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I.—THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB IN THE OLD
IRISH GLOSSES. By J. STRACHAN.

[*Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, February 10, 1899.*]

THE substantive verb has already been discussed from the etymological point of view by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the Transactions of this Society.¹ The object of the present paper is a different one. It is to consider, not the origin, but the actual usage of the component parts of the verb 'to be' in the oldest extant documents of the Irish language. As in some of my former papers, the subject is divided into two parts—(I) Materials, a collection of the instances of the various parts of the verb; (II) Remarks, a discussion of any points which seem to require consideration. With regard to the Materials, the lists of instances will be found to be tolerably exhaustive, and, for the rarer parts of the verb, I trust, absolutely complete. Only for the commonest form of all, *is*, complete collections have been given only for the first part of the Würzburg Glosses, from the rest of the glossatorial literature have been given only instances which seemed to have some special interest. The abbreviations are the same as in my previous paper on the Subjunctive Mood.

PART I. MATERIALS.

This part falls into two sections—(1) the accented forms, or, as they are commonly called, the forms of the substantive verb, (2) the unaccented or copula forms. For the difference between the two sets of forms see below, pp. 48 sq.

A. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

The present indicative is made up of a number of different verbs, the usage of which will be considered in Part II.

¹ The paper is reprinted in KZ. xxviii.

(a) -táu.

- Sg. 1. attóo, attó:—*ni. di chorp atóo-sa* **Wb.** 12^a 21, *is oc precept sosceli attó* 21^c 19, *is occa attóo* 26^d 8, *is occa attó-sa* 29^d 6, *is ara precept attó-sa isslabrid* 23^a 2, *ató oc combáig* 26^d 17.
- 5 -táu, -tóo; -tó:—*aní i-ttóo* **Wb.** 17^d 24, *i-táu dar cenn sosceli* 32^a 10, *imnedaib hi-tó* **MI.** 92^b 8.
- Sg. 2. atái:—*is nanaicci atái* **Wb.** 5^b 27.
 -tái:—*aní hi-tái* **Wb.** 5^b 38.
- Sg. 3. attá:—*ata in coimdiu* **MI.** 30^b 27, cf. 51^c 17, 55^d 21,
 10 *ata* **Sg.** 40^b 11, 109^a 3, 201^a 8, 9, *ata trede tadbhat som*
 Wb. 13^c 26, cf. 32^a 22, *ata dechor immeffolngat* **Sg.** 3^a 11,
 atá Dia atach n dúnni **MI.** 66^d 1, *is amne atáa* **Wb.** 6^a 19,
 is samlid atá 27^a 11, *olisamein attáa* 32^a 6, *dó foisitin ata*
 Tur. 58, *ní amal dundatmecetar-su atá du mes* **MI.** 106^c 11,
 15 *huare is intrinsecus atá in gnim* **Sg.** 139^a 3, *is ar chonsain diuit*
 atá i and 7^b 14, cf. 9^b 13, *ní diib attáa briathar less hic*
 Wb. 13^a 16, *etir Israheldu atá sôn* **MI.** 102^a 7, cf. **Sg.** 152^a 1,
 ní fu indidit ata irascemini sunt acht is fo imchomare ata
 MI. 20^b 13, *is frisandliged remeperthe ata in cosmailuso* 32^d 6,
 20 *is hi tuaisciurt slebe síoin ata in chathir* **MI.** 67^d 8, cf. 66^d 8
 (*áta*), *hi tintud Chirini ata inso* 103^d 26, cf. **Sg.** 28^a 3 (*atá*),
 45^a 14 (*atá*), 52^b 1 (*atá*), 113^b 3 (*atá*), 139^a 1 (*atá*), 165^b 1
 (*atá*), 188^b 1 (*atá*), *is and atá (MS. at) gnim tengad isind huiliu*
 labramar-ni **MI.** 31^b 23,¹ *is lib atá a rogu* **Wb.** 9^a 23, *is la*
 25 *Greco ata a n-dliged sin* **Sg.** 95^b 1, *uand aitherrect- atá a*
 n aitrebthach **Sg.** 32^b 7, cf. 197^a 2 (*ata*), 209^b 10, *is oc maid atáa*
 Wb. 6^a 18, cf. 29^d 6 (*atáa*), *is ósib atá* 2^b 7, *resin chanoín hisiu*
 atá a trachtad **MI.** 57^a 12, *is triit ata gloriatio* **Wb.** 2^b 15,
 taræsi indi as penitus ata sôn **MI.** 51^d 22, *ata ní archiunn* **Sg.**
 30 39^b 10, *aiá de* **Wb.** 12^a 22, *ata di thrummain a fochado insin*
 MI. 23^a 19, cf. **Sg.** 1^a 2 (*attá*), *hóre atá hessérge dúib*
 Wb. 25^c 13, *atá inotacht dúnni* 33^b 5, cf. 27^a 15, *ata*
 nech du bar n-deicsin **MI.** 82^a 7, *atá mordechor etir deacht 7*
 doinacht **MI.** 26^b 1, cf. 58^a 11, **Sg.** 38^a 8, 203^a 16, *atá etarro*
 35 *i m-medón* 151^b 5, *atá dethiden fuiri* **Wb.** 3^d 34, *atá comarde*
 fuiri 21^a 5, *ata dechor n-aisendissen for cach as* **MI.** 114^a 14,
 cf. **Sg.** 197^a 11, *attáa a deolid iar cúul cáich* **Wb.** 31^c 15,

¹ In **Sg.** 222^a 8 for *is comasidís attá* should be restored *is i comasidís attá*.

atá brithem and 6^b 25, cf. 10^b 27, **ML.** 40^a 20, 47^a 14, **Sg.** 67^b 7 (*ata*), *atá tairmthechtas persan* hic 220^a 10, *atá Spiritus Sanctus in nobis* **Wb.** 15^d 36, *hore ata erist in me* 40 19^a 19, cf. 10^b 25, *atá a suide i n-nim* **ML.** 30^b 28, *ataa i cach epistil a sainchomarde sin* **Wb.** 26^b 31, *ata i libraib rig* **ML.** 40^a 21, cf. 2^c 2, 30^b 16 (*atá*), 50^d 16, 55^c 10, **Sg.** 146^b 15 (*atá*), 197^a 11 (*huare ata*), 202^b 4 (*atá*), 209^b 29, 214^b 1 (*atá*), *atá i n-ascniud chaich denum maith* **ML.** 14^c 12, *hóre attá innar* 45 *leid* **Wb.** 4^b 11, *atá brithem la suidið* 9^c 2, *atá olo n-aill lib* 9^c 3, *atá torad la gnimu soilse* 22^b 26, *ata digal aile les for pecthachu* **ML.** 94^c 17, *atá imfreca lesom* 136^c 3, 4, *atáa lib uile* **Wb.** 7^d 5, cf. 10^d 2, 16^c 8, *atá leusom di forcerid a n-dudesta airibsi* 14^a 33, *hóre (atá li)ð fuiss* 25^b 1, *is derb lium attá latsu* 29^d 14, 50 *attáa lemsa a sainred-sa* 32^a 5, *atá linn ní* **Sg.** 40^a 11, cf. 149^b 7, 167^a 4 (*ol atá*), *atá ocoscibunt beus* 213^b 4.

-tá:—ni-[m]-tha cumachtæ n-do **ML.** 140^b 7, *massu bethu frechdiro tantum no-m-tha* **Wb.** 13^c 10, *ní-t-ta ní inditmoide* 2^b 12, *ní-n-tá airli ar m-ban* 31^c 7, *ind indochál no-b-tá in* 55 *futuro* 14^c 16, *ní-b-tá torbe de* 19^b 10, *ní-s-ta som cumang domm orcuin-se* **ML.** 60^d 3, *nitha diameit* **Wb.** 5^b 10, *hota* (Stokes nota) **Pcr.** 12^a 3, *isin beothu i-túa Iesu* 3^c 2, cf. 4^a 19 (*i-ttá*), 6^b 6, 15^b 27 (*i-tá*), **ML.** 137^a 1 (*hi-ta*), *an i-táa cuntubart libsi* **Wb.** 13^a 35, *lassa-ta sians* **ML.** 124^c 15. 60

Pl. 1. *attaam:—ni uainn fesine ataam for tectiri* **Wb.** 15^a 13, *massu amnin ataam* 13^c 12, *attaam i cuimriug* 32^a 28.

Pl. 2. *ataaid, ataid:—isamlid ataid-si* **Wb.** 4^a 4, *masu du réir Spirito ataaith* 20^b 16, *is eter caratnaimta ataaid* 23^c 28, *is oca ataaid* 33^d 7, *hore ataaith-si immelei* 10^a 6, *hóre ataad* 65 *i cath* 22^d 14, *ataid i n-hiris* 33^c 13.

-taid:—ní nach cin aile notaid dom **Wb.** 19^d 26.¹

Pl. 3. *attaat:—ataat am in chrutsin* **Sg.** 140^b 1, cf. 188^a 19, *ataat mesai Dæ nephchomtetarrachti amal abis* **ML.** 55^d 11, *ataat da n-orpe rogab Abrancham* **Wb.** 2^c 21, cf. **ML.** 21^d 4, **Sg.** 10^a 1, *is* 70 *pro omnibus gradibus ataat sidi* **Wb.** 21^d 1, *ciasa for oin fiur ataat* **ML.** 34^d 6, cf. **Sg.** 27^a 7, *is i Crist ataat* **Wb.** 9^a 18, cf. 12^b 6, 26^d 20, **Sg.** 120^b 7, *is ondi as alo ataat* 56^b 8, *is oc bar less ataat* **Wb.** 25^c 16, *is samlaid ataat* **Sg.** 191^a 5, *ataat ilsenman do suidiu* **Wb.** 12^c 46, *ní sochude diib ataat and* 75 8^a 17, cf. **Sg.** 71^b 9, *ataat réte hic* **Wb.** 13^d 4, cf. 18^d 9,

¹ According to Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 391.

ataat uili isin chorp sin, 12^a 16, cf. 31^d 8 (*hore atta*at),
MI. 37^a 10 (*huare ata*at), 145^d 7, **Sg.** 28^a 4, 29^b 6, 188^a 2,
 203^b 10, 209^b 29, ataat iltintudai leu **MI.** 3^a 14, *atta*at scela
 80 linn **Wb.** 18^d 4, *ata*at oc timthirecht 14^a 30.

-*ta*at:—*anem hi-tat* (leg. -*ta*at?) *aingil* **MI.** 42^b 10, in *suidig*-
*hi-ta*at **Sg.** 71^b 3, *hua-ta*at **Sg.** 32^a 9, cf. 59^a 11, 197^a 2, **Pcr.**
 12^b 2 (*ho-ta*at).

Impersonal passive: *tathar*:—*is hed dathar dom* **Wb.** 21^c 9,
 85 cf. 28^d 4.

In composition with *oln*- and later *in*- this verb has the sense
 of 'than.' For the extra-presential forms see pp. 16, 18.

Sg. 1. *oldáu*, *oldó*:—*is sochrudiu láam oldó-sa* **Wb.** 12^a 21, *is dildiu*
ammag rogab súil oldó-sa 12^a 25, *as mao oldáu-sa* **Sg.** 45^a 15.¹

Sg. 2. *oldái*:—*bid ferr oldái* **Wb.** 1^d 21, *oltaí* **MI.** 112^c 2.

Sg. 3. *oldaas*:—*móa oldaas oén sill*-, **Sg.** 68^b 8, *ba ferr oldaas*
 90 *a dígal* **Wb.** 9^c 21, cf. 11^b 17, 12^b 2, 14^d 10, 18^d 14, 20^b 9,
 23^c 15, 33^d 9, **MI.** 89^d 6, 92^a 9, 105^b 7, 112^b 13, **Sg.** 42^a 9,
 21^a 2, 6^b 7, *ni ansu dúnni oldaas do chách* **Wb.** 22^a 16,
 quantum expeditior est ψ quam *ps*, g. *oldaas* π **Sg.** 16^a 5,
oldaas n-ermitnigthi feid **MI.** 137^d 1, *condib ferr donberaid-si*
 95 *oldaas cách* **Wb.** 16^c 9, *is móa dongni som oldaas duntlucham*
 21^d 9, cf. 32^a 25, *oldaas ata n-diglaidi* **MI.** 111^c 8, *oldaas*
bes findfadaach (quam esse beatum) 56^b 44, *oldaas itirndadibed*
 (g. quam perimeret) 45^c 6, *oldaas bid iniquos asberad* 59^a 7,
 non aliter quam, g. *oldaas* **Sg.** 7^b 4, 9^b 7, nec non pro, g. *oldaas*
 100 19^a 3; *oldoas trichtaige* **Bcr.** 3.

indaas:—*ni mesa* *indaas* (**MS.** *indas*) **MI.** 34^a 5,
 cf. 24^d 23, 35^c 31, 47^a 14, 54^a 11, 62^b 10, 64^c 22, 83^a 6,
 85^b 11 (*indáas*), 91^d 8, de praestantior persona .i. *indaas*
ar tomus-nai 26^b 6, *is laigiu són indaas chumachtai* 26^b 6,
 105 in hoc magis nomine fidebamus *indaas hi cairptib* 7 *indaas ar*
n-erbud innar neurt 43^d 3, cf. 22^c 14, 67^d 13, 72^b 18, *indaas*
toirthech 84^a 3^b, *indaas amser m-bife* (?)² 86^d 11, *is assu*
turbáil essi indaas cech cré 85^c 14, *erechdu* *indaas*
dunarchechainn 64^c 22, *indaas as saindiles* 86^d 18, *is mou*
 110 *dundrigensat indaas conidrairleis-siu* 87^a 8, cf. 119^d 8, *ni*
bed uilliu indaas rondbói m'ingnas 136^b 7, *is uilliu són indaas*

¹ Here may be mentioned the isolated *adoasa* 'than I' **Tur.** 26, cf. *ata-siu*
Ir. Text. ii, 213, *ata Trip. Life*, 148, l. 7; further, **O. Ir.** *adaas*, *adas*.

² Leg. *imbi*?

nadndene 23^c 20, *indaas bemmi* 105^b 6, *indaas dorogbáinn* 39^a 18, *indaas bid praeceptóir asidindissed* 42^b 18, cf. 123^c 10, 135^a 13, nihil tam insanum quam ut uenerentur g. *indaas* 60^b 3, cf. 60^b 9. 115

- Pl. 3. *oldate*:—*oillu oldate cibicét* **Wb.** 13^b 2, tanto melior .i. *oldate ind angil* 32^b 5, cf. **ML.** 47^c 20, 48^c 26, 63^c 6, 94^d 3, 112^b 20, 126^c 9, *is ferr deserce oldate uili* **Wb.** 12^b 35, cf. **ML.** 131^a 6, utilia magis quam speciosa .i. *oldate inna suaccubri* 59^c 7, *ba uissiu diuib oldate pecthe do buid and* 120 **Wb.** 9^d 3, citius diuites egebunt quam timentes Deum .i. *oldatue* **ML.** 53^c 7; *oldata maicc* **Sg.** 30^b 12.

indate:—*it ailliu . . . indate ind anai* **ML.** 43^d 18, cf. 88^d 1, 90^b 5, 98^c 5, 100^c 26, 138^c 4, 138^d 10, *huilliu adcumnet indatas chlaiddib* 77^a 1, plus obtinebunt gloriam .i. 125 *indate inna edbarta fulidi* 87^b 6.

In composition this verb forms certain adverbial or prepositional phrases.

*cenmithá*¹ 'besides' (governing the accusative):—**Wb.** 6^a 25, 8^a 2, 9^d 7, 24^a 18, **ML.** 17^d 9, 61^a 37, 67^b 12, 92^a 10, 103^a 7, 135^d 1, **Sg.** 21^b 10, 24^b 3, 29^b 8, 58^b 7, 65^a 11, 150^b 3, 179^b 2, 200^a 3, 15, 202^a 1, 211^a 2; *cenmathá* **Wb.** 130 33^a 4, **Sg.** 56^b 13, 71^b 27.

hothá 'from' (the opposite of *corricci*):—**ML.** 15^c 2, **Sg.** 60^b 7, etc.

iarmitha, **ML.** 58^c 16.

(b) *Fil.*

fil (relative):—*fil ní de as fir* (that there is) **Wb.** 11^d 2, 135 *ised inso fil ón* **ML.** 118^d 21, *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* **Sg.** 178^a 3, *a fil ar mo chiunn* **Wb.** 24^a 15, *na rree fil á terra* **Bcr.** 18^c 3, *fallunt fil ar chiunn* **ML.** 43^a 9, *fil ar chinn* 96^a 11, *inn imthanad fil foraid* 42^c 2, *asin gerint fil for deil[b] ains-* 68^c 14, *ord airic fil fuiri* **Sg.** 4^b 9, *it he persain fil iarna chul* **ML.** 91^c 11, 140 *dechor fil eter lanamnas et ógi* **Wb.** 10^b 21, *a n-dechor feil eter corpu nemdi* 13^c 26, *is medóntestimin á fil etarru* 27^d 19, *a n-dechor feil ettarru* 33^b 18, *is bec n di dechor fil etarru* **ML.** 72^c 9, *inna fer fel and* **Wb.** 4^c 1, *inna ciallu mrechniighi fil ánd* **ML.** 26^c 2, *a tobac fil and* 26^c 2, *is ernaigde fil and* 145

¹ Cf. *cenminon* **Wb.** 16^b 6, *cenmanun* **ML.** 88^d 13. In **Wb.** 8^d 28 read *cenmi nom accipisti*? In **Sg.** 201^b 18 we should probably read *cenmithá*, cf. 202^a 1.

- 38^c 11, *issi in ciall fil* and 63^a 2, *issi ciall fil* and 74^c 21, *issi inso chiall fil* and 88^b 11, 90^c 24, *issi chiall fil* and 94^b 17, 128^a 6, *issi chiall inso fil* and 121^c 8, cf. 114^c 7, *ni emnad fil* and 76^d 2, *issi persann fil* and 90^a 12, *connid ed inso fil* and 91^a 19, *issi inne*
150 *inso fil* and 91^a 18, *issi inne fil* and *inso* 110^d 18, *issed fil* and **Ber.** 45^c 6, *cach gnúis fil* and **Sg.** 3^a 11, *ind foilsigthe fil* and 211^a 8, *a sanctis fil sunt* **MI.** 37^a 10, *cech n-infinit fil sunt eis* 42^c 33, *a m-memoratus est fil hi sunt* 98^c 10, *is hé a foxlaid*
. . . . *fil sunt* **Sg.** 32^b 7, *a salutes fil tall* **MI.** 42^b 5, *ind*
155 *rún 7 ind etercert fil hi suidib* **MI.** 2^d 2, *is fir fil indiunni* **Wb.** 14^c 24 (bis), *a fil innar cridiu-ni* 15^a 7, *ecclesiae Galatiae .i. fil in Galitia* 18^c 3, *den maith fil in hoc psalmo* **MI.** 35^c 11, *ni fubthad fil isind lassir* 40^c 2, *forsa uissitam fel in psalterio* 47^c 17, *forsa n-ideo fil in psalmo* 50^d 4, cf. 6, *uerba .i. fil isint*
160 *salm* 50^d 4, *is cursachad fil isindi as non* 55^c 10, *forsna doini fil isin dú sin* 56^b 2, *forsin dib ciallaib fil isind emulari* 56^b 37, *inna cethri forsu fil isint salm* 58^a 11, *discriptio .i. fil isind salm* 70^a 1, *inne fil indib* 74^d 7, *is inunn ciall fil isin dligud-sa* 76^a 13, 77^b 1, *issi inne fil isindi as fluit* 83^b 1, *a m-manifestare*
165 *fil isind salm* 101^c 5, *is ed fil i n-deriud int sailm* 102^c 5, *in seculo fil issind salm* 103^b 10, *intliucht fil isindi as ueritatem* 112^d 2, *is inunn intliucht 7 chiall fil isindi aerubart* 112^d 2, cf. 114^b 1, *issi inne fil hi cechtar do* 114^b 1, *ised a n-dechur fil isind aliter so* 115^a 2, *amét mis fil isind nóidéadu* **Ber.** 45^c 2, cf.
170 45^c 3, 4, 5, *forsa m-memor fil in psalmo* **MI.** 128^c 5, *superior .i. fil isint salm* 136^a 6, *issi fil isind aitherrech-* **Sg.** 30^b 6, *in dram fil indib* 41^b 10, *in chiall fil indib* 59^b 3, *is ciall chesto fil indib* 140^a 5, *ind Roim fil hi Constantin-* 174^a 1, *ni si fil in his* 177^a 1, *inna inne fil isind sera* 183^b 3, *intellectu*
175 *.i. fil hi cach rainn* 189^a 4, *aitrebthach co n-artucol fil hi* 198^b 9, *int atárcud fil hi sui* 200^a 8, *sensus .i. fil indib* 202^b 1, *a cenél cét- fil isindi as mare* 211^a 14, *ind anne fil inna choms-* 211^b 6, cf. 211^b 7, *fil in uisu* **Acr.** 54, *hore is óen rad fil linn* **Wb.** 13^b 9, *taibrid a fil lib* 16^c 17, *ueritatis .i. fil lib* 26^a 26, *in chumachtai fil linni* **MI.** 26^b 6, *int ómun fil lasuidib* 42^d 9, *is ed inso fil lasuide* 63^d 4, *donec transeant insidias fil lasude* 75^a 10, *issi inso canoin fil lasuide* 90^c 23, *dund lathar fil la Dia ocar n-ditin-ni* 103^d 27, *do cach bétru fil la Grecu* **Sg.** 31^b 13, *a peleides fil ondi as pelias* **Per.**
185 12^b 1, *rendaib fail huas gréin* **Ber.** 18^c 4, *frisa religo fil huandí as ligo* **Sg.** 181^b 1, *dind aithuch labar fil oc du dibiuirciud* **MI.** 58^c 6,

diis fil oc turebáil grene 94^b 18, *inna canone se fil rom* 68^d 11, *forsa n-expectantes fil riam* 74^c 9, *frisani fil riam* 142^c 1. With suffixed pronoun, *filus tre chenele martre* **Cod. Cam.** 38^a 38^b.

file (relative):—*indí as infimas file hodie* **Sg.** 200^b 3, *ignaros* 190 .i. *file con fathi* **ML.** 93^a 7, *file* (that there is) *lathar n-Dé di dóinib* 51^c 11, *is mór in dethiden file domsa diibsi* **Wb.** 26^d 19, *eternam uitam .i. file duit i n-nim* 29^c 1, *in fochrico file do i n-nim* 29^d 29, *issed file do hodie* **Sg.** 140^a 3, *amal file bentid eter baullu* **Wb.** 12^b 12, *fidem g. file strunni* 195 31^a 11, *in chuartaí .i. file etir forbru 7 gruade* **ML.** 39^c 12, *file choibnius eter sechma- 7 todo-* (that there is) **Sg.** 151^b 7, *na rei file iter na secht n-airndrecha* **Acr.** 1, *corroffessid file cuimrecha formsa* **Wb.** 23^a 5, *inna imthanad .i. fele forsaib rathib* **ML.** 93^c 7, *is diall fem- file fair* **Sg.** 93^b 2, *ord gutte* 200 *file foraib* 159^b 6, *dindi file mrechtrad forsind remepertu* 197^a 16, *nec in nominibus .i. file for diull prono.* 204^b 7, *in son file iar cul indí as sanctus* **ML.** 37^a 18, *masu 7o file iarna chúl* **Sg.** 148^b 9, *lasinn uile talnuin file inna insi* **ML.** 89^d 18, *a r-rad file andsom* **Wb.** 29^d 29, *ni etarscarad com-* 205 . *file and* **Sg.** 74^b 8, *ni aithrech chétbada file sunt* **ML.** 98^d 2^b, *cezu choma- ó dib n-ogaib file hisuidiu* **Sg.** 75^a 5, *in rect comaceobuir file i m-ballaib cáich* **Wb.** 13^d 27, *is hed file indiunni* 14^c 25, *donterchomrue nóib file i Corint* 14^b 5, *donaib nóibaib file in Achaia* 14^b 6, *inna firinne file isind Ebrae* **ML.** 210 2^d 11, *secht n-ernadman* (so Windisch) *file isind saltair* 2^d 2, *similitudo .i. file i n-epistlib ind apatoil* 26^a 2, *is erigém file is intluc toisech* 36^b 15, *is mites file isin tintud septien* 46^c 5, *hi testinib file isint salm* 46^c 14, *file hi lebraib paralip* 49^a 2, *ised inso file isind Ebrae* 54^a 33, *a n-oculi file isint salm* 53^a 19, 215 *ind huili doini file isin talam* 51^d 11, *ornatus astrorum .i. file isind nim* 51^c 29, *cech todochid[iu] file riam isint salm* 98^c 10, *promissionem .i. file isind salm* 108^b 16, *ingenitam bonitatem .i. file indiut* 106^c 15, *omnia .i. file isind salm* 133^b 16, *in ipso actu .i. file indibsom* **Sg.** 139^a 2, *in ciall ind ildatad ind* 220 *atraib file inddib* 198^b 3, *ishe a trachtad adi file inna diad* **ML.** 46^c 14, *it hé coisnimi inso file libai* **Wb.** 7^d 13, *file* (that there is) *rath Déo latso* 12^d 20, *consequentia .i. file la Assaru* **ML.** 36^c 6, *deds file lesom* 114^d 6, *issed file la Lait-* **Sg.** 20^b 8, *file athir leiss* 29^b 12, *file chóimmdith leiss* 29^b 13, *Graeca eadem habentia .i.* 225 *file apud Graecos* 67^b 8, *seruant eadem genera .i. file la Grecu indib* 69^a 27, 69^b 1, *confil linni hisind oin sech-* *a file leosom i n-dib*

- sech- 160^b 2, multarum apud nos .i. *file linni* 214^a 1, *dond forcomét file lasuidib* 214^a 3, *na cumachte file a Deo* **Wb.** 6^a 3,
 230 *scisco file ondi* [as] *scio* **Sg.** 155^b 1, *titulus .i. file ressind argumeint seo* **MI.** 64^c 11.
 -*fil*:—*conách fil etir* **Wb.** 27^a 20, *nad fel dliged remdeiscen Dæ dia dulib* **MI.** 20^b 10, 20^c 5 (*nad fil*), 50^d 2 (*nad fil*), *nió-fil son* 92^a 8, *nach fil quod fil sunt eis* 101^a 5, *ni fail* **Sg.** 32^a 1,
 235 *ni fil chumtubairt* 154^b 2, *ni-s-fil hodie* 178^b 2, *ni fil ni* 183^a 2, *ni fil* 207^b 3, *cenod-fil a n-erchre* 193^b 7, *ni fil solad n-aill forasernte* **Wb.** 18^c 8, cf. 18^a 2 (*nió-fil*), 28^b 1, **MI.** 17^a 15, 19^d 2 (*ni fel*), 31^d 10 (*nió-fil*), 29^d 5 (*nad fil*), 60^b 2 (*ni feil*), 55^c 13 (*nió-fel*), 78^b 18 (*ni con-fil*), 92^a 9 (*ni fail*), 111^b 11
 240 (*ona fil*), 107^b 8 (*nió-fil*), 114^b 18 (*nad fil*), 129^c 2, **Sg.** 6^b 25 (*ni fail*), 26^b 7 (*ni fail*), 114^b 2, 188^a 4 (*nicon-fil*), *o-fail infini-and ar geni-rangabala* **Sg.** 88. 3, *ni fil ráthugud for suidib* 181^a 1, *ni fil taidchor do* **Wb.** 3^a 14, cf. **MI.** 30^b 2, 55^d 25, **Sg.** 192^b 5 (*cenod-fil*), *ni fil fial etronn et Crist* **Wb.** 15^a 32,
 245 *ce rubaid fo pheccad nach-ib-fel* 3^b 19, cf. 3^c 38 (*con-dum-fel*), *forna fil erchot* **MI.** 56^a 13, cf. **Sg.** 197^a 16 (*nad fil*), *nád fail prænomen fria n-dechrugud* 28^a 14, *ni fil iar fir* **MI.** 93^d 12, *ni fel saithar nant* **MI.** 48^c 29, cf. 18^c 11 (*ni con-fil*), 69^c 7 (*ni fail*), **Sg.** 31^b 12, 52^b 1, 215^a 2 (*ni fail*), *cenud-fil gnim*
 250 *7 chesad hisuidiu* 209^b 29, *manud-fel in spirut nóib indtumsa* **Wb.** 11^c 1, cf. 14^c 24 (*amal na fil*), 19^c 20 (*manudub-feil*), 24^c 4 (*con-dib-feil*), 24^a 33 (*con-id-fil*), **MI.** 35^a 8 (*ni fil*), **Sg.** 4^a 12 (*ni fail*), 6^b 2 (*ni fail*), 32^a 9 (*ni fil*), 61^a 24 (*ni fil*), **Pcr.** 12^b 2 (*ni fil*), *ni fil linn in bées so* **Wb.** 11^c 20, *cini-n-fil lib* 16^b 9, *cona fil dualchi leu* 20^c 1, *ni fil* 22^b 26, *cinid-fil chairi linn* **MI.** 30^a 2, cf. 27^d 10 (*nad fel*), 44^b 11 (*ni fil*), 57^c 5 (*ni fil*), 55^c 10 (*ni fil*), 76^c 14 (*nad fil*), 107^d 12 (*manud-fil*), 124^a 8 (*ni fil*), **Sg.** 46^a 15 (*cenid-fil*), *ni-s-fail liumm inna briathra sin* **MI.** 44^b 12, *nicon-fel leu* 46^c 19, *ni-s-fil leo*
 260 **Sg.** 208^b 3, *nád fail nechtar de hualailiu* 37^b 19, *ni fil noch and oce t'adrad* **Wb.** 5^a 25, *ni feil titlu remib* **MI.** 2^b 4.

(c) *Bín.*

- Sg.** 1. *biuu*:—*biuu-sa oc írbaig* **Wb.** 16^d 8.
 -*bín*:—*intain no-m-biu oc írbaig* **Wb.** 20^a 3, *co m-biu i cuim-rigib* 30^a 22.
 265 **Sg.** 3. *biúd*:—*biúd* **Sg.** 150^b 4, *biúd insin* 69^a 22, *inn ecenocht tantum biúd iar fir anisin* **MI.** 111^a 9, *for láim deis* *biúd*

circius **Ber.** 19^c 2, cf. 19^c 3, quia *biid* panther et panthera **Sg.** 62^a 3, cf. 20^b 3, 75^a 7, 94^a 4, 114^b 1, *is trisan dede ain biid duine slán* **Wb.** 4^d 33, *ní frí do biid foindel inna m-biasta* **ML.** 121^d 8, *is immaccu biid son* **ML.** 32^d 10, *is etarru biid* 270 *immacaldaim* **Sg.** 200^b 7, *is i retaib nebaicsidib biid spes* **Wb.** 4^a 24, cf. **Sg.** 25^a 2, 212^a 13, *is triit biid ainmnigud inna dulo* 76^b 7, *biid cachae [ar] alailiu* 11^b 5, *biid Sethus pro Zethos* 184^a 1, *biid són do togarmthid* 78^a 2, *biid do anmmaim inna cathrach* 104^b 5, *biid . . . do fóisitin, biid* 275 . . . *do molad* **Tur.** 58, *biid cid etir iltrebu* **ML.** 37^d 10, *biid for deib n-dillib* **Sg.** 106^b 17, *biith galar neclis fortsu* **Wb.** 29^a 26, *biid non fri[sa] sugeserat* 14^d 12, *biid im chorpu* **ML.** 65^c 3, *biid intinnscann and* **Sg.** 148^a 11, *biid chiall intamlae isindí as zelaueris* **ML.** 56^b 33, *biid est hi foetsecht* 280 **Sg.** 27^b 2, *biid i n-vs la Atacdu* 106^b 4, *biid sainlda leiss* **Wb.** 6^b 16, *biid ar cuit-ni occa* 24^a 20, *biid aslach oc eráil* **ML.** 95^b 6, *is and biid neutur húad* **Sg.** 104^b 5.

-bí:—*ní bí a cumbo hisin i n-diutius co n-m* **Sg.** 22^a 9, *ní bí cello* 182^a 1, cf. 203^a 27, *núd bí iar fir* **ML.** 91^d 1, *nadm-bí* 285 *hi freondaire* **Sg.** 208^a 4, cf. 161^a 4 (*ní bí*), *conna bí ní fristai* **ML.** 31^d 6, *ní bí i sleduib . . . frisgni* **Wb.** 27^b 3, *ní bí in dasachtach friændar (?)* 28^a 21, *co m-bí remib rethith iarum* **Wb.** 13^b 13, *co m-bí iarum coscitir* 22^c 10, *co m-bí oin corp pectho asmberar* **Wb.** 9^d 5, *ní bí som tribus pedibus* **Sg.** 290 67^b 2, *ní pí glæe, ní pí firderb* **Wb.** 12^c 12, *ní bí indumaichthiu* **ML.** 35^d 17, *conna bí oin choms-* **Sg.** 157^b 10, *ní bí oen éill- acht it desill-* 68^b 3, *co m-bí elifas* 95^b 7, *co m-bí discipul* **Wb.** 13^a 12, *co m-bí diass mór ind óengránne* 13^c 23, *indhí lasm-bí accobur tol* **Dæ** 30^c 23, cf. 8^d 10 (He in 295 whose opinion he is wise), *co m-bí bidslún* 4^d 33, cf. 28^b 24, *ní pí cian a masse* 28^c 25, cf. **ML.** 15^b 15 (*cona bí*), 34^a 27, 42^c 9, 91^d 2, 116^a 1, 128^d 3, *isind aimsir im-bí failid nech* 86^d 11, *im-bí hinun folud bis indib* **Sg.** 188^a 6, *ní bí nach cumachtach cen peccad* **ML.** 103^c 3, *di[a]nacon-bí móin* 85^b 7, 300 *ní bí cland dia n-æs* 57^d 6, *ní bí chondumu do degnimaib* 35^d 17, *diam-bí forarithmet* **Sg.** 197^b 18, *ní bíi debuith do fri nech* **Wb.** 28^b 25, *quid na bí samlid dúibei* 18^b 9, cf. **ML.** 47^d 8 (*frisam-bí*), *ní bí adaig daitsiu* 140^c 3, *co m-bí filius familiarum nominatiuo*¹ **Sg.** 91^b 1, *ní bí ní elarro* **Sg.** 150^b 6, cf. 27^a 9, 209^b 33, 305

¹ So in 99^a 3 we should supply *biid* Iouis nominatiuo; cf. 78^a 2, 206^b 1.

- 54^b 3 (*nádm-bi*), *ni bi in ri fu mdam nach aili* **ML.** 71^b 10, *ni bi nach delhiden foir* **Wb.** 10^b 9, *forsam-bi sliucht* **Sg.** 200^a 7, *ni bi friu hi comasindets* 212^a 5, *cona bi talam and* **ML.** 31^c 29, *foram-bi Kl. caich mis* **Bcr.** 32^c 7, *ni bi super and* **ML.** 45^d 15, 310 *cf.* 82^d 6 (*ona bi*), 97^a 4, **Sg.** 45^b 7, *im-bi xl loman* **Wb.** 17^d 3, *cf.* **ML.** 29^b 11, 139^b 8 (**MS.** *hi bi*), **Sg.** 95^a 1, 95^a 2, **Tur.** 9, **Bcr.** 18^d 2, *him-bi son re n-o* **Sg.** 164^b 2, *nad m bi ni du ailgen indi* **ML.** 94^c 8, *ni bi som i l-lestur ferce* **Wb.** 22^b 4, *cf.* **ML.** 100^b 21, 122^a 15, **Sg.** 219^a 1, *ni bi in fine* 159^b 4, *nach du im-bi isnaib salmaib* 315 *iustitia* **ML.** 109^a 2, *lasna bi ciall* **ML.** 50^d 2, *ni bi sainlása lasuidib act is abstanit doib semper* **Wb.** 6^b 17, *cf.* 16^b 11 (*nad bi*), 29^b 11 (*ni pí*), **ML.** 44^d 6 (*conna bi*), 69^b 3, 50^d 1 (*nadm-bi*), *ni bi leo insin* **Sg.** 147^a 10, *a cognomen hom-bi* 32^b 4, *cf.* 32^b 15 (*huam-bi*), 45^a 10, 188^a 30 (*huam-bi*), **Acr.** 17 (*huam-bi*), **Tur.** 320 10 (*huam-bi*), *ni bi ni tarahesi* **Sg.** 165^b 3, *peccad trisam-bi baás* **Wb.** 3^d 21, *cf.* 23^b 5 (*tresam-bi*), **ML.** 30^d 14 (*trisam-bi*).

*robí*¹:—*iarsindi ro-m-bi hi rigi* **ML.** 99^d 1, *ro-m-bi fri tobarthid* **Sg.** 98^b 1, *ro-m-bi cechtar de sech alaill* 29^b 16, 18, *hórbi lín* **ML.** 36^b 3, *horbi accobor læ* **Wb.** 24^d 11. Here 325 seems to belong also **Sg.** 45^b 1 *robbi uar recar less* = there may be a time that it is needed.

-*rubi*,¹ etc.:—*ni rubi noctar de cen alaill* **Wb.** 11^c 17, *ni rubi tinfed ar belais x* **Sg.** 21^b 13, *ni rubai censaib huli* **ML.** 20^d 4, *ni rubai nach cruth ailiu* **Sg.** 7^b 3, *ni rubai anisin in nominatiuo* 330 209^a 3, *ni ruba n-and ni* 3^b 28.

biis, bis:—*is cummae m-bis ualetudo gnartae 7 ualetudo sonartae* **ML.** 61^a 33, 20^c 4, *huare m-bis curritur* **Sg.** 140^b 2, *cf.* 57^b 3, 77^b 2, *as n-gair m-bis* **ML.** 57^c 12, *cf.* **Wb.** 8^d 22 (*bis*), *bis a oinur* **ML.** 102^a 17, *amal m-bis ingen* 335 **Wb.** 10^b 4, *amal m-bis inne neich* **ML.** 37^a 12, *cf.* **Tur.** 14, **Acr.** 35, 44, *biis ar chiunn* **Wb.** 13^c 21, *cf.* 24^a 17 (*bis*) **ML.** 108^c 16 (*bis*), *intan m-bis ar chonsain* **Sg.** 6^a 1, *cf.* 182^b 3 (*bis*), 207^a 3, *intain biis cen grad* **Wb.** 28^b 28, *as menio m-bis confitebor du atlugud bude* **ML.** 26^c 4, *amal m-bis dund eún sin* 340 118^b 10, *cf.* 72^d 12, **Sg.** 6^b 11, 191^b 1, *a cobás m-bis etur n di rainn* 2^b 2, *cf.* 150^b 1, *inni bis fua m-mám* **ML.** 75^b 6, *in dlúim* *bis forsin mertrech* **Wb.** 9^d 5, *cf.* 10^c 6, **ML.** 16^b 7 (*bis*), 23^a 5, 51^b 18, **Sg.** 115^a 2 (*bis*), 207^a 8, 161^b 12, **Tur.** 115, **Bcr.** 33^b 1, *is cummae m-bis*

¹ Formally these can hardly be anything but indicatives, though in sense they approach to the subjunctive, *cf.* Part II, p. 60.

- fri togais* **MI.** 31^a 23, *am-bis iarna chiul* **Wb.** 24^a 17, *bis* 345
immun fins **MI.** 102^a 13, sicut *bis* and [*amal*] *sodin* 21^c 10, cf.
 28^a 10, 30^b 21 (*bis*), 90^a 10, 108^b 7, **Sg.** 148^a 12, 183^a 2,
 198^a 7, 222^a 6, *is cián m-bis* and **MI.** 100^a 10, *bis inna suidiu*
Wb. 13^a 12, *bis isind encas* **MI.** 24^a 19, cf. 2^c 3 (*bis*), 22^b 1,
 36^b 2 (*bis*), 40^c 13 (*bis*), 40^c 15, 44^d 8, 54^a 25, 56^b 26, 59^a 15 350
 (*bis*), 61^b 28, 93^b 13, 94^c 3, 4, 108^a 11, 13, 114^a 17, 120^b 1,
 132^c 8, **Sg.** 3^a 3, 3^b 19 (*bis*), 4^b 4, 9^a 8 (*bis*), 18^b 1 (*bis*), 18^b 2,
 20^b 8 (*bis*), 26^a 3, 27^a 12 (*bis*), 42^b 5, 45^a 9, 106^b 21 (*bis*), 161^b 8
 (*bis*), 162^b 2, 165^a 1 (*bis, bis*), 166^a 5, 211^a 11 (*bis*), 214^a 2, 217^a 2,
Ber. 33^b 16, *fir bis i n-arim* **MI.** 111^c 17, *bis pén* in futuro **Wb.** 355
 15^a 16, cf. 17^b 3, *failli bis isin matin* **Sg.** 203^a 22, *amal m-bis*
cometid lammaccu **Wb.** 19^c 15, *di neuch bis la nech nad bí latso*
 16^b 11, *ní firadrad . . . bis leu du Dia* **MI.** 42^a 14,
 cf. 56^b 33, **Sg.** 29^b 19, *intan m-bis lasani as ego* 198^a 2, *céin*
ní-bis oc fognam **Wb.** 8^b 1, cf. 9^c 27, **MI.** 102^b 7 (*bis*), 360
Sg. 190^b 3 (*bis*), *do lestur . . . bis oc edpartaib* 56^b 7,
bis re sech- 153^b 3, *bis tar bruinniu* **MI.** 144^c 7, cf. **Sg.** 172^a 3,
bis tarahési 218^a 6, *in bochtai bis tri airchellad* **MI.** 90^a 11.
- Pl. 1. *bimmi, bimme*:—*céin m-bimme* in corpore **Wb.** 12^c 11,
intan m-bimmi oca forbu **MI.** 15^a 4, cf. 22^c 5, 24^a 18. 365
-biam:—*ona biam i n-gorti* **Wb.** 16^a 8, cf. 16^a 9, 27^b 13,
im-biam **MI.** 21^c 3.
- Pl. 3. *bíit, biit*:—*cair ho bíit* **Sg.** 242^b 1, *biit alaili and rofinnatar*
a peotho **Wb.** 29^a 28, *biit sualchi and it foilei* 29^a 29, *is for*
n-bin n-deilb biit semper **Sg.** 201^b 6, *in i coms- fa hi comas-* 370
biit 217^a 1, *ní huaitherrehtaig- mascu- biit* 32^b 2 cf. 54^b 6,
biit a triur do anmaim ind eúin 93^a 2, *biit rems- huarab cen*
briath- leo 215^a 6, *biit fris huli samlaid* 76^b 2, *biit anmmann*
dilei hi cach n-deilb 31^a 7, cf. 54^b 3 (*biit*).
- biat*:—*ní biat* **Sg.** 148^a 4, *huare nadm-biat na compariti* 375
 40^b 14, *nad biat etir* 39^a 25, *co m-biat fo deod* 212^a 12, *foam-biat*
accai **MI.** 59^d 7, *ní biat rems- friu huarab* **Sg.** 215^a 5, *frisim-biat*
 202^b 3, cf. **MI.** 31^a 17, *imm(u)am-biat* 18^b 4, *cíd aram-biat in*
peothaig isnaib soinnechaib 55^d 11, cf. 56^b 9, **Sg.** 6^b 17 (*ní biat*),
im-biat **MI.** 36^a 18^b, 47^c 14, 54^b 13, 56^b 15, 65^c 16, 76^d 14, 380
 94^c 3, 113^a 4, 121^d 10, **Sg.** 31^a 7, 35^a 13, *lasam-biat*
MI. 75^b 2, *nad biat hua breth-* **Sg.** 153^a 1, **Pcr.** 60^b 1, *oam-*
biat 45^a 8, cf. 192^b 3.
- robiat*:—*robiat ar chuit folid* **Sg.** 138^a 5, *robiat sídi cen*
draim 71^b 8. 385

- bíte*:—*m-bíte* **ML.** 135^b 2, *is cummas bite* **Sg.** 63^b 15, *intan m-bíte a n-bínur* **Sg.** 207^a 7, *amal bite in gnimai* **ML.** 31^b 25, cf. 127^c 12, *intan m-bíte cen tuisliu* **Sg.** 220^b 1, *bíte fo maam* **ML.** 88^b 5^b, cf. 89^c 8, 105^b 1, **Sg.** 212^a 13, *bíte forsin mertrich* **Wb.** 9^d 8, *bíte frie anechtair* **ML.** 40^c 15, *bíte im chrechtu* 144^c 5, *bíte i n-geas* **Wb.** 9^d 28, cf. 16^a 30 (*bíte*), cf. **ML.** 24^b 12 (*bíte*), 43^a 7 (*bíte*), 47^c 3 (*bíte*), 122^a 4 (*bíte*¹), **Sg.** 50^a 19, 59^a 10, 73^b 2, 212^a 13, *hilar datu inna aimsire m-bíte som isind fognam* **ML.** 28^b 9, *bíte i coitecht* **Wb.** 13^a 14, cf. **Acr.** 395 62, 63, *bíte hua neutur* **Sg.** 150^a 2, cf. 187^b 5, *bíte oc pennit* **Wb.** 9^c 11, cf. 9^a 11 (*bíte*), **ML.** 65^b 10, 115^d 14, 131^c 8.

Passive: *bithir*:—*huare is hi fochaidib bithir* **ML.** 56^b 15.

bither:—*intan m-bither in periculis* **ML.** 108^b 4, *im-bither oc comét ubúll* 100^c 21.

(d) *Rongab.*

- 400 *rongabus*:—*cein rongabus i carcair* **Wb.** 23^b 18, *is samlaid nobiad chách amal rongabusa* 9^d 25, *biid amal rongabus-sa* 23^c 11.
- rongab*:—*rongab scientia lib* **Wb.** 6^d 12, *rongab* (that there is) *remcaissiu Dé dinaib dulib* **ML.** 20^c 3, *rongab coimdiu comacua les dia fortacht* 30^b 11, *rongab a n-dede-so for briathraib* **Sg.** 405 158^b 3, *amal rongab comadnucul duin atá comeisséirge* **Wb.** 27^a 15, *aisendis nuallach . . . isindisiu amal rongab hi tosach a aisendisen* **ML.** 40^d 18, *ni fítelar amal rongab* (they know Him not as He is) **Wb.** 27^a 11, *amal rongab i n-anmmanaiib slond persine* **Sg.** 71^b 10, cf. 71^b 11, *amal rongab indosa in drong briathards* 159^b 5, *ata lobru amal rongab cride* **Wb.** 12^b 1, *amal rongab Antias* (g. ut Antias) **Sg.** 65^b 3, *amal rongab int ainmnid asa tuitear* 71^a 12, *fobith rongab torsum 7 tortum* 172^b 1, *huare rongab i n-uilin* **ML.** 131^c 12.
- 415 *rondgab*:—*amal rondgab sliab Sion andes 7 antuaid du[n]-chathraig dia ditin sic rundgabsat ar n-da thoib du ditin ar n-inmedonach-ni* **ML.** 67^d 14, *biid chiall intamlas isindi as zelaueris amal rundgab isindi as emulari* 56^b 33, *amal rondgab saichdetu dochum luic in aduerbiis atá dano in praepositionibus* **Sg.** 214^b 1, *amal rondgab isin masc-* 75^b 2, *amal rongab in nomine perso-* 71^b 11, *amal rundgab* (g. ut eum dicit) **ML.** 16^d 4, *amal rundgab in beuidbart sin* 87^b 9, *amal rondgab amo* **Sg.** 71^a 8, *amal rondgab proximitas i n-ad* 217^a 2, *huare rundgab sôn and* **ML.** 32^d 5, *lassani rundgab lat a n-dede-so* 65^a 2, *ondi*
- 420
- ¹ **ML.** 30^b 26 seems incomplete. Read *intan m-bíte isnaib fochaidib*?

rondgab (g. ab eo quod est) **Per.** 53^b 1, *arna roib amal rondgab in popul truag-sa* **ML.** 118^c 5. 425

rongabsat:—*amal rongabsat in tuisil hituiter* **Sg.** 71^a 11.

rondgabsat:—*is follus rundgabsat t'erchoilti-siu indiumsa* **ML.** 74^d 7, *cona m-mrechtrad and amal rundgabsat isind eclais* 64^c 5, *amal rondgabsat i n-optit* (g. ad similitudinem optatiuorum) **Sg.** 190^b 6, *cia indas rundgabsat* **ML.** 55^c 1, *sic 430 rundgabsat ar n-da thoib du ditin ar n-inmedonach-ni* 67^d 14.

(e) **Dicoissin.**

dicoisin:—*amal do-n-coisin* **Wb.** 17^b 10, *arnab uilib cumactib dicoissin i n-nim* 21^a 13, *cach genitiu dicoissin* **Sg.** 209^b 29, *cech rann neirt duchoissin* **ML.** 108^d 14.

(f) **Dixnigur.**

Sg. 2. **-dixnigther**:—*cia hé nundixnigther-siu g. qui sis* **ML.** 75^c 9. 435

Sg. 3. **-dixnigedar**:—*is nad dixnigedar nach æcne* **Wb.** 9^c 14, *ni dixnigedar* **ML.** 20^c 7, cf. 23^a 1, 51^c 15, 55^c 10, 103^d 24, **Sg.** 22^b 3, 37^b 17.

Pl. 3. **-dixnigetar**:—*amal dixnigetar* **Wb.** 12^b 7.

Imperfect.

Sg. 1. **nóbiinn**:—*intan no-m-biinn hi sóinnmigi* **ML.** 108^b 1, *lase 440 no-m-biinn-se lasinnisin* 58^d 9, cf. 91^c 1.

Sg. 3. **nóbith**:—*no-m-bith* **Sg.** 148^b 6 (= **Per.** 58^b 1), *nóbith himm chenn* **Sg.** 54^a 11, cf. **ML.** 83^a 4, *intan no-m-bith inna ligiu* **ML.** 55^c 19, *nóbith leo cum in principio et in fine* **Sg.** 203^a 3, *nóbith digaim leo* **Sg.** 9^b 10, *ba oc imradud chloine nóbith* 445 **ML.** 55^c 19.¹

-bith:—*ni bith chomdidnad damsa indib* **ML.** 62^b 6, *cein nadm-bid fortacht Dé desom (do-som?)* 33^a 5, *co m bith loch foraið* 129^d 15, *integdaís i m-bith Ezechias* 61^b 22.

Pl. 3. **nóbitis**:—*innahi nóbitis dam huam chairtib* **ML.** 86^d 6, *nóbitis 450 fua mdam* 71^b 12, cf. 85^d 7, *is hi tilchaib ardaib nóbitis adi* 14^a 9, *nóbitis oc timthirecht* **Wb.** 10^d 17.

-bitis:—*ind luicc hi m-bitis airdixi e 7 o* **Sg.** 5^a 15, *locc i m-bitis primsacairt oc írnigdi* **Wb.** 10^d 15.

¹ In **Tur.** 152 we should probably read *do cach óin nobith* (MS. *bith*) *hi croich*.

Preterite.

(a) With *ro-*.

- 455 Sg. 1. *robá*:—*robd occ a n-aithisigiud Wb.* 28^a 9, cf. *Sg.* 148^a 15, *ciarudbá i n-imniud Ml.* 44^b 19, *intain ro-m-bá issuidi Wb.* 24^b 23.¹
 -roba:—*inna soinnmige hi-roba-sa Ml.* 44^c 4, cf. 62^a 13, 62^c 7, 87^b 18.
- 460 Sg. 3. *robói*:—*robói aimsær nadrochreitsaid Wb.* 5^c 10, *in samlaid insin robói a flaithemnacht Ml.* 18^a 8, cf. *Sg.* 203^b 5, *is airi robói som oc tatháir Wb.* 23^d 25, *is fua maám robói Ml.* 71^b 14, *is la dethriub namma roboi atrab n-Dæ intain sin* 66^d 4, *is tri humaldoit roboi ind airtiu hisin, is tri fer robói in tris diltud dosom Tur.* 106, *robói du chensi Duaid* 55^d 4, cf. 98^c 6, *robói debuid do Philomóin fri suide Wb.* 31^d 19, *robói do ainmnid 7 do genitin apud ueteres Sg.* 206^b 1, *robói do insin Sg.* 163^b 8, *robói commant n-etarru Ml.* 78^b 11, cf. 137^c 8, *robói a saindodead for cach* 100^a 3, *robói Crist i colinn Wb.* 15^d 14, cf. 23^d 11, 28^c 12, *roboi frescissiu lesom Ml.* 60^a 4, *robói la arsaidi altera utra Sg.* 75^b 2, *robói dethiden mór oca togu Ml.* 131^c 13; (relative) *aidchi roboi Ml.* 55^c 1, *ind fáille robói dó libsi Wb.* 16^b 2, *providentia .i. robói dam do Dia Ml.* 108^a 5, *inné inlainne robói dosom im Dia* 62^a 2, cf. 62^b 9, *in maceries robói eter Dia et duine et robói eter corpu et anmana Wb.* 21^b 15, cf. *Ml.* 103^b 14, 131^c 17, *robói fo máam augairi* 100^b 16, *dath glas roboi forsind sleib* 84^d 4, *imniud robói forsín popul* 103^b 9, cf. 46^a 19, *robbói fora indsluicht som Sg.* 178^b 3–4, *roboi impé Ml.* 66^d 25, *is est nammd robói and Wb.* 14^c 31, cf. 27^a 18, *Spirut noib robói in profetis Wb.* 13^a 16, cf. 13^b 1, 15^a 16, 16^c 4, 27^a 25, 31^a 8, *Ml.* 46^b 28, 29 (MS. *robo i n-*), 54^a 29, 54^c 2 (*roboi*), 103^b 8, 122^b 16, 125^a 5, 6, 144^d 3, *Sg.* 176^b 2, 211^a 10, *fides .i. robói la Abracham Wb.* 2^c 15, cf. 21^b 11, *Ml.* 48^c 15, 127^b 2, *desiderium .i. robói lesom im Dia Ml.* 61^d 10, *aní robói inchlidu lat* 50^c 13, *roboi oc indriud* 53^a 17, *robói huas ciun Christ* 74^b 1, *dég robói in Spirut noib les Tur.* 103; *indaas ro-nd-bói m-ingnae Ml.* 136^b 7, *amal ru-m-bói Abram* 31^a 3, cf. 26^b 8 (*ro-m-bói*).

¹ In *Ml.* 71^c 12 *intan rumbá i m-brú rubatar peecchi less* there is an awkward change of person, and we should probably read *rumbái*. In *Bed. Vat.* 14, *hi roba* stands for *hirobai* or *hirobac*.

is faittech ro-nd-bói som 21^d 4, *ro-m-bói ar belaiþ tempuil* 48^d 8, *ro-m-bói dliged remdeicse De desom* 19^d 17, cf. 122^d 7, 490 *ro-m-bói failte dúib Wb.* 23^d 15, cf. 33^b 1 (*ru-m-boi*), 33^b 5 (*ru-m-bói*), *MI.* 38^c 9 (*ru-m-boi*), *ro-m-bói etir tuaith Wb.* 28^d 25, cf. 28^d 31, 15^a 29 (*ro-m-boi*), *ro-m-bói fo r Sg.* 140^a 4, *ro-m-boi fora muir MI.* 96^c 1, *ro-m-bói fri croich Wb.* 20^d 13, *ro-m-bói intamgail caratraid and MI.* 61^c 8, cf. 495 62^c 8 (*ru-m boi*), *ro-m-bói in circumcisiõne Wb.* 2^c 5, cf. 2^c 6, 10^d 19, 21^b 16, *MI.* 54^c 16, 71^c 15 (*MS. robói*), 71^c 17, 95^a 3, *inna aimsire ro-m-bói . . . hi foammamugud do* 28^d 5, *ro-m-bói foraitimet n-Ioseph les* 123^b 8, cf. *Sg.* 200^b 3, 205^a 1, *ro-m-bói oc togail MI.* 54^c 17, *ma ru-s-bói di humaldoit Wb.* 500 28^d 29, cf. 33^a 11; *ciarudbói aururas form MI.* 2^a 3, *ciarudbói colinn imbi Wb.* 26^a 23, *cerudbói Iudas occa thindnacul som* 4^b 13; *is tri hiris ram-bái cach maith* 2^c 13; *is uera pictura robai ein Acr.* 68; *robui do for longais MI.* 93^c 3.

-robe, -robæ, rabæ:—ni o-robæ som ind ræ sin MI. 41^a 5, 505 *ni robe Wb.* 18^d 7, *ni rabas accuis MI.* 28^d 3, *ni robe nech bad huaisliu Wb.* 33^d 10, cf. *MI.* 51^a 2 (*ni o-robæ*), 80^c 9 (*connacon-robæ*), 100^c 23 (*nicon-robæ*), 106^b 6, 125^b 7 (*ni o-robæ*), *nád robe Tit ar mu chiunn Wb.* 14^d 29, *nád robæ nech cen peccad MI.* 33^c 17, *nád robæ remdeicsiu Dæ dia dulib* 20^b 2, cf. 32^d 10, 510 59^a 18 (*nád rabæ*), 90^c 9, *dia-robæ aisndis Sg.* 197^a 6, cf. 197^b 12 (*dia-robe*), *nt rabæ di esamni Duaid MI.* 33^c 17, *etera-robæ Wb.* 28^b 32 (cf. *etarrobe* 27^d 13), *ni con-robæ ní form MI.* 104^d 2, *nád-robe mesrugud forsind immarmus Wb.* 1^d 2, *fora-robæ MI.* 38^c 4, cf. 64^a 12, *forsa-robæ* 82^d 10, *Tur.* 60, 515 *ni robe cach réit inna dligud Wb.* 24^b 21, *nir-robe in Iesu Christo est et non* 14^c 31, *collno i-róbe peccad Wb.* 3^d 23, *hi-robæ MI.* 24^a 17, cf. 38^c 13 (*hi-rabæ*), 44^d 2, 48^d 28, 49^b 4, 59^b 10, 118^d 17, *nád robæ ní do degnimaib leu* 15^d 9, cf. 50^c 8 (*ni robæ*), *ni rabæ in Spiurt nóib les Tur.* 101, *lasa-robæ MI.* 63^b 1, 520 *trissa-robæ doib etarcnae* 129^c 13, *trisin-dam-robæ* 126^d 11, *ni-s-rabæ Wb.* 33^b 2, *ni-m-rabæ MI.* 73^c 5, *connach-am-robæ* 90^c 16.

Pl. 1. **robámmar:—***asin doiri robámmar Wb.* 20^d 12.

-robammar:—hi-robammar MI. 105^b 16, 110^c 6.

525

Pl. 2. **rubaid:—***ce rubaid fo pheccad Wb.* 3^b 19.

-robaid:—hi-robaid MI. 46^a 8.

Pl. 3. **robatar:—***robatar cid ferte dia imthrenugud Wb.* 24^c 6, *robatur bandechuin andsom* 28^c 5, *robbatar in praesenti Per.* 60^b 4,

- 530 *is iar n-arsidib robbatar in tis* **Sg.** 57^b 1, *issamlaid sin robatar* **Tur.** 14; (relative) *robatar* **Sg.** 153^b 4, *ciné briathra robatar* **MI.** 61^b 7, 8, *robatar* populo 125^a 3, *rubatar fua mām* 76^d 1, cf. 113^c 8 (*robatar*), *robatar in praesentia Christi* **Wb.** 18^a 6, cf. **MI.** 40^d 16, 72^b 6, 74^a 13, 104^b 2, *irbāga robatar lessom etr* 535 *disciplu* **Wb.** 7^d 10, *robatar oc imbresun* 30^c 17, cf. **MI.** 86^d 19, *amal ro-m-batar* **Wb.** 30^c 2^h, *ro-m-batar for longais* **MI.** 74^a 13, *ro-m-batar hi tempul* 62^b 2, cf. 75^d 10, 84^c 5, 95^a 13, 115^a 12, 131^c 9, **Sg.** 203^b 8, post multos annos .i. *ro-m-batar isin doiri* **MI.** 104^c 7; *cia rod-batar torbithi aili forn* **Wb.** 14^d 13, 540 *cerud-batar Iudei occa thindnacul som* 4^b 13.
- robatar:—*ní rabatar* **Sg.** 148^a 9, *nád robatar suin do slund* 45^b 1, *ní o-rabatar olca betis móu* **MI.** 100^c 11, *fua rabatar* 2^b 11, 85^d 10, *seruitutis hi-robatar* **MI.** 26^b 26, cf. 74^a 14, 77^b 5, 84^c 12, 91^c 17, 91^c 19, 102^d 17, 104^c 5, 131^c 9, 17, 545 *inna aimsire hi-robatar* 85^c 12, cf. 101^b 3, *ní robatar accobra colna lessom* **Wb.** 20^a 6.
- Passive: *robeth*:—*is hed inso ro-m-both dom* **Wb.** 19^a 9, 23^a 26, cf. 5^b 31.

(b) Without *ro*-.

- Sg.** 3. *bói*:—*bói ní roglante and* **Wb.** 31^c 18, cf. 27^a 16 (*bái*), 550 *bói són in potestate mea madugnenn* 10^d 31; *ní bu fua réir fexin boisom* **MI.** 14^b 13.
- bói:—*hó-bói mo chland* **Wb.** 29^d 6, *ní m-boi ní bed sruithiu* **MI.** 78^a 4, *ní bói ní nogabad* 33^a 5, cf. 74^b 13, **Sg.** 72^b 6, *nam-bói remcisiu Dæ de* **MI.** 50^d 1, *foram-bói* **Tur.** 60, *com-bói* 555 *impe* **Tur.** 146, *ní bói adbar hic* **Wb.** 17^d 17, *ní boi hi cridiu* **MI.** 34^a 16, *im-bói* 55^c 1, cf. **Sg.** 148^a 6, *im-bói di oinechdaib leu* **MI.** 43^d 1.¹
- Pl.** 3. *cia batar degtacrae les* **Tur.** 83; inferiores .i. *batar fo mām Ioseph* **MI.** 123^b 5.
- 560 -batar:—*hua-batar sídi i n-Egipt* **MI.** 63^a 4, *im-batar* 55^c 2.
- To *oldáu* (p. 4) belong
- Sg.** 3. *olm-bói, im-bói*:—*ba deidbiriú dúnni immormus* *olm-bói dasom* **Wb.** 9^c 10, *nambu tressa Dia Herusalem imboi dia cecha cathruch* **MI.** 53^d 6.
- 565 **Pl.** 3. *olm-batar*:—*robtar lia sídi olm-batar maice Israhel* **MI.** 123^a 8.

¹ In **MI.** 29^c 16 Stokes corrects *án imbai* to *a n-dm bai*.

Future.

- Sg. 1. **bia**:—*is sunt bia-sa i n-eilithri* **ML.** 137^b 7, *bia oo preciaupt doib* 60^c 4.
- Sg. 3. **bieid, bied**:—*bieid nach dréct diib hiefidor* **Wb.** 4^d 6, *bieid aimsor nad creitfidor* 28^c 14, cf. 6^b 15 (*bied*), *bieid bes ferr de* 570 32^a 13, *is and bieid finis* 13^b 29, *bieid frithorcun dúnni* **ML.** 100^d 4, *bieid ic du Iarahel* 72^d 1, *bieid dúnni a n-dede sin* **Wb.** 28^a 23, *bieid dund firian a n-imthanad sin* **ML.** 68^d 16, *bieid crich for timthrecht cacha dulo* **Wb.** 13^b 28, *bieid rath somailse fora belru* **ML.** 89^c 15, *bied a fortacht linn* **Wb.** 14^c 1, *bied trede* 575 and **Bed. Vat.** 28.
- robia**:—*ro-m-bia buaid* **Wb.** 11^a 10, *ro-t-bia less log* 6^a 11, cf. 20^a 9, similarly *r-am-bia* 27^c 13, 14, **ML.** 27^a 8, *ro-n-bia* **Wb.** 14^c 17, cf. 25^a 3, *ro-b-bia* 13^d 32, *robia* (= *ro-b-bia*), 21^c 17, 27^b 6, *ropia* (= *ro-b-bia*) 16^a 13, 22^b 23, 23^c 25, 580 27^c 12, *ro-sm-bia* 5^d 35, 6^a 5.¹
- bia**:—*ni bia senim terchomric* **Wb.** 13^d 18, *connacon bia foraitmet n-De eter* **ML.** 61^b 12, *nicon bia som* **Sg.** 29^b 10, *nicon bia ni . . . nadecail* **ML.** 56^c 8, cf. 107^d 4, **Sg.** 7^a 1, *ni-m-bia durata ind* **ML.** 57^a 13, *ni-m-bia fochricc* 585 **Wb.** 10^d 23, similarly **ML.** 86^c 12, *nicon-da-bia* 69^a 8, *trean-dabiu* **Wb.** 25^c 8, *ni bia lobad na legad doib* **Wb.** 13^d 19, similarly 13^d 17, 32^c 12 (*nipia*), **ML.** 67^c 14, *ni bia mesrugud forsind digail* **Wb.** 1^d 2, *nicon bia cumacugud for pianad* **ML.** 26^d 12. 590
- bias**:—*ni ba cian m-bias in pecthach* **ML.** 56^c 22, *is hedón bias and* **Wb.** 23^b 38, *immeit* (leg. *in méit*) *m bias firinne neich is in meit sin dano bias dilgadche Dæ do* **ML.** 56^a 21, *amal m-bias a gnim cáich* 30^d 2, *cindas m-bias* **Sg.** 40^a 15, *cia cruth m-bias* 147^a 4, *bias dúib i n-nim* **Wb.** 26^d 6, *ind aiccend bias* 595 *forsind ainmnid isé bias forsnaib canthuislib* **Sg.** 207^a 6, cf. **Wb.** 4^d 2, *bias hi flaith Solman* **ML.** 89^c 10, *bias in die iudicii* **Wb.** 25^d 8, *for cech rainn pectha bias leu* **ML.** 24^c 2, *m-bias ice do* 127^a 7.
- Pl. 1. **bemmi**:—*amal bete som i n-impudiu inna brithemnacte*, 600 *bemmi ni dano* **Wb.** 9^c 10, *is i Crist beimmi* 21^b 7, *bemmi i comindocbáil* 24^a 10.

¹ In **Wb.** 4^b 6 *robia indocbáil tarahési* there is no apparent infixed pronoun; leg. *ro-sm-bia*?

- biam:—*in-biam fris Wb. 15^a 1, ni piam fri aithirgi 30^b 17.*
 Pl. 2. -bieid, -bied:—*indas no-m-bied-si Wb. 9^a 21, ni bied-si hi*
 605 *cobodlus la suidiu 9^b 17.*
 Pl. 3. bieit, biet:—*bith i tuil Déa biet huili Wb. 9^d 27, biet hi*
frecndaire Sg. 153^b 4, cf. Per. 60^b 4, bieit Wb. 4^c 40, bieit
a namait fua chossaið som Wb. 32^c 13, bieit ilgné indi Ml. 97^a 1,
biet da atarcud and Sg. 198^b 6.
 610 -biat:—*tresin-dip-piat fochricci Wb. 25^d 8, ni biat fo mam*
Ml. 134^d 2, ni biat i n-bentu Wb. 9^c 28, im-biat Ml. 46^c 8,
nadm-biet cid ind superlati Sg. 40^b 14.
bete:—ni ba cian m-bete and Ml. 66^d 14, it hesidi torud bete
46^c 8, inna pian bete donaib pechtachaib i n-ifurnn Wb. 13^c 26,
 615 *amal bete som i n-impudiu 9^c 10, cf. 4^c 40 (beite), ni ba cian*
m-bete oca cloinið Ml. 28^a 10, cf. 33^a 9.
 To oldáu (p. 4) belongs olambieid-si Wb. 26^d 26.

Secondary Future (Conditional).

- Sg. 1. nobeinn:—*airet no-m-beinn isnaib imnedaib Ml. 59^a 22.*
beinn:—ni beinn isin doiri Ml. 131^d 19.
 620 Sg. 3. nobiad:—*ised nobiad sin Ml. 32^d 5, no-m-biad aní duerchanar*
111^d 4, no-m-biad iar fír 126^c 10, no-m-biad i n-aicniud denma
17^b 26, ropad far n-oén deilb nobbiad a ainmnid Sg. 90^b 2,
don ainmnid nobia[d] do sui 209^b 6, quia nobiad fri fem-
 207^b 2, *no-m-biad adrad Dæ la genti Wb. 6^d 8, is samlid nobiad*
 625 *cháck Wb. 9^d 25.*
robiad:—ro-n-da-biad cech maith Ml. 33^b 13, ro-nd-biad
faillte libsi Wb. 16^b 19.
-biad:—ni biad étrad Wb. 9^d 1, ni biad rath dilgotho 7 ni
biad promisio dosom 2^c 17, in-da-biad torbae Ml. 102^d 4, conna
 630 *biad dlged n-erchissechta la Dia 98^c 8.*
 Pl. 1. nobemmis:—*nobemmis Ml. 134^b 3.*
 Pl. 3. nobetis:—*céin nombetis inna saigtea inna feuil Ml. 58^a 9,*
inna debthe nobetis la Israheldu 100^c 7.

Subjunctive.

Present.

(a) With ro-.

- Sg. 3. robé:—*ná maith robé Wb. 5^d 30, gratia uobis etc. .i. robe*
 635 *18^c 4, cia rubé cen ní diib Ml. 20^d 4, act robæ quies regibus*
Wb. 28^a 23, acht rop ré forciunn robbé da Sg. 169^a 1, risiu

robæ cland less **Wb.** 29^d 23, *ce rubé* subjunctivus pro imperativo **Sg.** 163^b 6.

-roib:—*cona roib diupart neich lelele* **Wb.** 16^c 24, *arna roib eicndag ind raith diadi* 29^a 7, cf. **Sg.** 169^a 2, *cona roib etarcéin* 640 **Wb.** 26^a 14, *arna roib amal rondgab in popul truag-sa* **Ml.** 118^c 5, *o-roib core dúib fri cách* **Wb.** 26^b 30, cf. 27^c 20, *con-roib óintu etrunni* 12^b 12, cf. **Sg.** 59^a 17, *ara roib saingné foraib* **Wb.** 5^a 5, cf. 15^d 11 (*arnacon-roib*), 21^d 5 (*o-roib*), 30^a 16 (*act ni roib*), **Ml.** 22^c 12 (*o-roib*), **Sg.** 2^a 8 (*arna roib*), *connachon-roib* 645 *nech dim chlaind . . . dim æs* **Ml.** 23^d 6, *co[n]roib indithem and colleir* 67^c 12, *con-roib irgal déserceo . . .* *indiunn* **Wb.** 5^d 18, cf. 18^b 22, 22^c 20 (*arna roib*), **Ml.** 101^c 11 (*cor-roib*), 118^a 7 (*arna roib*), **Sg.** 4^b 1, *o-roib gnim irisise lib* **Wb.** 25^d 23, *con-roib deserc leu fri cách* 28^d 22, cf. **Ml.** 45^c 7 650 (*dia roib*), *arna roib occo* **Wb.** 5^a 26, *cona roib temel . . .* *tar rosc* 21^a 8, *arn-dom-roib-as fochrice* 10^d 13, *o-don-roib ind indocbál* 15^b 27, *co[n]-don-roib uita aeterna* 20^c 14, *con-dam-roib molad* **Ml.** 128^d 11.

Pl. 1. **-robam:**—*o-robam i fathemnacht* **Wb.** 26^c 10. 655

Pl. 2. **-robid:**—*o-robith i n-indocbáil* **Wb.** 26^a 28.

Pl. 3. **rubet:**—*ce rubet i péin* **Wb.** 26^a 23.

-robat:—*cenid rubat ar chuit suin* **Sg.** 138^a 5, *o-robat i n-ellug coirp Crist i n-nem* **Wb.** 29^c 8, cf. **Ber.** 18^c 3, *act ni robat pecthe less* **Wb.** 11^d 9, cf. 22^b 2 (*arna robat*), 30^b 8 (*cona robat*), 660 *arna robat leu in pecthi-si* 25^b 9.

(b) Without *ro-*.

Sg. 1. **beo:**—*imb i céin fa i n-accus beo-sa* **Wb.** 23^b 41, cf. **Ml.** 53^b 8 (*beu-sa*), *cia beo-sa hi carcair* **Wb.** 29^d 19, cf. 21^d 3, 30^a 23.

Sg. 3. **beid**¹:—*co beid* **Wb.** 14^c 23, *ma beith* 24^b 9, *co beith* **Sg.** 18^b 5, *cia beith soilse isind lau* **Ml.** 108^a 11, cf. **Sg.** 45^b 7, 665 193^a 1, 212^a 13 (*ma*), *ma beith nech and labrathar* **Wb.** 13^a 4, *ma beid ní di rúnaib dothéi* 13^a 12, *ma beid ní ara techta* 28^d 22, *ma beith ara n-dena* **Ml.** 51^a 16, *cia beith arn-accathar* 68^b 9, *corbu immaith beith* 90^d 11, *ma beith nach fáille dúibsi* **Wb.** 23^c 11, *ma beith tobar- aile fri sibi* **Sg.** 210^a 4, *beith for* 670 *menms and* **Wb.** 20^b 13, *cia beith genitor á arrad* **Sg.** 125^a 6, *cia beith in cummasc andsom* 197^b 1, *cia beid Crist indibsi* **Wb.** 4^a 6, cf. 9^b 2, **Ml.** 142^c 3 (*ma beith*), **Sg.** 165^b 1,

¹ To this belongs also *bed* in *cia bed* **Wb.** 3^c 10, *ma bed galar issind oinbull* 12^b 10, *ma beth na galar bec for corp duini* **Cod. Cam.** 37^d.

212^b 11 (*beith*), *ma beith míduthracht* . . . *la cáich*
 675 **Wb.** 20^b 12, *mad ar thosuch beid* **Sg.** 203^a 7, *arnap samlid*
beith **Tur.** 89.

-*bé*, -*bæ*:—*na bad hed améit nádm-bæ* **Wb.** 22^b 14, *mani bé*
Sg. 29^b 14, cf. 147^b 3, *arna bæ etir* **Wb.** 25^d 26, *mani bæ*
deserce 12^b 33, cf. **ML.** 53^c 18 (*mani be*), **Sg.** 29^b 10 (*mani bé*),
 680 138^a 1 (*cení bé*), 165^b 3 (*dia m-bé*), 173^b 4 (*dia m-bé*), *ona bæ*
nii indidningaba **Wb.** 11^d 8, cf. **ML.** 77^a 12 (*mani bé*), *ara*
m-bé . . . *cen diall* 74^b 6, *mani bé est and* **ML.** 14^d 1,
 cf. **Sg.** 166^a 3 (*ona bé*), 198^b 6 (*dia m-be*), 199^b 4 (*coní bbé*),
 199^b 7, *mani bée dechur isint senmuim* **Wb.** 12^c 43, *coní bé*
 685 *eter in peccato* 9^b 2, cf. **ML.** 23^a 7 (*mani bé*), **Sg.** 77^a 4
(co m-be), *im-bé* **ML.** 53^b 1, *mani bé ómun Dæ les* 33^c 7, cf.
 117^b 7 (*arna bé*), *lasam-bé* **Wb.** 1^d 19, 14^d 28, *trisam-bé* **ML.**
 70^d 10, *mani-sm-be* **Wb.** 13^b 20, cf. **ML.** 122^a 17 (*MS.*
mannimbæ); *cia bé a m-meit adæ* **ML.** 61^b 28.

690 *bess*, *bes*:—*céin bes nuednissi* **Wb.** 33^a 17, *ní bes á fin* **ML.**
 77^d 3, *ind inna bess and* **Wb.** 27^b 27, cf. **ML.** 14^d 1, *a m-bess hi*
cridiu **Wb.** 5^d 14, *bes hi far cridiu* 7^d 10, cf. 26^d 16, **Sg.** 25^b 16,
 189^b 2, **Acr.** 43, **Cod. Cam.** 37^c, *iarsin chumung bess lib* **Wb.**
 16^c 19, cf. 16^c 22, 22^d 14.

695 Pl. 1. *bemmi*:—*mad in chrudso bemmi* **Wb.** 31^c 11, *cia beinmi-ni*
in fide 19^a 16, cf. **ML.** 105^b 6 (*indaas bemmi*).

-*bem*:—*dia m-bem-ni hi combás* **Wb.** 24^a 10, *im-bem i m-bethu*
im-bem i m-bais 25^c 12.

Pl. 2. *bethe*:—*mad in chruthsin beithe* **Wb.** 18^b 16, cf. 6^b 4, 24^b 13
 700 (*bethe*), *co bethe-si ut sum* 19^d 19.

-*beith*:—*ní beith-si* **ML.** 46^a 10, *intain no-m-beid ar suil*
Wb. 27^c 9, *im-beith* 16^a 16.

Pl. 3. *beit*:—*co beit* **Wb.** 10^b 5, *ma beit* **Sg.** 40^a 21, *cia beit dobre-*
persandi 71^b 8, *cia beit inna corp* **Wb.** 11^d 11.

705 -*bet*:—*cini bet samlumsa i n-6gi* **Wb.** 9^d 27, *mani bet andiis*
ML. 14^c 4, cf. 35^d 24, 121^c 5, *im-bet* **Wb.** 7^d 1, *connacon-bet*
acht degnimai less **ML.** 129^a 9, *inna bet o nach ainmndiu etir*
Sg. 56^b 1.

710 *bete*:—*bete and* **Sg.** 15^a 2, *bete in secundo genere* **Acr.** 65,
bete banscala occ ar tinthirect **Wb.** 10^c 22, *bete oc comet ind fir*
ML. 112^b 20.

Passive: *bethir*:—*cia bethir oc far n-ingrim* **Wb.** 5^d 33.

-*bether*:—*cens m-bether in hac uita* **ML.** 107^d 8, *im-bether*
Wb. 10^a 18.

Past.

Sg. 2. **nobetha**:—*cid no-m-betha im etarceirt* **Wb.** 4^c 24. 715

Sg. 3. **nobed, nobeth**:—*ba riagolda a n-ainm sin ara chúl ma nubed*
Sg. 31^b 21, *amal nobed* 32^a 1, *ni fil ainmnid nobed* 114^b 2,
ma nubeth **ML.** 30^b 4, *nibbu machdad bed* figurate *no-m-bed*
Sg. 62^b 2, *co m-beth ré* *nobeth cen ole huadibsom*
ML. 41^a 4, *co m-bed hed nobed and* **Wb.** 3^b 10, cf. 5^b 10, **Sg.** 720
 33^a 18, 148^b 5, *nobeth and* **ML.** 27^b 1, 61^b 17, 128^a 5, *nobeth hic*
 45^b 14, *amal bid hi laim nobed* **ML.** 36^c 21, cf. **Sg.** 209^a 1,
 211^a 6, *amal bid hi frændaire nobeth* **ML.** 24^c 15, *armbad hi*
tempul Dæ nobeth 47^c 11, *ni arindi bed leth n-gotho nobed indib*
Sg. 5^a 4, cf. 188^a 4, 199^b 9, *ma nubed indibsem* 32^a 1, *ce nobed* 725
indi 162^b 2, *coir cid caritas nobed i tossuch* **Wb.** 20^b 22,
co m-bad airi nobeth cum in fine **Sg.** 203^a 10, *cia nubed leu*
Wb. 12^b 2, *mad ón chetnidiu nobed* **Sg.** 207^b 2, *bes nobed nach*
aile leis oc ind airchellad 202^a 7, *amal nobed e re bam* 191^a 5.

robed:—*act robed arma Dæ foirib* **Wb.** 22^d 15, *nibo decming* 730
ro-m-bed imthanad hisuidib 21^a 13, *robeth for dib milib ech*
ML. 43^d 1.

-robad:—*o-robad torbe dúibsi triit* **Wb.** 17^a 13, cf. 16^c 5,
 28^c 18, *con-róbad écosc a cheneóil foir* 6^d 6, *o-robad inna chorp*
ni inchoissied 2^c 7, *c-rabad cech brathir post alium* 34^a 4, *ni* 735
robad frissom do Dia **ML.** 44^b 8.¹

-bed, -beth:—*mini bed cróis* **Wb.** 9^d 1, *arna beth in*
chomairle se .i. arna beth ani imnefolangar treæ dosom
ML. 88^b 15, *onaccon-beth ni du Israheldaið etir* 103^d 9,
co m-beth ré inradad 41^a 4, *ni fil aimsir nadm-bed* 17^a 15, 740
arna beth 23^d 11, *co m-beth cen digail dogrés* 27^d 12, *ni*
nádm-bed di chorp act atá de **Wb.** 12^a 22, *dorochoinset*
arn-da-beth in tairsem **ML.** 131^c 9, *co m-bed doib furathmet bed*
torbach 23^a 2, *asber nadm-bed dlíged remdeicsen Dæ du doinib*
 55^d 25, cf. **Sg.** 40^a 15, *form-bed* **ML.** 23^d 17, *dia m-bed neu* 745
for cétnu diull **Sg.** 90^d 2, *amal bid neck frisam-beth ferc* **ML.**
 44^b 8, *frisam-bed a n-dechor* **Sg.** 183^a 2, *arna beth imresan*
imm osluud **ML.** 46^b 5, *act ni bed uall and* **Wb.** 10^b 27, *dús*
im-bed comrorcon and 18^d 7, *amal ni bed ad and* **Sg.** 217^a 8,
co[m]-bed chiall ains- ili and **ML.** 67^d 24, *muni bed in finem* 750
and 32^d 5, *ni rabae accuis ara m-beth enim and* 28^d 3, *conna*

¹ The past potential, cf. **ML.** 17^b 23 (leg. *asrobarad*), 31^a 20, 24 (leg. *ærbarad*), further, **L.U.** 69^a 33 (he should not have).

beth in finem and 32^d 5, *co m-beth anim* and 124^c 19, *ona beth foraitlmet Dé hisuidiu* 22^d 26, *nach magen i m-beth amen indib* 2^d 1, *co m-bed a n-dede sin im labrad sa Wb.* 14^c 23, *co m-bed* 755 [*imbed*] *clainde leu ML.* 113^b 11, *lasam-bed dliged remdeiscen* 19^d 2, *onacon-beth leu etir* 35^c 2, *co m-beth leusom nech di faithib* 93^a 5.¹

Pl. 1. *nobemmis*:—*amal no-m-bemmis érchóilti Wb.* 9^a 3.

robemmis:—*risiu robeimmis etir Wb.* 29^d 23.

760 Pl. 2. *-bethe*:—*ní bethe fria acre Wb.* 9^c 20.

Pl. 3. *nobetis*:—*ce chonistis no-m-betis Sg.* 138^a 9, *ní arindi no-m-betis cid in biuc* 39^a 25, *ní arindi no-m-betis ar cinnta friusom ML.* 62^d 5, *má dodrumenatar alaaili no-m-betis i n-oen ruinn Sg.* 27^a 18.

765 *robetis*:—*resiu robetis im gnais ML.* 58^d 7.

-roibtis:—(*oro*)*ibtis oc denum rectche Wb.* 28^a 1.

-betis:—*ní tórménmar ní ara m-betis in gnimai sin ML.* 115^b 1, *co m-betis i n-doiri* 34^a 9, *co m-betis i n-indiub fochricce domsa Wb.* 10^d 33, *co m-betis arma cholno leu* 22^d 13, cf. *ML.* 770 107^c 12, *cení betis degairiltin leu ML.* 91^a 10.

Imperative.

Sg. 3. *biid, biith, bith*:—*biith Wb.* 8^d 9, *bith and beus* 10^a 25, *bith characnaill di Sg.* 6^b 11, *biith a mienne frisso Wb.* 13^a 22, *bith nech i n-ógi* 10^a 26, *biid cach gnim inna thechtu* 13^a 28, *bith hi foraitlmiut lib ML.* 115^b 9, *biid pax libsi Wb.* 5^d 33, 775 *biith far cuit-si occa* 11^b 4, *biid samlaid ML.* 74^d 3.

-bid, -bith:—*na bid taidchur dúnni Wb.* 3^a 14, *na bith debuih dúin fri nech* 10^a 8, *na bith fochunn uaimm fein dom ænduch* 11^c 1, *na bith chiniud huadib ML.* 87^c 3.

Pl. 2. *biid*:—*biid amal rongabus-sa i n-gnim Wb.* 23^c 11, *biid ersoilothi ML.* 46^a 7.

-bith:—*na bith i cobadlus doib Wb.* 22^b 26.

Pl. 3. *biat*:—*biat ML.* 51^d 13, *biat amal idlu* 130^a 10.

Infinitive.

Nominative: *buith*:—*buith cen æcne fofera ainfirinni Wb.* 2^a 17, *hore arinrobe buith i n-ellug* 29^d 22, *ní condabia nem acht*

¹ In *Tur.* 141 *imbed* can hardly be a verb; rather *imbed naislinge ón adchondairc son* means 'that is, the abundance of the dream which he saw.' In *cona bad dliged remdeiscen ocotuistyn sidi ML.* 19^d 5 the syntax points to the substantive verb rather than to the copula.

sirbuih i n-adnaclaib **ML**. 69^a 8, *is cor lame ar dodced buith oc* 785
airbiathad sainte **Wb**. 29^b 18, *ba tochu doibsom buid and* 5^b 44,
 cf. 9^b 17 (*nébeth*), 10^a 17, 15^d 13, 19^b 20, 30^b 26, **ML**. 28^d 6, **Sg**.
 208^a 11, *ropo tochomracht linn buid i m-bethu* **Wb**. 14^b 24, cf.
ML. 87^c 4, 87^c 5, 105^b 8, *ni fil mindchecht bed huilliu quam buith*
for ochtrach 129^c 2, *arnap buid for foigdi* **Wb**. 25^b 11, *mad buith* 790
cen chotlud **ML**. 93^d 13, *is miad mór ind apstalacht .i. buid for*
tectairecht hó Isu **Wb**. 13^b 5, *minorum est ista curatio .i.*
buih oc cairchaib **ML**. 100^b 18, *qui locus mutarum est .i.*
buih re lechdachaib **Sg**. 6^a 8, *a m-bith cen chorin is he an*
uelare asbeirsom **Wb**. 11^c 11, *is ed ancride in dermaid buith* 795
cen chlainn **ML**. 23^d 12, cf. 74^d 9, *iesi dogni frechdaire de*
praesenti buith neich chen forbae **Sg**. 147^b 3, *teamaing buith*
briathar huadib sem **Sg**. 156^a 2, *quaecunque pudica .i. buith cen*
peccad **Wb**. 24^b 7, *non solum otiosae .i. celide 7 buith cen denum*
neich 29^a 4, *de diis suis coniuncantur .i. buith amal a n-deu* 800
ML. 138^c 8, *is airchen á buid* **Wb**. 11^d 3, cf. 16^d 2, 21^a 11, **Sg**.
 191^a 1, *is torise la cách a buith oc ailli* **Wb**. 16^d 2, cf. 21^b 5,
quod fieri non liquet .i. a buitsem hi coms- **Sg**. 216^b 2, *teamaing*
a buith hi coms- 212^b 9, *horbi accobur læ nebud dó i n-noidenacht*
Wb. 24^d 11, *cum autem uenerit .i. buith dunni issin todochidiu* 805
 12^c 7, *robu arna eplet .i. buith doib hi pein* **ML**. 77^a 13, *non*
iudicio .i. uero .i. buith damsa in diuturnitate malorum 89^a 3,
hoc tamen ipsum .i. buith do u oio- ar guttai **Sg**. 8^a 14.

Accusative: buith:—*furuar buid cen engne* **Wb**. 2^a 18, cf. 26^a 23,
 31^d 14, **ML**. 55^d 13, 91^a 6, 104^c 5, **Sg**. 97^a 2, *ramúinset doib buid* 810
and **Wb**. 5^b 44, *subaigidir nepuid hi cumgaib* **ML**. 122^a 11,
pullicens gratulatur .i. buith etir inna encu 76^c 5, *idem facere*
.i. buith ind accind in fine **Sg**. 213^b 1, *tri buith hi coimtech*
ML. 33^b 13, cf. 47^b 8, 53^b 15, 56^b 26, *asbiur-sa a m-buih*
immellei **Wb**. 10^a 4, cf. 32^a 9, **ML**. 145^d 8, **Sg**. 58^b 1, 59^a 5, 815
 207^b 4, *uidemur hoc sequi .i. a buith ar chonsain* 8^a 6, *exigat*
.i. a buith 69^a 23, cf. 106^b 19, 212^b 10, *tria buith sídi i n-nim*
ML. 30^c 5; *asrochoilli inna chridiu buid dond ingin i n-ógi*
Wb. 10^b 20, *is ed asindet som buith doib i n-doiri* (or nom.?)
ML. 108^b 6, *hoc itaque dico .i. buith dúibsi i n-ógi* **Wb**. 10^b 2, 820
Sg. 20^b 5,¹ *ar buid doib du reir Dæ* **ML**. 96^b 3.

¹ In **Wb**. 26^b 21 *conamadar-sa a n-digail forru .i. both doib cen biad* we have the original nominative form though explanatory of an accusative, so 25^a 13. This suggests that some of the other examples may be in the nominative likewise.

- Genitive: **buithe**:—*buithe inna diad* **ML.** 35^b 23, cf. 88^a 12, 100^b 15 (*buthé*), 128^a 3, **Sg.** 163^b 2; *buithe in boicht fo mam int sommai* **ML.** 27^d 7, cf. 53^d 15; *buithe dúibsi i peccad* **Wb.** 825 14^d 7, cf. **ML.** 72^d 9, 138^c 5 (*bithe*).
- Dative: **buid**:—*ni coir descad pectho do buith i sollumun Agni* **Wb.** 9^b 13, cf. 5^a 13 (*bith*), *oldáte pecthe do buid and* 9^d 13, *onach ase ditia do buith uandí as dis* **Sg.** 104^b 4, *nib machdath lat reperio do buith for quart. cob-* 158^a 2, *bih ma de do buith daitsiu* 2^a 7, 830 *ba compes ba riagolda do buith* 57^b 8, *aiccenogud comacomuil do buith hi rema-* 215^a 10, *for riag- do buith isnaiB anmanaib-se* 108^a 3, *dorusluindaet remdéicsin Dæ du buith diib* **ML.** 90^b 17, *eiasidbiur fritso Atho et Athos do buith* **Sg.** 106^b 4, *amal duneclannar etach . . . do buith in rig* **ML.** 120^d 2, in qua 835 *et uocati estis in uno corpore .i. do buith i n-éentid coirp Crist* **Wb.** 27^b 23, *dedit mihi Deus .i. do buid fom chumachtu* 32^d 7, *propria habitatione donasti .i. du buith duit and* **ML.** 84^a 2, *gregis solacia non requirunt .i. do buith inmalle fris* 102^a 19, *per illos saeculo te interfuturum esse lactaberis .i. do buith do foraihtmit* 840 135^d 1, *usus quoque confirmat .i. do buith ar chonsain* **Sg.** 120^b 8, *iarnbuiht socumail* **ML.** 44^c 6, *iárna buith forsín tochull* 82^d 10, *iár m-bid dó oe accaldim Dé* **Wb.** 15^a 20, *i nepbuiht dia réir* 14^a 16.

Participle of Necessity.

- buthi**:—*is amlaid is buithi do chúch* **Wb.** 24^a 17, *innaki batar* 845 *buthi ar thuus* **ML.** 23^c 16, cf. 29^a 8, *ni buthi saithar n-imbi* 24^d 11.

B. THE COPULA.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

- Sg. 1. am**:—*am irlam* **Wb.** 1^b 9, cf. 1^b 8, 5^a 18, 12^d 22, 13^c 8, 16^a 26, 19^a 19, 20, 24^b 15, 16, 27^c 22, **ML.** 40^b 11, **Sg.** 143^a 1, *is[s]uaichnid am fir-israhelle* **Wb.** 23^d 30, cf. **ML.** 88^b 4, *hore am essamin-se* **Wb.** 23^b 7, cf. 9^a 13, 10^c 16, 29^d 26.
- 850 **Sg. 2. at**:—*at firian-su* **ML.** 36^a 32, cf. 126^c 9, *ar at tú cen tosach* 110^d 15, *at fechem dom* **Wb.** 32^a 21, *hore at bonus miles* 30^a 15, *is follus ad drogduinsiu* 1^c 10.
- it*:—*air it firian-su* **ML.** 55^d 11, *it huaistliu cách* 108^d 2.
- Sg. 3. is**:—*is eola* **Wb.** 1^a 4, *is follus* 1^b 14, cf. 1^a 3, 1^c 10, 1^d 17, 855 1^d 20, 2^a 11, 2^b 17, 2^c 1, 2, 6, 2^d 8, 3^b 4, 30, 3^c 4, 35, 3^d 10, 4^a 4, 6, 11, 4^b 17, 23, 24, 26, 28, 4^c 2, 4^d 27, 5^a 10, 18,

5^b 28, 37, 5^c 14, 18, 5^d 37, 6^a 13, 21, 6^b 8, 10, 6^c 4, 5, 7, etc.,
is boic lim in brig sin 8^d 21 (but cf. *is becc in brig* 11^a 9), *is*
Dia do cách 1^a 1, cf. 2, 1^d 6, *is lúud leu* 2^b 1, *is athir som* 2^c 11,
 cf. 3^a 15, *is cuit fresligi* 3^d 4, cf. 3^d 8, *is Dia brndachthe* 4^c 4, 860
 cf. 4^d 15, 5^a 5, 5^b 42, 5^c 7, 5^d 4, 6^c 21, 26, etc., *is bésad inna*
flatho, doem et (MS. *doeme*) *dofich* 9^d 2, cf. 14^c 21, *is galar leu*
 12^b 10, *is suas amal sodin* **ML.** 24^a 12, *is diil tanisi* (it is of the
 second declension) **Sg.** 100^a 9, *is la Dia cid Calldea* **ML.** 45^d 9,
arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad act is ara seirc **Wb.** 7^d 8, 865
is úadib Crist 4^c 2, cf. 7^c 15, *is a bás i m-bás dosuidib* 13^d 17,
is do chretim a deachte **Wb.** 2^d 6, *is hó siun co nuie dam far serc*
 4^b 29, *is cucu far m-burpe* 19^b 8, cf. 25^a 27, *is ónd athir dó*
 21^d 4, *is din chorp in ball* 22^c 18, *is dia n-imortun fésine* 6^a 5,
is fri deacht a fiadnisae sin 13^b 16, *is huas nert dom* **Sg.** 1^a 6, *is* 870
corpad mithig **Wb.** 4^c 37, *is co arcessea* 5^b 35, cf. 9^c 14, **ML.** 23^c 6,
 91^a 20, 108^a 6, 122^b 7, *is huare rongnith* 31^b 20, *issi ede dulchinne*
in milli **Wb.** 11^a 5, *is hé Dia* 15^c 17, cf. 5^a 19, 7^b 11, 11^a 17, *is*
he ar n-athir 2^b 23, cf. 2^c 27, 3^b 18, 4^d 18, *is hé inso titul in dligid*
 10^a 12, cf. 4^a 15, *issi meit insin donindnagar* 14^b 15, cf. 5^c 22, 875
 6^c 10, 9^c 10, *is hed for n-ainm insin* 5^a 17, *isi inso ind run*
inso 13^d 16, *is hed a scriptum* 2^d 3, cf. 5^c 23, 7^c 18, 9^c 19,
 11^a 19, *is siasi in tempul sin* 8^d 7, *Crist didiu issi in chathir*
 21^c 5, *is hed an honestum guide Dée* 10^b 15, cf. 3^d 5,
 11^b 5, 14^c 10, *is hé in peccad rogeni a n-uile comaccobor* 3^c 25, 880
 cf. 3^d 11, 8^d 20, *is hé sensus ferchain* 8^c 2, *is m-ssae rophroidich*
 10^c 20, cf. **ML.** 47^a 2, 94^b 7, 92^a 17, *is snisni ata boues*
Wb. 10^d 7, *is sisi nobcrete* **ML.** 46^a 13, *is hèsom doradchiùir*
Wb. 2^c 9, cf. 3^d 15, 4^a 27, 4^b 1, 4, 4^c 3, 5^b 28, 5^c 16, 5^d 9,
 6^a 11, 6^d 11, etc., *is dreecht diib nad rochreit* 5^c 2, *is Dia* 885
rodordigestar 6^a 3, etc., *is samliad bami coheredes* 4^a 17, cf.
 3^d 27, *isamlaid ataid-si* 4^a 4, etc.¹; *is ind il as ferr* 2^a 4, *is ósib*
atá **Wb.** 2^b 7, cf. 2^b 6, 2^b 15, etc.; *is mó is periculosius*
Acr. 29, *amal is i lóu* **Wb.** 6^a 30, *amal is tre bar tabirt-si*
 ronbia-ni indochál 14^c 17, cf. **ML.** 33^b 3, 38^a 5, 890
 56^c 11, 145^c 4, = ut, uelut, *amal is in denmada coitchin* **ML.**
 27^b 13, *amal is na n-Assar* 54^a 22, cf. 116^a 10; *fobith is taipe*
inso 14^d 4, cf. **Sg.** 107^a 1, *fubith is tri metur roceta* **ML.** 30^a 9;
huaire is sain **Wb.** 5^d 5, *hóre is irdirce* 7^c 3, cf. 2^c 19, 11^c 16,
ML. 55^d 11, **Sg.** 71^a 17, 215^a 2, *hore is minister* **Wb.** 6^a 18, 895

¹ In **Sg.** 197^a 11 read *is fris aricht, ní fris aricht*.

- cf. 4^c 23, 10^c 13, 16^c 13, *hóre is* in contumeliam *dúnni* 30^b 17, *huare is lánchiall indib* **Sg.** 140^b 3, *huare issi aimser sin indentae* **ML.** 24^d 9, *hóre is amne dognither* **Wb.** 9^c 14, *hore is óenrad fil and* 13^b 9, cf. 5^b 16, 27, 6^a 30, 12^b 6, 13^d 26, 15^c 23, 16^a 17, 16^d 14, 17^c 23, 22^c 17, 23^d 21, **ML.** 14^a 9, 17^c 7, 35^c 23, 37^a 10, 51^c 26, 55^d 19, 56^b 15, 83^d 9, **Sg.** 18^a 6, 20^b 8, 66^b 9, 74^b 8, 197^a 11, 205^b 21, 209^b 10; quia *is écsamil* 211^a 14, cf. 71^a 2, quia *is do bestataid infét* **ML.** 14^b 12, **Sg.** 212^a 3. In translating relatives, *is enisni* 905 **ML.** 32^a 20, cf. 63^c 15, 78^a 1, 93^c 11, *issa eregem adi* 35^a 20, **Sg.** 203^a 18, 19. In impersonal construction with infixed pronoun *issumeccen* **Wb.** 10^d 24, *isatdilmainsiu* (MS. *isadil-mainsiu* corr. Stokes) **ML.** 55^d 21.¹
- To *is* the negative is *ní*,² *ní na persan a teclim act is operum* 910 **Wb.** 1^d 1, cf. 2^a 3, 2^b 24, 2^c 1, 2^d 2, 3^b 21, 3^d 4, 11, 4^b 11, 4^c 37, 5^b 28, 8^a 6, 17^b 4, 17^d 2, 19^a 6, 25^d 26, etc.; *hóre ní tri sonirti n-irisce damelat* 10^c 3; *cani* (= nonne) *cani góo* **Wb.** 5^a 8, cf. 5^b 35, 12^d 4, 18^a 16, etc.; *in* (= an) appears simply as *in*, *insi ameit* **Wb.** 5^b 11, cf. 5^b 29, 10^d 1, 11^d 6, 18^a 15, 24^d 11,³ **Sg.** 15^b 7, **ML.** 44^b 10, etc.; with *sechi*, cf. Ascoli Gloss., ccli; with *ce cia*, *ci hé roscríb* **Sg.** 197^a, *ci si chiall bis indib* 217^a, *cia loc diaregtais* **ML.** 99^b 10, etc. Apparently without any copula form *intí lasinn accubur* **ML.** 53^c 16, *intí lasin format* 129^b 3.
- 920 **as**:—*as denti* **Wb.** 1^d 7, cf. 4^b 1, 4, 25, 4^c 14, 6^b 9, 25, 6^c 25, 8^a 17, 8^c 14, 8^d 23, 9^b 17, 9^d 29, 11^b 7, 11^d 2, 12^a 23, 13^b 23, 14^c 38, 17^b 24, 17^d 27, 18^d 9, 19^a 18, 19^c 7, 19^d 9, 22^d 26, 23^c 2, 26^a 2, 6, 28^d 23, 24, 31^b 32, 33^c 15, **ML.** 16^a 7, 14^d 37, 14^c 6, 19^d 8, 20^d 1, 23^c 21, 23^c 25, 24^d 30, 37^a 10, 925 37^d 14, 45^a 4, 47^d 7, 48^a 9, 51^b 7, 8, 11, 53^a 23, 56^b 22, 57^d 16, 73^a 10, 68^b 7, 84^a 3, 103^a 9, 104^a 6, 105^b 7, 109^c 14, 130^b 8, 130^c 10, **Sg.** 32^b 5, 40^b 9, 28^a 2 (*as coit.* better *as*

¹ *Sechis* is a common formula of explanation, cf. Ascoli Gloss., ccii. In **ML.** 69^c 1 occurs *sechas n-adamrighthi* with *is* written above; here *as n-adamrighthi* is evidently meant to express *timendum esse*. In 83^b 6 stands *sech as aramberad* where the reason for *as* is not clear. Is it a mistake due to the following *ar*? The plural is *sechit*. Here may be mentioned also the formulae *as*, pl. *óte*, and *citne.*, of which examples will be found in Ascoli Gloss., cexxi.

² So far as I have observed, this *ní* is used only with a singular, a fact which confirms Thurneysen's view (Celt. Zeitschr., i, 1 sq.) that *ní* really contains a copula form. The plural is *nítat*, cf. *nítat ildáni do óenstur et ní óen dan do sochuidi* **Wb.** 21^a 16, *nítat á airiltin fressin donárbaid in popul dia soirad acht it una tairngere durairngert Dia do Duaid du soirad in popul.* Cf. p. 31.

³ In **Wb.** 13^c 18 should we read *indóich do mech uaib*?

choit.), 30^b 12, 54^b 8, 55^a 1, 59^a 6, 67^a 12, 71^a 16, 77^a 5, 90^a 4, 106^b 22, 138^a 13, 168^a 1, **Acr.** 75, *as glantaidiu* (g. purgationis) **ML.** 18^c 2, cf. 20^b 1, 32^a 17, 42^b 20, 44^c 27, 930 46^a 6, 49^a 21, 62^a 10, 87^b 7, 89^d 6, 90^c 7, 114^b 2, 130^b 4, 138^d 7, 145^b 2, 3, 145^c 11, **Sg.** 72^b 5, *as enirt menme* **Wb.** 10^c 1, cf. **ML.** 99^b 5, **Sg.** 147^a 3, *as taidchrice* **Wb.** 2^b 9, cf. 2^d 12, 4^c 3, 5^b 17, 6^d 10, 8^a 10, 16^c 12, 21^a 15 (*ind nóib as chorp, it hé as chorp*), 23^b 34, 29^c 7, 33^c 4, **ML.** 37^c 19, 935 45^c 9, 49^b 6, 85^b 15, 90^b 13, **Sg.** 153^b 8, *intí as a ainm bis* **ML.** 2^c 3, *as est* (the word *est*) **Wb.** 14^c 28, *forsani as iniquitas* (on *iniquitas*) **ML.** 55^c 14, cf. 17^d 7, 37^a 18, 37^d 10, 46^c 19, 47^a 14, 48^a 6, 51^c 2, 51^d 22, 53^a 1, 55^c 6, 10, 56^b 31, 32, 33, 40, 64^d 8, 88^d 4, 94^c 3, 95^c 8, 108^c 12, 110^d 16, 940 112^d 2, 114^b 1, 118^c 6, 122^b 8, 123^c 16, 125^b 1, 133^a 7, 13, 133^b 12, 133^c 9, **Sg.** 9^a 2, 27^b 2, 15, 28^a 18, 30^b 5, 35^b 13, 39^a 20, 21, 40^a 15, 41^a 7, 45^b 16, 50^a 8, 9, 53^a 11, 54^a 5, 55^b 6, 56^b 8, 59^b 13, 63^a 17, 63^b 2, 65^a 4, 66^a 28, 67^b 4, 71^a 7, 8, 75^a 8, 75^b 1, 9, 76^b 6, 88^a 4, 90^b 3, 91^b 2, 93^b 4, 94^a 4, 945 104^b 4, 105^b 2, 4, 116^a 2, 125^a 6, 135^b 2, 138^b 7, 142^b 2, 146^a 1, 148^b 9, 149^b 3, 5, 155^a 1, 155^b 1, 2, 158^a 2, 4, 163^a 2, 163^b 2, 5, 169^b 2, 170^b 2, 172^a 1, 178^a 1, 179^a 6, 181^b 1, 182^a 2, 184^b 2, 185^b 1, 188^a 13, 194^a 2, 195^b 3, 197^a 2, 3, 196^b 7, 198^a 2, 200^b 10, 202^b 17, 203^a 19, 205^b 4, 206^b 2, 950 207^b 8, 9, 209^a 5, 210^a 2, 3, 210^b 1, 4, 5, 211^a 14, 213^a 4, 214^b 4, 222^a 7, 222^b 5, 6, 10, **Pcr.** 12^b 1, 58^b 2, **Tur.** 64, 125, *a n-as maith* (what is good) **Wb.** 6^b 18, *a n-as ansam* 10^a 1, cf. 11^c 6, 12^b 6, 13^d 8, 9, 21^c 6, 27^b 11, **ML.** 37^d 3, 41^d 12, 54^a 11,¹ *olsodin as eres* (which is heresy) 24^d 23, cf. 127^d 5, 955 **Sg.** 65^a 2, 187^a 3, 213^a 2, *olsuide as rann* 26^b 7, *is amin as cert* **ML.** 62^c 7, *is amne as coir* 114^a 9, *is indil as ferr* **Wb.** 2^a 4, *is bec as máo* **Sg.** 45^a 15, *in chruth as coir et as inrice* **Wb.** 7^b 1, cf. 29^d 24, *ciafiu as n-dián* **ML.** 62^c 5, cf. 61^a 25, *dindí as n-ansae* 104^a 6, *in déni as comallaide*, *in déni as* 960 *m-buidigthe* 62^c 5, *méit as n-do scribund* **Sg.** 3^b 30 (but *méit as do oen scribund* 112^a 2), cf. **Acr.** 18, *ce méit as sinu ais* **Wb.** 34^a 5, *ni ed amet as n-etarcnad* **ML.** 138^a 12, cf. **Sg.** 182^b 3, 200^a 11, *cenmítha as n-áith* **ML.** 72^b 15, *as n-olce* (that it is evil) **Wb.** 1^c 10, cf. 2^d 8, 3^c 22, 4^d 14, 6^a 27, 7^a 13, 11^b 10, 13^a 18, 17^a 12, 13, 965 22^a 23, 23^a 13, 14, 17, 28^b 31, 27^d 8, 29^a 13, 29^d 28, **ML.**

¹ So in **ML.** 2^a 15 *as tormach* should be corrected into *anas tormach*.

- 17^c 3, 20^d 11, 24^d 23, 25^c 5, 51^d 1, 20, 64^a 2, 65^d 13, 68^c 8, 127^b 11, 131^c 12, 138^a 5, **Sg.** 29^a 3, 40^b 14, 41^a 6, 42^a 9, 65^a 6, 93^a 4, 139^a 10, 157^b 8, 207^b 1, 208^b 1, *as chomsuidigthe* (with irregular aspiration) 207^b 9, **Tur.** 39, **Acr.** 75, 78, *as n-dithalmain do* **MI.** 68^c 4, *as la Dia in popul* 114^a 3, cf. 108^c 14, **Sg.** 209^b 30, *as n-é Crist in lie asrubart* **Wb.** 4^d 16, *as mé moínur aridrochell* **Sg.** 202^a 7, *as n-ed dechur tadbadar* **MI.** 24^d 25, *as n-ed fodera* **Sg.** 120^a 4, *as n-iress nóibas* **Wb.** 19^b 14, cf. 3^d 10, 4^a 19, 24^a 7, 29^c 4, **MI.** 44^d 14, 63^b 12, 69^a 16, 84^d 4, 98^c 10, 107^a 16, 130^a 6, *as n-du Christ rocét* 25^b 6, cf. 24^d 29, 25^b 8, 35^a 10, 60^b 11, 61^d 2, 89^a 2, 139^a 6, 11, without *n*, *as Dia dorigni* 42^b 24, cf. 130^a 6, *as di Assaraib rogabad* 35^a 8, cf. 44^b 2, 114^a 2, 131^c 14; *an as n-esngabthe* (g. excessu) **MI.** 22^d 9, cf. 23^d 1, 28^b 12, 27^c 17, 34^a 25, 42^c 21, 47^a 5, 108^d 5, 130^d 12, **Sg.** 3^b 31, 4^a 11, 36^b 3, 109^a 5, 208^b 13; *amal as n-inrice* **Wb.** 7^b 2, cf. 11^c 14, 22^a 24, 22^c 13, 23^a 21, 28^b 2, 31^d 17, **MI.** 31^a 12, 40^b 9, 55^a 13, 57^c 12, 61^b 28, 75^b 7, 77^d 2, 84^a 4, 85^b 11, 86^b 5, 89^c 10, 90^b 10, 11, 109^d 10, 111^a 5, 120^d 5, 133^b 7, 140^c 5, **Sg.** 145^a 4, 150^a 1, 220^b 5, *amal as messe duforsat* **MI.** 94^b 7, *amal as n-é as splendor* **Wb.** 32^b 4, *amal as n-ed as soirbem* **MI.** 56^a 13, cf. 57^c 12, 60^b 16, 79^b 5, 92^c 5, 104^b 5, 111^c 17, *amal as n-uaid som doforsat* 17^b 2, cf. **Wb.** 8^c 12, without *n*- *amal as hiress* (*n-iress*?) *ronóib* **Wb.** 19^b 12, *amal as ho molad . . . intinscana* **MI.** 26^b 10, *amal as ar gnim aibeir* 109^a 1, so *amal as* = uelut, tanquam, *amal as o Spirit* (g. tanquam a Spiritu) **Wb.** 15^b 7, cf. 16^a 14, **MI.** 17^b 3, 22^d 13, 31^d 15, 33^b 9, 106^a 5, 120^c 4¹; *fib as deg ropridchad* **Wb.** 23^a 3; *fobith as n-athchian* **Sg.** 67^a 12; *ol as cocarti* 90^a 7, cf. 25^b 8; *hóre as n-amatressach* **Wb.** 11^b 24, cf. 15^b 24, 17^b 29, 25^a 23, 33^c 2, **MI.** 94^c 8, **Sg.** 38^a 1, 41^b 3, 115^a 2, 120^a 1, 159^a 3, 163^b 7, 180^b 2, *huare as n-é gnim tengad comlabras* **MI.** 31^b 24,² *óre as n-dúil foruigensat* **Wb.** 1^b 22, cf. 11^a 10, **MI.** 48^c 19, 142^d 1, without *n*- *huare as dlged* **MI.** 54^a 5, cf. **Sg.** 18^a 1, *huare as indeacht fodaraithminedar* **MI.** 25^c 5; *intan as n-ainm* **MI.** 48^d 5, cf. 59^d 7, 98^a 4, 113^a 5, **Sg.** 59^b 17, 104^b 5, 107^b 1, 181^a 8, 198^a 2, 198^b 11, 220^b 8, without *n*- *intan as aithrech* **MI.** 93^a 23, *intan as do gnim* **Sg.** 59^b 16; *lase as cian* **MI.** 44^b 11. Cf. *ós* 'since,' *ós accobor lemm* **Wb.** 7^a 3, *húas etargnaid dunni* **Acr.** 77.

¹ But *amal as n-di* g. quasi consonanti **Sg.** 9^b 11.² In *as fas* **MI.** 78^b 23, *as* is used because the writer has in his mind a *hóre* = quando of the Latin text.

As negatives to *as* appear:—

nád:—*intí nád imdibthe* **Wb.** 1^d 15, cf. 8^a 18, 18^c 7, 31^c 1, **ML** 25^a 6, **Sg.** 161^b 10, *nat comrorcun* **ML** 25^d 12, *amal nát anse dúib* **Wb.** 17^c 11, *olsodin nad choir* **ML** 37^a 8, 10, cf. 131^c 3, *nat he macc Dæ rogenair* [7] *nach[é] rochrochsát* **ML** 25^b 5.¹ 1010

nant:—*nant ní ídol et nád n-escona ní* **Wb.** 10^b 26, *nant ní less* **ML** 36^a 14, *nant maith* 53^c 1, cf. 116^c 7, 129^a 26, **nand** **Sg.** 3^b 5, 76^a 3, 150^b 1, 180^b 2, 218^a 6, 221^b 7, *huare nand neutur* **Sg.** 64^a 11, *nant neque manebunt asrubart* **ML** 21^d 4, *nand ainmm 7 nand cumachto legas* **Sg.** 5^a 10, *nant he macc Dæ rogenair iar colain 7 nant hæ rocrochsát* **ML** 24^d 4. So **nan**, *nan coimdiu* **Wb.** 17^a 12, *nan etrantach* 23^a 13, cf. 12^d 28.

nách:—*nách maith* 6^b 6, *nách gáo* 17^d 12, *naich do imdibu colnidu* 10^a 15, *is follus nach b in s* **Sg.** 16^b 5, *nach a nert fesin* **ML** 63^b 8, *amal nách annse n-dúib* **Wb.** 6^d 9, *huare nach maith* 1020 **leu** **ML** 138^c 9, *nach ar mu peccad doratad form* 44^b 19, *huare nach du noibi téit* 37^a 10, cf. 46^d 10, **Sg.** 46^b 10, 196^a 1. Cf. **connách** (negative to *conid* p. 32) *onách ase* **Sg.** 104^b 4, cf. 198^a 11, 200^b 10, 207^b 7, 212^a 6, **innach** (MS. *ní nach*) *cuman lib* **Wb.** 26^a 9. 1025

Pl. 1. **ammi:**—*ammi irlaim* **Wb.** 4^b 21, *ammi coimili* 13^c 12, *ammi óin chórp hí Crist* 12^a 12, cf. 5^d 2, 8^d 26, 16^a 6, 17^b 5, 24^d 9, **ML** 43^d 7 (*ami*), 94^a 6, 101^d 9, *ammi Dæe* ('we are God's') **Wb.** 6^b 20, *hore ammi corp Crist et ammi boill Crist* 12^b 12, cf. 25^c 6, *ammin éulig* 14^d 28, *ámminn imdibatai-ni 7 ammin* 1030 *dilachtai* **ML** 83^c 3.

immi:—*air immi* (MS. *airmi*) *ardu-ni* **ML** 23^d 23.

Pl. 2. **adib:**—*adib mairb* **Wb.** 3^b 6, cf. 11^d 2, 15^a 12, 19^c 18, 19^c 20, 21^c 4, 8, 25^d 8, 26^b 12, 27^c 17 (MS. *abi*), 33^c 19, *hore adib ellachti* 22^a 24, cf. 21^c 17 (*adi*), 24^c 1, *hore adib doini* 1035 22^a 30, cf. 22^b 1, 10, *hore adib cretmich* 10^a 6, cf. 15^a 8, 16^a 28, *hore adimmaic* 9^a 13, *hore adabaill* (= *adib baill*) 3^b 7.

idib:—*ar idib maithi* **Wb.** 16^b 9.

Pl. 3. **it:**—*it huissi uel it cointfi* **Wb.** 1^c 7, cf. 7^a 8, 10^d 4, 11^d 11, 12^a 5, 13^b 24, 14^a 8, 16^c 11, 17^b 2, 23^b 12, 14, 16, 28^d 22, 1040 29^b 22, **ML** 22^c 5, 29^c 5, 34^b 9, 42^b 15, 43^d 18, 51^c 14, 60^b 8, 10, 62^a 5, 104^d 4, 124^b 4, 126^b 15, 129^d 14, 130^a 4,

¹ In **ML** 135^d 6, for *anannat airdbide* should be read *annát airdbide* 'when he is not destroyed.'

² Cf. *confi* Laws, iv, 344, *coindfed* O'Don. Suppl.

- 130^d 7, 10, 145^d 3, **Sg.** 3^a 10 (*hit*), 5^a 10 (*hit*), 6^a 9, 10^a 12, 44^b 2, 4, 64^a 4, 12, 66^b 17, 71^a 18, 114^b 3, 148^b 9, 197^a 2, 203^a 2, 208^a 1, *alaili it coitcheana* 215^a 1, *it bithdommai sidi dā gente* **ML.** 36^c 14, *it carit domsa* **Wb.** 5^c 7, cf. 8^c 15, 10^c 11, 12^a 13, 17^c 6, 23^a 9, 28^c 3, **ML.** 2^d 2, 18^c 6, 39^d 30, 45^b 10, 120^d 11, 124^c 1, 132^d 2, **Sg.** 39^b 7, 41^b 7, 11, 108^b 4, 111^b 1, 194^b 2, 211^a 10, *it diil tanaisi* **Sg.** 107^a 2, cf. 107^b 1, *it lib huili* **Wb.** 8^d 15, cf. 32^c 2, *it hē foraithtmitig* **ML.** 44^c 5, *itē sōn aptota lessem* **Sg.** 77^b 6, *itē inna nōi* 197^b 6, *it hē inso contentiones* **Wb.** 8^c 10, cf. 27^b 8, 28^d 5, 26, 29^a 3, **ML.** 104^a 4, **Sg.** 203^a 16, *it he inso ind focháinn inso* 86^c 3, *it hē bona opera inso* **Wb.** 31^c 9, cf. 7^d 13, **ML.** 61^b 7, **Sg.** 140^a 6, *it he inna gnusi innadat* **ML.** 118^d 20, cf. 46^c 8, *it hē omnia asmbair som* **Wb.** 8^d 14, cf. 28^b 20, **ML.** 71^d 7, **Sg.** 22^a 3, *it he caeli lasuide ind apstail* **ML.** 42^b 7, cf. 54^a 12, **Bcr.** 18^c 3, *it hē a pringeindi* **ML.** 123^c 8, *it hē ind aidmi asmbairsom* 89^a 8, cf. 74^d 9, 118^d 20, *itē uiui in doini bi* **Sg.** 39^a 23, *it hē in toirthi innahi adfiadatar* **ML.** 46^c 14, *it hē a timnae di namma rusarigestar* 71^b 14, *it sib ata chomarpi* **Wb.** 19^c 20, *it hēsidi beta hīcthi* 3^d 29, cf. 3^d 8, 10^b 13, 12^b 13, 14^a 29, 28^b 1, 32^d 10, **ML.** 21^b 10, 30^b 3, 31^c 8, 25, 63^b 1 (**MS.** *it*), 99^d 9, 116^d 6, **Sg.** 5^a 6 (*hit*), 28^b 18, 32^b 6, 39^a 11, 77^a 6, **Acr.** 1, 29, 1065 *it a n-athir inna fer fil and* **Wb.** 4^c 1, cf. 12^a 19, 17^c 1, **ML.** 2^c 2, 3^a 5, 32^b 18, 103^b 5, **Sg.** 203^b 6, **Acr.** 75, *nidat huili it foirbthi* **Wb.** 26^b 2, cf. 29^a 29; *amal it da labur fichit* **ML.** 2^d 2; *fobith it é nondaengraicigetar* **Sg.** 198^b 8; *hóre it subditi som* **Wb.** 27^c 4, *huare it hē atú hudislem* 1070 **ML.** 116^a 11, *quia it cétnidi* **Sg.** 212^b 16. Translating a Latin relative *it du gnimai-sin* g. cuius opera **ML.** 125^d 3, *it hesidi ailiu* g. neque quos 94^b 20, where note the accusative, cf. also **Sg.** 112^b 1.
- ata*:—*ata sonartu* **Wb.** 6^c 22, *ata hiressaig* 19^b 15, cf. 12^b 1, 21^c 5, **ML.** 16^b 1, 33^d 5, 44^d 3, 51^b 8, 56^a 20, 57^a 6, 58^a 20, 62^b 9, 64^c 3, 91^c 8, 114^b 7, 116^a 10, 140^b 3, **Sg.** 38^b 8, **Acr.** 75, *ata inilliu* (g. tutiora) **ML.** 110^d 11, cf. **Sg.** 30^b 3, *ata horpamin* **Wb.** 2^c 14, cf. 10^d 7, 19^c 20, 30^a 11, **ML.** 146^a 1, *it hē ata mundus* **Wb.** 5^a 14, *it hesidi ata eclais* **ML.** 65^d 19; *meit ata n-echtrainn* 1080 72^d 15; *doadbadar atú n-ili* **Wb.** 12^a 11, **ML.** 12^b 1, 27^d 1 (**MS.** *antan*), 30^b 2, 36^d 11, 42^b 23, 46^b 28, 76^a 5, 89^a 2, 91^c 18, 116^d 5, 131^d 16, 145^c 8, 9, **Sg.** 7^a 8, 10^a 5, 154^b 2, 197^a 2, 3, 201^b 10, 14; *a n-ata tuartai* **ML.** 83^b 4, cf. 22^d 8;

amal ata cúinchumracig **Wb.** 30^b 23, cf. 22^c 14, **ML.** 20^d 7, 32^b 1, 44^c 1, 118^d 13, **Sg.** 222^b 5, *amal ata les inna nert* **ML.** 108^c 14; 1085 *huare ata firicín* 136^b 4, cf. **Sg.** 48^b 5, 197^a 2, *huare ata n gnímai nui rognitha* **ML.** 115^b 4, cf. 101^c 7, **Sg.** 117^a 1, 138^a 4; *intan ata n-gortai* **ML.** 76^d 14, cf. **Sg.** 31^a 8; *oldaas ata n-diglaidi* **ML.** 111^c 8.

at (et):—*it hésiði et inbéso* **ML.** 27^a 9, *it hexidi at inbésa* 1090 45^d 1; *an-at n-acailsi* 48^a 10, cf. 75^b 5, 100^c 16, 107^c 7, 146^a 4, *ol at n-emecha* 121^c 15; without relative sense *air at cuidi tirmaidi* **ML.** 123^d 3.¹

In certain combinations the above copula forms are replaced by others, cf. also pp. 26, 29.

(a) **da**-, etc.

Sg. 1. -da:—*amal no-n-da frechdircc-sa* **Wb.** 9^b 4, *amal no-n-da* 1095 *thorisse* 10^a 28, *anu-n-da thinnachtae-se* **ML.** 126^d 12, *con-da anecne* **Wb.** 17^c 10, cf. 19^a 17, *con-da apstal* 13^b 6, *cota béu* **ML.** 44^c 11, *nita chumme-se* **Wb.** 20^c 25, cf. **ML.** 91^d 8, *nida apstal* **Wb.** 18^c 1.²

Sg. 2. -da:—*annu-n-da chocuibsid-siu* **ML.** 58^b 6, *anu-n-da frendaire* 1100 38^c 27, cf. 23^a 17, *ano-n-da imdibe* 112^b 17, *cenita chumgabtha-siu* 84^c 3, *lassani no-n-da brithem* 92^a 15.

Sg. 3. -ta³:—In impersonal construction with infixed pronoun *nimtha firion* **Wb.** 8^d 24, *nita (= ní-n-ta) cumace* 4^a 6, *hóre nimtha laám* 12^a 21. 1105

Pl. 1. -dan:—*ánnu-n-dan deeth-ni* **ML.** 120^b 3, *con-dan fírianíchthi* **Wb.** 2^d 14, cf. 15^b 19, 17^b 15, 20^d 10, *nitan reprobi-ni* 18^b 9, *nidan chumachtig* 14^c 41, cf. 14^d 37.⁴

Pl. 2. -dad:—*amal no-n-dad maicc cóima* **Wb.** 27^b 16, *cenutad suire* 4^a 10, *cenotad maic-si railh* 33^b 8, *nidad ferr-si* 8^c 7, cf. 14^a 8, 1110 21^b 14, *nitad lib fésin* 9^d 11.⁵

Pl. 3. -dat, -tat:—*con-dat reli* **ML.** 51^d 15, *con-dat anman* **Sg.** 188^b 3, *in-dat Iudei* **Wb.** 5^b 34,⁶ *in-dat m-briathru* **ML.** 44^b 9, 10, *indaimser in-dat slúin ennaic* 76^a 6, *nitaat cosmuli* **Wb.** 9^b 17,

¹ In **ML.** 96^b 5 in *creti dúnni atosge huile atosge* should be corrected to *ata tosse*.

² The isolated *nitan toirnech* in **Wb.** 15^b 21, in spite of the fact that it glosses *non angustiamur*, can hardly be anything but the 1 sg. Cf. *nidam snimuch* Salt. Rann, 2382.

³ In **Wb.** 20^c 26 read *amal dá marb* = 'like two dead.'

⁴ In **Cod. Cam.** 37^d occurs the isolated *nu-n-dem* with which Thurneysen (*Celt. Zeitschr.*, i, 4) compares the 2 pl. *cenuded* Bezz. Beitr., xvii, 135.

⁵ In **Wb.** 27^c 11 Zimmer and Stokes supply *ma(n)d iriathri*, a form to which I have no parallel.

⁶ 'Welche die Juden sind,' Pedersen, *Celt. Zeitschr.*, ii, 380. Pedersen takes *indat* to mean literally 'wherein they are,' but why not then *kitaat*?

- 1115 *nitat follig* 6^a 22, cf. 8^a 17, 8^c 4, 31^d 9, 32^d 14, **ML.** 3^a 6, **Sg.** 61^a 24, *nitat Israelti* **Wb.** 4^c 5, cf. 7^d 12, 11^b 17, 12^b 18, 19, 23, 22^b 17, **Sg.** 69^a 25, 189^a 10, 203^b 6, *nitat ildáni do óenfiur* **Wb.** 21^a 16, *nídat chummai* **ML.** 115^b 3, cf. 60^b 1, 79^b 7, 130^d 7, *nitat huili it maicc* **Wb.** 4^c 6, cf. 26^b 2 ((*nit*)at),
- 1120 *nitat huili robtar tuicsi* 11^a 21, cf. 11^a 23, *nitat peethi collnidi hiecatar* 4^a 8, cf. 19^b 12, **ML.** 108^b 7¹; *natat beca* **ML.** 18^b 6, *cíð natat sláin* **Wb.** 28^b 1; *na-n-dat foirbthi* 26^b 3, *eruth na-n-dat choms-* **Sg.** 201^b 12, cf. **ML.** 130^a 8, *annan-dat* (MS. *andat*) *sechit* 18^b 3, *hóre na-n-dat filii* **Wb.** 4^c 8; cf. also the formula *sechit*at (*Ascoli Gloss.*, ccii).²
- 1125 (b) -id, -did, in 3 sg. along with certain conjunctions.

-id.

- cenid*:—*cinidlúith lib* **Wb.** 12^b 9, *cenid ed as chetnae n-áis* **ML.** 44^c 26, cf. 42^b 7, 85^b 11, **Sg.** 5^b 4 (*cinith*), 35^b 13 (*cinid*), 202^a 5.
- 1130 *conid*:—*conid sain* **ML.** 14^d 13, cf. **Sg.** 93^b 5, 147^a 3, *conid hinunn folad duib* 9^a 15, *conid ainm dun chrunn* **Wb.** 8^a 5, cf. **Sg.** 29^a 8, 40^a 15, 45^b 1, 208^a 8, *conid cummae aramber biuth* **ML.** 69^a 18, *conid airi rolaad* **Sg.** 153^b 6, cf. 93^b 7, 189^b 2.
- 1135 *innid* (= *indid*?):—*innid eula nech* **ML.** 42^c 4.
- honid*:—*honid techtas molad Dæ* **ML.** 51^c 2.
- manid*:—*manid fir* **Wb.** 13^b 14, cf. 27^c 11, *manid innonn forcital linn* 17^b 32, *manid ar lóg* 10^d 26, *manid co seithi rocretis* 10^a 30.

1140 -did.

- arndid*:—*ciné fochainn arndid n-uisse* (leg. *huisse*?) **ML.** 101^a 3, cf. **Sg.** 200^a 13, **Ber.** 33^d 5, *cíð arndid hua thuishdaib disruthaigedar* **Sg.** 198^b 3.
- condid*:—*condid firianu* **Wb.** 2^a 7, cf. **ML.** 90^a 11, *condid indibis spirtalde* **Wb.** 2^b 22, cf. 9^d 2, 14^d 35, *condid diib rogab cách* 24^c 14, cf. **Bv.** 4^c 2.
- diandid*:—*diandid tintud linnai a sanetis* **ML.** 37^a 10, *diandid nomen Hiber* **Sg.** 100^b 1. In the same way *diant* is used, *diant ainm* **Wb.** 26^a 5, cf. **ML.** 2^c 2 (MS. *diandiant*),
- 1150 118^b 6, 121^d 1.

¹ In **ML.** 128^d 1 for *nít derachtai* should probably be restored *nitat derachtai*; though *nít* occurs several times in the Féilire, it is there probably an artificial poetical form. In **ML.** 92^c 13 *nita terca acht is mara* should be *nitat terca acht it mara*. In *nídat n-esmana* **ML.** 92^d 13 the infixed *n* is strange, as also in *indat m-briathra* l. 1113.

² But the simple *sech*i is found followed by the subjunctive, **Wb.** 5^b 18, 7^b 3, **ML.** 73^c 14, 112^b 6.

ondid:—*ondid accobor limsa Wb.* 12^d 23, *in arim hoidid* (leg. *hondid*) *a n-dies Sg.* 66^b 9.

indid:—*indid immaircide Wb.* 12^d 18, *indid mailliu Bcr.* 25^c 1, *indid óa* (by which it is less) 33^b 6.

(c) **cesu, massu.**

1155

cesu:—*cesu thréde in tumud Wb.* 21^d 13, cf. *Sg.* 158^a 3, *cesu dánatu dom* 90^a 5, *cesu chen rema-do* 78^b 2, *cesu fri crích doéiu* 217^b 12, *cesu meinciu aranecar* 137^b 2, *cesued as gnath* 203^a 23, *cesu locdatu as aicned* 217^b 12, cf. 21^a 1 (*ceso*), 41^b 10, 59^a 6, 75^a 5, 91^a 3, *cesu i n-er theit* 38^a 1, cf. 206^a 3 (*cheso*). 1160

ciasu:—*ciasu airegdu Wb.* 11^c 17, cf. 12^a 5, *MI.* 26^d 12, 45^b 20, 68^b 5, *ciasu gnathiu do fositin* 26^c 4, cf. 67^a 4, *ciavo demnithir so forconnucuir Wb.* 28^c 14, *ciavo folud sluindes Sg.* 211^b 7 (*ciasu*), *ciasu i colinn am béo-sa Wb.* 19^a 20, *ciasu iartain rocet MI.* 2^b 6, cf. 34^d 6 (*ciasa*), 67^a 4, 72^d 9. 1165

cetu:—*ceto thóisege Wb.* 18^d 14, cf. *Sg.* 203^b 10, *cetu chummasethai* 62^a 2, *cetu chuimbri* (MS. *cethuc cuimbri*) *Pcr.* 1^a 3.

massu¹:—*massu made Wb.* 13^a 34, cf. 13^b 12, 15^b 14 (*maso*), 20^c 2, *masu quis ascendit .i. masu chundubart* 4^d 28, *masa chumachtae n-dom MI.* 118^a 5, *massu rath som Wb.* 5^a 30, 1170 *masu dúthracht* 16^c 18, *massu ní* 20^b 8, *masa choindiu MI.* 108^c 16, *masu prouomen Sg.* 207^b 3, *proprium masued* 88 2, cf. 50^b 13, 192^b 7, *Wb.* 19^b 11, *masued doroiguid* 20^a 4, cf. *MI.* 52, *Sg.* 27^a 11, *massu amnín ataam Wb.* 13^c 12, *massu bethu frecndirc tantum nomthá* 13^c 11, cf. 10^d 26, 13^b 21, 13^c 10, 1175 19^b 1, *Sg.* 148^b 9, *massu and is amplius Wb.* 2^a 3, *massu ar in bethid frecndirc tantum dagniu* 13^c 11, cf. 10^a 29, 20^b 16, 23^d 29.

matu:—*matu hé ata horpamin Wb.* 2^c 14.

Imperfect.

There are no specifically imperfect forms. See the preterite.

Preterite.

(a) With *ro-*.

Sg. 1. **ropsa**:—*doménar-sa ropsa beo Wb.* 3^c 27, *ropsa airchinnech* 18^c 15, *rupsa frithortæ-se* 33^a 12, *is do ropsa omnia* 11^a 2, 1180 *ropsa huallach-sa MI.* 49^b 12, *durumenar romsa (= ro-m-b-sa) Dia* 7 *rom bithbéu* 49^b 13, cf. 130^d 4, *arromsa cumscagthe*

¹ *massu* corresponds to the negative *manid*: cf. *Wb.* 10^a 29, 30, 10^d 26.

- 46^b 9, *arumsa loisethe* 118^d 1, *huare romsa ugaire* 96^d 1, *arrumsa assarcaigthe-se* 27^b 8, cf. 62^c 9, 103^a 4 (or sg. 2?);
1185 *corupsa lán díib* 104^d 3; *anna robsa bithe* 45^d 6.

-rbsa:—*ciarpsa cimbid* **Wb.** 30^a 6, *nirbsa dagduine* 18^c 14, *anurbsa fuillectae-se* **ML.** 127^c 17.

- Sg. 3. robo**¹:—*robo diliu linn* **Wb.** 14^d 13, *ropo seith linn* 14^b 26, cf. 14^b 24, 23^d 11, *ropo irlam* 14^d 29, cf. 19^d 7 (*intain*),
1190 21^b 5, 21^c 22 (rel.), 23^d 12, 27^d 19, 30^c 17, *ropo fochunn gnímo don peccad* 3^c 23, *ropo ainm dúibsi* 9^c 29, cf. 13^a 12 (rel.), 14^b 3, *robo dúibsi* 24^c 22, *hóre ropo co failti tuccad* 24^b 26; *ro-m-bo desicpúl* 18^d 1, *amal ro-m-bo marb* 15^b 25, cf. 22^a 2, 26^b 7, 26^d 16, *amal ro-m-bo thol do dóinib* 24^d 4, *intain ro-m-bo mithig less* 31^a 10, *hore ro-m-bo sollicite* 30^a 7.
1195

- robu**¹:—*is airi inso robu inmaircide* **ML.** 14^a 4, *rubu lathartha* 32^c 2, *robu mou de* 61^c 8, cf. 25^c 16 (*an*), 72^b 18 (*rubu*), 87^c 4, 90^c 27, 96^a 10 (*robú*), 105^b 8, 111^b 27, 130^c 18, **Sg.** 148^a 6, 153^b 5, **Tur.** 33, 97 (*ropu*), **Pcr.** 1^a 1 (*rupu* rel.), *rubu fer son muintere* **Wb.** 33^a 5, *rupu accubur leu* 33^a 11, *robu thol do* (rel.) **ML.** 33^a 18, cf. 46^a 17, 50^c 14, 54^a 9 (rel.), 54^a 34 (*amal*), 63^b 5 (*rubu* rel.), 71^b 2, 124^b 6, **Sg.** 17^a 5 (quia *robdu*), **Tur.** 13, 17, *rupu si arreilic* **Wb.** 33^a 22, *robu si á cial* **ML.** 95^a 9, *robu du thabernacuil robu ainm son* 100^b 12, *robu samlid robói* **Sg.** 203^b 5; *ar ro-m-bu suidigthe* **ML.** 48^d 6, cf. 53^b 14, 62^b 22, *amal ro-m-bu reil damsá* 113^b 4, *hore ro-m-bu thoisdech* **Wb.** 33^a 20, cf. **ML.** 2^b 6, 18^d 20, 59^a 14, *isindi ro-m-bu foraithe* 122^d 7, *dég ro-m-bu écindare do* **Sg.** 148^a 6, *huare ro-m-bu mór dorat* **ML.** 136^c 11; *con-rubu chrín* **ML.** 99^a 2, *con-ropu la Dia* 67^c 9, *cor-robu bec du essarcnib furodamarsa* 131^b 12, *lasin-rubu chumtubart* 102^d 4, *lasin-rubu maith* 131^d 11.
1200
1205
1210

- rbo**:—*nirbo ais muntaire* **Wb.** 21^b 12, *nirbo mraithem* 32^d 15, *nirbo sár leu* 19^a 1, cf. 16^b 19, 29^d 9, 30^a 6, *nirbo chuit eperte* 24^c 5, cf. 32^d 4, *cinirbo etruib robammar-ni* 24^c 22, *geinti narbo plebs Dei* 4^d 3; *ciurbo abortibus* 13^b 8, *hore narbo lour linn* 24^b 20.
1215

¹ These forms are found in an idiomatic meaning of *aut, uel* (cf. Pedersen, *KZ.*, lxxv, 404), *robo* **Wb.** 5^d 10, **Sg.** 197^a 1, 200^b 6, *robu* **ML.** 30^d 11, 44^c 6, 70^c 4, 77^a 13, 109^c 3, **Sg.** 28^a 12, *rubu* **ML.** 121^b 6, *rodbo* **Wb.** 14^c 24, 16^d 7, 29^d 29, cf. *rodbu forcetal nó scribend nó uaim n-etaig* **LBr.** 11^b 13, *rodbo o littrib no o himaccalmairib* Celt. Zeit., ii, 321, further *Laus*, iv, 340. It may be noted that *robo* has also a subj. force (p. 40), from which this development could be better understood.

- rbu**:—*annarbu buidech* **ML.** 40^d 10, 145^a 1 (**MS.** *annar-budech* corr. Ascoli), cf. 86^d 14, *ciarbu minimus* **Wb.** 13^b 8, *nirbu aithrech limsa* 16^b 6, *hore nirbu foirbthe* 33^b 4, cf. **ML.** 1220 33^c 13, 34^c 17, 46^c 19, 72^b 4, 88^b 4 (*nirbuo*), 92^d 6, 97^b 2, **Sg.** 42^a 7, 8, *nirbu doinect cen deacht* **Wb.** 15^d 16, *nirbu choimdiu* 33^a 5, cf. **ML.** 124^b 5, **Sg.** 5^b 6, 31^b 22, *nirbu samlaid s6n doibsom* **ML.** 90^c 27, *nirbu cen frithorcuin* 63^b 7, *nirbu fada foruig6ni* **Wb.** 13^b 7, cf. **ML.** 113^d 7, *corbu 6cen* **Wb.** 32^c 17, *connarb6* 1225 *huain doib* **ML.** 100^a 3, *hore nirbu bae la Iudeu* **Wb.** 5^b 12, cf. **ML.** 18^d 18, *ani narbu dilmain* 60^a 13, *diarbu etarcnad* **Tur.** 22.
- Pl. 1. **robumar**:—*robumar cumdrichthi* **ML.** 43^d 6, *huare robummar bibdid-ni* 62^d 5.
- rbommar**:—*nirbommar utmaill, nirbommar tromdi* **Wb.** 1230 26^b 14.
- Pl. 3. **robtar**:—*robtar irlim* **Wb.** 7^b 5, cf. 2^d 11, 11^a 21, 23, 27^c 8, 29^b 2, **ML.** 23^a 13, 47^a 18, 48^d 12 (rel.), 49^a 16, 53^d 10 (*amal*), 63^b 3, 91^c 25, 123^a 8, **Acr.** 68, **Ber.** 18^b 11 (*ruptar* rel.), *robtar hesidi aidmi oipretho pectho* **Wb.** 3^c 14, *ce ruptar enartu* 1235 **ML.** 49^a 17, cf. 40^d 16, *hi-roptar bibduid* 124^c 2, *ro-m-dar tosga*, 96^b 5, cf. 125^b 9, *fobith romatar indarmthi* 78^b 12, *arrumtar doirthi* 34^d 10, cf. 100^c 26 (*arramtar*), *hore romtar 6is teglig* **Wb.** 7^b 13.
- rbtar**:—*connarbtar ni* **ML.** 99^d 7. 1240

(b) Without *ro*-.

- Sg. 1. **basa**:—*basa Iudide* **Wb.** 10^d 34.
- psa**:—*nipsa tr6m for nech* **Wb.** 17^c 2, *nipsa Iudide* 10^d 35, *cainipsa s6ir* (were I not free) *ce dugu6n* 10^c 4.
- Sg. 3. **-bo, -po**¹:—*cia bo lobur* **Wb.** 16^c 26, *nipo ch6im less frinn*² 4^b 12, cf. 2^c 25, *nibo m6r a m-brig linn* 18^d 10, *nipo irgnae* 1245 3^a 1, *nipo accobor lassin fer nopridchad suide* 13^a 20, *nipo dia airchisnecht* 4^c 21, *nipo u6ib* 13^a 20, *nibo ar seirc moidme* 17^a 13, cf. 24^c 19, *nipo chen6el domaa* 5^a 14; (= were) *ciu bo asse dom* 23^d 28, *nibo comilesti d6 acht ba l6icthi* 1^c 12, *nibo llach a marbad* 4^a 12, *ciarfemtha* . . . *nipo m6iti* (it were not to be 1250 boasted of) 8^d 28, *nibo uisse* (?) 21^a 11, *nibo decming* 21^a 13, *co m-bo uisse* 15^d 20.³

¹ For *nipo h6t6ir dorat* **Wb.** 4^c 35 Thurneysen suggests *ni fo chet6ir*, or should we read *nipo fochet6ir*?

² *leg. nipo choim6iless less frinn*?

³ With elision of the final vowel *niparmaid rosnuice* **Wb.** 5^b 3, so probably 26^b 23.

- bu, -pu:—*ciabu ole* **ML.** 24^c 12, *cepu fri aicned* **Wb.** 2^c 25, *cepu ed adroillisset* 4^c 35; *nipu imdu* 16^c 25, *nipu immacus* 18^d 5, 1255 *nipu lugu* 16^c 26, *nibu gnath* **ML.** 123^d 3, *nibu (i)ncián riam* 32^b 17, *nipu accobor leiss* **Wb.** 14^a 22, *nibu ar chuingid for sét* 24^d 7, *nibu sua reir fosin boisom* **ML.** 14^b 13, cf. 95^a 5, *nipu lib int órd so* **Wb.** 9^c 17, *nipu nach derninnse* **Wb.** 8^a 5; *cid arna bu son* **ML.** 56^a 13, *onabu accobur lium biad* 127^c 13, *conepertis nadmbu* (were not?) *choir* 136^b 4, *nambu tressa* 53^d 6, 1260 *diambu thabanthi ermitiu feid 7 imbu choir frecur céil* *Dæ* 22^a 4; (=were) *nipu huisse* **Wb.** 8^d 6, *nibu chumme* 9^c 24, cf. 13^d 20, 14^b 4 (*nipu*), 23^c 23, 33^b 13, **ML.** 100^b 22, *nibu machdad* **Sg.** 68^a 3, **ML.** 110^d 6, **Sg.** 6^a 9 (*nibbu*), 62^b 2 (*nibbu*), 65^a 1, 1265 *canipu uissiu* **Wb.** 10^d 12, *co m-bu uisse* **ML.** 98^c 6, *co m-bú mithich* 118^d 15.¹

- ba*:—*ba habens*² **Wb.** 3^a 1, *doménarsa ba marb* 3^c 26, *ba n-dilmáin* (that it was) 10^d 14, *sech ba foirbthe* 19^a 11, cf. 29^d 13, *huare ba ferr* **ML.** 23^b 7, *ba madae* (parallel to ipf.) 19^c 5, *bá inféiti* (g. esset intenta) 28^c 17, *aní ba buthi ar thuus* 29^a 8, cf. 46^a 11, 1270 *ba trom foraib* 34^d 12, cf. 35^b 26, 58^c 6, 73^b 17, 96^b 17, *sech ba indeithbeir doib* 97^d 15, *ised asbertis ba madae dom* 106^d 3, *ba lugae leu* (rel.) 118^c 5, *iarsindí ba teipirsanige* 129^d 5, *bá firianu* **Sg.** 43^a 1, *aní ba choitchenn* 50^a 3, *ba samlid* **ML.** 84^c 9, 1275 *ba mó brón damsá* (parallel to ipf.) 86^d 6, *is dusuidib ba inbesa* (g. quibus moris erat) 31^d 12, *ba bíbdu baís leusom* **Wb.** 1^d 15, *ba ainm leosom peccatum dund idbairt* (parallel to ipf.) 15^d 20, *huare ba macc Dé* 33^c 6, *ba apstal Moysi* 32^d 14, *da leinn ba firinne* 31^d 5, *iarsindí ba mane moch riam* **ML.** 21^c 4, *ba cumdubart i n-etaste fanacc* 43^d 20, *bá brón du suidib* (parallel to ipf.) 44^c 6, cf. **Cod. Cam.** 37^d, *ba fomraid a bellrae sídi* **ML.** 53^d 3, *lasse ba snim fora menmuin* 89^b 7, *sech ba degedbart* 87^b 8, 1280 *ba aithis daitsiu* (parallel to ipf.) 91^a 6, *ba la amiressechu* **Wb.** 9^c 17, *ba árosc sin* (MS. ársin) *la aithrea* **ML.** 136^a 5, *ba bés leusom dobertis* **Tur.** 120^c, cf. **Sg.** 4^a 9, *ba contra spem dó* **Wb.** 2^c 24, cf. 3^a 8, *ba o apsatalib* 13^a 20, *ba fri aicned* **ML.** 129^d 6, *ba it melacht-su* (parallel to ipf.) 91^a 7, *ba hed á n-óinbiad* 97^d 8, *ba he a n-gnim som molad Dé* 24^a 4, *ba ed a frecræ ade lesom* (parallel to ipf.) 62^c 13, *ar ba miscuis*

¹ Cf. also the phrase *cepu dono* **Wb.** 7^d 16, 19^a 14. In 8^d 15 *cedono rigneocco* means 'what is the use of prolixity in it?' Cf. *igin* **ML.** 25^a 5, *rine labartha* **LL.** 345^c 10.

² Apart from other reasons, it is clear from the order that *Pelagius* is a note which has got into the wrong place.

atroillisset **Wb.** 4^c 14, cf. 32^d 14, **ML.** 39^a 3, 58^c 6, 64^a 10, **Sg.** 1290 185^b 4, *hore ba ó Dia dofoided* **Wb.** 32^d 14, *ba inna elluch atarimtis* **Sg.** 188^a 3, cf. **ML.** 30^a 3, 95^a 5; *a m-ba n-indrissé* 18^c 14, cf. 19^c 15, 25^a 18, 27^c 20, 32^b 2, 21, 34^c 9, 35^d 6, 75^d 3, 91^a 6, **Pcr.** 57^a 4; (= were) *ba dochu lem* **Wb.** 5^b 31, cf. 5^b 43, *ba uisse hirnaigde erru, ba liach a n-épeltu* 4^d 20, cf. 6^a 8, 9^b 1, 1295 9^c 10 (*fobiith*), 9^d 13, *ba ferr oldaas a digal* 9^c 21, *ba ferr limm* 10^b 24, cf. 10^b 25, 27, 10^c 1, 10, 12^c 30, 13^a 33, 14^c 29, 14^d 10, 15^d 8, 18^c 10, 19^a 8, 20^b 9, 23^b 35, 29^d 13, **ML.** 17^b 6, 27^b 9, 35^a 9, 45^b 14, 58^d 16, 61^b 15 (*bá*), 81^c 7, 95^d 13, *ba bec mad asberad* 129^b 12, *ba mmadach* (casse esset) 135^a 9, *ba 1300 riagolda* **Sg.** 31^b 21, cf. 38^a 2, 57^b 8, 66^b 14, 161^b 5, 162^b 2, 197^a 11, *olsodain bá sainred do fem.* 69^a 20, *ba méite limm* **Wb.** 29^d 8, *ba cosce carat* 5^b 32, *ba saithur do cia damelad* 10^d 3, *ba imehomarc espach* **ML.** 35^c 26, *ba hé cúrsagad maith* **Wb.** 14^d 19, cf. 19^c 4, *ba he ind ord* **ML.** 65^d 11, cf. 136^c 2, *ba 1305 hed ón ba choir* **Wb.** 10^b 9, **Sg.** 38^a 2, 57^b 8, 66^b 14, 115^b 1, 117^a 5, **ML.** 76^b 3, 73^b 4.¹

Pl. 3. *batar*:—*innahi batar buthi* **ML.** 23^c 16, *air batar carait iresaig adi* 31^a 3.

batir:—*iarsindi batir inricci du báas huili* **Wb.** 5^c 14, *batir* 1310 *athissi sidi daitsiu* (parallel to ipf.) **ML.** 90^d 17.

-*btar*:—*ciaptar mora a pecthai* 98^c 5, *cebtar hé riam* **Wb.** 4^a 10, *amtar m-bati* **ML.** 84^d 5, *amtar feuchraigthi* 124^c 9, *an-ámtar duidchi sidi* **Sg.** 6^a 12, *an-naptar* (MS. ar: aptar) *buidig* **ML.** 123^a 1. 1315

Future.

Sg. 2. -*ba*:—*co m-ba soilse-siu* **Wb.** 22^c 3.

Sg. 3. *bid*:—*bid fir a tairngire* **Wb.** 2^c 19, *bid ferr* 1^d 21, cf. 3^b 2, 4^a 13, 4^d 21, 5^c 5 (*bith*), 5^d 39, 9^b 7, 9^c 34, 10^a 5, 18^a 13, 23^d 2, 25^b 21, 25^c 28, 26^a 18, 30, 28^a 19, **ML.** 16^a 11, 13, 57^c 7 (*bith*), 83^b 11, 90^b 10 (*bith*), 107^a 15 (MS. *bit*), 107^a 16, 110^c 2 (*bith*), 1320 111^d 3, 114^b 5, 126^d 3, 128^c 7, 137^b 7, **Sg.** 2^a 7 (*bith*), 39^b 13, 187^a 1, *bid hinunn randatu doib* 188^a 7, *bid fiach* **Wb.** 2^b 26, *bid cuingid rochuingid* 8^a 7, *bid unathema a forcenn* 18^c 11, cf. 3^d 31, 32, 12^a 27, 13^a 13, 24^a 30, **ML.** 90^a 9 (*bith*), **Sg.** 147^b 3 (*bith*), 159^a 3, *bid brothad* **Wb.** 25^b 26, *bid tuad domsa mo nebthvad* 4^d 1, 1325 *bid bonitas tibi* 5^b 36, *bith moirce domsa* 10^d 25, cf. 14^d 11,

¹ In **ML.** 37^a 8 for *badoib berthir sanctis*, should we read *bid doib bérthir sanctis*?

28^b 17, 28^d 15, **ML.** 44^c 9, *bid héet libsi geinti do bith i n-hiris*
Wb. 5^a 13, *bid do precept* 23^b 29, *bid hi noibad dúibsi* 3^b 31, cf.
 3^a 9, 12^c 14, *bid si a fochrice* 20^c 13, *bid huathad creitfes diib*
 1330 4^d 5, cf. 4^a 13, 5^c 12, 9^c 9, 9^d 27 (*bith*), 13^b 26, 25^a 3, 32^a 25,
ML. 107^a 15, *in linn nodchreitfeá bid i n-dirgi* (those who shall
 believe, it will be in righteousness [that they shall believe])
Wb. 4^d 7.

-**ba** :—*ni ba maith* **Wb.** 1^d 8, *nipa sapiens* 8^a 16, cf. 4^a 7, 5^b 38,
 1335 11^d 15, 14^a 25, 18^a 4 (*niba*), 18^c 11, 19^d 18, 22^b 23, 25^d 13,
 26^d 26, 29^d 21 (*niba*), 31^a 7, *nám-ba lobur* 6^b 15, *ni ba chian* **ML.**
 56^d 7, cf. 46^b 12, *niba fochen leu a forcital* **Wb.** 30^d 7, *nipa aidrech*
lib 25^d 9, *niba samlaid* **ML.** 27^d 12, *ni ba indodaing* 61^a 21, *nipa*
bibdu recto **Wb.** 4^d 22, *nipa deoladacht* 2^b 26, cf. 19^b 19, *im-ba*
 1340 *flaith* 9^d 3, *ona ba flaith* **ML.** 90^a 9, *ni ba cuit adill* **Wb.** 14^a 8,
 cf. 25^a 29, **ML.** 54^c 7, **Acr.** 79, *niba aimser* **Wb.** 25^b 26, *im-ba*
immalei do 4^b 16, *nipa ex parte* 12^c 14, *nipa hi Spirit Dée*
 12^a 4, *nibba cena dærscugud* **Sg.** 45^a 11, *niba i n-imdbu*
Wb. 23^d 27, 28, *niba hed nisi ar sercc less* 4^b 16, *nipa far*
 1345 *n-ainm-si bias forib* 4^d 2, cf. 5^c 12, *niba unus gebas* 11^a 6,
 cf. 25^a 38, **ML.** 31^c 16, 37^c 20, 100^d 4, **Sg.** 36^b 1 (*nibbá*). In
Wb. 17^b 20 *nibarsaithar* seems = *niba ar saithar*, so 17^b 18.

Relative : **bas** :—*doig bas fir* **Wb.** 5^d 36, cf. 5^c 4, 10^b 23,
 17^d 20, **ML.** 35^d 12, **Bcr.** 32^b 5, *ni bas toil doib* **Wb.** 30^c 4, *lasse*
 1350 *bas n-uáin do* 14^a 25.

bes :—*mór ní bes n-adblumu foir* **Wb.** 2^d 14, *bieid bes ferr de*
 32^a 13, *bes sonirt* 14^b 19, cf. 4^c 18 (leg. *bes sóir mo breth-se* ?),
 8^d 4, 20^c 15 (**MS.** *be*), 27^c 14, **ML.** 63^a 6, 72^d 1, 94^a 4, *is hé*
á oenur bes ní **Wb.** 13^c 3, *is hed bes chobuir dó* 20^c 10.

1355 Pl. 1. **bimmi**, etc. :—*bimmi æcni et bimmi foirbthi uili* **Wb.** 12^c 9,
is in chruthsin bimmi nóib-ní 3^d 27, *bemmi caelestes* 13^d 15,
bami coeredes 4^a 17.

Pl. 3. **bit** :—*bit goacha* **Wb.** 26^a 19, cf. 30^a 13, **Sg.** 187^a 2 (**MS.** *bid*),
bit dilmaini du denum chluinde **ML.** 107^a 10, *bit hibdid huili* **Wb.**
 1360 2^a 14, *bit filii Dei a n-ainm* 4^d 3, cf. **ML.** 85^b 2, **Sg.** 4^b 1, *bit less*
ind huili dáni **Wb.** 27^b 15, *bit hé na precepte nopridchob* 17^b 20,
bit hé magistir dongegat 30^d 8, *bit dechoms- asbertar* **Sg.** 73^b 8.

-**bat** :—*co m-bat foilsí* **ML.** 112^b 10, *a m-bat n-airbirthi biuth*
 94^d 1, cf. 75^d 6, 90^b 3, 114^c 17, *nípat ferr da* **Wb.** 12^d 28, *ni*
 1365 *bat briathra nach aili* 68^c 10, *nípat hé indíi beta thuicsi di ludeib*
nammá beite isin inducbáil sin **Wb.** 4^c 40, *anam-bet ecailsí*
ML. 15^d 7 (or subj. ?).

Relative: **beta**:—*beta téit* **Wb.** 29^a 1, *beta hicti* 3^d 29, cf. **ML** 70^a 9, 94^a 4, 5.

Secondary Future.

Sg. 3. **rob**ad:—*rabad assu* **Wb.** 25^b 17, *rob*ad maith a flaithemnas **ML** 1370 89^b 9, cf. 105^b 14, **Wb.** 2^c 12, *rop*ad maith limsa 12^c 29, *rob*ad frecor aithirrech **ML** 131^a 8, *ro-m-bad* pater **Wb.** 2^c 21, *rob*ad bethu dom 3^c 28, *ropp*ad diil tanisi **Sg.** 111^b 2, *rob*ad dund sasad diant ainm panis noregad **ML** 118^b 6, *rop*ad for n-*gen* deilb nobbiad **Sg.** 90^b 2, cf. 120^a 1. 1375

-**bad**:—*nib*bad bind **Sg.** 58^b 5, *ni pad*naidrech **Wb.** 5^c 9,¹ *ni bad* scith **ML** 103^b 4, *ni bad* samlaid **Sg.** 4^b 4, 207^b 2, *ni bad* nertad **Wb.** 10^c 21, *ni bad* pronomen airi **Sg.** 203^b 2, *ni bad* a *denur* dó **Wb.** 14^a 21, *ci*pad a *déne* ind hesséirgi 25^b 27.

bed:—*cia* **bed** flaith **ML** 89^b 7,² cf. *bed messe* g. ratum fore 1380 105^b 14.

Pl. 3. **robtis**:—*robtis* maithi **Wb.** 16^b 19, *roptis* imdai **ML** 15^c 8, *romdis* (= *ro-m-btis*) *direchtai* **ML** 48^d 12.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present.

Sg. 1. **ba**:—*niba* dimicthe-se libsi **Wb.** 21^d 3, *cia ba* beo 23^b 29, cf. 18^a 7, *main-ba* æcne lib 17^c 10. 1385

Sg. 2. **ba**:—*arm-ba* cháinchomraccach-so **Wb.** 30^b 23, *cia ba* loingthech 6^c 9, *cia fa* frián **ML** 36^a 32, *co[m]*-*ba* ingraintid cum[ach]tach donaib hisin 54^b 19.

Sg. 3. **rob**, **-rop**:—*acht ro[b]* bronach **ML** 86^d 12, *act rop* Crist pridches cách **Wb.** 23^b 24, cf. **Sg.** 169^a 1, *rop coræ* doib fri 1390 Dia 20^d 1; *o-rop* indu **Wb.** 3^a 12, *cor-rop* glan 16^a 20, cf. 16^a 21, 19^d 3 (*cor-rup*), 21^a 9 (*corop*), 22^a 10, **ML** 32^d 4 (*corub*), **Sg.** 40^b 7 (*corop*), 59^a 1 (*corub*), *o-rop* innon cretem bes hi fur cridiu **Wb.** 7^d 10, *corub mebuil* leu **ML** 138^c 8, *cor-rop* hed mo indeb Crist **Wb.** 24^a 6, *cor-rup hæ* bas óenairchinneck 26^d 2, *cor-rop* moo assa moo . . . donimdigid 23^b 1, cf. **ML** 129^b 1 (*coru[p]*), 129^b 2 (*cor-rup*), **Sg.** 203^b 7 (*o-rop*).³

-**p**:—*níp* sain **Wb.** 5^d 14, cf. 28^c 1, 30^d 24, 31^b 5, *níb écen* lóg 16^c 17, cf. 22^d 12, *níp imned* libsi 25^a 10, *níb machdad* **Sg.** 158^a 2,

¹ I take the *n* to be an infixed pronoun in impersonal construction, cf. *issin-naithrech* 'we repent' LL. 250^b 17.

² So in **ML** 2^d 2 *isi bed immaurcide* is to be read for *ni bed immaurcide* of the MS.

³ In the defective gloss *coropith ch* :: *son* **ML** 77^a 13, *coropith* seems to stand for *corop bith* 'that it may be a perpetual . . .'

- 1400 cf. **Tur.** 72, *nip i fomraid ade* 18^b 18, *nip si bes airchinnech* 28^b 14, cf. **Sg.** 169^a 1, *nip and noberpaid* **Wb.** 8^b 2; *cid arthuait cláinde dogné nech et nip ar étrud* **Acr.** 28; *arimp¹ aighthidiu* **Wb.** 23^a 23, cf. 32^a 2, *arimp dithnad dúbsi* 14^b 17, *arimp do mórad Dé uile* 15^c 4; **arnap** *trom lib* **Wb.** 14^a 1, cf. 14^d 17, 27^c 16 (*arnáp*),
- 1405 **Sg.** 179^b 1 (*arnab*), *arnap éicen* **Wb.** 29^a 10, *arnap mebul dúbsi* 16^d 13, cf. 25^c 31, *arnap buid for foigdi* 25^b 11, *arnáp hé som coneit* 6^c 7, *airnap ár écin dagnet* **ML.** 83^b 14, *arnap samlid beith* **Tur.** 89; *conaib fir* **ML.** 31^d 9; *cip cruth* **Wb.** 5^d 33, 12^d 24, **ML.** 65^b 11, *cib cenél dia roscribad* 3^b 20, *cip hé ade* **ML.**
- 1410 26^a 1, *cip e asberam* 25^d 12, cf. 25^d 11, **Wb.** 12^a 41; **cinip** *lour* **Wb.** 11^d 15, cf. **ML.** 24^d 22 (*cenib*), **Sg.** 68^b 4 (*cenip*), *cinip hon sémi[gi]detu .i. cenip ho etrummugud* **ML.** 59^a 23, *cenib ed á ainm som bes foir* 23^d 17; **manip** *sulbair* **Wb.** 8^a 12, cf. 18^c 11, **ML.** 14^d 10, **Sg.** 188^a 12, *mainip in chrudso* **Wb.** 10^a 5,
- 1415 *manip tol lasin fer* **Wb.** 9^d 16, cf. 9^d 18, *manip n* **Sg.** 38^b 3, *manip ho Dia* **Wb.** 6^a 2, cf. 10^b 14, *manip tre dagcomairli dognether* 29^a 21, cf. **Sg.** 20^b 2, 25^b 14²; **sechip** *hé dán doberthar* **Wb.** 13^a 3, cf. 10^a 18, 14^d 28, 20^b 5, **ML.** 37^b 19, 53^a 23, 53^b 1, 120^c 1, 86^d 12, **Sg.** 138^b 4.³
- 1420 -**dip**, -**dib**:—*airn-dip maith* **Wb.** 25^d 21, *airndib tosach* **ML.** 17^c 8, cf. **Tur.** 72, *arndip samlid do chách* **Wb.** 22^c 11, *arndip rucce doib* 30^a 3, *arndip maith n-airlethar* 28^b 32, *airndib ar oas* **ML.** 83^b 15; *in-dib maith* **Wb.** 26^b 24; *duús in-dip fochunn icce* **Wb.** 26^b 27; *con-dib cuimse less a meit* **Wb.** 14^a 3, *condip slán*
- 1425 9^b 9, cf. 12^c 37, 12^c 39, 26^d 16 (*condib*), 26^d 23, 27^b 27 (*condib*), 28^d 20 (*odib*), 29^c 8, *condib sainemail* **ML.** 35^d 22, cf. 67^c 12, 94^c 12, **Sg.** 189^b 2, 198^a 4, 201^b 16, 203^b 9, **Tur.** 72, 89, *condib didnad domsa* **Wb.** 1^b 1, cf. 5^d 10, **ML.** 90^b 13, *condib hé intliucht so domberae as* 94^d 4, *condib ferr domberaidsi*
- 1430 **Wb.** 16^c 9, cf. 24^a 22, 25^d 22 (*condip*), **ML.** 23^c 5, 37^a 10, **Sg.** 20^b 10, 32^c 5.
- ropo**:—*act ropo cho n-etarceit* **Wb.** 13^a 25, cf. 13^a 27.
- corbu** *i m-maith beith* **ML.** 90^d 11, cf. 31^b 16.
- bo**:—*ní bo intain nombeid ar súil tantum dogneith* **Wb.**
- 1435 27^c 9.

¹ In **Wb.** 25^a 9 the disputed *arimtairismech* seems to stand for *arimp tairismech* and to refer to *ut nemo moueatur*. In **ML.** 112^b 1 *im immaircide* may be for *im immaircide*, cf. *dús im chomchétbuid dúib* **Wb.** 10^a 21.

² I.e.g. *manip si in sill- ní bes?* In **Wb.** 31^b 27 *manisgla* should apparently be corrected to *manip gla*.

³ Cf. *s. chi*, p. 32 note.

Relative: **bes**:—*bes meldach* 4^c 19, cf. 6^b 29 (leg. *bes huilliu*), 11^a 24, 17^a 13, 31^d 11, 33^c 15, **ML**. 2^b 1, 19^d 6, 23^d 23, 44^d 7, 49^a 18^b, 51^a 22, 56^b 44, 59^a 12, 94^b 16, 94^c 17, 126^c 18, **Sg.** 7^a 1, *intain bes n-inun accobor leann* **Wb.** 4^a 27, *bes airchinnech* **Wb.** 28^b 14, cf. 20^c 7, **Sg.** 25^b 14, 27^a 18, 169^a 1, 195^a 1. 1440
bas:—*bas uisne* **Wb.** 28^b 9, *bas sciith lim* 18^a 2, *bas toisech* **Sg.** 20^b 2, *intan bas rann* 25^a 1.

As to the peculiar form *bésu*, *béso*, **Wb.** 6^b 23, 24, 19^b 11, it seems to mean 'may be,' but the analysis is uncertain. Is it modelled on *bés* 'perhaps'?

- Pl. 1. **-ban**:—*anumman* (= *an-nu-m-ban*) *aircheltai* **ML**. 27^b 10, *commán* (= *co m-ban*) *dessimrecht do chaich* **Wb.** 31^c 11.
 Pl. 2. **bede**:—*bede preceptori* **Wb.** 13^a 10. 1445
-bad:—*arna bud huilce* **Wb.** 5^d 38, cf. 27^c 34, *co m-bad accomaulti-si limsa* 23^a 26, cf. 26^b 7, *dia m-bad mathi* 16^a 13.¹
 Pl. 3. **ropat**:—*acht ropat sáini* **Sg.** 199^a 1.
-bat:—*bés ní bat chutrummi* **Wb.** 9^d 27, cf. **ML**. 51^b 8; *am-bat n-erchoissi* **ML**. 73^c 9, cf. 127^c 25 (or fut.?), 15^d 7; 1450
arm-bat buidich **Wb.** 7^a 15, cf. 22^d 2, 22^c 10, 31^d 15, **ML**. 130^a 12, *armbut litre nota aram* **Sg.** 6^b 23; *arna-pat toirsich* **Wb.** 26^d 21; *cin-bat huili* **Wb.** 4^d 6; *mani-bat jer[r]som* **ML**. 24^c 1; *co m-bat irlithi* **Wb.** 7^c 14, cf. 13^d 29, 26^c 8, 31^b 25; *im-bat da g bete and ba g 7 n* **Sg.** 15^a 2. 1455
 Relative: **bete**:—*bete gentilia* **Sg.** 33^a 16, cf. 33^a 16, 66^a 4, *m-bete* **ML**. 138^c 17.
beta:—*beta cheti* **ML**. 126^c 4, cf. 34^d 3, 56^a 20, **Sg.** 32^b 14, 54^b 6, 198^a 2, 207^a 9, 207^b 11, 220^a 7.
bata:—*am-bata n-arsigthe* **ML**. 127^a 4, *bata chorai* **Deo** 125^b 5. 1460

Imperfect.

- Sg.** 1. **-bin**, **-benn**:—*no-m-bin dermatach* **ML**. 20^a 4, *com-min inrice dó* **Wb.** 24^a 11, *com bin cosmail* **ML**. 91^b 7, *amal ní* (MS. *air*) *bin fiu leu etir* 44^c 2, *námmin* (= *nám-bin*) *duine* **Wb.** 17^d 23, *arm-benn duine* 130^d 4.
Sg. 2. **niptha labar **Wb.** 5^b 32.² 1465
Sg. 3. **bad**³:—*bad foammamigthe* **Wb.** 13^a 16, *bad huaishliu* 33^d 10, *a m-bad n-inlínigthe* **ML**. 39^d 19, *ce bad hé frisandénte* **Wb.** 9^c 24.**

¹ In **ML**. 115^b 10 *anamabaid buidig* seems an error for *anambad buidig*.

² In **Wb.** 5^b 32 for the inexplicable *armtairismuch* I would suggest *armtha tairismech* 'that thou shouldst be steadfast.'

³ In **Wb.** 21^a 1 for *ba chomadas* we should read *bad chomadas*.

- robad:—*act robad tairismech* **Wb.** 18^d 11.
 corpad:—*corpad mithig lessom* **Wb.** 4^c 37.
- 1470 -bad:—*na bad cola* **Wb.** 33^b 21, *nam-bad rath* 12^d 21; *arm-bad ferr* 10^a 16, cf. 11^a 7, 19, 25^d 26 (*armad*), **ML.** 18^d 6, 35^c 23, *arm-bad peccad* **Wb.** 3^c 20, *armad machdad* **Sg.** 167^a 4, *armad hi coms-* 222^a 6, *arm-bad hi soinni* *qí dosmelmais* **ML.** 111^b 15, cf. 23^b 12, 43^c 13, 104^d 5, **Sg.**
- 1475 211^a 6, **Per.** 56^a 2; *arná-bad rómár leosom* **Wb.** 11^c 7, cf. **ML.** 35^c 23, *arnabad lesom for longais* (sc. *notesed*) 23^b 12, 43^c 13, *co m-bad aurlam* **Wb.** 8^a 4, cf. 6^d 6, 14^c 23, 21^a 13, 25^a 14, 26^b 31, **ML.** 14^a 7, 21^d 1, 65^d 5, 70^a 5, 89^b 15, 92^c 4, 92^d 14, 110^a 6, **Sg.** 72^a 1, 106^b 22, 120^b 2, *co m-bad iarum* **ML.** 70^a 5,
- 1480 *co m-bad innonn indobál diar n-anmanaið* **Wb.** 24^d 13, *co m-bad imned for arail domsa* 23^b 21, *co m-bad æt leu* 5^b 20, *co m-bad aicned n-indib a n-ole* **ML.** 76^a 11, *co m-bad beim foris* **Wb.** 10^a 12, cf. 25^c 23, 28^a 13, **ML.** 86^d 10, 89^d 13, **Sg.** 69^a 26, *co m-bad se apud nos* 209^b 7, *co m-bad ho suidiu pepigi* **Sg.**
- 1485 181^a 3, *co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe* **ML.** 24^d 7, cf. **Sg.** 148^b 5, *co-m-bad snini for moidem-si* **Wb.** 15^d 6, *co m-bad sissi doberad* 18^a 3, cf. 13^a 16, *co m-bad tothim cen eirge nobed* 5^b 10, cf. 18^c 13, 26^b 31, 27^d 16, 32^a 12, **ML.** 16^a 10, 27^d 22, 34^d 6, 35^b 18, 37^b 23, 39^c 15, 48^d 27, 53^c 13, 54^a 21, 95^a 1, 95^c 2, 103^d 16, 111^d 4, 113^c 7, 120^c 6, 124^b 3, 139^a 9,
- 1490 **Sg.** 18^a 4, 21^b 6, 69^a 5, 106^b 16, 120^a 2, 203^a 10; *cona-bad fir* **Wb.** 18^a 18, cf. **ML.** 119^d 6, *conapad fir Dia* 21^c 12, *cona bad eicen doberad* **Wb.** 32^a 12, *nipa[d] dron notbocetha* **Wb.** 5^b 32, *ná bad do Hierusalem nobertis* 16^d 4; *manibbad hinunn lit-* **Sg.** 17^b 8, *manibad fortaehtain Dé* **ML.** 134^b 3, cf. 136^c 2,¹ **Wb.** 4^a 20; *sechipad ed dodaissed* 39^c 15.
- bed:—*inti bed tressa* **ML.** 19^d 5, cf. **Sg.** 162^a 6, *ba doig bed n-ingcert* **ML.** 61^b 15, cf. **Sg.** 30^a 8, *arna tomnathar bed foanma-mickthe* **Wb.** 13^c 2, cf. **ML.** 30^c 5, 40^c 17, 96^b 18, 132^a 4,
- 1500 *nibu machdad bed coitchenn* **Sg.** 68^a 3, *intan bed femin* 66^b 14, *bed nephdiachtae* **ML.** 111^b 6, cf. **Wb.** 33^d 5, *ní bed mo* **ML.** 51^a 2, cf. 54^b 30, 60^b 2, 78^a 4, 92^a 9, 106^b 6, 129^c 2, 136^b 7, **Sg.** 42^b 9, *dünni bed fortachtigthe* **ML.** 64^b 2, *damsa bed gabthi* 76^d 4, cf. 107^a 10, *bed ersailcthi* 14^d 2, cf. 16^a 5, 18^a 6, 19^a 4,
- 1505 22^d 22, 24^a 3, 29^a 15, 34^d 14, 39^d 24, 46^a 27, 53^b 2, 79^c 1, 88^a 14, 92^a 17, 93^a 8, 105^b 13, 125^a 8, 132^a 4, 134^b 2,

¹ In **ML.** 127^d 18 *maip badeacht du atrub indi* should probably be corrected to *main bad deacht*, etc.

137^c 12, **Sg.** 25^b 9, 39^b 11, 68^a 5, **Tur.** 146, *bed n-ecen* **ML.** 51^a 19, *nech bed chare do* 29^c 16, *bed n-oin^salm* 26^c 1, cf. 43^a 15, 86^d 5, *bed n-ainm do doru^s* 131^c 3, *bed f^ou nogab^tis* 35^b 16, cf. 50^b 8, **Sg.** 62^b 2, 209^a 1. 1510

-bed:—*ar bed á arilliud nodnicad* **Wb.** 2^b 4; *co m-bed secunda* **Sg.** 200^a 1, *co m-bed adultera* **Wb.** 3^c 9, *co m-bed caralitates la Greu* **Sg.** 38^b 5, *co m-bed hed nobed and* 3^b 10, *co m-bed samlid dagneth* **ML.** 51^d 2; *main bed maith latsu* **Wb.** 32^a 11, *main bed accuis* 9^b 19, *main bed diar nestad* 6^c 31; 1515 *dús im-bed do Duaid coneitsitis* **ML.** 87^c 4.

bid:—*indoich bid indirge do Dia* **Wb.** 4^c 16, cf. 10^d 1, *indoich bid frithorcun lib* 18^a 9, *indoich bid ar for m^rath* 18^a 15, *doig liun bid exaggeranter duintad* **ML.** 89^d 6, *ni meite bid machdad forru* **Sg.** 161^b 12, *is ferr bid oin sech-leu* 184^b 1, 1520 *bu coru bid adnuntiabit nobeth híc* **ML.** 45^b 14, *arna tomnitis som bid do irgairiu cotulto* **Wb.** 25^c 12, *amal bid éét limsa moort do gabál* 23^b 18; *amal bid Dia* 26^a 7, *amal bid moanmain-se* 32^a 8, cf. 28^d 17, *amal bid inn accaldim deithidnig* **ML.** 35^c 27, *amal bid in chlothi* 48^b 3, cf. 18^d 5, 35^c 25 (*bith*), 37^b 22 1525 (*fid*), 42^c 19, 75^a 2, 136^a 1, **Sg.** 188^a 26 (leg. *inn aimsir?*), *amal bid taræsi n-uile* **ML.** 74^a 2, *amal bid horaili nuasliyi* 2^a 6, cf. 23^c 9, 30^d 27, 32^a 25, 37^d 19, 40^d 17, 49^a 11, 49^d 11, 54^d 10, 80^a 2, 88^c 12, 101^d 12, 118^b 3, 129^c 12, **Sg.** 2^a 6, 9^b 11 (*bith*), 31^b 22, 192^b 4, *amal bid dúib doemoised* **Wb.** 1530 5^d 26, cf. 10^c 12, 19^b 6, 24^d 21, 32^a 17, **ML.** 20^b 18, 32^a 5, 44^a 19, 44^b 8, 49^a 11, 51^b 15, 62^c 2, 63^b 9, 68^b 2, 68^b 3, 78^b 14, 84^c 9, 130^d 15, 131^d 12, **Sg.** 33^a 18, 217^b 15; *amal bid annumothaiged* **ML.** 25^a 12, cf. 34^b 11 (*fid*), 46^a 23, *amal bid a n-durochrech* 68^c 11; *is cumme do bid indebthe* **Wb.** 1^d 20, 1535 cf. 10^c 3, 4, **ML.** 92^a 12, **Sg.** 10^a 11, *is cumme do bid ed asberad* **ML.** 95^b 7, cf. 67^a 8, *indaas bid praeceptoir asidindissed* 42^b 18, cf. 123^c 10, 135^a 13, *oldaas bid ar n-dinsem* **Wb.** 4^b 17, *oldaas bid iniquus asberad* **ML.** 59^a 7.¹

ni bad:—*amal ni bad fⁱu* **ML.** 63^d 2, *amal ni bad atrab* 1540 68^b 3, *amal ni bad hua nach comthumus* 63^d 2, *amal ni bad cen cinta dugnetis* 74^a 1.

¹ In **ML.** 19^b 11 *imbí bid* is unintelligible and is probably corrupt. In **ML.** 59^a 12 *mad huaicniud bes amlabar 7 bid ho gennim*, I do not understand the variation between *bes* and *bid*. In **Wb.** 1^b 16, as I have suggested before, *amal asbodia* seems a mixture of *amal as Dia* 'as God,' and *amal ní bad Dia* 'as though He were not God.'

- Pl. 1. **bemmis**:—*ar bemmis muntar-ni dait* **ML.** 102^b 16; *amal bemmis fordiucailsi* 134^b 5, *amal bemmis bibdaid* 114^d 4.
- 1545 **bimmis**:—*com-mimmis ecil* **Wb.** 29^a 16, *com-mimis angraib dhubsi* 26^b 18, *com-mimis less huili* 6^b 21; *amal bimmis octarche* 9^a 7, *amal bimmis maicc deit* **ML.** 91^b 16, *amal ni bimmis fju-ni etir* 63^d 1.
- Pl. 3. **betis**:—*betis mou* **ML.** 100^c 11, *betis dillethi* 29^d 6, cf. 86^d 4, 1550 *betis asendisib* 23^a 14, cf. 27^b 6, 29^d 6, 33^d 7, 63^b 13, 68^c 14, 96^b 16, 102^d 10, 104^d 7, 130^b 10, 131^d 11¹; *nibbu machdath betis Greedi* **Sg.** 6^a 9; *amal betis degmaini dobertis* **ML.** 90^a 14.
- bitis**:—*amal bitis lusc deroli* **ML.** 92^d 11; *indate bitis crunna doiscairi dufubaitis* 92^d 6.
- 1555 **-btis**:—*amtis (= a m-btis) foremachti* **ML.** 34^a 10, cf. 72^b 13, 85^d 6; *airmtis ni etir* 79^b 11, *airmdis hé iusti indi nadocumanatar* 54^a 12²; *comtis indbaid i n-iris* **Wb.** 10^d 33, *comtis cat[h]rai[g] friselar* **ML.** 36^d 18, *comtis ainmnudi* **Sg.** 7^b 2, *comtis les* **ML.** 92^c 10, *comtis hé ind huli sin forbristeá* 67^b 18; 1560 *coniptis ersoilethi, coniptis erlama* 100^c 24; *conabdis apstíl tantum* **Wb.** 5^b 15; *matís tuicsi* 11^a 22, *matís huili* 5^b 15, *maatis hé ind fersai grandi insin namma dumberad* **ML.** 40^c 17, *matís mu namait dudagnetis* 73^d 1; *maniptis tóbaidi* **Sg.** 120^a 1, *maniptis mu charait dudagnetis* **ML.** 73^d 1.
- In a subjunctive sense are used **cid**,³ **cit**, **mad**, **mat**.
- 1565 **cid**:—*cid accobrach* **Wb.** 4^c 34, cf. 3^c 5, 10^a 26, 27^a 8, 30^d 6, 33^c 16 (*ceith*), **ML.** 2^d 12, 20^a 19, 115^d 7 (*ced*), 8, 145^c 3, **Sg.** 2^a 7, 28^b 6, 7, 38^a 7, 52^a 15, 68^b 4, 201^a 10, *cid a mall* **Wb.** 24^c 10, *cid mebul lib* 3^b 30, *cid tol dó* 11^b 18, *cid accubur lium* **ML.** 69^a 21, cf. 80^a 9, *cid precept cid labrad* **Wb.** 13^a 29, 1570 cf. **ML.** 140^b 4, *cid less ar m-béo* **Wb.** 6^b 20, *cid fognim cid fo chésad dorróntar* 13^c 21, cf. 8^d 21 (*ced*), 18^c 11, 27^c 14, *ni muchdath cid hé comaisendis* **Sg.** 222^a 5, **ML.** 17^c 3, 19^b 11, 92^a 17, 142^d 1, **Sg.** 28^a 15, 202^b 3, **Acr.** 28. As a past subjunctive, *cid dian 7 cian nothéisinn* **ML.** 41^d 9, cf. **Wb.** 20^b 22, *nipu imdu do in mann cid tren oc tecmallad* 16^c 25.
- 1575

¹ Cf. Zupitza, KZ., xxxv, 454 sq.

² In **Wb.** 4^a 10 Pedersen (KZ., xxxv, 341) suggests to read *ardislemnethu*.

³ But *cid* is followed by the indicative in *cid doib doarrehet* 5^a 16. More strange is *cid fo gnuim cid fo chés-ath dotiagar* **Wb.** 6^a 21. That *dotiagar* here is personal is indicated by the plural *dotiagar* **ML.** 106^c 3, cf. 101^c 7. It looks as though we had here a different verb from *tiagu* 'I go.' *cid* 'what' is followed by the indicative, cf. **Wb.** 5^a 31, 9^c 20, 10^a 26, 12^c 22, 46, 13^a 13, 16^c 7, 19^d 10, so *citne* **Wb.** 6^a 9, 8^b 5, **ML.** 61^b 7, 8. *cid* corresponds to the negative *cenip*, cf. **Sg.** 68^b 4, *mad* to the negative *manip*, cf. **Wb.** 9^d 16, 17.

cit:—*cit sochudi* **Wb.** 4^d 5, cf. 9^a 12, 12^a 13, **Sg.** 190^b 1, 207^b 11.

mad = pres. subj.:—*mad cosmil* **Wb.** 2^c 20, *mad móo de* 2^a 8^a, cf. 8^a 5, 8^d 1, 9^a 23, 9^d 17, 10^a 15, 12^b 11, 14^a 4, 11, 19^d 17, 20^a 1, 20^c 6, 31^b 7, **Acr.** 43, **Sg.** 36^b 1, 188^a 6, 1580 7, 197^a 2, 208^a 4, 6, 209^b 12, 210^b marg., *mad hinonn tar-morcenn dóib* 111^a 3, *mad fochriec som* **Wb.** 2^b 26, cf. 29^a 23, **Sg.** 3^b 19, *act mad óentu dúib occa* **Wb.** 9^d 22, *mad samlid duib* 25^a 19, *mad secundum carnem* 8^a 17, cf. **ML.** 44^b 4, 6, 45^c 10, 74^d 13,¹ cf. **Tur.** 137, *mad co techt di co fer* **Wb.** 9^d 32, cf. 10^d 30, 1585 12^a 23, 17^d 19, **Sg.** 161^b 9, 207^a 8, *mad hé á luum* **Wb.** 4^a 14, *mad hé far m-bethu-si Crist* 27^b 6, *mad hé herchoil-* **Sg.** 199^b 4, *mad ar lóg pridchasa* **Wb.** 10^d 23, cf. 10^d 27, 11^d 16, 12^c 36, 46, 13^a 13, 13^c 24, 17^a 2, **ML.** 43^a 2, 46^d 6, **Sg.** 203^a 7.²

= past subj.:—*ba bec n-dansa mad buith cen chollud* **ML.** 1590 95^d 13, *mad aill duib cid accaldam neich darigente* **Wb.** 13^b 3, cf. **ML.** 2^d 1, **Sg.** 111^b 2, *mad o dib n-ogaib* 157^b 4, *mad mo riarsa dognethe* **Wb.** 9^d 25, cf. 2^c 17, 10^a 27, 33^b 13, **ML.** 32^d 5, 35^c 26, 96^a 10, 98^b 9, 118^b 6, **Sg.** 199^b 9, 202^a 7, 207^b 2.

mat = pres. subj.:—*mat hé na briathra-na forcane* **Wb.** 1595 28^c 21, *mat réte frendirci geasne* 4^a 27, *mat anmann émnatar* **Sg.** 189^b 4.³

Imperative.

Sg. 2. ba:—*ba chuimnech* **ML.** 46^b 29.

-**ba**:—*na ba thoirsech* **Wb.** 29^d 19, cf. 31^c 22 (*napa*).

Sg. 3. bad:—*bad dlichthech* **Wb.** 5^c 20, cf. 5^c 21 (*pad*), 5^d 15, 1600 6^a 30, 6^d 13 (**MS.** *bá*), 12^b 6, 16^a 15, 22^d 21, 23^c 15, 24^b 9, 26^a 30, **ML.** 131^d 12, **Sg.** 147^b 7, 148^a 2, *bad amal asindbiursa* **Wb.** 13^a 25, *bad atrab* **Wb.** 27^b 25, *bad litir sain g.* **Sg.** 6^b 11, *bad fáille dúibsi* **Wb.** 5^d 24, cf. 5^d 25, 25^b 25, *bad chore dúib friu* 7^b 4, 14, 18, 27^d 11, *bad chách darési áréli* 1605 13^a 5, *bad didnad deserce* (be it consolation of charity) 23^c 8, cf. 23^c 9, 10, *bad ad edificationem* 12^d 41, *bad ho thoil in fognam* 22^d 5, *bad i n-Dia ind fáille* 23^d 19, cf. 27^c 3, *bad hi Crist*

¹ In **Wb.** 17^d 2 *madacsoir* is rightly corrected by Nigra to *mad du stóir*.

² In **Sg.** 73^b 8 *mad bed insin asberthar dúib*, *mad bed* is to be corrected to *mad hed*.

In **Wb.** 28^b 13 *act mad a claind nisi liberos suos*, *act mad* has sunk to a mere adverbial formula.

³ In **Sg.** 3^b 19 *mad di físc* is for *mat di físc*.

- 23^c 11, cf. 5^d 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 24^b 10, 27^c 3, 10, *bad lessom*
 1610 25^c 12, *bad hé a fer in céne Wb.* 9^d 32, *bad hé for n-ere* 9^d 12,
bad hé in mes so doberthar forn 8^d 18, *bad sissi coneit* 6^c 1,
bad hé dongneith 5^d 27, *bad samlith sulbairichthe* (let it be
 thus that ye are eloquent) 12^d 8, cf. 5^d 19, 30, 34, 13^a 3, 6,
 22, 29, 32, 22^d 14, **MI.** 66^c 1.¹
- 1615 **bed**:—*bed i n-genas* (?) **Wb.** 9^d 31,² *bed imthuge dúibsi Crist*
 6^b 3, *bed amal asmbiur-sa dogneither* 13^a 29.
-bad:—*na bad lia diis Wb.* 13^a 4, cf. 24^b 3, 26^b 28,
na bad inunn fedan imbeith 16^a 16, *na bad écen* 14^d 1, *ná bad*
cuil tadaill 27^b 25, *na bad tórmach galir duit* 29^a 24, *na bad*
 1620 *mebul lat* 29^d 18, cf. **MI.** 56^b 36, 65^d 15, *ná bad dia mess*
Wb. 6^b 5, cf. 6^c 6, 22^d 25, *na bad hed améit* 22^b 14, **MI.** 62^d 2,
na bad hé for n-imbradud Wb. 6^b 6, *na bad do réir for colno*
beithe 6^b 4, cf. 11^d 15, 13^a 5, **MI.** 70^d 8, 9, 127^b 18.
- Pl. 1. **baan, ban**:—*baán tairismich Wb.* 5^d 22, *ban buidich* 29^b 17,
 1625 *ban choasmaili* 33^b 20.
- Pl. 2. **bad**:—*bad bii Wb.* 3^b 6, cf. 3^b 7, 5^d 21, 9^d 6, 22^a 24
 (MS. *badifriáinsi*), 24^a 24, 24^b 1, 27^a 6.
bed:—*bed noib de* (MS. *beded noibde*) **Wb.** 3^b 28, *bed*
adthramli 9^a 14, 23^c 27, *bed imthuge-si* Domino 6^b 3.
- 1630 **-bad**:—*na bad anfoirbthi-si Wb.* 12^d 26.
- Pl. 3. **bat**:—*bat chosmulí Wb.* 17^c 5, cf. 20^c 2, 31^c 13, *bat hé*
berte bretha 9^c 12.
-bat:—*na bat nach arm aili Wb.* 22^d 14.

¹ In **Wb.** 19^d 29 *basanlid dúib* should probably be corrected to *bad samlid dúib*.

² But in 9^d 28 *bite i n-genas* we have the substantive verb. As the substantive verb seems necessary here too, we should probably read *bied* 'she shall be in chastity.'

PART II. REMARKS.

Such, then, are the forms of the verb 'to be' that are found in the Old Irish Glosses. Where the occurrences are so numerous, it is very probable that some have not been registered, but I trust that all the actual forms have been noted, and that, though some examples of them may have been overlooked, the collection will be found complete enough for practical purposes. As to the distribution, most of the instances can for formal or syntactical reasons be assigned with certainty to one part of the verb or the other. There are a few doubtful cases, chiefly where the syntax furnishes no certain clue. It remains to consider the different parts of the verb, and, where more than one set of forms are found, to try to discover any differences in their usage. The ideal would be one form one function, but that I have not found possible to carry through completely. On the one hand, I may have failed to perceive differences of usage that actually exist, in which case one can only hope that others will be less blind. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that language is constantly changing, and that particularly in a literary language the old and the new may exist side by side and be used indiscriminately. It has long been recognized that the three great collections of Old Irish Glosses—Wb., Ml., and Sg.—are not of the same date. It is also admitted that Wb. is the oldest. The usage of the verb 'to be' is in agreement with this; thus, in the preterite of the copula the form *bo* is confined to Wb. As to the two other collections, Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, was inclined to put Sg. between Wb. and Ml.; Pedersen, in his paper on aspiration in Irish, *KZ.* xxxv, regards Sg. as the latest of the three, and certainly with regard to aspiration it has a good deal in common with later Irish. In the usage of the verb 'to be,' however, it sometimes approaches Wb. more closely than Ml. does, notably in the use of the form *file* (p. 57). The question seems deserving of further consideration, in which might be borne in mind the possibility that Sg. may have been altered in transmission: thus, if these glosses were copied from dictation, the person dictating would very naturally follow the rules of aspiration to which he was accustomed.

As to the later history of this verb in Irish, which should form an interesting and important chapter in the history of the Irish language, some notice will be taken of new developments, but I have no sufficient material at my disposal to deal fully with the subject. Reference will be made to Windisch's Wörterbuch (WB.), to my paper on the Verbal System of the *Saltair na Rann* (VSR.), to Atkinson's edition of the Passions and Homilies from the *Leabar Brecc* (PH.), and, for classical Modern Irish, to Atkinson's edition of Keating's "Three Shafts of Death" (K.). It should be very interesting if Professor Hennebry, or some other scholar who speaks Irish as his native tongue, would compare the syntax of the verb 'to be' in Old Irish with that of the spoken language of to-day.

A. SUBSTANTIVE VERB AND COPULA.

One of the most remarkable features in the Irish verbal system is, that there are throughout two different sets of forms of the verb 'to be.' The one set is accented like any other verb, the other is proclitic and has no independent accent of its own. In part the two sets of forms come from different roots, in part one original form has been split up by the difference of accent. In the terminology of Modern Irish grammar they are called respectively the substantive verb (*tá*) and the assertive verb (*is*). In Old Irish the conditions are not in all respects the same as in Modern Irish, but in the absence of any other convenient designation we may be permitted to give to the accented forms the name of the Substantive Verb, to the unaccented forms that of the Copula.

The difference in usage will be best shown by examples. With the preposition *la* 'apud' both forms are in use, but the sense is different. Compare *is la Dia cid Caldeae* 'even Chaldea is God's' Ml. 49^a 5, *it lib huili* 'omnia uestra sunt' Wb. 8^a 15, with *atá lib uile* 'it is all to be found with you' (ut nihil uobis desit in ulla gratia) Wb. 7^a 5, *attaat iltintudai leu* 'there are many interpretations with them' Ml. 3^a 14. So *is uas nert dom* 'it is above my strength' Sg. 1^a 6, but *in titul robói huas chiunn Christ isin chroich* 'the superscription which was above the head of Christ on the cross' Ml. 74^b 1; *combad hosuidiu pepigi* 'that pepigi is from it' Sg. 181^a 3, but *is and biid neitur húad* 'it is then that there is found a neuter from it' Sg. 104^b 5; *nitat ildáni do óenfiur*

'it is not many gifts to one man' Wb. 21^a 16, but *ataat ilsenman do nuidiu* 'there are many sounds to it' Wb. 12^c 46; *lase ba snim fora menmuin* 'when it was a care upon his mind' Ml. 89^b 7, but *robói a saindodcad for cach* 'his particular misfortune was on each' Ml. 100^a 3; *bad chore dúib friu* 'let it be peace to you towards them' Wb. 7^b 4, *oroib core dúib fri cách* 'that there may be peace to you towards all' Wb. 26^b 30. The copula is often used in periphrasis to bring some particular word into prominence (this is necessitated by the fixed order of the Irish sentence where the verb regularly comes first), e.g. *is dreecht díb nad rochreit* 'it is a part of them that did not believe' Wb. 5^c 2, *ba miscuis atroillisset* 'it was hatred that they deserved' Wb. 4^c 14, *hóre ropo co fáilti tuccad* 'because it was with joy that it was brought' Wb. 24^b 26. Compare with these *bíeid nach dréct díib hiefidir* 'there will be some portion of them that will be saved' Wb. 4^d 6, *bíeid bes ferr de* 'there will be some advantage therefrom,' lit. 'there will be that will be better therefrom,' Wb. 32^a 13, *attaat da n-orpe rogab Abracham* 'there are two heritages which Abraham received' Wb. 2^c 21, *bíit sualechi and it foilsí* 'there are virtues that are manifest' Wb. 29^a 29.

With the copula the predicate is naturally most commonly an adjective or a noun, *is follus* 'it is clear,' *is athir som* 'he is father.' But it may be of other forms, e.g. *ammi Dée* 'we are God's' Wb. 6^b 20, *is din chorp in ball* 'the member is of the body' Wb. 22^c 18, *is hó siun co nuie dam for serc* 'my love for you is from old to new' Wb. 4^b 29, *is cucí far m-burpe* 'your folly is to this extent' (sic stulti estis) Wb. 19^b 8, *is huare rongnith* 'it is because it was done' Ml. 31^b 10.

But whatever be the form of the predicate it follows the copula directly. The subject either comes at the end, or, if the predicate be a compound phrase, it may be introduced into the middle of it, e.g. *is irlam ind anim do thuil Dée* 'the soul is obedient to the will of God' Wb. 5^c 18, *is gnáth gáo et fir and* 'falsehood and truth are customary therein' Wb. 14^c 22, *is ball cách dialailiu* 'each is a member to the other' Wb. 5^d 4. When the subject is a suffixed pronoun it is put after the noun or the adjective of the predicate, *cenotad maic-sí raith* 'though ye are sons of Grace' Wb. 33^b 8, *is Dia som domsa* 'He is God to me' Wb. 1^a 2, *air immi ardu-ní de* 'for we are the higher' Ml. 23^d 23. The preterite forms *ropsa basa* are no real exceptions; here the *-sa* has become an integral part of the verb, and where the affixed pronoun

is wanted it is inserted in its proper place, e.g. *ropsa huallach-sa*. When the predicate is not a noun or an adjective, then, so far as I have noted, these affixed pronouns are not used, but another form of expression is employed; cf. *is ónd athir dó* 'He is from the Father' Wb. 21^d 4 with *is úadib Crist* 'Christ is from them' Wb. 4^c 20.

But in certain forms of expression a personal pronoun is introduced directly after the copula. This usage has been carefully discussed by Atkinson, PH., pp. 892 sq. (cf. K., Appendix), and I will here restrict myself to citing some examples from Old Irish:—*it é uiui inna dóini bi* 'the *uiui* are the living men' (where it will be seen that the order is copula + subject + predicate, the two latter being definite and identical) Sg. 39^a 23, *it hé spatia narree fil a terra* 'the *spatia* are the spaces that are a *terra*' Bcr. 18^c 3, *as n-é Crist in lia asrubart* 'that Christ is the stone that he spoke of' Wb. 4^d 11, *ba hé a fassugud a nebhomalnad* 'its annulment were not to fulfil it' Wb. 19^c 4, *mad hé far m-bethu-si Crist* 'if your life be Christ' Wb. 27^b 6, *is hed an honestum guide Dé* 'the *honestum* is to pray to God' Wb. 10^b 15, *it ho ind archoilli asber som tollanugud Deo 7 buith i m-bethid noib foirbthiu* 'the determinations that he speaks of are to please God and to be in holy perfect life' Ml. 74^d 9, *it hé in toirthi innahi adfadatar hi testimnið* 'the fruits are the things that are mentioned in the texts' Ml. 46^c 14, *bit hé magistir donnegat indhi asindisset a tola féisne dóib* 'the masters whom they will choose will be those that will declare to them their own desires' Wb. 30^d 8, *it hé a timnae adi namma rusarigestar* 'it is His commandments only that he broke' Ml. 71^b 14, *issi ind anim as airlam do chomalnad recto Dé* 'it is the soul that is ready to fulfil the Law of God' Wb. 3^d 11, *bit hé na precepte cétni noprídchob* 'it will be the same teachings that I shall preach' Wb. 17^b 20, *matis hé ind fersi grandi insin dumberad* 'if he had put those terrible verses' Ml. 40^c 17, *issi inso in targabadl, is hé in peccath for areli* 'this is the trespass, this is the sin upon another' Wb. 9^c 19, *lann segar and issi ede dulchinne in milti* 'it is the crown which is sought therein that is the remuneration of the soldiers' service' Wb. 11^a 5, *is sissi in tempul sin* 'ye are that temple' Wb. 8^d 7. In instances like the last the copula is in the third singular, *is snissi ata boues* Wb. 10^d 11, *combad snini for moidem-si* Wb. 15^a 6, cf. *is sisi noberece* Ml. 46^a 13, *combad sissi doberad* Wb. 18^a 3, *bad sissi coneit* Wb. 6^c 1, but *it sib ata chomarpi* Wb. 19^c 20, where note the difference in the pronoun. In *at tú*

cen tosach cen forcenn 'Thou art without beginning, without end' ML. 110^d 5, there is a peculiar exception, to which I can cite no parallel.

The substantive verb is most frequently used either absolutely or with a prepositional phrase, e.g., *nabad hed améit nádmbæ* 'let it be not only that it is not' Wb. 22^b 14, *robatar oc imbresun frimmoyi* 'who were contending with Moses' Wb. 13^e 17 (with *oc* it forms periphrastic continuous tenses, cf. PH. 830, 831). In PH. the three prepositions *do*, *la*, and *oc* are noted with the substantive verb in the sense of 'in possession of.' In Keating, to judge from Atkinson's Glossary, *do* and *la* are no longer so used, *la* being used only with the copula, e.g. *adubhairt an níd fa leis do thabhairt do* Caesar 'He said that there should be given to Caesar what was his,' a usage which still lives (cf. *tá airgead agam acht ní liom féin é* 'I have money, but it is not my own' O'Donovan Gram. p. 311). In the Irish of the Glosses this use of *oc* has not yet developed; the two prepositions in use are *do* and *la*, of which the latter is much the more frequent. The two are here not synonymous; *do* is primarily 'to,' while *la* in many of its uses corresponds to Lat. *apud*. Thus *atá inotacht dunni* 'there is entrance to' or 'for us' Wb. 33^b 5, *in fochricc file do i n-nim* 'the reward which is for him in Heaven' Wb. 29^d 29, *ní bith chomdíd nad damsa indib* 'there used to be no consolation for me in them' ML. 62^b 6, *innahi nobitis dum huam chairdib* 'the things that used to be to me from my friends,' desiderii .i. *robói dosom inma thir*, i.e. 'which he had for his land'; *ind fáille robói dó libsi* 'the joy that he had with you' Wb. 16^b 2, *atá ole n-aill lib* 'there is another evil with you' or 'among you' *is derb lium attá latsu*, g. certus sum quod et in te Wb. 29^d 14, *ní fradrad bis leu do Dia* 'there is not true worship among them of God' ML. 42^a 14, *files .i. robói la Abraham* 'which was found in Abraham' or 'which Abraham had' Wb. 2^e 15, desiderium .i. *robói lesom im Dia* 'which he had for God' ML. 61^d 10. As Ebel says, *la* expresses "penitiorem magis sensum."

The substantive verb is occasionally found with adjectives (cf. K., App., p. xi), *ataat mesui Dú nephchomtetarrachtai*, which seems to combine two predications—(1) there are judgments of God, (2) these judgments are incomprehensible, ML. 55^d 11, *roindgab coimdiu comacus les dia fortacht* 'that he has a Lord near to help him' ML. 30^b 11, *amal nombemmis érchoilti* g. tanquam morti destinatos Wb. 9^a 3, *biid ersoilethi* 'be ye opened' ML. 46^a 7. With

adjectives as with substantives this usage is much more common with *bis* (ll. 291 sq.); of this more will be said below.

With substantives the modern idiom is peculiar: 'he is a man' (and not a boy) is expressed by *thá se na dhuine* (lit. 'he is in his man'). Pedersen, who has given a brilliant explanation of this idiom (Celt. Zeit., ii, 377), can quote no certain instances of it from the Glosses, and I have met with none there. In a couple of cases *atá* is followed by a substantive, but the idiom is different: *atá Dia attach n-dunni* 'God is a refuge unto us' Ml. 66^d 1, *ní udinn fesine ataam for tectire* 'it is not from ourselves that we are messengers to you' Wb. 15^a 18.

Sometimes *-bi* seems to be used as a consuetudinal present of *is*. Thus *is remib rethid iarum* would mean 'it is before them that he runs afterwards,' *combi remib rethith iarum* Wb. 13^b 13, may mean 'so that he is wont to run before them afterwards' In Wb. 12^c 12, 13^c 23, 22^c 10, 30^c 23, and other passages the idea seems to be *use* and *wont* rather than continuance; e.g. *combi diass mór ind óénganne* would seem to mean 'so that the one grain is wont to be a great ear.' More instances for examination will be found, ll. 288 sq. In favour of the view suggested here are the facts (1) that *-bi* is often followed by nouns and adjectives, while *atá* rarely is; (2) that *-bi* is used to bring forward an emphatic word like the copula, while *atá* never is; (3) that the predicate noun or adjective directly follows the verb; (4) that *-bi* is here usually written without the mark of length.

As to the order, the subject usually precedes the prepositional phrases. But there are exceptions, cf. *act nirobat pecthe less* Wb. 11^d 9 with *arna robat leu in pecthe-si* Wb. 25^b 9. In the case of *inso* and *insin* and substantives with the suffixed particles *-so*, *-sin*, the regular position is at the end, e.g. Wb. 26^b 31, 28^a 23, 32^c 12, Sg. 209^b 29 (exceptions Wb. 10^d 19, Sg. 158^b 3), so *anisin* comes at the end Ml. 30^b 16, otherwise Sg. 209^a 3. Other exceptions will be found in Wb. 7^d 5, 10^d 2, 14^a 33, 14^c 31, 25^b 1, Ml. 14^c 12, 109^a 2, Sg. 40^a 11, 71^b 10, 76^b 2, 203^c 3. The guiding principle seems to be that of emphasis, cf. *atáa lib uile* 'it is with you in its entirety' Wb. 7^a 5 with *ataat uili isin chorp sin* 'they all are in that body' Wb. 12^a 16; but the order is sometimes clearly influenced by the form of the sentence, e.g. *atá i n-aicniud cáich denum maith 7 imgabáil uile dodenum* Ml. 14^c 12, *orobad inna chorp ní inchoissised* Wb. 2^c 7.

B. SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

1. *Attáu and biu.*

Tur. 58, *biid didiu a confessio hisin do fóisitin pecthae, biid dana do molad, biid dana do atlugud buide; do fóisitin didiu atasom sunt*, 'that *confessio* is wont to be for confession of sins, it is wont to be for praise, it is wont to be for thanksgiving; it is for thanksgiving here.' This illustrates well the common difference between the two verbs; *attáu* asserts existence, *biu* predicates besides use and wont. Sometimes *biu* denotes continuance, but that use is much rarer. I have noted as clear instances *biit and co arnúbarruch* 'they remain there till the morrow' LU. 63^a 8, cf. LL. 251^b 26, *biid dogress* 'it continues to be for ever,' Trip. Life, p. 86, l. 10.

2. *Attáu and fil.*

As is well known, these verbs in later Irish supplement one another, cf. PH. 892 sq., K., Appendix iii. And so it is in the Old Irish of the Glosses, where the rules of the usage are as follows:—

attá, -tá is used:

- (1) **In orthotonic non-relative position**, e.g. *atá in coimdiu* 'the Lord is,' *is samlaid ataat* 'it is thus that they are.'

It is also used after *hóre*, which is commonly followed by a relative form of the verb (but cf. its use with non-relative forms of the copula), *hóre atá hesséirge dúib* 'because there is resurrection unto you' (six other instances in Wb. and one in Sg.); further, after *ol* once in Sg. After *amal attá* is not found (*amal file* occurs once in Wb.).

- (2) **After a negative, etc., with an infixed pronoun denoting a dative relation.** Thus *ní-m-thá* 'I have not,' but *ní-m-fil* 'I am not.'
- (3) **After a relative which includes a preposition:** *anl i-túa cuntubart libsi* 'that in which there is doubt with you.'

fil is used:

- (1) **In enclisis, except after a relative which includes a preposition**, e.g. *nísfil hodie* 'they are not *hodie*,' *nachibfel*

¹ In Wb. 31^c 7 *nintá airli ar m-ban* it has been held that the verb is followed by an accusative. But in Sg. 168^a 1 *airli* 'tractatio' is certainly nominative; it seems to be a different word from *airle* 'counsel.'

'that ye are not,' *ni fil taidchor do* 'there is no return for Him.' It also appears with *ce* 'though' and *ma* 'if,' which take the forms *cenud-* *manud-*; *cenudfil gnim 7 chesad hisuidiu* 'though there is not action and passion therein,' *manudfel in Spirit noib indiumsa* 'if the Holy Spirit is not in me.'

- (2) **As a relative** (which is the only use of *fil*), e.g. *iarsin dligud fil hindiu* 'according to the rule that is to-day,' a *fil ar mo chiunn* 'what is before me,' *fil ni de as fir* 'that there is somewhat of it which is true,' *in fochricc file do i n-nim* 'the reward which is to him in Heaven,' *corroffessid file cuimrecha form* 'that ye may know that there are bonds upon me.'

There is another usage of *fil* which, though it happens not to occur in the Old Irish Glosses, is found in old texts, and which may be put down as Old Irish.

- (3) ***fil* is used in answer to *in fil* in interrogation.** '*in fil imbass forosna lat?*' or *Medb*. '*fil ecin,*' or *ind ingen*. "'Hast thou imbass forosna?" (a form of divination), says *Medb*. "I have indeed," says the maiden,' LU. 55^b 14, cf. 54^b 42, 68^a 3, 12, Trip. Life, vol. i, pp. 116, 118 *passim*. As to the explanation of the construction, it may be compared with the use of *nád*¹ in

¹ Cf. the use of *na nac* in negative answers in Welsh, GC.² 754, Anwyl's Welsh Grammar, p. 70. In Irish *ná* is found in other forms of answers. LU. 56^a 23: '*is asirund arbáget dano,*' or *Ailill*. '*ni regat lend,*' or *Medb*. '*anat didiu,*' or *Ailill*. '*nachanfet dano,*' or *Medb*. "'It is for us they fight," said *Ailill*. "They shall not go with us," said *Medb*. "Let them stay then," said *Ailill*. "Stay they shall not," said *Medb* (LL. 57^a has *ni anfut*), cf. LU. 78^b 32 sq.; LU. 70^b 4: '*tuc damsa do gai,*' or *in cainte*. '*acc óm,*' or *Cú*, '*acht dúbér sótu duit.*' '*nadgebsa ón,*' or *in cainte*. "'Give me thy spear," said the satirist. "Nay," said *Cuchulinn*, "but I will give thee treasures." "That I will not take," said the satirist; LL. 71^a 45, '*rafctad,*' for *Fergus*, '*nad chunnis fodasín.*' '*nad chunnis ón co brunni m-brátha.*' "'I shall be able," said *Fergus*, "provided you do not seek it yourself." "I shall not seek it till Doom." Cf. also LU. 87^a 40, LL. 71^a 2, 175^b 50, 177^a 36. For *ni* in sentences like the above cf. LU. 63^b 21, 60^a 2, Ir. Text. ii, 1, 176, 178, LL. 62^b 46, 64^a 41, 70^a 12, 71^a 34, 279^a 26, Táin Bó Fráich, p. 144. The later the language the more frequent is *ni*. To the sentences with *na* quoted above parallels may be found in the Brythonic languages. In Welsh: Red Book, p. 55, l. 19, '*gellung ymerth ef:*' '*na ellyngaf yrof a Duw,*' *heb ynteu*. "'Let it go free" "I will not, by Heaven," said he: cf. pp. 55, l. 25, pp. 56, 57, 58 *passim*, p. 70, l. 29, p. 80, l. 12 (for *ny* cf. p. 2, l. 12, p. 52, l. 7, p. 68, l. 5). In Cornish, for *na* cf. Creation, ll. 375 sq., 1048 sq., 1175 sq., 1587 sq.; Origo Mundi, ll. 2067, 2655, 2697; Passion, 915, 1411, 2040, 2262, 2756; for *ny* Creation 679, 1144, Passion 853, 905, 1237, 2268, 2362, 2675. In Breton, for *na* cf. Ste. Barbe, l. 767, for *na* ll. 362, 481, 484. From these facts it is clear that such a use of *na*, originally probably in emphatic negation, is a common Celtic idiom, which, however, fared differently in the different Celtic languages; in some *na* encroached upon *ni*, in others *ni* encroached upon *na*. For a longer treatment of the point here I have neither the materials nor the space.

answers, e.g. 'in cotlad do Ailill,' or Medb, 'indosa?' 'naded am,' ar Ailill. "Is Ailill asleep now?" says Medb. "No, indeed," says Ailill, YBL. 37^b 31; 'in fil Cúchulaind forsinn ath?' 'nad fil,' or in gilla. "Is Cúchulinn at the ford?" "He is not," says the squire, YBL. 37^a 42. Cf. LU. 58^b 14, LL. 61^b 6, 64^b 47, 70^b 47, 71^a 15, 264^a 24. Cf. the use of *nathó* in negative answers, GC.² 749, WB. 701, LU. 60^b 22, 84^a 34, Ir. Text. i, 127 (where another version has *nitó*). Now *ná* and *nád* are the negatives of *oratio obliqua*, so that use (3) of *fil* may be explained as a particular case of use (2). In Irish verse *fil* is very common in positive sentences at the beginning of a line, e.g. Imram Brain 4, 7, 25, 39, 42, VSR. pp. 45, 46. But, so far as I have noted, this is foreign to the prose of all periods,¹ and must be regarded as a poetical license.

In later Irish *atá* is found after *amaí*, e.g. LU. 87^a 43, Laws, iii, 90. In the case of some constructions, owing to the absence of material in the Glosses, it is impossible to say whether they go so far back. Thus, *can atá* 'whence is?' Psalt. Hib., l. 270; *cinnas atusa* 'how am I?' LU. 70^b 34; *cé táisiu* 'who art thou?' LU. 74^a 32, cf. 78^a 17; *cid tói* 'what ails thee?' Trip Life, p. 200, l. 10, cf. *cid daas in caillech*? Trip. Life, 28, l. 17, KZ. xxxv, 392. Beside *cid táí* there is *cid notái*, KZ. xxxv, 391, cf. Ir. Text. ii, 1, 174.

In Mod. Ir. *i-tá*, etc., have been replaced by *i-bhfúil*, etc., cf. O'Don. Gramm., p. 170. Of this I have noted the beginnings in old texts: *hifil* Psalt. Hib., l. 417, LU. 92^a 21, Imram Brain,² p. 53, l. 3, *i fil* ib., § 18, *fors-fil* ib., § 43, *inonfil* = *in-don-fil*,³ LU. 67^b 15. In the Saltair na Rann this construction is still rare.

Sometimes in later Irish *fil* is found with an infixed pronoun in a dative relation, cf. KZ. xxviii, 108.

¹ With the exception of *filus* 'there are,' which is found twice in Cod. Cam., and for the use of which I can suggest no explanation.

² By Zimmer, who is followed by Meyer in his edition of the text, this work is ascribed to the seventh century, an antiquity which seems to be too great, unless not only the prose but also the verse has undergone changes; in addition to the *fil* forms, note also things like *kaibí*, *ethais*. I should be inclined to regard the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth as a more probable date, so that it would be about the same date as the Féilire Óenguso. In the latter text final vowels are well preserved, except that final *o* rhymes with *a*, so that it must have been pronounced *a*, as it is often written in the Glosses. Of this there seems to be an instance in the Imram Brain in *batha—ilblatha*, § 6. The final vowels of the Féilire I hope to discuss soon.

³ Cf. *dianomthisad* = *dian-dom-thisad* LU. 60^a 14, cf. 62^b 1, 67^a 37, 71^a 22, 82^b 18, and often in later Irish.

3. *Fel, fl, fail, file.*

It has often been asserted that these forms have a subjunctive as well as an indicative function, but this is erroneous.

As to the variation of vocalism in the first syllable, the distribution is different in different kinds of sentences. Where the form is relative, *feil* or *fel* is rarely found, Wb. 4^c 1, 13^c 26, 33^b 18 (in a gloss from the second hand), Ml. 47^c 17; *fail* occurs once, Bcr. 18^c 4; *fele* once, Ml. 93^c 7. In the enclitic position the facts are not so simple. Here we must begin with Wb. And in Wb. a certain regularity may be observed: *fel* is usually found in forms of three or more syllables (except where two of the syllables belong to the preceding particle *nicon*, *conách*, etc.): *nachibfel* 3^b 19, *condumfel* 3^c 38, *manudfel* 11^c 1, *manudubfeil* 12^c 20, *condibfeil* 24^c 4 (exceptions *conidfil* 24^a 33, *cininfil* 16^b 9); but *conách fil* (with infixed pronoun, Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 412), *nifil*, *nifil*. In Ml. this rule does not hold; cf. on the one hand *ní fel* 19^d 2, *ní feil* 2^b 4, 60^b 2, *nífel* 46^c 19, 55^c 13, *nudfel* 26^b 2, 27^d 10, and on the other *cinidfil* 30^a 2. Sg. shows only *fil* and *fail* (which occurs thrice in Ml.); as Pedersen has pointed out, Aspirationen i Irsk, pp. 5 sq., *a* is simply a graphic device for expressing the broad timbre of the preceding consonant. The origin of *fel* is obscure;¹ as for its usage, it is an impersonal verb governing the accusative. That makes it probable that it is at least of verbal origin; *file* was probably formed from *fel*, for the *e* compare the third plural relative forms *berte*, etc. But whatever be the origin of the form, there can be little doubt that *e* is older than *i*; cf. further *dofeil* 'adest' by *dofil*. In Wb. the difference is probably one of accent; in these longer forms with infixed pronoun the verb had probably a stronger accent than elsewhere. Later this distinction is lost. In Ml. perhaps too much weight should not be laid on the *fel* form, as there seems to be a tendency in these Glosses to confuse *e* and *i*. As to the non-palatal timbre of the *f*, which is proved by the later form *fail*, it is impossible to say anything very definite about it as long as the origin of the word remains uncertain. But even if it were *uel*- there are certain analogies, e.g. *taig*,² dat. of *tech* 'house' = **tegos*.

¹ Sarauw, Rev. Celt., xvii, has suggested an ingenious explanation of the form, which unfortunately does not harmonize well with the Old Irish usage.

² Unless indeed *taig* arose in the phrase *istaig* 'within' under the influence of the opposite *immaig* 'without.'

In enclitic position *fil*, etc., alone are used; in relative function both *fil* and *file* are found. Here I find it impossible to lay down any hard and fast rules for the use of the two forms. Ebel's suggestion that the use is connected with the gender of the antecedent has been rightly rejected by Stokes, KZ. xxviii, 108. In the three great collections of Glosses the relative proportions of the two forms vary:—

	Wb.	Sg.	ML.
<i>fil</i>	14	20	65
<i>file</i>	14	22	25

In Wb. and Sg. *fil* and *file* about balance one another; in ML. the proportion of *fil* to *file* is almost three to one. In later Irish *file* becomes very rare. Thus, in the Féilire it appears only once, and in the two old Sagas in LU., Táin Bó Cualnge and Togail Bruidne Dá Dergga, I have noted only two occurrences, *massaté file sund* LU. 63^b 45, *céin file* 64^a 1. In Salt. Rann there is no instance of it. The form is clearly obsolescent, and in the earliest Glosses confusion has probably already set in. The instances in Wb. may be quoted here:—

fil.

- a fil innar cridiu-ni* 'what is in our heart' 15^a 7, so 16^c 17, 24^a 15, 27^d 19.
fil ni de as fir 'that there is somewhat of it that is true' 11^d 2.
hóre is oenrad fil linn 'because it is one grace that we have' 13^b 9.
is fir tantum fil and 'it is truth only that is there' 14^c 24 (bis).
tadbat dechor fil eter lanamnas et ógi 'he shows the difference that there is between wedlock and virginity' 10^b 21, cf. 13^c 26.
orici a n-dechur feil etarru 'as far as the difference that is between them' 33^b 18.
ueritatem .i. fil lib 'that is in you' 26^a 26.
ecclesiae Galatiae, .i. fil in Galitia 'that is in Galatia' 18^b 5.
it a n-athir inna fer fel and nunc 'it is the fathers of the men who are now' 4^c 1.

file.

- amal file óentid eter ballu* 'as there is unity between members' 12^b 12.
is mór in dethiden file domsa díibsi 'great is the solicitude that I have for you' 26^d 19.

- ished file indiunni* 'it is that which is in us' 26^d 19.
fil rath Dée latso 'that the grace of God is with you' 12^d 20.
don terchomruc nóib file i Corint 'to the holy congregation
 which is in Corinth' 14^b 5.
in rect comaccobuir file i m-ballaib 'the law of concupiscence
 which is in the members' 13^d 27.
in fochrice file do i n-nim 'the reward which is for him in
 Heaven' 29^c 1.
a r-rad file andsom 'the grace which is in him' 29^d 29.
eternam uitam .i. file durt i n-nim 'which is to thee in
 Heaven' 29^c 2.
fidem .i. file etrunni 'which is between us' 31^a 11.
donaib nóbaib file iu Achaia 'to the saints who are in Achaia'
 14^b 5.
it hé coisnimi inso file lib 'these are the contentions that are
 among you' 7^d 13.
na cumachte file a Deo 'the powers which are a Deo' 6^a 3.
corrofsaid file cuimrecha formsa 'that ye may know that there
 are bonds upon me' 23^a 3.

It will be seen that *fil* is used with *an* 'what'; Sg. 160^b 2 has *a file*, Ml. 101^a 5 quod *fil*. With *amal file* is once used, so Rev. Celt., xv, 487. In *oratio obliqua* with a singular noun each form occurs once; Sg. has *file* 29^b 12, 13, 151^b 7. With plural nouns *file* occurs four times, *fil* once; in Sg. the plural is constant (four times), and in Ml. *file* occurs seven times, *fil* six times. From the agreement between Wb. and Sg. it is probable that we have here an original usage. In the remaining instances in Wb. there are no clear principles. In Sg. there is a preference for *file* in periphrasis: *ni dechor m-bindiusa file hic* 23^a 4, cf. 74^b 8, 92^b 2, *cesu choms- ó díb n-ógaib file hi suidiu* 75^a 5, cf. 148^b 9, *issed file la Lait-* 20^b 8, cf. 140^a 3; with *fil*: *is hé a foxlaid fil sunt* 32^b 7, *ni sí fil* in his 177^a 1, *is chiall* (leg. *ciall*) *chesto fil indib* 140^a 5. Otherwise I cannot perceive any fixed principle. In Ml. the usual form in periphrasis is *fil*; *file* is rare. The confusion between the two forms may be seen e.g. from a comparison of 93^c 7 with 42^c 2, 54^a 33 with 63^d 4, 53^a 19 with 50^d 3.

In later Irish *fil* develops a set of forms for the other persons, cf. VSR. 46, PH. 897, 898, K., Appendix. In the Glosses this development has not yet begun.

4. *Rongab, dicoissin, dínngur.*

In meaning *rongab* belongs to *atáu*. Thus in later Irish the phrase *amal rongab* 'as for example' (Wb. 12^b 1, Sg. 65^b 3, etc.) is replaced by *amal atáu*, cf. PH. 896, Laws, iii, 90, etc.; further, *rongab* is joined with *atáu*, Wb. 27^a 15, Sg. 214^b 1.¹ In function it is relative, being used after conjunctions that take the relative form, and in *oratio obliqua*.² In Wb., apart from *oratio obliqua* (in which *fil* and *file* are also sometimes used, p. 58), it is found only with *amal* (which occurs once with *file*, p. 58); with *hóre atáu* is used, p. 53. In Sg. the usage is the same; once, too, it occurs with *fobith*, of which instances are wanting in the other Glosses. In Ml. it is in addition twice used with *huare*, and once with *lassani* 'when,' with which there are no instances in the other Glosses.

In an old religious text printed in Rev. Celt., xv, by *amal rongabsat fíngala*, p. 488, stand *amal rogabsat díberga*, *amal rogabsat adaltras*, etc. So in the Psalt. Hib. by *amal rongabsat na iiiii prim-fáithi*, *amal rogab v libru Moisi*,³ is *foan indas sin rogab in Saltair*. But in the ancient legal text, the Crith Gablach,⁴ the regular forms occur, *amal rongab rechtga rig Cuisil*, *amail ronngab recht Adamnain*, Laws, iv, 334. In all probability *rogab* is a scribal corruption of *rongab*; in Mittelirische Verselehren, *amal roegab*, ch. 6, is an evident distortion of the old formula.

In the Saga literature the only occurrence that I have noted so far is *is maith rongabus frítt* 'I am good to thee' LL. 249^b 1 (cf. *ba (maith) romboth friu* 249^b 16).

It will be observed that *rongab* is the only form in Wb.; in Sg. *rondgab* also appears, and in Ml. this is the more common form. Still Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 406, is probably right in deriving *rongab* from *rondgab*. For *ndg* seems to become regularly *ng*, cf. KZ. xxxv, 404; Pedersen, Aspirationen i Irsk, 77. Then *rondgab* would be an etymological repetition of the pronoun which was felt to be an integral part of the phrase, or it may be merely

¹ Ml. 56^b 33 must not be regarded as an instance to the contrary; the meaning is 'there is wont to be the sense of imitation in zelaueris as it is found in emulari.'

² In Wb. 6^d 12 *rongab scientia lib* must, I think, be in *oratio obliqua* after *monere* 'that ye have knowledge.' In Ml. 67^d 14 the relative form is improperly used after *sic* (= Ir. *issamlaid*) as in 104^b 5.

³ In an impersonal construction of which I have no other example. Can it be due to the influence of *dicoissin* or *fil*?

⁴ This is a tract which deserves careful study, particularly in connection with the development of Irish law. The impression produced by the language is that it is very old; that it should have been composed in the fourteenth century, as the editors suppose, is inconceivable.

an etymological spelling; in either case we may compare *asindbiur* by *asinbiur* and the like. As to the origin of the form, Pedersen says it means literally 'as I have taken it,' but it is not obvious how the actual usage could have come from that. I should be inclined to suggest that it comes from the intransitive use of *gabim* in the sense of 'to set up at a place,' 'to come to dwell in a place,' whence might come the sense of 'to be in a place.' The *d* would then be an example of Pedersen's *figura etymologica*, KZ. xxxv, 404. Zimmer's suggestion, Kelt. Stud. ii, 64, seems very improbable.

Dicoissin also belongs to the sphere of *atá*, and is strongly assertive of existence. It is found only in relative construction. Its usage is impersonal: cf. *dichussin cetheorai déisi* Laws, iv, 320. In BB. 320^b 8 *secht n-etargaire tra dochuisneat*, the plural *dochuisnet* is clearly a new formation like *filét* from *fil*. It is a word of not very common occurrence; apart from the Glosses and the Féilire, the instances that I have noted are from technical works, e.g. Ir. Text. iii, 15; Laws, iii, 4, 16.

Dixnigur is, so far as I have noted, confined to the Glosses; it seems to be a purely learned word coined to translate *esse*, e.g. non est .i. inni *nadndixnigedar* Ml. 55^c 10, sic non est inter uos sapiens quisquam qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum .i. *is nud dixnigedar nach æcne hóre is amne dognither* Wb. 9^c 14.

5. *Bíu*.

The only thing that calls for remark here are the forms *robí*, *robíat*, ll. 321 sq., 384-5. One might be tempted at first sight to take *robíat* for a future, but this is contrary to the rule that *ro-* is found before the future only when there is an infixed personal pronoun. And with them clearly goes *o rubiam*, SP. ii, 5, which cannot syntactically be a future. As for *robí*, it formally can hardly be anything but a present indicative, and *ní rubai* is a regular development of *ní rúði*. The peculiarity of these forms is that they seem to approach to the meaning of a subjunctive of possibility. This is most clearly seen in Sg. 98^b 1, where 'potest tamen hic datius accipi' is glossed by *rombí fri tobarthid*; now in Irish *conico* 'potest' is followed by the subjunctive. In my paper on the Subjunctive Mood, § 23, I have translated one or two of the other examples as subjunctives. These are not so certain, but it seems to me that we get a better meaning if we take them in

the sense of possibility. On the other hand, some of the instances might perhaps be more naturally taken in an indicative sense. *ML.* 99^d 1 is somewhat different from the other cases. *Wb.* 24^d 11 and *ML.* 36^b 3 are again different. Can *horbi* be *robi* reduced to the state of a copula? It is hard otherwise to account for the loss of *o*.¹

The only other instance of this *robi* that I have noticed is *ar imgaib comlonn aenfir o robi cona gaisced fair* 'for he avoids combat with a single man when he is with his arms upon him' *Laws*, iv, 352.

6. Preterite.

The second singular happens not to occur. Doubtless it was *robá*, cf. *rombá*, *Trip. Life*, 196, l. 10. In the third singular the spellings *bái*, *bui*, which later become common, are only just beginning. The form *-raibi* is not yet found. For *robáduis*, *robádais*, formed from *robá* after the model of the *s* preterite, see *PH.* 903.

The *ro*-less forms are still rare, particularly in *Wb.*; after *ol*-they alone are in use. In four of the instances in *Wb.* 27^a 16, 31^c 18, 10^d 31, 17^d 17, *bói* is used in a peculiar modal sense in connection with subjunctives, in which sense the *ro*- forms are not used. It seems as though in this there is something more than accident. The remaining instance in *Wb.* is *hóboi mo chland et mo chenél is oc frecur céill Da ataa*, 'since my clan and my kindred came into being, it has been worshipping God.' With *ho*- no *ro*- forms are found, but one can hardly lay very much weight on the single instance.

7. Future and Secondary Future.

In orthotonesis these tenses are accompanied by *ro*- where there is an infixed personal pronoun, cf. p. 17.

In later Irish the chief change in the future is that *a* forms encroach on *e* forms; thus *bíeid* becomes *biaid* under the influence of *-bia*, cf. *WB. VSR.* p. 49, *PH.* 901. Conversely in *Trip. Life*, 224 l. 24, *bíeis* appears for *bias*. *beite* comes to be used in a non-relative sense, and a new form *beitit* appears, cf. *Trip. Life*, 112 l. 22, 152 l. 27, 110 l. 15, 120 l. 17.

¹ In *Ultan's Hymn*, l. 15, Atkinson takes *biam* as a subjunctive. But it is a future indicative, 'I shall be free.' So in *Fél. Oeng.*, Jan. 13, *ronbia* must be future.

8. Subjunctive.

The uses of *no-* and *ro-* with the subjunctive mood have been treated in my paper on the subjunctive, §§ 80 sq. In Ml. 61^b 28 *ciabé amméit* is remarkable, cf. *ciabé céin copé ri* and LU. 87^a 37. In the same phrase there is an irregularity in the past subjunctive, *ciabed ammet* Ml. 39^a 13 (Subj. Mood, § 84).¹ In Ml. 43^a 1 (l. 732) *robeth* stands all alone in a sentence of this type, and we should probably read *nobeth*.

In the 1 sg. *beómm* quoted by Windisch, *m* has been added as in the future *biam* VSR., l. 1242, and *narbam* VSR., l. 1179, from *am*, etc.

9. Infinitive.

The regular form of the nominative of the infinitive is *both* = W. *bot*, *bod* (from **bhūtā*). But mostly *both* has been replaced by *buih*, the form of the dative and accusative (cf. Zimmer, Gött. Gelehrt. Anz., 1896, p. 379). A weakened form *bith*, *bid* appears sometimes; in *nebeth* the accent would be on the first syllable. Later *beith*, *bith* become common, and are probably to be explained by the assumption that frequently at all events the infinitive had not the full accent.

In Ml. 44^c 6 the infinitive is followed by an adjective, a usage which I have seen elsewhere, though unfortunately I have omitted to note the references; one or two examples will be found, WB. 399, PH. 905, 906.

C. COPULA.

1. Present Indicative.

How the various constituents which go to make up this part fit into one another may be seen from the following table. The forms marked with an asterisk are conjectural:—

	Sg.	Pl.
1. absolute	<i>am</i>	<i>ammi, ammin, immi</i>
negative	<i>nita</i>	<i>nitan</i>
with <i>con-</i> , etc.	<i>conda</i>	<i>condan</i>
relative	<i>no-n-da</i>	<i>no-n-dan</i>
with <i>ce</i>	<i>*cenota</i>	<i>*cenotan</i>
2. absolute	<i>at, it</i>	<i>adib, idib, adi</i>
negative	<i>*nita</i>	<i>nitad</i>

¹ The other exceptions mentioned are no exceptions at all, as they are forms, not of the substantive verb but of the copula.

	Sg.	Pl.
with <i>co n-</i> , etc.	* <i>conda</i>	* <i>condad</i>
relative	<i>no-n-da</i>	<i>no-n-dad</i>
with <i>ce</i>	* <i>cenota</i>	<i>cenotad</i>
3. absolute	<i>is</i>	<i>it</i>
negative	<i>ní</i>	<i>nítat</i>
with <i>co n-</i> , etc.	<i>conid, condid</i>	<i>condat</i>
negative	<i>connách</i>	* <i>connatat</i>
relative	<i>as</i>	<i>ata, at</i>
negative	<i>nád, nát, nand, nách</i>	<i>natat, nandat</i>
with <i>ce, ma</i>	<i>ceso, maso</i>	<i>ceto, matu</i>
negative	<i>cenid, manid</i>	* <i>cenitat</i>

In some of the forms there is a variation between *a* and *i*, at *it*, *adib idib*, *ammi immi* (if my emendation be right). In every instance except *ML. 108^d 2* the *i* form is preceded by *air*. So *arit Trip. Life*, 88, l. 8, *aritib* 102, l. 9, *ar im siniu, arit fiadu* (without *ar*, *it foimsid*) *VSR.* ll. 1037, 1043. In *VSR.* it was suggested that this variation was due to confusion of vowels in proclitic forms. But that explanation, besides being inapplicable in Old Irish, does not account for the distribution of the forms. The real explanation must be that the vowel is influenced by the palatal timbre of the foregoing *r*. In *àiritfàriunsu*, *it* would be in the very weakest position between the secondary and the primary accent of the group, where the indistinct vowel would be particularly open to the influence of neighbouring sounds. In *ML. 108^d 2 it* must be supposed to have strayed beyond its proper sphere; there is nothing in the gloss to suggest corruption. In *VSR.* l. 1037, *huair im* may be explained in the same way as *airim*; in l. 1036, however, *uair am* occurs. Neither Windisch nor Atkinson cites from his texts any examples of *im. it, idib*.

In the 1 pl. by the usual *ammi* is found *amminn ammin*, cf. *amin torsich*, *Ir. Text.* ii, l. 178. In the 2 pl. *adib* the *b* is from the pronoun of the second person (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 906); in the same way in *ammin* may be seen a similar influence of the 1st personal pronoun. Conversely the form *adi*, which occurs a couple of times in *Wb.*, may be compared with *ammi*, whether it be an older form than *adib* or whether it be formed after *ammi*.

In the relative form of the 3 pl. by *ata* is found *at* (once *et*¹ if the text be sound). The form is peculiar to *ML.*, and it occurs most

¹ Is *et* to be compared with *-det*, p. 65.

commonly after *an-* 'when,' with which *ata* is there rare. Once it appears in a non-relative sense. So in the future (ll. 1363–4) *bat* is used in Ml. after *an-*. In later Irish *at* for *it* is common, cf. VSR. ll. 1094 sq., PH. 894, WB. 361. In the production of *at* more than one influence is conceivable. Thus (1) *at* (rel.) : *it* = *as* : *is*, (2) *a* might have tended to spread from *ammi adib*, (3) *at* might come from the conjunct *-dat*, (4) in later Irish the possibility of confusion of unaccented vowels must be kept in mind. Except so far as (4) has to be reckoned with, and it is excluded in the older language, one would be inclined to see in part the influence of (1) in those cases where *at* is unaccompanied by *an-*, but to assign the chief importance to (3). Thus *anat* would be influenced by *anas* and *annandat*, from *nídat* would come *at* for *it*. In Mid. Ir. the extension from *-dat* is clearly seen in *cidat* 'though they are' = O.Ir. *cetu*. By *cidat* occurs *ciat* VSR. l. 1095, into which *ci* is sometimes corrupted in the MSS. of the Féilire of Oengus.

The relative *ata* is a disappearing form. It is not quoted in VSR. or PH., and Windisch cites only one instance in which *ata* means 'whose are.'¹ In LU. I have noted *intan ata lána* 61^a 17, 63^a 45; in LU. 138^a 32 *at* is relative, as in Féil., May 7. It may just be remarked that the formulae *oshé óle* (Ascoli, ccxxi) appear later as *isé*, *asé*, *ilé*, *até*, cf. VSR. ll. 1097 sq., LL. 250^a 43, 250^b 43, LU. 88^b 2, 89^a 22, 95^a 17, 96^a 7.

The 3 sg. *ní* at first sight looks like the simple negative, but Thurneysen, Celt. Zeitschr., i, 1 sq.; Idg. Anz., ix, 191, sees in it a form of the copula, deriving it from **nīst*, **nēst*, **ne est*. Such a copula form he also conjectures in *nád*, *nand*, *nách*.² As to the usage of these latter, *nád* and *nand*³ correspond to *as* and *asn-* (p. 67). But *nát* corresponds in usage to *nand*, not to *nád*.⁴ *Nan* is to be explained as a sandhi form of *nand* which has spread beyond its proper bounds. *Nách*, when not preceded by *con-*, etc., corresponds in usage to *nand*. In later Irish *nách* supplants the other forms, cf. PH. 815; in PH. *nat* is once followed by a noun, but the usage is not the Old Irish usage.

¹ Cf. VSR., l. 1677, Celt. Zeit., i, 8, and compare further *asa di* 'whose it is' Laws, iv, 314, *do cach besa cethraí*, ib. 336, *besa hé iriú* O'Davoren, p. 97. In Féil. Oeng. *ata* is common in the sense of 'whose are,' probably under the influence of *asa*; *nabdar ilí lochta*, Mar. 18, shows that it is not absolutely necessary to have a possessive pronoun.

² Is it to be looked for also in *lasinn*, ll. 918–9?

³ In Wb. 10^b 26 (l. 1011) *nant* and *nadn-* stand side by side.

⁴ So in the pl. *nátat* is syntactically equivalent to *nandat*. Can *nat* stand for *na-n-t*, a form corresponding to W. *nat* with relative *n*? *nand* seems also to contain this *n*, but the analysis of these copula forms is very uncertain.

The forms *nita*, *nida*, etc., have been commonly regarded as unaccented forms of *-tā-*, cf. VSR., p. 44 note, KZ. xxxv, 359. In Celt. Zeit. i, 4, Thurneysen rejects this explanation altogether, connecting the *d* of *-da*, etc., with the *d* of *conid*; in Idg. Anz., ix, 192, he admits the possibility of the explanation only for non-relative forms.¹ His chief objection is the vocalism of the forms *-dem*, *-ded*, *-det*. As to these isolated forms it is hard to say whether the *e* is an earlier stage of *a* or whether it is a peculiar representation of the unaccented vowel; in two of the instances the vowel of the following syllable is palatal. He also urges the fact that *t* is found only after the negative. The only exceptions to that are the peculiar *cota déu* ML. 44^c 11, if *cota* be not an error for *cōda* (*conda*), and the formula *sechtat*, but *sechi* is not followed by *d* forms; *cenutad* may be explained from *cenud-dad*; *nátat*, the plural of *nát*, cannot be considered a real exception. If the forms be of more than one origin, they have become so thoroughly mixed up that it is impossible to separate them fully. For the 1 and 2 sg. *-ta* we may with some assurance assume that they came from *-tó*, *-tái*, otherwise the ending would be hard to explain. The form *-dem* is peculiar for its ending. Should it be *-den*? In *-did* Thurneysen rightly regards the first *d* as coming from the other persons; thus *conda*, *conda*, *conid* would easily become *conda*, *conda*, *condid*. From *-did*, as Thurneysen has suggested, *d* spread to the subjunctive *-dip*. *Condid*, etc., also took the place of *conid*, etc., before other verbal forms, e.g. *condidtuice*, Wb. 30^a.

Afterwards the 1 and 2 sg. *-ta*, *-da* became *-tam*, *-dam*, *-dat*, after *am*, *at*. Thus the second glossator in Wb. has already *nitam* for *nita*. Cf. further *ní dam dermatach* LU. 124^a 3, *indut cretmech* Trip. Life, 84, l. 7, *diandut celiusiu* LU. 71^a 11. For *ní nicon-* is found, *níomessi* I.U. 69^b 43, *niconfu* LL. 251^a 20, *nicondeit ata hi tairrínigire* Ir. Text. ii, 1, 181, cf. Féilire Oenguso, Glossary. Some exceptional forms are found, as *nim* for *nida* SR. 2069, LL. 81^b 10, *nismor* for *ní mór* Ir. Text. ii, 2, 226. But these are only occasional vagaries. In LL. 95^a 20 *inudbeósa* is clearly a distortion of *inda beósa*; in this portion of the LL. Táin there are many monstrous forms. The later use of *ní* with a plural, e.g. *ní hiat*, is to be compared with the similar use of *is*, e.g. *is iat* = O. Ir. *it hé*.

¹ Professor Thurneysen now writes that he would derive *nita* from *tā-*.

In *cesu*, *ciasu*, *massu*, *matu*, *o* is found only in Wb. and Sg. Ml. has also the later *ciasa*, *massa*. For *massa* appears later also *mas*,¹ cf. WB., PH. The plurals *cetu*, *matu* I have so far noted only in the Glosses. For *cetu* appears later *cidat*, *ciat* (p. 64), for *matu*, *masilat* Ir. Text. ii, 1, 176, *massat* LU. 63^b 45, *mastat* Wind. s.v. *ma*. In the other persons there are some new forms. In Trip. Life, 112, l. 20, *ciasa lobur*, *ciasa* is used of the second person; a more distinctive second person is *massat fissid* LU. 86^a 19. Other forms are *cidam læchsa* LL. 70^a 45, *cidat* PH. 894, *cidarcomallai* LL. 85^b 15 (for this formation see below).

With *nimtha laám*, etc. (l. 1103 sq.), may perhaps be compared *nimda sáthech* LU. 60^b 18, *nimda mac* 62^a 37.

An impersonal construction with infixed pronoun has been referred to (ll. 903 sq.), cf. p. 39 note. Compare *isamómun* LU. 65^a 18, *bádnimomunside* 'he was sore afraid' 64^a 11, *bidamsodglassa*, *bidamairdercu-sa de* (so it should be corrected) Ir. Text. ii, 2, 242, *ropadatslán* LU. 130^a 17, *badamslánsa* 130^a 18, so perhaps *conidam* 124^a 2, 16, 124^b 1, 2, 6, cf. VSR., p. 42 note; some of the forms quoted there have a plural predicate. In Mid. Ir. *isam*, *isat* are common forms of the 1 and 2 persons, cf. PH. 894. In VSR., p. 42 note, reference is made to some other curious forms, the origin of which is pretty clear. Thus, if in expressions like *nidam snimach*, *am* was felt to be the infixed pronoun, forms like *nidarnidain* might easily arise, and from them the way is easy to the positive *darslána*, *artroig*. In *atbardúsachtaig*, KZ. xxviii, 95, we have a formation starting from the 3 pl. *at*, cf. *abtar lia* (for *atbar lia*? YBL. 94^a 38 has *itib lia*; perhaps the original text had *airitib lia*) LU. 84^b 26, *batinaithrig* 'we shall repent' LL. 278^a 30. In SR. 3574 *rosat*, Stokes is right in taking the form syntactically for a present, cf. *nirsa* LL. 70^b 7, *gersat* 84^a 14, *ciarsat* 70^b 28 (by *ciarso* 70^b 29, in 70^b 50 *ciarso* is 3 sg.). Did these forms come from a wrong analysis of *órsat* = *órisat*, etc., helped by association with preterite forms? Many of them are no doubt simply artificial literary formations.

The use of the relative forms *as*, *ata*, etc., has been discussed by Pedersen, KZ. xxxv. With the fuller material it is possible on some points to be more precise.

As to the use of *is* and *as*, the general rule is to be noted that if any part of the sentence, except the subject or the object or adjectives or adverbs of quality, is brought forward emphatically,

¹ Did *mas* arise in the first instance before a vowel, e.g. *maé*?

then non-relative forms are used: *is do is cóir*, *is iarum is comainside*, *is and is tualang*. Otherwise the relative forms are used. The relative usage may be illustrated by the following examples (in (a) the relative form may be preceded by *an* 'what') :—

- (a) The relative serves as the subject: *it hé as chorp* 'it is they who are body,' *it sib ata chomarpí* 'it is you who are heirs,' *anas maith* 'what is good.' In this type of sentence *as*, etc., are not followed by relative *n*, and the initial consonant of the following word (except a dental) is aspirated. In the remaining types *n* is inserted and there is no aspiration.
- (b) The relative refers to an adjective or adverb or adverbial phrase: *is bec as máo* 'it is little that it is greater,' *is ind il as ferr* 'it is much that it is better.' Similarly *inchruth as coir* 'the manner that it is proper,' *indéni as comallaide* 'the celerity with which it is fulfilled.'
- (c) The verb is preceded by conjunctions which take the relative form, *an*, *céin*, *cenmíthá*, *deg*, *fúbiith*, *hóre*, *intain*, *isindi*, *lasse*, *lassani*, *ol*, cf. KZ. xxxv, 387 sq.: *amal as n-inrico* 'as is worthy,' *hore as n-amairessach* 'because he is unfaithful.'
- (d) The relative form is used in *oratio obliqua*: *as n-olc* 'that it is evil.' But the form of *oratio recta* is often kept, e.g. *rofelarsa is fóirbtha* 'I know it is perfect.'

Exceptions to the above rules have been noted by Pedersen. He has not, however, observed the peculiar position of *hóre*. In giving statistics for this word I have neglected the negative form of the third singular, because I have not collected all the instances where *hóre* is followed by *ní* 'is not,' as it is often followed by *ní* 'not' instead of by *nád* or *nách*. In each case an example of the type is given, and then the total number of occurrences in Wb., Sg., and Ml.

hóre.

NON-RELATIVE FORMS.

hóre am essamín-se Wb. 4.

hóre at bonus miles Wb. 1.

huare is sain Wb. 9; Sg. 3

(+ quia 2); Ml. 1.

hóre ammi corp Wb. 2.

hóre adib ellachti Wb. 11.

RELATIVE FORMS.

hóre as n-amairessach Wb. 5;

Sg. 8; Ml. 2.

NON-RELATIVE FORMS.	RELATIVE FORMS.
<i>hóre it subditi som</i> Wb. 1; Sg. 1 (quia).	<i>huare ata comlonna</i> Sg. 2; Ml. 1; cf. <i>hóre nandat filii</i> Wb.
<i>hóre is óenrad fil and</i> Wb. 13; Sg. 7 (+ quia 2); Ml. 9 (+ quia 1).	<i>óre as n-dúil foruigensat</i> Wb. 2; Ml. 4.
<i>huare it hæ atú huaislem</i> Ml. 1.	<i>huare ata n-dúli beodai fordingrat</i> Sg. 2; Ml. 2.

It will be observed that in the first and second persons only non-relative forms occur. All the examples are from Wb., but in the one or two instances in SR. the same rule holds. In the other persons, if we include the instances where *hóre* is represented by Lat. 'quia,' the proportion of non-relative to relative forms is Wb. 23 : 7 (or over 3 : 1), Sg. 15 : 12 (or 5 : 4), Ml. 12 : 9 (or 4 : 3). Thus it is clear that in the later Glosses the relative forms are on the increase. In the extra-presential parts, where there are separate relative forms, *hóre* is used only with these.

With *amal* the non-relative forms are infrequent. In Wb. we find it in *amal is i lóu*, a translation of 'sicut in die' (but *amal as* ll. 991 sq.), and in the periphrastic *amal is tre bar tabirt-si ronbia-ni indocbál* (but *amal as* ll. 986 sq.). From Sg. I have no instance of the non-relative form. In Ml. *amal* translating 'ut, uclut' is thrice followed by *is* (ll. 891 sq.) (but by *as* ll. 992 sq.), *is* is four times found in periphrasis (ll. 890 sq.) (but *as* ll. 985 sq.); more strange is *amal it da lebur fichet*.

The only other conjunction¹ that I have noted with both forms is *fobith*, and the instances are few; the non-relative forms will be found ll. 892 sq., the relative l. 994. Otherwise there are only a few examples of *is*, *it* where *as*, *ata* might have been looked for. One is *is mó is periculosius* Acr. 29; the others are Wb. 26^b 2. where the restoration *nitat huili it foirbthi* is certain, and *birt sualchi and it foilsí* Wb. 29^a 29. The confusion of *as* and *is* in later Irish may be seen in VSR., ll. 1070 sq.

With the non-relative forms *am*, *at*, *is*, etc., the relative *n* is never used. With relative forms it is sometimes omitted where

¹ *olisamein*, quoted by Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 388, has become a mere conjunction. But in the Féilire *ol* is regularly followed by non-relative forms.

in accordance with the foregoing rules it might have been expected; in isolated instances there is always the possibility of scribal error. With *amal as* as a formal translation of 'tamquam' and the like, it is regularly omitted; the only exception is *amal as n-di* Sg. 9^b 11, where it is preceded by *amal bith do chonsuin*, and where it may have been less of a purely formal rendering. In periphrasis it is sometimes omitted in Ml. in *oratio obliqua* (ll. 977 sq.), twice after *amal* (ll. 989 sq.); in Wb. 19^b 12, *hiress*, as Pedersen has already pointed out, is in all probability an error for *n-iress*. The other instances are sporadic: *in chruth as coir* 7 *as inrice* Wb. 7^b 1, *fib as deg ropridchad* Wb. 23^a 23, *méit as do oenscribund* Sg. 112^a 2 (but cf. Sg. 3^b 30), *intan as do gnim* Sg. 59^b 16, *as chomsuidigthe* (leg. *comsuidigthe*) Sg. 209^b 9, *huare as accomolta* Sg. 18^a 1, *huare as dliged* Ml. 54^a 5, *intan as aithrech* Ml. 93^a 23, *huare as in deacht fodaraithninedar* Ml. 25^c 5 (it is a wide generalization from a single instance when Pedersen says that *n* is omitted before the article). In extra-presential relative forms *n* is not written in *beto gentilia* Sg. 33^a 16. With *olsodin*, which, as Pedersen has remarked, is an artificial rendering of the Latin relative, as with the usual *an*, the relative *n* is not used, nor does it appear with *nách* or with *nát* (if it be not infixed, cf. p. 64). Further, it is absent in *os* 'since' = *ó as* (in LU. 20^a 23 it is written *oas*).

2. Preterite.

The division of the copula forms is not altogether parallel to the division of the forms of the substantive verb. This is because the distinction of orthotonesis and enclisis has no place in the copula. At most the copula forms have only a secondary accent, and this secondary accent is lost when the copula is preceded by any closely connected particle, whether that particle usually causes enclisis or not. Thus we have *röpo máith*, but both *nirbo máith* and *ciarbo máith*. In such forms as *annarobsa bitho*, *conrupula Dia*, *lasinrubu maith* in Ml., the full form has been analogically restored.

Before we proceed to consider other points it will be well to dispose of two special uses.

As we have already remarked, there are no special forms for the imperfect indicative of the copula. In this imperfect sense

ba is used; the imperfect sense can be detected with certainty only from the proximity of other imperfects; compare *hore ba ó Dia dofoide* (preterite) with *ba inna elluch atarimtis* (imperfect). A good example of the imperfect use of *ba* is LU. 69^a 30, *intan notheiged tar carree noscarad a leth olailiu, intan ba réid conrictis affrissi* 'when he went over stones one half of him would part from the other, when it was smooth they would come together again,' cf. 60^b 10, 12, 72^a 18, 23, and in the Glosses Wb. 15^d 20, Ml. 30^a 3, 62^a 13, 91^a 6, 95^a 5, Sg. 185^b 4. Cf. also *batir* Ml. 90^d 19, *basa* 'I used to be' LL. 343^d 58 (cf. below, p. 80). As the corresponding negative we should expect *nipo*. From the Glosses I have no clear instance, but cf. LU. 60^b 29 *nibo moo in band oldas a chéle* 'one stroke was not greater than another.'

Ba, nipo are used in a peculiar modal sense, cf. Gramm. Celt.² 496, VSR., p. 48, Subjunctive Mood § 43. The instances in the Glosses will be found above, ll. 1248 sq., 1294 sq. The regular negative is *nipo*; *nirbo* I have noted only LU. 60^a 36. The forms are identical with the forms of the indicative, note in particular the 1 sg., l. 1243, and the idiom is to be compared with W. *ponyd oed iwnn y titheu* Red Book, 246, 6, etc., Lat. *melius erat*, etc., Gr. *καλὸν ἦν*, etc.

It will be observed that both *ropo, nirbo, nipo*, and *ropu, nirbu, nipu* occur. The *o* forms are found only in Wb.; the *u* forms rarely in the chief body of glosses in Wb.; in fo. 33 sq., where the glosses are from another hand, the *u* forms are regular, as they are in Ml. and Sg. Cf. also *nirbommar* Wb. by *robummar* Ml. In later Irish both *o* and *u* are found, and, if my observations be accurate, *o* is more common than *u*.

In *ropo, robo*, the frequent spelling with *p*, whether the form be non-relative or relative, shows, as Pedersen has observed, that the *b* was not a spirant. On the other hand, in *nirbo* the *b* is shown to have been a spirant both by the orthography and by the later history of the form: *nirbō, nirb̃, nir*. For this a probable explanation can be suggested. Zimmer long ago pointed out (Kelt. Stud., ii, 129 sq.) that the copula forms *robo*, etc., come from those of the substantive verb *robói*, etc. Thus *robo nirbō* come from *robōi nirbōi*, and it seems to follow that the rule of the aspiration of the relative form of the verb had not yet come into operation. Similarly *ciarpsa nirbsa* may be explained from *c̃ia robā-sa, nī-rōbā-sa*.

The forms *ba* and *-bo* correspond to one another, cf. *nipo uáib act ba o apsatalib* Wb. 13^a 20, *nibo comitesti dó acht ba lécthi* 1^c 12. *Ba* is used absolutely and also along with certain conjunctions, *hore, lass, iarsindi, an, intain*; *-bo* follows particles that take the enclitic form of the verb, e.g. *nipo, com-bo, dium-bo*; it also accompanies *ce, cia* 'though.' In the prose of LU. Táin, pp. 55–77^a (I have noted only the occurrences in the prose) this rule is still strictly observed (except *ropa* 58^a 12); in WB. pp. 396–7, the exceptions are not numerous. In later Irish the two forms tended to become confused, chiefly probably because the atonic vowels fell together in pronunciation. To *ba* were formed analogically some other persons 1 sg. *bam* Wind. 396, 3 pl. *bat* VSR. 1442; *bamsa* LU. 16^a 43, LL. 343^d 44, may be a direct transformation of *basa*, which in LL. 343^d 43 becomes *basam*, like *ropsam* below.

According to Pedersen, KZ. xxxv, 325, the Mod. Ir. preterite comes from the O. Ir. praesens secundarium *bad*. What he means by the praesens secundarium is not clear; *bad* in O. Ir. is either past subjunctive or secondary future; it is not past indicative. The question could satisfactorily be settled only by tracing the formation down from the O. Ir. period to the present day. I will only give here one or two cases where I have met with *bad* written for *ba*: *is an! bad dóig la Fergus bith Conculaind in-Delga* LU. 68^a 7 (for the usual *ba dóig*), *bád chumma romaltsat* (= O. Ir. *ba cumme rondommaltatar*) LU. 124^b 3, *corthe nochlantaís intan bad maidm n-imairic, card* (= *carnd*) *immorro fochertitis intan bad n-orgain* LU. 86^b 42 (in an interpolated explanation), *dochuaidisium turus bad sia* LL. 69^a 5 (where *bad* might have come from negative sentences like *ní lotúr ní bud sire* LU. 24^a 5).

In the 1 sg. the pronominal *-sa* has become part of the verbal form (p. 49). The only exception is ML. 49^b 13, where *romsa* is followed by *rom*.¹ This, again, is the starting-point of new formations. Like so many other of the first persons singular of the copula, *ropsa* takes on by analogy an *m* and becomes *ropsam* PH. 903 (cf. *basam* above); to this is formed a 2 sg. *ropsat* ib., *nárbsat* SR. 1318, *intan ropsat gilla* LL. 343^d 53, and a 3 pl. *ropsat* LL. 82^b 1, *cersat, darsat* PH. 904.

The most difficult point in the preterite is the discrimination of the forms with and without *ro-*. I find it impossible to lay

¹ Cf. *bása macc la maccu, ba fer la firu*, LU. 114^a 32.

down any precise rules for the use of the two sets of forms. For example, what difference of meaning is there between *hore ropo co fuilte tuccad* and *hore ba ó Dia dofoided*, or between *geinti narbo plebs Dei* and *napo chenél domsa*? But though it is impossible to state any hard and fast rules, certain kinds of sentence show a clear preference for one form or the other. To make this evident, I give below the instances of the 3 sg. arranged in order from Wb., Sg., and Ml. The distribution in the other persons can easily be seen from the lists, pp. 33–7. To see whether the later language throws any light on the usage, I have also examined the prose portions of the LU. Táin, pp. 55–77. In the following lists I have excluded instances that are clearly imperfect:—

(a) ropo)(ba.

Wb.

ropo

ba.

ropo tocomracht linn buid i
m-bethu 14^b 24.

ar ba bibda báis leusom (perhaps
ipf.) 1^d 19.

ropo scith linn uiuere 14^b 26.

robo diliu linn dethiden díbsi
14^d 13.

ropo súith líbsi ón 23^d 11.

ropo thróg laiss ar m-buith fo
mám pectho 21^b 5.

rupu accubur leu etargne 33^a 11.

ropo fochonn gnímo don peccad
a n-irgaire 3^c 23.

ropo thol dond athir mo thuoi
14^b 13.

ropo ainm dúibsi inso uile 9^c 29.

ropo irlam sochide and do chretim
14^d 29.

ropu accus bás dó 23^d 12.

ba apstal cid Moysi 32^d 14.

ar ba habens humanum genus
sub dominatu suo (ipf.?)
3^a 1.

sech ropo léir són 27^d 19.

sech ba foirbthe a iress sídi 19^a 11.

ar ropo eola som na huile setar-
laice 30^c 17.

ar ba foirbthe hires do mathar
29^d 13.

ropo.

rubu fer som muin'tire 33^a 5.
rupu si arreilic 33^a 22.
robo dúibsi 24^c 22.

ropo (rel.) *infolgithe irrúnaib*
diuinitatis 21^c 22.
inti ropo *magister prius* 13^a 12.
asrubartatar rombo discipul som
apstal 18^d 1.

amal rombo marb Iesu don biuth
so 15^b 25.

amal rombo chuimse la Dia 22^a 2.
amal rombo ainmnetach 26^b 7.
amal rombo foirbthe Crist 26^d 16.
amal rombo thol do dóinib 24^d 4.
intan ropo mithich lusinn athir
nemds 19^d 7.

intain rombo mithig less 31^a 10.
hore rombu thoissech na fectæ
 33^a 20.

hore rombo sollicite 30^a 7.
hóre ropo co failti tuccad 24^b 26.

ba.

act ba la amiresschu 9^c 17.
ba contra spem dó epert 2^c 24.
ba in mortem 3^a 8.
nipo uáib act ba ó apsatalib
 13^a 20.
arba miscuis atroillisset 4^c 14.

doménar-sa ba marb peccad 3^c 26.
ba n-dilmain do airbert buith
 10^d 14.

da leinn ba firinne 31^d 5.

huare bu mac Dé 33^c 6.

hore ba ó Dia dofoided 32^d 14.

Sg.

ropu.

robu anfiss dosom 148^a 6.
robu frenduire riam 153^b 5.
robu samlid robói 203^b 5.

quia robbu digaim ind f. 17^a 5.
dég rombu éendarc dó 148^a 6.

ba.

ar ba bés lasuidib (ipf.?) 4^a 9.
ar bá firianu Aeneas 43^a 1.
ar bá fio factus dogéni prius
 185^b 4.
aní ba choitichen 50^a 3.

Ml.

ropu.

robu machdad leo 46^a 17.

*ropu thol leo ade[nu]m in[na]
cloine sin* 71^b 2.

robu ferr leu buith hi leith Duaid
87^c 4.

*rubu ferr lat comaidech (= comai-
techt) du Asaraib* 72^b 18.

robu maith leu buith hi Caldea
105^b 8.

robú mór a homun liumsa 96^a 10.

*robu frithorcon doib a n-etars-
carad* 124^b 6.

robu bithsoinmech dóib du grés
90^c 27.

airis suidiu robu thir tairingeri
130^c 18.

robu mou de int erchot 61^c 8.

is airi inso robu immaircide
14^a 4.

air rubu lutharthaé 32^c 2.

robu foirithe (rel.?) 111^b 27.

robu si a ciall 95^a 9.

*robu du thabernacuil robu ainm
són* 100^b 12.

*nanni robu thol do do frith-
oircnib* 33^a 18.

nanni robu accubur leu 54^a 9.

*dun gnim robu accubur lat du
forbu* 50^c 14.

ba.

ba árosc sin la aithrea (ipf.?)
136^a 5.

ba samlid a n-doire leu 84^c 9.

*bá brón do suidib m'aicsiu (prob.
ipf., cf. 86^d 6)* 44^c 6.

sech ba degedbart ón in Ilege
(ipf.?) 87^b 8.

is du suidib ba inbesa (ipf.?)
31^d 12.

ba cumdubart inétaste 43^d 20.

sechis ba trom foraið són 34^d 12.

ba erchoitech n - doib toimtiu
35^b 23.

sech ba indeithbir doibsom fochaid
Dæ 97^d 15.

ba fercach som fri suide 58^c 6.

ba glas 7 ba téntids a sliab
96^b 17.

ba fomraid a bellraé side 53^d 3.

bá infeití 28^c 17.

ba fri aicned 129^d 8.

ba hed á n-óinbiad 97^d 8.

ba hed a n-gnim som molad Dæ
24^a 4.

ba fou fachartar som 64^a 10.

in fer truagsa ba lugae leu 118^c 5.

anl ba buthi ar thuus 29^a 8.

ani ba eperthi do suidib 46^a 11.

anl ba immaircide 73^b 17.

ropu.

Essu rubu thoissech 63^b 5.

amal robu (leg. *rombu*) *thol*
doib 54^a 34.

amal rombu réil damsá 113^b 4.

huare rombu immaircide 2^b 6.

huare rombu suidigthe ind ic
hisin dosom i n-Dia 18^a 20.

huare rombu amlabar 59^a 14.

huare rombu mór dorat 136^c 11.

isindi rombú foraithe 122^a 7.

arrobu (leg. *arrombu*) *lintae*
25^c 16.

arrombu suidigthe 48^d 6.

arrombu erchellae 53^b 14.

arrombu lonn Dia frissom 62^b 22.

ba.

ised asbirtis ba madae dam 106^d 3.

roftir side ba Dia conrairleic
58^c 6.

iarsindi ba teipirsinge 129^d 5.

iarsindi ba mane moch riam
21^c 4.

lase ba snim fora menmuin 89^b 7.

amba n-indrisse 18^c 14.

amba n-diuscartae 19^c 15.

amba toimse 25^a 18.

amba taircide 27^c 20.

amba cloithe 32^b 2.

amba foite 34^c 9.

amba foircethe 35^d 6.

amba foilsichthe 91^a 5.

amba cocuibrid 32^b 21.

amba saibacart Alchimus and
75^d 3.

In the portion of the Táin *ba* is almost the universal form, cf. 55^b 2, 56^b 14, 57^a 26, 58^a 35, 58^b 8, 59^a 4 (*intan ba*), 59^a 35, 59^a 36, 59^b 16 (*intan*), 59^b 44, 60^a 18, 60^b 1, 60^b 2, 60^b 15, 61^a 37, 62^a 12 (*daig*), 62^a 26, 62^b 25, 62^b 40, 63^a 25, 63^a 41, 64^a 2, 64^a 29 (*ba foróil leu*), 64^b 18, 64^b 23 (*bá saeth lais*), 65^a 8, 65^a 30 (*bá méla léo*), 65^b 19 (*úair ba i n-gataib dobertatar*), 69^b 19, 69^b 22 (*ba saeth la Fergus anisin*), 70^a 9, 70^b 15 (*ba diliu laiss*), 71^a 40, 71^b 5, 72^b 44, 73^a 39, 40, 42. *Ropo* is very rare: '*rofess*,' or *Ailill, robbó dord* (= dorn) *niad 7 ropo rig ruanada* 59^b 24; *robo dín 7 ditiu diar feib 7 ar n-indili, ropo indegail cacha slabra dún* 61^a 6; *o ropu tromda 7 ropo lenamnach int aidech* 69^a 11; *iss éseom ropo uallach* 69^a 28, cf. 58^a 12; *céin robo beo* 74^a 26.

(b) -rbo)(-po.

Wb.

-rbo.

nirbo sár leu ar cocéilsine 19^a 1.
nirbo accur lat 29^d 9.

nirbo mebul less mo charatrad
 30^a 6.

nirbu aithrech limsa 16^b 6.
nirbo mebul dosom epert 16^b 19.
nirbo dis muntaire 21^b 12.
nirbo mraithem 32^d 15.
nirbu choimdiu 33^a 5.
nirbu dóineet cen deacht 15^d 16.
nirbo chuit eperte 24^c 5.
is cuit esbicuil nirbo sirbaás
 32^d 4.

nirbu faás foruigéni 13^b 7.

geintli narbo plebs Dei 4^d 3.
corbu écen a comalnad 32^c 17.
ciarbu minimus et ciarbo abor-
tibus 13^b 8.

cinirbo etruib robammar - ni
 24^c 22.

hóre narbo bae la Iudu 5^b 12.
hóre narbo lour linn 24^b 20.
hóre nirbu foirbthe 33^b 4.

-po.

nibo mór a m-brig linn 18^d 10.
nipo accobor lussin fer nopridchad
suide 13^a 20.

nipu accobor leiss 14^a 22.

nipochoim[diless] less frinn 4^b 12.
nipo irgnæ co tunic lex 3^a 1.
nipu imdu do in mann 16^c 25.
nipo lobur a hires 2^c 25.
nipu lugu a chuit sidi 16^c 26.
nipu immacus intaidrius 18^d 5.
nipu libsi int ord so 9^c 17.

nipo dia airchissecht 4^c 21.

nipo uáib 13^a 20.

nibo ar seirc móidme 17^a 13.

nibu ar chuingid for sét 24^d 7.

nip ar irlaimi far cúrsugtha
 26^b 23.

nipu nach derninnse 8^a 5.

nipo fochetoir(?) dorat 4^c 35.

nip ar maid rosnuicc 5^b 3.

napo chenéel domsa 5^a 14.

ciabo lobur oc tecmallad 16^c 26.
cepu fri aicned quod dictum est
 2^c 25.

cepued ad oillisset 4^c 35.

Sg.

-rbu.

-bu.

nirbu cognomen 31^b 22.
quasi dixisset nirbu lit- ade
conaus 5^b 6.
nirbu lánfalid 42^a 7.
nirbu lánbrón 42^a 8.

Pl.

-rbu.

-bu.

nirbu lour leusom buaduguth dib
 33^c 13.
nirbu toraisse les 34^c 17.
nirbu chuman leu andorigeni Dia
 124^b 5.
nirbu mou leu brig a tobai 92^d 6.
nirbu sain mo brig leu 88^b 4.
nirbu cumachtach som 72^b 6.
nirbu imdæ 46^c 19.
nirbu foirbthe a n-iræ 97^b 2.
nirbu samlaid sôn doibsom 90^c 27.
nirbu cen futhorcuin truim dunaib
Egiptacuib 63^b 7.
nirbu chosc coir dorratsat 113^d 7.
aní nárbu dilmain du gabail
 60^a 13.

nibu gnath du suidib 123^d 3.
nibu in cián riam 32^b 17.

nibu fua réir fesin boisom
 14^b 13.

cid arnabu son inchoinsised
 56^a 13.
conepertis nadmbu choir (?)
 136^b 4.
nambu tressa 53^d 6.

conrubu chrin 99^a 2.
conropu la Dia 67^c 9.
corrobu bec du essarcnaib furo-
damarsa 131^b 12.
connarbú huaín dóib 100^a 3.
huare narbu derachtae 18^d 18.

connabu accobur lium biad
 127^c 13.
ciabu ole 24^c 12.

-rbu.

annarbu buidech som 40^d 10,
145^a 1.

anarbu thurgabthas 86^d 14.
lasinrubu chumtabart 102^d 4.
lasinrubu maith 131^d 11.

-bu.

diambu thabarthi ermitiu feid 7
imbu choir frecur céil Dæ
22^a 4.

LU. Táin.

nirbo chuman lais dal a daltai
60^b 22.

nirbo maith lesside techt 72^b 30.

nirbo sám dóib 58^b 11.

nirbo réid dosom ón 65^a 4.

nirbo latsu tollem écraite 62^a 36.

corbo mesc 73^a 41.

connarbo eter leo 60^b 33.

connárbo lethiu 59^a 38.

diarbo chocéle 68^a 16.

nipu anféliu dó 69^b 29.

nipu chian iarsin guin 60^a 40.

nibu dirsan duit (?) 67^a 30.

nipu samlaid domarfás 69^b 39.

nipu du thir dó a fuirec dorigni
60^a 43.

combo móir béolu midchuaich
59^a 39, cf. 59^a 41, 63^a 37,
71^a 42, 71^b 17, 74^a 24 (bis),
76^b 17, 77^a 42, 43.

combo assa carpat sessin dosbert
58^b 8.

combo ulcha báí lais 74^b 40.

combo hed domuined cách (ipf.)
74^b 39.

cíd diambo maith 61^b 8.

diambo chéli 68^a 12, 71^a 21.

imbo béo (whether he lived)
73^b 34.

As to *robo* and *ba*, it will be seen that certain conjunctions prefer *robo*. Thus, *amal* is always accompanied by *robo*, and for the most part also *hóre*, similarly *intain*, but there are only a couple of instances; *an* is followed by both; the occurrences of other similar conjunctions are too few to draw any inferences from them. Otherwise the use of the one or the other seems to depend, to a great extent at least, on the form of the predicate. Thus,

in expressions like *ropo scith linn*, *ropo* is the regular form; on the other hand, when the predicate is a prepositional phrase, e.g. *ba ó apatalib*, *ba* is commonly used. In Wb. *ropo* is used in sentences like *rubu fer som muntaire* (so in oratio obliqua, *rombo descipul som apstal*); Ml. has *ba fercach som fri suide*, but the form of sentence is not quite the same. Where the predicate is a simple adjective *ba* is preferred. In periphrasis, so far as can be judged from the few instances, *ropo* is found where *robói* follows, *robu samlid robói*, otherwise *ba*. In relative sentences Wb. has *ropo*, but there are only two instances; in Ml. the usage is much the same as in non-relative sentences. The general impression conveyed is that *ropo* is somewhat more emphatic than *ba*. It must also be noted that *ropo* tends to give place to *ba*. In Ml. *ba* is much more frequent than in Wb., and in the Táin Bó Cúailnge *ba* is almost the universal form, cf. also VSR., pp. 52, 53.

We come now to *-rbo*, *-po*. In Wb. somewhat of the same distinction may be observed as between *ropo* and *ba*. Thus, with a prepositional predicate, e.g. *nipo uáib*, *-po* is regular. On the other hand, the predominance of *-rbo* in phrases like *nirbu accur lat* is not so pronounced as that of *ropo*. Further, where the predicate is a simple noun *nirbo* seems to be preferred, where the predicate is a simple adjective *nipo*. In periphrasis we have *nirbu fads foruigéni*, but *nip ar maid rosnuicc*. After *cia* we find *cinirbo etruib robanmar-ni* like *robu samlid robói*, but *cepu:d adroillisset*. With *hóre*, *nirbo*, *nárbo* are constant. Otherwise the occurrences are too isolated for any certain deductions. From Sg. little is to be learned, as there are only four examples, all of *nirbu*. But the tendency seems to be the same as that so clearly seen in Ml., namely, for *-rbo* to extend itself at the expense of *-pu*. In the L.U. Táin at first sight *-rbo* seems to prevail, but on closer observation it will be seen that nearly all the examples of *-po* are in the combinations *combo*, *diambo*, *imbo*. Unfortunately examples of such combinations are rare in the Glosses, but in Ml. we have *diambu*, *imbu*, and the Táin indicates that at one time *-bo* was here the favourite form. Afterwards *combo*, *diambo*, etc., made way for *corbo*, *diarbo*, etc., cf. VSR., ll. 1402 sq. (*combo* occurs only once, ib. l. 1352).

In the other persons the *ro-* forms seem to be more prevalent, but the small total of occurrences makes it impossible to speak with much certainty; the reader must judge for himself. In

the 1 sg. the forms *basa*, *nipsa* occur a good many times in the Tecosca Cormaic, LL. 343^d, cf. LU. 114^a 22: *nipsa chú-sa gabála lis*, *basa chú-sa gabála uis*; *nipsa chaú-sa cruibin aurchaill*, *bása cú-sa comnart do chomlond*, etc., cf. ll. 29, etc.; here *basa nipsa* might have an imperfect sense, as Cuchulinn, in speaking of his past prowess, ll. 6 sq., uses imperfects. In this person Windisch and Atkinson cite only forms with *ro-*. In the Saltair na Rann in the 3 pl. *-batar*, *-btar* is frequent, *roptar* rare, cf. PH. 905.

3. Future Indicative.

Of the 1 sg. there is no example in the Glosses. Later we find *bam* VSR. l. 1243, PH. 900, *nipam* LU. 52^b 15, which might come from an O.Ir. *ba*. But there is also a form *biam* (*biam sóer* Hy. iv, 8, *biam cú-sa* LU. 61^a 9, *biam tigerna* SR. 855), the relation of which to *bam* is not clear. Can there have been two forms in O.Ir., *bía* absolutely, but *ba* after particles, *comba*, etc.? In the 2 sg. there is also an absolute form *bía*, *bía slán* LU. 44^b 33. In later Irish *-ba* appears as *-bat*, PH. 900.

In the relative form of the 3 sg. *bea* is the older form, *bas* is a weakening of it. In SR. *bas* alone is found, cf. PH. 901. For the 3 pl. *am-bat n-*, cf. p. 64.

In the 1 pl. *bemmi*, *bimmi*, and *bami* represent various stages of weakening. Of this form I have noted no example in Middle Irish. In the 2 pl. *bethi mairb* appears, SR. 1232.

4. Secondary Future.

In the 3 sg. *bed* is used absolutely, *-bad* when *ro-* or a particle *ní*, etc., precedes. For *bed* afterwards *bad* appears, *cía de bad férr* LU. 62^b 44, *cía de bad assu lat* 69^a 26.

5. Present Subjunctive.

Of the 1 sg. an additional example will be found LU. 61^b 6, *acht ropa airderc-sa*. Later *ba* becomes *bam* VSR. 1178 sq. In the 2 sg. for *ba* afterwards appears *bat* WB. 391-2, PH. 900. In the 3 sg. the usual form is *-p*. Before this *ro-* is prefixed after *acht*, which is regularly accompanied by *ro-* (Subjunctive Mood, §§ 48, 94), after *con-* (ib. § 96), and in wishes *rop* Hy. i,

passim, LU. 61^b 31 (cf. Subj. Mood, §§ 18, 88); also in the sense of 'must be' Laws iv, 334, ll. 12 sq. With *arim* = *arimp* may be compared *diam* 'if it be,' Laws, iv, 314, ll. 4-8, 338 bottom. The form *-dip* (after the analogy of the indicative *-did*, p. 65) is found after *aran-* (by *arimp*) *in-* 'whether' and *con-*. In Tírechán's notes 11 it appears also after *ná-*, *nadip rubecc*, *nadip romár* by *nap* Ir. Text. ii, 2. 208, *nab* WB. 392; PH. has *narob*. In *rope*, *bo* Thurneysen, Idg. Anz., ix, would see this *-p* along with the *-o* which appears in *ceso*, *maso*, and he is doubtless right in putting along with these forms *robo* 'or,' for which, p. 34 note, I had already suggested a subjunctive origin. The only other instance of this subjunctive form that I have noted so far is *bés nípu hécen* = 'perhaps it may not be necessary,' LU. 61^b 36.

In the 3 sg. relative *bas* is a weakening of *bes*, which afterwards becomes the usual form, cf. WB., PH. 901 (where future and subjunctive forms are mixed up together). So in the pl. *beta* is weakened to *bata*; of these plural forms I have no instances from the later literature.

6. Past Subjunctive.

Here *ro-* is rare. It is found once after *act* 'provided that' and once after *con-* 'until,' with both of which, as we have seen, *ro-* is regular.

In the 3 sg. appear *bed* and *bad*; the latter is a weakening of the former, and becomes afterwards the common form, VSR., WB. 392-393. In the 3 sg. appears also a peculiar form *bid*. It is found mostly after *amal* 'as though it were,' and after certain phrases *dóich*, *is cumme*, *oldaas*. It sometimes varies with *bed*; cf. l. 1498 with l. 1521, and l. 1498 with l. 1517. As to its origin, *bid* can hardly be explained from any known subjunctive form. Professor Thurneysen has suggested to me with great probability that it has developed from the infinitive *buith*; the vocalism would be due to its being unaccented. In support of this explanation may be quoted LU. 68^a 7, *is* and *bad dóig la Fergus bith Conculaind i n-Delga*, which might also be expressed by *ba dóig la Fergus bid i n-Delga nobeth Cúchulaind*, cf. *is aice ba dóig a m-bith* Laws, iv, 36. In the negative *ní bad* we seem to have simply the potential subjunctive.

The variants *benn*, *binn*, *bemmis*, *bimmis*, *betis*, *bitis* are only

different weakenings of the accented forms of the substantive verb. Even after *amal* we find both *e* and *i* forms, so that the attraction of the 3 sg. *bid* cannot have been great.

7. Imperative.

In the absolute 3 sg. appear both *bed* and *bád*; here, again, the latter is a weakening of the former, and it becomes afterwards the usual form, cf. WB. Similarly in the 2 pl.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 26, l. 919. Add *frisín cosmíl* Sg. 188^a 13.

P. 29, l. 1011, dele et *nád n-escona ní*.

P. 31, l. 1099. Add *inda apstal* Wb. 10^c 20.

P. 31, note 2. But, as Professor Thurneysen has pointed out, *toirsech* is probably a peculiar spelling of *toirsich*, and the form is plural.

P. 33, ll. 1151, 1152, dele *i narim* . . . dies Sg. 66^b 9.

P. 34, l. 1183, *huare romsa uaire* is 2nd person singular.

P. 53, l. 35. The rule would be better expressed: in enclisis, except where *-tá* is required by the foregoing rules.

P. 62, l. 23. An example is *buih nochtehn* Wb. 11^b 12.

P. 64, dele note 3.

P. 65, l. 28, for "second" read "first."

P. 66, line 2. As in the Féilire Oenguso final *u* and *a* are not yet confused, *ciasa*, *massa* in Ml. must be regarded as corruptions of *ciasu*, *massu*.