

VII.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE IRISH DECLENSION. By J. STRACHAN.

IN a paper published in the Transactions of this Society for the year 1885, and afterwards reprinted with additions and corrections in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, xi, 64–175, Dr. Whitley Stokes has discussed at length the Old Irish nominal declension from the comparative standpoint. Since then little has been done for the history of the noun; the efforts of Irish scholars have been devoted chiefly to the elucidation of the intricate verbal system. At the outset it was my aim to write a detailed account of Middle Irish inflexion, but lack of time has prevented the execution of this plan in its entirety. Last year I was compelled by pressure of other work to put off the paper, and now it has been necessary to choose between either deferring the paper indefinitely or submitting to the Society the results at which I have been able to arrive from the material already collected. Of these alternatives I have chosen the latter, in the hope that these results will be of interest to my fellow-workers, and that others may be stimulated to correct by further investigations any errors into which I have fallen and to fill up the gaps that remain. Here I would like to urge the importance of a full account of the nominal inflexion of the Modern Irish dialects; Middle Irish inflexion will be fully understood only when we know clearly not only that from which it started but also that to which it was tending.

As my object was not to write the history of individual words, but to set forth generally the changes which Irish nominal inflexion has undergone, it seemed that this purpose could be best accomplished by a study of representative texts taken from MSS. of different ages. I must not be understood to say that these texts were all of them first composed about the time that the MS. was written; many of them are possibly or certainly earlier. Only there was a tendency on the part of the Irish scribe to introduce into the

texts copied the forms with which he himself was familiar, so that if the texts are used with caution something may be learned of the language of the time at which the MS. was written. My chief texts are the following:—

1. *Saltair na Rann* (SR.). This poem was written towards the end of the tenth century. It is preserved, however, in a manuscript of the twelfth century. Consequently allowance must be made for the possibility of scribal corruption. In verse, however, this can in part be controlled by attention to the assonances and rhymes which the rules of Irish verse composition demand. Allowance must be made also for the liberties which the Irish poet took with his language for the sake of the metre.

2. Texts from the *Lebor na hUidre* (LU.), a codex of the latter part of the eleventh century. Attention has been devoted almost entirely to texts which in their origin are undoubtedly Mid. Ir.:—*Sex Ætates Mundi* (SAM.) pp. 1, 2, *Fragment of Nennius* (Nenn.) pp. 3, 4, *Commentary on the Amra Coluimcille* (CA.) pp. 5–14, *Dá Broń Flatha Nime* (DáBr.) pp. 17, 18, *Fis Adamnáń* (FA.) pp. 27–31, *Scéla Láí Brátha* (Sc.L.B.) pp. 31–34, *Scéla na hEésérge* (Sc.E.) pp. 34–37, *Aided Nathi* (Aid. Nath.) pp. 38, 39, *Aided Echach* (Aid. Ech.) pp. 39–41, *Fotha Catha Cnucha* (FCC.) pp. 41, 42, *Senchas na Relec* (S.Rel.) pp. 50–52, *Genemain Aeda Sláne* (GAS.) pp. 52, 53, *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* (SCC.) pp. 113–115, *Comthoth Lógairi* (CL.) pp. 117, 118. These texts probably belong to the tenth or eleventh centuries. Nennius belongs to the eleventh century, also GAS., and to the same century we may assign without hesitation CA., Sc.L.B., and probably most of the others. SCC., however, probably belongs to the early part of the tenth century.¹ The great Sagas of this codex in their origin date from an early period; in a less or greater degree they have undergone corruption and interpolation; in a less or greater degree they are an admixture of old and new. In consequence they play a very small part in the present investigation.

3. Texts from the *Book of Leinster* (LL.), a twelfth-century codex.

- (a) *Lebor Gabála* (LG.), with the exception of the verse, pp. 1–26. This text seems to me to be earlier than the following. I should not put it later than the eleventh century.

¹ See Eriu i, 159.

- (b) *Togail Trói* (TT.), pp. 217–244. The references are to the lines of Stokes' edition, Calcutta, 1881.

Some material has also been taken from the *Ferdiad* episode of the *Táin*, pp. 81–88, a text which contains many late forms.

4. Texts from the Book of Ballymote (BB.), about 1400 A.D.

- (a) *Nennius* (Nenn.), pp. 203–211. The original belongs to the eleventh century. As we have seen above, a short fragment is found in LU.

- (b) The Story of the *Æneid* (Æn.), pp. 449–485.

5. Texts from the *Lebor Brecc* (LBr.), earlier than 1411 A.D.

- (a) *Vision of MacConglinni* (MC.), pp. 213–219. The references are to the pages of Meyer's edition.

- (b) *Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breacc*, ed. Atkinson (PH.). The material given from this text has been taken from the glossary to Atkinson's edition.

I have also consulted the Introduction to Stokes' *Lives of Saints* from the Book of Lismore (LS.). Some material has also been got from the *Annals of Ulster* (Ann. Ul.), which, so far as its evidence goes, reflects fairly the changes in literary Irish from century to century.

As I have already pointed out in *Eriu* i, 152, it must be borne in mind that the Mid. Ir. which we have is a literary language of conservative tendencies. Hence, in seeking to determine the chronology of the various changes which the language has undergone, we should be especially on the outlook for the first appearances of the later forms which superseded the earlier, for when the new form makes its way into literature we may infer that the old was disappearing, or had disappeared, from the vulgar speech.

Before we pass to the consideration of the Irish declensions in order, there are four points on which something should be said, for the better understanding of what follows. These are (1) the palatalization of consonants, (2) the falling together of final vowel sounds originally distinct, (3) the decay of the neuter gender, (4) coincidence of cases.

PALATALIZATION.

A consonant is liable to be palatalized by a following palatal vowel. Two cases have to be distinguished.¹

(1) The vowel was afterwards lost. In this case palatalization is regular, e.g. *maice* = Ogam *magi*, *fáith* from **uātis*, *céill* from **cēlli*. If, however, the palatal vowel was preceded by the sound-group *cht*,² then the palatalization did not reach through this group to the vowel of the preceding syllable; e.g. *-ā*-stems in *-acht* like *dóinacht* make the dat. and acc. sg. in *-acht*, in contrast with *tuath*, dat. and acc. *tuath*. There is an apparent exception in gen. sg. and nom. pl. like *boicht* from *bocht* 'poor.'³ The probable explanation here is that we have only a grammatical orthography,³ just as in Mod. Ir. it is the rule to write *boicht* though that does not represent the actual sound. It is noteworthy that in *ML* 27^d 7, 36^a 34, *i* is over the line. Note also the nom. pl. *fornocht* *YBL* 50^b 33, and the gen. sg. *Droma fornocht* *Ann. Ul.* 726.

(2) The vowel was retained. Here the conditions are more complicated; a preceding consonant is sometimes palatalized, sometimes it is not.⁴ Compare, on the one hand, O.Ir. *duine*, *glaine*, *lainne*, *caille*, etc.; on the other, *lánae*, *námae* (later *náma*), *cnámai*, *soscéle* (*soscéla*), *túarae* (*túara*), *triche* (*tricha*), *ógae*, *tréde* (*tréda*), *dúbae*, *tengae* (*tenga*), *menmae* (*menma*), *bélrae* (*bérla*), *delbae* (*delba*), *torbae* (*torba*), *orbae* (*orba*), *lobrae* (*lobra*), *gortae* (*gorta*), *tigernae* (*tigerna*), *sercae*, *mescae*, etc. In some instances such as *lungae* (*lunga*) gen. sg. of *long*, the change of *o* to *u* indicates that the consonant must at one time have been palatal; the development

¹ For my present purpose I deal here only with final vowels. There was a distinction also with non-final vowels, e.g. *áram* from **adrimā*, but gen. *áirme*, *oreuin*, from **orgenā*, but gen. *oiréne*.

² In the Mod. Ir. of South Munster, according to Father O'Leary, *Æsop*, voc. iii, the *t* is palatalized but not the preceding *ch*. He says: "The vocative of *bocht* is not *bhoicht*. It is *bhoicht* with the *ch* broad and the *t* slender." Is not this the meaning of the peculiar spelling *noch t*, *W^b* 11^c 18? In *Thes. Pal.* it has been altered to *nochtehenn*, but now it seems to me that we may have here a very interesting phonetic spelling, indicating that in O.Ir. the *t* was palatalized but not the *ch*.

³ According to Pedersen, *Idg. Anz.* xi, 111, "diese Schreibung [sc. *boicht*] entsprach ganz gewiss der altirischen Aussprache . . . *cht* bleibt nur unumouilliert vor einem erhaltenen auslautenden vokale, nicht aber vor einem geschwundenen vokale." But how he explains forms like *dóinacht* he does not indicate. Perhaps it might be said that palatalization took place only in an accented syllable. Against this, however, is *secht* 'seven.'

⁴ For the cases in which the quality of the preceding consonant is determined by that of another consonant with which it has come into contact through the loss of an intervening vowel, see Brugmann, *Grundriss* I², 245 sq.

of the final vowel shows that it was afterwards depalatalized. It would seem that the presence or absence of palatalization depends partly upon the nature of the preceding consonant or group of consonants, partly on the nature of the vowel of the preceding syllable. The precise conditions have yet to be determined. In such an investigation it will have to be remembered that the regular development may be disturbed by analogy. Thus in Mid. Ir. for *lunga* we also find *luinge*, for *delba* (from *delbae*) *deilbe*, for *láma* (from *lámae*) *láime*, for *trumma*, *troimme*, *troime*, formed anew from *tromm*. Along with the coincidence in sound of final vowels this distinction produces divergences in Mid. Ir. in paradigms originally identical. Thus in *-ā*-stems the gen. sg. splits up into *-e* and *-a* (now identical in sound with the gen. sg. of *-i*- and *-u*-stems), see p. 210; the *-io*-, *-iā*-stems break up into two classes, see p. 222; there is a similar divergence in the plural of *-i*-stems, see p. 225.

COINCIDENCE OF FINAL VOWEL SOUNDS.

In Mid. Ir. all final palatal vowels preceded by a palatal consonant became an obscure vowel *ə* preceded by a palatal consonant, e.g. *céle*, *céli*, *céliu* all become *k'el'ə*. In the same way *-a*, *-ae*, *-ai*, *-u* preceded by a non-palatal consonant became in time *-ə* preceded by a non-palatal consonant. The confusion of *-a* and *-ae* is carried through earliest, next confusion of *-ai* with *-a* and *-ae*.¹ Confusion of *-u* and *-a* is later. In the O.Ir. glosses there are no certain instances;² by 1000 A.D. confusion has set in, e.g. *betha* (: *bretha*), SR. 1216; in 3732 *innarbu* is written for the nom. to rhyme with *dú*. It is to be noted, however, that in the acc. pl. of nominal *-o*-stems, and in the dat. sg. and acc. pl. of nominal *-io*-stems, in which the final vowel is preceded by a non-palatal consonant, *-u* persists far down into the Mid. Ir. period, see below, pp. 216, 222, 223.

DECAY OF THE NEUTER GENDER.

A full account of the decay of the neuter gender in Irish would require a special investigation, based on much wider collections.

¹ Cf. Rev. Celt. xx, 303-4; CZ. iv, 51, 477 sq.

² The instances given in CZ. iv, 51, are either scribal errors or can be otherwise explained. *Ciasa*, *masa* are proclitics, and proclitics are subject to special laws. For *degnima*, etc., see below, p. 228. For *arda* see Eriu i, 4. The remaining solitary *étu* may safely be put down as a scribal error.

than those which I have at my disposal; there are several points connected with it that only a detailed investigation could make clear. Here I must content myself with showing from my material that at least from the date of the *Saltair na Rann*—for the early tenth century I have unfortunately no reliable evidence—the neuter was in a state of decay. Perhaps what is given here may suggest to others lines on which further investigations could profitably be carried on. The subject may be divided into the following heads:—(a) Transposed *n-* in the nom. sg., (b) the inflexion of the article, (c) the concord of the adjective, (d) the concord of the pronoun.

(a) *Transposed n- in the nom. sg.*

In SR. this is frequent¹:—*an-nem niabach n-airerda* 112, *in nem n-amra n-etherda* 120, *nem n-usce nem n-angel* 635, *muir n-dubtemen*, *muir n-daiged*, *muir n-brén* 909, 910, 911, *mór n-delb* 914, *classchetal n-glan* 2211, *tonngur n-dilenn* 2230, *mór n-trenn* 2234, *hilar n-adba* 2473, *mór n-ergal* 4673, *ceól n-grínngeál n-glé* 5907, *ceol n-amra n-adamra* 6064, *cech n-eomnart* 6552, *cech n-olc* 6553, *mór n-arraecht* 7080, *mór n-ergal* 7081, *mór n-ban* 7435, *ergna n-imlán* 7440, *teg n-amra n-aurnaigthe* 7672. But without *n*²:—*in leth aili* 275, *glenn golmar* 959, *galar glan* 2025, *teidm duaire* 4157, *gein airmitnech an* 5369, cf. 5392, *galar gér* 6229, *ár tróg diglach* 6499.

Sometimes *n-* is improperly added, e.g., *múr n-uaine* 349, *múr n-óir* 350, *múr n-dermor* 352, *dia n-gne noebda n-adamra* 728, *na curp n-uag* 1108, *cach n-dúil* 2529, *o sruth n-Eofrait* 2663, *sluag n-Egept* 3674, *gnim n-ingnad* 4089, *coica n-unga* 4327, *ccc n-unga* 4340, *mo cech n-aíl* 4451, 4513, *coscur n-glé* 5575, *coscur n-aíli* 5581, *drong n-ingen drong n-gilla* 6279, *ba ferr cech n-dúil* 7125.

The use of *n-* in chevilles needs special mention. Here it would seem as though it were regularly used irrespective of the gender of the preceding noun, for we find, not only e.g. *buaid n-gle* 39, *reim n-oll* 139, and numerous other instances which it would be useless to enumerate, but also e.g. *gnim n-gann* 3219, *gnim n-glé* 3281, 3593, etc., *gnim n-ingnad* 4089, *gnim n-ogdai* 4227, *bág m-buiden m-bras* 4813, *caingen n-glé* 5462, *sliucht n-gle* 3052, and

¹ Here may be noted *dá cét m-bliadan* 1985, *dá cét m-bargen* 6309, cf. Eriu i, 205.

² Here allowance must be made for the possibility of scribal error.

there are numerous instances of the same kind. So with a copula form, e.g. *ba gnim n-etig* 3211, *is gnim n-amnass* 3602, *ba gnim n-óg* 6965, *ba gnim n-dangen* 7230. In chevilles some neuter nouns like *búaid*, *érim*, *réim* are common, and from these the *n-* seems to have spread.

For the eleventh century we have LU. From the later texts there I have noted *mind n-aingel* 12^b 11 (the text of the Amra has *mind n-axal*), *síl n-Adaim* 28^b 26, *gné m-broin* 31^b 9, *cét m-bas* 33^a 40, *cét n-ingen* 33^a 40, *Sliab n-Eblinde* 39^a 29, *a lleth n-aill* 40^b 7, *coiced n-Galésin* 51^a 17, but *ainm aile* 1^b 16, *ann maile* (sic) 11^b 8, *nuall golfadach* 33^a 10, *ude anma* 33^b 9, *drem aile* 50^b 29, *coiced Olnecmacht* 51^a 17; with improper extension of *n-*, *nach n-dúil* 34^a 13, *nach m-ball* 35^b 17 (gen. *nach m-baill* 36^b 13), *nibí¹ nach n-imndaire* 35^b 41, so 36^a 13; in an old text *gabáil n-gaiscid*² 62^a 34. These instances show clearly that in the eleventh century the old usage had broken down. It survived longest in place-names, e.g. *Mag n-Itha* LL. 5^a 35, 12^a 26, *Sid n-Æda* 20^b 12. From PH., Atkinson (p. 809) quotes only one or two instances of the neut.

(b) *The Article.*

As to a *n-* in the nom. and acc. sg., the evidence indicates that by 1000 A.D. it had practically disappeared.

In SR. I have noted only *annem* 112 (which may be a scribal error), *a l-leth n-aill* 5152, *a m-bé* 5974; the masc. and fem. forms are numerous. From LU.³ I have *a muir* 114^b 25 (in SCC.) and *a l-lathe* 117^b 37. Masc. and fem. forms are common; *int étach* 3^a 19, *int ingnad* 3^a 35, *int óenfocul* 6^b 7 may be quoted as showing clearly the masc. form of the article. From LG. I have *a cétna* 13^a 16, 20^b 41; from TT., *a l-lásin* 1944. In *a l-lathe*, *a l-láa* we have obviously traditional phrases.

In the gen. when the noun became fem. *ind* should be replaced by *na*. But here there is a remarkable persistence of *ind*. The usage, however, varies in different words.

SR. *na hesséirge* 2208, 7700.

¹ After the substantive verb there is the possibility of the influence of *ní síl*.

² The same irregularity appears in YBL. 21^b 42, so that it may be assigned to the original from which both copies came.

³ The decay of the neut. is further indicated by the fact that the neut. article in the old Sagas has often been changed, e.g. *darín mag* 60^a 8, *isin n-armag* 60^a 11. YBL. has the same corruption, so that it may be put down to the original.

LU. *ind esérgi* 35^b 28, but *na hesérgi* passim in the same text, *in mara* 3^b 34, 11^b 6, 30^b 3, 6, 37^a 18, *in tíre* 27^b 2, *na haisi* 34^b 37.

TT. *in mara* 19, etc., *in tíre* 153, etc.

Æn. *in mara* 450^b 44, 451^b 19, 463^a 13, 465^a 37, 471^b 21, *in tíre* 466^a 17.

PH. *in ecnai*, *in mara*, *in tíre*, *ind imdibe* and *na himdibe*, *in ingreime* and *na hingrema*, *na gene*.

(c) *Concord of the Adjective.*

As in the genitive of the article, there is here variation.

SR. *aithesc n-uag* 4429, but *aithisc imnair* 4792, *ecnai imldáin* (g.) 7038, cf. 3810, 7058, *fo gairm glain* 1487, *gné gaind* 7577, *i n-glínn Iosaphat imgann* 2006, *do lind glan* 5360, *Mara Romuir* 3987, *mará maill* 4003, *do Muir Romor* 4050, but *do Muir Romuir* 7332, *for in linmuir n-allmár* 2566, *Muir romra Ruad* 3982, *Muir Romuir Ruad* 4021, *ními ndár* 6161, cf. 7560, *nem noithech* 13, *connem n-allglan* 1656, *fo nim noebnár* 782, *do nim glass* 4107, *tír n-uár n-ainbtech* 4681, *mórkír mainbthech* 4701, *dia tír trebach* 4823, *cosin tír saer euthach slan* 4827, *la síl suilig* 5134.

LU. *trisin ré cian* 13^a 9, *ri muir Romair* 17^b 13, *muir medrach mēd* 40^a 13.

TT. *resin dirim n-dlíith n-delganaig* 1575, *goin adbail* 1482, *in mara glasguirm gablanaich* 1407, so 1439, *for muir táidlig* 989, *for muir tondgaraig* 1239, 1372, *ar muir tréin tromanbthenaig Torrian ocus ar ferand forglas firdomain ocus ar tír n-ettrigig n-indsig n-ailenaig* 535, *tír trebarglain* 533, 1441.

Æn. *fri re een* 457^b 38, but *fri re cian* 462^b 31, *in tír felltach* 449^b 40.

MC. *isin leith iarthardescertaig*, 55.

In PH. I have noted *fri ré m-bee* by *fri re m-bicc*; I have no further collections. But some other instances may be added from LBr.: *a lethi deis* 110^a 38, *isin leth descertach* 125^b 3, *isin leth descertaig* 125^a 50, *Mara Ruaid* 119^a 3, 119^b 12, *conice Muir Mairb* 125^b 15, *do nim nélsoluis* 122^a 44, *tír n-amnais* 120^a 4, *tír n-aird torthig*, etc., 122^b 24.

From the above it is apparent that the old concord survived longest in the genitive.

(d) *Concord of the Pronoun.*

Note e.g. *is é¹ a ainm* SR. 6415, similarly LU. 32^b 18, 36, BB. 203^a 43, *bíd hésó mo dún* LU. 3^b 8, *isé bás* 36^b 26, *is e ní doróine* BB. 457^a 20, so 465^b 21, 31, 479^b 31, *is e aithesc dorat* 450^a 3, *isi in muir* SR. 287, *isi in cétesérgi* LU. 36^b 33, *issi cétna tír* 27^a 37 (but *isé cetna tír* 29^b 27), *cissi lóg* TT. 156, *isi gne robai* BB. 454^a 19, *isi do leath coir* 469^b 38, *isi fregra* 462^b 37, 44 (but *ise fregra* 469^b 20 et saepe).

COINCIDENCE OF CASES.

In course of time the nominative and accusative cases fell together completely. Instances of the beginnings of that will be found below. Connected therewith is the replacing of the accusative by the dative after prepositions; see below, pp. 243 sq. In -o-stems the dat. sg. gradually fell together with the nom. In the dual the cases fell together into a single form, pp. 239 sq.

We come now to an examination of the principal changes which the nominal inflexion underwent in Mid. Ir. For the most part the various classes of O.Ir. nominal stems are treated in order; some developments, however, which are common to more than one class of stems, have, to avoid useless iteration, been taken together.

Stems in -ā-

GENITIVE SINGULAR.

As we have seen above (p. 205 sq.), according to regular phonetic development the gen. sg. would in Mid. Ir. split up into -e (-i) and -a, according as the preceding consonant was palatal or non-palatal. A large class of nouns forming their genitive in -a is made up of nouns in -cht, e.g. *imthecht*, *imthechta*. Further examples are:—*andla* (: *gráda*) SR. 2108, *cunga* (: *cumma*) 5764, *delba*

¹ But *e* is also found before an old fem., e.g. *iss hé a n-airim fírchert da se sescat* SR. 558, but *bíd hi a n-airim fírchert* 51, cf. 752, *isse in met sain* 135, but *hissi méit* 298; *ba hé méit* TT. 1875, *ba hé trumma* 748, *ise huaisi* BB. 461^b 10. Here the *e* seems to represent an old neut. *ed*, cf. *ní hed a n-airim* SR. 737, *iss ed in drim sescat* 756, *datha na flesc* . . . *hed nobid* 2963, *da arrig dec* . . . *héd robátar ic Solmain* 7009, *ba ed sin a méit* LU. 114^b 2, *ba sed a n-ernail* LL. 95^a 22, *ba sed a n-anmand* LL. 298^a 43. In O.Ir. we may compare the phrases *ní hed a méit* and *ised a eret*. I have not worked out the problem of the concord of the pronoun, and till that has been done it will not be clear always whether *é* before an original neuter in Mid. Ir. represents an original *é* or an original *ed*.

LU. 47^a 39, TT. 889, 1017, *gabála* LU. 114^a 22, 23, *láma*¹ SR. 2851 (: *dána*), LL. 9^a 32, PH., *lunga* LL. 2^b 27, 28, *selga* BB. 456^b 42, 468^a 11, MC. 7. But after the analogy of nouns in which the ending was preceded by a palatal consonant *-e* may be restored in the gen., e.g. *cuinge* MC. 57, *deilbi* SR. 1794, *deilbe* LU. 35^a 17, *láime* PH., *luinge* LU. 27^b 6, TT. 35, 118, 396.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR.

In Mod. Ir. the two cases have fallen together; either the nom. has replaced the acc. or the acc. has replaced the nom. Here I have no extensive collections of examples, so I must be content to give some that I have noted from earlier texts.²

SR., acc. as nom.:—*airim* 737, 2775, *árim* 744 (: *gairib*), 752, 756 (: *gairim*), 5613, *aire* 5405, 5410, etc. (but *arcc* 5421), *bréic* 1344, *reir* 3504 (: *fein*).

Nom. as acc.:—*adropart* . . . *edpart uag* 2617, cf. 5501, *dia tarat Dia primrann* 2661, *denam fri Dia comthoebal* (: *lár*) 2742, *dogni mo chumtubart* (: *rommalt*) 2888, *dénaid* . . . *arcc* 4301, *tuesat* . . . *ind are* 5457, *thuc in narc* 5505, *dofucsat* . . . *cloch mor* (: *lór*) 5041, *rogellai* . . . *a ingen* 5837, *dúm* (: *rún*) 6959, *roheirn dál* (: *ár*) 7225, *doraiga* . . . *ind flesc* 7501.

From LU. I have a few instances:—Nom. *mórdáil* 5^a 2, *árim* 38^b 18, 39^a 13, *cretim* 50^b 21, *gúais* 62^a 17; acc. *muinter* 15^a 41, *delb* 28^a 26, *breth* 52^a 33, *óeben* 74^a 31.

From Lg., TT., and Nenn. I have not collected instances.

Æn., nom.: *aimsir* 456^b 24, 25, *coimling* 459^b 34, *combáig* 459^b 47, *conair* 463^a 34, 484^a 30, *foirinn* 452^a 37, 38, 464^b 28, 29, *ingin* 449^b 20, *lasair* 465^b 25 (but *lasar* 465^b 29), *luing* 463^b 28, *saint* 462^b 47, 472^a 17.

Acc.: *ben* 455^a 34, *bondaidere* 468^a 20, *celg* 453^b 34, *ciall* 456^b 1, 458^b 19, *cos* 483^a 8, *delb* 453^a 24, 454^a 22, 455^b 45, 467^b 39 (*dealb*), *foireand* 470^a 23, *ingen* 465^b 37, 467^a 18, 31, 467^b 11, 30, *lám* 450^b 7, 20, *long* 451^b 32, 460^a 6, 7, 462^b 19, *loinges* 467^b 47, *muinter* 458^a 22.

From PH. instances of the nom. are:—*comrair*, *conair*, *deirce* (by *dearce*), *figuir*, *glúais*, *lubais*, *saint* (once *sant*), *tegdais*, *toil* (by

¹ In the glossary to his *Æsop*, Father O'Leary gives *lámha* as the gen. of *lámh*. The dictionaries give *lámhe*.

² Already in O.Ir. there is a tendency in verbal nouns to replace the nom. by the dat., cf. CZ. iv, 70. Such nouns have therefore been omitted.

tol). Instances of the acc. are:—*ben* (by *mnái*), *bréice* (by *bréo*), *broth* (by *breith*), *delb* (by *deilb*), *dess* (by *deiss*), *dígal* (by *dígail*), *égen* (by *écin*), *ferg* (by *feirg*), *grian* (by *gréin*), *ires* (by *iris*), *pían* (by *péin*), *tol* (by *toil*), *tuath* (by *túath*).

CHANGE OF DECLENSION.

In Mid. Ir. *cretem* becomes masc. and passes into the -o-declension, see PH.

In O.Ir. *Máil* followed by the gen. is frequent in proper names, e.g. *Máil cáich*, *Máil patrioc*, etc. The gen. is *Máile*, e.g. *Maile mbracho* Ann. Ul. 621, *Máile dúin* Ann. Ul. 669. Afterwards *Máile* is replaced by *Máil* or *Máel* (aspirating, cf. Ann. Ul. 871, 876, 880, 893, 1012, 1019, 1021). This *Máil* is identical with *máel* f. 'a short-cropped head of hair.' It is curious that it does not aspirate in the nom., but applied to persons it probably came to be felt as masc.¹

Class (from Lat. *classis*) SR. 597, 705, etc., makes g. *classi* SR. 492, 4532 (= *claisse* ML. 107^b 3), n. pl. *classi* SR. 495, but *classa* PH., *classai* LS. 238. In O.Ir. the acc. pl. is *classa* Thes. Pal.-hib. ii, 46.²

In O.Ir. a few nouns vary in the sing. between -ā-stems and -n-stems; in the plural, so far as they occur, they follow the -ā-declension. Such are *bendacht* (from Lat. *benedictio*), *maldacht* (from Lat. *maledictio*), further *dúthracht*, g. *dúthrachtan* ML. 55^a 17, and *fortacht* (but the simple *techt* follows the -ā-declension). In Mid. Ir. to the oblique -n-cases is formed a nom. *bendachtu*. O.Ir. *persan* (pl. *persin*) develops a nom. like an -n-stem *perso* or *persu* LU. 5^a 6, 31^b 43, PH., *almsan*, *almsine* becomes *almsu*, *almsaine*, and *almsan*, *comrorcon*, g. *comroircne*, develops a nom. *comroreu*, *dethiden* becomes *dethitiu*, *dethidiu*.

In the sg. (except the old acc.) *rún* f. resembled the neut. -s-stem *glún*. Hence in Mid. Ir. it inflects in the plural like *glún*, e.g. *rúini* LU. 35^b 29, *rúne* 11^a 44 (but *rúna* 11^b 6), *rúinib* SR. 9, 2018 (by *rúnaib* 221, 531, 3368, g. pl. *rún* SR. 325).

¹ That in these proper names *Máel* was originally fem. appears clearly from instances in which it is followed, not by the gen. of a noun, but by an adj. Thus *Maelodhor* Ann. Ul. 819 makes the gen. *Maeleodrae* Ann. Ul. 692, 693. But when *Máile* becomes *Máil* we have the gen. *Maeluidhir* Ann. Ul. 640, *Maeluisibh* 626, etc.

² In ML. 116^d 2 *classe* is a gloss on *chorosque ducentibus*. Is it gen. sg. with the construction of the Irish verbal noun?

Stems in -o-.

DATIVE SINGULAR.

In the dat. sg. the lost final *u* produced certain changes in the vocalism of the preceding syllable.¹ In Mod. Ir. the dat. has fallen together with the nom. The old vowel changes survived long into the Mid. Ir. period, as will be apparent from the following lists.

SR. As the MS. is considerably later than the date of composition of the text, only instances are given in which the vocalism is supported by the rhyme.

(a) *adbur* (: *adbul*) 22, *ingnud* (: *dindehur*) 336, *ossud* (: *fossud*) 568, *torud* (: *rogud*) 620, *drung* (: *uasum*) 855, *immud* (: *cinniud*) 968, *curp* (: *intliucht*) 1154, *ulec* (: *intliucht*) 1243, *craunn* (: *ubull*) 1254, 1261, *mud* (: *sargud*) 1545, *mud* (: *thur*) 1584, *crisluch* (: *sruth*) 1638, *mud* (: *cumscugud*) 1667, *curp* (: *coemcucht*) 2102, *drung* (: *ornamentum*) 2148, *fut* (: *cucht*) 2640, *biud* (: *diud*) 3088, (: *ruth*) 3108, *cumriuch* (: *ruth*) 3286, *elluch* (: *cennuch*) 3428, *fut* (: *cucht*) 4220, *argott* (: *locht*) 4245, *iarthur* (: *cruth*) 4256, *dligud* (: *inud*) 4448, *diriuich* (: *siniud*) 5171, *drung* (: *Tirum*) 5217, *cráesluch* (: *láeschur*) 5724, *drung* (: *iurn*) 5762, *drung* (: *sun*) 6139, *indriud* (: *tindrud*) 6771, 7086, *saegul* (: *dul*) 7240, *drung* (: *Caldeorum*) 7304.

(β) *cetadbar* (: *bladmar*) 30, *corp* (: *locht*) 1218, 1544, *erchol* (: *dron*) 1873, *sen* (MS. *sin* : *fer*) 2435, *soél* (: *Israhél*) 4113, *primthóisech* (: *-coimsed*) 5388, *dilgen* (: *sirden*) 5612, *inred* (: *roindled*) 5736, *lén* (: *Israhél*) 5773, *tairchel* (: *sel*) 5798, *comchlaidbed* (: *daigrech*) 5888, *nél* (: *Israhél*) 5897, *nél* (: *trén*) 7418.

LU. Texts.

Nenn.: (a) *foluch* 3^a 3, *fainiul* 4^a 16, *ferund* 4^a 7, 25, *indiuir* 4^b 6, *luc* 4^a 16.

CA.: (a) *cind* 5^b 16, *centol* 5^b 24, *cétul* 13^a 16, *clereoch* 5^b 11, *dull* 14^a 30, *deriud* 6^a 35, 7^b 3, 4, *domnuch* 12^b 18, *fir* 7^a 12, *inud* 6^b 5, *mud* 6^b 7, *runn* 6^b 5, 8, 7^a 22, *richiud* 12^a 22, *sallund* 13^a 32, *sathurnd* 12^b 17, *tosuch* 6^a 34, 7^b 3, 11^b 38.

(β) *cetal* 14^a 33, *condelg* 8^a 32.

¹ For O.Ir. examples see GC.² 224. The O.Ir. conditions need a more thorough investigation; note such cases as *galar* Wb. 23^d 11, *MI*. 61^a 37, *forccital* *MI*. 49^a 6, *corp* Wb. 11^d 7, 12^a 12, and the like.

DáBr.: (a) *crund* 17^a 1, *étun* 18^a 14.

FA.: (a) *ainciud* (leg. *aicniud*) 29^a 40, *airiucht* 27^b 1, *aireocht* 27^b 21, *biud* 28^b 15, *curp* 27^a 31, *crund* 31^b 2, *cumriuch* 30^a 21, *cumtuch* 28^b 5, *fugiull* 28^b 18, *gurm* 28^a 37, *airthur* 27^b 1, *immud* 29^b 26, *ur* 29^b 33, *urđ* 27^b 7, *purt* 30^a 18.

Sc.L.B.: (a) *curp* 33^b 9, *cumriuch* 32^a 18, 24, 38, *diabul* 32^a 35, 33^b 6, *fugiull* 32^b 1, 3, 9, *galur* 32^a 18, 24, 38, *muineol* 33^a 39, *sægul* 32^b 47, *tosuch* 34^a 6.

(β) *aslach* 33^b 4, *fulang* 33^b 1.

Sc.E.: (a) *adbur* 35^b 3, *adnacul* 34^b 18, *aicniud* 34^b 45, *condiulg* 37^b 7, *curp* 35^b 5, *dligud* 35^a 3, *fugiull* 34^b 14, *fuiniud* 34^a 44, *inud* 34^b 21, *libur* 35^a 13, *mud* 36^a 17, *tairchetul* 35^a 13.

(β) *adbar* 35^a 4, 35^b 11, *diles* 37^a 3.

Aid. Nath.: (a) *libur* 39^a 18, 19, *oenuch* 38^b 12, 16, 20, 24, etc.

Aid. Ech.: (a) *airiucht* 41^a 25, *beluch* 39^a 38, *brut* 41^a 20, *curuch* 40^b 39, *ethur* 41^a 16, *ferund* 39^b 8, 41^a 33, *tairchetul* 39^b 29. Remarkable is *farrud* 40^b 24 = O.Ir. *arrad*.

(β) *inad* 39^b 37.

SCC.: (a) *argut* 114^b 23, *carput* 113^a 12, 30, 31, 113^b 2, *cind* 114^b 27, *curp* 114^b 28, *étuch* 115^a 17, *erriud* 115^a 17, *iffurn* 114^b 42, *méor* 114^b 36, *mulluch* 113^b 16, *purt* 114^b 30.

(β) *étan* 113^b 16, *imned* 114^b 31.

CL.: (a) *armgasciud* 118^b 39, *clud* 118^b 40, *curp* 118^b 4.

(β) *Dubthach* 118^a 36.

LL. Texts.

LG.: (a) *cind* 9^a 38, etc., *ceḡul* 20^b 44, *seolcrund* 13^a 51, *fut* 3^a 25, *forud* 9^a 47, *inbiur* 5^a 8, 9, *meor* 9^a 32, *mulluch* 11^b 51, *niurt* 20^b 43, *nirt* 23^a 8, *oenuch* 20^a 31, *Ueniuch* 20^a 48.

(β) *seolcrand* 14^b 15.

TT.: (a) *adnacul* 2140, *airiur* 205, 545, 1159, 1644, *airthiur* 801, 464, 633, 1562, *anacul* 1260, 1647, *argut* 39, *attuch* 475, 1947, *brutt* 1039, *cind* 643, 2034, *claidiub* 346, *comruc* 1697, *curuch* 12, 37, *deriud* 697, *desciurt* 101, 338, *dilgiund* 505, *domun* 145, 691, *domon* 1740, *dúnud* 1113 (by *dúnaid* 1111), *ecur* 135, *étuch* 1036, *ferund* 785, 936, 1254, *fidnemiud* 733, *foluch* 2063, *forciund* 1082, *forniurt* 457, *funiud* 504, *gaisciud* 261, 633, *iarthur* 202, 301, 496, 1563, *idul* 1222, *iffurn* 460, 1808, *imniud* 1101, *inbiur* 243, 392, *inriud* 505, 576, 836, *inud* 346, 831, *iurn* 40, *nirt* 212, 257, 430, *oenur* 2076, 2081, *ulc* 1270, *ur* 1014, *purt* 376, 1088, etc., *seól* 215, 544, 1589, *seón* 1237, *signifiur* 1096, *tarruing* 1513, *tegluch*

52, *tempoll* 74, *tempul* 1224, *timthuch* 1035, *tobuch* 59, *tossuch* 1077, *tuarustul* 792, *tuasciurt* 101, 434, 493, 1126, *tuisiuch* 913.

(β) *aslach* 57, *cenel* 44, *comrac* 1512, 1513, *doman* 60, *fof* 93, *indred* 1253, *longphort* 1907, *sósar* 18, *timchell* 730, 731.

*Texts from the Book of Ballymote.*¹

Æn.²: (α) *airgit* 466^b 43, *athusg* 463^b 42, *cind* 467^b 37, 472^b 26, 473^a 17, *ceiniul* 465^b 40, *cur* 481^a 20, etc., *crunn* 453^b 35, 484^a 39, 484^b 14, *domun* 452^b 8, 464^a 17, *duillebur* 463^a 24, *dunud* 464^b 9, *each* 453^b 37, 480^b 29, 38, *fir* 465^b 38, 41, 466^b 35, *feor* 452^a 21, *fogur* 461^b 43, *foluch* 453^b 21, 35, *fordul* 462^b 19, *gul* 468^a 42, *iarunn* 463^a 6, *inud* 455^b 45, 463^a 4, *lug* 463^b 42, *lurg* 455^b 39, 483^a 41, *meor* 472^b 36, *nirt* 469^b 8, *oenur* 463^a 29, 460^a 26, *ur* 449^b 10, *purt* 450^b 16, 463^b 10, *rusc* 461^b 42, *saethur* 452^b 39, *sceol* 463^a 10, 465^a 19, *tempull* 450^a 39.

(β) *armgaisced* 461^b 18, *atach* 450^b 18, 455^b 4, 462^a 9, 462^b 18, 463^a 16, *bunad* 459^b 1, *cend* 465^a 4, *cenel* 453^a 13, 476^b 14, 479^b 26, *cengal* 461^a 47, *comrac* 452^b 2, *cæncomrac* 450^b 5, *cor* 481^a 14, 483^a 7, *crand* 463^a 26, 484^a 39, 41, *cumdach* 457^a 35, 457^b 1, *dunad* 464^b 20, *ech* 454^b 10, 12, 14, 480^b 32, *faslach* 460^b 41, *fol* 473^a 39, *fat* 453^b 11, *fulang* 455^a 7, *ifern* 464^a 3, 464^b 20, *inad* 456^b 47, 460^b 10, 464^a 12, 15, *mullach* 461^a 18, 464^b 7, *port* 452^b 20, *saegal* 464^a 21, *saethar* 462^b 6, *sceol* 457^a 19, *tairmesc* 460^b 11, 465^b 16, *timchell* 464^b 4.

In words of more than one syllable, of which the final syllable is short, the change may be explained from the falling together in sound of unaccented short vowels. Thus *u* fell together with *a*, *iu* with *e*. We may see this confusion where the same text is preserved in two MSS. of different dates, e.g. *carput* LU. 58^b 8 = *carpad* YBL., *ferund* LU. 60^a 43 = *ferand* YBL., *gaisciud* LU. 60^a 17 = *gaisced* YBL. In monosyllables like *crunn*, *purt*, and in disyllables with a final long syllable like *ceneól*, the explanation will be different. When once in a large number of nouns the nominative and the dative had fallen together phonetically, there would be a tendency to give up the distinction in other cases too, and this tendency led gradually to the replacing of the dative by the nominative (and accusative) form throughout.

¹ From Nenn. I have noted *niurt* 209^a 8, *tidhmacul* 203^a 11, *dunadh* 209^b 16, *ferann* 209^b 26; but this list is probably very incomplete.

² Forms of more than one syllable (except those with *ē* in the final syllable) have been noted only to the end of p. 465.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

The Old Irish plural *fir*, etc., remains the normal form. Rarely the acc. form replaces the nom.:—SR. *droichte*¹ 476 (by *aurdrochait* 465), LU. *nóemógu* 27^b 23, *drongu* (v.) 40^a 10, TT. *drochti* 1675, *claidbi*² 1717, *righthúsechu* 1849, MC. *curu* p. 55. In Mod. Ir. dialects the acc. form sometimes replaces the nom.; Dottin gives from Aran *fiacha* and *leabhra*, from Galway *focla* and *eliabha*.³

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

In older Mid. Ir. *-u* remains the normal form, in later Mid. Ir. *-a* becomes frequent. In SR. I have noted *-a* only in the phrase *fora cùla* (: *dùra*) 3560. From LU. I have no examples of *-a*. Nor have I any from LG. In TT. *dronga* 290, 1733 is no real exception, for in Mid. Ir. *drong* becomes fem.⁴ In Æn., however, we have *taeba* 451^b 22, *sluaga* 452^a 37, 463^b 9, by numerous occurrences of *-u*, in MC. *runda* (ter) 17, *cura* 47, *beola* 105, by *-u* forms.

In Mod. Ir. the acc. form has generally been replaced by the nom. In later Mid. Ir. there are many examples of this. From LU.⁵ I have noted only *can a n-uile do dígail* 41^a 29, *amsaig* 42^a 22.⁶ In LL. the new form becomes more common, e.g. TT. *fir* 442, *múir* 33, *serrcind* 1340; further, from the later portion of the Táin, *eich* 82^b 34, 42, 95^b 9, 100^b 9, *airm* 84^b 28, 85^a 27, 85^b 40.

¹ But I have no evidence of the original gender.

² So BB. 472^a 20, LL. 90^b 7, 32, 99^a 22, 100^a 42.

³ As to *óelacha* TT. 916, 100, the g. s. is *na óelaigne* LL. 97^a 43, but *ind óelaigne* 97^a 49, 97^b 21. The nom. is written variously *óelach*, *óelích*, and *óeldech*. Probably it was originally a neut. collective (cf. GC.² 855, Zimmer, Kelt. Stud., 25 sg.), which became associated with *ldech*.

⁴ See below, p. 222.

⁵ Considering that the form is so rare in LU., it is remarkable that there is a considerable number of instances in SR. Sometimes the acc. is close to the verb:—*lessaig do sluaign* (: *thuaithe*) 3843, *rosernsat a scuir* (: *morchruaid*) 5053, *faebait secht cleib* 7655, *co rothuismiset iartain trenfir ocus trenchoraíd* 2403. Sometimes it is at a distance from it:—*confacua* . . . *tri hecin gela* 2133, *rosbiath Ioseph sech cach claind sloig fer nEgept* 3409, *manistarlaice co luath meice Israhel* 3833, *rothinól áintoirt tachtai na lindroit na hanartai* 5971. While it is possible that in the vulgar speech this change had already begun, it is plain that the comparatively frequent use of it in SR. is a poetical license. A more extreme license is *baingin* SR. 7626, 7653.

⁶ At 62^b 19 an older *tri chemn* has been corrupted into *tri cind*, which shows that an acc. like *cind* was not unfamiliar to the scribe. YBL. 22^b 22 has also *cind*, so that it may reasonably be supposed that the form stood in the archetype of the two MSS.

In BB. we have from Aen. *aradain* 480^b 38, *ureuir* 478^b 20, *buiill* 450^b 28, *cuirp* 479^a 16, *sloig* 462^a 5, *sluaig* 470^b 17, *Troianaig* 467^a 3, 467^b 29, 471^a 3.¹ From MC. *meicc* 17, *baic* 63, *scuir* 79; from PH. *bairr* (by *barru* and *barra*), *carpait*, *druil*, *lebuir* (by *libra*), *sacairt*, *sin*. In Ann. Ul. I have noted *geill* 1165, 1207, *sooit* 1231, *Goill* 1262, *fir* 1296. Further I have not collected.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

When the adjective is used substantively it has the same inflexion as the noun. It is only the attributive and the predicative adjective that call for special discussion. Very rarely in the O.Ir. glosses, but frequently in later old texts, the form of the fem. and neut. spreads also to the masc. both in the attributive and in the predicative adjective. In the glosses we have only *nipat fira* (sc. *rétae*) Ml. 51^b 8, *ciaptar mora a pecthai* Ml. 98^c 4, and *maicc cóima* Wb. 27^b 16, if the last passage be not corrupt. From later old texts examples are: *broitt brecca* LU. 55^a 12, *broit dubglasa* 55^a 16, *dá ech duba* 55^b 9, *it dna ind óic* 56^b 17, *combitis tornochta* 60^b 13, *it cóima na heich* 61^b 17. In later Irish a distinction has developed between (a) the attributive and (β) the predicative adjective. This may be illustrated from our texts.

SR.: (a) (a) *na doirsi glain* 457, *beóil ethchich* 1612, *cethirn comlain* 3538, *rig rorúaid* 4834.

(b) *srotha seंगा* 497, *aingeil gléglana* 689, *slóig slána* 709, *noi mis lána* 1057, *anairt slána* 2221, *punainn lána* 3329, *punain seंगा* 3330, *na secht seंगा* 3331, *druid diana* 3419, *meicc ána* 3424, *loscainn riasca* 3933, *muir tréna dermara* 5060, *sloig móra* 5520.

(β) (a) *hit imsláin* (sc. *nime*) 194, *bethi mairb* 1232, *forfacaibthi glenuicht* 1358, *ar troig* 1482, *nídar glain* 1609, *nídat gleóir glethig* 1611, *ciaptar glain* 2421, *robtar snímaig* 3449, *dochuatar iar setaib slain* 3537, *níbdar dimdaig* 3550, *arn idain* 3583, 3626, *nibar troig* 3641, *rosat triuin* 3983, *batar buidig* 4049, *robtar dimdaig* 4051, *tairismig nídat luamnaig athé* (= O.Ir. *oté feta forluamnaig* 4395, *imtar lán* 4659, *imtar taicthig* 4661, *níbfor cétludaig* 4672, *mairb kuili* 4989, *bídfor coscraig* 4706, *na bíd uamnaig imeclaig* 4830, *narbar dúceridig* 4842, *ecóitcheinn eat* 5517, *ba dimdaig* 5519, *indat glain* 6176, *batar debthaig* 6264, *níptar* . . .

¹ A few more examples will be found under the old neuters, p. 221.

oentadaig 6540, *níptar súinig* 6544, *comtar mairb* 5111.¹ In the following instances the adjective does not refer to a nom.:—*meirtnig rostacht a menma* 3453, *a tichtain buidig* 3531, *fonralaig mairb mesctha mir* 3579, *dosfuc sláin* 5073, *dosrat* . . . *brónaig* 7204.

(b) *cidat mora* 446, *comtar coema comlana* 7652, *biat slána* 4167, *dar slána* 3612, *at mora* 3625, *ciat serba* 4071, *batar somblassa* 4072, *duba druing* 889.

In the following passages there is a mixture of forms:—*comchoema comluatha gluair* 601, *lotar* . . . *dograig domma fri gorta lobraig lonna lomnochta* 1417, *roptar snímaig* . . . *truagaib* (a metrical license to get a rhyme with *slúagaib*) *tursig dércóintig* 3449, *rancatar* . . . *soera slana somenmaig* 3517.

LU. Texts.

Sc.E.: (a) (b) *craind dermara* 37^a 29.

(β) (b) *cid lomnochta beti* 35^b 41, *duba dano uli* 36^b 18, *ata eterciana* 36^a 48.

FA.: (a) (a) *airchindig etrócair* 30^a 25, *brithemain gúbrethaig* 30^a 44, *rig eeraibdig* 30^b 30, *slúaig digair* 31^a 7.

(b) *aithrigh dúthrachtacha* (another text has *duthrachtai*) 28^a 41, *slóig dímhóra* 30^a 12, *slóig mhóra* 30^a 29, *cochail gerra* 30^a 31, *slúaig nóema* 31^a 9.

(β) (a) *bídat marthanaig* 27^b 31, *cidat linmair* 28^b 14, *it torsig* 28^b 27.

CL.: (β) (a) *márbtis máirb* 118^a 18.

Sc.L.B.: (a) (b) *léomain lonna* 33^a 26, *ebín etecha* 33^a 28.

CA.: (a) (b) *focail gnáthcha* 7^a 37, 40.

LG.: (β) (b) *combtar torsig* 13^a 49, *robatar oentadaig* 20^b 28.

TT.: (a) The attrib. adj. is regularly in *-a*.

(β) The predic. adj. is usually in *-a*, 151, 184, 548, 587, 588, 649, 724, 740, 853, 854, 939, 1050, 1619, 1626, 1653, 1712, 1715; less commonly *nertmenmaig* 185, 187, 1212, *faltuig* 1233, *santaig* 1636.

Æn.: (a) (b) *ruisc cochlacha* 452^b 35, *ruisc gera* 454^a 33, *laich londa* 472^a 12, *fir airdmenmnacha* 475^a 32, *oirriga ana* 476^b 39.

(β) (a) *tiagmaid uad anfailtig imeclaig* 450^b 35, 7 *siat imeclaig* 451^a 4, *comdis nertmeanmnaigh* 452^a 15, *codlaid* . . . *na Troianaig scith a aithle a n-astair* 454^a 5, *robitis coimeolaig* 460^b 29, 30, *comdar*

¹ In 1461 *for signimrada diamat glain* is as though *gnímae* had preceded.

crechtaig crolintig 461^a 16, *robtar toirrsig* 470^a 4, *batar fíamaig frithalmuig* 472^a 10, *batar toirrsig dubaig* 473^a 35, 473^b 7, *batar fáiltig* 475^a 11, *batar buidich* 479^a 17, *batar dímdaig toirrsig* 479^a 42, *batar dubaig* 483^b 36.

(b) *robdar scitha* 472^b 12, *ad rigda ruaigmera ba[r] riga, trena talcara bar taisig, ad glica gætha ba[r] comarlíg, ad læchda ledmeacha londgarga bar laith gaili* 476^a 44, *7 siad tenna* 454^a 32.

We see, then, that in Mid. Ir. the tendency is for the attributive adjective to end in *-a*, for the predicative adjective to have the old form; SR. proves that this distinction was developed before 1000 A.D. TT. is a curious exception. There is nothing to indicate that the text is old, so that the only possible explanation is that we have here a literary revival of the older form. As we saw above, in late Old Irish *-a* was used both in the attributive and in the predicative adjective, so that this is a secondary distinction which has no direct connection with anything in O.Ir. The only explanation of the phenomenon which I can suggest is that the predicative adjective, being in less close connection with the noun, adopted the inflexion of the substantival adjective, e.g. *it peethacha na fir* 'the men are sinful,' became *it peethaig na fir*, lit. 'the men are sinners.'

In Mod. Ir. the predicative adjective is uninflected. In the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined I have noted only a few instances of the beginning of this development.¹ They are:—*tri fícht fer* . . . *ba marb* SR. 5443, *nobetis comarthanach* LU. 50^b 12, *it sé bliadna sechtmogat robo lán* 14^a 23, *na bad scitha sind* LL. 85^a 22, *7 siad fas* BB. 453^b 24, *7 siat aigthigi aduathmar* 463^a 46, *na naiden ciche as marb* 464^a 12, *ní sinne as cintach* 479^a 11, *gurbo gel muighi* 481^b 9, *scuru* . . . *do beth fass* 453^b 21, *ba hogslán a n-éaige* PH. 1039, *dorónais na crandú tirma corba toirthích* 1358, *is findfadach a lama* LBr. 113^b 47, *dorat iat imslán* LBr. 118^b 40, *o roptar trén* LBr. 119^b 31. So with *-i*-stems *comtis leir* SR. 2808, *corba réill éicni* TT. 196.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

The substantive form is *-u*, which develops as in the noun; the attributive form is *-a*.²

¹ In SR. little stress can be laid on *atam noch* (: *mórolec*) 1347, see above, p. 205; *batar toirsech in tuath* 3885 is peculiar. In LU. *batar imthollanaig na mnd* 43^a 34 is strange.

² See Eriu i, 4.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

In Mid. Ir. the O.Ir. *-a*¹ (1) remains, (2) remains, and later becomes inflected like the masc., (3) has assumed the inflexion of the masc. in early Mid. Ir. The following examples will serve to illustrate the general development, though additional material will doubtless necessitate the transference of some of them from one class to another.

1. *adbara* TT. 123. Mod. Ir. *adhbhair*.
- athesca* TT. 1103, BB. 449^b 3, 471^a 4, PH.
- biada* BB. 450^a 27, MC. 63, PH. Mod. Ir. *biadha*.
- bunada* BB. 203^a 6. Mod. Ir. *bunaidh*.
- cenéla* SR. 3882, LU. 1^a 32, LL. 2^a 27, TT. saepe, BB. 203^b 29, 457^b 35. Mod. Ir. *cinéil*.
- dichetla* TT. 1672.
- dinada* TT. 1089.
- feranna* LU. 1^a 33, 2^a 22, BB. 207^a 48, 210^a 19, PH. Mod. Ir. *fearainn*.
- forbonna* LU. 118^a 34.
- inada* TT. 1699, PH. Mod. Ir. *ionaid*² (Dinneen).
- lina* 'nets' LU. 41^a 12. Mod. Ir. *honta*.
- míla* LU. 11^b 5, 114^b 16, BB. 457^a 1, MC. 7. Mod. Ir. *miola* and *miolta*.
- nerta* SR. 693, PH.
- nuala* LU. 31^a 12. In Mod. Ir. it has become fem.
- óla* MC. 75.
- ossada* TT. 1790. Mod. Ir. *fosaidhe*.
- rátha* 'securities' LU. 118^b 20, TT. 311, MC. 23.
- scéla* SR. 3480, 6134, LU. 31^b 45, 32^a 4, 41^a 11, LL. 20^b 33, TT. saepe, BB. 453^a 47, 453^b 5, etc., MC. 75, PH. Mod. Ir. *scéala* and *scéalta*.
- síla* BB. 207^a 36. Mod. Ir. *siolta*.
- tinchetla* LL. 13^a 34, 48.
- ubla* BB. 466^a 1, MC. 5, 7, 107. Mod. Ir. *ubhla*.
2. *aithbera* TT. 1638 : *aithbir* 1767.
- dra* TT. 453, 1878, BB. 455^a 19, 472^b 11 : *dir* Ann. Ul. 1170.

¹ Sometimes the O.Ir. short form is found with numerals, e.g. *nói nigrád* SR. 553, similarly 657, 661, 681.

² Father Dinneen gives the g.s. as *ionaid*. Father O'Leary in his glossary to Æsop gives *inide*.

- airm* TT. 165, 450, BB. 459^b 29, 473^b 41, 479^a 6, as acc. 485^c 6,
armu TT. 456, 672, *armo* BB. 209^b 37. Mod. Ir. *arma* and *airm*.
cend (*nóe*) LU. 114^b 10 : *cind* saepe.
ceóla SR. 1019, 4504 : *ceóil* SR. 483, *ciúil* PH., *ceólu* SR.
 1736, LU. 28^a 31. Mod. Ir. *ceólta*.
ethra 'boats' LU. 39^b 31 : *ethair* 40^a 10.
faebra LU. 39^b 31 : *febair* TT. 165, *fæbru* LU. 101^a 45.
 Mod. Ir. *faobhair*.
gráda 'grades' SR. 710, 1646, etc., LU. 30^b 15, PH. : *gráid*
 SR. 666, 669, 1811 (acc.), PH.
 3. *comaccomail* LU. 8^a 33.
craind LU. 39^a 29, TT. 124, *crannu* TT. 1376.
focail LU. 7^a 37.
fuidb BB. 479^a 6, as acc. 485^a 6, *fadbu* TT. 456, 672, *fodbu*
 BB. 478^b 32.
imnid TT. 209.
lestair TT. 164, as acc. BB. 208^a 16, *lestu* SR. 7602.
uilc 'evils' TT. 107, 779, *ulcu* LU. 32^b 33, 37^a 37.
roisc LU. 28^a 10, TT. 2054, BB. 452^b 35, 454^a 32, 467^b 37.

NEUTER STEMS IN *-ach* AND *-ech*.

In Mid. Ir.¹ these stems, so far as they become masc.,² pass in the plural into the declension of *-s*-stems, after the analogy of *tige* to *tech*; this transition was probably helped by syncope in trisyllabic forms of *-ech* nouns.³ See Stokes, BB. xi, 97 sq.; many examples will be found in Hogan's Irish Neuter Substantives, pp. 171–181; the list, however, requires sifting. As Stokes points out, in later Irish this declension spread to other nouns which were not originally neuter. Thus e.g. *sonnaige* YBL. 4^b 43 = *sonnaig*

¹ In O.Ir. the change of declension is just beginning; *cumrech* makes *cúimrecha* Wb. 23^a 5, *cúimrega* 27^c 36, *cúimregaib* 26^d 21, but *cúimrigib* 23^b 11, 30^a 22; *tossach* makes *tosge* (from **tossecha*?) Ml. 96^b 5, *toschib* 129^c 12.

² Some become fem. and are declined like *-ā*-stems. A good instance is *búarach*, the last part of which is identical with the second part of *cúimrech* (cf. Meyer, Contributions s.v. and Mod. Ir. *búarach* f.). The dat. pl. *búairgib* cited by Hogan is no argument against this; *búarach* comes from **búarech*, and in the dat. pl. the vowel was lost while it was still palatal. Other examples are *brothlach*, *brothrach*, *brúirech* in Meyer's Contributions, and *lothach* Windisch Wb. In *nullach* PH. and *brosnach* Meyer there is a variation between the two modes of declension.

³ Does *cúimrigib* represent a syncopated *cúim'gib* with palatalization of the *g* by the preceding palatals?

LU. 24^b 12; in Trip. L. 154 different MSS. have *domnaig* and *domnaige*.¹ Cf. also Finck, *Die araner Mundart*, i, 164, 165.

OTHER CHANGES IN DECLENSION.

ais n. 'age' becomes *áis*, *aisse* f.

dithrub g. *dithruib* 'desert' makes in SR. 6344 in *dithruba* by *dithruib* 4069, 4740, and dat. *dithruib* 6336, 6340, 6402, as well as *dithrub*, cf. *dithruib* LU. 1^b 6. In later Mid. Ir. it becomes *dithreb* (like *treb*), cf. PH., and na *dithrebe* LBr. 122^a 53, 129^a 45, *isin dithreb* 122^a 43, but *dithruib* 125^a 37, *dithrub* 128^b 36, 129^b 1.

drong. In SR. usually keeps its old declension, but the beginning of an inflexion as a fem. -*ā*-stem appears in *druing* (: *druim*) 4519. Cf. also PH.

grád makes also in Mid. Ir. a gen. *gráda*, cf. SR. 653 and PH.

rath 'grace' makes a gen. *ratha* SR. 6061.

Stems in -IO-, -IĀ-.

In Mid. Ir. the different final vowels would fall together, so that by regular phonetic development the result would be throughout (except in the dat. pl. as long as the final *b* remained) an indeterminate vowel *a* preceded by a palatal or a non-palatal consonant. The *céile* would give *céile* (i.e. *kēle*), *tigernae* and *amrae* would give *tigerna* and *amra*. Of the adjective there is nothing more to be said. In the noun, however, two points call for discussion:—
(1) In the dat. sg. and acc. pl. masc. (including old neuters so far as they became masculine) -*u* preceded by a non-palatal consonant remained -*u* for a time after -*a* had established itself in the adjective.
(2) As in the noun need was felt for a distinctive plural, a new plural form developed; in the adjective, as the number was shown by the accompanying noun such a formation was unnecessary.

DATIVE SINGULAR.

In SR. the distinction between substantive and adjective is clear, e.g. :—

(a) *éscu* 113, *gésu* 298 (: *dú*), 6916, *timnu* 1516, 4963, 5110. As to *innarba* 4960, 6907 (without rhymes), see below. In 7025, 7026, *ecnu* assonates with nom. *freclu*. Either *freclu* is used, *metri causa*, for *frecla* (like *innarbu* : *dú* 3732), or we should

¹ In Hogan the word is given as neut., but no evidence is adduced from any O.Ir. text.

restore *freera* and *ecna*; *ecna* is an old neut. which in Mid. Ir. became fem. See PH.

(β) *adma* (: *amra*) 452, *amra* (: *glanna*) 580, *glanna* (: *sutralla*) 4344.

In LU. texts, so far as my collections go, the distinction is well preserved: the adjective is regularly in *-a*, the noun in *-u*. In the noun *-a* appears in some old neuters, and is doubtless connected with a change to the fem. Such are *athchumma* 33^b 14, *cumachta* Windisch Wb. (gen. *cumachta móri* 110^b 1), *freera*¹ Windisch, *erfuacra* 34^a 48, *tacra* Windisch, *innarba* 1^b 4, 31^b 42, 32^b 15, and Windisch, and *soscéla* 32^b 45 (by *soscélu* 35^a 31). Further, *duma* 38^b 16,² 21, was probably a neut. which became fem.; the same explanation is probable in the case of *fodai* and *dogra*, by *dogru*, Windisch, though I have no clear evidence of their original gender.

In the LL. text TT. we have *forbu* 1810, 1913, *erchru* 2170, *idnu* 1503, *mochu* 2222, *rigu* 1082, 1264, 2134, 2150, *umu* 39. Of the *-a*-forms *athchomma* 604, 1719, 1720, *cumachta* 1795 and *ecna* 2107 have been spoken of already; *acra* 330 is an old neut.; as to *orbbaid* 381, O.Ir. *orbe* is neut., Mod. Ir. *forba* is masc. In Æn. the occurrences *comartha* 460^b 14, 466^a 18, 25, 480^a 18, *fogra* 459^b 42, *fuagra* 468^b 47, *furfogra* 473^b 12, *fregra* 460^b 38, *indarba* 449^b 5, etc., are all from old neuters; in the acc. pl., however, *-u* is clearly confused with *-a*. In the LBr. texts, PH. and MC., confusion is established for the dat. sg.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

This might be expected to follow the same rule as the dat. sg. As to the adj. the facts are clear. For the noun the evidence points in the same direction. In SR. 7386 *Niniuandai* is not supported by the metre, and may be corrected to *Niniuandu*. In TT. we have *Troiannu* passim, also *Troianno* 218, further *barbardu* 221. In *dindgnai* 557 by *dindgnu* 272 (g. in *dindgnai* 734) I have no clear evidence of the original gender; it may have been an old neuter.³ In the Æn. confusion has clearly taken place, cf. *Troiannu* 451^a 15, 453^b 46, 456^b 23, 467^b 41, 43, *Latindo* 480^a 2 with *Laitinta* 468^a 24, *Rudulta* 473^b 5, 42.

¹ In Mid. Ir. we find both *is é freera*, e.g. LU. 34^b 25 and BB. 469^b 20, and *is í freera* PH.

² Though it is accompanied by *mór* (: *brón*).

³ In 528 we have *rigdamna*, but in 1065 *rigdamnu*. In Ann. UL. 936 *rigdomna n-Erenn* points to a neuter.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL.

As we saw above, in this declension the plural would in Mid. Ir. fall together in form with the singular. In Mid. Ir. a new distinctive plural in *-da* is developed. In SR. there are no instances. In LU. I have noted only one, *trachtaireda* 33^a 6.¹ In LL. texts it is common:—LG. *iascareda* 22^b 30, *muinceda* 18^b 27, TT. *cernada* 1702, *ancaireda* 1425, *brathbuilleda* 297, *bunneda* 1622, *commairgeda* 314, *iascareda* 13, *lithlaitheda* 175, *techtaireda* 210; Cath Ruiss na Ríg,² *comada* (by *coma*), *crideda*, *degbaleda*, *glasgescida*, *merggida*, *uscita*. In the BB. text Æn. we have *formnada* 454^a 31, *gesgada* 466^a 25 (but *gesga* 479^a 8), *acaireda* 450^a 33, *blededa* 453^a 8, *stocaireda* 468^b 47, *tairneda* 451^b 25. Atkinson's glossary to PH. furnishes *comarthada*, *comorbada*, *fothada*, *tigernada*, *timnada*, *aithneda*, *crideda* (by *cride*), *luigeda*, *merceda*, *oegaireda*, *saileda*, *trachtaireda*.³

Sometimes the *d* forms spread to the dat. *fogadaib* BB. 478^b 19; PH. *aithnedaib* by *aithnib* (but *comarthaib*, *cridib*). Sometimes *d* appears in the gen.: TT. *biled* 1383, 1412, *tiled* 1413, Æn. *tigernad* 476^b 38; this final *d*, however, has no phonetic value.

According to Dottin and Finck⁴ this ending spread from the acc. pl. of dental stems such as *comla*, acc. pl. *comlada*, *fili*: *fleda*, *slige*: *sligeda*. In Mid. Ir. the acc. form spread to the nom., e.g. *comlada* SR. 411, *secheda* TT. 1731, 2045, BB. 461^a 3. And then *tigernada*: *tigerna* = *comlada*: *comla*, *crideda*: *cride* = *secheda*: *seche*. But there was probably another factor. In Mid. Ir. a final aspirated *d* became quiescent, as is shown by the fact that it is often written where it is not etymologically justified, e.g. *rennad* LL. 86^b 46, *caillid* LL. 20^b 36 (but *caille* 22^b 28), *orbaid* TT. 381, *ciemnad* BB. 449^a 41, *baindead* 475^b 44, *tigeadh* 457^a 15. We

¹ The noun *inda* occupies a peculiar position. Cf. *indad* LU. 92^b 4, *imdaid* 99^b 30, *imdada* 90^b 28, *imdadaib* 99^b 17, but *imdæ* 88^a 23, 88^b 17, etc. In this noun by the eleventh century there was an extensive transition to the dental declension, under the influence of *comla*?

² I quote from Hogan's index to his edition.

³ Further, from *aithis* we find not only *aithisi* but also *aithiseda*, from *mirbuil* not only *mirbuli* but also *mirbuileda*.

⁴ Dottin, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Antoine Meillet*, p. 41; Finck, *Die araner Mundart*, i, p. 177. Both scholars see in these forms the antecedents of the Mod. Ir. pl. in *-t*, and in my opinion rightly. At least I have been able to discover nothing against the equation, and it seems to be supported by Mod. Ir. *ælin* (Finck) from an oblique case of O.Ir. *eladu*.

should then have e.g. sg. *cóiced* (i.e. *cōige*), *bunad* (i.e. *buna*), by pl. *cóiceda*, *bunada*.¹

-ĭ- and -ī-stems.

As these two classes of stems differ only in the singular, they may be conveniently treated together. At the outset it may be noted that in Mid. Ir. the gen. sg. of -ī-stems and the plural of -ĭ-stems split up into two divisions according as the preceding consonant was palatal or non-palatal. Thus *inse*, g.s. of *inis*, is in Mid. Ir. *inse* (i.e. *inše*), but *bliadne*, *bliadnae*, g.s. of *bliadain*, and *rigne*, *rignae*, g.s. of *rigain*,² give in Mid. Ir. *bliadna* (i.e. *bliadnə*) and *rigna* (i.e. *rignə*). The plural of *súil* is *súili*, *súilib*, *súile* = Mid. Ir. *súili* or *súile* (*súle*), *súilib* (*súlib*), *súile* (*súle*), but the plural of *crui* is *crumai*, *crumaib*, *crumae* = Mid. Ir. *cruma* (*kruma*), *crumaib*, *cruma*. The plural of the adj. *maith* is *maithi*, *maithib*, *maithe*, and *maith* = Mid. Ir. *maithi* or *maithe*, *maithib*, *maithe* or *maithi* and *maith*, but the plural of *cóir* is *córai*, *córaib*, *cóir* = Mid. Ir. *córa*, *córaib*, *cóir*.

THE SINGULAR OF -ī-STEMS.

Already in O.Ir. by *bliadni* we find *bliadin* BCr. 32^a 9, 39^d 1.³ In the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined the only nouns⁴ in which I have found the old forms of the dat. and acc. are *aidehi* by *adaig*, and *insi* by *inis*. In the nom. *aidehi* BB. 481^a 26 = Mod. Ir. *oidhche*, the form of the oblique cases has spread to the nom. An isolated nom. of the same kind is *indsi*, for *inis*, BB. 450^a 22.

¹ A parallel to this is found in *freartha*, the Mid. Ir. gen. of *freora*. In the nom. *freora* fell together in sound with *adrad*, etc., hence the gen. *freartha* like *adartha*, etc.

² In Mid. Ir. the nom. *rigain* is replaced by *rigan*; for examples see Windisch, Wb. This might be explained from the gen. sg. *rigna*, which in Mid. Ir. might represent the gen. of either *rigain* or *rigan*.

³ In O.Ir. some nouns, e.g. *méit*, have only the gen. after this declension, but the dat. and acc. like -ī-stems. So the borrowed words *canóin*, g. *canóne* ML. 35^b 17, d. *canoin* ML. 46^c 14, *infinít* g. *infinite* Sg. 154^b 1; *eclis* has the gen. *æclise* or *eolso*, cf. Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83. In Bezz. Beitr. xi, 81, *cúil* should be deleted; it is an -ā-stem, and the nom. is *cúl*; further, *fuil*, for *fuile* and *fuili* are plural. In *tesbuith* ib. 83, as in the simple *buith*, the old nom. *both* has been replaced by the form of the dat. and acc. On *fochricc* and *taidchricc*, see Thurneysen, CZ. ii, 81. Peculiar are *telchait*, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83 and SR. 6752, and *tánai*, Bezz. Beitr. xi, 83 and LU. 74^a 30, for it is improbable that *táin* was an -ī-stem.

⁴ Except in the borrowed words *episcopóti* PH., *sacerdóti* SR. 4494, 5156, like *trindóti* ML. 15^b 4.

GENITIVE SINGULAR OF -*ī*-STEMS.*Change of Declension.*

Already in O.Ir. *eclais* (from Lat. *eclesia*) makes the gen. *ecailse* as well as *ecolsa*.¹ So *gnúise* SR. 1708, Windisch Wb., PH., BB. 481^b 28, corresponds to O.Ir. *gnúso*, *gnúsa*; so further, *dúalchi*, *súalchi* PH. In Mod. Ir. this transformation has spread further, e.g. *súile* for *súla*, *dúile* for *dúla*. The model for this change may be found in (1) *inis*, *inse*, and the like; (2) in -*ā*-stems in which the old nom. has been replaced by the dat. and acc. form; see above, p. 211.

In some borrowed words in O.Ir. the gen. is like the nom. Such are *abbgitir* Sg. 23^b 5, 24^a 10, *argumint* Ml. 64^c 12, *digaim* Sg. 5^b 7, 7^b 17, 18, *grammatic* Acr. 13^b 1, *posit* Sg. 39^a 1, *superlait* Sg. 40^b 15, *stoir* Ml. 14^a 5, *tabernacuil* PH. 48^b 11, *testimin* Ml. 104^b 3. But in Mid. Ir. we have *staire* PH., *tabernacuile* PH., similarly *firmaminte* SR. 34, 164, 214, 274.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

In O.Ir. the ending is *e*²; *muire* = Lat. *maria*. In Mid. Ir. *muire* also appears, e.g. LL. 1^a 9, TT. 255, but also *mara* LU. 31^a 3. From *guin* comes *gona* TT. 1582, Windisch Wb.; *tromgona* appears already in a much older text LU. 60^a 21. In Mid. Ir. *guin* is fem., cf. *na: gona* TT. 2041, 2052, *goín adbail* TT. 1482; in the plur. it is inflected like a fem. -*ā*-stem, gen. *gon*, *athgon* TT. 658, 660, 1759. In *muir*, which in Mid. Ir. is fem., the pl. *mara* comes also probably from -*ā*-stems; that *muire* should also live on may be explained from the influence of *tíre*, with which it is often associated.

GENITIVE PLURAL.

As in -*u*-stems (see below, p. 230) *gnímae* was replaced by *gnim*, so in course of time *súile* was replaced by *súl*. But in the latter case the change is later. In -*u*-stems we shall have an example

¹ In Mid. Ir. the gen. *ecailse* leads to a nom. *eclas* SR. 4421, 4923; PH. shows both *eclais* and *eclas*; in Mod. Ir. it is *eaglais*.

² If the preceding consonant is non-palatal, then -*ae* might be expected, becoming in Mid. Ir. -*a*. In Ml. 26^c 8 *drummai* might be explained from confusion of final -*ae* and final -*ai*, cf. CZ. iv, 51; in Mid. Ir. it passes into the -*n*-declension: *drummann* TT. 1388, *dromnanaib* 1373. In SR. 1736 *buadu* is used for *buada* to get a rhyme with *sluagu*.

from the Féilire Oenguso, about 800 A.D.; by 1000 A.D., as we shall see from the Saltair na Rann, the change was practically complete. In *-i*-stems the change is only beginning in SR.

The reason for the difference of treatment is apparent. In *-u*-stems a nom. pl. *gníma* and a dat. pl. *gnímaib* would resemble *tuatha*, *cenéla*, *tuathairib*, *cenélaib*, while *-i*-stems where the final vowel was preceded by a palatal consonant would resemble the plur. of *-s*-stems like *níne* and of *-io*-stems like *céle*. *A priori* it might have been expected that in nouns like *cnáma*, where the final vowel is preceded by a non-palatal consonant, the change would be earlier; the following lists, however, furnish little in support of this, except in the *-i*-stem *bliadain*.

SR.: (a) *aideche* 2524, *cétfaide* 2904, *dúle* 22, 1143, 1832, *mirbaile* 328, *sruthe* 127, *sruithi* 1059, 4523, *faithe* 7435 by *fatha* 7471, *bliadne* (: *de*) 4728, but *biasta* 877, 892, 898, *bliadna* 2272 (: *triamna*) 2304 (: *miadbla*), 2332 (: *riagla*), 2344 (: *gialta*), 3386 (: *cialla*), 3412 (: *riagla*), 4011 (: *Caspianda*), 4623, 4956 (: *riagla*), 5683, 6633 (: *riagla*), *cesta* 3591, 7555, *crúma* 890, 7620, *demna* 7620, 7646, *luba* 4405, 7273.

(β) *bliadan* 2014 (: *adfiadar*), 6638 (: *riaglad*), *cest* 1133, 2439, 4913. *fiaccail* (: *diartain*) 885 is a metrical license.¹

LU. Texts.

Scél Túain: (a) *lanamna* 16^a 24.

(β) *rend*,² 16^a 12.

FA.: (a) *gnússe* 30^a 40, *demna* 30^a 33, 30^b 22, 31^a 7, 13, *dúla*³ 27^a 2, 12.

(β) *biast* 30^a 3.

CL.: (a) *flathi* 117^b 33.

S.Rel.: (a) *dúla* 50^b 24.

GAS.: (a) *gente* 52^a 20.

Sc.L.B.: (a) *fádi* 34^a 19, *éside* 31^b 35, *demna* 33^a 44.

(β) *súl* 33^a 17, *dúalach* 32^b 24, *fiacal* 33^a 39.

Sc.E.: (a) *lubi* 37^a 33.

(β) *dúil* 34^a 6, 35^b 7.

CA.: (a) *demna* 7^b 14, 10^a 8.

(β) *cest* 11^a 8, 14^b 36.

¹ In 7098 it seems that *fáith* should be restored to assonate with *cdich*.

² See below, p. 231.

³ This form is common in PH. In O.Ir. it is *dúle* and *dúile*, d. pl. *dúilb* SR. 1509, 5045.

LG.: (a) *aidchi* 13^a 1, 26^a 2.

TT.: (a) *geinte* 1031, *airdemna* 963.

(β) *bliadan* 693, 1882, 1913, *dúl* 160, 1508, *gon* 660, 1759, *athgon* 658.

Æn.: (a) *gente* 463^a 14, 479^a 38, *maine* 449^a 25, 481^a 47, *maithi* 472^a 19, *muire* 456^a 6, 482^a 12.

(β) *bliadan* 485^a 9.

The adjective, when used as a substantive, has the same inflexion as the noun. When, however, it is followed by a noun, then already the long forms are very rare. I have noted only *bemmen nindraice* Rev. Celt. xv, 489.¹ From the O.Ir. period downwards the common forms are those like *sonairt*, *deithbir*, etc., cf. CZ. iv, 64.²

GENITIVE DUAL.

In Mid. Ir. the short form of the gen. pl. makes its way also into the dual: *bliadan* TT. 1810, 1817.

-u-stems.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL.

For the O.Ir. endings *-e*, *-ae*, *-ai*, see Eriu i, 1 sq. In Mid. Ir. the ending develops regularly into *-a*:—*cressa*, *ferta*, *gníma*, *gotha*, *srotha*, etc.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL.

In SR. the O.Ir. ending *-u* appears in a number of instances:—*brichtu* 3850, *cathu* 4077, 5527, *cithu* 683, 807, 6047 (in every instance it rhymes with *bithu*), *lessu* (: *Essu*) 5010; further in the phrase *tria bithu* 168, 200, 684, 1740, 4998, 6048. In other texts *-u* appears in the phrase *tria bithu*: LU. 13^a 43, 17^b 29, 34^b 9, 36^a 15, 37^b 11, 16. Otherwise it is rare: *gnímu* LU. 10^b 23 (the form also appears in the text of the Amra), 17^a 23, *císu* (: *ísu*) 40^b 10, *brictu* LG. 20^b 3, *cathu* TT. 300, *trachtu* 1086.

The ending *-a* appears already in *ilgotha* Sg. 197^a 11, and in *feda*, Cormac's Glossary s.v. *serb*.³ In Mid. Ir. it is the usual form.

¹ Another example might be *inna ndam naitae* Ml. 121^c 19; however, in *chon alta*, Trip. Life, 158, suggests that in some compounds *allaid* was inflected like a noun.

² But *crúad*, *metri causa*, SR. 4685. In Ml. 74^c 3 *diut* is probably a scribal error for *diuit*.

³ For some possible instances in Ml. see CZ. iv, 51.

SR.: *catha* 4762, 5012, *datha* (: *sratha*) 53, *gníma* (: *sníma*) 4288, *retha* (: *betha*) 5274, *smachtaí* (: *targcaí*) 162.

LU. Texts.

SCC.: *catha* 114^a 45.

FA.: *oressa* 30^a 30, *deritussa* 27^a 8, *ferta* 30^b 17, *srotha* 29^a 33, *todérnama* 27^a 23, 31^b 8.

Sc.E.: *crechta* 35^a 24, *gníma* 37^a 16, 37^b 14, *fulliuchta* 35^a 16, 21, *réta* 36^a 47.

CA.: *catha* 11^a 20.

LG.: *catha* 6^a 40, 16^b 20, 18^a 14, 19^b 36, *datha* 16^b 23.

TT.: *catha* 956, 1360, 1575, 1789, *crechta* 1886, *feda* 1988, *gníma* 470.

Nenn.: *seanchusa* 203^a 6, 8, *ferta* 209^a 21.

Æn.: *catha* 456^a 7, 462^a 23, *slesa* 461^a 15.

In Eriu i, 3, note, I have suggested that *-a* is the nom. form which, under the influence of *-i*-stems in which the nom. and the acc. were the same in form, came to be used also for the acc. The only alternative would be to suppose that final *-u* became phonetically *-a*, as nom. sg. *bethu* became *betha*. But, apart from the question how it is that *-u* became *-a* here while it remained in *-o*-stems (see above, p. 216), there is a fatal objection to such an explanation. It will be seen that in the acc. as in the nom. there is umlaut of a preceding *-i*- or *-u*-: *feda*, *ferta*, *gotha*, *srotha*, etc. Now, not only is there no evidence, so far as I know, that a secondary *-a* could produce such an effect, but there is evidence to the contrary. For instance, O.Ir. *trumme*, *dube*, *unge* became, by the middle of the ninth century¹ A.D., *trumma*, *duba*, *unga*, but the *u* of the preceding syllable remained; it did not become *o*. Hence, even if it might be supposed that the final *-u* became by phonetic change *-a*, *guthu* would have become and would have remained **gutha*, it would not have become further *gotha*. *tria bithu*, in which the old form survives, is a traditional formula.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

The Idg. ending was *-ū*. In Irish this disappeared, changing under certain conditions *e* of the preceding syllable to *i*.² O.Ir. instances are *inna dár* Ml. 23^a 13, *frisna torus* (leg. *dorus*)

¹ CZ. iv, 477 sq.

² Brugmann, Grundriss i², 125.

ML. 46^a 12,¹ *inna mind* BCr. 41^c, *inna rind*² BCr. 18^b 10, ML. 2^a 14, 145^d 3. This form occasionally appears in later literature, e.g. *secht rind*, SR. 101, 202, 257, *tri tráth* SR. 1041, *na ocht tráth* LU. 28^a 4.

In O.Ir. the ending *-a* also appears, *na doirseá* ML. 46^a 19, *beura*³ Sg. 67^b 11. The explanation is simple. In the nom. acc. pl. of neut. *-o*-stems there was a form without and a form with *a*, e.g. *cenél* and *cenéla*.⁴ After the analogy of *cenéla* to *cenél* was formed *déra* to *dér*. In Mid. Ir. *-a* is the common ending, e.g. *déra* LU. 7^b 18, 31^b 16, BB. 459^a 22, 478^a 41, *ardolessa* LU. 114^a 42,⁵ *lenna* BB. 453^a 13, *renda* TT. 179, *reanna* BB. 451^b 20, *renna* MC. 13, *lenna* 37.⁶

GENITIVE PLURAL.

O.Ir. forms like *gnímae*⁷ were early replaced by analogical forms like *gním*. In Féil. Oeng., Ep. 397, *dér* already appears. In Mid. Ir. the old form survives only in certain phrases.

SR.: *cath* 873, 4675, *dán* 7212, *dér* 871, 922, *dínd* 990, 6805, *firt* 694, *glés* 938, *gním* 626, 698, 2390, *mind* 989, 6806, *níth* 6041,

¹ IF. x, 76.

² The dat. *mindaiB* ML. 35^d 16 by *rendaiB* BCr. 18^c 4 is because in *mind* the *i* is radical, in *rind* it has come from *e*, cf. R. Schmidt, IF. i, 72.

³ The vocalism of the first syllable is peculiar. A contamination of **biur* (from **berú*) and *bera*? In *bera*, etc., is the *e* due to the influence of neut. *-o*-stems?

⁴ Cf. CZ. iv, 63, 489.

⁵ But with change to the masc. acc. *clissu* 121^b 16.

⁶ In Mid. Ir. the masc. *-i*-stem *rind* 'point' follows the inflexion of *rind* 'star,' e.g. *renna* LL. 90^a 37, TT. 1348, *rennaib* LL. 91^a 52 (see also below, p. 231). Schmidt, IF. i, 69, note, derives *rind* from *ro* + *ind*. But to judge from *a da nind* YBL. 98^a 1, it would seem that *ind* is neuter. The acc. pl. is *enna* LU. 65^a 35, the dat. is *indaib* 67^a 17, BB. 470^b 4, 476^b 35, 36. The dat. *indaib* points to a stem *indú-*; in *enna* by *indaib* the *e* must be analogical, *enna* : *ind* = *renna* : *rind* = *lenna* : *lind*, etc.

⁷ It has been customary to give the gen. pl. e.g. of *bith* as *bithe*; of the existence of such a form, however, I can discover no evidence. Mid. Ir. *betha*, *srotha*, point to O.Ir. *bethae*, *srothae*; *bethae* (MS. *betha*) should be restored in Féil. Oeng. Prol. 156, where it rhymes with *grethae* (MS. *gretha*), gen. pl. of *grith*. Cf. further *ferte* Wb. 12^b 15, *fertae* ML. 17^c 9, gen. pl. of *firt*, and the common spelling of the ending *-ae*, e.g. *rétas* ML. 15^a 2 (which in Acr. 8^b 1 has become *rela*), *fertae* ML. 40^c 22. All this indicates that (1) the consonant before the ending was non-palatal; (2) that the root vowel was liable to the umlaut produced by a following *a* or *o*. Hence the current explanation of the form needs some modification, for it does not account for these two things. The following is the account which I would suggest. Idg. **bityóm* became **bitomom*, **bitho*, and, with umlaut, **betho*. But **betho* fell together with gen. sg. *betho* from **bitous*. To get a distinctive ending *-e* was borrowed from the *-i*-declension, and in particular from that class of *-i*-stems in which the preceding consonant was non-palatal. In the new form the consonant before the ending remained non-palatal.

recht 1575, 1615, *rind* 274, 845, 865, 7424 (but *renn* 2259), *sruth* 42, *suth* 7283.

LU. Texts: FA. *todernam* 29^b 27, *trath* 31^a 10; Sc.E. *rind* 37^a 32, *crecht* 35^a 16, 22; Sc.L.B. *todernam* 33^b 17; CA. *gnim* 12^b 27, 44.

TT.: *cath* 823, etc., *crecht* 651, *echt* 1709, *gnim* 301, *mind* 1667, *tét* 138, 1346, 1419.

Aen.: *ceast* ('cestus') 460^b 24, etc., *crecht* 478^a 43, *gnim* 457^a 12, 13.

But in a traditional phrase *tria bithu na mbetha* LU. 27^b 35, etc., *ar dea na muire 7 na srotha* BB. 482^a 12.

As to the vocalism of *firt*, *sruth*, etc., it may be explained from the fact that in the nouns which the new genitives followed as their model the gen. pl. was the same in form as the nom. sg. In some cases *e* appears, *renn* by *rend* SR., PH., and after the analogy of this *rend* 'points' LU. 16^a 12, 79^a 40, *lend* LU. 48^a 21, *reth* SR. That this *e* has anything to do with the *e* of the older form of the gen. is highly improbable. In *rend* it is probably due to the tendency of the noun to form the nom. sg. *rend* = Mod. Ir. *reann*, cf. *rend* 'point' LL. 91^a 51, 91^b 26; so probably *lend*, Mod. Ir. nom. *leann*.

GENITIVE DUAL.

Glinn da loch, Hy. v, 20.

CHANGE OF DECLENSION.

In later Irish *-u*-stems often pass into the *-o*-declension, first in the sing. Already in O.Ir. *fiss* has *fiss* as well as *fesso* in the gen.; the frequent dative *fiuss* resembled *fiur*. Another isolated O.Ir. instance is *tomais* ML. 20^a 21. Examples from Mid. Ir. are:—

ág, 'battle,' g.s. *áig* TT. 1349, 1997, by *ága* TT. 1584; but n.pl. *ága* TT. 1614.

ammus, n.pl. *amais* (as acc.) BB. 467^a 9.

cless, g. *clessa* and *cliss*; see Windisch Wb. and Meyer, Contributions.

cocad, g. *cocaid* SR. 3042, TT. 822, 855, BB. 467^a 20, 468^b 20, 469^a 26, by *coctha* TT. 852, BB. 468^b 13, 470^a 18; but n.pl. *cocthi* TT. 4, acc. *coctha* BB. 456^a 8.

comram, g. *comraim* TT. 1019, 1348.

diummus, g. *diumais* LU. 10^b 17, PH., by *diummusa* LU. 10^b 15.

dorus, g. *doruis* SR., LU. 29^a 8, n.pl. *dorais* LU. 28^b 38. In Mid. Ir. nom. acc. *doirse* = O.Ir. *doirse* is still common, e.g. SR. 446, 457, LU. 114^b 11, TT. 2094, BB. 462^b 46, 471^a 20.

elud, g. *eluid* BB. 475^a 8, 24, by *eluda* 484^a 31.

immarmus, g. *immarbois* SR. 1438, 4994, *imarbuis* LU. 35^b 19.

innus, g. *indmais* TT. 1647, PH., by *indmusa* PH.; nom., acc. pl. *indmassa* TT. 1651, 1796, acc. *innmassa*, LU. 6^a 17.

indracus, g. *indracuis* PH.

oipred, g. *oiprid* PH.

ómun, g. *ómain* PH.

peccad, g. *peccaid* LU. 32^b 24, PH., by *pecotha* PH., n.pl. *peccaid* PH., by *peoda* LU. 17^a 13, *pecotha* PH., acc. *peoda* LU. 32^b 32.

senchas, g. *senchais* SR. 1786, by *senchassa* 6638; acc. pl. *senchusa* LU. 15^b 14.

tét, g. *tét*¹ LU. 8^b 42.

tomus, g. *tomuis* SR. 374, 462.

In the Sagas *Fergus*, g. *Fergusa* has for its voc. *Ferguis* LU. 57^b 3, etc., by *Fergus* LU. 58^b 4, etc.

In Mid. Ir. *triub* 'tribe' is replaced by *treb*, e.g. n.s. *treb* SR. 4433, 4881, 5149, g. *treibe* 4483, dat. *treib* 4193, acc. *déthreib* 7083, dual *dí threib* 4624, n.pl. *treba* 4432, 4433, 4437, dat. *trebaib* 4730.

Consonant Stems ending in an Explosive.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR.

For *rí*, *rig* is common in *Æn.*; *mil* 'soldier' is replaced by *mílid*, e.g. SR. 2092, 2701, TT. 372, 1920, *Æn.* 468^b 25; *escaraít* for *escara* LU. 42^b 13.

DATIVE SINGULAR.

In the O.Ir. glosses nouns like *bethu*, *óentu*, have the dat. *bethaid*, *óentaid*, or *bethu*, *óentu*, cf. GC.² 256 sq. By *cathraig*, *cathair* appears, Wb. 13^b 1, ML. 74^a 13, Sg. 28^a 8. From *tene* comes *tenid* and *ten*² ML. 31^d 4. In old texts, though I have no examples from the glosses, nouns like *slige* have also a dat. like

¹ An old neuter -u-stem. In *na teidi* BB. 478^a 2, acc. *tét* LU. 8^b 42, it has become fem., and is inflected like an -ā-stem. Nom. pl. *tri théit* RC. xiii, 438, g. *tétas* ML. 51^c 4.

² The -i-stem *fraig*, *frega*, which is associated in certain phrases with *tene*, in Mid. Ir. develops dental forms, cf. Windisch Wb.; similarly *daig*, *dega* 'fire,' cf. Index to Togail Tróí.

the nom. In Mid. Ir. texts, so far as my observation goes, the long forms are the common ones in the dat. as in the acc. Instances of the short forms from Mid. Ir. are:—

SR.: *gleo* 6585, *nia* 5283.

LU.: DáBr. *bethu* 17^a 16, Aid. Nath. *cathair* 38^b 27.

TT. *gleo* 1872 (by *gliaid* 2007, 2015).

Æn.: *cathair* (by *cathraig*), *trichai* 450^b 1, cf. *cóica*, LL. 103^a 39, *tricha* LU. 49^a 14.

PH.: *dorchatu*, *óitiu*, and *óite*, *sendatu* (by *sendataid*), *aibb* (by *abbaid*), *gleo*, *coimdiu* (by *coimdid*).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR.

In the Old Irish glosses the form of the nom. occasionally replaces that of the acc., cf. GC.² 257, where add *foirbthetu* Wb. 9^b 10. Instances from Mid. Ir. texts are, e.g.:—

SR.: *bethu* 807, *cin* 3571, 5399 (MS. *cind*), 5484 (but *cinaid* 3576, 3620, 4994), *tens* 314 (but *tenid* 1891¹), *ceo* 7183, *gleo* 246, 2698, 3895, 4131, *ruiri* 778, *ardruire* 7560, *sechtmoga* 757, *fichi* 5628.²

LU. Texts: CA. *ceo*, FA. *illatu* (= *ildatu*) 27^a 10, Sc.L.B. *itu* 33^a 8.

Nenn.: *cathair* (by *cathraig*).

Æn.: *gleo* 480^a 4 (by *gliaid* 460^b 33, 461^a 12), *ara* 472^b 42, *cathair* (by *cathraig*) saepe.

PH.: *betha* (by *bethaid*), *dorchadu*, *cin* (by *cinaid*), *coma* (by *comaid*), *coimdiu* (by *coimdid*).

Isolated instances of nom. for acc. are:—*cara* LL. 82^a 10, *drui* LU. 47^a 24, *Eocha* LL. 9^a 42, *Fiacha* 8^a 4, *lia* TT. 1804, *tricha* LU. 118^b 14.

TRANSITION TO THE GUTTURAL DECLENSION.

In Mid. Ir. many nouns in *-r* pass into the guttural declension after the analogy of *cathir*, *cathrach*, and the like. Such are, e.g.:—*cassar* (Mod. Ir. *casair*), g. *casrach* SR. 902 (by *casra* 8308), g. p. *casrach* 902, dat. pl. *casrachaib* 8170.

dair, *darach*, see Windisch s.v., and add acc. pl. *daracho* BB. 451^a 13. O.Ir. *daur*, *daró*.

¹ Also *cen tein* 1475.

² In *dia rohort* . . . *noi fichit mili* . . . *ocus ooea ar cet corad* 7233 the nom. pl. *fichit*, if the text is sound, is also used for the acc.

dochair BB. 452^a 30, g. *dochrach* 451^a 26. O.Ir. *dochor*. There is the same change of nom. in Mid. Ir. *deochair* SR. 125 = O.Ir. *dechor*.

lassar, *lassair*, g. *lasrach* SR. 8188, acc. *lasraig* TT. 408, 409, but *lasra* BB. 450^b 12, acc. *lasair* 462^a 2, gen. pl. *lasrach* SR. 901, but *lassar* PH. O.Ir. *lassar*, g. *lasrae* Ann. Ul. 645.

Temair, g. *Temrach* LU. 52^a 17, acc. *Temraig* 52^a 17.

The same change is found in many loan-words, e.g. :—

abbgitir, g. *abbgitrech*, but acc. *aibghitir* LS. 814.

altóir, *altórach*, but acc. *altóir* PH.

carcar, *carcair*, g. *carcrach* SR. 3267, LU. 33^b 11, PH., acc. pl. *carcracha* PH., dat. *carcrachaib* TT. 128, but dat. sg. *carcair* SR. 3283, 3290, PH. acc. *carcair* SR. 3219, 3264, PH., dat. pl. *carcraib* LS. 3637.

cathair, g. *cathrach* LU. 33^a 26, but dat. sg. *cathair* SR. 4516, LU. 32^a 9, dat. pl. *cathairib* LU. 34^a 1.

magister, g. *magistrech* LU. 32^a 5, BB. 207^b 18. O.Ir. gen. *magistir*, Ascoli Gloss. cccxxi.

manistir, g. *manistrech* LU. 39^a 17, gen. pl. *mainistreach* LS. 2474, but dat. sg. *mainistir* LS. 953, 3295.

numir, n.pl. *numrecha* YBL. 264^b 16.

saltair, g. *saltrach* SR. 7788, but dat. *saltair* PH.

senister, g. *senistrech*, acc. *senisteir* SR. 4236.

senóir, g. *senórach* LS. 3846, 4310.

After the analogy of s.g. *sail* : *sailech* O.Ir. *aíl*, *alo* becomes *aíl*, *ailech*, cf. Windisch Wb. and Meyer, Contrib. s.v. So in Mid. Ir. the borrowed *epistil* has gen. pl. *epistlech* LS. 154, but dat. pl. *epistilb* MC. 89.

It will be seen that in the sg. the guttural form is rare, except in the genitive.

In O.Ir. *athir* passes into the guttural declension in the plural in the compound *uasalathraig* Ascoli, Gloss. l. In Mid. Ir. such forms are common in the plural of *athir*, *bráthir*, *máthir*, *siur*, by the side of the older forms. Examples will be found below, pp. 237 sq.

Consonant Stems ending in a Nasal.

DATIVE SINGULAR.

In the O.Ir. glosses nouns in *-u* have besides *-in* also *-e* and *-u* in the dat., cf. GC.² 265, further *Mume* dat. of *Mumu* Ann. Ul. 734 by *Mumu* LU. 56^b 39. From Mid. Ir. I have no collections.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR.

In O.Ir. *aisndis*, g. *aisndisen*, makes both dat. and acc. *aisndis*, *accuis* makes acc. *accuis* ML. 90^a 7. In SR. *airmitiu* makes *airmitin* 1744, and *airmitiu* 837, similarly in PH.; *tichtu* makes *tichtu* 1123, 1322, *talam* makes *talam* 31, but usually *talmain*. An acc. *Muma* is found LU. 39^a 23. I have no further collections.

CHANGE OF DECLENSION.

Corresponding to O.Ir. *rétglu*, *rétglann* 'star,' we have in Mid. Ir. *rétla*, *rétlande* LU. 36^a 24, like *persu persainde* (see above, p. 212). So O.Ir. *díle*, *dílenn* 'deluge,' becomes in Mid. Ir. *díliu*, *dílinde* BB. 22^b 45. In Mid. Ir. *tichtu* is replaced by *tiachtain*; from this the gen. is *tiachtana* LL. 4^b 28.

Neuter -N-stems.

DATIVE SINGULAR.

In O.Ir. forms like *gremmáim*, *céimmim* are regular. In later O.Ir. shorter forms begin to appear:—*fordiuccláimm* ML. 19^d 5, 75^b 4, *maidm* 84^c 9 (MS. *máim*), *maidm* 85^c 6, *cindruim* 78^b 4. In Mid. Ir. the short forms are common, the long forms are exceptional. Thus already in SR. we have *anmáimm* 632, 3854, *réimim* 1634, but *béim* 6920, *céim* (bis) 469, *gáirm* 1487, *ingrim* 6480. In later LU. texts we have e.g. *anmm* 32^a 27, *dréim* 38^b 37, *fogláim* 4^a 36, 40, *gáirm* 32^b 34, *gen* 2^b 45 by *anmáim* (MS. *anmáin*) 32^a 45, *anmm* 42^b 11. In LG. we have *fogláim* 2^a 15, 20; in TT. *céim* 1035, 1505, *réim* 1644 by *anmm* 48; in Æn. *gáirm* 457^b 13, *lem* 476^a 20, *maidm* 483^b 40, 484^a 21, *seimm* 454^b 36.¹

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL.

In later O.Ir. *anman*, etc., become, with doubling of the final *n*, *anmann*, etc., cf. CZ. iv, 483. In Mid. Ir. *anmann*, *céimenn*, etc., are the usual forms. For *-nn*, *-nna* appears in later Mid. Ir. From LU. I have no examples. From LL. I have noted *anmánda* 89^a 11, 101^b 38. Of BB. texts Æn. has *anmann* 450^a 26, *garman* 478^b 20. Nenn. has *anmánda* 203^a 47. Of LBr. texts MacConglinne has *anmand*, *cémend*, *mírend*, *nadmand*, *sesbémend* by *anmanna*, *mírenda*.

¹ In MacConglinne there is a literary revival of the longer forms:—*anmam* 93, *imim* by *imm* 81, *lomum* 101. In that curious archaizing composition, The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the long forms are also used as nominatives, e.g. *anmáim* 4, *cormáim* 8.

PH. has *anmand*, *comanmann*, but usually *anmanna*, *céimenda*, *léimenda*.¹

CHANGE OF DECLENSION.

In O.Ir. *arbor* is inflected in the oblique cases like an *n*-stem: g. *arbe*, dat. *arbaimm*, etc. In Mid. Ir. *arbor* is inflected like an *-o*-stem; for examples see Meyer, Contributions, s.v.

Nouns of Relationship in -R-.

GENITIVE PLURAL.

In O.Ir. this ends in *-e*: *athre*, *máthre*, etc.² In Mid. Ir. *athre* etc., have been replaced throughout by the analogical *athar*, etc., e.g. *athar* SR. 4987, *bráthar* SR. 4470, 7320.

For transition of these nouns to the guttural declension see above, p. 234. Examples will be found below, pp. 237, 238.

Neuter -s-stems.

GENITIVE PLURAL.

In Mid. Ir. the O.Ir. forms like *slébe* are giving place to shorter analogical forms like *sliab*.

SR.: (a) *nime* 1114, 7733, *tiri* 506.

(β) *dún* 7342, *leth* 3152, *lethglenn* 4720, *primdún* 7342, *sliab* 223.

TT.: (a) *grúade* 1555.

(β) *sliab* 1440.

Æn. (a) *tíre* 456^a 6, *tígeadh* 457^a 15.

GENITIVE DUAL.

The shorter form also makes its way here:—

SR.: *primleth* 4290; TT. *tír* 2256, but *leithe* 598, etc., *idaltige* 1046.

¹ In PH. *ingreim* has partly changed its declension. After the gen. sg. *ingreime* and *ingrema* (in and na), d. *ingrim* are formed acc. pl. *ingremai*, dat. *ingremaib* by *ingremendaib*.

² Brugmann, Grundriss, ii, 696, speaks of an O.Ir. *máthar*, *bráthar*, which he would derive directly from the Idg. gen. But, so far as I know, such forms do not exist; in Sg. 31^a 12 *máthar* is gen. sg.; in Féil. Oeng. Prol. 10, some MSS. keep the old gen. *bráithre*. In Ir. we must start from *athre*, etc., analogical transformations of the Idg. forms. Mid. Ir. *athar*, etc., are again analogical transformations of *athre*, etc.; that these forms should coincide with those which the regular development of the Idg. forms would have given in Irish is a curious freak of chance, but nothing more.

Apart from these forms I have noted only isolated irregularities. From *dún*, g.s. *dúin* is common by the side of *dúins*.¹ From *slíab*, n.pl. *slíabu* appears TT. 1380 for the common *slébe* or *sléibte* (see below, p. 239). *Glenn* becomes fem., and, after the analogy of g.s. *glinne*, d.s. *glinn*, develops forms of the *-ā*-declension in the plural, e.g., *glenna*, Trip. Life 112, 216, TT. 2234, *glendaib* Trip.L. 96, 100 (by *glinniō* 144), PH.

Nominative and Accusative Plural of Masculine and Feminine Consonantal Stems.²

As the development is of the same kind in all these stems, they may be conveniently taken together.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL.

Either (α) the old nominative remains or (β) it is replaced by the accusative form.

SR.: (α) *cinaid* 3625, *córaid* 4660; *carait* 5829; *brithemain* 5516; *athir*, *senathir* 4990, *bráthir* 3128, 3493, 5813.

(β) *cathracha* 5195; *cinta*³ 1412, *comlada* 411, *druidi* 3849.

LU. Texts.

FA.: (α) *nóidin* 27^b 24, *brethemain* 30^a 44, 30^b 29.

Aid. Ech.: (α) *Ulaid* 38^b 31, 32, *filid* 39^a 3; *bráthir* 38^b 15.

(β) *derbsethracha* 38^b 12.

Sc.L.B.: (α) *coin* 33^a 23.

(β) *nathracha* 33^a 15; *tenti* 33^a 30.

SAM.: (β) *sethracha* 2^b 22.

CA.: (α) *filid* 5^b 3.

TT.: (α) *cáirig* 101, *ríg* 152, etc.; *cinaid* 507, *curaid* 268, etc., *milid* 671, 827, 1848, 1864; *carait* 826.

(β) *cathracha* 1385, 1625, 1795; *lámdóti* 1345, *milidi* 227, 618, 854, 915, 1337, 1354, 1602, 1627, 1681, 1861, *rigthi* 1345, *secheda* 1731, 2045, *teinte* 177, *tengtha* 1295.

Nenn.: (α) *druid* 210^a 48, 210^b 5, 31, 32; *brethamain* 206^b 22.

(β) *righdha* (sic) 209^b 25; *namaite* 210^a 51.

¹ It seems to occur earliest in proper names.

² Of a plural of neuter stems ending in an explosive the only certain instance which I have got is from *dét*. In O.Ir., as Thurneysen has shown (KZ. xxxvii, 423), the plur. is *dét*, later *déta*, and still later *deóit* LL. 98^b 22.

³ *cimta* already in Ml. 62^d 5.

Æn.: (a) *rig* 453^b 8, 456^a 10, 465^b 9, 468^b 43, 475^b 30, 476^a 33, 477^a 11, 478^b 37, *airdrig* 465^b 42, *urrig* 475^b 30, *ruirig* 456^a 10, 465^b 9; *bidbuid* 469^b 7, *curaid* 449^a 36, 453^b 8, 475^a 36, 475^b 30, 476^a 33, 483^a 22; *námait* 454^b 24, 455^a 41, 471^a 17, 479^b 24; *coin* 473^a 47.

(β) *cathracha* 480^a 6, 481^a 46, *nathracha* 454^a 38, 41, *riga* 449^a 36, 466^b 37, *airdriga* 475^a 44 (but *airdrighi* 466^b 37), *urriga* 465^b 9, 476^b 39; *druidi* 465^b 20, *seicheda* 461^a 3, *tengtha* 454^a 33, *traigthe* 453^b 10; *bráithri* 482^b 11, *máithri* 479^a 39, 481^a 17, *seathra* 481^a 18, *seathracha* 479^a 40.

MC.: (a) *rig* 45; *digid* 13, *filid* 45.

(β) *tendti* 105.

ACCUSATIVE (AND VOCATIVE) PLURAL.

In Mid. Ir. *-a* tends to be replaced by *-u* after the analogy of *-o*-stems, e.g. *rigu*: *rig* = *fíru*: *fír*. (In Mod. Ir. the acc. is in part replaced by the nom. From the Mid. Ir. texts which I have examined the only instances of this which I have noted are *coraid* SR. 2408, *bidbaid* and *fechemain* in PH.)

SR.: (a) *cathracha* 2812, 4754, *nathracha* 3851, *riga* 7252; *seathra* 2978.

(β) *bráithriu* 4640 (: *clú*), 3113 (voc.), 4700 (voc.: *dú*); *máithri* 7471, 7474 is ambiguous.

LU. Texts.

FA.: (β) *áigedu* 30^a 28.

DáBr.: (β) *bríthemnu* (voc.) 17^a 35.

Sc.L.B.: (β) *cardiu* 33^a 41.

CA.: (β) *aegedu* 12^a 44, *filedu* 5^b 25.

TT.: regularly *-u*: *rigu*, *curadu*, etc.

Nenn.: (β) *rigu* 207^b 48, 208^a 10; *mileadu* 209^b 37; *consolu* 207^b 44.

Æn.: As we have seen above, in this text *-u* is confused with *-a* in the acc. pl. of *-o*-stems. This confusion will explain the presence of *-a* by *-u* in consonant stems: *daracho* 451^a 13, *riga* 478^b 39; *braithriu* 481^a 19, *derbbraithri* 467^a 24, *maithri* (voc.) 461^b 39, *seathra* 467^b 17, *seathracha* 468^a 37.

MC.: *ailochu* (: *aineba*) 5; *colbadu*, *imdadu* 97; *conu* (voc.) 23, 29.

Dental Plurals.

In Mid. and Mod. Ir.¹ there is a plural ending in *-te*, *-ta*. Such a plural would develop regularly in dental stems, in which a consonant (*l*, *n*, or a dental) preceded, which prevented the aspiration of the dental. Thus *tene* would make in O.Ir. n.pl. *tenid*, acc. pl. *teintea*, d.pl. *teintib*; in Mid. Ir., with confusion of nom. and acc.,² it would become nom. acc. *teinte*, or *teinti*, dat. *teintib*. So from *léne*, g. *léned*, would come in Mid. Ir. nom. acc. *léinte*, dat. *léintib*; from *cin* would come nom. acc. *cinta*, dat. *cintaib*. On the analogy of these there were developed from non-dental stems containing *n* or *l*, e.g. :—

lón, n.pl. *lónite*, *lóniti* TT. 163, 1264, 1887, d. *lointib* SR. 2507. In TT. 936 *lóniti* has spread to the gen. pl.; cf. *tented* BB. 452^a 5, 462^a 7, 471^a 45.

brón 'quern,' d. pl. *bróntib* LU. 68^a 26.

lind, *lintib* TT. 898. Mod. Ir. *linn*, *linte*, etc.

móin (g. *mónae*, *móna*), *mointi* LS. 3663 = Mod. Ir. *móinte*.

fán, *fántu* LU. 114^a 4, *fánta* LL. 101^a 46, *fántaib* LL. 95^b 11 (but *fánaib* TT. 1989).

glenn. As we saw before O.Ir. *glinne*, *glinnib* became in Mid. Ir. *glenna* and *glennaib*, and these became further *glenta* LL. 101^a 46 (*glenta* 7 *fánta*), LS. 3662, and *glentaib* TT. 1989, LL. 95^b 46, PH. all 'cliff': *alltaib* BB. 451^b 9.

búale, *bualti* TT. 1673. Mod. Ir. *buarille*.

caill 'wood,' *coillti* BB. 452^b 42, *cailltib* SR. 6269, *coilltib* BB. 451^a 12, 463^a 37, 467^b 12. Mod. Ir. *coillte*.

comthinól, *comthinoltaib* LU. 31^a 23.

The only plural which I have found in Mid. Ir. when the *t* would not be deaspirated by the preceding consonant is that of *sliab*, *slebbe* LU. 50^a 39, *sléibti* TT. 1406, 1564, BB. 450^a 18, 452^b 42, *slebtib* BB. 451^b 8, 24 (but *slebiu* 450^a 26). Here the dental plural is probably due to association with *glenn* and *fán*.

The Dual.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE.

In O.Ir. consonant stems, besides the normal forms such as *doit* (fr. *dóe*) Corm. s.v. *cerball*, *gúalaind* (fr. *gualae*) YBL. 91^a 24, *liic*

¹ For Mod. Ir. cf. Finck, i, §§ 426, 434, 440, 445, 453; Dottin, pp. 40, 41; Christian Brothers' Irish Grammar, pp. 43, 46, 51.

² In *-u*-stems like *slonduid* the O. Ir. nom. and acc. would become alike *slointe*.

(fr. *lie*) LU. 91^a 24, *lurgain* (fr. *lurgae*) YBL. 91^a 29, *malaich* (fr. *malae*) YBL. 91^a 21, *serid* (fr. *seir*) LU. 69^a 29, *sligid* (fr. *slige*) Cormac, s.v. *roth*, there appear, after the analogy of nouns like *fer*, *suil*, and *athir*, in which the nom. acc. dual coincided with the nom. sg., also the forms of the nom. sg. *are* (fr. *are* 'temple') Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus ii, 249, *ara* (= *arae*, fr. *arae*), *ara* 'charioteer' LU. 57^b 15, *foil* LU. 134^a 4, *tene* Cormac s.v. *beltene*.¹

In Mid. Ir. both the longer and the shorter forms appear, e.g., *nathraig* TT. 362, *cathmilid* 1256, *rigmilid* 1851, *sechid* 2046, *curaid* 478, *rig* 1078, etc., BB. 454^a 30, *tenid* LL. 99^a 28, by *cing* LL. 99^a 27, *léne* LL. 99^a 22. Unfortunately the forms are not of common occurrence.

GENITIVE.

Mid. Ir. forms of the gen. have been noted above, pp. 228, 231, 236.

DATIVE.

In Mid. Ir., beside the old dative forms are found sometimes the forms of the nom.: *forna da thir* SR. 2370, *don dá oenbratan* 7624, *fora díb cúalaid* (= *cúladaib*) LU. 113^b 17, *asna da bérta sechtmogat* LL. 2^a 39, *assna da luing sin* 3^b 4, *cona di noemoig* PH. 2568, *don da fer dec* PH. 2687, *don da apstal dec* 3076, *cona dá súil* MC. 89, *cona di lámaind* 91, *for da bairgin* 9. These are forerunners of the Mod. Ir. dual, in which one form serves for all cases.

THE DUAL OF THE ARTICLE.

In O.Ir. *in* serves for all cases; in Mid. Ir. for *in*, *na* also appears. SR., Nom.: (a) *in da mesraigthe* 158, *in da se rind* 257.

(β) *na da gaeth dec* 85, *na dá thuath dec* 4633, *na da slúag* 5881.

Acc.: (β) *na da mesraigthe* 160, *na dá iasc* 7626, *na da mac* 7682, *na di bai* 5433, *na di phiair* 7467, *na di Maire* 7475.

Gen.: (β) *na da primleth* 4290, *na da flesc* 4328.

Dat.: *don dá oen bratan* 7624, but *for na da thir* 2369, *dona díb trebaib dec* 4730, etc.

LU. Texts, Nom.: (a) *an dá gein* 52^b 23.

(β) *na di chruim* 3^a 20, *na dá chruim* 3^a 39, *na da nert* 3^a 39, *na dá chuirr* 5^b 1, *na da apstal* 27^b 20, *na dá draic dec* 29^b 19.

¹ In Bv. 23 *mí* appears not only as the acc. (ter), but also as the gen. in *co cenn da mí*, if the text is sound.

Acc. : *na da chlár* 3^a 15, *na dá cnoc* 118^b 29.

TT., Nom. : (β) *na da ingin* 106.

Acc. : (β) *na da chorcair* 1554.

Gen. : (α) *in da leithe* 598, 1822, 1832, 1926, 1932, 1933, *in da idaltige* 1046.

(β) *na da leithi* 548, *na da ban* 1058, *na da bliadan* 1817.

Boroma (LL.), Nom. : (α) *in da muice* 296^a 27.

Gen. : (α) *in da ingin* 297^b 3.

(β) *na da ingen* 295^a 15, *na da cóiced* 302^b 39, *na da chóiced* 302^b 41, 49.

PH., Nom. : (α) *in da apstal* 1919, *in da gataigi* 2855, *in da muscach* 3042, *in da modh* 7330, *in da noemóig* 2565, *in da assan* 4557.

(β) *na da rig* 1113, *na da apstal* 1627, 1630, *na da eruith* 1932, *na da discipul* 4550, 4556, *na da recht* 4551, 4563, *na da popul* 4577, *na da phopul* 4596, *na da duine* 4628, *na da Muire* 3455, 3586, *na da eclais* 3457, 3587, *na da gné* 3558, 3561, *na dá shualaig* 4603.

Acc. : (α) *in da threband* 2487, *in dá chuid* 7590.

(β) *na dá latrand* 1209, *na da recht* 4554, *na da phopul* 4564.

Gen. : (α) *in da fer déc* 2920.

(β) *na dá seh* 4458.

Dat. : (α) *on díb rachtaib* 6783, *don da fer déc* 2687, so 3076.

(β) *dona díb cenntúrib* 2253, so 4445, 6690, *ona díb rigu sechtmogat* 1408.

Æn., Nom. : (α) *in da maresluag* 480^a 38.

Acc. : (α) *in da luing* 460^a 27, *in da cath* 476^b 24.

Gen. : (α) *in da lethi* 471^a 45, *in da cathmil-* 484^a 15, *in da sluag* 474^a 46, *in da slogh* 477^a 16.

MC., Nom. : *in dá loan* 77.

Acc. : *in di chammrand* 5.

Gen. : *in da chaillech* 5.

LS., Nom. : *in da phopul* 1476, *in dá clamh* 1591.

Acc. : *in da fhorba* 1897, *in dá espoc dhéc* 4110.

As to the supersession of *in* by *na*, it may be conjectured that it started while *in* still lived in the nom. pl. masc. of the article. In accordance with that it might be further conjectured that in the dual *na* invaded the nom. fem. and the acc. pl. of the dual before it invaded the nom. masc.; such a conjecture finds support in the distribution of form in SR. But in SR. *na* is firmly established in the gen. Was this through the influence of the gen. pl. ? In later LU. texts *na* is the regular form in all cases.

In later Mid. Ir. there is a curious reversion to *in* for all cases. So in Mod. Ir. the dual is *an dá, don dá*, etc., for all cases. That there is any historical connection between later Mid. Ir. *in dá*, Mod. Ir. *an dá*, and the O.Ir. forms, is highly improbable; it would involve the supposition that Mid. Ir. *na dá* was purely literary, while in truth *na dá* and *in dá* appear in texts of the same kind but of different dates, such as the Togail Trói and the Story of the Æneid. There is no difficulty in the supposition that when the dual ceased to have different forms for different cases, the similarity of the general dual form to the singular led to the introduction of the singular article, which itself had the same form throughout except in the gen. fem. In our texts it is occasionally doubtful whether we have a survival of the old or the beginning of the new.

Confusion of Dative and Accusative after Prepositions.

As we have seen above, p. 210, in course of time the accusative disappeared in the singular and plural. After prepositions in Mod. Ir. the old accusative is represented by the dative. In the singular a trace of the old distinction remains after a preposition followed by the article, when there is sometimes aspiration, sometimes eclipsis; in different dialects, however, aspiration and eclipsis have spread analogically beyond their proper bounds. In the dual in time the old dative disappears.

SINGULAR.

Here, unfortunately, my collections are very incomplete. I must be content to give what I have noted, pointing to a confusion of the cases, under various headings.

(a) *The Form of the Case.*

In most classes of nouns the dat. and the acc. were the same in form. In *-o*-stems, where they were different, the dat. form in time disappeared, see above, pp. 213 sq. Examples of dat. for acc. are *cosinn oen fiur* (: *asbiur*) SR. 3572, *i lluc* LU. 4^a 16, *foa rusc* PH. 1322, *fo mud* 126. In neut. *-s*-stems the two forms were also distinct; examples of dat. for acc. are *isin sleib* PH. 6295, *isint shléib* 7225, where in the one case the article is in the acc. form, in the other in the dat.; conversely, *tech* is used for *tig* PH. 7572.¹

¹ In *eter ingen 7 dichelt* LU. 74^b 14 the nom. form is remarkable. It looks a forerunner of the Mod. Ir. rule that in the singular *idir* is followed by the nominative.

(b) *Aspiration.*

After the dative of the article the noun is aspirated, after the dative of the noun there is aspiration of a following closely connected word. In the following instances aspiration appears where in O.Ir. the case would have been the accusative:—*fon chetharaird* TT. 183, *immon mac tharngirthid* 252, *tria guth challaire* PH. 2607. Conversely, with prepositions which governed the dative aspiration is often wanting after the article. Thus on *Æn.* I have a note that after the article aspiration is not usual. In PH. after the instances of *cossin* quoted by Atkinson, p. 588, there is no aspiration; with *i n-* cf. *isin cathraig* 11, *isin croich* 123, *isin sligid* 929.

(c) *Eclipsing n-*.¹

In O.Ir. the acc. of the article eclipsed, also the accusative of a noun eclipsed a following closely connected word. To trace the disappearance of this *n-* would need a special investigation. The following are instances which I have noted where it is omitted:—*i n-óntaid aingel* LU. 17^a 36, *fri dered domain* 18^a 2, *fri lucht aile* 28^a 22, *fri forcetol bréthre* 30^a 11, *i rricht dobran* 40^b 30, *fond uile domun* PH. 5286, *fri breithir Ísu* 2780, *a n-inad aile* 203, similarly 328, 1740, 2050, 2951, *tre chumachta De* 150, similarly 2008, 3486, 4871, 6085.

Conversely, in Mid. Ir. eclipsis appears after prepositions which originally governed the dative, e.g., *SR.*² *for túaith n-Israhel* 7114, *for clainn n-iraig* 6530, *for crích n-Israhél* 6908, *ria n-Gola n-gér* 5784, *ria n-Dauid n-dian* 5890, *riasin cath n-gúr* 6489; TT. *cosin m-brait* 838; *Æn.* *co n-grain n-aduathmar* 454^a 31, *gusín duille n-orda* 463^a 23, *for each m-buada* 456^b 43, *i cofleid n-aibind n-oiregda* 453^a 32, *i cride n-Didaine* 453^a 42, *os mullach n-Daired* 461^a 18, *riasin muilli* (= *m-builli*) 461^a 20; PH. *co n-*, glossary, p. 588, *iarsin m-bethaid* 4669, cf. *iarsin m-belra n-Ebraide* LBr. 114^b 34.

PLURAL.

In Mid. Ir. prepositions which originally governed the accusative are commonly followed by the dative.³ Rarely in early Mid. Ir.,

¹ For O.Ir. see Thurneysen, CZ. v, 1 sq.

² If the forms are not due to later corruption. From LU. I have noted no instances.

³ Already in O.Ir. there is confusion after *ar*, cf. GC.² 623; after *for* ML. 74^c 20, cf. *foraib* = *forru* ML. 33^a 9, 42^a 4, 15, 54^a 5, 72^a 11, 72^d 18, 74^c 20, 90^c 25; *suidib* appears for *suidiu* after *cen* ML. 20^d 3 (cf. *cenaib* 20^d 4), for ML. 101^d 6, *fri* Wb. 31^a 18, ML. 121^b 7, Sg. 61^a 6, *im* BCr. 18^b 3, *la* Wb. 8^a 12, 17^d 11, 21^b 11, Sg. 4^a 9, etc., *tri* ML. 56^b 15.

more frequently later, prepositions which originally governed the dative are followed by forms without *-b*.

(a) *Dative for Accusative.*

SR.: *co colomnaib* 2644, similarly 5598; *eter nimib* 196, similarly 3122; *for tonnaib* 2614, similarly 4466, 4766, 5036, 5398, 5582; *frisna nemdaib* 1604, similarly 2094, 3239, 3280, 3394; *i coic cressaib* 152, similarly 1550, 2650, 3548, 6238; *la buidnib* 7188; *dar garbaib gelt* 3441, similarly 7188; *tria ilberlaib* 2762. In this next I have not noted the occurrences of the old construction.

LU. Texts.

SAM.: (a) *for clannaib* 2^b 2; *i tri rannaib* 1^a 14.

Nenn.: (a) *cen armaib* 3^b 43; *etir na clarlestraib* 3^a 12.

(β) *for Bretnu* 3^b 40, 4^b 1; *fri Bretnu* 3^b 23, 32, similarly 4^a 19.

CA.: (a) *eter scolaib* 11^a 43, similarly 11^a 37; *fri tuathaib* 14^b 5; *la fonnaib* 6^a 7; *dara suilib* 5^a 19.

(β) *amal Grecu* 14^b 43, *eter firu* 5^a 16, similarly 5^b 41, 6^a 5, 13^a 7, 14^b 4; *frisna firu* 12^a 6; *la firu* 6^a 6, similarly 6^a 8, 9, 10, 9^b 24.

DáBr.: (a) *eter airbrib* 17^b 30; *for anmannaiib* 17^a 9; *ria tóebaiib* 17^b 35.

FA.: (a) *eter na hairicthaib* 27^b 27; *for ainglib* 27^a 25; *fri grádaib* 28^a 16, similarly 28^a 21, 30^b 22; *i m-brágtib* 30^a 2; *imma m-brágtib* 30^b 12, similarly 30^b 20; *la demnaiib* 30^b 34, similarly 31^a 13, 31; *dara n-gnúsib*, *dara roscaib* 29^a 7, similarly 30^b 21; *triana tengthaib* 30^a 41, *triana cendnaiib* 30^a 41.

(β) *eter nóemu 7 nóemógu* 28^a 7, similarly 27^b 17; *frisna srotha* 29^a 33, similarly 29^b 9, 30^a 21, 31^b 12; *le hoelchu* 28^b 36.

Sc.L.B.: (a) *eter noi n-gradaib* 33^b 43, similarly 33^b 44; *forsna firénaib* 32^a 26, similarly 33^b 2, 3; *fri scélaib* 31^b 37, similarly 31^b 38, 39, 41, 33^a 3; *i m-belaib* 33^b 8, similarly 33^b 22, 35; *tria sualchaib 7 cáingnimaib* 32^b 30, similarly 32^b 41.

(β) *cen choemu, cen cardiu* 33^a 41; *eter biu 7 marbu* 32^b 9.

Sc.E.: (a) *forsna dóenib* 37^a 40; *hi sualchiib* 36^b 34, similarly 36^b 43; *triasna saeglaib* 36^b 8, similarly 36^b 28, 29.

(β) *eter peethachu 7 firénu*, similarly 35^b 36, 36^a 16, 37^b 44; *fria apstahu* 35^a 32.

Aid.E.: (a) *frisna næmaiib* 41^a 5.

(β) *cen eochu* 39^b 14; *sech ctsu* 40^b 10.

FCC.: (β) *eter maccu* 42^a 38.

GAS.: (β) *la Goedelu* 52^a 23.

SCC.: (α) *eter nélaib* 113^a 29, *hi tírib* 113^b 40.

(β) *for triunu* 114^a 41; *fri maithi* 114^a 30, similarly 115^a 11; *i m-brosnacha* 114^b 10; *lat chretmecho* 113^b 39, similarly 114^a 33, 115^a 27.

The rarity of (α) forms is in accordance with the higher antiquity of the text, see above, p. 203.

CL.: (β) *la firu* 117^b 25.

On LG. I have a note: "The old distinction is mostly preserved. But *i tírib* 6^b 17, *isna hstrigib* 15^a 28, *i n-dithrubaib* 20^b 25, *im dóitib* 18^b 34, *for Colósib* 18^a 16, *for maccaib* 20^b 24, *la tri maccaib* 8^a 15, *la maccaib* 9^b 51, *la Laignib* 15^b 15, 26^a 8, *re* (= *la*, cf. 3^a 7, 6^a 50) *maccaib* 20^a 11."

For TT. and Æn. I have no complete collections. So far as I can judge from the examples which I have gathered, in Æn. the accusative is comparatively rare; in TT. the acc. is the more common after *etir* and *for*; after *con-* my instances are nearly balanced; the dative prevails after *in* and *ri* (= *la*).

(b) *Forms without -b for the Old Dative.*

In SR. this is rare:—*grada* (: *gláma*) 264, *for Laigniu* 2354, *for sretha* (: *letha*) 2362, *iar rúini* 185. In LU. texts it is also very rare:—*forsna crunnu* 28^b 8, *do anmand* (but another text has *anmanduib*) 31^b 2, *dona cleirchi* 41^a 10, *fiad firu* 118^a 34. In TT. we have *co cetheora lanna* 1543, *co teóra féthana* 1552. From Æn. I seem to have no instances. In MC. it is frequent:—*a meca* 71; *cona aradnu* 81, *cona cethri criú* 89; *do pcedachu* 73, *dona slógu* 59, *do chaelánu* 89, 91; *iar n-deichtimna* 49, *ina lámu* 91, *i cerdu* 43; *o chnámu* 17, *ona biadu* 77; *ós buadu* 51, *osna rosca* 97. For PH. examples will be found in Atkinson's Glossary, s.v. *co n-* p. 588, *do* p. 650, *i n-* p. 746 (where omit 2831 and add *isna crunda* 1260, *ina mogadu* 6576, *inar n-aingliu* 7260), *ó* p. 826.

In *rosca* MC. the radical syllable shows the vocalism of the old dat., in *crunda* PH. of the old acc. But that we should have here simply a resurrection of acc. forms is most improbable. Rather the growing confusion in later texts points to phonetic decay in the ending of the dative.¹

¹ For the dat. ending in Mod. Ir. dialects cf. Dottin, *Mélanges*, p. 44.

DUAL.

Here the old acc. is usually retained, e.g., *eter na da mesraighthi* SR. 160, similarly LU. 3^a 15, 28^b 5, 114^b 15, 18, 118^b 29, Æn. 460^a 27, 461^a 36, 467^a 24; *fri dá míle* LU. 29^a 27; *i n-dí raind déc* 5123; *im dá sétig* LU. 52^a 28. The only instance of dat. for acc. which I have is *i n-díb rannaib derbda déc* SR. 208. In accordance with what we have seen above, p. 240, the reverse is the rule, the dat. tends to be replaced by the acc.

The Dative Plural of the Adjective.

In the course of the development of the language the dat. pl. in *-b* has disappeared in the adjective.

SR.: Here the ending in *-b* is the normal form. Exceptions are *sethraib sochraids* 2974, *clannaib aibni* 3826, *fona crichaib caspianda* 4012, *i n-étgodaib cilecda* 6872.

LU. Texts. Here, again, in the texts which I have examined (which are the same as those used for the dat. and acc. of the noun, pp. 244 sq., with the addition of *Scél Túain*), the *-b* forms are normal. Exceptions are rare:—*ossaib alta* 16^a 15, similarly 27, *srethaib sainemla* 28^b 6, *óna maccaib aile* 52^b 27.

LG.: On this text I have a note that the dat. seems usually to end in *-b*.

TT.: Of *-b* forms I have noted six occurrences; of the other form, fifty-five.

Æn.: Of *-b* forms I have noted fourteen occurrences; of the other, eight, in five of which there are two adjectives. There is an admixture in *cathaib croda curataib* 459^a 12, *cathbarraib firailli forordaib* 476^b 2, and *fona crichaib comfoicsib uili*, where, unfortunately, I have lost the reference.

MC.: Of *-b* forms I have noted two occurrences (one of them with two adjectives); of non-*-b* forms, eight, in three of which there are two adjectives.