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THE HISTORY OF THE ADVERB IN IRISH

by

Anders Ahlqvist

Presented towards the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
the University of Edinburgh

1974
Till min Far och minnet av min Mor
Preface

This study, which attempts to provide an outline of the development of one particular part of the grammar of Irish, arose out of a suggestion made to me by Professor Kenneth Jackson, in whose department the work has been carried out. I am deeply thankful to him, not only for this, but also for his generous advice and constructive encouragement in supervising my studies.

I have also had the benefit of being supervised by Professor John Lyons, to whom I am much indebted, especially for helping me to clarify theoretical assumptions that underlie my work.

For financial assistance during the past three years I am under obligation to Suomen Kulttuurirahasto and to Nylands nation vid Helsingfors universitet for helping me through the initial stages and to the University of Edinburgh for a Postgraduate Studentship in my final year.

The dedication to my parents will, I hope, speak for itself.

Edinburgh, April 1974

Anders Eric Olof Ahlqvist
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Summary

In the introductory Part I, the parts of speech in general and in Irish are first discussed, paying special attention to those ideas that won ground in the Irish tradition. The role of the concept of "adverbs" is discussed, as is its place in Indo-European languages and Irish linguistics.

In Part II, morphology, an outline is given of various ways used to form adverbs in Irish, noting the scarcity of ones that derive directly from adverbs in Indo-European. Formations from adjectives and nouns are discussed. For this purpose Old Irish often uses a particle ind; the proposals regarding its origin are evaluated. A selection is given of the numerous prepositional phrases in the language that may be said to have developed into adverbs. In some cases there is no preposition or other particle. There are also some adverbial prefixes of verbs.

The adverbs of place form an interesting system; the elements used to form this pattern are dealt with in some detail, especially the dominant initial morphemes t-, s- and an-, but consideration is also given some other ones. Pronominal formations are expectedly found, ones that derive from conjugated prepositions and all ones from other sources. Finally, mention is made of certain problematical formations.
Part III, syntax, is mostly concerned with the relationship between adverbials and other major constituents in Irish sentences, i.e. structures where the adverbial qualifies a predicate of some sort. The general pattern of word-order in Irish is discussed, noting the place of adverbials. The syntax of sentences where an adverbial is preposed with the copula is dealt with, paying special attention to the interesting variations that exist both on the time scale (from Old Irish to the present-day dialects) and on the dialect map, i.e. between Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic with Manx in an intermediary position.

The disappearance of adverbs in ind is discussed, together with the emergence of ones in co (go, gu etc.), as is their pattern of occurrence together with atta 'is' and other verbs. The adverbs of place naturally often occur together with verbs of state and movement; some tendencies are noted, as in the case of adverbs of time.

Finally, there is a section on the syntax of adverbs within phrases, i.e. where they qualify adjectives, nouns and other adverbs.

Part IV, reference section, gives a bibliography that lists texts cited and authors quoted. It also contains a selective index of words mentioned in the text.
PART I. BACKGROUND
Introduction

§ 1. The topics dealt with in this introductory part derive from the topic of the work itself. Since this deals with the historical development of a word-class or part of speech of traditional grammar, it will, I hope, be helpful briefly to look at the history of these in linguistic thought in general. The origin and history of the term describing the part of speech under investigation naturally deserves some further comment in order to clarify as much as one can a never very well-defined element in language.

Here we shall be dealing with one particular language, Irish, and to some extent with its more recent offshoots, Scottish Gaelic and Manx. The grammatical tradition of these languages is highly interesting and thus a brief look at it may provide a useful background to the problems at hand, focusing on what it has to say about adverbs and to some extent on what it omits to say about them.

A point of particular importance concerns terminology. Unfortunately, much confusion is still reigning in many branches of linguistics on this point. On the whole, I have preferred to use the kind of terminology used in most studies concerning the Celtic languages; these are rarely very different from those in traditional grammar and historical linguistics. On the other hand, it is obvious that the advances of
linguistics in modern times has made it necessary to define the terms used somewhat more narrowly than sometimes was done previously. Nevertheless, I hope that this will merely have the effect of making what follows readable and useful to modern linguists, without, however, making it incomprehensible to most Celticists.

The Parts of Speech in General

§ 2. This section will deal with some general trends in the evolution of theories concerning the parts of speech, concentrating on those that belong to the main tradition and are relevant to what Irish grammarians thought.

In Western thinking about language, the first known reference to a division of the parts of speech is to be found in the works of Plato; it deals with the distinction between verbs and nouns, taking these terms in a much wider sense than they would nowadays. This is discussed by Robins and more thoroughly by Steinthal. Very briefly, what emerges from Plato's writings is that his terms (ἠμα and ὀμα) are found in discussions of language in earlier dialogues but are not given an exact definition until the Sophistes, where examples

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1 This relieves one of the obligation of dealing, amongst others, with Varro's very interesting grammar, cf. Michael 1970, 48-9.
2 1967, 26 3 1890, 137-44 4 Pr. Grat. 525a and Tht. 206d
5 Soph. 261ε1-262d6
are given of both classes and of how, together, they may form a sentence, for which the term Ἀγος is used. However, even this passage is quite incidental to the discussion of a philosophical issue, in this case the apparent contradiction inherent in the existence of falsehood. On the other hand, as Palmer\(^1\) stresses:

"This simple dichotomy is a powerful aid in the dismemberment of utterances, and it gives us the two most important 'parts of speech'.

It is generally accepted that Aristotle added a further part of speech to Plato's ἐφίμαξα and ὅρωμα, namely that of "conjunctions", as Lyons\(^2\) translates the terms σύνδεσμος and ἀδήποις.\(^3\) At first the Stoics distinguished four parts, using ἀδήποις to include pronouns and particles.\(^4\) Later they added a fifth by separating the nouns into ὅνομα 'proper noun' and ὅνομα προσηγορικόν or προσηγορείκ 'appellative noun'. This was not adopted by Dionysius Thrax\(^5\), with whom the canonical number of eight parts of speech is reached. He sets them down\(^6\) as ὅνομα, ἐπίθημα, μετοχή, ἀδήποις, καταλογικά, προθέτημα, ἐπίσημα and σύνδεσμος, with which one may compare the Latin terms used by Donatus: "Nomen pronomen verbum

\(^1\)1972,90 \(^2\)1968,11 \(^3\)The text (Arist.Poet. ch. 20) is somewhat corrupt, but I cannot see any reason for disagreeing with Steinhthal's arguments (1890,263-5) for considering that Aristotle meant the same thing by both words.

\(^4\)Cf. Lyons 1968,12 and Steinhthal 1890,297\(^5\)He goes so far as to state that he disagrees with this.Cf. 23.6-7.

\(^6\)Dion. Thrax. 23.5-6.
adverbium participium coniunctio praeposito interjectio."
The terms correspond exactly, with the exception that "adverbium participium coniunctio praeposito interjectio" is added. This seems to be the work of Remnius Palaemon and is understandable enough since Latin has no article.

§ 3. However, the primacy of noun and verb was still recognised by most grammarians, including Donatus who writes: "ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et verbum." In the same vein we find Isidore stating: "Partes orationis Aristoteles duas tradidit, nomen et verbum. Deinde Donatus octo definit. Sed omnes ad illa duo principalia revertuntur, hoc est, ad nomen et verbum, ad-nomen-et-verbum, quae significant personam et actum. Reliquae appendices sunt, et ex his originem trahunt." Similar ideas had been expressed earlier by Consentius and were to be repeated later by Malsachanus. Thus it is hardly surprising that similar

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1Donat. 355.2-3; cf. 372.25-6. 2Cf. Steinthal 1891,218.
5Etym. i on. 6 § 1.
6Cons. 338.4-8: "Partes orationis secundum grammaticos octo sunt, id est nomen pronomen verbum adverbium participium coniunctio praeposito interjectio, ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et verbum, quae coniunctae locutionem efficiunt. Omne enim quod mente concepimus nomine explicatur et verbo."
7Mals. 173.1-9: "Oratio dicta est quasi oris ratio, cuius partes VIII numerantur: nomen...interjectio. Ex his duae sunt principales partes: nomen et verbum, quia coniunctae locutionem faciunt, ut 'magister scriptit', 'orator docuit', quod aliae non possunt facere. Ut si dicam 'ante templum' et non iungas 'ago', non stat loquutio. Dicit enim grammaticus: "Omne, quod mente concepimus, nomine et verbo explicatur." Ceterae ex his duobus partibus appendices dicuntur." Note how close to Consentius and Isidore this is.
ideas found their way into Irish grammar\textsuperscript{1}. From our point of view it is also important to note that Malsachanus was an Irishman.

§ 4. In the Western tradition, Dionysius's division has survived to our days, with certain additions, notably that of the adjective. In the scholastic tradition, the Aristotelian division still survives.\textsuperscript{2} There are some interesting exceptions amongst grammarians proper. Thus Sanctius states, writing in 1584, that "Sunt autem haec tria, nomen, verbum, partitum: nam apud Hebraeos tres sunt partes orationis, nomen verbum & dictio consignificant. Arabes quoqua habent tantum tres orationis partes habent: Pheal, verbum, Isaf, nomen; Herph, dictionem: qua tres partes orationis omnes lingues Orientales habent."\textsuperscript{3} He goes on to explain how the other parts of speech depend on these. His definition\textsuperscript{4} of the role of the linguist is most interesting and shows that Sanctius's recent fame amongst modern linguists\textsuperscript{5} is not undeserved.

\textsuperscript{1}Cf. §§ 7-9 below. \textsuperscript{2}As Michael (1970,51) puts it: "Bacon, keeping close to Boethius, whom he often quotes, establishes first that there are two parts of speech (noun and verb) in logic and eight in grammar."

\textsuperscript{3}1693,12 41693,8: "Mihi perfectus, absolutusque Grammaticus est ille, qui in Ciceronis, vel Virgillii libris intelligit, quae dictio sit nomen, quae verbum, & et cetera, quae ad solam grammaticam spectant, etiam si sensum verborum non intelligat."

Lastly in this connection, it must be remembered that ideas about the parts of speech similar to those of Sanctius were not unknown even later, since they can be found in some sixteenth- to eighteenth-century English grammars.\(^1\)

§ 5. In Paul's declaration of Neo-grammariian doctrine based on the idea that only through diachronic study can language be subjected to a "wissenschaftliche Betrachtung"\(^2\), the traditional division into parts of speech is attacked because it "beruht nicht auf konsequent durchgeführten logischen Prinzipien...Der Versuch ein streng logisch gegliedertes System aufzustellen, ist überhaupt undurchführbar."\(^3\) Three possible criteria for a division into word-classes are given: semantic, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. He criticises all three on various grounds.

However, it may be remarked that unlike what happened with the advent of structuralism, Paul does not attempt to devise new terms to be used instead of the traditional ones. This follows immediately from his statement\(^4\) that "Es würde aber nicht möglich sein etwas wesentlich besseres an die Stelle zu setzen, so lange man daraus ausgeht, jedes Wort in eine bestimmte Klasse unterzubringen." In his following treatment of how words switch over from one part of speech into another, there is, as far as I can see, no significant disadvantage in the use of the traditional terms. But, then, it should be

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\(^{1}\) Cf. Michael 1970, 237-9; 262; 263; 265-6; 267; 278-9 for some that explicitly mention such a treatment.

\(^{2}\) 1920, 20  \(^{3}\) 1920, 352  \(^{4}\) 1920, 352
remembered that on the whole the Neo-grammarians dealt only with the older Indo-European languages, most of which are very similar in this respect.

§ 6. Bloomfield was one of the most influential of structural linguists. His attitudes had been formed through the study of languages belonging to widely different typological and genetic classes leading to statements like: "The languages of the Indo-European family are peculiar in having many parts of speech; no matter upon what constructions we base our scheme, a language like English will show at least half a dozen parts of speech, such as... Most languages show a smaller number. A distribution into three types is quite frequent (Semitic, Algonquian); usually one resembles our substantives and one our verbs." On his part, de Saussure had stated that "la distinction des mots en substantifs, verbes, adjectifs, etc. n'est pas une réalité linguistique indéniable." Certain trends in more recent linguistic theory, recognise, however, as Lyons has put it: "that the traditional 'notional' theory of the 'parts of speech' merits a rather more sympathetic consideration than it has received from linguists in recent years." There is also one important practical point to be remembered, namely that traditional terminology will still be easier to understand and to deal with than that used by some

1933, 198. 21955,153. 31966,209.
schools of linguistic thought. On the other hand, it is clear that the traditional terms need redefining in more precise terms so that the linguistic level meant in the context is made sufficiently obvious. My own views on these matters will, I hope, be made evident in the section that deals with terminology.

The Parts of Speech in The Irish Tradition

§ 7. When we turn to the Irish tradition for ideas about the parts of speech, we find lists of the eight parts of speech of Latin grammarians: in Latin "nomen, pronomen, verbum, adverbiwm, participium, coniunctio, prepositio, interiectio" and in Irish: "Aimn pronomen briathar 7 doibriathar, randgapal 7 comacomal, remshuidgud et interiect" and in another passage "aimn 7 briathar, 7 pronomen 7 doibriathar, randghabtach, 7 remshuidhiugud, comhfoicul 7 interiacht". This latter passage is interesting in that it changes the order in which the parts of speech are listed. It may be a pure coincidence that noun and verb are given first but it is worthy of note in view of the three parts of speech of the Bardic grammarians. This Bergin has called "a complete break with the Latin system, and a fresh start". However, it would be difficult not

4 "Focal" 'noun', "pearsa" 'verb' and "aarmbealis" 'particle' 4GT 4.
5 1938, 209.
to agree with Ó Cuív that "it may well go back to the time of the Auraicept which clearly owes a great deal to Isidore." The similarity between the Bardic division of the parts of speech and that of Isidore had first been noticed by O'Rahilly. Before discussing the connection between the Auraicept and Isidore, one important link between Bardic teaching and the Auraicept must be noted. The full text of the passage enumerating the Bardic parts of speech is "as Ó Féinius Farsaidh féin tug ainm ar gach ní substainteach do-chí súil 7 ghlacus lámh, 7 Iar mac Néma ro láoi farméirla san nGáoidhilg, 7 Pearsonia ro chumhdaigh [pearsan] imnse, gonadh on triúr sin atád trí hearnnile na Gáoidhilg." Now Féinius Farsaidh and Iar mac Néma are quite frequently mentioned in similar contexts in the Auraicept, e.g. "Ócus na ugdair na nGáedheal, roba he sein Féinius Farsaigh 7 Iar ma n-ilberla mac Néma".

§ 8. The Auraicept contains no specific reference to three parts of speech, but on the other hand, where the eight parts of speech are mentioned, there is always an

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1966,154 2 1946, 87 n.2 3 IGT 4: 'it is Féinius Farsaidh himself who put a name on every substantive thing an eye sees and a hand grasps and Iar mac Néma who fixed a particle in the Irish language and Pearsonia who enshrined verbs in it, so that it is from these three the three elements of the Irish language originate.'

4 Auraic. 81-3: 'And the authors of the Gaels, that was Féinius Farsaidh, and Iar of the many languages, son of Néma.'
explicit connection with Latin grammar; also, they are not much used about Irish, although Thurneysen is not strictly accurate in stating that "Die acht lateinischen Redeteile werden zwar aufgeführt und ihre Namen ins Irische übersetzt, aber ohne Beispiele aus der irischen Sprache, also nie auf diese angewandt." Thus one does find "Pronomen i.e. ni ar son anma i.e. me tu". However, it certainly seems true that the eight parts of speech did not form an integral part of native teaching.

§ 9. As for the threefold division itself, Adams's comparison with that of Japanese grammar is most interesting but tells us nothing about where all this came from. Bergin had stated that "it corresponds to that of Arabic grammar, which goes back to the seventh century" but he disclaims knowledge of "whether there is any direct influence". C Gúiv prefers O'Rahilly's idea of influence from Isidore. However, as has been shown above, the same idea is to be found in some of his contemporaries, the important thing about whom is that, like Isidore himself, they were most certainly known and studied in Ireland: Malsachanus was an Irishman and knew the work of Consentius and Isidore. A definitive

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1Thurneysen 1928,303; van Hamel 1946,325 loc.cit.
2 loc.cit.
3Auraico. 266l: 'pronoun, i.e. something in place of a noun, i.e. me 'I' tu 'thou'.
41970,158 51938,209 61966,152 7Cf. § 3 above 8Cf. Løfstedt's introduction to Mals. 48-9; 50-1.
study of the origins and development of Irish grammatical thinking remains to be done: all that can be affirmed here is that there seems to be sufficient evidence from early mediaeval Latin grammars for these to have given the Irish their threefold division of the parts of speech.

§ 10. The eightfold division is seemingly not mentioned in the Irish Grammatical Tracts, but something like it (it allows for seven parts of speech) may be found in Ó hÉodhasa's ms. grammar of 1634: "Partes orationis Hybernis sunt septem, videlicet airteagal .i. articulus; aina .i. nomen; insgne .i. pronomen; briathar nó pearsa .i. verbum; reimbhriathar .i. adverbium; coimhechleangal .i. coniunctio; iarbēarla .i. praeposition. Veteres autem tres tantum recentiores orationis partes quas vocant trí biaemad na gaoidhilge nimirum, focal, pearsa et iarbēarla. Per focal intelligunt nomen, pronomen et adverbium; per pearsa, sōum verbum; per iarbēarla, praepositionem, coniunctionem et articulum." This shows rather more clearly than the passage in IGT that the Bardic tradition must have put the threefold division first. Subsequent Irish grammarians like O'Molloy^2, Lhuyd^3 and Mac Curtin^4 make much the same

^1 [Note or reference]
^2 [Note or reference]
^3 [Note or reference]
^4 [Note or reference]
points, as does Vallancey\(^1\), who adds adjective and
interjection to the list, thus reckoning with nine parts
of speech, as does Kelly\(^2\), whereas Shaw\(^3\) does not count
the article as a separate part of speech. These two do
not seem to know of the older three-fold division, nor
does O'Donovan\(^4\), whose influence\(^5\) on all subsequent
grammars of Irish has been considerable. His classi-
faction\(^6\) runs: "There are nine classes, or divisions
of words, or, as they are called, parts of speech, viz.
article, noun-substantive, noun adjective, pronoun,
verb, preposition, adverb, conjunction and interjection."
Rather interestingly, this is somewhat less strictly
based on the canonical eight parts of speech than what
is found in some modern prescriptive grammars, like that
of the Christian Brothers: "Is gnách ocht mó-rcinn a
dhéanamh ar fhocail de réir a bhfeidhmé. Na príomhranna
cainte a thugtar orthu".\(^7\) The parts listed are noun, verb,
pronoun, adjective, adverb, conjunction, preposition and
interjection. The article is classified as an adjective
but called article\(^8\).
§ 11. In scholarly works about Irish morphology and syntax the position seems rather different. Few explicit statements about the parts of speech are to be found, but on the whole traditional terminology is used, even where the author feels that this does not really suit the description very well, or as de Bhaldraithe puts it at the beginning of a section that deals with conjunctions, adverbs and prepositions:

"Ainneoin nach bhfuil aon difríocht bhunúsach idir na trí ranna cainte seo, leantar anseo, do ghrá na héascafocht, den rannadh a bhfuil cleachtadh air. Féachtar le gach focal, nó forá, a chur ina roinn féin, de réir na gramadai traidisiúnta". On the other hand, there are some interesting departures. Thus Sjøestedt-Jonval’s reckoning with "deux espèces de noms, substantif et adjectif" has a rather old-fashioned ring about it.

Terminology and Theory

§ 12. As mentioned previously, traditional terminology has on the whole been preferred in this work. Because of the heterogeneity of the criteria underlying some of these terms, a few definitions may prove useful.

Simple sentences are divided into main and subordinate clauses, defined as such because they contain

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1 1953,175: ‘Although there is no fundamental difference between these three parts of speech, the usual division is here followed for the sake of simplicity. An attempt is made to put each word or phrase into its own department, according to traditional grammar.’

2 1938,15.
a predicate as one major constituent. A phrase, on the other hand, is a group of units that together function as one major constituent in a sentence without being analysable as a subordinate clause of any kind, i.e. if a predicate is included.

On the one hand syntax deals with at least one of the four major constituents of an Irish sentence in relation to each other, namely predicate\(^1\), subject, object and adverbial. On the other it describes the potentially cyclical combination into phrases of units definable in morphological terms, i.e. verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and adverbs and more minor units found only together with these, i.e. the article, the copula, prepositions, preverbs and enclitics.

Where the distinction is relevant, reference will be made to sentence and clause syntax on the one hand and phrase syntax on the other. In other words, when the terms "predicate", "subject", "object" and "adverbial" are used, sentence syntax is being discussed; the use of the terms "verb", "noun", "adverb" etc. implies that the syntax of phrases is meant.

\(^1\)Note that "predicate" as used here does not, as e.g. in Lyons (1968,334) refer to all parts of a sentence (i.e. verb, object etc. together) that do not form part of the subject. The only cases where the predicate will be assumed to "contain" either or both of the subject and the object, are those where pronouns may be regarded as being included, either through in- and suffixing or in synthetic verbal forms.
§ 13. To this way of looking at things one might object that the adoption of a grammar such as that advocated by Borgström\(^1\) would remove the necessity of differentiating between sentence (and clause) syntax on the one hand and phrase syntax on the other. The reason for this is simply that morphology would absorb most, if perhaps not all, of the phrase syntax. In Borgström's proposal the word-boundaries as written nowadays would have to be abandoned and inserted only between major syntactic constituents. On the whole, his arguments are derived from the undeniable lack (using intercalation criteria) shown by elements such as prepositions, negations, preverbs and the copula, as well as from a wish to group external and internal sandhi together as one single phenomenon. According to this, we should be dealing with "a (mildly) polysynthetic language"\(^2\), where the simple prepositions are re-labelled case-prefixes, the combination of noun and adjective is regarded as a compound and preverbs form part of the verb itself. Theoretically speaking, I have no very serious objections to Borgström's proposal as one of many possible ways of looking at Irish grammar. In fact, it would seem that a very similar approach dictated the way Old and Middle Irish were written\(^3\). Also, it is not at all impossible that similar

\(^1\)1968, 12-21. \(^2\)art. cit. 20. \(^3\)Gramm. § 34.
ideas underlie the nominal paradigms in the *Auraicept na nócse* where, as Bergin puts it, "The author or redactor tries to distinguish seventeen cases of nouns, giving a special name to each occurrence of the dative or accusative form according to the prepositions that precede it."  

§ 14. On the other hand, although a grammar of this sort certainly seems feasible, it is not yet certain that it actually would simplify the description of Irish. What is certain is that it would entail serious changes to many doctrines found in existing handbooks. Also, if one wished to be really consistent within such a framework, one would have to insist on most twentieth-century diplomatic editions of Old and Middle Irish texts being given the word-divisions found in the original manuscripts. The revisions necessary in modern texts would of course be even more serious. In addition to all this, it may be noted that in view of the theories put forward on the subject of word-division by Chomsky and Halle, it is not altogether impossible that the whole question of word-boundaries may be of somewhat lesser importance in linguistic theory than has been thought hitherto. For practical purposes, the issue can be avoided here by stating that where it is not used in a loose general

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sense, the term "word" refers to entities that are written as one word by Thurneysen\(^1\) or (for the modern period) as such in the standard dictionaries of Dinneen and Dwyer.

The Adverb in General

§15. In ancient tradition the adverb is at first either derived from nouns or verbs\(^2\); Antipater (second century B.C.) would seem to have been the first to have recognised as a separate part of speech; he called it μεσότης. Later the term πανδέκτης is found\(^3\). The term used today is of Alexandrian origin; the Greek word is ἐπίθεσις and Dionysius Thrax's definition is as follows: "Ἐπίθεσις τὸ μέρος λόγου ἀνισον, κατὰ ἑξήματος λεγόμενον ἡ ἐπίθεσιον ἐν ἑνάτει". With certain modifications this is still valid in traditional grammar today. The Latin term "aduerbium" is a direct translation of the Greek and Latin grammars like those of Donatus\(^5\) and Priscian\(^6\) follow Dionysius fairly closely\(^7\).

One interesting point about the ancient conception of adverbs is that, apparently, adverbs were defined

\(^1\)Gramm. § 34
\(^2\)Steinthal 1890,298; 1891,212.
\(^3\)loc. cit.
\(^4\)Dion. Thrax 72.4-5
\(^5\)Donat. 363.15-6: "Adverbium quid est? Pars orationis, quae adiecta verbo significationem eius explanat agus inplet."
\(^6\)Prisc. Inst. II, 60.2-3: "Adverbium est pars orationis indeclinabilis, cuius significatio verbis adicitur."
\(^7\)Cf. Pinkster 1972, 35-43 for a more detailed discussion of adverbs in Roman grammatical theory.
only as qualifiers of verbs, not of adjectives and other adverbs. However, as Lyons\(^1\) remarks, the ancient definition "depended, implicitly, upon the earlier and wider senses of verb."

§ 16. In the fifteenth century, adjectives and other adverbs were explicitly added to the list of what adverbs qualify\(^2\). With that we reach as good a definition as circumstances permit, bearing in mind that the adverb is sometimes considered as some sort of rag-bag of elements unclassifiable in any other way, but of very different functions and origins. This conception was well known in ancient times\(^3\), whereas the position of modern linguistics may be summed up in Lyons's words: "In traditional grammar, adverbs constitute a very heterogeneous class; and it is doubtful whether any general theory of syntax would bring together as member of the same syntactic class all the forms that are traditionally described as adverbs."\(^4\)

Finally, it must be mentioned that after a period of apparent neglect, even more recent trends in linguistics have taken a considerable amount of interest in adverbs, mostly in connection with attempts to relate logical structures to linguistic ones.\(^5\)

\(^1\)1968,326 \(^2\)Michael 1970,74 \(^3\)Steinthal 1891,213
\(^4\)1968,326 \(^5\)See e.g. Bartsch 1972 or Stalnaker and Thomason 1973.
Adverbs in Indo-European

§ 17. In Indo-European linguistics the discussion about adverbs has mainly been concerned about their origins. One theory that has been put forward is that the earliest strata of Indo-European had no adverbs and that, accordingly, all forms that are later known as adverbs can be derived from petrified case-forms of various kinds. Indeed the present material from Irish illustrates such a process rather well, showing as it does how very few inherited adverbs there are in Irish. On the other hand, not all Indo-European adverbs can be explained in this way, though it is quite possible that future study may yet show an increasing number of these to be derived from what in a yet earlier stage of the language may have been non-adverbial forms of some kind.

In any case, there certainly cannot be objections to stating that a language need not have such a part of speech.

§ 18. One particular point that scholars have discussed a great deal concerns the relationship between prepositions and adverbs. The most commonly held view is still that of Brugmann amongst others. He derives prepositions

1 Delbrück 1893, 538. 2 On the other hand, it is hard to see what else than an adverb a bare stem like nM (IEW 770) ever could have been, unless of course this is yet another manifestation of Watkins's (1966, 111-2) "indefinite case form with zero ending."

3 Cf. § 3 above. 4 1911, 758.
from original adverbs that have come to stand "in einer besonders nahen Beziehung entweder zu einem Verbum...oder zu einem Kasus oder Adverbium in der Weise, dass diese als von ihm abhängig erscheinen". This Kuryłowicz more recently has in a more precise way: "The fact that the in the I.E. languages many an indeclinable may function both as preverb and as preposition has been a sufficient reason for attributing to them an adverbial origin. Such an assumption fully accounts for their subsequent functional bifurcation."\(^1\) After "univerbation" has taken place, new adverbs are often formed with forms related to those of the old ones, which now are preverbs.\(^2\) An adverb becomes a preposition in three stages.\(^3\) In the first the whole phrase (preposition and noun) determines the predicate "the preposition representing either a reinforcement or a specification of the ending of the noun." In the second stage "the ending of the case-form functions as a determinant of the preposition" and in the third "the case-ending becomes a redundant feature entailed by the preposition." The crucial shift is that from stage 1 to stage 2. Thus far Kuryłowicz. More recent work on Indo-European has not challenged this view. Dressler, for instance, states: "Die idg. Grundsprache kannte wohl kaum richtiggehende

\(^1\)1964,171. \(^2\)1964,172. \(^3\)1964,176.
Prapositionen oder Postpositionen, wohl aber Adverbia, die die Bedeutung von Kasusformen modifizieren konnten.\textsuperscript{1}

§ 19. About de-adjectival adverbs Hoffmann states that the Indo-European "Grundsprache" had no "lebendigen Adverbialbildungen aus Adjektiven"\textsuperscript{2}; unfortunately he does not state whether he means that a previous stage of the language had known living forms of this sort. Even if that is the intention, it would seem more likely that Brugmann was correct in attributing a nominal origin to all of these\textsuperscript{3}. This might probably be supported by the rather rapid way in which one way of forming them changes to another, not only in Irish, but also in Latin and Romance\textsuperscript{4}. In the latter the formation in-ment(e) of undeniably nominal origin is well worth noting, as is finally the situation in Modern German, where adjectives used "predicatively", i.e. with the verb sein and those used "adverbially", i.e. with any other verb, fell together completely, so that in the modern language there is no longer any linguistic reason for keeping the two separate\textsuperscript{5}.

\textsuperscript{1}1971,91. \textsuperscript{2}1952,47: "Sowohl Kasus von Substantiva als auch Kasus von Adjektiva erscheinen als Adverbia. Im Grunde handelt es sich aber auch beim Adjektiv meistens um substantivische Natur des Wortes."

\textsuperscript{3}Löfstedt 1967, 108: "Es wurde eingangs bemerkt, dass das Adverbiun eine Wortart ist, die sich oft erneuert. Wir haben gesehen, wie im Lateinischen verschiedene Adverbendungen und adverbiale Konstruktionen miteinander konkurrieren, bis im Rom. ein neues Suffix die Oberhand gewinnt."

\textsuperscript{4}Steinitz 1959, 103: "Es ist nicht mehr zu ignorieren, dass die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart die formelle Trennung des Adj. in zwei verschieidene syntaktische Kategorien mit Hilfe des Verbs 'sein' aufgegeben hat."
Adverbs in Irish linguistics

§ 20. If one took Irish linguistics to include the study of Latin by Irishmen, one would find the term referring to adverbs understood and used by the writers of glosses in the Milan and St. Gall codices\(^1\). Here it will be enough to comment on the term itself. It is a thoroughly artificial formation\(^2\), a calque on the Latin word: "aduerbium" = "dobrfathar". Interestingly, the last time it seems to be found used in Irish before the most recent period is in the *Auraicept*\(^3\). Here it is given as the Irish translation of the Latin term in lists of the parts of speech. On the other hand there seems to be no instance where it is used to describe any element in Irish itself. Thus it is likely that the term and perhaps even the concept was not really used by the early native grammarians about their own language.

In the Bardic tracts on language there are some references to what we would call adverbs, notably the one on the face of it rather puzzling "nó oibriughadh achd an mhéad chantar dhe"\(^4\).

\(^1\)Cf. *DHTA* D 217, 8-18 for ref.  \(^2\)*Gramm.* 506;  \(^3\)*Auraic.* 300; 2668.  \(^4\)*Bard.* 226, 27: "an adjective is not correct with a verbal noun, except insofar as it is spoken of". This is discussed in more detail later in the text: cf. § 142 below.
§ 21. As we have seen¹, Ó hÉodhasa was familiar with the Latin division of the parts of speech and thus also with the concept of adverbs, which he defines as follows: "Adverbium quod vocatur reimbriathar est pars orationis modificans et explanans significationem verbi et nonnunquam etiam nominis, ut buail go láidir, atá calma go lóir"². The main thing to note here is that instead of dobriathar the term reimbriathar is used. This may be the first recorded instance of the word being used³. After this he goes on to state: "Quaedam enim significant interrogationem, ut an amhildich, an eadh, caidhe, cait etc."⁴ and so on; the classification is on the whole semantically based, but he also makes some observations⁵ about morphology, notably distinguishing compound from simple adverbs, stating⁶ the rule for forming adverbs out of adjectives and finally some degrees of comparison: "positivus gu maith, augmentativus go romaith, comparativus feairde, móide etc. qui bráthair iomarbhádha vocatur; superlativus, ut as roifheirde, romhóide etc."⁷ This is of course not entirely satisfying,

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¹ § 10 above. ² RGH .1783; the examples mean 'strike hard' and 'he is brave enough'.
³ There seems to be no mention of it in DRTA.
⁴ RGH .1786-7: the examples mean 'is that so'; 'is it?'; 'what, where'; 'where'.
⁵ RGH .1813 ff. ⁶ RGH .1818, cf. .608-12 and .4080-1.
⁷ RGH .1830-3; the examples mean 'well'; 'too well'; 'better', 'the more'; 'that is too best' or perhaps rather 'that is very best'. 
butt on the whole the exposition is fairly clear and the material reasonably exhaustive. One senses the Bardic training that hEodhäsá<ref>1</ref> probably had received. Early printed grammars of Irish are neither as clear nor at all as exhaustive, but essentially their position is quite similar.

§ 22. The first of these is based on hEodhäsá<ref>1</ref> as Egan has shown<ref>2</ref>. However, O'Molloy’s use of terminology is much more confused. Thus in one chapter<ref>3</ref> he uses the term "articulus" to denote all proclitics, giving amongst other cases examples of articles being prefixed to form adverbs<ref>4</ref>. In this passage "aduerbium" is used in the same sense as one might today, but when discussing metrics he uses the term as a translation for Irish iarmbheurla ‘proclitic’<ref>5</ref>. Moreover, in the passage dealing with the parts of speech one finds that "aduerbium" is translated as "reimhriathar" and "pronomen" then as "iarmbheurla"<ref>6</ref>.

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<ref>3</ref>1677,100-7 = ch. 11. <ref>4</ref>1677,106-7: "Alij articuli inferuint aduerbij, vt go, cùm dico, go maith, go holl, id est hēnē, male. Similiter a, cùm dico a ne, a niadh, latīnā hēri, hodie, item a noir, a niar, illī autem dicitur temporales; hi vero locales, sō quod hi locum connotant, isti vero tēmpus:" The untranslated items mean ‘from the East’ and ‘from the West’.
<ref>5</ref>1677,150 and 154-5. <ref>6</ref>1677,83.
Mac Curtin explains the "Article" as "a word, which by itself signifieth nothing, yet placed before another word, doth determine its signification.

There are several kinds of articles, some are Nominals, some verbals, some Adverbials, some Pronominals and some Interrogatives. The adverbial "articles" given are go and a; the former "when before an Adjective, makes it an Adverb, as go maith well...", whereas "Adverbs of time and place have always the Article a annexed to them;". The classification is neither complete nor entirely accurate: note for instance that there are adverbs of time and place formed otherwise than with a prefix a and that this itself in the examples given represents forms of diverse origins. In spite of this, this is much better than O'Molloy's treatment of the same material. In a later section, where adverbs are given their (in contemporary sources) usual term of réimhbríatá, he states: "An adverb is a part of speech, modifying and explaining the signification of the Verb, and sometimes of the Noun, as buail go láidir, strike strongly, láitir go lór, strong enough. Like in Ó hÉodhása's grammar it is clear that in the latter case adjectives ("nouns adjective") are meant. Again, the main classification is a semantic one, but he also observes that "the figure of Adverbs is either simple,
as go maith, well; or compound, as ró-mhaith, full well.\(^1\) On the question of syntax, or "government", as he calls it, Mac Curtin confines himself to phrase syntax only giving a hint that adverbials may qualify verbs, but no examples\(^2\). Donlevy\(^3\) deals only with phonology, but Vallancey gives a fairly long list of adverbs, of which he has a rather original definition: "Adverbs are added to nouns and adjectives to denote some circumstance of the action or quality."\(^4\). Thus adverbs of "Quality" like "go honóarch honourably; go calma valiantly, &c."\(^5\) are distinguished from those of "Quantity" like "go beag, little; go mór greatly; go lór enough"\(^6\). On the other hand the class of affirmatives includes amongst others expressions like "go raibh mar sin, so be it; aseadh, Yes it is so;"\(^7\). His chapter on "Syntaxis"\(^8\) makes no mention of adverbs.

\(^1\)1728,75. \(^2\)1728,86.  "As to the government of Adverbs, some do govern a Gen. Case, as aseachdín, ar fud, ar fad, a bhfochar, deis, tar dís, andlaigh, &c. Whether they signify time or place; others require a Dative or Ablative Case, not truly govern'd by them, but by a Preposition, as maraon, maille, mar aon le Séadhan; maille le honóir. Others do indifferently require either a Nom. or Accusat. Case, as agso bean, agsom mnaoi, & the rest of the Adverbs do commonly govern no case." The examples mean: 'throughout'; 'throughout'; 'altogether'; 'in presence of'; 'on the right of'; 'after'; 'after'; 'along'; 'together'; 'along with S.'; 'together with honour'; 'here is (viz. French voici) a woman'; 'here is a woman'.
\(^3\)1742. \(^4\)1773, 42ff. \(^5\)1773,44. \(^6\)ibid. 71773,42.
\(^8\)1773,116-119.
Shaw contributes a list of adverbs, which includes prefixes like "Keamh", best orthographied neo, a negative particle, compounded with nouns. 1 Dealing with composition he states: "As all primitive, so all compounded adjectives and participles, are used adverbially, by prefixing the syllable go; thus impoichte, converted; neo-impoichte, unconverted; go neo-impoichte..." 2.

Dealing with Manx, Kelly on his part attempts a classification of adverbs not unlike that of Vallancey, including as the fifteenth and last class "Adverbs of Quality" which "are made of adjectives and participles, by putting the preposition dy, of, before them; as Dy mie well. Dy olk badly..." 3.

§ 23. In the nineteenth century more Irish 4 and Scottish Gaelic grammars appeared. On the whole the conception of adverbs has not changed much to our days in Irish grammars, from the days such works began to be printed. The most interesting feature here concerns terminology; for some reason the term reimhbrriathar has now been abandoned and the word found in the glosses and in the Auraicept reintroduced as the standard term in Modern 5 Irish. The reasons for this are unclear to me 6.

1778,80. 2 1778,101. 3 1804,58-62. 4 Cf. Best 1913,45-7. 5 Dinneen records both words; but de Bhaldraithe's normative dictionary (1959, s.v. adverb) gives only the artificial dobriathar, as in grammars: cf. O Searcaigh 1939,252; O Cadhlaigh 1940,352; Christian Brothers 1960,273. In Scottish Gaelic the older term is preferred: Dwelly has roimh-brriathar and the neologism (?) ceann-brriathar.

1In Keating dobriathar has the natural meaning 'bad, evil word', as one might expect. (TSh. 5520)
Scope of this Work

§ 24. A crucial definition is that of what an "adverb" is. As the rapid survey in the preceding part has tried to show, many definitions have been offered, few of which can be called altogether satisfactory for the particular language being described; it is probable that none is adequate from the point of view of language universals. Thus it is not surprising that no attempt is made here to offer any universal definition of adverbs that would hold good for all languages: what I can offer is simply a statement of what I propose to deal with in the following pages."

First of all, in the section on morphology a survey will be given of the origins (derivational and otherwise) of elements that can occur as the major constituent "adverbial" in a sentence. There is, however, one important exception, namely that productive prepositional will not be treated, nor will the origin of prepositions; on the other hand I have tried to include a representative selection of prepositional phrases where they represent a formation that is no longer productive and therefore does not fit the normal pattern of prepositional phrases in that stage of the language. In this respect I have adopted Paul's⁷

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⁷1920,366: "Die A d v e r b i a sind, soweit wir ihren Ursprung erkennen können, fast durchweg aus erstarrten Kasus von Nominibus hervorgegangen, teilweise aus der Verbindung einer Präposition mit einem Kasus."
§ 25. In the section on sentence syntax, on the other hand, all adverbial phrases have been treated on a fairly equal footing: here it would obviously be unreasonable to distinguish between adverbs and prepositional phrases, since attention is being focused on how adverbials behave in respect to other major constituents in a simple sentence, not on their internal structure. In this part, complex sentences have not been dealt with as such, just as conjunctions were not included in the section on morphology. However, one type of complex sentence has been included, namely that where an adverbial has been broken out of a simple sentence for emphasis and placed before the main verb with or without the copula. I am aware that there might be certain objections to this way of dealing with my material, but I believe that limitations of this kind had to be imposed if the boundaries set by the main topic were not to be exceeded.

Finally, it may be useful to repeat here and elaborate on the definition already given of adverbs and adverbials for the purpose of this work. The latter are one of four possible major constituents in an Irish

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1Cf. de Bhaldraithe 1953,175 quoted in § 11 above.
2In § 12 above.
sentence, that is, a constituent that occurs at the same level as predicates\(^1\), subjects and objects. Adverbs, on the other hand, belong to one of the classes of units that may be defined in morphological terms\(^2\), such as verbs, nouns etc. The distinction is of course not always explicitly important, but should be noted not only in keeping prepositional phrases and adverbs proper apart, but also in distinguishing the major constituent of adverbial within a sentence from the constituent of adverb within a phrase, i.e. where the adverb does not qualify a predicate.

**Sources**

§ 26. Although there many articles and parts of larger works that deal with various aspects of Irish adverbial formation and usage, there is no study that attempts to deal with this as a whole\(^3\). Thus the present work represents something to a certain extent so unprecedented in Irish studies that it seems that it would not be very useful to provide a full "Forschungslage"\(^4\) that would deal with all previous scholarly work on the subject. Instead, where previous work has a bearing on a particular issue under discussion in the main body of the text, it will be referred to\(^5\).

\(^1\) As defined in § 12 above.\(^2\) I.e. inflectional and derivational.\(^3\) As Pinkster 1972 does for Latin. \(^4\) This Meid 1963, 10-52 has done rather usefully in his study of Old Irish conjunct and absolute verbal flection.\(^5\) Such items are listed in the bibliography, § 179 below.
§ 27. As far as the language-material used as a basis for this study is concerned, the scope is very large, namely from the earliest recorded Old Irish to the present-day dialects of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland. In practice, however, it has of course not been possible to survey more than a small proportion of all the material that would have been available; certain limitations had to be imposed. Now, there are various ways of dealing with this problem. One way would be to do what Gagnepain did in his study in his study of the syntax of the verbal noun, i.e. to select representative texts and excerpt them very fully, noting each example as it occurs and making a systematic classification of the material thus obtained. This has the real advantage that the grammar may be expected to be reasonably coherent within a given text and the rules arrived at thus not too lacking in consistency. On the other hand, one is open to the risk of losing interesting items; especially where morphology is concerned, it happens not infrequently that fairly crucial forms are found in texts which it would have been quite pointless to excerpt otherwise. It is this consideration that has led me to

1 Note that by Irish I mean the Goidelic language of Ireland, by Scottish Gaelic that of Scotland and by Manx the dialect that was spoken in the Isle of Man; Goidelic is used as a cover-term for all of these.
2 Cf. 1968, 4. 3 It is of course significant that Gagnepain's study is mainly concerned with syntax.
seek out my material wherever it occurs, mainly with the help of dictionaries\(^1\) and glossaries to texts\(^2\) or (for the modern dialects) to dialect monographs; these latter give fairly extensive but by no means exhaustive coverage to the whole present-day speech-area from Ring in the South-East to Ness in the North.

§ 28. With a few exceptions, I have not made much use of normative grammars of Modern Irish, nor of published twentieth-century literature. In the first case, the reason is simply that I have to confess to certain doubts as to their reliability as mirrors of the grammar of spoken native Irish\(^3\); in the second, the reason is that the necessary dictionaries are not yet available. Very few such texts have glossaries that give adequate references. Also, it seemed more worth-while to use the breadth of material available in dialect monographs than to excerpt a few selected modern authors fully; I can only hope that my choice was the right one.

§ 29. Finally, a few words need to be said about typographical matters. First of all, most quotations from Irish are given (with a translation) exactly as in the sources referred to, with the exception that

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\(^1\)Such as DHLA and to a lesser extent Dinneen, Dwelly and de Bhaldrailhe 1959.

\(^2\)Such as those belonging to the Med. and Mod. Ser.

\(^3\)This is detracting from their value as tools for learning the language.
editorial italics have been ignored, except for such cases where they are immediately relevant to the matter under discussion. Also, texts printed in the "Gaelic" type have for obvious practical reasons been given in the same type as the others. In all other matters, including that of word-boundaries, I have followed the individual editors.
PART II. MORPHOLOGY
Introduction

§ 30. The morphology of Irish adverbs reflects the diversity in origins of this part of speech rather well. This is of course not a special feature of Irish: most languages have varieties of ways of forming adverbs.\(^1\)

Perhaps the easiest formation to deal with is that which gives adverbs from adjectives, either with the use of a special ending, like English bad-ly, Greek μεθάλω, Latin superbe, French vrai-ment or (to take a non-Indo-European language) Finnish kauhea-sti 'terribly', or else by just using the basic form of the adjective, as in German wunderbar or sub-standard English he got it bad (or certain cases in normal English, e.g. he travels fast). A form belonging to the declensional paradigm of the adjective may be used, (often of the neuter gender, if the language has a gender distinction) as in Swedish faktiskt 'really' with the ending -t of the neuter or Greek λαμπρόκατα where the plural is found.

In some languages that have a special form in the positive, some of the compared forms may take a case-ending, as in Latin superbius, but superbissime with the special adverbial ending. English is slightly different in this respect: compared de-adjectival adverbs have the same form as the corresponding

\(^1\)Brugmann & Delbrück 1911, 667-758 gives a survey for the Indo-European family of languages.
adjectives (better, best), except of course when more and most are used. In Finnish, on the other hand, one finds that whereas the positive has the special ending referred to, to compared forms combine a stem affix (comparative -mpä and superlative -impä) with the instructive plural "case-ending" (-in). Thus we get forms such as kauheammin 'more terribly' from kauheampi 'more terrible' and kauheimmin 'most terribly' from kauhein 'most terrible'.

§ 31. A formation often found, especially in those languages that have a less well developed case system, employs a particle (most often a preposition) with nouns and adjectives to form expressions, which, if they become petrified enough, may be classified as adverbs and indeed fused into single words, as English a-broad. Also, they may preserve older syntactic patterns, as does Swedish till sjösa 'at sea' in which the preposition till 'to' still governs the genitive.

In some Indo-European languages, adverbs of time and place preserve very old formations that have no visible endings, such *nu 'now' and *pro 'before'. These have a tendency to become particles of a more bound type, but *nu in any case survives in many languages as an independent adverb, although probably not in Irish, interestingly enough.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Brugmann and Delbrück 1911,739. \(^2\)It has been identified by some with the preverb no; cf. IEW 770 and § 34 below.
In Indo-European, at least, adverbs are formed from all word-classes, not all of which occur as often as others: "Am stärksten sind die Pronomina beteiligt, am wenigsten die Verba." ¹

§ 32. In many languages deictic adverbs, i.e. ones of time or place with meanings like 'then', 'there' etc. are formed from pronominal stems. The origin of pronouns like Latin tunc, Greek εός, Swedish där 'there' etc. is to be seen in the same root that gave inter alia the Greek definite article (except for ῥ and ῦ). On the other hand, similar adverbs in Irish, when derived from pronouns, are mostly later formations, with original meanings like 'in it' developing to 'here', 'there' etc. Interestingly enough, Finnish has a transparent system of post-positions (labelled "case-endings in most grammars) added to what still functions as the demonstrative. Thus tuo-lia can also mean 'on that', not only 'there'.

§ 33. One interesting feature of Irish adverbs that may be mentioned here, since it occurs in some otherwise rather different formations², is that of initial lenition. As Pedersen describes³, this development is not⁴ yet present in the Würzburg

¹Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 139 ²Cf. §§ 64, 85 and 99. ³Ped. I, 457 ⁴Note the cases mentioned in § 99.
glosses, but becomes increasingly frequent as the language develops. Most interestingly, this has apparently nothing to do with a preceding word ending in a vowel or such a word having disappeared leaving a lenited initial. On the other hand, as Pedersen mentions, some cross-over may be possible.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the Brittonic languages, but in view of the innovatory nature of it, it is hard to see how there could be a common origin in both cases, though similar processes may have been involved.

i. Simple Adverbs

Indo-European Simple Adverbs

§ 34. True simple adverbs inherited from Indo-European are rare in Irish, partly because of the fact noted by Meillet¹ that "Les adverbes de cette sorte sont nombreux dans chaque langue, mais peu se retrouvent identiques dans plusieurs et peuvent être attribuées à l'indo-européen." In case of those preverbs, however, which originated from Indo-European adverbs, as ro- from Indo-European +pro², ad- etc., it should be noted that their inseparability from the verb and inclusion in its stress-pattern make it more desirable to label them as verbal particles rather than adverbs, although it is of course true that they perform one of the functions of adverbs, namely that of qualifying verbs.

§ 35. The original adverbial or appositional nature of IE prepositions survives amongst others in Latin and Greek, as in II. 5,632 τὸν καὶ Τανόλεμος πρῶτεσσος πεσμὸν ἐκείνων quoted by Meillet, who for a reason not known to me includes Celtic in the groups of languages

¹1934,192. ²Cf. Gramm. 347; in Irish grammars the interesting particle no- is usually described as being devoid of meaning. Its origin is described by Pokorny (IEW,757) as "ursprünglich formelhaft vorgesetztes 'oder nicht?'", rather than from the root (IEW,770) that gave English now, Greek νῦν, Swedish nu etc.; as Vendryes (Lex. N,18) would have it, probably with somewhat better justification.
which "ont conservé de nombreux restes de cette indépendance"; it is not a feature of Irish, where prepositions are used ^A. In close composition, i.e. in all nominal compounds and in verbal compounds under or after the stress. B. Pretonic, as the first element of a deuterotonic verb... C. Pretonic, before a dependent case. D. before a suffixed personal pronoun."^2

§ 36. The word etir, itir 'at all' is listed among Zeuss's "adverbia primitiva vel obscurioris originis"^3 is a conjugated preposition, which like and 'in it' and others has gained the force of an adverb. As with other prepositions, there is some interchange between the forms without a pronoun and the conjugated ones^4. Scottish Gaelic and Northern Irish have preserved the distinction between the conjugated preposition used adverbially (idir) and that without a pronoun (eadar)^5. In Munster and Connaught Irish idir is used in both cases.

§ 37. The phrase co nómad náe 'to the ninth generation'^6 from him on' or 'from that on' quoted by Thurneysen in the form n-áu^7 may contain the "primary form of the

1934,193 cf. also Ernout and Thomas 1951,9; Kühner and Gerth 1898,526 and Brugmann and Delbrück 1911,758.
^2Gramm. 495. 31871,613 ^3Gramm. 511 and O’Rahilly 1932,226.
^5O’Brien 1956,176; Ofstedal 1956,334,338 and Dwelly s.vv.
^6Thurneysen, ed. 1911,85 § 38; O’Dav. § 547.
^7Gramm. 524; as in LL 37589.
preposition" here "possibly retained as an adverb", but this is by no means certain. The origin of the preposition itself (ό, ἀν ~ 'from') is disputed. Thurneysen, Pokorny and Ernout & Meillet hold that it is from the same root as Latin ab etc., while Pedersen mentions a possible but "zweifelhaft" connection with Welsh o 'from', Cornish and Breton an, Sanskrit an and Latin a ab abe. Finally, Schmidt takes it from Indo-European *apo* with loss of p in Celtic.

There seem to be instances where ἀν ~ 'after' is seemingly used on its own as an adverb, but since they are late, it would be difficult to prove that they are survivals of Indo-European usage.

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1 Thus Stokes translates (O'Dav. § 547) 'to the ninth descendant'; Meyer (1915,351; Misc. Hib. and Wortk. § 166) proposes 'to the ninth times ninth' which Pokorny (1919,41) accepts, whereas before the one mentioned in the text, Thurneysen had proposed at two different explanations: firstly (1917,104.3-4 on có nómad nöe in 85.6) that one should translate "bis zum neunten Glied" (eigentlich 'Menschen'); secondly (1923, 4) that it should be taken as a genitive of nof 'nine' and the phrase should be translated as 'der Neunte von Neunen'. Lastly, (this is obviously what Stokes's translation might suggest) O'Brien has proposed (1923,320) that the correct reading is ἀμ-ἀυ from ὁἀυ, later ἀν, ἀν = 'Grandson, descendant', deriving support for this view from Modern Irish sentences like "τά siad ar a dá f = 'they are second cousins' and τά siad in 9 ambain = 'they are first cousins'.

2 Gramm. 524. 3IEW 72.4 1951,3. 5Ped. I, 438. 61957,108.
7O Bruad. II,120.5: aithneas iar nár chéim cóitire = 'then she learned 'twas hard to find' Cf. II,144.18. On the other hand, one should perhaps not discount that 80.615 ἀν ~ 'aloft' represents older usage, though scribal error is possible. Cf. DTRA N-O-P 162.69-76 and § 90 below.
Other simple adverbs

§ 38. The earliest example of an adverb-type word in our records of Irish is Ogam KOI, which occurs nine times\(^1\). It is always used after a noun as in OORBH KOI MAQI LABRIL\[...\], with a meaning like 'present' or 'this here'. It could be seen as an adverb qualifying a subsumed verb in the clause (= 'is, is buried, iacet' etc.) or as Mac Neill\(^2\) put it: "the word seems to be adverbial, and the most suitable meaning, to my mind, is 'here' or 'thus'...I can suggest no etymological resemblance except to the particle ce in the frequent poetical locutions for bith ce, in domun ce etc." Macalister interprets it thus: "This word appears to be an enclitic demonstrative particle. It may point to the stone ("This [is the monument] of X") but it is more likely that the sense is less trivial, and there is a real distinction in significance between X KOI MAQI etc. X MAQI etc. - perhaps analogous to the distinction between "X the descendant" (i.e. family head of all the descendants) and "X a descendant" (one of the descendants, with no special pre-eminence among them). KOI is rarely used except with this formula: but it once appears with NETA. One case (38) which gives X KOI MAQI Y (without MUCOI), is quite abnormal."\(^3\) This is most interesting, but on the whole it is perhaps safest to agree with MacWhite\(^4\)

\(^1\)\[\text{O\textsc{u}I\text{c}, nrs. 22, 26, 34, 98, 120, 156, 163 and 38 quoted here.}\]
\(^2\)\[1909, 344.\]
\(^3\)\[\text{O\textsc{u}I\text{c}, p. xi.}\]
\(^4\)\[1961, 296.\]
that "As to the meaning of these formulae there is little
to add to MacNeill's analysis of 1909".\textsuperscript{1}

§ 39. Marstrander states\textsuperscript{2} that it corresponds to the
Old Irish \(\text{c}\)\(\hat{e}\) in the same way as Greek \(\pi\omega\) to \(\pi\epsilon\), i.e.
through ablaut. There may also exist a Gaulish \(\text{cov}\).
This could be connected with Ogamic \(\text{KOI}\), as does \(\text{Low}\)
Pokorny\textsuperscript{3}, \textit{New} Loth\textsuperscript{4} and Dottin\textsuperscript{5}. On the other hand, 
Rhys\textsuperscript{6} explains that it is a Celtic equivalent of Latin
\(\text{qua}\). While providing a full bibliography, Ellis Evans\textsuperscript{7}
gives no judgment himself on this question, instead
mentioning the further possibility that "It may, however,
be the end of a form which commenced the preceding line".

§ 40. The identification of \(\text{KOI}\) with Old Irish \(\text{c}\)\(\hat{e}\) and
the Indo-European stem \(\text{Ro-}, \text{Re-}\) is of course subject
to the correctness of the view\textsuperscript{7} that the Torfid" (i.e.
supplementary letter) representing the first element
of the word should be transcribed as \(K\). In the \textit{Auraischi}
\(\text{na nicci}\)\textsuperscript{8} this symbol is given the transcription "ea;
ee(aa)" and once also used as the last letter of a
word transcribed "i. uinge"('ounce'). Nevertheless,
it seems reasonable to accept the value \(K\), mainly
because of two inscriptions where the sign is used

\textsuperscript{1}1961, 296. \textsuperscript{2}1911, 144. \textit{IEW} 609. \textsuperscript{3}1918, 38-42. \textsuperscript{4}1920, 152; 248.
\textsuperscript{5}1911, 270. \textit{OIG}, p. viii; ix. \textit{Auraischi}, 1138; 1141;
1143 and 5508.
\textsuperscript{6}137, 370.
in words other than KOI.

§ 41. Old Irish océ is used adjectivally after nouns as in 
\[\text{FW II, 530 con abith océ 'throughout the world'}\]
and 
\[\text{Thes. II, 332. 3 sech ni ciuir ni coisse\'n ind nósh dibad bethad océ 'the holy one neither bought nor sought the profit of the present life'.}\]
The syntax is not thus dissimilar from of co nómad n-áu quoted above\(^1\),
if both really are adverbs. There may be some kind of correspondence with the second element of Gaulish 
\[\text{duc\'i 'and'}\]
On the other hand the similarity between the Ogam word and a particle koi, koi, kon\(\text{\acute{e}}\), kon\(\text{\acute{e}}\)
noted by Pokorny\(^3\) that is used in a similar way in Iberian and Lemnian non-Indo-European inscriptions
is surely a mere coincidence. The relation between océ
and cen 'without' (originally 'on this side of') is noted by Thurneysen\(^4\) and Pedersen\(^5\) who states that 
océ "Kann ein als Augens verwendetes Adverbium sein'.
Note in this connection Greene's tentative suggestion\(^6\) 
that there is a relationship between cía 'though' and
"Ogam OC and thus ultimately with cen...".

§ 42. The Old Irish adjectival usage of océ is also found in the later language, as in DDána 95.8 (§ 31.4)
en chruinne ché 'the present world'. Note that most words of océ occurs with mean things like 'world' or 'earth'.

\(^1\)§ 37. \(^2\)Thurneysen 1927. 287. \(^3\)1947, 82. \(^4\)Gramm. 501. 
\(^5\)Ped. II, 197 61971, 93.
Hence it is perhaps not very surprising that, in the later language, it should have developed into a noun of its own, as in Ò Bruad, II,240. y ò taid ì gis ñ ò nè na scadadh 'for the poets of the world lie sleeping', cf. III,58.13 an ò còr rhìghì bheach ceòsà 'this devious dark world'. Both Dinneen and Dwelly record it as an indeclinable adjective and as a noun. On the other hand, it seems not to have survived into the modern dialects, unless one accepts Borgström's suggestion that the Bernera expression cé ìghomh 'give me' is "probably = O.Ir. cé 'here, this!". It is also found in Leurbost. Dwelly spells this as cê and derives it from co, cìa 'who' and ò 'him', 'it'.

§ 43. In Zeuss's list of "adverbia primitiva" only cêta, cêtù 'first', which from the point of view of Irish is more a preverb than an adverb, and beòs 'yet' which seems to be some sort of denominal formation are not compounds. That is, if one does not accept Pokorny's suggestion that ìmein 'thus' is ultimately from Hebrew ìmen through Greek ìmìh and Latin amen, against Vendryes's opinion that "peut-être est-il plus simple d'imager une syllabe

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1940,24. 2Oftedal 1956,60. 31871,613. 4Cf. IEW 613. 5Ped. I,271. 61931,176.
exclamative am- dont tous ces mots en question auraient été tirés: cf. lat. hem ou enem.\textsuperscript{1} According to Pokorny, on the other hand, these would seem to be "meist unabhängige Neubildungen\textsuperscript{2}.

§ 44. The emphasizing particle ãm or ãim can be classified as a simple adverb and is by Vendryes\textsuperscript{3} connected to the series amae, amaei 'indeed' and especially amin etc. Pedersen\textsuperscript{4} states that the second part of these is pronominal. Thurneysen\textsuperscript{5} connects ãm in ãm thám 'a moving to and fro' to agid 'drives'. Against this, Vendryes\textsuperscript{6} maintains that "la graphie aimh thaimh qu’on lit TBC 5612 (non dans LL) exclut pour ãm l’hypothèse d’un prototype *ag-men- ou *ag-smen-". In any case, the prefix in thám is to-, just as in the phrase for ag thaig 'to and fro' in SR 2631\textsuperscript{7}. These phrases rather remind one of French slang ones of the type boum et reboum 'bang and bang again'. As Cécile O'Rahilly has pointed out recently\textsuperscript{8}, it is interesting to note that this riming combination, where "the second element varies in its initial" has in Modern Irish been replaced by a different type, which has "similarity of consonant and change of internal vowel", as in cíforam cáram 'commotion, confusion'.

\textsuperscript{1}Lex. A,66. \textsuperscript{2}LEW 293. \textsuperscript{3}Lex. A,64–5. \textsuperscript{4}Ped. II,151;188. \textsuperscript{5}Gramm. 79. \textsuperscript{6}Lex. A,64–5. \textsuperscript{7}Cf. Dillon, 1962,161. \textsuperscript{8}1973,5–6.
§ 45. *Moch* 'early' occurs as an adverb, inter alia as a gloss on Latin *mane* in Ml. 21<sup>d</sup>6, but is in Old Irish and onwards to the present day of course really an adjective that is sometimes used adverbially, just like any other adjective as in Lat. *Lives* 25 *dolotar*... co *mnoch don tiprait* 'they went early to the well'. This word may be a borrowing from the Welsh<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the regular Irish development<sup>2</sup> of the same word is *mos*—used normally as an adverbial preverb<sup>3</sup> and as a free adverb in Corn. *Y* 8.12 (<sup>4</sup>§70) *Ara taire mo á mó* 'if you bring back my coat soon'. If Hull is right, interpreting *ACC* § 36 *Raníc maine mos nad genatar ciuil* as 'He quickly reached the plains...', this provides another instance where this word is used as free simple adverb. Stokes’s translation<sup>5</sup> is 'he has reached one plain where the *mos* is that melodies are not born'; Bernard and Atkinson, on their part, propose 'He reached plains of customs, that songs are not born there'.<sup>6</sup> In any case, it is worth noting that outside Celtic this word is found in Indo-Iranian and Latin<sup>7</sup> and quite possibly also in Greek<sup>8</sup>, though this has not been universally accepted<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup><i>IEW</i> 747, cf. *Lex. M.* 58. 2*Ped. I.*, 77-8. 3<sup>c</sup>f. § 88 below. 4<sup>1</sup>961, 245. 5<sup>ACC</sup> § 36, cf. *DRIA* M, 174. 47. 6*Lib.Hymn.* II, 65. 7*Lex. M.*, 65. 8<sup>Schrader</sup> 1890, 477. 9<sup>Frisk</sup>, 1970, 188.
ii. De-adjectival and De-nominal Forms

The Origin of Ind...

§ 46. It is usually accepted that the particle ind used to form adverbs from adjectives in Old Irish is identical with the article. Zeuss had stated, on the other hand, that "Possit hib. in comes adverbii comparata cum particula qambr. in, yn, indice ipsa quoque adverbii, haberi praeposition postulans dativum." Jackson also mentions that "there is something to be said for the view that it is an original preposition +indū", although he finds the other explanation a good deal more likely. This view had been taken up by Vendryes, who bases his argument on Morris Jones's proposals against the view that Old Irish in, ind represents the article.

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1 Zeuss 1871, 609; DRIA I, 186.3; LEW 182; Gramm. 238; Ped. II, 77; Lewis and Pedersen 1937, 218 ff. and Jackson 1967, 343 n. 9 where full references are provided.

2 loc. cit. 3 loc. cit. 4 1927, 73-8. 5 1913, 438: "I. Other prepositions are similarly used in W., see above. - 2. The prep. *en-do like *do governed the dat. - 3. In Ir. *co (Mn.Ir. *co, W. *pw $ 214 iv), which is synonymous with *endo, was often substituted for it, and has superseded it in Mn.Ir. - 4. W. *ymhell, etc. show that simple *en could be used as well as *endo; *yn bell *afr and *ymhell 'far' are a doublet, both forms being in use; *ymhell is the same construction as *ymlaen where the *yn is a prep. - 5. In W. leniting *yn is also used to introduce the indefinite complement of verbs of being, becoming, making, etc., which makes it difficult for a speaker of the language to believe that leniting *yn is the definite article. - 6. The analogy not only of W. and Ir. but of other languages is all in favour of the prep., e.g. E. *a-long, *a-broad, etc."
§ 47. Vendryes first discusses Irish, but comes to the conclusion that "l’irlandais n’offre que des présomptions en faveur d’une origine prépositionnelle de in(d)". On the other hand, "C’est du brittonique que viennent les arguments les plus forts". The main argument is that in Welsh, there is no n in the article, which thus cannot be connected to the adverbialising particle yn. He maintains that "Si l’on essaye de trouver une préposition dans l’élément qui sert à former les adverbes de manière en celtique, cette préposition ne peut être que l’équivalent du latin endo (in(du))." A parallel is also drawn to Gothic und (‘vers, jusqu’à’).

§ 48. Neither explanation meets with very serious objections on phonological grounds, since a Celtic preposition *endo, indu* and the dative singular neuter *sindu* of the article both should give Old Irish in(d)* with lenition of the following consonant. Morphologically both formations would have parallels in other languages, although it is perhaps not quite as often as that one finds the definite article forming part of adverbs, except in phrases like French à l’anglaise or Italian alla (moda) Toscana.

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1927,74. 2 loc.cit. 3 The Old Irish preposition *in* arose through original forms like *en* and *en* (Viz. Greek *en* and *en*) according to Thurneysen (Gramm.521) being confused with a form containing *m*, just as Latin endo indu (ind-āere etc.) has been levelled under *in* (earlier *en*). In any case, the Old Latin preposition would seem to be a compound of *in* and a demonstrative stem *de, di* (IEW 182; 312).

4 Cf. Gramm. 59; 111.
In this connection it might be noted that Zeuss\(^1\) suggests that *oruth* 'modus' should be subsumed in the Irish, just as a corresponding word might be said to be in the French and Italian examples. Furthermore, the dative without a preposition used adverbially does of course occur\(^2\) and represents an old "modal" instrumental, as in other IE languages\(^3\). Unfortunately, unlike the accusative, the dative singular has the same form in all three genders, thereby us' one possible way of finding out whether *ind* (where it occurs with nouns) is the article or a preposition.

§ 49. In Latin the use of *endo*, *indu* as an independent preposition is attested from a few early sources\(^4\), in surviving as an independent preposition, whereas *indu* came to be used for forming compounds. Likewise, it could be argued that in Celtic the two prepositions originally having a similar meaning were differentiated in usage, *indent* being used for forming adverbs and *in* as the locative preposition\(^5\). As shown by some conjugated forms of *in* 'in', there are other traces of *indent* in Irish\(^6\), but not ones that would help towards settling this matter in a conclusive way\(^7\).

\(^{1}\)1871,609. \(^{2}\)Cf. §§ 84-5 below. \(^{3}\)Cf. on this point Brugmann and Delbrück 1911,717.

\(^{4}\)Lewis and Short s.v. *in*. \(^{5}\)Cf. § 48 n. above.

\(^{6}\)Cf. *Gramm.* 521. \(^{7}\)Zeuss's argument (1871,609) about the possible absence of the particle showing it to be the article, not a preposition that "vix enim poterat deesse", is hardly valid, since the tendency of the language is towards increased use both of article and of prepositions.
§ 50. One tentative way out of settling the argument between the two explanations of ind... might be to try to combine them. Accordingly, in Irish the original preposition *indu would have been reinterpreted as the article on becoming homophonous with it, whereas Welsh would have kept the two apart, either because its article did not develop in the same way as the Irish one\(^1\) or because it has a different origin from that of Irish\(^2\). This sort of reinterpretation would by no means be unique\(^3\). In any case, the disappearance both of the free use of the dative and of adverbs with a prefix in(d) homophonous with the article, as against the retention of adverbialising yr different from the article yr in Welsh, argues that, whatever its origin, Irish in(d) was felt to represent the article not a preposition. Thus, it is not surprising that Irish lost the formation with in(d), since the use of any dative without a preposition is already in Old Irish very restricted, especially in ordinary prose\(^4\); it does survive occasionally into Middle Irish, but is certainly no longer a feature of any modern dialect\(^5\).

\(^1\) Cf. Jackson 1953, 656. \(^2\) For such suggestions, cf. Morris Jones 1913, 194 and Vendryes 1927, 76–7; it must however be remembered that the comparative evidence from Breton and Cornish speaks against this hypothesis. \(^3\) Cf. the history of indu 'today' etc. § 51–4 below. \(^4\) Cf. §§ 137–8 below. \(^5\) Cf. e.g. Sjoestedt–Jonval 1938, 21 and Øftedal 1956, 202 ff.
Adjectives and Nouns with Ind

§ 51. Normally an adjective made into an adverb with ind stands in the dative singular neuter. Sometimes the u-quality that serves as marker of the dative is absent. Consider Sg. 26\(^a\)\(^5\) *immdae* 'abundantly' against Pl. 35\(^b\)\(^5\) *inimdu*. However there seems to be no reason why one should assume that these show any distinction of case, since the nominative and accusative neuter singular and the dative both in nouns\(^2\) and in adjectives\(^3\) quite frequently have identical forms. Therefore it can be expected to occur in this case as well and, accordingly, it is hardly necessary to agree with Pedersen\(^4\) that his view that "der Artikel ind, in als das wesentlichste Kennzeichen der Adverbia aufgefasst wurde" is the cause of all this. Moreover, the fact that ind disappeared so early, except perhaps in cases like *indiu* 'today' etc., which may have been reinterpreted as containing the preposition *in* 'in', shows that ind was not felt to be semantically very strong, in any case probably rather weaker than *co* 'till' which replaced it in this function.

§ 52. Adverbs can be derived from nouns with ind in much the same way as from adjectives in the dative\(^5\).

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\(^1\) Zeuss 1871,608; Ascoli 1878, p. cccxxvi-cccxvii; Gramm. 238 and DRIA I,186,3-39.
\(^2\) Gramm. 177. \(^3\) Gramm. 224. \(^4\) Ped.II,77. \(^5\) Zeuss 1871,609; Ped.II,79 and Gramm. 161-2.
This concerns temporal expressions like *wb. 3a7 in-dés-ta* 'now'; *TE* 146 § 7 d'adhaig 'the following night'; *Sg. 90b4 in-diu 'today' and 148*a13 ind hé 'yesterday'; *Thes. II, 291.3 in-nocht 'tonight'. About in in these words Pedersen*2 observes: "in- ist der Artikel, vgl. das Pronomen h-e- im C. u.s.w.; vielleicht hat man aber später in dem i+n- in i+n-diu und i+n-nocht 'heute Nacht' c. h-e-n o com. h-a-n-e t h mbr. h-e-n o z die Präposition i+n- gesehen; in ir. i+n-d h é 'gestern' ist die Silbe nur analogisch eingeführt."

§ 53. In-dé may be a survival of an Indo-European adverb represented by Greek *Θές*. Watkins*4 sees in the in- of this and similar words "a demonstrative particle +sen (b*sin in the first instance), ultimately the same +se+n, which we have in Celtic in Gaul. (so-)sin *DAG 169*, as a component of the definite article +sin-d-o, in such forms as *OBret. henn 'this' and doubtless specialized as the nom.acc.sg. neuter a n- of the Old Irish article." He further argues that this later may have been reinterpreted as a preposition, probably through the influence of imbárach 'tomorrow' the "odd stem" of which, he states, "+bære-go is in any case a Celtic innovation."*5 The survival of in- in these words into Modern Irish seems to me to argue for the hypo-
thesis that, regardless of its origin, in- in these words was felt to represent a preposition.

§ 54. In either case, when the paradigm of 'day' in these adverbs had established itself, i.e. once -dé from whatever gave Greek ἐπί and diu from what gave inter alia Sanskrit divā 'by day', was felt to belong to the same paradigm, they must have been felt to represent some grammatical case, either dative or accusative, particularly if in- had been reinterpreted as the preposition in 'in', which takes both these cases. In such a pattern, it would have been tempting to see indiu as the dative and indé as the accusative, and if so, as some sort of parallel to imbúgruch 'this morning' and imbárach 'tomorrow'.

It is perhaps significant that in the modern dialects indiu and indé behave as if the pretonic syllable indeed is the preposition in, giving (with assimilation of -nd- to -nn- ) the Modern Irish forms inniu and inné in almost all dialects. In Scottish Gaelic, on the other hand, as the present spelling (an diugh and an dé) clearly shows, the stem is still felt to begin with a. From the evidence of a dialect such as that described by Oftedal, it might be argued that the spelling is etymologizing and the

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1 Gramm. 217. 2 Cf. § 78 below. 31956,217.
the proper word division in fact something more like an iugh and an é as in an uiridh 'last year', where the prevocalic mutation gives the same result as that of a /d/ in an an diugh and an dē. On the other hand, as Professor Jackson points out to me, "this development is limited to Lewis, Assynt and parts of Skye"; thus, other dialects, such as those of Barra, Argyllshire and Rathlin show quite separate forms in these words.

§ 55. In-tremdid will be discussed later. At this point it may noted that Pedersen had taken it as one of two examples where in- is analogical, indé 'yesterday' being the other. According to Zeuss, indōsē 'now' represents an "ablative forma diversa a dativo", presumably because an a-stem like iar 'hour' might be expected to have a palatal final in the dative singular. Pedersen explains it from iar but considers the short -o- unclear. Holmer explains that this is "perhaps due to confusion with indossa". This word (from ind foss-se or ind foiss-se) has given Modern Irish anois 'now'. This modern form is found as early as in PH 3782 and

1 Ofstedal 1956, 171. 2 op. cit. 166. 3 Borgström 1937, 226, 237. 4 Holmer 1938, 154, 231. 5 Holmer (1942, 247) gives i a-uraidh 'last year' against indé and indiu (op. cit. 205) where the d as pronounced as such. In Antrim (Holmer 1940, 117, 12) both this and the Irish pronunciation occur.
6 § 56 below. 7 Ped.II, 79. 8 1871, 609. 9 Gramm, 188.
10 Ped.I, 207. 11 I, 240, 34.
(spelt anois) in 448. On the other hand, in PH older forms like 6472 indossa, 6028 indnoisse, 438 inossa, 1377 etc. innoissa, 5066 innoisi, 180 etc. anossa and 1210 etc. anossa are still rather more frequent. Tri-syllabic forms still survive (probably for metrical reasons) in Bardic poetry, as in the line Ar n-eigsi as neimhni anossa 'Now is our Poesy brought to nought'.

In the modern dialects only anois is found.

Adverbs in ind...id, -ith

§ 56. Adjectives in -de (from *ōdīo, *ōdīa) and past participles, which are inflected in the same way, have a special formation in -id or -ith instead of the dative. Examples from adjectives include: Sg. 213b7 and 8 indsechtardid gl. on extra; Ml. 66d3 and 76a14 indimmaircidid gl. on bene and (in Ml. 75b10) on oportuna; Wb. 27a12 inchorpidid gl. on corporaliter.

These adverbs are derived from the adjectives sechtarda 'external' outer; immairside 'fitting, appropriate, becoming' and corpda 'corporeal', but in some other cases no corresponding adjective actually occurs, although it can be reconstructed, as in the case of Ml. 135d5 inmetafordaid and Ml. 40c8 inmetaforseidaid which both are glosses on metaphoricos (i.e. μεταφορικός). These would be from something like metaphor(ea)da and Ml. 53c1 and 65b3 indremaid gl. on

1 Bergin, ed. 1970, 183 § 2. 2 Gramm. 222
3 Gramm. 441: the suffix is *tio-, *-tia-.
on supra probably from something like remde, though Pedersen takes it a loan-word from Welsh trenydd 'the day after tomorrow' with analogical in-\textsuperscript{1}. Formations from participles include Ml. 42\textsuperscript{d}12 inohomfograithid gl. on concinnenter from the past participle foograigthe of fograigdir 'sounds'; indfissid Ml. 68\textsuperscript{c}9, 71\textsuperscript{a}2 and 96\textsuperscript{b}19, gl. on scite; cf. the verbal of necessity fisi from ro-fitir 'knows'\textsuperscript{2}.

§ 57 A few adverbs in -ith and -id have been formed from nouns, thus indgirmith Sg. 27\textsuperscript{a}17 gl. on sunamatim from direm 'number, sum'; Sg. 44\textsuperscript{a}4 in comparitit gl. on comparative from comparit 'comparison'; Ml. 62\textsuperscript{d}3 indglaid gl. on ulciscenter and Ml. 53\textsuperscript{b}20 intimthirthid gl. on officialiter. The last two examples show the same forms as the corresponding nouns diglaid 'avenger' and timthirthid 'servant, minister'. This Thurneysen takes to be one possible "basis of this formation...since in Welsh a noun in predicative use is preceded by leniting yr."\textsuperscript{3} If this view is correct, one might perhaps suggest one contributing factor to have been that some nouns of agency in -ith and -id\textsuperscript{4} and adverbs formed from past participles were homophones: thus e.g. Sg. 62\textsuperscript{b}1 indollbthith gl. on figurate corresponds to Wb. 4\textsuperscript{c}29 dolllbith 'potter' in the same way as Sg. 65\textsuperscript{a}17

\textsuperscript{1}Ped.I,23; II,79. \textsuperscript{2}Gramm. 463. \textsuperscript{3}Gramm. 239. \textsuperscript{4}Gramm. 171; with a suffix -iati-. 
augtorthómachtáid 'augutor increaser'\(^1\) corresponds to \(\text{Ml. 55}^\circ\text{20 and 89}^\text{d5 intormachtid} \text{gl. on augenter from}\)
the past participle tormachtæ of de-formaix 'increases'.
§ 58. On the other hand, Thurneysen has proposed another explanation, namely that "another possible source is samlíth samlaid 'thus, like him, (it)', which may represent a modification of \(+\text{samith = W. hefyd 'also'}\) under the influence of sam(a)il 'likeness'\(^2\). In this case, he states that "ähnlich erklären sich die zu Substantiven gehörenden Adverben wie in-diglaid zu digal nach dem Muster samlaid zu samail.\(^3\) Pedersen\(^4\) sees a connection between the endings of indiglaid, inchorpdid and samlaid. He explains\(^5\) that this ending is Irish borrowed from Welsh -ydd from Celtic +-iio-, -ijë-. Thurneysen's view\(^6\) that we are here dealing with the 'insular Celtic suffix' -iati- that recalls Gaulish -ati- -at- in Nemausus'; "seems to me better as an explanation of the fact that these nouns of agency are i-stems and do not belong to a more productive stem-class. In any case, samlaid itself remains hard to explain; it does not seem possible to relate its form to that of a pronoun, though it seems possible to take\(^7\) it as a conjugated preposition. Why such an ending should have influenced that of de-adjectival adverbs

\(\text{1The two words form some sort of compound; hence the}\)
\(\text{lenition in thórmachtáid. Cf. Thes. II,119 n. h.}\)
\(\text{2Gramm. 239. 31901, 40. 4Ped.II,28. 5Ped.II,17.}\)
\(\text{6Gramm. 171. 7Cf. § 101 below.}\)
remains rather unclear. The ending -id, -ith is very problematical, but on the whole the kind of explanation mentioned in § 57 seems the most reasonable.

§ 59. In either case Thurneysen is surely right in rejecting the old explanation that -ith, -id was the "singularis ablativei forma" comparable with Gaulish βαροσι on the grounds that "Fasst man -ονδε als einheitliche Causendung, so müsste -id im Irischen auch als Endung des vor den Adverbien stehenden Artikels erscheinen." This objection would of course not have to be raised, if with Vendryes and Morris Jones one were to interpret in(d) from the preposition *indu.

It should, moreover, be noted that identifying the case-ending, if any, of βαρονδε poses too many problems for the matter to be dealt with here.

Lastly, it may be remarked upon that the formation ind...ith, -id seems not to occur at all outside the language of the glosses and that many, perhaps most, of the examples of it have a markedly artificial sound. However, there is no comparable formation in Latin that this could be a calque of, except if -ith, -id is intended as a similar way of putting an ending

onto an Irish past participle to that in which -e is added to a Latin past participle, e.g. in figurate or -ter to a present one, e.g. in udiscenter.

Some Adverbial Accusatives

§ 60. There are some examples of accusatives with ind, which here definitely must represent the article, as in WB.314 angaimradsa 'during this winter' or ML.959 innaithch n uili 'the whole night'. The morphology of these temporal accusatives does not differ from that of other accusatives.

Thurneysen describes1 how the expressions fecht n-oin 'einemal, einst'2 and la n-oin3 'eines Tages' show an incipient use of òin 'one' as an indefinite article and how this gave way to expressions like fecht (and4 by the twelfth century. In the modern language these finally gave way to expressions with óin 'of necessity' and hence 'a certain' as well as to the use of soin 'one' with amhain 'only'. In this case, however, he observes that "Aber dieses soin- setzt nicht unmittelbar das alte oen- fort, sondern ist offenbar aus den negativen Sätzen verselbetändigt,".5

On the other hand, it might be remarked upon that, with la 'day', the older form still survives in Keating's prose, as in TBH. 247 la n-soin. Herethe nasalisation

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11930,72-75. 2TBQ.1. 1cf. DRIA F,55.6-8. 3PH.74;cf. DRIA L,11.24-8. 4literally: in time in it. 51930,75. 6cf. .403 and
clearly shows that this is a survival of an older form, but it does not survive into the modern dialects, although Dinmeen mentions it, equating it with an lá emhain.

§ 61. The word tráth 'period of time', 'hour', 'point of time' may be commented on in this connection. The original form is shown in phrases like Fál. Ep. 411 duit, á Christ, in trátha rosáda ro gudíc 'to Thee, O Christ, at this time, I have prayed my prayer' and it is still so found in TSh.6409 créad an cantlamb mheasas tú do bheith ann an tráth soin 'what sorrow do you think will be there at that time'. On the other hand passages like TBC.3639 sul bua trásta imádach 'before this hour tomorrow' show how tráth-sa had changed through metathesis and loss of the article, whereas the alternative form in TBC St.3547 would seem to be closer to the original form: òn tráth so. TBC St.2832 astraste 'now' has the later orthographic convention of doubling the t to show that it is nasalised, probably rather because of the article than of a preposition òN 'in', in which case one would have had to assume that the meaning of the emphasising particle -so, -sa had become so attenuated that the article was no longer felt to be necessary, as it normally would have been. On the other hand, Mer.Uil.2.187 Astrásta would seem to contain both òN (=a) and the definite article (=a), whereas TBC 5866 i tráth sa
and the v.l. an tráth so show how different spellings were in fact used.

There is similar confusion when tráth-so is used with co to mean 'hitherto', 'so far'. Thus one finds forms with the article, as in TBC^3^, 2930 costráthesa 'until now' and without it, in a v.l. of the same passage, TBC St. 2672-3 go ttrasta, where, however, the nasalisation after co suggests either a very much reduced form of the article nasalising in the accusative or else that here the preposition had been confused with co^N^ 'with'. Both interpretations present difficulties of one or another.

According to Dinneen, the forms i dtrásta, go drrásta, go strásta are found in modern Irish, as well the nouns trásta 'the present' and tráth 'time'. On the other hand, dialect descriptions do not seem to mention these outside Scottish Gaelic, where there is a form an dráed(a), which, as Holmer^1^ points out, shows the old (= Irish) nasalisation after the article, though it is possible, although much less likely, that the nasalisation might be from i^N^ or Borgström^2^ does not pronounce himself on this point, he just mentions: "op. Atk. i-trasta".

\(^1^\)1957, 95; 1962, 64. Where he got the idea that this represent a feminine, I do not know; Dwelly, Dinneen and DRIA show that this originally neuter noun mostly became a masculine later.

\(^2^\)1937, 153.
Compared Forms with ind
§ 62. The normal construction of compared adverbial forms will be dealt with later. However, there are some uninflected (as always in the case of Irish compared forms) adjectives that occur with ind and about which Thurneysen states: "Such forms, however, are never found in a clause, but occur only in isolated glosses, the language is probably somewhat artificial." Examples include Ml. 32d1 indlindiu gl. on commotius and Wb. 1c20 innaam gl. on Judei primum.

On the other hand, the later language has a few examples, where in is used with comparatives in sentences proper, as in Trip.2 2108 in m6 7 in m6 'more and more' and PH.3369 in mor-mo 'far more'. The syntax of these phrases is most interesting and may show that these phrases were so petrified that their original connection with other comparatives was somewhat obscured.

Adverbs with oo; go; gu
§ 63. The morphology of the formation with oo, which is later spelt go and gu (the latter especially in Scottish Gaelic; Manx has dy and gy) does not pose many problems apart from the origin of the preposition itself. It is cognate with Welsh py 'to', (with a

1§ 86 below. 2Gramm. 240. 3Cf. §§ 124 and 138 below. 4Zeuss 1871,608; Ped.II,77; Gramm. 239; Sjøestedt-Jonval 1938,76-7; Kneen 1931,95 and Øftedal 1956,218.
possessive pronoun bwy 'to its'), which shows that the original anlaut was q or kw. Pokorny merely states that it is not from the same root as coN 'with'. Hamp argues against Thurneysen for the recognition of a Slavic cognate. Both, however, agree that the gemination occurring after this preposition is secondary; Wagner states that "co im Ir. als Präposition, ad verdrängt und von ihm seine Anlautsyntax übernommen hat." It governs the accusative. Examples from Old Irish include Ml. 38d12 commór 'up to a high degree' Ml. 69d12 and 77d7 coo6ir 'properly. The history of how this formation displaced that in ind is discussed elsewhere as are some possible reasons for this.

For the sandhi- caused by go in Modern Irish, Pedersen mentions it together with other similar cases, unfortunately without giving an opinion as to its origin, whether analogical or not. The forms RDD2.174 cosimnocht 'until tonight' and ouso 'to yesterday' as well as the later Aithd.Dána 89.29 que anois are interesting in that they show an e, either in analogy with cases like costrásta 'till now' already discussed elsewhere or perhaps from Watkins's +sen- in some of these adverbs of time.

1Gramm. 502. 2IEW 613. 31956, 282. 41972, 3. 5§ 139 below. 6§ 50; cf. also § 51 above. 7Ped.I, 405. 8Meyer, ed. 1915, 341.21. 9§ 61 above. 10Cf. the references in § 53 above.
§ 64. Modern Irish *choidhche* 'ever' is derived from an older form *caidhe* which, as Zimmer has shown, ultimately goes back to *ce 'till* and *aidh*, accusative singular of *adaig* 'night', quoting and (against Windisch) approving the explanation given in an early glossary. According to Pedersen, the Modern Irish spelling *a choidhche* is because of "Vermischung mit den Fällen, wo die Lenition von der reduzierten oder geschwundeten Prädposition do bewirkt ist". In any case, the lention itself is much earlier and seems not to have been caused by a particle that later disappeared. *PH* shows three instances of lention against one of non-lention. Later, lention is the rule, as in many other adverbs. The modern by-form *choidhchin* mentioned by Dinneen seems to be restricted to Cois Phairrge Irish whereas (a) *choidhche* is found elsewhere, as it is in Scottish Gaelic, according to Dwelly.

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1. 1890,55-8; 2. *IT* I, 410. 3. *Cl*. 383,32. 4. Ped.I, 457. 5. 4196; 5078; 5201; 6. 7648. 7. Cf. § 33 above. 8. *GCP* 211,27. 9. Ring, Co. Waterford; Breantach 1947, 93,16; West Muskerry, Co. Cork; O Cuivy 1944,44; Dunquin, Co. Kerry; Sjøestedt-Jonval 1938,77; Co. Clare, Mac Clain I,1940,222; Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo; de Burca 1958,33,69,95; Erris, Co. Mayo; Mhac an Phailigh 1960,35, 140, 174; Teelin, Co. Donegal; Wagger 1959,34, 35, 73; Urris, Co. Donegal; Evans 1969,69. In all but the first four of these the optional prefix *a* is mentioned.
10. On the other hand, I have not found it mentioned in dialect descriptions.
It has been suggested that *co mātān 'till morning* may in some instances have gone through a similar shift in meaning; in this case one might however observe that no traces of such a shift seem to survive in the modern language. The same applies to *co fescor 'till evening*.

Some Prepositional Phrases
§ 65. As Zeuss puts it: "Formulae adversiarales substanti- vorum, interdum et adjectivorum, cum praepositionibus sunt plures". In very many cases it is not at all easy to determine the boundary between what forms an adverb and what constitutes a prepositional phrase, though there are some criteria.

Here some expressions that seem clearly adverbial will be mentioned, especially ones where the morphology somehow seems different from that of normal prepositional phrases. Note also that phrases with *co 'till* have already been discussed and that it is possible that the *ind* that is used to form adverbs out of adjectives may represent an original preposition.

Finally, it should perhaps be made quite clear that the material discussed in the following section only represents a small selection of what actually is available.

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1Quin 1964, 51. 2TBC 0.651, of. Worke. § 227. 31871, 609.
4Cf. § 24 above. 5§§ 63-64 above. 6§§ 46-50. 7§§ 65-76.
§ 66. In the case of _air_ 'before, for', it may be noted that the distinction between this preposition with the accusative where motion is implied and the dative where rest is meant is best shown in petrified phrases like _ML. 46æ12_ archenn 'towards' and _ML. 46æ7_ archiunn 'before', which are used as compound prepositions

Note that phrases like _ar aís_ 'back' in the modern language are interesting in that they have preserved otherwise obsolete nouns, in this case _aís_ 'hinder part'.

§ 67. The examples given by _DRIA_² of adverbs formed with _cón_ 'with' are confined to denominal ones like _collondas_ _ML. 130æ9_ gl. on _dedignanter_.

As _Breatnach_³ has shown, the phrase _go leith_ 'and a half', literally 'with a half' is noteworthy in that it has in Munster Irish become an adjective where the accent has shifted to the first syllable: _guile_.

§ 68. Examples⁴ of "standing phrases" with _de_ 'of' or 'from' include the curious phrase _Acut. 5474_ _di chian_ 'from afar (of space)' _against_ _Wb. 6d8_ _díchéin_ 'from afar (of space and time)'. _Stokes's text has do chian_,

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where the nominative (or accusative neuter?) is no more to be expected than in the form quoted in DRTA. In any case, the meaning is that of de 'from', not do 'to'; this illustrates how these two prepositions frequently became confused.

§ 69. Fo 'under' enters into a number of petrified phrases, of which fo sech 'astray' is perhaps one of the most interesting since it seems to follow the formation pattern: preposition + preposition = adverb. In this connection, however, it should be noted that there are two different phrases fo sech, one with fo 'under' that means 'astray' and the other from immasech, which consists of imm 'around', aN 'their' and sech 'past'. Note the by-forms masech and mosech. All these mean 'in turn, (each) in (his) turn, one by one'.

Fo is also used as the multiplicative with numerals, as in Wb. 24b22 fodi namma 'twice only'; 17d4 fothr 'three times'; BOR. 31c5 a 6en fodeich 'ten times one'. In each case the Latin numeral adverb is being translated. Fraser makes the interesting comment: 'That the use of fo here is ultimately the

1 As in Arch. 3.239 § 19. 2 DRTA S.125.39. 3 DRTA S.124.85. 4 Gramma. 517-8. Cf. also § 71 below for some other similar phrases.

5 1912, 34.
same as that with verbs of motion may be inferred from such a construction as ἐστὶς τὸς Πινδ. 0. 2.124.\footnote{Gramm. 518}

\$70.\ \textit{Wb. 6}^{a} 30 \textit{iafride} 'it is in the day' shows the survival of the old word for 'day', which otherwise mostly occurs only in certain adverbs, which have been discussed elsewhere\footnote{Cf. the example quoted in \$ 22 n.}

\$71. \textit{Im(m)} 'about', 'mutually' can be used to form adverbs from some other prepositions with the insertion of \(\text{a}^N\) which is a "petrified possessive pronoun 3 pl."\footnote{Gef. 518. Cf. \$ 69 above.}

immalle 'together, simultaneously' (later reduced to maille\footnote{\textit{DRIA} I, 124.42. It is also used in the pair \textit{imbuaruch} and \textit{imbearuch} 'this morning' and 'tomorrow morning' which present special problems, discussed below, \$\$ 77-83.}

\textit{Immanetar} 'mutually, in turn'; \textit{immasech} 'in turn'.\footnote{Cf. \$ 69 above.} The origin of \textit{immanair}, \textit{immonair} 'a-going' is unclear\footnote{\textit{DRIA} I, 124.42. It is also used in the pair \textit{imbuaruch} and \textit{imbearuch} 'this morning' and 'tomorrow morning' which present special problems, discussed below, \$\$ 77-83.}, though it seems not unlikely that it was formed with \textit{air} 'before, for' as the last element; if so, it belongs to the same pattern as the previous words, unlike \textit{immanair}, which if \textit{DRIA} is right about proposing the meaning 'then? presently?' contains the noun \textit{far} 'hour'.

\$72. Many prepositional and other phrases are formed with \(\text{i}^N\) 'in', like \textit{i tosuck}, \textit{i tìs} 'in the beginning'. The Scottish Gaelic phrase (\textit{a})bh\textit{án} 'down, downwards' is noteworthy in that it shows the preservation of the Irish type of nasalisation, better shown by the spelling...
of the Irish equivalent *i bhfán*. The Scottish type of nasalisation is found in *sam bith* 'at all', although, as McCaughey¹ points out, one might not have expected nasalisation at all, but lenition instead.

The series meaning 'out(side)' and 'in(side)' is interesting in that it shows how the original meanings of the nouns involved have almost completely disappeared: *immach* 'out' (from *i mag* (acc.) 'into plain') and *immaig* (from *i maig* (dat.) 'in plain') contrast with *isteoch*² (from *isa tech* (acc.) 'into the house') and *istig*² (from *isin tig* (dat.) 'in the house') in that the first two denote rest or movement in relation to the outside and the latter in relation to the inside. The system was not always as symmetrical as this might imply. Originally, there seems to have been three adverbs from *magos* 'plain', including *ammaig* 'in from outside' (or very literally 'out of plain')³. Most interestingly, this form seems to survive down to our days in the phrase *ammach is ammaig*³ and also, at least...

¹1971,30. ²In these, an *a* from the article is somewhat unexpected in what may be very old phrases (Cf. Binych 1966,4). It might just be possible that the *a* comes from a by form with "a movable"as in Greek *εφύσ* and *τρύφι* (Cf. § 92 below). On the other hand, the exit existence of *ammaig* 'in from outside' may argue against any great antiquity for *isteoch* and *istig* as adverbs of place. The question is hardly settled by the early form *i taig* (Kelly, ed. 1973,19 § 16a) which is used to contrast *i maig*. The editor does not take *i taig* as an adverb, since he translates the passage, which runs *Columb i taig* for each *pín/Columb i maig, medar caich 'Columb in the house on every mouth, Columb outside, the talk of everyone'.

³Cf. O'Brien 1958,100.
in Classical Modern Irish, in TSh. 3207 *ris an doras amuigh* 'towards the door from outside', where an adverb of 'provenance' would of course be expected. Except for *amaig*, Modern Irish has kept these adverbs pretty much as they were in Old Irish. In some Scottish Gaelic dialects, on the other hand, the system seems to be breaking down. Thus Barra seems to have generalised the adverbs of rest *amuigh* 'outside' and *staigh* 'inside' to denote movement as well. This is made explicit only in the case of *staigh*, so it could be that, although not listed, *a maigh* 'out' survives in Barra, as it seems to in Ross-shire, where *a staigh* seemed commoner than *a steach*.\(^2\)

§ 73. One interesting use of the preposition \(^1\)\(^N\)'in' is together with another element in adverbs of place in the series where *a* (= *fa*) is the dominant first element\(^3\); thus we find *innonn* 'to over there' where it seems to be compounded with *al(l)* 'beyond'.\(^4\) In *ille* 'to here' the second element would seem to be either the preposition *la* (later *le*) 'with', as Thurneysen\(^5\) would seem to imply, or a reduced form of the noun *leth* 'side', as Pedersen\(^6\) takes it.

In this instance, it must be noted that the noun and

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1Borgstrøm 1937, 98. 2Borgstrøm 1941, 114. 3§§ 91-4 below. 4Cf. § 97 below for *-l* becoming *-an*. 5Gramma. 523. 6Ped.1, 294.
the preposition have a common origin, the original form being a noun\(^1\). Thus it might be possible that the origin of the interesting formation preposition + preposition = adverb\(^2\) should be sought, if not in this particular form, then at least in a similar one, where a noun has become a simple preposition and an old prepositional phrase thus been reinterpreted as consisting of two prepositions.

§ 74. Apart from perhaps appearing in *ille* 'to here', as discussed above\(^3\), *la* 'with' enters in some adverbial phrases, often ones where it had fallen together with *re* 'before' and *fri* 'against'. Thus we find *Párl na mb.143.4 re linn* a thraibhleireacht 'during his journeying', where a more modern variety of Irish would prefer *le linn*.

In the phrase *le hais* 'beside' we find the obsolete noun *aís*, just as in *ar aís*\(^4\)'back'. Also, in Munster this phrase has gone through a shift of accent giving the form *leathais*\(^5\).

§ 75. *À* la 'from', 'by' is found with the Irish cognate *urid* of the Indo-European adverb that gave Doric Greek *népul*, Old Norse *ljord*, Middle High German *vert* etc. in *Wb. 15^\(\circ\)14 *dannurid* 'since last year'. This is presumably the preposition that is still found in the

\(^1\) *Gramm., 523*. 
\(^2\) Cf. § 69 above and § 98 below. 
\(^3\) § 73. 
\(^4\) Cf. § 69 above. 
\(^5\) Cf. Dinneen s.v. *aís* and Sjöstedt-Jonval 1938,102.
TBG\textsuperscript{3}: .2878 \textit{ánuraid}\textsuperscript{1}, though here the meaning is simply 'last year' as it normally is in the modern dialects, where the spellings \textit{anuraidh}, Munster \textit{anuiridh} and Scottish Gaelic \textit{an uiridh}. This word division, as against that in e.g. \textit{a nochd} is justified in Scottish Gaelic, but not in Irish, by the prevocalic mutation, at least in Lewis\textsuperscript{2}.

§ 76. Finally, in this section, one might just mention \textit{dé}, \textit{dúe} 'above', which is nowadays mainly found as part of the compound preposition \textit{dé cionn} 'above'. Note that \textit{cionn}, as apart from \textit{ceann}, represents the old dative, which apart from expressions like this, is not a feature of \textit{g}-stems in the modern language. Also, the role of \textit{dé} as a second element in adverbs of place is important\textsuperscript{3}.

\textsuperscript{1}At least, this is what the v.l. \textit{ánuraid} would seem to imply, in spite of the meaning. On the other hand, Meid, commenting on \textit{TBFr}.\textsuperscript{3}.242 \textit{ánuraid}, maintains (Kommentar 192) that this is a "temporaler Dativ mit Artikel". He derives support for this view from other similar phrases mentioned by Thurneysen (Gramm.161). The v.l. mentioned is however not the only example listed by DRIA U,90,55-65 of variants with an initial \textit{g}. Thus it is at least possible that there was some amount of contamination between forms that contained a preposition, like \textit{Wh.16\textsuperscript{2}14} quoted above and ones like the one in \textit{TBFr}: that at least may have been felt at some stage to contain the article, not a preposition.

\textsuperscript{2}Oftedal 1956,171;216. Note, that as Bardic verse clearly shows (Cf. e.g. Aithd.\textsuperscript{2}, nr 69 § 20) words like this were treated as having an initial vowel or consonant with more regard for alliteration than etymology in Irish.

\textsuperscript{3}Cf. §§ 37; 89; 90; 91; 97n.; 99.
I mbuaruch 'this morning', i mbárch 'tomorrow'.

§ 77. The pair i mbuaruch 'this morning' and 'just now' and i mbárch 'tomorrow' has still to be described in a satisfactory way. Zimmer and Vendryes state that the two words must have quite separate origins. Pedersen expresses certain doubts and Meid argues, rightly, it seems to me, that "Hier hat jedoch die eindeutige Semantik den Vorrang vor lautlichen Bedenken".

Like Zimmer and Vendryes, he derives buarách from bó 'cow' and árach 'tying', i.e. equating the time when the cows are tied up for milking with the morning. This is not unreasonable, considering the Greek parallel βουλυτός 'the time for unyoking oxen' and the Homeric adverb βουλυτόνιος 'at eventide'. Early Irish glossaries supply similar information.

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1This section (§§ 77-83) is an appendix to § 72 above.
21888, 17. 31937, 128. 4Ped. I, 99. 51969, 72 = TRFr
Kommentar 184 (on 205 i mbárch).
6Corm. 7 9-10: "Buarach .i. bó 7 árach .i. fosta. Buarach dano bóergi .i. matan moch. unde dicitur fescor imbuárich": "Buarach i.e. 'cow' & 'tying' i.e. 'steadiness' (?). Buarach then (means) cow-rising, i.e. early morning. unde dicitur 'evening' & 'morning' (translating the more intelligible reading 'fescor 7 buarách' from Corm.Y § 131, which otherwise reads like Corm.7); O'Day. 232 (§ 215): "Buaroch .i. moch, i.e. bo-erge...": 'Buaroch, i.e. early, i.e. bo-erge 'cow-rising',...'; O'Cl. 377.19: "BUARACH .i. bó eirge .i. moch mhaidean": 'BUARACH i.e. cow rising i.e. early morning'. Under a separate heading (377.17) O'Cl. gives BUAHC 'cow-spance'.
§ 78. As Zimmer and Meid note, as far as case is concerned, imbárach and imbárach seem to relate to each other in the same way as immaig 'outside' and immach 'out' or 'to the outside', i.e. as the dative to the accusative. Here the first difficulty arises, although Zimmer put it that "Da in mit dem dativ räumlich und zeitlich die ruhe, den zustand, mit dem accusative die richtung des wohn ausdrückt, zeitlich also die bevorstehende ruhe, so ist vollkommen klar, dass die sprache ein imbárach für 'heute früh' und ein imbárach für 'morgen früh' verwenden konnte." This is stretching normal Irish usage: i'n 'in' with the dative expresses point of time whereas the accusative stands for duration. On the other hand, one might note that, if it were not for their rather different origins, índiu 'today' and indé 'yesterday' could be interpreted in a similar way. In this case, the point in common would be something like: the dative expressed a point in time 'now' and the accusative one 'not now'. Such a use of these cases is however, to my knowledge, not otherwise known.

§ 79. The second difficulty is in the alternation -íé/-é-. Meid seeks to explain this by postulating that "bárach dürfte eine Elision von Ì voraussetzen;
"b(ɔ)-á·rach". Why this did not affect both members of the paradigm remains unexplained. It is rather striking that with two exceptions\(^1\), all instances\(^2\) known to me of \(\text{i mbúaruch}\) preserve the \(u\)-quality rather faithfully, as one might expect in an early dative. In later texts, confusion could have been expected after the phonemic value of vowels in unstressed syllables had become schwa. It is probably quite significant that \(\text{i mbúaruch}\) does not seem to occur in PH at all. In fact it was replaced quite early by the loan-word \(\text{matain}\). Thus it is at least possible that, wherever it is found, \(\text{i mbúaruch}\) represents an older stratum of the language, where the \(u\)-quality might have been significant. All this would tend to support what Zimmer and Meid have to say about the dative and the accusative being used in these words.

§ 80. Now it might be possible to speculate about the contrast \(-{a}/-{i}\) reflecting the same distinction in a construction where both members of a phrase are

\(^1\)Corm.7.10 (Cf. 77 n. above) and Tfrag. 46.15
\(^2\)LU 5056; LL 8785; Hib.Min. 3.85; Tfrag. 46.16; LL 9252, 12988, 14025, 35701; Lib.Hymn. 87.15. The first four mean 'just now'. (The last-mentioned of these is by O' Donovon translated 'last night', but 'just now' makes better sense to me. Vendryes (1937,130) discusses Brittonic parallels to such a semantic shift.

\(^3\)Except perhaps in O'Mulc.749 imbá·rach = Corm.Y § 781 imbá·rach.
inflected in the same case. Thus one might get a
dative (original instrumental) $\text{b\`u}$- from $\text{b\`o}$- from $\text{b\`o}$- from Celtic $\text{b\`u}$- from Indo-European $\text{g\`u}$
and an accusative $\text{b\`a}$- from Celtic $\text{b\`a}$- from Indo-
European $\text{g\`a}$om. This is of course assuming that the
first element is a noun 'cow'. The only alternative
that I can imagine would be that this first element
is an adjective, but this seems far less attractive,
since in this case it seems more than unlikely that
an accusative $\text{g\`ou}$ion could have developed into $\text{b\`o}$-
early enough for $\text{b\`o}$ to have ensued regularly. Thus
the second element in these compounds would, for
the first element to have case endings, have to be an
adjective, a noun in apposition or a participle. Thus
we might be dealing with an absolute construction of
the same type as the Latin "ablatius absolutus".
Although such constructions, as far as I know, are
not used in the Celtic languages, this could be a
survival of an older state of affairs, since these
constructions are well-known in other Indo-European
languages.

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1 Gramm. 40. 2 Gramm. 35. 3 IEW 482. 4 Meillet and Vendryes:
"L'usage des constructions absolues remontent à l'indo-
européen et résulte de l'autonomie des mots; il devait
y être très libre. Les diverses langues l'ont géné-
ralement fixé à un cas particulier, le sanskrit au
locatif (et au génitif), le gotique au datif
(exceptionnellement à l'accusatif?), le grec au
génitif (et à l'accusatif), le latin à l'ablatif."
(1924, 556.)
§ 81. As far as the second element of the phrase is concerned, a participle in -nt- is of course ruled out. Secondly, the nasalising effect of *ba* rules out the prefix *ad-*, as postulated by Zimmer and Meid in *Aphor* *tying*. However, if the meaning 'bind' is retained, the same stem might be suitable, since there may be instances of rigid 'binds' used as a simple verb. Thus we would have to postulate a second element *regos* or with ablaut *rogos* meaning something like 'bound' or 'that which is bound' in a similar way as e.g. Greek τόνος 'offspring' relates to ἐκκρυθεῖν, τέφω 'beget'. Perhaps *rogos* is somewhat more suitable, since it would explain the retention of u-quality better, where -oh would be expected to be neutral and, according to Thurneysen "only where the vowel of the preceding syllable is o are occasional exceptions found".

In this connection we should note the existence of a word cennrach 'fastening of a milkshaft, halter, buckle', where -rach seems to be from the same root as rigid. There is also Lec.Gl. 264 rach i.e. rige, for which the translation 'a fore-arm' is

1 [DRTA R, 68.53 ff., but cf. Ped.II,592. 2 Gramm. 106. 3 L&W 861-2.]
given. Dinneen has righe 'fore-arm', whereas DRIA gives rig with the same meaning. Therefore, it could be that the gloss righe in fact refers to righe 'binding', not 'fore-arm', in view, also, of the fact that some compounds of reg-, rig- 'binds' have verbal nouns in -rach or (after palatalised consonant) -rach. Thus the glossary's rach might be an obsolete verbal noun, no longer used with the simple verb. Note further that Dinneen lists ceannrach with meanings like 'head-tie; tether; head-stall; bridles; some part of mill; etc.'. Even if this does not really give us anything like a noun + adjectives (i.e. 'bound end-point') at least it does supply a deverbal noun with a concrete meaning. Thus, we might get something like 'head or end binding' for ce(a)nnrach and accordingly 'the cow being bound' or more literally 'the cow being that which is bound' as the original meaning of what gave Old Irish b'rách and b'íaruch. The preposition might be secondary, introduced when the free use of the dative became less regular.

1DRIA R,2.2. The same translation is given by Stokes in the index to this glossary (Arch. 1, 91).  
2R,64.42 ff. 3DRIA R,67.49 ff. 4Ped.II, 592.
§ 82. One possible alternative is suggested by the glossaries referred to above, namely that *pace* Vendryes the etymology *büge* 'cow rising' should be taken seriously. In this case an uncompounded form of the root *reg* 'recken' is needed but support from other words in the language is more difficult to find.

The objection about the strange use of cases has been discussed; it should, however, be noted that it remains, even if one explains *búaruch* and *bárach* to be completely unconnected words.

The Brittonic cognates must be mentioned. Welsh *bore* and Breton *beure* 'morning' do not show the same kind of alternation within the paradigm as Old Irish *búaruch* and *bárach*. Whether they should be related to what gave the Irish "dative" or "accusative" is not at all very certain, in spite of Meid's various proposals for taking them either from *bärego-* or from *bourego-*. I can only agree with him "Auf keinen Fall ist es erforderlich, air. *búarach* und *bárach* voneinander und von den brit. Wörtern zu trennen".

§ 83. Finally, one more possibility must be mentioned. MacBain and Windisch mention a connection with the Germanic words that have the same meaning, i.e. Gothic *maurgins* 'morning' etc. from a root *mer(2)k*.

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1§ 77 n., especially 0° 01. 21937, 128 3IEW 854 ff. 41969, 72=TFR. 3 Kommentar 184. 51896 s.v. amásireach. 6IT I, 612. 7IEW 734, cf. de Vries 1961, 392 and Feist 1939, 350-351.
Two points may be noted. Firstly, the Germanic formations agree with the Celtic ones in that they often occur in prepositional phrases such as English *tomorrow* or Swedish *morgon* 'this morning'. Secondly, Meid's remark about "eindeutige Semantik" applies.

Lastly, however, apart from rather serious "Mautliche Bedenken", amongst others those that led Zimmer to reject Windisch's views, along these lines the alternation -{u-}/-{a-} is left completely unexplained.

Formations without Prefixes

§ 84. There are instances in the glosses of adverbs formed from simple adjectives in the dative singular without *ind* or a preposition, not only of *aiailiu*, *airiuliu* 'otherwise', which never takes the article, but also of forms like 147 gair biuc iartain 'shortly afterwards'. On the other hand, this formation, quoted by Thurneysen seems rather more like a case where noun and adjective are used together in a temporal dative with no preposition. Consider also the phrase *gair biuc riana chéad* 'a little while before his passion'. As one would expect from the tendency for the article not to occur in archaic Old Irish, Thurneysen states that de-adjectival adverbs without *ind* "occur more frequently" in the legal

1 Watkins (1966,110) calls this "an areally spread feature, with its apogee in Scandinavia".
2 1969,72. 3 1888,15. 4 Gramm. 307. 5 Gramm. 239.
8 Binchy 1966,4. 9 Gramm. 239.
language, quoting the examples étéchtu 'unlawfully' and oí[u]art coír 'properly and rightly' unfortunately without giving references; I have not been able to locate a passage of legal language where étéchtu¹ clearly qualifies a verb. If, as seems likely, from Thurneysen, ed. 1923,379 § 43 oírt coír might just as easily be interpreted as noun + adjective as the translation² 'nach richtiger Ordnung' would suggest; the same applies to Laws II,306.5 oírt coír 'after strict justice'. It is also likely that Ml. 35¹1 talmáidíu 'suddenly' is the dative of a noun³.

On the other hand, Ml. 50⁰13 inchláidíu 'secretly' is perhaps a de-adjectival adverb without ind, as would be indicated by Ml. 100⁰7 indináidíd gl. on latenter, though the different endings leave room for some doubt, especially since there are cases where this word is used as a noun⁴.

In any case, examples can be found elsewhere, as in fo'scosinn Íadh opunn.⁵

§ 85. It would be rather difficult to prove that the modern adverbial usage of obann 'sudden' without go

¹Note also that this word may occur as a noun. Cf. DRIA E,225.z.
²Thurneysen, ed. 1923,380.6. ³Cf. Hdb. 228.
⁴Cf. DRIA I,207.72-6. ⁵
discussed below bears any relationship to these early adverbial free datives. On the other hand, this may well be the case in the case of de-nominal compound prepositions like o(h)oie in cois na mbéithrí and chois an ochlaide údal 'beside the roads' and 'beside that wall'. Unfortunately I have no examples from earlier Irish where cois is used in a similar way. The lenition belongs to the type that often occurs in adverbs, not caused by a lost preposition, though there is of course no evidence that shows that one has not been lost; it may be significant that in Scottish Gaelic similar phrases with cois seem not to occur without a preposition.

In the older language there is at least one rather similar nominal preposition, namely ciunn (also spelt cinn), dative of cenn 'head, end' as in Féil.194.28 (Sep. 17) ráid a paíse cinn bliadnae 'tell her passion at a year's end' and LU 1662 Tofuisim a mbanseáal mac cind ix. mfe 'At the end of nine months the woman brought forth a son'. This is probably what later appears regularly as i gcíonn with

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1§ 143-4. 2GCP 14.32. 3GCP 164.5. 4Cf. § 33 above. 5Cf. MD 454.9. In the YBL version this passage reads (MD 100.29) rather differently: Tic dano eimsíre tuilémich do chaillig a cind nó mís 'At the end of nine months the time came to the nun to give birth'. This of course corresponds much more closely to modern usage, where this phrase does not seem to survive.
the same meaning, but with a simple preposition. It is interesting that the only modern dialect where ceann is used in this way without a simple preposition seems to be Manx, where the odd phrase kionfenish 'present' occurs. However, in this case, it seems to me likely that there was a simple preposition before kione, as in Irish i goiann.

Modern Irish arís(t) again has an interesting history. As Strachan has shown, the phrase may be analysed as frith-sie 'return track' with a possessive pronoun in the appropriate person. In Middle Irish, this quite soon became petrified, either as do frithissi or a frithissi, which eventually became the normal form. Strachan is doubtless right when he describes it as "construction of the same kind as léam bóév", i.e. as an internal accusative. In the later language arís has

1Cf. Neo Ean ch. xii v. 29: Dooyrt y nebble er-y-fa shea va kionfenish... 'The people therefore that stood by said...'. This is presumably from giónn dative of head with a lost (?) preposition and fiachnais 'testimony'.

Cregeen gives some other similar phrases, like kione y cheilley 'through others, mixed' and the compound preposition (as it is now) klongoyrt 'before, in presence of', which seems like a combination of giónn and what in Modern Irish appears as má gcúairt 'around'.

2With the epenthetic -t common to a number of modern dialects. Cf. Ped.I,482.

31900,230-1. 4DBIA F,447.42 ff.
has joined the class of adverbs that have a pretonic schwa.

Lastly, it should be noted that in Modern Irish dialects, it is rather common for nouns and adjectives to be used adverbially without any special marker. These would mostly seem to be adverbials of time, as in GCP 201.9-10 chuaidh go leor beithidhich soir tráthnóna 'many animals went east in the evening'. In this connection, it also worth remembering the prepositionless use of dia 'day', modern Dia, Dé, which before the names of the days of the week survives to the present day. This would seem to be a genitive of time.¹

Adverbs Preposed with the Copula

§ 86. Thurneysen² remarks that "An adverb formed from the dative of the adjective cannot be used in periphrasis with the copula before its clause, like other parts of speech. Where this construction is used, the adverbial form is replaced by the nominative sg. neuter of the adjective (without the article), and a nasalising relative clause follows". It should perhaps be noted that, given Thurneysen's explanation of the nasalising relative clause³, the example he gives of this construction, Wb. 28b32 arndip maith naireilear

¹Gramm. 151; 159. ²Gramm. 240. Note the exceptions from this rule discussed in §§ 124-5 below. ³Gramm. 323.
'so that he may care well' does not show clearly that the adjective is in fact in the nominative singular neuter, since it could stand for anything in the singular except a feminine genitive.

An example quoted by Dillon¹, Wb. 18 ninth nisdi an dorraactid maam indoesegli 'it is quickly you have deserted the yoke of the gospel' helps to eliminate the dative and accusative feminine, as one might expect. On the other hand, in non-adverbial examples like Wb. 5² b28 is ina h muy 'it is impossible for thee' the nominative/accusative singular neuter is quite evident; and so it might well be in Wb. 28b³ 32 as well, if Pedersen's explanation² of nasalising clauses is accepted.

§ 87. Adverbial forms of comparison normally come before their clause with the copula, and like those in the positive, they require a nasalising relative clause to follow, as in Wb. 27d³ 19 isalirithir inae nonguidimsee dia nerutsu 'as zealously as this do I beseech God for thee' and Wb. 4³ 33 isadinnimu doncu' alaill it is more carelessly he makes the other.³

Since no compared forms in any stage of Irish are inflected, their morphology as adverbs needs no further comments.

¹1928,333, ²1899,396. ³Both these are quoted by Thurneyssen, Gramm. 240.
Adverbial Prefixes of Verbs

§ 88. Some adjectives are prefixed to verbs when used adverbially. It is probably better to treat them as preverbs\(^1\), but Thurneysen's statement that "the verb is apparently never attached to them in enclisis"\(^2\) might be interpreted as giving them more autonomy than other preverbs. This presumably means that such verbs are always deuterotonic, never prototonic, regardless of whether another preverb otherwise might have caused the compound to be prototonic.

Like the prepositions, some of them undergo changes in this position, e.g. Ml. \(^90\)\(^b\)\(^12\) madgenatar 'blessed are they' with maith\(^3\) 'good'; dech mo charam\(^4\) 'which we love best' with dech, degh\(^5\) 'best'; mo 'soon'\(^6\) becomes mOs-, while mi- 'not', 'un-' is apparently "capable of bearing the stress like a preposition"\(^7\).

1 Cf. cet\(\mathrm{a}\) 'first', § 43 above. 2 gramm. 240.
3 With loss of palatalisation in proclisis, gramm. 105; cf also Ped.I, 272.
4 Meyer, ed. 1907,\(^2\) 296 § 42; O'Brien (1932, 168) suggests that one should read dechmo-acharam.
5 The origin of this element mi is disputed. Thurneysen takes it (gramm. 241; Führschrift 24 § 65E n. 4) to be through analogy with sechmo, as in Sg. 196 2 sechmoella 'lacks, passes by' (Cf. gramm. 530) but O'Brien contests this, explaining it to be "due to the analogical influence of other superlatives, used in the same manner", though, as he states, "no other examples have turned up."
6 Cf. § 45 above. 7 This seems therefore to be the only one that behaves exactly like a preverb (= a preposition of type A and B; gramm. 495), since, after another preverb, it takes the stress, as Ml. \(^56\)\(^16\) mi miaipir 'non... mala dicit', about which it is said (gramm. 241) that miaipir is probably enclitic."
### iii. Adverbs of Place

The Material

§ 89. Thurneysen\(^1\) gives the following list of adverbs of place:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A 'where'</th>
<th>B 'whither'</th>
<th>C 'whence'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>sund, sunda</td>
<td>il-lei, il-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there, beyond'</td>
<td>t-žall</td>
<td>inn-unn, inn-onn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'above'</td>
<td>t-žaə</td>
<td>e-žaə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'below'</td>
<td>t-zaə</td>
<td>e-zaə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'in front, east'</td>
<td>t-žar</td>
<td>e-žar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'behind, west'</td>
<td>t-žar</td>
<td>e-žar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'right'</td>
<td>dees</td>
<td>fa-dees, sa-dees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'left, south'</td>
<td>túaə</td>
<td>fa-thúəith, sa-thúaəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'north'</td>
<td>túaə</td>
<td>fa-thúəith, sa-thúaəd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these one might add the series immaig 'outside', immach 'out' and ammaig 'from the outside'\(^2\). Here too, the fundamental point of interest is that three "cases" are shown by prefixes. The heterogeneity of the latter is worth remarking upon at this stage: although there is a dominant series of prefixes, the fact that other ones are also used is rather striking.

Concerning -echtair, it seems certain\(^3\) that the adverbial form almost always had the -i-, which in turn is missing when it is used as a preposition.

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\(^{1}\)Gramm. 305. \(^{2}\)Cf. §§ 72-73 above. \(^{3}\)Daly 1948,75.
Another thing that needs to be noted about these is that they do not seem to form part of the system of "cases", in which each adverb indicates one of the notions 'where', 'whither' and 'whence'. Finally, note that there are good reasons, apart from the obvious semantic ones, for treating these adverbs together, since there is a clear pattern that runs through the morphology of most of them.

Adverbs in t-

§ 90. From the list above it will be seen that the most important part in the Irish system of adverbs of place is played by the directional prefixes t-, s- and an-. Their origins have been described in various ways.

Starting with the one in t-, Zeuss explains that it might be from the preposition do 'to'. Pedersen merely mentions it as "in lokativischer Funktion ein t-...". Walsh states as a "possible explanation... the analogy of túaíd 'on the left'. The fact that, unlike the corresponding adverbs in s- and an- túaíd and deise 'right, south' might seem to support this view. On the other hand the prefix could have disappeared through haplology. Thurneysen maintains that as the preposition tu, tu (do, du) "indicates direction, it must be distinct from the t-

1Ad 871, 617. 2Ped. II, 67. 31912, 133; cf. Breatnach 1956, 335 n. 6 who makes the same statement (without mentioning Walsh).
in the adverbs of place t-đaeg, t-sir etc.**, but adds that "both are undoubtedly connected with the IE. demonstrative stem to--." The meaning of the preverb to-- has been discussed a great deal. Holmer states that "S'il est impossible de fixer le sens concret du préfixe to--, il est du moins possible qu'il n'est pas "à"." More recently, Dillon has agreed with Holmer that the preverb to-- is distinct from the preposition and shown that its original use in Irish is as a connective of the same kind and origin as Hittite ta--. On the other hand, although he states that "it may be identified with with the t-in túaeg, tair etc.**, he unfortunately gives no justification for this view. Wagner rejects the identification of Irish to-- with the Hittite connective; instead he adopts the view that the preposition to-- is identical with with the preverb and draws a parallel with with the evidence in Germanic: Gothic du 'to, towards, against, in' does indeed function in all three roles of preposition, preverb and adverb. Wagner also points out that, as in Dillon's examples from Irish, where to-- always occupies the first position in verbs with more than one preverb: "Dieselbe Situation stellen wir..."
bei got. du-at-gagzan 'hinzukommen zu' (προσέρχεσθαι τινα); semantisch vergleiche man mit diesem Verbum altir. do-tēt 'komat' zu tēt 'gent'. Wie man, angesichts dieser semantischer Opposition, von einem bedeutsungslosen "connective" sprechen kann, ist mir rätselhaft.  

How all this fits the problem at hand is not easy to evaluate. The most likely hypothesis would to me seem to be that the adverbs in this series were originally used without a prefix, i.e. as prepositions in their original role of adverb, or, in the case of denominal forms like tāaid, in an appropriate case-form. There are some traces of the free use of ūa, ūas. When this ceases to be regular in the case of other prepositions, tāaid may have helped towards the introduction of a ū-, which then may have been reidentified with to in order to allow these adverbs to conform to the morphological pattern preposition + preposition = adverb in the two other axes (ē- (=fa-) and an-) of these formations. Thus, it seems possible that to-, of either origin, may have been used in this system, although there are some serious difficulties. If it was a connective, how was it reinterpreted as a preposition? If it was a preposition meaning 'to', how did it acquire the meaning 'at' in these words?

1972a, 40. 2 Cf. § 16 above. 3 Cf. DRIA N-O-P, 162, 69-76 and §§ 37 and 76 above.
Adverbs in $s$-

§ 91. $S-$, which Zeuss and Thurneysen do not seem to offer any explanations for, is by Pedersen interpreted as a "Vertreter des Demonstrativstammes *so* im Ir."\(^1\)

In the forms beginning with fa-, according to him, "kann das Verbum "sein"...gesucht werden; alle diese Adverbia sind wohl eigentlich kleine Relativsätze."\(^2\)

This seems to me rather more unlikely than Zeuss's old explanation\(^3\) that fa is to be derived from fo 'under'.

However, O'Brien\(^4\) has suggested that the forms in $s-$ and those in fa go together by deriving them all from "an original *svo*, from Ind.Eur. *sypo*, a form parallel to *upo* and cognate with Latin sub, Irish fo, Sanscrit upa, Avestic upa, all having the general meaning of "towards". This is somewhat too general: the original meaning seems to have been 'under' and where motion was implied, it was vertical motion, either 'up' or 'down'.\(^5\)

This of course suits suas 'upwards' and sina 'downwards'; *svo* could have spread from these to the other forms. In support of his view, O'Brien quotes the interesting form fias 'aloft'\(^6\) as well as sarbías 'in mid-air, aloft' which are to show

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\(^1\) Ped.II, 267, 2 Ped.I, 271, 3 Ped.I, 642: Writing about Modern Irish, Hughes states (1970,91) that "s is replaced by a separate word č (said to be derived from the old preposition fo) in č thuidh, č dheas."

\(^2\) 1938, 236. \(^3\) Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 912. \(^4\) Four Songs 10 § 8 a.
that the initial must originally have been \( \textit{sw} \)-, which "would normally develop into a form beginning with \( s \)-, but under certain sentence conditions (when the preceding word originally ended in a vowel) would appear with \( g \)-".

§ 92. From the point of view of Indo-European, this explanation clashes with that of Pokorny\(^1\) who derives the cognates of Latin \( \textit{sub} \), Irish \( \textit{fo} \) etc. from \( \textit{upo} \), explaining the \( s \)- in Latin from \( \textit{ws}e \). On their part, Ernout and Meillet state that "mais \( s \)- initial ne se retrouve pas de manière sûre hors de l'italique, où l'on a osq\textit{JUN}, ombr. \( \textit{su} \) (et \( \textit{sub} \)-)... Car le celtique a irl. \( \textit{fo} \), v.gall. \( \textit{guo} \)-, de \( \textit{upo} \), et gaul. \( \textit{wer} \)- (dans \( \textit{wer-tragus} \)), de \( \textit{uper} \) (irl. \( \textit{for} \)-, v.bret. \( \textit{guor} \)). Sans doute l'initial de grec\(\textit{ίππ} \), \( \textit{ύπερ} \) est ambiguë, mais on n'a pas raison d'y soupçonner un ancien fait de date indo-européenne que l'italique serait seul à conserver. En effet, on a vu, sous \( \textit{sine} \), pareille coexistence des formes avec et sans \( s \)-, \( \textit{σεμ} \)- et \( \textit{σεμ} \)-, avec le même sens et les mêmes emplois; mais là \( s \)- apparaît en italo-celtique, en germanique et en indo-européen.\(^2\)

These authorities would thus seem to rule out \( \textit{upo} \) outside Italic, although I do not quite see why Greek \( \textit{ύππ} \) could not have developed from such a form. Recently, however, Watkins\(^3\) has pointed out that Hittite \( \textit{suppalag} \)

\(^1\) \textit{IEW} 1106. \(^2\) 1951,1165. \(^3\) 1973, 397.
'animal' is probably a cognate of Latin *suppus* and thus also of *sub*. He concludes that accordingly, "we have another language family, and the most ancient, to attest the initial *g*-". This makes it at the very least possible and perhaps even probable that one ought to accept the existence of a Celtic *sw* from Indo-European *supo*. Even if the Hittite evidence is were to be ruled out, it should be noted that Celtic has at least one other case of prosthetic *g*- of doubtful origin, namely in the 1st and 2nd plurals of the personal pronouns, Irish *en* and *af*, Welsh *ni* and *chwi* from *i*-*nes* and *e*-*wes* (or *e*-*mi* and *e*-*wi*)\(^2\). Also, various Indo-European languages show variation between forms with and without *g*- in many words, both forms sometimes occurring even in the same language. Hoenigswald quotes\(^3\) English *melt* and *smelt*, Greek *ζέγος* and *στέγος* as examples of this, as well as Latin *sub* against Sanskrit *ṣpā\(^4\). Bearing these facts in mind, it seems that there is some justification from the Indo-European point of view for accepting O'Brien's etymology.

§ 93. In any case, it seems to me that, whatever its origin might have been in Indo-European, an original *sw*- fits the Irish facts rather well, particularly if one notes that in the two forms where it occurs regularly, *fa*- is pretonic, where initial *g*- is

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expected to be lost, leaving f- from  whereas otherwise w disappears after unlenited e. Finally, we have to note the alternative forms ade (e) 'southward' and Br. anong, satnuaid 'northward', with e-either analogically or as a left-over from the time when the auslaut of the preceding word determined whether the initial of the adverb was e- or f-, as O'Brien would seem to imply the case to have been at some stage, at least with frauds 'up'. In any case, it is surely significant that the forms that occur most regularly obey the sound-laws quite consistently.

§ 94. S- and fa- are by no means the only elements to be used in this axis, in 'in' is also found, in ilei, ille 'hither' and innunn 'to the other side'. On the other hand, it is quite clear that e- (fa-) may be considered the dominant element in this part of the system, amongst other things from the fact that an analogical form sail 'over yonder' has been formed in Modern Irish. The older form anon still exists in many dialects; Connemara has both. In this connection it may be mentioned that Manx, according to Kneen has optional forms with a prefix my that apparently may be used of in any cardinal point. If this is so, the pretonic fa- of fathaid 'to the north' and fadess 'to the south' has spread to my-hiar

1Grmm. 111, 124. 2SC 316.33 and TBC. 31938,236. 4Cf. § 73 above and § 97 below. 5GOF 216; 218. 61931,98.
'to the East' and my-hear 'to the West'. On the other hand, if twoae and jiaae really can mean the same as my-hwoae 'to the North' and my-viaae 'to the South', this might imply analogical levelling in the opposite direction. In any case, the use of veih 'from' in what corresponds to the Irish series in an- points to a great deal of analogical levelling out and semantic reinforcements of many of these items having taken place in Manx.

Adverbs in an-

§ 95. Zeuss suggests that an- could be from an obsolete preposition *=+anā?* Pedersen explains it as a preposition cognate with Welsh o, obon - 'from'. Walsh regards this explanation as 'very improbable' and suggests 'that in an- we may have the neuter article.' Bergin rejects this, rallying to Pedersen's view, postulating a common origin *san- for Welsh han and Irish an-. Vendryes objects that 'la forme ancienne de gall, han- eganhand... Il faudrait donc au moins pour le gallois partir d'un double préfixe (san-de ou idhe); mais il pourrait s'agir aussi du préfixe ande... En somme l'origine de cette particule an- en irlandais est obscure.' Pokorny suggests that it might be connected with what gave Greek ἄνα etc.

1871, 613. 2Ped. II, 156. 31912, 32-3. 41913, 187. 5Lex. A-70-1. 6I EW 40.
and may have given Celtic *an in Irish ainmne, Welsh annyned 'patience'. Reviewing Vendryes’s *Lex.*, Marstrander states that "This prefix strongly recalls the Germanic postfix *-an*, used in the same sense, ON austan, vestan 'from the East, the West', ofan 'from above', útan 'from without'." Pokorny takes the Gothic and Old High German cognate *-ana* in Gothic aftane 'von hinten' Old High German obana 'von oben her' as perhaps being from "*Pronominalstamm eno-...'jener'". while Feist takes it from Indo-European *-n* and compares it to Latin *supra* and Sanskrit *vīṇ* 'ohne'.

§ 96. On the whole, it seems to me therefore that one may assume the existence of some sort of privative-separative element (-)(-) combined with various other ones in the individual languages, giving amongst others Latin *sine*, the Germanic and Sanskrit forms already mentioned as well as Pedersen’s and Bergin’s preposition *san* 'from, without'. The following arguments seem to me to support their view. First of all, the Irish word

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1. Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 798. More recently Guyonvare has proposed (1966, 312), dealing with *anlaid 'from the North' that "c'est littéralement 'From the north'...par la préposition a(s) 'from, out' et tuaid..." Comparison with forms like anlar 'from the West' and especially Ml. 67h8 antuald shows that he cannot be right.


61939, 11. 7 Cf. Thurneysen 1890, 495. 8 Cf. Schmidt 1885, 291.
meaning 'without' is not old in this meaning: Old Irish *gen* 'without' originally meant 'on this side of', while the word meaning 'from' and thus supplying another meaning suitable for this purpose, e.g. *de*, never had a consonant in it in Celtic and may thus have been felt to be unsuitable for compounding with those second elements in adverbs of place that are original prepositions and all happen (in Celtic, if not always in Indo-European) to begin with vowels. It seems not unreasonable to assume that Irish had a now lost preposition meaning 'without'. As Bergin points out, there is in Old Irish an adjective *sain* 'separate, different'. Surely this is a fully stressed development of something that also became not only *an-* but also the second element in *gen* 'whence'.

**Some Second Elements**

§ 97. As we have seen, the commonest second element in forming these adverbs is a preposition. Note that *al*, *all* 'on the other side of' probably gave the second part of *innon* 'to the other side' and hence Modern Irish *anon* with the same meaning. The older forms

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1 *Gramm.* 501. 2 *Cf.* § 37 above. 3 *1913, 18.* 4 *Gramm.* 500. 5 *Thurneysen 1915*, 56; *Gramm.* 305.
may survive in a couple of instances, i.e. TBB\(^2\).3615 anaill; Comp. Con 6. § 6 innall aille, which Thurneysen\(^1\) emends to innall ille 'dorthin (und) hierhin' as well as the uncertain andall\(^2\). As mentioned above, anonn\(^3\) is normal in Modern Irish, but in Western Scottish Gaelic, the corresponding word is a null 'over there, (movement)'.\(^4\) In spite of Petersen's objections\(^5\), which Thurneysen accepts\(^6\), this looks rather like a survival of the form with original -11.

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\(^1\) Zu ir. Hdschr. I, 41 n.l. Cf. 1918, 410. \(^2\) Stokes, ed. 1904, 242. 6-7. Gramm. 305. Sg. 220\(^a\) indoll. gl. on ultra may show awareness of the etymology of this word.

\(^3\) About this word Hughes (1970, 91) states: "The root -on means 'the near side'; but here there is an irregularity in the system: there is no word thonn paralleling thall- the word sonn (which should mean 'to the near side'- hence, perhaps, 'hither') is used in this sense, and anonn, which should be 'toward the speaker from nearby', is used in the sense of sall. Perhaps the common phrase anonn 's anall.'over and back' or 'backward and forward' (parallel to anuas 's anais 'up and down') has influenced the meaning."

Where the idea that -onn means 'the near side' comes from, I do not know; surely the irregularity in the system is better explained by taking -onn as a variant of -all. Whatever its origin may be (cf. § 100 below) sonn there certainly has nothing in common either with the s of sall or the -on of anonn. It would be interesting to know the source for the idea that sonn is still used in Modern Irish. Even Dinneen labes (g.v.) it "early". Note that sall is a recent analogical formation and, finally, that a more illuminating parallel to anonn 's anall would be suas 's anuas 'up and back'.

\(^4\) Oftedal 1956, 216. The Irish form is found in Rathlin (Holmer 1942, 160) and Arran (personal communication from R.D. Clement) and perhaps elsewhere in Scotland.

\(^5\) Ped. II, 195. \(^6\) 1918\(^a\), 56.
Of the remaining second elements, it is worth noting that as many as four are simple prepositions, namely *us* 'above', *us* 'below', *air* 'before, for' and *far* 'after'.

§ 98. If the not altogether certain assumptions made above, positing simple prepositions or, at any rate, some element interpreted as such in the system both as first and second elements of these adverbs, are accepted, we here find a rather unusual pattern of forming adverbs (preposition + preposition = adverb) that is very characteristic of the Irish adverbs of place, which thus on the whole have a morphological all of their own.

This formation is all the more interesting, since simple prepositions do not function as adverbs in Celtic; I have found no instances of similar constructions in other Indo-European languages, though one does, of course, find compound prepositions used adverbially, e.g. in Greek phrases like II. 11.486 οτὲ άνερ *, Od. 14.168 ἀλλὰ άνερ * μεμνημέθα and II. 16.669 οὖ μελετήσας λέγον 7. The interesting difference is that, whereas in Greek the simple preposition can function as an adverb on its own, as in II. 9.227 πέρα πρό άνερ * ἄλλα, in Irish this does not occur.

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1Gramm. 527. 2Gramm. 522. 3Gramm. 498–9. 4Gramm. 516. 5Cf. § 73 above. 6Cf. § 35 above. 7These are quoted by Kühner and Gerth 1898, 528.9.
The Cardinal Point System

§ 99. Pedersen\(^1\) has shown that two systems of cardinal point orientation exist in Irish: the basic orientation 'left = N'; 'right = S'; 'in front = E' and 'behind = W' and another that is based on the opposition 'up = S' and 'down = N'. The latter system is illustrated in \(\text{O Bruad\text{\textsc{i}},162}\) § 53 An Cnocan Ruadh so thuas ag fearchain/ is Cnoc Firinne thús go fhausach 'To the south beside me Cnocan Ruadh is raining And to the north Cnoc Firinne is drenched in showers'.\(^2\) Note, on the other hand, that, as Campbell and Thomson\(^3\) point out, the points of the compass Hfias for 'the East' and Hfías for 'the West' in Lhuyd's diaries "prove that this was spoken somewhere where the rivers ran eastwards". This seems to be normal in Scottish Gaelic. Thus Dwelly gives 'westwards' as one of the possible meanings of suas, but not 'southwards', as in Irish.

All these examples from the later language illustrate another more general point about adverbs of place, namely that from Old Irish onwards, they are very frequently lenited, regularly so in the case of those in \(\text{in-}\) and in \(\text{fa-}\). There seem to be two instances of adverbial lenition in \(\text{WB. 26}^{13}\) thall 'on this side' and \(\text{33}^{21}\) thuas 'above'.\(^4\)

\(^1\)1929,424. \(^2\)Guyonvarc'h (1966,319) quotes this in an attempt to prove amongst other things that the Irish never had more than one orientation, which was "désorganisée par la christianisation." I have not been able to follow him at every point.

\(^3\)1963,102. \(^4\)In both cases a vowel precedes, which may be significant. Cf. § 33 above.
Other Adverbs of Place

§ 100. Of the remaining adverbs of place, *ille* 'hither' and *innonn* 'thither, over there' have already been dealt with. *De-siu* 'hence' is a pronominal formation and will be discussed in that connection. *Sund* 'here' is unclear. Pokorny derives it from an Indo-European *sŏmde* giving later *sŏndo* and states that "Urisch ist natürlich ein lokativasch verwendeter betonter Dativ."

In Modern Irish *sund* disappears, although it is still sometimes found in Bardic poetry as well as in a late seventeenth century prose text like *Parl. na mB*, where it seems, however, that they may not represent contemporary usage, since the examples found are used in chapter headings, which may represent a mere copying of earlier usage.

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1§ 73 and § 94 above. 2§ 103 below. 3*Gramm.* 293. 4*IEW* 51921,219; Cf. Ped.II,194 where a similar view is voiced.

5Content. I,152.1 and II,250.2; *TD* 42.1. Cf. Hughes 1970,91 and § 97 n. above for a probably mistaken view that *sŏnn* is found in present-day Irish.

7.2494,.2732,.3063 etc.
iv. Pronominal Formations
Conjugated Prepositions.
§ 101. As such conjugated prepositions fall outside the scope of this study. In a number of cases the meaning of the pronoun has become so weakened that the label "adverb" may be attached to them. A selection of this will be discussed here.

Thus *airi* (3 singular neuter of *air* 'before, for') occurs with meanings like 'on account of it' and hence also 'therefore'. Of *al* 'beyond' the only conjugated form in existence is in the adverb *all(a)l* 'yonder' (originally 'beyond it') which incorporates the 3rd singular neuter pronoun. It is frequent together with other adverbs of place and sometimes even forms compounds with these, especially the ones discussed above in the section on adverbs of place. *Samlaoid* 'like it, thus' has a peculiar ending, which does not seem to be relatable to a pronoun.

*Gen(a)l* literally 'without it' has extended its meaning in a remarkable way: the modern *cheana* now mostly means 'already'. The adverbial lenition in this word is regular as early as in *Se*; this is of course a common enough phenomenon in many adverbs and conjugated prepositions.

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1Cf. Breatnach 1956, 334-7 for a more detailed discussion.
2Gramm. 500. 3DRIA A, 287-8-10. 4§§ 89-98 above.
In some expressions *fo*, *fof*, later *faol* 'under it' occurs in an adverbial sense, as in *YBL* 12410

*cid fo cid for...bemfmb* 'whether we be beneath or above', which also illustrates a similar use of

*for 'on, over'. *far* 'after gives the 3rd singular neuter *farum* with the by-form *farum*. It is normally

used as an adverb with the pronominal meaning rather attenuated. In a couple of late instances *far* seems
to be used adverbially on its own.

§ 102. The 3rd singular dative masculine and neuter form of *in* 'in' and, *ann* occurs frequently as an adverb in all stages of the language, as well in the function of conjugated preposition. Its origin is not entirely clear; it is not entirely impossible that it is an unrelated adverb that later came into the paradigm of

*in*. On the other hand, it seems more likely that this is not so, especially if Thurney sen is correct in stating "that *a* is the original vowel, especially as it is also found in Italic (e.g. *an-ouhinnu* 'in-uito'), and that Latin *endo, indu, Ir. ind-* have been assimilated to the the prep. *en, in.*" *Leis 'with him, it* means 'also' in Modern Irish and has been so used as early as in the Würzburg glosses.

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1 Cf. further Breatnach 1956,335-6. 2 *DRA* I,23.9-31 and I,36.33 ff.

3 Cf. § 37 above. 4 *Ped.*I,247; Lejeune 1939,390,396.

5 *Gramm.* 521. 6 Bergin 1928,223.
The 3rd singular neuter of oo 'at' can be used adverbially, meaning 'at it', 'on that occasion', as in Wb. 8a ll manidénatar ferte ocoa 'unless miracles be wrought thereat'. The original 3rd singular neuter form rm of re 'before' is used adverbially ('ever') being replaced by the form reme, remi, roime, modern roimhe as a conjugated preposition proper. In its turn this later came to be used as an adverb, and yet a new form was developed in some dialects for the conjugated preposition. Thus in South-West Kerry Irish the form roimis has replaced riam and roimhe in the function of conjugated preposition\(^1\) and seems to be acquiring an adverbial meaning itself\(^2\).

Secha (3rd singular) and sechat (2nd singular) of sech 'past, beyond' came to be used as adverbs meaning 'away' and 'by'\(^3\). In the case of sechtair 'out' and anechtair 'from the outside', the distinction\(^4\) between the preposition without -i- (i.e. sechtar) and the adverb with it points, it seems to me, to the latter in origin being a 3rd singular neuter, but this cannot be altogether certain, since no other conjugated forms of the preposition are attested.

\(^1\)Sjæstét-Jonval 1938, 98. \(^2\)op.cit. 80. \(^3\)Dinneen proposes that seachad 'astray' is from seach and the 3rd plural of the copula.
\(^4\)Of. § 89 above.
§ 103. In certain cases it might seem that a prepositional pronoun had been added to a demonstrative, as in frie sin 'moreover', 'besides', modern freisin 'also' or in tairis sin 'yet', 'nevertheless'. This could have been caused by the fact that the form with suffixed pronoun not infrequently spread to replace the simple form\(^1\) or through wrong division of word boundaries.

Other adverbs are, however, formed with the simple form of a preposition prefixed to the demonstrative; e.g. ar se 'therefore' shows the accusative; fri-sin 'against that' the accusative and far-sin the dative\(^2\). As Thurneysen has pointed out\(^3\), dei\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\) 'hence' (de 'from' and a dative) is in Middle Irish replaced by ad\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\):

"Die häufige Verbindung ad\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\) ocus anall 'hinüber und herüber' zeigt, dass es dasselbe Wort ist, nur vermehrt um a-, das es vom gegensätzlichen anall bezogen hat".

Interestingly, there seems to be no modern replacement for it: it simply went out of the system. Note that there can be no doubt about its position within the system, as shown clearly by the example above and by Sg. 71\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\) altarach \(\text{i.e. frie anall 'ultra i.e. on the}

\(^1\)Cf. O’Rahilly, 1932, 226. \(^2\)Gramm. 303. \(^3\)1917a, 310.
far side of it' and 71b2 centarach i.e. frie deśiu 'citra i.e. on the near side of it'.

Pronouns can occasionally be found adverbially without a preposition; consider the dative afu 'at this time' and the dative or accusative sin 'there', 'here'. Also, aid 'even' may, if Vendryes is right, represent the neuter nominative/accusative of the stressed form of the interrogative. However, it cannot be discounted that some form of the copula may have been assimilated with it.

1Gramm. 162, 303. 21906, 279. 3Gramm. 484, 489; cf. Vendryes 1906, 287.
v. A Few Problematical Formations

§ 104. In the preceding sections it will have become clear, I hope, that Irish presents many interesting riddles for the linguist to try to solve. Here a few samples are given together for no better reason than the fact that no more suitable classification for them was found in the preceding sections.

Thus there is ḻI. 19b4 sedacht 'yet' used after negated verb verbs, about which DRIĀ1 merely says that it is "variously spelt" and that "orig. form and origin" are "uncertain". On the face of it it looks like a compound of od 'even' or 'quid' and 'aucht 'provided that, but'. On the other hand, the semantic development would in that case be rather difficult to account for.

About the mysterious ḻI. 18d10 iar miciniar and Sg. 218b1 iar miciniar used as glosses on antea, I can offer nothing to add to Stokes's comment: "The formation of this adverb is obscure to me."2

The history of Modern Irish ambehin 'only' is not clear. Pedersen3 derives it from Old Irish namma 'only', 'merely', itself a petrified phrase consisting of "na-n-má, ut non sit magis?"4. Pedersen's view is disputed by Vendryes, who prefers to take it from amein5.

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1O,96.38. 21899,479. 3Ped.1,165. 4Zeuas 1871,614. 5Lex. A,66; cf. also §§ 43-4 above.
PART III. SYNTAX
Introduction

§ 105. As noted in Part I, the designation of certain features specifically to the morphology of adverbs and of others to their syntax is by no means easy. In particular, this will be seen in the case of the discussion of adverbs with or without go. On the one hand, it could be said that since go and the following adjective form one single stress unit and make up one syntactic major constituent like e.g. some of the prepositional phrases discussed in Part II, they should be dealt with under the heading of morphology. On the other hand, it could be argued, firstly, that (at any rate in the modern language) go and the adjective are spelt as two separate words and secondly and more importantly that in some, but not all cases, the choice of whether go is used or not is a syntactic one, i.e. it is dictated by other syntactic elements in the phrase: this seems to be the case in the Bardic language, at any rate.

Word order has been much discussed by language typologists, though the question of where adverbials as such go has not featured quite as prominently as that of the relative positions of verb, subject and object. As we know it, Irish is consistently verb-initial (or rather predicate-initial), though remnants

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1 § 13 above. 2 §§ 65-83 above. 3 Cf. Ahlqvist 1972, 271.
survive of what may have been the norm earlier, namely verb-final position; again all predicates, both verbal and nominal ones, are in final position. Adverbials normally come after other constituents, and, as in other languages, they have a tendency to be ordered in a certain sequence.

§ 106. Some classes of adverbs quite naturally occur only either with certain forms of verbs or with verbs of a certain meaning. These constraints, however, do not always correspond exactly in all languages. Thus, it will be shown that, in the earlier language, within the system of verbs and adverbs of movement the 'provenance' ('ablative') set seems to be normally used only with one class of verbs, whereas the 'goal' ('allative') set is used indifferently with both these sets. Later this changes: firmer rules seem to determine what adverbs occur with what verbs. However, all this is by no means easy to establish firmly: given recorded instances of any particular usage, it can then be laid down that that usage does occur, whereas the opposite cannot really be proven simply by the researcher stating that he knows of no such instances. Therefore, assumptions about any particular usage NOT being part of the language remain wide open to future correction.

§ 107. This remark applies very much to what seems to be one rather interesting feature of Irish, namely the absence of so-called "sentence adverbs". As Greenbaum^1 points out, there is not much agreement about exactly which items belong here, but if one accepts the definition that sentence adverbs are such as can be paraphrased as a sentence, some observations may be made. Greenbaum puts it^2 that examples like (1) *Strangely, he answered the questions* and (2) *He answered the questions strangely* are equivalent to (1b) *It is strange that he answered the questions* and (2b) *He answered the questions in a strange manner*. It seems to me that in Modern Irish, the only idiomatic rendering of (1) would be of a form similar to that of (1b), i.e. *Le si teach air thuig sé freagra ar na ceisteanne*^3. In this case, a sentence adverbs (at least one identical in form with an adverb of manner) seems quite of the question, but whether or not there may be other other cases, where an adverbial (as apart from a conjunction like *auch 'but') qualifies a whole sentence, not just the predicate in it, one would hesitate to state categorically, although it seems reasonable to exclude from such a category any of the

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1969, 2. 1969-6-7. 3Literally: 'it's strange that he gave answer to the questions'.
examples discussed in this work. Wagner notes the same thing, but does not commit himself as to whether "sentence adverbs" can or cannot occur in Irish1.

Finally, note again2 the distinction between sentence and phrase syntax, which underlies the main classification made in this part. As far as this concerns adverbials, it determines whether they may be said to occur as predicate qualifiers in a description of sentence syntax or qualifying other elements within a phrase that itself may occur as major constituent in a sentence.

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1959, 222: "Der verbale Charakter des Irischen äussert sich auch in den Adverbien, die oft praediziert erscheinen, wo "nominalere" Sprachen "attributive" Adverbien aufweisen. Beispiele: is deárthach na raibh mórán sí bheatha eige (Münster) 'wahrscheinlich besass er nicht viel zum leben'".

2Cf. § 12 above.
i. Sentence Syntax

Generalities

§ 106. In this section\(^1\) an aperçu is given of how Irish adverbials behave as qualifiers of predicates, or in other words, of their role as major constituents in sentence syntax\(^2\). This represents their main and perhaps, as ancient grammarians would have\(^3\) it, their primary function in language. To call adverbs predicate qualifiers does, however, not only entail looking at those elements that occur as major constituents in a sentence on par with subjects and objects; also, Irish has cases where adverbs form one syntactic group together with a verb\(^4\).

Finally, one limitation, which may feel somewhat artificial, has been imposed: adverbs functioning as conjunctions have not, on the whole, been dealt with. This follows naturally, I hope, from the decision\(^5\) taken not to deal with higher levels than that either of a simple sentence *per se* or of a clause as such, i.e. disregarding the fact that a clause may form part of a more complex structure.

\(^1\)§§–106–170. \(^2\)Cf. §§ 12 and 107 above. \(^3\)Cf. § 15 above. \(^4\)Cf. § 88 above and § 136 below. \(^5\)Cf. § 25 above.
Irish Word-Order

§ 109. From the period of the Old Irish glosses on to the present day, word-order in Irish can be said to be at least partly fixed, with the verb first, sometimes preceded in all stages of the language by preverbal particles more or less closely bound to it. This may be illustrated in a few sentences from various stages of the language from *Cambr.* 246.2-3 *fogair* a n-eacair *in uile corp* 'the disease inflames the whole body' (q. 770) and *Se*. 191a3 *docuirthear* cétne parsan sin *parsana all chuae* 'a first person here takes other persons to it' (q. 845) down to sentences in the modern languages like Scottish Gaelic *Chunnaic iad an latha s* duine a' dol eashad an rathad 'This day they saw a man going past on the road'; Manx *oilshag yr naunt yr sheean, as roie es eya hun ny greishyn* 'The aunt heard the noise, and she ran to the bottom of the stairs'; and Connaught (Connemara) Irish *nì fhaca tu* *sonduine ar an mbóthar ar an uair sin*? 'you didn't see anyone on the road at that hour?'.

§ 110. On the other hand, other constituents of a sentence may be brought forward for emphasis, thereby forming a separate clause introduced by the (sometimes

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1 Cf. e.g. Gramm. 327 and passim; *Mac Cana* 1973, 94; *Dottin* 1913, 237 ff.; *Sjøestedt-Jonval* 1938, 160; 114; *Holmer* 1938, 110-1; *Finck* 1899, 205-6.

omitted) copula, which serves to keep the basic word-order predicate first in these sentences too.

It will be noted that the main verb in the second clause may or may not undergo various changes (addition in some cases of relative markers, such as special endings, infixed or prefixed particles and/or an initial mutation as the phonetic realisation thereof); these obey varieties of sets of rules in different historical stages and modern dialect variations of the language. This will be discussed in more detail below¹.

§ 111. In early poetry and archaic prose another type of word-order may be found. The main feature of this is that the verb comes at the end of the sentence, always in the conjunct form and if a compound verb with its first preverb at the beginning of the clause, i.e. in tmesis. Conjunctions and negative particles in these clauses are prefixed to a "meaningless"² form of the copula. The tmesis can be given their later normal word-order simply by moving the verb, unlike those involving simple verbs, where the flexion would change from conjunct to absolute. Apart from the position of the verb itself, however, the internal ordering of other constituents probably does not

¹§§ 120-135. ²Cf. Gramm. 327 and Bergin 1938a, 197 ff. and the arguments against in Wagner 1967, who maintains (303) that the copula here is not "meaningless". Cf. Mac Eoin (1969, 190) on this point.
differ much from normal verb-initial sentences, especially since the word-order of Old Irish is fairly free once the verb is in its proper place.

Adverbials in Relation to Other Constituents

§ 112. Apart from the rules laid down about the place of the predicate in Old Irish, one may on the whole agree with Vendryes\(^1\) that "Pour les autres parties de la phrases, il n'y a pas d'ordre fixe". Some examples from the glosses will confirm this.\(^7\)

becigidir inspirit incorp infectae 'the spirit now quickens the body' shows the later more or less normal pattern of predicate + subject + object + adverbial. On the other hand, one not infrequently finds some adverbials, especially those of a connective nature like immurgu 'yet' dano 'then' trá 'now, therefore, then'\(^2\) coming immediately after the predicate as in Ml. 56\(^{b15}\) ...7 dungenat immurgu innaqualeidi... '& that, however, they will practise the vices'. But this may affect other kinds of adverbials too, as in Wb. 19\(^{b6}\)

ropridghad dúib césad císt 'Christ's Passion hath been preached to you'. This may well fall under Vendryes's statement\(^3\) "Le choix entre ces deux ordres peut être déterminé par la longueur respective d'autre..."

\(^{1}\)1908,305. \(^{2}\)Cf. Gramm. 560, 557 and 557+8 respectively. \(^{3}\)1908,306.
sujet et du régime;" That this is not entirely restricted to shorter words is shown by an example like Ml. 30a3 he hitemul dughith saul conamuntair intleda 7 errloa friduaid 'it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares and ambushes against David'. This is, however, a matter of interpretation; it might be argued that conamuntair is in fact a complement to saul, therefore part of a noun phrase functioning as subject in the sentence.

§ 113. Two examples will show the rather free sort of word-order found in the sagas: SC2 191 nisfreart Labraid béus 'Labraid did not answer her yet' and .204 Nícro recart béus Labraid 'Labraid has not yet answered'.

For Middle Irish Dottin1 states the rule: "L'ordre ordinaire est verbe, sujet, objet: gabaid ferg in rig désin 'la colère s'empara du roi là-dessus', tucaat na Cristaige and-sin Siluestar as in carcair co suba 'les Chrétiens tirèrent alors Silvestre de la prison avec joie'.

For the sake of completeness, it may be added that in Modern Irish, adverbials normally come after other major constituents as in Shín Donnchadh an leitir dom diabhal 'Donnchadh showed the letter to the devil'.

11913,237. 2Wagner 1959a,284.25.
§ 114. In Old Irish independent pronouns do not occur either in subject or object position; thus the question of how they affect the place in the sentence of adverbials does not arise.

The later language often puts a pronominal object and sometimes (in Middle Irish) even a subject at the very end of the sentence, but this is not an absolute rule. Dottin gives the following examples: *ro-thidnaic a-m lamaib-si thu 'elle t'a mis en mes mains' and ro-bhéed iarsin o átach lín a gil be 'il fut ensuite revêtue de toile blanche' against ro-tusmed hi do-n t-shollai 'elle fut engendrée de la lumière éthérée'.

From Classical Modern Irish one might quote na léig inn a ceathraighadh, achd saor iog o olo 'do not let us in temptation, but free us from evil' against Keat.II.990-1 sur mharbh saor theintéche san leith thoir don Phrainge láísh le sliabh Alna és 'lightning killed him (=g) in the east of France, beside the Alp mountains'.

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1Cf. Gramm. 254-5; DRIA,E,5.10.20; I,9.37-50; 39.83-40.10; M,72.71-73.9; T,330.62-75. Strachan (1904,76) states: "In SR I have noted no examples, in the eleventh century MS. LU it is already common in the later and more popular texts."

2Cf. Dillon, ed. 1932,46.20 ro be(i) immuigh hf 'she was away'. Cf. op.cit.64 for a collection of instances, to which may be added BD § I.5-6 do-ratën ri Colum Cille sé 'it pleased Columba'.

31913,208, from PH .2708; .470 and .1979.

4O'Donnell, Matth. 6,13. Note that this is a translation.
This tendency is a feature of the modern language, as in *do thug fear an chanaill leis go dí n-a thig* fein e 'the man with the horse took him (=e) with him to his own house.'\(^1\) and (for Scottish Gaelic) *Sgaoil mì machaanne a' ehršin iad* 'I spread them out in the sun.'\(^2\)

In Manx we find *Noo Ean* ch.9 v.11 *hug eh rish my hooillvn eh 'he put it on my eyes', about which Thomson\(^3\) observes: "a phrase intervenes before the objective pronoun. This is frequent but not inevitable in Manx."

§ 115. Noting the normal word-order of Modern Irish as verb, subject, object and other complements, Finok\(^4\) lists three exceptions where adverbials do not come after the object: a) mit präpositionen verbundene substantiva oder pronomina, wenn das verbum ein imperativ; b) ausdrücke, die als notwendig zum verbum gehörig, mit diesem einen einzigen begriff bildend empfunden zu werden scheinen; c) adverbiale ausdrücke, zumal solche der art, auf sie ein besonderer nachdruck gelegt wird." Amongst the examples given for these three cases one might quote for a) *tabhair dhom iasacht do rásair* 'Leihe mir dein dein Rasiermesser'; for b)

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\(^1\)Jackson, ed. 1968,25.27v8. Cf. further Finok 1899 § 539; Sommerfelt 1965,258-9 and Holmer 1938,111.

\(^2\)Oftedal 1956,275.29. \(^3\)1951,269 (with further examples).

\(^4\)1899,210. \(^5\)For practical reasons I have given these sentences in a standard orthography, not in Finok's phonetic transcription.
an dtugann tú uait iasacht do saine? 'Verleihst du dein messer?' and for c) d'athin mé go héasga & 'Mit leich-
tigkeit erkannte ich ihn'. All three examples given
for case c) involve pronouns. It is therefore more than
probable that they are the reason for the word-order
being what it is. Emphasis is usually expressed in quite
a different way.

Adverbials in Relation to Each Other
§ 116. In the glosses, it is not very easy to lay down
definite rules for the internal word-order in sequences
of adverbials. There may be a tendency\(^1\) to put time
adverbials last as in Wb. 14\(^d\)28 ammínúlig and tra
indorsa 'so we are acquainted with him now' and Wb.
15\(^e\)25 ni imdíniubh aineach and octabirt ociben allas
sin 'no person will be protected there in giving
confession on that day'.\(^2\) But counter-examples can be
found. Thus Sg. 215\(^a\)6 diit remauidigthi huaraib
cenbriathra leo 'there are sometimes prepositions
without verbs by them'.\(^3\) has a time adverbial followed
by a prepositional phrase introduced by cen 'without'.
If the normal (= "unmarked") Old Irish word-order in
fact made adverbials of time come last one might explain
these counter-examples either through considerations of

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\(^1\)As in English; "where adjuncts cluster in E position,
the normal order is process-place-time" (Quirk, Greenbaum,
Leech and Svartvik 1972, 506).
\(^2\)Cf. Wb. 3\(^c\)13; 4\(^a\)8; 12\(^d\)35; 31\(^d\)14; Ml. 16\(^b\)5; 60\(^a\)9;
Sg.26\(^b\)7; 215\(^a\)5; Thes.II,242.19.
\(^3\)Cf. Ml. 114\(^b\)16.
length\(^1\), euphony, clarity or the like or else by defining the part of the sentence that is introduced by \textit{cen} as "virtually the equivalent of a subordinate clause"\(^2\). A full-scale investigation of the material that is relevant to this question would be required before anything more than these tentative suggestions can be stated.

§ 117. The evidence given by the saga-texts is, when their characteristic brevity of locution gives one satisfactory examples, \textit{simply} inconclusive as that provided by the glosses. In this case one also has to take into account the literary character of this type of prose, which, however, is probably more than set off by the (Latin-inspired) artificiality found in the glosses. In \textit{SCano} .366 'Nocho tibar dom aire a fecht-sea 'I shall take no heed from now on' the adverbial of time comes last\(^3\), whereas in \textit{Fing.R}. .511 Buí Cormac matan moch fecht and i Genannas iar ágabail rìge 'Cormac was in Kells an early morning once upon a time after assuming sovereignty' both time adverbials come directly after the subject and before the other adverbials\(^4\).

\(^1\)Dottin 1913,237: "le plus court précède le plus long".
\(^2\)Gramm. 546; cf. PCr. 62\(^a\)2 \textit{nf} impersonale \textit{infechta iar} tor\textit{much} imp\textit{ronominis} 'it is not impersonale this time after adding the \textit{pronomen}.'
\(^3\)Cf. \textit{Sc.M}.\(^2\) § 17 and \textit{Airne F.10}. \(^4\)Cf. \textit{Fing.R}.982 and \textit{SO2}.76.
§ 118. In Middle Irish one finds examples like PH .4403 do’im ríde réu leis is in domnach indiu do Jerusalem ‘of the royal entrance Jesus made into Jerusalem corresponding to the present Sunday’ against .4477-8 amal tanic leu co hirusalem is-sin is-sin domnach indiu ‘as Jesus came to Jerusalem on the day corresponding to the present Sunday’. The later classical language has similar features: Keat. II.4014 ff. shows the same contrast as the two passages from PH: agus is uime do gairthi Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar dhe tré theasa na mbreath do beirthi ré n-a linn. Is é imocho réacht do orduis Feidhlimidh ré n-a linn féin saimhail an diúchadh dá naíสหร์ i Leidin lex talionis ‘and he was called F.R. through the excellence of the legal judgments delivered in Ireland in his time. Now, the law F. ordained in his own time resembled the law which is called in Latin lex talionis.’ Here, a slight indication, I think, of what the normal ("unmarked") word-order might be like is perhaps given by the fact that in the second clause the time adverbial is given some extra stress anyway by the addition of féin ‘own’. If this were to be substantiated by a large number of other examples, it might be possible for Irish that adverbials of time normally come last in a sequence of such constituents.
§ 119. In the modern language the situation does not seem substantially different. A preliminary examination of sentences of Connemara Irish show some possible patterns. Adverbials of time are often preceded by others. The examples GCP 201.y-z D’fhaisfeá níos minicí anuraidh é 'you'd see him more often last year'; GCP 202.19 bhí siad mar sin go maidin 'they were like that till morning'; GCP 210.20 tiochothaí muid goir ar ball 'we'll come east presently' and GCP 215.6 bhí sé sa mbaile ó 16 'he was at home in the daytime' show how adverbials of frequency, manner, direction and place precede ones of time. This tendency⁴ is not without exceptions. Thus one finds sentences like bhí Domsúil Ó Conaill uair amhain in Sasana 'Daniel O'Connell was once in England', which contrasts with GCP 214.29-30 an rabh tí an Ghaillimh le coirid? 'were you in Galway recently?'. Note the final position of ann (literally: 'in it') in GCP 212.z is doigh nach mbeidh sé faoi láthair ann 'it's likely that he won't be there now at present'.⁵

There may be a connection between the final position of conjugated prepositions and that of pronouns, but on

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¹Cf. Ó Searcaigh 1939,252 and Sommerfelt 1965,258.
²De Bhaldráith 1945,73.19; cf. GCP 209.26.
³Cf. GCP 213.21. ⁴Cf. de Bhaldráith 1945,73.19; 75.24; 77.9; GCP 214.25-5.
⁵Sommerfelt 1965,259: "There is the same tendency to place a preposition with its pronominal ending after a complement."
the other hand, it should be remembered that verbs
and prepositions closely connected to them often form
idioms which tend to counteract the tendency mentioned.
Sommerfelt mentions examples like *thainig siad orthu
thaar i Connaught* 'they overtook them west in
Connaught'.

Proposed Adverbials in Old Irish
§ 120. In what follows I shall only concern myself
with cases of the (sometimes omitted) copula being
used for preposing a constituent for emphasis before
the main verb in sentences that otherwise would have
only one verb, i.e. structures that are reducible to
simple sentences if the focus or emphasis on one of
the constituents is removed. This sort of turn of phrase
is found quite widely in Western European languages,
notably so in English. In few of them does it seem to
be quite as old as *in Irish. This had led some scholars,
Dottin² and Beckman³ amongst them, to assume that a
Celtic substratum might have been at work to cause
this in these languages. This question cannot be discussed
here at any satisfactory length, but it must be noted
that, according to Löfstedt⁴, its origin might be
sought in Latin phrases like Cic.fin. I § 47 Temperantia

est enim, quae in rebus aut expetendis aut fugiendis

¹1965, 259: from Sommerfelt's phonetic transcription.
²1920, 78. ³1934, 42. ⁴1966.
ut rationem sequamur, monet. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that this was used in Latin to emphasize elements other than subject or object\(^1\), whereas in Irish, the copula is often used to predicate an emphasized adverbial.

The various relative particles involved etc. will not be much discussed\(^2\). On the other hand it will be relevant to note when the verb itself takes the relative form and what happens to the copula itself, since there are cases where this depends on the nature of the preposed constituent.

§ 121. In Old Irish most adverbials preposed for emphasis are clearly distinguished from other constituents so placed by forming what Thurneysen\(^3\) calls a "formally independent clause", that is, the verb is not relative.\(^4\) The distinction is clearly shown in a pair of sentences like \textit{ml. 54}^d4 \textit{níd ucht staig asbeir heremias isgo} 'it is not of the bosom of a garment that Jeremias says this' with a non-relative verb and \textit{Wb. 10}^b13 \textit{ithésidi asمبر sof} 'these things are what he mentions below', where relativity is marked by nasalisation.

Note also the distinction between simple sentences where no constituent is preposed and ones where something has been brought forward. Thus \textit{we—may—compare—}

\(^1\) \textit{Art.cit. 271.} \(^2\) \textit{Cf. Bergin in the glossary to TSh. 361; Searcaigh 1940 and Ó Buachalla 1962.} 
\(^3\) \textit{Gramm. 320.} \(^4\) \textit{Cf. also Vendryes 1908, 307-8.}
emphatic Wb. 26\textsuperscript{d}19 ismór indethiden file domsca diibse
'great is the solicitude that I have for you' and
Ml. 101\textsuperscript{c}6-7 Isui ciall gaibes in testimin so corici
aliter 'this is the sense which this text utters as
far as aliter'\footnote{Cf. Stories fr. Táin 11.18 in gaisced gaibes in gilla
'is it arms that the lad takes?' (**MR**.562= LU.5050-1)} may be contrasted with non-emphatic
sentences like Wb. 32\textsuperscript{a}5 attá lemea gaiscaráide.
'I have this peculiarity' and Ml. 64\textsuperscript{c}12 gaibid mod
hargumint 'it takes the fashion of an argument' where
the verbal forms are quite different, i.e. non-
relative ones against the relative ones in the two
preceding emphatic sentences. On the other hand,
emphatic Wb. 21\textsuperscript{c}19 isocprecept sogcellí attó 'it is
teaching the gospel I am' and Wb. arisdothabirt díglae
beríd incláideb sin 'for it is to inflict punishment
that he bears that sword' have the same non-relative
verbal forms as non-emphatic Wb. 26\textsuperscript{d}17 attó oocombáig
frise 'I am contending with Him' and Wb. 29\textsuperscript{b}9 beríd
each brith forarele 'each gives judgment on the other'.

Thus, the general pattern in Old Irish would seem
to be that, whereas preposed adverbials do not take a
relative verb, a preposed subject does so, either with
a special form of the verb, as in file 'that is' (against
attó 'is') and gaibes ('that takes' (against gaibid
'takes'), or with a mutation, as in asmber 'that he
says' (against asbeir 'he says'); this is a case of nasalisation, but lenition is also possible as in Wb. 11°1 ished inso nochatigur itossuch 'it is this which I reprimand at first. These examples show that if the antecedent is an object, the mutation may take the form of either nasalisation or lenition, if it is a subject, on the other hand, only lenition occurs, where the verb has no special relative ending¹.

§ 122. The situation is not essentially very different if the verb is negated, as a few examples will show. Thus Wb. 14°40 is ar airchissecht dubhail nidechuda cuib statim 'it is for the sake of sparing you that I sent to you not statim' has the copula with an adverbial before the negative nf that introduces a non-relative verb². Consider the non-emphatic TEO³.23 Ogue nf dechada 'And I have not gone'. On the other hand Thes.II.294.28 is arann crin · nad deni thoil ind mg thuaes 'he is a withered tree, whose doth not the will of the King above' and Wb. 5°2 isdreecht dfib nadrochreit 'it is a portion of them that have not believed' contrast with the non-emphatic Wb. 12°9 nf denim gnimu macthi 'I do no childish deeds' and Ml. 90°22 nireohareifset ibas dia dichtin 'they have not believed that death could come to them' which have the non-relative negative nf as against the relative nad in the preceding sentences.

¹Gramm. § 494. ²Gramm. 538.
§ 123. Some elements, which if translated into English would be interpreted as adverbials, take the relative form of the verb, as does maith 'well' in Wb. 28b32 arndip maith nairlethar amuntir 'that it be well that he cares for his people'. This type is brought together by Thurneysen\(^1\) with ones where "the antecedent designates the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause": as in Wb. 14d15 ised méit insin donindnag gar indithnadh 'that is the extent to which the consolation is bestowed'. In the case "(c) When the antecedent is the verbal noun is the verbal noun of the verb of the relative sentence, a very common idiom\(^2\) the proposed element is certainly an "internal object"\(^3\) and it may be best to interpret maith n- above in a similar way, thereby keeping apart the two main types of preposing for emphasis, the one involving a direct object or subject and the other an adverbial proper.

Now consider Thurneysen's case "(d) When the antecedent supplies the concept that constitutes the predicative nominative of the relative clause. Examples: cid drúsailnide n-bee chechtar in da rann 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' Sg. 202b3; plebs dei ashandan. berthe-ni '(it is) plebs dei that we are called' Ml. 114a7\(^4\). These could be interpreted in a similar way as preposed predicatives in the nominative/accusative

\(^1\)Gramm. § 498. \(^2\)Gramm. § 499. \(^3\)Humbert 1960, 260–3. \(^4\)Gramm. § 500.
neuter. Pedersen's explanation, favoured by Watkins\(^1\), of the nasalising relative clause would seem to hold for all of these: "Das relative \(\text{n}\) ist weiter nichts als das gewöhnliche ekclipse-\(\text{n}\), d.h. ist der ursprüngliche auslaut eines vorgehenden wortes."\(^2\) And so it surely does in Thurneysen's case "(e) Optionally (in place of a leniting relative clause, § 494) when the antecedent is felt as the object of the verb of the relative clause. Examples: \(\text{it hé gidi as-\(\text{m}\)-ber s\(\text{e}\) 'it is these (things) that he mentions below' Wb. 10\(^b\)13; \(\text{dun chách ã-gaibde} \) 'to everyone they seize' Ml. 76\(^a\)16.\(^3\)"

§ 124. The rule stated by Thurneysen\(^4\) that "An adverb formed from the dative of the adjective cannot be used in periphrasis with the copula before its clause, like other parts of speech" is not without exceptions, as shown by Wb. 2\(^a\)4 \(\text{is indil asferr iudeus} \) 'it is greatly that \text{Judaeus} \) is better' quoted by him himself\(^4\) as an exception, where "the construction seems un-Irish". Also, Ml. 30\(^a\)3 \(\text{ba infortgidiu} \) \(\text{7 ba hitemul dugníth saul comamuntair intelda 7 erelea friduaíd} \) 'it was covertly and it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares' as well as Ml. 78\(^0\)1

\(^{1}\)1963, 29 n. 3. \(^2\)1899, 396. \(^3\)Gramm. § 501. \(^4\)Gramm. 240.

\(^5\)Note, however, that the manuscript reading is \(\text{im-}
\text{fortgidiu (Cf. Thes.I,63 n. c and Best,ed.1936, 30), before line 34 of the Latin text) which makes little sense: firstly, \text{imm} normally governs the dative; secondly, it is not otherwise found to form adverbs from adjectives."
intualngiáthid forróisiii 'deigningly aid' show this, the latter perhaps slightly less clearly, since the copula is, as so often happens, omitted, also, unlike the previous example, this one might be explained as a Latin-inspired anacolouthon: the gloss is on Latin dignanter adnuito, which probably should read adiuntā. In Ml. 30a3 the verb is either non-relative or in an lenited relative form, whereas in Wb. 78c1 it could be either non-relative or in a nasalised relative form2; therefore it seems possible to assume that both these are non-relative, as one might expect. On the other hand, in Wb. 2a4, the second copula is definitely relative. In any case, note that the copula is found predicing adverbs in ind in sentences where there is only one predicate, i.e. in ones where no emphasis is intended3. Interestingly, in the two instances where adverbs in ind occur in PH they are preposed, as in .3605 is in mor-mo dliges in sollamain-si 'it is much more that this festival deserves'4.

Proposed Adverbials in Later Irish

§ 125. To begin with, it will be seen that in the later language adverbs in co can be preposed with the copula, as in PH .6040 co ru-b co céen-duthrachtach do-s-bera do neoch sein sile 'that it may be willingly that he may give it to someone else'5. Later this seems

1DFRA T, 335.40. 2Gramm. 147. 3Cf. § 137 below. 4Cf. .3369, § 62 above and § 138 below. 5Cf. .5802, 4930, 6029 and .2209.
to recede out of sight, and J heodhasa’s grammar states explicitly that go is used only after verbs and not before them. I know of no examples from Bardic Irish to contradict this. On the other hand, proposed go... may occasionally be found in the modern language, as the following examples show: 9 1002 ní go minic a thagann sé 'It isn’t often that he comes'. At this point (Point 27 in LASI) the informant was ‘by no means fluent in Irish”2. The same applies to Point 61, where go hannamh a thagann sé was elicited, with the copula omitted, as it is in the answer at Point 69 go hannamh a thagann sé t’i seo againne ‘(it’s) seldom he reaches this house of ours’, where the informants were equally fluent in both languages. Instances without go like the answer at Point 28 ní minic a thagann sé ‘it isn’t often he comes’ are, on the other hand, rather more numerous.

Finally, it should be observed that except for those mentioned immediately above, there seem not to be any important restrictions on what kinds of adverbials actually may be preposed and thus, in the following sections we can go back to examine what happens to the verb and the copula in these sentences.

1 RGH .1818 ff. "Omnia nomina adjectiva duplici modo flunt adverbia, primo per adiectionem articuli go, ut gu maith et huiusmodi non praecedunt sed sequuntur verba: secundo, quando absolute praecedunt verba sorundem significationem modificantia, ut olo fuair..." 2 LASI I p. xii B 3 LASI I p. xiv C 4 Cf. points 1, 4, 5, 7-17, 13-25, 33, 54, 55, 62, 68, 74, 74a, 78, 83, 86, b, f, g. Note, also, that adverbs in go are predicated by the copula where emphasis is not intended, as in GGF 209.23 is go hannamh é and 215.x is go tanaf é ‘it’s seldom’.
§ 126. Tracing the development of these structures into the modern languages, we shall see that the later language has a relative\(^1\) form of the verb in cases where Old Irish had none: the emphasized adverbial will take a relative main verb. On the other hand, sentences with emphasized subjects and objects remained syntactically unchanged, in spite of important changes in the verbal morphology. Thus, it will, on the whole, be possible to concentrate on dealing with emphasized adverbials.

First of all two possible early exceptions to the rule established for Old Irish must be discussed. One finds that ACC § 11 *is nu nad mar* "he lately that he lives not" might be taken as genuine instance of rather early Irish and *nu* as the old Indo-European adverb\(^2\), not as a proposed neuter adjective\(^3\). On the whole, the latter does, however, seem somewhat more\(^4\) likely, but the possibility that *nu* is an adverb and the relative *nad* therefore an early forerunner of later usage cannot be altogether discounted.

\(^1\)As Cecile O'Rahtilly has pointed out (1968,159) it also happens that "the verb is introduced by co"", as in PH *3053 le re Petru saenrud co n-epert leu na briathra-se* "it is to Peter in particular that Jesus said these words."

\(^2\)Lex. N,23 and §§17 n. and 34 above.\(^3\)Of. arndio maith n- and §§ 86, 123 above and 136 below.

\(^4\)Note that DRTA (N,66,29) takes this *nu* from the adjective *nua*; *nua* 'new' as well as the v.l. *nua* mentioned ACC 160 n. 13.
A poem in praise of Colum Cille seems to contain a somewhat better foreshadowing of the later usage. Thus, in *far sin is fair fil mo ráith* 'after that my guarantee rests on him', the normal Old Irish usage would of course have been *is fair atté mo ráith*. This is metrically impossible. On the other hand, one should perhaps not discount the possibility that *fil* here represents an absolute non-relative use of this verb; this is found elsewhere, but I know of no exact parallel: usually absolute *fil* means 'there is'.

In the later glosses there are some examples of preposed adverbials taking a relative verb, as for instance in *Ml. 64a13 n̂r iris ruchét* 'it is not with reference to it that it has been sung' and *Sg. 45b19 is do thucad an una* 'for this it is that the *una* has been put'.

§ 127. Dottin gives no clear indications on this point for Middle Irish, but a clear instance of the modern type is shown in *Trip. 408-9 7 is a fognam bias a *fil 7 a *semen tre bithu* 'and in bondage will his offspring and his seed abide for ever'. The same text contains examples of the older type still preserved, as

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1 Kelly, ed. 1973, § 23d. 2 Cf. about this word Gramm. § 780; *DáTH* A,467.30 and especially Watkins 1969,168. 3 Cf. Gramm. 320; Cecile O'Rahilly 1968,159 n.; Lewis and Pedersen 1937,142 n. 1 and Ped. I,467, Anm. 1. 4 1913.
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in \( .813 \text{ is isin port bléidi} \) 'in that place shall it abide' and in \( .855-6 \text{ is airi ní hairdeiro in Fergus} \) 'it is therefore this Fergus is not renowned' with non-relative forms of the substantive verb (as against bís 'that will be' above) and the negative copula.

In the later language, the relative verb after a preposed adverbial seems quite regular, as in PH \( .7356 \text{ is do'n ere setna labras Heremiae fáid is-in sechtmad caindel fichit} \) 'it is of this burden Jeremiah speaks in the twenty-seventh chapter'.\(^1\) Other changes took place in the relative system of Irish. There could be a connection between the introduction of relative forms of the verb after emphasized adverbials and the fact that atá came to replace fíil(g) as 3rd singular present indicative relative of the substantive verb\(^2\), thus leaving (in this verb only) no distinction between the verbal forms of phrases like Tripl.\(^2\) \( .999 \text{ is airi atá atoifadh inna cille fri alailli} \) 'and it is therefore there is dependence of one church on another'\(^3\) on the one hand and \( .532-3 \text{ Le eiside atá hi Sleibti indiu 'it is he who is in Sleibte today'} \)\(^4\). What would have been the Old Irish pattern of \( .532-3 \) survives in \( .842 \text{ Is he fíil hi nDruimm} \) 'It is they that are in Druimm'\(^5\). On the other hand,

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\(^{1}\) Cf. PH \( .7356, 6239, 1211, 4178, 4251 \) etc. \(^{2}\) Cf. Ó Máille 1912, \( 31 \), corrected as to the chronology by Mulchrone 1927, \( 78 \).

\(^{3}\) Cf. \( .1904, 1905, 2241 \). \(^{4}\) Cf. \( .882 \) and \( 1041 \). \(^{5}\) Cf. \( .2584 \).
it should be remembered that Irish always had a relative form of the verb in nasalising relative clauses, some of which were introduced by conjunctions of a rather adverbial character\(^1\). It is possibly not without importance that even in Old Irish "A nasalizing relative clause can be replaced by a formally independent (i.e. principal) clause in almost every instance\(^2\), and that in late Old Irish leniting relative clauses sometimes occur where nasalising ones might have been expected\(^3\).

§ 128. After the change-over to the use of relative verbal forms after emphasized adverbials had been carried through, things do not change much in Ireland. The fifteenth-century \(\text{CF}^2.672\) (\(\text{CF}^4.470\)) is \(\text{.ormaibh-se bhia e a fholtanas 'it is upon you that the blame will be'}\(^4\) is not significantly different from what occurs either in Middle Irish or in the Modern Irish of today, as shown in a sentence like \(\text{is air bhia e Le Nodlaig 'it's on it Christmas Day will be'}\(^5\). Other dialects differ in only one aspect worth noting. As O'Rahilly\(^6\) notes, "the special relative endings have in quite recent times been discarded in Munster Irish."\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Gramm. 316 ff. \(^2\) Gramm. 319. \(^3\) Gramm. 320. \(^4\) Cf. also Keat. II.5123 and TSh.3615 and .3577-8. \(^5\) Midu an Phailigh 1968,67.7. \(^6\) 1932,219.
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Lasi\textsuperscript{1} gives some idea of how these forms are distributed, although I doubt whether the non-occurrence in some places outside Munster of special relative endings in the phrase used in the questionnaire, should be taken to imply that these forms do not occur at all in the dialects of these localities.

\$129.\ To\ what\ has\ been\ said\ in\ the\ precedings\ section\ it\ might\ be\ objected\ that\ not\ all\ preposing\ in\ Modern\ Irish\ takes\ place\ with\ the\ use\ of\ the\ copula.\ That\ is\ to\ say,\ sentences\ of\ the\ type\ Madramhlacht\ mné\ go\ bráth\ ní\ rachaidh\ ar\ gcúl\ 'boldness\ of\ women\ for\ ever\ it\ won't\ recede.'\ The\ main\ verb\ is\ not\ relative\ here,\ but\ on\ the\ other\ hand,\ the\ copula\ is\ not\ and\ probably\ cannot\ be\ used\ in\ a\ case\ like\ this,\ which\ is\ to\ be\ classified\ as\ some\ sort\ of\ anacolouthon.\ Also,\ note\ that\ both\ the\ subject\ and\ an\ adverbial\ are\ preposed\ in\ this\ sentence,\ whereas,\ with\ the\ copula,\ only\ one\ of\ them\ could\ have\ been\ used\ in\ this\ way.\ Furthermore,\ and\ perhaps\ most\ important\ of\ all,\ the\ meaning\ of\ the\ sentence\ has\ not\ changed\ in\ the\ same\ way\ as\ would\ that\ of\ an\ emphatic\ sentence\ with\ the\ copula,\ compared\ to\ a\ normal\ verb-initial\ sentence.

\textsuperscript{1}I, 229. \textsuperscript{2}Mhac\ an\ Phailigh 1968, 71, 82.
§ 130. If only part of the adverbial is brought forward, i.e. if part of the syntactic constituent is left behind, the verb in an affirmative sentence will undergo certain changes: GCF 288.23-4 sé'n rud a bhfuil mé ag goil ann mar gheall air 'it's the thing I'm going there because of' would be something like is mar gheall ar an rud atá mé ag goil ann 'it's because of the thing that I'm going there' if the adverbial had not been split into a noun phrase (an rud) and a prepositional element (mar gheall air literally 'because of it') conjugated with a pronoun, since, as we have seen above¹, the element governed by a preposition must in Irish always follow immediately after it, in other words, Irish prepositions do not occur as separate syntactic constituents, i.e. adverbially. The verb goes into the dependent form, nasalised by a². Instead of being left at the end of the clause, the preposition can in certain cases (only in the affirmative) be brought directly before a¹ in this case one might get something like sé'n rud mar gheall air a bhfuil mé ag goil ann 'it's the thing because of which I'm going there', which to me, at any rate, sounds rather clumsier in Irish than it does in English, although a normative grammar of Irish would not, apparently condemn it out of hand³.

¹§ 35. ²This corresponds to Munster goN; both are probably from ag a¹ 'at which' (Bergin, glossary to TSH. 361; cf. Ó searcaigh 1940,133.) ³Christian Brothers 1969,339.
Proposed Adverbials in Scottish Gaelic

§ 131. On the main verb the effect of a constituent proposed for emphasis is substantially the same in Scottish Gaelic as in Irish. One finds special relative forms used in those dialects where they still exist as such. In a relative verb, lenition is always the rule, even if there is no distinction in the ending of the verb.

The system of the copula itself in Scottish Gaelic is of much more interest. When used for emphatic posing, it has a different form depending on whether it is followed by a pronoun (is 'is') a noun (e e from is + e 'him', 'it') or an adverbial (e ann from is + ann 'in it'). No syntactically very significant variations seem to exist in the dialects from Ross-shire to Rathlin. Holmer's study of the dialect of this island gives clear examples of the Scottish way of handling the copula: e ann before an adverbial, se before an indefinite noun and (as in Irish) se before a definite noun. Although the author does not comment on it in dealing with the copula or with the position of the dialect as an essentially Scottish one, this would seem to be a useful criterion for distinguishing Scottish Gaelic from Modern Irish.

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1 Borgström 1937, 186; 1940, 109; 1941, 55; Oftedal 1956, 235ff.; Holmer 1957, 131; 137; 142-3; 1962, 84, 91.
2 Borgström 1941, 117-8; 1942, 139; 19, 22; 41942, 143, 30.
3 1942, 155.1. 6 1942, 113-4. 7 1942, 121ff.
Most syntactically relevant facts will be sufficiently exemplified in the following examples from the dialect of Barra: the mi emaointinn nach iad a rinn goid 'I think that it is not they who did that' has the simple form used before pronouns, while an e Màiri the tighinn 'is it Mary who is coming' has the copula expanded with a pronoun and 's ann agam a the iad 'it is I who have them' shows the form used before an adverbial.

§ 132. 's ann used in this way is discussed by Anderson, Calder and Carmody. Most grammars of Scottish Gaelic seem to ignore it totally, no doubt because Irish was looked on as the model for "good" grammar.

It does, however, occur quite early. Although there may be one example of the type under discussion in the early Scottish poetry in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, this seems to contain many more examples of the Irish type, as in is ris fein do thaobhaid 'it is to his side they come'. In one passage, however, one finds the lines 's ann i n-éric Con na ecleas/tuigae liom andeas na cinn 'it is in requital for the Hound of the feats that I

1Borgström 1937,196. 2Note that, unlike what happens in Irish, this occurs before all nouns, not only definite ones. 31910, 41923, 257. 41945, 182 ff. 5Cf. Shaw 1778; Stewart 1801; Currie 1828; Munro 1835; 21893; MacAlpine 1852; Cameron Gillies 1896 and Nicolson 1936. 7Watson ed. 1937, 1387, cf. 1582, 1703, 2294, 1306 and 2330 as well as Ross, ed. 1939, 2637.
have brought the heads from the South. Note that here *an in* might be interpreted as an instance of the Scottish type of reduplicated *an ann* (for Irish *áin*). Thus, this early possible instance is not altogether certain. In any case, it should be noted that "most of, not all, of the poems here were composed in literary, not colloquial Gaelic". Therefore, even if this instance does not represent the later usage of *s ann*, this could still have been used in the spoken language.

A safe terminus ante quem from a genuine contemporary source can be provided by the poems of Mac Mhàighstir Alasdair, who amongst others gives the following line: *'S ann o'n reamhair fuair mi 'n euchdog it's from the traveller I got the fair maid*.

In these poems from the conclusion to be drawn that it definitely belonged to normal usage at this time.

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1Ross ed. 1939, 1367-8; reference to a previous edition of the Book of the Dean (Skene and M'Laughlan 1862, 40.41) and to the manuscript itself (in the National Library of Scotland) has convinced me that Ross had read these lines correctly.

2However, the Rev. William Matheson informs me that he would regard this to be later in origin than *s ann* before adverbials.

3Watson ed. 1937 p. xxi. I am grateful to W. Matheson for information on this as well as on other points.

4From Mac Donald 1751, 94.18 = 1924, 238.15 which prints *'S ann bho'n Reamhar fhuair mi 'n euchdarg and translates: 'From the Rhymer does she hail'*

5Cf. 1751, 153.17; 154, 5; 13 and 155.6 not in 1924; 1751, 118.8 = 1924, 120.1; 121.5 = 122.33; 123.6 = 124.30; and 1924, 184.3 and 190.18 apparently not in 1751.
§ 133. The system of Scottish Gaelic is highly interesting, not only for its theoretical implications, which cannot be gone into here, but also for the fact that Scottish Gaelic thus makes the same distinction between preposed adverbials and other constituents (subjects and objects) that is found in Old Irish. The means are of course very different and no direct connection can be implied without further evidence, but the fact must be noted.

Welsh also maintains a formal distinction between emphasized adverbials etc. on the one hand and objects and subjects on the other. Again, the means employed are different and again one feels doubtful about a direct connection, but it should not be forgotten that that there are some other parallels between the Celtic languages that differentiate them from that of Ireland².

Proposed Adverbials in Manx

§ 134. It is generally accepted that Manx is closer to Scottish Gaelic than to Irish. Thus a relatively early sample like she dooinney dooyrt rhym 'twas a man told me:³ has what looks very much like the Scottish type of copula usage with 'a e before an indefinite noun.

On the other hand, a preliminary search in the earliest⁴

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¹Simon Evans 1964, 60 ff. ²Wagner 1959, 64 and passim.
³1804, 71; ²1870, 87. ⁴Not of course counting Ross's quotation (1939 p. xv) from "A Manx poem of date 1507 is written in a phonetic spelling: "Cha nee lesh Chliwe ren e ree reayll, Cha nee les a Hideyn ny lesh a Vhow." "It was not with his sword he kept it, neither with his arrows or bow". For the poem, cf. Thomson 1961, 521 ff. Ross probably got his dating from Train 1845, 50 or from Harrison 1873, 25.
source of Manx we have, the Manx Book of Common Prayer, shows that she may in fact have been used to cover the three different types of Scottish Gaelic. Thus one finds copula + pronoun used before an adverbial in

\[ \text{dæyn te ny phadervn ully tovrt feanish ay ree tryld vn enim aggesyn, iðu quei er tývl ta kredial avnsvn} \]

\[ \text{lyði ny hekaghvn 'to him give all the Prophets witness, that through his Name, whosoever beeth in him, shall receive remission of sinnes'.} \]

It is worth noting, though I cannot explain it, that after cha, nagh, ay, dv, an ('not', 'that not', 'that', 'that' ' ?'), what appears to be the feminine ee 'she', 'her' is used, whereas the masculine eh is present in she 'it is'. In any case, from our point of view, the important fact is that, regardless of what class of constituent follows, the Manx copula is expanded with a personal pronoun, changes in which seem dependent on the lament that precedes it, not on the constituent that follows.

§ 135. In later Manx, the copula is sometimes confused with the substantive verb, as in Row e avng Doolish honnick oo eh? 'Was it in Douglas you saw him?', whereas She mvah vn senn ir y ta mee er clashtyn

\[ \text{mygeayrt 'It's from old men that I've heard about them'.} \]

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still has a form of the copula that agrees with the evidence from earlier Manx. In any case, Kneen concurs about the use of she to predicate preposed constituents. Since this usage would, as far as adverbs are concerned, be ungrammatical both in Scottish Gaelic and in Irish, one may in this case disregard the objections that have been made to Kneen's book and accept what he has to say on this point as genuine.

Thus, it can be stated that Manx agrees with Irish in having only one way of predicking all preposed constituents on the one hand and with Scottish Gaelic on the other infusing a pronoun after the copula in cases where Irish does not have one, i.e. before indefinite nouns.

Finally, it is perhaps worth remarking upon that of all the Goedelic languages Manx is in this respect the closest to English; this is hardly surprising from the geographical point of view, although direct influence on this point would be difficult to prove, possible as it is.

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1931, 85 ff. 2Thomson 1969, 189. 3Note especially how closely Hiberno-English usage of 'tis accords with that of the Goedelic languages (Henry 1957, 192 ff.) and that this "copula" (as Henry calls it) is composed of semantically similar elements to those that formed what probably was the only really living form of the copula in Manx.
Adverbs Prefixed to Verbs

§ 136. The morphology of these elements has been discussed above\(^1\), where it was noted that it would probably be best to treat them as preverbs, at least within the grammar of Irish. On the other hand, since they would in Modern Irish (as in English) be translated by adverbs functioning as full syntactic constituents, some mention of them will be made here.

One interesting syntactic point in this connection has been raised by Howells, who argues that constructions where an adverbial is proposed with the copula are later in origin than ones with adverbially used prefixed adjectives. Thus he states\(^1\): "\textit{arndip maith I take to have been a replacement for the original mad-génatar type.}" If one is to interpret what he says to refer to the use of the copula in the former construction, I am certain that he is right. On the other hand, it is of course quite clear that the adverbial use of adjectives in the nominative/accusative neuter is well attested in most of the older Indo-European languages\(^2\). Thus the real innovation in \textit{Wb. 28\(^b\)32 arndip maith nairlethar 'that he care well'} would be the introduction of the copula.

The other differences between the two constructions I would regard as secondary, mainly due to univerbation\(^3\)

\(^1\)1966, 55. \(^2\)Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 688-95. \(^3\)Ped. II, 291.
in cases like *Ml. 90bl2 madgenatar 'blessed are they'.
It seems to me reasonable to assume that both Howells's
types go back to original adverbially used adjectives
of much the same kind and that the split arose when
the copula came to be used for the purpose of preposing
constituents for emphasis.
The Disappearance of Adverbs in *ind
§ 137. For reasons already stated¹, it seems rather
likely that *ind was in Old Irish felt to represent the
article, even it originally might have been a preposition,
and furthermore, that this might even provide a possible
reason for why this formation disappeared.

The very great majority of of instances of *ind...
in the glosses consists of single-word glosses on Latin
adverbs in -e, -ter etc. These of course tell us nothing
about the syntax of this formation in Old Irish, merely
what the scribes felt corresponded to Latin adverbs.

The few full sentences there are containing adverbs
of this kind show these words used both with the substantive
verb ("predicative" usage) and with other verbs ("adverbial
usage" as well as predicated with the copula. An example
of the "predicative" usage is shown in *Ml. 50-013
rofoirbthighair 7 rorelais anf robó telecommunications lat ade
'thou hast perfected and revealed what was secretly
with thee'. The "adverbial" is exemplified in *Ml. 61a8

¹§ 50 above.
doecai indinmedonach 'he inspects internally', whereas predication with the copula is shown in Ml. 31c16 niba indinax 'it will not be slackly'. As one might expect, some glosses have no predicate; in these ind... seems to qualify a prepositional phrase, as it does in Wb. 7bl indirrige donairn ndibain 'worthily of the saints'.

§ 138. In the later language the formation with ind disappears completely, except of course if it is justified to see the same formation in words like indiu 'today' etc. The latest examples that I know of are in PH, but some of them should probably be interpreted in a different way. Thus there is ind infhilach 'secretly, in secret', which Dottin seems to take as a survival of the old formation, though he is not absolutely clear on this point. In .6085 co raib th'almsa ind infholach 'ut sit eleemosyna tua in absconso' and in .7998 it attar annain in coindiu in infholach 'and there pray the Lord secretly' such an interpretation is possible; on the other hand, all examples of this are from a rather late part of PH and also, the Latin translation of .6085 above would suggest that ind in these phrases should be interpreted as the preposition in 'in'. This is strongly supported by the spelling found in .5950-1 a n-infholach 'in absconso'. On the other hand, it is reasonably likely

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1 Cf. Ml. 78c1 and 100c7. 2 Cf. Ml. 70d8, 9; 127b18; 30a3; 35b17; 65b3.
3 Cf. Ml. 121d7; Sg. 106a5. 4 Cf. §§ 50-4 above. 5 1913, 201.
6 Cf. also .6086, 93 and .6361. Which of course is the original; this is probably significant.
that .3605 and .3369 in mor-mo 'much more' are genuine survivals of the Old Irish formation. This gets some support from the fact that the only two cases where ind... survives in Trip. are of instances where the same adjective is involved, as in .2108 dogóim-se in mó 'I choose more and more' and .2628 echt adfessar du in mó 'I will declare to you more'. One may note that the same adjective is involved in all these late instances and that the second passage from Trip. is a verse one.

Taking what has been said above into consideration, it seems to me that one may safely assume that the formation ind... ceased to exist as a living form after the period of the glosses.

The Emergence of Adverbs in Co

§ 139. The early language only has a few examples of co 'until' used to form adverbs. In some of these the original meaning can be discerned fairly clearly, as in Ml. 61b17 indí adidroili set commór inclóni ní sin dutairciud doib 'they who deserved greatly that that iniquity should be caused to them', where co mmór is "literally 'up to a high degree'". The same would seem to apply to Ml. 77a7 iarmét aectha 7 iarnarim condardad dia digail ccoir forcechan se 'according to the extent of their sin and according to the number of

¹Cf. Mulchrone 1927,57. ²Gramm. 239.
it, that God might inflict punishment suitably on every one of them, where oo cóir might be rendered more literally as 'until that which is right (scil. is reached)'. But this is by no means always the case: it is for instance difficult to find any significant difference in meaning between oo memnic in Mi. 3911 cuiduit simraid gommemic niernus 'even as to mentioning it frequently, I did it not' and in menico in 3g. 21b14 conformat disged innandviute inmenico 'so that they often preserve the law of the simple (words)'. It may be significant that (with one possible exception) all the adjectives quoted by Thurneysen1 and Zeuss2 as examples of oo + adjective = adverb in the glosses can also be used as nouns3. Thus it is possible that the origin of this way of forming adverbs from adjectives should be seen in phrases with a preposition and an adjective used as a noun. Later, when the formation in ind disappeared, it became possible to use any adjective in this way.

In any case, it seems to me likely that the process whereby the formation in oo replaced that in ind should be seen within the wider context of the disappearance of the free use of the dative and, in the same context, the increased use of prepositions.

1Gramm. 239. 21871, 609. 3Cf. DRTA C, 314. 53 ff.; L, 90. 28 ff.; M, 44. 67 ff.; 84. 64 ff. (this seems a doubtful case) and M, 167. 76 ff.
§ 140. A sentence like Corm. Y. 1229 docuirethar obonn anmannae ar a chind 'an animal chances suddenly in its way' contrasts with PH 145 tanic cu hoband ful 7 usce al-luc in crechte moir-sin amach 'there came out suddenly blood and water at the spot of that great wound' in the same way as does Fél. Jan 17 nos-molammar menice with PH 1757 ar de-triallais co menic 'for thou hast tried it often'. These would seem to imply that PH on the whole requires a de-adjectival adverb to have co, whereas earlier texts did not require this (or ind) quite as rigorously.

§ 141. In the Bardic language I have not found examples of adjectives used "adverbially" without go, as against numerous cases like Tsh. 527 mar thig an bás go hobann dá bhfuadach leis go meinic 'how death comes suddenly, often carrying them off by force' or Párl na mé. 1416-7 iad ghlacas fearg go hobann 'they whom anger takes suddenly. On the other hand, this happens sometimes in the modern dialects. Also, the Bardic language has "predicative" adjectives both with and without go.

§ 142. There is a passage in Bardic teaching of grammar that would seem to support this observation; in the Bardic Syntactical Tracts we find the following passage:

1 i.e. with verbs other than attá 'be' 2 Cf. 465, 625 etc. 3 Cf. also §§ 84-5 above. 4 Cf. § 146 below.
"ní dh. moladh ar oibrioghadh aochd an mhéid chantar dhe"¹
'an adjective is not correct with a verbal noun except insofar as it is spoken of'. McKenna paraphrases this as follows: "i.e. an adjective does not go with a verb except to say what is said about the verb, i.e. when used as an adverb with verb."² The examples given confirm this: A-tá ag troimfhearthaun as-ttigh, poinnfhearfaidh thrá san tigh sin. c.; a-tá ag fearthaun truit as-ttigh l. 'the rain is dropping heavily within; it will indeed always drip down heavily in that house: correct (= .c.); it is raining heavy inside: faulty (= .l.).³ McKenna⁴ paraphrases ag troimfhearthaun 'at heavy raining' as ag fearthaun go trom 'at raining heavily' which helps clarifying matters. The main point is that an adjective cannot qualify a verbal noun in the same way as it could another noun; it must be made an adverb for this to be possible. Note that the discussion applies to verbal nouns: perhaps the reason was that whereas it was felt that someone might err in the direction of letting an adjective qualify a verbal noun, as in the example above, it was not felt to be possible and therefore not thought of that the same might apply to a finite verb. Perhaps significantly, Ṣ hEdhhasa allows for only one case, where a de-adjectival adverb lacks go, namely when it is proposed to the verb⁵. Thus, it is probably not unreasonable

to conclude¹ that the Bardic language for the most part considered *go* to be obligatory in de-adjectival adverbials, just as present-day educated English requires most of them to be formed with -ly.

§ 143 The picture in the modern dialects is rather different from that given by the examination of the classical language. LASI shows a rather bewildering pattern, where *go* seems to be omitted more or less at random. If we look at map 298² we see that *go* in this phrase (‘he died suddenly’ *fuair sé bás obann, caileadh go toibéann é*) is apparently (with one exception: point 4) not used in Munster and only intermittently in the rest of the country. One difficulty about this phrase must, however, be noted: it could be that in ...bás obann, the last word should be interpreted as qualifying the noun³; on the other hand, outside Munster, points 29 (Craughwell, Co. Galway), 58 (Geeverawne, Co. Mayo), 61 (Tubercurry, Co. Sligo), 70 (Glenvar, Co. Donegal), 72 (Drumnara, Co. Donegal) and 73 (Kildanagh, Co. Donegal) have *fuair sé bás go *(t)*obann, where *go...* hardly qualifies the noun. Note that these are all areas where few Irish-speakers were found. Therefore, one could

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¹ As Adams must have done, when he states, unfortunately giving no references: "Adverbs of manner do not exist as a morphological class; they are expressed by the moladh, usually preceded by the *iarrubéarla 'go'." (1970, 159).

² LASI 1.

³ As most probably in Párl. na mB. 1517 *go bhfuaghann sé bás obann 'that he gets a sudden death'."
dismiss these examples as mere corruptions such as might be expected to occur in the last stages of a dying language. On the other hand, in view of the probably more frequent use of *go* in the literary language, they may point to an innovation (disuse of *go*) not having reached these areas. Finally, to take those cases where (*go h*)obann cannot but qualify the verb, note that Munster has only case of cailleadh *go h*obann *g*¹ against four of cailleadh *obann *g*², just as in point 42 cailleadh *go h*obann *g* and 3 cailleadh *obann *g* outside Munster, where one may count four cases with *go* against seven without.

§ 144. Like map 239 discussed below³, the evidence discussed in the previous paragraph would give the impression that *go* is seldom used to forms adverbs in Munster and somewhat more frequently in the rest of the country. A glance at the forms collected against 510 shows that this is not always the case. The phrase in question, (*go)mocht, *luath* has more occurrences with than without *go* all over the country, including in Munster point 18 (Dunquin, Co. Kerry) which Wagner⁴ has called "the only spot in the province of Munster where Irish is still predominant". In Scotland *gu* is not found in this phrase at all, except in Arran, which is almost

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¹Point 4, 2, 7, 15 and 19. ²§ 147. ³LASI I, p. xi C.
dead, linguistically speaking. Q 560 'he passes me often on the road' teann sé tharam go minic ar an mbóthar 'he passes me often on the road' unfortunately yields some information only for a few points, but where it does, it almost universally (including Scotland) shows that go... is found in this phrase, as does Q 1002 'he visits our house seldom' teagann sé go teach go hannahmh, which in some cases (e.g. point 27) has go minic preposed with the copula, something that seems to be avoided in earlier stages of Irish.

Co... in "Predicative" Usage

§ 145. The use of co with "predicative" adjectives is not obligatory, but seems to occur according to rules on the whole but not entirely similar to those that apply for "adverbial" ones. Ó Máille states that de-adjectival adverbs without co "are mostly such as can be used in agreement with the subject (or in the case of marb with the object) of certain verbs, or adverbially." It should, however, be noted that one adjective is quoted by him both with and without co. Thus PH.2413 bid din forpthi 'be then spiritually minded' contrasts with .689 Q mboi iarum co forpthi is-na gnímu-sin 'when he was perfect in these deeds' and .7900-1 ar mbeth-ne cu forpthe for a scáf-th-som 'our being made perfect under its protection'. On the whole Ó Máille's views

1Cf. § 125 above. 21912,80. 31912,79 and 75.
are accepted by Dillon\(^1\) who states that "the available evidence does not show that the substantive verb could be used with a predicative adjective in the same way as the copula in the early texts. The instances which occur in early texts belong to a class of adjectives which, from their meaning, may be used adverbially, and may therefore be predicated by the substantive verb like ordinary adverbs." First of all, it is quite possible that the example of an adverb in \textit{ind} occurring with the substantive verb should be included under the present heading. Consider Ml. 50.13 anf robôi inchlidiu lat add 'what was secretly with thee, o God'. One might of course say that the presence of the prepositional phrase prompted the choice of construction, but this seems to me no more certain than it would in a case like PH 339 boi octa ou lán-gradach sist phota 'he lived with her full lovingly a long while'.

Summing up for the older language, it would seem that there are some adjectives which may occur with the substantive verb without \textit{go}, but that the latter construction is preferred.

§ 146. In the Bardic language the situation seems rather similar. Thus TSh. 4316 go mbi \textit{shlóir} go \textit{fárdhaidhe} \(^2\) 'that his glory does be everlasting(ly)' \(2\) contrasts with 4314 go mbi an \textit{t-anam} \textit{fárdhaidhe} 'that the soul

\(^1\)1928,341. \(^2\)Cf. 3603,3610,3720,3986,4315.
does be everlasting. In this case, it seems hardly justified to assume any significant difference in meaning between the two cases, just as the presence or otherwise of *go* in the passages from *PH* quoted above did not seem to matter.

Perhaps it would be best to regard the "predicative" use of *go* as a tendency in the language that had not been carried through as completely as it would seem had happened in the case of the same formation when used "adverbially", i.e. to qualify verbs other than *átá 'be*.

§ 147. In the modern dialects, *LASS* shows more or less the same picture for "predicative" adjectives as for "adverbial" ones, with the slight difference that *go* does not start to be used until Co. Mayo. Again, in Scotland, *gu* is found in Arran only. Now all this applies to the phrase *tá mé (go) réasúnta* 'I am middling'. If we look at Q 933 'I am well' *tá mé go maith* the situation is quite different: here the survey shows no instances at all of non-use of *go*. On the other hand, Q 742 *I don't know whether you are right or wrong* *ní fheadar, *d é acu tánn tú fior nó bréagach* shows no instance at all where *go* is used and neither

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1Cf. 3603, 3610, 3720, 3986, 4315. 2§ 145. 3Cf. § 142 above. 4Map 239. 5Point 52=Doughnakeon. 6Answer given at point 18=Dunquin, Co. Kerry.
does 1005 bfh muid uaigneach ina dhiaidh¹ 'we were lonely after him' (except for points 81 and 86 in Donegal). As probably in the case of "adverbial" adjectives one has to conclude that in the modern dialects the adjective itself, and the dialect, will determine whether go is used or not, thus not the verb. In any case (whether or not go is present), I agree with Howells's general statement² "that the adj. with the subst. verb has always had adverbial overtones". He adds, presumably about Scottish Gaelic, that "In the modern dialects, the mark of the adverb, the go/gu has almost receded out of sight". As we have seen, this is not the case for all dialects.

§ 148. In Kerry, and probably in some other cases as well, there is a difference of meaning between an adjective with go and one without it when used with the substantive verb. As Sjøestedt-Jonval puts it: "L'opposition entre l'adjectif et l'adverbe permet de distinguer au besoin une qualité inhérente au sujet d'un état occasionnel: tann tú go laidir tu es en bonne forme (pour le moment); tann tú laidir 'tu es robuste (de ton naturel)'.³ The facts allow for all sorts of interpretations, as when Finck, writing about Aran Irish, states "Der gebrauch von taim

¹Answer given at point 42, Inishmaan, Co. Galway.
²1966, 55. ³1938, 76.
beschränkt sich jedoch auch beim Adjektivum seiner grundbedeutung gemäß auf die Fälle, in denen ein zustand prädiiziert wird, wie in *tá an doras dúnata* 'Die thür ist geschlossen'*¹, whereas "Adjektive mit dem präfix *go*, wie *go héasca* 'leicht', 'mit leichtig-
keit'" are accounted for together with other "Adverbiale bestimmungen des prädikats"² where the example *an bhfill
do mhuintir uilig go maith* 'Sind die deinigen alle wohl' is given. In Connemara, the situation is described as follows by Wigger: "Beim Verbum substantivum werden alle Adjektive rein prädikativ, d.h. ohne *go* gebraucht, mit Ausnahme einer kleinen semantisch definierbaren Gruppe: die Wertungsadjektive *maith* 'gut', *breaghdha* 'hübsch', *deas* 'nett', *álaim* 'schön', *dona* 'schlecht', und *clo* 'übel'i"³. To this one might add that these words not only mean degrees of 'good' and 'bad' but also occur frequently. O Máille (presumably referring to Connought Irish) explains⁴ that only "adjectives denoting a temporary condition" can be predicated with *tá* without *go*. About this Dillon, rightly, it seems to me, observes⁵ that actual modern usage is less restricted. § 149. About Ulster Irish, O Searcaigh⁶ states that with certain exceptions *go* is used for added emphasis⁷ when health or weather is involved, but not with adjectives

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¹ 1899, 210. ² 1899, 212. ³ 1970, 43 n. ⁴ 1913, 52. ⁵ 1928, 341. ⁶ 1939, 61. ⁷ "le béim treise a chur". This seems incorrect as the choice of whether *go* is used or not depends on the choice of adjective, not on whether emphasis is intended.
like tinn 'ill', tuirseach 'tired', fliuch 'wet', tirim 'dry', garbh 'rough'. On the other hand, go occurs in go maith 'well', go breagh 'fine', go dona 'badly', go measardha 'middling' and go claoidhte 'ruined'. Searcaigh does not define his classification semantically any further, but his class of adjectives that take go corresponds roughly to those observed by Wigger for Connemara, in that some sort of notion like 'evaluation' is involved.

In Scottish Gaelic, the situation, as observed by Ofatedal, is that "A few adjectives are preceded by the particle gu both in adverbial and predicative use:...

am bheil sibh gu math 'are you well'... Most adjectives do not take the particle gu in adverbial functions. This is consequently not a general adverbialising particle as often stated in Gaelic grammars." On his part, Howells adds to his statement about the recession of gu that "is Sc. Gael, this has happened in adverbial position as well as in predicative" and that even with the substantive verb "the adj. is preceded by is ann to! ann" when proposed for emphasis. As we have seen above, this marks anything that comes after it as definitely adverbial.

In Scottish Gaelic at least, this gives full justification for treating "predicative" adjectives with gu without gu as a sub-class of the class of major constituents formed by adverbials.

1956, 218. 21966, 55, cf. § 147 above. 3§ 131.
§ 150. It is perhaps worth quoting a few examples in support of the view that, in Scottish Gaelic at least, adjectives with or without *gu* when used otherwise than as attributes or predicates can be considered as adverbial adjuncts, whatever verb they may occur with. Thus Carmody\(^1\) states "The normal construction (*gu* plus adjective) is emphasized with *'e ann*" and he quotes\(^2\) the sentence *'e* (ann) *èile ainneach a the e tighinn an so* 'it's very seldom that he comes here', where two of his speakers used *ann* and one did not. The latter is presumably a survival of older (Irish-type) usage. Note that whereas the simple form *is* of the copula is still possible before certain adjectives (as always in Irish), the expanded pre-nominal form *'e e* cannot be so used in Scottish Gaelic. On his part, Howells\(^3\) gives the example *is ann amoch a tha i* 'it's late that she is' and comments: "Note the *ann*, as if the modern speaker, too, were aware of the 'adverbial flavour'."

The two examples quoted show no significant distinction in construction deriving from the choice of verb, whether the substantive verb is found or any other one.

\(^1\)1945,172. For some reason he later (art.cit. 184) changes his mind, stating that "adverbs preceded by *gu* cannot be emphasized by inversion with *'e ann* (for example *gu h-oilc 'ill, poorly')". This would be interesting to test, but note that such an adverb is not *ann* but *am* "in a non-emphatic case like *is ann a thu maith a' sheir*" (Gaelic Bible: John 18.23).

\(^2\)1945,184. \(^3\)1966,39.
Lastly, we may note what Oftedal\textsuperscript{1} has to say about the syntax of de-adjectival adverbs: "...adjectives are frequently used adverbially...They may be preceded by the same qualifying adverbs and particles as those used before predicative adjectives, such as \textit{ohl} 'so, as', \textit{glé} 'very'. A few adjectives are preceded by the particle \textit{gu} both in adverbial and predicative use:...". This also points to there being no real distinction, linguistically speaking, between "adverbially" and "predicatively" used adjectives in this dialect. This state of affairs reminds one rather strongly of the situation in Modern German, where the same form of the adjective is used as complement with all verbs, both \textit{sein} 'to be' on the one hand and all others on the other\textsuperscript{2}.

"Case" in Adverbs of Time and Place
§ 151. Generally speaking, most Irish adverbs can be said to carry two meanings, or perhaps it would be more exact to say: two components of meaning. Firstly, there is place as such (in relation to the speaker or to some other point of reference). This is the only meaning conveyed by most corresponding forms in English, such as \textit{down}, \textit{west}, \textit{out} etc. Secondly, there is what might be termed "case" in a broad

\textsuperscript{1}1956,218. \textsuperscript{2}Cf. § 19 above.
syntactic sense\(^1\). Here, the primary distinction is one between 'rest' and 'movement'. In some adverbs, there is a secondary distinction between those movement adverbs implying 'provenance' and those of 'goal' (i.e. 'from' versus 'to'). On the other hand, not all adverbs of place show these distinctions. Thus, even the distinction between 'rest' and 'movement' may be absent. In other cases, the series lacks the adverb denoting 'provenance'. Especially the complete absence of "case" in some of these adverbs reminds one of modern languages like English or French, whereas the existence of these distinctions in others reminds one of languages like Latin and Greek or modern ones like German, Swedish and Finnish.

§ 152. In Old Irish (and, generally speaking, in the modern language too) some adverbs of place make up a system where one axis has three places, corresponding to 'state', 'provenance' and 'goal' and the other axis can have up to a dozen places, corresponding to various locations in reference to the speaker or some other point of reference supplied by the context. The morphological elements \(\text{\AA}-\), \(\text{\AE}-\) and \(\text{\AE}-\) have been discussed above\(^2\) together with some of their less frequent allomorphs as have some of the elements in the location axis.

\(^1\)cf. Lyons 1969,300. \(^2\)§§ 89-100, cf. also §§ 73-4.
This is rather different from the system of Modern English, where adverbs, such as up and down are locative only and thus leave to the verb the functions of the t-, s- and an- axis. Note how Carmichael Watson translates \footnote{1} \textit{\textit{MU}} 513 \textit{Ganae tānic int armārīth der-tānic, inn a haeor anūae...?} as follows: "whence came the weapon that reached us? Down from the air...?", but goes on to take what immediately follows (\ldots \textit{no in der muir anfär inn a Hérind anfär?}) in this way: "or across the sea from the west or out of Ireland from the east?". In the first case, a literal translation of anūae 'from above' would have been very clumsy in the context and was not used, whereas in the latter part of the passage, 'provenance' is indicated without too much clumsiness in the English translation.

\textbf{An...} and Verbs of Movement in the Older Language

\S \S 153. In the above example from \textit{\textit{MU}} note how the adverbs in an- occur together with a verb compounded with to- and meaning something like 'come' or 'arrive'. It should be remembered in this context that Irish verbs of movement mostly express some form of directionality, even when they occur without preverbs, unlike Greek counterparts like \textit{στρεχω} and \textit{ἐγκυμω}: this is shown in

\footnote{1} Better: 'clangour of arms, alarm'. Cf. the glossary to \textit{\textit{MU}} 66.37 and \textit{DRA} A,403.9-11 and 27 as well as G,163.y ff.
Od. 11.17 στείχωσιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀντερέσεντα as against II. 2287 στείχοντες ἀπ' Ἀργείων; in both examples directionality is expressed in the prepositions, not in the verb.

On the other hand, it is of course hardly likely that τέτι 'goes' and δο-τέτ and δο-ικο 'comes' cover the meanings of English go and come. The use of to- inside the paradigms of these verbs is a most complex matter, but it is probably significant that, as Vendryes has pointed out: "il est visible que luid s'emploie de préférence quand l'idée essentielle est celle du but de la marche elle-même et douair quand l'idée essentielle est celle du but de la marche." Note that these two forms belong to the same paradigm (τέτι). The use of a prefix to show the notion 'come' may in fact well point to τέτι 'goes' originally having had a meaning similar to that of the Greek cognate (στείχω) of some forms of its paradigm, namely 'come, go, move', i.e. a neutral meaning as far as direction is concerned. This seems to be the case still in LL.12675 can lod translated by Stokes as 'whence hast thou come?'.

1929, 219. 2 'went'. 3 'has gone'. 4 This is by no means unprecedented in the world's languages. Anderson (1971, 122 n. 1) mentions suffixes used in a similar way in a couple of languages of India.

5 Also in LL.12676 and 12678. 6 Stokes, ed. 1893, 407.2,3 and 5.
Note, by the way, that if the -n is identical\(^1\) with the -an in adverbs of provenence, these passages provide counterexamples to the tendency\(^2\) for adverbs in an- to occur only with verbs in to-.

§ 154. In another connection\(^3\) Bergin states: "if we had such a case here, we should expect some trace of phrases like luid anair 'he went to the eastern part'. No such phrase occurs. It is always tánic anair 'he came from the east'\(^4\). In mentioning this, Bergin was dealing with a quite different matter, but it is from our point of view here rather striking even with a more expected meaning like 'he went from the east'.

The example already given\(^5\) of a verb in to- with adverbs in an- represents a normal type. Thus we find ml. 67d\(^6\) cuimhealla son incathraig andees 7 anf\(\bar{a}\)r 7 antuaid 'it surrounds the city on the south, the west, and the north'; RDB\(^2\) .227 do\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}lo\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}tar tr\(\acute{a}\) fors\(\acute{a}\)n feir\(\acute{a}\)n anall a tir n\(\acute{a}\)r\(\acute{e}\)ann; 'they came, then, over the sea from the other side to the land of Ireland'; TBF\(\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{3}},194\) do\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}l\(\dot{e}\)\(\acute{a}\)ici a b\(\acute{a}\)thair sleid g\(\acute{o}\)ir\(\acute{n}\)d of an\(\acute{a}\)see rout a-s"\(\acute{a}\)urcora 'Ihr Vater schleuderte von oben in der vollen Länge eines Wurfes einen fünfsackigen Speer nach ihr';\(^6\) SO\(^2\) .762-3 tánic f\(\acute{a}\)rom Manann\(\acute{a}\)n anf\(\acute{a}\)ir do baigid

\(^{1}\)Cf. Hdb. 274 and § 96 above. \(^{2}\)Cf. §§ 154-6 below. \(^{3}\)1913,187. \(^{4}\)This feels incomplete as a sentence of English, but the Swedish equivalent han gick öster-fran would be acceptable. \(^{5}\)§ 152 above. \(^{6}\)Cf. TBF\(\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{3}}\) Kommentar 182. The word is not included in the Glossar.
na hingini 'And Manannán came to the girl out of the east'; *Fir.* 14 amal teadais foratochar deglf anechtair 'like a good house whereon a good colour is put outside'. It should be stressed that these examples represent perfectly normal usage of Irish, where a verb in to- occurs together with an adverb in an-. In itself this is not very remarkable; the interesting thing is that so few counterexamples seem to occur, i.e. ones where an adverb in an- might be found together with a verb that lacks the preverb to-.

§ 155. One possible such counter-example has already been mentioned, namely *can lod* 'whence hast thou come'. This could be explained by stating that the verb here has its older meaning of 'move' with no directionality implied. *Se. M.* 5 I n-gedl immaurgu ro-dáleat-som etir anfar oceu anair 'on the same day, however, they summoned to a tryst, both from the west and the east' is of a different type. It has been suggested that the adverbs *anfar* 'from the west' and *anair* 'from the east' here reflect position rather than movement. This is of course not impossible, but it seems much more likely that one

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1 Note that to- is definitely present in the verb whether the verb should be emended to *foratabar*, as the editors (Thes. I, 485 n. d) suggest or one accepts Pedersen's to me more likely view that one should read (Ped. I, 501) "-r statt -rr: altertümliche Form". (Cf. *DRLA* degra-dodelbthe 233.67-8).

2 § 153 above, with references. 3 *DRLA* A, 346.84.
should subsume something meaning 'those who would come'. If this had been stated explicitly, it would in all probability have involved a verb in to-.

Finally, note that, as we would expect from what has been said before in this paragraph, in those cases known to me where ammaig 'from the outside' occurs with a verb of movement, the preverb to- is present as in dombert ammaig 'and brought him in'.

§ 156. To me it seems rather uncertain whether this tendency for adverbs in an- to occur only together with verbs in to- would, if sufficiently substantiated into a definite rule, be useful in proving anything much towards the solving of the controversy about the origin of to-. On the one hand, it might argue in favour of Wagner's view of to- as originally a "Richtungspräverb" but against that the "connective" advocated by others cannot be ruled out. In the former case the meaning of to- with verbs of movement might something not unlike the preverb ἐπο- in Od. 17.448 τῆς δούλων τῶν πομα προσήγαγε δαίτης ἀνίην and in the latter it would be something more like here in Lawrence's rendering of Homer's line: What murrain brought this kill-joy here to curdle our feast.

1 Hull, ed. 1941,941.15 = LL .37037; cf. .36981.
2 1972a,39. 3 Cf. § 90 above for references. 4 1935,242.
§ 157. About the example from Tur. 14 foratochar degl anechtair 'whereon a good colour is put outside', it has been observed that the "idea" of motion is "much reduced". The same observation is also found about other adverbs in an-, but in many cases an alternative explanation is possible. In the case of Mon. Tall. 162.33 (§ 85) ba sf húirseom doarwaib Adamnín ind soscele andall 'an it was the hour that A. lifted up the gospel yonder' it has been suggested that the spelling may point to andall here being a different word, i.e. not anall 'from beyond'. About the cardinal points DRI A quotes examples with "the idea of motion much reduced" like Bard. Synt. Tr. 25 § 218.9 Cinnmhe anfarana 'e anoir. foirne farradh anllaigh 'Billeted men from West and East, crowds making a call on wealth' or TBC 4624-5 Airm i tát na léith caile anair isin cath bérait toilx trisín cath sér 'As for champions who come from the west to the battle, they will make a breach through the battle-line to the west'. Note how the translation here includes a who come that is not present in the Irish. This could equally well have been added to the previous example. On the face of it, of course, these examples look like cases of adverbs qualifying nouns, but as I hope will be made clear later it is better to treat phrases like these as containing a subsumed relative clause.

1 Cf. § 154 above. 2 DRI A, 336.56. 3 DRI A, 325.74.
4 Perhaps innom to the other side. Cf. § 97 above.
5 A, 347.2 ff. 6 § 178 below.
§ 158. One comes to the conclusion that although a certain amount of overlap may have existed between different types of adverbs of place, the main case where ones in an- are used to indicate position, not movement (stated or implied) is when used with fri 'against' as in Wb.6d17 hiliricum i. regio inter italiam et greciam i. frigrecia anfar et friesth anfar 'th the West of Greece and to the East of Italy'. On the other hand, there remain occurrences like Thees.II,311.2 conifaercath le German · andess i ndeisiurt Letha by the editors translated: 'so that he left him with German southward in the souther part of Letha'. Again DRIA² observes that "the idea of motion" is "much reduced" in this passage. Accordingly, one would take andess as Atkinson does³ to mean 'in the south' here used for metrical reasons, since dess 'in the South' would not have suited the metre. On the other hand, there is hardly an equally valid reason why fadess⁴ 'to the South' was not used, unless the poet meant a phrase where German was described as a southerner, someone 'from the south'; this would however have entailed syntactic enjambment, something I have not noted elsewhere in this poem.

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¹Of. Gramm. 305. ²A,333.65. ³Lib. Hymn.II,32.10. ⁴This is of course the word Stokes's and Strachan's translation in Thees. would have led one to expect.
\textit{T... s...} and Verbs of Movement in the Older Language

§ 159. As in the \textit{an-} series the adverbs in \textit{s-} are sometimes confused with those in \textit{t-}, although in this connection it should be noted that there was the added difficulty that when lenited, \textit{t} and \textit{s} both give /h/. However, lenition is regular only in the case of the adverbs in \textit{t-2}.

As one would expect, the opposite sort of confusion is rare, i.e. the \textit{t-} series seems not to occur much with verbs of movement, except, interestingly enough, for \textit{sund} 'here' which occurs with some verbs of movement, all of which have the prefix \textit{to-}, as in \textit{SC2}.377 \textit{connai	oraig sund i lle} 'that he does not come hither'\(^3\).

Unfortunately, there seem to be no clear instances in the glosses of this kind of usage, although there are apparent ones, like \textit{Wb. 14\textdegree}20 \textit{cachled dochoideos sund isdoprecept et forcitall} 'every side that he went here it is to instruct and to teach',\(^4\), where \textit{sund} seems to go with \textit{teit} 'goes' in of the forms that contains \textit{to-}.

Here it seems more likely that \textit{sund} refers to the passage the gloss comments upon; a clearer translations might be 'in this passage'. In any case, there are enough cases of \textit{sund} with verbs of movement that contain \textit{to-} for

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{DHLA S,35.36}; \textit{248.61}. \(^1\text{Cf. } \textit{§ 99 above.}
\item \textit{Cf. } \textit{LU}.3578; \textit{ (= SC2}.29); \textit{IT I,144.27}; \textit{CRR} 19; \textit{Met. Dindg. III,60.77}; \textit{Stokes, ed. 1877,183.26}; \textit{TD} 39.2; \textit{Gog.56.14};
\item \textit{Wb. 23\textdegree}10. \(^4\text{Cf. } \textit{Wb. 23\textdegree}10.}
\end{itemize}
support to be provided for Dillon's view that to- implied "'to arrive at a place', i.e. the perfective aspect of coming and going, rather 'ankommen' than 'kommen'". It is of course significant that sund does not seem to occur with verbs of movement that lack to-.

§ 160. The e-series occurs regularly with both types of verbs of movement, whether or not they are compounded with to-. Thus one finds examples like SCano .236 Teid-side sair 'he goes east' against .510 far tlaachtain sair and To*3.1017 Raxat-aan sechum fodesa didiu 'Then I shall meanwhile go on southwards' against .1036 Túnic Conall foithraid airis 'Conall came back again northwards'. These show quite clearly that although the use of the an-series tends to be conditional on the verb of movement being compounded with to-, the converse, i.e. that adverbs in e- would occur only together with verbs that do not contain to-, is not the case.

T..., e..., and an... in the Later Language

§ 161. The situation in the modern language seems much less clear than in early texts, but something semantically rather similar would seem to obtain, according to the Christian Brothers, who state that "often aroas 'from above' is used instead of sios 'to below'"

1972,43. 21960,277 (my translation from the Irish).
between a verb of movement and the preposition ar 'on, at'. They give the example anurlár seis an báisín anuas (siose) ar an urlár 'she put the basin down on the floor' against d'inéech sé ar an urlár 'he looked on the floor' and thug sé aghaidh siose ar an ngleann 'he fixed his attention down on the glen', in both of which it would seem to be implied that an adverb in an- would not be acceptable. In the first instance 'arrival' is explicit, in the others it is not. Of course adverbs in an- are found with verbs like teacht 'come', but the interesting thing here seems to be that the notion of 'arrival' is expressed quite a different way than of Old Irish (with tu-) but the result seems to be the same.

162. The previous paragraph of course applies to what a school-grammar has to say on these matters. In genuine dialect material the situation is by no means as easy to interpret.

As to the possible distinction in those cases where both an- and an- adverbs can be used with the same verb, Sheehan makes the following observation: "To raise". Distinguish between do thógbhál anios and do thógbháil suas. The former would imply that the stone was raised from the bottom of the hole to the level of the diggers, or to the surface; the latter, that the stone was raised from its position below, and then laid aside without

1 1908,56.
being taken from the hole". Here too, the notion of 'arrival' seems to be present where aníos is used but not with suas.

Hughes, on the other hand, takes the central point of reference to be the speaker both in the s- and the an- series: In Irish, 'up' is not merely 'toward the sky' but either 'up toward me from below' (aníos) or 'up away from toward a point above me' (suas). This is equivalent to giving a very literal translation of both elements in each adverb mentioned.

§ 163. Writing about West Kerry Irish, Sjøstedt-Jonval states that "La même direction absolue sera donc traduite par suas 'de bas en haut (moi étant en bas)' ou par aníos 'de bas en haut (moi étant en haut)'. Soit ce passage, tiré d'un conte: Chuala sé an dul trí n-a chéile thuas inea tseomra agus tamall beag i n-a dhaídh sin do chluais bean bhreágh... anuas; d'imthigh sí sios go dtí an barraill agus do dh'impaigh sí ar sáil, agus ar linn sí dul suas on tseomra...etc." il entendit le remue-ménage en haut dans la chambre, et un moment après une belle femme vint d'en haut; elle descendit jusqu’au baril; elle tourna sur ses talons, et comme elle remontait dans sa chambre..." Unfortunately, something has been left out between the verb and anuas 'from above'; thus it is not certain that this passage contradicts what has been said about the notion of

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1 1970, 90-1. 2 1938, 78.
'arrival' being present in a sentence that contains an adverb in an-; in any case, note that ghluais, although translated 'came' in this passage, is neutral as far as directionality is concerned. The literal meaning is 'move'.

§ 164. On the whole, it seems reasonable to agree with Sheehan\(^1\) that verbs of coming generally occur together with adverbs in an- and ones of going with adverbs in s- in Modern Irish. But this is by no means a universal rule. Thus we find examples like tiocfaidh mé soir ar ball \('I'll come east presently\)'\(^2\). On the other hand, the same\(^3\) folktale contains the sentence chuaidh sé soir \('he went east\)'\(^3\) and teacht anoir \('which conform to Sheehan's rule. First of all, note that earlier\(^4\) examples like the first one quoted in this paragraph seem quite normal\(^5\), although it does not conform to Sheehan's rule.

It is probably true that strict rules cannot be laid down about these matters. Consider what looks like a counter-example to the rule about verbs of going: chuaidh duine do na mianadóir\(^6\) an tse le \(\text{g}\)áide \('one of the miners went from below on business\)'\(^6\). Does \(\text{g}\)áide imply 'arrival'? If so, it would seem that the tendency noted for the older language may exist in

\(^1\)1944,191; cf. Skerrett 1969, 76. \(^2\)De Birc 1973, 62 § 1.10. \(^3\)Art. cit. 63 § 5.6. \(^4\)Art. cit. 63 § 5.15. \(^5\)Cf. § 160 above. \(^6\)De Bhaldraithe 1945, 73, 27-8.
Modern Irish in a formally, but not semantically different form; however, it would be rash to state these tendencies as facts without a great deal more of material to support them.

One other point has been raised by Skerrett\(^1\), namely that these "co-occurrence classes" also hold good for transitive verbs like *tabhairt* 'give' with adverbs in *an-* and *cur* 'put' with ones in *s-*. Substituting *breith* 'take, carry' for *cur*, which hardly implies more directionality in itself than does *gluaisseacht* 'move' this would certainly be true of an older stage of the language: as Vendryes\(^2\) notes: "les composés du verbe berim...ont eu un développement assez semblable à celui des verbes *tágu* et doiccim."

In the modern dialects, however, there is a certain amount of confusion between *beirim* 'I carry' and *do-bheirim* (*tugaim*) 'I give'.\(^3\)

§ 165. The adverbs in *t-, s-* and *an-* are found in many more or less idiomatic usages not discussed here, including temporal ones resembling e.g. English usage in phrases like *down to our times*. One the other hand, it should be noted that sometimes the use of a prepositional phrase seems more idiomatic than that of a simple adverb, even if one of these might have been expected, at least by a speaker of English. Thus Ó Cuív

\(^1\)1969,76. \(^2\)1929,222. \(^3\)Cf. Finck 1899,II,41.
in a passage dealing with "the impact of the English language on Irish" makes this interesting observation: "Two young boys in Ballyvourney wanted to say 'put me up on the bicycle'. One was from a home where Irish was the normal every-day language, but the second was not. The second said *cuir suas ar an rothar* me, but the one with the Irish background said *cuir i n-a'irde ar a' mbicycle* me." This tendency presumably has some connection with what Henry has called the "substantival cast" of Irish. On the other hand, it is probable that the simple adverbs (as they are in Irish now) have, over the centuries, lost a great deal of their original force. In this connection, one may note that in Leurbost Gaelic, the distinction between 'up' and 'down' has vanished, leaving only one word to express both kinds of 'vertical motion': in Oftedal's words: "*thig e a nuas chugam* means both 'come up to me' and 'come down to me'". On the other hand, Calder's grammar lists the full set of adverbs as they would be in Irish (allowing for some mainly orthographical differences).

1951, 54. 21960, 25. 31956, 217. Note that Holmer (1938, 197) states that *a níos* 'from below' is "in Islay generally used for nuas 'from above', 'down'... as: *bheir a níos an cloc* 'bring down the clock'." 41923, 315.
Adverbs Showing Fewer than Three "Cases"

§ 166. The adverbs meaning 'in' and 'out' differ significantly from those in *-, *- and *- in having lost their equivalent of those in *- fairly early. On the other hand, unlike the corresponding words in English, they show rest and movement.

The contrast between the meanings 'out' and 'in is illustrated in Aided. 647: * an sin tanic in * a mach isin teach n-in-chlethi 7 do-chnuaid isteach doridil 'then the king came forth into the hidden house, and went into the house again' and that between 'rest' and 'movement' in Oftedal's text 3:

Air * a shoil am fear a bha steach gun robb an t-each
da dhressigeach aig an fhearr a bha muigh, thòinig
e mach 'when the one who was inside thought that the one outside had the horse (ready) dressed up, he came out. Apart from noting the disappearance of ammaig 'from outside' and the fact that the literal meaning of these words is sometimes retained in very early examples, there seems not to have been very much syntactic change involving these words in Irish, whereas in Scottish Gaelic the system seems to be rather badly broken down in some dialects. Occasionally, one finds what looks like ammaig 'from outside' surviving, as in Ph. 76 in fer tanic ammuig 'the man who came from

1 Cf. §§ 72, 89 and 155 above. 2 Cf. Hughes 1970, 92. 3 1956, 269 and 311. 4 DHIA 1, 323. 48. 5 Cf. § 72 above.
outside', i.e. 'the guest\(^1\), but this is not very common. In any case, note that the modern language would prefer some sort of circumlocution, if 'provenance' is to be indicated clearly. De Bhradraithe\(^2\) suggests \(\text{on taobh amuigh}\), literally 'from the side outside'. As in the case of other adverbs of place\(^3\), the adverbs of motion in this group can be used with the verb subsumed, as in \(\text{nf theicim amach in an chor} \& \text{I don't see him (going) out of doors at all or bhí siad amach go bóthar} \text{they were (gone) out to a road}'\). In both these cases movement to the outside is implied.

§ 167. A very important unit in the system of Irish adverbs of place is represented by Old Irish \(\text{and 'in it'}}\) and \(\text{ind 'into it'}}\), which were later confused into \(\text{and and ann 'in(to) it'}}\). The history of how dative and accusative came to be confused after prepositions cannot be gone into here, but it may be pointed out that, as Vendryes\(^4\) has shown, this happens as early as in the Würzburg glosses. For the Passions and Homilies, Atkinson's Glossary\(^5\) states that the word occurs all of 460 times, some of which show it used wrongly from the point of view of Old Irish, as in \(\text{PH 1378 bhíd ind col-lathi in fhuigill 'and shalt remain there till the day of judgment'}}\). On the other hand, a bardic poem

\(^1\)Cf. \(\text{PH .92. 21959, s.v. outside}\). \(^2\)Cf. \(\text{DRI A I,63.81 and 802.795}\). \(^3\)1908,150. \(^4\)PH 540.
shows it used correctly as late as the late fifteenth century: Aith. D. nr 28 § 25 Leamhain inn is tirne as 'the Leamhain as it comes into the lake, the tirne as it leaves it'.

§ 168. With or without a demonstrative suffix -so 'this' or -sin 'that', 'the afore-mentioned' or reinforced by other adverbs of place¹, it is used both as a locative² and as a temporal³ adverb. As Oftedal⁴ notes, 'These adverbs denote both movement and repose: thainig mi ann an so bho chionn a sé miosan 'I came here six months ago', bha dòsgadh anne na h-eaglaisean ann an so 'there was a revival in the churches here'. Thus, this word functions rather like its English equivalents (here, there etc.).

In this connection, it should be observed that this lack of distinction between 'rest' and 'movement' is a feature of some other prepositions, especially in Modern Irish, used with nouns or conjugated with a pronoun⁵, and not only, as in the cases mentioned here, where a conjugated preposition has lost much of its original pronominal meaning, turning into something that functionally must be described as an adverb.

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¹ Cf. Gramm. 300; GGF. 209.19, 20, 24, 25, 26; 205.27-207.2;
² Sjøestedt-Jonval 1936, 8; Oftedal 1956, 214-217;
³ Séarcigh 1939, 103; Finck II 1899, 98.
⁴ DRHA I, 5.62 ff.
⁵ DRHA I, 7.45 ff. ²1956, 217. ⁵Cf. the interesting examples of this mentioned by Pokorný (1927, 374-5).
Adverbs of Time

§ 169. In the preceding sections, it was mentioned that some adverbs of place also function in a temporal sense. In most cases, as e.g. than of ann 'in it', 'there', 'then', the basic meaning is a spatial one, and the temporal meaning due to an extension of the basic deictic function of the word. The temporal sense is shown clearly in examples like Oríth Gabl. 569 Is and is rig in tan donnichellat dréchtai gfallai 'it is then he is king, when ramparts of base clients surround him', and, to take one from Modern Irish, GOF 210.9 aoch uaidh sin annas far than steamar ar bith orthab 'but from then on no steamer at all waited for them'.

§ 170. As one might expect, some tense restrictions are in force with some adverbs of time. In its original meaning of 'till night' caidchí can occur together with any tense of a verb, as Thes. II, 334.4 ba tair coidchí inna gort 'till evening there was dry weather in her field', Fing. R. 902 anaid-sium chaidthi (v.l. co heidchí) forsín phurt 'he stays at the abode till night' and SG II, 492.18 ...ina timchellfa do charpat chaidche '...as your chariot will go round before night' may show. The later meaning 'ever' mostly requires a future tense, as Ó Searcaigh points, giving anall 'from beyond' and anonn 'to beyond' used in a temporal sense.

1 § 165 above. 2 Cf. also Ó Searcaigh 1939, 257-8 for anall 'from beyond' and anonn 'to beyond' used in a temporal sense.
examples like beidh sé chothromh ag obair go dtuifidh sé 'he'll be at work for ever until he falls' with which one might compare GOF 211.26–7 ní fhaca dhó ní sheobhaigh mé chothromhinn 'I'll never get a penny from him'. On the other hand, there are older examples like PH 4196 lenaít chothromh di-a n-úlce 'who ever pursue their wickedness', where the rule is not very strictly adhered to, in so far as the tense used is a present, although the reference is to the future.

Similar rules seem to apply to synonyms like go bráth and go deo, whereas, in the modern language, at any rate, ariamh 'ever' occurs mostly with past tenses, as in ní fhaca mé an sít ariamh 'I never saw the place' and GOF 211.2 ní fhaca mé ariamh sa saoghal aon lá be tiseach ná g 'never in life did I experience a day that was warmer than it'. About this word, Sjoestedt-Jonval mentions the interesting feature that it is found in positive sentences "dans les contes" as in mhéas sí riamh 'she always thought', whereas the normal meaning is 'never'. Again, the rule is not an absolute one, as there are some exceptions to the tense constraint.

1939, 255. <Searcaigh 1939, 255–6; GOF 213.23–4: ní thicfaidh an oiread sin de mhaith ar Chonamara go deo 'that amonut of good will never come to Connemara'.

In most cases like these, the constraints are readily understandable from the original meanings of the adverbs involved: *go bráth* 'till Doom'; *go deo* 'till end' and *(g)rìamh* 'before it'.

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ii. Phrase Syntax

Generalities

§ 171. As explained above\(^1\), this heading describes the use of adverbs as qualifiers of elements in a sentence that are not predicates, or in other words, the role of adverbs in the syntax of a phrase. For the sake of comparison, however, I have also discussed adverbials that qualify nominal predicates, especially adjectives used with the copula.

Traditionally, it was stated that, apart from verbs, adverbs may qualify adjectives and other adverbs. To this one should add that in many languages adverbs and especially adverbials formed by prepositional phrases may also qualify nouns. In such cases it is often fairly clear that such phrases are the virtual equivalents of phrases containing a relative clause. Thus, an English phrase like *motion downwards* might be interpreted (with ellipsis of the predicate in the subordinate clause) as the equivalent of something like *motion that goes downwards* and *a severely damaging statement* as a paraphrase of *a statement that damages severely*, where the predicate is transformed into an element that belongs to a different class of major constituents.

\(^1\)§§ 12 and 107.
Indeed, it would seem not at all impossible to use arguments such as these to show that all adverbials really qualify a predicate of some sort, which may not always, on the other hand, be expressed in the “surface structure” of a given language. Here it should, however, be quite sufficient to give an outline of what sorts of adverbs are found qualifying other elements inside a phrase.

Qualifiers of Adjectives

§ 172. In Old Irish, there seem to be no instances of de-adjectival adverbs in ind being used to qualify adjectives. This may simply be due to the lack of available material. On the other hand, if it could be substantiated into a fact about about Old Irish, it would be rather unexpected, since most other European languages have constructions similar to that of English extremely good, French extrêmement bon etc.  

On the other hand, it is easy enough to find equivalent phrases, where one adjective determines another in some other way, as in Laws V,112.7 nádib caínfoltach níbí caínfuillmech 'he who is not well qualified is not well remunerated' with compounds of adjectives, or

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1Cf. further Lyons 1969,326. 2Not so in Finnish, however, where the equivalent of the phrases quoted would be härimmäisen hyvä with the genitive of härimmäinen 'extreme' being used to qualify another adjective. The adverb qualifying a verb would be häirimmeistä, with the special adverbial ending. Cf. § 30 above. 3Embedded text and translation from Kinch 1958,47.
by the use of a relative copula construction, as in
O.Cath. 555 is mormó is córa duit cathugud 'it is much
more suitable for you to fight'.

As for the later formation in co, in none of the
few examples I have of it from the glosses does it
qualify an adjective that does not function as a pre-
dicate. Thus there seem to be no instances where
attributive adjectives are qualified by another ad-
jective in its adverbial forms. On the other hand,
this happens fairly frequently where one of the adjectives
is a predicate with the copula, as for instance in Ph
5304-5 Ro-nud fherr co mor do'n duine sin cen a
genemun etir 'it would have been much better for
that person not to have been born at all'. Consider
also FA § 33 oceu is follue co móir ané m-bruin fair-
seom ressin oceu for Enoo 'an a countenance of sorrow
is greatly evident on him himself and on Enoch'.

One interesting implication of the failure of
de-adjectival adverbs to occur qualifying adjectives
other than ones functioning as predicates would be
that this might provide additional syntactic support
for considering the unit formed by copula and nominal
predicate as a major constituent at the same level as
a finite verb1.

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1 I have tried to give some other reasons for this
Exemplifying the use of adverbs with adjectives and adverbs, Brugmann and Delbrück\(^1\) give the following two examples from Irish: "each idiriuch 'ganz direkt', in-biuo iarum 'pauolo post'". Neither of these is, however, altogether a good parallel to the Greek and Latin cases like πολύ φίλαται and vehementissime gratus, since both Irish phrases consist of adverbs, not adjectives being qualified by an adverb\(^2\). They do not give any adjectives proper being qualified by adverbials, though it is of course true that the latter element in each idiriuch is probably de-adjectival.

§ 173. In later Irish, I know of no examples until the present day, where adjectives not functioning as a predicate can be qualified by a de-adjectival adverb; modern usage seems to be that a de-adjectival adverb that is used to qualify another adjective is not preceded by the particle go, though apparent exceptions like GCF go réasúnta breaghde 'reasonably fine',\(^3\) against réasúnta trom 'reasonably heavy',\(^4\) are to be found. In these cases it seems impossible to determine what role the syntactic environment would have played. However, it seems not unreasonable to assume that go in the first phrase turns the whole phrase, not just the first word, into an adverbial, since a phrase like that as an attributive phrase would to me seem impossible and a phrase

\(^{1}\)1911, 755; cf. also Brugmann 1925, 128. \(^{2}\)Cf. § 178 below. \(^{3}\)208.2-3. \(^{4}\)208.1. Note that both phrases are given out of context.
like ?lá go réasúenta breaghdha 'a reasonably fine day' would thus, as far as I know, not be acceptable ¹Irish. On the other hand, there are many examples in Modern Irish, where adverbs in go are used to qualify adjectives that function as predicate with the copula, as for instance in GOF 206.29-30 b'hhearr dhó go fada fanacht sa mbaile 'it would be better for him by far to stay at home'.

The Christian Brothers state ² that before an attributive adjective a de-adjectival adverb loses the particle go. This might be restated in a simpler form by saying that adjectives may qualify each other and in so doing they are not made into adverbs. This has the considerable advantage, that it takes account of the fact that very few adverbials of any kind seem to occur as qualifiers of attributive adjectives in Irish.

§ 174. Other types of adverbials seem to behave in much the same way as regards adjectives. Thus, where the qualified adjective functions as predicate, we find cases like Old Irish Wb. 2b17 isenesa dogeintib 'he is nearer to Gentiles', Middle Irish PH .1778 Bid follus anosa 'it will be manifest now' and Modern Irish GOF 104.33-4 narbh thearrde go deo é dá bhfagadh sé é 'wouldn't it be far better if he got it'.

¹Note that the English very literal translation is unacceptable, whereas that of the acceptable Irish phrase is not: lá réasúenta breaghdha 'a reasonable good day'.

²1960,274.
On the other hand, examples of attributive adjectives qualified by adverbials are rather difficult to find, unless one counts as such instances of participles such as that in GOF 104.33-4 sin fear gub é an lá beannaitedh dó an lá n-imtheoidh sé as an áit seo. 'that's a man such that the day blessed to him is the day that he will leave this place'. In this case, dó 'to him' definitely qualifies beannaithe 'blessed', that there can be no doubt about that.

In a case like san áit chéadna díreach a bhí sé 'it was) exactly in the same place that he was', it is probably better to take díreach as the qualifier of the whole prepositional phrase san áit chéadna and not just of the attributive adjective chéadna. Also, note that in sentences like GOF 97.17-8 ní ba drochmhargadh ar bith é 'it was not at all a bad bargain', the adverbial complements a nominal predicate that contains a preposed adjective in composition. Here it would be quite impossible to interpret ar bith as qualifying droch- only.

It is of course not possible to state rigorous rules based on such a small number of examples as the ones given here, especially when founding the argument on a specific construction NOT occurring in the material at hand, but a reasonable working hypothesis would be

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1GOF 206.5-6; the copula is may be subsumed before san áit...
2Cf. § 106 above.
that, on the whole, attributive adjectives in Irish do not take adverbial qualifiers.

Qualifiers of Other Adverbs

§ 175. In giving examples of adverbs used to qualify other adverbs, a useful starting-point may be provided by the examples quoted above\(^1\) from Brugmann and Delbrück. In a later work of Brugmann's\(^2\) there is an additional example of an Old Irish adverb qualifying another, namely "\textit{in-\textit{chian riam} \textit{longe ante}}".

Thus, \textit{Ml. 19}\(^6\) \textit{in biuc iarum} and \textit{b7 incian riam} 'a little' and 'long before' as well as \textit{Wb. 7}\(^b1\) \textit{incianrirc donaib noibaib} 'worthily of the saints' show how, in Old Irish, a de-adjectival adverb is used to qualify another adverbial; I have no examples where the reverse happening, i.e. of other adverbs qualifying ones in \textit{ind...} Also, it would be interesting to know whether a de-adjectival adverb in \textit{ind...} could qualify another in Old Irish, but, as I can give no examples of this occurring, it is in fact possible but of course by no means certain that that this did not occur.

It is worth noting that the qualifying adverb normally comes before the one complemented. The only Old Irish exceptions to this that I know of all concern

\(^1\)§ 172. \(^2\)1925,123.
(int)sainriud 'especially' which usually seems to follow the word it qualifies, as in Ml. 54²22 air is doassaraib int sainriud trîmedírgedar 'for it is to the Assyrians in particular that he refers'. However, in a case like this, one might argue that int-sainriud is more a qualifier of the noun in the prepositional phrase than of the phrase as a whole.

§ 176. In Middle Irish, adverbials qualifying other adverbs also occur, as in PH .2997 is ed sin ro-terchan in fáid a chéin mair anall 'that is what the prophet had foretold long before'. On the other hand, I have no instances where de-adjectival adverbs in co... are found as qualifiers of other adverbs. Instead one finds compounding, as in PH .839 bo f oca co lán-gradach sist fhota 'he lived with her a long while full lovingly'.

In PH .6507 Ar is e cathaiges co calma in t-í fhedliges co lán cobsaid i-na sualchib i ndeg-snímaib 'for he fights bravely who endures full firmly in virtues and good deeds' the translation implies that lán cobsaid should be taken as a compound, not to be confused with those cases where two de-adjectival adverbs are conjoined and only the first one is preceded by co, as in PH .584 co hanband edana 'weakly and timidly' (where a conjunction is used, on the other hand, as in PH .4672 col-léir 7

1Cf. also Ml. 35²8 (twice); 54³35; 137²5 and Sg. 8²6.
2 Atkinson 1887,460,25-6. Cf. his glossary which (591, col.2.3) writes a compound: lán-cobsaid, but without the expected lenition.
co tremfurachair 'clearly and very carefully' both take co). However, it is hardly possible to be altogether certain about lán cobsaid, since if this were a genuine compound one would expect lenition in cobsaid. The lack of lenition in this word may of course be due to a mere scribal error, but it remains possible if somewhat unlikely that this may represent a forerunner of the later way of making adjectives qualify each other.

§ 177. In Modern Irish, it seems rather easier to find examples of de-adjectival adverbs in go being used to qualify other adverbs, as in Nuair a bhí sé a' treasaingt gar go maith don bhaile¹ 'when he was drawing very closely to home', where go maith 'well, very' qualifies gar 'closely', which in its turn qualifies don bhaile 'to home', thereby also illustrating how an adverbial such as a prepositional phrase may be qualified by an adverb.

At this point, something may be said about predicative adjectives, i.e. ones that occur as a complement of the verb tá 'is'. As we have seen², these are probably best analysed in Irish syntax as coming under the wider heading of adverbials. Thus, it could be shown that, like other adverbials, they may be qualified by an an adverb, as in GCF 204.3 tá sí an-so-láimeithe ar fad

¹ Cf. Maillé 1927, 137.24. ² Cf. § 150 above.
'she is altogether very easily handled'. This example also shows that Modern Irish uses prefixes to qualify adjectives in what in other languages would be an adverbial way. In this particular case, it would seem that the prefix *an-* 'very' is rather more alive, at least in Connemara, than the pair *go-* 'good', 'easily' and *do-* 'bad', 'with difficulty'.

Finally, it should be noted under this heading that from the point of view of the structure of constituents in a main clause, some conjunctions introducing a subordinate clause are equivalent to adverbs within a simple sentence. Thus it would be expected that adverbs might qualify conjunctions, and this does indeed occur, as in *Ws. 29d23 lesamld arrobertyawn arenic ni cidrisfu robeimmis etir 'it is thus He has designed our salvation even before we existed at all' for Old Irish and *CGr 203.19-20 nil fhieg-afram gidir-cén-uisir a theagann siad 'I don't know exactly when they come' for Modern Irish.

1 Cf. *Wigger 1970,43-5 who does not list so- and do- amongst "Adverbial- und Ableitungsprefixe". It is however to be expected that it might have been alive still, at least in the speech of an older generation, from which de Bhaldrathe got his informants, even if *Wigger's informants apparently no longer used these prefixes in a productive manner; cf. also *Wagner's review of *Wigger's dissertation (1972*, 300*).
Qualifiers of Nouns

§ 178. The use of prepositional phrases to qualify nouns calls for no special mention. Apart from that, adverbs are used fairly freely to qualify nouns in Irish, perhaps rather more so, it would seem, than in English, as can be shown in some examples.

First of all, there even seem to be cases where de-adjectival adverbs qualify nouns, as in Sg. 199b5 conicsom isuidiu nad labrathar dece sech nach persin indsainriuth 'it is able here not to speak dece rather than any person especially'.

Of other adverbials used in this position, the adverbials of place are especially noteworthy. This has probably become more common as the language developed, in particular in the case where they are found as attributes of taobh 'side', but this is by no means the only noun with which they are found. There are cases like GCF 117 n.1 cuir ceist ar an bhfear isteach 'ask the man (who's come) in'. In a case like this, the translation shows that the phrase is a virtual equivalent of a relative clause, where the adverb would of course qualify a predicate, in this case the verb 'has come'.

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1In this connection note colloquial French phrases like des gens bien 'nice (literally 'well') people'.

2GCF 218-9; Interestingly enough, expressions like this are also used adverbially as in GCF 218.10 gabh taobh amach 'go outside'.
This kind of turn of phrase is occasionally found in the older language as well; consider e.g. TBC\(^3\) 4624–5 as discussed above.\(^1\)

Finally, it must be noted that there are some interesting cases where these adverbs are used in a metaphorical sense, as in the legal terms illustrated in Laws IV, 72.y–z mad sed a deir an fer amuigh, is cuaille céntintach, oos isedh a deir an fer tall nf' derma cin itir... 'If what the man outside (=the plain-tiff) says is, it is a stake of first fault, and what within (= the defendant) says is, it is not at fault at all...'.

\(^1\)Cf. § 157 above.
PART IV. REFERENCE SECTION
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i. Bibliography and Abbreviations

§ 179 In most cases, abbreviations familiar to Celticists have been used, generally ones found in DRIA or (in a few cases) in OCD. This mainly concerns texts cited, but also some other works frequently quoted. Except for abbreviations used in RL, I have tried to include a full list of the abbreviations in the present work, as well as books and articles mentioned.

Acall. = Whitley Stokes, ed. 1900, Acallam na Senórach, Leipzig; in IT IV.i.


Aided M. = Lil Nic Dhonnchadha, ed. 1964, Aided Muirchertaig Meic Erca, Dublin; Med. and Mod. Ir. Ser. XIX.

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ii. Selective Index of Words.

§ 180. This includes most words discussed in the text; the main exceptions are ones included in longer passages cited (especially in the section on syntax § 105 ff.) and not crucial to the discussion. The numbers refer to paragraphs in the text.

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