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TWELVE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO FLAND MANISTRECH FROM THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

Ph. D. THESIS

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PART II

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The detailed linguistic analysis of the poems presented in Volume I follows here. This analysis is based on the chapter on Middle Irish in *Stair na Gaeilge (SNG)*, and constant reference is made to this work. The texts have been analysed from the point of view of Orthography, Phonology, Morphology and Word Order. The examples are presented in bold; while at the end of each paragraph the total number of examples appears in italics, along with the number of examples to be found in each poem. E.g. *F2\1* means that of the given feature, one example can be found in F2. Uncertain examples appear between brackets. Note that for the purposes of this analysis, F3 and F4 have been divided into two sections: F3 (1) comprises ll. 1-68 written in *rinnard*, F3 (2) ll. 69-92 written in *rannaigecht bec*; F4 (1) consists of ll. 1-120, and F4 (2) of ll. 121-138, which could not have been written by Fland (see Vol. I, p. 71). If not specified otherwise, the examples are from *LL*.

1. ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1 /b/ spelt with **<bb>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.3) a) in post-consonantal position: **erbb** (F2. 25), **cerbb** (F4. 95), **burbbu** (F4. 96), **'na orbbo** (F5. 29), **forbbaig** (F5. 36), **orbba** (F5. 54); b) in intervocalic position: **abbad** (F7. 83 *LL*) (*cf. R* **ap*ad***), **robbo** (F10. 95); c) in post-vocalic position: **int abb** (F7. 131 *LL*; F9. 72).
(10 examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\3, F7\2, F9\1, F10\1)

1.2 /d/ spelt with **<dd>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.3) in post-consonantal position: **cerdd** (F1. 51), **Cerdd** (F4. 95), **Orddnide** (F2. 29) (but **Ordnide** in F2. 27, 61), **(ind) orddain** (F2. 31; F4. 116), **tarddus** (F2. 64), **ardd** (F3. 18; F5. 119) (but **ard** in F3. 54 and 72), **Arddaig** (F4. 115). *(9 examples; F1\1, F2\3, F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\3, F5\1)*

1.3 /g/ spelt with **<gg>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.3) a) in post-consonantal position: **oirggther** (F1. 23), **arggut** (F1. 64), **gargg** (F3. 58; F7. 115 *LL*) (but **garg** in F3. 46), **argg** (F4. 53; F5. 94) (but **arg** in F4. 108), **orggain** (F4. 65), **Muindeirgg** (F4. 70), **Chalggaig** (F4. 81), **lānorggain** (F5. 57), **mōrarggain** (F5. 65), **orggsit** (F5. 69), **oirggis** (F5. 99), **Colggu** (F6. 78 *LL*). *(14 examples; F1\2, F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\4, F5\5, F6\1, F7\1)*

1.4 /g/ spelt with **<gc>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.3): **dīa ṅg(c)íuil** (F10. 96) (note that this is in initial position, of which *SNG* has no example). *(1 example; F10)*

1.5 Variation in the spelling of /g/ after a consonant: **Corrgend** (F1. 15, 19) (nom.), **Corrgind** (F1. 17) (gen.), but **Corrcend** (F1. 14) and **Corcend** (F8. 93) (both nom.); **i fargbad** (F4. 114), but **farcbad** (F4. 24, 62, 110).
(2 words; 4 examples with <g>; F1\3, F4 (1)\1; 5 examples with <c>; F1\1, F4 (1)\3, F8\1)

1.6 /t/ spelt with **<tt>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.4) a) in intervocalic position: **Blattened** (F6. 56 *LL*); b) in post-vocalic position: **in Cattchend** (F10. 39), **blattdál** (F11. 47 *LL*).
(3 examples; F6\1, F10\1, F11\1)

1.7 /k/ spelt with **<cc>** (*SNG*: 228: 2.4) a) in post-vocalic position: **glacc** (F5. 72), **ṅgērglicc** (F7. 19 *R*); b) in intervocalic position: **taccomol** (F3. 31), **i Cnoccaib** (F6. 68), **la maccaib** (F9. 46), **no íccad** (F11. 18 *LL*), **co ṅglicci(*LL*)** (F11. 19), **m*a*ccān** (F11. 39,

44), **glaccas** (F12. 65 *LL*); c) in post-consonantal position: **a hanccess** (F11. 18 *LL*). *(11 examples; F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F7\1 (R), F9\1, F11\5, F12\1)*

1.8 /L/ spelt with **<ll>** at the beginning of a word (*SNG*: 228: 2.5) a) after a nasalising particle: **na (llethríg), (llecht), (lland)** (F2. 63; F10. 17, 31), **co llín** (F4. 33), **rīa nGlún i lLār** (F4. 109), **i (llongais), (lló), (lLíathdruim)** (F5. 98; F7. 55; F8. 124), b) after a particle which puts a /h/ before a vowel: **a (lláim), (lluing), (llēcud)** (F1. 2; F5. 60; F11. 8).
(11 examples; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\2, F7\1, F8\1, F10\2, F11\1)

1.9 /N/ spelt with **<nn>** at the beginning of a word (*SNG*: 228: 2.5) after a nasalising particle: **co nnirt** (F3. 13). *(1 example; F3 (1))*

1.10 /R/ spelt with **<rr>** at the beginning of a word (*SNG*: 228: 2.5) a) after a nasalising particle: **i (rríge), (rrígu), (rré), (rroí), (rrígi\rrīgi), (rricht)** (F2. 44, 50, 51, 67; F5. 125; F6. 87 *LL*, 97; F8. 44), **co (rrogail), (rrath), (rréimim)** (F4. 128; F5. 51; F6. 157; F10. 51); b) after a particle which puts a /h/ before a vowel: **ba rrí** (F10. 13). *(13 examples; F2\4, F4 (2)\1, F5\2, F6\3, F8\1, F10\2)*

1.11 /m/ spelt with **<mm>** at the beginning of a word (*SNG*: 228: 2.5) after a nasalising particle: **i (mMaig), (mMide), (mMóin), (mmulluch)** (F4. 18, 131; F5. 109; F6. 40, 188; F7. 116; F9. 52; F10. 16; F12. 7 *LL*), **na (mmed), (mmol)** (F6. 39, 79, 191 *LL*).
(12 examples; F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F6\5, F7\1, F9\1, F10\1, F12\1)

1.12 [m] spelt with **<mm>** after a cons.: **co Dīarmmait** (F11. 12 *LL*).
(1 example; F11)

1.13 [h] a) represented in orthography where it is pronounced: **ba (holc), (hūamon), (hēcen), (hālacht)** (F1. 18, 59; F5. 10--if this is not rel.; F11. 25, 37), **nā hanagar** (F1. 23), **la (hór), (hóen), (hect*r*anna), (hŌeng*us*\-us), (hInnech), (hOctrilach), (hEōgan), (hĀed), (hĒb*er*), (hAmargen), (hAmairgen), (hōa)** (F1. 50; F2. 52; F6. 100; F7. 130; F8. 30, 32, 67, 134, 138, 146, 148; F9. 40; F10. 76), **dīa hathair** (F1. 54), **ro hecrad** (F1. 65), **co (hergnaid), (horgain), (hamsir), (hArd Macha)** (F2. 44; F4. 138; F5. 90; F6. 10; F10. 4), **na halla** (F6. 99), **ní himmargó** (F7. 62; F8. 126), **a (hEspāin), (hAlpain)** (F8. 40, 101),

re hEtan (F8. 149) (= **fri** for **la**), **a hanccess** (F11. 18 *LL*), **cona hollaltaib** (F11. 59 *LL*).
(34 examples; F1\6, F2\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\2, F6\3, F7\2, F8\11, F9\1, F10\2, F11\4)
b) Not represented: **a Alpain** (F1. 50), **co (amsir), (Echaig), (ár)** (F6. 12 *LL*, 14 *LL*; F7. 106 *LL*), **la (Āed), (Ōengus), (Eochaid), (Íriél\Īriél)** (F6. 48 *LL*; F7. 67 *LL*, 112, 130 *LL*; F8. 136; F9. 48, 62) **re Echaid** (F9. 38) (= **fri** for **la**), **ba Eochaid** (F10. 97). (Note that **Érimón** and **Ériu** are always spelt with initial **h**, and I have not taken **úa, húa** into consideration).
(13 examples; F1\1, F6\3, F7\4, F8\1, F9\3, F10\1)

1.14 Marking of vowel length (*SNG*: 229: 2.8)
Doubling of vowel + lengthmark: **dée** (F8. 74) (nom. pl. of **Día**). *(1 example; F1)*

1.15 Unusual spellings in order to highlight the rhyme (*SNG*: 230: 2.11)
a) **<l>** instead of **<ll>** after a long vowel: **Néil[l] (:céin)** (F2. 42), **Níal[l] (:fíal)** (F4. 84), **cīal[l] (:Rīab)** (F10. 26) (nom. sg.), **gīal[l]tach (:Fīatach)** (F11. 9 *LL*) (see Murphy, 1961: 32). *(4 examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F10\1, F11\1)*
A single **<l>** appears in non-rhyming position in **Néil[l]** (F6. 18 *LL*, 26).
(2 examples; F6)
b) Lengthmark over a short, unstressed vowel making *rinn 7 airdrinn* with a long, stressed vowel: **i n-Aircheltrú (:Cú)** (F8. 18). *(1 example; F8)*
c) **<o>** instead of **<u>** in an unstressed syllable: **Óengos (:foss)** (F8. 104), nom. (in the eight other cases the spelling is **Ōengus**; note that **i fuss : Óengus** would have been "correct", too); **īar Fergos (:-closs)** (F12. 12), dat. (in the other two cases the spelling is **Fergus**). *(2 examples; F8\1, F12\1)*

1.16 Spelling of final unstressed vowels in rhyming pairs
In the great majority of cases these are spelt in the same way in order to highlight the rhyme. The few exceptions where this is not the case are: **lind-sea : inse** (F1. 39-40), **Ailbe : Adni** (F4. 19-20), **Dremne : demni** (F4. 31), **daidbre : Laigniu** (F5. 55-56--see Note in Vol. I, p. 135), **sadbrite : Lagniu** (F5. 46--see Note in Vol. I, p. 134), **míne : rígi** (F5. 112), **Mide : Lini** (F6. 39 *R*), **mmudu : Ruba(*LL*)** (F6. 107-108), **bethu : Eocho** (F10. 135-136), **maíti : Caīlte** (F10. 107-108).
(10 examples; F1\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\3, F6\2 (1 from R), F10\2)

1.17 A final unstressed vowel ([ə]) is spelt with two letters

a) in rhyming position: **lind-sea (:inse)** (F1. 39-40), **airgnai (:nDaigri)** (F3. 62), **co fodbai (:.airgnai, nDaigri)** (F3. 63), **co n-úagai (:.síni, míli)** (F3. 65), **magdai (:Charnai)** (F4. 67), **bodbai (:.Charnai)** (F4. 68), **Charnai (:magdai, :.bodbai)** (F4. 68), **Lagniu (:sadbrite)** (F5. 46--see Note in Vol. I, p. 134), **ar certblai (:echtrai)** (F10. 33) (see also Phonology, p. 20: **2.7**), **dīa echtrai (:certblai)** (F10. 34).

(10 examples; F1\1, F3 (1)\3, F4 (1)\3, F5\1, F10\2)

b) in non-rhyming position: **Fīachnai** (F2. 16), **bec[h]tai** (F3. 70), **gairgiu** (F3. 75), **for Lagniu\Laigniu** (F4. 35; F5. 56), **at-rullai** (F4. 87), **doidṅgiu** (F4. 97), **Lēnai** (F4. 123, 127), **Sētnai** (F5. 25), **ro élai** (F5. 60), **in Dagdae** (F8. 77), **ro loscthea** (F8. 116), **in Dagdai** (F8. 123).

(14 examples; F2\1, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\3, F4 (2)\2, F5\3, F8\3)

1.18 Lenited **f** and **s** omitted in spelling: **fin[f]er** (F1. 7), **[F]rigrend** (F7. 68), **fīr[f]laith** (F10. 10), **Finn[f]olod** (F10. 49), **Finn[f]olaid** (F10. 54); **snēd[s]eng** (F10. 90). *(6 examples; F1\1, F7\1, F10\4)*

1.19 Lenition of **f** is not marked: **im fer** (F5. 21), **i n-ardflathius** (F6. 110 *LL*), **tírfeirg** (F10. 23). *(3 examples; F5\1, F6\1, F10\1)*

1.20 Spelling of unstressed vowels in **o-, io-** and **iā**-stems

a) Dat. sg. of o-stems: in words of more than one syllable, of which the final syllable is short or contains a long vowel other than **é**, we often find conservative spelling: **i n-athiud** (F1. 53), **do dergibur** (F1. 63), **co ngargbrut glór (:arggut)** (F1. 64), **de arggut (:gargbrut)** (F1. 64), **co n-ainiuch (:nAiliuch)** (F5. 37) **(enech), i n-ōenuch** (F5. 81) **a topur éca** (F6. 31), **i mmulluch** (F7. 116), **i n-inbiur** (F8. 103) **(inber), co mborrthorud (:Conchob*or*)** (F10. 29), **do Ailiuch** (F1. 47), **i nAiliuch** (F2. 3; F8. 111), **i nAiliuch (:ainiuch)** (F5. 38), **i nAiliuch Eōgain** (F2. 40), **i *n*Aliuch ergnaid** (F2. 49), **ō Chathul (:achar)** (F5. 42), **do Flathbertuch** (F2. 53), **ōs Dabull** (F10. 117), **i Casiul** (F12. 66 *LL*), **'*con*n Inbiur** (F9. 32), **i nOscur ūallach (:broscur)** (F3. 85). Note that with one exception (F5. 42), the unstressed vowel in the rhyming word is also spelt with a **u**.

(22 examples; F1\5, F2\4, F3 (2)\1, F5\4, F6\1, F7\1, F8\2, F9\1, F10\2, F12\1)

On the other hand, we have **īarna n-airlech (:Aignech)** (F5. 88), **ic topor** (F8. 58) **(topar), īar Cathal (:nglan)** (F12. 18), **īar Cathal(*LL*)** (F12. 27) **(do), (rīa n) Domnall** (F2. 9, 43,

49; F4. 135; F6. 98; F7. 136), **rīa nDomnall (:chomland)** (F4. 36) and **ic Inber** (F7. 119 *LL*) (unless these are all acc.).

(12 examples; F2\3, F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F7\2, F8\1, F12\2)

b) Dat. sg. of io-stems: As in MIr final unstressed vowels fell together, the distinction between nom.\acc. sg.\gen. pl., gen. sg.\nom. pl. and dat. sg.\acc. pl. disappeared in **io**-stems.

In the dat. sg., after a non-palatal consonant, **-u** appears in 3 cases: **īarna dlugu (:umu)** (F1. 63), **de umu (:dlugu)** (F1. 64), **i rrígu** (F2. 50); and **-a** in 2 (see **1.28 iv** on p. 10). *(3 examples of **-u**; F1\2, F2\1; 2 examples of **-a**; F1\1, F10\1)*

The dat. sg. is spelt with **-e** in 22 cases and with **-i** in two cases after a palatal consonant--although it is possible that in 15 of these we are dealing with acc. used for dat. (See **1.28 viii, xii** and **xviii** on pp. 12, 13 and 14).

c) iā-stems: In MIr the distinction between nom.\gen. sg.\gen. pl. and acc.\dat. sg.\nom.\acc. pl. disappeared.

The final vowel of the nom. sg. is always spelt with an **-e** after a palatal consonant with one exception, when it is spelt with **-i** (**deimni**--F1. 45). After a non-palatal consonant, the final vowel is always **-a** (see **1.28 i**, p. 8).

The final vowel of the acc. sg. and the dat. sg. is always spelt with **-e** in the acc., and in most cases with **-i** in the dat. after a palatal consonant. In the dat. I also have 4 examples of **-e**. After a non-palatal consonant the final vowel is spelt with **-a** in 8 cases, and with **-ai** in 2 cases (**dīa echtrai**--F10. 34, **co n-úagai**--F3. 65). (See also **1.28 ii** and **vii**, pp. 10 and 11.)

The final vowel of the gen. sg. is always spelt with **-e** after a palatal consonant with two exceptions, when it is spelt with **-i** (**umli**--F2. 18, **Bóruimi**--F12. 68). After a non-palatal consonant, the spelling is **-a** (10 examples; see **1.28 i**, p. 8).

Concerning pl. forms, see p. 38: **3.7 b**.

1.21 The spelling in the last syllable in **īar Fingin** (F12. 17) might represent a schwa spelt with an **i** instead of an **e** between a pal. and a non-pal. consonant (*SNG*: 229: 2.9). However, this is a compound of **-gein**, and as there is variation between **-gein** and **-gen** in these compounds, one can not tell whether the final consonant is actually palatal or not. *(1 example; F12)*

1.22 Peculiar spelling of the acc. pl. of **Gall**: **Gaillu** (F5. 59, 61). The scribe must have

been influenced by nom. pl. **Gaill**. Note, however, **forsna Gaullu** in F5. 87.
(2 examples; F5\2)

1.23 Lengthmark over an unstressed short vowel in non-rhyming position: **Lasnadó** (F3. 22) (= gen. sg. of **losnaid**, i, m). *(1 example; F3 (1)\1)*

1.24 According to O'Brien, 1956: 175, "in a few words O.Ir. *-rdd-* has developed into *-rt-* in an unaccented syllable". The older pronunciation seems to be reflected in **Murcherdach** (F4. 113); compare **Murchertach** (F4. 4, 16). **Fathardaig** (F12. 45 *R*), **Fathardaig** (F12. 47 *R*)--*cf.* **Fathartaig** (F12. 31 *LL*) and **Fot[h]artaig** (F12. 64 *LL*)--probably represent the same phenomenon, although note that the forms with **<d>** and **<t>** come from different manuscripts.
(3 examples of ***-rd-****; F4 (1)\1, F12\2--R; 4 of* ***-rt-****; F4 (1)\2, F12\2 LL)*

1.25 Note the spelling of the diphthong **áe\aí** in the following examples where all the final consonants are palatal: **m*ac* Delbāeth** (F8. 51), **(*for*)sin Banba báeth (:Delbáeth)** (F8. 99), **ú Delbáeth (:báeth)** (F8. 100); but **baīth (:Delb*aūth*)** (F8. 131).
(3 examples with áe; F8)

1.26 For the spelling of the various forms of **h*ūa***, see p. 38: **3.7 c**.

1.27 Mark of nasalisation omitted between two consonants: See pp. 29-31: **2.30**.

1.28 The spelling of final unstressed vowels (*SNG*: 230: 3.1)
(i) a for ae
io, nom. sg.: **domna (:.Dagda)** (F1. 10) **(damnae, domnae)**, **guba (:Uma)** (F4. 16), **in Dagda (:.Temra, :tarla, :amra)** (F1. 24, 33, 44), **fūacra (:.cētna)** (F4. 72) (n, later f), **Fergna (:trā)** (F9. 50) (Uhlich, 1993: 246); **in dindgna** (F1. 45), **Gilla Colaim** (F4. 112), **gilla** (F12. 65 *LL*), **domna** (F8. 43), **Fīnnac[h]ta\Fīnnachta** (F4. 75; F6. 72; F7. 37) (Uhlich: 1993: 253), **in Dagda** (F8. 125), **Fīachna** (F8. 133) (O'Brien, 1973: 223), **Colla Ūais** (F10. 113) **(Conlae)** (O'Brien, 1962: 562; Uhlich, 1993: 215).
io, acc. sg.: **cen nach cāemna (:(n)Āeda)** (F1. 27; F4. 105), **cen chāemna (:nĀeda)** (F5. 93), **in ngilla (:C*r*inna)** (F5. 7), **la Fīnnachta (:Chachta)** (F7. 36); **amra** (F1. 44) (subst. adj., m), **fri Fergna** (F3. 83).

io\iā, nom. sg. m.: **glanda (:Dagda)** (F1. 9), **nī rād ndétla (:Dētna, :.lēni, ndēni)** (F3. 27), **cētna (:éca)** (F5. 117), **nech crōda (:-róna)** (F5. 138), **ba calma (:Ma*th*gam*n*a)** (F12. 53 *R*) (***calmae**, io\iā?), **deōrata (:Eūr(o)pa)** (F3. 59) (subst. adj.--no stem-class in *DIL*), **nā*ch* ada (:mara)** (F5. 133).

io\iā, acc. sg. m.: **amra (:Dagda)** (F1. 16), **cētna (:ēta, :.fūacra)** (F4. 72), **ngalla (:cranda)** (F5. 8) (**galdae**), **n-amra (:calma, :.fodla)** (F5. 132), **calma (:amra)** (F6. 16) (io\iā?), **comchalma(*LL*)\comchalma (:Cnogba, Dagda)** (F7. 92; F8. 90) (io\iā?); **amra** (F1. 21), **Ail*il* \ Inbanna** (F3. 29-30), **cētna** (F5. 61), **ngasta** (F7. 8), **crōda** (F10. 69), **Dub Lachtna** (F12. 34).

io\iā, nom. sg. f.: **cīarbo indsa (:dind-sa)** (F1. 55) (**insae**) (if it refers to **īarair**), **dochla (:.Tethba)** (F5. 58), **chūanna (:at-chūala)** (F4. 130) (**cúanna[e]**), **gleōr(g)da (:Eūr(o)pa)** (F5. 22).

ā, f, gen. sg.: **Erca (:certa, recta, brechta)** (F2. 7; F4. 4, 26; F5. 20), **mbodba (:.tarbe, Chairne)** (F3. 47) (**badb**, earlier **bodb**), **rīagla (:bl*ī*adna)** (F6. 173) (**ríagal**); **Craíbe Telcha** (F4. 115) (if this is **tulach, telach**), **clothrí Cīannachta** (F5. 33) (nom. pl. **Cíannachta**--here gen. sg.?).

īa, f, nom. sg.: **Banba** (F8. 142, 150) (***Banbae**, iā?--Hogan, 1910: 95), **Macha** (F8. 27).

iā, f, gen. sg.: **thrucha (:.Macha)** (F5. 126) (**trocha[e]**), **Tethba (:mbechda)** (F5. 58), **Macha (:lacha, :chatha, :.thrucha)** (F4. 138; F5. 126), **na(*LL*) findBanba (:madma)** (F7. 56) (iā?); **(Ard), (Emna) Macha** (F5. 103; F7. 75), **na Banba** (F6. 3), **Cerna** (F7. 13, 116) (***Cernae?**, iā?) (Hogan, 1910: 229: **cerne** = gen. sg. f.).

n, n, gen. sg.: **in madma (:findBanba)** (F7. 55) (**maidm**), **ind lomma (:trá)** (F8. 44) (**loimm**).

Consonantal stems, nom. sg.: **Duach Tenga Uma (:Segsa)** (F4. 15) (**tengae**, t, f), **goba (:trā)** (F8. 34) (**gobae**, n, m), **ba bara** (F8. 79) (**barae**, n, f).

Other: **mórtha (:.Fīachna)** (F2. 14) (**móraid**, pres. in. pl. 2, or past. part.), **dela (:neda)** (F2. 41) (**deil**, prob. f--prob. both ā and i in OIr; gen. sg.), **dīn nAirther n-āebda (:Āeda)** (F5. 71) (**oíbda[e]**, io\iā, gen. pl. [n]), **āebda (:Āeda)** (F4. 70) (**oíbda[e]**, io\iā, nom. sg., gender?), ***trícha* blīadna (:īarla)** (F6. 95) (**blíadain**, ī, f, gen. sg.), **mBrogda (:cāemChnogba)** (F7. 137 *LL*) (***brogdae**, io\iā?, gen. pl. m.?--see Note in Vol. I, p. 224), **Mathgamain clainne Céin calma (:amra)** (F5. 131) (io\iā?, nom. sg. m. or gen. sg. f.); **bretha** (F1. 57) (**beirid**, pret. pass. sg.), **ardrí án orbba (:tolgda)** (F5. 54) (**orb(b)ae**, io, n + m, gen. sg. or pl.).

(54 rhyming and 29 non-rhyming examples; F1\12, F2\3, F3 (1)\4, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\11, F4

(2)\2, F5\19, F6\5, F7\10, F8\10, F9\1, F10\2, F12\3--1 from R)

(ii) a for ai

io, gen. sg.: **in dindgna (:.tarla)** (F1. 34), **(in) Dagda (:glanda), (:comchalma), (:Banba)** (F1. 10; F8. 89, 100), **Fiachna (:iathbla)** (F2. 14) (O'Brien, 1973: 223), **Duach Tenga Uma (:guba)** (F4. 15), **Subne (:cumne, :.anble)** (F4. 46), **Ruba(*LL*) Chonaill (:mmudu)** (F6. 108 *LL*), **n-ardomna (:Odba)** (F7. 12 *LL*) (m, later also f) (unless this is the gen. sg. of **omun**, u + o, m), **rota (:trota)** (F8. 44), **Ēnna (:bā)** (F10. 136) (**Énnae, Éndae**--O'Brien, 1962: 611; 1973: 223--io?); **Énna** (F5. 119), **do lāim Fiachna** (F8. 132), **in Dagda** (F8. 102).

iā, f, acc.\dat. sg.: **co certa (:Erca)** (F2. 8; F4. 3), **cen nach sēna (:Brēna)** (F5. 49) (if this is an iā-stem), **ō Banna (:ganna)** (F5. 50) (***Bannae**--iā? see the forms in Hogan, 1910: 95), **ōs Banba (:amra)** (F6. 134) (iā?), **(*for*)sin Banba báeth (:Dagda)** (F8. 99--see Note in Vol. I, p. 253), **oc Elpa (:erca)** (F10. 137) (**Alpae**); **in m(*LL*)Banba** (F6. 58), **Banba mbind** (F12. 57), **fo mēla** (F1. 27); **i mBladma bind** (F9. 27) (***Bladmae?**, iā?, f, dat.--Hogan, 1910: 116: 1 example of dat. sg. f.).

ī, f, nom. pl.: **cóic certblīadna (:īarma)** (F6. 78), ***cethri*\cethri blīadna (:rīagla, :chīanbla)** (F6. 174; F10. 114) **(blíadain)**; **blīadna** (F2. 41, 43) **(blíadain)**.

ī, f, acc. pl: **fúair [...] *sé* blīadna (:īarla)** (F6. 148), **ro chaith *cethri* ōenblīadna (:dīamra)** (F6. 154 *LL*), ***secht* mblīadna (:īarla)** (F7. 132) **(blíadain)**.

Other: **'na cr*í*ch cranda (:ngalla, :.Crinna)** (F5. 8) (io\iā, acc.\dat. sg. f.) (no stem-class in *DIL*), **cīaptar armtha (:marbtha)** (F5. 70) (io\iā, past part. of **armaid**, pred. use, nom. pl.), **glórda (:móra)** (F11. 55) (io\iā, nom. pl. m.--or pred.\subst. adj.),
glana (:clanna) (F11. 55 *LU*) (o\ā as subst., nom. pl. m.; see Note in Vol. I, p. 317).
(28 rhyming and 9 non-rhyming examples; F1\3, F2\4, F4 (1)\3, F5\5, F6\7, F7\2, F8\6, F9\1, F10\3, F11\2, F12\1)

(iii) ae for ai

in Dagdae (F8. 77) (**Dagdae**, io, m, gen.). *(1 non-rhyming example; F8)*

(iv) a for u

io, dat. sg.: **don Dagda (:amra)** (F1. 16), **īarna innarba (:bá)** (F10. 116) (**indarbe**, n, later f).

Other: **ó Ech*aig* amra (:calma)** (F6. 15) (io\iā, dat. sg. m.), **fialgarta (:Dīarmata)** (F11.

3) (**fíalgart**, u?, acc. pl.), **la hectranna (:halla)** (F6. 100) (**echtrann**, o\ā, subst. adj., acc. pl.--Thur. §351(2); note that this word could also belong to **echtranda**, io\iā); **Fīacha** (F1. 60; F10. 49, 109) (**Fíachu**, g, m, nom.).

(5 rhyming and 3 non-rhyming examples; F1\2, F6\2, F10\3, F11\1)

(v) **ai** for **u**

co fodbai (:.airgnai, nDaigri) (F3. 63) (**fodb**, o, n, later m and f, acc. pl.).

(1 rhyming example; F3 (1))

(vi) **e** for **ea**

tarsna buidne (:Mumne) (F9. 51) (**buiden**, ā, f, acc. pl.), **ro deligthe** (F4. 126) (**deiligidir**, perf. pass. pl.).

(1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming example; F4 (2)\1, F9\1)

(vii) **e** for **i**

io, gen. sg.: **eire (:.slige)** (F1. 31) (**aire**), **Mide (:bine, :(il)le, :Lini--*R*, :Bile)** (F5. 64; F6. 20, 39, 79), **magMide (:anfine)** (F6. 197), **Subne(*LL*) (:chuibde)** (F6. 61--see Note in Vol. I, p. 182), **Ūgaine (:ille)** (F6. 12) (O'Brien, 1973: 223; Uhlich, 1993: 170: **Áugaine**), **Bile Thened (:file)** (F9. 30) (Hogan, 1910: 115), **Rochride (:glē)** (F10. 60) (Uhlich, 1993: 292); **Móna Daire Lothair** (F4. 33), **Mide** (F5. 57, 65), **[lāech]Mide** (F6. 86 *LL*), **mórMide** (F6. 183), **Caīlle Conaill** (F5. 129) (if this is io), **Lōegaire** (F5. 105) (O'Brien, 1973: 223).

io\iā, dat. sg. f.: **for Hēr*ind* uile\ule (:.[glaine])** (F1. 43; F2. 55)[1], **tentide (:se)** (F8. 36) (**tein(n)tide**).

iā, f, acc.\dat. sg.: **cen anble (:.Subne)** (F4. 46), **co nglasse (:Asse)** (F5. 77), **et*er* fine is anfine (:Mide *LL*)** (F6. 6) (**(an)fine**), **tre chuibde (:Subne)** (F6. 62 *LL*), **co tūachle (:Tūathe)** (F8. 3), **co millse(*LL*) (:ChroÏnse)** (F6. 183), **c(*h*)en chaire (:cruitt*ire*)** (F8. 85), **co nglaine (:tondglaine)** (F8. 143); **ráit[h]e(*LL*)** (F6. 157) (orig. io, m?).

io, nom. pl.: **nā cure (:ule)** (F5. 21), **a daíne (:Māele *LL*)** (F6. 67) (**duine**).

io\iā, nom.\acc. pl.: **aile (:.dune)** (F2. 56) (m), **ule** (F4. 88) (m), **uile** (F5. 70) (subst. adj. m), **aile(*LL*)** (F7. 66) (f), **na gabāla ile ule (:-chlune)** (F5. 96) (f) (all nom.); **corra gaib ule (:dune)** (F5. 84) (acc. pl. m).

ī, f, acc.\dat. sg.: **in inse (:lind-sea)** (F1. 39), **(is)sin ChroÏnse (:millse *LL*)** (F6. 184)

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[1] Note that in theory, this could also be the acc. with the mark of nasalisation omitted after the final nasal of Hēr*ind*.

(**inis**).

io\iā, gen. sg. m: **aile (:Elcmaire)** (F8. 69); **Āeda Orddnide** (F2. 29).

Other: **daidbre (:Laigniu)** (F5. 55--see Vol. I, p. 135) (**daidbir**, subst. adj. i, m, acc. pl.), **na gabāla ile (:Rige)** (F5. 96) (**il**, i, nom. pl. f), **file (:Bile)** (F9. 29) (**fili**, nt, m, nom. sg.), **dīa ēise (:pé)** (F11. 44) (**éis**, i, ī, dat. sg.); **(for) mathe** (F4. 23; F5. 111) (**maith**, i, m, acc. pl.--subst. adj.; or **maithe**, iā, f, acc. sg.).

(32 rhyming and 15 non-rhyming examples; F1\3, F2\3, F4 (1)\4, F5\13, F6\14, F7\1, F8\5, F9\2, F10\1, F11\1)

(viii) e for (i)u

io, dat. sg.: **ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*) (:Slāne)** (F6. 52) (no stem-class in *DIL*), **oc Bile Theined (:Mide)** (F6. 80) (Hogan, 1910: 115); **do Fubthaire fondgel** (F1. 52), **i nDaire Chalggaig** (F4. 81), **for lige Āeda** (F8. 96).

io\iā, dat. sg. m.\n.: **do Āed Ordnide** (F2. 27), **rīa nĀed Ordnide** (F4. 71), **i mMaig Adar úane** (F4. 131).

(2 rhyming and 6 non-rhyming examples; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F4 (2)\1, F6\2, F8\1)

(ix) (a)i for (a)e

ā, f, gen. sg.: **bodbai (:.Charnai)** (F4. 68) (**badb**; or for **badbdae**, io\iā, with cons. cluster simplification), **i cath Cilli (:Finni)** (F3. 64--see Note in Vol. I, p. 63) (**Cell**), **Āed Finni (:Cilli)** (F3. 63); ***cath* Cūli** (F4. 17, 29) (**Cúl**), ***cath* Almaini** (F4. 19) (**Alman**, ā, f, earlier **Almu**, n), ***cath* Formāili** (F4. 107) (**Formáel**), **i cath Chilli(*LL*)** (F7. 111).

iā, f, gen. sg.: **umli (:Subni)** (F2. 18), **Briain Bóruimi (:uili)** (F12. 68 *LL*) (**Bóraime**; or gen. pl.).

nt, m, nom. sg.: **certfichi** (F2. 9; F4. 25) (**certfiche**), **fichi** (F2. 7; F7. 37, 113) (**fiche**).

ī, f, gen. sg.: **aidchi (:laimthi)** (F3. 92) (**adaig**), **Insi Áne** (F3. 41; F4. 61) (**Inis**).

Other: **maíti (:Caílte)** (F10. 107) (**moídid**, prob. pret. pass. sg.); **cind cethri ndíni** (F2. 1) (**díne**, [io, n?], gen. pl.), **deimni** (F1. 45) (**deimne**, iā, f, nom. sg.), **bec[h]tai n-airig** (F3. 70) (**bechta[e]**, iā, f, gen. sg. or pl.--see FN in Vol. I, p. 68), **coro áirmi** (F5. 134) (**ad-rími**, pres. subj. sg. 2 with **ro**), **la Tipraiti** (F10. 75) (**Tipraite**, io, m--O'Brien, 1962: 742--, acc.), **marb M*ur*themni** (F9. 22) (**Muirthemne**, io, m, nom.-- Hogan, 1910: 551).

(7 rhyming and 18 non-rhyming examples; F1\1, F2\4, F3 (1)\3, F3 (2)\2, F4\7, F5\1, F7\3, F9\1, F10\2, F12\1)

(x) **i** for **ea**

orgni (F5. 1) (**orcun**, ā, f, nom. pl.). *(1 non-rhyming example; F5)*

(xi) **i** for **eo**

u, gen. sg.: **for mac Longsig lúaith laimthi (:aidchi)** (F3. 90) (**lamad**); **ardrí Alpan [...] \ [...] brúthi bairend** (F3. 78) (**brúd**) (Thur. §306).

(1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming example; F3 (2)\2)

(xii) **i** for **iu**

o\ā, cpv.: **as aidbli (:gainmi)** (F5. 134) (**adbal**), **soilsi\suilsi\soillsi** (F12. 25 *LL*, 35 *LL*, 37) (**solus**, u, later o\ā).

Other: **demni scélaib (:Dremne)** (F4. 31) (**deimin**, i?; but *DIL*: apm. + n. **demniu**); **do Subni Mind** (F2. 14) (**Suibne**, io, m, dat.),

(2 rhyming and 4 non-rhyming examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F12\3)

(xiii) **o** for **a**

a bretho (:Eocho) (F10. 123) (**breth**, ā, f, acc. pl.); **for Airgīallo** (F4. 59) (nom. pl. **Airgīalla**?--provided this is an ā-stem--acc. pl.).

(1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming example; F4 (1)\1, F10\1)

(xiv) **o** for **u**

o, m, acc. pl.: **for Ulto (:burbbu)** (F4. 96) (nom. pl. **Ulaid**); **for Ulto** (F4. 137), **for slúago** (F4. 61), **for Gullo** (F4. 83, 91), **for trīuno** (F5. 31) (**trén**, subst. adj.).

Other: **Eocho** (F10. 124, 136) (**:bretho, bethu**) (**Echu**, g, m--Thur. §319--, nom.); **andso** (F4. 95) (**ansae**, io\iā, cpv.), **Eocho** (F5. 5, 15; F10. 5, 126), **forro** (F5. 93) (**for** + acc. pl. 3).

(3 rhyming and 11 non-rhyming examples; F4 (1)\5, F4 (2)\1, F5\4, F10\4)

(xv) **u** for **a**

ad-fessam a n-aidedu (:tnú) (F10. 2) (**aided**, ā, f, acc. pl.); **for Connachtu** (F4. 105) (nom. pl. **Connachta**, ā, f; acc. pl.).

(1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming example; F4 (1)\1, F10\1)

(xvi) **u** for **ai**

do chalmu (:clanna?) (F4. 1) (***calmae**, iā?, f, dat. sg.) (collective).
(1 rhyming example; F4 (1))

(xvii) **u** for **a\o**

i nĪthu achar (F5. 59) (= **i mMaig Ītha**) (**Íth**, orig. gen.; for case, see Baumgarten, 1990: 120). *(1 non-rhyming example; F5)*

(xviii) Ambiguous cases

io, acc. or dat. sg.: **for Mide(*LL*) (:anfine)** (F6. 5), **i n-echMide (:bin(n)e)** (F6. 146), **do Mide(*LL*) (:tige)** (F6. 177), **i mMide** (F5. 109), **ós\ōs Mide(*LL*)\Mide** (F6. 22, 30), **for Midi(*LL*)** (F6. 127); **ō ce*ch*\-ch duine\dune (:uile\ule)** (F1. 37; F2. 56), **īarna aithbe (:Aichle; :.theichle)** (F4. 92) ([n], later f); **rīa Subne** (F4. 43); **ó Ūgaine** (F6. 13 *LL*); **īar Fāilbe** (F12. 19) (Uhlich, 1993: 244); **'na orbbo (:Forgo)** (F5. 29) (**orb(b)ae**).

ríge, io, n, later f: **rígi (:míne)** (F5. 112) (acc. sg.); **dīa ríge** (F10. 11) (acc. or dat. sg.), **ríge rīarglain** (F2. 39) (acc. or gen sg.--see Note in Vol. I, p. 41), **i rríge\rrīge Ailig** (F2. 44, 51) (dat. sg.), **i rrígi(*LL*)\rrīgi (rebach), (réil)** (F6. 87, 97) (acc. or dat. sg.--in F6. 87 m.\n. bec. of ad(j.), **ar ríge Chasil** (F12. 58 *LL*) (dat. sg.).

Other: **tarla (:Dagda)** (F1. 34) for ***tarlae?** (Thur. §762: **ru lae, ro laa, -ral(a)e**, perf. sg. 3 of **do-cuirethar**; but Thur. §82 has **tarla**); **con-rúali (:.síni, míli)** (F3. 67)--for OIr **con-rúalae**?, perf. sg. 3 of **con-úala**); **toga (:Coba)** (F4. 42) (*DIL*: "**toga, togu**, indecl. n. in O. Ir. but later io, n"; Thur. §341); **gainmi (:aidbli)** (F5. 134) (**gainem**, ā, f and o, m, acc. pl.); **m*ac* Tūathail tolgda (:orbba)** (F5. 53) (**tolgda[e]**, io\iā, nom. or gen. sg. m.); **co Bondammair mbechda (:Tethba)** (F5. 57) (**bechda[e]**, io\iā, acc. sg. m or f); **i mMaig Lini (:Mide)** (F6. 40 *R*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 181) (**Line?**, gen. sg. of same, Hogan: 1910: 490, 524, f?, iā?); **nīr fata(*LL*) (:Dīarmata)** (F6. 73) (predic. adj.), **flathius fata (:Dīarmata)** (F6. 83) (***fotae, fatae?**, io\iā (but see note in *DIL*), acc. sg.); **m*ac* Mel Sech*naill* amra (:Banba)** (F6. 133) (**amrae**, io\ià, gen. sg. f. or m.; or nom. sg. m.); **i cath gubach Gēsilli (:rinni)** (F9. 66) (***Gésell?**, ā?, f, gen.--Hogan, 1910: 437: géisill = dat. sg.); **(a) ré (:Aichle), (:Slāne)** (F10. 103; F11. 51) (**ré**, io, n + iā, f, gen. sg.) (Thur. §295); **i Cera** (F4. 29) (**Cera[e]**, acc. or dat., io?) (Hogan, 1910: 228 has 3 examples of dat. sg. **Ceru**--one from *AU* and two from *LL*); **aideda [...] \ forcla** (F8. 4) (OIr **forclu**--io in MIr?--gen. sg.); **'con rāith chétna** (F8. 55) (**cétnae**, io\iā, dat. sg. m. or f.). Concerning **ganna (:Banna)** (F5. 50) (**gann**, o\ā, subst. adj. nom. pl.; or acc. pl. of subst. or attrib. adj.) and **do-rat dar**

Ultu [...] \ ganna grīanna (:.Brēna) (F5. 50) **(gríanda[e]**, io\iā, acc. pl., qualifying **Ultu** or **ganna)** (or nom. pl. of attrib. adj. or nom. or acc. pl. of subst. adj.), see FN in Vol. I, p. 146.

(23 rhyming and 17 non-rhyming examples; F1\2, F2\4, F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\4, F5\8, F6\13--1 from R, F8\2, F9\1, F10\2, F11\1, F12\2)

2. PHONOLOGY

Stressed words

2.1 Confusion of final unstressed vowels (*SNG*: 230: 3.1)

The confusion is shown in the orthography of final unstressed vowels--see Section **1.28** on pp. 8-14.

2.2 Hiatus (*SNG*: 231: 3.2)

a) Words that appear only either with or without hiatus

(i) Historical hiatus lost

ad-chōad (F5. 135) (**ad-fét**, perf. sg. 1); **beōs** (F4. 43) (OIr **beüs**, adv.); **cloí** (F3. 91) (**clóe**, f, ?orig. **cloë**) (see also Kelly: 1973: 30, n 14b); **do-chōid** (F12. 49 *LL*), **do-chūaid** (F5. 41, 75, 109), **do-chūaid**(*LL*) (F6. 107) (**téit**, perf. sg. 3); **assa chūch** (F11. 23) (**cuäch**, o, m also ā, f, dat. sg.); ***déc*\déc\dēc** (F2. 20, 41, 43, 47, 55; F6. 23, 34, 65, 122 *LL*, 134; F7. 94) (OIr **deëc**, gen. of **deich**); **déc** (F5. 78) (from the metrical point of view, this could be disyllabic; however, the lengthmark seems to indicate a monosyllable); **derbsíur** (**:díur**) (F10. 132) (**siür**, r, f, nom. sg.); **lá** (**:trá**) (F1. 66) (n, later m, nom. sg.); **līa** (F5. 2) (cpv. of **il**, i); **līcc, líc** (F1. 28, 29) (**lie, liä**, nk, m, acc. sg.); **(i nDaim) Līac** (**Find**) (F7. 81, 99) (gen. sg.); **ól** (F8. 44) (**óöl**, o + u, m, orig. n?, nom. sg.); **rīam** (**:Níall**) (F2. 60) (OIr **riäm**); **rīam** (F3. 69; F4. 107; F5. 87); **do-rócht** (F1. 47) (**do-roich**, pret.\perf. sg. 3); **ro-sīacht** (F5. 50) (**ro-saig**, pret.\perf. sg. 3); **sīacht** (F10. 129) (**saigid**, pret. sg. 3); **sūairc** (F12. 23, 29, 34) (*DIL* cites one example where this word is disyllabic); **(dā) trīan** (**:síar**) (F4. 94; F5. 92) (o, n, later also m, nom.).

(41 examples; 17 words; F1\4, F2\6, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\3, F5\9, F6\6, F7\3, F8\1, F10\2, F11\1, F12\4)

(ii) Historical hiatus retained: **(deóid:) aëóir** (F8. 48) (**aër**, o, m, gen. sg.); **ar-biä** (**:ciä**) (F2. 67) (**ar-tá**, fut. sg. 3); **cloäd** (F10. 35) (**cloïd**, imperf. sg. 3 without **no**); **cruäich** (F3. 12) (**crúach**, earlier **cruäch**, o\ā, nom. pl. masc.); **(is)sin ChroÏnse** (F6. 184) (**CróInis**, ī, f, dat. sg.); **Cūān** (F12. 19) (nom.), **īar Cūān** (**:Fál**) (F12. 20) (o, m, dat.); **meic Duäch** (F11. 2) (**Dáui**--monosyll., Thur. §319--, k, later o + io, m, gen.) (in F4. 15 we could read **Duach** either as a monosyllable or a disyllable); **for Duäich** (F3. 10) (**Dáui**--monosyll., Thur. §319--, k, later o and io, m, acc.\dat.); **dlūthach ṅgleë** (**:.Roï**) (F4. 50) (**gléo**, gen. sg.) (for decl. see Thurneysen, 1936, 364-367); **gnoäig** (F3. 11) (**gnóach**, o\ā, nom. pl. masc.) (< **gnóe**); **goä** (F3. 7) (**gáu**, ā, f, gen. sg.--Thur. §290, §69d); **gním ṅgoä** (**:Roä**)

(F5. 101) (gen. sg.); **Goäch** (F5. 102) (masc. name, nom.) (?from **gó, gáu**); **Īäir (:ndíäid)** (F10. 14--see Note in Vol. I, p. 293) (gen. of **Íär**?, o?); **Loäirn (:roäirm)** (F5. 16) (**Loärn**, o, m, gen; Uhlich, 1993: 269); **reä (:.ciä)** (F1. 70) (**ré**, io, n + iā, f--Thur. §295) (gen. sg. or pl.); **is Cú Roï (foï)** (F4. 50) (**róe**, ā, f--see FN on p. 201--, gen. sg.); **roäirm (:Loäirn)** (F5. 15); **tuä** (F3. 6) (***táu**, iā, f--*DIL* **tóe**, ā, f--, gen. sg.) (see FN on p. 208).

(20 examples; 17 words; F1\1, F2\1, F3 (1)\5, F4(1)\2, F5\4, F6\1, F8\1, F10\2, F11\1, F12\2)

(iii) Non-historical hiatus: **Treöte (:bé)** (F7. 106) (gen. of *nds.* **Treóit**, Hogan, 1910: 645) (this is either an ā-stem or an i-stem--so the hiatus can not be historical in the gen.).

(1 example; F7)

(iv) Historical form uncertain: **Chuä** (F3. 8) (**1 cúa** or **Cúa**?, gen. sg.); **Slēbe Cuä** (F4. 3); **Feä** (F8. 53) (f, nom.); **Roä (:goä)** (F5. 102) (MacNéill: gsg. of the river **Róa**--Hogan, 1910: 582); ***mac* Roäilt (:oäic)** (F4. 104) (**Roalt**, o, m, gen.) (Norse name?); **sniïb (:diïb)** (F5. 103) (under **? sní** in *DIL*--dat. pl.).

(6 examples; 5 words; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\2, F8\1)

(v) Ambiguous cases: **dos fanair foï (:Roï)** (F4. 49) (**fo** + sg. 3 m\n?; or if this is **foë**, `under her', then the hiatus is historical). *(1 example; F4 (1))*

b) Words that appear both with and without hiatus

(i) Historical hiatus lost: **ós Bōin[d]** (F7. 9, 49) **'con Bóind** (F8. 131) (dat.) (in ***trí* blīadna ōs Boind bláthbuic** (F7. 26 *LL*), **Bōind** could either have hiatus or not) (**Boänd, Bóinn**, ā, f, dat.); ***mac* cōir (:bró[i]n)** (F10. 44) (**coïr**, i, nom. sg. masc.); **cóir (:Hērimóin)** (F9. 47) (nom. sg. masc.?); **clainne cóir Conaill** (F5. 52) (gen. sg. masc.); **cóir (:móir, echmóir)** (F6. 82, 181) (gen. sg. masc.); **do *mac* cóir** (F11. 50) (dat. sg. masc.); **fo deóid (:aëóir)** (F8. 47) (**deäd**, o, n, + ā, f, dat. sg.); **i ndīaid** (F12. 8) (**deäd**, o, n + ā, f, acc. sg.); **dīb\díb** (F2. 55, 57) (**di\de** + pl. 3); **díb** (F5. 96) (from the metrical point of view, this could be disyllabic; however, the lengthmark seems to indicate a monosyllable); **n-óc** (F7. 12 *LL*) (**oäc**, o\ā, acc. sg. masc.); **óc** (F6. 156) (**oäc**, subst. adj. o, m, nom. sg.); **óic** (F1. 21) (nom. pl.) *(18 examples + 45 examples of the various forms of* ***hūa***--see the collection of forms on p. 38: **3.7**).

(Altogether 63 examples; 6 words; F1\1+2, F2\2+3, F3 (1)\0+1, F4 (1)\0+5, F4 (2)\0+2, F5\2+10, F6\3+6, F7\4+10, F8\2+4, F9\1+0, F10\1+2, F11\1+0, F12\1+0)

(ii) Historical hiatus retained: **Boïnd** (F8. 57) (**Boänd**, ā, f, nom.); **coïr** (F1. 33) (i, pred. adj.); **(i)na ndíäid (:Īäir)** (F10. 13--see Note in Vol. I, p. 293) (**deäd**, o, n + ā, f, acc. sg.);

diïb (:sniïb) (F5. 104) (**di\de** + 3rd pl. dat.); **i mbītha oäic (:Roäilt)** (F4. 103) (**oäc**, subst. adj. o, m, nom. pl.); **uä** (F11. 10--see Note in Vol. I, p. 314).

(6 examples; 6 words; F1\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F8\1, F10\1, F11\1)

(iii) Non-historical hiatus: **ciä (:Diä), (:ar-biä)** (F1. 70; F2. 68; F5. 138) (but: **cīa** in F1. 39, 43; F6. 135) (note that **cīa** could be disyllabic in F1. 5, 9, and 11--see Notes in Vol. I, pp. 12, 13 and 14); **Diä (:ciä)** (F5. 137) (o, m, nom. sg.); **Diä (:ciä)** (F1. 69) (acc. sg.) (but **Dīa** in F6. 83 and F11. 42 *LU*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 316).

(5 examples; 2 words; F1\2, F2\1, F5\2)

(iv) Historical form uncertain: **Māel Dōid** (F6. 66) (gen. of ***Doäd?**); **Māele Doäid (:thair)** (F6. 68); **Fland Gōan (:crón)** (F4. 56) (*DIL*: " o, *nprm.* or epithet (?) [...]. Occurs in place-names where it seems to be *gs.*"--note that the only examples cited in *DIL* for this word used as an epithet are the two from these texts); **for Fland ṅGoän** (F3. 87); **Āth Goän (:glan)** (F7. 20).

(3 examples with hiatus; F3 (2)\1, F6\1, F7\1; 2 without it; F4 (1)\1, F6\1; 2 words)

On **dāig** (F3. 12), and **cu[ü]** (F5. 51), see the Notes in Vol. I, pp. 61 and 134.

The form **Trena (:rūadbera)** (F6. 43) is interesting as it must represent the gen. of what must originally have been **Triän**. O'Brien (1962: 745) gives two genitives: **Trena** and **Tríain**. The latter form must represent the gen. of **Trían** after the loss of hiatus.

2.3 Variation between **a** and **o** in stressed syllables before a palatal consonant (*cf. SNG*: 232: 3.4)

Corp*re*\Coirp*re* (F8. 22; F10. 37; F12. 15 *LL*) (nom.), **la Corp*re*** (F10. 101) (acc.), **rí Corp*ri*** (F7. 31 *LL*) (*cf. R* **Cairp*ri***), **īar Corp*riu*** (F12. 16 *LL*) (dat.); but **de chumaid Chairp*ri*** (F8. 24) (gen.).

oirggther (F1. 23) (impv. pass. sg.), **oirggis** (F5. 99) (pret. sg. 3), and **orggsit** (F5. 69) (pret. pl. 3), but **ro airgset** (F5. 103) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**).

*(2 words; 9 examples with **o** in LL; F1\1, F5\2, F7\1, F8\1, F10\2, F12\2; 2 with **a**; F5\1, F8\1)*

Also note **cen trait** (F10. 95) (**troit**, i or ā, f) (acc. sg.) and **trota** (F8. 43) (gen. sg.; non-pal. cons.).

2.4 Variation between stressed **a** and **o** before a non-palatal consonant (*SNG*: 232: 3.6)

a) īar n-argain (F5. 48) (dat. sg.); but **orgain** (F5. 23) (nom. sg.) and **co horgain** (F5. 90) (acc. or dat. sg.) (**orgun**, OIr **orcun**). In **a n-orgni** (F5. 1) (nom. pl.) the consonant cluster

is palatal.

*(2 examples with **o**; F5\2; 1 example with **a**; F5)*

b) la Āed nAllān (:farrān) (F5. 38), **rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán (:forrán)** (F3. 72) *(a.)* (acc. sg.), **Allāin (:forrá[i]n)** (F2. 26) *(e. r.)* (gen. sg.), **Allá(i)n** (F2. 24) (dat. sg.); but **Ollán (:forrān)** (F4. 40) *(a.)*, **Ollān** (F2. 60) (nom. sg.), **Ollān** (F2. 13; F4. 55) (dat. sg.) (prob. **oll** + **án**; all masc.). Note the spelling of the rhyming words in F3. 72 and F2. 26. *(4 examples with **o**; F2\2, F4 (1)\2; 4 examples with **a**; F2\2, F3 (2)\1, F5\1)*

c) farrān (:nAllān) (F5. 38) *(a.)* **(forrán**, m + f, acc. sg.); but **forrán (:nAllán)** (F3. 71) (nom. sg.?--see FN in Vol. I, p. 68) *(a.)*, **forrá[i]n (:Allāin)** (F2. 25) *(e. r.)* (acc. sg.). On **for(r)āin (:-rrodáil)** in F11. 24, see Note in Vol. I, p. 315. Note the spelling of the rhyming words in F2. 25 and F3. 71.

*(1 uncertain and 2 certain examples with **o**; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, (F11\1); 1 with **a**; F5)*

d) Prefix **ro-**: **ragel** (F7. 2 *LL*); but **roäirm (:Loäirn)** (F5. 15), **rothuir (:-rochair)** (F5. 74), **roblaid (:foglaig)** (F1. 62), **roraind (:Chonaill)** (F4. 37), **rolaind (:Conaill)** (F5. 51), **rogarb (:romarb)** (F10. 63), **rogel** (F10. 66), **rorígh** (F3. 89), **rom*a*c** (F5. 124), **rrogail\rogail** (F5. 51; F6. 124; F7. 69 *LL*, 79 *LL*), **Rochride** (F10. 60), **rocháem** (F6. 114, 162), **roglain** (F1. 49), **roglicc** (F7. 10), **rot*r*én** (F5. 130).

*(19 examples with **o**; F1\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\6, F6\3, F7\4, F10\2; 1 with **a**; F7)*

e) Māel Fathartaig\Fath*a*rdaig (F12. 31 *LL*, 45 *R*), **d'ēis Māel Fath*a*rdaig** (F12. 47 *R*); but **m*a*c Māel Fotartaig** (F12. 64 *LL*).

*(2 examples with **a** in R; 1 from LL; 1 with **o** from LL; all from F12)*

f) Lochlaind (F4. 137); but **Lachlaind (:athraind)** (F4. 131-132). Also note **ind lacha (:Macha)** (F4. 137). *(1 example with **o**; 1 with **a**; both in F4 (2))*

g) Note also the following end-rhymes: **fodbrand : anmand** (F4. 75-76), **Corná(i)n : Gabrá(i)n** (F5. 47-48).

*(a-f: Altogether 1 uncertain and 29 certain examples with **o**; F1\2, F2\3, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\3, F4 (2)\1, F5\8, F6\3, F7\4, F10\2, (F11\1), F12\1; 11 examples with **a**; F2\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\3, F7\1, F12\1 LL, 2 R; 5 words; 1 prefix)*

2.5 <u>**e > eo** before **ch** or a lenited **g** in stressed syllables</u> (*SNG*: 232: 3.7)

a) Eocho (F5. 5, 15), **Eochu** (F12. 9), **Eocho** (F10. 5, 126), **Eocho (:bretho, bethu)** (F10. 124, 136) (nom.); but **co Echaig** (F6. 14 *LL*) (acc.), **ó Ech*aig*** (F6. 15 *LL*) (dat.), **Echach\-*ach*** (F4. 39, 87--see Note in Vol. I, p. 97; F6. 18 *LL*), **Echach\-*ach* (:drechach, :rethach, :ndrechach)** (F5. 10, 98; F10. 4) (gen.). The rhyme in F10. 123-124 and 135-136 would

indicate that the poet originally had **e** in **Eocho**.

*(7 examples with **eo**; F5\2, F10\4, F12\1; 8 with **e**; F4 (1)\2, F5\2, F6\3, F10\1)*

b) **Eoch*aid*** **(:eochair)** (F4. 116), **Eochaid\Eoch*aid*** (F1. 4, 6; F2. 58; F8. 137; F10. 9, 97) (nom.), **īar nEochaid** (F12. 10--see Note in Vol. I, p. 334) (short dat.), **d'Eochaid (:deochair, :.mbrethaib)** (F2. 10), **la Eochaid** (F8. 136) (dat.); but **for Echaid Sremm** (F4. 24) (acc. or dat.).

*(10 examples with **eo**; F1\2, F2\2, F4 (1)\1, F8\2, F10\2, F12\1; 1 with **e**; F4 (1)\1)*

c) **ra geogain** (F8. 78); but **geguin** (F1. 15; F3. 53) **(gonaid**, pret. and perf. sg. 3).

*(1 example with **eo**; F8; 2 with **e**; F1\1, F3 (1)\1)*

d) Only with **eo**: **eochair (:Eoch*aid*)** (F4. 116) (nom. sg.), **cen deochair (:d'Eochaid, :.mbrethaib)** (F2. 9--see Note in Vol. I, p. 38) **(dechor**, o, n, in MIr f) (acc. sg.), **Eochocān** (F6. 132) (gen.). *(3 examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F6\1)*

e) Only with **e**: **dīa ndechaid** (F1. 17) **(téit**; perf. sg. 3), **ech (:tōesech)** (F9. 19) (gen. pl.).

(2 examples; F1\1, F9\1)

2.6 Change of the diphthong **óe** to **é** (*SNG*: 233: 3.8)

int ēin[f]er (:fēinned) (F1. 30) (= **ōenfer**), **cōelbalc** (*Lc* **cēlbalcc**) **(:ērba(i)lt)** (F10. 35--see Note in Vol. I, p. 294).

óe is retained in: **sóer (:gáel)** (F1. 8), **sōerfīallach (:Noígīall*ach*)** (F10. 134), **ōs róen (:nĀed)** (F11. 51), **ōenūair (:chóemúaill)** (F3. 92--see Note in Vol. I, p. 64), **la hóen (:Āed)** (F2. 52), **Cōelbad (:cāenmag)** (F10. 121), **nār fóen(*LL*) (:rocháem)** (F6. 113); **sóer** (F1. 5), **ōenaig** (F5. 79), **i n-ōenuch** (F5. 81), **Chlōenlocha** (F6. 36), **i tóeb** (F10. 104), **(in) tōesech\tóesech** (F9. 20, 68, 72).

*(2 examples with **é**; 2 words; F1\1, F10\1; 15 examples with **óe**; F1\2, F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\2, F6\2, F9\3, F10\3, F11\1; 8 words--counting the compounds of **sóer** and **óen** as 1 each)*

2.7 Change of the diphthong **áe\aí** to **a** (*SNG*: 233: 3.9)

ōs īathbla (:Fīachna) (F2. 13), **ar certblai (:echtrai)** (F10. 33), **trīathbla (:Fīacha)** (F10. 110), **chīanbla (:blī*adna*)** (F10. 113)--the problem is that one can not be sure whether this word is actually the same as *DIL* **1-5 blá, 1-4 blái** (*ibid*). I have taken **bla** to mean `level field, plain' in all of these examples (**3 blá** in *DIL*).

(4 examples; 1 word; F2\1, F10\3)

2.8 iu > i before a non-palatal consonant (*SNG*: 233. 3.11)

cind (F2. 1), **i cind mís** (F8. 54), **cind ar chind** (F4. 134--x2), **īar Cind (Fāelad), (Gēcāin)** (F12. 33, 41) (**cenn**, o, n, later m; all dat. sg.); **īar cnis (:fis)** (F1. 54) (**cnes**, o, m, dat. sg.), **do Subni Mind (:find)** (F2. 14) (**menn**, o\ā, dat. sg. m.), **tigban[n] (:Sigmall)** (F10. 11) (= **tiug** + **bann**), **do Chol*mān* Bic** (F6. 46) (**becc**, o\ā, dat. sg. masc.), **co nnirt** (F3. 13) (**nert**, o, n + m, dat. sg.).

(11 examples; 6 words; F1\1, F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F4 (2)\2, F6\1, F8\1, F10\1, F12\2)

2.9 Consonant cluster simplification (*SNG*: 234: 3.14)

a) -ld- > -ll-: **galla** (F5. 8) (OIr ***galdae**); but **Alduī** (F8. 5) (gen.), **ildathach** (F9. 58) (o\ā, nom. sg. fem.). *(1 example with simplification; F5; 2 without it; F8\1, F9\1)*

b) -ln- > -ll-: **Cú Chaille** (F5. 124), **Nīall\Níal[l] Caille*Caille**Caille*** (F2. 29, 61; F4. 85; F5. 55), **Níal[l] cían Caille (:gainne)** (F4. 84) (**Cailne**, gen. of **Callann**, ā, f--Hogan, 1910: 512). *(6 examples with **-ll-**; F2\2, F4 (1)\2, F5\2; no example with **-ln-**)*

c) -nl- > -ll-: **Colla** (F10. 113) (**Conlae**, io, m, O'Brien, 1962: 562; Uhlich: 1993: 215); **sōerfīallach (:Noígīall*ach*)** (F10. 134) (**fían**lach, o, s, m). But note that **-nl-** is retained in the compounds **bānlettir** (F7. 14) (**bán** + dat. sg. of **leittir**) and **Chlōenlocha** (F6. 36) (**Clóenloch**, u, gen.).

*(2 examples with **-ll-**; F10; 2 examples with **-nl-** (compounds); F6\1, F7\1)*

d) -ndn- > -dn-: **écnach** (F5. 136) for OIr **écndach**.

*(1 example; F5; no example of **-ndn-**)*

e) -snd- > -sn-: **aisnīs** (F1. 1) (**aisnéis**, OIr **aisndís**, n, f, Thur. §730) (acc. sg.).

*(1 example; F1; no example of **-snd-**)*

2.10 Metathesis (*SNG*: 234: 3.15)

cethrachat (F2. 65), gen. sg., for OIr **cethorchot**. In all the other cases this word occurs in its abbreviated form in these poems. *(1 example; F2)*

2.11 mr- > br- (*SNG*: 234: 3.16)

cen brath (F3. 7; F6. 91; F10. 43) (acc. sg.), **cen bétblaid mbrath** (F11. 57) (gen. pl.) for OIr **mrath**; **i Taltenbruig** (F7. 42) (dat.), **Āed in Broga** (F7. 129) (gen.), **issin Bruig** (F8. 126) (dat.), **den bruig** (F10. 115) (dat. sg.) (OIr **mruig**); **brechta** (F5. 20) (gen. sg. of **brechtad**, from **brecht**, OIr **mrecht**). The OIr form was obviously reinterpreted as a nasalised one in these words; hence the back-formation.

(9 examples; 3 words; F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F7\2, F8\1, F10\2, F11\1)

2.12 l > ll before an s (*SNG*: 234: 3.17)

co millse (:Chroïnse) (F6. 183), **i rrollsat** (F6. 172 *LL*) (*cf. R* **ralsat**) (**fo-ceird**, perf. sg. 3), **soillsi** (F12. 37) (cpv. of **solus**, u, later o\ā); but **soilsi** in F12. 25 *LL*, and **suilsi** in F12. 35 *LL* (*R* has **soillsi** in both cases).

*(3 examples with **ll**; 3 words; F6\2, F12\1; 2 with **l** from LL; F12; 1 word)*

2.13 n > nn\nd before an s (*SNG*: 234: 3.17)

indsa (:dind-sa) (F1. 55), **gland-sa (:.lind-sea)** (F1. 40--see Note in Vol. I, p. 17) (nom. sg. masc.), **andso** (F4. 95) (cpv. of **ansae, insae**, io\iā); but **in inse (:lind-sea)** (F1. 39), **Insi** (F5. 69), **i nInsi n-ólaig** (F3. 76--see FN in Vol. I, p. 59) (acc. sg.), **Insi Áne** (F3. 41; F4. 61), (gen. sg.), **(is)sin(*LL*) ChroÏnse (:millse)** (F6. 184) (dat. sg.), **Insi** (F5. 99) (acc. pl.).

*(3 examples with **nd**; 2 words; F1\2, F4 (1)\1; 7 with **n**; 1 word; F1\1, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F6\1)*

2.14 Confusion of final palatal lenited g and d (*SNG*: 234: 3.18)

d used for **g**: **selaid** (F5. 111) (**sligid**, pret. sg. 3) (but **selaig** in F5. 35), **na dí bantūathig** (F8. 46) (i, nom. dual). *(2 examples; 2 words; F5\1, F8\1)*

2.15 Confusion of lenited m and b (*SNG*: 235: 3.20)

When there is another nasal in the word: **ro mebaid** (F3. 5, 9), **mebaid** (F3. 68; F4. 4, 16, 36, 44, 82, 96) (**maidid**, pret.\perf. sg. 3); **chobraind** (F10. 19) (acc. sg.), but **comrand** (F2. 36), **chomraind** (F4. 124) (both nom. sg.) (**comrann**, ā, f); **lánmemor** (F1. 41), but **mebra** (F9. 3) (pred. adj., nom. sg. and pl.--see FN on p. 283). (**b** for **m** in all.)

*(11 examples with **b**; 3 words; F3 (1)\3, F4 (1)\6, F9\1, F10\1; 3 with **m**; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (2)\1)*

When there is no other nasal in the word: **cobrād (:Cholmān)** (F2. 12) (**comrád**--see FN in Vol. I, p. 44) (**b** for **m**); and possibly **Fortamail** (F3. 28) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 62) (**m** for **b**). *(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; 2 words; F2\1, (F3 (1)\1))*

2.16 Inorganic f in verbs (*SNG*: 235: 3.21)

Stressed part began with a vowel: **ro-fuc** (F5. 7) (**beirid**, perf. sg. 3), **dos-fuc** (F1. 53--see

Note in Vol. I, p. 19) (**do-beir**, perf. sg. 3).

On **ro-fucad** (F1. 58 *LL*) and **do-fuit** (F5. 26), see Notes in Vol. I, pp. 20 and 132-133.

(2 examples; 2 verbs; F1\1, F5\1)

2.17 Palatal stem instead of broad in **oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**

orggsit (F5. 69) (pret. pl. 3), **oirggis** (F5. 99) (pret. sg. 3), **ro airgset** (F5. 103) (perf. pl. 3), **oirggther** (F1. 23) (pres. subj. pass. sg.). *DIL* notes that the palatal stem was already present in OIr. For the s-pret., see the section on the Verb, p. 80, **12.6 b**.

(4 examples; F1\1, F5\3)

2.18 Non-palatal consonant instead of palatal

-gd-: **Lugdach** (F5. 121) (**Luigdech**, also later **Lugdach**, gen. sg. of **Lugaid**).

2.19 Non-palatal /ch/ versus palatal /ch/

achar (**:Chathul, :athar**) (F5. 41--nom. sg., 59--dat. sg.)--*DIL*: **aicher**, also **achar**. The dictionary has three examples of **achar**, two from this poem. The form with the non-palatal **ch** must be the older one, and the palatal medial consonant must represent the influence of the abstract **aichre**.

2.20 I have two rhyming examples of the older form of **mór, már** in F5. 54 and 118 (**:án, ág**). According to *DIL*, **már** is common in early texts, but in later MIr **mór** prevails.

2.21 Variation between final **-én** and **-ián**: **Finniāin** (F7. 117) and **Finné(i)n** (**:lēn**) (F7. 124).

2.22 Reanalysis of a compound word in which the second element is **-cenn** /gen/ (O'Rahilly, 1942: 140-143): **la Coirchend** (F8. 90). *Cf.* **Corrcend, Corrgend, Corcend** (F1. 14--see Note in Vol. I, p. 14; F1. 15, 19; F8. 93) (nom.), **Corrgind** (F1. 17) (gen.).

2.23 **ius > is** in an unstressed syllable

rādsis (F11. 17 *LL*) for **rádsius, ráidis** + sg. 3 fem. suff. pron. Breatnach (1977: 82-85) has four examples of verb + suff. pron. ending in a palatal **s**: **lēicsis, bissis** (sg. 3 fem.) (out of 49 examples), and **gontais, sgoirsiss** (pl. 3) (out of 43 examples). He suggests that the palatal **s** is "doubtless due to the influence of the 3sg. pret. ending *-is*" (*ibid*: 96). This

phenomenon might also be connected to the change from **iu** to **i** in stressed syllables (*SNG*: 233: 3.11, and p. 21: **2.8**). (See also the section on the Suffixed Pronoun, p. 63: **8.14**).

2.24 Devoicing: **cétfaid (: bétblaid)** (F11. 58) (OIr **cétbuid**). Note that one would have to read the OIr form here to get perfect rhyme (for rules, see SMF, pp. 111-112: **2**); **anfad (:.Chonchath, chromthar)** (F4. 64) (OIr **anbod**). (See Thur. §124.)
(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; F4 (1)\1, (F11\1))

Unstressed words

2.25 **ía > á** in unstressed words (*SNG*: 236: 3.24)
dā n-īarfaigther (F1. 11) (conjunction); **dā brāth*air*** (F7. 122 *LL*) for **día** (= **do** + **a**, poss. pron. masc. sg. 3)--the older form is retained in *R*.
No change: **cīa** (F1. 1; F2. 25; F4. 2), **cīabtar** (F2. 63), **cīaptar** (F5. 70), **cīar(*LL*)** (F7. 67), **cīarbo** (F1. 52, 55; F5. 63, 82, 120; F6. 143; F10. 51, 140), **cíarb** (F12. 39) (conjunction), **cīa\cía** (F7. 105; F10. 13, 111; F11. 43, 47 *LL*) (pron.), **dīa n-** (F1. 17; F4. 14, 60, 102; F5. 98, 138; F8. 84, 127; F9. 2; F10. 84, 96; F11. 19 *LL*) (conj.), **dīa** (F1. 26; F5. 16, 135, 136; F10. 1, 34?; F11. 22), **dīar** (F7. 2) (**di\de** + poss. pron.), **dīa** (F1. 54, 55; F3. 91; F6. 46; F10. 11) (**do** + poss. pron.), **dīa** (F1. 13; F11. 42), **dīarbo** (F1. 51; F5. 106) (**do** + rel. part.).
*(2 examples with **á**; 2 words; F1\1, F7\1; 49 with **ía**; 6 words; F1\9, F2\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\4, F5\10, F6\2, F7\3, F8\2, F9\1, F10\9, F11\5, F12\1)*

2.26 Note the voiced consonant and the **co** in the multiplicative adverb in **co ba thrí** (F6. 165 *LL*). *(1 example; F6)*
I have ten examples with **fo\fa** and without **co** (see p. 293). *(F2\4, F5\1, F6\3, F7\2).*

2.27 Depalatalisation of an initial unstressed consonant: **su** (F10. 40) for OIr **siu** (for the origin of **su** from **siu** rather than from **resíu**, see Breatnach, 1955: 100-105).

2.28 The **a** is lengthened in the pret. sg. 3 of **is**: **bá** (F10. 122). I have 56 examples of **ba** (see p. 313).

2.29 Lenition

I. Historical lenition

a) After the dat. sg. of a noun or an adj. (*SNG*: 236: 4.1)

(i) Present (e. g.): **do m*a*c cóir chubaid** (F11. 50), **do [...] m*a*c sāer Subni** (F2. 17), **do chlaind Chobthaig** (F6. 167), **ós chlainn Chobthaig(*LL*)** (F6. 103 *R*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 183), **i rroí chatha** (F5. 125), **ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*)** (F6. 52), **do [...] ō Chrundmāel** (F2. 21), **im chath Chind** (F3. 21) (dat. used for acc.), **i cath (Chlōenlocha), (Chilli), (Chrinna)** (F6. 36; F7. 111 *LL*; F10. 92), **co cruth cho*m*chāem** (F8. 140--see Vol. I, p. 255), **co llín Chruthne** (F4. 34), **de thām thregtach** (F8. 33), **de chumaid Chairp*ri*** (F8. 24), **ūas chīanbla chain** (F10. 113), **co clú chlothbind** (F5. 110), **īar crád Chomgaill** (F4. 114), **'con rāith chétna** (F8. 55), **fó sár theichle** (F4. 92), **i nDún (Chethirn), (Chromtha)** (F3. 25; F5. 32; F7. 71 *LL*), **i Cuillind chrúaid** (F7. 52 *LL*), **oc Bile Theined** (F6. 80), **i nDaire Chalggaig** (F4. 81), **ic Druim Chrīaig** (F6. 175), **ó Āth Chlíath** (F5. 47), **oc Loch Threithne(*LL*)** (F7. 16), **i Slēib Chuä** (F3. 8), **'na choland(*LL*) chatha** (F6. 163), **ōs Loch Febail** (F1. 29), **do Máel Find Fithrig** (F2. 15), **oc Carn Fīach*a*c*h*(*R*)** (F6. 28), **(i) tessaig thrucha** (F5. 126--see Note in Vol. I, p. 141).

In the following examples the lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration*lorga*: **don mnaí for(r)āin ētrachtgil** (F11. 24 *LL*), **ó Eōgan fíal** (F2. 66), **do Fubthaire fondgel** (F1. 52), **do Āed Findlīath** (F2. 32), **do Finnīa(n) fondglan** (F11. 41 *LL*).

(5 examples; F1\1, F2\2, F11\2)

In **do Nīall Frossach / cīa fūair forrá[i]n** (F2. 25*cd*) lenition after the dat. sg. seems to be fixed by *lorga*; if **fūair** was not lenited, we would get alliteration in F2. 25*d*.

(ii) Not present\nor marked: **cind cethri ndíni** (F2. 1) (this is used as a prep., so maybe it has ceased to be regarded as dat.). *(1 example; F2)*

Lenition is not marked in **ō gáel fáel no figed** (F1. 8), although the alliteration would suggest that it is present there--see Note in Vol. I, p. 13. See also Prepositions: Acc. used for dat., p. 66: **9.5**. *(1 example; F1)*

(iii) In **i flaithius fīrmaith** (F6. 106 *LL*), **ic Dún Sinche rīa samain** (F7. 95 *LL*), and **īar Cind Fāelad find** (F12. 33), the dat. will not give alliteration in the line (or read **find** in F12. 33?); on the other hand, in **im furadrán fūatlán** (F5. 123), it is the acc. which would not give us alliteration in the line.

(4 examples; F5\1, F6\1, F7\1, F12\1)

b) After a fem. noun in the nom. sg. (*SNG*: 237: 4.2)

(i) Present (e.g.): **clethail chachta** (F2. 8) (in chev.); **crāeb ch[á]em chroba[i]ng** (F4. 30); **is turim fír** (F5. 56) (note that historically **turim** is the acc. sg.); **Donand chomlān** (F8. 15); **Bē Chuille** (F8. 45) (see also Change in gender, p. 43: **3.13**); **ingen Chonchraid** (F11. 1), **ropo chūaird chūanna** (F4. 130).

(ii) Not present\not marked: **in tres amser torsech** (F1. 46); **comrand cāemfer** (F2. 36) (in cheville); **bág toche** (F3. 18) (or chev.?--see FN in Vol. I, p. 66); **Donand chomlān cain** (F8. 15) (unless this is the subst. adj.); **magen clainne** (F6. 1); **Temair tollmech** (F6. 94 *LL*) (*cf. R* **thuillmech**).

(6 examples; F1\1, F2\1, F3 (1)\1, F6\2, F8\1)

The absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration: **blīadain Fogartaig(*LL*) na feb** (F7. 57), **Fuamnach fūam** (F8. 113) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 261).

(2 examples; F7\1, F8\1)

c) After a masc.\neut. o-stem noun in the voc. sg. (*SNG*: 237: 4.3)

(i) Present: **a baird Fintain a eōlaig** (F7. 144) (fixed by alliteration). *(1 example; F7)*

d) After the gen. sg. of a masc.\neut. o-stem (*SNG*: 237: 4.3)

(i) Present (e.g.): **m*a*c Cind Fāelad** (F2. 20); **im chath Chind chrūaid** (F3. 21); **ár chen*eōi*l Chonaill** (F4. 110); **immaid chomland** (F4. 35) (provided this is not **immad, immaid**, m and f, nom. sg.); ***cath* Cind Chorad** (F4. 135); **m*ac* Cerb*aill* chrechaig** (F6. 37); **Colmāin chētaig** (F6. 57 *LL*) (*cf. R* **cētaig**); **in chomlaind chōicdaig** (F6. 102 *LL*) (subst. adj.); **hūa Conch*obuir* chrúaid** (F6. 129); **Cairn Chachta** (F7. 35 *LL*); **Ailig [F]rigrend** (F7. 68 *LL*); **Cuind chrūaid** (F10. 68); **hūa Cuind chais** (F10. 93); **cath Duib Chommair** (F10. 111); **ingen Chonchraid chain** (F11. 1); **Casil chēmnig** (F12. 50 *LL*); **Chasil chendfind** (F12. 58 *LL*).

Lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration in **m*ac* m*ei*c Flaind a lāechLuignib** (F9. 70) and **Chind Fāelad aird** (F7. 33 *LL*). *(2 examples; F7\1, F9\1)*

(ii) Not present\not marked: **sodbraind coscair comlaind** (F3. 50); **m*ei*c Flaind** (F7. 107); **Cuind Cétch*athaig*** (F10. 122); **Murch*ada* m*eic* Flaind** (F6. 199).

(4 examples; F3 (1)\1, F6\1, F7\1, F10\1)

The absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration in **hūa Flaind Fáil** (F6. 171).

(1 example; F6)

Lenition is not marked in **m*ac* Bic Felmais ūair** (F8. 65), although the alliteration would

suggest that it is present there. *(1 example; F8)*

e) After the gen. sg. of a masc.\neut. io-stem (*SNG*: 237: 4.3)

(i) Present (e.g.): **i cath Ruba Chonaill** (F6. 108 *LL*); **de chumaid Chairp*ri* chendfind** (F8. 24); **i cath Bile Thened** (F9. 30).

(ii) Not present\not marked: **Caille Conaill** (F5. 129) (io?). *(1 uncertain example; F5)*

The absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration in **mac Subni serig** (F6. 66). *(1 example; F6)*

f) After the masc.\neut. gen. sg. of an o\ā adj.

(i) Present: no example.

(ii) Not present\not marked: **Dromma caiss Corcáin** (F7. 64); **hūa cīallmāir Congal*aig*** (F7. 100 *LL*) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 221). *(2 examples; F7)*

g) After the copula (*SNG*: 237: 4.5)

(i) Present (e.g.): **rop fochaid** (F1. 54--see Note in Vol. I, p. 19), **ropo chūaird** (F4. 130), **nīrbo theidmnech** (F10. 6), **nīr thláith** (F6. 70) (perf. sg. 3); **combad chennach** (F11. 22) (past subj. or sec. fut.).

(ii) Not present\not marked: **cīan bas cuman** (F4. 94; F5. 43) (fut. sg. 3 rel.); **rop comtach** (F12. 67 *LL*) (pres. subj. sg. 3 with **ro**); **nīr(*LL*) fata(*LL*)** (F6. 73) (*cf. R* **nīrb fata**), **cencor fand** (F9. 23) (alliterates with ***ocus* Fúat**; alliteration could be present even if both words are lenited) (perf. sg. 3).

(5 examples; F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F9\1, F12\1)

The absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration: **i flaithius nār(*LL*) fóen(*LL*)** (F6. 113) (*cf. R* **nārb fāen**) (perf. sg. 3). *(1 example; F6)*

Lenition is not marked in **la Āed cīar(*LL*) fell(*LL*)** (F7. 67) and in **Ogma cenchor fand** (F8. 29) (perf. sg. 3), although the alliteration would suggest that it is present there. *(2 examples; F7\1, F8\1)*

h) After the conjunction **cía**

(i) Present: **cīa fūair forrá[i]n** (F2. 25*b*)--note that if the direct object is lenited, then we can get alliteration in the line; however, we already have *lorga* with F2. 25*a*.

(1 example; F2)

(ii) Not present\not marked: no example.

II. Non-historical lenition (*SNG*: 237: 4.4)

a) After a masc. o-stem noun in the nom. sg.: **Imchell fin[f]er** (F1. 7) (the len. might be due to an attempt by the scribe to get alliteration with **Imchell**). *(1 example; F1)*

b) Lenition in a construction denoting genitival relationship: **sé blīadna Chind Fāelad aird** (F7. 33 *LL*) (*cf. R* **Cind Fāelad**) (after the nom. pl. of an ī-stem), **ní cath Chnámrois** (F10. 112) (after the nom. sg. of a masc. u-stem). *(2 examples; F7\1, F10\1)*

c) Lenition of a noun in the gen. between a noun in the nom. and another noun in the gen. (*SNG*: 237: 4.4): ***cath* Chind Eich** (F4. 19); **ár cheneōil Chonaill** (F4. 110); **ardrí cheneōil Lugdach** (F5. 121). *(3 examples; F4 (1)\2, F5\1)*

d) Lenition after the gen. sg. of a fem.? noun: **i mmulluch Cerna chlaidard** (F7. 116 *LL*). *(1 example; F7)*

e) Lenition after the masc. gen. sg. of an i-stem adj.: **Cuind chrūaid Chétch*athaig*** (F10. 68). *(1 example; F10)*

In **degm*eic* luchair [F]lannacáin** (F7. 118) the lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration. *(1 example; F7)*

f) Lenition after the nom. pl. of a masc. guttural stem: **ríg Themra** (F10. 1). *(1 example; F10)*

g) Lenition after the indefinite pronoun **cía**: **cía thois** (F10. 111). This must have arisen as a result of the confusion with the conjunction **cía**. *(1 example; F10)*

h) Cú Chaille chrúaid (F5. 124)--the word **cú** regularly lenites the following closely connected word (Bergin, 1938: 218), and this lenition is extended to the second following closely connected word here, which is nom. sg. **crúaid**. *(1 example; F5)*

(Altogether 12 examples; F1\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\2, F7\3, F10\4)

i) Lenition of the direct object of a verb (*SNG*: 237: 4.6)

(i) Not lenited: **fūair forlund** (F6. 175), **nād charad cuindeilg** (F4. 69), **fadlad cáin** (F12. 45 *R*), **tāraill cossecrad** (F11. 35) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 320), **co tabrad fīad** (F5. 9), **im-rá / trīathbla** (F10. 110), **trōethais cu[ü]** (F5. 51), **ro gab Caissel** (F12. 56 *R*), **trōethais Cīannacht** (F5. 101), **cīa fūair forrá[i]n** (F2. 25*b*) (note that with len. we would get alliteration in F2. 25*b*; however, *lorga* is already present between *a* and *b*).

(10 examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\3, F6\1, F10\1, F11\1, F12\2--both from R)

Examples fixed by alliteration: **fégaid findchill** (F1. 67*b*--although there is already *lorga* with *a*), **ferad flandbríg** (F4. 101*b*). *(2 examples; F1\1, F4 (1)\1)*

Alliteration indicates that the direct object must be lenited: **ro chren fīalgarta cen feill**

(F11. 3--see Note in Vol. I, p. 313). *(1 example; F11)*

(ii) Lenited: **clandad chomram** (F2. 24), **cloäd chath** (F10. 35), **ro gab Chasel** (F12. 2 *LL*) (*cf. R* **Caissel**), **(ní) rīachtatar chill** (F4. 132).

(4 examples; F2\1, F4 (2)\1, F10\1, F12\1)

j) Lenition of the initial consonant of an adverb (*SNG*: 238: 4.7)

(i) Lenition present: **chaidchi** (F3. 91); **thair** (F6. 67; F8. 49); **thall** (F6. 59 *LL*; F8. 3); **thes** (F10. 87). *(6 examples; 4 words; F3 (2)\1, F6\2, F8\2, F10\1)*

(ii) Lenition not present: **tair** (F6. 52, 99; F7. 52); **tīar\tíar** (F6. 108 *LL*; F10. 80); **tall** (F9. 49); **tess** (F7. 48). *(7 examples; 4 words; F6\3, F7\2, F9\1, F10\1)*

III. Ambiguous cases

a) Len. after the gen. sg. of a masc. ?-stem: **do chumaid Induí foltfind** (F8. 56) (treated as an io-stem?). The lenition is fixed by alliteration here.

b) Lenition after the gen. of a masc. ?-stem: ***mac* Cruind chain** (F10. 121) (treated as an o-stem here? If the nom. is **Crund**--see *AU 4386* translation and O'Brien, 1962: 571).

c) The lenition after **Cú** in **Cú Chaille chrúaid** (F5. 124) could either have been inherited from OIr, or indicates a change in gender (see also Thur. §232 6).

For lenition after **Máel**, see p. 47: **3.16 b**; after numeral adjectives, p. 52: **5.1**; after **ocus**, p. 73: **10.1**; after **do, ní, no** and **ro**, 60: **8.4**; of the initial consonant of a preposition, 68: **9.7**, 69: **9.12**, and p. 72: **9.23**.

2.30 Nasalisation

I. Historical nasalisation

a) Nas. after a noun.\adj. in the gen. pl. (*SNG*: 238: 4.11)

(i) Nasalisation is present (e.g.):

After a nasal: **for slūag nAlban n-ulach** (F3. 42), **na ngním nglē** (F6. 203 *LL*).

Between two non-nasal consonants: **na ngīall ngraigech** (F2. 66), **for slūag Gall ngarg** (F4. 108--see Note in Vol. I, p. 98), **na ngíall nglacbān** (F5. 127).

Before or after a vowel: **i Cill Ūa nDaigri** (F4. 97), **fer nÓl nÉcmacht** (F5. 111), **(rí), (flaith) *Hūa* (nDorthaind), (mBresail)** (F5. 125, 126), **dīn nAirther n-āebda** (F5. 71) (gen. pl.?).

(ii) Nasalisation is absent\not marked:

After a nasal: **ri ré dā fichet būan blīadan** (F2. 4), **ní dalb drongg[s]eng díur** (F10. 131). *(2 examples; F2\1, F10\1)*

Between two non-nasal consonants: **cen brath brīathar goä** (F3. 7), **prīmchāinte Tūath Dē D*anand*** (F8. 98--see Note in Vol. I, p. 252), **la slūag Gall gargg** (F7. 115 *LL*) (*cf. R* **ngarg**) (if **gargg** qualifies **Gall**).

(1 uncertain and 2 certain examples; F3 (1)\1, (F7\1), F8\1)

b) Nasalisation after the gen. pl. article

Nasalisation is present in all cases (e.g.): **na n-ergal** (F2. 24), **na ndám** (F2. 58; F7. 139), **na ngīall** (F2. 66), **na ngarglond** (F4. 104), **na ndīberg** (F5. 39), **na ngormland** (F5. 72), **na ndrech** (F6. 93), **na nGāedel** (F6. 140 *LL*), **na ngním** (F6. 203 *LL*), **na ndath** (F7. 43), **na mbendchros** (F7. 98), **na n-all** (F8. 5), **na mbríg** (F9. 7), **na n-ech** (F9. 19), **na nDanar** (F4. 94), **na mblat** (F9. 71), **na mbreth** (F9. 71), **na ndrend** (F10. 89, 117), **na ndremm** (F12. 47 *R*).

c) Nasalisation after a noun\adj. in the acc. sg. (*SNG*: 238: 4.12)

(i) Nasalisation is present (e.g.):

After a nasal: **for Eōgan mBél mbudnech** (F3. 16) (first nasalisation), **rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán nAilig** (F3. 72) (acc. used for dat.) (last nasalisation), **for Fland nGoän** (F3. 87), **fúair gním ngalla** (F5. 8), **im gním ng*re*tha** (F5. 91).

Between two non-nasal consonants: **for Eōgan mBél mbudnech** (F3. 16) (second nasalisation), **tucsat [...] / cét ngíall** (F3. 40), **for m*ac* nDomnaill** (F3. 52), **gabsat [...] / bríg mbladaig** (F3. 70), **rīa nDomnall ndr*ui*mnech** (F4. 27) (acc. used for dat.), **im Āed mBrec** (F4. 34), **rīa Nīall nGlūndub** (F4. 99) (acc. used for dat.), **co Bondammair mbechda** (F5. 57), **sīacht cert nGāedel** (F10. 129), **ōtá Belach nDúin** (F5. 66), **lasin Conall n[gēr]glic glan** (F7. 19 *LL*).

Before or after a vowel: **rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán nAilig** (F3. 72) (acc. used for dat.) (2nd and 3rd nasalisations), **aidchi n-oraig** (F3. 81), **rīa n-ū nEōgain** (F4. 8) (acc. used for dat.), **for rīg\ríg (nUlad), (nAirgīall)** (F4. 86), **ág n-éca** (F5. 118), **for Matudán m*ac* n-ard nĀeda** (F5. 94), **im īath nArad** (F5. 24), **la Nīall n-ard n-amra** (F5. 132), **la Āed nAllān** (F5. 38), **i nInsi n-ólaig** (F3. 76), **for slūag nAlban** (F3. 42).

(ii) Nasalisation is absent\not marked:

Before\after a vowel: **geguin Corrgend [...] \ Āed ard amra** (F1. 15-16), **ní tréic [...] Ailech Imchill** (F1. 68), **ar mag Ailig** (F2. 46) (in theory, this could be acc. for dat.;

however, in *SNG* 249-250: 5.12 there is no example of the dat. of s-stems with a non-pal. consonant), **rím Āed Uaridnach** (F2. 59), **fég Āed Ordnide** (F2. 61), **i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain** (F3. 76). *(6 examples; F1\2, F2\3, F3 (2)\1)*

Between two non-nasal consonants: **co Slīab Betha** (F5. 92), **lasin Conall n[gēr]glic glan** (F7. 19 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 217), **cen brath (brīathar), (bró[i]n)** (F3. 7; F10. 43), **la Māel Dūin** (F4. 69), **la slūag Gall** (F7. 115 *LL*), **la Conall glē** (F7. 51 *LL*), **la Neptúir Derg** (F8. 112), **la Mac Grēne** (F8. 122), **dar éis Domnaill** (F6. 193 *LL*), (or dat. used for acc. in the last 8 examples). *(10 examples; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F7\3, F8\2, F10\1)*

After a nasal: **in mbūadching bil** (F10. 27), **co horgain Arad** (F5. 90), **la Bennān bāeth** (F8. 108), **la hEōgan Inbir** (F8. 134), **la Hērimōn án** (F8. 145) (or dat. used for acc. in the last 4 examples; see p. 64: **9.4**). *(5 examples; F5\1, F8\3, F10\1)*

(Altogether 21 examples; 6 before a vowel; in 12, we might have dat. used for acc.; F1\2, F2\3, F3 (1)\1, 3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F6\1, F7\3, F8\5, F10\2)

d) Nasalisation after the acc. sg. article (always after a nasal)

(i) Nasalisation is present (e.g.): **cosin mbáig** (F8. 57), **cosin mblaid** (F9. 35), **cosin ngail** (F10. 129), **cosin mblad** (F12. 61 *LL*), **in mbūadching** (F10. 27).

(ii) Nasalisation is absent\not marked in the following cases: **ro gab in inse** (F1. 39) (this could also be the confusion of **n + nn** in the article--*SNG*: 259: 7.7 and p. 56: **6.4**), **forsin Domnall crodond** (F4. 72). *(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; (F1\1), F4 (1)\1)*

e) Nasalisation after a preposition

(i) Omitted in **dochum Hērend** (F8. 40) (after a nasal). Note that according to *DIL*, this preposition appears in MIr usually without nasalization. However, according to *SNG* (327: 13.9), nasalisation is the norm here. *(1 example; F8)*

f) Nasalisation after a masc. infixed pronoun

(i) Present in **rod mbí** (F10. 52). *(1 example; F10)*

(ii) Omitted in **dīarod gon Cetnen** (F8. 127) (unless this is the general rel. marker; see *SNG*: 265-267: 10.6). *(1 example; F8)*

g) Presence and absence of nasalisation in the same noun phrase

i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain (F3. 76), **lasin Conall n[gēr]glic glan** (F7. 19 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 217), **ro marbsat in mbūadching bil** (F10. 27). *(3 examples; F3 (2)\1, F7\1, F10\1)*

II. Non-historical nasalisation

g) Nasalisation in chevilles--it is regular to find nasalisation after the nom. sg. of any gender (*SNG*: 239: 4.14).

(i) Nasalisation is present

Next to a vowel: **ardgus n-eōlaig** (F2. 64); **cobrād n-eōlaig** (F2. 12); **rád n-imlaind** (F3. 51); **ergnus n-imléir** (F5. 28); **ellach n-ossaid** (F5. 86).

(5 examples; F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F5\2)

Between two non-nasal consonants: **nī rād ndétla** (F3. 27). *(1 example; F3 (1))*

After a nasal: **ba gnīm n-achar** (F5. 41); **ba gním nglegrach** (F5. 99); **ní gním ngoä** (F5. 101); **ēraim ndaith** (F10. 9); **fúaim nglan** (F11. 45; F12. 17 *LL*).

(6 examples; F5\3, F10\1, F11\1, F12\1)

On **ba guba(n) ngarb** (F4. 60) see Note in Vol. I, p. 95.

(Total: 12 examples; F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\5, F10\1, F11\1, F12\1)

Note that according to *DIL* **éraimm** and **fúaimm** were neuter nouns in OIr (although see FN on p. 223); and it is possible that **ellach** was a neuter noun, too.

(ii) Nasalisation is absent in the following chevilles:

Next to a vowel: **gaīne gaile** (F2. 22). *(1 example; F2)*

Between two non-nasal consonants: **ardd bruthgal** (F3.18), **angbaid dulad** (F3. 38), **bét bladach** (F3. 43), **garg tarbe** (F3. 46) (if this is a cheville); **forraig gleōgal** (F2. 1).

(5 examples; F2\1, F3 (1)\4)

h) Extension of nasalisation to a noun or an adjective that follows a noun in the gen. sg. which is itself nasalised (*SNG*: 239: 4.15).

After a nasal: **for slūag nAlban n-ulach** (F3. 42). *(1 example; F3 (1))*

Next to a vowel: **lathe mbrātha mbodba** (F3. 47). *(1 example; F3 (1))*

i) Nasalisation after a noun in the nom. sg. (not in a cheville)

Next to a vowel: **ropo ānalt (n)-airmiten** (F11. 38 *LL*) (m?, u?) (this must be a scribal error). *(1 example; F11)*

After a nasal: **dīn nAirther n-āebda** (F5. 71)--see Note in Vol. I, p. 137.

(1 example; F5)

j) Nasalisation after a noun in the gen. sg.

rodas bruí síl Eōgain (n)-imrind (F5. 122)--although **síl** is in the nom., still, as it used to

be a neuter noun in OIr, it often nasalises in MIr, as it is used in many fixed phrases. Although this word does not nasalise here, **Eōgain** does, which is unhistorical, and probably a scribal error.

k) Concerning **bec[h]tai n-airig** (F3. 70), see FN in Vol. I, p. 68.

l) Concerning neuter nasalisation and nasalisation after numeral adjectives, see p. 52: **5.2**.

3. THE NOUN[1]

3.1 Acc. used with the passive (*SNG*: 240: 5.2): **slecht la Fergal ár ṅGall** (F5. 77), **dogníth [...] \ cumtach ṅdindmall ṅdegfethal** (F11. 46 *LL*) (unless these represent neuter nas.; however, this is unlikely--see 3.4 below). *(2 examples; F5\1, F11\1)*

3.2 The independent dative (*SNG*: 240: 5.3) is used quite often in these poems: **cind cethri ṅdíni** (F2. 1) (used as prep.); **cétaib cure** (F2. 21); **ré *secht* mblīad*a*n** (F2. 33); **teōra blīadnaib** (F2. 40); **cētaib comland** (F2. 61); **mīlib glond** (F3. 46); **deich cétaib** (F3. 65); **ōenūair aidchi** (F3. 92) (of time); **cētaib cumne** (F4. 45); **cētaib cennach** (F4. 89); **cind ar chind** (F4. 134) (adverbial phrase); **secht cétaib** (F5. 43); **inbaid ōenaig** (F5. 79) (of time); **molbthar massib** (F5. 85); **līnib ilāeb** (F5. 105); **rubnib dám** (F6. 187); **cétaib gal**(*LL*) (F7. 71); **fichtib drech** (F7. 101 *R*).
On **(co n-)ēchtaib umal** (F5. 89) and **(i) tessaig thrucha** (F5. 126), see the Notes in Vol. I., pp. 137 and 141.
(18 certain and 2 uncertain examples; F2\5, F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\4 (+2), F6\1, F7\2)

3.3 Dat. of apposition (*SNG*: 240: 5.3): **acht Cairell lucht a churaig** (F3. 84).
(1 example; F3 (2))

3.4 Remnants of the neuter
a) Nasalisation after an originally neuter noun followed by a closely connected word (*SNG*: 239: 4.13, 252: 6.2): **lathe mbrātha ṁbodba** (F3. 47)--**lathe** was a neuter noun in OIr. The nasalisation following it is probably due to the fact that **lá/laithe mbrátha** became a fixed phrase during the OIr period. Concerning the second nasalisation, see p. 32: **2.30 II h.** *(1 example; 1 word; F3 (1))*
b) Nasalisation after a substantivised adj.: **mór ṅdíne** (F1. 47), **dlūthach ṅgleë** (F4. 50) (or nas. in cheville). *(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; 2 words; F1\1, (F4 (1)\1))*
c) The neuter article (*SNG*: 258: 7.2): this is retained in **aní** (F4. 1).
(1 example; F4 (1))
See also Lenition and nasalisation after the numeral adjective, **5.1** and **5.2**, p. 52; the Survival of **ed**, **8.5**, p. 61, and Nasalisation in chevilles, **2.30\II. g)** on p. 32.

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[1] Substantivised adjectives are discussed in this section.

3.5 o-stems (*SNG*: 241-243: 5.5)

a) Genitive singular in masc. o-stem names ending in **-án**

(i) No palatalisation in the gen.; rhyming examples: **Eochocān (:tār)** (F6. 132), **i mMóin Milán (:dám)** (F6. 188), **Inis M*ac* Nessán (:án)** (F7. 48), **Tuilén (:nderglén)** (F7. 83--see Note in Vol. I, p. 220), **la claind Col*mān* (:ndám)** (F7. 140), **Culennán (:grād)** (F12. 36). In **co Carn cāem Corná(i)n (:.imslán)** (F5. 47), **im gērma(i)g Gabrá(i)n (:.imslán)** (F5. 48) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 134) and **Mananná(i)n (:ág)** (F8. 14) the rhyme and *úaitne* indicate that we have to read a non-palatal form.

(9 examples; 9 words; F5\2, F6\2, F7\3, F8\1, F12\1)

(ii) No palatalisation in the gen.; non-rhyming examples: **Ultān** (F5. 29), **Fulmán** (F9. 41).

(2 examples; 2 words; F5\1, F9\1)

(iii) Palatal gen.; rhyming examples: **Colmāin (:tāir)** (F6. 50 *LL*); **i Dromma caiss Corcáin (:Fáil)** (F7. 64), **i nDaim Līac Cíannāin (:cīallmāir)** (F7. 99--see Note in Vol. I, p. 221), **[F]lannacáin (:áin)** (F7. 118), **Mantáin (:áin)** (F9. 18), **Cellachāi*n* (:cáin)** (F12. 46 *R*).

Emended reading: **[Nélléin] : snēdbéim** (F5. 26--see Note in Vol. I, p. 132).

(1 uncertain and 6 certain examples; 6 (+1) words; (F5\1), F6\1, F7\3, F9\1, F12\1)

(iv) Palatal gen.; non-rhyming examples: **for claind Colmāin** (F4. 73), **Colmāin** (F6. 57), **Māel Finniāin(*LL*)** (F7. 117), **Manannāin** (F8. 105).

(4 examples; 3 words; F4 (1)\1, F6\1, F7\1, F8\1)

Note that for the gen. of **Colmán** I have rhyming examples for both the pal. and the non-pal. gen.; for the gen. of **Manannán**, I have one rhyming example for the non-pal. gen. and one non-rhyming one for the palatal. Also note that F6. 50 *LL* in **(iii)** and F6. 132 in **(i)** rhyme with a word which can be declined in two different ways (and which appears in two different forms in F6)--see Note in Vol. I, p. 181.

b) Dative singular

All monosyllables or polysyllables with **é** in the unstressed syllable which had u-quality in OIr have retained this feature in these poems: **īar cund (:sund)** (F1. 4) (but *DIL*: nom. sg. **conn**, also **cunn**, m); **īarsind ulc-sin (:luc[h]t-sin)** (F1. 22--see Note in Vol. I, p. 15) **(olc)**; **don dund (:opund)** (F6. 23) **(donn)**; **don dus (:do Fergus)** (F6. 53) **(dos)**; **do chenīul Eōgain** (F4. 38).

On **cind** and **cnis** see **2.8**, p. 21; concerning conservative spelling in unstressed syllables, see **1.20 a**, p. 6. *(5 examples; 5 words; F1\2, F4 (1)\1, F6\2)*

c) New nom. pl. form of **cenn** (*SNG*: 241-243: 5.5)

na trī Rūadchind (:mbūadching) (F10. 28), **cind (:chill)** (F4. 132).

(2 examples; F4 (2)\1, F10\1; no example of the old form)

3.6 ā-stems

a) Confusion of nom. sg. and acc.\dat. sg. (*SNG*: 243: 5.6)[1]

(**i**) Nom. sg. in a palatal cons.; rhyming examples: **opair (:cotaig, :.chetaig)** (F1. 18), **rīaguil (:chīanaib)** (F1. 70) (nom. pendens as semantic object), **in chomraind (:Domnaill)** (F4. 124), **is turim fír (:sudig)** (F5. 56) (adj. lenited after a fem. noun in the nom. sg.), **fethim (:cethir)** (F11. 31) (**fethem**, m + f) (treated as a fem. ā-stem here).

(5 examples; 5 words; F1\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F11\1)

(**ii**) Nom. sg. in a palatal cons.; non-rhyming examples: **gait** (F1. 2), **aindir** (F1. 51), **ārim** (F3. 54; F5. 133), **lānorggain** (F5. 57) (**orcun**); **mōrarggain** (F5. 65) (**orcun**), **orgain** (F5. 23), **Boïnd** (F8. 57) (**Boänd**).

(8 examples; 4 words; F1\2, F3 (1)\1, F5\4, F8\1)

(**iii**) Nom. sg. with non-palatal cons.; rhyming examples: **athach (:Cētchathach/-*ach*)** (F6. 15; F10. 73), **bāg (:rád)** (F3. 52), **bert (:lecht)** (F1. 28), **blad (:marbad, Crúachan, rīgan)** (F8. 53; F9. 51; F11. 15), **blattdál(*LL*) (:bratān)** (F11. 47), **bréc (:sét)** (F5. 104), **bruthgal (:Uchbath)** (F3. 18), **comrand (:Domnall)** (F2. 36), **crāeb (:Āed)** (F4. 30), **dál (:ár)** (F4. 110), **dalb (:Carn, marb)** (F6. 27; F10. 131), **dám (:ár)** (F5. 78), **drend (:Cell)** (F5. 58) (ā?), **hēcen (:téitgel)** (F5. 10), **gal (:Etargal)** (F8. 9), **glacc (:m*ac*)** (F5. 72), **gleōgal (:Eōgan)** (F2. 1), **ingen (:imgel)** (F1. 52), **lāechrad (:gáethglan)** (F10. 72), **mōrrīgan (:nglan)** (F11. 30), **rīgan (:blad)** (F11. 16)[2], **saiget (:airec)** (F10. 138), **tarrgrach (:armach)** (F3. 15), **Tūath (:Fúat)** (imp.) (F9. 24).

In **amma(i)l (:.ollam)** (F5. 120), **chongga(i)b (:ollam)** (F5. 119) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 140 on both) and **ūa(i)g (:būan)** (F2. 4) the *úaitne* and rhyme show that we have to read a non-palatal consonant.

(31 examples; 24 words; F1\2, F2\3, F3 (1)\3, F4 (1)\2, F5\7, F6\2, F8\2, F9\2, F10\4, F11\4)

(**iv**) Nom. sg. with non-palatal cons.; non-rhyming examples: **aided** (F9. 41; F10. 19),

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[1] I have only taken those examples into consideration where palatalisation is possible; I have ignored irregular **ben**; and nouns where the stressed vowel alternates between **ía** in the nom. sg. and **éi** in the acc.\dat. sg. have not been considered either, as according to *SNG* (243: 5.6), confusion does not happen here.

[2] On the declension of **rígan**, see p. 44: **3.14 d**.

amser (F1. 46), **bág\bāg** (F3. 18, 78), **blad** (F7. 121 *R*), **cerdd/cerd** (F1. 51; F8. 37), **cētserc** (F8. 106), **in chrech** (F5. 49), **del** (F5. 114), **deog(*LL*)** (F6. 31), **fairend** (F3. 44), **ingen** (F11. 1), **longas** (F6. 8), **magen** (F6. 1), **rūac** (F4. 131), **rún** (F7. 69 *R*), **Badb** (F8. 110), **Etan** (F8. 23; F9. 15, 58), **Fūamnach** (F8. 113), **Gamandrad** (F5. 89).

In F2. 68 **acht drech (:nech)** is either nom. used for acc., or acc. with non-palatal consonant (see also p. 68: **9.6**).

(24 examples; 19 words; F1\2, F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\3, F6\3, F7\2, F8\5, F9\3, F10\1, F11\1)

(**v**) Acc. sg. in a non-palatal cons. (nom. sg. used for acc. sg.--*SNG*: 243: 5.6); rhyming examples: **clandad chomram (:.ergal)** (F2. 24); **ro scaíl badb (:Garb)** (F4. 102) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 109), **i ndel (:fer)** (F1. 10--see Note in Vol. I, p. 14); possibly also **a Crūach (:imlūath)** (F8. 93--see Note in Vol. I, p. 252).

(1 uncertain and 3 certain examples; 3 (+1) words; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (1)\1, (F8\1))

(**vi**) Acc. sg. in a non-palatal cons.; non-rhyming examples: **drem** (F2. 63), **a n-aided** (F7. 4) (both dir. obj.), **co crúas** (or read **crúa[i]s : ūais**?) (F1. 30--see Note in Vol. I, p. 16), **co rīab** (F3. 57; F5. 21), **re hEtan** (F8. 149) (?), **ō Chrūach** (F1. 15).

(7 examples; 6 words; F1\2, F2\1, F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F7\1, F8\1)

(**vii**) Acc. sg. in a palatal cons.; rhyming examples: **aidid (:Ailig)** (F4. 124; F7. 67 *LL*), **ārim (:-rādid)** (F4. 2), **blaid (:Muredaig)** (F10. 123), **brait (:P*ā*tric)** (F12. 5 *LL*), **bríg (:ríg**--nom. pl.) (F2. 56; F3. 70), **brónbríg (:mōrríg**--acc. sg.) (F5. 64), **chill (:cind**--nom. pl.) (F4. 132), **claind (:Domnaill)** (F6. 179), **cuindeilg (:Muindeirgg)** (F4. 69), **dīanblaid(*LL*) (:Dīarmait)** (F6. 63), **dig (:ētrachtgil)** (F11. 23), **findchill (:Imchill)** (F1. 67), **gail (:Chasil)** (F12. 15), **gīal[l]blaid (:chlīamain)** (F10. 77), **gletin (:aitir, :.Cicuil)** (F1. 14), **in rīgain (:fīrdígail)** (F11. 5 *LL*), **te(t)chill (:Chethirn)** (F5. 31), **Eirc (:beirt)** (F5. 16) (all dir. obj.), **cen(a n-) ārim (:.nglúnib)** (F4. 120), **cosin mbáig (:náir)** (F8. 57), **cen bétblaid (:cétfaid)** (imp.) (F11. 57), **cosin mblaid (:Dumachaib)** (F9. 35), **cen bréic (:néit)** (F10. 87), **cen breōbail (:Eōgain)** (F3. 2), **cen chobraind (:fogbaim)** (F10. 19), **fri cōemgrís (:ōenmís**--acc. or dat. sg.) (F5. 45), **cen deochair (:Eochaid)** (F2. 9--see Note in Vol. I, p. 38), **cen dīanblait (:Dīarmait)** (F4. 98), **la dībirg (:tírfeirg)** (F10. 24), **cen feill (:C*erbaill*)** (F11. 3 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 313), **cosin ngail (:Fid*aig*)** (F10. 129), **cen imbarbáig (:Fáil)** (F10. 46), **cen lánbréic (:Néit)** (F8. 42), **acht a réir (:céin)** (F5. 42), **cen rúin (:Dúin)** (F2. 28), **dar sreith (:breith)** (F1. 31), **co Sinaind (:miduill)** (F5. 66); maybe also **flandbríg (:Garbíth**--gen.) (F4. 101) and **cen tathaīr (:Cathaīr**--nom.) (F10. 70).

In **do-rat lá[i]m (:cháin)** (F5. 62) the rhyme shows that we should read a palatal

consonant.

(40 certain and 2 uncertain examples; 32 (+2) words; F1\3, F2\3, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\4, F4 (2)\2, F5\7, F6\2, F7\1, F8\2, F9\1, F10\7, F11\4, F12\2)

(viii) Acc. sg. in a palatal cons.; non-rhyming examples: **tuc [...] ingin** (F5. 16), **(for), (la) claind (Conaill), (Colmāin)** (F4. 41, 73, 125; F7. 140), **co hamsir/amsir(*LL*)** (F6. 10, 12), **cen chlaind** (F11. 31), **la Tūaith** (F10. 73).

(9 examples; 4 words; F4 (1)\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F6\2, F7\1, F10\1, F11\1)

Note that both palatal and non-palatal forms appear both as the object of verbs and of prepositions.

Note that in those cases where the reading had to be emended, the scribe always used the newer form (i.e. nom. with palatal final cons. or acc. with non-palatal final cons.).

b) Two different forms of the acc. sg. of **aided**, f are used in this text: **innisfet [...] \ a n-aided** (F7. 4) and **fūair aidid** (F7. 67 *LL*). Note that these occur in the same poem; and also note that *DIL* does not give the stem-class of this noun.

3.7 <u>**io- and iā-stems**</u> (*SNG*: 246: 5.9)

a) Concerning the spelling of vowels in unstressed syllables, see **1.20 b** and **c**, p. 7.

b) I have no examples of the new, dental-type declension in the plural.

All the forms in the nom., acc., gen. and dat. pl. have a non-dental ending: **cure** (F5. 21), **daíne(*LL*)** (F6. 67) (nom. pl.); **míli** (F3. 68) (acc. pl.); **aithle** (F3. 21), **cure** (F2. 21), **ndíne** (F1. 47), **ndíni** (F2. 1), **orbba** (F5. 54), **cumne** (F4. 45), **slige** (F1. 31), **Cruthne** (F4. 33, 34--see Note in Vol. I, p. 92), **Lūagne** (F10. 72) (?) (gen. pl.); **cen binib** (F8. 114), **tólaib** (F3. 75), **massib** (F5. 85), **mīlib** (F3. 64), **for Conaillib** (F4. 95) (dat. pl.)

(18 examples; 14 words; F1\2, F2\2, F3 (1)\3, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\4, F5\3, F6\1, F8\1, F10\1)

c) I have the following forms of **úa** (OIr **auë**):

Nom. sg.: **h*ūa*** (F4. 6; F5. 76, 109, 129; F6. 76, 84, 129, 127, 171, 200; F7. 53, 88, 89, 96, 100, 104 *R*, 120; F8. 8), **cāem*ūa*** (F5. 113), **ō\ōa** (F1. 3, 8), **ūa** (F4. 112, 122; F5. 36, 116; F8. 64), **ú** (F8. 100--see Note in Vol. I, p. 253), **hūa** (F10. 93), **uä** (F11. 10 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 314). *(29 examples)*

Acc. sg.: **h*ū*** **(:clú)** (F5. 110--see Note in Vol. I, p. 139), **rīa n-ū nEōgain (:clú)** (F4. 8),

la hōa (F10. 76). *(3 examples)*

Gen. sg.: **hú** (F8. 41--see Note in Vol. I, p. 248). *(1 example)*

Dat. sg.: **ō** (F2. 21), **ú** (F4. 111), **óa** (F4. 131). *(3 examples)*

Nom. or dat. sg. in apposition: **ú** (F2. 49), **hūa** (F2. 53). *(2 examples)*

Acc. pl.: **uí (:bruí)** (F5. 122), **Hū** (F7. 126 *LL*). *(2 examples)*

Gen. pl.: **Ūa** (F3. 64; F4. 97), **Hūa** (F5. 125, 126; F7. 111, 137 *LL*). *(6 examples)*

(Altogether 46 examples; 1 with hiatus; 3 others fixed by rhyme).

3.8 i-stems (*SNG*: 244: 5.7)

New gen. pl. form: **fēinned (:ēin[f]er)** (F1. 29) **(fénnid), senchad (:mbrath)** (F11. 58) **(senchaid)**. These forms show the loss of the final syllable of the OIr gen. pl. as well as the depalatalisation of the final consonant. This means that these i-stem nouns began to be declined in the gen. pl. as ā-stems, where there was alternation between a pal. consonant in the nom. sg. and a non-pal. consonant in the gen. pl. (*SNG*: 244: 5.7). I have no example of the old gen. pl. *(2 examples; 2 words; F1\1, F11\1)*

3.9 ī-stems (*SNG*: 247: 5.10)

a) Confusion of cases

(i) Nom. sg. used for acc. sg. (not mentioned in *SNG*); rhyming examples: **blīadain(*LL*) (:chorrLīamuin)** (F6. 141), **ōenblīadain (:ail)** (F6. 150) (both dir. obj.).

(2 examples; 1 word; F6\2)

On **acht ōenblīadain (:clīaraib), (:clīaraig), (:clīaraib)** (F6. 160; F7. 18 *LL*, 74), see Prepositions, **9.6**, p. 68.

(ii) Nom. sg. used for acc. sg.; non-rhyming examples: **for Inis Fáil** (F6. 7 *LL*).

(1 example; 1 word; F6)

(iii) Acc. sg. ending in a vowel (=older form); rhyming examples: **ro gab in inse (:lind-sea)** (F1. 39). *(1 example; 1 word; F1)*

(iv) Acc. sg. ending in a vowel (=older form); non-rhyming examples: **aidchi** (F3. 81), **Insi** (F5. 69) (dir. obj.), **i nInsi n-ólaig** (F3. 76--see FN in Vol. I, p. 59).

(3 examples; 2 words; F3 (2)\2, F5\1)

(v) In the nom. sg., I only have examples of the old form: **adaig (:samail)** (F1. 66), **deglind (:Find)** (F7. 82), **ind inis (:gibis)** (F1. 38), **blīadain (:Dīarmait**--imp.**), (:Līamuin)** (F6. 106, 165). *(5 examples; 4 words; F1\2, F6\2, F7\1)*

(vi) Nom. sg. used for acc.\dat. sg. (or short dat.--Thur. §294): **oc Inis *Mac* Nessán** (F7.

48). *(1 example; 1 word; F7)*

The older form is used in **(is)sin(*LL*) ChroÏnse (:millse)** (F6. 184).

(1 example; 1 word; F6)

b) The gen. pl. of **blíadain**

(i) The new form, **blī*ad*an**, for OIr **blíadnae**, seems to have been modelled on the gen. pl. of ā-stems. Rhyming examples: **(m)blī*ad*an (:īaram, :fīalglan, :gīallad, :dīanglan)** (F2. 4, 6, 33, 35), **fichi blī*adan* (:ardrīarad)** (F7. 37).

(5 examples; F2\4, F7\1)

Non-rhyming examples: **(m)blī*ad*an** (F2. 11, 23, 46, 53). I did not take into consideration abbreviated forms which are not in rhyming position. *(4 examples; F2)*

(ii) Old form of the gen. pl. of **blíadain**; examples fixed by the metre: ***trícha* blīadna dó (:īarla)** (F6. 95), **fichi blīadna a** (F7. 113 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 222) (elision is necessary in this line). *(2 examples; F6\1, F7\1)*

Note that in F7 both forms occur in a context where they are fixed by the metre.

3.10 u-stems (*SNG*: 245: 5.8)

a) Gen. sg.

(i) Nouns with u-stem type gen. sg. only: **mbrātha (:Ātha)** (F3. 47), **brúthi** (F3. 78), **chatha (:Macha), (:Dondchada), (nDondch*ada*)** (F5. 125; F6. 151, 163), **éca (:cētna), (:Dētna)** (F5. 118; F6. 31), **gossa (:Ōengusa)** (F6. 155), **ng*re*tha (:Betha)** (F5. 91), **laimthi (:aidchi)** (F3. 90), **rūadbera (:Trena)** (F6. 44), **(n)Āeda (:cāemna**--x2), **(:dāena), (:brōena), (:āebda**--x2), **(:chāemna)** (F1. 28; F2. 26; F4. 44, 70, 106; F5. 72, 94), **Ōengusa (:gossa), (:Gossa)** (F6. 156; F12. 8), **Trena (:rūadbera)** (F6. 43), **Ātha Dā Chairne (mbrātha)** (F3. 48), **Chlōenlocha (:trocha)** (F6. 36), **Ītha (:*trīch*a)** (F9. 19), **Locha Echach (:trocha)** (F5. 98) **i mMaig(*LL*) Gossa (:Ōengusa)** (F12. 7), **Āeda** (F2. 29, 31; F6. 64; F7. 1, 146; F8. 96), **Loga** (F8. 42, 66, 76), **Murch*ada/-chada*** (F6. 81, 199), **Ōengusa** (F8. 72), **Átha** (in place-names) (F4. 22, 67), **Essa Rūaid** (F5. 51), **Locha** (in place-names) (F4. 93; F5. 89, 113), **brechta (:Erca)** (F5. 20), **rec[h]ta (:Erca)** (F4. 25), **Trāc[h]ta Eōthaili** (F4. 121).

Note that in the last 3 examples, the o-stem type gen. is not possible, as **-cht-** is never palatalised (Thur. §162) (although see *IGT* §38: **trácht**). Also note that there are quite a few words in this list (e.g. **cath** and **loch**) which never seem to appear with an o-stem type gen., at least according to the evidence in *DIL*.

(47 examples; 21 words; F1\1, F2\3, F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\7, F4 (2)\1, F5\10, F6\11, F7\2, F8\5, F9\1, F12\2)

(ii) Nouns with o-stem type gen. sg. only: **trebaid (:.domain)** (F1. 46) (*DIL* cites this as an example of the o-stem declension with a question-mark.), **senchais** (F1. 1), **Dúnchaid** (F4. 54--see Note in Vol. I, p. 95) (both fixed by the syllable count).
(3 examples; 3 words; F1\2, F4 (1)\1)
(iii) Nouns where the gen. sg. has two forms: **in borrfaith(*LL*) (:tor*chair*)** (F6. 91), **mborrfuid(*LL*) (:Dondchaid)** (F6. 170); but **in borrfada (:Dondchada)** (F6. 116 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 184). *(1 example of the old form; 2 of the new one; F6)*
Dondchaid (F6. 98), **Dondchaid\-*chaid* (:Chobthaig) (:mborrfuid), (:tor*chair*)** (F6. 168, 169; F7. 139); but **Dondcha(i)da(*LL*)** (F6. 105--see Note in Vol. I, p. 184), **Dondchada (:Broga), (:chatha)** (F6. 112; 152), **ṅDondchada\-*da* (:chatha), (:Broga)** (F6. 164; F7. 130). On **Dondchada (:borrfada)** (F6. 115), see Note in Vol. I, p. 184.
(1 uncertain and 5 certain examples of the old form; F6\4, F7\1) (4 examples of the new form; F6\3, F7\1)
áig (:imsláin), (:gelāin) (F8. 71--see Note in Vol. I, p. 250; F10. 137), **chētāig (:bāin)** (F12. 56 *R*); but **ága (:.Āeda)** (F4. 44). *(1 example of the old form; F4 (1)) (3 examples of the new form; F8\1, F10\1, F12\1)*

b) Original u-stem gen. pl. replaced by an o-stem type form (all fixed by rhyme or by the syllable count): **bacalt (:attacht)** (F11. 15--see Note in Vol. I, p. 314), **certfichi cath (:rath)** (F4. 25), **co cét cath (:Echach)** (F6. 17), **na ndath (:Īrgalach)** (F7. 43); **na ngním (:lín)** (F6. 203 *LL*); **na llecht (:Necht)** (F10. 17) (the forms in *DIL*--where this example is cited as gen. pl.--seem to indicate u-stem declension for **lecht), ollalt (:Connacht)** (F5. 111); **ar búaid tūath <u>líth</u> Luignech** (F3. 14). Possibly also **lín orgga(i)n (:Colga(i)n)** (F4. 65--see Note in Vol. I, p. 96), although this could also be a cheville, in which case **lín** would be nom. sg.; and **míne me*n*nat (:.Connacht**--imp.) (F5. 112--see FN in Vol. I, p. 151).
(New form: 8 certain and 2 uncertain examples; 7 (+2) words; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1 (+1), F5\1 (+1), F6\2, F7\1, F10\1, F11\1; no example of the old form.)

c) In the nom. pl. I only have examples of the old form: **catha** (F4. 119; F5. 21), **ēchta** (F5. 1). *(3 examples; 1 word; F4 (1)\1, F5\2)*

3.11 <u>Consonantal stems</u> (*SNG*: 247: 5.11)

a) Acc. pl. used for nom. pl.: **ba trīan trucha (:.Betha)** (F5. 92); possibly **rígⁱ[a]** (F4. 100--

see Note in Vol. I, p. 98).

(1 certain and 1 uncertain example: 1 (+1) words; F4 (1)\1, F5\1)

Older nom. pl. form: **airig (:nAilig)** (F3. 70--or the gen. sg.\nom. pl. of **airech**), **rīg/ríg** (F2. 55; F4. 88, 104; F6. 79, 201; F10. 1), **rīg/ríg (:bríg\mbríg)** (F2. 56; F3. 69; F4. 34), **roríg** (F3. 89). *(11 examples; 2 words; F2\2, F3 (2)\3, F4 (1)\3, F6\2, F10\1)*

b) Nom. pl.: **mīlid** in F9. 6 seems to represent the older nom. pl. form (see Note in Vol. I, p. 272). On **trī choícait** (F3. 80), see p. 55: **5.8 b.** *(1 example of older form; 1 word; F9)*

c) New form of the short dat. of **Ériu**, f: according to Strachan (1949: 13), the short dat. of **Ériu** was **Ére** in OIr. However, in F7. 38 *LL* we seem to have a form which is identical with the nom.: **i nHēriu**. See Note in Vol. I, p. 218. *(1 uncertain example; F7)*

d) Long form of the dat. in originally neuter n-stems: **co rréimim (:Ēllim)** (F10. 51). *(1 example; 1 word; F10)*

Short dat. in originally neuter n-stems: **īar troch togairm (:.comlaind, nDomnaill)** (F3. 49). I did not take into consideration **cosin neim (:sōerMidir)** (F8. 63) and **do neim** (F10. 131), as **neim** was not treated consistently as an n-stem even in OIr, and I could not find a single example of ***neimimm** in *DIL*. *(1 example; 1 word; F3 (1)\1)*

3.12 Change in number

A grammatically plural noun is treated as a sing. in **i mBregaib bind** (F9. 21). *(1 example; 1 word; F9)*

3.13 Change in gender (note that when the change in gender is only indicated by the form of the article, this change may be due to the scribe, and not the poet)

a) An OIr neuter noun is treated as masc.

With masc. article: **conice in dind-sa** (F1. 56) (nom. or acc. sg.); **cinged issin slīab** (F5. 9), **darsin lindmuir** (F5. 14) (for gender, see Thur. §300) (both acc. sg.); **in scēl** (F5. 27), **in céim** (F5. 107), **in mind** (F8. 118; F12. 34), **in teidm** (F7. 24) (all nom. sg.).

In F3. 31 **taccomol** is from **int accomol**, which was originally a neuter noun. The new form is the result of the reanalysis of the unit nom. sg. masc. article + noun, so it is definitely masc. here (unless this word is a compound of **to-**).

(1 uncertain and 8 certain examples; 8 words; F1\1, (F3 (1)\1), F5\4, F7\1, F8\1, F12\1)

b) An OIr neuter noun is treated as fem.

(i) With fem. adj.: **ōs\ós Bregmaig (barrglais (:braiss)), (bratrūaid *LL* (:crúaid))** (F7. 30, 54) (later usu. masc.), **co mbūaid bladaig (:sainig)** (F5. 18) (although note that according

to *DIL*, this noun was perhaps earlier ā, f) (all dat.). (Maybe this is not a change in gender, but simply a fem. adj. is used with a masc. consonantal\i-stem in the acc.\dat.--see also p. 49: **4.3**.) *(3 examples; 2 words; F5\1, F7\2)*

(ii) With lenition after the nom. sg.: **Bē Chuille** (F8. 46). *(1 example; F8)*

(iii) Declined as a fem. ā-stem: **cen deochair (:Eochaid)** (F2. 9--see Note in Vol. I, p. 38) (OIr **dechor**, o, n). *(1 example; F2)*

(iv) Maybe also **dī airdi** (F3. 92) (io, n, later f), see FN in Vol. I, p. 70.

(Altogether 1 uncertain and 5 certain examples; 4 (+1) words; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\1, F7\2, F8\1)

c) OIr neuter noun with a masc.\fem. art.: **in mag-sain** (F6. 20 *LL*) (m + f in *IGT* according to *DIL*). *(1 example; F6)*

d) An OIr n, m noun is treated as f: **cen choin cēlig (:slēbib)** (F5. 11) (or again this is the use of the fem. adj. with masc. consonantal stems in the acc.\dat.--see the remark under **b)** **(i)** above). *(1 example; F5)*

e) An OIr fem. noun is treated as masc.

(i) With masc. article: **in cerdd** (F1. 51; F8. 37) (or lenition mark omitted--see **2.29**, pp. 25-27), **in fīr[f]laith** (F10. 10) (fixed by alliteration).

(3 examples; 2 words; F1\1, F8\1, F10\1)

(ii) Qualified by a masc. adj.: **i mBrēfni bladach (:rebach)** (F5. 115) (note that there is a problem with the end-rhyme here; see Note in Vol. I, p. 139); **Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig** (F1. 41) **(:congaib)** (it seems unlikely that the adj. is gen. sg. masc. qualifying **Dé**); **don flaith(*LL*) lánfīal (:dían)** (F6. 90) (not that the rhyme would also work between **déin** and **lánféil**). *(3 examples; 3 words; F1\1, F5\1, F9\1)*

(iii) Adj. not lenited in the nom. sg.: **flaith fīal** (F4. 84) (fixed by alliteration), **flaith cāem** (F6. 47). *(2 examples; 1 word; F4 (1)\1, F6\1)*

(Altogether 8 examples; 4 words; F1\2, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F8\1, F9\1, F10\1)

f) An OIr masc. noun is treated as f: **ropo chūaird chūanna** (F4. 130) (nom. sg.), **oc [C]lūain Iraird** (F6. 159 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 186) (or **Iraird** is the gen. sg. of a proper noun?) (both m, later f).

(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; 1 (+1) words; F4 (2)\1, (F6\1))

3.14 Change in declension (*SNG*: 251: 5.14)

a) Original o-stems treated as ā-stems

Drong (o, m in OIr) has dat. sg. **do druing** (F1. 4); **dechor** (o, n in OIr) has acc. sg. **cen**

deochair (:Eochaid) (F2. 9--see Note in Vol. I, p. 38); **coindelg** (o, [n?] in OIr) has acc. sg. **cuindeilg (:Muindeirgg)** (F4. 69); **fo deóid (:aëóir)** (F8. 47), **(i)na ndíäid (:Īäir)** (F10. 13) and **i ndīaid** (F12. 8) (**dead**, o, n in OIr).

(6 examples; 4 words; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F8\1, F10\1, F12\1)

b) Original consonantal (mostly n-) stems treated as ā-stems or o-stems

The new nom. form is identical with the old gen. form, and the new gen. form is modelled on that of the o-stems or ā-stems.

Examples: **Ébliu** (f, n in OIr), gen. **Ēblinne** (F4. 23) (ā-stem); **Almu** (n in OIr; Hogan, 1910: 29 has gen. **Alman**), gen. **Almaini** (F4. 19) (ā-stem); **Gulbae** (n in OIr), gen. ***cath* Gulbain Guirt** (F4. 99--see Note in Vol. I, p. 98) (o-stem), **Gobniu** (m, n in OIr), nom. **Gobnend** (F8. 34) (o-stem?). *(4 examples; 4 words; F4 (1)\3, F8\1)*

The rhyme in **Colga(i)n (:orgga(i)n)** in F4. 65-66 (gen. of **Colgu**, m, n) indicates that we should read the historical gen. form. See also Note in Vol. I, p. 96.

Concerning *LL* gen. **Flatheman** *versus* **Flathemain** in the other MSS in F1. 15, see Note in Vol. I, p. 14.

Concerning **Frigriu** and **Dáui**, see Words which belong to more than one declension (**3.15**) below.

Note that all those originally n-stem nouns which are used as common nouns have retained their declension in the gen., and most proper nouns have done so, too: **Ethl*end* (:Mend)** (F8. 76), **Alpan (:barand**--imp.) (F3. 77), **Arand (:barand**--*a.*) (F3. 77), **Crūachan (:ūathmar)** (F4. 106), **Cūaland (:.Hēr*end*)** (F4. 52), **Delgthen (:feb)** (F7. 58), **(n)Hērend\-*end* (:rēimend), (:.Cūaland), (-fédem), (:lend), (:trell), (:ndrend), (:trēnṡeng), (:mbarr)** (F4. 48, 52; F5. 80; F6. 96, 136; F10. 118, 140; F12. 60), **Frēmand (:anall)** (F6. 14), **Muman (:dulad), (:curad), (:[curad?]), (:cuman), (:glan)** (F3. 40; F4. 23; F5. 24, 44; F12. 42), **Ethl*end*** (F8. 82), **(n)Alban** (F3. 42; F4. 61), **Hērend\-*end*** (F1. 21; F5. 55; F7. 23; F8. 40), **Muman** (F4. 9).

(28 examples; 9 words; F1\1, F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\7, F5\4, F6\3, F7\2, F8\3, F10\2, F12\2)

c) An orig. io-stem? is declined as a dental stem: **i cath birach Blattened (:dered)** (F6. 56)--nom. sg. **blaitine**, Hogan, 1910: 116: dat. sg. **Blaitiniu**--orig. io?. *(1 example; F6)*

d) The word **rígain** (*DIL*: **rígan, rígain**), ī, later ā, f, is treated as an ā-stem: nom. sg. **in rīgan (:blad)** (F11. 16), **in mōrrīgan (:nglan)** (F11. 30); acc. sg. **in rīgain (:fīrdígail)** (F11. 5 *LL*; or the nom. sg. of an ī-stem used for acc. sg.; see **3.9 a) (ii)**, p. 39). (*SNG*: 247: 5.10). *(3 examples; F11)*

3.15 Words which belong to more than one declension

a) It seems that **ail**, i + k, f (Thur. §320) is declined in two ways in this text: **dond ail** (F1. 14), **do ail (:sain)** (F1. 32) (both dat. sg.), and **ailig** (F1. 48) (acc. sg.?) (unless the first example is the short dat.). *(2 examples of the i-stem decl.; 1 of k; F1)*

b) For the word **tár**, we have acc. sg. **cen táir (:Colmāin)** (F6. 49 *LL*) (ā-stem?) and **cen tār (:Eochocān)** (F6. 131) (o-stem). (Note that *DIL* says that **tár** is o, m, and [ī, f], which must be a misprint, as the forms cited in *DIL* would rather indicate an ā-stem declension.) *(1 example each of both declensions; both in F6)*

c) The noun **éis** is declined as an i-stem in **dar éis/ēis** (F6. 118, 193 *LL*; F12. 46 *R*, 54 *R*) (acc. sg.), **d'éis/ēis** (F1. 2; F7. 46 *LL*; F12. 47 *R*), **dīa éis** (F2. 5; F6. 192 *LL*), **dīa n-éis** (F5. 81) (dat. sg.), and as an ī-stem in **dar ési(*LL*)** (F7. 93) (acc. sg.) and **dīa ēise (:pé)** (F11. 44) (dat. sg.).

(10 examples of the i-stem decl.; F1\1, F2\1, F5\1, F6\3, F7\1, F12\3; 2 of the ī; F7\1, F11\1)

d) **blad**, originally u, n?, is treated as f, ā, in these texts, with one exception:

Acc. sg.: **dīanblaid(*LL*) (:Dīarmait)** (F6. 63--see Note in Vol. I, p. 182), **a blaid (:Muredaig)** (F10. 123); **gīal[l]blaid (:chlīamain)** (F10. 77) (all dir. obj.); **cosin mblaid (:Dumachaib)** (F9. 35); **cen bétblaid (:cétfaid)** (F11. 57).

Gen. sg.: **na blaide (:Comraire)** (F9. 59).

Dat. sg.: **cona degblaid (:Temraig)** (F2. 43); **co mblaid (:derbrāth*air*), (:rogail), (:*Con*galaich), (:Congal*aig*)** (F6. 119, 123; F7. 119 *R*, 135).

Acc.\dat. sg.: **ara roblaid (:foglaig)** (F1. 62).

But: u-stem acc. sg. in **cosin mblad (:mórchosnam)** (F12. 61 *LL*) (or acc. sg. with a non-palatal consonant?--see **3.6 a) (v)-(vi)**, p. 37) (*R* has **blaid : mōrchossair** here).

(12 examples of the ā-stem decl.; F1\1, F2\1, F6\3, F7\2, F9\2, F10\2, F11\1; 1 uncertain one of the u-stem decl.; F12\1 LL)

e) **Temair**, originally an i-stem, is treated as a guttural stem here most of the time.

Acc.: **for Temraig tírig** (F2. 39), **for Temraig tírig (:delbglain)** (F6. 194 *LL*); **Temraig (:selbaig)** (F10. 61) (dir. obj.).

Gen.: **i tír Temrach (nglegrach)** (F5. 100), **ardríg Temrach (:degrach)** (F4. 78).

Dat.: **rīasin Temraig (:degblaid)** (F2. 44).

Acc.\dat. **(for), (i) Temraig (:ergnaid), (:d*er*laig, :ndebaid, :derluig)** (F2. 50; F6. 59; F10. 7, 85), **i tromThemraig (:Cernaig)** (F7. 94).

I have no example of the original OIr acc.\dat. form.

But: i-stem gen. in **Temra (:derna), (:im-rá)** (F1. 24; F10. 110), **Temra\Themra** (F8. 144;

F10. 1).

(11 examples of the guttural decl.; F2\3, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\2, F7\1, F10\3; 4 of the i-stem decl.; F1\1, F8\1, F10\2)

f) Gen. sg. of **dún**:

s-stem gen. (Thur. §280 5): **in dūne** (F4. 133). *(1 example; F4 (2)\1)*

o-stem gen.: **Máel Dúin** and **Duib Dúin** (F2. 19--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39--, 23, 26, 28, 31, 33; F4. 54, 69; F5. 30, 71, 73; F7. 31). *(12 examples; F2\6, F4 (1)\2, F5\3, F7\1)*

g) Frigriu (m, n in OIr) is declined in two ways in these texts. The original, n-stem declension is retained in nom. **Frigriu** (F1. 49, 59), gen. **Frigrend** (F1. 67), **[F]rigrend(*LL*) (:fell)** (F7. 68), and dat. **īar Frigrind** (F2. 1), while the new, o-stem declension is shown in nom. **Frigrend (:ingell, :.airmend)** (F1. 48) and acc. **Frigrend (:-ringned)** (F1. 61--see Note in Vol. I, p. 20).

(5 examples of the n-stem decl.; F1\3, F2\1, F7\1; 2 of the o-stem decl.; F1\2)

h) Dáui (m, k in OIr) is declined in two ways: the older declension is retained in acc. **Duäïch (:cruäich)** (F3. 10), while the newer one can be seen in nom. **Duach** (F4. 15--see Note in Vol. I, p. 91) (o-stem). *(1 example of k; F3 (1); 1 of o; F4 (1))*

i) fáel is declined as an o-stem in gen. pl. **fáel** (F1. 8), and as a dental stem as the second element in the name **Cenn Fáelad**: **Fāelad (:fāemad)** (F2. 20); **Fāelad\Fāelad** (F5. 33; F7. 33; F12. 32, 33).

(5 examples of the dental-stem decl.; F2\1, F5\1, F7\1, F12\2; 1 of the o-stem decl.; F1\1)

j) On the new gen. pl. of **blíadain** and on the o-stem gen. of u-stem nouns, see p. 40: **3.9 b** and **3.10 a**.

3.16 Máel and its compounds

Māel used to be an ā-stem in OIr; however, as it was a proper name for males, the declension changed slowly over the course of time.

a) The form of the gen.:

Monosyllabic: **Māel (:Āed)** (F2. 54), **Crundmaíl (:dublaíd)** (F5. 28), **Māel** (F1. 3; F2. 19--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39--, 31; F5. 76, 110; F6. 118, 124, 137, 163, 182, 200; F7. 117, 124, 127; F12. 47 *R*, 64), **Chrundmāel** (F2. 21), **m*ac* Mel *Sechnaill*** (F6. 133 *LL*).

(20 examples; F1\1, F2\4, F5\3, F6\7, F7\3, F12\2)

Disyllabic: **Maīle (:gaīne)** (F2. 22), **Māele (:daīne)** (F6. 68), **Maīle** (F2. 23), **Máele** (F2. 28), **Māele** (F5. 71). Concerning **Maíle** (*LL* **Mel**) in F2. 33 and **Māel[e]** in F4. 54, see Notes in Vol. I, pp. 40 and 95.

(5 certain and 2 uncertain examples; F2\3 (+1), F5\1, (F4 (1)\1), F6\1)

b) Lenition after the various forms of **Máel**

Lenition is never present after the nom.: **Māel (Coba), (Sech*naill*), (Fathartaig\Fath*a*rdaig)** (F4. 42; F6. 120; F12. 31 *LL*, 45 *R*). In the last two examples, the non-lenited **f** is fixed by alliteration. *(4 examples; F4 (1)\1, F6\1, F12 (2))*

Lenition is present after the gen. in **Māel Choluim** (F1. 3), **Māel Fithrig** (F2. 19) (probably alliterates with **ro fāemad**, where the len. mark is omitted--see 60: **8.4** and the Note in Vol. I, p. 39), **Māel Finniāin áin** (F7. 117) (fixed by alliteration), **Māel (Finné(i)n *LL*) (Fath*a*rdaig), (Fotartaig)** (F7. 124; F12. 47 *R*, 64 *LL*).

(6 examples; F1\1, F2\1, F7\2, F12\2)

Lenition is not present (or not marked) after the gen. in **m*ac* Māel Sechnuill** (F2. 54), **m*ac* Maīle Tuile** (F2. 22). *(2 examples; F2)*

Concerning gen. **Māel S*echnaill*** in F6. 182, see Note in Vol. I, p. 188.

c) Máel with an adj.--this is always masc.

flathius Māel S*echnaill*(*LL*) echmóir (F6. 182), **secht mblīad*na* Māel Finniāin áin** (F7. 117), **m*ac* Māel Mithig mīadaig** (F7. 127). *(3 examples; F6\1, F7\2)*

d) Máel > Mel. It seems that **Máel** as the first element of a personal name became unstressed, lost the second element of its diphthong and was shortened (Thur. §66 + Translators' Notes no. 13). In **m*ac* Mel Dūin** (F2. 33) we seem to be dealing with a scribal slip, as there is one syllable missing in this line--see Note in Vol. I, p. 40. **Mel** is also found in F6. 133 *LL* and in F7. 142 *LL*-see Note in Vol. I, p. 224.

3.17 Masc. ā-stem names

In OIr there were quite a few masculine names which were grammatically ā-stems. However, even in OIr, these names often formed a masc. acc. and occasionally a masc. gen. (Thur. §288). In these texts, we get the following forms:

o-stem gen.: **Congail (:ollgail, :foglaid)** (F4. 56, 58).

The old gen. sg. is used in **m*ac* Congaile** (F7. 25) **(Congal)**, and in **m*ac* Fergaile** (F5. 73) (although note that in the latter example there must be elision between **Fergaile** and **ind** in order to get the correct number of syllables).

No len. after the nom. sg., indicating masc. gender: **Dūngal Cnogba** (F7. 73).

(2 examples of the ā-stem gen.; 2 words; F5\1, F7\1; 2 examples of the o-stem gen.; 2 words; F4 (1))

3.18 An originally masc. o-stem noun ends in a pal. cons. both in the nom. and the gen.: **Nechtain** (F8. 63) (nom.), **Nec[h]tain** (F8. 58) (gen.) (O'Brien, 1973: 223).

4. THE ADJECTIVE

Substantival use

4.1 Subst. adj. + noun (indef. pron.) in the gen. (*SNG*: 252: 6.2)

ermōr neich (F1. 3), **tomsech trebaid** (F1. 46), **óg a ernaig** (F1. 50), **mór ndíne** (F1. 47), **mór ríg** (F6. 5; F7. 2), **dlūthach nglëe (:.Roï)** (F4. 50).

(7 examples; 5 words; F1\4, F4 (1)\1, F6\1, F7\1)

Attributive use

4.2 Dative plural (*SNG*: 252: 6.3)

re demnaib odraib (F8. 48). *(1 example; F8)*

4.3 Fem. adj. used with the acc.\dat. sg. of a masc. consonantal\i-stem (*SNG*: 252: 6.4, and O'Brien, 1954: 346-349, 1958: 102)

la Frigrend foglaig (:roblaid) (F1. 61--see Note in Vol. I, p. 20). For the four other possible examples, see **3.13 b**) and **d**), pp. 42-43. On the declension of Frigriu, see p. 46: **3.15 g**. *(1 certain and 4 uncertain examples; 1 (+2) words; F1\1, (F5\2), (F7\2))*

The masc. form of the adj. is used:

i-stems: **co nglúair ngraigech (:nAilech)** (F1. 57--see Note in Vol. I, p. 19), **forin lochmuir lindamnas (:cass)** (F8. 38) (both acc.); **īar nAmalgaid imard(*LL*) (:garg)** (F12. 14), **don flaith lánfíal (:dían)** (F6. 90 *LL*) (both dat.) (on the gender of **flaith**, see p. 43: **3.13 e**).

s-stems: **dar grūad nglan (:mōrrīgan)** (F11. 29) (acc.), **i mMaig mūad (:slúag) Maisten** (F10. 16) (dat.).

(Altogether 6 examples; 6 words; F1\1, F6\1, F8\1, F10\1, F11\1, F12\1)

4.4 Distinct form of the o\ā-stem adj. in the dat. sg. masc. (*SNG*: 253: 6.5)

do Subni Mind (:find) (F2. 14), **do Chol*mān* Bic** (F6. 46) (see also **iu > i**, p. 21: **2.8**).

(2 examples; 2 words; F2\1, F6\1)

4.5 Masc. nom. pl. form of the adj. replaced by the corresponding fem.\neut. form in o\ā stems (*SNG*: 253: 6.5)

na catha dēdencha dremna (F4. 119) (late OIr **in chatha dédenaig dremuin**).

*(2 examples; 2 words; F4 (1); 1 adj. ends in **-ach**)*

Masc. nom. pl. form retained: **a ngluind gnoäig (:.cruäich)** (F3. 11), **ind ríg rogaig (:.airig)** (F3. 69), **Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig (:congaib)** (F1. 41) (note that in the last

example the adj. qualifies a fem. noun).
(3 rhyming examples; 3 words; F1\1, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1; all adjs. end in ***-ach****)*

4.6 Gen. pl. of i-stem adjectives
a ndrechach ndil (:Feidl*ig*) (F10. 3), **im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle** (F3. 21).
(2 examples; 2 words; F3 (1)\1, F10\1)

Predicative use
4.7 Masc. nom. pl. pred. adj. replaced by its fem.\neut. counterpart in o\ā stems (*SNG*: 253: 6.5)
marba [...] Dīan Cecht *is* Gobnend goba (F8. 33-34), **Brīan Iuchurba is Iuchair and \ [...] \ marba** (F8. 75) (OIr **mairb**). *(2 examples; 1 word; F8)*
The older from is retained in **cruäich (:.gnoäig)** (F3. 12). *(1 example; F3 (1))*
Concerning **mebra**, see FN on p. 283.

4.8 Number agreement between the pred. adj. and the verb\subject (*SNG*: 332: 14.4)
a) Sing. of predic. adj. used with pl. vb. and pl. subject or just a pl. subject: **réil a réimend** (F4. 47) (**réili** would also be possible here with elision), **a ngluind [...] batar infir (:filid)** (F5. 1) (OIr ***inri**). (in the latter example the adj. could refer to both the `deeds' and the people who did them). *(2 examples; 2 words; F4 (1)\1, F5\1)*
b) Pl. form used with a pl. subject\verb in **[no] betis cruäich (:Duäich)** (F3. 12), **marba [...] Dīan Cecht *is* Gobnend goba** (F8. 33-34), **Brīan Iuchurba is Iuchair and \ [...] \ marba** (F8. 75), **bit mebra limsa** (F9. 3) (see FN on p. 283), **marba na dí bantūathig** (F8. 46), **ili a ngluind gnoäig** (F3. 11).
(6 examples; 4 words; F3 (1)\2, F8\3, F9\1)

4.9 Old comparative forms retained (*SNG*: 255: 6.9)
līa (F5. 2) **(il)**, **lugu** (F5. 27) **(becc)**, **ferr** (F1. 26; F11. 31) **(maith)**, **mó** (F4. 5, 9, 79; F5. 109; F11. 49) **(mór)**. *(9 examples; 4 adjs.; F1\1, F4\3, F5\3, F11\2)*

4.10 Comparative with superlative meaning (*SNG*: 257: 6.15)
dune as dánu (F5. 84). *(1 example; F5)*

4.11 Proleptic **de** becomes unstressed after the comparative of an adj. (this is indicated

by the spelling **-te**) (*SNG*: 257: 6.13)

sadbrite in rí (:Lagniu) (F5. 46). *(1 example; F5)*

4.12 Marking of the object of the comparative (*SNG*: 257: 6.16)

a) the cpv. of the adj. is followed by the noun in the dative: **fīru fodlaib (:.Temraig)** (F2. 50); **gairgiu tólaib (:.Eōgain)** (F3. 75); **is mó gessib (:fessin)** (F4. 5); **demni scélaib (:trēnaib)** (F4. 31); **ba mó *gr*esaib (:Bresail)** (F4. 79).

(5 examples; 4 words; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F4\3)

In the following examples it is likely that the dat. is used, although the morphology is not able to show it clearly: **burbbu borbgnīm (:Anbīth**--acc.\dat. sg.) (F4. 96), **mó ce*ch* claind (:C*e*rbaill)** (F11. 49), **is līa turim (:clunid)** (F5. 2), **mó ce*ch* dechraind (:S*echnaill*)** (F5. 109). (See also pp. 36-38: **3.6**.) *(4 examples; 3 words; F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F11\1)*

b) inflected form of **andá-** is used: **andās** (F11. 32 *LL*) (but **indá** in *LU*--see **c**) below). *(1 example; F11)*

c) uninflected **andá** is used: **ferr dún trá trell dīa thoil-seom / andā a guin-seom (:trá)** (F1. 26); **doidngiu in cath / .... andá cech dodaing** (F4. 97).

(2 examples; F1\1, F4 (1)\1)

5. NUMERALS

5.1 Lenition after the numeral adj. (*SNG*: 260-261: 8.3, 8.4; Greene, 1992: 505-510)

a) Historical lenition present (after nom.-acc. masc. **dá**, gen. **dá**, nom.-acc. neut. **trí**)

dā fichet (F5. 78) (nom. or acc.); **ri ré dā fichet** (F2. 4) (gen.); **oc Áth Dā Charnai** (F4. 68) (gen.); **ār dā fichet** (F5. 95) (seems to be fixed by alliteration) (gen.); **trī chōic blīadan** (F7. 121) (nom.) (substantivized numerals were treated as neuters in OIr--Greene, 1992: 501). *(5 examples; 2 num. adjs.; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F7\1)*

b) Historical lenition not present\not marked (after nom.\acc. masc. **dá**, gen. **dá**, nom.-acc. neut. **trí**)

secht ríg dā fichet ríg (F6. 201) (nom.?); **dā coīcait** (F5. 19) (acc.); **ār [...] dā cét** (F5. 95) (gen.); **trī secht mblīadan** (F2. 23), **trī (*secht*), (cóic)** (F2. 24, 52) (nom.), **la trí secht** (F2. 12) (acc.). *(7 examples; 2 num. adjs.; F2\4, F5\2, F6\1)*

c) Non-historical lenition (after nom.\acc. neut. **dá**; nom.\acc. masc. **trí**; gen. masc.\neut. **trí**)

na dā chét (F5. 88) (nom.) (for OIr nas.); **tuc [...] \ trī choícait** (F3. 80) (acc.) (for OIr **coícait**); **fairend trī chét** (F3. 44) (gen.) (for OIr nas.).

(3 examples; 2 num. adjs.; F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\1)

d) In the phrase **ār dā fichet *ocus* dā cét** (F5. 95) (both gen.), historical lenition is marked only in the first case.

5.2 Nasalisation after the numeral adj. (*SNG*: 261-262: 8.3, 8.4, 8.5)

a) Historical nasalisation present (after nom.\acc. neut. **dá**; gen. of **cethair**, **cóic** and **sé**; after **secht, ocht, noí** and **deich**)

dā trīan na nDanar (F4. 94), **dá ndeich** (F7. 85) (nom); **ro marb [...] dā cét** (F5. 104) (acc.); **cind cethri ndíni** (F2. 1), **ri ré cethri mblīadan** (F2. 6); **re ré *cóic* mblīadan** (F2. 46), **rē chōic mblīadan** (F7. 6 *LL*) (*cf. R* **rē cōic blīad*an***); **dā sé mblīadan** (F6. 130 *LL*), **remes *sé* mblīadan** (F6. 170 *LL*) (gen.); ***secht*\secht mblīadna** (F5. 13; F6. 23, 30, 59, 122, 187; F7. 109, 117, 125) (nom.), **secht mblīadna** (F7. 132) (acc.), **ré *secht* mblīadan** (F2. 33) (gen.); ***ocht*\ocht (mblīadna *LL*), (mblīadna)** (F6. 49; F7. 46 *LL*, 77 *LL*, 81) (nom.); **noí mblīadn*a*** (F2. 41) (nom.), **fri ré *noí* mblīadan** (F2. 35) (gen.); **deich*deich* mblīadna** (F6. 113; F7. 66) (nom.).

(28 examples; 8 num. adjs.; F2\6, F4\(1)\1, F5\2, F6\9, F7\10)

b) Historical nasalisation absent\not marked (after nom.\acc. neut. **dá**; after **secht**)

dā deich (F7. 102 *R*) (nom.); **secht [m]blīadna** (F6. 134) (probably a scribal slip; see the examples above). *(2 examples; F6\1, F7\1)*

c) Lenition instead of nasalisation: note the two examples in **5.1 c)** above.

5.3 Gender distinction in the numeral adjective (*SNG*: 260-261: 8.3, 8.4, 8.5)

The feminine form of the numeral adjective is used in **dī airdi** (F3. 92--see Note in Vol. I, p. 64), **dī\dí blīadain** (F6. 90 *LL*, 117, 126 *LL*, 189 *LL*, 195; F7. 141 *LL*), **na dí bantūathig** (F8. 46), **dí mnaí** (F8. 109) (nom.); **nīro chaith acht dí oēnblīadain** (F7. 128 *LL*) (acc.); **teōra blīadna** (F2. 43) (nom.), **teōra blīadnaib** (F2. 40) (dat.).

(12 examples; 2 num. adjs.; F2\2, F3 (2)\1, F6\5, F7\2, F8\2)

The masc. form of the adj. is used with a fem. noun in **dā bliadain** (F7. 49), **trī blīadna** (F6. 53, 103, 138) (nom.); ***cethri*\cethri blīadna** (F6. 174; F7. 18 *LL*; F10. 114) (nom.), **ro chaith *cethri* ōenblīadna** (F6. 154 *LL*) (acc.), **ri ré cethri mblīadan fic[h]et** (F2. 6) (gen.). (Disyllabic ***cethri*** in abbreviated forms is verified by the syllable count.)

(9 examples; 3 num. adjs.; F2\1, F6\5, F7\2, F10\1)

In ***teōra* blīadna** (F7. 26 *LL*) the syllable count would be correct both with **trí** or **teóra**; provided that **blīadna** and not **blīadain** is meant here (see also the Note in Vol. I, p. 218). Concerning **dā blīadain** (F7. 97 *LL*), see Note in Vol. I, p. 220.

5.4 Dat. of the numeral adjective

Concerning **teōra blīadnaib** (F2. 40), see Note in Vol. I, p. 41.

5.5 Generalisation of **cethri** (acc. masc. of **cethair**) as the sole form of the num. adj. (*SNG*: 261: 8.5)

cethri meic (F9. 49) (nom. m), **cethri blīadna** (F10. 114) (nom. f, OIr **cethéora**), **cind cethri ndíni** (F2. 1) (gen. n, OIr ***cethre**--Greene, 1992: 508), **ri ré cethri mblīadan fic[h]et** (F2. 6) (gen. f, OIr **cethéora**).

(4 examples; F2\2, F9\1, F10\1)

5.6 OIr nom. dual article, **in**, replaced by the fem.\neut. nom. pl. form (*SNG*: 260: 8.3)

na dā chét (F5. 88) (n in OIr), **marba na dí bantūathig** (F8. 46) (f).

(2 examples; F5\1, F8\1)

5.7 Proliferation of multiplicative numerals (Greene: 1992: 522, *SNG*: 262: 8.6)

dá dó (F2. 28), **dā sé mblīadan** (F6. 130), **dá\dā secht** (F2. 14, 32), **dá ndeich sé blīadna** (F7. 85), **trī secht mblīadan** (F2. 23), **trī (*secht*), (cóic)** (F2. 24, 52), **la trí secht** (F2. 12), ***cethri* deich** (F6. 195), **la sé deich** (F3. 56), ***secht* cóic** (F2. 25).

After multiplicative numerals consisting of two words the noun is in the gen. pl. (F6. 130, F2. 23). *(12 examples; F2\8, F3 (1)\1, F6\2, F7\1)*

5.8 Number after the numeral adjective (*SNG*: 262: 8.7)

a) After **dá\dí**

The distinctive dual form is used: **dā fichet** (F5. 78), **dā fichet** (F6. 201), **dí mnaí (:goí)** (F8. 109) (all nom.); **dí ōenblīadain (:mīadaig)** (F7. 128 *LL*) (acc.) (unless this is nom. used for acc.). *(1 uncertain (rhyming) and 3 certain (1 rhyming, 2 non-rhyming) examples; 3 words; F5\1, F6\1, F7\1, F8\1)*

The sg. is used in **dā ardrí** (F7. 23 *LL*) (*cf. R* **dā ardrīg**). *(1 example; F7)*

In the following nouns the dual agrees either with the corresponding sg. or pl. form, so one can not be sure as to which one is used: **dā mac (:alt)** (F4. 74), **dā trīan (:cīan)** (F4. 94), **na dā chét (:bét)** (F5. 88) (both nom.), **dā cét** (F5. 104) (acc.) (o, n, in OIr; nom.\acc. sg.\pl.\dual identical); **na dí bantūathig (:dil)** (F8. 46) (nom.) (i-stem; nom. sg.\dual identical); **dā coīcait** (F5. 19) (nom.) (**cóeca**, t; nom. pl.\dual indentical); **dā fichet** (F2. 4; F5. 95) (gen.) (**fiche**, t; gen. sg.\pl.\dual identical); **dā rīg (:fír)** (F5. 56) (acc.) (**rí**, g; acc. sg.\dual identical). *(9 examples; 7 words; F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\5, F8\1)*

In **dī airdi (:chaidchi**--imp.) (F3. 92) (io, n, later f, nom.) one can not be certain which number is used because of the falling together of final unstressed vowels. See also the FN in Vol. I, p. 70.

As far as verbal forms are concerned, a sg. form is used in **i rrubad dā trīan na nDanar** (F4. 94), but the plural is used in **i torcratar dā mac Domnaill** (F4. 74).

b) After the other numerals, the pl. is used in the non-abbreviated forms or in those cases where the form can be verified by the syllable count in the following examples: **trí dée** (F8. 74), **na trī Rūadchind (:mbūadching)** (F10. 28), ***cethri*\cethri blīadna (:rīagla, :chīanbla)** (F6. 174; F10. 114), ***cethri* ríg** (F6. 79), **cóic certblīadna (:īarma)** (F6. 78), **sé (mís\mīs), (rīg)** (F2. 21, 22, 55), **secht ríg (:mbríg)** (F4. 34), ***secht* mís** (F5. 13), **secht ríg** (F6. 201), **noí mblīadna** (F2. 41), **teōra blīadna** (F2. 43) (all nom.); **trī uí (:bruí)** (F5. 122), ***cethri* ōenblīadna (:dīamra)** (F6. 154 *LL*), ***sé* blīadna (:īarla)** (F6. 148) (acc.), **cethri mblīadan (:fialglan)** (F2. 6), ***cóic* mblīadan** (F2. 46), ***secht* mblīadan (:gīallad)** (F2. 33),

noí* mblīad*a*n (:dīanglan)** (F2. 35) (gen.); **do chōīc cōicedaib** (F12. 60), **sé blīadnaib (:īarair)** (F2. 16), **teōra blīad*n*aib (:rīarglain)** (F2. 40), **secht cétaib** (F5. 43), **deich cétaib (:sétaib)** (F3. 65) (dat.); **secht*sé*\trī\deich*cethri**cóic**sé* (m)blīad*na (F6. 30, 87, 103, 113; F7. 14, 18, 30, 54, 85, 90, 97--see Note in Vol. I, p. 220) (nom.) (with the nom. sg. form, we would not get the required elision).
(37 examples; 7 words; F2\11, F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\3, F6\10, F7\7, F8\1, F10\2, F12\1)
In **cét** the nom. sg. and pl. were identical in OIr: ***secht* cét** (F3. 37).
In **fiche** and **cét** the gen. sg. and pl. were identical in both Old and Middle Irish (F3. 44; F4. 62; F5. 108); and in **cethri ndíni** (F2. 1) and **for cóic míli (:síni)** (F3. 68) one can not tell whether the noun is the sg. or the pl. which is used here because of the confusion of final unstressed vowels. *(6 examples; 4 words; F2\1, F3 (1)\3, F4 (1)\1, F5\1)*
The noun **trī choícait** (F3. 80) might be nom. used for acc.; however, *SNG* (247: 5.11) does not list any example of this phenomenon in dental stems. Maybe it would be better to take this as acc. sg. used for acc. pl. after **trī**. *(1 example; F3 (2))*
Concerning ***teōra* blīadna** (F7. 26 *LL*), see the remark in **5.3** (p. 53) above.

5.9 Ōenocht is a noun meaning 'one octad of', and is therefore followed by the gen. pl. of the noun (F2. 11). Note that it nasalises. On **ōenocht** in F2. 13, see Note in Vol. I, p. 39.

5.10 Multiplicatives
Historical form: **fa dí** (F2. 7) (Greene: 1992: 521). *(1 example; F2)*
Non-historical form: **fa dó** (F6. 53 *LL*), **fá(*LL*)\fa(*LL*) dó** (F7. 61, 74).
(3 examples; F6\1, F7\2)

6. THE ARTICLE

6.1 Disappearance of the neuter article (*SNG*: 258: 7.1, 7.2)--see 34: **3.4**, and p. 42: **3.13 a**. On **a n-amm** (F1. 45), see Note in Vol. I, p. 18.

6.2 Nom. pl. masc. art. **(in)** replaced by the corresponding fem.\neut. form (*SNG*: 258: 7.4)

***ocus* na Gaill** (F5. 91); **na ríg aile** (F2. 56); **na catha dēdencha** (F4. 119); **na raind** (F7. 77 *LL*); **na trī Rūadchind** (F10. 28).

(5 examples; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F7\1, F10\1)

Older form retained: **in Gaill** (F5. 69) and **ind ríg** (F3. 69).

(2 examples; F3 (2)\1, F5\1)

6.3 Loss of the **-b** dat. pl. ending of the article (*SNG*: 259: 7.5)

isna slēbib (F5. 12), **dona trēnaib** (F4. 32), **ocna Dumachaib** (F9. 36).

(3 examples; F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F9\1)

6.4 Confusion of **-nn** and **-nd**; reduction of **-nd\-nn** to **-n** (*SNG*: 259: 7.7)

a) -nd: **ind (inis), (Hēriu)** (F1. 38; F5. 17) (nom. sg. f); **ind (eire), (orddain), (ainig), (úabair), (lacha), (lomma)** (F1. 31; F2. 31, 52; F3. 73; F4. 137; F8. 44), **ind *for*laind** (F5. 73) (gen. sg. m); **dond (ail), (fecht), (ór)** (F1. 14, 22; F8. 95, 99), **isind imguin** (F4. 136), **īarsind ulc-sin** (F1. 22), **ōsind lind(-sea)** (F1. 40; F8. 23) (dat. sg.).

(17 examples; F1\6, F2\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (2)\2, F5\2, F8\4)

b) -nn: **inn (áig), (óir)** (F8. 71; F9. 63) (gen. sg. m); ***'con*n Inbiur** (F9. 32) (dat. sg. m, earlier n); **inn athach** (F6. 15) (nom. sg. f). *(4 examples; F6\1, F8\1, F9\2)*

c) -n for **-nd** (*SNG*: 259: 7.7): **in (raith), (ríg), (ardríg)** (F6. 118; F11. 13; F12. 4 *LL*), ***cath* in Oscair** (F4. 55) (acc.\dat.: **cath aile i nOscur**--F3. 85) (all gen. sg. m); **don (flaith), (ríg), (ingin)** (F6. 90; F7. 10; F8. 106) (dat. sg.); **in rīgan** (F11. 16) (nom. sg. f).

(8 examples; F4 (1)\1, F6\2, F7\1, F8\1, F11\2, F12\1)

d) -n for **-n n-** or for **-nd**: **'sin alt** (F6. 75 *LL*) for OIr **isin n-** or **isind**. (*Cf. R* **'sinn all**, which could stand for **'sin n-all** or **'sind all**). *(1 example; F6)*

e) -nn for **-n n-** or for **-nd**: **cosinn ollgail** (F4. 55) (dat. or acc. used for dat.); **'si*n*n ōenmís** (F5. 46) (dat. or acc.). *(2 examples; F4 (1)\1, F5)*

f) In **in ardflaith** (F6. 198 *LL*) (cf. *R*) the article stands either for **ind**, f, or for **int**, m;

R has **int**. On the gender of **flaith**, see p. 43: **3.13 e.** *(1 example; F6)*

6.5 The use of the def. art. with a proper noun or a sobriquet

in Dagda (F1. 24, 33, 44), **in Glūndub Nīall** (F2. 62), **int Āed cētna** (F5. 61), **in cáem Īrgalach** (F7. 44) (unless **cáem** is the subst. adj.), **in Conchob*or* Abratrūad** (F10. 30), **in Cond** (F10. 74), **int Eocho** (F10. 124) (nom.); **in ṁBanba(*LL*)** (F6. 58), **lasin Conall ṅGuthbind** (F7. 15), **lasin Conall ṅgērglicc** (F7. 19 *R*), **in nĀed** (F11. 52) (acc.); ***cath* in Oscair** (F4. 55) (gen.); **don Dagda** (F1. 16), **rīasin Temraig** (F2. 44), **[o]*con* Dathi** (F3. 33--see Note in Vol. I, p. 62) (if this is the place-name), **assin Taltin** (F5. 79) (dat.).

(16 certain and 2 uncertain examples; F1\4, F2\2, (F3 (1)\1), F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F6\1, F7\2 (+1), F10\3, F11\1)

6.6 Preposition + abbreviated form of the article, **-s'** (*SNG*: 259: 7.8)

ros tenid (F4. 134). *(1 example; F4 (2))*

6.7 Concerning **forin** *vs.* **forsin**, see p. 68: **9.7**.

7. THE ADVERB

7.1 Adverbs from adjectives (*SNG*: 263: 9.1)

a) Adjectives used adverbially without **co**: **dīan** (F12. 48 *R*), **nī *terc* torcaib** (F2. 32), **derb** (F1. 5; F2. 63), **trebar** (F5. 66), **réil** (F2. 34), **rotrén** (F5. 130) (or subst. adj.), **cáem** (F4. 100) (or gen. pl. attrib. adj.).

(6 certain + 2 uncertain examples; 5 (+2) words; F1\1, F2\3, (F4 (1)\1), F5\1 (+1), F12\1)

b) Used with **co**: **co cummair comse** (F9. 67) (note that the second **co** is omitted between **cummair** and **comse**), **co hergnaid** (F2. 44), **co demin** (F6. 65).

(3 examples; 3 words; F2\1, F6\1, F9\1)

c) Used with **do**: **do léir** (F5. 93). *(1 example; F5)*

7.2 Prefixed **mad-** (*SNG*: 263: 9.3)

mad cert cin (F10. 21) (Knott, 1932: 272-274), and maybe **mad-ngīūil** (F1. 67)--although note that *SNG* has no example of **mad** + nas. (*BB, Re* and *M* have **mag-nguil** here).

(1 certain and 1 uncertain example; (F1\1), F10\1)

7.3 MIr form of **samlaid** (*SNG*: 235: 3.22)

boí amlaid (F5. 13). This form arose as a result of the reanalysis of the unstressed-stressed unit **is samlaid** as **is amlaid** (*ibid*).

7.4 For the lenition of the initial consonant of an adverb, see p. 29: **2.29 II j**.

Adverbs of Negation

7.5 MIr form of **nícon** (*SNG*: 280: 11.7)

a) With **-oc-**: **nocorbo** (F4. 126), **nocorb** (F4. 134). *(2 examples; F4 (2))*

b) With **-ach-**: **nachorb(*LL*)** (F6. 198). *(1 example; F6)*

c) On **nocho** (F10. 36), see FN in Vol. I, p. 298.

8. THE PRONOUN

The Infixed Pronoun

8.1 Sg. 3 masc. (*SNG*: 265-267: 10.6)

a) Non-dental forms

(i) Non-syllabic form: **no, ro\ra, do-, fo-** + nasalisation: **ro (nglen-ón), (ndorchaig), (mbí)** (F1. 65; F6. 104; F10. 136), **(co), (nōco *R*) ro (ndedaig), (n-ergab), (ndall), (n-indarb), (mbí)** (F5. 130; F6. 24, 128, 158; F10. 72), **fo-rrācsat** (F6. 67).

Note that the nasalisation can not be seen in **(co)ro marb** (F6. 44, 51, 155 *LL*; F7. 44 *LL*), **ro marb(*LL*)** (F6. 119; F7. 63), **ra scar(*LL*)** (F6. 186), and **do-rimmart** (F3. 75) (this line makes more sense with an infixed pronoun).

(1 uncertain and 16 certain examples; F1\1, (F3 (2)\1), F5\1, F6\10, F7\2, F10\2)

Concerning the infixed pronoun in **ní(*n*)ro n-ūair acht ōenblīadain** (F6. 160 *LL*), see Note in Vol. I, p. 186.

(ii) Non-syllabic form: **-s**: **ros cacht** (F5. 45)--probably refers to a masc. noun; see Note in Vol. I, p. 134. *(1 example; F5)*

(iii) Syllabic form in a vowel: **-a** after **co^{n}**: **cona fūaratar** (F1. 22--see Note in Vol. I, p. 15) (originally from the sg. 3 fem.\pl. form **conda**) *(1 example; F1)*

b) Dental forms

(i) Non-syllabic form: **-d** after **ro, do-** and **fo-**: **rod n- (anacht), (erca), (attacht)** (F1. 60; F10. 138; F11. 16), **rod (lēni), (c(i)úir), (marb)** (F3 . 26--refers to **chath** in F3. 25; F5. 30; F7. 80 *LL*, 96 *LL*; F10. 132), **fod-rorraich** (F10. 112), **dīarod gon** (F8. 127) (nas. omitted; unless this is the relative marker--see remark below), **dod-rat** (F7. 84 *LL*) (could be rel.); **rod mbí** (F10. 52), **corod caith** (F10. 106), **rod marb ([...] \ Dondchad)** (F6. 143; F7. 124 *LL*) (last 3 examples not rel.).

(15 examples; F1\1, F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F7\4, F8\1, F10\5, F11\1)

In **ó Manist*ir* rod mór Diä** (F5. 137) I take **-d** to be the relative marker (*SNG*: 288: 11.36), because a fem. infixed pronoun would be needed to refer to **Manist*ir***.

(1 example; F5)

(ii) Syllabic dental form: **-id** after **co**: **conid romarb (:rogarb)** (F10. 64).

(1 example; F10)

8.2 Sg. 3 fem.

a) Non-dental forms

Non-syllabic form: **-s** after **ro**: **coros derluig** (F10. 86), **ros gab** (F12. 51 *LL*, 65 *LL*), **ros gab** (F12. 43--rel.), **dīaros bréc** (F8. 84). *(5 examples; F8\1, F10\1, F12\3)*

b) Dental forms

(i) -da after **ro**: **roda(*LL*) sāmsubaig** (F11. 26) (rel.). *(1 example; F11)*

(ii) -das after **ro**: **rodas be*n*nach** (F11. 21 *LU*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 315).

(1 example; F11)

8.3 Pl. 3

a) Non-dental forms

(i) Non-syllabic form: **-s** after **ro, no** and **do-**: **ros (marb), (cacht), (túir), (ding)** (F3. 83; F5. 62, 66; F7. 24; F9. 60), **dos-comart** (F4. 100), **rí Dáil Araide nos othrad** (F5. 68), **ros foīd** (F2. 68--rel.), **iss é dos-róna** (F5. 138--rel.).

(9 examples; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\4, F7\1, F9\1)

(ii) Syllabic form beginning in a vowel: **-as\-os** with **co** and **nách**: **conos tuc** (F5. 85), **connāchas*con*nāchas (tarddus), (clunid)** (F2. 64; F5. 2) (OIr **connácha**).

(3 examples; F2\1, F5\2)

b) Dental forms

(i) -da after **do-**: **feib doda-rair[*n*]gert** (F11. 54 *LU*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 317) (rel.) (prob. refers to **clanna** in l. 56). *(1 example; F11)*

(ii) -das after **ro**: **rodas (brōena), (cinne), (bruí)** (F4. 43--see Note in Vol. I, p. 94; F4. 84; F5. 122). *(3 examples; F4 (1)\2, F5\1)*

8.4 Petrified neuter infixed pronoun (*SNG*: 265: 10.4; 284: 11.23)

a) Class B (**t** + len.): **at-rullai** (F4. 87), **at-chūala** (F4. 129), **it-ib(*LL*)** (F6. 31), **at-berat** (F10. 17--proleptic or petrified); but **as-berthar** (F1. 37) and **as-bert** (F1. 31). (Note that **at-reig** and **at-bath** already had the **-t** in OIr.)

*(1 uncertain and 3 certain examples of petrified **-t**; F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F6\1, (F10\1); 2 examples of **-s**; F1)*

b) Class A (shown by lenition after **do-, ní, no,** and **ro**):

do-chūaid (F5. 41, 75, 109), **do-chūaid(*LL*)\do-chōid(*LL*)** (F6. 107; F12. 49), **do-thu[i]t(im)** (F5. 123);

nī\ní (cheil), (chlune) (chél), (fogbaim) (F1. 6, 44; F9. 25; F10. 20);

no (figed), (chanad) (F1. 8; F5. 27);

ro (chetaig), (thrīall), (thogal), (chacht), (chossain), (chaith), (chrechaig), (thathaim), (thecht), (chren) (F1. 18; F2. 54; F5. 24, 80, 81, 86; F6. 154 *LL*, 179; F7. 132; F10. 67, 98; F11. 3), **ro-chlune** (F5. 95), **ra (chobair), (chroch)** (F5. 55; F10. 87), **ro (sechnus), (síni), (fuc), (sainig), (sudig), (folaig), (ro feith--x2), (selbaig)** (F2. 63; F3. 66; F5. 7, 18, 56, 61; F6. 50 *LL*, 196 *LL*; F10. 62), **ro thascair** (F6. 71 *LL*--see FN in Vol. I, p. 194), **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135) (note that in OIr this construction would take a len. rel. clause--Quin, 1975: 110).

Note that in many cases the len. could indicate a leniting relative clause. Lenition is fixed by alliteration in F6. 196 *LL*; lenition ruins alliteration in F3. 66, F5. 18 and F10. 62; and concerning alliteration in F1. 8, see Vol. I, p. 13.

(38 examples of lenition; F1\4, F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F5\16, F6\6, F7\1, F9\1, F10\5, F11\1, F12\1)

No lenition: **nāro fubthad** (F2. 27), **ro fāemad** (F2. 19), **nī\ní (tréic), (fil), (fitir)** (F1. 68, 69; F2. 68), **ūair ro crád ro cáin** (F10. 99--x2; see FN in Vol. I, p. 301). In F2. 19, len. would be required by alliteration (see Note in Vol. I, p. 29), and in F1. 69 by *fidrad freccomail*.

(5 certain and 2 uncertain examples; F1\2, F2\3, (F10\2))

c) With the passive: **nī tharmaltad** (F11. 7 *LL*), **ro fecht** (F1. 12).

(2 examples; 2 verbs; F1\1, F11\1)

The Independent Pronoun

8.5 Survival of **ed** (*SNG*: 269: 10.13)

a) (copula) + pronoun + relative verb: **ed as-bert** (F1. 31), **ed ad-fédem** (F5. 79), **iss ed ro feith** (F6. 196). *(3 examples; F1\1, F5\1, F6\1)*

When the independent pronoun refers to a male person in such a construction, then it is always masc. **é** (F5. 138; F6. 91; F10. 140; F12. 6) (or **sé** in F5. 138), **é(*LL*)** (F12. 59). *(5 examples; F5\1, F6\1, F10\1, F12\2)*

b) Copula + pronoun + noun: **corop ed a ainm** (F1. 34) (n in OIr; later m); **is é lín** (F6. 204 *LL*) (**lín**, n + m already in OIr--Thur. §309).

*(1 example of **ed**; F1; 1 of **é**; F6)*

8.6 Pl. 3 (*SNG*: 273: 10.20)

a) Old form: **roptar é a n-anmand** (F4. 76). *(1 example; F4 (1))*

b) New form: **is sīat sein** or **iss īat sein** (F8. 151) (note that **is sīat** will give us

alliteration, while **iss īat** will not; but this line has to be emended, and the suggested emendation will also give us alliteration--see Note in Vol. I, p. 255). *(1 example; F8)*

8.7 Forms with and without **s** (*SNG*: 273-274: 10.20)

a) Forms without **s**: **(corop) ed** (F1. 31, 34; F5. 79), **iss ed ro feith** (F6. 196) (probably **ed** because of the alliteration) (n), **(rop), (cīarbo) é (féin)** (F5. 81; F6. 91; F10. 140; F11. 39 *LL*), **is é** (F6. 204 *LL*; F12. 6, 59 *LL*) (m), **roptar é** (F4. 76) (pl.). *(4 examples of **ed**; F1\2, F5\1, F6\1; 7 examples of é--sg. 3 masc.; F5\1, F6\2, F10\1, F11\1, F12\2; 1 example of é--pl. 3; F4 (1)\1)*

b) Word division ambiguous: **(i)ss é** (F5. 138), **is sīat** (F8. 151) (see the remark concerning alliteration in **8.6** above); **is sí** (F11. 57 *LL*) (*cf. LU* ( )**s í**, where the beginning of the line is lost in a rent) (f)--although **sí** would give alliteration with **seo**, still, we already have this between **bétblaid** and **mbrath**. *(3 examples; F5\1, F8\1, F11\1)*

The Possessive Pronoun

8.8 Lengthening of the 3rd sg. poss. pron. after a preposition (*SNG*: 274-275: 10.21) **'má** (F1. 61) (but **'ma** in F8. 83). *(1 example; F1)*

The Demonstrative Pronoun

8.9 Substantivised demonstratives (*SNG*: 275-276: 10.24)

a) OIr **sin\sin** is retained in F1. 57, F2. 37, F12. 25, 29, 34, 35, 37 and F12. 43 (rhyming with **Casil** in the last example).

(1 rhyming and 7 non-rhyming examples; F1\1, F2\1, F12\6)

b) OIr **sin** replaced by other forms

(i) sein: **īarmothá sein (:eōlaig)** (F7. 143 *LL*--maybe we should follow *R* and read **sain**); **is sīat sein (:ēstid)** (F8. 151) (or maybe we should read **sin** here? See FN on p. 117); **di sein** (F1. 67); **īar sein** (F5. 15); **do sein** (F5. 83); **ō sein(*LL*) (il)le** (F6. 19); **īar sein** (F12. 22 *LL*). *(2 rhyming and 5 non-rhyming examples; F1\1, F5\2, F6\1, F7\1, F8\1, F12\1)*

(ii) sain: **lat sain(*LL*) (:chethair)** (F6. 173) (*cf. R* **sin**); **ri(*LL*) sain (:Bregmaig)** (F7. 65); **īar samain sain (:Balcbēmnig)** (F8. 27); **īar sain (:Labraid)** (F8. 137); **do sain (:ail)** (F1. 32); **īar sain (:Fot[h]artaig)** (F12. 63 *LL*), **īar sain** (F3. 2); **sain sluind** (F7. 109); **ā sain** (F9. 67).

(6 rhyming and 3 non-rhyming examples; F1\1, F3 (1)\1, F6\1, F7\2, F8\2, F9\1, F12\1)

(iii) sen: **īar sen (:hAmargen)** (F8. 147--see Note in Vol. I, p. 255); **ar sen (:Fergen)** (F9.

13). *(2 rhyming examples; F8\1, F9\1)*

8.10 Forms of the demonstrative pronoun (*SNG*: 275-276: 10.24)

a) The quality of the **s** in OIr **sin** is assmiliated to that of the previous consonant: **dond fecht-sain (:.luc[h]t-sin)** (F1. 22), **in mag-sain** (F6. 20 *LL*).

(2 examples; F1\1, F6\1)

b) sin is still used after a non-palatal cons.: **in luc[h]t-sin (:.fecht-sain)** (F1. 21) and in **in marb-sin** (F1. 27). *(2 examples; F1)*

On **ïarsind ulc-sin** (F1. 22), see Note in Vol. I, p. 15.

Anaphoric Pronouns

8.11 A neuter anaphoric pron., **ón**, refers to a masc. inf. pron. (*SNG*: 275: 10.22)

gním ro nglen-ón (:medón) (F1. 65). *(1 example; F1)*

8.12 Note that in **cen sodain** (F3. 57), the acc. sg. neut. form of **suide** is still used. *(1 example; F3 (1))*

The Indefinite Pronoun

8.13 The confusion of the indefinite pron. **cía** with the conj. **cía** is shown by the lenition in **cía thois** (F10. 111) (`whatever you may swear'). *(1 example; F10)*

The Suffixed Pronoun

8.14 Presence of suffixed pronouns

cachtsus (F11. 5) = pret. sg. 3 of **cachtaid** + suff. pron. sg. 3 fem. (proleptic) (`subjugated her'); **rādsis ris** (F11. 17 *LL*) (fem.) (`she told him'--should be masc.). In the second case the suffixed pronoun seems to be meaningless. Breatnach, 1977: 90-91 notes that "in some of the exx. with the suffixed pronoun the pronoun seems to perform no function at all since an adverb or conjugated preposition expressing direction is found with each verbal form". Another possibility may be that here the fem. suffixed pronoun is generalised irrespective of gender (similarly to the usage in the infixed pronoun--see *SNG*: 266: 10.6 and FN on F5. 45, Vol. I, p. 134). (See also **is > ius, 2.23**, p. 23.)

(2 examples; F11)

9. THE PREPOSITION

9.1 Dental and non-dental forms in the sg. 3 fem. and pl. 3 of some prepositional pronouns (*SNG*: 325: 13.1)

Non-dental forms: **forro** (F5. 93), **foraib** (F3. 82) (**for**).

(2 examples; 1 prep.; F3 (2)\1, F5\1)

Dental forms: *no example*.

9.2 Palatal and non-palatal forms in the pl. 1 of prepositional pronouns (*SNG*: 325: 13.1)

Non-palatal forms: **lend (:Hēr*end*)** (F6. 95 *LL*) (**la**), **dún** (F1. 26) (**do**).

(2 examples; 2 preps.; F1\1, F6\1)

Palatal forms: **lind (:ḟoltḟind**--gen. sg. m) (F8. 55) (**la**). *(1 example; F8)*

9.3 Lenition of the initial consonant of a preposition or prepositional pronoun (*SNG*: 325: 13.1)

See the sections on **ar** and **for, fri**, and **trí** below (**9.7, 9.12, 9.23**--pp. 68, 69, 72).

9.4 Dat. used for acc. (*SNG*: 239: 5.1)

a) Certain cases (shown by the form of the noun or by lenition)

cen: **cen binib (:Midir)** (F8. 114).

co^{h}: **co clannaib** (F6. 18).

fri: **re sé blīadnaib (:īarair)** (F2. 16--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39), **ra clannaib** (F6. 19) (for **la**), **re demnaib** (F8. 48) (for **la**).

im: **im chath Chind chrūaid** (F3. 21), **imma sniïb (:diïb)** (F5. 103).

la: **la Lagnib (: -ib)** (F6. 32), **la maccaib** (F9. 46).

On **(im) mīl Eūr(o)pa ule** (F5. 22), see Note in Vol. I, p. 132.

(9 examples; 5 preps.; F2\1, F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\3, F8\2, F9\1)

b) In the following examples, there is a slight possibility that the mark of nasalisation was omitted next to a vowel (see also 30: **2.30 c**).

co^{h}: **co Grellaig Elte** (F5. 75), **co Snám Aignech** (F5. 87), **co hamsir Ech*ach*** (F10. 4).

fri: **re Echaid Echcend** (F9. 38) (for **la**).

la: **la cath Átha Sīge** (F4. 22), **la síl Eōgain** (F5. 120), **la Eochaid Iúil** (F8. 136), **la hĒb*er* imślán** (F8. 146), **la Tūaith Amrais** (F10. 73).

(9 examples; 3 preps.; F4\1, F5\3, F8\2, F9\1, F10\2)

c) In the following cases, the nasalisation may have been omitted after a nasal or between two consonants.

cen: **cen brath brīathar goä** (F3. 7), **cen brath bró[i]n** (F10. 43).

co^{h}: **co horgain Arad** (F5. 90).

la: **la Māel Dūin** (F4. 69), **la Conall Grant**(*LL*) (F6. 76), **la Conall glē** (F7. 51 *LL*), **la slūag Gall** (F7. 115 *LL*), **la Bennān bāeth** (F8. 108), **la Neptúir Derg** (F8. 112), **la Mac Grēne** (F8. 122), **la hEōgan Inbir** (F8. 134), **la Hērimōn án** (F8. 145).

tar, dar: **dar éis Domnaill** (F6. 193 *LL*).

On **im gērma(i)g Gabrá(i)n (:tērnam)** (F5. 48), see Note in Vol. I, p. 134.

(13 examples; 4 preps.; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F6\2, F7\2, F8\4, F10\1)

d) Examples of the acc. (shown by the form of the noun; or nasalisation; or the lack of lenition)

cen: **cen sodain** (F3. 57), **cen chīsu (:Ísu)** (F4. 107), **cen tige (:Mide)** (F6. 178); **cen brinda mbalc** (F10. 91), **cen bétblaid mbrath** (F11. 57); **cen choin cēlig** (F5. 11), **cen aichnius cuir** (F5. 40), **cen chacht cned** (F10. 81), **cen chlaind ceirt** (F11. 31).

co^{h}: **co firu (:finnu)** (F5. 83), **co Slīab Betha** (F5. 92) (with nas. omitted--see also p. 30: **2.30 c**); **co Bondammair mbechda** (F5. 57); **co mnaī Corrgind** (F1. 17), **co Carn cāem Corná(i)n** (F5. 47), **cosin cath** (F6. 188; F7. 125 *LL*).

eter: **iter**(*LL*) **trocha (:Chlōenlocha)** (F6. 35).

fri: **frīa mórmaccu (:tnú)** (F10. 8); **fri Fergna fairend** (F3. 83) (fixed by alliteration), **ra dered flatha** (F6. 180).

imm: **im īath nArad** (F5. 24), **im gním (ngretha), (ngaile *LL*)** (F5. 91; F11. 55); **im Māel Cluche** (F4. 100), **im Furadrán fūatlán** (F5. 123) (although alliteration would require the dat. here).

la: **la Firu Domnand** (F9. 44), **la hectranna (:halla)** (F6. 100); **la Āed nAllān** (F5. 38), **la Nīall n-ard** (F5. 132), **la Domnall mac nDondchada** (F6. 164), **la Conall ngasta** (F7. 8), **la Dé nDomnand** (F7. 16), **la hOctrilach mac nInnig** (F8. 32), **la dībirg n-omnaig** (F10. 24), **la Cóiced n-īrach** (F10. 118), **la Āed mac n-ard** (F6. 48), **la Ōengus n-óc** (F7. 12), **la Ōengus mac nDondchada** (F7. 130), **lasin Conall nGuthbind** (F7. 15), **lasin Conall ngērglicc** (F7. 19), **lasin ngein** (F10. 59); **la Frigrend foglaig** (F1. 61) (fixed by all.), **la mac Fīachach Finn[f]olaid** (F10. 54) (fixed by all.), **la Sigmall Sīde** (F10. 12) (fixed by all.), **la Cināed crūaid** (F7. 92), **la Māel\Mel Sechnaill\Sechnaill** (F7. 108, 142), **la claind Colmān** (F7. 140), **la Coirchend cāem** (F8. 90), **la Corpre comramach** (F10. 101), **lasin flaith** (F7. 108), **la Āed Findlīath** (F7. 112) (but all. would require the dat. here); and

probably also **la Hū** (F7. 126).

tar, dar: **dar Ultu** (F5. 49), **dar firu (:firu)** (F5. 80--see Note in Vol. I, p. 137), **tarsna buidne (:Mumne)** (F9. 51); **dar grūad ṅglan** (F11. 29); **dar sreith slige** (F1. 31) (fixed by all.); and probably also **darsin lindmuir** (F4. 14) (on the reduction of **-nn\-nd** in the article to **-n**, see p. 56: **6.4**).

tri, tre: **trīa airec n-áig** (F10. 137).

(60 examples; 8 preps.; F1\3, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\3, F5\13, F6\7, F7\14, F8\2, F9\2, F10\10, F11\4)

9.5 Acc. used for dat. (*SNG*: 239: 5.1)

a) Certain cases (shown by the form of the noun or the adj., or by nasalisation)

co: **cosin (ṁbáig), (ṁblaid), (ṅgail), (ṁblad)** (F8. 57; F9. 35; F10. 129; F12. 61 *LL*), **co rīab** (F3. 57; F5. 21), **co fodbai (:.airgnai\nDaigri)** (F3. 63) (acc. pl. of **fodb**, o, n in OIr).

ó: **ō Chrūach** (F1. 15).

ótá: **ōtá Belach nDúin** (F5. 66).

ós: **ōs Muir Mend (:Ethl*end*)** (F8. 75).

ría: **rīa Subne M*e*nd** (F4. 41--see Note in Vol. I, p. 94), **rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán nAilig** (F3. 72), **rīa n-ū nEōgain** (F4. 8), **rīa nDomnall ṅdr*u*mnech** (F4. 27), **rīa Nīall ṅGlūndub** (F4. 99), **rīa ṅGlún i lLār** (F4. 109) (there is no example in *SNG* of an s-stem dat. with non-pal. ending, so I take this to be acc.).

Concerning **co ṅglúair ṅgraigech** (F1. 57) and **a Crūach** (F8. 93), both of which are probably acc., see the Notes in Vol. I, pp. 19 and 252.

(16 certain and 2 uncertain examples; 5 preps.; F1\1 (+1), F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\5, F5\2, F8\2 (+1), F9\1, F10\1, F12\1)

b) Uncertain cases (the mark of len. could have been omitted)

co n-: **co clú cáemfir** (F4. 8), **co cét cath** (F6. 17 *LL*) (*R*: **chath**). In **co slán salmchar** (F5. 82) alliteration would only work with the acc.

íar: **īar tírfeirg toglaig** (F10. 23).

ó: **ō gáel fáel no ṁiged** (F1. 8) (alliteration would either require the dat. here or a non-lenited **f** in **figed**).

ría: **rīa m*a*c Subne** (F4. 46), **rīa Níal[l] *Cail*le** (F4. 85). In **rīa nĀed Findlīath** (F4. 91) alliteration would work only with the dat.

(8 examples; 4 preps.; F1\1, F4 (1)\3, F5\1, F6\1, F7\1, F10\1)

c) Examples of the dat. (shown by the form of the noun\adj.\art., or by the lack of nasalisation--although note that nasalisation is not always marked between two consonants or after another nasal--see pp. 29-31: **2.30**). (I did not take those words into consideration where in OIr only the vowel in the unstressed syllable could show the case--e.g. **do Mide(*LL*)**--F6. 177, **co n-ainiuch**--F5. 37.)

a: **a Bregmaig (:maig)** (F8. 108), **a lāechLuignib (:*cui*mnig)** (F9. 70), **assa chūch** (F11. 23); **a lláim Ercail** (F1. 2), **a Alpain armaig** (F1. 50), **a hAlpain úair** (F8. 101), **a topur éca** (F6. 31).

co: **co mbrethaib (:.Eochaid)** (F2. 10), **co mbladaib (:Ailig)** (F2. 46), **co nnirt armach** (F3. 13), **co feraib (:.airig, nAilig), (:Slemain)** (F3. 71; F9. 41), **co clīaraib (:ōenblī*adain*)** (F6. 159; F7. 73), **co rréimim (:Ēllim)** (F10. 51), **cona hollaltaib (:Chonnachtaib)** (F11. 59); **co crúas chórad** (F1. 30), **co clú chlothbind** (F4. 110), **co cruth cho*m*chāem** (F8. 140), **co llín Chruthne** (F4. 33); **co n-úaill ergnaid** (F1. 49), **co ngargbrut glór** (F1. 64), **co n-alt imrind** (F4. 74), **co ngním gainne** (F4. 83), **co mbūaid bladaig** (F5. 18), **co mborrthorud búan** (F10. 29), **co ngrád glēir** (F10. 59), **co mbáig bí** (F10. 75).

de: **de Chonnachtaib (:hollaltaib)** (F11. 60), **do gemmaib glainib** (F1. 65), **do rígaib** (F2. 65), **do gnímaib (:dīdail)** (F3. 4), **do dechib (:sechid)** (F3. 56), **do Ultaib (:chumtaig)** (F5. 108), **do Laig*nib* (:bil)** (F8. 28), **d'Fomōrchaib (:chain, ail)** (F8. 16, 112), **dīa nglonnaib (:[fonnaib])** (F5. 135); **de chumaid Chairp*ri*** (F8. 24), **de thām thregtach** (F8. 33), **do gaī chró** (F8. 125), **do lāim Fiachna** (F8. 132); **de gaī g*r*éne** (F8. 21), **de láim (Elcmaire), (Ōengusa)** (F8. 70, 72), **de Muir Ic[h]t** (F10. 135), **do dergibur dr*u*mnech** (F1. 63), **do láim (Balair), (Uillind)** (F8. 28, 120), **do chumaid Induí** (F8. 56), **dīa beirt bindgil** (F8. 16), **dīa echtrai ingnaid** (F10. 34).

do: **do Subni Mind (:find)** (F2. 14), **do chenīul Eōgain** (F4. 38), **do gnímaib** (F5. 17), **do Chol*mān* Bic** (F6. 46), **don dund (:opund)** (F6. 23), **don dus (:Fergus)** (F6. 53), **do chōic cōicedaib** (F12. 60), **dont slóg** (F10. 125), **dona trēnaib (:scélaib)** (F4. 32); **do Máel find Fithrig** (F2. 15), **do Chrundmáel m*ac* sāer Subni** (F2. 17), **do Nīall Frossach** (F2. 25), **do Finnīa(n) fondglan** (F11. 41 *LL*) (fixed by alliteration), **do m*ac* cóir chubaid** (F11. 50), **do Erthaile ō Chrundmāel** (F2. 21), **do Āed Findlīath** (F2. 32), **do Fubthaire fondgel** (F1. 52) (fixed by alliteration), **don mnaí for(r)āin ētrachtgil** (F11. 24) (fixed by alliteration), **do chlaind Chobthaig** (F6. 167); **d'Hērind uili** (F12. 67 *LL*), **do druing Dobuill** (F1. 4), **do Māel Dūin** (F2. 26, 31), **do dígail Ītha** (F9. 19), **do deilb duni** (F11. 28), **do Āed (Ollán), (Allá(i)n), (Ordnide)** (F2. 13, 24, 27), **do Māel Dūin** (F2. 19), **don Dagda dulig** (F1. 16).

íar: **íar cnis chlochair (:fis)** (F1. 54), **īar sétaib (:cétaib)** (F3. 66), **īar mbūadaib (:Rūanaid)** (F6. 123), **īar Cind (Fāelad), (Gēcāin)** (F12. 33, 41), **īarsind ulc-sin (:luc[h]t-sin)** (F1. 22--see Note in Vol. I, p. 15); **īar crád Chomgaill** (F4. 114), **īar Corp*riu* Chasil** (F12. 16 *LL*); **īar ngreis galach** (F2. 48), **īar Conall Breg** (F6. 202 *LL*), **īar nGarbān garg** (F12. 13), **īar nAmalgaid imard** (F12. 14), **īar tesbaid Brīain** (F12. 61).

In **ar ríge Chasil** (F12. 58), **ar** could also stand for **for**.

ó: **ó chīanaib (:rīaguil)** (F1. 70), **ó Airgīallaib (:chain)** (F10. 114); **ó Eōgan fïal** (F2. 66) (fixed by alliteration), **ó Āth Chlíath** (F5. 47), **ó amsir Chuind** (F6. 17); **ō amsir Hērimōin** (F6. 9), **ó Ech*aig* amra** (F6. 15).

oc: **oc fledaib (:degaid)** (F6. 25 *LL*), **'cō taigib (:Ailig)** (F2. 45), **oc Taig Giugrand** (F7. 134 *LL*), **'coa thaig (:Chētch*athaig*)** (F10. 67), **ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*)** (F6. 52), **ocna Dumachaib (:mblaid)** (F9. 36); **oc Carn Fïach*ach*** (F6. 28), **oc Bile Theined** (F6. 80), **oc Loch Threithne** (F7. 16), **ic Druim Chrīaig** (F6. 175), **ic Dún Sinche** (F7. 95) (although alliteration would require the acc.), **'con rāith chétna** (F8. 55); **oc Āth Ergair** (F4. 128), **oc [C]lūain Iraird** (F6. 159 *LL*), **oc Āth Goän** (F7. 20), **'con Bóind baīth** (F8. 131).

ós: **ós\ōs Bregmaig (:Cernaig, sain)** (F7. 54, 66), **ōs lāechMaig** (F2. 30), **ōs Bregmaig** (F7. 30, 98), **ós cla*nn*aib** (F9. 69); **ós Loch Febail** (F1. 29), **ós chlainn Chobthaig** (F6. 103), **ūas chīanbla chain** (F10. 113); **ós Bōin[d] bricc** (F7. 9), **ōs Bōind bláthbuic** (F7. 26), **ós Bóin[d] bladaig** (F7. 49), **ōs Dabull dīglach** (F10. 117), **ōsin trācht ágmar** (F5. 4).

rīa: **rīa Feraib** (F4. 129); **rīa nĀed (Ollān), (Ordnide), (arad), (Arddaig)** (F4. 55, 71, 93, 115), **rīa slúag Ailig** (F4. 123).

(139 examples altogether; 9 preps.; F1\14, F2\19, F3 (1)\4, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\11, F4 (2)\3, F5\6, F6\18, F7\12, F8\19, F9\5, F10\11, F11\7, F12\9)

9.6 Use of cases after **acht**

In **acht a réir (:céin)** (F5. 42) we either have the acc., or the nom. with a palatal consonant. See also 36-38: **3.6 a**.

In **acht ōenblī*adain* (:clīaraib), (:clīaraig), (:clīaraib)** (F6. 160; F7. 18 *LL*, 74), we either have the nom. case instead of the acc., or the nom. form used as the acc. (See also ī-stems, p. 39: **3.9**).

9.7 Confusion between **ar** and **for** (*SNG*: 326: 13.4, 327: 13.13)

a) ar used for **for**: **ar mag Ailig** (F2. 46), **ar ca*ch* leth** (F7. 102 *R*), **ar innērge** (F8. 92--see Note in Vol. I, p. 251), **co torach[t] ar certblai caín** (F10. 33) (note that **ar** would lenite).

(4 examples; F2\1, F7\1--R, F8\1, F10\1)

b) **for** + article without **-s-**: **forin maig** (F6. 28; F7. 103 *R*), **forin lochmuir** (F8. 38), **forin trāig\tráig** (F8. 49, 95). *(5 examples; F6\1, F7\1--R, F8\3)*

However, the **s** appears in **forsin** (F4. 72; F8. 79) and **forsna** (F5. 87). Concerning (***for***)**sin** in F8. 99, see Note in Vol. I, p. 253).

(1 uncertain and 3 certain examples; F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F8\1 (+1))

c) On **aire** in F1. 20, see Note in Vol. I, p. 15.

9.8 <u>do and **di\de**</u>

a) **do** used for **di\de**: **do (sain), (sin), (sein)** (F1. 32, 57; F5. 83), **do dergibur** (F1. 63), **ro hecrad do gemmaib** (F1. 65), **dond ail** (F1. 14; F8. 95), **dond fecht-sain** (F1. 22), **do rígaib** (F2. 65), **do gnímaib** (F3. 4), **do dechib** (F3. 56), **do chalmu** (F4. 1), **do rúadgním** (F5. 15) (*DIL*: **de\di** xxxvii f), **do Ultaib** (F5. 108), **do rind** (F6. 44; F7. 7) (*DIL*: **de\di** xxxvii f), **do láim** (F6. 199; F8. 8, 28, 76, 85, 100, 120, 132), **do ūathbās** (F8. 18), **do cheilg** (F8. 42), **do chumaid** (F8. 56), **do gaī** (F8. 125), **dond ór** (F8. 99), **don méin** (F8. 105), **do thám** (F9. 27), **do Laig*nib*** (F10. 28), **do lágain** (F10. 84), **dont slóg** (F10. 125), **do neim** (F10. 131).

(35 examples; F1\6, F2\1, F3 (1)\2, F4 (1)\1, F5\3, F6\2, F7\1, F8\14, F9\1, F10\4)

b) **di\de** is used (correctly from the historical point of view): **di sein** (F1. 67), **de arggut de ór de umu** (F1. 64--x3), **de** (F8. 6--see Note in Vol. I, p. 246; F8. 21, 24, 33, 36, 70, 72, 124; F10. 100, 135; F11. 60 *LL*), **den** (F10. 115), **din** (F11. 2 *LL*).

(17 examples; F1\4, F8\8, F10\3, F11\2)

c) Note that both **de\de** and **do** are used in the same expression: **de chumaid** (F8. 24), **do chumaid** (F8. 56); **do láim** (F8. 8, 28, 76, 85, 100, 120, 132), **de láim** (F8. 70, 72). All the **do**s stand for **de** here.

9.9 Concerning **dochum** + nasalisation, see **2.30 e** on p. 31.

9.10 <u>Lenition after **eter**</u>

Example with lenition: **et*er* fine is anfine** (F6. 6 *LL*) (fixed by alliteration), **et*er* Chlūain is chorrLīamuin** (F6. 142 *LL*) (but *R* does not have lenition).

(2 examples; F6)

Example without lenition: **it*er*(*LL*) trocha** (F6. 35). *(1 example; F6)*

9.11 fo (*SNG*: 327: 13.12)

a) With a voiced initial consonant: **co ba(*LL*) thrí** (F6. 195) (however, according to Greene, 1992: 521 the particle **fo** in multiplicatives is not the same as the preposition **fo**). *(1 example; F6)*

b) 17 examples with **f** (10 of these in multiplicatives) (see pp. 293 and 318).

c) **fo** + poss. pron. sg. 3 m\n: **fó sár theichle** (F4. 92--see Note in Vol. I, p. 97), **fūa** (F4. 112--see Note in Vol. I, p. 99). *(1 example of **fó**; 1 of **fúa**; both in F4 (1))*

9.12 Forms of the preposition **fri** (*SNG*: 327: 13.14, 238: 4.7)

a) Lenited forms: **ris** (F1. 33; F11. 17 *LL*) (prep. pron.), **ri** (F1. 59; F2. 4, 6), **ri(*LL*)** (F7. 65), **rīa** (F4. 126--see Note in Vol. I, p. 100), **rim'** (F9. 3), **ris** (F10. 47) (before **nach**--see **9.14**, p. 70), **re** (F2. 16--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39), **re** (F2. 46; F8. 48, 147, 149; F9. 38), **ra(*LL*)** (F6. 19), **ra** (F6. 180), **rā(*LL*)** (F6. 186), **ro** (F5. 33), **malle ro(*LL*)** (F6. 139), **bord ro(*LL*)** (F6. 166), **ros** (F4. 134) (**fri** + art.).
(22 examples; F1\2, F2\4, F4 (2)\2, F5\1, F6\5, F7\1, F8\3, F9\2, F10\1, F11\1)

b) Non-lenited forms: **fri** (F2. 35, 37; F3. 83; F4. 12; F5. 45), **frīa** (F2. 37; F10. 8).
(7 examples; F2\3, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F10\1)

c) Forms with palatal **r**: **ris** (F1. 33; F11. 17 *LL*), **ri** (F1. 59; F2. 4, 6), **ri(*LL*)** (F7. 65), **rīa** (F4. 126--see Note in Vol. I, p. 100), **rim'** (F9. 3), **ris** (F10. 47) (before **nach**--see **9.14** below), **fri** (F2. 35, 37; F3. 83; F4. 12; F5. 45), **frīa** (F2. 37; F10. 8); **re** (F2. 16--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39), **re** (F2. 46; F8. 48, 147, 149; F9. 38).
(22 examples; F1\2, F2\7, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F7\1, F8\3, F9\2, F10\2, F11\1)

d) Forms with non-palatal **r**: **ra(*LL*)** (F6. 19), **ra** (F6. 180), **rā(*LL*)** (F6. 186), **ro** (F5. 33), **malle ro(*LL*)** (F6. 139), **bord ro(*LL*)** (F6. 166), **ros** (F4. 134) (**fri** + art.).
(7 examples; F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F6\5)

9.13 **fri** used for **la** (*SNG*: 327: 13.14)

ba hūamon ri Fubthaire (F1. 59), **ra(*LL*) clannaib Néill [...] \ in mag-sain(*LL*)** (F6. 19-20) (in a construction denoting possession), **re demnaib** (F8. 48), **re Surge** (F8. 147), **re hEtan** (F8. 149), **re Echaid Echcend** (F9. 38).
(6 examples; F1\1, F6\1, F8\3, F9\1)

9.14 **fris** before **nach**

ris nach cair (F10. 47--see Note in Vol. I, p. 294). *(1 example; F10)*

SNG cites examples of simple prepositions with **-s** before **nach** with **a** (326: 13.2) and **i** (328: 13.15).

9.15 Reduced form of **íar** (*SNG*: 328: 13.16)

ar sen (F9. 13), **ar ríge Chasil** (F12. 58 *LL*) (or **ar** = **for** here?; see Note in Vol. I, p. 335). Also note **armothá** (F2. 66) for **íarmothá**.

(1 uncertain and 2 certain examples; F2\1, F9\1, (F12))

9.16 New form of the sg. 3 masc.\neut. suff. pron. with **íar**

īarma (**:certblīadna**) (F6. 77). *(1 example; F6)*

9.17 New form of the prep. **ó** (*SNG*: 329: 13.20)

ā sain (F9. 67). *(1 example; F9)*

9.18 Confusion of initial unstressed vowels in **oc** (*SNG*: 329: 13.21)

ic (F6. 175; F7. 95 *LL*, 119 *LL*; F8. 58, 83, 101; F9. 42).

(7 examples; F6\1, F7\2, F8\3, F9\1)

9.19 **oc** + sg. 3 masc. possessive pronoun (*SNG*: 329: 13.21)

oco: F4. 60. *(1 example; F4 (1))*

'ca: F1. 7, F7. 38 *LL* (m)?. *(2 examples; F1\1, F7\1)*

'cō: F1. 21, F2. 45. *(2 examples; F1\1, F2\1)*

'coa: F10. 67, 87. *(2 examples; F10)*

9.20 **oc**: sg. 3 masc. prepositional pronoun (*SNG*: 329: 13.21)

aice (F1. 7) for OIr **oc(c)a**. *(1 example; F1)*

Note the **a** for the **o**, and the palatal consonant.

9.21 Lenition after **ós**

Examples with lenition: **ós chlainn(*R*) Chobthaig** (F6. 103), **ūas chīanbla** (F10. 113).

(2 examples; F6\1, F10\1)

Examples without lenition: **ós clannaib** (F9. 69); however, see Note in Vol. I, p. 274.

(1 example; F9)

9.22 **ré, ría**: sg. 3 masc. prepositional pronoun (*SNG*: 329-330: 13.23)

rīam (:Níall) (F2. 60), **rīam** (F3. 69; F4. 107; F5. 87).

(4 examples; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1)

9.23 Initial consonant of **trí** (*SNG*: 330: 13.26)

Without lenition: **tre** (F1. 68; F6. 62), **trīa** (F10. 137).

(3 examples; F1\1, F6\1, F10\1)

With lenition: **ba thrí āg** (F8. 25). *(1 example; F8)*

9.24 Confusion between prepositions

arna bārach (F3. 88)--in OIr this would have been either **ara bárach** or **íarna bárach** (Vendryes et al., 1981: 16). Here we have the preposition **ar** and nasalisation which would otherwise follow the preposition **íar**. So here we either have the confusion of the two prepositions, or this is simply the MIr variant form of **íar, ar** (see **9.15**, p. 71 above).

9.25 The use of the acc.\dat. after prepositions which historically take both cases

Dat. used when movement is indicated: **ro briss [...] \ forro** (acc.) **[...] \ for Amlaíb argg** (dat.) **\ (is) for Matudán *mac* n-ard nĀeda** (acc.) (F5. 93-94), **cechaing Āēd [...] i \ mBrēfni bladach** (F5. 115) (provided that the mark of nasalisation was not omitted in these two examples); **foraib [...] im-rulaid (:oraig)** (F3. 82) (`against them').

(3 examples; F3 (2)\1, F5\2)

Acc. used when state is indicated: **i cath (Cilli), (Comraire)** (F3. 64; F9. 60) (provided that the mark of lenition was not omitted), **i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain** (F3. 76), **for lecht nĀeda** (F1. 28) (compare **for lige Āeda** in F8. 96).

(3 examples; F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F9\1)

10. CONJUNCTIONS

10.1 The marking of lenition after **ocus/is/7**

a) Lenition not marked: **is cath** (F4. 5--see Note in Vol. I, p. 90), **ocus cath** (F4. 7), **ocus Conall** (F4. 47), **is Cú Roï** (F4. 50), **is cath** (F4. 67), ***ocus* Fīnnachta** (F4. 75) (with lenition we would get *lorga*, and without it alliteration), **ocus Fallama(i)n** (F4. 77), ***ocus* Cellach** (F4. 90), ***ocus* Flann** (F4. 98), **ocus Cū Dulig** (F4. 117), ***ocus* Flaithgius** (F5. 40), ***ocus* Clettig** (F7. 13), ***ocus* Cú** (F8. 17), ***ocus* Cach*e*r** (F9. 18), ***ocus* Fúat** (F9. 23), **is Cacher** (F9. 39), ***ocus* Crimthand** (F12. 10), ***ocus* Fāilbe** (F12. 18), **is Flaithb*e*rtach** (F12. 38 *R*), ***ocus* Cathal** (F12. 26).

Lenition would be required by alliteration: ***ocus* Fōtla** (F8. 141).

Non-lenition fixed by alliteration: ***ocus* Surge** (alliterates with **Sētga**) (F9. 56).

(22 examples; F4 (1)\10, F5\1, F7\1, F8\2, F9\4, F12\4)

b) Lenition present: **is C*h*ond** (F2. 45), **ocus Cholmān** (F2. 58--see Note in Vol. I, p. 42), ***is* Chonaill** (F4. 38), **is Chonchath** (F4. 64), **is chorrLīamuin** (F6. 142 *LL*).

(5 examples; F2\2, F4 (1)\2, F6\1)

c) In the following examples **cath** is abbreviated as **c.**: **ocus *cath*** (F4. 11), **is *cath*** (F4. 13, 15, 17, 21, 33, 39, 65) and ***ocus cath*** (F4. 19); so it is possible that the lenition mark is omitted because of the suspension-stroke. However, lenition is not marked even when **cath** is written out fully (see above).

Concerning **(i)s Fergal** (F2. 59), see Note in Vol. I, p. 42.

10.2 New MIr conj. replaces OIr **ceni (<ce + níco(n))** (*SNG*: 281: 11.9)

cenchor fand (F8. 29) and **cencor fand** (F9. 23). In the first example the second element is probably from the MIr form of **nícon**: **nocho**. *(2 examples; F8\1, F9\1)*

Concerning **cen[i] re dlecht** in F10. 82, see Note in Vol. I, p. 295.

11. RELATIVE PARTICLES

11.1 Non-negative relatives (*SNG*: 276: 10.25)

a n-: a ndo-ringni (F3. 61), **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135). *(2 examples; F3 (1)\1, F5\1)*

na n-: dāig na nderna (F1. 23). *(1 example; F1)*

11.2 Negative relatives (*SNG*: 281: 11.8)

a) With **nád**: **for coímu in Chóicid nād chromthar** (F4. 63), **la Māel Dūin nād charad cuindeilg** (F4. 69), ***cath* [...] nād chumthar** (F4. 81), **im fer co rīab \ nād chloītis catha nā cure** (F5. 21). *(4 examples; F4 (1)\3, F5\1)*

b) With **ná**: **do Āed Ordnide nāro fubthad** (F2. 27), **cīa tír nāro thrēnglacc** (F6. 135), **deich mblīadna i flaithius nār fóen** (F6. 113), **úan [...] nārbo dúal** (F11. 28). *(4 examples; 2 with copula; F2\1, F6\2, F11\1)*

12. THE VERB

12.1 Treatment of OIr compound verbs I: infixed *versus* prefixed **ro** (*SNG*: 282-283: 11.16-11.18)

a) ro and **com** are infixed I (no survivals in ClModIr)

Perf. sg. 1: **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135) **(ad-fét)**.

Perf. sg. 3: **do-rrodáil (:for(r)āin)** (F11. 23 *LL*) **(do-dáili)**, **doda-rair[*n*]gert(*LL*)** (F11. 54) **(do-airngir)**, **do-rimmart** (F3. 75) **(do-immoirg)**, **im-rulaid (:churaig)** (F3. 82) **(imm-téit)**, **at-rullai** (F4. 87) **(as-luí)**, **con-rúali (:úagai)** (F3. 67) **(con-úala)**, **fo-*r*ūair** (F4. 124) **(fo-gaib**; or **fo-fera)**, **tāraill** (F11. 35 *LU*) **(do-aidlea)**, **tarlaic** (F10. 88) **(do-léci)**, **co n-ērbailt\ērbuilt** (F6. 84, 96, 152; F7. 42), **(nōco)**, **(nocho) n-ērba(i)lt (:thrēnglacc, cōelbalc)** (F6. 136 *LL*; F10. 36) **(at-bail)**, **(co) tūargaib** (F1. 14, 30) **(do-fócaib)**, **i farcbad (:Arad, bladach)** (F4. 62, 114), **i farcbad\fargbad** (F3. 43; F4. 24, 110) **(fo-ácaib)**, **nī tharmaltad(*LL*) (:tarmartad)** (F11. 7) **(do-meil)**, **dos-comart (:Connacht)** (F4. 100) **(do-fúairc)**.

Perf. pl. 3: **fo-rrācsat** (F6. 67 *LL*) **(fo-ácaib)**.

Perf. pass. sg.: **ar-rálad (:.blī*ad*an)** (F2. 4) **(ar-áili)**.

Pret.\perf. sg. 3: **fo-rurim** (F5. 118) **(fo-ruimi)**, **fod-rorraich (:Chommair)** (F10. 112) **(foirrgid**[1]**)**.

(27 + 2 examples; 16 verbs; F1\2, F2\1, F3 (1)\2, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\6, F4 (2)\1, F5\2, F6\5, F7\1, F10\3, F11\4)

b) ro is infixed II (survives in ClModIr)

Perf. sg. 3: **do-rat** (F5. 31, 49), **do-rat (:cacht)** (F5. 62), **dod-rat(*LL*)** (F7. 84) **(do-beir)**; **do-rochair\-*air*** (F5. 54, 116, 132; F6. 47, 140, 171, 200; F7. 11, 16, 20, 32, 35, 47 *LL*, 55 *LL*, 72, 76, 88, 91, 112, 115, 129 *LL*, 134; F8. 7, 13, 49, 71, 86, 87, 93, 121; F9. 25, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47), **do-rochair\-*air* (:rothuir, tochuir, Scothair)** (F5. 74; F6. 132; F7. 40, 51), **da-rochair** (F6. 75 *LL*), **da-roch*air*(*LL*) (:ochair)** (F6. 100), **(i), (nóco\nōco), (co) torchair\-*chair*\-*air* (:chroba[i]ng, cossair, orddain, borrfaith, Dondchaid, lonchoir, chomthaig)** (F4. 30, 80, 116; F6. 92; F7. 140; F10. 32, 48), **(i), (nóco\nōco), (co) torchair\-*chair*\-*air*** (F3. 23, 29; F4. 6, 10, 15, 21, 28, 32, 42, 53, 56; F6. 35 *R*, 88, 190; F7. 7, 27, 58, 126 *LL*, 142; F9. 54; F10. 79, 91) **(do-tuit)**, **i tarla** (F1. 34) **(do-cuirethar)**, **do-rōni** (F1.

[1] (*DIL*: "Treated as a cpd. in some passages, but the original form is uncertain. [...] may be orig. a strong compd., for-reig") (treated as a cpd. vb. here) (Note that the only certain examples in *DIL* of the deut. pret.\perf. form of this verb are from the poems of Fland.)

5), **dos-róna (:crōda)** (F5. 138), **a ndo-ringni (:.airgnai, nDaigri)** (F3. 61), **na nderna** (F1. 23), **ara ndernad (:febglan)** (F1. 11), **(las'), (i) ndernad\ndernad** (F1. 9, 45) **(do-gní)**.

Perf. pl. 3: **do-rochratar** (F9. 55--see Note in Vol. I, p. 273), **i torcratar** (F4. 74, 120, 136) **(do-tuit), do-rōnsat** (F4. 1) **(do-gní)**.

Perf. pass. sg.: **do-ringned** (F1. 40), **da-ringned (:Frigrend**--imp.) (F1. 61) **(do-gní)**.

(90 examples; 4 verbs: ***do-beir, do-tuit, do-cuirethar*** *and* ***do-gní****; F1\8, F3 (1)\3, F4 (1)\15, F4 (2)\1, F5\8, F6\11, F7\24, F8\8, F9\8, F10\4)*

c) ro is prefixed when the verb is not preceded by another conjunct particle (with one exception, the simple verb is based on the original pres. sg. 3 prot. form)

Perf. sg. 3: **ro īarfaig** (F1. 3) (OIr **íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid**), **ro élai** (F5. 60) **(as-luí**, later **élaid), ro chossain (:ossaid)** (F5. 86) **(cosnaid**, earlier **con-sní), ro folaig** (F5. 61) **(fo-luigi), ro ēta (:cētna)** (F4. 71) **(*étaid**, earlier **ad-cota), ro thascair(*LL*)** (F6. 71) **(do-scara), ro innsaig** (F12. 57) **(ind-saig**, later **indsaigid, innsaigid); ro thogal** (F5. 24) **(2 toglaid**, earlier **2 do-fich)** (from verbal noun).

Perf. pass. sg.: **ro fāemad (:Fāelad)** (F2. 19--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39) **(fo-eim**, later **fóemaid, fáemaid)**. *(9 examples; 9 verbs; F1\1, F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\4, F6\1, F12\1)*

ro is prefixed to the pret.\perf. pass. stem: **rod n-attacht (:bacalt)** (F11. 16 *LL*) **(ad-teich**; passive stem--see also **12.36**, p. 90). *(1 example; 1 verb; F11)*

12.2 Treatment of OIr compound verbs II: simple verb from pres. sg. 3 prot. form or verbal noun + absolute ending (*SNG*: 282: 11.16, 11. 19)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 rel.: **catlas (:glaccas**--imp.) (F12. 66 *LL*) **(cotlaid, catlaid**, earlier **con-tuili)**.

Pres. subj. sg. 3 abs.: **īarfais** (F1. 39) **(íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid)** (see **12.41**, p. 92).

ro-subj. sg. 1: **cor inniseor (:on)** (F8. 2) (OIr **in(d)-fét)** (from verbal noun).

Fut. sg. 1: **innisfet** (F7. 3) **(in(d)-fét)** (from verbal noun).

Pret. sg. 3 abs.: **audbrais** (F11. 41 *LL*) **(ad-opair**, later **a(i)dbr(a)id, aud-, id-, ed-)**

(5 examples; 4 verbs; F1\1, F7\1, F8\1, F11\1, F12\1)

*(Altogether 14 examples of new, simple verbs--****12.1 c + 12.2****; 13 verbs; F1\2, F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\4, F6\1, F7\1, F11\2, F12\2)*

12.3 Treatment of OIr compound verbs III: compound forms still retained (shown by the conjunct ending or by rhyme; I have taken **at-bath, do-cer** and **do-lluid** to be compound forms)

a) No survivals in ClModIr

Pres. ind.: **ad-fédim (:Ēllim)** (F10. 55) **(ad-fét)** (sg. 1), **im-rá (:Temra)** (F10. 109) (all sg. 3), **ad-fédem (:Hērend)** (F5. 79) **(ad-fét)** (pl. 1), **do-fuit** (F5. 26).

Pres. ind.\pres. subj. pl. 2: **cīa 'me-rādid (:ārim)** (F4. 2) **(imm-rádi)**.

Fut.: **ar-biä (:ciä)** (F2. 67) **(ar-tá)** (sg. 3), **ad-fessam (:tesband)** (F10. 2) **(ad-fét)** (pl. 1).

Pret. sg. 3: **con-tuil (:guin)** (F5. 102) **(con-tuili)**, **at-bath** (F6. 11, 115, 123, 184; F7. 104 *R*, 120; F8. 17, 23, 41, 57; F9. 21, 52; F10. 39), **at-bath (:brath)** (F10. 44) **(at-bail)** (note exceptional **ad-bhath** in ClModIr--*SNG*, IV: 395: 7.2), **do-ceir** (F5. 28; F8. 26), **do-cer** (F5. 120, 125; F7. 138; F8. 29, 35, 63, 67, 70, 81, 89, 97, 107, 117, 123, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139; F9. 61; F10. 16, 74, 93, 119), **do-cer (:fer)** (F10. 56) **(do-tuit)**, **do-lluid** (F5. 5, 114; F11. 9, 13) **(do-tét)**.

Pret. pl. 3: **do-cersat** (F4. 34) **(do-tuit)**.

Note that **do-maid** (F1. 32) and **do-thu[i]t(im)** (F5. 123), which I take to be pres. ind. sg. 3, can be ambiguous as in theory they could also be perf. sg. 3 of a simple verb--see also the Notes in Vol. I, p. 16 and p. 140.

(56 certain and 2 uncertain examples; 9 verbs; (F1\1), F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\8 (+1), F6\4, F7\3, F8\22, F9\3, F10\10, F11\2)

b) Compound verbs which survive in ClModIr (*SNG*, IV: 394: 7.2, 408-416: 7.16-7.26) (note that the preverb is often different from that found in OIr or MIr)

Pres. ind. sg. 2: **ro-chlune (:ule)** (F5. 95) **(ro-cluinethar)**.

Imperf. subj. sg. 3: **ro-fessad** (F1. 69) **(ro-finnadar, ro-fitir)**.

Pret. pl. 3: **at-berat** (F10. 17) **(as-beir)** (pl. 3).

Pret. ind. sg. 3 with force of pres.: **ro-fit*ir*** (F1. 70) **(ro-finnadar, ro-fitir)**.

Pres. subj. pass. sg.: **as-berthar** (F1. 37) **(as-beir)**.

Pret. sg. 3: **as-bert** (F1. 31) **(as-beir)**.

Pret. pass. sg.: **do-gníth** (F11. 45) **(do-gní)**.

Perf. sg. 3: **do-chūaid** (F5. 41, 75, 109), **do-chūaid(*LL*)** (F6. 107), **do-chōid(*LL*)** (F12. 49) **(téit)**, **dos-fuc** (F1. 53) **(do-beir)**, **it-ib (:Lagnib)** (F6. 31) **(ibid)**.

Pret.\perf. sg. 2: **at-chūala (:chūanna)** (F4. 129) **(ro-cluinethar)**.

Pret.\Perf. sg. 3: **at-*r*aacht** (F1. 55) **(at-reig)**, **do-rócht** (F1. 47) **(do-roich)**, **fo-fūair** (F6. 146 *R*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 186) **(fo-gaib)**, **ro-sīacht** (F5. 50) **(ro-saig)**.

Pret.\Perf. pass. sg. **ro-closs** (F12. 11) **(ro-cluinethar)**.

(19 examples; 11 verbs; F1\6, F4 (2)\1, F5\5, F6\3, F10\1, F11\1, F12\2)

12.4 Verbs which can be both compound and simple

ad-fét\in(d)-fét: ad-fédim (:Ēllim) (F10. 55) (pres. ind. sg. 1), **ad-fédem (:Hērend)** (F5. 79) (pres. ind. pl. 1), **ad-fessam (:tesband)** (F10. 2) (fut. pl. 1), **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135) (perf. sg. 1); but **innisfet** (F7. 3) (fut. sg. 1).

as-luí: at-rullai (F4. 87); but **ro élai** (F5. 60) (both perf. sg. 3).

con-tuili: con-tuil (:guin) (F5. 102) (pret. sg. 3); but **catlas (:glaccas**--imp.) (F12. 66 *LL*) (pres. ind. sg. 3 rel.).

(6 examples of compound forms; F4 (1)\1, F5\3, F10\2; 3 examples of simple forms; F5\1, F7\1, F12\1; 3 verbs)

12.5 Treatment of OIr compound verbs IV: **do-\ro-** *versus* **t-\r-** in independent position (*SNG*: 285-286: 11.21, 11.26, 11.28)

a) t- in independent position:

Pres. ind. sg. 3: **torcaib (:orddain)** (F2. 32) **(do-furgaib)**.

Impf. ind. sg. 3: **torged (:Corrcend)** (F1. 14) **(do-airicc**, see Note in Vol. I, p. 14).

Perf. sg. 3: **tūargaib** (F1. 14) **(do-fócaib)**, **tuc** (F1. 50; F3. 79; F5. 16, 100; F6. 83) **(do-ucc; do-beir)**, ***tur*caib** (F8. 95) **(do-furgaib)**, **tarlaic** (F10. 88), **(do-léci)**, **thall** (F12. 59) **(do-alla)**.

Perf. pl. 3: **tucsat** (F3. 39) **(do-ucc; do-beir)**.

Perf. pass. sg.: **tucad** (F4. 138; F10. 134) **(do-uccad; do-beir)**.

Pret.\perf. sg. 3: **tārraid** (F2. 45) **(do-airret)**, **torcaid (:orgain)** (F5. 90) **(do-fairget)**, **tāraill (:álaind)** (F11. 35 *LU*) **(do-aidlea)**.

On **torchratar** *vs.* **do-rochratar** in F9. 55, see Note in Vol. I, p. 273.

(1 uncertain and 17 certain examples; 9 verbs; F1\3, F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\3, F6\1, F8\1, F10\2, F11\1, F12\1)

b) do- is retained in all the verbs where the stressed part of the deuterotonic form begins in a consonant other than **f**. These forms are: the pret. and perf. of **do-tuit (do-cer** and **do-rochair**--see the examples in **12.3 a)** and **b)**, p. 77), in the pret. of **do-tét (do-lluid**--F5. 5, 114; F11. 9, 13), in the perf. in **do-rrodáil (:for(r)āin)** (F11. 23 *LL*) **(do-dáili)**, **doda-rair[*n*]gert(*LL*)** (F11. 54) **(do-airngir)**, **do-rat (:cacht)** (F5. 62), **do-rat** (F5. 31, 49, 62), **dod-rat(*LL*)** (F7. 84) **(do-beir)**, **dos-comart (:Connacht)** (F4. 100) **(do-fúairc)**, **do-rimmart**

(F3. 75) (**do-immoirg**), and in pret.\perf. **do-rócht** (F1. 47) (**do-roich**). Note that 3 forms also contain an infixed pronoun. *(85 examples; 8 verbs)*

do- is also retained in two forms where the stressed part of the deuterotonic form begins in an (inorganic) **f**--although one of them contains an infixed pronoun: **dos-fuc** (F1. 53--see Note in Vol. I, p. 19) (**do-beir**, perf. sg. 3), and **do-fuit** (F5. 26--see Note in Vol. I, p. 132) (pres. ind. sg. 3). *(2 examples) (2 verbs)*

The forms **do-thu[i]t(im)** (F5. 123) (**do-tuit**) and **do-maid** (F1. 32) are ambiguous--see the remark on p. 77 above. *(2 uncertain examples; 2 verbs)*

(87 (+2) examples; 8 (+1) verbs; F1\2 (+1), F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\14 (+1), F6\7, F7\19, F8\26, F9\7, F10\5, F11\4)

c) r- in independent position:

ruc (F5. 107) (**ro-ucc**; **beirid**, perf. sg. 3), **rānic** (F9. 51) (**ro-ánic**; **ro-icc**, pret.\perf. sg. 3). A possible example may be **(ní) rīachtatar** (**ro-saig**) in F4. 132. See Note in Vol. I, p. 100.

(1 uncertain and 2 certain examples (1 + 2 verbs); F5\1, F9\1 (F4 (2)\1))

d) ro- retained: **ro-fuc** (F5. 7) (**ro-ucc**; **beirid**, perf. sg. 3) and **ro-sīacht** (F5. 50) (**ro-saig**). *(2 certain examples; 2 verbs; F5)*

Concerning **rucad** (*LL* **ro fucad**) in F1. 58, see Note in Vol. I, p. 20.

12.6 Treatment of OIr strong and hiatus verbs

a) Conjugated as weak verbs (*SNG*: 282: 11.13)

Pres. ind. sg. 1: **ad-fédim** (**:Ēllim**) (F10. 55) (**ad-fét**).

Impv. pass. sg.: **oirggther** (F1. 23) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**). This could also be the pres. subj. pass. sg., and in this case the **th** would be the OIr norm. However, the context would require the impv. here.

ro-subj. sg. 1: **cor inniseor** (**:on**) (F8. 2).

Pres. subj. pass. sg.: **dā n-īarfaigther** (F1. 11) (**íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid**).

Fut. sg. 1 abs.: **innisfet** (F7. 3) (**indisid**, earlier **in(d)-fét**).

Pret. sg. 3: **audbrais** (F11. 41 *LL*) (**ad-opair**, later **a(i)dbr(a)id, aud-, id-, ed-**), **oirggis** (F5. 99) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**).

Pret. pl. 3: **orggsit** (F5. 69) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**).

Perf. sg. 3: **ro īarfaig** (F1. 3), **mār(o) īarfaig** (F1. 5--see Note in Vol. I, p. 12) (OIr **íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid**); **ro nglen-ón** (**:medōn**) (F1. 65) (**glenaid**); **cora ben** (F6. 63)

(benaid); **rodas cinne (:Finne)** (F4. 84) **(cingid?**--see FN in Vol. I, p. 107), **dīarod gon** (F8. 127) **(gonaid)**, **ros ding (:bind)** (F9. 60) **(dingid)**; **ro chren (:ben)** (F11. 3) **(crenaid)**; **ro thogal** (F5. 24) **(2 toglaid**, earlier **2 do-fich)**; **ro chossain (:ossaid)** (F5. 86) **(con-sní**, later **cosnaid)**; **ro ēta (:cētna)** (F4. 71) **(*étaid**, earlier **ad-cota)**, **coro n-indarb** (F6. 158) **(ind-árban**, later **indarbaid)**, **ro innsaig** (F12. 57) **(ind-saig**, later **indsaigid, innsaigid)**, **cīaro bá** (F10. 115) **(baïd)**.

Perf. pl. 3: **ro airgset** (F5. 103) **(oirgid**, OIr **orcaid)**.

Perf. pass. sg.: **ro fāemad (:Fāelad)** (F2. 19--see Note in Vol. I, p. 39) **(fo-eim**, later **fóemaid, fáemaid)** (*cf.* Thur. §710), **ro lamad** (F4. 127).

(23 examples; 18 verbs; F1\5, F2\1, F4 (1)\2, F4 (2)\1, F5\5, F6\2, F7\1, F8\2, F9\1, F10\2, F11\2, F12\1)

b) Mixed conjugation: there are verbs which are sometimes treated as strong, sometimes as weak:

íarmi-foich, -foig; MIr íarfaigid: dā n-īarfaigther (F1. 11) (pres. subj. pass. sg.), **ro īarfaig** (F1. 3), **mār(o) īarfaig** (F1. 5--see Note in Vol. I, p. 12) (perf. sg. 3); but **dīa n-īarfais** (F5. 138), **īarfais** (F1. 39) (pres. subj. sg. 3 abs.).

(2 strong forms; F1\1, F5\1; 3 weak forms; F1)

oirgid, OIr orcaid: ort (F5. 39, 89, 97; F10. 10) (perf. pass. sg. without **ro**), **ort** (F5. 46) (perf. without **ro** or pass. used for act.); but **oirggther** (F1. 23) (impv. pass. sg.), **oirggis** (F5. 99) (pret. sg. 3), **orggsit** (F5. 69) (pret. pl. 3), **ro airgset** (F5. 103) (perf. pl. 3). *(5 strong forms; F5\4, F10\1; 4 weak forms; F5)*

gonaid: geguin (F1. 15; F3. 53) (pret. sg. 3), **ra geogain** (F8. 78); but **dīarod gon** (F8. 127) (perf. sg. 3). *(3 strong forms; F1\1, F3 (1)\1, F8\1; 1 weak form; F8)*

cingid: cechaing\cechaing (F1. 19; F3. 81; F5. 43, 115) (pret. sg. 3); but **rodas cinne (:Finne)** (F4. 84--see FN in Vol. I, p. 107) (perf. sg. 3).

(4 strong forms; F1\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\2; 1 weak form; F4 (1))

glenaid: mad-ngiúil (F1. 67), **dīa ng(c)íuil (:trīuin)** (F10. 96--on spelling, see **1.4**, p. 3) (pret. sg. 3); but **ro nglen-ón (:medōn)** (F1. 65) (perf. sg. 3).

(2 strong forms; F1\1, F10\1; 1 weak form; F1)

dingid: coro ndedaig (:reraig) (F5. 130); but **ros ding (:bind)** (F9. 60) (perf. sg. 3).

(1 strong form; F5; 1 weak form; F9)

benaid: rod mbí (:rí) (F10. 52), **coro mbí (:rí)** (F10. 72), **ro mbí** (F10. 136); but **cora ben** (F6. 63) (perf. sg. 3). *(3 strong forms; F10; 1 weak form; F6)*

in(d)-fét, ad-fét: the older verbal stems are retained in **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135) (**ad-fét**) (perf. sg. 1), **ní écind** (F5. 136) (sec. fut. sg. 1) (**in(d)-fét**) and **ad-fessam** (**:tesband**) (F10. 2) (**ad-fét**, fut. pl. 1). The new stem and the weak declension appears in **innisfet** (F7. 3) (fut. sg. 1 abs.) and in **cor inniseor** (**:on**) (F8. 2) (**ro**-subj. sg. 1) (**indisid**, earlier **in(d)-fét**).

(3 strong stems; F5\2, F10\1; 2 weak stems; F7\1, F8\1)

ro-laimethar, MIr lamaid: lāmair (F5. 63) (pret. sg. 3); but **ro lamad** (F4. 127) (perf. pass. sg.). *(1 strong form; F5; 1 weak form; F4 (2))*

(Altogether 24 strong and 15 weak forms; 9 verbs)

c) Concerning the retention of strong and suppletive forms, see the sections on the pres. (**12.21**, p. 85), the pres.\impv. pass. sg. (**12.23**, p. 86), the t-pret. (**12.28**, p. 87), the reduplicated pret. (**12.31**, p. 88), the ā-pret. (**12.32**, p. 89), the ī-pret. (**12.33**, p. 89), the suppletive pret. (**12.34**, p. 89), the pret.\perf. passive (**12.38**, p. 91), the s-subj. (**12.41**, p. 92), and the s-fut. (**12.45**, p. 92). (Altogether 143 (+150) strong\suppletive forms: pres. ind. sg. 3--1; perfective present--1, pres.\impv. pass. sg.--2 (+1), s-subj.--4 (+1), é-fut.\sec. fut.--(+4) (no spread to verbs which did not have it in OIr), s-fut.--1, future of **ar-tá**--1, t-pret.\perf.--15 (+9), redup. pret.--26 (+23), ī-pret.--1, ā-pret.--2 (+1); suppletive forms in the pret.\perf.--53 (+100), pret.\perf. pass.--36 (+11); the numbers in brackets indicate those forms which survive into ClModIr.)

12.7 Mixed forms (*SNG*: 282: 11.15, 283: 11.17)

a) Originally strong, compound verbs are treated as strong, simple verbs

Pres. subj. sg. 3 abs.: **īarfais** (F1. 39) (**íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid**) (see **12.40**, p. 91).

Perf. sg. 3: **rod n-attacht** (**:bacalt**) (F11. 16 *LL*) (**ad-teich**) (strong pret.\perf. pass. stem used--see p. 91: **12.39**). *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F1\1, F11\1)*

b) Compound verb with strong\suppletive stem and weak ending

do-cersat (F4. 34) (OIr **do-certar**, pl. 3) (**do-tuit**). *(1 example; 1 verb; F4 (1))*

12.8 Forms without **fo** in the pret.\perf. active and passive of **fo-gaib** (*SNG*: 284: 11.21; 306: 12.70)

Pret.\perf. sg. 3: **cīa fūair** (F2. 25), **fūair** (**:Chlūain**) (F6. 141), **fúair\fūair** (F5. 8, 38; F6. 147, 157, 163, 175; F7. 67; F9. 65), **fūair**(***LL***) (F6. 149).

Pret.\perf. pl. 3: **fūaratar** (F2. 56).

Pret.\perf. pass. sg.: **fríth (:Crích)** (F6. 126), **fríth** (F6. 55; F8. 99).

In F6. 146 we have to follow *R* and read **fo-fūair**; see Note in Vol, I, p. 186.

In F4. 134 **fo-rūair** seems to belong to **fo-gaib**, although this form was probably influenced by the perf. sg. 3 of **fo-fera (fo-rúar)**. Also note that this form is from the second section of F4.

*(15 examples without **fo-**; F2\2, F5\2, F6\8, F7\1, F8\1, F9\1; 1 example with **fo-** from R; F6; 1 uncertain example with **fo-**; F4 (2))*

12.9 Interchange of unstressed **a** and **i** in the preverb **at-** (*SNG*: 284: 11.23)

it-ib(*LL*) (F6. 31) (**ibid**, perf. sg. 3) (note that *R* has **at-ib** here). *(1 example; 1 vb; F6)*

a is retained in **at-berat** (F10. 17) (**as-beir**, pres. ind. pl. 3), **at-bath** (F6. 111, 115, 123, 184; F7. 104 *R*, 120; F8. 17, 23, 41, 57; F9. 21, 52; F10. 39, 44) (**at-bail**, pret. sg. 3), **at-*r*aacht** (F1. 55) (**at-reig**, pret.\perf. sg. 3), **at-rullai** (F4. 87) (**as-luí**, perf. sg. 3), **at-chūala** (F4. 129) (**ro-cluinethar**, pret.\perf. sg. 2).

(18 examples; 5 vbs; F1\1, F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F6\4, F7\2 (1 in R), F8\4, F9\2, F10\3)

12.10 Confusion of preverbs (*SNG*: 285: 11.24)

at-chūala (:chūanna) (F4. 129) (**ro-cluinethar**, pret.\perf. sg. 2) (OIr **ro-cúala**). Breatnach (*ibid*) believes that the confusion of the preverbs in the case of this verb is due to the influence of **at-chí**. *(1 example; 1 verb; F4 (2))*

In **ro-chlune (:ule)** (F5. 95) (pres. ind. sg. 2) and **ro-closs (:Fergos)** (F12. 11) (pret.\perf. pass. sg.), the preverb **ro** is retained. *(2 examples; 1 verb; F5\1, F12\1)*

12.11 Imperfect indicative sg. 3 without **no** (*SNG*: 286: 11.29)

clandad (F2. 24), **ferad** (F4. 101), **cinged** (F5. 9), **cloäd** (F10. 35), **ercad (:Fechtnach)** (F10. 42), **fodlad** (F12. 5 *LL*, 31), **fadlad** (F12. 45 *R*). On **techtad** (F1. 35), see Note in Vol. I, p. 17.

(1 uncertain and 8 certain examples; 6 (+1) verbs; F2\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F10\2, F12\3, (F1\1))

Note also that F12. 15 has **no indled (:Fingen)**, F5. 27 **no chanad**, and F1. 8 **no figed (:fin[f]er)**. In F5. 68 **nos othrad (:Echdach)** the **no** has to be there because of the infixed pronoun. *(3 examples; 3 verbs; F1\1, F5\1, F12\1)*

12.12 **ro** omitted in the perfect active and passive (*SNG*: 286: 11.30; 299: 12.27)

marbsat (F5. 52), **gabsat** (F3. 49, 69) (act.), **ort** (F5. 46) (perf. active or perf. pass. sg. without **ro**), **ort** (F5. 39, 89, 97; F10. 10) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**), **slecht** (**:dlecht, cert**) (F10. 22, 81), **slecht** (F5. 15, 67, 77) (**sligid**) (pass.).

Maybe also **follnastar** (F5. 35) (**follnathir**). On **slecht** in F5. 19, see Note in Vol. I, p. 131.

(13 certain and 2 uncertain examples; 4 (+1) verbs; F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\8 (+2), F10\3)

However, I have 130 examples of simple verbs with **ro** (I have ignored those examples where **ro** is reduced to an **r-** after another conjunct particle--e.g. **dīar**--and those forms where **ro** is followed by an infixed pronoun); of the forms listed above, all can be found with **ro** as well; the forms with **ro** appear in all the poems. (See pp. 297, 299, 301-302, 306-308.)

12.13 Creation of compound verbs by attaching an adj. to the verb (*SNG*: 287: 11.33)

nāro thrēnglacc (**:ērba(i)lt**) (F6. 135) (**glacaid**), **roda sāmsubaig** (**:Mugain**) (F11. 26 *LL*) (**subaigidir**); **nā síreclaig** (F11. 33) (**eclaigid**).

(3 examples; 3 verbs; F6\1, F11\2)

12.14 Relative forms (*SNG:* 287: 11.34-35; 295: 12.14; 316: 12.125)

a) Special rel. form of the copula: **bas** (F4. 94; F5. 43) (fut. sg. 3), **bas** (F1. 28) (pres. subj. or fut. sg. 3), **dune as dánu** (F5. 84), **cid as aidbli** (F5. 134) (both pres. ind. sg. 3) (provided that in these two examples the **a** does not represent an **i**; however, I have no example of this phenomenon in these poems.). *(5 examples; F1\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\3)*

b) Special rel. forms of other verbs: **gilla glaccas** (**:catlas**--imp.) (F12. 65 *LL*), **gilla [...] \ catlas** (**:glaccas**--imp.) (F12. 66 *LL*) (both pres. ind. sg. 3), and **gébas Ailech** (F2. 67) (fut. sg. 3). *(3 examples; 3 verbs; F2\1, F12\2)*

c) The special rel. form is not used: **ardrí [...] lūadit gormraind** (F5. 121) (**lúaidid**), **Caílle Conaill cirrsit claidib** (F5. 129) (**cirrid**), and **uiii. mblīadna rādit na raind** (F7. 77 *LL*) (**ráidid**) (this form is cited as rel. in *DIL*) (all pres. pl. 3).

(3 examples; 3 verbs; F5\2, F7\1)

d) The particle **no** is not used with a verb in a rel. construction: **oc Manistir móir molaim** (F7. 87) (OIr **molaithir**, later **molaid**, pres. ind. sg. 1 rel.); **do Subni Mind mórtha** (F2. 14) (**móraid**) (provided that this is not the past participle).

(2 examples; 2 verbs; F2\1, F7\1)

12.15 According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 287: 11.35) there is a strong tendency in MIr in relative clauses to lenite the first consonant of a verb with the stress on the first syllable, especially of verbs where the deut. and the prot. have the same form. I have one certain example of this phenomenon: **is é thall a mbarr** (F12. 59), pret. sg. 3 of **do-alla**. *(1 example; 1 verb; F12)*

12.16 Verbal particles

a) Stressed **ro** (*SNG*: 279: 11.2)

conid romarb (:rogarb) (F10. 64). *(1 example; F10)*

b) Perfective particles other than **ro**

(i) -com-: co n-écsem (F3. 3) **(in(d)-fét)** (pres. subj. perfective), **ní écind** (F5. 136) **(in(d)-fét)** (sec. fut.), **ad-chōad** (F5. 135) **(ad-fét)**, **dos-comart (:Connacht)** (F4. 100) **(do-fúairc)** (perf.). *(4 examples; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\2)*

(ii) ess-: it-ib(*LL*) (F6. 31) **(ibid)**. *(1 example; F6)*

Personal endings

General observations (*SNG*: 290: 12.1-291: 12.6)

12.17 Deponent inflexion (*SNG:* 290: 12.4)

a) Deponent personal endings replaced by active ones:

Pres. ind. sg. 1: **molaim (:cāemChonaing)** (F7. 87) **(molaid**, OIr **molaithir)**.

Pres. ind. sg. 2: **nī chlune (:druine)** (F1. 44), **ro-chlune (:ule)** (F5. 95) **(ro-cluinethar)** (on the confusion of final unstressed vowels in pres. ind. sg. 2, see *SNG*: 292: 12.10).

Impv. sg. 2: **cluin (:Taltenbruig)** (F7. 41) **(ro-cluinethar)**, ***cui*mnig (:lāechLuignib)** (F9. 69) **(cuimnigid(ir))**, **nā síreclaig** (F11. 33) **(eclaigid)**.

Pret. sg. 3: **arigis** (F1. 29) **(airigidir)**, **tathaim** (F10. 7) **(tathamair)** (see FN on p. 310).

Perf. sg. 3: **ro chetaig (:lepaid)** (F1. 18) **(cetaigid)**, **ro mudaig** (F1. 25) **(mudaigid)**, **ro sainig (:Ailig)** (F5. 18) **(sainigidir)**, **ra chobair** (F5. 55) **(cobraithir)**, **ro sudig (:turim)** (F5. 56) **(suidigidir)**, **ro ndorchaig (:Chobthaig)** (F6. 104) **(dorchaigid)**, **ro chrechaig** (F6. 179) **(*crechaigid, *crechaig**; *DIL* lists this form under **crechaid)**, **ro selbaig (:Temraig)** (F10. 62) **(selbaid, selbaigid)**, **nīro chomthaig (:torchair)** (F10. 47) **(comthaigid)**, **roda sāmsubaig (:Mugain)** (F11. 26 *LL*) **(subaigidir)**, **ro dubaig (:Mugain)** (F11. 29) **(dubaigid)**, **ro thathaim** (F10. 67) **(tathamair**--see FN on p. 310).

(20 examples; 17 verbs; F1\4, F5\4, F6\2, F7\2, F9\1, F10\4, F11\3)

b) Deponent ending retained: **follnastar** (F5. 35) (**follnathir**, pret. sg. 3 or perf. without **ro**), **ro-fit*ir*** (F1. 70), **nī fitir** (F2. 68) (pret. sg. 3 with force of pres.) (**ro-finnadar**), **lāmair** (F5. 63) (**lamaid**, OIr **ro-laimethar**, pret. sg. 3), **ro dámair** (F10. 83) (**daimid**, perf. sg. 3). *(5 examples; 4 verbs; F1\1, F2\1, F5\2, F10\1)*

Also note that the weak verb **ásaid** appears with a deponent-type ending in the perf.: **dīar āsair** (F7. 2 *R*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 217).

12.18 Delenition of the 1st pl. conj./prot. ending in the pres., impv., subj., fut., and pret.\perf. (*SNG*: 291: 12.6)

Verified by rhyme: **ad-fédem (:Hērend)** (F5. 79) (pres. ind.), **ad-fessam (:tesband)** (F10. 2) (fut.) (**ad-fét**). *(2 examples; 1 verb; F5\1, F10\1)*

Uncertain, non-rhyming examples: **co n-écsem** (F3. 3) (**in(d)-fét**, pres. subj. perf.) and **ascnam** (F3. 1) (**ad-cosnai**, impv. 1). *(2 examples; F3 (1)\2)*

The present indicative (*SNG*: 292: 12.7-297: 12.22)

12.19 Generalisation of the **-im** ending in the pres. ind. sg. 1 (*SNG*: 292: 12.9)

ad-fédim (:Ēllim) (F10. 55) (**ad-fét**) (OIr ***ad-fíad**), **molaim (:cāemChonaing)** (F7. 87) (**molaid**, OIr **molaithir**). *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F7\1, F10\1)*

12.20 Pres. ind. sg. 3 conj. (*SNG*: 293: 12.11)

This form of a weak verb ends in a consonant: **nī tréic** (F1. 68) (**tréicid**).

(1 example; 1 verb; F1)

12.21 Pres. ind. sg. 3 conj.\prot. ending: **-ann\-enn** (*SNG*: 293: 12.12-294: 12.13)

Examples with **-ann\-enn**: **ní étan*n* nech ní** (F5. 133) (**ad-cota**) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 141), and **dīa tesband (:-fessam)** (F10. 1) (**do-esta**; for OIr **-testa** or **-tesban**, the latter example with the inflexion of **benaid**). *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F5\1, F10\1)*

Examples without **-enn\-ann**: **nī cheil** (F1. 6; see FN in Vol. I, p. 22) (**ceilid**), **torcaib (:orddain)** (F2. 32--see Note in Vol. I, p. 40) (**do-furgaib**), **nī tréic (tréicid)** (F1. 68). *(3 examples; 3 verbs; F1\2, F2\1; 1 example from an original simple strong verb)*

12.22 Pres. pl. 1

Abs. ending: **is mó sechme (:Eithne)** (F4. 9) (**sichid, seichid**) (rel.).

(1 example; 1 verb; F4 (1))

Passive forms

12.23 Pres. pass. and impv. pass. (*SNG*: 297: 12.21; 298: 12.24; 310: 12.86)

Ending without **-th-** retained in strong verbs: **dīa n-apar** (F1. 13) (**as-beir**, pres.), **canair** (**:Congal*aig***) (F7. 99) (**canaid**, pres.), **nā hanagar** (F1. 23) (**aingid**, impv.). (The strong pres. pass. of **as-beir** survives into ClModIr--*SNG*: 398: 7.3)

The **-th-** characteristic of weak verbs is used in **oirggther** (F1. 23) (**oirgid**, OIr **orcaid**, impv.--see the remark on p. 300.

(2 (+1) examples of the older form; 2 (+1) verbs; F1\2, F7\1; 1 of the newer; 1 verb; F1)

Preterite and Perfect (*SNG*: 299: 12.27-308: 12.75)

12.24 Pret. and perf. forms in sg. 3 (*SNG*: 299: 12.27)

a) Pret. forms in simple verbs: **mandrais** (F5. 127), **tollais** (**:llongais**) (F5. 98), **trīallais** (F2. 33; F10. 121), **trōethais** (F5. 51, 101), **gabais\gab*ais*** (F2. 35, 39; F7. 21), **oirggis** (F5. 99), **audbrais(*LL*)** (F11. 41), **arigis** (F1. 29), **cachtsus** (F11. 5) (+ suff. pron.), **rādsis(*LL*)** (F11. 17) (+ suff. pron.), **cechaing\cechaing** (F1. 19; F3. 81; F5. 43, 115), **geguin** (F1. 15; F3. 53), **mebaid** (F3. 68; F4. 4, 16, 36, 44, 82, 96), **reraig** (F3. 89; F5. 130), **selaid** (F5. 111), **selaig** (F5. 35), **sīacht** (F10. 129), **mad cert cin** (**:Brudin**) (F10. 21) (Knott, 1932: 272-274), **co mbert** (F5. 6; F11. 27, 49 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 317), **mad-ngīuil** (F1. 67), **dīa ng(c)íuil** (**:trīuin**) (F10. 96--see Note on p. 296), **dīa cloí** (**:baí**) (F11. 19 *LL*), **lāmair** (F5. 63), **tathaim** (F10. 7), **luid** (**nDruim**--imp.), (**:bruig**) (F3. 52; F10. 116).

(42 examples; 23 verbs; F1\4, F2\3, F3 (1)\3, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\6, F5\12, F7\1, F10\6, F11\5)

b) Forms with **ro** in simple verbs (including those OIr compound verbs which are treated as simple ones): 128 examples (see pp. 296-299, 301-302, 306-308).

(F1\9, F2\5, F3 (1)\4, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\7, F4 (2)\2, F5\27, F6\22, F7\9, F8\3, F9\1, F10\21, F11\5, F12\12)

c) Pret. forms in compound verbs: **con-tuil** (**:guin**) (F5. 102), **thall** (F12. 59) (**do-alla**), **as-bert** (F1. 31), **at-bath** (F6. 111, 115, 123, 184; F7. 104 *R*, 120; F8. 17, 23, 41, 57; F9. 21, 52; F10. 39), **at-bath** (**:brath**) (F10. 44), **do-ceir** (F5. 28; F8. 26), **do-cer** (F5. 120, 125; F7. 138; F8. 29, 35, 63, 67, 70, 81, 89, 97, 107, 117, 123, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139; F9. 61; F10. 16, 74, 93, 119), **do-cer** (**:fer**) (F10. 56), **do-lluid** (F5. 5, 114; F11. 9, 13), **(do-l)luid** (F5. 83--see Note in Vol. I, p. 137).

(50 examples; 6 verbs; F1\1, F5\7, F6\4, F7\3, F8\22, F9\3, F10\7, F11\2, F12\1)

d) Perf. forms in compound verbs: 119 examples (see pp. 299, 304-305, 307-308).

(F1\7, F3 (1)\4, F3 (2)\3, F4 (1)\14, F5\16, F6\21, F7\25, F8\9, F9\7, F10\8, F11\4, F12\1)

12.25 Pret. and perf. forms in pl. 3 (*SNG*: 301: 12.37)

a) Pret. forms in simple verbs: **cirrsit** (F5. 129), **orggsit** (F5. 69), **lotar** (F3. 37; F5. 92).

(4 examples; 3 verbs; F3 (1)\1, F5\3)

b) Perf. forms in simple verbs: **ro marbsat** (F8. 19; F9. 24; F10. 27), **ro airgset** (F5. 103), **ro gabsat** (F2. 55); without **ro** (see **12.12**, p. 82): **marbsat** (F5. 22), **gabsat** (F3. 49, 69).

(8 examples; 3 verbs; F2\1, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\2, F8\1, F9\1, F10\1)

c) Pret. forms in compound verbs: **do-cersat** (F4. 34).

(1 example; 1 verb; F4 (1))

d) Perf. forms in compound verbs: **fo-rrācsat** (F6. 67 *LL*), **do-rōnsat** (F4. 1), **i rrollsat**(*LL*) (F6. 172), **i torcratar** (F4. 74, 120, 136), **do-rochratar** (F9. 55--see Note in Vol. I, p. 273), **tucsat** (F3. 39).

(8 examples; 5 verbs; F3 (1)\1, F4 (1)\3, F4 (2)\1, F6\2, F9\1)

Preterite and Perfect: the s-pret. (*SNG*: 299: 12.28-301: 12.39)

12.26 Perf. sg. 3 in the s-pret. (*SNG*: 300: 12.32)

Ends in a vowel: **rodas brōena (:.ága, :Āeda)** (F4. 43) **(bráenaid)** (see FN in Vol. I, p. 94), **rod lēni (:ndēni)** (F3. 26) **(lénaid)**, **rodas cinne (:Finne)** (F4. 84) **(cingid**, later **cinnid**, declined as a wk verb; see FN in Vol. I, p. 107), **ro ēta (:cētna)** (F4. 71) **(étaid**, earlier **ad-cota)**, **rod n-erca (:Elpa)** (F10. 138) **(2 ercaid)**, **ro síni (:míli)** (F3. 66) **(sínid)**, **ro élai** (F5. 60) **(élaid**, earlier **as-luí)**.

(7 examples; 7 verbs; F3 (1)\2, F4 (1)\3, F5\1, F10\1; 109 examples with consonantal ending)

12.27 The palatal stem of **gaibid** is used instead of the non-palatal one in the pret.\perf. (*SNG*: 300: 12.33)

corra gaib (F5. 84).

(1 example; F5; 24 examples with non-palatal stem; 1 fixed by rhyme; see p. 301)

Preterite and Perfect: the t-pret. (*SNG*: 302: 12.40-303: 12.51)

12.28 Retention and loss of the t-pret.

a) t-pret.\perf. retained I (no survivals in ClModIr):

sīacht (F10. 129) **(saigid)**, **co mbert** (F5. 6; F11. 27, 49 *LL*--see Note in Vol. I, p. 317) **(beirid)**, **rod n-anacht (:.toracht)** (F1. 60) **(aingid)**, **do-rimmart** (F3. 75) **(do-immoirg)**, **dos-comart (:Connacht)** (F4. 100) **(do-fúairc)**, **doda-rair[*n*]gert**(*LL*) (F11. 54) **(do-airngir)**, **co n-ērbailt** (F6. 84, 96, 152), **co n-ērbuilt** (F7. 42), **(nōco)**, **(nocho) n-ērba(i)lt**

(:thrēnglacc; :cōelbalc) (F6. 136 *LL*; F10. 36) **(at-bail)** (all sg. 3), **nī tharmaltad(*LL*) (:tarmartad)** (F11. 7) **(do-meil)** (pass. based on active stem--see 91: **12.39** below). **ort** in F5. 46 is either the active form used without **ro**, or pass. used for act.

(1 uncertain and 15 certain examples; 8 (+1) verbs; F1\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\1 (+1), F6\4, F7\1, F10\2, F11\4)

b) t-pret.\perf. retained II (survivals in ClModIr) (*SNG*, IV: 411; *AMC*: 132): **as-bert** (F1. 31) **(as-beir)**, **at-*r*aacht** (F1. 55) **(at-reig)**, **ro-sīacht** (F5. 5) **(ro-saig)**, **do-rócht** (F1. 47), **co toracht\torac[h]t** (F1. 56; F2. 66; F12. 55 *R*), **nó co toracht (:Fothart)** (F1. 60) **(do-roich)** (sg. 3); **(ní) rīachtatar** (F4. 132) **(ro-saig)** (pl. 3).

(9 examples; 4 verbs; F1\5, F2\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\1, F12\1)

(Altogether 1 uncertain and 24 certain examples; 12 (+1) verbs; F1\6, F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1, F5\2 (+1), F6\4, F7\1, F10\2, F11\4, F12\1)

c) t-pret.\perf. lost: **oirggis** (F5. 99) (sg. 3), **orggsit** (F5. 69), **ro airgset** (F5. 103) (pl. 3) **(oirgid**, OIr **orcaid)**; **ro īarfaig** (F1. 3), **mār(o) īarfaig** (F1. 5--see Note in Vol. I, p. 12) (sg. 3) **(íarmi-foich, -foig**; MIr **íarfaigid)**, **audbrais** (F11. 41 *LL*) (sg. 3) **(ad-opair**, later **a(i)dbr(a)id, aud-, id-, ed-)**, **ro innsaig** (F12. 57) (sg. 3) **(ind-saig**, later **indsaigid, innsaigid)**. *(7 examples; 4 verbs; F1\2, F5\3, F11\1, F12\1)*

12.29 Palatal ending in the pret.\perf. sg. 3 of the t-pret. after an unstressed vowel (*SNG*: 302: 12.45)

(co n-), (nocho n-) ērbailt (F6. 84, 96, 152), **co n-ērbuilt** (F7. 42) **(at-bail**, perf. sg. 3--Thur. §758). *(4 examples; 1 verb; F6\3, F7\1)*

In **(nōco), (nocho) n-ērba(i)lt** (F6. 136 *LL*; F10. 36) the rhyme with **thrēnglacc** and **cōelbalc** shows that originally the poet had a non-palatal final consonant in this word. *R* and *Lc* have **-ērbalt** respectively. *(2 examples; F6\1, F10\1)*

12.30 Omission of the **-t** in sg. 3 of the t-pret. (*SNG*: 303: 12.46)

torach[t] (F10. 33). *(1 example; 1 verb; F10; 24 examples with **-t**--see **12.28** above)*

Preterite and Perfect: the suffixless preterite (*SNG*: 303: 12.52-306: 12.68)

12.31 The reduplicated preterite (*SNG*: 304: 12.55)

a) Verbs which retain reduplication I (no survivals in ClModIr): **ro mebaid (:debaid)** (F3. 5), **ro mebaid** (F3. 9), **mebaid (:debaid)** (F3. 68), **mebaid** (F4. 4, 16, 36, 44, 82, 96) **(maidid)**, **reraig** (F3. 89; F5. 130) **(rigid)**, **selaid** (F5. 111), **selaig** (F5. 35) **(sligid)**.

(13 examples; 3 verbs; F3 (1)\3, F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\6, F5\3)

b) Verbs which retain reduplication II (survivals in later stages of the language): **rānic** (F9. 51; F11. 17) (**ro-icc**), **tánic\tānic** (F1. 48; F5. 14), **dīa tāncatar** (F9. 2) (**do-icc**), **cīa fūair** (F2. 25), **fo-fūair** (F6. 146 *R*), **fúair\fūair** (F5. 8, 38; F6. 141, 147, 149 *LL*, 157, 163, 175; F7. 67; F9. 65), **cona fūaratar** (F1. 22), **fūaratar** (F2. 56) (**fo-gaib**), **at-chūala (:chūanna)** (F4. 129) (**ro-cluinethar**), **a ndo-ringni** (F3. 61), **do-ringned** (F1. 40), **da-ringned** (F1. 61) (the last two as pass.--see **12.39**, p. 91) (**do-gní**); maybe also ***fo-r*ūair** (F4. 124) (**fo-gaib** or **fo-fera**). Concerning **selad** (F3. 71), see FN in Vol. I, p. 68.

(1 uncertain and 23 certain examples; 5 verbs; F1\4, F2\2, F3 (1)\1, F4 (2)\1 (+1), F5\3, F6\7, F7\1, F9\3, F11\1)

c) Verbs which do not retain reduplication: **ro chren (:ben)** (F11. 3) (**crenaid**), **cīaro bá (:innarba)** (F10. 115) (**baïd**), **coro n-indarb** (F6. 158) (**ind-árban**), **ro ēta (:cētna)** (F4. 71) (**ad-cota**), **ro chossain** (F5. 86) (**con-sní**).

(5 examples; 5 verbs; F4 (1)\1, F5\1, F6\1, F10\1, F11\1)

d) Concerning **gonaid**, **cingid**, **glenaid**, **dingid**, **benaid**, which appear both with and without reduplication, see **12.6 b)**.

(13 forms with reduplication; F1\3, F3 (1)\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\3, F8\1, F10\4; 5 without it; F1\1, F4 (1)\1, F6\1, F9\1, F8\1; 5 verbs)

(Altogether 26 (+23) forms with reduplication; 8 (+5) verbs; F1\3 (+4), F2\(+2), F3 (1)\4 (+1), F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\6, F4 (2)\(+1), F5\6 (+3), F6\(+7), F7\(+1), F8\1, F9\(+3), F10\4, F11\(+1)); 10 without it; 10 verbs; F1\1, F4 (1)\2, F5\1, F6\2, F8\1, F9\1, F10\1, F11\1)

12.32 The ā-pret.\perf. (*SNG*: 304: 12.56)

ro dámair (:lágain) (F10. 83) (**daimid**), **lāmair** (F5. 63) (OIr **ro-laimethar**) (both sg.), **tārraid** (F2. 45) (**do-airret**) (survives in ClModIr--*SNG*, IV: 408-412: 7.16).

(3 examples; F2\1, F5\1, F10\1)

12.33 The ī-pret.\perf.

Retained in **a n-ad-chōad** (F5. 135) (**ad-fét**). *(1 example; F5)*

Lost in **ro thogal** (F5. 24) (**2 do-fich**). *(1 example; F5)*

12.34 Suppletive verbs (*SNG*: 304: 12.58)

Suppletive forms are retained everywhere: **at-bail** (pret. **at-bath**--14 examples, see **12.3**, p. 77), **do-tuit** (pret. **do-cer\do-ceir\do-cersat**--29 examples, see **12.3**, p. 77; perf. **do-**

rochair\torchair\do-rochratar\tocratar--75 examples, see **12.1**, p. 75), **do-tét** (pret. **do-lluid**--F5. 5, 114; F11. 9, 13--4 examples), **téit** (pret. **luid**--F3. 52; F10. 116, **lotar**--F3. 37; F5. 92--4 examples; perf. **do-chūaid**--5 examples--see **12.3**, p. 77; **dechaid**--F1. 17) (**do-l)luid** in F5. 83 belongs either to **téit** or to **do-tét**; see Note in Vol. I, p. 137), **do-beir** (perf. **connāchas tarddus**--F2. 64, **dos-fuc**--F1. 53, **do-rat**--F5. 31, 49, 62, **dod-rat**(*LL*)--F7. 84, **co tart** F5. 6, **tuc**--F1. 50; F3. 79; F5. 16, 100; F6. 83, **(co), (conos) tuc**--F5. 44, 85, **tucsat**--F3. 39--15 examples), **beirid** (perf. **ro fuc**--F5. 7, **ruc**--F5. 107--2 examples), **imm-téit** (perf. **im-rulaid**--F3. 82--1 example), **do-cuirethar** (perf. **i tarla**--F1. 34--1 example), **fo-ceird** (perf. **i rrollsat**--F6. 172--1 example). *(153 examples; 9 verbs; F1\4, F2\1, F3 (1)\5, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\15, F4 (2)\1, F5\24, F6\18, F7\27, F8\30, F9\11, F10\12, F11\2, F12\1)*
Note that the perf. of **do-tuit, téit, do-tét, beirid, do-beir, do-cuireathar** and **fo-ceird** survive into ClModIr. *(100 examples) (7 verbs)*

12.35 Occasional interchange of a final palatal and non-palatal consonant in the pret. sg. 3 (*SNG*: 305: 12.59)
do-ceir (F5. 28; F8. 26) (sg. 3, **do-tuit**). *(2 examples; 1 verb; F5\1, F8\1)*
do-cer (:fer) (F10. 56), **do-cer** (F5. 120, 125; F8. 29, 35, 63, 67, 70, 81, 89, 97, 107, 117, 123, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139; F9. 61; F10. 16, 74, 93, 119) (older form).
(25 examples; 1 verb; F5\2, F8\17, F9\1, F10\5)

12.36 Passive stem is used in the pret.\perf. active (*SNG*: 306: 12.66)
rod n-attacht (:bacalt) (F11. 16 *LL*) **(ad-teich), ro slecht Conaire [...] in caur** (F5. 117) **(sligid), do-rōni** (F1. 5), **dos-róna (:crōda)** (F5. 138), **na nderna (:Temra)** (F1. 23) (all perf. sg. 3), **do-rōnsat** (F4. 1) (perf. pl. 3) **(do-gní)** (in this verb the use of the passive stem in the active might have also been strengthened by the fact that the pres. subj. stem with infixed **-ro-** is identical with the perf. pass. stem).
(3 verbs; 6 examples; F1\2, F4 (1)\1, F5\2, F11\1)
The active stem is retained in **a ndo-ringni (:.airgnai, nDaigri)** (F3. 61), **selaig** (F5. 35) **selaid** (F5. 111), and in the other strong\hiatus\suppletive verbs--see **12.28, 12.31-34**.

Preterite\Perfect Passive (*SNG*: 12.69-12.75)
12.37 Confusion between sg. abs. and conj. endings (*SNG*: 306: 12.70)
I have no certain example of this phenomenon. On **selad** (F3. 71), see FN in Vol. I, p. 68; and on **fríth** for **fo-fríth**, see 81: **12.8**.

12.38 Retention of distinct forms in strong, hiatus, suppletive and irregular verbs (*SNG*: 307: 12.72)

a) Retained in I (no survivals in ClModIr): **bretha** (F1. 57) **(beirid)**, **(ro) slecht (:cert, Techt, dlecht)** (F10. 22, 58, 81), **(ro) slecht** (F5. 15, 67, 77, 117) **(sligid)**, **ro rath (:cath)** (F4. 25) **(ernaid)**, **(i)**, **(dīa) mbíth\bīth** (F4. 11, 50, 52, 106; F10. 84), **i mbītha** (F4. 103), **ro bíth\bīth** (F4. 66; F5. 72, 126), **(i)**, **(las') rrubad (:cuman, Ulad)** (F4. 94; F5. 128), **(i)**, **(dīa) rrubad\rubad** (F4. 48, 58, 60, 64, 102, 108--see Note in Vol. I, p. 98), **inro bíth** (F4. 78), **ro bítha** (F4. 89) **(benaid)**, **re dlecht (:slecht)** (F10. 82) **(dligid)**, **ro fecht (:lecht)** (F1. 12) **(figid)**, **ro gníd** (F1. 63) **(gníid)**, **ort** (F5. 39, 89, 97; F10. 10) **(oirgid**, OIr **orcaid)**, **do-gníth** (F11. 45) **(do-gní)**. *(36 examples; 8 verbs; F1\3, F4 (1)\16, F5\10, F10\6, F11\1)*

b) Retained in II (survivals in later stages of the lang.--SNG, IV: 410-411): **rucad** (F1. 58--see Note in Vol. I, p. 20) **(beirid)**, **(las') tucad** (F1. 10; F4. 138; F10. 134) **(do-beir)**, **ro-closs (:Fergos)** (F12. 11) **(ro-cluinethar)**, **fríth (:crích)** (F6. 126), **fríth** (F6. 55; F8. 99) **(fo-gaib)**, **ara ndernad (:febglan)** (F1. 11), **(las')**, **(i) ndernad\ndernad** (F1. 9, 45) **(do-gní)** (see also **12.39** below).

(11 examples; 5 verbs; F1\5, F4 (2)\1, F6\2, F8\1, F10\1, F12\1)

(Altogether 47 examples; 12 strong\hiatus verbs; F1\8, F4 (1)\16, F4 (2)\1, F5\10, F6\2, F8\1, F10\7, F11\1, F12\1)

c) Lost in: **ro lamad** (F4. 127) **(ro-laimethar**, MIr **lamaid)** and **ro fāemad** (F2. 19) **(fo-eim)**. *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F2\1, F4 (2)\1)*

d) **nād chlethe (:Lethe)** (F3. 34)--past part. of **celid**, based on the pret. passive stem.

e) On **selad** in F3. 71 and **slecht** in F5. 19, see the FN in Vol. I, p. 68 and 131.

12.39 Perf. active stem used in the perf. pass. (*SNG*: 308: 12.75)

do-ringned (F1. 40), **da-ringned (:Frigrend**--imp.) (F1. 61) (rel.) (for OIr **do-rónad**; **do-gní**). Note the infixed **-n-**, which is a MIr development--see 94: **12.52** below. I have three examples of the perf. pass. stem used in the perf. pass.--see above, 90: **12.36**.

DIL has the following note on **ní tharmaltad (:tarmartad)** (F11. 7) **(do-meil)**: "this is perh. a pret. pass. form from stem -tormalt" (i.e. the pret.\perf. active stem). I believe that they are right. The **-a-** can be explained by the MIr interchange of **o** and **a** in stressed syllables before a non-palatal consonant (see p. 18: **2.4**).

(3 examples; 2 verbs; F1\2, F11\1)

12.40 Falling together of final unstressed vowels and their consequences (*SNG*: 307:

12.73)

bretha (F1. 57): This is used for OIr **brethae**, the pret. pass. sg. abs. form of **beirid**; thus the distinction between this form and the form of the pret. pass. pl. conjunct is lost. (In theory this could be the pass. pl. conj. form as well; Gwynn--1924: 107-- translates it as a sg.) (See also Orthography, pp. 8-9: **1.28 i.**)

Subjunctive (*SNG*: 308: 12.76-314: 12.114)

12.41 The s-subjunctive (*SNG*: 308: 12.77; 310-311: 12.87-12.94)

a) Retained in: **cía thois (:Chnámrois)** (F10. 111) (**toingid**, pres. subj. sg. 2), **co n-écsem** (F3. 3) (**in(d)-fét**, perfective subj. pl. 1), **ro-fessad** (F1. 69) (**ro-fitir**, past subj. sg. 3), **ïarfais** (F1. 39), **dïa n-ïarfais** (F5. 138), (**íarmi-foich**, pres. subj. sg. 3). On these last two examples, see the Notes in Vol. I, pp. 17 and 142.
(5 examples; 4 verbs; F1\2, F3 (1)\1, F5\1, F10\1; s-subj. survives in ClModIr in ***ro-fitir****-- SNG, IV: 407-408: 7.15)*

b) Lost in: **dā n-ïarfaigther** (F1. 11) (pres. subj. pass. sg. after **día**, `if') (**íarmi-foich**) (note that this may just be the present indicative), **cor inniseor (:on)** (pres. subj. sg. 1) (F8. 2) **(in(d)-fét)** (ā-subj. in both cases) *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F1\1, F8\1).*

12.42 New, MIr pres. subj. sg. 1 ending (*SNG*: 309: 12.79)

cor inniseor (:on) (F8. 2) (s-subj. in OIr; **in(d)-fét**). The new ending comes from the subj. sg. 1 ending of deponent verbs. *(1 example; 1 verb; F8)*

12.43 Pres. subj. sg. 3

Breatnach (*SNG*: 310: 12.90) has only one absolute form. In these poems, **ïarfais** (F1. 39) is probably the absolute form, with **íarmi-foich** conjugated as a simple verb here. See also the Note in Vol. I, p. 17.

12.44 Pres. subj. with **ro**

coro áirmi (F5. 134) (**ad-rími**), **cor inniseor (:on)** (F8. 2) (**indisid**, earlier **in(d)-fét**). *(2 examples; 2 verbs; F5\1, F8\1)*

Future and Secondary Future (*SNG*: 314-323: 12.115-12.189)

12.45 s-future and secondary future (*SNG*: 314: 12.115)

a) Lost in **ní écind** (F5. 136) (sec. fut. sg. 1; Prof. Breatnach has suggested that **éc-**

instead of **écs-** or **écf-** might be a form extrapolated from the sg. 3 pres. subj. on the analogy of **coro léicea)** and **innisfet** (F7. 3) (fut. sg. 1 abs.) **(in(d)-fét)**.
(2 examples; 1 verb; F5\1, F7\1)
b) Retained in **ad-fessam (:tesband)** (F10. 2) **(ad-fét**, fut. pl. 1).
(1 example; 1 verb; F10)

12.46 New MIr fut. sg. 1 abs. ending (*SNG*: 265: 10.4, 316: 12.122)
innisfet (F7. 3) **(in(d)-fét**, fut. sg. 1, orig. s-fut.). The new ending comes from the OIr abs. weak ending **-fa\-fea** plus the 3rd sg. neut. suffixed pronoun, **-it** (Thur. §431). I have no example of the older form. *(1 example; 1 verb; F7)*

12.47 é-future and secondary future (*SNG*: 317: 12.130-318: 12.140; 321: 12.166-322: 12.174)
In all of the examples the é-future goes back to OIr: **ní chél (:Scīathbél)** (F9. 25) **(ceilid**, sg. 1 conj.), **mēraid** (F5. 135) **(maraid, mairid**, sg. 3 abs.), **gébas** (F2. 67) **(gaibid**, sg. 3 rel.), ***con*nā gēbad (:rélad)** (F2. 34) (sec. fut. sg. 3).
(4 examples; 3 verbs; F2\2, F5\1, F9\1)

12.48 Future of **ar-tá**
The old future is retained in **ar-biä (:ciä)** (F2. 67). *(1 example; 1 verb; F2)*

Other developments
12.49 New form of the substantive verb in the pres. ind. sg. 3 (*SNG*: 323: 12.191)
ōr nach fail (F7. 145 *LL*) for OIr **fil**, conj.; but **ní fil** in F1. 69. *(1 example; F7)*

12.50 Reduced forms of the copula (*SNG*: 324: 12.195)
a) Loss of final **-o** in the perf. sg. 3 before a vowel or a lenited **f**: **rop fochaid** (F1. 54), **rop (é *LL*), (ānalt)** (F6. 91; F11. 38), **nīrb immomon** (F10. 50), **nachorb anfine** (F6. 198), **cíarb écair** (F12. 39), **nocorb olc** (F4. 134).
(7 examples; F1\1, F4 (2)\1, F6\2, F10\1, F11\1, F12\1)
The **-o** is retained before a vowel in **dīarbo aindir** (F1. 51), **ropo (ingen), (ergnaid)** (F1. 52, 62), **cīarbo (indsa), (ollam)** (F1. 55; F5. 120), and **cīarbo é** (F10. 140).
(6 examples; F1\4, F5\1, F10\1)
b) Loss of final **-o** in the pres. subj. sg. 3 with **ro**: **rop comthach** (F12. 67 *LL*).

(1 example; F12)

c) Loss of final **-b** in the perf. sg. 3: **nīr thláith** (F6. 70), **nīr(*LL*) fata(*LL*)** (F6. 73) (*cf. R*, where the **-b** is retained), **nār(*LL*) fóen(*LL*)** (F6. 113), **cīar(*LL*) fell(*LL*)** (F7. 67), **cenchor fand** (F8. 29), **cencor fand** (F9. 23).

(6 examples; F6\3, F7\1, F8\1, F9\1)

d) Concerning **nāro omnus** in F4. 59, see Note in Vol. I, p. 95. On leniţion after the various forms of the copula, see Phonology, p. 27: **2.29 g.**

(Altogether 14 examples; F1\1, F4 (2)\1, F6\5, F7\1, F8\1, F9\1, F10\1, F11\1, F12\2)

12.51 New stem of **fo-ácaib**

fo-rrācsat (F6. 67 *LL*) for OIr **fo-rágabsat**, pret.\perf. 3rd pl. of **fo-ácaib**. According to *DIL*, the deuterotonic stem **fo-ác** was formed from the stem **fác-** by analogy. As for **fácb** > **fác**, see *SNG*: 324: 12.196. (*Cf. R.* **ro fācsat.**)

12.52 New form of the perf. act.\pass. stem of **do-gní** with **-n-** (*SNG*: 325: 12.197)

do-ringned (F1. 40), **da-ringned** (**:Frigrend**--imp.) (F1. 61) (rel.) (OIr **do-rónad**, pass.), **a ndo-ringni** (**:airgnai, nDaigri**) (F3. 61) (perf. sg. 3) (OIr **do-rigni**). I have no example of the original perf. act. or pass. deut. form without **-n-**.

(3 examples; F1\2, F3 (1)\1)

12.53 **-á-** instead of **-a-** in the pret.\perf. of **gaibid** and **at-reig** (*SNG*: 325: 12.199)

coro gáb (**:crád**) (F10. 100). *DIL* cites this example under **cráidid** with the following remark: "*metri gratia*". This metrical device would not be absolutely necessary here, as we already have the customary rhyme between the third and the fourth line of the stanza with **cáin : láim**; however, in many last lines all the stressed words are fixed by the metre (see Vol. I, pp. 282-283), so it would be very tempting to read this form with a long **á** here. I have 24 examples of **gab** with short **a**; however, none of these is fixed by the metre. See p. 301.

at-*r*aacht (F1. 55)--*DIL* has the following note on this form: "The form atraacht occurring occas. in mid. Ir. may be a dissimilation-form from the perf. atraracht." I have no example of the older form.

12.54 New form of the perf. sg. 3 prot. of **do-beir**

co tart (F5. 6) (OIr **co tarat**; **do-beir**, perf. sg. 3 prot.)

This form seems to be a back-formation from pl. 3 **-tartsat**, which replaces earlier **-tarat**. (For the use of this form in ClModIr, see *SNG*, IV: 415-416: 7.25).

12.55 MIr verbal nouns

a) *DIL* has the following note on **tārrachtain** (F5. 12): "Mid. and Mod. Ir. *vn.* based prob. on several verbs. The long -á- is somet. fixed by rhyme, *etc.* in syll. verse [...], but in older MSS. it is only exceptionally marked long. Perh. <*to-air-reth-, but the form with long -á-, if old, may be due to a compd. *to-ad-reth. The form may further have been influenced by torachtain, *vn.* of do-roich (ro-saig), with which it agrees to some extent in sense".

b) New form of the verbal noun of **at-tá**: **(ïar), (a) mbeith** (F2. 50; F4. 134).

c) MIr vn. of **do-icc**: **ic tíacthain** (F8. 101) for OIr **tíchtain**, dat. sg. of **tíchtu**, f, n. (*DIL* lists this word together with **tíacht** and **tíachtu**.)

12.56 MIr form of **ol**

or (F1. 23) and **ar** (F11. 34) occur twice in these poems. Note that the OIr form, **ol** can be found in F1. 24 and 33.

(2 examples of the old form; F1; 2 examples of the new form; F1\1, F11\1)

12.57 inro bíth (F4. 78). *DIL*: "in the OIr glosses the form of the prep. before **ro** was **(h)i**. Later **in** came to be used instead." This is the only example in my texts of **i** + abs.\deut. form. Compare: **i rrubad (:cuman, Ulad)** (F4. 94; F5. 128), **i rrubad** (F4. 48, 58, 60, 64, 102, 108--see Note in Vol. I, p. 98).

12.58 Pret.\perf. of **fo-gaib (fúair)** without **f**

ní*(n)*ro n-ūair (:Clūain) (F6. 160 *LL*) for OIr **-fúair**, pret.\perf. conj. 3rd sg. of **fo-gaib** (*cf. R* **nocon fūair**). (Provided that this is not **fo-fera**, 'prepares, causes', although the meaning of this latter verb would not fit in here). In F4. 134 **fo-rūair** seems to belong to **fo-gaib**, although this form was probably influenced by the perf. sg. 3 of **fo-fera**, **fo-rúar**. I have no other example of OIr **-fúair** in dependent position. *(2 examples; F4 (2)\1, F6\1)*

12.59 New prot.\conj. stem of **con-imchloí**

coro chlōemchlāe (F6. 27 *LL*)--the first **l** must have been inserted as a result of assimilation to the second **-chl-** sequence.

12.60 Generalisation of the vowel **-é-** in the present stem of **ad-fét**

ad-fédim (:Ēllim) (sg. 1) and **ad-fédem (:Hērend)** (F5. 79) (pl. 1). In the former case, one would have expected ***ad-fíad** here, while the Milan glosses have **ad-fíadam** for the latter (see *DIL*). I have no example of the older form.

12.61 Singular verb used with a semantically plural subject antecedent

a cóic cethrachat do rígaib ro gab Ailech (F2. 65).

12.62 Abs. ending used for conjunct

dīa n-īarfais nech crōda ciä (F5. 138) (**íarmi-foich**, pres. subj. sg. 3). See Note in Vol. I, p. 142. *(1 example; F5)*

12.63 Double **ro**

Ro is used twice in **coros derluig (:Temraig)** (F10. 86--see Note in Vol. I, p. 295) (**do-luigi**, perf. sg. 3). *(1 example; F10)*

13. WORD ORDER

13.1 Adjective precedes the noun it qualifies (*SNG*: 332: 14.2)

ri ré dā fichet būan blīad*an* (F2. 4) (in theory, **būan** could also refer to **fichet**; however, that would not make much sense); **chrūaid n-aithle** (F3. 21) (gen. pl.; `of stern consequences') (for alliteration and rhyme); **clainne cóir Conaill** (F5. 52); **ard hūa Canaind** (F5. 129); **corra gaib ule a ngīallu** (F5. 83) (`and took their hostages all'); **coro marb in cáem Īrgalach** (F7. 44 *LL*) (or substantivised adj.); **hūa cīallmāir Congal*aig*** **(:Cíannāin)** (F7. 100 *LL*) (but *R* has nom. sg. **cīalmār**).

(7 examples; F2\1, F3 (1)\1, F5\3, F7\2)

13.2 Preposed genitive (*SNG*: 332: 14.6)

forraig gleōgal (F2. 1) (in cheville); **bec[h]tai n-airig** (F3. 70-see FN on p. 68); **brechta brígail** (F5. 20) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 131); **cond Cruthne *c*rích** (F5. 34); **cīarbo é Hēr*end* ōenrí** (F10. 140). *(5 examples; F2\1, F3 (2)\1, F5\2, F10\1)*

13.3 Preposed genitive in a prepositional phrase (*SNG*: 332: 14.6)

īar troch togairm (F3. 49); **a m*ei*c im lecht condail(t)** (F1. 12).

(2 examples; F1\1, F3 (1)\1)

13.4 Qualifying adj(s). or prepositional phrase placed between two elements of a personal or place-name, or between a personal name and a sobriquet

do Murchertach mór m*ac* Erca (F2. 7); **do Máel find Fithrig** (F2. 15); **do Chrundmáel m*ac* sāer Subni** (F2. 17); **rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán** (F3. 72); **i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain** (F3. 76); **Murchertach mór m*ac* Erca** (F4. 4, 26); **Conall m*ac* lond Longsig** (F4. 47); **Fland Gōan co nglangbail m*ac* crón Congail** (F4. 56); **Māel būadach Bresail** (F4. 80); **Níal[l] cían Caille** (F4. 84); **Māel ard Ísu** (F4. 108); **i nDún f*or*glas Forgo** (F5. 30); **Dūngal m*ac* scíth Scandail** (F5. 34); **co Carn cāem Cornáin** (F5. 47); **co Cond calma Cētchathach** (F6. 16); **oc Cill scothair Scīre** (F7. 52); **la Crimthand scorach Scīathbél** (F9. 26); **i mMaig mūad Maisten** (F10. 16); **la Mál m*ac* réil Rochride** (F10. 60); **athair Cuind chrūaid Chētch*athaig*** (F10. 68); **Muridach treōrach Tírech** (F10. 120); **Eocho mínglan Mugmed*ōn*** (F10. 126); **Cremthand m*ac* fāengel Fid*aig*** (F10. 130); **in nĀed sāer slūagach Slāne** (F11. 52).

(25 examples; F2\3, F3 (2)\2, F4 (1)\7, F5\3, F6\1, F7\1, F9\1, F10\6, F11\1)

But: **Nīall ūa Rūairc rebach** (F5. 116).

13.5 Verb + Object + Subject

tuc anair dar (s)rían rudach \ trī choícait curach Cairell (F3. 79-80)

ní ētat a ārim eōlaig (F4. 2)

co tabrad fīad in dīan drechach (F5. 9)

slecht *sescait* ríg *is* dā coīcait [...] \ [...] m*ac* Erca (F5. 19-20) (provided that the abbreviation does not stand for **mei**c--see Note in Vol. I, p. 131)

ro folaig Gaillu in gormthorc (F5. 61)

oirggis Insi Gall in gargrí (F5. 99)

ro slecht Conaire [...] in caur cētna (F5. 117)

cora ben a dīanblait dē \ Dīarmait (F6. 63-64)

ro marbsat Céin [Cían] [...] \ Brīan Iuchurba *ocus* Iuchair (F8. 19-20)

ro marbsat in mbūadching bil \ na trī Rūadchind do Laig*nib* (F10. 27-28)

ro gab gīal[l]blaid cech druing dē \ a chlīamain Cuind Conaire (F10. 77-78)

coro chluí a bretho a blaid \ int Eocho m*ac* Muredaig (F10. 123-124)

siacht cert nGāedel cosin ngail \ Cremthand (F10. 129-130)

ro chren fīalgarta [...] \ ben Dīarmata (F11. 3-4)

tāraill cossecrad do brond \ int úan álaind ētrachtoll (F11. 35-36 *LU*)

(1 uncertain and 14 certain examples; F3 (2)\1, F4 (1)\1, F5\4 (+1), F6\1, F8\1, F10\4, F11\2)

13.6 Prepositional pronoun brought forward in copula sentence

dó ba hēcen bīathad Echach (F5. 10), **foraib ba sáer im-rulaid (:churaig)** (F3. 82). The usual word order would be **ba hēcen dó** and **ba sáer im-rulaid foraib** respectively. *(2 examples; F3 (2)\1, F5)*

13.7 Coordination without conjunction

a) Preposition + two dependent nouns: **do gemmaib glainib** (F1. 65) (for other examples, see Carney, 1964: 156 12 a).

b) Two predicative adjectives: **ba dían degrach** (F4. 77) (Thur. §878).

c) Two adjs. used adverbially with **co**, which is omitted before the second one:

co cummair comse (F9. 67).

d) Two objects: **coro chluí a bretho a blaid** (F10. 123).

e) Two verbs: **ūair ro crád ro cáin** (F10. 99) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 301).

13.8 A proper name is cut into two by the end of a line*caesura*

Ail*il*l \ Inbanna (F3. 29-30). *(1 example; F3 (1)\1)*

13.9 Cheville placed between two parts of a semantically closely-knit group

***trícha* cét caínid dona trēnaib** (F4. 32). *(1 example; F4 (1)\1)*

13.10 Use of both sg. and pl. forms in the case of **Túatha Dé Danand** (treated as a collective--*SNG*: 331: 14.2)

Sg.: **ro marbsat Tūath Dē D*anand* (:Fúat)** (F9. 24) (nom., with pl. verb), **Tūathe Dē D*anand* (:tūachle)** (F8. 4), **Tūathe Dē D*anand*** (F8. 74) (gen.), **de Thūaith Dē D*anand*** (F8. 6) (dat.).

Pl.: **it Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig** (F1. 41) (nom.), **Tūath Dē D*anand*** (F8. 98--see Note in Vol. I, p. 252) (gen.)

13.11 An adv. of negation, **ní** is used after the conj. **úair**

ūair nī tharmaltad (F11. 7 *LL*); the OIr norm concerning the conjunction is reflected in **úair ná tarmaltad** (F11. 7 *LU*).

PART III

SUMMARY OF METRICAL FEATURES

SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES

SUMMARY OF METRICAL FEATURES

In this section I wish to give an overview of the metrical features of the poems, especially with reference to Murphy (1961), Knott (1966), Ó Cuív (1968 and 1987), and Ní Dhomhnaill (1975).

1. About the metres in general

The twelve poems analysed in this thesis are written in four different metres. The most frequently used metre is *debide scaílte fota*, in which seven of the poems are written: F6, F7, F8, F9, F10, F11 and F12. The second most commonly used metre is *dechnad cummaisc*, which is used in four of the poems: F1, F2, F4 and F5. Finally, F3 is written in two metres: *rinnard* and *rannaigecht bec*.

1.1 The poems written in *debide scaílte fota* (F6, F7, F8, F9, F10, F11 and F12)

This is just one of the *debide* type metres discussed by Murphy in 1961: 65-70. The stanza structure is $7^x7^{x+1\text{ or }2}7^x7^{x+1\text{ or }2}$. Note that occasionally there is no *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet (see the discussion on p. 104 below); the metre *deibide do-cheil a chubaid* (*ibid*: 66) corresponds to this pattern. Ní Dhomhnaill describes two types of *debide*: one written in `meadaracht fhoirfe' and the other in `ógláchas' (1975: 76). In the first one the syllable count is $7^x7^{x+1}7^x7^{x+1}$, while in the second $7^x7^{x+1\text{ or }2}7^x7^{x+1\text{ or }2}$ (often 7^17^1 or 7^27^2 in *ab*). So the poems attributed to Fland written in *debide* correspond more to the syllabic pattern of the `ógláchas' type *debide* in bardic poetry.

Debide was the most common type of metre during the bardic period (Knott, 1966: 19, Ó Cuív, 1968: 277). Thus, from the point of view of the development of *dán díreach*, it is worth examining to what extent the poems attributed to Fland fulfil the strict requirements concerning this metre which were laid down at the end of the 12th century.

Some work has already been done on this, notably by Ó Cuív, who, in his article *Some Developments in Irish Metrics* (1968: 273-290) examined the development of this particular metre in the Old and Middle Irish periods. His method was to compare certain features of *debide* which are obligatory in *dán díreach* with the frequency of their occurrence in the Old and Middle Irish periods.

"There is a great difference between eighth-century *deibhidhe* and *deibhidhe* composed according to the rules of *dán díreach*. These rules can be

summarised as follows:

(1) there must be seven syllables in each line;

(2) the final word in *b* must have one syllable more than the final word in *a*, and the final word in *a* must make perfect rime with the unstressed syllable(s) of the final word in *b*; similarly in the case of *c* and *d*;

(3) each stressed word (other than the last) in *d* must make perfect rime with some word (other than the last) in *c*;

(4) a non-riming stressed word may not occur between riming words in *c*;

(5) each line must have alliteration and the alliteration in *d* must be between the last two stressed words;

(6) vowels may (or must) be elided in certain circumstances." (1968: 277)

(For comparison, as far as the characteristic features of *debide* type metres are concerned in Early Irish poetry, Murphy (1961: 66) notes that they often have internal rhyme as well as the obligatory end-rhymes between *a/b* and *c/d*. Of the 12 lines that Murphy has as an illustration of *debide scaílte fota*, 10 contain alliteration.)

Then, concerning the criteria Ó Cuív used when examining the Old and Middle Irish poems written in *debide*, he goes on to say:

"I have also disregarded (i) irregularities or inconsistencies in the use of elision; (ii) the requirement listed under (4) above, and (iii) irregularity in the syllabic count of lines. The features taken for comparison are (1) *rinn-airdrinn*, (2) internal rime in *c-d*, and (3) alliteration. I have tried to assess all examples in relation to *dán díreach* of the Modern Irish period. Thus I have generally counted as imperfect rimes which would be classed as such if they occurred in a Modern Irish poem--such as rimes in which there is not full correspondence of vowels or consonants--even though the poet who used them in the Old Irish or Middle Irish period probably regarded them as adequate ornament in his verse. For this reason I have rejected the rimes of the 1 : 1 (*guilbneach*) and 1 : 3 types under the heading *rinn-airdrinn*, and also rimes such as *lí : déodai, fir : galair, deilb : Sathairnn, athar : rígrathach*." (1968: 278)

Among others, Ó Cuív analyses six poems attributed to Fland (1968: 284-285), five

of which appear in this thesis (F6, F7, F10, F11 and F12). Note that he does not have the data for F8 and F9, which I have added here (probably because he did not consider them to have been written by Fland--on problems concerning authorship, see Vol. I, pp. 264-265 and the Conclusion on p. 189: **5.9**). The *debide* poems analysed here have 842 lines, that is they consist of 210 full quatrains and one half-quatrain. The syllable count in all of these poems is regular, and fulfils the *dán díreach* requirement (concerning the lines which seem to have one syllable more or one syllable less, see the Notes which follow the text of each poem in Vol. I). On elision in general, see section **4.**, pp. 125-128 below. The table below lists my figures for the seven poems in respect of the three criteria taken into consideration by Ó Cuív. I have also calculated the average for each criterion in these poems. I have listed the poems according to the total figure for their correspondence to the norms of *dán díreach* in decreasing order.

	Rinn[1]	**Rhyme**[2]	**Alliteration**[3]	**Total**
F11 (no. 3 in Ó Cuív)	**22/30=73%**	**22/28=79%**	**48/60=80%**	**92/118=78%**
F10 (no. 1 in Ó Cuív)	**46/70=66%**	**51/71=72%**	**107/140=76%**	**204/281=73%**
F9	**24/36=67%**	**6/35=17%**	**62/72=86%**	**92/143=64%**
F6 (no. 4 in Ó Cuív)	**74/102=73%**	**39/107=36%**	**148/204=73%**	**261/414=63%**
F8	**49/76=64%**	**16/76=21%**	**122/152=80%**	**187/304=61%**
F7 (no. 5 in Ó Cuív)	**59/73=80%**	**7/73=10%**	**95/146=65%**	**161/292=55%**
F12 (no. 6 in Ó Cuív)	**25/34=74%**	**4/29=14%**	**41/68=60%**	**70/131=53%**
Average	**299/421=71%**	**145/416=35%**	**623/842=74%**	**1067/1682=63%**

In some cases, my figures differ slightly from those of Ó Cuív. For an explanation of these differences, see the metrical analysis which precedes each poem in Vol. I.

One can see that the greatest difference between these poems is in the use of internal

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[1] *rinn-airdrinn* per total number of couplets; note that imperfect end-rhymes or end-rhymes which would be considered imperfect in bardic poetry did not influence my figures for *rinn* (although they did those of Ó Cuív); they are discussed in sections **2.1, 2.2, 2.3** and **2.4** below (pp. 112-118).

[2] number of rhyming words in *d* per total number of stressed words in *d* (without counting the final word)--note that the rhymes discussed in section **2.5** (pp. 118-121 below) are not taken into consideration here.

[3] number of lines with alliteration (in *d* this should be between the last two stressed words) per total number of lines

rhyme: in F7 only 10% of the stressed words in *d* are fixed by rhyme, while in F11 this figure is 79%. According to the figures in this table, there is no correlation between *rinn 7 airdrinn* and internal rhyme.

As far as stanza structure is concerned, the most common `irregularity' in *dán díreach* terms is the 7^x7^{x+2} pattern (7^17^3 in our case): there are 23 examples of this in F10 (23/70=33%), 22 in F8 (22/76=29%), 10 in F9 (10/36=28%), 8 in F11 (8/30=27%), 13 in F7 (13/73=18%), 6 in F12 (6/34=18%), and 11 in F6 (11/102=11%) (altogether 93/421=22% of all couplets). As this pattern is so common, I would suggest that it was perfectly acceptable in the 11th century.

The other `irregularity' is when there is no *rinn* and *airdrinn* in the couplet (7^17^1 or 7^27^2): there are 17 examples of this in F6 (17/102=17%), 3 in F12 (3/34=9%), 5 in F8 (5/76=7%), 2 in F9 (2/36=6%), 1 in F7 (1/73=1%), 1 in F10 (1/70=1%), and no examples in F11 (altogether 30/421=7% of all couplets). Note that all of these examples are from first couplets. (On F7. 83-84, see Note in Vol. I, p. 220.) In view of the fact that couplets without *rinn 7 airdrinn* are a lot fewer in number than couplets with 7^17^3, and also that *rinn 7 airdrinn* is only absent in first couplets, and finally, as the two poems with the highest overall figures have the lowest percentage of couplets without *rinn 7 airdrinn* (0% and 1% respectively), I would suggest that the lack of *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the 11th century was less desirable or acceptable than the 7^17^3 pattern.

In general, it can be said that the first couplets are always less elaborately ornamented than the second ones. Still, there are many first couplets which contain internal rhyme, which is not present in *debide* in *dán díreach*. Thus this is another significant difference between *dán díreach* and Early Irish verse. In F10, there are 34 first couplets with internal rhyme (there is only one first couplet which does not have internal rhyme = 97%), 11 in F11 (=73%) and F6 (=22%), 4 in F7 (=11%), 1 in F8 (=3%) and F9 (=6%), and no examples of perfect internal rhyme in F12. Note that F10 and F11 are the most highly ornamented poems according to the figures cited on the previous page; and F6 is the poem which has the third highest figure for words fixed by internal rhyme in the second couplet--and these poems also contain the highest proportion of internal rhyme in the first couplet. It seems that the closer the given poem is to the requirements of *dán díreach* in respect of internal rhyme between *c* and *d*, the further away it is from it in respect of internal rhyme between *a* and *b*. I would suggest that in the 11th century, rhyme between *a* and *b* in the more ornamented types of *debide* was desirable.

In some of the poems, whole quatrains can be found which fulfil the requirements

of *dán díreach* in respect of *rinn 7 airdrinn* and alliteration, and have at least one internal rhyme in the second couplet (which means that in this respect, not all of these stanzas fulfil the *dán díreach* requirement): there are six such stanzas in F6 (ll. 1-4, 13-16, 21-24, 145-148, 153-156, and 161-164), one in F7 (ll. 97-100), three in F8 (ll. 53-56, 81-84, 97-100), two in F9 (ll. 25-28, 69-72), five in F10 (ll. 41-44, 81-84, 89-92, 117-120, 133-136), three in F11 (ll. 9-12, 25-28, 49-52), and one in F12 (ll. 65-68) (altogether 21 stanzas out of 211 = 10%).

Perhaps it is noteworthy to mention that F11, the poem closest to the requirements of *dán díreach*, contains a touching story about Mugain, the mother of Áed Sláine; F6, F7, F10 and F12 are versified king lists, while F8 and F9 belong to *Lebor Gabála*. From the metrical point of view, the `odd one out' here seems to be F10, because it is much more highly ornamented than the other poems with similar subject matter (a versified king-list, like in F6, F7 and F12); although note that here the regnal years do not appear.

1.2 The poems written in *dechnad cummaisc* (F1, F2, F4, F5)

These poems contain 792 lines, that is, 198 quatrains. According to Murphy (1961: 50), the stanza structure of *dechnad cummaisc* is $8^2\,4^2\,8^2\,4^2$ mixed with $4^2\,8^2\,4^1\,8^2$, $8^2\,4^2\,4^2\,8^2$, $8^2\,4^2\,4^1\,8^2$, etc. In this thesis I have followed the practice of *LL*, where each stanza is printed in two long lines (*ab* + *cd*) with a *caesura* either after the fourth or the eighth syllable. Therefore I often refer to *ab* as `first long line' (= first couplet) and to *cd* as `second long line' (= second couplet). In some cases my division of lines differs from that of the editors of *LL*. For example, the editors of *LL* sometimes put the *caesura* after a trisyllabic word (F1. 11, 15, 23 and 59); however, it is possible to have the *caesura* after a monosyllabic or a disyllabic word in these long lines.[1]

Murphy's example, which consists of two stanzas (*ibid*: 50-51), has rhyme between *b* and *d*, *úaitne* (*a*+*c*/*bd*) (2nd stanza) or *aicill* (*cd*) (1st stanza), internal rhyme (*cd*) in one of the stanzas, alliteration in 5 of the lines, and *lorga* between *a* and *b* in the 2nd stanza (i.e. the final word of *a* alliterates with the first stressed word in *b*).

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[1] Gwynn (1924: 402) describes the metre of F1 as *dechnad n-aiclech cummaisc*--"*d. c.* characterised by *aicill*"; and then in his Corrigenda (1935: 145) calls the metre of this poem *snédbairdne*. According to Murphy (1961: 51), the syllable count of the former metre is invariably $4^1\,8^2\,4^1\,8^2$, and all the second long lines contain *aicill*--F1 does not fulfil these requirements. Murphy (*ibid*) considers *snédbairdne* to be a subtype of *dechnad cummaisc* with the octosyllabic line preceding the quadrasyllabic one ($8^2\,4^2\,8^2\,4^2$), and not having *úaitne*. Again, F1 does not fulfil these requirements, and I believe that the term *dechnad cummaisc* as used by Murphy is satisfactory for describing the metre of this poem.

The metre to which these poems correspond to the greatest extent in bardic poetry is called either *snéadhbhairdne* or *deachnadh cumaisc*. According to Knott (1966: 17-18) "the normal scheme is *ac* octosyllabic, *bd* quadrasyllabic (8^2+4^2), but is often varied by making *b* or *d*, or both *b* and *d* octosyllabic, *a* or *c* or *ac* quadrasyllabic. [...] The endings are regularly disyllabic [...]." Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 79, §154 calls this metre *snéabhairdne*, and gives the following syllabic pattern: "8^2+4^2 (*ab* 4^2+8^2 uireanta)" (*ibid*), so she does not allow for the possibility of *c* being quadrasyllabic and *d* being octosyllabic. Neither of these sources mentions the possibility of *a* or *c* ending in a monosyllable; however, according to Murphy referred to above, *dechnad cummaisc* can have 4^1 in *a* or *c* (1961: 50-51), and this is often the case in these poems. So one of the major differences between this metre in Middle Irish and in *dán díreach* is the difference in stanza structure.

As to the place of the *caesura*: in all of the second long lines there is either *úaitne* or *aicill*, which will indicate the place of the *caesura*. However, this is not the case in the first long line, where *úaitne* or *aicill* occur very rarely. Where there are two possibilities for the placement of the *caesura*, I have opted for the one which conforms more to the requirements of bardic poetry (e.g. 8^2 4^2 instead of 4^1 8^2 in F1. 1). I have also tried to avoid putting the *caesura* after an unstressed word.

According to Knott (*ibid*), *dechnad cummaisc* is further characterized by the following features: "*b* and *d* rime, and *c* consonates with them; if *c* is the quadrasyllabic line in the second couplet each stressed word in it makes internal rime with *d*. Every stressed word in *d* must rime; the final with the final of *b*, the others with words in *c*." (Of course, this is quite difficult to achieve if *d* is octosyllabic.) Although the definition above does not explicitly mention *aicill*, the underlined phrase must refer to its presence. Indeed, the poem edited by her (1966: 54-58) does have *aicill* in stanzas 17, 18, 21, 23 and 24.

Alliteration is present in each line, and the final word in *d* alliterates with the preceding stressed word, but sometimes it is regularly wanting in the first short line; and the final of *a*, in addition alliterates (i. e. makes *lorga*) with the first stressed word in *b*. However, according to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: 79), *lorga* must be present between *a* and *b* when there is no alliteration in *b*.

I have taken the following features into consideration when trying to set up a table which is similar to that done by Ó Cuív for *debide*: rhyme 1 (the same is meant here as in the previous table), rhyme 2 (proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *c* when it is quadrasyllabic, not counting the last one, which makes either *úaitne* or *aicill* with *d*), alliteration (note that here I have included *b* when it does not have alliteration

but makes *lorga* with *a*), and stanza structure (here I have followed Knott's description (cited on p. 105) when deciding on what is acceptable in bardic poetry). (Just like in the case of the linguistic analysis, F4 (1) and F4 (2) mark the two different sections of this poem.)

	Stanza structure	Rhyme 1	Rhyme 2	Alliteration	Total
F1	**56/70=80%**	**30/56=54%**	**7/20=35%**	**98/140=70%**	**191/286=67%**
F5	**87/138=63%**	**88/177=50%**	**39/66=59%**	**180/275=65%**	**394/656=60%**
F4 (1)	**86/120=72%**	**56/138=41%**	**30/55=55%**	**154/238=65%**	**326/551=59%**
F2	**41/68=60%**	**31/74=42%**	**14/32=44%**	**87/136=64%**	**173/310=56%**
Average	**270/396=68%**	**205/445=46%**	**90/173=52%**	**519/789=66%**	**1084/1803=60%**

The comparison with the second part of F4 (F4. 121-138), which could not have been written by Fland (see Vol. I, p. 71), shows that the figures here are somewhat lower than in the rest of F4--however, I believe that the text here is too short for drawing any conclusion as to the use of these criteria for establishing authorship.

From the point of view of metrical ornamentation there is a difference as well. In the second part of the poem *aicill* is used significantly more often than *úaitne* to mark the *caesura*, which is not the case in the first part of the poem. Also note that internal rhyme occurs a lot more often in the first part of the poem than in the second, and here can be found one of the two long lines in the poems written in this metre where the *caesura* is not marked by either *úaitne* or *aicill* (F4. 130). Also, the figures for *f. f.* are significantly lower than in the first part of the poem. (See **3.3**, p. 124.)

F4 (2)	**12/18=67%**	**7/19=37%**	**1/7=14%**	**21/36=58%**	**41/80=51%**

Note that in general the figures for alliteration are lower than in the poems written in *debide*; on the other hand, the figures for internal rhyme are often higher.

F1, F2, F4 (1) and F5 are further characterized by the following features:

a) As far as stanza structure is concerned, these poems exhibit a lot more freedom than those from the period of bardic poetry. Monosyllabic line endings occur quite often, especially when the given line consists of four syllables (there are 12 such lines in F1 = 9%; 23 in F2 = 17%; 23 in F4 (1) = 10%; and 44 in F5 = 16%; altogether

102/792=13% of all lines) (6/36=17% in F4 (2)).

Occasionally, we get a monosyllabic line ending even in an octosyllabic line--however, this is quite rare (there are five examples in F5, four in F2 and F4 (1), and two in F1; altogether 15/792=2%).

In F4, I have six quadrasyllabic lines with a trisyllabic ending (F4. 19, 27, 51, 63, 69, and 71--all contain the word ***Cath*** + a trisyllabic place-name; altogether 6/792=0.8%).

Note that a monosyllabic line ending in an octosyllabic line and trisyllabic line endings can be found only in <u>first</u> long lines. These two possibilities (8^1, 4^3) are not mentioned by Murphy, and as the percentages for them are so low, in my opinion they would have probably been considered irregular or undesirable even in the 11th century, and that is why they appear only in first couplets.

b) Either *aicill* between *c* and *d* or *úaitne* between *c* and *bd* are obligatory. Normally where *aicill* is not present, we get *úaitne*; and where *úaitne* is not present, we get *aicill*. However, the poet uses *aicill* only when *c* is quadrasyllabic, and never when it is octosyllabic; but *úaitne* can occur in *c* irrespective of whether it is quadra- or octosyllabic. (Note that similarly to the pattern described above, in Murphy's example, 1961: 50-51, and in the one given by Knott, 1966: 54-58, *aicill* is only present when *c* is quadrasyllabic.) There are two cases in these poems where there is neither *aicill* nor *úaitne*: F2. 58 (see Note in Vol. I, p. 42) and F4. 130. There are also three cases where we only get <u>imperfect</u> *úaitne*: in F4. 14, 82 and F5. 112; and in two cases we get only <u>imperfect</u> *aicill*: in F4. 104 and F5. 100. However, in some cases <u>both</u> *úaitne* and *aicill* are present in the couplet: F1. 18, 44, 48, 54, 62, F2. 2, 34, 48, F4. 2, 84, 94, F5. 2, 4, 8, 14, 86, 90, 96, 100, 130, 134 (21 = 11% of all second couplets). Concerning F1. 30, which could be divided in two ways, see Note in Vol. I, p. 16. On F5. 80, see Note in Vol. I, p. 137.

c) The *caesura* in the long line should normally come after a stressed word. However, we do get some lines with the *caesura* coming after an unstressed word: F2. 5, 45, 49; F4. 57, 97, 109, 117; and F5. 45, 65, 115; altogether 10/396=2.5%. Note that in all of these cases we are dealing with <u>first</u> long lines here; and for seven of these, there is only one MS available. Again, as the percentage for this feature is so low, in my opinion this would have probably been considered irregular or undesirable even in the 11th century. Most of these lines contain three proper nouns, so the poet did not have too much choice. On F5. 59, see Note in Vol. I, p. 135.

d) As already mentioned above, one of the requirements in this metre is to have a *caesura* after the fourth or the eighth syllable in each long line. However, I have three

long lines without *caesura*: F4. 81, 113; and F5. 39 (3/396=1%). Note that in all of these cases again we are dealing with first long lines. Again, as the percentage for this feature is so low, in my opinion these long lines would have been considered irregular even in the 11th century. They contain many names, just like the lines discussed under **c** above.

The first long lines are less elaborately ornamented than the second ones, and there are only a very few examples of *aicill, úaitne* or internal rhyme. F5 contains the highest number of *úaitne* (5), *aicill* (11) and internal rhyme (5) in the first long line. (Note that this is the second most elaborately ornamented poem after F1.) The figures for F1 are 3, 1 and 3, there are no examples in F2, while F4 (1) has 1, 4 and 3 respectively. There is one first long line, F5. 131, where both *úaitne* and *aicill* can be found. There is no example of *aicill* or *úaitne* in the first couplet in
F4 (2).

In some of the poems, whole quatrains can be found which fulfil the requirements of *dán díreach* in respect of stanza structure and alliteration; all of their stressed words in *c* are fixed by rhyme when that line is quadrasyllabic, and at least one word is fixed by rhyme in *d* apart from the last one: there are three such quatrains in F1 (ll. 19-20, 43-44, 49-50) and in F4 (ll. 55-56, 61-62, 115-116), two in F5 (ll. 29-30, 131-132), and one in F2 (ll. 1-2) (9/198=5%).

1.3 The section of F3 written in *rinnard* (ll. 1-68)

This metre consists of hexasyllabic lines with disyllabic endings. *b* and *d* rhyme, *c* makes *úaitne* with *b* and *d* in *rinnard trí n-ard*, and both *a* and *c* make *úaitne* with *b* and *d* in *rinnard ceithri n-ard* (Murphy, 1961: 64; Knott, 1966: 16; Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 78). The stanzas in F3 are a mixture between *rinnard trí n-ard* and *rinnard ceithri n-ard*.

Murphy's examples sometimes have alliteration and internal rhyme as well. According to Ní Dhomhnaill (*ibid*), there should be internal rhyme between *c* and *d*; and Knott (1966: 16) says that when it is possible, there should be two internal rhymes between *c* and *d* in *rinnard trí n-ard*, and no internal rhyme between *a* and *b*; and internal rhyme in each couplet in *rinnard ceithri n-ard*. There should be alliteration in each line and *lorga* between *a* and *b* (Ní Dhomhnaill, *ibid*); however, according to Knott (*ibid*), *lorga* is compulsory only in *rinnard trí n-ard*, and "the final of *a* need not alliterate with the first stressed word of *b*" (*ibid*) in *rinnard ceithri n-ard*.

In Murphy (1961: 64), there are examples cited for *rinnard aiclech*, but these do not have *úaitne*. However, in our poem, both *úaitne* and *aicill* are present (see the figures

below). According to Ní Dhomnaill, 1975: 40, "Níl aicill in aistí gearrlíne, mar ollbhairdne, rionnaird, snéabhairdne". She also remarks (*ibid*) that "Ní chuirtí aicill in aon leathrann loirgneach", which requirement is transgressed in stanza 5 (F3. 16-20).

	Stanza structure[1]	**Rhyme**[2]	**Alliteration**	***Lorga***	**Total**
F3 (1)	**16/17=94%**	**10/38=26%**	**39/68=57%**	**6/17=35%**	**71/140=51%**

Note that there is only one stanza which does not correspond to the stanza structure requirement referred to above: in stanza 6 (F3. 21-24) only *a* makes *úaitne* with *b* and *d*. Also note that five of the *lorga*s are in stanzas written in *rinnard trí n-ard* (see Knott's criterion above).

Perhaps the most important difference between the requirements of *rinnard* described by Ní Dhomhnaill (*ibid*) and Knott (*ibid*) is that in F3 we often have *aicill* between *c* and *d* as well as between *a* and *b*. Out of the seventeen stanzas, ten have internal rhyme and no *aicill* between *c* and *d*; five have *aicill* and no internal rhyme, and two have neither of these. Four stanzas have *aicill* in the first couplet.

Concerning the requirement about internal rhyme described by Knott above, note that in our poem, three first couplets have internal rhyme, and one of these is in a stanza written in *rinnard trí n-ard* (F3. 5-6). On the other hand, four stanzas written in *rinnard ceithri n-ard* do not have internal rhyme in the first couplet; however, one of these (F3. 49-50) has *aicill*.

There are no quatrains that fully correspond to the requirements of *dán díreach*.

1.4 The section of F3 written in *rannaigecht bec* (ll. 69-92)

This metre consists of heptasyllabic lines with disyllabic endings (Murphy, 1961: 53). *b* and *d* rhyme, and *a* and *c* must make *úaitne* with them. In bardic poetry there must be *aicill* between *c* and *d*, perfect internal rhyme between *c* and *d* (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 77), and an imperfect one will do between *a* and *b* (*ibid*). According to Knott, there are at least two internal rhymes in each couplet, and these need not be perfect in the first one (1966: 14), although in the more ornate style, the rhymes are perfect in the first couplet

[1] Either *c* or both *a* and *c* should make *úaitne* with *b* and *d*.

[2] number of rhyming words in *d* per total number of stressed words in *d* (without counting the final word), and without taking *aicill* into consideration. With *aicill*, the figures would be 15/38=39%, so the total would come to 77/140=55%.

as well as in the second. There must be alliteration in each line, and the final word of *d* must alliterate with the preceding stressed word (Knott, *ibid*). (Murphy's example--*ibid*--has no *aicill* and contains alliteration in only two of the lines in the stanza; there is perfect internal rhyme in each couplet.)

	Stanza structure[1]	Rhyme[2]	*Aicill*[3]	(*d*[4])	Alliteration	Total
F3. (2)	**4/6=67%**	**2/6=34%**	**4/6=67%**	**(6/13=46%)**	**19/24=79%**	**29/42=69%**

Note that there are two stanzas which do not fulfil the stanza structure requirement, as only *a* makes perfect *úaitne* with *b* and *d*.

In the second couplet, either *aicill* or internal rhyme is present between *cd*. First couplets are quite elaborately ornamented: four stanzas have perfect internal rhyme in the first couplet (=67%), so from this point of view first couplets are more elaborately ornamented than second ones, which is quite unusual in any metre in these poems, and is not the case in *dán díreach*; and two definitely have *aicill* (=34%). Note that *aicill* between *ab* is not mentioned by Knott or Ní Dhomhnaill; Murphy has an example of *aicill* in the first couplet in a stanza written in *rannaigecht mór* (1961: 52, ex. [49]). Only the first couplet of the last stanza has neither *aicill* nor internal rhyme.

There are no quatrains that fully correspond to the requirements of *dán díreach*.

2. Rhyme and *úaitne*

In these poems there are certain rhymes/*úaitne*s that do not correspond to the general requirements described by Murphy (1961: 32, 33-36) and Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: 14-15). However, as far as rhyme is concerned, Murphy recognizes that there are certain "exceptions that occur frequently, and were clearly in the Old and Middle Irish periods regarded as permissible." (*ibid*: 33). He does not say whether these apply to *úaitne* or not (but note that among his examples--*ibid*--he cites **báethu :. rígu** and **úaisliu : Íssu**, which correspond to the two exceptions he describes for rhyme--see under **2.1** and **2.2** below).

As far as rhyming consonant clusters are concerned, the rules observed by Ó Cuív for

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[1] *a* and *c* must make *úaitne* with *b* and *d*

[2] internal rhyme between *c* and *d*

[3] between *c* and *d*

[4] number of rhyming words in *d* per total number of stressed words in *d* (without counting the final word)

bardic poetry (1987: 109) are the following (P = stops--classes **g** and **k** in Murphy; C = fricatives and weakly pronounced liquids--classes **x** and **l** in Murphy; L = class **L** in Murphy; S = class **S** in Murphy; ^{h} = voiceless sound, ^{y} = palatal sound):

1. When P is in one group P must be in the second.
2. When C or L without S is in one group C or L must be in the second.
3. When ^{h} is in one group ^{h} must be in the second.
4. When S is in one group S must be in the second.
5. When C or L is with S and P in one group C or L need not be in the second.
6. When C or L but not P is with S in one group C or L must be in the second.
7. When one group has ^{y} prosody the second must have ^{y} prosody.

The main `irregularities' in respcect of rhyme and *úaitne* found in these poems compared with *dán díreach* are the following[1]:

2.1 A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}** in Ó Cuív's notation) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{y}**) (Murphy, 1961: 33)[2]:

a) In stressed syllables *(4 examples of rhyme)*

foīd : coīch (F2. 68) (*a.*)
daig : flaith (F6. 85-86) (i. r.) *
crích : gním (F5. 8) (i. r.)
thúaith : chrūaid (F10. 67-68) (i. r.)

b) In unstressed syllables *(12 examples of rhyme + 4 examples of* úaitne*)*

athar : cathach (F1. 35-36) (e. r.)
galach : anad (F2. 48) (*a.*)
dlūthach : Tnūthgal (F4. 50) (i. r.)
curchach : Murchad (F5. 69-70) (e. r.)
trebar : Belach (F5. 66) (i. r.)
thúaith : chrūaid (F10. 67-68) (i. r.)
armach :. dulad/Muman (F3. 37-40)
fossad : Frossach (F2. 59-60) (e. r.)
bladach : farcbad (F4. 62) (*a.*)
rathach : athar (F5. 19-20) (e. r.)
écnach : cétmad (F5. 136) (*a.*)
Fechtnach : ercad (F10. 41-42) (i. r.) *
comthach : Dondchad (F12. 67-68) (i. r.)
othrad :. Echdach/debthach (F5. 67-68)

I have not counted **ágmar : ānrath** (F2. 2) (*a.*), **Uchbath : bruthgal** (F3. 17-18) (*a.*) *, **chromthar : Chonchath** (F4. 63-64), **nglanbrīg : Anbīth** (F4. 95-96) (e. r.), **Chommair**

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[1] I have marked those internal rhymes and *aicills* with an asterisk in bold which occur in first couplets; and I have marked the *úaitnes* where one of the words occurs in the first short line (line *a*) of *dechnad cummaisc* with an asterisk in bold.

[2] As one word makes *úaitne* with two rhyming words, I have counted such examples as two.

:-rorraich (F10. 111-112), **borrfaith : tor*chair*** (F6. 91-92) (i. r.), **anfad :. Chonchath** (F4. 64) and **borbgnīm :. Anbīth** (F4. 96) as the **<th>** and **<ch>** in these words can also be spelt with **<d>** and **<g>** respectively. *(6 examples of rhyme + 2 of* úaitne*)*

c) Between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in *debide (6 examples of rhyme)*

brath : Dondc*had* (F6. 91-92)
daith : chōicdaig (F6. 101-102) *
chatha : (n)Dondchada (F6. 151-152, 163-164)
suth : llēcud (F11. 7-8)
mbrath : senchad (F11. 57-58) *

(22 examples of rhyme--1.9% of all (1162--including imperfect) rhymes: F1--1\71=1.4%; F2--3\65=4.6%; F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%; F5--5\177=2.8%, F6--5\152=3.3%; F10--3\165=1.8%; F11--2\66=3%; F12--1\39=2.6%)

(4 examples of úaitne*--1.2% of all (326--including imperfect)* úaitne*s: F3 (1)--2\46=4.3%; F5--2\74=2.7%) (Overall 26\1488=1.7%)*

I believe that the rhymes discussed in this section were acceptable in the 11th century.

2.2 Addition in one rhyming word of a consonant from the **x** (**C**^{h}) or the **l** (**C**^{v}) classes (or also from the **L** (**L**^{v}) class, following Thurneysen's interpretation--1946: 74-75--concerning the behaviour of **<r>, <l>** and **<n>** in certain consonant groups) to a rhyming consonant from another class, with nothing to balance the added consonant in the other rhyming word (Murphy, 1961: 33):

a) A consonant from class **l** (**C**^{v}) (or **L** (**L**^{v})) is added (46? + 23 = 69 examples)

(i) Consonant added to class **l** (**C**^{v})

cāemn̲a/chāemn̲a : nĀeda/Āeda (F1. 27-28, F4. 105-106, F5. 93-94) (e. r.)
īarair : blīadn̲aib (F2. 15-16) (e. r.)
fírd̲il : Rímid (F2. 57-58) (e. r.)
lūam̲land : Cūaland (F4. 51-52) (e. r.)
Fer̲gal : ferad (F4. 101) (*a.*) *
āebd̲a : Āeda (F4. 70, F5. 71-72) (*a.*, e. r.)
Donand : nDomn̲and (F8. 15-16) (i. r.)
dīgl̲ach : īrach (F10. 117-118) (i. r.) *
Temr̲aig : debaid (F10. 7-8) (i. r.)
nGāedel : fāengel (F10. 129-130) (i. r.) *
glórd̲a : móra (F11. 55-56) (i. r.)
Cíannāin : cīallm̲āir (F7. 99-100) (i. r.)
glanda : Dagd̲a (F1. 9-10) (e. r.)
an̲maid : Scandail (F5. 33-34) (e. r.)
dúrd̲ul : Glūndub (F2. 37-38) (e. r.)
ágm̲ar :. Eōgan/gleōgal (F2. 1-2)
fáelur :. dúrd̲ul (F2. 37-38)
Eōgain :. blī*adn̲*aib (F2. 40)
arm̲ach :. dulad/Muman (F3. 37-40)
togairm :. com̲laind/nDom̲naill (F3. 49-52) (medial position)
Hēr*end* :. lūaml̲and (F4. 51-52)
thālgud :. mbāegul/ōenur (F5. 3-4)

Cerbaill :. foraill/Conaing (F5. 113-114) * **glēmín :. snēdbéim** (F5. 25-26)

aile :. amra/calma (F5. 131-132) * **fénnid :. blīadnaib** (F2. 16)

glanda :. domna (F1. 9-10)[1]

Another possible example is the emended **snēdbéim : [Nélléin]** (F5. 25-26) (e. r.)--see Note in Vol. I, p. 132.

(18 examples of rhyme: 18\1162=1.5%; F1--2\71=2.8%; F2--3\65=4.6%; F4(1)--4\132=3%; F5--3\177=1.7%; F7--1\84=1.2%; F8--1\91=1.1%; F10--3\165=1.8%; F11--1\66=1.5%)

(18 examples of úaitne*: 18\326=5.5%; F1--1\60=1.7%; F2--5\42=11.9%; F3 (1)--4\46=8.7%; F4 (1)--1\80=1.2%; F5--7\74=9.5%) (altogether 36 examples)*

(**ii**) Consonant added to class **g** (**P^{v}**) (8 examples of rhyme; 3 of *úaitne* = 11 examples)

ēta : cētna (F4. 71-72) (e. r.) **Écuind : thétluing** (F5. 5-6) (e. r.)

cētna : éca (F5. 117-118) (e. r.) **téitgel : hēcen** (F5. 10) (i. r.)

éca : Dētna (F6. 31-32) (i. r.) **oäic : Roäilt** (F4. 103-104) (e. r.)

Cuilt : bláthbuic (F7. 25-26) (e. r.) **gīalltach : Fīatach** (F11. 9-10) (i. r.) *

ēta :. fūacra/cētna (F4. 71-72) **chēti :. cētna** (F5. 117-118) *

(rhyme: F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%; F5--3\177=1.7%, F6--1\152=0.7%, F7--1\84=1.2%, F11--1\66=1.5%) (úaitne*: F4 (1)--2\80=2.5%; F5--1\74=1.4%)*

(**iii**) Consonant added to class **L** (**L^{v}**) (4 examples of rhyme; 2 of *úaitne* = 6 examples)

togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50) (*a.*)[2] * **ollguirm : Domnuill** (F4. 39-40) (e. r.)

chalmu : clanna (F4. 1) (*a.*) * **te(t)chill : Chethirn** (F5. 31-32) (e. r.)

togairm :. comlaind/nDomnaill (F3. 49-52) (final position)

Note that if the extra consonant was omitted in F5. 31-32, where we have L^{v}--L^{v}L^{v}, then the rhyme would be imperfect even in Middle Irish, as we would get L^{v}--C^{v}.

(rhyme: F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%; F5--1\177=0.6%)

*(*úaitne*: F3 (1)--2\46=4.3%)*

(**iv**) Consonant added to class **k** (**P^{h}**) (9? examples of rhyme)

mbalc : Cormac (F10. 91-92) (e. r.) **Cormac : fordarc** (F10. 93-94) (i. r.) *

taccomol : Fortama(i)l (F3. 31-32) (i. r.) ? **thrēnglacc : ērba(i)lt** (F6. 135-136) (i. r.)

alt : mac (F4. 74) (i. r.) **maíti : Caīlte** (F10. 107-108) (i. r.)

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[1] <nd> = <nn>

[2] On **sodbraind** see FN in Vol. I, p. 67.

tart : Chormac (F10. 85-86) (e. r.) **gart : Cormac** (F12. 25-26, 37-38) (e. r.)
(F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%, F4 (1)--1\132=0.8%, F6--1\152=0.7%, F10--4\165=2.4%, F12--2\39=5%)

(v) Consonant added to class **x** (**C**^{h}) (4 examples of rhyme)
Crūachan : ūathmar (F4. 106) (*a.*) **trīathach : Fīachrach** (F4. 6) (i. r.)
dlūthach : Tnūthgal (F4. 50) (i. r.) **tūachle : Tūathe** (F8. 3-4) (i. r.)
(F4 (1)--3\132=2.2%, F8--1\91=1%)

(vi) Consonant added to class **s** (**S**^{h}) (1 example of rhyme)
tesband : fessam (F10. 1-2) (i. r.) * *(F10--1\165=0.6%)*

The two examples of *aicill* from the first long lines of F4 may not have been intended by the poet, as in this poem first long lines otherwise contain only two other examples of *aicill*.

b) A consonant from class **x** (**C**^{h}) is added to class **k** (**P**^{h}) (2 examples of rhyme):
mBrec : secht (F4. 34) (i. r.) **mac : thlacht** (F5. 6) (*a.*)
(F4 (1)--1\132=0.7%; F5--1\177=0.6%)

Only consonants from classes **x** (**C**^{h}), **l** (**C**^{v}) and **L** (**L**^{v}) can be added to rhyming words. Note that the rhyming consonants to which the extra consonant from classes is added can belong to any class; however, I have examples of *úaitne* + an extra consonant from only 3 classes (classes **l** (**C**^{v}), **g** (**P**^{v}), and **L** (**L**^{v})). There is also a difference in the frequency of this phenomenon based on consonant class. In the biggest number of examples, the consonant is added to another consonant from class **l** (**C**^{v}). The high frequency is not surprising here, as this is the largest class, comprising 7 consonants. The second biggest class is **g** (**P**^{v}), and the third is **k** (**P**^{h}).

Also note that not taking into consideration the single exception referred to above, all of these pairs would make perfect rhyme without the added consonant. I also have six examples of rhyme and five of *úaitne* where the pair would not make perfect rhyme*úaitne* even without the added consonant from classes **l** (**C**^{v}) and **x** (**C**^{h}), as the consonants to which the extra one is added do not belong to the same class: **cossair** and **torchair** (F4. 80) (*a.*), **cacht : -rat** (F5. 62) (i. r.), **Got : olc** (F6. 185-186--see Note on F6. 155-156, Vol.

I, p. 186) (i. r.) *, **secht : bec** (F6. 201-202) (i. r.)*, **glaccas : catlas** (F12. 65-66) (i. r.) *, **saindían : nAirgīall** (F4. 85-86) (e. r.) (L^v--C^vC^v), **ndrengat :. Connacht/glondalt** (F4. 13-14), **m*enn*at : Connacht/ollalt** (F5. 111-112), and **comdīan :. saindían** (F4. 85-86) (C^vC^v--L^v). Note that three of these examples are from first couplets.

(46 examples of rhyme: 4% of all (1162) rhymes: F1--2\71=2.8%; F2--3\65=4.6%; F3 (1)--2\40=5%; F4 (1)--13\132=9.8%, F5--8\177=4.5%; F6--2\152=1.3%, F7--2\84=2.4%, F8--2\91=2.2%; F10--8\165=4.8%; F11--2\66=3%; F12--2\39=5.1%)

(23 examples of úaitne *= 7% of all (326)* úaitnes*: F1--1\60=1.7%; F2--5\42=11.9%; F3 (1)--6\46=13%; F4 (1)--3\80=3.8%; F5--8\74=11%) (altogether 69 examples)*

This phenomenon is a lot more common than the one discussed in **2.1** above, and is almost twice as common in the case of *úaitne* than in the case of rhyme. I believe that the addition of a consonant in one of the rhyming words from the classes described above (especially from class $\mathbf{C^v}$) was acceptable in the 11th century.

c) I have four examples where a consonant from class **g** ($\mathbf{P^v}$) is added in *úaitne* (this possibility is not mentioned by Murphy):

détla :. lēni/ndēni (F3. 25-28) **Fōtla :. fīalu/ngīallu** (F5. 83-84) *

(F3 (1)--2\46=4%; F5--2\74=2.7%)

I believe that as the occurrence of this phenomenon is very rare, these *úaitne*s would probably have been considered imperfect even in MIr.

2.3 One consonant corresponds to three consonants (note that this possibility is not discussed by Murphy)

The added consonants all belong to class **l** ($\mathbf{C^v}$):

(i) Consonant added to class **l** ($\mathbf{C^v}$)

mblī*ad*an : dīanglan (F2. 35-36) (e. r.) **fīalglan : mblī*ad*an** (F2. 6) (i. r.)

togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50) (*a.*)[1] * **rígad : mínglan** (F10. 125-126) (i. r.) *

gīal[l]blaid : chlīamain (F10. 77-78) (i. r.) * **brónbríg : mōrríg** (F5. 64) (*a.*)

cāemfer :. dīanglan (F2. 36) **Eōgain :. rīarglain** (F2. 39-40)

aidbli :. mara/ada (F5. 133-134)

(6 examples of rhyme: F2--2\65=3%; F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F5--1\177=0.6%; F10--2\165=1.2%) (4 examples of úaitne*: F2--2\42=4.8%; F5--2\74=2.7%)*

[1] This example is uncertain; on **sodbraind** see FN in Vol. I, p. 67.

(ii) Consonant added to class **x** (**C^{h}**)

trīathglan : bīathad (F5. 10) (*a.*) **Fīacha : trīathbla** (F10. 109-110) (i. r.) *

(2 examples of rhyme: F5--1\177=0.6%; F10--1\165=0.6%)

(8 examples of rhyme: 0.7%; F2--2\65=3%; F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F5--2\177=1.1%; F10--3\165=1.8%) (4 examples of úaitne*: 1.2%; F2--2\42=4.8%; F5--2\74=2.7%)*

In 10 of the cases, the **C^{v}** consonants are added to another **C^{v}** consonant, and in 2 cases to a **C^{h}** consonant. I have examples of *úaitne* + 2 consonants only from class **C^{v}**. Again, the fact that most **C^{v}** consonants are added to another **C^{v}** consonant is not surprising, as this is the largest class. Four of the examples above are from first couplets; as first couplets are usually less ornamented than second ones, and as the occurrence of this type of rhyme/*úaitne* is very rare, in my opinion they would have been considered less acceptable than those rhymes where one consonant corresponds to two consonants.

I have a single example, **bladach : farcbad** (F4. 62) (*a.*), where one of the added consonants is a stop. I believe that this rhyming pair must have been hardly considered acceptable even in MIr; note that it also displays the feature discussed in **2.1**.

2.4 I have a few examples of some other types of rhyme not discussed by Murphy. With the exception of **c**, these are described by Carney in 1964: xxxiii.

a) Stressed **e** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i/a** + palatal consonant (5 examples):

(i) The quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowels is the same:

neim : Midir (F8. 63-64) **sein : ēstid** (F8. 151-152)[1]

(2 examples; F8--2\71=3% of rinn 7 airdrinn *rhymes*[2]*)*

(ii) The quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowels is not the same:

sein : eōlaig (F7. 143-144)[3] **feill : Cerbaill** (F11. 3-4)[4]

---

[1] Or maybe we should read **sin** here. The other MSS of F8 agree with the *LL* reading with the exception of *BB*, *M* and *F*, which have something completely different here. On the forms **sin, sain, sein, sen** in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 62: **8.9**.

[2] On the absence of *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the individual poems, see p. 104.

[3] Or maybe we should read **sain** here; this is what *R* has.

[4] Or maybe we should read **faill** here--this is what *LU* has (see Note in Vol. I, p. 313).

feib : Eochaid (F12. 9-10) *

(3 examples; F7--1\72=1.4% of rinn 7 airdrinn *rhymes; F11--1\30=3%; F12--1\31=3%)*

b) Stressed **a** + non-palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **e** + non-palatal consonant:

abb : fichet (F7. 131-132) * (see Note in Vol. I, p. 223) **mbarr : Hērend** (F12. 59-60)

(2 examples; F7--1\72=1.4% of rinn 7 airdrinn *rhymes; F12--1\31=3%)*

The quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowels is not the same in F12. 59-60.

c) Stressed **a** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i** + palatal consonant (the converse of this--**fir : galair**--is discussed by Carney in 1964: xxxii):

sain : Balcbēmnig (F8. 27-28)[1] **thair : Ailig** (F8. 49-50) *

chaire : cruitt*ire* (F8. 85-86) * **gail : Chasil** (F12. 15-16)

(4 examples; F8--3\71=4% of rinn 7 airdrinn *rhymes; F12--1\31=3.2%)*

The quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowels is not the same.

(Altogether 11\392=2.8% of rinn 7 airdrinn *rhymes; F7--2\72=2.8%, F8--5\71=7%, F11--1\30=3%, F12--3\31=9.7%)*

As the figures for these types of rhyme are so low, and as in 5 of the examples the reading is uncertain, I would suggest that they were not very desirable in the 11th century.

2.5 Imperfect rhymes and *úaitnes*[2]

2.5.1 The final consonants do not belong to the same group

a) L^v--C^v

Corrcend : torged (F1. 14) (i. r.)[3] **da-ringned : Frigrend** (F1. 61) (*a.*) *

nDruim : luid (F3. 51-52) (i. r.) **Alpan : barand** (F3. 77-78) (i. r.)[4] *

chroba[i]ng : tor*ch*air (F4. 30) (*a.*) **ngarglond : Albdon** (F4. 104) (*a.*)

fairend :. -rulaid/churaig (F3. 81-84) **londbarr :. Dondchad/glondchar** (F4. 117-118)

---

[1] Or read **sin**--this is what *F*, R^2 and *M* have.

[2] Note that I have not counted those rhymes which were probably acceptable in Middle Irish--see the examples under **2.1** and **2.2** above, as well as the examples discussed under **2.3** and **2.4**.

[3] See Note in Vol. I, p. 14.

[4] The medial consonants do not make a perfect match here either, as a stop is added to C^v (see **2.2** above).

Murchad :. tairchel[l] (F4. 82) ?

(6 examples of rhyme: F1--2\71=2.8%; F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F3 (2)--1\21=4.8%; F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%) (5 examples of úaitne*: F3 (2)--2\20=10%; F4 (1)--3\80=3.8%)*

b) P^v--C^v: **Dīarmait : blī*adain*** (F6. 105-106) (i. r.) *

(1 example of rhyme: F6--1\152=0.7%)

On **dīanblaid : Dīarmait** (F6. 63-64) (i. r.), see Note in Vol. I, p. 182.

c) P^h--P^v

lat : Nāmat (F8. 61-62) (e. r.) **m*ac* : Nāmat** (F8. 129-130) (e. r.)

(2 examples of rhyme: F8--2\91=2.2%)

d) C^h--L^v: **rudach :. bairend/Cairell** (F3. 77-80)

(2 examples of úaitne*: F3 (2)--2\20=10%)*

e) P^v--C^h: **Fúat : Tūath** (F9. 23-24) (i. r.)

(1 example of rhyme: F9--1\43=2.3%)

(10 examples of rhyme: F1--2\71=2.8%; F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F3 (2)--1\21=4.8%; F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%; F6--1\152=0.7%; F8--2\91=2.2%; F9--1\43=2.3%)

(7 examples of úaitne*: F3 (2)--4\20=20%; F4 (1)--3\80=3.8%)*

The most common 'imperfection' is when C^v rhymes with L^v in word-final position. This should not be surprising, as these two classes comprise the biggest number of consonants.

2.5.2 The medial consonants do not belong to the same group (5 + 1 = 6 examples)

a) C^h--C^v

Fothart : toracht (F1. 59-60) (e. r.) **anacht :. Fothart** (F1. 59-60)

(1 example of rhyme: F1--1\71=1.4%; + 1 example of úaitne*: F1--1\60=1.7%)*

b) P^h--P^v

m*a*ccān : bratān (F11. 39-40, 43-44) (i. r.) **glicci : ambriti** (F11. 19-20) (e. r.)

(3 examples of rhyme: F11--3\66=4.5%)

c) L^v--C^h: **Dollaid : roch*air*** (F7. 39-40) (i. r.)

(1 example of rhyme: F7--1\84=1.2%)

(Altogether 5 examples of rhyme: F1--1\71=1.4%; F7--1\84=1.2%; F11--3\66=4.5%; + 1 example of úaitne*: F1--1\60=1.7%)*

2.5.3 The final consonants are not of the same quality

scaíl : Māel (F4. 102) (i. r.)

feraib :. Lagen/glanfer (F4. 11-12)

(1 example of rhyme: F4 (1)--1\132=0.8%; 2 examples of úaitne*: F4 (1)--2\80=2.5%)*

2.5.4 The medial consonants are not of the same quality:

bladaig : saigid (F5. 18) (*a*).

(1 example of rhyme: F5--1\177=0.6%)

2.5.5 As far as rhyming consonant clusters are concerned, the great majority of the examples in these poems fulfil the requirements described by Ó Cuív (pp. 111-112: **2**). The exceptions, where we have imperfect correspondence of consonant clusters, are the following:

a) There is no voiceless consonant in one of the words to balance the voiceless consonant in the other word:

chaidchi : airdi (F3. 91-92) (*a.*)

burbbu : Ulto (F4. 102) (i. r.)

orddain : tor*chair* (F4. 116) (*a.*)

chumtaig : Ultaib (F5. 107-108) (e. r.)

On **Imchell : Frigrend** (F1. 47-48) (e. r.) and **airmend :. Imchell** (F1. 47-48), see Note in Vol. I, p. 19.

(4(+1) examples of rhyme: F3 (2)--1\21=4.8%; F4 (1)--2\132=1.5%; F5--1\177=0.6%; (F1--1\71=1.4%); (1) example of úaitne*: (F1--1\60=1.7%))*

b) There is no P in one of the words to balance the P in the other word:

gleōr(g)da : Eūr(o)pa (F5. 22) (i. r.)

dograch : forbach (F5. 100) *(a.)* ?

ollgus : Forrgus (F4. 36) (i. r.)[1]

borbgnīm :. nglanbríg\Anbīth (F4. 95-96)

forbbaig :. Bregmaig\Cernaig (F5. 35-36)

(3 examples of rhyme: F4 (1)--1\132=0.8%; F5--2\177=1.1%; 4 examples of úaitne*: F4 (1)--*

[1] On **<rg>** = **/rg/** in **Forrgus**, see MacNeill, 1913: 59 and Uhlich, 1993: 259-260.

2\80=2.5%; F5--2\74=2.7%)

(Altogether 7(+1) examples of rhyme: F3 (2)--1\21=4.8%; F4 (1)--3\132=2.3%; F5--3\177=1.7%; (F1--1\71=1.4%); 4(+1) examples of úaitne*: F4 (1)--2\80=2.5%; F5--2\74=2.7%; (F1--1\60=1.7%)*

2.5.6 Those pairs of words which contain at least two consonants in one of the rhyming words and at least three in the other one, also correspond to the rules described above. There seems to be one exception, **bétblaid : cétfaid** (F11. 57-58) (i. r.) *, as there is no voiceless consonant in one of the words to balance the voiceless consonant in the other word. However, see the remark in Vol. I, p. 308. *(1 example of rhyme: F11--1\66=1.5%)*

(39 (+2) examples + 15 examples under **2.2**, pp. 115-116, and one under **2.3**; altogether 55 (+2) examples) Note that five (+1) of these examples (= 9%) are end-rhymes.
(32 (+1) examples of rhyme: F1--3\71=4.2%; F3 (1)--1\40=2.5%; F3 (2)--2\21=9.5%; F4 (1)--9\132=6.8%;F5--5\177=2.8%;F6--3\152=2.0%;F7--1\84=1.2%;F8--2\91=2.2%;F9--1\43=2.3%; F11--4\66=6%; F12--1\39=2.6%; (F1--1\71=1.4%)) (2.8% of rhymes)
(23 (+1) examples of úaitne*: F1--1\60=1.7%; F3 (1)--2\46=4%; F3 (2)--4\20=20%; F4 (1)--10\80=12.5%; F5--6\74=8.1%; (F1--1\60=1.7%)) (7% of* úaitne*s)*
Note that imperfect *úaitne*s are more common than imperfect rhymes.

2.6 Identical words in rhyming position

a) I have three examples where the same two words seem to make end-rhyme:

Chruthne : Cruthne (F4. 33-34) **Muman : Muman** (F5. 23-24)

nglonnaib : nglonnaib (F5. 135-136)

However, as these are the only examples of such rhyme of the 207 examples of end-rhyme in the poems written in this metre (i.e. *dechnad cummaisc*), I believe that we are dealing with scribal slips here. According to my knowledge, F4 and F5 have only survived in *LL* (with the exception of the first ten stanzas and stanza 12 of F4), so one can not have recourse to variant readings here.

b) I have 25 examples where the same two words seem to make internal rhyme or *aicill* with each other:

Ailech : Ailech (F1. 68) **deich : deich** (F3. 55-56)

Māel : Māel (F2. 19) (*a.*) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 39) *

cath\cath : cath\cath (F3. 19-20--x2; F3. 27-28, 35-36; F4. 18; F10. 111-112)

cath : cath (F4. 13, 19) *

secht : secht (F5. 13) *

firu : firu (F5. 80*) (*a.*)

marb : marb (F9. 31-32)

clainne : clainne (F6. 1-2) (or scribal error?--see Note in Vol. I, p. 179) *

amsir : hamsir (F6. 9-10) *

amsir : amsir (F6. 11-12)

mac\mac : mac (F4. 46, 54, F8. 51-52, F9. 63-64)

mac : mac (F9. 17-18) *

Fothud : Foth*ud* (F10. 105-106) *

Coirp*re* : Corp*riu* (F12. 15-16)

Amalgaid : nAmalgaid (F12. 13-14) *

Nine of these examples are in first couplets; and five are from F3 and F4 (1) respectively. I believe that as eighteen of these twenty-five examples contain either words which occur very often in these poems (**mac, cath**) or proper names (**Ailech, Māel, Fothud, Coirp*re*, Amalgaid**), the fact that these words occur in rhyming position must be accidental. What may possibly correspond to one type of *breccad* rhyme found in bardic poetry (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 45-54) can be found in the third stanza of F6, where the word **aimsir** occurs in each line of the stanza in both *LL* and *R*.

2.7 Examples where we have rhyme instead of *úaitne* (10 examples=3% of all *úaitne*s):

Note that in F1. 6 **airech** makes full rhyme with **graigech** (F1. 6) and **Ailech** (F1. 5), in F2. 44 **hergnaid** with **Temraig** (F2. 44) and **degblaid** (F2. 43), in F3. 49 **togairm** with **comlaind** (F3. 50) and **nDomnaill** (F3. 52), in F3. 91 **chaidchi** with **laimthi** (F3. 90) and **aidchi** (F3. 92), and in F4. 38 **dodaing** with **Chonaill** (F4. 38) and **roraind** (F4. 37). However, according to Ó Cuív (1962-1963: 239), "there is a positional difference between rime (*comhardadh*) and consonance (*uaitne*), and it is far from certain that the use of identical vowels for the latter would have been regarded as incorrect in the O.Ir. or Mid.Ir. period. [...] Admittedly for the Ear.Mod.Ir. period such usage is proscribed in IGT V §§ 100ff., where the supposed faulty use of the equivalent of full-rime is termed *rudrach uaitne* (cf. *rudrach LL* 5036 ff.). Nevertheless there are numerous examples of it in the poems of the period [...]." Note that two of the ten examples in these poems occur in F3 (1) and F3 (2) respectively (=4.3% and 10% of all *úaitne*s in these texts respectively).

In F2. 10 **mbrethaib** makes *úaitne* with **Eochaid** (F2. 10) and **deochair** (F2. 9). In Middle Irish, the sound change **e > eo** occurred before **ch** or a lenited **g** in stressed syllables (*SNG*: 232: 3.7). The spelling in F2. 9-10 seems to indicate that the stressed

vowels in the words above are different in quality. However, note the end-rhyme **Echach : rethach** (F5. 97-98) and the internal rhymes **Eocho : bretho** (F10. 123-124) and **Eocho : bethu** (F10. 135-136). (As F10 has the second highest figures for internal rhyme among the poems written in *debide*--see 1.1 above--, it is very likely that internal rhyme is meant in these two cases.) As there are numerous examples of both **<e>** and **<eo>** spellings before **ch** in these poems (see p. 19: **2.5**), one can not be sure what was originally meant in F2. 10. If **eo** is meant there, then we have regular *úaitne*; however, if **e**, then we are again dealing with *rudrach úaitne*.

There is a similar case in F1. 10, where we have *úaitne* between **domna** and **Dagda**, as *DIL* has the two variant forms **damnae** and **domnae**--so again, according to the spelling in the MSS, there is regular *úaitne*; however, with the other form we would again get *rudrach úaitne*.

3. Alliteration

3.1 Alliteration within the line (*úaimm*)

Alliteration within the line is a very commonly used ornamentation in most of these poems. The requirements concerning it in each metre are described in sections **1.1**, **1.2**, **1.3** and **1.4** above.

In all of the metres discussed above, alliteration between the last two stressed words is required in bardic poetry in the last line of the stanza (Knott, 1966: 18, 16 and 14). However, there are quite a few last lines of a stanza in these poems where alliteration is present, but not between the last two stressed words: there are 8 examples of this in the first section of F4 and in F5, 4 examples in F8 and F10, 3 examples in F2, in the first section of F3 and in F6, 1 example in the second section of F4, in F7, F9, F11 and F12, and no examples in F1 and in the second section of F3 (altogether 38 examples = 9% of all--432--last lines).

In two of the metres discussed above (*dechnad cummaisc* and *rinnard*) *lorga*, that is alliteration between the last stressed word in *a* and the first stressed word in *b* is also a requirement. The figures for alliteration and alliteration/*lorga* can be found in the tables presented in the sections referred to above.

3.2 Double/Paired alliteration

This type of ornamentation consists of a sequence of four words, the first and third alliterating with one another, and the second and fourth alliterating likewise. The first

and third words are often identical (Hollo, 1990: 78). It seems that this was an acceptable form of alliteration in Early Irish syllabic poetry (*ibid*: 79). I have 5 examples of this type of alliteration:

c*ath* Dromma, c*ath* Dathe (F3. 19)

c*ath* Ache, c*ath* Oche (F3. 20) (last line of a quatrain)

c*ath* Lifi, c*ath* Lethe (F3. 36) (last line of a quatrain)

for rīg nUlad for ríg nAirgīall (F4. 86*d*) (last line of a quatrain)

M*ac* Cuill M*ac* Cēcht (F8. 143) (provided that **M*ac*** is stressed here)

Note that three of these examples are from F3 (1), which is written in *rinnard*.

3.3 *Fidrad freccomail*

Fidrad freccomail, which had much freer rules than alliteration within the line, is a very common type of ornamentation used in these poems: it appears in all of them. The rules for *fidrad freccomail* are described in Murphy, 1961: 38-39 and Carney, 1981: 256-257. The figures for this ornamentation in these poems are the following: 34/34 (100%) in F1, 5/5 (100%) in the second section of F3, 67/68 (99%) in F5, 30/33 (91%) in F2, 29/34 (85%) in F10, 10/14 (71%) in F11, 40/59 (68%) in the first section of F4, 23/35 in F7 (66%), 32/50 (64%) in F6, 10/17 (59%) in F9, 9/16 (56%) in the first section of F3, 5/8 (62.5%) in the second section of F4, 8/16 (50%) in F12, and 16/37 (43%) in F8. Note that the figures range from 43% to 100% (from 43% to 85% in the *debide* poems and from 50% to 100% in the *dechnad cummaisc* poems). In the case of both metres the two poems with the highest figure for correspondence to the requirements of bardic poetry (F11, F10 and F1, F5) have the highest percentage of *fidrad freccomail*. As far as bardic poetry is concerned, Ní Dhomhnaill says that "Faightear lorga, scaití, idir déanach rann amháin agus focal tosaigh an chéad rainn eile, i snéabhairdne [...]" (1975: 36 §67), so obviously the use of what would have been called *fidrad freccomail* in Early Irish poetry was restricted to this particular metre in the classical period.

Murphy (1961: 39) cites O'Brien, 1955: 36-37, according to whom it is possible to have *fidrad freccomail* between a lenited and a non-lenited **f**; however, Carney (1981: 256-257) doubts this and concludes that "there is as yet insufficient evidence for such an alliteration" (*ibid*: 257). I have three possible examples of *fidrad freccomail* between a lenited and a non-lenited **f** in these poems: one in F1 (**no figed--Fég**, ll. 8-9), one in F5 (**ō filid--Fecht**, ll. 2-3), and one in F7 (**ardflathius--Ba flaith**, ll. 4-5). In F7 the figures for

fidrad freccomail are only 66%, so one can not draw conclusions from the example above. However, in F1 there is *fidrad freccomail* between all the other quatrains, and in F5 between all but one of the other quatrains. In F1 one might read **no figed** with a non-lenited **f**, but of the 43 certain examples of active verbal forms which come after the particles **ro**, **no**, **do-** and **ní** in these texts, only five are not lenited--or maybe lenition is just not marked in these cases (p. 60: **8.4**). In my opinion it is likely that *fidrad freccomail* is meant here in these two cases; although it would be more satisfactory to have more similar examples. I also believe that the loose rules for *fidrad freccomail* in general (Carney cites examples where linking alliteration is provided by **s/s**, **s/z**, prefixed **n**/radical **n**, etc.--*ibid*) do not exclude its existence between **f/f**.

3.3.1 Linking alliteration can also be used to link the poems of a cycle (F1, F2, F4 and F5): the first word of the second poem of the cycle (F2--**cind**) alliterates with the last word of F1 (**ciä**); and the last word in the first section of F4 (**nglúnib**) alliterates with the first stressed word in F5 (**a ngluind**).

4. Elision

Examples can be found in the section Analysis of the Metre before each poem in Vol. I: p. 7 (F1), pp. 32-33 (F2), p. 56 (F3), pp. 81-82 (F4), pp. 122-123 (F5), p. 162 (F6), pp. 206-207 (F7), p. 237 (F8), p. 268 (F9), pp. 285-286 (F10), p. 308 (F11), pp. 326-327 (F12).

4.1 The main rules governing elision in bardic poetry are the following: "An unstressed short vowel is elided when another vowel precedes it. An unstressed long vowel preceded by another vowel may or may not be elided". (Knott, 1966: 11; also cited in Murphy, 1961: 39) As far as elision in the Old and Middle Irish periods is concerned, Murphy describes the situation as following (1961: 39): "In Old Irish poetry elision is not frequent. During the Middle Irish period it becomes more and more common. The rule for it in the Old and Middle Irish periods may be formulated as follows: an unstressed vowel may (or may not) be elided when another vowel precedes it." (This rule is capitalized by Murphy.) This statement is true for these poems as well, because as the figures below show, there is no compulsory elision, although elision is required by the metre more often than not.

4.2 Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: I have 102 examples of this, and in 69 cases elision is required by the metre (4/5=80% in F1, 3/9=33% in F2, 1/2=50% in F3, 8/10=80% in the first part of F4, 2/2=100% in the second part of F4, 10/15=71% in F5, 12/12=100% in F6, 10/12=84% in F7, 8/13=62% in F8, 6/11=55% in F9, 2/8=25% in F10, 2/3=67% in F11, and 3/3=100% in F12; altogether 71/105=68%).

4.3 As far as unstressed long vowels are concerned, according to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: 32-33), two cases have to be distinguished in bardic poetry:

> "bháití fadghuthaí i dtosach iarméarla gach am i ndiaidh gearrghuthaí, ach is scéal eile é, más i ndiaidh fadghuthaí eile atá sé. [...] Tá sé scríofa ag údair éagsúla gur fágadh faoin bhfile féin fadghuthaí a bhá nó gan a bhá, i ndiaidh fadghuthaí eile. Fíoraíonn fianaise na dtéacsanna an ráiteas i leith *(a)* [*īar, ó* (réamhfhocal) leis féin nó le focal nó le mír, mar *ón, ór, ós* (=uas, ó is)], ach gur minice nach ndéantaí bá." (*ibid*).

In these poems, the situation can be summarized as following:
a) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: I have 23 examples of this altogether, and elision is required in 17 cases (0/1=0% in F2, 1/1=100% in F3, 0/1=0% in F5, 2/2=100% in F6, 6/7=86% in F7, 2/4=50% in F8, 1/1=100% in F10, and 5/6=83% in F12; altogether 17/23=74%). Again, we can see that elision is not compulsory here either.

b) Unstressed long vowel + unstressed long vowel: I have one example, and elision is necessary here (1/1=100% in F12). The data are not enough for arriving at any conclusion concerning compulsory elision here.

4.4 In his discussion of elision in Irish poetry, Murphy (1961: 39-40) also states the following:

> "In addition to such elision [i.e. the type discussed above], for which a rule may be given, and which scribes ignore in their orthography, certain other droppings of vowels are either normal or permissible, and scribes frequently indicate them (they are often, therefore, listed as alternative forms by grammarians). Among these, attention may be drawn here to: *(a)* the dropping (at least in Middle Irish), even in the beginning of a line, of the initial *i* of the

copula-form *is* [...]; *(b)* the reduction in Late Middle Irish of forms such as *co ro* to *cor*; *(c)* the omission, even in Old Irish, of the vowel of the possessive adjectives *mo* and *do* [...]; *(d)* the omission, even in Old Irish, of the *o* of the preposition *do* before vowels." (1961: 40)

In these poems, the following phenomena are present (for the individual examples, see the relevant sections in Vol. I referred to on p. 125 above):

a) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is** and of the copula **is**: As far as the dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is** is concerned, there are four definite examples in F6, three in F9, two in F4 (1), and one in F2, F5 and F8 (altogether 12 examples). In one of the examples in F4 (1) and in the one in F5 the dropping occurs at the beginning of the line.

Of the dropping of the initial vowel of the copula **is**, I have one example, and this can be found in F5. 138 (**(i)ss é**), notably at the beginning of the line. As far as bardic poetry is concerned, Ní Dhomhnaill has the following to say on this matter: "I lár líne, leanann *is* `agus' *is, as* (na copaile), na gnáthrialacha, nó faightear mar *'s* iad, fiú i ndiaidh consain. I dtosach na líne, is minic atá *is* `agus', scríofa mar *'s*, ach is eisceacht aon athrú ar *is, as*, na copaile." (1975: 33-34, §60). Note that there are three other examples of **is é** in these texts (F6. 204 *LL*, F12. 6, and F12. 59), the first two at the beginning of the line, where we should read two syllables.

b) The reduction of **coro** to **cor** and of **níro** to **nír**: I have two examples in F7. 44 and 128 (**cor(o) marb, nīr(o) chaith**), and one in F8. 2 (**cor inniseor**). See also the Notes on F2. 27*b* (Vol. I, p. 40), F5. 134*d* (Vol. I, p. 142), and F10. 123 (Vol. I, p. 286), where this type of elision would be one way of getting the correct number of syllables.

c) I have no examples of the possessive pronouns **mo** and **do** followed by a vowel.

d) Dropping of the vowel in the prepositions **do\de**: Altogether there are 30 examples of these prepositions followed by a vowel or a lenited **f** (11 in F2, 7 in F1, 3 in F6 and F8, 2 in F7 and F12, 1 in F5 and F11, no examples in F3, F4, F9 and F10). In 12 of these (4 in F2, 2 in F7, F8 and F12, 1 in F1 and F6) the metre requires elision (note that this is not always indicated by the *LL* scribe); in four examples this type of elision would be one

way of getting the correct number of syllables (F2. 10*d*--see FN in Vol. I, p. 33, F2. 21*a*--see Vol. I, p. 39; F2. 27*b*--see Vol. I, p. 40; F6. 54--see Vol. I, p. 181); while in 14 cases (6 in F1, 4 in F2, 1 in F5, F6, F8 and F11) the metre requires that the vowel in the preposition should be pronounced. All in all, one can say that in these poems the elision of the vowel in the prepositions **do** and **de** before another vowel or a lenited **f** is optional, dictated by the metrical requirements.

In bardic poetry, however, the elision of the vowel in the prepositions **do** and **de** is compulsory before another vowel (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 34, §61).

Further cases of vowel dropping:

4.5 Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (preposition + article or possessive pronoun; preverb; adverb):

I. At the beginning of the line: 3 examples in F9, one in F5, F6, F8 and F10. (7)

II. After vowels and consonants: 8 examples in F6, 6 in F10, 5 in F5, 4 in F1, 3 in F8, 2 in F9, 1 in F2, in the first part of F4, in F7 and in F12, and no examples in F3, the second part of F4 and F11. (32)

Note that these droppings are not always marked by the scribe; on the other hand, dropping is indicated sometimes when the metre requires the full form. Examples where the metre does not require dropping are listed under the relevant poems. (See references at the beginning of this section.)

4.6 Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (preposition + relative particle): I have one example each in F1, F5 and F9. (3)

4.7 On the reduced forms of the copula, see p. 93: **12.50**.

4.8 The possibility of elision across lines/*caesuras*

According to Murphy (1961: 39 fn. 2), it is not possible to have elision across lines/*caesuras*. MacNeill in his edition offers this solution on two occasions to solve the difficulty with the syllable count of the given line (F4. 107-108, F5. 126). There are also some other lines in these poems where this possibility could be considered. However, in all the cases I have been able to find another solution. See the Notes on F1. 43-44 (Vol. I, p. 18), F4. 33-34 (Vol. I, pp. 92-93), F4. 97 (Vol. I, p. 97), F4. 107-108 (Vol. I, p. 99), and F5. 126 (Vol. I, p. 141). All in all, I have no definite example of elision across

lines/*caesura*s.

5. *Dúnad*

5.1 Murphy (1961: 44) discusses three types of *dúnad* in early Irish poetry. These are *comindsma*, where the first consonant and vowel of the opening word of the poem is repeated at the end; *ascnam*, in which the whole first syllable of the opening word forms the last syllable of the last line; and *saigid*, in which the whole opening word is repeated as the last word of the last line of the poem.

5.2 *Saigid*, which, according to Murphy, is the commonest type of *dúnad* in the Old and Middle Irish period, is present in the following poems: in F6, which begins and ends with the word **Mide** (**Mide** is also the closing word in stanza 5); in F8, which begins and ends with the words **ēstid**; and also in F11, which begins and ends with the word **Mugain** (stanzas 12 and 14 end in the word **Mugaine**). F1 opens with the conjunction **cīa** (monosyllabic), and ends with disyllabic **ciä**, the pronoun; here we do not have identity of form and meaning, so this *dúnad* is not a perfect *saigid* like the other three.

Murphy also mentions that in *saigid*, "occasionally, too, different grammatical parts of the same word correspond" (*ibid*). This is true of F9, which begins with the word **toīsig** (nom. pl.) and ends with the word **tóesech** (nom. sg.).

Altogether five of the poems have a *saigid*-type of *dúnad*. *(F1, F6, F8, F9, F11)*

As already mentioned in Vol. I, p. 1, F1, F2, F4 and F5 seem to form a cycle of poems. They are written in the same metre, and the last word of F5 (**ciä**) (disyllabic, pronoun) echoes the opening word of F1 (**cīa**) (monosyllabic, conjunction). As well as that, F2 also ends with disyllabic **ciä**, the pronoun, so it also echoes the opening word of F1. So here we have an imperfect *saigid*-type of *dúnad* in the cycle.

5.3 Ní Dhomhnaill discusses closure in bardic poetry in 1981: 47-61, and her classification of closures is somewhat different from that of Murphy's. In 1981: 57-60: 9.0-9.32, she discusses closures based on a single word. She says that "the norm, a complete individual word in model and closure, is the equivalent of *saighidh*" (1981: 57), but she also lists incomplete and unusual forms, still based on a single word, on pp. 58-60 (9.2-9.32).

There are three poems in this thesis which will come under this category: in these, only the first and last letter of the poem are identical: F5 begins with **a** (unstressed) and ends with **ciä**; and F12 begins with the word **inn** (unstressed) and ends with the word

Bóruimi. The section of F4 which can be attributed to a later poet also contains a *dúnad* of this type: the poem begins with **aní** and ends with **Macha**. (Note that unstressed syllables can also count in *dúnad*: see Murphy, 1961: 44 and Ní Dhomhnaill, 1981: 50: 3.1.)

5.4 Ní Dhomhnaill also discusses the case when closure consists of a half-line (1981: 56: 7.0). This is the case in F7, which begins with **síl** (nom. sg.) **Āeda Sláne na sleg** and ends with **sāegul síl** (gen. sg.) **Āeda Slāne**. Note that here two different grammatical forms of **síl** are used (see **5.2** above).

5.5 Under unusual forms, Ní Dhomhnaill (1981: 59: 9.31) lists examples when there is "an additional syllable in the closure". The *dúnad* in F10 belongs to this category as it begins with the word **rīg** (nom. pl.) and ends with the word **ōenrí** (nom. sg.). Note that here again, a different grammatical form of the word **rí** is used as well.

5.6 There seems to be no *dúnad* which fits into any of the categories discussed by Murphy or by Ní Dhomhnaill in F2, in the section of F4 which can be attributed to Fland, and in the first part of F3. However, the first two letters of the opening word of the poem are repeated in the closing word in F2 (**cind--ciä**). F4 begins with **aní** and ends with **nglúnib**, and here we have the repetition of the sequence **ní/ni**. Also note that these poems are part of a cycle, and the *dúnad* proper can be found between the first and last poem of the cycle. (See **5.2** on p. 129 above.)

The first part of F3 begins with **ascnam** and ends with **míli**, and one might consider the repetition of the sound **m** as a sort of *dúnad*.

5.7 Finally, there is no *dúnad* in the second section of F3: it begins with **gabsat** and ends with **aidchi**. However, MacNeill has the following note this: "The scribe adds *C[ia]* as if to indicate that the final syllable *-chi* echoes the opening word *Cia* of Flann's poem I [=F1]. But it is quite clear that III. [=F3] is an independent composition." (1913: 56.) However, I believe that this correspondence is probably accidental. (See the Introduction to F3 in Vol. I, p. 50, and my suggestion concerning authorship in the Conclusion, p. 188: **5.1**).

SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES

I. Orthography

1. Final unstressed vowels making end-rhyme, internal rhyme, *aicill* or *úaitne* with each other are spelt with the same letter in most cases. I have only 10 examples where this is not the case. (See p. 5: **1.16**)

II. Phonology

II.1 Stressed words

2. As final unstressed vowels had fallen together by the beginning of the MIr period, many rhyming pairs exist in MIr which would not have made perfect rhyme in OIr. See the collection of examples on pp. 8-15: **1.28**. (*SNG*: 230: 3.11)

3. Hiatus is gradually lost in the MIr period; however, according to *SNG* (231: 3.2), it still occurs quite often in early MIr, and it cites quite a few examples from these poems. In these texts I have altogether 42 forms with hiatus from 34 words. Of these, in 26 examples (from 23 words) the hiatus is historical; in 6 examples (from 3 words) it is unhistorical; and in 10 cases (8 words) the historical form is uncertain.

In his article published in 1983, Carney notes that Flann frequently uses hiatus in Irish names and place-names (1983: 196). Of the 42 examples with hiatus in these poems, almost half (19) are indeed names or place-names, coming from 15 words (in 10 cases the hiatus is historical; in one case, unhistorical; and 8 cases the historical form is uncertain).

Note also that 24 words appear only with hiatus, 10 words both with and without hiatus; and 17 words (41 examples) which had hiatus in OIr appear only without it.

As far as the loss of historical hiatus is concerned, I have 104 examples (45 from the various forms of **úa** alone) of this from 23 words. This means that historical hiatus is lost in 80% of cases (26:104). If we do not take **úa** into consideration, which appears with hiatus only once, then the examples of the loss of historical hiatus will be only 59, which means 70% (25:59). (See pp. 16-18: **2.2**.)

4. Variation between stressed **o** and stressed **a** before a non-palatal consonant (*SNG*: 232: 3.6) occurs in 5 words and 1 prefix in these poems: **orgun** (OIr **orcun**), **Ollán**, **forrán**, **Fothardaig**, **Lochlann**, **ro-**. I have 1 uncertain and 29 certain examples with **o**, and 11

examples with **a**. Note that in **Allāin : forrá[i]n** (F2. 26) (*e. r.*) and **nAllán : forrán** (F3. 72) (*a.*), we should either read **nAllán** with **o** or **forrán** with **a**. Also note the two end-rhymes under **2.4 g** (p. 19). *SNG* cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See pp. 18-19: **2.4**.)

5. I have 21 examples from 6 words (**Echu, Echaid, geguin, dechor, echair, Echocán**) of the MIr change **e > eo** before **ch** or a lenited **g** in stressed syllables (*SNG*: 232: 3.7). Of these the first 3 words occur both with **eo** and **e** (altogether 18 examples with **eo** and 11 with **e**); while the last three occur only with **eo** (1 example each). Also note that I have one example each of the perf. sg. 3 of **téit (dechaid)** and of the noun **ech**, and here they are spelt with **e**. Note that in **Eocho** (F10. 124, 136) the rhyme with **bretho** and **bethu** shows that we have to read **Echu**. (See pp. 19-20: **2.5**.)

6. I have two examples of the change of the diphthong **óe** to **é** from two words (*SNG*: 233: 3.8), both of them verified by rhyme. However, I also have 15 examples from 8 words where the diphthong is retained. (See p. 20: **2.6**.)

7. I have no example of the change **ó** after initial **c-** and before a palatal consonant to **ú** (*SNG*: 233: 3.10). E.g. I have 8 examples of **cóic** (when not abbreviated). (See p. 291.)

8. I have 11 examples from six words of the change **iu > i** before a non-palatal consonant (*SNG*: 233: 3.11), and I have no example of the older forms. *SNG* cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 21: **2.8**.)

9. Some consonant clusters are simplified (*SNG*: 234: 3.14): I have one example each of **-ndn- > -dn-** and **-snd- > -sn-**, 6 examples of **-ln- > -ll-**, and no example of the older form; 1 example of **-ld- > -ll-**, and two where the cluster is retained; and two examples of **-nl- > -ll-**, and also two examples where the cluster is retained in a compound. (See p. 21: **2.9**.)

10. I have 9 examples of the change **mr- > br-** in initial position (*SNG*: 234: 3.16) from three words (OIr **mrath, mruig** and **mrecht**), and no example of the older form. *SNG* cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 21: **2.11**.)

11. I have 3 examples of **l > ll** before an **s** from two words and 3 of **n > nn\nd** before an **s** also from two words (*SNG*: 234: 3.17). However, in 2 and 7 cases respectively, one finds **l** and **n** in this position. Note that the comparative of **solus** appears both with single and double **l**. *SNG* cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 22: **2.12** and **2.13**.)

12. I only have two examples of the confusion of final palatal lenited **g** and **d** from two words (*SNG*: 234: 3.18), and in both cases **d** is used instead of **g**. *SNG* does not have many examples of this feature either, and the examples cited from *SR* can probably be attributed to the scribe of Rawlinson B502. (See p. 22: **2.14**.)

13. I have 11 certain examples (from three words) of the confusion of lenited **m** and **b** when there is another nasal in the given word (*SNG*: 235: 3.20). In all of these cases, lenited **b** is used for lenited **m**. *SNG* cites examples of this feature already from *SR*.

SNG does not give examples of this confusion where there is no other nasal in the word. However, I do have one certain and one uncertain example of the confusion of these consonants in such words as well. (See p. 22: **2.15**.)

II.2 Unstressed words

14. I have no example of initial **[k]** (**<c>**) in an unstressed word becoming **[g]** (**<g>**) (e. g. in words like **cen, cach, cía** and **co**). Note that *SNG* (235: 3.23) cites examples of this feature already from *SR*--however, this phenomenon may be attributed to the scribe of Rawlinson B502 rather than to the author of the poem. (See pp. 294, 314, 316, 324, 326.)

15. I only have two examples of the change **ía > á** in unstressed words, as against 49 examples in 6 words where the diphthong is retained (*SNG*: 236: 3.24). (See p. 24: **2.25**.)

II.3 Initial mutations (*SNG*: 236: 4.1-239: 4.15)

16. Concernig **lenition**, the following points should be noted:

a) historical lenition is either present or is absent\not marked;

b) in some cases non-historical lenition appears.

a) Historical lenition: present or absent\not marked

(i) Lenition is present after the dat. sg. of a noun or an adj.: I have five examples where lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration*lorga*; it is not marked in two cases, but in one of these alliteration requires the presence of lenition. (See p. 25: **2.29 I a.**)

(ii) Lenition is present after a fem. noun in the nom. sg.; it is not marked in 8 cases; in two of these the absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration. (See p. 26: **2.29 I b.**)

(iii) Lenition is present after a masc.\neut. o-stem noun in the voc. sg.--I have one example, and here lenition is fixed by alliteration. (See p. 26: **2.29 I c.**)

(iv) Lenition is present after a masc.\neut. o-stem noun in the gen. sg.; I have two examples where lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration. Lenition is not marked in 6 examples; in one of these the absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration; and in another one, alliteration shows that lenition should be present. (See p. 26: **2.29 I d.**)

(v) Lenition is present after the gen. sg. of a masc.\neut. io-stem; in two examples, lenition is absent; in one of these its absence seems to be fixed by alliteration. (See p. 27: **2.29 I e.**)

(vi) I have two examples where it would be possible to mark lenition after the masc.\neut. gen. sg. of an o\ā adj., and it is marked in neither case. Note that we have unusual word order in both of these examples. (See p. 27: **2.29 I f.**)

(vii) Lenition is present after the various forms of the copula; I have 8 examples where lenition is not marked; in one of these its absence seems to be fixed by alliteration; and in two other cases the alliteration seems to indicate that lenition must be present. (See p. 27: **2.29 I g.**)

(viii) I have one example where lenition could be marked after the conjunction **cía**, and this is done so here. (See p. 27: **2.29 I h.**)

Altogether there are 28 examples in these poems where lenition would be expected historically, but it is not marked. In 4 of these cases, alliteration requires the presence of lenition; however, in 5 other cases the absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration.

b) Non-historical lenition (*SNG*: 237: 4.6-238: 4.9)

(i) After a masc. o-stem noun in the nom. sg., the gen. sg. of a fem.? noun, the nom. pl. of a masc. guttural stem, the indefinite pronoun **cía**: 1 example each (see p. 28: **2.29 II a, d, f, g**); after the masc. gen. sg. of an i-stem adj.: 2 examples; one of them is fixed by

alliteration (see p. 28: **2.29 II e**); lenition of an o-stem noun in the gen. sg. in a construction denoting possession: 2 examples (see p. 28: **2.29 II b**); lenition of a noun in the gen. between a noun in the nom. and another noun in the gen.: 3 examples (see p. 28: **2.29 II c**); lenition after **cú** is extended to the second closely connected word: 1 example (see p. 28: **2.29 II h**).

(ii) Lenition of the direct object of a verb: I have 13 examples without lenition; 2 of these are fixed by alliteration, and in one case alliteration shows that lenition must be present; I have 4 examples where lenition is marked. Note that *SNG* (237: 4.6) cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 28: **2.29 II i**.)

(iii) Lenition of the initial consonant of an adverb: I have 6 examples with lenition from four words, and 7 examples from 4 words without it. Note that **tair, tall** and **tess** appear both with and without lenition. (See p. 29: **2.29 II j**.)

There are altogether 31 examples when non-historical lenition is marked; 3 of these are fixed by alliteration; in one case alliteration shows that the mark of lenition was simply omitted.

Concerning lenition after **Máel**, the numeral adjective, **ocus\is, do-, ní, no** and **ro**, of the initial consonant of a preposition, see p. 139: 32, p. 141: 42, p. 151: 85, p. 145: 63, p. 149: 77, and p. 150: 80 and 83 below.

17. The following points should be noted concerning **nasalisation**:

a) historical nasalisation is either present or is absent\nor marked;

b) in some cases non-historical nasalisation appears.

a) Historical nasalisation: present or absent\not marked

(i) There is nasalisation after a noun.\adj. in the gen. pl.; I have one uncertain and four certain examples where the mark of nasalisation was omitted in spelling after a nasal or between two non-nasal consonants. (See p. 29: **2.30 I a**.)

(ii) Nasalisation is always present after the gen. pl. article. (See p. 30: **2.30 I b**.)

(iii) There is nasalisation after a noun\adj. in the acc. sg.; it is absent in 21 cases; however, 12 of these could be dat. used for acc. In 6 cases the mark of nasalisation is absent before a vowel; in 10 examples between two non-nasal consonants; and in five cases after a nasal. (See p. 30: **2.30 I c**.)

(iv) There is nasalisation after the acc. sg. art.; I have two uncertain examples where it is not marked. (See p. 31: **2.30 I d.**)

(v) I have one example of the nasalising preposition **dochum**, and nasalisation is not present after it. (See p. 31: **2.30 I e.**)

(vi) I have one certain example where a dental masc. infixed pronoun nasalises; and one example where the nasalisation is not marked. (See p. 31: **2.30 I f.**)

There are altogether 26 cases in these poems where historical nasalisation is not marked; however, 12 of these could be acc. used for dat. Out of the remaining 14 examples, in 8 cases the mark of nasalisation was omitted after a nasal or between two non-nasal consonants, and 6 before a vowel. Note that otherwise there are numerous examples of the marking of nasalisation after a nasal or between two non-nasal consonants.

b) Non-historical nasalisation

(i) I have 12 examples of nasalisation in chevilles after the nom. sg. from 8 words. According to *DIL*, three of these words (4 examples) were probably neuter in OIr, and in these cases the nasalisation would be historical. I also have five examples where there is no nasalisation after the nom. sg. of a noun in a cheville. *SNG*: 239: 4.14 cites several examples of this feature from *SR*. (See p. 32: **2.30 II g.**)

(ii) I have two examples of the extension of nasalisation to a noun or an adjective that follows a noun in the gen. sg. which is itself nasalised. (See p. 32: **2.30 II h.**)

Note that non-historical nasalisation occurs in all kinds of phonetic environment: after a nasal (e.g. 6 examples in chevilles), between two non-nasal consonants and next to a vowel.

III. The Noun

18. According to *SNG*: 240: 5.3, the independent dative is used quite often in early MIr poetry (there are several examples cited from *SR*), but it gradually disappears during the MIr period. I have 19 certain and 2 uncertain examples of the independent dative. (See p. 34: **3.2.**)

19. Only a few traces of the neuter can be found: see p. 34: **3.4.**

20. Masc. proper names in **-án** sometimes did not change their form in the gen. already in OIr (Thur. §280). In these poems, I have 9 rhyming and 2 non-rhyming examples (from 9 and 2 names respectively) where the gen. is identical with the nom.; and 6 certain rhyming and 4 non-rhyming examples where the **-án** ending is palatalised (from 6 and 3 names respectively). (See p. 35: **3.5 a.**)

21. In MIr in ā-stems the nom. sg. form often ends in a palatal consonant. *SNG*: 243: 5.6 cites examples from as early as *SR*. In these poems the historical form (i.e. the one with the non-palatal consonant) outnumbers by far the newer form: I have 31 rhyming and 24 non-rhyming examples of the historical form from 24 and 19 words respectively, while only 5 rhyming and 8 non-rhyming examples of the newer form (from 5 and 4 words respectively). This means that the proportion of the historical and the newer forms fixed by rhyme is about 6:1. (See pp. 36-37: **3.6 a (i)-(iv)**.)

22. In MIr in ā-stems the acc. sg. form often ends in a non-palatal consonant, thus it is identical with the nom. sg. *SNG*: 243: 5.6 cites examples from as early as *SR*. In these poems the historical form (i.e. the one with a palatal consonant) outnumbers by far the newer form: I have 40 certain rhyming and 9 non-rhyming examples of the historical form from 32 and 4 words respectively, and 3 certain rhyming and 7 non-rhyming examples of the newer form from 3 and 6 words respectively. So the proportion of the historical and newer forms fixed by rhyme is about 13:1. *SNG* (*ibid*) says that "Mar chuspóir briathair faightear go minic foirmeacha le consan deireanach leathan"; however, in these poems I have not noticed any difference in frequency. Both forms occur both as the direct object of a verb, or as the object of a preposition. (See pp. 37-38: **3.6 a (v)-(viii)**.)

23. During the MIr period io- and iā-stems receive a new, dental-stem type ending in the plural. *SNG*: 246: 5.9 notes that there are no examples of this feature in *SR*; and I have no example of it in these poems either. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites one rhyming example, and that is from the *MD*. (See p. 38: **3.7.**)

24. In i-stems, I have two examples of the new gen. pl. form in a consonant (both are rhyming ones). *SNG*: 244: 5.7 cites a rhyming example already from *SR*; however, it also cites several examples of the older form of the gen. pl. from the same text. Note that I have no example of the older form. (See p. 39: **3.8.**)

25. I have two rhyming examples of the older form of the gen. pl. of **blíadain**, while 5 rhyming and 4 non-rhyming ones of the newer form. Thus the rhyming examples of the newer form outnumber the older ones by 5:2. *SNG*: 247: 5.10 cites Strachan (1905: 227), according to whom the same figure for *SR* is 2:11 (only the rhyming examples are counted here). (See p. 40: **3.9 b.**)

26. In u-stems, the proportion of the older gen. sg. form to that of the newer one, based on the o-stem declension, is 54 : 12 (4.5 : 1). There are three words (**trebad, senchas, Dúnchad**) in which only the new form is used; and three (**ág, borrfad, Dondchad**), in which both gen. sg. forms appear. (Note that in most cases it is a disyllabic word which acquires the o-stem type gen. sg.) *SNG*: 245: 5.8 cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 40: **3.10 a.**)

27. I have one uncertain and 8 certain examples of the new gen. pl. form of u-stems; all of them are fixed either by rhyme or by the syllable count. I have no example of the older form. *SNG*: 246: 5.8 already cites the new form from *SR*, and it states that the older gen. pl. form survived only in fixed phrases. (See p. 41: **3.10 b.**)

28. According to *SNG*: 249: 5.11, it is very rare to find the long form of the dat. in nouns which were originally neuter n-stems. I have one example of this, and one of the short dat. *SR* still has examples of the older form. (See p. 42: **3.11 d.**)

29. The gender of some nouns is different from what it was in OIr--obviously, OIr neuter nouns are affected the most. See a discussion of these changes on pp. 42-43: **3.13**.

30. Quite a few nouns belong to a different declension than they did in OIr: a) I have 4 original o-stems treated as ā-stems (**coindelg, deäd, dechor, drong**); b) I have 4 original n-stems treated as ā- or o-stems: **Ébliu, Almu, Gulbae, Gobniu** (note that all of these are proper nouns here), and some others can be declined in two ways (see **31** below); c) OIr **rígain** is treated as an ā-stem. (See pp. 43-44: **3.14**.)

31. There are also 14 nouns which are declined according to two different patterns: **ail** (i + k--possibly), **tár** (o + ā), **éis** (i + ī), **blad** (u + ā), **Temair** (i + k), **dún** (o + s), **Frigriu** (n + o), **Dáui** (k + o), **fáel** (o + t), **blíadain** (ī + ā), **ág** (o + u), **borrfad** (o +

u), **Donnchad** (u + o), and **Máel** (ā + o?). (See p. 40: **3.9 b**; pp. 40-41: **3.10 a**; pp. 45-46: **3.15**; and pp. 46-47: **3.16**.)

32. According to Ó Máille, 1910: 52 n., the disyllabic gen. of **Máel**, **Maíle** is common in *AU* up to the year 850, then gradually gives way to **Máel** followed by lenition, and goes out of use by 950. In these poems, I have 5 examples of the disyllabic form, and 20 of the monosyllabic one.

Lenition is present after the gen. of **Máel** in 6 cases; one of these is fixed by alliteration. Lenition is not present (or not marked) in two cases. Note that lenition is present only after the monosyllabic gen. of **Máel**. (See pp. 46-47: **3.16**.)

IV. The Adjective

33. I have seven examples (from 5 adjectives) of the substantival use of the adj. where it is followed by a noun (indefinite pronoun) in the gen. According to *SNG* (252: 6.2), this construction is still quite common in MIr. (See p. 49: **4.1**.)

34. I have one example of the dat. pl. form of the attributive adj., and the **-aib** ending is still retained here. According to *SNG* (252: 6.3), this ending is still the usual one in *SR*, although there are already examples of the nom.\acc. pl. form used in its place. (See p. 49: **4.2**.)

35. I have one certain (with an original n-stem) and 4 uncertain examples (2 s-stems, 1 n-stem, 1 i-stem) of a fem. adj. used with the acc.\dat. sg. of a masc.\neut. consonantal stem or an i-stem. (In the uncertain cases we might be dealing with a real change in gender). I also have 6 examples where the masc. adj. is used in this situation with a masc. noun (4 i-stems, 2 s-stems). All the examples referred to above are fixed by rhyme. Note that *SNG* (252: 6.4) cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 49: **4.3**, p. 42: **3.13 b** and p. 43: **3.13 d**.)

36. In the course of the MIr period the OIr fem.\neut. nom. pl. form of the adj. gradually replaces the corresponding masc. form when the adj. is used attributively. I have two non-rhyming examples of this feature (from 2 adjectives--one of them is in **-ach**); however, I also have 3 rhyming examples of the older form (from 3 adjectives--all in **-ach**). According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 253: 6.5), in *SR* the newer form already outnumbers the

older one. (See p. 49: **4.5**.)

37. The same phenomenon (referred to above) can also be seen in the predicative adj. I have two examples of the newer form (from 1 adjective), and one rhyming example of the older one (from an adjective in **-ach**). According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 253: 6.5), in *SR* the older forms still outnumber the newer ones. Note that according to Dillon, 1927: 330, the older masc. nom. pl. of adjectives both in attributive and predicative function (not taking into consideration those in **-ach**) can still be found in texts which can be dated to the first half of the 12th century. (See p. 50: **4.7**.)

38. I have two examples (from two words) of the gen. pl. of an i-stem adj. which ends in a consonant in the nom. sg., and in both cases the gen. pl. form is identical with the nom. sg. Breatnach (*SNG*: 254-255: 6.7) does not know of any MIr examples of the gen. pl. form with the **-e** ending. (See p. 50: **4.6**.)

39. As far as number agreement between the predicative adjective and the verb\subject is concerned, I have two examples (from 2 adjectives) where the sg. form is used with a pl. verb\subject, but 6 examples (from 4 adjectives) where the pl. form is used with a pl. verb\subject. (See p. 50: **4.8**.)

40. In MIr the comparative form of the adj. gradually ousts the superlative form (*SNG*: 255-256: 6.9). I have 21 comparative forms, and no superlatives (see p. 286); however, I have only one definite example where the comparative is used with superlative meaning (*SNG*: 257: 6.15; see p. 50: **4.10**). The irregular comparative forms of **becc, il, mór** and **maith** are retained in these poems. (See p. 50: **4.8**.)

41. In these poems, three different methods are used for marking the object of the comparative form of the adjective (*SNG*: 257-258: 6.16). Two of these were already used in OIr: a) cpv. of adj. + noun in dat.--5 certain (rhyming) and 4 uncertain (also rhyming) examples; and b) using the inflected form of **andá-** (1 example). I also have two examples of comparison (one rhyming), where the uninflected form of **andá** is used, and this is a MIr innovation. *SNG* cites examples of this last type of comparison already from *SR*. (See p. 51: **4.12**.)

V. Numerals

42. Initial mutations after the numeral adjective. The elaborate system of initial mutations after numeral adjectives in OIr breaks down in the MIr period. In these poems, I have 5 examples of the presence of historical lenition, while in 7 cases lenition is absent\not marked; and in three cases of non-historical lenition appears, two of which replace OIr nasalisation. I have 28 examples of historical nasalisation, and two examples where it is not marked.

Breaking down the figures to the individual numeral adjectives, we get the following picture: I have four examples of historical lenition after nom.-acc. masc. **dá** (one of them fixed by alliteration), and three examples where it is not present or not marked (after the nom., acc. and gen.). I also have one example of non-historical lenition after nom. neuter **dá**. I still have three examples of historical nasalisation after nom.\acc. neuter **dá**, and one example where historical nasalisation does not appear. All in all, one can say that at this stage lenition after **dá** had not become generalised yet.

In **trí**, I have one example of historical and two of non-historical lenition (one replacing OIr nasalisation), and 4 examples where historical lenition is absent or is not marked (note that in all of these cases the word to be lenited is a substantivised numeral adj., which was treated as a neuter in OIr--Greene, 1992: 501).

Historical nasalisation after the gen. of **cethair, cóic** and **sé**, and after **secht, ocht, noí** and **deich** is always present with one exception, and its absence in this case can probably be attributed to a scribal slip. (See pp. 52-53: **5.1** and **5.2**.)

43. Gender distinction: I have 12 examples of the fem. form of the numeral adj. (**dí** and **teóra**) used with a fem. noun, and 9 examples where the masc. form of the numeral adj. is used with a fem. noun. Of these latter ones, five have **cethri*cethri***.

I have 10 examples of **dí** and one of **dá** used with a fem. noun; and 2 examples of **teōra** and three of **trí** used with a fem. noun. I have no example of **teóra** used with a masc. noun, of which *SNG* (261: 8.4) cites some examples. *SNG* (260: 8.3-261: 8.5) cites examples of the masc. form of numeral adjectives used with fem. nouns already from *SR*; although note that in that work, unlike in these poems, examples of **cethéora** are still attested (*ibid*). (See p. 53: **5.3**.)

44. I only have examples of the form **cethri** in these poems (4 non-abbreviated examples), and they are used before any noun irrespective of gender and case. This shows that **cethri**

is the sole form of this numeral which is generalised in MIr. (See p. 53: **5.5**.)

45. I have two examples of the numeral adj. **dá\dí** with the article, and **na** is used in both cases instead of OIr **in**. It seems that the use of **na** in such phrases was the norm already in *SR*. (*SNG*: 260: 8.3) (See p. 53: **5.6**.)

46. Because of the influence of OIr neuters such as **cét**, where the nom.\acc. sg., dual, and pl. forms were identical, in MIr the spread of the use of the sg. form of the noun after a numeral begins (*SNG*: 262: 8.7).

In these poems, I have 1 uncertain (rhyming) and 3 certain examples (1 rhyming and 2 non-rhyming) of the distinctive dual form of a noun used after **dá/dí**, and one example from *LL* where the sg. is used. (Note that in most nouns the dual agrees either with the corresponding sg. or pl. form, so it is impossible to decide which form is used.) As far as verbal forms are concerned, I have one example where a sg. verb accompanies a dual noun, and one example where a dual noun is the subject of a pl. verb.

With the numerals between 3 and 10, I have 37 examples of the plural, and one uncertain example of the sg. (See pp. 54-55: **5.8**.)

VI. The Article (*SNG*: 258: 7.1-259: 7.8)

47. The nom.\acc. sg. neuter article disappears and is replaced by the corresponding masc.\fem. form (*SNG*: 258: 7.1, 7.2). I have 9 examples of this phenomenon. The neuter article is retained in **aní** (F4. 1). Note that according to *SNG*, several examples of the neuter article can still be found in *SR*. (See p. 34: **3.4**, p. 42: **3.13 a** and p. 56: **6.1**.)

48. In MIr the nom. pl. masc. art. **in** gradually disappears and is replaced by the corresponding fem.\neut. form, **na** (*SNG*: 258: 7.4). I have 2 examples of the older form, and 5 of the new one. *SNG* cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 56: **6.2**.)

49. *SNG* (259: 7.5) does not cite any examples of the dat. pl. form of the article with **-b**. I have 3 examples of the dat. pl. article, and none of them have the **-b** either. (See p. 56: **6.3**.)

50. According to *SNG* (259: 7.6), the usual form of OIr **inna** is **na** in MIr, although it

remarks that sometimes one can still come across the disyllabic form, and cites an example from *SR*. (According to Carney, 1981: 199, there are 3 examples of **inna** in this work.) I have no example of the disyllabic form; these texts contain 78 examples of **na** (see pp. 330-331).

51. In MIr the **-nd** forms of the article are confused with **-nn**, and very often we get single **-n** as well (*SNG*: 259: 7.7). I have 17 examples of **-nd** forms, 4 examples of **-nn** forms, and 8 examples of **-n** used for **-nd**. *SNG* cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 56: **6.4**.)

52. It happens in MIr quite often that it is the abbreviated form of the article, **-s'**, which appears with prepositions after which the usual form of the definite article is **sin, sa**, etc. (*SNG*: 259: 7.8). This occurs mostly before **t** or **d**. I have one example of this feature; however, I also have 42 non-abbreviated forms with **-s-** (see pp. 329-331), including one from the 2nd part of F4. It is interesting to note that *SNG* cites numerous examples of the abbreviated form of the article from *SR*. (See p. 57: **6.6**.)

VII. The Adverb

53. In these poems, an adjective can be used as an adverb
a) without **co** (6 certain and 2 uncertain examples); b) with **co** (3 examples); c) with **do** (1 example--**do léir**). Of these, c) is the MIr innovation, and examples of **do léir** are cited already from *SR* in *SNG* (263: 9.1). (See p. 58: **7.1**.)

54. I have one uncertain and three certain examples of the MIr form of the OIr negative adverb **nícon**: two with **-oc-**, one with **-ach-**, and one with **-och-** (uncertain). *SNG* (280: 11.7) still cites two examples with historical **-í-** from *SR*; although the forms with **-o-** and **-a-** already appear in this work. I have no example of the old form. (See p. 58: **7.5**.)

VIII. Pronouns

VIII.1 The Infixed Pronoun

55. According to *SNG* (265: 10.5) the two most important developments here are the simplification of Classes A, B and C, ultimately in the direction of a single class, and the reduction in the use of these pronouns, as they are gradually ousted by the independent pronoun. In these poems, only the first tendency can be seen.

56. I have altogether one uncertain and 35 certain examples of the sg. 3 masc. infixed pronoun. Of these, there are one uncertain and 18 certain examples of non-dental forms (1 uncertain and 16 certain examples of **no, ro, do-, fo-** + nasalisation; 1 example of **-a** after **co^{n}**; and one example of **-s** after **ro**). Note that in some cases it is the meaning and not the spelling which will indicate the presence of an infixed pronoun. I have 17 examples of dental forms (15 examples of **-d** + nasalisation after **ro, do-** and **fo-**; 1 example of **-d** after **ro** where the pronoun is a relative marker; and 1 example of **-id** after **co**). Thus the proportion of dental and non-dental forms is about 1 : 1; while in *SR* this figure is about 2 : 1 (*SNG*: 265-267: 10.6). Note also that all of the forms above can be found in *SR* with the exception of **-s**, for the use of which as a sg. 3 masc. infixed pronoun *SNG* cites 12 examples from other works. **-d** as a relative marker appears already in OIr (Thur. §425; *SNG*: 288: 11.36). (See p. 59: **8.1**.)

57. I have 7 examples of the sg. 3 fem. infixed pronoun. Of these, 5 are **-s** after **ro**; one **-da** after **ro**; and one **-das** after **ro**. Again, all of these forms appear already in *SR*. The non-dental forms outnumber the dental ones by 5 to 2. This figure in *SR* is around 4 to 1. (*SNG*: 265-267: 10.6) (See p. 60: **8.2**.)

58. I have 16 examples of the pl. 3 infixed pronoun. Of these, 9 are **-s** after **ro, no** and **do-**; 3 **-as\-os** after **co^{n}** and **nách**; one **-da** after **do-**; and 3 **-das** after **ro**. Again, all these forms appear already in *SR*. The non-dental forms outnumber the dental ones by 3 : 1. This figure in *SR* is approximately the same. (See p. 60: **8.3**.)

59. All in all, the non-dental forms in these poems in the sg. and pl. 3 outnumber the dental ones by about 1.5 to 1 (I have 1 uncertain and 35 certain examples of non-dental forms; and 23 examples of dental ones.) In *SR* this figure is around 2.5 to 1. (*SNG*: 264-266: 10.6)

60. The following can be said about the distribution of the various forms in general (*SNG*: 267-268: 10.8):

a) In the sg. 3 fem. and pl. 3 the (i) non-syllabic forms (**-s, -s**) are found after **ro, no** and **do-**; (ii) the syllabic forms beginning in a vowel (**-as, -as**) are used after a nasalising conjunction (**co, nách**); (iii) and syllabic forms beginning in a dental are found after **ro** and **do-**.

b) In the sg. 3 masc., (i) non-syllabic forms (nasalisation, **-d** and **-s**) are found after **ro, no, do-** and **fo-**; (ii) syllabic forms in a vowel (**-a**) after **co**; and (iii) syllabic forms ending in a dental (**-id**) also with **co**. (See pp. 59-60: **8.1-8.3**.)

61. -das\-dos in the sg. 3 fem. and pl. 3 is a new, hybrid formation in MIr, which arose as a combination of the corresponding infixed pronouns from Classes A and C. I have four examples of these forms out of a total of 23 sg. 3 fem.\pl. 3 infixed pronouns (about 17%). In *SR* the same figure is around 14%; while in the poems of Airbertach Mac Cosse (2nd half of the 10th c.), the same figure for the pl. 3 pronoun is around 36%.

62. As far as the function of the infixed pronoun is concerned, we can witness a general confusion between the use of the various classes; that is, we get both the dental and non-dental forms in both relative and non-relative clauses.

63. I have 1 uncertain and 3 certain examples of the sg. 3 neut. Class B petrified infixed pronoun (**-t** + len.), and two examples where the original **-s** is retained in the verb (*SNG*: 284: 11.23). After **do-, ní, no,** and **ro** in active verbs, I have 38 examples of the petrified Class A neuter sg. 3 infixed pronoun, the presence of which is indicated by lenition (although in some cases the lenition may indicate a leniting relative clause). In one of the examples lenition is fixed by alliteration; but in three cases lenition ruins alliteration. These 3 cases all involve **s**. I have 5 certain and 2 uncertain examples where lenition is not marked; in two of the certain cases, lenition would be required by alliteration or *fidrad freccomail*. Finally, I have two examples of lenition with passive verbal forms. (*SNG*: 265: 10.4) (See pp. 60-61: **8.4**.)

VIII.2 The Independent Pronoun

64. I have 4 examples of the OIr sg. 3 neuter independent pronoun, **ed**. In three cases it appears in the construction <u>(copula) + pronoun + relative verb</u>. Note that in this construction when the independent pronoun refers to a male person, then it is always masc. **é** which is used (5 examples). The fourth example of **ed** can be found in the construction <u>copula + pronoun + noun</u> (neuter in OIr); and I have another example of the same construction, but here **é** is used referring to a noun which was both masc. and neut. in OIr. (*SNG*: 269: 10.13) (See p. 61: **8.5**.)

65. I have no example of the independent pronoun used as the object of either a passive or an active verb. According to *SNG* (271: 10.15-10.17), no such examples can be found in *SR* either, and this development in the literary language can be dated only to the 11th century.

66. I have no example of the independent pronoun used with verbs other than the copula as a subject. This use of the pronoun is described in *SNG*: 272-273: 10.19 as having started in late MIr.

67. I have one example of the older form of the pl. 3 independent pronoun, **é**, and one of the new one, **síat\íat**, which comes from the OIr pl. 3 independent pronoun, **é**, and **-at**, the pres. ind. pl. 3 conjunct verbal ending (*SNG*: 273: 10.20). *SNG* cites two examples of **íat\eat** from *SR* (268: 10.10; 271: 10.14), and two of **é** from the same work (*SNG*: 270). (See p. 61: **8.6**.)

68. In MIr forms with **s** emerge for OIr **é** (sg. 3 masc. and pl. 3) and **ed**, and forms without **s** for OIr **sí** (*SNG*: 273-274: 10.20). In these texts, I have 12 examples of pronouns which have the OIr form (4 examples of **ed**; 7 examples of **é**--sg. 3 masc.; 1 example of **é**--pl. 3), and three examples where the word division is ambiguous (**is sí, is sīat, (i)ss é**). Note that an example of non-historical **hí** is cited already from *SR* in *SNG* (p. 270). (See p. 62: **8.7**.)

VIII.3 The Demonstrative Pronoun

69. I have 1 rhyming and 7 non-rhyming examples of OIr **sin**; 2 rhyming and 5 non-rhyming examples of **sein**; 6 rhyming and 3 non-rhyming examples of **sain** (already cited from *SR* in *SNG*, 275-276: 10.24); and 2 rhyming examples of **sen**. It is interesting to note here that according to *SNG* (*ibid*), **sen** is very rare. Also note that all the rhyming examples occur in *rinn 7 airdrinn*; and in some cases it would be possible, even preferable, to read another form of the pronoun. (See p. 62: **8.9**.)

70. I have 2 examples of **sin** used after a non-palatal consonant, and two cases where the quality of the **s** is assimilated to the preceding non-palatal consonant, so we get **sain**. (*SNG*: 275-276: 10.24) (See p. 63: **8.10**.)

IX. The Preposition

71. According to *SNG* (325: 13.1), the most important changes in prepositions and prepositional pronouns that occurred during the MIr period are the following: a) the spread of dental forms in the sg. 3 fem. and pl. 3 of the prepositional pronoun; b) the palatalisation of the final **-n** of the pl. 1 prepositional pronoun; c) the tendency to lenite the initial consonant of a preposition or of a prepositional pronoun; d) the confusion of cases after prepositions which took only the acc. or the dat. in OIr; and e) the spread of **-u** (acc. pl. 3 ending in prepositional pronouns) to prepositions which took only the dat. in OIr.

Of these five phenomena, only two--c) and d)--can be seen in these poems.

72. As far as a) is concerned, taking into consideration the prepositional pronouns which appear with a dental form in MIr (the prepositional pronouns of **a, ar, fo, for, ós, trí**--*SNG: ibid*), I have two examples of non-dental forms (**forro** and **foraib**--although note that neither *DIL* nor *SNG* cite examples of the dat. form with a dental sound), and no example of dental ones. Note that *SNG* (329: 13.22 and 330: 13.26) cites examples of dental forms with **ós** and **trí** already from *SR*. (See p. 64: **9.1**.)

73. As far as b) is concerned, I have 2 examples (1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming) of a prepositional pronoun with a non-palatal ending (with **la** and **do**), and 1 rhyming example of one with a palatal ending (with **la**). However, it seems that the form **linn** with a palatal ending was already present in OIr (Thur. §433). (See p. 64: **9.2**.)

74. Concerning lenition of the initial consonant of a preposition or prepositional pronoun, see the confusion between **ar** and **for**, and the sections on **fri** and **trí** below (p. 149: 77, p. 150: 80 and p. 150: **83**). All in all one can say that in the case of **for** and **trí** the non-lenited forms outnumber the lenited ones (22 : 1 in the case of **for**, and 3 : 1 in the case of **trí**), while in the case of **fri**, the situation is completely different, as here the lenited forms outnumber the non-lenited ones by about 3 : 1.

75. The use of cases: in many cases in MIr prepositions which could only take the acc. appear with the dat., and the vice versa. The situation in these poems is the following: I have 9 certain examples of dat. used for acc. (3 examples with **fri**, 2 examples with **imm** and **la** each, and 1 example with **cen** and **co^{h}** each). Of these, 8 examples have the

distinctive dat. pl. form of the noun, and in one example the sg. noun is followed by lenition. I also have 9 examples which are quite likely to be dat., although there is a slight possibility that the mark of nasalisation was omitted next to a vowel (see p. 30: **2.30 c**): 5 examples with **la**, 3 with **co^{h}** and 1 with **fri**. And finally, I have 13 examples where the mark of nasalisation may have just been omitted next to a nasal or between two consonants (9 examples with **la**, 2 with **cen**, and 1 with **co^{h}** and **tar** each). On the other hand, I have 34 certain examples of the acc. after these prepositions (16 examples with **la**, 5 with **cen**, 4 with **tar**, 3 with **co^{h}** and **imm**, and 1 with **eter**, **fri** and **tri** each). Of these, 10 examples have the distinctive acc. pl. form of the noun, 2 the distinctive acc. sg. form, and in 22 cases nasalisation appears. I also have 22 quite likely examples of the acc., as the noun is not followed by lenition (in 4 of these the lack of lenition is verified by alliteration). I also have two examples where lenition is not present, but alliteration would work only with the dat.; and finally, one other example is an abbreviated form, and in another one the article is probably acc. All in all, the historical use of case outnumbers the non-historical use by almost 4 : 1 (34--9) as far as the certain cases are concerned, and about 3 : 1 (26--9) as far as the likely ones are concerned. (See pp. 64-66: **9.4**.)

I have 16 definite examples of acc. used for dat. (7 examples with **co n-**, 6 with **ría**, and 1 each with **ó, ótá** and **ós**). The high number of occurrences of the acc. with the first two prepositions must be due to confusion with **co^{h}** and with the lenited form of **fri**, **ri**. Of these 16 examples, 1 has the distinctive acc. pl. form of a noun, 9 are marked by nasalisation after the article or the noun, 2 ā-stem nouns (3 examples) have the non-palatal acc. form (see p. 37: **v-vi**), two nouns are followed by the acc. sg. form of an o/ā-stem masc./neut. adj., and 1 noun has the distinctive acc. sg. form. I also have 8 examples where the mark of lenition could have been omitted (3 with **co n-** and **ría** each, and 1 with **íar** and **ó** each); in one of the cases, alliteration would only work with the acc., in another case only with the dat., while in a third case alliteration would work both with the acc. or the dat. On the other hand, I have 52 certain examples of the dat. where the distinctive dat. pl.\sg. form of the noun is used, or where the noun is followed by the distinctive dat. form of a masc.\neut. o\ā adj., or is preceded by the dat. form of the article; and 33 examples where the dative can be recognised by the appearance of lenition after the given noun (19 examples with **do**, 14 with **de**, 13 with **co n-**, 12 with **oc**, 9 with **ós**, 8 with **íar**, 5 with **ó**, 3 with **a**, and one with **ría** and with either **ar\for** or **íar**). In 4 of these examples the lenition after the noun is fixed by alliteration, and in one of the examples alliteration would require the acc. I also have 54 quite likely examples of the

dat., because the noun is not followed by nasalisation. All in all, the historical use of case outnumbers the non-historical use by about 5 : 1 (85--16) as far as the certain cases are concerned, and about 7 : 1 (54--8) as far as the likely ones are concerned. Thus taken proportionately, the use of acc. for dat. is somewhat rarer than that of dat. for acc. *SNG* comes to the same conclusion in 239-240: 5.1. Also note that both of the phenomena discussed above can already be found in *SR*. (See pp. 66-68: **9.5**.)

76. As far as e) is concerned, according to *SNG* (325-326: 13.1) **oc, ós** and **ré** are affected. Of these, in these poems I only have examples of the pl. 3 form of **ré** (1 rhyming and 1 non-rhyming), and in both cases the dat. form, **remib** is used. (See p. 324.)

77. As in MIr there was a strong tendency to lenite the initial consonant of prepositions (*SNG*: 238: 4.7), confusion between **for** and **ar** arose (*SNG*: 326: 13.4, 327: 13.13). I have four certain examples of **ar** used for **for** in these poems; however, I also have 88 examples of **for** (**for, fora, forin**, etc.)--86 from *LL* (see pp. 318 and 319). I have no example of **for** with an initial voiced consonant, examples of which are cited in *SNG*.

The definite article, when combined with **for**, retains its original **s** in ealy OIr. This, however, was not the case when the article was attached to **ar**. As a result of the above-mentioned confusion between the two prepositions, forms without **-s-** arose in the combination of **for** + definite article (note that this confusion was already present in OIr--see Thur. §467, §838). I have 5 examples of **for** + article without **-s-**, while in 3 definite cases the **-s-** does appear. (See p. 68: **9.7**.)

78. I have 35 examples of **do** used for **di\de**, and 17 examples where the original form of the preposition is retained. (See p. 69: **9.8**.)

79. Lenition after the prepositions **eter** and **ós**: According to Thurneysen (§835) "Only in the later glosses (Ml., Sg.) is lenition sometimes found after" **eter**. *SNG*: 327: 13.10 also cites examples with lenition. I have two examples with lenition, and one example where lenition is not marked. (See p. 69: **9.10**.)

Thur. §850 says the following about **ós**: "apparently without lenition in Old Irish, though leniting in the later language". In these poems, I have two examples where **ós** is followed by lenition, and one example where it is not. Also note that I have no example of the form **ás**; there are 29 examples of **ós, ósa**, etc., and 2 of **úas** in these poems. (See

p. 71: **9.21** and p. 316.)

80. I have 22 examples of the preposition **fri** with a lenited **f** (**ri, ris, re, ro**, etc.), and 7 examples where the non-lenited **f** appears. Thus the new, MIr forms outnumber the older one by about 3 : 1. I have 22 examples of the preposition with palatal **r** (**fri\ri\ris\re**), and 7 with non-palatal **r** (**ro\ra\ros**). The non-palatal forms are always lenited, and in F6 only the non-palatal forms are used. Note that lenited and non-palatal forms appear already in *SR* (*SNG*: 327: 13.14). (See p. 70: **9.12**.)

Note that I have 6 examples where **re\ri\ra** (=**fri**) is used for **la** (*SNG*: 327: 13.14). I also have 105 examples of **la** (see pp. 317-318 and p. 70: **9.13**).

81. As far as the new forms of **íar, ó** and **oc** are concerned (**ar, á** and **ic** respectively), they are in a minority compared with the older forms--see p. 71: **9.15, 9.17, 9.18** and pp. 315 and 318. (Note that according to *SNG* (328: 13.16), the reduced form of **íar** is very common in MIr. Also note that there are no examples of the new forms cited from *SR*.)

82. According to *SNG* (329-330: 13.23) in MIr there is a spread of **rem-**, which can be found in the OIr sg. 3 fem. and pl. 3 forms, to the sg. 3 masc. form of the prepositional pronoun of **ría** (new form: **remi**). An example of this phenomenon is cited already from *SR*. However, in these poems I have 1 rhyming and 3 non-rhyming examples of **ríam**, which represents the OIr form without hiatus. (See p. 71: **9.22**.)

83. I have 3 examples of **tre\trí\tría** without lenition of the initial consonant, and 1 where the **t** is lenited. According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 330: 13.26), the lenition of **trí** is very rare. Note also that of the four examples in these texts, only 1 has a diphthong, which is the new, MIr development (*ibid*). (See p. 72: **9.23**.)

84. In OIr if a preposition could take both the acc. and the dat., then with the help of the acc., movement was expressed, while with the help of the dat., state. This practice is followed almost all the time in these poems; e.g. after **for** meaning `against' the acc. is used almost exclusively, while after **i** (**cath X**), the dative. I have only 3 definite examples of the acc. used when indicating state, and also 3 examples where the dat. is used when indicating movement. (See p. 72: **9.25**.)

X. Conjunctions

85. Of the examples with **ocus\is*ocus**is*** where orthography is able to show the presence or absence of lenition, I have 5 where lenition is marked, and 22 where it is not marked. Among these 22 examples there is one in which lenition would be required by alliteration, and another one where the absence of lenition seems to be fixed by alliteration. (See p. 73: **10.1**.)

86. I have two examples of the new, MIr form of **ceni, cenco\cencho** (<**ce + níco(n)**), and no certain example of the older form. (*SNG*: 281: 11.9) (See p. 73: **10.2**.)

XI. Relative particles

87. I have two examples of the OIr relative particle, **a n-** used on its own, 10 examples where it is used with a preposition, and one example of the new, MIr form, **na n-**. *SNG*: 276: 10.25 cites examples of the new form already from *SR*. With **a n-**, it is the deuterotonic form of the verb which is used in both cases, although *SNG* (*ibid*) notes that normally it is the prototonic\dependent form of the verb which follows this particle in MIr. Note however that the new, MIr form, **na n-**, is followed by the prototonic form of the verb. (See p. 74: **11.1**.)

88. In negative relative clauses, I have 4 examples of OIr **nád**, and two of **ná** before **ro** and before the perf. sg. 3 of the copula respectively. This usage corresponds to the OIr norm (Thur. §863). *SNG*: 281: 11.8 cites examples of **ná** used for OIr **nád** already from *SR*. (See p. 74: **11.2**.)

XII. The Verb

XII.1 Verbal particles and preverbs

89. In these texts, I have one example of stressed **ro** in a simple verb; four examples where perfective **-com-** is used; and one example of perfective **ess-**. (*SNG*: 279: 11.2) (See p. 84: **12.16**.)

90. During the MIr period, **do** gradually replaces **ro** when it is not preceded by another conjunct particle. *SNG* (280: 11.4) cites examples of this feature already from *SR*. According to *SNG* there was a strong conservative tendency to use **ro** in the written language, and it cites several examples from *SR* where there is hypercorrect use of **ro** for

do. In these poems, there are no examples of hypercorrection, and I have only one doubtful example where **do** might stand for **ro** (F1. 32--see Note in Vol. I, pp. 16-17).

91. According to *SNG* (280: 11.5), **do** also tends to replace **no** in MIr, and it cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. I have no example of this in these texts.

XII.2 The verbal stem

92. In MIr there was a general tendency for compound verbs to become simple ones (*SNG*: 282-283: 11.16-11.19), and there are examples cited already from *SR* (*ibid*). I have 15 examples of this phenomenon from 13 verbs: in 10 cases (10 verbs), **ro** is prefixed when the verb is not preceded by another conjunct particle (p. 76: **12.1 c**); in 3 cases (3 verbs) an absolute ending is added to the prototonic stem, and in 2 cases (1 verb) the ending is attached to the verbal noun (p. 76: **12.2**). In 194 cases (including 117 examples with infixed **ro** and 2 with infixed **com**) a compound verb is still treated as such (38 verbs). However, not taking into consideration those verbal forms which survive into ClModIr, there are only 85 certain examples of compound verbal forms (including 27 examples with infixed **ro** and 2 with infixed **com**) from 23 verbs. Thus the older forms outnumber the newer ones by about 6 to 1; the proportion of verbs which retain their compound forms to those which do not is almost 2 : 1 (See pp. 75-77: **12.1, 12.2** and **12.3**.)

Note that there are 3 verbs (**ad-fét\in(d)-fét, as-luí** and **con-tuili**) which are sometimes treated as compound, sometimes as simple verbs. (See p. 78: **12.4**.)

93. In MIr there was another general tendency in connection with verbs: namely, that strong verbs were often declined as weak (*SNG*: 288: 11.13). I have 23 examples of this phenomenon from 18 verbs (p. 79: **12.6 a**), while there are 293 strong/suppletive/irregular forms in these poems from 51 verbs. However, 150 of these forms survive in later stages of the language. For details, see p. 81: **12.6 c** and sections 108, 112, 114-117, 119 and 122-124 below. So the strong\suppletive forms outnumber the weak ones by about 6 to 1 (143 : 23), and the corresponding verbs by about 2 : 1 (35: 18). There are 9 verbs (**íarmi-foich, oirgid, gonaid, cingid, glenaid, dingid, benaid, in(d)-fét/ad-fét, ro-laimethar**) which appear both with weak and strong forms (p. 80: **12.6 b**). (Note that I did not take the substantive verb or the copula into consideration here.)

94. In some verbs, mixed forms can be found (*SNG*: 283: 11.17); I have two examples from two verbs when an originally strong, compound verb is treated as a strong, simple verb; and I also have one example where the weak s-pret. ending was added to a suppletive stem (*SNG*: 282: 11.15). (See p. 81: **12.7.**)

95. In **fo-gaib**, the pret.\perf. forms without the preverb **fo-** have almost completely ousted the older form. I have 15 examples of the newer form, one certain example of the older form in *R*, and one uncertain example of the older form from the 2nd part of F4. *SNG*: 284: 11.21 cites examples without **fo-** already from *SR*. (See p. 81: **12.8.**)

96. In MIr there was a tendency to use the prototonic form of a verb instead of the deuterotonic in independent position if the prototonic form began in a **t-** or an **r-** (*SNG*: 285-286: 11.21, 11.26, 11.28). Note that this process started already in OIr, namely with verbs where the stressed part of the deuterotonic form began in a vowel (McCone, 1987: 3).

I have 17 certain examples of this phenomenon from 9 verbs where the prot. form begins with **t-**, and 2 certain examples from 2 verbs where the original prototonic form began in **r-**. In 12 + 2 cases (6 + 2 verbs) the stressed part of the deuterotonic form begins with a vowel, in four cases (3 verbs) with an **f**, and in one case in a consonant other than **f**. I also have 87 + 2 certain examples of the deut. form from 8 + 2 verbs (71 of these belong to the various forms of **do-tuit**); in 2 examples the stressed part of the deuterotonic form begins in an **f**, in one in an inorganic lenited **f**, while in the rest of the cases in a consonant other than **f**; 4 forms contain an infixed pronoun. (See p. 78: **12.5.**)

Taking all the examples into consideration, one can observe that in all the verbs where the deuterotonic form began in a vowel, the prot. is <u>always</u> used for the deut.; where the deuterotonic form began in **f**, usage varies; and I have only one certain example of prot. used for deut. where the deuterotonic form began in a consonant other than **f**. *AMC* (115: lxxi) cites five examples of prot. used for deut. from *SR* where the preposition ends with a consonant, or the stressed part of the deut. form begins with a consonant, or both.

97. According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 286: 11.29), one of the innovations of MIr is to occasionally omit the **no** in the imperfect indicative. I have one uncertain and 8 certain examples of this feature, while in three other cases the **no** is retained. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites

examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 82: **12.11**.)

98. I have 13 certain examples where **ro** is omitted in the perf. active or passive (*SNG*: 286: 11.30; 299: 12.27); and 130 examples where it is retained there. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See pp. 82-83: **12.12**.)

99. In the copula, I have 5 examples of the special relative forms: 4 examples of **bas** and one of **as**. Of the special relative forms of verbs other than the copula, I have two examples of the pres. ind. sg. 3 form, and one of the fut. sg. 3 one (*SNG*: 287: 11.34-35; 295: 12.14; 316: 12.125) (however, note that the **-as** forms survive into later stages of the language). I have no example of the pres. ind. pl. 3 rel. form, although in at least three cases this would be required by the syntax (there are still some examples of this form cited from *SR* in *SNG*: 296-297: 12.19); and I have no example of a form with **no** either, although at least in one case this would be required by the syntax. (See p. 83: **12.14**.)

XII.3 Personal endings

100. Deponent verbs: During the MIr period, the deponent inflexion gradually disappears (*SNG*: 290: 12.4). I have 25 verbal forms in these poems which go back to an OIr deponent form; of these, 20 (from 17 verbs) appear with active endings, while 5 (from 4 verbs) retain the deponent ending. However, two of these belong to **ro-finnadar**, some forms of which seem to survive until quite long (e.g. **do-fh(e)idir** in ClModIr--*ibid* and *SNG*, IV: 394); and one is the pret. sg. 3 or perf. without **ro** of **follnathir**--and the pret. sg. 3 deponent ending, **-astar/-estar** spreads to verbs which were not deponent in MIr (*ibid* and 300: 12.34). I have no example of this spread in these poems; note that the other pret. form of an originally deponent verb, **arigis (airigidir)** appears with the s-pret. ending of active, weak verbs.

According to *SNG* (298: 12.24) the impv. sg. 2 ending characteristic of deponent verbs is generally lost in *SR*, where three examples of the older form, **cluinte** can be found, as against one occurrence of the new form, **cluin**. I have one example of the impv. sg. 2 of this verb, and this is already the new form, **cluin (:Taltenbruig)** (F7. 41). (See pp. 84-85: **12.17**.)

101. In late MIr there was a general tendency to lengthen the vowel of some personal endings, especially **-mis** and **-tis** in the imperfect indicative, the past subjunctive, and the

conditional (secondary future) (*SNG*: 290-291: 12.5). According to Breatnach (*ibid*) this is a late MIr development, as all the rhyming examples in *SR* indicate that the endings still had a short vowel then. I have a single example with one of these endings, **nād chloītis** (F5. 21) (**cloïd**, impf. ind. pl. 3); however, as this word is not in rhyming position, nothing can be said about the vowel.

102. I have four examples of the pl. 1 conj. ending. In two of these, the rhyme shows that the **m** has been delenited by analogy with the abs. ending. The two other examples are not in rhyming position, so nothing can be said about the consonants here. *SNG* (291: 12.6) cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 85: **12.18**.)

XII.3.1 Present indicative

103. I have four examples of the pres. ind. sg. 1 form (3 abs., 1 prot.), and in all of these the ending is **-im**. However, in two of these (**ad-fét** and **molaid**, OIr **molaithir**), there had been a different ending in OIr, and so they provide proof for the generalisation of the **-im** ending in this verbal form (*SNG*: 292: 12.9). *SNG* (*ibid*) cites examples of this phenomenon already from *SR*. (See p. 85: **12.19** and 295, 303 and 309.)

104. One of the innovations of MIr is that by analogy with strong verbs, the conjunct ending in a vowel of weak verbs is lost in the pres. ind. sg. 3 (*SNG*: 293: 12.11). I have one example of the pres. ind. sg. 3 conj. form of a weak verb, and here the new form can be found. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites examples already from *SR*. (See p. 85: **12.20**.)

105. Another MIr innovation is the **-ann\-enn** ending in the conj.\prot. form of verbs in the pres. ind. sg. 3 form (*SNG*: 293: 12.12-294: 12.13). Of the 5 examples of this verbal form in these poems, two have the **-ann** ending. The form **tesband (:fessam)** (F10. 1) can be verified by rhyme; however, the **-ann** ending here is due to the influence of **benaid** (Thur. §551). The same applies to **étann** (F5. 133) (**ad-cota**); moreover, this form is not in rhyming position, and as well as that, the reading itself is not quite clear. The other three examples do not have this ending. *SNG* cites two doubtful examples of this phenomenon from *SR*. (See p. 85: **12.21**.)

106. According to Breatnach (*SNG*: 295: 12.15), in MIr it is very rare to find the old pres. ind. pl. 1 abs. ending without **-t**. In this poem we have an example of this ending, and I

have no examples of the new form. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites examples of the form in **-t** already from *SR*. (See p. 85: **12.22**.)

107. In the pres. pl. 3, I have 4 examples of the **-(a)it** (abs.) and 3 of the **-at** (conj.) endings, and no example of the new, MIr **-tait\-tit** ending, which occurs three times already in *SR* (*SNG*: 296: 12.18). (See pp. 295 and 300.)

108. In the present and imperative passive of strong verbs, I have 3 examples of the older forms without **-th-** (however, one of these survives into ClModIr), and one of the weak ending with **-th-** (*SNG*: 297: 12.21; 298: 12.24; 310: 12.86.) (See p. 86: **12.23**.)

XII.3.2 Preterite and perfect

109. In the course of the MIr period, the pret. tense gradually disappears, and the perf. takes over. This process was already well on its way in *SR*, as *SNG* (299: 12.27) cites the following figures for this work: altogether there are about 50 pret. forms and 600 perfect ones in sg. 3 (1:12) (without taking forms such as **do-rigni, ruc, tuc**, etc. into consideration). In these poems, there are 92 pret. forms from 29 verbs against 247 perf. ones in sg. 3 (*c.* 1:2.5), taking all forms into consideration. Note especially that **do-cer\do-ceir** occur 29 times, while **do-rochair** 42 times; the pret. form probably retained its popularity in MIr as it had one syllable less than the perfect, so the poet had the choice between these two forms according to the requirements of the syllable count. Even without taking forms like **do-rigni, ruc, tuc**, etc. into consideration, there is a significant difference between the proportions in these poems and in *SR*. (See p. 86: **12.24**; on the proportions in pl. 3, see p. 87: **12.25**.)

110. *SNG* (300: 12.32) says that in *SR* the great majority of the s-pret. sg. 3 conj. form of verbs ends has zero ending. However, there are about 70 examples in this work where the ending is a vowel. This ending will gradually disappear during the MIr period (*ibid*). I have 7 examples of this feature from 7 verbs, while 109 examples (25 from **gaibid** alone) of forms ending in a consonant. It seems to me that verbs in **-aigid** (10 examples) do not ever take a vowel. (See p. 87: **12.26** and p. 309)

111. In the pret.\perf. pl. 3 of the s-pret., I have 15 examples of the OIr **-sat\-set** ending (I have also counted verbs such as **do-gní** and **do-beir**), and no example of the new

-satar\-setar nor of the **-atar\-etar** ending, both of which appear already in *SR* (*SNG*: 301: 12.38, 12.39). (See pp. 297-298, 301-302, 304-305, and 308.)

112. I have 24 certain examples of the t-pret. from 12 strong verbs; however, 9 examples from 4 of these verbs survive in ClModIr. I also have 7 examples from 4 verbs (**oirgid, íarmi-foich, ad-opair** and **ind-saig**), where the t-pret. is lost. Thus the proportion of old forms to the new ones is about 2 : 1 (13 : 7), and we get the same ratio for the number of verbs as well. (See p. 87-88: **12.28**.)

113. In MIr there was a tendency to make the final consonant palatal in the sg. 3 conj. form of the s-pret., the t-pret. (after an unstressed vowel), and in the irregular\suppletive pret. (*SNG*: 300: 12.33, 302: 12.45, 305: 12.59). I have

a) one example (non-rhyming) of a non-historical palatal ending in the sg. 3 conj. of the s-pret., **corra gaib** (see p. 87: **12.27** and 301);

b) 4 examples (non-rhyming) of the palatal ending in the pret.\perf. sg. 3 of the t-pret., and 5 of the non-palatal ending (3 rhyming examples) (I have counted only those verbs where it would be possible to palatalise the final consonant group) (See p. 88: **12.29** and pp. 301 and 304-306);

c) and 2 examples (non-rhyming) of the palatal ending in the pret. of a suppletive verb, **do-tuit**, while 25 examples of the same form appear with non-palatal ending (there is one rhyming example). (See p. 90: **12.35**.)

Note that both type of ending occurs in the perf. of **at-bail** and the pret. of **do-tuit**; and I have rhyming examples only of forms with a non-palatal ending.

114. I have 50 examples of the reduplicated pret.\perf. from 13 verbs, and 5 examples where the original reduplication had been lost (*SNG*: 304: 12.55). However, without those forms which survive into later stages of the language, there are only 26 examples from 8 verbs. 8 verbs, **maidid, rigid, sligid, ro-icc, do-icc, fo-gaib, do-gní** and **ro-cluinethar** appear only with reduplication; 5 verbs, **crenaid, baïd, ind-árban, ad-cota** and **con-sní** do not have reduplicated forms; and 5 verbs, **benaid, gonaid, cingid, glenaid** and **dingid** appear both with and without reduplication. (See pp. 88-89: **12.31**.)

115. I still have three examples of the ā-pret.\perf. (*SNG*: 304: 12.56). One of these, **tārraid (do-airret)**, survives in ClModIr. In **ad-teich**, the perf. pass. stem is used in the

active--see 118 below. (See p. 89: **12.32**.)

116. I have one example each of the retention and loss of the **ī**-pret.\perf. (See p. 89: **12.33**.)

117. Of the 9 suppletive verbs, all retain their suppletive pret. and perf. active forms (153 examples). Note however, that the perfect of 7 of these verbs survives into ClModIr (100 examples). (*SNG*: 304: 12.58) (See pp. 89-90: **12.34**.)

118. I have six examples where the pret.\perf. passive stem is used in the pret.\perf. active (*SNG*: 306: 12.66), involving 3 verbs (there are 4 examples from **do-gní** alone). I also have 3 examples from the same 3 verbs where the active stem is retained, just like in all the other strong\hiatus\suppletive verbs. In *SNG* there are examples cited of this feature already from *SR*. (See p. 90: **12.36**.)

119. The distinctive stem of the pret.\perf. pass. (*SNG*: 307: 12.72) is retained in all strong, hiatus, irregular and suppletive verbs (47 examples from 12 verbs) with 2 exceptions. However, 11 examples from 5 verbs survive in later stages of the language. (See p. 91: **12.38**.)

120. I have not got a single example of the new **-(a)it** ending in the pret.\perf. pass. pl., and I have 10 examples of the **-the\tha** ending. Note that the new ending does not appear in *SR* either (*SNG*: 307: 12.73, 12.74). (See pp. 296, 298, 302 and 309.)

XII.3.3 Subjunctive

121. In the pres. subj. sg. 1 conjunct form, there are 9 examples in *SR* with the older zero ending, and 4 of the new **-ur** ending, coming from deponent verbs (*SNG*: 309: 12.79). In these poems, I have one example of the pres. subj. sg. 1 conjunct form, and this ends in **-or**. (See p. 92: **12.42**.)

122. The s-subjunctive is retained in 5 examples (from 4 verbs), and lost in 2 examples from 2 verbs; however, the s-subjunctive survives in **ro-fitir** in ClModIr. Note that **in(d)-fét** and **íarmi-foich** have one form each with the s- and the ā-subjunctive respectively. The proportion of old and new forms is 5 to 2. (*SNG*: 308: 12.77) (See p. 92: **12.41**.)

XII.3.4 Future

123. The s-future is retained in one example (**ad-fét**), and is lost in two examples (**in(d)-fét**). **ar-tá** still retains its old future form. (See p. 92: **12.45** and p. 93: **12.48**.)

124. I have no example of the é-future replacing another type of future, which tendency can already be seen in *SR* in verbs where in the present stem the verb has a consonant followed by **r** or **l** (*SNG*: 314: 12.117). I have 4 examples of the é-future\secondary future, and one of the f-future, the s-future and the irregular future each as well as a peculiar formation probably based on the subjunctive stem (see p. 92: **12.45**); as in none of them does the verbal stem contain a consonant + **r\l**, comparison can not be made with *SR* on these grounds. However, *SNG* (*ibid*) cites an example of the fut. of **in(d)-fét** from Gilla Mo Dutu (fl. 1147) with the é-fut.; note that in these poems it is the f-future which is used in this verb. (See pp. 92-93: **12.45** and **12.47**.)

125. I have one example of the fut. sg. 1 abs. ending, and here this is already the new, MIr ending, **-fet**. Breatnach knows of only one example of the older ending, which appears in *SR* (*SNG*: 316: 12.122). (See p. 93: **12.46**.)

XII.4 Other developments

126. I have altogether 14 examples of the reduced forms of the copula (8 forms without **-o** in the perf. sg. 3 or the pres. subj. sg. 3, and 6 without **-bo** in the perf. sg. 3--*SNG*: 324: 12.95). With two exceptions, the reduced forms appear before a vowel or what would historically be a lenited **f**. The full form is retained in 37 examples, 6 of which are followed by a word beginning in a vowel. (See p. 93: **12.50** and p. 313.)

127. I have 3 examples of the deuterotonic form of **do-gní** in the perf. active and passive with the infixed **-n-** (stem **-ringn-**) (*SNG*: 325: 12.197). Note that there are no similar examples cited from *SR* in *SNG*. The three other perfect active deuterotonic forms are based on the passive stem (see p. 94: **12.52** and p. 90: **12.36**).

128. I have two examples of the verbal noun of **at-tá**, and both of these are the new, MIr form, **beith**. The OIr form, **buith**, is already outnumbered by the new forms **bith** and **beith** by 3 to 1 in the LU Táin (Falconer, 1955: 127). (See p. 95: **12.55**.)

XIII. Word order

129. According to *SNG*: 332: 14.7, one of the unusual word orders still found in the poetry of the Early Middle Irish period is when the adjective precedes the noun it refers to. I have 7 examples of this phenomenon in these poems. Most of the time this word order is used in order to get rhyme or alliteration in the line. *SNG* (*ibid*) cites examples of this feature from *SR*. (See p. 97: **13.1**.)

130. I have 7 examples of the preposed genitive in these poems (*SNG*: 332: 14.6). Carney (1981: 201-203) discusses some matters of word order in Early Irish verse texts, including the poems of Flann Manistrech. Among others, he examines two constructions, one made up of preposition + dependent gen. + governed noun (the two nouns normally alliterating with each other), and another consisting of dependent gen. + prep. + governed noun. Of the former, he says that "there are no examples in the work of Eochaid Ua Flainn, Flann Mainistrech or in that of any subsequent poet. We may conclude that the usage was weakening in the latter part of the tenth century and was dead from about 1000 onwards" (*ibid*: 202); and of the latter, he says that this was "totally abandoned after the ninth century" (*ibid*: 203), and that an "example in SR appears to be the latest quotable, and none is found in any of the other 10th or eleventh century poets included in our list" (*ibid*: 203). (Note that Carney dates *SR* not to the second half of the 10th, but to the second half of the 9th century--*ibid*: 178 and 184.) However, of the 7 examples mentioned above, there is one which corresponds to the first construction discussed by Carney (with the two nouns alliterating), and another one which corresponds to the other one discussed by him. The example of the first construction occurs in F3 (1), and Fland's authorship is not quite certain here (see p. 188); however, the example of the other feature is from F1--this means that Carney's dates given for the last occurrence of this construction can be extended by at least 150 years. (See p. 97: **13.2** and **3**.)

131. I have one uncertain and 14 certain examples of VOS word-order. (See p. 98: **13.5**.)

XIV. Linguistic differences between the 2nd part of F4 and the other poems

132. It is only here that the s-stem gen. of **dún, dúne** appears. **Dún** otherwise appears as a sobriquet in the name **Máel Dúin**, where it is always declined as an o-stem. (See p. 46: **3.15 f**.)

133. I have 3 forms of **ro-cluinethar**. In two of these, the preverb **ro-** is retained; while in one case (F4 (2)) it is replaced by **at-** (*SNG*: 285: 11.24). (See p. 82: **12.10**.)

134. It is here that the only example of preposition + the abbreviated form of the article, **-s'**, appears. (See p. 57: **6.6** and p. 143: 52.)

135. This is the only text which, although it has a rhyming example of an ā-stem nom. sg. ending in a palatal consonant, has no rhyming example of the same grammatical form in a non-palatal consonant. (See p. 36: **3.6 a**.)

PART IV

COMPARISON BASED ON LINGUISTIC CRITERIA

TABLES

COMPARISON WITH *SALTAIR NA RANN*

CONCLUSION

COMPARISON BASED ON LINGUISTIC CRITERIA

One important purpose of the detailed linguistic analysis in this thesis is to compare the texts with one another, while the other is to compare it with *SR* and to draw conclusions concerning the authorship and the date of composition of these poems.

Research on the comparison of certain texts with one another and on establishing their date and authorship has already been carried out by several scholars. Among others, Strachan did a lot of work on the detailed description of the linguistic features of *SR* and other MIr texts (1894: 444-568; 1896: 1-76; 1904: 153-79; 1905: 202-46); Ó Máille (1910) and Ó Catháin (1933: 1-47) analysed various linguistic aspects of the Annals of Ulster; O'Daly (1943) analysed the the verbal system of the *LL Táin* and Falconer (1955: 112-146) the substantive verb and the copula in the *LU Táin*; Carney (1983: 177-216) examined some linguistic features of early Irish poetry which could be used as criteria for dating (note that his data concerning the poems attributed to Fland are sometimes not exact--see p. 160: **130**); Mac Gearailt (1992: 167-216) and MacEoin (1994: 39-46) analysed some late MIr texts; while *SNG* provides a wealth of information about the linguistic features of the most important texts which can be dated to the period between the 9th and the 12th centuries.

The detailed linguistic analysis in this thesis makes it possible to quantify the most characteristic linguistic features of these texts, and based on these features, compare them with one another. The method used here is the so-called `proportional method' (e.g. Jackson, 1990: xxii; Mac Gearailt, 1992: 167-216), which consists of establishing the proportion of occurrences of the older to the newer manifestations of the same feature in each text. To some extent, this method reduces the possibility of obtaining distorted figures for the same feature in texts of very different lengths; however, as we are going to see, in the case of the poems examined in this thesis, some pieces of text are very short indeed, and for many features there is only a single example.

Not all of the linguistic features analysed in this thesis are used for the comparison, as some of them occur only in one or two texts; as well as that, for some features only old forms can be found, while for some other ones, only new ones.

I have grouped the features I have used for comparison into three groups. Group 1 consists of features connected to stressed words. All the features are examined from the point of view of their correspondence to OIr norms. With the exception of some verbal forms, all the examples can be verified by rhyme or by the syllable count. Thus the forms

which do not correspond to OIr norms may be attributed to the poet and not to the scribe.

Group 2 consists of features connected to unstressed words and to non-rhyming examples of certain stressed words. Again, the features are examined from the point of view of their correspondence to OIr norms. However, it is possible that in this group the newer form may be attributed to the scribe, and not to the poet.

Finally, Group 3 consists of conservative features connected to stressed words just like in Group 1, but here there is no opposition between older and newer forms. Most of these features are syntactic devices, which could be used optionally in OIr and in early MIr. Just like those in Group 1, these features can also be attributed to the poet rather than the scribe.

It should be stated that for the purposes of this analysis under `OIr norms' I understand forms of a feature which were in an overwhelming majority in the 8th and 9th centuries, and disregard the fact that some of the newer forms appear already in the OIr period (e.g. **forsin** *vs.* **forin**) (see McCone, 1985: 85-106).

The features used for comparison are laid out in Tables (pp. 172-180). In Tables 1 and 3 the number of examples of both older and newer forms for the features of Groups 1 and 2 are shown for the given text, along with the percentage they represent for the given feature in the text in question. The rows in which the conservative examples appear are italicised, while the ones which contain the innovations are underlined. E.g. *2\3* means that for the given feature, 3 examples can be found in the text in question, and 2 of these represent the older form; while 1\3 means that one example out of the 3 represents the newer form for the given feature. Tables 2 and 4 provide a general overview of the data in Tables 1 and 3, and they contain only the pecentage of the older forms for each feature from Groups 1 and 2 for each text, plus an average figure, which is obtained by adding up the various percentages and then dividing them with the number of features analysed in the given poem (e.g. if one adds up the percentages for F1 in Table 2, the total will be 813; there are figures for 16 features; so 813 has to be divided by 16, and this is how one gets 51%.). Finally, Table 5 contains the number of examples of the features from Group 3 for all the poems. As there is no opposition between old and new forms here, the average figure is obtained by the number of examples divided by the number of lines in the given poem. (E.g. in F1 there are 4 examples of the substantivised adjectived followed by a noun in the gen.; if we divide this by the number of lines, which is 140, we will get 2.9%.)

In the Tables, 100% means that for the given feature, examples of only the older form can be found; while 0% indicates that for the given feature, examples of only the newer form can be found in the given text. All of the features examined can be found in at least three texts. For the less common abbreviations used in these Tables, see pp. 336-337.

A list of the features examined, the average figures for each piece of text, and comments follow below. The higher the average percentage for a given text, the more it conforms to OIr linguistic norms. I would consider a difference of about 10% between any two texts relatively significant in Groups 1 and 2; while in Group 3, as a different method of calculation was used, 3-4% would already represent a marked difference.

After the percentages for the individual poems given below, the first number in brackets indicates how many features could be examined in the given text, the second one shows for how many features was the text in question given 100% based on a single example, while the third number indicates for how many features was the text in question given 0% again based on a single example. For example,

F1 51% (16; 1 + 2)

means that the average percentage for F1 is 51; in this text 16 features could be examined; in one case the 100% figure for a certain feature was based on a single example; and in the case of two features the 0% figure was based on a single example. If the difference between the last two numbers is at least 2, then it is likely that the figures for the given poem are somewhat distorted either upwards or downwards because of the few number of examples (e.g. see the features belonging to Groups 1 and 2 below).

Comments also follow below; their interpretation can be found in the Conclusion.

I. The following 18 linguistic features were examined in Group 1 (Tables 1 & 3):

1) The retention of historical hiatus (note that the percentage given in Table 3 represents the percentage for the retention of historical hiatus + half of the percentage for hiatus with uncertain origin--see Table 1).

2) The quality of the final consonant in the nom. sg. of ā-stems (only rhyming examples).

3) The quality of the final consonant in the acc. sg. of ā-stems (only rhyming examples).

4) The gen. pl. of **blíadain** (only rhyming examples).

5) The gen. of **Máel**.

6) The gen. sg. of u-stems.

7) Attributive\predicative adjective with a masc. noun in the nom. pl.

8) Preposition and case I: acc. used for dat.

9) Preposition and case II: dat. used for acc.

10) Compound verbs: prefixed **ro** and **com** *versus* infixed **ro**.

11) Preterite versus perfect forms.

12) The presence of deponent endings.

13-17) The retention of the s-subjunctive, s-future, t-preterite, reduplicated preterite, and the distinctive pret.\perf. passive forms in strong verbs.

18) Relative particle + deut.\prot. form of verb.

Note that in the case of 10, 12 and 13-17, I ignored verbs\forms which survived\survive into later stages of the language.

As far as the overall figures for individual features are concerned, it should be noted that the figures for the retention of historical hiatus, the older gen. pl. of **blíadain**, the disyllabic genitive of **Máel**, the presence of preterite forms and deponent endings are quite low (under 30%), while those for the retention of the ā-stem nom. sg. in a non-palatal ending, the acc. sg. in a palatal ending, the u-stem type gen. sg., the use of the acc. and the dat. according to OIr norms after prepositions, and the retention of the distinctive pret.\perf. passive stem of strong verbs is quite high (over 75%).

Adding up the percentages for each text and then taking their average, we get the following figures:

F3 (1)	85% (12; 3 + 0)
F3 (2)	80% (10; 4 + 0)
F10	74% (14; 2 + 1)
F4 (1)	68% (12; 1 + 0)
F11	67% (11; 1 + 1)
F5	62 (16; 2 + 1)
F6	58% (13; 1 + 1)
F8	54% (10; 0 + 1)
F7	53% (12; 3 + 1)
F1, F9	51% (16; 1 + 2); (9; 2 + 3)
F4 (2)	50% (8; 2 + 2)
F2	46% (11; 0 + 2)
F12	37% (8; 0 + 2)

The following can be observed here:

1. There is a great difference between the various texts: 48% between the texts with the

highest and lowest figures. F3 (1) and (2) top the list, while the figures for F12 are the lowest. However, note that the figures for F3 (1) and (2) are probably somewhat distorted, as they are both given 100% for three and four features respectively based on a single example. The low figures for F12 can be partly attributed to the fact that this poem has 0% for the retention of infixed **ro** and the t-pret.--although note that there is only one example of each feature; and the lowest figure for pret. forms. Also note that in F12 there are only monosyllabic examples of the gen. of **Máel**, which also brings down the figures.

2. Note that the four poems written in the same metre and constituting a cycle (F1, F2, F4 and F5) have a significant difference of 22% between the highest and lowest figures. (The difference is 11% in the case of the metrical features--see 107.) Of these four poems, F2 has the lowest figures, and there is a difference of 5% between it and the poem with the next lowest figure in the cycle, F1. Note that F2 has only the new forms of the gen. pl. of **blíadain** in rhyming position, has one example of the dat. used for acc. and no certain counterexample, and one example of the loss of the distinctive pret.\perf. passive ending, and again no certain counterexample. The fact that it has 0% for two features based on a single example may have slighty distorted the overall figure. F1 differs significantly from the other poems in the cycle in that it has comparatively low figures for the rhyming examples of the nom. sg. in a non-palatal consonant in ā-stems, and for the retention of the older gen. sg. of u-stems; and its overall figures are also lower because of the single monosyllabic example it has of **Máel**. Note that this poem also has relatively low figures for the retention of the t-preterite. There seems to be no direct relationship between the figures for metrics and this table--except that F2 has the lowest figures in both. Note, however, that of the four poems in this cycle, which contain many proper nouns, this is the only one which also contains the regnal years of the kings enumerated, and this probably placed greater constraints on the poet than was the case in the other poems.

3. There is a difference of 3% between F8 and F9, the two poems from *Lebor Gabála*.

4. There is a significant difference of 37% between the *debide* poem with the highest figure (F10) and that with the lowest (F12). Among these poems, the two which correspond to the greatest extent to the norms of bardic poetry (F11 and F10--see p. 103) are also the ones which conforms to the greatest extent to OIr linguistic norms; while the poem which has the lowest figures for correspondence to the norms of bardic poetry (F12) seems to be the most innovative as far as linguistic features are concerned.

5. There are some significant differences between some texts for some of the features. Apart from the ones discussed under 1 and 2 above, the most important of these are the following:

a) F3 (1) has a very high figure for the retention of historical hiatus;

b) F8 has a relatively high figure for preterite forms--this is due to the high number of occurrences of **do-cer**; and

c) F5 has relatively low figures for infixed **ro** and the retention of the t-pret.

II. The following 16 features were examined in Group 2 (Tables 3 & 4):

1) Lenition of the initial consonant of a direct object.

2) Lenition of the initial consonant of an adverb.

3) The use of the nom. pl. masc. article.

4) **-nd\-nn** *vs.* **-n** forms in the article.

5) The retention of **-s** in the preverb **as-**.

6) The various forms of **sin** (only non-rhyming examples).

7) Retention of **for\for(s)in**, etc. versus **ar\arin**, etc.

8) **forsin** versus **forin**.

9) The confusion of **di\de** and **do**.

10) The lenition of the initial consonant of OIr **fri**.

11) **fri** with palatal or non-palatal **r**.

12) The quality of the final consonant in the nom. sg. of ā-stems (non-rhyming exx.).

13) The quality of the final consonant in the acc. sg. of ā-stems (non-rhyming exx.).

14) **dí\dá** + fem. noun.

15) Infixed pron. fem. and pl. 3: **-das-\-as-\-os-** versus **-da-\-a-**.

16) Comparison: inflected **andá-** versus uninflected **andá**.

As far as the overall figures for the individual features are concerned, they are relatively low for the retention of the nom. pl. masc. art., for the non-lenited form of **fri**, and for the use of the infixed pronouns **-das-\-as-\-os-** *versus* **-da-\-a-** (under 30%); while they are quite high for the retention of the non-lenited form of **for**, the forms of **fri** with palatal **r**, the non-rhyming examples of the nom. sg. of ā-stems with a non-palatal consonant, and the use of **dí** with a fem. noun (at least 75%).

As scribal interference is quite likely in this group, in order to get a realistic picture,

I have taken examples only from *LL* into consideration. This is why there is a difference between the figures for No len. of dir. obj. for F12 and for for and forsin for F7 and those given in the Linguistic Analysis and the Summary of Linguistic Features. In F11, the *LU* infixed pronouns **-da-** and **-das-** are verified by the syllable count *versus LL* **-s**, so I did take them into consideration.

Adding up the percentages for each text and then taking their average, we get the following figures:

F3 (2)	87.5% (8; 6 + 1)
F11	72% (10; 5 + 1)
F10	63% (9; 2 + 1)
F9	62.5% (8; 2 + 2)
F1	58% (11; 1 + 1)
F4 (2)	56% (8; 2 + 2)
F8	51% (11; 0 + 1)
F4 (1)	50% (12; 4 + 5)
F5	49% (12; 1 + 0)
F2	47% (10; 1 + 4)
F7	42% (12; 1 + 5)
F6	41% (12; 1 + 3)
F3 (1)	33% (5; 0 + 2)
F12	28% (3; 0 + 2)

The following can be observed here:

1. Just like in the case of Group 1, there is a big difference between the lowest and highest figures (59.5%). What is surprising is that F3 (2) and (1) are at the opposite end of the list; however, it is quite likely that the figures for both are distorted, as F3 (2) has 100% for 6 (!) features based on a single example; while F3 (1) has 0% for 2 features based on a single example, and this proportion is quite high as only 5 features could be examined in this text.
2. Because of the few examples of certain features, it is quite likely that the figures for F11 are too high, while for F2, F6, F7 and F12 they are too low.
3. The difference between the lowest and highest figures in the case of the four poems constituting a cycle is 11%; and note that here F1, which had the second lowest figures in Group 1, comes first.
4. The figures for F4 (2) are higher than those for F4 (1).
5. There is a difference of 11.5% between F8 and F9, the two poems from *Lebor Gabála*.

6. There is a difference of 44% between the *debide* poem with the highest figure and the one with the lowest. It is F11 and F10 which have the highest figures in this Group (although see the remark concerning F11 under II. 2 above), and these are the two poems which have the highest figures for correspondence to *dán díreach* requirements--see p. 103; and F12 has the lowest figures, which also has the lowest figures for correspondence to the criteria of *dán díreach*.

7. After comparing the figures for Groups 1 and 2, the following can be observed: There is a difference of more than 3 positions in the case of F1 (see the remark under I.2 on p. 167), F3 (1) (see the remark under II.1 above), F4 (1), F4 (2) and F9. I do not believe that there is a direct relationship between the two lists.

8. As far as individual features are concerned, note that F6 is the only poem which has no example of **fri** with a palatal **r**.

III. The following six features belong to Group 3 (Table 5):

1) The use of the independent dative.

2) The use of a substantivised adjective + a noun in the gen.

3) Adjective precedes the noun it qualifies.

4) Examples of the preposed genitive.

5) Examples of VOS word order.

6) The object of a comparative structure is expressed by the dative.

As far as the overall figures for the individual features are concerned, it should be noted that it is the independent dative and VOS word order which occur most often.

The comparison of the different texts yields the following results (as a different method of calculation was used here than in the other two Groups, smaller differences in the final figures are more significant):

F3 (2)	16.7%
F2, F3 (1)	5.9%
F5	5.4%
F11	5.0%
F1, F10	3.6%
F7	3.5%
F4 (1)	3.3%
F4 (2)	2.8%
F6	1.5%
F8	0.7%
F9, F12	0%

The following can be observed here:

1. Just like in the case of the other two Groups, the difference between the highest and lowest figures is quite significant: 16.7%. F3 (2) has the highest figures, while F9 and F12 the lowest ones.

2. Between the poems constituting a cycle, the difference is 2.6% (not taking F4 (2) into consideration), which I do not consider to be significant.

3. Among the *debide* poems, it is again F11 and F10 which have the highest figures, and again, it is F12 which has the lowest one along with F9. The difference is 5.0%.

4. When the lists for Groups 1 and 3 are compared, it can be noticed that there is a significant difference between the positions of F1 and F2--however, see the remarks under I.2 on p. 167 above. All in all, it seems to me that there is a more or less direct correlation between the figures in this Group and those in Group 1.

5. A comparison with the list for Group 2 yields more differences. F2, F3 (1), F5 and F7 have a significantly higher position in this list than in that for Group 2, while F9 has a significantly lower position. (Concerning F3 (1) and F2, see the remark under II.1 and II.2 respectively on p. 169 above.)

6. The two poems from *LG* (F8 and F9) have approximately the same figures.

7. As far as the individual features are concerned, F2 and F3 (2) have relatively high figures for the occurrence of the independent dative; F1 for the occurrence of the substantivised adjective followed by the genitive; F3 (2) for the preposed gen.; F3 (2), F11 and F10 for VOS word order; and F3 (2) for the use of the dative as the object of the comparative.

TABLE 1

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
1. Hiatus															
Hiatus retained	2\11 (18)	1\13 (8)	5\7 (72)		3\14 (21.5)		5\30 (17)	1\17 (6)		2\10 (20)		3\8 (38)	2\4 (50)	2\7 (29)	26\146 (18)
Non-hist. hiatus	2\11 (18)	1\13 (8)					2\30 (6.5)		1\19 (5.5)						6\146 (4)
Hiatus: etym uncert.			1\7 (14)	1\3 (33)	3\14 (21.5)		2\30 (6.5)	1\17 (6)	1\19 (5.5)	1\10 (10)					10\146 (7)
Exx. with hiatus	**4\11 (36)**	**2\13 (16)**	**6\7 (86)**	**1\3 (33)**	**6\14 (43)**		**9\30 (30)**	**2\17 (12)**	**2\19 (11)**	**3\10 (30)**		**3\8 (38)**	**2\4 (50)**	**2\7 (29)**	**42\146 (29)**
Hiatus lost	7\11 (64)	11\13 (84)	1\7 (14)	2\3 (67)	8\14 (57)	2\2 (100)	21\30 (70)	15\17 (88)	17\19 (89)	7\10 (70)	1\1 (100)	5\8 (62)	2\4 (50)	5\7 (71)	**104\146 (71)**
2. a-stems I:															
Nom.sg.\pal.\rh.	2\4 (50)					1\1 (100)	1\8 (12.5)						1\5 (20)		**5\36 (14)**
Nom.sg.\npal.\rh.	*2\4 (50)*	*3\3 (100)*	*3\3(100)*		*2\2 (100)*		*7\8 (87.5)*	*2\2 (100)*		*2\2 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*4\4 (100)*	*4\5(80)*		***31\36 (86)***
3. a-stems II:															
Acc.sg.\npal.\rh.	1\4 (25)	1\4 (25)			1\5 (20)										**3\45 (7)**
Acc.sg.\pal.\rh.	*3\4 (75)*	*3\4 (75)*	*1\1 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*	*4\5 (80)*	*2\2 (100)*	*7\7 (100)*	*4\4 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*	*7\7 (100)*	*4\4 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	***42\45 (93)***
4. Gen.pl.**blíadain**															
blíadan\rh.		4\4 (100)							1\2 (50)						**5\7 (71)**
***blíadna**\ metr.fix.*								*1\1 (100)*	*1\2 (50)*						***2\7 (29)***
5. Gen. of **Máel**															
Monosyllabic	1\1 (100)	4\7 (57)					3\4 (75)	7\8 (87.5)	3\3 (100)					2\2 (100)	**20\25 (80)**
Disyllabic		*3\7 (43)*					*1\4 (25)*	*1\8 (12.5)*							***5\25 (20)***
6. u-stems\gen. sg.															
Older gen.	*1\3 (33)*	*3\3 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*8\9 (89)*	*1\1 (100)*	*10\10 (100)*	*16\21 (76)*	*3\4 (75)*	*5\6 (83)*	*1\1 (100)*			*2\3 (67)*	***54\66 (82)***
o-st. type gen.	2\3 (67)				1\9 (11)			5\21 (24)	1\4 (25)	1\6 (17)		1\1 (100)		1\3 (33)	**12\66 (18)**
7. Noun + adj. (a.\p.)															
F. adj.\ m. pl. n.					2 \2 (100)					2\2 (100)					**4\8 (50)**
M. adj.\m. pl. n.	*1\1 (100)*		*2\2 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*											***4\8 (50)***

TABLE 1

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
8. Prep. + case I:															
Dat. for acc.															
Certain cases		1\1 (100)	1\2 (50)				1\17 (6)	3\10 (30)		2\6 (33)	1\4 (25)				9\78 (11.5)
Likely cases					1\4 (25)		3\17 (18)			2\6 (33)	1\4 (25)	2\12 (17)			9\78 (11.5)
Altogether		**1\1 (100)**	**1\2 (50)**		**1\4 (25)**		**4\17 (24)**	**3\10 (30)**		**4\6 (67)**	**2\4 (50)**	**2\12 (17)**			**18\78 (23)**
(Uncertain cases)			(1 ex.)		(1 ex.)		(2 exx.)	(2 exx.)	(2 exx.)	(4 exx.)		(1 ex.)			(13 exx.)
Acc. (regular)															
Certain cases			*1\2 (50)*		*1\4 (25)*		*9\17 (53)*	*5\10 (50)*	*6\14 (43)*	*1\6 (16.5)*	*2\4 (50)*	*6\12 (50)*	*3\4 (75)*		*34\78 (44)*
Likely cases	*3\3 (100)*			*1\1 (100)*	*2\4 (50)*		*4\17 (23)*	*2\10 (20)*	*8\14 (57)*	*1\6 (16.5)*		*4\12 (33)*	*1\4 (25)*		*26\78 (33)*
Altogether	***3\3 (100)***		***1\2 (50)***	***1\1 (100)***	***3\4 (75)***		***13\17 (76)***	***7\10 (70)***	***14\14 (100)***	***2\6 (33)***	***2\4 (50)***	***10\12 (83)***	***4\4 (100)***		***60\78 (77)***
9. Prep. + case II:															
Acc. for dat.															
Certain cases	1\16 (6)		2\6 (33)	1\2 (50)	5\19 (26)		2\9 (22)			2\22 (9)	1 \6 (17)	1\13 (7.5)		1\10 (10)	16\163 (10)
Uncertain cases	1\16 (6)				3\19 (16)		1\9 (11)	1\19 (5)		1\22 (5)		1\13 (7.5)			8\163 (5)
Altogether	**2\16 (12)**		**2\6 (33)**	**1\2 (50)**	**8\19 (42)**		**3\9 (33)**	**1\19 (5)**		**3\22 (14)**	**1\6 (17)**	**2\13 (15)**		**1\10 (10)**	**24\163 (15)**
Dat. (regular)															
Certain cases	*7\16 (44)*	*12\19 (63)*	*4\6 (67)*	*1\2 (50)*	*5\19 (26)*	*1\3 (33)*	*4\9 (45)*	*13\19 (69)*	*8\12 (67)*	*10\22 (45)*	*4\6 (66)*	*5\13 (39)*	*6\7 (86)*	*5\10 (50)*	*85\163 (52)*
Likely cases	*7\16 (44)*	*7\19 (37)*			*6\19 (32)*	*2\3 (67)*	*2\9 (22)*	*5\19 (26)*	*4\12 (33)*	*9\22 (41)*	*1\6 (17)*	*6\13 (46)*	*1\7 (14)*	*4\10 (40)*	*54\163 (33)*
Altogether	***14\16 (88)***	***19\19 (100)***	***4\6 (67)***	***1\2 (50)***	***11\19 (58)***	***3\3 (100)***	***6\9 (67)***	***18\19 (95)***	***12\12 (100)***	***19\22 (86)***	***5\6 (83)***	***11\13 (85)***	***7\7 (100)***	***9\10 (90)***	***139\163 (85)***
10. Compound vbs.															
Prefixed **ro**	1\3 (33)	1\2 (50)			1\7 (14)		4\6 (67)	1\6 (17)					1\5 (20)	1\1 (100)	10\39 (26)
*Infixed **ro** and **com***	*2\3 (67)*	*1\2 (50)*	*2\2 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*6\7 (86)*	*1\1 (100)*	*2\6 (33)*	*5\6 (83)*	*1\1 (100)*			*3\3 (100)*	*4\5 (80)*		***29\39 (74)***
11. Pret. sg. + pl. 3															
Perf.	16\21 (76)	6\9 (67)	10\14 (71)	5\7 (71)	24\31 (77)	3\3 (100)	45\67 (67)	45\49 (92)	34\38 (89)	13\35 (37)	10\13 (77)	30\43 (70)	9\16 (56)	13\14 (93)	263\360 (73)
Pret.	*5\21 (24)*	*3\9 (33)*	*4\14 (29)*	*2\7 (29)*	*7\31 (23)*		*22\67 (33)*	*4\49 (8)*	*4\38 (11)*	*22\35 (63)*	*3\13 (23)*	*13\38 (30)*	*7\16 (44)*	*1\14 (7)*	***97\360 (27)***

TABLE 1

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
12. Dep. end. lost	4\4 (100)						4\6 (67)	2\2 (100)	2\2 (100)		1\1 (100)	4\5 (80)	3\3 (100)		20\23 (87)
Dep. end. present							*2\6 (33)*					*1\5 (20)*			*3\23 (13)*
***13.** s-subj.*	*1\2 (50)*		*1\1 (100)*				*1\1 (100)*					*1\1 (100)*			*4\6 (67)*
s-subj. lost	1\2 (50)									1\1 (100)					2\6 (33)
***14.** s-(sec.) fut.*												*1\1 (100)*			*1\3 (33)*
s-(sec.) fut. lost							1\1 (100)		1\1 (100)						2\3 (67)
***15.** t-pret.\perf.*	*1\3 (33)*			*1\1 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*		*1\4 (25)*	*4\4 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*			*2\2 (100)*	*4\5 (80)*		*15\22 (68)*
t-pret. lost	2\3 (67)						3\4 (75)						1\5 (20)	1\1 (100)	7\22 (32)
***16.** Redup. pret.*	*3\4 (75)*		*4\4 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*6\8 (75)*		*6\7 (86)*			*1\2 (50)*		*4\5 (80)*			*26\36 (72)*
Redup. pret. lost	1\4 (25)				2\8 (25)		1\7 (14)	2\2 (100)		1\2 (50)	1\1 (100)	1\5 (20)	1\1 (100)		10\36 (28)
***17.** Pret.\perf. pass.*	*3\3 (100)*				*16\16 (100)*		*10\10 (100)*					*6\6 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*		*36\38 (95)*
St. pr.\pf. pass. lost		1\1 (100)				1\1 (100)									2\38 (5)
***18.** Rel. **a n-** + deut.*			*1\1 (100)*				*1\1 (100)*								*2\3 (67)*
Rel. **na n-** + prot.	1\1 (100)														1\3 (33)

TABLE 2

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	TOTAL
1. Hiatus retained	18%	8%	79%	17%	32%	0%	20%	9%	3%	25%	0%	38%	50%	29%	**22%**
2. a-stems I:															
Nom.sg.\npal.\rh.	50%	100%	100%		100%	0%	87.5%	100%		100%	100%	100%	80%		**86%**
3. a-stems II:															
Acc.sg.\pal.\rh.	75%	75%	100%	100%	80%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	**93%**
4. Gen.pl.**blíadain**															
blíadna\metr.fix.		0%						100%	50%						**29%**
5. Gen. of **Máel**															
Disyllabic	0%	43%					25%	12.5%	0%					0%	**20%**
6. u-stems\gen. sg.															
Older gen.	33%	100%	100%	100%	89%	100%	100%	76%	75%	83%	100%	0%		67%	**82%**
7. Noun + adj. (a.\p.)															
M. adj.\m. pl. n., atr.	100%		100%	100%	0%					0%					**50%**
8. Prep. + case I: Acc.															
Certain cases			50%		25%		53%	50%	43%	16.5%	50%	50%	75%		**44%**
Likely cases	100%			100%	50%		23%	20%	57%	16.5%		33%	25%		**33%**
Altogether	**100%**	**0%**	**50%**	**100%**	**75%**		**76%**	**70%**	**100%**	**33%**	**50%**	**83%**	**100%**		**77%**
9. Prep. + case II: Dat.															
Certain cases	44%	63%	67%	50%	26%	33%	45%	69%	67%	45%	66%	39%	86%	50%	**52%**
Likely cases	44%	37%			32%	67%	22%	26%	33%	41%	17%	46%	14%	40%	**33%**
Altogether	**88%**	**100%**	**67%**	**50%**	**58%**	**100%**	**67%**	**95%**	**100%**	**86%**	**83%**	**85%**	**100%**	**90%**	**85%**
10. Infixed **ro, com**	67%	50%	100%	100%	86%	100%	33%	83%	100%			100%	80%	0%	**74%**
11. Pret. forms	24%	33%	29%	29%	23%	0%	33%	8%	11%	63%	23%	30%	44%	7%	**27%**
12. Dep. end. present	0%						33%	0%	0%		0%	20%	0%		**13%**

TABLE 2

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	TOTAL
13. s-subj.	50%		100%				100%			0%		100%			67%
14. s-(sec.) fut.							0%		0%			100%			33%
15. t-pret. and perf.	33%			100%	100%		25%	100%	100%			100%	80%	0%	68%
16. Redup. Pret.	75%		100%	100%	75%		86%	0%		50%	0%	80%	0%		72%
17. Pret.\perf. pass.	100%	0%			100%	0%	100%					100%	100%		95%
18. Rel. a n- + deut.	0%		100%				100%								67%
Average	51%	46%	85%	80%	68%	50%	62%	58%	53%	54%	51%	74%	67%	37%	

TABLE 3

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
1. Len. of dir. obj.		1\2 (50)				1\1 (100)						1\2 (50)	1\2 (50)		5\15 (33)
No len. of dir. obj.	*1\1 (100)*	*1\2 (50)*			*2\2 (100)*		*3\3 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*				*1\2 (50)*	*1\2 (50)*		*10\15 (67)*
2. Len. of adv.				1\1 (100)				2\5 (40)		2\2 (100)		1\2 (50)			6\13 (46)
No len. of adv.								*3\5 (60)*	*2\2 (100)*		*1\1 (100)*	*1\2 (50)*			*7\13 (54)*
3. N. pl. m. art.\na		1\1 (100)			1\1 (100)		1\2 (50)		1\1 (100)			1\1 (100)			5\7 (71)
N. pl. m. art.\ in				*1\1 (100)*			*1\2 (50)*								*2\7 (29)*
4. Art.: -nd\nn	*6\6 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*		*1\1 (100)*		*2\2 (100)*	*2\2 (100)*	*1\3 (33)*		*5\6 (83)*	*2\2 (100)*				*21\29 (72)*
Art.: -n for -nd					1\1 (100)			2\3 (67)	1\1 (100)	1\6 (17)			2\2 (100)	1\1 (100)	8\29 (28)
5. Petrified -t in at-					1\1 (100)	1\1 (100)		1\1 (100)							3\5 (60)
s retained in as-	*2\2 (100)*														*2\5 (40)*
6. sin	*1\2 (50)*	*1\1 (100)*												*5\6 (83)*	*7\15 (47)*
sein	1\2 (50)						2\2 (100)	1\1 (100)						1\6 (17)	5\15 (33)
sain			1\1 (100)						1\1 (100)		1\1 (100)				3\15 (20)
7. ar for for		1\4 (25)								1\8 (12.5)		1\4 (25)			3\89 (3)
for\for(s)in\fora etc.	*4\4 (100)*	*3\4 (75)*	*5\5 (100)*	*3\3 (100)*	*37\37 (100*	*4\4 (100)*	*12\12 (100)*	*6\6 (100)*		*7\8 (87.5)*	*1\1 (100)*	*3\4 (75)*	*1\1 (100)*		*86\89 (97)*
8. forin								1\1 (100)		3\4 (75)					4\7 (57)
forsin					*1\1 (100)*		*1\1 (100)*			*1\4 (25)*					*3\7 (43)*
9. di\de	*4\10 (40)*									*8\22 (36)*		*3\7 (43)*	*2\2 (100)*		*17\52 (33)*
do for di\de	6\10 (60)	1\1 (100)	2\2 (100)		1\1 (100)		3\3 (100)	2\2 (100)	1\1 (100)	14\22 (64)	1\1 (100)	4\7 (57)			35\52 (67)
10. fri		*3\7 (43)*		*1\1 (100)*	*1\1 (100)*		*1\2 (50)*					*1\2 (50)*			*7\29 (24)*
ri\re\ro\ra	2\2 (100)	4\7 (57)				2\2 (100)	1\2 (50)	5\5 (100)	1\1 (100)	3\3 (100)	2\2 (100)	1\2 (50)	1\1 (100)		22\29 (76)

TABLE 3

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
11. Olr fri\pal. r	2\2 *(100)*	7\7 *(100)*		1\1 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*	1\2 *(50)*	1\2 *(50)*		1\1 *(100)*	3\3 *(100)*	2\2 *(100)*	2\2 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*		22\29 *(76)*
With non-pal. r						1\2 (50)	1\2 (50)	5\5 (100)							7\29 (24)
12. a-stems I:															
Nom.sg.\pal.\nrh.	2\4 (50)		1\3 (33)				4\7 (57)			1\6 (17)					8\32 (25)
Nom.sg.\npal.\nrh.	2\4 *(50)*		2\3 *(67)*	1\1 *(100)*		1\1 *(100)*	3\7 *(43)*	3\3 *(100)*	2\2 *(100)*	5\6 *(83)*	3\3 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*		24\32 *(75)*
13. a-stems II:															
Acc.sg.\npal.\nrh.	2\2 (100)	1\1 (100)	1\1 (100)				1\2 (50)		1\2 (50)	1\1 (100)					7\14 (50)
Acc.sg.\pal.\nrh.					2\2 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*	1\2 *(50)*		1\2 *(50)*			1\1 *(100)*	1\1 *(100)*		7\14 *(50)*
14. Num. + gender															
***dí** + fem. noun*				1\1 *(100)?*				5\5 *(100)*	2\3 *(67)*	2\2 *(100)*					*10\11 (91)*
dá + fem. noun									1\3 (33)						1\11 (9)
15. A. Inf. pron. f. 3															
ro + -da													1\2 *(50)*		1\2 *(50)*
ro + das													1\2 (50)		1\2 (50)
15. B. Inf. pron. pl. 3															
co, nách + -as\-os		1\1 (100)					2\3 (67)								3\7 (43)
do- + -da													1\1 *(100)*		1\7 *(14)*
ro + -das					2\2 (100)		1\3 (33)								3\7 (43)
16. Comparison															
*Inflected **andá-***													1\1 *(100)*		1\3 *(33)*
Uninfl. **andá**	1\1 (100)				1\1 (100)										2\3 (67)

TABLE 4

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	TOTAL
1. No len. of dir. obj.	100%	50%			100%	0%	100%	100%				50%	50%	50%	**67%**
2. No len. of adv.				0%				60%	100%	0%	100%	50%			**54%**
3. N. pl. m. art.**in**		0%		100%	0%		50%		0%			0%			**29%**
4. Art.: **-nd\-nn**	100%	100%		100%	0%	100%	100%	33%	0%	83%	100%		0%	0%	**72%**
5. s retained in **as-**	100%				0%	0%		0%							**40%**
6. sin	50%	100%	0%				0%	0%	0%		0%			83%	**47%**
7. for\for(s)in\fora etc.	100%	75%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		87.5%	100%	75%	100%		**97%**
8. forsin					100%		100%	0%		25%					**43%**
9. dilde	40%	0%	0%		0%		0%	0%	0%	36%	0%	43%	100%		**33%**
10. fri	0%	43%		100%	100%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%		**24%**
11. Olr **fri\pal. r**	100%	100%		100%	100%	50%	50%	0%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		**76%**
12. a-stems I:															
Nom.sg.\npal.\nrh.	50%		67%	100%		100%	43%	100%	100%	83%	100%	100%	100%		**75%**
13. a-stems II:															
Acc.sg.\pal.\nrh.	0%	0%	0%		100%	100%	50%		50%	0%		100%	100%		**50%**
14. Num. + gender															
dí + fem. noun				100%?				100%	67%	100%					**91%**
15. Inf. pron. f.\pl. 3															
-das\-as\-os vs. **-da\-a**		0%			0%		0%						67%		**22%**
16. Comparison															
Inflected **andá-**	0%				0%								100%		**33,00%**
Average	**58%**	**47%**	**33%**	**87.5%**	**50%**	**56%**	**49%**	**41%**	**42%**	**51%**	**62.5%**	**63%**	**72%**	**28%**	

TABLE 5

	F1	F2	F3 (1)	F3 (2)	F4 (1)	F4 (2)	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	Total
1. Indep. dat.		5 (3.8%)	2 (2.9%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (0.8%)	1 (2.8%)	4 (1.5%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1.4%)						18 exx.
2. Subst. adj. + gen.	4 (2.9%)				1 (0.4%)			1 (0.5%)	1 (0.7%)						7 exx.
3. Adj. precedes n.		1 (0.7%)	1 (1.5%)				3 (1.1%)		2 (1.4%)						7 exx.
4. Preposed gen.	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (1.5%)	1 (4.2%)			2 (0.7%)					1 (0.7%)			7 exx.
5. VOS				1 (4.2%)	1 (0.4%)		4 (1.5%)	1 (0.5%)		1 (0.7%)		4 (2.85%)	2 (3.3%)		14 exx.
6. Obj. of cpv.: dat.		1 (0.7%)		1 (4.2%)	4 (1.7%)		2 (0.7%)						1 (1.7%)		9 exx.
TOTAL	5 exx.	8 exx.	4 exx.	4 exx.	8 exx.	1 ex.	15 exx.	3 exx.	5 exx.	1 ex.	0 ex.	5 exx.	3 exx.	0 ex.	62 exx.
PERCENTAGE	3.6%	5.9%	5.9%	16.7%	3.3%	2.8%	5.4%	1.5%	3.5%	0.7%	0%	3.6%	5%	0%	

COMPARISON WITH *SALTAIR NA RANN*

The detailed examination of the language of these poems may provide very useful grounds for comparison with other texts which can also be dated to the MIr period. *Saltair na Rann* is one of the most extensive and one of the most thoroughly analysed metrical works of the period, and so it provides an excellent basis for comparison. For this comparison, I have relied on the information provided about this work in Chapter III of *SNG*. However, in quite a few cases comparison is difficult to make as there are no figures\proportions given for certain linguistic features in *SR*, or because it is not stated explicitly whether examples of a given linguistic feature can not be found in *SR* or they are just not cited. Also, many of the examples discussed in the Linguistic Analysis can not be verified by the metre, and so some forms may be due to the scribe and not to the poet. Another problem is that in some cases there are so few examples of a certain linguistic feature in these poems that these can not provide a reliable basis for comparison. Still, the valuable information provided in *SNG* has made it possible to make the comparisons which appear in the Summary of Linguistic Features, and based on these, the linguistic features of these poems can be grouped into the categories laid out below, and some general tendencies can be observed. (References are given to the discussion of the given feature in the Summary of Linguistic Features.)

I. Conservative features

1. The most important conservative features of these texts shared with *SR* are (17):

--examples of the retention of historical hiatus in quite a few words (p. 131: 3);

--examples of the use of the independent dative (p. 136: 18);

--the nom. sg. of ā-stems normally ends in a non-palatal consonant (p. 137: 21);

--the acc. sg. of ā-stems normally ends in a palatal consonant (p. 137: 22);

--the majority of u-stems still follow the older pattern in the gen. sg. (p. 138: 26);

--occasional examples of the long dative of n-stems (I have only 1 example) (p. 138: 28);

--retention of the **-aib** ending in the dat. pl. of the attributive adj. (I have only 1 example) (p. 139: 34);

--in many cases the object of the comparative is marked by the dat. (p. 141: 41);

--examples of historical nasalisation after nom.\acc. neut. **dá** (p. 141: 42);

--examples of **téora** with a fem. noun (p. 141: 43);

--examples of the OIr masc. nom. pl. article, **in** (p. 142: 48);

--the use of the OIr pl. 3 pronoun, **é** (I have only 1 example) (p. 146: 67);
--the great majority of compound verbs are still treated as such (p. 152: 92);
--the great majority of strong\suppletive verbs are still treated as such (p. 152: 93);
--occasional examples of deponent endings can still be found (p. 154: 100);
--occasionally the qualifying adj. precedes the noun it qualifies (p. 160: 129); and
--examples of the preposed gen. (p. 160: 130).

2. The most important conservative features which appear in *SR* but not in these poems (6):
--the gen. pl. of i-stems often ends in a vowel (p. 137: 24);
--the form **cethéora** is still attested (p. 141: 43);
--there are several examples of the neuter article **a** (p. 142: 47);
--there are 3 examples of the disyllabic form of the article, **inna** (p. 142: 50);
--examples of the pres. ind. pl. 3 rel. form of verbs (p. 154: 99); and
--zero ending in the subj. sg. 1 conj. form (I have only 1 counter-example) (p. 158: 121).

3. In the following respect, these poems appear to be more conservative than *SR* (1):
--the proportion of preterite forms is significantly higher than in *SR* (p. 156: 109).

4. Other conservative features[1] (5):
--there are still 5 examples of the disyllabic gen. of **Máel** (p. 139: 32);
--examples of the substantivised adj. followed by a noun in the gen. (p. 139: 33);
--I have 17 examples of **di\de** used according to OIr norms (p. 149: 78);
--the **-t**-less ending in the pres. ind. pl. 1 (I have only 1 example) (p. 155: 106); and
--examples of VOS word order (p. 160: 131).

II. Innovations
1. The most important innovations shared with *SR* are (31):
--the loss of historical hiatus in many words (p. 131: 3);
--the appearance of non-historical hiatus (p. 131: 3);
--occasional examples of the nom. sg. of ā-stems in a palatal consonant (p. 137: 21);
--a few examples of the acc. sg. of ā-stems ending in a non-palatal consonant (p. 137: 22);
--the gen. pl. of i-stems ends in a cons. (here always; occasionally? in *SR*) (p. 137: 24);

[1] These are either not discussed in *SNG*, or no examples are cited from *SR*.

--examples of the ā-stem type gen. pl. of **blíadain** (p. 138: 25);

--u-stems have the o-stem type gen. pl. (p. 138: 27);

--examples of the o-stem type gen. sg. in u-stems (p. 138: 26);

--examples where the OIr fem.\neut. pl. form of the adj. replaces the corresponding masc. form when the adjective is used attributively or predicatively (pp. 139-140: 36-37);

--the gen. pl. of i-stem adjectives is always identical with the nom. sg. (p. 140: 38);

--examples of **na** used for **inna** (I only have examples of **na**) (p. 142: 50);

--the abbreviated form of the article, **-'s**, which appears in the combination of preposition + article (I have only one example) (p. 143: 52);

--the use of dental and non-dental forms of infixed pronouns irrespective of whether they appear in a relative clause or not (p. 145: 62);

--examples of the new form of the pl. 3 independent pronoun (**(s)íat**) (I have 1 example) (p. 146: 67);

--the occasional use of acc. for dat. or dat. for acc. with prepositions (pp. 147-148: 75);

--examples of the new relative particle, **na n-** + the prototonic form of the verb (I have only 1 example) (p. 151: 87).

--some examples of original compound verbs treated as simple ones (p. 152: 92);

--some strong verbs are declined weak (p. 152: 93);

--examples of the pret.\perf. of **fo-gaib** without **fo-** (I have no certain example with **fo-**) (p. 153: 95);

--the prototonic form of the verb is used for the deuterotonic in independent position where the prototonic form begins in a **t-** or an **r-**, and the deuterotonic form in a vowel (although this was already present in OIr) (p. 153: 96);

--**no** is frequently omitted in the imperfect indicative (p. 153: 97);

--**ro** is omitted occasionally in the perfect active or passive (p. 154: 98);

--the loss of the distinctive deponent endings in the great majority of verbs which had them in OIr (p. 154: 100);

--the delenition of the pl. 1 conj. ending in verbs (p. 155: 102);

--the generalisation of the **-im** ending in the pres. ind. sg. 1 in strong and deponent verbs (p. 155: 103);

--perfect forms greatly outnumber preterite ones (p. 156: 109);

--examples of the s-pret. sg. 3 ending in a vowel (note that this is going to almost completely disappear in late MIr) (p. 156: 110);

--the final consonant is sometimes made palatal in the sg. 3 conjunct form of the t-pret.

and the suppletive\irregular pret. (p. 157: 113);
--occasionally, the pret.\perf. passive stem is used in the pret.\perf. active (p. 158: 118);
--the **-ur** ending in the pres. subj. sg. 1 conjunct (I have only 1 example) (p. 158: 121); and
--the **-fet** ending in the fut. sg. 1 abs. (I have only 1 example) (p. 159: 125).

The following features could also be due to later scribal alterations (14):
--**iu > i** before a non-palatal consonant (p. 132: 8);
--**mr- > br-** in initial position (p. 132: 10);
--sporadic examples of the confusion of final palatal lenited **g** and **d** (p. 133: 12);
--examples of the confusion of lenited **m** and **b** in words where there is another nasal present (p. 133: 13);
--lenition of the direct object of a verb (p. 135: 16 b ii);
--the frequent appearance of nasalisation in chevilles (p. 136: 17 b i);
--the use of uninflected **andá** in comparison (p. 140: 41);
--examples of **dá** used with a fem. noun (p. 141: 43);
--the use of **na** with **dá\dí** + noun (I have only 2 examples) (p. 142: 45);
--examples of **na**, the OIr fem.\neut. nom. pl. article replacing the corresponding masc. form, **in** (p. 142: 48);
--the disappearance of **-b** in the dat. pl. article (p. 142: 49);
--the confusion of **-nn, -nd** and **-n** in the article (p. 143: 51);
--the appearance of **-das**, the new fem. sg. 3\pl. 3 infixed pronoun (p. 144: 57-58); and
--**fri** often appears with a lenited **f** and\or a non-palatal **r** (p. 150: 80).

2. The most important innovations which appear in *SR* but not in these texts are (4):
--examples of **remi** for **ríam** in the sg. 3 masc. form of the prepositional pronoun of **ría** (p. 150: 82).
--the **-t** ending in the pres. ind. pl. 1 abs.\rel. (I have only one **-t**-less example) (p. 155: 106);
--examples of the **-tait\-tit** ending in the pres. pl. 3 (only 3 examples in *SR*) (p. 156: 107); and
--the **-satar\-setar** + **-atar\-etar** ending in the pret.\perf. pl. 3 of the s-pret. (p. 156: 111).

The following features could also be due to later scribal alterations (6):

--initial **[k]** (**<c>**) becomes **[g]** (**<g>**) in unstressed words (p. 133: 14);
--examples of **ná** used for **nád** in negative relative clauses (p. 151: 88).
--examples of the nom.\acc. pl. form of the attributive adj. used with a noun in the dat. pl. (but I have only 1 counter-example) (p. 139: 34);
--**do** replacing **ro** (p. 151: 90);
--the hypercorrect use of **ro** for **do** (p. 151: 90); and
--**do** replacing **no** (p. 152: 91).

3. These poems are more `advanced' than *SR* in the following respects (5):
--there are no examples of the OIr negative adverb, **nícon**, with long **í** (p. 143: 54);
--there are no examples of disyllabic **inna** (p. 142: 50);
--the new gen. pl. of **blíadain** outnumbers the older one--the case is the converse in *SR* (p. 138: 25);
--only the **-ur** ending appears in the pres. subj. sg. 1 conj. form (although I have only one example) (p. 158: 121); and
--*SR* still has an example of the older fut. sg. 1 abs. ending without **-t** (although I have only one counterexample) (p. 159: 125).

III. The following features, which are associated with `late Middle Irish' (or at least, not with `early Middle Irish', appear neither in these poems nor in *SR* (6):
--dental-stem type ending in the pl. of io- and iā-stems (p. 137: 23);
--the use of the independent pronoun as the object of either a passive or an active verb (p. 146: 65);
--the use of the independent pronoun as the subject of a verb other than the copula (p. 146: 66).
--no certain example of the lengthened vowel in **-mis** and **-tis** in the imperfect indicative, past subjunctive and conditional (secondary future) (p. 154: 101);
--no certain example of the **-ann\-enn** ending in the pres. ind. sg. 3 conj.\prot. forms of verbs apart from the compounds of **benaid** and compounds influenced by these (p. 155: 105); and
--no example of the **-(a)it** ending in the pret.\perf. passive pl. (p. 158: 120).

CONCLUSION

1. The detailed linguistic and metrical analyses in this thesis make it possible to address some questions pertaining to scholarship on Early Irish texts: namely the dating of texts, the development of Irish metres up to the period when the rules for *dán díreach* were laid down, and the authorship of these poems.

2. One of the biggest problems of scholarship in connection with Early Irish texts is dating. As we do not know the author of a lot of the texts that have come down to us, and as the ascriptions found in MSS are not always reliable, one often has to rely on linguistic evidence for establishing the date of a given text. However, this is quite a complicated matter, as so-called `Middle Irish' features appear already in the Milan glosses (McCone, 1985: 85-106), and also because the learned classes tended to be conservative as far as the use of the written language is concerned (*ibid*: 101-103)--not only during the OIr, but also during the MIr period. Thus one important purpose in analysing a MIr text is the accurate description of its linguistic features.

The texts I have examined are all written in some metrical form, which is very useful from the point of view of linguistic analysis, as many forms can be verified by the metre.

If one examines the the various linguistic features in these poems, it will be observed that the language used is very similar to that of *SR*. First, the linguistic innovations (i.e. the so-called `Middle Irish features') in these poems can already be found in that work; second, these texts and *SR* also share many conservative linguistic features that go back to the OIr period; third, the so-called `Late MIr features' can not be found in these poems (see p. 185). As *Saltair na Rann* is in general dated to the end of the 10th century (*SNG*: 223: 1.6), this means that from the linguistic point of view, if one consideres these poems together, they may have well been composed in the first half or around the middle of the 11th century--so also by Fland Manistrech.

However, it can be noted that some innovations in connection with the verb which appear in *SR* (see p. 184) do not appear in these poems. I would suggest that these differences can possibly be attributed to dialectal differences.

3. During the past decades, some scholars have examined Early Irish poetry from the point of view of the development and emergence of *dán díreach*: that is, to what extent the poems of the early period correspond to the metrical requirements of the classical period, and whether a gradual strictening of rules can be observed during the earlier period. Two important articles dealing with this matter are the ones by Ó Cuív, 1968:

273-290, and by Mac An Bhaird, 1977/9: 157-168. Ó Cuív deals mostly with *debide*, while Mac An Bhaird with *rannaigecht mór*. They use different methods when trying to "quantify" various aspects of the poems. I have found Ó Cuív's method the more satisfactory one, as he addresses a wider range of problems. Thus I have followed him, and based on his method, I have set up my own criteria and system of "quantification" for the poems not written in *debide*.

3.1 As far as some major differences between Early Irish verse and *dán díreach* are concerned, one can draw the following conclusions from the poems in this thesis:

1) In MIr poetry looser stanza structure was allowed for a poem than in the corresponding metre in bardic poetry (see sections **1.1** and **1.2**, pp. 101-109). First couplets are usually less ornamented than second couplets, and certain features that I would consider to be less acceptable or even irregular occur only in these (see pp. 107-108: **1.2 a, c** and **d**).

2) As far as various ornamentations are concerned, not all the stanzas within the same poem are equally ornate, and in general alliteration, internal rhyme, *aicill* and *úaitne* are used less often than in the corresponding metres in the classical period. This is shown in the tables in sections **1.1, 1.2, 1.3** and **1.4**, pp. 103, 107, 110 and 111.

3) In some metres, the ornamentation used is somewhat different from that used in the corresponding metres in bardic poetry. E.g. in the poem written in *rinnard* we often have *aicill*, which is not present in this metre in bardic poetry according to Knott and Ní Dhomhnaill (see p. 109: **1.3**); or in *dán díreach* there is no internal rhyme in the first couplet, while it is often present in these poems (p. 104: **1.1**).

4) Certain types of rhyme and *úaitne* occur in these poems that would not have been accepted in bardic poetry. These are discussed in sections **2.1, 2.2, 2.3** and **2.4** (pp. 112-118). However, only a couple of these features are represented by more than a handful of examples.

5) As far as rhyming consonant clusters are concerned, with a few exceptions (which I have thus taken to be irregular) they correspond to the rules described by Ó Cuív in 1987: 109. (See section **2.5**, pp. 118-121.)

6) I have a few examples of double/paired alliteration (see section **3.2**, p. 123).

7) There is no compulsory elision. (See section **4**, p. 125.)

4. The question arises as to what extent the characteristic features discussed in the Summary of Metrical Features can be used when trying to establish authorship. (Similar attempts have been made by MacEoin, 1966: 118-119, and Ó Cuív, 1968: 284-285.)

Obviously, from a famous poet one would expect a highly ornamented poem. However, the subject matter may influence ornamentation, as for example the frequent occurrence of proper names might limit the possibilities of the author. Even within the same cycle (poems F1, F2, F4 and F5), one can notice differences as to the use of internal rhyme (note that F2 does not only contain many proper nouns, but also the regnal years for the various kings). I believe that it is possible for the same poet to produce something less elaborate than what he had done in another poem (see also Ó Cuív's remark concerning the poems attributed to Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh in 1968: 287-288).

Still, it is worth noting that from the metrical point of view the two sections of F3 are definitely the `odd ones out', and not only because of the fact that they are incomplete, but also because some features such as double alliteration (in F3 (1)) and *rudrach úaitne* (F3 (1) and (2)) occur more often in them than in the other poems. As has already been discussed in section **1.1** (p. 105), of the *debide* poems the `odd one out' seems to be F10--however, note that this poem does not contain the regnal years of the kings enumerated, unlike F6 and F7.

5. All of the texts analysed in this thesis are ascribed to Fland Manistrech in the *Book of Leinster* (see Vol. I, pp. ix-x). However, as discussed in Vol. I, pp. x-xii, some doubts have been expressed as to the authorship of F3, F6, F7, F9 and F12.

First of all, it has to be repeated that none of these poems exhibit any of the so-called `late Middle Irish' features, thus I believe that <u>all</u> of them had to be written before the year 1100. In as much as it can be accepted that the percentage of older forms in a text can indicate relatively well its relationship in time to other texts, the following conclusions can be drawn from the data analysed in the <u>Comparison based on linguistic criteria</u>. (Note that it is primarily the figures for Groups 1 and 3 which can relatively reliably indicate the date of a given text--pp. 166 and 170.)

5.1 MacNeill (1913: 39-40) believed that F3 (= F3 (1) and F3 (2)) was either a fragment of an older poem, or a poem that Fland started to compose and then abandoned (see Vol. I, p. 50). The two sections of this poem top the list in Group 1 and F3 (2) comes first in Group 3, while F3 (1) shares second place with F2 here; the difference between them and the next poem in Group 1 is 11% and 6% respectively (see p. 166) (however, note that these figures are probably somewhat distorted upwards); while the difference in Group 3 between F3 (1) and F3 (2) is quite significant, 10.8%. Of course, the question arises whether these two pieces of text were composed by the same person or not. I would suggest that probably yes, and that the great difference between their figures in

Group 3 can partly be attributed to the fact that both texts are quite short. Still, despite their shortness and the relatively few examples of some features in them, these texts are among the most conservative ones in Groups 1 and 3. In view of these figures and the presence of the two important metrical characteristics discussed above in **4**, I would consider it possible that the two sections of F3 were not actually written by Fland, but are the fragments of an older poem which Fland used in composing F4 (1) and F5.

5.2 According to MacNeill (1913: 79) the second part of F4 can be dated to 1091-1099, that is, about 40 years after Fland's death. Note, however, that no really significant difference could be found in the overall figures in any the Groups. Probably a difference of 40-50 years does not always manifest itself in significant linguistic differences. Another problem is that F4 (2) is probably too short for making a really valid comparison--note, however, that this text has quite low figures for internal rhyme. Also note the small linguistic and stylistic differences between F4 (1) and (2) which have been noted (see Vol. I, 71 and Vol. II, p. 160).

5.3 F12 has the lowest figures in all the linguistic Groups, and it also has the lowest figures for the correspondence to the norms of *dán díreach* in the *debide* poems. However, this may partly be attributed to the fact that proper names are represented in a very high percentage in the text, which limits the possibilities of the poet, and because of this, the number of examples which could be used in the linguistic analysis is very small; as well as that, note again that this text is quite short. However, taking everything into consideration, I believe that of all the poems written in *debide*, this is the one in connection with which the authorship of Fland could be challenged the most seriously.

5.4 F6 does not stand out among the other poems as far as the figures in Group 1 are concerned, but has quite a low figure in Group 3. The figures for this poem in the Summary of Metrical Features do not stand out either. I do not think that there is enough evidence to challenge either the authorship or the dating of this poem on either linguistic and\or metrical grounds.

5.5 F7 does not stand out in Groups 1 and 3, but has the second lowest figures among the *debide* poems as far as the correspondence to the requirements of *dán díreach* is concerned. However, note that apart from the frequent occurrence of personal names, the regnal years of the kings enumerated are also included in this poem. Again, I do not think that there is enough evidence to challenge either the date or the authorship of this poem.

5.6 F9 does not stand out in the metrical analysis or in Group 1, but has the lowest

figures in Group 3 along with F12. Again, I do not think that there is enough evidence to challenge either the date or the authorship of this poem on these grounds only. Also note that both in terms of metrics and in Groups 1 and 3 it is quite close to the other *LG* poem, F8, the authorship of which has not been challenged according to my knowledge.

6. I have arrived at the conclusions discussed above--namely that none of these texts can be dated to the late Middle Irish period and that it is possible that they were written by Fland Manistrech, although the doubts raised earlier concerning the authorship of F3 (1), F3 (2) and F12 seem to be to some extent verified here--based on the system of metrical and linguistic analyses described on pp. 101-130 and 163-171. However, the reliability of these analyses is limited to a certain extent, as the methods used are influenced by the length of the given text, the number of examples in it, and the frequent occurrence of proper names in many cases. Also, one must not forget that the occasional co-existence of older and newer forms would have been fully exploited by a poet when there was a difference between the number of syllables in them (e.g. the example of the gen. of **Máel**--see p. 167; and see also *SNG*: 226: 1.13). Of course, by adding a feature or features to the ones to be examined, or by taking one or several ones out of the linguistic analysis, the figures one gets for the different poems can somewhat be altered. The degree of reliability of these methods can perhaps be illustrated by the fact that among the poems which are generally considered as belonging to the same cycle (F1, F2, F4 and F5) (Vol. I, p. 1), the greatest difference in the metrical analysis is 11%, and in Group 1 of the linguistic analysis, 22%. Still, I believe that with the help of the combined metrical and linguistic analyses one can at least exclude certain things, and these can give us an approximate idea of dating, and even some idea concerning authorship.

PART V

CORPUS

NOUNS

o-stems

Nom. sg.

airech (F1. 6) (m, in app.)
ānrath\ānrad (F2.2; F5. 131) (ánrad, m)
ār (F5. 95, 108)
[ár] (F4. 114)
ár **che***neōi*l Chonaill (F4. 110)
art (F3. 73, 77) ([o, m])
in band-sa (F1. 56) (*DIL*: bann, o, also bang, ā, f)
(a) band (F6. 130, 189; F11. 15 *LL*)
(a) bás (F6. 60; F9. 68) (n, later m)
bratān (F11. 40) (m)
broscur (F3. 86; F5. 32) (n--Thur. §265 a--brosc + coll. suffix -er, -ar)
a chend (F4. 138) (n, later m)
cenn (F10. 45, 69) (n, later m)
combad chennach (F11. 22) ([n?])
cētfer (F8. 6) (m)
in cethrur (F9. 47) (cethrar)
cobrād **n**-eōlaig (F2. 12) (:Cholmán) (comrád--rád, o, m--no stem-class in *DIL*) **(nas. in cheville)**
rop comthach (F12. 67 *LL*)
cond (F5. 34, 53) (m)
caīn crāebdus (F3. 23) (*DIL*: cráeb + dos ?) (m)
culēn (F7. 138) (m)
debech (F1. 58) (deibech, *IGT*: m)
dechenb*or* (F9. 20) (deichenbor, n, later m)
degm*ac* (F6. 112) (m)
Diä (F5. 137) (m) (Thur. §279) **(hiatus)**
Dīa (F6. 83) (m)
dúal (F11. 28) (m) (*DIL*: "most freq. as pred. with adjectival force")
éclond (F5. 119) (écland, écclond, m)
int **ē**in[f]er (F1. 30) (óenfer, m)
ellach **n**-ossaid (F5. 86) (m, earlier n?) **(nas. in cheville)**
eól\eōl (F3. 61; F4. 3; F12. 1) (m) (*DIL*: later also iúl--confusion of dat. sg. + nom. sg.)
eret (F2. 52) (*DIL*: airet, gender doubtful, treated as f in later lang.; O'Rahilly, 1942: 179: originally n, o)
(in) fāel (F5. 38, 128) (m) (o--earlier u?--, t, m) (cf. the sobriquet Fáelad)
in fáelur (F2. 38) (= fáel + fer ?, m)
cīar **f**ell(*LL*) (F7. 67) (m)
(in) fer (F1. 10, 18; F3. 57; F5. 137--in app.; F9. 63; F10. 55; F12. 43) (m)
in fert febglan (F1. 12)[1] (m)
Imchell **f**in[f]er (F1. 7) (in app., m)
cīa[su] fochond (F1. 11) (m)
forlond (F3. 33) (forlann, -lonn, m)
forod(*LL*) (F6. 2) (forad, -od, -ud, m)
frāech (F4. 12) (m)
gell (F11. 19) (n, later m)

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[1] This word is listed in *DIL* under fert, fertae, where it is said that the OIr form is fertae, iā, f. However, Binchy, 1955: 83 argues that fertae, f, is probably a collective. According to him, fert was originally an o, m. *DIL* says that the MIr form is fert, o, n, later m; this must be a misprint, as the neuter did not survive in MIr.

glanfer (F4. 11) (m)
glond (F6. 143) (o, m and ā, f)
in gormthorc (F5. 61) (m)
a grād (F12. 35) (n)
ilach (F6. 55) (m)
ilar cend (F4. 24) (n, later m)
immomon (F10. 50) (immomun, OIr ómun, u + o, m)
lāthar (F8. 115) (o, n later láither, ā, f)
lén (F3. 15) (m, originally n?)
(a) mac\mac (F1. 15, 16, 35, 42, 49, 53; F2. 3, 16, 29, 33, 35, 54; F3. 62; F4. 21, 40, 47, 48, 52, 54, 56, 58, 66, 78, 87, 98, 102, 104, 106, 116, 117, 124; F5. 3, 5, 20--or gen. sg.--see Note in Vol. I, p. 131; F5. 25, 29, 34, 37, 39, 40, 53, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 80, 93, 102, 104, 107; F6. 29, 33, 37, 43, 50, 57, 61, 64, 66, 69, 81, 85, 89, 93, 101, 105, 115, 124, 125, 132, 133, 141, 152, 153, 156, 169; F7. 25, 29, 45, 70, 101 *R*, 107, 110, 114, 124, 127; F8. 5, 22, 30--in app. to an acc.--, 51, 52, 65, 69, 77, 82--in app. to an acc.--, 89, 107, 109, 117, 129; F9. 17, 18, 34, 48, 57, 61, 63, 64; F10. 25, 36, 44, 52, 64, 65, 121, 124, 130, 136; F12. 5, 49 *LL*, 52, 53 *R*, 64 *LL*, 68 *LL*) (m)
do [...] mac find (F2. 14)
(la X), (lāmair Lorcán) mac (X) (F5. 26, 28, 63, 114; F6. 176; F8. 88, 130; F10. 60, 80; F12. 4 *LL*, 36) (m) (nom. or acc. sg. in app.)
mac Amalgaid(*LL*) (F7. 76) (m)
(la X) mac (Airmedaig), (Írgal*aig*) (F7. 28 *LL*, 60 *LL*) (m)
maccān (F11. 39, 44) (m)
in mind (F8. 118; F12. 34) (originally n--Thur. §307, later m) **(gender)**
(in) mod (F8. 83; F12. 29) (n + m; here m)
(int) ōenfer (F3. 53; F10. 46) (m)
ōenmac (F8. 105) (m)
ól (F8. 44) (o + u, m) **(hiatus)**
ollband\ol[l]band (F4. 44, 70) (*DIL*: "o, also bang, ā, f")
(nī) rād/rád (**n**détla), (**n**-imlaind) (F3. 27, 51) (m) **(nas. in cheville)**
rath (F9. 57) (n--Thur. §728, later m)
romac (F5. 124) (m)
sáer (F8. 35) (m)
nī scél (F4. 28) (n)
in scēl (F5. 27) (n in OIr; **here m**) **(gender)**
seōl (F3. 1) (m)
síl **E**ōgain (**n**)-imrind (F5. 122) (n, later m) **(gender)**
síl **Ā**eda(*LL*) (F7. 1) (n, later m) **(gender)**
nī bec slúag (F6. 202 *LL*) (slóg, m)
sóer (F1. 5, 8--in app.) (sáer, m)
sōerfiallach (F10. 134) (*DIL*: fíanlach, fíallach, o, s, m)
taccomol (F3. 31) (*DIL*: see accomol, o, n, later m) (gender)
in tairchel[l] (F4. 82) (tairchell; vn. of do-airchella)
tigban[n] (F10. 11) (tiug + bann; *DIL*: bann, o, also bang, ā, f)
trell (F1. 26)
in trēnfer (F8. 94) (m)
trían (F5. 92) (n, later also m) **(hiatus)**
in tríath (F4. 20; F5. 97) (m)
ba hūamon (F1. 59) (omun, ómun, u + o, m; in MIr treated as o-stem)
int úan (F11. 36) (m)

Voc. sg.

a baird Fintain (F7. 144) (bard, m)
a Dé (dúlig), (demin) (F4. 119, 133) (Día, m)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

fo-rurim ág n-éca (F5. 118) (3 ág--perh. same word as 2 ág: o + u, m) (see Translation)
slecht [...] ár nGall (F5. 77) **(with passive)**
is é thall a mbarr (F12. 59) (m)
fūair bás (F6. 163) (n, later m)
audprais [...] \ [...] \ a bratán (F11. 43) (m)
(tucsat [...]) (co tuc) cét (ngíall), ([ngíall]) (F3. 40; F5. 44) (n)
tuc a forbach (F5. 100)[1]
fūair forlund (F6. 175) (forlann, -lonn, m)
(co mbert in), (cuimnig \) mac (F5. 6; F9. 70) (m)
ro tríall cach rían (F5. 97) (m)
nach fail [...] \ sāegul (F7. 146) (m)
glaccas slúag (F12. 65 *LL*) (m)
co mbert úan (F11. 27) (m)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

thrí ág (F8. 25) (m, o + u)
trīa airec (F10. 137)
co ár(*LL*) (F7. 106)
cen **brath** brīathar (F3. 7) (later form of mrath, n) **(dat. or nas. omitted)**
cen **brath** (F6. 91) (OIr mrath, n)
cen brón (F4. 4, 26; F11. 47) (m)
co cét cath (F6. 17 *LL*) (n) **(case)** (cf. *R*)
ra dered flatha (F6. 180) (n)
acht Diä (F1. 69) (m) **(hiatus)**
cen dochond(*LL*) (F11. 14) (2 dochonn, m)
im fer (F5. 21) (m)
fri lāech Lagen (F4. 12) (m)
cen lēn (F7. 123 *LL*) (m)
dara longphort (F5. 62) (m)
for mac nDomnaill (F3. 52) (m)
for mac (F3. 90) (m) (probably acc.)
(la), (acht) mac (F4. 54, 88; F10. 54) (m)
for Matudán mac n-ard (F5. 94) (in app., m)
rīa mac Subne (F4. 46) (m) **(case)**
la X mac (nDondchada\-*da*) (F6. 48, 164 *LL*; F7. 130; F8. 32) (m) (in app.)
for nert Fōtla (F11. 53) (n, later m)
cen omon(*LL*) (F6. 137) (omun, ómun, u and o, m; in MIr treated as o-stem)
cen on (F8. 1) (n)
la hór (F1. 50) (m)
dar (s)rían (F3. 79) (m)
for slūag nAlban (F3. 42) (m)
la slūag Gall (F7. 115) (slóg, slúag, m) **(dat. or nas. omitted)**
la slúag (F7. 133) (slóg, slúag, m)
for slūag(o) (F4. 9) (slóg, slúag, m)
[cen] tāeb (F5. 42) (o, m, later also ā, f + u, m)
cen temel (F10. 79) (teimel)
dar trethan trom (F5. 7) (m)

Acc. sg. after the passive or neut. nasalisation

do-gníth [...] \ cumtach ndindmall (F11. 46 *LL*) (n)

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[1] See Footnote on forbbaig under gen. sg., p. 195.

Acc. of duration

(nāro thrēnglacc) trell (F6. 135; F11.20)

Gen. sg.

aëóir (F8. 48) (:deóid) (aër, m)
(inn) áig (F8. 71; F10. 137) (m, o + u) (see also u-stems)
ind ainig (F2. 52) (enech, ainech, n)
baind (F10. 43) (bann) (*DIL*: bann, o, also bang, ā, f)
in bissig (F6. 116) (bisech, later form of bisex; no stem-class and gender in *DIL*)
(in), (m)borrfaith(*LL*)\-fuid(*LL*) (F6. 91, 170) (borrfad, o + u)
brōin (F8. 79) (m)
cen brath bró[i]n (F10. 43) (m) (:cōir)
co clú cáemfir (F4. 8) (cáemfer, m)
(ár), (ardrí) **ch**e**n**e*ōi*l (Chonaill), (Lugdach) (F4. 110; F5. 121) (cenél, n)
in chētāig (F12. 56 *R*) (o + u, m) (cf. áig and ága under o- and u-stems)
gait (a) chlaidib (F1. 2) (m)
chlochair (F1. 54) ([n])
coscair comlaind (F3. 50) (coscar, m)
cotaig (F1. 18) (cotach, [n])
cuir (F5. 40) (cor, m)
in chumtaig (F5. 107) (cumtach, n)
a churaig (F3. 84) (curach, m)
degm*eic*(*LL*) luchair [F]lannacáin (F7. 118) (mac, m)
deōraid (F3. 74) (deórad, m; also deóraid, i, m; later also deóra, t, m)
dolaid (F1. 45) (dolud, dolaid; solad is o + i, m)
domain (F1. 46) (domun, m)
druing (F10. 77, 94) (drong, m)
ernaig (F1. 50) (ernach, m)
rīge fera[i]nd (F4. 22) (ferann, n + m) (:.sonaim)
foglaid feraind (F4. 58)
for**bb**aig (F5. 36) (forbach, o(?))[1]
ind *for*laind (F5. 73) (forlann, m)
forraig gleōgal (F2. 1) (forrach, n)[2] **(preposed gen. in cheville)**
saiget gelāin (F10. 138) (gelán, m)
immaid chomland (F4. 35) (imbed, imbad, n, later m)[3]
lēgind (F5. 137) (léigenn, n)
īar Lugdaig loncho[i]r (F10. 31) (m) (:tor*chair*)
a m*eic* im lecht (F1. 12) (mac, m) **(preposed gen.)**
m*eic*\m*eic* (F4. 137; F6. 18, 42, 117, 168, 169; F7. 34, 46, 86; F8. 58, 76, 132; F10. 76; F11. 2, 4) (m)
m*eic* **F**laind (F6. 199) (m)
m*eic*(*LL*) **F**laind (F7. 107) (m)
m*eic* Flaind (F9. 70) (m)
ōenaig (F5. 79) (óenach, n + m)
(inn) óir (F8. 39; F9. 63) (m) (F9. 63: referring to Éber)
(ind) or**dd**ain (F2. 31; F4. 116) (ord(d)an, o, m, originally f, n-stem?)
ellach **n**-ossaid (F5. 86) (m) (os(s)ad) **(nas. in cheville)**

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[1] There is no stem-class and gender indicated in *DIL*. If this is the vn. of for-boing, `breaks, subdues', as suggested by *DIL* with a question-mark, then it is n, o (Thur. §724). See also the Footnote in Vol. I, p. 145.

[2] On this type of verbal noun formation, see Thur. §724-- probably verbal noun of for-rig.

[3] In theory, this could also be nom. sg. immad, immaid, m and f, treated as a fem. noun.

(in) raith (F6. 118) (rath, n--Thur. §728--, later m) (*DIL*: "in Mid. Ir. *gs.* also ratha (usual later form)")
rebraid (F1. 62) (m)
a roäirm (F5. 15) (n, later m) **(hiatus)**
inbuid samraid (F5. 14) (m)
oc Cill scothair Scīre (F7. 52 *LL*) (scothar, n = scoth + collective suffix) **(wo)**
senchais (F1. 1) (u, later also o, m) **(decl.)**
síl\sīl (F3. 4; F5. 17; F7. 146) (n, later m)
in tochuir (F6. 131 *LL*) (tochor, m)
trīathach tossaig (F4. 6) (n, later m)
tomsech trebaid (F1. 46) (u, m)[1] **(decl.)**
toga trebaind (F4. 42) (trebann, m)
ind úabair (F3. 73) (úabar, earlier óbar, m)

Dat. sg. (after prep.)

īar n-āeth (F1. 20) (ōeth, m)
co n-ág (F8. 13, 117) (m, o + u)
co n-ainiuch (F5. 37) (enech, ainech, n)
īarna n-airlech (F5. 88)
i n-ár Asse (F5. 78)
de arggut (F1. 64) (argat, n, later m)
i n-athiud (F1. 53) (aithed, [o])
co mborrthorud (F10. 29) (borrthorad, n)
do bratán (F11. 48) (m)
cen **b**rath bró[i]n (F10. 43) (later form of mrath, n) **(case or nas. omitted)**
oco charn (F4. 60) (n)
do chenīul Eōgain (F4. 38) (cenél, n)
cind ar chind (F4. 134) (cenn, n, later m)
īar cnis (F1. 54) (cnes, m)
assa chūch (F11. 23) (cuäch o, m, also ā, f) **(hiatus)**
īar cund (F1. 4) (conn, also cunn, m)
do dergibur (F1. 63) (ibar, m)
arin Dīa (F11. 42 *LU*) (m) (Thur. §279)
ō dún (F2. 5) (o, later s, n)
don dund (F6. 23) (2 donn, m)
don dus (F6. 53) (dos, m)
ic ét (F8. 83) (m)
(de), (do) gaī (F8. 21, 125) (gáe, gaí, m)
ō gáel **f**áel no figed (F1. 8) (m)[2]
co ngargbrut (F1. 64) (bratt, m)
co ngrád (F10. 59) (n)
i n-inbiur (F8. 103) (inber, m)
(do [...]), (do), (don), (rīa) *mac*\mac (F2. 17, 20, 22, 23, 28; F4. 103, 137; F5. 11; F6. 54, 162; F8. 102; F11. 50) (m)
for *mac* Aile*l*la (F4. 46)
i mmulluch Cerna (F7. 116) (mullach, m)
co nnirt armach (F3. 13) (nert, n + m)
i n-ōenuch (F5. 81) (óenach, n + m)
(de), (dond) ór (F1. 64; F8. 99) (m)

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[1] This example is listed in *DIL* as o, m with a question mark--the only example of the o-stem gen.

[2] Note that the required alliteration would seem to indicate that the mark of lenition was simply omitted by the scribe.

do rád (F1. 33) (m)
co rrath\rath (F4. 128; F6. 157; F7. 31, 79 *LL*) (n--Thur. §728--, later m)
ōs róen (F11. 51) (m)
la síl Eōgain (F5. 120) (n, later m) **(case)**
rīa slúag (F4. 123) (m)
(cona), (dont) slóg (F10. 22, 125) (m)
(a), (ic) topur/topor (F6. 31; F8. 58) (topar, m)
ōn trīath (F5. 24) (m)

Nom. or dat. sg. in apposition

do\d' [...] mac\mac (F2. 7, 11, 13, 19, 26, 31, 41, 42; F6. 26, 74, 98; F7. 50, 78 *LL*, 136) (m)
rīa X mac (Erca), (Domnaill) (F4. 4, 113)
(for), (rīa) (n)X mac (Ech*ach*), (Āeda), (Ardgair) (F4. 39, 44, 70, 135) (m)
[ría] Mur*chertach* mór mac Erca (F4. 26) (nom. or dat. sg., m)

Independent dat.

cind cethri (F2. 1) (n, later m) (used as prep.)
cind ar chind (F4. 134)
fescur (F8. 47) (fescor, m)[1]
a ōenur (F5. 4) (ōenar, m; appositional dat.)

Acc. or dat. sg. (after prep.)

'sin alt (F6. 75 *LL*) (m)
i n-árbach (F4. 88) (m)
i mbāegul (F5. 3) (n, ClModIr m)
ara n-écnach (F5. 136) (écndach, n)
isin daingen (F1. 57) (m) (if acc., then the nas. is omitted)
fo dered (F6. 55) (deired, n)
i nderglén (F7. 84) (m)
ar Dīa (F11. 33) (m) (Thur. §279)
'na dún (F9. 38) (o, later s, n)
for lár (F1. 19) (n)
ar cach leth (F7. 102 *R*) (n)
'na medón (F1. 66) (m)
for slúag\slūag (Connacht), (Gall) (F4. 14, 108, 122) (m)

Nom. pl.

(a) cind (F4. 126, 132) (n, later m)
secht cét (F3. 37) (n) (*DIL*: in pl. short form cét regular after numerals)
claidib (F5. 129) (m)
dée (F8. 74) (Día m, o (Thur. §279) **(sp)**
fir (F4. 120, 136) (m)
a ngluind\ngluind (gnoäig) (F3. 11; F5. 1) (glond, o, m, + ā, f; here o)
gormraind (F5. 121) (m)
lānfir (F2. 63) (m)
(trī) meic (F4. 89; F9. 2, 49) (m)
na raind (F7. 77 *LL*) (rann, m)
a slóig (F5. 52) (m)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

ro chacht [...] firu (F5. 80) (fer, m)

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[1] In theory, this could also stand for the nom. in MIr; in OIr one would expect the temporal dat. here.

corra gaib ule a ngīallu (F5. 84) (m) **(adj. precedes noun)**

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

(dar), (co) firu (F5. 80, 83) (fer, m)
co fodbai (F3. 63) (fodb, n; later m and f) (case)
fria mórmaccu (F10. 8) (m)
for slúago (F4. 61) (slóg, slúag, m)

Gen. pl.

mbrath (F11. 57) (MIr form of mrath, o, n)
comrand cāemfer (F2. 36) (m)
(ilar) cend (F4. 24; F5. 95, 108) (n, later m)
cētaib cennach (F4. 89) ([n?])
fairend trī chét (F3. 44) (n)
(*trícha*) cét (F4. 32; F6. 151; F10. 119) (n)
(lucht), (ār) trí *cét* (curach) (F4. 62; F5. 108) (n)
(fairend trī chét), (trī choícait) curach (F3. 44, 80) (m)
ndegfethal(*LL*) (F11. 46) (degfethal, m)
na n-ech (F9. 19) (m)
ō gáel fáel (F1. 8) (o + t, m)
(na) fer (nÓl nÉcmacht) (F5. 111; F9. 29) (m)
na ngarglond (F4. 104) (o, m + ā, f)
(na), (tucsat [...] cét) ngīall\ngíall (F2. 66; F3. 40; F5. 127) (m)
co tuc cét [ngíall] (F5. 44) (n)
glond (F3. 31, 46) (o, m + ā, f)
Gaill gló(i)r (F5. 103) (glór, m) (:mór)
glē [a] n-imrall (F4. 76) (imroll, o, n, later ā, f)
lāech (F3. 26) (m)
luinde londbarr (F4. 118) (m)
m*ac* (F6. 8) (m)
míne m*e*nnat (F5. 112) (*DIL*: u, m, rarely o-stem) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 151)
na mīach (F6. 127) (n + f)
na mmol (F6. 191 *LL*) (m)
oss (F5. 12) (m, originally n)
na rand (F5. 74)
rath (F10. 51) (n--Thur. §728--, later m)
na scál (F9. 31) (n)
na slúag (F4. 85; F10. 15) (m)
[ár] / slūag [n]Arad [n-]án (F4. 114) (m)
na tor (F10. 61) (m)

Dat. pl. (after prep.)

re demnaib (F8. 48) (demon, m) (Thur. §280, §925) **(case)**
(co), (for) feraib (F3. 71; F4. 12; F9. 41) (fer, m)
i fertaib (F8. 50) (fert, m, o) (Binchy, 1955: 83)[1]
dīa [fonnaib] (F5. 136) (fonn, o, m)
dīa nglonnaib (F5. 135) (o, m + ā, f)
la maccaib (F9. 46) **(case)**
i scríbennaib (F10. 20) (scríbend, n)

Dat. pl. (independent dat.)

(deich), (secht) cétaib\cētaib (F2. 21, 61; F3. 65; F4. 45, 89; F5. 43) (cét, n)

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[1] See Footnote on in fert, nom. sg., p. 192.

cétaib gal(*LL*) (F7. 71) (cét, n)

Dat. pl. (after comparative of adjective)

demni scélaib (F4. 31) (scél, n)

Nom. dual

na dā chét (F5. 88) (n)
i torcratar dā mac (F4. 74) (m)
i rrubad dā trīan (F4. 94) (n, later also m) **(neuter nas.)**

Acc. dual (direct object of a verb)

ro marb [...] dā cét (F5. 104) (n)

Gen. dual

ār [...] dā cét (F5. 95) (n)

ā-stems (all f)

Nom. sg. I (with non-palatal final consonant)

(a) aided (F9. 41; F10. 19) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
do-cer [...] **amma(i)l** (F5. 120) (an-, am- + bal) (:ollam)
in tres amser **t**oirsech (F1. 46)
inn athach (F6. 15)
oll athach (F10. 73)
bág\bāg (**t**oche) (F3. **18**, 52, 78)
(a) ben (F1. 36; F8. 113, 123, 127; F9. 33; F11. 4, 37)
b*er*t (F1. 28) (ā, f + o, m)
(ba), (a) blad (bil) (F7. 121 *R*; F8. 53; F9. 51) (u, later also ā, f; ?originally n)
a blad(*LL*) (F11. 15)
bla**tt**dál(*LL*) (F11. 47)
bréc (F5. 104)
ardd bruthgal (F3. 18)
in cer**dd**\cerd (F1. 51; F8. 37) (ā, f, later m) **(gender)**
cētserc (F8. 106)
cīal[l] (F10. 26)
comrand **c**āemfer (F2. 36) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
ardd a chongga(i)b (F5. 119) (:ollam)
crāeb ch[á]em (F4. 30)
in chrech (F5. 49)
dál (F4. 110)
nî\nī dalb (F6. 27; F10. 131)
dám (F5. 78)
in del (F5. 114) (deil, prob. f--prob. both ā and i in OIr)
deog(*LL*) (F6. 31) (OIr deug) (Thur. §308)
acht drech (F2. 68) **(case or acc. with non-palatal final consonant)**
drend (F5. 58) ([ā, f?])
ba hēcen (F5. 10) (éicen, ā, f, later also o, m)
fairend (F3. 44) (foirend)
gal (F8. 9)
glacc (F5. 72)
forraig gleōgal (F2. 1) **(preposed gen.)**
grīan (F6. 140 *LL*)
ingen (F1. 52; F11. 1)
lāechrad (F10. 72)
longas (F6. 8) (loinges, OIr longas)[1]
magen **c**lainne (F6. 1)
in mōrrīgan (F11. 30) (ī, later ā, f) **(decl.)**
in rīgan (F11. 16) (rígan, rígain, ī, later ā, f) **(decl.)**
rosacht (F11. 5)
in rūac (F4. 131)
rún (F7. 69 *R*)
saiget (F10. 138)
in tarrgrach (F3. 15) (*DIL*: targraig--perh. originally targrach, ā, f--this is what the inflexion shows here)
ūa(i)g ar-rálad (F2. 4) (:būan)

[1] Subject of ōro gab in *LL*.

Nom. sg. II (with palatal final consonant)

aindir (F1. 51) (ainder, o ?, later f; neg. of der, [ā, f])[1]
(ard) ārim (F3. 54; F5. 133) (áirem, f, later also m; OIr áram)
in chomraind (F4. 124) (compound of rann) (:Domnaill)
fethim (F11. 31) (fethem, m + f) (Thur. §734: ā, f)
is gait (F1. 2) (gat, *DIL* gait)
lānorggain (F5. 57) (lánorgun, OIr orcun)
mōrarggain (F5. 65) (mórorgun, OIr orcun)
ba holc opair (F1. 18) (opar)
orgain (F5. 23) (orgun, OIr orcun)
rīaguil reä (F1. 70) (ríagal)
is turim fír (F5. 56) (tuirem)

Nom. sg. III (ending in a vowel)

ní himmargó (F7. 62)[2]
immargó (F8. 126)

Acc. sg. I (with palatal final consonant) (direct object of a verb)

(fo-*r*ūair [...] a), (fūair) aidid (F4. 124; F7. 67 *LL*) (aided)
ní ētat a ārim eōlaig (F4. 2) (*DIL*: áirem, f, later also m; OIr áram) **(wo)**
coro chluí [...] a blaid (F10. 123) (blad, u, later also ā, f; ?originally n) **(decl.)**
fodlad brait (F12. 5 *LL*) (usu. ā, f)
(fūaratar), (gabsat [...] \) bríg (mbladaig) (F2. 56; F3. 70)
ro and brónbríg (F5. 64)
(ní) rīachtatar **chill** (F4. 132) (cell)
ro chrechaig ce*ch* claind (F6. 179) (clann)
nād charad cuindeilg (F4. 69) (coindelg, o [n.?], later also ā, f) **(decl.)**
cora ben a dīanblaid(*LL*) de (F6. 63) (:Dīarmait) (blad, u, later also ā, f; ?orig n.) **(decl.)**
do-rrodáil dig (F11. 23) (deog, deoch, OIr deug) (Thur. §308)
fēgaid findchill (F1. 67)
ferad flandbríg (F4. 101)
no indled gail (F12. 15)
ro gab gīal[l]blaid (F10. 77) (u, later also ā, f; ?originally n) **(decl.)**
torged gletin (F1. 14)
tuc [...] ingin (F5. 16) (in app.) (could also be nom. sg. in app.)
do-rat lá[i]m (F5. 62) (:cháin)
ro gab murigecht (F12. 42) (muirigecht)
cachtsus [...] in rigain (F11. 5 *LL*) (rígan, rígain, ī, later ā, f) **(decl.)**
do-rat [...] te(t)chill (F5. 31)

Acc. sg. II (with non-palatal final consonant) (direct object of a verb)

innisfet [...] \ a n-aided (F7. 4) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
ro scaíl badb (F4. 102) (badb)
clandad chomram (F2. 24)
ro sechnus drem (F2. 63)

Acc. sg. III (ending in a vowel) (direct object of a verb)

reraig roí (F3. 89) (róe)[3]

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[1] See also McCone, 1992: 24.

[2] Note that according to *DIL*, this is iā. This must be a misprint, as gáu, gó is ā, f.

[3] *DIL* does not give any stem-class; there are two examples for disyllabic gen. sg. roë in *Félire Óengusso*--Stokes, 1905: 357; for other ā-stems ending in a vowel see Thur. §290.

Acc. sg. IV (after prep.; with palatal final consonant)

co hamsir\amsir(*LL*) (n-aird) (F6. 10, 12) (amser)
cen(a n-)ārim (F4. 120) (*DIL*: áirem, f, later also m; OIr áram)
cosin mbáig (F8. 57)
cen bétblaid (F11. 57) (blad, u, later also ā, f; ?originally n) **(decl.)**
cosin mblaid (F9. 35) **(decl., case)** (see also u-stems)
cen bréic (F10. 87)
cen breōbail (F3. 2) (= breó, d, f, also m--*DIL*: disyllabic in one example; + bal, f)
for claind (Conaill), (Colmāin) (F4. 41, 73, 125) (clann)
la claind (F7. 140) (clann)
cen chlaind (F11. 31)
cen chobraind (F10. 19) (comrann)
fri cōemgrís (F5. 45)
cen deochair (F2. 9) (: Eochaid) (dechor, o, n, in MIr f) **(decl., gender)**
cen dīanblait (F4. 98) (díanblat, [ā, f])
la dībirg (F10. 24)
cen feill (F11. 3 *LL*) (o, m + ā, f)
cosin ngail (F10. 129) **(case)**
cen imbarbáig (F10. 46) (immarbág)
cen lánbréic (F8. 42)
acht a réir (F5. 42) (ríar)
cen rúin (F2. 28)
dar sreith (F1. 31)
cen tathaīr (F10. 70) (tathaír)

Acc. sg. V (after prep.; with non-palatal final consonant)

cen chorracht (F4. 121) (*DIL* = corraige, f; this ex. + 2 more given; but see Thur. §260 on the formation of abstracts from nouns)
co crúas (F1. 30) (m) (abstract from crúaid--prob. ā, f--see Thur. §259) (case) (or read crúa[i]s : ūais?)
i ndel Dagda (F1. 10) (:fer) (deil, probably f--probably both ā and i in OIr) (nas. omitted)
co rīab (F3. 57; F5. 21) (ríab) (case)

Acc. sg. VI (ending in a vowel) (after prep.)

cen goí (F8. 91, 110) (gáu)
(co), ('má), ('ma), (cōa) mnaí (F1. 17, 61; F8. 83, 92) (ben)

Gen. sg.

na blaide (F9. 59) (blad u, later also ā, f) **(decl.)**
lathe mbrātha mbodba (F3. 47) (*DIL*: badb, earlier bodb)
ba bráth bodbai (F4. 68) (badb, earlier bodb) (or for badbdae, io\iā, with cons. cluster simplification)
clainne (F5. 52, 53, 131) (clann)
magen clainne(*LL*) (F6. 1)
clainne(*LL*) (F6. 21)
Domnail[l] dela (F2. 41) (deil, probably f--probably both ā and i in OIr)
(n)gaile (F2. 22; F11. 55 *LL*) (gal)
n[a] gaile (F3. 59)
cen brath brīathar goä (F3. 7) (gáu) **(hiatus)**
ní gním ngoä (F5. 101) **(hiatus)**
gaī gréne (F8. 21) (grían)
na lōechlongse (F9. 68) (láechloinges)
na llongse (F9. 1) (loinges)
Murchertach rīagla (F6. 173) (ríagal)
tailcthreibe (F10. 110) (treb)

fó sár theichle (F4. 92) (:.aithbe) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 108)

Dat. sg. (after prep.)

ō\ó amsir\aimsir (F6. 9, 11, 17) (amser)
īar n-argain (F5. 48) (orgun, OIr orcun)
īar(na) n-athraind (F4. 132) (athrann; no stem-class in *DIL*)
co mbáig (F10. 75)
dīa beirt (F5. 16) (ā, f, also o, m)
īar mbeith (F2. 50) (buith, originally both ā, f ?; vn. of at-tá) (Thur. §265, §294)
co mblaid (F6. 119, 123; F7. 119 *R*, 135) (blad, u, later also ā, f, ?originally n) **(decl.)** (see also u-stems)
co mblait (F11. 11) ([ā, f])
oc breith (F1. 31)
co mbríg (F4. 34)
do cheilg (F8. 42)
fiad cech claind (F10. 55)
do chlaind Chobthaig (F6. 167) (clann)
ós chlainn Chobthaig(*LL*) (F6. 103 *R*)
dīa chóemúaill (F3. 91) (cóemúall, f) (:ōenūair)
do c[h]ompeirt(*LL*) (F11. 32)
dīa comréir (F11. 22 *LL*) (comríar)
cona congaib (F1. 42)
ō chreitim(*LL*) (F12. 3)
cona degblaid (F2. 43) (u, later also ā, f; ?originally n) **(decl.)**
do deilb (F11. 28) (ā, f, later also o + u, m)
i ndígail abbad (F7. 83) (dígal)
do dígail (F9. 29)
co ndruïdecht (F8. 47)
do druing (F1. 4) (drong, o, m in OIr and usu. in MIr; later ā, f) **(decl.)**
rīana fairind (F4. 29) (foirenn)
dond fecht-sain (F1. 22) (f, later also m, sometimes n)
co feib (F12. 9)
co fírdígail (F11. 6)
co n(*LL*) gail (F6. 143) (gal)
co nglanbail (F4. 56) (glanbal)
co nglanbríg (F4. 95)
īar ngreis (F2. 48)
('cō), (dīa), (īarna) īarair (F1. 21, 55; F2. 15) (íarar, íarair, f)[1]
don ingin (F8. 106)
do lágain (F10. 84) (láigen, also lágan)
a lláim (F1. 2)
(do), (de) lāim\láim (F6. 199; F8. 8, 28, 70, 72, 76, 85, 100, 120, 132; F10. 100)
a lluing (F5. 60) (long)
don mnaí for(r)āin (F11. 24 *LL*) (ben)
cosinn ollgail (F4. 55) (ollgal) (this could also be acc. used for dat.)
co horgain Arad (F5. 90) (orgun, OIr orcun) **(case or nas. omitted)**
co rrogail\rogail (F5. 51; F6. 124; F7. 79 *LL*) (rogal)
co rogail(*LL*) (F7. 69)
ōs roí (F1. 62) (róe, roí)[2]
i rroí chatha (F5. 125)

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[1] There is no stem-class given in *DIL*; the forms cited there seem to indicate an ā-stem decl.

[2] See Footnote on roí on p. 201.

de saigit (F8. 36)
oc tabairt (F8. 39)
dīa thoil-seom (F1. 26)
īar tírfeirg (F10. 23)
ōs tuind (F8. 87) (tonn)
co n-úaill (F1. 49; F8. 121, 141, 149) (f, later also o, m)

Dat. sg. (after comparative of adj.)

mó cech claind (F11. 49)
mó cech dechraind (F5. 109) (dechrann)
is līa turim (F5. 2) (tuirem)

Independent dative

(i) tessaig thrucha (F5. 126) (tessach)

Independent dat. of time

ōenūair aidchi (F3. 92) (úar, úair)

Acc. or dat. sg. (after prep.)

i n-aír (F8. 68) (áer)
i n-ārim (F2. 64) (áirem, f, later also m; OIr áram)
'na brethlaind (F6. 119) (breth + lann, ā, f and o, m)
for creich (F5. 115)
'na crích (F5. 8)
i crích Cruithne (F10. 108)
i ndīgail (F5. 20)
for lāechraid (F4. 51, 65) (láechrad)
for leirg (F8. 124)
i llongais (F5. 98) (loinges, OIr longas)
ara roblaid (F1. 62) (blad, u, later also ā, f) **(decl.)**
[in]na roraind (F4. 37) (ro + rann)
ina thétluing (F5. 6) (tétlong)
'na thúaith (F10. 67)
for tuind (F5. 60) (tonn)

Nom. pl.

aideda (F8. 152; F9. 4) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
clanna (F4. 1; F11. 56) (clann)
is na gabāla (F5. 96)
a n-orgni (F5. 1) (orgun, OIr orcun)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

cor inniseor \ aideda (F8. 3) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
ad-fessam a n-aidedu (F10. 2)
coro chluí a brétho (F10. 123) (breth)
coro áirmi gainmi (F5. 134) (gainem, ā, f and o, m)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

tarsna buidne (F9. 51) (buiden)
for clanna\clanda (F4. 57, 111) (clann)

Gen. pl.

bairend (F3. 78) (bairenn, boireann)
na mbendchros (F7. 98)
na mblat (F9. 71) ([ā, f])
na mbreth (F9. 71)

cen brath brīathar goä (F3. 7)
(na m)bríg (F5. 32; F9. 7)
na cned (F1. 36; F9. 39; F10. 81)
a choss (F5. 12)
(a), (na) crech (F5. 133; F6. 29, 47; F10. 105, 119)
cond Cruthne crích (F5. 34) **(preposed gen.)**
na crích (F6. 125 *LL*)
a chrūadcherd (F10. 26)[1]
na cūanart (F4. 125) (cúana(i)rt)
rubnib dám (F6. 187)
na ndám (F2. 58, F7. 139)
na ndīberg (F5. 39)
(na n) drech (F6. 93; F7. 101 *R*)
na ndremm (F12. 47 *R*)
na ndrend (F10. 89, 117) (drenn, [ā, f?], also dreng?)
na n-ergal (F2. 24) (airgal)
fairend (F3. 83) (foirenn)
na feb (F7. 57 *LL*)
na fodbrand (F4. 75)
cétaib gal(*LL*) (F7. 71)
na ngormland (F5. 72)
na land\lland (F9. 43; F10. 31) (1 lann)
na lomlerg (F6. 86)
na lūamland (F4. 51)
na llūrech (F4. 123) (lúirech)
na mallacht (F4. 122) (orig n, f, passing into ā-stem in the OIr period)
na mmed (F6. 39, 79)
lín orgga(i)n (F4. 65) (:Colga(i)n) (orgun, OIr orcun) (lín is probably gen. pl.)
na slat (F7. 5) (with final [d])
na sleg (F6. 51; F7. 1)
na treb (F9. 53; F10. 65)
tūath (F3. 13; F5. 31)

Dat. pl.

co mbladaib (F2. 46) (u, later also ā, f; ?originally n)
ar bladaib (F7. 85)
co mbrethaib (F2. 10)
(co), (ra) clannaib (F6. 18, 19) (clann) **(case)**
co clīaraib (F6. 159; F7. 73) (clíar, f) (Thur. §925)
oc fledaib (F6. 25 *LL*) (fled)
ós clannaib (F9. 69)

Dat. pl. (after comparative of adj.)

ba mó gresaib (F4. 79) (gres(s))

Nom. dual

dí mnaí (F8. 109) (ben)

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[1] In theory this could also be nom. sg.; however, in this case the phrase would make less sense here. See Footnote in Vol. I, p. 298.

io-stems[1]

Nom. sg.

baile (F12. 23) (m--*IGT*)
bine (F5. 63) ([io?], m + f in *IGT*)
ba báeth bine (F1. 20)
mo chride (F1. 32) ([n])
cride (F6. 3) ([n])
in cruitt*ire* (F8. 86) (m)
in dindgna (F1. 45) (dindgna[e], m--later often treated as a t-stem in pl.)
cīa díne (F1. 39) ([io, n?])
a domna (F1. 10) (damnae, domnae, n)
domna (F8. 43) (n)
ba gargg dune (F3. 58) (duine, m)
dune (F5. 84) (m)
foroll fūacra (F4. 72) (fócra(e), fúacra, n, later f)
gilla (F12. 65 *LL*) (m) (gilla[e])
ba mór guba (F4. 16) (guba[e], m)
ba guba(n) ngarb (F4. 60) (guba[e], m) (nas. in cheville)
lá (F1. 66) (n, later m) **(hiatus)**
lathe mbrātha (F3. 47) (see under lá; *DIL*: earlier form of lá, io, n, later m) **(nas.)**
prīmchāinte (F8. 98) (m)
garg tarbe (F3. 46) (torbae, io, n, later iā, f) (or gen. sg.--see FN in Vol. I, p. 67)
timc*r*ide (F10. 6) ([n])
toga trebaind (F4. 42) (*DIL*: "toga, togu, indecl. n. in O. Ir. but later io, n"; Thur. §341)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

ro fuc [...] in ngilla (F5. 7) (gilla[e], m)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

cen bin(n)e(*LL*) (F6. 145) ([io?], m + f in *IGT*)
cen chāemna (F5. 93) (cáemna[e], [n ?], later f)
cen nach cáemna\cāemna (F1. 27; F4. 105)
cōar ndegduine (F11. 12) (m)
rim lá (F9. 3) (n, later m)
cen lethbe (F3. 22) (*DIL*: ?leth + -be, vn. of benaid; no stem-class + gender given. However, see Thur. §725: io, n)

Gen. sg.

ardomna (F7. 12 *LL*) (omna[e], m, later also f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 225)
ba (F10. 135) (báe, bá(a)) (on the length of the vowel see *SNG*: 233: 3.9)
in dindgna (F1. 34) (dindgna[e], m--later often treated as a t-stem in pl.)
duni (F11. 28) (duine, m)
ind eire (F1. 31) (aire, m)
ól rota (F8. 44) (rota[e], m)

Dat. sg.

īarna aithbe (F4. 92) (aithbe, [n], later f) (or acc.)
īarna dlugu (F1. 63) (dluige, dluga(e)) (vn. of dlongid and dluigid--probably n)
ō ce*ch*\-ch duine (F1. 37; F2. 56) (m) (or acc.)
īarna innarba (F10. 116) (indarba, OIr indarbe, n, later f) (or acc.)
for lige Āeda (F8. 96) ([n])

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[1] For the various forms of **úa**, see p. 38: **3.7 c.**

ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*) (F6. 52) (sáile, m, io(?)--no stem-class in *DIL*)
de umu (F1. 64) (umae, n, later m)

Acc. or dat. sg. (after prep.)

ar innērge (F8. 92) (n, later f)
i llǫ́ (F7. 55) (lá, n, later m)
***for* orba (F10. 103) (orb(b)a[e], n, later m)**
'na orbbo (F5. 29)

Nom. pl.

nād chloītis catha nā cure (F5. 21) (cuire)
fo-rrācsat a daíne(*LL*) (F6. 67) (duine, m)

Gen. pl.

im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle (F3. 21) ([io, n]) **(adj. precedes noun)**
cétaib cure (F2. 21) (cùire)
mór ndíne (F1. 47) ([io, n?])
cind cethri ndíni (F2. 1)
ardrí án orbba (F5. 54) (orb(b)a[e], n, later m) (or gen. sg.)

Dat. pl.

cen binib (F8. 114) (bine, [io?], m + f in *IGT*) **(case)**

Dat. pl. (after comparative of adj.)

gairgiu tólaib (F3. 75) (tóla, earlier tólae, n)

Nom. dual

dī airdi (F3. 92) (airde, io, n, later f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 70) **(gender)**

iā-stems (all f)

Nom. sg.

nachorb anfine(*LL*) (F6. 198)
cloí (F3. 91) (clóe, f, ?originally cloë; no stem-class in *DIL*) (see also Kelly: 1973: 30, n 14b) **(hiatus)**
deimni (F1. 45)
gaïne (F2. 22)
gleōr(g)da glaine (F5. 22)
luinde (F4. 118)
míne m*e*nnat (F5. 112)[1]
rēle (F4. 25) (réile)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

fūair ráit[h]e(*LL*) (F6. 157) (ráithe; *DIL*: originally io, m?)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

cen anble (F4. 46) (ainble, [iā, f])
c(*h*)en chaire (F8. 85)
tre chuibde(*LL*) (F6. 62) (cuibde, [iā, f]) (last letter illegible in *R*)
et*er*(*LL*) fine(*LL*) is anfine(*LL*) (F6. 6) ((an)fine)
cen nach sēna (F5. 49) (séna[e], *IGT*: f) (vn. of 1 sénaid) (Thur. §726) (although this formation would only occur with strong verbs)

Gen. sg.

anble (F9. 46) (ainble [iā, f])
bec[h]tai n-airig (F3. 70) (bechta[e]) (preposed gen.) (nas. in cheville) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 68)
demne (F8. 91) (deimne)
nī dám disse (F5. 78) (only this example in *DIL*; abstract formed from diss, adj.; for gender and inflection see Thur. §257)
druine (F1. 44)
fine (F6. 2 *R*; F10. 5)
co ngnīm gainne (F4. 83)
[glaine]/glaine (F1. 38, 43)
gnīm sruthe (F4. 99) (sruithe)
bág toche (F3. 18) (*DIL* cites this line under ?tocha, (?toich) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 66)
(i) tessaig thrucha (F5. 126) (trocha[e], [iā, f])
a *hocht* umli (F2. 18) (umla(e), uimle)
nīrbo debaid tuä (F3. 6) (1 tóe) **(hiatus)**[2]

Dat. sg.

co n-achri (F4. 10) (aichre)
co certa (F2. 8; F4. 3) (certa[e], [iā, f])
co ndēni (F3. 28) (déine)
dīa echtrai (F10. 34)

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[1] Or gen. sg.--see Footnote in Vol. I, p. 151. This is an abstract from mín; according to *DIL*, this is an ā-stem, which must be a misprint.

[2] This example is cited under the adj. 2 tóe in *DIL*. However, I would be more inclined to interpret this form as the attributive gen. sg. of 1 tóe, the noun, rather than the nom. sg. fem. form of the adj., because of the hiatus. There definitely seems to be some confusion in *DIL* concerning these two words. Prof. Breatnach believes that the noun is an abstract formed from the adjective *táu, which means that it should be an iā, and not an ā-stem as indicated in *DIL*.

co foibdi (F2. 18) (foibde)[3]
co nglaine (F8. 143)
co nglasse (F5. 77) (glase)
co nglicci(*LL*) (F11. 19)
co millse(*LL*) (F6. 183) (millse)
co sithi (F3. 35) (sithe--abstract of sith-, 'long'; iā, f--see Thur. §257) (*DIL* does not seem to be sure of the relationship between sithe and sith-)
co tūachle (F8. 3) (túaichle)
co n-úagai (F3. 65) (óg(a)e)[2]

Acc. or dat. sg.

i n-ambriti(*LL*) (F11. 20) (aimbrite)
fo mēla (F1. 27) (méla, OIr mélae)

Acc. pl.

for cóic míli (F3. 68) (míle)

Gen. pl.

cētaib cumne (F4. 45) (cuimne)
slige (F1. 31) (iā + t, f)

Dat. pl. (independent)

molbthar massib (F5. 85) (maise, iā, f, originally io, n)
mīlib (F3. 46)

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[1] *DIL*: "abstract of fobaid?"; this is the only example cited; + one more with the remark *cf.*: Best, 1910: 136.13 faib di raith = 'long-life(?) of favour'. If this is the abstract of fobaid, then it must be iā, f--see Thur. §257.

[2] *DIL*: "in Mid. Ir. generally palatal before a palatal vowel in inflexion".

The declension or ríge, io, n, later f (see Bergin, 1938: 218)

Nom. sg.

rīge fera[i]nd (F4. 22) (as this is a cheville, the f could be eclipsed, and nasalised f is not indicative of gender)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

gab*ais* [...] ríge rīarglain (F2. 39)
ro gab rígi (F5. 112)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

i rrīge(*LL*) Casil (F12. 50)

Dat. sg.

i rríge Ailig (F2. 44, 51)
dīa ríge (F10. 11) (or acc.)
ar ríge Chasil (F12. 58*LL*)
i rrígu (F2. 50)

Acc. or dat. sg.

i rrígi(*LL*) rebach (F6. 87) (here m\n)
i rrīgi réil (F6. 97)

The declension of ré, io, n + iā, f (Thur. §295) (*DIL*: in MIr usu. fem.; often spelt rae)

Nom. sg. or independent dat. of time

ré chōic mblī*adan* (F7. 6 *LL*)[1] (cf. *R*)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

(ri), (fri), (re) ré (F2. 4, 6, 35, 46)

Acc. of time

ré *secht* mblī*ad*an (F2. 33)

Gen. sg.

(a) ré\rē (F10. 103; F11. 51)

Acc. or dat. sg.

i rré (F2. 67)

Gen. sg. or pl.

reä (F1. 70)

[1] This is either nom. sg. and in this case the lenition indicates that ré is treated as a fem. noun here; or this is a dat. of time, although one would expect the acc. here as this expression refers to a *period* of time.

i-stems

Nom. sg.

in[t] ardflaith (F6. 198 *LL*)[1]
brechta brígail (F5. 20) (i + k, f) (**preposed gen.**)
cétfaid (F11. 58) (OIr cétbuid, -aid, f)
clethail chachta (F2. 8) (i + k, f: see Thur. §320)
a chlīamain (F10. 78) (m)
ropo chūair**d** chūanna (F4. 130) (cúairt, [i], m, later f; here f) (**gender**)
cid cían cūairt (F5. 116)
cu**nn**id (F6. 102) (cuingid, m, also cuinnid)
in daig (F6. 85) (i, later t, f)
debaid tuä (F3. 6) (debuith, f) (len. of t does not take place after a d--Thur. §231)
degflaith (F6. 42) (f; when applied to persons, in OIr fem., in MIr also masc.--later regularly masc. (*DIL*))
eochair (F4. 116) (i + k, f)
in fénnid (F2. 16) (m)
in fīr[f]laith (F10. 10) (for gender, see above) (**here m; gender**)
flaith (**fí**al), (cāem) (F4. 84; F6. 47) (**here m; gender**)
flaith (F5. 126; F6. 86, 155; F7. 5, 98)
án flaith (F10. 105)
dí blīad*ain* flaith (F6. 117) (f) (abstract meaning)
rop fochaid (F1. 54) (f)
foglaid (F4. 58) (m)
nī furáil (F7. 22 *LL*) (foróil, furóil, n, ?later f)[2]
glét[h]ráig (F10. 95) (m + f)
andā a guin-seom (F1. 26) (n)
īachcnáim (F10. 96) (m)
ba samail (F1. 66) (f)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

fadlad cáin (F12. 45 *R*) (f)
i rrollsat Gaill grithgāir (*R*) (F6. 172) (gáir, f, originally i, n(?)--but see Thur. §735)
selaig Fergal flaith (F4. 35) (f; when applied to persons, in OIr fem., in MIr also masc.--later regularly masc. (*DIL*))
fodlad graig (F12. 31) (n, later m + f)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

rīa colaind (F4. 126) (colainn, f)
cen degflaith (F6. 178) (for gender, see above)
cen dimbūaid (F11. 14) (dimbúa(i)d) (búaid, i, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
lasin flaith (F7. 108) (for gender, see above)
darsin lindmuir (F5. 14) (n + m, later also f; Thur. §300: n; **here m or f**) (**gender**)
dar muir (F1. 53) (n)

Gen. sg.

búada (F1. 28) (búaid, i, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
drechbūada (F6. 34 *LL*) (búaid, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
ra dered flatha (F6. 180) (flaith, f)

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[1] For gender, see Linguistic Analysis, p. 43: **3.13 e**.

[2] *DIL* has the following remark on this word: "in MidIr. foróil gives way to foráil, furáil, etc., possibly through influence of eráil which in its turn becomes furáil". See also the Note on F7. 21-22 in Vol. I, p. 217.

ba fīal fodla (F5. 132) (fodail, f)
in mara (F5. 134) (muir, n + m, later also f; Thur. §300: n)

Dat. sg.

(dond), (do) ail (F1. 14, 32; F8. 95) (i + k, f)[1]
den **bruig** (F10. 115) (m) (MIr form of mruig)
co mbūaid bladaig (F5. 18) (i, n; *IGT*: m; **here f, or see O'Brien, 1954: 348) (gender)**
co mbúaid (F8. 142, 150)
(don), (īar n) debaid (F3. 67; F10. 8) (debuith, f)
don flaith lánfíal (F6. 90 *LL*) (for gender, see above; **here m) (gender)**
i flaith Echach (F8. 80) (f)
co nglanbúaid (F8. 122) (i, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
do guin (F3. 58; F5. 102) (n, later f)
isind imguin (F4. 136) (m and f, guin orig. n)
co lánbūaid (F8. 66) (i, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
do rind (F6. 44; F7. 7) (m)
oc saigid (F5. 18) (f)
(rīa), (īar) samain (F7. 95; F8. 27) (f, usu. i)

Acc. or dat. sg.

ar búaid tūath (F3. 14) (i, n, perh. earlier ā, f) (len. of t does not take place after a d--Thur. §231)
for búaid (F6. 130)
fo cháin (F5. 62) (f)
isin debaid (F4. 12; F7. 27) (debuith, f) (if acc., then with nas. omitted)
*i*nna lepaid (F1. 17) (f)
forin lochmuir lindamnas (F8. 38) (n + m, later also f; Thur. §300: n; here n\m)
forin trāig\tráig (F8. 49, 95) (m and f)

Nom. pl.

[i] trōeta flathi (F4. 17) (flaith; for gender, see p. FN on p. 212)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

fúair rinni (F9. 65) (rind, m)

Gen. pl.

feidm fēinned (F1. 29) (fénnid, m)
senchad (F11. 58) (senchaid, m)[2]

Dat. pl.

īar mbūadaib (F6. 123 *LL*) (búaid, i, n, perh. earlier ā, f)
[de] flathib (F3. 55) (flaith; for gender, see FN on p. 212 above)
do gemmaib glainib (F1. 65) (glain, f) **(wo)**

Dat. pl. (after comparative of adj.)

fīru fodlaib (F2. 50) (fodail, f)

Nom. dual

na dí bantūathig (F8. 64) (túathaid) (f)

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[1] Note that this could also be the short dat. of a guttural stem.

[2] For declension see McCone, 1995: 1-10.

ī-stems (all f)[1]

Nom. sg.

adaig (F1. 66)
blīadain\-līadain (F6. 45, 106, 165; F7. 43, 102 *R*)
blīadain Fogartaig(*LL*) (F7. 57)
deglind (F7. 82) (3 linn, [ī, f])
ind inis (F1. 38)
ōenblīadain (F2. 47; F6. 97, 161; F7. 139)
acht ōenblīadain (F6. 160; F7. 18 *LL*, 74) (:clīaraib--x2), (:clīaraig) **(case)**

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

fūair blīadain(*LL*) (F6. 141) (:chorrLīamuin) **(case)**
ro gab in inse (F1. 39) (inis)
fūair [...] \ [...] ōenblīadain (F6. 150) (:ail) **(case)**

Acc. sg. (as adverb of time)[2]

aidchi n-oraig (F3. 81) (adaig)

Gen. sg.

ōenūair aidchi (F3. 92) (adaig)

Nom. pl.

(noí m), (teōra) blīadna (F2. 41, 43) (blíadain)
(m), ([m])blīadna\-līadna\-na (F5. 13; F6. 23, 30, 34, 49 *LL*, 53, 59, 65, 70, 82, 87, 103, 113, 122, 134, 138, 177, 181, 187; F7. 14, 18, 26, 30, 33, 46 *LL*, 54, 61, 66, 69, 77 *LL*, 81, 85, 90, 97 *R*, 105, 109, 117, 123 *R*, 125 *LL*, 132)
***cethri* blīadna(*LL*) (F6. 174) (:rīagla)**
cethri blīadna (F10. 114) (:chīanbla)
certblīadna (F6. 78) (:īarma)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

fúair [...] \ *sé* blīadna (F6. 148) (:īarla)
ro chaith *secht* mblīadna (F7. 132) (:īarla)
ro chaith *cethri* ōenblīadna (F6. 154 *LL*) (:dīamra)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

frīa *noí* [mblíadna] déc (F2. 37)

Gen. pl.

būan blīadan (F2. 4) (:īaram) (blíadain) (adj. precedes noun) (nas. omitted)
(m)blīadan (F2. 6, 33, 35) (:fīalglan, :gīallad, :dīanglan)
(m)blīadan (F2. 11, 23, 46, 53)
fichi blīadan (F7. 37) (:ardrīarad)
fiche blīadan(*LL*) (F6. 38)
(fiche), (dā sé m(*LL*)), (m) blīadan (F6. 73, 130; F7. 6, 121, 135)
remes *sé* mblīadan mborrfuid (F6. 170 *LL*)
trícha blīadna dó (F6. 95) (:īarla)
fichi blīadna (F7. 113 *LL*)

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[1] For the various forms of ríga(i)n, see ā-stems, pp. 200-205.

[2] Note that in OIr one would expect the temporal dat. here.

Dat. pl.

re sé blīadnaib (F2. 16)

Dat. pl. (independent)

teōra blī*adn*aib (F2. 40)

Nom. dual

(dī\dí), (dā) blī*adain*\blī*adain* (F6. 90, 117, 126 *LL*, 189, 195; F7. 49, 141)

Acc. dual (after prep.)

acht dí ōenblī*ad*ain (F7. 128 *LL*)

u-stems

Nom. sg.

cāem alt (F5. 42) (originally u, m?)
ānalt **(n-)**airmiten (F11. 38 *LL*) (originally u, m?)
ardgus **n**-eōlaig (F2. 64) (m) **(nas. in cheville)**
bét (F3. 43; F4. 62; F5. 88; F6. 167; F10. 43, 115) (m)
bīathad (F5. 10) (m)
bráth (F4. 68) (m)
(in), (ocus), (is) cath*cath* (F3. 8, 10, 13, 17--x2, 19--x2, 20--x2, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36--x2, 45, 48, 85; F4. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13--x2, 14, 15, 17--x2, 18--x2, 19--x3, 20, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67--x2, 68, 69, 71, 73, 79, 81, 83, 85, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 135, 137; F10. 111) (m)
ní cath **Ch**námrois (F10. 112) (m)
cathroíniud (F5. 87) (m)
cruth (F10. 127) (m)
dín (F3. 74) (m; in app.)
dīn **n**Airther n-āebda (F5. 71) (m)
conice in dind-sa (F1. 56) (n) **(gender, case; or nas. omitted)**
éc\ēc (F6. 24, 104, 111, 168, 184, 186; F10. 44) (m) (no stem-class in *DIL*; see Thur. §208)
ergnus n-imléir (F5. 28) (airgnas, [m]) **(nas. in cheville)**
flathius\-*us* (F6. 182; F7. 43 *R*, 86 *R*; F10. 102) (flathius, -es, u + o, m)
(i) flathius (F7. 43 *LL*) (flaithius, u + o, m)
fossalt(*LL*) (F11. 6) (originally u, m?)
garggním\garggnīm (F4. 48, 78) (m)
a gart (F12. 25 *LL*, 37 *LL*) (u(?)--no stem-class in *DIL*)
gledgus (F5. 26) (m) (: Fergus) (gléo-, glíad- + gus)[1]
ba mór glondalt (F4. 13) (glond + 1 alt, originally u, m?)
(in) gním\gnīm (F1. 9, 40, 65; F4. 99; F5. 11; F12. 3 *LL*) (m)
mōr gním (F5. 25) (m)
gnīm\gním (**n**-achar), (**n**glegrach), (**n**goä) (F5. 41, 99, 101) (m) **(nas. in cheville)**
a llēcud (F11. 8) (léiciud, m) (*DIL*: "in Mid. and Mod.Ir. also with non-palatal quality of the -c-")
(is é) lín (F6. 151, 204 *LL*) (n + m) (Thur. §309)
līth (F5. 93) (m)
loscud (F5. 32) (u + o, m)
in luc[h]t-sin (F1. 21) (m)
i farcbad lucht (F4. 62) (m)
a mathius (F6. 109) (maithes, -ius, o + u, m, occasionally fem.)
ollgus (F4. 36) (m)
in senchas (F12. 1) (u, m, later also o, m)
serbchath (F4. 23) (m)
in siriud (F5. 47) (m)
slānalt (F11. 26) (originally u, m?)
a suth (F11. 7) (m)
tē*r*nam (F5. 48) (m)
trēnchath (F3. 41) (m)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

torcaid anad (F5. 90) (m)
innisfet [...] \ [...] a n-ardflathius(*LL*) (F7. 4) (flaithius, -es, u + o, m)
ro briss in cath (F4. 128) (m)

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[1] For the inflexion of gléo, etc. see Thurneysen, 1936: 364-367. See also Note in Vol. I, p. 132.

cloäd **chath** (F10. 35) (m)
tāraill cossecrad [...] \ int úan (F11. 35) (cosecrad, m)
coro chlōemchlāe [...] dath (F6. 27 *R*) (see Note and FN in Vol. I, pp. 180 and 191)
(fo-fūair(*R*)), (luid) éc (F6. 146; F10. 116) (m) (no stem-class in *DIL*; see Thur. §208)
co tabrad fīad (F5. 9) (m)
tuc [...] flathius (F6. 83) (flaithius, -es, u + o, m)
fúair gním ngalla (F5. 8) (m)
rānic a less (F11. 17) (les, m)
ascnam [...] \ [...] slicht (F3. 2) (m) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 65)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

cen aichnius (F5. 40) (aithnius, [u, m])
cen anad (F2. 48) (m)
cen bét (F6. 145) (m)
cosin mblad (F12. 61 *LL*) (u, later also ā, f, ?originally n) (see also ā-stems)
(im), (cen) chath (F3. 25; F10. 39) (m)
i cath (Cilli), (Comraire) (F3. 64; F9. 60) (m) (in OIr, the dat. sg. would be used here)
(cosin), (co) cath (F6. 188; F7. 81, 125 *LL*) (m)
fri dúrdul (F2. 37) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
cen fis (F1. 54) (u + o, n, later m)
*con*nā gēbad acht a gīallad (F2. 34) (no stem-class in *DIL*--see Thur. §723) (listed under gíallaid in *DIL*)
im gním (ng*r*etha), (ngaile) (F5. 91; F11. 55) (m)
im īath nArad (F5. 24) (originally u, n; later o, m + ā, f)
i n-īath mBregmaige (F11. 11 *LL*)
a m*ei*c im lecht (F1. 12) (no stem-class in *DIL*; the forms indicate u) **(preposed gen.)**
for lecht nĀeda (F1. 28)
cen lín (F5. 11) (n + m) (Thur. §309)
cen locht (F2. 18) (u, also o, m)
for sét seng (F5. 108) (m)
cen tām (F10. 57) ([? u])
cen tart (F10. 85) (m)

Gen. sg.

ollband ága (F4. 44) (ág, o + u, m) (see also o-stems)
in borrfada (F6. 116 *LL*) (: Dondchada) (borrfad, o + u)
brechta brígail (F5. 20) (brechtad; for stem-class see Thur. §723) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 144) **(preposed gen.)**
lathe mbrātha mbodba (F3. 47) (bráth, u + o, n) **(nas.)**
ardrí Alpan [...] \ [...] brúthi (F3. 78) (brúd, [u, m], originally bruüd)
(i rroí), (a), ('na chomland) chatha (F5. 125; F6. 151, 163) (cath, m)
do gaī chró (F8. 125) (crú, n(?)--for stem-class and decl. see Thur. §310; for decl. Greene: 1983: 6-7)
(ág n-), (a topur) éca (F5. 118; F6. 31) (éc, m) (no stem-class in *DIL*; see Thur. §208)
in gossa (F6. 155) (gus, m)
ng*r*etha (F5. 91) (grith, m)
ind lacha (F4. 137) (loch, n, later m)
for mac Longsig lúaith laimthi (F3. 90) (lamad)
rēle rec[h]ta (F4. 25) (recht, m)
rūadbera (F6. 44) (bir, n, later m)

Dat. sg.

co n-alt (F4. 74) (originally u, m?)
'ca(*LL*) ardrīarad (F7. 38) (m)
im chath Chind (F3. 21) (m) **(case)**

la cath Átha Sīge (F4. 22) (m) **(case)**
i cath (Chlōenlocha), (Odba), (Emna), (Chilli), (Chrinna) (F6. 36; F7. 11, 75, 111 *LL*--cf. *R*; F10. 92) (m)
(isin), ('sin) chath (F8. 119; F9. 53; F10. 83) (m)
rīa cath (F10. 99) (m)
co cruth (F8. 140) (m)
co ndath (F7. 39) (n?)
'ca dēnam (F1. 7) (m)
i ndorus Ailig (F7. 68) (u, n, later o, m)
īar ndul (F8. 92) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
i flaithius fīrmaith (F6. 106 *LL*) (flaithius, -es, u + o, m)
co ngnīm (F4. 83) (m)
i n-īath (Adni), (Ul*ad*) (F4. 20, 113) (*DIL*: originally u, n; later o, m + ā, f)
co llín (F4. 33) (n + m) (Thur. §309)
īarna marbad (F8. 54) (m)
īarna rígad (F10. 125) (m)
do rúadgním (F5. 15) (m)
(de), (do) thám (F8. 33, 124; F9. 27) ([? u])
ōsin trācht (F5. 4) (n + m)

Dat. sg. (after comparative of adj.)
burbbu borbgnīm (F4. 96) (m)

Dat. sg. of apposition
acht Cairell lucht a churaig (F3. 84) (m)

Acc. or dat. sg.
i n-ardflathius(*LL*) (F6. 110) (flaithius, -es, u + o, m)
i cath (mór), (Temra) (F6. 108 *LL*; F8. 128, 144; F9. 44) (m)
i cath (Dētna), (birach), (Bile), (gubach), (Delgthen), (Dromma) (F6. 32, 56; F7. 58 *LL*, 64; F9. 30, 66) (m) (dat. or nas. omitted)
i cath F*or*calaid (F7. 80 *LL*) (m)
i cētchath (F8. 12) (m)
i flaithius (F6. 113, 126) (flaithius, -es, o + u, m)
ar lūas (F5. 12) ([u + o, m])
ara mathius (F7. 3) (maithes, -ius, o + u, m, occasionally f)
'na mórchosnam (F12. 62 *LL*) (m)
i rricht (F8. 44) (m)
for sét (F5. 104) (m)
ina thālgud (F5. 4) (m)
fo thlacht (F5. 6) ([u], m)

Nom. pl.
na catha dēdencha (F4. 119) (cath, m)
nād chloītis catha (F5. 21) (m)
a n-ēchta (F5. 1) (ēcht, n?, later m)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)
ro chren fialgarta (F11. 3) (gart, u(?); no stem-class in *DIL*)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)
cen chīsu (F4. 107) (cís, [m?])

Gen. pl.
band bacalt (F11. 15) (originally u, m?)
certfichi cath (F4. 25) (m)

co cét cath(*LL*) (F6. 17) (m)
na ndath (F7. 43) (n?)
na ngním nglē (F6. 203 *LL*) (m)
na llecht (F10. 17) (no stem-class in *DIL*; the forms indicate u)
lín orgga(i)n (F4. 65) (m) (nas. omitted)[1]
líth (F3. 14) (m)
fer nÓl nÉcmacht n-ollalt (F5. 111) (originally u, m?)

Dat. pl.

do gnímaib (F3. 4; F5. 17) (gním, m)
cona hollaltaib(*LL*) (F11. 59) (originally u, m?)
īar sétaib (F3. 66) (m)

Independent dat. pl.

līnib (F5. 105) (lín, n + m) (Thur. §309)
(co n-)ēchtaib umal (F5. 89) (écht, n?, later m)

[1] Note that this could also be a cheville, in which case lín is nom. sg.

Guttural stems

Nom. sg.

ardrí (F3. 77; F5. 54, 55, 73) (m)
ardrí **che**n*eōi*l Lugdach (F5. 121) (m)
ardruri(*LL*) (F6. 39) (ruiri, g, m, later ruire)
cétrí (F6. 21) (m) (in app.)
clothrí (F5. 33) (m)
degrí (F5. 123) (m)
in gargrí (F5. 99) (m)
lánrí\lānrí (F10. 29, 37) (m)
in lethrí (F6. 166 *LL*) (m)
Hē*rend* ōenrí (F10. 140) (m) **(preposed gen.)**
(cīa), (in), (ba) rí (F1. 43; F2. 30; F4. 87; F5. 46, 68, 125; F6. 91, 111 *LL*, 116, 127, 136, 183, 191 *LL*; F7. 7, 31, 35, 59--x2 *LL*, 110; F10. 18, 51, 71, 90) (m)
ba rrí (F10. 13) (m)

Voc. sg.

a Rí (F9. 71) (m)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

(co fagba), (arigis) līcc\líc (F1. 28, 29) (lië, liä, nk, m) **(hiatus)**
ro dall mōrríg (F5. 64) (mórrí, m)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

for rīg\ríg (nUlad), (nAirgīall) (F4. 86) (rí, m)

Acc. sg.

ailig **a**irmend co tánic (F1. 48) (ail, i + k, f--Thur. §320) **(no nas.) (decl.)**

Gen. sg.

m*ac*\m*ac* ardríg (F4. 48, 78) (ardrí, m)
in ardríg (F12. 4 *LL*) (m)
ríg\rīg Lōegaire (F5. 105; F12. 2) (rí, m)
dochum in ríg (F11. 13) (rí, m)

Dat. sg.

ūas brí (F11. 43) (f) (short dat.)
ō ríg C*r*inna (F5. 8) (rí, m)
don ríg (F7. 10) (rí, m)

Nom. pl.

bec[h]tai n-airig (F3. 70) (aire, m) **(nas. in cheville; preposed gen.)** (note that this could also be the gen. sg. or the nom. pl. of airech, o, m)
(sé), (na), (ind), (*cethri*), (secht) rīg\ríg (F2. 55, 56; F3. 69; F4. 34, 88, 104; F6. 79, 201) (rí, m)
ríg **Th**emra (F10. 1) (rí, m)
ríg[a] Connacht (F4. 100) (rí, m) (or acc. pl.)
roríg (F3. 89) (rorí, m)
ba trīan trucha (F5. 92) (trú, k, m + f)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

tollais trocha (F5. 98) (trú, k, m + f)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

it*er*(*LL*) trocha (F6. 35) (trú, k, m + f)

Gen. pl.

airech (F2. 2) (aire, m)[1]
na llethríg (F2. 63) (m)
(*sesca*), (na), (mór), (dā fichet) ríg (F5. 19, 32; F6. 5, 201; F7. 2) (rí, m)
dā coīcait ruirech (F5. 19) (ruiri, m)
īar troch togairm (F3. 49) (trú, k, m + f) **(preposed gen.)**

Dat. pl.

do rígaib (F2. 65) (m)

Nom. dual

dā ardrí(*LL*) (F7. 23) (m)

Acc. dual (direct object of a verb)

Nīall *Cail*le [...] \ [...] ro sudig dā rīg (F5. 56) (m)

[1] Note that in theory this could also be the gen. pl. of airech, o, m.

Dental stems

Nom. sg.

(int) abb (F7. 131 *LL*; F9. 72) (ap, t, m, frequently spelt abb)
bethu (F10. 135) (betha, OIr bethu, m, later f)
in caur (F5. 106, 117) (caur, cur, m--Thur. §80)
certfichi (F2. 9; F4. 25) (certfiche, nt, m)
caín cing (F10. 103) (m)
in druí (F8. 84) (m)
fichi (F2. 7; F7. 37, 113) (nt, m)
fiche (F2. 30; F3. 55) (nt, m)
fiche(LL) (F6. 38) (nt, m)
fiche(*LL*) (F6. 73) (nt, m)
fili (F8. 66) (m)
file (F9. 29) (fili, m)
ba gīal[l]tach gnīa (F11. 9) (m)
glanfiche(*LL*) (F7. 135) (nt, m)
míl\mīl (Eūr(o)pa) (F3. 60, F5. 22) (m)
rothuir (F5. 74) (tuir, f)
slecht *sesca* ríg (F5. 19) (m)
trícha*trīcha* (F2. 53; F9. 20) (nt, m) (*DIL*: trícha, OIr trícho)
trícha (F4. 32; F6. 95, 151) (nt, m)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

rā(*LL*) bethaid (F6. 186) (betha, OIr bethu, t, m, later f)
tuc [...] \ trī choícait (F3. 80) (coíca, nt, m) **(sg.)**
ros tenid (F4. 134) (teine, m, later also f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 111)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

ro marbsat in mbūadching bil (F10. 27) (m) (short acc.) **(no nas.)**

Gen. sg.

abbad(*LL*) (F7. 83) (ap, t, m, frequently spelt abb)
a cóic cethrachat (F2. 65) (cethracha, nt, m, OIr cethorcho)
cethrachat(LL) (F6. 82, 181; F7. 6) (cethracha, OIr cethorcho, nt, m)
chórad (F1. 30) (2 cúar; *cf.* caur, cora(i)d, m--Thur. §80)
fich[h]et\fichet (F2. 6; F6. 25, 148; F7. 22, 109, 132) (fiche, nt, m)
tríchat (F6. 70) (trícha, OIr trícho, nt, m)

Dat. sg.

de\do chumaid (F8. 24, 56) (cuma, f)
ō filid (F5. 2) (fili, m)

Acc. or dat. sg.

'na brāgit (F10. 96) (brága, earlier brág(a)e, t, later f)
ar *fichit* (F6. 45) (fiche, nt, m) (Greene, 1992: 503)
ar trīchait (F2. 27) (nt, m) (Greene, 1992: 503)

Nom. pl.

mīlid (F9. 6) (míl, m) (or nom. sg.)

Gen. pl.

rīa nĀed arad (F4. 93) (arae, m) (*DIL*: "appositional gen.") (or: attributive gen. sg.)
ilar cend curad (F4. 24) (caur, cur, m--Thur. §80)
[curad] (F5. 23) (caur, m)

Dat. pl. (independent dat.)

fichtib (F7. 101 *R*) (fiche, nt, m)

Nom. dual

slecht [...] *is* dā coīcait (F5. 19) (coíca, nt, m)
slecht [...] \ dā fichet (F5. 78) (fiche, nt, m)[1]
secht ríg dā fichet ríg (F6. 201) (fiche, nt, m)

Gen. dual

(ri ré), (ār) dā fichet (F2. 4; F5. 95) (fiche, nt, m)

[1] In theory this could also be acc.; *cf.* slecht [...] ár nGall in F5. 77.

Nasal stems I (m + f)

Nom. sg.

bara (F8. 79) (barae, f)
céim (F4. 121) (n, later m and f)
goba (F8. 34) (gobae, m)
ollam (F5. 120) (n, m, later o)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

cīa trīallaid nech aisnīs (F1. 1) (aisnéis, OIr aisndís, f, Thur. §730)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

cen anmain (F4. 136) (ainim(m), f)
cen choin cēlig (F5. 11) (cú, m, later also f; **here f**) **(gender; or see O'Brien, 1954: 346-348)**

Gen. sg.

airmiten (F11. 38) (airmitiu, f)
barand (F3. 78) (barae, f)
do brond (F11. 35) (brú, f)

Dat. sg.

do thaidbsin (F10. 3) (taidbsiu, f)

Acc. or dat. sg.

fāen fūa baraind (F4. 112) (barae, f)

Nasal stems II (neuters)

Nom. sg.

corop ed [a] ainm (F1. 34) (ainmm, n, later m)
a ainm (F12. 2, 39) (n, later m)
in céim (F5. 107) (n, here m) **(gender)**
dīarbo chomainm (F5. 106) (n)
deilm (F11. 27) (originally n, n, later sometimes treated as m or f)
dogairm (F5. 106) (n; f in MIr)
dréim (F5. 80) (n)
ēraim ndaith (F10. 9) (érimm, éraimm, n, later f) **(nas. in cheville or neut. nas.)**
feidm (F1. 29) (n, later m)
fúaim nglan (F11. 45) (fúaim, fúamm, n, later m[1]) **(nas. in cheville or neut. nas.)**
fúaim(*LL*) nglan (F12. 17) **(nas. in cheville or neut. nas.)**
lethfeidm (F3. 26) (n, later m)
nīrbo snēdbéim (F5. 25) (n)
in teidm tondbuide (F7. 24) (n, **here m**) **(gender)**

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

lasin ngein (F10. 59) (n, later f)
tre thairthim (F1. 68) ([? n, n])

Gen. sg.

ind lomma (F8. 44) (loimm, n)

[1] These examples (F11. 45 and F12. 17) are cited in *DIL* to support the gender definition. However, they can not be used as a proof, as they are found in chevilles.

in madma (F7. 55) (maidm, n, later m--Thur. §735)

Dat. sg.

(cosin), (do) neim (F8. 63; F10. 131) (n and f--in OIr of heteroclite decl.--in MIr and later treated as f) (originally n, n--see Thur. §333)
co rréimim (F10. 51) (réim(m), n, later m + f)
īar troch togairm (F3. 49) (n, n, later i, f) (short n-stem dat. or i-stem dat.) **(preposed gen.)**

Acc. or dat. sg.

issin maidm (F7. 36) (n, later m--Thur. §735)

Nom. pl.

(roptar é a n-) anmand (F4. 76; F9. 4) (ainmm, n, later m)
réil a rēimend (F4. 47) (réim(m), n, later m + f)

r-stems

Nom. sg.

athair (F8. 14; F10. 38, 68) (m)
brāthair (F1. 35) (m)
rím [...] *ocus* a brāthair (F2. 60) (m) (Thur. §247 (e))
derbsíur (F10. 132) (f) (in app.) **(hiatus)**
(a) derbrāth*air*\d*e*rbrāth*air(LL)* (F6. 120, 144) (m) (see FN in Vol. I, pp. 197 and 198)

Gen. sg.

(a) athar (F1. 35; F5. 20, 60) (athair, m)

Dat. sg.

dīa hathair (F1. 54) (m)
īarna athair (F6. 150) (m)
(dīa), (dā(*LL*)) brāthair\-*air* (F6. 46; F7. 122) (m)

s-stems

Nom. sg.

cáenmag (F10. 122) (n, later occasionally f, usually m) **(sp.)**
mag (mór) (F6. 4, 20 *LL*) (n)
in mag-sain (F6. 20 *LL*) (n) **(gender)**
tech (F1. 61) (n)
cīa tír (F6. 135) (n, later m and f)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

ro thogal mag (F5. 24) (n, later occasionally f, usually m)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

im gērma(i)g Gabráin (F5. 48) (n) (acc.; dat. used for acc. by the scribe) (:tē*r*nam)
dar grūad nglan (F11. 29) (s, n(?), m + f in MIr + ModIr)
ar mag Ailig (F2. 46) (n, later occasionally f, usually m) **(no nas.)**
(is)sin slīab (F5. 9) (n, later m; **here m**) **(gender)**
i tír Temrach (F5. 100) (n)

Gen. sg.

in dūne (F4. 133) (dún, o, later s, n)
i cind mís (F8. 54) (mí, m in OIr and MIr, later also f)
a th(a)ige (F1. 19) (: bine) (tech, teg, n, later m)

Dat. sg.

(forin), ('sin), (forsin), ((is)sin) maig (F6. 28, 36; F7. 103 *R*; F8. 79, 107; F9. 54) (mag, n)
ō thaig (F8. 19) (tech, teg, n, later m)
a tír\tīr (F3. 40; F5. 44) (n, later m + f)
'coa thír (F10. 87) (n)

Acc. or dat. sg.

'si*m*n ōenmís (F5. 46) (m in OIr and MIr, later also f) (for OIr isind, dat. sg., or this is acc.)

Nom. pl.

(sé), (*secht*) mís\mīs (F2. 21, 22; F5. 13) (mí, m in OIr and MIr, later also f)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

cen tige (F6. 178) (tech, teg, n, later m)

Dat. pl.

fora nglúnib (F4. 120) (glún, n, MIr: f)
isna slēbib (F5. 12) (slíab, n, later m)
'cō taigib (F2. 45) (tech, teg, n, later m)

Nouns of uncertain or of variable declension; indeclinables

Nom. sg.

áeb (F4. 52) (oíb, OIr oíph; f + m)
mad āil dúib (F8. 2)
āit (F6. 172 *LL*) (áitt, f, perh. originally ā, f)
int anfad (F4. 64) (anfud, earlier anbod; gender and inflexion doubtful; here m)
baile (F8. 11) (m + f in *IGT*)
a mbeith (F4. 134) (*DIL*: buith, orig. both, ā, f?, vn. of at-tá)
ba cet (F6. 147) (*DIL*: "In later lang. treated as m. with *gs.* -a")
cethir (F11. 32) (i?)
a chlí (F12. 27) (? f, apparently indeclinable)
clú (F4. 3) (*DIL*: "originally n. but Thes. ii 292.20 seems to indicate early fem. gender"--gen. sg. cluë--Alt. Ir. Dicht. ii 25(b)--ā?)
crūadach cossair (F4. 80) (cos(s)ar, usually -air, perh. originally ā, f, in later lang. k, f; see also Thur. §724)
cīarbo chrād (F5. 82) (no stem-class in *DIL*; o or u)
a díach(*LL*) (F7. 111) (vn. of 1 do-fich?)
(a) díth\dīth (F1. 24; F5. 105; F10. 83, 107) (perh. originally n)[1] (u?)
dlug (F8. 91)
angbaid dulad (F3. 38) (u?)
selad forrán (F3. 71) (m + f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 68)
in forrān (F4. 40) (m + f) (here m)
gibis (F1. 38)
in goth (F10. 88)
(int *LL*) īarla (F6. 96, 147; F7. 131) (m; not inflected in sg.; in pl. sometimes inflected as a d-stem)
inbuid (F5. 14) (inbaid, f)
remes (F6. 170 *LL*) (reimes, m + f) (or acc. of time?)
sechtmain (F5. 13) (f) (originally ā?--see Thur. §918)
tārrachtain oss (F5. 12) (MIr vn. based on several verbs)
tnú (F10. 1)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

no íccad a hanccess(*LL*) (F11. 18) (ces)
ro glacc in *cum*[m]at (F10. 98) (*DIL*: cummat, earlier form of comméit; for méit, f, see Thur. §294 b)
no chanad dublaíd (F5. 27) (f, gen. sg. laíde; ā(?))
cīa fūair forrá[i]n (F2. 25) (forrán, m + f) (:Allāin)
fūair [...] farrān (F5. 38) (forrán, m + f)
ercad cech n-ing (F10. 42)
ní étann nech ní (F5. 133)[2]
im-rá \ trīathbla (F10. 110) (:Fīacha) (3 blá, also -blaí, -blae, f)

Acc. sg. (after prep.)

cen ail (F6. 149; F8. 67, 111; F11. 59) (2 ail, f; *DIL*: "Prob. same word as 1 ail")
cen brinda mbalc (F10. 91) (*DIL*: brinn, apparently also -a)
cen chacht (F10. 81) (gen. sg. -a)
ris nach cair (F10. 47) (caire, iā, f, later also with *nads.* cair)
ar certblai caín (F10. 33) (certblá, f) (:echtrai) (3 blá, also -blaí, -blae, f)
co clú cáemfir (F4. 8) (see clú, nom. sg.) **(case)**

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[1] The editors of *DIL* come to this conclusion concerning the gender of this word partly on the basis of díth n-etha, which is found in *LL* 3487, in another poem by Fland.

[2] nech is the subject (indefinite pronoun), and ní could either be a pronoun or a noun.

cen chrád (F7. 113; F9. 9) (no stem-class in *DIL*; o or u)
cen dīdail (F3. 3) (? dídail = dí + 2 dál?) (only this spelling is attested: two in acc.--of which one is this example--, one in nom.--probably ā, f)
i fích Fiachrach (F4. 59) (i(?), u, m)
cen táir (F6. 49 *LL*) (1 tár, táir, o, m and [ī, f] according to *DIL*--(?originally n)) (*Cf.* F6. 49 *R*, 131) (here ā-stem) **(decl.)**
cen tār (F6. 131)
cen tnú (F10. 7)
cen trait (F10. 95) (troit, i or ā, f)

Gen. sg.

aicme (F5. 119) (f--no stem-class in *DIL*; iā?) (with voiceless c) (*DIL*: Perhaps vn. formation from *ad-com-ben-; so originally io, n(?); does not nasalise in Thes. ii. 240.13)
na halla (F6. 99) (all, form and inflexion variable; perh. originally o or u, n)
clethail chachta (F2. 8) (cacht)
crāeb ch[á]em chroba[i]ng (F4. 30) (:tor*chair*, :.Ailill) (crobang--*DIL*: croba(i)ng, gender + inflexion uncertain) (here o?)
forcla (F8. 4) (forglu, later forgla)
dlūthach ngleë (F4. 50) (gléo; for gender and inflexion see Thur. 1936: 364-367) **(neuter nas. or nas. in cheville) (hiatus)**
oc tabairt méine (F8. 39) (méin, f)
in goth néit (F10. 88) ([m], indeclinable?)
trota (F8. 43) (troit, i or ā, f)

Dat. sg.

i n-airm Ache (F4. 18) (f)
ós cach bānlettir (F7. 14) (leittir; *DIL*: leth + tír?)
'con chaill (F6. 107) (f)
ocon chēti (F5. 117) (céite, io + iā)
ūas chīanbla chain (F10. 113) (:blīadna) (3 blá, also -blaí, -blae, f)
co clú chlothbind (F5. 110) (see clú, nom. sg.)
īarna chrád (F1. 19) (no stem-class in *DIL*; o or u)
īar crád (F4. 114)
ōs īathbla (F2. 13) (:Fiachna) (3 blá, also -blaí, -blae, f)
co n-ilgráin (F10. 42) (f)
īar n-ír (F5. 91)
ós lind (F2. 20) (linn, f, frequently attracted to dental stems) (Thur. §294; ī-stem?)
ōsind lind(-sea) (F1. 40; F8. 23) (f)
'con mōrlind (F9. 22) (f)
don méin (F8. 105) (mén) (i according to *DIL*--this must be a misprint)
'con rāith chétna (F8. 55) (ráth, ráith, m + f) (here i?)
fó sár theichle (F4. 92) (m)
īar tesbaid (F12. 61) (f) (vn. of do-esta; originally ā or i--Thur. §294)
ic tīachtain (F8. 101) (tíacht, tíachtu, tíachtain (gs. -ana)--n or i(?); MIr vn. of do-icc)
(co), (cosin) tlí (F10. 57, 139)
īar trīall (F3. 39; F5. 44) (m)
do ūathbās (F8. 18) (n, later m, o + u; no stem-class in *DIL*)

Temporal dat. (Thur. §251)

inbaid ōenaig (F5. 79) (f)

Acc. or dat. sg.

i crí (F1. 69) (indecl.; f--see Meyer, 1907: 311 §4 and Breatnach, 1988: 187)
fora muin-seom (F1. 25) (f)
for ochair (F6. 99 *R*) (*DIL*: ochair, f, originally r-stem) (i?)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

[tuc cethra] (F5. 58) (cethir, i?)
trōethais cu[ü] (F5. 51) (Cúa; MacNeill seems to take this as an io-stem; gender?) **(hiatus)**

Gen. pl.

na n-all (F8. 5) (form and inflexion variable; perh. originally o or u, n)
līnib ilāeb (F5. 105) (il + oíb, OIr oíph; f + m)
na mórchipe (F6. 4) (cippe, m--no stem-class in *DIL*; io(?))

Dat. pl.

do gemmaib (F1. 65)

Dat. pl. (after comparative of adj.)

is mó gessib (F4. 5) (geis, f)

Dat. pl. (independent dat.)

rubnib dám (F6. 187) (ruibne)

PROPER NOUNS

I. Personal Names[1]

o-stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Abcān (F8. 65)
Ailech (F1. 51, 58)[2]
Airmedach (F6. 77) (O'Brien, 1962: 506)
Amairgen (F9. 9, 29) (o?; Uhlich, 1993: 160; O'Brien, 1962: 508: Amargein, Aimirgen, etc.))
Ardga(i)r (F4. 122) (o(?))
Art (F10. 82) ([o])
Blaithm*ac* (F7. 21)
Bran (F4. 66)
Brīan (F8. 20, 73; F12. 55 *R*, 57)
Būas (F9. 7, 35) (O'Brien, 1962: 528: gen. Bouis)
Cacher (F8. 131) (Uhlich, 1993: 188)
ocus\is Cach*er* (F9. 18, 39)
Cairell (F3. 80; F4. 10) (o?) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
Cathal (Crūachan) (F4. 106; F12. 17)
ocus Cathal (F12. 26)
ocus Cellach (F4. 90)
Cenn (Fāelad), (Gēcāin) (F5. 33; F12. 32, 40) (n, later m)
Cernach (F7. 89)
ocus Conall (F4. 47)
Conall (Guthbind) (F5. 27, 36; F6. 21 *LL*, 61; F7. 9, 13, 53)
Conchob*or*\-or\-*obor* (F6. 109, 192 *LL*, 196, 197) (O'Brien, 1962: 558)
in Conchob*or* (F10. 30) (Conchobar)
is *Ch*ond (F2. 45)
in Cond (F10. 74)
Congalach\-*ach* (F4. 90; F6. 158; F7. 41, 131)
Corm*ac*\-ac (F10. 93, 98; F12. 25, 37)
Corrcend, Corrgend, Corcend (F1. 14, 15, 19; F8. 93) (Corrcenn)
Crichinbél (F8. 97) (o?) (*DIL*: Cridenbél)
Crimthand (F10. 35)
Cremthand (F10. 130)
ocus Crimthand (F12. 10)
Cummascach (F4. 90; F5. 53; F7. 97)
Delbāeth (F8. 129)
Dīan Cécht (F8. 34)
(*ocus*) Domnall (F2. 36, 37, 57, 62; F4. 118, 128; F6. 60, 81, 141, 165, 189) (F2. 62: Thur. §247 (e))
Dond Slēbe (F4. 138; F9. 8, 33) (m)
Duach Tenga Uma (F4. 15) (Dáui, k, later o + io; Thur. §319) **(decl.)** (see also for Duäich under Guttural stems, p. 243)
Dub (Tuinne), (Sloit), (Dúin), (Lachtna), (Dā Ba*ir*enn) (F4. 118; F6. 43; F7. 31; F12. 34, 48 *R*)
Ēber\-*er*\Éb*er* (F9. 8, 10, 54, 63)
Ēchtach (F8. 10) (m?, o?)
Elloth (F8. 13) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 254)
Én (F9. 15, 58) (O'Brien, 1962: 611: gen. Ēoin)

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[1] Note that many of the personal names in F9 are extrapolated from place-names (see also the Introduction to F9 in Vol. I, pp. 264-265).

[2] In F1. 51 and 58 Ailech is the name of a woman; in all other cases it is a place-name.

Eōgan\Eógan (Bél) (F2. 2, 3; F4. 28; F8. 135)
Hērech\Érech (F9. 10, 34) (o?)
Hērimōn (F9. 8, 59)
Etarscél (F12. 24) (o?)
ocus **F**allama(i)n (F4. 77) (o?) ?
Fer Gráid (F12. 49)
Feradach (F10. 40, 41)
Flathbertach\Flaithbertach (F2. 35, 40, 45; F3. 74; F5. 127; F7. 63)
is **F**laithb*er*tach (F12. 38 *R*)
Fland (Gōan) (F2. 20; F4. 56; F5. 137; F6. 133; F7. 110, 124)
ocus **F**l*a*nn (F4. 98)
in fairmend Frigrend (F1. 48) (Frigriu) (: ingell, :.airmend) **(decl.)** (see also n-stems)
Goäch (F5. 102) (subst. adj.--o?) **(hiatus)**
Imchell (**f**in[f]er) (F1. 7, 47)
Inrechtach (F4. 53; F7. 70)
(in cáem *LL*) Īrgalach\Írgal*ach* (F7. 44, 45, 47) (F7. 44 *LL*: **adj. precedes noun**, or subst. adj.)
Mac\Mac (Grēne), (Cēcht), (Cuill) (F8. 142, 143, 145, 146, 148)
Mál (F10. 61)
Mōenach (F12. 20)
Murchertach (F2. 57; F6. 173 *LL*) (O'Brien, 1962: 704-705; gen. sg. Murchertaig)
Muridach (F2. 5; F5. 3, 71; F10. 120) (Muiredach)
Muiredac*h*\Muridach(*LL*) (F6. 89 *R*, 101)
Nīall\Níal[l] (F2. 29, 38, 39, 54, 60, 61, 66; F4. 84; F5. 43, 55, 75, 116; F6. 85) (F2. 60, 61: Thur. §247 (e))
fég [...] is [...] \ [...] in Glūndub Nīall (F2. 62) (Thur. §247 (e))
Nechtain (F8. 63) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
Ōlchobor(*LL*)\-*or*(*LL*) (F12. 28, 29) (*DIL*: Ólchobar, Ol-?; O'Brien, 1962: 720: Ōlchobur)
Sechnassach\Sechnasach (F7. 29, 32) (O'Brien, 1962: 655: gen. sg. Sechnassaich)
is Tadc (F2. 45) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
Tommaltach (F5. 39) (O'Brien, 1962: 744)
Tūath*al* (F10. 57)
Uillend (F8. 121)

Voc.

a baird Fintain (F7. 144) (Fintan)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

marbsat [...] Rogallach (F5. 52)

Acc. (after prep.)

la hAmargen\Amairgen (F8. 148; F9. 40) (o?)
la Cacher\-*er* (F8. 130, 150)
im Chell*ach* Casil (F5. 86)
la Coir**ch**end (F8. 90)
(for), (la), (lasin), (lasin *R*) Conall (Clōen), (ngasta), (nGuthbind), (ngērglicc *R*) (F4. 107; F7. 8, 15, 19)
co Conch*obor* (F6. 203 *LL*)
co Cond calma (F6. 16)
la Congal*ach* (F7. 40)
(la), (cu) Corm*a*c (F10. 92; F12. 36)
la Crimthand (F9. 26; F10. 32)
la Dé nDomnand (F8. 16) (o?)
rīa nDomnall ndr*u*mnech (F4. 27) **(case)**
forsin Domnall crodond (F4. 72) **(nasalisation omitted after article)**
la Domnall (F5. 72; F6. 164, 176)

for Eōgan mBél (F3. 16)
la Hérimón (F9. 42)
la Findbarr (F11. 45) (Uhlich, 1993: 251; on the various forms of this name, see Thur. §275)
for Fland nGoän (F3. 87)
la Fland (F5. 74; F6. 131)
la Frigrend foglaig (F1. 61) (Frigriu) (:-ringned) **(decl.)** (see also n-stems)
la Gand (F8. 52)
la hInnech (F8. 30)
la Mac (Cuill), (Con) (F8. 88; F10. 81)
la Mál (F10. 60)
la Muredach (F6. 88) (Muiredach)
la Nemed (F10. 80)
rīa Nīall nGlūndub (F4. 99) **(case)**
la Nīall n-ard (F5. 132)
malle ro(*LL*) Nīall nGlūndub ngel (F6. 139)
la hOctrilach (F8. 32)
la Tūathal (F10. 53)

Gen.

Airmedaig (F6. 69; F7. 28) (Airmedach, O'Brien, 1962: 506)
Alloid (F8. 117) (= Elloth) (See Note in Vol. I, p. 254)
m*ac* Ardgair (F4. 116, 135) (Ardgar, see MacNeill + O'Brien, 1962: 511)
Balair (F8. 28) (Balar)
Bic **F**elmais (F8. 65) (Bec Felmais, o?)
Blaithm*ei*c (F7. 29, 34) (Blaithmac)
mac B*ra*in (F12. 53 *R*)
Brīain (F12. 61, 68 *LL*)
h*ūa* Canaind Caīlle Conaill (F5. 129) (O'Brien, 1962: 533: nom. Canand, gen. Canaind, Canand)[1]
Cathail (F4. 89; F5. 63; F6. 125)
Cell*aig*\-aig (Cūaland) (F4. 52; F7. 114) (Cellach)
cāem*ūa*\m*ac*\m*ei*c Cerbaill\-*ail**Cerbaill* (Clūana), (chrechaig) (F5. 113; F6. 33[2], 37; F11. 4) (Cerball, O'Brien, 1962: 542)
do m*ac* cóir chubaid *Cer*baill(*LL*) (F11. 50)
ūa\h*ūa* Cernaig (crúaid) (F5. 36; F6. 76; F7. 46, 53, 93) (Cernach)
m*ac* Cind Fāelad (F2. 20) (Cenn, n, later m)
sé blīadna **Ch**ind(*LL*) Fāelad(*LL*) (F7. 33)
Clērig (F12. 49 *LL*) (Cléirech)
īar crád Chomgaill (F4. 114) (Comgall, see MacNeill's Translation)
(m*ac*) Conaill (F4. 21, 41, 57, 111, 125)
is Chonaill/*Con*aill (F4. 38; F6. 29)
ár **ch**en*eōi*l Chonaill (F4. 110) (Conall)
clainne cóir Conaill (F5. 52) **(adj. precedes noun)**[3]
h*ūa* Canaind Caīlle Conaill (F5. 129)
h*ūa* Conch*obuir* chrúaid (F6. 129) (Conchobar)
ingen Chonchraid (F11. 1)
m*ac* (crón) Congail (F4. 56, 58) (Congal) (Thur. §288) **(decl.)** (see also ā-stems)
(m*ac*), (h*ūa* [...]) Congal*aig*\-aig*Con*galaich (caiss) (F6. 176; F7. 50, 86, 89, 96, 104 *R*, 120 *R*, 136) (Congalach)

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[1] I take Caīlle Conaill as referring to h*ūa*, so I do not expect Caīlle to be lenited after Canaind.

[2] I take Clūana to be referring to Mane, so I do not expect it to be lenited after Cerbaill.

[3] The only possibility I can see here is that cóir qualifies Conaill and not clainne.

h*ūa* cīallmāir(*LL*) Congal*aig* (F7. 100) **(adj. precedes noun in *LL*)**
Corrgind (F1. 17)
Cremthaind (F10. 44)
Cuind (chrūaid), (chais), (Cétch*athaig*) (F6. 1, 169; F10. 68, 78, 93, 122) (Conn)
ó amsir Chuind (F6. 17) (Conn)
Dé Domnand (F8. 30) (o?)
Delbāeth (F8. 51)[1]
Delb*aīth* (:baīth) (F8. 132)
(m*ac*), (trī uí) Domnaill\Domnail[l]\Domnuill (F2. 11, 13, 41; F4. 40, 74, 113, 124; F5. 74, 122; F6. 89, 93, 101, 153, 180, 193 *LL*)
for m*ac* nDomnaill (F3. 52)
(m*ac*), (m*eic*) Dondchaid\Dondc*haid* (déin) (drechmīad*aig*) (F6. 98, 168, 169; F7. 139) (Donnchad, u, later also o) **(decl.)** (see also u-stems)
m*ac* Duib (Dīberg), (Roä) (F5. 40, 102; F9. 61)
m*ac* Dúnchaid (F4. 54) (Dúnchad, u, rarely o) **(decl.)**
Dūngalaig (F7. 70) (Dúngalach)
Ébi*r*\Ēbi*r* (F9. 46, 49)
m*ac* Écuind (F5. 5) (Éconn, see MacNeill's Translation)
(m*ac*) Eōgain (F2. 40; F4. 8; F5. 3) (Eōgan)
Ercail (F1. 2) (Ercal?)
Hérimōin\Hērimóin\-mōin\H*ē*rimóin (F6. 9 *LL*; F9. 17, 48, 64)
Fid*aig* (F10. 130) (Fidach)
(m*ac*), (h*ūa*) Flaind\-*aind* (**F**áil) (F6. 141, **171**; F7. 101 *R*, 125 *LL*) (Fland)
m*eic*\m*eic* **F**laind (F6. 199; F7. 107)
Flaind(*R*) (F7. 86)
m*eic* Flaind (F9. 70)
blīad*ain* **F**ogartaig (F7. 57 *LL*) (Fogartach)
Fraīch(*LL*) (F12. 5) (Fráech)
ōa Gairb (F1. 8)
Īäir (F10. 14) **(hiatus)**
Incíuil (F10. 24) (Ingcél) (O'Brien, 1962: 662; O'Rahilly, 1946: 118) (*DIL*: see under aincél)
Innig (F8. 32) (Innech)
Írgal*aig* (F7. 60) (Írgalach)
ingin Loäirn (F5. 16) (Loärn, Uhlich, 1993: 269) **(hiatus)**
Longsig (F3. 90; F4. 47) (Loingsech)
Máil (F10. 76)
Meic (Dēin) C(h)ēcht (F8. 85)
Moraind (F10. 38) (O'Brien, 1962: 702)
dī blīad*ain* Murchertaig (F7. 141 *LL*) (Murchertach)
Muredaig (F10. 124) (Muiredach)
m*ac*\ú\h*ūa* Néill\Néil[l]\Nēill (F2. 3, 42, 49, 53; F3. 62; F4. 103, 111; F5. 80, 93, 104, 107, 109) (Níall)
Néill\Néil[l](*LL*) (F6. 2, 18, 19, 21, 26; F7. 43)
Nerchoin (F8. 8) (Nerchon?)
m*ac* Roäilt (F4. 104) (Roält) **(hiatus)**
Rōen (F6. 187 *R*) (o?)
ūa Rūairc (F5. 116) (Rúarc, see O'Brien, 1962: 727)
m*ac* scíth Scandail (F5. 34) (Scannal, Scandal, see MacNeill and O'Brien, 1962: 730)
Simeóin (F8. 8) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 239)
m*ac* Srobcind (F10. 80) (O'Brien, 1962: 738)
m*ac*\m*ac* Tūathail\-*ail* (Tectmair) (F5. 53; F10. 64, 65) (O'Brien, 1962: 74)
Uillind (F8. 120)

[1] Note that the diphthong could indicate a palatal consonant here.

Dat.

ō Chathul (F5. 42) (Cathal)
īar Cathal (F12. 18)
īar Cathal(*LL*) (F12. 27)
īar Cind Fāelad (F12. 33)
la Conall (Grant), (glē) (F6. 76; F7. 51 *LL*) **(case or nas. omitted)** (cf. F7. 51 *R*)
īar Conall Breg (F6. 202 *LL*)
do(*LL*) Chonchobor (F6. 138)
do Chongal*ach* (F7. 78 *LL*)
do Chorm*ac* (F10. 86)
īar Corm*ac*(*LL*) (F12. 26, 38)
īar Crimth*and* (F12. 11)
do Domnall (F2. 9, 43, 49; F6. 98; F7. 136)
rīa nDomnall (F4. 36, 135)
la hĒber imslán (F8. 146) **(case)**
ó Eōgan (F2. 66)
la hEōgan Inbir (F8. 134) **(case or nas. omitted)**
la Hērimōn án (F8. 145) **(case or nas. omitted)**
do Flathbertuch (F2. 53)
īar Flaithb*ertach* (F12. 40 *R*)
la Mac Grēne (F8. 122) **(case or nas. omitted)**
īar Mōenach (F12. 21)
(do), (rīa) Murchertach/Mur*chertach*/Murcherdach (F2. 7, 42; F4. 4, 8, 16, **113**)
[ría] Mur*chertach* (F4. 26)
(do), (rīa) Nīall/Níal[l] (*Cai*lle) (F2. 25; F4. 82, 85--acc. for dat.; or lenition mark omitted because of abbreviation; F10. 133)
īar nŌlchobor (F12. 30)

Acc. or dat.

for Brandub (F4. 39)
for Cummascach (F4. 45)
for Domnall (F4. 44, 70)

Nouns ending in -án, -én

Nom.

Ālgenān (F12. 30)
is Artán (F5. 128)
Bāetán (F2. 58)
Cellachān (F12. 44)
is Cholmān (F2. 58)
Cūān (F12. 19) **(hiatus)**
Erennán (F9. 10, 32) (O'Brien, 1962: 506: Airennán; Uhlich, 1993: 154: Airendán)
Flannacān\-án (F5. 67; F7. 114 *LL*) (O'Brien, 1962: 651)
Fulmán (F9. 13)
Garbān (F1. 6, 8; F12. 12 *LL*)
Lorcān (F6. 125; F7. 123 *LL*) (O'Brien, 1962: 675)
Lorcān(*LL*) (F12. 41)
Māelán (F5. 125)
Manannán (F8. 118)
Ma[*n*]tán\Mantán (F9. 13, 39)
Matudán (F5. 118) (could also be acc.; cf. Conaire under io-stems)
Rūarcán (F5. 124)
Laidgnén (F5. 113) (in app.) (O'Brien, 1962: 670)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

lāmair Lorcán (F5. 63)

Acc. (after prep.)

im Furadrán (F5. 123)
la Manannán (F8. 116)
for Matudán m*ac* n-ard nĀeda (F5. 94)

Gen.

Cellachāin (F12. 46 *R*)
Cíannāin (F7. 99)
Col*māin(LL)* (Móir) (F6. 41, 54) (Colmán)
Colmāin (chētaig *LL*) (F6. 50 *LL*, 57)
Culennān (F12. 36) (O'Brien, 1962: 577)
m*ac* Eochocān (F6. 132) (O'Brien, 1962: 617: Eochucán)
degm*eic* luchair **[F]**lannacáin (F7. 118) (Flannacán)
Fulmán (F9. 41)
im gērma(i)g Gabrá(i)n (F5. 48) (: Corná(i)n, :. imslán)
Mananná(i)n (:ág) (F8. 14)
Manannāin (F8. 105)
Má[*n*]táin (F9. 18)
[Nélléin] (F5. 26) (: snēdbéim) (Néllén)
m*ac* Ultān (F5. 29)

Dat.

do Bāetán (F2. 10)
la Bennān bāeth (F8. 107) **(case or nas. omitted)**
do Cholmán\-*mān* (Bic) (F2. 12; F6. 46)
rīa Colmān Rímid (F4. 37)
īar Cūān (F12. 20) **(hiatus)**
īar nGarbān (F12. 13 *LL*)

ā-stems

1. Female names

Nom.

Badb (F8. 110)
Boïnd (F8. 57) (case)
Etan (F8. 23; F9. 15, 58) (ā?) (See Ó Concheanainn, 1980-81: 118)
Fūamnach (F8. 113)[1]

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

tuc Eirc (F5. 16) (Ercc)

Acc. (after prep.)

re hEtan (F8. 149) (ā?) (for *Etain?)

Gen.

mac\mac Erca (F2. 7; F4. 4, 26; F5. 20*) (Ercc)
Etaine (F8. 22) (Etan, ā?)[2]

2. Male names

Nom.

Ardgal (F4. 21; F6. 29)
Bress (F8. 41) (O'Brien, 1973: 224)
Bres (F9. 7)
Br(a)es (F9. 35)
Dūngal (F5. 34; F12. 64 *LL*)
Dūngal Cnogba (F7. 73) **(gender)**
Elcmar (F8. 71)
Etargal (F8. 10) (gender?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 256)
Fergal (F5. 35; F6. 156, 157, 179)
Tnūthgal (F4. 50)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

rím [...] (is) Fergal fossad (F2. 59)

Acc. (after prep.)

la Dūngal (F7. 72)
la Fergal (F4. 54; F5. 77, 114; F7. 56)

Gen.

láim Elcmaire (F8. 70) (Elcmar)
mac Fergaile (F5. 73) (Fergal)
mac Congaile (F7. 25) (Congal) (see also the Gen. of o-stems)

Dat.

do Fergal (F2. 23, 41, 51)
rīa Fergal (F4. 49, 101)

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[1] For acc. and gen. see Bergin and Best, 1938: 154 and 170.

[2] On the possibly earlier gen. form, Etna, see Ó Concheanainn (1980-81: 118).

3. The Declension of Máel and its compounds (m)

Nom.

Casmāel (F8. 31)
Māel (Coba), (būadach Bresail), (Garb), (ard Ísu) (F4. 42, 80, 102, 108)
Māel Dúin\Dūin (F5. 30, 73)
Māel (Dōid), (Sech*naill**Sechnaill*(*LL*) (sāer)) (F6. 66, **120**, 121, 185) **(F6. 120: gender)**
Māel (**F**athartaig\-daig) (F12. 31, 45 *R*, 53 *R*) **(gender)**

Acc. (after prep.)

(im), (la) Māel (Cluche), (*Caland LL*), (Sech*naill*) (F4. 100; F6. 190; F7. 108)
la Mel(*LL*) Sechnaill (F7. 142)

Gen.: Máel

ō Chrundmāel (F2. 21)
m*ac* Crundmaíl (F5. 28) (Crundmáel, m) (:dublaíd)
ō Māel Choluim (F1. 3) **(gender)**
(secht mblīa*dna*), (m*ac*) Māel (Finniāin *LL* áin), (Finné(i)n *LL*), (Mithig) (F7. 117, 124, 127) **(F7. 117, 124: gender)**
m*ac* Māel Fithrig (F2. 19) **(gender)**
(d'éis), (m*ac*) Māel (Fath*a*rdaig), (Fot[h]artaig *LL*) (F12. 47 *R*, 64) **(gender)**
m*ac* Māel Sechnuill (F2. 54)
hūa\hū Māel *Sechnaill* (F5. 76, 110)
(dar éis), (m*ac*), (do m*ac*) Māel R*ūanaid*\Rūanaid*-aid* (F6. 118, 124, 162)
Māel (*Sechnaill*(*LL*) (echmóir)) (F6. 137, 182, 200) (Máel) **(F6. 182: gender)**
m*ac* Mel(*LL*) *Sechnaill* amra (F6. 133)

Gen.: Maíle

m*ac* Maīle\Máele\Maíle\Māele (Tuile), (Dūīn), (Dúin) (F2. 22, 23, 28, 33; F5. 71)
la m*ac* Māel[e] Dúin (F4. 54)
i Cnoccaib Māele(*LL*) Doäid (F6. 68) (part of place-name?)

Dat.

do Chrundmáel (F2. 17)
rīa Crundmáel (F4. 45)
do Māel Dūin (F2. 19, 26, 31)
la Māel Dūin (F4. 69) (m) **(case or nas. omitted)**
do Māel find Fithrig (F2. 15)
do Māel Mithig (F7. 122)
do Māel Rūanaid rocháem (F6. 114)[1] **(gender)**

[1] The non-palatal consonant in the second adj. indicates masc. gender (rocháem : fóen)--unless rocháem is the substantivised adj.

io-stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Bile (F9. 33)
Colla Ūais (F10. 113) (O'Brien, 1962: 562 and Uhlich, 1993: 215: Conlae)
Conaire (F10. 21, 78)
Corp*re* (F8. 22; F10. 37--see FN in Vol. I, p. 298) (Cairpre)
Coirp*re*(*LL*) (F12. 15)
Cūalnge (F9. 11, 23) (Hogan, 1910: 312: io as a place-name)
(in) Dagda (F1. 24, 33, 44; F8. 125)
Ernāin[e] (F2. 16) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
ocus Fāilbe (F12. 18) (Uhlich, 1993: 244)
Fergna (F9. 50) (O'Brien, 1962: 631; Uhlich, 1993: 246)
Fīachna (F8. 133) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
Finguine(*LL*) (F12. 23) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
Finguine (F12. 35) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
***ocus* Fīnnachta (F4. 75) (Fínnachtae) (Uhlich, 1993: 253)**
Fīnnac[h]ta\-achta (Fledach) (F6. 72; F7. 37)
Fubthaire (F1. 55)
Gilla Colaim (F4. 112) (Gilla[e])
Luigne (F8. 35) (io?)
Luigne (F9. 12, 45) (io?)[1]
Mane (F6. 33) (Maine)
Murthemne (F9. 6) (Hogan, 1910: 551: io as a place-name)
M*ur*themni (F9. 22)
Suibne (F6. 50) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

Conaire (F5. 117) **(after the passive)**
rím [...] Subne Mend (F2. 59)

Acc. (after prep.)

la Corp*re* (F10. 101)
fri Fergna (F3. 83) (Fergnae) (Uhlich, 1993: 246)
la Fīnnachta (F7. 36) (Fínnachtae)
ri Fubthaire (F1. 59)
rīa Subne M*en*d (F4. 41) **(case)**
la Tipraiti (F10. 75) (Tipraite) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)

Gen.

de chumaid Chairp*ri* (F8. 24)
(in) Dagda (F1. 10; F8. 89, 100, 102)
in Dagdae (F8. 77)
in Dagdai (F8. 123)
(aicme), (m*ac*) Énna\Ēnna (F5. 119; F10. 136) (Éndae, O'Brien, 1973: 223)
m*ac* find Fīachna (F2. 14) (Fíachnae) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
m*ac* Fīachnai (F2. 16)
do lāim Fīachna (F8. 133)
m*ac* réil Rochride (F10. 60) (= ro + cride, Uhlich, 1993: 292)
m*eic* Rochridi (F10. 76)
m*ac* Rudi (F1. 49, 53) (Rude, see Gwynn's Translation)
m*ac* Sētnai (F5. 25) (Sétnae, O'Brien, 1973: 223)

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[1] Luigne in F8 and F9 might be the same; however, see Note on F8. 35 in Vol. I, p. 247.

m*ac* sāer Subni (F2. 17) (Suibne)
m*ac* Subni serig (F6. 66)
rīa m*ac* Subne (F4. 46)
m*ac* Subne(*LL*) (F6. 61)
nŪgaine(*LL*) (F6. 12) (O'Brien, 1973: 223; Uhlich, 1993: 170: Áugaine)

Dat.

īar Corp*riu*(*LL*) (F12. 16)
don Dagda (F1. 16) (or case)
īar Fāilbe (F12. 19) (or case)
īar Finguine (F12. 24) (O'Brien, 1973: 223) (or case)
do Fubthaire fondgel (F1. 52)
do Subni Mind (F2. 14) (Suibne)
rīa Subne (F4. 43) (or case)
ó Ūgaine (F6. 13 *LL*) (O'Brien, 1973: 223; Uhlich, 1993: 170: Áugaine) (or case)

iā-stems (all f)

Nom.

Banba (F8. 142, 150) (Banbae?; Hogan, 1910: 95)
Macha (F8. 27) (Machae)

i-stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Ail*ill*\Ailill (\ Inbanna) (F3. 29-30; F4. 30; F7. 17)
Amalgaid (F12. 13) (Uhlich, 1993: 160: Amol(n)gaid)
Cermait (F8. 77, 81)
Dīarmait (Odor) (F4. 75, 98; F6. 37, 64, 69, 77, 105; F7. 21) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
Feidilmid (F10. 66) (O'Brien, 1973: 224: Fedelmid)
Feidilmid(*LL*) (F12. 7)
Mathgamain (F5. 131; F12. 52)

Acc. (after prep.)

la Cermait (F8. 140)
la Dīarmait (F7. 28)
co Dīarm**m**ait(*LL*) (F11. 12)
la Labraid (F8. 138)

Gen.

Ail*e*lla (F4. 46) (Ailill)
m*a*c Amalgada (F5. 37) (Amalgaid, see O'Brien, 1973: 224, 233)
m*ac* Amalgaid(*LL*) (F7. 76)
Cendétig(*LL*) (F12. 52) (cenn + étig, i) (O'Brien, 1973: 224; Uhlich, 1993: 200) (for inflexion see Thur. §357)
C*er*mata (F8. 88) (Cermait)
(m*ei*c), (m*a*c), (h*ūa*) Dīarmata (F6. 42, 74, 84, 85; F11. 4) (Díarmait)
m*ac* Dunechda (F5. 39) (Duinechaid, see O'Brien, 1973: 224)
M*a*thga*m*na (F12. 54 *R*) (Mathgamain)

Dat.

d'Amalgaid (F7. 50)
īar nAmalgaid (F12. 14)
do Dīarmait (F7. 82)
īar Feidilmid(*LL*) (F12. 9)

Acc. or dat.

for Ail*ill* Molt (F4. 5)
for Dīarmait (F4. 31) (no stem-class in *DIL*)

u-stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

(int), (is) Āed (Ollán), (Rón), (Slāne), (Findlíath) (F1. 17; F2. 52, 54, 60--could also be acc., 62; F3. 32, 63, 81; F4. 30, 40, 52, 64, 66; F5. 41, 45, 59, 61, 115, 128, 130; F6. 51, 78, 128; F7. 5, 127, 129; F8. 89, 139; F12. 14) (F2. 62: Thur. §247 (e))
Cināed (F5. 106; F7. 61, 93, 105) (O'Brien, 1962: 548: gen. sg. Cināeda) (but: O'Brien, 1973: 225: n-stem)
is Chonchath (F4. 64) (O'Brien, 1973: 225)
Congus (F4. 60) (Thur. §311)
(is) Dondchad (F4. 118; F6. 93, 129, 144, 145, 153; F7. 79 *LL*, 84 *LL*; F12. 22, 68 *LL*) (u, later also o)
Dūnchad (F5. 29; F12. 33) (u, rarely o)
Fergus (F10. 89; F12. 11)
ocus **F**laithgius (F5. 40) (O'Brien, 1973: 225)
Lug (F8. 78, 87)
Murchad (F2. 33; F5. 111)
Ōengus (F3. 24; F4. 10; F5. 76, 119; F6. 57, 149; F8. 139; F12. 5)
Ōengos (F8. 104)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

(geguin [...]), (coro marb) Āed (**ard amra**) (F1. **16**, 20)
fég Āed **O**rdnide (F2. 61)
rím Āed **U**aridnach (F2. 59)
co mbert [...] \ [...] \ [...] in nĀed (F11. 52)

Acc. (after prep.)

rīa nĀed (n-ard), (Findlīath) (F3. 72; F4. 91) **(case)**
im Āed mBrec (F4. 34)
la Āed nAllān (F5. 38)
la Āed(*LL*) (m*ac* n-ard) (F6. 48; F7. 67, 112)
la hĀed (F8. 138)
la Cināed (F7. 60, 92) (or n-stem; see under Nom.)
(la), (co) Dondc*had*\-chad (F6. 92; F12. 4 *LL*) (u, later also o)
la Fergus (F5. 26, 28)
la Lug (F8. 82)
la Murchad (F5. 54, 70)
la Ōengus (n-óc *LL*), (m*ac* nDondchada) (F7. 12, 130)
la hŌengus (F8. 67)

Gen.

(n), (m*ac*\m*ac*), (m*ac* n-ard n), (síl) Āeda (Slāne) (F1. 28; F2. 26, 29, 31; F4. 44, 70, 106; F5. 72, 94; F6. 64; F7. 146; F8. 96) (Áed)
síl Āeda(*LL*) (F7. 1) (Áed)
m*ac* (n)Dondcha(i)da(*LL*)\Dondchada\-*da* (F6. 105, 112, 115, 152, 164; F7. 130) (Dondchad, u, later also o) (see also o-stems)
Loga (F8. 42, 66, 76) (Lug)
Mur*chada* (móir) (F6. 81, 199) (Murchad)
Ōengusa (F6. 156; F8. 72) (Óengus)
Ōengusa(*LL*) (F12. 8)
m*ac* Trena (F6. 43) (Trían, O'Brien, 1962: 745; gen. sg. Trena, Triain--here u) (originally Triän)

Dat.

do Āed (F2. 13, 24, 27, 32; F6. 161) (F2. 24, 27, 32: = d')
rīa nĀed (Ollān), (Ordnide), (Arddaig) (F4. 55, 57, 71, 73, 93, 115)

ïar nĀed (F12. 15)
do Dondchad (F5. 82, 85)
ïar Fergos (F12. 12)
do Fergus (F2. 18)
do(*R*) Fergus(*LL*) (F6. 54)
[d'Forggus] (F2. 9)
rïa Forggus (F4. 27, 36)
(do), (rïa) Murchad (F2. 28, 47; F4. 79, 82, 105; F6. 74)

Acc. or dat.
for Findchath (F4. 7) (O'Brien, 1973: 225)

Guttural stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Ainmere (F5. 25) (Ainmire, Thur. §319)
Artrí(*LL*) (F12. 27) (Uhlich, 1993: 167)
Eochaid\-*aid* (F1. 4, 6; F2. 58; F4. 116; F8. 137; F10. 9, 97) (Thur. §275, §319)
(int) Eocho (F5. 5, 15; F10. 5, 124, 126, 136) (Echu, Thur. §319)
Eochu (F12. 9) (Thur. §319)
Fíacha (Sroptine) (F1. 60; F10. 49, 109)
Fíachra (F8. 10) (Fíachrae?; Uhlich, 1993: 247)
Lugaid (F9. 6, 43; F10. 25, 85)

Acc. (after prep.)

for Duäich (F3. 10) (Dáui, k, later o + io) **(hiatus)** (probably acc.) (see also Duach under the nom. of o-stems on p. 230)
co Echaig Feidlech (F6. 14 *LL*) (Echu) (Thur. §319)
la Fíachaig (F10. 48) (Fíachu)

Gen.

m*ac* n-ard nAnmerech (F6. 48) (Ainmire, Thur. §319)
Conrach (F10. 52) (Conrí) (O'Brien, 1962: 564)
Duäch (F11. 2) (Dáui, k, later o + io)
(m*ac*), (m*eic*) Ech*ach*\Echach (F4. 39, 87; F5. 10; F6. 18 *LL*; F7. 126 *LL*; F8. 80; F10. 4) (Echu, Thur. §319)
(m*ac* án) Echdach (F1. 2; F5. 68) (Echaid, Thur. §319)
Fíach*ach* (F10. 54) (Fíachu)
(h*ūa*), (i fích) Fíach*rach*/Fíachrach (F4. 6, 59) (Fíachrae?)
Fíatach(*LL*) (F11. 10) (Fíatu?) (O'Brien, 1962: 641: nom. Fiatach; cf. nom. Fíatach in F10. 45) (or nom.?)
Lug**d**ach (F10. 36, 84, 100) (Lugaid, gen. sg. Luigdech, later also Lugdach)
m*ac* Rūadrach (F4. 88) (Rúadrí; O'Brien, 1962: 727)

Dat.

íar nArtrí(*LL*) (F12. 28) (short dat.)
d'**E**ochaid (F2. 10) (Echuid) (Thur. §319) (short dat.)
la **E**ochaid Iúil (F8. 136) (short dat.) **(case)**
re Echaid Echcend (F9. 38) (short dat.) **(case)**
íar n**E**ochaid (F12. 10) (short dat.)
ó Ech*aig* (F6. 15 *LL*) (Echu)
d'Fíachaig (F6. 26) (Fíachu)
íar Lugdaig (F10. 31) (Lugaid)

Acc. or dat.

for Echaid Sremm (F4. 24) (Thur. §318, §319) (short acc. or dat. with len. mark omitted)

Dental stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Aí (F8. 133)
Nūadu (F8. 26; F10. 18) (d + n)

Acc. (after prep.)

la Nūadait (F10. 15) (Núadu, d + n)

Gen.

Mīl*ed* (F6. 8; F9. 2, 34) (Míl(?)) (*DIL*: "the *ns.* Míl does not seem to occur in this connexion")
Nāmat (F8. 130) (Námae)
Námat (F8. 58) (Námae)
Nūadat (find Fáil) (F6. 10, 11) (Núadu, d + n)

Nasal stems (m unless indicated otherwise)

Nom.

Colggu(*LL*)\Colgu(*LL*) (F6. 78; F12. 22) (Thur. §330)
(is), (ocus), (*ocus*) Cú (Roï), (Dulig) (F4. 50, 117; F8. 17) (m, later also f)
Cú (**Cha**ille **chr**úaid), (Ulad) (F5. 124, 128)
Cú cen M*āthair* (F12. 21)
Cúalu (F9. 11, 25) (Hogan, 1910: 313: n as a place-name)
Ēbleō (F9. 5, 28))
Frigriu (Fothart) (F1. 49, 59) (see also o-stems)

Gen.

m*ac* Colga(i)n (F4. 66) (gen. of Colcu, Colgu, Colggu) (:orgga(i)n)
Ethl*end* (F8. 76, 82) (Eithliu, O'Brien, 1962: 610) (f?)
m*ac* Flatheman (F1. 15) (Flathem)

Dat.

do Cholgain (F2. 11) (Colggu)
īar Frigrind forraig gleōgal (F2. 1) (Frigriu)[1]

[1] I do not treat forraig as a closely connected word, so I do not expect the initial consonant to be lenited.

Nouns of uncertain or of variable declension

Nom.

Aer (F9. 14, 50) (m)
Albdon (F4. 104) (m)
Alpdu (F5. 60)
Aufer (F4. 104) (fer?, o?)
Bé Chuille (F8. 45) (f; originally n) **(gender)**
Blad (F9. 5, 27) (m)
Brego (F9. 5, 21) (m)
Brí (F8. 114)
Bruinne (F8. 31) (m, io?)
Būagne (F9. 7, 35) (m?, io?)
Búan (F9. 33) (f)
Carlus (F6. 169) (m)
Cathaīr crōda (F10. 69) (m)
Cethen (F8. 17)
Cetnen (F8. 127) (f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 261)
Cōelbad (F10. 121) (m) (originally the gen. of Cóelub; see Uhlich, 1993: 206 and O'Brien, 1973: 225) **(here o?; decl.)**
Colptha (F9. 9) (m, io?) (= Inber Colpa; Hogan, 1910: 285, 457)
Conaing (F4. 58; F5. 37, 107; F7. 25, 65, 101 *R*) (m) (O'Brien, 1962: 554) (indecl.)
Creidne (F8. 37) (m, io?)
Dīanand (F8. 45) (f)
Díl (F9. 34)
Donand (F8. 15) (OIr Danu?, f)
Edleō (F8. 5) (m)
Eithne (F3. 24) (f?--O'Brien, 1973: 230)
Ēllim (F10. 52, 56) (m)
Ernmass (F8. 9) (f?)
Eterscél (F10. 14) (m)
Feä (F8. 53) (f--Macalister, 1941: 103)
Ferches (F10. 88) (m) (O'Brien, 1962: 630: Ferchess)
Fergen (F9. 14)
Ferōn\Ferón (F9. 14, 50) (m)
Fīatach (F10. 45) (m, o?) (see also Gen. of Guttural stems) **(change in decl.?)**
Fingen(*LL*) (F12. 16) (:indled) (m) (O'Brien, 1962: 645: Fīngin--this spelling probably represents a schwa between a palatal and a non-palatal cons.--*SNG*: 229: 2.9)
Finnīa (F11. 10, 21, 34, 54) (m)
Fothud (F10. 105, 106) (u?, m)
ocus Fōtla (F8. 141) (f, iā?)
Fōtla (F8. 149) (f, iā?)
Fūat (F9. 5) (m, o?; cf. Slíab Fúait, Hogan, 1910: 608)
ocus Fúat (F9. 23) (m, o?)
is Garbīth (F4. 117) (*DIL*: short i--for rhyming example, see Gen. on p. 246)
Gobnend (F8. 34) (m) (originally Goibniu, m, n) **(decl.)**
Gosten (F9. 15, 56) (m?)
Induí (F8. 51) (m)
Ír (F9. 8, 31) (m)
Iuchair (F8. 20, 73) (m) (in *DIL* as common noun)
Iuchurba (F8. 20, 73) (m, io?)
Laigne (F9. 12, 45) (O'Brien, 1962: 670: Lāigne) (m, io?)
Midir (F8. 69) (m)
Mongfend (F10. 132) (:drongg[s]eng) (f) (O'Brien, 1962: 702: Mongfind; O'Rahilly, 1946: 210: Mongfhind--in these cases a schwa is spelt with an -i- instead of an -e- between a pal. and a non-

pal. cons.--*SNG*: 229: 2.9)
Mugain (F11. 1, 25, 30, 49, 60) (f, ī?)
Mumne (F9. 12, 52) (m, io?)
Nár (F9. 11, 28) (m, o?)
Nath Í (F10. 139) (m) (O'Brien, 1973: 227-228)
Néit (F1. 35; F8. 109) (m)
Nemain (F1. 36) (f)
Némaind (F8. 110) (f)
Ogma (F8. 29) (m, io?)
Orba (F9. 14, 50) (m, io?)
Palap (F9. 17, 65) (m)
Sētga (F9. 16, 56) (m?, io?)
Siugmaill (F8. 114) (m)
Sobairche (F9. 16, 37) (m, io?)
Surge\Suirge (F9. 13, 16, 61) (m?, io?)
ocus Surge (F9. 56) (m?, io?)
Torolb (F5. 97) (m)
T*uir*ill (F8. 11) (m) (O'Rahilly, 1946: 308)
Ún (F9. 15, 57) (m)

Voc.

a Chrīst (F9. 69) (m) (indecl.)

Acc. (after prep.)

la Caīlte (F10. 108) (m)
acht Cairell (F3. 84) (m, o?) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
la Dé nDomnand (F8. 16) (m?)
la Íriél\Īriél (F9. 48, 62) (m)
im Néit (F1. 42)
la Neptúir Derg (F8. 112) **(nas. omitted)**
la Palap (F9. 64) (m)
la Siugmall\Sigmall (F8. 64; F10. 12) (m)
re Surge (F8. 147) (m?, io?)

Gen.

i n-airm Ache (F4. 18) (personal name?)
Alduī (F8. 5) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 256)
(m*ac*), (ūa cáem) Conaing (cain) (F4. 98, 112; F5. 114; F7. 45, 78 *LL*, 110) (m) (O'Brien, 1973: 231) (indecl.)
h*ūa* cāemChonaing(*LL*) (F7. 88) (m)
m*ac* Cruind **ch**ain (F10. 121) (Crund, *AU* 4386 translation; Cruind, m, O'Brien, 1962: 121; listed under i-stems in O'Brien, 1973: 224)
m*ac* Dé Domnand (F8. 30) (m?)
Dāna (F8. 52) (m)
m*ac* Garbíth (F4. 102) (:flandbríg) (Garbíth) (O'Brien, 1962: 659; *DIL*: with short vowel)
(m*ac*) Induī\Induí (foltfind) (F1. 35, 42; F8. 56, 69, 109) (m)
m*ac* Ír (F9. 63) (m)
(sōer)Midir (F8. 64, 68, 113) (m)
Mugaine (F11. 48, 56) (f, ī?)
m*ac* Ucce (F9. 57)

Dat.

for Amlaíb argg (F5. 94) (O'Brien, 1962: 509)
do Erthaile (F2. 21) (m, io?)

īar Fingin (F12. 17) (m) (O'Brien, 1962: 645) (*cf.* nom. Fingen(*LL*) : indled in F12. 16)[1]
do Finnīa(n) fondglan (F11. 41 *LL*) (m)
do Pātric(*LL*) (F12. 6) (m, indecl.)

Acc. or dat.

for Anbīth (F4. 96) (Anbíth, see MacNeill's Translation)
for Illa(i)nd (F4. 11) (Illann, O'Brien, 1973: 225--originally n, but see gen. Illaind in Binchy, 1975: 14.368, 382) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 90)

[1] One can not tell here whether the final consonant is palatal or non-palatal, as this spelling could represent a schwa between a palatal and a non-palatal consonant--*SNG*: 229: 2.9.

Eoch*aid* Airem (F10. 9) (n, m, nom. sg.)
int Airgdech (F10. 107) (subst. adj., o, m)
for Eōgan m**B**él (F3. 16) (gen. pl. of bél, o, m)
Eōgan **B**él (F4. 28)
m*ac* Brīain Bóruimi (F12. 68 *LL*) (gen. sg. or pl. of Bóraime, iā, f)
Māel būadach Bresail (F4. 80) (gen. sg. of Bresal, o) **(wo)**
((rīa) Níal[l] (cían)), (Nīall) Caille*Caill*e*Caill*e (F2. 29, 61; F4. 84, 85; F5. 55) (gen. of Callann, ā, f) (Hogan, 1910: 151-152)
Cú Chaille **ch**rúaid (F5. 124) (?gen. of Callann, ā, f)
Fothud Cairpdech (F10. 105) (nom. sg., o, m--subst. adj.)
la Māel *Cal*a*nd(LL)* (F6. 190) (?gen. pl. of callann, calann, ā, f)
in Cattchend (F10. 39) (o, n, later m; nom. sg.)
(Dīan), (M*ac*) Cēcht (F8. 34, 143, 145) (gen.) (explained as `power' in *Cóir Anmann* §157)
M*eic* (Dēin) C(h)ēcht (F8. 85) (gen.)
Corrcend Cicuil (F1. 14) (gen. sg. of Cicul, o, m)
im Māel Cluche (F4. 100) (?gen. sg. or pl. of cluiche, io)
Māel **C**oba (F4. 42) (gen. of place-name?; cf. Hogan, 1910: 279)
ō Māel **Ch**oluim (F1. 3) (gen. of Colum, o, m + ā, f; here o, m)
Gilla Colaim (F4. 112)
M*ac* Con (F10. 81) (gen. of Cú, n, m, later f)
M*ac* Cuill (F8. 88, 143, 146) (gen. of Coll, m, o)
Bē Chuille (F8. 45) (gen.?)
m*ac* Duib Dīberg (F5. 40) (?gen. pl., ā, f; see Metrics)
Māel Dōid (F6. 66) **(hiatus)**
i Cnoccaib Māele Doäid (F6. 68) **(hiatus)**
(la Dé n), (m*ac* Dé) Domnand (F8. 16, 30) (gen. sg. or pl. of Domnu--see Gray, 1982: 134; for etymology see O'Rahilly, 1946: 94)[1]
(do Māel), (do m*ac* Maīle), (m*ac* Mel), (Māel), (m*ac* Māele), (Māel[e]) Dúin\Dūin (F2. 19, 23, 26, 28, 31, 33; F4. 54, 69; F5. 30, 71, 73) (gen. sg. of dún, o, later s, n)
Dub Dúin (F7. 31) (gen. sg. of dún, o, later s, n)
Cenn\Cend Fāelad (F5. 33; F12. 32) (gen. sg. of fáel, o, t, m)
m*ac* Cind Fāelad (F2. 20)
sé blī*adna* **Ch**ind(*LL*) Fāelad(*LL*) aird (F7. 33)
īar Cind Fāelad (F12. 33)
(Nūadat Find), (Flathbertach find) Fáil (F6. 10--*Cóir Anmann* §83; F7. 63) (gen. sg. of Fál, o, m)
hū*a* Flaind **F**áil (F6. 171)
(Feradach Find Fechtnach), (Fīatach Find) Fáil (F10. 41, 45)
Māel **F**athartaig(*LL*)**F**ath*a*rdaig(*R*) (F12. 31, 45 *R*) (= gen. of Fathartach?)
(d'ēis Māel), (m*ac* Māel) Fath*a*rdaig**F**ot[h]artaig(*LL*) (F12. 47 *R*, 64)
Bic **F**elmais (F8. 65) (gen. sg. of Felmas, m, o)
Nūadat Find Fáil (F6. 10) (subst. adj., nom. sg., o) (*Cóir Anmann* §83)
m*ac* Trī Find (F10. 25) (3rd el.) (gen. of subst. adj., o)
m*ac* Māel **F**inné(i)n(*LL*) (F7. 124) (:lēn) (gen. of Finnén, o, m)
m*ac* Māel Finniāin(*LL*) áin (F7. 117 *LL*) (gen. of Finnián, o, m, O'Brien, 1962: 646)
Fīachu Finn[f]olod (F10. 49) (folud, o, n, later m; prob. gen. pl.--see *Cóir Anmann* §108)
Fīach*ach* Finn[f]olaid (F10. 54) (gen. sg.?)
(do Máel find), (m*ac* Māel) Fithrig (F2. 15, 19) (gen. sg. of fithrech?)
Āed Fortama(i)l (F3. 32) (:taccomol) (*DIL*: fortobol--sobriquet--see fortamail, i)
Frigriu Fothart (F1. 59) (gen. pl. of same) (on decl. see O'Rahilly, 1946: 7, note 3, and the forms in O'Brien, 1962: 474; + MacNeill, 1911-12: 61)

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[1] *DIL*: "Domnann *gs.* and *g. pl.* in various population- and place-names".

Cend Gēcāin(*LL*) (F12. 40) (= ?gen. of Gécán, o, m)
Cind Gēcāin (F12. 41)
do Murchad Glún i lLár (F2. 47) (glún, s, n + prep. i + acc.\dat. sg. of lár, o, n, later m)
rīa nGlún i lLār (F4. 109) (acc.) **(case)** ?
in Glūndub Nīall (F2. 62) (u, subst. adj., nom.) (on case, Thur. §247 (e))
for Fland nGoän (F3. 87) (*DIL*: "o, *nprm.* or epithet(?) [...]; occurs in place-names where it seems to be *gs.*")
Fland Gōan (F4. 56)
Fer Gráid (F12. 49) (= ?gen. of Grád, o, m)
Mac\Mac Grēne (F8. 122, 142, 148) (gen. sg. of Grían, ā, f)
Eochaid Gunnat (F10. 97) (*DIL*: as epithet in several names) (*Cóir Anmann* §293: Eochaid Gunnata)
Nath Í (F10. 139) (?gen. of Í, f)
Eōgan Inbir (F8. 134, 135) (gen. sg. of Inber, o, m)
Māel ard Ísu (F4. 108) (nom. in app. or gen.; indecl.)
Eochaid Iúil (F8. 136, 137) (gen. sg. of eól m, o, later also iúl)
Conall Lōeg (F7. 9) (o, m, nom. sg.)
Cū cen Māthair (F12. 21) (r, f, acc. sg.)
rīa Murchertach Mena (F4. 16) (gen. sg. of Min, see MacNeill's Translation; u?) (Hogan, 1910: 537: men, 539: min)
for Ailil Molt (F4. 5) (gen. pl.? of same, o, m)
Eocho mínglan Mugmedōn (F10. 126) (*Cóir Anmann* §117)
Art Ōenfer (F10. 82) (o, m, nom. sg.)
Echach Ollathir (F8. 80) (= oll + athair, m, r) (nom. sg. in app.)
Tuirill Picreo (F8. 11) (= Briccriu, O'Rahilly, 1946: 308; m, n)
Feidilmid Rechtaid (F10. 66) (i, m, nom. sg. in app.)
Lugaid Rīab nDerg (F10. 25) (gen. pl., ā, f)
is Cholmān Rímid (F2. 58) (i, m, nom. sg.)
(do), (rīa) (Cholmán\Colmān) Rímid (F2. 12; F4. 37) (i, m, nom. or dat. sg. in app.)
mac Duib Roä (F5. 102) (gen. of Róa, Hogan, 1910: 582; MacNeill: 1913: 80) **(hiatus)**
is Cú Roï (F4. 50) (gen. sg. of róe, ā, f--no stem-class in *DIL*) **(hiatus)**[1]
Āed Rón (F4. 64) (:ōg) (m, o--nom. in app., or gen. pl.)
na trī Rūadchind (F10. 28) (nom. pl. of Rúadchenn, n, later m)
cu[ü] Essa Rūaid (F5. 51) (Hogan, 1910: 402: es ruaid) (gen. of Rúad, o, m)
Māel Sechnaill (F6. 120) (gen. of Sechnall, o, m) (see also O'Brien, 1973: 229)
(mac), (hūa) Māel Sechnuill\Sechnaill (F2. 54; F5. 76, 110)
(Māel), (mac Mel), (hūa Māel), (flathius Māel) Sechnaill(*LL*) (sāer), (echmóir) (F6. **121**, 133, 137, 182, 185, 200)
(la Māel), (la Mel *LL*) Sechnaill\Sechnaill (F7. 108, 142)
(Āed), (Āeda) Slāne\Sláne\-āne (F6. 51, 64; F7. 1, 5, 146) (Sláine, Hogan, 1910: 603; io? iā?) (*Cóir Anmann* §133--note that Mugain's story is also told here in prose)
in nĀed [...] Slāne(*LL*) (F11. 52)
Dond Slēbe (F4. 138) (gen. sg. of slíab, s, n, later m)
Dub Sloit (F6. 43)
for Echaid Sremm (F4. 24) (?) (Echaid could be acc. or dat.)
Fīacha Sroptine\Sraptene (F1. 60; F10. 109) (*DIL*: sraibtine, sraiftine; = 1 sraib + teine, t, m, later also f) (nom.) (*Cóir Anmann* §115)
Tūathal Techt (F10. 57) (?2 techt, ā, f, nom. sg. in app.) (or = Techtmar?)
Duach Tenga Uma (F4. 15) (tengae, t, f, nom. sg. in app.)
mac Maīle Tuile (F2. 22) (gen. of place-name?--see Hogan, 1910: 654) (or gen. sg. of tol, ā, f?)
Dub Tuinne (F4. 118) (?gen. sg. of tonn, ā, f)
Cú Ulad (F5. 128) (Ulaid, o, m, gen. pl.)

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[1] See Footnote on roí on p. 201.

Duach Tenga Uma (F4. 15) (gen. sg. of umae, io, n, later m)

Adjectives as sobriquets

o\ā-stems

Conchob*or* Abratrūad (F10. 30) (nom. sg. m, o\ā)
Abratrúaid (F8. 120) (gen. sg. masc. of Abratrúad)
Foth*ud* Airgdech (F10. 106) (o\ā, nom. sg. m) (or subst. adj.)
Nūadu Argatlām (F8. 26) (o\ā, nom. sg. masc.--Thur. §346)
Balair Balcbēmnig (F8. 28) (gen. sg. masc. of Balcbéimnech, o\ā)
do Chol*mān* Bic (F6. 46) (becc, o\ā, dat. sg. m)
im Āed mBrec (F4. 34) (o\ā, acc. sg. masc.)
Conall Cāel (F5. 27) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Cond Cétchath*ach* (F10. 74) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
co Cond calma Cētchathach (F6. 16) (o\ā, acc. sg. m)
Cuind chrūaid Chētch*athaig* (F10. 68) (gen. sg. m of Cétchathach)
Cuind Cétch*athaig* (F10. 122)
for Conall Clōen (F4. 107) (o\ā, acc. sg. m)
Conaing Crach (F7. 65) (m) (o\ā?--no stem-class in *DIL*--, nom. sg. m)
la Neptúi*r* Derg (F8. 112) (acc. sg. masc. of derg, o\ā) **(nas. omitted)**
Lugaid Rīab nDerg (F10. 25) (gen. pl. f, o\ā)
Fergus Dub Dētach (F10. 89) (:sétach) (o\ā, nom. sg. m) (3rd el.)
Dondchad Dond (F6. 144) (o\ā, nom. sg. m) (see Translation)
Fergus Dub Dētach (F10. 89) (u, nom. sg. m)
re Echaid Echcend (F9. 38) (o\ā, dat. sg. masc., Thur. §346)
Feradach Find Fechtnach (F10. 41) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Eocho Feidlech (F10. 5) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
co Echaig Feidlech Frēmand (F6. 14) (o\ā, acc. sg. m)
Ech*ach* Feidl*ig* (F10. 4) (gen. sg. m of Feidlech, o\ā)
(Feradach), (Fīatach) Find (F10. 41, 45) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Āed Findlīath (F2. 62) (o\ā, nom. sg. masc.) (Thur. §247 (e))
Āed Findlīath\Findlíath (F5. 59; F6. 128) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
la Āed Findlíath (F7. 112) (o\ā, acc. sg. m)
do Āed Findlīath (F2. 32) (o\ā, dat. sg. masc.)
rīa nĀed Findlīath (F4. 91) (o\ā, acc. sg. masc.) **(case)**
Fīnnac[h]ta Fledach (F6. 72) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)[1]
Níall Frossach (F2. 60) (frasach, frossach, o\ā, nom. sg. masc.) (Thur. §247 (e))
Nīall Frossach (F5. 43) (o\ā, nom. sg. masc.)
do Nīall Frossach (F2. 25) (frasach, frossach, o\ā, dat. sg. masc.)
Māel Garb (F4. 102) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Māel *Sechnaill* Got (F6. 185) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Conall Grant (F5. 36; F7. 53) (adj.?; no st-cl. in *DIL*) (o\ā?, nom. sg. m)
la Conall Grant(*LL*) h*ūa* (F6. 76) **(case or nas. omitted)**
rím [...] Subne Mend (F2. 59) (o\ā, acc. sg. masc.)
do Subni Mind (F2. 14) (menn, o\ā, dat. sg. masc.)
rīa Subne M*e*nd (F4. 41) (o\ā, acc. sg. masc.) **(case)**
Cermait Milbél (F8. 81) (o\ā, nom. sg. masc.--Thur. §346)
Conaire Mór (F10. 21) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
Col*māin* Móir (F6. 41) (mór, o\ā, gen. sg. m)
Māel Mūad (F12. 53 *R*) (o\ā, nom. sg. masc.)
Aeda Muindeir**gg** (F4. 70) (o\ā, gen. sg. m)
la Nūadait Necht (F10. 15) (no stem-class in *DIL*; acc. sg. m)
Nūadu Necht (F10. 18) (no stem-class in *DIL*; nom. sg. m)
do Nīall Noígīall*ach* (F10. 133) (o\ā, dat. sg. m)

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[1] MacNeill (1913: 88) seems to take Fledach as a substantivised adj.

Dīarmait Odor (F4. 75) (odor, OIr odur, o\ā, nom. sg. masc.)
Āed Ollān/Ollán (F2. 60; F4. 40) (maybe oll + nom. sg. masc. of án, o\ā) (see also *Cóir Anmann* §122)
rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán (F3. 72) (acc.) **(case)**
la Āed nAllān (F5. 38) (acc.)
m*ac* Āeda Allāin (F2. 26) (gen.)
do Āed Allá(i)n (F2. 24) (dat.)
(do Āed), (rīa nĀed) Ollān (F2. 13; F4. 55) (dat.)
la Crimthand scorach Scīathbél (F9. 26) (o\ā, acc. sg. masc., Thur. §346)
m*ac* Tūath*ail* Tectmair (F10. 65) (gen. sg. m of Techtmar, o\ā--?from 3 techt)
Muridach treōrach Tírech (F10. 120) (o\ā, nom. sg. m)
rím Āed Uaridnach (F2. 59) (o\ā, acc. sg. m)

io\iā-stems

Ail*il* \ Inbanna (F3. 30) (nom. sg. masc. of inbanna[e], io\iā)
Dub Lachtna (F12. 34) (Lachtnae, io\iā, nom. sg. m) (*DIL*: lachtna)
Āed Ordnide (F5. 45) (io\iā, nom. sg. m)
fég Āed Ordnide (F2. 61) (io\iā, acc. sg. masc.)
m*ac* Āeda Orddnide (F2. 29) (io\iā, gen. sg. masc.)
(do), (rīa n) Āed Ordnide (F2. 27; F4. 71) (io\iā, dat. sg. masc.)

i-stems

Eocho Abratchaīn (F5. 5) (i, nom. sg. m)
ocus Cū Dulig (F4. 117) (doilig, i, nom. sg. m)
Conall Guthbind (F6. 61) (i, nom. sg. m)
la Conall ngasta nGuthbind(*LL*) (F7. 8) (i, acc. sg. m)
lasin Conall nGuthbind nglē (F7. 15) (i, acc. sg. m)
(dar éis), (m*ac*) Māel Rūanaid\Rūanaid\-*aid* (F6. 118, 124, 162) (i, gen. m)
do Māel Rūanaid rocháem (F6. 114) (:fóen) (i, dat. **m**) **(gender)**[1]

u-stems

Nīall (glan) Glūndub (F2. 38; F5. 75) (u, nom. sg. masc.)
rīa Níall nGlūndub (F4. 99) (u, acc. sg. masc.) **(case)**
malle ro Nīall nGlūndub ngel (F6. 139) (u, acc. sg. m)

Indeclinable adjs.

m*ac* Māel Mithig (F7. 127) (indecl., gen. m)
do Māel Mithig (F7. 122) (indecl., dat. m)
Colla Ūais (F10. 113) (nom. sg. m, earlier ós, úas?) (indecl.--Thur. §850)

Name consisting of a numeral adj. and a proper noun

Gen.

m*ac* Trī Find (F10. 25)

[1] The non-palatal consonant in the second adj. indicates masc. gender (rocháem : fóen)--unless rocháem is the subst. adj.

II. Place-names and Names of Population Groups

o-stems

Nom.

Ailech (F1. 13, 33, 37, 67, 68; F2. 2, 48)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

(do-rōni), (techt[ad] [...]), (ní tréic [...]) Ailech (**I**mchill) (F1. 5, 35, **68**)
(ro gab), (gébas) Ailech (F2. 65, 67)
ro airgset [...] Ard Macha (F5. 103) (originally n)
ro gab **Ch**asel(*LL*) (F12. 2) (m)
ro gab Caissel (F12. 56 *R*) (m)

Acc. (after prep.)

co hArd Macha (F4. 138) (originally n)
ōtá Belach nDúin (F5. 66) (n)
co Carn cāem Cornáin (F5. 47) (n) (**wo**)
co Cassel (F5. 23) (Caisel, m)
la Cóiced n-īrach nHē*rend* (F10. 118)
i nDún *for*glas Forgo (F5. 30) (o, later s, n)[1]
co Fál (F12. 19) (m) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 336)

Gen.

(n)Ailig (F1. 1; F2. 30, 44, 46, 51; F3. 62, 72; F4. 123; F5. 17, 115, 130) (Ailech)
Ailig [F]rigrend(*LL*) (F7. 68) (Ailech)
rīa nĀed **Ardd**aig (F4. 115) (gen. sg. of Ardach?) (or sobriquet?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 110)
Bernuis bāin (F12. 55 *R*) (Bernas, o?, m?) (Hogan, 1910: 112)
rí Cairn Chachta(*LL*) (F7. 35) (n)
Casil (chēmnig *LL*) (F5. 86; F12. 44, 50) (Casel, m)
(īar Corp*riu*), (ar ríge) Chasil(*LL*) (chendfind *LL*) (F12. 16, 58) (m)
clainne Cēin\Céin (calma) (F5. 53, 131[2]) (Cían, O'Brien, 1962: 544)
ocus Clettig (F7. 13) (Cleittech, m)
cath **Chn**ámrois (F10. 112) (m)
*c*ath Cind Chorad (F4. 135) (Cenn Corad, n, later m)
im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle \ Lasnado (F3. 21-22) (Cenn Lasnado, n, later m) (Hogan, 1910: 226: c. losnada)
*c*ath **Ch**ind Eich (F4. 19) (Cenn Eich, n, later m)
ós chlainn(*R*) Chobthaig(*LL*) (F6. 103) (Cobthach, O'Brien, 1962: 548)
do chlaind Chobthaig clīaraig (F6. 167)
(Māel Coba) Coraind (F4. 42; F10. 37) (Corann) (Hogan, 1910: 291)
*c*ath Craind *C*richid (F4. 129) (Crann Crichid, n, later m)
rí Dáil Araide (F5. 68) (n)
degrí Derluis (F5. 123) (Derlus, Hogan, 1910: 343)
Dobuill (F1. 4) (Doball)
Duib Chommair (F10. 111) (Hogan, 1910: 371: d. chomar)
(sīl), (clanna), (chenīul) Eōgain (F3. 4; F4. 1, 38; F5. 17) (Eōgan, m)
sīl Eōgain (amma(i)l), ((**n**)-imrind) (F5. 120, 122) (m)
certblai [...] \ Étair (10. 34) (m) (part of a place-name?)

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[1] This is probably acc. as the non-lenited f seems to be fixed by alliteration. Note, however, that alliteration would also work if this was dat. and both fs were lenited.

[2] I take calma in F5. 131 as qualifying either Mathgamain or clainne, so I do not expect it to be lenited after Céin.

Fabair (F7. 59) (Fabar, Hogan, 1910: 404)
flaith Féic (F5. 35) (Fíacc, Hogan, 1910: 414: fertae fer feac)
*For*calaid (F7. 80 *LL*) (Forchalad, Hogan: 1910: 428)
cath Gulbain Guirt (F4. 99) (Gulban, m, earlier Gulbae, n, f) **(decl.)**
Lachlaind/Lochlaind (F4. 131, 137) (*DIL*: Lachlaind, dat. sg.; form and decl. variable; later Lochlann; MacNeill: nom. sg. Lochlann; here o)
cath in Oscair (F4. 55) (Oscar, see MacNeill; I could not find it in Hogan) (= 2 Oscar, m in *DIL*?)
cath Roith (F3. 27) (Roth?, o?) (Hogan: 1910: 589 + *v.* Mag Rath)

Dat.

do Ailiuch (F1. 47) (Ailech)
i nAiliuch (F5. 38; F8. 111) (Ailech)
i nAiliuch*n*Aliuch (Eōgain), (ergnaid) (F2. 3, 40, 49)
i nArd Inmaith (F9. 62)
oc Carn Fīachac*h*(*R*) (F6. 28) (n)
i Carn hú Néit (F8. 41) (n)
i Casiul (F12. 66 *LL*) (m)
ōs Dabull (F10. 117) (Daball)
i nDál Araidi (F10. 58)
i nDún (Chethirn), (Chromtha) (F3. 25; F5. 32; F7. 71 *LL*[1]) (o, later s, n)
ic Dún Sinche (F7. 95 *LL*) (o, later s, n) (cf. *R*)
ic Inber (F7. 119 *LL*) (m, earlier n) (acc.?)
'*con*n Inbiur (F9. 32)
i nOscur ūallach (F3. 85) (Oscor, see MacNeill's translation; I could not find it in Hogan) (Oscar, m in *DIL*?)

Acc. or dat.

i nAilech (F1. 58)
for Ten[n]us (F9. 53) (Hogan, 1910: 632: tendas) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 273)

Nom. pl.

(in), (na) Gaill (F4. 133; F5. 69, 91, 103; F6. 172) (Gall, m)
Lagin (F10. 17) (m) (*DIL*: see under láigen)
Ulaid (F5. 91) (m)

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

ro folaig Gaillu (F5. 61) (Gall, m) **(sp)**
ort Lagniu (F5. 46) (nom. pl. Laigin, m)
for Ulto (F4. 137) (nom. pl.: Ulaid, m)
mandrais [Ultu] (F5. 127) (nom. pl. Ulaid, m)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

for Danaru (F4. 81) (Danar, m)
la Firu Domnand (F9. 44) (nom. pl. Fir Domnand, m)
for Gullo (F4. 83, 91) (Gall, m)
for Gaillu (F5. 59) (Gall, m) **(sp)**
forsna Gaullu (F5. 87) (Gall, m)
for Lagniu\Laigniu (F4. 35; F5. 56) (nom. pl. Laigin, m)
for Ulto (F4. 96) (nom. pl. Ulaid, m)
(for), (dar) Ultu (F4. 115; F5. 49) (m)

[1] Everything before Dūn is illegible in *R*.

Gen. pl.

dīn **n**Airther n-āebda (F5. 71) (airther, [n])
na nDanar (F4. 94) (m)
(na n) Gāedel (F6. 140 *LL*; F10. 45, 129) (Goídel, m)
Gall (ngarg) (F4. 104, 108) (m)
ár nGall (F5. 77) (m)
(la slūag) Gall (**gargg** *LL*) (F7. 115, 133) (m) **(nas. omitted in F7. 115**; or the adj. refers to slūag)
Lagen (F3. 39; F4. 12, 51, 65; F5. 44; F7. 133) (nom. pl. Laigin, m)
Luignech (F3. 14) (Hogan, 1910: 508) (gen. pl.?)
(n)Ulad\U*lad* (F4. 86, 87, 113; F5. 90) (nom. pl. Ulaid, m)
[tuc cethra] Fer Cell (F5. 58) (m)
dā chét [nGall] (F5. 88) (m)

Dat. pl.

i Cnoccaib Māele Doäid (F6. 68) (Cnocc, m)
(rīa), (for) Feraib (na Craībe), (Luirg) (F4. 129, 130) (fer, m)
d'Fomōrchaib (F8. 16, 112) (Fomórach, m)[1]
la Lagnib (F6. 32) (nom. pl. Laigin, m) **(case)**
do Laig*nib* (F10. 28) (m)
do Ultaib (F5. 108) (nom. pl. Ulaid, m)

Nouns ending in -án, -én

Gen.

for claind Colmāin comlaind (F4. 73) (m)[2]
la claind Col*mān* (F7. 140) (m) (:ndám)
abbad Tuilén (F7. 83)

[1] Note that this could also be Fomóir, i, with guttural inflexion.

[2] I take comlaind to be referring to claind, so I do not expect lenition here.

ā-stems

Nom.

Gamandrad (F5. 89) (gamanrad)
ro marbsat Tūath Dē D*anand* (F9. 24) (:Fúat)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

trōethais Cīannacht (F5. 101) (sg., collective sense; MacNeill, 1911-12: 71)

Acc. (after prep.)

ō Chrūach (F1. 15) (case)
co Sinaind (F5. 66) (Sinann, f) (the forms in Hogan, 1910: 603 indicate ā)
la Tūaith Amrais (F10. 73) **(case)**
a Crūach (F8. 93) (: imlūath) (case) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 252)

Gen.

***cath* Almaini (F4. 19) (Almu, later Alman) (decl.)**
na Bóinne (F8. 103) (Boänd, Bóinn)
clothrí Cīannachta (F5. 33) (MacNeill, 1911-12: 71)
i cath Cilli Ūa nDaigri (F3. 64) (Cell)
i cath Chilli(*LL*) (F7. 111) (Cell)
cath Clóitige (F4. 71) (Clóitech, Hogan, 1910: 253)
cath Corre Cullen (F4. 125) (1 Corr)
cath Craíbe Telcha (F4. 115) (Cráeb)
rīa Feraib na Craībe (F4. 129) (Cráeb)
cath Cúle\Cūle (Dremne) (F3. 17; F4. 31) (Cúl; *DIL*: Cúil, perh. originally ā, f)
***cath* Cūli (Conairi) (F4. 17, 29) (Cúl (Chonairi))**
Āed Finni (F3. 63) (Finn, Hogan, 1910: 419) (or sobriquet?)
flaith fīal Finne (F4. 84) (Finn) (Hogan, 1910: 419)
***cath* Formāili (F4. 107) (Formáel; see Hogan, 1910: 429)**
Gēsilli (F9. 66) (*Géisell, originally ā, f?) (Hogan, 1910: 437)
cath Lethe (F3. 36) (Leth?, ā?) (see MacNeill, 1913: 57)
cath Slicige (F4. 27) (Sligech(?)--Hogan, 1910: 613: gen. Sligige, Sligig; here ā)
Tūathe Dē D*anand* (F8. 4, 74)

Dat. (after prep.)

'con Bóind (F8. 131) (Boänd, Bóinn) **(hiatus)**
ós Bōin[d] (F7. 9, 49) **(hiatus)**
ōs Boind (F7. 26 *LL*) (Boänd, Bóinn) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 218)
i Cill Ūa nDaigri (F4. 97) (Cell Úa nDaigri, f)
oc Cill scothair Scīre (F7. 52 *LL*) (Cell) (cf. *R*) **(wo)**
i Cuillind chrúaid (F8. 119) (Cuillend) (Hogan, 1910: 315: seems to be o + ā; here: ā)
co Grellaig Elte (F5. 75) (Grellach) **(case)**
de Thūaith Dē D*anand* (F8. 6)

Acc. or dat.

i nAchaill (F10. 56) (Achall) (Hogan, 1910: 11)
i mBairind (F4. 103) (Bairenn)
i mBrudin (F10. 22) (Bruiden)
i nDaim Līac (F7. 99) (Dam, Hogan, 1910: 336) (ā?)
i nGrellaig Dollaid (F7. 39) (Grellach) (dat. or nas. omitted)
i Scelic (F9. 31) (Scelec, o + ā--here seems to be ā, f) (Hogan, 1910: 592)

Nom. pl.

Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig (F1. 41) (túath) **(gender)**

Acc. pl.

for Airgīallo (F4. 59) (nom. pl. Airgīalla, ā?--see MacNeill, 1911-12: 63)
for Connachtu (F4. 105) (nom. pl. Connachta)

Gen. pl.

(rīg n), (rīg) Airgīall (ule) (F4. 86, 88--no nas.: adj. refers to rīg; F5. 29, 73) (nom. pl. Airgīalla, ā?)
(rígi) Connacht (F4. 14, 53, 100, 122; F5. 112) (nom. pl. Connachta)
prīmchāinte Tūath Dē D*anand* (F8. 98) **(nas. omitted)**
cath Uchbath (F3. 17; F4. 65) (uchbad = uch + coll. suffix -bad?, ā, f--see Thur. §265 b; Hogan, 1910: 660: listed under ucha--see FN on F4. 65 in Vol. I, p. 106)

Dat. pl.

ó Airgīallaib (F10. 114) (nom. pl. Airgíalla, ā?--see MacNeill, 1911-22: 63)
de Chonnachtaib (F11. 60) (nom. pl. Connachta)
ocna Dumachaib (F9. 36) (Dumach\Dumacha, Hogan, 1910: 373)

io-stems

Nom.

Mide (F6. 1, 4 *LL*) (m)
[Mide] (F5. 45) (m) (semantic object of ros cacht?)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

ro gab Mide (F6. 204 *LL*) (m)

Gen.

i n-īath Adni (F4. 20) (*DIL*: Adnae, io--Hogan, 1910: 15: aidhne, dat. sg. Aidniu, gen. Aidni)
***cath* Ailbe (F4. 19) (Ailbe, Hogan, 1910: 16) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)**
i cath Bile Thened (F9. 30) (Hogan, 1910: 115: do Biliu Thortan--io?)
rí Corp*ri*(*LL*) (F7. 31) (Coirpre, O'Brien, 1962: 450-451, 531; Hogan, 1910: 141: Cairpre)
[lāech]Mide(*LL*) (F6. 86) (Mide, m)
cath Lifi (F3. 36) (Life, m\n, io?) (Hogan, 1910: 489)
ríg Lōegaire laindrig (F5. 105) (m) (O'Brien, 1973: 223)
magMide (F6. 197)
rí Midi (F6. 191 *LL*) (Mide, m)
Mide (miduill) (F5. 57, 64, 65; F6. 20, 39, 79) (m)
mórMide (F6. 183) (Mide, m)
i cath Ruba Chonaill (F6. 108 *LL*) (*Rubae, [io, m])

Dat.

oc Bile Theined (F6. 80) (Hogan, 1910: 115: do Biliu Thortan--io?)
i nDaire Chalggaig (F4. 81) (Daire, prob. n) (Hogan, 1910: 326)
ós\ōs Mide (magnech) (F6. 22 *LL*, 30) (Mide, m) (or acc. used for dat.)
do Mide(*LL*) (F6. 177) (Mide, m) (see Footnote on ós Mide)

Acc. or dat.

i Cera (F4. 29) (Cera[e]--Hogan, 1910: 228 has 3 examples of dat. sg. Ceru--one from *AU* and two from *LL*)
i n-echMide (F6. 146) (m)
i mMide múad (F5. 109) (m)
for(*LL*) Mide(*LL*) (F6. 5) (m)
for Midi(*LL*) (F6. 127) (m)

Gen. pl.

cond Cruthne cŕich (F5. 34) (*DIL*: nom. pl.? Cruithne; *Cruithni, io?) (this seems to be a collective formed from Cruithen with the coll. neuter suffix -e--io-stem--Thur. §262 4.?; see also MacNeill, 1911-12: 61 and Jackson, 1954: 17) **(preposed gen.)**
(co llín), (secht ríg) Chruthne\Cruthne\Cruithne (F4. 33, 34; F10. 108)
Lūagne (F10. 72) (io?, m?) (gen. pl.?) (O'Brien, 1962: 478: Luaigne)

Dat. pl.

for Conaillib Cerdd (F4. 95) (Conaille, see Hogan, 1910: 287. Hogan has acc. pl. Conailliu twice--io?)

iā-stems (all f)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

(ro glacc in m(*LL*)) Banba mbétaig(*LL*) (F6. 58)
ro innsaig [...] Banba mbind (F12. 57)

Gen.

na Banba (F6. 3)
na findBanba (F7. 56)
Cerna (chlaidard(*LL*) (F7. 13, 116) (*Cernae?, iā?, f) (Hogan, 1910: 229: cerne = gen. sg. f)
cath Dathe (F3. 19) (Daithe, f--if this is indentical with the word listed in *DIL*) (Hogan, 1910: 338: only this example)
[tuc cethra] [...] *is* Tethba (F5. 58) (Tethbae, iā, f, gen.)

Dat.

ōs Banba (F6. 134)
(*for*)sin Banba báeth (F8. 99)
ō Banna (F5. 50) (*Bannae) (Hogan, 1910: 95; from the forms this word looks like an iā-stem)
i mBladma bind (F9. 27) (*Bladmae?, f, iā?) (Hogan, 1910: 116)
[o]*con* Dathi (F3. 33) (Daithe, f--if this is identical with the word listed in *DIL*) (Hogan: 1910: 338--the only example is the one in F3. 19)
oc Elpa (F10. 137) (Alpae)

i-stems

Acc. (after prep.)

et*er* **Chl**ūain(*LL*) (F6. 142) (m, later f)
bord ro(*LL*) Līamuin (F6. 166) (Hogan, 1910: 488: gen. sg. Liamna)
et*er* **Chl**ūain is chorrLīamuin(*LL*) (F6. 142)
ōs Muir Mend (F8. 75) (n + m, later also f) **(case)**

Gen.

in **Br**oga(*LL*) (F6. 111; F7. 129) (Bruig, m, MIr form of mruig)
Mane m*ac* Cerbaill Clūana (F6. 33) (Clúain, m, later f)[1]
cath\cath Dromma (Ríg) (caiss Corcáin) (F3. 19; F4. 17, 73; F7. 64) (Druim(m), n) (F7. 64: **wo**)
Emna Macha (F7. 75) (Emain, f)
míl Eūropa (F3. 60) (Eóraip, f; no stem-class in *DIL*) (in *DIL* there are three examples of the trisyllabic, and six for the disyllabic form in the gen.)
(im) mīl Eūr(o)pa (F5. 22) (Eóraip, f) (: gleōr(g)da)
cath Focharta (F4. 63) (Fochairt, see MacNeill's Translation; i?) (Hogan, 1910: 426: fochard)
cath Gabra Lifi (F4. 35) (Gabor, f, often i)
cath Mōna Daire Lothar (F4. 33) (Móin Daire Lothar, f)
cath*cath* Segsa (F3. 10; F4. 15) (Segais, f)
cath Slemna (F3. 35; F4. 37) (Slemain, subst. adj. from slemon, slemain, o, ā + i)
Temra (F1. 24; F8. 144; F10. 110) (Temair, i, later k, f) (see also Guttural stems)
ríg **Th**emra (F10. 1) (Temair, i, later k, f)

Dat.

issin **Br**uig (F8. 126) (m) (MIr form of mruig) (or acc. with nas. omitted)
oc [C]lūain Iraird (F6. 159 *LL*) (m, later f)
ic Druim Chrīaig (F6. 175) (n)
ō Lūachair (F5. 23) (f)
ó Manist*ir* (F5. 137) (f) (*DIL*: in OIr i-stem, in MIr a guttural stem) (i-stem here, because an abbreviated syllable usually begins in a vowel)
de Muir Ict (F10. 135) (n + m, later also f)
(a), (ic) Slemain (F6. 121; F9. 42) (Hogan, 1910: 604: gen. sg. Slemna)

Acc. or dat.

i nDruim Ríg (F3. 51) (n)
i nEchdruim (F5. 75) (n)
i lLíathdruim (F8. 124) (n) (Hogan: 1910: 488)
i mMóin Milán (F6. 188) (f)
i Talten**br**uig(*LL*) (F7. 42) (m)

[1] I take Clūana to be referring to Mane, so I do not expect it to be lenited after Cerbaill.

ī-stems (all f)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

orggsit [...] Insi Dar Gargrend (F5. 69) (Inis) (Hogan, 1910: 463-464)

Acc. (after prep.)

i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain (F3. 76) (inis) **(wo)**
ōro gab for Inis Fáil (F6. 7 *LL*) (inis) **(case)**

Gen.

trēnchath*cath* Insi Áne (F3. 41; F4. 61) (inis)

Dat.

(is)sin(*LL*) ChroÏnse (F6. 184) (Inis) (hiatus)
oc Inis M*ac* Nessán (F7. 48) (inis) **(case)**

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

oirggis Insi Gall (F5. 99) (Inis)

u-stems

Gen.

(*cath*\cath) (la cath) Ātha\Átha (Dā Chairne), (Sīge), (Medōin) (F3. 48; F4. 22, 67) (Áth (Síge), (Medóin), m)
i cath Chlōenlocha (F6. 36) (Clóenloch, n, later m)
cu[ü] Essa Rūaid (F5. 51) (Ess Rúaid, Hogan, 1910: 402; u?)
Ītha (F9. 19) (Íth, m, u?)
(cath) Locha (Febail), (Cūan), (Echach), (Ūat[h]ne) (F4. 93; F5. 89, 98, 113) (Loch, n, later m)
cath Trāc[h]ta Eōthaili (F4. 121) (Trácht Eóthaili, n + m)

Dat.

ó Áth Chlíath (F5. 47) (m)
oc Āth Ergair (F4. 128) (m)
oc Áth (Medóin), (Dā Charnai), (Goän) (F3. 45; F4. 68; F7. 20) (m)
i nĪthu achar (F5. 59) (= i mMaig Ītha) (gen. used as dat.; for case, see Baumgarten, 1990: 120)
ōs Loch Febail (F1. 29) (n, later m)
oc Loch Threithne(*LL*) (F7. 16) (n, later m)
co Snám Aignech (F5. 87) (m) **(case)**

Guttural stems

Nom.

Temair **t**ollmech(*LL*) (F6. 94) (i, later k, f)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

ro gab [...] Temraig (F10. 61) (Temair, i, later k, f) **(decl.)**

Acc. (after)

(gab*ais* [...]), (ro gab) for Temraig tírig (F2. 39; F6. 194 *LL*) (i, later k, f) **(case, decl.)**

Gen.

cath Findabrach (F4. 51) (Findubair, see MacNeill's Translation + Hogan, 1910: 419)
co cath Līac Find (F7. 81) (Liä, nk, m, later occas. f) **(hiatus)**
ardrí **ch**en*eōi*l Lugdach (F5. 121) (Lugaid, m, gen. sg. Luigdech, later also Lugdach)
(m*ac* ardríg), (i tír) Temrach (F4. 78; F5. 100) (Temair, i, later k, f) **(decl.)** (see also under i-stems)

Dat.

i mBregaib bind (F9. 21) (Brega--pl. of brí, f)[1] **(number)**
i mBrí Lēith (F8. 115) (short dat.)
rīasin Temraig (F2. 44) (i, later k, f) **(decl.)**

Acc. or dat.

(for), (i) Temraig (F2. 50; F6. 59; F10. 7, 85) (Temair, i, later k, f) **(decl.)**
i tromThemraig (F7. 94) (i, later k, f) **(decl.)**

Gen. pl.

īar Conall(*LL*) Breg (F6. 202) (Brega--pl. of brí, f) (or sobriquet?)
Conall Lōeg Breg (F7. 9) (f) (or sobriquet?)
baile Breg (F8. 11) (f)
na Clīach (F5. 23) (Clíu, m)
Maige [Breg] (F5. 65) (Brega--pl. of brí, f)

Dental stems

Gen.

Bla**tt**ened(*LL*) (F6. 56) (Blaitine, Hogan, 1910: 116; dat. sg. Blaitiniu--originally io?) **(decl.)**

Gen. sg. or pl.

[ár] slūag [n]Arad [n-]án (F4. 114) (nom. pl. Araid)
(im īath n), (co horgain) Arad (F5. 24, 90) (MacNeill's translation: Arai in F5. 24, Araid in F5. 90; O'Brien, 1962: 445: nom. pl. Araid; see also MacNeill, 1911-12: 60, 63)

[1] The adj. seems to indicate that Bregaib is treated as a sing. noun here.

Nasal stems

Nom.

(ind) Hēriu (F5. 17; F8. 141, 147) (f)
Mumu (F12. 62) (f)

Gen.

for slūag nAlban **n**-ulach (F3. 42) (Albu, f)
Alpan\Alban (F3. 77; F4. 61)
Arand (F3. 77) (Hogan, 1910: 32-33: ára)
Cathal Crūachan (F4. 106) (Crúachu, f)
Cell*aig* Cūaland (F4. 52) (Cúalu)
i cath(*LL*) Delgthen (F7. 58) (Deilgthiu, Hogan, 1910: 339)
(ardrí), (firu), (n) Hēr*end*\Hērend (F1. 21; F4. 48, 52; F5. 55, 80; F6. 96, 136; F7. 23; F10. 118; F12. 60) (Ériu, f)
dochum **Hēr***end* (F8. 40)
Hēr*end* ōenrí (F10. 140) **(preposed gen.)**
co Echaig Feidlech Frēmand (F6. 14) (Frému, see MacNeill's Translation; Hogan, 1910: 431: fremaind is listed as a dat. sg.) (or sobriquet?)
Muman (F3. 40; F4. 9, 23; F5. 24, 44; F12. 42) (Mumu, f)

Dat.

a Alpain (F1. 50) (Albu, f)
a hAlpain (F8. 101)
din desMumain (F11. 2) (desMumu, f)
for Hēr*ind* uile\ule (F1. 43; F2. 55) (Ériu, f)[1]
ós Hēr*ind* (F6. 110; F7. 62)
i nHērind óig (F8. 7)
d'Hērind (F12. 67 *LL*)
i nHēriu (F7. 38 *LL*)
oc Mana (F8. 75) (f) (short dat.)
assin Taltin (F5. 79) (Taltiu, f)
ōs Taltin(*LL*) (F7. 90)

Acc. or dat.

i nĒblind (F9. 28) (Ébliu--Hogan, 1912: 392: ébliu; 394: eibhleo)
i Frēmaind (F10. 10) (Frému)
i Tūaim Drubi (F4. 14) (Túaim, n) (short dat. or acc. with nas. omitted)

[1] Note that in theory, this could also be the acc. with the mark of nas. omitted after the final nasal of Hēr*ind*; however, this is unlikely as the last syllable is abbreviated.

s-stems

Acc.

co Slīab **B**etha (F5. 92) (n, later m) **(nas. omitted)**
co Tír Dā Glass (F5. 41) (:gnīm) (n, later m + f) (the rhyme shows that this is acc.)

Gen.

Bregmaige (F11. 11) (Bregmag, n)
cath Frāechmaige (F4. 67) (Frāechmag, n)
Glinne Gemin (F5. 101) (Glenn, n, s in OIr; MIr m, heteroclite decl.)
cath Leithe in Chaimm (F4. 85) (Leth in Chaimm, n)
(*cath*) Maige (Ítha), (Ūatha), (Nathrach), (Glaiss), (Lēnai), ([Breg]), (T*uir*ed) (F4. 57, 83, 101, 109, 111, 123, 127; F5. 65; F8. 12, 128) (Mag (nÍtha), etc., n)
Sīde Nenta (F10. 12) (síd, s, n, later u + o, m + ā, f)
Slēbe (Cuä), (Ēblinne), (Tūad), (Fúait) (F4. 3, 23, 41, 49) (Slíab (Cúa), etc., n, later m)

Dat.

(for), (a) Bregmaig (F5. 35; F8. 108) (Bregmag, n) (Hogan, 1910: 124)
ōs\ós Bregmaig (F7. 30, 54, 66, 98) (n) **(F7. 30, 54: gender)**
i nGlind Aichle (F4. 91) (Glenn, n)
i nGlind Gerg (F5. 77) (n)
ōs lāechMaig Lí (F2. 30) (n)
i mMaig (Airb), (Adar), (Lini), (Crūachan) (F4. 18, 131; F6. 40; F9. 52) (Mag (nAirb), etc., n)
i mMaig Gossa(*R*) (F12. 7 *LL*) (n)
i mMaig mūad Maisten (F10. 16) (n)
i Maig T*uir*ed (F8. 25) (n)
i Slēib Chuä (F3. 8) (Slíab Cúa, n, later m)
i Taig Cnogba (F7. 91) (Teg, Tech, n, later m)
oc Taig(*LL*) Giugrand (F7. 134) (n, later m)
oc Taig H*ūa* mBuidēn mBrogda (F7. 137) (n, later m)
for Temarmaig (F10. 70) (n)

Nouns of uncertain or of variable declension; indeclinables

Acc.

co Bondammair mbechda (F5. 57) (Hogan, 1910: 119: only this example; see also Badamair and Bodamair)
co Brēna (F5. 50) (Bréna, see MacNeill; Hogan, 1910: 125: brene) (io?\iā?)
co Rige (F5. 96) (:ile) (Hogan, 1910: 445: Glenn Rige) **(gen. used as acc.; for case, see Baumgarten, 1990: 120)**

Gen.

cath Ache (F3. 20) (nom.: ?) (MacNeill, 1913: 56: "not traced"--only this example in Hogan: 1910: 11)
i n-ár Asse (F5. 78) (gen. of ?; Hogan, 1910: 27 lists aisse, the headword, as the gen. sg. form)
h*ūa* Canaind Caille Conaill (F5. 129) (caílle, m, io?)
***cath* Cell Osnaid (F4. 9) (= gen. sg. of cell, f--or read Cenn Lasnado?)**
Conaing Cnogba (F5. 37) (Hogan, 1910: 278: cnódba, f; iā?)
Dūngal Cnogba (F7. 73) (f, iā?) (or sobriquet?)
culēn cāemChnogba (F7. 138) (f, iā?)
Comraire (F9. 60) (Hogan, 1910: 287) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 277)
ō ríg Crinna (F5. 8) (gen. sg. of same?, see MacNeill's Translation and Hogan, 1910: 307)
īarla Crinna (F6. 147) (Hogan, 1910: 307)
i cath Chrinna (F10. 92)
Ailill Crundere clīaraig (F7. 17 *LL*) (Crundere, io?, m\n?) (or sobriquet?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 225)
cath Delgga (F4. 13) (Hogan, 1910: 341)
(*cath*), (i cath) Dētna (F4. 21; F6. 32) (Détna, see MacNeill's Translation; Hogan, 1910: 344: detnae--iā?)
cath Elli (F3. 34) (Elle?, io?) (Hogan, 1910: 396; see MacNeill, 1913: 57)
m*ac* Mīled Espāin (F6. 8) (Espáin, Espán, f) (:Fáil) (or sobriquet?)
(co firu), (rí(*LL*)) Fōtla (F5. 83; F7. 59) (Fótla, Hogan, 1910: 431--with short o) (f, iā?)
f*or* nert Fōtla (F11. 53) (f, iā?)
i tóeb grind Gabra Aichle (F10. 104) (Gabar, also Gabair?, u?, i?)
cath Gránne (F4. 7) (iā?) (Hogan, 1910: 449)
cath Inde (F4. 11) (Inde, see MacNeill's Translation and Hogan, 1910: 459)
cath Irchara (F4. 69) (Irchair, see MacNeill's Translation; Hogan, 1910: 471: Irchar; i?, u?)
cath Mucrama (F4. 13) (Mucrama, Hogan, 1910: 544; io?, iā?)
cath Ocha (F4. 5) (nom.? Hogan, 1910: 556: Ocha) (*AU* 482: Bellum Oche)
cath Oche (F3. 20) (see above)
i cath Odba (F7. 11) (Odba, Hogan, 1910: 556; io?, iā?)
fer nÓl nÉcmacht n-ollalt (F5. 111) (*DIL*: Ól nÉcmacht; o + u, m, originally n?) (see O'Brien, 1932: 163-164)
Rātha Ailig (F8. 50) (Ráth\Ráith Ailig, m and f; i or u)
cath Rātha Both (F4. 43) (Ráith Both, see Hogan, 1910: 567; *DIL*: ráth, ráith, m, f--i or u)
cath Sailt*e*re (F4. 79) (Hogan, 1910: 590: sailtir--ā?)
cath Slabri (F4. 39) (Hogan, 1910: 603: slabre)
ár torsech Treöte (F7. 106) (Treóit, Hogan, 1910: 645--ā?)
cath Dētna (F3. 28) (Hogan, 1910: 344: detnae)

Dat.

i nAircheltrú (:Cú) (F8. 18) (Aircheltra; Hogan, 1910: 21) (dat.?)
i mBrēfni bladach (F5. 115) (Bréifne, f; iā?) (here m; **gender**)
a Hespāin (F8. 40) (Espáin, Espán, f)
oc Manistir (F7. 87) (mainister, f, OIr monister, i)

Dat. pl.

a lāechLuignib (F9. 70) (láechLuigni, io?)

2nd or 3rd Element in a Place-name or in the Name of a Population Group

i mMaig Adar úane (F4. 131) (gen. sg. of Adar?; MacNeill: Mag Adair; O'Brien, 1962: Adar, gen. Adar)
i nGlind Aichle (F4. 91) (gen. of Achall, ā, f)
Gabra Aichle (F10. 104)
co Snám Aignech (F5. 87) (m) **(case)** (adj.?)
Rātha Ailig (F8. 50) (gen. of Ailech, o)
i mMaig Airb (F4. 18) (?gen. of *Arb)
Tūaith Amrais (F10. 73) (gen. of ?) (Hogan, 1910: 31: amros?)
Insi Áne (F3. 41; F4. 61) (gen. sg. of Áine, [iā, f])
rí Dáil Araide (F5. 68) (gen. of ?)
i nDál Araidi (F10. 58)
Dub Dā Bairenn (F12. 48 *R*) (gen. dual, ā, f) (Hogan, 1910: 324: da boireann)
Inber na mBárc(*LL*) (F7. 119) (gen. pl., ā, f)
co Slīab **Betha** (F5. 92) (gen. of Bith, u, m--Gwynn, 1924: 76) **(nas. omitted)**
cath Rātha Both (F4. 43) (gen. pl. of same, ā, f)
Hūa mBresail **Macha** (F5. 126) (gen. of Bresal, o; no stem-class in *DIL*, but see O'Brien, 1973: 223; + **gen. of Machae, iā, f)**
oc Taig *Hūa* mBuidēn mBrogda (F7. 137 *LL*) (gen. of Buidén + gen. sg.? of brogda[e], io\iā)
rí Cairn Chachta(*LL*) (F7. 35) (gen. sg. of cacht?)
Leithe in Chaimm (F4. 85) (gen. sg. of Camm?, subst. adj.?)
Ātha Dā Chairne (F3. 48)
Áth Dā Charnai (F4. 68)
i nDaire Chalggaig (F4. 81) (gen. sg. of Calgach?, o?)
Fer Cell (F5. 58) (?gen. pl. of Cell, ā, f)
for Conaillib Cerdd (F4. 95) (see Notes)
i nDún Chethirn (F3. 25; F5. 32) (?gen. sg. of npr. m Cethern, O'Brien, 1962: 544-- 1 example)
ó Áth Chlíath (F5. 47) (gen. pl. of same, ā, f)
i Taig Cnogba (F7. 91) (Cnogba, f, iā?; Hogan, 1910: 278: cnódba)
cath Duib Chommair (F10. 111) (?gen. sg. of commar, o) (Hogan, 1910: 371: d. chomar)
i cath Ruba(*LL*) Chonaill (F6. 108) (gen. of Conall, o, m)
Cūli Conairi (F4. 29) (gen. of Conaire, io, m)
cath Cind Chorad (F4. 135) (cora, d, f; gen. sg./pl.?) ?
i Dromma caiss Corcáin (F7. 64) (?gen. of Corcán, o, m)
co Carn cāem Corná(i)n (F5. 47) (: Gabrá(i)n, :. imslán) (?gen. of Cornán, o, m) **(wo)**
ic Druim Chrīaig (F6. 175) (gen. of Críach?)[1]
cath Craind Crichid (F4. 129) ([i], gen. sg. m?)
i nDún(*LL*) Chromtha (F7. 71) (past part. of crommaid?)
i mMaig Crūachan (F9. 52) (Crúachu, n, f)
i Slēib Chuä (F3. 8) (gen. sg. of 1 cúa or of Cúa?) **(hiatus)**
Slēbe Cuä (F4. 3) **(hiatus)**
Locha Cūan (F5. 89) (gen. of Cúan, o--Gwynn, 1924: 146: Cúan : lúath)
Corre Cullen (F4. 125) (-én?)
(Cilli Ūa n), (i Cill Ūa n) Daigri (F3. 64; F4. 97) (gen. of Daigre, io, m)
Chilli *Hūa* nDaigri (F7. 111)
***cath* Móna Daire Lothair (F4. 33) (gen. sg. of Daire, io, prob. neut.)**
Tūatha Dé Don*and*\D*anand* (F1. 41; F8. 4, 6, 74, 98; F9. 24) (2nd element) (gen. sg. of Día, o, m) (Thur. §279)
i nG*re*llaig Dollaid (F7. 39) (gen. of Dollud, o--Gwynn, 1924: 302-303)
la Firu Domnand (F9. 44) (gen. sg. + pl. in population names--nom. Domnu?)

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[1] Note that in Gwynn, 1924: 43-56, Crīaich is disyllabic throughout.

Tūatha Dé Don*and* (F1. 41) (gen. of Danu, n, f--see *DIL*; but see also Carey, 1981: 291-294) (3rd element)
(Tūathe Dē), (Thūaith Dē), (Tūath Dē) D*anand* (F8. 4, 6, 74, 98; F9. 24)
H*ūa* nDorthaind (F5. 125) (gen. of Dortan, -than, o, m)
Cūle Dremne (F4. 31) (gen. sg. of dremnae, also dreimne, iā, f)
i Tūaim Drubi (F4. 14)
ōtá Belach nDúin (F5. 66) (gen. sg. of Dún, o, later s, n)
Slēbe Ēblinne (F4. 23) (gen. of Éblenn, ā, earlier Ébliu, n) **(decl.)**
Locha Echach (F5. 98) (gen. of Echu, g, m, Thur. §319)
fer nÓl nÉcmacht n-ollalt (F5. 111) (see *DIL* under écmacht--prob. indecl. adj.--here gen. pl.?) (see also O'Brien, 1932: 163-164)
cath **Ch**ind Eich (F4. 19) (Ech, m, o)
co G*r*ellaig Elte (F5. 75) **(case)**
i nInsi n-ólaig **E**ōgain (F3. 76) (gen. of Eógan, o, m)
Trāc[h]ta **E**ōthaili (F4. 121) (gen. of Eothaile?)
Áth Ergair (F4. 128) (gen. of Ergar?)
for Inis Fáil (F6. 7) (gen. sg. of Fál, o, m)
ōs Loch Febail (F1. 29) (gen. of Febal, o, m)
Locha Febail (F4. 93)
oc Carn Fīachac*h* (F6. 28 *R*) (gen. of Fíachu, g, m) (O'Brien, 1962: 638)
co cath Līac Find (F7. 81) (subst. adj., o, m, used as a personal name)
i nDún f*or*glas Forgo (F5. 30) (gen. of Fuirg, i, m--McManus, 1991: 116) **(wo)**
Ailech Frigrend (F1. 67) (gen. of Frigriu, n, m)
Ailig [F]rigrend(*LL*) (F7. 68)
Slēbe Fúait (F4. 49) (gen. of Fúat, o, m--Gwynn, 1924: 162-167)
Insi Gall (F5. 99) (o, m, gen. pl.)
Insi Dar Gargrend (F5. 69)
Glinne Gemin (F5. 101) (gen. of Gemen? Nom. Gemen occurs in Gwynn, 1924: 203)
i nGlind Gerg (F5. 77) (?gen. pl. of gercc, ā, f, or o, m)
oc Taig Giugrand (F7. 134) (gen. pl. of gigrann, giugrann, o, m)
Maige Glaiss (F4. 111) (?glass, o\ā, gen. sg. neut.)
co Tír Dā Glass (F5. 41) (?1 glass, o, m--also ā, f?, gen. dual)
Āth Goän (F7. 20) (Góan, o, m; *DIL*: "occurs in place-names where it seems to be *gs*.") (Cf. F3. 87 and F4. 29.)
i mMaig(*LL*) Gossa (F12. 7 *R*) (?gen. of gus, u, m)
cath Gulbain Guirt (F4. 99) (?gen. sg. of Gort, m, or ?gen. sg. masc. of goirt, i)
Muir Ict (F10. 135) (4 Icht)
ní tréic [...] Ailech **I**mchill (F1. 68) (gen. of Imchell, o, m)
i nArd Inmaith (F9. 62)
oc [C]lūain Iraird (F6. 159 *LL*) (Hogan, 1910: 265: Cluain Iráird) (dat. sg. fem. of Airard, o/ā) **(gender)**
Maige Ítha (F4. 57, 83) (?gen. sg. of Íth, u, [?n]) (Gwynn, 1924: 90-93)
im chath Chind [...] \ **L**asnado (F3. 22) (gen. sg. of ? losnaid, i, m)
i mBrí Lēith (F8. 115) (gen. of líath, o\ā, used as a proper noun) (Gwynn, 1924: 228-229)
Maige Lēnai (F4. 123, 127) (gen. sg.? of lénae, io)
ōs lāechMaig Lí (F2. 30) (?gen. sg. of lí; *DIL*: perh. originally g, but frequently indecl. in s. + dual) (Hogan, 1910: 523)
i nDaim Līac (F7. 99) (gen. of Liä, nk, m, later occas. f) **(hiatus)**
cath Gabra Lifi (F4. 35) (gen. of Life, io?)
i mMaig Lini (F6. 40 *R*) (:Mide) (Line, io?, iā?; Hogan, 1910: 524, and 1910: 490 Líne) (*DIL*: líne, iā, f--also in n. loc.)
cath Móna Daire Lothair (F4. 33) (gen. sg. of Lothar?, o?) (3rd el.)
Feraib Luirg (F4. 130) (gen. sg. of Lorg, o, m)
Inis Mac(*LL*) Nessán (F7. 48) (gen. pl. o, m)
Ard Macha mór (F5. 103) (Machae, iā, f, gen.)

Emna Macha (F7. 75)
i mMaig mūad Maisten (F10. 16) (gen. of Maistiu, n, f?)
(oc Áth), (Átha) Medóin (F3. 45; F4. 67) (gen. sg. of Medón, o, m)
ōs Muir Mend (F8. 75) (o\ā, acc. sg. n\m) **(case)**
i mMóin Milán (F6. 188) (gen. of same, o, m) **(-án)**
cath Maige Nathrach (F4. 109) (gen. sg.\pl. of nathir, g, f)
Ailech Néit (F1. 37, 68) (gen. of same, m)
Carn hú Néit (F8. 41) (gen. of same, m)
Sīde Nenta (F10. 12) (?gen. of Nenaid) (O'Brien, 1962: 712)
Inis M*ac* Nessán (F7. 48) (gen. of same, o, m) **(-án)**
Cell Osnaid (F4. 9) (or read Cenn Lasnado?)
(i nDruim), (*cath* Dromma) Ríg (F3. 51; F4. 73) (gen. sg. or pl. or rí, g, m)
oc Cill scothair(*LL*) Scīre (F7. 52)
Átha Sīge (F4. 22)
ic Dún Sinche(*LL*) (F7. 95)
***cath* Craíbe Telcha (F4. 115) (?gen. sg. of tulach, telach, ā, f)**
(oc Bile), (i cath Bile) Theined\Thened (F6. 80; F9. 30) (gen. sg.\pl. of teine, t, m, later also f)
oc Loch Threithne(*LL*) (F7. 16)
Slēbe Tūad (F4. 41)
(Maige), (Maig) T*uir*ed (F8. 12, 25, 128) (gen. sg.\pl. of tuir, f, t)
Maige Ūatha (F4. 101) (?gen. of Úath--Gwynn, 1924: 276-277)
Locha Ūat[h]ne foraill (F5. 113) (?gen. of 7 Úaithne, io?; or ?gen. sg.\pl. of 1 úaithne)

Unstressed words in place-names

(Ātha), (oc Áth) Dā (Chairne), (Charnai) (F3. 48; F4. 68) (num. adj., gen., gender?)
co Tír Dā Glass (F5. 41) (num. adj., gen., gender?)
Dub Dā Ba*ir*enn (F12. 48 *R*) (num. adj., gen., fem.)
Leithe in Chaimm (F4. 85) (gen. sg. masc.\neut article)

úa in place-names and in the names of population groups

Gen. sg.

Carn hú Néit (F8. 41) **(hiatus)**

Acc. pl.

la Hū Echach (F7. 126 *LL*) **(hiatus)**

Gen. pl.

Cilli Ūa nDaigri (F3. 64) (úa, OIr auë, io, m) **(hiatus)**
i Cill Ūa nDaigri (F4. 97) **(hiatus)**
Hū*a* (nDorthaind), (mBresail Macha) (F5. 125, 126) **(hiatus)**
Hū*a* (nDaigri), (mBuidēn) (F7. 111, 137 *LL*) **(hiatus)**

Miscellaneous

o-stems

Nom.

in Bregach brass (F6. 71) (subst. adj., m)
Cruthnech (F6. 43) (m) (subst. adj.?)
Franc (F5. 36) (m)

Gen.

in Chóicid (F4. 63) (Cóiced, m)
Congaile Cuilt (F7. 25) (Colt, n) (place-name or sobriquet?)

Nouns of uncertain declension

Acc. or dat.

(is)sin Scálbaile (F10. 128) (= Baile in Scáil) (baile, m + f--*IGT*) (io?)

ADJECTIVES

I. Attributive adjectives

o\ā-stems

Nom. sg. masc.\(neut.)

ba gnīm n-achar (F5. 41) (:Chathul) (aicher, also achar)[1] **(nas. in cheville)**
ágmar (F2. 2) (m\n)
álglan (F11. 40)
(m*ac* [...]) amnas (F8. 82, 94) (could also refer to Lug in F8. 82)
án (F5. 54; F7. 47; F8. 133)
Māel ard Ísu (F4. 108)
[ard] (F5. 130)
armslán (F1. 6)
athnertach (F3. 73) (aithnertach)
bét bladach (F3. 43) (cheville; no nas.)
bladach (F4. 62)
bladach bágach (F3. 86) (n)
in Bregach brass (F6. 71)
Māel būadach Bresail (F4. 80)
buidnech (F4. 28)
cáem (F4. 112)
flaith cāem (F6. 47) **(m) (gender)**
in cáem Īrgalach (F7. 44 *LL*) **(adj. precedes noun**, or subst. adj.)
at-bath h*ūa* cōem *Con*galai*ch* (F7. 120 *R*)
camm (F8. 97)
cass (F8. 37)
cendfind (F12. 44)
cer**bb** (F4. 95)
cían (F4. 84)
cláen (F8. 97)
cōelbalc (F10. 35) (*DIL* cáel-)
corrach (F4. 90)
crechach (F12. 22 *LL*)
cuman comdīan (F4. 86) (m\n?)
crón (F4. 56)
in día*n* debthach (F5. 67)
m*ac* Domnaill día*n* (F6. 89)
dīanglan (F2. 36)
Māel Dúin dordmass (F5. 30)
in dīan drechach (F5. 9)
dī blī*adain cethri* deich dron (F6. 195) (sg.?; m\n?) (qualifies deich)
degm*ac* dūanach (F6. 112)
ētrachtoll (F11. 36) (étrocht, -acht + oll)
étūalngech (F10. 50) (étúailngech)
fāengel (F10. 130)
febglan (F1. 12)
feithmech (F5. 67)
fég [...] is [...] \ [...] fīal (F2. 62) (Thur. §247(e))
flaith fīal (F4. 84) (m--in OIr f) **(gender)**

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[1] In *DIL* there are three examples of achar--two from this poem--, which must be the older form--see p. 23: **2.19**.

fīal (F4. 77; F5. 67, 127)
find (F2. 14; F7. 63)
m*ac* Cellaig find Flannacán (F7. 114 *LL*)[1]
fírīan (F10. 102) (fírén, fírían)
fodbach (F3. 32)
Fīnnacta Fledach foltchass (F6. 72) (m)
f*or*barach (F10. 102)
fuiglech (F4. 77)
ba guba(n) ngarb (F4. 60) **(nas. in cheville)**
fúaim nglan (F11. 45) (m\n) **(nas. in cheville)**
fúaim(*LL*) nglan (F12. 17) (m\n) **(nas. in cheville)**
Nīall glan Glūndub (F2. 38)
gla**nd**-sa (F1. 40) (m)
ba gním nglegrach (F5. 99) **(nas. in cheville)**
glondchar (F4. 117)
graigech (F1. 6)
imgand (F4. 36)
imslán (F5. 48)
lán (F8. 115) (n, later f)
lond (F4. 47)
máeth (F8. 107)
in mind maínech (F8. 118) (m) **(gender)**
mas (F8. 81)
már (F5. 118) (:ág) (could also be acc.)
mínglan (F10. 126)
mag mór (F6. 20 *LL*) (n, later occasionally f, usually m) (cf. *R*)
mór (F8. 22, 51)
mórgarg (F8. 14)
óc (F6. 156) **(hiatus)**
éc olc(*LL*) (F6. 186)
opund (F6. 24) (opunn, later obunn, -onn, -ann)
rebach (F5. 116) (the adj. could refer to both Nīall and ūa)
rogel (F10. 66)
rūad roglach (F3. 30)
sādal (F3. 1) (sádail, sádal, i + o\ā) (see Vol. I, p. 51)
Māel S*echnaill* sāer (F6. 121)
nī scél scenmnech (F4. 28) (n)
scíth (F5. 34)
sen (F12. 1)
seng (F9. 37)
snēd[s]eng (F10. 90)
trēnseng (F10. 139)
treōrach (F10. 120)
ūallach (F9. 65)
m*ac* Ech*ach* ūamnach (F4. 87) **(wo)**
ūathmar (F4. 106)

Nom. sg. fem.

brethach (F1. 36)
crāeb ch[á]em (F4. 30)
Donand chomlān (F8. 15)

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[1] find could qualify either m*ac* or Flannacán. It can not qualify Cellaig, as the f is not lenited, and the non-lenition is fixed by alliteration.

crūadach cossair (F4. 80)
in del delbglan (F5. 114) (*DIL*: deil, prob. f)
in daig derg (F6. 85)
is turim fír (F5. 56)
ildathach (F9. 58) (f?)
imgel (F1. 51)
múad (F11. 30 *LL*)
Temair tollmech(*LL*) (F6. 94) (tuillmech)
amser torsech (F1. 46)

Nom. sg., gender uncertain

flaith gót (F6. 155) (when applied to persons, in OIr fem., in MIr also masc.--later regularly masc. (*DIL*))

Voc. sg. masc.

a Dé dúlig (F4. 119) (dúilech, no stem-class in *DIL*)

Nom. or acc. sg. masc.

lāmair Lorcán m*ac* cāem Cathail (F5. 63)
la Cacher m*ac* nár (F8. 130)

Acc. sg. masc.\(neut.) (direct object of a verb)

ailig airmend co tánic (F1. 48) (:fairmend) (pendens) **(change in gender?)**
geguin Corrgend [...] \ Āed ard amra (F1. 16) **(no nas.)**
rím [...] (i)s Fergal fossad (F2. 59)
ro airgset [...] Ard Macha mór (i)mma snïb (F5. 103)[1] (originally n)
ro t*r*íall c*ach* rían rethach (F5. 97)

Acc. sg. masc.(\neut.) (after passive)

do-gníth [...] \ cumtach ndindmall (F11. 46 *LL*) (n) **(case)**

Acc. sg. masc.\(neut.) (after prep.)

rīa n-Āed n-ard nAllán (F3. 72) **(case)**
(for Matudán m*ac* n-), (la Nīall n-) ard (F5. 94, 132)
la Āed m*ac* n-ard nAnmerech (F6. 48)
cen brinda mbalc (F10. 91) (m\n)
for Eōgan mBél mbudnech (F3. 16) (buidnech)
co Carn cāem Cornáin (F5. 47) (n) **(wo)**
la Coirchend cāem (F8. 90)
la Corp*re* comramach cían (F10. 101)
la Corp*re* comramach (F10. 101)
forsin Domnall crodond cētna (F4. 72)
rīa nDomnall ndr*u*mnech (F4. 27) **(case)**
la Frigrend foglaig (F1. 61) **(gender)**
i nDún f*or*glas Forgo (F5. 30) (n) (see FN on p. 253) **(wo)**
im Furadrán fūatlán (F5. 123)
malle ro Nīall nGlūndub ngel (F6. 139) (m)
dar grūad nglan (F11. 29) (m\n)
lasin Conall ngērglicc glan(*LL*) (F7. 19) **(nas. omitted)**
[co] nglúair ngraigech (F1. 57)
la Cóiced n-īrach nHēr*end* (F10. 118) (m\n)
forin lochmuir lindamnas (F8. 38) (m\n)

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[1] In theory the adj. could also belong to (i)mma snïb, although this is not very likely.

la Murchad már (F5. 54) (:án)
la Oēngus n-óc n-ardomna (F7. 12 *LL*) **(hiatus)**
dar (s)rían rudach (F3. 79) (= ruthach?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 69)
in nĀed sāer (F11. 52)
la Crimthand scorach (F9. 26)
for sét seng (F5. 108)
in nĀed sāer slūagach (F11. 52)
co ár(*LL*) torsech (F7. 106) (m\n)
la Tūathal trīathach (F10. 53)
dar trethan trom (F5. 7)

Acc. sg. fem. (direct object of a verb)

ro glacc in mBanba mbétaig(*LL*) (F6. 58) (bétach)
gabsat [...] \ bríg mbladaig (F3. 70) (bladach)
tuc Eirc [n-imgil] (F5. 16) (imgel)

Acc. sg. fem. (after prep.)

co amsir n-aird nŪgaine (F6. 12) (ard)
cen chlaind ceirt(*LL*) (F11. 31)
cen choin cēlig (F5. 11) (céilech) (n, m, later also f; **here f**) **(gender)** (or see O'Brien, 1954: 346-349)
i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain (F3. 76) (ólach) **(no nas.)**
la dībirg n-omnaig n-Incíuil (F10. 24)
aidchi n-oraig (F3. 83) (orach)
gab*ais* [...] ríge rīarglain (F2. 39)
gab*ais* [...] for Temraig tírig (F2. 39) (tírech) **(case)**
ro gab for Temraig tírig (F6. 194 *LL*) (tírech, f) **(case)**

Gen. sg. masc.\(neut.)

(Echdach), ((m*ac*) Hērimóin) áin (F1. 2; F6. 9; F9. 17)
m*ac* á[i]n Echdach (F5. 68) (:Dáil?)
secht mblīad*na* Māel Finniāin(*LL*) áin (F7. 117) **(m) (gender)**
Chind(*LL*) Fāelad(*LL*) aird (F7. 33) (ard)
m*ac* Āeda Orddnide airig (F2. 29)[1]
Bernuis bāin (F12. 55 *R*) (m\n)
m*eic* Blaithm*eic* būadaig bithgairg (F7. 34) (garg) (could qualify either noun)
Blaithm*eic* braiss (F7. 29) (bras)
m*eic* Blaithm*eic* būadaig (F7. 34) (búadach) (could qualify either noun)
Dromma caiss Corcáin (F7. 64) (n) **(wo)**
Congal*aig* caiss (F7. 89)
hūa Cuind chais (F10. 93)
Casil chēmnig (F12. 50 *LL*) (céimmennach, céimnech)
Chairp*ri* chendfind (F8. 24)
Chasil chendfind(*LL*) (F12. 58)
Colmāin chētaig(*LL*) (F6. 57) (cétach)
marb hūa cīallmāir Congal*aig* (F7. 100 *LL*) (cíallmár) **(adj. precedes noun)**
Ail*il*l Crundere clīaraig (F7. 17) (clíarach, m\n)
in chomlaind chōic**d**aig (F6. 102 *LL*) (cóictach, [n])
coscair comlaind (F3. 50) (or gen. of subst. adj.?)
Cerb*aill* chrechaig (F6. 37) (crechach)
Dondchaid déin (F6. 98) (dían)
Domnaill delbglain (F6. 193 *LL*) (delbglan)

[1] Or gen. of apposition of 1 airech, o, m.

m*ac* Domnaill dírig (F2. 11) (díriuch, u, later dírech, o\ā)
m*ac* Dāna dorngil (F8. 52)
m*eic* Dond*chaid* drechmīad*aig* (F6. 168) (drechmíadach) (could qualify either noun)
in Dagda drechrūaid (F8. 102)
ce*ch* druing dronamnais (F10. 94)
in Dagdai duind (F8. 123) (donn)
Dúnchaid dúir (F4. 54) (dúr)
Māel *Sechnaill* echmóir (F6. 182) (echmór) **(m) (gender)**
Ailig eltaig (F1. 1) (m\n)
Induí foltfind (F8. 56)
Locha Ūat[h]ne foraill (F5. 113) (qualifying Loch, n, later m)
Āeda imnáir (F8. 96)
Ōengusa imsláin (F8. 72)
(ríg Lōegaire), (chen*eōil* Lugdach) laindrig (F5. 105, 121) (lainnrech, earlier laindrech) (can qualify either noun in both phrases)
Longsig lúaith (F3. 90)
Murchertaig maill (F7. 141) (mall)
m*ac* Māel Mithig mīadaig (F7. 127) (míadach) **(m) (gender)**
mōrarggain [...] Mide miduill (F5. 65) (midoll)
Mur*chada* móir (F6. 81) (mór)
athair Moraind mōrbrethaig (F10. 38)
i n-aír Midir mōrglonnaig (F8. 68)
Nectain náir (F8. 58)
h*ūa* Néill nemthruim (F2. 53) (nemthrom)
Néill nertluind (F6. 2) (nertlonn)
Ech*ach* ollguirm (F4. 39) (ollgorm)
m*ac* Rudi rathaig (F1. 53)
m*ac* Rudi rúaid roglain (F1. 49)
(m*ac* Rudi), (in ríg) rúaid (F1. 49; F11. 13)
(Bic Felmais), (Inbir) ūair\úair (F8. 65, 135)

Gen. sg. fem.

na Banba bricce (F6. 3) (brecc)[1]
de gaī *gré*ne glaine (F8. 21) (glan)
i cath Temra tondglaine (F8. 144)

Dat. sg. masc.\(neut.)

i nĪthu achar (F5. 59) (:athar) (aicher) (= i mMaig Ītha) (n)[2]
ōsin trācht ágmar (F5. 4) (n + m)
la Hērimōn án (F8. 145) **(case or nas. omitted)**
for Amlaíb argg (F5. 94)
la Bennān bāeth (F8. 108) **(case or nas. omitted)**
ōs Bregmaig barrglais (F7. 30) (originally n, later occasionally f, usually m) **(gender)**
ós Bregmaig bratrūaid (F7. 54 *LL*) (bratrúad) **(gender)**
co mborrthorud búan (F10. 29) (n)
i mmulluch Cerna **ch**laidard(*LL*) (F7. 116) (m--qualifies mmulluch)
co cruth cho*m*chāem (F8. 140)
ōs Dabull díglach (F10. 117) (m\n)
do dergibur dr*u*mnech (F1. 63)
ó Eōgan fíal (F2. 66)

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[1] In theory this could also be the attributive gen. sg. of bricce, iā, f.

[2] For case, see Baumgarten, 1990: 120. For the medial consonant in achar see p. 23: **2.19**.

do Máel find Fithrig (F2. 15)
īar Cind Fāelad find (F12. 33)
do Fubthaire fondgel (F1. 52)
do Finnīa(n) fondglan (F11. 41 *LL*)
īar nGarbān garg (F12. 13)
īar Cind Gēcāin glan (F12. 41)
co ngargbrut glór (F1. 64)
i cath gubach (F9. 66) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 277)
īar nAmalgaid imard(*LL*) (F12. 14)
(la hEōgan Inbir), (la hĒb*er*) imslán (F8. 134, 146) **(case)**
do Murchad Glún i lLár lainech (F2. 47) (lainnech)
don flaith lánfíal (F6. 90 *LL*) **(m) (gender)**
((do), (rīa) Murchertach), (do bratān) mór (F2. 7; F4. 4; F11. 48)
[ría] Mur*chertach* mór (F4. 26)
rīa Murchad mūad (F4. 79)
i mMaig mūad Maisten (F10. 16) (originally n, later occasionally f, usually m)
do Māel Rūanaid rocháem (F6. 114) (:fóen) **(m) (gender)**[1]
do m*ac* Māel Rūan*aid* rocháem (F6. 162) (:Āed)[2]
ōs róen rūamach (F11. 51) (from 2 rúam, `fame, glory'?)
do [...] m*ac* sāer Subni (F2. 17)
ocont sāle thondgel (F6. 52 *LL*)
de thām thregtach (F8. 33) (m\n)
i nOscur ūallach (F3. 85) (m\n)

Dat. sg. fem.

a Alpain armaig (F1. 50) (armach)
'con Bóind baīth (F8. 131)
co mbáig bí (F10. 75) (béo) (Thur. §352)
dīa beirt bindgil (F5. 16) (bindgel)
co mbūaid bladaig (F5. 18) (bladach) (i, n in OIr--perhaps earlier ā, f; **here fem.**) **(gender)**
ós Bóin[d] bladaig (F7. 49)
ōs Boind(*LL*) bláthbuic(*LL*) (F7. 26) (boc)
ós Bōin[d] bricc (F7. 9) (brecc)
do chlaind Chobthaig clīaraig (F6. 167) (clíarach) (or gen. sg. masc. referring to Cobthach)
don mnaí for(r)āin ētrachtgil (F11. 24 *LL*) (étrocht, -acht + gel)
don mnaí for(r)āin (F11. 24 *LL*) (forán)
dīa echtrai ingnaid (F10. 34) (ingnad, ingnáth)
oc Manistir móir (F7. 87) (mór)
i nHērind óig (F8. 7)
ōs Taltin(*LL*) tōebglaiss (F7. 90) (glas)
īar tírfeirg toglaig (F10. 23)
de saigit tréin (F8. 36)
a hAlpain úair (F8. 101)

Acc. or dat. sg. masc.\(neut.)

i cath birach Blattened (F6. 56) (berach, birach) (nas. could have been omitted)
ōs Mide magnech (F6. 30 *LL*) (dat. or acc. used for dat.)
for Midi(*LL*) mall (F6. 127)
i cath mór (F8. 128)

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[1] The non-palatal consonant in the second adj. indicates masc. gender (rocháem : fóen)--unless rocháem is the substantivised adj.

[2] As the consonant in rocháem is not palatal, this could only be the dat. qualifying m*ac*, and not the gen. qualifying Máel (rocháem : fóen)--unless this is the substantivised adj.

i mMide múad (F5. 109)
i rrígi rebach (F6. 87) (n, later f--here m\n)

Nom. pl. masc.(\neut.)

Blaithm*ac* bá[i]n (F7. 21)
na catha dēdencha dremna (F4. 119) (déidenach and dremun, later also dremain)
Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig (F1. 41) (:congaib) **(gender)**[1]
a ngluind gnoäig (F3. 11) (gnóach) **(hiatus)**
ind ríg rogaig (F3. 69) (rogach)

Nom. pl. fem.

móra (F11. 56)

Acc. pl. fem. (direct object of a verb)
fúair [...] \ *sé* blīad*na* finna fichet (F6. 148)

Acc. pl. masc.\(neut.) (after prep.)
co firu Fōtla finnu fíalu (F5. 83) (finn, fíal) (or subst. adj.) (cf. F5. 50)

Gen. pl. masc.\(neut.)
slūag [n]Arad [n-]án (F4. 114) (m\n?) (or nom. sg. masc. qualifying slúag)
for slūag Gall ngarg (F4. 108)
la slūag Gall gargg(*LL*) (F7. 115) **(nas. omitted)** (or garg refers to Gall)
na ngíall nglacbān (F5. 127)
na ngīall ngraigech (F2. 66)
ríg ragel(*LL*) (F7. 2)
ruirech rathach (F5. 19)
ríg rúad (F6. 201)
na slúag saindían (F4. 85)
na slúag sen (F10. 15)

Gen. pl. fem.

dā fichet būan blīad*an* (F2. 4) **(adj. precedes noun) (nas. omitted)**[2]
na cned cathach (F1. 36)
argg Connacht cnedmar (F4. 53) (or cnedmar refers to argg)
mór (F9. 7)

Gen. pl. masc. or fem.

taccomol glond claidbech (F3. 31)

Dat. pl. masc.

re demnaib odraib (F8. 48) (odor) **(case)**

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[1] In theory this could also be the gen. sg. masc. form qualifying Dé; however, as this population name was regarded as a unit, I think it is unlikely that the poet meant to qualify Dé here. Or maybe this is a gen. of apposition?

[2] In theory, būan could also refer to fichet; however, that would not make much sense.

io\iā-stems

Nom. sg. masc.\(neut.)

aile (F3. 85; F5. 131; F10. 127)
airgdide (F11. 40)
Mathgamain clainne Céin calma (F5. 131) (calma[e]?, io\iā?--no stem-class in *DIL*)[1] **(wo)**
cētna (F5. 61, 117) (cétnae)
nech crōda (F5. 138) (cródae)
cend Cathaīr crōda (F10. 69) (cródae)
nī rād ṅdétla (F3. 27) (détlae) (nas. in cheville)
in gním glanda (F1. 9)
in teidm tondbuide(*LL*) (F7. 24) (n, **here m**) **(gender)**

Nom. sg. fem.

ōenblī*adain* aile(*LL*) (F6. 161)
ropo chūaird chūanna (F4. 130) (cúanna[e])
ní drend dochla (F5. 58) (dochla[e])
ind inis uile (F1. 38)

Nom. sg., gender uncertain

ollband āebda (F4. 70) (oíbda[e])

Acc. sg. masc.\(neut.) (direct object of a verb)

nī chlune nach n-amra n-aile (F1. 44)
geguin Corrgend [...] \ Āed ard amra (F1. 16) (no nas.)
forsin Domnall crodond cētna (F4. 72) (cétnae)
la Coirchend [...] comchalma (F8. 90) (comchalma[e]?--no stem-class in *DIL*)
tuc [...] flathius fata (F6. 83)
fúair gním ṅgalla (F5. 8) (galdae)

Acc. sg. masc.\(neut.) (after prep.)

la Nīall n-ard n-amra (F5. 132) (amrae)
co Cond calma Cētchathach (F6. 16) (calma[e]?, io\iā?--no stem-class in *DIL*)
la Cināed crūaid(*LL*) comchalma(*LL*) (F7. 92) (comchalma[e]?)
la Conall ṅgasta ṅ(*LL*)Guthbind (F7. 8) (gastae)

Acc. sg., gender uncertain (after prep.)

co Bondammair ṁbechda (F5. 57) (bechda[e]) (m or f)

Gen. sg. masc.\(neut.)

aile (F8. 69)
Ailig airgnai (F3. 62) (airgnae) (m\n)
m*ac* Mel S*echnaill* amra (F6. 133) (amrae) (prob. m) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
ermōr neich ro īarfaig uli (F1. 3) (qualifying neich)
Átha Medōin magdai (F4. 67) (magda[e])
m*ac* Tūathail tolgda (F5. 53) (tolgda[e]) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)

Gen. sg. fem.

Eūropa\Eūr(o)pa uile\ule (F3. 60; F5. 22)
Hēr*end* uile(*LL*) (F7. 23)

Dat. sg. masc.(\neut.)

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[1] I take calma as qualifying Mathgamain, so I do not expect it to be lenited after Céin. Note that the adj. could also qualify clainne here.

ó Ech*aig* amra (F6. 15) (amrae)
i mMaig Adar úane (F4. 131) (úaine) (n?)

Dat. sg. fem.

de saigit tréin tentide (F8. 36)
for Hēr*ind* uile\ule (F1. 43; F2. 55) (see FN on p. 263)
d'Hērind uili (F12. 67 *LL*)

Dat. sg. of uncertain gender

'con rāith chétna (F8. 55) (m\f)

Acc. or dat. sg. fem.

'na *c*rích cranda (F5. 8) (crannda[e]) (no stem-class in *DIL*)

Nom. pl. masc.

na ríg aile (F2. 56)
glórda (F11. 55)
rīg Airgīall ule (F4. 88) (uile) (no nas.--adj. refers to rīg)

Nom. pl. fem.

***deich* mblīadna aile(*LL*) (F7. 66)**
is na gabāla ile ule (F5. 96) (uile)

Acc. pl. masc.\(neut.)

do-rat dar Ultu [...] \ ganna grīanna (F5. 50) (gríanda[e]) (qualifying Ultu or ganna) (or nom. pl. of attrib. adj. or nom. or acc. pl. of subst. adj.) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 146)
corra gaib ule a ngīallu (F5. 84) (uile) (adj. precedes noun)

Gen. pl. masc.(\neut.)

dīn nAirther n-āebda (F5. 71) ([n]) (oíbda[e])
araile senchad (F11. 58)

i-stems

Nom. sg. masc.(\neut.)

airdairc (F1. 13) (airdirc) (n\m)
Ōengus airdairc (F6. 149 *LL*)
álaind (F11. 36)
éc anapaig (F6. 104)
bil (F8. 31; F9. 5) (no stem-class in *DIL*) (F9: m?)
bind (F9. 59)
Corp*re* Coraind cain (F10. 37)[1]
cain (F10. 69)
cóir (F9. 47) (m\n) **(hiatus)**
cōir (F10. 44) **(hiatus)**
crūaid (F3. 13; F7. 96, 104 *R*)
ēraim **n**daith (F10. 9) (n, later f) **(nas. in cheville or neut. nas.)**
féig (F11. 10, 21)
fírdil (F2. 57)
glé (F9. 15) (m?) (Thur. §357)
glé (F10. 71) (Thur. §357)
gledgus glēmín (F5. 25)
rád n-imlaind (F3. 51) **(nas. in cheville)**
ergnus n-imléir (F5. 28) **(nas. in cheville)**
imlúath (F8. 94) (: Crūach) (imm + lúath, o\ā)
síl Eōgain **(n)**-imrind (F5. 122) (n, later m) (or gen. sg.) (see FN on F4. 74, Vol. I, p. 107)
sobraig (F10. 134) (m)

Nom. sg. fem.

ba blad bil (F7. 121 *R*) (*DIL*: no st-cl.) (?originally n, later f; see under ā-stems)
Donand chomlān **c[h]**ain (F8. 15) (unless this is the subst. adj.)
nī dál deróil (F4. 110) (no stem-class in *DIL*)
dil (F8. 45)

Nom. sg., gender uncertain

angbaid dulad (F3. 38) (prob. n\m) (*DIL*: "Mid. Ir. writing of andgaid")[2]
Cú Chaille **ch**rúaid (F5. 124) (m or f)

Nom. or acc. sg. masc.

la Mál m*ac* réil (F10. 60)

Voc. sg.

a Dé demin (F4. 133) (deimin, i?; but *DIL*: apm. + n. demniu)

Acc. sg. masc. (direct object of a verb)

ro marbsat in mbūadching **bil** (F10. 27) (no stem-class in *DIL*) **(nas. omitted)**

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[1] I take the adj. as referring to Corp*re*, so I do not expect cain to be lenited after Coraind.

[2] As far as the word angbaid (F3. 38) is concerned, *DIL* is not accurate in saying that O'Brien regards this as the MIr spelling of andgaid. O'Brien, 1932: 157 talks about anbaig, and says that it is the MIr form of angbaid. Meyer, 1906: 97, 103 takes these as two separate words, considering andgid to be a derivative of andach. Vendryes, 1959: 75 regards these as two separate words as well, although he admits that their resemblance to each other could have caused confusion. I would be inclined to treat these words as different ones too, as I do not know how to explain the change dg > to gb.

Acc. sg. fem. (direct object of a verb)

ro innsaig [..] Banba mbind (F12. 57)

Acc. sg. masc.(\neut.)

im lecht condail(t) (F1. 12) (cunnail) (m\n)
la Cināed crūaid (F7. 92 *LL*)
lasin(*R*) Conall ngērglicc(*R*) glan(*LL*) (F7. 19) **(nas. omitted)**
lasin Conall nGuthbind nglē (F7. 15) (Thur. §357)
cen temel timm (F10. 79) (m\n)

Acc. sg. fem.

cen chobraind cain (F10. 19)
ar certblai caín (F10. 33)

Gen. sg. masc.(\neut.)

m*ac* Airmedaig áith (F6. 69) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
m*ac* Conaing cain (F7. 45) (or cain refers to m*ac*)
m*ac* Cruind chain (F10. 121)
ingen Chonchraid chain (F11. 1)
clainne cóir Conaill (F5. 52) **(adj. precedes noun)** (see FN on p. 233) **(hiatus)**
cethrachat cóir\cōir (F6. 82, 181) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 200) **(hiatus)**
h*ūa* Cernaig crúaid (F7. 53) (or nom. sg. qualifying h*ūa*)
h*ūa* Conch*obuir* chrúaid (F6. 129)
athair Cuind chrūaid **Ch**étch*athaig* (F10. 68)
(m*ac* Domnaill), (m*ac* Dondcha(i)da *LL*) daith (F6. 101 *LL*, 105) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
m*ac* Duib daith (F9. 61) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
m*ac* Delbāeth dil (F8. 51) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
(m*ac* Dondchaid), (dar éis Domnaill delbglain) dil (F6. 115, 193 *LL*) (in F6. 115 the adj. could also be nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)
m*ac* Ardgair inmain (F4. 135) (m(?)) (the adj. could also refer to m*ac* here)
degm*eic* luchair **[F]**lannacáin (F7. 118)
(Col*māin* Móir), (in m*eic*), (magMide) maith (F6. 41 *R*, 117, 197)
m*ac* Subni serig (F6. 66) (seirig) (or nom. sg. qualifying m*ac*)

Dat. sg. masc.(\neut.)

ic Druim Chrīaig cain (F6. 175) (n)
do m*ac* cóir (F11. 50) **(hiatus)**
do m*ac* cóir chubaid C*er*baill(*LL*) (F11. 50)
don Dagda dulig (F1. 16) (doilig)
i *n*Aliuch ergnaid (F2. 49) (n\m)
i flaithius fīrmaith (F6. 106 *LL*)
la Conall glē (F7. 51 *LL*) **(case or nas. omitted)** (Thur. §357)
co ngrád glēir glē (F10. 59) (n) (Thur. §357)
co n-alt imrind (F4. 74) (m?) (i?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 107)
do Mide(*LL*) maith (F6. 177) (or acc. used for dat.)
ós Mide mongréid (F6. 22 *LL*) (or acc. used for dat.)
don ríg roglicc (F7. 10)

Dat. sg. fem.

i mBladma bind (F9. 27)
i mBregaib bind (F9. 21) **(number)**
ós chlainn(*R*) Chobthaig cain (F6. 103) (in theory this could also qualify Chobthaig)
ūas chīanbla chain (F10. 113)
co clú chlothbind (F5. 110) (f?)
i Cuillind chrúaid (F8. 119)

dobéil (F8. 106) (dobeóil, no st-cl. in *DIL*)
co n-úaill ergnaid (F1. 49) (airgnaid)
for Hēr*ind* uile glēbind (F1. 43)
co rrogail rolaind (F5. 51) (rolainn)

Dat. sg. of uncertain gender

i tóeb grind (F10. 104) (m\f)

Acc. or dat. sg. of uncertain gender

i rrīgi réil (F6. 97) (n, later f)

Nom. pl. fem.

is na gabāla ile (F5. 96) (il, originally u)

Gen. pl. masc.(\neut.)

im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle (F3. 21) **(adj. precedes noun)**
a ndrechach ndil (F10. 3)
na ngním nglē (F6. 203 *LL*) (Thur. §357)

Adjectives of uncertain declension

Gen. sg. fem.

fīa (F11. 53) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 321)

Dat. sg.

dīa ríge rā (F10. 11) (n, later f) (*DIL*: see rán and 2 ro) (or acc.)

Nom. pl. fem.

a *deich* dāena (F2. 26) (dáen, *DIL*: dáin) (or subst. adj.) (o\ā?)

Gen. pl. masc.(\neut.)?

díur (F10. 131) (*DIL*: diúir) (:derbsíur)

II. Predicative adjectives

o\ā-stems

Nom. sg. masc.(\neut.)

[ba] amnas cath (F4. 93)
án flaith (F10. 105)
ard (F9. 57) (n, later m)
ard hūa Canaind (F5. 129)
nī bec slúag (F6. 202 *LL*)
cāem in forrān (F4. 40)
cāem a mathius (F6. 109)
cāem alt (F5. 42)
cīan bas cuman (F4. 94; F5. 43)[1] (gender?)
cían (F8. 19)
cīan bas cuman (F4. 94; F5. 43) (o\ā?; no stem-class in *DIL*)
[is] derb (F4. 76)
derb lend(*LL*) (F6. 95)
ba dían degrach (F4. 77)
nīrbo dograch (F5. 100)
fāen (F4. 112)
(cenchor), (cencor) **f**and (F8. 29; F9. 23)
fás (F6. 178)
fīal (F2. 38)
fīal in tairchel[l] (F4. 82)
ba fīal fodla (F5. 132) (or subst. adj.)
nār **f**óen(*LL*) (F6. 113)
fortend (F10. 40) (*DIL*: 1 example + see fortan)
garg tarbe (F3. 46) (n) (or gen. pl.; see FN in Vol. I, p. 67)
ba gar**gg** dune (F3. 58)
ba gīal[l]tach(*LL*) gnīa (F11. 9)
glondchar (F12. 3 *LL*)
(is) graigech (F1. 6)
ingnad in gnīm (F5. 11)
lánmemor (F1. 41)[2]
ba leōr derbaid (F4. 127) (*DIL*: lór, OIr loor, lour)
marb (F7. 100; F8. 21, 125; F9. 22, 30, 31, 32; F10. 125)
mór (F5. 47; F8. 83)
ba mór (glondalt), (guba) (F4. 13, 16)
mōr gním (F5. 25)
ōg int anfad (F4. 64)
nocorb olc (F4. 134)
nāro omnus (F4. 59) (amnas)? (see FN in Vol. I, p. 105)
rogarb (F10. 63)
sáer (F3. 82)
nīrbo theidmnech (F10. 6) (tedmannach, teidmnech)

Nom. sg. fem.

ba hālacht (F11. 25, 37) (on the length of the initial vowel, see Metrics)

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[1] In theory the adj. could also be used adverbially here.

[2] *DIL* lists this word under mebair, i, f, OIr mebuir, in MIr also mebar. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that the MIr form is actually an o\ā adjective, which was created by the reanalysis of the nom. pl. form of mebair, mebra, as the plural of an o\ā adjective.

ard (F8. 9)
ardd a chongga(i)b (F5. 119)
ardd bruthgal (F3. 18)
ard ārim (F3. 54)
būan (F8. 53) (f?)
cāem (F12. 27) (f?)
garg in chrech (F5. 49)
lán ind Hēriu (F5. 17)
marb (F8. 53)
ba holc opair (F1. 18)
oll athach (F10. 73)

Nom. sg., gender uncertain

ba báeth bine (F1. 20) (m + f in *IGT*)
cid cían cūairt (F5. 116) (m, later f)
foroll fūacra (F4. 72) (n, later f)

Nom. pl. masc.(\neut.)

cruäich (F3. 12) (crúach) **(hiatus)**
marba (F8. 33, 75)
bit mebra limsa (F9. 3) (mebor) (or f?)[1]

Nom. pl. fem.

marba (F8. 46)

[1] *DIL* cites this line under the heading: "With pl. subj. used in pl. (?) form mebra". See footnote on lánmemor, p. 283.

io\iā-stems

Nom. sg.

nāch ada (F5. 133) (ada(e))
amra (F1. 21) (m)
calma (F12. 53 *R*) (calma[e]?, io\iā?--no stem-class in *DIL*) (m)
nīr fata(*LL*) (F6. 73) (f?)
gleōr(g)da glaine (F5. 22) (gleórda[e]) (:Eūr(o)pa)
cīarbo indsa (F1. 55) (ansae, insae)

Nom. pl.

cīaptar armtha (F5. 70) (armthae, part. of armaid)

i-stems

Nom. sg.

caīn crāebdus (F3. 23) (m)
caín cing (F10. 103)
coïr (F1. 33) **(hiatus)**
ba crūaid in céim (F5. 107) **(m) (gender)**
crūaid in chomraind (F4. 124) (f)
cubaid lind (F8. 55)[1] (no stem-class in *DIL*)
ba cubaid cīal[l] a chrūadcherd (F10. 26) (f) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 298)
ba dodaing (F4. 38)
écāir (F12. 39) (éccóir, éccáir) (n, later m)
ergnaid (F1. 51, 62) (m)
glicc (F1. 56)
batar infir (F5. 1) (inir, later also infir) **(number)**
maith (F12. 43) (m)
réil a réimend (F4. 47) (n, later m+f) **(number)**
nī sūail (F5. 18) (could also be used adverbially here)
sūairc (F12. 23, 29, 34) (m) (*DIL*: disyllabic in one example; later monosyllabic) **(hiatus)**
nocorbo thimm (F4. 126)[2]
nīr thláith (F6. 70)

Nom. pl.

ili (F3. 11) (il, originally u)

Indeclinables

Nom. sg.

ūais (F1. 30) (m) (Thur. §850)

Adjectives of uncertain declension

dāig (F3. 12) (doich, MIr dóig)

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[1] There is only one example of cubaid with la in *DIL*, which seems to be quite a late one.

[2] In theory, this adj. could also be used as an adverb here.

Comparatives

o\ā-stems

as aidbli (F5. 134) (adbal)
burbbu borbgnīm (F4. 96) (borb)
fīru fodlaib (F2. 50)
gairgiu tólaib (F3. 75) (garg)
nī lugu (F5. 27) (becc)
(is), (ba) mó (gessib), (sechme), (*gre*saib), (ce*ch* dechraind), (ce*ch* claind) (F4. 5, 9, 79; F5. 109; F11. 49) (mór)
soilsi(*LL*) (F12. 25) (solus, u, later o\ā)
suilsi(*LL*) (F12. 35)
soillsi (F12. 37)

io\iā-stems

andso in cath (F4. 95) (ansae) (or and + so?)
dune as dánu (F5. 84) (dánae) **(for superl.)**

i-stems

demni scélaib (F4. 31) (deimin, i? but *DIL*: apm. + n. demniu)
doidngiu in cath (F4. 97) (dodaing)
ferr (dún), (lēa) (F1. 26; F11. 31) (maith)
is līa turim (F5. 2) (il, originally u) **(hiatus)**
sadbrite [= sadbriu de] in rí (F5. 46) (saidbir + di + 3rd sg. dat. m\n)

III. Substantivised adjectives (for gender, see Thur. §255)

o-stems

Nom. sg.

(cid) argg\arg (F4. 53, 108; F5. 29)[1] (m)
in ceōlach (F10. 119) (m)
mad cert cin (F10. 21) (n, *IGT* m)
cuman comdīan (F4. 86) (o\ā?--no stem-class in *DIL*)
in dīan\dían (F5. 9, 67) (m)
dlūthach ngleë (F4. 50) (n)
ermōr neich (F1. 3) (n)
in fairmend Frigrend (F1. 48) (formenn, m)
fialglan fethet (F2. 6) (fíal, o\ā, + glan, o\ā) (m)
find (F10. 5) (m)
fordarc (F10. 94) (m)
in goll (F5. 7) (m)
mór (ndíne), (ríg) (F1. 47; F6. 5; F7. 2) (n)
óg a ernaig (F1. 50) (n) (or acc.)
in sétach (F10. 90) (m)
téitgel trīathglan (F5. 10) (m) (two subst. adjs. in app., or one is a qualifying adj.)
in tóesech (F9. 72) (toísech, m)
tomsech trebaid (F1. 46) (n)
trīathach (F4. 6) (m)

Voc. sg.

a eōlaig (F7. 144) (eólach, éola) (m)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

sīacht cert nGaēdel (F10. 129) (n, *IGT* m)
tōcbaid in marb (F1. 25) (m)

Gen. sg.

for claind Colmāin comlaind (F4. 73) (comlann, [n])[2]
in chomlaind(*LL*) chōicdaig (F6. 102) (comlann, [n])
(cobrād), (ardgus) **n**-eōlaig (F2. 12, 64) (m) (éolach, o\ā, earlier éola, g--Thur. §360)
(nas. in cheville)
in rūaid (F5. 124) (rúad, m)
(in) tríuin (F10. 23, 95) (trén, m)

Dat. sg.

'na chomland(*LL*) chatha (F6. 163) ([n])
co slán salmchar (F5. 82) **(case or len. mark omitted)**
īarsind ulc-sin (F1. 22) (olc, n, later m)

Acc. or dat. sg.

fon marb-sin (F1. 27) (m)

Nom. pl.

eōlaig (F4. 2, 7) (m) (eólach or eóla--Thur. §360)

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[1] In theory this could also be the qualifying adj. in both cases in F4; however, this seems to be very unlikely in F4. 108.

[2] I take the attributive gen. as qualifying claind, so I do not expect lenition here.

do-rat dar Ultu [...] \ ganna, grīanna (F5. 50) (gann) (or acc. pl. of subst. or attrib. adj.--cf. F5. 83) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 146)
glana (F11. 55 *LU*) (m) (or pred. adj. referring to clanna? See Note in Vol. I, p. 317.)
oäic (F4. 103) (óc, OIr oäc) (m) **(hiatus)**
toīsig (F9. 1) (m)

Voc. pl.

a ēōlchu (F8. 1) (m) (eólach, earlier éola, g, m--Thur. §360)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

for coímu (F4. 63) (cáem, m)
la hectranna (F6. 100) (echtrann, m) (note that this could also belong to echtranda, io\iā)
for trīuno (F5. 31) (trén, m)

Gen. pl.

armach (F3. 13, 37) (m)
i mBrēfni bladach (F5. 115) (m) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 139)
i Casiul chlethrūad (F12. 66 *LL*) (m)
comland (F2. 61) (n)
immaid chomland (F4. 35) ([n])[1]
na curchach (F5. 69) (m)
a ndrechach ndil (F10. 3) (m)
drongg[s]eng (F10. 131) (n\m?)
īar ngreis galach (F2. 48) (m) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 47)
na n-óc (F8. 152) (m) **(hiatus)**
na n-ollchar (F5. 81) (m)
co slán salmchar (F5. 82) (m)
tōesech\tóesech (F9. 20, 68) (m)
for slūag nAlban n-ulach (F3. 42) (m)
for slúago Alban ulach (F4. 61) (m)
(co n-)ēchtaib umal (F5. 89) (m)

Dat. pl.

do chōic cōicedaib (F12. 60) (*IGT* m)
dona trēnaib (F4. 32) (trén, m)

io\iā-stems

Nom. sg.

deōrata (F3. 59) (deórata[e]--no stem-class given in *DIL*) (m)

Acc. sg. (direct object of a verb)

nī chlune nach n-amra n-aile (F1. 44) (m)

Dat. sg.

do chalmu (F4. 1) (calma[e]?, f, no stem-class in *DIL*) (collective)

Nom. pl.

uile ro marbtha (F5. 70) (m)
ó Ūgaine ule anall (F6. 13 *LL*) (m)

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[1] Note that his could also be the nom. sg. fem. of the attributive adj. See also immaid under the gen. sg. of o-stems, p. 195.

i-stems

Nom. sg.

in allaid (F1. 42) (m)
andá cech dodaing (F4. 97) (n)
in fírecnaid (F11. 34) (m)
glē [a] n-imrall (F4. 76) (n) (Thur. §357)

Acc. sg.

and ro anmaid (F5. 33) (an, neg. prefix, + maith, n in OIr, later m; in ModIr often f)
[co] nglúair ngraigech (F1. 57) (n)

Gen. sg.

m*ac* Domnaill dīamra (F6. 153 *LL*) (díamair, n)[1]

Acc. pl. (direct object of a verb)

ra chobair daidbre (F5. 55) (daidbir, m)
selaid Murchad mathe fer (F5. 111) (maith, m) (or maithe, iā, f)

Acc. pl. (after prep.)

for mathe Muman (F4. 23) (maith, m) (or maithe, iā, f)

[1] Or gen. sg. of the abstract díamra--not well attested. *Cf. R*, which has dīamair.

IV. Adjectives used adverbially without co

o\ā-stems

ríg[a] Connacht cáem dos-comart (F4. 100) (or: cáem is the gen. pl. of the attrib. adj.)
derb (F1. 5; F2. 63) (or pred.)
dīan (F12. 48 *R*)
olc ro bātar (F4. 133) (or pred.)
nī terc torcaib (F2. 32)
rotrén reraig (F5. 130) (or subst. adj. m)
trebar ros túir (F5. 66) (or pred.)

i-stems

réil (F2. 34)

Adjectives used adverbially with co

io\iā-stems

co cummair comse (F9. 67) (*DIL*: coimse, earlier comsae, cuimse)

i-stems

co cummair comse (F9. 67) (earlier cumbair?)
co hergnaid (F2. 44) (airgnaid)

Adjectives of uncertain declension

co demin (F6. 65) (co + deimin, i? o\ā?)

Adjectives used adverbially with do

do léir (F5. 93)

V. Numeral adjectives

Nom. masc.[1] (with traces of nas. proper to neut. in OIr)

dá\dā secht (F2. 14, 32)
dá dó (F2. 28)
dā (coīcait), (sé mblīadan *LL*), (ardrí *LL*), (deich) (F5. 19; F6. 130; F7. 23, 102 *R*)
secht ríg dā fichet ríg (F6. 201)
dā blīadain (F7. 49) **(gender)**
i torcratar dā mac (F4. 74) (vb. in pl.)
i rrubad dā trīan (F4. 94) (vb. in sg.) (nas.)
dá ndeich (F7. 85) (nas.)
dā fichet (F5. 78) (or acc.) (len.)
na dā chét (F5. 88) (len.)
trī (secht*secht*), (cóic) (F2. 23, 24, 52)
trī\trí (F4. 89; F8. 74; F10. 28) (m)
trī blīadna (F6. 53, 103, 138) **(gender)**
trī chōic blīadan (F7. 121)
cethri meic (F9. 49) (OIr cethair)
***cethri*\cethri blīadna (F6. 174; F7. 18 *LL*; F10. 114) (cethair) (gender)**
cethri\cethri (deich) (F6. 79, 195)
cóic\cóic\cōic (F6. 34, 78, 177, 181; F7. 14, 61, 97 *R*, 105, 123 *R*)
sé*sé*\sē (mís\mīs), (rīg) (F2. 21, 22, 55; F6. 65, 70, 82, 87 *LL*; F7. 30, 33, 54, 69, 85, 90)
secht cét (F3. 37)
secht*secht* (ríg), (mís) (F4. 34; F5. 13)
secht\secht (mblīadna (déc)), ([m]blīadna déc *LL*) (F5. 13; F6. 23, 30, 59, 122, 134 *LL*, 187, 201; F7. 109, 117, 125 *LL*)
ocht\ocht (mblīadna *LL*), (mblīadna) (F6. 49; F7. 46 *LL*, 77 *LL*, 81)
noí mblīadna (F2. 41)
deich*deich* mblīadna (F6. 113; F7. 66)

Nom. fem.

dī airdi (F3. 92)
dī\dí blīadain (F6. 90 *LL*, 117, 126 *LL*, 189 *LL*, 195; F7. 141 *LL*)
dí (F8. 46, 109)
teōra*teōra* blīadna\blīadna (F2. 43; F7. 26 *LL*)

Acc. masc. (direct object of a verb)

(ro sudig), (ro marb [...]) dā (rīg), (cét dīib) (F5. 56, 104)
tuc [...] \ trī choícait (F3. 80) (len.) **(sg.)**
rodas bruí [...] trī uí Domnaill (F5. 122) (in theory this could also be nom.)
erbb úait *secht* cóic (F2. 25)

Acc. fem. (direct object of a verb)

nīro chaith acht dí ōenblīadain (F7. 128 *LL*)
ro chaith *cethri* ōenblīadna (F6. 154 *LL*) **(gender)**
fúair [...] \ *sé* blīadna (F6. 148)
ro chaith secht mblīadna (F7. 132)

Acc. masc. (after prep.)

la trí secht (F2. 12)

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[1] I only separate the genders where there were distinctive forms for the different genders in OIr.

for cóic míli (F3. 68)
la sé deich (F3. 56)
frīa *noí* [mblíadna] déc (F2. 37)

Gen. masc.(\neut.)

ri ré dā fichet (F2. 4) (len.)
ār dā fichet *ocus* dā cét (F5. 95)
fairend trī chét (F3. 44) (len.)
(lucht), (ār) trí *cét* (curach), (cend) (F4. 62; F5. 108) (see FN in Vol. I, pp. 86 and 129)
cind cethri ndíni (F2. 1) ([n?])

Gen. fem.

ri ré cethri mblī*ad*an (F2. 6) **(gender)**
re ré *cóic* mblī*ad*an (F2. 46)
ré chōic(*LL*) mblī*adan*(*LL*) (F7. 6)
remes *sé* mblī*adan* (F6. 170 *LL*)
ré *secht* mblī*ad*an (F2. 33)
fri ré *noí* mblī*ad*an (F2. 35)

déc

déc\déc\dēc (F2. 20, 37, 41, 43, 47, 55; F5. 78; F6. 23, 34, 65, 122 *LL*, 134; F7. 94) **(hiatus)**

Dat. masc.(\neut.)

do chōic cōicedaib (F12. 60)

Dat. fem.

ré sé blīadnaib (F2. 16) **(case)**

Independent dat.

teōra blī*adn*aib (F2. 40) (f)
secht cétaib (F5. 43) (n)
deich cétaib (F3. 65) (n)

Numeral adjectives used substantivally

Nom.

ōen ar trīchait (F2. 27)
dá dó (F2. 28)
a dó (F4. 25)
a trí (F2. 9, 30, 32, 51)
a cethair*cethair* (F2. 8; F6. 38, 41, 185; F7. 10, 41)
a cóic*cóic*\cōic (F2. 31, 42, 65; F6. 62; F7. 113 *LL*)
trī cóic\chōic (F2. 52; F7. 121)
a sé (F2. 17; F7. 74, 94)
dā sé mblī*adan* (F6. 130 *LL*)
a *secht*\secht (F2. 10; F6. 25)
dá\dā secht (F2. 14, 32)
trī secht*secht* (mblī*ad*an) (F2. 23, 24)
ōenocht (mblī*ad*an) (F2. 11, 13)
a *hocht* (*déc*) (F2. 18, 20, 49)
a deich*deich* (dāena) (F2. 19, 26; F6. 49 *LL*)[1]

[1] In F2. 26 one could also interpret a as the poss. pron., deich as the num. adj., and dāena as the subst. adj.

dī blīadain *cethri* deich dron (F6. 195)
(dá n), (dā) deich (F7. 85, 102 *R*)

Acc. (direct object of a verb)

fég a dó (F2. 15)
(erbb úait *secht*), (gabais [...] \ a) cóic (F2. 25; F7. 22)

Acc. (after prepositions)

la hóen (F2. 52)
la trí secht (F2. 12)
la sé deich (F3. 56)

Gen.

fiche deich (F3. 55) ?

Dat.

do dechib (F3. 56) (deich)

Multiplicatives (Thur. §400)

fa dí (F2. 7)
fa dó (F6. 53 *LL*)
fá(*LL*)\fa(*LL*) dó (F7. 61, 74)
fá/fó thrí (F2. 31, 51)
fo trí/trī (F5. 46; F6. 62 *R*)
co ba(*LL*) thrí (F6. 165)
fo chethair (F2. 17; F6. 174)

Fractions (Thur. §399)

ní écind cétmad (F5. 136) (o?, n)

Ordinals

in tres amser (F1. 46) (tress, perh. originally o\ā, but usually undeclined) (f)

VI. Pronominal adjectives

Nom.

andá cech dodaing (F4. 97)

Acc.

ro-fessad cach ní (F1. 69)
ro tríall cach rían (F5. 97) (m)
ercad cech n-ing (F10. 42)
Fergal ro chrechaig cech(*LL*) claind (F6. 179) (f)
cen nach cāemna (F1. 27; F4. 105) ([n ?], later f)
nī chlune nach n-amra n-aile (F1. 44) (m)
cen nach sēna (F5. 49) (f)
ris nach cair (F10. 47) (f)

Gen.

dín cech deōraid (F3. 74) (m)
cech\-*ch* druing (F10. 77, 94) (m)
cech(*LL*) rīg (F12. 2) (m)

Dat.

ō cech duine (F1. 37; F2. 56) (m)[1]
ós cach bānlettir (F7. 14) (gender?)
mó cech dechraind (F5. 109) (f)
fīad cech claind (F10. 55) (f)
mó cech(*LL*) claind (F11. 49) (f)

Acc. or dat.

ar cach leth (F7. 102 *R*) (n)

[1] This might be acc. used for dat.

VERBS[1]

Weak Verbs I

Simple Verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 1 abs.

sonaim (F4. 22) (sonaid, ā)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 conj.

nī tréic (F1. 68) (tréicid, i)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 rel.

glaccas (F12. 65 *LL*) (glacaid)

Pres. ind. pl. 1 rel.

is mó sechme (F4. 9) (sichid, seichid) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 102)

Pres. ind. pl. 2 abs.

do Subni Mind mórtha (F2. 14) (móraid) (rel.) (note that this could also be the past. part.)

Pres. ind. pl. 3

fēgait (F4. 7) (fégaid)
lūadit gormraind (F5. 121) (lúaidid) (rel.)
rādit (F7. 77 *LL*) (could be rel.) (ráidid, ī)

Pres. ind. pass. sg. conj.

nād chromthar (F4. 63) (crommaid) (rel.)
nād chumthar (F4. 81) (cummaid) (rel.)
molbthar massib (F5. 85) (molbaid, ā) (:Dondchad) (this could be the pres. pass. sg. rel. or the conj. used for abs., or the pass. impv.)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3

nād charad (F4. 69) (caraid) (rel.)
no indled (F12. 15) (indlid, i)
nos othrad (F5. 68) (othraid)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3 **without no**

clandad **ch**omram (F2. 24) (clannaid)
ercad (F10. 42) (1 ercaid)
ferad (F4. 101) (feraid, ā)
techt[ad] (F1. 35) (techtaid, ā)

Imper. sg. 2

erbb úait (F2. 25) (erbaid)
fég (F1. 9; F2. 15, 61) (fégaid)
rím (F2. 59) (rímid, ī)
sluind (F7. 109) (sluindid)

Imper. pl. 2

caínid (F4. 32) (caínid) (see Footnote in Vol. I, p. 103)

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[1] The pres. ind. sg. 3 is always given in brackets.

derbaid (F4. 127) (derbaid)[2]
fēgaid (F1. 67) (fégaid)

Imper. pl. 3

fialglan fethet (F2. 6) (fethid, ī(?))

Imper. pass. sg.

fēgthar (F1. 13) (fégaid)

Pres. subj. sg. 1 conj.

cīa rēl (F10. 13) (rélaid, ā)

Pres. subj. sg. 2

íarra lat (F7. 143 *LL*) (íarraid, ā)[2]

Pres. subj. sg. 3 abs.

cīa trīallaid (F1. 1) (tríallaid, ā)[3]

Past subj. sg. 3

no íccad(*LL*) (F11. 18) (íccaid, ā)

Pret. sg. 3 abs.

cachtsus (F11. 5) (cachtaid) (+ suffixed pronoun)
mandrais (F5. 127) (mandraid, ā, with ē-fut.)
rādsis(*LL*) (F11. 17) (ráidid (fri), i)
tollais (F5. 98) (tollaid)
trīallais (F2. 33; F10. 121) (tríallaid, ā)
trōethais (F5. 51, 101) (trāethaid)

Pret. sg. 3 conj.

mad cert cin (F10. 21) (:Brudin) (cinid)

Pret. pl. 3 abs.

hūa Canaind Caīlle Conaill cirrsit claidib (F5. 129) (cirrid) (rel.)

Pret. pass. sg. abs.

maíti (F10. 107) (moídid, i) ?

Pret. pass. pl. abs.

roríg ringthi (F3. 89) (ringid, i) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 70)
trōeta (F4. 17) (trāethaid, ā)

Perf. sg. 1

derb ro sechnus (F2. 63) (sechnaid, ā)

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[1] or: 1 derbaid, `hindrance, prevention', nom. sg.

[2] This form is cited in *DIL* as pres. subj. (jussive) sg. 2. However, it is used with imperative force here (on imperative sg. 2 forms ending in a vowel see *SNG*: 298: 12.24).

[3] Note that this form could also be pres. ind. pl. 2 conj.

Perf. sg. 3

ro and (F5. 64) (andaid)[1]
dïar āsair (F7. 2 *R*) (āsaid)[2]
rodas(*LU*) b*en*nach (F11. 21) (bennachaid)
dïaros bréc (F8. 84) (brécaid)
ro bris(s) (F4. 20, 26, 40, 122, 128; F5. 59, 93) (brissid)
rodas brōena (F4. 43) (brāenid)
ros cacht (F5. 45, 62) (cachtaid)
ro chacht (F5. 80, 81) (cachtaid)
ro cáin (F10. 99) (cáinid) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 301)
(nī)ro chaith (F6. 154 *LL*; F7. 128, 132) (caithid)
corod caith (F10. 106) (caithid)
ūair ro crád (F10. 99) (cráidid, also crádaid) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 301)
ro chreit(*LL*) (F12. 6) (creitid) (rel.)
ra chroch (F10. 87) (crochaid)
rod c(i)úir (F5. 30) (cúraid) (:Dúin) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 145)
(in tan), (co) ro dall (F5. 64, 110) (dallaid)
nōco(*R*) ro ndall (F6. 128) (dallaid, ā)
rod n-erca (F10. 138) (2 ercaid)
ro feith(*LL*) (F6. 50, 196) (*DIL*: fethid, ī(?)) (rel. in F6. 196)
ros foīd (F2. 68) (foídid, ī) (rel.) (MacNeill, 1913: 54 translates it with the fut. perf.)
ro glacc (F6. 58 *LL*; F10. 97) (glacaid)
nāro thrēnglacc (F6. 135) (glacaid) (rel.)
rod lēni (F3. 26) (lénaid)
coro marb (F1. 20) (marbaid, ā)
co(*LL*)ro marb (F7. 44) (marbaid, ā) (+ masc. inf. pron.)
ro marb (F5. 104) (marbaid)
ro marb (F6. 44, 51) (marbaid, ā) **(all for ra mmarb)**
ro marb(*LL*) (F6. 119, 155; F7. 63) (marbaid, ā) **(all for ra mmarb)**
ros marb (F3. 83; F7. 24) (marbaid, ā)
conid romarb (F10. 64) (:rogarb) (marbaid, ā) **(stressed ro)**
rod marb (F7. 80 *LL*; F10. 132) (marbaid, ā)
rod(*LL*) marb (F7. 96) (marbaid, ā)
rod(*LL*) marb (F7. 124) (marbaid, ā) **(not rel.)**
rod marb (F6. 143) (marbaid, ā) **(not rel.)**
rod mór (F5. 137) (móraid, ā)
ro scaíl badb (F4. 102) (scaílid)
ra(*LL*) scar (F6. 186) (scaraid, ā)
ro síni (F3. 66) (sínid, i)
ro sluind (F1. 4) (sluindid, ī)
ro thecht (F10. 98) (techtaid, ā)
ro thrīall (F2. 54) (tríallaid, ā)
ro tríall (F5. 97) (tríallaid, ā)
ros túir (F5. 66) (túirid)

Perf. pl. 3

ro marbsat (F8. 19; F10. 27) (marbaid, ā)
ro marbsat Tūath (F9. 24) (marbaid, ā) (with sg. subject used as a collective)

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[1] *DIL* cites ro and under ad-annai, although this form can not belong to the simple verb formed from ad-annai, adannaid, adnaid. Note that there is only one example cited in *DIL* under andaid. However, the verbal noun, andud, seems to be well attested. See also the Note in Vol. I, p. 136.

[2] This form is cited in *DIL* as pret. and not as perf. See the Note in Vol. I, p. 217.

Perf. pl. 3 **without ro**

marbsat (F5. 52) (marbaid)

Perf. pass. sg.

coro bāded (F7. 107) (báidid)
ro báided (F8. 37, 104) (báidid)
ro brissed (F4. 130) (brissid)
ro hecrad (F1. 65) (ecraid, ā)
ro fírad (F10. 127) (fíraid, ā)
ra(*LL*) losced (F6. 40) (loiscid, i; in OIr also loscaid)
ro maíded (F3. 88) (moídid, i)
ro raíned (F3. 87) (roínid, raínid, ī)
réil ro rélad (F2. 34) (rélaid, ā)
ro rígad (F2. 3) (rígaid, ā)
coro rígad (F12. 63 *LL*) (rígaid, ā)
ro scríbad (F10. 128) (scríbaid)

Perf. pass. pl.

ro báiti (F9. 36)
ro loscthea (F8. 116) (loiscid i, OIr also loscaid)
(uile) ro marbtha (F5. 70; F6. 80; F8. 111) (marbaid)

Weak Verbs II

Compound verbs

Pres. ind.\Pres. subj. pl. 2 deut.

cīa 'me-rādid (F4. 2) (imm-rádi + inf. pron.)

Imper. pl. 2

ārmid (F4. 121) (ad-rími)
costid ri (F7. 65) (con-túaisi)
ēstid (F8. 1, 152) (in-túaisi)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3 **without no**

fodlad (F12. 5 *LL*, 31) (fo-dáli)
fadlad (F12. 45 *R*) (fo-dáli)

Pres. subj. sg. 2 with ro

coro áirmi (F5. 134) (ad-rími)

Pret. sg. 3 deut.

con-tuil (F5. 102) (con-tuili)

Pret. sg. 3 prot.

thall (F12. 59) (do-alla) (prot.)

Perf. sg. 3 deut.

do-rrodáil (F11. 23 *LL*) (do-dáili)

Perf. sg. 3 prot.

coros derluig (F10. 86) (do-luigi) **(double ro)**
tāraill (F11. 35 *LU*) (do-aidlea) (prot.)
tarlaic (F10. 88) (do-léci) **(prot.)**

Perf. pass. sg.

ūa(i)g ar-rálad (F2. 4) (ar-áili) (*DIL*: usually deponent in pret. + perf.)
nāro fubthad (F2. 27) (fo-botha)

Pret.\Perf. sg. 3

fo-rurim (F5. 118) (fo-ruimi)

Originally compound verbs treated as simple verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 3 rel.

catlas (F12. 66 *LL*) (cotlaid, catlaid, earlier con-tuili)

Perf. sg. 3

ro folaig (F5. 61) (fo-luigi, i)
ro thascair(*LL*) (F6. 71) (do-scara)

Strong verbs I

Simple verbs[1]

Pres. ind. sg. 3 conj.
nī cheil (F1. 6) (ceilid) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 22)

Pres. ind. pl. 3 abs.
segait for (F11. 53) (saigid)

Pres. ind. pl. 3 conj.
dīa ndrengat (F4. 14) (dringid)

Pres. ind. pass. sg.
canair (F7. 99) (canaid) (this could also be rel., in which case one would expect canar)

Perfective present sg. 3 prot.
nī dichet (F2. 5) (téit)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3
no chanad (F5. 27) (canaid)
no figed (F1. 8) (figid, i)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3 **without no**
cinged (F5. 9) (cingid)

Imper. pass. sg.
nā hanagar (F1. 23) (aingid)
oirggther (F1. 23) (oirgid, OIr orcaid)[2]

Pres. subj. sg. 2 conj.
cía thois (F10. 111) (tongaid)[3]

Fut. sg. 1 conj.
ní chél (F9. 25) (ceilid)

Fut. sg. 3 abs.
mēraid (F5. 135) (maraid, ā, and mairid, i; probably strong)

Fut. sg. 3 rel.
gébas Ailech [...] \ [...] coīch nā ciä (F2. 67) (gaibid)

Sec. fut. sg. 3
*con*nā gēbad (F2. 34) (gaibid)

Pret. sg. 3 abs.
cechaing\cechaing (F1. 19; F3. 81; F5. 43, 115) (cingid)
gabais\gab*ais* (F2. 35, 39; F7. 21) (gaibid)
geguin (F1. 15; F3. 53) (gonaid)

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[1] Note that in some tenses of téit and beirid the distinction is between deut. and prot.

[2] This could also be the pres. subj. pass. sg.; however, the context would require the imper.

[3] Note that in theory this could also be the conjunction cía with the pres. subj. sg. 3 abs. form of the verb; however, this would make much less sense here.

luid (F3. 52; F10. 116) (téit)
mebaid (rīa), (for) (F3. 68; F4. 4, 16, 36, 44, 82, 96) (maidid, i)
oirggis (F5. 99) (oirgid, OIr orcaid)
reraig (F3. 89; F5. 130) (rigid)
selaid (F5. 111) (sligid)
selaig (F5. 35) (sligid)
sīacht (F10. 129) (saigid) **(hiatus)**

Pret. sg. 3 conj.

co mbert (F5. 6; F11. 27, 49 *LL*) (beirid)
mad-ngīuil (F1. 67) (glenaid) (Gwynn, 1924: 107 translates it as subj.)
dīa ng(c)íuil (F10. 96) (glenaid)

Pret. pl. 3 abs.

lotar (ass) (F3. 37; F5. 92) (téit)
orggsit (F5. 69) (oirgid, OIr orcaid)

Pret. pass. sg. abs.

bretha (F1. 57) (beirid)

Pret. pass. sg. conj.

(i), (dīa) mbíth\bīth (F4. 11, 50, 52, 106; F10. 84) (benaid)
selad (F3. 71) (sligid) (?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 68)

Pret. pass. pl. conj.

i mbītha oäic (F4. 103) (benaid)

Perf. sg. 3

rod n-anacht (F1. 60) (aingid)
cora(*LL*) ben [...] de (F6. 63) (benaid)
rod **mbí** (F10. 52) (benaid) (not rel.)
coro **mbí** (F10. 72) (benaid)
ro mbí (F10. 136) (benaid)
rodas cinne (F4. 84) (cingid?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 107)
ro chren (F11. 3) (crenaid)
do-**chū**aid (F5. 41, 75, 109) (téit) (deut.) **(hiatus)**
do-chūaid(*LL*) (F6. 107) (téit) (deut.) **(hiatus)**
do-**chō**id(*LL*) (F12. 49) (téit) (deut.) **(hiatus)**
ro dámair (F10. 83) (daimid)
dīa ndechaid (F1. 17) (prot.) (téit)
coro ndedaig (F5. 130) (dingid)
ros ding (F9. 60) (dingid)
(ō)ro gab (F1. 39; F2. 2, 52, 65; F5. 112; F6. 5, 7 *LL*, 22, 192 *LL*, 194 *LL*, 204 *LL*; F10. 61, 77; F12. 2, 42, 46 *R*, 48 *R*, 54 *R*, 56 *R*) (gaibid) (F2. 65: sing. verb used with a semantically plur. noun) (F12. 46 *R*, 48 *R*, 54 *R*--no inf. pron.)
corra gaib (F5. 84) (for forms with ro see McCone, 1987: 97, 137-141) (pal. stem)
ro gab(*LL*) (F12. 8) (gaibid)
ros gab (F12. 43)
ros(*LL*) gab (F12. 51, 65 *LL*)
coro gáb (F10. 100) (gaibid)
ra geogain (F8. 78) (gonaid)
dīarod gon (F8. 127) (gonaid)
ro nglen-ón (F1. 65) (glenaid)
it-ib(*LL*) (F6. 31) (ibid)
ro mebaid (F3. 5, 9) (maidid, i)

ro-fuc (F5. 7) (beirid) (deut.)
ruc (F5. 107) (beirid) **(prot.)**

Perf. sg. 3 **without ro?**

ort Lagniu (F5. 46) (oirgid, OIr orcaid) (perf. without ro or pass. used for act.; could also be rel.)

Perf. pl. 3

ro airgset (F5. 103) (oirgid, OIr orcaid)
ro gabsat (F2. 55) (gaibid)

Perf. pl. 3 **without ro**

gabsat (F3. 49, 69) (gaibid)

Perf. pass. sg. **without ro**

ort (F5. 39, 89, 97; F10. 10) (oirgid, OIr orcaid)
slecht (F5. 15, 67, 77; F10. 22, 81) (sligid)

Perf. pass. sg. abs.

ro bíth\bīth (F4. 66; F5. 72, 126) (benaid)
inro bíth (F4. 78) (benaid)
cen[i] re dlecht (F10. 82) (or active)
ro fecht (F1. 12) (figid, i)
ro rath (F4. 25) (ernaid)
ro slecht (F5. 117; F10. 58) (sligid) **(for active in F5. 117)**

Perf. pass. sg. conj.

(i), (dīa), (las') rrubad\rubad (dā trīan) (F4. 48, 58, 60, 64, 94--with dā, 102, 108; F5. 128) (benaid)
rucad (F1. 58) (beirid) **(prot.)**

Perf. pass. without ro probably **used for act.**; or pass.

slecht *sesca* ríg [...] \ *mac*[1] Erca (F5. 19) (sligid)

Perf. pass. pl. abs.

ro bítha (F4. 89) (benaid)

Past part.

nād chlethe (F3. 34) (ceilid)

[1] or *meic*

Strong Verbs II

Compound verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 1 deut.

ad-fédim (F10. 55) (ad-fét)

Pres. ind. sg. 1 prot.

ní fogbaim (F10. 20) (fo-gaib)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 deut.

do-fuit (F5. 26) (do-tuit)
do-maid (F1. 32) (i)
do-**thu**[i]t(im) (F5. 123) (do-tuit)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 prot.

torcaib (F2. 32) (do-furgaib) (: orddain) **(prot.)** (rel.) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 40)

Pres. ind. pl. 1 deut.

ed ad-fédem (F5. 79) (ad-fét)

Pres. ind. pl. 3 deut.

at-berat (F10. 17) (as-beir)

Pres. ind. pass. sg. prot.

dīa n-apar (F1. 13) (as-beir)

Imper. pl. 2

tōcbaid (F1. 25) (do-fócaib)

Imperf. sg. 3 prot.

torged (F1. 14) (do-airicc) **(prot.)** (see Note in Vol. I, p. 14)

Pres. subj. sg. 3 prot.

co fagba (F1. 28) (fo-gaib)
dīa n-īarfais (F5. 138) (íarmi-foich) **(abs. ending)** (see Note in Vol. I, p. 142, and the Note on F1. 39, p. 17)

Pres. subj. pass. sg. deut.

as-berthar (F1. 37) (as-beir) (this could also be the fut. pass. sg. with -é-)

Pres. subj. pass. sg. prot.

dā n-īarfaigther (F1. 11) (íarmi-foich, -foig, later íarfaigid)[1]

Pres. subj. perfective pl. 1 prot.

co n-écsem (F3. 3) (in(d)-fét)

Past subj. sg. 3 prot.

co tabrad (F5. 9) (do-beir)

---

[1] In theory this could be pres. ind. pass. sg. as well, but then dīa would have to mean "when".

Fut. pl. 1 deut.

ad-fessam (F10. 2) (ad-fét)

Sec. fut. sg. 1 prot.

ní écind (F5. 136) (in(d)-fét)

Pret. sg. 3 deut.

as-bert (F1. 31) (as-beir)
at-bath (F6. 111, 115, 123, 184; F7. 104 *R*, 120; F8. 17, 23, 41, 57; F9. 21, 52; F10. 39, 44) (at-bail)
(Thur. §423, §704, §758)
do-ceir (F5. 28; F8. 26) (do-tuit)
do-cer (F5. 120, 125; F7. 138; F8. 29, 35, 63, 67, 70, 81, 89, 97, 107, 117, 123, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139; F9. 61; F10. 16, 56, 74, 93, 119) (do-tuit)
[do-cer] (F5. 76) (do-tuit)
do-lluid (F5. 5, 114; F11. 9, 13) (do-tét)
(do-l)luid (F5. 83) (do-tét or téit)

Pret. pl. 3 deut.

do-cersat (F4. 34) (do-tuit)

Pret. or perf. pass. sg. prot.

co tarmartad (F11. 8) (*do-armairt, found only in pret. (perf.?))[1]

Perf. sg. 1 deut.

a n-ad-chōad (F5. 135) (ad-fét) **(hiatus)**

Perf. sg. 1 prot.

connāchas tarddus (F2. 64) (do-beir)

Perf. sg. 3 deut.

feib doda-rair[*n*]gert(*LL*) (F11. 54) (do-airngir) (rel.)
dos-fuc (F1. 53) (do-beir)
do-rat (F5. 31, 49, 62) (do-beir)
dod-rat(*LL*) (F7. 84) (do-beir)
dos-comart (F4. 100) (do-fúairc)
do-rimmart (F3. 75) (do-immoirg) **(ro for com)**
do-rochair\-*air* (F5. 54, 74, 116, 132; F6. 47, 132, 140, 171, 200; F7. 11, 16, 20, 32, 35, 40, 47 *LL*, 51, 55 *LL*, 72, 76, 88, 91, 112, 115, 129 *LL*, 134; F8. 7, 13, 49, 71, 86, 87, 93, 121; F9. 25, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47) (do-tuit)
[do-rochair] (F5. 22) (do-tuit)
da-rochair (F6. 75 *LL*) (do-tuit)
da-roch*air*(*LL*) (F6. 100) (do-tuit)
im-rulaid (F3. 82) (imm-téit)

Perf. sg. 3 prot.

coro n-ergab (F6. 24) (ar-gaib)
co n-ērbailt (F6. 84, 96, 152) (at-bail)
co n-ērbuilt (F7. 42) (at-bail)
(nōco), (nocho) n-ērba(i)lt (F6. 136 *LL*; F10. 36) (at-bail) (:thrēnglacc; :cōelbalc)
co tart (F5. 6) (do-beir)
(i), (nóco\nōco), (co) torchair\-*chair*\-*air* (F3. 23, 29; F4. 6, 10, 15, 21, 28, 30, 32, 42, 53, 56, 80, 116; F6. 35 *R*, 88, 92, 190; F7. 7, 27, 58, 126 *LL*, 140, 142; F9. 54; F10. 32, 48, 79, 91) (do-tuit) (for

[1] *DIL* cites this example with the remark "(impers.?)".

palatal -r see Thur. §704, §773)
dond ail tūargaib (F1. 14) (do-fócaib) (prot.)
co tūargaib (F1. 30) (do-fócaib) (cf. F8. 95)
tuc (F1. 50; F3. 79; F5. 16, 100; F6. 83) (do-beir) **(prot.)**
(co), (conos) tuc (F5. 44, 85) (do-beir)
[tuc] (F5. 58) (do-beir)
dond ail *tur*caib (F8. 95) (do-furgaib) **(prot.)** (cf. F1. 14) (this could also be the present)
mār(o) īarfaig (F1. 5) (íarmi-foich, -foig, later íarfaigid) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 12)
coro n-indarb (F6. 158) (ind-árban, later indarbaid, ā)

Perf. pl. 3 deut.

do-rochratar (F9. 55) (do-tuit) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 273)
fo-rrācsat (F6. 67 *LL*) (fo-ácaib)

Perf. pl. 3 prot.

i rr**oll**sat(*LL*) (F6. 172) (fo-ceird)
i tor*c*ratar (dā m*ac*) (F4. 74--with dā, 120, 136) (do-tuit)
tucsat (F3. 39) (do-beir) **(prot.)**

Perf. pass. sg. prot.

i farcbad\fargbad (F3. 43; F4. 24, 62, 110, 114) (fo-ácaib)
nī tharmaltad(*LL*) (F11. 7) (do-meil) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 318)
las' tucad (F1. 10) (do-beir)
tucad a chend (F4. 138) (do-beir) **(prot.)**
tucad (F10. 134) (do-beir) **(prot.)**

Pret.\Perf. sg. 3 deut.

at-*r*aacht (F1. 55) (at-reig)
do-rócht (F1. 47) (do-roich) **(hiatus)**
fo-fūair (F6. 146 *R*) (fo-gaib)
***fo-r*ūair (F4. 124) (fo-gaib)**[1]
fod-rorraich (F10. 112) (foirrgid) (see FN on p. 75)
ro-sīacht (F5. 50) (ro-saig) **(hiatus)**

Pret.\Perf. sg. 3 prot.

ní(*n*)ro n-ūair (F6. 160 *LL*) (fo-gaib) (or fo-fera?--see FN on F4. 124 above)
cīa fūair (F2. 25) (fo-gaib) **(after cía)**
fúair\fūair (F5. 8, 38; F6. 141, 147, 149 *LL*, 157, 163, 175; F7. 67; F9. 65) (fo-gaib) **(without fo)**
rānic (F9. 51) (ro-icc) **(prot.)**
rānic (F11. 17) (ro-icc) (prot.)
co\[nó]co tánic\tānic (F1. 48; F5. 14) (do-icc)
tārraid (F2. 45) (do-airret) **(prot.)**
(co), (nó co) toracht\torac[h]t\torach[t] (F1. 56, 60; F2. 66; F10. 33; F12. 55 *R*) (do-roich)
torcaid (F5. 90) (:orgain) (do-fairget) (see Bergin, 1932: 139-140) **(prot.)**

Pret.\Perf. pl. 3 prot.

cona fūaratar (F1. 22) (fo-gaib)
fūaratar (F2. 56) (fo-gaib) **(without fo)**
(ní) rīachtatar (F4. 132) (ro-saig)
dīa tāncatar (F9. 2) (do-icc)

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[1] Or fo-fera, `prepares, causes'. This example is cited in *DIL* under fo-gaib, the meaning of which seems to fit in here better.

Pret.\Perf. pass. sg. prot. **without fo**

fríth (F8. 99) (fo-gaib) (rel.)
fríth (F6. 55, 126) (fo-gaib)

Originally compound verbs treated as simple verbs

Pres. subj. sg. 3 abs.

ïarfais nech (F1. 39) (íarmi-foich, -foig, later íarfaigid) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 17)

ro-subj. sg. 1

cor inniseor (F8. 2) (indisid, earlier in(d)-fét)

Fut. sg. 1 abs.

innisfet (F7. 3) (in(d)-fét)

Pret. sg. 3 abs.

audbrais(*LL*) (F11. 41) (ad-opair, later a(i)dbr(a)id, aud-, id-, ed-)

Perf. sg. 3

rod n-attacht(*LL*) (F11. 16) (ad-teich)
ro ïarfaig (F1. 3) (íarmi-foich, -foig, later íarfaigid)
ro innsaig (F12. 57) (ind-saig, later indsaigid, innsaigid, i)
ro thogal (F5. 24) (2 toglaid, ā, earlier 2 do-fich)

Perf. pass. sg. prot.

ro fāemad (F2. 19) (fo-eim; later as simple verb fóemaid, fáemaid)

Hiatus verbs I

Simple verbs

Imperf. ind. sg. 3 **without no**

cloäd (F10. 35) (cloïd) **(hiatus)**

Imperf. ind. pl. 3

nād chloïtis (F5. 21) (cloïd)

Pret. sg. 3 conj.

dīa cloí (F11. 19 *LL*) (cloïd)[1]

Perf. sg. 3

cīaro bá (F10. 115) (baïd)
rodas bruí (F5. 122) (bruïd)
coro chluí (F10. 123) (cloïd)

Perf. pass. sg.

ro gníd (F1. 63) (gnïïd)

Hiatus verbs II

Compound verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 3 deut.

im-rá (F10. 109) (imm-rá)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 prot.

ní étann (F5. 133) (ad-cota)[2]
dīa tesband (F10. 1) (do-esta)

Pres. ind. pl. 3 prot.

ní ētat (F4. 2) (ad-cota)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3

dīa ndegfognad(*LL*) (F11. 42) (fo-gní)

Imper. pl. 1

ascnam (F3. 1) (ad-cosnai; later ascnaid)

Fut. sg. 3 deut.

i rré ar-biä (F2. 67) (ar-tá) (rel.) **(hiatus)**

Pret. pass. sg. deut.

do-gníth (F11. 45) (do-gní)

Perf. sg. 3 deut.

at-rullai ass (F4. 87) (as-luí + Cl. B petrif. inf. pron.) **(sp.)**
do-rōni (F1. 5) (do-gní)

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[1] Note that Windisch takes this to be the pres. subj. sg. 3 form. However, one would expect the past and not the pres. subj. here.

[2] In theory this could also be the pres. subj.

dos-róna (F5. 138) (do-gní)
a ndo-ringni (F3. 61) (do-gní) (rel.)
con-rúali (F3. 67) (con-úala)

Perf. sg. 3 prot.

coro chl̄oemchlāe(*LL*) (F6. 27) (con-imchloí)
na nderna (F1. 23) (do-gní) (prot.)

Perf. pl. 3 deut.

do-rōnsat (F4. 1) (do-gní)

Perf. pass. sg. deut.

do-ringned (F1. 40) (do-gní)
da-ringned (F1. 61) (do-gní)

Perf. pass. sg. prot.

(las'), (ara), (i) ndernad\ndernad (F1. 9, 11, 45) (do-gní)

Compound hiatus verbs treated as simple, weak verbs

Perf. sg. 3

ro ēta (F4. 71) (ad-cota) (*DIL* lists this example as a pass. form; however, the meaning seems to indicate that it is the active of *étaid)
ro chossain (F5. 86) (con-sní)
ro élai (F5. 60) (as-luí, later élaid)

Verbs that had or would have had deponent inflexion in OIr

I. Simple Verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 1 abs.

molaim (F7. 87) (molaid, ā, OIr molaithir)

Pres. ind. pl. 2 conj.

no sechid (F3. 54) (seichithir) (rel.)

Imper. sg. 2

cuimnig (F9. 69) (cuimnigid(ir))
nā síreclaig de (F11. 33) (eclaigid)

Pret. sg. 3 abs.

arigis (F1. 29) (airigidir)

Perf. **without ro?**

follnastar (F5. 35) (follnathir)

Perf. sg. 3

ro chetaig (F1. 18) (cetaigid)
ra chobair (F5. 55) (cobraithir)
nīro chomthaig (F10. 47) (comthaigid)
ro chrechaig (F6. 179) (*crechaigidir, *crechaigid)[1]
ro ndorchaig (F6. 104) (dorchaigid)[2]
ro dubaig (F11. 29) (dubaigid)
ro mudaig (F1. 25) (mudaigid)
ro sainig (F5. 18) (sainigidir)
roda sāmsubaig(*LL*) (F11. 26) (subaigidir)
ro selbaig (F10. 62) (selbaid, selbaigid)
ro sudig (F5. 56) (suidigidir)

Perf. pass. sg.

ro lamad (F4. 127) (OIr ro-laimethar; MIr lamaid)
ro lāmnad (F11. 39) (lámnaid, also lámnaigid) (originally deponent?)

Perf. pass. pl.

ro deligthe (F4. 126) (deiligidir)

II. Compound Verbs

Pres. ind. sg. 2 deut.

ro-chlune (F5. 95) (ro-cluinethar)

Pres. ind. sg. 2 prot.

nī chlune (F1. 44) (ro-cluinethar)

Pret. with force of pres. ind. sg. 3 deut.

ro-fit*ir* (F1. 70) (ro-finnadar, ro-fitir)

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[1] This example is cited under crechaid in *DIL*.

[2] There is one example of the deponent inflexion in *DIL*.

Pret. with force of pres. ind. sg. 3 prot.

nī fitir (F2. 68) (ro-finnadar)

Pres. ind. pl. 2 prot.

*con*nāchas clunid (F5. 2) (ro-cluinethar)

Imper. sg. 2

cluin (F7. 41) (ro-cluinethar)

Imper. pl. 2

clunid (F1. 15) (ro-cluinethar)
finnaid (F8. 151) (ro-finnadar)

Imperf. subj. sg. 3 deut.

ro-fessad (F1. 69) (ro-finnadar, ro-fitir)

Pret. sg. 3

lāmair (F5. 63) (lamaid, OIr ro-laimethar) (Thur. §543: "In the earlier period **lam-** `dare' could apparently be used without the preverb")

Perf. sg. 3 prot.

i tarla (F1. 34) (do-cuirethar) (rel.)

Pret./Perf. sg. 2

at-chūala (F4. 129) (ro-cluinethar) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 111)

Pret.\Perf. pass. sg.

ro-closs (F12. 11) (ro-cluinethar)

Uncertain category[1]

Pret. sg. 3

tathaim (F10. 7) (tathamair, tathaim)

Perf. sg. 3

ro thathaim (F10. 67) (tathamair, tathaim)

Defective verbs

ar (F11. 34) (ol)
or (F1. 23)
ol (F1. 24, 33)

[1] We do not know what the other tenses (apart from the pret. and perf.) of the following verb were; it might have been deponent all through, but it is possible that it was deponent only in the pret. and the perfect, just like daimid and con-icc.

The Substantive Verb

Pres. ind. sg. 3 abs.

nín tā-ne (F1. 24) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 15)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 conj.

ní fil (F1. 69)
ōr nach fail(*LL*) (F7. 145)

Imperf. ind. sg. 3

i mbíd (F1. 47) (rel.)

Pres. subj. sg. 3 conj.

co rraib (F1. 27)
cīa pé (F11. 43)
cīa bé (F7. 105)
cīa bé(*LL*) (F11. 47)

Pret. sg. 3 abs.

báe (F7. 38)
baí (F2. 5; F11. 20)
baí(*LL*) (F12. 62)
boí (F5. 13)

Pret. sg. 3 conj.

dīa mboí (F5. 98)

Pret. pl. 3 abs.

bātar (F1. 21)

Perf. sg. 3 abs.

cīa ro buī (F1. 7)
(ro) buí (F1. 43; F5. 3)

Perf. pl. 3 abs.

(olc) ro bātar (Gaill) (F4. 132, 133)

Perf. pl. 3 conj.

co rrabatar (F4. 92)

The form used with comparatives

andá (a guin-seom), (cech dodaing) (F1. 26; F4. 97)
andās cethir (F11. 32 *LL*) (indaas, indás)

The Copula

Pres. ind. sg. 3

is\iss (é), (ed) (F1. 2, 32, 38; F4. 5, 9; F5. 2, 36, 56, 102, 118; F6. 111 *LL*, 196, 204 *LL*; F8. 104, 151; F9. 72--x2; F10. 111; F11. 57; F12. 6, 59)
(i)ss é (F5. 138) (or is sé)
[is] (ferr), (derb) (F1. 26; F4. 76)
cīasu (F1. 5, 11)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 rel.

as (F5. 84, 134)

Pres. ind. sg. 3 interrogative

inn (F4. 3; F12. 1)

Pres. ind. neg. sg. 3

nī\ní (himmargó) (F2. 32; F3. 1, 27; F4. 28, 99, 110; F5. 18, 27, 36, 58, 78, 101, 104, 136; F6. 27, 202 *LL*; F7. 22 *LL*, 62; F8. 126; F10. 112, 131, 135)

Pres. ind. neg. sg. 3 in dependent position

nāch (F1. 18) (Thur. §863, 799) (nád + cop.)
ní nāch (F5. 133) (rel. neg.)
nād chlethe (F3. 34)

Pres. ind. pl. 3

it Tūatha Dé Don*and* (F1. 41)

Pres. subj. sg. 3

ced (F4. 68; F10. 18, 109) (2 cía)
cid (F1. 33, F5. 29--`as to', 116; F10. 127)
mad (F2. 29; F5. 45; F8. 2) (F2. 29; F5. 54: `as for, with regard to')

Pres. subj. sg. 3 with ro

corop (F1. 34, 37) (these could also be perf. sg. 3)
rop comthach (F12. 67 *LL*)

Pres. subj. sg. 3 rel.

bas (F1. 28)

Fut. sg. 3 rel.

cīan bas cuman (F4. 94; F5. 43)

Fut. pl. 3

bit (F9. 3)

Sec. fut. or past subj. sg. 3

nābad (F11. 15)
bad (F11. 19)
combad chennach (F11. 22)

Sec. fut. pl. 3

[no] betis (F3. 12)[1]

Pret. sg. 3

ba (holc), (hūamon), (hēcen), (hālacht) (F1. 18, 20, 29, 58, 59, 66; F2. 30; F3. 5, 9, 58, 82, 86, 91; F4. 13, 16, 38, 60, 62, 68, 77, 79, 127; F5. 5, 10, 32, 41, 92, 99, 107, 132; F6. 42, 147; F7. 5, 82, 121 *R*; F8. 25, 53, 79, 113, 115; F10. 11, 26, 40, 43, 69, 90, 97, 115; F11. 9, 25, 47; F12. 53 *R*)
ba rrí (F10. 13)
ba(*LL*) (hālacht) (F11. 6, 37, 60)
[ba] (F4. 93)
bá (F10. 122)

Pret. pl. 3 abs.

batar infir (F5. 1) **(number)**

Pret. pl. 3 conj.

cīabtar (F2. 63)
cīaptar (F5. 70)

Perf. sg. 3 abs.

robo (F4. 48; F10. 18, 71)
ropo (F1. 16, 52, 62; F2. 48; F4. 78, 130; F6. 94; F8. 43, 91; F11. 27 *LL*, 38)
ropa(*LL*) (F7. 110)
rop é rí(*LL*) (F6. 91)
rop fochaid (F1. 54)
rabo (F10. 63)
robbo (F10. 95)
roba (F6. 191 *LL*)

Perf. sg. 3 conj.

cenchor fand (F8. 29)
cencor fand (F9. 23)
cīar(*LL*) fell(*LL*) (F7. 67)
nār fóen (F6. 113 *LL*)
nīr thláith (F6. 70)
nīr fata (F6. 73 *LL*)
cíarb écāir (F12. 39)
nachorb anfine(*LL*) (F6. 198)
nocorbo thimm (F4. 126)
nocorb olc (F4. 134)
nīrb immomon (F10. 50)
cīarbo (chrād) (F1. 52, 55; F5. 63, 82, 120; F6. 143; F10. 51, 140)
dīarbo (chomainm) (F1. 51; F5. 106)
nīrbo (snēdbéim) (F3. 6, 15; F5. 25, 88, 100, 106; F10. 6)
nārbo (F11. 28) (rel.)
nāro omnus (F4. 59) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 105)

Perf. pl. 3 abs.

roptar é (F4. 76)

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[1] Thur. §809 has the following to say on the secondary future of is: "where there is no preceding conjunct particle, **ro-** (not **no-**) is prefixed to this tense". See also the Note in Vol. I, p. 61.

PREPOSITIONS

I. Prepositions with dative

a + h
a (lláim), (Alpain) (F1. 2, 50)
a lluing (F5. 60) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 313)
a (F3. 40; F5. 44; F6. 31, 121; F8. 40, 93, 101, 108)
a (F9. 70) (or read ā for ó)
assa (F11. 23)
assin (F5. 79)

co + nas.
co (F1. 30, 49, 64; F2. 8, 10, 18, 46; F3. 13, 28, 35, 65, 71; F4. 3, 10, 34, 56, 74, 83, 95; F5. 18, 37, 77, 110; F6. 119, 123, 124, 143 *LL*, 159, 183; F7. 31, 39, 69, 73, 79--x2 *LL*, 119 *R*, 135; F8. 3, 13, 47, 66, 117, 121, 122, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 150; F9. 41; F10. 29, 42, 51, 57, 59, 75; F11. 6, 11, 19; F12. 9)
co (nglúair ngraigech), (rīab), (fodbai) (F1. 57; F3. 57, 63; F4. 8) **(case)**
co (llín), (rrogail), (rrath) (F4. 33, 128; F5. 51; F6. 157)
co (clú cáemfir), (slán salmchar), (cét cath) (F5. 21, 82; F6. 17 *LL*) **(case or mark of len. omitted)**
cona (F1. 42; F2. 43; F10. 22; F11. 59)
cosinn ollgail (F4. 55) (or cosin n-ollgail)
cosin (F8. 63; F10. 139)
cosin (mbáig), (mblaid) (F8. 57; F9. 35) **(case)**

di\de + len.
de (F1. 64--x3; F8. 6, 21, 24, 33, 70, 72, 124; F10. 100, 135; F11. 60 *LL*)
de saigit tréin (F8. 36) **(case or mark of len. omitted)**
[de] flathib (F3. 55)
di (F1. 67)
do (F1. 32, 57, 63, 65; F2. 65; F3. 4, 56; F4. 1; F5. 83, 108; F6. 199; F7. 7; F8. 8, 18, 28, 42, 56, 76, 85, 100, 120, 125, 132; F9. 27; F10. 28, 84, 131) **(for di\de)**
(slecht [...]), (ro marb) do (rúadgním a roäirm), (rind rūadbera) (F5. 15; F6. 44) **(for di\de;** *DIL*: dí\de xxxvii f)
dont slóg (F10. 125) **(for di\de)**
d'Fomōrchaib (F8. 16, 112)
dīa (F1. 26; F5. 16, 135, 136; F11. 22)
dīa (F10. 1)
dīa (F10. 34) ?
dīar āsair(*R*) (F7. 2)
den (F10. 115)
din (F11. 2 *LL*)
don (F8. 105) **(for di\de)**
dond (ail), (fecht-sain), (ór) (F1. 14, 22; F8. 95, 99) **(for di\de)**

do + len.
d'(Eochaid), (Fīachaig), (Amalgaid), (Hērind) (F2. 10; F6. 26; F7. 50; F12. 67 *LL*)
do (F1. 4, 33; F2. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28--x2, 31, 42, 43, 47, 49; F3. 58; F4. 38; F5. 17, 82, 85, 102, 135; F6. 46, 54, 74, 98, 114, 138 *LL*, 162, 167; F7. 78 *LL*, 82, 122, 136; F8. 102; F9. 19; F10. 3, 86, 133; F11. 28, 32, 41 *LL*, 48, 50; F12. 6)
do (F12. 60) (for di\de ?)
do (ail), (Ailiuch), (Erthaile) (F1. 32, 47; F2. 21)
do Āed (F2. 13, 24, 27, 32; F6. 161) (F2. 24, 27, 32 = d')
do(*R*) Fergus(*LL*) (F6. 54)
do (Fubthaire fondgel), (Fergus), (Fergal), (Flathbertuch) (F1. 52; F2. 18, 23, 41, 51, 53)

do Māel Dūin (F2. 19)
do Mide(*LL*) (F6. 177) (could be acc. used for dat.)
don (F1. 16; F3. 67; F5. 11; F6. 23, 53; F11. 24 *LL*)
don flaith(*LL*) (F6. 90)
don (ríg), (ingin) (F7. 10; F8. 106) (could be acc. used for dat.)
dona trēnaib (F4. 32)
dā (F7. 122 *LL*)
dīa (hathair) (F1. 54, 55; F3. 91; F6. 46; F10. 11)
dīa (F1. 13; F11. 42) (do + rel. part.)
dīarbo (F1. 51; F5. 106) (+ rel. part.)

fíad (*DIL*: usually lenites)
fīad (F10. 55)

íar + nas.
īar\íar (F1. 4, 20, 54; F2. 1, 37, 42, 48, 50; F3. 2, 39, 49, 66; F4. 114; F5. 15, 44, 48, 91; F6. 123, 202 *LL*; F8. 27, 92, 137, 147; F10. 8, 31; F12. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 *LL*, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 61, 63)
īar tírfeirg toglaig (F10. 23) **(case or mark of len. omitted)**
īar Fālbe (F12. 19) (could be acc. used for dat.)
ar sen (F9. 13)
ar(*LL*) (F12. 58) (or for for) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 335)
īarna (F1. 19, 63; F2. 15; F4. 132; F6. 150; F8. 54; F10. 116, 125)
īarna aithbe (F4. 92) (:Aichle) (could be acc. used for dat.)
īarna n- (F5. 88)
īarsind ulc-sin (F1. 22) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 15)

íarmothá (§775 + Translators' Notes 169)
īarmothá (F7. 143 *LL*)

ó + len.
ō\ó (F1. 70; F2. 5, 66; F5. 2, 8, 23, 42, 47, 50, 137; F6. 9, 11, 15, 17, 19; F10. 114; F12. 3 *LL*)
ō gáel fáel (F1. 8) (alliteration would require a lenited f)
ō Chrūach (F1. 15) **(case)**
ō\ó (ce*ch*\-ch duine), (Ūgaine) (F1. 47; F2. 56; F6. 13 *LL*) (could be acc.)
ā sain (F9. 67)
ōn (F5. 24)

oc
oc (F1. 31; F3. 45; F4. 68, 128; F5. 18; F6. 25 *LL*, 28, 80, 159 *LL*; F7. 48, 52 *LL*, 87, 134 *LL*, 137; F8. 39, 75; F10. 137)
oc(*LL*) (F7. 16, 20)
ic (F6. 175; F8. 58, 83--continuous--, 101; F9. 42)
ic(*LL*) (F7. 95, 119)
'ca dénam (F1. 7)
'ca(*LL*) (F7. 38)
'cō (F1. 21; F2. 45)
oco (F4. 60)
'coa (F10. 67, 87)
ocon (F5. 117)
'con (F6. 107; F8. 55, 131; F9. 22)
'*con*n (F9. 32)
[o]*con* Dathi (F3. 33)
ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*) (F6. 52)
ocna Dumachaib (F9. 36)

ós, úas (Thur. §850: "apparently without lenition in Old Irish, though leniting in the later language")
ōs\ós (F1. 29, 62; F2. 20, 30; F4. 109; F6. 110, 134; F7. 9, 14, 26, 30, 49, 54, 62, 66, 90, 98; F8. 87; F9. 69; F10. 117; F11. 51)
ūas (F11. 43)
ōs Muir Mend (F8. 75) **(case)**
ós\ōs Mide (magnech) (F6. 22, 30) (could be acc. used for dat.)
ós **ch**lainn Chobthaig (F6. 103)
ūas **ch**īanbla (F10. 113)
ōsin (F5. 4)
ōsind (lind-sea), (lind) (F1. 40; F8. 23)
ōsa (F2. 13)

óthá\ótá + acc.\dat. in MIr
ōtá Belach nDúin (F5. 66) (acc.) **(case)**

ría + nas.
rīa (F1. 4; F4. 4, 8, 16, 27, 36--x2, 37, 45, 49, 55, 57, 71, 73, 79, 82--x2, 93, 101, 103, 105, 111, 113, 115, 123, 129, 131, 135, 137; F7. 95 *LL*; F10. 99)
rīa (nĀed n-ard), (n-ū nEōgain), (nDomnall ndr*u*mnech), (Subne M*e*n*d*), (Nīall nGlūndub), (nGlún i lLār) (F3. 72; F4. 8, 27, 41, 99, 109) **(case)**
rīa (m*a*c Subne), (nĀed Findlīath) (F4. 46, 91) **(case or mark of len. omitted)**
rīa Níal[l] *Cail*le (F6. 85) (acc. for dat. or len. mark omitted because of abbrev.)
rīa Subne (F4. 43) (could be acc.)
rīana (F4. 29)
rīasin (F2. 44)

II. Prepositions with accusative

acht + ? (for acht as a prep. in MIr, see Hull, 1956: 242)
acht (F1. 69; F2. 34, 68; F3. 84; F4. 88)
acht a réir (F5. 42)
acht (ōenblī*adain*), (dí(*LL*) ōenblī*ad*ain) (F6. 160; F7. 18 *LL*, 74, 128) (:clīaraib), (:clīaraig), (:mīadaig) **(case)**

cen + len.
cen (F1. 27, 54; F2. 9, 18, 28, 48; F3. 2, 3, 22, 57; F4. 4, 26, 46, 98, 105, 107, 121, 136; F5. 11--x2, 40, 49, 93; F6. 49, 91, 131, 137, 145--x2, 149, 178--x2; F7. 113, 123 *LL*; F8. 1, 42, 67, 91, 110, 111; F9. 9; F10. 7, 19, 39, 46, 57, 70, 79, 81, 85, 87, 91, 95; F11. 14--x2, 31, 47, 57, 59; F12. 21)
c(*h*)en (F8. 85)
cen(*LL*) (F11. 3)
cen (brath brīathar), (brath bró[i]n) (F3. 7; F8. 43) **(case or nas. omitted)**
cen binīb (F8. 114) **(case)**
cen(a n-)ārim (F4. 120)

co + h
co (F1. 17; F5. 23, 41, 47, 50, 57, 66, 83; F7. 81, 145; F11. 12; F12. 4, 19--see FN in Vol. I, p. 336)
cu(*LL*) (F12. 36)
co horgain Arad (F5. 90) **(case or nas. omitted)**
co (G*r*ellaig Elte), (Snám Aignech), (hamsir Ech*ach*) (F5. 75, 87; F10. 4) **(case or nas. omitted)**
co clannaib (F6. 18) (`until') **(case)**
co (hArd Macha), (hamsir) (F4. 138; F6. 10)

co (amsir *LL*), (Echaig *LL*), (ár *LL*) (F6. 12, 14, 16, 203 *LL*; F7. 106)
co Slīab Betha (F5. 92) **(nas. omitted)**
co Rige (F5. 96) (= Glenn Rige, see Hogan, 1910: 445; for case see Baumgarten, 1990: 120)
co se (F8. 35)
cōa (F8. 92)
cōar(*LL*) (F11. 12)
cosin cath (F6. 188; F7. 125 *LL*)
cosin (ngail), (mblad) (F10. 129; F12. 61 *LL*) **(case)**

eter + "Only in the later Glosses [...] is lenition sometimes found after it" (Thur. §835), "leanann séimhiú é seo sa MG" (SNG: 327: 13.10)
e**t**er(*LL*) **f**ine(*LL*) is anfine (F6. 6) (`both') (fixed by alliteration)
i**t**er(*LL*) trocha (F6. 35) (`among')
e**t**er **Ch**lūain(*LL*) is chorrLīamuin(*LL*) (F6. 142) (`between')

fri + h
fri (F2. 35, 37; F3. 83--`along with'; F4. 12; F5. 45)
re (F2. 46)
re (Surge), (hEtan) (F8. 147, 149) (both for la)
re (demnaib), (Echaid Echcend) (F8. 48; F9. 38) (case--or nas. omitted in F9. 38) (for la)
re sé blīadnaib (F2. 16) (case) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 39)
ri (F1. 59) (for la)
ri (F2. 4, 6)
ri(*LL*) (F7. 65)
ro (F5. 33)
ra(*LL*) clannaib (F6. 19) (case) (for la)
ra dered (F6. 180)
frīa (F2. 37; F10. 8)
rīa colaind (F4. 126)
rā bethaid (F6. 186 *LL*)
rim lá (F9. 3)
ris nach cair (F10. 47)
ros tenid (F4. 134)

imm + len.
im (F1. 12, 42; F3. 25; F4. 100; F5. 24, 86, 91, 123; F11. 55)
im fer (F5. 21)
im chath Chind (F3. 21) **(case)**
im gērma(i)g Gabráin (F5. 48)
'má\'ma (F1. 61; F8. 83)
(i)mma sníïb (F5. 103) **(case)**

la + h
la (F1. 61; F2. 12; F3. 56; F4. 54--x2; F5. 26, 28, 38, 54, 70, 72, 74, 77, 114, 132; F6. 88, 92, 131, 164, 176, 190; F7. 8, 28, 36, 40, 56, 60, 72, 92, 108, 133, 140, 142; F8. 16, 52, 64, 82, 88, 90, 116, 130, 138, 140, 150; F9. 26, 42, 44, 64; F10. 12, 15, 24, 32, 48, 53, 54, 60, 75, 80, 81, 92, 101, 108, 118; F11. 45)
la (hór), (hóen), (hect*r*anna), (hInnech), (hOctrilach), (hŌengus), (hĀed), (hAmargen), (hAmairgen), (hōa) (F1. 50; F2. 52; F6. 100; F8. 30, 32, 67, 138, 148; F9. 40; F10. 76)
la (Āed *LL*), (Ōengus), (Āed *LL*), (Āed), (Ōengus *LL*), (Íriél) (F6. 48; F7. 12, 67, 112, 130; F9. 48, 62)
la (Lagnib), (maccaib), (F6. 32; F9. 46) **(case)**
la hĒb*er* imslán (F8. 146) **(case or nas. omitted)**
la (cath Átha Sīge), (Māel Dūin), (síl Eōgain), (Conall Grant *LL*), (Conall glē *LL*) (slūag Gall), (Bennān bāeth), (Nept*úir* Derg), (M*ac* Gr*ē*ne), (Eochaid Iúil), (Tūaith Amrais) (F4. 22, 69; F5.

120; F6. 76; F7. 51 *LL*; 115; F8. 107, 112, 122, 136; F10. 73) **(case or nas. omitted)**
la (hEōgan Inbir), (Hērimōn án) (F8. 134, 145) **(case or nas. omitted)**
la Hū (F7. 126 *LL*) (acc. pl.)
las' (F1. 9, 10; F5. 128)
lasin (F7. 15, 108)
lasin(*R*) (F7. 19)
lasin ngein (F10. 59)

tar, dar + h
dar (F1. 31, 53; F3. 79; F5. 7, 49, 80; F11. 29)
dara (F5. 62)
darsin (F5. 14)
tarsna (F9. 51)

tri, tre + len.
tre (F1. 68; F6. 62)
thrí (F8. 25)
trīa (F10. 137)

III. Prepositions with dative and accusative

ar + len.
ar trīchait (F2. 27)
blīadain ar *fichit* (F6. 45)
ar (F3. 14; F5. 12) (for for?)
ar bladaib (F7. 85) (for for?)
ar (F11. 33)
cind ar chind (F4. 134) (dat.)
ara (F1. 62; F7. 3)
ara n- (F5. 136)
ara ndernad (F1. 11)
arin(*LU*) Dīa (F11. 42) (dat. or nas. omitted)

ar for for
ar mag Ailig (F2. 46) (OIr: dat.) (nas. omitted)
ar (ca*ch* leth), (innērge) (F7. 102 *R*; F8. 92)
ar certblai caín (F10. 33) (acc.)

fo + len.
fo (F1. 27; F5. 6, 62)
fo dered (F6. 55)
fó sár theichle (F4. 92) (dat.)
fūa (F4. 112)
fon (F1. 27)

for + h
for\fo*r* (F1. 19; F2. 50; F4. 5, 7, 14, 31, 39, 44, 45, 51, 65, 70, 96, 122; F5. 60, 104, 115; F6. 99 *R*, 130; F8. 124; F9. 53; F10. 49, 103) (acc. or dat.)
for\fo*r* (F1. 28; F3. 16, 42, 52, 68, 87; F4. 35, 41, 57, 59, 61, 63, 73, 81, 83, 86, 91, 96, 105, 107, 111, 115, 125, 137; F5. 31, 56, 59, 94, 108; F11. 53) (acc.)
for (F4. 12, 46, 95, 120, 130; F5. 35, 94; F8. 96; F10. 70) (dat.)
for (Duäich), (m*a*c Longsig) (F3. 10, 90) (probably acc.)
for Hēr*ind* uile\ule (F1. 43; F2. 55) (dat.) (see FN on p. 263)
(gab*ais*), (ro gab) for Temraig tírig (F2. 39; F6. 194 *LL*) (acc.) **(case)**
for slūag Gall (F4. 108) (dat. or nas. omitted)

ro gab for Mide (F6. 5 *LL*) (prob. acc.)
ōro gab for Inis Fáil (F6. 7 *LL*) (acc. or mark of len. omitted) **(case)**
for (slūag(o)), (Illa(i)nd) (F4. 9, 11)
for mathe (F4. 23) (acc.) (unless this is maithe, iā, f)
for Echaid Sremm (F4. 24) (short acc. or dat. with lenition-mark omitted)
for Midi (*LL*) (F6. 127)
fora (F1. 25)
forsin Domnall crodond (F4. 72) (acc.) **(nas. omitted)**
forsin maig (F8. 79, 99) (dat.)
forin maig (F6. 28; F7. 103 *R*) (dat.)
forin lochmuir (F8. 38) (probably acc.; dat. would be -ind)
forin trāig\tráig (F8. 49, 95)
forsna (F5. 87) (acc.)

i + nas.
i (F1. 58, 69; F2. 64, 67; F3. 51; F4. 29, 88, 103; F5. 3, 20, 75, 98, 109; F6. 87, 97, 113, 126, 146; F7. 80 *LL*; F8. 12, 44, 68, 124, 128, 144; F9. 28, 31, 44; F6. 59, 99 *LL*, 108 *LL*, 110, 188; F7. 42, 55, 84, 94, 99; F10. 7, 10, 22, 56, 85, 108; F11. 20) (acc. or dat.)
i (F4. 59; F5. 100; F9. 60; F12. 50) (acc.)
i (F1. 53; F2. 3, 40, 49; F3. 8, 25, 85; F4. 18, 20, 81, 91, 113; F5. 32, 38, 77, 78, 81, 125; F6. 36, 40, 68, 106 *LL*; F7. 11, 38, 68, 71 *LL*, 75, 83, 91, 111, 116; F8. 7, 18?, 25, 41, 50, 80, 103, 111, 115, 119; F9. 21, 27, 30, 52, 62, 66; F10. 16, 20, 58, 92; F12. 7 *LL*, 66 *LL*) (dat.)
i ndel Dagda (F1. 10) (acc.) **(nas. omitted)**
i cath (Dētna), (birach Blattened) (F6. 32, 56) (dat. or nas. omitted)
i (Tūaim Drubi), (nG*r*ellaig Dollaid), (cath(*LL*) Delgthen), (cath Dromma) (F4. 14; F7. 39, 58, 64) (dat. or nas. omitted)
i cath Cilli (F3. 64) (acc.) (OIr: dat.)
i nInsi n-ólaig Eōgain (F3. 76) (acc.) (OIr: dat.) **(nas. omitted)**
i mMaig (Airb), (Adar) (F4. 18, 131) (dat.)
i Cill Ūa nDaigri (F4. 97) (dat.?)
i nDún f*or*glas Forgo (F5. 30) (see FN on Dún on p. 253)
i rríge Ailig (F2. 44, 51) (dat.)
i rrígu (F2. 50) (dat.)
i nĪthu achar (F5. 59) (dat.) (= i mMaig Ītha) (for case see Baumgarten, 1990: 120)
cechaing [...] i mBrēfni bladach (F5. 115) (dat.) (with vb. of movement)
i n-īath mBregmaige(*LL*) (F11. 11) (acc. in *LL*)
ina (F5. 4, 6)
'na (F1. 66; F5. 29; F6. 119; F10. 67, 96; F12. 62) (acc.\dat.)
'na (F5. 8; F9. 38) (acc.\dat.) (line-initial position)
'na (F6. 163 *LL*) (dat.)
i*n*na (F1. 17)
[in]na (F4. 37) (acc.\dat.)
isin (daingen), (debaid) (F1. 57; F4. 12; F7. 27) (if acc., then with nas. omitted)
isin chath (F8. 119) (dat.)
issin Bruig (F8. 126) (dat. or nas. omitted)
issin (F7. 36)
(is)sin (F5. 9) (acc.)
(is)sin(*LL*) (F6. 184) (dat.)
(is)sin maig (F8. 107) (dat.)
(is)sin (F10. 128) (acc.\dat.)
'sin (F6. 36; F9. 53, 54; F10. 83) (dat.)
'sin alt (F6. 75 *LL*)
isna slēbib (F5. 12) (dat.)
'si*n*n ōenmís (F5. 46) (acc. or dat.)
isind imguin (F4. 136) (dat.)

IV. Miscellaneous

dochum + gen. + nas. (*DIL*: "Mid. Ir. usually without nasalization")
dochum Hēr*end* (F8. 40)
dochum (F11. 13)

Nominal prepositions + gen.
dāig na nderna (F1. 23)

conice in dind-sa (F1. 56) (+ acc.) **(case or nas. omitted)**

PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns

Sg. 2

is tú\tū (F9. 72--x2)

Sg. 3 masc.\neut.

ed (F1. 31, 34; F5. 79) (n) **(gender)**
iss ed (F6. 196) (n) **(gender)**
(iss), (is), (rop) é (féin) (F5. 81, 138; F6. 91, 204 *LL*; F10. 140; F12. 6) (m) (or is sé in F5. 138)
(is) é(*LL*) (F11. 39; F12. 59)

Sg. 3 fem.

is sí (F11. 57 *LL*)

Pl. 3

roptar é a n-anmand (F4. 76) (old form)
is sīat (F8. 151)

Demonstrative pronouns

aní do-rōnsat (F4. 1) (neuter art. + dem. pron. í, used as antecedent to a rel. cl.)
ro nglen-ón (F1. 65) (indecl. neut. sg.; here object of ro nglen)
(in band), (in dind) -sa (F1. 56--x2)
(dond fecht), (in mag) -sain (F1. 22; F6. 20 *LL*)
(in luc[h]t), (īarsind ulc), (fon marb) -sin (F1. 21, 22, 27)
ōsind lind-sea (F1. 40)

Substantivised demonstrative pronouns

(īar), (ri *LL*) sain (sluind) (F3. 2; F7. 65, 109; F8. 27, 137; F12. 63 *LL*)
lat sain(*LL*) (F6. 173)
(do), (ā) sain (F1. 32; F9. 67)
(īar), (ar) sen (F8. 147; F9. 13)
(īar), (īarmothá) sein (F5. 15; F7. 143 *LL*; F8. 151)
(di), (do) sein (F1. 67; F5. 83)
īar sein(*LL*) (F12. 22)
ō sein(*LL*) (F6. 19)
īar sin (F2. 37; F12. 25, 29, 34, 35, 37, 43)
do sin (F1. 57)
co se (F7. 145; F8. 35)
seo (F11. 57)
ria sund (F1. 4)

Infixed Pronouns[1]

Class A

Pl. 1

nín-tā-ne (F1. 24) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 15)

Lenition after the particles do-, ní, no and ro[2]

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[1] See the collection and the discussion on pp. 59-60.

[2] See the collection and the discussion on p. 60: **8.4**.

Suffixed pronouns[1]

Possessive pronouns

Sg. 1

mo (F1. 32)
rim' lá (F9. 3)

Sg. 2

do (F11. 35)

Sg. 3 masc.(\neut.)

a (F1. 10, 12, 19, 24, 26, 34, 36, 50; F2. 35, 60; F3. 84; F4. 47, 117, 124, 138; F5. 4, 12, 15, 20, 42--proleptic, 60, 119; F6. 60, 63, 67, 109, 120, 144, 151, 189; F7. 111 *LL*; F8. 109, 129; F9. 33, 51, 57; F10. 19, 26, 78--proleptic, 83, 103, 107, 123--x2, 132; F11. 17--proleptic (or neut. referring to ní); F12. 23, 25 *LL*, 27 *LL*, 35, 37 *LL*, 39)
a gīallad (F2. 34) (3rd sg.?)
a slóig (F5. 52) (len. not marked; or 3rd pl.?--see Translation in Vol. I, p. 147)
ara (F1. 62)
assa (F11. 23)
cōa (F8. 92)
cona (F2. 43; F10. 22)
dā(*LL*) (F7. 122) (m)
dīa (F1. 26; F3. 91; F5. 16; F6. 46; F10. 11, 34; F11. 22)
fó sár (F4. 92) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 108)
fora (F1. 25)
frīa (F2. 37: F10. 8)
rā (F6. 186 *LL*)
fūa (F4. 112)
īarna (F1. 19, 63; F2. 15; F6. 150; F8. 54; F10. 116, 125)
īarna aithbe (F4. 92) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 108)
'na (F1. 66) (refers to tech, n, in F1. 61)
ina/'na (F5. 4, 6, 8, 29; F6. 119, 163 *LL*; F9. 38; F10. 67, 96)
[in]na (F4. 37)
'má\'ma (**F1. 61**; F8. 83)
'ca**'cō\oco\'coa** (F1. 7; **F1. 21; F4. 60; F10. 87**)
ōsa (F2. 13) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 39)
trīa (F10. 137)

Sg. 3 fem.

a (F4. 2) (refers to calmu)
a (F8. 9, 53; F11. 7, 8, 15? *LL*, 31?, 43)
a hanccess(*LL*) (F11. 18)
cona hollaltaib(*LL*) (F11. 59)
dīa (hathair) (F1. 54, 55[2]; F11. 22)
*i*n*n*a (F1. 17)
'na (F12. 62)
'ca(*LL*) (F7. 38)

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[1] See p. 63: **8.14**.

[2] I presume a refers to the woman Ailech here.

Pl. 3

a (F3. 11; F4. 76, 126, 134; F5. 1--x3, 84, 100, 133; F7. 4--x2; F9. 4--x2; F10. 2, 3; F12. 59)
ara (n-) (F5. 136; F7. 3)
'cō taigib (F2. 45)
cona (F1. 42)
dara (F5. 62)
dīa (F5. 135, 136)
fora nglúnib (F4. 120)
īarna n- (F4. 132; F5. 88)
imma snïïb (F5. 103)
rīana fairind (F4. 29)
ria colaind (F4. 126)

Pl. 1

cōar(*LL*) (F11. 12)

Emphasizing pronouns

Sg. 1

limsa (F9. 3)

Sg. 3 masc.

(fora muin), (dīa thoil), (a guin) -seom (F1. 25, 26--x2)
dósom (F8. 84)

Pl. 1

nín-tā-ne (F1. 24) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 15)

Prepositional pronouns

Sg. 1

lim (F1. 41; F4. 134) (la)
limsa (F9. 3) (la)

Sg. 2

let (F2. 20) (la) (OIr lat)
lat (F6. 173; F7. 143) (la)
úait (F2. 25) (ó)

Sg. 3 acc. masc.\neut.

dos fanair foï (F4. 49) (fo) (or fem. acc.\dat.?; see Notes) **(hiatus)**
leis\leiss (F1. 38; F2. 48; F5. 7, 15, 39, 57, 67, 76, 89, 97, 105, 108, 116; F6. 94; F7. 32) (la)
ris (F1. 33) (fri)
ris(*LL*) (F11. 17) (fri)

Sg. 3 acc. fem.

lēa(*LL*) (F11. 31) (la)

Sg. 3 dat. masc.\neut.

aice (F1. 7) (oc) (m(?))
and (F1. 39, 59, 61; F2. 5, 54; F4. 34, 38, 66, 89, 98, 102; F5. 3, 5, 33, 88, 118; F6. 171; F7. 72; F8. 73, 104; F11. 9, 16; F12. 63 *LL*) (i) (used adverbially)
(at-rullai) ass (F4. 87; F5. 92) (a)
de (F5. 102; F6. 63; F8. 77; F10. 77, 107; F11. 29, 33, 39) (dí\de)
dó (F5. 10, 31; F6. 23, 55, 59, 83, 95, 114; F7. 82) (do)
dósom (F8. 84) (do)

ïarma (F6. 77) (íar) (:certblīadna) (or adv.)
rīam (F2. 60; F3. 69; F4. 107; F5. 87) (ré, ría) **(hiatus)**
úaid (F1. 58) (ó)

Sg. 3 dat. fem.

dī (F11. 27) (dí\de)
dī (F11. 44) (do) (:brí)

3rd sg. acc.\dat. masc.

aire (F1. 20) (ar for for? See Note in Vol. I, p. 15)

Pl. 1

dún (F1. 26) (do)
derb lend (F6. 95 *LL*) (la)
cubaid lind (F8. 55) (la) (see FN on cubaid on p. 284)

Pl. 2

dúib (F3. 61; F4. 3; F8. 2; F12. 1) (do)

Pl. 3 acc.

forro (F5. 93) (for)
leō (F5. 125) (la)

Pl. 3 dat.

dīb\díb (F2. 55, 57; F5. 96) (di) **(hiatus)**[1]
dïïb (F5. 104) (di) **(hiatus)**
foraib (F3. 82) (for)
remib (F3. 5, 9) (ré, ría)
ūadib (F3. 38, 53) (ó, úa)

Interrogative pronouns

Masc.

cīa (F1. 7, 9, 39, 43; F6. 135)
cīasu fochond (F1. 5, 11)
ro-fit*ir* ō chīanaib ciä (F1. 70) **(hiatus)** (prob. subject of ro-fitir)
ciä (F2. 68; F5. 138) **(hiatus)**
coïch (F2. 68)

Neut.

cid (F1. 13; F5. 134)

Indefinite pronouns

Nom.

cách (F1. 23)
cīa\cía (bé), (rēl), (**th**ois) (F7. 105; F10. 13, 111; F11. 43)
cīa(*LL*) (F11. 47)
(cīa t*r*īallaid), (ïarfais), (nī fitir) nech (F1. 1, 39; F2. 68)
nech crōda (F5. 138)
ní éta*n*n nech ní (F5. 133)

[1] From the metrical point of view, the form in F2. 57 could be both a monosyllable and a disyllable; however, the lengthmark seems to indicate a monosyllable.

Acc.

ro-fessad cach ní (F1. 69)
rānic [...] \ ní (F11. 18) (n + m)

Gen.

ermōr neich (F1. 3) (nech, m; ní, n)

Dat.

do chāch (F5. 135)

Acc. or dat. sg.

for nech (F10. 49)

Anaphoric Pronouns

Acc. sg. **neuter**

cen sodain (F3. 57) (suide, io\iā)

acht tōcbaid (F1. 25)
acht (F5. 36)
airm i tarla (F1. 34)
ar (F11. 20)
cenchor (F8. 29) (cenco + perf. sg. 3 of is)[1]
cencor (F9. 23)
cīa trīallaid (F1. 1) (+subj.)
cīa fūair (F2. 25) (+len.) **(without fo)**
cīa 'me-rādid (F4. 2) (+ind.\subj.) (+deut.)
cīaro bá (F10. 115)
cīabtar (F2. 63)
cīaptar (F5. 70)
cīar(*LL*) (F7. 67)
cīarbo (F1. 52, 55; F5. 63, 82, 120; F6. 143; F10. 51, 140) (+ind.)
cíarb (F12. 39)
ced (F4. 68; F10. 18, 109,) (2 cía + 3rd sg. pres. subj. of is)
cid (F5. 29--`as to') (2 cía + 3rd sg. pres. subj. of is)
cid (F1. 33; F5. 116; F10. 127) (2 cía + 3rd sg. pres. subj. of is)
co (F1. 20, 30, 48, 56; F2. 66; F5. 6--x2, 9, 44, 84, 130, 134; F6. 24, 27, 35 *R*, 63, 84, 88, 96, 152, 158, 190; F7. 7, 27, 42, 44, 58, 107, 140, 142; F10. 33, 72, 79, 86, 91, 100, 106, 123; F11. 8, 27, 49 *LL*; F12. 55 *R*, 63) (co + nas.) (+ind.; consecutive in F1. 20, 30, F5. 6 and F11. 27, 49 *LL*)
co (F1. 27, 28; F3. 3; F8. 2) (+nas.; +subj.)
co rrabatar (F4. 92) (+nas. +ind.)
combad (F11. 22) (sec. fut. or past. subj.)
corop (F1. 34, 37) (co + subj. or perf. of is)
cona fūaratar (F1. 22) (ind.)
conos tuc (F5. 85) (ind.)
conid romarb (F10. 64) (ind.)
*con*nā gēbad (F2. 34) (neg. of co n-)
connāchas (F2. 64)
*con*nāchas clunid (F5. 2)
dā n-īarfaigther (F1. 11) (+subj.)
dīa n- (F1. 17; F4. 14, 60, 102; F5. 98; F8. 84, 127; F9. 2; F10. 84, 96; F11. 19 *LL*) (+ind.)
dīa n-īarfais (F5. 138) (+subj.?)
feib (F11. 54) (dat. sg. of feb, ā, f) (rel. adverb or conj.)
mā ro īarfaig (F1. 5) (+ind.)
mad (F2. 29; F5. 45; F8. 2) (má + 3rd sg. pres. subj. of is) (`as for, with regard to')
coīch nā ciä (F2. 68) (*DIL*: in OIr generally written na)
catha nā cure (F5. 21)
nā (F10. 43)
mar ro fāemad (F2. 19) (*DIL*: shortened form of immar;--or of amal?)
ūair nāch fer cotaig (F1. 18) (introducing subord. neg. cl. = nád + cop.; Thur.§863)
ōr nach fail (F7. 145 *LL*)
nóco\nōco (F1. 60; F6. 92, 128 *R*, 136 *LL*; F10. 32, 48)[2]
[nó]co (F5. 14)
ōro gab (F6. 7)
ōr(*LL*) nach fail (F7. 145)

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[1] Note that *DIL* lists this conjunction under the prep. cen, but see *SNG*: 281: 11.9 and p. 73: **10.2** in this thesis. In *DIL* there are examples both with and without nasalisation after cenco. One would expect cenco to behave like nícon.

[2] *DIL*: "The orig. form is na > no, but exx. of nó co occur fairly early, eg. LU 9225."

ocus\ocus (F1. 36, 66; F2. 8, 10, 36, 38, 54, 57, 60, 62; F3. 24; F4. 10, 18, 20, 30; F5. 13, 34, 65, 91, 95, 112, 124; F7. 59, 133; F8. 15, 20, 27, 45, 110, 133, 138; F9. 12, 28; F12. 12, 20, 51, 59)
ocus\ocus (**c**ath**c***ath*), (Conall), (**F**īnnachta), (**F**allama(i)n), (Cellach), (**Fl***ann*), (Cū Dulig), (**F**laithgius), (**C**lettig), (**C**ú), (**F**ōtla), (**C**ach*er*), (**F**úat), (**S**urge), (**C**rimthand), (**F**āilbe), (**C**athal) (F4. 7, 11, 19, 47, 75, 77, 90, 98, 117; F5. 40; F7. 13; F8. 17, 141; F9. 18, 23, 56; F12. 10, 18, 26)
ocus Cholmān (F2. 58)
is*is* (F1. 8; F2. 45; F4. 66, 82, 106, 117, 118; F5. 19, 58, 62, 90, 128--x2; F8. 34, 114, 129; F9. 33, 34, 58, 71; F11. 14, 44; F12. 28)
is*is* (*Ch*ond), (Chonaill), (Chonchath), (chorrLīamuin *LL*) (F2. 45; F4. 38, 64; F6. 142)
is*is* (**c***ath*\cath), (**C**ú Roï), (Cacher), (**F**laithb*er*tach) (F4. 5, 13, 15, 21, 33, 39, 50, 65, 67; F9. 39; F12. 38 *R*)
is\'s\(i)s (F2. 61; F4. 25, 96; F5. 96; F6. 6, 38, 49 *LL*, 116 *LL*; F8. 73, 109, 142; F9. 4--after cons., F9. 33, 45) (with elision)
[ocus] **c***ath* (F4. 17)
(i)s (Fergal) (F2. 59; F4. 24, 108; F5. 94)
su (F10. 40)
tan do-ringned (F1. 40) (temporal; OIr: + nas. rel. cl.)
in tan ro dall (F5. 64) (def. art. + noun, ā, f) (+ nas. rel. cl. in OIr)
ūair\ōr (nāch fer), (is leis), (ba debech) (F1. 18, 38, 58) (úar, úair + nas. rel. cl. in OIr)
ūair (F10. 63, 99; F11. 7) (+ nas. rel. cl. in OIr)

ADVERBS

aitir (F1. 13) (etir)
boí amlaid (F5. 13)
amne (F9. 11) (*DIL*: amein)
anair (F10. 133)
ó [...] anall (F6. 13)
aníar (F3. 79)
araí cīarbo chrād (F5. 82) ?
armothá (F2. 67) (íarmothá)
rīa Subne beōs (F4. 43) (beüs) **(hiatus)**
chaidchi (F3. 91) (caidchi, 1 co + acc. sg. of adaig)
īar*u*m (F1. 9; F5. 85)
īar*u*m(*LL*) (F11. 51)
īaram (F2. 3)
īarom (F11. 25, 37)
ille\(il)le (F6. 11; F6. 19 *LL*)
immach (F12. 39) (adv. of emphasis)
[im]malle (F9. 55)
mad-**n**gīūil (F1. 67) (mad + nas.)
mad cert cin (F10. 21)
malle\málle (F2. 36, 38, 54) (=OIr immalle)
sa[i]r (F5. 108)
síar (F5. 41, 92)
súas (F1. 30)
sund (F8. 147)
sunda (F7. 145)
tair (F6. 52, 99; F7. 52) (later thair, thoir)
thair (F6. 67; F8. 49)
tall (F9. 49)
thall(*LL*) (F6. 59) (tall, thall)
thall (F8. 3)
tess (F7. 48)
thes (F10. 87) (tess)
tīar\tíar (F6. 108 *LL*; F10. 80)
trá\trā (F1. 26, 66; F8. 33, 43, 87; F9. 49)

Adverbs of negation

nā hanagar (F1. 23) (+impv.)
nā (F11. 33) (+impv.)
nābad (F11. 15) (+ sec. fut. or past subj.)
nachorb(*LL*) (F6. 198)
nocorbo\nocorb (thimm), (olc) (F4. 126, 134) (nícon)
nāro omnus (F4. 59) (used in rel. or dep. neg.)
nī\ní (**ch**eil), (**ch**lune), (tréic), (fil), (**ch**él) (F1. 6, 44, 68, 69; F2. 5, 68; F4. 2; F5. 133, 136; F9. 25; F10. 6, 47, 50)
ní fogbaim (F10. 20)
nín-tā-ne (F1. 24)
ūair nī tharmaltad (F11. 7 *LL*)
ní(*n*)ro n-ūair (F6. 160 *LL*)
nīr (F6. 70, 73)
nīrbo (F3. 6, 15; F5. 25, 88, 100, 106)
nīro (F7. 128)
nocho (F10. 36) (n-) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 298)

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE[1]

Nom. sg. masc.(\neut.)

in (F1. 9, 10, 12--see FN on fert on p. 193; F1. 21, 24, 33, 40, 45, 46, 51, 56; F2. 16, 38, 62; F3. 8, 45; F4. 18, 20--x2, 40, 68, 82, 95, 97; F5. 7, 9, 11, 38, 46, 47, 61, 67, 97, 99, 106, 117; F6. 71, 166; F7. 7, 44 *LL*; F8. 35, 37, 83, 84, 86, 94, 107, 118, 125; F9. 47, 72; F10. 10, 30, 39, 71, 74, 90, 119; F11. 34; F12. 1, 3 *LL*, 43) (F2. 62: Thur. §247 (e))
in dind-sa (F1. 56) **(gender, case; or nas. omitted)**
in (scēl), (céim), (mind) (F5. 27, 107; F8. 118; F12. 34) **(gender)**
in mag-sain (F6. 20 *LL*) (n, later occasionally f, usually m) **(gender)**
in teidm (F7. 24) (n, here m\f) **(gender)**
int (ēin[f]er), (anfad), (Āed), (īarla), (abb), (ōenfer), (Airgdech), (Eocho), (úan) (F1. 30; F4. 64; F5. 61; F7. 131--x2 in *LL*; F9. 72; F10. 46, 107, 124; F11. 36)
in[t] ardflaith (F6. 198 *LL*)[2] (*cf. R*)
in allaid (F1. 42--see Note in Vol. I, p. 18)
a n-[amm] (F1. 45--see Note in Vol. I, p. 18) **(neuter?)**
aní (=a n-í) do-rónsat (F4. 1) (neut. art. + dem. pron. í, used as antecedent to a rel. cl.)

Nom. sg. fem.

in (F3. 15; F4. 131; F6. 85; F8. 127; F11. 30, 37)
in tres amser (F1. 46)
in (chomraind), (chrech) (F4. 124; F5. 49)
in del (F5. 114) (*DIL*: deil, prob. f)
in rīgan (F11. 16)
ind (inis), (Hēriu) (F1. 38; F5. 17)
inn athach (F6. 15)

Nom. sg. of uncertain gender

in (band-sa) (F1. 56; F10. 88)

Acc. sg. masc.(\neut.) and fem. (direct object of a verb)

in (marb), (cath), (m*a*c) (F1. 25; F4. 128; F5. 6) (m)
in (ngilla), (mbūadching), (nĀed), (mBanba) (F5. 7; F10. 27; F11. 52) (m); (F6. 58 *LL*) (f)
in inse (F1. 39) (f) **(no nas.)**
in rīgain (F11. 5 *LL*) (f)
in *cum*[m]at (F10. 98) (gender?)

Acc. sg. masc.(\neut.) and fem. (after prep.)

cosin cath (F6. 188; F7. 125 *LL*) (m)
cosin mbáig (F8. 57) (f)
cosin mblad (F12. 61 *LL*) (?orig. n, later f) **(case)**
cosin (mblaid), (ngail) (F9. 35; F10. 129) (f) **(case)**
darsin lindmuir (F5. 14) **(m) (gender)**
forsin Domnall crodond (F4. 72) (m) **(nas. omitted)**
forin lochmuir lindamnas (F8. 38) (prob. acc.--dat. would be -ind) (n, later m + f; here m?) **(gender--if acc.)**
(is)sin slīab (F5. 9) **(m) (gender)**
lasin (F7. 15, 19 *R*) (m)
lasin flaith (F7. 108) (m)
lasin ngein (F10. 59) (n, later f)

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[1] In those cases where there is no gender distinction in the article (acc. and dat. sg., acc., gen. and dat. pl., nom. dual), I have put everything together.

[2] On the gender of flaith, see p. 43: **3.13 e**.

ros tenid (F4. 134) (m or f)

Gen. sg. masc.(\neut.)

in (F1. 34; F4. 133; F5. 124; F6. 11, 117, 131 *LL*, 155; F7. 129; F8. 77, 89, 100, 102, 123;F10. 23; F12. 56 *R*)
in (F6. 91 *LL*, 116--x2 F7. 55) (m\n)
in chumtaig (F5. 107) (n)
in chomlaind (F6. 102 *LL*) ([n])
in raith (F6. 118) (n and m)
in (Oscair), (ríg), (ardríg) (F4. 55[1]--m\n; F11. 13; F12. 4 *LL*)
in Chóicid (F4. 63)
ind (eire), (orddain), (ainig), (úabair), (lacha) (F1. 31; F2. 31, 52; F3. 73; F4. 137)
ind *for*laind (F5. 73) (len. mark omitted because of abbreviation-stroke)
ind lomma (F8. 44) (n)
inn áig (F8. 71)
inn óir (F9. 63)

Gen. sg. fem.

na (*Hērend*) (F4. 52, 129; F6. 3; F7. 56 *LL*; F8. 103; F9. 59, 68)
na halla (F6. 99)
na longse (F9. 1)
n[a] gaile (F3. 59) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 63)

Gen. sg. of uncertain gender

in mara (F5. 134) (n and m, later also f)

Dat. sg. masc.(\neut.) and fem.

arin Dīa (F11. 42 *LU*) (m) (or nas. omitted)
assin Taltin (F5. 79) (f)
cosinn ollgail (F4. 55) (f) (or read cosin n-ollgail, acc. for dat.?)
cosin (F8. 63) (f); (F10. 139) (gender?)
den (F10. 115) (m)
din (F11. 2 *LL*) (f)
don (F1. 16; F5. 11; F6. 23, 53) (m); (F3. 67; F11. 24 *LL*) (f); (F8. 105) (gender?)
don flaith (F6. 90 *LL*) (prob. m)
don (ríg), (ingin) (F7. 10) (m); (F8. 106) (f)
dond (ór), (ail), (fecht) (F8. 99) (m); (F1. 14, 22; F8. 95) (f)
dont slóg (F10. 125) (m)
forin maig (F6. 28; F7. 103 *R*) (n)
(*for*)sin Banba báeth (F8. 99) (f)
forsin maig (F8. 79) (n, later occasionally f, usually m)
isin chath (F8. 119) (m)
issin Bruig (F8. 126) (m) (or nas. omitted)
'sin chath (F9. 53; F10. 83) (m)
'sin maig (F6. 36; F9. 54) (n, later occasionally f, usually m)
(is)sin maig (F8. 107)
(is)sin(*LL*) (F6. 184) (f)
isind imguin (F4. 136) (m + f)
iarsind ulc-sin (F1. 22) (n, later m)
'*conn* Inbiur (F9. 32) (m, earlier n)
'con (F6. 107; F8. 131; F9. 22) (f); (F8. 55) (m\f)
[o]*con* (F3. 33) (f?)
ocon chēti (F5. 117) (io + iā)

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[1] This can not be the prep. i, as Oscur is in the gen.

ocont sāle thondgel(*LL*) (F6. 52) (m)
ōn trīath (F5. 24) (m)
ōsin trācht ágmar (F5. 4) (n + m)
ōsind lind(-sea) (F1. 40; F8. 23) (f)
rīasin Temraig (F2. 44) (f)

Acc. or dat. sg. masc. and fem.

fon (F1. 27) (m)
forin trāig\tráig (F8. 49, 95) (m\f)
isin (daingen), (debaid) (F1. 57) (m); (F4. 12; F7. 27) (f) (if acc., then with nas. omitted)
'sin alt (F6. 75 *LL*) (m)
(is)sin (F10. 128) (m)
issin (F7. 36) (n + m)
'sinn ōenmís (F5. 46) (m in OIr and MIr, later also f)

Nom. pl. masc.(\neut.)

in Gaill (F5. 69)
ind ríg (F3. 69)
na (ríg), (catha dēdencha), (Gaill), (raind), (trī Rūadchind) (F2. 56; F4. 119; F5. 91; F7. 77 *LL*; F10. 28)

Nom. pl. fem.

is na gabāla (F5. 96)

Acc. pl. masc. and fem.

forsna Gaullu (F5. 87) (m)
tarsna (F5. 91) (f)

Gen. pl. masc.(\neut.) and fem.

na (n-), (m-) (F2. 66; F4. 85, 94; F5. 23, 32, 69, 81, 127; F6. 4, 140 *LL*, 203 *LL*; F8. 152: F9. 19, 29; F10. 15, 61) (m); (F1. 36; F2. 24, 58; F4. 51, 75, 122, 125; F5. 39, 72; F6. 29, 47, 51, 86, 93, 125, 127; F7. 1, 5, 57, 98, 119, 139; F9. 7, 29, 43, 53, 71--x2; F10. 65, 89, 117; F12. 47 *R*) (f); (F9. 31) (n); (F7. 43) (n?); (F4. 104) (m + f); (F5. 74) (m or f); (F6. 127) (n + f); (F8. 5) (gender?)
na (llethríg), (mmol), (llūrech), (mmed) (lland), (llecht) (F2. 63; F6. 191 *LL*) (m); (F4. 123; F6. 39, 79; F10. 31) (f); (F10. 17) (n\m)

Dat. pl. masc. and fem.

dona trēnaib (F4. 32) (m)
isna slēbib (F5. 12) (n, later m)
ocna Dumachaib (F9. 36) (f)

Nom. dual masc. and fem.

na dā chét (F5. 88) (n)
na dí bantūathig (F8. 46) (f)

MISCELLANEOUS

Interjections

ach ach (F1. 32) (uch)

Relative particles

a ndo-ringni (F3. 61)
a n-ad-chōad (F5. 135)
ara n- (F1. 11)
dīa n- (F1. 13; F10. 1)
dīa ndegfognad(*LL*) (F11. 42)
dīarbo (F1. 51; F5. 106)
dīar ásair(*R*) (F7. 2)
las' (n-) (F1. 9, 10; F5. 128)
na nderna (F1. 23)
nāro fubthad (F2. 27) (neg.)
nār(*LL*)\nāro (F6. 113, 135) (neg.)
nārbo (F11. 28)
nād (chromthar), (charad), (chumthar), (chloītis) (F4. 63, 69, 81; F5. 21) (neg.)

i n- + rel.
i mbíth\bīth (F4. 11, 50, 52, 106)
i (tarla), (ndernad), (mbíd), (mbītha), (torc*r*atar), (rrollsat *LL*) (F1. 34, 45, 47; F4. 103, 136; F6. 172)
i farcbad\fargbad (F3. 43; F4. 24, 62, 110, 114)
i rrubad (F4. 48, 58, 64, 94, 108)
i torchair\-*chair* (F3. 23, 29; F4. 6, 10, 15, 21, 28, 30, 32, 42, 53, 56, 80, 116; F9. 54)
i torc*r*atar (F4. 74, 120)
inro bíth (F4. 78)

Emphasising pron.\adj.

fessin (F4. 6) (*DIL*: fadéin)
é féin (F5. 81)

Adverbial and Prepositional phrases

ar écin (F12. 51) (ar + acc.\dat. sg. of éicen, ā, f)
ar ōenlus (F5. 76) (ar + dat. sg. of los, o, m) (for for?)
arna bārach (F3. 88) (ar or íar + poss. pron. sg. 3 + dat. sg. of bárach, o?, n?; if it is from árach--see Ahlqvist, 1977: 108-112 and Hamp, 1983: 53-54)
co bráth (F5. 135) (co + acc. sg., u + o, m)
dar éis\ēis (F6. 118; F12. 46 *R*, 54 *r*) (tar\dar + acc. sg. of éis, i, ī)
dar éis Domnaill (F6. 193 *LL*) (dar + acc. sg. of éis, i, ī) (dat. or nas. omitted)
dar ler (F9. 1) (dar + acc. sg. of ler, o, later attested as m)
dar sārugod (F10. 62) (dar + acc. sg. of sárugud, u, m)
d'ēis (F1. 2; F12. 47 *R*) (do\di + dat. sg. of éis, i, ī)
dīa éis (F2. 5; F6. 192 *LL*) (do\di + poss. pron. sg. 3 masc. + dat. sg. of éis, i, ī)
dīa n-éis (F5. 81) (do\di + poss. pron. pl. 3 + dat. sg. of éis, i, ī)
dīa ēise (F11. 44) (di\do + poss. pron. masc. + dat. sg. of éis, i, ī)
fo bíth Temra (F1. 24) (+ gen.)
fo deóid (F8. 47) (fo + dat. sg. of dead, n, o + f, ā (orig. disyllabic)) (hiatus; cons. quality)
i céin (F5. 42) (i + acc. or dat. sg. of cían, ā, f)
i cind (F8. 54) (i + dat. sg. of cenn, o, n)
i foss (F8. 103) (m, o) (i + dat. sg. of same, o, m)
i mmudu (F6. 107) (i + dat. sg. of madae?, io\iā)
i tóeb (F10. 104) (i + táeb, o, m, later also ā, f, acc. or dat. sg.)
(i)na ndíäid (F10. 13) (i + poss. pron. pl. 3 + deäd, o, n + ā, f; i ndead, i ndīad; MIr i ndīaid)

(hiatus)
i ndīaid (F12. 8) (see above) **(hiatus)**
'na degaid (F6. 26 *LL*, 122 *LL*) (i + poss. pron. sg. 3 masc. + acc. sg. of degaid, i)
ina degaid (F12. 32) (see above)
īar céin (F2. 42) (íar + dat. sg. of cían)
īar tain (F6. 45, 75; F10. 53, 63) (íar + dat. sg. of tan, ā, f)
'coa thaig (F10. 67) (oc + a + dat. sg. of tech, s, n)
ō chīanaib (F1. 70) (ó + dat. pl. of cían)
bord **ro** Līamuin (F6. 166 *LL*) (bord, o, m + fri)
fecht (aile) (F2. 32; F5. 3, 31) (according to *DIL*: ā, f, later also m, sometimes n)
malle **ro(*LL*)** (F6. 139) ([im]malle + fri)

Substantivising particle before a numeral adjective

a (F2. 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 30, 31, 32, 42, 49, 51, 65; F4. 25; F6. 25, 38, 41, 49 *LL*, 62, 185)

Vocative particle

a (Dé dúlig) (F4. 119; F8. 1; F9. 69, 71)

Unidentified words

Nouns

m*ac* Néil[l] neda (F2. 42) (not listed in *DIL*) (noun?)
ōs Lógaill (F4. 109) (:Chonaill) (dat.)
sodbraind (F3. 50) (acc. sg.?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 67)
Scícmainge (F8. 78) (place-name?)
(i)mma sniïb (F5. 103) (*DIL*: ?sní--only this example) (dat. pl.) **(case) (hiatus)**

Adjectives

fūam (F8. 113) (*DIL*: `probably a mistake in *LL*') (adj.?) (see FN in Vol. I, p. 261)

Verbs

dos fanair foï (F4. 49) (see Note in Vol. I, p. 94)
a bás ro d*er*laig Domnall (F6. 60) (do-luigi?) (perf. sg. 3)[1]

[1] MacNeill translates this as `inflicted'. See FN in Vol. I, p. 193.

PART VI

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

REFERENCES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Simple abbreviations commonly used in other works on Early Irish Language (such as nas. = nasalisation, len. = lenition, acc. = accusative, perf. = perfect) are not listed here.

2. When an example is cited from *DIL* or Hogan, the source is indicated the same way as it is done in these works. These abbreviations are not listed here, nor are the works, as they would be identical with the references given in *DIL* and Hogan.

1. Manuscripts[1] and printed works[2]

AMC = Aislinge Meic Con Glinne (ed. Jackson)
AU = The Annals of Ulster (MacAirt--MacNiocaill)
BB = The Book of Ballymote
C (used in *LL*) = C. iv. 3 (RIA)
CG = Críth Gablach
DIL = Dictionary of the Irish Language
EIHM = Early Irish History and Mythology (T. F. O'Rahilly)
FM = Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters (O'Donovan)
H = H. 3. 3 (TCD)
IGT = Irish Grammatical Tracts (ed. O. Bergin)
K = the modernised version of Michéal Ó Cléirigh (*LG*)
Lc = The Book of Lecan
Lc1, Lc2 = the two *LG* texts in *Lc* (these are *DIL*'s abbreviations; I normally use Macalister's--see Vol. I, pp. 233 and 263)
LG = Lebor Gabála
Lism. L. = Lives of the saints from the Book of Lismore
LL = The Book of Leinster
LU = Lebor na hUidre
Luc. Fid. = Lucerna Fidelium (O'Molloy)
M = The Book of Uí Maine
MD = The Metrical Dindshenchas
O'C = O'Curry's transcript of *LL* (TCD) (*LG*)
PH = Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac (see *DIL*)
R = Rawlinson B502

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[1] Note that where I refer to a MS in the way it is listed in either *The Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Trinity College Dublin* or in *The Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, that reference (as it is not an abbreviation) is not listed here.

[2] The bibliographical details can be found under References.

R^3 = *The Book of Ballymote, and the second text from Lc (M) (LG)*
RC = *Revue Celtique*
Re = the Irish MS at Rennes
RIA = Royal Irish Academy
S = Stowe D. ii. 2 (RIA)
SR = Saltair na Rann
S3 = Stowe B. iii. 1 (RIA)
SNG = Stair na Gaeilge
T = The Annals of Tigernach (Stokes)
Thes. = Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, Vols. I-II (eds. Stokes and Strachan)
Thur. = Thurneysen: A Grammar of Old Irish

2. Other abbreviations used

a. = *aicill*
a. = attributive (only in the Tables)
app. = apposition
chev. = cheville
decl. = declension
dep. = deponent
dir. obj. = direct object
end. = ending
e. r. = end-rhyme
exx. = examples
f. f. = *fidrad freccomail*
FN = Footnote
freq. = frequently
imp. = imperfect
i. r. = internal rhyme
lit. = literally
metr. fix. = metrically fixed
n. = noun (only in the Tables)
npal. = non-palatal
nrh. = non-rhyming
occas. = occasionally
orig. = originally
p. = predicative (only in the Tables)
pal. = palatal
perh. = perhaps
rh. = rhyming
RIA = Royal Irish Academy
SLF = Summary of Linguistic Features
SMF = Summary of Metrical Features
sp. = spelling

st.-cl. = stem-class
uninfl. = uninflected
usu. = usually
vb= verb
vbs = verbs
vs. = versus
TCD = Trinity College Dublin
wo = word order

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The Book of Lecan (Lc) (RIA)
The Book of Leinster (LL) (TCD)
Lebor na hUidre (LU) (RIA)
B iv 2 (RIA)
C iv 3 (RIA)
D ii 2 (RIA)
D iii 3 (RIA)
12 N 5 (RIA)
23 E 26 (RIA)
23 K 32 (RIA)
24 A 2 (RIA)

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