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VI.—ON THE USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD
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IN dealing with this subject I have preferred to treat it from the practical standpoint, to register as completely as I could the various uses of the subjunctive mood in early Irish literature. It would no doubt be a more interesting task to strive to deduce the uses of the subjunctive in Irish from the Indo-Germanic uses of the subjunctive and optative moods, which in Irish have become syntactically fused in the subjunctive. But before this can be attempted, it is necessary to determine as accurately as may be the facts of the Irish usage, and to essay to combine the two would probably be attended with more confusion than profit. Moreover, before the Irish subjunctive could be successfully attacked from the comparative standpoint, some other investigations are necessary which we have not as yet. In the first place, we still want a thorough comparative examination of the uses of the moods in other branches of Indo-Germanic, such as we may expect to find in the forthcoming volume of Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax*. Again, it would be dangerous to compare the Irish usage with the usage of other kindred branches, until from a comparison of Breton, Cornish, and Welsh the usage of the subjunctive in the sister Brythonic group has been deduced, and the Irish usage has been first compared therewith. Here a beginning has been made by Professor Atkinson's paper on the Welsh subjunctive in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, but investigations into the uses of the subjunctive in Breton and Cornish are, so far as I know, still lacking. The present paper, then, may be regarded

as an attempt to fix the uses of the subjunctive mood in the oldest stage of the Irish language of which we have any knowledge, and at the same time thereby to furnish material for a comparison of the Irish subjunctive with the corresponding mood in the Brythonic languages, and ultimately with the Indo-Germanic subjunctive and optative.

In treating of the various uses of the subjunctive, my method of procedure has been to collect in each case a number of illustrative examples, for in this way it seemed that the subject could be made most clear. In such a practical inquiry, not the least important thing is to exhibit the difference of usage between the subjunctive on the one hand and the other moods, particularly the indicative, on the other. With a view to this, where I have found the subjunctive and another mood, above all the indicative, used in clauses of a similar form, a number of instances of each have been set in array over against one another on opposite pages. At least, the main types of the subjunctive will be found fully illustrated in the following pages. For some of the rarer usages I could have wished to secure more examples, and it may be that wider reading may bring to light some uses that have escaped my notice. Unfortunately, limitations of time have prevented me from reading as widely as I could have wished.

In such an investigation it is of course necessary to start with the earliest literature. In Irish this consists of the collections of Old Irish Glosses: these have been subjected to repeated examination, and here I trust that little of moment has been overlooked. To supplement the collections derived from them I have gone through a number of other texts in which the old verbal system is not yet broken down. In these later texts one must always be on one's guard against neologisms. Thus, in the *Saltair na Rann*, l. 5776, is found *ní frith dib oenfer folilsad*, "there was not found one man of them who could endure." Here, according to the Old Irish usage, we should have had, not the secondary future *folilsad*, but the past subjunctive *folóisad*. Here, then, is clearly either a syntactical innovation or a confusion between old forms. In LBr. 249^b 21, *cipe na logfa* (fut.) stands for *cipe na loga* (pres. subj.); here it may be noted that the *f* of the future probably ceased to be pronounced at an early period. In LU. 124^b 22, *ní fuar-sa cosse ingin follongad i n-airius dala imacallaim fón samail-se frim*, "I have not found hitherto a maiden who could keep up conversation with me in a rendezvous in this

way," the O.Ir. *folósad* has been replaced by a new form *folongad*, formed analogically from the present stem. An examination of the history of the subjunctive in later Irish should be an interesting one, but it lies outside the scope of this paper.

In arranging the examples considerable difficulty has been experienced, for it is not easy to fit the usage of living speech into the Procrustes-bed of grammatical terminology. Nor was it found feasible to arrange the different classes according to their supposed order of historical development. Finally, I determined to be guided by considerations of practical utility and intelligibility. Thus the relative clauses have been placed last, because they show affinities with various other classes of clauses, and can be most easily understood when these other classes have first been discussed. On such a point opinions are sure to differ, and one can only say, σοὶ μὲν ταῦτ' ὁκοῦντ' ἔστω ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.

As it is necessary frequently to refer to the various tenses of the indicative, it has seemed better to point out briefly at the outset their main uses. In the grammatical terminology some innovations will be found. To the tense indicating repeated action in past time, commonly known as the secondary present, and which is most generally used to translate the Latin imperfect, the name imperfect is given, not that it adequately indicates the full meaning of the tense, but because it seems less open to objection than any other. The aggregate of tenses corresponding morphologically partly to the Indo-Germanic perfect, partly to the aorist, which in Irish have fallen syntactically together, may best be designated by the name of preterite. For the tense which is used partly as a past tense to the future like the Greek future optative, partly in the apodosis of conditional sentences, the name secondary future has been retained as being better on the whole than that of conditional. Viewed not morphologically but syntactically, the subjunctive mood has only two tenses, a primary and a secondary; these are here distinguished briefly as present subjunctive and past subjunctive.

Some points in the syntax of the subjunctive have been already discussed by Professor Atkinson in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. For the Würzburg Glosses free use has been made of the excellent translation by Dr. Whitley Stokes, to whom I am further indebted for his kindness in reading the proofs. But for the views expressed, unless anything be stated to the contrary, the writer is alone responsible.

The following are the principal abbreviations used :—

Wb. = Würzburg Glosses, ed. Stokes.

Ml. = Milan Glosses, ed. Ascoli.

Sg. = Saint Gall Glosses, ed. Ascoli.

Acr. = Carlsruhe Glosses on Augustine, ed. Stokes.

Bcr. = Carlsruhe Glosses on Bede, ed. Stokes.

Tur. = Turin Glosses, ed. Zimmer.

Psalt. Hib. = Fragment of an Irish Psalter, edited by Meyer in his *Hibernica Minora*.

Tir. = Tirechan's Notes in the Book of Armagh.

Fél. = Féilire Oenguso, ed. Stokes.

Trip. Life = Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes.

SR. = Saltair na Rann, ed. Stokes.

VSR. = Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895.

Ir. Text. = Irische Texte, vol. i, ed. Windisch; vols. ii, etc., ed. Stokes and Windisch.

Hy. = Irish Hymns.

LU. = Facsimile of the Lebor na hUidre.

LL. = Facsimile of the Book of Leinster.

LBr. = Facsimile of the Lebor Brece.

YBL. = Facsimile of the Yellow Book of Lecan.

Important words in the Irish are indicated by black type. As a rule, the expansions of Irish contractions are not marked; where it has seemed desirable to indicate them, roman type is used. By () is indicated the conjectural restoration of letters illegible in the MS., by [] the conjectural restoration of letters omitted in the MS. In writing Latin words the normal orthography has been restored, where this tended to clearness.

I. THE TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.

The Present.

1. In addition to the general use of the tense of present or universal time, which requires no illustration, the following special uses may be noted.

(a) The Historic Present.

This is very common in narrative prose. It is often continued by a preterite.

LU. 56^b 14, *tic Medb iar n-descin in t-slóig 7 asbert ba n-espa do chách dul in t-slógaid*, Medb came after surveying the host, and said that it will be useless for all to go on the hosting.

LU. 57^b 20, *sudit iarom co tánic in slóg 7 aruspsett a n-és ciuil. dosberat il-láim Fergusa maie Róich inn id; arléga side inn ogum bóisind id. Asbert Medb iar tiachtain, cid frissinn-anaid and?* Then they sit till the host came, and their musicians play to them. They give the collar into the hand of Fergus mac Róich; he reads the ogam that was on the collar. Medb on coming said, "What are you waiting for there?"

LU. 71^b 28, *dogniat corai iarom Munremur 7 Curui 7 téit Cúruí dia thig 7 Munremur do Emain Macha. 7 ní thanic Munremur co lá in chatha. ní thánic dano Cúruí co comrac F'irdiad.* Then Munremur and Cúruí make peace, and Cúruí goes to his house, and Munremur to Emain Macha. And Munremur came not till the day of the battle. Cúruí, however, came not till the combat of Ferdiad.

LU. 71^a 39, *téit iarom in drúth cuoi 7 ind ingen lais. 7 ba di chein arlastar Coinculaind. teit Cú dia saigtin. eemaic atgeoin siam for erlabrai ind fir co m-bo druth. srethis liic telma bóis ina láim fair, con-sescaind ina cend, co tuc a incind ass. tic dochum na ingini, benaid a di trilis di 7 sadid liic triana brat 7 triana lenid, 7 sádíd corthe tria medon in druith . . . facbais Cuchulaind fón cruth-si iát. tiagair o Ailill 7 o Medb do iarmóracht a m-muntiri.* Then the fool comes to him and the maiden with him. And it was from afar that he addressed Cúchulaind. Cú comes to him. It chanced that he knew by the man's speech that he was a fool. He cast a sling-stone that was in his hand against him, so that it sprang into his head and brought out his brain. He comes to the maiden, cuts from her her two plaits of hair, and thrusts a stone through her mantle and through her smock, and thrusts a pillar through the middle of the fool. Cúchulaind left them thus. Men go from Ailill and from Medb to seek their folk.

(b) **Present of a state or action continuing into the present.**

LL. 249^b 3, *otú-sa issin dún-sa, issed laithe inso a[s] siam limm,* Since I have been in this *dún*, this is the day that has seemed longest to me.

LL. 249^b 11, *atát tri laa 7 teora aidchi and,* They have been there three days and three nights.

(c) **Present in Future sense.**

Of this I have only a very few examples, chiefly of *tiagu*.

ML. 58^c 6, *intan asmbert side tiag-sa o-tall a chenn,* When he said, "I go to take off his head."

LU. 133^a 23, *tiag dum daim, dufail in matin bánglain*, I go to my house, the white pure morning is at hand.

LU. 70^a 13, *tiaga-sa co n-ecius dóib a fil lim di foilgib, 7 dorag-sa* (fut.) *co n-derna-so mo dichennad*, I (will) go to tell them what I have of rings, and I will come that thou mayest behead me. Cf. also Wb. 17^b 20, LL. 251^a 34, 282^a 4.

LU. 74^a 44, *timorc-sa in cethri forsind áth dodochum-sa. léicfe-sa cloich duitsiu asin tailm*. "I (will) drive together the cattle upon the ford towards thee." "I will cast a stone at thee out of the sling."

Cf. further SR. 2434, 2531, 8113, 8117.

2. The Imperfect (Secondary Present) denotes repeated or customary action in past time. In the Glosses it is the tense commonly used to translate the Latin imperfect.

ML. 83^a 4, *intan conucbada* (MS. *conucbad*) *in nél nobith immunn aire*, *migrabant filii Israhel hisuidiu*; *intan dano nunanad in nél hisin, nogaibtis som dunad hisuidiu*, When the cloud that was about the ark was raised, then *migrabant filii Israhel*; when, however, that cloud rested, then they encamped.

ML. 90^d 17, *inna aithissi dombeirtis som fornai batir athissi sidi dano daitsiu a Dæ*, The insults that they used to put upon us were insults to Thee, O God.

ML. 22^a 4, *in loc dia m-bu thabarthi ermitiu feid 7 imbu choir frecur céil Dæ, atléntais (s)om adi 7 dognitis ceeh n-dochrad* (leg. *dochrud*) *and*, The place to which reverence should have been paid, and in which it was meet to worship God, they used to pollute, and they used to do every foul thing there.

Sg. 28^a 10, *dagnitis dano int Sabindai anisin .i. nosuidigtis nomina Romanorum ante nominibus suis*, The Sabines used to do that, i.e. they used to place *nomina Romanorum ante nominibus suis*.

Wb. 15^a 18, *dognithe a n-asbered Moysi, l. dodrbas* (pret.) *gloria oc tindnaeul legis*, What Moses used to say used to be done, or, *gloria* was shown at the giving of the Law.

ML. 55^c 19, *cid intan nombith inna ligiu ba¹ oc imradud chloine nobith*, Even when he was in his bed he used to be meditating iniquity.

¹ In addition to its other uses *ba* seems to represent the imperfect of the copula: cf. Gramm. Celt.² 496, VSR. 47, so pl. *batar, batir*.

LU. 60^b 6, *intan ba hain phuill dognitis, rolinad* (better *nolinad*) *som in poll dia liathrotib 7 ni chumcaitis in maic a ersclaige; intan batir heseom ule dobi[d]etis in poll, arachliched som a denur oná teged cid óen liathróit ind. intan bá n-intrascrad dognítis, dorascrad som na tri coecta mac a oenur, 7 ni chomraiced imbiseom lin a trascartha. intan dano bá n-imdirech dognitis, dosnerged som uli co m-bitis tornochtá, 7 noco ructais seom immorro cid a delg asa brot som nammá.* When they were engaged in driving hole, he would fill the hole with his balls, and the boys would not be able to ward him off; when it was they who were throwing at the hole, he would ward them off himself, so that not a single ball would go into it. When they were engaged in throwing one another, he alone would throw the thrice fifty boys, and there would not gather about him a number sufficient to overthrow him. When, moreover, they were engaged in stripping one another, he would strip them all so that they would be stark-naked, and they, moreover, would not take even his brooch from his mantle.

LU. 43^a 1, *oenach dognithe la Ultu cecha bliadna . . . issed eret nobitis Ulaíd insin im-Maig Murthemni.* A feast used to be made by the men of Ulster every year. That is the time that the men of Ulster used to be in the plain of Murthemne.

LU. 69^a 30, *intan notheiged tar carree noscarad a leth olailiu, intan ba réid orictis affrissi,* When he went over rocks, one half would part from the other; when it was smooth, they would come together again.

Many examples will be found in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *Nescoit*, and Ir. Text. iii, i, 185–202, *passim*.

3. **The Preterite,**
which corresponds morphologically partly to the Perfect, partly to the Aorist, has three main uses.

(a) **Perfect.**

LU. 72^b 7, *dodeochad-sa o Findabair ar do chend-so co n-dechais dia haccallaim,* I have come from Findabair for thee, that thou mayest go to speak with her.

ML. 22^d 7, *ho-rudeda ind feil forsnaib cnamaib, citabiat iarum in chnamai in fochaid,* When the flesh has decayed upon the bones, then the bones feel the affliction.

(b) **Preterite.**

ML. 16^e 5, *intan forcomnacuair in gnim-so crochtha Crist 7*

dodechuid temel tarsin gréin, asrubartatar fir betho, tiagar hudiñ dochum Hi[ru]salem, When this deed of the crucifixion of Christ happened and darkness came over the sun, the men of the world said, "Let some one go from us to Jerusalem."

MI. 49^a 16, air roptar sonartu maicc Israhel in tain sin, For the Sons of Israel were stronger then.

MI. 58^o 4, dia luid Duaid for longais tri glenn Iosofád dambide Semei di chlochaib oca techt 7 dobert maldachta foir, When David went into exile through the valley of Jehosaphat, Shimei pelted him with stones as they went and heaped curses upon him.

(c) **Pluperfect.**

MI. 73^b 10, runuaibrigestar, g. profanauerat.

MI. 87^b 22, conascarsat, g. diruerant.

MI. 107^a 12, asrindid, g. adseruerat.

LU. 57^b 17, ariqsitár in geilt geltatár ind eich, They perceived the grazing that the horses had grazed.

LU. 64^b 23, bá saeth laiss a n-dogéni Cuchulaind, He was vexed at what Cúchulinn had done.

4. **The Future.**

Here the chief thing that seems to call for remark is that the Irish future also translates Latin tenses indicating future completed action.

MI. 34^d 8, lase donaithfoicherr, g. cum—fuerit reuersus.

MI. 78^c 6, lase nundundaingnichfe, g. cum—nos—munieris.

MI. 43^a 23, intain noscairiub, g. cum uacuero.

MI. 57^c 7, intan luaithfider, g. cum—agitari coeperit.

MI. 69^c 6, lase donatalcfe, g. cum—deleniueris.

It may also be noted that the Irish future serves to translate Latin periphrastic expressions with -urus.

MI. 48^b 12, honerbera biuth, g. qua—usurus sit.

MI. 28^a 12, hona cumachtaigfet, g. quo non—sint—potituri.

MI. 28^b 6, ni nad todoichfet, g. non quia non sint futura.

5. **The Secondary Future has a double function.¹**

(a) **It serves as a secondary tense to the future.**

MI. 123^c 1, rocraisset dungenad Dia aní durairngert, They believed that God would do what He had promised.

¹ Compare the double use of the Sanskrit conditional.

Wb. 7^a 2, *is dīmsa tairrehet adcīchitis genti . . .* per me, It is of me it was prophesied that the Gentiles would see *per me*.

MI. 100^c 7, *duadbat som—inna debthi nobetis la Israheldu iartain*, He shows the dissensions that should be among the Israelites afterwards.

MI. 124^b 6, *adraigsetar nondabértais iterum in captivitatem*, They feared they would carry them again into captivity.

LU. 64^a 39, *bágais Cuchulaind hi Methiu, port iarsin i n-acciged Ailill nó Medb, fochiehred cloich asa thábaill forru*, Cúchulainn declared in Methe, that wherever afterwards he saw Ailill or Medb, he would cast a stone from his sling upon them.

LL. 68^a 27, *atsbert Conchobor a-ticfad uathad a dóchum*, Conchobor said that he would come to him with few.

(b) In a conditional sense by itself, or in the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

MI. 128^a 2, *ni tochuiribthe, g. non adscisceretur*.

MI. 42^c 32, *ni cumcaibed, g. nequisset*.

Wb. 9^c 8, *mar-rufeste, ní gette na brithemnachta becca erriu*, If ye had known it, ye would not take the little judgments from them.

For other examples see §§ 41, 44.

II. THE TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

6. Syntactically the Irish subjunctive may be said to have two tenses, a present tense corresponding loosely to the Latin present and perfect, and a past tense corresponding loosely to the Latin imperfect and pluperfect. Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 68 sq.

7. Morphologically the forms are more numerous. We have an *ā* subjunctive identical in formation with the Lat. *feram*, with its corresponding past tense, e.g. 3 sg. pres. *-bera*, 3 sg. past *-berad*. We have also a subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist, with its corresponding past tense, e.g. *asind*, 'he may set forth'=*ess-ind-fetst*, past *asindisied*. But it is a general rule of economy that each individual verb has one or other of these formations, but not both; if a verb have the *s* subjunctive, then the *ā* subjunctive has an imperative force—thus, *tiagam* 'let us go,' *ara tiasam* 'that we may go.' In

the Glosses there is an exception to the rule in compounds of the verb *-ciu* 'I see.' Here in the present, by the side of deponent *ā* subjunctives like *addéicider* Ml. 43^a 19, *coní accadar* Ml. 53^a 6, etc., Deponent Verb in Irish, pp. 23, 24, we have passive *s* subjunctives like *doécastar* Sg. 188^a 6, *maní accastar* Ml. 50^a 5, *arnáchbaraccaister* LU. 85^a 4. If my observations be correct, the two formations are here used to get distinct forms for the deponent and the passive. In the past subjunctive of this verb (a tense which has no deponent forms) I have noted no examples of the *s* formation; an instance of the *ā* passive is *co adceithe* Ml. 77^d 8. In no other verb in the old literature have I met with the double subjunctive.¹

8. The following examples from the Glosses will illustrate how an Irish present and past subjunctive may correspond to a Latin perfect and pluperfect.

Present.

Sg. 151^a 1, *ma énaigidir*, g. *si inneterauerit*.

Ml. 3^a 13, *ol ma duintaesin*, g. *quod—si transtuleris*.

Ml. 46^c 15, *maní berba*, g. *nisi decoxerit*.

Cf. LBr. 194^a 39, 249^a 50.

Past.

Wb. 19^d 24, *cía chondesin far súli dosmberthe dom*, though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them me, Lat. *si fieri potuisset, oculos uestros dedissetis mihi*.

Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, p. 69. More examples will be found later.

9. Since the Irish subjunctive, then, has practically only two tenses, it is clear that it is formally much less explicit than

¹ In Ml. 24^c 14, *incoisged* forms a gloss on *indicare uideatur*, where one would at first sight be tempted to take *incoisged* as a subjunctive. But the regular subjunctive from this verb is *incoisised*, so that all the probabilities are in favour of translating *incoisged* by *indicabat*. And this translation is supported by the following gloss *atcoisged amal bíd hi frendaíre nobeth*, when the Latin contains nothing that would justify a subjunctive. So I would take *dunaidbáitis*, Ml. 39^c 35; it glosses *uideantur*, but the clause is not final but consecutive, so that in Irish the indicative is required, cf. §§ 60*–64*. So, too, in Ml. 36^a 20, *is maith les á firlugae nothongad each frialaíle* may be rendered, "he respects the oath that each used to swear to the other." In Ml. 43^d 20 *étaste* seems to be sec. fut.; cf. fut. *étastar*, Trip. Life, 118, l. 23.

the Latin, that much that in Latin is expressed by the tense must in Irish be inferred from the context. Thus, for example, in Irish it is impossible to distinguish between *si legeret* and *si legisset*. It has been held (Gramm. Celt.² 447, 481, 493) that the addition of the particle *ro-* may give to a present and a past subjunctive the syntactical value of a perfect and a pluperfect. The question of the force of *ro-* with the subjunctive is a very difficult one; some discussion of it will be found below, p. 349 sq. The uses of the two tenses of the subjunctive will be most satisfactorily illustrated under the various uses of the subjunctive mood.

III. CONGRUENCE OF TENSES.

10. In the indicative, if the verb of a subordinate clause refers to the same time as the verb of the main clause, it is put in the same tense. This principle is clearly seen in translation from Latin.

Ml. 36^d 2, *te persequente pereunt*, g. *anundagreinn-siu* (pres.), when Thou pursuest them.

Ml. 44^b 32, *auersaris iniustos cum adnueris uotis piorum*, g. *lase fortéig* (pres.), when Thou helpest.

Ml. 39^d 11, *me laudibus efferentes beatum dicebant*, g. *a n-condammuchaitis-se* (impf.), when they extolled me.

Ml. 17^b 16, *scribae uero inuidentes dixerunt*, g. *a formenatar* (pret.), when they envied.

Ml. 34^b 18, *angelo caedente deleta sunt*, g. *aschomart* (pret.), who slew.

Ml. 80^a 13, *inimici talia sustenendo rex noster laetabitur*, g. *lase folilsat* (fut.), when they endure.

Note also the following instances.

Ml. 69^b 1, *is and rofessatar* (fut.) *ata* (pres.) *n-dóini aprisci 7 is and molfait* (fut.) *Dia intan dumbærtar* (fut.) *fochaidi forru*, Then will they know that they are frail men, and then will they praise God, when afflictions are brought upon them.

Ml. 51^b 10, *sechis ardi sōn dombēra* (fut.) *Dia do neuch nodneirbea ind 7 gēnas* (fut.) *triit*, That is, it is a sign that God will give to everyone who trusts in Him and acts through Him.

MI. 111^d 3, *nach gním dungenam-ni bid soinnech*, Every deed that we do shall be prosperous.

Wb. 12^d 27, *rofestar* (fut.) *cach m-belre intain bérthar* (fut.) *i n-dóiri*, It will know every tongue, when it is carried into captivity.

LU. 19^a 2, *nách fer díb donecucus-sa co handiaraid, atbélat a beóil*, Each man of them whom I look at angrily, his lips shall die.

Wb. 10^a 5, *al-liles* (fut.) *dind ancretmiuch bid* (fut.) *ancretmech*, What cleaves to the unbelieving will be unbelieving.

11. But if the sense require it, the tenses are different.

MI. 26^d 12, *ní con-bia* (fut.) *cumscugud for pianad bithsuthin innam ingrennat* (pres.) *inna frianu*, There will be no alteration to the everlasting punishment of those that persecute the righteous.

MI. 50^d 10, *amal durigni* (pret.) *inna gnímu sechmadachtai, dugena* (fut.) *dano innahí tairngir* (pres.) *isa todochide*, As He did the past deeds, He will do moreover in the future what He promises.

MI. 53^c 3, *tuetur supplicem, g. cech óin gessid, i. giges* (fut.) *Dia*, Every suppliant, that is, who shall supplicate God.

MI. 43^d 1, *intan asrubart sum frimmaccu Israhel imbói* (pret., read **ambói**) *di oinachdaib leu robeth* (sec. fut.) *for díb milib ech*, When he said to the sons of Israel that what of horsemen they had would be upon two thousand horses.

MI. 46^c 20, *intí huainni adaichfedar* (fut.) *in coimdid, rosuidigestar* (perf.) (l. **suidigfith** (fut.)) *Dia recht n-do*, Whosoever of us shall fear the Lord, God hath established (or will establish) a Law unto him.

Wb. 4^d 6, *ar ticfea* (fut.) *indsom briathar foirbthigedar* (pres.) *in duine i n-dírgi cáingnima*, For into it will come the Word that perfects man in the righteousness of well-doing.

IV. SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

12. In the sequence of tenses the historic present counts regularly as a past.

LU. 77^a 6, *léicid* (pres.) *som cloich asa tailm co mebaid* (pret.) *a súil ina cind*, He let fly a stone from his sling so that her eye broke in her head.

LU. 83^a 7, *tiagait* (pres.) *la Ingeel corrólsat* (pret.) *a n-dibeirg lais*, They went with Ingeel and made their plundering with him.

LU. 59^a 37, *iadais* (pret.) *indara súil oná-rbo lethiú indás cró snáthaiti, asóilgg* (pres.) *alaile co m-bo móir béolu midchuaich*, He shut one eye so that it was not broader than the eye of a needle; he opened the other so that it was as large as the lips of a mead-goblet.

LU. 61^b 20, *cotnéienigidar* (pres.) *Cuchulaind iar suidiu o-darled* (past subj.) *forsin slige do chelebrad dona maccaib*, Cúchulainn compelled him to go on the road to bid farewell to the boys.

LU. 72^b 12, *fonascar* (pres.) *fair can tudecht forsín slog co tísad* (past subj.) *aroen fri Ultu*, He was bound over not to go against the host until he should come along with the men of Ulster.

LU. 20^b 37, *teit* (pres.) *techta o Ailill 7 Meidb a dochum o-digsed* (past subj.), Messengers came to him from Ailill and from Medb that he should come.

13. The treatment of the historic present as a primary tense is exceptional.

LL. 281^b, *cuinnegar* (pres.) *tra baile co rofalmaighther duih* (pres. subj.), A place then was sought that it might be emptied for them.

14. After a primary tense the subjunctive is more usually in the present.

LU. 20^b 5, *tair limsa co n-dérais*, Come with me that thou mayest avenge.

LU. 72^b 7, *dodeochad-sa o Findabair ar do chend-so co n-dechais dia haccallaim*, I have come for thee from Findabair that thou mayest come to speak with her.

LU. 69^a 4, *ni scarfom in cruth-sa, ol Etarcomol, cor-ruc-sa do chen(n)-su nó co farcabsa mo chend latsú*, We shall not part thus, said Etarcomol, till I carry off thy head or till I leave my head with thee.

Wb. 23^b 24, *ni imned lim act rop Crist pridches et immerada cách*, I deem it no tribulation, provided it be Christ that everyone preaches and meditates upon.

Wb. 2^b 12, *nitta ní inditmóide*, There is nothing for thee to boast in.

ML. 19^d 6, *intí díib bes tresa orcaid alaile*, He who is stronger slays the other.

Wb. 5^c 20, *chech irnigde dogneid i tuil Dé bed dlichthech*, Let every prayer that ye make in God's will be lawful.

15. But a primary tense may also be followed by a past subjunctive. The following examples may serve as types of this.

(a) Wb. 4^d 17, *fri Genti asbeir som anisiu arna tomnitis nád carad som Iudeiu et nad duthrised a n-icc*. He says this to the Gentiles that they might not think that he did not love the Jews and that he did not desire their salvation.

ML. 130^b 6, *ni molat Dia i n-ífurinn co n-etaitis dilgud ho suidiu tri sodin*, They praise not God in Hell, so that they might obtain forgiveness from Him thereby.

ML. 89^b 15, *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, .i. co m-bad firíán a brithemnacht*, That His judgment might be righteous.

ML. 61^a 5, *lase sechminella .i. conna erchissed don bocht*, When he passes by, i.e. that he should not pity the poor.

Wb. 26^d 17, *ató oc combaig friss im sechim a guime 7 im gabail desimrechte de a-roissinn cutrummus friss et agní som frimsa oc suidiu*, I am contending with Him as to imitating His deeds and as to taking example from Him, so that I might attain equality with Him, and He works with me in this.

For other examples see § 64.

Sometimes the present subjunctive and the past are found in the same sentence.

ML. 112^b 20, *is airí cotnoat som arnachrisat* (pres.) *fochaidi demuin, a-idcloitis* (past) *asind noibi hi m-bí* (pres. ind.), It is therefore that they protect him, that the tribulations of the Devil reach him not, to drive him from the holiness wherein he is.

In final sentences the present subjunctive evidently expresses the direct purpose; the past subjunctive is less direct, it corresponds to 'might' rather than to 'may,' and it may be compared with the potential use of the past subjunctive in doubtful statements.

(b) Imram Brain p. 15, *tinscan imram tar muir n-glan, dús in rista tír na m-ban*, Begin a voyaging over the bright sea, if perchance thou mightest possibly reach the Land of Women.

LU. 74^b 45, *tabram fianlæch cach n-aidchi do seile fair dus in tairsimmis a bægul*, Let us put him a troop every night to hunt (?) him to see whether we might get a chance at him.

Cf. § 33.

(c) ML. 107^b 8, *nihil afflictionis superest cuius iam experimenta non caperem*, g. *ni òfil frithorcain nachamthised sa 7 nad fordamaínn*, There is no affliction that might not come to me and that I might not endure.

ML. 124^a 8, *ni fil degnimu linnai trisnansoirthæ*, There are no good deeds with us through which we might be delivered.

LU. 68^b 28, *ní fetar ní ardottáigthe*, I know no reason why thou shouldst be feared.

For additional examples see § 73c. The tense use is of the same kind as in (a).

(d) Wb. 9^c 20, *cíd attobaich cen dílgud cecch ancrídi dognethe . frið*, What impels you not to forgive every injury that may have been done to you ?

Tir. 11, *toise limm fer oenséitche dunaructhæ acht oen tuistiu*, I desire a husband of one wife to whom has not been born but one child.

Cf. § 75.

16. After a secondary tense the past subjunctive is regular.

Rev. Celt, xi, 446, *birt roth leiss ond oclaich ara ressed amal an roth sin tar leth in maigi*, He took a wheel with him from the warrior that he might run like that wheel over half of the plain.

Wb. 17^a 13, *ní bo ar seirc móidme act o-robad torbe dúibsi triit*, i. *o-rochrete-si et o-rointsamlithe mo bésu-sa et oná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na gnimu-sin*, It was not for love of boasting, but that there might be profit to you through it, that is, that ye might believe and that ye might imitate my customs, and that ye might believe no one save him who did those deeds.

ML. 125^c 2, *asrubart Dia—ara sechitis a thimnae*, God said that they should follow His ordinances.

Wb. 33^d 10, *ni robe nech bad huasliu tara toissed*, There was no one more exalted by whom He could have sworn.

17. After a secondary tense the present subjunctive is very rare.

Hy.ii, 35, *Patraic pridchais do Scottaib, rochés mór sath il-Lethu, immi co tísat do bráth in cách dosfuc do bethu*, Patrick preached

to the Scots, he suffered great tribulation in Letavia, that there may come about him to Judgment all whom he brought to life. Here the writer seems to be contemplating the Day of Judgment from the standpoint of his own time, not from St. Patrick's.

V. THE USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF WISH.

18. A wish regarded as capable of realization is expressed by the present subjunctive. The negative is *ní*.

Wb. 31^a 2, *darolgea Dia doib*, May God forgive it them.

Wb. 18^b 23, *roerthar dúib uili*, May it be given to all of you.

Hy. iv, 3, 4, *ronsoera Brigit sech drungu demna*; *roroena reunn catha cach thedma*, May Brigit deliver us past crowds of devils; may she break before us the battles of each plague.

Hy. iv, 2, *donfe don bithflaith*, May she lead us to the everlasting kingdom.

LU. 85^b 10, *ní thuca Dia and in fer-sin innocht*, May not God bring that man there to-night.

Wb. 23^b 41, *imb i céin, fa i n-accus beo-sa, niconchloor act for cáinscéil*, Whether I be far or near, may I not hear but good of you.

Trip. L. i, 78, l. 22, *nimtairle do mallacht*, May not thy malediction fall on me

Hy. vi, 12, *nimthairle éc na amor, nimthair mortlaid na galar*, May not death or misery light upon me, may not plague or sickness come to me.

LU. 7^b 13, *nimreilge il-lurg na n-demna*, May He not leave me in the track of the devils.

Zeit. f. Celt. Phil. i, 497, *doroimliur in fleid dot méis, nimfargba dott éis a Dé*, May I enjoy the feast from Thy table, mayest Thou not leave me behind Thee, O God.

Cod. St. Paul, i, 4, *rop ith 7 mlicht adcear*, May it be corn and milk that I see.

19. In a passage of Sg. a Latin past subjunctive in wish is expressed by an Irish past.

Sg. 148^a 6, *ut si filio meo Romae in praesenti degente optans dicam, utinam Romae filius meus legisset auctores propter quos etc., .i. forconnacair buith a maice som hi Róim; affamenad som didiu nolégad a macc inn heret sin i m-bói, et robu anfiss dosom in*

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18*. A wish may be expressed otherwise.

Hy. i, 2, for a foessam dún innocht, May we be under His protection to-night (lit. under His protection to us).

Hy. vi, 24, ar guin, ar guasact, ar gabud, a Crist, for do snádud dún, Against wounding, against danger, against peril, Christ, may we be under Thy protection.

Hy. viii, 4, in Spirit Noeb d'aittreb ar cuirp is ar n-anma, diar snádud co solma ar gabud ar galra, May the Holy Spirit dwell in our body and our soul, may He defend us swiftly against peril, against diseases (lit. the Holy Spirit to dwell in . . . , to protect us).

19*. An impossible wish is commonly expressed otherwise, e.g. :

LU. 61^a 2, messe immorro nímadairgenus fleid, As for me, however, would that I had not prepared a feast (lit. not well did I prepare a feast). Similarly,

SR. 1346, nimanfacamar th'uboll, Would we had not seen thine apple.

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roleg fanace, dég rombu éindairce do 7 afamenad rafesed in roleg, His son happened to be in Rome; would, then, that his son had read that time that he was, and he did not know whether he had read or not, because he was absent and would that he had known whether he had read.

abamin and *afamenad* may be verbal in origin; the latter form looks like a past subjunctive, but the explanation of the forms is not clear to me.

2. THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF WILL.¹

20. The second persons of the present subjunctive are often found in commands, particularly in negative sentences.

ML. 61^c 15, *soira-siu*, g. liberato.

ML. 32^a 3, *conoscaige-siu*, g. admoueto.

ML. 101^a 1, *concela-siu*, g. dissimulato.

ML. 78^c 6, *intuailngigthid fortéis-siu*, g. dignanter adnuito.

ML. 58^d 14, *cotatoscaighther-su*, g. commouere.

Wb. 5^d 39, uince in bono malum .i. *dogné-su maith frissom et bid* (fut.) *maid som iarum*, Thou shalt do good to him, and he will be good afterwards.

LU. 64^a 20, *ber* (ipv.) *latt sin*, or *Cú*, 7 *tési don dúnud amlaid*, Carry it with you, said Cúchulinn, and go to the camp thus.

LU. 58^a 17, *cure airdmius dín tarsin slóg, ol Cúculaind*, Make an estimate of the host for us, said Cúchulinn.

LU. 62^a 25, *nimdersaige fri uathad, nomdiúsca immorro fri sochaide*, Thou shalt not awake me for one; thou shalt awake me, however, for a number.

ML. 55^a 19, *ní astae-siu*, g. ne suspendas.

Wb. 10^a 21, *ce chonitis cor do sêche uáit, níiscoirther, act indnité* (ipv.) *dús im-conchétbuid dúib*, Though thou canst put away thy wife, thou shalt not put her away, but wait to see if ye can agree.

Wb. 3^b 11, *sed neque exhibeatis membra uestra, .i. ní tídbarid far m-baullu*, Ye shall not exhibit your limbs.

ML. 74^d 13, *ní berae-siu hua Duaid in salm-so*, Thou shalt not take this psalm from David.

¹ It is not easy in every case to distinguish this from the potential.

SR. 1858, *nimmanfacamar do gnúis*, Would we had not seen thy face.

LU. 58^a 15, *nímáloðmar* (pret.) *dó, ol Cúculaind, námertamar* (pret.) *Ulltu*, Would that we had not gone, said Cúchulinn, that we might not (?) have betrayed Ulster. Cf. LL. 59, l. 10.

LL. 64^a 9, *amae a óeu, bar Conchobur, nímatancamar d'ól na fledi-se*, Alas! my men, said Conchobur, would we had not come to drink this feast.

20*, 21*. The following are examples of the imperative. The negative is *ná*.

Wb. 6^b 11, *manducantem non iudicet*, .i. *na taibred dimiccim fair*, Let him not put disrespect upon him.

Wb. 6^b 3, *induite uos Dominum*, .i. *bed imthuge-si Domino*, Be ye raiment *Domino*.

Wb. 6^b 18, *unusquisque in suo sensu abundet*, .i. *anas maith la cách dénad* si pro Domino, What each deems good let him do.

Wb. 9^a 14, *imitatores mei estote*, .i. *bed adthramli* .i. *gaibid comarbus for n-athar*, Be father-like, i.e. take the inheritance of your father.

Wb. 12^b 8, *pro inuicem sollicita sint membra*, .i. *cobrad cach ball alaille*, Let each member help the other.

ML. 46^b 26, *absolve*, .i. *nonsoerni*, Deliver us.

ML. 55^a 1, *noli in tua patientia sustinere*, .i. *na dene ainmnit*, Show not patience.

LU. 68^a 1, *airgg mad ferr laiss in mag-sa i n-rohalt*, Offer, if he prefer it, this plain in which he was reared.

Further examples will be found in Gramm. Celt. 443, 444, 474, 495; VSR. 14, 15, 35, 47.

MI. 74^d 13, *ní derlegae-siu in titúl roscríobais huasin chroích*, Thou shalt not destroy the inscription that thou didst write above the Cross.

Wb. 13^c 13, *nolite seduci, .i. a seodoprofetis, ní érbairid autem uerba asbeir in t-óis anfoirbthe*, Ye shall not utter *verba* that the imperfect folk utter.

LU. 64^a 14, *ní agither ní*, Fear nothing.

LU. 70^a 5, *fochíchur-sa* (fut.) *aurchor duit, or Naderanntal, 7 níningaba. níningeb* (fut.) *acht i n-arddai, or Cuchulaind*. "I will make a cast at thee," said Naderanntal, "and thou must not avoid it." "I will not avoid it save in the air," said Cúchulinn.

LU. 74^a 15, *ní ruba é nachamfácha-sa cen bráthair*, Slay him not, that thou mayest not leave me without a brother.

Many more examples will be found in the maxims in LU 46^b=Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i, 213-4.¹

21. Of the other persons I have not many examples.

Wb. 11^a 24, *neque tentemus Christum, sicut quidam eorum, .i. ní gessam-ní níi bes chotarsne diar n-ícc*, We should pray for nothing that is opposed to our salvation.

MI. 105^a 8, *excipiat .i. arfema*.

Wb. 8^b 2, *níp and nobirpaid*, Not therein shall ye trust. So Wb. 5^d 14, 25^a 10, 28^b 14, 30^d 24, Sg. 158^a 2.

LU. 66^a 5, *níp machdad lat cid cian co tisor*, Wonder not though it be long till I come.

LU. 46^b 7, *ní iadat iubaili for étechtú ail*, Prescription shall not close in an illegal manner (?).

3. THE POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.

22. Sg. 171^b 1, *rollámar, g. ausim*.

Wb. 20^b 9, *doduthris, uelim*.

Wb. 32^a 9, *quem ego uolueram mecum retinere, g. dofuthris-se a buith im gnáis féin ara hireschi*, I could wish that he were with myself for his faithfulness.

MI. 34^a 4, *muriis-si far n-dochum*, I might soon come to you.

MI. 22^d 5, *cid na imneda forodamar-sa cose romferat dom aitherriuch*, Even the troubles that I have suffered hitherto might be sufficient to me for me for my reformation.

¹ In MI. 42^a 8, *dumgne-se* glosses *me facies*, but we should probably read *dumgêne-se*.

23. Here probably belong the following negative sentences.

Wb. 11^c 17, *ciasu airegdu in fer,—ni rubi nechtar de cen alail[e]*, Though the man is nobler, neither of them may be without the other.

Ml. 20^d 4, *cia rubé cen ní diib, ni rubai cenaib huli*, Though he be without some of them, he may not be without all of them.

Wb. 22^d 3, *ar is freindirc side dia mogaib, ni dernat sidi ní nad fiastar side*, For He is present to His servants; they could do nothing that He will not know.

Ml. 51^c 14, *ni ruguigter gnimai De*, The works of God may not be falsified.

Ml. 94^b 23, *air meit ind huachta ní ru[treb]bthar indib*, For the greatness of the cold no one may dwell in them.

Wb. 30^b 15, *ni rochumscigther son beos*, It may not be moved yet.

Sg. 209^a 3, *ní rubai anisin in nominatiuo*, That could not be in nominatiuo.

24. In a number of instances this subjunctive is preceded by the adverb *bés*.

Acr. 78, *nisi forte animum dicis etiam si moriatur animum esse, g. bás asbera-su as n-ai[n]m dosom animus ciatbela*, Maybe thou wouldst say that *animus* is its name even though it die.

Ml. 51^b 8, *dobeir Dia aithesc cid as denti no cid as imgabthi do retaib ata chosmaili fri fir la doine 7 bes ni bat fra la Dia*, God gives an answer what is to be done or what is to be avoided of things that are like truth in the eyes of men, and maybe they are not true (just) in the eyes of God.

Wb. 5^b 39, *béss risat ade ani asa-torbatha*, Maybe they may reach that out of which they were cut.

LL. 269^a 20, *bés rosia ní uaimsea hé*, Perhaps something from me may reach him.

Fél. Ep. 417 *bes nip aill do dainib*, Perhaps it may not please men.

bés is also found with a past subjunctive.

(a) In oratio obliqua.

LU. 133^b 4, *asbert Mongán fria arna bad brónach, bás dosnised cobair*, Mongán told her not to be sad, perchance help might come to them.

(b) In a conditional sentence.

Sg. 202^a 7, *mad ego nammá asberad, bes nobed nach aile leis oc ind airohellad amal sódain*, If he had said *ego* only, perchance some other might have been with him at the taking away in that case.

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24*. *bés* is also found with the indicative in later texts.

SR. 2893, **bess iss he** (pres.) *Issau*, **bess noconhé** *Jacob*, Peradventure it is Esau, peradventure it is not Jacob.

LL. 80^a 9, *cíd a n-doronad and do báis* **bes ni rophendsemmar ind**, Peradventure we have not done penance even for what of folly was done there.

For other examples, see Windisch, Wb. s.v. *bés*.

25. The Past Subjunctive is used to put forward a mere suggestion or conjecture, or to mark a statement or opinion as improbable or impossible.

Wb. 27^d 16, *salutatio mea manu Pauli, g. co m-bad notire rodscribad cosse*, It would have been a notary who had written it hitherto.

Wb. 26^b 31, *salutatio mea manu Pauli; quod est signum in omni epistola, ita scribo, .i. commad inso sis rodscribad som; co m-bad suaichned leosom ataa i cach epistil a sainchomarde sin*, It would be this below that he wrote; it would be well known with them that this special sign is in every epistle.

Ml. 86^d 9, *canon l. co m-bad trachtad huli inso*, Text, or all this may be commentary.

Sg. 106^b 16, *co m-bad uad roainmnigthe*, It would be from it that it was named.

Psalt. Hib. 238, *in tituil immurgu Estras rodacachain l. comtis aili trachtairi olchena*, The titles, however, Ezra sang, or there may have been other commentators besides.

LU. 73^a 17, *co m-bad i n-imslige Glendamnach dano dofaethsad Cuir iar n-araile slicht*, It would be in the great road of Glendamain that Caúr fell according to another version.

Ml. 48^d 27, *psalmus laudis renouationis domus Dauid, .i. co m-bad de nogabthe* (MS. *nogagthe*) *insalm-so di chosseccrad inna cathrach conrotacht la Duaid hi Sion*, This psalm may have been sung of the consecration of the city that was built by David in Sion. The following gloss gives another explanation, which the commentator prefers.

26. This usage is also found in dependent clauses.

Ml. 24^d 9, *uisum sane est quibusdam quod in tabernaculorum confixione a beato Dauid sit psalmus iste compositus, .i. co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe in salm*, That that was the time at which the psalm was sung.

Ml. 16^a 10, *quorum alii in Zorobabel, . . . uolunt dicta psalmi praesentis accipere, .i. co m-bad de rongabthe in salm so, olsodin nad fir n-doib*, That it was of him that this psalm was sung, which, however, is not true for them.

Ml. 139^a 9, *co m-bad du doiri Babil [on]e rongabtis*, That it would be of the captivity of Babylon that they were sung.

Ml. 14^a 7, 8, *quomodo enim beatum istum pronuntiare potuisset et ab omni errore amore uirtutis alienam?* Two glosses *co m-bad*

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26*. Indirect speech as such does not require the subjunctive.

After a secondary leading verb primary tenses usually become secondary.

LU. 133^a 34, *asbert Mongán ba gó*, Mongán said that it was false. In LU. 133^b 34 in direct speech, *asrubart-sa, is gó*, I said, it is false.

LU. 128^b 12, *asbert fria rubad* (sec. fut.) *torrach húad 7 bá hé nudabert a dochum don bruig*, He said to her that she would be with child by him, and that it was he that had brought her to him to the *brug*.

MI. 53^d 6, *asberad som nambu tressa dia Hirusalem imboi dia cecha cathrach olche[na] 7 nachasoirbed* (sec. fut.) *dia lamaib som*, He used to say that the God of Jerusalem was not stronger than

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echtran som ho chomrorcain, that he was a stranger to error ;
co carad chaingnimu du denu, that he loved to do good deeds.

ML. 34^d 6, *asberat alaili ciasu for oin fiur ata* in da n-ainm-so .i. Jacob 7 Israel, **co m-bad du dethruib notesad á n-Iacob 7 co m-bad du deichthrib immurgu a n-Israel**, Some say that though these two names, Jacob and Israel, are borne by one man, Jacob would apply to the Two Tribes, and Israel, moreover, to the Ten Tribes.

Wb. 10^a 12, *ishé inso titul in dligid archinn, ciasberthar co m-bad béim foris in dligid remeperthi*, This is the title of the dictum which follows, though it is said that it is a recapitulation of the dictum aforesaid.

Wb. 13^a 16, *bertit alaili tra co m-bad spirut nóib robói* in profetis ueteris **co m-bad hé bad foammamigthe** profetis noui .i. apostolis, quod non uerum, Some say that it was the Holy Spirit who was in the prophets of the Old Testament, who was subjected to the prophets of the New, i.e. to the Apostles, which is not true.

ML. 131^c 3, haec est **hem** illa porta Domini, .i. ahæ .i. *interiacht Ebraide*, l. dicunt alii **bed** n-ainm do dorus sainredach i n-*Hierusalem, olsodain immurgu nad choimtig linnai*, A Hebrew interjection, or others say that it was the name of a particular door in Jerusalem, but that we deem not customary.

ML. 54^a 12, *ni aisndet Duaid airmdis hé iusti indi nad ocmanatur ho throgaib, acht it hé iusti les indi ocubendar ho throgaib inna n-ingramman 7 inna focaide*, David does not declare that it is those who are not touched by miseries who are *iusti*, but it is they whom he deems *iusti*, namely, those who are touched by the miseries of the persecutions and the tribulations.

ML. 55^d 25, *ní fil chosmailius fir do neuch asber nadmbed dliged remdeicsen Dæ du doinib, sech remideci Dia dunaib anmandib amlabrib*, There is no likeness of truth to anyone who says that there is no law of the Providence of God for men, for God provides for dumb animals.

Wb. 5^a 8, *cani góo dúibsi a n-asberid a Iudeu coní cloitis geinti tairchetal Crist? nate rachualatar*, Is it not false for you what ye say, Jews, that the Gentiles might not hear prophesying of Christ? Nay, they have heard it.

Psalt. Hib. 194, *asberat co m-bad elegiacum metrum*, They say that it is elegiac metre.

Psalt. Hib. 344, *Ceist, cia cetarochet dinaib salmaib? ised asberat séssi inna trachtair co m-bad* Te decet. *asberat alaili co m-bad* Benedictus. *Ataa aní as friu oldás a n-dede-sa, .i. is toisichu rocét*

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the god of any other city, and that He would not deliver them from his hands.

LU. 64^a 24, *asrubairt mini thucaind* (past subj.) *for mo muin dochum in dúnaid brisfed* (sec. fut.) *mo chend formsa cocloich*, He said if I did not carry him upon my back to the camp he would break my head for me with a stone. Cuchulinn's words are *manip samlaid téis* (pres. subj.), *roticcaba* (fut.) *cloch uaimse asin tailm*, If thou dost not go thus, there will come to thee a stone from me from the sling.

LU. 56^a 15, *asbert ba* (fut.) *n-essa do chách dul int slógaid diantéset* (pres. subj.) *in tricha céit Galíón*, She said it would be useless for the rest to go on the hosting if the cantred of Leinstermen went. Here the tenses of oratio recta are retained.

ML. 24^d 25, *asberat immurgu heretic as n-ed dechur ta[d]badar isindisin*, .i. *etir deacht maic 7 athar*, quod non uerum, Heretics, however, say that this is the difference that is shown therein, to wit, between the Godhead of the Son and of the Father, which is not true.

ML. 20^c 5, *asberat nad fil dligeð remdeicseu Dé dia dulib*, Who say that there is no law of Providence of God for His creatures.

Wb. 3^c 26, *doménar-sa ba marb peccad hore nán-rairgsiur*, I thought that sin was dead because I did not perceive it.

Wb. 3^c 27, *doménar-sa rop-sa beo intain nád-rairgsiur peccad*, I thought I was alive, when I did not perceive sin.

ML. 61^d 2, *in toimtiu huallach dorumenair som as tria airilliud rosoirad in chuthir*, The proud opinion that he thought that the city was delivered through his merit.

ML. 49^b 13, *dorumenar rom-sa dia 7 rom bithbéu*, I thought that I was a god, and that I was immortal.

Pusillus eram 7 rl. Question. Which of the Psalms was sung first? Numbers of the commentators say that it was *Te Decet*. Others say that it was *Benedictus*. There is that which is truer than either of these. It was *Pusillus eram*, etc., that was sung first.

Wb. 2^b 4, ut omne os obstruatur, .i. *connách moidea nech ar bed á arilliud nodnicad*, That no one may boast that his merit saves him.

Wb. 13^c 2, *arna tomnathar bed foammamichthe deacht don dóinacht*, That it may not be supposed that the Godhead is subject to the Manhood.

Ml. 96^b 18, *arna tomainte bed n-isel som tri taidbsin a fuilliuchtae hi sleb Sina* hominibus, *is airi asbeir-som* quis est Deus, That it might not be supposed that He was mean through the exhibition of His footprint to men on mount Sinai, therefore he says, *Quis est Deus?*

Ml. 43^a 15, *nephtointiu bed peccad són*, The not-thinking that it was sin.

Ml. 132^b 3, *necessitatem suspicionis ammoue, .i. toimten damsa bad n-esbae dam du frecur ceill-siu*, Of my thinking that it was vain for me to honour Thee.

Ml. 130^d 4, *mente—cum ita excedissem ut super humana me adtollerem, .i. asringbus .i. toimtin arm-benn duine acht durumenar rom-sa* (ind.) *dia*, I exceeded, i.e. the thought that I was a man, but I thought that I was a god.

27. So with expressions like *dóig, inda*.

Ml. 61^b 15, *ba dóig bed n-ingoert in testimín-so*, This text may probably be incorrect.

Sg. 30^a 8, *cum suos seruant accentus, .i. dóig linn bed n-acuit praeter qualis, 7 co m-bad chircunflex for suidiu*, We deem it probable that it would be the acute except *qualis*, and that it would be the circumflex upon this.

Wb. 4^c 16, *hóre doroigu indala fer cen airilliud et romisenigestar araille in doich bid indirge do Dia insin?* Because He chose one of the two men without desert and hated the other, do you suppose that that would be unrighteousness to God. So Wb. 18^a 9, 15.

LU. 65^a 33, *dóig lem bád in-diamraib Slébe Culind nobeth*, I fancy he would be in the recesses of Sliab Culend.

LU. 26^a 33, *bá dóich leo ní roistis taris cen totim trit*, They thought they could not get over it without falling through it.

[continued on p. 254.]

27*. With the indicative.

LU. 50^b 28, *is doig co n-deochatár drem aile fora slicht*, It is probable that another multitude came on their track.

Ir. Text, i, 297, 19, *dóig leis dano robói tricha cubat inne uasind loch*, He thought that there were thirty cubits of it above the loch.

Ir. Text, i, 225, 12, *rogo doig lind nocobiad* (sec. fut.) *ar n-imscarad*, We deemed it probable that our parting would never be.

Wb. 31^d 5, *da leinn ba firinne*, We thought it was righteousness.

LU. 58^a 35, *indar leó bá cath bóí isind áth*, They thought there had been a battle in the ford.

LU. 85^b 27, *atar laís roptar óic táncatár coa muintir*, He thought that warriors had come to his people.

ML. 96^a 6, *inda lasin menmain ní adchótadaigfide* (sec. fut.) *fri Dia*, The mind thinks that it would not be reconciled to God.

[continued on p. 255.]

LL. 61^b 6, *in doig inartised Conchobor*, Is it likely that Conchobor should have come to us? Cf. 61^b 16, 26.

ML. 39^c 24, *inda leu som nisroissed inned*, They think trouble could not reach them.

28. As with Latin *non quod*, the subjunctive is used in rejecting a suggested reason or fact. In Irish the tense is the past.

Wb. 12^a 22, *ní nád m-bed arse di chorp, act atá de*, Not that it is not therefore of the body, but it is of it.

Wb. 16^a 23, *non ad condemnationem uestram dico, .i. ní arindí doróntæ-si, anisiu*, Not that ye did this.

Sg. 5^a 4, *semiuocales autem sunt appellatae, etc., ní arindí bed leth n-gotho indib sem, . . . sed quia plenam uocem non habent sicut uocales*, Not because there is half of voice in them, *sed quia* etc.

Sg. 27^a 1, *proprium est pronominis etc., issed sainreth pronominis a súidigud ar anmmaimm dílius 7 ní arindí dano nád súidigthe som ar anmmaimm doacalmach*, This is a peculiarity of the pronoun, that it is put for a proper noun, not, however, that it is not put for an appellative noun.

Sg. 31^a 6, *ut Euripides non Euripi filius sed ab Euripo, .i. diairisin (isairisin ?) doratad foir a n-ainmm sin quia issed laithe insin roingenair som ní airindí roingenad som isind luc sin*, Hence that name was given him, because he was born on that day, not because he was born in that place.

Sg. 39^a 25, *aduerbia huiusmodi etc., in mar, .i. ní arindí nombetis cid in biucc asbeir sem in már, acht arindí nadbiat etir*, Greatly, i.e. he says "greatly," not that they are even a little, but because they are not at all.

Sg. 209^a 1, *ní arindí bed hi sui l. inna chamthuislib in gnim l. in césad, act doaisilbthær triit som gnim nó chésad do neuch*, Not that the action or the suffering is in *sui* or in its oblique cases, but through it action or suffering is ascribed to some one.

ML. 50^b 8, *ní arindí bed n-aipert asindrobrad som, acht is arindí arruneastar, 7 pro sustenui da[no] dauic Dauid a n-dixi*, Not that it was a word that he had said, but because he expected, and for *sustinui* then David said *dixi*.

ML. 62^d 5, *nos quippe reos soli tibi, .i. huare robummar bíddid-ni daitsiu a Dae, ní arindí nombetis ar cinnta friusom*, Because we were guilty to Thee, O God, not that our sins were against them.

[continued on p. 256.]

Wb. 25^b 17, *ata*¹ *lat rabad* (sec. fut.) *assu a todiusgud ade*, One might have thought their awakening would be easier.

The secondary future here seems to be of the same sort as in the apodosis of conditional sentences, § 41.

28*. With these subjunctives compare the following indicatives.

The indicative seems to deny a fact, the subjunctive to deny a supposition.

Ml. 35^b 9, *hoc dico non quia de illo sit tempore profetatum, ni arindi donairchet*, Not because it was prophesied.

Ml. 24^b 11, *qui—non nihil trepidationis incurrerent, ní nad rindualdatar acht inrualdatar*, Not that they did not incur, but they did incur.

Ml. 28^b 6, *non quia non sint futuri sed quia ille (MS. illi) hoc in animum malæ persuasionis induxit, ni nad todoichfet*, Not that they will not come.

Wb. 13^a 17, *non omnes inmotabimur, .i. ni nád m-bia cid cums-cugud donaib peethachaib. ni dirmi som ón ar chumscugud, aris a bás i m-bás do suidib*. Not that there will not be even a change to sinners. He counts it not for a change, for it is from death into death unto them.

¹ O.Ir. *ata* : Mid.Ir. *atar* = O.Ir. *inda* : Mid.Ir. *indar* = O.Ir. *da* : Mid.Ir. *dar*.

ML. 85^d 1, *ní arindi arindrochrietis acht is ar meinci inna indithme dosom indiu*, Not that they perished, but it is for the frequency of the expectation to him in them (*indiu* for *indib*?).

4. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES.

29. Of the subjunctive in an independent interrogative sentence I have so far no example.

For sentences of the type of Wb. 11^a 19, *cíd arm-bad spiritalis ind ail*, Why should the rock be *spiritalis*?, cf. § 74.

30. The secondary future is frequent.

Wb. 10^a 10, unde scis, uir, si mulierem saluam facies? .i. á fir, *can rofesta-su ícefe in mnái ciatasode lat ar écin?* Man, whence shouldst thou know that thou wilt save the woman, though thou keep her with thee by force.

ML. 17^b 26, *cía chruth nombiad i n-aicniud denma in dede-seo*, How should He be of (lit. in) a nature to do these two things?

ML. 35^a 17, de quibus adderet, .i. *cía dunaibhi dofoirmsed*, Of whom should he have added?

ML. 14^a 6, *cía salmscribídíd conicfed són*, What psalmist could have done it?

LU. 56^b 31, *cíd ed ón dorigenmais-ní*, What could we do?

Ir. Text. i, 101, 17, *cíd dobérad a mac do chomram frimsa*, What should bring his son to contend against me?

LU. 87^a 24, *cía ragas (fut.) and do deicsin in tigi? cía noragad, or Ingcél, acht mad messi?* "Who will go to see the house?" "Who should go," said Ingcél, "but I?"

31. In dependent interrogative sentences the subjunctive is sometimes found.

Wb. 31^b 10, *ara scrúta cíd forchana do hicc edich*, That he may scrutinize what he teaches to save all.

ML. 91^d 4, nihil horum sciens, .i. *indamsoirthae du lamaib mu n[ám]at fanaic*, Whether I might be saved from the hands of my enemies or not.

31*. In dependent interrogative clauses the usual mood is the indicative.

MI. 51^b 7, *nad fesa cid as* (pres.) *maith no as oic [do] denum*, That it was not known what it is good or bad to do.

Wb. 1^d 7, *imrádat imráti cid maith as* (pres.) *dénti*, They think thoughts what good is to be done.

LL. 65^a 2, *iarfoacht a dalta dó cia sosén boí* (pret.) *forin ló*, His pupil asked him what good luck was on the day.

Trip. Life 176, l. 13, *roiarfacht Patraic disi cid atchonnaire* (pret.), Patrick asked her what she had seen. So 230, l. 6.

Wb. 12^e 22, *níofitir cid asbeir* (pres.), He knows not what he says.

[continued on p. 259.]

32. So the secondary future.

Ml. 90^c 19, *ní fetar indamsoirfad Dia fanacc*, I know not whether God would deliver me or not.

Ml. 43^d 20, *ba cumdubart in étaste fanacc*, There was doubt whether it would be obtained or not.

So Ml. 102^d 4.

33. The subjunctive, present and past, is found with *dúis* (=do *fíus*) 'to see if.'

(a) Present.

Wb. 10^a 3, *na scarad frisin fer dúis in ríctar tria gnáis-si*, Let her not part from the husband, if perchance he may be saved through her company. So 10^a 4.

Wb. 9^b 19, *ní epur frib etarscarad fri suidiu . . . fobith precepte dóib dúis induccatar fo hiris*, I say not to you to separate from them, because of teaching them, if perchance they may be brought into the faith.

Wb. 26^b 27, *ne communicamini cum illo, ut confundatur, .i. dúis indep fochunn icce do a indarpe a oentu fratrum*, To see if his expulsion from the unity of the brethren may be a cause of salvation to him.

Wb. 30^b 30, *ut resipiscant a diabuli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur, g. dúis indaithirset*, To see if they may amend.

(b) Past.

(a) The main verb is primary.

Wb. 5^b 20, *saluos faciam aliquos ex illis, .i. trisin intamail-sin, .i. combad at leu buid domsa i n-iriss et dúis in intamlitis*, Through that imitation, that is, so that they might have emulation of my being in the faith, and if perchance they might imitate.

[continued on p. 260.]

ML. 96^b 2, *nífe[ta]tar in sóirfetar* (fut.) *fanace*, They do not know whether they will be saved or not.

LU. 64^a 6, *déca nammá im-bá teclaim na fertas dogéna* (fut.) *fa na n-imscot[h]ad*, Look only whether thou wilt gather the poles or strip them.

Trip. Life 84, l. 22, *roiarfuct epscop Muinis do Patraic cait ig gebad* (= *in-gébad*, sec. fut.), Bishop Muinis asked Patrick in what stead he should set up. In direct speech it would be *cait in-géb-sa*, where shall I set up?

Trip. Life 54, l. 6, *dorat inti Lucatmæl loimm do nim isinn ardig* . . . *oo n-accath cid dogenath* (sec. fut.) *Patraic fris*, Lucatmael put a sip of poison into the cup, that he might see what Patrick would do with it.

33*. *dús* is also found with the indicative.

LU. 73^b 33, *fóidid Cú Læg do fis scél dús cia cruth imtháthar* (pres.) *isin dunud*, Cuchulinn sends Læg for tidings, to learn how matters are in the camp.

LU. 87^a 22, *ba si comairle na n-dibergach nech údab do déscin dús cinnas roboth* (pret.) *and*, This was the counsel of the pirates, that some one should go from them to see how it was there.

ML. 16^c 5, *tiagar húdín . . . dús cid forchomnacuir* (pret), Let someone go from us to learn what has happened.

LU. 19^a 24, *dodasathiged Cromderóil béos dús im-bui* (pret.) *ní bad díl dóib*, Cromderóil kept coming to them still to see whether there was anything they might want.

ML. 35^b 24, *dús cia atrebea* (fut.) *isin chathraig iarsint soirad hisin rogab inso*, He sang this as to who will dwell in the city after that deliverance.

LU. 20^a 9, *domfecise, olse, dús innebél* (fut.) *de*, "Thou lookest at me," said he, "to see whether I shall die of it."

Trip. Life 220, l. 20, *tiagam cu tartam ammus fair dús in fortachtaigfe a Dea*, Let us go and try him, to see whether his God will help him.

LU. 25^a 18, *asbertatar a múinter fri Mælduin, inneberam fria dús in fáefed* (sec. fut.) *lat*, His people said to Mælduin, "Shall we speak with her, to see if she would sleep with thee?"

[continued on p. 261.]

Wb. 25^a 17, *ne forte temptauerit uos, g. dúis in dobfochad*, If perchance he might tempt you.

Immram Brain, p. 15, *tinscan imram tar muir n-glan, dúis in rísta tír na m-ban*, Begin a voyaging over the bright sea, to see if thou mightest reach the Land of Women.

LU. 63^b 10, *eirg dúnd 'ar cind Conculaind dúis in comrasta fris*, Go for us against Cuchulinn, to see if thou mightest encounter him.

(β) The main verb is secondary.

Wb. 18^d 7, *narraui eis, .i. doairfenuis doib dúis im-bed comrorcun and et ní robe*, I declared (it) to them, if perchance there were error therein, and there was not.

LU. 85^a 12, *totiagat nonbur iarum co m-báatar for Beind Étair dúis cid roclóitis 7 adchetis*, Nine men then went till they were on the Hill of Howth, to see what they might hear and see.

Ir. Text. i, 105, 19, *roleiced sturro dúis cia díb nothogad*, He was left between them to see which of them he might choose. Another text has the sec. fut. *dongegadh*, which of them he would choose.

LU. 56^b 4, *co n-accad dúis cia lasm-both scith 7 lasm-both laind techt in t-slogaid*, That she might see who loathed and who liked to go on the hosting.

So ML. 87^c 4.

5. CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE SENTENCES.

34. In their leading forms these two classes of sentence may be conveniently treated together. The general principles of construction are the same; the difference lies in the conjunctions. Conditional sentences are introduced by *día n-* 'if,' *ma* 'if,' *maní* 'if not'¹; concessive sentences by *ce*, *cía* 'though.'

35. The following are typical examples of subjunctive sentences.

A. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, future indicative.

Wb. 10^d 24, *maní pridag, atbél ar ocht et gortí*, If I preach not, I shall die of cold and hunger.

ML. 68^a 14, *cía fudama in frídn ní du imnedaib isin biuth frendaire, soirfithir dano in céin n-aíli*, Though the righteous man endure something of troubles in the present world, he will, however, be delivered the other time.

¹ *ma* and *maní* are found with both indicative and subjunctive, *día n-* with the subjunctive only. In later Irish *día n-* in the sense of 'when' is common with the indicative. In the Glosses the only instances that I have noted are *día luíd* ML. 52, 55^c 1 (MS. *díluíd*), 58^c 4, all in passages linguistically later than the bulk of the Glosses.

LU. 85^a 5, *etar nach traigéscaid úaib isa tír dús in fagebmais* (sec. fut.) *tesorcain ar n-enech*, Let some one swift of foot be found from among you (to go) to the land, to see if we could save our honour.

LU. 84^b 37, *focres crandchor forro dús cíá díb lasa-ragtha* (sec. fut.) *i tossoch*, The lot was cast upon them to see with which of them they should go (lit. it should be gone) first.

B. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, present indicative.

MI. 50^a 5, *mani accastar, is samlid gaibid ní*, If it be not seen, it is thus that it catches something.

LU. 59^a 13, *cia bem-ni for longais, ní fil i n-Ere óclaig bas amru*, Though we are in exile, there is not in Ireland a warrior more wonderful.

C. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, secondary future.

Trip. Life 146, l. 24, *dia leicthe damsa congbaíl sund, ropad tánaissi Romæ Letha mo chathair-si*, If it were permitted to me to set up here, my city would be a successor to Rome of Latium.

LU. 72^b 33, *ma rofessind co m-bad ar cend ind fir-se nomfaite, nimfoglúasfínd féin dia saigid*, Had I known that I was sent to meet this man, I would not have stirred against him.

LU. 82^b 11, *cia nobeth claideb and, ní imbértha fortsu*, Though there had been a sword there, it would not have been plied upon thee.

D. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, past indicative.

Wb. 4^c 15, *ba miscais atroillisset mani thised trocaire*, It was hatred that they deserved, had not mercy come.

Wb. 17^d 17, *ciadoobrinn móidem do dénum, ní bóí adbar hic*, Though I had desired to boast, there was no occasion here.

E. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, present indicative.

Sg. 157^b 11, *issed a n-dliged dogres mani foired causa euphoniae*, That is the law always, unless *causa euphoniae* should operate (lit. should cause).

Wb. 4^a 6, *ce rudglanta tre bathis, nita cumacc do cháingnim co n-diddiusgea in Spirit Nób*, Though it should have been purified through baptism, it is unable to do well until the Holy Spirit awake it.

F. Mixed conditional sentences.

Mixtures of the above types are rare, e.g.—

MI. 89^c 5, *dia tar-siu (pres. subj.) ecnae n-do som, seichfed (sec. fut.) som du firinni-siu*, If Thou givest understanding to him, he would follow Thy truth.

Trip. Life 118, l. 16, *acht ma dothisad Arddri secht nime dó, ní reg-sa (fut.)*, Except if the High King of seven heavens should come, I will not get me gone.

[continued on p. 264.]

Here follow more examples of the above types:—

36. A. **Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, future indicative.**

Wb. 20^a 11, *nibíccéithre tre croich Crist ma fogneith dorecht*, Ye will not be saved through the cross of Christ if ye serve the Law.

Wb. 4^a 17, *isamlid bami coheredes má confodma[m] amal Crist*, It is thus we shall be coheirs, if we suffer together like Christ.

Wb. 17^a 2, *mad co n-diuiti doindnasatar, atluchfam buidi do Dia dara héssi*, If they be given with singleness, we will render thanks to God for it.

Wb. 10^d 23, *mad ar lóg pridcha-sa, nímbia fochrice dar hési no precepte*, If I preach for pay, I shall not have a reward for my preaching.

LU. 62^a 42, *mani thetarrais issin chetforgam, ni thetarrais co físcor*, If thou reach him not in the first thrust, thou wilt not reach him till evening.

ML. 89^c 11, *mani roima¹ fora cenn, ní mema forsna bullu*, If their head be not overthrown, the members will not be.

ML. 142^b 3, *imfolngaba amairis doib som manimsoirae-se*, It will cause distrust to them, if Thou save me not.

SK. 1280, *cennach[loch]t doreg immach, manimthair cacht na cumreeh*, Without any fault I shall go out, if there come not to me imprisonment or fetter.

ML. 107^d 4, *dia n-ærbalam-ní, ní bia nech runiccae-siu a Dae*, If we die there will be no one for Thee to save, O God.

Wb. 24^a 10, *dia m-bem-ni i combás bemmi i comindocbáil*, For if we be in common death with Him, we shall be in common glory.

ML. 102^b 10, *dia n-dadereather-su atbelat som*, If Thou see them, they will die.

LU. 67^a 25, *dia tomna iasc indberu rotbia éu*, If fish come to the estuaries, thou shalt have a salmon.

Wb. 9^a 20, *doimmarr a n-uail dia r-rísa*, I will restrain their pride if I come.

ML. 77^a 12, *duroimnibetar mo popuil-se a r-recht dia n-uilemarbae-siu a naimtea .i. manibé nech frischomarr doibsom*, My peoples will forget the law, if Thou utterly destroy their enemies, i.e. if there be no one to oppose them.

Wb. 22^b 23, *ciasbera nech ropia nem cia dugneid na rétu-sa, nipa fir*, Though anyone say that ye shall have heaven though ye do these things, it will not be true.

Wb. 23^b 29, *cia ba beo bid do precept anme Crist*, Though I be alive it will be to preach the name of Christ.

Wb. 4^d 6, *bieid nach dréct diib hícfider cinbat huili*, There will be some part of them that will be saved, though it be not all.

¹ Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 75, conjectures with reason that *roima* is an error for *roma*: cf. *mono mae* LL. 94^a 9, *mani má* Cormac, s.v. *d. roma* should be a future form, and the use of the future in the protasis of a conditional seems foreign to Irish. In ML. 112^d 9, for *cia gentar* I conjecture *cia du gntar*, as in the preceding gloss.

36*. Compare the following indicatives.

Wb. 25^a 30, ut—compleamus ea quae desunt fidei uestrae, **ma dūdesta nī dī bar n-iris íccfider** per aduentum nostrum ad uos, If aught is lacking in your faith, it will be cured *per* etc.

Ml. 77^a 15, **nisnulemairbfe ciasidroilliset**, Thou wilt not slay them utterly though they have deserved it.

Wb. 12^d 28, **cia rudchualatar ílbélre et cenuslabratar nīpat ferr de**, Though they have heard many tongues, and though they speak them, they will not be better for it.

37. Sometimes in the apodosis a subjunctive is found of the types of §§ 18, 20, 23.

Ml. 20^d 4, *cia rubé cen ní díib, ní rubai cenaib huli*, Though he be without some of them, he could not be without all of them.

Wb. 23^b 41, *imb i céin fa i n-accus beo-sa, niconchloor aot for cainscéil*, Whether I be far or near, may I hear nothing but good of you.

Wb. 10^a 21, *ce chonúis cor do séthe uáit níiscoirthir*, Though thou be able to put thy wife from thee, thou shalt not put her.

38. So with the imperative in the apodosis.

Wb. 11^d 15, *cinip lour na bad in æclesia manducet*, If it be not enough, let him not eat in church.

Wb. 29^d 19, *noli—erubescere—me uinctum eius .i. naba thoirsech cia beo-sa hi carcair*, Be not sad though I be (as I am) in prison.

Wb. 25^c 12, *ut siue uigilemus siue dormiamus, simul cum illo uiuamus, .i. imbem i m-bethu imbem i m-bads, bad lessom*, Whether we be in life or in death, let it be with Him.

39. B. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, present indicative.

Ml. 30^d 24, *is samlid is deid som ma arí in fer-so, manínairi immurgu ní deid 7 is bronach a bethu amal sodin*, It is thus he is at ease if he find this man; if he find him not, however, he is not at ease, and his life is sorrowful then.

Wb. 13^c 24, *mad grainne cruithnechte foccirr, is diass cruithnechte*, If thou cast a grain of wheat, it is an ear of wheat.

Wb. 12^c 36, *cote mo thorbe-se díib, mad [a]mne labrar*, What is my profit to you if I speak thus?

Wb. 12^c 46, *mani dechrigedar (in) fer nodseinn .i. mad óinriar dogné, ní tucthar cid frissasennar; isamlid dano maní dechrigther et mani tintithir a m-belre n-echtrann, ní thucci in cách rod-chluinethar*, Unless the man who sounds it distinguish, i.e. if he make but one note, it is not understood what it is sounded for; even so then, unless the foreign tongue be distinguished and translated, no one who hears it understands.

Wb. 28^b 28, *mani rochosca som a muntir intain blis cen grád, ní uisre toisigeht sochuide do*, If he correct not his household when he is unordained, it is not proper for him to have the leading of a multitude.

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37*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 11^c 17, *ciasu airegdu in fer . . . ni rubi nechtar de cen alail[e]*, Though the man is nobler, neither of them can be without the other.

38*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 22^b 7, *ma dudéll ni, taibred ní tara éssi do bochtaib*, If he has stolen aught, let him give something in its place to poor folk.

Wb. 10^a 29, *massu cut séitchi rocretis, na scarad frit iar cretim*, If thou hast believed along with a wife, let her not part from thee after believing.

Wb. 11^c 1, *manudfel in Spirit Nób indiumsa, ná bith fochunn uaimm fein dom ænduch*, If there is the Holy Spirit within me, let there not be cause from myself to speak evil of me.

Wb. 10^a 30, *manid co séitchi rocretis, na tuic séitchi iar cretim*, If thou hast not believed along with a wife, take not a wife after believing.

39*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 10^c 13, *non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ne fratrem meum scandalisem .i. hore is immarmus hī Crist a n-as olec lasin brathir .i. ma imfolngi diltud dun bráthir*, Because what seems evil to the brother is a sin in Christ, i.e. if it causes scandal to the brother.

Wb. 19^c 20, *si autem uos Christi, ergo Abrachae semen estis, .i. ma nudubfeil i n-ellug coirp Crist, adib cland Abrache*, If ye are in the union of Christ's body, ye are children of Abraham.

Wb. 2^c 14, *si enim qui ex lege heredes sunt, matu hé ata orpamin*, If they are heirs.

Wb. 13^c 10, *si secundum hominem ad bestias pugnaui Ephessi, quid mihi prodest, si mortui non resurgunt? (ma)ssu¹ dóinecht*

¹ So far as I have observed, *mad*, *mat* are followed by the subjunctive, *massu*, *matu* by the indicative. So *ciasu* is followed by the indicative, *cid* regularly by the subjunctive. Of *cid* followed by the indicative I have only two instances: Wb. 6^a 29, *cid fo gnim*, *cid fo chésath dotiagar*, whether it (*sc. induamur*) is used actively or passively; Wb. 5^a 16, *arnachmóidet cid doib doarrchet*, That they may not boast though it was prophesied to them. So after *cip*, which is usually followed by the subjunctive, § 71, Wb. 3^b 20, *cib cenél tra dia roscribad ind epistil-so*, Whatever be the nation to which this epistle has been written.

Wb. 2^c 18, *ni tairmthecht rechtó mani airgara recht*, There is no transgression of the Law if the Law forbid not.

Ml. 71^c 19, *deest .i. duesta mu glanad-sa maninglanac-se a Dæ*, My purification is wanting if Thou purify me not, O God.

Wb. 10^a 17, *ni lour deit buid cen sétchi mani déne dagnimu*, It is not enough for thee to be without a wife if thou do not good works.

Wb. 4^a 27, *coir irnigde tra inso, act ní chumcam-ni ón mani thinib in Spirit*, This, then, is the right way of prayer, but we cannot do that unless the Spirit inspire.

Ml. 57^c 5, *ní cumgat ingraim inna firian, ciatchobrat, manis-comairleicea Dia fuammam*, They are unable to persecute the righteous, although they desire it, unless God permit them (to be) under their yoke.

LU. 67^a 33, *ni laimethar óen fer ná dias údib tabairt a fuail i n-imechtur in dúnaid, manibet fichtib no trichtaib*, Neither one man nor a pair of them dares to piss in the outskirts of the camp, if they be not in twenties or thirties.

Ml. 91^d 8, *dia n-damchomdelc fritsu, a Dæ, nita ferr indaas cethir*, If I compare myself to thee, O God, I am no better than a brute beast.

Sg. 173^b 4, *.n. antecedenti .s. et .t. sine .r. sequi non potest, cotecat immurgu dia m-bé .r.*, ut monstrans, They come together, however, if there be *r*.

Sg. 30^a 3, *quamuis intereat, non interimit secum etiam aliud .i. ciatbela indala n-di ni epil alaill*, Though one of the two perish, the other does not.

Wb. 17^d 27, *ani tra as chotarsne fri hicc ní etar cia gessir*, What, then, is opposed to salvation is not obtained, though it be prayed for.

Sg. 165^b 1, *nam 'absonus,' 'abstinens,' et similia non in principio syllabae habent coniunctas b et s, .i. ar cia beid b hisuidib*, non in una syllaba atá .b. 7 s., For though *b* be (as it is) in them, *b* and *s* are not in one syllable.

Wb. 4^a 6, *si autem Christus in uobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus uero uiuit proper iustificationem, .i. cia beid Crist indibsi tre fúisitin hirisse in babbismo, et is (pres. ind.) beo ind anim trisodin, is marb in corp immurgu trisna senpectu*, Though Christ be in you (as He is through confession of faith in baptism), and the soul is alive thereby, the body, however, is dead through the old sins.

Wb. 29^d 27, *haec patior, sed non confundor .i. ní mebul lemm cia fadam*, I deem it no disgrace though I endure it.

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(*Crist*) **nocretim, ma(nid) chretim** (*a ess*)éirge et *mo (esséir)ge féinn* (.i. **mas**)**su bethu frech(dire)** tantum *nomthá*, If it is Christ's manhood I believe, if I believe not His resurrection and my own resurrection, i.e. if it is a present life only that I have.

LU. 85^b 4, **ni fetur-sa, ol Fer rogain, manid luch dond fail i n-Emain Macha dogní in bosórguin-se**, I know not, said Fer rogain, unless it is the brown mouse that is in Emain Macha that is making this beating of palms.

LU. 83^b 14, **masued nothéig tíag-sa** (pres.=fut. § 1) *co n-arldár tenid ar do chind*, If thou art going there, I will go to light a fire before thee.

ML. 91^a 17, *putasne est prouidentia si non est vindex ? .i.* **manidtabair digail tar ar cen[n]-ni**, If he does not inflict vengeance on our behalf.

Wb. 8^a 3, **ni cuman lim ma rudbaitsius nach n-aile**, I do not remember if I baptized any other.

Wb. 28^a 31, **manidtesarbi ni di maith assa gnímaib intain rombói etir tudáth, is uisse a airitiu i n-æelis**, If naught of good was wanting in her actions while she was among the laity, it is right that she be received into the church.

Sg. 106^b 4, **ciasidbiur-sa fríseu Atho et Athos do buith, biid dano in -vs la Atacu**, Though I say to thee that it is *Atho* and *Athos*, it is, however, in -vs in Attic writers.

Wb. 2^b 18, **ciasbiur-sa Deus Iudeorum et Deus Gentium, unus est Deus**, Though I say, etc.

ML. 2^b 4, **ni feil titlu remib, ciasidciam-ni titlu re cech oin salm**, There are no titles before them, though we see titles before every psalm.

ML. 30^a 10, **dathluchethar in t-intliucht cenidleci in metur**, The sense demands it, though the metre does not allow it.

Wb. 19^a 20, **ciasu i colinn am béo-sa, is iress Crist nom-beoigedar**, Though it is in the flesh that I am alive, it is Christ's faith that quickens me.

ML. 106^a 12, **cenidtabair-siu digail forsna naimtea fochetóir, dagní trocairi frinni calleic**, Though Thou dost not inflict vengeance on the enemies at once, Thou workest mercy towards us at all events.

ML. 123^b 13, **cia rudmrecht-naigestar so[m] briathra 7 persona hic, is du chensi Moysi téit immurgu**, Though he has varied words and persons here, it is, however, to the meekness of Moses that it refers.

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ML. 92^a 17, *cid fáilte adcoitsa 7 dungneu, is túsu imidfolngi dam, [a] Dæ, cid indeb dano adcot, is tu a Dæ imidfolngi dam*, Though it be joy that I obtain and that I do, Thou, O God, causest it to me; though it be wealth, moreover, that I obtain, Thou, O God, causest it to me.

Wb. 13^d 21, oportet—mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, *cid fo gním cid fo chésad dorróntar*, Whether it be done in action or in passion.

40. *cia* is found after expressions like *is uisse* 'it is right,' *is immaircide* 'it is fitting.'

Wb. 34^a 4, *is huisse ce rúsamaltar fri Crist*, It is right that he be compared to Christ.

Wb. 26^a 23, *immaircide didiu indhi nád arróimsat buith in gloria Christi ce rubet i péin la diabul*, It is fitting, then, that those who accepted not existence in *gloria Christi* should be in pain with the Devil.

Sg. 163^b 6, *is immaircide ce rube* subjunctivus pro imperativo, It is fitting that the subjunctive should be for the imperative.

Wb. 14^b 20, non enim uolumus ignorare uos, *i. is fo lium cia rafesid*, I wish that ye should know it.

Sg. 71^a 10, *deithbir ciasberthar casus nominatiuus*, It is proper that it should be called *casus nominatiuus*.

41. C. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, secondary future.

The condition may be either possible or impossible of fulfilment. Which of the two it is must be gathered from the context.

Wb. 9^c 8, *marrufeste ní gette na brithemnachta becca erriu*, If ye had known it, ye would not snatch the little judgments from them.

ML. 131^d 19, si mandata tua facere—curassem, numquam in has miseras decidissem, *i. ní beinn isin doi[ri] manucomallainn gnímu Dæ*, I should not be in captivity, had I fulfilled the works of God.

Wb. 11^a 22, *docoith digal forru; matis tuicsi ní rígad*, Vengeance fell upon them; if they had been elect it would not have fallen.

ML. 73^d 1, subportassem *i. fulilsain-se i. matis mu namait dudagnetis 7 maniptis mu chara[i]t dudagnetis*, I should have endured, i.e., had it been my enemies that had done it, and had it not been my friends that had done it.

Wb. 10^a 27, *ar mad forngaíre dogneinn, docoischifed pian a thairmthecht*, For if it were a command I gave, punishment would follow transgression thereof.

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Wb. 3^b 19, *atluchur do Dia, ce rubaid fo pheccad nachibfel*,
I give thanks unto God that, though ye were under sin, ye are not.

41*, 45*. Compare the following indicatives.

Sg. 197^a 11, *is fri slond gnimo persine* principaliter **aricht**,
ce nudsluindi persin consequenter, It was invented *principaliter*
to signify action of person, though it signifies person *consequenter*.

SR. 4071, *lacach ciat serba, doibseom batar somblassa*, Though all
deem them bitter (as they are), to them they were sweet.

MI. 67^d 24, *Tarsis, g. ciasu in .is. téit co[m]-bed ciall ainsedo*
ilair and, Though it ends in *is*, there might be the sense of the
accusative plural.

MI. 28^a 8, **cenidepartais** (impf.) *ho briathraib dagnitis* (impf.)
ho gnimaib, Though they did not say it in words, they used to do
it in deeds.

Wb. 30^a 6, *catenam meam non erubuit, .i. nírbo* (pret.) *mebul*
less mo charatrad ciarpsa (pret.) *cimbid*, He was not ashamed of
my friendship though I was a prisoner.

Sg. 75^a 2, **ciasidruburt frit tuas** alterutra pro altera utra, **robói**
camaiph dano la arsaidi altera utra et alterum utrum, Though

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LU. 19^b 20, *mád do ben doléced, ol Dóelthenga, nobiad ina l-ligu*, "If thy wife had given it," said Doelthenga, "she would be in her bed."

ML. 118^b 6, *air mad panem namma duberad som 7 ní taibred meum, robad dund sasad diant ainm panis tantum noregad*, If he had put *panem* only and had not put *meum*, it would apply to the food of which the name is *panis* only.

Wb. 4^b 13, *ce ruddbí* (pret.) Iudas et *ce rubatar* (pret.) Iudei *occa thindnacul som, nímaricfed manitindnised in t-Athir nemde*, Though Judas was, and though the Jews were, delivering Him up, it would not have succeeded (?) had not the Heavenly Father given Him.

LU. 69^a 3, *fotdáilfind i n ilpartib o chidnaib acht man bad*¹ Fergus, I should have divided thee in many bits before now but for Fergus.

LU. 60^a 20, *día nomthisad muce fonaithe, robad ambéo*, If a cooked pig came to me, I should live.

Sg. 203^a 6, *ar na derñmis cum nobis, air dia n-denmis cum me, dogenmis dano cum nobis*, That we might not make *cum nobis*, for if we made *cum me* we should moreover make *cum nobis*.

LL. 286^a 25, *dia n-gabtha erum do leir, ní beind nach cén i n-damnad*, If it were sung for me diligently, I should be no long time in damnation.

LL. 61^b 9 *da m-bad ésin tísad and, ticfaisit sluaig*, If he had come there, there would have come hosts.

Wb. 3^e 28, *robad bethu dom, díanchomalninn*, It would be life to me if I fulfilled it.

LU. 68^a 20, *cía nobeth Cú i n-occus, ní dingned insein*, Though Cuchulinn were at hand, he would not do that.

ML. 91^a 10, *etiam si merita deessent populo, reuersionem tamen eius sola hostium acceleraret immanitas, g. nosoirfítis som tri pecthu inna n-namat cení betis degairiltin leu fessin*, They would be delivered through the sins of the enemy though they had no merits themselves.

LU. 84^a 18, *cía focerta míach di fiadublaib fora mulluch, ní foichred ubull for lár acht nogíulad cach ubull díb fora finnu*, If a bushel of wild apples had been thrown on his crown, not an apple would have dropped on the ground, but every single apple would have stuck on his hair.

LU. 86^a 7, *cíd formna fer n-Erend dothaistís lat, rosbiad failte*, Though the host of the men of Ireland had come with thee, they would have found a welcome.

¹ *mani bed, mainbed*, like Lat. *nisi—fuisset*, is common in the sense of 'but for.' Cf. Celt. Zeits. i, 15, VSR. l. 1230 sq.

I said to you above *alterutra* for *altera utra*, yet, however, there was with the ancients *altera utra* and *alterum utrum*.

SR. 1677, *ciarbo gle do chruth ro-choemcláis gné*, Though thy form was bright, thou hast changed thy appearance.

SR. 3677, *ciarbo thromm a n-doire, robae a n-Dia coa fortacht*, Though their slavery was heavy, their God was helping them.

SR. 3695, *rolad, ciarbo cain a chruth, ass hi sruth Níl*, Though his form was fair, he was cast out into the river Nile.

SR. 6185, *roraíd David, ciarbo dalb*, David said, though it was a lie.

42. C takes the place of A in reported speech after a past tense.

LU. 52^a 32, *asbert Mugain frisín m-bancainti dóberad a breth féin di dia m-berad a mind óir do chind na rigna*, Mugain said to the woman-satirist she would give her her own price (lit. judgment) if she took the crown of gold from the queen's head.

43. In the apodosis the preterite 'was' is found. Cf. Latin expressions like *longum erat*.

ML. 61^b 16, *bá immaircide cia dnerchomraictis doib in cloini*, It were fitting that they should collect to them the iniquity.

Wb. 10^e 21, *ba torad sa[^s]thir diun in chrud-so ce dumelmis cech tuari 7 et ce dugnemmis a n-dugniat ar céli, act ní bad* (sec. fut.) *nertad na m-braithre*, It were a fruit of our labour in this wise, if we consumed every food, and if we did what our fellows do; but it would not be a strengthening of the brethren. Here the two forms are combined in the positive and negative clauses.

Sg. 197^a 11, *ba uisse ce notectad ilgotha*, It were right that it should have many sounds.

ML. 35^a 9, *ba immaircide cid fosodi[n] nogabad Duaid*, It were fitting that David should sing (it) in accordance with that.

LU. 60^a 35, *fer dorigni inna gnina sin . . . nirbo machthad ce nathised co hor cochríchi, 7 ce noeisged a cinnu don chethror ucut*, It were no wonder that a man who had done those deeds, should have come to the boundary of the province, and should have cut the heads from yonder four.

44. An apodosis of this form may stand without a protasis.

Sg. 137^b 5, *uel fortunae casu, g. fadidmed aioned act dondecmaing anistiu*, Nature would have suffered it, only that this happened to them.

Wb. 1^a 3, *huare rocreitset ardlathi in betho, cretfed cách iarum*, Because the high princes of the world believed, everyone would believe afterwards.

LU. 58^a 14, *ní tergad side co hor crícho cen lín catha imbi*, He would not go to the border of the land without the complement of a battalion around him.

LU. 85^b 9, *cach spréid tra 7 cach frass doleiced* (imperf.) *a tene for lar*

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nofonaidfidé cét lóg friu, Every spark and every shower that his fire cast upon the ground, a hundred calves would have been cooked at them.

LU. 73^b 2, **bid tú dogénad, or Medb**, "It will be you that would do it," said Medb.

ML. 55^a 10, **duucthar tria rosc aní nolabraiftis**, Through their eye is expressed what they would say (*sc.* if they spoke).

Wb. 9^b 1, **ba uissiu són** quam inflatio, That were meetter than *inflatio*.

Wb. 14^d 10, de quibus oportuerat me gaudere, g. **ba uissiu fáilte domsa uaib oldaas brón**, Joy from you to me were more fitting than grief.

LU. 85^b 13, **ba hé mo lith-sa co m-bad hé docorad and**, That were my feast, that he should chance to come there.

45. D. Protasis, past subjunctive ; apodosis, past indicative.

Wb. 10^d 31, ut non abutar potestate mea in euangelio, i. **airitiu lóge ar mo precept, ar bóí són** in potestate mea **ma dagnenn**, To receive pay for my teaching, for that was in *potestate mea*, if I should do it.

ML. 96^a 10, **robú mór a homun liumsa ón mad and atbelmais-ni isnaib . . . imnedaib hirobammarr 7 maninsoerthae riam**, Great was the fear of it with me, if we should die there in the troubles in which we were, and if we should not be delivered before.

ML. 74^b 13, **ni bóí numsoirad-sa ar chumachtae n-duini manim-soirad cumachtae n-Dé**, There was no one to deliver me against the power of man, unless the power of God should deliver me.

Wb. 6^e 31, **ní ráncatar som less a scribint, mainbed diar nertad**, For they needed not to be written unless it were to strengthen us.

ML. 41^d 9, **ní ticed (impf.) scís mo chnamai ón cid dian 7 cian notheísinn**, No weariness used to come to my bones though I went fast and far.

46. E. Protasis, past subjunctive ; apodosis, present indicative.

Trip. Life 128, l. 27, **dia tarta séuta do chach, ni gataim airi**, If treasures should have been given to anyone, I take them not away from him.

LU. 39^b 13, **cia bad díl dun techt, ní etam dul cen eochu**, Though we desired to go, we cannot go without horses.

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Wb. 4^a 6, *ce rudglanta tri bathis nita cumacc do cháingnim*, Though it should have been cleansed through baptism, it is not able to do well.

Trip. Life 28, l. 19, *mad á máthair—adchethe-su is lobru sídi doridisi*, If thou wert to see her mother, she is weaker again.

Fél. 241, *cia ronbeth—cath fri demon detla, diar fortacht—maraid in Crist cetna*, Though we should have had a fight against a bold demon, the same Christ abideth to aid us.

47. C. Mixed constructions.

In addition to the examples already quoted I have only the following.

LL. 124^a 44, *manitucthar* (pres. subj.) *ass*, *noticfaind* (sec. fut.), If it be not taken out I would heal thee.

SR. 6033, *cia dobertha* (past subj.) *cét n-unga n-dergóir, ní anais* (fut.) *mac n-Iesse*, Though thou wert to give a hundred ounces of red gold, thou wilt not protect the son of Jesse.

48. A condition or limitation may be expressed by the subjunctive preceded by *acht*, 'but that,' 'provided that.'

Wb. 12^c 9, *act rísa i n-nem bimmi* (fut.) *æni*, If only I get to heaven, we shall be wise.

Wb. 28^a 23, *act robæ quies et tranquillitas regibus, bieid* (fut.) *dano dúnni a n-dede sin*, If only there be *quies et tranquillitas regibus*, there will be moreover to us those two things.

Sg. 187^a 1, *acht asringba désyllabchi, ma thech* (leg. *thechtid* ?) *i re tus, bid* (fut.) *airdixa*, Provided it exceed two syllables, if it have *i* before *tus*, it will be long.

LU. 71^a 5, *dogen-sa* (fut.) *ant*, or *Cuchulaind*, *acht narmilter úaibsi a n-arach*, "I will do that," said Cuchulinn, "provided the covenant be not broken on your part."

Wb. 10^c 1, *isamlid ba coir do fíuss inna n-idol act ní arbarat biuth inna túari adopartar dond idol*, It is thus that it will be right to visit the idols, provided that they do not eat the foods that are offered to the idol.

Wb. 11^d 9, *sic de illo pane edat, .i. act ní robat pecthe less*, Provided he have no sins.

Wb. 32^a 24, *act dorrónai cori frissom, dogné* (pres. subj.) *quod dico*, Provided thou make peace with him, thou wilt do *quod dico*.

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48*. With the indicative *acht* followed by the relative means
'but that.'

Wb. 3^d 13, *accobor lam menmain maid do imradud acht nandleicci*
concupiscentia carnalis, My mind desires to meditate good, only
concupiscentia carnalis suffers it not.

Sg. 137^b 5, *fadidmed aicned acht dondecmaing anisiu*, Nature
would have suffered it, only that this happened to them.

ML. 24^d 24, *rolegsat canóin fetarlaici 7 nufiadmissi amal runda-*
legsam-ni acht rondasaibset som tantum, They have read the canon
of the Old Testament and of the New as we have read it, only they
have perverted it.

LU. 65^a 43, *docóestis etir a topor 7 sliab acht nád étad o Medb*,
They would have gone between its spring and the mountain, only
that it was not obtained from Medb.

Wb. 10^a 25, *bíth* (ipv.) *and beos act ropo i tuil Dé*, Let him abide still therein provided it be in God's will.

Sg. 169^a 1, *da enim ubique ante finem corripitur*, g. *acht rop ré forciunn robbé da 7 níp he som bes forcenn, is* (pres.) *timmorté acht asringba oin syllab*, If *da* be before the end, and if it be not the end, it is shortened provided it does not exceed one syllable.

Wb. 23^b 24, *ni inned lim, act rop Crist pridches et immerada cach*, I deem it no tribulation provided that everyone preaches and meditates on Christ.

LU. 61^b 6, *acht rop airderc-sa, maith lim cen co beind acht óen lá for domun*, Provided I be famous, I care not though I were only one day in the world.

LU. 77^b 3, *acht rofessin¹ combad tú, ol Cuchulaind, niticfaind* (sec. fut.) *tria bíth sír*, "Had I only known that it was thou," said Cuchulinn, "I would not have healed thee through the ages."

ML. 34^a 9, *acht ducoistis oinecht cosin rig, combetis* (past subj.) *i n-doiri semper*, If only they went once to the king, that they might be in captivity *semper*.

* Wb. 10^b 27, *a fíus-sin immurgu ba maith són act ní bed uall and*, That knowledge, however, were good, provided there be no pride therein.

LU. 83^a 39, *bóí cara dam isin tír-se, for Conaire, acht rofesmais conair dúa thig*, "I had a friend in this land," said Conaire, "if we only knew the way to his house."

Wb. 22^d 15, *accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere, i. act robed arma Dæ foirib*, Provided the armour of God were upon you.

Trip. Life 242, l. 24, *maith fer Patraic acht minapad óen, fó fer Patraic acht nípad óen*, A good man, Patrick, but for one thing; an excellent man, Patrick, but for one thing.

49. In later Irish, though not in the Glosses, a concessive sentence may be introduced by *cen co n*, 'without that,' 'though not.'

Ir. Text. i, 97, l. 9, *áta biad lat cen co n-essara*, There is food with thee, though thou dost not eat it.

¹ In Wb. 12^d 25 there seems to be a subjunctive of this kind without *acht*, *deich míli briathar ar labrad ílbéire et nistuccin*, "Ten thousand words" for "speaking many languages," if I did not understand them (lit. and I should not understand them).

49*. Compare the indicatives.

Rev. Celt. vi, 200, **dobér-sa** *m'ingin duit*, **cin co fetar** *cía tu*,
I will give thee my daughter, though I do not know who thou art.

LU. 120* 23, **rochúalatár** *uili an rorádi in ben*, **cen co**
n-accatar, They heard all that the woman said, though they did
not see her.

Trip. Life 6, l. 21, **robai** *dorcata mór* **cén co roscail** *grian na*
firinne a ruithin, There was great darkness till the sun of truth
shed abroad his radiance.

LL. 124^b 54, *is lór d'anfir dúib comrac ria far siair cen co tisaíd do chath ria far n-athair*, It is sufficient wrong for you to have had intercourse with your sister, without your going to fight with your father.

LL. 55^a 21, *raraídsehair cen co tucaínd¹ ar díis dobéraind* (sec. fut.) *ar écin*, You said that if I did not give him willingly, I should give him under compulsion.

LL. 254^a 21, *cen co beth síbsi etir sund, arse, dobéraind-sea 7 mo da mac cath do Chonchubur*, "Though ye were not here at all," said he, "I and my two sons would give battle to Conchobur."

LL. 107^a 12, *cen co beth do trenferaib and acht Fergus Mac Róig ba lór do chalmataid*, Though there were no mighty man there but Fergus Mac Róig, it were sufficiency of valour.

LL. 74^b 43, *fo leis gid noríssed, 7 ba fo leis gin co ríssed*, He was satisfied if it reached him, and he was satisfied if it did not, i.e. he did not care whether it reached him or not.

6. SENTENCES OF COMPARISON.

50. **Except in the usage of § 51 the subjunctive with *amal* 'as' is rare.**

I have noted only the following instances:—

ML. 32^d 2, *rogat—ne commotius in se quam modus patitur—iudicetur .i. acht amal fundló*, But as he can endure it.

LU. 36^a 43, *óntadaigfit ule do fúgiull fírán in chomded ernífes do chách amal dlé*, All will agree to the just judgment of the Lord, who will give to every man as he deserves.

Cormac, s.v. *ness*, *amal m-bes aurgnatu in baill isin duiniu hi fuirmíther in crecht, is fai dano bíth ind eraic*, As is the dignity of the limb in a man on which the wound is inflicted, in accordance with that is the eric-fine.

The subjunctive is of the same nature as the subjunctive in conditional and relative sentences.

¹ In LL. 55^a 10, the same sense is expressed by *arco n-*; *is fir aní radit, arotuca-su ar ais dombéra ar écin*, What they say is true, if thou do not give him willingly thou shalt give him under compulsion.

50*. *Amal* is usually followed by the indicative, e.g. :—

Wb. 12^a 12, *amal fongní cach ball dialailiu isin chorp, ara fogna talland cáich uanni dialailiu*, As each member serves the other in the body, that the talent of each of us should serve the other.

Ml. 53^b 19, *dia n-gessid-si Dia amal nundguidem-ni*, If ye pray to God as we pray to Him.

Ml. 58^c 7, *amal iarmindochad*, As he used to seek it.

Ml. 26^b 8, *amal rombói ingnae cáich is samlid ronsnainm[ni]gestar*, As was the knowledge of each, it is thus that he named them.

Ml. 30^d 2, *iustitiae reposit officium—reddere quod debetur singulis .i. amal m-bias (fut.) a gnim cáich 7 a airilliud*, As is the work of every man and his desert.

51. With the past subjunctive *amal* is common in the sense of 'as though' (*tamquam*).

Wb. 9^a 19, *tamquam non uenturus sim ad uos*, i. **amal ni risinn-se do bar cose**, As though I were not coming to correct you.

Wb. 19^b 6, *ropridchad dúib céssad Crist amal adcethe l. forérad dúib amal bid fianib nocrochthe*, Christ's Passion hath been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if He had been crucified before you.

Ml. 42^c 19, *ut alicuius potentis*, i. **amal bid alai[li] chumacht-aig rethes¹ cen erchót á retho**, As though it were of some mighty man who runs without impediment to his running.

Wb. 10^b 5, *qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes* i. **amal nístectitis** .l. *co beit amal innahí nad tectat séthi*, As if they had them not, or that they may be as those that have not wives.

Ml. 68^b 3, *quasi occupaueritis—magis quam retinueritis*, i. **amal ni bad² atrab n-duib fadecin acht bid ar eecin nusgabtis**, As though it were not a dwelling to them themselves, but they had seized it by force.³

52. So the past subjunctive is used with *oldaas*, *indaas*, 'than.'

Ml. 59^a 7, *is miscegiu—oldaas bid iniquus asberad*, It is more odious than though he had said *iniquus*.

Ml. 123^c 10, *is huilliu sòn indaas bid cen sommataid leu* (MS. *leu cen sommataid*) *doathchretis*, That is more than if they had been redeemed without wealth with them.

Ml. 135^a 13, *ní lugu immefolngi sonartai do neuch in collud indaas bid suide garait nosessed*, Not less does sleep produce strength to a man than though he sat down for a little.⁴

¹ The verb is here in the indicative because it is not part of the comparison: if the meaning had been "as though some mighty man had run," it would have been **amal bid alaile cumachtach noressed**, cf. § 70.

² In the Glosses the substantive verb in this formula without the negative is *bid*, with the negative *bad* or *bed*; the negative is *ní*. In later Irish these rules are not adhered to: cf. LL. 251^a 1, *ferait failti friss amal bad a domun aile thissad*, They greet him as though he had come from another world. LU. 100^b 39, **amal na dernad**, As though he had not made.

³ In Wb. 1^b 16 there is a curious gloss, non sicut Deum i. *amal asbadia*, which looks like a contamination of *amal as n-Dia*, "as He is God," and *amal ní bad Dia*, "as though He were not God."

⁴ In Ml. 39^a 18 *quam—committre*, g. **indaas dorogháinn**, the construction is different; the subjunctive, according to the glossator's custom, translates the Latin infinitive, cf. § 68. Similarly, with the present subjunctive, Ml. 105^b 6, *quam—peruenire*, g. *dundórbiam-ní* i. **indaas bemmi i n-doiri coricci sentaid**, Than that we should be in captivity till old age.

52*. Compare the indicatives.

ML. 111^c 8, supplicia—eruditoria potius quam ultoria fuisse laetatus est, .i. **oldaas ata n-** (pres.) *diglaidi*, Than that they are vindictive.

ML. 87^a 8, *is mou dundrigensat* **indaas oidrairleicis-siu**, They did it more than Thou didst permit.

Cf. ML. 64^c 22, 136^b 7.

53. Similarly with *is cumme*, 'it is the same.'

Wb. 1^d 20, *is cumme dó bid imdíbthe*, It is the same to him as though he were circumcised.

Wb. 10^c 3, *is cumme doib bid idalte domeltis*, It is the same to them as though they ate an idol-offering.

Wb. 2^b 14, *is cumme ní bad móidem*, It is the same as though it were not boasting.

Cf. *ML*. 67^a 8, *Sg*. 10^a 11, *LL*. 248^b 12.

7. TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

54. With the temporal particles *intan*, etc., the subjunctive is sometimes found. The conditions are of the same kind as in relative clauses.

Wb. 30^b 4, *haec commune, testificans coram domino, .i. an nongeiss cách imma comalnad*, When thou entreatest everyone for its fulfilment.

ML. 27^b 10, *ordo rerum exigit ut ab omnibus periculis eruti—canamus, g. anumman (=an-nu-m-ban) aircheltai*, When we are taken.

ML. 34^a 10, *cuius facti domini uterentur captivo populo prout ira uictorum uoluisset, g. amtis forcemachtí*, When they had been made.

ML. 39^d 19, *ut adulationibus inretitus—iecieretur de uia modestiae suae, g. a m-bad n-inlinaigthe*, When he had been ensnared.

ML. 29^d 9, *hoc—a comitibus David dicitur ut loca fugiens diuersa commutet, g. an nutesed*, When he fled.

ML. 42^c 31, *conlucescere uniuerso orbi uel uno loco sistens potuisset uel uno tractatu means, g. no a conimtéised*, When it went about.

ML. 94^c 17, *cia durat digail for Assaru, ata digal aile les for pecthachu dano intan bes n-áil do*, Though He inflicted vengeance on the Assyrians, He hath moreover another vengeance on sinners when He pleaseth.

ML. 51^a 18, *intan immeromastar són nach noib ara cuintea (pres. subj.) dilgud De isind aimsir sin*, When any saint transgresses, that he seek the forgiveness of God at that time.

LBr. 261^b 1, *intan tiastar don oiffrind—congain críde telcud dér, turcabail ná lám*, When they go to mass—contrition of heart, shedding

[continued on p. 288.]

53*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 12^c 11, *is cumme adciam-ni na rúna diadi et adcú nech tri scáath*, We see the divine mysteries, just as one sees through a shadow.

Ml. 61^a 33, *is cumme m-bís ualetudo anartae 7 ualetudo sonartae*, There is equally *ualetudo* weakness and *ualetudo* strength.

54*. With these particles the usual mood is the indicative, e.g.:—

Bcr. 33^b 18, *a n-aslui grién foa fuined dosbí dond orient conaci a n-æscæ*, When the sun goes to his setting he turns to the east, so that he sees the moon.

Wb. 14^c 2, *adiunantibus et uobis, .i. a fotegid-si*, When ye help.

Ml. 48^a 12, *moriar—te precibus auersato, g. an nunatbartaigfe-siu (fut.)*, When Thou opposest.

Ml. 50^c 3, *appare salutem daturus, a n-dundabierae*, When Thou art about to give.

Ml. 95^a 9, *uelut die capturi, annungebtais*, When they were about to take.

Sg. 190^b 3, *issed asber in fer intan m-bis oc ind oipred*, This the man says when he is at the work.

Ml. 72^d 12, *intan m-bís int imfognam fri ainsid dundi as iudica, is dú digail teit*, When *iudica* is construed with the accusative, it applies to vengeance.

Psalt. Hib. l. 54, *intan dombertis (impf.) desmrecht asin Chandin, ba hoinlebur leu in Saltair*, Whenever they took an example from the Canon, the Psalter was counted by them as one book.

Wb. 33^d 10, *intan durairngert, Dia du Abraham a maith sin, ducuitig tarais fadeissin*, When God promised that good to Abraham, He swore by Himself.

Ml. 57^c 7, *intan luaithfidir (fut.) a chaingen som hi tig Dæ 7 miastar (fut.) foir, bith (fut.) soer som asin brithemnacht hisin*, When his case is set in motion in the house of God and judgment is passed on him, he will be free from that judgment.

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of tears, raising of the hands. But l. 4, *co fóisitiú duailche tan tiagar do láim*, With confession of sins when they go to confession.

LBr. 261^b 37, *intan clomar in clocan—tocbam* (ipv.) *críde suas*, When we hear the little bell let us lift up the heart.

LBr. 261^a 19, *bat mebrach sa noem scriptuir tan nótgaba ord*, Thou shalt be learned in Holy Scripture when thou art ordained.

LBr. 249^b 79, *intan dogné ernaigthi, eirg a n-inad n-derrit*, When thou prayest, go into a secret place.

Sg. 66^b 14, *noch ba ed ba riagolda immurgu, inderbus and intain bed femi-, 7 derba (derbas ?) intain bed mascul*, However, that would be regular uncertainty when it was feminine, certainty when it was masculine.

MI. 118^a 11, *ne moerorem seruitutis pussillanimo ferendo succumbant*, .i. *lasse follosat*, When they bear.

MI. 127^a 18, *cum fenerator soluendo esse nequierit*, l. *soluen*. i. *lase asriaa*, When he pays.

MI. 29^b 10, *cessare fac operis ministeria ipsa soluendo*, .i. *lase dufuasailce*, When Thou loosest.

LU. 74^a 36, *ni haurussa dam comrac fri bansodíl céin nombéo isind nith so*, It is not easy for me to have intercourse with a woman as long as I am in this contest.

Wb. 33^a 17, *ceín bes nuiednise gníd cach dagním*, As long as the New Testament abides, do ye every good work.

55. With *resiu* 'before,' the subjunctive is the regular construction.

Wb. 4^a 2, *molid 7 áilgenigid resiu rocúrsacha*, He praises and soothes before he reprimands.

Wb. 29^a 28, *biit alaili rofinnatar a pecthe rosíu docóí grád forru*, There are some whose sins are found out before their ordination.

Wb. 29^d 23, *fo besad fir trebuir crenas tíur dia chlainnd eíd resíu robé cland les, is samlid arrobort som ar n-icc-ní eíd risíu robeimmiss etir*, After the manner of a prudent man who buys land for his children, even before he has children, it is thus that he purposed our salvation even before we were at all.

MI. 112^b 12, *is deniu adciám hua sulib risiu rocloammar in fogur hua chluasaib*, We see more quickly with the eyes before we hear the sound with the ears.

Wb. 27^c 8, *arna érbarat domini, robtar irlithi ar moge díun resíu tised híress, robtar anirlithi iarum*, That the masters may

[continued on p. 290.]

Wb. 14^a 25, *ueniet cum ei uacuum fuerit .i. lasse bas* (fut.) *n-udín do*, l. *nípa ainmíthiu*¹ *intain ronicfea*, When he has leisure, or it will not be more unseasonable (?) when he comes.

Sg. 29^b 11, *dicendo .i. lase asmbiur*, When I say.

Wb. 1^c 9, *eadem enim agis qui iudicas, .i. lase cocéitbani*, When thou consentest.

Wb. 12^c 11, *is cumme adciam-ni na rúna diadi et adcií nech ní tri scáath céin m-bimme* in corpore, We see the divine mysteries as a man sees something through a shadow, as long as we are in the body.

Wb. 8^b 1, *comadas lobre et immomun forsin mug céin m-bíis oc fognam dia choimdid*, Meet is weakness and great fear on the slave so long as he is serving his lord,

Wb. 17^c 1, *céin ropridchos doib it Macedonii domroisechtatar*, So long as I preached to you the Macedonians cared for me.

Ml. 33^a 1, *donec—auertis, g. ceine nosoife-siu* (fut.) *.i. ised a erat fritammiurat inna huli remiærbartmar ceine nosoisiu* (leg. *nosoife-siu*) *húaim*, As long as Thou turnest, i.e., so long will all the things that we have mentioned afflict me, as long as Thou turnest from me.

¹ Mr. Stokes suggests that this is for *ainmíthigiú*; perhaps phonetic for *ainmíthéhiú*.

not say, "Our servants were obedient to us before Faith came, they were disobedient afterwards."¹

Wb. 4^a 8, *tairchechuin resáin forcuimsed*, He prophesied before it happened.

Ml. 104^c 5, *asindet som tuidech(t) doib dochum a tire—cú resín dondichsitis asin doir[t]*, He declares that they should go to their land, even before they went out of the captivity.

Further Wb. 18^a 23; Sg. 184^b 3, 188^a 10; Ml. 38^c 9, 47^b 16, 58^d 7, 123^a 1; LU. 59^a 43, 97^a 21, 83^a 15; LL. 248^b 17, 124^b 42, 287^a 37, 38.²

56. *co n*-³ 'until.'

The use of *co n*- in temporal clauses is closely parallel to its use in final clauses; it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the two.

Of an event purposed or expected *co n*- is followed by the subjunctive.

57. (a) Present subjunctive after a primary tense.

Wb. 29^a 22, *ni taibre grád for nech 3-feser a inruccus don grád sin*, Thou shalt not confer orders on anyone till thou knowest his fitness for those orders.

Ir. Text. i, 268, l. 8, *co n-daesur biád 7 co rochoitlur ní dingén comlond*, Till I have eaten food and till I have slept I will not fight.

LU. 61^a 10, *bíam cú-sa do imdegail do chethra . . . co rása in cú hisin*, I will be a dog to protect thy cattle till that dog grows.

¹ Cf. Wb. 29^b 2, *arna érbarthar, roptar irlithi ar moge dún stanicc híress, et it anirlithi iarum*, That it may not be said, "Our servants were obedient till Faith came, and they are disobedient afterwards." Here with *co n*- 'until,' the indicative is used, cf. §§ 57*, 58.

² The only example of the indicative that I have is from a late text, Stokes, Lives of Saints, l. 3336, *atonnaic mthair Brennain aisinge resiu rogenair Brennain*, B.'s mother saw a vision before B. was born.

³ In later Irish other particles are found—

LU. 113^a 4, *nococheitub sa duitsiu . . . n6oorudasse Coinculaind*, I will not believe thee till thou raisest Cuchulinn.

LU. 51^a 8, *iss and noadnaictis clanna hEremoin—noco tánic Cremthand*, There the children of Eremoin used to be buried till Cremthand came.

LL. 80^a 21, *is aire sin na corisat fir h-Erend timchell ar galaib oenfir, ní riccub-sa aris*, Therefore, till the men of Ireland have had their turn in single combat, I shall not come again.

LL. 258^a 4, *nocorag-sa siar dom thig na raib fer bethaid d'Ultaib*, I will not go westward to my house till there is not a man of Ulster alive.

57*, 58*. When *co n-* has the purely temporal sense of 'until' it is followed by the indicative.

Wb. 24^b 5, *is irchride utmall cach cainchomrac conditici*, Perishable and unstable is every peace till thou comest to it.

Wb. 28^b 24, *ni ib finn co m-bi mesc*, He does not drink wine till he is drunk.

Ml. 91^d 2, *ní bí cian co n-id apail*, It does not exist long till it dies.

LU. 68^a 37, *machdadh limsa, ol Fergus, a fot co tecat side assa cessaib*, "I marvel," said Fergus, "that it is so long till they come out of their sickness."

Imram Brain, p. 11, *mescid fairggi co m-bí fuil*, He stirs the sea till it is blood.

Wb. 21^e 22, *ní fífir cid muntar nime co n-idrofoilsigsetar apstíl doib*, Not even heaven's household knew it till apostles manifested it to them.

Wb. 5^e 10, *robói aimser nad rochreitsid co n-dubtanice misericordia Dei*, There was a time that ye did not believe till there came to you *misericordia Dei*.

LL. 251^b 11, *ni comairnecmar-ni co comairnecmar oc tabairt in chlaidib issind abai[n]d im láim-sea*, We met not till we met when the sword was put into my hand in the river.

[continued on p. 293.]

LU. 69^a 4, *ní scarfom in cruth-sa, ol Etarcomol, cor-ruc-sa do chen[n]-su nó co farcab-sa mo chend latsa*, "We shall not part thus," said Etarcomol, "till I carry off thy head or till I leave my head with thee."

LU. 75^a 46, *bia fíond anim sin co rosecha bráth bennachtan fort*, Thou shalt be under that blemish till a judgment of blessing comes upon thee.

LU. 66^a 4, *indnaidid sund co tísa asind fí*, or Fergus, 7 *níp machdad lib eíd eian co tísor*, "Wait there till I come from the wood," said Fergus, "and marvel not though it be long till I come."

LU. 72^a 47, *táit cet léach uáib lasinn ingin út co ria¹ medon in maigi*, Let a hundred warriors of you go with the maiden yonder as far as (lit. till she reach) the middle of the plain.

LU. 82^b 18, *conomthí de chind chúarda, ní reg*, Till my own turn comes (lit. till it comes to me at the end of a circuit), I will not go.

LL. 101^a 45, *fostá Ulaid—co tí nert don t-*seón*—, go rolina grían glenta—na h-Ereann*, Keep back the Ulstermen till strength comes to the omen, till the sun fills the glens of Ireland.

58. (b) Past subjunctive after a secondary tense.

Wb. 25^a 6, *placuit nos remanere, .i. o-dísed ar muintir*, Till our household came.

Wb. 21^a 1, in dispensationem plenitudinis temporum, .i. *condiditised ind aimser ba chomadas dó*, Till the time should come that was fitting to Him.

LU. 83^a 15, *ní bóí a córugud corised Conaire*, It was impossible to make peace between them till Conaire came.

LU. 59^a 25, *ní theged nech cucu co n-arnastá a fíesam*, No one used to go to them till his protection was covenanted.

LL. 278^b 44, *rop é a maithius frim ona ibed (impf.) dig o-tardad affaig n-dergóir cecha hoendige dam*, Such was his goodness towards me that he drank not till he had given me at every draught an affaig of red gold.

LU. 69^a 24, *asrubairt, ol Cuchulaind, ní regad (sec. fut.) cor-rucad mo chend-sa no co farcbad som dano a chend lemsa*, "He said," quoth Cuchulinn, "that he would not go till he had taken my head, or till he had left his head with me."

¹ The corresponding indicative *corrici* is common in the sense of 'until,' 'as far as'; for examples, see Ascoli, Gloss. xciv.

LU. 73^a 24, **ansait** *and sin trá cor-rubad and Cáur*, They stayed there then till Caur was slain there.

LU. 65^a 1, **ni rúbai** *Cuchulaind nech—co rancatar Cuailngi*, Cuchulinn did not slay anyone till they reached Cuailnge.

Imram Brain, p. 31, **ní bu chian iarsin co ráncatar tír inna m-ban**, It was not long after that till they reached the Land of Women.

LL. 101^a 45, **tarrasatar and co tanie nert don t-šeón, go rolín gríán glenta—in choicid**, They remained there till strength came to the omen, till the sun filled the glens of the province.

LL. 281^a 44, *ní theiged in rí immach nach i tech co n-dechsad chucaiseom*, The king used not to go out or in till he had gone to him.

Ir. Text. i, 215, l. 18, *nosirfed* (sec. fut.) *in Ch in m-bith m-bras, co fagbad liaig da leges*, Cuchulinn would have searched the great world till he had found a leech to heal him.

Cf. also Cormac, s.v. *Prull*, *ba suail cor-roibdithe in curach*, The boat was within a little of being swamped.

59. (c) Past subjunctive with primary tense.

Wb. 8^d 26, *isairi trimrothorndius-sa indium inna huili-sa—o-sechide humaldóit hudámse .i. for nebmóidem hi magistrum et nebmess for nech im maid fa ole odidmessed Dia*, It is, therefore, that I have in a figure transferred into myself all these things—so that ye might follow humility from me, that is, your not boasting as to masters, and not judging of anyone until God should have judged him.

8. FINAL CLAUSES.

60. Under this head are included besides final clauses proper, clauses dependent on verbs of ordering, requesting, and the like, also clauses following certain adjectival expressions. In these clauses the mood is the subjunctive.

A. Final Clauses Proper.

With these are included a number of instances in which the dependent clause expresses not so much purpose as possibility.

61. (a) Present subjunctive after primary tense.

Wb. 7^d 8, *dobeir som ainm bráthre doib arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad*, He gives them the name of brothers, that they may not say the reproving is owing to hatred of them.

Wb. 9^b 2, *ut tollatur de medio uestrum qui hoc opus fecit, .i. coní bé eter in peccato act co beid in poenitentia*, That he may not be at all in *peccato*, but that he may be in *poenitentia*.

Wb. 5^b 35, *ne forte nec tibi parcat, .i. coní ecmi nádnaírchissa act is co arcessea*, That it may not happen that He spare not, but it is that He may spare.

Wb. 5^a 5, *is hecen saineosce leosom for accrannaib innaní prechite pacem—ara n-epertar is do immarchor chóre dotiagat ind fir-so*, They deem it necessary to have a peculiar appearance on the sandals of

[continued on p. 296.]

60*-64*. In consecutive sentences a result is expressed by the indicative mood.

Ml. 82^d 6, uestigia uiantium regis erroris immunia, .i. **ona bí comrorcon and**, So that there is no error there.

Wb. 3^e 38, **romrir mo thol colnide co n-dumfel fo máim pectho**, My carnal concupiscence has sold me so that I am under the yoke of sin.

Wb. 2^d 16, **hóre ronsóir-ni** hic a peccatis nostris **co n-dan firianichthi uadib**, **mór ni bes n-adblamu foir ar sóirad** ab ira futura, 'Since He has saved us *hic a peccatis nostris*, so that we are justified from them, much readier will He be to save us *ab ira futura*.

Ml. 51^d 3, obdendo concludens .i. **huandí fristarat .i. in talmain n-impu di cach leth cona tiagat tara cricha corai**, Because He opposed, to wit, the earth about them on every side, so that they pass not beyond their proper bounds.

Ml. 51^d 15, **sechis rofailsigestar són, co n-dat reli in[n]a aicsin hisin**, That is, He manifested, so that those causes are clear.

Ml. 129^d 15, quibus bibulae stagnarentur arenae, .i. **co m-bíth loch foraið**, So that there used to be a lake upon them.

Ml. 102^a 9, cludiebantur, .i. **ind namait, ona cumgaitis ní dúnni**, The enemies, so that they could do nothing to us.

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those that preach peace, so that it may be said of them, "it is on an errand of peace that these men come."

Wb. 16^a 24, *is do bar tinchosc, ara n-dernaíd a n-dogniam-ni et arna dernaíd an nad denam-ni*, It is to instruct you, that ye may do what we do, and that ye may not do what we do not.

LU. 58^b 5, *tucaíd carpat damsa, tra ol Fergus, co n-datuc-sa ass, co n-dercaís in oen léod a bun*, "Give me a chariot," then said Fergus, "that I may take it out, that thou mayest see whether its end is one cut."

LL. 250^a 14, *tiagam ass, ol Ailill, co n-accamar na mmilchona oc toffund*, "Let us go forth," said Ailill, "that we may see the greyhounds hunting."

LU. 76^b 20, *gressed nech uaib—in fer nárthaeth i n-ascid*, Let one of you stir up the man that he may not fall for nothing.

LU. 82^a 22, *todeochud-sa, or Diarmait, o Chonchobur co n-erбора fri Medb 7 Ailill co relcet na bæ ass*, "I have come," said Diarmait, "from Conchobor to say to Medb and Ailill that they should let the cattle go."

62. (b) Past subjunctive after secondary tense.

ML. 125^e 2, *asrubart Dia hi recht ón ara sechitis a thimnae arna ructais i n-dori*, He said a God in law (*in lege*) that they might follow His ordinances, that they might not be carried into captivity.

ML. 100^e 24, *ut non paterent, g. coniptis ersoilethi*, That they might not be open.

ML. 91^b 7, *is do dugnínn-se anisin, co m-bin cosmail fri encu*, To this end used I to do that that I might be like to the innocent.

LU. 20^b 15, *muchais Cuchulaind a étan ri lár arnáchandercahad a hernochla*, Cuchulinn buried his face on the ground that he might not see her nakedness.

LU. 46^a 16, *dognither (hist. pres.) tarbfess leo co fiastais estia dia tibertais rigi*, A bull-feast was made by them that they might know from it to whom they should give the kingship.

LL. 260^a 12, *is i liss fo leith roalt onach acced fer di Ulltaib hi cosinn uair nofoad la Conchobor*, She was brought up in a *lis* apart, that no man of Ulster might see her till the time that she slept with Conchobor.

Ir. Text. i, 265, l. 19, *afraig Cuculaind na betis éss na fledi cen ól cen tomoltus*, Cuchulinn arose that the feasters might not be without drinking, without eating.

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LU. 40^b 29, *rosoied a orci i r-richt dobran, co m-bíd na degaid-si fona uscib—cach conair noimthiged-si*, Her lapdog was turned into the form of an otter, so that it used to be after her under the waters, each way that she would go.

LU. 128^a 3, *magelltis ona facabtais cid mecnu na fér*, They used to graze it so that they used not to leave even the roots of the grasses.

Wb. 9^b 19, *cotobárrig tra ort precepte onachdigtith*, The order of preaching, then, hath constrained you, so that ye have not gone.

MI. 116^c 5, *ut nullus quiverit, .i. coní coimnacuir*, So that he could not.

LU. 77^a 6, *léicid som cloich asa tailm co memaid a súil ina cind*, He throws a stone from his sling so that her eye broke in her head.

MI. 53^a 13, *nullus impius—uindictam iudicantis effugiet, g. coní imgeba*, So that he will not avoid.

MI. 61^b 12, *in aeterna obliuia contrudetur, .i. connacon-bia foráithmet n-de etir*, So that there will be no memory of him at all.

LU. 100^a 8, *immacossaitiub dá cích cacha óen mná la Ultu com-matuaírofe dóib*, I will put strife between the two breasts of every woman in Ulster, so that they will crush one another.

LU. 56^b 41, *arlifim-ni na hócu oná gébat forsín t-slog*, We will take measures for the warriors so that they shall not prevail over the host.

LU. 71^a 37, *is dóig immërthai (sec. fut.) ceily fon cruth sin conná fostba sib céin co tí la h-Ultu don chath*, It is probable ye would practise guile in that way, so that he will not hold you back till he comes with the Ulstermen to the battle.

LU. 103^b 6, *rósini co taillfed¹ fertraig feroclaig eter cach da asna do*, He stretched himself so that a warrior's foot would find room between every pair of his ribs.

MI. 98^c 8, *ne misserationis ius peccatorum cumulo uinceretur, .i. conna biad¹ dlíged n-erchisseehta la Dia*, So that there would not be a law of compassion with God.

¹ Here the secondary future is used just as in conditional sentences. In LU. 74^a 15, it seems to come nearer to purpose: *ní ruba é nachamfúba-sa cen bráthir, ar is aiví doberar som chucutsu ar daig co forgénmais ar n-dis debuid*, Slay him not, that thou leave me not without a brother; for it is for that that he is brought to you, that we two should come to strife. But the sense of purpose comes from the context rather than from the form.

Ir. Text. i, 227, l. 1, *rocroth dano Manannan a brat eter Coinculaind 7 Faind, conna rochomraictis dogrés*, Manannan shook his mantle between Cuchulinn and Fand, that they might come together no more for ever.

63. The subjunctive may express possibility rather than purpose.

Wb. 5^b 11, *insí a meit friscomartatar co n-dositis huili a fide Christi*, Have they offended so greatly that all should fall *a fide Christi*?

Ml. 96^c 13, *roleld[at]ar díb connachagluaistis in charbait*, They stuck to them so that the chariots could not move.

LU. 103^a 34, *nírthnargaibset cid co tísad gæth etorro 7 talmain*, They did not raise it, even so that the wind could pass between it and the earth.

LL. 68^a 45, *nosblathiged ona tairised cuil forru*, He smoothed them so that a fly could not have rested on them.

64. (c) Past subjunctive after primary tense.

Here the past subjunctive seems to express partly possibility, partly a less direct purpose, or a purpose of which the fulfilment is doubtful.

Wb. 4^a 9, *debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem uiuamus, i. co n-gnemmis gnimu colno* ut ante fecimus, That we should do the deeds of flesh.

Wb. 11^a 7, *omnis autem, qui in agone contendit, ab omnibus se abstinere, i. ar m-bad irlamu de don budíth*, That he might be the readier for the victory.

Wb. 15^c 16, *ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita, i. o-tuidchissed uita tarsin corp-sin*, That immortality might overcome that body.

Ml. 70^c 13, *si—praedicaueris ostentationi non deuotioni seruiens, i. co n-idchomallada hua gnimaib*, That thou mightest fulfil it in deeds.

Wb. 15^d 6, *occasionem damus uobis gloriandi pro nobis, ut habeatis ad eos, qui in faciem gloriantur, et non in corde, i. co m-bad snini for móidem-si i. co n-érbarid-si* (pres. subj.), *anatdenat ar magistir ni dignem-ni ce napridehid-si*, So that we might be your boast, that is, so that ye may say: "What our masters do not, we will not do, though ye preach it."

Wb. 28^a 1, *uolentes esse legis doctores, i. (o)roibitis oc denum rectche la riga*, So that they might be making law with kings.

[continued on p. 300.]

MI. 89^d 13, *et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, fama, non iure*, i. **co m-bad flaith iar fir són**, That it should be a dominion according to truth.

MI. 109^d 5, **ní tait Dia fo tairngere conidchumscaiged**, God does not go under a promise that He should alter it.

SR. 1573, *a Eud denam—pennait buan is atheirge, corglanmais fiad rig na recht ni diar caintaib diar tarmthecht*, Eve, let us do lasting penance and repentance, so that we might cleanse away before the King of the laws somewhat of our sins, of our transgression.

SR. 1422, **anaid frim, a noeb-aingliu, co m-blassin ria n-dul immach ni do thorud crainn bethad**, Wait for me, ye holy angels, that I might taste before going forth somewhat of the fruit of the Tree of Life.¹

65. B. The subjunctive after verbs of *commanding, entreating, and the like.*

MI. 46^a 12, **asbeir som frisna torus arn-dacumcabat 7 arn-daersoilcet**, He says to the doors that they should raise and open themselves.

MI. 3^a 13, **ciasidrubar-sa nad tintae-siu**, Though I have said that thou shouldst not translate.

MI. 102^d 3, **asrubart Dia friusom ara celebartis a sollumnu 7 arindmoldais**, God said to them that they should celebrate His festivals, and that they should praise Him.

LU. 83^b 27, **asbert friú nad remthiástais ind rig**, He said to them that they should not go before the King.

Ir. Text. i, 137, l. 5, **asbert Conchobur fria muintir ara scortís a cairptiu**, Conchobur told his people to unyoke their chariots. (Another version has in *oratio recta* the imperative **sguirid**.)

SR. 1813, **roraid Michel frim co tissain d'adrad ind rig**, Michael said to me that I should come to worship the King.

Cormac s.v. *Mugéme*, **ascongrad la Bretnu na tarta oirci—do Goedelaib**, Proclamation was made by the Britons that no lapdog should be given to the Gaels.

SR. 3701, **co forngart dia mnaib conotuctáis asin tráig in mac in-bee**, She ordered her women to take from the shore the small boy.

¹ In some cases the past subjunctive might be explained by a reference to past time. MI. 88^b 15, **arna beth ani imnefolngar trea dosom i. arna imfolangide ruceae do trea . . . is airi insin gudid som hi tosuch in t-sailm**, That there might not be to him what is caused through it i.e. that shame might not be caused to him through it, therefore he prays in the beginning of the psalm. Cf. MI. 32^c 11, 111^d 4, 126^c 9, Wb. 4^d 17.

65*. The verbal noun (infinitive) is also found, e.g. :—

Wb. 9^b 19, *ni epur frib etarscarad fri suidiu*, I do not bid you part with them.

Trip. L. 222, l. 27, *atrubairt friu bith ina toss*, He told them to be quiet.

Ml. 94^b 3, *forcongair du dóinib comallad a firinne*, He orders men to fulfil His truth.

LU. 71^b 27, *gutter ón t-slóg forro bith na tost*, They are entreated by the host to be quiet.

ML. 42^a 14, *ni guid digail du thabairt foraib acht corruanad inna arrad*, He prays not for the infliction of vengeance on them, but that they may remain in his company.

Wb. 21^a 8, *ished inso noguidimm .i. co n-ducaid etargne n-Dé*, It is this I pray, to wit, that ye may understand the knowledge of God.

SR. 1631, *rogaid Adam for sruth n-Iordanén, co troiscad lais for Dia*, Adam prayed the river Jordan to fast with him upon God.

LU. 72^a 29, *fóidis Cuchulaind a araid co Rochad—co tísad dia chobair*, Cuchulinn sent his charioteer to Rochad (requesting him) to come to his help.

66. C. The subjunctive is used with various other classes of verbs.

ML. 25^b 5, *rolomur nundatges*, I venture to supplicate Thee.

ML. 74^b 14, *cunic cid a cumachtae n-doindae n-dunema in duine ar alailiu*, Even human power can protect a man against another.

Sg. 209^b 13, *issed inso nad chumaing ara n-ísar and cont enggnatar gnima sed asagnintar*, It is that which cannot be found there that actions should not be understood, but they are understood.¹

ML. 92^a 5, *desperaueram .i. arindrisinn ón*, That I should reach it.

ML. 131^c 9, *dorochóinset arn-dabeth in tairsem hi-robatar riam*, They despaired of their having the rest in which they were before.

ML. 115^b 1, *ní tormnémar-ní ara m-betis in gnimai sin*, We did not expect that those deeds would be.

Wb. 5^b 35, *coní ecmi nád n-airchissa*, That it may not happen that He does not spare.

LU. 61^b 20, *cofnéigidar Cuchulaind ódairled forsín slige do chelebrad dona maccaib*, Cuchulinn compelled him to go on the road to bid good-bye to the boys.

Rev. Celt. xi, 448, *dobert—comairli do—ara teissed dochum Scathchai*, He advised him to go to Scathach.

ML. 43^c 13, *maiores per hoc²—indicans dignitatem, .i. arm-bad dia nim raclod som*, That He should hear him from His heaven.

Sg. 61^b 9, *sed hoc² nunquam inuenitur, .i. ara tesed b isin sillai b tanaisi*, That *b* should go into the second syllable.

¹ For other examples of *conicim* with the subjunctive or infinitive, see Ascoli, Gloss. xcix, c.

² Here the subjunctive is epexegetic of the pronoun.

66*. With the infinitive.

Wb. 5^a 15, *rolaimethar side epert neich*, He ventures to say something.

Wb. 6^a 17, *hore conic digail forib*, Because He can inflict vengeance on you.

Sg. 50^a 14, *arindi nád cumaiḡ maith do denom*, Because he cannot do good.

The indicative is found of a fact or result.

LU. 65^b 36, *eemaic bóí a chlaideb hi farrad Fergusa*, Fergus' sword chanced to be by him.

Wb. 13^b 6, *is rad Dée immumforling co n-da apstalacht liumsa*, It is the grace of God that has caused me to have the apostleship.

Ml. 51^a 16, *ma beith ara n-dena nech*, If it be that anyone does.

Ml. 68^b 9, *cia beith arn-acathar nech inna rétu indubaidi in betha-so*, Though it be that anyone sees the glorious things of this world.

Wb. 28^d 22, *ma beid ní ara techta uidua maccu, . . . it cairigthi in maic si cen dethidin dissi*, If it be that (lit. if it be a thing that) a widow has sons, these sons are to be blamed if they do not take care of her.

67. D. Subjunctive after adjectival expressions.

Ml. 21^b 9, *is ecen dam nondages daitsiu*, It is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee.

Sg. 207^b 11, *cit consuidigthi la Grecu, ní ecen dunni beta consuidigthi linn*, Though the Greeks consider them compounds, it is not necessary that we should.

Sg. 211^a 10, *is écen oñ-dárbastar inne indí frisasamaltar*, It is necessary that there be shown the sense of that wherewith it is compared.

Wb. 13^d 20, *ni bu degming donetad som a chorp fadesin issuidiu*, It was not wonderful that he should clothe his own body in it. Cf. Wb. 21^a 13.

Wb. 22^c 11, *is tacair arndip samlid do chách*, It is meet that it be thus to everyone.

Per. 58^b 2, *ni asse ara n-imfognad in t-ansid frissin bréthir as sum*, It is not easy that the verb *sum* should be construed with the accusative.

Ml. 47^c 11, *conueniens sancto uiro, ar m-bad hi tempul Dé nobeth*, That he should be in the temple of God.

Ml. 17^b 6, *ba nephimmaircide nad techtad som dliged coim-demnachtæ isnaib dulib doforsat*, It were unfitting that He should not have the right of lordship in the elements that He created.

Wb. 12^a 1, *is ferr limm rafesid*, I prefer that ye should know them.

LBr. 261^a 52, *ba ferr don mac Eclise atagad Crist*, It were better for the son of the Church (i.e. an ecclesiastic) that he should fear Christ.

LBr. 261^a 56, *ferr duit nirba hanecnaid*, It is better for thee that thou be not ignorant.

LU. 45^a 7, *bád maith limsa co m-bad hé nobéth and*, I should be pleased that he should be there.

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67*. Such adjectival expressions have usually the infinitive,
e.g. :—

Wb. 10^d 24, *issumecen precept ar m'etiuth*, It is necessary for me to teach for my raiment.

Wb. 23^a 10, *ni ecen a cairigud*, It is not necessary to reprove them.

Wb. 13^a 21, *ni tacair denum domuin dind soscélu*, It is not meet to make a thing profound of the Gospel.

Wb. 12^d 19, *ni asse do epert amén in cruth-sin*, It is not easy for him to say *amen* in that way.

ML. 76^b 7, *immaireide n-dosom iar n-aisndis dun cér tabairt in tened iarum*, A fitting thing to him, after speaking of the wax, to put the fire afterwards.

Wb. 10^b 24, *ba ferr limm immurgu buith di i n-ógi*, I had rather, however, that she were in virginity.

ML. 105^b 8, *robu maith leu buith hi Caldea dugrés*, They were pleased to be in Chaldea for ever.

Sg. 158^a 2, *nib machdad lat reperio do buith for quart. cobedin*, Do not wonder that *reperio* should be of the fourth conjugation.

LU. 101^b 28, *ni bo ró lim dait ona tissad nech di mnaib Ulad riut hi tech*, I should not deem it too much for thee, that none of the wives of the Ulstermen should go in before thee.

Wb. 29^d 8, *desiderans te uidere, g. ba méite limm ni scartha friumm*, It were much to me that thou hadst not parted from me.

Sg. 65^a 1, *níbu machdath dorónta dia dind liac*, It were no wonder that a god should have been made of the stone.

Sg. 68^a 3, *ni bu machdad bed coitchenn*, It were no wonder that it should be common.

Similarly Sg. 62^b 2.

68. E. In the Glosses the subjunctive is used technically to express the Latin infinitive, except after *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, e.g. :—

ML. 14^d 6, *non est propositum cuncta persequi*, g. *dorímem*.

ML. 15^a 10, *pestilentiae proprium est—inficere*, g. *frisnorr*.

ML. 15^b 12, *studet—declinare*, g. *innimgaba*.

ML. 16^a 19, *necesse erit—conruere*, g. *contotsat*.

ML. 19^d 12, *mederi—adgreditur*, g. *frismbia*.

ML. 16^b 20, *armari—non timerent*, i. *nochis nochathaigtis ón*.

ML. 17^d 8, *consueuimus indicare*, g. *infesmais*.

ML. 20^a 9, *ostentare uoluisset*, g. *donaidbsed*.

ML. 37^d 1, *nitebantur inuadere*, g. *inrestais*.

So it may express the gerund.

ML. 41^c 5, *uelocitatem praestitit aduersarios persequendi*, g. *dusesáinn*.

69. In the Glosses the past tense of the copula, along with the participle of necessity, serves technically to express the Latin gerundive, e.g. :—

ML. 16^a 5, *fugiendam infidelitatem monet*, g. *bed erngabthi*.

ML. 18^a 6, *ad utrumque referendum*, g. *bed taircithi*.

ML. 22^d 22, *ad promerendam benignitatem*, i. *bed airillti*.

ML. 23^a 14, *ad fletus uberes indicandos*, g. *betis aisndisib*.

ML. 39^d 24, *inferendae mortis tempus expectant*, g. *bed taircidi*.

ML. 64^b 2, *ad inuandum nos*, g. *dúnni bed fortachtigthi*.

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68*. After *verba sentiendi et dicendi* the Latin infinitive is expressed by the Irish indicative, e.g. :—

ML. 16^a 14, *eum in David dictum conantur adstruere*, g. *asrobrad*.

ML. 23^c 2, *credidi prosperari*, g. *nosoinmigfed*.

ML. 25^e 15, (*ea*) *sibi competere* demonstrat, g. *immindaircet*.

ML. 33^c 20, *dicit esse—comprehensum*, g. *doretarracht*. And cf. § 26*.

9. RELATIVE CLAUSES.

70. In a clause of the form, "if it be they who do it," "let it be this that they do," where the verb substantive is in the subjunctive or the imperative, the following verb, as being an integral part of the condition, etc., is also put in the subjunctive. The two verbs stand in the same tense, the imperative counting as a present.

Wb. 5^d 30, *ná maith robé, bad hed dognéid*, Whatever good there is, let it be that that ye do.

Wb. 13^a 29, *bad amal asinbiur-sa dogneither*, Let it be done as I say it.

LU. 77^b 1, *co m-bad ed atherad som*, It would be this that he said.

LL. 61^b 9, *dia m-bad ésin tísad*, If he had come.

LL. 53^b 43, *dia m-bad nobit in fer ga m-beind*, If I had belonged to a niggardly husband.

Wb. 23^b 24, *act rop Crist pridches cách*, Provided that all preach Christ.

ML. 90^a 14, *amal betis degmaini dobertais*, As though benefits were given.

ML. 67^a 8, *is cum[me] bid pugnator asberad*, It is the same as though he had said *pugnator*.

ML. 95^c 2, *co m-bad ellam nocomallaitis ani asrochoilset*, That they might quickly fulfil what they had determined.

LU. 60^a 47, *asbert Cauland ná bad sochaide nobertha chucai*, Cauland said that it should not be a large number that should be brought to him.

71. Of this kind is the subjunctive after *sechip*, etc.

For *cid*, *mad*, cf. p. 267.

Wb. 1^d 19, *sechiphé lasa m-bé iustitia legis*, Whoever he be with whom there is *iustitia Legis*.

ML. 86^d 12, *sechiped arabera biuth in duine, is serb les act ro[b] bronach*, Whatever a man enjoys, he deems bitter if he be sorrowful.

Wb. 5^b 18, *sechi chruth dondrón*, In whatever way I do it.

ML. 73^c 11, *sechidú denecaither-su*=*ubicumque respexeris*.

ML. 39^c 15, *co m-bad frisna gruade—citacomairsed sechipad ed dodaíssed som*, That whatever came to them might meet the cheeks first.

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70*. But if the verb be not an integral part of the condition, etc., then it may stand in the indicative.

LL. 124^b 30, *co m-bad é Altus in consul dodechaid o Ochtauin do chuingid in chisa noinnised do Chonchobur Crist do chrochad*, It would be Altus the consul, who came from Octavian to ask for the tribute, who told Conchobor of the crucifixion of Christ. Here *noinnised* is in the subjunctive by § 70; *dodechaid*, in an explanatory relative clause, is in the indicative.

ML. 42^c 19, *amal bid alai[li] chumachtaig rethes cen erchót a retho*, As it were of some mighty man who runs without hindrance to his running.

72. In relative sentences of a general or hypothetical character with an indefinite antecedent the subjunctive is found.

(a) Ml. 42^b 29, *dies diei usque uerbum, inperitit—notitiam Dei uelut quodam inculcatoris officio, .i. ind nephcomainsedo .i. amal nech nad chomainsea* (MS. *chomainsea*) *a choimdid*, sic dies, As of the non-contemner,¹ i.e. as one who does not condemn his lord, *sic dies*.

Ml. 19^d 6, *ishé didiu a m-bés adi, inti diib bes tressa orcaid alaile*, This, then, is their custom; he of them who is stronger slays the other.

Wb. 27^c 14, *inti bes anirlithe'l. nád chomalnathar a n-asberar friss rambia dígal*, He who is disobedient, or who does not fulfil what is said to him, there will be vengeance to him.

Wb. 4^o 19, *miserentis est Dei, .i. arcessi do neoch bes meldach less*, He pities whomsoever He pleases.

Sg. 12^b 7, *cosmail leiss cacha orr im cara fá aescare*, He deems it alike whomsoever he slays, whether friend or foe.

Ml. 59^a 12, *ar is gnath do neuch bes amlabar buidre*, For deafness is customary to whoever is dumb.

Wb. 24^b 2, *Dominus prope est, do thabairt dñib neich risid a less*, To give to you whatever ye may need.

Wb. 22^b 9, *donantis inuicem .i. an dorogba cách fri alaile*, What each may commit against another.

Wb. 12^c 32, *issamlid is torbe sòn co etercerta an asbera*, It is thus that it is profitable, provided he interpret what he says.

LL. 278^a 42, *denam comairle, nechlar de uánd dig ar tús co tí co scélaib dia chelín*, Let us come to an understanding that whichever of us twain shall depart (this life) first shall come with tidings to his fellow.²

LL. 251^a 27, *an rochara dagne dimsa*, Deal with me as it may please thee.

Wb. 7^d 10, *orop inonn cretem bes hi far cridiu et a n-asberaid hó bélaib*, That the belief which is in your hearts and what ye say with (your) lips may be the same.

Wb. 27^b 17, *is hed tra forchain som hic ara tucca cách a canas condib réil less ind inne bess and et arinréla do chách rodchluinethar* (indic.), This, then, is what he teaches here, that everyone should

¹ A mistranslation of *in-culcatoris*, as though *in* were the negative particle.

² Then follows *immaragaib dóib cipé dib nodigressed hi tosaig co tised co fis scél diarailín*, It was agreed between them that whichever of them departed first should come with tidings to the other.

72*. Compare the following indicative clauses.

ML. 2^c 3, *psalmosque omnes eorum testamur auctorum qui ponuntur in titulis, .i. inti as a ainm bis isnaib tilllaib, is doib doaisilbter int sailm sin*, He whose name is in the superscriptions, it is to them that those psalms are ascribed.

ML. 24^a 19, *rofilir didiu 7 etirgein ní dú ulc inti lasm-bí ind encae; ní filir immurgu olc n-etir inti bís isind encae* ut sunt infantes, He knows then and discerns somewhat of evil, with whom there is innocence; he, however, knows not evil at all, who is in innocence *ut sunt infantes*.

Wb. 16^b 11, *im dethidnea saeculi .i. doguilse di neuch adbaill et di neuch nád etar et di neuch bís la nech nad bí lat-so*, Concerning the anxieties of the world, to wit, grief for what perishes, and for what is not found, and for what another hath that thou hast not.

Wb. 15^b 14, *maso dorchide la nech a pridchimme-ni, ni la nech nodedomalnadar act is la nech nadidohreti*, If what we preach seems dark to anyone, it is not so to him who fulfils it but to him who does not believe it.

Wb. 23^d 9, *necessarium autem existimaui—ministerium necessitatis meae mittere ad uos, .i. neich roiccu a less*, Of whatever I need.

ML. 22^c 1, *intamail inso fri nech tarsa-tochuirther sciath air nach rí olc*, A comparison this to one over whom is put a shield that evil may not reach him.

ML. 50^d 1, *asbeir nadmbí ciall la nech disluindi dlígéd remdeicesen*, He says that no one who denies the law of Providence has understanding.

ML. 23^c 20, *nephdenum neich di ulc fri nnech dogni olc frit, air is huilliu sòn indaas nadndene* (subj.) *olc fri nech nadeni olc friut*, To abstain from doing any evil to one who does evil to thee, for that is more than that thou shouldst not do evil to one who does no evil to thee.

ML. 27^c 10, *nach magen i n-imfogai in briathar-so fri ainsid isnaib sabnaib, is do ruccae 7 melacht teit*, Wherever in the psalms this verb is construed with the accusative, it is applied to shame and disgrace.

Wb. 9^c 22, *ní dílgaid a n-ancride dogníther fríb*, Ye forgive not the injury that is done to you.

ML. 108^a 11, *cía beith soilse isind lau, ní soilse do neuch bís i m-brón*, Though there be light in the day, it is not light to anyone that is in sorrow.

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understand what he recites, so that the sense which is in it may be clear to him, and that he may make it clear to everyone who hears it.

23 N. 10, R.I.A., *a forcanas di cach an ara n-deine fein*, That thou do thyself what thou teachest to everyone.

Wb. 5^d 14, *níp sain an asberthar ho giun 7 a m-bess hi cridiu*, What is spoken by the mouth and what is in the heart must not be different.

Wb. 5^e 20, *chech irnigde dongneid i tuil Déa bed dlichthech*, Let every prayer that ye make in the will of God be lawful.

Wb. 5^d 30, *ná maith robé bad hed dogneid*, Every good thing that is, let it be that ye do.

Wb. 30^b 10, *na herassaiget do gnime a n-asbere*, Let not thy works make void what thou sayest.

Wb. 24^b 3, *ná bad chotarsne fri bar n-iec a n-no-gessid*, Let what ye pray for not be contrary to your salvation.¹

(b) LU. 61^b 27, *nobiid cach láth gaile do Ultaib a laa hi Sleib Fuait fri snádud neich dothissad co n-airchetul*, Every warrior of Ulster used to be his day in Slíab Fuáit to protect whoever came with poesy.

MI. 19^d 5, *cona bad dliged remdéiscen oco tuistin sidi acht inti bed tressa do fordiuclaim alaili*, That there might be no law of Providence at their creation, but that he who was stronger should devour the other.

MI. 69^a 2, *si fuissent obtatis potiti, .i. neich adgustis*, Anything that they desired.

MI. 29^e 16, *hi quos fugae eius—necessitudo coniunxerat, .i. á caratrad .i. nech bed chare do*, Their friendship, i.e. anyone who was a friend of his.

MI. 125^a 4, *co n-detaitis aní nogestais*, That they might obtain what they prayed for.

MI. 2^d 1, *in hunc modum multas haberent libros, .i. mad forcenn libuir nach magen i m-beth amen indib*, If each place in which *amen* is in them were the end of a book.

Wb. 14^e 23, *co m-bad sain a n-asberin o bélib et aní immeradin ó chridiu*, That what I say with the lips and what I think with the heart might be different.

¹ In MI. 23^d 17, the present subjunctive is found after a past, *is a mace dia as cenibed á ainm-som bes foir*, It is his son after him, though it be not his name that is upon him.

MI. 129^b 2, *corrup leir roscmallathar inti ardatuaissi*, That he who listens to them may fulfil them diligently.

MI. 21^b 8, *nondages co n-derlaig[^e] dam son innahi noguidim dait-siu*, That I should pray that Thou mayest me forgive the things I pray of Thee.

MI. 94^b 10, *maní chomalla nech aní forchongair Dia do*, If anyone fulfil not what God enjoins him.

MI. 104^b 2, *amal duratad pian forsnahi robatar i n-Endor, aipleat dano sic 7 tabarr pian forsnahi frisorcat donaib Machabdib*, As punishment was inflicted on those who were in Endor, so let them die, and let punishment be inflicted on those that oppose the Maccabees.

Wb. 11^b 6, *ara carat an-rochluinetar*, That they may love what they hear.

Wb. 12^b 6, *co n-derna cech ball a n-as toisc dialailiu*, That each member do what the other desires.

MI. 41^d 12, *co n-rúrel-sa doib a n-as accobur lium*, That I may manifest to them what I desire.

Wb. 6^b 18, *a n-as maith la cách dénad*, What seems good to everyone, let him do.

Wb. 10^c 21, *ba torad sa[i]thír diun—ce dugnemmis a n-dogniat ar céli*, It were a fruit of our labour if we did what our fellows do.

MI. 112^b 20, *ar nach risat fochaidi demuin co n-idcloitis asind noibi hi m-bí*, That the temptations of the Devil may not reach him, to drive him from the sanctity in which he is.

MI. 36^a 29, *non habebat .i. ní asriad do feichemain rodligestar ní do*, He had not, i.e. anything to give to a creditor who had a claim on him.

MI. 126^c 10, *ara crete són nombiad iar fir aní rolabrastar Dia 7 durairngert*, That it might be believed that what God had spoken and promised would be according to truth.

MI. 115^a 14, *co for cech lín a huair immeroimded (impf.) dobertle digal*, Vengeance used to be wrought on each number in turn that transgressed.

MI. 88^a 17, *nach molad rundammolad-sa a Dé is triut-su doronad*, Every praise wherewith I was praised, O God, it is by Thee that it was wrought.

MI. 54^a 9, *nanní robu accubu[r] leu atchotatsat for Dia*, Who obtained from God all that they desired.

MI. 46^c 20, *diandcomallamar, a n-uile dorairngert Dia trisin recht sin du neuch nudcomálnabadar, doindnastar dún a n-uile-sin*, If we

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Wb. 18^a 18, *cona bad fir a n-asbermis*, That what we say is untrue. (Cf. § 25.)

Wb. 17^b 1, *ut non existimemur tamquam terrere uos per epistolas*, .i. *amal ni cuimsin hi frendire a n-asberinn* per epistolas, As though I could not do in (your) presence what I said *per epistolas*.

(c) Wb. 9^c 20, *cid atobaich cen dígud cech ancrídi dognethe frib*, What compels you not to forgive every injury that may be done to you?

Wb. 13^a 19, *mulieres in ecclesiis taceant*, .i. *si sint uiri in praesentia*, *ar is insae in ball do thincosc neich asberad cenn*, For it is hard that the member should put right whatever a head might utter.

73. Subjunctive relative clauses are found in negative, or virtually negative, sentences denying a possibility or the like.

(a) Wb. 14^b 15, *ni tabir Dia fornni fochith nád fochomolsam; cid ind fochith follongam dober dithnad dara héssi*, God putteth not upon us suffering that we cannot endure. Even the suffering that we do endure, He giveth consolation for it.

MI. 107^d 4, *dia n-erbalam-ni ní bia nech runiccae-siu*, If we die there will be no one for Thee to heal.

MI. 114^b 18, *nad fil nech congne fris ón acht Dia*, That there is no one to help him but God.

LL. 251^a 24, *ni fuil lat do setaib ní nodottain*, Thou hast nought of treasures that can protect thee.

MI. 31^d 6, *conna bí ní frestai á mes*, So that there is nothing to oppose its estimation.

Wb. 11^d 8, *ónabab ní indidningaba á chocubus*, That there may be nothing for his conscience to reprove him for.

Wb. 17^a 13, *na tomnathar nech ní bes mo quam servi*, Let no one think anything that is more *quam servi*.

Wb. 31^d 11, *nachitochthad fria chosc ní bes [s]ire*, Let him not wear thee out in admonishing him any longer.

Wb. 18^a 2, *níofil bas sciith lim aet rop ar Crist*, There is nothing of which I am weary provided it be for Christ.

(b) MI. 100^c 23, *níá-robae nech adchotatae dia n-adnacul*, There was no one who could be got to bury them.

MI. 125^b 7, *níá-robae rann di rannaib in domain inna-ructais*

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fulfil it, there shall be given to us all that God promised through that law to him who shall fulfil it.

ML. 53^c 14, *intí dogena a n-uile-so sis, is do berthar (dobérthar?) bethu sin*, That life shall be given to him who does all this below.

ML. 56^a 21, *immeit (in méit?) bias firinne neich is in meit sin dano bias dilgadche Dæ do*, In proportion to a man's righteousness shall be God's forgiveness to him.

ML. 106^a 4, in reliquis liberalis erit, .i. *donaibhí durigat a doiri*, To those who shall come out of captivity.

Wb. 28^d 16, *te ipsum saluum facies et eos qui te audiunt, .i. cách rotchechladar oc precept*, All who shall hear thee teaching.

Wb. 32^d 13, *amal ronsoir fesin, soirfed cách cretfes and*, As He delivered Himself, He would deliver everyone who shall believe in Him.

73*. In simple periphrasis the indicative stands.

ML. 31^d 10, *amal níofl ní arachóat a n-argat n-glan acht át[h]echt i n-aicdi*, As nothing injures pure silver, but it passes into a finished form (?).

ML. 26^c 2, *ni a tobac namma fil and dogní da salm de*, It is not the division only that is there that makes two psalms of it.

LL. 126^a 2, *ni fuil ní as luathiu andait na eich-seo*, Nothing is swifter than these horses.

ML. 14^b 13, *ni bu fua réir fesin boi som isint aimsir [sin]*, He was not under his own control at that time.

LU. 43^a 33, *ní batar i n-Ére énlaithe ba cáini*, There were no fairer birds in Ireland.

LU. 45^a 3, *ni bo ed as mó rognathaissem*, It was not that to which we have been most accustomed.

LU. 76^a 4, *ni pá isind ath escomon-sa condricfem*, We will not meet in this polluted ford.

LU. 107^a 45, *ni bá nech bas ferr nodgléfe atai-siu*, No one will settle it better than thou.

i n-dori 7 asnachatucad Dia, There was no part of the world into which they might not be brought into slavery, and from which God should not take them.

MI. 80^c 9, *connaconrobae ní roscrutais*, So that there was nothing for them to examine.

MI. 28^d 3, *ní rabae accuis ara m-beth enim and*, There was no reason why *enim* should be there.

I.U. 83^a 31, *conach rubi dóib conair dochoistís*, So that they had no way to go.

LL. 250^a 52, *ní rabai forsin tír fer nolamad a thabairt do*, There was not on the land a man who dared to give it to him.

Wb. 33^d 10, *ni robe nech bad huaishliu tara toissed*, There was no one higher by whom he could swear.

MI. 51^a 2, *omnis firmitas corporis ultima languore concussa est*, *i. ní-robae ní bed mó*, There was nothing that could be greater.

MI. 100^c 11, *ultimis coacti malis*, *i. ní-rabatar olca betis mou*, There were no evils that could be greater.

(c) MI. 107^b 8, *nío-fil frithorcain nachamthised-sa 7 nad fordamaínn*, There is no affliction that might not have come to me, and that I might not have endured.

LL. 250^a 45, *noconfiacea ní rosaissed leth no tríán do chruth*, I have seen nothing to come up to thy form by a half or a third.

Wb. 18^c 8, *ní fil folad n-aill fora-sernte in soscéle issin act Crist*, There is no other substance on which ye could build this Gospel but Christ.

MI. 17^a 15, *ní fil aimsir nadm-bed*, There is no time that He was not.

Wb. 28^b 1, *ni fil ceneel na belre isin biuth di[a] nad rícthe nech*, For there is neither race nor tongue in the world of which some one should not be saved.

Sg. 50^a 2, *ní techta sain intslíucht and feissin hua n-ainmnigthae*, It has no special sense itself from which it should be named.

MI. 60^b 2, *ní feil ní bed ærdasachtchu*, Nothing could be madder.

MI. 92^a 9, *ní fail ní bed huilliu oldaas attrab la Dia*, Nothing could be greater than to dwell with God.

LU. 68^b 28, *ní fetar ní ardottáigthe*, I know no reason why thou shouldst be feared.

SR. 7925, *cia de is mo messar, in fail uaib rofessad*. Which of them is of greater measure, is there anyone of you who could know? This amounts to *ni fail uaib rofessad*, none of you could know.

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74. Compare the following positive sentences where the relative clause ranges from possibility to purpose.

MI. 53^a 5, *la dí[a]mair a inchlídi som nad cho[m] nech acht heseom fesin*, In the hidden place of His secret, over which none may have power but He only.

MI. 33^d 10, *nem insin nad chonrícthar sech nem nathrach*, Venom that which might not be healed, beyond the venom of snakes.

LU. 57^b 24, *ná tiagar secha co n-étar fer rolaa id samlaid*, Let it not be passed till there be found a man to throw a similar collar.

LL. 280^a 18, *eirgg ass bale na clór-sa th-imrádud*, Go forth to where I may not hear mention of thee.

Wb. 31^c 18, *bói ní roglante and*, There was something to be purified.

Wb. 27^a 16, *bái and ní roerthe*, There was something to be given.

MI. 56^a 12, *cíd arnabu son inchoissised longud*, Why was it not a word to express eating?

Wb. 2^c 7, *orobad inna chorp ní inchoissised tóbe uitiorum*, That there might be in his body somewhat to signify the excision *uitiorum*.

MI. 107^c 12, *co m-betis degnimai leu trissan-etis bethaid afrithissi*, That there might be good works with them through which they might obtain life again.

Wb. 11^a 19, *ceist cíd ara m-bad spiritalis ind ail*. Question, Why should the rock be *spiritalis*? (lit. what is there for which?).

LL. 286^a 17, *ail dam bothnait diamair i n-geissind Dia*, I would fain have a little hut in secret in which I might pray to God.

75. In the following sentences the relative clause expresses restriction: cf. the clauses with *act*, § 48.

Wb. 17^a 13, *con ná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na gnimu sin*, That ye might not believe in anyone save one who did those deeds.

Tir. 11, *toisc limm fer óensétche dunarructhae act oen tuistiu*, I desire a husband of one wife to whom has not been born but one child.

LU. 124^b 30, *ní hí em rocharusa, for Cuchulaind, nírforfæmusa mndí atgnead fer*, "It is not she that I have loved," said Cuchulinn; "I have not accepted a wife who has known a man."

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74*. *cid ara n-* may be followed by the indicative.

Wb. 5^a 31, *asberid-si cid arind—epur frit*, Ye say, why do I say it to thee?

Ml. 55^d 11, *isid insin fodera inn erigim, cid ara fodaim int ais firian inna fochaidi*, It is that that causes the plaint, why the righteous suffer the tribulations.

Ml. 63^c 9, *amal immechomairsed nech, cid ara tuic Duaid nostris*, As though some one were to ask why David put *nostris*.

LU. 129^b 35, *asbert ní bíad ina farrad acht ben nad fessed nech do feraib h-Erend riam*,¹ He said that no wife should be with him save one that had never known any of the men of Ireland.

76. The relative clause may approach in force to a concessive clause.

ML. 85^d 5, per similitudinem eorum qui exigunt quod mutuo non dederunt, g. *duthluchetar ní nad tardatis do*, Who demand something that they had not given him. The same meaning might be expressed by *cení tardatis ní dó, dathluchetar*, Though they had given him nothing, they demand it. Cf. Wb. 4^a 6, § 46.

VI. PARTICLES WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

77. In principal clauses of every description the regular negative with the subjunctive mood is *ní*. It is unnecessary to repeat here the examples that have been given in the foregoing pages.

78. In subordinate clauses, too, *ní* predominates, but here there are exceptions.

(a) In accordance with the general rule, *ní* is replaced by *ná* (*nád, nách*) in relative clauses, and in clauses dependent on *uerba sentiendi et dicendi*, cf. Gramm. Celt.² 741. Examples will be found above, §§ 26, 28, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76. With *amal* in the sense of 'as though,' the negation in Old Irish is regularly *ní*, § 51. With *amal* in the sense of 'as,' I have no instance of a negative subjunctive, nor have I any such example with the temporal particles *an, intan*; one might *a priori* expect the negative to be *ná*. In subordinate clauses dependent on *uerba sentiendi et dicendi*, *ní* is sometimes found, as in *oratio recta* (parataxis instead of hypotaxis), e.g. LU. 69^b 30, *rafetar-su ní gonaim-se nech cen armu*, Thou knowest I do not wound an unarmed man. Compare with

¹ Another copy has *nach tibred mnai dogrés dianustuccad nech alí remiu*, That he would never take a wife if any other had taken her before him.

this the use of *ní* with the subjunctive after *dóich*, *inda*, § 27, also *ferr duit nírbá haneccnaid* and *bá méile limm ní scartha friumm*, § 67.

(b) After conjunctions made up of a preposition and the relative the negative is *ná*.

The clearest example of this is the final particle *ara n-*, the negative of which is *arná*, *arnách*. This observation will, I think, account for the apparent variation between *ní* and *ná* after *co* 'in order that,' cf. Gramm. Celt.² 745. In the Old Irish Glosses, if I mistake not, the facts of the case are as follows:—With *ní* the form is *coní*. With *ná*, *nách* we find both *conná*, *connách* and *coná*, *conách*. In addition to the examples given in the Grammatica Celtica I quote a few instances from Ml.: *conna beth* 32^d 5, *conna bí* 44^d 6, *connach ful* 57^d 15, *conna dechsam* 62^d 1, *cona ruaigsetar* 35^e 4, *cona tiagat* 51^d 3. These facts point to a very simple explanation. As is well known, there are two very similar particles in Irish — *co* with no relative affix and *con-* with a relative affix. In *coní*, then, I would see the conjunction *co*, in *conná* the conjunction *con-*.¹ In *conná* we should then have an exact parallel to *arná*. As to the form *coná*, either *nn* has been reduced to *n* in the pretonic syllable, or *coná* may have arisen from contamination of *coní* and *conná*. It may be observed that *coní* is in the process of disappearing; at least, I have not noted it in the literature subsequent to the Glosses.

(c) Sometimes *ná*, *nách*, *nád* stand by themselves as final particles.

Examples of this above are *nárthaeth* § 61, *na betis* § 62, *nád tintae-siu*, *nád remthiástaís*, *ná tarta* § 65, *na ruetarscara* Ml. 54^d 5, *nachinrogha* Wb. 15^d 40. In the Glosses I have not noted many instances of this.

79. It is to be remarked that in later Irish the tendency is for *ná* to extend itself in subordinate clauses at the expense of *ní*. Compare what has been said of the negatives with *amal* § 51, note 2, and observe also *acht narmiller* § 48, where in Old Irish we should have expected *ní*. But it is not always easy to say whether the one particle has been substituted for the other, or whether, as in *muna*=O.Ir. *maní*, we have weakening of *ní*.

¹ So already Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 56.

2. THE PARTICLES *no-* AND *ro-*.

80. For the purpose of dealing with these particles I have brought together examples of the subjunctives of simple verbs from the three large collections of Glosses, and the instances of the substantive verb from Wb. The copula forms have been neglected, as they have peculiarities of their own, and do not altogether follow the same laws as other verbs. In addition to the above, I have before me the subjunctive forms of the two verbs, in which forms with, and forms without, *ro-* are most frequently found, namely, *as-biur* 'I say' and *do-gniu* 'I do.' The instances of these two verbs have been taken from vol. ii of Zimmer's *Keltische Studien*, except for the portion of Ml. which had not yet been published when that work appeared. That my collections are complete I do not venture to say, as I went through the Glosses only once, but they are probably complete enough to draw conclusions from. Some instances of other compound verbs with and without *ro-* will be found in the Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, pp. 143-4. I propose to deal first with the particle *no-*, as the conditions there are simpler, and afterwards to discuss the usage of the particle *ro-*.

(1) THE PARTICLE *no-*.

81. The domain of the particle *no-* is much more restricted than that of *ro-*, in that it is found only with simple verbs,¹ and here again only in orthotonic forms; it is not found after the particles *ní*, *ná*, *con-*, etc., which demand the enclitic form of the verb. The particle *ro-* is bound by no such restrictions. But as *ro-* is found in the same positions in which *no-* is found, they have formally to some extent a common field. Hence a double problem presents itself. In the first place, we must seek to discover the rules that determine the presence and the absence of *no-* under the circumstances in which its use is permitted. Then we must try to delimit the usage of the two particles in that domain which they share in common.

¹ This is the rule in the oldest language. Afterwards *no-* comes to be used with some compound verbs, probably because they were no longer felt to be compounds. Instances of this will be found in VSR. p. 9, Atkinson, Pass. and Hom. p. 823.

82. With regard to the former point the following rules may be laid down:—

(1). In the past subjunctive the use of *no-*, where it is permitted by the rules laid down in the previous paragraph, is regular unless the past subjunctive be preceded by *ro-*.

(2). In the present subjunctive *no-* is present under the same conditions, if there be a pronoun infixed between it and the verb. If there be no infixed pronoun, then the general rule is that the simple verb is used without *no-*.

83. Of these rules abundant examples may be found in the foregoing pages. Yet it may be convenient to illustrate them more fully from one or two kinds of clauses. The instances under the several headings are arranged in the following order: (a) past subjunctive, (b) present subjunctive with *no-*, (c) present subjunctive without *no-*.

Conditional clauses.

(a) *ma nutoltanaiged* Sg. 72^b 6, *ma nucomallainn* Ml. 131^d 19, *ce notectad* Sg. 197^a 11, *cia nutiastais* Ml. 117^d 3, *ce nachomalnithe* Wb. 13^a 33.

(b) *ce no-n-molid*, *ce no-n-airid* Wb. 16^a 1, *ce napridehid-si* Wb. 15^d 6.

(c) *ma chomalnit* Wb. 28^c 7, *ma marbitir* Wb. 4^a 13, *ma beid* Wb. 5^d 32, 13^a 4, 24^b 9, 20^b 12, *ma senaigidir* Sg. 151^a 1, *cia gessir* Wb. 17^d 27, *cia bes* Wb. 21^d 3, 29^d 19, 30^a 23, *cia beid* Wb. 4^a 6, 3^c 10 (MS. *bed*), *cia beimmi* 19^a 16, *cia betir* Ml. 54^a 17, *cia chomallaide* Ml. 95^c 3.

Final clauses with *co*.

(a) *co noairladigthe* Wb. 3^b 9, *co nocomalnithe* Wb. 3^d 26, *co no-s-berinn* Wb. 10^d 36, *co nocomalnide* Wb. 19^b 22, *co nu-m-gabthae* (MS. *connumgabthae*) Ml. 27^b 7, *co nucoined* Ml. 32^b 13, *co nulintae* Ml. 32^b 15, *co nulogad* Ml. 39^c 5, *co nugabtis* Ml. 39^c 15.

(c) *co beid* Wb. 14^c 23, *co beit* Wb. 10^b 5, *co bethe* Wb. 19^d 19, *co mothaigid* Ml. 25^c 6, *co thirmaigid* Ml. 44^d 8, *co glanaid* Ml. 51^a 10, *co molait* Ml. 51^c 10, *co erladaigear* Ml. 106^c 6, *co sochene-laigidir* Ml. 138^c 4.

Of (b) I have no examples.

Isolated subjunctives translating a Latin infinitive (§ 68).

(a) *no-n-gabihe* Wb. 26^b 13, *no-n-gesmais* Ml. 21^b 1, *no-n-doirtais* Ml. 28^c 18, *nolintae*¹ Ml. 32^b 6, *nocrete*¹ Ml. 33^b 26, *nu-n-aitle* Ml. 39^a 19, *no-m-batis* Ml. 40^a 2, *no-m-goistis-se* Ml. 54^b 26, *nu-n-dedais* Ml. 83^b 3, *no-n-e[s]panaigtis* Ml. 93^a 3, *no-n-almais* Ml. 104^d 6, *no-n-glandis* Ml. 119^c 2.

(b) *nofóid*¹ Wb. 23^d 1, *notes*¹ Ml. 29^d 2, *nobendachthar*² Ml. 33^d 23, *no-n-dala(m)gaba*³ Ml. 43^a 2, *nufailtiger*¹ Ml. 46^b 16, *no-n-éaighther* Ml. 56^b 17, *nó-n-dammetar* Ml. 80^a 3, *nu-n-dan-mórthar* Ml. 63^c 4.

(c) *ranntar* Ml. 37^d 9, *sommaigter* Ml. 79^c 2, *bresminigedar* Ml. 108^d 6, *n-glunas*⁴ Ml. 28^b 4, *n-ebtar*⁴ Ml. 101^d 5.

84. To the former of the two rules I have noted no exceptions in the Old Irish Glosses, except in one or two instances in the substantive verb: Sg. 5^a 4 (p. 254, l. 11), 209^a 1 (p. 254, l. 28), Ml. 39^a 13, *cía bed ammet*, 'however great might be.' To the latter there is an apparent exception in *annogessid*, Wb. 24^b 3, p. 312, above. There I took *an* as the relative, but it may be the temporal *an* 'when ye pray.' Whether we have here a real exception, or whether we should correct to *annongessid*, I am unable to decide from the material at my disposal. In the *Saltair na Rann*, in spite of the exigencies of the metre, the same rules are still, for the most part, observed. To the second rule there seem to be no exceptions, cf. VSR. pp. 9, 13, 14, 17, 46, 47. To the first exceptions are found in *gabad* VSR. p. 16, and in *beth* VSR. p. 48, both in relative sentences. The almost complete harmony between this tenth-century text and the results arrived at from the material collected from the Old Irish Glosses furnishes a strong proof of the correctness of the above rules. It may be added that, so far as can be gathered from the examples given in the *Grammatica Celtica*, somewhat similar rules seem to apply to the primary and secondary tenses of

¹ In all these instances *no-* stands for *no-n-*, the *n* being regularly lost before the following consonant.

² = *no-b-bendachthar*.

³ So I would restore the missing letter; *lám-gabim* would be a good glossatorial translation of *man-cipo*.

⁴ The prefixation of the relative particle *n* here is perhaps an artificial way of indicating the subjunctive mood; at least, I have not noted it in the living language.

the indicative in which *no-* is found. But there is at least one point of difference: *no-* is found in primary relative forms without infixed pronoun, Gramm. Celt.² p. 416. I have no sufficient collections of material to enter into details.

85. We come now to the difference in use between *no-* and *ro-* in those cases in which both particles are found. In brief, the difference may, I think, be expressed thus: **nogabad: rogabad = ná gabad: ná rogbad = asberad: asrobrad.** In other words, *no-* with the subjunctive is parallel to subjunctives without any particle after conjunctions that do not admit of *no-*, and to subjunctives without *ro-* of compound verbs in which both forms without *ro-* and forms with *ro-* are in use: *ro-* with the subjunctive of simple verbs is parallel to the use of *ro-* in compound verbs of this character. This is to be inferred from the uses of the two particles in different kinds of subordinate clauses. With *amal* 'as though,' and in clauses of a similar kind with *oldáas*, *indáas*, *is cumme* (§§ 51–53), the verbs *asbiur* and *dogniú* appear without *ro-*: ML. 51^b 15 *amal bid ed inso asberad*, similarly ML. 62^c 2, Sg. 217^b 15; *is cum[me] bid puginator asberad* ML. 67^a 8; *amal ni bad cen cinta dugnetis* ML. 74^a 1, similarly ML. 49^a 11. Here, in the simple verb, *no-* stands where it is permissible. Add to the instances given above *amal nulloiscthe* ML. 32^c 13, *amal nutarasniginnse* ML. 46^b 13, *amal bid claind noclaintis* ML. 63^b 9, *amal bid ar ecin nosgabthae* ML. 68^b 2, *indáas bid preceptoir . . . nodprithched* ML. 42^b 18, *is cumme di noberrthe*¹ Wb. 11^c 13. After negatives the simple verb appears without any particle: *amal nistectitis* Wb. 10^b 5, *amal ni cetis* Wb. 10^b 6. Again, in relative clauses (§ 72 sq.) these compound verbs are generally without *ro-*, and here again the simple verb has prevalently either *no-* or no verbal particle. In conditional sentences the verbs *asbiur* and *dogniú* appear regularly without *ro-*, Wb. 1^d 1, 5^a 26, 10^a 14, 12^a 4, 12^d 13, 13^a 19, 15^d 18, 22^b 23, 26^a 1, 27^a 27, Sg. 209^b 30, ML. 129^b 12; Wb. 3^d 2, 5^c 23, 8^a 11, 10^c 4, 10^c 19, 10^d 32, 17^c 20, 22^b 23, Sg. 203^a 6, ML. 23^c 24, 23^d 4, 29^a 6, 35^c 18, 35^d 14, 37^c 16. In the simple verb *ro-* is very rare; for the

¹ On this passage Stokes remarks: "Zimmer (perhaps rightly) has *roberrthe*," but the Irish idiom calls here for *no-*, not *ro-*, as the above examples show.

few instances see § 93. On the other hand, in wishes *ro-* prevails both in simple verbs and in compounds (§ 18). Similarly with *act* § 48, and with *resiu* § 55. Further illustrations might be drawn from the foregoing pages, but the examples already given show that the parallel above drawn is not a fanciful one. Something more will have to be said of special cases under the next heading.

(2) THE PARTICLE *ro-*.

86. What has been said about the particle *no-* has paved the way for the discussion of the particle *ro-*. For if the parallelism that we have sought to establish be correct, then in those verbs in which *ro-* is permissible in the subjunctive the contrast will be between all *ro-* forms on the one hand and all *ro-*-less forms on the other. Such a variation is by no means found in all Irish verbs. In simple verbs *ro-* is used freely with the subjunctive.¹ But in compound verbs the use of *ro-* is greatly restricted. In the first place, it is a general rule that compound verbs whose subjunctive is the *s*-subjunctive do not insert *ro-*. For these subjunctives see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 157 sq. To the exceptions mentioned there should have been added *dorothuusa*² 'may I fall' MI. 23^e 23, *resiu dorótsad*² 'before it fell' LU. 59^a 23, by *arna todsat* 'that they may not fall' MI. 118^a 12. Further, *resiu forruma*³ *bine form* LL. 250^a 10. In addition to these *s*-subjunctives many other compound verbs do not take *ro-* in the subjunctive. Some examples will be found, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 157 sq.⁴; I have not got together a complete list of these verbs. In what follows,

¹ For the few verbs in which orthotonic forms with *ro-* alternate throughout with enclitic forms without *ro-*, see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, pp. 147, 149.

² Here *ro-* stands in the types of sentence where it is most widely used, so that it may be regarded as an analogical insertion.

³ O'Beirne Crowe translates 'before he may inflict destruction upon us.' Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 151, takes the form from **for-maidim*, according to which the meaning would be 'before destruction break upon us.' Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 95, suggests as a possibility that the form may belong to *du-forban* 'peruenit.' This suggestion finds support in LL. 238^b 50, *gabthi remib in certan ro-foruim* (leg. *forruim*) *for di leiss na gabra*, The little rag went before them and lighted on the haunches of the mare. Here *maidim* would not be appropriate.

⁴ In these lists some indicatives have been wrongly given as subjunctives: *-cumgaitis* p. 157, *incoisged* p. 159: see above, pp. 234 note, 297 l. 3.

these subjunctives that do not admit *ro-* must be regarded as excluded from the discussion; my remarks will apply only to the others.

87. At Sg. 203^a 6 we find **arna derñmis** cum nobis, *air dia n-denmis* cum me, *dogenmis dano* cum nobis, "That we might not make *cum nobis*, for if we made *cum me* we should moreover make *cum nobis*." Here it is impossible to make out any difference in meaning between *-denmis* and *-derñmis*. But the example points to a difference of usage in different kinds of sentences. Hence, before we seek to determine what special meaning, if any, *ro-* has in the subjunctive mood, it will be well to examine the different types of subjunctive sentences that have been considered in the foregoing pages, in order that it may be seen to what extent *ro-* forms and *ro-*less forms occur in them respectively. In this the various kinds of sentences will be taken in the order in which they have been arranged above, except that, for reasons which will appear, final clauses will now be put last.

88. § 18. In expressing a wish the present subjunctive is regularly, so far as is possible, accompanied by *ro-*. Further instances may be seen in Hy. i, 6, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 27, 30, 34, 36, 40, 45, 56; iv, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12; v, 92, 96, 103; vi, 22, 23, 26; viii, 6.¹ Compare the use of Cornish *re-*, Breton *ra-*.

89. §§ 20, 21. In expressing command, in positive sentences the subjunctive is used without *ro-*. Note the positive *nomdiusca* by the negative *nimdersaige* in the passage quoted from LU. 62^a 25. In negative sentences both forms are found, but *ro-* is more often absent than present. Additional examples from the Glosses are *ni cretid* Wb. 18^c 11, *ni gessid* Wb. 26^a 34, *ni etaighther-su*, *ni charae* ML. 56^b 31, *ni berae-siu*, *ni malurtae-siu* (by *ni derlægae-siu*) ML. 74^d 13, *ni berae*

¹ We do not find *ro-* with the peculiar forms *snaisium* i, 11, *snaisiunn* i, 27, 38, *soersum* i, 28, *ainsiunn* vi, 14, which, so far as I remember, have been last discussed by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 101. However the forms are to be explained, the absence of *ro-* reminds one of the absence of *ro-* in the later preterite *gabais* for the older *ro-gab*.

ML 94^a 1, *nisdénaith* Wb. 6^b 29, and in the third person ¹ *ní riát* Wb. 28^c 2. It will be observed that *ro-* is present only in compound verbs, cf. *ní fareba* 'thou shalt not leave' YBL. 344^c 19. In simple verbs it is not present; many more examples of this may be found in the Reglum Mochuta, LBr. 261, and in the Tecosca Cormaic, LL. 344^a, 345^a. The copula is an exception to the rule; there *ro* may be present at least in later Irish (*ní rab. nirba, nirbat*); I have at present no example to hand from the Glosses.

90. §§ 20–23. With the potential subjunctives §§ 21, 22, *ro-* is regularly used. A further instance is Wb. 30^a 10, *ní rohéla udít*, It could not escape from thee. On the other hand, after the adverb *bés* § 24 I have no example of the addition of *ro-*.
91. §§ 25–28. With the past subjunctive of doubt or conjecture, §§ 25, 26, the usage varies. To the examples given above, which will have to be considered later, add ML. 35^b 16, *toimtiu bed fou nogabtis inna dligeda inna canone fetarlaice foní fuatabarr isind nuiadnisiu*, "The opinion that the sayings of the canon of the Old Testament with reference to that to which they are applied in the New Testament"; ML. 35^b 16, *dorumenatar co m-bad fou nogabthe isint faithsi foní fotabarr isind nufiadnisiu*, "They thought that it was sung in Prophecy with reference to that to which it is applied in the New Testament"; ML. 113^c 7, *ne . . . crederetur tunc tantum adeptus imperium, i. co m-bad and nogabad flaith són*, "That it was then that he took the sovereignty"; ML. 24^d 7, *uisum sane est quibusdam quod in tabernaculorum confixione . . . est psalmus iste compositus, i. co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe insalm*, "That it was at that time the psalm was sung"; ML. 139^a 9, *co m-bad du doiri babil[on]e rogabtis*, "That they were sung of the captivity of Babylon." With *dóig*, *inda* § 27

¹ In indirect command the second person may be replaced by the third, e.g. *apair fris fíngal nisderna*, Tell him he shall not commit parricide, LL. 294^a 15: on this page such subjunctives alternate with the imperative and the future indicative. After a past tense the present subjunctive may become past, cf. LU. 99^a 28, *asbert níníon druí bátar n-é airchoille a fatha: arná echbrad a temraig cach nómaid aídche 7 ní fuimmilsed gata ina flaith, 7 na gabtha díberg, 7 ní áirsed augra in dá tíathmdil tíath maugna 7 na fóied hi taig asmbad ena soilse iar fuiniud gréne*. Here the indirect command alternates with formal final clauses.

none of the instances have *ro-*; however, none of them are of such a kind that *ro-* might have been expected in accordance with what will be laid down afterwards, and the apparent absence of *ro-* may be due to mere chance. With the subjunctive of rejected reason or fact (§ 28) the usage varies. I have no examples to add to those that have been already given.

92. §§ 31–33. In dependent interrogative sentences § 31 *ro-* is not found, but, as the instances are few, no weight can be laid on this. With *dús* § 33 *ro-* is found once, Wb. 10^a 3, but the total number of examples is small.

93. §§ 34–47. In conditional clauses, in proportion to the total number of occurrences, the instances in which the subjunctive is accompanied by *ro-* are very few. As the examples on the foregoing pages are much scattered, it will be convenient to bring them together here along with other instances that have been noted.

(a) Present subjunctive.

(a) *ma, mani-*.

ML. 89^c 11, *solis continuis cursibus pax aequabitur si fuerit iusto principis uigore fundata*, .i. *mani roima fora cenn ní mema forana bullu* (p. 264, l. 16). Wb. 28^b 28, *si quis autem domui suae bene praeesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiae Dei diligentiam habebit?* .i. *mani rochosca som a muntir intain búis cen grád, ní uisne toisigecht sochuide do* (p. 266, bottom).

As examples without *ro-*, in addition to those already given § 83, may be quoted Wb. 2^c 17, 5^b 23, 10^d 24, 25, 12^c 46, 13^b 19, 18^b 7, 29^a 16, 30^b 2, 8^a 11, 12^c 43, 12^b 23, 13^b 20; Sg. 77^a 8; ML. 40^b 2, 46^c 15, 71^c 19, 77^d 6, 94^b 10, 103^a 8, 142^b 3.

(β) *dia n-*.

ML. 107^d 4, *ut de medio nos captiuitatis educas, ne materia salutis tuae pereat, si opus pietatis tuae mors nostra praeueniat*, .i. *dia n-ærbalam-ní*¹ *ní bia nech ru íccae-siu andáe* (p. 264, l. 23).

Acr. 79, *nída animus dia n-érbala*, It will not be *animus* if it die. (The previous gloss, quoted p. 246, l. 18, has *ciatbela*.)

¹ But Sg. 181^a 5 *mani eple*.

ML. 45^c 7, tuum habens adiutorium formidare non potero, .i. *dia roib to fortacht-su lium*, "If I have Thy help."

As examples without *ro-* may be quoted Wb. 1^c 9, 5^d 23, 15^d 28, 29^a 2; Sg. 203^a 6; ML. 46^c 22, 53^b 19. In ML. 142^b 2 Mr. Stokes informs me that the MS. has *dia numsoirae*.

(γ) *cia*.

Here *ro-* is found after expressions like *is uisse* 'it is fit' (§ 40). This usage is not universal, cf. Sg. 71^a 10 (§ 40) and Psalt. Hib. 235 *olsodain nád maith fri Cirine ciasberthar*, "However, it does not seem right to Jerome that it should be said." With *cia* in its ordinary use I have noted ML. 20^d 4 *cia rubé cen ní dúib, ní rubai cenaib huli* (§ 37), and Sg. 138^a 5, in commoditate deficiunt quaedam ut si uelimus ab eo quod est cursor et risor femininum dicere, .i. *robai ar chuit folid cenid rubat ar chuit suin*, "They will be in respect of substance, though they are not in respect of sound." For examples of *cia* without *ro-* see § 83.

(δ) Past subjunctive.

Here I have only examples of *cia*:—Wb. 4^a 6, *ce rudglanta tri bathis nita cumace do chaingnim*; Féil. 241, *cia ronbeth—cath fri demon della, diar fortacht—maraid in Crist cetna* (§ 46). With *ba uisse*, etc., the examples § 43 are all without *ro-*. So further, Wb. 13^a 33, per quod et saluamini qua ratione praedicauerim uobis si tenetis, .i. *ba coir ce nachomalnithe; ropridchad mór n-amri dúib*, "It were fitting that ye should fulfil it; much of marvel has been preached unto you"; Psalt. Hib. 81, *ní animmaircide ciasbertha disi* prophetia, "It is not unsuitable that it should be called prophecy"; ib. 202, *immaircide cid isin tressluc nobeth¹ in salm asindet dond ésergu iar tredenus. immaircide dano cid isin colcatmad lucc nobeth¹ in psalm aithrige*, "It is fit that the psalm which tells of the Resurrection after three days should be in the third place. It is fit again that the penitential psalm should be in the fiftieth place." On the other hand, Psalt. Hib. 86, *ní animmaircide dono cia dorurmithe la noebseribenda*, "It is not unfitting that it should have been reckoned with the Sacred writings"; SR. 3617 (Joseph is addressed by his brethren after the discovery of the cup in Benjamin's sack), *ciambad londbrass digal Dé forn ba comadas fri ar cloenré; coir cia roncrinad co lar*

¹ Rawl. B. 512 has in both cases *nobeith*, but Harl. 5280 points to the correct reading.

icinaid ar targabal, "It were fitting that the vengeance of God should be fierce and great on us all our wicked lives; it were right that He had withered us to the ground for the fault of our transgressions"; LU. 61^a 15, *fer dorigní sin amdar lána a sé bliadna, ní pu machdád oe doronad síde dagnim ind inbuid-sea intan ata lána a secht m-bliadna déo*, "It were no wonder that a man who did that when his six years were complete, should have done a doughty deed now when his sixteen years are complete." Instances of the past subjunctive without *ro-* will be found above § 83, and Wb. 3^d 16, Ml. 74^b 12, 88^b 16, 96^a 10, Wb. 3^c 28, Ml. 35^c 18, Sg. 203^a 6:

94. § 48. With *act* 'provided that' *ro-* is regular. To the examples given § 48 add *act rocomalnither* Wb. 26^a 15, *act rocreteam* Wb. 27^a 15, *act rocretea* Wb. 27^b 15, *act ranglana* Wb. 30^b 19, *act rachomalnathar* Wb. 31^b 11, *acht asringba* Sg. 71^a 2, *acht asrobarthar* Ber. 32^b 5. The only exception that I have noted from the Glosses is *act ní bed* Wb. 10^b 27 (p. 280, l. 20).

95. §§ 50-53. In sentences of comparison the subjunctive is regularly used without *ro-*; see above § 85.

96. §§ 54, 55. With the temporal particles *intan*, etc. (§ 54), I have no cases of *ro-*; but the total number of instances is small. On the other hand, with *restu* 'before' (§ 55) *ro-* is regular in Old Irish. In Mid. Ir. *no-* is also found, e.g. LL. 124^b 42, SR. 7851, 7852, 7855. But how intimately *ro-* was associated with this conjunction is shown by the Mod. *sul*¹ and *sear* (O'Donovan Gram., pp. 157, 158), which are undoubtedly developed from *restu ro-*, *siu ro-*.

Of *con-* 'until' I have only a few examples from the Glosses. Add Ml. 129^a 14 *donec—despiciat, g. co n-dernessa i. o-rudimicedar*; and from later texts LU. 58^a 43, *ní théssid secce co n-darala nech udúb co n-én láim*, "Ye shall not go past it till one of you throw it with one hand"; LU. 63^b 4, *arná dechsad nech sechai o-ribuilsed err óencharpait*, "That no one should go past it till a warrior of

¹ *sul* is already found LL. 89^b 4, *sul bus tráthsta imbarach*, 'before this time to-morrow.'

a single chariot had leaped it"; LU. 22^b 37, *ní íb ní co n-erbara frim mo máthair 7 m'athair*, "I will drink nothing till thou tellest me my mother and my father." But the instances in the Glosses, along with those from other texts, seem to indicate that here *ro-* is regular. In LU. 57^b 24 we have *co n-étar* 'till is found,' but this is not an exception, since *étaim* is a verb that is averse to *ro-* (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 149). There is a real exception in *co fagbad* Ir. Text. i, 215, ll. 16, 18, 24, but the verse in this text is not old; I should say it is not earlier than the eleventh century.

97. §§ 70-76. In relative clauses as in conditional clauses *ro-* is rare.

(a) In periphrastic forms of expression (§§ 70, 71) *ro-* is not uncommon in sentences of the type *co m-bad de rogabthe* "It would be of that that it was sung," §§ 25, 26, 91. In all other periphrastic sentences, conditional, final, etc., it is very rare. It is found ML. 129^b 2, *iterat sane istius bona et praecepta uirtutis ut et hortantis intentio et praestantissimi incoletur operis adpetitus*, i. *corrup léir roscomallathar inti ardatuaisi* (p. 313, l. 1); but the preceding gloss on the same sentence has *coru[p] léir dungné nech in precept*, "That everyone may diligently do the teaching." So further, Wb. 13^d 21, *cíd fo gním cíd fo chésad dorróntar* (p. 270, l. 6); Wb. 5^b 18, *si quomodo ad emulandum prouocem carnem meam*, i. *sechi chruth dondrón*, "In whatever way I may do it." Additional examples of this subjunctive without *ro-* will be found Wb. 2^b 4, 5^b 10, 5^d 27, 6^b 4, 9^c 24, 9^d 22, 9^d 27, 10^a 18, 10^a 28, 11^d 6, 13^a 5, 18^b 16, 18^c 31, 25^d 20, 29^a 21; Sg. 21^b 6, 73^b 8, 120^a 2, 202^a 7; ML. 25^d 11, 32^d 5, 38^d 20 (leg. *dognethe*), 49^d 27, 51^d 2, 53^c 13, 55^a 9, 73^d 1, 103^d 16, 120^c 1, etc.

(b) In general relative clauses (§ 72) *ro-* is very rare:—Wb. 5^d 30, *prouidentes bona non tantum coram Deo*, i. *ná maith robé bad hed dognéid* (p. 312, l. 11); LL. 251^a 27, *an rochara dagne dimsa* (p. 310, l. 29); Hy. vii, 58, *Crist i cridiu cech duine immimrorda*, *Crist i n-gin cech oen rodomlabrathar*, "Christ in the heart of every man who meditates upon me, Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks of me"; Wb. 8^a 4, *non misit me Christus baptizare sed euangelizare*, i. *ut dixit, ut portas nomen nostrum coram gentibus: precept dosom didiu et todiuschad co m-bad aurlam cách dia bathis et a descipul som don bathis iarom, arnach n-aurchoisssed*

som fri ní duronad nach aile, "That he then should teach and awaken, that everyone might be ready for his baptism, and his disciple for baptism afterwards, that he might not hinder himself (?) against what another had done."

(c) In negative sentences of the type of § 73 *ro-* is rare:—
 Ml. 107^d 4, *dia n-ærbalam-ní ní bia nech runicæ-siu* (p. 314, l. 20);
 Hy. v, 67, *an dorigne do fertaib ní fail dorurme co cert*, "What she hath done of miracles there is no one who could reckon exactly"; Wb. 28^b 1, *coram . . . Deo, qui omnes homines uult saluos fieri, g. ceist cid natat sláin ind huli máthobra, quia omnia quaecunque uoluit Dominus fecit? ní anse: hóre nád comeicnigther nech fri toil.* l. *is* pars pro toto, *arni fil ceneel na belre isin biuth di[a] nadricthe nech.* l. *indíi adchobra som do hicc it hé ronice tantum*, "Question, why are all not saved if He desires it, *quia*, etc.? Not hard (to say): because no one is constrained against his will. Or it is *pars pro toto*, for there is neither race nor nation in the world of whom some one has not been saved. Or those whom He desires to save it is they whom He has saved only." Ml. 107^b 8, nihil miseriarum reliquum est, nihil afflictionis cuius iam experimenta non caperem, .i. *ní ofil frithorcain nachamthised-sa 7 nad fordamainn* (p. 316, l. 18); Ml. 80^e 9, *conna conrobæ ní roscrutais* (p. 316, l. 4); Ml. 36^a 29, quia non habebat, .i. *ní asriad do feichemain rodligestar ní do l. ní doromlad fadesin o-rairleced do*, "Because he had not, namely, aught to give to a creditor who had a claim upon him, or aught which he himself might enjoy, till it was lent him." To the examples without *ro-* may be added Ml. 33^a 5, *malis eum sine impedimento aliquo grauissimis atterebant, .i. cein nad in-bid fortacht dé desom* (leg. *dosom*?), *ní bóí ní nogabad díbsom tabart fochaide foir*, "So long as he had not the help of God, there was nothing that could prevent them from inflicting sufferings on him"; Ml. 74^b 13, *non condemnanda est conlatio nominum Dei et hominis, .i. ní dimicthi cumachtae n-dé du soirad 7 cumachtae n-duini du ingrainmim, .i. air ní bóí numsoiradsa ar chumachtae n-duini oc m'ingrainmim manimsoirad cumachtae n-dé*, "Not contemptible is the power of God for deliverance and the power of man for persecution, i.e. for there was no one to deliver me from the power of man when he persecuted me unless the power of God had delivered me."

(d) In the relative sentences of the types of § 74, *ro-* is found with the present subjunctive in two relative clauses of a potential character (cf. § 23), Ml. 33^d 10, *nem insin nad chonricthar* (p. 318,

l. 6); Wb. 17^b 6, quia quales sumus uerbo per epistolas absentes, tales et praesentes in facto, .i. *ní irbágam ná dernam*, "We boast not what we could not do."¹ With the past subjunctive there are two instances: Wb. 27^a 16, donans uobis omnia delicta, .i. *bái and ní roerthe* (p. 318, l. 14); Wb. 31^c 18, qui dedit semet ipsum pro nobis ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate et mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem, .i. *bói ní roglante and*.

98. It remains to treat of final clauses § 61 sq. This type of clause differs from most of those that have been hitherto considered, in that there is no such clear predominance of one form over the other; subjunctives with *ro-* and subjunctives without *ro-* seem at first sight to be used absolutely without discrimination. Seeing that this is so, in order that others may be better able to judge of the correctness of my conclusions or the contrary, I give lists of final clauses found in the Glosses. The lists will probably be found pretty complete for simple verbs, and for *asbiur* and *dogniu*: the substantive verb is given only from Wb. First come clauses with *aran-*, then clauses with *co con-*, and lastly the few examples of subjunctives with other particles. In each case the clauses without *ro-* precede. Under the several subdivisions the instances are arranged in the following order: (a) the simple verb, (β) *asbiur* (γ) *dogniu*, (δ) the substantive verb.

99. *aran-*.

(a) without *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 2^d 4, non est autem scriptum tantum propter ipsum sed et propter nos, .i. *ara sechemmar a bésu som* in fide, That we may follow his customs *in fide*.

Wb. 11^b 6, *is béas tra donaib dagforcitlidib molad ingni inna n-étside ara carat an rochlúinetar*, It is customary, then, for good teachers to praise the understanding of the hearers that they may love what they hear.

¹ Cf. the past subjunctive Wb. 8^a 5, non in sapientia uerbi ut non euacuetur crux Christi, .i. in qua uos gloriamini .i. *nipu nach derninn-se am, act ní tuceffither rún inna cruche mad sulbair 7 mad dn in precept*, It was not that I could not have done it indeed, but the mystery of the Cross will not be understood if the preaching be eloquent and brilliant.

Wb. 15^a 19, *is hed asbeir som hic ara tartar airmitiu féid donaib preceptorib*, .i. **ara comalnither** quod dicunt, It is this that he says here, that honour may be given to teachers, i.e. that what they say may be fulfilled.

Wb. 27^b 27, *is hed tra forchain som hic, ara tucca cách a canas, condib réil less ind inne bess and*, et **ari(n)réla do chách rodchluinethar**, It is this, then, that he teaches here, that everyone should understand what he says, so that the sense which is in it may be clear to him, and that he may make it clear to everyone who hears it.

Wb. 31^b 10, *amplectantem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est*, g. **ara scrúta cid forchana do hicc cáich**, That he may scrutinize what he may teach to save all.

Wb. 31^c 14, *non fraudantes, sed in omnibus fidem bonam ostendentes, ut doctrinam Saluatoris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus*, .i. **arinchomalnathar cach n-gdd**, That He may fulfil every want (?).

Wb. 32^a 2, *ut communicatio fidei tue evidens fiat, in agnitionem omnis operis boni, gg.*, *arimp follus* et **ara n-gaba cách desimrecht de**, That it may be clear, and that all may take an example therefrom; *ara tucid* et **ara comalnid cach maid**, That ye may understand and fulfil every good thing.

Ml. 51^a 16, *pro simili arrogantia oportet ab omni sancto orari*, .i. *ma beith ara n-dena nech dinaib noibaib huail cosmail frisinni dorigni ezechias ara n-gé dilgud 7 ara n-dena aith[r]igi amal dundrigni ezechias*, If it be that any of the saints is guilty of pride like to that of Hezekiah, that he entreat forgiveness and make repentance even as Hezekiah did.

Ml. 53^b 27, *utilitatem exhortationis inculcat*, .i. *foilsigidir són 7 doadbat nertad coitchen do chách*, .i. **ara n-ge cach dia amal dundrigni som 7 rondcechladar adi**, He manifests and shows a common encouragement to all, i.e. that all should pray to God as he did, and He will hear them.

Ml. 122^b 7, *acht is ara techta*, But it is that he may have.

Wb. 5^a 16, *do chosce inna n-israhelde asbeir som aní siu*, **arnachamóidet cid doib doarrchet**, To correct the Israelites he says this, that they may not boast though they were prophesied unto.

Wb. 28^a 20, *asbertar a n-anman arna gaba nech desimrecht diib*, Their names are mentioned that no one may take an example from them.

MI. 27^c 6, accingere in ultionem **ne insolescant**, i. **arna ecmailtigetar**.

MI. 28^d 9, **ne haec**, inquit, opinio **conualescat**, g. **arna sonartnaigedar**.

MI. 65^e 3, *biid im chorpu aiso coim leu som arna lobat in sepulcro*, It is about the bodies of the beautiful ones with them that they may not rot in the grave.

MI. 68^b 9, David instituit docens ut non magno stupore capiantur earum rerum quae in hac uita gloriosa creduntur, i. *cia beith ar n-acathar nech inna rétu inducbaidi in betha so, arnachcorathar i m-moth 7 machthad dia seire 7 dia n-accubur*, Though it be that one sees the glorious things of this world, that it may not put him in stupor and wonder to love them and to desire them.

MI. 68^c 7, dives **ne** **turgescat**, g. **arna cru[a]cha** i. **arna diummussaigedar**.

MI. 71^b 6, observatur semper admissi qualitas quantitasque **ne** poenitentiae **languescat** intentio, i. *sechis arna lobraigedar*.

MI. 126^a 4, **ne** **uadet**, i. **arna té**.

MI. 54^c 18, *hu[a]re asbered heremias friusom fesin ara n-gnetis degnimu*, Because Jeremiah used to say to them themselves that they should do good works.

MI. 102^d 1, huius deuotionis obsequium non leuiter imperatum est, i. **ara m-moltis dia cu túthrachtach ón**, That they should praise God fervently.

MI. 102^d 3, *asrubart dia friusom ara celebartis a sollumnu 7 arindmoldais*, God said to them that they should celebrate His festivals and that they should praise Him.

MI. 125^c 2, *asrubart dia hi recht ón ara sechitis a thimnae*, He said "a God in law" that they might follow His ordinances.

MI. 126^e 10, *is airi asber som is dia rodlabrastar, ara crete són nombiad iar fir ani rolabrastar dia*, Therefore he says that God spoke it, that it might be believed that what God had spoken would be according to truth.

MI. 113^d 5, *huare dorairngerad doib tuidecht a doiri, arna follaigdis gudi n-dæ dia tabairt asin doiri sin*, Because God had promised them that they should come from captivity, that they should not neglect to pray to God that they might be brought from that captivity.

(β) Wb. 5^a 5, *is hecen sainecosce leosom for accrannaib innani prechite pacem et immechuretar cori ho riguib ara n-epertar : is do immarchor chóre dotiagat ind fir so*, They deem it necessary to have a peculiar appearance on the sandals of those that preach peace and carry peace from kings, so that it may be said of them : “It is on an errand of peace that these men come.”

Wb. 7^d 8, *dobeir som ainm bráthre doib arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad act is ara seirce*, He gives them the name of brethren that they may not say the reproof is out of hatred to them, but it is out of love for them.

Wb. 30^b 17, *erit uas in honorem sanetificatum, .i. precept athirge arna epret ind heretic: hore is in contumeliam dúnni nipiam fri aithirgi*, The preaching of repentance that the heretics may not say : “Because it is *in contumeliam* to us, we will not be at repentance.”

Wb. 23^d 25, *nos autem sumus circumcisio, .i. arna eperthe, is airi robói som oc tathair imdibi hóre ní roimdibed*, That it might not be said that therefore he was blaming circumcision because he had not been circumcised.

(γ) Ml. 30^d 13, *in commune consulit ut uel emendentur uel certe caueantur, .i. ara n-dentar a n-indarbae maní eroimet a forcital 7 arna rogabthar midesmrecht dib*, That their expulsion may be wrought if they receive not his teaching, and that an evil example may not be taken from them.

Cf. also Ml. 51^a 16, p. 335.

(δ) Wb. 25^d 26, *ut non cito moueamini a uestro sensu, g. ní armad maith lessom in cumscugud mall act is arna bæ etir*, Not that He might like the slow movement, but that it may not be at all.

(b) with *ro-*.

(a) Ml. 131^d 14, *do andud a menman són ar[a r]oigsitis a tailciud asin doiri amal rondgadatár tres pueri*, To inflame their mind that they should pray to be let go from captivity as did *tres pueri*.

Wb. 10^e 14, *non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ne fratrem meum scandalizem, .i. arna derlind, .i. arna arna rimfolngar díltod do*, Lest I should scandalize, i.e. lest scandal be caused to him.

Wb. 11^b 21, *omne manducate, nihil interrogantes propter conscientiam, .i. ní áil dúib á iarfaigid arna rala for cubus*

diri, It is not pleasant for you to ask it, lest it force itself upon your conscience (lit. lest your conscience come to consider it).

Wb. 14^d 21, *ita ut e contrario magis donetis et consolemini, ne forte abundantiori tristitia absorbeatur*, .i. **arnáchróllea derchoiniud, dílgid dó et dandonid**, That despair may not swallow him up, forgive him and console him.

MI. 30^d 13, **arna rogabthar** by **ara n-dentar**, see above p. 337.

MI. 56^b 33, *a zelaueris immurgu éit sôn im ní notechtai fein* (**a**)**rn(a)chróthechta nach aile hi cutrummus frit**, The Zelaueris, however, is jealousy about a thing that thou possessest thyself that another may not possess it equally with thee.

MI. 127^a 7, *inprecatur inimico desperationem salutis*, .i. **arna rochretea m-bias lcc do hua dia**, That he may not believe that there will be salvation to him from God.

(β) Wb. 10^d 13, *omnia sustinemus, ne quod offendiculum demus euangelio Christi*, .i. **arná érbarthar is precept ar biad nammd et arna dergaba linn cretmech et arn-dom-roib-se fochrice**, That it may not be said that it is teaching for food only, and that believers may not diminish and that I may have reward.

Wb. 27^c 8, (*for*)**cain som hic seruos obedire et seruire dominis arna érbarat domini: robtar irlithi ar (moge) dúun resiu tised hiress**, He teaches here servants to be obedient and submissive to their masters, that the masters may not say: "Our servants were obedient to us before faith came."

Wb. 31^c 7, *subditas uiris suis, ut non blasfemetur uerbum Dei*, .i. **arna érbarthar: o chretsit, nintá airli (irlami? Stokes) ar m-ban**, That it may not be said: "Since they believed, we have not the control (?) of our wives."

Wb. 33^b 16, *festinemus ergo ingredi in illam requiem, ut ne in id ipsum quis incedat incredulitatis exemplum*, g. **arna érbarthar frinn a n-asrobrad fri ar coilu**, That what was said to our fellows may not be said unto us.

(γ) Wb. 4^a 5, *corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum*, .i. **arna derna peccad**, That it may not commit sin.

Wb. 16^a 24, *ciasber-sa inso, ní to bar tathdair act is do bar tinchos*, **ara n-dernaíd a n-dogniam-ni et arna dernaíd annad denam-ni**, Though I say this, it is not to reproach you, but to instruct you, that ye may do what we do, and that ye may not do what we do not do.

MI. 93^a 1, *uenite, comprimamus dies festos Dei a terra*, .i. **arna derntar a n adrad**, That they may not be honoured.

Sg. 203^a 6, ne eadem computatione adiungendum esset "cum nobis," g. **arna dermimis** cum nobis, That we might not make *cum nobis*.

(ē) Wb. 5^a 5, signum *són ara roib saingné for gnimaib inna preceptore*, That is a *signum* that there may be a special form on the deeds of teachers.

Wb. 15^d 11, et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut et qui uiuunt iam non sibi uiuant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est, i. **arna con-roib dethiden for neuch act tol dé do dénum**, That there may be no care on anyone save to do the will of God.

Wb. 5^a 26, et ego relictus sum solus, et quaerunt animam meam, *cid a n-uathath n-isiu arna roib occo*, That even this *one* should not be at it.

Wb. 29^a 7, uolo ergo iuniores nubere, . . . nullam occasionem dare aduersario maledicti gratia, i. **arna roib éicndag ind raith diadi trea peccad som**, That there may be no blasphemy of the divine grace through their sin.

100. If we look at Ml. 30^d 13 (p. 337), we see that the positive *ara n-dentar* is joined with the negative *arna rogabthar*. This at once suggests the possibility of a difference of usage in positive and negative clauses. That the distinction is not absolute is clear from the preceding examples, but it may be worth while noting the statistics for Wb. and Ml. Excluding the forms of the substantive verb, of which I have no complete collection for Ml., the case stands as follows:—

	Wb. Ml.			Wb. Ml.	
<i>aran-</i> without <i>ro-</i>	9	12	<i>aran-</i> with <i>ro-</i>	1 ¹	1
<i>arna-</i> without <i>ro-</i>	5	9	<i>arna-</i> with <i>ro-</i>	11	4

With *aran-*, *ro-*, then, is rare in both collections. With *arna-*, the ratio in Wb. is reversed in Ml. From this we are justified in inferring that at one time *ro-* predominated in negative clauses. In the later language we should expect a further diminution of *ro-* in negative clauses. Unfortunately, the conjunction ceases to be a common one, but the development seems certainly to be in that direction. Thus, from the copies of the Táin Bó Cúailnge, and the Togail

¹ Wb. 16^c 24, where *ara n-dernaid* is followed by *arna dernaid*. Can the former be a scribal error due to the proximity of the latter?

Bruidne Dá Dergga in LU., I have noted *arnáchasalachad* 57^b 16, *arna bristé* 77^b 8 by *arná rabi* 'that thou mayest not be' 84^a 30. In the Tecosca Cormaic, LL. 345^a 51 sq., in sentences of the form *nirbat comramach arnabat misnech*, "thou shalt not be contentious that thou mayest not be odious," the copula stands without *ro-* twelve times, with *ro-* once. Compare also the examples in Windisch s.v. *ara-*. The development here is the reverse of what we shall find with *con-*.

101. (a) *co, con-* without *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 6^d 11, ut abundetis in spe et uirtute Spiritus sancti, *i. is hé nodonnerta-ni co fedligmer isin frescsin foirbthi*, It is He that strengthens us, so that we may remain in the perfect hope.

MI. 39^b 8, fac mecum misericordiam ut mirentur omnes, *g. co adamraigetar*.

MI. 51^a 10, ut paenitentia expiet quod incurrit arrogantia, *i. co glanaid*.

MI. 51^c 10, hortatur ut psallant, *i. co molait sôn*, That they praise.

MI. 103^d 16, ut taceri sinas, *i. co léce*.

MI. 106^c 6, ut ad parendum tibi impiger accedam, *i. co erladaigear*.

MI. 138^c 4, idola in nostram formantur effigiem ut inanimam . . . materiem humana imago nobilitet, *g. co sochenelaigidir*.

Wb. 31^c 8, te ipsum praebe exemplum bonorum operum, *i. co n-gaba cach desimrecht dít gnímaib*, So that all may take an example from thy works.

Wb. 31^e 11, ut is qui ex aduerso est reuereatur, nihil habens dicere, *g. mad in chrud-so bemmi, i. co comalnammar a pridehimme et co m-man dessimrecht do chach*, If we be in this wise, to wit, that we fulfil what we preach, and that we be an example unto all.

MI. 58^c 6, *tiag-sa co tall a chenn*, I go to take off his head.

MI. 86^b 8, eripe me de luto ut non haeream, *i. coní gléu*.

Wb. 2^b 4, ut omne os obstruatur, *i. connáchmoidea nech*, That no one may boast.

(Corresponding to *co-* with the present subjunctive we have *co no-* with the past subjunctive, § 83).

Wb. 3^b 9, non ergo regnet peccatum in uestro mortali corpore, ut oboediatis concupiscentiae eius, *i. co noairladigthe*.

Wb. 3^d 26, *ut iustificatio Legis impleretur in nobis*, .i. **co nocomalnithe indiunni**.

Wb. 10^d 36, *ut eos qui sub Lege erant lucrificarem*, .i. **co nosberinn dochum hirisse**, That I might bring them to faith.

Wb. 19^b 22, *ut in Gentibus benedictio Abrachæ fieret in Christo Iesu*, .i. **co nocomalnide an durairngred do abarcham**, That what had been promised to Abraham might be fulfilled.

Ml. 27^b 7, *saluti meae . . . reddidisti me ut . . . in dicendis tibi laudibus occuparer*, .i. **sechis co[MS. com]numgabthae sôn**.

Ml. 32^b 13, *omnem impendebat operam ut peccatum suum deploraret* (g. **co nucoined.**), *et uelut recenti semper tristitia compleretur*, g. **co nulintae**.

Ml. 39^e 5, *ut munimen . . . inpetraret, bene . . . aduocauit exemplum*, .i. **co nulogad**.

Ml. 39^e 15, *ut primi exciperent si quos fors ictus inferret*, .g. **co nugabtis adi**.

Ml. 131^d 13, *testimonium obtineat omnes idem potuisse*, .i. **con ñ-gestais huili tadchor asin doiri** *ut fecerunt tres pueri*, That all should pray for a return from captivity, *ut* etc.

Wb. 4^a 9, *ut secundum carnem uiuamus*, .i. **co n-gnemmis gnimu colno**, That we should do the deeds of the flesh.

Wb. 8^d 26, *o-sechide humaldoit huaimse*, That ye might follow humility from me (cf. p. 294, l. 10).

Ml. 70^e 13, *nec fructuose facies si praecepta mea temerans honorem meam praedicaueris, ostentationi, non deuotioni seruies*, .i. **o-idchomallada hua gnimaib**, That thou shouldst fulfil it in deeds.

Ml. 69^a 17, *ut Deo subditus neque prosperitatibus elatus referret gratias largitori*, **onachgabad huall de**, That pride might not seize him therefrom.

(β) Wb. 32^a 20, *ego reddam ut non dicam tibi quod et te ipsum mihi debes*, g. **coni eper-sa fritso dligim ni duit**, That I may not say to thee I have a claim upon thee.

Ml. 77^a 6, *ut . . . dicereturque*, g. **co asberthae**.

Ml. 36^a 32, *ishé in sians aile: ní o-rogab terochraic ho fiur dommu ar epert a firinne less*, .i. **o-epred frisin dommae, rafetarsa at firian-su**, *acht cia fa firian tale dumsa a log ar epert do firinne lat*, This is the other sense: he did not take a reward from the poor man for testifying to his righteousness, i.e. that he should say to the poor man: "I know that thou art righteous, but though thou art righteous give me my price for testifying to thy righteousness."

MI. 28^b 11, quod uero posuit “dixit enim,” non quia in talem diues uocem erumperit sed quia ita agat, .i. **co n-epred inn insci-so**, That he should utter this speech.

MI. 70^a 6, appellat Iudeos ne iniuriosa damnatione praeiudicasse uideatur, .i. **conna epreid ainm dian doib**, That he might not give them a hasty name. (Ascoli suggests *ainsim* ‘accusation.’)

MI. 35^a 8, *ni fil ainm n-assar isint salm immurgu o-eperthe is dib rogabad int sainriud*, The name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm, however, so that it should be said that it was sung of them in particular.

MI. 69^a 21, ut appetitu rerum impetu non iudicio moueatur, .i. **co n-epred, dugén a n-noib-sa 7 ni digen argarthae se cid accubur lhum; nt eper insin**, That he should say: “I will do this holy thing, and I will not do this forbidden thing though I desire it,” he does not say that.

MI. 136^b 4, aptantur autem uerba huiusmodi, non quibus illa de se insolenter utuntur sed quae meritis eorum rite conueniant, .i. **co n-epertis ón nadmbu choir do digal forru huare ata firievin; ni ed æm insin dorigensat**, That they should say that it was not right to inflict vengeance on them, because they are righteous; that was not what they did.

Sg. 25^b 6, ne quis conetur uires in duas partes diuidere, .i. **o-epred iarum is** pars minima orationis *cechtar in da leithe sin*, .i. *ui 7 res*, So that he should say that each of those two halves, *ui* and *res*, is *pars minima orationis*.

Sg. 26^a 6, nec aliter posse examosin tractari, .i. **o-epertthae cia aiccent 7 cisi aimser derb thechtas**, That it should be said what accent and what definite time it possesses.

(γ) Wb. 21^b 9, in operibus bonis quae praeparauit Deus, ut in illis ambulemus .i. *i trédiu*, .i. *rospridach, roscomalnastar, ros-dánigestar dún co dosgnem*, In three things, to wit, He hath preached them, He hath fulfilled them, He hath granted them to us that we may do them.

MI. 23^a 6, nos errare tamen, si ea quae agenda sunt nihilominus intente faciemus, g. *mani ni nádndenam-ni acht is co dugnem*, If not (?) that we do not do it, but it is that we may do it.

MI. 20^a 14, utrumque tamen necessarium ut et Deo iugiter supplicet et probitatem admoueat, .i. **co n-dena degnim**, That he do good work.

MI. 39^a 6, dimisit—inlaesum, eligens cum metu periculis uiuere

quam mercari peccato securitatem, g. **indas nocundraiged**, .i. **o-denad f[n]gail ar chuinged soinmige do**, That he should commit parricide in seeking prosperity for himself.

Sg. 9^b 2, non est translatum ab illis in aliam figuram, g. **o-n-denta óen torand tar[a]hesi amal na heliu**, That thou shouldst make one sign for it like the others.

ML. 60^a 10, tantam mihi reditus securitatem dedit ut necessitatem transmirationis minime formidarem, .i. non, l. **coní deninn uide foto do tuidecht asin doiri**, That I might not make a long journey to go from captivity.

(ð) Wb. 14^e 23, aut quae cogito, secundum carnem cogito, **ut sit** apud me Est et Non? .i. **co beid**.

Wb. 10^b 5, reliquum est ut et qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes sint, **co beit amal innahí nadtectat setchi**, That they be as those who have no wives.

Wb. 19^d 19, fratres, obsecro uos, .i. **co bethe-si** ut sum, That ye be as I am.

Wb. 11^d 8, perscrutanda est conscientia si in nullo nos reprehendit, .i. **nanglanad tri aithirgi ona bée ní indidningaba á chocubus**, Let him purify himself through penance, so that there may be nothing for which his conscience may reprehend him.

Wb. 6^b 21, Christus mortuus est ut et mortuorum et uiuorum dominetur, .i. **co m-mimis less huili**, That we may all be with Him.

Wb. 10^d 33, omnium me seruum feci ut plures lucrificarem, **co m-betis i n-indiub fochricce damsa**, So that they might be in gain of the reward to me.

Wb. 22^d 13, quoniam non est nobis conluctatio aduersus carnem, .i. **co m-betis arma cholno leu**, That the arms of the flesh should be with them.

(b) **con-** with *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 1^a 9, desidero enim uidere uos, ut aliquid inpertiar uobis gratiae spiritualis ad confirmandos uos, .i. **ní ogthindnacul (as)mbeir som, óre rotectat ní de riam: andudesta didiu di foirbthetu for n-irisse conrufailnither**¹ a me, It is not a complete gift which he mentions, because they previously had something of it: what, then, is wanting of the perfection of your faith, that it may be supplied a me.

¹ So Zimmer, remarking, "literae *nru* parum clarae." Stokes, "*conaru* . . . , the fourth and fifth letters are doubtful."

Wb. 4^a 17, coheredes autem Christi, si tamen compatimur ut et simul glorificemur, .i. qui similes ei erimus .i. **cororannam**, So that we may have part.

Wb. 6^b 3, sed induite uos Dominum Iesum Christum, .i. *bed imthuge-si* Domino **corroaitreba indiib**, Be ye raiment *Domino* so that He may dwell in you.

Wb. 6^d 1, Deus autem det uobis id ipsum sapere in alterutrum, g. **conrechra cách aldile**, So that each may love the other.

Wb. 7^a 4, spero quod praeteriens uideam uos, .i. **oral chuairt fuiríbsi**, So that I may make a visitation to you.

Wb. 7^a 17, ut ueniam ad uos et refrigerer uobiscum, .i. **corran célide líbsi**, So that I may stay on a visit with you.

Wb. 7^e 10, ei hautem qui potens est uos confirmare iuxta euangelium meum, .i. **conrochomalnid a pridchíther dúib**, So that ye may fulfil what is preached unto you.

Wb. 12^c 33, maior est qui profetat quam qui loquitur linguis nisi forte ut interpretetur (*eo etercerta*), ut ecclesia aedificationem accipiat, .i. **corrochraitea sochuide triit**, That a multitude may believe through him.

Wb. 12^d 29, itaque linguae in signum sunt non fidelibus sed infidelibus, .i. *ished torbe nammda tra aratobarr labrad ilbelre* **conroadamrigther dia triit**, This, then, is the only profit for which speaking many languages is given, that God may be glorified thereby.

Wb. 14^b 13, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra, ut possimus et ipsi consolari eos qui in omni pressura sunt, per exhortationem qua exhortamur, et ipsi a Deo, .i. **corronertamni cách hi foditin fochide amal nonnertarni ho dia**, So that we may strengthen all in the endurance of tribulations, as we are strengthened by God.

Wb. 16^c 23, in praesenti tempore uestra abundantia illorum inopiam suppleat, ut et illorum abundantia uestrae inopiae sit supplementum, .i. **con-roigset dia n-airiuíbsi**, That they may pray to God for you.

Wb. 23^b 40, tantum digne euangelio Christi conuersamini, .i. **con-rochomalnid et a-ropridchid soscéle**, So that ye may fulfil and so that ye may preach the Gospel.

Wb. 26^b 7, Dominus autem derigat corda uestra in patientia Christi, .i. **a-rogbaid desemrecht di Crist**, So that ye may take an example from Christ.

Wb. 27^e 21, *orantes simul et pro nobis, ut aperiat Deus nobis ostium sermonis ad loquendum misterium Christi, .i. euangelium* .i. **cororélam rúna inchoínigthea et geine Crist**, So that we may make manifest the mysteries of the incarnation and birth of Christ.

Wb. 28^d 6, *exemplo esto fidelium, .i. o-rogba cách desimrecht diit*, So that all may take an example from thee.

Wb. 28^d 11, in his *esto, ut profectus tuus manifestus sit omnibus, .i. o-festar cách do foirbthetu, o-rogba cách desimrecht diit*, That all may know thy perfection, that all may take an example from thee.

Wb. 30^a 24, *ideo omnia sustineo propter electos, .i. o-rogbat desimrecht díim*, That they may take an example from me.

Ml. 42^a 4, *et notandum est quam sit in suos moderata petitio, .i. ní quid digail du thabairt foraiþ acht cor-ruanat inna arrad*, He prays not that vengeance be inflicted on them, but that they may remain with him.

Ml. 66^a 2, *bene . . . commendatur illi cura uirtutum . . . quae in timore mentis pari iungitur affectu, .i. corua-gathar in [men]mae dia la deth[id] in na n-degnimae*, That the mind may fear God with care for good works.

Wb. 17^a 13, *cid intain ronmoitsem ní bo ar seirc móidme act o-robad torbe dúibsi triit .i. o-rochrete-si et o-rointsamlithe mo béu-sa et oná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na gnimu-sin*, Even when we boasted, it was not for love of boasting, but that there might be profit to you through it, i.e. that ye might believe and imitate my customs, and that ye might not believe in any save such as did those deeds.

Wb. 24^e 8, *sicut scitis quales fuerimus in uobis propter uos, .i. o-rogabthe-si dessemrecht dínni*, That ye might take an example from us.

Ml. 39^d 22, *ut . . . iaceretur de uia modestiae suae, .i. o-idrogbad huall tria chumgabail 7 tri[a] molad doibsom*, That pride might seize him through his being extolled and praised by them.

Wb. 4^d 19, *uoluntas quidem cordis mei, et obsecratio ad Deum, fit pro illis in salutem, g. co n-daríccad dia*, That God might save them.

Wb. 26^d 7, *nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro uobis, .i. o-rogab-the-si desimrecht dínni*, That ye might take an example from us.

(β) Wb. 15^d 6, *occasionem damus uobis gloriandi pro nobis, ut habeatis ad eos, qui in facie gloriantur et non in corde, .i. co m-bad sníni for móidem-si .i. co n-erbarid-si, analdenat ar*

magiáir ní dignem-ní, So that we might be your boast, that is, so that ye may say: "What our masters do not, we will not do."

(γ) Wb. 12^b 6, ut non sit scisma in corpore, .i. *o-derna cech ball anas toisc díalailiu*, That each member may do what the other wishes.

Wb. 13^d 30, stabiles estote et immobiles, abundantes in opere Domini semper, .i. *o-dernaid na gnímu dorigéni Crist*, That ye may do the works that Christ did.

Wb. 17^a 13, si quis confidit sibi se Christi esse, hoc cogitet iterum apud se, .i. *asbeir i tossug as mug, imrádi iterum o-derna gnímu moga*, He says at first that he is a servant, he takes thought *iterum* that he may do the works of a servant.

Wb. 22^a 12, donec occurramus omnes in . . . agnationem filii Dei, .i. *co n-dernam a n-dorigeni síde*, So that we may do what He did.

Wb. 25^c 10, quoniam non posuit nos Deus in iram, sed in operationem salutis, .i. *o-dernam gnímu immafoláget hicc dúin*, That we may do works that effect salvation for us.

Per. 1^a 2, huius tamen operis te hortatorem sortitus iudicem quoque facio, .i. *ronertais damsá o-dermain hi cutrummus frim cheliu*, Thou didst encourage me to do like my fellows.

(δ) Wb. 5^d 18, spiritu feruentes, .i. *o-roib irgal désercee in spirito indiunn*, So that the valour of the love of the Spirit may be in us.

Wb. 15^b 27, semper mortificationem Iesu in corpore nostro circumferentes, ut et uita Iesu in corporibus nostris manifestetur, .i. *o-donroib ind indocbál itá crist i n-nim*, So that we may have the glory in which Christ is in Heaven.

Wb. 18^b 22, communicatio sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus uobis, .i. *co n-roib in spirut nóib indib*, That the Holy Spirit may be in you.

Wb. 21^d 5, ut det uobis . . . uirtute roborari per spiritum eius, .i. *o-roib delb in spirito foirib*, So that the form of the Spirit may be on you.

Wb. 25^d 23, oramus semper pro uobis, ut . . . impleat . . . opus fidei in uirtute, .i. *o-roib gním irissee lib i n-neurt hirisse*, So that ye may have the work of faith in the power of faith.

Wb. 26^a 28, in qua et uocauit uos per euangelium nostrum in acquisitione gloriae Domini nostri, .i. *o-robith i n-indocbáil la crist*, That ye may be in glory with Christ.

Wb. 26^b 30, Dominus pacis det uobis pacem sempiternam in omni loco, .i. **o-roib** *cora dhúib fri cách 7 do chach fribsi*, So that there may be peace to you from everyone and to everyone from you.

Wb. 26^d 22, ut consolentur (*co dodonat*) corda ipsorum instructi in caritate, .i. **co n-roib** *deserc leu fri cách*, So that they may have charity towards all.

Wb. 27^e 20, orantes simul et pro nobis, ut aperiat Deus nobis ostium sermonis, .i. **co n-roib** *buidid precepte duun trisaniccatar hili*, That we may have the gift of teaching, through which many may be saved.

Wb. 29^e 8, thesaurizare sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram uitam, .i. *condip maith a fuirec i n-nim* et **o-robat** *i n-hellug coirp crist i n-nim*, So that their provision in Heaven may be good, and that they may be in union with Christ's body in Heaven.

Wb. 16^e 24, ut et illorum abundantia uestrae inopiae sit supplementum, ut fiat aequalitas, .i. **cona roib** *diupart neich lelele*, So that there may be no defrauding of one by another.

Wb. 30^b 8, sollicite cura te ipsum probabilem exhibere Deo operarium, .i. **cona robat** *dualchi lat*, So that thou mayest not have vices.

Wb. 28^e 18, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creauit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, .i. **co n-robad** *atllugud buide do dia treu* a fidelibus, That there might be rendering thanks unto God through them *a fidelibus*.

Wb. 34^a 4, neque initium dierum neque finem uitae habens, adsimilatus autem Filio Dei, manet sacerdos in aeternum, [marg.] **o-rabad** *cech brathair* post alium, That each brother should be *post alium*.

102. The relation between *co-* and *co n-* when the subjunctive is not accompanied by *ro-* will be seen from the following tables. The numbers in brackets are those of the substantive verb from Wb.

	Wb.	Ml.		Wb.	Ml.
co + pres.	2 [3]	7	co + past	4	6
coní + pres.	1	1	coní + past	0	1
con- + pres.	2	2	con- + past	2 [3]	9 [Sg. 3]
conna, connach			conna, connach		
+ pres.	1 [1]	0	+ past	0	2

It will be seen that with the present subjunctive *co* is frequent, *con-* rare. On the other hand, with the past subjunctive *con-* is about twice as frequent as *co*. At first sight this difference is very startling, but if we consider the examples we shall discover a certain principle. In most of the instances it is clear that the subjunctive does not express a direct purpose; it is not a pure final subjunctive; it will be noticed that in almost every case the leading verb of the sentence is primary (cf. § 15). With the negatives the instances are too few to base any conclusions upon. In two cases there is an infixed pronoun, Wb. 2^b 4, Ml. 69^a 7, whether that is due to accident or design. Of the two past subjunctives Ml. 69^a 17 is apparently a pure final subjunctive, Ml. 70^a 5 is not.

103. When the subjunctive is accompanied by *ro-*, then the conjunction is regularly *con-*,¹ written *con*, *o*, or with assimilation *cor*.² There are only three apparent exceptions—*cororannam* Wb. 4^a 17, *cororelam*, *coruagathar* Ml. 66^a 2. In these cases the suggestion of Professor Thurneysen is doubtless right, that the simplification is due to the following *r*.

104. The general principles, then, are clear. With *ro-* the conjunction is regularly *con-*, without *ro-* the conjunction is generally *co*, except with non-final past subjunctives, where *con-* is frequent. In the later language the subjunctive with *ro-* prevails. Thus, in the LU. texts referred to above, pp. 339–40, I have found only the following instances without *ro-*: 61^b 21 *o-dambennachtáís*, where the subjunctive probably expresses purpose, but might express possibility; 73^a 27 *o-airlither*, unless we have here a compound verb, 82^a 26 *o-apror*, certainly final. In the same texts I have noted fourteen instances with *ro-*. The spelling *cor-*, which in the Glosses is rare, is here the prevalent one, and we find *coro-* in the sense of 'until,' where the conjunction is certainly *con-* not *co*.

¹ Cf. the use of *ro-* with *con-* 'until,' § 96.

² With the variation between *con-* and *cor-*, cf. the variation between *an-* and *ar-*, *in-* and *ir-*, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895–6, p. 81.

105. Of other final particles there are only a couple of examples:—

Wb. 15^d 40, in uirtute Dei, per arma iustitiae a dextris, et a sinistris, .i. *nachinrogba uall de prosperis, nachinrogba derchoiniud* in aduersis, That pride may not seize us *de prosperis*, that despair may not seize us *in aduersis*.

Ml. 54^d 5, illud redde uicinis nostris septuplum in sinu eorum, .i. *na ruetarscara friu a caire*, That their reproach may not part from them.

All the instances are negatives and all have *ro-*.

106. So far, then, concerning the distribution of *ro-* with various kinds of subjunctives. And this very distribution casts some light on the position of *ro-* in the verbal system in the earliest stage of the Irish language of which we have any historical record. Before a particle could have come to be treated so mechanically it must have ceased to have, for the most part at any rate, any distinctly appreciable force. Of course it is a mere truism to say that *ro-* must at one time have been significant. That it should have become so intimately attached to certain kinds of clauses, can be explained only on the supposition that there was something in the original signification of the particle that rendered it especially suitable for such clauses (cf. § 111). In the Transactions of this Society, 1895-6, p. 146. I have followed in the footsteps of other scholars in assuming that the original force of *ro-* was, to use the terminology of Slavonic grammar, perfective. And this I still hold to be the correct view. A very strong argument in its favour is to be found in the fact pointed out in that paper that *ro-* is almost entirely absent from the *s*-subjunctive, a descendant of the Indo-Germanic perfective tense the sigmatic aorist. And from it may very well be explained the regular usage of *ro-* in certain clauses. Thus, to take a single instance, with *roisiu* 'before' *ro-* is regular except with the *s*-subjunctive, and with the subjunctive of compound verbs that do not admit of *ro-*. Compare with this the fondness of Greek *πρίν* for the aorist (cf. § 111). But I was wrong in admitting that in historic Irish *ro-* was any longer felt to have such a perfective force. A prolonged study of the Irish subjunctive with much fuller materials than I then had, has convinced me that in the oldest known Irish the

formal distinction of perfective and imperfective action is unknown. One has only to compare the Irish subjunctive with the Greek to see the vast difference between the two languages. In favour of this view, too, may be urged the fact that it is only in certain classes of Irish verbs *ro-* forms and *ro-*less forms exist side by side. If the Irish had had a feeling for the difference of perfectivity and imperfectivity such as the Greeks had, they would surely have devised some means, either by the use of Indo-Germanic forms as in Greek or by new formations as in Slavonic, of carrying it through the whole verbal system.

107. So far, then, concerning the general question. But a general rule admits of exceptions, and it is necessary to consider whether there may not be some cases in Irish in which *ro-* has still some distinct force. Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* ii, 123-4, after Ebel, *Gramm. Celt.* 413, holds that *ro-* may give to a present and an imperfect (what I call a past) subjunctive the force of a perfect and a pluperfect respectively. This use of Latin terminology is unfortunate, for a language that did not distinguish between the perfect and the pluperfect in the indicative is not likely to have felt the need of such a distinction in the subjunctive. Still, let us look at the facts. And let us start with the past subjunctive. Here in certain clauses *ro-* seems to have, as Ebel pointed out, a very clear shade of meaning. But that this usage developed directly from the perfective force of *ro-*, I do not believe. Before going further I must call attention to a fruitful observation by Delbrück, in the new volume of his "*Vergleichende Syntax*," p. 390. After mentioning '*Modusverschiebung*,' he proceeds with reference to Latin: "Ohne mich hier näher auf die Erklärung einzulassen, nehme ich nur von der Thatsache Akt, dass im abhängigen Satze oft ein Subjunctiv erscheint, wo im unabhängigen Satze ein Indikativ steht, und dass diese Subjunctive die Bezeichnung der Zeitstufe gewissermassen aus ihrer früheren Existenz mit herüber nehmen." Let us see if anything can be got from this for Irish. Suppose we wanted to express in the language of the Glosses, "Though it has been [as a matter of fact, in past time] purified through baptism, it is unable to do well," we might say: *ce rudglanad tre bathis, nita cumacc do*

cháingnim. But if we are speaking not of what is, or is assumed to be, a fact, but of a mere supposition which may or may not be true—"Even supposing it to have been purified by baptism [we do not know or profess to know whether this purification has taken place or not], it is not able to do well"—how might that be expressed in accordance with the above? Surely by *ce rudglanta tre bathis, nita cumacc do cháingnim*, and so it stands in Wb. 4^a 6. According to my theory the peculiar force of *ro-* with the subjunctive here is derived, not directly from its perfective meaning, but is due to association with the indicative.¹

108. Such is the principle that seems to me to underlie this use of *ro-* with the subjunctive in which it serves to denote time past. We must now illustrate the usage, and see how far it extends.

Perhaps it is most clearly seen in the subjunctive, which is used in rejecting a suggested reason or fact § 28. Here the subjunctive with *ro-* clearly refers to past time. Take, for instance, Wb. 16^a 23: if this had been presented in the form of a direct statement, we should have had *ní dergensid-si anisiu*, "Ye did not do this." Similarly, in all the other sentences in which *ro-* is present the preterite of the indicative would have been used in direct statement. On the other hand, in every instance but one in which the subjunctive is not attended by *ro-* the direct statement would have had the present indicative; in fact, in every case the present indicative stands side by side with the subjunctive. The exception is Ml. 62^d 5. Here we should certainly expect in direct statement *ní robatar ar cinta fríusom*. That the glossator had in his mind past time, is shown not only by *robummar* but also by the following gloss on the same Latin sentence: *durigénsat som frinni cen torgabail friu*, "Which they committed against us without offence against them." How this exception is to be explained, is not clear to me. We shall find more instances of the same kind in other varieties of clauses, most of them from Ml. From the similarity between *r* and *n* confusion between *ro-* and *no-* is very easy,

¹ So I would explain the past sense which *ry-* gives to the infinitive in Welsh, Gramm. Celt. 419.

and as *ML.* swarms with copyist's errors it is not certain that in any particular case *no-* is not a clerical blunder. But it would perhaps be too bold to get rid of all the instances in this way. Can it be that the formal expression of past time was not always felt to be necessary? Or did the language come to confuse an old distinction? (Cf. *com-bad ed atberad*, p. 308, l. 12.)

In the sentences cited §§ 25, 26, 91 this usage is very transparent. Take *ML.* 139^a 9, *co m-bad du doiri babil[on]e ro-gabtis*, and compare with it the neighbouring glosses in which in direct statement the preterite indicative is employed. Here, again, there are one or two instances, all in *ML.*, in which *no-* is apparently used in a sense not appreciably different from *ro-*. With these there is the same doubt as in the case mentioned before. It may just be noted that the copula does not take *ro-*.

Instances of this usage with *cia* will be found § 93^b; a typical example has been already given § 104. The example with *coir* from *SR.* may be similarly explained: "Though He had already withered us, it is no more than we deserve." Still clearer is *LU.* 61^a 15, "It were no wonder that he should have done a brave deed (the deed had already been done)": cf. *Sg.* 65^a 1, quoted p. 306, l. 6. In the instance from the *Psalt. Hib.* 86 we may have a reference to past time. But in similar sentences *ML.* 35^a 9, *LU.* 60^a 35, we have *no-* though the action is already past.

The only remaining type of clause in which this usage clearly appears is the relative clause. The cases will be found in § 98. We will take first the clearest examples: *Wb.* 28^b 1 (§ 98^c), *ní fil ceneel na belre isin biuth di[a]-nadricthe nech*; that the verb of the relative clause is past relatively to the main verb, is clear from the preterite *ronicc* that follows. So in *ML.* 107^b 8 (§ 98^c), the Latin and the general context indicate that the reference is to the past, not to the future. In the same way in *Wb.* 8^a 4 (§ 98^b) *duonad* means, I think, not what anyone might do in the future, but what anyone might have already done. On the other hand, in *ML.* 36^a 29 (§ 95^c) we seem to have a different use of *ro-*; the having is a necessary preliminary to the enjoyment, and I would compare the use of *ro-* with the past subjunctive here with the use of *ro-* with the present subjunctive in *ML.* 107^a 4,

Hy. v, 67 (§ 97*c*, 109). In the same way I would take Ml. 80^c 9. As to Wh. 27^a 16 and 31^c 18 (§ 98*d*), I am uncertain how to classify them.

109. It appears, then, that Ebel's idea that *ro-* might give a peculiar force to the past subjunctive is correct. Of course, this use of *ro-* is limited to those verbs that admit of this particle; in the case of the others the relations of time had, under the same circumstances, to be inferred from the context, and even in those verbs where *ro-* is permissible the Irish usage is by no means entirely parallel to the Latin. The Irish language is much less precise than the Latin; time-relations, which in Latin are formally expressed, must often in Irish be inferred from the context. Of this numerous examples will be found in the foregoing pages. Compare, for instance, the Irish text with the Latin in Ml. 131^d 19, 73^d, § 41. Or, again, look at the subjunctives with *amal*, § 51, where the time-relations are altogether unexpressed.

110. Ebel says further that the addition of *ro-* to the present subjunctive may change it to a preterite (perfect, Zimmer). Here it seems impossible to follow the great Celtist. Of the examples that he gives we must exclude at the outset clauses with *aet* 'provided that,' in which, as we have seen, *ro-* has come to be a constant formal element. This leaves over some few cases of *ro-* in conditional, concessive, and relative clauses, §§ 93*a*, 98, and one with *dúis*, § 92. That in these sentences *ro-* has any reference to past time, I cannot perceive. In most conditional and concessive clauses I am unable to see that it alters the meaning in any perceptible way. In Ml. 20^d 4 (§ 93*a*, γ), it might, indeed, conceivably have a potential force—"though he might be without some of them"—but this is far from certain. In some relative clauses it seems, as has been pointed out in § 99*d*, to have a potential force. In the others I can discern no special meaning, and the principles that regulate the usage are as obscure to me as in conditional clauses.

111. If, then, in the greater number of instances *ro-* has no appreciable significance, how is its distribution to be accounted for? In essaying to answer such a question, I am aware

that I am on very shaky ground. Still, even at the risk of appearing to be fanciful, I would venture to throw out some suggestions for consideration. If the distribution cannot be explained from Irish itself, one can hope to solve the problem or bring it nearer to solution only by the comparative method. Naturally the first thing to do would be to call in the help of the British languages. But there, to judge from Atkinson's collections—I have none of my own—the circumstances are so different that little real help is to be looked for from that quarter. That this should be so need not surprise us, since the British languages in their earliest known stages are so much more broken down than the Irish. Since the help fails us, it is necessary to go farther afield. It has been held above that the primary significance of *ro-* is perfective. If that be so, then one would naturally turn to a language like Greek, where perfective and imperfective action is well distinguished. Now for Greek it has been pointed out that some kinds of clauses, from their nature, favour the perfective mode of expression: compare Sturm's remarks on the prevalence of the aorist with *πρίν*,¹ with which was compared above (§ 106) the usage of the Irish *resiu*. One might perhaps, then, tentatively formulate some such theory as the following:—In some kinds of clauses from their very nature the perfective mode of action prevailed to a greater or less extent over the imperfective. In Irish this state of affairs was further accentuated by analogy; in some kinds of clauses the representatives of the Indo-Germanic perfective forms prevailed wholly or for the most part, in others the representative of Indo-Germanic imperfective forms gained the day. Of course this is speaking very roughly; the oldest Irish that we have is not so very old, and, apart from the comparative method, one can only form some conjecture about a period still earlier by observing the tendencies of the language within historical times. Nor do I profess to be able to carry the explanation throughout. I would only call attention to one or two points that make in favour of the above hypothesis, and leave the rest to time and to the students of comparative syntax. One of the strongest parallels, that between the construction of

¹ "Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionem mit ΠΡΙΝ," p. 42.

Greek *πρίν* and of Irish *roisiu*, has been noted already. In Irish we have seen (§ 96) that *con-* 'until' regularly has *ro-*, where possible. Compare with this the use of *ἕως* with the aorist, Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 614, and of the Homeric *ἄφρα, εἰς ὅκε*, §§ 615, 616. With the final *ara n-*, *ro-* is most common when the clause is negative. Compare the remarks of Weber ("Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze," i, p. 60) on the natural fondness of the negative clause for the aorist. With the subjunctive of will and command *ro-* is found only in negative clauses; this again suits well with the Indo-Germanic use of the aorist injunctive with **mē* (*μη*). In expression of wish *ro-* is regular. In Greek, to judge from the examples in Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 722 sg., the aorist is more frequent than the present. So much for comparison with Greek. In Irish, *act* 'provided that' is regularly followed by *ro-*; here the completion of the action is naturally before the eye. Note also the distinction pointed out above, § 102, between the use of *con-* in pure final clauses and in others. Why *con-* in final clauses should so frequently have *ro-*, is hard to say. Can it be due to association with *con-* in temporal clauses? The two chief forms of clause that mostly dispense with *ro-* are conditional and relative clauses. Perhaps further investigation of cognate languages may throw some light on this too.