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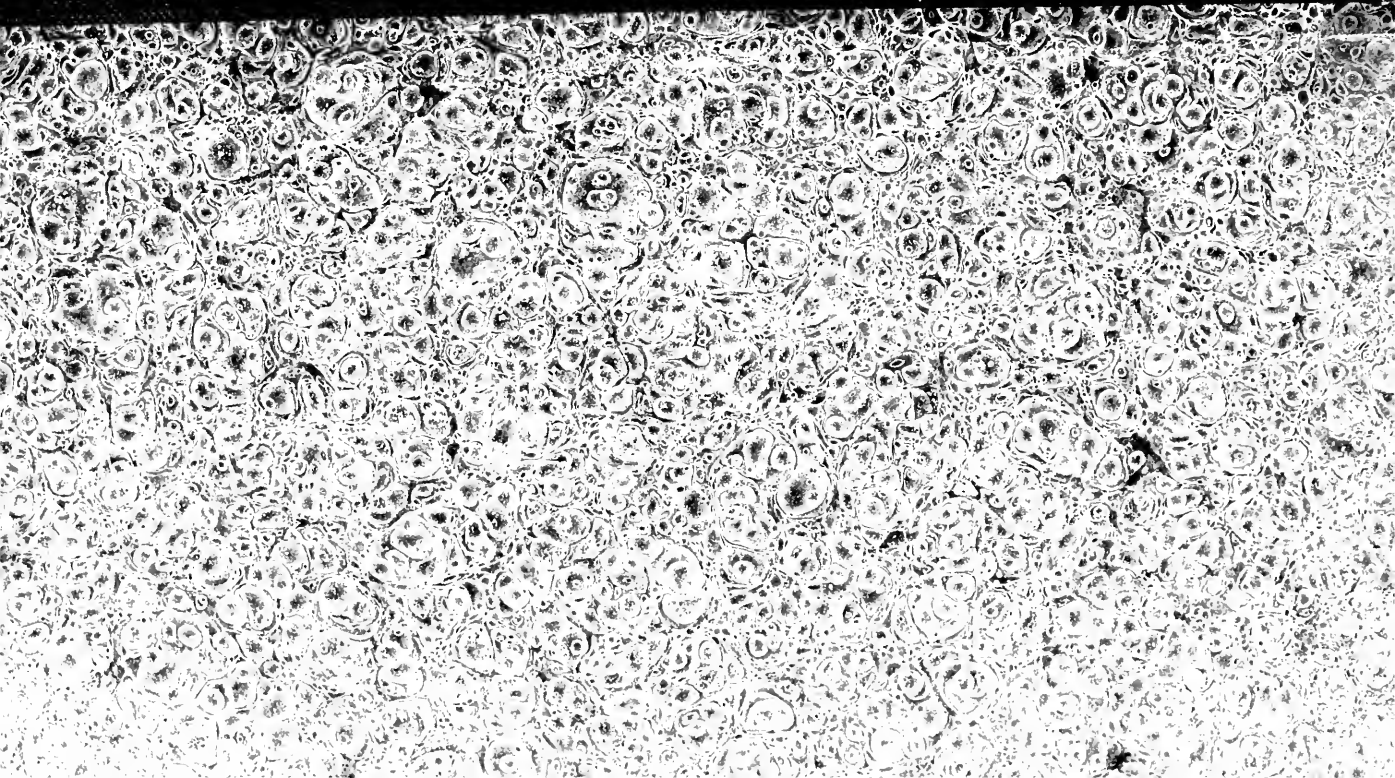

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# A CONCISE OLD IRISH GRAMMAR AND READER

BY

JULIUS POKORNY, PH.D., LL.D. (VIENNA)

*PART I: GRAMMAR*

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER

DUBLIN
HODGES, FIGGIS AND CO., LTD.

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# PREFACE

THIS little book has been written in order to serve as an easy introduction to the scientific study of Old Irish. There is need for such a book; for the Manuals of Strachan and Thurneysen, excellent as they are, are not very well suited for beginners. Though the Old Irish literary remains that have been preserved in contemporary MSS. consist almost exclusively of Glosses and Scholia, a great number of fine stories and poems, going back to Old Irish times, have been preserved in later MSS., often corrupt and modernised by the mediæval scribes, but not so much changed that it would not be possible to restore the original text with some certainty.

In the Reader I have endeavoured to give representative examples of the chief literary subjects: saga, religion, law—both in prose and poetry—and some also of the more interesting glosses. The critical Old Irish texts are accompanied by full notes with constant references to the respective paragraphs of the grammar. For the use of beginners who have not the assistance of a teacher, a short text with a copious and elaborate commentary has been included.

The grammar is built up in accordance with the strictest scientific principles, though with regard to the arrangement of the paragraphs the practical point of view has been considered in the first instance. It is quite evident that this part especially of the book must be deeply indebted to the grammars of Thurneysen and Pedersen. Strachan's publications also have been of great value to me, and some rules have been literally taken over from his *Selections from the Old Irish Glosses*. But that



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my grammar is no mere extract from the works of my predecessors and that I have made my own way, where necessary, will become apparent in considering *e.g.* the chapter on the difficult problems of palatalisation.

I wish to state here my deep indebtedness to the kindness of Professor Kuno Meyer, who kindly read the proofs and assisted me in the most liberal way by frequent gifts of books and pamphlets.

But my chief thanks are due to the 'Gesellschaft für Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen,' whose most generous financial assistance enabled me to revisit Ireland and Wales in order to complete my dialectal studies and to collect new material for further publications.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc. = accusative.
act. = active.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
arch. = archaic.
art. = article.
cf. = compare.
compar. = comparative.
conj. = conjunction.
cpd. = compound.
dat. = dative.
dep. = deponent.
der. = derived.
e.g. = for instance.
encl. = enclitic.
f. = feminine.
Fél. = Félire Oéngusso (early 9th century).
fr. = from.
fut. = future.
gen. = genitive.
gl. = gloss or glosses.
Got. = Gothic.
i.e. = that is.
I.E. = Indo-European.
impf. = imperfect.
ind. = indicative.
inf. = infinitive.
infix. = infixed.
ipv. = imperative.
Lat. = Latin.
leg. = read.
lit. = literally.
Lith. = Lithuanian.
m. = masculine.
Mid. I. = Middle Irish.
Ml. = Milan Glosses (early 9th cent.).
Mod. I. = Modern Irish.
n. = neuter.
neg. = negative.
nom. = nominative.
O. C. = Old Celtic.
O. Ir. = Old Irish.
p. = page.
part. = participle.
part. nec. = participle of necessity.
pass. = passive.
perf. = perfect.
pl. = plural.
poss. = possessive.
Pr. Ir. = Prehistoric Irish (5th cent.).
prep. = preposition.
pres. = present.
procl. = proclitic.
pron. = pronoun.
rel. = relative.
s. = see.
sec. = secondary.
Sg. = St. Gall Glosses (middle of 9th century; partly copied from other sources).
sg. = singular.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
st. = stem.
subj. = subjunctive.
suff. = suffixed.



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Tur. = Turin glosses (early 9th cent.).
verb = verbal.
voc. = vocative.
Wb. = Würzburg glosses (2nd half of 8th century).
´ *e.g. bó* is used as mark of length in Old Irish words. (Written over I.E. consonants it denotes palatal quality.)
` *e.g. dobìr* denotes the accented syllable.
ⁿ *e.g. arⁿ* indicates that the word eclipses a following consonant which is capable of eclipse.
\- *e.g. -tabair* signifies that a proclitic preverb (§ 53, note 2), has been left out before the respective verbal form.
* *e.g. *viros* denotes reconstructed or postulated forms.
ə = I.E. *sh'wa* (see p. 45 footnote.)

[Only the chief rules and exceptions are given in the following grammar; less important matter will be discussed in the notes.]

## A.—ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 1. As the orthography varies at different periods, most of the orthographical peculiarities will be explained in the notes to the respective texts.

Here I shall only remark that

1. In the interior of a word, or in final position, the voiced stops *b, d, g* are represented by *p, t, c* (or *bb, dd, gg*) regularly after vowels and occasionally after consonants:

e.g. *epir* 'say,' *art* (also *ardd, ard*) 'high,' *écen* 'necessity.'

2. The voiced stop *g*, if preceded by *r* or *l*, appears sometimes as *cc*:

e.g. *moircc* (Wb) 'woe!'

3. The voiced stop *g* (sporadically also *b, d*) resulting from the assimilation of a consonant group may be written *cc* (also *pp, tt*) after a vowel, but mostly only in intervocalic position.

e.g. *conàc(c)ab* (=*con-ad-gab*) 'he kept,' *appriscc* (=*ad-brisc*) 'brittle.'

4. The voiceless stop *c* is often represented by *cc*, mostly after vowels, but occasionally also after consonants.

Also the voiceless stop *t* in analogous positions may be represented by *tt*, but this doubling is much less common. The doubling of *p* occurs only sporadically.

e.g. *-àicci* (I.E. **ad-kᵛis-et*) 'he sees,' *airdircc* (**pṛe-derḱi-*) 'conspicuous,' *attach* (**ad-tekom*) 'praying,' *corpp* (fr. Lat.) 'body.'

**Note.**—For the explanation of these orthographical peculiarities, see § 90. It cannot be doubted, however, that double consonants are often written only in order to show that the respective consonant was not aspirated (§ 5).

5. Words beginning with a vowel take often a (merely graphic) *h* before them.

e.g. *(h)umae* (fr. **omijo-*) 'brass.'

It is doubtful whether such a *h* can have represented in some instances an actual pronunciation.

e.g. in *(h)uisse* (fr. **justijo-*) 'fitting,' or *(h)il* (fr. **pelu*) 'much.'



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## B.—PHONOLOGY

### § 2 Phonetic Table of Irish Consonants

| Name | Stops | | Spirants | | Liquids | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Voiceless | Voiced | Voiceless | Voiced | Nasal | | |
| Dentals, . | *t* | *d* | *th*, *s* | aspirated *d* | *n* | *l* | *r* |
| Gutturals, | *c* | *g* | *ch* | aspirated *g* | *n* before *g* | | |
| Labials, . | *p* | *b* | *f* (*ph*) | aspirated *m* | | | |
| | | | | aspirated *b* | *m* | | |
| Breathing, | | | *h* | | | | |

For the different qualities of the consonants, and the difference between aspirated and unaspirated *n*, *l*, *r*, see §§ 7, 35.

§ 3. As already in the O. Ir. period the orthography is to some extent historical, the spoken sounds, as given in the preceding phonetic table, are not always identical with their orthographical representatives.

*e.g.* the voiced spirant *d* in *peccad* 'sin' may be represented also by *th* (*peccath*), though final unaccented *th* had become voiced throughout.

§ 4. **Table of Irish Vowels.** (For the glide-vowels s. §§ 36-41.)

There are 5 short vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

„ 5 long vowels, *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*.

and 8 diphthongs, *aí* (*áe*), *oí* (*óe*), *uí*, *áu*, *éu* (*éo*), *íu*, *ía*, *úa*.[1]

Following Thurneysen, I write *aí*, *oí*, *uí*, in order to distinguish these diphthongs from long *á*, *ó*, *ú*, followed by a palatal glide.

### Aspiration

§ 5. Every consonant can be aspirated (or lenited).

Aspiration (lenition) takes place between vowels and in some other postvocalic positions in the interior of a word.

e.g. *cath* 'battle' fr. **katus*, *arathar* 'plough' fr. **arətrom*.

[1] On the diphthongs *ia*, *ua* with short *i* and *u*, which occur only in proclitic words, see § 126 and § 81, exception 1.

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§ 6. Forms ending formerly in a vowel aspirate the initial consonant of a closely connected following word.

§ 7. The stops *b, d, g, p, t, c*, when aspirated, are converted into the corresponding spirants; *m* becomes a voiced nasal spirant; *s* is converted into a voiceless breathing *h* (if *s* goes back to an old *sv* or *sp*, its aspirated form is *f*, e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svcsōr*, but *mo fiur* 'my sister.'); aspirated *f* is silent, and consequently sometimes omitted in writing; aspirated *l, n, r* have a much less intensive articulation than the corresponding unaspirated sounds.

§ 8. Only in the case of *c, p, t* is aspiration regularly expressed in writing (*ch, ph, th*); in later O. Ir. the aspiration of *f* and *s* is marked by putting a dot over them (*ṡ, ḟ*); *b, d, g, m, l, n, r* may represent the aspirated or the unaspirated sounds. But while the aspirated sounds cannot be doubled in writing, this is done frequently with the unaspirated sounds; mostly after vowels, but sometimes also after consonants. See § 90, § 34 and § 1 note.

On the doubling of initial unaspirated consonants, see § 34.

**Principal Rules for Syntactical Aspiration.** (Cf. § 6.)

§ 9. The article, and the adjectives *cach, nach, alaile, indala, uile, cétnae, inonn* aspirate a noun in the nom. sg. f. and nom. pl. m., in the dat. sg. of all genders, and in the gen. sg. m. and n.

e.g. *do-n chorp* 'to the body.'

§ 10. An adjective or a dependent genitive, when closely connected with the foregoing word, is very often aspirated, if the preceding noun is

(*a*) a dat. sg. (of all genders.)

(*b*) a nom. sg. f., or voc. sg. of all genders.

(*c*) a gen. sg. of a masc. or n. *o* or *jo* stem, or a nom. pl. of a masc. *o* or *jo* stem.

(*d*) nom. or voc. pl. n.

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e.g. *hó thoil cholno* 'as to the desire of the flesh' (*a*); *tol cholnide* 'carnal desire' (*b*); *ind folaid chétnai* 'of the same substance' (*c*).

§ 11. After the poss. pron. *m(o)*, *do*, *t'*, *a* (m. and n.), the infixed pron. 1 and 2 sg. and 3 sg. n., *sí* 'she,' the neuters *alaill* and the interrogative pronouns *ced*, *cid* (§ 22, Exc. d.), *ci-sí* aspiration takes place.

e.g. *a chenél* 'his tribe,' *for-dom-chomaither* 'I am preserved.'

§ 12. The voc. particle *a*, the conj. *ocus* (*acus*), *no* and *fa* (*ba*), and the prepositions *amal*, *ar*, *cen*, *di*, *do*, *fiad*, *fo*, *im(m)*, *ís*, *ó* (*úa*), *ós* (*úas*), *tre* (*tri*) aspirate the initial of immediately following nouns.

e.g. *fo chosmuilius* . . . 'after the fashion of' . . .

§ 13. After the nom. acc. gen. dual m. and f. aspiration takes place.

e.g. *di chétbuid* 'two senses.'

§ 14. The conjunctions *ma*, *cía* (*ce*), *co*, *ó*, and the negatives *nicon*, *nacon* aspirate the initials of the following verbs.

e.g. *ó chretsit* 'since they have believed.'

§ 15. Aspiration is found after some forms of the copula,

*e.g.* always after the imperative and after relative forms: *nech bed char(a)e* 'any one that was a friend.'

§ 16. In the interior of nominal compounds aspiration takes place:—

(*a*) after nouns, adjectives, and numerals.

e.g. *dag-theist* 'a good testimony.'

(*b*) after the prefixes *so-* (*su-*), *do-* (*du*)-, *mí-*, *neb-* (*neph-*).

e.g. *mí-thoimtiu* 'a false opinion.'

(*c*) after prepositions ending originally in a vowel; later also after other prepositions.

e.g. *airchenn* (fr. **pre-k*ʷ*engnom*) 'head, end.'

§ 17. In compound verbs all preverbal prepositions, the nega-

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tive *nad* and the particles *no-*, *ro-* (if no infixed pronoun follows) aspirate the initial of the following syllable, *if the verb is used relatively* (§ 159, b III.).

e.g. *intí for-chain* 'he that teaches. *is hed inso no-chairigur* 'it is this which I reprimand.'

**Exception a.** When the relative form expresses an accusative relation, either eclipsis or aspiration may take place.

e.g. *is ed ad-chobrai-siu* 'that is what thou desirest,' or *is ed ad-cobrai-siu* (with eclipsed *c*, i.e. *g*).

**Exception b.** The copula is not aspirated after *na* and *ro-*.

**Exception c.** After *nad* eclipsis takes place in the cases mentioned in § 28.

§ 18. In compound verbs aspiration takes place after *ro-* and the other preverbal prepositions originally ending in a vowel, when they are stressed (later also after other prepositions, e.g. *com-*, *etar-*, *for-*, etc.)

e.g. *ni ìm-thesid* (fr. **n̥bhi-(s)teigh-s-etc*) 'ye should not walk.'

### Syntactical Aspiration does not take place

§ 19. (*a*) in a word beginning with *d*, *t* if the preceding word ends in *l*, *n*, or *s*.

e.g. *cen tossach* 'without beginning.'

(*b*) In a word beginning with a stop or spirant, if the preceding word ends in a homorganic consonant.

e.g. *cach cloíne* 'every iniquity' (cf. § 9.)
*bad tréuin* 'be ye strenuous' (cf. § 15.)

**Note 1.**—Initial *p* is sometimes aspirated and sometimes not.

**Note 2.**—The initials of the adjective *cach* (*cech*), the emphasising pronouns *-sa*, *-se*, *-su*, etc., and the affixed demonstrative particles *so*, *sin* (except after prepositions, e.g. *di-sin* 'hence') and the possessive pronoun *mo* are never aspirated.

e.g. *tíagussa* (=*tíagu-sa*) 'I go' (cf. § 8), *ind libuirse* 'of this book.'

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### Eclipsis

§ 20. Words ending originally in *-n* may eclipse the initial consonant of a closely connected following word. (Cf. § 22, note 2.)

§ 21. When eclipsed the voiceless stops *c, t, p* become voiced, *b, d, g* are changed into *mb, nd, ng* (pronounced *m, n, ŋ*); *f* becomes a voiced spirant *v* (written *b*); *s, r, l, n, m* seem to remain unchanged (cf. § 34 note), while vowels take an *n-* before them.

It is only in the case of *b, d, g* and of initial vowels that eclipsis is regularly expressed in writing.

### Rules for Eclipsis

§ 22. Eclipsis takes place after the gen. pl. and acc. sg. of all genders and the nom. and acc. sg. neuter of all declinable words.

e.g. *nert n-irisse* 'strength of faith,' *co cenn m-bliadnae* 'till the end of the year.'

**Exception a.** If the word following the eclipsing form is a dependent genitive or a preposition with suffixed personal pronoun, eclipsis may take place or not.

e.g. *lúa m-brátha* or *lúa brátha* 'day of doom.'

**Exception b.** Unstressed words (§ 51) or syllables (§ 53, 3) cannot be eclipsed as a rule, though in later O. I. proclitic words are occasionally eclipsed.

e.g. *torbae do neuch* (not: *torbae n-do*) 'a profit for any one.'

**Exception c.** As *n* may be thrown out between certain consonants[1] eclipsis is often given up when the eclipsing *n* (*m*) would stand between two consonants.

e.g. *nach díchlith* (or *nach n-díchlith*) 'any concealment' (acc.).

**Exception d.** The neuters *alaill* 'another' (probably also *aill*), *na* 'any' (probably also *ní* 'anything') *ced, cid* 'what?'

[1] e.g. *tair(n)gire* 'promise,' *scrib(n)did* 'scribe'; also other consonants may be thrown out e.g. *foryaire* or *forngaire* instead of **forcngaire* (=*for-con-gaire*) 'command.'

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(probably also *ed* 'it'), and the infixed neuter personal pronoun of the 3 sg. do not cause eclipsis (cf. § 11).

e.g. *na galar* 'any sickness.'

**Note 1.**—The nominal prepositions *dòchum* 'to,' *i n-degaid,* 'after' and *tar-ési* 'in place of,' which cause eclipsis, are likewise subject to the exceptions a, b and c.

**Note 2.** Eclipsis takes place after the nominative and accusative singular neuter, even if the form did not originally end in *-n.*

e.g. *bir n-umai* (fr. i.e. **g'eru omijī*) 'a spit of brass.'

§ 23. The numeral adjectives *secht, ocht, noí, deich* (also *coíc* and *sé* in the genitive case), the possessive pronouns *ar, far, a* ('their') and the interrogative particle *in* cause eclipsis.

§ 24. Eclipsis takes place after the neuter dual forms and the dative dual of all genders of the numeral 2.

e.g. *i n-dib n-úarib déac* 'in twelve hours.'

§ 25. Eclipsis takes place after the conjunctions *a* 'when,' *ara* 'in order that,' *co, con* 'so that' *dia* 'if,' *ó (úa)* 'since' and the prepositions *co* ('with'), *i, íar, re (ría).* On *dochum, i n-degaid, tar-ési,* see § 22, note 1.

§ 26. The relative particle *(s)a* causes eclipsis.

e.g. *tressa m-bí bethu* 'through which is life.'

§ 27. Eclipsis takes place regularly after the infixed personal pronoun of the 3 sg. masc. and often after the infixed personal pronoun *s* of the 3 sg. fem. and 3 plur.

e.g. *cot-n-erba* 'he entrusts himself'; *no-s-m-bered* 'he carried them.'

§ 28. In compound relative[1] verbs the negative *na, nad,* the preverbal prepositions and the particles *ro-, no-* (if no infixed pronoun follows) eclipse the initial of the following syllable under the following conditions:

a. If the relative form expresses an accusative relation.

e.g. *in núall do-n-gní* 'the shout which he makes.'

See also § 17, exception a.

[1] In the cases mentioned below under b (but not after adjectives), c, e, f, g, the verb is not necessarily relative, and hence eclipsis is not obligatory.

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b. After adverbs and adjectives of manner.
e.g. *is maith do-m-beir* 'it is well that he gives.'

c. After substantives with the force of an oblique case of the relative.
e.g. *laithe ro-n-génair* 'the day on which he was born.'

d. In the so-called etymological figure.
e.g. *légend ro-llégusa* (= *ro-n-légus-sa*) 'the reading which I have read.'

e. After certain nominal and pronominal conjunctions: *ama(i)l, céin, céne, inta(i)n, lasse, a* ('when') *óre* (*úare*), *fo bíth, dég.*

f. In reported speech,
e.g. *as-beir nad-n-íba* 'he says that he will not drink.'

g. With a dependent subjunctive.
e.g. *amaires na-n-da-tiberad día* 'unfaith, that God would not give it.'

h. After *ol* 'than' and 'because.'
e.g. *ol as-n-gleinn* 'because he searches out.'

§ 29. In relative verbs which contain an infixed pronoun the eclipsing *n* is inserted immediately before the *d* of the pronoun.
e.g. *amal as-i-n-d-biur sa* (not **as-n-id-*) 'as I say it.'

§ 30. In simple relative verbs eclipsis takes place under the same conditions as in compound relative verbs (§ 28) though not regularly. Only after *a* 'what' eclipsis is regular.
e.g. *amal n-guidess* 'as he prays,' *is maith n-ásas* 'it is well that it grows,' i.e. 'it grows well.'

Note.—Absolute copula forms are not eclipsed but cause eclipsis of a following stressed word.
e.g. *céin bas m-bó* 'as long as he is alive.'

§ 31. In interrogative sentences absolute copula forms sometimes cause eclipsis.
e.g. *cit n-é* 'who are they?'

§ 32. A petrified *n* is found in *uechtar n-aí* 'either of them,' *cechtar n-aí* 'every one of them,' *indala n-aí* 'one of them,' and *cechtar n-athar* 'both of us.'

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§ 33. **The eclipsing *n* may be omitted in writing** if the next word begins with a (merely graphic) *h* (cf. § 1, 5.)

e.g. *dochum hirisse* (or *dochum n-irisse*) 'unto faith.'

### Doubling of Initial Consonants

§ 34. As proclitic words are often written together with the following stressed word, the initial consonant of this word may be treated orthographically like a consonant in the interior of a word. Thus if the preceding proclitic word (ending in a vowel) does not cause aspiration (e.g. the prepositions *a, co, fri, la,* the neuter *na* 'any' etc.) the initial consonant may be doubled (§ 8), and the voiced stops *b, d, g* may be written *p, t, c,* etc. (§ 1).

e.g. *tíagussa* (=*tíagu-sa*) 'I go,' *bacalar* (=*ba galar*) 'it was sickness'; *colláa* 'to the day' (=*co láa*; both forms in Wb. 5b 4).

The same explanation holds good in the case of verbal compounds, where such doubling is found after the pretonic preverbal prepositions, after *ro-, no-* and the negative particles *ni, na, coni, cona,* etc., provided the verb is not relative.

e.g. *niténat* (=*ni dénat*) 'they do not do,' *dommuinetar* (=*do-muinetar*) 'they believe.'

Perhaps this doubling is not in every case merely orthographical. Spontaneous doubling of initial consonants occurs also in Italian.

In the genitive of the article, the fem. possessive pronoun *a* and other words ending originally in *-s*, the aspirated final *s* (=*h*) may have been assimilated to the following consonant.

**Note.**—The doubling of *s, l, r, n, m* after eclipsing pretonic words could be also explained by assuming assimilation to the eclipsing *n*.

### On the Quality of Consonants

§ 35. Every consonant may be pronounced in three different ways. It may possess a palatal (*i*) quality, a broad or neutral (*a*) quality, or a rounded (*o* and *u*) quality according to the point of contact of the tongue with the palate and the position

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of the lips. A palatal consonant is followed by *e* or *i*, a broad consonant by *a*, and a rounded one by *o* or *u*.

### Glide-Vowels

§ 36. Before a palatal consonant at the end of a word or of a syllable (except after *i*, *í*, and the diphthongs *áe aí*, *óe oí*, *uí*) a glide-vowel *i* is regularly inserted.

e.g. *muir* 'sea' (fr. **mori*), *toim-tiu* 'opinion' (fr. **to-mentjō*).

§ 37. Before a vowel-flanked palatal consonant, which begins a new syllable, an *i* glide is likewise often inserted, though not regularly.

e.g. *fla-thi* or *flai-thi* 'princes' (fr. **vlətejes*).

§ 38. Before an *u* coloured consonant at the end of a word or of a syllable after short *a*, *e*, *i*, an *u* glide is regularly inserted; only here and there an *u* glide appears also before a vowel-flanked *u* coloured consonant.

e.g. *fiuss* 'knowledge (fr. **vid-tus*), *firu* 'men' (acc. pl.).

**Note.**—There is a strong tendency in final consonants to give up their *u* quality in favour of the more neutral *a* colour (cf. § 49). Instead of *-euch* appears often *-eoch*.

§ 39. No glide-vowel is inserted before (originally) *a* or *o* coloured consonants.

e.g. *fer* 'man' (fr. **viros*).

§ 40. Final *a*, *o*, *u* preceded by palatal consonants are regularly written *-ea*, *-eo*, *-iu*, sometimes only *-a*, *-o*, *-u*, if the palatal quality of the preceding consonant is already indicated by the insertion of an *i* glide (§§ 36, 37).

e.g. *didiu* or *didu* 'hence,' fr. *di-ṡuidiu*. *aithrea* 'fathers' (acc. pl.) fr. **aterās*, I.E. **pəterns*.

§ 41. Final *e*, *i* preceded by non-palatal consonants or vowels are from the ninth century onwards regularly written *-ae*, *-ai*; later[1] they become *-a*.

e.g. *núë*, *núae*, *núa* 'new' fr. **novijo-*; *lobre*, *lobrae*, *lobra* 'weakness.'

[1] Before a closely connected word already in the 8th cent., e.g. *láa m-brátha*, 'day of doom.' Cf. § 139, note 2.

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### Old Final Syllables

§ 42. In words of more than one syllable all final vowels and diphthongs have been dropped, except when preceded by *j*. (Cf. § 46.) On vowels preceded by *v* see § 112, 3.

e.g. *túath* 'people' fr. **teutā*, *-biur* I carry fr. **bherō*.

§ 43. Final *d, t, k, n, m, s* and all consonant groups containing *s* (except *rs, rks, rts, rps*, and *ls, lks, lts, lps*) have been dropped.

e.g. *mí*, 'month' fr. **mēns*; *rí* 'king' fr. **rēĝs*.

§ 44. In words of more than one syllable ending in any of the consonants mentioned in § 43 (except *rs, ls*, etc.) a preceding short vowel is dropped together with the final consonants.

e.g. *traig* 'foot' fr. **trəghets, sail* 'willow' fr. **saliks*.

**Exception**. Short vowels are kept[1] before final *ns, nts*. On *-anks, -ants* see § 144.

e.g. *fíado* 'lord' fr. **veidonts*.

§ 45. In words of more than one syllable long vowels and diphthongs in final syllables have been preserved[1] as short vowels, if followed (originally) by a consonant.

e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svesōr, túatha* 'peoples' fr. **teutās*.

**Exception.**—Before final *-n, -m* long vowels have been shortened very early and are treated like short vowels (§ 118).

e.g. *fer* (gen. plur. of *fer* 'man') fr. **viron*, older **virōm*.

§ 46. Final *unstressed* syllables preceded by a *postvocalic* consonant (or *u, v*)+*j* are never dropped.[2] *jĭ* and *jĕ* give *i*, *jŭ* (final *-jū* may come from older *-jō*) gives *u*, *jo* and *jă* (also *jā, jē*, when followed originally by a consonant) give *e*.

e.g. *aile* m. f. 'other' fr. **aljos, *aljā*; dat. sg. m. *ailiu* fr. **aljōi*.

### Influence of Lost Vowels in Final Syllables on the Preceding Consonants

§ 47. If the lost vowel was *ĕ* or *ĭ* or an *i* diphthong, the

[1] Preserved final unstressed *o* has become *a* towards the end of the eighth century.

e.g. *fessa*, older *fesso* fr. **vidtous*, gen. sg. of *fi(u)ss*, 'knowledge.'

*a* and *u* in similar position remain unchanged.

On *e* and *i* see § 41.

In *proclitic words* a final rounded vowel appears as *o* or *u* (cf. § 81, exception 1-3).

[2] Even after *j* which has been developed from unstressed *ĕ, ĭ* in hiatus (§ 125).

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preceding consonants become palatal e.g. *muir* 'sea' fr **mori*, *neirt* (gen. sg. of *nert* 'strength') fr. **nertī*; *fir* 'men' fr. **virī*, older **viroi*. But final *-ōi* acts like *ō* e.g. *fiur* (dat. sg.) fr. **virōi*.

§ 48. If the lost vowel was *ă̆*, *eu*, *ou* or *o* (*ō* in final syllables had become *ū*, except before *-m*, *-n*, cf. § 45 exception), the preceding consonants become broad.

e.g. *sciath* 'shield' fr. **skeitos*.

§ 49. If the lost vowel was *u*, *ă̆u*, *ōu*, *ō*(*i*) or *ū*, the rules are more complicated.

1. Consonants preceded by long vowels (save *ū*) or diphthongs are regularly broad.

e.g. *dán* 'gift' fr. **dōnus*.

**Exception.**—After *ē* resulting from compensatory lengthening (§§ 107-108) final *l*, *n*, *r* keep their *u* quality.

e.g. *éun* dat. sg. of *én* 'bird' fr. **petnōi* (cf. § 48).

2. *ch*, *cc*, *th*, *d* (if from *th*, § 72) and *ss* preceded by *ă̆* (*ə*) are likewise broad.

e.g. *cath* 'battle' fr. **katus*, *glanad*, 'cleansing' fr. **glanatus*.

3. In other cases we have to distinguish between stressed and unstressed syllables:

(*a*) in unstressed final syllables, except in the cases mentioned above the *u* quality regularly prevails (but consonants originally preceded by *jă̆*, *jo* are broad; see *brithem*, § 145).

e.g. *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.

(*b*) in stressed syllables some consonant groups and *ss* often —though not regularly—give up their *u* quality in order to become broad.

e.g. *mess* 'judgment' fr. **med-tus*; *fiss* or *fiuss* 'knowledge' fr. **vid-tus*.

**Note.**—All these rules are very often crossed by analogical influences. In datives like *galar* 'sickness,' *sacardd* 'priest,' the preservation of the second *a* may be due to the assimilation to the first *a*.

### Development of Secondary Vowels after the Loss of Final Syllables

§ 50. If after the loss of final syllables a final consonant group

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ended in *l, r, n, m*, preceded by a different consonant, a secondary vowel is developed between them.

e.g. *arathar* 'plough' fr. **arətrom, immon* 'hymn' fr. Latin *hymnus*.

(On the quality of these vowels, see § 60.)

(On secondary vowels developed in syncopated syllables, see § 59.)

No secondary vowel is developed

(*a*) If the preceding consonant has been lost (§§ 107, 109.)

e.g. *úar* 'cold' fr. **ougro-*.

(*b*) If *m, n*, are preceded by postvocalic *r, l* or aspirated *d*.

e.g. *salm*, psalm' fr. Latin *psalmus*.

## Stress

§ **51**. The article, pronouns, and prepositions before their relation, infixed personal pronouns and the copula as well as emphasising pronouns, affixed demonstrative pronouns, and some conjunctions (but cf. p. 29, footnote), never bear any stress.

§ **52**. All other words with exception of the verbs are stressed on the first syllable.

**Note.**—In compounds, as *ro-mór* 'very great,' *com-lán* 'complete' the stem syllable may bear a secondary stress. This is of course a late development.

§ **53**. With regard to verbs we have to distinguish:

1. Simple and denominative verbs (*i.e.* verbs formed from a noun) are always stressed on the first syllable.

e.g. *còmalnaithir* 'fulfils' (fr. *comlán*).

2. Compound verbs (including verbs which have the verbal particle *ro-* before them) are stressed on the first syllable[1] only in the following cases:

(*a*) In the imperative, except when there is an infixed pronoun.

e.g. *èpir* 'say' fr. **eḱs-bhere*, but *du-m-èm se* 'protect me.'

(*b*) After the relative preceded by a preposition.

e.g. *frissa n-epur* 'to whom I say.'

[1] So-called genuine compounds, § 173, 2; cf. § 181, footnote.



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(*c*) After the negative particles *ni, na, nad, nach* and their compounds (*nicon, mani, ceni*, etc.).

e.g. *arna-còscram* (=*con-scaram*) 'in order that we may not destroy.'

(*d*) After the interrogative particle *in*

e.g. *in fòdmat?* 'Do they suffer?' (=*fo-damet*).

(*e*) After the conjunctions *ara*ⁿ 'in order that,' *co*ⁿ, *con*ⁿ 'so that,' *dia*ⁿ 'if, when,' *ó* (*úa*ⁿ) 'since.'

e.g. *con rò-chra* (=*ro-cara*) 'that he might love.'

**Exception.**—If the verbal particle *ro-* comes immediately (without an intervening infixed personal pronoun) after the aforementioned particles (with the exception of *nad*) the stress is sometimes shifted to the following syllable.

e.g. *con-ru-fàilnither* 'that it may be supplied,' but *con rò-chra.*

3. Otherwise in compound verbs (including verbs which have the verbal particles *no-* or *ro-* before them) the second element bears the stress.[1]

e.g. *do-bèir* 'he gives,' *ro-gàb* 'he has taken.'

**Note 1.**—If there is an infixed pronoun, the syllable following the pronoun is stressed.

e.g. *imm-um-rùidbed* 'I have been circumcised.'

**Note 2.**—The particles mentioned above (b-e) and *ro-*, *no-* are called preverbs (§ 173, 2).

### Working of the Accent in Stressed Syllables

§ 54. Stressed syllables ending in a vowel (after the loss of final consonants) are lengthened.

e.g. *trú* 'a doomed person' fr. **truk-s*, but gen. *troch* fr. **truk-os.*

### Working of the Accent in Enclitic Syllables

§ 55. **Syncope.**

I. In words of more than two (and four) syllables (after the loss of final syllables) the vowel of the second (and fourth) syllable is thrown out.

[1] So-called non-genuine compounds, § 173, 2; cf. § 181 footnote.

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e.g. *toimtiu* 'opinion' fr. **to-métiu* I.E. **to-mentjō*; *apstal* fr. Latin *apostolus*; *-accat* 'they see' fr. **ac-cjot*, I.E. **ad-kʷisont*.

**Note a.** Dissyllabic *ïa* (also when fr. *īa*, § 125, note) when stressed becomes *e* by syncope.

e.g. *ern-bas* 'death by the sword' fr. *ïarn* 'iron' (O. C. *īsarnon*) and *bás* 'death.

**Note b.**—Many exceptions are caused by analogical influences; the syncopated vowel may be restored, or a wrong syllable may be syncopated.

e.g. *foéssama* (gen. sg. of *foéssam* 'protection'), besides the regular syncopated *foésma*; *filetae* 'poetical' (fr. **velĕt-adjo-* we expect **filtide*; the preservation of the second syllable is due to the influence of the root-word *fili*, gen. *filed*).

**Note c.** The development of secondary vowels (§ 50) is later than the syncope; hence the preservation of the second syllable.

e.g. *arathar* 'plough' fr. **arathr*, older **arətrom*.

**II.** When consonants of different quality come together by syncope, the quality of the first consonant[1] prevails. But when consonants of *u* and *i* quality come together, the whole group becomes palatal.

e.g. *aimseo* (fr. **ad-messō*, I.E. **ad-med-tous*) gen. of *ammus* 'attempt'; *rígnai* (fr. **rīganī*, **rēĝnjāi*) dat. sg. of *rígain* 'queen'; but *Luigdech* (Ogam: *Luguddeccas*) gen. of *Luguid*.

**Exception.**—In compound words the assimilation of different-coloured consonants does not always take place. Sometimes even the first consonant is assimilated to the second one.

e.g. *dagtheist* (fr. older **dago-testis* we expect **dagthaist*) 'good testimony' (*testis* is a loan fr. Lat.), or *ath-chor* 'restoring.'

(We should have expected **aithcher* fr. **ate-korom*.)

**Note.**—Syncopated *au* acts like *u* upon the preceding consonant.

[1] When the second consonant was an aspirated non-palatal *s* (=*h*), the whole group seems to have been depalatalised.

e.g. *intamail* 'imitation' fr. **inde-samail*, I.E. **ndhe-smalis*.

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e.g. *-éitset* 'they shall hear' fr. O. C. **en-taussint*; *dúilgine* 'remuneration' fr. **dūlaugine*, I.E. **de-upo-ləug-injā*.

### § 56. Shortening of Long Vowels.

All unstressed long vowels that have not been thrown out by syncope have been shortened.

e.g. *teglach* 'household' fr. **tego-slōgon*, **(s)tego-slougom*.

**Note 1.** In compounds the length of vowels has often been analogically restored.

e.g. *ir-bág* 'boasting'; the *á* has been restored from the simplex *bág*. Cf. § 52 note.

**Note 2.** The compensatory lengthening before *l, n, r* is later than the shortening of long vowels, hence *anál* 'breath' fr. **anətlā*.

**§ 57. The quality of unstressed non-final vowels** depends very much on the quality of the surrounding consonants.[1]

a. Enclitic vowels in closed syllables appear
1. between palatal consonants as *i*, very seldom as *e*.
   e.g. *berid* 'he carries' fr. **bhereti*.
2. between neutral consonants (cf. § 64) as *a*.
   e.g. *carat*, fr. **kərantos*, gen. sg. of *carae* 'friend.'
3. between a palatal and a neutral consonant as *e*.
   e.g. *muilenn* 'mill' fr. Latin *molīnā*.
4. between a neutral and palatal consonant as *i* or *ai*, later regularly as *ai*.
   e.g. *benid, benaid* 'strike!' (2 pl. ipv.) fr. **bhi-nə-te*.
5. between an *u* coloured and a palatal consonant as *i* or *ui*
   e.g. *cétbuith* 'sense' (dat. sg.) fr. **-bhutāi*.
6. between a palatal and an *u* coloured consonant as *iu*.
   e.g. *claidiub*, dat. of *claideb* 'sword.'

b. Enclitic vowels in open syllables appear
1. between palatal consonants as *i*, seldom as *e*.
   e.g. *airmitiu* 'honour' fr. **pṛe-mentjō*.
2. between neutral consonants as *a*.
   e.g. *arada* acc. pl. of *ara* 'charioteer.'

[1] On the quality of preserved final vowels, see § 41 and p. 15 footnote.

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3. between a palatal and a neutral consonant as *e*, sometimes as *i*.
   e.g. *forcetal* or *forcital* 'teaching' fr. *for*+*cétal*.
4. between a neutral and a palatal consonant as *i*, later as *a(i)*.
   e.g. *scélige*, *scéla(i)ge* 'storyteller.'
5. between an *u* coloured and a palatal consonant as *u(i)*, seldom as *i*.
   e.g. *sochuide*, *sochude*, *sochide* 'multitude.'
6. between a palatal and an *u* coloured consonant as *i*, seldom as *iu*.
   e.g. *airigud* 'perceiving.'

c. Enclitic vowels in open or closed syllables appear
1. between rounded consonants as *u* or *o*, though *u* is much more common.
   e.g. *-águr* or *-ágor* 'I fear' (§§ 62, 49, 3 a).
2. between *o* coloured and neutral consonants or vice versa regularly as *o*, but sometimes as *a*.
   e.g. *feronn* or *ferann* 'land' (fr. **verono-*), *anacol* 'protection.'
3. between an *u* coloured and a neutral consonant as *u* or *o*.
   e.g. Mid. I. *irussa*, O. Ir. **iruss(a)e* fr. *ir-*(O. C. **erū*, I.E. **perō*)+*ass(a)e* (I.E. **ad-(s)thājo-*) 'very easy.'
   Mid. I. *irud*, *irod* fr. *ir-*+**óth* (O. Ir. *úath*) 'great dread.'

Cf. further §§ 63, 64.

**Note.**—The rules given in this paragraph are sometimes crossed by analogy, e.g. *bindiusa*, gen. sg. of *bindius* 'melody,' owes its *u* to the influence of the nominative. The regular form would be **bindsea*, older **bindseo* (fr. **bindesso*, **bhndistous*), or with the second vowel analogically kept **bindessa*.

§ 58. Unstressed non-final vowels preceded by another vowel take the quality of the following consonant. Only *ïă* before a palatal consonant is changed to *ïe*.

e.g. *druäd* fr. **dru-vid-os*, gen. sg. of *druí* 'druid' *bïeid* 'he will be' fr. **bhvijāti*.

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### Development of Secondary Vowels in Syncopated Syllables

§ 59. When the loss of a syncopated vowel leaves a liquid or nasal between consonants, a secondary vowel is developed, except when a nasal is followed by a homorganic media.

e.g. *comalnad* 'fulfilment' fr. **comlnad*, fr. **com-lánath* O. C. **kom-lānatus*; *ingantach* 'wonderful' fr. **ingṇtach* fr. **ingnāthach* O. C. **in-gnātāko-*; but *écndairce* 'absent' fr. I. E. **ṇ-ḱom-derḱi-*.

On the quality of these vowels, see §§ 66-71.

### Quality of Final Consonants preceded by an Epenthetic Vowel

§ 60. Final *l*, *r*, *n*, *m*, which have developed an epenthetic vowel before them (§ 50) keep the quality of the lost final vowel (§§ 47, 48, 49). Labials only are always rounded before such an epenthetic vowel.

e.g. *omun*, *omon* 'fear' fr. O. C. **obnos*; *immun*, *immon* fr. Latin *hymnus*; *arathar* 'plough' fr. I.E. **arətrom*.

Forms like *arathair*, gen. sg. of *arathar* owe their non-palatal consonant to the influence of the nominative, as the *th* in O. C. **aratrī* does not resist palatalisation.

### Rounded Quality of Consonants in Enclitic Syllables

§ 61. In syllables following the accent non-palatal or depalatalised (§ 65) labials and gutturals take *u* colour before unstressed vowels, followed by palatal consonants. In the ninth century such *u* coloured consonants become broad.

e.g. *menmuin*, later *menmain* (fr. **menmeni*) dat. sg. of *menmae* 'mind.'

§ 62. Non-palatal or depalatalised consonants take rounded quality before final (*j*)*u* or unstressed vowels, followed by rounded consonants.

e.g. *dorus* 'door' fr. **dhvorestu*, *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.

In this way *u* quality may spread from one syllable to another.

e.g. *merugud* 'going astray' fr. O. C. ** mero-sagitus*.

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Labials and gutturals are depalatalised (cf. § 65 note 2).
e.g. *-epur* 'I say' fr. **eḱs-bherō*.

**Note.**—Palatalisation is often analogically reintroduced, e.g. in *-epiur* 'I say' (besides regular *-epur*), where the palatal quality of the *p* is due to the influence of other forms, like *-e(i)pir* 'he says.'

§ 63. Labials and gutturals preserve their rounded colour before unstressed vowels, followed by neutral aspirated *l, n, r*.
e.g. *mlegon* 'milking' fr. **mḷgono-*; *anacol* 'protection.'

**Note.**—*u* colour is often introduced from forms, where the *u* was regular; e.g. the nom. sg. *mlegun* (by *mlegon*) may owe its *u* to the influence of the dative *mlegun* (fr. **mḷgonōi*) or the genitive *mleguin* (§ 61).

§ 64. With exception of the instances given above (§§ 61-63), and some other cases,[1] all non-palatal or depalatalised consonants in unstressed syllables have taken neutral colour.

**Note 1.** Short syncopated *o* and *o* in lost final syllables act like *a* upon the preceding consonants (cf. § 48). Unaccented *u* and *o*, on the one hand, and unaccented *o* and *a* on the other hand, have fallen together during the Old-Irish period, though traditional writing in most cases preserves the older vowel. Cf. § 57 *c*.

e.g. *do-tíagat* 'they come,' arch. *tu-thēgot*, fr. **-(s)teighont*; *cinaid* fr. **kʷinutes*, nom. pl. of *cin* 'guilt.'

On the rounded quality of consonants preceded by an epenthetic vowel, see §§ 60, 70, 71.

**Note 2.** Old final single *r*, when preceded by *u*, has kept *u* colour.
e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svesūr*, I. E. **svesōr*.

### Depalatalisation of Consonants in Enclitic Syllables

§ 65. While in stressed syllables consonants followed by stressed *e, i*, are regularly palatal, consonants often give up their palatal quality in unstressed syllables in order to take broad or rounded (§§ 61, 62) quality.

[1] e.g. *flechod* 'moisture' fr. **vlikʷo-tom*, *feronn* (§ 57 c. 2,) *biror* 'water-cress' fr. **gʷeru-ro-*, *irud* 'great dread' (§ 57, c. 3).

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In syllables following the accent, when the originally palatal unaccented vowel (no palatalisation took place, where the palatal vowel goes back to a dissyllabic vowel-group, in which the first vowel was non-palatal, e.g. *assae* 'easy' fr. **ad-(s)thā-jo-*) remains, the preceding consonants are depalatalised under the following conditions:[1]—

1. *r, l, n,* before which a consonant has been lost (§ 109) are regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *túar(a)e* 'food' fr. **tò-gᵘr-ijā.* (The same root in Lith. *gìria* 'drink.')

2. Labials (also *mb*) and gutturals (also *ng*) are depalatalised after a preceding *á, o, ó, u, ú, úa,* and take broad—under certain conditions (§§ 61, 62), rounded—quality.

e.g. *subae* 'gladness' fr. **su-bhvjo-*; *ungae* fr. Latin *uncia.*

**Note 1.**—There is much uncertainty as regards the treatment of aspirated gutturals preceded by *u*, e.g. *lugae* 'oath,' besides *luige.*

**Note 2.**—Labials and gutturals even if preceded by *ĕ, ĭ,* or *a,* are depalatalised, if *(j)u* or an *u* coloured consonant follows. See § 62.

3. Labials and gutturals preceded by short *a* seem to have been treated like dentals, but it is very probable that depalatalisation may have taken place in other cases[2] as well. Owing to the lack of material the question is very hard to solve.

It seems as if unaspirated gutturals and labials were depalatalised also before *jo,* followed by preserved non-palatal consonants.

e.g. *-accat* 'they see' fr. **-àd-cjot, *àd-kᵛisont*; but *ro-laimethar* 'he dares' fr. O. C. **-lamjetro*; **laigem,* superlative of *becc* 'small' fr. **lagjam *lagisamos,* I.E. **lǝgᵛhi-sṃos.* (The form **laigem* must have existed, for it is only from the influence of **laigem* that *laigiu,* a by-form of the regular comparative *l(a)ugu* can be explained. Cf. § 62 and note 2 above.)

4. Dentals are depalatalised, if preceded by *a, á, ó, úa,* and by

[1] These rules do not apply to epenthetic vowels which have only been developed after the loss of the unaccented vowel, e.g. *do-aissilbi* 'assigns' fr. **do-assḷbi* fr. **to-àd-selbi.*

[2] So perhaps before unaspirated *b* and *p*; cf. Mid. I. *-apair* 'says' (=*ad+beir*).

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short *o* that has not been changed to *u* (§ 116), provided the old palatal vowel was followed by a non-palatal consonant.

e.g. *adall* 'visit' fr. **ad-ello-n* I.E. **ad-el-nom*, but *cuilén* 'whelp' fr. **koliįnos*.

The depalatalisation in *doraid* 'difficult' fr. *do*+*réid*, *soraid* 'easy' fr. *so*+*réid*, *sonairt* 'strong' fr. **so-nerti-s* is due to generalisation from cases, in which *so-* and *do-* were regularly followed by a non-palatal consonant, e.g. *solus* 'clear' fr. *so*+*lés* 'light,' *sobus* 'good manners' fr. *so*+*bés* 'custom.'

**Exception.**—If the palatal vowel goes back to an old (*i*)*j* (or *ep*, *ip*, *iv*, *es*, *is*)+vowel no depalatalisation can take place.

e.g. *cailech* 'cock' fr. **kaljākos*, *flaithem* 'prince' fr. **vlətjomō*.

5. Old consonant groups are depalatalised as a rule. [If the last consonant of the group is a labial or guttural, it may take *u* colour under certain conditions (§§ 61, 62).]

e.g. *orbae* 'inheritance' fr. **orb(i)jom*, *derbae* 'certainty' fr. **derv(i)jā*.

**Exception.**—Some groups, as *nd*, *nt* are liable to palatalisation and treated like single *d*, *t*; similarly *dg* (*dc*) seems to have been treated like single *g*. For the treatment of *mb*, *ng*, see above (2).

e.g. *bindius* 'melody' fr. **bindissus*, older **bhndistus*; *dobidcet* 'they throw.'

Other instances, as *cuimlin* (*com*+*lín*) 'equal number' may perhaps be explained like *athchor* (§ 55 II., exception), where a final consonant of the prefix has taken the quality of the initial consonant of the stem.

On the quality of consonant groups containing *r*, *l*, *n* which had become syllabic after the loss of a final or syncopated vowel, see §§ 60, 66-71.

6. Old final consonants which have not been lost have become broad. Only single *r* has remained palatal after *e*, *i*. Cf. further § 64 note 2.

e.g. *-bert* 'he carried' fr. **bhert*; *dét* 'tooth' fr. **dnt*; but *athir* 'father' fr. **pətēr*.

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**Quality of Consonants in Syncopated Syllables, which have developed an Epenthetic Vowel before them**

§ **66**. In unstressed syllables old or secondary consonant groups containing *r*, *l*, *n*+consonant which had become syllabic after or before a syncopated vowel are liable to palatalisation before a remaining palatal vowel without regard to the quality of the syncopated vowel.

e.g. *do-àissilbi* 'assigns' fr. **do-assl̥bi* **to-ad-selvī-t; ingainte* 'marvellousness' fr. **ingn̥te*, **in-gnāthe*, I.E. **n̥-ǵnōtjā*; but in a stressed syllable: *selbaid* 'he possesses' fr. **selvī-ti*.

§ **67**. But if such a consonant group follows a labial, the whole group is regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *comard(a)e* 'sign' fr. *com*+*airde*, O. C. **-are-vidjon*.

§ **68**. These rules (§§ 66, 67) are very often crossed by analogy.

e.g. *tabairte* (gen. sg. of *tabart* 'giving') fr. **to-bher-tjās*, with the palatal *rt* restored from the dat. acc. sg. *tabairt*, besides the regular (§ 67) *tabartae*.

§ **69**. The consonants which have been brought together by syncope with following syllabic liquids (the depalatalisation of which has been discussed in §§ 66, 67), are palatal or non-palatal according to the quality of the syncopated vowel. Only labials are regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *do-aissilbi* (with palatal *ss*), *tabartae* (with broad *b*).

The broad *n* in *sonairte* is due to the influence of *sonairt*. Cf § 65, 4.

§ **70**. Consonants followed by an epenthetic vowel are rounded without regard to the quality of the syncopated vowel if the next syllable begins or began with a rounded consonant. Cf. § 62.

e.g. *cethorcha* 'forty,' older **cethorcho*, fr. **cethr̥cho*, I.E. **kʷetru-ḱomt-s*.

But sometimes neutral colour is found, especially when the following consonant had become broad, e.g. *ecolso*, later *ecalsa*, gen. sg. of *eclais* 'church.'

§ **71**. Labials have in most cases neutral colour before a syllabic *l*, *r*, *n* without regard to the quality of the syncopated

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vowel. There are, however, still traces of an older rounded quality.

e.g. *-comollnither* (fr. **com-lān.....*) 'be it fulfilled' beside *-comalnither.*

### Voicing of Spirants in Unstressed Syllables

§ **72.** The dental spirant *th* is voiced

(*a*) in the interior of a word if flanked by vowels and separated from the stressed syllable by at least two unstressed syllables.

e.g. *sonartaidir* compar. of equality of *sonairt* 'strong'; but *lérithir* compar. of equality of *léir* 'diligent.' (Old suffix **-tris.*)

(*b*) if final and unstressed.

e.g. *peccad* 'sin' fr. Latin *peccatum.*

§ **73.** The spirant *ch* is voiced only if palatal or rounded.

(*a*) regularly in the interior of a word, if flanked by vowels.

e.g. *àtlugud* 'giving thanks,' verb-noun of *atlùchur.*

(*b*) if final and unstressed.

e.g. *tossug* dat. sg. of *tossach* 'beginning'; *tegl(a)ig* gen. sg of *teglach* 'family.'

§ **74.** Vowel-flanked or final *f* in unstressed syllables is regularly voiced (written *b*).

e.g. *felsub* fr. Latin *philosophus.*

**Note.**—Final *f* appears also in stressed syllables as *b* e.g. *sib* 'you' fr. **sif*, O. C. **svisvi.*

### Unvoicing of Final Aspirated *g*

§ **75.** Final aspirated non-palatal *g* is regularly unvoiced in stressed and unstressed syllables.

e.g. *tech* 'house' fr. **(s)tegos*; *teglach* 'family' fr. **(s)tego-slougom.*

The voiced spirant is often analogically restored, e.g. in *mag* 'field' through influence of the genitive *maige.*

### De-aspiration of Final Consonants

§ **76.** In words of more than one syllable final *l*, *n* in

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unstressed syllables are de-aspirated (e.g. they become *ll*, *nn*), if the same syllable begins with *r*, *l* or *n*.

e.g. *Conall* fr. O. C. **kuno-valos*, *imbliu* 'navel,' gen. *imblenn*. (O. C. Ending **-jon-os*.)

### Working of the Accent in Proclitic Syllables

§ 77. In proclitic groups of three or more syllables, the vowel of the second (and fourth) syllable is often thrown out.

e.g. *nírbo* (=*ní robo*) *fír* 'it was not true'; *mainbed* (fr. *mani bed*) *maith* 'if it would not be good.'

**Note.**—In words beginning with a vowel the initial vowel is sometimes elided; so the article *inna* appears occasionally as *na*.

§ 78. In proclitic monosyllables the final vowel is often elided in hiatus. Final *m*, *n* remain as *n*, stops+*s* remain as *s*(*s*).

e.g. *t'esséirge* (=*to esséirge*) 'thy resurrection.'

§ 79. Initial *s* and post-vocalic *th* are dropped.

e.g. *ama(i)l* 'as,' dat. sg. of *samail* 'likeness' used as a conjunction; *fri* 'towards' fr. *frith*, **vṛt*.

§ 80. Initial *t* becomes voiced.

e.g. *do thech* 'thy house' (but *t'esséirge*); *dar a chenn* 'for him' (but *torunn* 'for us').

§ 81. All consonants have a tendency to become broad.

e.g. *ad-*, *ar-*, pretonic forms of the prepositions *àith-*, *àir-*; *ind* (instead of **iund*) dat. sg. masc. and neutr. of the article, fr. **sin*+*dū* (fr. **tōi*).

**Exception 1.** Initial consonants keep their quality in proclitic monosyllables ending in a vowel before a connected proclitic word beginning with a vowel. In this case final *e* is changed to *i*; final *o* is changed to *u*.

e.g. *lia* 'with his' (fr. *le*+*a*); *fua* (analogically *foa*) 'under his.'

**Exception 2.** In proclitic words of two syllables the initial consonants of the first or second syllables may under certain

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conditions preserve their original quality. In this case the vowels are treated like vowels in ordinary enclitic syllables (cf. § 57). Initial vowels appear before palatal consonants as *i*, before rounded consonants as *o*.

e.g. *itir* 'between'; *ocus* 'and.'

**Note.**—The original palatal quality may be restored by analogy or through the influence of a following accented word beginning with a palatal vowel.

e.g. *is* 'he is' (fr. **esti*) instead of **as* through influence of following personal pronouns beginning with *e* or *i* (*isé* 'he is,' *issí* 'she is,' etc.).

**Exception 3.** The O. Ir. diphthongs resulting from *ă̆, ŏ̆ ŭ̆* + *v* + vowel become *o*, *u* and the preceding consonants remain rounded.

e.g. *du* (*do*) 'thy' fr. **tovjī*; *nu* (*no*) 'or' fr. **nove*, I.E. **ne-ve*.

§ 82. Some proclitic words of two syllables always preserve their final syllable, e.g. *ceta-bí* he feels' (fr. **ḱn̥ta-*), *cetu-* (Gaul. *cintu-*) 'first.'

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened[1] and treated like short vowels. I.E. *i-* diphthongs become *e*, *i* (*ce*, § 164), *u-* diphthongs become *a* (p. 60, footnote).

e.g. *cách* (fr. **kʷākʷos*) 'every one,' proclitic *cach* 'every.'

### Changes in Consonant Groups resulting from Syncope

§ 84. De-aspiration.

(*a*) If two aspirated homorganic consonants, or an aspirated and an unaspirated homorganic consonant are brought together by syncope, the result is an unaspirated (originally double) consonant. See § 86.

e.g. *itech* (=*ith-thech*) 'granary,' *nerto* (fr. **nert-tho*, **ner-tathōs*, **nertatous*) gen. sg. of *nertad* 'strengthening.'

[1] Some words, e.g. the particles *ma* 'when,' *ni* 'not,' *no* 'or,' etc., could show several grades of stress according to their position in the sentence; hence they may have preserved occasionally their original quantity or may have been even lengthened (§ 54). But as a rule the respective vowels remain short.

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**Exception.**—When the spirants *b* (= *v*) and *f* come together, the result is *f*.

e.g. Mid. I. *derfiur* 'sister' fr. *derb-fiur*, I.E. **dervā-svesōr* (§ 7).

(*b*) *th* and aspirated *d* give up their aspiration after a preceding *l*, *n*, *s*, or before a following *s*.

e.g. *ingantach* 'wonderful' fr. **ingn̥tach*, **in-gnāthach*, I.E. **n̥-ǵnōtāko-*; *fáitsine* 'prophecy' (fr. **vātistīnjā*).

**Note.**—*th* and aspirated *d* are sometimes analogically restored before *s*. In this case the dental is afterwards assimilated to the following *s*, e.g. *fáithsine* (through influence of *fáith* 'prophet') and *fáissine*.

(*c*) Aspirated *n* and *l* give up their aspiration before *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, *r*, and after *r*, *l*. Cf. § 76.

e.g. *an(n)sae* 'difficult' (= *an-assae*); *comairl(l)e* 'counsel.'

(*d*) *th* has given up its aspiration after *ch*, though in most instances *th* has been analogically restored.

e.g. *nechtar* 'either of two,' fr. **nekᵛo-teros*.

**Note.**—The de-aspiration of *d* and *th* (§ 84 *b*) takes place also before emphasising pronouns and affixed demonstrative particles beginning with *s*.

e.g. *in chrut-sin* 'in that way'; *do-adbat-som* 'he shows' (instead of *doadbad som*, older **doadbaid som*; the palatal quality of the *d* has been given up under the influence of the following neutral *s*; cf. § 55 II. exception). The deaspirated depalatalised *t* spread analogically to other forms.

e.g. *do-dĭät* 'brings down' (instead of **do-dĭid* fr. **to-dē-vedh-et*).

§ **85.** Voicing of consonants.

Unvoiced spirants (§ 2) when coming together by syncope with other (not homorganic) voiced consonants have a general tendency to become voiced in accordance with the following consonant. Cf. § 86 *c*.

e.g. *aidber* 'reproach' fr. **ate-bhero-*; analogically also *aithber*; *toibned* 'let him pursue,' fr. **tofennath*, O. C. **to-svent-na-to*.

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§ 86. Unvoicing of consonants.

(*a*) When a voiced (aspirated or unaspirated) consonant comes by syncope next to a homorganic, unvoiced (aspirated or unaspirated) consonant, the result is an unvoiced, unaspirated (§ 84) consonant.

e.g. *adgláiter* 'thou addressest' (fr. O. C. *ad-glāde-tēs+r*); *trócaire* 'mercy' (fr. **tróg-chaire*, I.E. **treugho-kərijā*).

(*b*) Aspirated *d* is unvoiced and deaspirated (§ 84) before or after *s*. The sound of this unvoiced *d* (written *t*) does not exactly correspond to the sound of the O. Ir. tenuis *t*, as the former is pronounced with much less expiratory breathing.

e.g. *ad-suidi* 'he keeps back,' but *ní astaí* (fr. **-ad-sodīt*) 'he does not keep back.'

(*c*) Voiced spirants, when coming by syncope next to other (not homorganic) unvoiced consonants, have a general tendency to become voiceless in accordance with the *following* consonant. But as this tendency is very often crossed by analogy, we find *d* and *th*, *g* and *ch*, *b* and *ph* (*f*) written side by side in the same word.

e.g. *adaig* (*g* from **ch*, § 73 *b*) 'night,' gen. sg. *aithche* or *aidche* (the *d* through influence of the nominative).

(*d*) Voiced spirants (§ 2) are unvoiced even if *preceded* by another unvoiced unaspirated consonant, though by analogy the voiced spirant has been restored almost in every case.

e.g. *macthe* 'childish,' though the suffix is *-de* fr. **-adjo-*.

§ 87. Assimilation in consonant groups resulting from syncope.

(*a*) On the assimilation of homorganic consonants, see §§ 84 *a* and 86 *a*.

(*b*) Aspirated *d* and *th* have been assimilated to a following *ch*, though only sporadically.

e.g. *suaichnid* 'well known' fr. **su-aith-chnid*, I.E. **su+ate-ǵnē-ti-*.

§ 88. Influence of aspirated *s*.

(*a*) In the interior of simple words aspirated *s* (=*h*) vanishes without leaving any trace.

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e.g. *t(a)ige* nom. plur. of *tech* 'house' fr. **(s)tegesə*.

(*b*) In some compounds aspirated and (originally) vowel-flanked *s* unvoices every consonant with which it is brought together by syncope, while in other compounds it is treated as in the interior of simple words.

e.g. *impu* 'about them' fr. **ṃbhi+sōns*. Cf. § 65, note 2.

**Note.**—As proclitic words are treated together with the following accented word like one word, an *s* that thus gets into an intervocalic position is aspirated and treated like *s* in certain compounds.

e.g. *intathir* 'the father' fr. **sind(o)ṡathir*; *intṡillab* 'the syllable' fr. **sind(ā)ṡillaba*.

### Unvoicing of Initial Aspirated *b*

§ 89. Initial aspirated *b* has a tendency to become *f*, not only at the beginning of a stressed or proclitic word but also occasionally (the conditions are not quite clear) at the beginning of a syllable. Much disturbance has been caused by analogy.

e.g. *findfadach* 'happy' fr. *find+bethach*.

### Double Consonants

90. All intervocalic single consonants have become aspirated. Therefore all unaspirated intervocalic consonants must have been originally double consonants. Such double consonants may originate from the assimilation of homorganic or non-homorganic consonants. (Cf. §§ 84, 86 and 91 ff.) Hence the orthographical peculiarities mentioned in § 1, 1, 3, and 4. Even during the O. Ir. period the double stops and double *s*, *m* were reduced to single consonants, though the orthography preserves mostly the older state of things. In consonant-groups the scribes prefer to write single consonants.

**Note.**—Unaspirated consonants, even where not resulting from a double consonant, were very similar in sound to double consonants; their pronunciation was not only stronger but also more prolonged than that of the aspirated consonants. Hence they are frequently doubled in writing.

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The custom of writing *p, t, c* for the unaspirated media is taken over from the British Celts.

e.g. *ardd, art, ard* 'high' fr. **ardvo-*, I.E. **ṝdhvo-*; cf. further § 1, 2.

### Genealogical History of Old Consonants and Consonant-Groups not resulting from Syncope

§ 91. Initial and intervocalic Indo-European *p* and *ph*[1] disappear in O. Ir. But *opn* appears in O. Ir. as *úan*, *ps* as *ss*, *pt* as *cht*.

e.g. *il* 'much' (n.) fr. **pelu*, Got. *filu*.
*té* 'hot' fr. **tepens*, Lat. *tepens*.
*súan* 'sleep' fr. **sopnos*, Welsh *hun*, Lat. *somnus*.
*cacht* 'bondmaid' fr. **kaptā*, Welsh *caeth*, Lat. *capta*.

§ 92. I.E. *b* and *bh*[1] become *b* (see §§ 7, 86, 88, 89) in O. Ir. *bn* becomes *mn*, *bt* is treated like I.E. *pt*. *bn* immediately followed by the I.E. accent becomes *p* (*bb*).

e.g. *cob* 'victory' fr. **kobo-*, O. Norse *happ*.
*domun* 'world' fr. **dubnos*, Lith. *dùgnas*.
*drucht* 'dew' fr. **drub-tus*, cf. Engl. '*drip, drop*.'
*gop* 'beak' fr. **ǵob-nòs*; cf. O. Slav. *zobati* 'to eat.'

Cf. further §§ 5, 7, 84-89.

§ 93. I.E. *t, th* appear in O. Ir. as *t* (see §§ 7, 72, 79, 80, 85). *tb* becomes *p* (*bb*). On *tl, tn, tr*, see § 109. *tn* immediately followed by the I.E. accent becomes *t*(*t*). *t-t* in the interior of a word is treated like *st*, in late compounds it becomes *t*(*t*).

e.g. *roth* 'wheel' fr. **rotos*, Welsh *rhod*; cf. Lat *rota*.
*frepaid* 'healing' fr. **vṛt-bhutāi* (*frith-buith*), dat. sg. of *frepaid*.
*áit*(*t*) 'place' fr. **pōthnì-*; cf. Skr. *pāthas* 'place.'
*indrisse* 'invaded' fr. **-ret-tio-*, past participle of *rethid* 'runs.'
*frit*(*t*)*obart* 'opposition' fr. **vṛt-to-bhertā*; cf. *berid* 'carries.'
*tc* becomes *c*(*c*), *tg* becomes *c* (*gg*).

e.g. *frec*(*c*)*or* 'cultivation' fr. **vṛt-korom* (*frith-cor*).

[1] I.E. *ph, bh, th*, etc. are not spirants, but stops + voiceless breathing *h*.



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*frecrae* 'answer' fr. **vṛt-gṛjā* (*frith-gaire*).

*ts* becomes *ss*.

e.g. *inress* 'that I should invade' fr. **-ret-s-ō*.

§ 94. I.E. *d*, *dh* appear in O. Ir. as *d*. Cf. §§ 7, 87.

On *dr*, *dl*, *dn*, see § 109.

*dc* becomes *c*(*c*), *dg* becomes *c*(*gg*).

e.g. *-aicci* 'sees' fr. *-àc-cjet*, **ad-kris-et*.

*fo-acaib* 'leaves' fr. **-àd-ghabh-i-t*.

*db* becomes *p* (*bb*), *ds* becomes *ss*. *d-t* in the interior of a word becomes *ss*, in composition *t*(*t*). On *d-tl*, see *gíall* § 98, p. 3 F.

e.g. *apaig* 'ripe' fr. **ad-bhogis*; cf. *bongid* 'cuts.'

*-messur* 'that I should judge' fr. **med-s-ōr*; *midithir* 'judges.'

*mess* 'judgment' fr. **med-tus*, but *at*(*t*)*ach* 'prayer,' fr. **ad-tekom*.

*dm* in composition becomes *mm*.

e.g. *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.

*dn* immediately followed by the I.E. accent becomes *t* (*dd*).

e.g. *trot* 'quarrel' fr. **trud-nò-*; cf. Lat. *trūdō*.

*d*(*h*)*v* becomes *d*.

e.g. *dorus* 'door' fr. **dhvorestu*; cf. Lat. *forum*.

§ 95. I.E. *g*, *gh*, *ǵ*, *ǵh*, *g*ʷ*h*, initial *g*ʷ before *u*, postvocalic *g*ʷ before *j* and before consonants in the interior of a word become *g* in O. Ir.

This *g* is usually preserved in O. Ir. (cf. §§ 7, 86).

e.g. *grith* 'heat' fr. **g*ʷ*hṛtus*; cf. *gor* 'heat'; Lat. *formus*.

*guth* 'voice' fr. **g*ʷ*utus*; cf. Greek *βοή*.

*nigid* 'washes' fr. O. C. **nigeti*,[1] Greek *νίζω*.

On *gl*, *gn*, *gr*, see § 109.

*ǵt* (*gt*, *ǵht*, etc.) becomes *cht*; *gs* (*ǵs*, *ǵhs*, etc.) becomes *ss*.

e.g. *ad-acht* 'he drove' fr. **ad-aǵ-to*; pres. *ad-aig* 'drives.'

*do-tías* 'that I should come' fr. **to-*(*s*)*teigh-s-ō*.

*gn* immediately followed by the I.E. accent becomes *c* (*gg*).

e.g. *boc* 'soft' fr. **bhug-nò-*, Skr. *bhugnú-*; cf. Anglo-Saxon *búc* 'belly.'

[1] Analogical transformation of I.E. **nig*ʷ*jeti*.

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§ 96. Initial I.E. $g^u$ (except before $u$) and $g^u$ in the interior of a word (except in the cases mentioned in § 95) become $b$ in O. Ir. (see §§ 7, 86, 88, 89). Consonant groups beginning with such a $b$ are treated like other $b$ groups (§ 92).

e.g. *imb* 'butter' fr. $*\eta g^u\eta$, Lat. *unguen*.

*mná* (gen. sg. of *ben* woman) fr. $*bn\bar{a}s$, I.E. $*g^u n\bar{a}s$; *ben* 'woman' fr. $*g^u en\bar{a}$.

§ 97. I.E. *k, kh, ḱ, ḱh* and $k^u$ appear in O. Ir. uniformly as *c* (cf. §§ 7, 73, 85).

e.g. *cét* 'hundred' fr. $*ḱm\dot{t}om$, Welsh *cant*, Lat. *centum*.

*sechur* 'I follow' fr. $*sek^u\bar{o}r$, Lat. *sequor*.

*crenaim* 'I buy' fr. O. C. $*k^u ri\text{-}na\text{-}mi$, Welsh *prynaf*; cf. Skr. *krīṇāmi*.

On *kr, kl, kn*, see § 109.

*kt* (*ḱt, ḱht*, etc.) appears as *cht*, *ks* (*ḱs, ḱhs*, etc.) as *ss*

e.g. *ocht* 'eight' fr. $*o\acute{k}t\bar{o}$, Welsh *wyth*, Lat. *octo*.

*coss* 'foot' fr. $*ko\acute{k}s\bar{a}$, Lat. *coxa*.

Before a media *ks* becomes *k*. This *k* is assimilated to a following media. Hence *ksg, ksb, ksd* give *k* (*gg*), *p* (*bb*), *t* (*dd*).

e.g. *ecal* 'afraid' fr. $*e\acute{k}s\text{-}galo\text{-}$.

*epert* 'saying' fr. $*e\acute{k}s\text{-}bher\text{-}t\bar{a}$.

On *ksr, ksl, ksn, ksm*, see § 109.

Also before a tenuis the *s* of the group *ks* seems to have been lost before *ks* could become *ss*.

e.g. *echtar* 'outside' fr. $*e\acute{k}s\text{-}tris$, Welsh *eithr*.

In compounds, which were formed at a time when *ks* had already become *ss*, *kst* appears as *st*.

e.g. *escarae* 'enemy' fr. *ess*+*carae* 'friend.'

The same occurs in late compounds before medials.

e.g. *esbae* 'something useless' fr. *ess*+*báe*. (One expects $*epae$.)

*kn* (*ḱn, khn*, etc.) immediately followed by the I.E. accent becomes *c*(*c*).

e.g. *cnocc* 'hill' fr. $*knok\text{-}n\grave{o}s$, Old High German *hnac*.

§ 98. Initial *s* (cf. § 79) remains intact before vowels, and in the groups *sk* (*sḱ, skh*, etc.) *skr, sl, sm, sn, sr; sp* becomes

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*s*; *spr* becomes *sr*; *spl* becomes *sl*; *skn* becomes *sn*; *sv* becomes *s*.

e.g. *sen* 'old' fr. **seno-*, Welsh *hen*; cf. Lat. *senex*.

*sciath* 'shield' fr. **skeitos*, Welsh *ysgwyd*; cf. Lat. *scutum*, fr. **skoitom*.

*smir* 'marrow' fr. **smeru-*, Welsh *mer*; Old High German *smero* 'grease.'

Cf. further *sliab* (§ 147), *slond* (§ 116, 3), *siur* (§ 7).

Aspirated initial *sp*, *sv* become *f* (*b*, § 85); aspirated initial *s(p)l*, *s(k)n*, *sr* become voiceless *ll*, *nn*, *rr*, also written *ṡl*, *ṡn*, *ṡr*.

e.g. *mo fiur* 'my sister' fr. **svesōr*; *fuilliucht* 'footprint' fr. *fo*+*sliucht*.

Initial *st(h)* becomes *s*;[1] initial *str* becomes *sr*; initial *stl* becomes *sl*.

e.g. *sellaim* 'I gaze' fr. **stilpnōmi*, Welsh *syllaf*; cf. Greek στιλπνός 'shining.'

*srath* 'valley' fr. **strato-*, Welsh *ystrad*; cf. Lat. *stratus*.

Intervocalic *s* becomes *h* and falls out (§ 88).

In the interior of a word *st* becomes *ss*, *str* remains, *stn* becomes *sn*.

e.g. *ross* 'promontory' fr. **pro-sth-om*; cf. Skr. *prastha-s* 'plateau.'

*lestar* 'vessel' fr. **les-trom*, Welsh *llestr*.

In the interior of a word *sv* becomes *f* (*b* § 74); *sk* (*sḱ*, *skh*, etc.) remains; *sm*, *sn*, become *mm*, *nn*.

e.g. *sephainn*, third sg. perf. of *sennid* 'plays,' fr. **sesvone*.

(The *nn* in *sennid* 'plays' is due to the influence of *sennid* pursues, § 85).

*am*(*m*) (cf. § 81), 'I am' fr. **esmi*, Greek εἰμί.

*bronn* (gen. sg. of *brú* 'belly') fr. **bhrusnos*; nom. sg. fr. **bhrusō*; cf. Engl. *breast*.

*sesc* 'barren' fr. **sisk-vo-*, Welsh *hysp*; cf. Zend *hišku-* 'dry.'

In the interior of a word *s(t)l* (also *s(t)l* from *d-tl*, § 93) becomes

[1] Even in I.E. times initial *st* and *t* freely interchanged in the same root, hence *-tíag* 'I go' from the same root (**(s)teigh-*) as Greek στείχω.

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*ll*. *sr* after short vowels becomes *rr*, after long vowels probably *r*, in composition *rr*.

e.g. *gíall* 'hostage' fr. **gheid-tlo-*, Welsh *gwystl*; cf. Lithuanian *geidžiù* 'I ask.'

*coll* 'hazel' fr. **koslos*, Welsh *coll*; cf. Engl. '*hazel*.'

*cír* 'comb' fr. **kēsro-*; cf. Old Slavonic *česati* 'to comb.'

*dírruidiguth* 'derivation' = *dí*+*sruithigud*, fr. *sruth* 'river.'

§ 99. I.E. voiced *s* (=*z*) appears only before the medial explosives. *zg* and *zb* become *dc* (*dgg*), *db* (*dbb*) with aspirated *d*; *zd* becomes *t* (*dd*).

e.g. *medg* 'whey' fr. **mizgā*, Welsh *maidd*; cf. Greek *μίσγω*.

*gat* 'withe' fr. **ghazdhā*, Lat. *hasta*.

§ 100. I.E. 'spirantic' *th* (=þ) appears after *k*, *ḱ*, $k^u$, $k^uh$ as *t* (tenuis), after *gh*, *ǵh*, etc., as *d* (media).

e.g. *art* 'bear' fr.- **ṛkþos*, Lat. *ursus*, Greek *ἄρκτος*.

*in-dé* 'yesterday' fr. **-ǵhþjes*, Welsh *doe*, Greek *χθές*.

§ 101. I.E. *l* appears in O. Ir. as *l* (*ll* § 76).

e.g. *aile* 'another' fr. **aljos*, Welsh *ail*, Lat. *alius*.

*ln*, *ls* (also *lpn* §98*a*) becomes *ll*.

e.g. *ad-ella* 'visits' fr. **-el-nā-t*; cf. Greek *ἐλάω*.

*all* 'rock' fr. **palsos*, older **pl̥sos*; cf. O. Norse *fjall* 'mountain.'

§ 102. I.E. *r* appears as *r*.

e.g. *biur* 'spear' fr. **gʷeru*, Welsh *ber*, Lat. *veru*.

*rs*, *rp*, *rgs*, *rds* become *rr*, probably also *rks* and *rts*.

e.g. *as-òrr* 'that I should strike' fr. **eks-òrg-s-ō*.

*carr* 'chariot' fr. **kr̥so-*, Welsh *car*; cf. Engl. *horse*.

*rgt*, *rkt*, *rgst*, *rkst*, *rst* become *rt*(*t*); *rsk* (*rdsk*, *rtsk*) becomes *rc*(*c*).

e.g. *as-òrt* 'he slew' fr. **eḱs-òrg-t*.

*tart* 'thirst' fr. **tarsto-* older **tr̥sto-*; cf. Engl. '*thirst*.'

§ 103. I.E. *m* appears as *m*; final *m* had already become *n* in Gaulish.

e.g. *muir* 'sea' fr. **mori*; Lat. *mare*.

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*nert n-athar* 'strength of the father' fr. **nerton atros*, I.E. **nertom pətros*.

*mb* (cf. § 96) is mostly preserved in accented syllables except before consonants; otherwise it has become *m*(*m*); *mbr* (*mbl*?) becomes *br* (*bl*?).

e.g. *imb-rádud* 'meditation,' more commonly *im-rádud*, fr. **imbi-rāditus*, **ṃbhi-rōdhitus*.

*cobraith* 'help' fr. **combrith*, **ḱom-bhṛtis*.

*md* becomes *nd*, *mv* becomes *v*, and is treated like that (§ 112).

In later compounds *mv* becomes aspirated *b*.

e.g. *condelgg* 'counsel' = *com*+*delg*.

*do-cóïd* 'he went' fr. **-ḱom-vādh-e*.

*cubus* 'conscience' fr. **ḱom-vid-tus*.

On *mt*, *mk*, see § 108.

§ 104. T. I. *n* appears as *n* (*nn*, § 76).

*noíb* 'holy' fr. **noibo-*, O. Persian *naiba* 'good.'

*nb* becomes *mb*, *nl* becomes *ll*; *nr* becomes *rr*.

e.g. *imb* 'butter' (cf. § 96).

*ellam* 'ready' (*en-lam*); cf. *adblam* (*ad-fo-lam*).

*nd* is mostly preserved in accented syllables except before consonants; in proclitic words it becomes regularly *nn*.

e.g. *find* 'white' fr. **vindo-*, Welsh *gwynn*.

*inna* nom. pl. fem. of the article, fr. **sin*+*dās* (I.E. *tās*).

*ndn*, *ntn*, *ngn*, *nkn* become *nn*.

e.g. *ad-grennam* 'we pursue' fr. **-ghrendh-nə-mos*.

*-srennid* 'you snore' fr. **srenk-nə-te*; cf. Greek *ῥέγκω*.

On *ns*, *nt*, *nk*, *nkt*, see §§ 107, 108.

### Sonants

§ 105. I.E. *ṛ ḷ* before vowels and *j*, *v* appear as *ar al*.

e.g. *marb* 'dead' fr. **mṛvo-*, Welsh *marw*; cf. Lat. *mortuus*.

*talam* 'earth' fr. **tḷəmō*.

Before stops and liquids *ṛ*, *ḷ* appear as *ri*, *li* (*re*, *le*, § 113); before *kþ* (§ 100), *ṛ*, *s* (or *s*+consonant) as *ar*, *al*; before *sn* as *ra*, *la*.

e.g. *breth* 'carrying' fr. **britā*, older **bhṛtā*.

*all* 'rock' fr. **pḷsos* (cf. § 101).

*flann* 'bloody, red' fr. **vḷsno-*, Lat. *vulnus* 'wound.'

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I.E. $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$ appear probably as *ar al* or *rá lá*. (Cf. § 131, footnote.)
e.g. *ard* 'high' fr. **$\bar{r}$dhvo-*, Lat. *arduus*.
*lán* 'full' fr. **p$\bar{l}$no-*, Skr. *pūrṇaḥ*.

*r, l* that have been developed from vocalic *ṛ, ḷ* are treated before consonants like consonantal *r, l*.

§ 106. I. E. *ṃ ṇ* appear before vowels and *j, v, m*, as *am, an*.
e.g. *ban* (gen. pl. of *ben* 'woman') fr. **g$^{v}$ṇōm*.
*sam* 'summer' fr. **sṃo-*, cf. Engl. *summer*.
*ainim* 'name' fr. **ṇmṇ*, Welsh *enw*; cf. Lat. *nōmen*.

Final *ṃ ṇ* and *m̥ ṇ̥* before the tenues *t, k* become *en*. *ṃ, ṇ* before the medials *b, d, g* become *im, in* (*em, en* § 113); *ṃgsm* becomes *émm*. (Cf. *céimm* § 145).
e.g. *grend* 'beard' fr. **ghṛndhā*; cf. O. Norse *gron* 'moustache.'
*imb* 'butter.' (Cf. §§ 96, 104.)
*deich* 'ten' fr. **dekṃ*, older **dekm̥*, Lat. *decem*.

On *ṃ ṇ* before *k, t, s*, see §§ 107, 108.

I. E. *m̄ n̄* appear probably as *am an* or *má ná*, but certain instances are scarce. (Cf. § 131, footnote.)

*m, n* that have been developed from vocalic *m̥, n̥* are treated before consonants like consonantal *m, n*.

### Compensatory Lengthening of Vowels

§ 107. *m, n* have fallen out before *s(s)* (the *ss* may come from *gs, ks, ds, ts*, or *t-t*). It does not matter whether *m, n* have been developed from a vocalic *ṃ, ṇ* or not. Preceding short vowels are lengthened; *a* becomes *é*.
e.g. *géis* 'swan' fr. **ǵhansis*; cf. Germ. *gans*.
*céssaid* 'suffers' fr. **kensāti*, older **kenttāti*; cf. Lithuanian *kentéti*,
but *nsk, nst* give *sc, st*.
e.g. *cosc* 'chastising' fr. **ḱom-sk$^{v}$-om*, Welsh *cosp*.

The vowel in the prepositions *en-, com-*, remains short before *s*.
e.g. *cosnam* 'contesting' (*com*+*snám*), *esnaisse* 'inserted' (*en*+*snaisse*).

Old final *-ṇs* became *-ās*, hence O. Ir. *-a*.
e.g. *ríga* (acc. pl. of *rí* 'king') fr. **rēǵṇs*.

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§ **108.** *m, n* have fallen out before *t, k, cht* (from *kt* or *pt*), which appear as *t* (*dd*), *k* (*gg*), *cht*. It does not matter whether *m, n* have been developed from a vocalic *m̥, n̥* or not. All preceding short vowels are lengthened before *cht*, while only *a* and *e* are lengthened before *t, k*. *a* becomes *é*.

e.g. *ét* 'jealousy' fr. **janto-*, cf. Welsh *add-iant* 'longing.'
*éc* 'death' fr. **enkus*, older **n̥kus*; cf. Lat. *nex*.
*ríchtu* 'reaching' fr. O. C. **rinktjū*, = **ro-inktjū*; pres. *ro-icc* reaches.

But *cocath* 'battle' fr. **kom-katus*, with short *o*.

§ **109.** After a vowel in old groups consisting of a stop followed by *r, l, n* the stop (when aspirated) drops out, while the preceding vowel is lengthened. Only in the old groups *tr, br* (or *thr, bhr*), the consonants remain. *ak* becomes *é*.

e.g. *ár* 'slaughter' fr. **aǵrom*, Welsh *aer*; cf. Greek ἄγρα.
*dér* 'tear' fr. **dakru*, Greek δάκρυ.
*fén* 'wagon' fr. **veghno-*; cf. O. Norse *vagn*.
*srón* 'nose' fr. **sroknā*, Welsh *ffroen*; cf. *srennim* § 104, with a different vowel-gradation.
*én* 'bird,' fr. **petno-*, Welsh *edn*; cf. German '*Feder*.'
*nél* 'cloud,' fr. **nebhlos*, Welsh *ni(f)wl*; cf. Lat. *nebula*.

but *críathar* 'sieve' fr. **krēitro-*, Welsh *crwydr*; cf. O. Engl. *hridder*.
*dobor* 'water' fr. **dubro-*, Welsh *dwfr*; cf. O. Slavonic *dibri* 'valley.'
*cretar* 'relic' fr. **kredhrā*, Welsh *creir*.

In the old group *d(h)r* the *d* remained unaspirated, hence it was preserved; in words like *áram* 'number' fr. **ad-rīmā* the *d* had already become aspirated before the time when the compound was formed, hence it fell out with compensatory lengthening.

In the old groups *ksr, ksl, ksn*, the *s* has fallen out before *ks* could become *s*. Hence compensatory lengthening takes place just as in the groups *kr, kl, kn*.

e.g. *én(a)irt* 'weak' fr. **eḱs-nerti-*.

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**Note.**—Certain instances of compensatory lengthening before *m* are very scanty and occur only in the case of gutturals.
e.g. *fo-émid* 'he is unable' fr. O. C. **-ek(s)-med-i-t*; cf. Welsh *meddu* 'to be able.' (*ksm* has very early become *km.*)

### Loss of Consonants by Haplology

§ 110. In words of more than two syllables an intervocalic consonant may be thrown out when followed by the same consonant. When the last consonant stood between *o* and *e, i*, the diphthong *oí* was produced.

e.g. *for-roíchain* 'he has taught' fr. O. C. *-*rò-ke-kan-e*, pres. *for-cain* 'teaches.'
*coím(m)thecht* 'accompaniment' (*com-imm-thecht*).

**Note.**—In words like
*foít* 'mission' instead of **foídiuth* (ending **-itus*)
both dentals have coalesced, while the vowel of the second syllable has been thrown out. The *t* represents the voiceless stop (§ 1, 4), just as in *-tuit* (§ 210, note 3). Cf. § 86. This treatment seems to be confined to dentals.

### Semi-Vowels

§ 111. I.E. *j* disappears in O. Ir.

e.g. *óac* 'young' fr. **jovn̥ko-*, I.E. **jevn̥-ko*, Welsh *ieuanc*; cf. Lat. *juvencus*, Engl. *young*.
*-táu* 'I am' fr. **(s)thā-jō*; cf. Lat. *stāre* 'to stand.'

When immediately preceded by *u, v*, or a consonant[1] it had developed an *i* before it. Hence unstressed syllables preceded by a post-vocalic consonant (or *u, v*) + *j* are never entirely thrown out.

e.g. *coire* 'cauldron' fr. **kᵘarijos*, I.E. **kᵘr̥jos*, Welsh *pair*; cf. Skr. *čarú-s*.

On *j* in final syllables, cf. § 46.

§ 112. *v* is thus dealt with:

**1.** Initial *v* appears as *f*.

e.g. *fid* 'tree' fr. **vidus*, Welsh *gwydd*, O. High German *witu*.

**2.** Post-consonantal *v* disappears except after aspirated *d, l, n, r* (not followed by *ŭ* in O. Ir.), where it is written *b* (pronounced *v*).

e.g. *ardd* 'high' (with unaspirated *d*), fr. **r̥dhvo-* cf. § 105, but *fedb* 'widow' (with aspirated *d*) fr. **vidhvā*, Welsh *gweddw*; cf. Engl. *widow*.

[1] But not after a single initial consonant (cf. *-dé*, § 100, fr. O. C. **-djes*).

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On *mv*, see § 103. On *sv*, see § 98. On *d(h)v*, see § 94.

3. As regards intervocalic *v* (also when from *mv*, § 103) preceded by a stressed vowel,[1] the treatment varies according to the quality of the surrounding vowels.

We must distinguish between

(*α*) *v* before a final palatal vowel, with which it had coalesced before the loss of final syllables,

(*β*) *v* before a lost *ă̆* or *o* in final syllables,

(*γ*) *v* before a lost *ŭ̆* (also *ū* from *ō*, § 118) in final syllables,

(*δ*) *v* in the interior of dissyllabic words (after the loss of final syllables),

(*ε*) *v* in the interior of words of more than two syllables (after the loss of final syllables).

**a.** *av* (*ǝv*) appears

(*α*) as *oí*.

e.g. *ad-doí* 'kindles' fr. **ad-dǝv-et*, cf. Greek δαίω; Skr. *dava-s* 'fire.'

(*β*) and (*γ*) as *áu*, later *áo*, *ó*.

e.g. *gáu*, *gáo*, *gó* 'lie' fr. **ǵhǝvā*; cf. Greek χαῦνος.

(*δ*) probably regularly as *ó* (older *áu*, e.g. *áue* 'descendant,' later *ó(a)e*, *ú(a)e*); in later O. Ir. this *ó* becomes *ú* before preserved final vowels (§§ 44-46).

e.g. *con-óïth* 'you preserve' fr. **-ave-te*, cf. Skr. *avati* 'protects.'

*góä*, later *gúä*, fr. **ǵhǝvās*, acc. pl. of *gáu*.

(On the quality of the following vowels, see §§ 44-46, 58.)

(*ε*) before *o* as *ú*.

e.g. *gú-* fr. **ǵhǝvo-*, compositional form of *gáu* (in *gú-brithemnacht* 'false judgment,' etc.).

**b.** *āv* (fr. I.E. *āv* or *ōv*) appears

(*α*) as *oí*.

e.g. *noí*, fr. **nāvī*, I.E. **nāvāi*, dat. sg. of *náu* 'ship';

(*β*) as *áu* (later *ó*).

e.g. *gnó* (older **gnáu*) 'beautiful, active,' fr. **ǵnāvo-*; cf. Lat. *(g)nāvus*.

(*γ*) as *ó* (older *óu*).

[1] On the development in proclitic words see § 81, exception 3.
In enclitic final position *ă̆* + *v* + *ă̆*, *ŏ̆*, *ŭ̆* become *u*.
e.g. *immurgu* 'however' = *imm* + *ro* + *gáu* (I.E. **ǵhǝvā*).

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e.g. *gnó* (older *gnóu*), dat. sg. masc. of *gnó* (fr. **gnāvū*, I.E. **ǵnāvōi*);

(δ) as *ó*.

e.g. *nóë* fr. **nāvjās*, gen. sg. of *náu*.

**c.** *ev* very early became *ov* and was treated like that.

**d.** *ēv* very early became *īv* and was treated like that.

**e.** After O. Ir. *é*, *ía* (fr. I.E. *ĕi*) *v* disappears without leaving any trace.

e.g. *dé* fr. **deivī*, gen. sg. of *día* 'god.'
*día* fr. **deivos*, Lat. *dīvus*, Skr. *dēvás*.

**f.** I. E. *iv* appears

(*a*) as *í*.

e.g. *bí* fr. **gʷivī*, gen. sg. of *béo* 'alive.'

(β) as *éu*, *éo*.

e.g. *béu*, *béo* fr. **bevos*, I.E. **gʷivos*, Welsh *byw*; cf. Lat. *vīvus*.

(γ) as *íu*.

e.g. *bíu* fr. **bivū*, I.E. **gʷivōi*, dat. sg. of *béo*.

(δ) as *i*.

e.g. *fïus* 'I shall fight' fr. **vi-vik-s-ō*, 1st sg. fut. of *fichid*; cf. Lat. *vincere*, O. High German *wīhan*.

(On the quality of the following vowels see §§ 44-46, 58.)

(ε) before *ă*, *ŏ* as *e*, before *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŭ* as *i*.

e.g. *bethu* 'life' fr. **bevotūs*, I.E. **gʷivo-tūt-s*, Welsh *bywyd*.

**g.** After O. Ir. *í* (fr. I.E. *ē*, *ī*) *v* disappears without leaving any trace.

e.g. *lí* 'colour' fr. **līvis*, Welsh *lliw*; cf. Gaulish *Līvius*.

**h.** *ov* and *ev* appear.

(*a*) as *oí*.

e.g. *oí* 'sheep,' fr. **ovis*, Lat. *ovis*.

(β) as *ó*.

e.g. *bó* fr. **gʷovos*, gen. sg. of *bó* 'cow.'

(γ) as *ú*.

(δ) before *ă*, *ŏ*, *e* as *ó*, before *ē*, *ĭ*, *ŭ* as *ú*.

e.g. *do-cóïd* 'he went' fr. **-còvāde*, I.E. **-ḱom-vādh-e*; pres. *-dichet* 'he can go.' Cf. rule 4 below.
*núë* 'new' fr. **nevijo-*, Welsh *newydd*; cf. Lat. *novus*.

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*óäc* 'young,' cf. § 111.

*fúar* 'preparation' comes fr. **upo-vr-om*; pres. *fo-fera* 'prepares.

(On the quality of the following vowels, see §§ 44-46, 58.)

(ε) before *ă̆* as *ó*.

e.g. *do-cótar* 'they went' fr. **còvād . . . *ḱom-vādh . . .*

before *o* as *ó*, *úa* or *ú*; before *u* probably as *ú*.

e.g. *dúilgine* 'reward' fr. **do-vo-laug-injā* (cf. § 55 II. note).

*tóbae* 'cutting' fr. **to-vo-bijon*, I.E. **-upo-bhijom*.

*túaichle* 'slyness' fr. **to-vo-cēllijā*, I.E. *-*kᵘeisl(i)jā*.

The treatment before *e*, *i* presents likewise many difficulties.

A good example (with vowel-contraction) is *toísech* 'leader' fr. **to-vid-tjākos*; cf. Welsh *tywysog* fr. **to-vid-tākos* (Ogam gen. *tovisāci*), root *vid* 'to know.'

The relation of Mid. Ir. *núna* 'famine' if fr. **novinjā *nevinjā*, Welsh *newyn* (fr. **nowyn*), cf. Goth. *nauþs*, to O. Ir. *noíne* (Thes. II. 256), is very puzzling.

(cf. further § 126, 1.).

i. *uv* appears.

(*a*) as *uí*.

e.g. *druí* 'druid' fr. **dru-vid-s*.

(β) as *ó*, (γ) as *ú*. Certain instances are very scanty.

(δ) before *ĕ̆*, *ĭ̆*, *ŭ̆*, *j*, as *ú*, before *ă̆*, *ŏ̆* as *ó*.

e.g. *drúäd* fr. **dru-vid-os*, gen. sg. of *druí*.

(On the quality of the following vowels see §§ 44-46, 58.)

(ε) The material is very scanty. There is the same difficulty as in the case of *ov*. *uvu* gives of course *ú*.

4. After *unstressed* vowels in final syllables intervocalic *v* has sometimes vanished without leaving any trace.

e.g. *cúalae* 'he has heard' fr. **ku-ḱlov-e*.

But in the interior of a word it had absorbed in certain cases the preceding vowel or had vanished already before the time of syncope. Thus *kove* gives *kᵘe*.

Examples: *airde* 'sign' fr. **pre-vid-jom*, Welsh *arwydd*; root *vid* 'to know.' *-dichet* 'he can go' fr. **di-kᵘed*, *-*kovedet*, **kom-vedh-et* (on the final *t* see § 84 d, note); root *vedh* 'to lead'; cf. Lith. *vedù* 'I lead.'

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### Short Vowels

§ 113. I.E. ə[1] and *a* (also *a* which has been developed in Celtic from I.E. *r̥*, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, §§ 105, 106)
appear

1. regularly as *a*.

e.g. *aile* 'another'; cf. § 46.

*athir* 'father' fr. * *pətēr*, Lat. *pater*, Skr. *pitá*.

2. By the end of the archaic period *au*—which had been developed from *a*, preceded by *l* or a labial or guttural (+*r*), and followed by *u* coloured consonants—became *u*.

Examples: *mug*, arch. O. Ir. *maug* 'slave' fr. O. C. **magus*, Cornish *maw*; *lugu*, arch. *laugu*, 'smaller,' fr. **lagūs*, I.E. **ləgʷhjōs*; cf. § 65, 3.

3. *a* preceded by a labial or guttural (+*r*) appears before certain palatal consonants as *o* or *u*. It is very difficult to make out the definite rules governing this change, which is later than the change of *o* to *u*.

Examples: *coire* 'cauldron' cf. § 111.

*muig* fr. O. C.**mages*, dat. sg. of *mag* 'field.'

4. as *á* or *é*; cf. §§ 54, 107-109.

5. on *av* see § 112, 3 a.

6. as *o* under the conditions mentioned above (2), when followed by O. C. *-ou-* or *-ov-*, e.g. *mogo*, gen. sg. of *mug*.

§ 114. I.E. *e* (also *e* which has been developed in Celtic from I.E. *m̥*, *n̥*, §§ 105, 106)
appears

1. as *e*.

a. in old monosyllables where the final consonants have not been lost (§ 43)

e.g. *-bert* 'he carried' fr. **bher-t*.

b. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ă*, *o*, *ai*, *oi*,[2] *ō* which had not become *ū* (§ 48), or *e* (but not *e* in hiatus—i.e. *e*(*s*)-, *e*(*j*)-, *e*(*p*)-+vowel—nor *e* preceded by *ng*), *ē*, provided these vowels were preceded by consonants (but cf. §§ 107-109).

e.g. *cerd* 'craft' fr. **kerdos*, Welsh *cerdd*, Greek κέρδος.

*berid* 'carries' fr. **bher-e-ti*; cf. Lat. *fero*, Greek φέρω.

*medo* (gen. sg. of *mid* 'mead'), fr. **medōs*, I.E. **medhous*.

c. when the following syllable contained *e* in hiatus or *ŭ*, *ĭ*,

[1] So-called *sh'va*, a reduced vowel sound (cf. § 128) like the initial *a* in 'appear.'

[2] But cf. § 122, note.

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*j*, provided they were preceded by voiceless *t*(*t*), *s*(*s*), *th*, *ch* or by a group of two or more consonants, with exception of *ng mb*, *nd* and perhaps some other groups. (But cf. §§ 107-109.)

e.g. *eich* fr. **ekvī*, gen. sg. of *ech* 'horse.'

*mescae* 'drunkenness' fr. **medh-sk(i)jā*; cf. Greek *μεθύσκω*;

*serbu* (comparative of *serb* 'bitter,' Welsh *chwerw*; cf. Greek *ξερός*) fr. **servjūs*, I.E. **kservjōs*.

2. as *é*.

a. in the case mentioned in § 54.

b. when the *e* was originally followed by *o* or *a* coloured consonants which caused compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109).

e.g. *trén* 'strong' fr. **treg-no-*; cf. O. Norse *þrek* 'strength'; *sét* 'way' fr. **sentus*, Welsh *hynt*, O. High German *sind* 'journey.'

(On *éu*, *éo*, *íu*, see rule 4 below.)

3. as *i*.

*a.* in hiatus (resulting from the loss of vowel-flanked *p*, *j*, *s*), before all vowels, except before *e*.

e.g. *ūach* (gen. sg. of *éo*, 'salmon') fr. **ëoch*, O. C. **esok-os*, Welsh *eog*.

Note.—Every *e* in hiatus before a non-palatal vowel had become (*i*)*j* in unstressed syllables.

See *nime* below.

*b.* when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ĭ*, *j*, *ū* (also when from *ō*), *u* or *e* in hiatus, provided these were preceded by single consonants (except voiceless *t*(*t*), *s*(*s*), *th*, ch), or the groups *nd*, *mb*, *ng*.

e.g. *mid* 'mead' fr. **medhu*, Welsh *medd*, Greek *μέθυ*, Skr. *mádhu*.

*nime* (gen. sg. of *nem* 'heaven') fr. **nemjos*, **nemeos*, I.E. **nemesos*.

*siniu* 'older' fr. **senjōs*, Lat. *senior*.

*c.* when the following syllable contained *e* preceded by *ng*.

e.g. *cingid* 'steps,' fr. **khengeti*, cf. O. High German *hinkan* 'to limp.'

4. as *éo*, *éu*, *íu*, when short *e* was originally followed by consonants, the dropping of which has been discussed in § 109. But

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the diphthong only appears in final syllables or in stressed non-final syllables before palatal or *u*-coloured consonants.

e.g. *tréuin, tríuin* fr. **treg-nī*; gen. sg. masc. of *trén* 'strong.'

The *u* (*o*) is a survival of the lost consonant.

*cenéul, ceníul* fr. **kenetlōi*, dat. sg. of *cenél* 'race.'

(On this *u*, see § 49 exception.)

**5.** as *a*, under conditions which are not quite clear. It seems that the change took place only after certain consonants before a palatal *g*.

e.g. *taig* fr. **(s)teges*, dat. sg. of *tech* 'house.'

*graig* 'herd' fr. an oblique case of Lat. *grex*, gen. *gregis*.

But *lige* 'bed' fr. **leghjom*.

6. On *er*, see § 112, 3 c.

§ **115.** I.E. *i* (also *i* which has been developed in Celtic from I. E. *r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥*, §§ 105, 106).

appears

**1.** as *i*.

a. in old monosyllables where the final consonants have not been lost (§ 43).

b. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *e, ē*, or *ă̄* (also *ū* from *ō*), *ĭ, j* (but cf. §§ 107-109).

e.g. *ith* 'corn' fr. **pitus*, Welsh *yd*, Skr. *pitú-s* 'nourishment.'

*fir* fr. **vire*, voc. sg. of *fer* 'man.'

c. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ă, ai, oi, o*, or *ō*, provided these vowels were preceded by the consonant group *nd* or *n*+stop+*n*.

e.g. *find* 'white' fr. **vindo-*, **vindā*, Welsh *gwynn*, fem. *gwenn*, Greek *ἰνδάλλομαι* 'I appear.'

*ro-finnadar* 'he knows' fr. O. C. **-vind-na-tro*.

d. in hiatus in dissyllabic words.

e.g. *scïad* (gen. pl. of *scé* 'hawthorn' fr. **skʷijat-s*) fr. **skʷijatōm*, Welsh *ysbyddad*; cf. Lith. *skujà* 'pointed leaf.'

**2.** as *e*.

a. when the following syllable contained *ă, ai, oi*,[1] *o* or *ō* which had not become *ū*, except when these vowels were preceded by *nd* or *n*+stop+*n*.

e.g. *fedo* (gen. sg. of *fid* 'tree' fr. *vidus*) fr. **vidōs*, I.E. **vidous*.

[1] But cf. § 122, note.

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*fer* 'man' fr. **viros*, Welsh *gwr*, Lat. *vir*.

**3.** *as é.*

a. when *e* which had been developed from *i* according to the rule given above (2. a) came into final position (cf. § 54.)

e.g. *clé* 'left' fr. **klijo-*, *klijā-*, Welsh *cledd*, Lat. *clivius* 'unlucky.'

b. when (stressed or unstressed) *e* which had been developed from *i* was originally followed by consonants causing compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109).

e.g. *cuilén* 'whelp' fr. **kulegno*, **kulignos*, I.E. **koliǵnos*, Welsh *colwyn*.

**4.** as *í*.

a. when the *i* which had not been changed to *e* (see above, 2 a) was originally followed by consonants which cause compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109), except in the case mentioned in rule 5 below.

e.g. *ríchtu* 'reaching'; see § 108.

b. in the case mentioned in § 54.

**5.** as *íu, éo, éu.*

when the *i* which had not been changed to *e*, was originally followed by consonants, the dropping of which has been discussed in § 111. The diphthong only appears in final syllables or in stressed non-final syllables before palatal or *u*-coloured consonants.

e.g. *cuilíuin* (nom. pl. of *cuilén*, 3 b) fr. **kulignī*, **kolignī*, I.E. **koliǵnoi*.

**6.** as *u*.

when originally preceded by *kr-* and followed by a palatal or *u* coloured consonant.

e.g. *cruim* 'worm' fr. **kʷrimis*, I.E. **kʷṛmis*, Welsh *pryf*, Skr. *kṛmi-s*.

*cruth* 'shape, manner' fr. **kʷritus*, I.E. **kʷṛtus*, Welsh *pryd*; cf. Skr. *sa-kṛt* 'once.'

**7.** on *iv*, see § 112, 3 f.

§ **116.** I.E. *o* appears.

**1.** as *o*.

a. in old monosyllables where the final consonants have not been lost (§ 43.)

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e.g. *ort* 'he slew' fr. **orcht*, I.E. **org-t* ; 3. sg. pret. of *orgaid*.

b. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ă, o, ai, oi*,[1] *ō*, which had not become *u* (§ 48) or *e* (but not *e* in hiatus nor unsyncopated *e* preceded by single aspirated *b* or *m*) provided these vowels were preceded by consonants (but cf. §§ 107-109.)

e.g. *torad* 'fruit' fr. **to-ret-om* ; cf. *rethid* 'runs.'

*gort* 'garden, field' fr. **ǵhortos*, Welsh *garth*, Lat. *hortus*, Greek *χόρτος*.

c. When the following syllable contained *e* in hiatus or *ŭ, ĭ, j*, provided these were preceded by voiceless *t*(*t*), *s*(*s*), *th*, or by a group of two or more consonants except *mb, nd*, (*m*)*ml*, (*m*)*mr*, *ggr* (*cr*), *ggl* (*el*), and the aspirated groups *ml, mr* (but cf. §§ 109-111.)

e.g. *roiss* (gen. sg. of *ross* 'promontory' **pro-sth-om*, Welsh *rhos*, Skr. *prastha-s*) fr. **pro-sth-ī*.

*rosc* (dat. sg. of *rosc* 'eye' fr. **pro-skᵛ-om* ; the same root with a different vowel gradation in *sechithir* 'follows,' Lat. *sequitur*) fr. **pro-skᵛ-ōi*.

The treatment of *-och-* followed by *ă, ĭ, j* is doubtful. Cf. Mid. Ir. *scuchaid* 'departs' besides O. Ir. *fo-scoichet* 'they go away,' Welsh *ysgogi*, 'to stir.' Cf. also § 65, 2, note 1.

**2.** as *ó*

(which became *úa* in the course of the O. Ir. period except in final position and in some other instances).

a. in the case mentioned in § 54.

b. when the *o* was originally followed by consonants which cause compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109).

e.g. *búain* 'reaping, striking' fr. **bhog-nis* ; cf. *apaig* § 94.

*srón* 'nose,' see § 109.

**3.** as *u*.

a. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ĭ, j, ŭ* (also *ū* from *ō*) or *e* in hiatus, provided these were preceded by single consonants (except voiceless *t*(*t*), *s*(*s*), *th*) or the groups *mb, nd*, (*m*)*ml*, (*m*)*mr*, *ggr* (*cr*), *ggl*(*cl*), and the aspirated groups *ml, mr*.

e.g. *ad-suidi* 'he delays' fr. **ad-sodīt* ; the same root with a different vowel-gradation in Welsh *sedd* 'seat,' Lat. *sedeo*, etc. Cf. § 130.

[1] But cf. § 122, note.



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*slund* (dat. sg. of *slond* 'appelation') fr. **splondōi*; the same root with a different vowel-gradation in Lat. *splendeo* 'I shine.'
*guin* 'wounding' fr. **gʷhoni*; cf. Greek *φόνος*.
On *ch* see above, rule 1c.

b. when the following syllable contained unsyncopated *e* preceded by single aspirated *b* or *m*.

e.g. *cuman* 'recollection' **ḱom-meno-* (cf. § 103.) The same root in *toimtiu *to-men-tjō* 'opinion.'
*as-rùbart* 'he has said' (arch. *-rùbert*) fr. **eḱs-pro-bher-t.*

4. as *a*

(though *o* is often analogically restored).

a. under certain conditions which are not quite clear, when the next syllable contained or contains *ă*.

e.g. *do-ràt* 'he has given'; *ni tàrat* (fr. **tòrat*) 'he has not given.'
*ro-bătar* 'they have been'; *ni rùbatar* (beside analogical *rùbatar*) 'they have not been.'

b. when preceded by *f* and followed by palatal consonants before old *e*.

e.g. *fa(i)dirc* 'conspicuous' fr. **fodirc, *upo-derḱi-*.

5. On *ov*, see § 112, 3 h, on *op* see § 91.
(On I.E. *ōv* see § 112, 3 b.)

§ **117.** I.E. *u* appears.

**1.** as *u*.

a. in old monosyllables where the final consonants have not been lost (§ 43).

b. when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ĕ* or *ŭ*, (also *ū* from *ō*) *ĭ, j*.

e.g. *sruth* 'river' fr. **srutus*, Welsh *ffrwd*; cf. Skr. *sravati* 'flows.'
*buith* (dat. sg. of *both* 'to be' fr. **bhutā*) fr. **butī*, I.E. **bhutāi.*

**2.** as *ú*.

a. in the case mentioned in § 54.

e.g. *trú*; see § 54; cf. Lat. *trux*.

b. when the *u* (in the case of § 109 only *u* which had not become *o*, see rule 3 below) was originally followed by con-

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sonants which cause compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109).

e.g. *Crónúin* (gen. sg. of *Crónón* fr. **Crōnugnos*) fr. **Crōnugni* (proper name); the O. C. form is uncertain; cf. *crón* 'yellow, swarthy';

3. as *o*

when the following syllable contained Pr. Ir. *ă, ai, oi,*[1] *o* or *ō* which had not become *ū*.

e.g. *cloth* 'fame' fr. **klutom*, Greek *κλυτόν*; cf. Welsh *clod* fr. **klutā*.

*both* 'hut' fr. **bhutā*, Welsh *bod*; cf. Lith. *bùtas*.

4. as *ó*, (which became *úa* during the course of the O. Ir. period except in final position and some other instances).

a. when the *o* which had been developed from *u* according to the rule given above (3.) came into final position,

b. when *o*, which had been developed from *u* was originally followed by consonants, which cause compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel (§§ 107-109).

e.g. *brón* 'sorrow' fr. **bhrugh-nos*, Welsh *brwyn*; cf. Greek *βρύχω* 'gnash the teeth.'

*cúalae* 'he heard,' arch. *cōle*, fr. **kuklove*, Mid. Welsh *cigleu*; 3 sg. perf. of *ro-cluinethar* 'hears'; cf. Greek *κλύω*.

**Note.**—Before intervocalic *p* I.E. *u* has fallen together with *v*; hence **upo* gives O. C. **vo*, O. Ir. *fo* 'under.'

## Long Vowels

§ 118. I.E. *ā* and *ō* appear both as *ā*. (*ā* and *ō* were shortened[2] before final *m, n* and *m, n* + consonant and treated like old *a* and *o*.)

e.g. *fáith* 'poet' fr. **vātis*, cf. Welsh *gwawd* 'song of praise,' Lat. *vātes* 'prophet.'

*gnáth* 'usual' fr. **ǵnōto-*, Welsh *gnawd*, Lat. *(g)nōtus*, Greek *γνωτός*.

*méit* 'size,' Welsh *maint*, fr. **mantī*, I.E. **mā-ntī*; the same root in *már* 'great,' Welsh *mawr*, fr. **mā-ro-*.

Final stressed *ō*, and *ō* in unstressed final syllables (except

[1] But cf. § 122 note.

[2] See footnote on next page.

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before *m*, *n*, § 45, exception, and when proclitic, p. 60 footnote) have become *ū*.

e.g. *cú* 'dog' fr. *ḱvō*, Welsh *ci*; Skr. *śvā*.

*firu* (acc. pl. of *fer* 'man') fr. **virōns*; voc. pl. *firu* fr. **virōs*.

(On *āv*, *ōv*, see § 112, 3 b.)

§ **119.** I.E. *ē* and *ī* appear both as *ī*. (*ī* and *ē* were shortened[1] before final *m*, *n* and *m*, *n*+consonant and treated like old *e* and *i*.)

e.g. *lín* 'number' fr. **plēnu*; cf. Lat. *plēnus* 'full.'

*rím* 'number' fr. **rīmā*, Welsh *rhif*, O. Engl. *rím*.

In final unstressed syllables *ē* seems to have been preserved as *e*.

e.g. *còmaln(a)ithe* (*-de*, § 72) 'fulfil' fr. O. C. **kom-lānā-tēs*; 2 sg. imper. of *comaln(a)ithir* 'fulfils.'

(On I.E. *ēv*, *īv*, see § 112, 3 d, g.)

§ **120.** I.E. *ū* appears as *ū*.

e.g. *rún* 'secret' fr. * *rūnā*, Welsh *rhin*, O. Engl. *rún*.

### Short Diphthongs

§ **121.** *u* diphthongs.

I.E. *au*, *əu*, *eu*, *ou* appear as *ó*. In the course of the O. Ir. period this *ó* gradually becomes *úa* (save before *w̆*?). Cf. § 116, 2.

e.g. *lóg*, *lúach* 'price' fr. **ləu-gom*; cf. Gothic *laun*.

*túath* 'people' fr. **teutā*, Welsh *tud*, Goth. *þiuda*.

*rúad* 'red' fr. **roudho-*, Welsh *rhudd*, Lat. *rūfus*, Lith. *raudà* 'red colour.'

**Note 1.**—In hiatus (produced by the loss of intervocalic *p*, *s*, *j*) O.C. *au eu ou* are treated like *av-*, *ev-*, *ov-*. (Cf. § 112.)

e.g. *áu*, *ó* 'ear' fr. *avos*, **ausos*; cf. Lat. *auris*, Goth. *ausō*; dat. sg. *oí*, *óe* fr. **aves*. **auses*.

**Note 2.**—Final stressed *au* is preserved in O. Ir. as *áu*, later *áo*, *ó*.

**Note 3.**—Final unstressed *-eu*, *-ou* had early become *ō* and acted like *o* upon the preceding consonants. (On proclitic *u-* diphthongs see § 83.)

[1] The shortening of long vowels before liquid+consonants must be later than the loss of nasals before *s* (§ 107).

Hence acc. pl. *firu* fr. **virūs*, older **virōs*, I.E. **virōns*. A form **virons* would have given O. Ir. **fero*; cf. **sechtmogo* '70' fr. **septṃmo-ḱomt-s*.

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*-eus*, *-ous* had become *ōs* and are preserved in O. Ir. as *-o*, later *-a*.
e.g. *betho* (gen. sg. of *bith* 'world'), fr. **gʷitous*.

§ 122. *i* diphthongs.

I.E. *ai*, *əi* appears as *aí* (*áe*).
e.g. *cáech* 'one-eyed' fr. **kaiko-*, Welsh *coeg* 'empty,' Lat. *caecus* 'blind.'

I.E. *oi* appears as *oí* (*óe*).
e.g. *oín*, *óen* 'one' fr. **oino-*, Welsh *un*, O. Lat. *oinos*, Goth. *ains*.

Even during the O. Ir. period *aí* (*áe*) and *oí* (*óe*) have fallen together in some instances.
e.g. *maín* beside *moín* 'treasure' fr. **moinis*; cf. Lat. *mūnus*, Goth. *ga-mains* 'common.'

I.E. *ei* appears before palatal consonants and in hiatus as *é*, before non-palatal consonants as *ía* (arch. *éa*, *é*).
e.g. *scíath* 'shield,' see § 98;
gen. sg. *scéith* fr. **skeitī*.

The treatment of final *ei* varies,
e.g. *cía* 'who?' fr. **kʷei*,
but *-té* (3 sg. pres. subj. of *-tíag*, **(s)teighō* 'I go') fr. **-(s)teigh-s-t*.

**Note.**—Unstressed final *-ai*, *-oi* act like *ī* upon the preceding consonants. (On proclitic *i-* diphthongs see § 83.)
e.g. *fir* 'men' fr. Pr. Ir. **virī*, older **viroi*.
(On *a*, *e*, *o* before liquid+consonant, see §§ 101-104, 107, 108.)

### Long Diphthongs

§ 123. In most cases long dipthongs have been shortened very early and are treated like the corresponding short diphthongs.
e.g. *túaith* (dat. sg. of *túath* 'people') fr. **teutai*, older **teutāi*; *sía* 'longer' (compar. of *sīr* 'long' fr. **sē-ro-*), fr. **seis*, older **sēis* (stem *sē*+compar. ending *-is*), Welsh *hwy*, cf. Lat. *sērus* 'late.'

**Note 1.**—This shortening is later than the change of *ō* to *ā* or *ū*.
e.g. *fiur* (dat. sg. of *fer* 'man') fr. **virū*, **virūi*, **virōi* (cf. § 124.)

**Note 2.**—In final stressed position *āu*, *ōu* become *áu* (later *áo*, *ó*); *ēu* becomes *íu*; *āi*, *ōi* become *aí*. *ēi* is always treated like *ei*.
e.g. *dáu* 'two,' fr. **dvōu*, Welsh *dau*, Skr. *dvāu*.

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**Note 3.**—In hiatus (produced by the loss of intervocalic *p*, *s*, *j*) *āu*, *ōu* are treated like *āv-*; *ēu*, *īu* are treated like *īv-*.

e.g. *ro-brīä* (3 sg. subj. of *bronnaid*, **bhrus-nā-ti*, 'hurts'); fr. **-brīv-āt*, **bhrēu-s-āt*; cf. Welsh *briwo* 'to hurt.' Cf. § 121, note 1.

§ **124.** Under certain conditions the second element of long diphthongs has been dropped. This dropping is much older than the shortening of the first element.

e.g. *die* 'day' fr. **dijēs* (see § 119), Welsh *dydd*, Lat. *diēs*, older **djēus*, Skr. *djāu-s* 'sky.'

(On *ā*, *ē*, *ō* before *m*, *n* +consonant, see §§ 118-120.)

### Vowel Contraction

§ **125.** When two vowels came together in O. Ir. owing to the loss of an intervocalic *j*, *s*, *p* (on hiatus produced by the loss of intervocalic *v*, see § $112_3$), these vowels either kept their proper syllabic function and remained in hiatus, or they coalesced (provided the second vowel was not thrown out by syncope). In the latter case two identical vowels give the corresponding long vowel: *ă̆*+*ĕ̆*, *ĭ̆* gives *aí* (*áe*); *ă̆*+*ŏ̆* gives *ō*; *ă̆*+*ŭ̆* gives *áu*, later *áo*, *ó*; *ĕ̆*+*ŏ̆*, *ŭ̆* gives *éo*, *éu*; *ĭ̆*+*ŭ̆* gives *íu*; *ŏ̆*+*ă̆* gives *ō*; *ŏ̆*+*ĕ̆* *ĭ̆* gives *oí* (*óe*); *ŭ̆*+*ĭ̆* gives *uí*. *i*+*a* and *u*+*a* coalesce only (but cf. note.) in proclitic position; the result is a diphthong *ia*, *ua*, with short *i* and *u*, while the *i* and *u* in the diphthongs *ía* and *úa* (from *ē* and *ō*) are long.

**Note.**—The quantity of stressed hiatus-vowels varies at different periods. By the beginning of the O. Ir. period all long vowels had been shortened in hiatus, e.g. *at-tüam* 'we are' (fr. **ad-sthā-jo-mos*); but in the course of the O. Ir. period all hiatus-vowels were lengthened without regard to their original quantity. *Towards the end of the O. Ir. period all hiatus-vowels were contracted.* *u*, *i*+*a* in stressed syllables became *úa*, *ía*.

§ **126.** We must distinguish between

**1.** Vowels in the interior of words of more than two syllables (*after* the loss of final syllables). Here we should regularly expect the loss of the second vowel by syncope.

e.g. *fochaid* 'tribulation' fr. **fo-ṡaigid*, **upo-səgidis*.

There remain, however, some doubtful instances. See § 112, 3 h, *ϵ*.

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**Note 1.**—Vowel-flanked *p* has been dropped very early, so that the surrounding vowels have in some instances coalesced already before the time of syncope.

e.g. *cáera* 'sheep' fr. **kaper-āks*; cf. Lat. *caper* 'goat.'
but *timme* 'heat' fr. **temmijā*, older **tepesmijā*; cf. *té* 'hot' fr. **tepens*.

**Note 2.**—In compounds the second vowel has sometimes been restored by influence of the respective simple words.

e.g. *èstoasc* beside *èstosc* 'pressing out' (**ess-to-fasc*).

**Note 3.**—Vowels between which no consonant has been lost have sometimes been contracted before the time of syncope (see rule 4 below).

e.g. *ara-foíma* 'that he may assume' fr. **-fo-ema*, **-upo-em-āt* (cf. § 211, 14).

2. Vowels in words *ending in a consonant* (in O. Ir.) which were dissyllabic *after* the loss of final syllables. Here, as a rule, *no contraction takes place* (cf. § 125 note), but when the lost consonant was *p*, certain short vowels which are liable to contraction (§ 125) seem to have coalesced.

e.g. *déëc*, later *déäc* 'ten' (gen.) fr. **dvei-penk"ou* ('twice five').
*siür* 'sister' fr. **svesōr*.
*sciäd*, see § 115, 1 d.

but *iarⁿ* 'after' fr. **ēr*, **eperom*; cf. Goth. *afar*, Skr. *apara*.

**Note.**—In proclitic position contraction takes place very often, though not regularly.

e.g. *dīār cobair* 'to aid us.' (Fél.)

3. Vowels in words ending in a vowel (or a consonant which had been dropped according to the rule given in § 43), which were dissyllabic after the loss of final syllables. Here contraction is regular in the case of *ă̆*+ any vowel, *ĕ̆*+*ĕ̆*, *ŏ̆*, *ŭ̆*; *ĭ̆*+*ĭ̆*, *ŭ̆*; *ŏ̆*+*ĕ̆*, *ĭ̆*, *ŏ̆*; *ŭ̆*+*ĭ̆*, *ŭ̆* and perhaps some other instances which owing to the want of material cannot be properly ascertained.

The following vowels were never (but cf. § 125 note) contracted: *ŏ̆*+*ă̆*; *ē*, *ō* or *ū* (when from an *u* diphthong or Old Celtic *ă̆*, *o*+*v*)+any vowel; *ĭ̆*+*ă̆*, *ĕ̆*, *ŏ̆*.

e.g. *-táu*, *-tó* 'I am' fr. **tājū*, **(s)thājō*; *bíu* 'I am wont to be' fr. **bhvijō*.

**Note 1.**—Monosyllables which are the result of vowel-contraction are often made dissyllabic by analogy.

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e.g. *fríu* 'towards them' (beside regular *fríu*) by influence of *fríe* 'towards her,' etc.

**Note 2.**—Vowels which cannot be contracted in stressed dissyllabic words may coalesce in proclitic words.

e.g. *dīā chorpán* 'to his body' (Fél.).

**4.** In old genuine compounds the final vowel of a prefix has been thrown out before an immediately following vowel (or $p$ + vowel), e.g. *síar* (*so-íar* § 126, 2) 'to the west'; *tadall* (**to-ad-elnom*) 'visit.'

In late formations contraction may take place, cf. § 126 note 3.

### Vowel Gradation or Ablaut

§ **127.** I.E. roots containing *e* (*ei, eu*), or *ā* (*āi, āu*), *ē* (*ēi, ēu*), *ō* (*ōi, ōu*) show several grades of vowels. The vowels and diphthongs mentioned represent the chief instances of the so-called *normal vowel grade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| e.g. *seiss*, 'he will sit' | fr. **sed-s-ti* |
| *mel(a)im* 'I grind' | fr. **mel-ō-mi*; |
| *-tíag* 'I go' | fr. **(s)teigh-ō*; |
| *-táu* 'I am' | fr. **(s)thā-jō*; |
| *síl* 'seed' | fr. **sē-lo-m*; |
| *dán* 'gift' | fr. **dō-nu-s.* |

§ **128.** In I.E. unstressed syllables the root vowels take the *reduced vowel grade.* There are several grades of reduction; the most common reductions are the following: *e* is thrown out (hence *ei* and *eu* become *i, u*; *er, el, em, en* become $r̥$, $l̥$, $m̥$, $n̥$[1]), while *ā, ē, ō* are reduced to *ə*. This *ə* may be still further reduced to zero. (Long diphthongs show likewise several grades of reduction; a well-known change is that of the long *i* diphthongs to *ī, i* and of the long *u* diphthongs to *ū, u*.)

e.g. *net* 'nest' fr. **ni-zd-os*, older **ni-sd-os*; cf. *seiss*, § 127 (normal vowel grade).

*mlith* 'grinding' fr. **ml̥-tis*; cf. *melim* § 127 (normal grade).

*techt* 'going' fr. **(s)tigh-tā*; cf. *-tíag* § 127 (normal grade).

[1] Other grades of reduction are denoted by $r̄$, $l̄$, $m̄$, $n̄$, but there is much controversy about these sounds. Cf. § 105 (*pl̥nos*) and the following note. $r̥$, $l̥$, $m̥$, $n̥$ before vowels (e.g. *tl̥mō*, § 105) are sometimes written *rr*, *ll*, etc.

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*ross* 'promontory' fr. **pro-sth-om*: cf. *-táu* § 127 (normal grade).
*saithe* 'swarm' fr. **sə-tjos*; cf. *síl* § 127 (normal grade).
*cúl* 'back' fr. **kūl-os*; cf. Greek κήλη fr. **kāul-ā* (normal grade).

§ **129.** Under certain conditions which are hard to define, the normal vowel grade is changed to the *deflected vowel grade*, that is, *e* (*ei, eu*) becomes *o* (*oi, ou*), while *ē* and *ā* become *ō*.

e.g. *suide* 'seat' fr. **sod-jom*; cf. *seiss* § 127.
*mol* 'mill-shaft' fr. **mol-os*; cf. *melim* § 127.
*moídid* 'boasts' fr. **moid-īti*; cf. *míad* 'honour' fr. **meido-* (normal grade).
Greek *ἀφέωκα* 'I have sent away' fr. **ἀπ-ἕωκα* = *-*se-sō-ka*; cf. *síl*, § 127 (normal grade).

§ **130.** From *ē* (normal grade): *ō* (deflected grade) must be distinguished the so-called *lengthened vowel grade ē*: *ō* which appears in syllables whose *normal* vowel is *e*.

e.g. the suffix *tēr* (lengthened normal grade) in *athir* 'father' fr. **pə-tēr*
: *tōr* (lengthened deflected grade) in Greek *ἀ-πάτωρ* 'fatherless' fr. **-pə-tōr*; cf. the normal grade *ter* in acc. pl. *aithrea* fr. **pə-ter-ns*.
*síd* 'peace' fr. **sēd-os* (lengthened normal grade)
: *sáidid* 'fixes' fr. **sōd-īti*, O. Slav. *saditi* 'to plant' (lengthened deflected grade); cf. *seiss* § 127 (normal grade), *suide* § 129 (short deflected grade).

§ **131.** In I.E. dissyllabic roots the vowel gradations are limited by the rule that at least one of the root-syllables must appear in the reduced vowel grade, though it is possible that both syllables have a reduced vowel grade.

A good example for such a root is I.E. *pelə* (with normal grade of the *first* syllable: *plē* (with normal grade of the *second* syllable) 'to fill.' In applying the rules of vowel-gradation to this root, we get the following forms: *pel(ə), pol(ə)*; *plē, plō*; *pl, pl̥, pl̥̄*.

e.g. *il* 'much' (n.) fr. **pel-u*; cf. Goth. *filu*.
*uile* 'all' perhaps fr. **pol-jo-*; cf. Greek πολλός 'much.

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*lín* 'number' fr. **plē-nu*; cf. § 119.
*lán* 'full' fr. **pl̥-no-*.[1] Cf. § 105.

It is to be noted that in dissyllabic roots whose second syllable is (when in the normal grade) a long vowel or long diphthong, the vowel of the first syllable can never appear in the lengthened vowel grade. *ə* is regularly thrown out before an immediately following vowel, e.g. *il*, fr. **pel-u*, older **pelə-u*.

## C.—ACCIDENCE

### The Definite Article

§ 132. Paradigm of the article.

| | Singular | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | masculine | neuter | feminine |
| nom. | *in*, *int* (before vowels) | $a^n$ | *in(d)* ',[2] *int* ' (before *ṡ*) |
| gen. | *in(d)* ', *int* (before *ṡ*) | | *inna*, *na* |
| dat. (after preps. ending in a vowel) | —*n(d)* , —*nt* (before *ṡ*) | | |
| (after other preps.) | —(*s*)*in(d)* ', —(*s*)*int* (before *ṡ*) | | |
| acc. (after *fo*) | $-n^n$ | $-a^n$ | $-n^n$ |
| (after other preps.) | —(*s*)$in^n$ | —(*s*)$a^n$ | —(*s*)$in^n$ |

[1] Some scholars deny the possibility of $\bar{l}$ giving *lā* and postulate an I.E. **plā-no-*, assuming a vowel gradation $\bar{e} : \bar{a}$. The whole question is very complicated. The same difficulty arises in the case of $\bar{r}$, $\bar{m}$, $\bar{n}$, cf. § 105. It is indeed very peculiar that $\bar{l}$ should have given sometimes *al* and sometimes *lā*. A satisfactory solution has not yet been offered. There is, however, no doubt that $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$, etc., are in many cases mere symbols, denoting *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* preceded or followed by a reduced vowel.

[2] ' indicates that the form aspirates.

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| | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| nom. | *in(d)'*, int (before *s*) | *inna, na* |
| gen. (of all genders) | *innaⁿ, naⁿ* | |
| dat. ,, | —(*s*)*naib* (only after prepositions) | |
| acc. ,, | *inna, na*, —(*s*)*na* (after preps.) | |

The final *-d* of the article remains only before vowels or aspirated *f, l, n, r* (in Wb. also occasionally before aspirated *b* and *m*.) Before the numeral *da, di* 'two' the article appears in the nom. gen. and acc. of all genders as *in*, in the dat. after prepositions ending in a vowel as *-n*, after other prepositions as *-(s)in*.

## The Noun

### A.—Vocalic Stems

§ 133. *-o-* stems. Masc. *fer* 'man' (fr. **viros*). Neuter *scél* 'story' (fr. **skʷetlom*.)

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | n. | m. | n. |
| N. | *fer* | *scél* | *-os* | *-om* |
| G. | *fir* | *scéuil, scéoil* | *-ī* | *-ī* |
| D. | *fiur* | *scéul* | *-ōi* | *-ōi* |
| A. | *fer* | *scél* | *-om* | *-om* |
| V. | *fir* | *scél* | *-e* | *-om* |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Plural | | |
| N. | *fir* | *scél*[1] | *-oi* | *-ā* |
| G. | *fer* | *scél* | *-ōm* | *-ōm* |
| D. | *fer(a)ib* | *scél(a)ib* | *-obhis* | *-obhis* |
| A. | *firu* | *scél*[1] | *-ōns* | *-ā* |
| V. | *firu* | *scél* | *-ōs* | *-ā* |
| | Dual | | |
| N.A. | *fer* | *scél* | *-ā*[2] | *-ā* |
| G. | *fer* | *scél* | *-ou* | *-ou* |
| D. | *fer(a)ib* | *scél(a)ib* | *-obhim* | *-obhim* |

[1] The frequent by-form *scéla* has taken its *-a* from the nom. acc. pl. of the fem. *-ā-* stems.

§ 134. *-jo-* stems. Masc. *comarp(a)e* 'heir' (fr. **ḱom-orbjos*). Neutr. *cride* 'heart' (fr. **ḱṛdjom*).

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings |
|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | n. | |
| N. | *comarp(a)e* | *cride* | The endings are those of the *-o-* stems, preceded by *j*, which developed an *i* before it, when following *u* (*v*) or a consonant. |
| G. | *comarp(a)i* | *cridi* | |
| D. | *comarpu* | *cridiu* | |
| A. | *comarp(a)e* | *cride* | |
| V. | *comarp(a)i* | *cride* | |
| | Plural | | |
| N. | *comarp(a)i* | *cride* | |
| G. | *comarp(a)e* | *cride* | |
| D. | *comarp(a)ib* | *cridib* | |
| A. | *comarpu* | *cride* | |
| V. | *comarpu* | *cride* | |
| | Dual | | |
| N.A. | *comarp(a)e* | *cride* | |
| G. | *comarp(a)e* | *cride* | |
| D. | *comarp(a)ib* | *cridib* | |

[2] The I.E. ending *-ōu* has been replaced by Celtic *-ā*, which was taken from the corresponding numeral *da* (older *dā*), where the *-ā* had been developed in *proclitic* position from I.E. *-ōu* (§ 83); cf. the acc. pl. of the article *inna* fr. **sin+dāns* (fr. I.E. **tōns*).

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§ 135. *-ā-* stems. Fem. *áram* 'number' (fr. **ad+rīmā*) and the irregular *ben* 'woman' (fr. **gᵛenā*).

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings | Primitive Forms of *ben* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *áram* | *ben* | *-ā* | *gᵛen-ā* |
| G. | *áirme* | *mná* | *-jās* | *gᵛn-ās* |
| D. | *ár(a)im* | *mnaí* | *-āi* | *gᵛn-āi* |
| A. | *ár(a)im* | *mnaí* | *-ṃ* | [Analogy to the dat. sg.] *gᵛen-ə* |
| V. | *áram* | *ben* | *-ə* | |
| | Plural | | | |
| N. | *áirmea* | *mná* | *-ās* | *gᵛn-ās* |
| G. | *áram* | *ban* | *-ōm* | *gᵛn̥-ōm* |
| D. | *áirmib* | *mnáib* | *-ābhis* | *gᵛn-ābhis* |
| A. | *áirmea* | *mná* | *-āns* | *gᵛn-āns* |
| V. | *áirmea* | *mná* | *-ās* | *gᵛn-ās* |
| | Dual | | | |
| N.A. | *ár(a)im* | *mnaí* | *-ăi* | *gᵛn-ăi* |
| G. | *áram* | *ban* | ? | *gᵛn̥-...* |
| D. | *áirmib* | *mnáïb* | *-ābhim* | *gᵛn-ābhim* |

136. *-jā-* stems. Fem. *guide* 'prayer' (fr. **gʰodhjā*), *ungae* 'ounce' (fr. Lat. *unciā*).

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings. |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *guide* | *ung(a)e* | *-jā* |
| G. | *guide* | *ung(a)e* | *-jās* |
| D. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-jāi* |
| A. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-jṃ* |
| V. | *guide* | *ung(a)e* | *-jə* |
| | Plural | | |
| N. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-ejes* |
| G. | *guide* | *ung(a)e* | *-jōm* |
| D. | *guidib* | *ung(a)ib* | *-jābhis* |
| A. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-īns* |
| V. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-ejes* |

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| | Dual | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N.A. | *guidi* | *ung(a)i* | *-jăi* |
| G. | *guide* | *ung(a)e* | *-j...* |
| D. | *guidib* | *ung(a)ib* | *-jābhim* |

§ 137. *-i-* stems. Masc. *fáith* 'prophet' (fr. **vātis*); fem. nouns (e.g. *flaith* 'sovereignty' fr. **vlətis*) are declined in the same way. Neut. *guin* 'wound' (fr. **gʷhoni*).

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | n. | m. | n. |
| N. | *fáith* | *guin* | *-is* | *-i* |
| G. | *fátho*[1] | *gono*[1] | [Analogy to *-u-* stems?] | |
| D. | *fáith* | *guin* | *-ī* | *-ī* |
| A. | *fáith* | *guin* | *-im* | *-i* |
| V. | *fáith* | *guin* | *-i* | *-i* |
| | Plural | | | |
| N. | *fáithi* | *guine* | *-ejes* | *-ijə* |
| G. | *fáithe* | *guine* | *-ijōm* | *-ijōm* |
| D. | *fáithib* | *guinib* | *-ibhis* | *-ibhis* |
| A. | *fáithi* | *guine* | *-īns* | *-ijə* |
| V. | *fáithi* | *guine* | *-ejes* | *-ijə* |
| | Dual | | | |
| *fáith* | | *guin* | *-ī* | *-ī* |
| *fátho*[1] | | *gono*[1] | [Analogy to *-u-* stems?] | |
| *fáithib* | | *guinib* | *-ibhim* | *-ibhim* |

[1] Also *fátha*, *gona* with change of final *-o* to *-a* (p. 15 footnote).

§ 138. *-ī-* stems. Fem. *rígain* 'queen' (fr. **rēǵn̥ī*). In I.E. there were *ī*:*jā* and *ī*:*jē* stems. This distinction cannot be upheld in O. Ir., where both classes of *-ī-* stems have fallen together.

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| | Singular | Primitive Endings | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *rig(a)in* | *-ī* | | *-ī* |
| G. | *rign(a)e* | *-jūs* | or | *-jēs* |
| D. | *rign(a)i* | *-jūi* | „ | *-jēi* |
| A. | *rign(a)i* | *-jṃ* | „ | *-jēm* |
| V. | *rig(a)in* | *-ī* | | *-ī* |
| | Plural | | | |
| N. | *rign(a)i* | [Analogy to - *i*- stems] | | |
| G. | *rign(a)e* | *-jōm* | | *-jōm* |
| D. | *rign(a)ib* | *-jābhis* | or | *-jēbhis* |
| A. | *rign(a)i* | [Analogy to -*i*- stems] | | |
| V. | *rign(a)i* | [Analogy to -*i*- stems] | | |
| | Dual | | | |
| N. V. | *rig(a)in* | [Analogy to -*i*- stems] | | |
| G. | *rign(a)e* | *-j ...* | | *-j ...* |
| D. | *rign(a)ib* | *jābhim* | or | *-jēbhim* |

**Note.**—Already in O. Ir. some nouns belonging originally to this class have gradually passed into the *ā*- (*e.g.* nom. sg. *mét* beside regular *méit* 'size' fr. **mā-ntī*; dat. sg. *méit* instead of **mé(i)ti*, etc.) or *i*-declension (*e.g.* gen. sg. *inseo* beside regular *inse*, nom. sg. *inis* 'island'; dat. acc. *luib* instead of **lu(i)bi*, nom. sg. *luib* 'plant,' etc.).

§ **139.** *-u-* stems. Masc. *suth* 'offspring' (fr. **sutus*), neut. *dorus* 'door' (fr. **dhvorestu*).

| | Singular | | Primitive Endings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | n. | m. | n. |
| N. | *suth* | *dorus* | *-us* | *-u* |
| G. | *sotho*[1] | *doirseo*[1] | *-ous* | *-ous* |
| D. | *suth* | *dorus* | *-ū* | *-ū* |
| A. | *suth* | *dorus* | *-um* | *-u* |
| V. | *suth* | *dorus* | *-u* | *-u* |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Plural | | | |
| N. | *soth(a)e*[2] | *dorus*[3] | *-eves* | *-ū* |
| G. | *soth(a)e*[4] | *doirse* | [Analogy to *-i-* stems] | |
| D. | *soth(a)ib* | *doirsib* | *-ovobhis* | *-ovobhis* |
| A. | *suthu* | *dorus*[3] | *-ūns* | *-ū* |
| V. | (I have no examples.) | | | |
| | Dual | | | |
| N. A. | *suth* | *dorus* | *-ū* | *-ū* |
| G. | *sotho*[1] | *doirseo*[1] | [Analogy to the gen. sg.] | |
| D. | *soth(a)ib* | *doirsib* | *-ovobhim* | *-ovobhim* |

[1] Also *sotha*, *doirsea* with change of final *-o* to *-a*.

[2] Already in Wb. *soth(a)e* could occasionally (before affixed pronouns) become *sotha* (cf. § 41). Another by-form *soth(a)i* owes its ending to the influence of *-i-* stems, though the preceding consonants have kept as a rule their non-palatal colour.

[3] The by-form *doirsea* (fr. older **doressā*) owes its final *a* to the influence of *o* stems (*e.g.* nom. acc. pl. n. *scela* beside *scél*).

[4] The ending of the *-i-* stems has been added to the primitive form **sotho* (fr. **sutorom*, I.E. **sutevōm*); the vowel of the first syllable and the consonant before the ending, however, have kept their older quality; the same occurs in monosyllabic neuters, e.g. *rend(a)e*, gen. pl. of *rind* 'star' (fr. **rendu*).

§ **140.** *-ū-* stems. Such are *deug* 'drink' (fr. **de-ǵhū*; the *e* instead of *i* is due to the influence of *-ā-* stems, where every *i* had to become *e* in the nom. sg.; cf. § 115), gen. sg. *dige*; *mucc* 'pig.' The nom. sg. ended originally in *-ū*; in the oblique cases they follow the declension of *-ā-* stems; the *v* that originally preceded the oblique case-endings had vanished after most consonants (§ 112, 2) e.g. *dige* fr. **de-ǵhvjās*.

§ **141.** Stems in a diphthong.
*bó* masc. fem. 'ox, cow.'

| | Singular | Primitive Forms |
|---|---|---|
| N. | **báu, bó* | *gʷōu-s* |
| G. | *bó* (arch. *bóu*) | *gʷov-os* |
| D. A. | *boin* | [Analogy to *coin* § 145] |
| V. | *bó* | *gʷou* |

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Plural

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N. | **boí, baí* | *gʷōv-es* |
| G. | *báu, báo, bó* | *gʷōv-ōm* |
| D. | *búaib* | *gʷou-bhis* |
| A. V. | *bú* | *gʷō-ns* |

Dual

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N. A. | **boí, baí* | *gʷōv-e* |
| G. | **báu, bó* | *gʷōv-ou* |
| D. | *búaib* | *gʷou-bhim* |

## B.—Consonantal Stems

§ 142. General Remarks.

The dat. sg. has in most cases two forms: a long one (primitive ending *-i* or *-ai*) and a short one (formed from the mere stem). The short form of the dat. sg. occasionally replaces that of the acc. sg., *e.g.* acc. sg. *traig* (=dat. sg. *traig* fr. **trəghet*) beside regular *traigid* (fr. **trəghet-ɳi*).

The vocative has in the singular the same form as the nominative, in the plural the same form as the accusative. Hence it is unnecessary to give it in the following paradigms.

§ 143. Guttural stems. Masc. *rí* 'king' (fr. **rēǵ-s*), *aire* 'prince' (fr. **arjok-s*), *lí(a)e* 'stone' (fr. **lēvank-s*), *éo, éu* 'salmon' (fr. **esōk-s*; cf. § 126 3.); fem. *sail* 'willow' (fr. **salik-s*), *nathir* 'snake' (fr. **nətrik-s*), *cáera* 'sheep' (fr. **kaperāk-s*).

| | Singular | | | Primitive |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | | f. | Endings |
| N. | *rí* | *aire* | *nathir* | *-s* |
| G. | *ríg* | *airech* | *nathrach* | *-os* |
| D. | *ríg* | *airig* | *nathr(a)ig, nathir* | *-(a)i, —,* |
| A. | *ríg* | *airig* | *nathr(a)ig* | *-ɳ* |



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| | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. *rí̇g* | *airig* | *nathr(a)ig* | *-es* |
| G. *rí̇g* | *airech* | *nathrach* | *-ōm* |
| D. *rí̇g(a)ib* | *airech(a)ib*[1] | *nathrach(a)ib*[2] | *-obhis* |
| A. *rí̇ga* | *airecha*[1] | *nathracha*[2] | *-ṇs* |

| | Dual | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N.A. *rí̇g* | *airig* | *nathr(a)ig* | *-e* |
| G. *rí̇g* | *airech* | *nathrach* | *-ou* |
| D. *rí̇g(a)ib* | *airech(a)ib*[1] | *nathrach(a)ib*[2] | *-obhim* |

[1] The preservation of the vowel of the second syllable is due to the fact that **arijok-* had become **arijok-* before the time of syncope.

[2] **nətrikobhis* and **nətrikṇs* should have regularly given **naithirchib* and **naithirchea* (§§ 55 II., 59, 69.); their present forms are due to the analogy of the other cases.

§ **144**. Dental stems.

Masc. *car(a)e* 'friend' (fr. **kərant-s*), *cí̇n* 'fault' (fr. **kʷinut-s*), *fíli*[1] 'poet' (fr. **velēt-s*), *bethu* 'life' (fr. **gʷivo-tūt-s*), *fíado* 'Lord' (fr. **veidont-s*); fem. *traig* 'foot' (fr. **trəghet-s*); neut. *dét* 'tooth' (fr. **dṇt.*)

The primitive endings of the masc. and fem. are the same as those of the guttural stems.

| | Singular | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | f. | n. |
| N. *carae*[1] | *fíli* | *traig* | *dét* (fr. **dṇt*) |
| G. *carat* | *fíled* | *traiged* | *dét* |
| D. *caraid* | *fílid* | *traigid, traig* | *déit* |
| A. *caraid* | *fílid* | *traigid* | *dét* (fr. **dṇt*) |

| | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. *caraid* | *fílid* | *traigid* | *dét* (fr. **dṇtə*) |
| G. *carat* | *fíled* | *traiged* | *dét* |
| D. *cairtib*[2] | *fíled(a)ib*[3] | *traigthib* | *dét(a)ib* |
| A. *cairtea*[2] | *fílida*[3] | *traigthea* | *dét* (fr. **dṇtə*) |

[1] The final *i* has been introduced in Pr. Ir. from the oblique cases.

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| | Dual | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N.A. | *carait* | *filid* | *traigid* | *déit* (fr.*$d_{n}tī$) |
| G. | *carat* | *filed* | *traiged* | *dét* |
| D. | *cairtib*[2] | *filed(a)ib*[3] | *traigthib* | *dét(a)ib* |

[1] Final *-ant-s, -ank-s* seem to have given *-e*; the non-palatal colour of the preceding *r* is probably due to the influence of the verb *caraid* 'loves.'

[2] *-ant-* had become *-ēdd-* (§ 108) before the time of syncope (cf. § 55 II.); hence e.g. *cairtea* fr. **kareddas*, I.E. **kərantas* (cf. § 107); also the spelling *cairdea, cairdib* occurs (§ 1, 1.).

[3] We should have expected *filtib, filtea*; cf. § 55, I., note b.

§ **145.** Masculine and feminine nasal stems.

Masc. *brithem* 'judge' (fr. **bhṛt(i)jəmō*, full stem **bhṛt(i)jəmon-*), *menm(a)e* 'mind' (fr. **menmen-s*,[4] gen. sg. *menman* fr. **menmen-os*); fem. *derucc* 'acorn' (fr. **derunkō*, full stem **derunkon-*), gen. sg. *dercon, toimtiu* 'meaning' fr. **to-men-t(i)jō*, full stem **toment(i)jon-*) *brú* 'belly' (fr. **bhrusō*, the oblique cases from the stem **bhrusn-*; the nom. sg. is used as the short dative), *cú* 'hound' (fr. **ḱvō*, full stem *ḱvon-*; gen. sg. and pl., probably also dat. and acc. pl. and gen. and dat. dual are formed from the weak stem *ḱun-*).

[4] The dat. and acc. pl. seem to have been formed from the weak stem **menmn-*. In the gen. sing. (and pl.) the full stem **menmon-* seems to have been analogically introduced; fr. **menmnos* one would have expected **menmon* (§ 60).

**Note.**—The oblique case-endings, which are those given in § 142, have been as a rule added to the full stem; in I.E. only the nom. voc. acc. locative (=O. Ir. dative) sg., the nom. acc. dual and the nom. voc. pl. were formed from the full stem, but in O. Ir. the weak (unstressed) form of the stem had been replaced by the full stem in most instances.

| | Singular | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | m. | f. | |
| N. | *brithem*[1] | *toimtiu* | *cú* |
| G. | *brithemon* | *toimten* | *con* |
| D. | *brithem(u)in*,[2] *brithem* | *toimtin, toimte*[3] | *coin* |
| A. | *brithem(u)in* | *toimtin* | *coin* |

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| | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *brithem(u)in*[2] | *toimtin* | *coin* |
| G. | *brithemon* | *toimten* | *con* |
| D. | *brithemn(a)ib* | *toimten(a)ib* | *con(a)ib* |
| A. | *brithemna* | *toimtena* | *cona* |

| | Dual | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N.A. | *brithem(u)in*[2] | *toimtin* | *coin* |
| G. | *brithemon* | *toimten* | *con* |
| D. | *brithemn(a)ib* | *toimten(a)ib* | *con(a)ib* |

[1] The unrounded quality of the *m* is peculiar (cf. § 49, 3 a).

[2] Also *brithemain* (§ 61).

[3] Also *toimtiu*; the nom. sg. has sometimes been used as a dative.

Note.—*anam* 'soul' (fem.) fr. **anəmō*, full stem *anəmon-*, is regularly declined in the plural; in the singular it has been influenced by *ainm(m)* 'name (§ 145) and by the Lat. *anima*. Hence the *m* is unaspirated in the sg., while *n* and *m* are sometimes made palatal; the gen. sg. *anm(a)e* seems directly taken from *ainm(m)*. In the nom sg. appear the forms *anam(m)*, *ainim(m)*, *an(a)im(m)*, in the dat. and acc. sg. appears *anim(m)* beside the regular *anm(a)in*, *anm(a)in*.

§ 146. Neuter nasal stems.

*gairm* 'call' (fr. **gṛsmṇ*), *ainm(m)* 'name' (fr. *ṇmṇ*), *céimm* 'step' (fr. **kḥṇksmṇ*, older **kḥṇg-smṇ*), *réimm* 'course' (fr. **reidh-smṇ*), *imb* 'butter' (fr. **ṇgʷ-ṇ*).

| | | Singular | Primitive Forms |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *gairm* | | *gṛsmṇ* |
| G. | *garmae* | | *gṛsmen-s* |
| D. | *garm(a)im(m)*,[1] *gairm* | | *gṛsmen-i*, *gṛsmen* |
| A. | *gairm* | | *gṛsmṇ* |
| | | Plural | |
| N. | *garman(n)* | | *gṛsmn-ə* |
| G. | *garman(n)* | | *gṛsmn-ōm* |
| D. | *garman(n)aib*[2] | | *gṛsmn-obhis* |
| A. | *garman(n)* | | *gṛsmn-ə* |

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Dual

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N. A. | *gairm* | [Analogy to the nom. sg.] |
| G. | *garman(n)* | *gṛsmn-ou* |
| D. | *garman(n)aib*[2] | *gṛsmn-obhim* |

[1] The final *-mm* (**gṛsmeni* would have given **garmain*) is due to the influence of the short form.

[2] The second *a* (**gṛsmnobhis* would have given **garmnaib*) is due to the influence of the other cases.

**Note.**—In words like *céimm*, *réimm* the palatal *-mm-* has been analogically introduced into the plural forms (*céimmenn*, *réimmenn*, etc.).

§ **147.** Neuter *-s-* stems.

*sliab* 'mountain' (fr. I.E. **sleibos*), *mag* 'field' (fr. O. C. **magos*), *tech* 'house' (fr. O. C. **tegos*).

| | | Singular | Primitive Forms |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. A. | *slíab* | | **sleib-os* |
| G. | *sléibe* | | **sleib-esos* |
| D. | *sléib* | | **sleib-es* |
| | | Plural | |
| N. A. | *sléibe* | | **sleib-esə* |
| G. | *sléibe* | | **sleib-esōm* |
| D. | *sléibib* | | **sleib-esobhis* |
| | | Dual | |
| N. A. | *slíab* | | **sleib-ā* |
| G. | *sléibe* | | **sleib-esou* |
| D. | *sléibib* | | *sleib-esobhim* |

**Note.**—The masculine *-s-* stem *mí* 'month' (fr. **mēns*), gen. sg. *mís* (fr. **mēns-os*) is inflected like the other consonantal stems. The nom. sg. is analogically used as nom. acc. dual.

§ **148.** Nouns of relationship in *-r-*.

Masc. *ath(a)ir* 'father' (fr. **pətēr*), *bráth(a)ir* 'brother' (fr. **bhrātēr*); fem. *máthair* 'mother' (fr. **mātēr*), *siur* 'sister' (fr. **svesōr*).

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| | | Singular | Primitive Forms |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *ath(a)ir*[1] | | *pətēr* |
| G. | *athar* | | *pətr-os* |
| D. | *ath(a)ir*[1] | | *pəter-i* |
| A. | *ath(a)ir*[1] | | *pəter-ṃ* |
| | | Plural | |
| N. | *aithir* | | *pəter-es* |
| G. | *athr(a)e*[2] | | *pətr-ijōm* |
| D. | *athr(a)ib*[2] | | *pətṛ-bhis* |
| A. | *aithrea* | | *pəter-ṇs* |
| | | Dual | |
| N. A. | *aithir* | | *pəter-e* |
| G. | *athar* | | *pətr-ou* |
| D. | *athr(a)ib*[2] | | *pətr-obhim* |

[1] The non-palatal quality of the *th* is due to analogy.

[2] Also *aithre*, *aithrib* with analogical palatalisation of the *th*.

**Note.**—*siur* 'sister' forms the dat. acc. sg. and nom. acc. dual (*sieir*) from the regular stem **sresor-*; the other cases (*e.g.* gen. sg. *sethar*, nom. pl. *sethir*) owe their *th* to the influence of *ath(a)ir*, *máth(a)ir*, *bráth(a)ir*.

## The Adjective

§ 149. *-o-* and *-ā-* stems.

*sen* 'old'; masc. fr. **sen-os*; fem. fr. **sen-ā*; neut. fr. **sen-om*. Where the adjective is used substantively it has the same inflexion as the noun (§§ 133, 135). It is only the attributive and the predicative adjective that call for special discussion:

a. Dissyllabic adjectives whose second vowel was originally palatal take in the nom. acc. pl. of all genders the ending of the *-i-* stems.

e.g. *úasal* 'high' (fr. **oupselo-*), nom. acc. pl. *úaisli*.

b. Towards the end of the eighth century the ending of the acc. voc. plur. fem. and neut. spread to the masculine, though also the regular ending *-u* may still be found.

e.g. *isna lucu ardu* (Ml.) 'into high places.'

c. In the nom. acc. plur. neuter only the longer form in *-a* is found (§ 133, note 1).

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§ 150. *-jo-* and *-jā-* stems.

*uile* 'all'; masc. fr. **poljos*; fem. fr. **poljā*; neut. fr. **poljom*.

The inflexion is the same as in the noun. (On *uile*, *ulaile*, see § 171).

Only in the nom. acc. voc. plur. of all genders the ending is *-i* (taken from *i*-stems; the neuter has this ending also in substantival use).

But in the acc. plur. masc. when the adjective is used substantivally, the ending is *-(i)u* as in the noun.

§ 151. *-i-* stems.

*maith* 'good'; masc. fr. **mət-is*, fem. fr. **mət-ī*, neut. fr. **mət-i*.

a. In the gen. sg. the endings are those of the *-o-* and *-ā-* stems; these forms are also used substantivally.

b. In the gen. pl. there appears, beside the regular forms in *-e* (*maithe*), a short form without any ending (*maith*): it seems that only the longer forms could be used substantivally.

c. In the nom. acc. pl. neut. the ending *-i* is regular: but when the adjective is used substantivally the ending *-e* may occasionally be employed.

§ 152. *-u-* stems.

*dub* 'black'; masc. fr. **dhubh-us*; fem. fr. **dhubh-ā*: neut. fr. **dhubh-u*.

In the gen. sg. of all genders and the dat. sg. fem. the endings are those of the *-o-*, *-ā-* stems, while all plural-forms are inflected like *-i-* stems.

§ 153. Consonantal stems.

There are very few examples, e.g. *té* 'hot' (**tepents*), nom. pl. *téit* (**tepent-es*).

§ 154. Comparison of adjectives.

There are two comparisons:

1. The comparison of *equality* (old suffix **-tris*), which is followed by the acc. of the noun.

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e.g. *dían* 'hasty': *dénithir* 'as hasty.'

*il* 'much,' *már, mór* 'great' and *lethan* 'broad' have irregular comparatives: *lir, móïr, lethidir.*

2. The comparison of *superiority*, which has three degrees: the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

The comparative is formed by an old suffix **-jōs*

e.g. *sen* 'old': *siniu* 'older' (fr. **sen-jōs*)

*ard* 'high': *ardu* 'higher' (fr. **ṛdhv-jōs*; cf. § 105).

The superlative is formed by an old suffix **-is-ṃo-*

e.g. *sinem* (fr. O. C. **sen-isamo-*, I.E. **sen-is-ṃo-*), *ardam.*

**Note.**—Some adjectives form their comparative and superlative from the mere root, losing the suffix of the positive, e.g. *sír* 'long' (fr. **sē-ro-*), comparative *sía* fr. **sē-is*, superlative *síam.* Such adjectives have also a different suffix in the comparative. In some instances the comparative and superlative are formed from another root.

Examples of irregular comparison:—

| Positive | | Comparative | Superlative |
|---|---|---|---|
| *accus, ocus* | 'near' | *nessa* | *nessam* |
| *becc* | 'small' | *l(a)ugu* | *lugam, *laigem* (cf. § 65, 3) |
| *il* | 'much' | *lía* | ? |
| *lethan* | 'broad' | *letha* | ? |
| *maith* | 'good' | *ferr* | *dech* (*deg*) |
| *már* (*mór*) | 'great' | *mó, mó, móa* | *móam, móam* |
| *óac* | 'young' | *óa* | *óam* |
| *olc* | 'bad' | *messa* | *messam* |
| *trén* | 'strong' | *tressa* | *tressam* |

§ **155.** Adverbs from adjectives.

Every adjective may become an adverb by putting the article before the dat. sg. n. of the required adjective, e.g. *in maith* 'well,' *in biucc* 'little.' The adjectives and participles in *-de, -the* take the ending *-id, -ith*, e.g. *ind aicnetid* 'naturally' (fr. *aicnet(a)e*). In later O. Ir. adverbs are occasionally formed with the help of the preposition *co* 'to,' e.g. *commaith* 'well.' Only *léir* 'diligent' may also take the preposition *di* before it. The comparative and superlative degrees are formed by putting

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the dat. sg. of the article before the comparative or superlative form of the respective adjective, e.g. *int śerbu* 'more bitterly' (fr. *serb*); *in messam* 'most badly' (fr. *olc*).

## Numerals

§ 156. Cardinals.

*óen* 'one' is uninflected and enters into composition with a following noun. (On *óen* 'same,' see § 169, 2.)

*da* (*dá*, p. 29, footnote), 'two.' (When unaccompanied by a noun, *dáu*, *dó*.)

| | masc. | fem. | neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. A. | *da*ʻ | *di*ʻ | *da*ⁿ |
| G. | *da*ʻ | *da*ʻ | *da*ⁿ |
| D. | *dib*ⁿ, *deib*ⁿ. | | |

*tri* (*trí*, p. 29, footnote), 'three.' (When unaccompanied by a noun *trí*.)

| | masc. | fem. | neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *tri* | *tëoir*, *téora* | *triʻ* |
| G. | *triⁿ* | *téoraⁿ* | *triⁿ* |
| D. | *trib* | *téor(a)ib* | *trib* |
| A. | *tri* | *téora* | *triʻ* |

*cethir* 'four.'

| | masc. | fem. | neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| N. | *ceth(a)ir* | *cethéoir*, *cethéora* | *ceth(a)irʻ* |
| G. | ? | *cethéoraⁿ* | ? |
| D. | ? | *cethéor(a)ib* | ? |
| A. | *ce(i)thri* | *cethéora* | *ceth(a)irʻ* |

*cóic* 'five,' *sé* 'six,' *secht*ⁿ 'seven,' *ocht*ⁿ 'eight,' *noí*ⁿ 'nine,' *deich*ⁿ 'ten,' are uninflected. For the genitive of *deich*ⁿ the form *déëc*, (later *déac* fr. **dvei-penkʷou*) is used.

The numerals 2-10 when unaccompanied by a noun or the article take the particle *a* before them.

The numerals *fiche* '20,' *tricho* (*tricha*, p. 15, footnote) '30,' **cethorcho* '40,' **coíco* '50,' **sesco* '60,' *sechtmogo* '70,' **ochtmogo*

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'80,' **nócho* '90,' *cét* '100,' *míle* '1000,' are substantives governing a following noun in the genitive. *míle* is fem., *cét* is neut., while the tens are masculine.

The other numbers above ten are expressed in different ways.

e.g. *a secht fichet* '27,' *sé fir trichat* '36 men,' *sesco ar chét* '160,' *a dáu nóchat ar dib cétaib* '292.'

§ 157. Ordinals.

*cétn(a)e* '1st' (before tens *óenmad*), *tán(a)ise* (*aile*) '2nd,' *triss, tress* '3d,' *cethramad* '4th,' *coíced* '5th,' *se(i)ssed* '6th,' *sechtmad* '7th,' *ochtmad* '8th,' *nómad* '9th,' *dechmad* '10th,' *fichet-mad* '20th,' *trichat-mad* '30th,' etc., *cétmad* '100th.'

In expressing other ordinal numbers above ten the unit digit only is an ordinal number, the tens being added in the genitive case, the hundreds by means of the preposition *ar*.

e.g. *in sechtmad cethorchat* 'the 47th,' *ind ochtmad rann fichet* 'the 28th part.'

## Pronouns and Adjectives connected therewith

§ 158. Personal pronouns.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. 1st per. | *mé* 'I,' | emphatic form | *me(i)sse* |
| 2nd pers. | *tú* 'thou,' | ,, ,, | *tussu* |
| 3rd pers. | *(h)é* 'he,' | ,, ,, | *(h)é-som (-sium), (h)é-side* |
| | *sí* 'she,' | ,, ,, | *sissi, si-ede* |
| | *(h)ed* 'it,' | ,, ,, | *(h)ed ón, (h)e(d)-se* |
| Plur. 1st pers. | *sní* 'we,' | ,, ,, | *snisni, snini, sisni, sinni* |
| 2nd pers. | *sí* 'you,' | ,, ,, | *sissi, sib* |
| 3rd pers. | *(h)é* 'they' | ,, ,, | *(h)é-sidi, (h)é-se* |

§ 159. Infixed personal pronouns.

| | I. | II. | III. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1st pers. | *m(m)*$^{c}$ | *tom*$^{c}$, *tum*$^{c}$, *tam(m)*$^{c}$, *dom*$^{c}$, *dum*$^{c}$, *dam(m)*$^{c}$ | |
| 2nd pers. | *t*$^{c}$ | *tot*$^{c}$, *tat*$^{c}$, *t*$^{c}$ | *dit*$^{c}$, *dat*$^{c}$ |
| 3rd pers. masc. | *a*$^{n}$, -$^{n}$ | *t*$^{n}$ (*ta*$^{n}$) | *(i)d*$^{n}$, *(did*$^{n}$*)*, *d*$^{n}$, -$^{n}$, *(da*$^{n}$*)* |
| fem. | *s*$^{n}$, *s* | *ta, da* | *da* |
| neut. | *a*$^{c}$, -$^{c}$ | *t*$^{c}$ | *(i)d*$^{c}$, *(did*$^{c}$*)*, -$^{c}$ |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plur. 1st pers. | *n(n)* | *ton, tan(n), don* | *din, don, dun, dan(n)* |
| 2nd pers. | *b* (*f*) | *tob, tab, dob, dub* | *dib, dob, dub, dab* |
| 3rd pers | *s*$^{n}$, *s* | *ta, da* | *da* |

*a.* After the negative particle *na* (*nad*) the infixed pronouns appear in the following forms: sing. 1. *nachim*$^{\text{c}}$- (*nacham*$^{\text{c}}$-), 2. *nachit*-$^{\text{c}}$ (*nachat*-$^{\text{c}}$), 3. m. *nach*$^{n}$-, f. *nacha*-, n. *nach*$^{\text{c}}$- (*nachid*$^{\text{c}}$-*nadid*$^{\text{c}}$-); plur. 1. *nachin*- (*nachan*-), 2. *nachib*- (*nachab*-), 3. *nacha*-.

But in the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of *relative* verbal forms which are capable of eclipsis (§ 28), when eclipsis (which is not obligatory) takes place, the infixed pronouns which follow the eclipsing *n* appear in the sg. m. as *d*$^{n}$, f. as *da*, n. as *d*$^{\text{c}}$, in the pl. as *da*.

*b.* Class I. is used after prepositions and particles ending originally in a vowel (*ro*-, *no*-, *do*-, *ar*-, *imm*-, etc.) which is elided before *a*$^{\text{c}}$ and *a*$^{n}$. But *ní*+*a* gives *ní*. Old dissyllabic prepositions, as *ar*-, *imm*- (**pṛe*, **ṃbhi*), keep their final vowel before infixed pronouns beginning with a consonant. The quality of this vowel (which appears as *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*) depends on that of the surrounding consonants, but is often changed by analogy. (Cf. § 81.)

Class II. is used after the preverbal prepositions *ad*-, *aith*-, *com*-, *ess*-, *etar*-, *for*-, *frith*-, *in*-. *ad*-, *ess*-, *uss*-, *in*- become with the dental of the pronoun *at*-, while *com*- and *frith*- become *cot*-, *frit*(*t*)-, and *aith*- becomes *at*(*t*)-.

Class III. is regularly used after *i*$^{n}$ 'in which,' after prep.+rel., after the conjunctions *ara*$^{n}$, *dia*$^{n}$, *con*$^{n}$, *co*$^{n}$ and after the interrogative *in*- (§ 165).

It is further very often used *when the verb is relative* (that is to say, when the *subject* or *object* of the verb is emphatically brought forward with the copula—e.g. *is Crist pridches* 'it is Christ who preaches'—or in the cases mentioned in § 28), though in the first and second persons the forms of Class I. and II. prevail.

c. After the conjunctions *cía* (*ce*, *ci*), *ceni*, *ma*, *mani*, followed by an

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indicative, *(i)d'* is regularly infixed unless there be an infixed pronoun. Simple verbs take *no-* before them which serves to infix the *d'*. The infixed pronoun of the 3rd sg. masc. and neut. appears after the mentioned particles as *(i)d*.

d. The infixed pronouns are regularly inserted immediately before the stressed syllable (§ 53). When simple verbs are not preceded by (unstressed) *no-*, *ro-*, or one of the particles mentioned in § 53, 2 b-e, the particle *no-* is prefixed in order to infix a personal pronoun. See further § 29. But the infixed pronouns *follow* the forms of the copula; in this case Class III. is used for the third person.

Examples :—

ad a. *con-nachn-ingéuin* 'so that he knew him not,' *ar-nacha-tísat* 'lest they should come to them,' *na-n-da-tiberad* 'that he would not give it' (*i.e.* the flesh ; *féuil* is fem. in O. Ir.). Cf. § 28 g.

ad b. I. *ni-m-charat-sa* 'they do not love *me*,' *ni-cheil* 'he does not hide *it*' (but *ni-ceil* 'he does not hide'), *r-a-llèic* 'he left *him*' (cf. § 34 note), *aro-b-roínasc*, 'I have betrothed *you*,' *immu-s-cluinetar* (with eclipsed *c*, i e. *g*) 'they hear one another.'

II. *atam-grennat* (fr. *ad-greinn* or *in-greinn*), 'they pursue *me*,' *cotn-erba*, 'he entrusts *himself*,' *for-dob-moinetar*, 'they envy *you*.'

III. *in-dit-moíde* 'in which *thou* shouldst boast,' *amail imm-i-n-d-ráitset* (see § 29) 'as they were thinking of *him*,' *con-(d)id-molathar* 'so that he praises *him*,' *in fer do-da-aidlea* (fr. *-ad-ella*) 'the man who visits *her*,' *in gním ar-id-gair* 'the deed *which* he forbids.'

ad c. *mani-d-chretid* 'if you do not believe,' *ce no-d-chara* 'though he loves,' *ci as-id-beir* 'though he says *it*.'

ad d. *amal for-n-da-còn-gair*, 'as he orders them,' *ni-ru-m-chòm-arléicis* 'thou hast not permitted *me*,' *d-a-gnú-sa* 'I do *it*,' *issa-t-écen* 'it is necessary for *thee*' (*issa-t* in proclitic position fr. **esti+tū* ; cf. § 81), *iss-idn-aithrech* 'it is repentant for *him*, i.e. he repents.'

§ 160. Suffixed personal pronouns.

I. After verbs.

Sg. 1. *-um*, 2. *-ut* (*-at*), 3. masc. neut. *-i* (after the 1 and 2 pl. *-it*), fem. *-us*.

Pl. 1. *-umm*, 3. *-us*.

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e.g. *beirthi* 'he carries him' (fr. older **berethī* = I.E. **bhereti+im*), *guidmit* 'we pray for it,' *beirthius* 'he carries them' (fr. older **berethisu* = I.E. **bhereti+sōns*).

These suffixed pronouns are used only after the simple verbal forms.

II. After prepositions.

Most of the simple prepositions combine with the disjunctive forms of the personal pronouns. The primitive order of things has been much disturbed by the working of analogy. All the combinations may take an emphatic suffix.

A. Prepositions governing the dative :—

| | *a* 'out of' | *di* 'from' | *do* 'to' | *fíad* 'in presence of' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | | *dim* | *dom, dam* | *fíadam* |
| 2. | *essiut* | *dit* | *duit, dait, d(e)it* | |
| 3. m. n. | *ass* | *de* | *dáu, dó (dossom)* | |
| f. | *e(i)ssi, e(i)sse* | *dí (dissi)* | *dí (dissi)* | |
| Pl. 1. | | *din(n)* | *dún(n)* | |
| 2. | | *díb* | *dúib* | *fíadib* |
| 3. | *e(i)ssib* | *díib, díb* | *do(a)ib, duaib, dóib* | *fíad(a)ib* |

| | *iar* 'after' | *is* 'below' | *oc* 'at' | *rem* 'before' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | | *is(s)um* | **ocum* | **remum, rium* |
| 2. | *iarmut* | | **ocut* | *remut, *riut* |
| 3. m. n. | *iarum* | | *oc(c)o, oc(c)a* | *riam* |
| f. | | | *occ(a)i, occae* | *remi* |
| Pl. 1. | | | *ocunn* | **remunn, riunn* |
| 2. | | | **ocaib* | |
| 3. | | | *occaib* | *remib* |

| | *úa* (*ó*) 'from' | *úas* (*ós*) 'above |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *(h)úaim(m)* | *úasum* |
| 2. | *(h)úait* | |
| 3. m. n. | *(h)úad, (h)úaid* | *(*úaso, *úasa?)* |
| f. | *(h)úadi, (h)úade* | |
| Pl. 1. | *(h)úain(n), húan(n) (ón-ni)* | |
| 2. | *(h)úaib* | |
| 3. | *(h)úa(i)dib (ódib)* | *ósib* (Wb.) |

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B. Prepositions governing the accusative :—

| | *amal* 'like' | *cen* 'without' | *co* 'to' | *eter* 'between' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *samlum* | | *cuccum* | *etrum, etrom* |
| 2. | **samlut* | *cenut* | *cuc(c)ut* | |
| 3. m. n. | *saml(a)id* | *cen(a)e* | *cuc(c)i* | *etir, itir* |
| f. | | | *cucae, cuicce* | |
| Pl. 1. | | | *cucunn* | *etrun(n), etron(n)* |
| 2. | | *cenuib* | *cuc(c)uib* | *etruib* |
| 3. | *samlaib* | *cenaib* | *cuccu* | *etarru, etarro* |

| | *fri* 'towards' | *imm* 'about' | *la* 'with' |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *frim(m), frium(m)* | *immum* | *lem(m), lim(m), lium(m)* |
| 2. | *frit(t), friut(t)* | *immut* | *lat(t)* |
| 3. m. n. | *friss* | *imbi* | *leiss, less, laiss* |
| f. | *frie* | *impe* | *lee (laee, lé)* |
| Pl. 1. | *frinn* | *immunn* | *linn* |
| 2. | *frib* | *immib* | *lib* |
| 3. | *friu* | *impu, impo* | *léu, léo* |

| | *sech* 'past' | *tar (dar)* 'over' | *tri (tre)* 'through |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | **sechum* | **torum* | *trium* |
| 2. | **sechut* | *torut* | *triut* |
| 3. m. n. | *seche* | *tarais* | *triit, trit* |
| f. | **secce* | **tairse* | *tree* |
| Pl. 1. | | *torunn* | *triun(n)* |
| 2. | | | *triib* |
| 3. | *seccu* | *tairsiu* | *tréu, tréo* |

C. Prepositions governing the dative and accusative :—

| | *ar* (**pre*) 'for' | *ar* (**perā*) 'for' | *fo* 'under' | *for* 'on' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *airium* | *erum* | | *form, forum* |
| 2. | | *erut* | | *fort* |
| 3. dat. m. n. | —— [1] | —— [1] | *fóu, fó* | |
| dat. f. | —— [1] | —— [1] | | *fuiri* |
| 3. acc. m. n. | *airi* | | *fot* | *fair, foir* |
| acc. f. | | | **foe* | *forrae* |
| Pl. 1. | | *erunn, eronn* | | *formn, forun(n)* |
| 2. | *airib, airiu(i)b* | *eruib* | | *fuirib, fo(i)rib* |
| 3. dat. | —— [1] | —— [1] | *foib* | *for(a)ib* |
| 3. acc. | *airriu* | *errn, erriu* | | *forru* |

[1] The accusative forms of *ar* are also used for the dative.

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*i* 'in.'

Sg. 1. *indium(m)*, 2. **indiut*, 3. dat. m. n. *and* f. *indi*, 3. acc. m. n. *ind*, f. *inte*.

Pl. 1. *indiunn*, 2. *indib*, 3. dat. *indib*, 3. acc. *intiu*.

§ **161.** Possessive pronouns.

Sg. 1. *muí* 'mine,' 2. **tuí* (?) 'thine,' 3. *aí* (*áe*) 'his,' 'hers.'

Pl. 1. *athar*, *dr* (cf. § 79) 'ours,' 2. *sethar*, *sár* 'yours,' 3. *aí* (*áe*) 'theirs.'

§ **162.** Possessive adjectives (=unstressed forms of the pronouns).

Sg. 1. *mo'* (*mu'*), 'my,' 2. *do'* (*du'*), 'thy,' 3. m. n. *a'*, 'his, its,' 3. f. *a*, 'her.'

Pl. 1. *ar*$^{n}$, 'our,' 2. *for*$^{n}$, *far*$^{n}$, 'your,' 3. *a*$^{n}$, 'their.'

The vowels of *mo* and *do* are elided whenever they follow *for* or a preposition ending originally in a vowel (after *tar*, *dar*, the usage varies), or when they are followed by a word beginning with a vowel (or—from the ninth century onwards—*ḟ*). But in the latter case the vowel may be preserved as well. When the vowel is elided, *d* becomes *t*, which is liable to aspiration; *m'* is never aspirated. After prepositions ending in *-r*, or in a vowel, *far*$^{n}$ may appear as *bar*$^{n}$ (=*rar*$^{n}$).

e.g. *form chiunn* 'upon my head,' *t'airde* or *do airde* 'thy token,' *ar bar n-imniud* 'on account of your trouble.'

§ **163.** Interrogative pronouns.

Sg. m. f. *cía* 'who?' n. *cid* 'what?' gen. *coich* 'whose.'

Pl. *cit n-é* 'who are they?' 'what are they?' (*cit*=*cía*+3 pl. of the copula; cf. § 31).

The interrogative pronoun always comes first in a sentence, while the following verb must be relative (§ 158 b).

§ **164.** Interrogative adjectives.

Sg. m. *cía* (*ce*, *ci*), f. *ce-sí ci-sí* 'which?' n. *ced'* (*cid'*) 'what?'

Pl. *cit n-é* 'what are . . . ?'

In some instances *cesí*, *ced* are replaced by *cía*, e.g. *c*(*ía*) *indas*, 'how?' (*indas* 'state, kind' is n.).

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*cote, cate* 'what is?' *coteet, cateet, cateat* 'what are?'

*sechi* 'whosoever,' 'whatsoever,' pl. *sechit(at)n-é.* (=*sechi*+3 pl. of the copula; cf. § 31).

On the interrogative adjectives before the copula, see § 209.

§ 165. Interrogative particles.

*in*$^{n}$ (before *b* : *im*), 'whether,' *in*$^{n}$—*in*$^{n}$, *in*$^{n}$—*ba*(=*va*), *fa* 'whether—or.'

*cani* (before proclitic *ro-* : *cain*) is used where an affirmative answer is expected.

§ 166. Relative pronouns.

In O. Ir. there is only one proper relative particle -*a*$^{n}$ or -*sa*$^{n}$ which is used after prepositions

e.g. *lassa*$^{n}$ 'with whom, with which,' *fora*$^{n}$ (or *forsa*$^{n}$) 'on whom, on which.'

The prepositions *do* and *di* with the relative become *dia*$^{n}$, *fo* becomes *foa*$^{n}$, *fua*$^{n}$ or *fo*$^{n}$, while *i*$^{n}$ is used for the simple preposition as well as for prep.+rel.

*a*$^{n}$ 'what,' *ol-ṡuide* m. f. 'which,' *ol-ṡodain* n. 'what' serve only as the subject or the object of the verb.

On relative *intí* (*aní*, etc.), *nech, ní, naní, cách*, see §§ 168, 170. On relative construction, see §§ 159 b, 28, 26, 17.

§ 167. Emphatic particles.

The emphatic particles may be used with the possessive adjectives, the personal pronouns and verbal forms. They are not attached immediately to the possessive adjectives or to the forms of the copula, but come next to the following fully-stressed word. Most of them have broad and slender forms according to the quality of the final sound of the words to which they are attached.

| | broad | slender |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | -*sa* | -*se* (-*sea*) |
| 2. | -*su*,[1] -*so*[1] | -*siu* |
| 3. m. | -*som*[1] (-*sum*[1] -*sam*[1]) | -*sem*, -*sium* |
| f. | -*si* | -*si* |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| n. | *-som*[1] (*-sum*[1] *-sam*[1]) *són, ón* | *-sem, -sium* |
| Pl. 1. | *-ni, -nai* | *-ni* |
| 2. | *-si* | *-si* |
| 3. | *-som*[1] | *-sem, -sium* |

[1] These broad spellings are also used after slender final sounds; in the third persons the broad spellings prevail even after slender sounds.

Examples: *am rí-se* 'I am a king,' *as-bir-so* (or *-su, -siu*) 'thou sayst,' *a flaith-som* (or *-sem, -sium*) 'his sovereignty,' *do-ssom* 'to him' (§ 160 II. A).

In the 3 sg. n. with forms of the copula only *són, ón* can be used.

*són, ón* may also be used in explanations in the sense of 'that is to say.'
e.g. *intan imme-romastar són nach noíb* 'that is, when any saint sins.'

See further § 168, 5.

§ **168.** Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives.

1. The article, when combined with a following affixed *-(h)í*
e.g. m. *int-í* (f. *ind-í*, n. *an-í*, g. sg. m. n. *ind-í*, f. *inna-hí*, etc.) has the meaning 'he, the aforementioned,' before a relative verb 'he who.'
e.g. *intí Día* 'God,' *aní as maith* 'that which is good.'

2. The pronouns *so, sa* (after words ending in a palatal sound mostly *se, seo, sea*) 'this,' *sin* 'that,' *tall, ucut* 'yonder, there' are used after a noun preceded by the article
e.g. *in fer sin* 'that man,' *ind eich se* (*seo, sea*) 'of this horse.'

**Note.**—*i-siu* (not *i-se, i-seo*), *i-sin, i-thall* serve as the emphatic forms of the aforementioned pronouns. They may also be used substantivally without an accompanying noun, preceded only by the article.
e.g. *in fer i-siu* 'this man,' *intí thall* 'that yonder,' *innahí-siu do-mmeil* 'those things which he eats.'

3. *inso* (*inse*), *so* (*se*) 'this,' *insin, sin* 'that' are used as



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subject or object of a verb, after prep.+suff. pron., and after the comparative of equality. When forming predicate nouns they must be preceded by a personal pronoun of the third person.

e.g. *do-gní (in)sin* 'he does that,' *airi (in)sin* 'on account of that,' *is lérithir (in)so* 'it is so diligently,' *is sí méit (in)sin* 'that is the extent.'

4. In prepositional phrases *se* 'this' is used as accusative neuter, *siu* (or *sund*) as dative, while *sin* 'that' is used for both cases.

e.g. *co-sse* 'up to this,' *de-ṡíu* or *di-ṡund* 'from this,' *íar-sin* 'afterwards.'

**Note.**—*siu, sund, sin* may also be used adverbially, meaning 'here.' *sin* may be used after the comparative

e.g. *mó sin* 'greater than this.'

5. The dat. and acc. of *suide* 'he, she, this' are fully stressed and regularly inflected, though the dat. pl. may be sometimes used for the accusative. For the accus. sg. neut. the form *sod(a)in* is used. The dat. and acc. are used with prepositions and after the comparative,

e.g. *la sod(a)in* 'therewith,' *do ṡuidiu* 'to him,' *móo suidiu* 'greater than this.'

The nom. and gen. are enclitic and may serve as emphatic particles.

(a.) nom. sg. m. *side* (*sede*), f. *side, ede, ade* (*ide*), *de* n. *side*; pl. *sidi, side, adi, di, ade* (*ide*), *de.*

These forms are used as the subject of a verb or they are attached to the third persons of the personal pronoun; they may be further attached to a verb, going with an infixed pronoun.

e.g. *do-beir side* 'he gives'; *nirbu litir ade* 'it was not a letter'; *is é-side as-beir* 'he says' (*i.e.* it is he who says); *ni-sn-áirmim sidi* 'I reckon them not.'

(b.) gen. sg. m. n. *sidi, adi* (*idi*), *di,* (*ade, de*) f. *ade* (*ide*), *de* pl. m. f. n. *ade* (*ide*), *de* (*adi, di*).

These forms are attached to a noun preceded by a possessive

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pronoun e.g. *a iress sidi* 'his faith'; *a áilde ade* 'her beauty,' *a thorb(a)e de* 'his profit.'

§ **169**. Definitive pronouns and adjectives.

1. 'Self' is expressed by different forms in different persons.

Sg. 1. *féin, fadéin, céin, cadéin*;
2. *féin, fadéin*;
3. m.n. *fe(i)ssin, fé(i)sin, féin, fesine, fade(is)sin, fadéne, cesin, cadesin*;
f. *fe(i)sine, féisne, féissin, fissin, fadisin*.

Pl. 1. *fesine, fanisin, canisin*;
2. *féisne, fé(i)sin, fadéisne, fadisin*;
3. *fésine, féisne, fe(is)sin, fade(i)sine, fadé(i)sne, fadesin, fedesin, cadesne, cadésin*.

The quantity of the internal *e* seems uncertain, except in the 1. and 2. pers. sg.

2. 'The same' is expressed by the undeclinable *innonn, innunn* (*sinnonn, sinnunn*) or by the declinable *oín* (*óen*) which precede the respective nouns or by *cétn(a)e* (§ 156) which follows its noun.

The substantive 'the same' is expressed by the neuter case of *oín* (*óen*) preceded by (*s*)*innonn*, (*s*)*innunn*.

§ **170**. Indefinite pronouns.

1. *nech* 'any one, anything,' nom. acc. n. *ní* or *na-ní*, gen. *neich*, dat. *neuch, neoch*. For the plural the forms of *alaile* (*araile*)[1] are used. *nech* is often used before a relative verb e.g. *do neuch as maith* 'concerning whatever is good.'

2. *nechtar de* or *nechtar n-aí* 'either of them' (uninflected).

3. *cách* (nom. dat. acc.) 'every one,' gen. *cáich*; n. *cach* (*cech*) *ní*. When used before a relative verb it takes the article before it.

4. *cechtar de* or *cechtar n-ái* 'each of them' (later also *cechtardae diib*).

5. *alaile* (*araile*)[1] m. f. 'another,' n. *alaill* (*araill*),[1] acc. pl. m. *alailiu* (*arailiu*),[1] gen. sg. f. *ala-aile*, gen. pl. *ala n-aile*, nom. pl. *ala-aili* or *alaili*.

**Note.**—Instead of *alaile*: *aile* (n. *aill*) may be used preceded by the article or by *nach* (n. *na*) 'any.'

[1] The *r* arose by dissimilation, due to the following *l*.

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6. *indala n-aí* 'one of the two' (uninflected).

7. '*a chéle*' 'the other,' is likewise uninflected.

§ 171. Indefinite adjectives.

1. *nach* 'any,' nom. acc. n. *na*; dat. gen. sg. m. and n. *nach*; gen. sg. f., pl. nom. acc. f. n. and acc. m. *nacha*; pl. dat. *nach*.

2. *cach, cech* 'every'; dat. m. n. *cech, cach*; gen. m. n. *cech, cach* (*caich*); gen. f. *cecha, cacha* (*cache*); plur. in all persons *cacha, cecha* or *cach, cech*.

*cach* (*cech*) *óen* 'every one'; *cach n-áe, cach áe, cach (h)é, cach hé* (or *cech n-áe*, etc.) 'each of them,' later also *cach áe diib*.

3. *aile* 'another,' n. *aill*, follows its noun.

*alaile*, n. *alaill* (*araile, araill*)[1] 'a certain' stands before its noun. (Very seldom it has the meaning 'another').

*indala—aile, alaile* 'the one—the other, plural *alaili—alaili*; with distributive meaning, *cach-la . . . aile* 'the one—the other.'

e.g. *indala fer—in fer aile*, or *indala fer—alaile* 'the one man—the other'; *cach-la céin—in céin n-aili* 'at one time—at another time.'

§ 172. Adverbs of place.

| | Rest | Motion *towards* the speaker | Motion *from* the speaker |
|---|---|---|---|
| east, in front | *t-air* | *s-air* | *an-air* |
| west, behind | *t-ár* | *s-ár* | *an-ár* |
| north, left | *túaid* | *fu-thúaith* (*sa-thúaid*) | *an-túaid* |
| south, right | *dess* (*tess*) | *fu-dess* (*sa-dess*) | *an-dess* |
| here | *sund* | *i-lle*(*i*) | *de-síu* |
| over there, yonder | *t-all* | *inn-onn, inn-unn* | *an-all* |
| above | *t-úas* | *s-úas* | *an-úas* |
| below | *t-ís* | *s-ís* | *an-ís* |
| outside | *di-an-echtair* | *s-echtar, s-echtair* | *an-echtar*, (*di-*)*an-echtair* |

Examples: *it hé sin inna ranna as-rubart túas* 'those are the parts which he has mentioned above'; *téit súas* 'he goes upwards'; *dotét anúas* 'he comes from above.'

In prepositional use: *fri Emuin andess* 'south of Emain,' *fríu antúaid* 'to the north of them,' *fri tech anúas* 'above the house.'

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## THE VERB

### § 173. General Remarks.

**1.** According to the formation of the stem we can distinguish between weak verbs (formed mostly from nouns or adjectives) and strong (or radical) verbs.

The former show after their root a vocalic suffix *-ā-* or *-ī-* of various origin (*-ā-* and *-ī-* verbs). This suffix can clearly be seen in the compositional form of the 3. sg. pres., e.g. *ni-marba* 'he does not kill' (fr. O. C. **-marv-ā-t*), or *ad-rími* 'he reckons' (fr. O. C. **-rīm-ī-t*), *ad-suidi* 'he keeps' (fr. O. C. **-sod-ī-t*), while the compositional 3. sg. pres. of radical verbs has lost its ending in O. Ir. e.g. *ni-ben(a)id* 'you do not strike' (fr. I.E. **-bhi-nə-te*), *as-beir* 'he says' (fr. I.E. **-bher-e-t*).

On the hiatus-verbs, whose root ended in a vowel in O. Ir., see § 181.

**2.** Every verb has short (compositional) and long (non-compositional) endings.

The short endings are found in compositional verbal forms, *i.e.*

(a) in compound verbs, whether they are stressed on their first element (genuine compounds) or not (non-genuine compounds) cf. § 53.

(b) in simple verbs, when these are preceded by a preverb, *i.e.* the verbal particles *ro-*, *no-*, or any of the particles and conjunctions (mentioned in § 53, 2 and § 211) with which they enter into so-called non-genuine composition.

Special relative endings are only found in the non-compositional active 3. sg., 1. and 2. pl. of indicative and subjunctive present, future and preterite of simple verbs, while in the third persons of non-compositional passive and deponent forms of simple verbs, as well as in the 1. pl. of deponent verbs, the relative endings are identical with the endings of the corresponding compositional forms.

In the non-compositional passive preterite of simple verbs, only the non-compositional forms are also used in a relative sense. In the non-compositional active 1. and 2. sing. and 2. pl.

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of the pres. ind., pres. subj. and fut. of simple verbs, when they are used relatively, the particle *no-* is prefixed.

3. The passive has special forms only for the third persons singular and plural. The other persons are expressed by means of the 3. sg. with infixed pronouns, e.g. *no-m-berar* 'I am carried,' *no-n-berar* 'we are carried,' etc.

4. In later O. Ir. the *deponential inflexion* gradually gives way to the active; in the imperfect indicative, past subjunctive, and secondary future, as well as in the 2. pl. of all moods and tenses, and in the 3. sg. imperative active inflection only is found.

### § 174. Preverbal Particles.

1. The particle *no-* is used

(a) regularly with the imperfect indicative, past subjunctive and secondary future of simple verbs, when they are not preceded by any of the particles and conjunctions (so-called 'preverbs,' § 53, 2 and § 211) which enter into so-called non-genuine composition with the following verbal form.

(b) under similar conditions, in other parts of the simple verb, in order to infix a personal pronoun or relative *-n-* (cf. the note below).

(c) in some parts of the verb in a relative function, see § 173, 2 b.

2. The particle *ro-* (*ru-*, *ra-*, § 116, 3, 4) is used as follows:—

(a) It converts a preterite (ind. or subj.) or narrative tense into a perfect, while an imperfect is turned into a consuetudinal perfect, e.g. *as-bert* 'he said'; *as-ru-bart* 'he has said.'

(b) In a dependent clause of a general sentence it gives a present (ind. or subj.) the force of a perfect, e.g. in *in núall do-n-gniat ho ru-maith fora náimtea remib* 'the cry that they make when their enemies are routed by them.'

(c) It gives a pres. subj., which is used in a future sense, the force of a future perfect, while a past subjunctive is turned into a pluperfect, e.g. *dia n-érbalam-ni, nibia nech* 'if we shall have died, there will be no one.'

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(d) It expresses possibility (except in the ind. pret. and impf.) e.g. *cía ru-bé cen ní diib, ní ru-bai cenaib huili* 'though it can be without some of them, it cannot be without all of them'; *ní d-a-r-génat* 'they will not be able to do it.'

(e) With the subjunctive it is regular

(*a*) in wishes;

(*β*) after *acht* 'provided that,' *re-síu* 'before';

(*γ*) after *co*$^{n}$, *con*$^{n}$ 'until' when following a negative sentence.

(f) It is also occasionally found with other subjunctives where the usage is less defined and the force of the particle *ro-* is less obvious.

(*a*) in negative commands, e.g. *ni to-r-gaítha* 'he should not defraud him.'

(*β*) in indefinite relative clauses and relative clauses ranging from possibility to purpose, e.g. *na maith ro-bé* 'whatever good there is'; *boí ní ro-glante and* 'there was something to be purified there.'

(*γ*) in final clauses; also after adjectival expressions, like 'it is necessary, meet, fitting,' etc., e.g. *arna ro-chretea* 'that he may not believe'; *is huisse ce ru-samaltar frí Crist* 'it is right that he be compared to Christ.'

**3.** In some verbs other particles are employed instead of *ro-*, such as *ad-* (frequent in compounds beginning with *com-*), e.g. *con-scar* 'destroys': *con-ascar*; *com-*, e.g. *as-oirg* 'smites': *as-com-ort* 'has smitten'; *ess-*, e.g. *ibid* 'drinks': *as-ib* 'has drunk.' A double preposition appears in *do-essid* (**de-éks-se-sod-e*), perf. of *saidid* 'sits,' which has for its preterite *síasair*.

Sometimes a different root is employed, e.g. *do-rat* 'has given,' *do-bert* 'gave,' to *do-beir* 'gives'; *ro-lá* 'has thrown,' *fo-cáird* 'threw,' to *fo-ceird* 'throws.'

In some verbs there is no distinction between *ro-* forms and *ro*-less forms, *e.g.* in all compounds of *-ic(c)* (*do-icc* 'comes,' *con-icc* 'is able,' *ro-icc* 'reaches,' etc.), *ro-fitir* 'knows,' *ad-bath* 'died,' etc.

**Note.**—In the future and secondary future of the substantive verb (under the conditions given in § 174, 1. a) *ro-* serves to infix a personal pronoun.

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On the preverbal prepositions see § 211. On the other preverbs see § 53, 2.

**4.** In *ad-cí* 'sees' and *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' the narrative tenses are expressed with the aid of *co*$^{n}$, e.g. *co-cúalae* 'he heard'; but *co*$^{n}$ is dropped after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2 b-e.

### On the Formation of the Moods and Tenses

**§ 175. The Present Stem.**

From the present stem are formed the present indicative, the imperfect indicative, and the imperative.

While the present stem of the weak verbs (§ 173, 1) is identical with the common verbal stem, the present stem of radical verbs is formed from the common verbal stem in four different ways:

**1.** By adding the thematic vowels *e* (in the 2. and 3. sg. and 2. pl.) and *o*, in the 1. sg. *ō* (in the compositional 2. sg. *-ei*).

e.g. *as-beir* 'he says' fr. I.E. **eḱs-bher-e-t*, *as-beram* 'we say' fr. I.E. **eḱs-bher-o-mos*.

**2.** By infixing an *n* before the final *d* or *g* of the stem and adding the thematic vowel *e/o*.

e.g. *bongid* 'breaks' fr. I.E. **bho-n-g-e-ti*, root **bhog*.

**3.** By adding palatal suffixes.

e.g. *gaibid* 'takes' fr. I.E. **ghabh-i-ti*, *gaibit* 'they take' fr. I.E. **ghabh-i-nti*, *midithir* 'judges' fr. O. C. **med-je-trai*.

**4.** By adding a suffix *-na-* (fr. **nə*) or *-nu-*,

e.g. *-ren(a)id* 'you sell' fr. I.E. **pṛ-nə-te*; *do-lin* 'flows' fr. O. C. **to-li-nu-t*, 3. pl. *do-linat* fr. O. C. **to-li-nu-nt* (O. C. *li-* fr. I.E. **pl̥-*, § 132).

**§ 176. Present and Past Subjunctive.**

In O. Ir. there are two types of subjunctive:

**1.** The *s- subjunctive*, formed from radical verbs, whose root ends in a dental, a guttural or *nn* (fr. **ndn*, *nkn*, etc.).

Its stem is formed by adding an *s-* which becomes assimilated to the final consonant of the root; with the exception of the 3. sg.

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active and deponent and 2. sg. deponent a thematic vowel *e/o* appears before the ending just as in § 175, 1.

e.g. *saidid* 'sits,' 3. sg. pres. subj. *seiss*, fr. **sed-s-ti*, compositional form: *-sé* fr. **sed-s-t*.

**Note.**—The subjunctive stem shows occasionally a different vowel-gradation from the present stem; as a rule the normal vowel-grade is found; the verbs beginning with *f-* show an analogical *e*

e.g. *dingid* 'crushes' fr. **dhi-n-ǵh-e-ti*; 3. sg. subj. *déis* fr. **dheiǵh-s-ti*; *ad-fíadat* 'they tell' fr. I.E. **ad-veid-o-nt*, 3. pl. subj. *ad-fessat* fr. O. C. **ad-ved-s-o-nt*. (As the full root is *veid*, the correct form would be *ad-fíassat*; the *e* is due to the influence of *e-* verbs, like *fedid* 'leads.')

**2.** All the other verbs have the *ā- subjunctive.*

Its stem is formed by adding the suffix *-ā-* to the common verbal stems; of course the thematic vowel, the nasal and palatal suffixes, and the infixed *-n-*, which are used in forming the present stem of radical verbs, do not appear in the subjunctive-, future-, and preterite- stem.

e.g. *be(i)rid* 'carries,' 3. sg. pres. subj. *ber(a)id* fr. **bher-ā-ti*, compositional form *-bera* fr. **bher-ā-t*; *-ben(a)id* 'you strike,' fr. **bhi-nə-te*, compositional 3. sg. pres subj. *-bïa*, fr. **bhi-ā-t*; *gaibid* 'takes' fr. **ghabh-i-ti*, 3. sg. pres. subj. *gab(a)id* fr. **ghabh-ā-ti*.

**Note 1.**—The final *-a* in the compositional 3. sg. pres. subj. of the weak *i-* verbs is due to the influence of the other verbal classes e.g. **ad-rīm-ī-ā-t* (3. sg. pres. subj. of *ad-rími* 'reckons') would have regularly given **ad-ríme* (cf. § 46) and not *ad-rímea*, as we have it in O. Ir.

**Note 2.**—In Mid. Ir. *mairnid* 'betrays' and *at-baill* 'dies' the subjunctive stem has the normal vowel grade *mer*, *gᵘel*, while in the present the reduced vowel grade *mr̥*, *gᵘl̥* appears. *mairnid* and *at-baill* are analogical transformations of older **marnaid* (I.E. **mr̥-nā-ti*) and **ad-ball* (O. C.[1] *ad-balnat*, I.E. **ad-gᵘl̥-nā-t*). Similarly those radical verbs, which form their present stem by means of a palatal suffix (§ 175, 3) and show a reduced vowel grade in the present, as *gainithir* (fr. **ǵn̥-je-trai*) 'is born' or the compounds of *-moinethar* (fr. **-mn̥-je-tro*), show the normal vowel grade (*ǵen*, *men*) in the subjunctive.

[1] In I.E. the suffix *-nā-* was used in the sg. and *-nə-* in the pl., but in O. C. the *-nā-* was replaced by *-na-* (fr. **nə*) in most instances.

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§ 177. The **Future** and **Secondary Future.**

Of the future there are three types:

1. The *f- future*

is formed from almost all weak verbs and some radical verbs, as e.g. the compounds of *-icc, -moinethar*, etc.

Its stem is formed by adding a suffix, whose consonant appears as *f* or *b* (=*v*). The *b* is always found in final position; *f* appears regularly in the interior of a word after consonants, while in vowel-flanked position either *b* or *f* may be found.

The *f* (*b*) shows in most instances palatal quality; only occasionally in *ī*- verbs, more frequently in *ā*- verbs, broad quality may be found.

2. The *s- future*

is a reduplicated form of the *s*- subjunctive. A sigmatic future and a sigmatic subjunctive regularly go together. Only the compounds of *-ic*(*c*) have an *s*- subjunctive and a *b*- future. The reduplication-vowel is *-i-*. Thus, e.g. *claidid* 'digs,' 3. sg. subj. *cláis* fr. **klād-s-ti*: 3 sg. fut. *cechlais* fr. **ki-klād-s-ti*, compositional form *-cechla* fr. **ki-klād-s-t*; *guidid* 'prays,' 3. sg. subj. *geiss* fr. **gʷhedh-s-ti*: 3. sg. fut. *gigis* fr. **gʷhi-gʷhedh-s-ti*, compositional form *-gig* fr. *gʷhi-gʷhedh-s-t*: cf. further *saigid* 'makes for,' compositional 3. sg. subj. *-sā* fr. **sāg-s-t* and compositional 3. sg. fut. *-sïa* fr. **si-sāg-s-t*; *ad-fét* 'tells,' 3. sg. subj. *ad-fé*: 3. sg. fut. *ad-fí* fr. **ad-vi-v*. . . .

If the root begins with a vowel, it contracts with *e* or *i* to *í*; before *o* it remains, e.g. *org*(*a*)*id* 'slays,' compositional 3. sg. subj. *-orr*: compositional 3. sg. fut. *-ïor, -ïarr* (§ 64).

**Note 1.**—No trace of reduplication is found in some compound verbs, containing at least two preverbal prepositions, e.g. *con-rig* 'binds,' compositional 2. sg. fut. *-riris* fr. **ri-rig-s-ei*, but *ar-fuirset*, 3. pl. of *ar-fuirig*, 'detains.'

**Note 2.**—In some verbs, as *rethid* 'runs,' *saidid* 'sits,' etc., the subjunctive forms serve to express the future tense.

3. The *reduplicated* and *ē- future.*

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a. The reduplicated future is a reduplicated form of the *ā*-subjunctive, the reduplication vowel being *i*.

Thus, e.g. *gainithir* 'is born' (fr. **ǵn̥-je-trai*), 3. sg. pres. subj. *genaithir* (fr. **ǵen-ā-trai*): 3. sg. fut. *gignithir* (fr. **ǵi-ǵen-ā-trai*); *canid* 'sings,' compositional 3. sg. pres. subj. *-cana*: compositional 3. sg. fut. *cechna* (fr. O. C. **ki-kan-ā-t*).

b. The *ē*- future is in origin only a particular kind of reduplicated future. It arose regularly in verbs whose future-stems go back to a time when the reduplicated future was still formed from the reduced root form, e.g. *celid* 'conceals,' 3. sg. fut. *cél(a)id* (fr. **ḱi-ḱl-ā-ti*), *fo-geir* 'inflames,' 3. sg. secondary fut. *fo-gérad* (fr. **upo-gʷhi-gʷhr-ā-to*), and thence spread more and more as a convenient type. Hence *be(i)rid* 'carries,' 3. sg. fut. *bér(a)id*, *gaibid* 'takes,' 3. sg. fut. *géb(a)id*, etc.

**Note.**—The *na*- and *nu*- verbs (§ 175, 4) have in the compositional 3 sg. fut. the ending *-i* e.g. *len(a)id* 'follows' (fr. O. C. **li-na-ti*); compositional 3. sg. fut. *-lili*. O. C. **-li-li-ā-t*, the reduplicated form of the subjunctive **-li-ā-t*, O. Ir. *-lia*, would have given **-lile*.

*ben(a)id* 'cuts' shows no trace of reduplication in the future, e.g. 3. secondary fut. *no-bïad*.

### § 178. Active and Deponent Preterite and Perfect.

Of this tense there are three types.

1. The *s*- *preterite* and *perfect*

is formed from all weak verbs (and some radical verbs, as *gaibid* 'takes,' *ad-gládathar* 'addresses,' etc.).

Its stem is formed by adding *-ss-* to the *short* form (§ 128) of the suffix (§ 173, 1), e.g. *car(a)id* 'loves' (pres. stem *car-ā-*): 3. sg. pret. *carais* (fr. **carassi*, O. C. **kar-ă-s-ti*), compositional form *-car* (fr. **carass*, O. C. **kar-ă-s-t*).

On the hiatus-verbs, see § 181.

2. The *t*- *preterite* and *perfect*

is formed from radical verbs in *-l*, *-r* and from some in *-m* and *-g*. There is no deponent inflexion.

Its stem is formed by adding *-t-*, thus e.g. *do-meil* 'consumes'

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3. sg. pret. *do-melt* (fr. **to-mèl-t*), contracted form (after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53) *-tomalt* (fr. **-tò-mel-t*); *berid* 'carries,' compositional 1. sg. pret. *-biurt*, fr. O. C **ber-t-ō* (= I.E. 3. sg. **bhert+ō*).

**3.** The *reduplicated preterite* and *perfect* is formed from all the other radical verbs.

There are two types,

(a) really *reduplicated* forms. The reduplication vowel was regularly *e*, but in roots ending in *i* this vowel seem to have been introduced as reduplication vowel; in roots ending in a consonant the root vowel appears in the deflected vowel grade (§ 129), thus e.g. *ligid* 'licks' (fr. I.E. **liǵh-e-ti*), 3. sg. perf. *ro-lelaig* (fr. I.E. *le-loiǵh-e*; the *i* of the present stem is the reduced vowel grade of *ei*), *cingid* 'steps' (fr. I.E. **kheng-e-ti*), 3. sg. perf. *ro-cechaing* (fr. I.E. **pro-khe-khong-e*), while in roots ending in a vowel, the root-vowel has been lost, e.g. *-len(a)id* 'you follow' (fr. I.E. **li-nə-te*): 3. sg. perf. *ro-lil* (O. C. **ro-li-l-e*), *-cren(a)id* 'you sell' (fr. I.E. **kʷri-nə-te*): 3. sg. perf. *ro-cíuir* (fr. O. C. **ro-kʷi-kʷr-e*, cf. § 115) etc.

(b) Forms *without reduplication*.

The root-vowel appears as *ā* (fr. I.E. *ō*) or *ī* (fr. I.E. *ē*) in O. Ir., e.g. *te(i)chid* 'flees,' 3. sg. pret. *táich* (fr. I.E. **tōk-e*); *guidid* 'prays,' 1. sg. perf. *ro-gád* (fr. I.E. **pro-gʰhōdh-a*); *midithir* 'judges,' 3. sg. perf. deponent *ro-mídair*, etc.

**Note.**—*ben(a)id* 'cuts' forms its preterite from the aorist-stem O. C. **bī*, e.g. 3. sg. perf. *ro-bí*, fr. O. C. **ro-bī-e*; 3 pl. perf. *ro-béotar*, fr. **ro-bī-ontro*.

For the preterite of *tíagu* 'I go' the aorist-stem I.E. **ludh* is used, e.g. *-luid* 'went' fr. O. C. **lud-e*.

The perfect of *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' is *cúal(a)e* fr. **ku-klov-e*, with analogical *u*.

**4.** The *perfect* [1] is commonly distinguished from the preterite by the addition of *ro-* or other particles (see § 174). The preterite is the narrative tense. Further, it is used in indirect

[1] This short section (4) is taken from Strachan's *Selections*, p. 61.

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speech to represent a present of direct speech; it is used in a modal sense, e.g. *ní boí* 'there were not'; further after *mad-* 'well,' e.g. *mad-génatar* 'blessed are' and after *ó* 'since.'

The perfect marks the occurrence of an action in past time from the point of view of the present. Such action may fall within the recent experience of the speaker (or the person spoken to), or within his more remote experience, or it may fall in an indefinite past. In subordinate clauses, the perfect may denote action prior to the action of the main verb.

### § 179. Passive Preterite and Perfect.

There is only one formation. The non-compositional forms (originally identical with the passive participle ?) may have been formed by means of the old suffix *-tjo-, -tjā*, e.g. *marbaid* 'kills': *marbthae*, fr. **mṛvā-tjo-(-tjā)*; the *e* and the broad *th* in *brethae* (fr. *berid* 'carries') would be due to the influence of the compositional forms. The latter are formed by means of the suffix *-to-, -tā-*, e.g. *ro-breth* 'he has been carried' fr. **pro-bhr-to-s*; in the plural the feminine form is used for all genders, e.g. *ni-marbtha* 'they have not been killed' (fr. **mṛvā-tās*), *do-bretha* 'they have been given' fr. **to-bhṛ-tās*. Other examples are *bong(a)id* 'breaks': *-bocht* (fr. **bhog-to-*); *ad-fét* 'tells': *ad-fess* (fr. **-vid-to-*; cf. § 94.); *do-moinethar* 'believes': *do-mét* (fr. **to-mn̥-to-*); *ad-cí* 'sees': *ad-cess* (fr. **ad-kʷis-to-*), etc.

**Note.**—In radical verbs the root originally always showed the reduced vowel-grade, as in *ro-cleth* (fr. **pro-kl̥-to-*) fr. *celid* 'hides,' *ro-breth*, etc. But through the influence of other verbal forms the normal vowel grade has often been restored.

### § 180. Passive Participle and Participle of Necessity.

These participles are (verbal) adjectives and hence always stressed on the first syllable. The participle of necessity looks in most instances like a dat. sg. fem. of the passive participle, though it is of different origin, e.g. *do-eim* 'protects,' part. pass. *díte* (fr. **dē-em-tjo-*): part. nec. *díti*; *guidid* 'prays,' part. pass. *gesse* (fr. **gʷhedh-tjo-*): part. nec. *gessi*; *ad-rími* 'reckons,' part. pass. *áirmithe* (fr. **ad-rīmī-tjo-*): part. nec. *áirmithi*, etc.

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**Note.**—The part. nec. cannot be inflected. The dative plur., which occurs thirteen times in Ml., e.g. *betis imgabthib* (fr. *im-gaib*) 'that they should have been avoided,' is an artificial formation.

### § 181. Hiatus-verbs.

In hiatus-verbs, *i.e.* verbs whose root ended in a vowel or *s, v, j, p* which have been dropped in vowel-flanked position the inflexion of radical and weak verbs has been mixed up very early. Thus, e.g. *ad-cí* 'sees' (fr. **ad-kʷis-e-t*), contracted form *-aicci* though being in origin a radical *e/o* verb, looks in the present like an *i-* verb; hence it has an *a-* subjunctive (deponent inflexion), while in the contracted[1] passive the forms of the old *s-* subjunctive have been preserved.

Otherwise all hiatus-verbs (except *do-goa* 'chooses') seem to have only an *a-* subjunctive, though some forms show the influence of the *s-* subjunctive, as e.g. the compositional 1. sg. *-gnéu* (*-gnéo*) fr. *gniid* 'does.'

In the *future* tense *gniid* 'does,' the cpds. of *-goa* and *-cí* (but in the passive the latter have an *s-* future) and some other verbs have the reduplicated future, while most of the hiatus-verbs have probably an *f-* future.

In the *preterite* many verbs, as the cpds. of *-cí* and *-goa, ciid* 'weeps,' etc., have the reduplicated preterite. *gniid* shows a mixture of the reduplicated and *s-* preterite (stem *gēniss*, fr. Pr. Ir. **ge-gnīss-*),

e.g. *do-génis* 'thou didst' fr. Pr. Ir. **dī-ge-gnī-ss-ē* (I.E. **ei*).

Not a few of the hiatus-verbs have, however, the *s-* preterite, thus, e.g. *ad-roillis* (fr. Pr. Ir. **ad-ro-slī-ss-ē*) 'thou hast deserved,' 1. sg. pres. *ad-roilliu*; *ad-noí* 'entrusts' I.E. **ate-nev-e-t*: 3. sg. perf. *ad-ro-n(a)i*, etc.

In such verbs as *ad-roilli* (3. sg.) the final vowel has been preserved, as only the various suffixes (§ 173, 1.) were shortened in the

[1] Most compound verbs have contracted and uncontracted forms. The contracted forms are used after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2. b-e, after *ro-* and in the imperative. Thus, e.g. *as-beir* 'says' (fr. **eks-bhèret*), but *ni-epir* 'he does not say' (fr. *-èks-bheret*).

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preterite (§ 178, 1), but not the root-vowels, while in such verbs as *ad-ro-n(a)i*, the final vowel results from two subsequent hiatus-vowels; *ad-ron(a)i* instead of **ad-ro-n(a)e* fr. O. C. **ad-ro-nove*+*s-t* is due to the influence of *ad-roilli*, etc.

### Use of the Subjunctive Mood

§ 182. The subjunctive is used:

1. In principal and subordinate clauses as a subjunctive of wish and will, and as a potential subjunctive; further after *bés* 'perchance.'

2. In relative, temporal, conditional and concessive clauses and in clauses of comparison (occasionally also in indirect questions), when the action is to be marked as hypothetic, prospective or general.

3. After *re-síu* 'before' and *acht* 'but that, provided that.'

4. In final clauses.

5. In '*that*-' clauses after verbs of effort, fearing, rejoicing, grieving, wondering, happening, etc., and after certain impersonal expressions denoting 'it happens, it is possible, necessary, right,' etc.

**Note.**—But to express a fact or result the indicative is used. After verbs of saying, thinking, showing, etc., the subjunctive is used only when the '*that*'- clause belongs to one of the categories given above 1-4.

6. In relative clauses of the form 'if it be they who do it,' 'let it be this that they do,' where the copula is in the subjunctive or imperative, the following verb is also put in the subjunctive, e.g. *bat hé berte* (subj.) *bretha lib* 'let it be them who give judgments among you'; *bad hed dogneid* 'let it be that that ye do.'

## PARADIGM OF WEAK VERBS

§ 183. Only the regular verbal-forms are given below. The *ā*- verbs are represented by *scar(a)im(m)*[1] 'I separate' (fr. **skr̥ā-mi*), the *ī* verbs by *lécim(m)*[1] 'I leave,' the deponent

[1] The unaspirated *-mm* of the 1. sg. is due to the influence of the copula *am* (with unaspirated *m*), fr. **imm*, **esmi* (§ 81).

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inflexion by *suidigur* 'I place' (*ī*-verb; an example of an *ā*-verb would be *còmalnur* 'I fulfil').

### Indicative

§ 184. Non-compositional **Present.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *scaraim(m)* | *lécim(m)* | *suidigur* |
| 2. | *scarai* | *léci* | *suidigther* |
| 3. | *scaraid* | *lécid* | *suidigidir* |
| rel. | *scaras* | *léces* | *suidigedar* |
| Pl. 1. | *scarmai* | *léicmi* | *suidigmir* |
| rel. | *scarmae* | *léicme* | *suidigmer* |
| 2. | *scarthae* | *léicthe* | *suidigthe* |
| 3. | *scarait* | *lécit* | *suidigitir* |
| rel. | *scardae, scaraite* | *léicde,lécite* | *suidigetar* |

§ 185. Compositional Present.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-scaraim (m), -scaru* | *-lécim(m), -léc(i)u* | *-suidigur* |
| 2. | *-scarai* | *-léci* | *-suidigther* |
| 3. | *-scara* | *-léci* | *-suidigedar* |
| Pl. 1. | *-scaram* | *-lécem* | *-suidigmer* |
| 2. | *-scaraid* | *-lécid* | *-suidigid* |
| 3. | *-scarat* | *-lécet* | *-suidigetar* |

§ 186. **Imperfect.** (Only compositional forms, § 179, 1a.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-scarainn* | *-lécinn* | *-suidiginn* |
| 2. | *-scartha* | *-léicthea* | *-suidigthea* |
| 3. | *-scarad* | *-léced* | *-suidiged* |
| Pl. 1. | *-scarmais* | *-léicmis* | *-suidigmis* |
| 2. | *-scarthae* | *-léicthe* | *-suidigthe* |
| 3. | *-scartais* | *-léictis* | *-suidigtis* |

§ 187. Non-compositional **Future.**

(The *ā*- verbs are mostly inflected like *ī*- verbs, § 177, 1.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | [The cpds. of | *léicfea* | *suidigfer* |
| 2. | *scaraid* have | *léicfe* | *suidigfider* |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | the *ē-* future | *léicfid* | *suidigfidir* |
| rel. | like strong verbs.] | *léicfes* | *suidigfedar* |
| Pl. 1. | | *léicfimmi* | *suidigfimmir* |
| rel. | | *léicfimme* | *suidigfemmar* |
| 2. | | *léicfide* | *suidigfide* |
| 3. | | *léicfit* | *suidigfitir* |
| rel. | | *léicfite* | *suidigfetar* |

§ 188. Compositional Future.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-léc(i)ub* (§ 62) | *-suidigfer* |
| 2. | *-léicfe* | *-suidigfider* |
| 3. | *-léicfea* | *-suidigfedar* |
| Pl. 1. | *-léicfem* | *-suidigfemmar* |
| 2. | *-léicfid* | *-suidigfid* |
| 3. | *-léicfet* | *-suidigfetar* |

§ 189. **Secondary Future.** (Only compositional forms, § 174, 1a.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-léicfinn* | *-suidigfinn* |
| 2. | *-léicfeda* | *-suidigfeda* |
| 3. | *-léicfed* | *-suidigfed* |
| Pl. 1. | *-léicfimmis* | *-suidigfimmis* |
| 2. | *-léicfide* | *-suidigfide* |
| 3. | *-léicfitis* | *-suidigfitis* |

§ 190. Non-compositional **Preterite.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *scarsu* | *léicsiu* | ? |
| 2. | *scarsai* | *léicsi* | ? |
| 3. | *scarais* | *lécis* | *suidigistir* |
| rel. | *scaras* | *léces* | *suidigestar* |
| Pl. 1. | *scarsaimmi* | *léicsimmi* | ? |
| rel. | *scarsaimme* | *léicsimme* | ? |
| 2. | ? | ? | ? |
| 3. | *scarsait* | *léicsit* | *suidigsitir* |
| rel. | *scarsaite* | *léicsite* | *suidigsetar* |



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§ **191.** Compositional Preterite.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-scarus* | *-léc(i)us* (§ 62) | *-suidigsiur* |
| 2. | *-scarais* | *-lécis* | *-suidigser* |
| 3. | *-scar* | *-léic* | *-suidigestar* |
| Pl. 1. | *-scarsam* | *-léicsem* | *-suidigsemmar* |
| 2. | *-scarsaid* | *-léicsid* | *-suidigsid* |
| 3. | *-scarsat* | *-léicset* | *-suidigsetar* |

**Subjunctive**

§ **192.** Non-compositional **Present.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *scara* | *lécea* | *suidiger* |
| 2. | *scarae* | *léce* | *suidigther* |
| 3. | *scaraid* | *lécid* | *suidigidir* |
| rel. | *scaras* | *léces* | *suidigedar* |
| Pl. 1. | *scarmai* | *léicmi* | *suidigmir* |
| rel. | *scarmae* | *léicme* | *suidigmer* |
| 2. | *scarthae* | *léicthe* | *suidigthe* |
| 3. | *scarait* | *lécit* | *suidigitir* |
| rel. | *scardae, scaraite* | *léicde, lécite* | *suidigetar* |

§ **193.** Compositional Present.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-scar* | *-léic* | *-suidiger* |
| 2. | *-scarae* | *-léce* | *-suidigther* |
| 3. | *-scara* | *-lécea* | *-suidigedar* |
| Pl. 1. | *-scaram* | *-lécem* | *-suidigmer* |
| 2. | *-scaraid* | *-lécid* | *-suidigid* |
| 3. | *-scarat* | *-lécet* | *-suidigetar* |

§ **194. Preterite.** (Only compositional forms, § 174, 1a.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-scarainn* | *-lécinn* | *-suidiginn* |
| 2. | *-scartha* | *-léicthea* | *-suidigthea* |
| 3. | *-scarad* | *-léced* | *-suidiged* |
| Pl. 1. | *-scarmais* | *-léicmis* | *-suidigmis* |
| 2. | *-scarthae* | *-léicthe* | *-suidigthe* |
| 3. | *-scartais* | *-léictis* | *suidigtis* |

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### Imperative

§ **195.** (No distinction is made between compositional and non-compositional endings.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 2. | *scar* | *léic* | *suidigthe* |
| 3. | *scarad* | *léced* | *suidiged* |
| Pl. 1. | *scaram* | *lécem* | *suidigmer* |
| 2. | *scaraid* | *lécid* | *suidigid* |
| 3. | *scarat* | *lécet* | *suidigtar* |

## PASSIVE

(On the relative forms see § 173, 2.)

### Indicative

§ **196.** Non-compositional **Present.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 3. | *scarthair* | *léicthir* | *suidigthir* |
| Pl. 3. | *scartair, scaraitir* | *léictir, lécitir* | *suidigtir* |

Compositional Present.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *-scarthar* | *-léicther* | *-suidigther* |
| Pl. 3. | *-scartar, -scaratar* | *-léicter, lécetar* | *suidigter* |

**Imperfect** (Only compositional forms, § 174, 1a.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *-scarthae* | *-léicthe* | *-suidigthe* |
| | *-scartais* | *-léictis* | *-suidigtis.* |

§ **197.** Non-compositional **Future.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 3. (See § 187.) | *léicfidir* | *suidigfidir* |
| Pl. 3. | *léicfitir* | *suidigfitir* |

Compositional Future

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| General form | *-léicfider* | *-suidigfider* |
| Pl. 3. | *-léicfiter -fetar* | *-suidigfiter -fetar* |

**Secondary Future** (Only compositional forms, § 174, 1a.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| General form | *-léicfide* | *-suidigfide* |
| Pl. | *-léicfitis* | *-suidigfitis* |

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§ 198. Non-compositional **Preterite**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 3. (and rel.) | *scarthae* | *léicthe* | *suidigthe* |
| Pl. 3. | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Compositional Preterite

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *-scarad* | *-léced* | *-suidiged* |
| Pl. 3. | *-scartha* | *-léicthea* | *-suidigthea* |

**Subjunctive**

§ 199. Non-compositional **Present**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 3. | *scarthair* | *léicthir* | *suidigthir* |
| Pl. 3. | *scartair, scaraitir* | *léictir, lécitir* | *suidigtir* |

Compositional Present

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *-scarthar* | *-léicther* | *-suidigther* |
| Pl. 3. | *-scartar, -scaratar* | *-léicter, -lécetar* | *-suidigter* |

**Preterite** (Only compositional forms, § 174, 1a.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *-scarthae* | *-léicthe* | *-suidigthe* |
| Pl. 3. | *-scartais* | *-léictis* | *-suidigtis* |

**Imperative**

§ 200. (No distinction is made between compositional and non-compositional endings.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| General form | *scarthar* | *léicther* | *suidigther* |
| Pl. 3. | *scartar* | *léicter* | *suidigter* |

**Passive Participle**

§ 201. *scarthae* *léicthe* *suidigthe*

**Participle of Necessity**

§ 202. *scarthai* *léicthi* *suidigthi*

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## PARADIGMS OF RADICAL VERBS

§ 203. *melid* 'grinds' (°/₀ verb, § 175,1.)

As the complete paradigm cannot be restored with certainty, some forms have been inserted from *berid* 'carries.'

| | Present Indicative | | Imperfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *melim(m)*[1] | (*-biur*) | *-melinn* |
| 2. | **meli*(?) | (*-bir*[2]) | ? |
| 3. | *melid* | *-meil* | *-meled* |
| rel. | *meles* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *melmai* | *-melam* | *-meilmis* |
| rel. | *melmae* | —— | —— |
| 2. | *meilte* (§ 84 b.) | *-melid* | ? |
| 3. | *melait* | *-melat* | *-mc(i)ltis* |
| rel. | *meldae, -tae* | —— | —— |

**Note 1.**—Occasionally the ending *-u* is found, e.g. *biru* 'I carry,' *tíagu* 'I go.'

**Note 2.**—Many verbs have *-i* also in the compositional form, e.g. *ar-rethi* 'thou assailest'; the *i* in *-bir* 'thou carriest' (O. C. *-*berē*, fr. I.E. **bherei*) is due to the influence of the 1. sg. *-biur*.

| | *ē*-Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *méla* | *-mél* | *-mélainn* |
| 2. | *mélae* | *-mélae* | *-mélta* (§ 84 b.) |
| 3. | *mélaid* | *-méla* | *-mélad* |
| rel. | *mélas* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *mélmai* | *-mélam* | *-mélmais* |
| rel. | *mélmae* | —— | —— |
| 2. | *méltae* (§ 84 b.) | *-mélaid* | *-méltae* (§ 84 b.) |
| 3. | *mélait* | *-mélat* | *-méltais* |
| rel. | *méldae, -tae* | —— | —— |

| | *t*-Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-miult* | *-ru-mult* |
| 2. | ? | *-meilt* | *-ru-m(a)ilt* |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | (*birt*) | *-melt* | *-ru-malt* |
| rel. | *meltae* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | ? | *-meltammar* | *-ru-maltmar* |
| rel. | *meltammar* | —— | —— |
| 2. | ? | *-meltaid* | *-ru-maltaid* |
| 3. | ? | *-meltar, meltatar* | *-ru-malt(at)ar* |
| rel. | *meltar, meltatar* | —— | —— |

| | **Present Subjunctive** | | **Past Subjunctive** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *mela* | *-mel* | *-melainn* |
| 2. | *melae* | *-melae* | *-melta* (§ 84 b.) |
| 3. | *melaid* | *-mela* | *-melad* |
| rel. | *melas* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *melmai* | *-melam* | *-melmais* |
| rel. | *melmae* | —— | —— |
| 2. | *meltae* (§ 84 b.) | *-melaid* | *-meltae* (§ 84 b.) |
| 3. | *melait* | *-melat* | *-meltais* |
| rel. | *meldae, -tae* | —— | —— |

**Imperative**

(No distinction is made between compositional and non-compositional endings.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | —— | Pl. 1. | *melam* |
| 2. | *meil* | 2. | *melid* |
| 3. | *meled*[3] | 3. | *melat* |

**Note 3.**—The ending *-ad* appears occasionally instead of *-ed* (fr. **-e-to*) through influence of the 3. pl. (*-at*, fr. **-ont*).

**Note 4.**—From *tíagu* 'I go,' comes a 1. sg. ipv. *tíag* with the sense of 'I will go.'

## PASSIVE

(On the relative forms see § 173, 2.)

| | **Present Indicative** | | **Imperfect** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *melair* | *-melar* | *-meilte* (§ 84 b) |
| Pl. 3. | *meltair* | *-meltar* | *-me(i)ltis* |

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| | ē-Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *méltair* (§ 84 b) | *-méltar* (§ 84 b) | *méltae* (§ 84 b) |
| Pl. 3. | *méltair* | *-méltar* | *-méltais* |

| | Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 3. | *mlethae* | *-mleth* | *-ro-mlad* |
| Pl. 3. | (?) | *-mletha* | *-ro-malta* (§ 67) |

| | Present Subjunctive | | Past Subjunctive |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *meltair* (§ 84 b) | *-meltar* (§ 84 b) | *-meltae* (§ 84 b) |
| Pl. 3. | *meltair* | *-meltar* | *-meltais* |

**Imperative**

(No distinction is made between compositional and non-compositional endings.)

General form (3. sg.) *melar*
Pl. 3. *meltar*

| Passive Participle | Participle of Necessity |
|---|---|
| *mlithe* | *mlithi* |

§ 204. *canid* 'sings' (*e|o* verb, § 175, 1).

In the **Present** and **Imperfect Indicative Active**, as well as in the **Present** and **Past Subjunctive Active**, it is inflected like *melid* (§ 203). In the 1 sg. compositional pres. the non-compositional *canaim(m)* is used besides the regular *-cun* (fr. **-caun*).

| | Reduplicated Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *cechna* | *-cechan* | *-cechnainn* |
| 2. | *cechnae* | *-cechnae* | *-cechnatha* |
| 3. | *cechnaid* | *-cechna* | *-cechnad* |
| rel. | *cechnas* | —— | —— |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pl. 1. | *cechnaimmi* (?) | *-cechnam* | *-cechnaimmis* (?) |
| rel. | *cechnaimme* (?) | —— | —— |
| 2. | *cechnaithe* (?) | *-cechnaid* | *-cechnaithe* |
| 3. | *cechnait* | *-cechnat* | *-cechnaitis* |
| rel. | *cechnaite* (?) | —— | —— |

| | Reduplicated Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 1. | *cechan* (?) | *-cechan* | *-roíchan* |
| 2. | ? | *-cechan* | *-roíchan* |
| 3. | *cechain* | *-cechain* | *-roíchain* |
| rel. | *cechnae* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *cechnaimmir* (?) | *-cechnammar* | *-roíchnammar* |
| rel. | *cechnammar* | —— | —— |
| 2. | ? | *-cechnaid* | *-roíchnid* |
| 3. | *cechnaitir* | *-cechnatar* | *-roíchnatar* |
| rel. | *cechnatar* | —— | —— |

The **Present** and **Past Subjunctive** as well as the **Imperative Active** are inflected like *melid.*

## PASSIVE

(On the relative forms see § 173, 2.)

In the Passive the **Present Indicative** and **Subjunctive**, the **Imperfect**, and the **Past Subjunctive** and **Imperative** are inflected like *melid.*

| | Reduplicated Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *cechnaithir* | *-cechnathar* | *-cechnaithe* (?) |
| Pl. 3. | *cechnaitir* | *-cechnatar* | *-cechnaitis* (?) |

| | Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 3. | *cétae* | *-cét* | *-ro-chet* |
| Pl. 3. | (?) | *-céta* | *-ro-cheta* |

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| Passive Participle | Participle of Necessity |
|---|---|
| *céte* | *céti* |

§ 205. *guidid* 'prays' (§ 175, 3).

In the **Present** and **Imperfect Indicative Active** it is inflected like an ī-verb (*lécid*) except in the compositional 3 sg. pres. ind. (*-guid* fr. **g'hodh-i-t*; cf. § 173, 1).

In the non-compositional 1 sg. pres. ind. the form *guidiu* 'I pray' occurs beside the regular *guidim(m)*.

| | *s*-Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *gigsca* | *-gigius* | *-gigsinn* |
| 2. | *gigsi* | *-gigis* | ? |
| 3. | *gigis* | *-gig* | *-gigsed* |
| rel. | *giges* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *gigsimmi* | *-gigsem* | *-gigsimmis* |
| rel. | *gigsimme* | —— | —— |
| 2. | *gigestae* | *-gigsid* | ? |
| 3. | *gigsit* | *-gigset* | *-gigsitis* |
| rel. | *gigsite* | —— | —— |

| | ā-Preterite (§ 178, 3b.) | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 1. | *gád* (?) | *-gád* | *-ro-gad* |
| 2. | ? | *-gád* | *-ro-gad* |
| 3. | *gáid* | *-gáid* | *-ro-gaid* |
| rel. | *gáde* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | ? | *-gádammar* | ? |
| rel. | *gádammar* | —— | —— |
| 2. | ? | *-gádid* | ? |
| 3. | ? | *-gádatar* | ? |
| rel. | *gádatar* | —— | —— |

| | Present (*s*-) Subjunctive | | Past Subjunctive |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | ?[1] | *-gess* | *-gessinn* |
| 2. | *gessi* | *-geiss* | ? |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | *geiss* | *-gé* | *-gessed* |
| rel. | *gess* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *gesmai* | *-gessam* | *-gesmais* |
| rel. | *gesmae* | —— | —— |
| 2. | ? | *-gessid* | ? |
| 3. | *gessait* | *-gessat* | *-gestais* |
| rel. | *gestae* | —— | —— |

**Note 1.**—The only example I have of the non-compositional 1 sg. is *tíasu*, pres. *tíagu* 'I go.' Perhaps the other verbs had the ending *-a* as in the *s*- future (§ 177, 2).

The **Imperative Active** is inflected like *lécid*.

## PASSIVE

(On the relative forms see § 173, 2).

The **Present Indicative**, the **Imperfect** and the **Imperative** are inflected like *lécid*.

| | *s*-**Future** | | **Secondary Future** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *gigsithir* | *-gigsethar* | *-gigestae* |
| Pl. 3. | *gigsitir* | *-gigsetar* | *-gigsitis* |

| | **Preterite** | | **Perfect** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 3. | *gessae* (?) | *-gess* | ? |
| Pl. 3. | (?) | *-gessa* | ? |

| | **Present Subjunctive** | | **Past Subjunctive** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *gessair* | *-gessar* | *-gestae* |
| Pl. 3. | *gessaitir* | *-gessatar* | *-gestais* |

| **Passive Participle** | **Participle of Necessity** |
|---|---|
| *ge(i)sse* | *ge(i)ssi* |

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§ 206. *renaid* 'sells' (*-na-* verb; § 175, 4).

| | Present Indicative | | Imperfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *renaim(m)* | *-renaim(m)* | *-renainn* |
| 2. | *renai* | *-renai* | *-renta* |
| 3. | *renaid* | *-ren* | *-renad* |
| rel. | *renas* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *renmai* | *-renam* | *-renmais* |
| rel. | *renmae* | —— | —— |
| 2. | *rentae* (§ 84 b) | *-renaid* | *-rentae* (§ 84 b) |
| 3. | *renait* | *-renat* | *-rentais* |
| rel. | *rentae, -dae* | —— | —— |

| | Reduplicated Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-ririu* | *-rirthinn* (?) |
| 2. | *rire* | *-rire* | *-rirthea* (?) |
| 3. | ? | *-riri* | *-rired* |
| rel. | *rires* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *rirmi* (?) | *-rirem* | *-rirmis* (?) |
| rel. | *rirme* (?) | —— | —— |
| 2. | *rirthe* (?) | *-ririd* | *-rirthe* (?) |
| 3. | *ririt* | *-riret* | *-rirtis* (?) |
| rel. | *rirte* | —— | —— |

| | Reduplicated Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-rer* (?) | (Of contracted forms I have no examples.) |
| 2. | ? | *-rer* (?) | |
| 3. | *rir* (?) | *-rir* | |
| rel. | *rire* | —— | |
| Pl. 1. | ? | ? | |
| rel. | ? | —— | |
| 2. | ? | ? | |
| 3. | ? | *-rertar, -dar* | |
| rel. | *rertar, -dar* | —— | |

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| | Present Subjunctive | | Past Subjunctive [1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-réu* | *-rïeinn* (?) |
| 2. | *rïae* (?) | *-rïae* | ? |
| 3. | *rïeid* (?) | *-rïa* | *-rïad* |
| rel. | *rïas* (?) | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *reimmi* (?) | *-rïam* | *-remmis* (?) |
| rel. | *reimme* (?) | —— | —— |
| 2. | *reithe* (?) | *-rïeid* (?) | ? |
| 3. | *rïeit* (?) | *-rïat* | *-retis* |
| rel. | *rete* | —— | —— |

The **Imperative Active** is inflected like *scaraid.*

## PASSIVE

(On the relative forms see § 173, 2).

| | Present Indicative | | Imperfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *renair* | *-renar* | *-rentae* (§ 84 b) |
| Pl. 3. | *rentair* | *-rentar* | *-rentais* |

| | Reduplicated Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *rirthir* | *-rirther* | *-rirthe* (?) |
| Pl. 3. | *rirtir* (?) | *-rirter* (?) | *-rirtis* (?) |

| | Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | (Of contracted |
| Sg. 3. | *rithae* | *-rith* | forms I have no |
| Pl. 3. | (?) | *-ritha* (?) | examples.) |

[1] The subj. stem *rïa-* is a later formation, due to the influence of *crïa* (fr. *crenaid* 'buys'); there are still traces of the old subj. stem *erā-* (inflected like the subj. of *melid*), formed from the full root **per*(*ə*) (cf. § 176, 1, note). But *erā-* has a different meaning, e.g. *ro-era* 'may he grant.'

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| | Present Subjunctive | | Past Subjunctive |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 3. | *rethir* | *-rether* | *-rethe* |
| Pl. 3. | *retir* | *-reter* (?) | *-retis* |

The **Imperative Passive** is inflected like *melid*

| Passive Participle | Participle of Necessity |
|---|---|
| *ríthe* | *rethi* (?) |

§ 207. *gainithir* 'is born' (deponent verb, § 175, 3). (On the relative forms, see § 173, 2).

| | Present Indicative | | Imperfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *gainiur* | *-gainiur* | *-gaininn* |
| 2. | *gainter* (§ 84 b) | *-gainter* (§ 84 b) | etc. |
| 3. | *gainithir* | *-gainethar* | The inflexion is |
| Pl. 1. | *gainimmir* | *-gainemmar* | the same as in |
| 2. | *gainte* (§ 84 b) | *-gainid* | active verbs. (Cf. |
| 3. | *gainitir* | *-gainetar* | *guidid*, § 198.) |

| | Reduplicated Future | | Secondary Future |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *gigner* | *-gigner* | *-gigninn* |
| 2. | *gignither* | *-gignither* | etc. (§ 173, 4). |
| 3. | *gignithir* | *-gignethar* | |
| Pl. 1. | *gignimmir* | *-gignemmar* | |
| 2. | *gignithe* | *-gignid* | |
| 3. | *gignitir* | *-gignetar* | |

| | Reduplicated Preterite | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | (Of contracted |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-génar* | forms I have no |
| 2. | ? | *-génar* | examples.) |
| 3. | *génair* | *-génair* | |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pl. 1. | ? | *-génammar* |
| 2. | ? | *-génaid* |
| 3. | ? | *-génatar* |

| | Present Subjunctive | | Past Subjunctive |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *genar* | *-genar* | *-genainn* |
| 2. | *gentar* (§ 84 b) | *-gentar* (§ 84 b) | etc. (like *melainn*) |
| 3. | *genaithir* | *-genathar* | |
| Pl. 1. | *genaimmir* (?) | *-genammar* | |
| 2. | *gentae* (§ 84 b) | *-genaid* | |
| 3. | *genaitir* | *-genatar* | |

**Imperative**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | —— | Pl. 1. | *gainem, -emmar* |
| 2. | *gainte* (§ 84 b) | 2. | *gainid* |
| 3. | *gained* | 3. | *gainetar* |

The **Passive** of deponent verbs is formed exactly like that of active verbs of the same class.

Thus, e.g. *do-moinethar* 'thinks': compositional 3. sg. pres. ind. pass. *do-mointer* (fr. O. C. **to-man-i-toro*) like *fo-gaibther* (O. C. **vo-gab-i-toro*) fr. the active *fo-gaib* 'finds.'

## § 208. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

### Indicative Mood

| | Present | Imperfect |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *(at)-táu, -tó* | *-biinn* |
| 2. | *-taí* | ? |
| 3. | *-tá* | *-bíth* |
| Pl. 1. | *-taam* | ? |
| 2. | *-ta(a)ïd* | ? |
| 3. | *-taat* | *-bítis* |

As the relative form the impersonal *fil*, (*feil, fel, fail*) and *file*

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(*fele*) are used; *-fil* (but not *file*) is also used after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2, c, d, e, except before an infixed pronoun expressing a dative relation (e.g. *ní-m-thá* 'I have not,' but *ní-m-fil* 'I am not'), further in answers and (archaic) in order to bring forward emphatically any part of a sentence. In composition (*for-tá* 'is upon,' *do-es-ta* 'is wanting,' etc.), only *-tá* can be used.

**Note 1.** *at-tá* has no contracted (§ 181 footnote) forms; after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2, b-e, the preverbal preposition *ad-* is always dropped (§ 210, note 2).

**Note 2.** There is also a non-compositional 3. sg. *táith*, which is in poetry and sometimes in prose used with suffixed pronouns.

**Consuetudinal Present**

| | non-compositional | compositional | relative |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *bíuu* | *-bíu* | —— |
| 2. | ? | *-bí* | —— |
| 3. | *bïid* | *-bí* | *bís* |
| Pl. 1. | *bímmi* | *-bïam* | *bímme* |
| 2. | ? | *-bïid* (?) | —— |
| 3. | *bïit* | *-bïat* | *bíte* |

**Imperative**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 2. | *bí* | Pl. 1. | *bïid* |
| 3. | *bíth* | 2. | *bïat* |

| | **Future** (cf. § 174, 3, note.) | | **Secondary Future** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | only compositional |
| Sg. 1. | *bïa* | ? | *-beïnn* |
| 2. | *bïae* | *-bïae* (?) | ? |
| 3. | *bïe(i)d* | *-bïa* | *-bïad* |
| rel. | *bïas* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *be(i)mmi* | *-bïam* | *-bemmis* |
| 2. | *be(i)the* (?) | *-bïeid* | ? |
| 3. | *bïe(i)t* | *-bïat* | *-betis* |
| rel. | *be(i)te* | —— | —— |

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| | Preterite[1] | | Perfect |
|---|---|---|---|
| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms |
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-bá* | *-ro-ba* |
| 2. | ? | *-bá* | *-ro-ba* |
| 3. | *boí* | *-boí* | *-ro-b(a)e*, *-ra-b(a)e* |
| rel. | *boíe* | | —— |
| Pl. 1. | ? | *-bámmar* | *-ro-bammar* |
| 2. | ? | *-baid* | *-ro-baid* |
| 3. | *bátar* | *-bátar* | *-ro-batar*, *-ra-batar* |

### Subjunctive Mood

#### Present

| | non-compositional | compositional | contracted forms (with *-ro*) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *béu* (*béo*) | *-béu* (*-béo*) | ? |
| 2. | *bee* | ? | ? |
| 3. | *beith beid*, *beth bed* | *-bé* | *-roi-b* |
| rel. | *bess* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *be(i)mmi* | *-bem* | *-ro-bam* |
| 2. | *be(i)the* | *-beith*, *-beid* | *-ro-b(a)ith* |
| 3. | *beït* | *-bet* | *-ro-bat* |
| rel. | *bete* | —— | —— |

#### Past Subjunctive

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-beïnn* | Pl. 1. | *-bemmis* |
| 2. | *-betha* | 2. | *-bethe* |
| 3. | *-beth*, *-bed* (contracted: *ro-bad*) | 3. | *-betis* (contracted: *-roi-btis*) |

### PASSIVE (Impersonal Forms)

Present Indicative: (*at*)-*táthar*; relative: *filter*.

Consuetudinal Present: non-compositional *bíthir*; compositional *-bíther*.

[1] The 3. sg. is from I.E. **bhōve*, the other persons are formed from I.E. stem **bhvā-*.

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Preterite and Perfect: non-compositional *bothae*; compositional *-both*.

Present Subjunctive: non-compositional *bethir*; compositional *-bether*.

**Participle of Necessity**: *buithi*.

## § 209. The Copula.

| Present Indicative | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| non-compositional | | compositional | |
| | | I. | II. |
| Sg. 1. | *am* (fr. **esmi*) | *ni-ta -da* | *-da* |
| 2. | *at* (*it*) | *ni-ta -da* | *-da* |
| 3. | *is* | *ní* | *-d*, *-t*, —, *-(d)id* |
| rel. | *as* | —— | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *ammi* (*ammin(n)*) | *ni-tam -tan -dan* | *-dan* |
| 2. | *adib* (*idib*) | *ni-tad -dad* | *-dad* |
| 3. | *it* | *ni-tat -dat* | *-dat* |
| rel. | *ata* (*at*) | —— | —— |

**Note 1.**—The compositional forms in the first column are used after the negative *ni* 'not,' after *cani* 'is not?' and *sechi* 'whosoever is' (3. pl. also *sechi-t*).

In negative relative clauses in the 3. sg. *nád*, in the 3. pl. *natat* are found; under the conditions mentioned in § 28, the 3 sg. shows the forms *nant*, *nan(d)*, *nat*, *nát*, *náich*, *nách*, *nach*, in the 3. pl. the form *nandat*.

**Note 2.**—The compositional forms in the second column are used after a relative which includes a preposition (also after *i*$^{n}$ 'in which'), after the conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2 d, the interrogative particle *in* and in the relative first and second persons after an eclipsing (§ 28) *no-*.

The *a* of the relative preceded by a preposition is changed to *i* when preceded by a consonant.

Examples of the 3. sg. are: *arndid*, *arin* 'for which is'; *diandid*, *diant* 'to whom is'; *in(n)* 'is he?'; *lassin(n)* 'with whom is'; *condid*, *conid* 'so that is,' etc.



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**Note 3.**—With *ce* (*cía*) 'though' and *ma* 'if' the copula appears in the 3. sg. as *cesu* (*cíasu*), *ceso* (*cíaso*), *masu*, *maso* (with negative: *manid*, *canid*); in the 3. pl. as *cetu*, *ceto*, *matu*.

For the **Consuetudinal Present** the shortened forms of the substantive verb are used, e.g. *ni-bi*, *ni-pi* 'he is not wont to be.'

**Imperative**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | —— | Pl. 1. | *ban* (*badán* Wb. 5 d 22) |
| 2. | *ba* | 2. | *bad*, *bed* |
| 3. | *bad*, *bed*, *pad* | 3. | *bat* |

**Future**

| | non-compositional | compositional |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *be* | ? |
| 2. | ? | *-ba* |
| 3. | *bid*, *bith* | *-ba*, *-pa* |
| rel. | *bes*, *bas* | —— |
| Pl. 1. | *bemmi*, *bimmi* *ba(m)mi* | |
| 2. | ? | ? |
| 3. | *bit* | *-bat*, *-pat* |
| rel. | *beta* | —— |

**Secondary Future**

Sg. 3. *-bad*, *-pad*
Pl. 3. *-btis*, *-ptis*

Unlike other verbs there is also a non-compositional 3 sg. *bed*.

**Preterite** (and **Imperfect**) and negative **Perfect**

| | non-compositional | compositional | negative **Perfect** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *ba-sa* | *-b-sa*, *-p-sa*, *-sa*, *-b* | *ni-r-b-sa* |
| 2. | ? | *-b-sa*, *-sa* | *ni-r-b-sa* |
| 3. | (and rel.) *ba* | *-bo*, *-po*, *-bu*, *-pu* | *ni-r-bo*, *ni-r-bu* |
| Pl. 1. | ? | *bommar*, *bummar* | *ni-r-bommar* |
| 2. | ? | ? | ? |
| 3. | *batir*, *batar* | *-btar*, *-ptar*, *-tar*, *-dar* | *ni-ru-btar* beside *con-narbtar* |
| rel. | *batar* | —— | —— |

**Note 4.**—The compositional forms of the preterite and the compositional perfect-forms are also used after *ce* (*cía*) 'though.' *-sa* is the emphasising pronoun. On the elision of the vowel of *ro-* in the forms

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of the perfect see § 77. The *b* (*p*) is dropped (§ 103) after eclipsing particles (§§ 28, 30), e.g. *a* (*r*)*romtar* (*ro-m-btar*) 'when they have been,' etc.

**Present Subjunctive**

| | non-compositional | compositional |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *ba* | *-ba, -pa* |
| 2. | *ba* | *-ba* |
| 3. | *ba* | *-b, -p,* —, *-dib, -dip* (*-bo, -po, -bu, -pu*) |
| rel. | *bes, bas* | —— |
| Pl. 1. | ? | *-ban* |
| 2. | *bede* | *bad* (*-baid*) |
| 3. | ? | *-bat, -pat* |
| rel. | *bete, beta, bata* | —— |

**Note 5.**—In the 3. sg. the usual form is *-b, -p.* The form *-dib, -dip* is found after *ara*$^{n}$ 'in order that' (*a(i)rndip* beside *arim(p)*), *i*$^{n}$ 'in which,' the interrogative *in* (*indip* beside *im(b), imp*) and *co*$^{n}$ 'so that, until'; also after *na* (*nadip* beside *nap, nab*). *robo, nipo,* etc., are rare beside the regular *rop, nip,* etc.

*ceni* 'though not,' *mani* 'if not,' *ara*$^{n}$ 'in order that' are shortened to *cin, main, a(i)r*$^{n}$ (*ar*$^{m}$) before syllabic compositional forms.

**Note 6.**—With *ce* (*cía*) 'though' and *ma* 'if' the copula appears in the 3. sg. as *cid* (*cith, ced, ceith*), *mad,* in the 3. pl. as *cit, mat.* But with the interrogative *ce* (*cía*) the copula appears in the 3. sg. as *cip, cib* ('whosoever it be,' etc.).

**Past Subjunctive**

| | non-compositional | compositional |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | ? | *-bin, -benn* |
| 2. | ? | *-pthe* |
| 3 (and rel.). | *bid, bed, bad* | *-bad, -pad, -bed* |
| Pl. 1. | *bemmis, bimmis* | *-bim(m)is* |
| 2. | ? | ? |
| 3. | *betis, bitis* | *-btis, -ptis,* (*-dis, -tis*) |

**Note 7.**—Unlike other verbs the past subj. of the copula has also non-compositional forms. *ara*$^{n}$ 'in order that,' *mani* 'if not' are shortened to *a(i)r*$^{m}$, *main.* The *b* (*p*) is dropped after eclipsing particles (§§ 28, 30, 103), e.g. *comtis* (*co m-btis*) 'so that they might be';

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by the side of *armad* (*ara*"+*bad*), *airmtis*, occur forms like *arbed*, *ardis* (see p. 10, footnote).

**Note 8.**—With *ce* (*cía*) 'though' and *ma* 'if,' the copula appears in 3. sing. as *cid*, *mad*, in the 3. pl. as *matis*.

## Miscellaneous Paradigms of Radical and Irregular Verbs

§ 210. (Where not otherwise stated, only the 3. sg. has been given.)

*ad-cí*, *-aicci* 'sees' (§ 181), 1. sg. *ad-cíu*, pass. *ad-cither*, *-accastar*; subj. *ad-cethar*, *-accathar*, sg. 1 *ad-cear*, *-accar*, pass. *ad-cether*, *-accastar*; past. subj. *ad-ceth*; fut. *ad-cichi*, pass. *ad-cichestar*; preterite *con-accae*, cf. § 174, 4; perf. *ad-con-dairc*; pret. pass. *con-accas*, *-accas*; perf. pass. *ad-cess*, *-accas* (§ 179).

*ad-fét* (§ 84 d, note) 'relates,' pl. *ad-fíadat*; subj. *ad-fé* (§ 176, 1), pl. *ad-fessat*; *ro-* subj. (174, 2 e) 1. sg. *ad-cóus*, *-éc(i)us* (§ 62 note), pass. *-écestar*; fut. *ad-fí* (§ 177, 2), pl. *ad-fessat*; perf. *ad-cúaïd*, *-écaid*; pret. pass. *ad-fess*; perf. pass. *ad-cóas*.

*aingid* 'protects,' *-anich*; impv. 2. sing. *ain*; subj. *-ain*, pl. *-ainset* (§ 176, 1); fut. § 177, 2, note 2; pret. *-anacht* (§ 178, 2), pass. *-anacht*.

*benaid* 'strikes, slays,' *-ben* (§ 175, 4); subj. *-bïa*, encl. *-be* (§ 176, 2); pret. *-bí*, encl. *-b(i)*, pl. *-béotar* (§ 178, 3, note), pass. *bíth*; part. pass. *bithe*, part. nec. *bethi*.

*berid* 'carries,' *-beir*, pass. *-berr*, *-berar*; *ro-* present (§ 174, 2 b), *ro-uc(c)ai*, *-ruc(c)ai*; subj. *-bera*; *ro-* subj. (§ 174, 2 e) *-ruc(c)a*; fut. *-béra*; pret. *-bert*, pass. *-breth*; perf. *ro-uic(c)*, *ro-uc*, *-ruc*, pl. *-rucsat*, pass. *ro-ucad*, *-rucad*. Cf. note 1.

*bongid* 'breaks' (§ 175, 2), *-boing*; subj. *-bó*, pl. *-bósat*; fut. 1 sg. *bibsa*, *-bibus* (§ 177, 2); pret. *bebaig*, pass. *-bocht*.

*-cuirethar* 'throws, puts' (*-ī-* verb, § 173, 1), imperative 2. sg. *cuirthe*, *cuire*, pl. *cuirid*; pres. subj. *-corathar* (176, 2); perf. *-corastar*; the future tense and the *ro-* forms (§ 174, 2) as well as the non-compositional forms of the other tenses are supplied from *fo-ceird*. The cpd. *do-cuirethar*, when used in the sense of 'takes to himself, invites,' has a future 1. sg. *do-cuirifar* and a perfect *do-rochuirestar*.

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*con-ic(c)* 'is able,' *-cumaing*, 3. pl. *con-ecat*, *-cumcat* (fr. **cumngat*, p. 10, footnote); subj. *con-í*, *-cum(ai)*, pl. *-cuimset*; fut. 1 sg. *con-icub*, *-cumgub*; sec. fut. *con-icfed*, *-cumcaibed*; pret. and perf. (§ 174, 3) *con-ánacuir*, *-coímnacuir*. (Only *ad-cumaing* 'it happens' has the active inflexion in the pret. *ad-comnicc*.)

*do-beir* 'gives,' 'brings,' *-tabair*, is inflected like *berid*. In the sense of 'brings' it has a *ro-* present (§174, 2b) *do-uccai*, *-tuccai*; *ro-* subj. *-tucca*; perf. *do-uic*, *-tuic(c)*, *-tuc*, pl. *do-ucsat*, pass. *-tuc(c)ad*, *-tuiced*. There is also an imperative *tuic* (2. sg.) beside the regular *tabair*. Cf. note 1.

In the sense of 'gives' it has a *ro-*present (§ 174, 2b) *do-rati*; *ro-* subj. *do-rata*, *-tarta*; perf. *do-rat*, *-tarat*, pl. *do-ratsat*, *-tartsat* and *-tartisset*, pass. *do-ratad*, *-tardad*.

*do-gní* 'does,' *-dénai* (§ 181), *ro-*present *do-rónai*, *-dernai*, 1. sg. *do-gníu*, *-dénaim*; impv. 2. sg. *dénae*; subj. *do-gné*, *-déna*; *ro-* subj. *do-róna*, *-derna*; fut. *do-géna*, *-dígnea*; pret. *do-géni*, *-dígni*; pass. *do-gníth*, *-dénad*; perf. *do-rigni*, *do-rigéni*, *-deirgéni*, *-deirgni -derni* (§ 181), pass. *do-rónad*, *-dernad*; part. nec. *déinti*, *déntai*.

*do-ic(c)* 'comes,' *-tic(c)*, pl. *do-ec(c)at*, *-tec(c)at*; subj. *do-í*, *-tí*, pl. *do-ísat*, *-tísat*; fut. *do-icf(e)a*, *-ticf(e)a*; pret. and perf. (174, 3) *do-ánaic(c)*, *-tánaic(c)*. Cf. note 1.

*do-té(i)t* 'comes,' pl. *do-tíagat* is generally inflected like *té(i)t* 'goes,' save in the 2. pers. impv. (sg. *tair*, pl. *taít*); *to-tē* . . . becomes *taí* . . . (§ 110) in contracted forms, e.g. *do-tíag* 'I come' (fr. **to-tēgū*, older **-(s)teighō*): *-taíg*, *do-té(i)t* 'comes': *-taít*, etc. In the future the contracted form of *do-rega*, *do-riga* is *-terga*, *-tirga* through influence of the reduplication-vowels of other verbs. Cf. note 4.

*do-tuit* falls, *-tuit*, pass. *tuiter*; subj. *do-toth*, *-toth* (fr. **-to-tud-s-t*), pl. *do-todsat*, *-todsat*; fut. *do-tóeth*, *-tóeth* (fr. **-to-ti-tud-s-t*); pret. *do-cer*; pref. *do-ròchair*, *-tòrcha(i)r*. Cf. note 3.

*fo-ceird* 'throws' (cf. *-cuirethar*); subj. *fo-ceirr-*, *ro-* subj. *-rala*; fut. *fo-cicherr*, *-foícherr* (§ 110); pret. *fo-cáird* (§§ 118, 178, 3b). pass. *fo-cress*; perf. *ro-lá*, *-ralae*, pass. *ro-laad*, *-ralad*.

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*fo-gaib* 'finds'; subj. *fo-gaba*; fut. *fo-géba*; pret. and perf. (§ 174, 3) *fo-fúair*, *-fúair*, pass. *fo-fríth*, *-fríth*. Cf. note 2.

*midithir* 'judges' (§ 175, 3); subj. 1. sg. *messur*, 2. *messer*, 3. *mestir*, *-mestar*, 1. pl. *messimir*, *-messamar*, 2. *meste*, *-messid*, 3. *messitir*, *-messatar*, pass. sg. *mess(a)ir*, *-messar*, rel. *mestar*, pl. *messitir*, *-messatar*; the fut. is identical with the subj. except the 3. persons sg. *mïastir*, *mïastar-* (act. and pass.); pret. *-mídair*, pass. *-mess*, part. pass. *me(i)sse*, part. nec. *me(i)ssi*.

*ro-cluinethar* 'hears' *-cluinethar*; subj. *ro-cloathar*; fut. *ro-cechladar*, pass. *ro-cechlastar*; pret. *co-cúalae* (fr. **-ku-klov-e*), pass. *co-closs* (*-cloth*) cf. § 174, 4; perf. *ro-cúalae*, pass. *ro-closs* (*-cloth*). Cf. note 2.

*ro-fitir* 'knows, knew,' pres. and pret. 1. sg. *ro-fetar*, 2. *-fetar*, 3. *-fitir*, 1. pl. *-fitemmar*, *-fetammar*, 2. *-fitid*, 3. *-fitetar* *-fetatar*, *fetar*, pass. *ro-fess*; consuetudinal pres. *ro-finnadar*; impf. *ro-finnad*; impv. *finnad*; subj. and fut. go exactly like *midithir* (*ro-festar*, *ro-fiastar*, etc.); part. nec. *fissi*. Cf. note 2.

*saigid* 'makes for,' *-saig*, pl. *-segat*; subj. *-sá*, pl. *-sásat*; fut. *-sïa*, pl. *-sessat*, pret. *-sïacht*.

*téit* 'goes,' *-té(i)t*; in the other persons appears the stem *tég-tíag-* (§ 122); *ro-* pres. (§ 174, 2) *-dichet*; impv. 1 sg. *tíag* (§ 196, note 4), 2. *eirg(g)*, 3. *tét*, 1 pl. *tíagam*, 2. *erg(g)id*, 3. *tíagat*, pass. *tíagar*; subj. (cf. § 198, note 1) *téis*, *-té*, pl. *tíasat*; *ro-* subj. and fut. *do-coí* (fr. **to-kom-vedh-s-t*), *-decha*, *-dich*, *-dig*, pl. *do-coíset*, *-dichset*; past. subj. *-té(i)sed*; past. *ro-* subj. and sec. fut. *do-coísed*, *-dichsed*; fut. *-rega*, *-riga* (inflected like an *ā*-subj.), sec. fut. *-regad*, *-rigad*; pret. *luid*, pl. *lotar*, pass. *ethae*; perf. *do-cŏïd*, *-dechuid*, 1. 2. sg. *do-cóod* (*-cóad*), *-dechud*, 3 pl. *do-cotar* (*du-cúatar*), *-dechutar*, pass. *do-cóas*.

*tongid* 'swears' (§ 175, 2), *-toing*; subj. *-tó*, pl. *-tósat*; fut. 2. sg. *-tithis*; pret. *-tethaig*; perf. *do-cuitig*.

**Note 1.**—In compound verbs, as e.g. *ro-icc* 'reaches,' *do-icc*, *do-uccai* (see *dobeir*), *ro-uccai* (see *berid*), *do-adbat* 'shows,' *fo-accaib* 'leaves,' etc., where the verbal stem beginning with a vowel is preceded by *do* (fr. **to*), *ro-* or *fo-*, the contracted forms are often used in principal and relative clauses (except when there is a relative *-n-*; § 28) instead of

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the uncontracted forms, e.g. *tán(a)icc sam* 'summer has come,' *ani riccu a less* 'that which I need' (also *do-án(a)icc*, *ro-iccu*).

Note 2.—Some verbs, as e.g. *ad-ágathar* 'fears,' *ro-fitir*, *ro-cluinethar*, *fo-fúair* (see *fo-gaib*), have no contracted (§ 181 footnote) forms, the preverbal preposition being dropped after the particles and conjunctions mentioned in § 53, 2 b-e.

Note 3.—The uncontracted forms of some verbs have been altered by the influence of the corresponding contracted forms. Thus, e.g. **do-tú* (fr. **to-tùd-s-t*), 3. sg. pres. subj. of *do-tuit* has been altered to *do-toth* by the influence of the contracted *-toth* (fr. **-tò-tud-s-t*). Similarly the final *-t(t)* of *do-tuit* (**to-tùd-i-t* gives regularly **do-tuid*) has been taken from the contracted *-tuit*. On the other hand the vowel of *-tuit* is due to the influence of the uncontracted form. (**-tò-tud-i-t* gives regularly *-*toit*; § 110, note).

Note 4.—Tho quality of the diphthong in *-tuit*, etc. (fr. **to-tē-* one expects **tot-*, § 110) is very peculiar.

## The Preposition

§ 211. Preverbal and Simple Prepositions.

1. *ad-* (**ad*) 'to, up to.'

(a) Under the stress (§ 53, 2) *ad-*, liable to various changes before consonants (§§ 94, 109, 112, 2). Under the influence of *aur-* the form *aud-* occasionally appears.

(b) Before the stress (§ 53, 3) *ad-*; occasionally *as-* is substituted, e.g. *as-roilli* 'deserves' besides the regular *ad-roilli*.

*ad-* occurs only in compounds.

2. *air-* (**pṛe*) 'for, on account of' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress (§ 53, 2) *air-*, before *-ro-*: *air-* or *ar-*, before *-fo-* and *-uss-*: *aur-*, e.g. *aurlam* 'ready' (*air-fo-lam*).

(b) Before the stress (§ 53, 3) *ar-*, in relative sense *ara-*.

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *ar*.

3. *aith-* (**ate*) '*re*'-.

(a) Under the stress: *aith-*, *aid-*, occasionally *ath-*, *ad-* (§ 55 II. exception).

(b) Before the stress: *ad-*, before infixed pronouns *at-*; *aith-* occurs only in compounds.

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**4.** *amal* 'like' (older *amail*, § 81), with acc. (see § 160).

**5.** *cen* 'without,' with acc. (see § 160).

**6.** *cenmithá, cenmathá* (*cenmá*) 'besides, except,' with acc.

**7.** *cét-* (**kn̥ta*) 'with.'

(a) Under the stress: *cét-*.

(b) before the stress: *ceta-, cita-*.

*cét-* occurs only in compounds.

**8.** *co* 'to, up to,' with acc. (see § 160).

In compounds *ad-* is used.

**9.** *com-* (**kom*) 'with';

(a) Under the stress: *com-*, liable to various changes before consonants. (§§ 103, 107, 108).

For *com-*: *cum-* is often found (§ 116); in late compounds the *-m* is regularly preserved; *com-imm-* gives *coímm-* (§ 110).

(b) Before the stress: *con-*, for which *cot-* is substituted before infixed pers. pronouns.

In prepositional use (with dat.) *co*$^{n}$, *cu*$^{n}$.

**10.** *dí-, de-* (**dĕ*) 'from' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *dí-, di-* (§ 125, note), *de-*; with following *-fo-*: *dú-*.

(b) Before the stress: *do-, du-*, occasionally *di-*, (*de-*).

In prepositional use (with dat.) *di, de*, seldom *do*.

**11.** *echtar* (**eḱs-tris*) 'outside,' with acc.

It occurs also in nominal compounds.

**12.** *er-* (**perō*) 'for, on account of' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *er-*.

(b) Before the stress: *ar-*, in relative sense *ara-*.

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *ar*. See further below, 22, note.

**13.** *ess-* (**eḱs*) 'out of' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *ess-* (seldom *ass-*), liable to various changes before consonants (§§ 97, 109).

(b) Before the stress: *ass-*, for which *ad-* is substituted before infixed pers. pronouns; hence *ad-* is sometimes used instead of

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*as-* and vice versa. Even under the stress *ad-* may appear for *ess-*, e.g. *-aparr* 'is said' beside regular *eperr* (O. C. **èk(s)-ber-ro*). The form *assa-* appears occasionally in relative and non-relative use.

In prepositional use (with dat.) *a*, before proclitic words *as*, e.g. *as mo* . . . 'out of my' . . ., etc.

14. *etar-*, *eter-* (**entris*) 'between, among' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *etar-*, before vowels *etr-*,

(b) Before the stress: *itir-* (§ 81, exception 2), *iter-*, *eter-*, *etar-*, *etir-*.

In prepositional use (with acc.) *iter*, *itar*, *etir*, *eter*, *etar*.

15. *fiad* 'in presence of,' with dat. (see § 160).

16. *fo-* (**upo-*) 'under' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *fo-*, *fu-*, *fa-* (§ 116); before a following vowel: *f-*. In late formations contraction is regular.

(b) Before the stress: *fo-*, *fu-*; before vowels occasionally *f-*.

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *fo*, *fu*.

17. *for-* (**vor*, an analogical transformation of *uer*, fr. I.E. **uper*) 'upon' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *for-*, seldom *fur-* (§ 116).

(b) Before the stress: *for-*, occasionally *fur-*, *far-*.

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *for*, occasionally *far*.

18. *frith-* (**vrt*) 'against, towards (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *frith-*, liable to various changes before consonants (§ 93), in later compounds the *-th* is regularly preserved. *frith-ess-* gives *fress-*, *frith-ess-ind-*: *freisn-*; *fress-* spread analogically to other forms.

(b) Before the stress: *friss-*; before infixed pers. pronouns *frit-*, only before the rel. 3. sg. m. and n. *friss-*.

In prepositional use (with acc.) *fri*.

19. *iar-* *iarm-* (**eperom*) 'after';

(a) Under the stress: *iarm-*, *iar-*,

(b) Before the stress: *iarmi-* (*iarmu-*, *iarma-*)

In prepositional use (with dat.) *iar*.



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20. *imb-*, *imm-* (**ṃbhi*) 'about' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *imb-*, *im(m)-* (§ 103), before *ṡ*: *imp-* (§ 88).

(b) Before the stress: *im(m)-*, in relative sense *imme- imma-*.

In prepositional use (with acc.) *im(m)*.

21. *in-* (**eni*), *en-* (**en*), *ind-* 'in' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *in-* remains unchanged; *en-* is liable to various changes before consonants (§§ 104, 107, 108.); it appears occasionally as *in-* under the influence of *in-* (**eni*); *ind-* appears before most consonants as *in-* (§ 104), before *ṡ* as *int-* (§ 88).

(b) Before the stress: *in-*; before infixed pers. pronouns *ad-*, only before the rel. 3. sg. m. and n. *ass-*; hence *ad-* and *ass-* are sometimes used instead of *in-*, e.g. *ad-greinn* 'pursues,' beside *in-greinn*, etc.

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *i*ⁿ.

22. *ir-* (**erū*, fr. I.E. **perō*) 'for, on account of';

(a) Under the stress: *ir-*

(b) Before the stress: *ar-*

In prepositional use (with dat. and acc.) *ar*.

Note.—Compounds which have *er-* (12.) are older than the change of final *-ō* to *-ū* (§ 118), hence the *-ō* of **perō* has been treated like old *ō* in the interior of a word. In those compounds, however, which were formed at the time when **perō* had already become *erū* (*iru* § 114), the preposition appears as *ir-*. The forms *er-*, *ir-* (with *u*-coloured *r*), *air-* have frequently fallen together and may interchange in the same word.

23. *ís* (**pēd-su*, a locative pl. of the I. E. **pēd-s* 'foot') 'below,' with dat. (see § 160).

24. *la* (arch. *le*) 'with, by,' with acc. (see § 160).

25. *ó, úa* 'from, by' (see § 160) and *uss-*.

(a) Under the stress: before vowels *uss-*, *oss-* (§ 117); before *l, n, r*: *ó, úa*; before other consonants *u, o* without any effect upon these. As this *u, o* looks like aspirated *fu, fo*, an *f* has

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often been prefixed to it, when not preceded by an aspirating preverbal preposition (§ 18), e.g. *ni-tùissim* (**-to-u . . . -sem-el*) 'he does not create,' but *do-fùissim* 'he creates' (instead of *do-ùissim*). In later compounds appears the form *úad-*.

(b) Before the stress: *ass-* or *ad-*, before infixed pers. pronouns *ad-*.

In prepositional use (with dat.) *ó, úa*.

26. *oc* 'at' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *oc-*, e.g. *ni-ocman* 'he does not touch' (the *m* through influence of *com-*).

(b) Before the stress: *oc(c)u-*, e.g. *ocu-ben* 'touches.'

In prepositional use (with dat.) *oc(c)* (*uc, ac*).

27. *ós, úas* 'above,' with dat. (see § 160).

28. *rem-* 'before' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *rem-*.

(b) Before the stress: *remi-*, in relative use also *reme-*.

In prepositional use (with dat.) *re*$^{n}$, *ri*$^{n}$, *ría*$^{n}$.

29. *ro-* (see § 174, 2).

(a) Under the stress: *ro-*, *ru-*, *ra-* (§ 116), before vowels *r-*; only with the prep. *uss-* (fr. **u . . .*) (25) it is contracted to *ró-*; between consonants we have *-ar-*, *-or-* (fr. *r*: §§ 59, 66-71).

(b) Before the stress: *ro-*, *ru-*, before vowels occasionally *r-* through influence of the stressed form.

*ro-* occurs only in compounds.

30. *sech*, 'past, beyond' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *sechm-*,

(b) Before the stress: *sechmo-* (*sechmi-*).

In prepositional use (with acc.) *sech*.

31. *sechtar* (**s(o)-ekstris*), 'forth from,' with acc.

32. *tairm-*, *tar*, *dar*, 'over' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *tairm-*, *tarm-*,

(b) Before the stress: seldom *tarmi-*, regularly *tremi-*, *trimi-* (34).

In prepositional use (with acc.) *tar*, *dar* (§ 80).

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33. *to-, do-* (**to*) 'to' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *to-, tu-, ta-* (§ 116), before vowels *t-*, only with the prep. *uss,* **u* . . . (25) it is contracted to *tó-, túa-*; similarly *to-fo-, to-for-* give *tó-, túa-, tór-, túar-*. In late compounds the form *do-* appears.

(b) Before the stress: *do-, du-* (§ 80), before vowels occasionally *t-* through influence of the stressed form.

In prepositional use (with dat.) *do, du.*

34. *trem-, tri, tre* 'through' (see § 160).

(a) Under the stress: *trem-* (*tre-*).

(b) Before the stress: *-tremi-, trimi-*, in relative use also *treme-*. *tris-gataim* 'I transfix' is due to the influence of *friss-* (18).

In prepositional use (with acc.) *tri, tre.*

§ 212. Compound Prepositions.

Some examples are: *ar bélaib* 'in presence of'; *ar chiunn* and *ar chenn* 'in front of'; *ar chuit* 'with regard to'; *fo bíth, fo bíthin* 'because of'; *i n-arrad* 'with'; *i n-dead, i n-díad,* and *i n-degaid*$^{n}$, *i n-dígaid*$^{n}$ 'after,' *tar éisi*$^{n}$ 'instead of.'

Note.—All compound prepositions govern the genitive; the genitives of personal pronouns (=possessive pronouns) are inserted after the first preposition, e.g. *di ráith Dé* 'for (instead of) God,' *i n-a dead* 'after him,' *ar do chuit* 'with regard to you.'

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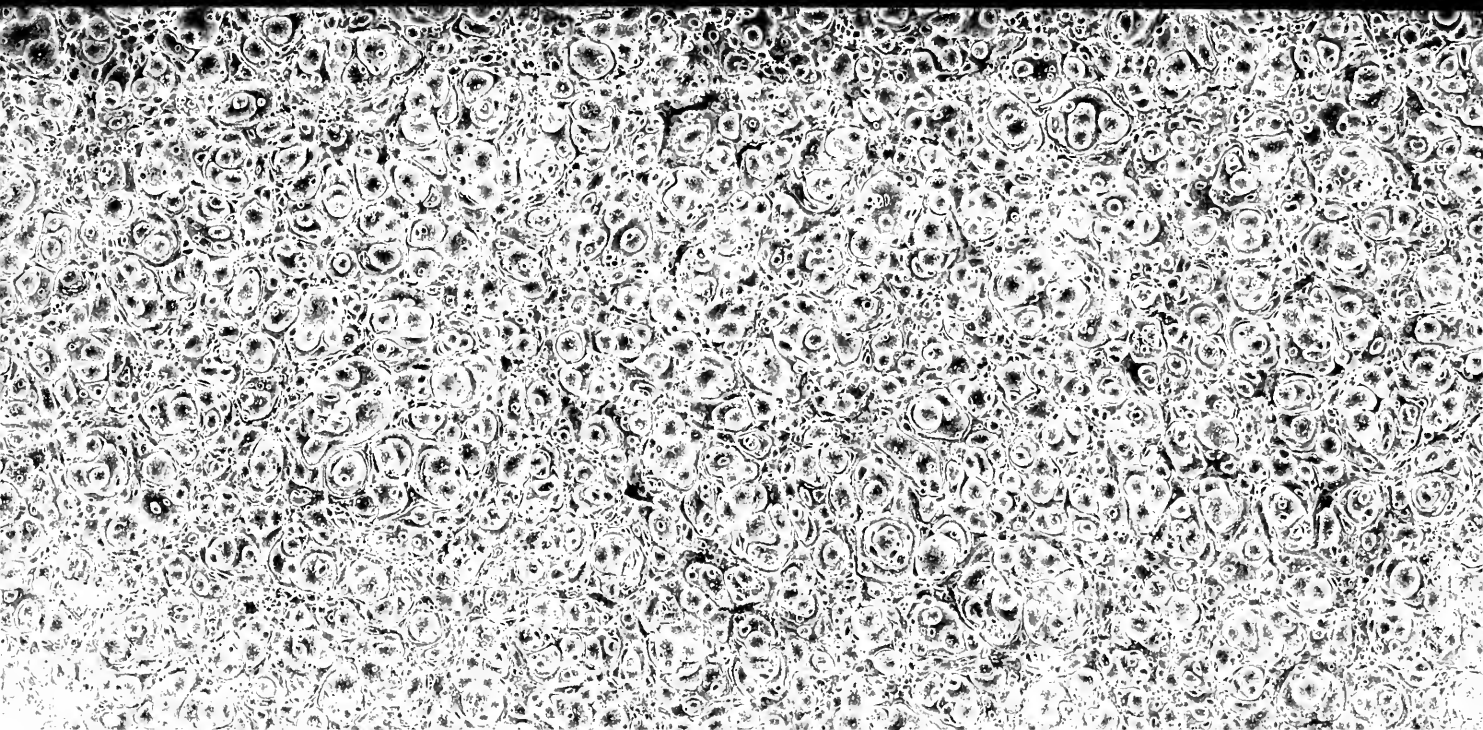
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