CHAPTER I
PRELIMINARIES

A. INTRODUCTION.

A.1. The main phases of Irish.

Irish (or Gaelic, including the Scottish and Manx varieties; OIr. *Goídelc*, ModIr. *Gaeilge* etc.) is a Celtic language whose closest relatives are the three members of the British Celtic family, namely Welsh, Cornish and Breton. Irish and British constitute the two branches of Insular Celtic, which probably developed certain peculiarities (most notably the double 'absolute' and 'conjunct' verbal inflection discussed in III.A.3 and V.A.1c) in Britain in the course of several centuries straddling the middle of the first millennium B.C. before being brought to Ireland some time later. Thereafter Irish (or Goidelic) and British began to diverge on their separate islands. The Insular Celtic languages are more distantly related to imperfectly documented and long dead Celtic languages on the Continent, notably Celtiberian in Spain (some inscriptions from the first and second centuries B.C.) and Gaulish (documented chiefly from various inscriptions ranging in date from the fifth century B.C. to about the third century A.D.) in France, Northern Italy and a swathe of territory stretching eastwards along the Danube as far as what is now central Turkey. All of these languages together make up the Celtic family, to use a now conventional linguistic term established by the great Welsh scholar Edward Lhuyd in the early eighteenth century. This is then related at a further remove or removes to various other language families, notably Germanic (e.g. English, German and the Scandinavian languages), Italic (notably Latin and its modern Romance descendants such as Italian, Spanish and French), Baltic (notably Lithuanian and Latvian), Slavic (e.g. Polish, Serbo-Croat and Russian), Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian (further subdivided into Iranian and Indic branches) as well as the long extinct Anatolian (notably Hittite with records from the second millennium B.C. in Asia Minor, present-day Turkey) and Tocharian (documented from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. in the Karim Basin, now in eastern China). Ultimately all of these are branches of the vast Indo-European family of languages assumed to descend from a common ancestor known as Proto-Indo-European that has left no records (since its speakers could not write) but must have been spoken around the fourth and third millennia B.C. somewhere in Eastern Europe or Western Asia, an area just north of the Black Sea currently being the best bet.

Irish seems to have been steadily going its own way for the best part of a thousand years in Ireland before it began to be written down, first on very brief Ogam inscriptions around the early fifth century A.D. and then in continuous texts in manuscript in the course of the seventh century A.D. Prior to this its precursor shared various demonstrable nodes of development with other languages, namely an Insular Celtic stage (with British Celtic) around the middle of the first millennium B.C., a Proto-Celtic stage (with all known Celtic languages, dead or living) around the later part of the second and the early first millennium B.C, and finally a Proto-Indo-European stage that probably drew to an end in the course of the third millennium B.C. In the absence of written documentation these stages are only accessible by means of scientific historical linguistic comparison and reconstruction. On this basis the development of Irish can be traced back, at least in outline, some five thousand years, although its directly recorded history begins no earlier than some sixteen hundred years ago with the scanty Ogam evidence and the language has only

been adequately documented for the last thirteen centuries or so since the emergence of a manuscript tradition. The long undocumented period can be regarded as the language's prehistory, and the shorter period (albeit a longer one than can be boasted by any other Western European language except Latin) since more or less continuous records began as its history. The latter, of course, is the main concern here.

The linguistic phase from the fifth to the sixth centuries A.D. is best designated **Primitive Irish** and is marginally historical by virtue of the exiguous documentation provided by a couple of hundred short and formulaic Ogam inscriptions. These and comparative linguistic considerations combine to show that it was a watershed during which Irish underwent major changes that transformed an essentially 'old Indo-European' profile similar to that of the Continental Celtic languages or Latin, say, into a significantly different type, certain key features of which have characterised Irish ever since (cf. the remarks on Ogam INIGENA versus Old Irish *ingen* 'daughter' in B.8 below).

The reliable manuscript records of the language of the seventh century are few and far between but they do suffice to show that the **Early Old Irish** of this period was not unduly different from the 'classical' **Old Irish** of the following two centuries, the main divergences being of a relatively trivial phonetic nature (see VI.B.6a). The tenth century saw the emergence of a stage of the literary language known as **Middle Irish** (see XII) that was characterised by considerable innovations and fluctuations in morphology above all, especially where the verbal system was concerned. Around the end of the twelfth century this in turn gave way to the appreciably more streamlined grammatical system known as **Early Modern Irish**, which continued in use until about the end of the sixteenth century. Thereafter texts increasingly show various dialect and other features seen in the **Modern Irish** of the present day. Irish, then, has a continuous textual tradition in the Roman alphabet going back at least as far as the seventh century A.D. This grammar and reader is chiefly concerned with the early or 'Old Irish' part of that evolution, a period extending roughly from the late seventh to the early tenth century A.D., but the final chapter offers a basic introduction to the subsequent 'Middle Irish' stage extending down to approximately the end of the twelfth century.

The long period of development culminating in Old Irish as known to us from various sources did not, of course, take place in complete isolation. As in the case of other recorded languages, certain external influences can also be detected. It has, for instance, sometimes been claimed that, whereas the basic sounds and forms (or phonology and morphology) of Old Irish can usually be accounted for as the outcome of a continuum of internal change stretching back through Proto-Celtic to Proto-Indo-European itself, certain key features of the language's syntax, particularly where word order is concerned, are due to the so-called 'substratum' influence of a non-Indo-European language or languages encountered by early Celtic speaking settlers in Britain and Ireland. However, this can be no more than unproven and unprovable speculation in the absence of any record of the pre-Celtic speech of these islands and this approach has been rejected by most scholars in the field for the good reason that plausible internal derivations of the features in question are available.

Various studies of other languages have revealed that external influences are most likely to make themselves felt in the field of vocabulary, and Celtic, Insular Celtic and Irish are no exception to this tendency. Although the bulk of their vocabulary can be shown to have wider

Indo-European connections, Irish and British Celtic nevertheless contain a number of obviously related words such as OIr. *mucc* and MW *moch-en* 'pig' (< **mukk-*), OIr. *brat* and MW *breth-yn* 'cloak' (< **bratt-*), OIr. *fannall* and MW *gwennawl* 'swallow' (< **we/aɴāl-*) that not only lack obvious cognates elsewhere in Indo-European but also have a distinctly non-Indo-European look. That being so, they are likely to have been taken over from an otherwise unknown non-Indo-European language or languages at a prehistoric Irish (or British), Insular Celtic or Proto-Celtic stage. Given the already mentioned inadequacy of the documentation of Gaulish and Celtiberian, lack of attestation of similar forms there so far hardly suffices to prove that these external elements made their way into the language(s) in question at an Insular rather than an earlier Proto-Celtic phase. On the other hand, attestation in one or both of these does constitute solid grounds for positing borrowing as early as Proto-Celtic, a case in point being the PC but apparently non-IE **kurmi* 'ale' underlying OIr. *cuirm*, OW *curum* (MW *cwrwf*), Gaul. *curmi*, Celtib. *kurmi-*. However, words like these afford no more than occasional glimpses into early prehistoric borrowings from unidentified sources.

Unsurprisingly, the first securely identifiable external source of borrowings into Irish (and, for that matter, British) is Latin. As the official language of the Roman Empire and of the Catholic Church it not only survived the former's downfall but also succeeded in extending its reach beyond the old imperial boundaries. Apart from a handful of arguably pre-Christian borrowings relating to trade and seafaring such as OIr. *ingor* 'anchor' (Lat. *ancora*), the bulk of early Latin loanwords seems, predictably enough, to have entered Old Irish in the wake of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, which occurred at least as early as the first half of the fifth century A.D. Detailed studies of the various ways in which a considerable number of early borrowings from Latin were adapted into Irish have shown that this was a virtually uninterrupted process during the first couple of centuries after the establishment of Christianity and that it emanated chiefly from Britain, as St. Patrick's clearly stated British origins might lead one to expect. Old Irish words of Latin origin are generally indicated in the vocabulary, which includes the following: *abb* 'abbot', *aíne* 'fasting', *aingel* 'angel', *apstanit* 'abstinence', *apstal* 'apostle', *bachall* 'crozier', *baithis* 'baptism', *baitsid* 'baptises', *bendachaid* 'blesses', *bendacht* 'blessing', *caille* 'veil', *caindel* 'candle', *caland* 'first (day of the month)', *castót* 'chastity', *cell* 'church', *cland* 'offspring', *con:secra* 'consecrated', *credal* 'devout', *crésen* 'Christian', *demun* 'demon, devil', *descipul* 'disciple', *domnach* 'Sunday, church', *dúr* 'hard', *ecla(i)s* 'church', *epscop* 'bishop', *fetarlic* 'Old Testament/Law', *fín* 'wine', *geinti* 'pagans', *grád* 'grade, rank', *ifern* 'hell', *intliucht* 'intellect', *latrann* 'robber', *lebor* 'book', *loc* 'place', *manach* 'monk', *martar* 'martyr', *matan* 'morning', *meirtrech* 'harlot, prostitute', *membur* 'member, limb', *mías* 'table', *múr* 'wall', *mo/untar* or *muinter* 'community, followers', *omaldóit* 'humility', *peccad* 'sin', *penn(a)it* 'penitence', *pían* 'punishment, pain', *port* 'place', *praind* 'meal', *precept* 'preaching', *pridchid* 'preaches', *prím-* 'first', *sén* 'sign', *senad* 'synod', *síans* 'sense', *spirut* 'spirit', *sroigled* 'flogging', *tempul* 'temple, church'.

A far more restricted linguistic influence, this time from the Scandinavian Germanic language usually termed Old Norse, was introduced from outside by the establishment of a Viking presence in parts of Ireland in the course of the ninth century. The obvious period for the borrowing of a small number of Norse words into Irish will have been the tenth to the twelfth century. Consequently there was negligible Norse impact upon Old Irish and no more than slight influence upon Middle Irish literature, insofar as most loanwords of Scandinavian origin are first attested in manuscripts later than the twelfth century. Predictably enough, borrowings into Irish

such as *margad* 'market' (ON *markaðr*), *stiúir* 'rudder' (ON *stýri*), *trosc* 'cod' (ON *þorskr*), *scilling* 'shilling' (ON *skillingr*), *scuird* 'shirt, tunic' (ON *skyrta*) relate to fishing, seafaring, trade and clothing above all.

A.2. Contemporary Old Irish sources.
A more or less complete grammar of the language can be inferred from the reasonably copious material found in manuscripts datable to the Old Irish period itself as just defined. Nevertheless, there are inevitably some gaps as the vernacular sources in question are limited in scope. For the most part, they consist of so-called 'glosses', i.e. notes (translations, clarifications or explanations as the case might) written in Irish (alongside and not infrequently intermingled with Latin) in the margins or between the lines of Latin texts of importance to the monastic learning of the time. Surviving collections of Old Irish glosses are named after the various places in which the manuscripts containing them are to be found. All of these are on the Continent, doubtless as a result of well documented Irish missionary and scholarly activity in various parts of Europe from the sixth to the ninth centuries. The linguistic significance of these glosses resides in the fact that they represent the only substantial body of Old Irish material that has come down to us in eighth- or ninth-century manuscripts dating from the Old Irish period itself. The largest and most important collections are the **Würzburg** Glosses (Wb., c. 750 AD) on a Latin text of St. Paul's epistles, the **Milan** Glosses (Ml., c. 800 AD) on a Latin commentary on the Psalms and the **St. Gall** Glosses (Sg., c. 850 AD) on Priscian's Latin Grammar. Smaller collections include the Turin Glosses (Tur.) on St. Mark's Gospel and the Carlsruhe Glosses on Priscian (PCr.). The latter sometimes overlap with the much larger St. Gall. set, thus proving the existence of a still earlier set of Old Irish glosses on Priscian upon which both the St. Gall and the Carlsruhe glossators drew to some extent. Although the vast majority of the material in the early ninth-century **Book of Armagh** now kept in Trinity College, Dublin, is in Latin, the collection of miscellaneous items therein known as the *Additamenta* or 'Additions' does contain some short pieces of Old Irish, notably the relatively brief account of the foundation of Sletty (see VI.A.7f), which is the only Old Irish prose narrative of any length surviving in a contemporary manuscript. In addition to the liturgical text that constitutes the bulk of the manuscript, the Stowe Missal contains a short Old Irish tract on the Mass and three Old Irish charms (see V.C.4c).

The Milan and St. Gall manuscripts also contain a few short occasional poems in Old Irish, apparently produced by the scribes as a source of relief from the demanding and at times presumably tedious task of glossing. Two well-known examples will be found in V.C.4e and VII.B.3e below. A few Old Irish poems are included in the rather curious miscellany of short texts that constitutes the eighth- or ninth-century Codex Sancti Pauli, a four-leaf manuscript preserved in the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia, Austria. The most famous of these is the charming poem *Me-sse ocus Pangur bán* (V.A.3b below), in which a man of letters compares and contrasts his own bookish pursuits with his cat's hunt for mice, but mention must also be made of the intriguing charm given in VIII.6d as well as of the solitary example of an Old Irish bardic praise poem to have come down to us.

Apart from the two main glossators responsible for most of the Würzburg glosses on the first thirty two and the final couple of folios respectively, there is a sprinkling of some eighty brief glosses (usually a single word) in a further rather spidery hand, the so-called *Prima Manus* or 'First Hand'. The language of these *Prima Manus* glosses is somewhat earlier than that of the

bulk of the Würzburg collection and can be regarded as 'Early Old Irish', of which there are further traces in a couple of other small collections of glosses. However, the only substantial specimen of this later seventh-century phase of the language to have come down to us in a near-contemporary manuscript is the Cambrai Homily, a rather short text consisting of Old Irish passages sandwiched between Latin ones and preserved in an eighth-century manuscript belonging to the public library of Cambrai. The 72-folio manuscript is in a continental hand and otherwise contains a text of the Latin *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* or Irish Collection of Canons. It seems to have been copied from an insular original into which this fragment had somehow been inserted. The scribe's evident unfamiliarity with Irish has resulted in quite a few errors, most of them easy enough to remedy, but saved the text from the linguistic modernisation that an Irish scribe would have been prone to apply. A number of linguistic features (see VI.B.6a) show that the original was produced earlier than the roughly mid-eighth-century bulk of the Würzburg Glosses and it can thus be plausibly dated to the second-half of the seventh century.

All of the vernacular material preserved in manuscripts plausibly dated to the Old Irish period has been most conveniently collected and translated by John Strachan and Whitley Stokes in their two-volume *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.

A.3. Old and Middle Irish texts surviving in later manuscripts.
The corpus of Old Irish material extant in manuscripts datable between the late seventh and the early tenth century is thus somewhat limited in extent and even more restricted in genre. With a couple of shining exceptions, it is rather short on literary merit and comprises next to no narrative text of any extent. Consequently there are compelling linguistic, literary and historical reasons for attempting to supplement this core with the evidence of texts of demonstrable or at least probable Old Irish provenance that happen to be preserved only in manuscripts of the twelfth century or later, usually in partly modernised copies or versions. The recognition of this stratum is not always easy and there are inevitably cases of serious doubt. In what follows the focus will be upon some basic issues and upon a few texts of this type that have been included in the selections for reading practice below and can be used to illustrate various different criteria capable of pointing to or substantiating an Old Irish date of composition.

Medieval Ireland (say, down to the sixteenth century) boasts an extensive literature in Irish as well as Latin and it seems clear that texts were being produced in the vernacular from at least the middle of the seventh century onwards. However, owing to a combination of chance with the inevitable effects of wear and tear upon manuscripts in constant use for the reading and copying of the texts contained therein, very little Early Old or Old Irish material survives directly in Ireland itself in manuscripts dating from the period in question (late 7th. to early 10th. century). As seen in A.2 above, most of what is extant has come down to us in manuscripts preserved on the Continent, where they presumably tended to be used less and ceased to be copied as the Irish ecclesiastical presence in mainland Europe waned towards the end of that era. That said, the great bulk of medieval Irish vernacular material is found in later manuscripts produced and kept in Ireland in the first instance at least, particular importance attaching to the collections currently in Trinity College Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy and the National Library of Ireland. Quite a few Irish manuscripts have also been acquired relatively recently by institutions abroad such as the British Library, Oxford's Bodelian Library and the Edinburgh Advocates Library thanks to the activities of antiquarians such as Edward Lhuyd (mentioned in A.1 above) from Britain

and elsewhere.

There is, then, a vast and varied corpus of material in Irish preserved in manuscripts dating from roughly the twelfth to the sixteenth century and later. Three major manuscripts containing substantial amounts of vernacular literature date from the last century or so of the Middle Irish period, namely in probable chronological order the RIA's **Lebor na hUidre** or 'Book of the Dun Cow' (*LU*, main hand c. 1100), the Bodleian's **Rawlinson B 502** and TCD's massive **Lebor Laigen** or 'Book of Leinster' (*LL*). Manuscripts dating from the post-Norman period but containing a significant amount of earlier material are a good deal more numerous and include TCD's large composite but basically late-fourteenth-century **Yellow Book of Lecan** (*YBL*), the Bodleian's composite but partially late-fifteenth-century **Rawlinson B 512**, and various sixteenth-century manuscripts such as the British Library's **Egerton 1782**, **Egerton 88** and **Harley 5280**.

In the case of *LU*, *Rawl. B 502* and *LL* one can at least be confident that a given text or linguistic form is at least as old as the Middle Irish period but with the remainder written in the Early Modern Irish period or later even this much *a priori* assurance is lacking. In both categories, however, the problems relating to the recognition and/or restoration of texts of at least probable Old Irish provenance are fundamentally the same. Old and Middle Irish prose literature is for the most part anonymous and, even where an author is named (as is not infrequently the case with poetry), uncertainty about the correctness of a given attribution can be hard to dispel, whereas certainty about the incorrectness of some attributions is more readily attainable. The usefulness of a plausibly named author for dating purposes is, of course, then dependent upon reliable information (frequently but by no means always available in Medieval Ireland's extensive annalistic compilations) as to when he lived or, more likely, died. Providing that later interpolation can be reasonably excluded, references to known historical individuals, foundations, political situations or events within a text can also provide evidence as to date, more likely than not for a *terminus ante quem non* after which a work must have taken its present form. However, really helpful indications of this type are less widespread than one might hope, not only in expository genres such as legal, wisdom or homiletic texts but also in narratives that all too often deal with what purport to be happenings in the distant past. Under these circumstances, linguistic considerations tend to be paramount and here the obvious problem is that, when copying earlier texts, scribes of the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods were understandably prone to replace older obsolete forms with later current ones or even to produce 'hypercorrect' forms in reaction against this natural tendency.

On the whole, poems surviving in later manuscripts are easier to ascribe to a particular linguistic phase of composition than similarly transmitted prose works. This is because features such as rhyme and syllable count (see II.B.2g, V.A.3b and V.C.4e) often provide firm criteria for deciding whether a Middle Irish form is or is not to be emended to its Old Irish equivalent in order for conformity to the expected metrical pattern to be achieved. For instance, *Félire Óengusso* or 'The Calendar of Óengus' is a long poem commemorating the feasts of the saints throughout the year from the first of January to the thirty-first of December, one quatrain being allocated to each day. The metrical calendar at the heart of the work is introduced by a prologue of over three hundred lines and rounded off with an even longer epilogue of over five hundred lines. Although it is only preserved in relatively late manuscripts, the fact that there are ten of these and that the work has a tight metrical structure made it possible for its editor Whitley

Stokes (*Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, London, 1905; reprinted Dublin, 1984) to restore an original Old Irish text with some confidence. Moreover, various surviving prefaces to the poem and some other references ascribe it convincingly to a certain Óengus son of Óengobae son of Óeblén. Stokes summarises the further information to be gleaned from these sources as follows on p. xxvi of the introduction to his edition. 'He was a contemporary of Aed Ordnigthe, overking of Ireland from the year 793 to 817, of Fothuth of the Canon (flor. 804), and of Conmac bishop of Armagh (ob. 806). He became a monk in the monastery of Clonenagh on the banks of the Nore.... He afterwards joined the fraternity of Tallaght near Dublin, then presided over by S. Maelruain, who died in 787, and whom Oengus commemorates at Aug. 11' (actually July 7). Composition of the *Félire*, then, can be dated quite securely to c. 800 AD. Similar considerations led Stokes and Strachan to include restored Old Irish texts of the metrical hymns to various Irish saints preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* (see VII.B.3f for an example in a metre based on stress rather than the more normal syllable count) in the second volume of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* mentioned at the end of A.2 above, even though none of the numerous manuscripts concerned was of Old Irish date.

The dating of prose works tends to be more problematical, particularly when a given text is extant in no more than one or two later manuscripts. That said, the Life of Saint Brigit surviving (minus its beginning owing to loss of a leaf) only in a late fifteenth-century section of the manuscript Rawlinson B 512 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) can be dated with confidence to the ninth century A.D. for the simple and good reason that, allowing for a number of essentially trivial later orthographic features, about three quarters of it is found to be in unmistakable Old Irish, the remaining quarter or so being in Latin. A few excerpts from this work are given in standard Old Irish orthography here and there in the 'reading practice' sections in subsequent chapters. Occasional divergences from spellings in the manuscript version can be conveniently checked by referring to Donncha Ó hAodha's edition (*Bethu Brigte*, Dublin 1978). Early law tracts found only in later manuscripts (e.g. those mentioned in IV.C.3b-d) likewise tend to preserve original Old Irish forms well, although these may be more or less heavily disguised by later spelling practices.

Where a largely or exclusively prose text survives in several later manuscripts, convincing evidence for an Old Irish date can often be winnowed from the variant readings, due allowance being made for the relationship between the various manuscript versions and for the fact that some grammatical features are more secure as diagnostics than others. The establishment of a strong presumption of Old Irish provenance may then provide the confidence to restore a consistent Old Irish text, even to the extent of normalising a form in the face of all of the available manuscript variants on occasion. A text of the short Old Irish saga *Compert Con Culainn*, which tells of Cú Chulainn's remarkably Christlike conception and birth on three different levels, is found in the important manuscript *Lebor na Huidre* (LU) or 'The Book of the Dun Cow' mentioned earlier. The part down to and including *birt mac* in VII.B.3a (continuing VII.A.3a and VI.B.4b) is in the hand of the main scribe M(áel Muire), who seems to have worked on it around 1100 AD, but thereafter a later interpolator conventionally dubbed 'H' has added an ending that is considerably more elaborate than the one found in several other manuscripts, notably Trinity College Dublin H.4.22, Royal Irish Academy 23 N.10 and British Library Egerton 88. H also appended a note to the tale's title in LU conveying the information that M's version came *a Libur Dromma Snechta* 'from the Book of Druimm Snechtai', an evidently important lost manuscript referred to as a source three times in LU as well as on a

number of further occasions in various other manuscripts. The basically Old Irish language of *Compert Con Culainn* and a number of other sagas thought to have been contained in *Lebor* or *Cín Dromma Snechtai* led the great Old Irish scholar Rudolf Thurneysen to date that lost manuscript to the eighth century AD without discounting the possibility that it was written as late as the tenth-century but drew Old Irish material such as *Compert Con Culainn* from an unknown earlier manuscript. Either way, the version of *Compert Con Culainn* preserved in H.4.22, 23 N.10, Eg. 88 and M's hand in LU (i.e. excluding the conclusion added by H) obviously derives from an Old Irish original and is one of the earliest Irish sagas to have survived. Similar arguments can be and have been convincingly advanced with reference to the short tale *Echtrae Chonnlai* or 'Connlae's Expedition' (VII.A.3b and B.3b), which is mostly in prose, and also to the much discussed *Immram Brain* or 'Bran's Voyage' (VI.A.6c-e), which is somewhat longer by virtue of containing two substantial poems, each of which is twenty eight stanzas long. In the not infrequent case of so-called *prosimetrum* texts in which prose alternates with a substantial amount of verse, the latter may provide useful metrically controllable criteria for dating the composition as a whole in the absence of any clear indication that the prose and verse components were produced at significantly different stages.

On occasion it may be deemed appropriate to normalise a text or a portion thereof to standard Old Irish despite a lack of confidence that it was actually produced in the Old Irish period proper (basically before the end of the ninth century). The most obvious reason for doing this is pedagogical, the aim being to provide a comparative beginner with interesting reading material that does not require him or her to confront the additional difficulties posed by Middle Irish. It is in this spirit that Strachan and Bergin produced their selection of *Stories from the Táin* (see A.4 below). Similarly in the present work a certain amount of normalisation has been applied to excerpts from, say, *Tecosca Cormaic* or 'Cormac's Instructions' (II.B.2b etc.) for strictly pedagogical purposes and not on the assumption that the text was produced in the ninth rather than the tenth or eleventh century. The same applies to the normalised text of *Aided Cheltchair Maic Uthechair* or 'The Death of Celtchar son of Uthechar' in XI.2. Since this only survives in full in a late manuscript now in Edinburgh, supplemented by a version of the first half only in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster*, the abundant Middle Irish forms found therein may well be due to later scribal redactions of an Old Irish original. However, this can hardly be proved and so there is no obvious way of excluding the tenth or even the eleventh century as the period of composition. Either way, the language of the surviving manuscript version(s) is readily accessible in the form of the text published by Kuno Meyer on pages 24-31 of his *The Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Royal Irish Academy 1906; 2nd. reprint Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1993).

A.4. The main aims of this book.
The present work seeks above all to provide some remedy for a major obstacle confronting learners of Old Irish, namely the lack of a suitable reference grammar accompanied by a reasonably extensive set of graded readings drawn from original texts and geared to those topics already covered by the stage in question. John Strachan's *Old-Irish Paradigms and Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses* (4th. ed. revised by Osborn Bergin; Royal Irish Academy 1949 with frequent subsequent reprints) presents a comprehensive and well-arranged series of paradigms that are invaluable for reference purposes (note especially the extremely useful collection of forms of the copula on pp. 71-3) but does not supply any discussion of them. The selections from the glosses in the second part of the work are not only sensibly graded according to the various

tenses and moods of the Old Irish verb before concluding with sections on the participle, verbal of necessity and various preverbs but are also accompanied by the necessary linguistic notes and vocabulary. The main disadvantages are threefold. Firstly, the strict focus upon the tenses and moods of the verb as a grading criterion means that difficult grammatical features such as affixed pronouns and relative constructions are encountered at an undesirably early stage. Secondly, the meaning of glosses is often dependent upon the Latin passage glossed and, although the relevant part of this is usually supplied by Strachan, today's students are often unable to avail of this aid owing to the unfortunate decline in the study of Latin at school. Finally, owing to their rather dry subject matter and inevitably disjointed nature, glosses are likely to appeal only to the more linguistically oriented student and are less likely to enthuse those desiring introductory material of more literary interest. This problem was addressed by the selection of a number of eminently entertaining episodes, normalised to conform as far as possible to Old Irish usage, in Strachan's *Stories from the Táin* (3rd. ed. revised by Bergin; Royal Irish Academy 1944 with subsequent reprints). However, these were inevitably ungraded as far as grammar was concerned and as such were only really suitable for those who had already worked through *Old-Irish Paradigms and Glosses*, as conceded by Bergin in his preface to the revised edition of *Stories*.

Rudolf Thurneysen's *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1946, with subsequent reprints) is, of course, the utterly indispensable standard reference grammar of the language but the very wealth of information contained therein makes it rather difficult for the beginner to use effectively. The accompanying *Old Irish Reader* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1949, with subsequent reprints) offers a valuable selection of material (glosses, some short poems and a couple of short pieces of continuous prose) contained in manuscripts dating from the Old Irish period along with commentary and vocabulary, but this is ungraded. Gordon Quin's *Old-Irish Workbook* (Royal Irish Academy 1975) has finally made a graded course available to learners. However, the brief but lucid grammatical introductions to each chapter were intended to be supplemented by the relevant sections of Strachan's paradigms and Thurneysen's grammar, while the exercises consist of often rather wooden and artificial sentences composed by the author himself for translation from Old Irish into English and *vice versa* as a means of practising the various grammatical points introduced.

The present work has been produced with the primary aim of supplying learners of Old Irish with a relatively slim but self-contained reference grammar interspersed as frequently as practicable with suitably graded readings drawn from original sources and accompanied by a comprehensive vocabulary at the end of the book. The readings have been selected with a view to illustrating a wide range of medieval Irish literary genres and are preceded, where deemed appropriate, by brief introductions providing some background information. With the obvious exception of the final chapter on Middle Irish, these selections have been subjected to mostly trivial normalisation to standard Old Irish usage as a matter of course and on occasion to more significant modifications such as the omission (indicated by dots) of passages containing forms not yet encountered or, more rarely, the alteration (usually noted in the introduction to the section in question) of such forms to grammatically familiar equivalents. It is hoped that the provision of graded readings from a variety of essentially original medieval Irish sources will not only stimulate and encourage the reader but will also inculcate a feeling for Old Irish idiom and sentence structure from an early stage in the learning process.

As far as the arrangement of subject matter is concerned, the primary aim has been to present the basic grammatical features of Old Irish in a sequence dictated chiefly by (i) considerations of relative difficulty or importance, (ii) the desirability of keeping information on a given topic together for ease of reference and (iii) the need to equip the reader with the means of extending his or her reading repertoire as quickly as practicable. These are not always easy to square with one another and some compromises have been unavoidable, although an attempt has been made to ameliorate the effects of these by the frequent use of cross-referencing. By any standards, spelling and pronunciation rules are an almost inevitable first step and are duly dealt with in the second part of this opening chapter. Thus B below presents and illustrates the key features of the system step by step in order to provide the reader with an initial overview and an opportunity to master the details by regularly referring back to a given section. Chapter two concentrates upon the nouns, adjectives and definite article of Old Irish, partly because these are less complicated than the verbal system but also because students unfamiliar with other highly inflected languages such as Latin are likely to find this an area requiring a fair amount of practice. The paradigms are grouped together for ease of reference rather than for learning in blocks. The typical learner should concentrate upon comprehending the system as a whole, memorising no more than a couple of key paradigms (noun classes I and II, for example) and absorbing the remaining details gradually in the course of reading. To that end it is important that the discovery of a particular word's declension class in the vocabulary should regularly be followed up by consultation of the paradigm in question with a view to establishing the precise case and number of a noun or adjective. Although the behaviour of the verb 'to be' in Old Irish is not without its difficulties, it has been tackled early on, namely in chapter three, partly because of its extreme statistical frequency, partly because of its centrality to basic word order patterns and partly because the substantive verb especially can be used to provide a convenient preview of the basic tense and mood categories of the Old Irish verbal system as a whole. The resultant expansion in reading potential then makes it possible to introduce some descriptive passages. As before, the detailed paradigms are for reference rather than memorising, although it would be a good idea to try to learn the paradigms of the present and preterite indicative of both substantive verb and copula by heart at this stage. Indeed, this eclectic and gradualist approach to mastering inflections is to be recommended throughout as a rule, unless a student has a particular aptitude for learning large numbers of paradigms by heart. Chapter four rounds off the main 'non-verbal' part of the grammar.

The following chapters focus chiefly upon the verbal system, beginning with the two most important indicative stems of the verb, namely the present (ch. V) and the preterite active (ch. VI), and also with the crucial interrelated issues of simple versus compound verbs, affixed object pronouns (both in ch. V) and relative constructions (ch. VI). By this stage the learner is in a position to translate some narrative passages, including the bulk of the prose framework of *Immram Brain* and the first half of the early saga *Compert Con Culainn*. Chapter seven introduces the passive and deponent conjugations of the tenses and moods encountered up to that point as a prelude to reading (among other things) the conclusion of *Compert Con Culainn*, while chapters eight and nine deal chiefly with the two remaining verbal stems, namely the subjunctive and the future respectively. Chapter ten on the 'augment' covers the only major aspect of the Old Irish verbal system still outstanding. By this stage the student should be capable of tackling any reasonably straightforward Old Irish text and chapter eleven is concerned with further reading, offering a normalised Old Irish version of the saga *Aided Cheltchair maic Uithechair* 'The Death of Celtchar son of Uithechar' by way of additional practice.

Given that the amount of consistently Old Irish reading material available is somewhat limited, particularly where saga texts are concerned, the student desiring more or less unrestricted access to the sources will eventually have to come to grips with Middle Irish too. As yet no comprehensive grammar of this stage of the language is available in English, although a reasonably full account of the Middle Irish verbal system is provided by the long final chapter (pp. 163-248) of the present writer's book *The Early Irish Verb* (2nd. ed. Maynooth 1997). Since the student hitherto unfamiliar with Middle Irish is likely to find this description of the verb too detailed to be absorbed readily and anyway will also need information on various key developments elsewhere in the grammatical system (e.g. in the declension of nouns, adjectives and definite article), it has been decided to append a basic introduction to Middle Irish as well as some reading material culminating in a relatively short Middle Irish narrative text (*Comthóth Lóegaire* 'Lóegaire's Conversion' from *Lebor na hUidre*) to this volume as a final chapter twelve.

This grammar and reader is not primarily intended as a self-tutor, although the linguistically experienced may prove capable of using it in this way. Rather it has been designed with Old and/or Middle Irish courses taught by properly qualified lecturers in mind, either as the basic course book or as a supplement to, say, Quin's *Workbook* or Strachan's *Paradigms and Glosses*. In some chapters at least, the amount of reading material provided may well be more extensive than is practical within a given time frame but in that case the teacher should have no difficulty in selecting a particular piece or particular pieces for work in class.

B. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION.

B.1. Stops and corresponding fricatives.
In unmodified initial position Old Irish stops seem to have been spelt and pronounced pretty much as in, say, Modern English. Examples in sections (i) and (ii) of the tables below, where the forms between slashes indicate the probable rough pronunciation of the Old Irish letters immediately to the right. Within the word stops had typically undergone so-called **lenition** after a vowel (which was then not infrequently lost by syncope) well before the Old Irish period. This process turned them into the corresponding fricatives. In Old Irish spelling voiceless fricatives were normally distinguished by an extra *h* (*ph, th, ch*; examples in vi below) from the corresponding stops (*p, t, c*). The voiced fricatives, by contrast, were invariably written *b, d, g* and as such were often not distinguished in writing from the corresponding voiced stops. After a vowel (symbol V) the voiced stops /b/,/d/,/g/ were written *p, t, c* and were consequently indistinguishable from the corresponding voiceless stops, which were always written *p, t, c* as in (iii) below. However, they were normally differentiated from the corresponding voiced fricatives, which were regularly written *b, d, g* as in (iv) below. After another Old Irish consonant (symbol C) the voiced stops /b/,/d/,/g/ could be written *p, t, c* (in which case they were indistinguishable from the voiceless stops /p/,/t/,/k/) or *b, d, g* (in which case they were indistinguishable from voiced fricatives /v/,/ð/,/γ/). As the examples in (v) below illustrate, ambiguities in any given instance can often be overcome on the basis of a collection of examples: after another consonant consistent *p,t,c* indicate a voiceless stop, consistent *b,d,g* indicate a voiced fricative and fluctuation between *p/b*, *t/d* or *c/g* within a given word (*b, d, g* generally being the commoner spelling) indicates a voiced stop. The table below summarises these basic rules.

	Unmodifed		Lenited	
	(Stops)		*(Fricatives)*	
(voiceless)	/p/	**p**	/f/	**ph/f**
	/t/	**t**	/θ/	**th**
	/k/	**c**	/χ/	**ch**
(voiced)	/b/	**b-**, (-)V**p**(-), (-)C**p/b**(-)	/v/	**b**
	/d/	**d-**, (-)V**t**(-), (-)C**t/d**(-)	/ð/	**d**
	/g/	**g-**, (-)V**c**(-), (-)C**c/g**(-)	/γ/	**g**

It will be seen that /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /θ/ (as in Eng. ***thin***), /χ/ (like Mod. Ir. or Germ. *ch*; no Eng. equivalent) and /v/, /ð/ (as in Eng. ***the*** or ***this***), /γ/ (the voiced equivalent of /χ/, like *gh* in Mod. Ir. *an-gharbh* 'very rough') were always spelt the same way. Although their pronunciation is straightforward, /b/, /d/, /g/ are more problematical because their spelling varies according to position: *b, d, g* at the beginning of a word, *p, t, c* within or at the end of a word after a vowel and either way within or at the end of a word after a consonant.

Some examples:
(i) *penn* 'pen'/peɴ/ (mod. *peann*), *tech* 'house' /teχ/ (mod. *teach*), *cenn* 'head' /keɴ/ (mod. *ceann*);
(ii) *ben* 'woman' /ben/ (mod. *bean*), *dorus* 'door' /dorus/ (mod. *doras*), *gel* 'bright' /gel/ (mod. *geal*);
(iii) *sop* 'whisp' /sop/ (mod. *sop*) vs. *ap* 'abbot' /ab/ (mod. *ab*),
eite 'wing' /et´e/ (mod. *eite*) vs. *aite* 'foster-father' /ad´e/ (mod. *oide*),
mac 'son' /mak/ (mod. *mac*) vs. *bec* 'small' /beg/ (mod. *beag*);
(iv) *slíab* 'mountain' /sliav/ (mod. *sliabh*), *mod* 'mode' /moð/ (mod. *modh*),
fled 'feast' /fleð/ (mod. *fleá*), *suide* 'sitting' /suð´e/ (mod. *suí*), *sleg* 'spear' /sleγ/ (mod. *sleá*);
(v) *art* 'stone' /art/ (mod. *art*) vs. *ard* or *art* 'high' /ard/ (mod. *ard*),
serc 'love' /serk/ (mod. *searc*) vs. *serg* or *serc* 'wasting sickness' /serg/ (mod. *searg*);
marb 'dead' /marv/ (mod. *marbh*) vs. *orb(a)e* or *orp(a)e* 'inheritance' /orbe/ (mod. *orba*),
ingen (Ogam ɪɴɪɢᴇɴᴀ) 'daughter' /in´γ´ən/ (mod. *inghean, iníon*) vs. *ingen* or (theoretically) *incen* 'nail' /in´g´ən/ (mod. *ionga*);
(vi) *sephain* or *sefain* 'played' /sefən´/, *tofonn* 'hunting, barking' /tofəɴ/ (mod. *tafann*),
cath 'battle' /kaθ/ (mod. *cath*), *ech* 'horse' /eχ/ (mod. *each*).

It can be seen that Modern Irish equivalents can be a great help in determining which type of sound was involved owing to the extension of the *h* spelling from voiceless to voiced fricatives (whence *bh, dh, gh*) and the consistent use of *p, t, c* for voiceless versus *b, d, g* for voiced stops. It is to be noted, however, that some sounds (notably /θ/,/ð/,/γ/) are no longer pronounced the same in Modern Irish (where *th* is /h/ and *dh* has fallen together with *gh*, being sometimes pronounced /γ/ or /y/ but often omitted entirely as in Mod. Ir. *iníon, fleá, suí, sleá* above) as they were in Old Irish (where the values given between slashes are to be assumed to have applied consistently). Stops are not infrequently written double, particularly after a vowel, but this device (e.g. *mac* or *macc* /mak/, *bec* or *becc* /beg/) seems to be devoid of phonetic significance.

B.2. Nasals and liquids.
These too are found in an unmodified and a lenited form. The former may be written single or

(at least after a vowel) double but the latter are invariably written single. A double spelling is thus unambiguously unlenited but a single spelling is ambiguous in any given instance, although a collection of examples will usually indicate which variant is involved by the presence or absence of fluctuation between single and double spellings. As far as pronunciation is concerned, it is not certain quite how the difference between unmodified /N/, /R/, /L/ (as they are conventionally represented) and lenited /n/, /r/, /l/ was realised but lenited *m* was basically a nasalised /v/ (written *mh* in Modern Irish).

/m/	**m(m)**	/ṽ/	**m**
/N/	**n(n)**	/n/	**n**
/R/	**r(r)**	/r/	**r**
/L/	**l(l)**	/l/	**l**

Some examples:
lomm or *lom* 'naked' /lom/ (mod. *lom*) vs. *lám* 'hand' /la:ṽ/ (mod. *lámh*),
benn or *ben* 'peak' /beN/ (mod. *beann*) vs. *ben* 'woman' /ben/ (mod. *bean*),
corr or *cor* 'heron, crane' /koR/ (mod. *corr*) vs. *cor* 'cast' /kor/ (mod. *cor*),
cíal or *cíall* 'sense' /kiaL/ (mod. *ciall*) vs. *scél* 'tale' /ske:l/ (mod. *scéal*).

B.3. The sibilant and *f*.   /s/   **s(s)**
                                 /f/   **f**

Examples: *fer* 'man' /fer/ (mod. *fear*);
sacart/d 'priest' /sagard/ (mod. *sagart*), *cos* or *coss* 'leg, foot' /kos/ (mod. *cos*).

B.4. Stressed and final vowels.
With few exceptions (the most important being the so-called 'deuterotonic' forms of compound verbs, on which see V.B.2), the ***first syllable of a word was stressed in Old Irish*** as in most varieties of Modern Irish or Scots Gaelic. In the stressed syllable of a word five short vowels were distinguished from five corresponding long vowels, pretty much as in Modern Irish or English. The 'acute' length mark is often omitted in manuscripts but is regularly supplied by modern editors, although some earlier editors reserved the 'acute' for where length was actually marked in the manuscript and otherwise used *ā, ē* etc. with so-called 'macron' to indicate length. Thus:

Short	*Long*
/a/ **a** (e.g. *cath* 'battle' /kaθ/, mod. *cath*)	/a:/ **á** (e.g. *bás* 'death' /ba:s/, mod. *bás*)
/e/ **e** (e.g. *secht* 'seven' /seχt/, mod. *seacht*)	/e:/ **é** (e.g. *fér* 'grass' /fe:r/, mod. *féar*)
/i/ **i** (e.g. *ith* 'corn' /iθ/, mod. *ioth*)	/i:/ **í** (e.g. *fír* 'true, truth' /fi:r/, mod. *fíor*)
/o/ **o** (e.g. *trom(m)* 'heavy' /trom/, mod. *trom*)	/o:/ **ó** (e.g. *slóg* 'host' /slo:γ/, mod. *slua*)
/u/ **u** (e.g. *cruth* 'shape'/kruθ/, mod. *cruth*)	/u:/ **ú** (e.g. *drúth* 'fool' /dru:θ/, mod. *drúth*)

The same fivefold distinction applied to stressed final vowels, which were regularly long: e.g., *-bá* 'dies', *mé* 'I, me', *-bí* 'is', *gó* 'lie', *tú* 'you' (sg.). Although they might be long in the second element of compounds such as *droch-mná* 'bad women', *droch-gné* 'bad appearance' or *ard-rí* 'high king', unstressed final vowels were normally short and displayed the same five distinctions of quality, although these were tending to be reduced to four through the falling together of *-o* with *-a* in this position: e.g., *cossa* 'feet, legs' /kosa/, *sude* 'sitting, seat' /suð′e/, *céli* 'fellows' /ke:l′i/, *súlo* /su:lo/ or *súla* /su:la/ 'of an eye', *firu* 'men' (acc. pl.) /firu/. Conversely **stressed**

vowels in absolute final position were automatically lengthened to produce alternations such as those between emphatic *me-sse*, *tu-ssa* (IV.A.2a) with stressed non-final *e/u* and non-emphatic *mé* 'I, me' and *tú* 'you' with the same vowels in stressed final position or between 3sg. abs. *biid* 'is', *baid* 'dies' with stressed non-final *i/a* in hiatus and corresponding 3sg. conj. *-bí*, *-bá* with the same vowels in stressed final position without hiatus.

B.5. 'Broad' or non-palatal versus 'slender' or palatal consonants.
A fundamental feature of the Old Irish sound system was a significant or phonemic distinction between a more retracted or non-palatal ('broad') and a more fronted or palatal ('slender') articulation of each and every consonant. This contrast between non-palatal (C) and palatal consonants (C′ as in /in′γ′ən/ in B.1, /suð′e/ and /ke:l′i/ in B.4 above) applies equally to Middle and Modern Irish. A consonant before stressed *a*, o and *u* (short or long) was non-palatal and a consonant before stressed *e* and *i* (short or long) was palatal as a rule in Old Irish. Being quite automatic, the distinction between palatal and non-palatal initial consonants was non-phonemic and hence is not marked in cases such as *penn* (phonemically /peɴ/ but phonetically [p′eɴ]), *tech* /teχ/ (or [t′eχ]), *cenn* /keɴ/ (or [k′eɴ]), *ben* /ben/ (or [b′en]), *gel* /gel/ (or [g′el]). The distinction between palatal and non-palatal quality was phonemic after a stressed vowel. No orthographic change took place when the following consonant was non-palatal: e.g., *cath* /kaθ/, *bás* /ba:s/, *secht* /seχt/, *fér* /fe:r/, *ith* /iθ/, *fír* /fi:r/, *trom(m)* /trom/, *slóg* /slo:γ/, *cruth* /kruθ/, *drúth* /dru:θ/ in B.4 above. However, when the following consonant was palatal, a glide *i* was usually but by no means invariably inserted between stressed *a*, *o*, *u* or (less regularly) *e* and the palatal consonant, especially where this was word-final : e.g., *maith* 'good' /maθ′/ (mod. *maith*), *áil* 'desire' /a:l′/, *berid* or *beirid* 'bears' /ber′əð′/ (mod. *beireann*), *céle* or *céile* 'fellow' /ke:l′e/, *ithid* 'eats' /iθ′əð′/ (mod. *itheann*), *fír* 'of truth' /fi:r′/ (mod. *fír*), *-oirg* 'slays' /or′g′/, *slóig* 'of a host' /slo:γ′/ (mod. *slua*), *sude* or *suide* 'sitting, seat' /suð′e/ (mod. *suí*), *súil* 'eye' /su:l′/ (mod. *súil*) and *súli* or *súili* 'eyes' /su:l′i/ (mod. *súile*).

Note that in Old Irish, except in the case of a diphthong (on which see B.7 below), only the first in a sequence of two vowel letters in a stressed syllable is to be pronounced as normal, the second (in practice, *i*) being a mere glide to indicate a following palatal consonant. However, in the case of an unstressed final vowel the glide was inevitably inserted between it and the preceding consonant. A non-palatal consonant was directly followed by final *-a*, *-o* and *-u* in spelling (e.g. *cossa*, *súlo* and *firu* in B.4) but after a palatal consonant a glide was usually inserted to give *-ea*, *-eo* and *-iu* as in *-léicea* 'may leave' /le:g′a/, *léictheo* 'of leaving' /le:g′θ′o/, *guidiu* 'I pray' /guð′u/). Conversely *-e* and *-i* were written directly after a palatal consonant (e.g. *su(i)de*, *cé(i)le* and *sú(i)li* above) but a glide *a* was optionally inserted before them after a non-palatal to give *luge* or *lugae* 'oath' /luγe/, *lugi* or *lugai* 'of an oath' /luγi/. As a comparison of *su(i)de* with *lug(a)e* indicates, ambiguity as to a consonant's quality could result from failure to write the appropriate glide before or after it.

B.6. Unstressed internal vowels.
Old long vowels were shortened in unstressed syllables (e.g. *téit* 'goes' but *con:é(i)-tet* 'goes in with, accompanies') but some secondary long vowels remained (e.g. *cenél* 'kin'). Unless in absolute final position (see B.4 above), all short unstressed vowels (including shortened long vowels) except /u/ (e.g. *lé(i)ciud* 'leaving' /le:g′uð/, *tomus* 'measurement' /toṽus/) had fallen together as an 'obscure' mid-central phoneme /ə/ or 'schwa' (pronounced like the *e* in Eng. *mother* etc.). This was then automatically coloured by the surrounding consonants, being spelt

a between two non-palatals (C*a*C; e.g. *marbad* 'killing' /marvəd/), *e* between a palatal and a non-palatal (C′*e*C; e.g. *aicned* 'nature' /ag′n′əð/), *i* between two palatals (C′*i* C′; e.g., *be(i)rid* 'bears' /ber′əð′/) and *(a)i* between a non-palatal and a palatal (C*(a)i*C′; e.g. *tabir* or *tabair* 'give!' /tavər′/).

B.7. Diphthongs.
In this case two vowels are combined to produce a sound sliding from one to the other. Old Irish had the following *i*-diphthongs: /ai/ spelt *aí* or *áe*, /oi/ spelt *oí* or *óe*, and /ui/ spelt *uí* (all > mod. *ao(i)*) as in *coím* or *cóem* 'fair'(mod. *caomh*), *moídem* 'boasting' (mod. *maíomh*), *druí* 'druid' (mod. *draoi*). The first two of these were already beginning to fall together in Old Irish, as in *maídem* alongside commoner *moídem* in Wb. The mark of length is often omitted in manuscripts and, where it is written, may be placed quite arbitrarily on the first or the second element of the diphthong. Modern editors prefer consistency, placing the length mark over the first element (e.g. *cóem* or *cáem*) except where this would cause confusion with long vowel plus *i* (e.g. *coím* or *caím* as opposed to *ói* or *ái* for long /o:/ or /a:/ plus palatal glide). Short and long *a*, *e*, *i* could form a diphthong with following *u* (e.g. dat. sg. *neurt* 'strength', *fiur* 'man', *cenéul* 'kin' or 1sg. *-bíu* 'I am wont to be') but *au* had mostly become *u* (e.g. acc. pl. *baullu* or *bullu* 'limbs, members') and *áu* mostly *ó* (1sg. *a:táu* or *a:tó* 'I am') in Old Irish. Two further diphthongs were /ia/ *ía* (e.g. *cíall* 'sense' /kiaʟ/, mod. *ciall*) and /ua/ *úa* (e.g. *slúag* 'host' /sluaγ/, mod. *slua*, alternating with *slóg* /slo:γ/).

B.8. Initial mutations.
It was remarked in B.1 above that consonants were liable to be lenited after a vowel within the word and that the internal vowel responsible for this change was then quite often lost by syncope so that a lenited consonant could stand after another consonant in Old Irish. This **lenition** could also occur between two closely connected words such as article plus noun or noun plus adjective, the final vowel responsible then being prone to be lost by so-called apocope well before the Old Irish period (compare apocopated and syncopated OIr. *ingen* 'daughter' with Ogam ɪɴɪɢᴇɴᴀ in B.1(v) above). As a result a lenited initial consonat could stand after a a word ending in a consonant in Old Irish, as in *ingen chóem* 'fair daughter' /inγən χoiṽ/ (mod. *iníon chaomh*), where *ch-* for *c-* is due to the leniting effect of the *-a* with which *ingen* once ended.

Since it was no longer obvious that a lost final vowel had caused this change, alternations such as that between *ingen chóem* with lenited and *fer cóem* 'fair man' /fer koiṽ/ (mod. *fear caomh*) with unlenited following adjective were seen as depending on grammatical factors such as the gender of the noun. Old Irish, then, had a system of grammatically conditioned **initial mutations** that is still well preserved in Modern Irish. Consequently even in initial position /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/ could be lenited by certain preceding elements to /f/, /θ/, /χ/ and /v/, /ð/, /γ/ with the same spelling conventions applying as in B.1 above: lenited *p-*, *t-*, *c-* were written *ph-*, *th-*, *ch-* but lenited *b-*, *d-*, *g-* were not distinguished in spelling (until the Modern Irish invention of *bh-*, *dh-*, *gh-*) from the unlenited initials. Likewise initial *m-*, *n-*, *r-*, *l-* were always written single when lenited but were sometimes written double when unlenited as in B.2 above. In initial position /s/ became /h/ and /f/ disappeared completely through lenition but, apart from sporadic omission of lenited *f-* in spelling, these changes were not indicated in writing until the ninth century, when a dot came to be optionally placed over lenited *s* and *f* to give *ṡ* and *ḟ*. In certain circumstances words ended in a nasal that affected a closely connected following word before the final syllable was lost. The result was a further mutation known as 'eclipsis' or **nasalisation**

that changed initial /p/, /t/, /k/ to /b/, /d/, /g/ (still written *p-, t-, c-* as in the case of internal /b/, /d/, /g/ after a vowel in B.1), /f/ to /v/ (still written *f-*) and prefixed a nasal to initial /b/, /d/, /g/ or a vowel (whence *mb-, nd-, ng-, n*V-), although original /mb/, /nd/ and /ŋg/ were probably assimilated in pronunciation to /m/, /N/ and /ŋ/ during the Old Irish period. Certain elements that neither lenited nor nasalised could **prefix /h/ to a following vowel** but the presence or absence of *h-* in spelling is no sure guide, since it was a 'silent' letter in Old Irish as in later Latin (and still in French words such as *honeur* 'honour'): e.g. OIr. *is ed* or *is hed* 'it is' /is eð/ (mod. *is ea*) versus *ní hed* or *ní ed* 'it is not' /ni: heð/ (mod. *ní hea*).

These mutations are tabulated below (*e* stands for any V = vowel):

Unmodified		*Lenited*			*Nasalised*		*Prefixed h-* (V- only)	
/p/	p-	/f/	ph-		/b/	p-		
/t/	t-	/θ/	th-		/d/	t-		
/k/	c-	/χ/	ch-		/g/	c-		
/b/	b-	/v/	b-	/mb/ > /m/	mb-			
/d/	d-	/ð/	d-	/nd/ > /N/	nd-			
/g/	g-	/γ/	g-	/ŋg/ > /ŋ/	ng-			
/M/	m(m)-	/ṽ/	m-		/M/	m(m)-		
/N/	n(n)-	/n/	n-		/N/	n(n)-		
/R/	r(r)-	/r/	r-		/R/	r(r)-		
/L/	l(l)-	/l/	l-		/L/	l(l)-		
/f/	f-	/-/	f-, ḟ-		/v/	f-		
/s/	s(s)-	/h/	s-, ṡ-		/s/	s-		
/e/	(h)e-	/e/	(h)e-		/ne/	ne-	/he/	(h)e-

The above table makes it clear that Old Irish orthography only accorded limited recognition to initial mutations. Lenition of *p, t, c* was clearly shown but nasalisation was not. The reverse applied to *b, d, g*, nasalisation of which was regularly indicated whereas lenition was not. Double spellings of *m, n, r, l* definitely denoted non-lenition but single spellings were ambiguous. At first no mutation of *f* or *s* was expressed in writing but optional use of a dot later emerged as a clear indicator of lenition. Owing to the inconsistent use of *h-* only nasalisation of an initial vowel was clearly indicated in Old (as opposed to Modern) Irish. As in noted B.1 above, Modern Irish is often a help in resolving earlier orthographic ambiguities. The examples below will use the third person possessives. Comparison with related languages shows that m. *a* 'his, its' (leniting) had an old final vowel, that f. *a* 'her, its' (non-mutating except for prefixing *h-* to a vowel) once ended in *-h* < *-s* and that *a* 'their' (nasalising) once ended in *-n* < *-m*. The same mutations survive after these elements in Modern Irish.

penn 'pen' /peN/ (mod. *peann*): *a phenn* 'his pen' /a feN/ (mod. *a pheann*), *a penn* 'her pen' /a peN/ (mod. *a peann*), *a penn* 'their pen' /a beN/ (mod. *a bpeann*).
tech 'house' /teχ/ (mod. *teach*): *a thech* 'his house' /a θeχ/ (mod. *a theach*), *a tech* 'her house' /a teχ/ (mod. *a teach*), *a tech* 'their house' /a deχ/ (mod. *a dteach*).
cenn 'head' /keN/ (mod. *ceann*): *a chenn* 'his head' /a χeN/ (mod. *a cheann*), *a cenn* 'her head'

/a keɴ/ (mod. *a ceann*), *a cenn* 'their head' /a geɴ/ (mod. *a gceann*).

bó 'cow' (mod. *bean*): *a bó* 'his cow' /a vo:/ (mod. *a bhó*), *a bó* 'her cow' /a bo:/ (Mod. *a bó*), *a mbó* 'their cow' /a m(b)o:/ (mod. *a mbó*).

deug 'drink' (mod. *deoch*): *a deug* 'his drink' /a ðeuɣ/ (mod. *a dheoch*), *a deug* 'her drink' /a deuɣ/ (mod. *a deoch*), *a ndeug* 'their drink' /a ndeuɣ/ > /a ɴeuɣ/ (mod. *a ndeoch*).

galar 'illness' (mod. *galar*): *a galar* 'his illness' /a ɣalər/ (mod. *a ghalar*), *a galar* 'her illness' /a galər/ (mod. *a galar*), *a ngalar* 'their illness' /a ŋgalər/ > /a ŋalər/ (mod. *a ngalar*).

mac 'son' /mak/ (mod. *mac*): *a mac* 'his son' /a ṽak/ (mod. *a mhac*), *a m(m)ac* 'her son' /a mak/ (mod. *a mac*), *a m(m)ac* 'their son' /a mak/ (mod. *a mac*).

nert 'strength' /ɴert/ (mod. *neart*): *a nert* 'his strength' /a nert/ (mod. *a neart*), *a n(n)ert* 'her strength' /a ɴert/ (mod. *a neart*), *a n(n)ert* 'their strength' /a ɴert/ (mod. *a neart*).

rí 'king' /ʀi:/ (mod. *rí*): *a rí* 'his king' /a ri:/ (mod. *a rí*), *a r(r)í* 'her king' /a ʀi:/ (mod. *a rí*), *a r(r)í* 'their king' /a ʀi:/ (mod. *a rí*).

lám 'hand' /ʟa:ṽ/ (mod. *lámh*): *a lám* 'his hand' /a la:ṽ/ (mod. *a lámh*), *a l(l)ám* 'her hand' /a ʟa:ṽ/ (mod. *a lámh*), *a l(l)ám* 'their hand' /a ʟa:ṽ/ (mod. *a lámh*).

fer 'man' /fer/ (mod. *fear*): *a fer* (later also *a fer*) 'his man' /a er/ (mod. *a fhear*), *a fer* 'her man' /a fer/ (mod. *a fear*), *a fer* 'their man' /a ver/ (mod. *a bhfear*).

síl 'seed' /si:l/ (mod. *síol*): *a síl* (later also *a sïl*) 'his seed' /a hi:l/ (mod. *a shíol*), *a síl* 'her seed' /a si:l/ (mod. *a síol*), *a síl* 'their seed' /a si:l/ (mod. *a síol*).

enech 'face, honour' /enˊəχ/ (mod. *eineach*): *a enech* or *a henech* 'his honour' /a enˊəχ/ (mod. *a eineach*), *a henech* or *a enech* 'her honour' /a henˊəχ/ (mod. *a heineach*), *a n-enech* 'their honour' /a nenˊəχ/ (mod. *a n-eineach*).

It is to be noted that, since *p-* only occurred in loanwords (normally from Latin; e.g. *penn* above from Lat. *penna*), there was no pre-existing pattern of mutation to which it could be directly adapted. Consequently it remains unlenited more often than not in Old Irish, whence frequently *a penn* 'his pen' /a peɴ/ etc., and was presumably equally resistant to nasalisation (*a penn* 'their pen' /a peɴ/ etc.) despite the ambiguity of Old Irish spelling on this point. Only gradually did extrapolation from the patterns *t* /t/, len. *th* /θ/, nas. *t* /d/ or *c* /k/, len. *ch* /χ/, nas. *c* /g/ produce a corresponding labial series *p* /p/, len. *ph* /f/, nas. *p* /b/.

CHAPTER II
THE NOUN, ADJECTIVE AND ARTICLE

A. THE NOUN.

A.1. Basic categories:
(a) Like Modern Irish, French or German (but unlike Modern English) Old Irish ascribed grammatical GENDER to its nouns. Whereas Modern Irish and French have a two-gender opposition between masculine and feminine nouns, a three-gender opposition between **masculine, feminine** and **neuter** applies to the nouns of Old Irish as to those of German and Latin (reduced to two in descendants of Latin such as French; cf. the development from Old to Modern Irish). Although this grammatical distinction correlates to some extent with natural gender (e.g. OIr. *ben* 'woman' and *fer* 'man' are grammatically feminine and masculine respectively), this is very often not the case: e.g., *flaith* (f.) 'lord', *cloch* (f.) 'stone' but *lie* (m.) 'stone', *bríathar* (f.) 'word' but *focull* (n.) 'word'. As in Modern Irish, French, German or the like, the gender of a noun in Old Irish was liable to have various grammatical consequences and these will be encountered at various points below.

Old Irish nouns make a familiar distinction between **singular** and **plural** NUMBER (e.g. *ben* 'woman', *mná* 'women') but also have a special **dual** form used exclusively after the numeral 'two' (e.g. *di mnaí* 'two women').

They also undergo various formal changes in CASE depending upon their grammatical function in the sentence. Some languages (such as Modern French and English) make next to no formal case distinctions, preferring to use other devices such as word order and prepositions in order to indicate the grammatical functions in question: e.g. 'the man[SUBJECT] killed [VERB] the dog[OBJECT] with[PREPOSITION] the stone' versus 'the dog[SUBJECT] killed [VERB] the man[OBJECT] with[PREPOSITION] (its) teeth' or 'the stone[SUBJECT] killed [VERB] the dog[OBJECT]'. Other languages rely more heavily upon changes in the form of the nouns themselves in such circumstances. For instance, formal changes of case would be the means of indicating these basic grammatical relations in the following Latin equivalents of the above three sentences, namely *homo*[SUBJ] *canem*[OBJ] *lapide*[INSTRUMENT] *occisit*[VERB] versus *canis*[SUBJ] *hominem*[OBJ] *dentibus*[INSTRUMENT] *occisit*[VERB] or *lapis*[SUBJ] *canem*[OBJ] *occisit*[VERB]. Whereas a change in their order is prone to alter the basic grammatical relations between words in Modern English, as in 'the man killed the dog' versus 'the dog killed the man', in Latin such changes can be made for different types of emphasis without affecting the basic grammatcial structure and hence meaning of the sentence. Thus *canem lapide occisit homo* or *lapide homo canem occisit* still mean 'the man killed the dog with the stone' (but with emphasis upon 'dog' and 'stone' respectively) and *hominem canis occisit dentibus* or *dentibus hominem occisit canis* still mean 'the dog killed the man with (its) teeth' (but with emphasis upon 'man' and 'teeth' respectively).

Old Irish occupies a roughly intermediate position insofar as it has quite rigid word-order patterns and makes extensive use of prepositions like, say, Modern English but also formally distinguishes five separate grammatical cases rather like Latin, which has six. Whereas Modern English word order is typically Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) as in the above examples, the ***basic***

order of these constituents in an Old (Middle or Modern) Irish sentence is Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) followed by other elements such as prepositional phrases and adverbial expressions: e.g., *béoigidir*[V] *in spirut*[S] *in corp*[O] *in fecht so*[adverb] 'the spirit[S] vivifies[V] the body[O] (at) this time[adv]' (from the Würzburg Glosses already discussed in A.2). *The five Old Irish cases and their basic uses* may be summarised as follows:

(b) The **nominative** denotes the SUBJECT of the sentence (typically its main point of reference and very often the performer(s) of a verbal action) as well as the predicate of the verb 'to be' known as the copula. Thus *téit in fer* 'the man (nom. sing. subj.) goes', *tíagait ind fir* 'the men (nom. plur. subj.) go' and *is sacart in fer* 'the man (nom. sg. subj.) is a priest (nom. sg. pred.)'.

(c) The **vocative** denotes someone (or rarely something) addressed and **is regularly preceded by the particle *a* (leniting)**. Except in masculines of groups I and IVa below (e.g. *a fir* 'O man'), the voc. sg. is identical with the nom. sg. (e.g. *a ben* 'O woman'). The voc. pl. is identical with the acc. pl. in all noun classes (e.g *a firu* 'O men').

(d) The **accusative** designates the DIRECT OBJECT (typically the experiencer(s) of the action) of an active transitive verb. Thus *caraid in fer in mnaí* 'the man (nom. sg. subj.) loves the woman (acc. sg. obj.)', *carait ind fir inna mná* 'the men (nom. pl. subj.) love the women (acc. pl. obj.)' and *carait inna mná inna firu* 'the women (nom. pl. subj.) love the men (acc. pl. obj.)'. The accusative is also used with certain prepositions such as *la* 'with, by' or *imm* 'around, about' and it is to be noted that, when a verb shifts from active to passive, the accusative object becomes nominative subject, as in *carthair in ben la fer* 'the woman (nom. sg. subj.) is loved by a man (acc. sg. after prep. *la*)' or *cartair inna mná la-sna firu* 'the women (nom. pl. subj.) are loved by the men' (acc. pl. after prep. *la*). It is also frequently used in expressions of time such as *in fecht so* '(at) this time' above or *fecht n-and* 'on(c)e (upon a) time' (lit. '(at) a time there').

(e) The **genitive** typically indicates the dependence of one noun upon another and as such **almost invariably follows another noun** in Old Irish. It frequently denotes possession and can almost always be translated into English as 'of' or '-s': e.g. *tech ind fir* 'the man's house', *benn sléibe* 'a mountain's peak' or 'a peak of a mountain', *tige fer* 'men's houses', *benna inna sléibe* 'the mountain(s') peaks' or 'the peaks of the mountains'. The so-called 'objective' genitive is seen most clearly after a verbal noun (see III.A.2c) in Old Irish: e.g. *oc precept soiscéli* 'preaching the Gospel' (lit. 'at preaching of the Gospel'; nom. sg. *soiscéle*, class IVa in A.2 below). It is sometimes used on its own in expressions of time such as *cecha blíadnae* 'every year' or as predicate of the copula in phrases such as *ammi Dé* 'we are God's' or *ní torbi* 'it is not of profit, it is no use'.

(f) Apart from a couple of vestigial independent uses, e.g. as an alternative to the accusative in expressions of time such as *ind fecht so* '(at) this time' or *fecht and* 'on(c)e (upon a) time' (see also II.B.3 on the dative of comparison and IV.C.1b on a usage with personal numerals), the **dative** is only used in Old Irish prose with those prepositions that do not take the accusative (and sometimes with certain prepositions that take either acc. or dat.). Thus *ó/do fiur* 'from/to a man (dat. sg.)' (*ó/do* + dat.) or *i tig* 'in a house (dat. sg.)' vs. *i tech* 'into a house (acc. sg.)' (*i* + dat. or acc.). **The dat. pl. ending of all nouns is *-(a)ib***, as in *ó/do feraib* 'from/to men' or *i tigib* 'in houses' vs. *i tige* 'into houses'.

It can thus be seen that *some Old Irish prepositions govern the accusative, others the dative and still others the accusative or dative case*.

A.2. The main patterns of noun declension:
Like other early Indo-European languages such as Latin, Old Irish has a number of different declension classes for nouns. This feature is still seen in Modern Irish and numbers I-V below refer to the patterns underlying the corresponding declensions I-V in traditional grammars of Modern Irish. Where necessary, these are further subdivided by means of an additional a, b or c. In the case of V a mnemonic referring to the type of consonant involved (lenden. = lenited dental, unlenden. = unlenited dental, gutt. = guttural, nas. = nasal) seemed a more helpful subclassification. Category VI is residual and does not correspond directly to a Modern Irish declension. There remain, of course, a number of individual irregular nouns (e.g. *ben* f., gen. sg. *mná* 'woman'; *día* m., gen. sg. *dé* 'god'; *bó* f., gen. sg. *bó* 'cow'; *siur* f., gen. sg. *sethar* 'sister') that do not fit properly into any of the six patterns below. The designations '*o*-stems' etc. in brackets after the Roman numeral relate to the historical classification used in such standard descriptions as Strachan's *Old-Irish Paradigms and Selections from Old-Irish Glosses* and Thurneysen's *Grammar of Old Irish* so that these can be easily referred to when desired.

Knowledge of the form of the nom. sg. (the basic citation or 'dictionary' form) and the gen. sg. of a noun is usually sufficient in order to assign it to the correct declension. It is also necessary to know the gender (or another case form such as the acc. sg.) in order to distinguish II from VIb. Even in the absence of information as to gender confusion between IVc and VIb is impossible because the former are always disyllabic whereas the latter's stem is basically monosyllabic and ends in *-m(m)*. The list below is intended as a ready reference for the identification of a given noun's declension from the information supplied in the vocabularies of such essential introductory works as Strachan's *Stories from the Táin* and the aforementioned *Old-Irish Paradigms... and Glosses*.

I (*o*-stems) nom. **-C**, gen. **-C´**, m./n.: e.g., *mac, maic* (m.) 'son'; *scél, scéuil* (n.) 'tale'.

II (*ā*-stems) nom. **-C**, gen. **-C´e** (rarely -Ce), f.: e.g., *túath, túaithe* (f.) 'petty kingdom'.

IIIa (*i*-stems) nom. **-C´**, gen. **-Co/a**, m./f./n.: e.g., *búachaill, búachallo/a* (m.) 'cowherd'; *súil, súlo/a* (f.) 'eye'; *búaid, búado/a* (n.) 'victory'.
IIIb (*u*-stems) nom. **-(u)C**, gen. **-Co/a**, m./n.: e.g., *cath, catho/a* (m.) 'battle', *rind, rendo* (n.) 'star'.
IVa (*io*-stems) nom. **-e**, gen. **-i**, m./n.: e.g., *dalt(a)e, dalt(a)i* (m.) 'fosterling', *cride, cridi* (n.) 'heart'.
IVb (*ia*-stems) nom. **-e**, gen. **-e**, f.: e.g., *maithe, maithe* (f.) 'goodness'.
IVc (*ī*-stems) nom. **-C´**, gen. **-e**, f.: e.g., *blíadain, blíadn(a)e* (f.) 'year'.

V (consonant stems) nom. **-**, gen. **-C**, m./f.
    V lenden. (*t*-stems) nom. **-V** (oft. *-u*), gen. **-Vd**, m./f.: e.g., *arae, arad* (m.) 'charioteer'; *teng(a)e, tengad* (f.) 'tongue'.
    V unlenden. (*nt*-stems): nom. **-V** (oft. *-e*), gen. **-Vt**, m./f.: e.g., *fiche, fichet* (m.) 'a score'; *ainmne, ainmnet* (f.) 'patience'.
    V gutt. (guttural stems): nom. **-**, gen. **-(V)ch/g/c**, m./f.: e.g., *rí, ríg* (m.) 'king';

> *cathair, cathrach* (f.) 'monastic settlement, city'.

V nas. (*n*-stems) nom. **-** or **-u** (rarely **-e**), gen. **-(V)n** or **-(V)n(n)**, m./f.: e.g.,

> *talam, talman* (m.) 'earth', *cú, con* (m.) 'hound';
> *menm(a)e, menman(n)* (m.) 'mind', *toimtiu, toimten* (f.) 'opinion'.

VIa (neut. *n*-stems) nom. **-m´**, gen. **-m´e** or **-me**, n.: e.g., *céim(m), céim(m)e* (n.) 'step'.

VIb (*s*-stems) nom. **-C**, gen. **-C´e**, n.: *nem, nime* (n.) 'heaven'.

VIc (*r*-stems) nom. **-r´**, gen. **-r**, m./f.: e.g., *athair, athar* (m.) 'father'.

A.3. Full declensions.

In what follows an attempt will be made to group these in a manner conducive to highlighting certain similarities as an aid to memory. **Class I** (m.) basically opposes a palatal final consonant in the voc., gen. sg. and nom. pl. to a non-palatal elsewhere. In the dat. sg. a *-u-* is usually inserted before this and in the acc. and dat. pl. an ending follows it. In **class IVa** (m.) a corresponding set of alternations applies to the final vowel: *-i* corresponds to palatal -C´, *-e* to non-palatal -C and *-(i)u* to *-u*C in I, while the ending acc. pl. *-u* and dat. pl. *-(a)ib* occur in both. In the other three exclusively fem. classes a similar relationship between -C´ and *-i* (acc. and dat. sg.), -C and *-e* (nom. sg. and gen. pl.) applies to **II** and **IVb**, the gen. sg. ending *-e* being common to both. **IVc** has exactly the same alternation in final vowels as **IVb**, differing from the latter only in having a nom. sg. in -C´ rather than *-e*. Occasionally a 'short' acc. and dat. sg. (e.g. *blíadain*) identical with the nom. sg. is seen in nouns of class **IVc**. All three fem. formations have the same form in the nom./voc./acc. pl. but this is *-i* in **IVb/c** and *-a* in **II**. See 4a below on the neuters in I and IVa. The bracketed vowel signs merely denote the quality of a following or a preceding consonant and are sometimes omitted in spelling (see I.B.5).

		I 'man' (m.)	**IVa** 'fellow' (m.)	**II** 'kingdom'	**IVb** 'prayer'	**IVc** 'year'
sing.	nom./voc.	*fer/fir*	*cé(i)le/cé(i)li*	*túath*	*gu(i)de*	*blíad(a)in*
	acc.	*fer*	*cé(i)le*	*túaith*	*gu(i)di*	*blíadn(a)i*
	gen.	*fir*	*cé(i)li*	*túaithe*	*gu(i)de*	*blíadn(a)e*
	dat.	*fiur*	*cé(i)liu*	*túaith*	*gu(i)di*	*blíadn(a)i*
plur.	nom.	*fir*	*cé(i)li*	*túatha*	*gu(i)di*	*blíadn(a)i*
	voc./acc.	*firu*	*cé(i)liu*	*túatha*	*gu(i)di*	*blíadn(a)i*
	gen.	*fer*	*cé(i)le*	*túath*	*gu(i)de*	*blíadn(a)e*
	dat.	*feraib*	*cé(i)lib*	*túath(a)ib*	*gu(i)dib*	*blíadn(a)ib*

Classes IIIa and **b** both oppose a gen. in *-o* (later *-a*) to a form with no ending in the other cases of the singular, the difference being that this is palatal -C´ in **IIIa** but non-palatal -C (usually preceded by *u*) in **IIIb**. The plural of **IIIa** (m./f.) is the same as that of **IVb/c** but **IIIb** (m.) not only has a distinctive nom. pl. *-e* alongside the 'IIIa' type *-i* and a rarer *-a* (see 4a below on neuters) but is also characterised by an acc. pl. *-u* like that of I.

The exclusively neuter **classes VIa** and **b** both have a gen. sg. in *-e* and a nom./acc. sg. with final consonant, palatal -C´ in the former and non-palatal -C in the latter. Both have a dat. sg. in -C´ but **VIa** also has a distinctive 'long' dat in *-(a)im(m)*. In **VIa** *-n(n)(-)* appears throughout the plural, while **VIb** has -C´e in the nom./acc. and gen. pl. and the ubiquitous dat. pl. *-ib*. The acc., gen. and dat. sg. of **VIc** follow the scheme of **V** below, the difference being that the stem-final consonant also appears in the nom. sg. The nom., acc. and dat. pl. can also be compared with **V**

but the gen. pl. in *-e* rather resembles that of **IIIa/b**.

		IIIa	IIIb	VIa	VIb	VIc
		'eye' (f.)	'shape' (m.)	'name'	'plain'	'father' (m.)
sing.	nom./voc.	*súil*	*cruth*	*ainm*	*mag*	*ath(a)ir*
	acc.	*súil*	*cruth*	*ainm*	*mag*	*ath(a)ir*
	gen.	*súlo/a*	*crotho/a*	*anm(a)e*	*maige*	*ath(a)r*
	dat.	*súil*	*cruth* ainm or *anm(a)im(m)*	*maig*	*ath(a)ir*
plur.	nom.	*súili*	*crotha/(a)e/i*	*anman(n)*	*maige*	*aithir*
	voc./acc.	*súili*	*cruthu*	*anman(n)*	*maige*	*athra/aithrea*
	gen.	*súile*	*croth(a)e*	*anman(n)*	*maige*	*a t h r (a) e / a i t h r e*
	dat.	*súilib*	*crothaib*	*anman(n)aib*	*maigib*	*athr(a)ib/aithrib*

The characteristic feature of m./f. **consonant stems** is that a particular stem consonant appears throughout the paradigm except in the nom. sg. and sometimes in the dat. sg. (see A.4a below on one of the few neuters in V unlenden.). Although there are a number of variants of the nom. sg. ending (notably -C, -C′, *-e* or *-u* depending upon type), all of these have in common a lack of the defining stem consonant (*th/d*, *t*, *n* and *ch/g/c* respectively) seen in the rest of the paradigm. This is regularly non-palatal in the gen. sg. and pl. but palatal in the acc. sg., 'long' dat. sg. and nom. pl. The acc. pl. adds *-a* and the dat. pl. the usual *-(a)ib* to the stem consonant. A number of sub-classes also display a 'short' dat. sg. lacking the characteristic stem consonant. As can be seen from the above paradigms this form is often identical with the nom. sg. but on occasion differs from it (e.g. *toimte* above or nom. sg. *tene* 'fire', gen. sg. *tened*, dat. sg. 'long' *tenid* and 'short' *tein*). The 'short' datives were tending to be replaced quite rapidly by the 'long' datives identical with the acc. sing. during the Old Irish period. Occasionally the reverse process results in a 'short' accusative singular such as *oíntu* and *cathair*.

	V lenden.		V unlenden.	V gutt.	Vnas.	
	'poet',	'unity' (m.)	'friend' (m.)	'city' (f.)	'judge' (m.)	'opinion' (f.)
sg. nom./voc.	*fili*	*oíntu*	*car(a)e*	*cath(a)ir*	*brithem*	*toimtiu*
acc.	*filid*	*oínt(a)id*	*car(a)it*	*cathraig*	*brithemain*	*toimtin*
gen.	*filed*	*oíntad*	*carat*	*cathrach*	*brithemain*	*toimten*
dat.	*filid*	*oínt(a)id* or *oíntu*	*car(a)it*	*cathraig* or *cath(a)ir*	*brithem(a)in*	*toimtin* or *toimte, toimtiu*
pl. nom.	*filid*		*car(a)it*	*cathraig*	*brithem(a)in*	
voc./acc.	*fileda*		*cairtea*	*cathracha*	*brithemna*	
gen.	*filed*		*carat*	*cathrach*	*britheman*	
dat.	*filedaib*		*cairtib*	*cathrach(a)ib*	*brithemn(a)ib*	

A.4. Further notes on noun declension.
(a) Within a given declension *neuter* forms are always identical to those of the corresponding masculines in the gen. and dat. sg. and pl. However, neuter nouns always have ***a single form for the nom./voc./acc.*** (cf. VIa nva. sg. *ainm* and pl. *anmann*, VIb nva. sg. *mag* and pl. *maige* above) and this tends to be different from the corresponding masc. in at least some of the cases in question. This feature is further illustrated by the following paradigms, as is the identity of nva. sg./pl. in some classes and the possibility of avoiding this by means of a 'long' plural such as *scéla* beside *scél*.

	I 'tale'	**IVa** 'heart'	**IIIa** 'sea'	**IIIb** 'star'	**V unlenden.** 'tooth'
sg. nva.	*scél*	*cride*	*muir*	*rind*	*dét*
gen.	*scéuil*	*cridi*	*moro/a*	*rendo/a*	*dét*
dat.	*scéul*	*cridiu*	*muir*	*rind*	*déit*
pl. nva.	*scél(a)*	*cride*	*mu(i)re*	*rind/renda*	*dét(a)*
gen.	*scél*	*cride*	*mu(i)re*	*rend(a)e*	*dét*
dat.	*scél(a)ib*	*cridib*	*mu(i)rib*	*rend(a)ib*	*dét(a)ib*

(b) It will have been noticed that changes within the paradigm, particularly a shift from non-palatal to palatal consonance and vice versa, are often accompanied by certain ***changes in the root vowel*** (e.g. I *fer* vs. *fir, fiur, firu* or IIIb *cruth(u)* vs. *crotho/a* etc. above). The commonest alternations of this type are those between ***e* and *i*** (e.g. IIIa *mil* 'honey', gen. *melo*), ***o* and *u*** (e.g. I *olc* 'evil', gen. *uilc*), ***é* and *éu/o*** (e.g. I *én* 'bird', gen. *éuin* or *éoin*), ***ía* and *é(i)*** (e.g. I *gíall* 'hostage', gen. *géill*; II *cíall* 'sense', acc./dat. *céill*, gen. *céille*). There is also less clearly defined fluctuation between ***ó* and *úa*** (e.g. I *slóg* or *slúag* 'host', gen. sg. *slóig* or *slúaig*). **It is important to bear these possibilities in mind when trying to look up a form containing one of these stressed vowels in a vocabulary or dictionary.**

(c) When the post-tonic syllable (i.e. the one directly after the stressed syllable, which was usually initial; see I.B.4) was non-final, its vowel was normally lost by **syncope** (marked † below), which thus reduced words of three and four syllables to two and three syllables respectively. Within a paradigm the addition of a syllable (e.g. dat. pl. -*(a)ib*) to a disyllabic form thus usually resulted in syncope of the middle syllable, whereas a basic monosyllable was unaffected because the added syllable did not produce an internal unstressed syllable (e.g. *fer*, dat. pl. *feraib* etc.). Examples above involving syncope are IVc (regularly affected by syncope as the nom. sg. was always disyllabic in this class) *blíadain* vs. acc. *blíad†nai* etc., V unlenden. *carae* vs. acc. and dat. pl. *cair†tea, cair†tib*, V gutt. *cathair* vs. acc./dat. sg. *cath†raig* etc. Acc. pl. *athra* or *aithrea* etc. in VIc can likewise conveniently be regarded as syncopated in relation to nom. sg. *athair* etc., although this happens not to be the correct historical explanation, and the same applies to II *bríathar* 'word' and acc./dat.sg. *bréithir* (cf. *cíall, céill* in b above) vs. gen. sg. *bréithre*, nva. pl. *bríathra*. Further examples of genuine syncope are I m. *claideb* 'sword' vs. acc. and dat. pl. *claid†biu, claid†bib* (the case of I m. *lebor* 'book' and dat. sg. *libur* vs. acc. pl. *libru* and dat. pl. *lebraib* is similar to that of *athair*), II *buiden* 'troop' vs. gen. sg. *buid†ne* etc., IIIa f. *saigid* 'seeking' vs. gen. sg. *saig†theo/a* etc., IIIb n. *dorus* 'door' vs. gen. sg. *doir†seo/a* etc., V lenden. m. *tengae* 'tongue' vs. acc. and dat. pl. *teng†tha* and *teng†thaib* respectively.

(d) **Dual** forms have not been included in the above paradigms because they are relatively uncommon and can be easily recognised by virtue of always being preceded by the numeral 'two' (nom./acc. *da* and *di* (f.), gen. *da*, dat. *dib*). Thurneysen's *Grammar* or Strachan's *Paradigms* should be consulted for the precise forms (note dat. dual always -*(a)ib*, which nasalises unlike the otherwise identical but non-mutating dat. pl.) and III.A.5b below provides a number of examples.

A.5. Reading practice.

(a) A gnomic or wisdom text entitled *Bríathra Flainn Fína* or 'The Words of Flann Fína'

basically contains several series of brief aphorisms introduced by the same word. In one of these every unit consists of 3sg. pres. *ad:cota* 'gets' followed by its subject and object, while in another sentences of the same structure are introduced by 3sg. pres. *dligid* 'deserves'. Some suitably normalised selections from these two sequences are given below. Note the extensive use of alliteration. The cluster *cht* is resistant to palatalisation in Old Irish, whence for instance the lack of an otherwise expected palatal final in the acc./dat. sg. of class II nouns ending in *-acht*.

Ad:cota sochell saidbrius, .., ad:cota cíall caínchruth, ..., ad:cota serc bríathra, ..., ad:cota dochell cesacht, ..., ad:cota santach séotu, ..., ad:cota cuirm cornu, ..., ad:cota gáes airmitin, ad:cota áes allud, ad:cota báes báegul, ad:cota briugu bronnad, ad:cota bríg barainn, ad:cota barae bibdaid, ad:cota biltengae bráth, ..., ad:cota ferann féinnid, ad:cota léigend libru...... Dligid ecnae airmitin, .., dligid fír fortacht, dligid gó a cairigud, dligid cláen cuindrech, dligid aite a sochraidi,... dligid rath a imdegail, dligid fíadnaise fugell, dligid díummus dermat, dligid maith mórad, .., dligid dall dítin,.., dligid oac eladain, ..., dligid máthair mingairi, dligid athair a ógréir.....

(b) Many of the statements in early Irish wisdom literature have a legal slant apparent from a comparison with various surviving medieval Irish legal texts. In one of these, a tract on secular social divisions and status entitled *Críth Gablach* 'The Forked Purchase', the king's activities are spread over the whole week on a day by day basis that mixes pleasure with business.

Domnach do oul chormae...; lúan do brithemnacht, do chocertad túath; máirt oc fidchill; cétaín do déicsiu mílchon oc tofunn; tardaín do lánamnas; aín díden do rethaib ech; satharn do brethaib.

(c)The seventh- or eighth-century *Aipgitir Chrábuid* or 'Alphabet of Piety' is also a gnomic text, this time one explicitly concerned with the virtues conducive to and the vices detrimental to a good Christian life and salvation. It begins with the following list of the components of holiness.

Ires co ngním, accobar co fedli, féthamle co lléri, castót co n-umlai, aíne co n-indmus, bochtae co n-eslabrai, taue co comlabrai, fodail co cosmali, foditiu cen indíri, apstanit co fochraíbi, ét cen acarbi, cennsae co fírinni, tairisiu cen eslis, omun cen derchóiniud, bochtae cen díummus, foísitiu cen erchomded, forcetal co comalnad, dréim cen tairindiud, ísel fri ard, slemon fri garb, gním cen fodord, semplae co trebairi, omaldóit cen condarcilli, crésine cen sechtai.

B. ADJECTIVES.

B.1. Basics.

Whether predicative or attributive, Old Irish adjectives agree with their nouns in **gender**, **number** and **case**. Accordingly they are inflected for all of these categories but have no separate dual form, and use their plural form for concord with a noun in the dual (examples in III.A.5b below). They fall into three main groups. One declension can be termed **I/II** (traditionally *o-/ā*-stems) because it basically inflects like a class I noun if masc. or neut. and like a class II if fem. Another will be called **IIIa** (traditionally *i*-stems) on account of affinities with IIIa nouns and the third will be designated **IV** (traditionally *yo-/yā*-stems) because it inflects like IVa nouns if masc. or neut. and like IVb if fem. There are a few IIIb (traditionally *u*-stem) adjectives and the merest vestiges of class V, notably unlenden. *tee* 'hot' with nom. pl. *teit*. The three groups that matter can be

distinguished quite straightforwardly from one another on the strength of the nom. sg. 'dictionary' form alone (all genders): ***in the nom. sg. I/II has a final non-palatal consonant (-C), IIIa a final palatal consonant (-C´) and IV a final -e.***

The inflection of a **class IIIa adjective** such as *maith* 'good' is particularly straightforward as the base form (*maith*) is used throughout the singular except for the gen. sg. fem., which has an *-e* (*maithe*) like the class II feminines, and the plural is like that of IIIa m./f. nouns, namely nom./voc./acc. *maithi*, gen. *maithe* or *maith*, dat. *maithib* in all genders. **Class IIIb** is identical with I/II in the singular except for having *-u-* in the nom./acc. as well as the dat. sg. (e.g. m./n. *dub* in all three versus gen. *duib*; f. nom. *dub*, acc./dat. *duib*, gen. *dub(a)e*) but goes like IIIa in the plural except for a non-palatal root-final consonant (nom./acc. *dub(a)i*, gen. *dub*, dat. *dub(a)ib*)

Classes I/II and IV correlate in a manner similar to that described for the corresponding nouns in A.3 above but it is to be noted that in I/II fem. nom./voc./acc. *-a* has spread to the neut. and in the voc./acc. partially to the masc. as well. The paradigms below illustrate the system by means of *bec(c)* 'small' and *buide* 'yellow'.

	Masc.		Neut.		Fem.	
	I/II	IV	I/II	IV	I/II	IV
sg. nom./voc.	*bec/bic*	*bu(i)de*	*bec*	*bu(i)de*	*bec*	*bu(i)de*
acc.	*bec*	*bu(i)de*	*bec*	*bu(i)de*	*bic*	*bu(i)di*
gen.	*bic*	*bu(i)di*	*bic*	*bu(i)di*	*bice*	*bu(i)de*
dat.	*biuc*	*bu(i)diu*	*biuc*	*bu(i)diu*	*bic*	*bu(i)di*
pl. nom.	*bic*	*bu(i)di*	*beca*	*bu(i)di*	*beca*	*bu(i)di*
voc./acc.	*bicu* or *beca*	*bu(i)di*	*beca*	*bu(i)di*	*beca*	*bu(i)di*
gen.	*bec*	*bu(i)de*	*bec*	*bu(i)de*	*bec*	*bu(i)de*
dat.	*bec(a)ib*	*bu(i)dib*	*bec(a)ib*	*bu(i)dib*	*bec(a)ib*	*bu(i)dib*

It is to be noted that disyllabic I/II adjectives have *-i* throughout the nom./voc./acc. pl. like the other two classes: e.g., nom. sg. *ísel* 'low' and *úasal* 'high' with pl. *ísli* and *úaisli*.

Adjectives can be ***substantivised*** as nouns, in which case they inflect more like other nouns of the same class (e.g. class II acc. pl. masc. *-u* or 'short' nom./acc. pl. neut. without ending). Thus I/II adj. *fír* 'true' but also I neut. noun *fír* 'true thing, truth', I/II adj. *olc* 'evil' but also I neut. noun *olc* 'evil (thing)' with nom./voc. pl. *inna olc* 'the evils', I/II adj. *trén* but also I masc. noun *trén* 'strong man' with acc. pl. *inna tríunu* 'the strong men'.

B.2. Reading practice.

(a) Like a noun in the genitive (see A.1e above), ***an attributive adjective regularly follows its noun in Old (Middle and Modern) Irish***: e.g., *fer maith* 'a good man', *in ben maith* 'the good woman'. In this respect Irish is similar to, say, French but differs from English, which generally places such adjectives before their noun.

(b) Gnomic or wisdom texts, especially works offering advice to kings or princes, are an important early Irish literary genre. One of these is *Tecosca Cormaic* or the 'Instructions of Cormac', in which Cormac mac Airt, an early king of Tara and grandson of Conn of the Hundred

Battles according to tradition, is represented as giving advice on a wide range of issues in response to questions from his son and successor Cairbre Lifechair. The maxims in this type of literature are prone to be pithily expressed in stylised language and are frequently strung together in sequences of some length characterised by deliberate parallelisms between the individual units. Some of these are verbless lists and in others the verb (usually a form of the verb 'to be') is taken for granted and omitted, stylistic devices that are useful for present purposes by virtue of making the analysis of nouns and adjectives possible without the added complication of having to deal with verbs. A selection is given below, subjected to such slight adaptation to Old Irish norms as was deemed necessary. Cairbre begins by asking his father *a huí Chuinn, a Chormaic, cid as dech* (what is best) *do ríg?* and Cormac's reply starts as follows with a list of recommendations containing nouns and (sometimes) adjectives in twos and threes. These not infrequently alliterate.

Fostae cen feirg, ainmne cen debuid, soacaldam cen mórdataid, deithiden senchasa, frithfolad fír, géill i nglassaib, slógad fri deithbiri, fír cen fuillem, trócaire co ndlúthugud rechta, síd do thúathaib, rátha écsamlai, bretha fíra, troscud for cocríchaib, mórad nemed, airmitiu filed, adrad Dé móir, torad inna flaith, déicsiu cach thrúaig, almsana ili, mess for crannaib, íasc i n-inberaib, talam toirthech.

(c) Cairbre's further question, *a huí Chuinn, a Chormaic, cid as dech do less túaithe?*, elicits the following response (lightly pruned below).

Terchomrac dagdoíne, dála menci, menmae athchomairc, fochmarc di gáethaib, airdíbad cech uilc, comalnad cech maithesa, airecht ríaglach, sechem senchasa, senad rechtaide, rechtge la flaith, toísig fíríáin..., trócaire co ndagbésaib, dlúthugud coibnesa, comúaim coimgne, comalnad rechtge, recht senchairdde, cotach cen timdibe, fianna cen díummus, inire fri náimtea, innraccus fri bráithrea, rátha fíala, aithi slána, bretha fíra, fíadain innraicci, astud cundrada cen díupairt, fuillem díupartae....., foglaimm cach dána, éolas cech bélrai, druine mrechtraid, tacrae co fásaigib, brithemnas co roscadaib, tabart almsan, trócaire fri bochtu, gella fri bretha, nadmann innraici, étsecht fri sruithi, buidre fri dáescarslúag, lessugud críche ar cach n-olc.

(d) Cormac's examples of the 'ways of folly' begin with the following two-stress units (bearing in mind that OIr. prepositions were unstressed) linked to each other by alliteration (indicated below by alternating bold italics and underlinings) to form a chain. Note that initial mutations are generally ignored for alliterative purposes and that a voiced stop such as *g* or *d* may sometimes alliterate with a voiceless counterpart such as *c* or *t* respectively.

*Luge íar **m**breith, **b**retha díana, díuscud feirge, folabrae goach, cairigud fír, fretech ndairthige, tintúd breth, brón oc fleid, flaithem goach, gáire im sen, senchas do chleith, cluiche for aill.....*

(e) Like the verbal predicate, ***a noun or adjective predicate*** (usually but not always preceded by a form of the verb 'to be') ***is placed before its subject***: e.g., *(is) sacart in fer* 'the man is a priest', lit. '(is a) priest the man', or *(is) maith in fer* 'the man is good', lit. '(is) good the man'. When Cormac is asked how he distinguishes the race of Adam, he replies that he distinguishes them all - men, women, sons and daughters as well. A few of the points made in elaboration of this are given below.

Gáeth cech fossaid, fírián cech fíal..., serb cach borb, báeth cach trén....., domlas cech gó, milis

cech fír,... dálacha drochmná.

(f) The following list of precepts is also ascribed to the king in *Tecosca Cormaic*.

Gáeth cách co reic a orbai, báeth cách co lóg tíre, carae cách co fiachu, rechtaid cách co lelbu, súanach cách co clemnas, ferach cách co crésine, sochlae cách co aír, briugu cách co eitech, fénnid cách co trebad, amus cách co árus, sochuinn cách co mesci, codnach cách co feirg, sognaid cách co fuichecht, sobraig cách co altram, rúnid cách co augrae, aurraid cách co fócrae, fáilid cách co donae, dánae cách co hetech, traigthech cách co cairptech, cáid cach céol co cruit.

(g) *Félire Óengusso* (see I.A.3) is written in a syllabic metre called *rinnard* that is based upon quatrains consisting of four lines, each of which contains six syllables and ends with a word of two syllables. The final words of the second and forth line rhyme with each other (i.e. their vowels match fully and their consonants are of the same class and quality - see V.C.4e) and the final word of the third line usually makes consonance with these (a looser type of rhyme with vowels agreeing in length but not quality; e.g. *súabais* with *dímais* and *ndígrais* in Feb. 2), a rarer alternative to this being a full so-called *aicill*-rhyme with a non-final word in the fourth line (e.g. *ainglech* with *laindrech* in Mar. 16). The final word of line one may optionally be linked to that of line two by consonance (e.g. *Demun* with *domun* in Mar. 16) and alliteration (here indicated by underlining) also functions as an ornament. Two quatrains from the calendar itself (Feb. 2 and March 16 respectively) are given below and V.C.4e may be consulted on the basic workings of rhyme, consonance and alliteration.

Feb. 2:	*Airitiu Maicc Maire*	Mar. 16:	*Inmain acht la Demun*
	hi Tempul derb dímais;		*Eugenia for domun;*
	slúag már martar súabais		*Abbán, doss óir ainglech,*
	la Findig nDuirn ndígrais.		*Finán laindrech lobur.*

B.3. Gradation.
The adjectival forms discussed so far are all examples of the so-called ***positive*** grade (cf. Eng. 'big'), which refers to the attribute in question in a more or less neutral manner as in the case of, say, English 'good'. However, further gradation is also possible as in the case of an English comparative such as 'better' and a superlative such as 'the best'. Old Irish adjectives too have special ***comparative*** (cf. Eng. 'bigger [than]') and ***superlative*** (cf. Eng. '[the] biggest [of]') forms as well as a distinctive ***equative*** grade (cf. Eng. 'as big [as]').

As a rule the **comparative** suffix ***-(i)u***, **equative** suffix ***-ithir*** (or *-idir* owing to a tendency to voice dentals between unstressed vowels) and **superlative** suffix ***-em/-am*** (after pal. and non-pal. consonant respectively in accordance with I.B.6) were added to the positive stem, where they typically palatalised the final consonant of a I/II adjective (a process often accompanied by one of the vowel changes in A.4b above) and replaced the final *-e* of IV. Needless to say, addition of such a suffix usually caused syncope of the second syllable of disyllabic bases such as *úasal* and *álaind* below. A number of adjectives formed irregular comparatives (sometimes with *-a* rather than *-(i)u*), equatives (sometimes *-ir*, but often not attested) and superlatives from a stem either somewhat or entirely different from that of the positive (cf. Eng. *good* but *better*, *best*). The most important of these are given at the end of the list below.

Positive:	Comparative:	Superlative:	Equative:
I/II *cóem* 'fair'	*coímiu* 'fairer'	*coímem* 'fairest'	*coímithir* 'as fair'
I/II *gel* 'bright'	*giliu* 'brighter'	*gilem* 'brightest'	*gilithir* 'as bright'
I/II *dub* 'black'	*duibiu* 'blacker'	*duibem* 'blackest'	*duibithir* 'as black'
I/II *dían* 'swift'	*déiniu* 'swifter'	*déinem* 'swiftest'	*déinithir* 'as swift'
I/II *ard* 'high'	*ardu* 'higher'	*ardam* 'highest'	*ardithir* 'as high'
I/II *úasal* 'high'	*úaisliu* 'higher'	*úaislem* 'highest'	*úaislithir* as high'
III *álaind* ‚beautiful'	*áildiu* 'more beautiful'	*áildem* 'most b.'	*áildithir* 'as b.'
IV *buide* 'yellow'	*buidiu* 'yellow'	*buidem* 'yellowest'	*buidithir* 'as yellow'
I/II *már/mór*	*mó/mou* 'bigger'	*moam* 'biggest'	*moir* 'as big' (irreg.)
I/II *bec* 'small'	*lugu/laigiu* 'smaller'	*lugam* 'smallest'	*?* (irreg.)
III *maith* 'good'	*ferr* 'better'	*dech* 'best'	*?* (irreg.)
I/II *olc* 'bad'	*messa* 'worse'	*messam* 'worst'	*?* (irreg.)
I/II *oac* 'young'	*oa* 'younger'	*oam* 'youngest'	*?* (irreg.)
I/II *sír* 'long'	*sia* 'longer'	*siam* 'longest'	*?* (irreg.)
I/II *trén* 'strong' (irreg.)	*tressa* 'stronger'	*tressam* 'strongest'	*tresithir* 'as strong'

The Old Irish comparative, superlative and equative are always used predicatively with the copula (examples in III.A.5b/c and III.B.3a below), which may be omitted on occasion (as in B.4a/b below). Accordingly they are invariably nominative. Since they also lack inflection for gender and number, each has a single invariable form. The ***comparative*** and ***equative*** are used to make comparisons of inequality ('bigger than' etc.) and equality ('as big as') respectively, the standard of comparison (i.e. the thing/person compared) being in the dative case with the former and the accusative case with the latter: e.g., *is ferr dán orbu* 'a profession is (*is*) better than inheritance', *it úaisliu filid bardaib* 'poets are (*it*) more exalted than bards' (comp.) or *is moir slébe fírinne Dé* 'God's truth is (*is*) as great as mountains' (equ.). It is to be noted that both types display the normal Old Irish word order copula-predicate-subject but that they differ regarding the position of the standard of comparison, which is placed after the subject in a comparative construction (thus *orbu* 'than inheritance', *bardaib* 'than bards') but before it in an equative construction (thus *slébe* 'as mountains'). The superlative may be used alone or with the preposition *di* (+ dat.) 'from among, of': e.g., *in ben as áildem (di mnáib in domain)* 'the most beautiful woman (of the women of the world)' (lit. 'the woman who is most beautiful of the women of the world'; see III.B.2b on *as*, 3sg. pres. relative form of the copula meaning 'who/which is').

B.4. Reading practice.

(a) As depicted in the *tecosca* or 'instructions' named after him, king Cormac had a low opinion of women. A long list of their shortcomings includes the following advice on how to treat them. Each unit begins with the comparative *ferr* '(it is) better' followed by the subject and the standard of comparison in that order. These often alliterate with each other and are preceded by the 3pl. possessive *a* 'their'.

Ferr a flescad a fáenmlegun, ferr a sroigled a subugud, ferr a túargon a táthlugud, ferr a mbúalad a mbuidechas, ferr a foimtiu a tairise, ferr a tráethad a turgorud, ferr a ndinge a ngrádugud.

(b) Another long list consists of units beginning with *ferr* 'better' followed by subject and standard of comparison occurs in the text *Bríathra Flainn Fína* (see A.5a above). The first few are given below.

Ferr dán orbu, ferr ledb lugu, ferr doairm diairm, ferr slán sásad, ferr sonaige sétaib, ferr dígde dígail,.. ferr fír fertaib, ferr rath ríaraib.....

C. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND MUTATIONS.

C.1. The Article.

Old Irish has no indefinite article (e.g. *fer* alone is usually to be translated 'a man') but it does have a definite article corresponding reasonably well to Eng. 'the'. This is placed before the noun like a number of other pronominals such as the possessives (*a* 'his' etc. - see exx. at end of I.B.8) and *cach* 'every' (e.g. *cach mac* 'every son') but unlike normal adjectives: e.g., *in fer (tanae)* 'the (thin) man', *inna mná (áildi)* 'the (beautiful) women', *isnaib tigib (máraib)* 'in the (big) houses'. Like other adjectives the definite article agrees with its noun in number, gender and case. The basic forms are as follows:

		masc.	**neut.**	**fem.**
sing.	nom.	*in(t)*	*a*	*in(d)*
	acc.	*in/-(s)in*	*a/-(s)a*	*in/-(s)in*
	gen.	*in(d)*	*in(d)*	*inna*
	dat.	*-(s)in(d)*	*in(d)/-(s)in(d)*	*-(s)in(d)*
plur.	nom.	*in(d/t)*	*inna*	*inna*
	acc.	*inna/-(s)na*	*inna/-(s)na*	*inna/-(s)na*
	gen.	*inna*	*inna*	*inna*
	dat.	*-(s)naib*	*-(s)naib*	*-(s)naib*

The *int* variant of the nom. sg. masc. is used before a noun beginning with a vowel (e.g. *in fer* 'the man' but *int ech* 'the horse'). As will be seen in C.8 below, the form *in(d)* (dat, *-(s)in(d)*) is used in leniting contexts: *ind* is usual before a vowel (including lenited *f*), *r, l* or *n* but alternates with *in* before other consonants. Its final *d* is devoiced to *t* by a following lenited *s* /h/, which was then lost in pronunciation: e.g., nom. sg. f. *int siur* 'the sister /int iur/, gen. sg. n. *int síl* 'of the seed', /int i:l´/, dat. sg. m. *dont sacurt* 'to the priest' /dont agurd/, nom. pl. m. *int sacairt* 'the priests' /int agər´d´/ (later also *int siur*, *int síl*, *int sacairt*). The forms after the hyphen are the ones usually found combined with a preposition: those with initial *s* are generally used after non-leniting (e.g. *issin tig* 'in the house', *cosnaib feraib* 'with the men', *lasna firu* 'with the men') and those without after leniting prepositions (the *i* then being elided after a vowel as in the case of *dont sacurt*, *ónd fiur* 'from the man' etc.), although both variants are found after *for* (non-leniting) and the form without *s* seems to be preferred after *oc* 'at' and *eter* 'between' (both non-leniting). Since normal prepositions take either the acc. or the dat. in Old Irish, the hyphenated forms are confined to those cases. A couple of developments that become normal in Middle Irish (XII.C.6b) are sporadically attested in Old Irish, namely shortening of *inna* to *na* and nom. pl. masc. *(in)na* for *in(d)*. The **dual** form of the article is *in* with all genders and cases and this is followed directly by the appropriate form of the numeral 'two', namely nom./acc. m./n. *da*, f. *di*, gen. *da*, dat. *dib* (see III.A.5b below).

Note that an adjective can be converted into an ***adverb*** by putting it in the dat. sg. neut., in which case it is usually accompanied by the article: e.g., *(in) biuc* '(for) a little' or *ind maith* 'well'. Since the dat. is mostly used with a preposition in Old Irish, hyphenated dat. forms only are cited except for the neut. sg. owing to this construction.

C.2. Mutation of nouns and adjectives.
As a rule mutations (see I.B.8) are conditioned by the immediately preceding word, whether fully stressed or an unstressed proclitic such as the possessive or the article, within a syntactically close group in Old Irish. As far as a noun phrase is concerned, a noun by itself will not normally be mutated or mutate. However, a preceding preposition, article, possessive or the like will mutate a following noun as appropriate and certain forms of the noun itself usually (but not invariably) mutate a following adjective or dependent noun in the genitive.

In the case of **indeclinable words** such as a prepositions or a possessives a following mutation or the lack of one is an unvarying property of the word itself and as such is noted in square brackets in the vocabulary. Thus *a* 'his' lenites, *a* 'hers' does not (but prefixes /h/ to a following noun) and *a* 'their' nasalises (examples at the end of I.B.8). Among the prepositions *do* 'to' and *ó* or *úa* 'from', for example, cause lenition (e.g. *ó chath* 'from a battle'), *for* does not (e.g. *for coí* 'on a visit'), *fri* did not lenite but doubtless prefixed /h/ to a following vowel, and *i* 'in' as well as *íar* 'after' caused nasalisation (e.g. *íar ndígbáil* 'after removing').

The mutating patterns of **inflected words** by contrast varied according to such factors as gender, case and number. In the nominal system the following mutations were caused to a following noun by the article and to a following adjective or genitive by its head noun regardless of gender.

Nasalisation in the acc. sg. and gen. pl.: e.g., *ad:cí in mbúachaill ndall* (*búachaill* IIIa m.) '(s)he sees the blind cowherd', *ibid in (n)dig ndermait* '(s)he drinks the drink of forgetfulness' (*deug* II f.), *gol inna ndoíne mbocht* 'the wailing of the poor people' (*duine* I m., irreg.), *fogur inna mbéimenn* 'the sound of the blows' (*béim* VIa n.), *cétal inna mban mbáeth* 'the song of the foolish women' (*ben* f., irreg.).
Lenition in the dat. sg.: e.g., *dond fiur thanu* 'to the thin man' (*fer* I m. + *tanae*), *oc béim(imm) thened* 'striking a fire' (lit. 'at striking of a fire'; *béim(m)* VIa n.), *ón chaillig thrúaig* 'from the wretched old lady' (*caillech* II f. + *trúag*).
Non-mutation in acc. and dat. pl. (but note that *inna* almost certainly prefixed /h/ to a vowel in gen. sg. f., nom. pl. n./f. and acc. pl. and that a nom./acc. pl. neut. noun, especially the 'short' variant, could lenite what followed): e.g., *ad:cí inna firu/caillecha trúaga* '(s)he sees the wretched men/old women', *isnaib cathaib/colnaib cródaib* 'in the bloody battles/corpses' (*cath* IIIb m., *colainn* IIIa f.).

Elsewhere gender must be incorporated into the basic conditions.

Nom. sg.: non-mutation in masc., nasalisation in neut. (as in acc. sg.; note that neut. art. *a* always nasalises), lenition in fem.: *in fer comtha* 'the companion' (lit. 'the man of companionship' *fer* I m. with gen. sg. of *commaid* IIIa f. 'companionship), *a mbás n-úathmar* 'the dreadful death' (*bás* I n.), *in chathair chóem* 'the fair city' (*cathair* V gutt. f.).
Gen. sg.: lenition in masc. and neut., non-mutation in fem. (but /h/ prefixed to a vowel by the article at least): *ind fir chomtha* 'of the companion', *in báis úathmair* 'of the terrible death' /iɴ

va:s′/, *inna cathrach cóeme* 'of the fair city'.

Nom. pl.: lenition by article *in(d)* in masc., no mutation (except /h/ prefixed to a vowel) by *inna* in fem. and neut. Lenition of adjective or genitive after masc. and often neut. noun (especially 'short' form) but no mutation (except perhaps /h/ prefixed to a vowel) after a fem. noun: e.g., *ind fir thanai* 'the thin men' (*fer* I m.), *inna scél chóema* 'the fair tales' (*scél* I n.), *inna cathracha cóema* 'the fair cities'.

Voc: not used with the article and regularly preceded by leniting particle *a*. A following adjective or genitive is lenited in masc. and fem. sing. but not in plur., which behaves like acc. plur. Thus *a fir chomtha* 'O companion', *a ben chóem* 'O fair woman' but *a firu comtha* 'O companions', *a mná cóema* 'O fair women'.

Despite often failing to be indicated in Old Irish spelling (see I.B.8), mutations can be a useful supplementary indicator of case, gender and/or number.

C.3. Reading practice.

(a) In medieval Ireland's great (mostly) prose epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge* the *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* or 'Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn' are narrated in a 'flashback' sequence. In the first of these King Conchobar's customary pleasurable way of passing the day is described as follows (cf. the more elaborate division on a weekly basis in the passage from *Críth Gablach* in A.5b above).

Trian ind laí oc déicsin inna macraide, a trian n-aill oc imbirt fidchille, a trian n-aill oc oul chormae.

(b) Below is one of a number of lists of vices or virtues from a later part of *Aipgitir Chrábuid* (A.5c above). Note the standard abbreviation *.i.* for Latin *id est* (represented by *i.e.* in English), Old Irish *ed ón* 'that is'

Cethair glais inna pecthach .i. íadad a súile frisin ndomun, íadad talman for-a corpaib, íadad flatha nime fri-a n-anmanna, íadad ifirn for suidib.

(c) Old Irish glosses (see I.A.2 for more details) consist of notes in Old Irish, not infrequently mixed with Latin, that were inserted between the lines or in the margins of a Latin text and range in size from a mere word to a couple of lines. They may be mere Old Irish translations of the Latin word, phrase or sentence above which they are placed or they may seek to elaborate and clarify the Latin in various ways. In essence, these glosses are like the notes that present-day students often write in editions of texts that they are reading. They are usually referred to by the folio and the column (a,b on the front and c,d on the rear side) in which they occur, followed by a number indicating it position among the other glosses attached to the column in question. The following are a few examples lacking verbs as they simply gloss a particular part of a Latin sentence. The abbreviation *ł* stands for Latin *uel* (OIr. *nó*) 'or'.

Ml. 18d12 *inna écmailte* (gl. Lat. *insultationis* 'of insult').
Ml. 19a13 *hónd etarcnu*.
Ml. 19b 11 *trisin n-immaircidetaid*.
Ml. 19c 4 *inna ngnímae* (gl. Lat. *rerum* 'of the deeds/things').
Ml. 19c17 *int solam .i. cen remcaisin Dé*.

Ml. 19d18 *dinaib éulasaib no donaib etarcnaib.*

Ml. 28a1 *ind húall* (gl. Lat. *elatio* 'elation, pride').

Ml. 28a4 *hón chomtherchomruc*.

Ml. 28a7 *isnaib innib*.

Ml. 30d7 *na carat*, 30d8 *a fír ł in tarasin* (gl. Lat. *quod **amicitiarum fidem**... corrumperint* 'that they had corrupted **the faith/trust of friendships').**

Ml. 31a14 *.i. inna ndoíne n-angaid* (gl. Lat. *eorum* 'of them/those').

Ml. 31a21 *inna aithirciu* (gl. Lat. ***argumenta** curavit exprimere* 'he has taken care to express **the arguments').**

Ml. 31b3 *.i. dun gabáil inna mmraithemnachtae*.

Ml. 31b8 *inna ginu* (gl. Lat. ***ora** concludit* 'closed **the mouths**').

Ml. 31b18 *int sóer* (gl. Lat. *libere* 'freely').

Ml. 31b 21 *ind écmailte* (gl. Lat. *insolentia* 'insolence').

CHAPTER III
THE VERB 'TO BE' AND WORD ORDER.

A. 'TO BE'.

A.1. The main tenses and moods.

The Old Irish verb distinguished *four basic tenses/moods*, each with a distinctive stem formation, namely **PRESENT** (indicative), (present) **SUBJUNCTIVE, FUTURE** (indicative) and **PRETERITE** (indicative). Upon the first three of these were based a further *four derived tenses/moods* by a change of endings, namely an IMPERATIVE formed by adding a particular set of endings to the present stem and an IMPERFECT (indicative), PAST SUBJUNCTIVE and CONDITIONAL formed by adding the so-called 'imperfect' endings to the present, subjunctive and future stems respectively.

A.2. Copula, substantive verb and verbal noun.

Like Modern Irish, Old Irish has two different verbs 'to be', the choice of which is essentially dictated by the syntax or construction of the sentence. On the whole, the rules of Old Irish regarding choice between one or the other are more clear-cut than those of Modern Irish.

(a) The **copula** is the form regularly used in the type of sentence briefly described in II.B.2e above, where it **introduces a predicate consisting of an adjective or a noun** (plus any attributive adjectives etc.). This is the basic function of the copula, which stands at the head of its sentence/clause like other verbs (II.A.1a) but unlike these is unstressed. A stressed adjectival or nominal predicate follows the copula and then comes the noun subject, if present. An unstressed element that is closely connected with a following stressed element is termed **proclitic**. Thus the copula is proclitic to its predicate. Examples: *am cimbid-se* 'I am a prisoner' (cop. + noun pred. + emphatic particle, for which see IV.A.2a; no noun subject); *it coím ind eich, am cóem-sa dano, a maccáin* 'the horses are fair, I am fair also, O lad' (cop. + adj. pred. + noun subj., cop. + adj. pred. + emphatic particle, without noun subj.; there are plenty of further examples in A.5 below). Copula constructions of this type can on occasion be followed by preposition phrases or the like, as in the first two glosses of the eighth-century Würzburg collection (Wb.), namely *air is Día do chách isin chétni thuiste* 'for he is God to everyone in the first creation' and *is Día-som dom-sa* 'he is God to me'. An important idiom of this kind involves use of the preposition *la* 'with' to express an opinion of the directly preceding predicate: e.g., *ní mebul lemm precept soscéli* (Wb.1b10) 'preaching of the Gospel is not a shame with me' = 'I do not consider it a shame/I am not ashamed to preach the Gospel', *nipo choím leiss frinn* (Wb. 4b12) 'he was not dear with him regarding us' = 'he did not hold him dear for our sake'. A third-person copula form can be omitted, as in *maith lem* 'fine by me' (= 'I consider it good') for *is maith lem* as a reply to the statement *bid Cú Chulainn t'ainm-siu* 'your (sg.) name shall be C.C.' (cop. + noun pred. + noun subj.) or *gáeth cech fossaid* instead of *is gáeth cech fossaid* and so on in II.B.2e. As the foregoing forms *am* 'I am', *is* '(he/she/it) is' and *it* '(they) are' indicate, the Old Irish copula displays full inflection for person and number unlike its Modern Irish counterpart (pres./fut. *is*, past/condit. *ba* regardless of person and number), from which it also differs in having a virtually full range of tenses and moods.

(b) The fully stressed **substantive verb** behaves like a normal verb, being followed directly by

a noun subject, if present. It is employed where there is no nominal or adjectival predicate and typically introduces adverbial expressions, including prepositional phrases, although it can also be used existentially without a predicate. Examples: *a:taat da n-orpe* (Wb. 2c21) 'there are/exist two inheritances', *ar biit tri cóecait macc and oca cluichiu* 'for three fifties of lads are (wont to be) there at their play', *a:tá Slíab Fúait etruib* 'Slíab (= mount) Fúait is between you (pl.)', *in:fil mo phopa Conchobor isind ármaig se*?' 'is my papa Conchobor in this battlefield?', *boí rí amrae airegdae for Érinn, Echaid Feidlech a ainm* 'there was a wondrous noble king over Ireland, E. F. his name' (for *ba E. C. a ainm* 'his name was E.C.' with copula) and *boí coire féile la Laigniu, Buchat a ainm* 'there was a cauldron of generosity among the Laigin/Leinstermen, Buchat his name'.

(c) A given verb in Old Irish (as still in Modern Irish) typically has an associated **verbal noun**, which shares its basic meaning and usually displays a more or less obvious formal connection with it (like the English verbal nouns 'doing', 'flying' etc. in relation to 'does', flies' etc.) but which functions grammatically as a noun and as such belongs to one or other of the declensions in II.A.2, has a particular gender and displays different case forms according to the basic rules given in II.A.1. If a noun in the vocabulary is liable to be used as a verbal noun, this is indicated in brackets at the end of the entry: e.g., '*atach* (I, n.): 'refuge, invocation, request' (vn. of S1 *a(d):teich* 'invokes, entreats')', '*marbad* (IIIb, m.): 'killing' (vn. of W1 *marbaid* 'kills')','*breth* (II): 'bearing, judgment' (vn. of S1 *beirid* 'bears')', '*foglaimm* (VIa): 'learning, study' (vn. of S1 *fo:gleinn* 'learns, studies') and '*fodit(i)u* (V nas., f.): 'enduring, patience, forbearance' (vn. of S2 *fo:daim* 'endures')'. A verbal noun's object is placed in the genitive case called for by dependency on a noun rather than a finite verb (see II.A.1e and the examples with the verbal nouns *ool, cocertad, déicsiu* in the passage in II.A.5b), while the performer of the action (corresponding to the subject of a finite verb) is introduced by the preposition *do* (+ dat.) 'to', which in this particular case corresponds to English 'by': e.g., *íar ríchtain doib int slébe* 'after the reaching (*ríchtu*, V nas. f, vn. of *ro:ic* 'reaches') by them (*do-ib*; see IV.B.1-2) of the mountain (*slíab*, VIb)', to which *ó ro:áncatar a slíab* 'when they (had) reached the mountain' would correspond as a clause with finite verb and accusative object.

Old Irish makes extensive use of verbal nouns and these can occur in any case except the vocative. In practice they are most frequent in the dative singular in combination with prepositions such as *íar* 'after', *oc* 'at' (roughly equivalent here to English 'while' or 'when') or *do* 'to, for' (expressing purpose) and are also fairly common as the nominative subject in certain copula sentences (see II.B.4a for a series of good examples, each accompanied by a second verbal noun in the dative of comparison). The following is a good multiple example entailing not only the I n. verbal nouns of *ad:ella* 'visits' and *do:aidlea* '(re)visits' in the nom. sg. but also *oc* plus the II verbal nouns of *téit* 'goes' and *do:tét* 'comes' in the dat. sg. (see II.A.5b on the resistance of *cht* to palatalisation) as well as *do* plus the IIIa f. verbal noun of *con:dieig* 'seeks' also in the dat. sg.: *ba bés dano dó do grés a n-adall ocus a tadall oc techt ocus oc tuidecht do chuindchid a mbendachtae cosna maccu* 'it was, moreover, his custom always to visit and revisit them when going and coming in order to seek their blessing from the boys', lit. 'their visiting and their revisiting at going and coming for seeking (of) their blessing to the boys was a custom, moreover, to him (*dó*; IV.B.1-2) always (*do grés*)'. The statistical preponderance of dative verbal nouns with prepositions was further enhanced by a marked tendency to make a noun that would otherwise be the genitive object of a verbal noun the subject of a copula construction and then follow it by preposition *do* plus dat. sg. verbal noun: e.g., *is maith lenn ar cuit do thairiuc* 'we want to get our

share', lit. 'it is good with us (*lenn*; IV.B.1/2) our share for getting (*tairec*, I n. vn. of *do:airic* 'finds, gets')'. Verbal nouns in the accusative and genitive are less frequent but examples include *co reic a orbai* (prep. *co* + acc. IIIa f. vn. of *renaid* 'sells') in II.B.2f, *dligid gó a cairigud* (IIIb m. vn. of *cairigithir* 'reproaches' as acc. obj. of *dligid* 'deserves') in II.A.5a, and *láech a thairismea* 'a hero capable of withstanding him', lit. 'a hero of his withstanding' (gen. sg. of IIIb m. vn. *tairisem* of *do:airissedar* 'stays, remains, (with)stands').

A prepositional phrase consisting of *oc* 'at, by' (+ dat.) plus verbal noun may be combined with the substantive verb (cf. A.2b above) in a **periphrastic construction** basically corresponding to the Modern English or Modern Irish progressive type *tá sé ag teacht* 'he is coming': e.g., *biuu-sa oc airbáig* 'I am (always) (at) boasting' (*arbág*, II, vn. of *ar:bági* 'boasts') and *bámmar oc imbirt fidchille* 'we were (at) playing (of) *fidchell*' (II, a board game).

A.3. Paradigms of the substantive verb.

Within a given tense or mood simple verbs in Old Irish have two sets of endings as a rule, namely an ABSOLUTE set used when the verb is **independent**, i.e. not preceded by a proclitic **conjunct particle** (typically negatives such as *ní* 'not', certain conjunctions such as *co* [nas.] '(so) that' and prepositional relatives such as *la-ssa* [nas.] 'with whom/which'), and a CONJUNCT set (preceded by a hyphen in the paradigms below) used when it is **dependent** by virtue of being preceded by such a conjunct particle: e.g., 3sg. pres. abs. *biid* 'is (wont to be)' but conj. *ní:bí* 'is not (wont to be)', 3sg. subj. abs. *beith* 'may be' but conj. *co:mbé* 'so that (s)he/it may be', *bieid la-ssin fer* '(s)he will be with the man' but *in fer la-ssa:mbia* 'the man with whom she will be' (3sg. fut. abs. *bieid*, conj. -*bia*). Note that the preterite of the substantive verb is of a so-called 'suffixless' type that only has one set of endings in all positions (VI.A.4f), as does the imperative (a bracketed hyphen being prefixed below to forms with endings that are both absolute and conjunct). Verbs can also be compounded with a **preverb**, which is proclitic if there is no conjunct particle. **Compound verbs** are thus always preceded by a closely connected proclitic, whether preverb or conjunct particle, and consequently **always use the conjunct endings**. Note that the imperfect endings used to form the imperfect, past subjunctive and conditional are regularly conjunct and that, where no other conjunct particle is present, the 'meaningless' or 'empty' particle *no* is prefixed to them: e.g. *no:bíth* '(s)he used to be' but *ní:bíth* '(s)he used not to be', *no:betis* 'they might/would be' but *co:mbetis* 'so that they might be', *no:biad* '(s)he would be' but *ní:biad* '(s)he would not be'. Unlike other Old Irish verbs, the substantive verb and copula each have two separate present indicative forms, namely a PRESENT I (substantive *a:tá* 'is (at the moment)' for compound **ad:tá*), which expresses actuality and is suppletive by virtue of using a root different from that in the other stems, and a PRESENT II (substantive abs. *biid*, conj. -*bí* 'is (wont to be)', simple; cf. I.B.4), referring to habitual or general situations. For the reason just given, the 'imperfect' endings are always conjunct. Where a particular form seems not to be attested in a reliably Old Irish context but can be inferred with reasonable confidence, it has been placed in square brackets.

	Pres. I	Pres. II		Imperat.	Imperf.	Pret.
1sg.	*a:táu/a:tó*	*biuu*	-*bíu*		-*bínn*	(-)*bá*
2sg.	*a:taí*	*[bii]*	-*bí*	(-)*bí*	*[-bítha]*	(-)*bá*
3sg.	*a:tá*	*biid*	-*bí*	(-)*bíth*	-*bíth*	(-)*boí*
1pl.	*a:taam*	*bímmi*	-*biam*	*[(-)biam]*	-*bímmis*	(-)*bámmar*
2pl,	*a:taid*	*bíthe*	-*biid*	(-)*biid*	*[-bíthe]*	(-)*baid*
3pl.	*a:taat*	*biit*	-*biat*	(-)*biat*	-*bítis*	(-)*bátar*

	Subj.		Past Subj.	Fut.		Condit.
1sg.	*(-)béu* or *(-)béo*		*-beinn*	*bia*	*[-bí]*	*-beinn*
2sg.	*(-)bé*		*-betha*	*(-)bie*		*-betha*
3sg.	*beith*	*-bé*	*-beth*	*bieid*	*-bia*	*-biad*
1pl.	*beimmi*	*-bem*	*-bemmis*	*bemmi*	*-biam*	*-bemmis*
2pl,	*beithe*	*-beith*	*-bethe*	*bethe*	*-bieid*	*-bethe*
3pl.	*beit*	*-bet*	*-betis*	*bieit*	*-biat*	*-betis*

Final *-th* /-θ/ was voiced to *-d* /-ð/ after an unstressed vowel in Old Irish but basically remained voiceless after a stressed vowel. Hence alternations in the 3sg. abs. and 2pl. conj. above such as that between disyllabic pres. *biid* and monosyllabic subj. *beith*. However, the *-d* form was tending to spread beyond its original range, resulting in subj. *beid* beside *beith* and so on. **Note that the personal endings of an Old Irish verb are the sole markers of a pronoun subject** (e.g. *a:taat* alone means 'they are' and a further subject pronoun of the type seen in English or in Modern Irish *tá siad* 'they are' etc. is not only unnecessary but also inadmissible).

A.4. Paradigms of the copula.
The Old Irish copula was unusual not only in being unstressed but also in not having a separate form of the imperfect, the preterite performing this additional function. The habitual present II was relatively uncommon by virtue of not being consistently distinguished from present I and has not been included in the paradigms of the independent forms below. Apart from present I, forms of the copula are basically unstressed versions of their substantive counterparts: e.g. **pres. II** 3sg. subst. *-bí*, cop. *-bi* or *-pi*. Unlike the substantive and other verbs, the copula has independent forms of the past subjunctive (but not of the conditional).

	Pres. I	Imperat.	Pret./Ipf.	Subj.	Past Subj.	Fut.
1sg.	*am*		*basa*	*ba*	*[benn] be*	
2sg.	*at* or *it*	*ba*	*basa*	*ba/be*	*[bada]*	*be/ba*
3sg.	*is*	*bad/bed*	*ba*	*ba*	*bid/bed/bad*	*bid*
1pl.	*ammi(n)*	*ban*	*[bamar]*	*[bammi]*	*bi/emmis*	*ba/e/immi*
2pl,	*adi(b)* or *idib*	*bad/bed*	*[bad]*	*bede*	*[bede]*	*bethi(b)*
3pl.	*it*	*bat*	*batar* or *batir*	*[bat]*	*bitis/betis*	*bit*

Whereas the prefixing of a proclitic to the substantive and other stressed simple verbs merely caused a shift from absolute to conjunct endings as appropriate, the invariably proclitic copula also tended to merge with a preceding conjunct particle, which was also proclitic. In the case of most monosyllabic forms with initial *b-* there was little further change (apart from a purely orthographic *-p-* for *-b-* on occasion in accordance with I.B.1) : e.g., 2sg. imperat. *naba* or *napa* 'don't be' [+ neg.], 3sg. cond. *robad* or *ropad* 'could be' [*ro* prefixed in the absence of another proclitic], *níbad* or *nípad* 'could not be' [+ neg.], *cipad* or *cíabed* 'who would be?' [+ interrog. pronoun], 3sg. fut. *níba* or *nípa* 'will not be' [+neg.; conj. ending for abs. seen in *bid* above]. Disyllabic copula forms were liable to syncope, as if the resultant group of three or more syllables were stressed (see II.A.4c), and *b/p* was then sometimes lost between consonants: e.g., pret. 1sg. *nipsa* 'I was not' [+neg.], *robsa* or *ropsa* 'I have been' [+ro, perfect] 3pl. *niptar* 'they were not' [+ neg.], *robtar* or *roptar* 'they have been' [+*ro*, perfect], *amtar* 'when they were' [+ *a*,

nasalising; for *amb†tar*], past subj. 3pl. *airmtis* 'so that they might be' [+ *ara*, nasalising; for *air†mb†tis* with analogical syncope of *mbetis* on the model of *com†tis* 'so that they might be' etc.]. The dependent 3sg. pret. and subj. forms differ from their independent counterparts (*ba*) in vocalism: pret. *-b/po* or *-b/pu*, subj. *-b/p(o)* but in certain contexts (see below) *-d* or *-dip*: e.g. pret. *nípu/o* or *níbu/o* 'it/he/she was not', *combo* 'so that it was', subj. *níbo* or *níp* 'let it not be', *arim(p)* 'so that it may be', *arnab* 'so that it may not be' (*ar-a* [nas.] and neg. *ar-na* [non-mut.] respectively).

The dependent forms of present I are quite distinct from their independent counterparts and, except in some 3rd. person forms, contain *d/t-*: 1 and 2 sg. *-d/ta* (e.g. *nída* or *níta* 'I am not' or 'you are not', *conda* 'so that I am'), 1pl. *-d/tan* (e.g. *nídan* or *nítan* 'we are not', *condan* 'so that we are'), 2pl. *-d/tad* (e.g. *nídad* or *nítad* 'you are not'), 3pl. *-d/tat* (e.g. *nídat* or *nítat* but sporadically *nit* 'they are not', *condat* 'so that they are'). There is formal identity between the 3sg. pres. negative copula *ní* 'is not' and the plain negative *ní* 'not'. The two can, of course, be easily distinguished, since the copula *ní* (relative *nad* or *nach*) is followed by a stressed noun, adjective or pronoun (e.g. *ní fer-som* 'he is not a man') whereas the basic negative *ní* (rel. *nad*) directly precedes a stressed finite verb form (e.g. *ní:beir-som* '*he* does not bear'). Otherwise the 3sg. pres. form is usually *-d*, *-id/t* or *-did*: e.g., *con(d)id* 'so that it is', *inid* 'in which is', *dian(t/d)*, *dian(d)id* 'to whom/which is', neg. *dinach* 'to whom is not'). The situation with regard to *ma* 'if' and *ce/cia* 'although' (neither of which is a conjunct particle) is rather confusing because the 3sg. and 3pl. pres. copula forms are *-su*, *-tu* (occasionally *-so*, *-to*) respectively (presumably elided 3sg. *(i)s* and 3pl.*(i)t* plus a *-u* of obscure origins) and 3sg. *-d*, 3pl. *-t* are the subjunctive forms, whereas with the corresponding negative forms *mani* 'if not' and *ceni* 'although not' (conjunct particles) the present indicative copula is 3sg. *-d*, 3pl. *-t* and the subjunctive is 3sg. *-b/p*, 3pl. *-b/pat*. This system is illustrated below.

	+ Cop. Pres. Ind. 3sg./3pl.	+ Cop. Pres. Subj. 3sg./3pl.
ce, cía	*cesu/cetu, cíasu/cíato*	*cid/cit*
ma	*masu/matu*	*mad/mat*
ceni	*cenid*	*cenip (or* cenib)/*cinbat* (with syncope)
mani	*manid*	*manip*/*manipat* (or *mainbet* with syncope)

The forms of the Old Irish copula are too diverse to be learned conveniently as paradigms. They are best recognised on general syntactic (following noun, pronoun or adjective as predicate) and formal (e.g. merger with various conjunct particles and other conjunctions) grounds and gradually absorbed in the course of reading, beginning with the passages below. In practice, the particularly important third person singular forms are likely to be acquired first by virtue of being the most frequently attested. If they occur in a passage for reading practice, ***dependent forms of the copula in combination with conjunct and various other particles*** (i.e. those not given in the paradigms of the independent forms of the main tenses/moods near the beginning of this section) ***will usually be found in the vocabulary*** - if not located alphabetically or cross-referenced, clause-initial forms suspected of belonging to the copula should be sought there under *is* (copula). Although non-imperative independent forms of the copula (except 3sg. past subj. *bed/bad*, which lenites like the imperative forms) do not mutate a following predicate in main clauses (as opposed to relative clauses; see B.2b below), lenition is caused in main clauses by some dependent forms combined with conjunct particles (e.g. imperatives, 1/2sg. pres. *-d/ta*, 3sg. imperat., past subj. and

condit. *-bad*, 3sg. pret. *-b/po/u*). Note that in main clauses the negative *na* is used with imperative forms of the copula (e.g. *naba* 'do not be (sg.)') and other verbs, whereas *ní* (or sometimes *nícon*) is used with the other tenses and moods.

A.5. Reading practice.

(a) The preverb **ro** (or *ru*) is prefixed as an **augment** (discussed more fully in X) to copula, substantive and other verb forms in Old Irish in order to characterise an action as **potential** (e.g. subst. vb. 3sg. pres. *ní:bí* 'is not (wont to be)' but *ní:rubai* 'cannot be') or **perfect** (e.g. subst. vb. 3sg. pret. *boí* 'was' and *ní:boí* 'was not' but *ro:boí* 'has been' and *ní:rabae* 'has not been'; similarly copula pret. *nípu/o* or *níbu/o* 'it/he/she was not' but perf. *robu/o* or *ropu/o* 'it has been/was' and *nírbo/u* 'it has been/was not' from **ní-ro-bo* by syncope). It is particularly common with the preterite, which it basically converts into a perfect, and with the subjunctive, where it is often used to express a wish (a specialisation of the potential usage). Although subjunctive forms are mostly used in subordinate clauses, they can be used in main clauses either alone as imperatives with future reference or preceded be *ro* to express a wish: e.g., cop. 3sg. *ba* (dep. *-p/b* or *-p/b*) 'let him be' but **rop** 'may he be'. This form recurs below at the beginning of Cormac's wish list in response to one of Cairbre's many questions in *Tecsoca Cormaic*, namely 'what are the proper attributes of a king?'.

Rop sogeis, rop sobraig, rop saigthech, rop soaccobrach, rop soacaldmach, rop becdae, rop mórdae, rop dían, rop fossaid, rop fili, rop fénech, rop gáeth, rop gartaid, rop sochrud, rop sognais, rop máeth, rop crúaid, rop carthach, rop condarcell, rop fírián, rop féig, rop fedil, rop ainmnetach..

(b) Stylised descriptions of beautiful women, particularly a so-called 'sovereignty goddess' destined to mate with a king, occur quite frequently in medieval Irish sagas. The long and magnificently evocative tale *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* or 'The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel', which tells of the mythical Conaire's birth, upbringing, accession to the Tara kingship, gradual undoing and tragic death, begins with a particularly elaborate description of this type (somewhat normalised below by replacing some Middle with Old Irish forms). Most of the sentences are essentially of the type seen in II.B.2e: compound adjectives (basically meaning 'X and Y'), alliterating pairs of words, dual forms and equatives (II.B.3) are well represented.

Boí oc taithbiuch a fuilt dia folcud ₇ a di láim tri derc a sedlaig immach. Batar gilithir snechtae n-óenaidche in di doit ₇ batar móethchóri ₇ batar dergithir sían sléibe in da grúad glanáildi. Batar duibithir druimne ndoíl in di malaig. Batar inunn ₇ fras di némannaib a déta ina ciunn. Batar glasithir bugae in di súil. Batar dergithir partaing in béoil. Batar forarda míni móethgela in di gúalainn. Batar gelglana sithfotai inna méra. Batar fotai inna láma. Ba gilithir úan tuinne in tóeb seng fotae tláith mín móeth amal olainn.... Batar cruindbeca caladgela in da nglún. Batar gerrgela indildírgi in di lurgain. Batar coirdírgi in di śáil.

(c) According to the same saga the reign of its hero Conaire got off to a good start, its benefits being depicted in the following glowing terms that are not untypical of descriptions of an ideal reign elsewhere in medieval Irish literature. A few later forms have been silently emended to their Old Irish equivalents. See the remarks on expressions of time in Old Irish in II.A.1d-f with reference to *cacha blíadnae* (gen. sg.) and *cach mís mithemon* (acc., dat. or gen. as far as spelling

is concerned - in pronunciation /kaχ mi:s′/ if acc., /kaχ ṽ i:s′/ if dat. and /kaχ ṽ i:s/ if gen.).

Bátar trá déoladchairi móra inna flaith .i. secht mbárca cach mís mithemon do gabáil oc Inbiur Cholbtha cacha blíadnae ⁊ mess co glúine cach fogamair ⁊ imbus for Búais ⁊ Boind i medón in mís mithemon cacha blíadnae ⁊ imbed caínchomraic co-nna:boí nech i n-aile i nÉrinn fria flaith ⁊ ba bindithir la cach n-óen guth alaili i nÉrinn fria flaith ⁊ betis téta mennchrot... Níbo thoirnech ainbthinech a flaith.

(d) Part of Cormac's long tirade against women has been given in II.B.4a. It concludes as follows.

It legamain ar lenamain, it nathraig ar thúaichli, it dorchae i soillsi, it olca eter maithi, it messam eter olcu.

(e) In one section her Old Irish Life (I.A.3) Brigit's habit of taking things to give to the poor leads her father to offer her for sale as a servant to the king. While waiting outside the royal residence, Brigit gives a leper a sword left with her by her father Dubthach. Old Irish is the language of the episode up to this point but the remainder is in Latin (translated into English below) with the exception of the italicised sentence.

Returning, Dubthach asks for that valuable sword. She replied: 'Christ took it'. On learning this he said: 'Why, daughter, have you given the worth of seven cows to a leper? The sword isn't mine but the king's'. His daughter replied: 'I would even have given the Leinstermen to God, if I could have'. So the girl was left in servitude. Dubthach returned to his home. Wonderful to tell, the virgin Brigit was raised divinely and placed behind her father. *'A Dubthaig, trá,' ol in rí 'is moo reic, is moo lúaig ind ingen so.'* Then the king gives the sword to the virgin... After the aforementioned miracles they return home.

(f) There follows a small selection of glosses containing suitable examples of the copula and substantive verb.

Wb. 2c2 *is find a mbethu.*
Wb. 2c15 *ro:boí la Abracham re comallnad rechto.*
Wb. 2c19 *óre is déolid, bid fír a tairngire.*
Wb. 2c25 *nipo lobur a hires.*
Wb. 3b6 *adib mairb a rainn pectha.*
Wb. 4a12 *nibo líach dano a marbad.*
Wb. 4d22 *nípa bibdu rechto.*
Wb. 12b23 *nítat soír huili oc tintuúth* (= *tintúd*) *a bélru i n-alaill.*
Ml. 55d11 *cid ara:mbiat in pecthaig isnaib sóinmechaib?*

B. WORD ORDER PATTERNS.

B.1. The basic order of constituents in the sentence or clause.
As has already been pointed out (II.A.1a), the arrangement of words in an Old Irish clause or sentence was quite rigidly VSO (or [V]PredS in the case of copula sentences; II.B.2e). The verb (often preceded by certain proclitic elements: pr) basically came first, followed by a noun subject (if present) and a noun object (if present) in that order and then by various other constituents such

as adverbs or preposition phrases (Pp): e.g., *boí rí amrae for Érinn* 'there was a wonderful king over Ireland' (VSPp), *gaibid Conchobor a rigid* 'Conchobor seizes his forearm' (VSO), *nícon:taibred Connlae taithesc do neoch* 'Connlae would not give an answer to anyone' (prVSOPp). Occasionally a subject and/or object is placed further back in the sentence, as in *longid Conchobor íar sin in torc* 'Conchobor eats the boar after that' (VSPpO) or *boí for láim a athar i Maig Arcommin intí Connlae* 'the forementioned Connlae was at his father's hand in Mag Arcommin' (VPpPpS), *fo:ceird íar suidiu Connlae bedg n-úadib* 'Connlae thereupon made a leap (away) from them' (VPpSOPp).

Old Irish had no independent subject pronouns and the verbal endings alone expressed this category: e.g., *fo:cerdat a tri cóecta bunsach fair* 'they throw (V+3pl.S) their thrice fifty javelins (O) at him (Pp)', *benaid a chenn dé cosind luirg ánae* 'he strikes (V+3sg.S) his head (O) from him (Pp) with the hurley stick (Pp)', *bámmar oc imbirt fidchille* 'we were (V+1pl.S) playing *fidchell* (Pp)' (lit. 'we were at playing of *fidchell*' with *imbert*, vn. of *imm:beir* 'plays'; see end of A.2c above). In such cases it is quite common for a noun object or some other element to follow the initial verb.

B.2. Patterns involving emphasis for topic or focus.
(a) If an element or phrase other than the verb requires emphasis, it is taken out of its clause and placed in front of the otherwise initial verb. Sometimes it is simply left as a so-called **hanging nominative** and is resumed in the following sentence by the verbal ending or an unstressed object (IV.A.6), possessive or prepositional (IV.B.1/2) pronoun as syntactically appropriate: e.g., *messe immurgu, ní-mad:airgén**us** fleid* '(as for) me, however, not propitiously have I prepared a feast' (non-emphatic *ní-mad:airgénus fleid*) or *druídecht, ní-**s**:grádaigther* 'druidry, you are not to love it' (non-emphatic *ní:grádaigther druídecht*), *óclach no:gébad gaisced and, for:biad **a** ainm ar gnímaib gaiscid firu Érenn* '(he said that) a warrior who took up arms on it, his name would be upon the men of Ireland for deeds of valour' (non-emphatic *for:biad ainm óclaige no:gébad gaisced and ar gnímaib gaiscid firu Érenn*), *samlaid da én bátar remib, cuing arcit etarr**u*** 'likewise two birds who were in front of them, (there was) a yoke of silver between them' (non-emphatic *cuing arcit etar da én bátar remib*; resumptive verbal ending or pronoun in boldface).

(b) However, a commoner method is to employ a so-called **cleft sentence** in which the word or phrase to be emphasised (underlined in the examples below) is introduced by the copula (which is sometimes omitted in accordance with A.2a above), the rest of the sentence then following without a resumptive element of the type just discussed: e.g., *is <u>tre chretim</u> Iesu Christi is fírián cách* 'it is through faith in (lit. 'of') Jesus Christ (that) everyone is righteous' (non-emphatic *is fírián cách tre chretim* Iesu Christi), *is <u>in chruth sin</u> bimmi noíb-ni* 'it is in that manner (that) we are (wont to be) holy' (non-emphatic *bimmi noíb in chruth sin*), *is <u>oc precept soscéli</u> a:ttó* 'it is (at) preaching (of) the Gospel (that) I am' (non-emphatic *a:ttó oc precept soscéli*), *is <u>amne</u> a:tá* 'it is thus (that) it is' (non-emphatic *a:tá amne*), *is <u>triit</u> a:tá* gloriatio 'it is through it (that) there is "gloriatio" (boasting)' (non-emphatic *a:tá* gloriatio *triit*), *ar is <u>i rétaib nebaicsidib</u> biid* spes 'for it is in invisible things (that) there is (wont to be) "spes" (hope)' (non-emphatic *ar biid* spes *i rétaib nebaicsidib*), *is deidbir ha áigthiu, ar is <u>do thabirt díglae</u> berid in claideb sin* 'it is proper to fear him (lit. 'his fearing is proper'), for it is to inflict vengeance (lit. 'for it is for the inflicting of vengeance') (that) he carries that sword' (non-emphatic *ar berid in claideb sin do thabirt díglae*). Sometimes (e.g. in the first stanza of 3e below) the substantive verb is omitted in

emphatic sentences of the type *is triit a:tá* gloriatio, for instance in the case of *is ara miscuis in cúrsachad* (Wb. 7d8) 'it is on account of hatred of him (that) the reprimand is' (non-emphatic *a:tá in cúrsachad ara miscuis*). Note that the examples in this paragraph are taken from Old Irish glosses (the Würzburg collection, to be precise) on Latin texts and hence sometimes contain Latin words, which have not been italicised.

Only cases involving a preposed prepositional phrase or similar adverbial expression have been considered so far because, as can be seen from the citations, the form of the main verb (cop. *is*, *bimmi*, subst. vb. *a:tó*, *a:tá*, *biid* and transitive verb *berid*) undergoes no change in this type of cleft construction unless the cleft is negative, in which case the shift of negation from main verb to copula automatically entails changing the former from the dependent to the independent form: e.g., *ní duit-siu is mug* 'it is not to you (that) he is a slave' (non-emphatic *ní mug duit-siu*), *ní ar formut frib-si as:biur-sa in so* 'it is not because of envy towards you (that) I say this' (non-emphatic *ní:epur inso ar formut frib-si*; see IV.A.2a on emphatic particles such as 2sg. *-siu*, 2pl. *-si* or 1sg. *-sa*; so-called 'pronominal' forms of prepositions such as 2sg. *duit* 'to you' or 2pl. *frib* 'to you' will be familiar to anyone knowing Modern Irish and are discussed in IV.B.1/2).

When the element preposed for emphasis is the logical subject or object of the following verb, this is then converted to the corresponding **relative form**. These forms will be dealt with later in VI.B. Suffice it to say here that simple verbs have special relative endings in the third person: e.g., *rethit uili* et *is óenfer gaibes búaid diib inna chomalnad* 'they all run and it is one man who/that gets victory of them for its completion' (non-emphatic non-relative *gaibid óenfer búaid diib inna chomalnad*). Furthermore, proclitics such as the copula and the relative negative *nad* are followed by relative lenition regularly when the antecedent is subject (e.g. **is** *cóem in ben* 'the woman is fair' but *is in ben* **as** *chóem* 'it is the woman who/that is fair') and optionally when it is object (the alternative being nasalisation). In the 3sg. the palatal *-d* (or *-th*) of the absolute is replaced by non-palatal *-s* in the corresponding relative ending (e.g. subst. verb pres. *bii**d*** 'is (wont to be)' > *bís* 'who/which is (wont to be)', subj. *bei**th*** 'may be' > *bes* 'who/which may be', fut. *bieid* 'will be'> *bias* 'who/which will be'), while in the 3pl. rel. *-e* is basically added to abs. palatal *-t* (e.g. subst. verb *biit* 'are' > *bíte* 'who/which are', subj. *beit* > *be(i)te*, fut. *bieit* > *be(i)te*). An invariable suppletive relative ***f(e)il(e)*** 'who/which is/are' corresponds to pres. I *a:tá* 'is' and *a:taat* 'are' and the (typically leniting) relative forms of the copula display certain peculiarities: e.g., pres. 3sg. *is* 'is' > **as** 'who/which is', 3pl. *it* 'are' > **ata** 'who/which are', 3sg. subj. *ba*, fut. *bid* > rel. *bas* or *bes*, 3pl. subj. [*bat*?] fut. *bit* > rel. *bete* or *beta*. Apart from mutation after the copula and the substantive verb's 3sg. rel. *boíe* 'who/which was' (occasionally reduced to *boí* even in Old Irish, as in the final stanza of 3e below) corresponding to abs. *boí* 'was', the abs. and rel. forms in the preterite are identical (e.g. *da én bátar remib* 'two birds who were in front of them' in 2a above).

The basic word order rules of Old Irish, including the cleft sentences, are very similar to those still applying in Modern Irish. Consequently a student familiar with Modern Irish should have little difficulty getting a 'feel' for Old Irish sentence structure.

B.3. Reading Practice.

(a) The glowing description of Étaín begun in A.5b above continues as follows.

Urthócbál úaille ina mínmailgib. Ruithen suirge cechtar a da rígrosc. Tibre áiniusa cechtar a da

ngrúade co n-amlud.. di ballaib bithchorcraib co ndeirgi fola laíg ⁊ alaill co solusgili snechtai.... Ba sí trá as chóemem ⁊ as áildem ⁊ as chóram... di mnáib domuin.

(b) A longer description of Conaire's reign than that in A.5c is given later in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* by Conaire's exiled foster brothers, whose failure to realise that things have begun to go badly wrong for him is highlighted by ironic use of present I denoting actuality. Part of the latter half runs (with some normalisation) as follows (note the typical scribal practice of placing a Roman numbural between dots):

A:taat .vii. maic thíre i ngíallnai fri fraig inna thig-som fri coimét ind rechta sin ⁊ a:tá cúlaitire íarna chúl, .i. Macc Locc... Is inna flaith is bindithir la cach fer guth alaili ⁊ betis téta mennchrot ar febus inna cána ⁊ int ṡide ⁊ in chaínchomraic fil sethnu inna hÉrenn. Is inna flaith a:taat in tri bairr for Érinn .i. barr días ⁊ barr scoth ⁊ barr messa.

(c)   Wb. 5b27 *hóre is (i)na n-aicci a:taí.*
         Tur. 58a *biid didiu a* confessio *hísin* (that (word) 'Confessio') *do foísitin pecthae. Biid dano do molad. Biid dano do atlugud buide. Do foísitin didiu a:tá sunt.*
         Ml. 20b13 *ní fu indidit a:tá* irascimini ('be angry (pl.)') *sunt... acht is fo imchomarc a:tá.*

(d) A numbers of major medieval Irish collections of annals have come down to us. In essence these record major events such as the deaths of kings or prominent churchmen, battles or unusual happenings year by year. The style is usually terse and a penchant for listing the relevant details without undue elaboration can result in a distinctly sparing use of finite verbs, as in the passage below which compensates for this to some extent by means of verbal nouns. The *Annals of Ulster*, which are generally regarded as the most important collection with particularly early roots, survive in effect in a single manuscript, Trinity College Library no. 1282 (or H.1.8). The main entries down to the year 1489 were written by Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, who was succeeded by two other scribes for three decades or so thereafter and also by various interpolators and glossators. Obviously these were drawing upon older records such as a postulated lost 'Iona Chronicle' down to about 740 A.D. and the language of the entries down to the early eighth century is mostly Latin. Thereafter more substantial passages in Irish begin to appear alongside Latin, the account below of exceptionally cold weather in 818 A.D. and some of its consequences being a case in point. The original Old Irish of the entry is obvious enough through a thin layer of mostly mere orthographic distortion attributable to the later scribe(s), and has been restored here.

Aig anaiccentae ⁊ snechtae már ro:bátar ó Notlaic Stélle co hInit. Imthecht Boinde cosaib tirmaib ⁊ ala n-aile n-abann. Fond oínchumai ind loche. Eti ⁊ fíanlaige íar Loch Echach. Oiss allti do thofunn. Solaich daurthige íarum ó chéti íar Lochaib Eirne a tírib Connacht hi tír n-Úa Crimthainn.

(e) There follow four stanzas from *Félire Óengusso* relating to February 8th.(Onchu, not named in first half) and 11th., March 1st., and 17th. (St. Patrick, of course) plus a fifth from that poem's epilogue (lines 289-92). See II.B.2g above on the basic metrics and note that an unstressed word such as the copula or a preposition does not interrupt alliteration. In the final stanza it seems best to take *boí* as an early instance of the replacement of 3sg. rel. *boíe* by the non-rel. form that is normal in Middle Irish (XII.D.2b). Restoring *boíe* against the manuscripts would entail taking *bias* as a monosyllable (usual in Middle Irish) rather than as a disyllable (usual in Old Irish) in

order to retain the required six-syllable count.

Feb. 8: *Haue án ind écis,*
ba imm Chríst a labrae;
Fiachrae ba fer ferdae,
abb Irardae amrae.

Feb. 11: *Mo Gopnat co nglanbail*
im ṡeirc Dé ba hilmain;
maith leis grés dia garmaim,
epscop Ethchen inmain.

March 1: *For calaind mís Mártai*
nit mórdai fria nguidi
Senán, Moinenn, Moisi,
Dauid Cille Muini.

March 17: *Lassar gréine áne,*
apstal Érenn hóge,
Pátraic co méit míle
rop dítiu ar tróge.

Epil. 289 *Cech nóeb boí, fil, bias*
co bráth, brígach fodail,
i coímthecht Críst chredail,
ro:bet oc mo chobair.

CHAPTER IV
PRONOUNS, PREPOSITIONS AND NUMERALS.

A. PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS.

A.1. Independent personal pronouns.

Since they could neither function as subject (end of III.A.3) or object (see A.6 below) of a finite verb nor be governed by prepositions (B.1/2 below), the principal use of the stressed independent pronouns in Old Irish was as **predicate of the copula**. The basic forms were: 1sg. *mé*, 2sg. *tú* 'you', 3sg. m. *(h)é*, n. *(h)ed*, f. *sí*; 1pl. *sní*, 2pl. *sí* or *sib*, 3pl. *(h)é*.

The copula behaved like any other verb in expressing a pronominal subject by means of the appropriate personal ending: e.g. *adib cland Abrache* 'you (pl.) are the descendants of Abraham', *is adbar ríg ar deilb* 'he is the makings of a king on account of appearance'. However, a stressed pronoun was required to substitute for a noun as its predicate: e.g. *is sissi in tempul sin* 'that temple is you (pl.)', *is hé ar n-athir íar colinn* 'our father (m.) according to (the) flesh is he', *is ed a dúlchinne* 'its reward (n.) is it/that', *is sí mo irnigde fri Día* 'my prayer (f.) to God is it/this'.

A.2. Various adjuncts.

(a) Old Irish had a special set of **emphatic particles** (variants given are the usual ones after palatal and non-palatal finals respectively but *-som* is widely used after palatals too): 1sg. *-se(a)* and *-sa*, 2sg. *-siu* or *-su/-so*, 3sg. m./n. *-sem/-sium* or *-som*, f. *-si*; 1pl. *-ni*, 2pl. *-si*, 3pl. *-sem/-sium* or *-som*. These were used to highlight a wide range of pronominal elements, notably a verb's subject as expressed by its personal endings (e.g. *biuu-sa* 'I am (wont to be)', *a:tá-som* 'it is'), an unstressed object or prepositional pronoun (A.6 and B.3 below), a possessive pronoun (A.3 below) and finally a stressed personal pronoun to yield 1sg. *me-(s)se*, 2sg. *tu-(s)su*, 3sg. m. *(h)é-som*, f. *si-(s)si* (there is no emphatic form of n. *ed*), 1pl. *s(n)i-sni* or *s(n)i-(n)ni*, 2pl. *si-(s)si*, 3pl. *(h)é-som*). There was also a similarly used third person **anaphoric particle** meaning 'the aforementioned': 3sg. m.. *-side*, n./f. *-ade*, 3pl.*-sidi* etc. An important property of these particles is the need to attach them to a stressed element. Consequently in copula constructions they are attached to the predicate rather than to the copula itself, even though the emphasis applies to the pronominal subject and not to the nominal or adjectival predicate. Indeed, where such a predicate consists of a single word, use of an emphatic particle would seem to have verged on the obligatory in Old Irish: e.g., *am cimbid-se* 'I am a prisoner', *comba soilse-siu* 'so that you (sg.) may be a light', *is Día-som* 'He is God', *is rann-si* 'it is a part', *mad fochricc-som* 'if it be a payment', *adib cretmig-si* 'you (pl.) are believers', *condat anman-som* 'so that they are nouns'.

(b) OIr. *féin* etc. 'own, self' may modify either a noun or a pronominal element and has an extraordinarily complicated set of forms. Basically *féin* is confined to the singular and a variant *fesin* or *feis(i)ne* prevails in the 3sg. as well as the plural, but an element *-ad-* (1pl. *-an-*) can also be inserted to produce forms such as *fadéin*, *fade/isin* (1pl. *fanisin*) or *fade(i)sne* and *c(h)-* sometimes replaces *f-* to yield *céin*, *cadéin*, *cesin*, *cadesin* (1pl. *canisin*) or *cadesne*: e.g. *tarais fadeissin* 'on his own behalf' lit. 'over him himself', *dúnn fanissin/chanisin* 'to us ourselves', *mu menmae céin* 'my own mind', *is mé fein* 'it is I myself', *tu-ssu fadéin* 'you yourself', *ní arddu feisin* quam *a chocéle* 'he himself is not higher than his comrade', *oldaas fadeissin* 'than he himself is', *cosmil fri Críst fessin* 'like unto Christ himself'.

(c) A demonstrative pronoun 'the one(s), that (one), those' is formed by suffixing *í* to a form of the article (II.C.1) dictated by considerations of gender, case and number: e.g., nom. sg. m. *int-í*, f. *ind-í*, acc. m./f. *inn-í*, gen. sg./ nom. pl. m. *ind-í*, nom./acc. sg. n. *a-ní*, nom.(f./n.)/acc. pl. *inna-hí*, dat. pl. *-(s)naib-hí*. Sometimes this is used with a following proper noun, e.g. *int-í Connlae* '(that one,) Connlae'.

A.3. Possessives.

The elements discussed in A.2a/b above are also used with the **possessive pronouns** 1sg. *mo* [len.] 'my', 2sg. *do* [len.] 'your', 3sg. m./n. *a* [len.] 'his, its', f. *a* [*h*V-] 'her', 1pl. *ar* [nas.] 'our', 2pl. *far* or *bar* [nas.] 'your', 3pl. *a* [nas.] 'their'. Thus *is lobur ar n-irnigde-ni* '*our* prayer is weak' (Wb. 4a27), *nípa far n-ainm-si bias forib* 'it will not be *your* (pl.) name that shall be upon them' (Wb. 4d2), *Coran a ainm-side* 'Coran his name' (i.e. of the aforementioned druid summoned in *Echtrae Chonnlai*). It is to be noted that after *for* 'upon' or a preposition ending in a vowel the 1 and 2sg. forms are *m* and *t* respectively, as in *tair dum berrad-sa* 'come to tonsure *me*' (lit. 'for *my* tonsuring'; Sletty episode from the Book of Armagh, VI.A.7f).

A.4. Pronouns and the cleft sentence.

A natural extension of the use of independent pronouns as predicates of the copula entails their fronting with the same in a cleft sentence in order to emphasise the pronominal subject or object of the following clause, the verb of which is relative in accordance with the rule given in III.B.2b above. The fronted pronoun is often accompanied by an emphatic or anaphoric particle and typical examples of this construction from the Old Irish glosses include: *it hé-sidi immurgu beta hícthi* 'it is they (the aforementioned), moreover, who shall be saved', *is hé-side dano as éola* 'it is he (the aforementioned) too that is knowledgeable', *is hed as maith dúib* 'it is it/that that is good for you'. It is to be noted that the copula and the relative verb are invariably in the third person in cleft constructions of this type, the 3sg. naturally being used with a fronted singular pronoun and the 3pl. with a fronted 3pl. pronoun: e.g., *ar ba me-se ba sacart oc baitsiud ind anmae sin fora athair* 'for it was *I* who was priest (at the) baptising (of) that name on his father'. However, either 3sg. or 3pl. (or even a combination of both) can be used with a fronted 1 or 2pl. pronoun: e.g., *snisni ata sonartu* (3pl.) '(it is) we that are stronger', *it sib ata chomarpi Abracham* (3pl.) 'it is you who are heirs of Abraham', *ní sní cet-id:deirgni* (3sg.) 'it is not we who have done it first', *is sni-sni ata bobes* (3sg. and 3pl.) 'it is we who are *boues* (Lat., 'cattle'). It is even possible on occasion to combine a hanging nominative (see III.B.2a) with a cleft pronominal construction, in which case the hanging nominative is resumed by a fronted independent pronoun (in bold italics): e.g., *nach gním umal bad h**é** do:ngneith* 'any humble deed, let it be it/that that you do', *na maith ro:bé bad h**ed** do:gneid* 'any good thing which there may be, let it be it/that that you do'.

A.5. Reading practice.

Wb. 2b26 *mad fochricc-som nípa déoladacht acht bid fíach.*
Wb. 4b23 *is dílmain la cách ar n-orcun-ni.*
Wb. 4c40 *nípat hé indíi beta thuicsi di iudeib nammá beite isind inducbáil sin acht bieit cit geinti hiressich.*
Wb. 5a19 *is ed bunad mo chlainde.*
Wb. 5b17 *is mé as apstal geinte.*
Wb. 29d19 *naba thoirsech cía béo-sa i carcair.*

Ml. 19d8 *intí as sémiu .i. intí as mindchichthiu.*
Ml. 30b14 *.i. isindí sin, .i. isin dítid*

A. 6. Suffixed and infixed pronouns with the verb 'to be'.
Being a frequently used form, the verb 'to be' displays irregularities in Old Irish as in many other languages such as English. For instance, the compound verb *a:tá* (preverb *ad* + *tá*) is replaced by simple **tá(i)th* 'is', which cannot be used on its own, in order to attach the so-called **'suffixed' pronouns** 1sg. *-(i)um* 'me', 2sg. *-(i)ut* 'you', 3sg. m./n. *-(a)i* 'him, it', f. *-(i)us* 'her, it', 1pl. *-(i)un(n)* 'us', 2pl. *-(a)ib* 'you', 3pl. *-(i)us* 'they'. The basic pronoun is in bold italics, the italicised vowel being a glide used to attach all but the 3sg. m./n. (itself a vowel) to a preceding consonant. The bracketed vowels are optional devices, *(a)* indicating a preceding non-palatal and *(i)* a preceding palatal consonant (see I.B.5/6). It is a characteristic of Old Irish that **object pronouns are invariably unstressed and are attached to a part of the finite verb**. They usually function as direct objects of a 3sg. verb (e.g. *beirid* 'carries' but *beir†th-i* 'carries it'; see V.C.2) but are used as indirect objects with the substantive verb: e.g., *táth-um* 'there is to me', *boíth-i* 'there was to him' (note the preterite's 'intrusive' *-th-* before a suffixed pronoun, doubtless on the model of pres. *táth-* in relation to *a:tá*), *beth-ib* 'there shall be to you'. Since Old Irish has no separate verb 'to have', this construction serves that purpose with the result that an expression such as *táth-unn lebor* 'there is a book to us' is the equivalent of English 'we have a book' and may be so translated.

Suffixed pronouns can only be used with independent simple verbs. If a verb is compound (see V.B.1) or is dependent by virtue of being preceded by a conjunct particle such as negative *ní* 'not', the object pronoun is then attached to the proclitic element (whether pretonic preverb, on which see V.B.1/2a, or conjunct particle) rather than being suffixed to the ending of the verb itself. Since it thus comes to stand between the proclitic (see III.A.2-4) and the rest of the verb, it is termed an **infixed pronoun** in this context: e.g., *táth-u**m*** 'I have' (suffixed) but *ní-**m**:thá* 'there is not to me, I have not' (infixed), *beth-i**b*** 'you shall have' (suffixed) but *ní-**b**:bia* 'there shall not be to you, you shall not have' (infixed). Allowing for the fact that they frequently follow a vowel and so can dispense with the glide *u* or *i*, the basic forms of the infixed pronouns are the same as those of the suffixed pronouns except in the 3sg. m./n. As *ní-**m**:thá* above shows, the 1sg. infixed pronoun lenited what followed. So too did the 2sg. *t*, while 3 sg. f. and 3pl. *s* were optionally followed by nasalisation (e.g. *ní-**s**:mbia* or *ní-**s**:bia* 'there shall not be to her/them, she/they shall not have'). The following mutation is crucial in the case of the infixed 3sg. m. *-**a*** [nas.] and n. *-**a*** [len.], which elide a preceding *o*: e.g. *ro:boí* 'has been' (see III.A.5a), *ro-**s**:(m)boí* 'has been to her/them, she/they have had', *r-**a**:mboí* 'has been to him, he has had', *r-**a**:boí* 'has been to it/it has had'. The 3sg. m./n. infix is fully absorbed by a preceding negative *ní*, the upshot being that only the mutation (not always visible in spelling, of course) remains to show its presence: e.g., *ní:bia* /nī bia/ 'will not be' but *ní:bia* /nī via/ 'will not be to it, it will not have' and *ní:mbia* /nī mia/ 'will not be to him, he will not have' (in normal Old Irish writing not formally distinguished from *ní-**m**:bia* 'will not be to me, I shall not have'). Note that, although *ro* has its basic 'perfect' sense in *ro-**s**:(m)boí*, *r-**a**:mboí* above, it is sometimes used with a form of the substantive verb beginning with *b-* solely in order to attach an infixed pronoun, in the case of fut. *ro-**s**:bia* and *ro-**t**:bia* in A.7 below.

The special relative *f(e)il(e)* 'who/which is' of present I *a:tá* has already been mentioned in III.B.2b. Apart from this and a rare archaic or archaising use of independent *fil* (e.g. *fil-us* in the

last example in A.7 below), the main function of *-f(e)il* in Old Irish is as the suppletive dependent form of *a:tá* 'is' in non-possessive constructions (as opposed to *ní-m:thá* 'there is not to me, I do not have' above with the dependent *-tá* required by the possessive construction). Etymologically *f(e)il* is the imperative of an old verb meaning 'see' (cf. OIr. *fil-i* 'poet', originally 'seer', and Middle Welsh *guel-et* 'to see') and can be roughly compared with French expressions such as *voi-ci* 'here is' (lit. 'see here'), *voi-là* 'there is' (lit. 'see there'). A peculiarity rooted in these origins is the fact that OIr. *(-)f(e)il* does not show normal personal endings but is invariable and has its subject in the accusative (cf. French *me voici* 'here I am', *le voilà* 'there it is' etc.): e.g., *a:tá ben and* but *ní:fil mnaí and* 'there is (not) a woman there', *a:tó for longais* but *ní-m:fil for longais* 'I am (not) in exile', *a:taat oca cluichiu* but *ní-s:fil oca cluichiu* 'they are (not) at their play'.

Typical examples of an emphatic particle highlighting an object pronoun include *bethu**m**-sa* 'there shall be to *me*, *I* shall have', *in-**dam**:bia-sa úar choimligi lat?* 'will there be to *me*/shall *I* have an hour of sleeping with you?' (interrogative conjunct particle *in* plus 'class C' infixed pronoun, on which see VI.B.7).

A.7. Reading practice.

The following is a selection of short sentences selected from a range of metrical and prose texts in order to illustrate forms of the substantive verb combined with various suffixed or infixed pronouns and the use of *(-)fil* . The last of these is from a short seventh-century homily displaying a slightly earlier form of language than the main collections of Old Irish glosses. The last two examples illustrate a so-called 'proleptic' use of the pronoun in anticipation of a following noun object, as if one were to say in English 'I saw him, the policeman' or the like. *Ro-s:bia* at the beginning of the eighth sentence illustrates the normal Old Irish practice of employing a 3sg. verb with a following singular noun subject even when this is followed by a further subject or further subjects, whether singular or plural, coordinated by *ocus* 'and', the latter being in effect regarded as an afterthought for grammatical purposes. The contrast with English usage is clearly seen in a case like *boí Conchubar ocus Cú Chulainn oc imbirt fidchille* 'Conchobar and Cú Chulainn were (lit. 3sg. 'was') playing *fidchell*'. *Bíth-i* for 3sg. pres. II *biid* plus suffixed pronoun illustrates two supplementary developments, namely the contraction of identical hiatus vowels due to the addition of a third syllable and retention of *-th(-)* when not in final position.

Táth-i coire umai.
Táth-us már maith.
Táth-ut airle.
Boíth-us fáilte.
Beth-um-sa mo guide.
Bíth-i aicced cacha laubra la arathar co n-ógcórus dligid.
Ro-t:bia grádugud.
Ro-s:bia lind ocus biad ocus ascaidi.
Ní-m:thá-sa a ṡamail.
Beth-ib soírse.
Táth-unn ní as nessa ar ar súil.
Boíth-i ní.
Is tri a hiris ra:mbaí cach maith (Wb. 2c13).

Ní-m:bia fochricc dar hési mo precepte (Wb. 10d23).
Is-um écen precept ar m'étiuth et *mo thoschid* (Wb. 10d24).
Nícon:fil nach n-intliucht n-aile and (Ml. 18c 11).
Ní:fil in Ére óclaig bas amru.
Ní-s:fil isin biuth diis bas ferr ina ndán.
Fil-us daneu tre chenélæ martre ata lógmara le Dea (Cambrai Homily - see VI.B.6a).

B. PREPOSITIONS AND THEIR PRONOMINAL FORMS.

B.1. The basic system.

Old Irish prepositions governed the accusative or the dative case, a few being used with either (see end of II.A.1). The pronouns governed by them were unstressed in Old Irish and so formed a single unit with a preceding preposition as is still the case in Modern Irish. The resultant combinations are usually known as **prepositional pronouns** or **conjugated prepositions**. The first and second person pronominal suffixes are for the most part formally identical with those used with verbs, namely 1sg. *-(i)um* 'me', 2sg. *-(i)ut* 'you', 1pl. *-(i)un(n)* 'us', 2pl. *-(a)ib* 'you', and do not distinguish between dative and accusative forms. However, two prepositions taking the dative have a special palatal form of the 2sg., namely *do* 'to' with *duit* 'to you' and *ó/úa* 'from' with *úait* 'from you', and the second of these also has a palatal form of the 1sg. (*úaim(m)* 'from me') and optionally the 1pl. (*úain(n)* beside *úan(n)*). The third person forms are not only different from their verbal counterparts but also distinguish between accusative (3sg. f. **-[h]e**, pl. **-[h]u**) and dative (3sg. f. **-i**, 3pl. **-(a)ib**) forms. The *[h]* of the 3sg. f. and 3 pl. acc. is never preserved as such but had certain indirect effects, namely: (1) devoicing of a preceding voiced stop in the case of 3pl. dat. *indib* /iN´d´iv´/ 'in them' but acc. *intiu* 'into them' /iN´t´u/ (*i* 'in(to)'), 3sg. m./n. *cuc(c)(a)i* '(up) to him/it' /kugi/ (Mod. Ir. *chuige*) but f. *cu(i)ce* '(up) to her/it' /kuk´e/ (Mod. Ir. *chuice*; *co* '(up) to') and 3sg. m./n. *imbi* 'about him/it' /im´b´i/ but f. *impe* 'about her/it' /im´p´e/ (*imm* 'around' < *imb*); (2) delenition of a preceding *ch* to *c(c)* in the case of 3sg. m./n. *seche* 'past him/it' /seχe/ but f. *secce* 'past her/it' /sek´e/ (*sech* 'past'); (3) doubling of *r* in the case of 3pl. *etarru* 'between them' (*eter* 'between'), 3pl. *airriu/erru* 'on account of them' (*ar* 'in front/on account of'), 3sg. f. *forrae* 'upon her/it' (*for* 'upon'), (4) saving an *s* from loss in the case of 1pl. *torun(n)* 'beyond us' but 3pl. *tair†siu* 'beyond them' (*d/tar* 'beyond').

Whereas all of the other persons use one of the readily recognisable pronominal suffixes just given, the **3sg. m./n. forms display considerable diversity**, whether acc. or dat., and simply have to be learned individually. Fortunately, the more important of these occur so frequently that they are quite rapidly acquired and a knowledge of Modern Irish is helpful in a number of instances.

B.2. Paradigms.

The following table lists the principal Old Irish prepositions according to the case(s) that they govern. Normally the appropriate suffix is added directly to the base form but sometimes the pronominal/conjugated stem differs significantly from this, in which case it is given in bold italics after the colon. This divergence may be due merely to syncope (e.g. *eter*, *et†r-*), to a final consonant retained in the pronominal but lost in the base form (e.g. *íar*, *íarm-*), to the fact that a preposition was proclitic whereas the pronominal form was stressed (e.g. *dar*, *tar-* and by a combination with one of the foregoing *amal*, *sam†l-* or *a, es-*) or to less obvious variation (e.g. *co*, *cuc-* or *i, ind-*), which is confined to the third person in a couple of instances (*ó/úa* and *úa-* but 3rd. person *úad-*; *re/ri* and *ri-* but third person *rem-*; *imm* and *imm-* but third person *imb-*). One

or more typical forms are then given in italics, followed by the 3sg. m./n. in bold italics.

Accusative:

amal 'like' [len]: ***sam†l-***, 1sg. *samlum*, 3pl. *samlaib*; 3sg. m./n. ***saml(a)id***.

cen 'without' [len]: 2sg. *cenut*, 2pl. *cenuib*, 3pl. *cenaib*; 3sg. m./n. ***cen(a)e***.

co '(up) to' [*h*V-]: ***cuc(c)-***, 2sg. *cuc(c)um*, 2pl. *cuc(c)uib*, 3pl. *cuc(c)u* (see B.1above); 3sg. m./n. ***cuc(c)(a)i*** or ***cuic(c)i*** .

dar, tar 'over, beyond' [non-mut.]: ***to/ar-***, 2sg. *torut*, 3sg. f. *tairse* (B.1), 3pl. *tairsiu*; 3sg. m./n. ***tar(a)is***.

eter 'between, among' [non-mut.]: ***et†r-***, 1pl. *etrun(n)*, 2pl. *etruib*; 3pl. *etarru* (B.1); 3sg. m./n. ***etir*** or ***itir***.

fri 'towards, against' [*h*V-]: 1sg. *fri(u)m(m)*, 3sg. f. *frie*, 1pl. *frin(n)*, 2pl. *frib*, 3pl. *friu*; 3sg. m./n. ***fris(s)***.

im(m) 'around, about' [len]: 1sg. *immum*, 1pl. *immun(n)*; ***imb-*** 3pl. *impu* (B.1); 3sg. m./n. ***imbi***.

la 'with' [*h*V-]: ***le/a/i-***, 1sg. *li(u)m(m)*, 2sg. *lat*, 3sg. f. *lee*, 1pl. *linn/lenn*, 2pl. *lib*, 3pl. *leu*; 3sg. m./n. ***leis(s)*** or ***lais(s)***.

sech 'past, beyond' [len]: 1sg. *sechum*, 2sg. *sechut*, 3pl. *seccu* (B.1); 3sg. m./n. ***sech(a)e***.

tre, tri 'through' [len]: 1/2sg. *trium/t*, 3sg. f. *tree*, 2pl. *triib*, 3pl. *treu*; 3sg. m./n. ***triit***.

Dative:

a 'out of' [*h*V-]: ***es-***, 2sg. *essiut*, 3sg. f. *e(i)ssi*, 3pl. *e(i)s(s)ib*; 3sg. m./n. ***as***.

co 'with' [nas]: 3pl. *conaib*; 3sg. m./n. ***cono***.

do 'to' [len]: ***do/u/ú-***, 1sg. *dom/dam*, 2sg. *duit*, 3sg. f. *dí*, 1 pl. *dún(n)*, 2pl. *dúib*, 3pl. *do(a)ib*; 3sg. m./n. ***dáu*** or ***dó***.

di, de 'from, of' [len]: 1/2sg. *dím/t*, 3sg. f. *dí*, 1/2pl. *dín/b*, 3pl. *diib/díb*; 3sg. m./n. ***dé***.

fïad 'in the presence of' len]: 1sg. *fïadum*, 2pl. *fïadib*, 3pl. *fïadib*; 3sg. m./n. ***fïado***.

íar 'after' [nas]: ***íarm-***, 2sg. *íarmut*, 3pl. *íarmaib*; 3sg. m./n. ***íarum***.

ís 'below' [non-mut]: 1sg. *ís(s)um*, 3pl. *ís(s)aib*; 3sg. m./n. ***ís(s)o***.

ó, (h)úa '(away) from' [len]: 2sg. *(h)úait*, 2pl. *(h)úaib*; ***(h)úad-*** 3sg. f. *úadi*, 3pl. *(h)úa(i)dib*; 3sg. m./n. ***(h)úad*** or ***(h)úaid***.

ós, úas 'above' [non-mut.]: 1sg. *úasum*, 3pl. *ósib/úas(s)aib*, 3sg. f. *(h)úasi*; 3sg. m./n. ***úaso***.

oc 'at by' [non-mut.]: 1pl. *ocunn*, 3pl. *oc(c)aib*, 3sg. f. *oc(c)(a)i*, 3pl. *ocaib*; 3sg. m./n. ***oc(c)o***.

re, ri 'before' [nas]: 1sg./pl. *rium/n*; ***rem-***, 3sg. f. *remi*, 3pl. *remib*; 3sg. m./n. ***riam***.

Accusative or dative:

ar 'in front/on account of' [len]: ***air-/er-*** 1/2sg. *airium/t* or *erum/t*, 1pl. *erunn*, 2pl. *airib*, 3pl.acc. *airriu* or *erru*, dat. *airib* or *eruib*; 3sg. m./n. acc. ***airi***, dat. ***airiu***.

fo 'down to' [len]: (acc.), 'under' (dat.) [len]: 1sg. *foum*, 3sg. f. acc. *foe*, 3pl. acc. *fou* or *foo*, dat. *foib*; 3sg. m./n. acc. ***foí***, dat. ***fóu*** or ***fó***.

for 'upon' [non-mut.]: 1/2sg. *form/t*, 1pl. *forn(n)*, 2pl. *fuirib*, 3sg. f. dat. *fu(i)ri*, 3pl. acc. *forru* (B.1), dat. *for(a)ib*; 3sg. m./n. dat. ***foir*** or ***fair***.

i 'into' [nas]: (acc.), 'in' (dat.) [nas.]: ***ind-***,1/2sg. *indium/t*, 1pl. *indiun(n)*, 2pl. *indib*; 3sg. f. acc. *inte* (B.1), dat. *indi*, 3pl. acc. *intiu*, dat. *indib*; 3sg. m./n. acc. ***ind***, dat. ***and***.

Where they were different, the proclitic base and stressed pronominal forms of a preposition sometimes interacted. Thus *tar* alongside *dar* (proclitic *t*V- > *d*V-) is due to the influence of pronominal *to/ar-*, while conversely *la* and *a* (< *le*, **e* by proclitic *e* > *a*) presumably influenced 2sg. *lat* and 3sg. *as* for expected **let*, **es*. Similarly, OIr. *cen* for expected **can* (see V.B.2b on *e* to *a* in proclitics) must be due to pressure from *cen-* in the stressed pronominal forms. The 3sg. n. *cen(a)e* 'without it' had also developed an adverbial sense 'besides, moreover'. This form was

still represented as unlenited in Wb. and Ml. but, doubtless under the influence of the compound *olchenae* 'besides', normally appears as lenited *chen(a)e* in Sg. (40a11, 140b3, 151b1, 212a11, 238b1; see too the last line of verse 6 in V.C.4a), where *chen* 'without' then also appears as the base form (Sg. 75a1, 78b2, 147b3). From here the lenited initial apparently began to spread to the pronominal forms of *co*, which also had initial *c-*, to yield isolated 3sg. m. *chucai* (Ml. 46c1) and f. *chucae* (Sg. 191a2). The preposition *fri* and its pronominal forms were also at least sporadically affected in the Glosses, possibly with a view to simplifying the initial consonant cluster, on the evidence of the following unambiguous spellings (see I.B.8): *re* (Ml.44b4), *rissa* (with neut. art.; Ml. 30b2), 2sg. *frit* (Sg. 151a3) and 2pl. *rinn* (Ml. 54a3). Interaction between the pronominal forms of different prepositions no doubt also played a role on occasion: e.g., 1pl. *linn* was probably influenced by 1pl. *frinn* and 3sg. m./n. *and* 'in it' may have contributed to the creation of *as* 'out of it'. Factors such as these tended to increase complications, as did some confusion between acc. *-e* and dat. *-i* in the 3sg. f. (e.g. *(h)úade* beside *úadi*, *esse* beside *e(i)s(s)i* and *airri* for expected *airre*) as well as slight encroachment of dat. pl. *-aib* upon acc. pl. *-(i)u* (as in *samlaib* and *cenaib* above) and an isolated instance of the reverse in *occu* (Wb. 13c1) for *ocaib*. It is probably easier to learn to recognise the basic prepositional stems and suffixes plus the 3sg. m./n. than to learn whole paradigms with all their variations by heart.

B.3. Further adjuncts.
Emphatic particles (A.2a above) are frequently added to the pronominal forms of prepositions: e.g., *níta chumme-se friu-som* '*I* am not similar to *them*', *ar is* gloria *dúib-si ón* 'for that is glory to *you*', *ní samlid són dún-ni* 'that is not likewise for us'. However, rather than attaching the anaphoric particle *-sidi/-ade* to such forms Old Irish usually employs the appropriate form of the fully stressed anaphoric pronoun *suide* (IV but with irregular nom./acc. sg. neut. *sodain*): e.g., *hi suidiu* 'in that/the aforementioned, therein', *la sodain* 'with that/the aforementioned, thereupon'. Note too fully stressed acc. *sé*, dat. *síu* 'this' after prepositions (e.g. *co ssé* 'up to this, hitherto', *re síu* 'before (this)') and *sin* 'that' in the common expression *íar sin* 'after that, thereafter, then', although the latter was otherwise usually attached without stress to the 3sg. n. pronominal form of a preposition: e.g., *is samlaid sin* 'it is in that way', *is airi insin* 'it is on account of that', *ant sin* 'in that, there'. Otherwise *so* and *sin* are stressed when preceded by the article alone (e.g. *in so* 'this', *in sin* 'that' but, as in the previous sentence, sometimes used for plain *sin*) but unstressed when modifying article plus noun (e.g. *in fer so* 'this man', *in ben sin* 'that woman').

B.4. Reading practice.

Wb. 1a3 *is mór a thorbe dé dún-ni.*
Wb. 1a4 *is éola-side, ní:fil nach díchlith airi.*
Wb. 2a16 *ní ferr nech alailiu and.*
Wb. 2b1 *is luud leu teistiu fuile.*
Wb. 2c27 *is hé a ammus lemm.*
Wb. 3b30 *is deidbir dúib, cid mebul lib, a taidmet.*
Wb. 3d34 *a:tá dethiden fuiri cene.*
Wb. 4a6 *cía beid Críst indib-si tre foísitin hirisse* in baptismo et ('in baptism and') *is béo ind anim tri sodin, is marb in corp immurgu trisna senpecthu.*
Wb. 4d12 *lour leu gníma rechto dia fíriánugud.*
Wb. 4d20 *ba uisse hirnaigde erru ba líach a n-epeltu.*
Wb. 5c7 *it carit dom-sa immurgu.*

Wb. 11a10 *is glé lim-sa ro-m:bia búaid.*
Wb. 16b9 *ní indráigne lib cini-n:fil lib, ar idib maithi cene.*

C. NUMERALS.

C.1. Cardinals.

(a) Old Irish numerals (cardinal and ordinal) are placed after the definite article, if present, and before their noun: e.g., *da mac* 'two sons' (nom. du. m.; see II.A.4d and II.C.1), *for-sna cóic ríga* 'one the five kings' (acc. pl. m.). ***Óen-*** 'one' is a leniting prefix forming a compound with a following singular noun (e.g. *ó oínsíl* 'from one seed'). 'Two' (***da/di***), 'three' (***tri/teuir***) and 'four' (***ceth(a)ir/cethéoir***) inflect for gender and case:

	m.	n.	f.	m./n.	f.	m./n.	f.
Nom.	*da* [len]	*da* [nas]	*di* [len]	*tri*	*teuir/teoir*	*ceth(a)ir*	*cethéoir*
Acc.	*da* [len]	*da* [nas]	*di* [len]	*tri*	*téora*	*cethri*	*cethéora*
Gen.	*da* [len]	*da* [nas]	*da* [len]	*tri* [nas]	*téora* [nas]	*cethri* [nas]	*cethéora* [nas]
Dat.	*dib* [nas]	*dib* [nas]	*dib* [nas]	*trib*	*téoraib*	*cethrib*	*cethéoraib*

Note that the acc. fem. forms *téora, cethéora* are frequently used as nom. too in place of *teuir, cethéoir*. 'Two' governs special 'dual' forms of nouns (e.g. with nasalising dat. *-(a)ib*; see III.A.4d), while numerals from 'three' to 'ten' are followed by a plural and are invariable from five upwards: ***cóic*** [len] 'five', ***sé*** (*h*V-) 'six', ***secht*** [nas] 'seven', ***ocht*** [nas] 'eight', ***noí*** [nas] 'nine', ***deich*** [nas] 'ten'. Apart from expected nasalisation in the gen. pl., the forms of 'three' and 'four' caused no mutation (except presumably /h-/ before a vowel in the case of acc. *cethri* and nom./acc. *tri, téora, cethéora* at least), although the Early OIr. nom./acc. neut. *tre* 'three' did cause the expected lenition of a following noun on the evidence of *tre chenél(ae)* 'three kinds' in the Cambrai Homily (see VI.B.6a) and this property of the neuter seems to have been continued by its OIr. replacement *tri*, to judge from *tri chét* 'three hundred(s)' with a 'short' pl. (see II.A.4a) quite prone to be used with numerals . The numerals 1-10 may be used as virtual adjectives with a following noun (e.g. nom. du. n. *da n-orpe* 'two inheritances') or on their own, in which case *óen* is no longer compounded and the rest are preceded by an appropriate form of the article if definite and by *a* (*h*V-) if indefinite, 'two' and 'three' also having the special stressed forms *dáu/dó* (non-dat.) and *trí* (m./n. non-dat.): e.g., *oín di airchinchib Assiæ* 'one of the leaders of Asia', *a dáu* 'two', *a (h)ocht* 'eight' (Mod.Ir. *a hocht*), *inna ocht* 'the eight (things)', *hónaib dib* 'from the two'. The numbers 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are produced by placing disyllabic ***deac*** (older *deec*; Mod. Ir. *déag*) after the relevant number from 'one' to 'nine' plus its noun, if present: e.g., *di míli déec* 'twelve thousand', *in da apstal deac* 'the twelve apostles', *coic blíadni deac* 'fifteen years', *a ocht deac* 'eighteen'.

(b) Various other types of numeral could be derived from the foregoing forms. Apart from irregular *dias* 'two people, couple' (II; note *dias ar fichit* 'twenty-two people', lit. 'two people in front of twenty', but *da fer deac* 'twelve men'), composition with *fer* 'man' produced of *óenar* 'one person', *triar, cethrar, cóicer, seisser, mór-feisser, ochtar, nónbor, deichenbor* (all normally I, m.) 'three/four/five/six/seven (lit. 'big six')/eight/ nine/ten people'. It is to be noted that these forms are frequently used in the dative without a preposition and with or without a possessive: e.g., *a óenur* 'on his own, alone' in C.3d below and *m'óenur* 'on my own, alone' (lit. 'with his/my one', *cóiciur* 'one of five' (lit. 'in five') in V.E.2b. The suffix *-de* was used for groups of things:

dé(i)de 'pair', *tré(i)de, cethard(a)e, cóicde, sé(i)de, sechtae, ochtae, noíde, deichde* (all IVa, n.) 'three/four/five/six/ seven/eight/nine/ten things'.

(c) The decads from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are **fiche** 'twenty', **trícho/a** 'thirty', **cethorcho/a** 'fourty', **coíco/a** 'fifty', **sesco/a** 'sixty', **sechtmogo/a** 'seventy', **ochtmogo/a** 'eighty', **nócho/a** 'ninety'(all V unlenden, m.). These, **cét** 'hundred' (I, n.) and **míle** 'thousand' (IVb) are nouns (like 'score' in English) and consequently a noun qualified by them stands in the genitive plural: e.g., *tri fichit fer* 'three score men' (*fer* I, m.), *fiche míled* 'twenty soldiers' (*míl*, V lenden., m.; cf. Eng. 'a score of soldiers'), *cóic cét fer* 'five hundred men'. In combination with the numbers 2-9 plus a noun the decads appear in the gen. sg., a further hundred or more being introduced in the dative by the preposition *ar* 'in front of': e.g., *da lebur fichet* '22 books' (lit. 'two books of twenty'), *di litir fichet* '22 letters', *cóic caiptil úasail sescat ar trib cétaib* '365 noble chapters'. In combination with 'one' the noun plus *ar* sufficed, as in *bó ar fichit* '21 cows' (lit. 'a cow in front of twenty'), and the same construction applied to numerals used absolutely, whether preceded by *a* (*h*V-) or by the neuter definite article: e.g., *a n-óen ar fichit* '21', *inna deich ar dib cétaib* '210', *a ocht deac ar chét* '118'.

C.2. Ordinals

The ordinals are **cét-** (compounding prefix, leniting) or **cétnae** (IV) or sometimes **toísech** 'first' (I/II), **tánaise** or **aile** (both IV; also proclitic *ala* or compounding prefix *all-*) 'second', **tris** or **tres** 'third', **cethramad** 'fourth', **cóiced** 'fifth', **se(i)ssed** 'sixth', **sechtmad** 'seventh', **ochtmad** 'eighth', **nómad** 'ninth', **dechmad** 'tenth', **fichetmad** 'twentieth' (all I/II) and so on up to **cétmad** 'hundredth'. Apart from *toísech* and *aile* (as opposed to the proclitic variant *ala*) these also come after the article, if present, and before their noun: e.g., *in cétni persin ł* (standard abbreviation for Lat. *uel* 'or' = OIr. *nó*) *in tánaisi* 'the first person or the second' (acc. sg.), *isind epistil toísech* 'in the first letter', *in tris díltud* 'the third denial', *in tres chuit deac* 'the thriteenth portion', *sechtmad rann cethorchat* 'a forty-seventh part', *isind fichetmad blíadain ar chét* 'in the hundred and twentieth year'.

C.3. Reading practice.

(a) The opening of the saga *Scélae Muicce Maic Da Thó* 'The Tale of Mac Da Thó's Pig' introduces the *briugu* or 'hospitaller' named in the title and his hound before going on to list the other four hospitallers important enough to possess a *bruiden* or 'hostel'.

Boí rígbriugu amrae la Laigniu, Mac Da Thó a ainm. Boí cú occo... Ailbe ainm in chon ocus ba lán Ériu di airdircus in chon.... Is sí sin in chóced bruden boíe i nÉrinn isind aimsir sin ocus bruden Da Derga i crích Cúalann ocus bruden Forgaill Manaig ocus bruden Maic Da Réo i mBréfni ocus bruden Da Choca i n-íarthur Midi. Secht ndorus isin bruidin ocus secht sligi tree ocus secht tellach indi ocus secht cori. Dam ocus tinne i cach coiriu.

(b) In three separate sections the legal text *Críth Gablach* (see II.A.5b) recognises the following main categories of the aristocracy, of kings and of a general call-up of able-bodied free males termed a *slógad* or 'hosting'.

Córus flatha, .i. flaith ó déis co ríg. Cis lir fuillechta for suidib? A secht. Cateat? Aire désa, aire échta, aire ard, aire túiseo, aire forgill, tánaise ríg ₇ rí..... Cis lir fodlai for rígaib? Teoir fodlai.

Cateat? Rí benn, rí buiden, rí bunaid cach cinn..... Cis lir slógad ata chórai do ríg do giull fora thúatha? A trí. Cateat? Slógad hi crích i medón fri indnaide slógaid tairse; slógad co hor críche fri foircsin fír ⁊ dligid... ; slógad tar crích...

(c) The early Irish law tract on status known as *Uraicecht Bec* or the 'Little Primer' offers the following list of the different grades of poet and then goes on to discuss the *briugu* or 'hospitaller'.

Secht ngrád filed: Comdire ollam fri ríg n-óentúaithe ⁊ turthugud mís dó ⁊ tri hochtair a lín. Óensét.. díre fochlaccan ⁊ óenlaa a thurthugud ⁊ bíathad deise dó. Tri séoit do mac fuirmid ⁊ bíathad triir ⁊ turthugud treise. Cóic séoit do dus ⁊ bíathad cethrair dó ⁊ turthugud cóicdi. Secht séoit do chanait ⁊ bíathad seisir ⁊ turthugud sechtmuine. Deich séoit do chlí ⁊ bíathad ochtair ⁊ turthugud dechmaide. Fiche sét do ánrud ⁊ bíathad da fer deac ⁊ turthugud cóic laa ndeac.... Lethchátu cáich dia mnaí no dia gormac no dia rechtairiu no dia ṡecnapaid. Comgráid briugu fri flaith dia:mbé díablad cenae lais cach gráid de thír ⁊ trebad... Níbi briugu nadbi chétach.... Is comdíre fri ríg túaithe. Briugu leitech, díablad tochusa la suide, coire ainsicc lais, tri rámuta lais.

(d) Another legal text concerned specifically with poets, namely *Uraicecht na Ríar* or the 'Primer of the Grades', enumerates the grades from *ánruth* (etymologised ingeniously, if fancifully, as *sruth án*) downwards and certain of their key attributes as follows (see III.A.3 above on prepositions like *la* 'with' plus relative *-(s)a* [nas.] 'whom, which'):

Ánruth trá, .i. ánruth a athair ⁊ a ṡenathair ⁊ ánruth fodeisin. Án a airchetal, án a frithgnum. Tri coícait dréchtae ⁊ lethdréchtae lais. Fiche sét a díre. Da fer deac dó for túatha, mórfeiser oc acru, cethrar for coí la ríg. Clí, deich séoit a díre. Ochtar a lín for túatha, cethrar oc acru, triar for coí la ríg. Secht ndréchta ochtmogat lais do dréchtaib. Cano, secht séoit a díre. Seiser a lín for túatha, triar oc acru, dias for coí la ríg. Sesca do dréchtaib lais. Dos, cóic ṡéoit a díre. Cethrar a lín for túatha, triar oc acru, dias for coí la ríg. Coíca dréchtae lais. Macfuirmid, cethir séoit a díre. Triar a lín for túatha, dias oc acru, a óenur dó for coí la ríg... Cethorcha dréchtae lais. Fochloc, sét ⁊ lethṡét a díre. Oínfer lais for túatha ⁊ a óenur oc acru ⁊ for coí la ríg... Trícha dréchtae lais. Taman, fiche dréchtae lais. Lethscrepul a díre ⁊ ní héola i fedaib. Drisiuc... Deich ndréchta lais ⁊ screpul a díre. Oblaire, cóic dréchta lais. Lethscrepul a díre.... Ocus fer lasa:mbí airchetal n-án ⁊ filedacht án ⁊ ní:bí lia athair nach la senathair dó, cía ainm in gráid sin? Ní hansae, topar. Ocus a mac-side, cía ainm? Ní hansae, tiprae. Ocus a mac-side la-sa:mbí airchetal n-án ⁊ filedacht án, cía ainm? Ní hansae, sruth án .i. ánṡruth. Foglaim n-án ⁊ airchetal n-án la cach n-aí.

(e) In one episode of her Old Irish Life (see III.A.5e) the young Brigit went to visit her sick mother and work in her stead churning milk. Despite her generous provision for the poor, plenty of her produce remained over for her mother's master and mistress, who were so impressed by the miracle that they freed her mother and converted to Christianity. Note that the dative of comparison discussed in II.B.3 and illustrated in II.B.4 was not the only possibility, there being an alternative way of expressing 'than (is/was etc.)' by means of proclitic *i* [nas] 'in (regard to) what' or *ol* [nas.] 'beyond what' plus a nasalised relative form of the substantive verb (e.g. *ol-daas* 'than (is)') with its subject in the nominative as expected.

She (Brigit) would divide *a torad i ndi rainn deac cona gruth ₇ no:bíth in tres chuit deac i mmedón ₇ ba mó-side i-mboíe cach cuit. 'Ced torbae lat in sin?' ol int arae. 'Ní ansae', ol Brigit '.. ro:bátar da apstal deac lassin Coimdid ₇ hé-som fessin in tres deac. Ro-m:bia-sa la Día* (that) thirteen paupers will come one day in the same number as Christ and his apostles.

(f) In medieval Ireland genealogy was more than the mere tracing of pedigrees. It not only provided crucial justification for the status of groups and individuals but could also express actual or desired political relations between them. Its centrality is indicated by the survival of large genealogical collections, usually in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tracing countless groups of varying importance back via many intervening (and often fictitious) stages to distant alleged ancestors whose origins could then be traced back to the Flood by linking them with biblical figures. As in the Bible, genealogies could be presented in either ascending or descending order, both of which are seen in the following typical passage from the collection in the Laud 610 manuscript preserved in St. John's College, Oxford. After giving Túathal Techtmar's pedigree in ascending order, this traces a line of supposed kings of Tara and Ireland from him via Conn of the Hundred Battles to Níall of the Nine Hostages, while noting various significant offshoots..

Túathal Techtmar mac Fíachach maic Feradaig maic Craumthainn maic Lugdach Ríab nDerg. Da mac airegdai leis .i. Fíachu Már ₇ Feidlimid Rechtaid. Feidlimid Rechtaid immurgu, secht maic leis .i. Conn Cétchathach, a quo (Lat. 'from whom') *Leth Cuinn, ₇ Cóil ₇ Crínnae ₇ Crosse; Echu Find Fúathnairt, is úad Fotharta*, de quibus (Lat. 'of whom', pl.) *Brigit; Fíachrae Soguide* a quo *na Déisi; Fíachrae Róeda*, a quo *Corco Róeda. Conn, tri maic laiss .i. Connlae Cóem, Crínnae, Art Óenfer. Óenmac Airt .i. Cormac. Cethir maic Cormaic .i. Carpre, Muredach, Cellach, Dáre. Tri maic Carpri .i. Fíachu Sraptine, Echaid, Echu Doimlén*, a quo *Airgíalla. Da mac Fíachach .i. Muredach Tírech, Domnall, Sen Úa Maine. Óenmac Muredaig Echu Mugmedón. Cóic maic Echach .i. Níall*, a quo *Huí Néill, Brión*, a quo *Huí Brúin ₇ Síl Muredaig, Fíachrae Foltsnáthech*, a quo *Huí Fíachrach, Ailill, Fergus Cáechán*, a quo *Huí Cháechán.*

(g) Below is the verse from *Félire Óengusso* on January 24th.

> *Domm anmain, domm chorpán,*
> *rop múr ar cech merblén*
> *Babill, bruth óir forlán,*
> *con-a thriur dedblén.*

(h) The following gloss (Ml. 2d2) is concerned with numerical aspects of the psalms (psalter).

Amal it da lebur fichet, it di litir fichet dano ₇ in di litir fichet hísin, ind rún ₇ ind etercert fil i suidib, is (s)í bed immaircide frisa nnuíadnise .i. air a n-óen ar fichit ₇ it tri secht són .i. secht n-ernadman són file isind saltair.

CHAPTER V
THE PRESENT STEM,
SIMPLE AND COMPOUND VERBS,
OBJECT PRONOUNS.

A. THE PRESENT INDICATIVE OF WEAK, STRONG AND HIATUS VERBS.

A.1. Some basics.
(a) The Old Irish present indicative basically corresponds to the English habitual or general present of the type '(s)he takes' (OIr. *gaibid*). Since, however, the periphrastic progressive type *a:tá oc gabáil* '(s)he is taking' described at the end of III.A.2c was still no more than optional in the Old Irish period, an OIr. form like *gaibid* may on occasion be more appropriately rendered '(s)he is taking'.

(b) The tense/mood system of the Old Irish verb and the basic classification of the stems associated with it has already been presented skeletally in III.A.1 as a prelude to the treatment of the substantive verb and the copula. Old Irish verbs are classified into three main groups termed WEAK, STRONG and HIATUS respectively with regard to their basic conjugation.

(c) As has already been pointed out in III.A.3, there is an important distinction in Old Irish verbal inflection between the so-called INDEPENDENT forms of a verb and the corresponding DEPENDENT forms used when it is preceded by a so-called CONJUNCT PARTICLE such as a negative like *ní* 'not' or *ma-ni* 'if not', the interrogative particle *in* [nas.] '?', various conjunctions such as *co* [nas.] 'so that' as well as its negative *co-(n)na* [*h*V-] 'so that.. not, lest', and prepositional relatives such as *ar-a* [nas.] 'on account of which', *di-a* [nas.] 'to/from which', *fri-s(s)a* [nas.] 'to(wards)/against which', *la-s(s)a* [nas.] 'with which' or irregular *i* [nas.] 'in which' (which sometimes also develop into conjunctions, whence *ara* [nas.] '(in order) that', *dia* [nas.] 'if, when', *i* [nas.] 'when') as well as their negatives formed by substituting *-na* [*h*V-] for *-a* [nas.]: e.g., *ar-na* 'on account of which.. not' or '(in order) that.. not, lest', *las-na* 'with which.. not'. In the case of the **simple verb**s dealt with in this section, independent and dependent forms use different verbal endings in most persons, namely ABSOLUTE ENDINGS with independent and CONJUNCT ENDINGS with dependent forms, as in 3sg. *gaibid* '(s)he takes' and 3pl. *gaibit* 'they take' (independent with absolute endings) versus 3sg. *ní:gaib* '(s)he does not take' and 3pl. *ni:gaibet* 'they do not take' (dependent with conjunct endings). In the tables etc. below, the absolute endings are unmarked (e.g. 1pl. *marbm(a)i*) but the conjunct endings are preceded by a hyphen (indicating that a closely connected conjunct particle must always precede them (e.g. 1pl. *-marbam*) and a bracketed hyphen is placed before forms used in both absolute and conjunct (e.g. 1sg. *(-)lé(i)ciu* or *(-)lé(i)cim*). **It is absolutely vital that the five fundamental terms placed in bold small capitals in this paragraph and their implications be fully understood as they will be encountered again and again in this and subsequent chapters.**

A.2. Weak, strong and hiatus presents plus paradigms.
(a) Whereas the present stem of all strong (e.g. *be(i)r(-)*, *gaib(-)*, *ben(-)*) and almost all weak verbs (e.g. *marb(-)*, *léic(-)*) ends in a consonant, that of all hiatus verbs (e.g. substantive verb *ta-*, *bi-* in III.A.3 and *so-*) ends in a vowel. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, this three-way

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division has important implications for the way in which a given verb forms its subjunctive, preterite and future stems but here only the present stem will be considered. The crucial difference in the present indicative relates to the 3sg. conjunct form: weak verbs add an extra vowel *-a* or *-i* to the stem (e.g. *ní:marba* 'does not kill', *ní:léici* 'does not leave'), whereas strong verbs add nothing (e.g. *ní:beir* 'does not carry', *ní:gaib* 'does not take' and *ní:ben* 'does not strike') and hiatus verbs typically occupy an intermediate position whereby the stem vowel is either lengthened (see I.B.4) or diphthongised (e.g. *a:tá* 'is', *ní:bí* 'is not wont to be', *ní:soí* 'does not turn').

Each of the three main categories is then subdivided on the basis of further differences in inflection. **W**eak verbs are divided into **W1** with final **-a** and **W2** with final **-i** in the 3sg. pres. conj., the stem final of W1 being fundamentally non-palatal throughout and that of W2 being regularly palatal where a following vowel has been lost by syncope (e.g. 1pl. abs. *lé(i)c†mi* 'we leave', *rá(i)d†mi* 'we say') but otherwise palatal (e.g. 1pl. conj. *-lé(i)cem* etc.) or non-palatal (e.g. 1pl. conj. *-rádam* etc.) throughout depending upon the basic shape of the verb involved. W2 verbs such as *dál(a)id* 'distributes' with a non-palatal final consonant in unsyncopated forms show a limited tendency to palatalise this as in 3pl. conj. *-dá(i)let* beside normal *-dálat* in conformity with the straightforward pattern of the *lé(i)cid* type. Strong verbs are divided into **S1**, which displays an alternation between non-palatal and palatal stem-final consonant in the different persons of the present indicative (most commonly non-palatal in the 1sg. with *u*, the 1pl. and the 3pl. versus palatal in the 2sg., 3sg. and 2pl., as in the case of *be(i)r(-)* below), **S2** with basic palatal stem final throughout the present and **S3** with basic non-palatal *n* throughout. **H**iatus verbs are subdivided on the basis of the stem vowel into **H1** (*-a-*), **H2** (*-i-*) and residual **H3** (*-o-*, *-e-* or *-u-*) They are so called because a hiatus disyllable results when an ending consisting of vowel plus consonant such as 3sg. abs. *-id* is added to the vowel of the stem (e.g. 3pl. *a:taat* and 3sg. *biid* in III.A.3). The pres. ind. of H2 is fully illustrated by the paradigm of *biid*, *-bí* 'is wont to be' in III.A.3, while that of H1 may be adequately illustrated by supplementing the conjunct forms of *a:tá* given in III.A.3 with abs./conj. 3sg. *baid/-bá* 'dies' and 3pl. *bait/-baat* 'die'. For H3 3sg. *so(a)id/-soí* 'turns' and 3pl. *so(a)it/-soat* 'turn' will suffice (but note the exceptional 3sg. conj. *-a* of H3 cpd. *do:goa* 'chooses'). Now for the present indicative paradigms of the basic weak and strong subtypes.

		W1 abs.	conj.	**W2** abs.	conj.
Sing.	1.	*(-)marb(a)im*		*(-)lé(i)ciu/(-)lé(i)cim*	
	2.	*(-)marb(a)i*		*-lé(i)ci*	
	3.	*marb(a)id*	*-marba*	*lé(i)cid*	*-lé(i)ci*
Plur.	1.	*marbm(a)i*	*-marbam*	*lé(i)cmi*	*-lé(i)cem*
	2.	*marbth(a)e*	*-marb(a)id*	*lé(i)cthe*	*-lé(i)cid*
	3.	*marb(a)it*	*-marbat*	*lé(i)cit*	*-lé(i)cet*

		S1 abs.	conj.	**S2** abs.	conj.	**S3** abs.	conj.
Sing.	1.	*biru/be(i)rim*	*-biur*	*(-)gaibiu/(-)gaibim*		*(-)ben(a)im*	
	2.	*biri*	*-bir*	*gaibi*	*-gaibi*	*(-)ben(a)i*	
	3.	*be(i)rid*	*-beir*	*gaibid*	*-gaib*	*ben(a)id*	*-ben*
Plur.	1.	*berm(a)i*	*-beram*	*gaibmi*	*-gaibem*	*benm(a)i*	*-benam*
	2.	*be(i)rthe*	*-be(i)rid*	*gaibthe*	*-gaibid*	*bent(a)e*	*-ben(a)id*
	3.	*ber(a)it*	*-berat*	*gaibit*	*-gaibet*	*ben(a)it*	*-benat*

(b) The 1sg. abs./conj. ending *-im(m)* was originally found only in W1 and S3 but was so distinctive that it was already beginning to spread in Old Irish, as indicated in the above paradigms. Indeed, where older *-(i)u* and later *-im* are given side by side, the latter has already become the normal form in the Glosses. Occasional spellings *-imm* and *-mmi* show that the *m* of the 1sg. and the 1pl. abs. was unlenited as in the corresponding pres. ind. forms of the copula in III.A.4. but the final *-m* of the 1pl. conj. is never written double in Old Irish and so was clearly lenited /ṽ/ (see I.B.2). For historical reasons the distinction between 2sg. and 3sg. conj. seen in *-bir* and *-beir* only applied to certain S1 verbs. Where it did not, the 2sg. conj. was liable to be distinguished from the 3sg. with the help of an *-i* taken over from S2, e.g. conj. 2sg. *-reithi* vs. 3sg. *-reith* in the case of S1 *reithid* 'runs'. The original 3sg. abs. *-ith* occurs in the small number of so-called Early Old Irish sources and occasionally survives (in spelling, at least) alongside normal *-id* (the result of a late voicing of final dentals after an unstressed vowel) in standard Old Irish. The vowel of the syllable before abs. 1pl. *-m(a)i* and 2pl. *-th(a)e* was usually lost by syncope (sometimes marked [†] in this work) by virtue of following an initial stressed syllable and being non-final (see II.A.4c). When this brought *th* into contact with another dental such as *d*, *th*, *s*, *l* or *n*, **delenition** took place, whence S3 2pl. *bent(a)e* from **ben[†]the* from **benathe* (an asterisk being conventionally placed before earlier forms that can be inferred but are not actually attested).

There are a number of variations on the S1 theme. Stressed *e*, *a* and *o* usually remain unchanged throughout (except for *e* to *i* sometimes in the 2sg. conj.) but in the case of the latter two the stem-final consonant is regularly palatal only in the 3sg. conj. e.g. *marn(a)id, -mairn* 'betrays' and *org(a)id, -oirg* 'slays'. Basic stressed *i* and *é(i)* usually alternate with stressed *e* and *ía* respectively according as the following consonant is palatal or non-palatal (see II.A.4b), e.g. conj. 3sg. *-mlig* vs. 3pl. *-mlegat* 'milk(s)', 3sg. *-réid* vs. 3pl. *-ríadat* 'ride(s)'. S1 verbs with a final dental have expected palatal lenited *-th* or *-d* /-ð/ in the 3sg. conj. when the root is stressed but a peculiar non-palatal unlenited *-t* /-d/ when it is unstressed, as in *reithid, -reith* 'runs' and its compounds (2 below) *fo:reith* 'assists' but *do:im-thi-ret* 'serves'. Sometimes this *-t* spreads to the stressed forms, as in 3sg. deuterotonic (see B.1 below) *ad:fét* or *in:fét* 'relates' (for expected but unattested **-féid*) with stressed root under the influence of protonic *-ind-et* with unstressed root. The common root *tég-* 'go' behaves normally outside the 3sg., where it has an irregular form with *-t* instead of *-g(-)*: 1sg. *tíagu, -tíag*, 2sg. *téigi, -téig*, 3sg. *téit, -tét*, 1pl. *tíagm(a)i, -tíagam*, 2pl. *téigthe, -téigid*, 3pl. *tíagait, -tíagat*.

A.3. Reading practice.

(a)   Wb. 1d15 *aingid imdibe ar bibdamnacht rec(h)tto.*
         Wb. 3d8 *is cuit airicc camai - ní:gaib airechas.*
         Wb. 6a13 *is deidbir ha áigthiu, ar is do thabirt díglae berid in claideb sin.*
         Wb. 11a4 *rethit uili.*
         Wb. 15b28 *.i. is ar bethid dúib-si tíagmi-ni bás.*
         Wb. 26b8 *.i. guidmi-ni dúib.*
         Wb. 30d3 *guidim.*

(b) Below are the first five quatrains of the delightful poem about the scholar and his cat referred to in I.A.2 above, the last three being reserved for C.4a below. The metre is a loose *deibide* with seven syllables per line, end rhymes between the first and second as well as the third and fourth

of these, and a modicum of alliteration. The rhyme is of a type peculiar to (but not compulsory in) *deibide* and termed 'rinn/ardrinn'. The name itself illustrates its basic trait, namely a rhyme between the final word of the odd-numbered line (e.g. *bán* in line one) and a longer (usually by one syllable but sometimes by two) final word of the even-numbered line (e.g. *saindán* in line two). Essentially, the shape of the former from the stressed vowel onwards must be matched by the end of the latter according to the basic rules given in II.B.2g, the peculiarity being that a stressed vowel (small caps.) in the *rɪnn* rhymes with an unstressed vowel in the *ᴀrdrɪnn*. Since unstressed long vowels are something of a rarity in Old Irish except in compounds (such as *sain-dán*, *macc-dán*), it is permissible for a final short vowel in the *ardrinn* to rhyme with a final long vowel in the *rinn* as long as these agree in quality (e.g. short and long *u* in the case of *clú* and *ingnu* in stanza 2). Standard rules of word order can be breached on occasion, notable examples being the inversion of the normal order head noun plus an adjective or a dependent noun in the genitive seen in *léir ingnu* (also a 'poetic' independent dative without the preposition normally required in prose), *díchríchide clius*, and *frega fál*. The verbal forms *fris':mberam* (stanza 3), which contains a reduced form of the prepositional relative *fri-ssa* (A.1c above) that is more typical of Middle than Old Irish but is metrically guaranteed here, and the second *glenaid* (stanza 4) have been substituted for forms of similar import in the original that have not yet been encountered. In the first stanza *bíth* for usual *biid* is an early (and metrically guaranteed) example of the contraction of a hiatus disyllable and is also an instance of sporadic spelling fluctuation between *-th* and *-d* (cf. the note on *bíth-i* in IV.A.7).

1.	*Me-sse ocus Pangur bán,* *cechtar nathar fria saindán.* *Bíth a menmae-som fri seilgg,* *mu menmae céin im saincheirdd.*	2.	*Caraim-se fos, ferr cach clú,* *oc mu lebrán léir ingnu.* *Ní foirmtech frim Pangur bán,* *caraid cesin a maccdán.*
3.	*Ó-ru:biam, scél cen scís,* *innar tegdais ar n-óendís,* *táithiunn, díchríchide clius,* *ní fris':mberam ar n-áthius.*	4.	*Gnáthúaraib ar gressaib gal* *glenaid luch inna lín-sam;* *os mé, glenaid im lín chéin* *dliged ndoraid cu ndronchéill.*

5. *Fúachaid-sem fri frega fál*
   a rosc, a nglé se comlán.
   Fúachimm chéin fri fégi fis
   mu rosc réil, cesu imdis.

B. COMPOUND VERBS.

B.1. Verbal composition.
Verbal composition is a process whereby a so-called **preverb** or preverbs (which are often closely related to various prepositions used with nouns; see IV.B.2) is prefixed to a verbal root in order to modify its meaning in some way (see III.A.3 for a brief preliminary discussion). This device is but sparingly used in English (unlike, say, German) but may be seen in examples such as *fore-tell* versus *tell*, *re-play* versus *play*, *over-state* versus *state* and *under-lie* versus *lie*. In Old Irish, by contrast, verbal composition is extremely common and may involve anything from one, two or (rarely) three to (very rarely) four preverbs. The verbs discussed in the previous section were all simple, and some typical compounds formed from them are listed below.

a:tá (cpd.)/*bíid* 'is (wont to be)': *for:tá/bí* 'is (wont to be) upon/over' (+ *for-*).
so(a)id/-soí 'turns': *im(m):soí* 'turns round' (+ *im(m)-*), *do:intai* 'returns' (+ *to-* + *ind-*).
lé(i)cid/-léici 'leaves, lets': *do:léici* 'lets go, throws' (+ *to-*), *ar:léici* 'lets go, releases' (+ *ar-*).
be(i)rid/-beir 'carries': *do:beir* 'brings, gives' (+ *to-*), *as:beir* 'says' (+ *ess-*), *im(m):beir* 'plays'
(+ *im(m)-*), *for:beir* 'increases' (+ *for-*).
claidid/-claid 'digs': *do:claid* 'digs up' (+ *to-*).
gaibid/-gaib 'seizes, takes': *fo:gaib* 'finds, gets' (+ *fo-*), *as:ingaib* 'surpasses' (+ *ess-* + *in-*).
benaid/-ben 'strikes, smites': *do:fuiben* 'cuts off, destroys' (+ *to-* + *fo-*), *in:ár⁺ban* 'expels' (+
ind- + *ad-* + *ro* + *uss-*).

B.2. Deuterotonic and prototonic forms.

(a) Like a conjunct particle, the first preverb of independent compound verbs is unstressed or
proclitic (see the definition in III.A.3), an alternative term with the same meaning being **pretonic**
('preceding the stress'). In this work a colon (:) is used to mark the boundary between a proclitic
preverb or conjunct particle and the stressed syllable (underlined in the examples above and
below) following it. Since compound verbs are regularly preceded by a proclitic element, their
endings are invariably **conjunct**, as can be seen from the examples above. Unlike simple verbs,
they do not change their endings when they become dependent and ***it is impossible to use
absolute endings with a compound verb in Old Irish***. Since the first preverb of an **independent
compound verb** is proclitic (or pretonic) the main stress falls on the next element, whether the
verbal root itself or (in the case of compounds with two or more preverbs) the second preverb,
and this form is termed DEUTEROTONIC, which simply means 'second stressed'. However, when
a proclitic **conjunct particle** precedes a **dependent compound verb**, it pushes the first preverb
out of that slot into the stressed part of the verb, where it naturally comes under the initial stress
normal in Old Irish, and the resultant form is termed PROTOTONIC or 'first stressed'.

As applied to some of the examples above, this alternation between **independent deuterotonic**
and **dependent prototonic** forms (both with conjunct endings) produces the following pairs: deut.
im:soí but prot. *ní:impai* 'does not turn round', deut. ***do:int**-ai* but prot. *ní:tintai* 'does not return',
deut. ***do:léici*** but prot. *ní:te(i)l⁺ci* 'does not throw', deut. ***ar:léici*** but prot. *ní:air⁺lici* 'does not
release', deut. ***do:beir*** but prot. *ní:tabair* 'does not bring/give', deut. ***as:beir*** but prot. *ní:epir*
'does not say', deut. ***im(m):beir*** but prot. *ní:imbir* 'does not play', deut. ***for:beir*** but prot.
ní:forbair 'does not increase', deut. ***do:claid*** but prot. *ní:tochlaid*, deut. ***fo:gaib*** but prot.
ní:fogaib 'does not find/get', deut. ***as:ingaib*** but prot. *ní:es⁺ngaib* 'does not surpass', deut.
do:fuiben but prot. *ní:tuiben* 'does not destroy', deut. ***in:ár⁺ban*** but prot. *ní:indarban* 'does not
expel'.

(b) The above are just a few examples picked more or less at random from among the several
hundred different compound verbs found in Old and Middle Irish sources. However, they suffice
to show that the shift in stress from the second constituent of the compound (whether verbal root
or a second preverb) to its first preverb triggered further divergences that often caused the
deuterotonic and prototonic forms of a given verb to differ from each other considerably in Old
Irish. For instance, the shift from a stressed to an unstressed syllable may modify a vowel in
accordance with I.B.6, as in deut. ***for:beir*** vs. prot. *-forbair*, deut. ***im(m):beir*** vs. prot. *-imbir*. The
addition of the initial preverb to the stressed part of the verb usually increases its syllable count
by one and thus may change a disyllable into a trisyllable liable to syncope (here indicated by ⁺),
as in deut. ***do:léici*** vs. prot. *-te(i)l⁺ci*, deut. ***as:ingaib*** vs. prot. *-es⁺ngaib* or 3pl. deut. ***do:berat***

'they bring/give' vs. prot. *-taibᵗret*. A pretonic preverb does not mutate the initial of the stressed part of the verb in an Old Irish main clause but the initial preverb of a prototonic form does apply any appropriate mutation such as lenition to what follows, as in deut. ***do:claid*** /do klað′/ vs. prot. *-tochlaid* /toχləð′/, deut. ***do:beir*** /do ber′/ vs. prot. *-tabair* /tavər′/, deut. ***fo:gaib*** /fo gav′/ vs. prot. *-fogaib* /foγəv′/ or the more extreme deut. ***do:fuiben*** vs. prot. *-tuiben* on account of the complete disappearance of lenited *f*. Final consonants found in a pretonic preverb may be lost in combination with a following consonant in the prototonic form, as in deut. ***as:beir*** /as ber′/ vs. prot. *-epir* /ebər′/ (see I.B.1 on the purely graphic difference between *b* and *p* here), and a final vowel may be lost by elision before a following vowel, as in deut. ***do:intai*** vs. prot. *-tintai*. Certain developments, such as the change of *e* to *a* and the voicing of *t-* to *d-* in contact with an unstressed vowel, are peculiar to proclitics and so only affect the deuterotonic form, as in deut. ***as:beir*** vs. prot. *-epir* or deut. ***do:intai***, ***do:lé(i)ci***, ***do:beir***, ***do:fuiben*** vs. prot. *-tintai*, *-te(i)lci*, *-tabair*, *-tuiben*. In the case of deut. ***im:soí*** vs. prot. *-impai* proclitic *imb* was assimilated to *im(m)* particularly early but in the prototonic form *-soi* was lenited by it to *-hoi* with an *h* that devoiced *imb* to *imp* before disappearing (see IV.B.1 on the similar case of the 3sg. f. and 3 pl. accusative forms of certain conjugated prepositions).

Where the stressed part of a verb began with a vowel, the vowel of the proclitic preverbs *ro*, *fo* and *to* was liable to elision before it (*t-* to *d-* thus being impeded) with the result that verbs of this shape often display independent (as well as dependent) prototonic forms contrary to the normal distribution: e.g., indep. *ro:ic* or *ric*, dep. *-ric* 'reaches'; indep. *fo:ácaib* or *fácaib*, dep. *-fácaib* 'leaves'; indep. *do:intai* or *tintai*, dep. *-tintai* 'returns'; indep. *do:ic* or *tic*, *-tic* 'comes'.

(c) The Old Irish system of compound verbs constitutes one of the language's main difficulties because the realisation of a given deuterotonic and prototonic alternation tends to be governed by various factors such as the above, often in combinations that are peculiar to an individual compound verb. It is not practical to attempt to learn any but the very commonest of these paired forms (e.g. 3sg. pres. *do:beir*, *-tabair*). Rather it is desirable to be aware of the main factors liable to differentiate them and gradually build up a repertoire by reading. Under the circumstances the above can be no more than a rough preliminary guide. **The essential point to grasp is that** SIMPLE VERBS **retain** *the same basic form of the stem* **but typically** *change the endings* **from** ABSOLUTE **to** CONJUNCT **upon becoming dependent, whereas** COMPOUND VERBS *always have conjunct endings* **but typically shift from a** DEUTEROTONIC **to a** PROTOTONIC *form of the stem* **when dependent.**

B.3. Reading practice.

(a) The first brief passage from *Aipgitir Chrábuid* (see II.A.5c) cited with a couple of minor modifications below deals with the beneficial effects of the love of God, whereas the second presents a typically negative clerical view of life in a *fían* or warrior society. The second occurrence of *do:formaig* in each passage is due its having been substituted for *ar:cuirethar* 'extends' in the original, as the latter displays a so-called 'deponent' inflection that will not be encountered until VII.B.

Serc Dé bí, fo:nig anmuin; sásaith menmuin; do:formaig fochraicci; in:árben análchi; ar:corbi talmain; fo:nig, con:rig coiclea. Ced do:gní serc Dé fri duine? Marbaid a thola; glanaid a chride;.... longid a análchi; to:slí fochraici; do:formaig sáegul; fo:nig anmuin.

Fo:fera fíannas cethardae do duiniu .i. do:imairc crícha, do:formaig écraiti, etar:díben sáegul, do:formaig píana.

(b)   Wb. 2a14 *ní:derscigem nech di alailiu. Bit bibdaid huili.*
        Wb. 4d25 *do:beir Pól glúais for testimin (in)na fetarlicce.*
        Wb. 6a16 *hóre do:feich cach n-olcc ⁊ mórid cach maith*
        Wb. 6a17 *hóre con:icc dígail forib.*
        Wb. 8a9 *is airi as:biur frit* stultam ('stupid').
        Wb. 8c11 *cindas fer dia:ndénid-si deu?*
        Wb. 9b19 *ní:epur frib etarscarad fri suidiu.*
        Wb. 9c23 *ar:celith ar chách ⁊ di:oiprid chách.*
        Wb. 9d8 *im:folngi corp dó-ssom .i. corp inna pecthe bíte forsin mertrich.*
        Ml. 78b12 *do:beir-som ainm cathrach dun chennadaig ara daingni.*

C. SUFFIXED AND INFIXED PRONOUNS.

C.1. The basic set.

IV.A.6 has already introduced the basic set of clitic or enclitic (i.e. unstressed and incapable of standing alone) object pronouns with reference to the substantive verb, namely 1sg. *-m(-)* 'me', 2sg. *-t(-)* 'you', 3sg. m./n. *-i* or *-a-* 'him, it', 3sg. f. *-s(-)* 'her, it', 1pl. *-n(n)(-)* 'us', 2pl. *-b(-)* 'you', 3pl. *-s(-)* 'them'. It was pointed out that these could be **suffixed** to an independent simple verb (e.g. *táth-u-m* 'there is to me') or were **infixed** between a proclitic and the rest of the verb (e.g. *ní-m:thá* 'there is not to me'). Where the pronoun consisted of a consonant (i.e. all forms except the 3sg. m./n.) a glide vowel (typically *-u-* before a non-palatal but *-i-* before palatal suffixed 2pl. *-b*) was inserted between it and another consonant. As indicated in IV.A.6 these pronouns were often used as indirect objects with the verb 'to be' but usually functioned as direct objects elsewhere. It remains to consider the system as a whole in greater detail.

C.2. Suffixing pronouns.

In practice, the use of **suffixed pronouns** was virtually confined to third-person verb forms (usually sg. but rarely pl.) in Old Irish and only the 3sg. substantive verb could suffix first- and second-person pronouns in normal prose (see IV.A.6). As a rule, then, other verbs in the 3sg. could only suffix a third-person pronoun, although greater latitude was permitted in poetry and the stylised medium of so-called *rosc* or 'rhetoric'. It will be recalled that the 3sg. absolute ending was originally *-(a)ith* but had become *-(a)id* by the beginning of the Old Irish period proper as a result of the voicing of dentals on the word boundary after an unstressed vowel (see A.2b above). Where *-th* was followed by a clitic suffixed pronoun, it was no longer on the word boundary and so was not voiced, e.g. *ain†gid* 'protects' (< **ain†gith* ; unsyncopated conj. *-anaig*) but *ain†gith-i* 'protects him'. More often than not, the addition of a suffixed pronoun changed a disyllable into a trisyllable liable to syncope, e.g. S1 *beirid* 'bears, carries' (< *beirith*) but *beir†th-i* 'carries him/it' and *beir†th-ius* 'carries her/it/them' or W1 *marbaid* 'kills' (< *marbaith*) but *marb†th-ai* 'kills him/it' or *marb†th-us* 'kills her/it/them'. If syncope brought a root-final dental into contact with the *-th-* of the 3sg. abs., this became liable to the delenition described in A.2b above: e.g., *benaid* 'smites' (< *benaith*) but *ben†t-ai* 'smites him/it' and *ben†t-us* 'smites her/it/them' (< **ben†th-*) or *guidid* 'beseeches' (< *guidith*) but *guit†t-i* 'beseeches him' and *guit†t-ius* 'beseeches her/them' (< **guid†th-*). Factors such as these made the use of suffixed pronouns with independent simple verbs somewhat complicated and that is doubtless why it had already been

largely restricted in Old Irish to the most frequently occurring forms, namely 3sg. verbs with a third-person pronoun. That said, a 3pl verb ending in -*(a)it* very occasionally suffixed a 3sg. m./n. pronoun -*it* (doubtless -*i* with a -*t* taken over from the verbal ending itself), as in *berait* 'they carry' but *ber†t-ait* 'they carry him/it'.

The suffixing of an object pronoun to a 3sg. independent simple verb only remained more or less compulsory in Old Irish if the pronoun was 3sg. m. or n. or the verb was the substantive verb. Otherwise the combinations of a 3pl. verb with a 3sg. m./n. suffixed pronoun and of a 3sg. verb with a 3sg. f. or a 3pl. suffixed pronoun were no more than optional, while the suffixing of a pronoun in any other combination was impossible except insofar as a first- or second-person suffixed pronoun might optionally be used with a 3sg. verb in poetry or rhetoric.

C.3. Infixing pronouns.
(a) Where suffixing was impossible or no more than optional, there was a need for a structure compatible with the more straightforward process of infixing (see IV.A.6 above and C.3b below). This was met by using a meaningless proclitic element ***no*** (cf. the first paragraph of III.A.3) as a dummy conjunct particle capable of supporting an infixed pronoun, the following simple verb then predictably switching to conjunct inflection. The basic distribution may be illustrated by the following examples involving *beirid* 'carries': [regular suffixing] *beirth-**i*** 'carries him/it'; [either suffixing or *no* plus infixing] *beirthiu-**s*** or *no-**s**:(m)beir* 'carries her/it/them', *n-**a**:berat* or *bert(a)**it*** '(they) carry it'; [*no* plus infixing only] *no-**t**:beir* 'carries you', *no-**n**:berat* '(they) carry us' (and so on with any first- or second-person pronoun), *n-**a**:biur* 'I carry it', *no-**s**:(m)beram* 'we carry her/it/them', *no-**m**:bir* 'you carry me', *no-**b**:beram* 'we carry you' (and so on with any verb not in the third person).

(b) Needless to say, *no* can only be employed when infixing would otherwise be impossible. Consequently it never occurs when another proclitic is present, whether this be the pretonic preverb of an independent compound verb or a meaningful conjunct particle such as negative *ní* (see A.1c and B.2a above) followed by a dependent simple or compound verb. In both of those circumstances an **infixed pronoun** is the only possibility: e.g., *imm-**a**:soí* 'turns him/it round', *imm-u**n**:soí* 'turns us round', *do-**s**:léici* 'casts it (f.)', *ar-u**b**:léici* 'releases you', *ar-u**s**:léici* 'releases her/it/them', *ar-**a**:l(l)éici* 'releases him/it (m.)', *do-**s**:(m)beir* 'brings her/it/them', *d-**a**:mbeir* 'brings him/it (m.)', *d-**a**:chlaid* 'digs it (n.) up', *fo-**t**:gaibet* '(they) find you'; *ní:mbeir* 'does not carry him/it', *ní-**s**:(m)beir* 'does not carry her/it/them', *ní-**n**:berat* '(they) do not carry us', *ní-**b**:impai* 'does not turn you round', *ní:n-airlici* 'does not release him/it', *ní-**s**:tabair* 'does not bring her/it/them', *ní:thochlaid* 'does not dig it (n.) up', *ní-**t**:fogbat* '(they) do not find you'.

As pointed out in IV.A.6, the forms of the basic infixed and suffixed pronouns are identical except in the 3sg. m./n., where suffixed -*i* corresponds to infixed -*a* (which elides a previous vowel as in *d'-**a**:chlaid* above) and the vowel of the infix is entirely absorbed by negative *ní*. Certain infixed pronouns are followed by a particular mutation, namely 1sg. -*m* and 2sg. -*t* by lenition (as in *ní-**t**:fogbat* above), 3sg. f. and 3pl. -*s* by optional nasalization (as in *do-**s**:(m)beir* above), 3sg. m. -*a* by nasalisation (as in *d-**a**:mbeir* and *ní:n-airlici* above) and 3sg. n. -*a* by lenition (as in *d-**a**:chlaid* and *ní:thochlaid*). Clearly this mutation pattern is of particular importance in the 3sg., where it serves to distinguish the masculine (e.g. *d-**a**:mbeir* /da mer′/) from the neuter infixed pronoun (e.g. *da:beir* /da ver′/) and in the case of *ní* 'not' is the sole factor differentiating a form with a 3sg. m. or n. pronoun from a form without one: e.g. *ní:mbeir* /nī

mer′/, *ní:tabair* /nī davər′/ and *ní:n-airlici* /nī nar′l′əg′i/ 'does not carry/bring/release him' (3sg. m.); *ní:beir* /nī ver′/, *ní:thabair* /nī θavər′/ and *ní:(h)airlici* /nī ar′l′əg′i/'does not carry/bring/release it' (3sg. n.); *ní:beir* /nī ber′/, *ní:tabair* /nī tavər′/ and *ní:(h)airlici* /nī har′l′əg′i/ 'does not carry/bring/release'(no pronoun). As can be seen from these examples, Old Irish orthography does not always bring out these phonetic distinctions clearly for reasons given in I.B.1/8.

(c) The basic set of infixed pronouns illustrated in the previous two paragraphs is known as **class A** and is used after various elements with a final vowel such as negative *ní*, the particle *no*, the augment *ro* (see III.A.5a) and the pretonic preverbs *do, fo, ro* as well as *im(m)* and *ar* (which once ended in a vowel that can still be seen in their relative forms *imme/a* and *ara* discussed in VI.B.3 below). However, so-called **class B** infixed pronouns are used after pretonic preverbs such as *ad, as, con, for, fris* or *in(d)* with an invariable final consonant. In the first and second persons a dental element /d/ plus vowel (usually *a* or *o*) is simply prefixed to the basic class A form to produce class B1sg. *-t/dom* or *-t/dam* [len.], 2sg. *-t/dot* or *-t/dat* [len.], 1pl. *-t/don* or *-t/dan*, 2pl. *-t/dob* or *-t/dab* but in the third person only the dental element appears, namely 3sg. m. *-t/d* [nas.], n. *-t/d* [len.] and non-mutating 3sg. f. or 3pl. *-t/da*. Apart from *-r* the final consonant of a preverb is lost before the initial /d/ of a class B pronoun, *as*, *ad* and *in* all appearing as *a-*: e.g., *a-**t**:beir* 'says it' /ad/ (*as:beir* 'says'), *a-**ta**:árban* 'expels her/them' /ada/ (*in(d):árban* 'expels'), *a-**tot**:aig* 'impels you (sg.)' /adod/ (*ad:aig* 'impels'), *co-**t**:mboing* 'breaks him' /cod/ (*con:boing* 'breaks') *fri-**tan**:orgat* '(they) offend us' /fridan/ (*fris:oirg* 'offends', *for-**dom**:chanid* or *for-**tom**:chanid* 'you (pl.) teach us'/fordom/ (*for:cain* 'teaches'). As these examples show, the /d/ of the class B pronoun is written *t* after a vowel but *t* or *d* after a consonant in accordance with the standard Old Irish spelling rules given in I.B.1.

C.4. Reading practice.

(a) Below are the final three stanzas of the *Pangur Bán* poem (A.3b above). The relative nasalisation (basically 'that') seen in *du:ngní* 'that/which he does' in the last quatrain will be discussed in VI.B.5. Note that *déne* is a 'poetical' preposed genitive (see A.3b). See IV.B.2 on *chene* for normal OIr. *cene* in the last line of stanza 6.

6.   *Fáilid-sem cu ndéne dul,*   7.   *Cía beimmi amin nach ré,*
         hi:nglen luch inna gérchrub.   *ní:derban cách a chéle.*
         Hi:tucu ceist ndoraid ndil,   *Maith la cechtar nár a dán,*
         os mé chene, am fáilid.   *subaigthius a óenurán.*

        8.   *Hé fesin as choimsid dáu*
             in muid du:ngní cach óenláu;
             du thabairt doraid du glé
             for mu mud céin am me-sse.

(b) 'Historical' presents could be quite freely mingled with preterite forms in the narrative parts of early Irish sagas, if an author so chose, and presumably were felt to lend the account a certain immediacy. The relatively short saga *Táin Bó Flidais* 'The Driving off of Flidais' Cattle' makes unusually extensive use of this device but interestingly shows a regular preference for the preterite after *co* [nas.] 'so that, until' depending upon a historical present. Thus we find

co:ndechaid 'until it had gone' (suppletive perfect of *téit* 'goes'), *co:mbert* 'so that it carried' (*t*-preterite of *beirid* 'carries'; see VI.A.2), *co:lluid* 'so that it went' (suppletive preterite of *téit* 'goes'; see VI.A.4e) in the slightly normalised passage below, which tells of the victory of Ailill Find (the husband of Flidais) over a band led by the Ulster exile Fergus mac Roich (whom Flidais loved) and of the sending of an expedition by Ailill and Medb, the king and queen of Connacht, to avenge Fergus' discomfiture.

Téit Dubthach ara chenn. Benaid Dubthach sleig triit, .i. tri Ailill, co:ndechaid tria di ṡlíasait. Do:léici-som gaí do Dubthach co:mbert crann triit i lleth n-aill. Fo:ceird Fergus scíath tar Dubthach. Benid-som hi scíath Fergusa co:mbert crann triit fodesin. Tautat Fergus. Do:beir Fergus mac Óenláime scíath airi-side. Benaid Ailill gaí hi suide co:lluid triit. F-a:ceird co:mboí ina ligiu for a chélib. Tautat Flidais la sodain asin dún ⁊ fo:ceird a brat tairsiu a triur. Maitt-i íarom for muintir Fergusa i teched. Téit Ailill inna ndiad. Fácbat fichit láech lais díb. As:luí mórfesser díb do Crúachnaib Aí ⁊ ad:fíadat a scél n-uile hi suidiu and sin do Ailill ⁊ do Meidb. Con:érig íarom Ailill ⁊ Medb ⁊ maithi Connacht ⁊ in longas Ulad olchenae. Ad:cosnat i crích Cíarraige Aí cona mbuidnib co Áth Féne.

(c) The two passages below are from the Stowe Missal (see I.A.2). The first is from a short Old Irish tract therein on the Mass and the second is a charm entitled *ar delc*.

Quando canitur 'Accepit Iesus panem' (Latin: 'when "Jesus took the bread" is chanted'), *t-a:n-aurnat in sacart fa thrí du aithrigi dia pecthaib, a-t:n-opuir* Deo ('to God') ⁊ *slechtith in popul ⁊ ní:táet guth i sson.*

Macc saele án to:fásci delc - nip hon, nip anim, nip att, nip galar, nip crú cruach, nip loch líach, nip aupaith. Líi gréne, fris:ben att, benith galar.

(d)   Wb. 1d7 *im:rádat imráti cid maith as dénti ⁊ nertit a dénum in maid sin. Con:nessat immurgu in ngním n-olcc ⁊ ar-a:ngairet..*
          Wb. 5c6 *ní-m:charat-sa ind fir hóre pridchim soscéle do gentib.*
          Wb. 7b21 *.i. no-b:guidet .i. no-b:bendachat.*
          Wb. 11b7 *.i. hóre no-n:bendacha-ni.*
          Wb. 27a29 *ní i ssíansib spiritáldib moít-i.*
          Wb. 31b14 *no-s:moídet i scélaib* et *senchassaib rec(h)to* et *geintlec(h)te.*
          Wb. 32a16 *ma nu-m:gaibi ar charit.*

(e) Early Irish syllabic poetry is based, as has already been seen and as the name itself suggests, upon a line containing a fixed number of syllables, most commonly (but by no means always) seven, and a fixed cadence (e.g. a final monosyllable or a final disyllable throughout). These lines tend to be organised in quatrains with a rhyme between the last words of lines two and four (so-called *rannaigecht* metres etc.) or one rhyme between lines one and two as well as a further one between lines three and four (so-called *deibide* metres - see A.3b above). Full rhyme demands agreement in the quality and quantity of the stressed vowel (usually that of the first syllable), in the class (basically four: stops, lenited consonants, unlenited nasals or liquids, and *s* in a class of its own) and quality (basically palatal or non-palatal) of any subsequent consonants, and in the quality and quantity of any final unstressed vowels present. The two quatrains below are from the margin of a folio of the St. Gall codex. In this charming occasional poem the scribe has taken

time off from glossing Priscian's Latin grammar and finds or imagines himself out of doors. Even so he feels himself comfortably enclosed, being surrounded by wood and song while writing and thinking of God as if still within the monastery. Each quatrain has four lines of seven syllables each with a monosyllabic cadence in all but the third, which end on a disyllable (schematically 7^1 7^1 7^2 7^1). The finals of the second and fourth lines rhyme (*chél* with **én**, both with long *e* followed by a non-palatal lenited consonant, and *doss* with *ross*, both with short *o* followed by non-palatal *s*) in accordance with a basic *rannaigecht* scheme. This, however, usually requires further ornament. In the present case there is a so-called '*aicill*' rhyme between the final word of line three and an internal word in line four (*línech* and *trírech*; *coíma* and *roída*, with diphthong *oí*, lenited *m* /ṽ/ and *d* /ð/ respectively, and final -*a*), while the final word of line one (*fál*, **mass**) makes so-called 'consonance' with those of two and four (*chél* and *én*, *doss* and *ross*). This entails stressed vowels of the same quantity but different quality (here long *á* versus long *é* and short *a* versus short *o*) and consonants of the same class and, if (but only if) final, quality too, a condition clearly met by the final non-palatal -*l* of *fál* and the final non-palatal -*s(s)* of *mass*. A further ornament is provided by alliteration (indicated by underlining below) between the initials of stressed words, unstressed words not counting and initial mutations being disregarded. Poetry sometimes allows patterns of word order that would be inadmissible in ordinary prose, a feature manifested here by the inversion of normal *fál fidbaide*, *ross roída* (head noun with following genitive) and by the 'tmesis' or sundering of the proclitic from the stressed part of standard *no-m:choíma* in the second quatrain. Note that *nad:chél* 'which I shall not conceal' is a 1sg. *é*-future (IX.3b) of S1 *ce(i)lid* in a so-called leniting relative clause (VI.B.3; here neg. *nad* + lenition instead of non-leniting main-clause *ní*).

> *Do-m:farcai fidbaide fál*
> *fo-m:chain loíd luin, lúad nad:chél.*
> *Úas mo lebrán ind línech*
> *Fo-m:chain trírech inna n-én.*
>
> *Fo-mm:chain coí menn, medair mass,*
> *hi mbrot glass de dindgaib doss.*
> *Débrad, no-m: Choimmdiu -coíma,*
> *Caín:scríbaimm fo roída ross.*

D. THE IMPERATIVE.

D.1. Basic inflection.

The imperative is used for giving commands and is typically formed by adding a special set of endings, one per person with no differentiation of absolute and conjunct, to the present stem. For obvious reasons the 1sg. is rare (although there are a few attestations of *tíag* 'let me go'). The 2sg. is the bare stem (and hence identical with the 3sg. conj. in the case of strong and hiatus verbs but lacking the final -*i* or -*a* of the 3sg. conj. in the case of weak verbs), the 3sg. ending is -*ed* or -*ad* (after a palatal consonant and a non-palatal consonant or a vowel respectively) and the plural endings are identical with the corresponding conjunct endings of the present indicative. The imperative endings are incompatible with a suffixed pronoun and otherwise independent simple verbs in the imperative must use *no* (see C.3a above) plus the appropriate class A infixed pronoun: e.g., *no-m:léic* 'release (sg.) me!', *n-a:n-oirg* 'kill (sg.) him!', *no-s:ngaibid* 'take (pl.) them!'.

The conjugation of the substantive verb given in III.A.3 includes an imperative paradigm that will serve to illustrate this formation in H2 and the other hiatus classes. The following are the imperative paradigms corresponding to those of the present indicative of the main weak and strong subtypes given in A.2a above.

		W1	**W2**	**S1**	**S2**	**S3**
Sing.	2.	*(-)marb*	*(-)léic*	*(-)beir*	*(-)gaib*	*(-)ben*
	3.	*(-)marbad*	*(-)lé(i)ced*	*(-)be(i)red*	*(-)gaibed*	*(-)benad*
Plur.	1.	*(-)marbam*	*(-)lé(i)cem*	*(-)beram*	*(-)gaibem*	*(-)benam*
	2.	*(-)marb(a)id*	*(-)lé(i)cid*	*(-)be(i)rid*	*(-)gaibid*	*(-)ben(a)id*
	3.	*(-)marbat*	*(-)lé(i)cet*	*(-)berat*	*(-)gaibet*	*(-)benat*

D.2. Compound forms and negation.
Unless the presence of an infixed pronoun makes a deuterotonic form unavoidable, **the imperative of independent compound verbs takes the prototonic form**. Thus 2sg. ipv. *tabair* 'give!' vs. 3sg. pres. ind. *do:beir* 'gives', 3sg. ipv. *toimled* 'let him/her eat' vs. 3sg. ipf. (see E.1 below) *do:me(i)led* '(s)he used to eat' and 2pl. ipv. *eprid* 'say!' vs. pres. ind. *as:be(i)rid* 'you (pl.) say' but ambiguous *d-a:beir* (either 2sg. ipv. 'give it!' or 3sg. pres. ind. 'gives it'), *a-t:be(i)rid* (either 2pl. ipv. 'say it!' or 2pl. pres. ind. 'you say it') and *do-s:me(i)led* (either 3sg. ipv. 'let him/her eat them' or 3sg. ipf. '(s)he used to eat them'). Needless to say, such formal ambiguities can usually be resolved from the context in which the form in question occurs, and a special negative form *na* (sometimes *ná* under the influence of *ní*) clearly distinguishes imperatives such as 2sg. *na:tabair* 'do not give!', 2pl. *na:benaid* 'do not strike!' and 3pl. *na:toimlet* 'let them not eat!' from the corresponding present indicatives *ní:tabair* 'does not give', *ní:benaid* 'you (pl.) do not strike' and *ní:toimlet* 'they do not eat'. The infixed pronouns used with negative *na* (as also with *-na*, on which see A.1c above, and rel. *nad*) basically resemble class B (see C.3c above) except for the peculiarity of having initial *ch* rather than a dental: 1sg. *na-cham(m)*, 1pl. *na-chan(n)*, 2sg. *na-chat*, 2pl. *na-chab*, 3sg. m./n. *na-ch* (nas./len. respectively), 3sg. f./3pl. *na-cha*.

D.3. Reading practice.

(a) In the first brief passage below from the Old Irish Life of St. Brigit (see III.A.5e) her father gives her a welcome order. In the somewhat modified second a sick relative orders his servants to send a cow to Brigit and she then bids her followers give it to bishop Mel.

'Gaib-siu trá calle, a mmo ingen, ar is ed t'accobar. Fodail dano in trebad so do Día ₇ duiniu.'

Día Mairt arabárach boí fer maith i fochraíb, coibdelach do Brigti. Blíadain lán dó i seurc. 'Berid dam', ol suide 'boin bes dech bes i mo indis indíu do Brigti ₇ guided Día n-erum duus imba slán'. Berait in mboin ₇ as:beir Brigit friu: 'Berid fo chétúair do Mel'.

(b)　　Wb. 5d16 *taibred cách airmitin di alailiu.*
　　　　Wb. 6a20 *taibrith a téichte ndoib.*
　　　　Wb. 6b11 *na:taibred dímiccim foir.*
　　　　Ml. 72d11 *du-m:em-se ₇ deich tarm chenn.*

(c) Below is a passage from *Tecosca Cormaic* in which Cormac utters a series of injunctions appropriate to the king who would be good.

Torramad lubru. Lessaiged tríunu. Techtad fír. Cairiged goí. Carad fírinni. Dinged omun. Bádad bibdada. Bered fírbretha. Bíathad cech n-aí. Úagad cech síd. Crenad maíni. Lessaiged anmain. Aisndéided cach réilbreith. Imbed fína scéo meda. Canad cach fír. Ar is tre fír flaithemon do:beir Dia in sin uile.

(d) In *Immram Brain* or 'Bran's voyage', which is one of the oldest surviving Irish tales, a woman in strange clothing appears and utters a long poem to the hero and his friends. At the end of this she addresses Bran in particular and urges him in the final *deibide* stanza (with fourth line modified) below to set off over the sea to find the 'Land of Women'.

> *Na:tuit fri lige lescae*
> *Na-chat:tróethad do mescae.*
> *Tindscan imram tar muir nglan*
> *Dochum tíre inna mban.*

(e) Some quatrains from *Félire Óengusso* provide a suitable conclusion to this section. The first two commemorate Áed *alias* Máedóc of Ferns and Brigit of Kildare. Note that in the two verses from the epilogue the medial consonant of the third line's final word is non-palatal, whereas the medial consonants of the finals of lines 2 and 4 with which it consonates are palatal (see C.4e above).

Jan. 31: *Sluind Áed fortrén Fernae,*   Feb. 1:   *Mórait calaind Febrai*
          Máel-anfaid ainm remáin;   *fross martar már nglédenn,*
          benait co mBríg romóir   *Brigit bán balc núalann*
          barr find for slúag Enáir.   *cenn cáid caillech n-Érenn.*

Feb. 17:   *Dlomth-us cách co hollmuir*
             féil Chormaicc co nglanbail
             la féil Fintain figlig
             Chlúana Ednig adbail.

Epil. 193-6: *Is todíuscud étlae,*   Epil. 309-12: *Miserere mihi,* (Lat. 'have mercy upon me')
              cid dúrdae a chride;   *a rígflaith for tuiliu;*
              do:formaig a anae,   *a Ísu, no-t:charu;*
              beirth-i i flaith nime   *a Dé móir, no-t:guidiu.*

E. THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

E.1. The forms.

The Old Irish imperfect indicative basically corresponds to the English past habitual of the type '(s)he used to take' (OIr. *no:gaibed*) but sometimes seems (as in E.2a below) to denote a repeated past action best translated into English as 'kept taking' etc. Moreover, since the periphrastic progressive type *boí oc gabáil* '(s)he was taking' described at the end of III.A.2c above was still

no more than optional in the Old Irish period, an OIr. form like *no:gaibed* may on occasion be more appropriately rendered '(s)he was taking' (e.g. some imperfects in E.2a below). As pointed out with reference to the substantive verb in III.A.3, the imperfect endings are always conjunct. There is thus only a single set and it is impossible for a simple verb with imperfect ending to stand alone: where no other conjunct particle is present, the meaningless dummy particle *no* is used in order to keep such forms in 'conjunct' position. In C.3a above it was seen how the empty element *no* could be used with an otherwise unaccompanied simple verb in order to support an infixed pronoun. In the case of the invariably conjunct imperfect endings *no* has a similar 'quasi-compound' function but this time an infix is not an essential trigger of its use: e.g., 3sg. ipf. *no:be(i)red* 'used to carry' or *n-a:mbe(i)red* 'used to carry him' and *ní:be(i)red* 'used not to carry' or *ní:mbe(i)red* 'used not to carry him'. *No*, of course, can never be used with a compound verb in Old Irish and these display the usual alternation between deuterotonic and prototonic forms in the imperfect: e.g., 3 sg. ipf. *do:be(i)red* or *d-a:mbe(i)red* 'used to bring (him)' and *ní:taibred* 'used to bring (him)'. These aspects are illustrated in the first three columns below and it is to be noted that, since the imperfect (as well as the similarly formed past subjunctive and conditional; cf. III.A.1 above) was always preceded by a proclitic (*no*, if all else failed), it could never take a suffixed pronoun.

	W1	W2	S1	S2	S3
1 sg.	*no:marb(a)inn*	*ní:léicinn*	*do:be(i)rinn*	*-gaibinn*	*-ben(a)inn*
2sg.	*no:marbtha*	*ní:léicthea*	*do:be(i)rthea*	*-gaibthea*	*-benta*
3sg.	*no:marbad*	*ní:léiced*	*do:be(i)red*	*-gaibed*	*-benad*
1pl.	*no:marbm(a)is*	*ní:léicmis*	*do:be(i)rmis*	*-gaibmis*	*-benm(a)is*
2pl.	*no:marbth(a)e*	*ní:léicthe*	*do:be(i)rthe*	*-gaibthe*	*-bent(a)e*
3pl.	*no:marbt(a)is*	*ní:léictis*	*do:be(i)rtis*	*-gaibtis*	*-bent(a)is*

The imperfect paradigm of the substantive verb in III.A.3 will serve to illustrate a hiatus formation. The occurrence of palatal and non-palatal consonance conforms to that of the corresponding present in all of the classes above except S1, where basic palatal stem-final consonance is found throughout the imperfect paradigm of verbs with *e* or *i* vocalism such as *do:beir* with palatal *-r-* in all persons. This contrasts with the alternation between palatal in some persons and non-palatal in others of the corresponding present indicative and imperative (see A.2a and D.1 above). As noted in A.2b above, S1 verbs with *o* and *a* vocalism such as *org(a)id* 'slays' or *can(a)id* 'sings' resisted palatalisation wherever the vowel of the following syllable was retained. This trait would be expected to produce an alternation in their imperfect between a non-palatal consonant in the unsyncopated 1/3 sg. and a palatal consonant where a following vowel had been syncopated as usually happened in the other persons, a prediction duly supported by the ipf. 3sg. *fris:orcad* vs. 3pl. *fris:oirc†tis* 'used to offend' (*fris:oirg*) with non-palatal and palatal /rg/ respectively in the Milan Glosses. See A.2b above on the delenition of dental *-th-* to *-t-* in the 2sg./pl. ending after the final nasal dental of *ben-*. Note that 3pl. /-d$^{(')}$is'/ is sometimes written *-d(a)is* rather than *-t(a)is* after a consonant (whence *-marbd(a)is*, *-léicdis*, *-be(i)rdis* etc.) in conformity with the spelling rule given in I.B.1.

E.2. Reading practice.

(a) The two short passages below are taken from the famous story entitled *Aided Con inna Cerdae* 'The Death of the Smith's Hound' from the series of flashback narratives in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

known as *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* 'Cú Chulainn's Boyhood Deeds'. This tells how Sétantae acquired the name Cú Chulainn 'Hound of Culann' when only six years old by slaying Culann the smith's ferocious watchdog. In the first excerpt Sétantae keeps defeating the rest of king Conchobor's hundred and fifty foster-sons in an early form of hurling. Conchobor is so impressed that he invites the boy to a feast at Culann's homestead. After finishing his games Sétantae sets out after the other guests but meanwhile his imminent arrival has been forgotten, Culann's gates closed and the mighty hound set loose to defend the property. The second excerpt depicts Sétantae's remarkable lack of concern as he carries on playing while the savage dog is bearing down upon him.

In tan ba háin phuill do:gnítis no:línad-som in poll di-a líathróitib ⁊ ní:cumcaitis in maicc a irchlige. In tan batar hé-som uili do:bidctis in poll ar-a:cliched-som a óenur co-nna:téiged cid óenlíathróit ind.

Tic in gillae fo sodain. F-a:n-opair in cú . No:fethed-som a cluiche colléic. Fo:cerded a líathróit ⁊ fo:cerded a loirg in-a diad co:mbenad in líathróit. Níbo mó in band ol-daas a chéle. Ocus fo:cerded a bunsaig in-a ndiad di-a ngabáil re tothaim.

(b) The first passage below is a slightly modified version of the account in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (plus four druids from the similar one in *Serglige Con Culainn*) of a *tarb-feis* 'bull-feast' to determine the next king of Tara. The second from *Tecosca Cormaic* depicts the king's youthful behaviour, which turns out to have been rather more impulsive than that urged by him in later years. See IV.C.1b on the use of personal numerals in the dat. sg.

No:marbtis tarb ⁊ no:ithed óenfer a sáith dé ⁊ no:ibed a enbruithe ⁊ no:caintis ceithir druid ór fírinne fair in-a ligiu. Ad:cíd fer in-a chotlud ⁊ is é bad rí. A-t:baildis a béoil in tan as:beired goí.

No:gonainn muic, no:lenainn lorc i-mba m'óenur. No:cinginn ar chuire cóicir i-mba cóiciur. Basa oirgnech i-mbsa dechenborach. Basa indredach i-mbsa fichtech. Basa cathach i-mbsa cétach.

CHAPTER VI
THE PRETERITE ACTIVE STEM
AND THE RELATIVE MARKERS.

A. THE PRETERITE ACTIVE.

A.1. The *s*-preterite.

The past (indicative) tense or preterite is typically used in Old Irish to denote an action as having happened in the past without more ado and as such corresponds quite closely to the English past tense seen in expressions of the type *he **went** home (yesterday)* or *our team **won** (the match last Sunday)*. The formation used by **all weak verbs** is known as an ***s*-preterite** for the simple reason that it basically adds a suffix *-(s)s-* to the stem vowel appearing in the 3sg. conjunct of the present indicative W1 *-marba* and W2 *-lé(i)ci* etc. (see V.A.2a). Hence the underlying preterite stems of these verbs may be represented as *marb-as(s)(-)* (and so on for all other W1 verbs) and *lé(i)c-is(s)-* (and so on for most W2 verbs). Except for the 3sg., the endings added to these stems are exactly the same as those of the S1 present illustrated by *be(i)rid* in V.A.2a, bearing in mind that the innovatory 1sg. *-im(m)* was strictly confined to the present indicative. In the 3sg. abs. the stem-final *-s(s)* was merely palatalised (no ending *-id* being added) and in the 3sg. conj. the stem-final syllable was usually lost completely, although in W2a the final vowel *-i* was occasionally retained (e.g. *-rádi* 'says' or 'said'). Needless to say, when an extra syllable was added as a personal ending, the vowel of a second non-final syllable was syncopated before the *-s(s)-* in accordance with the rule in II.A.4c. These features can be clearly seen in the following typical paradigms, where the 2pl. abs. slot has been left blank because of the lack of attestations and some doubt as to what the Old Irish form would have been (probably *marbast(a)e, léicest(a)e*, to judge from *s*-fut. *gigeste* in IX.6d).

	W1	abs.	conj.	**W2**	abs.	conj.
1 sg.		*marbsu*	*-marbus*		*lé(i)csiu*	*-lé(i)cius*
2sg.		*marbs(a)i*	*-marb(a)is*		*lé(i)csi*	*-lé(i)cis*
3sg.		*marb(a)is*	*-marb*		*lé(i)cis*	*-lé(i)c(i)*
1pl.		*marbs(a)im(m)i*	*-marbsam*		*lé(i)csim(m)i*	*-lé(i)csem*
2pl.			*-marbs(a)id*			*-lé(i)csid*
3pl.		*marbs(a)it*	*-marbsat*		*lé(i)csit*	*-lé(i)cset*

Although all W2 verbs form their present in the same basic way, it becomes necessary to make a further division into two sub-groups, here termed **W2a** and **W2b**, as regards the way in which the other tense or mood stems are formed. W2a verbs such as *léicid* retain the same basic form of the root throughout, e.g. /lēg´/ in both present and preterite (and subjunctive too; see VIII.2a) with no fundamental change either to the vowel or to the quality of the final consonant. In W2b, however, the root vowel is typically *u* followed by palatal consonance (although this may be non-palatal in certain circumstances, as in the case of W2a; see V.A.2a) in the present but *o* followed by non-palatal consonance in the preterite (and subjunctive), except for palatalisation where the following vowel was lost by syncope or apocope (cf. V.A.2a) : e.g., pres. 3sg. *scuirid, -scuir* 'unyokes, releases, finishes', pret. 3sg. *scorais, -scoir*, 3pl. *scoirsit, -scoirset* 'unyoked' and 3sg. pres. *do:lug(a)i* (or *do:lu(i)gi*) 'forgives', pret. *do:loig* 'forgave'.

In addition to being the characteristic formation of all weak verbs, the *s*-preterite is also used by most H3 verbs and the two strong verbs with a root ending in a labial, namely *gaibid* 'takes' (and its various compounds; stem *gab-as(s)-*) and *ibid* 'drinks' (stem *ib-is(s)-*): e.g., pret. 3sg. *sois, -soí*, 3pl. *soísit, -soíset* 'turned' (H3 *soid, -soí* 'turns'); 3sg. *as:luí, -élai*, 3pl. *as:luíset, -élaiset* 'escaped' (H3 *as:luí, -élai* 'escapes, absconds'); 1sg. *gabsu, -gabus*, 3sg. *gab(a)is, -gab*, 1pl. *-gabsam*, 3pl. *-gabsat* 'took' (S2 *gaibid, -gaib*); 3sg. *ibis, -ib*, 1pl. *-ibsem*, 3pl. *-ibset* 'drank' (S1 *ibid, -ib*).

The *s*-preterite, then, is easy to recognise outside the 3sg. conjunct on account of a characteristic *-s(-)* following the otherwise virtually unchanged verbal root, sometimes with an intervening vowel. The 3sg. conjunct is more difficult since it lacks *-s(-)* and so is not quite so straightforwardly distinguished from the corresponding suffixless preterite in A.4f below. Since the (root-)final consonant of the suffixless preterite is always palatal, the *s*-preterites of W1 and *gaibid* with non-palatal (root-)final consonant in the 3sg. conjunct are distinctive, a more general diagnostic being that the root of an *s*-preterite is typically has the same form as the present (including in H3 and allowing for *o* instead of *u* in W2b), whereas that of the suffixless preterite is liable to significant modifications such as reduplication or change of vowel. Moreover, if a verb is weak, it is bound to have an *s*-preterite, the suffixless preterite being confined to certain types of strong and hiatus verb (H3 being a slightly grey area with mostly *s*-preterites but a couple of suffixless formations too).

A.2. The *t*-preterite.

This is the characteristic formation of **strong verbs with root-final *r* or *l*** such as S1 *beirid* 'carries' (*ber-*) and *meilid* 'grinds' (*mel-*), S2 *gairid* 'calls' (*gar-*). A suffix *-t(-)* is added direct to the root to produce pret. *bert(-), melt(-), gart(-))* and so on, the singular endings having basic affinities with those of the S1 present (except for the 3sg.) and the *s*-preterite. There are sporadic examples of the expected corresponding plural endings, e.g. 3pl. *con:geltat* (S1 *con:geil* 'grazes jointly') and *fo:geltat* (S1 *fo:geil* 'grazes (on)'), but the usual plural endings are the same as those of the suffixless preterite in A.4f below and as such do not distinguish formally between absolute and conjunct. ***It is to be noted that invariably in S3 and also in a few S1 verbs -n(-) is a present marker only and does not appear in the preterite, subjunctive and future stems.*** Thus S3 *sern(a)id, -sern* 'strews' and S1 *marn(a)id, -mairn* 'betrays' have basic roots *ser-* and *mer-* with a final *-r* calling for a *t*-preterite, the 3sg. conj. of which is *-sert* 'strewed' and *-mert* 'betrayed' respectively. A similar relationship applies to S1 *a-t:bail(l), -ep(a)il(l)* 'dies' (present *-l(l)(-)* /L/ from *-ln-* by assimilation, and a basic root *bel-* /bel-/; compounded with preverb *ess-*, lit. 'throws it out/away') with its *t*-preterite 3sg. *a-t:belt, -epelt* 'died'. The following are typical paradigms.

	S1 *beirid* 'carries' (simple)		S2 *do:air-n-gair* 'promises' (cpd.; deut. forms)
1sg.	*birtu*	*-biurt*	*do:air-n-giurt*
2sg.	*birti*	*-birt*	*do:air-n-girt*
3sg.	*birt*	*-bert*	*do:air-n-gert*
1pl.	*(-)bertam(m)ar*		*do:air-n-gertam(m)ar*
2pl.	*(-)bert(a)id*		*do:air-n-gert(a)id*
3pl.	*(-)bertatar*		*do:air-n-gertatar*
(occ. syncopated *(-)bertar*)			(also syncopated *do:air-n-gertar*)

Some strong verbs with root-final *-m* and *-g* also have a *t*-preterite rather than the rival suffixless

preterite in this category (see A.4). In that case the final nasal combines with the suffix to give /d/ (written *t*; cf. OIr. *cét* /keːd/, ModIr. *céad* 'hundred' in relation to Lat. *centum* 'hundred') and *g* /ɣ/ is regularly devoiced to *ch* before the *t*: e.g. 3sg. *do:es-set* 'poured out, spilled' (S1 *do:es-sim*, root *sem-* 'pour'); *-acht* 'drove' (S1 *agid*, root *ag-* 'drive'); *-anacht* 'protected' (S1 *aingid*, root *aneg-* 'protect'); *-ort* 'slew', 3pl. *-ortatar* (< **orcht(-)*; S1 *orgid*, root *org-*); *a-ta:recht* 'she arose', 3pl. *a-ta:rechtatar* 'they arose' (lit. 'she/they raised herself/themselves'; S1 *a-t:raig*, cpd. *ess* + root *reg-* 'stretch'); *do:formacht* 'increased' (S1 *do:for-maig*, cpd. *to* + *for* + root *mag-* 'grow').

The *t*-preterite is particularly easy to identify as it is always clearly characterised by a suffix *-t(-)* and can only occur if a verb is strong with root-final *-r, -l, -m* or *-g*. Both conditions must be met.

A.3. Reading practice.

Below is a slightly modified version of the opening Old Irish half of the episode from Brigit's Life in III.A.5e. See IV.A.2c on *inn-í*.

Fecht n-and birt Dubthach inn-í Brigti di-a reicc fri ríg Laigen, .i. fri Dúnlang, do chumail fognama dó húaire co-ta:sáid-si a les-máthair ón, no:gatad-si cach ní isin tig do chéilib Dé. Fo-s:n-ácab-si Dubthach inn-a charput occ-a chomét i faithgi in dúne ₇ fáccab a chailg inna comair. Do-s:bert-si do chlam... As:bert Dubthach frisinn ríg: 'Cren dím-sa m'ingin dochum fognama duit, ar a-t:roilliset a bésa'.

A.4. The suffixless preterite.

(a) Almost all strong verbs not in the foregoing categories (and a couple of H2, notably compounds of *-ci* 'see', as well as the H3 pair *do:goa* 'chooses' and *fo(a)id* 'passes the night, sleeps (with)') display this formation, which is so called because it is characterised by a special set of endings as well as modifications to the verbal root itself and not by a specific suffix such as those seen in the *s-* and *t-* preterites. Although realised somewhat differently in the singular of vowel-final and consonant-final roots, the inflectional pattern is fundamentally the same throughout, namely 1/2sg. -C (or stressed *-á*, unstressed *-a*), 3sg. -C´ (or a diphthong/vowel other than *-á/-a* such as *-oí/-e*), 1pl. *-(am)mar*, 2pl. *-(a)id*, 3pl. *-(a)tar* without differentiation of absolute and conjunct (see the paradigms in f below). However, several different subtypes are to be distinguished on the basis of the manner in which the root is modified.

(b) The **reduplicated preterite** is typically formed by repeating the initial consonant of the root (underlined) and placing a vowel after it: e.g., 3sg. S2 <u>m</u>*aidid* 'breaks' > **me**<u>maid</u> 'broke', S1 <u>l</u>*igid* 'licks' > **le**<u>laig</u> 'licked', <u>r</u>*igid* 'binds' > **re**<u>raig</u> 'bound', <u>sl</u>*igid* 'cuts down' > **se**<u>laig</u>, <u>d</u>*ingid* 'presses, crushes' > **de**<u>daig</u> 'pressed, crushed', <u>g</u>*onaid* 'slays' > **ge**<u>guin</u> 'slew', <u>c</u>*anaid* 'sings' > **ca**<u>chain</u> 'sang', <u>b</u>*ongaid* 'breaks' > **bo**<u>baig</u> 'broke', S3 <u>l</u>*enaid* 'sticks' > **li**<u>l</u> 'stuck', <u>r</u>*enaid* 'sells' > **ri**<u>r</u> 'sold'. Since the reduplicated syllable ends in a vowel, the initial consonant of the root is lenited, as in *ca-***chain** or the more extreme *se-laig* (< **se-ṡlaig*). If the reduplicator contains a front vowel *e* or *i*, its consonant is predictably palatal (e.g. *memaid* [mˊeṽəðˊ]) but in S1 the initial consonant of the root itself is typically non-palatal, even if it is palatal in the present (e.g. *ligid* [Lˊiɣˊəðˊ], *dingid* [dˊiŋˊgˊəðˊ] but *lelaig* [Lˊeləɣˊ], *dedaig* [dˊeðəɣˊ]). Sometimes the reduplicator was lost by regular syncope: e.g., the *-ci* compounds 3sg. pres. *do:éc(a)i, -déc(a)i* 'looks at' and *ad:cí, -acc(a)i* 'sees' with pret. 3sg. *do:écachae*, 3pl. *do:écatar* (< **-é-c†chatar*) or *do:écach†tar* 'looked at' (with restored reduplication, as also in the 3sg., in order to distinguish the forms more

clearly from the present) and 3sg. *-accae*, 3pl. *-accatar* (< **-ac†ch-* by delenition as in V.A.2b except that in this case two gutturals are involved rather than two dentals).

As can be seen from their preterites *bobaig* and *dedaig*, the nasals of S1 *dingid* and *bongid* were confined to the present stem (see on *sernaid, marnaid* etc. in A.2 above). This was invariably the case in S3, the underlying roots of which were thus vowel-final *li-*, *ri-* etc. (with pres. *len(-)*, *ren(-)* etc.) and formed a suffixless preterite in which the root vowel was then regularly lost by apocope in the singular and by syncope in the 1 and 3 plural. As a result only the root-initial consonant remained and this was palatal in the 3sg. but broad elsewhere in line with the basic inflectional pattern in A.4a/f, the reduplicating vowel alternating between *i* before a palatal consonant in the 3sg. and *e* before a non-palatal consonant (see II.A.4b) in the other forms: e.g., 1/2sg. *(-)rer* 'I/you sold' but 3sg. *(-)rir* 'he/she sold'.

The reduplication of S1 <u>lingid</u> 'leaps' is irregular by virtue of the insertion of *-b-* between reduplicator and root (cf. the reduplicated futures of a couple of verbs with root-initial *l-* or *r-* in IX.3a), whence pret. *(-)*le<u>blaing</u> 'leaped'. Syncopated *-l†blaing* was dissimilated to *-blaing*, as in the 3sg. pret. *do:eirbling* or *do:arblaing* 'leaped down' of *do:air-ling* 'leaps down' (*to-ar-ling-*). The vowel-initial root *-<u>ic</u>* 'comes' (S1, found in compounds only) has a pret. *-á<u>naic</u>* 'came' with irregular reduplication: e.g., pres. 3sg. *do:ic, (-)tic* 'comes', 3pl. *do:ecat, (-)tecat* 'come' (see V.B.2b) and pret. 3sg. *do:án(a)ic, (-)tán(a)ic*, 3pl. *do:án†catar, (-)tán†catar* 'came'; pres. 3sg. *do:airic, (-)tairic* 'comes upon', pret. 3sg. *do:ar†naic, (-)tar†naic*, 3pl. *do:ar†nac†tar, (-)tar†nac†tar* 'came upon'.

(c) The **á-preterite** typifies strong verbs with a root of the basic shape C*eθ/ð/χ/γ* (spelt *-th, -d, -ch, -g*; C stands for any consonant), which form an unreduplicated suffixless preterite by simply replacing the vowel of the present stem with long *á*: e.g., S1 pres. *re(i)th-id* 'runs' with pret. *ráith* 'ran', S1 pres. *te(i)ch-id* 'flees' with pret. *táich* 'fled', S2 pres. *gu(i)d-id* 'prays' (basic *e* of root visible in subj. *geis*, but *u* for *e* in pres. by a process similar to *i* for *e* in II.A.4b; cf. the remarks on *(-)rir, (-)rer* at the end of A.4b above) with pret. *gáid* 'prayed'. Essentially the same formation is typical of the couple of strong verbs that have an *r* or *l* between the *e* and the final dental or guttural except that the *a* was shortened before this sequence: e.g., S1pres. *fo:ceird* 'puts' with pret. *fo:caird* 'put'.

(d) **Preterites with a compensatory long vowel or diphthong** instead of reduplication sometimes result from loss of a consonant (particularly of *ch* /χ/ or *g* /γ/ between a vowel and *l, r* or *n*) with compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (cf. the OIr. names *Cóemán*, diminutive of *cóem* 'dear', and *Conmál* 'Hound/Wolf-lord' with *-án, -ál* from earlier *-aγn-, -aγl-* still seen in the Ogam genitives COIMAGNI and CUNAMAGLI). Thus S3 *crenaid* 'buys', *glenaid* 'sticks' and *ad:gnin* 'knows' will basically have had 3sg. pret. **(-)cichr* (1/2 sg. **(-)cechr*), **(-)gigl* and **(-)gegn* in accordance with the pattern seen with S3 *lenaid* and *renaid* in b above but these are actually realised in Old Irish as *(-)cíuir* (1/2 sg. *-cér*) 'bought', *(-)gíuil* 'stuck' and *ad:géuin* 'knew' (1/2 sg. *ad:gén*; cf. nom. *én* 'bird', gen. *éuin* in II.A.4b for this alternation). A similar process was responsible for the suffixless preterite of S3 deponent (see VII.B.1a/e) *(ro:)-cluinethar* 'hears', namely *(-)cúalae* 'heard' < *-cóle* (see II.A.4b) < **-cochle*. In the case of S3 *benaid* 'strikes' expected reduplicated 3sg. **bib*, pl. **bebtar* are realised as OIr. *-bí* and *-béotar* 'struck' respectively, apparently through irregular vocalisation of the *b* /v/, while S3 *ernaid* 'gives, bestows' with its suffixless preterite 3sg. *-ír*, 'gave, bestowed' is the sole exception to the rule that

strong verbs with root-final *-r* form a *t*-preterite (e.g., S3 *sernaid*, pret. *-sert* in 2 above).

(e) A couple of common verbs base suffixless **suppletive preterites** upon a root different from that appearing the other stems. The substantive verb's preterite *-boí* is suppletive in relation to pres. I *a:tá* 'is' but, since it is based upon the same root with initial *b-* as all of this verb's other tenses and moods (e.g. pres. II *biid* 'is (wont to be)'; see III.A.3), it seems more appropriate to regard *a:tá* as the suppletive form in this case. Irregular S1 *téit* 'goes' and certain of its compounds such as. *do:tét* 'comes' have a suppletive preterite *(-)luid* 'went' (full paradigm in f below), *do:luid* 'came'. The preterite of S2 *do:tuit*, *-tuit* 'falls' is suppletive 3sg. *do:cer*, *-tocha(i)r*, 3pl. *do:certar, -tochratar* 'fell' with an anomalous non-palatal final consonant in the 3sg. (sometimes made palatal in accordance with the normal pattern, if the root was unstressed). Finally, S2 *fo:gaib*, 'finds, gets' takes a suppletive preterite *(fo:)-fúair* 'found, got', 3pl. *-fúaratar* (with pretonic preverb *fo:* only in the absence of a conjunct particle, whence *fo:fúair* but *ní:fúair, co:fúair* etc.) instead of the straightforward *s*-preterite typical of *gaibid* and its other compounds (see A.1 above).

(f) The basic inflectional pattern may be illustrated by the following paradigms, attention being drawn to the single set of endings with no formal distinction between absolute and conjunct. The identical 1sg. and 2sg. forms are characterised by a non-palatal final consonant or, in the case of vowel-final formations, a back vowel *-a*, whereas the 3sg. displays a palatal final consonant or a vowel (most commonly *-e*) or diphthong (see the paradigm of the preterite of the substantive verb in III.A.3 for an example with stressed final long vowel/dipthong) other than *-a*. The plural endings are homogeneous. In the reduplicated class with consonant-final root, syncope of the root vowel regularly preserved the vowel of 1pl. *-am(m)ar* and 3pl. *-atar* as in the case of *(-)cech†natar* below (and similarly *(-)mem†datar, (-)sel†gatar, (-)geg†natar* etc.), whereas in forms such as *(-)lel†dar* or *(-)lel†tar* /leldər/ or *(-)lotar* /lodər/ (< **lod†tar*) it was regularly lost by syncope. The unsyncopated type was then liable to be spread somewhat by analogy, whence, say, *(-)gádatar* below rather than historically regular but somewhat opaque **(-)gátar* (< **gád†tar*; cf. 3pl. *(-)bertatar* beside *(-)bertar* < **bert†tar* in the *t*-preterite in A.2 above).

1sg.	*(-)cechan*	*(-)lel*	*(-)gád*	*-cúala*	*(-)lod*
2sg.	*(-)cechan*	*(-)lel*	*(-)gád*	*-cúala*	*(-)lod*
3sg.	*(-)cechain*	*(-)lil*	*(-)gáid*	*-cúal(a)e*	*(-)luid*
1pl.	*(-)cechnam(m)ar*	*(-)lelmar*	*(-)gádam(m)ar*	*-cúalam(m)ar*	*(-)lodmar*
2pl.	*(-)cechnaid*	*(-)lelaid*	*(-)gádaid*	*-cúalaid*	*(-)lodaid*
3pl.	*(-)cechnatar*	*(-)leldar*	*(-)gádatar*	*-cúalatar*	*(-)lotar*

Note that the narrative preterites of the common twinned verbs *ad:cí* 'sees' and *-cluinethar* 'hears', namely *-accae* in A.4b and *-cúalae* in A.4d, are always dependent because of a peculiar rule whereby *co* [nas.] 'and, so that' is automatically prefixed to them in the absence of another conjunct particle: e.g., *co:n-accae* 'saw', *co:cúalae* 'heard' but *ní:accae* 'didn't see', *ní:cúalae* 'didn't hear'.

A.5. Reduplicated *s*- and *t*-preterites.

H1 and H2 verbs seem originally to have had reduplicated preterites but in Old Irish all H1 and most H2 verbs add the suffix and endings of the *s*-preterite to these, presumably under the

influence of H3 (see A.1 above): e.g., H1 *baid, -bá* 'dies' and *raid, -rá* 'rows' with reduplicated *s*-preterites 3sg. *beb(a)is, -beb(a)e*, 3pl. *-bebsat* 'died' and *rer(a)is, -rer(a)e*, 3pl. *-rersat* 'rowed'; similarly H2 *con:sní, -cosn(a)i* 'strives (for)' and *gniid, -gní* or synonymous *do:gní, -déni* 'does' with pret. 3sg. *con:sen(a)i* (< **seṡni*), *-cossen(a)i* 'stove (for)' and 3sg. *gén(a)is, (do:)-gén(a)i, -digni*, 3pl. *-génset, do:génsat, -digénsat* 'did' (*-gén-* < **-gegn-* as in A.4d). A similar process applied to S2 *saigid* 'seeks' and its compounds, except that root-final *-g(-)* conditioned *-t(-)* to yield the only reduplicated *t*-preterite in Old Irish: e.g., pres. 3sg. *ro:saig, -roig* 'reaches', pret. 3sg. *ro:siacht, -roacht*, 3pl. *ro:siachtatar, -roachtatar* 'reached' (< **siag-* + *-t(-)* < **seṡag-*; doubtless the *t*-suffixation originated in forms like pret. **roig* < **roh(ᵗh)ag-* < **roṡeṡag-* where syncope and loss of /h/ made the old suffixless pret. indistinguishable from the pres. in the basic 3sg.).

A.6. Reading practice.

(a) This longish gloss from the Milan collection tells a short biblical story with the help of simple narrative preterites.

Ml. 58c4 *Dia:luid Dauid for longais tri glenn Iosofád, d-a:mbidc Semei di chlochaib oc-a thecht ⁊ do:bert maldachta foir dano di mulluch int slébe.*

(b) The following is a typical example of the miraculous making up of losses or deficiencies in the Old Irish Life of Saint Brigit.

Laa n-and du:bert Dubthach ingare mucc fuiri-si. Gatsait latrainn da thorc diib. Luid Dubthach in-a charput de Maig Liphi co:comarnic-side friu ⁊ ad:géoin a da thorc leu. Ar:gab-side inna latrannu ⁊ nenaisc dagéraic a mucc foraib. Do:bert leis a da thorc ad domum suam (Lat. 'to his house') *⁊ as:bert fri Brigti: 'Ind maith ingaire du mucc latt?' 'A-ta:rím-siu', ol-si. A-ta:rími íarum.* Reperit perfectum numerum (Lat. 'He found a complete number').

(c) Below is a somewhat pruned version of the beginning of the narrative proper in *Immram Brain* (see V.D.3d).

Laa n-and dia:mboí Bran a óenur i comfocus di-a dún co:cúalae a céol íarn-a chúl..... Con:toil asennad frisa céol ar-a bindi... Do:fuissich as-a chotlud. Co:n-accae in craíb n-arccait fu-a bláth find in-a arrad..... Do:bert íarum Bran in craíb in-a láim di-a rígthaig. Ó ro:bátar inna sochaidi isind rígthaig co:n-acatar in mnaí i n-étuch ingnad for lár in tige. Is and cachain in coícait rand so do Bran.....

(d) After the woman has delivered a long poem describing the delights of the blissful overseas world from which she hails and urged Bran to seek it, the action resumes.

Luid íarum in ben úadib.... ocus birt a craíb lee. Leblaing in chraíb di láim Brain co:mboí for láim inna mná ocus ní:boí nert i lláim Brain do gabáil ina craíbe. Luid Bran íarom arabárach for muir. Tri nónbuir a lín. Óenfer forsnaib trib nónburaib di-a chomaltaib ocus chomaísib. Ó ro:boí da laa ocus di aidchi forsin muir co:n-accae a dochum in fer isin charput íarsin muir. Canaid in fer hísin dano tríchait rand n-aile dó ocus sloinds-i dó ocus as:bert ba hé Manannán mac Lir ocus as:bert boí for-a airi tuidecht i n-Érinn íar n-aimseraib cíanaib.....

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(e) After listening to another long poem, this time from Manannán, Bran and his companions take their leave and resume their journey. The following is a somewhat pruned and modified version of the rest of the narrative down to the tale's distinctly depressing conclusion, which is marked by a single verse in loose *deibide* metre (see V.A.3b and note the fulll rhyme in 1/2 versus *rinn/ardrinn* rhyme in 3/4).

Luid-i Bran húad íar sin co:n-accae in n-insi. Im:raad imm-a cúairt ocus slóg már oc gignig ocus gáirechtaig. Do:écitis huili Bran ocus a muintir ⁊ ní:antais fri-a n-acaldaim. Ad:aigtis treftecha gáiri foo. Foídis Bran fer di-a muintir isin n-insi. Reris le-a chéliu ocus ad:acht ginig foo amal doíni ina hinse olchenae. Im:raad imm-a cúairt.... ocus at:ngláitis a chocéli. Ní-s:n-acaldad-som immurgu acht do-s:n-écad namá ⁊ ad:aiged ginich foo. Is ed ainm inna hinse-so Innis Subai. Fa:n-ácabsat and íarom.

Nípu chían íar sin con:ráncatar tír inna mban. Co:n-accatar braine ina mban. 'Tair i lle isa tír, a Brain maic Febail. Is fochen do thíchtu'. Ba hecal la Bran techt isa tír. Fo:ceird in ben certli dar-a gnúis cach ndíriuch do Bran. Fo:caird Bran a láim arin certli. Lil in chertle di-a dernae. Boí in snáithe inna certle i láim inna mná. Con:sreng in curach dochum puirt. Lotar íarum i tegdais máir. A rránic imdai cecha lánamnae, .i. tri noí n-imdai, ... ní:airchíuir in praind dóib. Ata leu ba blíadin dóib ⁊ batar ilchéta blíadne. Ní-s:tesbae nach mlas.

Gabais éolchaire fer ndiib, .i. Nechtan mac Alabrain. A(d):táich a cenél fri Bran ocus as:bert fris: 'Tair lemm dochum nÉrenn'. As:bert in ben ropad aithrech in fáball. Do:lotar cammae et as:bert in ben: 'Na:tuinsed nech diib a tír ⁊ taidlid lib in fer... i n-Inis inna Meld'.

Do:llotar íarum co:tarnactar in dáil hi Sruib Brain. Íarmi:fochtatar-sidi dóib cía do:luid íarsin muir. As:bert Bran: 'Messe Bran mac Febail'. 'Ní:beram aithgniu inn-í sin' ol a chéli di síu. 'Is i senchasaib a:tá lin-ni Imram Brain'.

Fo:ceird úadib in fer asin churuch. Amal con:ránic-side fri talmain inna hÉrenn ba lóithred fo chétóir amal bid i talam no:beth tresna hilchéta blíadnae. Is and cachain Bran in rand:

> *Do mac Alabrain is baís*
> *Tárcud a láme fri haís.*
> *Taibred nech toinn uisci glain*
> *Dar Nechtan mac n-Alabrain.*

(f) The account of the foundation of Sletty from the early ninth-century Book of Armagh (see I.A.2), which otherwise consists largely of texts in Latin, begins (in slightly modified form) as follows, the second set of dots indicating an omitted passage in which Dubthach urges Patrick to set about tonsuring him on the assumption that Fíacc's sense of duty will cause him to volunteer for tonsure in his master's stead. Note a couple of examples of an early experiment (soon abandoned but found also in the Cambrai Homily; see B.6a below) with the indication of a long vowel by writing it double. Note that, in the absence of independent subject pronouns (III.A.3 and IV.A.1), an expression such as '(s)he and X met' required a 3pl. verb 'and X' in Old Irish.

Du:lluid Pátricc ó Themair hi crích Laigen. Con:ráncatar ⁊ Dubthach maccu Lugir ucc Domnuch Már Críathar la Auu Censelich .i. áliss Pátricc Dubthach im damnae n-epscuip di-a desciplib di

Laignib, id ón fer sóer socheníuil cen on cen ainim, nadip rubecc nadip romár bed a sommæ: 'Toisc limm fer oínsétche las-na:bé acht óentuistiu'. Fris:gart Dubthach: 'Ní-m:thá dim muintir acht Fíacc Find di Laignib fil hi tírib Connacht.' ... Co:n-acatar Fíac Find cuccu..... Is di sin didiu fu:rráith Fíacc Find Dubthach ⁊ berrs-i Pátricc ⁊ baitzis-i. Du:bbert grád n-epscuip foir... ⁊ du:bbert Pátricc cumtach du Fíacc, id ón clocc ⁊ menistir ⁊ bachall ⁊ poolire, ⁊ fácab mórfeser lais di-a muintir, .i. Mu-Chatócc Inse Fáil, Augustín Inse bice, Tecán, Díarmuit, Naindid, Pool, Fedelmid. Con:gab íar suidiu i nDomnuch Féicc ⁊ baí and co:tochratar tri fichit fer di-a muintir lais and.

(g) Note the preposed adjectives *gur* and *tromm* in the first two lines of the verse from *Félire Óengusso* below and the inversion of the usual order of adjective and dependent genitive in the fourth line, the basic reason in each case being the need for end rhymes or consonance.

> Jan. 15:   *Fo:ráith már ngur ngalar,*
> *carais már tromm tredan,*
> *in grían bán ban Muman*
> *Íte Chlúana credal.*

B. RELATIVE MARKERS.

B.1. The basic system.
Old Irish (like Middle and Modern Irish) had no relative pronoun as such but rather various uninflected relative markers, including the already mentioned (III.A.3 and V.A.1c) relative element *-(s)a* [nas.] added to prepositions (e.g. *for* 'upon', *for-(s)a* [nas.] 'upon which'). **Like the object pronouns** (see V.C.1-3 above), **the basic relative markers were suffixed to independent simple verbs under certain circumstances but otherwise were infixed between a proclitic** (conjunct particle, pretonic preverb or *no*, as the case might be) **and the rest of the verb**.

B.2. Relative endings.
Like a suffixed pronoun (V.C.2), a suffixed relative marker or **relative ending** could be used with an independent simple verb only and was confined to certain persons thereof, in this case the 3sg., the 3pl. and the 1pl. However, the distribution was more clear-cut than in the case of the pronouns, the use of relative endings being compulsory with these persons of an independent simple verb and impossible elsewhere. Where the absolute ending was not palatal *-th* (> *-d*, the 3sg. active of most presents, subjunctives and futures), palatal *-s* (the 3sg. active of the *s*-preterite, *s*-subjunctive and *s*-future) or *-r* (non-palatal in the 1 and 3pl. suffixless and *t*-preterite; palatal in the deponent and passive, on which see VII), the relative ending was *-e*: e.g., 3sg. pres. (irreg.) *téit* 'goes' with rel. *té(i)te* 'who goes', *t*-pret. *birt* 'bore' with rel. *berte* 'who bore, which he bore', suffixless pret. *boí* 'was', *luid* 'went', *gáid* 'prayed', *geguin* 'slew', *rir* 'sold' with rel. *boíe* 'who was', *luide* 'who went', *gáde* 'who prayed, which he prayed/whom he besought', *gegnae* 'who slew, whom/which he slew', *rire* 'who sold, which he sold'; 1 pl. pres. *guidmi* 'we pray/beseech', *tíagmai* 'we go' with rel. *guidme* 'which we pray/whom we beseech', *tíagmae* 'which we go (to)', *s*-pret. *celebirsimmi* 'we said farewell' (< *celebr†simmi* by epenthesis; S1 *celebraid*) with rel. *celebirsimme* '(the time) that we said farewell'; 3pl. pres. *berait* 'bear' with rel. *bert(a)e* or *berd(a)e* 'who bear, whom/which they bear' (< **beraite* by syncope), *rethait* 'run' with rel. *ret(a)e* 'who run' (< **rethaite* by syncope and delenition), *gniit* 'do' with rel. *gníte* 'who do, which they do', *s*-pret. *cáechs(a)it* 'blinded in one eye' with rel. *cáechsite* 'whom they blinded in one eye'

(W1 *cáechaid* 'blinds in one eye').

Formations with a palatal final *-s* or an *-r* in the 3sg. absolute simply have non-palatal *-s* or *-r* in the corresponding relative: e.g., *s*-pret. 3sg. *sóerais* 'freed' with rel. *sóeras* 'who freed, whom he freed', *foídis* 'sent' with rel. *foídes* 'who sent, whom he sent', *gabais* 'took' with rel. *gabas* 'who took, which/whom he took'; 3pl. suffixless pret. *bátar* 'were', *t*-pret. *bert(at)ar* 'they bore' with identical rel. *bátar* 'who/which were', *bertar* 'who bore/whom they bore'.

3sg. palatal *-th/-d* is replaced by non-palatal *-s* in the relative: e.g., pres. *marbaid* 'kills', *léicid* 'lets', *beirid* 'bears', *gaibid* 'takes', *crenaid* 'buys', *gniid* 'does', *so(a)id* 'turns' with rel. *marbas* 'who kills/whom he kills', *léices* 'who lets, which he lets', *be(i)res* 'who bears, which he bears', *gaibes* 'who takes, which he takes', *crenas* 'who buys, which he buys', *gnís* 'who does/which he does', *soas* 'who turns, which he turns'. In the case of W1 (e.g. *marbaid, sóeraid*), W2a (e.g. *léicid, foídid*) and H3 (e.g. *so(a)id*) there is no formal difference between the 3sg. suffixed relative of the present and the *s*-preterite (e.g. *marbas* 'who kills, whom/which he kills' or 'who killed, whom/which he killed' depending upon context).

As various translations above indicate, the third person relative endings are indifferent as to whether the antecedent is subject or object. Thus *in rí marbas a mac* might be translated as 'the king who killed his son' (*in rí* as subject antecedent) or 'the king whom his son killed' (*in rí* as object antecedent) according to context. Frequently, however, inflections make one interpretation rather than the other grammatically inevitable, even though the relative form itself is ambiguous. Thus *in rí marbas a charae/ben* must be translated as 'the king whom his friend/wife killed' with object antecedent because *carae* and *ben* are nom. sg. and so must be the verb's subject, whereas *in rí marbas a charait/mnaí* must be translated as 'the king who killed his friend/wife' with subject antecedent because *carait/mnaí* are acc. sg. and so must be the verb's object. Similarly *in rí marbas a ingena* can only mean 'the king who killed his daughters' since the verb is singular in agreement with its subject, which is therefore sg. *rí* and not pl. *ingena*, whereas *in rí marbsaite a ingena* with 3pl. relative would have to be rendered 'the king whom his daughters killed'. Since a 1pl. pronoun as subject antecedent is followed by a 3sg. or 3pl. relative verb in accordance with IV.A.4, the 1pl. relative always entails an object antecedent.

B.3. Infixed relative lenition.
Where a proclitic is present, the basic relative marker (again formally indifferent as to subject or object antecedent if the verb is third person) is lenition of the following part of the verb: e.g., 3sg. pres. *do:tét* 'comes', 3pl. *do:tíagat* 'come' with rel. *do:thét* 'who comes', *do:thíagat* 'who come', 3sg. pres. *for:cain* 'teaches', 3pl. suffixless pret. *for:cechnatar* 'they taught' with rel. *for:chain* 'who teaches, whom/which he teaches', *for:chechnatar* 'who taught, whom/which they taught'. This is not, of course, always clear from the spelling (e.g. *as:beir* 'he says' /as ber´/, rel. *as:beir* 'who says, which he says/whom he mentions' /as ver´/) and can also fall victim to delenition (IX.2a/c): e.g., *a(d):treba* 'dwells' but also 'who dwells' < **at:treba* < **ath:threba* < **ad:threba* /að θreva/ and similarly *fris:toing* 'renounces' but also 'who renounces' < **fris:thoing*. The pretonic preverbs *im(m)* and *ar* (main clause, non-leniting) have an extra final vowel *-e* or *-a* (cf. suffixed *-e* in 2 above) as well as following lenition in relative clauses: e.g., 3sg. pres. *imm:tét* 'goes around, sets out', imperf. *ar:cliched* 'used to defend, was defending' (S1 *ar:clich* 'wards off, defends') with rel. *imme:thét* 'who goes around/sets out, which he goes around', *ara:chliched* 'who used to defend/was defending, which he used to defend/was defending'. Since lenition

prefixes nothing to a vowel, the vowel of pretonic *to, ro* and *fo* was liable to be elided before a following vowel to give rise to independent prototonic forms in leniting relative as in main clauses (see V.B.2b): e.g., *a-ní táirci in (m)bríg móir sin dúib-si* (deut. *do:áirci*) 'that which causes that great privilege to you'.

Negative *ní* (in main clauses, non-leniting) also has a special relative form *nad* (leniting, except where delenition applies): e.g., 3sg. pres. *ní:ceil* 'does not conceal', *ní:cotlai* 'does not sleep' (W2b *con:tuili* sleeps'), *ní:tabair* 'does not give/bring', *s*-pret. *ní:car* 'did not love' (W1 *caraid*) with rel. *nad:cheil* 'who does not conceal, which he does not conceal', *nad:chotlai* 'who does not sleep', *na(d):tabair* 'who does not give/bring, which he does not give/bring' (/na tavər´/ < **nath:thabei*r /naθ θaver´/ by delenition < **nad:thabeir* /nað θaver´/ by devoicing), *nad:char* 'who did not love, whom/which (s)he did not love'.

In V.C.3a it was pointed out that, where the suffixing of an object pronoun to an independent simple verb was impossible or at least not compulsory, the empty or meaningless quasi-preverb or conjunct particle *no* was available in order to generate a structure compatible with the more straightforward process of infixing. The same principle applies in a still more clear-cut fashion to the relative system: a simple verb unaccompanied by negative *nad* invariably takes the suffixed relative endings in the 3sg., 1pl. and 3pl. in Old Irish but regularly uses *no* plus infixed relative lenition (or nasalisation, on which see B.4 below) in the other persons, namely 1sg., 2 sg. and 2pl. (only with an object antecedent for the same reason as the one given for the 1pl. relative at the end of 2 above; see IV.A.4). The complementary distribution of relative suffix/ending and of *no* plus relative infix can be seen in the following paradigms of the simple verbs W1 pres. *caraid* 'loves', *s*-pret. *tréicis* 'abandoned' (W2a *tréicid*), suffixless pret. *cechain* 'sang' (S1 *canaid*).

1sg.	*no:charaim*	*no:thréicius*	*no:chechan*	'whom/which I love/abandoned/sang'
2sg.	*no:charai*	*no:thréicis*	*no:chechan*	'whom/which you love/abandoned/sang'
3sg.	*caras*	*tréices*	*cechnae*	'who loves/abandoned/sang' or 'whom/which (s)he/it loves/abandoned, sang'
1pl.	*carmae*	*tréicsimme*	*cechnammar*	'whom/which we love/abandoned/sang'
2pl.	*no:charaid*	*no:thréicsid*	*no:chechnaid*	'whom/which you love/abandoned/sang'
3pl.	*cart/dae*	*tréicsite*	*cechnatar*	'who love/abandoned/sang' or 'whom/which they love/abandoned/sang'

B.4. Reading practice

(a) Below are two quite widely separated passages from *Aipgitir Chrábuid* (see II.A.5c). See IV.A.2c on *dend-í, dond-í* (with preps. *di/de*, *do* respectively) and *int-í*.

Inna téora tonna tíagde tar duine i mbathis, tre fretech fris:toing indib, .i. fris:toing don domun cona adbchlossaib, fris:toing do demun cona inntledaib, fris:toing do tholaib colna. Is ed inso imme:folngai dend-í bes mac báis co-mbi mac bethad, dend-í bes mac dorchai co-mbi mac solse.

Triar do:thét do chrésini. Óen n-aí biid indi; alaile biid occai; alaile biid etarcéin úadi. Ní cumae imurgu. Is ferr dond-í bís indi ol-daas dond-í bís occai Is ferr dond-í bís occai ol-daas dond-i bís etarcéin úadi. Is é int-í bís indi int-í as:ren i cech óenlaithiu a tréde ar-a:n-éta bethaid a anmae..... Is é int-í bís occai int-í do:sluindi in bith ó bélaib ₇ f-a:n-eim inna chridiu...; ala lám dó do nim,

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alaile do thalam. Is é int-í bís etarcéin úadi int-í for:chomai crésenu ⁊ ní:déni a mbésu asa feib a ṡáegul i fout. Ata leis bid assu a dénum nach ráithi alaili.

(b) The text below is a slightly modified version of Thurneysen's attempted restoration of the *Cín Dromma Snechtai* text of *Compert Con Culainn* (see I.A.3; first part here and conclusion in VII.A.3a/B.3a).

Boí Conchubur ⁊ maithi Ulad i nEmain. No:tathigtis énlaith mag ar Emain. N-a:geilltis co-nna:facbatis cid mecnu inna fér ná lossae hi talam. Ba tochomracht la Ultu a n-aicsiu oc collud a n-írenn. In:laat noí cairptiu di-a tofunn laa n-and, ar ba bés leu-som forim én. Conchubur dano hi ssuidiu inn-a charput ⁊ a ingen Deichtine os sí macdacht, is sí ba harae di-a hathair. Eirrid Ulad olchenae inn-a carptib .i. Conall ⁊ Lóeguire ⁊ cách olchenae. Bricriu dano leu.

Fo-s:rumat ind éuin remib di-a ndaim tar Slíab Fúait, dar Edmainn, dar Brega. Ní:bíth clad na airbe na caisel im thír i nÉre ind aimsir sin acht maige rédi. Ba hálaind ⁊ ba caín int énlorcc ⁊ int énamar boíe leu. Noí fichit én, rond argit eter cach da én. Cach fiche inna lurcc fo leith, noí luircc doib. Samlaid da én bátar remib, cuing arcit etarru. Scarsait tri éuin friu co haidchi. Lotar remib hi cenn in mrogo. Is and ba hadaig for feraib Ulad. Feraid snechtae már foraib dano. As:bert Conchubur fri-a muintir 'scuirid bar cairptiu ⁊ tíagam do chuindchid tige'.

Luid Conall ⁊ Bricriu do chur cúarta. Fo:fúaratar óentech nue. Lotar ind. Fo:rráncatar lánamain and. Boíth-ius fáilte. Lotar ass co-a muintir. As:bert Bricriu níbu fíu techt don taig cen bratt cen biad. Ba cumung dano cid ar indas. Lotar dó cammaib. Do:bertatar a cairptiu leu. Ní:gabsat na mmár isin tig. Co-n-accatar talmidiu dorus cuili friu in tan ba mithig tabart biid doib. Batar fáilti meiscc íarom fir Ulad ⁊ ba maith a tunithe. As:bert in fer fri Ultu íarom boí a ben fri idna inna cuiliu. Luid Deichtine a dochum, .. birt mac. Láir dano boíe i ndorus in tige, trogais da lurchaire. Gabsit Ulaid íarom in mac ⁊ do:bert-som inna lurchuiriu do macslabrai don mac. Alt Deichtine in mac.

(c) The second of the following two stanzas from *Félire Óengusso* illustrates an optional possibility of eliding one of two unstressed vowels in contact (e.g. *-e imm*), trisyllabic *Esaiae* (like *Silvani* in the preceding stanza) constituting disyllabic cadence by virtue of being stressed on the second syllable as in Latin.

Feb. 18:   *Bebais in cáid Colmán,*
mo Liba no:rádi,
hi féil chaín co noíbi
Rutuli, Silváni. (Latin genitives of *Rutulus, Silvanus*).

Epil. 241-4:   *Drong fáithe imm Esaiae*
profeta caín canmae; (Lat. *propheta* 'prophet')
úasalathraig guidme
la hAbraham n-amrae.

(d)   Wb. 6a8   *hóre is mórad daggnímo do:gní.*
Ml. 103c12   *sech is in dígal són do:beir Dia forru-som tar cenn a pecthae.*
Wb. 2a2   *ní torbe dó a n-imdibe ad:chí cách.*

Wb. 28c16   *is sain a n-í for:chanat et do:gniat.*
Wb. 4b4   *a n-í as maith la Día do guidi, is hed tinfet-som di-a noíbaib.*

B.5. Infixed relative nasalisation.

Lenition always serves as the basic infixed relative marker when the antecedent is the relative verb's subject. However, where the antecedent is the relative verb's object, potentially ambiguous lenition may optionally be replaced by unambiguous infixed nasalisation, although this so-called nasalising relative is rare with a neuter singular object antecedent (e.g. *a torbe do:áirci* or *táirci* 'the profit (*torbe*, n.) that it brings (about)' rather than *a torbe do:n-áirci*). Thus *in fer ad:chí/do:beir/ nad:chara a mac* (/do ver′/) may be translated as 'the man who sees/brings/does not love his son' or 'the man whom his son sees/brings/does not love', whereas *in fer ad:cí/do:mbeir/nad:cara a mac* (/að gī̆/... /nað gara/) can only mean 'the man whom his son sees/brings/does not love'. Since a simple verb with relative ending displays no lenition, it cannot be nasalised either, as in invariable *in fer caras/beires a mac* 'the man whom his son loves/bears'. However, lenition can naturally be replaced by nasalisiation where appropriate after *no*: e.g., *in ben no:charai* or *no:carai* /no gari/ 'the woman whom you (sg.) love' or *in salm no:gaibid* /no γav′əð′/ or *no:ngaibid* 'the psalm that you (pl.) utter' but only *in salm gaibme* 'the psalm that we utter'.

A nasalising relative competes with (and is generally commoner than) a non-relative construction after various antecedents denoting time, manner or degree, including certain conjunctions such as *amal* 'like, as', *in ta(i)n* 'the time (that), when', *(h)óre/(h)úare* 'since, because' (gen. sing. of II *úar* 'hour, time'), *a* 'when, while' developed from such constructions. In this case nasalisation can even be prefixed to simple verbs with relative endings. Examples from the Glosses include *is dían imma:mberat a cossa* 'it is swiftly that they ply their feet' (S1 *im(m):beir*), *hóre no:pridchim in rúin sin* 'because I preach that secret' (*no* + rel. nas., as opposed to non-rel. *hóre pridchim soscéle* 'because I preach the Gospel'), *in tan mberes claind* 'when she bears offspring', *amal du:ngní int aís sechmaill* 'as the folk (of) passing by does'. Like other proclitics, the relative forms of the copula lenite or nasalise a following stressed predicate (see III.B.2b): e.g. *in ben as chóemem* 'the woman who is fairest, the fairest woman', *méit ata n-echtrainn* 'to the extent that they are foreigners'. A so-called noun-clause complement of verbs of saying and thinking or of expressions such as 'it is clear (that)' may be expressed by means of a nasalising relative clause or be left formally non-subordinate in Old Irish (rather as 'that' may be omitted in similar circumstances English): e.g., *as:berat is tol Dé for:chanat* 'they say it is (non-rel.) God's will that they teach', *is suaichnid as recht maith* 'it is clear that it is (nas. rel.) a good law', *as:bir-siu as n-ainm dó-som 'animus'* 'you say that 'spirit' is (nas. rel.) its name', *is follus doib as n-oipred fir oirdnithi* 'it is obvious to them that it is (nas. rel.) the work of an ordained man', *as n-olc* 'that it is (nas. rel.) bad' (glossing Lat. *iudicas* 'you judge').

B.6. Reading practice.

(a) The following is a somewhat abbreviated version of the well-known 'colour-coded' description of the three main types of martyrdom in the Cambrai Homily (see I.A.2), a specimen of so-called 'Early Old Irish' that differs in certain respects, chiefly in relation to a limited number of phonetic features (but see IV.A.6 on independent *fil* and the vocabulary for the neut. pl. *tre* rather than classical OIr. *tri* 'three' identical with the masc. as in IV.C.1a), from the so-called 'Classical Old Irish' of the 8th. and 9th. centuries. For instance, in comparison with its 'classical' equivalent

do:thíagat, the form *tu:thégot* below does not display the voicing of *t-* to *d-* or the change of *u* to *o* typical of Old Irish proclitics (see V.B.2b), the 'breaking' of stressed *é* to *ia* before a non-palatal consonant (see II.A.4b), or the reduction of internal unstressed vowels to a mid-central /ə/ then automatically coloured by the flanking consonants (thus /o/ > /ə/ realised as [a] between two non-palatal consonants or, as evidenced by the 'classical' equivalent *do:esmet* of *tu:esmot* below, [e] between a palatal and a non-palatal; see I.B.6). The voicing of final *-th* to *-d* after an unstressed vowel (see III.A.3) is not seen in the Cambrai Homily (no examples in the passage below but *díltuth* for 'classical' *díltud* 'denial', proclitic *cith* for *cid* 'though it be', *céssath* for *céssad* 'suffering' and so on elsewhere in the Homily; see VIII.6b), while *ocuis* below does not display the depalatalisation of consonants that is typical of Old Irish proclitics such as *ocus* (cf. proclitic *dochum* in the vocabulary with non-palatal *-ch-* and *-m(m)* versus its stressed counterpart *to(i)chim(m)* with palatal *-ch-* and *-m(m)*). Sometimes Cambrai has more modern spellings (e.g. *ocus* below or 1pl. *fris:tóssam* with *-am* rather than *-om*) alongside older ones, which suggests that certain changes such as proclitic depalatalisation or the reduction of internal unstressed vowels (but apparently not proclitic *t-* to *d-*, stressed *é* to *ía* before a non-palatal consonant or final *-th* to *-d* after an unstressed vowel) had already occurred in the spoken language by the time the homily was written but too recently to be regularly reflected in spelling. Note that, where it distinguishes a long from a corresponding short vowel, Cambrai writes the former double (cf. A.6f above) rather than employing the 'apex' or 'acute' (supplied editorially in the passage below where the manuscript does not indicate a vowel known to be long elsewhere) otherwise normally used, albeit inconsistently, from the 8th. century onwards.

Fil-us tre chenélæ martre....: baanmartre ocus glasmartre ocus dercmartre. Is sí in bánmartre du duiniu, in tain scaras ar Dea fri cach reet caras..... Is sí ind glasmartre dó, in tain scaras fria thola lee ɫ céssas saíthor i ppennit ocus aithrigi. Is sí in dercmartre dó foditu cruche ocus diorcne ar Chríst..... A:taat inna tre chenél martre so issnib colnidib tu:thégot dagathrigi, scarde fria tola, céste saíthu, tu:esmot a fuil i n-aíni ocuis i laubair ar Chríst.

(b)	Wb. 5b42	*cosmuilius trá do:mbeir-som híc* (Lat. *hic* 'here').
	Wb. 3d3	*ní in cholinn do:n-athaíra ach is a n-accobor.*
	Wb. 30c12	*as:berat is tol Dé for:chanat et ní sí do:ngniat.*
	Wb. 4a27	*is hed didiu for:thét in spirut in tain guidme-ni inducbáil di-ar corp et di-ar*

n-animm íar n-esséirgiu.

Wb. 4b3   *as:beir-som a n-accobor don spirut hóre do:n-infet a n-accobor don duiniu.*

B.7. Relative forms of the object pronouns.

The so-called **class C** infixed pronouns used in leniting and nasalising relative clauses are basically class B forms (V.C.3c) with a lenited (/ð/ always written *d*; see I.B.1) or a nasalised (/N(d)/ > /N/ usually written *nd*; see I.B.8) initial dental respectively. Thus 1sg. *-(n)dom* or *-(n)dam* [len.], 2sg. *-(n)dot* or *-(n)dat* [len.], 3sg. m. *-(n)d* [nas.], n. *-(n)d* [len.], f. *-(n)da*, 1pl. *-(n)don* or *-(n)dan*, 2pl. *-(n)dob* or *-(n)dab*, 3pl. *-(n)da*: e.g., *do-da:aidlea* 'who visits her', *amal for-nda:congair* 'as he orders it (f.)'. Because of their final vowel in relative clauses (see 4 above), *imm* and *ar* regularly combined with the 3sg. m. and n. of class C as *immi-(n)d* and *ari-(n)d* ; e.g., *arid:gair* 'which forbids it' (non-rel. *ar-a:gair* 'forbids it'), *amal immind:ráitset* 'as they discussed him' (with devoicing and delenition of /ð/ before *-s-* of pret.; *imm-a:ráitset* 'they discussed him'). These could readily be analysed as base *ar* or *im(m)* + *-i(n)d* with a convenient glide vowel and this form came to be used after other preverbs with a final consonant: e.g., *for-id:tét* 'who helps

him' (*for-t:tét* 'helps him'), *friss-id:n-oirctis* 'who used to harm/offend him' (*fri-t:n-oirctis* 'used to harm/offend him'), *ad-id:géuin* 'which recognised it' (*a-t:géuin* 'recognised it'), *amail ass-ind:be(i)r* 'as he says it' (Cambray; *a-t:beir* 'says it'). Replacement of main-clause class A or B by C in a relative clause is obligatory in the case of a third person pronoun but merely optional in the other persons: e.g., *ní tú no-d:n-ail acht is hé no-t:ail* 'it is not you that nourishes it (m.) but it is it (m.) that nourishes you' with 3sg. m. class C and 2sg. class A respectively in a leniting relative clause or *hóre no-ndob:molor-sa et no-m:moídim indib* 'because I praise you and boast of (lit. 'vaunt myself in') you' with a more or less arbitrary switch from 2pl. class C to 1 sg. class A in a nasalising relative clause. It is also to be noted that class C can only be infixed, never suffixed, so that *no* is required to make the transition from main clause *alt(a)i* 'nourishes it (m.)' (< *alaith-i*) to leniting relative *no-d:n-ail* in the first example.

The relative negative *nad* uses a special form of class C infixed pronoun in which *ch* is substituted for lenited *d* and nasalised *nd* (see V.D.2): e.g., 3sg. n. *na-ch:beir* 'who does not bear it' or *na-chid:chúalatar* 'who have not heard it' (presumably a conflation of 3sg. n. *-ch* with the 3sg. n. *-id* seen in *imm-id, ad-id* etc. in the previous paragraph) in leniting relative clauses with subject antecedent and *húare na-chan:soírai-ni* 'because you do not free us' or *na-ch:ndéirsed* 'that he would not desert him' (glossing *se... non deserturum* in Lat. *qui se sciret non deserturum* 'who he knew would not desert him') in what would normally be nasalising relative clauses. However, *d* and *nd* are occasionally found instead: e.g., *na-did:chreti* 'who does not believe it' in a leniting and *na-nda:tibérad* 'that he would not give them' in a nasalising relative clause.

The nasalised variants of class C are used after nasalising conjunct particles such as *co* 'until, (so) that', interrogative *in* '?', *ara* '(so) that', *dia* 'when, if' and prepositional relatives (see V.A.1c) such as *(h)i* 'in which', *ar-a* 'on account of/for which', *la-ssa* 'with which', *for-(s)a* 'on which' or *fo-a* or *fu-a* 'under which': e.g., *i-ndat:tadbat ní?* 'does he show you (sg.) something?' /indad/ (*do:ad-bat* 'shows'), *dia-ndob:acci* 'when he sees you (pl.)' /diandov/, *fon chéill fu-a-nd:ro-gab* 'in (lit. 'under') the sense in (lit. 'under') which he uttered it' (3sg. m. ref. to I m. *salm* 'psalm'), *ar†-ndom:roib-se* 'so that there may be to me/I may have', *ari-nd:nderoíma-som Día* 'so that God may protect him', *cid ar-i-nd:epur* 'what (is it) on account of which I say it/why do I say it?', *co-ndub:tánicc* 'until it came to you (pl.)', *co-nid:nderoímed* 'that he should protect him', *co-ndid:moladar* 'so that he praises him' (presumably a conflation of 3sg. m. *co-nd* with 3sg. m. *co-nid* based upon *imm-id, ad-id* etc. above).

B.8. Reading practice.

Wb. 9d5	*ar do:ecmalla in mertrech cuicce pecthu ind lína do-da:aidlea.*
Wb. 14d25	*a n-í do:luigim-se airib-si is Críst do-d:lugi lim.*
Wb. 28c15	*is hed in so no-da:scara frie* (ref. to Lat. *fides* f. 'faith').
Wb. 28d26	*it hé in so bési no-da:berat i n-eclais* (ref. to Lat. *uidua* f. 'widow').
Wb. 33c7	*doíni no-d:n-oirdnet* ɫ. de hominibus elegitur (Lat. 'or he is chosen of men').

CHAPTER VII
THE PASSIVE AND THE DEPONENT

A. THE PASSIVE.

A.1. The third-person present indicative and imperative forms.

Like English and many other languages, Old Irish has a passive construction, whereby a transitive verb's object or patient in the accusative becomes its subject in the nominative and the performer of the action is either left unexpressed or introduced in an agentive function by means of a preposition or the like, *la* + acc. 'with' in Old Irish corresponding to English 'by' in this usage. Thus *légaid in sacart in lebor* 'the priest reads the book', *ni:léga in sacart inna libru* 'the priest doesn't read the books' and *do:berat ind fir ech* 'the men bring a horse' can be passivised to *légthair in lebor (lassin sacart)* 'the book is read (by the priest)', *ní:lég(a)tar ind libuir (lassin sacart)* 'the books are not read (by the priest)', *do:berar ech (lasna firu)* 'a horse is brought (by the men)'. 3sg. passive forms can also be used impersonally with intransitive verbs in Old Irish, as in *tíagair* 'there is a going, (some)one goes'.

The passive endings of the present, the subjunctive (VIII) and the future (IX) are simply attached to the stem in question in place of the active endings (e.g. V.A.2a) and are characterised by a final *-r*, which is palatal in the absolute (e.g. 3sg. *légthair*) but non-palatal in the conjunct (e.g. 3sg. *do:berar*, 3pl. *ní:légtar*) and the relative: e.g., *in lebor légthar (lassin sacart)* 'the book which is read (by the priest)' and *ind libuir lég(a)tar (lassin sacart)* 'the books which are read (by the priest)'. The 3pl. passive ending always contains *-t-* /d/, while the present 3sg. form of weak, hiatus and (normally) S2 contains a *-th-* (sometimes liable to delenition to *-t-* /t/ by IX.2c: e.g., H2 deut. *do:gníther* 'is done' but prot. *ní:déntar* 'is not done' < *-*dén⁺thor*) that is lacking in S1 (e.g. *berair* 'is carried), S3 and occasionally S2.

The vowel before passive *-t(h)-* is usually syncopated in accordance with the standard rule (II.A.4c) where applicable, in which case *-t(h)-* is palatal or non-palatal (by IX.2b) depending on whether the lost syllable contained a non-palatalising back vowel (as in W1 *légth(a)ir*, *-légthar* with syncope of *-a-*) or a palatalising front vowel (as in W2a *lé(i)cthir*, *-lé(i)cther* with syncope of *-i-*). Where the preceding syllable was not lost, *-t(h)-* was palatal invariably in the absolute (e.g. *prid⁺chidir* 'is preached'; note *-d-* for *-th-* here owing to a tendency to voice /θ/ to /ð/ between unstressed vowels) and mostly in the relative and conjunct (as in *do:gníther* above or W1 rel. *prid⁺chider* 'which is preached').

The 3sg. ending *-(a)ir*, *-ar* without *-th-* is always preceded by a non-palatal consonant (even in S2) and the syllable before it never seems to undergo syncope: e.g., *con:o-cabar* 'is raised' (*con:o-caib*, cpd. of S2 *gaibid*, usually with 3sg. pass. *gaibthir, -gaibther*). Indeed, where a root was unstressed and ended in *-r* the vowel of the ending itself was liable to a peculiar syncope between the two *r*s: e.g. S1 deut. *do:berar* 'is brought' (stressed root; sometimes *do:berr* under the influence of the prototonic form) but prot. *-tabarr* (unstressed root and so early syncope of *-*to-veror* > *-*to-verr*), S2 *-tochar(r)* 'is put' beside more normal *-tochuirther* (S2 deponent *do:cuirethar* 'puts'; see B.1a below).

As usual, the ***imperative only has a single set of endings in the passive***, and these are identical with the conjunct endings as in the plural of the active imperative (see V.D.1); e.g., pres. ind. *ber(a)ir* 'it is carried', *ní:berar* 'it is not carried' but ipv. *berar* 'let it be carried', *na:berar* 'let it not be carried. Needless to say, the rule (V.D.2) that independent compound verbs without an infix are prototonic in the imperative also applies to the passive: e.g., pres. ind. *do:gníther* 'it is done', *ní:déntar* 'it is not done' but ipv. *déntar* 'let it be done', *na:déntar* 'let it not be done'. It is to be noted that the conjunct, relative and imperative endings are identical in the passive. However, the relative endings can only be used with independent simple verbs (VI.B.2; *marbthar* etc.) and this is precisely where a non-relative verb would have absolute (*marbth(a)ir* etc.) and not conjunct endings (-*marbthar* etc.). Whether simple or compound, an independent verb in the imperative is typically distinguished by what would otherwise be a 'dependent' form, while dependent imperatives have a distinctive negative (*(-)marbthar* etc.). Since imperatives can only occur in main clauses, from which relative forms are by definition excluded, there is no prospect of confusion between those two categories despite their formal identity in the passive of simple verbs.

Typical present passive paradigms include the following. The identical conjunct, relative and imperative forms are only given for W1. Thereafter a technically ipv. form such as *(-)léicther* may be understood to cover pres. ind. rel. *léicther* and conj. *-léicther* too.

	3sg. abs.	conj./rel./ipv.	3pl. abs.	conj./rel./ipv.
W1 *marb(a)id* 'kills' > 'is killed'	*marbth(a)ir*	*-marbthar/ marbthar/ (-)marbthar*	*marbt(a)ir marb(a)itir*	*-marb(a)tar/ marb(a)tar/ (-)marb(a)tar*
W2 *lé(i)cid* 'leaves' > 'is left'	*lé(i)cthir*	*(-)lé(i)cther*	*lé(i)c(i)tir*	*(-)lé(i)cter* or *(-)lé(i)cetar*
H2 *gniid* 'does' > 'is done'	*gníthir*	*(-)gníther*	*gnítir*	*(-)gníter*
H3 *so(a)id* 'turns' > 'is turned'	*soíthir*	*(-)soíther*	*soítir*	*(-)soíter*
S1 *be(i)rid* 'bears' > 'is born(e)'	*ber(a)ir*	*(-)berar*	*bert(a)ir berd(a)ir*	*(-)bertar (-)berdar*
S2 *gaibid* 'takes' > 'is taken'	*gaibthir*	*(-)gaibther*	*gaib(i)tir*	*(-)gaibt/der* or *(-)gaibetar*
S3 *ben(a)id* 'strikes' > 'is struck'.	*ben(a)ir*	*(-)benar*	*bent(a)ir bend(a)ir*	*(-)bentar (-)bendar*

A.2. The first and second persons.
The Old Irish passive only has third person endings such as the ones just illustrated for the simple reason that a first or second person subject is expressed by means of the appropriate infixed pronoun (passive endings being incapable of taking a suffixed pronoun) in combination with the 3sg. conjunct passive ending of the stem in question (i.e. present, preterite, subjunctive or future). This system is illustrated by the table below by pres. ind. W1 simple *caraid* 'loves', neg. + S1 simple *beirid* 'bears', S1 cpd. *as:beir* 'says, mentions', interrog. *i(n)* [nas.] + S1 cpd. *do:beir* 'brings'; ipv. S1 cpd. *do:beir* 'brings', neg. + S3 simple *benaid* 'strikes'.

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
no-m:charthar,	*no-t:charthar,*	*carthair;*	*no-n:carthar,*	*no-b:carthar,*	*cart/dair*
'I am loved'	'you are loved'	'(s)he/it is loved'	'we are loved'	'you are loved'	'they are loved'
ní-m:berar	*ní-t:berar*	*ní:berar*	*ní-n:berar*	*ní-b:berar*	*ní:bert/dar*

'I am not carried' 'you are not..' '(s)he/it is not..'   'we are not..' 'you are not..' 'they are not..'
a-tam:berar   a-tat:berar   as:berar   *a-tan:berar   a-tab:berar   as:bert/dar*
'I am mentioned' 'you are..'   '(s)he/it is...'   'we are...'   'you are...'   'they are..'
i-ndam:tabarr i-ndat:tabarr   in:tabarr   *i-ndan:tabarr i-ndab:tabarr in:tabart/dar*
'am I brought?' 'are you...?'   'is (s)he/it..?'   'are we..?'   'are you..?'   'are they..?'
do-m:berar   do-t:berar   tabarr   *do-n:berar   do-b:berar   tabart/dar*
'let me be brought...' 'let you..' 'let him/her/it..' 'let us..'   'let you..'   'let them..'
na-cham:benar na-chat:benar na:benar   *na-chan:benar na-chab:benar na:bent/dar*
'let me not be struck', 'let you not..', let him/her/it not..' 'let us not..' 'let you not..' 'let them not..'

A.3. Reading practice.

(a) The following is the continuation of *Compert Con Culainn* (VI.B.4b) down to the first child's death. The tale is concluded in B.3a below.

Tráth ba matan doib, co:n-accatar ní i n-airthiur in mroga cen tech cen éunu acht a n-echrada fadesin ₇ a mmac con-a lurchuirib. Do:tíagat íar sin do Emain. Alair a mmac combo blaicce. D-a:fúapair galar íar suidiu. A-t:baill dé. Ferthair a gubae. Ba már a sáeth la Deichtini díth a daltai.

(b) The late seventh- or early eighth-century *Echtrae Chonnlai* or 'Connlae's Expedition' may be short but is just about the oldest Irish tale to have come down to us and has it obvious affinities with *Immram Brain* (see V.D.3d and VI.A.6c-e). Allowing for a few modifications and omissions, the text's striking opening is given here and the remainder in B.3b below.

Connlae Rúad mac do Chunn Chétchathach, a mboíe laa n-and for láim a athar i n-úachtur Uisnig, co:n-accae in mnaí i n-étuch anetargnad.
As:bert Connle: 'Can duit, a banscál?'.
Mulier respondit (Latin: 'The woman replied'): *'.. A tírib béo, i-nna:bí bás na peccad na imarmus. Do:melam fleda búana cen frithgnam. Caínchomrac lenn cen debuid. Síd már i:taam, conid de suidib no-n:ainmnigther áes síde.'*

A.4. The imperfect passive.
Here the passive endings are simply 3sg. *-th(a)e* and 3pl. *-t(a)is* (optionally written *-d(a)is* after a consonant; see I.B1) added to the present stem in the same way as the active set in V.E.1 (the preceding vowel being usually but not invariably lost by syncope). With these they share the property of being conjunct only and of requiring *no* as a prefix in the absence of any other proclitic. There is a noteworthy ambiguity in the 3pl., which has an identical ending in the active and passive. Consequently a form like *no:marbt(a)is* may mean 'they used to kill' or 'they used to be killed' according to context, although selection of one or the other will usually be required by other grammatical aspects of the sentence: e.g., *no:marbt(a)is ind fir* 'the men used to be killed' (no obect and *fir* nom. pl.) but *no:marbt(a)is inna firu* 'they used to kill the men' (*firu* in acc. pl. and so object) and *no:marbt(a)is ind fir inna torcu* 'the men used to kill the boars' (object *inna torcu* in acc. pl.). The passive forms corresponding to the imperfect actives in the table in V.E.1 are given below. However, W1 *mór(a)id* 'praises' has replaced W1 *marb(a)id* in order to avoid semantically absurd *no-m:marbth(a)e* 'I used to be killed' or the like, S2 is omitted as more or less superfluous and the conjunct particle *co* [nas.] 'so that' is prefixed to the S3 forms (where *-t(h)-*

is delenited after -n- by IX.2c). Note that essentially the same system applies to the passives of the past subjunctive (VIII.7) and the conditional (IX.8).

	W1	**W2**	**S1**	**S3**
1sg.	*no-m:mórth(a)e*	*ní-m:lé(i)cthe*	*do-m:be(i)rthe*	*co-ndam:bent(a)e*
2sg.	*no-t:mórth(a)e*	*ní-t:lé(i)cthe*	*do-t:be(i)rthe*	*co-ndat:bent(a)e*
3sg.	*no:mórth(a)e*	*ní:lé(i)cthe*	*do:be(i)rthe*	*co:mbent(a)e*
1pl.	*no-n:mórth(a)e*	*ní-n:lé(i)cthe*	*do-n:be(i)rthe*	*co-ndan:bent(a)e*
2pl.	*no-b:mórth(a)e*	*ní-b:lé(i)cthe*	*do-b:be(i)rthe*	*co-ndab:bent(a)e*
3pl.	*no:mórt/d(a)is*	*ní:lé(i)ct/dis*	*do:be(i)rt/dis*	*co:mbent/d(a)is*

A.5. Reading practice.

Given that *do:bertis leu* can mean 'they used to take with them' or 'they used to be taken by them', the formal identity of active and passive in the 3pl. imperfect is nicely illustrated by the well-known 'scapegoat' gloss below from the Turin collection on two fragments of a Latin commentary St. Mark's Gospel. The use of *ó* 'from' rather than *la* 'with' (see A.1 above) to indicate the agent ('by') in the final clause is probably due to imitation of Latin usage, which calls for *a(b)* 'from, by' in this context. See the end of I.B.8 on a tendency not to lenite *p-* in Old Irish.

Tur. 110c. *Ba bés leu-som do:bertis da boc leu dochum Tempuil ꝛ no:léicthe ind ala n-aí fon díthrub co pecad in popuil ꝛ do:bertis maldachta fair ꝛ no:oircthe didiu and ó popul tar cenn a pecthae ind aile.*

A.6. The preterite passive.

(a) In the preterite the passive differs from the active ***in stem as well as endings***. Consequently categories such as '*s-*', '*t-*' and 'suffixless' with its further subdivisions into 'reduplicated', 'long *á*' and so on, which are fundamental in the preterite active (see VI.A.1-5), are of utterly no relevance to the preterite passive. Instead ***the stem of all passive preterites is formed by adding a dental suffix*** (quite different in origin from that of the *t*-preterite) ***directly to the verbal root*** (plus stem vowel in the case of weak verbs plus the two strong ones with root-final *-b*; see VI.A.1). This underlying *-t(-)* suffix then combines with the final sound of the root in various more or less predictable ways. ***It remains unchanged as -t(-) /t/ only after a guttural*** (which becomes *ch* before *t* as in VI.A.2) ***and al-; it is realised as lenited -th- after a vowel*** (pass. pret. of all weak and hiatus verbs as well as S3 after loss of present *-n(-)*, on which see VI.A.2, and any S1verbs with a basic root shape C*er* or C*el* for reasons to be given below); ***it combines with a preceding nasal as -t(-) /d/*** (cf. *do:es-sim/-set* in VI.A.2) and ***with a preceding dental as -s(s)(-)***: e.g., 3sg. conj. *-acht* 'was driven' (S1 *agid* 'drives'), *-alt* 'was nurtured' (S1 *alid* 'nurtures'); *-gníth* 'was done' (H2 *gniid* 'does'), *-bíth* 'was struck' (S3 *benaid* 'strikes'), *-breth* 'was born(e)' (S1 *beirid* 'bears'), *-cleth* 'was hidden' (S1 *ceilid* 'hides') as well as *-marbad* 'was killed'(W1 *marbaid* 'kills', *-lé(i)ced* 'was left' (W2a *lé(i)cid* 'needs'), *-corad* 'was put' (W2b dep. *-cuirethar* 'puts' in B.1 below), *-gabad* 'was taken' (S2 *gaibid* 'takes') with regular voicing of final *-th* /θ/ to *-d* /ð/ after an unstressed vowel (see III.A.3) also responsible for alternations such as those between deut. *do:gníth* and prot. *-dénad* 'was done' (H2 cpd. *do:gní, -dén(a)i* 'does'), deut. *do:breth* and prot. *-tabrad* 'was brought/given' (S1 cpd. *do:beir, -tabair* 'brings, gives'); *-cét* 'was sung' (S1 *canid* 'sings'), *-dét* 'was granted' (S2 *daimid* 'suffers, allows, grants'); *-clas(s)* 'was dug' (S2 *claidid* 'digs'), *-ges(s)* 'was besought/prayed' (S2 *guidid* 'beseeches, prays), *-slass* 'was struck' (S2 *slaidid* 'strikes'), *fo:cres(s)* 'was put/thrown' (S1 *fo:ceird* 'puts, throws').

Changes in the vocalism of the stressed root characterise the passive preterite of some strong verbs. The most important of these is the more or less regular inversion or 'metathesis' of *er/l* to *r/le* seen in *-breth*, *-cleth* and *fo:cress* above as well as *-sreth* 'was strewn' (S3 *sernaid* with root *ser*; VI.A.2), a tendency for some H2 and S3 verbs with root-final *i* to lengthen this as in *-gníth* and *-bíth* above, and the *é* prone to result from loss of a nasal before *t* (> /d/) as in *-cét* and *-dét* above. In the case of W2b and *-gabad* the preterite passive stem to which *-Vth(-)* is added merely differs from the present stem in the same way as that of *s*-preterite active (see VI.A.1). The handful of roots in final guttural or *m* with a *t*-preterite active display formal identity in the 3sg. conjunct between this and the preterite passive: e.g., *-acht* 'drove' or 'was driven', *-anacht* 'protected' or 'was protected' (S1 *aingid*, *-anaig* 'protects'), *-ort* 'slew' or 'was slain' (< *-orcht* as in VI.A.2; S1 *orgid* 'slays'), *do:es-set* 'shed' or 'was shed' (but see the remarks on a similar formal identity in the 3pl. imperfect in A.4 above for the unlikelihood of much serious ambiguity in practice). Needless to say, this situation did not exist in the case of the vast majority of verbs of this type with a suffixless preterite active: e.g. *-cechain* 'sang' but *-cét* 'was sung', *-selaig* 'cut down' but *-slecht* 'was cut down' (S1 *sligid* 'cuts down'). *Fo:gaib* 'finds' and *téit* 'goes' plus its compounds have suppletive preterite passives as well as suppletive preterite actives (see VI.A.4e), namely *(fo:)-fríth* 'was found' and *-eth* 'there was a going, (some)one went' (cf. *tíagair* at the end of the first paragraph in A.1 above).

(b) As should be clear from all of the previous examples, the 3sg. conjunct of the preterite passive simply consisted of the non-palatal form of the bare suffix (including any combinations with the root final such as that responsible for *-s(s)(-)*). The 3sg. absolute (and relative) was simply this plus *-(a)e* and the 3pl. conjunct the same stem plus *-a*. The 3pl. absolute (and relative) also contained a final vowel, perhaps *-(a)i*, but there are no attestations in early manuscripts produced at a time (i.e. in the Old Irish period) when short final unstressed vowels were still distinguished from each other (see XII.B.1). The usual passive system applied to the first- and second-person forms: e. g., sg. *no-m:breth* 'I was carried', *no-t:breth* 'you were carried', *breth(a)e* '(s)he/it was carried' (neg. *ní-m:breth, ní-t:breth, ní:breth*) for *beirid* 'carries', pl. *do-n:breth* 'we were brought', *do-b:breth* 'you were brought', *do:bretha* 'they were brought' for *do:beir* 'brings'. The basic third-person forms (3sg. abs./rel., 3sg. conj. and 3pl. conj.) of some of the forms in a above are tabulated for illustration below (note that syncope often affects the 3sg. abs. and 3pl. with their extra vowel and that non-final *-th-* was not normally voiced).

3sg. abs./rel.	3sg. conj.	3pl. conj.	
marbth(a)e	*-marbad*	*-marbtha*	(W1 *marb(a)id* 'kills')
lé(i)cthe	*-lé(i)ced*	*-lé(i)cthea*	(W2a *lé(i)cid* 'leaves')
bíth(a)e	*-bíth*	*-bítha*	(S3 *ben(a)id* 'smites')
breth(a)e	*-breth*	*-bretha*	(S1 *be(i)rid* 'bears')
cleth(a)e	*-cleth*	*-cletha*	(S1 *ce(i)lid* 'hides')
alt(a)e	*-alt*	*-alta*	(S1 *al(a)id* 'nurtures')
slecht(a)e	*-slecht*	*-slechta*	(S1 *sligid* 'cuts down')
ort(a)e	*-ort*	*-orta*	(S1 *org(a)id* 'slays')
cét(a)e	*-cét*	*-céta*	(S1 *can(a)id* 'kings')
class(a)e	*-clas(s)*	*-classa*	(S2 *claidid* 'digs')
slass(a)e	*-slas(s)*	*-slassa*	(S2 *slaidid* 'strikes')
mess(a)e	*-mess*	*-messa*	(S2 dep. *midithir* 'judges'; B.1b)

A.7. The past passive participle and verbal of necessity.

A participle is basically an adjective derived from a verb and like the latter is capable of being differentiated for tense (cf. the English present active participle seen in 'running water', 'a crying baby' etc. or the past passive participle seen in 'the burnt toast', 'the toast is burnt' etc.). Old Irish has only one true participle, namely a past participle that is passive in the case of a transitive verb and corresponds quite closely in meaning to the English 'burnt' type. It basically has the same stem as the passive preterite above but is inflected as a class IV adjective (see II.B.1) with -e in the nom. sg. and is thus often identical in form to the 3sg. abs./rel. of the pret. pass. in the lefthand column above: e.g., *marbth(a)e* 'killed', *léicthe* 'left', *alt(a)e* 'nurtured', *slecht(a)e* 'cut down', *ort(a)e* 'slain'. Sometimes, however, the past participle differs slightly from the 3sg. abs./rel. pret. pass. by having a palatal rather than a non-palatal consonant before the ending and occasionally by also having *i* rather than *e* as the root vowel: e.g., *bíthe* 'smitten', *clithe* 'hidden', *cé(i)te* 'sung', *cla(i)sse* 'dug', *sla(i)sse* 'struck', *me(i)sse* 'judged'. The relatively infrequent verbal of necessity is normally the same as the past participle except that it is indeclinable and always ends in -*i*: e.g. *clithi* or *clethi* '(due) to be hidden', *messi* '(due) to be judged'. Its agent ('by') is expressed by means of the preposition *do* 'to'.

It is to be noted that the past participle, verbal of necessity and verbal noun (III.A.2c) are regularly stressed on the first syllable just like other Old Irish adjectives and nouns (see I.B.4). Consequently, when formed from compound verbs they inevitably display the so-called 'prototonic' rather than the 'deuterotonic' stress pattern (see V.B.2): e.g., 3sg. pres. deut. H2 *do:gní*, prot. -*déni* 'does', vn. IIIb m. *dénam* 'doing', past part. *dénte* 'done', vb. nec. *dénti* 'to be done' (see Wb. 1d7 in V.C.4d for an example); 3sg. pres. deut. S1 *do:fuissim*, prot. -*tuissim* 'begets', vn. V nas. f. *tuistiu* 'begetting', past part. *tuiste* 'begotten'; 3sg. pres. deut. W2a *do:sluindi*, prot. -*dílt(a)i* 'denies', vn. IIIb m. *díltud* 'denying', vb. nec. *dílt(a)idi* 'to be denied'; 3sg. pres. S1 deut. *do:beir*, prot. -*tabair* 'brings, gives', vn. II *tabart* 'bringing, giving', past part. *tabarthe* 'brought, given', vb. nec. *tabarthi* 'to be brought/given'; 3sg. pres. W2b deut. *do:róscai*, prot. -*derscaigi* 'excels', vn. IIIb m. *derscugud* 'excelling', past part. *derscaigthe* 'excelled'.

A.8. Reading practice:

(a) In IV.C.3e Brigit was seen dividing butter she was then churning in order to give it to the poor. Despite this there was miraculously plenty of butter to spare for the druid and his wife who owned her mother.

Ba and sin do:bretha di-ssi rúisc di-a línad ó mnaí in druad. Ní-s:boí acht maistreth imbe co lleith. Líntai ind rúisc do șuidiu ⁊ batar budig ind oígith, .i. in druí ⁊ a ben. As:bert in druí fri Brigti: 'Bit lat do baí ⁊ fodail a n-imb do bochtaib ⁊ ní:bia do máthair óndíu i fognam ⁊ níba écen a lúag'.

(b) The following is the first half of the tale *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* (excluding a poem at the end of the first paragraph). This passage is replete with the kind of etymological speculation about names to which medieval Ireland's men of learning were addicted and the continuation will be found in IX.9b.

Boí rígféinnid for Connachtaib fecht n-aili .i. Fothad Canainne. Bráthair-side ⁊ Fothad Airgtech ⁊ Fothad Cairptech. Is dé as:beirthe ind Fothaid friu; .i. fothae suith, ar is sí cétchland berte Fuinche do Macniae; no Fothad .i. fo thaídi .i. fo chlith do:gnítha la Macniaid fri Fuinchi ingin

Náir maic Armara; no Fothad .i. fí áeda .i. olc teined .i. teine neimnech oc orcain cland ᵎ cenél. Óendia immurgu ᵎ Tréndia ᵎ Caíndia a n-anmann. Óendia int Airgtech, Tréndia in Cairptech, Caíndia Fothad Canainne. D'óentairbirt brethai a triur la Fuinchi ingin Náir.... Birt Fuinche Óendia i tuus aidche; is dé as:berar ainm dó, ar ba gein ríg ar febus int séoin. Tréndia i medón aidche; is dé do:breth ainm dó ar threisi int séoin lasna deu and. Caíndia issin matain; ar chaími ᵎ ar áildi inna fungaire inna maitne ᵎ is airi is Caíndia a ainm......

Mad íar n-alailiu, is dé as:berar Fothad doib .i. fó-suth .i. fó maith .i. fothae maithe .i. cland sainemail. Fothad Canainne, is dé as:berar, .i. ó Chanainn, ón choin boíe occo, unde (Lat. 'whence') *Canann i Maig Lifi* dicitur (Lat. 'is said/called'); *no Fothad caíníne .i. álaind in dia in tan mbrethae.*

(c)   Sg. 208b13 ego (Lat. 'I') *a n-as tórmachte* ipse ł met *fris*
        (glossing Lat. *ego-met ipse* 'I myself')
        Ml. 83b4 *a n-ata túartai* (glossing Lat. *inimicis attritis* 'the enemy having been crushed')
        Ml. 45d6 *a nnarobsa bíthe* (glossing Lat. *nulla... formidine perculsus* 'smitten by no fear')
        Ml.82a7 *ní dénti dúib-si a-ní sin air a:tá nech du-bar déicsin .i. Día*
        Ml. 62c5 *du:árbaid Día in déni as comallaidi a forgaire .i. in déni as mbuidigthi dó ind fortacht imme:trénaigethar ᵎ du:mbeir* (*do:árbaid* 'has shown' is the perfect of *do:adbat*, i.e. its preterite augmented by *ro*, on which see X.1-2; note too the early instance of typically Middle Irish assimilation of *ln* to *ll*, on which see XII.B.5 in *comallaidi* for *comalnaidi*).

B. THE DEPONENT.

B.1. Present indicative, imperfect and imperative.

(a) For historical reasons that need not concern us here certain verbs in Old Irish have a so-called 'deponent' active inflection based upon peculiar endings displaying formal affinities (notably the frequent presence of *-r*) with the passive rather than with the normal active endings in V.A.2a. However, whereas passive inflection is functionally distinct from its active counterpart and a given verb can take either set according to context (see A.1 above), there is no functional difference between the normal and the deponent active endings, a given verb either inflecting in the normal way or as a deponent in the active: e.g., W1 *móraid* 'magnifies' but dep. *molaithir* 'praises' (pass. *mórthair* 'is magnified' and *moltair* 'is praised'), W2a *ní:léici* 'does not let' but dep. *ní:cruthaigethar* 'does not fashion' (pass. *ní:léicther* 'is not let' and *ní:cruthaigther* 'is not fashioned'), W2b *do:lugi* 'forgives' but dep. *do:cuirethar* 'puts' (pass. *do:luigther* 'is forgiven' and *do:cuirther* 'is put'), S2 *guidmi* 'we beseech' but dep. *midim(m)ir* 'we judge' (pass. *no-n:guitter* 'we are besought' and *no-n:mitter* 'we are judged'), S3 *ní:cren* 'does not purchase' but dep. *ní:cluinethar* 'does not hear' (pass. *ní:crenar* 'is not purchased' and *ní:cluinter* 'is not heard').

As the examples just given show, deponent verbs have corresponding passives of the usual type. They also have a set of personal endings that is complete as in the active (as in 1pl. *midim(m)ir* above) and not confined to third person endings as in the passive (e.g. 1pl. *no-n:mitter* above consisting of 3sg. ending + 1pl. infixed pronoun; see A.2 above). Deponents not only have invariable *-th-* (quite often voiced to *-d-* /ð/ between unstressed vowels as in the case of pass. *pridchidir* for *pridchithir* in A.1 above) in the 3sg. but the only two deponents in a class normally characterised by 3sg. pass. *-a(i)r* (A.1 above), namely S3 *-cluinethar* 'hears' (with a palatal *-n-* as

opposed to the basic non-palatal *-n-* of all other S2 verbs) and *-finnathar* (or *-finnadar*) 'finds out', have 3sg. pass. *-te/ar* (< *-*n†-thor* by delenition) as witnessed by *-cluinter* 'is heard' vs. *-crenar* 'is purchased' above as well as by *-fintar* 'is found out'.

(b) The following table illustrates the basic deponent paradigm, the 3sg. and pl. (as well as 1pl.) relative forms being identical with the corresponding conjunct forms as in the passive. The vowel before 3sg. *-th-* and 3pl. *-t-* /d/ is always retained in the deponent unlike the passive. Indeed, this is basically the sole formal difference between the two. Consequently they may be formally identical where the vowel before the passive ending is not lost by syncope, although the dental in the conjunct deponent is always non-palatal (*-e/athar* or *-e/adar*) and that in the corresponding unsyncopated passive ending is often palatal (*-(a)ither* or *-(a)ider*; see *do:gníther* and *pridchider* in A.1 above). Syncope does, however, affect the vowel before the endings *-ther* (sometimes *-ter* or *-tar* by IX.2b/c) of the 2sg., *-the* (sometimes *-te* by IX.2b) of the 2pl. abs. and (at least in the W2a *-(a)ig-* class) *-m(m)ir/-m(m)ar* of the 1pl. in accordance with the usual rules. In this case, of course, there is no possibility of ambiguity with the corresponding passives, which use the 3sg. form plus the appropriate infixed pronoun as explained in A.2 above. The rounded vowel of the 1sg. is *-u-* after a palatal consonant but may appear more or less at random as *-o-* or *-u-* after a non-palatal. The suffix *-(a)ig-* accompanied by W2a deponent inflection is an extremely productive means of basing so-called 'denominative' verbs upon nouns and adjectives in Old Irish: e.g., IIIb m. *cruth* 'shape', *cruthaigithir* 'makes into a shape, shapes, fashions' and IIIb adj. *follus* 'manifest, clear', *foill†sigithir* 'makes manifest, reveals'. Note the identity of abs. and conj. in the 1 and 2 sg. deponent as well as the identity of the deponent and the non-deponent endings in the 2pl. (see V.A.2).

	W1 *mol(a)ithir* 'praises'		W2a *-(a)igithir*		S2 *midithir* 'judges'	
	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.
1sg.	*(-)molor*		*-(a)igiur*		*(-)midiur*	
2sg.	*(-)moltar*		*-(a)igther*		*(-)mitter*	
3sg.	*mol(a)ithir*	*-molathar*	*-(a)igithir*	*-(a)igethar*	*midithir*	*-midethar*
rel.	*molathar*		*-(a)igethar*		*midethar*	
1pl.	*mol(a)im(m)ir*	*-molam(m)ar*	*-(a)igmir*	*-(a)igmer*	*midim(m)ir*	*-midem(m)ar*
rel.	*molam(m)ar*		*-(a)igmer*		*midem(m)ar*	
2pl.	*molt(a)e*	*-mol(a)id*	*-(a)igthe*	*-(a)igid*	*mitte*	*-midid*
3pl.	*mol(a)itir*	*-molatar*	*-(a)igitir*	*-(a)igetar*	*miditir*	*-midetar*
rel.	*molatar*		*-(a)igetar*		*midetar*	

(c) ***There are no special imperfect deponent endings*** with the result that deponent verbs are conjugated just like the imperfect non-deponents in V.E.1 (likewise the past subjunctive in VIII.7 and the conditional in IX.8): e.g., 1sg. *no:mol(a)inn* 'I used to praise', 2sg. *ní:foillsigthea* 'you used not to reveal', 3sg. *ad:mided* 'he used to aim at' (cpd. *ad:midethar*, *-aim†dethar* 'aims at, tries'), 1pl. *no:cruthaigmis* 'we used not to fashion', 2pl. *ní:moltae* 'you used not to praise', 3pl. *ní:aimditis* 'they used not to try'.

(d) On the other hand, there is a set of specifically ***deponent imperative endings*** which, as usual, (A.1 above and V.D.1) do not distinguish between absolute and conjunct and are identical with the indicative conjunct set in the plural. Deponent imperatives also conform to the standard imperative system as regards the special negative *na* and prototonic forms of independent

compound verbs in the absence of an infixed pronoun (see V.D.2). Unusually *fo:ceird* 'puts' has a suppletive dependent deponent counterpart *-cuirethar*, upon which the imperative is then predictably based if there is no infix. 2sg. *-the* is, of course, delenited to *-te* after another dental and has a very rare variant *-e* without a dental. These features are illustrated in the following table, the 3sg. ipv. being the same in the deponent as in the normal active (see V.D.1).

	W1 'praise!'	W2a	W2b 'don't put!'	S1 'try!'
2sg.	*(-)molt(a)e*	*-(a)igthe*	*na:cuir(th)e*	*aimdithe*
3sg.	*(-)molad*	*-(a)iged*	*na:cuired*	*aimded*
1pl.	*(-)molam(m)ar*	*-(a)igem(m)ar*	*na:cuirem(m)ar*	*aimdem(m)ar*
2pl.	*(-)mol(a)id*	*-(a)igid*	*na:cuirid*	*aimdid*
3pl.	*(-)molatar*	*-(a)igetar*	*na:cuiretar*	*aimdetar*

(e) A few verbs in Old Irish simply delete a preverb in the dependent form (including imperative without infix) or acquire a 'dummy' preverb in the independent form instead of displaying a normal deuterotonic/prototonic (see V.B.2) or absolute/conjunct (V.A.1-2) alternation. The main non-deponent examples are S2 *do:tuit* (occasionally *do:fuit*) 'falls' vs. *ní:tuit* 'does not fall' etc. (n.b. the normal alternation in its suppletive pret. *do:cer, -tocha(i)r* in VI.A.4e); W1 *fo:fúasna* 'disturbs' vs. *ní:fúasna* etc.; suppletive pret. *fo:fúair* 'found' vs. *ní:fúair* etc. (VI.A.4e, and similarly the corresponding pret. pass. *fo:fríth* vs. *ní:fríth* etc. in A.6a above; n.b. the normal alternation in the other stems, e.g. pres. *fo:gaib* 'finds' vs. *ní:fogaib* etc.); S2 *imm:imgaib* 'avoids' vs. *ní:imgaib* etc.; H1 *ad:co-ta* 'gets, obtains' vs. *ní:é-ta* etc. (originally indep. *in-com-ta-* vs. dep. *-in-ta-* but with substitution of *ad* for pretonic *in(d)* also seen, for example, in *ad:fét* alongside rarer *in(d):fét* 'relates', prot. *-ind-et* and doubtless triggered by their falling together as *a-* before a class B infixed pronoun; see V.C.3c). This feature also characterises a number of common (and otherwise simple) deponent verbs, notably S3 *ro:finnathar* 'finds out' vs. *ní:finnathar* etc., S3 *ro:cluinethar* 'hears' vs. *ní:cluinethar* etc., S2 *ro:laimethar* 'dares' vs. *ní:laimethar*, and W2a *ad:ágathar* 'fears' vs. *ní:ágathar*.

(f) Since the deponent inflection peculiar to the active of a limited number of verbs was a lexically conditioned piece of historical baggage, so to speak, and served no functionally useful purpose, it is hardly surprising that even in Old Irish there were the beginnings of a tendency (already complete in the 3sg. ipv. and in the 2pl. generally) to get rid of this unnecessary complication by replacing deponent endings with the corresponding normal active ones seen, for instance, in V.A.2a (see XII.E.1c on the virtual completion of this process in Middle Irish). Only the particularly common third person conjunct sg. *-e/athar* (or *-e/adar*) and pl. *-e/atar* seem to have been immune to the sporadic intrusion of normal active endings already seen in examples from the Glosses such as W2a pres. 1sg. *bruthnaigim* 'I rage' (for *-aigiur*) and *-frithalim* 'I expect' (*fris:ál(i)ur*), W1 *a*-subj. 2sg. *-intamlae* '(may) you imitate' (*-intamailter*), pres. 3sg. abs. *comallaid* 'fulfils' and rel. *comalnas* 'who/which (s)he fulfils' (*comalnaithir* and *comlanathar*), W2a ipv. 1pl. *na:seichem* 'let us not follow' (*na:seichem(m)ar*), W1 pres. rel. *labraim(m)e* '(that) we speak' (*labramar*), 3pl. abs. *comalnit* 'they fulfil' (*comaln(a)itir*). Like the passive endings, even 3sg. abs. deponent endings were incompatible with suffixing. Unlike the passive, however, **a 3sg. deponent verb could suffix a third person pronoun by replacing *-(a)ithir* with normal active *-(a)ith** (> *-(a)id*; V.A.2b and V.C.2): e.g., *firiánich†th-i* 'justifies him' (W2a *firiánaigithir* based on adj. *firián* 'just, righteous') and *óenich†th-i* 'unites himself (W2a *óenaigithir* 'unites' based on *óen* 'one'), both from Wb. and displaying *-ch-* for *-g-* in accordance with IX.2a.

B.2. The preterite.

(a) Deponent conjugation is not confined to the present and verbs of this type almost always display deponent inflection in the preterite, subjunctive (see VIII.2-3 and 5) and future (see IX.1, 3 and 5-6) as well. However, there are instances of alternation between deponent and non-deponent inflection in the different tenses and moods of a handful of verbs. Thus -*cluinethar* 'hears' is deponent except in the preterite -*cúal(a)e* 'heard' (VI.A.4f) while *ad:cí* 'sees' is non-deponent except in the subjunctive *ad:cethar* 'may see' (VIII.3). Occasionally non-deponent and deponent forms stand in a suppletive relationship, as in the case of *fo:ceird* 'puts, throws', which (except for fut. deut. *fo:cicher(r)*, prot. -*foícher(r)* 'will put/throw'; IX.6b) replaces the non-deponent S1 compound of its independent forms with the deponent W2b simple verb -*cuirethar* in its dependent forms, whence *fo:ceird* 'puts' but *ní:cuirethar* 'does not put' and so on. The non-deponent H3 compound *con:oí, -cumai* 'preserves, protects' has a deponent subjunctive *con:oadar, -comathar* 'may preserve/protect' and a suppletive (apparently based upon an otherwise unattested S1 cpd. **con:eim*) deponent *t*-preterite *con:étar* 'protected' (< *em-tar, cf. *t*-pret. *do:es-set* of *do:es-sim* 'pours' in VI.A.2; actually attested as *con:róetar* in combination with the augment *ro*, on which see III.A.5a and X.1-2). Since this is the only known example of a deponent *t*-preterite and no deponent verbs belong to H1 and H2 (usually with reduplicated *s*-preterites; VI.A.5), there is in effect only a **deponent *s*-preterite** of W1 and W2a/b deponent verbs and a **deponent suffixless preterite** of S2 deponent verbs (plus S3 -*finnadar* 'finds out'). These can be illustrated by using the same three verbs as in B.1b above. Relative endings happen to be virtually unattested but were doubtless identical with the corresponding conjunct endings in the 3sg., 1pl. and 3pl. of the *s*-preterite, which has 2sg. -*er* instead of -*ther* and invariably interposes no vowel between -*s*- and 3sg. -*th*- (delenited to -*t*- by IX.2c). Like its normal active counterpart (VI.A.4f), the deponent suffixless preterite had only a single set of endings undifferentiated for absolute and conjunct. There is no difference between the deponent and the normal active inflection in the plural (where the first and third person relatives were doubtless also -*am(m)ar* and -*atar* as in the normal active), while the singular shows the same alternation between non-palatal final in the identical 1/2sg. and palatal final in the 3sg., the difference being that in the deponent the final consonant is always -V*r* added to a stem with non-palatal final (form of 3sg. rel. doubtful).

	W1 *mol(a)ithir* 'praises'		W2a -*(a)igithir*		S2 *midithir* 'judges'
	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.	abs./conj.
1sg.	*(-)molsor*			-*(a)igsiur*	*(-)mídar*
2sg.	*(-)molsar*			-*(a)igser*	*(-)mídar*
3sg.	*mol(a)istir*	-*molastar*	-*(a)igistir*	-*(a)igestar*	*(-)míd(a)ir*
rel.	*molastar*			-*(a)igestar*	
1pl.	*mols(a)im(m)ir*	-*molsam(m)ar*	-*(a)igsim(m)ir*	-*(a)igsemar*	*(-)míd(a)m(m)ar*
rel.	*molsam(m)ar*			-*(a)igsem(m)ar*	
2pl.	*molast(a)e*	-*mols(a)id*	-*(a)igeste*	-*(a)igsid*	*(-)míd(a)id*
3pl.	*mols(a)itir*	-*molsatar*	-*(a)igsitir*	-*(a)igsetar*	*(-)mídatar*
rel.	*molsatar*			-*(a)igsetar*	

(b) With the exception of S3 -*cluinethar* 'hears' with its normal active suffixless preterite -*cúalae* (VI.A.4d/f), verbs that inflect as deponents in the present do so in the preterite too (and, for that matter, in the subjunctive and future dealt with in the next two chapters). Like its normal active counterpart, **the deponent *s*-preterite** simply adds a suffix -*as*- (W1) or -*is*- (W2a), the vowel of

which is liable to syncope outside the 3sg., to the unaltered verbal root. W2b -*cuirethar* 'puts' with *s*-pret. -*corastar* (passive -*corad*; see A.6a above) displays the same alternation between present and non-present stems as normal active members of that class (cf. W2b *scuirid*, *scorais* etc. in VI.A.1).

(c) Like its normal active counterpart, the **deponent suffixless preterite** is characterised by a modification of the root, usually the substitution of a long for a short vowel (cf. VI.A.4c/d), in addition to its peculiar inflection: e.g., *midithir* 'judges', pret. *(-)míd(a)ir* above; -*laimethar* 'dares', pret. -*lám(a)ir*; -*mainethar* (or -*muinethar*; only in compounds) 'thinks', pret. -*mén(a)ir*; *gainithir* 'is born', pret. *(-)gén(a)ir*. Deponent *do:dúthrac(c)air* (sometimes *do:fúthrac(c)air*, neg. *ní:dúthrac(c)air*; cf. *do:tuit* in B.1e above) 'wishes, desires' is a so-called 'preterito-present' with present meaning but (suffixless) preterite inflection. It has a corresponding deponent subjunctive and future but no present stem. The most important verb of this type is *ro:fitir* (neg. *ní:fitir* etc.), which is formally the deponent suffixless preterite of S3 *ro:finnathar* 'finds out' (neg. *ní:finnathar* etc.; see 1e above), but has the present meaning 'knows' (as a result of finding out). Since neither of these verbs can distinguish a preterite from a (formally preterite) present, they may have past or present meaning (i.e. *do:dúthrac(c)air* 'desires' or 'desired', *ro:fitir* 'knows' or 'knew' - passive *ro:fess* 'is known' or 'was known') according to context, while the subjunctive and future stems associated with *ro:finnadar* and *ro:fitir* may have the sense 'find out' or 'know' as appropriate. The inflection of -*fitir* displays an anomalous alternation between palatal and non-palatal -*t*- accompanied by a shift in vocalism from *i* to *e* (cf. the normal active 3sg. *(-)rir* 'stuck' but 1/2sg. *(-)rer* 'sold' in VI.A.4b): 1/2sg. -*fetar* 'I/you know', 3sg. -*fitir* '(s)he knows', 1pl. -*fetam(m)ar* or -*fitem(m)ar* 'we know', 2pl. -*fitid* (or the extraordinary -*fitis*) 'you know', 3pl. -*fetar* (syncopated), -*fetatar* or -*fitetar* (see VI.A.4f on the tendency to restore -*atar* in the 3pl.) 'they know'.

Since all deponent suffixless preterites apart from -*fitir* merely changed the quality of an -*r* shared with the 1 and 3pl. in the singular while leaving the quality of the root-final consonant unchanged throughout, this pattern had certain advantages over that of the normal active suffixless preterite. Consequently a few verbs that otherwise inflect as normal actives have adopted a deponent rather than a normal active suffixless preterite. The motive is particularly clear in the case of S1 *imm:com-airc* 'asks', which can be presumed to have had a 'short' *a*-preterite **imm:com-airc* (cf. *fo:ceird* 'puts' in VI.A.4c) identical with the present in the all important 3sg. and to have replaced this with unambiguous deponent *imm:com-arcair* 'asked'. A couple of -*ic* compounds (see VI.A.4b on their irregular reduplicated pret. -*án(a)ic*) have also adopted deponent preterites for less obvious reasons, notably *con:ic*, -*cumaing* 'is able' with *con:ánacuir*, -*coímnacuir* 'was able' (alongside rarer but doubtless older *con:ánaic*) and *do:e-c†m-aing* 'happens' with pret. *teccomnocuir* 'happened' (see V.B.2b on optional independent protonic forms in compound verbs of this type). S2 *daimid* 'suffers' and compounds such as *fo:daim* 'endures', *ad:daim* 'acknowledges' have a deponent long *á*-preterite *(-)dámair* (probably modelled on the pret. -*lámair* of the similarly shaped but deponent S2 -*laimethar* 'dares') in the singular and a curious 3pl. *(-)damdatar* or *(-)damnatar* that was gradually giving way to *(-)dámatar*. On the reasonable assumption that *(-)damdatar* is due to a reshaping of **(-)dad†matar* to match sg. *(-)dám*- an original reduplicated **(-)dadaim* similar to *(-)cachain* 'sang' (VI.A.4b) may be posited. The trigger for the partial shift to a deponent suffixless preterite 3sg. such as -*atamair* 'acknowledged') may have been provided by a prototonic form like **-ataim* 'acknowledged' < **-ad-d†daim* identical with pres. -*ataim* 'acknowledges' < **-ad-daim*.

B.3. Reading practice.

(a) The end of *Compert Con Culainn* is continued from A.3a above.

Boíth-ius luge do dig oc tintúd ón gubu. Do:tluchestar dig a llestur humi. D-a:bertatar dí co ndig. Nach mod do-nd:bered dia bélaib do:linged míl mbec íarsin lind dochum a bél. In tan mbrethae o bélaib, nacc ní i neuch, sceint-i le-a anáil hó chuud. Con:tuili íarom ind adig. Co:n-acce ní, in fer cuice. A-ta:gládastar. As:bert frie ropad torrach húad ⁊ ba hé nu-da:bert a dochum don mruig: ba leiss féotar, ba aí in mac altae ⁊ ba hé tathchorastar inna broinn ⁊ bid Sétantae a ainm ⁊ ba hé-sse Lug mac Ethnenn.

Ba torrach ind ingen. Ba ceist la Ultu nadcon:fes céle fora seilb. Du:mét ba hó Chonchubur tre mesci, ar ba leis no:foed ind ingen. Ar:nenaisc íarom Conchubur a ingin do Súaldaim mac Roich. Ba már a mélacht lee techt cusin fer i n-imdai os sí alacht. A n-am lude don chrunn síuil, bruis ⁊ bí a croith i n-allailli combo ógslán. Luid cussin fer íarom. Ba torrach athiriuch ellam. Birt mac. Gabs-i Caulann cerd. Ba sí a aitte. Marbais-seom a coin-side íarum in tan ba ngillæ oc cluichiu combo íarom as:bert-som: 'Bid me-se do chú-so, a popa'. Conid dé n-a:ngíuil-som íarum Cú Chulainn.

(b) *Echtrae Chonnlai* is continued below from A.3b above to its conclusion. Certain 'rhetorical' features are to be observed in the dialogues, which are actually marked *.r.* for *retoiric* in the LU text. These include an instance of what is known as Bergin's construction, whereby passive *berair* is displaced from its normal initial position to the end of the sentence (cf. tmesis in c below) and then adopts the appropriate dependent form *mberar* (with nasalisation due to the preceding gen. pl. *ban*), a conjunct for an absolute ending in this case but a prototonic for a deuterotonic form in the case of a compound verb. *Artrag máir* is probably a preposed genitive and *muinteraib ilib adamraib* is an independent dative without the preposition required in normal prose (in this case *co* 'with', actually supplied in most manuscripts by incorporating the preceding adjective as *co n-ilmuinteraib ilib adamraib* with telltale repetition of *il* 'many'). Most of the omissions indicated by dots below are in the rhetorical dialogue passages and the final three-stanza syllabic poem (between *immun mnaí* and *fo:ceird*), in which the woman successfully urges Connlae to go with her, has been omitted in its entirety. Note the Latin tag *mulier respondit* 'the woman replied' and also normally relative *nad* with a rarer (original) meaning 'and not' in the final sentence .

'Cía ad:gláiter?' ol Conn Cétchathach. Ní:acci nech in mnaí acht Connle a óenur.
Mulier respondit: 'Ad:gládadar mnaí n-oic n-álaind sochenéoil nad:fresci bás na sentaid. Caraim Connle Rúad. Co-t:ngairim do Maig Meld inid rí Bóadag bithsuthain cen gol cen mairg inna thír ó gabais flaith. Tair lemm, a Chonnlai Rúaid muinbric caindildeirc.....'
As:bert Conn fria druid, Coran a ainm-side, a rro:cólatar uili an ro:rádi in ben nadchon:acatar: 'No-t:álim, a Chorinn mórchétlaig mórdánaig. Forband do-dom:ánic as-dom moo airli, as-dom moo cumachtu, níth na-cham:thánic ó gabsu flaith... Delb nebaicside co-tom:éicnigedar immu-m mac rocháin.... Di-m láim rígdai brechtaib ban mberar.'
Do:cachain íarum for suidiu inna mná co-nna:cóle nech guth inna mná ⁊ co-nna:haccae Connle in mnaí ind úair sin. In tan luide in ben ass re rochetul in druad, do:corastar ubull do Chonnlu. Boí Connle íar sin co cenn mís cen dig cen biad, nabu fíu leis nach tóare do thomailt acht a ubull. Na nní do:meled, nícon:dígbad ní dend ubull acht ba hóg-som beos. Gabais éolchaire íarom Connle immun deilb inna mná...

A llaa ba lán a mmí, boí for láim a athar hi Maig Arcommin intí Connle. Co:n-accae cuci in mnaí cétnai, a n-as:mbert fris: 'Nall suide saides Connle eter marbu duthaini oc indnaidiu éco úathmair. Do-t:chuiretar bí bithbí. At gérat do doínib tethrach ar-dot:chiat cach die i ndálaib t'athardai eter do gnáthu inmaini.'

Co:cúalae Conn guth inna mná ocus as:bert fri-a muintir: 'Gairid dam in druid....'

As:bert in ben la sodain: 'A Chuinn Chétchathaig, druídecht na-cha:grádaigthe, ar is bec ro:saig for mesu artrag máir fírián connil muinteraib ilib adamraib.....'

Ba hingnad la Conn nícon:taibred Connle taithesc do neoch acht don mnaí. 'In:tét' ol Conn 'fo-t menmain-siu a rrádas in ben, a Chonnli?'

As:bert Connle: 'Ní réid dam, sech caraim mu doíni. Do-m:ánic dano éolchaire immun mnaí.'..........

Fo:ceird íar suidiu Connle bedg n-úadib co:mboí isind noí glandai atach. Co-nda:acatar úadib mod ro-nd:siacht a súil. Imram moro do:génset nad:aicsea ó sin.

(c) The highly stylised or 'rhetorical' (note the tmesis of *con:búirethar* in the final sentence below; cf. V.C.4e) Old Irish gnomic text *Audacht Morainn* or 'Morann's Testament' purports to be a set of precepts given by the legendary sage Morann to the equally legendary king Feradach Fechtnach. Toward its end Morann distinguishes and delineates four types of ruler.

Epir fris, ní:fil inge cethri flathemna and: fírflaith ⁊ chíallflaith, flaith congbále co slógaib ⁊ tarbflaith. Fírflaith cétamus,.... fris:tibi fírinni i-nda:cluinethar, co-ta:n-ocaib i-nda:n-aci. Ar ní fírflaith nad:níamat bí bendachtnaib. Cíallflaith, ar:clich-side crícha scéo túatha, do:lécet a séotu ⁊ a téchtae ndó. Flaith congbále co slógaib dianechtair; in:soat a slóig-side, in:snádat a aidilcni. Ar ní:soí sothcadach sechtair. Tarbflaith, do:slaid-side do:sladar, ar:clich ar:clechar, con:claid con:cladar, do:seinn do:sennar. Is fris con: bith -búirethar bennaib.

(d) *Félire Óengusso* Jan. 17: *No-s:molammar menicc,*
fo bíth nídat calaid,
lucht céssas cen cinaid
i féil Antóin manaig.

(e) The single-quatrain poem below is one of the pieces of occasional verse found in the Milan manuscript in addition to its far more extensive glosses. The metre is *deibide scaílte* or 'loose *d.*' with *rinn/ardrinn* rhyme (see V.A.3b; *in-nocht* is stressed on the second syllable as its first component is the article) and the poem's monastic author famously welcomes a stormy night free from the risk of attack by Vikings. This verse provides us with our earliest attestation of the Irish name for their land of origin. Since this clearly contained a *-th-*, the *-ch-* normal in the *Lochla(i)nn* of later sources and its derivative *Lochlannach* 'Viking' must be secondary, perhaps the result of a popular etymological analysis as *loch* 'lake, inlet' (i.e. 'fjord'?) and *land* (II; later *lann*) 'land, ground'. The origin of Old Irish L̲oth-l̲and is obscure but an admittedly speculative solution would be to posit the alliterative deformation of the intial of a significant Scandinavian placeneame such as Gotland or Jutland.

Is acher in gaíth innocht.
Fu:fúasna fairgge findfolt.
Ní:ágor réimm mora minn
dond láechraid lainn úa Lothlind.

(f) Niníne's invocation of St. Patrick from the *Liber Hymnorum* or 'Book of Hymns', the first two thirds of which appear below in what was obviously Old Irish despite preservation in appreciably later manuscripts, represents a type of poetry based upon stress and alliteration that was an alternative to, and was probably older than, the rhymed syllabic type seen in d/e above as well as here and there in preceding chapters. It can be analysed into units of sense comprising two to three stressed syllables (indicated by small capitals below, the remaining unstressed syllables being metrically irrelevant). These are bound internally and/or across a boundary between lines by alliterations (underlined). It appears that certain unstressed elements, notably the second element of a compound (*findnime fo:nenaig*) or the initial of a proclitic (*findnime fo:nenaig*), could alliterate, as could *c* with its voiced counterpart *g*.

Ad:mUinemmar nÓEb PÁtraicc,
prímapstal HÉrenn.
Airdirc a Ainm n-Adamrae.
BrÉO bAItses gEnti,
cAthaigestar fri drUídea dÚrchridi.
DEdaig díUmsachu
la fortacht ar FÍAdat findnime.
Fo:nEnaig HÉrenn íAthmaige.
MÓr gEin.

(g) The following is a brief maxim from *Aipgitir Chrábuid*

Do-s:ceil ind fírinne ar chách co-ta:nessa. No-s:foillsigethar do chách no-da:comalnathar.

(h) Finally, another 'mini-saga' from the Milan Glosses (see VI.A.6a) is attached to the Latin text's introduction to Psalm 33. The form *du-d:fútharcair* exemplifies a curious rule whereby, in the absence of a 'meaningful' infixed pronoun, *cía* 'although' and *ma* 'if' as well as their negatives *ce-ni* and *ma-ni* require a 'meaningless' 3sg. n. class C infixed pronoun in Old Irish if the verb of their clause is an indicative (as opposed to a subjunctive).

Ml. 52 *Dia luid Dauid for longais co Íadomdu ł co Ammondu re Sául, brethae hó suidiu mór du sétaib do Abimelech hi terfochraic marbtha Dauid. Con:ránic-side laithe n-and íar sin fri Dauid ⁊ ní:n-aithgéuin ⁊ léics-i húad. Ar du:corastar Día deilb.. fir boíth forsinn-í Dauid dia diamlad co-nnach:n-ingéuin int-í Abimelech cía du-d:fútharcair a bás.*

CHAPTER VIII
THE SUBJUNCTIVE STEM

1. Preliminaries.
(a) Old Irish verbs have a separate subjunctive stem which, for the most part (see the following sections for details), is characterised in the **present subjunctive** by the personal endings given in V.A.2a and substitutes the imperfect endings of V.E.1 for these in order to form an imperfect or **past subjunctive**. In the case of strong verbs, H2 with stressed root and W2b the subjunctive stem is formally distinct from the corresponding indicative as a rule but in most weak verbs, H1 and some H3 there is a substantial degree of formal convergence between their *a*-subjunctive and the corresponding indicative (details in 2 below).

(b) Whereas the indicative essentially represents a verbal action and the situation it is geared to as (f)actual, at least in the opinion of the speaker or writer, the **basic function of the subjunctive** in Old Irish is to leave the issue of (f)actuality open. In languages such as Modern English, Modern German and present-day Irish the role of synthetic subjunctive forms (e.g. Eng. *God bless you*, *if I were you*, Ir. *go raibh maith agat* 'thank you', lit. 'may there be good to you') has been greatly reduced as a result of encroachment from the indicative, the conditional and various modal auxiliaries (e.g. Eng. *would, may, should*) but modern Romance languages such as French, Spanish and Italian still make extensive use of subjunctives inherited from their Latin ancestor. Consequently speakers of such languages are likely to find it easier to acquire a feel for the use of the Old Irish subjunctive than, say, a speaker of Modern English. As the Latin term *(modus) subjunctivus* 'subjunctive (mood)', lit. '(mood) pertaining to subordination' suggests, the forms in question are particularly frequent in various types of subordinate clause in the Latin system, which has quite a lot in common with those of Old Irish and the later Romance languages as regards subjunctive usage.

That said, the subjunctive is sometimes found in Old Irish (as in Latin) main clauses, where it basically expresses the speaker's intention or desire that an action should or should not take place. Its meaning here thus borders quite closely on that of the imperative, the subjunctive apparently being more readily used in (negative) prohibitions than in (positive) injunctions. For instance, *druídecht na-cha:grádaigthe* 'druidry, do not love it' with 2sg. deponent imperative (VII.B.1d) in the slightly modified excerpt from *Echtrae Chonnlae* VII.B.3b above actually corresponds to *druídecht ní-s:grádaigther* in the text itself. From a purely formal point of view this might be a deponent 2sg. present indicative (VII.B.1b) or present *a*-subjunctive (see 2b below) but the former would mean 'druidry, you do not love it' (as a matter of fact) and thus make no sense in a context where Conn's reliance upon his druid has been emphasised. The form is, then, to be interpreted as a subjunctive with the so-called 'jussive' force of an injunction or prohibition, the meaning then being 'druidry, you are not to love it'. A main-clause subjunctive can be given a less insistent 'optative' force expressing the speaker's wish or desire by addition of the augment (notably *ro*; see III.A.5a above and the fuller treatment in X.1b below).

As already indicated, in Old Irish (like, say, Latin) subjunctives are mainly found in various types of subordinate clause when it is not regarded as certain that their action actually is taking, has taken or will take place, this eventuality being left no more than open and even on occasion excluded. In such contexts a so-called SEQUENCE OF TENSES (to borrow a term used in relation to

a similar phenomenon in Latin) applies, the **present subjunctive** being usually employed when the clause in question is dependent on another clause with a verb in the present indicative, the present subjunctive or the future (cf. Eng. 'he says that he may come') and the **past subjunctive** being used when it depends upon another clause with a basically past-tense verb (preterite, imperfect, past subjunctive or conditional; cf. Eng. 'he said that he might come'). Since the workings of this system are probably best appreciated on the practical basis of reading, further details will be reserved for 4, 6 and 8 below, where each of the passages will be preceded by comments on the various types of subjunctive usage found therein.

(c) From a formal standpoint there are two main types of subjunctive, namely the *a*-**subjunctive** (2 below) and the *s*-**subjunctive** (5 below), to which may be added an *e*-**subjunctive** (3 below) confined to H2 verbs with stressed root. The first of these is the most widespread subjunctive formation in Old Irish, being characteristic of all weak, H1 and S3 verbs as well as H2 with unstressed root, almost all H3 and the numerous verbs in S1 or S2 with root-final *-b, -r, -l, -m* or single *-n*. All verbs with an *s*-preterite (VI.A.1) and most with a *t*-preterite (except for the handful with root-final *-g* in VI.A.2) or a reduplicated *s*-preterite (the chief exception being H2 with stressed root in 3 below; VI.A.5) have a corresponding *a*-subjunctive, S3 being the only significant category to combine a suffixless preterite with an *a*-subjunctive The *s*-subjunctive by contrast characterises the vast majority of S1 or S2 verbs with a root-final dental (including *-nn* but not *-n*) or guttural and thus tends to correlate with a suffixless preterite except insofar as a few roots with final *-g* have acquired a *t*-preterite. It is best to memorise the quite precise environments in which an *s*- or an *e*-subjunctive is the norm and then treat the *a*-subjunctive as the default category virtually everywhere else.

2. The *a*-subjunctive.
(a) In W1, W2a, H1 and H3 with *-o-* or *-e-* (V.A.2a) the stem of the *a*-subjunctive is formally identical with that of the corresponding present indicative in Old Irish, the two only diverging where the endings themselves differ, namely in the **normal active** pres. 1sg. (subj. abs. *-a*, conj. zero) and 2sg. (subj. abs./conj. *-(a)e*) of all four categories and also in the 3sg. conj. of W2a and most H3 (subj. *-a* versus pres. ind. *-i*). Thus the present indicative paradigm of W1 *marbaid* in V.A.2a (including the relative endings of 3sg. *marbas*, 1pl. *marbm(a)e* and 3pl. *marbt(a)e* and the passive endings in VII.A.1) applies equally to the *a*-subjunctive except for 1sg. abs. *marba*, conj. *-marb* (vs. pres. ind. *(-)marb(a)im*) and 2sg. abs./conj. *(-)marb(a)e* (vs. pres. ind. *(-)marb(a)i*). Despite a shortage of attestations the same can safely be assumed for H1 verbs, to judge from subj. conj. 1sg. *ad:co-t* (vs. pres. ind. *ad:co-taim*), 3sg. *ad:co-ta*, dependent *-é-ta* 'may get/ obtain' (identical with the corresponding pres. ind.) and 3pl. *-baat* 'may die' (identical with the corresponding pres. ind.). Similarly W2a *lé(i)cid* displays distinctive subj. 1sg. abs. *lé(i)cea*, conj. *-léic* (vs. pres. ind. *(-)lé(i)ciu* or *(-)léicim*) and 2sg. *(-)lé(i)ce* (vs. pres. ind. *(-)lé(i)ci*) as well as 3sg. conj. *-lé(i)cea* (vs. pres. ind. *(-)lé(i)ci*) but otherwise identity with the pres. ind. paradigm in V.A.2a (plus the relative endings in VI.B.2 and the passive endings in VII.A.1). Despite the lack of a full set of attestations the same was doubtless true of an H3 verb such as *so(a)id* (or its compound *do:intai*) with distinctive pres. subj. 2sg. *-soe, do:intae* and 3sg. conj. *-soa, do:intá* but otherwise identity with the pres. ind. except for the 1sg. The present *a*-subjunctive of W1 and W2a **deponent**s is exactly the same as the corresponding present indicative in VII.B.1b except that the 1sg. ending is *-e/ar* (pres. subj. W1 *(-)molar*, W2a *-(a)iger*) rather than *-or* or *-(i)ur* (pres. ind. W1 *(-)molor*, W2a *-(a)igiur*).

The present *a*-subjunctive of strong verbs is more fully distinguished from the corresponding present indicative than that of the above categories, as can readily be established by comparing the paradigms of typical representatives of the three main classes below with the corresponding ones in V.A.2a. In the case of S1 identity is confined to the 1pl. and 3pl. (including rel. and pass.; also 3sg. abs. and rel. in the case of S1 verbs with root vowel *a* or *o* such as *can(a)id* 'sings' and *orc(a)id* 'slays' in V.A.2b), which have non-palatal stem-final consonance in the indicative as well as the subjunctive. Moreover, since the 3sg. pass. is *-(a)ir/-ar* in the pres. ind. but *-th(a)ir/-thar* in the pres. subj. (which always has a *-th-* 3sg. passive), there is never ambiguity there in S1. Elsewhere in S1 and throughout S2 palatal stem-final consonance distinguishes the pres. ind. from the corresponding subjunctive with non-palatal stem-final consonant throughout, this being reinforced by differing subjunctive endings in the 1sg., 2 sg. and 3sg. conj. Needless to say, this basic distribution is not always clearly brought out in spelling (e.g. 3sg. abs. *berid* might be pres. ind *beirid* or pres. subj. *beraid*; see I.B.5) and is occasionally distorted in pronunciation too by the effects of syncope followed by assimilation of consonant quality (IX.2b): e.g., deut. 3pl. pres. ind. *fo:gaibet* 'find' vs. pres. subj. *fo:gabat* but prot. *-fog†bat* in both or deut. 2pl. pres. ind. *do:be(i)rid* 'you give' vs. pres. subj. *do:ber(a)id* but prot. *-taibrid* in both. The difference between the pres. ind. and the pres. *a*-subj. is particularly marked in the case of S3 because the former's *-n(-)* (see V.A.2a) is invariably missing in the latter in accordance with the principle enunciated in VI.A.2.

	S1	abs.	conj.	**S2**	abs.	conj.	**S3**	abs.	conj.
Sing. 1.		*bera*	*-ber*		*gaba*	*-gab*		*beu/o*	*-béu/o*
2.		(-)*ber(a)e*			(-)*gab(a)e*			(-)*bi(a)e*	
3.		*ber(a)id*	*-bera*		*gab(a)id*	*-gaba*		*bieid*	*-bia*
pass.		*berth(a)ir*	*-berthar*		*gabth(a)ir*	*-gabthar*		*bethir*	*-bether*
rel.		*beras* (pass. *berthar*)			*gabas* (pass. *gabthar*)			*bias* (pass. *bether*)	
Plur. 1.		*berm(a)i*	*-beram*		*gabm(a)i*	*-gabam*		*bem(m)i*	*-biam*
rel.		*berm(a)e*			*gabm(a)e*			*bem(m)e*	
2.		*berth(a)e*	*-ber(a)id*		*gabth(a)e*	*-gab(a)id*		*bethe*	*-bieid*
3.		*ber(a)it*	*-berat*		*gab(a)it*	*-gabat*		*bieit*	*-biat*
pass.		*berd/t(a)ir*	*-berd/tar*		*gabd/t(a)ir*	*-gabd/tar*		*betir*	*-beter*
rel.		*berd/t(a)e* (pass. *berd/tar*)			*gabd/t(a)e* (pass. *gabd/tar*)			*bete* (pass. *beter*)	

Note the unusual 1sg. ending *-u/-o* (cf. 3 below and III.A.3) in the majority S3 type with vowel-final root, which in the absence of present-stem *-n-* has hiatus (basic *-ia(-)* but *-eu/o* in 1sg. abs. and *-ie-* before a final palatal consonant as in 3sg./pl. abs.) in disyllabic forms but reduces this to *e* in forms (e.g. pass., 3pl. rel. and 1pl. abs. or rel.) that were trisyllabic before syncope as well as in unstressed syllables (e.g. 3sg. conj. *-indarbe* of S3 *ind:ár-ban* in 6b below; 3pl. conj. *-indarbat* by I.B.6).

(b) As the examples in 2a above indicate, the vowel of the verbal root is usually the same in the (present and past) *a*-subjunctive as in the corresponding (present and imperfect) indicative. However, in W2b present *-u-* (often followed by a palatal consonant) gives way to *-o-* (regularly followed by a non-palatal consonant) in the subjunctive as in the preterite (see VI.A.1), the result being a clear difference between pres. and subj. unless the vowel of the root is syncopated in the prototonic form of a compound: e.g., 3sg. pres. *do:lug(a)i* or *do:lu(i)gi* 'forgives' (prot. *ní:díl†g(a)i* 'does not forgive'), 3pl. *do:lugat* or *do:lu(i)get* (prot. *ní:díl†gat*) vs. subj. 3sg. *do:loga* (prot. *ní:díl†ga*), 3pl. *do:logat* (prot. *ní:díl†gat*); dep. pres. 3sg. *do:cuirethar* 'puts', 3pl. *do:cuiretar* (VII.B.1a; prot. *-toch†rathar*, *-toch†ratar* by IX.2b) vs. subj. 3sg. *do:corathar*, 3pl. *do:coratar* (cf.

VII.B.2b; prot. *-toch†rathar*, *-toch†ratar*). A similar alternation between stressed *-u-* and *-o-* is seen in a couple of other verbs, notably H3 pres. 3sg. *as:luí* 'flees' (prot. *-élai*), 3pl. *as:luat* (prot. *-élat*) vs. subj. 3sg. *as:loa* (prot. *-éla*), 3pl. *as:loat* (prot. *-élat*) and S3 dep. 3sg. pres. *-cluinethar* 'hears' (VII.B.1a/e) vs. subj. *-cloathar*.

A more unusual alternation is seen in a handful of strong verbs with *a* before *(r/l)n* in the present but *e* in the subjunctive stem, notably S1 *marn(a)id*, *-mairn* 'betrays', *a-t:baill* 'dies' (pres. *-ba(i)ll* < **bal-n-*; see VI.A.2) and S2 dep. *gainithir* 'is born', *-mainethar* 'thinks' (cpds. only, and usually *-moinethar* or *-muinethar* due to the rounding effect of labial *m-*) with corresponding 3sg. *a*-subj. *mer(a)id, -mera, a-t:bela* and *-genathar, -menathar* respectively. In the case of *a-t:baill* and *-mairn* the *-n-* or its reflex were mere markers of the present stem and were lost in the *a*-subjunctive (cf. S3 *-sern* 'strews' and *-ern* 'gives' with *a*-subj. *-sera, -era*), whereas *-n-* was a part of the root of the two S2 deponents with an *a*-subjunctive and hence was retained throughout. The progressive assimilation of consonant quality (IX.2b) should have resulted in pres. deut. *do:moinethar* and prot. *-tom†nathar* 'supposes, conjectures' vs. subj. *do:menathar* and prot. **-toim†nethar* but this extraordinary inversion of the distribution of palatal and non-palatal *-n-* was not tolerated and non-palatal *-n-* was introduced into the prototonic stem of the subj. too to yield *-tomnathar* conforming to the normal pattern. A paradigm is offered below in illustration of a deponent *a*-subjunctive (note delenition of *-th-* to *-t-* directly after *-n-* by IX.2c).

	deut.	prot.
1sg.	*do:menar*	*-tomnar*
2sg.	*do:mentar*	*-tomn(a)ither* (or *-(a)ider*; see VII.B.1a)
3sg.	*do:menathar*	*-tomnathar* (or *-adar*; see VII.B.1a)
pass.	*do:mentar*	*-tomnathar* (or *-adar*, or *-(a)ith/der*; see VII.A.1)
1pl.	*do:men(am)mar*	*-tomnam(m)ar*
2pl.	*do:menaid*	*-tomn(a)id*
3pl.	*do:menatar*	*-tomnatar*
pass.	*do:mend/tar*	*-tomnatar* (or *-(a)iter*; see VII.A.1)

3. The *e*-subjunctive.

This formation is confined to H2 verbs, which simply change the present stem's *-i-* in hiatus and *-í* (see I.B.4) to *-e-* with no hiatus and *-é* respectively when the root is stressed. This basic scheme has already been illustrated in III.A.3 with reference to the pres. II *biid, -bí* and subj. *beith, -bé* of the substantive verb. Apart from a vestigial 3sg. *-(roi-)b* in the subjunctive of the substantive verb (see 4c, verse 3, below), H2 verbs have a normal *a*-subjunctive where the root is unstressed as in the prototonic form of compound verbs. The system may be further illustrated by the subjunctives of simple *gniid* 'does' (rel. 3sg. *gnes*, 1pl. *gnem(m)e*, 3pl. *gnete*; conj. the same as the corresponding forms of deut. *do:gní* minus preverb) and compound *do:gní* 'does' as well as by the only deponent in this class, namely the subjunctive of otherwise non-deponent *ad:cí* 'sees' (VII.B.2; see 5a below on the vestigial *s*-subj. form in the prot. 3sg. pass.). See III.A.3 on the possibility of 3sg. abs./2pl. conj. *(-)gneid* for *(-)gneith* etc. and VII.B.1a on 3sg. dep. *-adar* beside *-athar* and so on.

	abs.	conj.(deut.	prot.)	dep. conj. (deut.	prot.)
1sg.	*gneo*	*do:gnéu*	*-dén*	*ad:cear*	*-accar*
2sg.	*gné*	*do:gné*	*-dén(a)e*	*ad:cether*	*-a(i)cther*
3sg.	*gneith*	*do:gné*	*-déna*	*ad:cethar*	*-accathar*

pass.	*gnethir*	*do:gnether*	*-déntar*	*ad:cether*	*-accastar*
1pl.	*gnem(m)i*	*do:gnem*	*-dénam*	*ad:cem(m)ar*	*-accam(m)ar*
2pl.	*gnethe*	*do:gneith*	*-dénaid*	*ad:ceith*	*-acc(a)id*
3pl.	*gneit*	*do:gnet*	*-dénat*	*ad:cetar*	*-accatar*
pass.	*gnetir*	*do:gneter*	*-dén(a)tar*	*ad:ceter*	*-acc(a)iter*

4. Reading practice.

(a) In the first example below the relative clauses with object antecedents contain subjunctives as they depend upon an uncertain eventuality (*cid* 'although it be' itself containing a subj. form of the copula), whereas the subject relative clauses contain indicatives because they purport to be statements of fact. The second illustrates the use of the subjunctive in a concessive 'although' clause, where the corresponding indicative would be *cía no-d:techta* in accordance with the rule in VII.B.3h; see IV.A.5 (Wb.29d19), IV.B.4 (Wb.4a6) and V.C.4a (verse 7) for further exx. of *cía* plus subj. The relative clause depending on the concessive clause is presumably in the indicative in order to indicate that the thing in question is actually desired, regardless of whether someone else possesses it or not. The final three verbs in this gloss illustrate the subjunctive's use as a virtual imperative in main clauses, particularly if the verb is negative. The third gloss consists of the sentence introducing the 'mini-saga' in VII.B.3h and is a good example of the contrast in relative usage between a 'factual' indicative (what he is actually recalling, notwithstanding our uncertainty) and a subjunctive (as opposed to indicative *for:aithminter*) depending upon a contingency.

Ml. 92a17   *Cid fáilte dano ad:cot-sa ₇ du:ngnéu, is tu-su imm-id:folngi dam, a Dé. Cid indeb dano ad:cot, is tú, a Dé, imm-id:folngi dam.*

Ml. 56b31   *Cía techtid nach aile ní ad:chobrai-siu ₇ ní:techtai-siu ón immurgu, ní:étaigther-su imm a n-í sin, .i. ní:ascnae ₇ ní:charae.*

Ml. 52   *Ní derb linn trá in senchas canóne du:n-aithminedar isin titul so acht masu ed for:aithmentar and.*

(b) The Cambrai Homily contains a passage in Latin about mortification of the flesh and compassion that ends with the statement 'if one member suffers, all members suffer together' as a prelude to switching to Irish again. The conditional clauses in this section are essentially the same as those above. The basic proposition is a general (or non-specific) one tagged by *air iss é a bees* and utilising a habitual present indicative *fo:geir*. Consequently both *ma* clauses contain present subjunctives since a mere possibility rather than an actual event is envisaged. As a complement of *is comadas* 'it is fitting (that)', *fo:gera* is present subjunctive, presumably because a desire rather than an actual occurrence is involved. This (present) 'subjunctivity' then extends to the 3sg. relative *bess* depending on the subject(s) of *fo:gera* but the subordinate (nasalising relative) clause introduced by *óire* 'because' has a present indicative form of the copula to emphasise the factual nature of the assertion made therein. Letters required by normal Old Irish usage but omitted in the manuscript are enclosed in square brackets, while round brackets designate those found in the manuscript contrary to later standard Old Irish practice.

Air iss é a bees: ma be[i]th na galar [m]bec for corp duini, ma gorith loc(h) cith ine chuis nu ine láim nu ine méraib, fo:geir a nggalar in uile corp. Is samlith is comadas duun chanisin fo:gera cach n-oín, óire nu-ndem membur uili du Dea, nach céssath ocus na calar bess faire chomnessam.

The full introduction to the famous passage on the three types of martyrdom in VI.B.6a runs as follows. Here relative *ad:rímiter* is probably present indicative (although a subjunctive would be formally possible) reflecting the view that the types of martyrdom in question really are habitually counted as a cross but the verb of the 'if' clause is in the present subjunctive because it is dependent upon a main clause with a general present, thus precluding a claim that they are necessarily performed by a given individual.

Fil-us tre chenélæ martre daneu ad:rímiter ar chruich du duiniu, ma de-s:gné.

(c) The following are the opening verses of the prologue to *Félire Óengusso*. The first contains an imperative at the beginning of the first line and a 'jussive' main-clause present subjunctive at the beginning of the third, one of the latter's advantages perhaps being a lack of formal ambiguity with pres. ind. *do-m:berar* (ipv. also *do-m:berar*; see V.D.2). The relative verbs in the second stanza are present indicative because these are seen as activities really performed by God. In the third, augmented 'optative' main-clause subjunctive *co-ndom:roib* rather than *ro-m:bé* (see III.A.5a and IV.A.6) is an early (and metrically convenient) instance of a development that becomes commoner in Middle Irish and later (cf. ModIr. *go raibh maith agat* in 1b above), namely the prefixing of *co* [nas.] '(so) that' to subjunctives in the main clause.

1. *Sén, a Chríst, mo labrai,*
   a Choimmdiu secht nime;
   do-m:berthar búaid lére,
   a rí gréne gile.

2. *A gelgrían for:osndai*
   ríched co méit noíbe,
   a rí con:ic aingliu,
   a Choimmdiu inna ndoíne.

3. *A Choimmdiu inna ndoíne,*
   a rí fírén fírmaith,
   co-ndom:roib cach solad
   ar molad do rígraid.

5. The *s*-subjunctive.

(a) With the solitary exception of S1 *ag(a)id, -aig* 'drives' and its compounds, which have an *a*-subjunctive *ag(a)id, -aga* (probably in place of a suppletive *a*-subj. **el(a)id, *-ela*, evidence for which is provided by British Celtic and the OIr. suppletive future *eblaid, -ebla* in IX.3a), strong verbs with a root-final guttural or dental consonant (basically *-g(-), -ch(-), -c(-), -d(-), -th(-)* and *-nn(-)* but not *-n(-)*; 1c above) take an *s*-subjunctive. This is formed by adding a suffix *-s-* directly to the root-final consonant, which then merges with the suffix as *-ss(-)* in the first instance: e.g. S1 *re(i)th-id, -reith* 'runs' with subj. stem *res(s)-*; S1 *te(i)chid, -teich* 'flees' with subj. stem *tes(s)-*; S2 *guidid, -guid* 'prays' with subj. stem *ges(s)-*; S2 dep. *midithir, -midethar* 'judges' with subj. stem *mes(s)-*; irreg. S1 *téit, -tét* 'goes' (stem *té(i)g-/tíag-* outside 3sg.; end of V.A.2b) with subj. stem *té(i)s-/tías-* (see II.A.4b on the vowel alternation). The basic inflection is the same as that of the *s*-preterite (normal active VI.A.1, deponent VII.B.2a/b), this similarity extending to loss of the *-s(s)-* suffix in the 3sg. of the normal active and to an invariable sequence *-Vst-* in the 3sg. deponent versus general *-sVt-* in the 3pl. Outside the 3sg. the alternation between palatal and non-palatal stem-final consonant (in this case *-s(s)-*) is the same as that seen in the S1 present (V.A.2a) and the 3sg. passive is *-(a)ir/-ar* when the root is stressed. However, deponents occasionally take *-tir/-tar* (with delenition of *-th-* after *-s-*; see VII.B.1a on invariable *-t(h)-* in the

3sg. pass. of deponent verbs) even when the root is stressed, and this is the regular form for any verb when the root is unstressed (note the vestigial *s*-subj. form of *ad:cí* in 3 above preserved as 3sg. pass. as distinct from the 3sg. dep. act. *a*-subj.): e.g. *du:indnastar* 'may be bestowed' (3sg. *s*-subj. pass. of S1 cpd. *do:ind-†naig*). The following paradigms will serve to illustrate these features. As in the case of the *s*-pret. (VI.B.2), the 3sg. rel. of the *s*-subj. is formed by simply depalatalising the final *-s* of the 3sg. abs. in the active.

	téit 'goes'		*guidid* 'prays'		*midithir* 'judges'	
1sg.	*tíasu*	*-tías*	*gessu*	*-ges(s)*	*(-)messur*	
2sg.	*té(i)si*	*-téis*	*ge(i)ssi*	*-geis(s)*	*(-)me(i)s(s)er*	
3sg.	*téis*	*-té*	*geis(s)*	*-gé*	*mestir*	*-mestar*
pass.	*tíasair*	*-tíasar*	*gess(a)ir*	*-gessar*	*mess(a)ir*	*-messar*
rel.	*tías* (pass. *tíasar*)		*ges(s)* (pass. *gessar*)		*mestar* (pass. *mestar*)	
1pl.	*tíasm(a)i*	*-tíasam*	*gesm(a)i*	*-gessam*	*mess(am)mir*	*-mes(sam)mar*
rel.	*tíasm(a)e*		*gesm(a)e*		*mes(sam)mar*	
2pl.	*té(i)ste*	*-té(i)sid*	*ge(i)ste*	*-ge(i)ssid*	*meste*	*-me(i)ssid*
3pl.	*tías(a)it*	*-tíasat*	*gess(a)it*	*-gessat*	*mess(a)itir*	*-messatar*
pass.	(3sg. only as intransitive)		*gess(a)itir*	*-gessatar*	(same as deponent 3pl.?)	
rel.	*tíast(a)e*		*gest(a)e* (pass. *gessatar*)		*messatar* (pass. too?)	

(b) S1 verbs such as *reithid*, *teichid* and *téit* above with *e* or *é/ía* throughout the present retain this unchanged in the present subjunctive, whereas in the case of S2 *guidid* and *midithir* above a basic *e* modified as a result of the palatalising present suffix (cf. II.A.4b) reemerges in the *s*-subjunctive. Otherwise the vowel of the *s*-subjunctive tends to differ from that of the corresponding present in the following ways, which as usual are obvious only if the root is stressed (see I.B.6 and II.A.4c): pres. *i/e* vs. subj. *é/ía* (but subj. *í* in the case of compounds of *-ic* 'comes'), pres. *a* vs. subj. *á*, pres. *-enn(-)* and *-ond/g(-)* vs. subj. *-és(-)* and *-ós(-)* respectively. Typical examples are *s*-subj. 1sg. conj. *con:rías* (S1 *con:rig* 'binds', 3pl. *con:regat*), 3pl. rel. *cíastae* (S1 *cingid* 'steps', 3pl. *cengait*), 3pl. conj. *(-)rísat, (-)tísat* (S1 *ro:ic* 'arrives', *do:ic* 'comes'; 3pl. *ro:ecat, do:ecat*), 3sg. abs. *máis* (S2 *maidid* 'breaks'), 2sg. conj. *ro:sáis* (S2 *ro:saig* 'reaches'), 1sg. conj. *do:sés* (S1 *do:seinn* 'pursues'), 3sg. rel. *bós* (S1 *bongid* 'strikes'), 1pl. conj. (with 3pl. inf. pron.) *a-ta:bósam* (*as:boind* 'refuses'). The deponent *s*-subjunctive of *ro:finnathar* 'finds out' and its (presento-)preterite *ro:fitir* '(has found out,) knows' (VII.B.2c) displays occasional examples of the expected *é/ía* alternations such as 1sg. *-fíasur*, 2sg. *-fé(i)sser* and 3sg. *-fíastar* but mostly seems to have adopted the shape exemplified by the *s*-subjunctive of *midithir* 'judges' in a above: e.g., 1 sg. *-fessur*, 2sg. *-fe(i)sser*, 3sg. *-festar* (see further IX.6a).

If the root was stressed (i.e. basically in the dependent form of a simple verb or the independent deuterotonic form of a compound with one preverb), the vowel of the 3sg. conj. in the normal active was liable to lengthening in accordance with I.B.4 as in the case of 3sg. abs. *geis* vs. conj. *-gé* in a above or 3sg. *fo:ré* vs. 3pl. *fo:res(s)at* (*s*-subj. of S1 cpd. *fo:reith* 'helps'). Consequently the fundamental length of the vowel in the *s*-subjunctive can only be determined on the strength of forms with *-s(s)(-)* and a stressed root: e.g., 3sg. *-té* 'may go' with inherently long *e* on the evidence of 1sg. *-tías*, 2sg. *-téis* etc. as opposed to *-gé* 'may pray' with secondarily lengthened *e* on the evidence of 1sg. *-ges(s)*, 2sg. *-geis(s)* etc. in a above. In the case of the similarly inflected *s*-preterite (VI.A.1) with its invariably unstressed vowel before suffixal *-s(s)(-)*, the whole syllable was prone to disappear in the 3sg. conj. of the normal active (e.g. *-marb* vs. abs. *marbais* 'killed'),

although a short final vowel sometimes remained in W2a (e.g. *-rád(a)i* vs. abs. *rád(a)is* 'said' alongside the more usual pattern *-lé(i)c* vs. abs. *lé(i)cis* 'left'). Application of the same principle to *s*-subjunctives with unstressed root and hence an unstressed vowel (shortened by I.B.6) before the *-s(s)* resulted in a similar pattern in the 3sg. conj. with complete loss of the final syllable in most cases but sometimes a retained short vowel (provided this was inherently long in the sense just defined): e.g., 3sg. abs. *an(a)is* vs. conj. *-ain* (*s*-subj. of S1 *aingid, -an(a)ig* 'protects'), deut. *a-t:ré* vs. prot. *-éi-r* (*s*-subj. of S1 cpd. *a-t:reig, -e(i)-rig* 'rises', lit. 'raises him/her/itself'), deut. *con:í* vs. prot. *-cum-ai* or *-cum* (*s*-subj. of S1 cpd. *con:ic, -cum-aing* 'is able'), deut. *ro:sá* vs. conj. *-ro-a* (*s*-subj. of S2 cpd. *ro:saig, -ro-ig* 'reaches'), deut. *in:gré* vs. prot. *-in-gre* (S1 cpd. *in:greinn, -in-grainn* 'persecutes') but deut. *as:glé* vs. prot. *-e-cail* (< *-ecl*, by IX.2d; S1 cpd. *as:gleinn, -e-clainn* 'investigates').

In the case of three roots with an *r* or an *l* before *d* or *g* the *s*-subjunctive sequence *-r/ls(s)(-)* underwent assimilation to *-r(r)(-)* and *-l(l)(-)* respectively throughout, basically non-palatal *-r(r)* and *-l(l)* being then retained even in the 3sg. conj. (with unstressed as well as stressed root; cf. VI.A.2 for the similar case of *-rt* in the *t*-preterite): e.g., 2sg. *-oirr*, 3sg. *oirr, -orr*, 3pl. *-orrat* (*s*-subj. of S1 *org(a)id, -oirg* 'slays'), 3sg. *du:in-mail* (*s*-subj. of S1 cpd. *do:in-mlig* 'promulgates' of *mligid, -mlig* 'milks' with change of vocalism in *s*-subj. to *mel(l)(-)* < **melg-s(-)*; palatal *-l(l)* probably on the model of the *-ecail* type in the previous paragraph).

The paradigms below illustrate some of the points made in this section by contrasting the deuterotonic and prototonic forms of the present indicative with those of the present *s*-subjunctive of the S1 compound *fo:loing* 'suffers' as well as by juxtaposing the independent present indicative and *s*-subjunctive of the commonest verb of the type discussed in the previous paragraph, namely *fo:ceird* 'puts' (suppletive dependent form W2b deponent *-cuirethar* with *a*-subj. *-corathar*; see 2b above and VII.B.2a). Note that *-ce(i)rd(-)* may also be written *-ce(i)rt(-)* (likewise *-o(i)rc(-)* for *-o(i)rg-* above) in accordance with I.B.1.

	Pres. ind.		Pres. *s*-subj.		Pres. ind.	Pres. *s*-subj.
1sg.	*fo:lung*	*-fulung*	*fo:lós*	*-fulus*	*fo:ciurd*	*fo:ciurr*
2sg.	*fo:longi*	*-fulngi*	*fo:lóis*	*-fulais*	*fo:cerdi*	*fo:ceirr*
3sg.	*fo:loing*	*-fulaing*	*fo:ló*	*-ful*	*fo:ceird*	*fo:cerr*
pass.	*fo:longar*	*-fulangar*	*fo:lósar*	*-fulastar*	*fo:cerdar*	*fo:cerrar*
1pl.	*fo:longam*	*-fulngam*	*fo:lósam*	*-fulsam*	*fo:cerdam*	*fo:cerram*
2pl.	*fo:longid*	*-fulngid*	*fo:lós(a)id*	*-fuls(a)id*	*fo:cerdid*	*fo:cerrid*
3pl.	*fo:longat*	*-fulngat*	*fo:lósat*	*-fulsat*	*fo:cerdat*	*fo:cerrat*
pass.	*fo:longtar*	*-fulngatar*	*fo:lósatar*	*-fulsatar*	*fo:cerdatar*	*fo:cerr(a)tar*

(c) As various forms cited above demonstrate, the *s*-subjunctive is a particularly difficult category even by Old Irish standards because its *-s-* suffix was added directly to the root without the intervening vowel characteristic of the otherwise very similarly inflected *s*-preterite. Consequently, whereas forms of the *s*-preterite (including even the normal active 3sg. conj. lacking the characteristic suffix) are readily recognisable as a rule because the final consonant of the verbal root regularly remained intact, those of the *s*-subjunctive are always at least partially disguised by assimilation of the root-final consonant to the *-s-* suffix. Given that verbal roots with final *-s(s)* such as those seen in W1 *cés(s)(a)id* 'suffers' and W2a *ar:ce(i)s(s)i* 'pities' are rare in Old Irish and that the only significant category of verbs with an (unreduplicated) *s*-preterite preceded by a final vowel is the small H3 group (VI.A.1), the chances are that a finite verbal form with *-s(s)(-)*

preceded by a vowel will prove to be an *s*-subjunctive (or a closely related *s*-future; IX.6). In the case of a compound form like 3pl. *-ful†sat* above with syncopated root vowel, the presupposition of an *s*-subjunctive is created by the lack of an available weak verb **ful* and the obvious interpretation of *-fu-* as a preverb. The problems become significantly greater in the form most frequently encountered, namely the normal active 3sg. conjunct, owing to the aforementioned loss of *-s* plus, on occasion, the root vowel, and one can only suggest entertaining the possibility of an *s*-subjunctive when all other formal possibilities have failed to yield results. Once the presumption of an *s*-subjunctive (or *s*-future) has been established, the search must then be made for a matching verb with root-final *-g, -ch, -c, -d, -th, -nn*, while bearing in mind the occasional availability of more than one possible candidate: e.g., *-bós(s)(-)* is the s-subj. of *-boind* as well as *-boing* (see 5b above), 3sg. *a-t:ré* might belong in theory to *a-t:reig* 'rises' (see 5b), *ad:rig* 'binds' or *ad:reith* 'runs towards, overtakes', and *-té* might be the 3sg. conj. belonging to *téit* 'goes' or *teichid* 'flees'.

6. Reading practice.

(a) In the long gloss below, one *s*-subjunctive is in a negative conditional clause (*mani*) contingent upon a general statement and so viewed as no more than a possibility, while the other is in a relative clause embedded in a similar conditional sentence (introduced by *ma-t* with 3pl. pres. subj. cop.) that likewise denotes an eventuality rather than an actuality. The two clauses introduced by *in tain* give some idea of how finely nuanced the choice between a subjunctive and an indicative could be on occasion. In the first the 3sg. rel. copula is subjunctive, presumably to indicate a desirable rather than a regularly acheived state, but in the second the 1pl. rel. of *guidid* is indicative, presumably because the glossator has greater confidence that the act of praying does occur regularly. Note pres. ind. 3sg. conj. *-téit* rather than normal *-tét* (see V.A.2b).

Wb. 4a27: *is and didiu for:téit* spiritus (Lat. 'the Spirit') *ar n-énirti-ni, in tain bes n-inun accobor lenn .i. la corp* et (Lat. 'and') *anim* et *la spirut. Coir irnigde trá in so, acht ní:cumcam-ni ón ma-ni:thinib in spirut. Is samlid trá is lobur ar n-irnigde-ni, mat réte frecndirci gesme,* et *ní-n:fortéit-ni in spirut oc suidiu. Is hed didiu for:théit in spirut, in tain guidme-ni inducbáil diar corp* et *diar n-animm íar n-esséirgiu.*

(b) The passages below comes before the one taken from the Cambrai Homily in VI.B.6a, where certain archaisms found in this text are discussed. Thus *a(i)re* beside normal *ara* [nas.] does not show the effects of proclitic depalatalisation of consonants and retraction of *e* to *a*. In each case, *a(i)re* or *ara*, whether accompanying an indirect command (see 8 below) or introducing a clause of purpose (naturally associated with the subjunctive of intention or desire mentioned in 1b above) in its more general sense of 'in order that', is appropriately followed by a subjunctive, this time a present subjunctive since the main clause upon which they depend is *(is) inscne in so as:beir...* with its verb in the present indicative. The conjunction *céin* 'as long as' with accompanying nasalising relative clause (*m* being omitted after *n*) is duly followed by 3sg. pres. subj. of the substantive verb, which is in the present because of the overall present (ind. and subj.) context and is subjunctive because of the general nature of the proposition (Eng. 'he should/may be' as a possible variant of 'is') referring to 'everyone' rather than a specific instance. Note the correlation between 3sg. subjunctive *a(i)re:sechethar* in indirect and 3sg. imperative *nu-m:secheth* in direct speech. The final two sentences are what might be termed general conditionals and as such use subjunctives in the subordinate clauses introduced by *ma* 'if' or *ma-ni* 'if not' precisely because the actions in question are hypothetical and there is no claim that they are actually being (or not

being) undertaken. Needless to say, the present tense copula *is* 'is (generally)' in the main clauses conditions present subjunctives in the 'if (not)' clauses depending on them.

(Latin: 'If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me') *Insce in so as:be[i]r ar féda Ísu fri cach n-óein din c[h]enélu doíne are:n-indarbe análchi ood ocus a pecthu ocus ara:tinóla soálchi ocus are:n-airema futhu ocus airde cruche ar Chríst, céin [m]bes i c(h)omus coirp ocus anme, aire:sechethar slic[h]tu ar fédot i nda[g]gnímrathib. Is aire as:be[i]r* (Latin:) 'If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross' - *ocuis ticsath a chruich* - and follow me - *ocuis nu-m:secheth-se'. Is ee ar ndíltuth dúnn fanissin ma-ni:cometsam dear tolaib ocuis ma fris:tóssam dear pecthib. Is sí ticsál ar c(h)ruche duun furnn ma ar:foímam dammint ocus martri ocus coicsath ar Chriist.*

(c) Niníne's invocation is continued here from VII.B.3f to its conclusion, *do-nn:essarr* being a slight modification of the original's augmented *do-nn:esmarr* (see X.4b).

> *Guidmi do Pátraicc prímapstal*
> *do-nn:Essarr i mbráth a brithemnacht*
> *do mídúthrachtaib dEmnae ndOrchaide.*
> *Dia lEm*
> *la Itge Pátraicc prímapstail.*

(d) One of the contents of the curious *Codex Sancti Pauli* is the following charm, which seems to relate to a board game, probably *brandub*, due to be played in order to determine which of two sons will inherit the family farm and which will be consigned to a propertyless and vagrant existence in the wilds as a member of a *fían(n)*. It has been slightly modified by removing the augment *ro* (see X.1b) from the passive subjunctives in the conditional clauses depending on main clauses containing augmented 'optative' forms of the pres. subj. of the copula. Since *-ic* compounds do not take an augment (see X.1c), 3sg. pres. subj. *tairi* in a main clause could just as well be an 'optative' of wish as a 'jussive' of command, the former being more likely in the context. The prepositional relative clause presumably contains pres. ind. *-cuiriur* because the author is actually engaged in or about to engage in a cast (of dice) or move (of a piece) but relative *ad:cear* in the last two clauses is present subjunctive because it is not yet certain which of the two eventualities envisaged will actually materialise.

> *Ad:gúisiu fid n-allabrach ⁊ arggatbrain etir tenid ⁊ fraig.*
> *Ad:gúisiu inna tri turcu tercu.*
> *Tairi síabair mo chondáil co n-ith ⁊ mlicht neich ar-ind:chuiriur.*
> *Ma no-m:thoicther-sa rop ith ⁊ mlicht ad:cear.*
> *Mani-m:thoicther ropat choin altai ⁊ ois ⁊ imthecht slébe ⁊ oaic féne ad:cear.*

7. The past subjunctive.
This is formed by adding the imperfect endings to the subjunctive stem in a manner precisely parallel to that whereby the imperfect is formed from the present (indicative) stem (V.E.1 and VII.A.4). As with the imperfect indicative, the endings are conjunct only, requiring the prefixing of *no* in the absence of another conjunct particle or a pretonic preverb (see V.E.1), and there is no difference between deponent and normal active endings (see VII.B.1c). The imperfect subjunctive displays complete formal identity with the imperfect indicative in those categories

(W1, W2a, H1 and H3 with *-o-* or *-e-*; see 2a above) with a present subjunctive largely undifferentiated from the present indicative. Consequently the imperfect active and passive paradigms of W1 *marb(a)id* or *mór(a)id* and W2a *lé(i)cid* in V.E.1 and VII.A.4 will serve equally well for their past subjunctives, and deponents in these classes will inflect in exactly the same way (cf. VII.B.1c). An example of the past *e*-subjunctive will be found in the paradigms of the substantive verb in III.A.3 and it remains to give illustrative paradigms of the past subjunctive of a few strong verbs, namely the *a*-subjunctives of S1 *be(i)rid* 'bears', S2 deponent cpd. *do:moinethar* 'thinks'(ipf. *do:moined*; cf. S2 3sg. ipf. ind. *-gaibed* vs. past subj. *-gabad*), S3 *ben(a)id* 'smites' and the *s*-subjunctives of S1 *téit* 'goes', S1 cpd. *fo:r-ic* 'comes upon, finds' (unattested prototonic forms with underlying *-th-* ending being omitted on account of uncertainty as to whether the 3sg. pass. or 2pl. would have been **-fuirsith/de* or **-fuiriste*) and S2 dep. *midithir* 'judges'. Note that the past *s*-subjunctive, unlike the S1 imperfect indicative (V.E.1), seems to show an alternation between palatal and non-palatal stem-final consonance similar to that of the corresponding present formation. See IX.2c on delenition of *th* to *t* after *n* or *s*, I.B.1 on the 3pl. spelling *-d/t(a)is* or and VII.B.1a on the alternation between *-th-* and *-d-* between unstressed vowels.

	independ.	independ.	depend. (+neg.)	depend. (+neg.)
1sg.	*no:ber(a)in(n)*	*do:men(a)in(n)*	*ní:tomn(a)in(n)*	*ní:biein(n)*
2sg.	*no:bertha*	*do:menta*	*ní:tomn(a)ith/dea*	*ní:betha*
3sg.	*no:berad*	*do:menad*	*ní:tomnad*	*ní:biad*
pass.	*no:berth(a)e*	*do:ment(a)e*	*ní:tomn(a)ith/de*	*ní:bethe*
1pl.	*no:berm(a)is*	*do:menm(a)is*	*ní:tomn(a)im(m)is*	*ní:bem(m)is*
2pl.	*no:berth(a)e*	*do:ment(a)e*	*ní:tomn(a)ith/de*	*ní:bethe*
3pl.	*no:bert/d(a)is*	*do:ment/d(a)is*	*ní:tomn(a)itis*	*ní:betis*
pass.	*no:bert/d(a)is*	*do:ment/d(a)is*	*ní:tomn(a)itis*	*ní:betis*
1sg.	*no:téisin(n)*	*fo:rísin(n)*	*-fuirsin(n)*	*ní:messin(n)*
2sg.	*no:tíasta*	*fo:rísta*		*ní:mesta*
3sg.	*no:téised*	*fo:rísed*	*-fuirsed*	*ní:messed*
pass.	*no:téste*	*fo:ríste*		*ní:meste*
1pl.	*no:tíasm(a)is*	*fo:rísm(a)is*	*-fuirsim(m)is*	*ní:mesm(a)is*
2pl.	*no:téste*	*fo:ríste*		*ní:meste*
3pl.	*no:tíast(a)is*	*fo:ríst(a)is*	*-fuirsitis*	*ní:mest(a)is*
pass.	(none, as intrans.)	*fo:ríst(a)is*	*-fuirsitis*	*ní:mest(a)is*

Examples of the past subjunctive of verbs with *-rr(-)* throughout the *s-* subjunctive (see 5b above) include 3sg. *fris:orrad*, 2pl. *fris:orthe* (*fris:oirg* 'offends') and 3sg. *fo:cerred* (*fo:ceird* 'puts').

8. Reading practice.

Fíacc was visited by an angel immediately after the death of his followers in the Sletty episode (VI.A.6f), which concludes (in slightly modified form) as follows. This passage follows the first *as:bert* 'said' with direct speech and then shifts rather abruptly into indirect speech. Since the main verb is a preterite, the subjunctives in the latter are all past too (see the final paragraph of 1b above). Since an imperative can only be used in main clauses, a command in indirect speech must be expressed by some other means, the usual device in Old Irish being *ara* [nas.] '(so) that' with subjunctive: hence *ari-mbad* (3sg. past subj. cop.) 'that it should be' corresponding to 3sg. ipv.

cop. *bad* 'let it be' in direct speech and 3sg. past subj. *ara:tísed* 'that (Patrick) should come' corresponding to 3sg. ipv. *ticed* 'let him come' in direct speech. The verbs following *ari-mbad and* in the cleft sentence (III.B.2b), namely *fu:rruimtis* twice and *nu:ggabad* are likewise past subjunctive. The antecedents *airm* and *port* 'place' are followed by a prepositional relative *(h)i* [nas.] 'in which' with a following 3pl. *-fuirsitis* 'they should find' that is subjunctive because the location is not specified and the event has not yet happened, the past subjunctive being selected because the whole utterance depends upon preterite *as:bert*. Once the indirect speech has concluded with *nu:ggabad a locc*, the passage reverts to straightforward description of what is supposed actually to have happened and thus to (preterite) indicative mood. See the end of IX.2d on *cu-t:secar*.

Di sin du:lluid int aingel cuci ⁊ as:bert fris: 'is fri abinn aníar a:tá t'esérge i Cúil Maige' - airm i:fuirsitis in torcc arimbad and fu:rruimtis a praintech, port hi:fuirsitis in n-elit arimbad and fu:rruimtis a n-eclis. As:bert Fíacc frisin n-aingel ara:tísed Pátricc do thoorund a luic lais ⁊ dia choisecrad ⁊ arimbad húad nu:ggabad a locc. Du:lluid íar suidiu Pátricc cu Fíacc ⁊ du:rind a locc les ⁊ cu-t:secar ⁊ fo:rruim a forrig n-and ⁊ ad:opart Crimthann in port sin du Pátricc. Ar ba Pátric du:bert baithis du Chrimthann.

CHAPTER IX
THE FUTURE STEM

1. The *f*-future.

This is the formation used by all weak verbs except *caraid* 'loves' and *ad:gládathar* 'addresses' (on which see 3 below), by most H3 verbs and the compounds of H2 *-slí*, S1 *-ic* and S2 dep. *-mainethar*, *-moinethar* or *-muinethar* (none of which occurs as a simple verb), its spread to various other strong verbs in Middle Irish being anticipated very sporadically in Old Irish. In this future the root is expanded by means of a suffix *-if-* plus an inflection identical (except for 1sg. conj. *-u-*) to that of the *a*-subjunctive in VIII.2a above and of the *a*-future in 2 below. More often than not the vowel of the suffix was lost by regular syncope (see II.A.4c) except in the 1 sg. conj., where *-f* regularly underwent voicing to *-b* /v/ in final position after an unstressed vowel (see III.A.3 on the parallel process of final *-th* to *-d* /ð/ after an unstressed vowel). The basic pattern is illustrated below by W1 *soíraid* (or *sóeraid*) 'frees', W2a *lé(i)cid* 'leaves' and deponent cpd. *ad:ágathar* 'fears' (conjunct endings only, of course: the corresponding absolute endings used with the *f*-fut. of an independent simple deponent verb can be supplied from VII.B.1b).

Sing.					
1.	*soírf(e)a*	*-soír(i)ub*	*lé(i)cfea*	*-lé(i)ciub*	*ad:áichfer*
2.		*(-)soírf(a)e*		*(-)lé(i)cfe*	*ad:áichfider*
3.	*soírf(a)id*	*-soírf(e)a*	*lé(i)cfid*	*-lé(i)cfea*	*ad:áichfedar*
pass.	*soírf(a)idir*	*-soírf(a)ider*	*lé(i)cfidir*	*-lé(i)cfider*	*ad:áchfider*
rel.	*soírfe/as* (pass. *soírf(a)ider*)		*lé(i)cfes* (pass. *lé(i)cfider*)		
Plur. 1.	*soírf(a)im(m)i*	*-soírfe/am*	*lé(i)cfim(m)i*	*-lé(i)cfem*	*ad:áichfem(m)ar*
rel.	*soírf(a)im(m)e*		*lé(i)cfim(m)e*		
2.	*soírf(a)ide*	*-soírf(a)id*	*lé(i)cfide*	*-lé(i)cfid*	*ad:áichfid*
3.	*soírf(a)it*	*-soírfe/at*	*lé(i)cfit*	*-lé(i)cfet*	*ad:áichfetar*
pass.	*soírf(a)itir*	*-soírf(a)iter*	*lé(i)cfitir*	*-lé(i)cfiter*	*ad:áichfiter*
rel.	*soírf(a)ite* (pass. *soírf(a)iter*)		*lé(i)cfite* (pass. *lé(i)cfiter*)		

The *-i-* of the suffix was liable to raise a preceding *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* respectively (cf. II.A.4b): e.g., W1 *sellaid, -sella* 'sees' with fut. *-sil†fea* 'will see', *feraid, -fera* 'pours' with fut. *firfid, -firfea* 'will pour', W2b 1sg. *do:lugim* 'I forgive' (unraised *-log-* in pret. and subj. - see VI.A.1 and VIII.2b) with fut. *do:lugub* 'I shall forgive', S2 *ar:moinethar* 'bestows (honour)' with fut. *ar:muinfethar* 'will bestow (honour)'. Where the preceding vowel did not fall victim to syncope, *-f-* tended to be voiced to *-b-* /v/ between unstressed vowels (see VII.B.1a on a similar tendency for *-th-* to become *-d-* /ð/ as in 3sg. conj. dep. *-edar* beside *-ethar*): e.g., 3pl. conj. *-prid†chabat* '(they) will preach' (W1 *prid†ch(a)id* borrowed from Lat. *pr(a)edicat* 'proclaims, preaches') or deut. *con:ic†fet* versus prot. *-cum†gabat* '(they) will be able' (3sg. pres. *con:ic, -cumaing* 'is able'). In the foregoing examples intervocalic *-b-* is predictably non-palatal on account of the '*a*'-inflection associated with it. However, where the *-i-* of the suffix underwent syncope, the regular result in accordance with 2b below was the palatal cluster -C′*f*′- seen in *-soírfea*, *lé(i)cfea*, *con:icfet, ad:áichfedar* etc. It is hardly surprising that *-b-* after a vowel was sometimes palatalised on the analogy of widespread *-f*′- after a consonant to yield forms such as 3sg. *do:aid†libea* beside *do:aid†leba* 'will visit' (*do:aid†lea* 'visits'). Since the *f*-future was normally the only part of a W1 verb with palatal stem-final consonant, it is equally unsurprising that non-palatal -C*f*- was often introduced there, whence doublets such as *soírfid, -soírfea* with original palatal and *soírfaid,*

-soírfa with analogical non-palatal *-rf-* in the paradigm above. 3sg.fut. *do:lugfa* beside *do:luichfea* 'will forgive' (W2b pres. *do:lug(a)i*, subj. *do:loga* etc.) is due to a similar introduction of non-palatal consonance from other stems, and such doublets even occur in S1 *-ic* compounds such as 3sg. *do:icfa* beside *do:icfea* 'will come' or 3pl. *con:icfat* beside *con:icfet* '(they) will be able'.

2. More on syncope and its effects.

The basic syncope rule (given in II.A.4c and illustrated there as well as elsewhere) entailed loss of the vowel of a non-final post-tonic syllable, whence 3sg. *(-)cechain* 'sang' (post-tonic syllable final and hence unsyncopated) but 3pl. *(-)cech†natar* < *(-)cechanatar* (post-tonic syllable non-final and hence syncopated) in VI.A.4f and so on. A more comprehensive formulation would be that, taking the stressed as the first syllable (e.g. *ber-* in 3pl. deut. cpd. *do:berat* as well as in simple *berait*), every even numbered non-final syllable was subject to syncope with the result that two syllables were liable to loss in the case of an underlying five- or six-syllable form such as 3sg. passive *f*-fut. *prid†chib†thir* 'will be preached'. A comparison of this form with the corresponding present *prid†chidir* 'is preached' shows how an extra underlying syllable such as the suffix of the *f*-future could affect overall syncope patterns, a further typical example being 1pl. fut. *léic†fimmi* 'we shall leave' versus pres. *léic†mi* 'we leave'. Syncope inevitably brought various types of consonant together in groups that were then liable to further developments under certain circumstances, the chief of which were the following.

(a) **Devoicing**. Where syncope brought a voiced and a voiceless consonant (including *h* before its loss within a word) together, the whole group usually became voiceless: e.g., H3 *imm:soí* 'turns round' (< *imb[i]:soy[e]*), prot. *-impai* (< *-imphoi* < *-imbhoi* < *-imbihoy[e]*); S2 *fo:saig* 'tempts', verbal noun *fochaid* 'temptation, tribulation' (< *wohχiθ´* < *wohγ´iθ´* < *wohaγ´iθ´[i]*); *f*-fut. 3sg. *a:trefea* 'will dwell' (< *aθ:tref´f´a* < *að:trev´fa* < *að:trev´ifa*) of W1 *a(d):treba* 'dwells', *do:luichfea* 'will forgive' (< *dī:luχ´f´a* < *dī:luγ´fa* < *dī:loγifa*) of W2b *do:lugi* 'forgives', *ad:áichfedar* 'will fear' of deponent *ad:ágathar* 'fears' in 1 above. However, this development is not infrequently obscured by 'etymological' spellings such as *f*-fut. 2sg. *-mairbfe* 'you will slay' (presumably pronounced /mar´f´e/) of W1 *marbaid* 'slays', 3sg. *do:lugfa* 'will forgive' (presumably pronounced /do luχfa/) or 3sg. *ad:áigfedar* 'will fear'.

(b) **Assimilation of quality**. If palatal and non-palatal consonants came into contact as a result of syncope, the whole cluster typically became palatal or non-palatal in accordance with the quality of its first consonant: e.g., *fochaid*, *a:treifea* and *do:luichfea* (the variant *do:lugfa* being due to analogy) in a, to which may be added W1 *marbthai* 'kills him' (< *marvθ´i*) < *marbaith-i*, W1 *for:cenna* 'ends', prot. *-foircnea* (< *-wor´c´na* < *-wor´c ĩ na*) and 3pl. *fo:benat*, prot. *-fuibnet* (< *wuv´n´ad* < *wuv´nad* < *wuv ĩnad* < *wovinad*; S3 *fo:ben* 'cuts down, destroys'), *fo:gaibet*, prot. *-fogbat* (< *woγved* < *woγv´ed* < *woγav´iod*; S2 *fo:gaib* 'finds, gets'). This was a so-called 'progressive' assimilation whereby the quality of the first consonant, whether non-palatal or palatal, was spread forwards throughout the cluster, and it is to be noted that it could result in an inflectionally abnormal palatal or non-palatal stem-final consonant: e.g., *-fuibnet* in S3, which normally has non-palatal *-n(-)*, and *-fogbat* in S2, which normally has a palatal final. It is also to be noted that a front vowel subsequently lost by syncope was weakened to a sound (here represented as /ĭ/) that invariably palatalised what preceded it, whereas the palatalising effect of an unweakened front vowel was more limited, as can be seen from a comparison of S1 3sg. *do:beir* 'brings, gives', prot. *-tabair* (< *tover´[e]*) with 3pl. *do:berat*, prot. *-taibret* (< *tov´r´od* < *tov´rod* < *tov ĩrod* < *toverod*).

(c) **Delenition**. If the consonants brought together by syncope were 'homorganic' (i.e. with closure or near-closure at roughly the same point in the mouth, members of the 'dental' set *r*, *l*, *n*, *s*, *t*, *th* and *d* being particularly important) and included (after devoicing in a, if applicable) the fricatives /θ/ *th* or /ð/ *d* plus another dental or /χ/ *ch* or /γ/ *g* plus another guttural, these were 'delenited', i.e. converted into the corresponding stops /t/ *t*, /d/ *t/d*, /k/ *c* and /g/ *c/g*. This process has already been discussed and illustrated in V.A.2b and V.C.2, a form such as *guitti* /gutʹi/ 'beseeches him' in the latter also showing the effects of the devoicing just described in a above (< *gutʹtʹi < *guθʹθʹi < *guðʹθʹi < *guðʹiθʹi). A further typical example is I m. acc. pl. *Ultu* (< *Ulthu < *Ulothu) versus nom. pl. *Ulaid* 'Ulstermen' (< *Ulaith* by the voicing of a final dental after an unstressed vowel mentioned in V.A.2b; cf. nom. pl. *Laigin* 'Leinstermen' and acc. pl. *Laigniu*). Homorganic delenition also applies across the word boundary, whence for instance the absence of otherwise expected lenition (see the rules in II.C.2) after gen. sg. neut. article in *in tige* 'of the house' (< *in thige*) or of the fem. sg. adj. in *ben tanae* 'a thin woman' (< *ben thanae*) or the reduction of *ad* /að/ in *a:treba* 'dwells' in a (< *at:treva < *aθ:treva by delenition < *að:treva by devoicing).

(d) If syncope produced a heavy cluster consisting of consonant + *r/l/n* + consonant (represented by CRC below with V for vowel), a support vowel (usually written *a*) was regularly inserted by so-called 'epenthesis' between the first consonant and *r*, *l* or, under certain conditions, *n* according to the basic scheme -CVRC-/-CRVC- > -C†RC-/-CR†C- (by syncope) > -CVRC- by epenthesis: e.g., *tabarte* (gen. sg. of II *tabart* 'giving, bringing', vn. of *do:beir* 'gives, brings') < *tab†rte < *toberte /toverte/; *inganta* (nom./acc. pl. f./n. of I/II adj. *ingnad* 'strange, wonderful' < *ingnath* like *Ulaid < Ulaith* in 2c) < *ingn†ta < *ingn†tha (by delenition) < *ingnatha; *damanti* 'subdues him' (W1 *damnaid* 'subdues' + 3sg. m. suff. pron.) < *damn†ti < *damn†thi (by delenition) < *damnaith-i, 3sg. fut. pass. rel. *comalnaibther* 'which will be fulfilled' < *coml†nib†thor (W1 dep. *comalnaithir* 'fulfils' < *coml†nathir). Where the original vowel preceded *r/l/n* + consonant, the result of epenthesis is a form like *tabarte* that looks unsyncopated in relation to *tabart*, but there is a telltale difference of position where the original vowel followed the group as in the case of *inganta* in relation to *ingnad*. A similar development affected a group -C*r/l/n* left in final position by the prehistoric apocope or loss of final syllables (see I.B.8), as in W1 3sg. pres. *con:secra* but pret. *con:secar* (< *-secr) or *domun* 'world' (< *doṽn < *dumnos, cf. Gaulish *Dumno-rix* 'World-king'.

3. The *a*-future.
Apart from the categories (principally weak and H3 verbs) with an *f*-future in 1 above, most verbs that take an *a*-subjunctive (see VIII.1c) also have an *a*-future, although the *i*-future discussed in 5 below characterises most S3 verbs with a vowel-final root (except *-gnin* and *-cluinethar*) as well as most H2 (except *-gní* and *-sní*), the latter being typified by an *e*-subjunctive (see VIII.3). The personal inflections of the *a*-future are identical to those of the *a*-subjunctive (see VIII.2), from which it is differentiated by **reduplication of the root**'s intial or by a **long root vowel, usually é**. The treatment of suffixless preterites VI.A.4b/d should be consulted regarding the leniting effects of the vowel-final reduplicator and their consequences, which sometimes extend to the loss of a consonant before *r, l* or *n* accompanied by compensatory lengthening or diphthongisation of the reduplicating vowel.

(a) The basic reduplicating vowel of the **reduplicated *a*-future** was *i* but this is only retained as such in a few strong verbs with root-final nasal such as S2 *daimid, -daim* 'suffers' and its compounds with fut. 1sg. *-didem* or *-didam* and 3sg. *-did†ma* 'will suffer', deponent *gainithir* 'is

born' with fut. 3sg. *gig†nithir* 'will be born' and *(ro:)-laimethar* 'dares' with fut. 3pl. *-lil†matar* 'will dare'. In this type the syncopated vowel seems to have been *e* with resultant palatal consonance as clearly seen in unsyncopated 1sg. *-didem* and probably in syncopated 3sg. dep. *gignithir*. However, analogical adaptation to the broad consonance normally associated with the *a*-future is seen in forms such as *-didam*, *-didma* and *-lilmatar*. Erstwhile *a* (or *o*) in the following syllable typically lowered the reduplicated syllable's *i* to *e* (cf. II.A.4b): e.g., W1 *caraid, -cara* 'loves' with fut. *cech†raid, -cech†ra* 'will love', W2a *ad:gládathar, -accaldathar* (< -*accl†dathar* by 2d above) with fut. *ad:gegalldathar* 'will address' (the only weak verbs not to have the *f*-future discussed in 1 above), S1 *can(a)id, -cain* 'sings' and compounds with fut. *cech†naid, -cech†na* 'will sing', H1 *baid, -bá* 'dies' with fut. *bebaid, -beba* 'will die', *ad:cota, -éta* 'gets, obtains' with fut. *-étatha* or *-étada* 'will get, will obtain' (*a* for *e* in an unstressed syllable by I.B.6), irregular H3 *do:goa* 'chooses' with fut. *do:geg†a* 'will choose' and S3 deponent *(ro:)-cluinethar* 'hears' with fut. *(ro:)-cechl†adar* 'will hear'. The *a*-future of strong verbs with a root consisting of an initial vowel plus *r* or *l* have a peculiar *eb-* reduplicator (cf. *lingid* 'leaps', pret. *leblaing* in VI.A.4b) in place of the root vowel: e.g., S3 *ernaid, -ern* 'grants' with fut. *ebarth-i* 'will grant it' (< *ebr†th-i* by 2d above; 3sg. *ebraith* plus 3sg. neut. suff. pron.), S1 *alid, -ail* 'rears' with fut. 3sg. pass. *ebaltair* 'will be reared' (< *ebl†thir* by 2c/d above) and *agid, -aig* 'drives' with suppletive fut. *eblaid, -ebla* 'will drive' (see VIII.5a).

(b) As is the case of the suffixless preterite (see VI.A.4d), a **long vowel** resulted from reduplication in certain circumstances. The fut. *íbaid, -íba* 'will drink' (with *íb-* presumably contracted from reduplicated **i-ib-*) of S1 *ibid, -ib* 'drinks' and irregular *ísaid, -ísa* 'will eat' (apparently the result of applying *a*-inflection to an old *s*-future stem, on which see 6 below) of S1 *ithid, -ith* 'eats' are isolated instances based upon retained *i*-vocalism of the reduplicator. Where, however, *i* had already been lowered to *e*, the compensated loss of a guttural between this and a nasal or liquid resulted in a **long é-future** such as *do:géna* 'will do' (*gén-* < **geγn-*) from H2 *do:gní, -déni* 'does' (< **-de-γni*), *etar:géna* 'will understand' (*gén-* < **geγn-*) from S3 *etar:gnin* 'understands', *fo:géra* 'will heat' (*gér-* < **geγr-*) from S1 *fo:geir* 'heats', *célaid, -céla* 'will hide' (*cél-* < **ceχl-*) from S1 *ceilid, -ceil* 'hides', *gélaid, -géla* 'will graze' (*gél-* < **geγl-*) from S1 *geilid, -geil* 'grazes'. Whereas the reduplicated futures in 3a above stood in a relatively complex relationship to their bases, *é*-futures such as *célaid* and *fo:géra* could be derived from the corresponding *a*-subjunctives *celaid* and *fo:gera* simply by lengthening their *e*. The straightforward nature of this relationship made the *é*-future highly productive with the result that it spread by analogy to many verbs where it would not have arisen regularly by compensatory lengthening. Indeed, it seems to have been adopted by all non-deponent strong verbs with a normal *a*-subjunctive of the shape (C)*e*C- as well as by others with *a*-vocalism such as S2 *-gair* and *-gaib*: e.g., 3sg. conj. fut. *-béra* 'will carry' (subj. *-bera*, S1 pres. *-beir*), *-méla* 'will grind' (subj. *-mela*, S1 pres. *-meil*), *do:éma* 'will protect' (subj. *do:ema*, S1 pres. *do:eim*), *a-t:béla* 'will die' (subj. *a-t:bela*, S1 pres. *a-t:baill*), *-méra* 'will betray' (subj. *-mera*, S1 pres. *-mairn*), *-géra* 'will call' (subj. *-gara*, S2 pres. *-gair*), *-géba* 'will take' (subj. *-gaba*, S2 pres. *-gaib*). As a simple verb, W1 *scaraid* 'separates' takes the expected *f*-future seen in 1sg. *-scairiub* 'I shall separate' but its compounds prefer an *é*-future, e.g. 3sg. *con:scéra*. As a rule *é* was retained as an indispensable future marker in post-tonic syllables otherwise liable to syncope, whence unsyncopated forms such as 3sg. prot. *taiccéra* 'will plead' (S1 *do:ac-cair* 'pleads'), *-tibéra* 'will give' (deut. *do:béra*; S1 *do:beir* 'gives'). Only the *é*-future forms of the common *do:gní* 'does' were liable to show a regular syncope pattern in Old Irish, as in prot. 1pl. *-dignem* 'we shall do' beside *-digénam* corresponding to deut. *do:génam*.

(c) The suppletive reduplicated future *eblaid* of S1 *agid* 'drives' has been discussed in a above. The irregular S1 verb *téit* 'goes' and its compounds have an **unreduplicated suppletive *a*-future** *reg(a)id*, *-rega* (or *rig(a)id*, *-riga*) 'will go'.

(d) As already mentioned, the inflection of the *a*-future, whether characterised by reduplication, a long vowel or suppletion, was identical to that of the *a*-subjunctive (VIII.2a, where the subj. paradigms of *beirid* and *gaibid* can be converted into the corresponding futures by simply substituting *bér-* and *géb-* for *ber-* and *gab-* throughout). It is illustrated below by the *é*-future of S1 *beirid*, *-beir*, the suppletive future of the irregular S1 compound *do:tét* 'comes' (*do:rig(-)* may be substituted for *do:reg(-)* throughout the deuterotonic paradigm), and the reduplicated future of the S3 deponent *(ro:)-cluinethar* 'hears' (the corresponding absolute forms of a regular simple verb such as S2 *gainithir* 'is born' would be 1sg. *gigne/ar*, 2sg. *gign(a)ither*, 3sg. *gign(a)ithir*, 1pl. *gign(a)im(m)ir*, 2pl. *gign(a)ithe*, 3pl. *gign(a)itir* 'will be born'). In the prototonic forms of *do:rega* syncope of *e/i* should have produced a palatal cluster *-rg-* by 2b above but non-palatal *-rg-* seems to have been almost invariably introduced under the influence of the corresponding deuterotonic forms combined with the normal pattern for the *a*-future. The 1sg. conj. is not securely attested: unsyncopated *-tereg* would be historically regular but *-terg* on the analogy of the other persons would also be a possibility. Similarly the prototonic passives might have been *-tergthar*, *-tergd/tar* on the model of the corresponding deuterotonic forms rather than the historically regular forms posited below.

		abs.	conj.	deut.	prot.	conj.
Sing.	1.	*béra*	*-bér*	*do:reg*	*-ter(e)g*	*-cechlar*
	2.		*(-)bér(a)e*	*do:reg(a)e*	*-terg(a)e*	*-cechlaider*
	3.	*bér(a)id*	*-béra*	*do:rega*	*-terga*	*-cechladar*
	pass.	*bérth(a)ir*	*-bérthar*	*do:regthar*	*-terg(a)ither*	*-cechlaider*
	rel.	*béras* (pass. *bérthar*)				
Plur.	1.	*bérm(a)i*	*-béram*	*do:regam*	*-tergam*	*-cechlam(m)ar*
	rel.	*bérm(a)e*				
	2.	*bérth(a)e*	*-bér(a)id*	*do:reg(a)id*	*-terg(a)id*	*-cechlaid*
	3.	*bér(a)it*	*-bérat*	*do:regat*	*-tergat*	*-cechlatar*
	pass.	*bérd/t(a)ir*	*-bérd/tar*	*do:regd/tar*	*-tergaiter*	*-cechlaiter*
	rel.	*bérd/t(a)e* (pass. *bérd/tar*)				

4. Reading practice.

(a) The following short passage is from *Aipgitir Chrábuid*.

Nach duine didiu ad:áigfedar Día ⁊ no-d:cechra ⁊ comalnabathar a thoil ⁊ a thimnae, bid airmitiu dó fíad doínib í siu ⁊ bid findbadach la Día hí thall.

(b) In *Immram Brain* the hero's female visitor foretells Christ's birth in the three *deibide* stanzas given below (the second line of the second being omitted and the first line of the third modified) just before the end of her long poem describing the delights of the immortal overseas islands that she has come from. Note the subjunctives *nad:festar* and *diambo* lending an element of indeterminacy to relative clauses occurring in predictions regarding the future.

1.   *Ticfa mórgein íar mbethaib*
     Nad:bia acht i forclethaib.
     Mac mná nad:festar céle
     Gébid flaith na n-ilmíle.

2.   *Flaith cen tossach cen forcann*
     ....
     Is aí talam ocus muir,
     Is mairc bias fo étuil.

3.   *Is é rí inna nime*
     Céin mair diambo find cride.
     Glainfid slúagu tre lind nglan
     Is é ícfes bar tedman.

(c) The passage on the three types of martyrdom in VI.B.6a is followed by the final Irish sentence, of the extant copy of the *Cambrai Homily*. This provides a nice illustration of the typical form of a future conditional in Old Irish with the future *-étatham* in the so-called 'apodosis', while the so-called 'protasis' introduced by *ma* 'if' contains a present subjunctive.

Fil-us daneu tre c[h]enéle martre atta lógmara le Dea, ar-a:n-étatham-[n]i fochrici, ma no-s:comalnammar.

5. The *i*-future.

As noted at the beginning of 3 above, this formation is typical of most H2 and S3 verbs with a vowel-final root. Its *i*-inflection (basically like that of an S2 present in V.A.2a except for invariable 1sg. *-iu* and 2sg. *-e*) generally protects the *i* of the reduplicating syllable from lowering to *e*: e.g., 3sg. *ririd, -riri* 'will sell' (S3 *renaid, -ren* 'sells'), *cichid, -cichi* 'will weep' (H2 *ciid* 'weeps'), *ad:cichi*, prot. *-accigi* 'will see' (H2 *ad:cí, -accí* 'sees'), *do:écigi* 'will look at' (H2 *do:é-ci, -d'-é-ci* 'looks at'). Roots with intial *f* or *b* lose this after the reduplicator, the result being long *í* under the stress in 3sg. *bíth(-us), -bí* 'will smite (them)' (S3 *benaid, -ben* 'smites') versus *do:fó-bi* 'will cut off' (cpd. *do:fui-ben*) and pass. *ad:fíther* 'will be requited' (S3 cpd. *ad:fen* 'requites'). In roots beginning with *cr-*, *gl-* or the like the lenited guttural is prone to compensated loss after the reduplicating vowel (cf. the corresponding suffixless preterites in VI.A.4d): e.g., 3sg. *ar-a:chíuri* 'will perish' (*-cíuri* < *-cichri*; S3 *ar-a:chrin* 'perishes, snuffs it' with petrified 3sg. n. infixed pronoun) and 3pl. *gíulait* '(they) will adhere' (< *giγli-*; S3 *glenaid, -glen* 'adheres'). Since all but the 1and 3sg. conj. of these futures with *-iu-* were formally indistinguishable from the *a*-future, they seem to have sometimes adopted the latter's forms throughout as in 1sg. *-cíur* 'I shall buy' (for expected *-cíuru*; S3 *crenaid, -cren* 'buys'). The full *i*-future active paradigm may be illustrated by means of the future forms (some attested, others securely inferred) of S3 *lenaid, -len* 'sticks':
sg. 1 *(-)liliu,*   2 *(-)lile,*   3 *lilid* (rel. *liles), -lili.*
pl. 1 *lilmi* (rel. *lilme), -lilem,* 2 *lilte, -lilid,*   3 *lilit* (rel. *lild/te), -lilet.*

6. The *s*-future.

With the exception of *-ic* compounds with their *f*-future (see 1 above) and *téit* 'goes' (as well as its compounds) plus *agid* 'drives' with suppletive *a*-futures (see 3a/c above), verbs with an *s*-subjunctive (VIII.5a) also have an *s*- future with exactly the same system of suffixation (as described in VIII.5a) and inflection, except for fut. 1sg. abs. *-a* like the *a*-fut. rather than the *s*-subj. (*-u*), and 3sg. pass. *-tir/-tar* even with stressed root (*s*-subj. *-a(i)r* with stressed, *-tir/-tar* with unstressed root: VIII.5a).

(a) Strong verbs with a present stem of the basic shape C*e*T (C = any consonant, T = *g, ch, c, d* or *th*) have an **unreduplicated *s*-future** that is thus formally identical with the corresponding *s*-subjunctive (VIII.5a/b) except for the marginal inflectional divergences mentioned in the previous paragraph. Thus S1 *reithid, -reith* 'runs' with 3sg. *reis, -ré*, 3pl. *-ressat* 'may/will run' etc. in future as well as subjunctive and similarly subj./fut. *anais, -ain, -ainset* 'may/will protect' (S1 *aingid, -anaig* 'protects' with underlying *aneg-*), *teis, -té, -tessat* 'may/will flee' (S1 *teichid, -teich* 'flees'), *feis, -fé, -fessat* 'may/will lead' (S1 *feidid, -feid* 'leads'), *seis, -sé, -sessat* 'may/will sit' (S1 3sg. *saidid, -said* 'sits', 3pl. *sedat* 'sit'), or 3sg. *a-t:ré*, prot. *-éi-r*, 3pl. *a-ta:ressat*, prot. *-éi-r†set* 'may/will rise' (S1 3sg. *a-t:raig* 'raises himself, rises', 3pl. *a-ta:regat* 'raise themselves, rise'). Owing to the dissimilatory loss of the second of two labials mentioned with reference to the *a*-futures of *-ben* and *-fen* in 5 above, the deponents *(ro:)-finnathar* 'finds (out)' (as well as its preterito-present *(ro:)-fitir* 'knows' and *midithir* 'judges' (plus compounds) acquired the basic *s*-fut. stems *fías-* and *mías-* respectively. Before a vowel these were reduced to *fess-* and *mess-* identical to the corresponding *s*-subj. forms and, in the case of the former at least, this state of affairs sometimes led to confusion between subj. *fes-* and fut. *fías-* before a consonant too: e.g., 3sg. subj. *-festar* or *-fíastar* 'may find out/know', *-mestar* 'may judge', fut. *-fíastar* 'will find out/know', *-míastar* 'will judge', 3pl. subj./fut. *-fessatar* 'may/will find out/know', *-messatar* 'may/will judge'.

(b) Otherwise the relationship between and *s*-subjunctive and corresponding *s*-future was similar to the basic one between an *a*-subjunctive and corresponding *a*-future insofar as the *s*-subjunctive stem was unreduplicated and that of the *s*-future reduplicated with the help of *-i-*. Typical examples of this **reduplicated *s*-future** are: 3sg. *gigis, -gig*, 3pl. *-gig†set* 'will pray' (subj. *geis, -gé, -gessat*; S2 *guidid, -guid* 'prays'); *cichis, -cich, -cichset* 'will step' (subj. *céis, -cé, -cíasat*; S1 *cingid, -cing* 'steps'); *silis, -sil, -silset* 'will smite/hew' (subj. *sléis, -slé, -slíasat*; S1 *sligid, -slig* 'smites, hews'); *memais, -mema, -memsat* 'will break' (with lowering of *-i-* to *-e-* because of *a* in the root syllable; subj. *máis, -má, -másat*; S2 *maidid, -maid* 'breaks'); *sieis, -sia, -sessat* 'will seek' (subj. *sáis, -sá, -sásat*; S2 *saigid, -saig* 'seeks'); *ioirr, -iorr* or *-iarr, -íurat* or *-errat* 'will slay'(subj. *uirr, -orr, -orrat*, see VIII.5b; S1 *orgid, -oirg* 'slays'); 3sg. *fo:lil*, prot. *-fóíl*, 3pl. *fo:lilsat*, prot. *-fóílsat* 'will suffer' (subj. *fo:ló, -ful, fo:lósat, -fulsat*; S1 *fo:loing* 'suffers'); 3sg. *fo:cicherr, -fóícherr*, 3pl. *fo:cichret, -fóíchret* 'will put' (subj. *fo:cerr, fo:cerrat*, see VIII.5b; S1 *fo:ceird, -cuirethar* 'puts').

It is to be noted that the future is the only stem of *fo:ceird* with a standard prototonic dependent form instead of an appropriate form of suppletive *-cuirethar* (VII.B.2a). Prototonic *-fóíl-* and *-fóích-* derive from **-folil-* and **-fochich-* by dissimilatory loss of a lenited consonant between a stressed vowel and an unstressed vowel followed by the same consonant or an unlenited equivalent, whence also *-táet* from **-tathet* as the prototonic from of *do:tét* 'comes' (see vocabulary). Like the *s*-preterite and *s*-subjunctive, the *s*-future displays *-s(s)-* (except where *-r/ls-* had been assimilated to *-rr-, -ll-*) everywhere except the 3sg. conj. act., which invariably lacks it. Moreover, in the *s*-future (except for the *-rr(-), -ll(-)* subtype) the vowel of an unstressed root was lost completely in the 3sg. conj. (as in *-gi-g, -ci-ch, -si-l, -li-l* above) unless the stressed syllable of the corresponding *s*-subjunctive contained *-á-*, in which case this was retained as short *-a* in the 3sg. conj. of the reduplicated *s*-future (as in *-me-ma, -si-a* above). See VIII.5b for a slightly different distribution of these two variants in the 3sg. conj. of the *s*-subjunctive with unstressed root.

(c) In compounds with two preverbs or in the prototonic forms of those with a single preverb, the future reduplicator was liable to loss through the normal workings of syncope, e.g. 1sg. *do:fo-nus* 'I shall wash' (for *-ninus*; S1 *fo:nig*) or 3pl. *con:u-tsat* 'they will build' (for **did(i)set*; S1

con:u-t(a)ing). It is, however, to be noted that these forms are not the historically regular outcome of syncopated **-fon(i)nus* and **con:u-t(i)desat* since the lost front vowel should have resulted in palatal *-n-* and *-t-* by 2b above and in the second example the vowel before the *-s-* should have escaped syncope by virtue of being in the underlying third syllable after the stressed one. Consequently **-fo(i)nius* and **con:u(i)tesat* might have been expected here but it seems that in such cases loss of the characteristic reduplicator usually caused the *s*-future to become identical with the corresponding *s*-subjunctive according to the pattern seen in a above. A vestigial survival of the *s*-subjunctive as a distinctive 3sg. passive (notably *-a-ccastar* 'may be seen', *do:é-castar* 'may be beheld') in the otherwise *e-/a*-subjunctive paradigm of *-ci* compounds has been noted in VIII.3. In the future such survivals are somewhat more extensive alongside the more normal *i*-future in 5 above: e.g., 1sg. *do:é-cuchus* 'I shall behold' (with analogically restored unstressed reduplicator; H2 *do:é-ci* 'beholds, looks at'), 3pl. *ad:cichset* 'they shall see, 3sg. pass. *ad:cigestar* 'will be seen' (H2 *ad:cí* 'sees').

(d) The following are typical paradigms of the *s*-future, using the S1 cpd. *a-t(a):raig* 'raises himself (/herself), rises' to illustrate the unreduplicated *s*-future described in 6a above (basically identical to *s*-subj. of *guidid* in VIII.5a except for 1sg. abs. and 3sg. pass. with stressed root) and S2 simple *guidid* 'prays', *saigid* 'breaks' (conj. forms only given for the latter) plus S1 cpd. *fo:ceird* 'puts, throws' (deut. only given - to get corresponding prot. forms simply substitute *-foích-* as in 6b above for *fo:cich-*) to illustrate the main varieties of the reduplicated *s*-future enumerated in b above.

1sg.	*a-tam:res(s)*	*-érus*	*gigsea*	*-gigius*	*-sius*	*fo:cichur(r)*
2sg.	*a-tat:reis(s)*	*-éris*	*gigsi*	*-gigis*	*-sieis*	*fo:cichir(r)*
3sg.	*a-t(a):ré*	*-éir*	*gigis*	*-gig*	*-sia*	*fo:cicher(r)*
pass.			*gigistir*	*-gigestar*		
rel.			*giges* (pass. *gigestar*)			
1pl.	*a-tan:ressam*	*-éirsem*	*gigsim(m)i*	*-gigsem*	*-sessam*	*fo:cichrem*
rel.			*gigsim(m)e*			*fo:cichrid*
2pl.	*a-tob:re(i)ssid*	*-éirsid*	*gigest(a)e*	*-gigsid*	*-sess(a)id*	*fo:cichret*
3pl.	*a-ta:ressat*	*-éirset*	*gigsit*	*-gigset*	*-sessat*	
pass.			*gigsitir*	*-gigsetar*		
rel.			*gigsite* (pass. *gigsetar*)			

7. Reading practice.
(a) The slightly modified excerpt from her Old Irish Life below tells how Brigit persuaded no less a person than the poet Dubthach maccu Lugair (see VI.A.6f) to abandon his wooing of her and seek another. She then showed great determination in resisting family pressure upon her to marry until her father finally granted her permission to take the veil in the short speech already given in V.D.3a. A present subjunctive might have been expected after *cacha* but the future indicative presumably implies that Brigit has a clear notion of what Dubthach will actually say after she has blessed his mouth. A similar certainty is implied by the preceding *co-mba* 'so that it will be' with future copula rather than *co-ndib* 'so that it may be' with subjunctive..

Gair íarum do:lluid fer do thig Dubthaig do thochmurc Brigte. Dubthach didiu a ainm-side moccu Lugair. Ba maith li-a athair ⁊ li-a bráithrea aní sin. 'Is ansae dam' ol Brigit, 'fo bíth idbarte m'óge do Dia. Do:bér a chomairli duit. A:tá fidbad fri-t tech-su aníar ⁊ a:tá ingen álaind. Ar:nenustar duit

⁊ is ed a chomarde duit. F-a:ricfae in les n-oíbélae ⁊ bieid ind ingen oc folcud chinn a athar ⁊ bit fáilti frit ⁊ sénfa-sa do gnúis ⁊ t'erlabrai comba tol doib cacha:ráidfe. Do:gníth samlaith amal as:mbert Brigit. Ba sáeth li-a bráithrea gat di-si in tinscrai erru. Bátar doíni dommi hi fochraíb do thig Dubthaig. Luid-si lae n-and ⁊ eréne bec fuiri doib. Con:ráncatar a bráithir frie-si, maic a athar. Do:lotar de Maig Liphi. Boí drécht diib oc gáirib impe. Lín aile níptar fáilti frie, .i. Bacéne as:bert: 'Int súil álaind fil it chiunn-su ar:nenustar do fiur cith scíth lat'. La sodain ad:aig-si a mmér foa súil fo chétóir. 'Asso duit in súil n-álaind sin' ol Brigit. 'Doig lim' ol-si 'ní:cuintea nech cuccaib ingin caích'. Con:rethat a bráithir impe-si fo chétúair acht ní:boí uisce occaib do díunuch in chréchta. 'Taibrith', ol-si-si 'mo bachaill immun fót so ar bar mbélaib'. Do:gníth són. Do:mmemaid srúaim assin talmain ocus do:bert maldacht for Bacéne ⁊ fora síl ⁊ as:bert: 'Mos:memsat do di súil i-t chiunn'. Do:gníth samlaid

(b) In the second half of *Immram Brain*'s second long poem, which is uttered by Manannán, a prophecy of redemption is made and is then followed by the final part below, in which the speaker foretells the birth and career of a wonderful son Mongán due to be fathered by him upon a mortal woman in Ireland. The context leaves no doubt that this remarkable sequence of verses is intended at least in part as an allegory of Christ's own conception and career. The metre is loose *deibide* with rhymes (some full and others of the *rinn/ardrinn* type; see V.A.3b) between the final words of the first two and the last two lines. In the first stanza *densa* is best taken as a preposed genitive depending on *gair*, and in the second the arbitrary change of *Lir* to *Lirn* in order to obtain a rhyme is noteworthy. In the third *ri(u)th* is most likely a dative without the preposition *i* 'in' or the like that would be expected in normal prose. In the sixth *roth imrén* is probably a preposed genitive (as also in the tenth) depending upon a following dative without preposition. In the ninth verse the pronoun of *oircth-i* seems best taken as proleptic to (i.e. anticipating) the acc. sg. m. *dracoin*, in which case *ail* could be the subject of the verb or else a dative of instrument ('with') lacking the preposition expected in normal prose.

1. *Sech is Manannán mac Lir*
    Asin charput cruth ind fir,
    Bieid di-a chlaind densa i ngair
    Fer caín i corpchrí adglain.

2. *Con:lé Manannán mac Lirn*
    Lúthlige la Caíntigirn.
    Gérthair di-a mac i mbith gnó
    A-t:ndidma Fíachnae mac ndó.

3. *Moíthfid sognáis cach síde*
    Bid tretel cach dagthíre;
    Ad:fí rúna rith ecni
    Isin bith cen a ecli.

4. *Bieid i fethol cech míl*
    Etir glasmuir ocus tír;
    Bid drauc re mbuidnib i froiss,
    Bid cú allaid cech indroiss.

5. *Bid dam co mbennaib arcait*
    I mruig i:n-agtar carpait.
    Bid écne brecc i llind lán
    Bid rón, bid elae findbán.

6. *Bieid tre bithu síru*
    Cét mblédne i findrígu;
    Silis lerca, lecht imchén,
    Dercfidir roí roth imrén.

7. *Im ríga la fénnidi,*
    Bid láth gaile fri haithne.
    I n-airtuch mroga ar aí
    Fo:cicherr airchenn a laí.

8. *Art ara:ngén la flaithi*
    Gébthair fo mac n-imraichni;
    Sech bid Manannán mac Lir
    a athair, a fithithir.

9. *Bieid bes ngarit a ré,*
    Coícait mblédne i mbith ché,
    Oircthi ail dracoin din muir
    Isind níth i Senlabuir.

10. *Timgéra dig a Loch Láu*
    In tan fris:silfea dán cráu;
    Gébthai in drong find fu roth nél
    Dund násad nad etarlén.

11. *Fossad ar sin imrád Bran,*
    Ní cían co Tír inna mBan.
    Emnae co n-ildath féle
    Ricfea fri fuiniud ngréne.

(c) The roughly tenth-century Tripartite Life of Patrick is, like the Old Irish Life of Brigit, written mostly in Irish with a fair admixture of Latin. It puts a prophecy concerning the arrival of the saint and his followers into the mouths of Lochru and Lucat Máel, two druids of the still pagan king of Tara Lóegaire mac Néill. The first part corresponds closely to a verse rendered in Latin and ascribed to the same pair by Muirchú in his seventh-century Latin Life of Patrick. The Irish version in the Tripartite Life might be a later adaptation of Muirchú's Latin version with the addition of a further verse. However, whereas a metrical structure based on a two- or three-stress line with disyllabic cadence accompanied by alliteration and matching compounds such as *táilchenn, cromchenn* and *tollchenn,* seem quite natural in Old Irish, the Latin version of Muirchú's *versiculus* or 'verselet', as he calls it, has no obvious metrical structure and uses the compounds *ascicaput, curvicaput* as well the expression *capite perforata*, which correspond nicely to the aforementioned Irish expressions but otherwise seem rather forced in Latin. It thus seems at least probable that Muirchú was simply translating the first part of an Irish poem already in existence in the latter half of the seventh century. The possibility thus arises that, where the two diverge, Muirchú's wording may be closer to that of the original than the Irish version preserved in a much later fourteenth-century manuscript. A case in point is ms. *a bratt tollchenn* 'his mantle with pierced head' versus Muirchu's *ex sua domu capite perforata* 'from his house pierced in the top' pointing to original *a taig thollchiunn* with regular alliteration as in the other three lines of the opening sequence. Muirchú has nothing corresponding to *tar muir meirchenn* but may well have chosen to omit this detail. On the other hand, his *incantabit nefas* 'will chant wickedness', which has no equivalent in the surviving Irish version, provides a highly desirable counterpoint to *respondebit ei sua familia tota 'fiat, fiat'* 'his whole community will answer him "so be it, so be it" and the almost identical Irish *fris:gérat a muinter huile 'amen, amen'*. This suggests that something like *do:cechna claíni* may have dropped out in the course of the Tripartite Life's transmission and a further accommodation to Muirchu's opening *adveniet ascicaput cum suo ligno curvicapite* 'an adze-head shall arrive with his crook-headed staff' can be obtained painlessly enough by reading *la crann* for *a chrann* and inverting lines three and four of the extant Irish text. The version below combines these proposals with some trivial linguistic normalisation.

1. *Ticfa táilchenn*
    tar muir meirchenn
    la crann cromchenn;
    a taig thollchiunn
    do:cechna claíni
    a méis i n-airthiur a tige;
    fris:gérat a muinter huile
    'amen, amen'.

2. *Ticfat táilchinn,*
    con:utsat rúama,
    noífit cella,
    céoltige benncha,
    bennchopuir ili,
    flaith im bachla.

8. The Conditional.

It has already been seen that the **imperfect endings**, which were invariably conjunct ('meaningless' *no* being prefixed to a simple verb in the absence of any other conjunct particle) and the same for both normal and deponent active verbs, were added to the present stem to make an imperfect indicative (V.E.1) and to the subjunctive stem to make a past subjunctive (VIII.7). When they are added to the future stem according to the same rules, the result is a so-called **conditional** tense or mood. Like Modern Irish and English, Old Irish use the same so-called 'conditional' form not only as a future tense in the past but also to denote potential or unreal conditions. Thus each of the conditionals in the passage in 9b below would have been a future if the verb on which they depended had been a present (other than the 'historical' present discussed in V.C.4b) instead of a preterite, i.e. *as:beir* (cf. English 'he says that he will') or *imm:comairc* rather than *as:bert* (cf. English 'he said that he would') or *imm:comarcair*. Potential usage is seen in 9a and it is to be noted that Old Irish (like Modern Irish but unlike Modern English) does not make any formal distinction between this type ('if X happened/were to happen, Y would also occur') and its unreal counterpart ('if X had happened, Y would also have happened'). The first two columns below entail the *f*-future stem of simple verbs, one the normal active W1 *soíraid* 'frees' with prefixed *no* in the absence of another conjunct particle and the other the W2a deponent *ad:ágathar* 'fears' with prefixed negative (see VII.B.1e on dependent *-ágathar* without *ad*). The third and fourth give the deuterotonic and corresponding prototonic conditional forms of the S1 compound *do:beir* 'brings', which is characterised by an *a*-future stem with long *é*, while the fifth contains the conditional based upon the reduplicated *s*-future stem of the simple normal active S2 verb *guidid* 'prays'.

1sg.	*no:soírf(a)in(n)*	*ní:áichfin(n)*	*do:bér(a)in(n)*	*-tibér(a)in(n)*	*-g i g s i n (n)*
2sg.	*no:soírfe/ada*	*ní:áichfeda*	*do:bértha*	*-tibértha*	*-gigesta*
3sg.	*no:soírfe/ad*	*ní:áichfed*	*do:bérad*	*-tibérad*	*-gigsed*
pass.	*no:soírf(a)ide*	*ní:áichfide*	*do:bérth(a)e*	*-tibérth(a)e*	*-gigest(a)e*
1pl.	*no:soírf(a)im(m)is*	*ní:áichfim(m)is*	*do:bérm(a)is*	*-tibérm(a)is*	*-gigsim(m)is*
2pl.	*no:soírf(a)ide*	*ní:áichfide*	*do:bérth(a)e*	*-tibérth(a)e*	*-gigest(a)e*
3pl.	*no:soírf(a)itis*	*ní:áichfitis*	*do:bért/d(a)is*	*-tibért/d(a)is*	*-gigsitis*
pass.	*no:soírf(a)itis*	*ní:áichfitis*	*do:bért/d(a)is*	*-tibért/d(a)is*	*-gigsitis*

9. Reading practice.

(a) The passage below from the *Aipgitir Chrábuid* illustrates the canonical potential conditional construction corresponding to the plain future conditional seen in 4c above: each 'apodosis' (also a main clause in this case) is in the conditional mood rendered as 'would...' in English (note loss of the reduplicator by syncope in *-fud͡demtais* and then restoration of *-d-* /ð/ under the influence of unreduplicated *-fodaim* etc.) and the subjunctive in each corresponding 'protasis' introduced by *ma-ni* 'if not' is past rather than present.

Cethair trebairi inna mac mbethad .i. credbad inna tol, omun inna pían, serc inna fochaide, cretem inna fochraice. Ma-ni:credbatis inna tola, ní:lécfitis. Ma-ni:aigtis inna píana, ní:fomnibtis. Ma-ni:cartis inna fochaidi, ní:fudemtais. Ma-ni:cretis inna fochrici, ní:ricfitis.

(b) There follows the continuation of the part of *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* given in VII .A.8b down

to the first line of the *reicne* '(extemporary) poem' itself at the end of the text. The full text of the poem is preserved separately in a different manuscript from that containing the tale. Note the combination of 3sg. conditional copula *bed* (or *bad*) with the interrogative pronoun *ci* (or *cía*) 'who?, which?, what?'. See VII.B.1d for the rare 2sg. imperative deponent ending *-(a)e* seen at the end of this passage, and cf. IV.C.1b for the use of independent dat. *lín* 'with the full number' in the final section.

Fothad Airgtech, is dé as:berar; is indbas ba hannsam leis, ar ba hed a buinne niad ⁊ a di fallaing ⁊ a muintorcc. Fothad Cairptech, is dé as:berar, ar is slabrae no:n-ír mairc cona cairptib ⁊ is fris as:beirthe Fothad Dolus. Ba hán ⁊ ba hairgtech intí Fothad Canainne. Ba mind teglaig ⁊ slóig. Boí fíann láech n-amrae lais. Ba derscaigthech-side ar erriud ⁊ gráin ⁊ ordun ⁊ dechiult ⁊ tairpigi sech ócu inna haimsire sin.

Boí dano rígféinnid amrae la Mumain in tain sin .i. Ailill Fland Bec. Boí immarbág etarru dib línib ⁊ do:génset creich n-etarru. Ba hamru delb Fothaid ol-mboíe Ailill acht ba hamru ben Ailella ⁊ ba háildiu ol-daas ben Fothaid. Luid íarum Failbe ó Fothud do thochmurc a mná do chiunn Ailella. As:bert-si ní:tairged leu co:mbérad a tinnscrae dí. Con:mídir a tinnscrae .i. míach óir ⁊ míach findruine ⁊ míach crédumai. Rádid Failbe fri Fothad a n-aithesc sin. As:bert Fothad ro-nda:biad a n-í sin. Imm:comarcair in ben cibed hé cruth for:coingérad són ⁊ no-nd:gébad. As:bert-som bátar sé semmann i sleig cech fir do muintir Fothaid .i. da seim n-óir ⁊ da seim n-argait ⁊ da seim findruine ⁊ no:gébdais tri semann as cach sleig ⁊ fáicébdais tri semann i cech sleig ⁊ no:línfaitis tri méich diib .i. míach óir ⁊ míach argait ⁊ míach crédumai.

Do:lluid-si íarum i ndáil Fothaid ⁊ berid for aithiud leis. Luid dano Ailill Fland Bec lín a fíann i n-íarmóracht a mná co:comarnic fri Fothad issind aidchi chétnai co:fersat imairecc a ndib fíannaib. Con:diacht comthascrad doib. Do:cer Fothad and ⁊ díchenntair. Do:bert in ben do:thét i ndáil Fothaid a chenn cucci issin fert i:mbí. Cachain cenn Fothaid in reicne don mnaí and sin conid and as:bert: 'A ben, na-cham:acaldae' ⁊rl.

CHAPTER X
THE AUGMENT

1. Basic forms and functions.

(a) The use of preverbs in Old Irish is not confined to the production of lexical compounds such as the ones illustrated and discussed in V.B.1: e.g., *saigid* 'seeks' but *ro:saig* 'attains'; *bongid* 'strikes, cuts' but *con:boing* 'smashes, breaks'; *teichid* 'flees' but *a(d):teich* 'has recourse to, entreats'; *luid(ir)* 'moves' but *as:luí* 'absconds, escapes'. Certain preverbs, especially RO, COM and AD, can have a grammatical rather than a strictly lexical function when added to verbs and in that case are most conveniently designated **augment**: e.g., pret. *gabais* 'took' (S2 simple *gaibid* 'takes') but augmented *RO:gab* 'has/had taken', pres. *as:beir* 'says' (S1 cpd.) but augm. *as:RO-bair* 'can say', pret. *fris:ort* 'offended' (S1 cpd. *fris:oirg* 'offends') but augm. *fris:COM-art* 'has/had offended', pret. *con:scar* 'destroyed' (W1 cpd. *con:scara* 'destroys') but augm. *con:A-scar* 'has destroyed'. This handful of examples illustrates the two basic meanings of the augment, namely POTENTIAL ('can/could, is/was able') and RESULTATIVE or PERFECT ('has/had').

In principle the augment could be combined with any tense or mood except the imperative but in practice it was rare except with the preterite, the subjunctive and the present in roughly descending order of frequency. It seems that the future and conditional could not take an augment in perfect (as opposed to potential) function. Conversely, potential function cannot be demonstrated for the augmented preterite and this comes as no great surprise, since the difference in meaning between 'managed to do' and 'did' is so finely nuanced.

(b) The 'perfect' augment had, by contrast, already acquired a dominant role in the Old Irish preterite system, where the unaugmented preterite was essentially confined to use as a simple past narrative tense. Thus augmented preterites greatly outnumber unaugmented preterites in the Glosses, which belong to the expository rather than the narrative genre. The two longish Milan glosses (58c4 and 52) in VI.A.6a and VII.B.3h are unusual in containing a sequence of unaugmented preterites but that is only because they are brief narratives: it is significant that the explanatory coda to the second of these (*is du atlugud buide do Día íarsint soírad sin ro-nd:sóer ro:gab Dauid in salm so sís* 'it is to give thanks to God after that delivery whereby he (had) delivered him that David uttered this psalm below') reverts to the augment as does a subsequent non-narrative gloss *r-a:lléic húaid cen frithorcuin dó* (Ml. 53b6) 'he let him go without injuring him' picking up unaugmented narrative *léics-i húad* 'he let him go' in Ml. 52. It should be clear from this that the range of the augmented preterite in Old Irish was rather wider than that of the English perfect/pluperfect and that it is not always appropriate to use 'has/had' to translate it.

An Old Irish augmented preterite such as *ro:gab* corresponds to English perfect 'has taken' (or sometimes to the simple English past tense 'took') in relation to the moment of speaking or writing but to an English pluperfect 'had taken' when expressing a completed action in relation to that of another verb in the past tense. The basic rule is that the augment is added to a tense or mood determined by the normal rules of Old Irish syntax in order to give it potential or perfect meaning: e.g., *ma-ni:má fora cenn, ní:mema forsna bullu* 'if it doesn't break on the head, it will not break on the members' (i.e. 'if the head is not defeated, the members will not be defeated'; a typical OIr. future conditional construction of the type seen in IX.4b with subj. in the 'if' protasis and fut. in the following apodosis, usually a main clause as here) but *ma-ni:ro-ma fora cenn, ní:mema forsna*

bullu (Ml. 89c11) 'if it hasn't broken on the head, it will not break on the members' (with augm. subj. in the protasis to express an action due to be completed before that of the apodosis applies). The use of the augment will be explored further in the prefaces to various passages in the reading practice sections below, but a particular (originally potential) function of the augment with the subjunctive is worth mentioning at this point, namely its use to turn a main-clause imperatival subjunctive expressing an intention such as *do:logaid do chách* '(you are to) forgive everyone' (see VIII.1b) into a so-called 'optative' expressing a wish such as *d-a:ro-lgea Día doib* 'may God forgive them it' (Wb. 31a2; W2a *do:lugi* 'forgives' in both exx.). This duality presumably underlies the possibility of using either a plain or an augmented subjunctive in so-called 'final' clauses expressing purpose that were typically introduced by *ara* or *co* 'so that, in order that' in Old Irish: e.g., *do:beir-som ainm bráthre doib **ar-na:epret*** (3pl. unaugm. prot. subj. of *as:beir* 'says') *is ara miscuis in cúrsachad* (Wb. 7d8) 'he gives them the name of brothers lest they say that (that) the reprimanding is on account of hatred for them' (pres. subj. depending on pres. ind. *do:beir* in main clause) but *as:ru-bart Día hi recht ón ara:sechitis* (unaugm. imperatival subj.; see VIII.6b) *a thimnae **ar-na:ructais*** (3pl. pass. augm. subj. of *beirid*; see 4d below) *i ndoíri* (Ml. 125c2) 'God (had) said in the Law that they should follow his command lest they be carried into captivity' (past subj. depending on another past tense). It is to be presumed that, originally at least, the basic meanings conveyed by the unaugmented and augmented subjunctive in this construction were roughly 'with the intention that' and 'in the hope that' respectively, although this rather subtle semantic distinction may well already have been eroded in the Old Irish period.

(c) It remains to note that some verbs cannot take an augment and so do not have distinct perfect and potential forms. This restriction usually applies to compounds such as *ro:saig* 'attains' above that already contain *ro* as a lexical element as well as to compounds based on the roots *-ic* and *-gnin*: e.g., *ro:saig* 'attains' or 'can attain' or (in certain constructions) 'has attained', pret. *ro:siacht* 'attained' or 'has/had attained'; pret. *do:ánaic, (-)tánaic* 'came' or 'has/had come' (*do:ic, (-)tic* 'comes'); pret. *ad:géuin* 'recognised, knows' or 'has/had recognised/known' (*ad:gnin* 'recognises, knows'). The suppletive pret. *(fo)-fúair* '(has) found, got' (VI.A.4e) of *fo:gaib* 'finds' likewise resisted augmentation.

2. The augment *ro*.

(a) By far the commonest augment was ***ro***, which was used extensively with both simple and compound verbs. As its obvious relationship to the lexical preverb *ro* would lead one to expect, its basic behaviour was **preverbal**. Accordingly it turned a simple verb (e.g. W2a *léicid, -léici* 'lets') into a compound with an independent deuterotonic (e.g. pret. *ro:léic* 'has/had let', pass. *ro:léiced* 'has/had been let') and a dependent prototonic (e.g. *ní:re-lic* 'has/had not let', pass. *ní:re-lced* 'has/had been let') form (see V.B.2a). It added a further preverb to compound verbs. This was normally placed directly before the verbal root and at all events was subject to the constraint that **the preverbal augment could never occupy first place in a compound verb**: e.g., *as:bert* 'said', *ní:e-pert* 'did not say' (*t*-pret. of S1 *as:beir, -e-pir* 'says') vs. augm. *as:ru-bart, ní:é-r-bart* 'has/had (not) said'; *do:gáeth* 'deceived', *ní:to-gáeth* 'did not deceive' (*s*-pret. of W1 *do:gáetha, -to-gáetha* 'deceives') vs. augm. *do:ro-gáeth, ní:to-r-gáeth* 'has/had (not) deceived'; *do:léic* 'cast', *ní:te(i)-lic* 'did not cast' (*s*-pret. of W1 *do:léici, -tei-lci* 'casts') vs. augm. *do:re(i)-lic, ní:ta-r-l(a)ic* 'has/had (not) cast'; *imm:fo-l(a)ing* 'caused', *ní:im-(f)o-l(a)ing* 'did not cause' (*s*-pret. of W2b *imm:fo-lng(a)i, -im-(f)o-lng(a)i* 'causes') vs. augm. *imm:fo-r-l(a)ing, ní:im-(f)o-r-l(a)ing* 'has/had not caused'.

Where *-ro-* underwent syncope and was preceded or followed by *r*, the augmented and the corresponding unaugmented form might be identical (in spelling at least) or distinguished by no more than double *rr* (sometimes written *r* in accordance with I.B.2) versus single *r*: e.g. unaugm. or augm. suffixless pret. *do:etar-rid* 'comprehended, has comprehended' (< **to-etar-raith* and **to-etar-r(o)-raith* respectively; S1 *do:etar-rat* 'comprehends'), unaugm. pret. pass. *ta(i)rchet* 'was prophesied' and augm. *ta(i)rrchet* 'has/had been prophesied' (S1 *do:air-chain* 'prophesies'), augm. *s*-pret. *ad:rui-rim, -árraim* 'has reckoned' (W2a *ad:rími, -áirmi* 'reckons'). When *ro* came under the stress in a prototonic form, augmented reduplicated preterites were liable to undergo the dissimilation discussed in IX.6b: e.g., deut. *ro:memaid* 'has burst' (S2 *maidid*), *ro:cechain* 'has sung' (S1 *canid*) and *ro:leblaing* 'has leaped' (see VI.A.4b; S1 *lingid*) versus prot. *-róemaid, -róechain* and *-róeblaing* (also spelt *roí-*; see I.B.7).

Like any other preverb with an old final vowel (see V.B.2b), *ro* did not cause lenition in a main clause when pretonic but did lenite a following consonant when in the stressed part of the verb: e.g., *ro:car* 'has loved' but *ní:ro-char* 'has not loved'. This factor could have quite dramatic effects upon the augmented forms of compound verbs, especially in combination with the effects of *ro*'s extra syllable upon syncope patterns and with the various possible concomitants of syncope discussed in IX.2: e.g., 3sg. pret. *do:intai* 'returned' but augm. *s*-pret. *do:intarrai* 'has returned' (**to:ind-r(o)-hoi*; H3 *do:int-ai* 'returns' cpd. of *soid, -soí* 'turns'); 3pl. *s*-pret. *do:ec†mal†sat* 'collected' but augm. pret. *do:er†chom†lasat* 'have collected' (W1 *do:e-cm-alla* 'collects'); 3pl. *s*-pret. *do:sluind†set, -díl†tiset* 'denied' but augm. pret. *do:ríl†tiset, -der†laind†set* 'has denied' (W2a *do:sluindi, -dílt(a)i* 'denies'). Although the precise details are extremely variable, as the small number of examples just given shows, the augment *ro* can almost always be recognised in such cases by the presence of an *-r-* (often accompanied by further changes) that is not found in the basic (unaugmented) forms of the compound verb in question.

(b) The disruptive effects of preverbal *ro* before a consonant could, then, be considerable as well as bewildering in their variety. Before a vowel, however, *ro* generally underwent elision or, in the case of following **uss* (or **oss*), contraction (stressed *ro-u(ss)-* to *ró(ss)-* or, by II.A.4b, *rúa(ss)-*) in the stressed part of the verb and consequently had no effect upon syncope patterns etc. by virtue of not increasing the basic syllable count: e.g., augm. *t*-pret. 3sg. *do:rósat* 'has/had begotten/created' (unaugm. *do:fuisset* as with *t*-pret. *do:esset* from *do:essim* in VI.A.2; S1 *do:fuissim* 'begets' < **to:us-sim* with analogical *f-*), *ad:rópart* 'has/had offered up' (unaugm. *ad:opart*; S1 *ad:opair* 'offers up' < **ad:o(s)-beir*), *do:r'-ét* 'has/had protected' (unaugm. *do:ét*; S1 *do:eim* 'protects'); augm. *s*-pret. (deponent) 3pl. *ad:r'-áichsetar* 'have/had feared' (unaugm. *ad:áichsetar*; W2a *ad:ágathar* 'fears'); augm. *t*-pret. 3sg. pass. *ad:r'-anacht* 'has/had been/is buried' (unaugm. *ad:anacht*; S1 *ad:anaig* 'buries'). The formal simplicity of augmentation in cases like *do:rét, ad:ráichsetar* and *ad:ranacht*, where *r'* was simply prefixed to a stressed vowel, led to what may be termed **prevocalic** *ro* becoming productive before and during the Old Irish period. As a result it tended to encroach upon the domain of its more complicated preverbal counterpart (2a above), if the stressed portion of the verb in question began with a vowel: e.g., *s*-pret. *do:intai* 'turned', augm. pret. *do:r'-intai* (prevocalic) alongside *do:intarrai* 'has/had returned' (preverbal - see 2a above); pret. *etar:scar, -etarscar* 'separated', augm. pret. *etar:ro-scar, -etar(r†)scar* (preverbal) or *-r'-etarscar* 'has/had separated' (prevocalic; W1 *etar:scara* 'separates'); *t*-pret. *ad:opart* 'offered', augm. pret. *ad:r'-opart* 'has/had offered' (prevocalic) alongside *ad:rópart* (preverbal, above in present section). Because prevocalic *ro* occurred in a different position from preverbal *ro*, it could in appropriate circumstances be used with normally unaugmentable

compounds already containing *ro* (see 1c above) as it did not entail the unacceptable sequence *-ro-ro*: e.g., (augm. or unaugm.) *s*-pret. *as:ro-choíl(i), -érchoíl* '(has/had) determined' or prevocalically augm. *-r'érchoíl* 'has/had determined'. Under appropriate conditions it was also capable of replacing another preverbal augment such as *com* in 4b below: e.g., augm. *t*-pret. pass. 3sg. *do:rr'-ind-nacht* 'has been bestowed' and 3pl. *-r'-es-arta* 'have been smitten' beside original *do:é-com-nacht* and *as:com-arta* (S1 *do:ind-naig* 'bestows' and *as:oirg* 'smites' respectively).

(c) As indicated in a above, a combination of the preverbal augment *ro* with a simple verb entailed an independent deuterotonic and a dependent protonic form behaving like a similarly structured lexical compound (e.g. *ro:saig* 'reaches', *ní:ro-ig* 'doesn't reach'): e.g., augm. pret. *ro:an* 'has/had remained', *ní:r(r)-an* 'has/had not remained' (W1 *anaid, -ana* 'remains'). However, in such cases it was also possible to interpret proclitic *ro* as a conjunct particle, which would then be attached to another conjunct particle in proclisis rather than shifted into the stressed portion: e.g., augm. *s*-pret. 3sg. *ní:ro:an* 'has/had not remained', 3pl. *ní:ro:gab†sat* 'has/had taken' with **proclitic** alongside *ní:r(r)an*, *ní:rag†baiset* with preverbal *ro*. Unlike its preverbal rival, this pattern of augmentation produced no significant change to the stressed portion of the verb in relation to unaugm. *ní:an* 'did not remain', *ní:gab†sat* 'did not take'. Moreover, unlike prevocalic *ro*, it was not restricted to use where the stressed portion of the verb began with a vowel. In view of these formal and distributional advantages, it is hardly surprising that use of proclitic *ro* began to spread to compound verbs: e.g., 3sg. *s*-pret. *ní:togaíth* 'did not deceive', *ní:élai* 'did not abscond' with proclitically augm. *ní-ro:thogaíth, ní-ro:élai* alongside preverbally augm. *ní:torgaíth, ní:érlai* 'has/had not deceived/absconded' (W1 *do:gaítha, -togaítha* 'deceives'; S3 *as:luí, -élai* 'absconds'). It sometimes even replaced prevocalic *ro*, as in *no:scrútain-se... dús in:r'etarscar cairde nDǽ ⁊ a remcaissiu ⁊ ní:tucus-sa in sin, in-ru:etarscar fa naicc* (Ml. 91c1) 'I used to investigate as to whether God's covenant and his providence had departed or not' (3sg. *s*-pret. *-etarscar* plus prevocalic *ro*), and I did not understand that, whether it had departed (3sg. pret. *-etarscar* plus proclitic *ro*). As in the case of its prevocalic counterpart in 2b above, the position of proclitic *ro* made it a possible augmnent for hitherto unaugmentable *ro*-compounds: e.g., *s*-pret. 3sg. *do:ro-choín, ní:de-r-choín* '(has/had) despaired' (augm. or unaugm.) *ní-ro:de-r-choín* 'has/had not despaired' (augm.; W2a *do:ro-choíni, -de-r-choíni* 'despairs').

As a result of the introduction of prevocalic and proclitic *ro* as described in this and the preceding section, the formal impact of the augment upon the stressed portion of a verb could be obviated if the latter began with a vowel (e.g. deut. *do:intai*, prot. *-etarscar*) or was preceded by a conjunct particle and hence dependent (e.g. prot. *-togaíth*). Deuterotonic compounds with a consonant-initial stressed portion (e.g., pret. *do:sluind*) were now the only category that was still immune to such simplifying strategies. However, this obstacle was partially overcome by making it possible to shift from stressed to proclitic *ro* by attaching it to the pretonic preverb: e.g., augm. *s*-pret. 3sg. *do:ro-lluind*, 3pl. *do:rí-l†tiset* (influenced by unaugm. prot. *-díl†tiset* 'denied') with preverbal *ro* beginning to yield to 3sg. *do-ro:sluind* 'has/had denied', 3pl. *do-ro:sluind†set* 'have/had denied' with proclitic *ro*, as the latter were more similar to the corresponding unaugm. *do:sluind*, *do:sluind†set* 'denied' (W2a *do:sluindi, -díl†t(a)i* 'denies').

3. Reading practice.

Esnada Tige Buchet 'The Refrains of Buchet's House' is a fairly short tale making classic use of the so-called 'sovereignty goddess' motif, whereby a notable woman symbolises the kingship. Here

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the Tara kingship is represented by Eithne, whose foster father Buchet is a very apposite symbol of the good cheer and plenty supposed to accrue to the proper exercise of sovereignty by virtue of his being a *briugu* or 'hospitaller' charged with providing fitting food, lodging and entertainment to all comers. As represented in this obvious piece of propaganda for the Uí Néill kings of Tara, the key Leinster dynast Cathéer the Great son of Feidlimid is now a feeble old man unable to control his many sons, who repeatedly behave in a greedy, importunate and inconsiderate way towards Buchet. As a result the latter, an obvious symbol of Leinster's prosperity, is ruined and is forced to flee northwards with his foster daughter Eithne. There they encounter an important royal ancestor of the Uí Néill according to tradition in the person of Cormac mac Airt, whose generous and considerate treatment of Odrán contrasts markedly with the despicable behaviour of Cathéer's sons towards Buchet. Eithne duly bears Cormac a son and becomes his wife in a narrative representation of the passage of the Tara kingship from one dynasty to another. Buchet's prosperity is restored by Cormac and he returns with it to resume his proper functions in Leinster, the clear implication being that even the Leinstermen ultimately benefit from the propriety of the new dispensation. Although various Middle Irishisms would seem already to have established themselves in the presumably tenth-century archetype from which the surviving and in some respects rather divergent manuscript versions all seem to descend, it seems legitimate to restore Old Irish norms where appropriate on the grounds that an original composition of the eighth or ninth century is indicated by certain features of the tale's opening given here (see 5e/f below for the continuation and conclusion), particularly the sequence of potential augmented presents (from *do:gní*, *reithid* and *lingid*) in Cathéer's rhetorical reply to Buchet's petition.

Boí coire féile la Laigniu, Buchat a ainm. Tech n-óeged fer nHérenn a thech in Buchet. Ní-ro:díbdad tene foa choiriu ó ro:gab threbad. Ingen do Cathaír Mór mac Feidlimthea, do ríg Laigen in-a hucht, .i. Ethne ingen Chathaír. Da mac deac la Cathaír. Tictis-side do oígedacht ⁊ do acaldaim a sethar. Do:meltis oígedachta fichtib ⁊ tríchtaib. Ba robec leo-som ón co:mbertis ascaidi. Ba menic didiu a timgaire ⁊ a llín. Ma-ni:fagbaitis dano a llour do:gnítis míchostud. No:bered fer inna gerránu, a chéle inna serrachu, alaile géscae dinaib búaib co-ro:fásaigsetar maic Cathaír fo deoid conna:fárgabsat leis acht .uii. mbaí ⁊ tarb, bale i:rrabatar inna .uii. n-árgi.

Luid-seom íarum di-a accoíni fri Cathaír. Senóir dímiltne-side in tan sin ⁊ as:bert Buchet:
  A mmo choir Cathaír, co:toracht rúacbath úas Hérenn íath?
  At coimse mo chrod do-t chaínmaicniu.
  Cen chinta fíra foillsigthe fó.
  Ar ba fíu mo briugas-sa cach mbriugas con-a bésaib briugad in bith.
  Bid anim mór mo díth do Chathaír crích.
  Macne Cathaír ro:chloíset mo briugas búar.
  Buchat ní:bia feib ro:mboí riam co:rrí ailethúaith nad:rossat huí Feidlimthea Find.

Is and sin fris-gart Cathaír a n-as:mbert:
  Fír a Buchat, basa briugu bíata dám.
  Búaid do gal, do gart, do gaisced, do gen fáilte fri cach n-óen i-t midchúairt már.
  Acht con:messin-se mo maccu, ní:digéntais do chridi chrád.
  Nert ní:dernaim.
  Rith ní:rorthaim.
  Léim ní:rolngim.
  Rodarc ní: cían -cungnammar.

Rígiu do:rumult-sa .l. mblíadnae mbúan.
Acht con:messinn, do:fessinn do Buchat a búar.
Ní-m:thá-sa cumang duit, a Buchat, acht is áithiu cach delg as oa.

4. Other augmented forms.
(a) Virtually all compounds with *com* as first preverb and a consonant-initial remainder (a further preverb or the verbal root, as the case may be) are augmented by the insertion of **ad** directly after *com*. Thus 3sg. *s*-pret. *con:toil* 'slept', *ní:co-tail* 'did not sleep' (W2b *con:tuili, -cotlai* 'sleeps') and augm. pret. *con:a-tail* 'has/had slept', *ní:com-†-tail* 'has/had not slept' or 3sg. *t*-pret. *con:di-acht* 'requested', *ní:cuin-decht* 'did not request' (S2 *con:di-eig, -cuin-dig* 'requests', cpd. of *saigid*) and augm. pret. *con:ai-techt* 'has/had requested', *ní:com-†-tacht* 'has/had not requested'. The basic formal realisation of *ad* as a preverbal augment is well illustrated by these examples, namely (owing to regular assimilation of its final *-d* to a following consonant) stressed *a-* in a deuterotonic form and (owing to the further factor of regular syncope) nothing in the prototonic except an often telltale *com* regular before a pre-syncope vowel rather than *co(n)* by at least partial pre-syncope assimilation to a following consonant.

(b) About twenty compound verbs use **com** as an augment and typically place it directly before the verbal root. The most important group is constituted by various compounds of S1 *orgid* 'smites, slays' (which uses *ro* as a simple verb as in 3sg. augm. *t*-pret. *ro:ort* 'has slain') such as *fris:oirg* 'offends' with 3sg. augm. *t*-pret. *fris:com-art* 'has offended' or *do:ess-airg* 'delivers' with 3sg. augm. *t*-pret. *do:es-(c†)m-art* 'has delivered' and augm. *s*-subj. *do:es-(c†)m-arr* 'may deliver' (see VIII.6c). In the case of *do:ind-† naig* 'bestows', a compound of S1 *aingid, -anaig* 'protects' (3sg. augm. *t*-pret. *ro:anacht* 'has protected'), the insertion of *com* causes the preverb *-ind-* to be realised as *é-*, whence 2/3sg. augm. *t*-pret. *do:é-com-nacht* 'you/(s)he have/has bestowed'. Where *com* comes into contact with a following *f*, both sounds disappear as in the 3sg. augm. suffixless pret. *ad:cu-aid* 'has related' of S1 *ad:fét* 'relates. Occasionally stressed *-com-* is replaced by *-cóem-* under the influence of stressed *-róe-* for *-ro-* under the conditions described at the end of the second paragraph of 2a above: e.g., deut. 1sg. augm. suffixless pret. *fo:cóem-allag* 'I have endured' (< *-l†lag* < *-lolog* by IX.2d) but prot. 1pl. augm. *s*-subj. *-fo-chom-olsam* 'may we be able to endure' (< *-l†som* < *-losom* by IX.2d).

(c) Half a dozen simple verbs are augmented by one or more preverbs other than *ro*, *ad* or *com* alone. The most important of these are *laigid* 'lies' and *saidid* 'sits' with 3sg. augm. suffixless pret. *(-)dellig* 'has lain (down)' and *do:essid* or *(-)dessid* 'has sat/settled' respectively reflecting augmentation by prefixed *de-in-*.

(d) The augmentation of a handful of verbs is accompanied by **suppletion**, i.e. a change of root. The details are of some importance because the verbs in question, whether simple or compound, are particularly common. S1 *beirid* 'carries' is augmented by means of the preverb *ro* plus W2a *-ucc(a)i*. Thus 3pl. pres. *-berat* 'carry' vs. augm. pres. *-rucat* 'can carry' or (in general statements) 'have carried', 3sg. *a*-subj. *-bera* 'may carry' vs. augm. *a*-subj. *-ruc(c)a* 'may carry' or '(may) have carried', 3sg. and 3pl. *t*-pret. *birt, -bert(at)ar* vs. augm. *s*-pret. *ro:u(i)c* or (like elided *ric* for *ro:ic* in V.B.2b) *ru(i)c, -rucsat*. The only compound of *ber-* liable to suppletion (cf. *as:beir* with augmented *as:ro-bair* etc. in 2a above) is *do:beir* 'imposes, gives; brings, takes', which is unique in having two augmented forms corresponding to the first ('imposes, gives') and second ('brings, takes') of its basic meanings, namely W2a *to-r(o)-at-* and *to-uc-* respectively Thus in the sense

'impose, give' we find 3sg. augm. pres. *-ta-r†ti*, augm. *a*-subj. 3sg. *do:rata, -tarta*, 3pl. *do:ratat, -tartat*, augm. *s*-pret. 3sg. *do:rat, -tarat*, 3pl. *do:ratsat, -tartisset*, but in the sense 'bring, take' 3sg. augm. subj. *-tuca*, augm. past subj. *-tucad*, augm. pret. 3sg. *du:u(i)c, (-)tu(i)c*, 3pl. *du:ucsat, tucsat* (see V.B.2b on this elision).

S1 *tég-* 'go' (irreg. 3sg. *téit, -té(i)t*), has a suppletive fut. *(rig-* or *reg-)*, pret. act. *(lod-)* and pret. pass. *(eth(-))* in its unaugmented forms, whereas its suppletive augmented counterpart S1 *de-cu[m-f]ed-* (see 4b above on loss of *-mf-*) displays a normal combination of S1 pres., *s*-subj., *s*-fut., suffixless pret. act., and *-s(s-)* pret. pass.

		UNAUGMENTED		AUGMENTED		
Pres.	3sg.	*téit,*	*-té(i)t*	*do:coat,*	*-dichet*	(see end of V.A.2b)
lpf.	3sg.		*-téiged*		*-dichtheth*	
Subj.	3sg.	*téis,*	*-té*	*do:coí,*	*-dech(ae), -dig*	
	3pl.	*tíasait,*	*-tíasat*	*do:cósat,*	*-dechsat, -dichset*	
Past subj.	3sg.		*-téised*	*do:coísed,*	*-dechsad, -dichsed*	
Pret. act.	3sg.		*(-)luid*	*do:coid,*	*-dechuid*	
	3pl.		*(-)lotar*	*do:cótar*	*-dechutar*	
pass.	3sg.	*ethae,*	*-eth*	*do:cós*	*-dechus*	

A number of compounds of *tég-*, notably *do:tét* 'comes', *fris:táet* 'opposes', *for:tét* 'helps' and *remi:tét* 'precedes', augment suppletively in the same way as the simplex by substituting *de-cum-fed-* for *tég-* itself throughout, as illustrated by the forms of the common *do:tét* below. However, *im:tét* 'goes around' augments straightforwardly with pret. 3sg. *im:luid,* 3pl. *im:lotar* vs. augm. pret. 3sg. *im:ru-laid,* 3pl. *im:ru-l†datar.*

		UNAUGMENTED		AUGMENTED	
Pres.	3sg.	*do:tét,*	*-táet*	*do:dichet,*	*-tuidchet*
Subj.	3sg.	*do:té,*	*-táe*	*do:dechae/:dich*	*-tuidig*
	3pl.	*do:tíasat,*	*-táesat*	*do:dechsat*	*-tuidchiset*
Pret.	3sg.	*do:luid*	*-tu-laid*	*do:dechuid*	*-tuidchid*
	3pl.	*do:lotar*	*-tu-l†tatar*	*do:dechutar*	*-tuidchetar*
pass.	3sg.	*do:eth*		*do:dechas*	*-tuidches*

Fo:ceird, -cuirethar 'puts' (see VII.B.2a) combines *ro* as augment with a change of root to *la-*, and *ro-la-* is substituted for *cu(i)r-* in the augmented forms of all *-cuirethar* compounds: e.g., *do:cuirethar, -tochrathar* 'puts' with 3sg. augm. pret. act. *do:ral(a)e, -tarl(a)e* 'has put', pass. *do:ralad, -tarlad* 'has been put'. Whereas non-dep. *fo:ceird* has an S1a pres., *s*-subj., suffixless pret. etc. and dep. *-cuirethar* a W2b pres., *a*-subj., *s*-pret. etc., non-dep. *-la* basically follows an H1 pattern except that its *s*-pret. is not reduplicated.

		UNAUGMENTED		AUGMENTED	
Pres.	3sg.	*fo:ceird*	*-curethar*	*ro:lá*	*-rala*
Subj.	3sg.	*fo:cerr,*	*-corathar*	*ro:lá*	*-rala*
	3pl.	*fo:cerrat*	*-coratar*	*ro:laat*	*-ralat*
Pret.	3sg.	*fo:cairt,*	*-corastar*	*ro:laa/e*	*-ral(a)e*
	3pl.	*fo:cartatar*	*-coirsetar*	*ro:lá(i)set*	*-ralsat*

pass.	3sg.	*fo:cress*	*-corad*	*ro:laad*	*-ralad*

5. Reading practice.

(a) The following examples from the Glosses contain augmented preterites of *fris:oirg*, *do:ind-naig*, *con:ceil*, *do:lugi*, *ad:rími* and *con:di-eig* (see III.A.4 for *rupsa* or *ropsa*).

Wb. 33a12   *fris:comurt-sa fo díuscartach ł fu chésad rupsa frithortæ, fri-tum:chomart-sa arin cheinélugud hísin.*

Ml. 58a18   *ind roisc du:n-écomnacht-su dún, a Dǽ* (glossing Lat. *in ipso lumine* 'in the very light')

Ml. 49c9   *con:aicelt ⁊ do:rolaig in peccad ⁊ ní-n:árraim ar chaíri dó.*

Ml. 59c3   *is ed con:aitecht* tantum (Lat. 'only')*, dílgud a pecthae ndó hó Día ⁊ ní:comtacht cumachtae ndíglae fora náimtea.*

(b) The passage from *Aipgitir Chrábaid* below follows on directly from the first one in VI.B.4a. *Con:a-bbaing* (from *con:boing*) is an augmented form of the present indicative normal with *ó* 'when' and *-tuidig* an augmented form (from *do:tét*) of the present subjunctive normal with 'if (not)' as part of a general statement (*ní:cumaing* as a rule and not just at that particular moment), where both are best translated by an English 'have' perfect. By contrast *do:coí* (from *do:tét*) is an augmented present subjunctive with potential meaning in a 'that' clause depending on *ní:cumaing*.

Ó chon:abbaing inna tre fretech so isnaib téoraib tonnaib tíagde tairis, ma-ni:tudig tre tri lind a frithissi, ní:cumaing do:coí i flaith nDé, .i. lind dér n-aithrige, lind tofáscthe fola i pennaind, lind n-aillseo i llaubair.

(c) The following passage from the Old Irish legal tract *Críth Gablach* (see II.A.5b) gives the seven basic grades of secular society and then a more detailed subdivision into seven noble and eight non-noble grades. The text goes on to give an account of the salient attributes of the two lowest levels of the latter, namely the two types of *fer midboth* 'man of middle huts' or perhaps 'man of mead huts' (a term possibly deriving from a custom of having unmarried youths prone to wildness and intemperance live in a special 'kraal'-like settlement beyond the confines of settled society) . The first of these is a minor who has left fosterage at the age of fourteen but has neither inherited the property required of a *bóaire* nor reached the age of seventeen years. The second is made up of two quite different types. One of these was a free but propertyless individual of any age above seventeen years and was apparently also known as an *óenchiniud* or 'sole kin' on account of not being recognised as belonging to a normal propertied *ciniud* 'kindred'. The other was someone over the age of fourteen who had inherited the property appropriate to a *bóaire* but was obliged wait until reaching adulthood in his twentieth year before acquiring the full legal status pertaining thereto. The description of the *fer midboth imma:thoing smachtu* contains three augmented presents (*-ndichet* from *téit*, *do:ndichet* from *do:tét* and *-rogaib* from *gaibid*; *-roig* is unagumented because *ro:saig* is a compound already containing *ro*) expressing a perfect in a general statement that does not refer specificallly to a given moment and a fourth (*-comrai* from *con:oí*) that is potential in meaning. The definition of the *fer midboth con:oí insci* contains an augmented subjunctive (*-rogba* from *gaibid*) to express a perfect in a clause depending on another introduced by *cía* 'although', which typically takes the subunctive when part of a general statement.

Ceist. Cateat grád túaithe? Fer midboth, bóaire, aire désa, aire ard, aire túiseo, aire forgill ⁊ rí.

Mad a dligud ḟénechais is menbu sund fo:ndáilter inna .uii. ngrád so. Cía menbae? Bóaire con-a ocht fodlaib, aire désa, aire échta, aire ard, aire túiseo, aire forgaill, tánise ríg ⁊ rí. Cateat fodlai bóairech? Da fer midboth ⁊ óccaire ⁊ aithech ara:threba a deich ⁊ bóaire febsa ⁊ mruigfer ⁊ fer fothlai ⁊ aire coisring..... Fer midboth ima:thoing smachtu, im:toing ó ṡnáthait co dairt. Is ed lóg a enech di-a aír, di-a díguin, di-a esáin, di-a sárugud. Iss ed saiges a naidm ⁊ a ráth ⁊ a ḟíadnaise ⁊ a aitire. A bíathad a óenur, ass ⁊ grús nó arbur. Ní:dlig imb. Snádid a chomgrád tar-a thúaith fadesin ⁊ bíatair leis co:ndichet tar crích. Cid ara:n-eperr fer midboth dond ḟiur so? Arindí do:ndichet a mmaici, a dligiud altrama ⁊ nad:roig fertaid. In:forcmaither áes sainrethach dond ḟiur midboth ima:thoing smachtu? For:comaither áes cethéorae mblíadnae ndeac. Is airi ní:comrai insci ná fíadnaisi, ar ní hinḟíadnaise acht fri cach súaill re secht mblíadnaib .x. nad:rogaib seilb ná comarbus ria sin, mani-s:comathar fer Féne lais. Is é insin ima:thoing smachtu mruigrechta. In fer midboth aile con:oí insci, is trebairiu-side..... In:forcmaither áes sainrethach dó? For:comaither áes ó chethéoraib blíadnaib deac co fichtig co cúairtulchaigi. Cía beith ara:rogba bóairechas re síu ropo chúairddulchach, ní:íca a lugae acht a llugu ḟir midboth. Cía beith cen gabáil n-orbai dano co críni, ní:tét a luge ó ḟiur midboth beos. Biid a thauchreicc cóic ṡétaib. Molt con-a fosair bés a thige. Iss é bés óenchineda insin, fer na(d):treba seilb ná ferann dó fadeisin.

(d) The first short passage given from *Aided Con inna Cerdae* in V.E.2a continues its description of the young Cú Chulainn's prowess in repeatedly defeating the other youths as follows. The two sentences below contain examples of the rare augmented imperfect indicative (of *do:scara*, *do:rig* and *beirid*; *con:ric* is not only an *-ic* compound but also already contains *ro* and so cannot be augmented), here with potential meaning to denote Cú Chulain's ability to perform the actions in question again and again.

In tan ba n-imthascrad do:gnítis, do:rascrad-som inna tri cóecta mac a óenur ⁊ ní:comricced imbi-seom lín a thascartha. In tan dano ba n-imdírech do:gnítis, do-s:rerged-som uili comtis tornocht ⁊ nícon:ructais-som immurgu cid a delg assa brot-som nammá.

(e) There follows the continuation of *Esnada Tige Buchet* from where it left off in 3 above. The augmented preterites in the Odrán episode can be plausibly ascribed to its status as a flashback and rendered by pluperfect 'had been', 'had taken', 'had not let' etc. accordingly.

Luid Buchet for teiched úadib assin tír .i. fut inna haidche co matin i ngait co:mboí i Cenannas inna ríg atúaid ⁊ ba bec a n-immirge rucad and, .i. .uii. mbaí ⁊ tarb ⁊ é-seom ⁊ a chaillech ⁊ ind ingen, .i. Ethne ingen Chathaír. Bátar i mbothán biuc and atúaid ⁊ ind ingen oca timthirecht.

Is and didiu ro:boí Cormac húa Cuinn i Cenannas re síu ro:gabad ríge ar ní-r-a:léic Medb Lethderg hi Temair íar n-écaib a athar .i. i fail Airt ro:boí in Medb Lethderg do Laignib ⁊ ar-ro:bert-side a rríge íar n-écaib Airt. Ba hé domsod inna rríg didiu Cenannas. Conid íar ngabáil rígi do Chormac ro:clas lais in Temair .i. ferann Odráin sin .i. bachlach donaib Déssib Breg. In tan didiu ro:both oc claidiu inna rátha Temra la Cormac ad:rand a théora éigmea ass. 'Cid no:éigi?' ol Cormac. 'Éigim dochraidi', ol se. 'Fothugud do ríg Hérenn for-m thír ⁊ for-m thalmain co bráth'. In tan didiu ro:both oc intádud inte ro:éig-seom beos. Oc techt inte do ṡolud do Chormac do:bert Odrán a druim frisin comlaid. 'Cid sin?' ol Cormac. 'Na-cham:ṡáraigthe' ol Odrán. 'Is anḟír do ṡárugud' ol Cormac. 'Níba me-sse do:géna acht ma-ni-m:léicther ind ar lóg .i. do chomthrom do argut ⁊ accnamtha nónbair cecha nóna céin beo-sa i mbethu ⁊ tír bes chutrummae frit tír hi tóeb in tíre se fri athigid cucum-sa'. 'Is maith', ol Odrán. 'A:taat da port maithi frinn

andess amne', ol Odrán. 'Cía a n-ainm?' ol Cormac. 'Odra Temra', ol se. 'Bí-siu and dano', ol Cormac 'Odar etar Odra'.

Boí Cormac matain moich fecht and i Cenannas íar ngabáil rígi. Co:n-accae in n-ingin oc mlegon inna mbó. A cétmlegon i llestar fo leith, a ndeadmlegon i llestar n-aile. A-ta:cíd dano oc búain inna lúachra ⁊ medón in tuimm lúachra lee i n-airbir fo leith. Oc tabairt ind usci dano ass-a ur issa n-ala lestar a n-aill ass-a medón issa lestar n-aile. Íarmi:foacht fecht and intí Cormac in n-ingin: 'Cía:taí, a ingen?' ol Cormac. 'Ingen bachlaig thrúaig sund ucut', ol-si. 'Ceist. Cid imma:ndéni-siu in n-usce ⁊ in lúachair ⁊ a n-ass do chomrainn?' 'Fer ro:boí i n-airmitin riam' ol-si 'di-a:mberar a medón in lúachra ⁊ int íarmlegon ⁊ dam-sa a n-aill co-nna:roib-seom didiu cen airmitin do neoch fo:géb-sa. Dia:fagbainn-se dano airimitin bad moo, r-a:mbiad-som'. 'Is dóchu a fagbál duit' ol Cormac. 'Cía di-a:tabar ind airmitiu?' 'Buchet a ainm,' ol-si. 'Buchat Laigen ón?' ol Cormac. 'Is é immurgu', ol-si-si. 'In tu-ssu ind Eithne Thóebfotae?' ol Cormac. 'Is doig', ol-si-si.

(f) As pointed out in 1b, even in the 'classical' Old Irish period of the eighth and ninth centuries the augmented preterite was already widely used as a general past tense translatable into English as a 'have' or 'had' (plu)perfect or as a simple preterite according to context (e.g. 3sg. augm. pret. *ro:léic* 'have/had left' or simply 'left'). Only formal narrative continued to observe the distinction between a simple past expressed by an unaugmented simple preterite and a (plu)perfect expressed by an augmented preterite (e.g. 3sg. unaugm. *léicis* 'left' vs. augm. *ro:léic* 'has/had left'). During the transitional tenth century even this distinction was lost. Consequently from Middle Irish onwards the augmented preterite effectively replaced its unaugmented counterpart in all contexts, including narrative, although unaugmented preterites continued to be used as a simple past tense in writing, albeit quite inconsistently alongside augmented forms. The situation was not dissimilar to that found in modern French, where a 'perfect' such as *il a parlé* can mean either 'he has spoken' or 'he spoke' in normal speech and informal writing but a distinction between perfect *il a parlé* 'he has spoken' and simple past *il parla* 'he spoke' is maintained in formal writing. The difference was that, since medieval Ireland lacked an academy to regulate such matters, there was no consistent maintenance of what was now a purely literary unaugmented simple past in narrative writing. The basic point is that in texts produced or copied from the transitional tenth century onwards augmented preterites are prone to be used alongside unaugmented preterites as a simple past even in narrative. This feature can be seen below in the concluding part of *Esnada Tige Buchet* as it has come down to us. With the exception of *ní:foí* and copula *ba*, all of the preterites in this narrative passage are augmented despite corresponding to the simple past semantically in all or at least most cases. If, as suggested in 3 above, surviving versions (two of them in twelfth-century manuscripts) of *Esnada Tige Buchet* reflect roughly tenth-century reworking(s) of an Old Irish original, all or most of the augmented forms here presumably derive from that later stage. However, it would be risky to substitute unaugmented preterites for them in accordance with strictly Old Irish usage since we have no way of knowing how closely the reworking(s) may have stuck to the wording of a presumed earlier version. It is also to be noted that at least some of the augmented preterites in the Odrán episode above may be due to some recasting of the text after the Old Irish period rather than to the 'flashback' factor invoked in the introduction to 5e.

Íar sin trá do:cuas co Buchat di-a cuindchid. Ní-s:tarat-side ar nírbo leis acht la hathair a tabart. As:berat trá is ar écin rucad-si cucai-som dadaig ⁊ ní:foí leis acht in n-aidchi sin ⁊ as:rullai úad ⁊ issind aidchi sin do:ralae ina broinn in Corpre Liphechair mac Cormaic, .i. ro:car Liphe ⁊ i

Lliphechair ro:halt etar a máithrea ⁊ a aithrea. Ocus ní-ro:gab Cormac in mac co-ro:luigset Lagin corbo leis ⁊ robo í-si íar sin ba rígain i fail Chormaic. Ní-ro:gab immurgu cen a tinnscrae do Buchet. Is ed do:rat Cormac dó a rro:siacht a rodarc di múr Chenannsa etar boin ⁊ duine ⁊ dam ⁊ ech co cenn sechtmaine. Fo:rréimes a mbreth la Buchat dar Rigi fadess a rruc d' indilib i crích Lagen a frithisi.

Esnad tige Buchet donaib dámaib .i. a gen ngáire ass frisna dáma: 'Fochen dúib. Bid maith dúib. Bad maith dano dúib dún-ni lib-si'.
Esnad in choícat láech con-a n-étaigib corcraib ⁊ con-a n-erredaib do airfitiud in tan batis mesca. Esnad dano in choícat ingen for lár in tige in-a lennaib corcraib con-a mongaib órbuidib dar-a n-étaige ⁊ a n-esnad oc airfitiud int ṡlúaig.
Esnad in .l. chruitte íar sin co mmatin oc tálgud int ṡlúaig.
Is dé sin a:tá Esnada Tige Buchat.

(g) The following curious anecdote is found only in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster (see I.A.3), where it is one of a group of short tales (most of them also surviving in one or more Brussels manuscripts) concerning the Leinster saint Mo Ling, the founder of St. Mullins. In it the saint forestalls any untoward reaction to the sight of a woman's exposed crotch by impaling his member and then addresses a poem to his 'ugly lad'. This probably plays upon a formal identity of V gutt. *cath(a)ir* '(monastic) settlement, abode' in the 'short' dat. and acc. sg. (see II.A.3) with II *cathar* 'body/pubic hair', an ambiguity that may be rather inaccurately and feebly captured in English translation by means of 'nest'. The woman duly received a punishment to fit her crime, whereupon her hitherto recalcitrant husband *Grác* (II) ordered her to take their son to the saint (presumably in compensation for his damaged 'lad') and his community. However, in response to the husband's death in a raid and the woman's sorrow, the saint restored her son to her. In this way an opening dominated by conflict, crime and revenge (appropriately symbolised by savage hounds and their wild human counterparts, namely *fían*-members otherwise known as *díbergaig* 'reavers') leads up to a conclusion characterised by Christian reconciliation. From a linguistic point of view this short tale seems to be basically Old Irish with some Middle Irish features, the latter probably due at least in part to later scribal innovations. For instance, there is no shortage of unaugmented narrative preterites in conformity with 'classical' Old Irish usage but we also encounter augmented narrative preterites more in keeping with Middle Irish trends. This would point to a date of composition in or close to the transitional tenth-century (see 5f above). Be that as it may, the text below retains the distribution of unaugmented and augmented preterites in the surviving *LL* version but otherwise subjects this to generally trivial normalisation to the Old Irish standard.

Drochcomaithech ro:boí i n-ocus dó-som, .i. Grác ⁊ a ben, .i. Crón. No:bíd Grác oc frithtuidecht fris-sem. No:erbbad a mnaí dochum in chlérig. 'Tair dam.. do frithissi , a chlérig' ol Crón. Boí-som oc úaim ochrae imm-a chossa. Téit-sem issa lestar. Do-s:rig-si a gabail fris-seom. Boí a menad inn-a láim-sium. Do:bert tri-a membur co:rragab a llestar fris anís. Is and as:bert-seom.

> *Mo gillae-sa in conainech*
> *súail ní dianid robuidech.*
> *Tocair ass-a chathir féin*
> *i cathir a chomaithech.*

'Maith, a banscál' ol-se-som. 'Ro:ríastrat drochdóini do gabul combat sáithig dít.' 'Níba fír són'

ol-si. 'Ní:fil i n-Érinn ro-m:lamathar la-m chona.' Is íar sin trá táncatar díbergaig cuce-si co:ndechatar da fer deac díb fuiri, co:n-érbart Mo Lling.

> *Coin Cróne,*
> *Mathi oc imdegail tóne.*
> *Cid dia:mbíathaiter la Cróin*
> *coin nad:gabat oca tóin.*

'Maith' ol Grác. 'Beir in mac don bachluch dia altram.' Téit-si lasin mac. Nírbo maith di-si in n-aidchi sin lasna bachlachu. Do:dechatar immurgu Uí Dega co:rrucsat a chenn de-som féin, .i. do Gráic. Ad:fíadar do Mo Lling ón. Co:clos a guth-si arabárach a olcus dí in n-aidchi sin. Boí-som oc timchiull martar and sin. Is and as:bert-som oc-a déicsin-si.

> *A ben Gráce, is grácdae sin.*
> *In:n-éces duit Grác do guin?*
> *Ní:accim sund nech bad bind*
> *im géim ind loíg fil for-t muin.*

'Beir do mac lat, a ben,' ol-se-som 'indat baídi in bachlaig im-do mac.'

CHAPTER XI
FURTHER READING

1. Some recommendations.

By this stage the reader should be acquainted with the main features of the rather complex grammatical system of Old Irish and should be looking to broaden and deepen his or her knowledge. *The Early Irish Verb* (2nd. ed. Maynooth, 1997) by the present writer offers a more detailed account of the verbal system that uses the same basic notation as this introduction. Chapters 1 and 2 cover the workings of the system overall, chapters 3-7 the basic stems (present, subjunctive, future, preterite active and preterite passive in that order) and chapter 8 the personal endings, while chapters 9-11 offer a particularly detailed treatment of the augment's form and function. The paradigms in John Strachan's *Old-Irish Paradigms and Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses* (4th. ed. revised by Osborn Bergin, Dublin 1949 with several subsequent reprints) may also be consulted with profit but it is particularly important that the student now begin to make regular use of Rudolf Thurneysen's magisterial *Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin 1946 with subsequent reprints), which is quite indispensable as the standard grammar of the language. One problem confronting the move from this introductory work to the grammars of Strachan and Thurneysen relates to divergences in the classificatory labels used. As far as the verbal system is concerned, it is particularly unfortunate that Thurneysen uses A for weak (and hiatus) verbs and B for strong verbs in his grammar (*GOI*), whereas Strachan (*OIPG*) uses A for strong and B for weak verbs. In order to avoid further confusion the present writer has opted for the acronyms W(eak), H(iatus) and S(trong) in *The Early Irish Verb* and this introduction. The following concordance, which has been taken from p. 25 of *EIV*, should facilitate consultation of Thurneysen and Strachan.

EIV	*GOI*	*OIPG*
W1	AI	B(1)
W2	AII	B(2)
H1		*-a-*
H2	AIII	*-i-*
H3		*-o/u/e-*
S1	BI/III	A(1)
S2	BII	A(3)
S3	BIV/V	A(2)

Similar difficulties exist with regard to the inflection of nouns and adjectives. Strachan employs labels such as 'stems in -o-', 'stems in -ā-', 'stems in -i-' or 'stems in -s-' and Thurneysen combines essentially the same classification with a separate roman numeral for each category recognised, as in 'I. *o*-stems', 'III. *ā*-stems', 'VI. *i*-stems' or 'XIII. *s*-stems'. Terms such as '*o*-stem' are geared to the prehistory of Irish (see II.A.2) as compared with other Indo-European languages such as Latin and Greek. While these labels are perfectly accurate in this context and as such are quite meaningful and helpful to students of Old Irish who are also familiar with comparative Indo-European linguistics, they bear little or no obvious relationship to the Old Irish paradigms as actually attested (one will, for instance, search in vain for any *-o(-)* or *-s(-)* in the Old Irish inflections of the so-called *o*- and *s*-stems) and consequently offer next to no enlightenment or assistance to students of Old Irish lacking a background in historical linguistics. For this reason it seems best to follow Thurneysen's practice and, indeed, that of conventional Latin and Modern

Irish grammar by tagging a series of different declensions with distinctive numbers in the first instance. However, an attempt has been made not only to reduce Thurneysen's thirteen basic declensions to a more manageable six or so but also to make the numbers attached to these correspond to the five basic declensions derived from them that are conventionally recognised in Modern Irish grammar. Thereafter further subdivisions (e.g. IIIa and IIIb) are made by means of lower case letters but any such subdivisions of an overall declension class will generally be found to have certain significant features in common. The exception is VI with its three subdivisions, since this is essentially a residual category of declension patterns that do not fit neatly elsewhere. That said, the neuter declensions VIa and VIb do have something in common and it seems undesirable to lump the neuter *n*-stems (VIb) with the masculine and feminine *n*-stems (V nas.) as Thurneysen does, since their basic inflectional patterns are quite different in Old Irish. Be that as it may, the following table should enable the reader to correlate Thurneysen's (and in effect, apart from the numbers, Strachan's) system on the left with that used in the present work on the right.

I.	*o*-stems	I
II.	*io*-stems	IVa
III.	*ā*-stems	II
IV.	*iā*-stems	IVb
V.	*ī*-stems	IVc
VI.	*i*-stems	IIIa
VII.	*u*-stems	IIIb
VIII.	guttural stems	V gutt.
IX.	lenited dental stems	V lenden.
X.	stems in *-t* (/d/ < *-nt*)	V unlenden.
XI.	*n*-stems	V nas., VIa
XII.	*r*-stems	VIc
XIII.	*s*-stems	VIb

The main adjectival declensions recognised in this introduction, namely I/II, IIIa, IIIb and IV, have the same numbers as the corresponding noun declensions and correlate with Thurneysen's classes I (*o-/a*-stems), III (*i*-stems), IV (*u*-stems) and II (*io-/ia*-stems) respectively.

As far as further reading of texts is concerned, the more linguistically orientated student may well choose to read Strachan's (*OIPG*) selection of 387 glosses, which are accompanied by valuable notes and a full vocabulary. The latter does not specify a verb's conjugation as such and only gives the nom. sg., gen. sg. and gender of nouns. However, this information should suffice to determine a noun's declension with the help of the table in II.A.2. Thurneysen's *Old Irish Reader* gives portions of continuous glosses, including a section from Würzburg with detailed commentary, and other short pieces of prose (notably the Sletty episode from the Book of Armagh and the Cambrai Homily) and poetry (such as 'Pangur Bán') found in manuscripts emanating from the Old Irish period itself. Some of this material also appears in the present work, sometimes with omissions and/or spread over more than one section, and there is much to be said for (re)reading it as continuous text in Thurneysen's volume, the comprehensive vocabulary of which uses the numerical classification given above. The student desiring more entertaining prose reading is well served by the normalised Old Irish versions of eight fine episodes, notably Cú Chulainn's four longest 'boyhood deeds', in Strachan's *Stories from the Táin* (3rd. ed revised by Bergin, Dublin

1944 with subsequent reprints) along with a full vocabulary organised on more or less the same lines as that of *OIPG*. Much of *Echtrae Chonnlai* has already appeared as 'reading practice' in chapter VII above but anyone wishing to read the short Old Irish original in full may turn to the present writer's critical edition with notes and vocabulary (*Echtrae Chonnlai and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland, Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts I*, Maynooth 2000).The student interested in legal material would be well advised to take up *Críth Gablach,* the occasional passage of which has figured as 'reading practice' in previous chapters. D.A. Binchy's edition (Dublin, 1941; vol. 11 in the Dublin Institute's *Medieval and Modern Irish Series*) normalises this tract on status to Old Irish and not only has a full vocabulary but is also furnished with textual notes and an extremely useful glossary of important legal terms.

However, the editions of strictly Old Irish texts accompanied by a full vocabulary remain something of a rarity and the student will eventually have to make use of the large *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials* published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1983 under the editorial supervision of E.G. Quin. Needless to say, this invaluable aid will make a considerably wider range of Old Irish material available to the reader, notably the entire contents (glosses, occasional poetry, prose fragments etc. as well as editorially restored Old Irish texts of the hymns contained in the *Liber Hymnorum*) of the two-volume *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* compiled by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (Cambridge 1901-3, reprinted Dublin 1975). A number of verses from the Old Irish *Félire Óengusso* have already appeared in isolation at various points in the 'reading practice' and use of the RIA's *Dictionary of the Irish Language (DIL)* should enable the reader who has got this far to tackle the whole work, or at least the particularly interesting prologue and epilogue thereof, in W. Stokes' edition (*Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, London 1905, reprinted Dublin 1984). Various editions of Old Irish law tracts should also prove manageable with the help of *DIL*, notably *Bechbretha* ('judgments concerning bees') edited by Thomas Charles-Edwards and Fergus Kelly (Dublin 1983), Liam Breatnach's edition of *Uraicecht na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin 1987) and editions of *Bretha Crólige, Coibnes Uisci Thairidne, Bretha Déin Chécht* by D.A. Binchy in *Ériu* 12 (1934), 17 (1955) and 20 (1966) respectively. However, suitable texts of sagas are harder to come because most editors have understandably been reluctant to normalise these to an Old Irish standard on account of doubt in many cases as to whether the narrative in question was composed in the Old or the Middle Irish period. Given the dearth of saga material available in a form suited to the student as yet unacquainted with Middle Irish, the 'reading practice' below consists of a normalised Old Irish version of a heroic death tale which only survives in full in a single manuscript version replete with Middle Irishisms and which may or may not have been composed in the Old Irish period. Needless to say, this normalised text is offered in the same spirit as *Stories from the Táin*, namely for pedagogical rather than strictly editorial reasons.

2. Reading practice.

A non-normalised text of the relatively short saga *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair* (replacing earlier *maic Uthidir*, apparently under the influence of *Celt-char*) was included by Kuno Meyer on pp. 24-31 of *The Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Dublin 1906, reprinted 1937 and 1993). It is a narrative of considerable structural sophistication and literary interest (note, for instance, the etymology of *Sémuine* based upon *séim* 'slight, subtle' and a play on words with *muin* as 'trick' and 'neck'). Revolving as it does around the fates of a ferocious hound, a hero and a *briugu* or 'hospitaller', *Aided Cheltchair* has obvious affinities with the third episode in *Stories from the Táin*,

which tells how the young Sétantae slew the fierce hound of the hospitable smith Culann and thus acquired the name Cú Chulainn or 'hound of Culann'. However, whereas the latter story entails the ultimately beneficial fusion of the hound and its slayer into a mighty hero who enters the service of the holder of the feast, in *Aided Cheltchair* the hero slays the bestower of hospitality and eventually himself comes into the possession of a devoted hound. Hound and hero are inseparable at first but then split from each other with disastrous consequences for both. *Aided Cheltchair* is thus in essence an inversion of the pattern seen in the story of Cú Chulainn and the hound. As such it constitutes a negative counterpart of the latter's positive paradigm. Both narratives resonate markedly with another well-known tale about hound, hero(es) and hospitaller, namely *Scélae Muicce Maic Da Thó* or the 'Tale of Mac Da Thó's Pig', particularly its concluding Fer Loga episode. As the 'hero' of his death-tale Celtchar is represented as flawed, to say the least: he literally stabs the pacific Blaí in the back, kills his first two adversaries by means of ruses (the use of a female lover to get the secret of the otherwise invulnerable Conganchnes' one weakness possibly being suggested by the well-known biblical story of Samson and Delilah) and kills his own hound as it is licking his feet. If Cú Chulainn is the hero *par excellence* of the Ulster cycle of sagas, Celtchar is to all intents and purposes represented in this tale as an 'anti-hero'. *Aided Cheltchair* has obvious triadic aspects insofar as a 'love triangle' (Blaí Briugu, Celtchar and his wife Bríg Brethach) leads to the deaths of three important people (Blaí Briugu, Conganchnes and Celtchar himself) as well as to Celtchar's *éraic(c)* or 'wergild', a penalty for homicide entailing, in this case, not the customary payment but the removal of three serious afflictions of Ulster. These turn out to be Conganchnes or 'Hornskin', the Luch Donn or 'Dun Wolf' and Celtchar's own black dog, the Dáelchú, which is represented as one of a litter of three pups (the other two significantly being Culann's hound and Mac Da Thó's hound Ailbe) miraculously born from Conganchnes' buried head. Also noteworthy is the symmetry whereby a drop of blood from the dying Blaí near the beginning of the tale raises the issue of who is to avenge him and a drop of blood from the dead hound at the end encompasses Celtchar's death, the implication clearly being that Blaí's death (as well as that of the hound's 'father' Conganchnes) at Celtchar's hands is thereby finally atoned for properly (cf. Dubthach's judgment on St. Patrick's behalf in XII.F.2g) rather than by the mere *éraic(c)* imposed upon him in accordance with standard legal practice. In a sense the Dáelchú is the 'Hyde' to Celtchar's 'Jekyll' and one cannot survive without the other.

Cid dia:tá Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair?. Ní hannsae. Fer amrae de Ultaib, .i. Blaí Briugu. Secht n-áirgi leis. Secht fichit bó cecha áirge ⁊ seisred cecha áirge. Tech n-oíged lais. Ba geiss dó dano ben for dámrud di-a thig cen feiss dó-som lee mani:beth a fer in-a fochair. Do:luid didiu Bríg Brethach ben Cheltchair di-a thig-som. 'Ní maith a ndo:rignis, a ben,' ol Blaí Briugu. 'Is geis dam-sa do thuidecht cucum amal do:n-ánac'. 'Is fer trúag' ol in ben 'loites a gessi féin.' 'Is fír. Am senóir-se ⁊ oc mo gressacht a:taí dano,' ol-se. Foid lee ind aidchi sin.

Ro:fitir Celtchar a n-í sin ⁊ do:luid for íarair a mná. Luid Blaí Briugu co:mboí for lethláim Conchobair isin rígthig. Luid dano Celtchar in-a dead co:mboí for lár ind rígthige. Is and boí Conchobar ⁊ Cú Chulainn oc imbirt fidchille ⁊ boí bruinne Blaí Briugad tarsin fidchill ⁊ clandaid Celtchar in ngaí triit co:mboí isin chleith íarn-a cúl co:tánaic bannae do rind in gaí co:mboí forsin fidchill. 'Amin, a Chú Chulainn!' ol Conchobar. 'Amin dano, a Chonchobair!' ol Cú Chulainn. Do:mess ind fidchell ón bannai inunn ⁊ i lle dús cía díb diambo oicsiu. Oicsiu dano in bannae do Chonchobur ⁊ ba sia de co dígail íar sin. A-t:bath immurgu Blai Briugu. As:luí Celtchar co:mboí isnaib Déisib Muman tess.

'Is olc so, a Chonchobair!' ol Ulaid. 'Is totthaim nDéise in so. Bo lour in fer marb di-ar n-esbuid ⁊ ticed Celtchar di-a thír', ol Ulaid. 'Ticed dano', ol Conchobar ⁊ tét a mac ar-a chenn ⁊ tét i commairgi fris'. Ní:gaibthe dano cin ind athar forsin mac no cin in maic forsin athair oc Ultaib in tain sin. Luid-side didiu di-a gairm co:mboí tess. 'Cid dia:tudchad, a macáin?' ol-se. 'Co:ndigis-siu don tír' ol in gillae. 'Ci-ssi comairce do:thét frim?' ol-se. 'Me-se' ol in gillae. 'Fír', ol-se. 'Is séim in muin do:berat Ulaid immum-sa, techt for muin mo maic.' 'Bid séim a ainm ⁊ ainm a chenéoil,' ol in druí. 'An-su, a gillai!' ol-se '⁊ rega-sa inunn.'

Do:gníther ón ⁊ is dé a:tá Sémuine isnaib Déisib. Is sí immurgu éraicc con:diacht im Blaí Briugaid, inna tri fochaidi ata annsam ticfaitis la Ultu do dingbáil díb.

Do:luid didiu Conganchnes mac Dedad do dígail a bráthar for Ultu, .i. Cú Roí mac Dairi maic Dedad. Fásaigistir Ultu co mmór. Ní:ngaibtis gaí no chlaidib acht no:scendis ass amal de chongnu. 'Dingaib dín in fochaid seo, a Cheltchair!' ol Conchobar. 'Maith ám!' ol Celtchar ⁊ luid di-a acaldaim in Chonganchnis laa n-and co:tabart muin imbi; co:ngell a ingin dó, .i. Níab ingen Celtchair ⁊ proind cecha nóna di-a tairiuc; co:tabart in ben bréic imbi co:n-epert frie in n-indas no:mairfide, .i. bera iairn, ot é derga, tri-a bonnu ⁊ tri-a luirgnea; co:n-epert-si fri-a hathair ara:ndéntis da mbiur móra lais ⁊ ara:mberthae bricht súain fair ⁊ ara:tecmallad slóg mór cuci. Do:gníth samlaid ⁊ ethae for a tarr co:tabartha inna bera la ordu in-a bonnu ⁊ sethnu a smera; co:tochar lais; co:ngat a chenn dé; co:tabrad carn for a chenn, .i. cloch cach fir tánaic and.

Ocus is sí fochaid tánaise íar sin, .i. in luch donn, .i. cuilén fo:fúair mac inna baintrebthaige i cuus omnai ⁊ ro:n-alt in bantrebthach comba mór. Fo deud dano do:ell for cáercha inna bantrebthaige ⁊ marbais a bú ⁊ a mac ⁊ marbsus feisin ⁊ luid íar sin co glenn inna mórmuice. Les cach n-aidchi no:fásaiged la Ultu ⁊ in-a chotlud cach dia. 'Dingaib dín, a Cheltchair!' ol Conchobar ⁊ téit Celtchar i fidbaid co:mbert cep fernae as ⁊ co:clas comfot a lámae ⁊ co:mberb i losaib tuthmaraib ⁊ i mil ⁊ i mbéoil comba boc rigin. Téit Celtchar dochum in deirc i:cotlad in luch donn ⁊ gaibid isa nderc moch re síu tísed in luch donn íarsind orcuin. Tic-side ⁊ a srón i n-ardi la tuth in chruinn ⁊ léicid Celtchar a crann tarsa nderc i mmag cuci. Gaibthi in cú in-a béolu co:mbert a fíaclai ind ⁊ leldar inna fíaclai isin maidiu rigin. Srengaid Celtchar a crann cuci ⁊ srengaid in cú isa leth n-aill ⁊ do:beir Celtchar a láim íarsin cep co:mbert a chride tar-a béolu co:mboí in-a dorn ⁊ birt a chenn lais.

Ocus a laa i ciunn blíadnae íar sin bátar búachailli i toíb chairn Chonganchnis. Co:cúalatar íachtad inna cuilén isin charn ⁊ do:cechladatar in carn ⁊ fo:fúaratar tri cuilénu and, .i. cú odar ⁊ cú minbrec ⁊ cú dub. Brethae in cú minbrec i n-ascaid do Mac Da Thó do Laignib ⁊ is imbi do:cer sochaide do feraib Érenn i tig Maic Da Thó ⁊ Ailbe ainm in chon sin ⁊ combad do Chulann cherdae do:berthae in cú odar ⁊ in cú dub Dáelchú Celtchair feisin. Ní:leiced-side a gabáil do duiniu acht do Cheltchar. Fecht and ní:boí Celtchar i fus ⁊ do:léiced in cú i mmag ⁊ fo:éimdetar in muinter a gabáil. Do:soí forsna cethrai ⁊ forna hindili ⁊ no:milled bí cach n-aidchi la Ultu fo deud. 'Dingaib dín in fochaid ucut, a Cheltchair!' ol Conchobar. Luid Celtchar dochum in glinne i:mboí in cú ⁊ cét láech lais ⁊ gairid in coin fo thrí co:n-accatar in coin cucu ⁊ n-a:ndírgi co Celtchar co:mboí oc ligi a cos. 'Is trúag ám a ndo:gní in cú' ol cách. 'Ní:bia-sa fo-t chinaid ní bas mó' ol Celtchar ⁊ a-t:n-aig buili dond lúin Cheltchair co:mbert a cride triit ⁊ co:fúair bás íar sin. 'Fé amae' ol cách. 'Is fír', ol-se la turgbáil in gaí suas co:memaid bráen fola de fuil in chon ar fut in gaí co:lluid triit co talmain combo marb dé; ⁊ fo:cress a gáir nguil ⁊ do:ocbad a liae ⁊ a lecht and. Conid hí sin Aided Blaí Briugad ⁊ Chonganchnis ⁊ Cheltchair maic Uithechair. Finit.

CHAPTER XII
A BASIC INTRODUCTION TO MIDDLE IRISH

A. Introduction.

As intimated earlier, the stage of the language known as Middle Irish is of crucial importance because it was used in writing from the tenth to about the end of the twelfth century, a period that witnessed the production and redaction of many vernacular texts. Indeed, the oldest extant manuscripts containing significant amounts of medieval Irish poetry and narrative prose date from this period, while similar material preserved in various still later manuscripts often bears an unmistakable Middle Irish stamp (see I.A.3) resulting either from composition during that period or from at least some degree of scribal modernisation of a presumed Old Irish original in the course of later recopying. Mention may be made here of a particularly important early Middle Irish text, namely the long metrical paraphrase of the Bible known as *Saltair na Rann* (*SR*) or the 'Psalter of the Quatrains', which is preserved in the twelfth-century manuscript Rawlinson B502 but can be dated with reasonable confidence to c. 1000. As noted at the end of I.A.4 and XI.1, normalised Old Irish editions of saga texts are particularly thin on the ground and the student interested in this substantial material, which is with some justice widely regarded as the most alluring part of the surviving medieval Irish textual corpus, will ultimately have no choice but to come to terms with Middle Irish. To date, the only comprehensive treatment of this phase of the language is Liam Breatnach's book-length chapter entitled 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge' on pages 221-333 of *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta* (edited by K. McCone, D. McManus, C. Ó Háinle, N. Williams and L. Breatnach; Maigh Nuad, 1994), while the long final chapter (pp.163-248) of *The Early Irish Verb* has already been alluded to (I.A.4) as a reasonably detailed account in English of developments in the Middle Irish verbal system. Access to the former is inevitably restricted on account of its having been written in Irish, while the latter only covers the verbal system and does this in more detail than can be readily assimilated by a first-time learner of Middle Irish. Consequently it has seemed desirable to conclude the present work with a chapter offering an introduction in English to the more salient aspects of Middle Irish grammar as a whole and accompanying this with some suitable Middle Irish material for initial reading practice. Needless to say, this final chapter is heavily indebted to both of the aforementioned works, one or, if possible, both of which should be consulted for further details after the basics have been mastered. It remains to remark that a brief account of the main changes in the sound system from Old to Middle Irish can be found on pages 140-143 of the present writer's book *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth, 1996).

It is to be noted that a number of developments typical of Middle Irish are also attested, albeit no more than sporadically, in Old Irish sources (see McCone, 'The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: Our Earliest Sources of "Middle Irish"', *Ériu* 36, 1985, 85-106). This points to the anyway intrinsically plausible proposition that the ordinary spoken language had evolved more rapidly than the learned standard language known as Old Irish but that the innovations in question only began to be more widely accepted in writing alongside older established norms from the tenth century onwards. This resulted in the rather permissive hybrid medium termed Middle Irish, in which innovatory forms reflecting changes in normal current usage could be freely mixed with a virtually full range of forms retained from Old Irish, a number of them doubtless no longer current in ordinary speech but hallowed by longstanding literary usage. Not surprisingly, interaction between these strata could

lead to so-called 'hypercorrection' or the failure to employ or reproduce a largely or solely literary form in accordance with earlier standard usage. Since the 'Old Irish' stratum has been dealt with in the preceding chapters, the description below will concentrate (as does the final chapter of *The Early Irish Verb*) upon the more important aspects of the innovatory stratum, whether these be due to changes in normal usage or to literary hypercorrection. ***It is, then, to be stressed that forms given as typically Middle Irish at various points below are liable to supplement rather than supersede corresponding Old Irish forms described in previous chapters. Older and later forms are not infrequently to be found side by side in a Middle Irish text, and it is for that reason that a basic familiarity with Old Irish needs to be acquired before it is practicable to proceed to Middle Irish. Middle Irish is too variable to be mastered by learning paradigms. Accordingly the treatment below seeks to focus upon the most important processes involved, which are numerous enough by any standard, and to highlight these along with appropriate cross references in the readings. It should then be possible to build upon this foundation by using the present chapter as a basic reference grammar when reading further Middle Irish material.***

B. Key sound changes.

B.1. Merger of proclitic vowels and of unstressed final vowels.
Old Irish had maintained a full distinction between five short vowels only in stressed syllables I.B.4). Before the end of the Early Old Irish period these had been reduced to three short vowel phonemes /a/, /o/ (written *o* or *u*) and /i/ in proclitics (see V.B.2b and VI.B.6a), while in the unstressed syllables of stressed words all non-final vowels but /-u-/ had fallen together as a so-called 'obscure' vowel /-ə-/ automatically coloured by flanking consonants (I.B.6). In absolute final position a full fivefold distinction between unstressed *-a, -e, -i, -o* and *-u* was retained in the first instance, but this became merely fourfold quite early in the eighth century as a result of the merger of *-o* with *-a* in this position (see I.B.4).

By the Middle Irish period any remaining distinctions between short unstressed vowels had been lost as a result of the conversion of all such vowels into an 'obscure' /ə/ similar to the unstressed vowel (in bold italics) of English words such as *f**a**ther*, *bigg**e**r, p**a**sta*, *jeal**ou**s*. Not surprisingly, this resulted in the widespread confusion of previously distinct spellings. To give a couple of examples involving proclitics, the preposition *oc* 'at' (OIr. /og/) could also be written *ac* or *ic* (all three = MidIr. /əg/) and the copula's 3sg. pres. *is* 'is' (OIr. /is/ > MidIr./əs/) became freely interchangeable with its relative form *as* 'which is' (OIr. /as/ > MidIr. /əs/), while *masu* 'if is' (OIr. /masu/ > MidIr. /məsə/) could be written *masa* and so on. Merger of the proclitic vowel of *ro:gab* 'has seized' (OIr. /ro/ > MidIr. /rə/) with that of *ra:ngab* 'has seized him' (OIr. /ra/ > MidIr. /rə/) led to *ra:gab* and *ro:ngab* becoming alternatives to the original spellings. Moreover, Old Irish differentiation of non-final unstressed /ə/ as in *as:rubart* 'he has said' from /u/ as in *as:ruburt* 'I have said' disappeared in Middle Irish when the latter became /-ruvərt/ and was often written *-rubart* too. One major consequence of the falling together of all final unstressed vowels (namely /-a/, /-e/, /-i/, /-u/) as /-ə/ was that IVa/b nouns or adjectives such as masc. *céile* 'client'(II.A.3) or *dalt(a)e* 'foster son', *guide* 'prayer' (II.A.3), *cride* 'heart' (II.A.4a) and *buide* 'yellow' (II.B.1) lost all inflectional distinctions except for the dat. pl. *-(a)ib* in Middle Irish, since previously distinct *céili, céile* or *céil(i)u* had become mere interchangeable spelling variants for /kēl´ə/ throughout. Similarly forms with preceding non-palatal consonant such as *dalt(a)e* (nom., acc. sg., gen. pl. in OIr.), *dalt(a)i* (voc., gen. sg., nom. pl. in OIr.) and *daltu* (dat. sg., voc./acc. pl. in OIr.) 'foster son(s)' became free variants in Middle Irish alongside *dalta* (all representing /daltə/), although the spelling *-u* was rare

outside the dat. sg. and voc./acc. pl. (where it could also be spelt *-o* as in acc. pl. *Ulto* for *Ultu* 'Ulstermen').

B.2. Shifts in syllable centre.
An essentially post-Old-Irish shift in syllable centre (e.g. short vowel *a/o/u* plus palatal on-glide *i* or short vowel *e/i* plus non-palatal on-glide > non-palatal off-glide *a/o/u* plus short vowel *i* or palatal off-glide *e/i* plus short vowel *a/o*) can be seen in the likes of OIr. *fer* /fer/ [feᵃr] vs. ModIr. *fear* /fʹar/ 'man', OIr. *guide* /guðʹe/ [guⁱðʹe] vs. ModIr. *guí* (older *guidhe*) /gī/ or /giyə/ 'prayer'. This led to spelling fluctuations of the type OIr. *coire* /korʹe/ `cauldron' or *laig-* /Laɣʹ-/ 'lie' but MidIr. *coire, caire, cuire* /kirʹə/ or *laig-, loig-, luig-* /Liɣʹ-/ and to occasional Middle Irish spellings such as *-chrean* /-xʹrʹan/ (OIr. *-cren* /-kren/ 'buys') and *-cear* /-kʹar/ (OIr. *do:cer* /-ker/ 'fell'). A related phenomenon was the Middle Irish tendency to insert a rounded vowel between stressed *e* and non-palatal *ch/g*, as in MidIr. *-deochatar* 'they went', acc. pl. *euchu* 'horses', *-geogain* 'killed' vs. OIr. *-dechatar, echu, -geguin*. Although not a shift in syllable centre as such, a sporadic tendency to front stressed *a* to *e* before certain palatal consonants may be mentioned here, as in MidIr. *geibid* beside more usual *gaibid* 'takes' or the common MidIr. *meic* (voc./gen. sg., nom. pl. of *mac* 'son') for OIr. *maic*.

B.3. Loss of hiatus and changes in the system of diphthongs.
Hiatus disyllables began to undergo contraction to monosyllables with a long vowel as early as Old Irish and by the time of Middle Irish contracted forms and spellings such as *óc* 'young', *déc* '-teen', *síur* (or *siúr* by B.2) 'sister', *cóir* 'right', *bíad* 'food', *a:tát* 'are', *bíd* 'is wont to be' were already markedly in the ascendancy over the corresponding disyllabic *oac, deac, siur, coir, biad, a:taat, biid* and so on that had preponderated in Old Irish. Similar contractions apply to hiatus pronominal forms of prepositions and to combinations of non-nasalising vowel-final prepositions with the vowel-initial possessives *ar* 'our' and *a* 'his, her, its, their': e.g., *dóib* for *do(a)ib* 'to them', *fríu* (or *friú* by B.2) 'towards/against them', *fót* 'under you' for *fout*, *léu/o* 'with them' for *leu/o*; *día/díar* (later also *dá/dár* by a combination of B.2. with the introduction of non-pal. *d-* from other forms) 'from/to his (etc.)/our', for *dia/diar*, *fó/fór* 'under his (etc.)/our' for *foa, foar*, *lía* (or *lá* as with *dá*) for *lia* or *lea* 'with his (etc.)', *ó* for *oa* or *óa* 'from his'. Since the possessive element tended to be obscured by this process, recourse was sometimes had to the pattern seen with vowel-final nasalising prepositions *i* 'in' and *re* 'before' with 3sg./pl. poss. *i-n(n)a* 'in his (etc.)', *re-na* 'before his (etc.)'. This could then be extended in Middle Irish to certain other non-nasalising prepositions with a final vowel to produce forms such as *ó-na* 'from his (etc.)' and *tre-na* or *tria-na* 'through his (etc.)' (for OIr. *tre-a*; *tre/tri* 'through'),

The replacement of forms such as IIIb *fius* 'knowledge' or I dat. sg. *ciunn* 'head' by the likes of *fis* or *cinn* with a mere non-palatal on-glide that was not indicated in spelling (until later - ModIr. *fios*, *cionn* etc.) is not infrequently seen in Old Irish but becomes appreciably commoner in Middle Irish (e.g. dat. sg. *fir* in F.2h below for *fiur* usual in OIr).

Confusion of the diphthongs *oí/óe* and *aí/áe*, which had begun in Old Irish (I.B.7), not only became endemic but also extended to *uí* in Middle Irish sources, where *(-)boí* 'was' is frequently written *(-)baí* (as sometimes in Old Irish) or *(-)buí*. This spelling confusion was probably due to Middle Irish merger of the dipthongs in question as a monophthong on the evidence of occasional examples such as *é(i)n-* for *óen-* 'one', *ébind* for *aíbinn* 'pleasant', *-fébair* for *-fáebair* 'sharp edges' *a:taí* 'you are' (/əti:/ rhyming with *do:gní* 'you do') and *druí* 'druid' (/drī/ rhyming with *rí* 'king'). The

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only Old Irish diphthongs unaffected by this Middle Irish tendency towards simplification were *ia* and *úa* (see I.B.7 and II.A.4b).

B.4. Reduction of proclitics.
Even in Old Irish, disyllabic proclitics are sometimes reduced to monosyllables by loss of a final or initial short vowel, but thereafter this rapidly became the rule rather than the exception. For instance, in Middle Irish those forms of the article that were normally *inna* (but sometimes *na*) in Old Irish (see II.C.1) are usually realised as *na* (usual beside occasional exx. of *inna* in F.2 below), *in(n)a* 'in his/its/her/their' may be reduced to *na* (e.g. *na chend* for OIr. *in(n)a chenn* in F.2a; cf. metrically guaranteed OIr. *fris* for prep. rel. *fris(s)a* in verse 3 of V.A.3b), *oca* 'at his/its/her/their' to *ca* (ex. in D.3c(v)), *immin* 'about the' to *man* (/mən/; B.1), OIr. *isin(d)* 'in(to) the' to *sin* or *is* (as in *is tig* < OIr. *isin tig* 'in the house, inside'; also < OIr. n. *isa* as in *is tech* 'into the house, inside'), OIr. *immar* 'like, as, how' to *mar* (ex. in D.3c(iv)), OIr. *ní-ro* or *co-ro* (X.2c) to *ní-r* or *co-r* (ex. in F.2e), OIr. copula forms such as 3sg. aug. pret. *nírbo* (III.A.5a) to *nírb* and so on.

B.5. Consonants.
The consonant system underwent little change between Old and Middle Irish apart from some assimilations and dissimilations, notably OIr. *ln* or *ld*, *nd* and *mb* > MidIr. *ll*, *nn* and *mm* respectively as seen, for instance, in *comallaid* 'fulfils' (OIr. *comalnaithir*), *ac(c)allam* 'address' (OIr. *ac(c)aldam*), *clann* 'offspring' (OIr. *cland*) and *im(m)* 'butter' (OIr. *imb*). The optional preservation of a spelling like *cland* after /klaN/ had become the normal pronunciation generated 'hypercorrect' spellings such as frequent *cend* alongside *cenn* 'head' (OIr. *cenn* /keN/) or occasional *ubald* alongside *uball* 'apple' (OIr. *ubull*) in Middle Irish. Certain consonant clusters tended to undergo metathesis, as in *é(i)stecht* 'listening, hearing' and *baistid* 'baptises' for OIr. *é(i)tsecht* (vn. of *in:túaisi, -é(i)tsi* 'listens, hears') and *baitsid*, *bérla* 'language' for OIr. *bélrae*, *bidba* 'criminal' and *didbad* 'extinction' for OIr. *bibdu* and *dibdud* (vn. of *do:bádi, -dibdai* 'extinguishes') or gen. sg. *lugbairt* for OIr. *lubgairt* in F.1(vii) below. Although lenited *m* and *b* (I.B.1/2) were clearly still distinguished from each other in Middle Irish, MidIr. *mebaid* 'broke' (OIr. *memaid*) shows dissimilatory loss of nasality after unlenited *m* plus vowel and MidIr. *náem* 'saint' (OIr. *nóeb*; see B.3 on confusion of the diphthong) manifests the reverse assimilatory acquisition of nasality after *n* plus vowel. Initial *mr-* and *ml-* had become *br-* and *bl-* in Middle Irish: e.g. OIr. *mrath* 'treachery', *mláith* 'smooth' and *mligid'* 'milks' but MidIr. *brath*, *bláith*, *bligid*. Occasional spelling confusions such as *anag* 'remaining' for *anad* and 'hypercorrect' gen. *mullaid* 'crown's' for *mullaig* suggest that the merger of lenited *d* with lenited *g* as /ɣ/ was already under way in later Middle Irish at least. There was also a Middle Irish tendency to voice *c-* to *g-* and *f-* to *b-* /v/ at the beginning of a proclitic, whence *go* 'until', *gen/gin/gan* (/gən/, see B.1) 'without', *gía* 'although', *bo* or *ba* 'under' (cf. also *ba:cheird* 'puts' for OIr. *fo:ceird* and so on), *bar* 'upon' for OIr. *co, cen, cía, fo, for*.

B.6. Orthography.
The spelling system used down to the end of the twelfth century, notably in *LU*, *LL* and *RawlB502*, is essentially that of Old Irish (see I.B.1-8) apart from the relatively minor changes and fluctuations resulting from the various phonological developments discussed in B.1-5 above. Consequently (diplomatic or other) published texts based solely or chiefly upon a manuscript produced in the Middle Irish period proper should present no undue problems, a case in point being the text from *LU* in F.2 below.

However, much Old and Middle Irish material only survives in manuscripts produced after the end

of the twelfth century and above all between the later fourteenth and the end of the sixteenth century (see I.A.3) in the so-called Early Modern Irish period, which was characterised by a good deal more orthographical experimentation on the part of scribes. Since quite a few published texts of Old or Middle Irish sagas (for example, Knott's 1936 edition of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* based on *YBL*) reproduce the orthography of a given manuscript written during this era with little or no alteration, the student wishing to go on to read or consult such editions (to say nothing of the manuscripts themselves) will need to gain some familiarity with the scribal conventions in question.

Some of the orthographic changes involved are quite understandable. For instance, /b/, /d/, /g/ could be represented after a vowel as *b, d, g* instead of *p, t, c* as hitherto (see I.B.1), and use was made of *h* to indicate the voiced (*bh, dh, gh* for O/MidIr. *b, d, g*) as well as the voiceless fricatives (OMirIr. *ph, th, ch*; see I.B.1). Nevertheless, considerable confusion resulted from failure to apply these innovations in a more than desultory fashion alongside the older system, the upshot being that postvocalic *b, d, g* could now represent /b/, /d/, /g/ or /v/, /ð/ or /γ/ (the latter only sometimes rendered unambiguously by *bh, dh, gh*) while postvocalic *p, t, c* continued to be ambiguous as to the differentiation between /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/. Later sound changes also played a role. For example, the widespread loss of a final voiced dental or guttural fricative in Modern Irish resulted in, say, *-(a)id(h)* or *-(a)ig(h)* being realised as /-ə/ and hence liable to be confused in spelling with *-a(i/e), -i/e* etc. A brief and pertinently illustrated discussion of factors such as these will be found on page 3 of Liam Breatnach's 'The First Third of *Bretha Nemed Toísech*' (*Ériu* 40, 1989, 1-40).

As if this were not enough, certain later scribal schools seem to have positively revelled in the changes or fluctuations in spelling to be seen in manuscripts produced over the preceding centuries and to have extended these with various degrees of elaboration to areas hitherto unaffected by them with what can only be described as often bizarre results. The details cannot be entered into here. The edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai* referred to in XI.1 discusses some of the peculiar usages to be found in one manuscript of this type, Eg(erton 88), on pp. 32-4 and 37, a practical illustration being provided by the comparison on pp. 11-12 between parts of the *LU* text of *Echtrae Chonnlai* and the corresponding passages in Harley 5280 (another important manuscript with exotic spelling tendencies).

As far as the present chapter is concerned, the Middle Irish system outlined in B.1-5 above should suffice. At a subsequent stage some idea of the further variations liable to occur in later manuscripts might be obtained from the textual notes on pp. 125-199 of the aforementioned edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai*. Each section of these deals with a small piece of text, a proposed restoration of the Old Irish original being followed by the actual readings of the extant manuscripts line by line underneath. These include *LU* with its more or less standard Middle Irish orthography, relatively 'normal' later exemplars such as *YBL* and the more 'eccentric' type such as *Eg. 88*. Each section then includes a discussion of the more significant or typical variants encountered therein.

C. Significant morphological developments outside the verbal system.

C.1. Loss of the neuter.

(a) The three gender (m., f., n.) system of Latin gave way to a two gender (m., f.) system in the Romance languages such as French, Italian and Spanish that developed out of it. A similar process took place between Old Irish with its three genders (II.A.1a) and Early Modern Irish (c. 1200 onwards), which (like the present-day language) had only masculine and feminine nouns. On this

basis the disappearance of a grammatically distinct neuter can be placed in the intervening Middle Irish period and texts preserved in twelfth-century manuscripts do indeed reveal a transitional stage in which attributes of the Old Irish neuter (such as art. *a* and nasalisation in the nom./acc. sg.) are sometimes retained (e.g. *a lathe* in F.2b below) but are often replaced by corresponding masculine features, given that masc. and neut. are regularly identical outside the nom./acc. in declensions (notably I, IIIa/b and IVa) containing both: e.g., nom. sg. I m. *in scél* 'the tale' for OIr. n. *a scél* in F.2a below, VIa m. *int ainm* 'the name' for OIr. n. *a n-ainm*, VIb m. *in tech* 'the house' for OIr. n. *a tech*, nom. pl. I m. *cinn* or *cind* (see B.5) 'heads' and *secht ndoruis* 'seven entrances' (see C.7 below), acc. pl. *cinnu* 'heads' /kiɴə/ for OIr. I n. *cenn(a)* (= /keɴ(ə)/ in MidIr.), IIIb n. *secht ndorus/ndoirsea* and m. *ní* 'thing' (e.g. F.2c) for n. *ní* '(some)thing'. More rarely, feminine features are substituted (notably in some VIa/b and IIIa nouns on account of a gen. sg. *-e* and *-a* /-ə/ respectively that were reminiscent of II *-(a)e* /-ə/): e.g., nom. sg. VIa f. *is í in muir* 'it is the sea' for OIr. n. *is ed a m(m)uir*, gen. sg. II f. *na tíre* 'of the land' for OIr. VIb n. *in tíre*.

(b) The use of nasalisation as a grammatical mutation declined in scope between Old and Modern Irish for various reasons, including the loss of a distinct neuter gender and a tendency to confuse accusative with nominative singular forms (see C.3 below). This inevitably resulted in considerable confusion, and hypercorrect nasalisation is found on occasion in Middle Irish in contexts where it was not employed in Old Irish, as in nom. sg. *a chetna coscur nglé* 'his first clear victory' (*SR* 5575; *coscar* I, m.) or *drong n-ingen, drong ngilla* 'a host of girls, a host of boys' (*SR* 6279; *drong* I, m.).

C.2. Reading practice.
Below are the title and opening of the first two sections of the text *Comthóth Lóegairi* or 'Lóegaire's Conversion', which has come down to us in *LU* only (in the hand of the probably twelfth-century interpolator known as 'H'), is given in full in F.2a/b below as it appears in Best and Bergin's diplomatic edition (or published transcription subjected only to the very basic type of editorial activity referred to in D.3b below) of *LU*. The text in F.2 abounds in Middle Irish features but the specimen in this section has been normalised to the Old Irish standard, changes to the text as preserved in *LU* being marked in bold italics. The reader should compare these with the diplomatic Middle Irish text in F.2a/b and seek to identify the orthographical (notably the failure of Irish scribes of all periods to use the length mark consistently and occasional omission of *h* to mark lenition of *t* or *c*, deficiencies that modern editors normally seek to correct), phonological (see B above) and/or morphological (notably C.1a) factors responsible.

*Comth**ó**th Lóegairi co cretim ⁊ a aided ad:fét **a** scél so.*
***Boí** comthin**ó**l fer n**É**ren**n**... i n-aimsir Lóegair**i** m**a**ic N**é**ill. Is d**é** imm**urgu** boí in comthin**ó**l sin..*
*im dála **in**na creitm**e** la firu H**é**ren**n** - **ó** desid **í**arom óg**e in**na cretm**e** la firu H**é**ren**n**...........*
*As-ro:chongrad **í**arom **ó** Loegair**iu** formn**ae** flath**e** fer n**É**ren**n** do thudecht i n-**ó**enmagin fri hóentaid n-imacallm**ae** im chorus a mb**é**scn**ai** ⁊ a rechtg**ae**..........*

C.3. Confusion of nominative and accusative forms.
A number of declensional classes (notably II, IIIa, IVb and all neuters) lacked any formal distinction between the accusative and nominative plural in Old Irish, and in Middle Irish this distinction was beginning to be lost elsewhere, as in I m. *na eich* 'the horses' (nom. for acc. pl. form as direct object; OIr. *inna (h)echu*) or IIIb m. *frisna srotha* 'against the streams' (nom. for acc. pl. after prep. *fri*; OIr. *frisna sruthu*). In V there is a particularly marked tendency to use OIr. acc. pl. forms such as *fileda, cairte(a), cathracha, aithre(a)* (with *-a, -e(a)* = /-ə/ by B.1) as nom. pl. in

place of OIr. *filid, car(a)it, cathr(a)ig, aithir* and so on (see II.A.3).

Similar formal confusion between the two is also found in the singular on occasion: e.g., II acc. (old nom.) sg. *delb* 'shape, appearance' for *deilb* or nom. (old acc.) sg. *bréic* 'lie' for *bréc*, IVc nom. (old acc., OIr. *aidchi* /-i/) sg. *aidche* 'night' /-ə/ for *adaig* (the new nom. sg. in /-ə/ conforming to a IVb pattern rather than IVc), V nas. f. nom. (old acc.) sg. *faísitin* for *faísite* /-ə/ (OIr. *foísitiu* /-u/). Where a nom. sg. replaced an acc. sg. form, the nasalisation originally proper to the latter (see II.C.2) might be either retained or dropped. Because of the frequency with which they were used with prepositions, verbal nouns were particularly prone to use an original acc./dat. sg. as a nom. sg., examples such as II *tabairt* for *tabart* 'giving' or *gabáil* for *gabál* 'taking', V nas. f. *dítin* for *dítiu* 'protecting' or *aicsin* for *aicsiu* 'seeing' being already attested on occasion in the Old Irish glosses.

C.4. Nom./acc. pl. -Cə versus gen. pl. -C.
The largest Old Irish classes of neuters and feminines opposed a nom./acc. pl. *-a* to an endingless gen. pl. as in I n. nom./acc. pl. *scéla* 'tales' vs. gen. pl. *scél* 'of tales' or II nom./acc. pl. *túatha* 'kingdoms' vs. gen. pl. *túath* 'of kingdoms'. The Middle Irish tendency (already discussed in C.3) to spread acc. pl. *-a* /-ə/ to the nom. pl. in V resulted in a significant increase in this pattern, as in nom./acc. pl. *cathracha* (V gutt.) 'cities', *tengtha* (V lenden.) 'tongues' vs. gen. pl. *cathrach* 'of cities', *tengad* 'of tongues' and so on. Not surprisingly, it then became rather productive in Middle Irish. In Old Irish the nom./acc./gen. pl. (e.g. *anman(n)* '(of) names') were identical in VIa but in Middle Irish the widespread pattern just described was exploited to produce a distinctive nom./acc. pl. *anmanna* /-ə/ vs. gen. pl. *anman(n)*. Its application in reverse to IVc produced distinctive new Middle Irish gen. plurals of the type *blíadan* alongside *blíadna(e/i)* /-ə/ 'of years' (OIr. *blíadn(a)e* /-e/), which had become formally identical with nom./acc. pl. *blíadna(e/i)* /-ə/ 'years' (OIr. *blíadnai* /-i/). Likewise gen. pl. *lepad* 'of beds' (nom. sg. *lepaid*) or *cnám* 'of bones' (nom. sg. *cnáim*) tended to replace *leptha(e/i)* or *cnáma(e/i)* /-ə/ (OIr. *lepth(a)e, cnám(a)e* /-e/) in IIIa, as these had become formally identical with nom./acc. pl. *leptha(e/i)* /-ə/ 'beds' and *cnáma(e/i)* /-ə/ 'bones' (OIr. *lepth(a)i* and *cnám(a)i* /-i/). In the case of IIIb there was similarly motivated pressure to distinguish an inherited gen. pl. such as *srotha(e/i)* /-ə/ 'of streams' or *doirse/i* 'of doors' /-ə/ (OIr. *sroth(a)e* and *doirse* /-e/) from nom./acc. pl. *srotha(e/i)* 'streams' or *doirse(a)* /-ə/ (OIr. nom. pl. m. *srotha(e/i)* /-a/, /-e/, /-i/ and n. *doirsea* /-a/; see C.3) but here the influence of class I (m., n.) with its gen. pl. identical to the nom. sg. proved paramount, whence new Middle Irish gen. plurals such as *sruth* 'of streams' and *dorus* 'of doors' (nom. sg. *sruth* 'stream', *dorus* 'door'). Likewise in VIa a new gen. pl. of the type *mag* 'of plains' (nom. sg. *mag*) began to replace an inherited *maige* identical with nom./acc. pl. *maige*. So prevalent was a non-palatal final consonant in new genitive plurals of this type that it was even applied to IIIa nouns such as *súil* 'eye' (II.A.3), with inherited palatal final throughout the plural as well as in the nom./voc./acc./dat. sg., the result being gen. pl. *súl* 'of eyes' in place of an inherited *súile* (MidIr. /-ə/, OIr. /-e/) no longer formally distinct from nom./acc. pl. *súili* (MidIr. /-ə/, OIr. /-i/).

C.5. Changes in declension.
(a) Declensions I and IIIb, which consisted of masculine and neuter nouns in Old Irish, were tending to become exclusively masculine in Middle Irish as a result of C.1 above. Remodelling of the gen. pl. in IIIb in accordance with C.4 above meant that the gen. sg. form constituted the only significant remaining difference between old neuters in these two classes, and this was partially eroded by a tendency to spread the gen. sg. of class I to class IIIb. The increased blurring of distinctions between masc. and neut. understandably led to a similar tendency of old IIIb

masculines to adapt a class I gen. sg. (see V.A.3b, verse 5 for a particularly early instance of gen. sg. *fis* guaranteed by metre) and then also a I m. nom. pl., which was naturally liable to spread to erstwhile neuters.

The basic results of these trends in Middle Irish may be summarised in paradigmatic form (*fer* 'man', *claideb* 'sword', *cenn* 'head', *dorus* 'door', *fis* 'knowledge') as follows, using -*a* and -*e* to spell /-ə/ after a non-palatal and a palatal consonant respectively but bearing in mind that the alternative spellings -*(a)e*, -*(a)i* or (especially if from /-u/ in OIr.) -*u* (e.g. acc. pl. *firu, fisu* or by extension *cinnu*) were available for the former and -*i, -ea* or (especially if from /-u/ in OIr.) -*iu* (e.g. acc. pl. *claidbiu* or by extension *doirsiu*) for the latter. See B.3 above on *fis, fir, cinn* for *fius, fiur, ciunn* in IIIb (except for the gen. sg.) and in the dat. sg. of I, while B.1 accounts for /dorəs/ or dat. sg. /klað´əv/ for earlier /dorus/, /klað´uv/ (although the older spellings *dorus, claidiub* remain common in MidIr., the former also encouraging a spelling *doruis* beside *dorais*).

		I m.	I n. > m.	IIIb n. > m.	IIIb m.
sg.	nom.	*fer, claideb*	*cenn*	*doras*	*fis*
	voc.	*fir, claidib*	*cenn*	*doras*	*fis*
	acc.	*fer, claideb*	*cenn*	*doras*	*fis*
	gen.	*fir, claidib*	*cinn*	*doirse/dorais*	*fesa/fis*
	dat.	*fir, claideb*	*cinn*	*doras*	*fis*
pl.	nom.	*fir, claid-ib/-be*	*cenna, cinn*	*doirse/dorais*	*fesa*
	voc.	*fira, claidbe*	*cenna*	*doirse*	*fisa*
	acc.	*fira, claid-be/-ib*	*cenna, cinna*	*doirse*	*fisa/fesa*
	gen.	*fer, claideb*	*cenn*	*doras*	*fis*
	dat.	*feraib, claidbib*	*cennaib*	*doirsib*	*fesaib*

(b) As a result of the developments documented in C.3 and C.4 above feminine nouns with a nominative singular ending in a consonant (i.e. classes II, IIIa (f.) and some IVc) were tending in Middle Irish towards a broadly homogeneous inflectional pattern with nom./voc./acc./ dat. -C or -C´, gen. -Cə or -C´ə in the singular and nom./voc./acc. -Cə or -C´ə, gen. -C, dat. -Cəv´ or -C´əv´ in the plural. As a result IVc virtually merged with II, and even a IIIa f. such as *geis* 'taboo' (nom./acc. pl. *geisi*) could acquire non-palatal variants from II such as nom. sg. *ges*, nom./acc. pl. *gesa*. Subject to spelling fluctuations reflecting Middle Irish phonetic developments, original Old Irish forms are still to be found as variants at those points in the paradigm affected by innovation. In the paradigms below (*túath* 'kingdom', *lám* 'hand', *buiden* 'troop', *súil* 'eye', *rígain* 'queen') /-ə/ will be spelled -*a* and -*e* after a non-palatal and a palatal consonant respectively but it goes without saying that the orthographic variations noted above apply.

		II	IIIa	IVc
sg.	nom.	*túa(i)th, lá(i)m, buid-en/-in*	*súil*	*ríga(i)n*
	acc.	*túa(i)th, lá(i)m, buid-in/-en*	*súil*	*ríga(i)n*
	gen.	*túaithe, láma/láime, buidne*	*súla/súile*	*rígna*
	dat.	*túaith, láim, buidin*	*súil*	*rígain*
pl.	nom.	*túatha, láma, buidne*	*súile*	*rígna*
	acc.	*túatha, láma, buidne*	*súile*	*rígna*
	gen.	*túath, lám, buiden*	*súl*	*rígan*
	dat.	*túathaib, lámaib, buidnib*	*súilib*	*rígnaib*

(c) As indicated in B.1 above, the Middle Irish merger of final short vowels as variously spelt /-ə/ obliterated all formal distinctions of case and number in classes IVa and IVb apart from dat. pl. /-əv´/ versus /-ə/ elsewhere. Although this formal ambiguity throughout the singular was generally tolerated, the need for distinctive plural forms was met by means of the pattern seen in a V lenden. stem such as *fili/e* /fil´ə/ 'poet' with acc. and (by C.3) in MidIr. often also nom. pl. *fileda*, gen. pl. *filed* and dat. pl. *filedaib*. Consequently forms such as *céile* 'fellow' (IVa m. in OIr.), *cride* 'heart' (IVa n. in OIr. > m. in MidIr.) and *slige* 'way, road' (IVb f. in OIr.), while remaining essentially invariable throughout the singular, developed the new 'dental' plural forms nom./acc. *céileda*, *cr(o)ideda* and *sligeda*, gen. *céiled*, *cr(o)ided*, *sliged* and even dat. *céiledaib*, *cr(o)idedaib* and *sligedaib* in Middle Irish.

(d) The distinctive pattern seen in V gutt. nom. sg. *cathair* vs. acc./dat. sg. *cathraig*, gen. sg./pl. *cathrach* and (in Middle Irish) nom./acc.(/dat.) pl. *cathracha(ib)* was prone to spread at least partially to suitably shaped nouns in other classes such as originally IIIa f. *Temair* 'Tara', which thus tended to replace acc./dat. sg. *Temair* with *Temraig* and gen. sg. *Temra* with *Temrach*, and VIc *athair*, which acquired a new pl. nom./acc. *aithrecha* and so on.

(e) It has been seen (II.A.3) that various subtypes of class V had a so-called 'short' dative (e.g. V lenden. *oíntu*, V gutt. *cathair*) and rarer 'short' accusative (e.g. V lenden. *oíntu*) beside the so-called 'long' form with palatal stem-final consonant (e.g. V lenden. *oíntaid*, V gutt. *cathraig*) and that these short forms were often identical with the nom. sg. (e.g. V lenden. *oíntu* 'unity', V gutt. *cathair* 'city'). These short dat. and acc. sg. forms had largely been ousted by long counterparts by later Old Irish but an already mentioned (C.3) Middle Irish tendency to confuse previously distinct nom and acc. forms combined with the aforementioned emergence of a new type with nom./acc./dat. sg. *céile* (or *athair*) versus pl. *céileda(ib)* (or *aithrecha(ib)*) to encourage acc. and dat. sg. forms identical with the nom. sg. in V alongside the still prevalent long acc. and dat. sg.: e.g., V lenden. sg. nom. *file* 'poet', *tenga* 'tongue' with acc. and dat. sg *filid/file, tengaid/tenga*; V unlenden. sg. nom. *cara(e)* 'friend' with acc. and dat. sg. *carait/cara(e)*; V nas. sg. nom. *brithem* 'judge' with acc. and dat. sg. *brithemain/brithem*; V gutt. sg. nom. *cathair* 'city' with acc. and dat. sg. *cathraig/cathair*.

C.6. Adjective and article.
(a) The Old Irish dative plural ending *-(a)ib* was generally retained in Middle Irish by nouns but replaced by acc. pl. /-ə/ in the case of the article and adjectives, whence, say, OIr. *donaib feraib maithib* 'to the good men' > MidIr. *dona feraib maithi* (or *maithe* etc.) or OIr. *isnaib túathaib becaib* 'in the small kingdoms' > *(i)sna túathaib beca* (or *becai, becae* etc.).

(b) The other principal Middle Irish developments in relation to the Old Irish paradigm of the **definite article** in II.C.1 were that *inna* was almost invariably reduced to *na* in accordance with B.4 above, that *ind* and *in* fell together increasingly with the initial help of assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (B.5), that nom./acc. sg. neuter *a* tended to give way to *in(t)* as a result of C.1 above, and that *(in)na* usually replaced *in(d/t)* in the nom. pl. masc. The upshot was a considerably simplified Middle Irish system with *in* (sometimes written *an* or the like in accordance with B.1 above) throughout the singular (except for gen. sg. f. *na* and the *int* variant used as in Old Irish in the nom. sg. m. before a vowel as well as in the nom. sg. f., gen. sg. m. or the dat. sg. before lenited *s*) and with *na* throughout the plural (*-sna* after certain non-leniting prepositions).

(c) As far as the main classes of **adjectives** (see II.B.1 for the Old Irish inflections) are concerned,

those in IV were reduced to a single ending /-ə/ (more or less indiscriminately spelt *-e*, *-i* or the like after a palatal and *-a, -ae, -ai* or the like after a non-palatal consonant) throughout as a result of B.1 and C.6a above, whence *buide/i* 'yellow', *rígda(e/i)* 'kingly' and so on for any case, number and/or gender. Class IIIa already had the same form (e.g. *maith* 'good') throughout the singular except for the gen. sg. f. (*maithe*) in Old Irish and a single set of plural forms regardless of gender. This system remained largely unchanged except that C.6a resulted in nom./acc. pl. *maithi* (or *maithe* by B.1) spreading to the dat. pl. and that the short gen. pl. form *maith* was generalised. In class I/II the m. and f. sg. (the neut. largely disappearing, of course) retained the same formal diversity as in Old Irish, although a dat. sg. m. such as *biuc* 'small' was liable to become *bic* (with non-palatal *-c* unlike identically spelled gen. sg. *bic* with palatal *-c*) by B.3 above. As in the case of the def. art. in C.6b, the original nom. pl. m. (e.g. *bic*) was giving way to the form with *-a* (e.g. *beca*), which was also ousting its OIr. acc. pl. m. alternant (e.g. MidIr. *beca* for OIr. *bicu/beca*). This development was presumably fostered by the acquisition of masculine gender by old neuter nouns with inherited nom./acc. pl. article *(in)na* and adj. concord in *-a* (e.g. *beca*). It combined with C.6a to produce a I/II pl. system essentially like that of IIIa, namely nom./acc./dat. pl. /-ə/ (e.g. *beca*, also spelt *becai, becae* etc.) versus endingless gen. pl. (e.g. *bec*) regardless of gender. In essence, then, adjectives in a final consonant were tending towards a homogeneous plural opposing gen. -C$^{(\prime)}$ to -C$^{(\prime)}$ə elsewhere (see C.4 above for a similar tendency in certain noun classes, due allowance being made for retention of dat. pl. *-(a)ib* in noun declension).

(d) The Old Irish system of **gradation** of adjectives (see II.B.3) underwent significant changes in the course of the Middle Irish period. The **equative** suffix *-ithir* (or *-idir*) gave way increasingly to *com-* 'equally' in composition with the positive form of the adjective, e.g. *combind* 'as sweet' or *comard* 'as high' for OIr. *bindithir, ardithir*, and the once unaccompanied accusative of comparison came to be preceded by the preposition *(f)ri* (or *re,ra* /rə/ by B.1; see also C.9b) 'towards, with a view to' as in Mid *bindithir ri/ra* or *combind ri/ra* X 'as sweet as X'.

The **comparative** suffix *-(i)u* obviously became /-ə/ in Middle Irish by B.1 and so was sometimes spelt *-e/i*, *-a* or the like (e.g. *sine* or *siniu* 'older', *calma* or *calmu* 'braver'). As such it was indistinguishable from the *-a* /-ə/ of some irregular comparatives and the latter were then not infrequently spelt with *-(i)u* as in *messu* 'worse', *nessu* 'nearer', *lethiu* 'broader' (for OIr. *messa, nessa, letha*) or even occasionally made to conform fully to the regular pattern (e.g. *síriu* 'longer' for OIr. *sia* corresponding to *sír* 'long'). As the main means of indicating the standard of comparison (Eng. 'than'), *in-* (now /ən-/ by B.1 and so often written *an-)* tended to supplant the *ol-* variant commoner before appropriate nasalised forms of the substantive verb in Old Irish (see IV.C.3e), as in 1 sg. *an-dú-sa* 'than I (am)' (OIr. *in-dó-sa* beside commoner *ol-dó-sa*), 3sg. *an-dás* 'than (is)' or *innás* (both /əNās/ by B.5; by B.3 from OIr. *in-daas* beside commoner *ol-daas*). Understandably enough, the anomalous simple relative forms seen in the Old Irish 3sg. *-daas*, 3pl. *-dáte* tended to be replaced in Middle Irish by *-dá* and *-dát* based upon the normal corresponding forms seen in *a:tá* 'is' and *a:tát* 'are' (see B.3 above), whence forms like 3sg. *indá* 'than (is)' or *inná* and 3pl. *indát* 'than (are)' (all with /əNā(-)/). Loss of the proclitic first syllable (perhaps influenced by *ná* 'nor') then produced forms such as 3sg. *nás* or *ná*, 3pl. *nát* 'than'.

Since the type of construction used was usually sufficient to distinguish the two, the **superlative** suffix was simply replaced by its comparative counterpart in the course of the Middle Irish period, whence *in fer as ferr* (or *is ferr* by B.5) 'the best man' for OIr. *in fer as dech* (lit. 'the man who is best'; irreg. forms of *maith* 'good'), or *in ben as/is áilliu/siniu/úaisliu* (or *aile/sine/úaisle* etc.) 'the

most beautiful/ oldest/noblest woman' for OIr. *in ben as áildem/sinem/úaislem* (*álaind* 'beautiful', *sen* 'old', *úasal* 'noble'; cf. further *dolgi(u)* glossing *andsam* in F.2c below). This process resulted in very occasional hypercorrect use of the superlative for the comparative form as in *úaislem rígaib* 'nobler than kings' (*SR* 752; see II.B.3 on the old dative of comparison). In effect, then, the threefold system of suffixes (*-ithir*, *-(i)u*, *-e/am*) relating to gradation of the adjective in Old Irish was undergoing reduction to just one as the comparative displaced the superlative form and the old equative gave way to *com-* plus the positive form.

(e) Even in Old Irish the preposition *co* 'until' (*h*V-, + acc.) is sometimes prefixed to an adjective in order to convert it into an **adverb** (see the end of II.C.1 for the more normal OIr. usage with the dat. sg. neut., usually preceded by the article), as in *co mmaith* 'well' (Wb. 7b15) and *co mmór* 'greatly' (Ml. 38c12). In Middle Irish this rapidly becomes the usual method of deriving an adverb from an adjective: e.g., *ocus tecat ar chenn in chon co sochruid ocus co húallach* 'and let them come for the hound magnificently and proudly' (*SMMD* §4; see C.7 below). Note, however, that as in Old Irish (e.g. *is dían imma:mberat a cossa* 'it is swiftly that they ply their feet' in VI.B.5) a bare adjective in the nom. sg. is used in the first half of a cleft sentence, although the following relative clause tends to be leniting rather than nasalising in accordance with D.2a below: e.g., *bad úallach tíastar ara chenn* 'let it be proudly that one go for him' (*SMMD* §4).

C.7. Reading practice.
In the following brief passages from *Scélae Muicce Maic Da Thó* (ed. Thurneysen, 1935) words or phrases showing typical Middle Irish developments (apart from perfect for narrative preterite, on which see X.5f) have been highlighted in bold italics, and each passage concludes with an indication in brackets of where to find the relevant discussion above. The first concerns the guests' entry into the hostel. The second is one of the boasting matches that take place thereafter and is based upon an etymology of the name of the challenger's father as *Sál-chath* 'heel-battle' by virtue of his displaying the warrior's badge of a single foot or leg, conventionally a cause for pride but here transformed into a source of shame.

*Lotar íarum uili isin mbruidin, leth in tige dano la Connachta ocus **in leth aile** la **Ulto** Nibo bec **in tech** dano, secht n**doruiss** ind ocus coíca **imdad** itir cech da dorus.* [See C.1, B.1, C.5a/c]

*'In comram beus!' ol Cet. 'Ro-t:bia són' ol Mend mac Sálchada. 'Cía so?' ol Cet. 'Mend', ol cách. 'Cid ane'ol Cet, '**meic na** mbachlach **cusna** lesanmannaib do chomram cucum? Ar ba me-se ba sacart oc **baistiud** ind **anma** sin fora athair, me-sse tall a sáil dé co claidiub co-nna:ruc acht oínchois úaim. Cid do:bérad mac ind oínchoisseda cucum-sa?' Dessid-side dano.*[See B.2, B.4, C.6a, B.5, B.1]

C.8. Numerals.
In the ordinal system the most notable changes affected the fully inflected adjectival numerals 2-4 of Old Irish (see IV.C.1a). Like the article and other adjectives (see C.6a above), these tended to replace the dat. with the acc. du./pl. form, as in *ar dá n-echaib* 'on two horses' (*LL* 12816; see C.9b below on MidIr. *ar* for OIr. *for*), *asna trí cumrigib* 'out of the three fetters' (*SR* 5350) beside *co trib cétaib* 'with three hundreds'(*SR* 6454) etc. The distinction between masc. and fem. forms was also tending to be lost in favour of the former (a process complete by the Modern Irish period) as in *cona cethraib máithrechaib* (see C.5d above) 'with their three mothers' (*SR* 3008; OIr. *cona cethéorib máthrib*), *co cethri crossaib* 'with four crosses' (*SR* 4350; OIr. *co cethéor(a)ib*

cross(a)ib), *trí ingena* 'three daughters' (*SR*6520) or *trí blíadna* 'three years' (*SR* 6700) alongside 'correct' *téora blíadna* (*SR* 6716, 6733, 7113). Not surprisingly, there was sometimes hypercorrect literary use of the obsolescent fem. forms with a masc. noun as in *téora catha* 'three battles' at *LL* 11256. An instructive case is provided by §4 of Thurneysen's edition of *Scélae Muicce Maic Da Thó*, where *trí laa ocus téora aidchi* 'for three days and three nights' (acc. of time - see II.A.1d) is rightly restored in accordance with older usage but the earliest (*LL*) of the three manuscripts used has *trí laa ₇ trí aidche* with f. *adaig* 'night' plus originally m./n. *trí*, while the other two have *teorai lá ₇ teorai aidci* and *teura laa ₇ teura aidce* with m./n. *laa/lá* plus a hypercorrectly used old fem. *téora*. Moreover, as the *LL* example indicates, 'two' and 'three' were tending to transfer the long final vowel of the independent form of the numeral (OIr. *dáu/dó*, *trí*) to the dependent form used adjectivally before a noun, whence often MidIr. *dá*, *trí* for usual OIr. *da*, *tri* in this context. On the other hand, in the case of 'four' the old nom. pl. *cethair* became confined to independent usage as a result of use of the OIr. acc. pl. *ceithri* as a nom. pl. also (cf. C.3 above).

Although the process was far from complete in Middle Irish, the overall tendency was clearly towards indeclinable *dá* 'two' [len.], *trí* 'three' and *ceithri* (or *ceithre* etc. by B.1; indep. *cethair*) 'four' in line with the rest of the cardinal numbers from one to ten. In addition, the peculiar 'dual' features associated with the definite article and/or a noun used in conjunction with the numeral 'two' (see II.A.4d and II.C.1) were being eroded in Middle Irish. Even in Old Irish, adjectives had no special dual form and used a plural instead (see II.B.1). It is hardly surprising that there was a marked tendency to extend this usage to the article in Middle Irish by employing the plural form *na* instead of OIr. *in* before the numeral 'two', as in *na dá íasc* 'the two fishes' (*SR* 7626).

In Old Irish m./f. *da* lenited what followed, whereas n. *da* and dat. *dib* caused nasalisation. Generalised *dá* in Middle Irish naturally tended to be accompanied by lenition with occasional occurrence of nasalisation as in dat. *ar dá n-echaib* above. The mutations (or lack of them) associated with 'three' and 'four' in Old Irish seem to have been retained more or less unchanged in Middle Irish. However, reinterpretation of an Old Irish form such as *tri thráth* 'three two-day periods' with a 'short' nom./acc. neut. pl. (cf. *tri chét* '300' in IV.C.1a) as singulars seems to have led to an incipient tendency, probably assisted by the identity of the non-dat. dual with the corresponding singular in a number of declension classes (as in I *da íasc* 'two fishes'), to use a singular form with numerals from 2-10 (leniting up to 6, nasalising thereafter), as in *trí dorsid* (IIIa, m.) 'three doorkeepers' (*LL* 35138; OIr. nom./acc. *tri dorsidi*).

The only development of significance in respect of the ordinals was the tendency of *ind ala* 'the other, the second' (see IV.C.2) to be dissimilated to *ind ara*. Finally, the personal numerals (IV.C.1b), which were used alone in Old Irish, became compatible with a following qualifying noun in the gen. pl. in Middle Irish, as in *cóicer bráthar* '(a) five (of) brothers' for OIr. *cóic bráithir* 'five brothers'.

C.9. Prepositions.

(a) The distinction between accusative and dative after prepositions was already eroded somewhat in Old Irish. The distinction between motion and rest seems to have been observed consistently in the case of *i* 'into' (+ acc.) vs. 'in' (+ dat.) and *fo* 'down to' (+ acc.) vs. 'under' (see II.A.1d/f and IV.B.1/2) but less consistently in the case of *for* 'upon' and *ar* 'in front of', although the set phrases *ar chenn* 'to meet' (lit. 'to the front of the head of') and *ar chiunn* 'waiting for' (lit. 'in front of the head of') with acc. and dat. respectively point to a once more rigid distinction there too. That said,

confusion between acc. and dat. forms of nouns or pronouns after prepositions is otherwise very limited in Old Irish (see IV.B.2 and note further a tendency in the Glosses to use acc. pl. *u(i)li* 'all' with a dat. pl. pronominal prep. as in *dúib uili* 'to you all', *úaidib uli* 'from them all').

In Middle Irish this system begins to break down, aided no doubt by the identity of acc. and dat. sg. forms in many noun classes (class I being the only major exception by this stage). Where an article and/or adjective was present, the associated mutation pattern (nas. with acc., len. with dat.; see II.C.2) should normally have differentiated them but even here some confusion begins to set in, as in *cosin mbáig* 'with the boast' (*LL* 1364; nas. for len. after art. with *co* 'with'; + dat. in OIr.), *ría mBresal mBélach* 'before B B' (*LL* 38273; nas. for len. of adj. after noun governed by *ría* 'before'; + dat. in OIr.) or even *fond fairrce ndermair ndírim* 'under the vast boundless sea' (*SR* 302) with probable dative marking on the article but accusative marking on the adjectives. In the plural the article and adjectives were already tending to employ the same (originally acc.) form in both acc. and dat. (see C.6a) and this presumably encouraged a trend towards a single pattern throughout, the more distinctive dat. *-(a)ib* of the noun being favoured. In this way the likes of *lasna feraib maithi* 'with the good men' (for OIr. *lasna firu maithi* with acc.) or *cosna túathaib beca* (for OIr. *cosna túatha beca* with acc.) could be brought in to line with the likes of MidIr. *dona feraib maithi* and *(i)sna túathaib beca* in C.6a above. Actual examples of the new use of *-(a)ib* with prepositions that originally took the acc. include *cen bétaib* 'without misdeeds' (*SR* 3538), *co doirsib na cathrach* 'to the gates of the city' (*LL* 32752), *etirna bandéib* 'among the goddesses' (*LL* 31694), *fri druídib* 'against magicians' (*SR* 3235), *sechna rígaib aile* 'past the other kings' (*LL* 38641). Very occasionally the probably hypercorrect converse of acc. pl. with a preposition that took the dat. in Old Irish is found as in *do Ultu* 'of the Ulstermen' (*LL* 9883), *ría n-aingliu* 'before angels' (*SR* 8319) and *fíad firu* in F.2e.

The pronominal forms of the four prepositions in question (*ar, fo, for, i*) only differentiated acc. and dat. forms in the third person (see IV.B.2) and in the case of *for* and *ar* even these seem to have been more or less interchangeable. In Middle Irish this confusion extends to *fo*, with examples of originally acc. *foí* in the dat. sense 'under' alongside *fó* etc., and even on occasion to *i* as in the case of originally acc. 3sg. m./n. *ind* (*LL* 38030), f. *inti* (/intə/, OIr. *inte*) in the sense 'in' normally reserved for dat. *and* and *indi*. In early Modern Irish *iste(a)ch* (< OIr. *isa tech* 'into the house' by B.4) came to be placed before prepositions in order to convey a sense of motion, whence *i* 'in' and *iste(a)ch i* 'into' and so on.

The OIr. 3sg. f. endings acc. *-e* and dat. *-i* fell together as /-ə/ by B.1 above and became freely interchangeable in spelling (see the end of IV.B.2 for sporadic OIr. examples of acc. *-e* for dat. *-i*), as in *ta(i)rsi* beside *ta(i)rse* (*d/tar* + acc.). Being formally diverse and frequently used, the 3sg. m./n. forms were generally quite stable, but in the 3pl. acc. *-(i)u* /-ə/ and dat. *-(a)ib* did become somewhat interchangeable (note *samlaib, cenaib* already in OIr.; see IV.B.2): e.g., *tairsib* for *tairsiu* (now /tar´s´ə/ and as such indistinguishable from the 3sg. f.), *impaib* for *impu/a* (/impə/ vs. 3sg. f. *impe/i* /im´p´ə/; *imm* + acc.), *oc(c)u/o/a* (/-ə/) for *ocaib* (*oc* + dat.).

(b) Typical Old Irish (proclitic) base and (stressed) pronominal or conjugated forms are given in IV.B.1-2. Some **base forms** were inevitably affected in Middle Irish by the confusion of proclitic vowels (whence *ac* or *ic* beside *oc* 'at' /əg/ in B.1, or *a* beside *i* 'in' /ə/), a tendency to voice *c-/f-* to *g-/b-* before a proclitic vowel (whence *go* beside *co* 'until' or *bo, ba* /və/ beside *fo* 'under' in B.5) or even both (whence MidIr. *gen, gin* or *gan* /gən/, *bar* /vər/ in B.5 beside *cen, cin* or *can*

/kən/, *for* or *far* /fər/ for OIr. *cen* /ken/ 'without', *for* /for/ 'upon'). The preposition *íar* 'after' is usually realised as *ár* (apparently by a peculiar application of B.2) or still further reduced *ar* /ər/, *á* sometimes replaces *ó* 'from', *imm* 'about' develops a byeform *ma* or *mo* /mə/ (apparently extrapolated from a reduced form like *man* with the article in B.4), and *amal* 'like, as' tends to be supplanted by *mar* (see B.4).

Being stressed, the **pronominal forms** were not directly affected by such changes. However, at least some of those beginning with a consonant display a marked tendency to lenite this in Middle Irish. In Old Irish such forms were sometimes nasalised when directly preceded by an element causing this mutation, typical examples being *ndoib* in V.D.3b (Wb. 6a20), *n-and* in VI.A.6b, *ndiib* in VI.A.6e (par. 3), *n-úadib* in VII.B.3b (final par.) and *ndó* in VII.B.3c above. One might expect corresponding lenition directly after elements responsible for that mutation but there are no clear instances of this. Rather this process seems to have established itself already in Old Irish with the 3sg. m./n. *c(h)enae* of *cen* 'without' and then to have begun to affect the forms of *co* '(up) to' and *fri* 'towards, against' sporadically (see IV.B.2). It accelerated considerably in Middle Irish and subsequently, becoming the norm with *co* and *fri*: e.g., 1sg. *chucum*, 3sg. m. *chuci*, 3pl. *chucu* (OIr. *cucum, cuci, cucu*) and 3sg. m. *ris*, 2pl. *rib* (OIr. *fris, frib*) respectively. The preposition *for* 'upon' was also frequently affected on the evidence of forms such as 2sg. *ort*, 3sg. m. *fair*, 1pl. *orn* (OIr. *fort, fair, forn*), while *dar/tar* 'over' also displays lenited pronominal forms such as 3sg. m. *tharis*, 3pl. *thairsiu* (OIr. *taris, tairsiu*) on occasion. To judge from forms such as 3sg. m. *dhó* beside *dó* 'to him/it' in Modern Irish, the pronominal forms of *do* 'to' and *di/de* 'from' may also have been lenited on occasion in Middle Irish, although this was not, of course, indicated in spelling.

As pointed out in IV.B.3, prepositions generally governed stressed inflected forms of the anaphoric pronoun (*suide* etc.) and the demonstrative 'this' (*sé/síu*) in Old Irish, whereas uninflected *(in)sin* 'that' tended to be attached to the appropriate pronominal form. In Middle Irish the latter usage tends to prevail with all three: e.g., *secha so* 'past this', *acci-side* 'by her (the aforementioned)', *díb-side* 'from them (the aforementioned)', *de-side* 'from it (the aforementioned), therefore'.

As pointed out in IV.B.2, the fact that a preposition was proclitic, whereas its pronominal forms were stressed, sometimes gave rise to appreciable divergences between the two. This in turn could lead even as early as the Old Irish period to analogical **interaction between a base form and its pronominal counterparts** with a view to reducing such differences. Thus the fact that *t-* became *d-* before a proclitic but not before a stressed vowel (see V.B.2b) will have produced base *dar* 'over' versus *tar-* in the pronominal forms but *tar* 'over' with *t-* restored under the influence of the latter is a common variant of *dar* in Old Irish (see IV.B.2 on this and the similar case of *cen* 'without' for **can*). This interactive process continued in Middle Irish and beyond. For instance, *a* 'out of' sometimes appears as *as* (the OIr. 3sg. m./n. form 'out of him/it'), *eter* 'between, among' as *itir* (the OIr. 3sg. m./n. form), and conversely the pronominal forms of *amal* 'like, as' were prone to loose their initial *s-* under the influence of the base form to produce 2sg. *amlut* 'like you' for original *samlut* and 3sg. n. *amlaid* 'like it, thus' for *samlaid*, the latter development no doubt assisted by the frequency of the expression *is (s)amlaid* 'it is thus'. Base forms beginning with *f-* tended to lose this under the influence of corresponding pronominal forms with lenited initial, the upshot being *ri* /rə/ (or *re, ra, ro*) for *fri* 'towards, against' and *ar* /ər/ beside *for* 'upon'. As a result only the following mutation now distinguished *ri* /rə/ 'towards, against' from *ri, re* [nas.] /rə/ 'before' but this was largely resolved by creating MidIr. *ré* or *ría* 'before' on the basis of the 3sg. m./n. conjugated form *ríam* 'before him/it, previously' (< OIr. *riam* by B.3). More serious was the

fact that OIr. *íar* [nas.] 'after', *for* 'upon' and *ar* [len.] 'in front/because of' were all tending to be pronounced /ər/ with only a following mutation to distinguish them in appropriate circumstances. In the case of *for* and *ar* the result was increasing confusion that also extended to the conjugated forms of *for* especially, as in 1sg. *forum* (a cross between OIr. *form* and *airium/erum*), 2sg. *orot* (OIr. *fort* and *airiut/erut*) and 1pl. *forund* (OIr. *forn* and *erunn*). One interesting side effect of the fact that the preposition still often written *for* was tending to be pronounced /ər/ in Middle Irish was the use of a hypercorrect spelling *for* on occasion for *or* or *ar* /ər/ 'said' (< OIr. *ol* 'said' by a dissimilation like that affecting *ind ara* < OIr. *ind ala* in C.8 above; cf. further *archena* for OIr. *olchenae* in F.2j below), a good example of this being seen in F.2e below alongside a 3pl. *oldat* presumably influenced by likewise unstressed copula forms such as 3pl. pres. neg. *nídat* (see III.A.4).

(c) Needless to say, forms within a given pronominal paradigm could influence each other, as could the corresponding pronominal forms of different prepositions (see the final paragraph of IV.B.2 for a couple of OIr. examples). It has already been seen (IV.B.1) that in the acc. 3sg. f. and 3pl. a former initial *h-* (< *s-*) of the affixed pronoun affected the final consonant of certain prepositions, most notably by devoicing a voiced stop as in acc. 3sg. f. *inte* 'into it (f.)', 3pl. *intiu* 'into them' versus *ind-* elsewhere (and 3sg. m./n. *and*). Once B.5 above had produced *inn-* < *ind-* (and *ann* < *and*), these forms naturally tended to be reanalysed as stem *in(n)-* plus ending *-te/-tiu* (both now /-t´ə/ by B.1) and the distinctive dental element could then spread to the dat. 3sg. f. and 3 pl. in appropriate circumstances to produce Middle Irish forms such as *inti* 'in her/it (f.)' (OIr. *indi*) and *intib* 'in them' (or *in(n)tu/a* by C.9a plus B.1; OIr. *indib*), and then further *eisti/e* 'out of her/it (f.)' and *e(i)stib* 'out of them' (OIr. *e(i)ssi, e(i)ssib*) as well as *úaisti* 'above her, it (f.)' and *úastib* 'above them' (or *úastu* by C.9a; OIr. *úasi, úas(a)ib*).

When accusative forms replaced older datives, features such as the aforementioned devoicing were liable to accompany them under appropriate circumstances. Thus the 3sg. m.(/n.) *ríam*, f. *remi* and 3pl. *remib* of *re* 'before' (+ dat.) inherited from Old Irish were remodelled in Middle Irish to *remi/e* (thus confining *ríam* to use as an adverb meaning 'previously, ever'), *rempe/i* and *rempu* (or *rempib*) respectively on the model of the corresponding forms *immi/e* (< OIr. *imbi* by B.1 and B.4), *impe/i* and *impu* of *imm* 'about' (+ acc.), the stem *rem-* then tending to replace OIr. *ri-* in the 1 and 2 sg. and pl. too as in 1sg. *remum*, 1pl. *remun(n)* for OIr. *rium, riun*. Once established with *re/ría* 'before', forms like this could spread to the similarly shaped *tre* (MidIr. also *tría* like *ría*) to yield 3sg. f. *tre(i)mpi*, 3pl. *trempu*, 1sg. *tremum* and even 3sg. m. *tre(i)mit* (alongside the forms in the next paragraph) for OIr. *tree, treu/o, trium* and *triit* (> *trít* by B.3). The coexistence of *reme* 'before him/it' and *ríam* 'previously' seems to have generated 3sg. m./n. *iarmae* 'after him/it' (occasionally 'afterwards') alongside *iarum* 'afterwards' in Middle Irish. Although sporadic use of acc. *-e* for dat. 3sg. f. *-i* in Old Irish (e.g., *úade* 'from her/it (f.) for *úadi* from *ó/úa* 'from'; see IV.B.2) does not seem to have been accompanied by devoicing, in Middle Irish this feature was increasingly applied to produce forms such as 3sg. f. *úathi/e* 'from her, it (f.)', 3pl. *úathu* or *úa(i)thib* 'from them' (cf. *intib* above). In view of ModIr. *aice* and *acu* there can be little doubt that the 3sg. f. *oc(c)ae* and 3pl. *oc(c)u/a/o* of *oc* 'at, by' (see end of C.9a above) were tending to be pronounced /ok-/ rather than /og-/ in Middle Irish on the model of 3sg. f. *chu(i)ce* /χik´ə/ and 3pl. *chucu/a* /χukə/ of *co* 'until' (see IV.B.2), 1sg. *acum* in F.1(x) being an example of later /ag-/ or /ak-/ apparently extrapolated from base *ac* beside *oc* (both /əg/ by B.1).

Given the base form *úa* 'from' and the 1/2 sg./pl. pronominal stem *úa-* (see IV.B.2), the new 3sg.

f. and 3pl. forms just cited were almost bound to be analysed as *úa-* plus an ending *-the* /-θ´ə/ (3sg. f.), *-thu* /-θə/ or *-thib* /-θ´əv´/ (3pl.) functioning as a postvocalic lenited counterpart to the *-te*, *-t(i)u*, *-tib* found with *in(n)-* and then spread to a couple of other stems with final *-s* (see above). In the case of *-th-* the consequences were even greater, since it tended to be acquired in Middle Irish by the pronominal stems of a number of prepositions ending in a vowel, notably *(f)ri-*, *la/e/i-*, *tre/i-* and *fo-*, as well as that of leniting *ar* 'in front/because of' (and the originally non-mutating *for* 'upon' increasingly confused with it; see C.9b): e.g., 3pl. *frithu* (*fri*), *lethu* (*la*), 3sg. f. *tre(i)the* or *tríthe/i* and 3pl. *tréothu*, *trethu/a/o* or *tríthu/a* (*tre*), 3sg. f. *fóithi* or *foíthi/e* and 3pl. *fóthu*, *fóthib* or *foíthib* (*fo*), 3sg. f. *airthe*, *fu(i)rthi* and 3pl. *airthiu*, *airtho*, *erthu*, *forthu/o* (*ar/for*).

Due to the Middle Irish merger of all unstressed final vowels as /-ə/ (B.1 above) 3sg. f. *-(a)i* (dat.), *-(a)e* (acc.) and 3pl. *-(i)u* (acc.) became identical, except insofar as a couple of paradigms had inherited a form with a preceding palatal consonant in the former versus a non-palatal in the latter (see *chu(i)ce* and *impe* vs. *chucu/a* and *impu/a* above). Not surprisingly, this useful pattern tended to become productive and further pairs of this type arose either through depalatalisation of the 3pl. (e.g. *in(n)tu/a* 'in(to) them' or *úathu* 'from them' for *intib*, *úa(i)dib* corresponding to 3sg. f. *inte*, *úaithi/e* for *úa(i)di*) or through palatalisation of the 3sg. f. (e.g. *a(i)c(c)e/i* /ak´ə/ 'by her/it(f.)' for *oc(c)(a)e/i* /okə/ corresponding to 3pl. *oc(c)u/o/a* /okə/ for *oc(a)ib* /ogəv´/).

In Old Irish the pronominal suffixes 1sg. *-(m)m* and 2sg. *-t* were non-palatal except for *(h)úaim(m)*, *(h)úait* (*ó/úa* 'from' + dat.) and *duit* (*do* 'to' + dat.), while 1pl. *-n(n)* was regularly non-palatal and 2pl. *-b* invariably palatal (see exx. in IV.B.2). In Middle Irish there was a tendency to palatalise 1pl. *-n(n)* and thus bring it into line with the 2pl. This may well have begun with 1pl. *úain(n)* 'from us' for *úan(n)* under the influence of the palatal final in all other first- and second-person pronominal forms of *ó/úa* but soon spread to yield 1pl. forms such as *foirn* 'on us' beside *(f)orn*, *dúin(n)* 'to us' beside *dún(n)*, and *remainn* 'before us' beside *remunn*.

C.10. Reading practice.
The passage below from *Scélae Muicce Maic Da Thó* narrates the beginning of the final battle and the great hound's fate therein. Typical Middle Irish developments (apart from the by now familiar narrative use of augmented for simple preterite; see X.4f) have again been highlighted and followed by a reference in square brackets to the relevant section(s) above.

*Ro:boí trá buille dar áo i suidiu combo **comard ra** [C.6d] sliss in tige in carnail ro:boí for a lár co:mbátar **na** [B.4] srotha din chrú forna **doirsiu** [C.5a]. Maidith dano in slúag forna **doirsi** [C.5a] co:rralsat soimól for lár ind liss, .i. cách oc trúastud a chéli. Is and gabais Fergus doib daur mór ro:boí for lár ind liss assa frénaib. Maidit immach dano assind **liss** [B.3]. Do:berar in cath i ndorus ind liss. Is and luid Mac Da Thó immach ocus in cú inna láim co:rrailced **etorro** [B.1] **dús** [B.3] cía díb do:ngegad, .i. rús con. **Do:rraíga** [B.1/3] in cú **Ulto** [B.1] ocus ro:léci for ár Connacht, ar **ro:mebaid** [B.5] for Connachta. As:berat is i mMaigib Ailbi ro:gab in cú fertais in charpait fo Ailill ocus Meidb. Is and **do:n-áraill** [B.1] Fer Loga, .i. **ara** [B.1] Ailella ocus **Medba** [B.1], co:**rrala** [B.1] a cholainn for leth ocus co-rro:an a chenn i fertais in charpait. As:berat dano is dé a:tá Mag n-Ailbi, .i. Ailbe ainm in chon.*

D. Personal pronouns and relative markers.
D.1. Stressed independent personal pronouns.
These (see IV.A.1) underwent a certain amount of formal change in Middle Irish, notably

generalisation of the originally reduplicated 1pl. *sinn(e)* (IV.A.2) and 2pl. *sib* (IV.A.1) and the creation of a distinctive 3pl. *(h)íat* (occasionally *eat* under the influence of OIr. *ol-seat* 'they said') from OIr. *(h)é* with the help of the 3pl. ending of various finite verbs. As a result of the last mentioned development the *it (h)é* (or *at (h)é* by B.1) 'are/it is they' inherited from Old Irish tended to become *it/at íat* or even *is/as íat* and so on in Middle Irish. These pronouns were chiefly used as predicates of the copula in Old Irish (IV.A.1) and a combination of their particularly common occurrence after 3sg. pres. ind. *is* 'is' with the peculiar forms *-si/-se/-seat* added to *ol* (see vocabulary) seems to have led to some confusion (cf. *is (s)amlaid* in the final para. of C.9b) between 3sg. f. *sí* with initial *s-* and 3sg. m. *(h)é*, n. *(h)ed* (tending to be confined to a general 'it' in the wake of C.1) and pl. *(h)íat* without it, the upshot being the Middle Irish byeforms *(h)í* (the MidIr. norm, as in *ba (h)í* for *ba sí* and so on), *sé, sed* and *síat* or *seat* (e.g. *ba sé/sed/síat* as uncommon alternatives to *ba (h)é/(h)ed/(h)íat* and so on).

Major restrictions upon the use of independent personal pronouns in Old Irish, where they could never function as subject or object of a finite verb (see IV.A.1), were beginning to be lifted in Middle Irish with the result that they are sometimes found there as direct object of a finite verb: e.g., *fo:géba me-ssi* 'she will find me' (*LU* 10454); *at:chonnarcmar.... tú* 'we saw you (sg.)' (*LU* 2332; sometimes lenited to *thú* as in preceding line 2331); *ro:marb.... hé* 'killed him' (*LL* 31229), *con:mél.... hé* 'I shall destroy him' (*LU* 6711-2), *bennachais Patraicc hé* (F.2e below); *ro:baist.... hí* 'baptised her' (*LU* 3130-1), *ní-r:leic...hí* 'did not let her' (*LU* 3185); *lenad.... sind* 'let (him) follow us' (*LU* 1294); *ní:mairfind....sib* 'I would not kill you (pl.)' (*LL* 29357); *no:fégad eat* 'he used to observe them' (*LU* 1004), *do:rat... íat* 'he gave them' (*LU* 8550). There was a marked tendency to place the stressed object pronoun at the end of its clause and occasionally it occurs together with an old unstressed suffixed or infixed object pronoun, as in *do-s:ratais.... íat* 'you have put them' (*LL* 35207) and *no-s:beir... íat* 'she bears them' (*LL* 2549). Independent pronouns may also be used in Middle Irish as subject of the copula or (in place of an OIr. infixed pronoun in the first and second person; see VII.A.2) a passive verb and are even found occasionally as subject of other verbs, which as with the passive then use their 3sg. form except in the 3pl.: e.g., *robo lesmac di é* 'he was a stepson to her' (*LU* 319), *ar robo torrach hí* 'for she was pregnant' (*LU* 3186), *dá brathair íat* 'they (are) two brothers' (*LL* 233); *fritháilter mi-si* 'let me be looked after' (*LU* 3101), *ní:mairfider thú* 'you (sg.) will not be killed' (*LU* 38677), *ro:báided ar sain hé* 'he was drowned after that' (*LL* 39410), *rucad immach hí* 'she was brought out' (*LL* 30962), *mairfidir sib* 'you will be killed' (*LL* 12945), *no:adnaictis íat* 'they used to be buried' (*LU* 4084); *ragaid mi-ssi* 'I shall go' (*LL* 38874), *ra:chuibrig sé Hercoil* 'he bound Hercules' (*LL* 31232), *baí sinne* 'we were' (*LL* 460), *ní:biat síat* 'they will not be' (*LL* 34108).

D.2. Suffixed and infixed pronouns.

(a) On the reasonable assumption that independent stressed personal pronouns were more extensively used in ordinary speech than in the more conservative literary register, the complex system of unstressed suffixed and infixed object pronouns inherited from Old Irish (V.C.1-3 and VI.B.7) will have come under pressure as these became an increasingly artificial feature of the learned as opposed to the everyday language. The use of **suffixed pronouns** with independent simple verbs was already subject to serious constraints in Old Irish owing to the availability of an alternative infixing construction with *no* (V.C.2-3a). In Middle Irish the latter encroached further upon areas where suffixing had been optional or (notably with a 3sg. independent simple verb plus 3sg. m./n. pronoun) compulsory in Old Irish: e.g., *no:ngeib ecla* 'fear seizes him' (*Echtrae Mac nEchach Muigmedóin* §37b in *Ériu* 4, 91-111) and *no:mbertaigedar* 'vaunts himself' (*SMMD* §4;

see B.1 on *no/a* /nə/) for OIr. *gaibthi, bertaigthi* (VII.B.1f). It is hardly surprising to find some extension of the peculiar use of *ro* rather than *no* to infix pronouns with otherwise independent forms of the substantive verb beginning with *b-* (IV.A.6), given their frequency: e.g., *ro-s:binnige* in F.1(xii) below and *ra-s:lécub* 'I shall let them go' (*LL* 12299; see B.1 on *ro/a* /rə/). Even in Old Irish, prepositional constructions were beginning to encroach upon the possessive use of *táth-* etc. with a suffixed or infixed pronoun (IV.A.6), as in *con:roib córe duib fri cách* 'so that there may be peace to you/so that you may have peace with everyone' (Wb. 26b30; instead of *co-ndob:roib córe fri cach*). In Middle Irish *oc* 'at, by' begins to acquire this function, an early transitional instance being seen in *boí cú occo* 'there was a dog by him' but in effect 'he had a dog' (for OIr. *boíth-i cú*) at *SMMD* §1.

(b) In Old Irish the first and second person class B and C **infixed pronouns** were arrived at by simply prefixing /da/ or /do/ and /ða/, /n(d)a/ (/ðo/ or /n(d)o/) or (after neg. *na*) /χa/ respectively to the corresponding class A form. However, in the third person no such regular relationship obtained (see V.C.3c and VI.B.7) and in Middle Irish there was a marked tendency to remedy this asymmetry by using 3sg. m. *-ta, -(n)da* or *-cha* [+nas.] (i.e. elided /d(ə)/ etc. plus class A *a* /ə/ and so also spelt *-t/do, -chi* etc. by B.1) for OIr. *-t, -(n)d* [+nas.] or *-ch* and 3sg. f. and pl. *-tas, -(n)das* or *-chas* (i.e. /də/ etc. plus class A *s* and so also spelt *-t/dos* etc. by B.1) for OIr. *-ta, -(n)da* or *-cha*: e.g. *na-chi:nglúasid* 'do not disturb him' (*LU* 3291; OIr. *na-ch:nglúasid*), *co-nda:tarat* 'and gave him' (*LU* 1683; OIr. *co-n(d)id:tarat*), *a-tos:condairc* 'saw it (f.)' (*LL* 242; OIr. *a-ta:condairc*), *co-nos:tuc* 'that I may bring her' (*SR* 1665; OIr. *co-nda:tuc*; see B.5 on *nd > n(n)*), *ro-das:car* 'who loved them' (*SR* 2991; OIr. *ro-da:car*) and *na-chas:cretid* 'do not believe them!' (*SR* 4700; OIr. *na-cha:cretid*). In addition to this, there was a limited tendency to apply the lack of a distinction between m. and f. in the 3pl. to the 3sg., usually in favour of the more distinctive 3sg. f. *s*: e.g., *no-s:geib* 'seizes him' (*LL* 31356; for *n-a:ngaib*, OIr. *gaibth-i*) and *co-nas:tuc* 'until he brought him' (*LL* 31242; for *co-na:tuc*, OIr. *co-n(d)id:tuc*).

The inherited 1 and 2sg. infixed pronouns *m(m)* and *t* were formally indistinguishable from the corresponding possessives *m* 'my' and *t* 'your (sg.)' used after *for* or a preposition ending in a vowel (IV.A.3), and this identity seems to have triggered the introduction of the new 1 and 2pl. infixed pronouns *(a)r* (see B.3) and *f/bar* (or *f/bor* /vər/) in Middle Irish alongside inherited *n(n)* and *b*: e.g., *na-char:lén* 'do not wound us' (*SR* 1726; OIr. *na-chan:*), *do-for:ficba* 'will come to you (pl.)' (*LU* 1213; OIr. *do-b:*). Sometimes these forms could even be prefixed to a simple verb as the corresponding possessives were to a noun, as in *for:bía* '(there shall be to you,) you (pl.) shall have' (*SR* 1448; OIr. *beth-ib*).

In Old Irish the use of a class C infixed pronoun in a relative clause was obligatory only in the third person (VI.B.7) and class A could sometimes used even there in Middle Irish, as in *is Ádom no-s:ordaiged* 'it is Adam who used to rule them' (*SR* 1112; OIr. *no-da:ordaiged*). The converse effect of such confusion was occasional use of a class C in place of a class A pronoun in main clauses, as in *ar-dot:chuibdig* 'adapt yourself (sg.)!' (*LU* 3506; OIr. *ar-ut:*) and *no-d:slaid* 'strikes him' (*LU* 3288; for *n-a:slaid*, OIr. *slaitt-i*). Sporadic confusion between classes A and B is illustrated by *ra-ta:fetammar* 'we know him' (*LU* 11865, 11877 etc.; OIr. *r-a:fetammar*).

(c) Loss of the neuter as a grammatical category (C.1a) increasingly deprived the 3sg. n. suffixed and infixed pronouns of their inherited function and reduced them to virtual meaninglessness. In consequence forms such as *beirth-i*, *bert-ait* (V.C.2), *ní:thabair* (V.C.3b) and *a-t:beir* (V.C.3c),

which meant 'carries it', 'carry it', 'does not give it' and 'says/mentions it' respectively in Old Irish, often became mere variants of *beirid* 'carries', *berait* 'carry', *ní:tabair* 'does not give' and *as:beir* 'says' in Middle Irish. Forms with a so-called 'petrified' 3sg. n. infixed pronoun were particularly prone to displace those without it, with the result that a form like *a-t:beir* became commoner than corresponding *as:beir* in the basic sense 'says' and neg. *ní* 'not' often caused lenition in main clauses in Middle Irish. Since B.1 above reduced the difference between the likes of OIr. *do:claid* 'digs up' and *d-a:chlaid* 'digs it up' to one of non-lenition versus lenition only, *do:chlaid* (or *da:chlaid*, both now /də χlað´/) likewise became no more than a variant of *do:claid* 'digs up' (or *da:claid*, both now /də klað´/), the upshot being that pretonic preverbs with a final vowel as well as the preverbal particles *ro* (X.2) and *no* (V.C.3a) frequently caused lenition in main as well as relative clauses (VI.B.3) in Middle Irish. Main-clause examples in F.2 below are *ro:luic* (a; for *ro:śluic*), *ro:thinólset* (i) and *ní:thuc* (j), but this confusion seems on occasion to have led to presumably hypercorrect non-lenition in relative clauses as in *ro:taisfén* in F.2f and *ro:tair(n)gired* in F.2j. A formal distinction between a main and a leniting relative clause was, however, sometimes maintained in these circumstances as a result of the similar reduction of 3sg. n. class C *-(i)d* (B.5) to the status of a mere relative marker, as in MidIr. *no-d:charmais* 'whom we used to love' (cf. OIr. *no-d:charad* 'who used to love it') versus *no:charmais* 'we used to love' beside OIr. *no:charmais* 'whom we used to love' and *no:carmais* 'we used to love'. Similarly *nach* (OIr. *na-ch* 'which not it') sometimes replaces *nad* 'which not' as the plain negative relative in Middle Irish.

(d) Because an initial vowel in a leniting context could correspond to a vowel or *f* plus vowel in a non-leniting context, there was a certain tendency (even occasionally in Old Irish) to introduce *f-* (including merely graphically after a leniting element) before a vowel where it had previously been lacking: e.g., *do:fuc*, *do:fuc* 'took, brought' (OIr. *do:u(i)c, (-)tu(i)c*) or *do-t:fuc* 'brought you (sg.)' (OIr. *do-t:u(i)c*) and *do-s:fánaic* 'came to her' (OIr. *do-s:(n-)ánaic* from *do:ánaic, (-)tánaic*).

D.3. Relative marking.

(a) The nasalising relative clause inherited from Old Irish (VI.B.5) tended to be lost in Middle Irish, being replaced by its lenited counterpart (as already in Old Irish on occasion: e.g., Ml. 63c9 *amal imme:chomairsed nech* 'as if someone had asked') or, in the case of the noun-clause complement of verbs of saying etc., by a clause introduced by *co* [+nas.] '(so) that' as in *a-t:bert... co:ndigned..* (*LU* 9022) 'he said (for OIr. *as:bert* by D.1d)... that he would do..' or *bágaim conid bairdne bind* (F.1(viii) below). It has just been seen (D.1d) that the formal distinction between main and leniting relative clauses was eroded in Middle Irish by the introduction of lenition after a pretonic preverb or particle into the former, a further factor being a marked tendency to use the petrified 3sg. n. pronoun *-t* [+len.] in relative as well as main clauses: e.g., *res a-t:chí* (*LU* 3292) '(it is) a vision that he sees' (OIr. *ad:chí* vs. main-clause *ad:cí* but often MidIr. *a-t:chí* in both). The additional syllable of pretonic *ar* and *imm* in relative clauses (VI.B.3) also tended to be lost with the result that both members of an OIr. pair such as *imm:tet* 'traverses' vs. *imme:thét* 'who traverses, which (s)he traverses' were liable to be realised as *imm:thét* '(who/which (s)he) traverses' in Middle Irish.

(b) Because a first- or second-person pronoun was followed by a third-person relative (increasingly 3sg. even if the pronoun was pl.) in Old Irish (IV.A.4), the 1/2 sg. and pl. relative forms could only be used with an object antecedent (cf. end of VI.B.3). In Middle Irish even a 3pl. antecedent was sometimes followed by a 3sg. relative, as in *is íat do:róni in smúitchéo* (*LU* 6749 with 3sg. *do:róni*; see) 'it is they who made the cloud of smoke' and *nach síat na meic Nectain sin maídes* (*LL* 8610; OIr. 3pl. *no-da:moídet* with reflexive pronoun) 'are (lit.'is') not they those sons of Nechtan who boast?' (see D.1a on *síat* for *íat*, C.6b on *na* for *in*, B.3 on *meic* for *maic*; see F.1(xiv) for a further

ex. of 3pl. antecedent with 3sg. rel.). This process was completed in Modern Irish and was doubtless more advanced in speech than in writing in the Middle Irish period. Some indication of the increasingly artificial nature of the 3pl. rel. ending *-(i)te* is given by a certain tendency, presumably purely literary, to confuse it with the similarly shaped 3sg. *-the/i* /-θ´ə/ or *-tha(e/i)* /-θə/ (originally with 3sg. n. suffixed pronoun; see D.1d): e.g., *toi(n)gthe Ulaid* (*LU* 5195) 'which the Ulstermen swear' and *derbtha bí* (*SR* 4861) 'which the living assert'.

The only distinctive relative ending inherited from Old Irish that continued in vigorous use in Middle Irish was the 3sg. *-s* used in the pres., subj. and fut. Elsewhere distinctive relative endings of simple verbs were usually replaced by the corresponding absolute endings in Middle Irish (cf. *boí* for *boíe* in F.2c below; see III.B.2b but note III.B.3e), 1pl. rel. *-(m)m(a)e* and abs. *-(m)m(a)i* having anyway fallen together as /-m⁽ ⁾ə/ subsequently replaced by *-m(a)it* (see end of E.1b), and this system was also applied to Old Irish forms with prefixed *no*. By way of compensation, however, the initial of the independent relative forms of simple verbs showed a marked tendency to be lenited in Middle Irish on the model of Old Irish relative usage after a pretonic preverb or particle such as *no* or *ro*, as in *is e charas Conaire sech cách* (*LU* 7336; OIr. *caras*) 'it is he that Conaire loves above all'. As a result of these developments the usual Middle Irish equivalents of OIr. rel. 1sg. *no:charaim*, 2sg. *no:charai*, 3sg. *caras*, 1pl. *carmae*, 2pl. *no:charaid*, 3pl. *cartae* (see end of VI.B.3) were 1sg. *charaim* (cf. rel. *rigim* in F.1(x) below), 2sg. *chara(e/i)*, 3sg. *charas*, 1pl. *charmait*, 2pl. *chartha(e/i)*, 3pl. *charait* (cf. rel. *gabait* in F.1(ii) below).

It remains to note that the OIr. rel. form *f(e)il(e)* 'which is' (III.B.2b) of *a:tá* tends to acquire a broad *f-* in Middle Irish, as in *fail* in D.3a below. The same applies to dependent *-f(e)il* (IV.A.6), as in *ní:fuil* 'there is not' in F.1(iii) below.

(c) In Old Irish a leniting relative clause could only be used with a subject or object antecedent (III.B.2b) but in Middle Irish its range increased considerably, partly as a result of its already mentioned tendency to eclipse the nasalising relative but above all because it came to be used with virtually any antecedent, including a preposed prepositional phrase that had regularly called for a following non-relative clause in Old Irish (III.B.2b): e.g., *is orot rirfes* (*SR* 1073; OIr. *ririd*, fut. of S3 *renaid*) 'it is for you (sg.) that he will abandon' (see E.1a on MidIr. spread of the *f*-fut.), *conid de ro-d:lil Goll de* (*LU* 3177-8; OIr. *ro:(l)lil*) 'so that it is from this that Goll has stuck to him' (see D.1d on MidIr. rel. *-d*), *mad hi céin chinnges* (*SR* 6125; OIr. *cingid*) 'if it be far that he goes' and *as chombind* in D.3a below (OIr. rel. *as* and non-rel. *is* interchangeable in MidIr. by B.1 but a MidIr. relative construction proved by lenition rather than non-lenition after the copula; see III.B.2b). F.2 below offers some further examples, notably *chacait* (a; and probably *ro:chreti* too, although this could be non-rel. by D.1d above; OIr. *cacait* and *ro:creti*), *is fair bías* in (e; OIr. *is fair bieid*) and *na(d):deochaid* in (j; OIr. *ní:dechaid*; see B.2).

D.4. Reading practice.

(a) Below is the *LU* version (again taken from Best and Bergin) of the passage from *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* normalised to Old Irish in III.B.3b. Once due allowance has been made for trivial inversion of the second and third sentences (both beginning with *is ina flaith*), a comparison concentrating upon the elements in bold italics should reveal the more significant Middle Irish features of the *LU* text (see E.1h below on *betís* for OIr. *betis*).

A:tát .uii. meic thíre i ngialnai fri fraigid ina thig-seom fri comét ind rechta sin ⁊ a:tá cúlaittiri iarna chúl, .i. Mac Locc.... Is ina flaith a:tát na tri bairr for Erind, .i. barr días ⁊ barr scoth ⁊ barr messa. Is ina flaith as chombind la cach fer guth araile ⁊ betís téta mendchrot ar febas na cána ⁊ int sída ⁊ in chaínchomraic fail sechnon na Herend.

(b) The first third or so of *Aided Cheltchair* is found in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster* (*LL* - see I.A.3), where the remainder is missing owing to loss of a leaf. The opening of this version is given below for comparison (this time without the help of bold italics) with the normalised Old Irish text offered in XI.2. Although the two basically agree word for word, there are a few divergences in XI.2 deriving from the later Edinburgh manuscript in which the tale survives in full. It is to be noted that even in the 'diplomatic' Middle Irish texts in this chapter punctuation (apart from the full stop) and various other devices (such as the colon and hyphen as generally used in this work) are modern editorial additions aimed at assisting the reader

Cid dia:ta Aided Cheltchair meic Uthechair? Ni handsa. Fer amra ro:buí de Ultaib, .i. Blai Briuga. Secht n-airgeda leis. Secht fichit bo cecha argi ⁊ seisrech cecha hargi. Tech n-oíged... leis. Ba geiss do dano ben for damrud dochum a thaigi cen feiss do-som lee meni:beth a fer na farrad. Do:lluid didiu Bríg Brethach ben Cheltchair for oigidecht dochum a thaige.

(c) The following three quatrains are from a *tour de force* by Cellach mac Rúandai († 1059) illustrating a selection of the more important metres verse by verse and incorporating the name of each metre (given in small capitals below) into the quatrain in which it is used. A number of typical Middle Irish developments are highlighted in bold italics below and references in square brackets after a given line are to the relevant sections above. The remainder of the poem (i.e. verses 1-3 and 7-14) will be found in F.1 below. Since it was evidently intended as a showcase for the poet's skill, the various metres are used not only strictly but also with more than average embellishment. In each of the three stanzas below the basic end rhyme is between lines one and four, but line one as well as line three is linked to these by consonance. As if this were not enough, the final word of the third line of (iv) and (v) is also linked to the first stressed word of the fourth by so-called *aicill* rhyme. Moreover, there is usually at least one internal rhyme (e.g., *menmnach* and *engach* in (iv) and possibly *fégaid* with *denaim*, a later fem. variant of *dénam*) binding line one with two and line three with four, while there is alliteration between the ultimate and the penultimate stressed words of most lines. See II.B.2g and V.C.4e on the basic Old Irish metrical system and VI.B.4c on the optional possibility of eliding one of two adjacent vowels, providing both are unstressed as in the case of *mills(i) a* or *aist(e) is* in (vi) as opposed to *a:tá a áeb* in (iv). By this stage there is quite strict adherence to a tendency (see I.B.1/2 for the basic notation), already apparent but not yet rigid in Old Irish, to distinguish between a voiceless and a voiced class of stops (/p/, /t/, /k/ versus /b/, /d/, /g/) and fricatives (/f/, /θ/, /χ/ versus /v/, /ð/, /γ/ plus /ṽ/, /n/, /r/, /l/) for rhyming purposes, a further distinction between 'strong' /m/, /N/, /R/, /L/ and 'weak' /ṽ/, /n/, /r/, /l/ only applying after a short vowel. As before, *s* constitutes a class of its own. Stanza (v) provides good illustration of the point that the quality (palatal versus non-palatal) of an internal (as opposed to a final) consonant is irrelevant as far as consonance (as opposed to full rhyme) is concerned. *Rannaigecht mór* and *rannaigecht bec* are both so-called 'parisyllabic' metres with the same number of syllables (7 in both cases) in each line, the basic difference between them being provided by the syllable count of the cadence or final word (monosyllabic and disyllabic respectively). Interestingly, this relatively minor adjustment gives the *rannaigecht bec* a distinctly 'racy' feel in comparison with its stately *rannaigecht mór* counterpart. *Dechnad mór*, by contrast, is a so-called 'imparisyllabic' metre with

regulated variation in the number of syllables per line (in this case, 8 in the first and third versus 6 in the second and fourth, there being a disyllabic cadence throughout). As will become more apparent from the rest of the poem in F.1 below, short final vowels are no longer distinguished for rhyming purposes as a result of B.1 above, with the result that *laíde* (MidIr. /laið´ə/; OIr. *loídi*) consonates with *gréine, síde* and *Ére* (all *-e* in OIr., /-ə/ in MidIr.). Consequently it is hardly necessary to emend *indse* (MidIr. /ɪN´s´ə/) to *in(n)si* in order to obtain what, from a strictly Old Irish standpoint, would be a correct rhyme with *millsi* (MidIr. /miʟ´s´ə/).

(iv) *In* RANNAIGECHT *menmnach* MÓR   (v) *In* RANNAIGECHT BEC *builid*
      assin topor engach úar,   **can** *mangairecht* **can** *mebail,*[C.9b]
      fégaid **mar** *a:tá a áeb;*   [C.9b]   *ní:gláma sund* **ca** *saigid*   [B.4]
      is cáem do dénam **na** *ndúan.* [B.4]   *i ndairib dána dremain.*

            (vi) DECHNAD MÓR, **at** *millsi a* **laíde**   [B.1]
                  úas **indse** *gil gréine;*   [B.1/5]
                  gaiste re *dán seng* **na** *síde,*   [B.2; C.9b; B.4, C.1a]
                  aiste **is ferr** *i nÉre.*   [B.1; C.6d]

E. Further major changes affecting the verbal system.
In what follows it will usually be possible to find specific locations (in *SR, LU, LL* etc.) of the various forms cited by looking them up in the index of *The Early Irish Verb* and then going to the page(s) indicated.

E.1. Verbal stems and personal endings.
(a) Although the basic system of verbal stems described in III.A.1 was continued without change, there was a marked tendency in Middle Irish to replace the often complex realisation of the distinction between PRESENT (V.A1-2), SUBJUNCTIVE (VIII.2-3 and 5), FUTURE (IX.1, 3 and 5-6), PRETERITE ACTIVE (VI.A.1-2 and 4-5) and PRETERITE PASSIVE (VII.A.6) stems in Old Irish strong and hiatus verbs by the relatively straightforward system employed by weak verbs. The essential point is that the root of an Old Irish strong verb was liable to be obscured in certain stems by various changes, some of them quite dramatic (e.g. 3sg. conj. S1 *-cain* 'sings', *-cana, -cechna, -cechain, -cét*; S2 *-guid* 'prays', *-gé, -gig, -gáid, -gess*; S3 *-ren* 'sells', *-ria, -riri, -rir, -ríth*), whereas in the case of a weak verb it typically remained intact (e.g. W1 *-sóera* 'frees', *-sóera, -sóerf(e)a, -sóer, -sóerad*; W2a *-léici* 'leaves', *-léicea, -léicfea, -léic, -léiced*) or at least was not altered sufficiently to impede ready recognition (e.g. W1 **-fera** 'pours', **-fera, -firfea, -fer, -ferad**; W2b *do:***lugi** 'forgives', *do:***loga**, *do:***luichfea** or *do:***lugfa**, *do:***loig**, *do:***logad**). Classes W1 and W2a were already beginning to acquire non-palatal and palatal final consonants respectively throughout in Old Irish (see V.A.2a and IX.1), except insofar as syncope was involved. This process was intensified in Middle Irish, where palatalisation of the final consonant also spreads beyond the present stem with concomitant confusion in the distribution of *u* and *o* in W2b: e.g., W1 3sg. fut. *-fiurfu* /firfə/ for OIr. *-firfea* /fir´f´a/ or conversely pret. *firis* /firəs´/ for OIr. *fer(a)is* /ferəs´/; W2a pret. 1sg. *-rádius*, 3sg. *ráidis* (OIr. *-radus, rád(a)is*; OIr. *rád(a)id* 'says' > MidIr. *rá(i)did*); W2b pres. 3sg. *-sloind* (OIr. *-sluindi* 'mentions'; see E.1c on ending); pret. 1sg. *con:tuilius*, 3sg. *con:tuil* (OIr. *con:tolus, con:toil*; OIr. *con:tuili*), pres. 1sg. *do:luigim* (already Wb. 14d25) beside 3sg. *du:lugai* (Ml. 51a15; OIr. *do:lugai* 'forgives' > *do:luigi*), 3pl. *sco(i)rit* 'unyoke' (for OIr. *scu(i)rit*).

It is hardly surprising that an increasingly homogeneous weak pattern should have tended to spread

with the result that inflectional distinctions between weak, strong and hiatus verbs (the hiatus forms of which were anyway being contracted by B.3) were prone to appreciable blurring in Middle Irish as the range of the *a*-subjunctive, *f*-future, *s*-preterite active and *-e/ad* preterite passive especially was extended. Further details will be given in E.1c-g below and here it will suffice to say that strong configurations such as the three given in the previous paragraph were coming under pressure from weak counterparts such as S1 *-cain* (abs. *canaid*) , *-cana*, *-canfa*, *-can*, *-canad*, S2 *-guid*, *-guidea*, *-guidfea*, *-guid*, *-guided* or S3 *-ren*, *-rena*, *-renfa*, *-ren*, *-renad*. Homogenisation of the root-final consonant's quality is sometime observed in old strong verbs: e.g., 3sg. rel. *oirges* 'who slays' (OIr. *orgas*; S1 *org(a)id*, *-oirg*) along with a new weak fut. *oirgfid* 'will slay' (OIr. *s*-fut. *íuraid*), pret. act. *-airg* 'slew' (OIr. *t*-pret. *-ort*) and pret. pass. *-airged* 'was slain' (OIr. *-ort*). Similarly S2 *gaibid* 'takes' and its compounds acquired a variant with palatal consonance in the pret. with 3sg. *-gaib*, 3pl. *-gaibset* alongside inherited *-gab*, *-gabsat*. Conversely, they also developed a present stem *gabaid* (e.g. *SR* 4789 and 5867) with the same non-palatal *-b-* as in its inherited non-present stems, as in 3pl. (rel. by D.2c) *gabait* guaranteed by rhyme with *rabuic* in F.1(ii) below.

(b) The Old Irish **passive** only had third-person endings (VII.A.1) and this system was continued in Middle Irish, where the infixed pronouns added to the 3sg. in order to produce a first- or second-person form (VII.A.2) were tending to give way to the corresponding independent pronouns (see D.1a above). It has been seen that relative forms apart from 3sg. *-e/as* were tending to be replaced by the corresponding absolutes in Middle Irish (D.2b). In the case of the passive this resulted in old absolute endings with palatal /-r´/ being used as relatives and conversely in originally relative endings with non-palatal /-r/ being used in main clauses on occasion; e.g., pres. 3pl. *fir gontair, mná berdair, bae aegdair* '(itis) men (that) are killed, women (that) are abducted, cows (that) are driven' (OIr. rel. *gond/tar, berd/tar, agd/tar*) or 3sg. *cladar* 'is dug' (OIr. non-rel. *clad(a)ir*). It is hardly surprising that such free variation could also affect the conjunct endings, as in *-sluindébthair* for OIr. *-sluindfither* in F.1(xi) below (see E.1e on *-éb-*), and that the suffixless preterite also acquired a variant with palatal *-r* in the 1 and 3pl. seen, for instance, in *lotair* 'they went' alongside inherited *lotar*.

Similar confusion between palatal and non-palatal *-r* could also affect the **deponent** endings (VII.B.1-2) but this was overshadowed by progress towards elimination of the non-functional distinction between deponent and normal active inflection, a process initiated in Old Irish (VII.B.1f) and virtually completed in the course of the Middle Irish period. Predictably enough, this generally resulted in the replacement of deponent by the corresponding active endings: e.g., 3sg. conj. pres. *-cuir* 'puts' (OIr. *-cuirethar*), pret. 3sg. *-foilsig* 'revealed' (OIr. *-foilsigestar*), 3pl. *-ordaigset* (OIr. *-ordaigsetar*; F.2g), 3sg. fut. *na-ch:molfa* 'who will not praise it' (F.1(iii) below; OIr. *-molfathar*). However, at two points in the system originally deponent endings not only survived but also spread to originally non-deponent verbs because they contained a distinctive tense or mood marker (*-s-* and *-a-* /ə/ respectively) lacking in a corresponding endingless form of the normal active inflection. Thus in the 3sg. conj. *s*-pret. erstwhile deponent *-e/astar* could be used as a variant of normal active zero, while in the 1sg. conj. *a*-subj. formerly deponent *-ar* (now /-ər/ by B.1 and so also often written *-ur*) tended to oust the non-deponent zero ending and then spread to a 1sg. abs. (OIr. *-(e)a* /-a/ > MidIr. /-ə/ no longer distinguishable from 2sg. *-(a)e* /-e/ > MidIr. /-ə/) as well as to the *s*- and *e*-subj.: e.g., pret. 3sg. *-c(h)arastar* beside *-c(h)ar* 'loved' (OIr. *-car*; see D.1d on lenition), *ro:pridc(h)astar* '(which) has preached' (F.2a/c below: OIr. *ro:pridach*), *-mairnestar* beside *-mairn* 'betrayed' (for OIr. *t*-pret. act. *-mert* by E.1a above; S1 *marnaid, -mairn*),

-gonastar beside *-goin* 'killed' (for OIr. redup. suffixless pret. *-geguin* by E.1a); 1sg. fut. augm. *-érbalur* 'I may die' (OIr. *a*-subj. *-é-r-bal* from S1 *a-t:baill, -e-pil*), *-rucur* 'I may bear' (OIr. *a*-subj. *-ruc* from S1 *beirid, -beir*), *-dernar* 'I may make' (OIr. augm. *a*-subj. *-de-r-n* from H2 *do:gní, -dén(a)i*), unaugm. *do:néor* 'I should do' (with *g* lenited by D.1d and then lost before *n*; OIr. *e*-subj. *do:gnéu/o* from *do:gní*), *-benur* 'I should strike' (for OIr. *a*-subj. *-béu/o* from S3 *benaid, -ben* by E.1a), *tíasur, -tíasur* (OIr. *s*-subj. *tíasu, -tías* from *téit*).

As will be seen in E.1f, the personal endings of the Middle Irish preterite were based upon a merger between those of the *s-* (pl. conj. 1 *-s-e/am*, 2 *-s-(a)id*, 3 *-s-e/at*) and the suffixless preterite (pl. 1 *-e/am(m)ar*, 2 *-(a)id*, 3 *-e/atar*). It may be that the spread of *-e/astar* in the 3sg. combined with the presence of deponent-looking plural endings originating in the suffixless preterite to preserve originally deponent *s*-pret. 1pl. *-s-e/am(m)ar* and 3pl. *-s-e/atar* as a third variant, although it seems more probable that this last set was merely the product of a Middle Irish cross between the other two.

In the **normal active 1pl.**, abs. *-m(a)i* and rel. *-m(a)e* had fallen together as /-mə/ or /-mʹə/ by B.1 and were then remodelled to the overwhelmingly preponderant Middle Irish form *-m(a)it* under the influence of 3pl. abs. *-(a)it* (or sometimes *-t(a)it* by D.1d): e.g. *berm(a)it* in F.1(xiv) below. 1pl. conj. (or ipv.) *-e/am* (OIr. /-əṽ/; see V.A.2b) was tending to become *-e/am(m)* /-əm/ in Middle Irish with an unlenited *m(m)* taken over from the corresponding abs. ending, although this was only occasionally indicated unambiguously in spelling (see I.B.2) as in 1pl. ipv. *tíagamm* 'let us go' (*SR* 3628) and *tríallamm* 'let us attempt' (*SR* 3627).

(c) In the **present** (indicative) the distinctive 1sg. abs./conj. ending *-(a)im(m)*, which was confined to the present tense, was already spreading beyond its original range there in Old Irish (see V.A.2b). It spread still further in Middle Irish to those categories that had still resisted its encroachment in Old Irish, namely the 1sg. conj. of S1 and the 1sg. of hiatus verbs with stressed root: e.g., *at:berim* 'I say' (OIr. S1 *as:biur* and see D.1d on *at-* for *as-*) and *do:gním* 'I do' (OIr. H2 *do:gníu*). 2sg. conj. *-(a)i*, now /-ə/ by B.1, likewise spread in Middle Irish to those S1 verbs that had retained an endingless form in Old Irish (see V.A.2b): e.g., *at:beire* or *at:beri* '(which) you (sg.) say', *do:beri* '(which) you (sg.) bring' or *-tégi* 'you (sg.) go' for OIr. *as:bir, do:bir* and *-téig* respectively.

In Old Irish W1 verbs had pres. conj. 2sg. *-marb(a)i*, 3sg. *-marba* 'kill(s)' and subj. conj. 2sg. *-marb(a)e*, 3sg. *-marba*, while W2a had pres. conj. 2/3sg. *-lé(i)ci* 'leave(s) and subj. conj. 2sg. *-lé(i)ce*, 3sg. *-lé(i)cea*. However, by Middle Irish the vowel of all of these once at least partially distinct endings had become variously spelt /-ə/ (by B.1) and this resulted in pressure towards a clearly differentiated 3sg. pres. One possibility was the introduction of the endingless 3sg. conj. originally characteristic of strong verbs (see V.A.2a), whence forms like *-tib* 'smiles' (OIr. W2a *-tibi*), *-sloind* 'mentions' in F.1(xiv) (OIr. W2b *-sluindi*; see E.1a on vocalism) and *ní-m:léic* 'does not let me' (OIr. W2a *-léici*) that were hardly to be confused with a by now normally augmented 3sg. conj. *s*-pret. such as *ro:tib* 'smiled', *ro:sloind* 'mentioned' and *ní-ro-m:léic* 'did not let me' (see X.5f and also E.3 below). An alternative was provided by the relationship inherited in certain S3 prototonic compound forms between a 3sg. pres. conj. like *-éi-renn* or *-fo-thlann* (deut. *as:ren* 'pays', *fo:tlen* 'removes'; *-n* regularly delenited to *-nn* in the prot. form after an unstressed vowel preceded by a liquid by what is known as 'MacNeill's Law') and a 3sg. subj. conj. *-éi-re* or *-fo-thlae* (deut. *as:ria, fo:tlia*; see end of VIII.2a) with final /-ə/ in Middle Irish by B.1. This opened the possibility of making a 3sg. subj. conj. such as W1 *-marba* /-marvə/ or W2a *-léicea* /-lēgʹə/ the

base for the creation of a highly distinctive new 3sg. pres. conj. such as *-marbann* or *-léicenn* (often spelt *-marband* and *-leicend* by B.5): e.g., *-adrann* 'worships' (OIr. W1 *adr(a)id, -adra*), *-carand* 'loves' (OIr. W1 *car(a)id, -cara*), *-lesaigend* 'remedies' (OIr. W2a dep. *-lesaigethar*; see E.1b), *-étsend* 'listens' (OIr. W2a *in:túaisi, -éitsi*), *-curend* 'puts' (OIr. W2b dep. *-cuirethar*). Once established in this manner, *-e/ann* could then spread to old hiatus or strong verbs, including even S3: e.g., *-aicend* 'sees' (OIr. H2 *ad:cí, -acci*), *-dénand* 'makes' (OIr. H2 *do:gní, -den(a)i*), *ithend* 'eats' (OIr. S1 *ithid, -ith*), *-gonand* 'smites' (OIr. S1 *gon(a)id, -goin*), *-lenand* 'follows' (OIr. S3 *len(a)id, -len*).

These and other developments (see E.1b on the 1pl. and D.1d on occasional abs. 3sg. *-thi/e* or *-tha(i/e)* and 3pl. *-t(a)it*) resulted in a marked tendency towards a single present inflection for all verbs, regardless of whether these were originally weak, hiatus or strong (except insofar as S1 usually retained inherited alternations between palatal and non-palatal consonance; see V.A.2a), normal active or deponent (see E.1b). This can be illustrated by originally S1 *beirid* 'bears' and S2 *gaibid* 'takes' (or *gabaid* by E.1a).

1sg.	*(-)beirim(m)*		*(-)gaibim(m)* or *(-)gabaim(m)*	
2sg.	*(-)beiri/e*		*(-)gaibi/e* or *(-)gaba(e/i)*	
3sg. *beirid*	*-beir(enn)*	*gaibid* or *gabaid*	*-gaib(enn)* or *-gab(ann)*	
(occ. *beirthi/e*)		(occ. *gaibthi/e* or *gabtha(i/e)*)		
1pl. *bermait*	*-beram(m)*	*gaibmit* or *gabmait*	*-gaibem(m)* or *gabam(m)*	
2pl. *beirthe/i*	*-beirid*	*gaibthe/i* or *gabtha(e/i)*	*-gaibid* or *-gabaid*	
3pl. *berait*	*-berat*	*gaibit* or *gabait*	*-gaibet* or *-gabat*	
(occ. *bertait*)		(occ. *gaibtit* or *gabtait*)		

(d) The (present) **subjunctive** was affected by the general loss of distinction between normal active and deponent inflection (E.1b), originally deponent abs./conj. *-e/ar* or *-(i)ur* being preferred in the 1sg. (E.1b) and the normal active endings inherited from Old Irish (VIII.2-3 and 5) being preferred in the other persons (e.g. 2sg. *-binnige* for OIr. dep. *-bindigther* in F.1(xii) below). The latter were, of course, subject to various already documented Middle Irish developments such as 1pl. abs. *-m(a)it* vs. conj. *-e/am(m)* (end of E.1b), sporadic abs. 3sg. *-thi/e* or *-tha(i/e)* and 3pl. *-t(a)it* with a petrified 3sg. n. pronoun (D.1d) alongside *-(a)id* and *-(a)it* respectively. There were also fluctuations in the spelling of *a*-subj. conj. 2sg. *-(a)e* (also MidIr. *-a, -(a)i* etc.) and 3sg. *-(e)a* (also MidIr. *-(a)e/i* etc.) as a result of having both become /-ə/ by B.1. It will be recalled that S1 or S2 verbs with an *s*-subjunctive and S3 verbs with an *a*-subjunctive lacking *-n(-)* in Old Irish were somewhat prone to replace these in Middle Irish with an *a*-subjunctive formed from the same stem as the present (indicative), a process illustrated by 3sg. conj. *-guidea* for *-gé* and *-rena* for *-ria* in E.1a above or by 1sg. *-benur* 'I should strike' for OIr. *-béu/o* (S3 *ben(a)id, -ben*).

The new 1sg. /-ər/ led to a couple of fairly marginal further developments in Middle Irish subjunctive inflection. The first was the occasional creation of a new 2sg. /-ər′/ on the model of the relationship between inherited conj. 1sg. /-s/ and 2sg. /-s′/ in the *s*-subjunctive (e.g. 1sg. *-tías*, 2sg. *-téis* from *téit* 'goes'; see VIII.5), whence 1sg. *-tíasur*, 2sg. *-tíasair* 'you (sg.) may go' and also *tísir* 'you (sg.) may come' (OIr. *tís* from *do:ic, (-)tic*) alongside *(-)tísor* 'I may come'. The second was the occasional application of the inherited *a*-subjunctive pattern with conj. 1sg. -C versus 2/3sg. /-Cə/, 3pl. /-Cəd/ (see VIII.2) to the 1sg. as the sole *r*-ending still in normal use in order to create a new and doubtless purely literary deponent set with conj. 1sg. /-ər/, 2/3sg. /- ərə/ and 3pl. /-ərəd/:

e.g., 2sg. *-ágara* 'you (sg.) should fear' (dep. *a*-subj. O/MidIr. 1sg. *-ágar*, OIr. 2sg. *-áigther*), 2/3sg *-fessara* 'you (sg.)/he should find out' (dep. *s*-subj. O/MidIr. 1sg. *-fessur*, OIr. 2sg. *-fesser*, 3sg. *-festar*), 3pl. *-clórat* '(they) should hear' (OIr. dep. *a*-subj. 1sg. *-cloor* > MidIr. *-clór* by B.3, OIr. 3pl. *-cloatar*). There was also sporadic hypercorrect use of the increasingly moribund *s*-subjunctive, as in 2sg. *do:gnéis* (*LL* 33571; OIr. *e*-subj. 2/3sg. *do:gné*) corresponding to 3sg. *do:gné* according to the inherited pattern seen in *s*-subj. conj. 3sg. *-té* versus 2sg. *-téis* (see VIII.5).

(e) Subject to various typical Middle Irish developments (e.g. fut. 3pl. abs. *bértait* 'they will carry (off)' at the end of SMMD §4 for OIr. *bérait* or 1pl. abs. *anfamit* 'we shall wait' for OIr. *a(i)nfim(m)i*) listed in E.1d above with reference to the subjunctive, the **future** (indicative) basically continued the endings inherited from Old Irish (see IX.1/3/5-6) except that the 1sg. abs. *-(e)a* /-ə/ of the *f*- and *a*-future was remodelled in the first instance to *-(a)it* under the influence of the new 1pl. *-m(a)it* (end of E.1b) in order to distinguish it from a now identical 2sg. *-(a)e* /-ə/: e.g., *regait-se* 'I shall go' (suppletive *a*-fut. of *téit*), *gébait-sa* 'I shall get' (*a*-fut. of *gaibid*) and *failsigfit-sea* 'I shall reveal' (*f*-fut. of originally dep. *failsigithir*). However, this solution was not very satisfactory as the new form was identical with the 3pl. abs., and this problem seems to have been swiftly resolved by depalatalising the *-t* /-d´/ to /-d/ since no ambiguity was possible with a 3pl. conj. *-e/at* incapable of being used with an independent simple verb: e.g., *sluindfet* in F.1(i) below, *bérat* 'I shall bear', *regat* 'I shall go', *rannfat* 'I shall divide', *foídfet* 'I shall send'.

As already mentioned in E.1a, the *f*-future typical of weak verbs (plus most H3 and *-ic* compounds; see IX.1) in Old Irish became productive and tended to spread to other classes in Middle Irish: e.g., 3sg. abs. *gonfid* glossing *génaid* in F.2c below (OIr. S1 *gonaid, -goin* 'slays'), 1sg. conj. *-meliub* 'I shall crush' (OIr. *-mél* from S1 *meilid, -meil*), 3sg. cond. *-genfed* 'would be born' (OIr. *-gigned* from S2 dep. *gainithir*) and *-mairnfed* 'would deceive' (OIr. *-mérad* from S1 *marnaid, -mairn*). Sometimes the *-f-* marker was added to a preexisting future stem rather than to the present as in the case of 3sg. rel. *rirfes* in D.2c or 1sg. *-ririub* (for OIr. *-ririu*, redup. *i*-fut. of S3 *renaid, -ren* 'sells'), 3sg. cond. *resfed* 'would run' (S1 *reithid, -reith* with *s*-fut. stem *ress-*), 3pl. *-cechlabat* 'will hear' (for OIr. *-cechlatar*, redup. *a*-fut. of S3 dep. *-cluinethar*, with loss of dep. inflection by E.1b) or even the compromise between both stems seen in 3sg. rel. *linfes* 'who will cling' (S3 pres. *-len*, redup. *i*-fut. *-lili*).

The *a*-future with long *é* vocalism, which was particularly prone to be used with roots ending in a liquid (*r, l*) or a nasal consonant in Old Irish (see IX.3b), also tended to spread to other roots of this shape with the result that fut. *lém-, gén-* and *dém-* tend to replace OIr. reduplicated *lilm-, gign-* and *didm-*(S2 *-laimethar* 'dares', *gainithir* 'is born' and *daimid* 'suffers') in Middle Irish. This future formation was especially liable to generate forms with *-é-* in the second syllable on the model of prototonic *-im(b)éra* 'will plie' (deut. *imm:béra*; S1 *imm:beir*), *-díchéla* 'will conceal' (deut. *do:céla*; S1 *do:ceil*) etc. and even *f*-futures with unsyncopated suffixal vowel were affected: e.g., 1sg. *-didém* 'I shall yield' (OIr. redup. *a*-fut. *-didem* from S1 *daimid*), *-anéb* 'I shall remain' (OIr. *f*-fut. *-ainiub* from W1 *anaid*), 3sg. *-aidléba* 'will visit' (OIr. *f*-fut. *-aid†libea* from W1 *ad:ella, -aidlea*), 3pl. *-taidlébat* 'they will visit' (OIr. *f*-fut. *do:aid†libet* from *do:aidlea, -taidlea*). Once established in this way, unstressed *-é-* began to spread as a future marker before a liquid to yield Middle Irish forms such as 1sg. *mannérat* 'I shall destroy' (W1 *mandraid*), 3sg. rel. *lomméras* 'who shall strip' (W1 *lommraid*), *saltéras* 'who shall trample' (W1 *saltraid*). A tendency of the syncopated stems of the compounds *fo:gaib* 'finds, gets' and *fo:á-caib* 'leaves', namely *(-)fag†b-* and *(-)fác†b-*, to be simplified to *(-)fag-* and *(-)fác-* respectively in Old Irish (e.g. 1sg. *-fagaim* 'I get'

at *LL* 23015 for OIr. *-fagbaim*), presumably encouraged the analysis of an inherited fut. like 3sg. *-fuicéba* 'will leave' as stem plus suffix *-éb-* and thus helped the *-éb-* future to extend its range still further: e.g., 3sg. pass. *-sluindébthair* (see E.1b) in F.1(xi) below, 3sg. *-aicéba* 'will see' alongside normal *f*-fut. *-aicfea* (both for OIr. redup. *i*-fut. *-aicigi*).

It remains to note that, although the *-é-* marker of the future generally resisted syncope in Old Irish except in the case of *do:gní* 'does' (IX.3b), a couple of other common verbs occasionally syncopate it in Middle Irish: e.g., 3sg. cond. *-tibred* 'would give' (OIr. *-tibérad* from *do:beir*) and *-faigbed* 'would find' (OIr. *-fuigébad* from *fo:gaib*). The suppletive *a*-future stem of *téit* 'goes' and compounds, namely *reg(-)* (in OIr. also *rig-*) sometimes displays a variant with *-ch(-)* in Middle Irish (probably under the influence of augm. *-dech-*, on which see X.4d): e.g., 1sg. *rachat* 'I shall go', 1pl. *rechmi* 'we shall go'.

(f) In the **preterite active** a homogeneous system of inflection for most verbs began to emerge in Middle Irish, largely as a result of a merger between the suffixless and the *s*-preterite. The Old Irish suffixless preterite was unusual in having not only no distinction between absolute and conjunct inflection but also identical forms in the 1 and 2sg. (see VI.A.4f). Since its 3sg. ending (e.g. *(-)gáid* 'prayed' from S2 *guidid*) was not dissimilar to the suffixless 3sg. conj. of the *s*-pret. (e.g. *-léic* 'left' from W2a *léicid*), an obvious means of resolving the latter ambiguity was to adopt the latter's conj. 1sg. *-us* and 2sg. *-ais*, whence a new singular paradigm such as 1sg. *do:chúadus* 'I went' (see D.1d for lenition after pretonic *do* etc.), 2sg. *do:chúadais* 'you went', 3sg. *do:chúaid* 'went' for OIr. 1/2sg. *do:coad*, 3sg. *do:coid* (augm. suff. pret. of *téit*; see X.4d). In the *t*-pret. the merger of conj. 1sg. *-urt* and 3sg. *-art* as /-ərt/ by B.1 led to the creation of a new 3sg. *-(a)irt* /-ərˊtˊ/ with palatal final as in the suffixless preterite, ambiguity with the old 2sg. then being avoided by remodelling *-(a)irt* there to *-rt-ais* and the way thus being paved for 1sg. *-rt-us* too: e.g., augm. 1sg. *am:ru-bart* 'I practised' (OIr. *imm:ru-burt* 'I have practised' from S1 *imm:beir*), 3sg. *at:ru-bairt, -é-r-bairt* 'said' (OIr. *as:ru-bart, -é-r-bart* from S1 *as:beir, -epir*), *-to-r-mailt* 'consumed' (OIr. *-to-r-malt* from S1 *do:meil, -tomil*), 1sg. *-tormaltus* 'I had consumed' (for *-tormalt* from OIr. *-tormult*), 2sg. *do:r-ar(n)gertais* 'you (sg.) promised' (OIr. *do:r-airngirt*; see VI.A.2). As can be seen from *do:n-áraill* for OIr. *d-a:n-árall* (W1 *do:aidlea*) in C.10 above, the *s*-preterite too was occasionally affected by the contrast between a palatal final consonant in the 3sg. and a corresponding non-palatal consonant elsewhere that had been inherited in the suffixless preterite and was now tending to spread to the *t*-preterite.

Since the new general singular pattern with 1sg. *-us*, 2sg. *-ais* and 3sg. *-Ø* (zero ending) was to all intents and purposes identical to that inherited in an augm. *s*-pret. such as 1sg. *ro:gabus* 'I took', 2sg. *ro:gabais* 'you took', 3sg. *ro:ga(i)b* (see end of E.1a), the stage was set for a merger in the plural too. Meanwhile the suffixless preterite tended to replace 2pl. *-(a)id* with a distinctive new ending *-(a)bair* (see E.4 below on copula 2pl. *-ba(i)r*, which probably spread first to the subsantive verb and then beyond) that had a final *-r* like inherited 1pl. *-(am)mar* and 3pl. *-(a)tar*: e.g., *ro:bábair* 'you have been' (OIr. *ro:baid*), *táncabair* 'you have come' (OIr. *táncaid* from *do:ic, (-)tic*, on which see end of V.B.2b), *ní:fúarabair* 'you have not found' (OIr. *-fúaraid*, on which see VI.A.4e). Merger between *s*- and suffixless preterite inflection in the plural simply resulted in both sets becoming more or less free variants along with a third hybrid set (possibly *s*-pret. deponent in origin; see E.1b) consisting of *-s-* plus the suffixless ending seen, for example, in 1pl. *ro:cráidsemmar* 'we have persecuted' (for OIr. *-cráidsem* from W2a *crád(a)id*), 3pl. *ro:scarsatar* 'have elapsed' (for OIr. *-scarsat* from W1 *scar(a)id*), *ro:ráidsetar* 'they said' (for OIr. *-ráidset* from

W2a *rád(a)id*) and *ní-r:léicsetar* 'they did not let' (for OIr. *-léicset* from W2a *lé(i)cid*). As pointed out in E.1c, regular use of the augment with a preterite in Middle Irish made it possible for weak verbs to dispense with the vowel ending of the 3sg. conj. pres. to yield W1 *-léic* beside *-léici/e* and *-marb* beside *-marba(e/i)* (see B.1). This free variation could then spread to the 3sg. pret. to produce *ro:léici/e* beside *ro:léic*, *ro:marba(e/i)* beside *ro:marb* and so on The new merged inflection may be summarised as follows, due allowance being made for originally deponent *-e/astar* as an alternative to *-Ø* in the 3sg. (see E.1b).

1sg. *-(i)us*	1pl.	*-sem(m)/-sam(m)*	or	*-(s)em(m)ar/-(s)am(m)ar*
2sg. *-(a)is*	2pl.	*-s(a)id*	or	*-(s)ebair/-(s)abair*
3sg. *-Ø* or *-a/-i* or *-e/astar*	3pl.	*-set/-sat*	or	*-(s)etar/-(s)atar*

A suffixless or a *t*-preterite with 1pl. *-ammar* and 3pl. *-atar* inherited from Old Irish (VI.A.2/4f) plus new 2pl. *-abair* could then easily acquire a variant ending with *-s-*, as in 3pl. *(co-)ro:scáigset(ar)* '(so that they) were exhausted' (for OIr. *-scáchatar* suffixless *á*-pret. of *scuchid*), *at:bertsat* 'said' (for OIr. *as:bertatar*, *t*-pret. of S1 *as:beir,* with *at-* for *as-* by D.1d), *ro:n-ortsat* 'slew him' (for OIr. *r-a:n-ortatar*, *t*-pret. of S1 *orgid*, with *ro-* for *ra-* by B.1). Conversely an old *s*-pret. could acquire a plural ending without *-s-*, as in *ro:chenglatar* 'they bound' (W1 *cenglaid*). The main trend with regard to the verbal stem itself was towards the pattern seen in the *s*-preterite, where this was either identical to the present stem or differed from it by no more than the quality of the final consonant, the upshot being the gradual demise of the *t*-pret. and the various distinctive stems of the suffixless preterite (see VI.A.4b-d): e.g., 3sg. *con:aitech* '(had) requested' (for OIr. *con:ai-techt*, augm.   *t*-pret. of S2 *con:di-eig*; see X.4a), *ro:theich* or *ro:theichestar* 'fled' (for OIr. *táich*, suffixless *á*-pret. of S1 *teichid*, with lenited *th-* by D.1d), *-mairnestar* and *-gonastar* in E.1b above, *ra-t:melestar* 'has ground you (sg.)' (for OIr. *ro-t:melt*, *t*-pret. of S1 *me(i)lid*), *ro:maid* 'broke' (for OIr. *memaid*, suffixless redup. pret. of S1 *maidid*), *ro:chan* 'sang' (for OIr. *cechain*, suffixless redup. pret. of S1 *can(a)id*), *ro:guid* 'besought' (for OIr. *gáid*, suffixless *á*-pret. of S2 *guidid*), *ro:ben* 'struck' (for OIr. *bí*, suffixless pret. of S3 *ben(a)id*), *ro:sern* 'arrayed' (for OIr. *sirt*, *t*-pret. of S3 *sern(a)id*), 3pl. *ro-s:gonsat* 'slew them' (for OIr. *no-s:(n)gegnatar*, suffixless redup. pret. of S1 *gon(a)id*), *fo:cherdetar* or *fa:cheirdset* or *fo:cherdsetar* 'they cast/put' (all for OIr. *fo:cartatar*, suffixless *a*-pret. of *fo:ceird*), *ro:lensat* 'followed' (for OIr. *leldar*, suffixless redup. pret. of S3 *lenaid*), *ra:benatar* 'they struck' (for OIr. *béotar*, suffixless pret. of S3 *ben(a)id*).

Apart from a few compound verbs that did not distinguish an augmented from an unaugmented stem (X.1c), augmented forms of the preterite had almost certainly ousted their unaugmented counterparts in normal speech by an early stage of the Middle Irish period (X.5f). Since only independent simple verbs could take absolute endings, the absolute endings of the *s*-pret. and sg. *t*-pret. (VI.A.1-2) will have disappeared from ordinary use as a result of this development. Such unaugmented preterites (e.g. *fo:cerd(s)et(ar)* above) as continue to be found alongside augmented counterparts in Middle Irish texts are, therefore, to be regarded as a literary archaism and good evidence for this is provided by a tendency to use conjunct rather than absolute endings with the unaugmented preterites of independent simple verbs: e.g., 1sg. *gabus* 'I took' (OIr. *gabsu*), 2sg. *dális* 'you poured out' (OIr. *dáls(a)i*), 3sg. *gab* 'took' (OIr. *gab(a)is*), *bert* 'bore' (OIr. *birt*) or the remarkable *sernai* 'arrayed' (for OIr. *t* -pret. *sirt*), 1pl. *lodsam* 'we went' (with conj. *-sam* for abs. *-saim(m)i* but OIr. suffixless *lodmar*), 3pl. *gabsat* '(they) took' (OIr. *gabsait*), *léicset* '(they) let' (OIr. *léicsit*), *oirgset* 'they ravaged' (with conj. *-set* for abs. *-sit* but OIr. *t*-pret. *ortatar*), *sernsat*

'(they) arrayed' (OIr. *sertatar*) and *gonsat* 'who slew' (with conj. -*sat* for abs./rel. -*sait(e)*, on which see D.2b, but OIr. suffixless redup. *gegnatar*). That said, in the particularly frequent 3sg. the old *s*-pret. abs. -*(a)is* was still often employed in this context, although as a result of the already documented Middle Irish tendency towards a single preterite inflection it was no longer confined to verbs that had taken an *s*-preterite in Old Irish: e.g., *anais* 'stayed' (*LL* 8140; W1 *anaid*) as in Old Irish but *luidis* 'went' for OIr. suffixless *luid*.

It remains to note that 3pl. *do:chúatar, -dechatar* (-*t*- /-d-/ < -*d⁽ᵗ⁾t*- by IX.2c; cf. *lotar* in VI.A.4f) of the augm. pret. of common *téit* 'goes' could be analysed as 3pl. ending -*atar* plus stem *do:chú*- or -*dech*-. As a result forms such as 3sg. *do:chúaid, -dechaid* could be taken as stem plus a 3sg. ending -*aid* that then sometimes spread to other preterites ending in a vowel, as in *ad:róegaid* 'chose' in F.2j versus *do:rraíga* in C.10 (see *do:goa* in vocabulary).

(g) In the **preterite passive** 3sg. abs. -*(a)e*, 3pl. abs. -*(a)i* (see VII.A.6b on doubts as to the precise OIr. vocalism) and conj. -*a* will all have fallen together as /-ə/ in Middle Irish as a result of B.1, the absolute endings anyway tending to drop out of regular use on account of the already noted preference for augmented forms in the Middle Irish preterite. Resultant confusion is reflected in sporadic Middle Irish examples of /-ə/ for -Ø (zero) in the 3sg. conj., as in *ro:anmnigthe* 'was named' (OIr. -*anmniged*) and *do:bretha* 'was brought' (OIr. *do:breth*). As noted in E.1a, there was a marked trend in Middle Irish towards replacing the varied realisations of the pret. pass. stem in OIr. strong verbs (VII.A.6a/b) with the weak pattern whereby 3sg. conj. -*e/ad* was simply added to the same stem as that of the present indicative (but note the pret. act. base employed quite exceptionally in *ra:léicsed* 'there was a releasing' versus normal -*léiced*): e.g., *ro:canad* 'was sung' (OIr. -*cét*; S1 *can(a)id*), *ro:guided* 'was besought' (OIr. -*ges(s)*; S2 *guidid*), *ra:naisced* 'was bound' (OIr. -*nass*; S1 *nasc(a)id* tending to become *naiscid* as with *org(a)id* to *oirgid* in E.1a above), *ro:sernad* 'was arrayed' (OIr. -*sreth*; S3 *sern(a)id*). A more clearly marked 3pl. conj. ending -*(a)it* was created as the counterpart to -*e/ad*, the palatal final presumably serving to distinguish it from 3pl. conj. -*e/at* in various other stems (see E.1e for a similarly motivated depalatalisation in the 1sg. fut.). There are three good examples of this new formation in the text *Comthóth Lóegairi* at the end of this chapter, namely *do:rónait* (F.2d; OIr. *do:rónta*, 3pl. augm. pret. pass. of H2 *do:gní*), *ro:curit* (F.2e; OIr. -*coirthea* from W2a dep. -*cuirethar*) and *ro:córaigit* (F.2e; OIr. -*córaigthea* from W2a dep. *córaigithir*).

Even in Old Irish a few verbs had a *t*-preterite active stem identical to that of the preterite passive, notably S1 *agid* (3sg. conj. pret. act./pass. -*acht* 'drove, was driven'), *alid* (3sg. conj. pret. act./pass. -*alt* '(was) nurtured'), *aingid* (3sg. conj. pret. act./pass. -*anacht* '(was) protected'), *orgid* (3sg. conj. pret. act./pass. -*ort* 'slew, was slain') and *do:fuissim* (3sg. conj. augm. pret. act./pass. *do:rósat* 'has (been) begotten'). This relationship seems to have generated occasional Middle Irish deployment of an active stem taken over from the preterite passive: e.g., 3sg. *ro:dét* 'granted' (OIr. act. -*dámair*, pass. -*dét*; S2 *daimid*), *dia-rro:chét* 'to whom sang' (OIr. act. -*cachain*, pass. -*cét*; S1 *can(a)id*), *do:breth(a)* 'brought' (OIr. act. *do:bert*, pass. *do:breth* and note the unusual -*bertad* with the converse use of the pret. act. stem in the pret. pass.; S1 *do:beir*), 3pl. *do:brethsat*. Augmentation of the reduplicated *s*-pret. act. 3sg. *do:géni* (see VI.A.5) and the pret. pass. 3sg. *do:gníth* (see VII.A.6a) of the common H2 verb *do:gní* regularly resulted in OIr. *do:rig(é)ni* and *do:rónad* respectively but in Middle Irish these preterite stems became interchangeable with *do:rón*- occuring in the active (e.g. 3sg. act. *do:róni* in F.2a below) as well as the passive (e.g. 3pl. pass. *do:rónait* in F.2d) and *do:rign*- being found in the passive (e.g. 3sg. pass. *do:rigned* in F.2c) as well as the

active.

(h) The **imperative** endings (V.D.1) did not undergo significant change in Middle Irish except insofar as deponent endings (VII.B.1d) tended to be replaced by the corresponding normal active forms (note 1pl. *-e/am(m)* at the end of E.1b) in accordance with E.1b (note 1pl. *-e/am(m)* there), whence, say, 2sg. *suidig* 'place!' for OIr. *suidigthe* or *cluin* 'hear!' alongside inherited *cluinte*.

There was likewise little change in the **imperfect** endings added to the present, subjunctive and future stem in order to constitute an imperfect indicative (VI.E.1), a past subjunctive (VIII.7) and a conditional (IX.8) beyond those due to typical Middle Irish spelling fluctuations in the representation of 2sg. *-th(e)a*, 2pl. *-th(a)e* and 3sg. pass. *-th(a)e* (all now /-ə/ by B.1) and to a tendency to lengthen the vowel of some endings to yield 2sg. (or 3sg. pass.) *-thá* or *-thé*, 1pl. *-m(a)ís* and 3pl. *-t/d(a)ís* on occasion (e.g. *betís* in D.4a above). The particle *no* prefixed to these regularly conjunct forms (except for the copula sometimes) in the absence of another conjunct particle or pretonic preverb (V.E.1) is sporadically replaced by *ro* or *do* (cf. D.1b above and see E.3c below): e.g., 3sg. ipf. *ra:armad* 'used to arm', *ra:déirged* 'used to make (a bed)' and *da:benad* 'used to strike' (with *ra* and *da* for *ro* and *do* by B.1; *no:* in OIr. and usually in MidIr. too).

E.2. Compound verbs.
The reader should by now be all too aware of the huge variety inherent in the standard Old Irish alternation between independent deuterotonic and dependent prototonic forms of the language's numerous compound verbs (see V.B.2). Not surprisingly, strategies aimed at reducing the monstrous complexity of this system were evolved in Middle Irish.

(a) A handful of compound verbs in Old Irish could be taken (rightly or wrongly as the case may be; see VII.B.1e) to constitute their independent forms by repeating the first preverb of the dependent form, notably *do:tuit* 'falls' vs. neg. *ní:tuit* etc., *fo:fúair* 'found' vs. *ní:fúair* etc., *fo:fúasna* 'disturbs' vs. *ní:fúasna* etc. and *ad:ágathar* 'fears' vs. *ní:ágathar* etc. This anomalous pattern had the obvious advantage of entailing no change in the stressed part of the verb and was extended somewhat in Middle Irish, particularly where the common initial preverbs *con* and above all *do* where concerned: e.g., *fo:fácaib* 'leaves' (for OIr. *fo:ácaib*, quite possibly by D.1e above) 'leaves' vs. *-fácaib*, *as:oslaic* 'opened' (for OIr. *as:oilc*) vs. *-oslaic*, *con:compred* 'was begotten' (for OIr. *con:breth*) vs. *-co(i)mpred*, *con:comairnectar* 'they met' (for OIr. *con:ráncatar*) vs. *-comairnectar*, *do:t(h)áet* 'comes' (for OIr. *do:tét*; see D.1d on lenition here and in the following exx.) vs. *-táet*, *do:thuc* 'brought' (for OIr. *do:u(i)c*) vs. *-tu(i)c*), *do:thaitni* 'shines' (for OIr. *do:aitni*) vs. *-taitni* and even *do:thung* 'I swear' (for OIr. simple *tongu*) vs. *-tung*.

(b) However, a more radical and effective solution to the complexities of the alternation between deuterotonic and prototonic forms was to convert compound verbs into simple verbs. Since both had the same conjunct endings in the dependent form, the basic technique was to create new independent versions of old compound verbs by simply replacing the prototonic form's conjunct endings with absolute ones on the model of simple verbs inherited from Old Irish. In this way it was possible to obviate the complex set of alternations seen in the opposition between independent deuterotonic forms such as *do:leici* 'lets go, casts', *do:sluindi* 'denies', *im:beir* '(bears around,) plies' or *im:soí* 'turns round' inherited from Old Irish and their dependent prototonic counterparts *-teilci*, *-díltai* (MidIr. *-diúlt-* by B.2), *-immir* (3pl. *-imret*; from OIr. *-imbir, -imbret* by B.5) and *-impai* 'turns'. The straightforward addition of absolute endings to the latter when independent gave

rise to the new simple verbs *teilcid/-teilci, diúltaid/-diúlta(i)* (or *-teilc(enn), -diúlt(ann)*; see E.1c), *imrid/-im(m)ir* (or *-imrenn*), *impaid/-impa(i)* (or *-impann*) that behaved just like old simple verbs such as *léicid/-léici* 'lets', *sluindid/-sluindi* 'mentions', *beirid/-beir* 'bears', *soid/-soí* 'turns'. Further typical examples of this highly significant Middle Irish development include *cotlaid* 'sleeps' (for OIr. *con:tuili, -cotlai*), *éistid* 'listens' (for OIr. *in:túaisi, -éitsi*, later *-éisti* by B.5), *derscaigid* 'excels' (for OIr. *do:róscai, -derscaigi*), *élaid* 'escapes' (for OIr. *as:luí, -élai*), *fastaid* or *fostaid* 'stops' (for OIr. *ad:suidi, -astai*; *f-* by D.1e and *-st-* for *-ts-* by B.5), *fétaid* 'gets, can' (for OIr. *ad:co-ta, -é-ta* 'gets'; *f-* by D.1.e), *imthigid* 'goes around' (for OIr. *im:tét, -imthet* but 2sg.(pl.) *-imthig(id)* etc.), *oslaicid* 'opens' (for OIr. *as:oilci, -oslaici*), *tócbaid* 'raises' (for OIr. *do:fócaib, -tócaib*; 3pl. *-tócbat*), *tuillid* 'earns' (for OIr. *do:slí, -tuilli*). It can also be seen in 1sg. (rel.) *indlimm* in F.1(viii) (for OIr. *in:laim*), 3sg. rel. *fognas* in F.1(xiv) (OIr. *fo:gni*), 3pl. (rel.) *tecait* in F.2a (for OIr. *tecat* from *do:ic, (-)tic*; see D.2b above on MidIr. abs. endings for OIr. rel. endings/forms) and 1pl. *recmaít* in F.2e (for OIr. *recam* from *ro:ic, (-)ric*; see the end of V.B.2b on the OIr. independent prot. form in this and the preceding example; cf. E.1h on the long vowel of the ending).

A less widely used alternative strategy for creating new simple from old compound verbs was provided by the relationship between a verbal noun and its verb seen in a small number of weak verbs such as *ás* 'growing' vs. W1 *ásaid* 'grow', *cennach* 'buying' vs. W2a *cennaigid* 'buys' or *scor* 'unyoking' vs. W2b *scuirid* 'unyokes'. This suggested the possibility of replacing certain old compound verbs by corresponding simple verbs based upon the former's verbal noun, typical examples being MidIr. *cométaid* 'protects, preserves' for OIr. *con:oí, -cumai* with vn. *comét* 'protecting', MidIr. *cumtaigid* 'builds' for OIr. *con:utaing, -cumtaing* with vn. *cumtach* 'building', MidIr. *dermataid* 'forgets' for OIr. *do:ruimnethar, -dermainethar* with vn. *dermat* 'forgetting', MidIr. *díglaid* 'requites' (see E.1e on fut. *dígélaid*) for OIr. *do:fich, -dích* with vn. *dígal* 'requiting' (gen. *díglae*), MidIr. *in(d)isid* 'relates' for OIr. *ad:fét, -indet* with vn. *indisiu* 'relating' and *toimsid* 'measures' for OIr. *do:midethar, -toimdethar* with vn. *tomus* 'measuring' (gen. *toimsea*). The productive *-(a)ig-* suffix (VII.B.1b) could also be added to a verbal noun to produce a MidIr. form such as *aithnigid* (vn. *aith(g)ne* + *-(a)ig-*) alongside *aithnid* 'recognises' (based either on the vn. or on prot. *-aith(g)nen(n)* of S3 *ad:gnin*), and further doublets could then be created on this model as in the case of *íarfaid* (see F.2i below) beside *íarfaigid* 'asks' (see E.2c below).

(c) The foregoing developments almost inevitably made it increasingly difficult to produce the historically correct deuterotonic forms of all but the commonest compound verbs in writing, confusion between various pretonic preverbs being particularly prone to occur in Middle Irish texts: e.g., *ar:ding* for OIr. *for:ding* 'crushes' (see C.9b on parallel confusion between the prepositions *ar* and *for*), *ar:cota* for OIr. *ad:cota* 'possesses', *at:fócht* or *im:facht* or *con:fócht* for OIr. *t*-pret. *íarmi:foacht* 'asked' (in MidIr. often *ro:íarfacht* or *ro:íarfaig* by E.1f; new simple *íarfaigid* for OIr. cpd. *íarmi:foig, -íarfaig* 'asks'), *fo:cing* for OIr. *do:cing* 'advances', *for:ecmaing* or *bar:ecmaing* (see end of B.5) for OIr. *do:ecmaing* 'happens', *do:chlunim* or *at:chlunim* for OIr. dep. *ro:cluiniur* 'I hear' and conversely *ra:connaic* or *da:chonnaic* 'saw' for OIr. *ad;condairc* 'has seen' (see B.1 on *r/da* for *r/do* and D.1d on *at* and lenition of *-chonnai(r)c* etc.), *con:cechlabat* for OIr. dep. *ro:cechlatar* 'they will hear' (see E.1e), *ad:róegaid* '(which he) had chosen' for OIr. *do:róegu* (see end of E.1f; irreg. H3 *do:goa*) .

E.3. The augment.

(a) The semantic difference between augmented and corresponding unaugmented forms in Old Irish (see X.1) seems to have been more or less abandoned by the beginning of the Middle Irish period.

The augment's potential function was taken over by *fétaid, -(f)éta(nn)* 'can, is able' (from OIr. *ad:cota, -éta* 'gets, obtains'; see E.2b) plus verbal noun, and the distinction between unaugmented forms without and augmented forms with resultative or 'perfect' meaning was also lost. This development generally led to the demise of the latter except in the case of the preterite and the subjunctive. Augmented forms of the preterite increasingly displaced their unaugmented counterparts (see X.5f and note frequent examples such as augm. narrative pret. *ro:chreti* 'believed'*, fo:ru(í)sestar* 'acknowledged' and *ro:luic* 'swallowed' for unaugm. *cretis, fo:sisestar* and *slocis* in F.2a below). In the subjunctive there was a tendency to distribute the two sets of forms mechanically by preferring unaugmented forms except in purpose clauses introduced by *co* or *ara* 'in order that', where augmented forms tended to be generalised (see X.1b on Old Irish usage; note *co:rra-bat* 'so that they may be' with augm. subj. in F.1i and the fact that in F.2b the final clause *co:tuidchised* 'that he might come', on which see X.4, contains the only augm. subj. in that text).

(b) As far as the formal side of things was concerned, the basic tendency in Middle Irish was to advance the use of the augment *ro* and its evolution from a preverb to a regularly proclitic conjunct particle still further (see X.2/4 on Old Irish usage). Accordingly its attachment to a(nother) conjunct particle in combinations such as *ní-ro* and *co-ro* (often to *ní-r, co-r* by B.4) became still more frequent than it had been in Old Irish (X.2c) and an extension of this principle now made it possible to prefix *ro* alone in proclisis to old compound verbs in imitation of the pattern *ro:gab* vs. *ní-ro:gab* etc. already in use with old simple verbs. The latter development, of course, went hand in hand with the marked Middle Irish tendency to transform many old compounds into new simple verbs by E.2b above: e.g., *ní-r(o):thepi* 'has not fashioned' and then also *ro:thepi* '(has) fashioned' for earlier *do:é-r-bai* or *do:r-ei-pi* (OIr. S3 *do:ei-pen, -t-ei-pen* 'cuts, fashions', MidIr. also simple *teipid, -teip(enn)*); *día-ro:diúlt* 'when he (had) denied' and then also 3pl. *ro:diúltsat* '(have) denied' for earlier *do:ríltiset* or *do-ro:sluindset* (see X.2c; OIr. W2b *do:sluindi, -díltai* 'denies', MidIr. also simple *diúltaid, -diúlt(ann)*); *ra:thuissim* 'begat' for OIr. *do:rósat* 'has begotten' (OIr. S1 *do:fuis-sim, -tuis-sim* 'begets', MidIr. also simple *tuismid*; see E.1f on *s-* for *t-*pret. in this and some subsequent exx.); *ra:(f)recair* 'replied' for OIr. *fris:ro-gart* 'has replied' (OIr. S2 *fris:gair, -frecair* 'replies', MidIr. also simple *frecraid*); MidIr. *ra:chotail* 'slept' or *ní-r(o):chotail* 'did not sleep' for OIr. *con:a-tail, ní:comtail* 'has (not) slept' (see X.4a on augm. *ad*; OIr. W2b *con:tuili, -cotlai* 'sleeps', MidIr. also simple *cotlaid*), *ro:tidnaic* (with *-c* under influence of vn. *ti(n)dnacul*) or *ro:t(h)idnacht* 'has bestowed' for OIr. *do:é-com-nacht* (see X.4b on augm. *com*) or once *do:r-ind-nacht* (see X.2b on prevocalic *ro*; OIr. S1 *do:indnaig, -tindnaig* 'bestows'). Suppletive patterns were sometimes regularised in the same way, as in the case of *ro:thuit* 'fell' for OIr. *do:ro-chair* (or unaugm. *tuitis* 'fell' for OIr. *do:cer*; S2 *do:tuit, -tuit* 'falls' tending to become simple *tuitid* in MidIr.) or *ro:chuir* 'put, threw' for OIr. *ro:lae, -ralae* (see end of X.4d; OIr. *fo:ceird, -cuirethar* 'puts, throws' tending towards simple non-dep. *cuirid* in MidIr.). Occasionally *ro* was even added in Middle Irish to verbs that had been immune to augmentation in Old Irish to yield sporadic *do:r-ánic* or *ru:thánic* 'came, has come' or *fo:r-úair* '(has) got' beside still normal *do:án(a)ic, (-)tán(a)ic* or *(fo:)fúair*.

(c) Doublets such as pret. *do:thidnacht* 'bestowed' or *do:thair(che)chain* 'foretold' (for OIr. *do:indnacht/-tindnacht, do:airchechain/-tairchechain* by E.2a) and augm. *ro:thidnacht* '(has) bestowed' or *ro:thair(che)chain* '(has) foretold' (by E.3b) in Middle Irish seem to have made it possible to take proclitic *do* as a variant of the initial proclitic augment *ro* on occasion: e.g., *do:dílsig* '(who) has made over' beside *ro:dílsig, do-das:sáer* '(who) had delivered them' beside *ro-da(s):sáer, da:maid* 'it broke' beside *ro:(me)maid*. This in turn led to some hypercorrect use of

ro for *do*, as in *ro:chúaid* 'has gone, went' for *do:chúaid* (OIr. *do:coid* 'has gone'; see X.4d), *ra:dechaid* 'has come, came' for *do:dechuid* (X.4d).

4. The copula.

The use of a stressed personal pronoun as the subject of a 3sg. verb (3pl. or 3sg. with a 3pl. pronoun), which is seen rather infrequently in Middle Irish texts but was doubtless more widespread in normal speech, seems to have been first established with the copula and the passive (see D.1a above). In the first and second persons of the latter it competed with an inherited construction entailing a 3sg. verb plus the appropriate infixed pronoun (see VII.A.2), *ní:mairfider thú* 'you (sg.) will not be killed' in D.1a for older *ní-t:mairfider*. In Middle Irish the copula was clearly moving from the full system of personal inflections inherited from Old Irish (see III.A.4) to one similar to that found in the passive, where the first and second persons sg. and pl. were expressed by means of a 3sg. verb plus 1/2sg./pl. pronoun (infixed or independent, as the case might be). Since the latter pattern, which was destined to win out in Modern Irish, has already been illustrated in D.1a above, the focus here will be upon Middle Irish inflection of the copula by means of a third-person form (usually 3sg.) plus infixed pronoun. An extensive collection of Old and Middle Irish forms will be found in the *DIL* entry '*is* copula'.

Even in Old Irish there had been a limited tendency to attach pronominal elements to forms of the copula, notably in pres. 2sg. *a-t* or *i-t* (for earlier **i*, the trigger presumably being provided by analysis of 1sg. *am* as *a-m*), 1pl. indep. *ammi-n* beside older *ammi* and dep. *-d/tan* replacing earlier *-d/tem*, 2pl. *adi-b* or *idi-b* tending to replace older *adi* (see III.A.4). This trend increased in Middle Irish to yield forms such as pres. neg. 2sg. *nídat* for 2sg. *nída* formally indistinguishable from 1sg. *nída*, which then also tended to become *nídam*, and 1pl. *nídar* beside *nídan* (see D.1c above on MidIr. 1pl. infixed *(a)r* for OIr. *(n)n*). These could easily be analysed as 3sg. neg. cop. *ní* plus a class C infixed pronoun 1sg. *-dam*, 2sg. *-dat*, 1pl. *-dan* or *-dar*, and Middle Irish confusion between the different classes of pronoun then opened the way for the substitution of the increasingly preponderant class A forms (see D.1c) to produce the likes of 1sg. *ní-m* 'I am not' (or even *nímda* by contamination with *nída*), 2sg. *ní-t* 'you are not', 2pl. *ní-for/-bar* (see D.1c above on MidIr. 2pl. infixed *f/bar* or *f/bor* for OIr. *b*) and even occasional 3pl. *ní-s* for OIr. *nit* alongside *nít/dat* (III.A.4). Application of this principle of formation to non-neg. pres. forms resulted in MidIr. 1sg. *is-am* 'I am', 2sg. *is-at* 'you (sg.) are' (/əsəd/ by B.1 and so sporadically spelt *isit* and so on; likewise *mas-at* 'if you are' on the basis of 3sg. *mas* for OIr. *masu* 'if it is' by B.4), 1pl. *is-ar*, *at-ar* (presumably modelled on the 2pl. and taken as 3pl. *i/at* /əd/ + pron.) or *dar* by B.4 and then even *ar* 'we are', 2pl. *ataba(i)r* (with substitution of *-f/bar* for *-b* of OIr. *adi-b*, now /əðəv/ by B.1, and then *t* /d/ from 3pl.) and *at-bar/-for* 'you are' (by analysis as 3pl. + pron.) and also sporadic 3pl. *is-at* extrapolated from inherited neg. *ní-(da)t* (similarly 3pl. *mas-(t)at* 'if they are' for OIr. *matu*; see III.A.4). Predictably enough, other tenses and moods of the copula were also affected by this process in Middle Irish: e.g., pres. subj. 1sg. *-(r)p/bam*, 2sg. *bat*, *-(r)p/bat* (3sg. *ba, -p/b(o)*) and then similarly fut. 1sg. *bam* 'I shall be', 2sg. *bat* 'you will be' (for ambiguous inherited 1/2sg. *(-)ba* /bə/ in both subj. and fut.), pres. subj. 1pl. *-ban* (as in OIr.) or *-(r)bar*, 2pl. *-pfor* or *-rbar*; past subj. 1sg. *-badam*, 2sg. *-badat* (3sg. *bad* as in OIr.), 1pl. *badar*; pret. 1sg. *basam, -b/psam* or *(-)b/pam*, 2sg. *basat, -b/psat* or *(-)b/pat* (based on 1/2sg. *basa, -b/psa* or 3sg. *ba* respectively), 1pl. *-psar*, 3pl. *-(r)b/p(s)at(ar)* (see E.1f on 3pl. pret. *-sat(ar)* beside *-atar*). Although apparently not directly attested, a MidIr. pret. 2pl. *ba-ba(i)r* may be safely inferred.

F. Reading practice.

1. Below are the remaining verses of the already discussed (D.3c above) poem by Cellach mac Rúandai. The opening and concluding quatrains do not name their metre but this is the same *sétrad* (or *sétnad*; I, n.) *fata* as is found and named in the second quatrain. Metrical analyses may be checked by looking the relevant metre up in Gerard Murphy's *Early Irish Metrics*. Notwithstanding its relatively late date, this poem occasionally exhibits already encountered poetic features such as the preposed genitive *lugbairt* and tmesis of *ní:selba* in verse (vii).

(i) **Sluindfet** *dúib dagaisti in dána -*
bid díglaim ratha do ráith -
etir ísil ocus úasail
co:rrabat i clúasaib cáich.
[E.1e]

(ii) *SÉTRAD FATA, ferr a fégad,*
aiste drumchla dána déin,
rind airchetail rabuic ríagla
gabait na *clíara do chéin.*
[B.1, D.2b/E.1a, B.4]

(iii) *SÉTRAD NGARIT, grés s**áer** sorcha,*
súairc a dath;
*ní:**fuil** co n-anmain na-ch:**molfa***
*romth**a** a rath*

(See D.3c above for stanzas iv-vi)

[B.3, B.1, D.2b, E.1b, B.1]

(vii) *LETHDECHNAD* **lugbairt** *cráeb chumra*
ní sáeb selba;
*and-**sain** ní laiste mo labr**a***
*aiste ergn**a**.*
[B.5, B.1; see vocab. for *sain*]

(viii) *Is aiste rathmar co rrind,*
is éicse athlam **indlimm;**
bágaim **conid** *bairdne bind*
DEBIDI álaind IMRIND.
[D.2b/E.2b , B.1, D.2a]

(ix) *DEBIDE SCAÍLTE* **na** *scél*
ní hí-side nád:aithgén;
iss hí-seo ind aiste **bláith** *brass*
i:ngnáthaigther in senchass.
[B.4, B.5; see V.A.3b on metre]

(x) *Aiste úallach aile* **acum,**
ní hord aicnid imníabthaig;
maith maisse cech raind réil **rigim**
a DÉIN MIDING milbríathraig.
[C.9c/D.1b, D.2b]

(xi) *SNÁM SEBAICC co:**sluindébthair?***
ro:sia firu fungaire;
déntar lim-sa dúas, ní gó,
do chnúas **na** *cnó cumraide.*
[E.2e, B.4]

(xii) *CASBAIRDNE chas* **chumaide**
is brass má **ro-s:binnige;**
nocho cóir *a cam**m**fige*
*dar ce**nd** n-óir is indile.*
[B.5, D.1b/E.2d, vocab. for *nocho*, B.3, B.5]

(xiii) *ANAMAIN irdairc,*
*úasal in slo**nn**od;*
*ní-s:**dénand** duine*
uile acht ollom
[B.5, E.2c]

(xiv) **Is íat-sain** *ardaist**e** in dána*
fognas na llaíde mar *loing;*
do Día **bermait** *buid**e** ar* **mbérla;**
*cía duine ségd**a** na-ch:**sloind**?*
[D.1a, vocab. for *sain*, D.2b/E.2b, B.1, B.4,C.9b, E.1b, B.5, B.1, E.1a/c]

2. The text from LU below in H's hand (see I.A.3) relates to the legend of Saint Patrick's conversion of king Lóegaire of Tara to Christianity and considers the legal issue of how to handle the Christian law of forgiveness before concluding with an account of Lóegaire's death some thirty

years later. In the absence of conclusive pointers to an Old Irish original, the plentiful supply of Middle Irish forms throughout the text indicates a date of composition not long before H's probably twelfth-century scribal activity. Bold italics and bracketed references have only been used in the case of significant Middle Irish developments that have not already been encountered frequently enough in preceding passages. Where bold italics are not accompanied by a reference, the relevant information should be available in the vocabulary.

(a) *Comthoth Lóegairi co cretim ₇ a aided ad:fét in scél so.*
*Baí comthinol fer nErend hi Temraig i n-aimsir Lóegaire meic Neill. Is de immorro boí in comthinol sin **occo** [C.9a; D.1b] im dála na creitmi la firu Herend - o desid iarom ógi na cretmi la firu Herend ₇ o-ro:**pridcastar** [E.1b] Patraic soscela dóib ₇ ro:sáraiged Loegaire con-a drúdib hi fertaib ₇ hi mírbailib dermáraib do neuch **do:róni** [E.1g] Patraic hi fíadnaisi fer nErend conid íarom **ro:chreti** [D.2c] ₇ fo:rusestar Loegaire ógréir Patraic. **Ro:luic** [D.1d] dano in talam Loegaire **druí** [C.3] **tria** [c.9c] brethir Patraic conid **na** [B.4] chend **chacait** [D.2b/c] **na** [C.6b] huili coin **tecait** [E.2b] hi **Temraig** [C.5d].*

(b) *As-ro:chongrad iarom o Loegaire formna flathi fer nErend do thudecht i n-oenmagin fri hóentaid n-**imacallma** [B.5] im chorus a mbescna ₇ a rechtgai. Do:chós uadib co Patraic co:tuidchised don dáil. A lathe didiu re tichtain do Patraic cucu **imm-us:n-arlasatar** fir Herend etorro **monetir**.*

(c) *'Ceist,' **or** [C.9b] Loegaire friu 'cid as andsam (.i. **dolgi** [C.6d]) lib ro:**pridchastar** [E.1b] in clerech dúib?' 'Ni handsa, cáin dilguda' or siat [D.1a]. 'Ar ond úair **gébas** [D.2a] cach duni céill for dilgud dó **aneich** do:géna di ulc, ni:bia commus for foglaid de sin ₇ genaid (.i. **gonfid** [E.1e]) cach fer araile ár nibá hecal leis a aitber fair.' 'Ceist didiu, cid do:génaid fris sin?' or Loegaire. 'Cade do airli-siu **immi** [B.5; IV.B.2]' ol iat [D.1a]. 'Is ed a rric mo air[e-]se de' ol-se '**masa** [B.1; III.A.4] chomairli lib-si, .i. fromthar a aicned fessin **ocaind** [B.5; C.9c] imm**on ní** [C.1a] **ro:forcan** [E.1f; E.2b; E.3b], .i. gontar nech di-a muintir ar-a bélaib. **Mád día:loga bemit**-ni [E.1b] for-a breith. Ma-ni:**loga** immorro ní:bem-ni forsind recht sin. Ro:sudiged didiu a comarli Loegairi ₇ fer nErend fer sainrodach do guin ind arad (.i. Nuadu Derg dalta Loegairi, iss e **ro-s:gon** [D.1c; E.1f]) **boí** [D.2b] ar bélaib Patraic amal tísad isin dáil. **Do:rigned** [E.1g] iarom samlaid.*

(d) *Iarsindí didiu ro:bíth in fer do muintir Patraic ar-a belaib oc tairléim dó as-a carput. Do:recacha Patraic dochum nimi, ar ba hand boí a socraiti. La sin ro:gab crith ₇ talamchumsugud mór insi Herend ₇ a firu ₇ ro:lá in slúag boí isin dáil tar-a cend ₇ ro-s:gab crith ₇ ómun dofulachta ₇ **do:ronait** [E.1g] **marb**tís [C.9b; E.1h] máirb.*

(e) *La ssin didiu slechtais Lóegaire **co dutrachtach** [C.6e] co formnu fer nErend do Patraic. 'Ainmne, ainmne, a Patraic' **oldat** [C.9b] fir Herend. 'Ro:pridchais dilgud, tabair dilgud dún.' Tuc iarom Patraicc óg ndilguda dóib. Gabth-us iarom Lóegaire ainmchairdine Patraic and sin ₇ **bennachais** [B.5] Patraicc **hé** [D.1a] ₇ a síl. 'Tabair tra' **oldat** [C.9b] fir Herend fri Patraic 'comarli dún imm**on ní** [C.1a] sea, .i. im cangin dilgotha. Cid do:génam **immi** [B.5; IV.B.2]?' Ar in caingen forsa:**tairisfe** [E.1b] **ocain**-ni [C.9c] **innossa** [B.5],' **for** [C.9b] siat [D.1a] 'is fair **bías** [B.3, D.2c] túath ₇ eclais, ₇ dano' ol fir Herend '**recmait** [E.2b] a les sudigud ₇ ordugud cach rechta **lind** [B.5; IV.B.2] cid i n-ecmais na caingni sin.' 'A dénam samlaid,' ol Patraic. 'Tasfenad cách a dán hi fíadnaisi fer nErend.' Is and sin trá tarchomlad cach óes dána i nHerind **cor:tasfen** [B.4] cách a cherd [C.3] fíad Patraic ₇ **fíad firu** [C.9a] Herend. **Ro:curit** [E.1g] dano a **forbonna** [B.5] and sin*

*úadib ₇ **ro:córaigit** [E.1g] ina téchtu.*

(f) *Do Dubthach macú Lugair dano ro:herbad **coceirt** [C.3] a mbreth íarn-a **bennachad** do Patraic ₇ íar senad a gena co:tanic rath in Spirta **Naim** [B.5] fair, conid hé **ro:taisfen** [E.2b; E.3b] filidecht ₇ brethemnas ₇ recht fer nErend olchena hi fíadnaisi Patraic. Nonbur airegda ro:boí ocond ordugud sin - Patraic ₇ Benen ₇ Cairnech o eclais, .i. tri epscoip; Loegaire mac Neill rí Herend ₇ Dáiri rí Ulad ₇ Corc mac Lugdech **na** [C.6b] tri ríg; Dubthach macu Lugair ₇ Fergus fili ₇ Rus mac Tricim sui **berla** [B.5] Féni.*

(g) *Is ed trá a rrícht **occo** [C.9a] and sin im dála dilgotha, .i. in bibdu ₇ in cintach **na** [B.4] chinaid ₇ **logad da** [B.3] anmain, .i. aithrigi do lecun dó ₇ cen **logad** día churp, .i. bás d' **immirt** [B.5] fair. **Ro:ordaigset** [E.1b] dano fir Herend a nemthiu and sin, .i. cloc ₇ salm do eclais, geill do rígaib, trefoclae techtae do filedaib, **athgabáil** [C.3] do fennethaíb.*

(h) *Ni:tabairthe tra co:tanic Patraic erlabra acht do tríar [B.3], .i. fer comcni cumnech díambad eól **fresneis** [B.5] ₇ **aisnéis** [B.5] ₇ scélugud, fer cerda fri molad ₇ aír, brithem fri brithemnas ar roscadaib ₇ fasaigib. O thánic Patraic immorro is fo mámmus **a:tát** [B.3] **nahí** [C.6b] seo, .i. do **fir** [B.3] in **berlai** [B.5] buain, .i. inna canoni **naími** [B.5].*

(i) *Boí Loegaire trichait mbliadna iar sin i rrigi Herend hi comling fri Patraic ₇ bá do réir Patraic **chena** [C.9b] boí-seom. Luid iarom Loegaire slogad co Laigniu do cuincid na boromi foraib. **Ro:thinolset** [D.1d, E.2b, E.3b] Lagin ₇ do:ratsat cath dó ₇ mait-i for Loegaire in cath, .i. cath Atha Dara. Ro:gabad Loegaire **sin** [B.4] chath ₇ do:bretha ratha fri Laigniu, .i. grían ₇ esca, usci ₇ aer, **lá** [B.3] ₇ adaig, muir ₇ tír, **co-nna:iarfad** [E.2b] in boromi céin bad beó. Ro:leced ass íarom.*

(j) *Is ed tra **ro:tairgired** [E.2b, E.3b] do Loegaire combad eter Erind ₇ Albain fo:gebad a aidid conid de sin **na:deochaid**-sium [B.2, D.2c] muirchoblach riam. Luid tra Loegaire doridisi slogad már co Laigniu do saigid na boromi faraib. **Ní:thuc** [D.1d] immorro a ratha di oid. O ranic iarom Grellaig nDa Phil for táeb Chassi i mMaig Liphi eter **na dá** [C.8] cnoc .i. Eriu ₇ Albu a n-anmand, a-t:bath and sin ó gréin ₇ o gaith ₇ ona ráthaib **archena**. Ar ní:laemthe tudecht tairsiu isind aimsir sin, conid de as:bert in fili:*

> *A-t:bath Loegaire mac Neill*
> *for táeb Chassi, glas a tír.*
> *Duli Dé **ad:roegaid** raith*   [E.1f]
> *tucsat **dal** báis forsin ríg.*   [C.3]

> *In cath i n-Ath Dara déin*
> *i:rragbad Loegaire mac Neill.*
> *Násad fír na ndúla De,*
> *iss ed ro:marb Loegaire.*

(k) *Tucad dano corp Loegairi **anes** [B.5] iar tain ₇ **ro:hadnacht** [E.2b, E.3b] co n-armgasciud isin chlud imechtrach airtherdescertach rigratha Loegairi hi Temraig **hé** [D.1a] ₇ a aiged fo des for Laigniu oc cathugud friu, ar ropo náma-som **na** [B.4] bíu do Laignib. Ba sí dano ráith Loegairi tech midchúarta in tan sin ₇ is airi **con:aitech**-som [E.1f] a adnacul and.*