, etc.

G. *Alo* (*Cluathe*) 721 later became a guttural stem. N. *Amhaln-gaidh* 717, *Amalgaidh* 790, g. *Amalngado* 592, *Amalgadho* 740, *Amhalghaidh* 736, 741, became indeclinable. It lost its *n* early between *l* and *gh*.

D. (*i m.*) *Bodbraith* 738, n. *Bochail* 744, g. *Bochallo* 790; g. *cano* 782, d. *cain* 886; n. *Cluain*¹ 547, 548, *Cluaen* 844, g. *Clono* 548, 627, 759, *Clona* 576, 722, 736, 769, *Cluano* 551, 653, 663, d. *Cloin* 794, *Cloen* 844, a. *Cluain* 572, 600; *chnama*² 823; n. *Choblaith*³ 689, *Coblaith* 730, 770; g. **Cobo* 732; n. *Conamail* 672, 709, g. *Conamlo* 704; g. *Crannamna* 659; n. *Dichcuill* 700 (H), g. *Dicolla* 681 (*Dicholla*, R), cf. n. *Dichuill* 631; (*Cuu*) *Dimerggo* 718; g. *Drommo*⁴ *foto* (670), 745, 728; n. **Dubcalggaidh* 768; n. *Duinechaidh* 795, g. *Duinechdo* 731, 795; n. **Dunflaith* 798; g. *Echdroma* 789, g. *Elo* 610, *Ela* 739; n. *Fiannamail* 695, 717, g. *Fiannamlo* 740, cf. *Fianamla* 735; g. **fola* 687 (leg. *folo*), 763; n. *Forbflaith*⁵ 779; g. *Forggo* 676; n. *guin* 643, 825, g. *gono* 617; g. *Itho* 663, 732, 733, *Itha* 845, 906, etc.; g. *Maelebracho*⁶ 621; g. *Maelracho* 700; g. *melo* 717, d. *mhil* 763; g. *Noindrommo* 642, d. *Noendruim* 638; g. *Ratho* (*Oinbo*) 786, *Ratho* 595, 622, 730, 809, *Ratha* 808, d. *Raith* 622, 747, 788, a. *Raith n.* 622; g. *Sratho* 679; g. *Temro*⁷ 585, 611, 779, d. *Temuir* 502 (*Temraigh* 839); g. **Tola* 7, *Fortola* 572, 573.

¹ The nom. *Cloin* does not, as far as I have noted, occur in the Annals.

² Note loss of final vowel, but the poetical extracts, where the metre does not help, do not preserve the final vowels very well.

³ *Com-flaith*, W. cy-wlad. Cf. *Gormlaith*, *Dunflaith* 798, *Forbflaith* 779. The initial consonant is here aspirated after *ocus*.

⁴ Cf. g. *Droma moer* 841, *Droma hiung* 834, *Droma* 727, 744, 788, etc., d. *Druim ing* 721, and see also Hogan, Ir. Neuter subst. p. 120.

⁵ *Ingin Connlai* (sic H), from **for-ylatis*, the *ʏ* being preserved after *r*.

⁶ From *mraich*, 'malt'. ⁷ For change, v. Change of Declension, § 164.

ĭ-Stems.

§ 156. The full form of the declension is rare, as in *inis*, g. *inse* 726, 772, g. *innse* 754, 784, 788, d. *insi* 701, 783, 1053, a. *insi* 857, but d. *inis* 744, 1029, a. *inis* 948. G. *innsi* 881, 883 shows confusion of *-i* and *-e*. A. pl. *innsi* 856, 921, 923, 927, 941. Very early this word took a genitive in *-eo* as if it had passed over in this case to an *i*-stem, e.g. g. *inseo* 737, 870, *innseo* 740. A genitive *innsae* occurs at 548, where *-ae(ġ)* probably means *-e*. Later (979), as will be seen under change of declension, it passed, in the plural, to the dental stems (v. § 166).

Further examples: n. *adaigh* 729, 'night,' g. *aidhchi* 1053, d. *aithchi* 859, *aidci* 1006, a. (abs.) *aidhchi (notlaic)*¹ 985, *aidchi* 991, n. dual, *di aidhchi (dhec)*² 1014, g. (*anad*) *da aidhchi* 935, g. *Fertae* 788, but g. *Fheirt* 862, d. *Ferti*³ 502.

Several nouns which may be classed with this declension in the nominative and genitive have the dative like *a*-stems, e.g. g. *Brigitae* 523 (*Brigide*, R), n. *Dunlaing* 835, g. *Dunlainge* 526, 732, 816, 818, 870; g. *Emnae* 758, *Emna* 902; n. *feiss* 559; g. *Gabrae* 564; g. *Irlochrae* 732; g. *Lochre* 653; n. *scrin* 797, g. *scrine* 808; g. *Samnae* 780, d. *Samhain* 780; g. *Sruthrae* 765; n. pl. *suii* 758 (poem); *Tome* 748, *Tomae* 739, etc.

Change to this declension: a. *in tailchi* (the hill) 1012; cf. *oc Telaigh* 913, etc. Also *long* in the instance g. *lunga*, a. *lungai*, 920. See above, *a*-stems.

Change from this declension: *Dunlaing* (835) is replaced by n. *Dunlang* 987, 1014, with g. *Dunluing* 1016, 1021. The g. *Dunlainge* 526 shows that the entry was written before the time of the change.

With this declension may also be classed: g. (*Uib Briuin*) *Sinna* 987, d. *Sinaind* 836; cf. accus. *in Sinainn*, g. *na Sinna* in *The Adventures of Ricenn*, ed. Meyer, *Archiv* iii. 309, but *na Sinainne*, *Morthimchell Erenn*, ed. Hogan 33. L. Ardm. has g. *Sinnae*, and Latinized *Sinona*. Cf. further acc. *Sinainn* *Trip. Life* 92, (94, 146).

¹ *Notlac*, R.

² Earlier *deac*; cf. *deac* 803, 846, 865, which was dissyllabic < **dvi-penque*. It had already become *dec* at 847, 849, 947.

³ Cf. L. Ardm. *Thes.* ii. 259, 263.

u-Stems.

§ 157. N. *Aid* 731 (glossed, *i. Aed*), g. *Aidho* 713 (cf. *Aida* 810), from n. **Aidus*, g. **Aidous*, cf. Latin *Aedui*, are the oldest forms of this name. N. *Aed* occurs at 697, *Aedh* 610, 713, 714, 718, 721, 746, 757, etc.; g. *Aedo* 650, 653, 664, 694 (R), 732; *Aedho*, 695, 700, 702, 704, 741, 907; *Aeda* 709, 721; d. *Aed* 604, 912, 913; a. *Aed n-* 562, 736, 804. The change from *Aid*, *Aido* to *Aed*, *Aedo* must have been very early as only three instances of the form in *ai* occur in the Annals.

G. *Aidlogo* 651; g. *Ailgusa*¹ 813; n. **Ailgnad* 780; g. *Airledo* 771; g. *Anmcadha* 801; g. *Atho* (*Truim*) 745, 783, 930; *Atha* (*Truim*) 795, not followed by aspiration. Not followed by *h* in *Atho Aublo*² 631. G. *Berodeirgg* 773, n. *Bodbcath* 703, g. *Bodbchodha* 725, 829; a. pl. *catha*³ 917; g. *Ceninnsa* 717, *Cenindsa* 813; g. *Cinaeda* (805), 807; a. *Cinaedh* 727, g. *Cloento* 781, g. **Cnucho* 731, n. *coemchludh* 834; n. *Conchadh* 691, 734 (*Conchad*); g. *Concobho*, 696, n. *coscrad* 710; g. *Daithgussa* 731; g. pl.(?) *dathe* 768; g. **Degeo* 788; n. *deirmess* 772 (*deirmhess*, R), g. *dairmesa* 768; n. *doirad* 677, 673, 680, 699, 700; g. *Doirgarto* 709, 711; cf. g. *Doirgairt*; n. *Duncath*⁴ 575, 620, 621, 646, 653; g. *Dunchath* 650, 676, 682, 706, etc., g. *Dunchatho* 669, g. *Dunchado* 734; n. *echt* 548; *eludh* 821; n. **Eudus* 821; *Eoaedh* (?) 615; g. *esso* 752; g. *Fedho* 628; n. *Feidelmidh* 700, *Feidlimid* 721, 841; *Feidilmidh* 577, g. *Feidhelmtho*⁵ 760 (*Feithelmtho*, R), g. *Feidelmthie* (?) 588 (*Feidelmthie*, R), d. *Feidlimthid* 822, a. *Feidlimthe* 822; n. *Ferggus* 745, g. *Fergusso* 617 (: to rhyme with *dō*), 653,⁶ 821, later g. *Fergusa* 737; n. *Fincath* 485; g. *Forgusso* 740; g. *Imblecho* 687, *Imlecho* 660, 729, 746, 780, 797; *innred* 792, *indreth* 793, n. pl. *indreda* 797; g. *locho* 677, 721; *locha* 742, *da locho* 639, 686, 903; *da locha* 768, 774; n. *loscudh*, *loscoth* 642, *luatho* 646; *Lutho* 663; n. *Muirgius* 814, g. *Muirgiusso* 809 (*Muirggiusso*, R), *Muirgiussa* 699, 743; a. *Muirgius* 814; g. *Muirmhedho* 797; n.

¹ Words with *-gus* are a very common type of u-stems.

² This was first written *Aubo* in H with *l* afterwards written through the *o* and then an *o*. Should we compare g. *ablae* 788, 790?

³ Cf. *cathu* SR 4077, and notice *-a* for *-u* (bis). For ending *-a* cf. Sg. 197a11 *ilgotha*.

⁴ See change of *th* to *d(h)*.

⁵ G. *Fheidhlim* in late hand 604.

⁶ R has *Ferguis*, the modern form.

riuth 763 (a long u-stem?), d. *riuth* 835; n. *roiniud* 821, 832, 836; n. *roined* 828 (without u-infection); n. *sarugad* 792, 830, d. *sarugad* 808, 810, 817, *sarugud* 745 (R); g. pl. *na tri sloinnté* 789; g. **Trego* 699; g. *Treno* 742, 793.

§ 158. The genitive plural which is *na n-* *Airgialla* 696, 851, 875, 884, 913 is *na n-* *Airgiallu* 918, and becomes an o-stem with g. pl. *na n-* *Airgiall* 962, *Airgiall* 998, 1022, to which we have an acc. pl. *Airgiallu*. *Cath* has accusative plural *catha* 917 with *-a* for *-u* (see § 157, note 3). Cf. for *Locha Eirne*.

Guttural Stems.

§ 159. I have noted the following instances of guttural stems:—

G. *Aedach* (*mic daill*) 607; n. *Ainmire* 560, 562, g. *Ainmirech* 568, 574, 597, 709, a. *Ainmire* 575 (poem); n. *Artri* 801, 817, 832, g. *Artrach* 741, 790, 793, 803, 825, a. (*la h*) *Artrigh* 822, 826; g. *Bethach* 727, cf. *Bethech* 748; g. *Bregh* 634, 684, 738, d. *Bri* 599; n. (*Cliu*), g. *Cliach* 743, d. *cliu* 626; n. *Cuanu* 738, 777, 817, 824, *Cuana*¹ 482, 489, 721, 804, g. *Cuanach* 628, 741, etc., cf. g. *Cuanai* 669; n. *Dau*² 501, g. *Duach* 560, 562³ (poem); n. *Echu* 696, 795, 800, 803, 850, *Euchu* 821, *Eochu* 494, 940, *Eocho* 497, 597, g. *Euchach* 552, *Echach* 610; n. *Echaidh* 758, 808, 809, 811, *Echuidh* 788, *Eochaidh* 665, g. *Echdach* 701, 713, 800 (cf. g. *Echdaigh* 702), *Echdhach* 708; n. *Etru* 1032, 1056 (*Etru*), *Etroch* 1003; n. *Fiacha* 515, g. *Fiachach* 739, d. (*ria*) *Fiachaidh* 516 (l. h.); n. *Fiachrai* 769, 785, *Fiachra* 803, g. *Fiachrach* 562, 570, 602, 607, 758, 763, *Fiachrach* 645, 757, a. *Fiachraigh* 913; g. *Fiatach* 578; g. *Finnubrach* 718, 798, *Findubrach* 808, 823; n. *lethri* 756 (= a deposed king),⁴ *leithri* 817; g. *liacc* (*find*) 785, (*daim*) *liacc* 758, (*doim*) *liacc* 809; g. *Lugdech*, *Lugdach* 506, (511), 608, *Lugdagh* 553, g. *monistrech* 722, 836, *mainistrech* 763, *manistrech*⁵ 833, *moinistrech* 854; a. (*idir*) *nathraich* 758, for *nathracha*

¹ Cf. Introduction, §§ 11, 12.

² Glossed *Duach*.

³ At 562 *Duach* rhymes with *nauch*.

⁴ Cf. Mod. Ir. *a chaitheamh de leithrigh* = 'to throw it aside'.

⁵ For variation between *a* and *o* cf. *u* in Dat.; note on *don*.

to rhyme with *cathraigh*; n. *Ruaidhri* 781, 877, g. *Ruadrach* 779, 804, 813, 850, a. *Ruadraich* 781, *Ruadhraigh*¹ 855 (this word later becomes indeclinable), cf. g. *Ruaidri* 1020, 1043; g. (pl.?) *Sailech* 841; n. *Temair*² (cf. g. *Temro* 611, *Temra* 889, but) g. *Temrach* 914, 915, etc.; n. (*Uada*, Chron. Scot. 592), g. *Oddach* 600, *h Uatach* 601, 648, *Uadach* 655.

Dental Stems.

§ 160. G. *arad* 810, n. *Mac Beathadh* (*mac Finnlaich*) 1058 (= Macbeth); g. *bragad* 1029, a. (*for*) *braghait* 809; g. *Buchat* 596; g. (pl.?) *Both*³ 627; *Cathub* 554, cf. g. *Cathboth*, L. Ardm. Thes. li. 240; n. *Cathnio* 169, *Cathnia* 793, 809 (sic leg.); g. *Cinngarath* 688, *Cinngaradh* 659, 736 (cf. *cille garadh* 731, *g. garadh* 762); g. *Concarat* 723; g. *Dirath* 692; g. (*cinn*) *Febrat* 756; n. *Flaithnia* 714, 754, 805, *Flathnia* 809, g. *Flaithniadh* 754, *Flathnia*⁴ 810; n. *Flannabra*⁵ 777, 824, g. *Flannabrat* 786; g. *Grainairet*⁶ 494, *Granaerad* 485; n. *Macnio* 708, 779, *Maccnia* 701, g. *Macniadh* 751; n. *Macoigi* 801, *Maccoigi* 874, g. *Maccoiged* 752; n. *Nia* 775, g. *Nieth* 692, *Niadh* 494; n. *Nuadho* 721, *Nuadha* 810, g. *Nuadat*⁷ 751, *Nodot* 817, n. *Rechtabrae* 733 (*Recht-abre*, R), *Rechtabra*⁸ 786, 817, g. *Rechtabrat* 751, 758; n. *Rechtnia* 782; g. *Roth*⁹ 836 (i.e. the battle of Magh Rath); n. *tene* 622, 771, 798, g. *thened* 713, g. *in teinidh* 771; a. *tenid* 622; g. (pl.?), *na tengadh*¹⁰ 1022; g. *Tueth*¹¹ (?) 614.

¹ *mac Meirminn*, King of Wales. Cf. Rödri, Annales Cambriae, A.D. 877 (Ir. *Ruaidhri* 877).

² See below, § 164.

³ Cf. *Ratho both* 816, which may be a genitive plural.

⁴ Sic H. R. The fall of final *dh* is remarkable.

⁵ = "The bright red eyebrow."

⁶ Cf. g. *Granairit* 769, which refers to a different place; *Graneret*, Tirechan's Notes.

⁷ Here a weakening of vowel of the unaccented syllable.

⁸ Notice weakening of final *-ae* to *-a*.

⁹ This may be a gen. pl., which would require it to be an o-stem.

¹⁰ This Hennessy takes as gen. pl.

¹¹ The F.M. write the name *Sliabh Toadh* and Chron. Scot. *Toath* (or *Taeth*).
LL. *Toad*.

n-Stems.

§ 161. A large number of these stems are formed by a noun prefixed to *cu*, e.g. *Ailchu* ("hound of the rock"), g. *Ailchon* 722, 726, *Aldchu* 724, 786. The *cu* is sometimes used with a dependent genitive as *Cu bretan* 739, *Cu roi* 796 ("the hound of the battlefield"), and g. *Concumbu*, 729, 791.

The most interesting nouns belonging to this class are those having the genitive in *-n(n)*, but with the dative in *-e -ae*. These have their nominative in *-iu*. Examples are:—

N. *Eriu* 920, g. *Erenn* 858, 917, 961, *Erend* 876, d. (*di*) *Ere* 434, *iar n-Ere* 857, a *hEre* 901 (*heř*, R), but d. *iar n-Erinn*¹ 916, in *Eř*² 979, 964 (sic H), a *h Eř* 979 (sic H, R), *Erinn* 1066, acc. *Erinn* 797, 979 (*Erinn*), for *h Erind* 825, (a *n-*) 852; *fiu Erinn* 902; compare d. *h Ere* Fél. Oen. Jul. 31 (also d. *ire* Ep. 25,450, d. *dīle* Fél. Ep. 452). Dative *Ere* occurs³ in Compert Conculaind, Tochmarc Etaine, Story of Mor Muman, LL. 274a21. Tigernach, corresponding to A.U. 737, has d. *Eri* to rhyme with *Fene*; for *Ere* occurs in poem on the death of Maelsechlainn 862. Fiacc's Hymn has d. *Erinn* in one MS.; *Erind* in the other. The non-nasal dative seems to have been giving place to the nasal one early⁴ in the 10th century.

Further examples are: g. *Luscan*⁵ 615, 701, 735, 783, 799, 804, 881, 890, d. (*o*) *Lusca* 696; g. *Mumen* 596, 778, 792, *Muman* 727, etc., d. *Mume* 775, (*di*) *Mumae* 825; g. *Talten* 716, 722, acc. *Tailtin* 1001, d. (*a*) *Tailtae*⁶ 732, a *Tailti* 790, i *Tailte* 856; d. (*hi*) *Fernae moer* 782, g. *Fernann* 692, 714, 816.

Miscellaneous nasal stems are: n. *aicsiu* 867, *aicsin*⁷ 918; g. **Banban* 724; n. *Ciniod* 712, g. *Cinedon*⁸ 630, *Cinadon* 729, *Cinadan* 877; n. *Colggu* 579, 701, 721, 795, etc., g. *Colggen* 609, 621, 677, 721, 730, etc., *Colgen* 702, etc., later *Colgan*; g. *Crothrann*⁹ 719, 784; g.

¹ Sic H. I have not noted the reading of R.

² Leg. *Erinn* ?

³ This does not exhaust the number of occurrences.

⁴ But cf. Flann Manistrech LL. 185b18 in *hEriu*.

⁵ But change to g. *Lusca* 906, 928, 1055, 1059.

⁶ The *-lt-* is probably palatal though followed by *-ae*. Cf. next instance. The dat. *hi Teilte* occurs in Vita Columbae (Thes. ii. 279).

⁷ MS. (H) can be read *aicsin*.

⁸ A king of the Picts. The "Ciniath filius Lutrin" of the Pictish Chronicle. Cf. 712.

⁹ Leg. with Hennessy *Clothrann*.

Cualann 703, 708, 726; g. *Dairben* (?) 777, n. *ditein* 878 (for *ditiu*), g. *Deilggden* 621, 723, *Deilgdden* 621; n. *herim*¹ 758; g. **Eitchen* 577, 585; *Loch Erpsen* 929 (*Loch Oirbsen* 1338); g. *Erumon* 772; g. *in gobann* 1011; g. *Illandon* 586, 621 (*Illainn* C. S.), *Illannon* 585 (cf. n. *Illann* 624); g. **Laisren*² 604, cf. g. *Lasre* 622, 645; d. *leim* 585; g. **Lingsen* 799; g. *Lugedon* 789, *Lugadon* 780, 800; g. *Lurgan* 624; *maidm* 720 (bis), d. *madhmaim* 779, 815, 857; g. *Maignenn* 786; g. *Nesan* 700; g. *Nodan* 808; g. *Noiscan* 753; *taidbhsiu* 991 (*Taidhbsi*, R), (*Ath*) *Truisten* 937, *Uilcon* 696 (leg. with R *Iulcon* ?), g. *Uinsen* 560, 561.

The declension of the following is variable: g. *Arann*³ 917, g. *Airne* 759, 866, a. *Arainn* 857, cf. g. *Bairenn* 694, 777, but g. *Bairne* 726, g. *Rechrann* 634, 849, 974, but g. *Rechrainne* 738, 742, 768, 772, 794, 798 (the latter certainly appears to be the oldest as far as dates are concerned). Cf. g. *Eiblinne* 532, 536. G. **Cruachna* 773, d. (*de*) *Cruachain* (*clannaigh*) 814, a. (*for*) *Cruachna*, d. (*hi*) *Cruachnibh* 782, is often classed, in later times, as an n-stem, but is really an a-stem. It is sometimes used in the singular and sometimes in the plural, and its declension seems very erratic.

IRREGULAR.

G. *arba* 913 (from nom. *arbar*, old dat. *arbaimm*).

s-Stems.

§ 162. Of words declined in the singular we may take as a type *sliabh*, n. 'a mountain,' g. *sleibhe* 820, d. (*i*) *sleib* 775, 893, 1054, a. (*fri*) *sliab* 887, (*hi*) 758 (poem), (*dar*) 962. I have no instances of the word in the plural in any period.

The genitive of *mag*, 'a plain,' is sometimes followed by a *h*

¹ I have included all nasal stems here.

² This *-én* is probably the termination *-éne* in its shortened form.

³ It is doubtful if this is an n-stem, as the oldest genitive appears to be *Airne* (759).

before a vowel as *maige*, as in *Maighe heu* 731, 772, *Muighi hai* 734, *Muigi hItha* 906; not followed by *h* in *Maighi Ochtair* 589 (R *maigi*). Other instances: g. *maige* 730 (R *maighi*), 824, d. *maig* 755, 799, 824, acc. *Mag* 836, etc., voc. *a mag m-* 918.

Of *tech*, n. 'a house,' the dative (*do*) *thaigh* occurs at 780, 955, but *tigh* at 634, 808, 1012; g. *taighi* 912, 952, 1012, g. *tighi* 1043, *tige* n. pl. *na taighi* 891, 911, 920, a. *tech* 1034. For *dūn*, which becomes partially an s-stem, see Change of Declension, § 165.

DUAL.

The following dual forms may be noted: g. dual (neuter) *da locho* 639, 686, 903, g. *da locha* 768, 774, 1017, n. dual fem. *di grein* 910, g. dual fem. *da glas* 883, a. dual f. *di glais* 951, n. dual *in di longais*.

CHANGE OF DECLENSION.

§ 163. The following are the principal cases of change of declension which I have noted. For changes from o-, u- and i-stems, see under these stems.

Guttural Stems.

§ 164. 1. G. *Ailech Cluathe* 869; earlier g. *Alo Cluathe* 721, etc.
2. *Temuir*, formerly an i-stem, g. *Temro* 611, etc., *Temra* 889. The oldest instance¹ of the guttural genitive of *Temuir* is g. *Temrach* 914, and, at about which date,² I should fix its change to the guttural declension. G. *Temrach* occurs again at 915, 917, 920, by which time the guttural declension of the word was fully established. *Temra* (*Temro*) does not re-occur. These words changed to the guttural declension on the analogy of words ending in *l*, *r* which belong to this declension. Compare *láthair*, g. *láithreach*, *cáil*, g.

¹ Instances in a late hand I do not take into account.

² A dative *Temhraigh* occurs at 839, but this is possibly due to later Irish influence. There is a spelling of *gh* for *dh* (*d*) in the same line.

cálach ('fame,' 'name'), *láir*, g. *lárach* ('a mare,') *meabhair*, *meabhrach* in modern Irish¹; cf. also *clais*, g. *clasach* ('a pit'), *cis*, g. *ceasach* ('a causeway'). Other examples might be cited, and the tendency is strong in the modern language.

G. *Monistrech* 722 (also at 763, 833, 836) is a rather early instance of the guttural declension for a borrowed word.

G. *Ruaidhri* 1020, 1043 changed from the guttural declension, but *hUa Ruadrach* occurs at 1053 for the last time. *Hua Ruadrach* also occurs in a poem on *Aed hua Farreith* (1032).

s-Stems.

§ 165. N. *Dun*, (n.) 733, g. *Duin* 680, 685,² 697,² 844, 864, 872. At 866, 964, 1174, g. *dúine*,³ probably on analogy with *glun*; a. pl. *dune* 870. The g. *dūin* remains in place names, e.g. g. *Duinlethglaisi* 955, 1006, etc., *co Belach n[d]uin* 1005, g. *Duin Chaillden* 872, but g. *Duine Cailleann* 1045; cf. g. *in dúine*, LL. 276a24. As a rule, place names preserve the older declension. For neuters in *-ach* cf. o-stems, § 147.

Dental Stems.

§ 166. N. *inis*, g. pl. *innse n-*, an i-stem, has g. pl. *na n-innsed* at 979, *innseadh* 984, as if formed from an accusative plural *innseda*. This plural in *-edha* (*adha*) possibly helped to give rise to the Modern Irish plural in *-í, aí*.⁴ It was probably formed, in the first place, on the analogy of forms in *-ed, -eda* in dental stems, though the *d* can hardly have represented a dental at the time of the above instances. At 1004 the gen. plur. is again *na n-innsi*.

¹ In Mod. Ir. *súil* ('eye') gives g. *súlach* beside *súla*; also *glún*, g. *glúnach*.

² In R the stroke for *n* is over both *u* and *i*.

³ Cf. *Máel dúine*, Anecd. i. p. 74, § 220 (rhyming with *rúine*), and v. Hogan, Ir. Neuters, p. 131.

⁴ Cf. Strachan, Mid. Ir. Declension, p. 224 (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1904-5).

Nasal Stems.

§ 167. N. (*Rechru*), g. *Rechrann* 634, 849, 974, but g. *Rechrainne* 738, 742, 768, 772, 794, 798 as an a-stem (cf. under n-stems). Compare g. *Bairenn*¹ 694, 777, 793, but g. *Bairne* 726. G. *Arann* 917 points to a nom. **Āru*, but *Airne* 759, 866 appears to be the older genitive.

Instances of change from this declension are: g. *Ferna* 904, *Dercca Ferna* 929, g. *Ferna móire* 1042 (g. *Ferna mor* 1002); cf. g. *Fernann* 692, 714, 816. G. *Lusca* 906, 928, but g. *Luscan* 701, 735 to 890. Both these words had a non-nasal dative, hence after this change they become indeclinable.

¹G. *Bairenn* also occurs in *Cluain Bairenn*, Story of Recinn, Meyer, Archiv iii. 308. *Ceann Bóirne* is the modern Irish for Black Head, Co. Clare.

VI. THE VERB. I.—MATERIAL.

THE COPULA.

INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.

§ 168.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2.

3. *is* (*e*) 560 (gloss), 640 (?) *is at (imda)* 1014, 1041.
562, 645, 661, 839, 853, 911, 7 *atte mesca* 1012.

1011.

dianid 839, 'to whom is,'

condid 916, *indid* 918, *conid*

858 (*conid*, *conidh*),

1015, 'so that it was'.

ni hed 640 (? poem), *ni* 640,

668.

PRETERITE.

1.

2.

3. *ba* 516 (poem, 3 times), 661,
694 (poem), 763, 850.

ba himdha 670, *ba imda* 777,

*ni bo (chomailt)*¹ 650 (poem), *ni comtar* 855, 916, 944.

bo 661,² *badhid* 879, *baithiunn*³ *combtar*, 940.

902.

(*olsodhain*) *napu (menic)* 938, *batar* 1012.

combo 991.

¹ Notice regular aspiration.

² In a poem on folio 24a : *ni bo chointi niocco*.

³ 'There was to us' = 'we had'; cf. *taithiunn*, Poem iii. Codex S. Pauli, *baithium*, Longus mac n-U (Wi. i. p. 78), etc.

PERFECT.

- 1.
- 2.
3. *robo* (*croda*¹) 763 (poem),
diarmbu 878.
corbo (*comardd*) 849, 1003.

FUTURE.

- 1.
- 2.
3. *ni ba* (*ellmhu*), 687 (poem).
bidh (*fir fir*) 823 (poem).

SECONDARY FUTURE.

3. *ropad* 742, *robad* 970 (fol. 51b). 3. *nipdais* 979 (fol. 52a).

SUBJUNCTIVE.

PRESENT.

No instance.

PAST.

- 1.
- 2.
3. *roptis* 687 (poem).
diamtis 979 (fol. 52a).

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.

§ 169.

Sing.

Plur.

- 1.
- 2.
3. *ata* 928.

¹ Notice non-aspiration of *c*.

nista 918 (bis).

Rel. *file* ('which is') 687.

*conidfail*¹ 958, 'so that he is'.

ni fail, ni fil 894.

itaat 758 (poem), 'in which they are'.

PRESENT CONSUETUDINAL.

No instance.

IMPERFECT.

1.

2.

3. *a tech a mbidh* 670 (poem, agrees with *ba*); *hi taigh i mbith* (poem) 670.

PRETERITE.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2.

3. *bai*, 856, poem, 1009, (rel.) *baithiunn* ('we had') 902. 3. (rel.) *batar (i maig Itechta)* 1021, 7 *bhatar* 1029.

PERFECT.

1.

2.

3. *ni raibhe* 1021, *robai (roboi, R)*, *corabadur* 755 (sic R), *robatur* 1021; (rel.) *roboi* 1006. 848, (rel.) *robatar* 817, 846, 1103.

FUTURE.

3. *ro-n-bia* 1065.
(rel.) *bias* 687.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

PRESENT.

3. *rambe*,² 694 (poem).

PAST.

1. (*dia*) *mbeinnsi* 742.

3. (*cia*) *beith* 928.

VERBAL NOUN: *dobuid* 687.

¹ Cf. Wb. 16b9 *ci nin-fil lib*.

² = *r-an-be*; *an-* is the infixed pron. of 3 sing. masc.

THE VERB.

§ 170.

IMPERATIVE.

	<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
1.		1.	<i>tiagam</i> 913.
2.		2.	<i>taiscidh</i> 622.
3.	(?) <i>berad</i> 562. <i>abbred</i> 928.	3.	

INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.

§ 171.

	<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>
1.	{ <i>addaim</i> 640 (?) (fol. 23b). <i>ni caraim</i> 845 (leg. <i>ni caru</i>). (o) <i>doralaim</i> 877, <i>adfeidim</i> 902.		
2.	{ <i>ce nomaide</i> 845, <i>condici</i> ¹ 938, <i>corici</i> 853. ? <i>ni-s-riadai</i> ² 694.	2.	{ <i>ni chelaid</i> ³ 516 (poem), <i>asmberidh</i> (rel.) 516. <i>nach cainid</i> 911.
3.	{ <i>laigid</i> 694 (poem), (* <i>adcot-</i> <i>ada</i> 869). <i>fogeir</i> ⁶ 877. <i>ni cumaing</i> 918, 1041, <i>nad-</i> <i>mair</i> 942.	3.	{ <i>fosgniat</i> ⁴ 624, <i>adrandat</i> 627. (<i>inna</i>) <i>frescat</i> 661, <i>nodchiat</i> ⁵ 758 (poem). <i>dosnegat</i> 779 (fol. 34a). <i>asberat</i> 1003, <i>brenait</i> 1024, <i>facaid</i> 1099. <i>innisit</i> 1099, <i>comhraicit</i> 1099, <i>tescait</i> 1099.

¹ A crystallized phrase, as in Mod. Ir. *go dti, go dtigidh* = 'as far as'; leg. *adti*. It takes the accus. in O. Ir.; cf. Wb. 24d5 *condititici*.

² For *ni-sn-riadai*, but cf. infixed pron.

³ Aspiration after *ni* + infixed neuter pronoun.

⁴ = *fo-sn-gniat*, 'serve them'. ⁵ Cf. Wb. 10b6, *amal nahi nadchiat*.

⁶ 'heats.' Cf. Cambrai Homily, Theo. ii. 246, *fogeir a nggalur in uile corp*. Henn. wrongly prints *fugerr*.

Rel.	{	(<i>is alaind</i>) <i>feras</i> ¹ 562, <i>meilis</i> 650, <i>scoras</i> 661.	<i>indisit</i> (rel.) 1118.
		<i>hiaratha</i> 746 (poem) (leg. <i>aratha</i> ²).	
		<i>diallas</i> (?) 779 (fol. 34a).	
		<i>imteit</i> 845 (leg. <i>imeteit</i>),	
		<i>opas</i> 970.	

PASSIVE.

<i>fichtir</i> ³ (<i>cath</i>) 562, (<i>dogarar</i> 552 late).	<i>rimthir</i> 927 (leg. <i>rimtir</i>).
<i>berthair</i> (<i>giallno</i>) 562.	<i>ce nach arimter</i> 1011 ('though they are not reckoned') (<i>arimhther</i> , R).
<i>nachinlecar</i> 913, <i>gnithir</i> 1014,	
<i>fogabhar</i> 1031 (circ.).	

IMPERFECT.

§ 172.

1.	
2.	{ <i>mordais</i> 979.
3. <i>baeded</i> ⁴ (?) 763, <i>brised</i> 902.	{ rel. <i>immasreitis</i> ⁵ 694 (poem).
<i>corenadh</i> 964.	

S-PERFECT.

1.	
2. <i>robadis</i> 845, <i>roscarais</i> 918.	
3. <i>rogab</i> 622, 914; <i>rosoi</i> 640, <i>ruc</i> 650.	<i>rodatoigsetar</i> (?) 621 (MS. <i>rod-batoigsetar</i>).
<i>atosrolaic</i> ⁶ 694, <i>corucc</i> , <i>corrucc</i> 737, <i>rolegh</i> 746, <i>roleig</i> 746,	

¹ For this use of rel. compare 687 *niba ellmhu bias gen*, and Ml. 57c12.

² 'which is ahead.' Cf. *arithmboi* in next stanza.

³ Leg. *fichthir* (?), but cf. again in same stanza *fichtir cath nGabra*.

⁴ Cf. *badhid* 879, and see § 199.

⁵ 'used to ride over it.' Cf. LL. 275 *immusréitis cossa ech* || *Muman i mbethu Cuanach*. Tighernach has *imoreithdis rigriadhai*.

⁶ For *t* we want two dentals. Analysis *ad-to-sn-ro-laic* for later O. Ir. *ad-da-ro-laic* rather than Mid. Ir. *ad-dos-ro laic*. Cf. Fled Br. *adsoirg*, Wi. 1. ix. 25.

roleic 746, *roleici* 746, *ni terna*
 755, *cofargaib*¹ 758, *co tucc* 778, *ro ansat* 780.
nisrogab 780, *cororann* 801, 804, *co ragiallsat* 321 (bis), *rureset*⁸
 817; *corugiall* 803, *rodomthesi*² 821.
 809, *romarb* 809, *conidroloiscc*³ *co ransat* 835, *roslatsat* 836, *co*
 822, *dosfuc* 840, *ro-iad* (*glasa*) *rolscsad* 849, *co roloscaiset* 844.
 835, *corindridh*⁴ 849, *co fargab* *romascsat* 850, *co ralsat* 850.
 854, 913; *co comscar* 856, *durat* *co ro[s]latsat*⁹ 850, *co farggabsat*
 858, *tuc* 857, *co tuc* 865, 967, 851.
 1011; *co farcaib* 859, *roslat* *co rugiallsat* 852, *co romarbsat* 859.
 865, *co tarla* 865, *ro-as* 867, *ro scruidiset* 862, *co tucsat* 865.
 [*ad cotada*⁵ 869], *ni forlaigh* *cor innriset*¹⁰ 865, 923; *co rucsat*
 886, *ni essib* (879) 886, *rdars-* 894, *co nerlasat* 901, *co farcab-*
gar 891, *co ruc* 891, *co rogab* *sat* 901, *co fargabsat* 912, 919,
 914, *co tarmasc*⁶ 916, *co rala* 920.
 916, 917, 986; *fotracaib* 918, *imorroiset* 916, *co rolsat* 917, *co*
ro-s-baid 918, *co romarb* 920, *ruscat* 921.
roscar 920, *co robriis* 920, *co ro* *co forgaibset* 932, *tucsat* 939, 997,
inder 927, 948, 961; *conidfor-* 1011; *co rindriset* 937.
sailc 938, *co ro innir* 940, *coner-* *rogabsat* 941, *romarbsat* 941, 984,
lai 941, *dorigal* 941, *doruagell* 985.
 963, *co tarat* 967, *co rosindir* *co farcaibset* 1000, *fargaibset* 1000.
 967, *co tarait* 984 (*tarat* R), *co roscarsatar*¹¹ 1001.
co ro erlegh 992, *co ro innir*⁷ *co romarbsat* 1011, *co roloiscset*
 997, 1026, *co ro la* 998, *fargaibh* 1011, *co tardsat* 1012, 1035.
 988, 995, 1004, *co ro gaibh* *co ro lasat* 1027.
 1009, *co tarait* 1005, *co ro marb* *tucsat* 1028, 1041, 1059, 1062,
 1011, 1026, *dorat* 1048, *far-* 1072.

¹ *fo-ad-ro-gab*.² 'has heated me.'³ 'and burned it.'

⁴ R *corinnridh*. The verb seems as if it were a denominative form *innred*. O. Ir. *ind-rethaim* has *ro-* infix; cf. *in-ro-raid*, Ml. 66d21. It passes over early (865) to the s-perfect; cf. instances at 927, 948, 961, etc.

⁵ Leg. *adcotad* (?), as in Ml. 43d24; or should we take it as pres. subj., q.v. ?⁶ Sic R leg. *Co darsgar* = *co dtarsgar* (*to-ro-sgar*), later *trasgar*. Tigernach *cur trascair* corres. 985 (A.D.).⁷ Notice loss of infix pronoun.⁸ 'They have frozen.' Perfect of *rē-im*, 'I freeze'.⁹ s omitted in both MSS.¹⁰ Cf. Ml. 35a21, *inworthatar*; also 104b8.¹¹ R *roscarsat*.

gaib 1012, 1029, *coro-thair-* *coro-brisidur*¹ 1041, *foracsat* 1056,
misc 1003 (*thairmisg*, R), *ro-* *ternatur*² 1103.
thecht 1056.

DEPONENT :

coro-ordigestar, sic leg., MSS.
rodigestar.

REL. :

(*is amhlaidh*) *ro-fhoghail*³ 552, *ronghonsadar* 604 (late hand).
ro-mharb 604, *ro fhaigh*⁴ 814,
rogab 867.
ro-scar 920, (*in lucht*) *ro marb*⁵
 1011.

PASS. :

*fosriadhat*⁶ 624, *ni etad* 645 *co ructha* 821, 830.
 (poem).
*robbadhad*⁷ (*sochaidi*) 769, *foroir-* *conarrgabtha* 830 (bis), 7 *rogabta*.
eth 777.
conarrgabad 830, *rolloscad* 835, *asatuctha* 865.
irroladh 836.
corolscadh 835, 868; *foracbadh*
 840, (*du in ro*) *marbadh* 844
 (bis), *forolgad*⁸ 850 (fol. 39b),
coralad 855, *co fargbadh* 857,
 923; *corogabad* 864.
co rosaragat (for *saragad*) 874,
cor-innred 881, *coro-tairmeiscad*
 904, *co rolscaith* 907, (*du in ro-*)
badudh 923, *ro cabadh* 925,

¹ *Coro-brisetur*, R. Notice the change to the *-dur* (*-dar*) plural. There are some other instances in the 11th cent.

² For earlier *ternsat*, cf. *terna* 755 from *to-ess-ro-sni*.

³ In O. Ir. with *ro* infix; cf. Wb. 10A11 *amal fondrodil, forodlad*, LU. 58a26, *forodail* Scél M. Mic Dathó.

⁴ Leg. *ro-fhaid*.

⁵ Notice loss of infix; pronoun. *in lucht* is a new expression.

⁶ Cf. § 48; *t* for *th*, note 4.

⁷ *Sochaidi* may have been taken as sing.

⁸ Analysis *fo-lagai* (?); cf. Ml. 43d5 *fo-ralaig* (*fo-ad-lag-*), 'had prostrated'.

- irroladh* 979, 986; *co romarbad*¹ *coro-riagtha* 985, *coro-marbtha* 995, 1003; *corolad* 998, 1022, 986.
 1031, 1076. *doronta* 998, *co fargabtha* 1012.
*coro-cuired*² 1022, *ni fargbad ro marbtha* 1019, **corusdilegait*³
 1011. 1014.
coro-tescadh 1019, *ir-ralad* 1032,
i fargbad 1043.

REDUPLICATED AND VARIOUS PERFECTS.⁴

§ 174.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2.

3. *ro-meбайд* (= *-memaid*) 593,*robi* (bis) 603.*hi torchair* 626, 835; *co torchair*

661 (poem).

*imrualaid*⁵ 746, *cia dorochair i torchradur* 816 (H, R).

796.

co torchair 821, *coniddeisigh (du i) torchratar*⁶ (*ili*) 833.

839.

rommeabaid 851, *romemaid* 853,

859.

dodechaidh 858, *adrogaidh*⁷ *i torchradur*⁸ 892, 896, *conde-*

858.

chadur 892, *adconncadur* 917.

¹ *Is uaidhib fein ro-marbad*, "it is through themselves that he was slain". In Mod. Ir. also *o* is the preposition we use to connect the agent with the perfect participle, thus *bíod sí dēanta ó n-a láimh*; cf. § 197, 5, note 2.

² A new form. It occurs again at (1178), 1188, etc., *coroladh* is used to 1126, *dorala* 1220, 1232.

³ This peculiar form seems to mean 'so that they were destroyed'. Such forms were common during the 11th and first half of the 12th cent. Instances occur in the Annals at 1155, 1161, 1170, 1187 (*-badh*, R). Several instances will be found in the *Leabhar Breac* Passions and Homilies.

⁴ Cf. Strachan, *Old Irish Paradigms*, p. 54.

⁵ = *imb-ro-as-luid*, 'it passed away from him'; cf. *nicon imruldatar*-Turin 65, *nad imrulaid*, Ir. Psalt. l. 468, without *as-*(?).

⁶ Sic H.

⁷ = *ad-ro-gāid*.

⁸ At 892, 896 sic R and H.

co-remid 920 (leg. *-roimid*).

*condeochaid*¹ 940, *co-roimid* 946. *i torchratur* 932.

[Cf. *arrochriu*² (?) 970 (poem).]

i torchair 971, 972, 979, 982.

eo remaidh 995, 998, 1003,
1005, *co torchair* 1003, *do-
rochair* 1003, 1014 [*maidhis*
1014 = *romemaid*], *coremid*
1016.

[*co romuidh*³ 1022, 1024], *co comrangadur* 1021.

condechaid 1026, 1054; *tor-
chair* 1038, 1050; *dochuaidh*
1056, (*docuaidh* R).

REL. :

rombi 603, [*ise ro edbair* 588
gloss].

dodrorbai 810.

PASSIVE :

*ro-hicad*⁴ 796.

-gaeth (?) 850 (poem).

erclos 882.

do na frith 1014, 1047.

[cf. *condidaptha* 830; v. § 178
t-pret. note 4], *atcessa* 808.

cofritha 877.

*cororenta*⁵ 985.

corodairthea 1022.

DEPONENT :

forsngenair 642 (? poem).

*o genair*⁶ 979 (?).

¹ Condeoch, R.

² Cf. *ar-ro-chiuir* Féil. Prol. 67, 127, *arrochiúirtatar* L.U. 23b19, *araruichiuir* Ml. 136a8.

³ Notice the disappearance of the reduplicated pret. and perf. here and at 1014. *Ro* becomes an independent particle and *maidid* passes over to the s-pret.; cf. *maidhes* 1099 (*maidhis*, R). *Meabaidh* 1128 seems to be used as a present. Tighernach (corres. to A.U. 997) has *cor muigh* and A.U. 1031 *mebuis*. For transition to *b-* fut. in this word in SR. cf. (Strachan SR. 18) *no maidfed* 5036.

⁴ For *h* see Thurneysen, Eriu ii.

⁵ Cf. *rithae* ('was sold'), L. Ardm. 17b (Thes. ii. 240). The above is a new formation from *renaim*.

⁶ Mughron, to whom the poem refers, died in 979 (980).

§ 175.

T-PERFECT.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2. *an ro milt* 650.

3. *arroet* 552, 1106; *robi* 603, *adrandat* 627.
rothobaig 763, **conarecht*¹ (?)
 810, *corort* 849, *doferbairt* 859, *corortadur* 844.
 (sic R, *f bairt*, H), *in erbailt* 878, *doroachtadur* 851 (*dorošad*^u =
ni roacht 879, *naranacht* 894, *doroachtadur*, R).
coro-ort 940, 954, 964, *ro-ort* *forropartar* 869.
 969, 970; *conerbailt* 973, 1036, *fusrupartadur* 916, *coro ortatur*
 1104; *ro shiacht* 1003. 921, (932), *i torchratur* 932,
*co ro-acht*² 1011, *co ro-ad-* *ro-oirg* 986.
*nacht*³ 1014, *co ro-ort* 1015, *co ro achtadur* 1005.
 1019, 1024, 1100.
*co ro-oirc*⁴ 1012, *conerbailt*
 1036, (*derbailt* R).

REL. :

is mise imrubart (' who plied ')
 809, *ro malart* 918.

PASSIVE :

ro ort 998.

asrorta 840 (' out of which ').
ro horta 900, *ro orta* 950.

§ 176.

S-PRETERITE.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2.

3. *fillis* 562, *scorais* 913, *anais* 916. *fillsit* 562, *sinsit* 562, *forloiscset*
roinis 916. 562, *aensit* 771, *nadcarsat* 780.
soissit 808, *ansit* 808.

¹ Leg. *conna resed*, ' so that there might not run '. See Past s-subjunctive.² Cf. LL. 191a, *co ro aig Pardus Adaimh*. ³ ' interred them.'⁴ Cf. *rodosn-airg*, SR 5415, and v. Strachan, Verbal System of Saltair na Rann (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895), pp. 4, 26.

maidis 1014, *do fuit*¹ 1016.
gabais 1101.

tindscansat 808.

co comascsat 848.

do gensat 917, *cathaignset*² 916.

*coirsetar*³ 621.

DEP. :

REI. :

nodfich 562.

PASSIVE :

tescadh 1019.

§ 177.

T-PRETERITE.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

2.

3. *asbert* 913, **acht*⁴ 920.

fechtatar 1024 (fol. 55b poem).

PASSIVE :

*doomlacht*⁵ 732, *dianepred* 771,
778, *asbreth* 916.

§ 178.

REDUPLICATED AND VARIOUS PRETERITES.

Sing.

Plur.

1.

1. *fuaramar* 913, *nimacualamar*
970, (fol. 51b).

2.

2.

3. *docer* 516, 916 (*docher*), *mem-*
haid 516.

3. *dollotar* 758, 916.
lotar 780.

¹ A new verb. *Docer* occurs for the last time at 1021.

² We should expect a deponent ending. The form used is not absolute either. Active forms of deponent verbs, however, occur frequently.

³ Leg. with Chron. Scot.; *concoirsetar*, lit. 'they conspired against'.

⁴ *Acht in sluagh fa thuaigh*, 'the army made for the north'. Hennessy translates *acht* by 'but' and inserts 'that went' in parenthesis, but I have not met a parallel for such a construction. If we put a full stop after *thuaigh* and begin a new sentence with *dosfarraidh* we shall have the true Irish narrative style. The perfect form *ro-acht* occurs commonly.

⁵ 'was milked,' from *to-od-melg*, translate: 'She was milked three times. A drink of milk at every milking.'

<i>arithmboi</i> ¹ 746, <i>nimatulaig</i> ² 758 (poem).	<i>condidaptha</i> ⁴ <i>ili de</i> 830.
<i>o fhuair</i> 763 (leg. <i>fofuair</i>).	
<i>condeissidh</i> 821, <i>coniddeisigh</i> 839, <i>condeisidh</i> 857, 859, 881.	
<i>ni thargai</i> ³ (?) 886, <i>ni taircell</i> 886.	<i>co comairnechtar</i> 917.
<i>dusnarraid</i> 913, <i>dosfarraidh</i> 920.	<i>nadacadur</i> 917.
<i>co tainic</i> 925, <i>conostarraidh</i> 932.	
<i>deissid</i> 942, <i>tainic</i> 963 (<i>tainig R</i>).	<i>conidhtairthetur</i> 948.
<i>conitarraidh</i> 973, <i>conustaraidh</i> 999, 995, 1012, <i>doluidh</i> 999.	<i>co tangadur</i> ⁵ 998.
<i>luidh</i> 1001, 1004, 1014, 1056, <i>tall</i> 1015.	<i>dolotar</i> 999.
<i>docer (sochaide)</i> 1021.	<i>nimalotar</i> 1012.
	<i>conitairtetur</i> 1035 (- <i>tairthet</i> ^u .R).

PASSIVE :

*forsmbith*⁶ 694.

§ 179

FUTURE.

Sing.

Plur.

1. *dombeuir*⁷ (rel.) 617.

2.

¹ = *ar-idn-boi*, 'which was before him'.

² Leg. *nimatulaid* = *ni-mad-tu-luid*.

³ Perhaps we should read *ni targa* (fut.), 'there will not come,' as in Tig. corres. to A.U. 995 *ni targa*; but cf. SR *targai* 4498.

⁴ Cf. Ml. 98b8 *atbatha*, commonly *atbathatar*, as *asindbathatar*, Ml. 36a10, *conaptha* YBL. 58b4; cf. RC. xi. 450. For infixed pronoun in *condid-* cf. *atbail*.

⁵ Sic R.

⁶ 'on which was slain.'

⁷ F.M. *dober*.

3. { *beraid* 640 (poem). *doregat*² (rel.) 617 (poem).
fodirfe 970, *dorega*¹ (rel.) 640 *riasangebat* 1022 (poem).
(? fol. 23b).
*adfe*³ 640 (fol. 23b).

PASSIVE :

*berthair*⁴ (*mo chnama*) 823.

§ 180.

SECONDARY FUTURE.

- 1.
- 2.
3. *nosfirfed* (fol. 52a, 970 circ.).

§ 181.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

PRESENT.

*Sing.**Plur*

- 1.
- 2.
3. (**adcotada*⁵ 869; cf. enclitic *iarmifoiset*⁶ 617.
form *-étada*).

§ 182.

PAST.

- 1.
- 2.
3. (*mai*) *domised-sa* 617, *mona arangabtis* 916.

¹ In a poem attributed to Columbcille!² 'will come.'³ 'who will tell,' for *adfi*. The poem runs *in sui dorega indes : ise ad duibh for les*. *Beraid Cumain cua thech : do mac Aedho mic Ainmerech*.⁴ Leg. *bērtair*.⁵ As there is no principal verb in the sentence it is not easy to know how to construe this. As *dia* follows perhaps we should read *adcotadad* ('all he could get'); but it may be simply historical present. Cf. *adcotadae*, L. Ardm. 18br. For the s- perfect form of this verb, cf. *adchotados-sa*, Wb. 7a16, also Ml. 44c18, 43d24, Tur. 100, Sg. 50a3, Ml. 54a9.⁶ 3 pl. pres. s-subj. of *iarmi-fo-siag-*.

icad 687 (poem), *dianomm-ansed* 742, *dichet*¹ 783.
ni tuidecht 783 (leg. *tuidched*²).
 ɔna reš (leg. *con na resed*³) 810.

¹ Cf. LU. 38231, *ɔnā díchtheth carpat friae disiu nach anall*.

² MS. ɔuioeř. Cf. Strachan, CZ. iii. Grammatical notes.

³ Sic leg. 'so that neither horse nor chariot might run'. H. has ɔnaɾečt eč, R. ɔnaɾeř eč = *conna resed ech*. If this reading be right we have here an important historical reference to chariot- and horse-racing. For *-resed*, cf. Rev. Celt. xi. 446, *ara-resed amal in roth sin*, 'so that it might run like that wheel'.

II. REMARKS.

§ 183. The verbs in the Annals are relatively few, but are important as far as they go. As the occurrences are mostly confined to the third person of the present, preterite and perfect indicative, with but a few forms of the future and subjunctive, there are several points on which they do not touch. The past tenses of the indicative are, however, pretty well represented. In these latter I have arranged the *ro-* and *ro-*less forms as perfect¹ and preterite respectively.

§ 184. After a time *ro-* tends to move to the front of the verb and to become a separate particle with the accent on the next syllable following it. Of this we have instances of simple verbs after *co*, 'so that, and,' common in the early 10th century as *cor-ansat* 835, *cor-ortadur* 844, but *coro-ortadur* 921, 932, *cor-ort* 849, but *coro ort* 940, 954, 964, etc., *co rôlscsad* 849, but *coru-giallsat* 852, etc. In both cases *co* is final. It may be translated by 'until,' 'and'.

With compound verbs, *co-rindridh* 849, *cor-innred* 881, but *coro-inder* 927, 948, 961. *Ind-rethaim* seems to have been early treated as a denominative verb from *indred* and passes over to the s-perfect.² In O. Ir. it has *ro* infixed; cf. *an-in-ro-rad-su* (2 sing. perf.), Ml. 84c2, *in-ro-raid* 66d21; further, 35a21, 104b8. Before going further it may be well to point out that in these forms, where *ro-* precedes a vowel, Modern Irish represents the older rather than the later condition of things, and it is not clear that the phenomenon in such cases is not due to artificial spelling. From forms like *co ro-gab* 914 *ro* becomes atonic and loses its *o*, thus giving Mod. Ir. *gur ghabh*. Apart from this, however, we have a general tendency for *ro* to come to the front in the 10th century, and this phenomenon may be a part

¹ Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxxvi. 463 sq., Thurneysen, KZ. xxxvi. 52 sq., Strachan, Action and Time in the Ir. Verb, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899-1900, p. 408 sq. By about 1000 the perfect had come to be used for the preterite as a narrative tense.

² Cf. *cor-innrisset* 865. As there are no obvious reduplicated forms, I have treated it with the s-preterite and perfect.

of that tendency. Even in O. Ir., after *con-* ('so that'), the tendency is not to have the accent on the syllable following *co*¹; cf. *rogabsid*, Wb. 26a25, *lase ɔ-ro-thinoll* Sg. 66b23. After *ní, na*, in Old Irish, *ro* is brought forward in unaccented position; cf. Strachan, *The Particle Ro-*, 168. After *co* before a reduplicated preterite we have always *ro* accented, e.g., *co ròimid* 946, *co rèmaidh* 995, 998, 1003, 1005.

From these instances also we see that the non-accentuation of *ro* takes place very early; thus *co rolsasat* 849, but *co ro loscaiset* 844, *co ru-giallsat* 852, etc. It may however be noted that this accentuation of *ro* seems to occur preferably before *l*,² *g*, *ch*; thus *Togal Bruidne da Derga*, LU. 84a13, 85a42, has *cor-ràgbaiset*. At any rate, it is clear that the consonant group which follows³ influences the accentuation. Strachan, *The Particle Ro-*, p. 187 (*Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1896) thought that the "sinking of *ro* to *ru* may indicate a change of accents". It may be well to point out that in our material the writing *ru* only occurs between 803 and 852 side by side with the writing *ro*, and only in a few words. In the Wb. glosses the instances of *ru* are relatively few, but they are pretty common in Ml.

§ 185. When *ro* comes in the second position after a preposition it regularly takes the accent, e.g. *ad-rò-gaid* 858, *do-ròchair* 796, etc., *do-rògal* 941, *fo-ròlgad* 850, *imrubart* 809, etc.⁴

But after the preposition *ar-*, *ro* does not take the accent;⁵ cf. *ar-ru-nert* Ml. 139b2, *ar-ro-dibaid* Wb. 11a19 (rel.), *ar-ru-dibaid* Ml. 99a2, *ar-ru-throith*, Ml. 38d7, *ar-ru-genisiu*, Ml. 72b20, but cf. however, *do-rigenuas-sa*, Ml. 2a6 (rel.). The same rule may apply to such prepositions as *ceta*.

¹ Cf. also the use of *co* (causal) with the subjunctive in such phrases as *conair-ladaigthe*, gl. ut obediatis, Wb. 3b9. This *co* takes *no* and accent on the second syllable. Cf. note 3.

² Cf. *nad reildissem*, Ml. 63d15, but *nad ro-todlaigester*, Ml. 124d9.

³ Cf. in subj. Wb. 28d11, *ɔ-ro-gba cach desimrecht diit*, 26b7, *ɔ-ro-gbaid*, 30b4, *ɔ-rogbat*, 6d1, *con-rochra*, but *con-rochomalnid* et *ɔ-ropridchid soscele*, Wb. 23b40, *ɔ-ro-chrete-si* et *ɔ-ro-intsamlithe*, Wb. 17a13, *ɔ-ro-gabthe-si*, Ml. 39d22. *Corrochraitea*, Wb. 12c33, points to accentuation of *ro*, and it may be that the non-accentuation of *ro-* in this position was only beginning.

⁴ A doubtful form *arrochriu* (followed by *r* in the next word) occurs at 970 (poem), rhyming with *aniu*.

⁵ Cf. the position of the infixed pronoun below, § 198.

Infixed ro-

§ 186. We have *ro-* still preserved in infixed position ¹ in *dorigal* 941, *dorúagell* ² 963, etc. In *fargaib* 988, 995, 1004, 1012, 1029, in plural at 1000, 1056 (*foracsat*), *Dorigal* has become in SR. 4465 *ro digail*, with palatal *l*. SR. has, as a rule, *ro* infixed in compounds in which it was infixed in Old Irish, e.g. *doru-malt* 2909, 3683, etc., *do-r-ìd-nacht* 124, 1469, etc., *do-r-immart* 860, *do-rò-sat* 3, 657, etc.³ But *ro-* is prefixed in *co-ro-thafind* (*do-senn- < * to-svenn-*), SR. 6405, *ro thēpi* 29, *rothimgair* 1731, 2477, *ro-th-àirn-gair* 3287.

The change did not become general till after the middle of the 10th century, and had not fully operated for compounds of one preposition at the time of SR. Compounds of two prepositions had generally moved *ro-* on one place, as *do-rò-sat*, SR. 3657, but *doforsat* Ml. 17b6, *do-fhorsat* Sg. 31b5. This had already begun in O. Ir.; cf. *dorosat*, Sg. 31b2, Pcr. 12a2.

We may further compare such forms as *conrotacht*, Fl. Br., and *conròtig* which becomes in Mid. Ir. *ro chumtaig*, as *rochumtaig*, Three M. Ir. Hom. ⁴ p. 18; *ro chumtaig* gloss on *arutacht*, Broccan's Hymn, etc. This introducing of the enclitic form after *ro-* for the orthotonic form was the greatest change that the O. Irish verb underwent.

Even in O. Ir. we find the beginnings of this change in certain exceptional conditions, such as in forms which were not felt to be compounds: thus *ma-ru-d-choiscset*, Wb. 28c7, *ro coscad*, Ml. 49a5, *ro-tuirset*, Ml. 44d23, *ro-thuirsum*, Fel. Oen. Ep. 143. After *con-* in *lase ɔ-ro-th-in-oll*, Sg. 66b23.

§ 187. After *ní, nad*, we find *ro* also brought to the front in certain verbs in the time of the glosses: thus *ní ru-thogaitsam*, Wb. 16a22, beside *ní-m-thorgaith*, Ml. 38a13; *ruthochurestar*, Ml. 18d6, beside *do-ro-churestar*, Ml. 16c6; *niruforaithmenairsom*, Ml. 24a17. For a collection of instances, v. Strachan, The Particle *Ro-*, p. 168, where he points out that these are later compounds which did not undergo the laws of Irish accent.

¹ The instance *ro-thobaig* 763 (poem) is probably corrupt. *Dorigal* has the verbal noun ending; pres. *dofeich*, older perf. *doruich*.

² Cf. *dorúagell*, Ir. Charters in the Book of Kells, iii. 1; cf. Strachan, SR. 30.

³ For further instances, cf. Strachan, Verbal System of SR. p. 25.

⁴ For further instances, cf. Windisch, Wörterbuch.

§ 188. In some cases *ro* becomes part of the verb, as *i torchair* 971, 972, etc., *i torchradur* 1127, etc. Where *ro* has become part of the verb, as in *coràlsat* 850 (cf. *co rolsat*, LU. 83a7), *irràlad* 1032, *corala* 916, 917, 986, *ro* keeps the accent when a preposition or conjunction precedes. The compound *co tarla* 865 gives the Mod. Ir. *tarla*, *tarlaigh*. *Ro* becomes *ra* under the accent when the following syllable contains *a*. Cf. *co ragbad*, with weakened root, after *ra*.

§ 189. The preposition *in* becomes *ir-* before *ro*: *irroladh* 979, 986, *irralad* 1032. On the other hand we have *in* maintained before *ro*: thus *du in ro marbad* 844 (bis), *du in ro badudh* 923. In this case *ro* does not take the accent, while it does so after *as* in *asrorta* 840.

In Mod. Ir. we have the *n* of *in-* preserved before *r* in *in rud ar bith* beside *i rud ar bith*. We have instances¹ of both *in-* and *ir* forms in the glosses; cf. *in rochomallad*, Ml. 122d7, *in rogbath* 24d10, *irrufolnastar*, Wb. 13b29. The same conditions prevail in connection with *an-* ('what'). In case of other particles the accent follows *in-*: *du i torchratar* 833, etc.

§ 190. We have aspiration after independent *ro* at *ro-siacht* 1003. This, as was only natural, spread from non-independent *ro*, which had, by that time, become full.

THE REDUPLICATED PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

§ 191. After a time the s-preterite becomes the regular thing in the singular, and the *-tar* or deponental forms become generalized in the plural. Thus for the regular reduplicated perfect *coroimid* 946 (= *co-ro-memaid*) we have *co remid*² (leg. *roimid*) 920, *co remaidh* 995, 998, 1003, 1005, *coremid* 1016, but *co ro muidh* 1022, 1024; cf. the preterite *maidhis* 1016 for (*ro*) *memaid*. In these forms we have both changes: *ro* becomes an independent particle and *memaid* passes

¹ Cf. Strachan, *The Particle Ro-*, p. 87.

² *Togal Bruidne da D.* has the intermediate stage *co roemid*, LU. 98a13.

over to the s-preterite. Tigernach corresponding to AU. 997 has *cor muigh*. *Meabaidh* 1128 stands between two presents and seems to be used as a present. The disappearance of the reduplicated perfect probably became general in the early 11th century. Even in the Milan glosses we find the change from the reduplicated (deponent) form to the s-form in a few words,¹ as *foruraithminsit*,² Ml. 135a1. The reduplicated perfect is common in SR,³ but there are a good many cases of transition to the s-preterite and perfect: thus *ros-dedlaig* 7958, but *ro-dluig* 4045, *romemaid* 5097, 6589, but *diarmaid* 5582; further, *snegdatar* 2521, instead of an older reduplicated preterite of *snigim*. Thus the change was in process of taking place⁴ when the Saltair was composed, the new non-reduplicated form being the spoken one which could be used when the metre required it beside the older literary form.

Togal Bruidne da Derga has both reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms: *ro cachain*, LL. 83b28, 37, 91a39, etc., but *rachain* 86a32, etc.

The Táin Bó Cuailnge (LU.) has generally the reduplicated form as *lelgatar*, LU. 57b19, *cachain* 57b28, and numerous instances. Non-reduplicated forms are *cumrigis* 62b42 (for *conrreraig*) *romaid* 63b42, *rodgonsat* 78b10, etc. Cf. Quiggin, The s-Preterite, Eriu, IV. ii. p. 203.

The Siabar-charpat Conculaind⁵ in Egerton 88 fo. a40 has *Ata lim is bo rodlelaig*,⁶ for which LU. has *Atá lim is bo rodalig*. The Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 33,993, fo. 2b, has for this passage *italim is bó roduslelai*. This makes it clear that the writer of LU. occasionally modernized his texts. In a poem in the Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib, in a remark put into the mouth of Brian Borumha, occurs *cruaid ro-m-*

¹ Cf. also *ar-ru-muinset*, Ml. 90a1, with depon. ending *dia-ru-muinestar*, Wb. 4c38, but *dorumenatar*, Ml. 35b18, etc.

² Cf. Ml. 24a17, *ni ruforaithmenairsom* (3 sing. perf.), which shows indications of a late compound. This change of conjugation in compounds of *-moiniur* is not to be taken as a general rule but rather an attraction into the s-deponent, which was the commonest form. We may here compare *do-ru-ménatár*, Fl. Br. (LU.), Wi. 82, which has the oldest form of the word. Cf. *foraithmenatar*, ib. 86.

³ For instances, v. Strachan, Verbal System of SR, pp. 24, 25.

⁴ The change to the s-perfect in *cor-innrisset* 865 I have referred to above.

⁵ Cf. Zimmer, Zeitschr. f. Deutsches Alterthum, xxxv. 43, and Pr. Akademie der Wissenschaften (1908), 1102.

⁶ 'It seems to me that it was a cow that licked it.'

lensat thar cach lear ; cf. Ml. 96c13, *ro-leldar*, Serglige Conculaind, *co-ruildetar*. In the poems by Fland Mainistrech (d. 1056) in LL. 181a ff. we find reduplicated forms like *geguin* 181a15, *cechain* ib. 19,¹ etc., but these are probably poetic survivals, and he has *do-cersat* 182b38, which shows that he was not familiar with the form. Gilla Coemain² has also *docer*, LL. 129b, 3b, *adnacht*, *-erbailt* (LL. 3b), etc., but *cingset*, LL. 4a, *romaidset* 17a.

§ 192. In the passive we have a new form: *cororenta* 985; cf. *rithae* ('was sold'), L. Ardm. 17b1. For a similar change cf. SR. 5871, *roben*.

T-PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

§ 193. For the t-perfect we have an instance *co ro-oirc* 1012 (3 Sing.) where the s-form is introduced, and for the 3 plur. *ro-oirg* 986 (sic MSS.). We have the t-form *co ro-ort* however at 1015, 1019, 1024, 1100.

The t-perfect is regular in SR, but we have several instances which have gone over in the singular to the s-perfect. Thus *ro-dosn-airg* 5415, *do-rim-gair* 4930, but *doringart* 2019, 3176. Compounds of *-garim* have always the perfect in *-gart* in the Glosses. The conditions in SR correspond pretty well to the indication of the Annals.

We may compare further *ro recair*, Serglige Conculaind (Wi. 33), for *ro-recart*, but *nis-frecart*, id. 18. The change in verbs ending in *-r* seems earlier than that of verbs ending in *-cht*, *lt*. Strachan, VSR, p. 26, suggested the analogy of *dorochair*. Such verbs would also naturally be influenced by deponents in *-ir*.³ We may take the loss of *-t* in these verbs as earlier than the putting of *ro* in the beginning, as the above compounds *do-r-imgair*, etc., have *ro-* infixd.

¹ *Cachain* occurs in The Voyage of Bran, and, if I recollect aright, also in Ml.

² In dealing with these Middle Irish poets we must be on our guard against their artificial poetic language as distinguished from the popular spoken language and that of unaffected prose literature.

³ Also by such perfects as *ara-rui-chiuir*, Ml. 136a8. Cf. note on *foruraithe-minsit*, Ml. 135a1, in the preceding paragraph.

We have palatalization of 3 sing. perfect in *do-forbairt*¹ 859 (R *ferbairt*, leg. *forbart*).

Cf. further *-erbailt* (3 sing.) 878, 973, 1036,² 1104, with *atrubalt*, Ml. 125C1, *erbalt*, Longes mac n- U. We may compare here the s-perfect *co tarait* 984 (H) with palatal *t*, R has *co tarat*. At 1005 both MSS. have *co tarait*.

S-PRETERITE AND PERFECT.

§ 194. Of the *-dar* (*-dur*) or deponent forms in the 3 plural we have an instance *ro-brisidur* 1041 (R *co ro-brisetur*). In this case the *s*-form is not visible. We have a mixture of both forms *ro-carsatar* 1001 (H), but R has *coro-carsat*, and with the *s*- fallen away we have *ternatur* 1103. Corresponding to AU. 1001 Tighernach has *leigsidar*. He has generally *tucsat*, but the mixed form must have been pretty common in the second half of the eleventh century. When the old reduplicated preterite and perfect fell away their forms in the plural would coincide with those of the *t*-preterite and this would tend to become the general form.

From 1103 onwards we have the absolute ending in compound verbs with the accent on the first syllable in 3 sing. pret., e.g. *impais*, *facbais*,³ *maidhis* 1103. The *ro-* forms however would not have the *-is* endings. Cf. *cotlais* Tog.BrdD. LU. 91a42, *dórtais* 98a32, which are presumably due to the scribe. The few verbs⁴ which have the accent on the second syllable in Modern Irish are a remnant of the Old Irish compounds with their double accentuation. The Modern Irish past tenses like *ghabh sé* must have gone out from *ro-* and *do-* forms.

Looked at from various points of view the Old Irish verbal system

¹ From *to-fo-ro-od-ber*, "to attack," "make for". The more usual form of the compound is in *forropartar* (sic) 869, *fusrua-partadur* 916.

² *derbailt*, R.

³ Cf. *facbais*, Fl. Bric. (LU.), Windisch, par. 67. For a similar condition of things in the present, see next paragraph.

⁴ Such as *adeir*, *'deir*, *'tchi* (= *ad-chi*), *'gheobhfaidh* (fut., *fo-géb-*), but *nach n-abruigheann*, *nach bhfeiceann*, *nach bhfuighidh*.

was almost completely broken up by the late tenth or early eleventh century. The partial levelling out of the endings in the past tenses went on much later into Middle Irish. With fuller material, the date of the various changes may be more closely approximated.

PRESENT.

§ 195. In the present we have new forms like *innisit*¹ 1099, 1118, instead of the more usual compound *as-ind-feth*, with the absolute for the conjunct (or secondary) ending in 3 plur. Cf. *ad-fedim* 902 and *adféidim* LL. 5b1 in poem by Eochu O Flainn (?). Similarly *comhraicit*² 1099, *tescait*³ 1099, *facaid* 1099 with *b* of the root *gab* fallen away. Cf. *foracsat* 1056. These examples are pretty late, but I have not noted any earlier instances. The absolute instead of conjunct endings in 3 sing. perf. I have referred to above. For such endings in compound forms in SR. cf. *feib teacit* 3488, *fácbait* 7655, *heirgit* 8246, *timchellait* 422, etc. Here we have two generalizations: (1) the accent on the first syllable, (2) the absolute ending. Thus we have here the generalization of the absolute ending for the Irish verb as the secondary⁴ (conjunct) ending was generalized in Latin, and the primary in the present and future in Sanskrit. Thus this great Irish principle of the accent on the first syllable, the effects of which were completed in the noun by about 700, had asserted itself again for the verb 400 years later. How far the various changes reflect the results of the events of Irish history in the meantime would be interesting to consider.

¹ Seems to be built from a verbal noun of *ind-feth*, cf. *infeded*, Mongan-Finn Story, ed. Meyer, cf. *aisneis*, fr. *as-ind-feth*. Cf. the b-fut. *innisfes* in this verb, LU. 8a29, 31, *innisfed* 15a42, etc. Cf. *incoad*, fr. *in-co-fed*.

² The accent is also on the first syllable.

³ 'They cut up,' 'uproot'. Cf. LU. 86b8 *do-n-iscide crand asa thoib*, LU. 65b37, *t-án-ísca*; *do-escim* is possibly to be further reduced to *to-cess* with metathesis of *c*, *s* in accented position.

⁴ For a discussion on this subject of conjunct and absolute conjugation v. Thurneysen, KZ. xxvii. p. 154 sq. and Zimmer, KZ. xxx. 119 sq.

THE INFIXED PRONOUN.

§ 196.

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1.	(<i>mai</i>) <i>do-m-ised-sa</i> 617, <i>do-m-beir</i> ¹ 645, <i>dia-nomm-ansed</i> ² 742, <i>ro-dom-theisi</i> 809.	<i>nach-in-lecar</i> , 913.
	2. <i>fo-t-racaibh</i> 918.	
3 m.	<i>r-am-be</i> ³ 694, <i>ar-ithm-boi</i> 746, <i>con-id-fail</i> 758, <i>nach cainid</i> 911, <i>conidforsailc</i> 938, <i>coromarbsat</i> ⁴ 941, <i>con-id-airthitur</i> 946, <i>con-itarraidh</i> 973, <i>corothair-misc</i> 1003, <i>conitairthetur</i> 1021, 1035, <i>co ro-marb</i> 1026, <i>ronbia</i> 1065 (poem), <i>cono-ro-gab</i> (<i>galur</i>) 1105, <i>conattar-thadar</i> 1126.	<i>fo-s-gniat</i> 624, <i>*do-snegat</i> ⁶ 779, <i>ni-s-rogab</i> 780, <i>du-sn-arraidh</i> 913, <i>fusrupartadur</i> 916, <i>ni-s-ta</i> 918, <i>ro-s-baid</i> 918, <i>conostarraidh</i> 932, <i>co-ro-s-indir</i> ⁷ 967, <i>no-s-firfed</i> 970 (fol. 52a), <i>conustaraidh</i> 995, 1000, 1012, 1046, 1101, 1125, <i>co ro-innir</i> ⁸ 997 (bis), <i>ce nach arimter</i> 1011, <i>co ro-adhnacht</i> 1014, <i>coru-s-dilegait</i> 1014, <i>coro-loisc</i> ⁹ 1026.
3 f.	<i>immasreitis</i> 694, <i>ni-s-riada</i> 694, <i>*atosrolaic</i> ⁵ 694, <i>do-s-fuc</i> 840.	<i>co ro thesairc</i> 1096, <i>coru-s-tairmesc</i> 1097, <i>coro-n-etarscar</i> ¹⁰ 1113.
	<i>corus-mursat</i> 1165.	

¹ LU. has *dombert*.

² Leg. *dian-dom-ansed*.

³ For infixation, cf. *conidfail* 758, *ce nínfil lib*, Wb. 16b9, etc.

⁴ Leg. *co ra-marbsat* for older *con-idn-ro-marbsat*.

⁵ v. s-Perfect, p. 157, note 6.

⁶ In poem *croo dosnegat srotha*, 'streams of blood wash (?) them'. But it could be also from *snigid*, 'drops'.

⁷ For *ro-sn-indir* for older *condarindrid*. O. Ir. *ind-rethaim* had *ro* infixed; v. s-Perf., p. 158, note 4.

⁸ Referring to *Laighniu*. Notice disappearance of infixed pronoun.

⁹ Referring to the foreigners or their territory, v. note 8.

¹⁰ Cf. *coro-n-innarba nert Bretan iat*, LU. 3a45.

3 n. { *ni chelaid* 516, *no-d-chiat*
758, *con-id ro-loiscc* 822,
dorigal 941, *co-ro-innir*¹
1026.

Rel. m. *in lucht ro-marb*² 1011.

n. *no-d-fich* 562, *do-d-rorbai*³

810, *fo-d-irfe* 970.

Affixed pronouns: *badhid* 879, *baithiunn*⁴ 902.

indid 918, "since it is".

¹ Referring to Inis Mochta. Notice *coro-loisc* in same year, for O. Ir. *conda-roloisc*.

² 'Those who slew him.' *In lucht* is a new phrase.

³ Perhaps masc. = *do-dn-rorbai*, fr. *to-ror-ben*.

⁴ 'There was to us,' i.e. 'we had'.

REMARKS.

§ 197. The instances of the infixed pronoun of the first and second persons are unfortunately very few, and consequently do not help much towards showing the development of the forms. *Nach-in-lecar*¹ 913 shows no indication of the *ar n-* form of the infixed pronoun of 1 pl., which is common in SR. We have *nach cainid* 911 for *nach-n-cainid* ('do you lament him not'), unless the neuter "it" be meant; cf. *nach beir*, Wb. 6c18, 'who dare not pass it (the judgment)'; *connách moidea nech*, Wb. 2b4, *nach n-astad*, Wb. 10a7, *nach moided* 9d18, *nach n-deirsed*, Sg. 209b27, *connach n-accaitis*, Ml. 32d12; also Ml. 69a17, 122a14. The *n-*² was lost before *c* and vocalized it, and such forms with masculine infixed pronoun were the starting-point of the modern *nach (g) caoinim*. As regards *do-s-fuc* 840, cf. the form without nasalization in Wb. 26b16, *manisdeirclimmis*, Ml. 68b2, *nosgabthae*, but Wb. 6b29, Ml. 29a3, etc.³

§ 198. As has been remarked above, the past tenses with *ro* are common. It may be well to point out here the rules of infixation with *ro* :—

1. When nothing (or *o*, etc.) precedes *ro* infixes the pronoun, as *ro-s-baid* 918, *rambe = r-an-be* 694; cf. *ro-m-soirsa*, Wb. 3d20, *ro-s-gabhual* (sic), Ml. 57c13, etc. The same rule holds when *ar* precedes; cf. *ar-ro-t-neithius-sa*, Ml. 46b20. Cf. the accentuation after *ar* above, § 185. After a time, however, *ar-* takes the dental form *ar-da*.⁴ For *ro-dom-theisi* 809 ('has heated me'), cf. *ised* . . .

¹ Cf. Wb. 15d40, *nach-in-rogba*, Ml. 93d10, *huare nach-an-soirainni*. With pronouns of the 1st and 2nd plur. the sing. form is used; cf. *cotobsechfider*, Wb. 9a23, etc. Cf. also note on *romarbad* in next paragraph.

² Serogl. Con. (Windisch i. 208) has the *-in* form in the imperative *nach-in-glúasid*.

³ Cf. further Ml. 42c12, *dusnucai*, etc.

⁴ v. Strachan, *The Infixed Pronoun*, Eriu i.

rodam-soersa, Ml. 48a21, and for this construction, copula + adjective + relative, cf. above, *is alaind feras al luadh* 562 and *is denithir sin arachrin* Ml. 57c12, *cid dian 7 cian notheisinn*¹ Ml. 41d9, etc., *ni bronach do-n-intarrái* Wb. 16b18. This corresponds exactly to our modern use of the relative in such a phrase as *is beag a chuirfeas sin as dó* ('that will not put much out of his way').

2. After *ni-* the infixed pronoun is put before *ro*, as *ni-s-rogab* 780 ('seized them not'); cf. *ni-s-rochretset*, Ml. 39d3, *ar ni-s-rothechtusa*, Ml. 44b10, but *ni rus-comallas [atar]*, Ml. 105a6. SR. has the infixed pronoun after *ro* in *ni-ro-s-luaid* 5112, *ni-ro-s-liuna* 6531, but *ni-s-relicc* 6721.

3. After prepositions such as *fo* the pronoun is infixed before *ro*, as *fo-t-racaib* 918 ('has left thee'), *fus-ruapartadur* 916; cf. *fo-t-racbusa* Wb. 31b1, but *doro-n-donadni* Wb. 16b17 (passive).

4. When *co n-* precedes, it infixes the pronoun² (dental form), as *con-id-roluisc* 822 = *con-did-roluisc*; cf. Wb. 33a2, *ishe id-rotig*, but later *coro-s-indir* 967 for older *condarindrid*. This also occurs commonly in SR., *co-ro-s-athin* SR. 2196, *cor-dascuibdig* SR. 7862. Similarly we have *co-rus-tairmesc* at 1097. We have a like formation at 937, *co-ro-sithaig*, where the *s-* does not appear owing to the *s-* of the verb. Another instance of the old formation is *con-id-forsailc*³ 938, where, however, the construction is not clear and the nominative is wanting. There is a possibility that forms like *coro-s-innir* spread from *no* forms like *conosberinn* Wb. 10d36.

5. When, according to this new arrangement, the infixed pronoun follows *co + ro-*, the result is seen in such forms as *coro-marbsat* 941. This, according to the new arrangement, should be *cor-an-marbsat*. But *ro* became full about this time—cf. § 184 to § 191 above—the pro-

¹ Strachan, CZ. iv. 68, contrasts Wb. 21d9, *ismóa dongnisom oldaas don-tlucham*, but perhaps we should translate *is mó a ghníos sé ná a iarras sinn* (= *iarramuid*), 'He does more than what we ask,' rather than 'He does it more than we ask it,' taking the *n* as relative *n*. Cf. also Wb. 32a25, *bid mó dongenaesiu oldaas rofoided cucut*. We may also compare *ni maith rombatar frim* (Tales from the Tain, p. 4)—lit. 'it is not good that they were towards me' = 'they were not kind to me,' etc. We find the dental form *-dos-* common in Mid. Ir.; thus SR 4653 *ro-dos-terbaisset* 4655, *ro-das-faidset*, etc.

² But (in passive form) in Wb. *con romiccad* 28a10.

³ = *con-did-fo-ro-od-sailc*; cf. *dunforsailc* Ml. 125a9, *donforsailced* 118d20, *doforsailced* 131d1.

noun being felt to be *-n-* rather than *-an-*, and *n* got assimilated to *m*. Thus we have *coro-marbsat* developed quite regularly with no visible masculine infixed pronoun of the 3rd person at 941. Further, *coro-marb* 1026. *Romarbad* 1003 as a passive¹ has no infixed pronoun. *Co ro-thairmisc* 1003 (*coro-thairmisg* R) Hennessy translates as '(the Cenel Eogain) prevented him,' but the meaning more probably is that he (Brian) put a stop to the Cenel Eogain.

The Leabhar Gabhala has the older form *conid romarb*,² but it has also got *s-* for 3rd sing. masc.³ and also the independent pronoun. At LL. 6a12, *con-os-toracht*, the infixed pronoun stands for *hEriu*.

Remarkable is the form *co-no-rogab* 1105 = *con-da-ro-gab*. For instances of this use of *da* for 3 sing. masc., such as *cono-rucur*, LU. 54a23, v. Strachan, The Infixed Pronoun, Eriu i. 174. For the contrary cf. *conid-romarb* ('and slew her'), LU. 53b14.

6. The loss of the pronoun before or after *ro* has spread to the plural in *coro-innir* 995 = until (or 'so that') he devastated them (= Connacht and Leinster); *coro-adnacht* 1014 (and interred them), *coro-loisc* 1026. *Coro-thesairc* 1096 is doubtful. With *s-* revived, *cor-us-tairmesc* 1097, where it is not clear whether the *s-* means 'him' or 'them'.

AFFIXED PRONOUN.

§ 199. As to the affixed pronoun in *senchaidh badhid amru* 879 ('more excellent than he'), cf. Frag. Ir. An. p. 42 (A.D. 722), *ni ffuaramar ar talmain Almain badid redither, ni rangamar iarsin cath Lilcach badid nemether*; Liadan and Cuir. p. 16, *badid ciallidiu*; cf. YBL. 261a14, 15, *bes-idn-isle, bes-adn-nuaisliu*⁴—in all of which *id* is the dative of comparison.

¹ In the third person the meaning seems to have been passive, but in the first and second persons the passive meaning is not at all obvious. The infixed pronouns are either accus. or dat., and later become replaced by possessives, and impersonal would perhaps be a better description than passive.

² Cf. Strachan, The Infixed Pronoun, Eriu i. 177.

³ Ib. p. 166. In a poem attributed to Eochu Ó Flainn in this collection we find forms such as *dosnucc*, LL. 5b12, *fofhuair*.

⁴ Cf. Thes. ii. 292, note 1.

§ 200. We see from the above that the infixed pronoun fell pretty early in connection with *co + ro*. It was better preserved in a fixed formula, such as *conitairthetur* 1021, 1035, *conustaraidh* (*s*-form) 1046, 1101, 1125. The infixed pronoun was in certain positions preserved late into Middle Irish. It would be interesting to determine how far this was a recognized spoken or literary form or merely a poetical embellishment.

INDEPENDENT PRONOUN.

§ 201. It is noticeable that in these 11th century instances of the loss of the infixed pronoun that it is not replaced by the independent pronoun. This latter begins, as far as I have noted, at 1099,¹ *loiscit . . . Cenel Eogain é*; that is, at the close of the 11th century the independent pronoun as object² came to be recognized in the literary language. Instances are common in LL.

For instances from LU. v. Strachan, *The Infixed Pronoun*, p. 176. He takes his examples out of texts such as the *Amra Coluimb Cille* and *Fled Bricrenn*. In these cases the independent form is to be attributed to the scribe; in FB. he was probably endeavouring to harmonize two different versions of the text.³ The general use of the independent pronoun at the end of the 11th century corresponds pretty well to the conjugating of compound verbs with absolute forms and the throwing back of the accent on the first syllable; cf. § 194-95 above. These compound verbs with the accent on the first syllable had become, so to speak, simple verbs. With simple verbs we had an affixed pronoun, and the affixed pronoun was in this case replaced by the independent pronoun. The particle *no* had become obsolete, and there remained the cases of *ro*, *ni*, etc., which were detached from the verb.

¹ See Strachan, *The Infixed Pronoun*, Eriu i. 169, note.

² We have *sinn*, SR. 3493, as independent pronoun of the subject. For further early instances of the independent pronoun, v. Strachan, *Infix. Pronoun*, Eriu i. 176.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, CZ. iv. 200 sq., Zimmer, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, xxxv. 1-172, 252.

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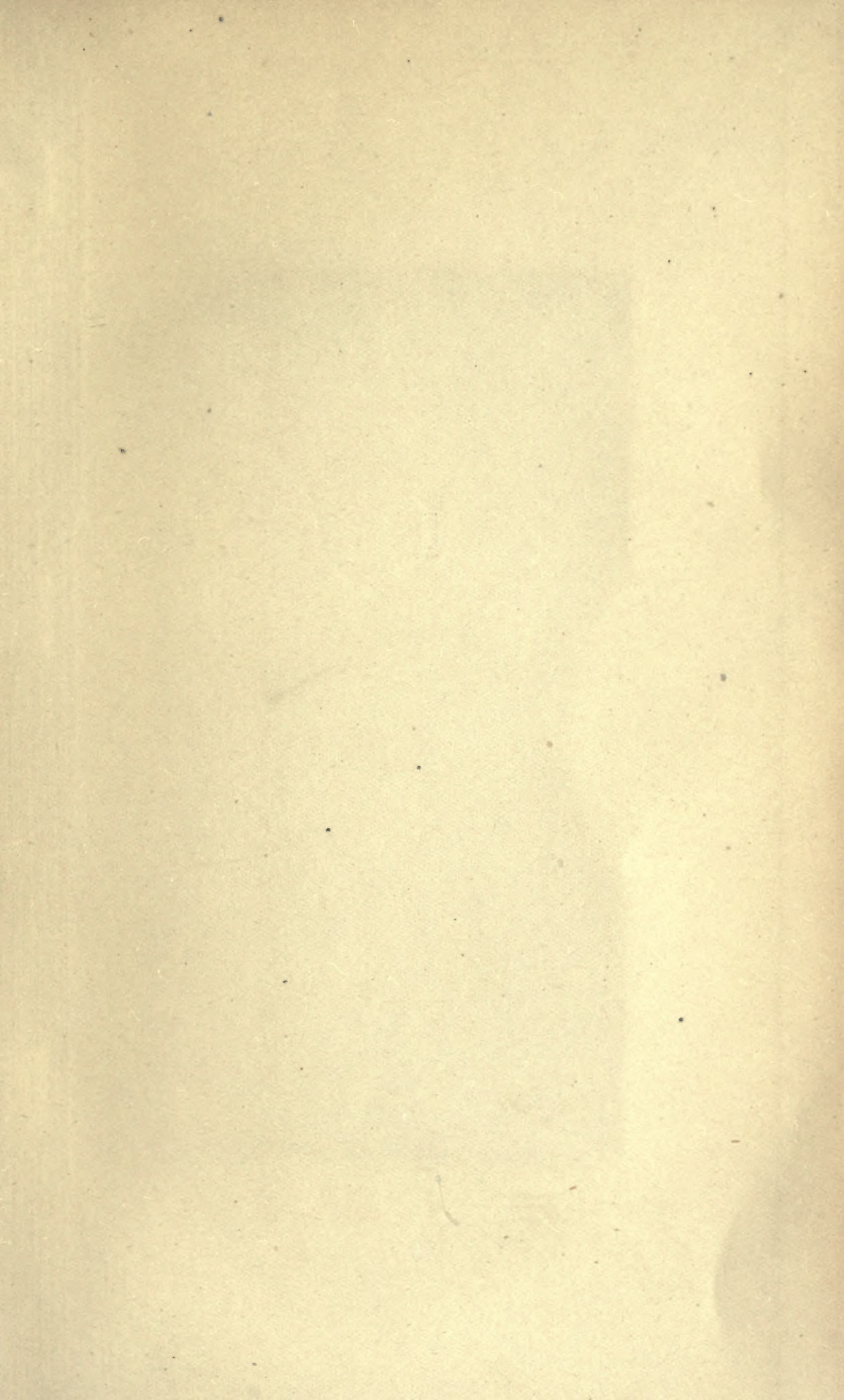
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