

## II.

### NOTES ON THE ENGLISH TEXT.

After the texts, *etc.*, had been set up in page form I discovered that there were three other copies extant of the English version of the Rule, Testament and Benediction of St. Clare, and Bull of Innocent IV.<sup>1</sup> Through the courtesy of Bodley's Librarian I have been enabled to procure photostats of some pages of the one in the Bodleian Library<sup>2</sup> for comparison with the Franciscan copy, which has undergone certain manuscript alterations. These are: (1) the erasure of words or letters and the substitution of other words or letters with pen and ink. The hue of the ink and the style of the handwriting suggest that the alterations made in this manner are not more recent than the early part of the 17th century. In fact it seems probable that they preceded the Irish translation. In most instances the original printed text is still discernible and I have restored it in the present edition, recording the alteration in the Notes below. In substance the changes consist in all but a few cases of the substitution of 'let' for 'shall,' and the further substitutions involved by this, such as 'her', for 'she', 'them' for 'they'. My first impression was that these alterations provided support for the theory that this copy was the one used by the Irish translators, that they had been made in order to supply clearer expressions for those to whom 'shall' might be ambiguous. It is at any rate obvious that the maker of them desired to place beyond doubt the character of the sentence as 'admonition', 'precept', *etc.* In nearly every case of 'shall' altered to 'let' 'm' (*monitio*) has been penned in the margin opposite, possibly by the same hand.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The substitution or addition of words or letters by writing them on pieces of paper neatly cut to the requisite size and pasted over the print, rendering the latter in most cases quite illegible. The fresh appearance of the paper and ink, and the character of the handwriting

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*Life of the Glorious virgin S. Clare, also the Rule of S. Clare with the Life of S. Catharine of Bologna* 2 pts. 12° [St. Omer] (copies in Bodleian Lib., Oxford, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Beaumont College, Old Windsor). See Pollard and Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England . . . and of English Books printed abroad 1475-1640*, no. 5350. I have found no other copy of the Declarations, *etc.*, in this version. Another English version of the Rule and Declarations was published at St. Omer in 1665. The Rev. Librarian of the Franciscan Friary, Dublin, kindly allowed me to consult their copy of this, and I have occasionally referred to it in the notes below. See also Notes on the Irish Text, end.

<sup>1</sup> Here I must express my thanks to the Librarian for permitting me to obtain these, and to his assistant, Miss Phyllis Smith, for kindly replying to my queries about the book, and for supplying me with transcripts of several passages.

<sup>3</sup> See Notes on the Irish Text (160).

suggest a much later date for these manipulations, which, as the Bodleian copy shows, give in most cases the original text. This, we may infer, had been altered by the earlier hand as in (1).

From photostats of the Bodleian copy (B) I have been able to restore the original printed text throughout. The alterations in the Franciscan copy are recorded below. The references are to the pages of the book; sometimes for greater convenience of reference the section number is added. The omission of (B) after a reading means that the original text was still discernible and collation unnecessary.

### *The Rule*

- P. 8 § 3 all his (B): his *erased* Fr. (1).
- P. 16 wherefore (B): *altered to when* Fr. (1).
- P. 18 § 6 the A. shall (B): the A. may Fr. (1). Here '1' is penned in the margin and the Irish agrees with the alteration.
- P. 18 § 7 they shall (B): *restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 18 § 7 mingle (B): *altered to mix* Fr. (1).
- P. 22 § 11 shall humbly (*sic* B): shall *restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 22 § 12 she shall (B): shall *restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 23 § 14 occasion: *s added after n in pencil* Fr.
- P. 28 § 2 riches (B): *restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 28 § 2 pitty: *altered to piety* Fr.<sup>1</sup>
- P. 28 § 2 making this promise (B): *making seems to have been partly erased and then inked in; promised restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 28 § 3 permitted (B): *permitted (sic) restored* Fr. (2).
- P. 29 § 4 whiles (B): *altered to whilst* Fr. (1).
- P. 29 § 4 on earth (B): *altered to upon* Fr. (1).
- P. 29 § 4 willed that it should (B): *ordained* Fr. (2) (the Ir. renders the original text).
- P. 29 § 4 alwayes be (B): *to added before be* Fr. (1).
- P. 29 § 5 vnto (B): *vn erased* Fr.
- P. 29 § 6 colon after poverty *erased* Fr.
- P. 30 § 6 last line: teaching (*sic* B): *instigation* Fr. (2).
- P. 31 meanes (B): *means* Fr. (2).
- P. 31 separation (B): *restored* Fr. (2). See Notes on the Irish Transl.
- P. 31 ch. VII: gift (B): *grace* Fr. (inked on erasure) (guift 1665). *The Irish renders 'gift'.*
- P. 32 quench (B): *extinguish* Fr. (2).
- P. 32 serue (B): *be subordinate* Fr. (2).
- P. 32 § 2 company, that which they have wrought with (B): *community the works of* Fr. (2).

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<sup>1</sup> The 1665 version has 'pietie', and the version printed in *St. Clare and her Order* (Lond. 1912) has 'moved by piety'. This version, 'taken from the Handbook for the use of the Sisters of the Most Holy Cross in Rome . . . 1728' agrees closely with that of 1621-22. The language of the Handbook is not stated, but judging by the forms of some proper names as they appear in the English translation (e.g. Fra Guglielmo da Casale; Chiara), I assume it was Italian, not Latin. It is noteworthy that the Irish rendering of 'with pitty' is *le diadhacht ⁊ trócaire*, i.e., it gives both alternatives.

- P. 32 § 3 with the counsaile (B): for with **Fr.** has by (1).  
 P. 33 they shall (B): they s restored **Fr.** (2).  
 P. 33 § 3 height of the (B): perfection **Fr.** (2) that **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 33 § 3 high Pouerty (B): sublime poverty **Fr.** (2).  
 P. 35 § 7 sisters being (B): sisters are **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 35 § 8 the section number erased and they shall altered to and let them **Fr.** (1). In 1665 the matter in §§ 6-7 form a single section, our § 8 being accordingly § 7. Corresponding to 'so . . bound' it has 'because all are obliged'; for the opening of our § 8 it has: "Let them declare freely." The Latin has corresponding to § 7: *juxta possibilitatem loci caritative & misericorditer providere: quia omnes tenentur providere & servire Sororibus suis infirmis, sicut vellent sibi deserviri, si ab aliqua infirmitate tenerentur* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> ii 82. Then a new sentence begins *Et secure manifestet* etc. corresponding to: 'They shall freely declare,' etc. § 8.  
 P. 38 They shall pray that (B): let prayer be made **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 39 § 3 she who gave: let her who gave **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 39 § 4 let added before The; then after other, and shall crossed out **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 39 § 5 let added before The, and shall crossed out **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 40 § 6 They shall altered to let them **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 41 The A. shall altered to Let the A. **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 41 c. x § 2 The Sisters shall altered to Let the Sisters **Fr.** (1). The same alteration has been made p. 42 §§ 3, 5; 46 § 5.  
 P. 43 Those that cannot read shall not (B): Those that have no learning let them not **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 43 § 5 to have added after desire **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 44 [and] on eras. **Fr.** probably for she (as in 1665) I overlooked this alteration when sending for readings of **B.**  
 P. 45 § 3 permit any to enter within the Monastery except (B): permit any to remaine within the Monastery after sunne sett except **Fr.** (1).  
 P. 47 who being has been written after profession and He shall be (§ 2) crossed out; a line has been drawn to indicate that in should directly follow being **Fr.** (1). (In 1665 § 2 begins: 'Who, being in'. The Lat. has: *Qui stans in publico loco, ut videri* etc. Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> ii 84.)  
 P. 54 to the end that: after end is a dot in pale brown ink, apparently meant for a period; see Notes on Irish Transl. (3) 36<sup>a</sup>.  
 P. 74 The Litanies in Latin of St. Francis and St. Clare follow here (**Fr. B.**).

*The Declarations, etc.*

Of the following portions I have found no other copy. However there is only one alteration and few notes are required.

The title page of the Engl. is not given as part of the text as it is reproduced in the plate facing p. 52 above.

- P. 3 The first letter is omitted Ann. Min. and 1665. See note on p. 12.
- P. 4 Spouse of virgins : this is followed by a square bracket which seems added in ink. Cf. p. 8 where the same mark follows this phrase. In each case it seems meant to mark the completion of the salutation and the commencement of the letter proper.
- P. 12 First such *etc.* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> makes from here to the end of the letter cap. I ; our Ch. I being cap. II there and so on. 1665 agrees with Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> in making this portion of the Letter c. I, but it omits the preceding portion entirely, adds further observations and does not mention Br. Cassall. The version in St. Clare and Her Order<sup>2</sup> omits the first Letter, but gives the whole of the second, substantially as on pp. 7-16 here. The chapter arrangement also is as here, not as in Ann. Min.<sup>1</sup>
- P. 47 refectiō [s] : -s *apparently omitted accidentally. There is a space for it.*
- P. 50 to to : *sic.*
- P. 56 said sayd : *sic.*
- P. 64 an creuisses : *sic.*
- P. 64 § 9 of being : *inked on paper pasted over the print ; original text consequently illegible.*
- P. 65 they were : *are has been erased after were but the impression of the letters is still visible.*
- P. 77 Pater Noster, & the Abbess : *first e of Abbess omitted.*
- P. 120 withdrew : *sic.*
- P. 120 and and : *sic.*
- P. 144 conformable : *sic.*
- P. 145 direct ng : *sic.*
- P. 149 add : *sic. Evidently a mispr. for and.*
- P. 156 wordly : *sic.*
- P. 166 S. Francis : *sic.*

## III

## GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY

## INITIAL MUTATIONS.

**Lenition** of subst. or adj. : After the old nom. pl. masc. : na boill foirmiollacha 147<sup>a</sup>. na sailm ghradualta (both acc. pl. here) 152<sup>b</sup>.

An adj. or subst. following a subst. in dat. sg. is usually lenited.

Adj. : na aindia chomhsuthain ch. 7 ch. 144<sup>b</sup>. do éudach gharbh 74<sup>b</sup>. do éudach dheróil gharbh 73<sup>a</sup>. na éudach gharbh dheróil *ib*. (but : bíd in éudach coitchenn 73<sup>b</sup>. in ionad co. phuiblidhe 93<sup>a</sup>). don mhinisdir choitchenn 64<sup>a</sup>. agan m. ch. *ib*. do mh. ghegeneralta 90<sup>b</sup>. isin amh ghnáth 153<sup>a</sup> 6. agan umhal fire 146<sup>b</sup>. (bheth) na sagart dheghclúach, chrionna disgrédech 89<sup>a</sup>. i bpeacadh mhéth no cholnaidhe 133<sup>b</sup>. d'éis chluig

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<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 28 of the Rule.

dheghenaigh choimplín do bhuain 87<sup>a</sup>. Cf. i bhfognamh égen choit-chionn 78<sup>b</sup>. in áit osgailte choitichionn 92<sup>a</sup>.

Subst. in gen. sg. : ag coimhéd chlobhsdra 70<sup>b</sup>. ria ceionn bhliadhna 69<sup>a</sup>. i ccuimhne pháisi 82<sup>a</sup>. do dheisi chuirp 72<sup>a</sup>. do bharr dherbhtha 7 ghlaine na sethar 93<sup>a</sup>. ó fagháil fiadhuise Dé 157<sup>a</sup>. ar fagháil cheda 121<sup>b</sup> (but : d'iarraidh ceda *ib.*).

Gen. pl. : ag fāgbháil ghúasacht an tsáoghail 57<sup>b</sup>. do chertachadh mhamisdrech 90<sup>b</sup>. ar ndúnadh dhoras 80<sup>a</sup>. d'és saothar ngairid 37<sup>a</sup>.

Sometimes lenition is found when the the subst. would historically be acc. : tre riachtanus follas 72<sup>b</sup>. im chúram chinnte 86<sup>b</sup>. tre chosnamh chionta duine eli 157<sup>a</sup>. leis an athair síordhurdhe 144<sup>a</sup>. 137<sup>a</sup> (*fíréunta*). le dlúthughadh séula ar n-oifíche 137<sup>a</sup>. Cf. les an uile umhlacht 7 foighide 101<sup>a</sup>. dáilidh . . selbhughadh thighe seud an uile mhaithesa . . . 158<sup>a</sup>.

Len. of gen. sg. or pl. is found in other positions : tar altaibh chaol na lámh 73<sup>a</sup>. ar phroibhinsialuibh choimhthionól a bproibhinseadh 129<sup>b</sup>. do phecthaibh cháich 157<sup>a</sup>. gach uair ésdid oiffrend choimperta ar mBaintigherna 153<sup>a</sup>. timchioll mhodha chluig 7 mhodha suidhe 78<sup>a</sup>.

The separated gen. is usually lenited, esp. after agus<sup>1</sup> : do chum coimhcengail 7 choimhtheachta do bheith aca 10<sup>a</sup>. do rér inntinne 7 thola 146<sup>b</sup>. lenamhuin luirg na simplidhechta . . . 7 mar an cecdna chnesdachta chomhluadair bhendaighthe 42<sup>b</sup>. conggháil amháin sochair simplidhe na raed . . . 147<sup>a</sup>. ag iomdhughadh ionnaibh ghrás 7 subh-áilcedh 48<sup>b</sup>. do thogha banabadh, dhisgrédedh 7 oifícech oile 94<sup>b</sup>. do chruinniughadh ionnmhuis 7 fíóna 135<sup>a</sup>. ag rádh . . . thrí bpaidreacha 152<sup>a</sup>. Cf. tresan n-iomad ógh 7 pherson . . . 57<sup>b</sup>. don uile bhanabadh 7 dhoirseoir 87<sup>b</sup>. . . an uile mhaithesa 7 saidhbhresa 158<sup>a</sup>.

Compare also : . . . i muinighin ar tTigherna . . . 7 thuillemha S. A. ('vnto our Lord, and vnto the merits of') where thuillemha may be acc. obj. of the prep. i n-.

Inconsistency occurs ; cf. na móide (*npl.*) umhla, bochtaine, genmnaidhechta, choiméd chlabhsdra, togha . . . banabadh 145<sup>b</sup>.

After nom. dual. : dhá challa dhubha 74<sup>b</sup>.

After mar ; nó, see Glossary *s.v.*

Len. of separated subj. : da ttegmhadh dh'aoinnech dhul astech 105<sup>a</sup>.

Len. of the dual number is common : . . . gach laoi dhá úair 82<sup>a</sup>. (Sethrachaibh) dhá chuid 83<sup>a</sup> (. . . coitchinne dá chuid 83<sup>b</sup>).

The initial of the preps *di*, *do* is frequently lenited in stressed forms : i ngar dhóibh 65<sup>b</sup>. dleghar dhínn 37<sup>a</sup>. má chur dhíobh 81<sup>a</sup>. tug dhúinn 38<sup>b</sup>. tugad dhúinn 59<sup>a</sup>. do múinedh dhúinn 42<sup>b</sup>. umhlughadh dhóibh 43<sup>b</sup>. do dhiongmhálaigh dhúinn 37<sup>a</sup>. sa saoghal sa dhó 39<sup>a</sup>. cengailti dhíobh 79<sup>a</sup>. Cf. do chuaidh dh'éug 81<sup>a</sup>.

Len. after masc. subst. in gen. sg. is of course regular.

See also áon in Glossary.

There is an isolated instance of len. of adj. after subst. vb. : do bhi bheó bocht 40<sup>b</sup> (scribal slip ?).

<sup>1</sup> This is hardly to be regarded as a survival of the O. Ir. len. after *ocus*.

The initial of rel. verb in independent position is regularly lenited, except in forms from the old *to-* compounds (an tí tucc 23<sup>b</sup>, do neoch tug 46<sup>a</sup>. isna sethtraibh tig 43<sup>a</sup>, 124<sup>a</sup>, etc., na sethtra táinig 43<sup>b</sup>; but : an tráth thioctas siad 6<sup>a</sup>, na banabadha thiuctas 17<sup>b</sup>, where the rel. ending of the simple verb is added). For further exx. see Verb-lists.

Lenition after article preceded by preposition.

- b** : don bh. 19<sup>a</sup>, 25<sup>a</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup>, etc. 39<sup>b</sup>, 53<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>a-b</sup>, 84<sup>b</sup>, 107<sup>a</sup>, 124<sup>a</sup>, ón bh. 77<sup>b</sup>.
- c** : don ch. 10<sup>b</sup>, 31<sup>b</sup>, 54<sup>a</sup>, 79<sup>a</sup>, 92<sup>b</sup>, 158<sup>b</sup>,  
ón ch. 78<sup>a</sup>, 100<sup>b</sup>, 110<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>a</sup>. asan ch. 111<sup>b</sup>.  
isin ch. (dat.) 40<sup>b</sup>, 84<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>b</sup>, 103<sup>a</sup>, 105<sup>a</sup>.  
(acc. :) 68<sup>a</sup>, 93<sup>b</sup>, 106<sup>b</sup>, 158<sup>b</sup>.  
lesan ch. 40<sup>b</sup>, 59<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>a</sup>. tar an ch. 91<sup>b</sup>.
- d** : don d. 24<sup>a</sup>, don dh. 36<sup>b</sup>. acc an d. 27<sup>b</sup>. ag an d. 94<sup>a</sup>  
lesin d. 80<sup>a</sup>. tresan d. 57<sup>a</sup>, 92<sup>b</sup>
- f** : isin f. (dat.) 62<sup>b</sup>, 91<sup>b</sup>, 102<sup>b</sup>, 103<sup>a</sup>.  
san f. (dat.) 11<sup>b</sup>, 63<sup>a</sup>, 86<sup>a</sup>. lesin f. 136<sup>b</sup>.  
risin f. 86<sup>b</sup>, risan f. 134<sup>b</sup>. fón f. (dat.) 56<sup>a</sup>.
- g** : don ghr. 15<sup>a</sup>, 27<sup>b</sup>, ag an ghr. 94<sup>a</sup>, 104<sup>a-b</sup>, 105<sup>b</sup>, 106<sup>a</sup>, 135<sup>a</sup>.  
ar an gh. 129<sup>b</sup>.
- m** : don mh. 6<sup>a-b</sup>, 22<sup>a</sup>, 23<sup>a</sup>, 30<sup>b</sup>, 49<sup>a</sup>, 64<sup>a</sup>, 70<sup>a</sup>, 91<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>a</sup>, 125<sup>b</sup>.  
isin mh. (dat.) 40<sup>b</sup>, 87<sup>b</sup>, san mh. (dat.) 40<sup>b</sup>, isin mh. (acc.) 92<sup>a</sup>.  
gusan mh. (acc.) 92<sup>b</sup>.
- p** : fon phr. (dat.) 59<sup>a</sup>. isin phr. (dat.) 102<sup>b</sup>.  
lessin phr. 138<sup>b</sup>.
- s** : san ts. (dat.) 11<sup>b</sup>, sa ths. 99<sup>a</sup>.  
ón ts. 91<sup>b</sup>. lesan ts. 159<sup>b</sup>.
- t** : ag an t. 14<sup>a</sup>, 104<sup>a</sup>, ag an th. 105<sup>b</sup>, ar in t. (dat.) 17<sup>a</sup>, 75<sup>b</sup>.  
don t. 10<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>a</sup>, 63<sup>b</sup>. isin t. (dat.) 15<sup>a</sup>, 106<sup>b</sup>, san tr. (dat.) 56<sup>a</sup>.  
gusan t. (acc.) 63<sup>b</sup>. ón t. 104<sup>b</sup>. tresan t. 147<sup>b</sup>.
- muna** lenites c. (122<sup>b</sup>), t (15<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>b</sup>, 87<sup>b</sup>, 90<sup>a</sup>, 91<sup>a</sup>, 92<sup>a</sup>, 122<sup>a</sup>) Cf. muna aithnighid 66<sup>b</sup> § 4. See also under eclipsis.

**Eclipsis** of subst. or adj.

A (historically regular). Occasionally after acc. sg. as direct obj. of vb. : noch da ndén brigh mbig 155<sup>b</sup>. After subst. prec. by prep. gov. acc. : go rioghacht nDé 142<sup>b</sup>; le Mac nDé 140<sup>a</sup>; leis an maith ccoitchinn 18<sup>b</sup>; les an Áonta ndíadha 97<sup>a</sup>; le n-a (re a) mhórdhacht ndíadha 46<sup>a</sup>, 139<sup>a</sup>; mar bhanabaidh ndlightheach 98<sup>a</sup>; tre bhréthir nDé 95<sup>a</sup>. tre thoirmesg ndlightheach 152<sup>a</sup>. le toil nDé 83<sup>a</sup>. ar šere nDé 149<sup>a</sup>; cf. re gach n-áon 91<sup>a</sup>.

In advb. acc. : an ccén ('so long as') 77<sup>a</sup>..

After gen. pl. : . . . na ríoghacht bhfúar 72<sup>a</sup>; d'és saothar ngairid 37<sup>a</sup>; na naomh mbendiughthe 48<sup>a</sup>; na n-orduightheadh cceudna 53<sup>a</sup>; tre san n-iomad ógh ccráibhtheach 7 pherson n-oirdherc ele 57<sup>b</sup>; na n-uairredh ccánónta 78<sup>a</sup>; na ndaoine ttinn 13<sup>b</sup>. Cf. ag rádh . . . tri n-aue 152<sup>b</sup>. But : . . . a apostol bennaighthe ('of his holy Apostles') 32<sup>a</sup>.

B (historically irregular). After subst. prec. by prep. gov. dat. :  
 ón mbochta(ine) mbendaighthe 38<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup> ; ghun mbochtaine mben-  
 duighthe 130<sup>a</sup> ; ó iomad mbaoghal 141<sup>b</sup> ; go ttromdhacht ndlighthigh  
 101<sup>b</sup> § 8 ; ag an ghrata 7 ag an tegh n-iomagallmha (where the subst.  
 has the form of acc.) 135<sup>a</sup> ; go labhra n-umhuil 7 go ccomhradh ccnesda  
 91<sup>a</sup> ; ar an modh ccéudna 51<sup>b</sup>, 91<sup>a</sup> ; isin modh cceudna 59<sup>a</sup> (prob. influenced  
 by mar an ccéudna). go cclérech ndeghechluach ndesgrédech 88<sup>b</sup>.

Cf. tre nach bí . . . aonadhbhar ele acht taithnemh 7 toil nDé  
 146<sup>b</sup>.

Eclipsis after article preceded by preposition.

**b** : ag an mb. 3<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>, 15<sup>a</sup>, 27<sup>b</sup> (accan). 85<sup>a</sup>.

cf. ghun mb. 130<sup>a</sup>. ar an mb. (dat.) 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>b</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup>, 14<sup>b</sup>, 21<sup>a</sup>,  
 99<sup>a</sup>, 110<sup>b</sup>.

isin mb. (dat.) 17<sup>b</sup>, 47<sup>b</sup>, 70<sup>b</sup>, 82<sup>b</sup>, 86<sup>a</sup>, 130<sup>a</sup>, 137<sup>b</sup>, 153<sup>b</sup>, san mb.  
 (dat.) 38<sup>b</sup>.

ón mb. 17<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>b</sup>, 38<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>, 100<sup>b</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>.

leis an mb. 8<sup>b</sup>, 15<sup>b</sup>, 19<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>b</sup>, 22<sup>a</sup>, 88<sup>a</sup>, 106<sup>b</sup>, 130<sup>b</sup>, 159<sup>a</sup>.

**c** : ag an cc. 117<sup>b</sup>. ar an cc. (acc. 12<sup>a</sup>). (dat.) 103<sup>b</sup>. as an cc. 94<sup>b</sup>.  
 san cc. (dat.) 4<sup>b</sup>, 15<sup>b</sup>, 19<sup>a</sup>, (acc.) 28<sup>b</sup>.

isin cc. (dat.) 11<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup> (= isin ch. 103<sup>a</sup>).

gus an cc. (acc.) 68<sup>b</sup>, 90<sup>b</sup>, 123<sup>b</sup>. ón cc. 28<sup>a</sup>.

**d** : no exx. noted. cf. ar gach ndecair (acc.) 143<sup>b</sup>.

**f** : isin *ffirmaria* 13<sup>b</sup>.

risan bhf. (acc.) 9<sup>a</sup>.

**g** : ag an ng. 13<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a-b</sup>, 15<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>a</sup>, in ng. (dat.) 34<sup>b</sup>.

gus an ng. (acc.) 30<sup>b</sup>.

leis an ng. 11<sup>a</sup>.

**m** : here it is always uncertain whether or no the omission of mark  
 of lenition is a slip : don mnaoi 21<sup>a</sup>, don mo. 22<sup>b</sup>, don má. 25<sup>a</sup>,  
 asan ma. 94<sup>b</sup>. isin ma. (dat.) 24<sup>b</sup>, san ma. 25<sup>a</sup>, ar an modh *pass*.

**p** : isin bp. (dat.) 13<sup>b</sup> (= san p. 11<sup>b</sup>), 23<sup>a</sup>.

**s** : isin s. (dat.) 19<sup>b</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>b</sup>, 86<sup>a</sup>. san s. (dat.) 24<sup>b</sup>, 39<sup>a</sup>.

ag an s. 104<sup>a</sup>. ón s. 69<sup>a</sup>.

**t** : no exx. noted.

vowel : tresan n-iomad.

It can be seen from the exx. given that irregular eclipsis after article  
 with prep. is common in b, c, g. For the remaining consonants  
 lenition both in dat. and acc. is usual, though sporadic instances of  
 eclipsis are found in these also, with the exception of d and t.

I have noted one of a vowel : tre san n-iomad 157<sup>a</sup> (cf. tresan toil  
 147<sup>b</sup>).

Other cases of eclipsis.

After *áon*-, *ém*- eclipsis of d- is fairly common : ar ein nd. 20<sup>b</sup> ;  
 le gach áon nd. 29<sup>b</sup> ; d'aon nd. 22<sup>b</sup>, 32<sup>a</sup>. cf. 66<sup>a</sup>, 66<sup>b</sup>.

**muna** eclipses g- : muna ngerraighther 151<sup>a</sup>. Sometimes t- : m.

ttugadh 75<sup>a</sup>. Cf. muna sechantaoi 82<sup>b</sup>. m. soláthraigh 112<sup>a</sup>. See under lenition.

**nach** regularly eclipses f, t, and vowels (nach n-oiled 118<sup>b</sup>, nach n-eugfadh 149<sup>b</sup>. The only exceptions I have noted are nach fuil, 26<sup>b</sup> and nach féudaí 156<sup>a</sup>). I have noted three instances of eclipsis of c (39<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>, 134<sup>a</sup>) beside six without (38<sup>b</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>, 109<sup>b</sup>, 127<sup>a-b</sup>, 150<sup>b</sup>); two of eclipsis of b (85<sup>b</sup>, 154<sup>b</sup>) beside thirteen without (9<sup>a</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup>, 27<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>a</sup>, 67<sup>a-b</sup>, 90<sup>a</sup>, 91<sup>b</sup>, 101<sup>a</sup>, 111<sup>a</sup>, 112<sup>b</sup>, 155<sup>a</sup>). The remaining eclipsable consonants are not affected.

#### THE REGULAR CONJUGATION

Noteworthy forms are -fe, -cha in fut. 3 s. abs. and -am, -em in pres. and fut. 1 pl. These are probably taken from the old compound verbs.

Ipv. 2 s. tuig 97<sup>a</sup>. 3 admhadh 100<sup>b</sup>. ainedh 65<sup>b</sup>. tesdaighedh 80<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. coimhedam 61<sup>a</sup>. sédem 142<sup>b</sup>. 2 coimhegnighidh 141<sup>a</sup>. coimheudaídh 143<sup>a</sup> (-aigh 49<sup>a</sup>). congnaigh 35<sup>a</sup>. triallaigh 139<sup>b</sup>. 3 admhuid 100<sup>b</sup>. aincid 75<sup>a</sup>. foillsighit 8. Rarely broad: congghad 102<sup>b</sup>. druided 125<sup>a</sup>. The past subj. form is rare: ainedis 67<sup>a</sup>. foilghidis a ngnúisi . . . 7 inislighid 105<sup>a</sup>. Pass. bentar 5<sup>a</sup>. berrthar 70<sup>b</sup>. -glacthar 68<sup>a</sup>. foillsigther 67<sup>b</sup>. spregthar 138<sup>b</sup>. With pl. subj. derbthar, goirther, foillsighther 132<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. ind. 2 s. -sguire 159<sup>b</sup>. The 3 s. conj. is always in -ann; -enn: -benann 9<sup>a</sup>. 80<sup>b</sup>. -dealuighenn 58<sup>a</sup>. -lesaighenn 52<sup>a</sup> (-rigend 90<sup>a</sup>. but -tig 95<sup>a</sup>, 148<sup>b</sup>, 155<sup>a</sup>). With má: ma chreidenn 3<sup>b</sup>. ma iarann 4<sup>b</sup> (see *Desiderius* pp. 258-9).

In 1 pl. the endings are -maid, -mid, -maoid, -míd, -em: fógramuid 86<sup>b</sup>. iarrmaoid 30<sup>a</sup>. cuirmíd 59<sup>a</sup>. comhairlighmíd 77<sup>b</sup>. furáilmíd 103<sup>b</sup>. ordaighmíd 70<sup>b</sup> (ordaighimid 95<sup>b</sup> may be a slip; and -míd without accent may also be an oversight in the small number of exx.). áiliom 104<sup>a</sup>. áilem 7 furáilem 134<sup>a</sup>. comairlighem 105<sup>b</sup>, 139<sup>b</sup>. croisíom 7 toirmesgem 129<sup>b</sup>. iarram 98<sup>b</sup>. fregam 61<sup>b</sup>. ordaighem 81<sup>a</sup>, 106<sup>a</sup>, 123<sup>b</sup>, 130<sup>b</sup>. saoillem 136<sup>a</sup>. tegaisgem 111<sup>b</sup>. 2 pl. dlighthí si 136<sup>b</sup>, 139<sup>a</sup>. -iarrtháoi 51<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. always slender, both abs. and conj. Cf. ipv. Pass. -thar, -ther. The occasional om. of -h- may be accidental, but cf. curtar 110<sup>a</sup>, beside cuirther *ib.*, both rel. with pl. ant.

Future.

f-Fut.

s. 1 lenfad 17<sup>a</sup>. 3 caithfe 12<sup>a</sup>, 19<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>b</sup>, 28<sup>b</sup>. caithfe sé 27<sup>b</sup>. múinfe 141<sup>a</sup>. -léicfe 29<sup>a</sup>. -tuillfe se 32<sup>a</sup>. Rel. anfas 47<sup>b</sup>. cluinfes 14<sup>a</sup>. furáilfes 64<sup>b</sup>. sesfas 47<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. féudfam (rel.) 61<sup>a</sup>. 2 cuirfí 140<sup>a</sup> (cf. cuirfidhí si . . . crochfuidhthí, Matt. xxiii 34; do chluinfidhe, Luc. xxi 9. do chífí 20. cluinfidh sibh . . . ní thuigfidhe, Acts xxviii 27). -cuirfí 139<sup>b</sup>. asa ccoimheudfa 7 asa ccoimhlíonfa sibh iad 136<sup>b</sup>. 3 caithfid 28<sup>a</sup>, 29<sup>b</sup>. -cluinfitt 24<sup>b</sup>. -coimhédfaid 26<sup>a</sup>. -fedfuid 44<sup>a</sup>. -múchfaid 18<sup>b</sup>. -sirfid 95<sup>a</sup>. -coimheudfad 70<sup>a</sup>. Pass. cuirfidher 52<sup>a</sup>. gerrfuidher *ib.* glacfuidher 6<sup>a</sup>. líonfuidher iead 151<sup>a</sup>. -onórfuidher 35<sup>b</sup>.

é (ó)—Fut.

s. 3 buaidheócha 141<sup>b</sup>. médeócha *ib*. (cuideochaidh 141<sup>b</sup>, seems a mistake for pl. -id). -bendeócha 48<sup>b</sup>. -nerteócha sé 143<sup>b</sup>. -laibheóra 105<sup>a</sup>. -teiccémhha 8<sup>b</sup>. rel. fáilteóchus 51<sup>a</sup>. tóigeubhus 104<sup>b</sup>. pl. 1 oirdeócham 86<sup>a</sup>. 2 buaidheochtháoi 136<sup>b</sup>. 3 bhuidheochtháoi (rel.) 55<sup>a</sup>. -disleóchaid 108<sup>b</sup>. -seachónaitt 18<sup>b</sup>. -toigéubhaid 123<sup>b</sup>. Pass. sláineochthar (rel.) 27<sup>a</sup>. -cuimhdeóchar 56<sup>a</sup>. tóigébthar (pl. rel.) 59<sup>a</sup>. -toigeubhthar 56<sup>a</sup>. -tóicébhthar 15<sup>a</sup>.

Mixed Fut. s. 3. -laimheóbha 91<sup>b</sup>. -sgríbhheobha 97<sup>b</sup>, 105<sup>b</sup>.

Secondary future.

-f- :

s. 3 do chuirfedh 60<sup>b</sup>. do charfadh 150<sup>a</sup>. -cuirfedh 75<sup>b</sup>. -trégfedh 95<sup>b</sup>. p. 1 -claonfamáois 38<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>. ? 2 do bhuainsesfáoi 46<sup>a</sup>. 3 do choimhédfaidís 107<sup>a</sup>. -feudfaidís 78<sup>b</sup>. Pass. do coimheudfaoi 74<sup>a</sup>. do toghfaidhe 2<sup>a</sup>. -benfaidhe 24<sup>b</sup>. -caithfidhe 69<sup>a</sup>. -toghfaidhe 2<sup>b</sup>. -fionnfaoi 66<sup>a</sup>.

é (ó) :

s. 3 -éireóchadh 23<sup>b</sup>. -fuileóngadh 133<sup>a</sup>. -iomchóradh 44<sup>b</sup>. -laibheórudh 101<sup>b</sup>. -leiseóchadh 22<sup>b</sup>. p. 1 -foigheónmáois 36<sup>b</sup>. 3 do aointeochaidís 96<sup>b</sup>. -críochnóchaidís 69<sup>a</sup>. -foillseochaidís 44<sup>a</sup>. -faileóchdáois 74<sup>b</sup>. -seachóndáois 26<sup>a</sup>. Pass. do foirbhtheochthaoi 124<sup>b</sup>.

Pret. and perf.

As in other texts of the period there is a mixture of s-pret. and deponent forms. 1 s. do chinnes 54<sup>b</sup>. do ráidhes 41<sup>b</sup>. -thionnsgain me 16<sup>a</sup>. 2 do chuiris 54<sup>a</sup>. d'fuiráil *ib*. 3 foillsighis 90<sup>a</sup>. do choimhéd 39<sup>a</sup>. do onóraigh *ib*. do luthgháirigh se 38<sup>a</sup>. do iomdhaighidh 38<sup>a</sup> (appar. for -aidhigh) -euccasdair 96<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. do gheallsam 41<sup>a</sup>, 61<sup>a</sup>. do gheallamar 17<sup>b</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>, 41<sup>b</sup>. -eglaighemar 37<sup>b</sup>. 2 pl. do gheallabhair 143<sup>a</sup>. do phosabhair 61<sup>a</sup>. -iarrabhair iv<sup>b</sup>. lenabhair vi<sup>a</sup>. thoghabhair *ib*. -recabhair 50<sup>a</sup>. -thrégeabhair *ib*. do chlaoi sibh 51<sup>a</sup>. -tharcaisnigh sibh vi<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. do gheallsad 107<sup>a</sup>. do ghealladar 44<sup>a</sup>, 140<sup>b</sup> (-attar 25<sup>b</sup>). do fásadar 56<sup>b</sup>. -chiontuighedar 101<sup>a</sup>. Pass. do derbhadh 60<sup>b</sup>. do fregradh 61<sup>b</sup>. gur hiomráidhedh 60<sup>b</sup>.

Present subjunctive.

In the regular verb no distinctive forms occur outside s. 3. s. 3 madh faoisidighidh, madh commaoinchighidh 152<sup>a</sup> [these seem meant as subj. forms; with the indic. (q.v.) má regularly has the -nn ending of s. 3]. da ccomhaille sí 70<sup>b</sup>. -fécha sé 47<sup>a</sup>. -toirmesca 23<sup>b</sup>. cf. muna soláthraigh 112<sup>a</sup>. pl. 1 da lenam 37<sup>a</sup>. 2 go saothruighe sibh 42<sup>a</sup>. 3 dá n-éugaid 80<sup>b</sup>. da cciontaighid 112<sup>a</sup>. Cf. go ccoimhéudad 140<sup>b</sup>.

The pass. -éugnaigher 132<sup>a</sup> may be noted, beside -ther (both forms also in ind.).

Past subjunctive.

3 s. -cuiredh 10<sup>a</sup>. meuduighiodh 46<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. -sechnamáois 45<sup>a</sup>. -daingnidhmís 51<sup>b</sup>. 3 -glacdaois 65<sup>b</sup>. smuaindís 43<sup>a</sup>. áontaighdís 66<sup>a</sup>. Pass. -cuirthí 20<sup>b</sup>. -toghtaoi 10<sup>a</sup>. -sechantaoi 82<sup>b</sup>.

Verbal of necessity: coimhéudtha 128<sup>b</sup>. ionchertaighthe, inles-aighthe 134<sup>a</sup>.

#### IRREGULAR VERBS

##### The Copula

Pres. Ind. 3 s. as (abs. or rel.) *pass*. With poss. isa (whose) 35<sup>b</sup>: sa 40<sup>a</sup>, 98<sup>b</sup>. With compar. nisa 37<sup>a</sup>, 131<sup>a</sup>; ní as 41<sup>b</sup>, 78<sup>a</sup>, 90<sup>a</sup>, ní us 130<sup>a</sup>. With conj. or prep. and rel.: agárab 12<sup>b</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup> (cf. 8<sup>b</sup>). arab 22<sup>b</sup>. arar 84<sup>a</sup>. dán 80<sup>a</sup>. dánách, danách 7<sup>b</sup>, 81<sup>b</sup>. darab 18<sup>b</sup>, darob 133<sup>b</sup> (subj. ?). gonadh 59<sup>b</sup>, 125<sup>b</sup>. gurob 25<sup>b</sup>, 26<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>b</sup>. inar 83<sup>b</sup>, 124<sup>a</sup>. len 28<sup>a</sup>. lenab 88<sup>b</sup>. más 83<sup>b</sup>, 124<sup>a</sup>. ónab 7<sup>a</sup>. Interrog. an. 3 pl. ad (an archaism) 142<sup>b</sup> (*bis*). Cf. na druinge ata crosda 80<sup>b</sup>, in which, 'ata' is possibly to be taken as a momentary and artificial revival of the O. Ir. relative.

Fut. 3 s. budh 4<sup>a</sup>, 52<sup>a</sup>, 69<sup>b</sup>, 104<sup>a</sup>. rel.: bhus 91<sup>b</sup>, 101<sup>a</sup>, 120<sup>b</sup>, etc. bhús 43<sup>b</sup>, 49<sup>a</sup>. Cf. also 62<sup>a</sup>, 64<sup>b</sup>, 83<sup>b</sup>. In 90<sup>a</sup> nach budh renders English 'shall', but in the Irish context (foillsighis . . . nach budh) it could be past subj. or sec. fut.

Sec. Fut. 3 s. budh 21<sup>a</sup>. -budh 18<sup>a</sup>. cf. gomadh 11<sup>a</sup>, 71<sup>a</sup>, 95<sup>b</sup>. nar (thoil) 66<sup>b</sup>. ? narbh 87<sup>b</sup>, 133<sup>b</sup>.

Pret. and Perf. 3 s. ba 39<sup>b</sup>, 75<sup>a</sup>, 105<sup>b</sup>, 140<sup>a</sup>. dobadh 17<sup>a</sup>. With conj. or prep. and rel. gurob 16<sup>a</sup>, 149<sup>a</sup>. gurbó 16<sup>b</sup>. inar 15<sup>b</sup>. In subj. or conditional use (modal pret.): dob éidir 87<sup>b</sup>, 91<sup>b</sup>. dob éidir a bheth ('it might be') 120<sup>a</sup>. aoinní dob esbhadhach ('which might be') 136<sup>a</sup>. . . . noch dob éidir a ttarraing chuguibhsi ('the which may . . . be applied') 143<sup>a</sup>. Cf. coimhiomlán is dob éidir dóibh 153<sup>b</sup>. nir bheg ('were no small') 141<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. Subj. 1 s. gidhum 55<sup>b</sup> (= gidh . . . me 48<sup>a</sup>; gé . . . mé 39<sup>b</sup>). Cf. gorbham 54<sup>a</sup>. 3 rop 159<sup>b</sup>. rel. gibé . . . bhús . . . 51<sup>b</sup>. With conj., etc.: ionnus . . . go mbá h- 4<sup>b</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup>, 29<sup>b</sup>. ar an adhbhar go mbá leó 27<sup>a</sup> (perh. fut.; 'for theirs is'; óir is leó Matt. v 10, 1602; mar is leó P. Ua L.). gurab 8<sup>b</sup>. gurob 129<sup>a</sup> (cf. gur égen 147<sup>a</sup>). darab 10<sup>b</sup>, 29<sup>b</sup>, 106<sup>b</sup>. d. égin ('which must') is prob. to be classed as subj. Cf. darob 133<sup>b</sup>, and see indicative, above. accárab 8<sup>b</sup> (cf. 12<sup>b</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>, given under Indicative). lenab 60<sup>b</sup> (in 88<sup>b</sup> prob. indic.). With cia, má, etc. cib . . . (i mbí . . .) 91<sup>b</sup>. 87<sup>a</sup> (= cidh 86<sup>b</sup>). 94<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup>. (cf. gibé in Subst. verb, pres. subj.) . gidh (edh) 8<sup>b</sup>, 142<sup>b</sup>. munab 4<sup>a</sup>, 68<sup>b</sup>, 105<sup>b</sup>.

Past Subj. damadh 133<sup>b</sup>, 134<sup>b</sup>. gomadh 11<sup>a</sup>, 31<sup>a</sup>, 48<sup>a</sup>, 74<sup>b</sup>, 146<sup>b</sup>, 107<sup>a</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>, etc. cf. ge go madh 150<sup>a</sup>. In comadh ferr lé 10<sup>b</sup> ('she shall rather strive . . .') a pres. subj. of wish or command seems implied. In: déntar . . . gomadh 23<sup>a</sup>; guidhe gomadh 23<sup>b</sup>; sléuchtair . . . gomadh 46<sup>a</sup>, where the Engl. has 'will' or 'may' the

past subj. is in accordance with the tendency in the classical language to use this tense in clauses of purpose, without regard to what might appear the logical tense-sequence. A similar construction is found in the O. Ir. Glosses, see Strachan's Subj. Mood §§. 15, 64. pl. 3. *diamdís* 110<sup>b</sup>. *gomdís* 150<sup>b</sup>.

See also under *ionnus*, p. 179.

# Substantive Verb.

## A

Pres. ind. 3 s. *atá pass.* *gidh atá* 83<sup>a</sup>. *mar atá* 21<sup>a</sup>. *ma tá* 131<sup>b</sup>. *do neoch athá* 7 *bhías* 46<sup>a</sup>. *-ttá* 56<sup>a</sup>, 87<sup>b</sup>. *-fuil* 4<sup>a</sup>, *etc.* *na huile sethra da ttig* 7 *da fhuil* 140<sup>b</sup>, *na sethracha nach bhfuil tinn* 79<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. *atámaid vi<sup>a</sup>*. *atámaoidne v<sup>b</sup>*, 33<sup>b</sup>. 2 *atáthaoi iv<sup>b</sup>*. 3 *atáid* 54<sup>b</sup>, 56<sup>b</sup>. *atád* 58<sup>b</sup>, 111<sup>b</sup>. *-fuilid* 53<sup>a</sup>, 63<sup>a</sup>.

## B

Ipv. 3s. *bíodh* 42<sup>b</sup>, 98<sup>b</sup>. *bíodh sí* 11<sup>a</sup>. *-bíodh* 143<sup>b</sup>. *-bíoth* 51<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. *biomáoid* 45<sup>b</sup>. 3 *bíd* 9<sup>a</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>, 96<sup>b</sup>, 106<sup>b</sup>. *bíd siad* 14<sup>b</sup>. *-bíd* 26<sup>b</sup>. Customary pres. 3s. *-bí* 4<sup>a</sup>, 94<sup>a</sup>, *etc.* *má bhíonn* 4<sup>a</sup>. *rel. bhíos* 21<sup>a</sup>, 77<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. *bíd* 60<sup>a</sup>, 75<sup>b</sup>, 156<sup>a</sup>. *rel. bhíd* 90<sup>b</sup>, 96<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 3s. *biaidh* 144<sup>b</sup>. *biaidh sí* 142<sup>b</sup>. *-bia* 13<sup>a</sup>. *-biaidh* 122<sup>a</sup>. *rel. bhías* 14<sup>a</sup>, 16<sup>b</sup>, 22<sup>a</sup>, 65<sup>a</sup>. 2 pl. *bethí* 141<sup>b</sup>, 143<sup>b</sup>. 3 *bed* 121<sup>b</sup>. *rel. bheitt* 13<sup>b</sup>. *bheid siad* 14<sup>b</sup>. *go mbed* 151<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3s. *do bhiadh* 25<sup>b</sup>, 28<sup>b</sup>. *-biadh* 68<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. *-bedís* 36<sup>b</sup>. (*cf. past subj.*).

Pret. and Perf. 1s. *do bhádhús* 39<sup>b</sup>. *do bhádhas* 54<sup>a</sup>. *do bhí me* 17<sup>b</sup>. 3 *baoi* 34<sup>b</sup>. *do bhí* 40<sup>b</sup>, 67<sup>b</sup>. *-raibhe* 140<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. *do bhámar* 37<sup>b</sup>. 3 *bádar* 35<sup>a</sup>. *-rabhadar* 128<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. subj. *-bó* 85<sup>a</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>, 132<sup>a</sup>, 138<sup>b</sup>. *gi bé* 6<sup>b</sup>, *etc.* (see Remarks, below). *-raibhe* 3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>, 77<sup>a</sup>. *-raibh* 67<sup>b</sup>. 2 pl. *-rabhtháoi si* 143<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. *-rabhaid* 75<sup>a</sup>, 100<sup>b</sup>, 112<sup>a</sup>.

Past subj. 3s. *do bheth* 78<sup>b</sup>, 150<sup>a</sup>. *-beth* 64<sup>b</sup>, 88<sup>a</sup>. *-beith* 61<sup>b</sup> (?). Cf. 52<sup>a</sup>, 64<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>b</sup>, 85<sup>b</sup>, 95<sup>b</sup>, 104<sup>a</sup>, 131<sup>a</sup>. pl. *da mbeidís* 21<sup>a</sup>. *go mbeidís* 31<sup>a</sup>. *go mbedís* 66<sup>b</sup>, 75<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. *beith*, *bheith*, *bheth*. At this period the initial seems to have been regularly lenited even in independent position (except after eclipsing forms; see *Desiderius*, p. 270), but in Ó Cl. the lenition is often unmarked. In : *as cóir don bhanaib a beith* 26<sup>a</sup>, the *a* may be the fem. poss., but *cf. caithfe sin a beith* 12<sup>a</sup>; *iad féin d'ullmhucchadh dochum a beith réidh* 18<sup>b</sup> (*ní cóir dona deirbhsethraibh . . . acht a mbeith mar oilithreachaibh* 19<sup>b</sup>).

## Remarks :

*atá* is sometimes replaced by copula in parallel clause : *don uile siair . . . noch atá cengailte . . . , nó bhus cengailte . . . na dhiaigh so* 91<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *ge atáid mór, as beg iad a ffarradh no lóighechta . . .* 143<sup>a</sup>.

-bí, -bíd are often fut. or subj. in sense : ordaighmid . . an fuinneog . . . do dhéanamh ar a mbí cur cléthe 93<sup>b</sup> (see fut.). dá mbi moladh ('to whom be praise') 145<sup>a</sup>. cib cém(cruth) i mbí sé 87<sup>a</sup>, 94<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>b</sup>. gibé . . . modh i mbí 78<sup>a</sup>. gibé áit i mbíd 41<sup>b</sup>, 77<sup>b</sup>, 152<sup>b</sup>. Cf. ní géubhthar aoinnech . . . nach bí abaidh ('who were not') 65<sup>a</sup>. . . . ar a mbíd réubáin ('having a list') 76<sup>b</sup>.

The cust. pres. is sometimes replaced by atá : duine bhíos dearbhtha . . . 7 fós atá éudaidh . . . nó ara mbí airdhi Dé 130<sup>a</sup> (mbí perh. for mbia).

Fut. : -bia is often found where the subj. form might be expected (Cf. Ériú xii 209z, and *Desiderius* p. 260) : ar gach maoin da mbia aice 4<sup>b</sup>. cuiritt i chum persann . . . ara mbia eccla Dé íb. do dheirbhšair eile ara mbia a riachtanus ('who hath need') 20<sup>b</sup>.

Sec. fut. : This is confused in form as well as in use with the past subj. e.g. ordaighmid go mbiadh . . . 99<sup>a</sup>. Cf. the use with ionnus p. 179.

Pres. subj. : Here we may place gibé (Mod. pé ; see Ériu xii 208 ff.), which may be followed by pres. ind. or subj., fut. or sec. fut. : g. . . . bhús cáilidhecht . . . dó 51<sup>b</sup>. g. dhíobh bhías 42<sup>a</sup>. g. do bheth 150<sup>a</sup>. g. do dhéunadh 149<sup>b</sup>. g. do charfadh 150<sup>a</sup>.

g. dhíobh ordaighes an bhanab 124<sup>b</sup>. g. lá ara luidh 83<sup>a</sup>. g. lá ara tteiccémhha 8<sup>b</sup>. g. áit i mbíd 41<sup>b</sup>, 152<sup>b</sup>. g. dhíobh lenab áil 6<sup>b</sup>.

The usual dependent form is -raibhe : muna r. 3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>, 96<sup>a</sup>, etc. dá r. 150<sup>b</sup>. go r. (wish) 49<sup>a</sup>, 52<sup>b</sup>. orduighmid go r. 93<sup>b</sup> (but o. go mbé 85<sup>a</sup>). áiliom . . . go r. 104<sup>b</sup>. go r. sí ocht mbliadhna déug ('before the .18. yeare of her age') 68<sup>a</sup>.

### ad-chí

Pres. ind. 1 s. ód chí 58<sup>b</sup>. 3 ad chí 123<sup>b</sup>. pl. 1 ad chímid 57<sup>b</sup>. Pass. do cíther 10<sup>b</sup>, 23<sup>a</sup>. ad chíther 96<sup>b</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>. ód chíther 44<sup>b</sup>, 140<sup>a</sup>. ó do chíther 50<sup>a</sup>. madh cíther 113<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. do chife 5<sup>b</sup>, 72<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. do chífid 13<sup>a</sup>. Pass. do cífidhear 6<sup>a</sup>, 29<sup>b</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. do chifedh 44<sup>b</sup>.

Perf. pass. do conncas 54<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 pl. -faicid 131<sup>a</sup>.

Pass. -faicther 92<sup>b</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>. -faicer 105<sup>a</sup>.

Vn. faicsin 156<sup>a</sup>. faigsin 72<sup>b</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>. gen. faigsiona 158<sup>a</sup>.

### adeirim

Ipv. 3 s. abradh 8<sup>a</sup>, 100<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. abraid 7<sup>b</sup>, 80<sup>a</sup>, 98<sup>a</sup>. Pass. abarthar 4<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. ader 95<sup>a</sup>, 102<sup>b</sup>. -abair 27<sup>a</sup>, 72<sup>a</sup>, 108<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. adermid 64<sup>a</sup>, 83<sup>a</sup>. 3 adeirit 7<sup>a</sup>. aderid 80<sup>a</sup>, 152<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. rel. adérus 152<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. adérait 22<sup>a</sup>. -aibeórait 14<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. adeuradh 96<sup>b</sup>. -aibeoradh 119<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. 3 s. adubhairt 61<sup>a</sup>, 149<sup>a</sup>. cf. a ndubhairt 33<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl.

adubhramar 14<sup>a</sup>, 139<sup>b</sup>. -dubhramar 136<sup>a</sup>. Pass. adubhradh 60<sup>b</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 pl. -abraid 80<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -abartar 103<sup>a</sup>.

Past subj. pass. -abartháoi 77<sup>b</sup>.

### berim

Pres. ind. 3 s. -berionn 154<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. rel. bherid 60<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. rel. bhéras 69<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. pass. rugadh 40<sup>b</sup>. -ruccadh 9<sup>a</sup>.

### do-bherim

Ipv. 3 s. tuccadh 5<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>a</sup>. tugadh 96<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. tugaid 96<sup>b</sup>. tugad 113<sup>a</sup>, 123<sup>b</sup>. Pass pl. tugthar iad 92<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. ind. 1 s. do bherim 48<sup>b</sup>. 3 s. do bheir 20<sup>b</sup>. do bher 125<sup>a</sup>, 142<sup>a</sup>. -tabhair 144<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. do bhermid 51<sup>b</sup>. 3 do bherid 110<sup>a</sup>. -tuguid 124<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -tugthar 92<sup>b</sup>. pl. tugtar (rel.) 110<sup>a</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. do bhéura 51<sup>a</sup>, 98<sup>b</sup>, 143<sup>a</sup>. -tiubhra 24<sup>a</sup>, 71<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -tiubharthar 94<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. -tiubhradh 65<sup>b</sup>. Pass. do beurthaoi 159<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. 1 s. tugus (rel.) 54<sup>a</sup>. tucc meisi 16<sup>a</sup>. 3 tucc iv<sup>a</sup>, 23<sup>b</sup> (both rel.). tug 38<sup>b</sup>. tug (rel.) 46<sup>a</sup>, 70<sup>a</sup>. -tucc 18<sup>b</sup>. -tug 61<sup>b</sup>, 149<sup>b</sup>. do rad 49<sup>b</sup>, 70<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. tuccamar (rel.) v<sup>a</sup>. 3 tugsad (rel.) 125<sup>a</sup>. -tugsad 153<sup>a</sup>. -tugadar 62<sup>b</sup>. Pass. tugadh 153<sup>b</sup>. tugadh (rel.) 56<sup>b</sup>, 59<sup>a</sup>, 109<sup>b</sup>. tugadh 64<sup>a</sup>, 87<sup>a</sup>, 109<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 s. -tucca 10<sup>a</sup>. -tuga 47<sup>a</sup>, 52<sup>a</sup>. 2 pl. -tucca sibh 24<sup>a</sup>. 3 -tugad 118<sup>a</sup>. Pass. -tugthar 123<sup>b</sup>.

Past subj. 3 s. -tugadh 87<sup>a</sup>.

Vn. tabhairt 76<sup>a</sup>, 89<sup>b</sup>.

### do-gheibhim

Ipv. 3 s. faghadh sí 67<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. do gheibh 10<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>, 45<sup>a</sup>. -faghann 103<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. cf. gebhmíd 142<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. do ghebhíd 152<sup>a</sup>. ghebhíd 100<sup>b</sup>, 108<sup>b</sup>. Pass. do gebhther 153<sup>a</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. do ghēbha 8<sup>a</sup>. 1 pl. do gheubham 37<sup>a</sup>. 2 do gheabh-tháoi 136<sup>b</sup> (possibly -eu-). 3 do gheabhaid 151<sup>b</sup> (-eu-?). -fuighid 127<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. -fuighedh 69<sup>a</sup>, 150<sup>a</sup>. Pass. -fuig[h]thi 95<sup>b</sup>.

Perf. 3 s. fuair (rel.) 40<sup>b</sup>. -fuair 32<sup>b</sup>, 149<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 s. -fagha 31<sup>b</sup>, 94<sup>a</sup>. Pass. -faghthar 67<sup>b</sup>, 136<sup>a</sup>.

Past subj. 1 pl. -faghmaois 30<sup>a</sup>. 3 -faghdáois 52<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -fag[h]-thaoi 101<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. fagháil (dat.) 45<sup>b</sup>, 157<sup>a</sup>.

### do-ním

Ipv. 3 s. dénadh 3<sup>b</sup>, 23<sup>b</sup>. déunadh 97<sup>b</sup>, 113<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. déinett 6<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>b</sup>. déinett 18<sup>b</sup>. déunaíd 79<sup>b</sup>. dénuidsiomh 80<sup>b</sup>. Pass. déinter 19<sup>a</sup>. déntar 23<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. do ní 22<sup>b</sup>, 83<sup>b</sup>, 91<sup>a</sup>. -dén 155<sup>b</sup>, 157<sup>b</sup>. -dénsiomh 131<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. do ní 6<sup>a</sup>, 109<sup>a</sup>. -deunaid 98<sup>b</sup>. -déunuid 109<sup>a</sup>. Pass. do níther 103<sup>b</sup>, 126<sup>b</sup>. -deunthar 158<sup>a</sup>.

Fut. 1 s. do ghén 17<sup>a</sup>. 3 s. do ghéna 27<sup>b</sup>. do dhéna 27<sup>a</sup>. -diongna 10<sup>a</sup>. 2 pl. do dhéuntaoi 140<sup>a</sup>. 3 -diongnaid 24<sup>b</sup>. -diongnad 110<sup>a</sup> (both in subj. use).

Sec. fut. 3 s. do dhéunadh 149<sup>b</sup>. do dhénadh 26<sup>a</sup> (possibly intended as past subj.). Pass. -deuntar 116<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. 1 s. do rinnes 40<sup>a</sup>. 3 do rinne 20<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>a</sup>, 133<sup>b</sup>, 140<sup>a</sup>. do róine 33<sup>b</sup>. -derna 97<sup>a</sup>, 142<sup>a</sup>. 2 pl. do rinneabhair 29<sup>b</sup>. -dernabhairsi 16<sup>b</sup>. 3 do-rinnettar 19<sup>a</sup>. do rónsad 61<sup>b</sup>. Pass. do rinedh 53<sup>a</sup>. do rónadh 53<sup>a</sup>, 144<sup>b</sup>. -dernadh 24<sup>a</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>, 136<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 pl. -déunad 101<sup>a</sup>, 110<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -déntar 93<sup>a</sup>. See Fut.

Past subj. (see sec. fut.) 1 s. -dénainn 115<sup>a</sup>. 3 s. -déunadh 51<sup>b</sup>, 91<sup>b</sup>, 134<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. -deunmaois 37<sup>a</sup>.

Vb. necess. déunta 133<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. dénamh 71<sup>a</sup>. *dat.* dénamh 92<sup>a</sup>. déunamh 93<sup>a</sup>. *gen.* dénta 73<sup>b</sup>. déunmha 140<sup>b</sup>.

### fágbhaim

Ipv. 3 pl. -fágbhaid 125<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. ind. 1 s. fágbhaim 41<sup>b</sup>, 46<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. -fágbhaid (subj.) 111<sup>b</sup>. Pass. fāgaibhther 97<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 1 pl. fūigfem 37<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. do fāguibh sí 66<sup>b</sup>. do fágbhaidh sí 138<sup>b</sup>. -fāgaibh 39<sup>a</sup>. Pass. -fágbhadh 40<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. fágbháil 41<sup>b</sup>. *gs.* fágbhála 94<sup>a</sup>.

### gabhaim

Ipv. 3 s. gabhadh 98<sup>b</sup>. -gabhadh 75<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. gabhaid 98<sup>a</sup>. Pass. gabhthar 123<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. -gabhann 155<sup>b</sup>. *rel.* ghabhus 70<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. gabhmuid 142<sup>b</sup>. gebhmíd *ib.* (for do ghebhmid ?).

Fut. 2 pl. -geubhtháoi sí 136<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -géubhthar 65<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 pl. -géubhdaoís 132<sup>b</sup>.

Perf. 2 pl. do gabhabhair 51<sup>b</sup>.

Past subj. 3 pl. -gabhdaoís 86<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. gabháil 92<sup>b</sup>. *dat.* 74<sup>a</sup>. *gen.* gabtha 65<sup>a</sup>.

### rigim

(only in the phrase *r. les*)

Pres. ind. 3 s. ricc 59<sup>a</sup>. -rigend 90<sup>a</sup>. *rel.* ricces 110<sup>a</sup>, 113<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. rigid 85<sup>a</sup>, 93<sup>b</sup>. -rigid 124<sup>b</sup>. -riccid 113<sup>a</sup>. Pass. regar 92<sup>b</sup>, 98<sup>a</sup>. -regar 113<sup>a</sup>, 130<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. -rigfedh 71<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. rigfidis 63<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. subj. 3 pl. -rigid 88<sup>b</sup>. Pass. -regar 42<sup>a</sup>.

Vn. The abstract connected with this phrase is *riachtanas* 21<sup>a</sup>, 92<sup>a</sup>, *etc.*

**teagmhaim**

Pres. ind. 3 s. *teagaimh* (rel.) 90<sup>b</sup>. *madh thegmhann* 41<sup>b</sup>. *-teagaimh* 84<sup>a</sup>. *-tecmhann* 12<sup>b</sup>. rel. *tegmhus* 112<sup>b</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. *-teiccémh* 8<sup>b</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. *tegéumhadh* 103<sup>a</sup>. rel. *do thegéumadh* 110<sup>a</sup>.

Past subj. *-tecmhadh* 22<sup>b</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup>. *-tegmhadh* 51<sup>b</sup>, 71<sup>b</sup>, 133<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. (see IGT III §2) *ó tharla* 45<sup>a</sup>, 104<sup>a</sup>. *an tan tarla sé dho* 150<sup>a</sup>.

**téighim**

(the *-g-* is frequently left unlenited)

Ipv. 3 s. *téghe*dh 131<sup>a</sup>. *tégedh* 121<sup>b</sup>. *-tégedh* 126<sup>b</sup>. 2 pl. *ergidh* 143<sup>a</sup>. 3 *erghid* 100<sup>a</sup>. *tiagaid* 97<sup>a</sup>, 98<sup>a</sup>, 125<sup>a</sup>. *-tiagaid* 126<sup>b</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. (all rel.) *téid* 22<sup>a</sup>, 29<sup>a</sup>, 124<sup>a</sup>. *téd* 65<sup>b</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>, 104<sup>a</sup>, 124<sup>b</sup>. 1 pl. *tégmídne* (historic pres.) 38<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. *tiag[h]aid* is used as subj., see below.

Fut. 3 s. *-racha* (in subj. use) 111<sup>b</sup>. rel. *rachas* 21<sup>b</sup>, 23<sup>b</sup>. 3 pl. *rachuid* 151<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. 3 s. *do chuaidh* 81<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. subj. *-tiagaid* 90<sup>b</sup>, 92<sup>a</sup>.

Past subj. 3 s. *-tégedh* 124<sup>a</sup> [*-tégedh* 123<sup>a</sup> is apparently meant for sec. fut., see Notes on Translation (3)]. 3 pl. *-tégdís* 90<sup>a</sup>.

Vn. *dul* 45<sup>a</sup>. *acc. dul* 88<sup>a</sup>. *dat. dul, dol* 41<sup>b</sup>, 68<sup>a</sup>. *gen. dola, dula* 81<sup>b</sup>, 149<sup>b</sup>.

**tigim**

Ipv. 3 s. *tigedh* 125<sup>a</sup>. *tegad*h 116<sup>b</sup>. 2 pl. *tega*idh 35<sup>b</sup>. 3 *tigid* 76<sup>b</sup>, 79<sup>a</sup>.

Pres. ind. 3 s. *tig* (rel.) 43<sup>a</sup>, 66<sup>a</sup>, 148<sup>b</sup>. *-tig* 95<sup>a</sup>, 155<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. *tigid* 70<sup>a</sup>, 156<sup>a</sup> (both rel.). *-tigid* 154<sup>a</sup>.

Fut. 3 s. *tiucfa* (rel.) 39<sup>b</sup>, 159<sup>b</sup>. *-tiucfa* *vi*<sup>a</sup>, *vi*<sup>b</sup>, 56<sup>a</sup>. With rel. ending: *thiucfas* 17<sup>b</sup>, 18<sup>a</sup>. *thiucfas siad* 6<sup>a</sup>. 3 pl. *tiucfaid* 35<sup>b</sup>. *tiucfad* (rel.) 111<sup>b</sup>. *-tiucfaid* 99<sup>a</sup>.

Sec. fut. 3 s. *do thiucfadh* 98<sup>b</sup>. *do thiucfadh* (rel.) 17<sup>a</sup>, 67<sup>a</sup>, 127<sup>a</sup>. *-thiucfadh* 11<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>, 61<sup>a</sup>, 157<sup>a</sup>. *-tiugfadh* 81<sup>a</sup>, 95<sup>b</sup>.

Past subj. 3 s. *-tigidh* 114<sup>a</sup>.

Perf. 3 s. *táinig* 43<sup>b</sup>, 84<sup>b</sup>.

Vn. *teacht* 14<sup>a</sup>. *techt* 77<sup>a</sup>, 142<sup>b</sup>.

SYNTAX OF CASE

Nom. pl. replaces acc. pl. : . . . *aderid na secht sailm ⁊ na liottáin* 152<sup>b</sup>. *adhbhair foirmeallacha* 154<sup>b</sup>.

Acc. fem. acc. occasionally inflected as direct obj. of verb : as a *ttóigéubhadh a glacadh tuaith, is cill* 68<sup>b</sup>. But cf. : *le mbendeocha . . . a chland ; ar a cloinn* 49<sup>a</sup>.

Acc. for dat.: le mbendeocha . . . a chland . . . ar nemh 7 ar talamh 48<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>. See also Glossary under *proinntech*, *tech*.

Gen. two genitives connected by *agus* may depend on a single noun not repeated: le toil nDé 7 ar n-athar S. F. 38<sup>a</sup>. tre ughdardhás ar n-oifíce 7 na caibidle 54<sup>b</sup>. (cf. the O.-Ir. usage described by O'Brien, *Ériu* xii 241).

Gen. of definition: compánach saccairt 30<sup>a</sup>. ag énleanab fir ná mná ('any man or woman Child') 106<sup>b</sup>.

Gen. of time: gach laoi 81<sup>a</sup>, 82<sup>a</sup>, etc. (but: fo thrí gach sechtmhain 82<sup>b</sup>. ag rádh áonúair gach láoi aonphaidre 153<sup>a</sup>).

Gen. replaced by nom. or acc.: When a clause intervenes between two genitives depending on the same noun the second may be replaced by nom.: . . . tabhairt doibh an chethair bráthar sin, nó . . . athair co n-a chompán 89<sup>b</sup>. As in O.-Ir., the genitive may be prevented by *agus*: do réir nuimhre . . . 7 eecsamhlacht na ngnoaighedh 99<sup>b</sup>. Cf.: . . . a foillsiughadh don fíosaóir 7 an tsíur do ríne í 133<sup>b</sup>, where an *tsíur* is logically gen. d'iarruidh air egar an uile nethe . . . 96<sup>a</sup> (for egair, but one would expect rather dá iarruidh air egar . . .). In apposition the gen. is dropped in some stereotyped phrases. Féil Muire mór (see IGT, Decl. § 126). in aghaidh a Mháthar benduighthe an Óigh Glormhar Muire 45<sup>b</sup>. Cf. . . . Dé . . . 7 a apstol bennaighthe Pedar, 7 Pól 32<sup>a</sup>. See *Desiderius* p. 248.

Dat. There is one instance of dat. of apposition, where the construction is rather awkward: . . . do ordaigh sibhsi . . . bhar n-oidhredhaibh ('hath made you heirs') 20<sup>a</sup>.

Concord of fem. adj. in acc. and dat. not consistently observed: da nden brigh mbig 155<sup>b</sup>. le cuis follais 28<sup>b</sup>. tre chúis chellidhe dhlighthigh 112<sup>b</sup>. tuitim i lesge mhóir 156<sup>b</sup>. le bochtaine adhbhal-mhóir 40<sup>b</sup>. but le cuis follus 15<sup>b</sup>. fa chúis chert chéllidhe 87<sup>a</sup>.

#### SOME NOTES ON CONSTRUCTION

Relative clauses. Principal clauses with antecedent subj. or obj.

A pl. antecedent may have verb in sg. or pl.: mo sèthra atá 7 bhías 41<sup>a</sup>. na sèthra atá 7 tiucfa 39<sup>b</sup>. na sèthra atá umhal 44<sup>a</sup>. leis na daoineibh bhíos lag 8<sup>b</sup>. do na sèthrachaibh do ríne profession 95<sup>b</sup>. isna cúisibh bhenus le 12<sup>b</sup>. naimhde a uird 7 do ní inghreim 150<sup>b</sup>. . . . na n-inghen atáid 7 tiucfaid 54<sup>b</sup>. dona coimhthionóluibh bhíd . . . 89<sup>b</sup>. da mbiocáiribh bhíd . . . 90<sup>b</sup>. Cf. na cathuighthe as robhuadhartha bhíd air 154<sup>b</sup>.

Here may be placed the following idiomatic construction: an bhen as mó gotha tar leth 97<sup>b</sup>. And the compound clause: ainm na mná bhus iomchuibhdhe adchíther dhi . . . ('the name of her whom she iudgeth to be the fittest') 97<sup>b</sup>.

Translating the rel. pron. we have the artificial *noch* (see Gloss.) and *do neoch*. The latter originally contained the dat. of *ní* and in Early Mid. Ir. was used partitively = 'of such as', e.g. coica cairptech do neoch ba sruthem . . . inna caurad LU 4979. See also PH 980.

(3628). In some later texts it is found as rel. both subj. and obj. but this is an artificial use; it is freq. here:

Subj. iar mbás ar naomhathar do n. ba carrac . . . dhúinn 39<sup>b</sup>. tre ughdardhás . . . do n. foghnus dúinn ('which we vse') 54<sup>b</sup>. do n. síres ('who desiring') 58<sup>a</sup>. léisi do n. as úaithte gotha 97<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 35<sup>b</sup>. 46<sup>a</sup>. 52<sup>b</sup>. 57<sup>a</sup>. 94<sup>b</sup>.

Obj. do n. ro choimhlíon ar tT. ('that which our L. fulfilled') 35<sup>a</sup>. dar n-uile S. do n. seolfus sé ('whō he shall call') 36<sup>b</sup>. . . . anbhfainne . . . bhar ceuirp do n. do chlaoi sibh ('the which you have subiected') 51<sup>a</sup>.

For the genitive rel., as well as the constructions cited below we have as in O. Ir. (a) sa, cop. with poss.: mná isa ndeghbhetha . . . tre a n-onórfuidher ar nAthair ('women by whose good life' etc.) 35<sup>b</sup>. sa aimsir inar thionnsgnamar ('in whose time we began') 40<sup>a</sup>. an tí, sa ghrádh ara ndeunaid sin ('he, for whose love they doe it') 98<sup>b</sup>.

A peculiar construction is that in which English 'who', 'which', 'the which', subj. or obj., referring back to something or someone just mentioned, is rendered by a pron. and the old ro-subj. of the copula with aga or go. A similar construction is of course usual when the rel. is oblique (gen. or dat.):

Subj. aondacht . . . agárab í as cengal don foirbhthecht 26<sup>b</sup>. do aon dona Sethrachuibh . . . gurob í an tsíur sin dhliges a hathrughadh ('which sister ought to be changed') 94<sup>b</sup>. Íosa gurob é fén an maithes ('I. who is goodnes itselfe'; not quite accurately rendered) 52<sup>b</sup>. gurob é an riachtanus in nach légther ('the which necessity is not . . .') 113<sup>b</sup>. . . . gurob iad an triar sin . . . tig ('which three . . . shall come') 121<sup>a</sup>.

The indic. gonadh (O. Ir. conid) is also used (an archaism): gonadh iad na minighthe si . . . as móide as inmhesda ('which declarations are so much the more . . . to be esteemed') 59<sup>b</sup>.

Obj. ar lorg esiomláire Mhec Dé . . . nár fagaibh riamh í; gurob í mar an ccéudna do choimhéd . . . S. Fr. ('which also S. Fr. did obserue') 39<sup>a</sup>. gurob iadsin dno . . . chuirmid chugudsa ('the which . . . we send') 54<sup>b</sup> (cf. iadsin dno gidh atáid 'the which although they are' 54<sup>a</sup>).

Oblique rel. (gen., dat. etc.) lā n. accárab éidir leó biadh do chaithemh ('when they may make two refections') 8<sup>b</sup>. ochtar . . . agárab í a ecomhairle so atá d'fiachaibh ar an mbanaib do ghlacadh ('whose counsayle the Abbese is bound to vse') 12<sup>b</sup>. tre chémennuibh náomhtha . . . ; gurob isna cemibh sin ('in which degrees') 57<sup>a</sup>. don tres cóta . . . gurab na égmairs sin nach . . . ('without which it is not') 72<sup>b</sup>. gurab lesna hinghenuibh sin . . . aththaobhuim mé fén iarras oraibh ('vnto which Daughters . . . , I recommend my selfe; beseeching you') 55<sup>a</sup>. gurob dhóibh sin dlighid dénamh oirichle . . . ('for whome they shall . . . provide') 85<sup>a</sup>. Cf. gonadh dho sin adermid ('upon which we say') 125<sup>b</sup>.

The subst. vb. is also used: le cúis follus . . . 7 go mbia an cedsin arna thabhairt leis an mbanaib ('the which shall be . . .') 15<sup>b</sup>.

USE OF FUTURE, SECONDARY FUTURE, AND PRESENT AND PAST  
SUBJUNCTIVE

Future.

A The fut. often replaces the subj., *e.g.* in general or hypothetical rel. clauses. In some cases this is obviously in imitation of the English, but usually the construction is logical. A similar usage is found in O.-Ir. (cpr. Wb.28<sup>a</sup>16, 32<sup>a</sup>13 and 5<sup>c</sup>20): áoinnech bhéras a phroifesion . . . 69<sup>a</sup>. gach áon da ttiucfa . . . 7 anfas 47<sup>b</sup>. don uile nech . . . sesfas *ib.*; similarly 52<sup>b</sup>. ar an chaoi as ferr féudfas 66<sup>b</sup>. Cf. gach deacair féudfam, etc. 61<sup>a</sup>. an úair eugfus banab 95<sup>b</sup>. an tráth do ghébha 8<sup>a</sup>. (but: an t.do gheibh 10<sup>a</sup> § 4). an tráth mhesfas . . . ('when she thinketh . . .') 8<sup>b</sup>. After *gi bé* (see Subst. vb., pres. subj.): *gibé lá ara tteiccémh* (' . . . that it falleth ') 8<sup>b</sup>. See O'Rahilly, *Desiderius* p. 260.

B With *go*, as *go*, *asa*, rendering Engl. pres. subj.: *asa ccoimhlionta sibh iad* 136<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *as go ffoillseochaidis* . . . 7 *asa bhfedfuid* 43<sup>b</sup>-44<sup>a</sup>. In: *ar modh go celechtfaid* 118<sup>a</sup> purpose is not implied. Cf. *ar chor go mbíaidh* ('so as there be' = provided there be) 122<sup>a</sup>.

C In indirect admonition (see Pres. subj. D): *comhairlighim* . . . *go ccoimhfédfa* *iad féin* . . . *go seachondáois* (see Sec. fut.) 26<sup>a</sup> (both verbs render Engl. pres. subj.). *áilim* . . . *go ndiongnad* ('that . . . do') 110<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *comhairlighem ibh* . . . *a choimhéud nach beg an condus i cuirfí* . . . (' . . . to take heed that you doe not make little account of . . .') 139<sup>b</sup>. *bíd aireach* . . . *nach diongnaid* . . . 24<sup>b</sup>. *go n-abair* . . . *nach díleóchaid* 108<sup>b</sup>.

D The fut. of command is found both in independent and rel. clauses: *ní géubhthar áoinnech* ('none shall be admitted') 65<sup>a</sup>; *cuirfidher é as a oifce* 52<sup>a</sup>. *gerrfuidher amach é ib.* *ní bhia an aibid ag siubhal* . . . 73<sup>a</sup>. *ní bhia sí ní as lethne ib.* Cf. *a sealla risnach bia comhla* 27<sup>b</sup>. *ní laibheóra áoinsíur ann sin* 105<sup>a</sup>. *ní sgríbhheobha áoinsíur* 105<sup>b</sup>. *bhail i sgríbhheobha* 97<sup>b</sup>. *ní tiubharthar* 94<sup>a</sup> (in these instances the English has 'shall'. In the Rule, however, the translators regularly prefer the imperat. or periphrasis with '*atá d'fiachaibh ar*' or '*is cóir do*', etc. both for 'may' and 'shall'). Cf. *budh égin a mbeth* ('they must be') 104<sup>a</sup>. In rel. clause: *cluinfes* ('who must heare') 14<sup>a</sup> (cf. *noch ésdés* 'who must heare' 121<sup>a</sup>). In subordinate clause: *gid ader* . . . *go sirfid* 95<sup>a</sup> (cf. C).

E Equivalent to a fut. perf.: *ní cóir duine* . . . *nach diongna a profession do thogha* 10<sup>a</sup>.

Secondary future.

In some examples the subj. would have been regular in the older language, and in the majority the English has the pres. subj.

A In reported statement corresponding to fut. of direct statement: *do badh toil leis gan sinne do chlaonadh* . . . , *nó an muintir* . . . *do thiucfadh inar ndiaigh* 17<sup>a</sup>. *go ttug tri pribhiléde dho: an ceudna da mhéud do fásfadh a ord, go médeóchadh sē solāthar dóibh* 149<sup>b</sup>.

B In rel. sentences with a hypothetical colouring: a ttaobh na ndeachach rigfidis a les do chur ('the difficulty they should have to send') 63<sup>b</sup>. fuilngedh sí gacha bhfuileógnadh an tsiur . . . amhail is da ffaghthaoi ciontach . . . i 133<sup>a</sup>. as é fáth do chuirfedh san chuntabhairtsi iad ('the cause which may move them to doubt is') 60<sup>b</sup>. . . . na cúisi má ttiuefadh 61<sup>a</sup>. a ttáobh na bhfiach noch do thegúmhadh 110<sup>a</sup>. ó dheacair da ttiugfadh tríd sin 81<sup>a</sup>. Freq. after dá ttegmhadh 'if it should happen that', 'if there were': da tt. go n-éireóchadh 23<sup>b</sup>. da tt. . . . go rigfedh aoinnech a les 71<sup>b</sup>. dá tt. áon dá nach ttiuefadh sgagadh ('if it should happen that anyone could not') 66<sup>b</sup>. da tt. aonmhaighden . . . nach bhfeudfadh ('if any mayde, . . . could not') 51<sup>b</sup>. Cf. tegúmhadh sin ar an adhbhar . . . ('the reason may be that . . .') 103<sup>a</sup>. With bíodh go = 'even if': go nderbhadh an bhanab dhi . . . , bíodh go ccaithfidhe an bhliadhain sin, nach ffuighedh sí cert . . . 69<sup>a</sup>. bíodh go rachadh lá na féle secha 152<sup>a</sup>. See also 24<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>b</sup>, 66<sup>a,b</sup>, 101<sup>b</sup>. With amhail: a. do thiuefadh ann . . . do sédedh ('as being . . . mooved by the inspiration') 67<sup>a</sup>. a. adeuradh nech 96<sup>b</sup>. Cf. do réir mar do seolfadh Dia dhi 4<sup>b</sup>. With ar modh: ar m. nach ttiugfadh dhi . . . ('that she could not . . .') 95<sup>b</sup>. ar m. go ffuighthe ciontach . . . i ('that she were found culpable') *ib*. Cf. 74<sup>a</sup>, 78<sup>b</sup>. d'eccla go siolfadh 11<sup>a</sup>. d'eccla go madh éidir . . . go ttiuefadh *ib*.

C In clause depending on verb of admonition, *etc.* (cf. Past subj.): comhairlighim . . . go seachóndáois 26<sup>a</sup>.

D In conditional, or virtually conditional, sentences: do gach pápa . . . do toghfaidhe go dleistonach ('lawfully chosen') 2<sup>a</sup>. Cf. ionnus ó do chifedh a máthair . . . an aondacht . . . go n-íomchóradh . . . 44<sup>b</sup>. da ttigedh . . . do feudfadh sí ('if . . . should arise . . . she may . . .') 114<sup>a</sup>.

See also under ionnus, below.

For go n-anfadh 86<sup>b</sup>, go ttrégfadh 95<sup>b</sup>, go saórfadh 133<sup>a</sup>, see Notes on the Translation (3).

Present subjunctive.

Only exx. in which the form is distinctive are cited.

A subj. of wish: go ttoirmesca Dia 23<sup>b</sup>. go bhfécha se oruibh 47<sup>a</sup>. go ttuga 52<sup>b</sup>. go ttuga sé 47<sup>a</sup>, 47<sup>b</sup>. rob malluighthe . . . na huile bráithre 159<sup>b</sup>. go raibhe 45<sup>a</sup>. nar lege Dia ('which God forbid') 118<sup>b</sup>.

B In conditional clauses with má (muna), acht má (muna), dá: mad áil . . . leis 132<sup>a</sup>. na glacaid áoinnech . . . acht munab follus . . . 68<sup>b</sup>. acht munab adhbhar . . . é 105<sup>b</sup>. gan aon do ghlacadh . . . acht muna raibhe sí . . . 68<sup>a</sup>. ní dhligh . . . acht muna raibhe . . . 121<sup>a</sup>. ná benadh . . . acht muna bhfagha ced 77<sup>b</sup>. da ceomhaille sí . . . 70<sup>b</sup>. da raibhe 67<sup>b</sup>. muna thoirmisge 122<sup>a</sup>.

C With go (nó go) 'until': ná glacthar . . . go raibhe sí ocht mbliadhna déug 68<sup>a</sup>. Cf. ná lamhadh áon a glacadh . . . nó go

ttaispéntar . . . 94<sup>a</sup>, 94<sup>b</sup>. Of purpose : as édir dhi . . . cúram na maóini sin . . . do chur ar dhuine . . . égin . . . go roinne sé í . . . 66<sup>b</sup> (cf. 4<sup>b</sup>). With ionnus go : i. go mbá héidir lé 4<sup>b</sup>.

D In indirect command or admonition : tegaigim sibh . . . go saothruighe sibh 42<sup>b</sup>. ordaighmid . . . go raibhe sí sáor, ⁊ nach bí i modh cumhuile . . . ⁊ go raibh sí i n-aois . . . 67<sup>b</sup>. aithnighmid . . . nach ccedaighed 87<sup>b</sup>. gidh atá isin foirm . . . go ccoimhéuda . . . 119<sup>b</sup>. Cf. coimhéudaí na sethra . . . nach bhfaicther iad 124<sup>b</sup>. coimhéudad . . . nach ttugad 118<sup>a</sup>.

E In dep. clause after past subj. (?) of cop. : damadh mhian damh . . . gorbham . . . diongmhála 54<sup>a</sup> (but the construction here is an awkward rendering of the English).

In many cases where the subj. might be expected in the earlier language the forms are no longer distinguished from those of the indicative. Cf. da ffaoisidighenn . . . ('vnto whome . . . may confesse') 89<sup>a</sup>. See remarks on Subst. verb.

Past subjunctive.

A In relative sentences with indefinite antecedent : áoinsíur da ndeunadh profesíon ('any sister professed') 91<sup>b</sup>. With dá ttegmhadh 'should it occur that . . .', 'should . . . be' : dá tt. aonmhaighden nach déunadh 51<sup>b</sup> (commoner with sec. fut.).

B With má (muna), acht muna ; dá (sometimes rendering an Engl. pres. subj. or fut.); muna sechantaoi . . . ar fedh tamuill ('unless . . . it be for a time omitted') 82<sup>b</sup>. ní dlighthech . . . sin, muna cheduighedh an Pápa 122<sup>b</sup>. ná gabhadh an calla dubh, . . . acht muna ttugadh sí a phroffesiún roimhe sin ('except she were before professed') 75<sup>a</sup>. da bhfaghadh an bhanab aointsiur mainnechnach ('if the Abbess should find') 79<sup>a</sup>. da ccuirthí . . . ('if . . . be sent') 20<sup>b</sup> (but : ma cuirther íb.). dá ttoghtaoi . . . ní dhlighitt umhlacht . . . ('if . . . were chosen . . . they shall not obey') 10<sup>a</sup>. da ccuireadh clerech . . . cathughadh ('if any person attempt') 52<sup>a</sup>. gacha bhfuileóngadh an tsiúr . . . amhail is da ffaghtaoi ciontach . . . í ('all that which the . . . sister should have sustained, if she had bin found faulty') 133<sup>a</sup> (but the Irish means 'as if she had,' etc.).

C After go of purpose : grása do thabhairt . . . go meuduighiodh sin ⁊ go maireadh 46<sup>a</sup>. For ionnus go see p. 179 below.

D In indirect command, admonition, etc. : ordaighmid go ccoimhédis 65<sup>a</sup>. guidhim go smuaindis 43<sup>a</sup>. iarruim gomadh toil leis go ttugadh. 48<sup>a</sup>. do bhríogh go n-iarrtháoi oruinn . . . go ndaingnidhmís 51<sup>b</sup>. After ipv. : coimhéudaí na Sethra nach tégedh aoinnech istech 124<sup>a</sup>. ainceadh an bhanab ⁊ na sethracha . . . nach glacdaois 65<sup>b</sup> (similarly 66<sup>a</sup>, 127<sup>a</sup>). bíomaoid coimheudach nach sechnamaois an tslighidh sin 45<sup>a</sup>. táobhaighim . . . go ccumhdaighdis ('I . . . commend . . . , that . . . , they will preserve') 40<sup>b</sup>. as áil liom go mbedis umhal 44<sup>a</sup>. Cf. as áil iad do choimheud an mhodha so .i. go n-osgladh an doirseoir an ceuddorus 124<sup>b</sup>. ag tegasg ⁊ ag

comhairleachadh na n-inghen . . . , go nglacdaois 54<sup>b</sup>. In : do sgríobh sé chugainn an modh betha so, agas céudamas go mbuainisesmaois . . . 38<sup>b</sup>, admonition is implied ('he wrote vnto vs this forme of life, and principally that we should perseuer . . .').

Some curious instances of non-sequence occur, *e.g.* an chédphribhiléd . . . go sdiúrthar iad . . . lesan S.N. an dara . . . gomdis cosanta . . . an treas : nach congban . . . ' an cethramhadh go nglacfaid . . . 150<sup>b</sup>, where the successive clauses have respectively pres. subj., past subj., pres. ind., fut. ind., while the Engl. has 'that . . . shall' throughout. Cf. also : cedaighem . . . go fféudann ('we . . . graunt that . . . may . . .') 115<sup>b</sup>. dā mbeth áon aca coimhesaontadhach . . . 7 sin ar mhodh nach lesaighenn í fén ar áonchor ('if there were any so rebellious that she would . . .') 118<sup>b</sup>-119<sup>a</sup>.

#### Construction with *ionnus*

With pres. ind. : dallaid derca . . . i. nach féudaid faicsin ('they so darken the eyes . . . that they cannot see') 156<sup>a</sup>. Cf. i. gúrob 162<sup>a</sup>.

With perf. : i. gur sgríobh 16<sup>b</sup>. i. gur thionnsnag 37<sup>a</sup>. i. gur coimhlíonadh 38<sup>a</sup>.

With fut. (equivalent to subj.) : i. an lucht adchí iad . . . go ttoigéubhaid 123<sup>b</sup> ('that those . . . may be edified'). i. go ttiucfaid 99<sup>a</sup>. i. go madh móide . . . 7 go ngeubhtháoisí iad 136<sup>b</sup>. i. . . . go mbethí infedhma . . . ('that . . . you shal be able') 143<sup>b</sup>.

With pres. subj. (rare) : i. nach ttugthar . . . 123<sup>b</sup> (here it is joined with the fut., both clauses being subordinate to ipv.). atá d'fiachaibh ar an mbanaib beith rochoimhédach i. go mbá héidir lé . . . 4<sup>b</sup>. bfodh na súidhe . . . i. go mbá héidir a faicsin 29<sup>b</sup>.

With sec. fut. (the most usual construction) ; sometimes consecutive : muna raibhe sí coimhintleachtach is sin 7 roláidir i. go mbiadh abaidh ('except that she were so ingenious . . . that she were able') 68<sup>b</sup>. Final : tug dhúinn iomad sgríbhenn, i. . . . nach cláonfamáois ('that . . . we might not fall') 38<sup>b</sup> (cf. 39<sup>b</sup> cited below under past subj.). taisbénaidh í . . . , i. tre bhar sompla, go bhfásfadh . . . ('to the end that . . . may increase') 43<sup>a</sup>. i. . . . go n-íomchóradh 44<sup>b</sup>. go ffaileóchdaois a ngnúisi . . . i. nach bhféudfadh . . . ('in such sort that none may . . .') 74<sup>a</sup>. ní diúltar éstecht do thabhairt d'áoinnech, i. go ngeubhdáois a lethsgéula ('to the end that they may excuse themselves') 132<sup>b</sup>. i. nach tre ar ttuillehma fén, acht tre thrócaire . . . go rachadh 42<sup>b</sup> (nach here seems due to attraction).

With past subj. : cuiritt í chum persann . . . i. go roinntí . . . a máoin ('may be distributed') 4<sup>b</sup>. cenglaim mé fén don bh. . . . i. . . . nach celáoidís ('to the end that . . . may by no means decline') 39<sup>b</sup> (cf. 38<sup>b</sup> cited under sec. fut. above). go raibhe síoth Dé maille riú, i. . . go bhfaghdáois toradh ('to the end they may receive') 52<sup>b</sup>. i. go mbeth, 7 go n-oiltí brígh . . . oirdeócham 85<sup>b</sup>. i. go ccoimhéudtháoi so . . . , ordaighmid ('to the end that this may be . . . obserued') 99<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 129<sup>a</sup>. creud á an cúram . . . le a ffuilimid

ceingailte do choimhéud aithenta Dé . . . , i. go ccutighmís le a thallann ('that . . . we may repay') 36<sup>a</sup>. See also 78<sup>b</sup>, 85<sup>a</sup>, 120<sup>b</sup>, 130<sup>b</sup>, 134<sup>a</sup>. On i. go ndeunmaois 37<sup>a</sup>, see Notes on the Translation (2).

#### THE TRANSLATION

The translation is for the most part close and accurate, and often considerably skilful, but here and there odd renderings occur, and in some places the English has been misunderstood. The passages worthy of remark in these respects may be classified as follows:

(1) The translation is completely different from the English in meaning.

(2) The translation though formally close is not really exact, or the attempt to render has resulted in an awkward or unidiomatic construction.

(3) The English idiom has been misunderstood, so that the literal rendering does not reproduce the meaning.

(4) Individual words are mistranslated.

(5) Various small points (taken in order of occurrence).

(1) do rinnes profesíon air sin do chum ar n-athar bhenduighthe an cethramhadh Innocent Pápa, sa aimsir inar thionnsgnamar, 7 do neoch do athnuaidhigh í da chomhorbaibh ('I have made profession therof, vnto our holy Father . . . in whose time we began, and haue renewed it to his successors') 40<sup>a</sup>: accepting *do neoch* as subj. antecedent (see Syntax, p. 175), the last clause in the Irish means 'and who renewed it to his successors.'

an drong . . . do ghlacadh mar sêthrachuibh do neoch choimheudas . . . cuing na riaghla ('to receaue for Sisters such . . . , obseruing the manner') 64<sup>b</sup>: the Irish is an archaic rendering of 'such as observe', while the English seems to refer to the manner of the reception. The Latin is *quod mulieres . . . , idoneas tamen secundum tenorem formae vitae in Sorores valeant recipere* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> x 242.

Ionnus go mbedís ar leabthacha (cosmhail do sin) noch ara n-eugmaid; amhail adubhradh, etc. ('to the end our beddes be like vnto that, on which he dyed, who sayth . . .') 75<sup>b</sup>; here the original seems to have been deliberately rejected as inexplicable. I have not found a Latin version of this passage.

ní háil linn so do chleachtadh ('we will not have it that this be now obligatory') 120<sup>a</sup>; *lit.* ' . . . that this be practised '.

. . . do thaispéunadh a mbaramhla da mbé aoinni ann re a bhrethnughudh ('to give informations if there be anything to be informed') 132<sup>a</sup>: the Irish means: 'to give (*lit.* display) their opinions if there be anything to be judged'. edir gach ní dá fíosraigh-ionn ('which he should enquire') 134<sup>b</sup> *lit.* 'of which he enquires'. . . . agus fós fo aignedh 7 fo mhionca da ndernadh an chair ('according as the offence hath bin committed more often') 136<sup>a</sup>: the Irish is more precise than the English here, but the latter has nothing corresponding to 'fo aignedh' (= 'according to the nature, or intention').

The Latin has *secundum quod delictum fuerit commissum vel frequenter iteratum* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> 10, 262.

le Mac nDé noch ar nach raibhe d'fiachaibh nó cengailte dhe ó dhlighedh na nethe do ríne ('to the Son of God, who not being obliged or bound to the Lawes which he had made') 140<sup>a</sup>: the Irish means 'who was not obliged or bound by law to [do] the things He did'.

(2) Here we may note that *serbhóntaídh do serbhóntaighibh iv<sup>a</sup>* as a rendering of *Serius Seruorum* is ambiguous. Cf. *cardionál do chardionálaibh . . . 31<sup>a</sup>*, which correctly renders 'one of the cardinals'.

gomadh ferr lé bheith na huachtarán a subháilcibh, ⁊ a beith a fíadhnaisi cáich a mbésaibh náomhtha, iná ina hoífice ('she shall rather stríue to be superiour in vertues, and to be before others in holy manners', etc.) 10<sup>b</sup>: 'before' is perhaps taken to mean 'in the presence of', but cf. *hi fiadhnaisi na sethar as sinu* LU 10321, where the meaning 'sooner than' is implied.

⁊ ionnus go ndeunmaois maith, ar mbeith go hurgháirdech tridsion nísá mhó ('in well doing to remayne the more comforted in him') 37<sup>a</sup>: the Irish means 'so that we should do good being more joyful through him', but the 'more-' clause is unidiomatic and the translator seems to have been puzzled by the English. Cf.: *mar a ffuil nísá mó* ('as is more amply contained') v<sup>a</sup>; *ní as ferr gur thréageabhair* ('the better to renounce') 50<sup>a</sup>, and see 41<sup>b</sup>, where 'to proceed . . . better' has been omitted by the translator.

In: *ionnus gomadh ferrde do foirbhtheochthaoi gan a faigsin an cúramsa na sethar* ('to the end that this care of the sisters not being seene be the better practized') 124<sup>b</sup>, the Irish means rather 'that this care of the sisters be the better accompl shed without being seen'.

The following four passages also are unidiomatic in construction and do not reproduce the original clearly:

Inne ar ngluasacht le bhar n-athchuinghidh chirtsi ('we at your iust request moued') 59<sup>a</sup>. Inne mar an ccédna lenab áil sin do choimhéud . . . orduighmid ('we likewise willing that the said ordinance should be obserued, doe command') 91<sup>b</sup>. *clérech . . . ga mbeth a fios so ar n-ordaighthe* ('knowing this our constitution') 52<sup>a</sup>. *um lesughadh a los mbeg sinne* ('to water us his little plants') 41<sup>b</sup>.

*as édir dona hinghenaibh. . . gibé dhíobh lenab áil a chur* ('such daughters may doubt') 60<sup>a-b</sup>: the Irish means 'the daughters . . . any of them who should wish to ask'.

*oirdeócham* ('we will and ordaine') 86<sup>a</sup>; cf. the correct rendering of this 'will' 95<sup>b</sup>, 120<sup>a</sup>. See also (4) below.

*asé clog na humhla amháin bentar* ('the bell of Obedience shall be only tolled') 99<sup>b</sup>: the Irish would require 'only' to come at the beginning of the sentence, but the English emphasizes 'tolled', i.e. not 'rung'. The Latin has *pulsetur ex una parte tantum* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> x 252. Cf. the use of 'ring' above, on p. 40 of the English.

*na nethe as mó bhenus da riaghail* 7c., *mar atá*, 135: the Irish is more precise than the English, and closer to the Latin: *primo requiratur de essentialibus Regulae, videlicet* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> 10, 262. Cf.: *ní cóir dó, etc.* 28<sup>b</sup> § 4, where the Irish is again more precise and emphatic.

In: go mairidh amhlaidh 46<sup>a</sup> 'amhlaidh' seems meaningless, unless it is meant to render 'euen', which was perhaps misunderstood.

(3) ionnus maille re grásaibh Dé fa dheóigh go ccuitighmís les ('to the end that . . . we may repay') 36<sup>a</sup> where (as also in 39<sup>b</sup>, 74<sup>a</sup>) fa dh. is superfluous; ionnus fa dheóigh go bhfaghdaois ('to the end they may receive') 52<sup>b</sup>. & go deiredh ar mbethadh . . . gan sinne ('and vnto the end that we should in no time') 17<sup>a</sup>.

do lúthghairigh se . . . ⁊ do ghluais . . . chuguinne 38<sup>a</sup>: the pp. 'moued' is rendered as if it were an active intrans. verb (The Lat. has *ad pietatem erga nos motus* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> 3, 300).

Timchioll mhodha chluig oifrin, bentar é amhail clocc na n-uairidh ccánónta ('concerning the māner to ring vnto Masse, as vnto the Canonically houres') 78<sup>a</sup>: the translator seems to have misunderstood 'as' (= as also). The Latin has *quantum vero ad modum pulsandi pro veniendo ad Missam & ad alias horas Canonicas* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> 10, 245.

ionnus gomadh tuillmhech. . . ('as meritorious . . .') 109<sup>a</sup>; *lit.* 'that it may (or might) be' . . . but 'as' here = 'as a thing which is'. . . ⁊ fós do chabhair ('and the more to succour') 81<sup>a</sup>: 'the more' is rendered as though it were 'moreover'.

'na samhail so ('in such sort') 84<sup>b</sup>: the Engl. is apparently taken to mean 'in such a matter', 'in a like case'.

The rel. conj. 'wherefore' (= for that reason) is regularly rendered as though it were an interrogative advb., e.g. creud aire sin . . . nach dleacht dúinne ('wherefore . . . we ought to') 34<sup>a</sup>. cidh tra acht da lenam go diadha ('wherefore if we live piously . . .') 37<sup>a</sup>. Similarly 39<sup>a</sup>, 44<sup>a</sup>, 45<sup>a</sup>, 93<sup>a</sup>, 134<sup>a</sup>, 139<sup>a</sup>, 144<sup>a</sup>.

In: a ccás go sáorfadh an tsiúr . . . í féin ón chair ('in case that the accused would seeke to cleer herselfe of the crime') 133<sup>a</sup>, the Irish is ambiguous; 'would' is here optative and would be correctly rendered by 'mian' or 'áil' with the appropriate tense of the copula, cf. as áil linn ('we will') 95<sup>b</sup>, ba mian do ('would') 140<sup>a</sup>. Similarly: go ttiubhradh ('wold giue') 65<sup>b</sup>; go n-anfadh ('would deferre') 86<sup>b</sup>; go ttrégfedh sí ('would renounce') 95<sup>b</sup>; dá ttégedh ('wold enter') 123<sup>b</sup> (see téighim in verb-lists above). In: coimminic is chruinnighes ('as often as . . . vvould gather') 99<sup>b</sup> 'vvould' is ignored.

tabhairt deghsómpla do chách ele, úair go mbenaid so ⁊ a samhail do fíorchloinn Dé ('to giue good example vnto others, for such little respects, belongeth', etc.) 139<sup>b</sup>; here the prep. 'for' has been rendered as a conjunction.

alla muigh do dhorus ('without a dore') 119<sup>b</sup>; the Irish means 'out of doors' (cf. 27<sup>b</sup>).

There are some curious instances of the misuse of older forms, e.g. aroile ('of others') 39<sup>b</sup>, 79<sup>a</sup> § 6. araile mhainesdrech ('of the other Monasteries') 59<sup>a</sup>. The correct use also occurs: in araile Riaghaibh ('in some Religions') 84<sup>b</sup>.

Cechtár de glóir . . . no cumusg . . . ('eyther glory . . . or confusion') 143<sup>a</sup>.

In the older language *cechtár de* is used as adj. or pron. 'each of,

either' and is still so used by Keating and other 17th cent. writers, but its use as an advb. conj. is unnatural.

See also notes on 145<sup>b</sup> ff. below (5).

(4) ar subháilce sóchair na humhla ('in vertue of profitable obedience') 131<sup>b</sup>; in the context 'subháilce' hardly represents English 'vertue', which might here be rendered by 'neart'. On the other hand 'of vertue' is mistranslated 154<sup>b</sup> by 'ferta' which would naturally mean 'of miracles'. Cf. iomdhaighes . . . i bhfertaibh ('abounding in vertues') 55<sup>a</sup>, aoinfiort nó subháilce ('vertue') 158<sup>a</sup>. For 'vertue' meaning 'miracle' Tyndale's Mark vi 2 1526 is the latest instance recorded by NED.

athnuadhughadh ('separation' Fr., Bodl.) 18<sup>a</sup>; the Irish renders rather 'reparation,' which seems intended. 1665 has 'repairing'.

na n-iongnadh ⁊ ina n-esiomláir ('a mirrour and an example') 36<sup>b</sup>; an t-iongnstha gan toibhém ('the mirrour without spot') 144<sup>a</sup>; English 'mirrour' is etymologically connected with 'miracle' and Lat. *mirari*, but this can hardly account for the translation, which is probably due to confusion between the two English words.

There are a few curious instances of confusion between similarly-sounding English words: go ffuil an cosán cumhang, ⁊ an dorus dírech 44<sup>b</sup>, where 'dírech' renders 'strait' (Matt. vii 14); beoughadh ('reviewing') 137<sup>a</sup>; do beaighedh ('were viewed') 137<sup>b</sup>, where the English words are confused with 'revive', 'vivify'. Here, perhaps should come: don tsíth . . . as ionchoimhéudtha le cúaine na earthanachta ('of the peace . . . to be kept by the chaine of perpetuall charity') 135<sup>b</sup> (*de vinculo perpetuae caritatis* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> x 262). Professor Bergin suggests that 'cúaine' renders 'band', i.e. 'troop', whose homonym 'band, bond' could be the equivalent of 'chaine'.

Other noteworthy renderings are:

aitherrach ('otherwise') 71<sup>a</sup>, 136<sup>a</sup>, 156<sup>a</sup>; a a. sin ('otherwise', i.e. in different fashion) 72<sup>b</sup>, a a. 134<sup>b</sup>. The regular meaning of 'aitherrach' is 'repetition'; in adverbial use 'again'. In the passage from Laws i cited in Meyer's *Contribb.* to support the meaning 'change' the meaning 'renewal' is more likely, and this would not be impossible for the MR quotation.

aithnighim ('I beseech') 17<sup>a</sup>; properly 'I enjoin, command'. Confused with 'aitechim'?

nach maith as édir le háon ('one cannot') 84<sup>a</sup>; this rendering of 'one' (= Fr. *on*) is too literal to be correct.

cáonbharrach ('discreet') 43<sup>b</sup>; properly 'kindly, clement', see *Contribb. s.v. cáin-fúarach*.

go coingheallach ('firmly') 61<sup>a</sup>; from *coingheall* 'condition, terms'; the meaning 'condition', i.e. 'state' 52<sup>a</sup> seems supported by *cinedhaigh da cach drochchuingell* Maund. 49.

⁊ sé ima ccuairt ('and so compassed') 92<sup>b</sup>; the meaning is rather 'and so encompassing'.

contabharta ('daungers') 87<sup>b</sup>.

cuibhdhe ('mature'), pl. of cubhaidh 'fitting'.

- ag da'ngniughadh ('inserting') v<sup>a</sup>.  
 derbhtha ('probable') 5<sup>a</sup>; properly 'proven'.  
 díoghaltas ('enuy') 26<sup>a</sup>, ('indignation') 32<sup>a</sup>; *lit.* 'punishment, vengeance'.  
 go dioghra'sioch ('intierly') 141<sup>b</sup>.  
 diongmhála ('inuiolably') 18<sup>a</sup>; O'Rahilly refers to the use this word by Molloy, *Lucerna Fid.* 351, in the sense 'trustworthy, unerring' *Desid.*, *Gloss. s.v.* diongmhála.  
 do dhiongmhálaigh ('did vouchsafe') 35<sup>b</sup>; I know of nothing to support this.  
 díslé deaghrádhacha; ionmhuine díslé ('dearly beloved') 47<sup>a</sup>, 50<sup>a</sup>; a mo sèthra díslé ('my deere sisters') 142<sup>a</sup> (but a sèthra d'ile 143<sup>a</sup>). Cf. *mo mhac dílis* (*dilectus*) O'Leary, *Matt.* iii 17 *etc.*  
 dlúthughadh ('annexion') 137<sup>a</sup>.  
 docra ('perils') 87<sup>b</sup>.  
 dortadh ('dedicate') 50<sup>b</sup>.  
 do dhúthchasachaibh na riagla ('professours') 117<sup>a</sup>. The Irish gives the sense figuratively, not literally.  
 faillitheach ('fayled') 100<sup>b</sup>; *lit.* 'neglectful'.  
 fírénta ('reverend') 97<sup>a</sup>, 137<sup>b</sup>, 138<sup>a</sup>; 53<sup>b</sup>, 70<sup>a</sup>, 89<sup>b</sup>, fíréntas ('reverence') 77<sup>a</sup>, 86<sup>b</sup>; fíréuntacht 123<sup>a</sup>.  
 friothghnamh, friothghnamhacht ('curiosity' *i.e.* carefulness, niceness, elaboration of dress, ornament *etc.*) 116<sup>a</sup>, 135<sup>a</sup>. friothghnamhach (friochn-) also occurs in its more usual sense 'careful, attentive,' (TSh.) 21<sup>a</sup>, 41<sup>b</sup>, 43<sup>b</sup>, 102<sup>a</sup>, 134<sup>a</sup>.  
 go foirfe friochnamhach ('perfectly and intierly') 107<sup>b</sup>. seems a misunderstanding. See also under *dioghraisioch* above.  
 go ndlighenn foghnamh ('ought to suffice') 126<sup>a</sup>, *lit.* 'ought to serve'.  
 frecar ('frequentation') 135<sup>b</sup>; this word represents O.-Ir. *freccar céill* 'cultus', and thus is not an unsuitable rendering here, but it seems a doubtful archaism. Cf.: an f. do ní riú 154<sup>a</sup>.  
 gar iar sin ('next after') rather 'soon after'.  
 do ghnáth ('perpetually') 59<sup>b</sup>, 61<sup>a</sup>. Frequently renders 'always', *e.g.* 8<sup>b</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>, 39<sup>b</sup>; cf. nach . . . do gh. ('neuer') 15<sup>a</sup>, a hardly justifiable use, since to say a thing is not to be done always or usually implies that it may be done sometimes.  
 ghreamaighes, gremaighther ('injoyned') 114<sup>b</sup>; an etymological rendering. Compare the use of this verb in TSh.  
 imresna, imresain, ('of Interdict') 79<sup>b</sup>, 80<sup>a</sup>; the translator seems to have misunderstood the English word and been (excusably) doubtful about the declension of the Irish by which he renders it (*mod. imreas*).  
 indethbhirech ('indifferent') 154<sup>b</sup>; apparently an artificial rendering.  
 go hinnill ('conueniently') 134<sup>a</sup>; *lit.* 'safely'.  
 lámhughadh ('manure') 107<sup>b</sup>; the earlier sense of the English word is 'occupy, manage', but the Irish rendering seems etymological. Cf. use of *glacaim*, above. The Lat. has *ad laborandum* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> x 254.  
 go mórmhór ('moreouer') 54<sup>b</sup>; nearer to sound than to sense.

nemhghlasadh ('vnlocke') 125<sup>a</sup>; an odd use of *nemh*-.  
 nósughadh ('informations'); I have no other example of this word.  
 It is evidently based on *nós* 'fame', see Contribb.

oirchisiocht ('prouide') 113<sup>a</sup>. The correct *oirichill* is used elsewhere  
*e.g.* 113<sup>a</sup> § 8.

ord ('uocation') 33<sup>b</sup>.

sédem do thecht ('let us aspyre to come') 142<sup>b</sup>, ag sédedh gusna  
 nethibh . . . ('aspiring vnto') 144<sup>a</sup>; etymological renderings. Cf. :  
 do sédedh an Sb. n. ('by the inspiration of the holy Ghost') 67<sup>a</sup>;  
 amhail seólus Dia dhóibh ('shall inspire them') 66<sup>a</sup>.

sírnimhnigh ('contagious') 87<sup>b</sup>; *lit.* 'ever-venomous.'

siocair ('faculty') 91<sup>b</sup>.

an uile slightheadóireachta ('all ambitions') 98<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *slightheadóireacht*  
 'the habit of stratagems', P. O'Connell; 'wiles,' Eph. vi 11. This  
 suits well enough the older sense of 'ambition', as in Milton's 'I . . .  
 used no a. to commend my deeds' Samson Agonistes (see NED).

sochraidh iochtach ('confident and open harted') 155<sup>a</sup>; *iochtach*  
 could render 'confident', so *sochraidh* is evidently meant to express  
 'open harted', but its older and usual meaning is 'comely', see  
 TSh., Desid.

tathaighe ('solicitude') 26<sup>a</sup>.

i ttráthaibh, tar és tráth ('Mattins') 79<sup>b</sup>, 82<sup>a</sup>. The Engl. word is  
 rendered as meaning the conclusion of the night prayers; see Gwynn,  
*Rule of Tallaght* p. xxii ff.

(5) I add notes on some other points of interest in the translation,  
 in order of occurrence.

iv<sup>b</sup> na maithesa: 'good' is apparently taken as an abstract noun.

vi<sup>a</sup> dheirbhsethrach (*recte* inghine) seems a slip of the pen.

3<sup>b</sup> muna ndeachadh ('if he . . . be entred') seems due to the  
 attraction of 'muna raibhe' in the preceding clause; the Engl.  
 requires 'má do-chuaidh'.

6<sup>b</sup> § 14 The use of *é* here is due to *duine* in preceding line; it is  
 a common pron.

Cap. 3 § 1 The last clause ('wherefore . . .') is omitted. Perhaps  
 it was for some reason considered superfluous.

Cap. 3 § 4 Here the reference to breviaries ('as it is', etc.) is again  
 omitted.

Cap. 3 § 6 the A. shall: the **Fr.** alteration 'may' is more in  
 agreement with the Irish here. But see note on 12<sup>a</sup> § 13 below.

12<sup>a</sup> glacthar ('handled' *i.e.* 'dealt with' *quae tractanda sunt* Ann.  
 Min.<sup>a</sup> ii 80) is perhaps an etymological rendering. The meaning 'take,  
 receive' in which *glacaim* is regularly used here does not suit the  
 present instance.

12<sup>a</sup> § 13 The use of *ní héidir* to render a shall-clause (marked p, *i.e.*  
 precept, in the marg. of Fr.) is noteworthy. Cf. the renderings of such  
 clauses by *as* (*ní cóir, caithfe, atá d'fiachaibh ar, dlighidh*, the imperat.,  
 fut. ind. in the following passages and elsewhere.

14<sup>a</sup> § 4 ag an ngráta: 'at the speakhouse' is not translated.

14<sup>a</sup> § 4 cluinfes ('who must heare'): cf. the rendering of these words 22<sup>a</sup> 10.

16<sup>a</sup> For 'pitty' see Notes on the English text.

16<sup>b</sup> ar an modh so ('making this promise').

17<sup>a</sup> § 6 becc ('the least of all').

18<sup>a</sup> daoinibh ('meanes'): possibly a confusion with 'mens', but it is perhaps a deliberate departure from the text.

19<sup>a</sup> § 3 deinter a roinn here takes the place of 'the same shall be done'. The following sentence literally means 'so that to that end it is right for them to pray for them in common'. The Latin has: *Item fiat de eleemosyna aliqua missa pro Sororum necessitatibus ab aliquibus, ut in comuni pro eisdem recommendatio fiat* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> ii 81.

21<sup>a</sup> § 6 mar atá ('as wel for'): not an exact rendering of the English. The Lat. has *tam in consiliis, quam in cibariis & aliis necessariis* Ann. Min.<sup>2</sup> ii 81.

21<sup>a</sup> § 7 Here the section number of the following para. has been erased in Fr. although 'being' had been altered to 'are'. The original reading certainly suggested that the two sections should be taken together, but it seems a mistake; see notes on Engl. Text.

21<sup>b</sup> § 9 colpthadha nó gamaisi ('sockes and quiltes') corresponds to *pediolis laneis & culcitris* in the Lat. (*l.c.*); the first item in the Lat. is closely rendered by troighthini édaigh; but gamaisi is evidently from Engl. gamash (Fr. gamasche) 'leggings or gaiters' of which 16th.-17th. cent. examples are quoted in NED. Both these terms then could render 'sockes'. Is colptadha a mistake for colcadha? Cf. colcadh (ā, f.) IGT, Decl. § 12 (older colcaid, pl. colcthe).

22<sup>b</sup>-23<sup>a</sup> arán . . . comhair: 'on the ground' omitted.

23<sup>a</sup> § 2 carthanacht . . . oile: lit. 'between themselves and other people'.

26<sup>a</sup> 'ithiomrádh' seems to render 'detraction' and 'dissension' is rendered by 'neimhtheacht le chéile' and 'chointinn.'

26<sup>b</sup> acht os cenn, etc. Here the order of thought in the English is not correctly reproduced; os cenn should follow 'aca'.

27<sup>2</sup> c. 11 § 1 'discreet' is rendered as though it were an adj. qualifying 'age'.

28<sup>b</sup> § 4 nó . . . nó . . . ('eyther . . . or . . .'): a similar use of 'nó' is quoted from Molloy's Luc. Fid., Contribb. *s.v.*

31<sup>a</sup> ionnus go mbeidís . . . The translation is confused; what it expresses is 'so that they (*i.e.* the F.-M.) might be subject'.

32<sup>a</sup> ná sáraighedh . . . nó . . . cur na aghaidh: Here there is an anacoluthon; 'cur, etc. would properly be the obj. of the appropriate part of *do-ní*, just as in the English 'contradict' is the obj. of 'let not'.

*Ib.* Da tteacmadh, etc. ('if anyone presume'): *lit.* 'if anyone should happen'.

53<sup>a</sup> . . . S. Cl. boichte riaghalta ('of the Poore Religious of S. Cl.'): *lit.* 'of poor religious S. Cl.'.

54<sup>b</sup> nach eadh amháin . . . ; the dependent clause is perhaps caused by 'cuidh thracht', as to which see (3) above.

66<sup>a</sup> § 3 'for the reception of any person' is omitted in transl. Probably because it was considered unnecessary.

71<sup>b</sup> foillsighmid don bh. . . . oirichill ('we declare that the A. may . . . provide'); lit. 'we declare (or reveal) to the A. . . .').

72<sup>b</sup> don tres cóta imiollach: the transl. would be correct if 'tres' were omitted.

84<sup>a</sup> ar ttegosg dhóibh ('we exhort them'); 'ar' is apparently the poss. pron.

89<sup>a</sup> do neoch nach edh . . . : the rel. seems attracted by do neoch; it is unnecessary in the parenthesis.

92<sup>b</sup> nach ffaicther aoinnech: *lit.* 'that none be seen'.

101<sup>b</sup> go ccuibhdhes; The adj. 'expedient' is rendered as though it were a subst.

104<sup>b</sup> atá crochtha ('which hangeth'): one would expect 'ar crochadh'.

108<sup>a</sup> § 3 'stable of horses', and 'any . . . silver' are omitted in the translation, probably they were considered superfluous prohibitions.

111<sup>a</sup>—*siomh* is probably a mere archaism. Cf. 113<sup>a</sup>, 131<sup>b</sup>, 141<sup>b</sup>, 142<sup>a</sup>.

145<sup>b</sup> ff. Throughout this section the unidiomatic and ungrammatical use of 'edh' (in identification sentences and even with fem. subst.) is remarkable. Curious also is the absolute use of 'an dara', 'an tres', etc.

149<sup>b</sup> da mhéud, etc.: the expression of proportion here seems incomplete. See Desid. p. 254.