

VII.—THE COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING OF  
VOWELS IN IRISH. By J. STRACHAN, M.A.,  
Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology, Owens  
College, Manchester.<sup>1</sup>

“Ψηλαφώντες ὥσπερ ἐν σκότει.”

THOUGH the lengthening of vowels in Irish by way of compensation for a lost consonant has often been noted in isolated cases, the subject is one that has never been systematically treated as a whole. The unsatisfactory state of the question was forced upon the writer's notice by a remark of Dr. Richard Schmidt in Vol. I. of *Indogermanische Forschungen*, to the effect that for *dér* ‘tear’ = \**dacru*, O.W. *dacr*, one might have expected \**dár*. That *dér* stands for \**dacr*- there can be no doubt. But should *dacr*- have given \**dár*? The investigation of this question led on to the consideration of other similar problems, until at last it seemed desirable to bring together and discuss as many instances as possible of such compensatory lengthening with a view to determining the laws by which it is governed. For the sake of completeness there have also been included in this paper those combinations of which the laws are already known. It is not to be expected that all the details of this difficult subject have been finally settled: a further analysis of words that have hitherto defied analysis will doubtless fill up some gaps and correct some of the following statements. But it is hoped that something may have been done to advance the question, or, at least, to clear the way for further research.

It is necessary at the outset to call attention to the peculiar difficulty of the subject, which is that in Irish itself there is often nothing to indicate that a consonant

<sup>1</sup> The writer's best thanks are due to Dr. Whitley Stokes for much friendly criticism and for information freely given from his stores of Keltic lore.

has been lost, and, even when that is certain, there is still often an embarrassing variety of possibilities. Sometimes help is to be got from the British dialects: thus *én* 'bird' might, so far as Irish is concerned, go back to \**egno-* or \**ecno-* or \**etno-*; O.W. *etn* decides in favour of the last. When this help fails, the only course left is to look around for cognate words in the other Indo-Germanic languages. Such evidence is naturally not so conclusive; a wider knowledge might reveal a more satisfactory etymology; a word put under one heading might have to be transferred to another.

### I. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *n*.

#### 1. *ācn* > *ēn*.<sup>1</sup>

*lén* 'sorrow,' Gael. *leòn* 'wound, grief, vexation,' Mid. Ir. *lénaim* 'I wound' = \**placnāiō*: Lith. *plàkti* 'strike,'

<sup>1</sup> Stokes (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift* xxix. 375) has suggested that pretonic *gn*, *dn*, *bn* (so also pretonic *kn*, *tn*, *pn*), became in Celtic *c* (*ec*), *t*, *p*, as in Teutonic *kk*, *tt*, *pp*. There is a considerable amount of evidence in favour of this: *cnoce* 'hill' may be most simply explained from \**cnocnos* Germ. *nacken* (Kluge, *Etym. Wb.* s.v.); *boc* 'tender' = \**dhugnós*, Skr. *dhugnds* 'beut'; *aice* 'bond' = \**pacnis*, Skr. *pāca-* 'fetter,' Gr. *πῆγνυμι* (*Kuhn u. Schleicher's Beiträge*, viii. 332); *lecc* 'flat stone,' W. *llech* 'lapis, tabula saxea,' *llych* 'what is flat' = \**p[le]nā*, \**p[le]nó-*, Gr. *πλαῖ*, Lett. *plāku* 'become flat' (*KSB.* viii. 317); *leco* 'maxilla' = \**licn-*, Old Pruss. *laygnan*, Ch. Slav. *lice* 'vultus' (*KSB.* viii. 439); *boco* 'he-goat,' W. *bwoch*, Eng. *buck* = \**dhugnós*, Zd. *būza* 'he-goat' (cf. however, Skr. *dhukka*), *menice* 'often,' W. *mynych* = *menogni-*, Goth. *manags*; so Johansson (*KZ.*, xxx. 426) would derive *cace* 'excrement' from *caqn-*, Skr. *çaknás*: here, however, *kk* appears outside Celtic, Gr. *κάκκη*, Lat. *caccare*; *brece* 'variegated, speckled,' W. *brych* = \**mrignó-* \**mrignó-* a participial formation parallel to *mrktó-*, in W. *braith*, Ir. *mrechtrad*; if *muce* 'pig,' W. *moch* is to be connected with Gr. *μυκῆρ* etc., Skr. *mūcāti* 'lets loose,' (Stokes *KSB.* viii. 316, Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 327), it might be derived from \**muknú* (original decl. \**muknú*, \**muknúās*, etc., cf. Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxviii. 149, Stokes, *KZ.* xxviii. 291, J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra*, 54 sq.). In view of a forthcoming paper of Mr. Stokes it is unnecessary to enter further into the subject here. There is one point, however, to which I should like to call attention—the two-fold treatment of Old Ir. *cc* in the modern dialects. It sometimes appears as *c*, *boc*, 'he-goat,' *muc* 'pig,' sometimes as *g*, *beag* 'small,' Old Ir. *bece*, W. *bychan*. Probably under certain conditions of sandhi the double consonant was reduced. There was probably also a still earlier interchange of *cc*, *c* in Celtic, cf. W. *clwch* 'crag' = \**clucco-* by W. *clwg* 'crag,' Ir. *clóch* 'stone' = \**clucco-*, \**cluccā*, unless

Gr. *πλήσσω* = \**plāk*, *√plāk*. By the side of a *tenuis* a *media* often appears at the end of a root,<sup>1</sup> and thus we find also *plāg*,-<sup>2</sup> which in Lat. *plangere*, Goth. *faiflók* 'lament' shows the same development of meaning as in *lén* 'sorrow.'

*léne* 'camisia, shirt, shift' = *lacn*-, Lat. *lacerna*, *lacinia*.<sup>3</sup>

*mén* i. *bél* 'mouth'<sup>4</sup> = \**macn*-. Ags. *maga*, Eng. *mau*, N.H.G. *magen* = \**mayón*. At first sight the meanings lie far apart, but it seems possible to reconcile them. *Mén* means not simply 'mouth,' but 'open mouth, rictus, hiatus,' as is evident from the derivative *ménaigim*, Ml. 71<sup>a</sup> 4 *ménaigte*, gl. *inhiare*, i.e. 'qui inbiant,' *ménogud* 'hiatus,' Sg. 8<sup>b</sup> 11, 40<sup>b</sup> 8; cf. also Gael. *meunan* 'gape, yawn.' The transition of meaning would then be from 'gape' to 'throat,' and from 'throat' to 'stomach.' Cf. Lith. *gomurys* 'palate, throat,' Lett. *gāmurs* 'windpipe,' Gr. *χάσσω*, *χήμη*,<sup>5</sup> further the change of meaning in Gr. *στόμαχος*.<sup>6</sup> Formally \**makn*- would stand in the same relation to \**makón*, as Skr. *ahna*- to *dhan* 'day.'<sup>7</sup> With *mén* has been compared W. *min* 'edge, lip.'<sup>8</sup> Thurneysen remarks, "die wörter können nur verbunden werden, wenn für das brittische ein stamm auf *i* (\**megni*-) angesetzt wird, in welchem das *e* durch das folgende *i* umgelautet wurde wie im cymr. *llith* aus lat. *lectio*." But short *i* in a final syllable does not produce umlaut in Welsh<sup>9</sup>: *nith* 'niece'

here \**cluco*- comes from \**cluc*-, \**clucco*- from \**clucn*-. Where *c g* etc. remained before *n* and disappeared only at a later period, we should then have to assume that the accent fell on a preceding syllable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann *Grundriss* I. 190 sq., 348; *Griech. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> 51 with the works referred to there.

<sup>2</sup> Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 486.

<sup>3</sup> *léne* represents the development of an *n* stem, *lacerna* the mixture of an *n* and an *r* stem, cf. Johansson, *Beiträge z. Griech. Sprachkunde* 110.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stokes, *Metrical Irish Glosses* 84.

<sup>5</sup> Persson, *Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelweiterung* 139.

<sup>6</sup> If old Slav. *želadükü* 'stomach,' is connected with *želadü* 'acorn,' one might conjecture that *želadükü* meant first 'Adam's apple,' then 'throat,' then 'stomach.'

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen* II. 166, sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 69; Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl. l.c.*

<sup>9</sup> *Grammatica Celtica*<sup>3</sup> 175; Windisch, *KZ.* xxvii. 157.

(= \*nepti) may be directly compared with Skr. *napti*. Perhaps a stem \*megni- would give the desired result, only then the British stem would be different from the Irish, which points to -no- or -nā-; we should have in this case to postulate a pre-Keltic *megh-* with ablaut *mogh-* in Teutonic. On the assumption that *mén* comes from \*macn- the W. form admits of a simple explanation. To \*macn- there might be an ablaut form \*mēcn- and \*mēcno- or \*mēcna could in W. give *min*. There seems to be no doubt that, under some circumstances at all events, *c* was lost before *n* in the British dialects, that is to say *cn* had become *gn* by the time that *g* was lost before *n*. Only thus can be explained W. *croen* 'skin' by Bret. *croc'henn*, Ir. *croccenn*; *croen*=\*crogn-, \*crocn- with a weak form of the suffix. W. *duyn*, Bret. *doen* 'to carry,' have been explained as standing for *ducn-*,<sup>1</sup> and whether Zimmer<sup>2</sup> is right in his account of *duc* or not, *duyn* can hardly be explained otherwise. See below *brén*, *tón*. Where *c* appears as *g*, as in W. *mign* 'bog'<sup>3</sup> it is easy to suppose that a vowel has been lost between *c* and *n*. It seems simplest then to refer *mén*, *magen*, *min* to *māk-*, *mēk-*, though the possibility of *megh-*, *mogh-* is not altogether excluded.

*scén* 'shyness, fright'= \*scacno-: Lith. *szókti*, 'jump, spring,' etc.<sup>4</sup> From this can hardly be separated *scuchim* 'I depart'= \*scaciō. Zimmer<sup>5</sup> postulates *scac-*, but the cognate languages show an ablaut *skāk-*, *skāk-*, and the Irish forms may be equally well explained from *scac-*; for *scuchim*=\*scaciō cf. *cechuin*=\*cecane. The perf. *roscáich*=\*pro-scáce is not in itself absolutely decisive, as such perfects also come from undoubted *e* roots, as *rogád*, √*ghedh*. With the use of the perf. *roscáich* in the sense of 'it is past,

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 17; Ernault, *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen* 275.

<sup>2</sup> KZ. xxx. 188 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Bezzenbergers *Beiträge*, xvii. 303.

<sup>4</sup> BB. xvii. 303; Fick, I<sup>4</sup>. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Keltische Studien* II. 80, 97. [If, however, M.H.G. *schöhen* 'run, hasten,' is to be compared, we must assume a √*sRek*, cf. Franck, *Etymologisch Woordenboek d. Nederlandsche Taal*, 286; *scén* would then =\*scacno-.]

was past,'<sup>1</sup> cf. Lith. *praszókti*, in expressions like *szis mētas grēštai praszóko* 'this year has passed by quickly.'<sup>2</sup>

*brén* 'rotten, stinking,' W. *braen* 'putidus, tabidus,' = \**mracno-*, cognate with Ir. *mraich*, *braich* 'malt' (= \**mraci-*), Lat. *marceo*, *marcidus*. For a trace of the primary meaning in the Latin words Osthoff<sup>3</sup> refers to *corpus occisi marcescit*, Pliny, H.N. x. §134. He points out also the analogous development of meaning in Ags. *mealt* 'malt,' Ags. *meltan* 'dissolve, melt,' O.N. *maltr* 'rotten, corrupted, become sour,' O.H.G. *malz* 'melting away, soft, flabby.'<sup>3</sup> In \**mracno-* *ra* would represent *r*; cf. *fraig* 'wall,' Gr. *ἐφύρω*, *flaith* 'sovereignty,' = \**vlatis*, *√uel-*, Lat. *uelle*.<sup>4</sup>

*blén* 'inguen' may = \**mlacnā*, Gr. *μαλακός*.<sup>5</sup>

Where the following syllable originally contained a slender vowel<sup>6</sup> *é* appears as *eó*, g. *leóin* = \**lacnī* (*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, 3206); *sceóin* (*do chor sceóin* 'to cause terror,' LL. 302\* 24); *bleóin* acc. of *blén* (Wind. *Wb.*). This *eó* may make its way further by analogy, e.g. Gael. nom. *león* after gen. *leóin*.

On the other hand *ācn* > *ān*. The long vowel resists the change of quality.

*cáinim*<sup>7</sup> 'I revile, satirize' = \**cācnio*: O.H.G. *huohón*.

<sup>1</sup> Windisch, *Wörterbuch* 763.

<sup>2</sup> Kurschat, *Littauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* 437.

<sup>3</sup> *Morphologische Untersuchungen* V. 105 sq. His further comparison of Lat. *fraces* is tempting, but the change of initial *mr* to *fr* in Latin cannot be regarded as established.

<sup>4</sup> Osthoff, *Morph. Untersuch.* V. iv. sq. *Flaith* goes better with Lat. *valeo* (Fick. I. 541); another Celtic cognate of *valeo* seems to be W. *gwell* 'better,' cf. Oscan *valaemom* 'optimum.'

<sup>5</sup> Formally Ir. *blén* is very like W. *blaen* 'cuspis, summities, pars interior': the gender is different. Are the words the same, Ir. *blén* representing some highly specialised meaning?

<sup>6</sup> As R. Schmidt points out (*Indogermanische Forschungen* I. 65) this infection took place only when the following slender vowel was actually lost. In the modern language a levelling has set in. According to O'Donovan's *Ir. Gram.* 85 *éi* is now the usual form of the gen. If the Irish Tales edited by Mr. Douglas Hyde represent the popular usage in this respect, they only confirm O'Donovan's observation. In no single instance have I observed *eu éi* in the same paradigm. The levelling is commonly at the expense of the *eó* forms, *deú*—*déil*, *feur*—*féir*, *muineul*—*muinéil*. It may, however, also take place in the opposite direction, as in *deór* 'tear' after gen. *deóir*. In Gaelic, so far as it is possible to judge from grammars and printed books, this levelling has not gone on to nearly the same extent.

<sup>7</sup> At the same time it is also possible to connect *cáinim* with Goth. *hauns* 'mean, humble,' *haunjan* 'traveivou'; Lett. *kauns* 'disgrace,' on the assumption

*cráin* 'sow' = \**crācnix*, properly 'grunter'; Lith. *krōkti*, 'grunt,' Lett. *krakt*, 'snort, rattle,' Lat. *crocio*.

2. *agn* > *ān*.

*āin* 'driving' (oc *āin liathróite* 'driving a ball,' LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 5) = \**agni-*, *agim* 'I drive.' So the compounds *immdāin* to *imm-agim* 'I drive about,' and *táin* 'cattlespoil,' to *do-agim*.

*gráin* 'disgust, loathing' = \**gragni-* W. \**græin* 'lamentabilis, luctuosus' (Davies).

*stán* 'tin,' W. *ystaen*, borrowed from Lat. *stagnum*.<sup>1</sup> Güterbock<sup>2</sup> remarks: "die länge des vocals in *stán* = *stannum* ist vielleicht aufzufassen wie die in den seit 17 erörterten wörtern wie *bárc*, *spiritáldle*," etc. (where the mark of length is put over vowels naturally short, but long by position). But W. *ystaen* points conclusively to derivation from a form *stagnum*; cf. Ital. *stagn*, Span. *estaño*, Fr. *étain*.<sup>3</sup>

-*ān* = -*agnos*, *Broccán* = *Broccagnos*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

*fān* 'sloping' (*etir réid 7 amreid etir fān 7 ardd* 'both smooth and unsmooth, both slope and height,' ML. 140<sup>a</sup> 2; *glenta 7 fānta* 'glens and slopes,' LL. 101<sup>a</sup> 45; *barallsam a tilcha cofuilet ina fāntaib* 'we have cast down their hills

of an ablaut *kōyn-*, *kayn-*, with loss of *u* after the long vowel, Schulze, KZ. xiv. 420 sqq.; J. Schmidt *Plur. d. Idg. Neutra*, 407; Kretschmer KZ. xxxi. 451 sqq.; Streitberg, *IF.* I. 278. The effect of the loss of *u* in a final syllable on the accentuation of the preceding long vowel is disputed. Streitberg, *IF.* I. 270, supposes that on the loss of *i* or *u* the preceding long vowel took the circumflex, *βῶν*, Skr. *gām* = \**gōym*. On the other hand Hirt *IF.* I. 22n. thinks that *i* and *u* did not have this effect, cf. nom. dual, Gr. ἀγρῶ, Lith. *butū* = *ōz*, and explains *βῶν* by a rather complicated process of analogy. It may be worth while pointing out that, in Lithuanian, where in the interior of a word *u* has been lost after *ā* (= *ō*), the accent is the acute (gestossener accent)—*kūpiu*, *kūpti* 'to heap': *kaūpti*, 'to heap,' *kaūpas* 'heap'; *szlūju*, *szlūti* 'to wipe,' *szlūta* 'besom': pret. *szlaviau*, Gr. κλύω; *dūbti* 'to hollow out': *dūbti* 'become hollow,' *gūsti* 'bewail': *gaūsti*, 'wail,' *gaudius*, 'pitiful'; *dūzis* 'breach': *daužti* (*daužti* Leskien), 'strike hard.' On the other hand, so far as I have observed *o* in such cases appears with the circumflex (geschliffener accent) *kūpti* 'heap,' by *kūpti*; *glōdinu* 'make smooth,' *glōdus* n. *glōdu* 'smooth,' by *glaudus*, *glāudu* 'smooth.' Does this indicate that the loss took place at different times? Perhaps some Lithuanian scholar will give an explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Ebel, *KSB.* II. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Lateinische Lehnwörter im Irischen* 41 n.

<sup>3</sup> Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 315.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz* 60, 164.

so that they are in their valleys,' LL. 95<sup>b</sup> 11) may stand for \**vāgno-* or \**vācno-*: √*uāg*, *uāk*, Fick I.<sup>4</sup> 123; W. *gvaen*, 'plain, meadow,' pl. *gweunydd* points to \**rdgno-* or \**rdcno-*.<sup>1</sup>

3. *atn* > *ān*.

*tānaise* 'secundus,' *imthanu* 'alternation' (*imthanu aidche* 'noctis vicissitudo,' Ml. 21<sup>c</sup> 3; *inna imthanad* gl. *proprias vices*, Ml. 93<sup>c</sup> 7; *innimthānad* gl. *talionem*, Sg. 181<sup>a</sup> 6) = \**to-atn-*, \**ambi-to-atn-*: V *at* 'go,' Skr. *at*, with which Schulze<sup>2</sup> has connected Goth. *apn* 'year.' From the same root may be derived Ir. *amm* 'time' = \**atsmen*.

*ān* 'drinking vessel' has been connected by Bezzenberger<sup>3</sup> with Gr. *παράνη*, Lat. *patina* (*ān* = \**patnā*). Against this is the Old Keltic *anax*; *patenam et urceum qui anax dicitur*, Greg. Tur. *Mir.* 2, 8 (quoted by Holder, *Alt. Kelt. Spr.* 137), as *t* is not lost in the Gaulish dialects. Stokes<sup>4</sup> has already connected the word with Skr. *pānam*.

4. *apn*.

There is no clear instance of lengthening here. *āna* 'wealth' has been connected with Skr. *āpnas*, Lat. *ops*. *o* is also found in Irish in *somme* 'rich,' *domme* 'poor' = \**su-op-mio-*, etc.: thus it is improbable that we should also find *a*. On the supposition of an ablaut *ō*, *ō*, *ānae* may be explained as = \**āpn-* \**ōpn-* (*ā[p]naios*, Stokes<sup>5</sup>).

5 *ecsn*.

*trén* 'strong,' compar. *tressa* W. *trech* = \**trezios*, is commonly derived from \**trecsnos*. This is not free from difficulties. It is impossible to separate from *trén* W. *tren*, 'impetuous, strenuous,' and the Welsh word indicates that *csn* was treated like *sn*, i.e. became *n* without lengthening the preceding vowel; compare the parallel change of *csn* like *sm* > *nm*, and *csl* like *sl* > *ll* (see below). It is difficult to get any

<sup>1</sup> For *ae* > *eu* when a syllable is added cf. *aeth* 'ivit,' *euthom* 'ivi,' *haer* 'certus,' *heurwyd* 'certa scientia,' *Gram. Celt.* 103, cf. also Nettlau, *Beitr. z. Cymr. Gramm.* 61. Bret. *gueun* 'marsh,' seems to point to a form \**vācn-* or \**vāgn-*.

<sup>2</sup> *KZ.* xxviii. 164.

<sup>3</sup> In Stokes' *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz* 27. Through the kindness of Mr. Stokes I have been able to see the first few sheets of this work.

<sup>4</sup> *KSB.* viii. 334. Perhaps a British reflex of *ān* is to be found in Corn. *engurbor* 'patena,' Is. \**curbor* a corruption of Lat. *ciborium*?

<sup>5</sup> *Altkelt. Spr.* 14.

certain instances of *csn*. Irish *lon* 'elk' might be derived from \**locsno*- and connected with Russian *lost* 'elk,' which like \**locsno*- points to a base *lok*.<sup>1</sup> A different form of base is found in Ags. *eolh*, O.N. *elgr*, O.H.G. *elaho*. We may postulate as the original base *elok*-, whence by different weakenings *elk*-, *lok*-. Keltic *locsno*- might be regarded as an expansion of an *s* stem, cf. Lat. *alnus* 'aldertree' = \**alsnos*, Lith. *elksnis*, Ags. *alor*, O.H.G. *elira*, Ch. Slav. *jelicha*. *men* 'farina,' might be derived from *mecsn*-, an unasalized form of *menk*<sup>2</sup> 'grind,' Ch. Slav. *maka* 'meal.' It might, however = \**men*- and be connected with Lith. *minti* 'tread,' Ch. Slav. *meti* 'θλίβειν,' Gr. μάτημι (*BB.* xvii. 205), though the meaning does not come so close. If \**trecsnos* became in Keltic \**trenos*, Ir. *trén* might be explained as follows. At one time there stood side by side pos. \**trenos*, comp. \**trecsios*, whence *cs* made its way into the positive—\**trecsnos*, \**trecsios*; \**trecsnos* then by a later law became *trén*. There is an analogy to this in the treatment of the prep. *ess* = *ex*, e.g. *énirt* 'weak' = \**ecsnertis*, where *ecs* was retained or restored from cases where it regularly remained, as before a vowel e.g. *esomain* 'fearless,' Gaul. *exobnus*. *cal* becomes *ll*, hence \**ecs-lājō*, 'I escape,' should have given \**ellājō*, \**ellaim*. We find instead *élaim*. \**ecs* (or *ess*) was restored (or retained) as in the previous case and *esslājō* became by a later law \**élaim*. Similarly *ecsm* in *émdim* 'am unable' = \**ecsmédō*, enclitic to *asmidim* (W. *meddu* cf. Gr. μέδew, μέδovτες). The meaning of W. *tren* points to derivation from *√thregħ*, Gr. τρέχω, Gaul. *vertragus*, whence may also come Ir. *tress* 'battle' = \**trecs*-, further *trice* 'quick, nimble' = *trghni*-.

6. *encn* > *én*.

*lenu* (acc. pl.) 'meadows,' *léana* 'meadow, swampy place' O'Reilly, *leana* 'meadow,' MacAlpine, Manx *lieanee* = \**lencn*-. Lett. *lėkns*, *lėkna* 'depression, wet meadow' (= \**lenkn*-).

<sup>1</sup> As *lo* in this word goes throughout the Slavonic languages it seems impossible with Joh. Schmidt, *Vocalismus* 146, to explain it as coming from *ol*. At the same time one must reckon with the possibility that *lon* is a variation of the stem *elen*- 'deer.'

<sup>2</sup> Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 611.



There is also a form *lian* which can hardly be connected with these words; it may stand for *leino-* and be compared with W. *llwyn* 'lucus, nemus, saltus,' Gr. *λειμών*.<sup>1</sup>

7. *egn* > *ēn*.

*fēn*, wagon = \**vegno-*: ablaut to ON. *vagn*, √*uēgh*, W. *cywain* 'vehere.'<sup>2</sup>

-*gēn* 'I knew' (*etirgēnsa adgēnsa*). The Idg. form of this was \**gēgnō(u)*, Skr. *jajñāu*. With *u* infection \**gēgnō* would give in Irish \**gēun*. The isolated form could hardly maintain itself against the mass of the perfects originally ending in *a*, so we find not *gēun* but *gēn*.

*gēnar* 'was born' = *gegno-*, √*gēn*.<sup>3</sup>

*rēn* 'span' = \**regno-*.<sup>4</sup> The quantity of the *e* in the modern *rēise* is remarkable, as \**reksiā* should have given \**reise*. The long *ē* may have been taken over from *rēn*. This is more probable than to refer *rēn*, *rēise* (= \**prendsno-*, \**prendsiā*) to √(s)*prend*, Lith. *sprēsti* 'to measure a span.'

*sēn* 'net' = \**segno-* √*segh*, Stokes,<sup>5</sup> who also compares W. *hwynyn*, or *hoenyn*, 'a hair of the tail of a horse, etc., gin, springe.' We have seen above that *egn* in W. becomes *ain*; hence if *sēn* and *hwyn* are to be connected, we should have to assume an ablaut \**segno-*, \**sogno-*. It is very doubtful, however, if the words have anything to do with one another. *Sēn* is found only in the sense of 'net for catching deer or birds';<sup>6</sup> on the other hand, for *hoenyn* Davies gives only 'Pilus ex cauda equina vel bovina, etc., pilus majusculus, seta': it is only in a secondary sense that *hoenyn* comes to

<sup>1</sup> *Gramm. Celt.* 96; Curtius, *Griech. Etym.* 366.

<sup>2</sup> Ebel, *KSB.* II. 177; Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 68.

<sup>3</sup> Why Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II. 127, should say, "Windisch's ansicht 'dass dieses s erst auf special irischem boden eingetreten ist,' entbehrt jedes beweises," is not clear. The evidence is clearly against Zimmer's view that the *ē* is here pro-ethnic. Idg. *gēn* should in Irish have become \**giu*: there is no evidence in support of two Idg. *ē* sounds one of which became in Irish *i* while the other remained *ē*. Even if this difficulty could be got over, an Idg. \**gēn-* would still have to be regarded as an analogical formation after other *ē* perfects, and the existence of such *ē* perfects in Idg. is very doubtful, cf. Wiedemann, *Das litauische Präteritum* 106 sq. and the works quoted there. On the other hand there is nothing against the origin of *gēn-* from *gegno-* in Irish; in the middle the weak form -*gn-* is regular.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Academy*, Dec. 12, 1891.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 90.

mean 'gin,' because made of hair. Is *hoen* to be compared with Lat. *saeta*? For the vocalism might be compared *coed* 'wood,' Lat. *bucetum*. Can Irish *sén* be a borrowing of some kind from Lat. *sagena*, for instance, through Ags. *sægne*?

8. *etn* > *én*.

*én* 'bird,' O.W. *etn*<sup>1</sup>: G. Meyer<sup>2</sup> compares Alb. *špen*, *špese* 'bird.'

Before slender vowels *ecn*, *egn* appear as *iui*, *eui*, *eo*; *etn* as *eui*, *eo*. The following are the instances in the Old Ir. Glosses:—*triúin* Sg. 96<sup>a</sup> 4, Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 23, *triúin* Ml. 30<sup>a</sup> 11, *triúin* Ml. 30<sup>a</sup> 10, 36<sup>b</sup> 1, *treúin* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 7: *etargéuin*<sup>3</sup> Ml. 42<sup>c</sup> 10, *ingéuin* 69<sup>a</sup> 15, *athgeuin*, *ingeuin* 52, *etargeiuin* Sg. 197<sup>b</sup> 10, *adgéuin* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 13, under the influence of *-gén*, *génammar*, etc. *etirgein* Ml. 24<sup>a</sup> 19: *euin* Ml. 127<sup>c</sup> 12, *eiuin* Sg. 93<sup>a</sup> 2.

9. *eptn*.

I have no clear instance of this. Stokes<sup>4</sup> connects *ten* 'fire' = \**tepnos* with Zd. *tafnanh*, in which case *p* would have disappeared without affecting the preceding vowel. This, however, is not certain, as there is also the possibility that *ten* = \**tepsnos*, as *tess* 'heat' = \**tepstu*-.<sup>5</sup> So *timme* 'heat,' may = \**tepsmiā*; it might also = \**tepmiā*.

10. *ebn*.

Stokes<sup>6</sup> derives Ir. *indeóin* 'anvil,' Corn. *ennian*, Bret. *anneffn*, from \**ande-bni-s*, \**benō* 'I strike,' √*zhen*. But *úan* 'lamb,' W. *oen* = \**oŕno*- (see below) proves that *zn* in the interior of a word in Keltic did not become *bn*, as *b* was not lost before *n*; cf. Gaul. *Exobnus*, Ir. *essomun* 'fearless,' W. *ehofyn*. The Irish word might be derived without difficulty from *ande-gni*-, but this could not give Breton *anneffn*. Could this have come from a parallel \**ande-zheni*-,

<sup>1</sup> Ebel, *KSB*. II. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Albanesisches Wörterbuch*, 413, *Alb. Stud.* iii. 40 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Géuin* might = \**geŕnai* and be compared directly with Skr. *jajñe*. The ending *-ai* in the 3 sg. perf. mid. is established by Goth *iddja* 'he went,' Ags. *dyde*, cf. *BB*. xvii. 238.

<sup>4</sup> *KZ*. xxix. 380.

<sup>5</sup> R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Alt-kelt. Sprach.* 15.

\**ande-beni*? It may be doubted whether, under any conditions, *zn* became in Keltic *bn*. Brugmann,<sup>1</sup> indeed, assumes this change in \**mnā*=\**znās*, gen. of *ben* 'wife'=\**ženā*. But *b* of \**bnās*, whence *mnā*, may very well have come from cases with \**ben-*; a declension \**benā*, \**gnās* would have had no chance of surviving.

11. *emu*.

According to Windisch,<sup>2</sup> Osthoff,<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann<sup>4</sup> \**ménar* 'I thought,' is developed regularly from \**memnar*. This seems very doubtful. I am unable however as yet to prove that in any of the cases where *mn* come together in inlaut they were not originally separated by a vowel.<sup>5</sup> We have an instance in auslaut if Ir. *slemon* 'smooth,' W. *llyfn*=\**slimno*- is to be connected with Afs. *slm*, Gr. *λείμαξ*.<sup>6</sup> It is safer to look upon *ménar* as due to the analogy of *génar*. Points of contact are found in the inflection of the present, cf. *gainedar* 'nascitur,' *dodmainetar* 'putant hoc.'

12. *ocn* > *ön*, *üan*.

*crüan*, *crón* 'red, orange'=\**crocno*-, Gr. *κρόκος* (Stokes).

*móin* 'bog,'=\**mocni*-. Ch. Slav. *mokrŭ* 'wet,' *moča* 'bog.' *n* and *r* stems are often found side by side.<sup>7</sup>

*úain*, *óin* 'loan' perhaps=\**pocni*-, Lat. *paciscor*. Cf. *tinólaim* below.

13. *ogn* > *ön*, *üan*.<sup>8</sup>

*brón* 'sorrow': W. *brwyn*.

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss* I. 380-1.

<sup>2</sup> *KZ.* xxiii. 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Zur Geschichte des Perfects* 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Litauische Präteritum* 107.

<sup>5</sup> A possible instance is *domna*, *rigdomna* 'the material for a king, a crown prince,' W. *defnyd* 'element, matter,' which may come from *domn*-, Gr. *δῆμω*, Eng. *timber*.

<sup>6</sup> Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 110.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxii. 240 sqq.; Johansson, *Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* 1 sqq. W. *mawn* 'peat, turf' may be derived from *mācn*-, in ablaut to *mocn*-. If Thurneysen (*Paul u. Braune's Beiträge* xiii. 436) is right in ascribing *ó* of *mór* to the influence of the preceding *m*, *móin* might come from the same form.

<sup>8</sup> In every instance *úa* may be assumed to have passed through the stage *ō*. The precise conditions under which *ō* became *úa* are not very clear. If, as Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I. 57, suggests, *ō* passed into *úa* before a following broad vowel, then the regular representation has been very much interfered with by analogy. Why, for instance, should \**clōpni*- have given *clúain*, when in nearly all the cases the following vowel was slender? There is an obvious

*srón* 'nose,' W. *ffroen*, Bret. *froan* = \**sprognā*.<sup>1</sup> As we saw that *c* was lost in W. before *n*, there is the possibility of \**brocno-* (or \**brucno-*) \**sprocnā*. No certain etymologies have been proposed.

*úan* 'lamb,' W. *oen* (pl. *wyn* = \**ogni*) = \**ogno-*, \**og<sup>h</sup>no-*: Lat. *agnus*, Gr. *ἄμνος*. The vocalism is strange here, as other Idg. languages shew *a*. Can *o* be due to the *u* sound following the *g*? *u* seems to change *a* to *o* in *mog* 'slave,' cf. *mám* 'servitus,' Goth. *magus*. The alternative is to assume an ablaut *ō ā* (*ā* in Ch. Slav. *agnīci*, *jagnīci* 'ἄμνος'), for which see Bartholomae *BB.* xvii. 121 sq.

*búain* 'reaping' (*cofínbuaigít* 'vindemiant,' *MI.* 102<sup>a</sup> 12) = \**bogni-*: an unnasalized form of the root appears in *bocht* 'reaping,' O'Cl. also Broccan's Hymn l. 29, *lathe búana di mad bocht* 'on the day of reaping to her a good harvest.'<sup>2</sup> Brugmann,<sup>3</sup> however, and R. Schmidt<sup>4</sup> derive *búain* from \**bongni-*—which seems also possible.

*úane* 'green,' may stand for \**vognio-*: Gr. *ὕψος*, O.N. *vøkva* 'wet.' *úane* and *ὕψος* (Ir. *úr*, see below) would be another instance of *n* and *r* stem side by side. \**vognio-* should have become \**fuaíne*. The loss of *f* may either be explained as in *errach*, *espartain*,<sup>5</sup> or *úaine* may be regarded due to contamination of *uog-*, and *ug-*. That \**ugnio-* should have become *úaine* is highly improbable, as the change of *ugn* to *ōn* can be explained only through an intermediate *ogn*, where *u* has become *o* because of a following broad vowel.

14. *opn* > *ōn*, *úan*.

difference of treatment of *ē* and *ō* in cases where they arise by compensatory lengthening. Unlike *ē* = *ei*, this *ē* does not (except dialectically) become *ia*, while *ō* becomes *úa* like *ō* from *og*. This would seem to indicate that *ō* > *úa* was later than *ē* > *ia*-, that when *ē* arose by compensatory lengthening, the change of *ē* to *ia* had already taken place, while *ō* fell together with *ō* = *ou* and shared its fortunes. The subject requires further investigation. It may be noted that *úa* is very much more frequent than *ō*.

<sup>1</sup> Ebel, *KSB.* II. 87; Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 335; otherwise Windisch *KSB.* viii. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Grundriss*, I. 382.

<sup>4</sup> *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 344; Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xxxii. 279 sq.

*cián* 'harbour' (Irish), 'sea' (Gaelic)=\**copn*-. Ags. *kaefene* 'haven,' Ags. *heaf*, O.N. *haf* 'sea.' So already Kluge. *Wb.* s.v. *hafen*.

*clúain* 'meadow'=\**clopni*-. Lith. *szlāpti* 'become wet,' *szlāpias* 'wet,' *szlāpimā* 'a wet spot,' κλέπας νοτερόν πηλῶδες, κλέπος νοτερόν, Hesych. *clúain* and κλέπος may be added to the examples of parallel *n* and *s* stems given by Pederssen, *KZ.* xxxii. 252, Johansson *Beitr. z. Gr. Sprach.* 21, 28, etc.

*clúain* 'deceit'=\**clopni*-. κλέπτω (Stokes). For *clúain*, 'meadow,' we must postulate √*klep*, as Lith. *szlāpti* shows, for *clúain* 'deceit,' √*klep*, Gr. κλέπτω, Goth. *hlifa*, Pruss. *auklipts* 'hidden.'

15. *icn*+broad vowel > \**ecn*, *én*.

*Lén*, a proper name<sup>1</sup>=Gaul. *Lícnos*.

The Gaulish *-icnos* in *Druticnos* and the like has been compared with the Ir. diminutive ending *-in*.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to connect *in* directly with *-icnos*, as the modern form *-in* indicates the loss of a slender vowel after *n*. Moreover *in*, though it is found in Middle Irish and is very common in Modern Irish, is not found in the Old Irish glosses. The most common diminutive suffix in Old Irish is *-án*, and next in frequency come *-tat*, *-nat*: *-éne* is found in some eight or nine words, there are a couple of instances of *én*, and *-ine* is found once in *glaintne* 'maxilla.' This *-ine* might be directly compared with *-icnios* in Gaulish *Tēððignius*.<sup>3</sup> *-icnos* would in Irish give *-én* and may account for some of the diminutives in *-én*, but it will explain neither *-éne*, nor *-in*. It would be possible to explain these latter as arising from an admixture of *-én*=*-icnos*, and *-ine*=*-icnios*, but it is very likely that these diminutives have more than one source. Some diminutives in *-én*, *-éne* may very well come from stems in *-ec*-, e.g. *laréne* 'equula'=\**larec-niā* from *láir* 'mare' stem *lárec*-. There is the strongest reason for

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes, *KSB.* iii. 71. ; *Rev. Celt.* vii. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *KSB.* iii. 208.

suspecting the working of analogy in the suffix *-in*<sup>1</sup> which, as we have seen, does not occur in the oldest language, and is found with increasing frequency in the later language.

16. *ign* + broad vowel > \**egn*, *én*.

*dogéna* 'he will do'<sup>2</sup> = \**to-gignāt*.

*nitgéna* 'I will not slay thee,' LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 34: *gén* = \**gignām*.

*Brén*, a man's name = \**Brignos*, Gaul. *Arebrignos* (Stokes).

*sén* 'blessing,' from Lat. *signum*, if it did not rather come from *segnum*. Before a slender vowel *ign* > *iūin* in *Briūin* gen. of *Brén*.

17. *ucn* + broad vowel > \**ocn*, *ōn*, *ūan*.

The instances here are somewhat uncertain, as *ōn* might be also derived from *eucn*, *ouc*n, with a strong form of the root. This remark also applies to most of the other cases in which *ō* may be derived from *u* with compensatory lengthening.

*brīan* 'fragment,' may = \**bhrucno*- or \**bhroucno*- and be connected with Lett. *brukt* 'crumble.' But it may equally well stand for \**bhroutsno*- \**bhroud-sno*-, Ags. *bréostan* 'break,' O.H.G. *brósmā*.

*tón* 'podex' = \**teucnā*, or \**tūcnā*: Teut. \**þeuha*- 'thigh.'<sup>3</sup> From *tón* cannot be separated W. *tin* podex; *tin* may be derived from \**tūcnā*. That Ir. *tón* should also go back to \**tūcnā* is highly improbable, as *ū* is not liable to umlaut (cf. *úr* below): there is nothing very strange in the fact that the two branches of Celtic should shew two different grades of vocalism. \**tūcnā* points to an *n* stem

<sup>1</sup> If these diminutives in *-in* be ancient, they might come from *-icnis* (*-is* weak form of *-ios*) if we are right in supposing (p. 36), that short *i* did not change preceding *i* to *iui*. With regard to the relation of W. *-yn* to Ir. *-én* Thurneysen *Rev. Celt.* vii. 325 compares W. *dynyn* 'mannikin' with Ir. *duínén*, *g* being lost without a trace in unaccented syllables. W. *-yn* as well as Ir. *-én* might then = *-icnos*. Thus W. *-yn* proves nothing as to the antiquity of Ir. *-in*.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen (*KZ.* xxxi. 77) has made it probable that the vowel of the reduplicated syllable was *i* not *e*. Comparing *cechna* = \**cicanāt* with *-géna* = \**gi-gn-āt*, we see that in the one case there is a strong, in the other a weak form of the root. The supposition lies nigh at hand that these strong and weak forms were originally combined in the same paradigm, the strong forms appearing in the sing. act., the weak in the dual and plural, and that the historic paradigms are due to levelling in one direction or the other.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fick III: 135.

\**teuken-*. For *n* stems from *o* stems cf. Bartholomae *Bezz. Beitr.* xv. 25 sqq. Cf. also Zd. *nāōñhana* 'nose' by *nāōñha*.

*lúan*, *lón* 'light,' may stand for \**leucsno-* or \**loucsno-*, Zd. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Lat. *luna*.<sup>1</sup> It might, however, equally well=\**lucno-*; cf. Old Sax. *logna* 'flame.' The meaning 'moon' seems to have been taken over from Lat. *luna*, which resembled in form the native word, or we may say that the Irish borrowed *luna* and adapted it in form to the similar *lúan*.

18. *ugn*.

*dúan* 'poem'=\**dugnā* or \**dougnā*: Gr. *τεύχειν*, Goth. *dugan*.<sup>2</sup> *cúanéne* 'pugil,' from Lat. *pugnus*, or perhaps rather *pognus*.

Of *ucn*, *ugn*+slender vowel, I have found no instances; we might expect *-ūin*. *úaine* was discussed above; *úain* 'leisure,' may be derived from \**eucni-*: Gr. *εὐκλος* 'free from care, at ease,' Skr. *ókas*, 'comfort, dwelling-place,' rather than from \**ucni-* [*ucn-* may, however, appear in *úine* 'time, opportunity'].

19. *utn*+broad vowel=\**otn*, *ōn*, *úan* (?).

*búan* 'lasting' may perhaps stand for \**bhu-tno-*, and be compared with Lith. *bútinas*, 'essential, lasting' (= \**bhutṛno-*), with which has been compared Lat. *-bundus*=\**bhutno-*.<sup>3</sup> I know of no other instance of suffix *-tno-* in Keltic.

20. *udn*- > \**odn*, *ōn*, *úan*.

*smuāinim* 'think'=\**smudn-* or \**smoudn-*: Goth. *gamaudjan* 'remember,' Ch. Slav. *mysli-* 'thought.' If *úan* here=*udn*, it must have arisen before a broad vowel.

21. *upn* > \**opn*, *ōn*, *uan*.

*cúan* 'host' (*Druim Criaich cete cét cúan* 'Drum Cree meeting-place of a hundred hosts,' LL. 151<sup>a</sup> 1)=\**cupn-* or \**coupn-*: Lith. *kupa* 'a heap, a multitude, an assembly, e.g. of men,' Germ. *haufe*.

*súan* 'sleep,' W. *hun*=\**supnos*: Gr. *ὑπνος*, Ch. Slav. *sūnū*, Alb. *gume* 'sleep.' The gen. *súain* can hardly be the

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen quoted by Osthoff, *Paul u. Braune's Beiträge*, xiii. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 152.

regular development of \**supnī*: *ūa* comes rather from cases containing a broad vowel. For suggestions as to the phonetic changes of *pn* see Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 272. According to Stokes' law \**súpnos* must have been accented like Gr. ὕπνος.

22. *sn*.

Thurneysen<sup>1</sup> suggests doubtfully that W. *gwn* 'toga,' Ir. *fúan* 'lacerna' = \**vōno*- come from \**vosno*-. But that is impossible; *s* disappears before *n* without lengthening the preceding vowel.<sup>2</sup> \**vōno*- may be derived rather from \**vo-ouno*-, Lat. *ind-uo*, *ex-uo*, *sub-ū-cula*, Lith. *au̯ti* 'to put on shoes, stockings, and the like.'

## II. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *m*.

1. *ācm*.

One would expect by analogy of *acn*, *acr*, *ēm*. I have no instance.

2. *agm* > *ām*.

*glām* 'outcry' = \**glagmā*: Germ. *klagen*, √ *glagh*.

*mām* 'servitude' = \**magmu* -: *mog* 'slave,' Goth. *magus*.

*tlām* 'handful of wool' = \**tlagm* -: Germ. *flocke*, Gr. *λάχνος*,<sup>3</sup> with which Stokes<sup>4</sup> has already compared *tlacht* 'garment.'

Hence Mod. Ir. *bróim*, Gael. *braim* (g. *brama*, pl. *braman-nan*), W. Corn. *bram*, Bret. *bramm* 'crepitus ventris,' to O. Ir. *braigim* 'pedo,' cannot = \**bragmen*. Nor is it likely, as Thurneysen<sup>5</sup> doubtfully suggests, that it should have come from \**brangmen*; *céim* 'step' = \**cengmen*, and similar cases are against this. *bram* is probably to be explained as = \**bragsmen*, cf. *bomm* 'morsel' = \**bogsmen*,<sup>6</sup> *semmand* 'rivets' (√ *segh*, Stokes) from a stem \**segsmen*, W. *drem* 'look, aspect' =

<sup>1</sup> *Kelto-Romanisches* 64.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes, *KZ.* xxx. 559.

<sup>3</sup> Sütterlin, *Beiz. Beitr.* xvii. 164 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Kelto-Romanisches* 98.

<sup>6</sup> Not \**bogmen* as R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 30, suggests; that must have given \**bóim* or \**búaim*.



\**drecsmā* \**dricsmā*, Ir. *drech* 'aspect, countenance' √*derk*, Gael. *dream* 'wisp of hay or straw,' *dreamag* 'handful of corn': Gr. *δράγμα*. *s* is often present before certain suffixes in other Idg. languages, e.g. -*smo*-, -*sno*- -*slo*-,<sup>1</sup> and its presence must be also recognized in Keltic, e.g. *amm* 'time' = \**atsmen* (above), *trom* 'heavy,' W. *trwm* = \**trudsmo*:- Goth. *us-thriutan* 'oppress.'

For *ói* in Mod. Ir. *bróim*, cf. *óirdhearc* 'glorious' = O. Ir. *airderc*, and in the Wb. glosses *bóill* limbs, sg. *ball* is frequent.<sup>2</sup>

3. *ecm* > *ēm*.

*rém* 'shout' (*dobert rém curadh asa bragit* 'he gave a hero's shout from his throat' LU. 76<sup>a</sup> 10, *reim curadh* i. *geim curadh* 'a hero's shout,' O'Clery) = *recm*:- Ch. Slav. *rekā* 'speak,' Lith. *rékiù* 'roar, cry'; for the long vowel in *rēkti*, see Bechtel *Hauptprobleme der Idg. Sprachwissenschaft* 162. Examples of words with the meaning of cry, roar, and the like applied to articulate speech will be found in Persson.<sup>3</sup> To this belongs W. *rhegen* 'quail'; for the origin of the name cf. Diez. *Etym. Wb.* s.v. *quaglia*. In Old Ir. a similar name is found for the peacock, *gésachtach* from *géssim* 'cry.'

4. *egm* > *ēm*.

*séimeth* 'offspring,' = \**segmeto*-<sup>4</sup>

*drémire* 'ladder,' according to Stokes<sup>5</sup> stands for \**dregm*-, but it seems rather to come from *drengm*-, cf. *dringim* 'step, advance,' and so to fall under the following head.

5. *engm* > *ēm*, *ēm* (in auslaut).

*céim* 'step,' W. *cam* = \**kngmen*.

*léim* 'leap,' W. *llam* = \**lngmen*.

*géim* 'shout' = \**gengmen*: cf. Lith. *šiwėngiu* 'neigh.' If this

<sup>1</sup> Osthoff, *Forschungen* I. 190 sqq.; Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 133, 140, 163, 165, 187, 195, 196, etc.

<sup>2</sup> According to Thurneysen, *Paul u. Braunes Beiträge*, xiii. 436, *o* is here due to the preceding labial.

<sup>3</sup> *Wurzelerweiterung* 244.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* 399.

<sup>5</sup> Stokes, *Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals* 371. [He now (*BB.* xviii. 62) refers it to \**drengmen*].

comparison is to be maintained, we must assume a double Idg. form *ǵueng*, *ǵonǵ*, *u* having been lost in certain positions in the parent language.<sup>1</sup>

*réimm*, *réim* 'cursus,' serving as the infinitive of *rethim* 'I run.' The double *m* of *réimm* cannot be explained either from *\*retmen* or from *\*reidmen*,<sup>2</sup> as R. Schmidt<sup>3</sup> suggests. Either we may suppose that *\*réim*=*\*retmen* became *réimm* under the influence of *céimm*, *gréimm*, or we may place it with W. *rhamu* 'soar,' Idg. *\*renghō* 'ruu, spring.'<sup>4</sup>

6. *endm* > *ëmm*, *ëm*.

*gréimm* 'progressus'=*\*grendmen*: *ingrennim* 'persequor.'

Gael. *teum* 'bite,' W. *tam*, Bret. *tamm* 'piece, bite,' Corn. *tam*, pl. *tymmyñ*=*\*tndmen*: Gr. *τένδω*, Lat. *tondeo*.

Brugmann<sup>5</sup> doubts if *endm* became regularly *ëmm*. For *gréimm* he suggests the analogy of *céimm*, which, from the similarity of meaning, is quite possible. But if *teum* is rightly derived from *\*tendmen* no such analogical explanation is possible. We must then with Schmidt, *IF.* I. 77, look upon *endm* as becoming regularly *ëmm*, and there is nothing in the way of this.

7. *enm*.

*béim* 'a blow,' has been explained as standing for *\*benmen*, *√zhen*. But this explanation is very doubtful for the Irish word (according to R. Schmidt<sup>6</sup> one might have expected *\*benim*<sup>7</sup>), and it is impossible for Bret. *boem*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 476, 802; Solmsen, *KZ.* xxxii. 277 sq. If it was in enclisis that *u* was lost, it must be remembered that in certain positions the Idg. verb was enclitic.

<sup>2</sup> It might however come from *\*reidsmen*.

<sup>3</sup> *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 118.

<sup>5</sup> *Grundriss* I. 382.

<sup>6</sup> *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77. His own explanation leaves Bret. *boem* out of account, and does not satisfactorily account for Ir. *béimm*, for how could *béimm* be influenced by words of so totally different meaning as *céimm* and *gréimm*? On the other hand, as Schmidt suggests, *béimm* 'journey,' *√zem*, may have been influenced by these words; it may however = *\*gzem-smen*.

<sup>7</sup> *Anmaimm* dat. of *ainm* 'name' might = *\*anmembi* as well as *\*anmenmi*. A difficulty arise in connexion with the form *ainm*. If *ainm* = *\*anmen* *\*aimm* might have been expected; if it comes from *\*an-men*, we should rather have expected *\*ainmh*. Perhaps the difficulty may be overcome by the hypothesis that two forms of the stem *\*anmen* and *an-men* were originally in use in different cases, and that they acted and reacted on one another. (In Mod. Ir., Gael. *meamna* = O. Ir. *menme*, such an *nm* has become in Inlaut *mn*.) A.

Corn. *bomm*, pl. *bommen* 'blow.' All these forms may be explained from \**bensmen*, which in both branches of the Kelts would become first \**bēsmen*. \**Bēsmen* would give by assimilation in Irish \**bēmnen*, *béim*. In the Brythonic dialects,<sup>1</sup> too, *bēsmen* would become \**bēmnen*, whence regularly Mid. Bret. *boem*, Mod. Bret. *bomm* (cf. Mid. Bret. *toem* 'hot' (W. *twym*) probably = \**tepesmo-*, Mod. *tomm*). In older Cornish *ē* appears as *ui*, *oi*, in the later texts as *o*, *toim* 'hot,' later *tommys* 'heated,' *Gramm. Celt.*<sup>2</sup> 97. Now *bomm* is found only in texts in which *o* appears for *ē*. It is also possible to derive *beimn*, \**bēmnen* from \**beismen*: Ch. Slav. *biti* 'strike,' with which Thurneysen<sup>2</sup> connects Ir. *benim* 'I strike.'

8. *ogm* > *ōm*, *ūam*.

*fúaimm*, *fúaim* 'sound, noise' = \**vogmen*, cf. *fogur* 'sound, noise.' The double *m* here is not due to phonetic development, but comes by analogy from other cases where it arose regularly, e.g. *úaimm* 'sewing' (to *úagim* 'I sew') = \**eugsmen*. In such cases *mm* became in auslaut *m*, so that here *fúaim* and *úaim* would coincide, and this coincidence would lead to the introduction of *mm* into *fúaim*.

*idm* before a broad vowel seems to become \**edm* *ēm*, in *fo-déma* 'he will suffer' = \**dilmāt*. But as *fodidmat* = \**dida-mānto* is also found, it is probable that in *fodéma* we have an analogical formation, for, though in all likelihood in these reduplicated futures strong and weak forms of the

difficulty of a somewhat similar nature is met with in W. *cwrw* 'beer,' Gaul. *κῶρρι* (Ir. *cuirn*) compared with *garm* 'outcry' (Ir. *gairn*) where the *m* is preserved. The difficulty might be solved by postulating in the latter case a stem \**garsmen* cf. Lith. *gaĩsas* 'noise,' Lat. *garrio* = \**garsio*, Alb. *gerĩas* 'invite.' With a syllabic division \**gar | smen* this would have given \**garmmen*, and *mm* did not become *f* (*cwrw* = \**cwruf* cf. Corn. *corof*). How is the *r* of *κῶρρι* to be explained? Can it be that we have here a nom. -*mē* (*n*), as in Ch. Slav. *imē* 'name,' Schmidt. *Pluralbildungen* 90? *κῶρρι* might be looked upon as a Gracised form (or *κῶρρι*: *κῶρρι* = Skr. *nāma*: *nāmā*?).

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain to what extent these changes are to be referred to proto-Keltic. I know of nothing to shew that the change of \**bensmen* to \**bēsmen* and of *bēsmen* to *bēmnen* did not take place before the separation of the Celtic dialects.

<sup>2</sup> *Rheinisches Museum* xliii. 361; *KZ.* xxxi. 83.

stem were at one time found in the same paradigm, it is not very likely that both survived in this solitary instance, particularly when we bear in mind the tendency of the *é* future to encroach. Stokes suggests that *d* may have been lost before *m*, before the time when intervocalic *m* was aspirated. He refers to *frém* 'root' (Mod. Ir. *freumh*) = \**vridmā*, W. *gureidd*: Lat. *radix*, úamonn 'skin' = \**odm*-. Lith. *ūda* 'skin' = (ablaut *ō*: *ō*). But this is not very certain.

#### SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *r*.

##### 1. *acr* > *ér*.

*dér* 'tear,' O.W. *dacr* = \**dacru*: Gr. δάκρυ.

*ér* .i. *uasal*, 'lofty,' O'Davoren = \**acros*: Gaul. *axpotalvs*, Gr. ἀκρός.<sup>1</sup>

*mér* 'finger' = \**macros*: Gr. μακρός,<sup>2</sup> μακεδνός, μοκρῶνα, τὸν ὀξύ, Ἐρυθραῖοι Hesych.<sup>3</sup>

Mod. Ir. *céir* 'gum,' Manx *keeyr*, Gael. *càir* might be explained from an ablaut \**cācri*-, \**cācri*-. We may compare, perhaps, W. *cig* 'flesh' (Ir. *cích* 'teat' \*) = \**cēo*-. The ablaut series would then be *kāk*-, *kēk*-, *kōk*- (= Ir. *cāc*-). The W. name for 'gum' is *cig y dannedd*, lit. 'sahnfleisch.' One might conjecture that the Irish word was originally used with some such qualification, *céir inna n-dét* or the like; cf. *feóil na fiacal* (gl. gingiva), Stokes, *Ir. Gl.* 150.

Before a slender vowel *eó*: *meóir*, gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *mér* (Gael. gen. sg. *medir*), Gael. Mod. Ir. *deóir* gen. sg. of *deur* 'tear' (with change of declension, Mid. Ir. gen. *dere*<sup>4</sup>). For the vocalism of *céir* see p. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Alt-kelt Spr.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bezz. *Beitr.* xvii. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Brugmann quoted by R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes, *Ir. Gl.* p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> The nom. pl. *na dær* is found Ml. 23<sup>a</sup> 13, indicating a neut. *u*-stem; *dér* might here = \**daṛrū* like Ved. *purá* (Schmidt, *Plur.* 42). There are however other possibilities, cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 625.

2. *agr* > *ār*.

*ār* 'strages' = \**agros*, W. *aer* 'prælium,' O. Bret. *air*, Gaul. *Veragri*, *Suagros*, Gr. *ἄρπα*.<sup>1</sup>

*sār*- 'exceedingly' (as a prefix), W. *haeru* 'affirmare.'<sup>2</sup>

*sār* 'insult,' can hardly be separated from W. *sarláu* 'contumelia afficere.' Corresponding to Ir. *ā* one would expect W. *ae*; *e* must have been lost in the pretonic syllable, though I have no other instances of this. For examples of *ae* > *a* in other positions, cf. Nettlau, *Beitr. z. Cymr. Gramm.* 61 sq.

*nār* 'modest' = \**nagro-* (or \**nāgro-*): \**nāzho* 'to be sober,' Gr. *νήφω*.<sup>3</sup>

3. *tr*.

*t* is not lost before *r*; an anaptyctic vowel has sprung up between *t* and *r*, and intervocalic *t* then becomes *th*, e.g. *tarathar* 'borer': *terebra*, *τέρετρον*, *crtathar* 'sieve' = \**creitro-*, *briathar* 'word' = \**breitrā*,<sup>4</sup> *mothar* 'dark' = \**mūtro-*: Arm. *mut* 'tenebre, nebbia,' *mlār* 'oscuro,'<sup>5</sup> *riathor* 'torrens' = \**reitro-*: Skr. *ri* 'let flow, run,' Lat. *riuos*.

4. *adr* > *ār*.

Only in composition *ārim* 'number' = \**adrimā* to *rim* 'number.'

5. *egr* > *ēr*.

*fēr* 'grass,' W. *gwair*, Corn. *guyr* = \**vegro-*: √*veg* 'to be moist' Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 545?

Before a slender vowel *feiuir* Sg. 68<sup>a</sup> 10, *feuir* Ml. 90<sup>b</sup> 8. Mid. Ir. *fēoir*, Windisch. *Wb.* (by analogy dat. *feór*, LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 38).

*gérat*, *gérat* 'champion' is probably cognate with the shorter *greit* 'champion.' *Greit* may stand for \**grednī-*, \**ghredh-nī-* (√*ghredh* Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 418); *gérat* would be a parallel form with reduplication. In *Féire*, Sept. 27, a passage to which Mr. Stokes has called my attention,

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* II.; Stokes, *Sprachschatz* 7.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys, *Lectures*<sup>2</sup>, 395; Welsh has also *taeru* = \**to-sagr-*, an additional example of the original coincidence between the Welsh and the Irish accent.

<sup>3</sup> Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 499.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 470.

<sup>5</sup> Bugge, *KZ.* xxxii. 19.

it is used with fem. *dí*, which shows that, as might have been conjectured, it was originally an abstract fem. noun.

6. *icr* + broad vowel > \**ecr*, *ēr*.

(*arro*)*chér* 'redemi' = \**-cicra*.<sup>1</sup>

*sméroi*t 'burning coals, sparks, embers' may = \**smicronti*- and be compared with Lat. *micare*, V(s)*mik*-. Otherwise Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 97, but the length of the *e* is established by the modern language, *smeuróid* 'charcoal,' Foley.

Before a slender vowel *iúi*, *dorachiúir*, 'redemit,' Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 9, *duarchiúir*, Ml. 73<sup>b</sup> 5.

7. *igr* + broad vowel > \**egr*, *ēr*.

(*fris*)*géra* 'he will answer' = \**gigrāt*, (*ar*)*gerat*, Ml. 112<sup>b</sup> 8 = \**gigrāto*. It might be expected that *ī* in such a case would remain. We have perhaps an example in *dir*, 'proprius, conveniens, iustus' = \**dikro*- or \**diġro*-: √*dei*k, *deiġ*, *δεικνυμι*, *δίκη*, Lat. *dignus*, Goth. *teihan*, *taikns*.<sup>2</sup>

8. *ibr* seems to become \**ebr*, *ēr* in *béra* 'he will bring' = \**bibrāt*. But *b* is not lost before *r*; as in the case of *tr* an anaptyctic vowel is developed between *b* and *r* and *b* becomes a spirant, e.g. *dobur* 'water,' W. *dwfr* = \**dubro*-, Gaul. *Verno-dubrum*,<sup>3</sup> *gabor* 'goat,' W. *gafr* = \**gabro*-, Gaul. *Gabro-sentum*, *Gabro-magus*. It might be said, perhaps, that this may hold good only in auslaut, while in the middle of a word no such vowel sprang up, and in this position *b* was lost before *r*. But in *abra* 'eyebrow,' Gael. *abhra*, Mod. Ir. *fubhra*: Gr. *ὀφρύς*, *br* is treated in precisely the same way as in *dobur*, *gabor*. It follows, then, that *béra* is an analogical formation after *-géra* and the like. The *ē* future has a tendency to spread, cf. *scéra* to *scaraim*, *lémaither* to *lámaim* (LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 15), *gét* to *gataim*, *aderad* to *adraim* (KSB. vii. 23). The same view must be taken of *méraid* 'he will remain' to *maraim*; there is no evidence that *m* was lost before *r*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 63 note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* I. 326; Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 136. [I had overlooked W. *dir* 'certus, necessarius,' *dir yw* 'oportet, necesse est,' which shows that *c* cannot have been lost; the words may be referred to \**dēros*, \**dhēros*, √ *dhē*, cf. Skr. *dhāman* 'law, order,' Gr. *θεμς*.]

<sup>3</sup> Glück, *Keltische Namen* 35.

9. *ogr* > *ōr*, *ūar*.

*ūar*, *fūar* 'cold,' W. *oer*, *goer* = \**ogro*-<sup>1</sup> (to Ch. Slav. *ogni* 'fire,' cf. *urit frigus*, or Gr. *πάχνη παγετός*, ablaut *a o*?), Corn. *oir*. For W. *goer*, cf. *gordd* 'hammer,' Ir. *ord*; for the explanation of the prothetic *g* see Nettlau, *Rev. Celt.* xi. 77.

10. *ucr* + broad vowel > \**ocr*, *ōr*, *ūar*.

*cūar* 'crooked,' cf. *corthón* (*corthónech* Ascoli), Sg. 56<sup>b</sup> 7 = \**cucro*- (or \**ceucro*-): √*kenk*, Skr. *kucati* 'bend,' Ch. Slav. *kuko-nasū* 'crooknosed,' etc.<sup>2</sup>

*ū* in *ūcr*, *ūgr* might be expected to remain. Of *ūcr* I have no very certain instance; *ūr*, 'bad,' might = \**pūkro*-: Gr. *ἐχπευκής*, *πευκεδανός*, cf. *κακός*: Lith. *keñkti* 'hurt'; it may, however, be explained otherwise<sup>3</sup>; *būrach* 'din,' *būrethar* 'clamat,' might stand for \**būcr*-: Gr. *βύκτης*, Lat. *bucina*; they might equally well stand for \**būr*-: Gr. *βύας*, Arm. *bu*, *bu-ēē* 'owl.'<sup>4</sup> *ūr* 'fresh' (> < *crin* 'withered'<sup>5</sup>), W. *ir* 'viridis, floridus, novus, recens, succulentus,' has been well compared by Siegfried<sup>6</sup> with Gr. *ύγρός*. The Keltic forms go back to \**ūgro*-; Welsh proves conclusively *ū*.

#### IV. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *l*.

1. *acl* > *ēl*.

*cēle* 'servus' is separated by Stokes from *cēle* 'comrade' (see below) and compared with Lat. *cacula* 'soldier's servant.'

*mélacht* 'disgrace' = \**maclactu*-: Lat. *macula*, though this is not altogether certain.

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* 402.

<sup>2</sup> Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 380.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 103.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 12 sq.

<sup>5</sup> A good instance is quoted by Windisch (*Wörterbuch* 866) from Stokes, *Three Middle Irish Homilies* 26: *tech do dénum isin uair sin a leth ūr ocus arols crin*, "to build a house in that hour, the half thereof fresh and the other withered." Cf. also Stewart's *Gaelic Poems* 546 *Cia lion crann bheil an coull ? ar Fionn. Adha, ar an inghean, iodhon ūr agus crìon*. How many trees are in a wood? said Fionn. Two, said the maiden, to wit green and dry.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 322.

*cél* i. *bél*, 'mouth,' O'Clery. If this be a genuine word rightly explained one might compare Lith. *kāklas* 'neck.' But no weight can be laid upon this instance until the word is better established.

2. *agl* > *āl*.

*ail* 'disgrace' = \**agli*- Goth. *agls* 'αἰσχος.' Cf. also W. \**aele*, grefyn, dolorus, trest, trwm, *Ll Braw aele*, 'Terror miserandus' (Davies).

*ail* 'pleasant' = \**pagli*-, Goth. *fagrs* 'fitting,' *faheþs* 'joy' √*pāk*, *pāg*, Fick I.<sup>4</sup> 77.<sup>1</sup>

*āl* 'brood, offspring,' W. *ael* 'litter, brood,' Bret. *eal* 'foal' perhaps = \**paglo*-: Lat. *propago*.

*gabāl*<sup>2</sup> inf. of *gabim* 'I take' = \**gabagli*-, W. *caffael*.

*māl* 'chief,' W. *Mael* = \**maglo*-, Gaul. *Maglus*.

*tāl* 'adze,' may, perhaps, stand for \**to-aglo*-: Goth. *aqizi*, Engl. *axe*. If this were so, \**-aglo*- Teut. *akes*- would be an instance of *l* and *s* stem side by side, cf. Lat. *oculus*, Ch. Slav. *oko* 'eye.' The difficulty is to see what the particle *to*- has to do here. Stokes<sup>3</sup> now derives *tāl* from \**taxlo*- (= Idg. \**təkslo*-?): Ch. Slav. *tesla* 'axe.' But *ksl* seems in Irish to become \**ssl*, *ll*, cf. *uall* 'pride' = \**auqslā*,<sup>4</sup> *toll*, W. *twll* 'hole' = \**tucslō*-, Slav. *tūk*- 'pierce.'

We have seen that *acn*, *acr*, *acl* became respectively *ēn*, *ēr*, *ēl*, but *agn*, *agr*, *agl* became respectively *ān*, *ār*, *āl*. What was the reason of this difference of treatment? The most probable answer to this is that the loss of *c* and of *g* do not belong to the same period, that *c* persisted longer than *g*, and, when it also went, the preceding vowel was treated differently. We have a parallel to this in Welsh, where \**dacru* becomes *dagr* (O.W. *dacr*), but \**agrā* becomes *aer*. In Irish itself there is something similar in the different

<sup>1</sup> d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Noms gaulois chez César* 25, sees this word in the Gaulish name *Catusualis*; if that were so, the etymology would have to be given up. But Stokes and Rhys (*Classical Review*, April, 1892, p. 166) compare *Catusualis* better with W. *chwalu* 'strew, spread,' = 'battle-scatterer.'

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer *KZ.* xxx. 156 derives *tíodl*, which occurs by *tíesath* as the infin. of *tíesaim* 'I raise,' from \**diōdgestālō*-. It is tolerably evident that it is only an analogical formation after *toe-bál* = \**to-udgabagli*-, the inf. of *tócbaim* 'I raise.'

<sup>3</sup> *KZ.* xxxii. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 194.



treatment of the particles *aith-* and *ad-*=*ate-*, *ad-* in composition under the accent. Where the *a* of *ate* becomes *ē*, the *a* of *ad* appears as *a*, compare *nī épil* 'he does not die' = \**átebalet* with *ápelugud* 'flattery' = *adb-*, *écid* 'he relates' = *atc-* (with accent on the verb *aithchuid*) with *acci* 'he sees' = *adc-*.<sup>1</sup> Where this rule seems to be violated, there is confusion of the two particles.<sup>2</sup> Now, as in *ate-* the *t* is followed by a vowel, while in *ad-* the *d* is final, it is easy to suppose that the *t* persisted longer. The different treatment of the vowel in this case would then be a parallel<sup>3</sup> to the different treatment of the vowel in the combinations *acn*, *agn*, etc.

3. *atl* > *āl*.

*anál* 'breath,' W. *anadl* = \**anatlā*, \**anatlā*: Skr. *ániti* 'blows.'

*dāl* 'meeting,' W. *dadl* = \**datla*.

In *sál* 'heel,' W. *sawdl*, Bret. *seul* = \**stātlā* (Stokes)<sup>4</sup> *ā* is naturally long.

4. *adl* > *āl*.

In the compound *álaind* 'beautiful' = *ad-laind*, *laind* .i. *solus* *nō taitnemach* O' Dav. 102.<sup>5</sup>

5. *ecl* > *ēl*.

<sup>1</sup> From cases like *uice* 'water': Gr. ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ, etc., *mre* 'drunk': Gr. μέθυ, etc., *sece* 'dry': Lat. *siccus* (= \**sitgos*) has been deduced the law that Idg. *tk* became in Keltic *sk* (cf. Brugmann *Grundriss* 378). If that be so, then in *acci ad* must have been restored from other words where it remained, and then *adc* became *acc* in accordance with a later law. There is something strange in the sound change here postulated, and the same law has been called in question for Teutonic by Kluge (*Paul's Grundriss* I. 327), who points out that in the instances quoted *sk* may equally well go back to Idg. *t-sk*. *sk* could be explained in the same way in Keltic; *uice* = \**uts-ciā*, \**ud-s-kiā* (from stem \**udes-* Gr. ὕδωρ, Skr. *útsa-* 'spring' with which Stokes compares Ir. *os* 'water,' (= \**utso-*) in *os-bretha* 'water judgments'), *menc* = \**mets-cos*, etc.; with *sece* 'dry,' W. *hysp* cf. Zend *hišku*, Gr. λᾶρυξ (Zimmer, *KZ.* xxiv. 212, Bartholomae *KZ.* xxix. 525). A good instance in which *ce* in inlaut may be explained from *tk-* is *ruice* 'disgrace' (Gael. *ruicean* 'a red pimple') = \**ruī-kiā*, *rudh-kiā* / *reudh* 'to be red,' cf. Ir. *ruidhich* 'blush,' Gaul. *Senno-ruccus* (d'Arbois de Jubainville, *noms. gaul.* 69): so *cuic* 'secret,' = \**cutci-*: Gr. κεύθεω (Stokes); *brocc* W. *broch* 'badger' = \**brotco-*, \**bhrodh-ko-*: Skr. *bradhna* 'lightred' Ch. Slav. *bronū* 'white' (\**bhrotko-*: \**bhrodhno-* = Lat. *cascus*: *canus*).

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Unless *e* for *a* is due to the lost slender vowel.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *KSB.* viii. 428, *BB.* xi. 128; in *adl* the loss of *t* might be explained from dissimilation.

<sup>5</sup> Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvi. 50.

*muinél*<sup>1</sup> 'neck' (g. *muineóil*) = \**muncelo-*, W. *mynwgl*: cf. Lat. *monile*, Skr. *manyā* 'neck, muscle of the neck,' Eng. *mane*.

Stokes,<sup>2</sup> after Rhys connects *ceól* 'music' with W. *pið* 'fistula tibia,' O.W. *piþpaur* (MS. *piþpaur*) 'tibicen,' and derives it from a form \**cvecolo-*. But *cvecolo-* would not explain the vocalism of *pið*, *piþpaur*, which are rather loan-words from Lat. *pipa*. Apart from the Welsh words the hypothetical *cvecolo-* has little probability. It is very likely that some consonant has been lost between *e* and *o*. I had thought of deriving *ceól* from \**kepolom*, Skr. *ṣṛp* 'curse,' supposing that the meaning of 'curse' developed itself from metrical formulae of imprecation. But that is not very certain.

6. *egl*. > *ēl*.

Ir. *céle* 'comrade,' has been brought together with W. *cilyd* 'comrade,' in the phrase *y gilyd* 'the other' (lit. 'his comrade') = Ir. *achéile*. *céle* and *cilyd* might come from \**cegliós*. For *i* in *cilyd* cf. *llith* from Lat. *lectio*, *nith* 'niece,' from \**nepti*.

*réil* 'clear' (*rélain* 'manifesto') = \**regli-*, Lith. *regiù* 'I see,' *rėgimas* 'visible.' For the vocalism of *réil* see p. 36.

*seól* 'sail,' W. *hwyl* is puzzling. The words are commonly derived from \**seghlo-*: Teut. \**seglo-* 'sail.' We should expect, however, in Irish \**sél*, in W. \**hail*. One might at a pinch explain *seól* as a new formation from the gen. *siúil* (\**segli*) after the analogy of *ciúil*: *ceól*, and the like; but, though such formations are found in the modern dialects, I know of none in Old Irish. W. *hwyl* is equally perplexing. Breton and Cornish have for 'sail' a word borrowed from Lat. *velum*, Bret. *goel*, 'voil de femme et de navire,' Corn. *guil* (Voc.). Did Welsh also once have a word \**gwyl* similarly borrowed from *velum* which affected the native word? Perhaps further investigation may bring some

<sup>1</sup> On the long vowel is an unaccented syllable see Thurneysen *Rev. Celt.* vii. 325. Gaelic shows secondary shortening, *muineal*, *cineal*, *gabhail*.

<sup>2</sup> *KZ.* xxviii. 57 n.

light. Ir. *seól*, W. *hwyl*, 'course,' seem but a particular application of the above words.

7. *etl* > *ēl*.

*bél* 'mouth' = \**gvetlo*:- Goth. *githan* 'say, speak' (Stokes).

*cenél* 'race,' W. *cenedl* = \**cenetlon*.

*scél* 'story,' W. *chwedl* = \**scvetlon*: Gr. *ἐννέπω*.

Before slender vowels<sup>1</sup> *beiúil* Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 12, *beóil* 7<sup>d</sup> 9: *sceúil* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 6. From *cenél* the forms are numerous and varied—*centuile* Sg. 28<sup>a</sup> 5, 28<sup>b</sup> 4, 32<sup>b</sup> 3, 61<sup>a</sup> 24; *centuile* Sg. 31<sup>b</sup> 15, 62<sup>a</sup> 3, 75<sup>a</sup> 6, 152<sup>a</sup> 3, 203<sup>a</sup> 19, Ml. 83<sup>b</sup> 5; *centuile* Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 3; *centuile* Sg. 30<sup>b</sup> 8, 31<sup>b</sup> 12, 61<sup>a</sup> 18; *centuile* Sg. 40<sup>a</sup>, 4, 6, 18; *centuile* Sg. 32<sup>b</sup> 9, 40<sup>a</sup> 11, 61<sup>a</sup> 2; *dochenéuil* Sg. 64<sup>b</sup> 6; *ceineuile* Sg. 41<sup>b</sup> 3; *ceneuile* 33<sup>a</sup> 5, 75<sup>a</sup> 7, 211<sup>a</sup> 16, Ml. 66<sup>d</sup> 1; *docheneuile* Ml. 103<sup>c</sup> 13; *socheneuile* 101<sup>d</sup> 19; *ceneóil* Wb. 1<sup>b</sup> 12, 6<sup>d</sup> 6, 17<sup>c</sup> 15. Thus Wb., as might be expected, comes nearest to the later language where *eóil* gains the upper hand. Most of these variations must be regarded as purely orthographical; the presence or absence of the long mark is more or less a matter of chance. But *iúil*, *eóil* clearly represent two entirely distinct sets of sounds (the modern Gaelic pronunciation shows that *u* and *o* in these combinations are long). Either the difference was dialectical or *iúil*, *eóil* arose from the loss of different consonants and were afterwards used promiscuously, because in most cases the words would fall together; why in this case *eóil*, which is rare in Old Irish, should have gained the upper hand, it is not easy to see. That the difference is not purely chronological is shown by the persistence of *iúil* in later times.

*epl*.

No clear instance of this. *feóil* 'flesh' is probably to be

<sup>1</sup> *forainceúil* Wb. 23<sup>d</sup> 2, *hi nephcenéil* Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 14, are accusatives after the fashion of *i* stems, and might be explained like similar cases on p. 36. *dochenéuil* gl. degener, Sg. 64<sup>a</sup> 6, if it stands for \**cenetlis*, would be an exception to the rule laid down there. But it might come from \**cenetlis* (cf. Brugmann *Grundr.* II. 1. 116). The acc. to \**cenetlis* would be \**cenetlim*, whence \**cenetlim* (Brugmann *Grundr.* II. 689), whence \**cenéil* the influence of which may be seen in the forms quoted above. *Socheneuile* Ml. 101<sup>d</sup> 19, *docheneuile* Ml. 103<sup>c</sup> 13, are datives after the analogy of *i* stems and consequently regular.

connected with Skr. *capā* 'fat,' but it may be referred to \**repoli-*. In favour of this is *feulae* Ml. 97<sup>a</sup> 10, *feuldae* 70<sup>b</sup> 8, 87<sup>b</sup> 7.

8. *ehl* > *ēl*.

*aidhbheul* (le *sgrad aidhbheul*, Hyde, *Leabhar sgeulaigh-euchta* 66, *sgeulta aidhbheula* ib. 75), *aidhbhéil* 'huge, vast, enormous,' O.R. may come from \**atebeblo*s, a reduplicated form cognate with *adbul* 'great, vast,' which may itself be connected with *√bhel* 'swell,' (Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 26).

*nél* 'cloud,' W. *niwl*=*neblo-*.

Before slender vowel *niuil* Ml. 120<sup>a</sup> 11. The effect of the labial is seen in the acc. pl. *niułu* Wb. 25<sup>b</sup> 23; contrast *bcólu* 5<sup>c</sup> 11, *beulu* Ml. 131<sup>b</sup> 6, Incant. Sang.

9. *ícl*+broad vowel > \**ecl*, *ēl*.

*céla* 'will conceal' = \**oiclāt*.

10. *ígl*+slender vowel > *iūil*.

*giūil* 'adhaesit' (*rogiuil* Ml. 98<sup>b</sup> 8) = \**gigle*, pres. *glenim*.

11. *íbl*+broad vowel = *ehl*, *ēl*.

*at-béla* 'he will die' = \**biblāt*.

12. *iml*.

There is no proof that *m* was lost before *l*, so it is safest to look upon *méla* fut. of *melim* 'I grind,' as an analogical formation.

13. *ocl* > *ōl*, *ūal*.

*dūal* 'lock of hair' = *doclo-*: Goth. *tagl* 'hair,' A.S. *tægl*, which has been compared with Skr. *daṣā* 'fringe.'

*tin-ólaim* 'I collect,' *doinola* adplicat: *ōl* = \**pocl-*, Skr. *páṣa* 'fetter,' *paciscor*, Germ. *fügen*. Ablaut *pak-*, *poḱ-*, *pāḱ-*.

14. *ogl* > *ōl*, *ūal*.

*būal* 'water' = *bhoglo-*, cf. Germ. *bach*, Eng. *beck*.

*fūal* 'urine' = \**voglo-*: O.N. *vōkva* 'wet.'<sup>1</sup>

*cúailleán*, 'curl': *κόχλος* 'a shellfish with a spiral shell' (Stokes). With *κόχλος*, however, Franck *Ndl. Wb.* 262 compares Dutch *gagel*, Ags. *geagl* 'tandvleesch, gehemmelte'

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 72.

= \*ghoghlo-. If that be so, Stokes' etymology would have to be given up.

15. *otl* > *öl*.

If *öl* 'drink,' is to be connected with  $\sqrt{p\bar{o}}$  'drink,' it might come from a stem \**pollo*-.<sup>1</sup> From *öl* 'drink' can hardly be separated *ól* 'undare,' *imról* 'abundantia,' *foróil*, id., *deróil* 'inops,' etc.<sup>2</sup> The root *pōi*, *pō* shews similar meanings in other Idg. languages, Skr. *pī*, *páyate*, 'swell, be exuberant, be full,' Gr. *πίων* 'fat.'

16. *odl* > *öl*, *úal*?

*úalach* 'burden' = *podlāco*-? Cf. O.H.G. *fazza* 'bundle, load,' also Ir. *ossar* 'burden,' *oss* = \**pots*- \**pod*s-.

17. *ucl* + broad vowel > \**ocl*, *öl*, *úal*.

*cúala* 'I heard' = \**cuclova*, *cúalae* 'he heard' = \**cuclove*.

18. *udl* + broad vowel = \**odl*, *öl*, *úal*?

*búailim* 'strike' may = *budl*- or *boudl*-,  $\sqrt{bhud}$ : Ags. *beátan*, Eng. *beat*. If *úal* here = *udl*, it must have arisen in the first place before a broad vowel.

19. *ubl* + broad vowel > *obl*, *öl*, *úal*?

*gúala* 'shoulder' = \**gubl*- (or *goubl*-?) Slav. *gŭb*- 'bend' in, *gŭnaŭi* 'to bend,' G. *κνφός*. Cf. O.N. *bak*, Ags. *bæc* 'back' = \**bhogom*, 'supple, flexible,' Germ. *buckel* 'back, belly,'  $\sqrt{bhug}$  'bend.'<sup>3</sup>

## V. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *k*.

1. *anc*, *enc*, *nc* > *éc*.<sup>4</sup>

These groups have in Irish fallen indistinguishably together.

*bréc* 'lie' = \**bhrancā* or \**bhrencā*: Skr. *bhrañça* 'falling, loss.'

<sup>1</sup> Unless we assume a radical variation *pō*, *pōi*, *pōu*, like *ghā*, *ghāi*, *ghāu*, Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 117, 138, *stā*, *stāi*, *stāu*, ib. 141, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ancoli, *Lexicon Palæo-Hibernicum* cxv.

<sup>3</sup> Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 190.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 180, 203; R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 66 sq.

*géc*<sup>1</sup> 'branch' = \**cancā*, W. *cang* (f.), pl. *cangau*: Ch. Slav. *saĭkū* 'sureculus,' Skr. *ṣaṅku-* 'stake, trunk.'  
*écath* 'hook' = \**ancato-*: Skr. *aṅká* 'hook,' Gr. ἄγκων, ὄγκος.  
*écen* 'necessity' = \**ancenā*, W. *angen*: Gr. ἀνάγκη.  
*éc* 'death' = \**ṅku-*, W. *angeu*, Bret. *ancou*: Skr. *naṣ* 'perish,' Gr. νέκυσ.  
*tréicim* 'forsake,' W. *tranc*, *trang* 'finis, obitus,' *trenġi* 'obire, mori.'

2. *onc* > *óc*.

*cóic* 'five' = \**conce*, \**kʷenkʷe*, Idg. \**penġe*, W. *pump*. The *o* for *e* must be ascribed to the preceding *u* sound, as in *cuit*, 'part,' W. *peth* 'thing, part' = \**kʷezdi-*,<sup>2</sup> *coire* 'kettle' = \**kʷerio-*, W. *pair*: Skr. *cāru*, O.N. *hverr*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand *e* is unaffected in *ctall* 'understanding,' W. *pwyl* = \**kʷeislā*,<sup>4</sup> *cta*, 'who,' W. *pwȳ* = \**kʷei*, *cian* 'long' = \**kʷeinos*, of. Skr. *cirás* 'long,' Goth. *hveila*<sup>5</sup> 'while,' *cend* 'head,' W. *pen* = \**kʷendo-*,<sup>6</sup> *cech* 'everyone' = \**kʷekʷo-*, *cethir* 'four,' O.W. *petguar* = \**kʷetȳeres*: Gr. τέσσερες. In these cases (except in *cethir*) *e* appears as *o* when the vowel in the following syllable is clear, as *e* when the following vowel is dark. Is this mere chance, or did the *ȳ* sound disappear in Irish before a dark vowel in the following syllable without affecting the *e*? *cetheora* fem. of *cethir* = \**kʷetesores* might be explained as due to the analogy of the masculine. In *cethir* the loss of *ȳ* may be explained by dissimilation due to the following *ȳ*: in that case \**kʷenkʷe* for \**penkʷe* must be supposed to have arisen within Keltic itself<sup>7</sup> after this dissimilation had taken place. If this dissimilation is to be placed in proto-Keltic times one would have expected in W. \**cetguar*; *petguar* may be ascribed to the influence of the feminine.

<sup>1</sup> For a suggestion as to the explanation of initial *g* for *c* see Bezz. Beitr. xiv. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 71.

<sup>3</sup> Windisch, *KSB*. viii. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 1. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Osthoff, *Morph. Untersuch.* iv. 152.

<sup>6</sup> R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Brugmann *Grundriss* I. 170 has suggested an historical connection between Keltic \**kʷenkʷe* and Lat. *quinque*, Goth. *fims*.

3. *inc*,<sup>1</sup> *unc*. Of compensatory lengthening of *i* or *u* with loss of *n* I have no instance. In the case of *u* there is an example of apparently different treatment in *sluccim* 'I swallow,' Mod. Ir. *sluigim*, O.Bret. *roluncas*, W. *llunc*, where *nc* seems to be assimilated to *cc*. Cf. also *derucc* 'acorn' = \**derun-co-* (?), *derun-* weak form of stem *derven-*, cf. W. *derwen* 'oak,' Lith. *deruinis* 'made of pinewood,' *deruingas* 'resinous.' Stokes derives *ticcim* 'come' from *to-enk*. If *icc* here comes from *enk* (or *nk*), did it come through *inc*? Whether this lack of examples of lengthening of *i* and *u* is due to chance, or to something in the nature of the sounds themselves I am not in a position to say; at all events a prolonged search has brought to light no instances. There is the same absence of examples of lengthening of *i*, *u* in *int* (before slender vowel), *unt*.

## VI. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *t*.

### 1. *ant*, *ent*, *nt* > *ēt*.<sup>2</sup>

*bēt* 'hurt' = \**ǵhenti-* or \**ǵhnti-* √*ǵhen*.

*cēt* 'hundred,' W. *cant* = \**kmtóm*: Lith. *szim̃tas*.

*cēt-* 'first,' *cētnē* 'first,' W. *cyntaf*, Gaul. *Cintus*, *Cintugnatus*, = \**cinto-*: Ch. Slav. *čīnq̃* 'begin.'

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann once *Morphol. Untersuch.* III. 154, derived *léicim* 'I leave' from \**lincim* with a transition to the 3rd conj. That is highly improbable. Supposing the verb to have belonged to the 1st conj. *e* for *i* could have arisen only where a broad vowel followed, and if the inflexion according to the 3rd conjugation is older than the umlaut, it could never have arisen at all. He now (*Grundriss* I. 327) suggests *leikwio*, but there is no evidence that *leikwio* could give *léicim*. It seems to me that Old Ir. *leicim*, Mod. *léig* can be explained only from \**leinkwio*, a mixture of *leig-* and *ling-*. How *e* could have made its way into *leing-* is easily intelligible if, as may be easily supposed, there was by the present \**lingō* (or \**lingio*) a fut. \**leigō*, Aor. \*(*e*)*leigō*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 203; R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 64 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* 537. With *Cintus* compare the Ir. proper name *Cét*, Πῶτος.

*cétal* 'song' = \*cantlon, *canim* 'I sing': Lat. *cano*.

*dét* 'tooth,' W. *dant* = \**dnt* -: Goth. *tunþus*.

*ét* 'jealousy' = *ianto*-, W. *add-iant* 'longing,' Gaul. *Adiantunneni*, *Jantumarus*, Skr. *yatna*- 'effort'.<sup>1</sup>

*étim* 'I clothe,' *étach* 'dress' may be compared with Alb. *ent*, *int* 'weave,' Gr. *ἄρρομαι*, Skr. *átka*- 'cloak'.<sup>2</sup>

*étaim* 'find': Goth. *finþan*, Eng. *find*.<sup>3</sup>

*mét* size, W. *maint* = \**m̃ti*-.

*sét* 'way,' W. *hynt* = \**sent* -: Goth. *sinþs*.<sup>4</sup>

*sét*<sup>5</sup> 'likeness' = \**semt*- or \**sm̃t*-, cf. *amal* 'as': Lat. *simul*, Gr. *ἄμα*.

*sét* 'treasure' = *sent*- (stem uncertain cf. *BB*. xi. 99): Skr. *sánt*- 'being,' Gr. *εἶς* (Stokes).<sup>6</sup>

*tét* 'fides,' W. *tant* = \**tntu*-.

*tét*<sup>7</sup> 'way' = \**temt*- or \**t̃mt* -: *τέμνω*.

*trét* 'flock, herd,' (g. *treóit*) = \**trento* -: Lat. *turma*, with which Bugge (*KZ*. xxxii. 67), has compared Arm. *tarm* 'flock of birds.'

R. Schmidt has acutely perceived that *ét* = *nt* is clearly distinguished from *ét* = *ant*, *ent* in the *i* infection; here *ét* = *nt* gives *ét*, *ét* = *ant*, *ent* gives *eúit*, *eóit*, e.g. *cét* 'hundred,' g. *céit* (= \**centi*) but, *ét* 'jealousy,' g. *euit* (= \**yanti*) (Ml. 32<sup>b</sup> 10), *eóit* (Ml. 32<sup>b</sup> 9) *sét* 'treasure,' *séuit*, *séóit*.

2. *ont* > *ót*.

*airchót* 'injury' = \*(p)*aré-konti*-.<sup>7</sup>

*moit* 'oath' = \**monti*-.<sup>8</sup>

The etymology of *fót* 'sod,' is obscure; *dóit* 'hand, wrist,' gen. pl. *inna n-doat* 'lacertorum' (Aug. Cr. 92), may be

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Goidelica*<sup>2</sup> 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Meyer, *Alb. Stud.* III. 24. It is equally possible (Stokes, *Sprachsch.* 32) to compare *étim* with Lat. *pannus*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *BB*. xi, 140; R. Schmidt, *IF*. I. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Can the gen. *séta* etc. be due to association with *imthechta* with which it is often found joined, as in the phrase *i cend séta ocus imthechta*, e.g. LL. 253<sup>b</sup> 13?

<sup>5</sup> Stokes, *KSB*. viii. 328.

<sup>6</sup> If this comparison is right, it furnishes an additional proof that the Idg. form of this part. was \**senta* (cf. *Idg. Forsch.* I. 23) for *séuit* comes from \**sent*i not from \**enti*.

<sup>7</sup> Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvii. 137.

<sup>8</sup> Stokes, *Breton Glosses* 17.



derived from \**doventi-*, √*dheva-*, 'move violently,'<sup>1</sup> cf. *καρπός* 'wrist' to *καρπάλιμος*, O.H.G. *hwērbān*, 'turn':<sup>2</sup> *dovent-* to *dōat*, *dōt*, as \**īovenkos*, young man, to *oāc*, *ōc*.

3. *int*+broad vowel > \**ent* > *ēt*.

*fétaim*, *sétaim* 'I can' = \**svintāiō*: Goth. *svinþs* 'strong,' *svinþjan* 'κρατεῖν.'<sup>3</sup> *sétaim* appears in *setar* LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 2.

4. *anct*, *enct* > *ēct*, *ēcht*.

*téchteaige* (read *téchteaide*) 'frozen' (Atkinson, *Passions*, etc. 915), Gael. *teuchd* 'congeal' = \**tanct-* √*tank* (or *tenk*?), cf. *coiteicthea* 'concretionis,' Ml. 145<sup>a</sup> 3 = \**con-tancetous* (or *tenc*?) (also Ml. 44<sup>a</sup> 10, 62<sup>c</sup> 4, 84<sup>b</sup> 7): Zd. *tancista* 'very firm,' Lith. *tankūs* 'thick,' Arm. *tanj'r* 'thick.'<sup>4</sup>

*deacht* is given by O'Clery with the meaning of 'thunder.' There is also a word *dinge* with the same meaning. As it is difficult to separate these two words, it is very likely that *deacht* should be written *déacht* = *denct* -: *dinge* = \**dingio-* or \**dingiā*. The etymology is uncertain; one might perhaps compare *dingim* 'I thrust, urge,' Ch. Slav. *dagŭ* 'strength' in *nedagŭ* 'sickness.'

*écht* 'murder' = *enct-* to *éc* 'death.'

*téchte* 'fitting' = \**tenctio-* to \**tenqō* Fick I<sup>4</sup>. 440.

*drécht* 'song,' cf. Zd. *dreñj* 'repeat, utter.'

*cécht* 'power,' has been compared by Stokes<sup>5</sup> with Skr. *çakti-* 'power,' √*kak-*. If Fick I.<sup>4</sup> 41 is right in referring to this root Lith. *szvānkus* 'becoming,' we have a nasalised form also in Lith.

5. *ampt*, *empt* > *anct*, *enct* > *ēcht* perhaps in—

*cecht*<sup>6</sup> gl. buris Sg. 127<sup>b</sup> 1 (l. *cécht*), Mod. Ir. *ceucht*, g. *ceuchta*, Manx *keeaght* 'plough' = \**canctu-*, \**kamptu-*: Gr. κάμπτω, κάμπύλ' ἄροτρα.

<sup>1</sup> Fick, I<sup>4</sup>. 75, 465.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, *Gr. Et.* 525; Schrader, *KZ.* xix. 473. If the connexion between *καρπός* and *hwērbān* is to be maintained, *καρπός* must stand to *hwērbān* in the same relation as *κάρπος* to Goth. *afhwarpjan* 'σβεννύσαι,' Lith. *kvāpas* 'smoke,' cf. Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme* 355, Wiedemann *IF.* i. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Bodleian Fragment of C. rmac's Glossary* 54.

<sup>4</sup> Against this Bugge *KZ.* xxxii. 68 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *KSB.* vii. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Stokes compares more probably Goth. *lōha* 'plough'; \**canctu-*: \**cancā-* 'branch' = *lōha*: Lith. *szakā* 'branch.'

*drécht* 'part' = \**drempt-* a nasalised form of  $\sqrt{drep}$  in Gr.  $\delta\rho\epsilon\pi\omega$ .<sup>1</sup>

*crécht* 'wound,' may perhaps be referred to \**krempā*, nasalised form of  $\sqrt{kerp}$ , in Skr. *kṛpāṇa* 'sword,' Lith. *kerpù* 'cut.'

6. Of *onct* I have no example; the etymology of *tócht* 'piece,' *tóchtad* 'hewing to pieces' (LL. 101<sup>b</sup> 8) is not clear.<sup>2</sup>

6. *ecst*

appears in auslaut as *ē*, *dlé*, *foré*, *gé* from \**dlecst*, \**forest*, *gesst*.<sup>3</sup> So *ecs* in *sé* 'six' = \**sueks*. But the lengthening here is not compensatory: rather it seems to have been a law that accented monosyllables ending in a vowel were lengthened.<sup>4</sup>

## VII. SOUND GROUPS ENDING IN *s*.

1. *ans* > *ēs*.<sup>5</sup>

*ési* 'reins,' stem \**ansi-*: Lat. *ansa*, Lith. *asd* 'handle, knot.'<sup>6</sup>

*fēs*, *fésóg* 'beard' = *vans-*: O.Pruss. *wanso*, Ch. Slav. *vasū* 'beard.'<sup>7</sup>

*gets* 'swan' = \**gansi-*: Germ. *gans*, Lat. *hanser*.

2. *ens* > *ēs*.

*dréssacht* 'a rattling or creaking sound' = \**drens-actu-*: Skr. *dhran* (*dhranāti śabde*), not found in literature, Goth. *drungus*  $\phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , O.N. *drynr* 'roaring.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *KSB*. vii. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes suggests \**stonk-*, \**stunk-* cognate with N.H.G. *stücke*, *stock*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 313, n.

<sup>4</sup> Thurneysen, *KZ*. xxi. 91. Cf. also *mé* 'I, me' = Idg. \**mē*, Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 811. How is Gael. *mi* to be explained? Does it = Idg. *mē*?

<sup>5</sup> If *Ésus*, the name of a Gaulish deity, = Teut. \**ansu-* 'god,' as is highly probable (Fick. III.<sup>3</sup> 18), then *ans* became *ēs* in the Gaulish branch of Celtic too. The change *ans* > *ēs* may very well have taken place before the separation of the Kelts.

<sup>6</sup> Stokes, *Linguistic value of Irish Annals* 8.

<sup>7</sup> Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* ix. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 73; Fick, I.<sup>4</sup> 76.

*gréssacht* 'inciting, urging on' = \**grens* : *gris* 'fire,' *grisain* 'incite.' Ablaut *grens*-, Ir. *gréssacht*, Bret. *groez* 'heat of the sun,' Skr. *ghráṇsa* 'sun's heat': *gr̥ns*-, Ir. *gris*, *grisain*.<sup>1</sup>  
*béim* = \**bensmen*. See above.

It has been held that *ens* in Irish became *is*,<sup>2</sup> but the above instances, if rightly explained, prove the contrary. Zimmer lays stress on *mi* 'month,' which he seems to derive through \**mens* from *mēns*. But *mi*, *g. mis*, cannot be separated from Brythonic *mis*, in W., Bret. and Corn., and in Bret. after the analogy of *groez* we must have had for \**mens*-, \**moez*-, or \**mōas*. These facts indicate that \**mēns*- became in ur-Kelt. \**mins*- (perhaps *mis*-); if a long vowel + sonant + consonant was shortened in Keltic as in other European languages, this shortening must have come after the change of *ē* to *i*. The borrowed words *cls*, *pissire* from *cēnaus*, *pēnsun* prove nothing; *i* for *ē* is found in other cases where there can be no question of *n*: *sita* 'silk,' Low Lat. *sēta*, *śiric*, Lat. *sēricus*. *i* for Lat. *ē* appears also in Teutonic loan words, O.H.G. *sīda* = *sēta*, O.H.G. *chrīda* = *crēta*, O.H.G. *pīna* = *pēna*, Goth. *akeit* = *acētum*, Ags. *pislic* = *pensum*.<sup>3</sup> These instances are probably to be explained from the closer sound of Lat. *ē*, that it was something between Kelt. *ē* and Keltic *i* and was expressed now by the one, now by the other. *ē* also appears in Teut. as in Goth. *mēsa*- O.H.G. *mias*; this *ē* must have been a closer sound than *ē* which becomes *ā*.<sup>4</sup>

3. *ent* (*ntt*) > *enss* > *ēss*, *ēs*.

*bēss* 'custom' = \**benttu*-,<sup>5</sup> Gaul. *bēssus*,<sup>6</sup> √*bhendh* 'bind': Alb. *bess* 'belief, agreement'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer, *KZ.* xxx. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss* I.

<sup>4</sup> In speaking of the change of Idg. *ē* to West Germ. *ā*, Kluge (*Paul's Grundriss* I. 363), remarks: 'dabei ist zu beachten, das kein *ē* eines Lat. lehnworts (*acētum rēmus mēna calēna monēta* u. s. w.), den wandel von *ē* in *ā* durchmacht; offenbar deckten sich lat *ē* und idg.-germ. *ē* nicht.'

<sup>5</sup> *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 312 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Bestia dicitur de bessu*, hoc est more feritatis, Virg. gramm. quoted by Holder, *Alt. Kelt. Spr.* 409. From this can hardly be separated Bret. *boaz* 'custom.' But W. *moes* is difficult. Confusion of *b* and *m* is found elsewhere, because *b* and *m* fell together in certain positions, e.g. *ben*, *men* 'wagon'; but *ē* should in W. have given *wy*.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, *Alban. Wp.* 33.

*céssaim* 'suffer' = *centt-* or *cents-*; Lith. *kencziù*, *kęsti* 'suffer.'

*glése* 'brightness' = \**glent-t-*, cf. Germ. *glanz* and other words referred to by Kluge, s.v.

*gréis* 'attack' = *grentti-*, *grend-ti-*, *ingrennim* 'persequor:'. Ch. Slav. *gredq* 'come.'

*léss* 'light,' *léssboire* 'light' = \**plentto-*: Lat. *splendo*.<sup>1</sup>

*séis* 'music,' = \**sentti-*, *sennim* 'I play.'

In such instances Gaelic has also by infection *eò*, e.g. *ceus* g. *cedis*, *leus* 'light,' g. *leòis* = \**plensī*, *gleus* 'order, condition' g. *gleòis*. I have no similar examples from the older Irish unless in Cormac's Glossary s.v. *grinniud leos* i. *dibad soillsi* 'extinction of light,' we should read *leòis*, as the gen. is required; from *leòis* would come nom. *leós*. On the other hand I have no evidence that *ē* in a similar position was not treated in the same way in Irish. The instances *géis*, *gréis*, *séis*, are not conclusive, since it is by no means certain that a short *i* could effect a preceding *ē* in this way. In all<sup>2</sup> the cases collected in this paper the *i* is long. On the other hand *ē* remains in *céir* 'gum,' *réil* 'clear,' where the following syllable once contained *i*. Whether the etymology proposed for *réil* is right or wrong fortunately does not matter; the verb *réilaim* points clearly to compensatory lengthening; if *ē* in *réil* had come from *eī* we should have expected \**rialaim*.

4. *ancs*, *encs* > *ēs*, *ēs*.

*gésca* 'branch' = \**canescaio-* to *géc* 'branch' = \**cančā*, W. *cang* (see above).

*ésca* 'moon' = *encscaio-*, cf. *éig* 'moon,' O'Clery = \**enci-*. The words are probably to be connected with Skr. *pājas* 'light' Gr. *φέργος*. As to *enci-* the *c* may be explained in one of two ways; either *√peng* had a by-form *penk*, or \**enci-* stands by Stokes' law for \**engni-*; the latter explanation is the more probable. *encs-* in *ésca* would come from a stem \**penges-* with the weak form of the suffix.

<sup>1</sup> *DB*. xiv. 313.

<sup>2</sup> For the doubtful *dochenéuil* see p. 27.

Gael. *ceus* 'ham' g. *ceòis* (also nom. *ceòs* after the gen.) = \**cencso*- : Lith. *kenklā* 'hough.'

*éis* 'footstep' = \**encsi*-, cf. *eng* 'footstep.' \**encsi*- is probably developed from a neut. stem \**enges*-.

*géssim* 'I cry' = \**gencsiò*, cf. *géim*.

*do grés* 'continuo,' *gréssach* 'continuus' = \**grenes*-, \**grengs*- : Lith. *grįžti*, 'come back,' *atgrąžas*, 'repetition, strophe,' O.N. *kringr* 'round,' N.H.G. *kring*.<sup>1</sup>

*lés* 'bladder' perhaps = \**lencso*- : Lith. *lengvūs* 'light.' For the meaning cf. *étromain*.

5. *ents* > *ēs*.

*sés*-, fut. stem of *sennim* (= \**avendō*) 'drive' = \**suentas*-.<sup>2</sup>

*ingléis*, gl. *rimare* Ml. 140<sup>c</sup> 7, fut. to *inglennim*, 3 pl. *inglennat*, gl. *vestigant*.

6. *ins* > *is*.

*gris* 'fire' = \**grinso*-, *grnso*- (see above). From this it appears that *i* before *ns* is not subject to umlaut.

*is* 'below' W. *is* = *ins*- : Lat. *infra* for \**inērā*.<sup>3</sup>

7. *ons* > *ōs*.

*fo-lós*- (= *loncs*-), fut. stem to *folangim* 'I endure.'

*fristassam* 1 pl. fut. to *fristoin*, Z. E. 1005.

8. *uns* < *ūs*?

I have no certain instance of this in Irish. W. *cus* 'kiss,' may be explained as = \**cuns*-, cf. *κυνέω* = *κυ-πε-σ-ω*<sup>4</sup> to *ἐ-κυσ-σα*. It would be possible to explain in this way *adgúsim* 'I choose'; *gūs* = *guns*- a present stem with nasal infix from *√gēus*, Gr. *γεύω*, Eng. *choose*. The *ū*, however, might be explained otherwise.

9. *rs*

Zimmer<sup>5</sup> has asserted that in Irish *ars* became *ēr*, *ers*, *ir*; of the former change he produces no instances except futures like *adgēr* which may be better explained otherwise (see above, p. 4). For *ers* > *ir* he cites *tír* 'land' *V ters* : Lat.

<sup>1</sup> Leakien, *Ablaut im Litauischen* 66 (328); Fick, II<sup>3</sup>. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Thurneysen *KZ.* xxx. 491.

<sup>4</sup> Johansson, *De derivativis verbis contractis linguae graecae* 109.

<sup>5</sup> *KZ.* xxx. 211.

*terra*, *cir* 'comb'  $\sqrt{\text{kers-}}$  : Skr. *karsh* 'plough.' But there is no proof that *t* of *tir* came from *ērs*; *ē* is also found in Osc. *teerim* 'land.' In *tir*=\**tēros*, Lat. *terra*=\**tēra* we may have an ablaut *ē ē*. *cir* may be better derived from \**cēarā*, Ch. Slav. *česati* 'to comb,' *česlū* 'comb.' In *Bess. Beitr.* xiv. 315 I have collected a number of cases (which might be easily increased) in which *rs* becomes *rr* without affecting a preceding vowel. Until Zimmer has brought forward more certain instances, and has shown reason for the double treatment of *rs*, it is impossible to accept his law.