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<th>Secondary Verbs in Old Irish: A comparative-historical study of patterns of verbal derivation in the Old Irish Glosses</th>
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Secondary Verbs in Old Irish

A comparative-historical study of patterns of verbal derivation in the Old Irish Glosses

Esther Le Mair

September 2011

PhD thesis, supervised by:
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School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures
National University of Ireland, Galway
To my father,
who steadfastly believes in me,
and to Dr. Kicki Ingridsdotter,
teacher, mentor, best friend.
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Abstract

This thesis concerns the word formation of secondary verbs in Old Irish. Although extensive work has been done on primary verbs, the secondary adjectives and the nouns in Old Irish, and the formation of causatives and iteratives and that of the verbal nouns in Welsh, the secondary verbs in Old Irish have been almost entirely ignored (with the exception of the deverbal verbs in -igidir), while they provide fascinating insights into the process of word formation in Celtic and Early Irish. Their importance lies especially, but not exclusively, in the obvious productivity of this morphology in Old Irish and in the visible development of the morphology from Proto-Indo-European through Old Irish. The formation of secondary verbs in any language and indeed in any stage of that language shows the creativity of the users of that language and the secondary verbs in Old Irish show the creativity of the speakers of Old Irish and its antecedents.

The thesis consists of five chapters and two appendices. The first chapter contains the preliminaries, the theoretical, material and methodological basis of the thesis. The second chapter is an introduction into the Old Irish verbal system and its origins to set the stage for the remaining chapters. The third chapter is the analysis, morphological, semantic and statistical, drawn from the corpus. The fourth chapter is the conclusion. The fifth chapter contains all the secondary verbs found in the Würzburg and Milan glosses with cognates, discussion and notes. The first appendix contains those primary verbs that have taken on weak flexion and the second all the other primary verbs, for comparative purposes.
Acknowledgments

Beside me lie several notebooks full with notes taken during my meetings with my supervisor, Dr. Graham Isaac. Without these meetings, of course, there would never have been a thesis. But without these meetings, I would not have been the scholar I am today either. Graham’s wealth of knowledge, constant support and unfailing belief in me and my academic capabilities have brought me to where I am now and enabled me to finish a thesis that I can be proud of. Thank you.

Compiling a corpus of all the verbal forms in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses is, frankly, boring work. It was at this point during my research that Dr. Kicki Ingridsdotter entered my life with her firm belief in love and joy and sparkle and colour as didactic and motivational tools. We have had many an interesting discussion about Old Irish grammar. Without the breaks for coffee and (home-made) cake this thesis would never have gotten done. Thanks for never giving up on me and for never letting me believe too little of myself.

All staff at Roinn na Gaeilge have been incredibly supportive of me over the years. Many thanks to an Dr. Nollaig Ó Muraile and an Dr. Donncha Ó hAodha who were on my Graduate Research Committee. Thanks to an tOllamh Gearóid Denvir for cheering me on every step of the way, an Dr. Lillis Ó Laoire for a listening ear, an Dr. John Walsh for checking up on me regularly, an tOllamh Micheál Mac Craith for a much needed spare copy of Thurneysen’s *Grammar of Old Irish* and thanks to an tOllamh Nollaig Mac Congáil for a ready smile. Fiona de Paor has by now printed a million copies of my thesis and still her door is always open to me. Many thanks.

My love for Old Irish was instilled in me from the first time I was ever taught it at Utrecht University, by Dr. Leni van Strien. She and Dr. Bart Jaski nourished this love for Old Irish and encouraged me to continue in the field. In Utrecht, too, I was taught by Dr. Frank Brandsma and Dr.
Jacqueline Borsje. All are excellent teachers to whom sincere thanks are due for giving me a strong foundation on which to build my studies.

Throughout my PhD, I have received help and encouragement from many esteemed scholars in the field. I would like to thank especially Dr. Dagmar Wodtko for her genuine enthusiasm about my project when I was only just starting, for forwarding me her article on Old Irish compound verbs and for giving me a reference when I applied for funding. Dr. Aaron Griffith has provided me with the entire digitalised corpus of the Milan Glosses ahead of online publication, which has saved me a lot of time. Many thanks. Thanks also to Prof. Peter Schrijver who took the time to advise me on the best course for my future career when I had to decide on where to do a PhD and for sending me his article on Old British ahead of publication. Thanks to Dr. Jacopo Bisagni for sending me several of his papers, explaining tricky bits of phonology, tracing some particularly pesky references and for always being willing to help. Jacopo already had high hopes for both me and my thesis when I had barely started. I can only hope I have lived up to his expectations. Thanks to Dr. Paul Russell for sending me his article on British *uocridem* ahead of publication.

My family and friends have been a constant source of support throughout the years. I want to thank my father, my sister Eline, my brother Ruben and my grandparents for being there for me, for putting up with the fact that I never had time to come visit and for supporting me. My grandfather unfortunately will never see the finishing of the thesis since he passed away this summer, but his constant silent support meant the world to me.

Here in Galway, Mona Jakob, Trish Ni Mhaoileoin, David Burke, Hanne-Mette Alsos-Raee, Eibhlin Ni Fhallamháin, Marta Rydlinska, Liam Ó hAisibéil, Val Nolan, Frances McCormack, Steve Daly, Adam Murphy and Kevin Jennings have provided much needed breaks and general support. There was always someone for tea, coffee, lunch or more stringent emergencies.

Further afield many friends have kept close track of how I was doing and the knowledge of their virtual presence has kept me going on many a long night. Thanks are due to Daphne Oosterhout, Karianne Lemmen,
Liselore van der Zweth, Christel Franken, Sean van der Meulen, Krista den Uijl, John van Dam, Adinda Bremer, Camilla Hansen, Jessica Lehto, Piia Anneli Huittinen, Stefanie Kelly, Rachel Miller, Daniel, Sara and Moa Visén, Johan and Linnéa Anglemark, Terry Walker, Susanna Lyne, Autumn Barnard-Tyron, Gretchen Kern, Katie Louise Mathis, Heather Key, Jimmy Miller, Cormac MacAindir, Peadar Ó Muicheartaigh and Méadhbh Sullivan.

My colleagues at Lidl have had to deal with an increasingly stressed colleague and have done so with admirable patience and good humour. I really appreciate the flexibility in giving me time off and the regular checking up whether I had ‘gone crazy yet’. Thank you, Martina, Shane, Barbara, Natasha, Shaun, Ricardo, Imre, Kamil, Kris, Magda, Elizabeth, Liam, Pauline, Trish, Trisha, Liz, Andrzej, Garret, Lorraine, Jakub, Martin, Barbara, Marek and Piotr.

I hope I have not forgotten anyone, but it is, after all, the day before submission. If I have forgotten you, I hope you will forgive me.

Esther Le Mair
Galway, 29 September 2011
Abbreviations

Primary and secondary sources

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td><em>Amrae Columb Chille</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AED</td>
<td>Orel. Albanian Etymological Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIL</td>
<td>RIA. Dictionary of the Irish language</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOI</td>
<td>Thurneysen. A Grammar of Old Irish</td>
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<td>GPC</td>
<td><em>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</em></td>
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<td>IEW</td>
<td>Pokorny. Etymologisches Indogermanisches Wörterbuch</td>
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<td>LIV</td>
<td>Rix: Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben</td>
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<td>ML.</td>
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<td>Ped.</td>
<td>Pedersen. Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen</td>
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<td>RC</td>
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<td>SG.</td>
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<td>SR</td>
<td><em>Saltair na Rann</em></td>
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<td>Thes.</td>
<td>Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus, Volume 1</td>
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<td>WB.</td>
<td>The Würzburg Glosses on the Pauline Epistles</td>
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<td>WB. Lex.</td>
<td>Kavanagh. A Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of Saint Paul</td>
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<td>ZCP</td>
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Language

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<td>YAv.</td>
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Preliminaries

Grammar

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<td>intrans.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>VN</td>
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Others

cf. *confer, compare*
e.g. *exempli gratia, for example*
gl. *glossing*
i.e. *id est, that is*
n. *note*
s.v. *sub voce, under the word*

Symbols

† This verb is not attested in Wb. or Ml.
* This verb is not attested in OI, or, this is a reconstructed root.
1 Preliminaries

1.1 Aim, material, scope, and method

1.1.1 Aim
The aim of this research is to study the word formation of secondary verbs in Old Irish. Whereas primary verbs in Proto-Indo-European and the Celtic languages have been extensively studied (Schumacher 2004, Rix et. al. 2001), as have the secondary adjectives (Wodtko 1995) and the nouns in Old Irish (De Bernardo Stempel 1999) and the formation of causatives and iteratives (Schulze-Thulin 2001) and that of verbal nouns in Welsh (Schumacher 2000), the formation of secondary verbs has mostly been neglected. The -igidir verbs have received some attention with Joseph studying the origin of their formation (Joseph 1987) and Ó Crualaoich the syncope patterns arising in these formations (Ó Crualaoich 1997). A study of all the formations of secondary verbs in Old Irish is a desideratum. The importance of the secondary verbs lies both in the productivity of this morphology and in the visible development of this morphology from Proto-Indo-European through Old (and indeed Modern) Irish. Whereas the primary verbs show the Indo-European heritage and conserve the old Indo-European patterns, the secondary verbs express the creative aspect of Irish and its prehistoric precursors. It shows how speakers used their language and its lexicon and morphological possibilities it contained. It shows cultural influences (for example that of Christianity and Latin learning) on the language. Examples of Old Irish secondary verbs are marbaid ‘kills’ (page 142), derived from the adjective marb ‘dead’, rímid ‘counts’ (page 235), derived from the noun rím ‘act of counting’ and oenaigidir ‘makes one’ (page 233) derived from the adjective oen ‘one’. It will be argued that of these verbs, for example, rímid is the oldest and oenaigidir the youngest (cf. page 77). Whereas age is not always apparent, certain layers in the derivation can be ascertained. The relationship between morphology, origin and semantics will also be discussed. What is the reason that a given
derivative verb becomes an AI verb, whereas others become AII? This research shows that there are clear reasons for a denominative verb to become either AI or AII (section 3.3.1, pages 55ff.). It becomes clear that the deadjectivals become AI verbs with very few exceptions, and the exceptions are all strongly motivated (section 3.3.1.2, pages 62ff.). In the case of the -igidir verbs, the motives can mostly not be determined, since that morphology is so prolific in Old Irish that most verbs coined in that period will become -igidir verbs by default. Prior to Old Irish, on the other hand, there are clear reasons for a derivative verb to become an -igidir verb and these will be discussed (section 3.4, pages 65ff.). In the case of the -igidir verbs, it is sometimes problematic to determine whether the verb has been derived from a noun or adjective in -ach/-ech with haplology, or from its base noun itself (fograigidir ‘emits a sound’, page 211, could be derived either from fograch ‘noisy, resounding’ or from its base noun fogur ‘sound’). The methodology for this issue has been discussed in section 3.4.1, page 67. Verbs may have been derived from either a compound noun or an uncompounded noun, as either a simple verb or a compound noun. This issue has been discussed in section 3.4.1, pages 74f.

The primary verbs that have taken on weak flexion can be found in appendix 1, pages 259ff. The handbooks have been followed silently, except where there is significant unsolved controversy as to the origin of these verbs, in which case these verbs are discussed in section 3.8, pages 83ff.

The semantic relationship between a verb and its base is discussed in section 3.9, pages 86ff. There is a wide range of possibilities for the relationship between the two. A verb can express causing the base, having the base, being the base, to name but a few. There are however also constraints. A noun meaning ‘tree’ will not give rise to a verb meaning ‘sings’ in the first instance, for example. Some verbs show more creativity on the part of the speaker than others. The verb ardraigidir ‘appears’ from airdrech ‘face’, for example, has a less direct relationship to its base than the verb bocaid ‘softens’ from boc ‘soft’ (page 115).

The corpus itself (Chapter 5, pages 107ff.) informs the entire analysis chapter. It contains all the forms of the simple secondary verbs and any compound secondary verbs found in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses,
the Proto-Indo-European and Common Celtic root where appropriate, cognates, derivation and discussion. The discussion will be referred to throughout the thesis, however the corpus chapter also includes many notes on problems associated with individual verbs or verbal forms which are not necessarily discussed in greater detail in the analytical chapter.

1.1.2 Material

The corpus for this research consists of all the verbs in the Würzburg and Milan glosses as edited in the *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus* (Stokes and Strachan 1901). These collections were chosen since they are among the oldest sources of Old Irish written in the Old Irish period (this contrary to much Old Irish material that has come down in Middle Irish manuscripts). The Würzburg Glosses date from around 750 AD, although the *prima manus* is decidedly earlier and its Old Irish more archaic (Thes. xxiii, GOI §5). The Milan Glosses date from about 800 AD (Thes. xviii, GOI §6). These glosses are notes on the Latin texts of the Pauline epistles and the Letter to the Hebrews and a Latin commentary on the Psalms respectively. They are written interlinearly and in the margins of these texts. The glosses translate, explain or expand on the Latin text. Both manuscripts have survived on the continent, rather than in Ireland itself. A lexicon of the Würzburg Glosses has been prepared by Séamus Kavanagh and was edited by Dagmar Wodtko (2001). A lexicon of the Milan Glosses is currently being undertaken by Aaron Griffith (for more information on the project and full digitalised text of the Milan Glosses, see http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses.htm).

Whereas these Glosses contain generally speaking pure Old Irish material, it is important to note the extent of ‘Middle’ Irish forms already found even here. It has been argued by McCone (1985) that what is termed ‘Middle Irish’ was already the spoken language long before it became the written language (900 AD) and has occasionally influenced the writing of the Glossators. Of course, this is not to say that the Glosses themselves are

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1 I would like to thank Aaron Griffith for sending me his files of the Milan Glosses prior to online publication. These have been immensely helpful to me.
Middle Irish. Occasional lapses from the conservative educated literary style show the direction in which the language is changing, not the point at which the language is at that time. Most of the language in Würzburg and Milan is classical Old Irish and any conclusions drawn from these forms can therefore be said to be drawn about Old Irish. The fact that the manuscripts in which these Glosses have been preserved are contemporary adds to that argument.

Using the Glosses as basis for the corpus has one noteworthy consequence and that is the influence of Latin. The issue of bilingualism in Irish monasteries is still the subject of a heated debate (Genee 2005, Bronner 2005, Bisagni and Warntjes 2007). Whereas this is not directly of relevance to this thesis, the Würzburg and Milan Glosses were written in a Latin context. Considering that foreigners came to Irish monasteries to study, and considering that Latin was the language of learning, it seems logical to expect that Latin was not just read and studied, but also spoken throughout the monastery. Moreover, the author of these glosses was writing Old Irish glosses on a Latin text: his entire context was bilingual. Whatever the extent of bilingualism was, from the language in the Glosses it becomes clear that it was not zero. The formation of the compounds con·toí and imm·sói (both meaning ‘converts’) for example, is directly influenced by the Latin conuertere ‘convert’. The Latin is a compound of uertere ‘change, turn’. The Old Irish verbs are compounds of soïd also meaning ‘changes, turns’. Other examples are the Old Irish verbs as·gaib and etar·gaib, both hapax legomena. As·gaib glosses Lat. excipere and etar·gaib glosses Latin intercipere. -gaib translates the stem capere, but the preverbs have also been directly translated from Latin: as means ex, and etar means inter. These are but two examples of the influence Latin exerted over the language of the Glosses. The issue of calquing has been further discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

### 1.1.3 Scope

The focus of this thesis lies firmly on Old Irish and its predecessors. Middle Irish and later developments will not be discussed.
In this thesis the focus lies on the derivation of a verbal stem from other parts of speech or other verbs. That is, derivation by means of suffixing, rather than prefixing. The morphology of compounding with one or more preverbs lies outside the scope of the research.

The only primary verbs that will be discussed are those that have taken on weak flexion but about whose origin there is still significant controversy (see below, section 3.8, pages 83ff.); the great majority of primary verbs will be left aside. However, a collection of all the primary verbs in Würzburg and Milan has been appended to this thesis for comparative purposes (Appendix 2, pages 275ff.).

1.1.4 Method

For the collection of verbal forms from the Würzburg Glosses, Kavanagh’s ‘Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of Saint Paul’ (2001) was used. Each verbal form in that lexicon was entered into a database. The forms from the Milan Glosses were taken from Griffith’s online edition of the Milan Glosses (http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses.htm). Each verbal form was analysed according to tense, mood, person and number and entered into the database.

Through this method all the verbs occurring in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses have been collected. These were then divided according to verb class. The strong verbs, being all primary, were kept aside. For each secondary verb an origin has been proposed where possible. Where the origin is debatable, it has been further discussed.

The weak verbs were then further subdivided according to morphology and origin to determine the relationship between the two. The relationship of this are discussed in the analysis chapter, pages 45ff. Details

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2 My database has been checked against the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus (Stokes and Strachan 1901) and Griffith’s online files when these became available. Most corrections made by Griffith (revisions based on re-readings of the manuscript) became available at a time when my corpus had already been compiled and have therefore unfortunately not been taken into consideration.
on the amount of verbs and basic statistical analysis can be found in the introduction to the analysis chapter.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis has been divided into five chapters and two appendices. The first chapter contains the preliminaries, the theoretical, material and methodological basis of the thesis. The second chapter is an introduction into the Old Irish verbal system. The aim of this chapter is to set the context for my research. I will give a brief overview of the Old Irish verbal system and its comparative-historical origins. For issues that are still under debate, such as the development of VSO word order in Celtic, the origin of the absolute and conjunct flexion, the origin of various tenses, etc., references will be given to recent literature on the issue. No new analysis will be attempted on these issues. The third chapter is the analysis, morphological, semantic and statistical, drawn from the corpus. The fourth chapter is the conclusion. The fifth chapter contains all the secondary verbs found in Würzburg and Milan with cognates, discussion and notes. The first appendix contains those primary verbs that have taken on weak flexion and the second all the other primary verbs, for comparative purposes.

1.2.1 Use of terminology

For verbal classification the conventions used in GOI (pp. 352-7) will be followed throughout, since this terminology is still the most familiar to scholars of Old Irish. Reference to other terminologies is given in the introduction to the Old Irish verbal system below (strong verbs section 2.4.1, page 28; hiatus verbs section 2.4.2, page 30 and weak verbs section 2.4.3, page 30). To facilitate ease of reading, ‘AI’ is used to refer both to active and deponent verbs and ‘AII’ to refer to both active and non-igidir deponent verbs. Only where the morphological difference between active and deponent is significant for the argument (e.g. below, section 3.3.1.3,
Within the AII deponents there is one group of verbs that does show a particular morphology. Whereas all AI verbs were derived using a suffix *-ā- and the other AII verbs were formed using the suffix *-ī-, this group of deponents was formed using the suffix *-sag-ī-. In Old Irish, these are still unmistakable. The *-sag- suffix has developed into *-ig- followed by deponent endings. In order to distinguish these verbs from the other AII verbs, they are named after their suffix with 3sg. ending, namely ‘-igidir verbs’.

Where standard linguistic terminology is deviated from, this is clearly noted in the relevant section. An example is my use of categories such as ‘causative’ and ‘fientive’ not only for verbs that have Indo-European causative and fientive morphology respectively, but also for verbs that are semantically causative or fientive. When speaking of morphology, of how verbs are formed, the terms ‘causative’ and ‘iterative’ refer to the verbal formation. In this case, a causative or an iterative verb is always deverbal. When speaking of semantics (section 3.9) and of why verbs are formed the way they are (section 3.3.1) the terms ‘causative’ and ‘iterative’ refer to the semantics of these verbs and the verb is always denominative.

1.2.1.1 The terms ‘Common Celtic’, ‘Brittonic’, ‘Goidelic’; Insular Celtic vs. Gallo-Brittonic

In this thesis, the term ‘Common Celtic’ is used for the reconstructed language between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Irish. The term ‘Brittonic’ is used in such cases where a distinction between the separate Brittonic languages (Welsh, Breton, Cornish) cannot, need not or should not be made. The term ‘Goidelic’ (Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx languages) is used to contrast with Brittonic but will in practice always refer to Old Irish.

The relationship between the Goidelic, Brittonic and continental Celtic languages has long been the subject of debate with some scholars suggesting a closer genetic relationship between the Gaulish and Brittonic languages (the Gallo-Brittonic theory, for which see Schmidt 1986 and
Koch 1992a) and others suggesting a closer genetic relationship between the Goidelic and Brittonic languages (the Insular Celtic theory, for which see McCone 1996: 98-104), separating them from the continental Celtic languages.

It is to be noted that the Insular Celtic vs. Gallo-Brittonic debate is based on the *Stammbaum* theory of languages (cf. Isaac 2005: 194), i.e. the idea that within a language, dialects develop, which develop into separate languages that develop independently from each other. I take issue with this theory, as it ignores the linguistic reality that dialects, and indeed languages, that are in contact with each other continue to interact with and exert influence upon each other (cf. Isaac 2005, Sims-Williams 2007, Bailey 1996, Duran 1995). Moreover, it requires a subjective weighing of arguments. If one is predisposed to the Gallo-Brittonic theory, for example, the developments of the labiovelar will weigh heavy in the arguments. Conversely, predisposition to the Insular Celtic theory will see these developments as a minor issue to be explained by other means, and will instead consider the distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion of importance in the argument. This lack of objectivity or, indeed, the lack of possibility for objectivity is a problem for either theory.

An improvement on the *Stammbaum* theory is the *Wellen* theory or wave theory proposed by Johannes Schmidt and Hugo Schuchardt. The wave theory states that language change occurs in waves from an epicentre of linguistic innovation. This certainly suits the situation of the Celtic languages better. In practical terms, this means for example that the development of the labiovelar that is pointed out by the Gallo-Brittonic theorists on the one hand, and the distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion that is noted by the Insular-Celtic theorists on the other, could both have had their own epicentre of change from which they spread among the Gaulish and Brittonic and the Brittonic and Goidelic dialects respectively (cf. Sims-Williams 2007: 326-7). It also makes room for isoglosses of other linguistic changes that have taken place within some of the Celtic languages, but not all. The result shows a picture that is far more complicated that the traditional tree diagram, but takes into account every
linguistic change, putting them on the map without having to argue for taking some changes into account and ignoring the others.

Isaac (2005) proposed a convergence theory in which dialects are seen to be in fluid relationship to each other, depending on tribal relations. The dialects and their innovations influenced each other based on the relationships between the tribes that spoke them. Thus, these relations will have been one of the driving forces behind the spread of linguistic change, leading to the isoglosses mentioned above. Isaac’s theory is modelled on Maurer’s (1952) work on the Germanic languages, which show similar convergence. The wave theory and the convergence theory are not mutually exclusive and it could be argued that both show part of the picture of linguistic reality at the time.

Since the Insular Celtic or Gallo-Brittonic theories will not be followed in this thesis, verbs will not be dated to these periods. If arguments can be made for a more precise dating than merely an unspecified Celtic, a verb may be dated to early Celtic or pre-Old Irish. Ciallaithir ‘thinks about’, for example has been dated to early Celtic, whereas dúnaid ‘closes’ (page 132) has been dated to pre-Old Irish (see Chronology, section 3.7, pages 77ff.). The term ‘Insular Celtic’ will only be used in direct quotes and paraphrases from other scholars. Further discussion on dating criteria and the reasoning behind dating to an unspecified Celtic category can be found in the Chronology, sections 3.6 and 3.7, pages 75ff.
2 The Old Irish Verbal System

2.1 Word order

The basic word order of Old Irish is VSO, i.e. verb, subject, object. The verb can only be preceded by preverbs, conjunctions and conjunct particles. Old Irish word order was consistent with the correlates put forward by Greenberg (1963, see also McCone 2006: 26): nouns follow prepositions, adjectives and attributive genitives follow the noun they qualify etc. For recent implications of the significance of Celtic word order, see Isaac 2007b (28-9, 56-9, see also Isaac 1993: 8-13).

2.2 Primary versus secondary verbs

This thesis discusses the origin and morphology of secondary verbs in Old Irish. A full discussion of the secondary verbs and their origin is therefore given in Chapter 3.

The essential difference is that primary verbs are derived from a verbal root, whereas secondary verbs are derived from an existing verb, noun or adjective. Therefore, Old Irish primary verbs will have been verbs already in Proto-Indo-European, whereas Old Irish secondary verbs may have been derived within any of the language phases between Proto-Indo-European and Old Irish. One of the aims of this thesis is to ascertain to what extent such derivation can be dated to a specific phase of the language for a given secondary verb.

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3 Although it is possible that a verb could be derived from any part of speech, in Celtic and Old Irish only denominatives, deadjectivals and deverbals are found. For a possible derivative from a pronominal, see ailigidir ‘changes’, page 162.
2.3 Primary versus secondary endings

The terms ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ will also be used in the current chapter with regards to endings. Considering that, with few modifications, the same basic ending set is used for the present indicative, present subjunctive, future and preterite active, it is customary to denote this ending set as the ‘primary endings’. The ending set that is used for the imperfect, past subjunctive and secondary future is then called ‘secondary endings’ (also often called ‘imperfect endings’).

2.4 Weak, strong and hiatus verbs

Old Irish verbs fall into three broad classes depending on their morphology and behaviour in the different tenses. These classes are the strong verbs (all primary), weak verbs (mostly secondary) and the hiatus verbs (all primary). Strong verbs are characterised by a stem-final consonant that is clearly seen in the 3sg. conjunct, which for strong verbs always ends in a consonant. Pre-Old Irish, weak verbs were characterised by a stem-final vowel *-ī- or *-ā- which is reflected by the 3sg. conjunct in Old Irish. Hiatus verbs are characterised by a root-final vowel.

2.4.1 Strong verbs

Strong verbs are by definition primary, that is to say, they are direct descendants of a Proto-Indo-European verbal root. Within the Old Irish primary verbs, the following Proto-Indo-European present stem classes are recognised (see Schumacher 2004: 36-47):

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Schumacher also mentions the essive presents in this list, however, these are secondary rather than primary, and only two, *ruiddid* ‘is red, becomes red’ and *scibid* ‘moves’ were extant in Old Irish (note that *scibid* is not attested in Old Irish itself, but the existence of the root and its attestation in Middle Irish are evidence for its existence in Old Irish). These verbs do not occur in the Glosses but will be briefly discussed as the only examples of essive verbs in Old Irish in the analysis chapter, page 54.
The Old Irish Verbal System

Full-grade root with *-e/o-suffix > BI verbs
Zero-grade root with *-e/o-suffix > BI verbs
Zero-grade root with *-ske/o-suffix > BI verbs
Zero-grade root with *-je/o-suffix > BII verbs
Full-grade root with *-je/o-suffix > BII verbs
Nasal presents > BIII-V verbs

The above classification follows GOI (pp. 353-7) and Schumacher (2004: 36-47). It can be seen that several Proto-Indo-European present stem classes fall together in the Old Irish BI and BII verbs.

In Proto-Indo-European, the nasal presents were formed by infixing full grade *-né- or zero grade *-n- before the last consonant of the root. This last consonant could be an occlusive (leading eventually to the Old Irish BIII verbs), a laryngeal (leading eventually to the Old Irish BIV verbs) or a *-u- (leading eventually to the Old Irish BV verbs). By the nasal presents in those roots ending in a laryngeal, the vocalising effect of this laryngeal caused a distinction in vowel length and quality to develop in the 3sg. and 3pl. Thus, PIE *-néh₁/-*-nh₁- gave CC *-nē/-*na/e- > *-nē/-*ni-; PIE *-néh₂/-*-nh₂- gave CC *-nā/-*na- and PIE *-néh₃/-*-nh₃- gave CC *-nō/-*na/o- > *-nā/-*na-. As a rule, the short vowel variant of the suffix was subsequently generalised.

In those nasal presents with Proto-Indo-European root ending in *-u-, the resulting *-nu- became *-ni- in Celtic. In the nasal presents in roots ending in an occlusive, the zero-grade suffix was generalised and subsequently thematicised.⁵

McCone (1997: 29-31) divides the Old Irish strong verbs into three classes, namely S₁ (= BI and BIII), S₂ (= BII) and S₃ (= BIV and BV), of which the S₁ is further subdivided. Strachan (1949: 34) also divides the strong verbs into three classes, namely A₁ (= BI and BIII), A₂ (= BIV and BV) and A₃ (= BII). Considering that GOI’s subclassification remains the best known, I have followed Thurneysen’s conventions in my thesis.

Strong verbs are characterised by extensive changes to the verbal stem in the other tenses. There is considerable variation in their future and

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⁵ Nasal presents have been discussed in McCone 1991b and Schulze-Thulin 2001.
preterite formation. Only a few form f-future or s-preterite (as weak verbs do), but none have both formations.

2.4.2 Hiatus verbs

Like the strong verbs, hiatus verbs are by definition primary.⁶ Although in Old Irish the hiatus verbs are similar enough to treat them as a single group, they have come into existence as a result of a variety phonological changes, most often the loss of an intervocalic consonant, through which *kṷis-e/o- for example is represented by Old Irish ciïd ‘cries, weeps’. The consonant in question is most often -s-, -w- or -y-.

Hiatus verbs are phonologically distinct from other primary verbs, because their root ends in a vowel rather than a consonant. They can be morphologically distinct because some hiatus verbs have weak features in the other tenses. However, since they are formed from verbal roots, they are primary verbs.

GOI (§547) classifies all hiatus verbs together as weak verbs and names them AIII. McCone (1997: 28-9) divides them based on their root vowel into H1 (root vowel a), H2 (root vowel i) and H3 (root vowel o, u, or e; these are the ones that show weak features outside the present stem, cf. McCone 1997: 24).

Hiatus appears when the verbal ending consists of vowel + consonant; when the ending is zero, roots in -a, -i and -e lengthen their root-final vowel and roots in -o and -u add -i to form a diphthong. The hiatus is only retained when the root is stressed, when it is unstressed, the hiatus disappears.

2.4.3 Weak verbs

The weak verbs contain all the derived verbs within Old Irish and 25 primary verbs that have taken on weak flexion. The secondary verbs include

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⁶ However note dóïd ‘kindles, burns’ (page 340) which could be a causative. For details, see there.
both causatives and iteratives on the one hand (deverbals), and denominatives and deadjectivals on the other. Thurneysen (GOI §546) divides the weak verbs into class AI and AII. The AI class only contains denominatives and deadjectivals with denominative suffix *-ā-, and the AII class contains deverbals and denominatives with suffix *-ī-. Some causatives have the root vowel -u- in their present stem and -o- in the other stems. For this reason, McCone (1997: 27) divides the AIIIs (his W2, AI are his W1) into category a and b, where W2b contains those causatives with -u- in their present stem. Strachan (1949: 34) divides the weak verbs into the same two classes as Thurneysen, however calling them B1 (= GOI AI) and B2 (= AII). Weak verbs have a-subjunctive, f-future and s-preterite.

2.5 Simple and compound verbs

Compounding is a process whereby the meaning of a simple verb is modified by adding one or more preverbs to it. Compounding is extremely productive in Old Irish, and the distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion discussed below has far-reaching consequences for this process. Verbs may be compounded with up to five preverbs, although compounds with one or two preverbs are most common.

2.6 Absolute and conjunct

Old Irish verbs have two sets of primary endings, the absolute being used for forms of simple verbs not preceded by negative, interrogative or conjunct particles, the conjunct endings being used for those that are. Secondary endings, occurring only in tenses that are by definition preceded by a conjunct particle, are always conjunct. Compound verbs, being

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7 An example of this is suídid ‘puts, places’ (page 247) of which the compound ad·suídi ‘stops, holds back’ is attested in Würzburg and Milan. The stem vowel in the present is -u-, raised due to the original high vowel *-ī- in the following syllable, but -o- in other tenses, where raising has not occurred. Therefore, pres. ind. 3sg. ad·suídi Ml. 114c6, but perf. 3sg. atrosoid 39a16.
The Old Irish Verbal System

preceded by a preverb, always have conjunct flexion. However, due to differences in the position of the stress, a distinction arises between deuterotonic and prototonic forms, in usage corresponding to absolute and conjunct flexion respectively.

The situation can be illustrated using a simple example. The simple verb *beirid* ‘carries’ carries the stress on the first syllable, *beirid*. When negated, the stress remains on the verbal stem: *ní·beir*. When a compound with one preverb is made out of *beirid*, this still carries the stress on the verbal stem: *do·beir*. When this verb is negated, however, the stress shifts from the verbal stem to the preverb: *ní·tabair*. Shift of stress can have several phonological consequences, acting as a catalyst for further changes, these have been summarised by McCone (1997: 4-7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td><em>beirid</em></td>
<td><em>‘beir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmpd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deut.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>do·beir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prot.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>‘tabair</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Old Irish simple verbs in sentence-initial position carry stress on the verbal stem. When the verbal stem is preceded by one preverb, the stem still carries stress, meaning that in practice, the stress falls on the second syllable of the verbal form, hence the term ‘deuterotonic’ for compound verbs in sentence-initial position. However, when the verbal stem is preceded by two or more preverbs, the stress is carried by the second preverb. This is why a negated compound verb, for example, will carry the stress on its first syllable, which will be a preverb, rather than the second. Hence the term ‘prototonic’.

2.6.1 Historical background

There have been five main theoretical explanations of the background of the distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion.
Pedersen (1913: 340-1) and Dillon (1947) derive the absolute endings from a verbal form with a subject pronoun, e.g. OL. *beirid < PIE *beret-is ‘he carries’.

Meid (1963) and Watkins (1963b) see the absolute and conjunct endings as reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European primary and secondary endings respectively. Thus, Old Irish abs. *beirid < Proto-Indo-European primary *bh'ereti and Old Irish conj. *beir < Proto-Indo-European secondary *bh'eret. The problem with this is that the primary - secondary dichotomy is one of tense and remains one of tense in all the other Indo-European languages.

The particle theory, which appears in many variants, is one of the currently popular ones and is defended by among others Boling (1972), Cowgill (1975), Kortlandt (1979), Schrijver (1994, 1997) and Schumacher (1999). The absolute forms are derived from a verbal form + particle, although there is no consensus over the form of this particle (*-es-, *-ed- and *-s- have been proposed, among others) and it needs to be noted that no one particle will give the right Old Irish forms in all contexts. Detailed critiques on the particle theory can be found in McCone (1979 and 2006) and Isaac (2000).

Koch (1987) explains the difference between absolute and conjunct flexion in Old Irish as a result of prosody and accent shifts in Proto-Indo-European and Celtic.

McCone (1979) derives the absolute flexion from an original verbal form followed by an enclitic which would have blocked apocope. What became the conjunct forms would have been preceded by a preverbal element to which the enclitic would have been attached, rather than to the end of the verb. These forms would therefore have undergone apocope. The form resulting from form + enclitic has then spread to the form without enclitic: (table taken from Isaac 2007a)
This last theory has been modified slightly by Isaac (2007a: 3 and 2009), who notes that if the apocope that gave rise to the conjunct forms only affected atonic forms, but not the tonic forms, there is no need to postulate a spread from form + enclitic to enclitic-less form.

2.7 Stem, tense and mood

Old Irish has five different verbal stems from which nine tense/mood categories are formed with different ending sets. The present stem is used for the present indicative (primary endings), the imperfect (secondary endings) and the imperative (specific endings in the singular, conjunct primary endings in the plural). The subjunctive stem is used for the present and past subjunctive (primary and secondary endings respectively), the future stem for the future and secondary future (primary, secondary), the preterite active stem for the preterite active (specific sets of endings) and the preterite passive stem for the preterite passive.

The relationship between stem and tense can therefore be shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Primary endings</th>
<th>Secondary endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present stem</td>
<td>pres. indicative</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive stem</td>
<td>pres. subjunctive</td>
<td>past subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future stem</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>secondary future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterite active stem</td>
<td>preterite</td>
<td>preterite passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterite passive stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, Old Irish makes use of five different stems from which to form its tenses and moods. Except for the preterite, each stem can take either primary endings to make the primary (present) tenses or secondary
endings to make the secondary (past) tenses. For example, taking the present stem and adding the secondary endings will form an imperfect. The imperative is formed from the present stem using its own set of endings. The perfect tense is formed by adding *ro to the preterite forms which then always occur in the conjunct.

### 2.7.1 Present indicative

For the origins of the present stem formation, see ‘Weak, strong and hiatus verbs’, pages 28ff. A weak verb is AI if its stem-final consonant is non-palatal, and AII if its stem-final consonant is palatal. In the present stem of the BI verbs the endings were originally preceded by the thematic vowel *e or *o depending on person, reflecting the Proto-Indo-European paradigm, e.g.:

*\[b^h\text{er-o-h}_2e\] *\[b^h\text{er-o-mosi}\]
*\[b^h\text{er-e-si}\] *\[b^h\text{er-e-ti}\]
*\[b^h\text{er-e-ti}\] *\[b^h\text{er-o-nti}\]

In Old Irish, the result of this is that the stem-final consonant of the 2sg., 3sg. and 2pl. of the beirid type are palatal and that of the 1sg., 1pl. and 3pl. are non-palatal. BI verbs of the canaid type on the other hand, where the root vowel has blocked palatalisation, do not show this pattern of alternating consonant quality (refer to McCone 1997: 29-30 for subclassification of the BI verbs and McCone 1996: 116 for the sound law).

There are no deponents in this class (GOI §548); the original *-e/o-deponents developed *-je/o- flexion in Proto-Irish (Schumacher 2004: 481, McCone 1986: 239-40).

The root-final consonant of the BII verbs was originally palatalised throughout, the thematic vowel originally being preceded by *-j-. The BIII verbs are inflected like the BI verbs but have a nasal infixed before their root-final consonant. This nasal occurs only in the present stem and the root-final consonant is always d or g in Old Irish. In the BIV and BV verbs, the present stem ends in a non-radical nasal, which is non-palatal in BIV and originally palatal in BV. BV verbs are rare.
2.7.2 Imperfect

The imperfect is formed from the present stem using secondary endings. The origin of these secondary endings is still very much obscure, but it seems unlikely that that the usage of these forms as secondary endings goes much further back than the late prehistory of Goidelic and Brittonic (cf. McConé 1986: 240-1). The imperfect and the other secondary tenses are always preceded by a verbal particle even when affirmative (the verbal particle *no* is used when no other particle is required, but can be omitted in poetry, GOI §580) and therefore only has a conjunct set of endings. Because compound verbs are by their very nature always preceded by a preverb, these do not use the particle *no* and the usual interplay between deuterotonic and prototonic occurs. There are no deponent endings; the deponent verbs use active endings. The imperfect is used for the habitual past.

2.7.3 Imperative

The imperative is formed from the present stem using distinct endings for the 2sg. and 3sg. and primary conjunct endings for the plural. The 1sg. is rarely attested, but seems to have been identical to the conjunct ending of the present indicative. There is no distinction between absolute and conjunct and the imperative of compound verbs is always prototonic unless an infixed pronoun is used.

2.7.4 Subjunctive

Old Irish has two subjunctive formations: the *a*-subjunctive (weak verbs and most strong verbs) and the *s*-subjunctive (strong verbs whose root ends in a dental or guttural stop or spirant or with a present stem in *-nn*, but not *agaid* ‘drives’, which takes *a*-subjunctive). McConé (2005a: 122) adds to this a separate *e*-subjunctive of his class H2 of hiatus verbs, which Thurneysen registers under the *a*-subjunctive (GOI §608).

The adding of the suffix *-s-* to the relevant roots leads to assimilation of the root-final consonant and suffix *-s*-. Moreover, due to the phonological
processes in the prehistory of the language and analogical pressures, the vowel of the stem can change between present and subjunctive (cf. McCon
2005a: 128-9, Watkins 1962b: 131). Thus the subjunctive stem of guidid ‘prays’ is gess- (GOI §387) and the subjunctive stem of bongaid is bóss-
(GOI §756).

The flexion of the s-subjunctive is identical with that of the s-preterite and the s-future, with the exception of the 1sg. absolute of the s-future.

The past subjunctive is formed by adding the secondary endings to the subjunctive stem. As with all verbal forms with secondary endings, these forms are always conjunct and if not preceded by any other particle, they are preceded by the verbal particle no.

2.7.4.1 Origin of the subjunctive

Pedersen (ii 354-5) and Thurneysen (GOI §596) derive the subjunctive from the Proto-Indo-European aorist. Thurneysen specifies (§623) that the thematic forms of the s-subjunctive come from old aorist subjunctives and the non-thematic forms are explained as due to influence of the s-preterite. Even here, though, he states that it is possible that these were originally aorist indicative forms used modally.

According to Watkins (1962b: 118-9, 133), the a-subjunctive continues the Proto-Indo-European optative and was originally formed by all roots. In the merger of aorist indicative and perfect that would produce the preterite (see page 41 below), roots of a certain shape kept the aorist formation and others kept the perfect. According to Watkins, the aorist formations in the latter cases did not all disappear. Roots ending in a stop or fricative kept their aorist indicative formation, used now no longer as aorist, but as a subjunctive (p. 125).

Rix (1977: 152-4) derives the entire Old Irish subjunctive formation from the Proto-Indo-European unreduplicated desiderative. Between root-final liquids and the initial *-s- of the suffix, a laryngeal was generalised, which in Celtic appeared as *-a-. Therefore, the suffix *Hse/o- appeared in Celtic as *ase/o-. This *-a- was then generalised in all roots with final
resonant. After lenition the suffix became */-ahe/a/*. Finally, the */-a/* is lengthened and the */-h/* disappears, giving the */a*-subjunctive of strong verbs.

McCone (1986: 244) points out several problems with Watkins’ theory and suggests that the collapse of the aorist indicative was general: none appeared as modal forms (cf. Cowgill 1983: 86). McCone agrees with Rix’s derivation of the subjunctive from forms with full-grade root and thematic */-se/o/* suffix, however of the two possible Proto-Indo-European categories that would match those forms, he prefers the */a*-aorist subjunctive to Rix’s desiderative. He considers deriving the subjunctive from old desideratives to be problematic, because it would involve ‘a partial shift from desiderative to subjunctive, whereas a derivation from IE reduplicated desiderative [to Old Irish future] and */a*-aorist subjunctive [to Old Irish subjunctive] respectively is completely straightforward’ (p. 245). It does not require a shift from indicative to subjunctive and there are no clashes with the */t*-preterite. The only anomalous form is the 3sg. which looks like it should have come from athematic forms. McCone explains this by analogy. The */s*-subjunctive and the */s*-preterite would have already conjugated identically outside the 3sg., since the */s*-preterite was secondarily thematisised. The formal identity was made complete by introducing the 3sg. forms of the */s*-preterite into the */s*-subjunctive.

2.7.5 Future

All weak verbs and the hiatus verbs in */-o/*, */-u/* and */-e/* (McCone’s H3) take */f*-future (except for */scaraid* ‘separates, parts’, */gataid* ‘takes away, removes’ and */caraid* ‘loves’, which have strong formations). Strong verbs take sigmatic future if they have */s*-subjunctive and asigmatic future if they have an */a*-subjunctive (except for compounds of */icc*, */moinethar* and some of */em*, which take */f*-future).

2.7.5.1 Origin of the future formations

The entire Old Irish future formation can be traced back to the Proto-Indo-European reduplicated desiderative with */-se/o/* suffix. The root is in
the zero grade and unaccented, the reduplication vowel is -i- and unaccented and the thematic vowel of the suffix is accented (LIV\(^2\) 23-4)\(^8\). The origin of the Old Irish unreduplicated forms (as discussed in GOI §661-2) is disputed. For bibliographical details see McCone (1991b: 165-6).

Historically, scholars have treated the weak and strong future formations as reflexes of different formations (cf. GOI §637, 669, Pedersen ii 364-5 and see Watkins 1966: 68-74 for a historical overview of both sides) or as reflexes of the same formation (deriving the entire future formation from one Proto-Indo-European formation, cf. Watkins 1966, who derives the entire Old Irish future formation from a Proto-Indo-European desiderative, though from different formations within that, and McCone 1991b: 180). The latter unified theory is the younger and will therefore be discussed second.

Pedersen (ii 363) states that the \(f\)-future has been inherited from Celtic and calls it a \(b\)-future of which the suffix occurs as -\(f\)- in certain environments. He connects this \(b\)-future formation to the Latin \(b\)-future where the suffix is derived from the Proto-Indo-European root \(*b^h\text{eu}\)- ‘become’ (ii 364). Thurneysen (GOI §637) and Watkins (1966: 68) discard this theory on the basis of the phonological evidence and state that not \(*-b\)- but \(*-f\)- was the original consonant and that the suffix was originally non-palatalised, based on forms such as 3sg. conj \(\text{le}c\text{-}\text{fe}a\), where the palatalisation can be shown to be due only to the syncopated high front vowel before -\(f\)-. The palatalisation occurring in AI verbs is not explained, although Watkins suggests analogy. As for the strong future formations, Pedersen states that the \(s\)-future does not derive from a desiderative, but is originally a subjunctive of the perfect and he relates it to the Latin \(futurum\ exactum\). He suggests that the asigmatic future could be related to the Latin \(\ddot{a}/\ddot{e}\)-future. Thurneysen, on the other hand (GOI §669) does make the connection with the Sanskrit desiderative and derives all the strong formations ultimately from an \(s\)-formation. In roots with final sonant, a

\(^8\) The formation of the desiderative in PIE has been extensively debated, the problem being that both the morphology and grammatical function of such a category in Proto-Indo-European are unclear, because the daughter languages point towards different prototypes. Cf. McCone 1991b: 137-8 for fourteen proposed theories on the structure of the Proto-Indo-European desiderative.
laryngeal was inserted between root-final consonant and suffix, giving *-a- in Celtic. The *-s- then disappeared in certain environments due to the normal phonological processes leading up to Old Irish.

Watkins (1966: 67-81) derives the entire Old Irish future formation from an originally unreduplicated Proto-Indo-European desiderative, with thematic suffix *-s-ė/o- and full grade or zero grade depending on the shape of the root. Due to formal dependence of the future on the subjunctive, the suffix was reinterpreted as if it were the same suffix as that which formed the subjunctive. Watkins thus gives a morphological, rather than a phonological reason for the disappearance of the *-s- in the asigmatic future, unlike Thurneysen above. For the -f- of the weak futures Watkins suggests that it is cognate to the Skt adjectival suffix *-su- based on the desiderative stem of verbs. To this was added the *-ā- of the Irish a-subjunctive to give *-swā- giving lenited unstressed -fa-.

McCone (1986: 248-9, cf. 1991b: 180, 2005b: 202) derives the strong futures from ‘an Indo-European desiderative with i-reduplication, zero grade root ..., thematic *-se/o- suffix and primary endings’ and expects this formation to have provided the source for the f-futures first in those primary verbs that took on weak flexion (McCone 1991b: 180). He finds it problematic to derive an entire finite verbal category from a participle and instead sees analogy within Old Irish itself for the spread of the weak future. For further details of this development, see McCone (1991b: 180-1). However, explaining the f-future by internal analogy within Old Irish ignores the Brittonic h-future formations (cf. Isaac 1996: 368-71).

2.7.6 Preterite active

The preterite active stem is used to form the preterite and the perfect; both are made with the same ending sets. The perfect is formed by using the verbal particle ro and conjunct endings.

All weak verbs and the strong verbs gaibid ‘takes’ and ibid ‘drinks’ have s-preterite. Already in the Milan Glosses and even occasionally in
Würzburg, s-preterite forms of other strong verbs are found.\(^9\) The strong verbs in -\(l\) and -\(r\) and some in -\(m\) and -\(g\) have \(t\)-preterite. All other verbs have suffixless preterite.

In Old Irish, the \(s\)-preterite is formed by adding -\(s\) to the verbal root. Historically, the flexion contains a mixture of thematic and athematic forms (Schumacher 2004: 66-7). The \(t\)-preterite is formed by adding -\(t\) to the stem-final consonant. Where the stem ends in -\(m\), this disappears before -\(t\), with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; a root-final dorsal becomes -\(ch\)- before -\(t\), but disappears between -\(r\) and -\(t\). Thus the preterite of \(\cdot em\) is \(\cdot ét\), that of \(\cdot aig\) is \(\cdot acht\) and that of \(\cdot oirg\) is \(\cdot ort\). In the suffixless preterite, the verbal endings are added directly to the verbal root which is modified internally in some way. Most suffixless preterites are reduplicated, but some are formed by changing the stem vowel to -\(ā\)- or -\(ī\).

### 2.7.6.1 Origins of the preterite

The Old Irish preterite is the result of a merger of the Proto-Indo-European aorist and perfect. The distinction between aorist and perfect was preserved in Common Celtic (Schumacher 2004: 59-60).

Most Proto-Indo-European aorist formations except the \(s\)-aorist disappeared from the language (McCone 1986: 230). The only remnants of other aorist formations in Old Irish are \(luid\) (suppletive preterite of \(tēit\) ‘goes’) and \(do\cdot cer\) (suppletive preterite of \(do\cdot tuīt\) ‘falls’). The Proto-Indo-European \(s\)-aorist was a late development in the proto-language (cf. Meillet 1908: 79-106), but a highly productive one, and it led to the Old Irish \(s\)- and \(t\)-preterites (McCone 1986: 232, Schumacher 2004: 61, 66), the latter coming into existence due to regular loss of -\(s\)- between a continuant and a following consonant (Zimmer 1890: 198-217, see McCone 1996: 99 and Isaac 2007c: 62, 64 and 71 for the sound law). E.g. *\(axt\) > *\(axt\) > OI *\(acht\).

In all other verbs in which the \(s\)-aorist was retained as \(s\)-preterite (i.e. all weak verbs), the *\(-s\)- came between the stem-final vowel (-\(i\) or -\(a\)) and

\(^9\) The original preterite of \(fris\cdot acci\) ‘looks forward to, expects’ is reduplicated, \(ni\cdot ru\cdot frescach\) \(\text{ML. 26b25, 34d17}\), but \(s\)-preterite forms are already found in \(\text{ML. 34c11 and 72c13: ni\cdot ru\cdot frescisset. Ar\cdot foim\) ‘accepts, receives’, should take \(t\)-preterite, \(ar\cdot ro\cdot et\) \(\text{ML. 17c3, but already in Wb. 26a23 is found with \(s\)-preterite -}ar\cdot ro\cdot ims\text{sat} (McCone 1985: 92-3).
the ending. In the 3sg., this led to \(^{-}\text{Vst}\), which became \(^{-}\text{Vss}\) (cf. also GOI §672, Watkins 1962b: 177). The double \(^{-}\text{ss}\) then spread to other persons. There is consensus about this origin of the \(s\)-preterite, but for the origin of the \(t\)-preterite, several other theories have been put forward. The detailed discussion of these by Watkins (1962b: 156-9, see note 3 for bibliographical details) needs not be repeated here.

McCone (1986) picks up on Zimmer’s original idea and derives the \(t\)-preterite from the \(s\)-aorist. However, his statement (1986: 233) that whether the original aorist form or the original perfect form prevailed depended on which one best preserved the shape of the root is arbitrary at best and certainly rather subjective. The same can be said for Watkins’ argument for the lack of \(t\)-preterites in roots ending in \(-n\) (1962b: 169-70) that the shape of the preterite in those would be so different from the present that that did not happen. Old Irish tolerated a subjunctive stem \(gess\) for a verb \(guidid\) (GOI §387), a future stem \(ebra\) for a verb \(ernaid\) (GOI §403) and a perfect \(fo\cdot\text{cóemallag}\) to the verb \(fo\cdot\text{loing}\) (GOI §688): arguments that certain potential forms in Common Celtic were too unlike the present stem to be tolerated are impressionistic and unconvincing.

The reduplicated preterite and most of the long vowel preterites can be derived directly from the Proto-Indo-European reduplicated perfect which had \(o\)-grade in the singular and zero grade in the plural. Late in the prehistory of Old Irish, the zero grade of the plural stem was generalised (McCone 1986: 233, 235). The \(i\)- and \(ê\)-preterites are ultimately the result of lenition and/or the loss of reduplication (Watkins 1962b: 108, McCone 1986: 235). The Old Irish \(a\)-preterite on the other hand, goes back to the Proto-Indo-European reduplicated perfect. The long vowel in the \(a\)-perfect is related to that in the Germanic \(e\)-preterites and unless Latin has innovated, to the Latin \(ê\)-perfects (for an alternative explanation of both the Latin and the Germanic long vowel perfects, see Sihler 1995: 582). The long vowel came into existence due to compensated loss of the second of two identical consonants between \(\text{-e}\)- and a stop or \(\text{-m}\) (\(*\text{CeC-Tim} \rightarrow \text{*Cë-Tim}\), \(\text{-e}\)-being the reduplication vowel). This only occurred in the plural, since in the singular, the root would be in the \(o\) grade, rather than the zero grade, and therefore the second identical consonant would not stand between \(\text{-e}\)- and a
stop, but between *
-e- and *
-o- (*CeCoT/m*). Long *
-ē- changes to *
-ō- by analogy in Celtic and the split of *
-ō- to *
-ū- in final and *
-ā- in non-final syllables gives OI CāT/m*: the ā-preterite (McCone 1986: 236-7).

### 2.7.7 Preterite passive

The preterite passive is formed by adding a dental suffix to the general verbal stem in the case of weak verbs (with syncope of the stem-final vowel) and to the verbal root in the case of strong verbs. The preterite passive stem corresponds to the Proto-Indo-European verbal adjective in *
-to-, which was used to supply this category. However, in Old Irish the forms are entirely verbal (GOI §705). There is no satisfactory explanation for the absolute forms (McCone 1994: 172).

### 2.8 Voice

Old Irish has a fully functional active-passive dichotomy. In the active voice, the agent is the subject of the verb, a possible patient being expressed by the object in the accusative case. In the passive voice, the patient is the subject of the verb, a possible agent being expressed by the preposition la. The active voice is fully inflected, for the passive voice the 3sg. form is used for all persons except the 3pl., which has its own form. Outside the 3sg. and 3pl., the subject is expressed by infixed pronouns.

Old Irish retains the deponent inflection, which, when the deponent verb is not one of the -igidir verbs, retains the semantics of the Proto-Indo-European middle voice. Examples of Old Irish deponent verbs in my corpus are labraithir ‘speaks, talks’ and cobraithir ‘helps’. Despite the obvious productivity of the -igidir formation, the deponent flexion is dying

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10 ‘The middle voice appears when the verbal action affects the subject directly or indirectly, or, when the verbal action does not have an affect (sic, ‘effect’ meant) beyond the subject. When the subject is plural or dual, the middle voice also expresses reciprocity.’ (Meier-Brügger 2003: 259)
out in Old Irish. Active by-forms are already found in Würzburg and are more widespread in Milan (Cowgill 1983: 73, cf. McCon 1985: 95).

Concerning the origin of the Old Irish deponent and passive flexions, Cowgill (1983) has argued convincingly that the ‘Indo-European mediopassive split up in (Insular) Celtic, with the old 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} persons functioning as deponents and the old 3\textsuperscript{rd} persons as passives, while for 3\textsuperscript{rd} person deponent Irish uses new forms of enigmatic origin, and for 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person passive all of Insular Celtic uses forms in which the 3\textsuperscript{rd} singular passive behaves like an impersonal active verb, with object pronouns marking person and number of the patient’ (p. 104). For further details on the origin of the deponent and passive flexion, see Cowgill (1983) and McCon (1994: 143-5).

2.9 Number and person

Old Irish verbs retain from the Proto-Indo-European verbal system singular and plural inflection, however losing the dual (as opposed to the nouns, which also retain the dual) and have first, second and third person in both numbers. With a few exceptions, dual subjects take a plural verb. Singular collectives also take plural verbs.
3 Analysis

Morphologically and semantically, active and non-igidir deponent verbs behave the same. Both are formed by adding the denominative suffix 
*-ā- or *-ī- to a noun or adjective and both use either *-ā- or *-ī- depending on the semantics of the resulting verb and how it relates to its base as described below, section 3.3.1, pages 55ff. Although deponent verbs inflect differently than active verbs (cf. section 2.8, page 43 above for a description of voice and the semantics of the deponent in Old Irish), for present purposes they can be treated together. Therefore, in the current chapter, ‘AI’ and ‘AII’ will refer to both active and deponent verbs, though not to -igidir verbs.

3.1 Basic statistics

The corpus consists of 365 secondary verbs overall. There are 106 AI verbs and 259 AII verbs. Of the AI verbs, 97 are active and 9 are deponent. Of the AII verbs, 64 are active, 194 are deponent and one, *cuisedar ‘taxes’ (page 187), could be either active or deponent. Of the deponent AII verbs, 187 are -igidir verbs and 7 are non-igidir verbs. In the diagram below, percentages are given of the category the verbs belong to (i.e. 187 -igidir verbs is 96.4% of the deponent verbs).
The 106 AI verbs can be further subdivided into 47 active denominatives, 24 active deadjectivals, 19 Latin loans, 5 deponent denominatives and 4 deponent deadjectivals. 7 Verbs cannot be counted, since it cannot be determined whether they are deadjectival or primary (caraid ‘loves’, page 117), denominative or deadjectival (do·éta ‘clothes’, page 129) or whether they are denominative/deadjectival or a direct loan from Latin (armaid ‘arms’, page 111, clannaid ‘plants’, page 120, dúraid ‘hardens’ page 132, notaid ‘marks’, page 145 and seccaid ‘stiffens’, page 152).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>106 AI verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47 active denominatives</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 active deadjectivals</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Latin loans</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 deponent denominatives</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 deponent deadjectivals</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 259 AII verbs, the following 21 verbs present various difficulties that prevent their being counted:

- éigid ‘cries out’ (page 204): derivation unknown
- fo·niti ‘mocks’ (page 214): etymology unknown
- glúasid ‘moves’ (page 218): etymology unknown
- maithid ‘forgives’ (page 230): etymology unknown
- miúnid ‘teaches’ (page 233): etymology unknown
- snádaid ‘protects’ (page 244): etymology unknown
- tibid ‘touches’ (page 250): etymology unknown
- do·bidci ‘shoots’ (page 198): etymology unknown
- shuindid ‘expresses’ (page 244): denom./deverb.
- bágaid ‘declares’ (page 172): denom./deverb.
- baitsid ‘baptises’ (page 173): denom./loan
- cinid ‘is born’ (page 181): prim./denom.
- ad-bélígedar ‘flatters’ (page 158): denom./deadj.
- adchotadaigidir ‘reconciles’ (page 158): etymology uncertain
- tíuailngigidir ‘deigns’ (page 254): denom./deadj.
- úaitigidir ‘becomes few’ (page 257): denom./deadj.
- cuimnigidir ‘remembers’ (page 188): denom./deadj.
- follaigidir ‘neglects’ (page 213): denom./deadj.
**Analysis**

*iúdigidir* ‘lives as a Jew’ (page 225): denom./loan

*ad'gládathar* ‘addresses’ (page 159): onomatopoeic

*‘cuicsedar* ‘taxes’ (page 187): act./depon.

The 259 AII verbs can be further subdivided into 106 *-igidir* denominatives, 73 *-igidir* deadjectivals, 1 *-igidir* depronominial, 26 active denominatives, 25 active deverbals, 4 deponent denominatives, 2 deponent deverbals and 1 Latin loan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>259 AII verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>106 <em>-igidir</em> denominatives</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 <em>-igidir</em> deadjectivals</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 <em>-igidir</em> depronominial</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 active denominatives</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 active deverbals</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 deponent denominatives</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 deponent deverbals</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Latin loan</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leaving out the 20 Latin loans and the total of unknown verbs from both the AI category and the AII category (28 verbs), the 317 remaining verbs are made up of 188 denominatives, 101 deadjectivals, 27 deverbals and 1 depronominial:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>365 verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>188 denominatives</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 deadjectivals</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 deverbals</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 depronominial</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Latin loans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It becomes clear that the most derivative verbs in Old Irish, 51.5%, are denominatives, totalling 188 verbs. Of these, the -igidir verbs are with 106 out of 188 (56.4%) in the majority, followed by the AI active category with 47 verbs (25%), 26 AII active verbs (13.8%), 5 AI deponent verbs (2.7%) and 4 AII deponent verbs (2.1%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>188 denominative verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>106 -igidir verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 AI active verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 AII active verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 AI deponent verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 AII deponent verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2 Latin loans

The influence of Latin on Old Irish vocabulary is clearly felt in the verbs Old Irish borrowed from Latin. Some are direct borrowings, where Old Irish took the Latin verb and used it to form an Old Irish verb. Most of these are Latin $a$-verbs and become Old Irish $a$-verbs; some are from other conjugations in Latin and become Old Irish $a$-verbs. One is a Latin 3rd conjugation verb, *ungere* ‘anoint’, which is borrowed as an Old Irish $i$-verb, *oingid* ‘anoints’ (page 233). Indirect borrowings, where Old Irish has borrowed the Latin noun and then derives a verb from that within Old Irish, are more diverse, with both $a$-verbs and -igidir verbs occurring relatively frequently. Exact figures will be given below. In a couple of cases it cannot be ascertained whether a given verb is directly borrowed from Latin, or indirectly. It can be questioned whether this distinction is, in fact, entirely meaningful, because the ultimate question is always about how an Old Irish speaker created a new verb. Whether they did that by taking a Latin verb and making that into an Old Irish verb, or by taking an Old Irish noun and making that into an Old Irish verb, is moot. Moreover, in the monastic context in which these Glosses were written, Latin was in daily use (cf. pages 20f. in section 1.1.2). The Old Irish noun, the Latin noun and the
Latin verb would have been part of the speaker’s lexicon. The answer to the question whether a speaker took a Latin verb or an Old Irish noun to create a new verb may be ‘both’ and indeed the question may again be meaningless. Any verbs that are in this ‘either/or’ category do still fit the scheme for denominatives and deadjectivalis that will be argued below (sections 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2, pages 55ff.).

The Latin verbal borrowings into Old Irish in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses are the following:

**Borrowed from Latin verbs** (Lat. verbs 1\(^{st}\) conjugation unless otherwise stated):

Old Irish AI verbs:
- adraid ‘adores’ (page 110): Lat. adorare.
- bennachaid ‘blesses’ (page 112): Lat. benedicere (3\(^{rd}\) conj.).
- celebraid ‘celebrates’ (page 118): Lat. celebrare.
- consécra ‘consecrates’ (page 123): Lat. consecrare.
- damnaid ‘condemns’ (page 126): Lat. damnare.
- légaid ‘reads’ (page 140): Lat. legere (3\(^{rd}\) conj.).
- maldachaid ‘curses’ (page 141): Lat. maledicere (3\(^{rd}\) conj.).
- mescaid ‘mixes’ (page 142): Lat. miscere (2\(^{nd}\) conj.).\(^{11}\)
- ordnaid ‘appoints’ (page 145): Lat. ordinare.
- pianaid ‘punishes’ (page 146): Lat. punire (4\(^{th}\) conj.).
- pretaid ‘plunders’ (page 146): Lat. praedare.
- pridchaid ‘preaches’ (page 146): Lat. praedicare.
- promaid ‘puts to the test’ (page 148): Lat. probare.
- rélaid ‘reveal’ (page 149): Lat. reuelare.
- scribaid ‘writes’ (page 151): Lat. scribere (3\(^{rd}\) conj.).
- scrútaid ‘examines’ (page 151): Lat. scrutari.
- sléchtaid ‘kneels’ (page 153): Lat. flectere (3\(^{rd}\) conj.).
- tràchtaid ‘comments’ (page 154): Lat. tractare.

\(^{11}\) OI mesc is borrowed from Lat mixtum and remodelled in analogy to the verb.
Old Irish AII verbs:

:oingid ‘anoints’ (page 233): Lat. *ungere* (3rd conj.).

There are 19 direct borrowings in total. 18 (94.7%) are A1 verbs, one is an AII verb. Six verbs are borrowed from 3rd conjugation Latin verbs, one from a 2nd conjugation verb and one from a 4th. Note that the one AII verb is borrowed from a 3rd conjugation verb. There is therefore no obvious correlation between Latin and Old Irish conjugations.

Derived from Old Irish nouns borrowed from Latin:

Old Irish A1 verbs:


Old Irish AII verbs:


Old Irish -igidir verbs:


12 The Latin verb *certare* ‘vie with, contest’ has been deemed unsuitable as origin on semantic grounds.
úad·fíalígedar ‘unveals, reveals’ (page 255): denom. < fíal ‘veil’, Lat. uelum, with preverb úad.


There are 12 indirect borrowings in total, four are AI, one is AII and seven are -igidir verbs. Three verbs are deadjectival, one in the AI category and two in the -igidir category. Nine verbs are denominative, three in the AI verbs, one in the AII verbs and five in the -igidir verbs.

**Unclear:**

Old Irish AI verbs:

armaid ‘arms’ (page 111): denom. < arm ‘armour, battle equipment’, from Lat. arma, or Lat. armare.

clannaid ‘plants’ (page 120): denom. < clann ‘plant, planting’, Lat. planta, or Lat. plantare.


notaid ‘marks’ (page 145): denom. < not ‘mark, sign’, Lat. nota, or Lat. notare.

seccaid ‘stiffens’ (page 152): deadj. < secc ‘stiff, rigid’, Lat. siccus, or Lat. siccare.

Either AI or AII:

baitsid ‘baptises’ (page 173): denom. < baithis ‘baptism, the order of baptism’, Lat. baptisma, or Lat. baptizare. If baitsid were a direct loan, it would be an AI verb that looks like an AII verb due to syncope patterns (this is discussed in its entry in the corpus, page 173). If it is derived within Old Irish, it is AII.

There are five unclear verbs, of which four are AI verbs, and one that could be either AI or AII. If these would have been derived within Old Irish, four would be denominative, one deadjectival.
These figures can be shown schematically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>1st conj.</th>
<th>2nd conj.</th>
<th>3rd conj.</th>
<th>4th conj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37 loans</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 direct loans</td>
<td>18 AI</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4 AI</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>3 AII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 indirect loans</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 unclear loans</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 AII</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1 AII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others:

cúrsagaid ‘corrects’ (page 125) is borrowed from the Latin expression curas agere ‘take care of’.

iúdigidir ‘lives as a Jew’ (page 225) is either derived from Íud(a)ei, which was adopted from the Latin but of which it is often unclear whether the writers regarded it as Latin or Old Irish (DIL) or the verbal form iudigte could have been directly adapted from the Latin.

### 3.3 Morphology of AI and AII verbs

In Celtic, secondary verbs are formed by adding a suffix *-ā-*, *-ī-* or *-sag-ī-* to a noun or adjective to make a denominative or dejectival verb. Verbs formed with suffix *-ā-* give the Old Irish AI active and deponent verbs, verbs with suffix *-ī-* the AII active and deponent verbs. Verbs with suffix *-sag-* are always deponents of the AII class. The
other secondary verbs found in Old Irish are deverbals, namely causatives and iteratives.13 Causatives and iteratives were formed in Proto-Indo-European by adding the suffix *-ēje- (> CC *-ē-) to the o-grade of the root. Besides the normal hysterotonic causative with CoC-ēje/o- structure, i.e. where the accent remains on the suffix throughout the paradigm, there exists a proterotonic lengthened-grade14 type *CōC-ēje/o- where the accent remains on the root throughout the paradigm. Of this type, only sāidid ‘thrusts, fixes’ (page 238) is attested in Old Irish (besides original full-grade hysterotonic suīdid ‘puts, places’) (Schulze-Thulin 2001: 4-6).15

Secondary verbs are by definition weak in Old Irish. The AI verbs contain denominatives and deadjectivals; the AII verbs contain denominatives and deverbals; the -igidir verbs are denominative or deadjectival. Verbs such as as·rochoiili ‘defines, determines’ (page 120) and soi bidi ‘makes, becomes crooked, contorts’ (page 245) at first sight seem to be AII deadjectivals, but are not. These will be further discussed below, page 62.

The denominative suffix *-ā- has at least two sources in Proto-Indo-European (cf. Schumacher 2000: 75), the first of which is still partly recognisable in Celtic and Old Irish. It continues an old athematic factitive with suffix containing *e or *o plus laryngeal *h₂ or *h₃. Most of the AI deadjectivals in my corpus are factitives, the exceptions are discussed below, section 3.3.1.2, page 62. However, considering that deadjectivals become AI verbs by default in Celtic and Old Irish, it can be questioned whether this morphology has been maintained. Inherited denominatives would also have had suffix *-ā- (< PIE *-eh₂-je/o-). The type was originally used for denominatives of all ā-stem nouns and some o-stem nouns (Sihler 1995: 514). The majority of secondary AI verbs in my corpus are derived from an ā or an o-stem. However, this does not seem to be the underlying reason for derivation as an AI verb, see below, pages 55ff. It is no longer

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13 The essive verbs ruidid and scibid have been mentioned above, page 54.
14 Roots in PIE appear in full grade, lengthened grade and zero grade. In the full grade, the root contains a vowel, in the lengthened grade, this vowel is made long and in the zero grade no vowel appears.
15 For alternative etymologies of sāidid and other prototonic lengthened-grade roots, see Schulze-Thulin (2001: 4-6).
possible to ascertain whether an old denominative was inherited from Proto-Indo-European or coined in Celtic, however, and in no case has a substantial amount of cognates been found to justify positing a Proto-Indo-European derivation. Therefore, inherited denominatives have been placed in Celtic. An example of an old denominative is *forcenna ‘puts an end to’ (page 135), cognate to W gorffên ‘to finish, end’, which Schumacher sees as an inherited denominative from Insular Celtic (2000: 75, 142).

The suffix *-ī-, when not the causative / iterative suffix, is either the essive suffix or perhaps goes back to the denominative suffix *-i̭e/o- added to i-stem nouns (Schrijver forthcoming). Note that in this particular use of a denominative of i-stems no longer applies in Old Irish: the only two bases that are certainly i-stems (*rind ‘point’ and *samail ‘likeness’) give a-verbs rindaíd ‘cuts, incises’ (page 149) and *smlaithir ‘likens, compares’ (page 149) respectively. Already within Common Celtic the patterns underlying verbal derivation point towards semantics (transitivity and iterativity), rather than morphology (see further below, page 55).

Common Celtic had four essive presents, *klus-ī-, *ksūib-ī-, *rud-ī-, *tum-ī- and *tā-je/o- (Schumacher 2004: 41-2), of which two are attested in Old Irish. The other two are only attested in Brittonic and need not concern us here. OI ruidid ‘turns red, flushes’ and Mid. Ir. scibid ‘moves’ are not attested in the Glosses, but they are secondary verbs. For ruidid, see Watkins (1969: 169-70), McCone (1991b: 44), LIV2 (508-9) and Schumacher (2004: 552-3). The origin of scibid as an essive has been proposed by Schrijver (2003, see also Schumacher 2004: 422-4, IEW 1041-2).

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16 I would like to thank Prof. Peter Schrijver for sending me a copy of his article prior to publication.
17 *tā is already in Celtic no longer felt as an essive, since the first vowel of PIE *stʰ ehje/o- had become ā through colouring by and loss of the laryngeal(s).
3.3.1 Semantic motivation for formation as AI or AII verbs

The semantic range of derivative verbs will be discussed extensively below, section 3.9, pages 86ff. In the current section, the motivation behind formation as either an *a*-verb or an *i*-verb will be discussed.

3.3.1.1 Denominatives

Whether a denominative verb becomes an AI or an AII verb depends on its transitivity, iterativity and causativity. The terms ‘causative’ and ‘iterative’ are here not used in their morphological meaning, these are not deverbal verbs. The terms are here used semantically only.

The table below shows these three categories (transitivity T, with T for ‘transitive’, A for ‘ambitransitive’ and I for ‘intransitive’, 19 causativity C with Y for ‘yes’ and N for ‘no’ and iterativity It with Y for ‘yes’ and N for ‘no’), plus the stem class of the base noun. As has been pointed out above (page 54), the stem class of the base noun is no longer of importance in the formation of the verb. As is shown in the table, most base nouns are *o*- or *ā*-stems, of the AI verbs, three are *u*-stems and two are *i*-stems. Of the AII verbs, three base nouns are *iā*-stems, one is an *io*-stem and one is a *u*-stem. A question mark denotes that no stem is given in DIL and none can be deduced from extant sources. The verbs are roughly subdivided into old, young and unknown age. This will be referred to in the Chronology chapter, pages 75ff. For this purpose, too, the presence or absence of Brittonic cognates (Bc) is noted. Finally, the base noun and its meaning are given.

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19 Note: verbs are considered transitive if the action itself must be done to an object. For present purposes, it does not matter whether this object happens to be expressed as a direct object in the accusative, or an indirect object following a preposition. Verbs are considered ambitransitive if the action, depending on meaning and context, can require an object (direct or indirect) or not.
### Analysis

#### AI denominatives vs. AII denominatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>It</th>
<th>origin</th>
<th>Young</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>It</th>
<th>origin</th>
<th>Unknown age</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>It</th>
<th>origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>berbaid ‘boils’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>? ‘bubbling’</td>
<td>biathaid ‘feeds’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>biad ‘food’</td>
<td>ad·cobra ‘desires’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>accobar ‘desire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bertain ‘brandishes’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>bert ‘load’</td>
<td>crochaid ‘crucifies’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>crotch ‘cross’</td>
<td>airaid ‘satirises’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>air ‘cutting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciallaithir ‘thinks about’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ciall ‘sense’</td>
<td>delbaid ‘shapes’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>delb ‘shape’</td>
<td>armaid ‘arms’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>arm ‘armour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crothaid ‘shakes’</td>
<td>o/ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>CC *krotos ‘shaking’</td>
<td>figraid ‘prefigures’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>figair ‘figure’</td>
<td>ãsaid ‘grows’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ãs ‘growth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúnaid ‘shuts’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>dún ‘fort’</td>
<td>rannaid ‘divides’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>rann ‘part’</td>
<td>aíraid ‘satirises’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>aír ‘advising’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feraid ‘grants’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>PIE *h2uer- ‘water’</td>
<td>ad·cobra ‘desires’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>baithis ‘baptism’</td>
<td>armaid ‘arms’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>muilend ‘mill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo·botha ‘is alarmed’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>*butât</td>
<td>airaid ‘satirises’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>aír ‘advising’</td>
<td>armaid ‘arms’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>muilend ‘mill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for·cenna ‘puts an end to’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>forcenn ‘end’</td>
<td>ãsaid ‘grows’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ãs ‘growth’</td>
<td>ãsaid ‘grows’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ãs ‘growth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nertaid ‘strengthens’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>nert ‘strength’</td>
<td>rannaid ‘divides’</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>rann ‘part’</td>
<td>ad·cobra ‘desires’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>accobar ‘desire’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Old

- berbaid ‘boils’
- bertain ‘brandishes’
- ciallaithir ‘thinks about’
- crothaid ‘shakes’
- donaid ‘consoles’
- dúnaid ‘shuts’
- feraid ‘grants’
- fo·botha ‘is alarmed’
- for·cenna ‘puts an end to’
- nertaid ‘strengthens’
- toidid ‘shines’

#### Young

- biathaid ‘feeds’
- crochaid ‘crucifies’
- delbaid ‘shapes’
- figraid ‘prefigures’
- oínaid ‘fasts’
- rannaid ‘divides’

#### Unknown age

- ad·cobra ‘desires’
- aíraid ‘satirises’
- armaid ‘arms’
- ãsaid ‘grows’
- brúchtaid ‘bursts’
Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y?</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clannaid 'plants'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Y?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>clann 'plant'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cobraithir 'helps'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>cobair 'help'</td>
<td>Ìå</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con-delca 'compares'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>coindele 'comparison'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crechaid 'plunders'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>crech 'plunder'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crúachaid 'piles up'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>crúach 'stack of corn'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dechraid 'marks out'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>dechor 'difference'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>díomaid 'announces'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>díom 'proclamation'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do ecrathar 'covers'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>tæk 'shelter'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolbaid 'fashions'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>dolb 'sorcery'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do molta 'goads'</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>molad 'praising'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drúbaid 'lingers'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>I/A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>drúb 'delay'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emnaid 'makes double'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>emon 'twin'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gataid 'takes away'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>gait 'taking away'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gellaid 'pledges oneself'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>gell 'pledge'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giallaid 'gives hostages'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>giall 'hostage'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iachtaid 'cries out'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>iacht 'loud cry'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iccaid 'pays'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>icc 'paying'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láthraid 'arranges'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>láthar 'arrangement'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linaid 'fills'</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>lín 'full number'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobaid 'decays'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>luib 'herb'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logaid 'concedes'</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>lóg 'value'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomraaid 'shears off'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>*lommar</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malartaid 'spoils'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>malart 'damage'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>messaid 'examines'</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>mes 'judging'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molairthir 'praises'</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>mol 'reiterated refrain'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múchaid 'covers over'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>múch 'smoke'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rindaid 'cuts'</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>rind 'point'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samlaithir 'compares'</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>samail 'likeness'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sásaid 'satisfies'</td>
<td>O/À</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y?</td>
<td>sás 'snare'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selbaid 'possesses'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>selb 'property'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>techtaid 'has'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>techt 'possessions'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trebaid 'cultivates'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y?</td>
<td>treb 'house'</td>
<td>Å</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on these findings, the following rule can be formulated:

_A verb is AII if it is transitive and iterative and/or causative. Otherwise it is AI._

Exceptions:

_gláedid_ ‘cries out’ (page 218): intransitive, AII. Iterative.
_scaílid_ ‘bursts’ (page 240): ambitransitive, AII. Causative and iterative.
_malartaid_ ‘spoils’ (page 141): transitive, AI. Causative and iterative.
_emnaid_ ‘doubles’ (page 133): transitive, AI. Causative.

_Gláedid_ and _scaílid_ can be explained. Both have synonyms which are themselves also denominative active verbs. These synonyms are _brúchtaid_ ‘bursts’ (page 116) and _iachtaid_ ‘cries out’ (page 138) respectively. Like _scaílid_, _brúchtaid_ is also ambitransitive, and like _gláedid_, _iachtaid_ is also intransitive. Yet both _brúchtaid_ and _iachtaid_ are AI verbs, whereas _gláedid_ and _scaílid_ are AII verbs. However, whereas the base for _brúchtaid_ is _brúcht_ ‘burst’, the base for _scaílid_ is _scail_ ‘scattering’. A burst is a sudden occurrence; the derived verb therefore describes a sudden occurrence. Something bursts. A bursting is caused to something. A scattering, on the other hand, implies a repeated action. _Scaílid_ is iterative, as opposed to _brúchtaid_. From a basic meaning ‘scatters’ a meaning ‘bursts’ has developed straightforwardly: drop a stone jar and it bursts; pieces scatter across the floor.

A similar case can be made for _gláedid_ and _iachtaid_. Whereas _iachtaid_ is used for lamentations, groans and wailings (cf. DIL s.v. _iachtaid_ 12: 12), _gláedid_ is used for inarticulate animal noises (cf. DIL s.v. _gláedid_ 89: 32, the transitive meaning is late and likely to be a secondary development). Animal noises are by their very nature iterative, they are repeated several times. Therefore, it can be argued that _gláedid_ is more iterative than _iachtaid_. Note that _caínid_ ‘laments’ has a similar meaning to _iachtaid_, but is AII. _Cainid_ is however always transitive, so does not pose a problem.
If both skalid and gláedid are more iterative than their synonyms, there will have been a certain amount of pressure on those verbs to become AII verbs rather than AI verbs. The different verbal classes could then emphasise that these verbs are not exact synonyms.

The opposite is the case for malartaid ‘spoils’ (page 141). It too, has a denominative synonym, namely coillid ‘damages’ (page 183), derived from coll ‘destruction’. According to the scheme, both malartaid and coillid should become AII, because both these verbs are transitive, causative and iterative. Yet only coillid is AII. The reason for this is that coillid is more iterative than malartaid. After all, malartaid ‘only’ means ‘spoils’, or, when looking at its base, ‘causes injury’, whereas coillid means ‘damages’ or ‘causes destruction’. In order to cause destruction, one must repeat the damage a lot more often than to ‘just’ cause injury.

Emnaid ‘doubles’ (page 133), on the other hand, is superficially an exception. It is causative, possibly even iterative and medieval attestations are apparently transitive. One would expect it to be AII. It is AI. Its meaning, however, lends itself to an ambitransitive reading, even if not actually attested in extant medieval sources as such. And the modern reflex eamhnaigh is intransitive. AI morphology is accounted for by inherent ambitransitivity.

Crothaid ‘shakes’ (page 124) is given in the table as ambitransitive. All entries in DIL are transitive (s.v. crothaid 552: 19), but crothaid has more in common with the ambitransitive verbs than with the transitive verbs. When the subject shakes something (transitive), the object is by definition shaking (intransitive). None of the transitive verbs have this connotation. If you arrange something, that something will not arrange, if you shear something, that something will not shear, and so on. On the other hand, ambitransitive verbs do have this connotation: if you double something, that something will also double and if you boil something, that something will also boil, to name but two examples. Crothaid behaves like an ambitransitive verb, even if intransitive usage is not attested. This is an old derivative, as has been detailed in the corpus below (page 124), so it is also not impossible that its intransitive meaning got lost over time. Moreover, if the rules given above are accepted, the only way this verb
The verb *críachaid* ‘makes a heap of something, piles up’ (page 125) could be seen as inherently iterative, but in relation to its base noun, it is not. It is derived from the word *criach*, ‘pile, stack’, so the verb is about the end product, not the process. Making a pile is not iterative. A similar issue occurs with *rindaid* ‘cuts, incises’ (page 149), which in meaning ‘carves’ could be seen as iterative. However, the meaning originally simply meant ‘putting a point to something’. Whereas ‘carves’ implies doing that repeatedly, the verb itself does not necessarily.

Certain verbs occupy a similar semantic range, but end up in different morphological categories. These verbs illustrate the theory set out above. *Cinnid* ‘defines, fixes’ (page 181) and *for·cenna* ‘puts an end to, brings to an end’ (page 135), for example, are both ultimately derived from *cenn* ‘head’ and both ultimately mean putting an end to something. However, *cinnid* means defining something, i.e. putting ends all around it, iteratively, and *for·cenna* is a single action: putting an end to something. Finished. Moreover, *cinnid* is transitive only, whereas *for·cenna* is ambitransitive. So, *cinnid*, iterative and transitive, is an AII verb, and *for·cenna* non-iterative and ambitransitive, is an AI.

The exceptions show that this scheme is not necessarily set in stone. It works over a substantial portion of the corpus, but there are some verbs on the edges of it that either show a certain amount of flexibility on the part of the scheme, or that show how the verbal formation and the scheme interact. The fact that there was a scheme underlying verbal derivation also allowed for interplay between this scheme and the derivative verbs. The hypothesis of this thesis is that there is no random variation. A verb is AI or AII for a reason. The creator of a new verb knew what he or she was doing, be that consciously or subconsciously. *Soíbid* ‘makes crooked’ (page 245) and *con·soíba* ‘deceives’ (page 245) for example fall into two different classes, at first sight for no particular reason. Thus far, the scholarly tradition within the study of the Celtic languages has been to accept this seeming inconsistency, rather than to look for underlying motivation. In this thesis, I
have teased out a possible motivation. In the case of *soibid* and *con-soíba* the underlying motivation is an interplay between the general scheme of formation of new verbs in Celtic and Old Irish on the one hand and these particular verbs on the other. The general scheme is that deadjectivals become AI verbs. The fact that *soibid* is an AII would therefore show that it was considered to be iterative (the possibility of causativity is precluded by the fact that this is already a factitive) to such an extent that its iterativity exerted enough force to make it an AII. The compound *con-soíba* on the other hand, contains the preverb *con-* which indicates completion. This excludes the possibility of iterativity and therefore this verb is an AI. A more complete understanding of the effect of preverbs is a desideratum.

### 3.3.1.2 Deadjectivals

The deadjectivals in Old Irish are mostly factitiv es, i.e. they mean ‘making [object] [base]’. *Glanaid* ‘cleanses’ (page 137), for example, is derived from *glan* ‘clean, pure’. The verb means ‘makes [object] clean’. *Soíraid* ‘frees’ (page 153) is derived from *soír* ‘free’ and the verb means ‘makes [object] free’. The exceptions are *brénaid* ‘is rotten’ (page 116) and *fégaid* ‘looks at’ (page 133).

The deadjectivals are AI with only three clearly motivated exceptions, namely *as-rochoíli* ‘defines’ (page 120), *do-aissilbi* ‘refers, ascribes’ (page 152) and *soibid* ‘makes, becomes crooked’ (page 245). *Soibid* has already been discussed above, page 61.

*As-rochoíli* ‘defines’ is derived from *cóel* ‘thin, slender’ (DIL s.v. *cáel* 10: 82). It is a compound of *coilaid* ‘makes thin’ (page 120, DIL s.v. *cáelaid* 13: 3), which is an AI verb (*as-rochoíli* will therefore be found among the other AI verbs). There is a very good reason that this compound would become an AII verb, and that is that this is iterative. *As-rochoíli* means ‘defines, determines’. Since this is a compound of a verb meaning ‘makes thin’, the meaning ‘defines’ must have been formed through the implication of making thinner, making narrower. Narrowing something

\[\text{Brénaid later also comes to mean ‘putrifies’, although this does not seem to be the original meaning.}\]
down is not a punctual action, but a repetitive one. To define something, the making narrower has to be done repeatedly. \textit{As-rochoili} therefore fits in the wider framework of Old Irish denominatives and deadjectivals. It is transitive and iterative and thus AII.

A similar process is seen in \textit{do-aissilbi} ‘refers, ascribes’, which is the AII compound of an AI verb \textit{selbaid} ‘possesses, holds’ (page 152). In the case of \textit{as-rochoili} above the reason behind the change of verb class was acquired iterativity; in the case of \textit{do-aissilbi} it is acquired causativity: \textit{do-aissilbi} literally means ‘assigns to the possession of’ (DIL s.v. \textit{do-aissilbi} 196: 42), which implies a strong element of causativity: causing someone to possess.

### 3.3.1.3 Semantic motivation for formation as deponent verbs

As has been pointed out above, page 43 and cf. note 10, Old Irish deponent verbs retain the Proto-Indo-European middle voice meaning, i.e. they imply a stronger subject involvement. This is not just the case in the primary verbs, but is also borne out in the secondary verbs. If a secondary verb has a stronger subject involvement, such as \textit{labraithir} ‘speaks’ (page 139), it will become a deponent verb.

There are sixteen secondary deponents in Old Irish. Of these, two are deverbal, the causative \textit{\textae-cuirethar} ‘throws’ (page 188) and the iterative \textit{tuigithir} ‘covers’ (page 254). Four are deadjectival, \textit{ad\textae-\textae-etchethar} ‘detests’ (page 109), \textit{labraithir} ‘speaks’ (page 139), \textit{dirgidir} ‘directs, aims’ (page 127) and \textit{comalnaithir} ‘fulfils’ (page 121). The rest are denominative:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{airlithe\textit{\textae-th}} ‘advises’
  \item \textit{ath\textae-mulnethar} ‘says again’
  \item \textit{con\textae-ruidethar} ‘intends’
  \item \textit{ad\textae-tluichethar} ‘gives thanks’
  \item \textit{cia\textae-laithe\textae{\textae-th}} ‘thinks about’
  \item \textit{cobraithir} ‘helps’
  \item \textit{molaithir} ‘praises’
  \item \textit{samlaithir} ‘compares’
  \item \textit{do\textae-\textae-crathar} ‘covers’
  \item \textit{ad\textae-gl\textae\textae-dathar} ‘addresses’
\end{itemize}
Each of these verbs has a clear motivation for being a deponent verb, because each has a strong subject involvement. There are no exceptions.\[^{21}\] This implies that when these verbs were created, the morphology itself retained the middle voice meaning to such an extent that it could be used productively.

No derivative deponent verbs can be placed with certainty in Old Irish and it can therefore not be claimed that the deponent morphology was still productive in Old Irish. On the other hand, not all of these deponent verbs can be placed with certainty before Old Irish either, and therefore it cannot be stated with certainty that the middle voice meaning had died out before Old Irish. After all, all other verbs have to fulfil several criteria before greater age is considered (Brittonic cognates, verbal noun formation etc.), while the non-\textit{igidir} deponents are considered to be of greater age by default, ‘because they are’. This is circular, especially considering that many of these deponents, such as \textit{ad·êitchethar} ‘detests’, \textit{comalnaithir} ‘fulfils’ and \textit{airlíthir} ‘advises’ do not fulfil these other criteria.

Another point. The appearance of otherwise unexplained pres. ind. 3sg. deponent \textit{coinedar} of the active verb \textit{caínid} ‘laments’ (below, page 177) in Ml. 74b1 could be explained as an early example of the confusion of active and deponent verbs that is so common in Middle Irish. However, given the context (\textit{is fursundud 7 is foilsígd dund eregim 7 dund imniud coinedar duaid insalmso} ‘this psalm is an illumination and a manifestation of the complaint and of the trouble that David laments’), an actual middle voice meaning to the flexion is certainly not out of place.

Note that \textit{ad·gládathar} (page 159) is not, strictly speaking, denominative. It is onomatopoeic and derived from the sound to imitate babbling, ‘gla, gla, gla’. However, it does wonderfully argue the classification scheme established in this thesis. Its inflection as AII is

\[^{21}\] \textit{Do·ecraṭhar} always has the implication of protection (cf. DIL s.v. \textit{do·ecraṭhar} 250: 37 and \textit{imm·ecraṭhar} 155: 22) and although \textit{tuigithir} has a wider range of meanings in Old Irish, the original connotations of covering a house (i.e. for oneself, for one’s own protection) become clear from the nominal reflexes of the root (cf. IEW 101394 and OI tech ‘house’). Moreover, meanings of the Old Irish verb include ‘covers a house, thatches’ (DIL s.v. \textit{tuigithir} 358.55) and meanings of the Greek verb \textit{στέγω} include ‘protect’.
consistent with its transitivity and iterativity. Moreover, its subject involvement (speaking involves the subject closely) is consistent with its deponent flexion. See further below in the corpus, page 159.

3.4 Morphology of and motivation for formation as -igidir verbs

The -igidir verbs are by far the most productive category within Old Irish. Though this derivational pattern developed within Celtic (cf. Joseph 1987: 137-8 for Brittonic examples), it came into its own in Old Irish. When a scribe wanted to translate a Latin verb for which he did not have an Old Irish verb, the first way to do so that would come to mind would be to create an -igidir verb. Furthermore, if he wanted to translate a participle, he would most likely create a participle based on an -igidir verb, even if that -igidir verb itself did not exist (cf. indemnichthe, recte indenmichthe, ‘weakened, page 70 above). It could be speculated that the very productivity of the -igidir morphology made the entire process of creating new verbs more productive than for example the creation of new adjectives.

The -igidir verbs were originally derived from nouns which were themselves already compounded with a suffix *-sag-. This *-sag-jo- element is a reflex of the root *seh₂g- ‘pursue, seek’ (LIV² 520, IEW 876-7) and the nouns therefore meant ‘[noun] seeker’ (Joseph 1987: 155, see also Uhlich 2002: 417-8). The original -igidir verbs therefore will have meant ‘is a [noun] seeker’ with quite probably an instantaneous reinterpretation to ‘seeks [noun]’. Cathaigidir ‘fights’, derived from cath ‘battle’, for example, originally meant ‘seeks battle’. The semantic field of these verbs allowed for some bleaching. Tessaigidir ‘warms’ (< tess ‘heat, warmth’, page 250), although originally no doubt ‘seeks warmth’ would have been reinterpreted as ‘makes warm’.

Due to the nature of the suffix, -igidir verbs would originally all have been denominatives. However, several of the oldest ones, such as the above mentioned tessaigidir ‘warms’ and teimligidir ‘grows dark’ (< teimel
‘darkness, gloom’, page 250) could easily have been reinterpreted as
deadjectival verbs due to their meaning, opening the morphology up for
deadjectival possibilities such as ísligidir ‘lowers’, réidigidir ‘levels’ and
sonartnaigidir ‘strengthens’. These can still be shown to be old since they
all have Brittonic cognates and are in meaning very close to the original
denominative -igidir verbs, but they have moved away from the initial
semantic range. From ‘making’, the next step was to verbs meaning
‘becomes [base]’.

The early meanings became bleached further as the morphology
gained in productivity and within Old Irish the ‘seek’ meaning has
disappeared completely except in a those few verbs that are not only old
enough to have been created with that meaning, but that have also kept it.
The specialised meaning of ‘seeking’ in this suffix must have disappeared
from the language before the earliest written attestations. Any verbs created
in Old Irish itself do not show this semantic field at all. In Old Irish, there is
a wide range of meanings possible for -igidir verbs and indeed this
morphology is used for those verbs that will not fit into the other categories,
since those are more restricted. As has been discussed above, there are
specific semantic restrictions on which derived verbs become AI and AII
verbs. In Old Irish, the -igidir category no longer has any restrictions and as
such becomes the default category containing such verbs as crottigidir
‘plays on a harp’ (page 186) and indraicigidir ‘thinks fit’ (page 224). This
distinction can also be used in the other direction. The verb ceisid
‘grumbles, complains’ (page 180) stands in stark contrast to the other AI
and AII verbs in that it is more a response to its base noun ces ‘debility,
inertia’ than having the direct relationship *‘is debilitated / makes
debilitated’ that one would expect in this category. This verb cannot have
been created within Old Irish, because in Old Irish it is the -igidir category
that caters for the indirect relationship between noun and verb. The AI and
AII category had strict boundaries for what was permissible. Prior to Old
Irish, however, it was the reverse: the -igidir category was had strict boundaries. It is therefore likely that this verb was created in that period.\footnote{It will be discussed in the corpus below, page 180, that there are more reasons for ceisid to become an AII verb specifically, to do with its iterativity.}

### 3.4.1 Derivations from nouns and adjectives in -ch

A problem for deciding on the base of an -igidir verb arises when a verb can be derived from either a noun or from the denominative noun or adjective in -ch. An example is fograigidir ‘emits a sound, sounds’, which could be derived from fogur ‘sound’ or from fograch ‘noisy, resounding’. If this verb is derived from fogur, it is an -igidir verb, but if it is derived from fograch, it could either be a straightforward deponent or an -igidir deponent, with lost -ach- by haplology: *fograchaigidir > fograigidir. Lionel Joseph, in his article about the origin of Celtic denominatives in *sag* (1987) argues that although confusion arose in the later language, ‘in Old Irish, a verb derived from a word ending in -ach/-ech contains that ending (with syncope of the vowel), before the full verbal stem with its second guttural’ (page 117). He gives several examples, such as gréschaigidir ‘makes continuous’ (page 219), derived from grésach ‘lasting, continuous’ and mindchigidir ‘begs’ (page 231), derived from mindech ‘poor’. Whereas this certainly is a valid argument, an opposing case can be made. My corpus is restricted to the Würzburg and Milan Glosses, which, although it could be argued that the Milan Glosses contain Middle Irish elements (cf. McCone 1985), are Old Irish documents. Any verb found in these documents can be safely considered to be an Old Irish verb. Therefore, cases such as ardraigidir ‘appears’ (page 169 below) from airdrech ‘face’ cannot be seen as a later confusion. Nor can it be derived from an Old Irish *ardVr, because there was no such word. Similar cases can be made for détnaigidir ‘gnashes’ (page 195) and écngaidigir ‘reviles, slanders’ (page 203), where the only attested possible base is a derivative in -ach: a non-derived base *dêne or écVnd is not attested.

Considering that most -igidir verbs are young, if Old Irish has only one of the possible bases attested, it is likely that the verb is derived from
that, rather than a non-attested noun or adjective. Therefore, the verb _ardraigidir_ ‘appears’, must be derived from _airdrech_ ‘face, front’. Consequently, it is not possible to argue the case as straightforwardly as Joseph has done. There are cases in which a verb may theoretically be derived from a derived base, with loss of _-ch_. This leads me to conclude that it is in most cases ultimately impossible to state with certainty from which base a given _-igidir_ verb has been derived. For that reason, where both possible bases are attested, the principle of economy has been applied, and consequently, Joseph’s theory has been followed. Deriving a verb from a derived base in _-ach_ is more involved than deriving it directly from the non-derived base. First of all, when deriving from a base in _-ach_, the resulting verb becomes unnecessarily complex (*_fograchaigidir_ above is one of the simpler ones) and secondly, it would require haplology to have taken place. Making a non-_igidir_ deponent verb from the base in _-ach_ would cause confusion with the _-igidir_ verbs, because it would look exactly like those. Deriving from the non-derived base, on the other hand, only requires the affixing of the suffix. Verbs have therefore been deemed to have been derived from the non-derived base, unless there is clear evidence for the contrary.

3.4.2 The appearance of unexplained _-n-_ between base and suffix

There are seven _-igidir_ verbs in the corpus in which an _-n-_ can appear between the base and the suffix. In four of them, _tairisnigidir_ ‘trusts in’ (page 249), _airmitnigidir_ ‘honours’ (page 166), _ainmnigidir_ ‘names’ (page 163) and _toltanaigidir_ ‘pleases’ (page 252) this _-n-_ is part of the stem, showing that the verb was formed from the stem rather than from the nominative singular, as noted by Joseph (1987: 113-4). This leaves _brúthnaigidir_, _críthnaigidir_ and _sonartnaigidir_ to explain. The bases of these three verbs are vocalic stems. In _sonartnaigidir_ the _-n-_ is perhaps due to dittology: if the word is repeated often enough, the _-n-_ will creep in. For the other two verbs, and perhaps for _sonartnaigidir_ as well, although
arguing analogy on the basis of only four other verbs is fraught with difficulties, I would like to make a case for it even so. The analogical pressure is arguably very weak, but three arguments can be made in favour of analogy. First of all, *bráthnaigidir* exists in a context of several other verbs to do with judgement. Both *brithemnaigidir* and *brethnaigidir* show the same -\textit{n}. In *brithemnaigidir* this is due to the base noun *brithem* (DIL s.v. *breithem* 174: 69), which will have added to the analogical pressure for both *brethnaigidir* and *bráthnaigidir*. Moreover, the shape of *bráth* and *crith* is similar: both have initial occlusive, followed by -\textit{r}, a vowel, and both end in -\textit{th}. Lastly, it can be seen in the later language that the -\textit{n} spread subsequently. OI *cestaigidir* is attested with -\textit{n} in the later language, as is *bertaigidir* (DIL s.v. *cestnaigid* 150: 23 and *bertaigidir* 86: 85; for further examples see Joseph 1987: 114).

### 3.4.3 Calques on Latin

The -\textit{igidir} verbs are occasionally used for calques on Latin verbs. This thesis deals first and foremost with the morphology of secondary verbs. In matters of dating, however, the issue of calques has to be taken into account. If a verb can be shown to be a calque on Latin, it is unlikely to be a formation older than the fifth century AD (cf. Chronology, section 3.6 and 3.7, pages 75ff. below). Due to the nature of the thesis and the material, however, a discussion on calques necessarily has to be brief and limited. In suggesting which verbs could be calques on Latin, I have therefore restricted myself to discussing only those verbs which occur infrequently in the language and in deciding whether or not something is a calque, I have looked only at what the verb glosses in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses. Plenty of suggestions could be made for Old Irish verbs calquing Latin verbs simply because they so happen to be formed of the same elements, but it is only where we see the verbs side by side in the two languages that we can say with any degree of certainty that calquing might have occurred. Calque is defined as follows, for instance:
‘A term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a type of borrowing, where the morphemic constituents of the borrowed word or phrase are translated item by item into equivalent morphemes in the new language.’ (Crystal 1991 s.v. calque)

A remarkable example of calquing is found in Mi. 50a3. The Latin debilitatum ‘weakened’ is glossed with the OI indenmichthe (recte indenmichthe) ‘weakened’. This indenmichthe is hapax legomenon. Moreover, it is the participle of a verb *indenmigidir that is not attested, and that quite likely did not even exist, because it is not attested at any stage in the later language either. The Lat. debilitatum is also a participle, but in the case of Latin, the verb underlying the participle, debilitare ‘weaken, disable’ is extant and widely attested.

The Old Irish adjective indenim ‘weak’ is attested. A verb formed from indenim would be *indenmigidir ‘weakens’ (page 223), which, as said, is not attested. The participle of that verb would be indenmichthe. The formation of the participle followed the standard paths, but passing over, either consciously or unconsciously, the verbal step. Indeed, one might speculate that the creator of this participle did not even consciously think about the verbal step, but went straight from the adjective to the participle. The participle may have been all there ever was; a fully paradigmatic verb may never have existed.

The exact origin of this participle is therefore a matter of speculation. The forming of new verbs in Old Irish in this way was very productive, so it will have been an integral part of the language, not something a scribe had to consciously think about. He could just have seen the Latin and translated it into Old Irish, making up a new participle in the process.

On the other hand, this verbal particle is very clearly modelled on the Latin, which implies that the scribe might, in fact, have consciously tried to create a word that not only translated, but also modelled the Latin.

Calques are by their very nature hard to determine decisively, since it is never quite certain whether a word or phrase was coined independently or copied from another language. If a word in two languages contains the same elements, one is not automatically a calque on the other. The situation
with Old Irish and Latin has its own particular difficulties. First of all, the Old Irish material that has come down to us is incomplete. Secondly, the earliest written material is overwhelmingly religious, skewing our perception of the language: a verb may seem to only occur in religious material because it had a much greater chance to get written down in religious material. Consequently, it may seem like a calque on Latin, purely due to its accidental religious context.

The list below is therefore neither exhaustive nor definitive and most certainly subjective. Calquing cannot be shown decisively, because there is always a possibility that speakers of two languages came up with the same idea independently. If the influence of Latin on the formation of the verb is not clearly evident (if the verb does not have, for example, a clearly Christian meaning, or a technical or metaphorical one), I have not considered the verb to be a calque. *Arsadaigidir* ‘grows old’ (page 169), for example, is *hapax legomenon* and could be seen as a calque on Lat. *ueterescere* ‘age’, which it glosses. However, the derivation ‘becomes [adjective]’ is direct and concrete. Old Irish has several of these verbs and it did not need to look at Latin for an example. Calquing can be more easily argued in cases such as *in·goistigedar* ‘ensnares’ (page 219), which could have been formed on the model of Latin *illaqueare* ‘ensnare’. Both verbs are derived from a noun meaning ‘snare’ and compounded with the preverb *in*-.

When a verb has more elements that can be matched, like *in·goistigedar*, it is also easier to recognise or dismiss a possible calque. However, since derivation with prefixes lies outside the scope of this thesis (cf. section 1.1.3, page 20), compounds have been left aside, unless a simplex is not attested.

The list below is based first and foremost on the definition given above. If an Old Irish verb does not match the definition, it has not been considered a calque. In some cases, an Old Irish verb will consistently gloss a Latin verb to which it is similar, or of which it is an exact translation. This in itself does not make it a calque if the individual elements that make up the verb, the morphemic constituents, do not match. Secondly, as mentioned above, the frequency with which the verb is attested and the variety of
Analysis

sources in which it occurs has been taken into account, although it must be noted that as a this consequence of this, some calques may have been missed. Thirdly, the apparent ease with which the verb could have been formed independently has been taken into account to dismiss possible calques. Lastly, the context of the attestations of the verb in the Würzburg and the Milan glosses has been taken into account. If the verb consistently glosses a Latin verb on which it could have been calqued, it has been accepted as a possible calque. Details on each formation can be found in the corpus, to which reference has been given. Several verbs that are clearly not calques will be mentioned subsequently, for comparative purposes.

ad-danaigedar (page 192): << remunerare ‘reward’ (later non-deponent usage of the deponent verb remunerari).
ailigidir ‘changes’ (page 162): VN ailigud << alternatio ‘alternation’.
ainimmra-caigeddar ‘regards as unworthy’ (page 163): << indignari ‘deem unworthy’.
as-mecnaigedar ‘roots out’ (page 171): << eradicare ‘root out’.
cairdinigidir ‘unites in friendship’ (page 178): << foederare ‘establish by treaty’.
cairdigidir ‘makes a treaty’ (page 178): << foederare ‘establish by treaty’.
comaicsigidir ‘approaches, comes near to’ (page 183): << adpropriare ‘appropriate’.
con-asarcaigedar ‘delights in, is delighted with’ (page 242, the simplex sercaigidir is only attested later) << condelectari ‘delight in’.
*crottigidir ‘plays on a harp’ (page 186): << citharizare ‘play on a cithara’.
dochnêlaigdidir ‘degenerates’ (page 200): << degenerare ‘be unworthy of’.
dumaigidir ‘piles up, exaggerates’ (page 202): << exaggerare ‘heap up’.
éinritigidir ‘weakens, enfeebles’ (page 205): << eneruare ‘weaken’.
erlissaigidir ‘loathes’ (page 206): << fastidire ‘disdain’.
feochraigidir ‘grows fierce, wild’ (page 209): << efferare ‘make wild’
fo-ammánaigedar ‘subjugates’ (page 210): << subiugare ‘subjugate’.
goistigidir ‘puts a noose around, hangs’ (page 219): << laqueare ‘hang’,
(also compound in-goistigar ‘ensnare’ << illaqueare ‘ensnare’).
gréschaigidir ‘makes continuous’ (page 219): << continuare ‘make continuous’.

ilaigidir ‘increases, multiplies’ (page 220): multiplicare ‘multiply’.

*ilchigidir ‘howls, screams’ (page 220): VN ilchugud << ululatus ‘shriek’.

indenmigidir ‘weakens’ (page 223): part. indemnichthe << debilitatum ‘weakened’ (see also above).

ingraigidir ‘renders impious, pollutes’ (page 224): impiare ‘renders impious’.

inilligidir ‘protects, defends’ (page 224): tutare ‘guard’.

inlinaigidir ‘ensnares, entangles’ (page 225): << irretire ‘entangle’.

lochtaigidir ‘finds fault with’ (page 226): criminare ‘accuse’.

mindchigidir ‘begs, is a mendicant’ (page 231): << emendicare ‘begs’.

ollaigidir ‘makes larger, expands’ (page 234): << ampliare ‘enlarge’.

suthchaigidir ‘makes fruitful’ (page 249): << foetare ‘breed’.

úad·fíaligedar ‘unveals, reveals’ (page 255): << reuelare ‘show’.

Béoaigidir ‘makes alive, vivifies’ (page 173) is a widely attested verb that has been placed by Joseph (1987: 153-4) in the earliest phase of the *sag- derivatives (cf. Chronology, sections 3.6 and 3.7, pages 75ff.). This is however problematic, since béo is never attested as a noun, but always as an adjective. Moreover, it could be a calque on Latin uitificare, which it glosses in both Würzburg attestations.

Examples of verbs which could be influenced by the Latin, but are not calques:

ailithrigidir ‘goes into exile’ (page 162): the Old Irish is derived from the pronominal aile and tír, whereas Latin exulare ‘live in exile’ is formed from the preverb ex ‘out of’ and solum ‘bottom, ground’.

Although OI deugaigidir ‘drinks’ (page 195) and Lat. potare are formed in the same way (both derived from a noun meaning ‘drink’, Lat. potus), I hesitate to see the Old Irish as a calque on the Latin. Deriving a verb meaning ‘drinks’ from a noun meaning ‘drink’ is so straightforward that it would not have required a Latin example.
airgalaigidir (page 164): The only form attested of this verb is the dative plural participle ergalaichthib. The Lat. propugnaculis which it glosses is taken by the glossator as pro pugnaculis. Pugnaculis means ‘fortress’ and is not verbal at all.

doirmámaigidir ‘becomes worthless, vile’ (page 201): The verb is formed from doirmám ‘servile yoke’, rather than doir, which would have translated Latin uilis from which uilescre ‘become worthless’ is formed.

foniti ‘mocks, derides’ (page 214): The Old Irish derivation of this verb is not known, which makes any suggestion of a calque meaningless.

frisdorchaigedar ‘darkens, obscures’ (page 201): Latin obtenebrare ‘darken’ is derived from a noun, not an adjective.

gaimigidir ‘passes the winter’ (page 217): Although this verb is hapax legomenon and despite the existence of Latin hibernare, I hesitate to see this as a calque, since for the concept of ‘wintering’, speakers would hardly require the example of Latin to form a verb like this.

Out of 187 -igidir verbs, I have therefore counted 28 (15%) possible calques on Latin verbs. This number is tentative and based on a preliminary study only. Further research is needed to investigate the extent of Latin influence on verb formation and semantics in Old Irish.

3.5 Simple vs. compound verbs

Old Irish derived both simple and compound verbs from nominal compounds and both simple and compound verbs from uncompounded nouns and adjectives. Thus, when deriving a verb from a compounded noun, the resulting verb could be interpreted as preverb + stem and be treated as a deuterotonic verb form or it could be interpreted as a simple verb and be treated as an absolute verb form. The verb comdemnigidir ‘rules’ (page 184), for example, is derived from comdemin and is treated as a simple verb. Even in the verb, the preposition is always com-, rather than con- which it would be if this were a compound verb. The verb fo·cridigedar ‘girds’ (page 210), on the other hand, is derived from a formation *uokridijo, not attested.
in Old Irish. In Old Irish, this verb is clearly a compound verb. The pres.
ind. 3sg. *focridigedar* Ml. 35c32 has a conjunct ending, as does the pass.
3pl. *focridigter* Ml. 135b1. Moreover, the infixed pronoun in Ml. 101c3
*fortchridigther* is infixed after the preverb, rather than using the particle *no*.

*Consecra* (page 123), borrowed from Latin *consecrare*, is also always
treated as a compound verb. The fut. 1sg. *cosacrub* Ml. 45b12 is
deuterotonic and the 3pl. rel. *ssecrabat* Ml. 66a6 would have had a relative
ending if this verb were treated as a simplex.

When deriving a verb from an uncompounded noun, on the other
hand, a preverb may be added in the process of derivation, omitting the step
of forming a simple verb. There is thus no simplex of *attoibi* ‘adheres to’
(page 172), derived from *toib*. The pres. ind. 3sg. rel. form *atoibi* Ml. 57d18
would have had a relative ending if this verb were treated as a simplex. The
impf. 1pl. / past subj. 1pl. *(at)toibmis* Ml. 18c4 would have been preceded
by *no* if this were a simplex. The forms are deuterotonic. This verb is clearly
treated as a compound verb in the Glosses.

*Adamraigedar* ‘wonders at’ (page 157), derived from *adamrae* ‘very
wonderful’ has both simplex and compound forms in the Glosses. pres. ind.
1sg. rel. *noadamrugur* Wb. 16c3 is a simplex form (preceded by *no*),
whereas pres. subj. 2sg. *adnamraigetar* Ml. 39b10 is a compound form
(nasalisation infixed between preverb and stem). As is perf. 3pl.
*adruamraigset* Ml. 88a18 (*ro* infixed between preverb and stem).

In my research, I have unfortunately not found a reason for these
alternations.

### 3.6 Arguments for age

I have dated the verbs in my corpus based on a number of criteria
which I will set out below. These criteria are used in combination with each
other and their weight will differ from case to case depending on the
conjunction of criteria. For example, I will generally take Brittonic cognates
as a good indicator for greater age. If an Old Irish verb shows highly
specific similarities in morphology and semantics to a verb in one or more
of the Brittonic languages, this verb could have been formed in a common phase of the language. However, I have taken account of the fact that especially the -igidir category is very productive in both Old Irish and the Brittonic languages. An -igidir verb with a Brittonic cognate is therefore not by definition old. Conversely, verbs which show a clearly Christian context, such as móraid ‘makes great’ (page 144) are unlikely to have been formed prior to the coming of Christianity to Ireland and can be dated to the Old Irish period.

The existence of synonyms can be taken into account. If a verb is the only verb for a given concept within the language, it is more likely that it is old. It can of course happen that a new word replaces an old. But the question of the existence of synonyms may nevertheless be taken as a significant criterion in conjunction with the others.

Hypotheses can also be formed from the basis of these verbs’ verbal noun formation. If the verbal noun is created using an obsolete formation, or if the base noun is used as verbal noun, the verb is more likely to be old.

An example is the Old Irish verb rímid ‘counts’, which has an exact cognate in MW kyfrif ‘to count’. In both languages, this is the only verb used for this concept. Moreover, it uses its base noun as verbal noun, rather than a verbal noun formed with a productive suffix. That, and the lack of synonyms, make it likely that it is old. On the other hand, the Old Irish verb biathaid ‘feeds’ and the Welsh bwydo have several synonyms in both languages (OI méthaid, DIL 119: 27, sásaid, DIL 63: 68, W llithyaw, Isaac 1996: 340). They also form their verbal noun following productive patterns. The hypothesis is therefore that these verbs have been independently coined within each language.

The semantic field of the verbs should also be taken into account. The OI delbaid ‘shapes’ (page 126) and the W delwi, for example, are formally exact cognates, but the semantics of the Welsh verb especially show that these were independently coined. The Welsh noun delw that the verb is derived from has developed a specific meaning ‘statue’. The verb has been derived from that particular meaning. It means ‘stop, freeze, become motionless’, i.e. ‘become like a statue’. The Old Irish verb, on the
other hand, has the wider meanings ‘shapes, forms’ that correspond to the wider meanings of the noun *delb* ‘shape, form’ that this is derived from.

The *-igidir* verbs have been discussed above, page 65, and a relative chronology can be proposed. If a verb has a Brittonic cognate, is denominative and preserves the original ‘seek’-meaning, it is likely to be old. If it has a ‘makes’ meaning, it is slightly less old. If it is deadjectival, but could have been derived from the nominal meaning it is likely to be again slightly less old, but still old. True deadjectivals with meaning ‘makes [base]’ (< ‘makes [base]-ness’) are still inherited, as are those with meaning ‘becomes [base]’. Further bleaching seems to have begun before Old Irish, but only within Old Irish itself did this morphology become so productive that the original meaning of the morphology is no longer recognisable in the resulting verbs.

The causative / iterative morphology was still productive within Celtic, but no longer within Old Irish. It is not clear when it ceased to be productive, but any morphologically causative or iterative verb predates Old Irish. These verbs have not been placed in the Chronology, since with the exception of *imm·folngi* ‘causes, produces’ (page 221) and *loscaid* ‘burns, consumes by fire’ (page 227), which must have been formed after Proto-Indo-European, they cannot be dated any more specifically.

The dating criteria given are suggestions and further research will enable us to add to and refine these criteria. None of these arguments are final, none give a definitive answer. But each of them supports the understanding of the formation of verbs and each of them supports a hypothesis about the age of these verbs. Each of these arguments gives more insight into the past, opens a window of possibility for further research.

### 3.7 Chronology

A hypothesis of age can be given for those verbs to which the above arguments apply. All dating criteria have been taken into account in combination, that is to say, an *-igidir* verb with clearly Christian meaning will not have been dated to an early stage of the language even if it can be
interpreted with a ‘seek’ meaning or has Brittonic cognates. In the list below, verbs are presented for which arguments for and/or against derivation in a specific phase of the (proto-) language can be given, followed by their first meaning as given in the corpus in Chapter 5, a page reference to the corpus and a short reference to the argumentation for age, as follows:

Brittonic cognate: As has been discussed above, a case can be made that a verb with a Brittonic cognate is an inherited formation. Verbs with this description have a cognate in at least one of the Brittonic languages. Cognates are listed in the corpus in Chapter 5 and the page reference will direct the reader to the correct verb.

Uses base as VN: As discussed above, if a verb uses its base as VN, it is likely to be of greater age.

-igidir verbs: As has been discussed above, pages 65ff., denominative -igidir verbs that retain their ‘seek’ meaning are the oldest, deadjectival -igidir verbs that fall within the same shade of meaning are slightly younger and the meaning becomes bleached in time.

Synonyms and degree to which the denoted concept is basic: As has been discussed above, a verb that has no synonyms or denotes a very basic concept is more likely to be old, because otherwise this concept would have needed expression in the proto-language too. Therefore mention will be made of these issues.

Christian concepts were of course only introduced with the coming of Christianity and those verbs therefore have to be Old Irish.

Verbs which are hapax legomenon or only occur twice or three times, such as coilaigidir ‘makes thin’ (page 183), have not been listed, since it is not clear to what extent these were actually part of the lexicon. The exception for this is durnid. Argumentation can be found in the corpus, page 202.

Consequently, all old verbs will be listed, since there must be evidence to argue their age, as discussed above. Verbs derived from bases that are no longer extant in the language will be listed, since they must have been derived in a phase of the language when the base was still extant. On
the other hand, Christian concepts will be listed, since these will not have been derived before the coming of Christianity. Several verbs will be discussed more extensively below, but for most the discussion can be found in the corpus.

The list is divided into Pre-Celtic (one verb only), Common Celtic (one verb only), unspecified Celtic (the bulk of ‘old verbs’), pre-Old Irish (three verbs that are definitely older than Old Irish, but cannot be dated back further with any certainty) and Old Irish (verbs for which specific arguments for younger age can be given). The ‘unspecified Celtic’ category is subdivided into AI and AII verbs on the one hand and -igidir verbs on the other. This says nothing about the age of these categories as a whole, but for the -igidir verbs a further tentative relative chronology can be proposed and for the AI and AII verbs that is not possible. The subdivision exists only to avoid confusion.

It must here be noted that there are no Celtic cognates attested outside the Brittonic languages. This is not inexplicable: verbs are by definition rare in the material available for the Continental Celtic languages. Secondary verbs will however have been created at any point between Common Celtic and Old Irish (and earlier and later too), because the morphologies have been productive throughout this time frame. Lack of Continental cognates, however, makes it generally impossible to date verbs with any degree of certainty to early Celtic or Common Celtic (causatives/iteratives excluded). It is however undesirable to date all pre-Old Irish creations to a time frame that some scholars have called Insular Celtic (see above, section 1.2.1.1, pages 23ff. for my position on Insular Celtic), since that would not reflect the reality that these verbs were created throughout time and not just in Insular Celtic. I have therefore dated any verb for which I have no explicit reason to give it a more specific dating to an unspecified Celtic period. These verbs are not all necessarily very ancient. Some of them will be, but some of them will be relatively young. Further research may be able to date these verbs more precisely. The Chronology is of course tentative and subject to revision after further research.
Pre-Celtic:

ad·tluichedar ‘gives thanks’ (page 160): Shared nominal vocabulary with Slavic and Italic that has gotten lost so early that there is no trace in Celtic and even the denominative in Latin is entirely different.

Common Celtic:

cíallaithir ‘thinks about’ (page 119): Brittonic cognate, uses base for VN, very basic concept.

Celtic - unspecified (AI, AII)

ad·gládathar ‘addresses’ (page 159): see below.
álaid ‘requests’ (page 167): Brittonic cognate, uses its base as VN.
asy·scarta ‘drives’ (page 112): Brittonic cognate, base not attested in Old Irish.
berbaid ‘boils’ (page 113): Brittonic cognate, base not attested in Old Irish.
bertaid ‘brandishes’ (page 114): Brittonic cognate, shades of meanings of base matched by shades of meanings of verb (see below), base serves as VN.
crothaid ‘shakes’ (page 124): see below.
dálaid ‘portions out’ (page 191): Brittonic cognate, uses its base noun as VN.
durnid ‘smites’ (page 202): Brittonic cognate, basic concept.
for·cenna ‘puts an end to’ (page 135): Brittonic cognate, uses base noun as VN.
nertaid ‘strengthens’ (page 144): Brittonic cognate, no synonyms in either language, meanings congruent.
rímid ‘counts’ (page 235): Brittonic cognate, no synonyms in either language, uses its base noun as VN.
Celtic - unspecified (-igidir, since the -igidir verbs can be placed in a more precise relative chronology, the order below is deliberately non-alphabetical)

cathaigidir ‘fights’ (page 179): Brittonic cognate, ‘seeks battle’,
denominative.
sáraigidir ‘violates’ (page 239): Brittonic cognate, ‘seeks outrage’,
denominative.
sílaigidir ‘sows’ (page 243): Brittonic cognate, ‘seeks seed’,
denominative.
tessaigidir ‘warms’ (page 250): Brittonic cognate, ‘makes warm’,
denominative.
follaigidir ‘neglects’ (page 213): Brittonic cognate, ‘makes neglect’
denominative
réidigidir ‘levels’ (page 235): Brittonic cognate, ‘makes smooth’,
deadjectival.
sonartnaigidir ‘strengthens’ (page 246): Brittonic cognate, ‘makes strong’,
deadjectival.
gnáthaigidir ‘is accustomed to’ (page 218): Brittonic cognate, ‘makes usual’,
deadjectival.
cuimnigidir ‘remembers’ (page 188): Brittonic cognate, denominative or
deadjectival, in either case likely to be an early example of bleached
meaning.  

Pre-Old Irish

do·dona ‘consoles’ (page 131): see below.
dúnaid ‘closes’ (page 132): goes back to the earlier meaning of diùn,
‘enclosure’.
toidid ‘shines’ (page 252): derived from a base which is no longer extant in
Old Irish.

Old Irish

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23 See corpus for an alternative, Old Irish dating.
24 The verb is derived from cuman ‘remembered, memorable’ or from cuimne ‘faculty of
memory, remembrance’ and can therefore not be taken as an earlier ‘seeks memory’.
aithrigigidir ‘repents’ (page 166): Christian concept.
baitsid ‘baptises’ (page 173): derived from a Latin loanword (baithis ‘baptism’, from Latin baptismum), and a Christian concept.
biathaid ‘feeds’ (page 114): Brittonic cognate, but several synonyms in both languages and verbs use productive VN suffix.
cestaigidir ‘inquires’ (page 181): derived from a Latin loanword and a rather technical concept.
cinnid ‘defines’ (page 181): Welsh cognate, but meaning influenced by Latin.
delbaid ‘shapes’ (page 126): see above, page 76.
dichsnigidir ‘exists’ (page 196): synchronic syncope: see below.
rannaid ‘divides’ (page 148): Brittonic cognate, but several cognates within OI and VN formation follows productive pattern.

In the case of bertaid ‘brandishes’ both in Welsh and in Old Irish the meanings of the verbs correspond closely to the meanings of the respective base nouns and these shades of meanings are so similar that a common origin can be postulated.

The verb crothaid ‘shakes’ comes from a root that was present in Celtic (cf. Gallo-romance *crottiare and OI crith ‘act of shaking, trembling’). The noun *krotos from which the verb has been derived, disappeared from the language before the Old Irish period, but the verb has been preserved. This means the verb itself must has been created before the Old Irish period.

Ad·gládathar has no Brittonic cognates, but it has resisted the first palatalisation that most All verbs would have undergone: the ĭ of the Celtic verb *glād-ī-tor would have palatalised the consonant immediately preceding it, if that consonant itself had not been preceded by long ā (cf. McCone 1996: 116). Ad·gládathar has however undergone third palatalisation (cf. McCone 1996: 119). This is diachronically entirely regular, but synchronically irregular. If this verb had been created within Old Irish, it would have been synchronically regular instead.
Do-dona is derived from *diden reinterpretation of di in *diden as a preverb. Di- could only have been interpreted as a preverb before falling together of the preverbs di and do in deuterotonic position.

3.8 Primary verbs taking on weak flexion

Those primary verbs that have taken on weak flexion can be found in appendix 1 below, page 259. The handbooks have been followed silently (details and references can be found per verb in appendix A) except where there is significant unsolved controversy or where clear evidence to the contrary can be given. Those verbs are discussed here below.

Pedersen (ii 526) gives ad·ferta ‘turns’ (page 261) as e-grade of the root that gives Old Irish do·fortai ‘pours’ (page 200). This is tentatively followed by IEW (1150-1) and LIV² (691-2). Stokes and Strachan (1901) emend instead to adfertaigedar, but there is no evidence for this. The verb adfertaigedar would be a borrowing from Lat. aduersari ‘be against, oppose’. A borrowing from Latin is not unusual, but this attestation would require the scribe to have changed Latin -s- to Old Irish -t-, for which there is no parallel, to have borrowed as an -igidir verb, for which there is no parallel and to either not have written the full verb or to have borrowed a deponent verb as an active verb. This is not impossible, but it is unlikely.

One attestation is a very slim basis to go on. However, I would argue that this is a primary verb that has taken on weak flexion, following Pedersen, IEW and LIV². The Proto-Indo-European root ūert- means ‘turn around’, which matches the meaning of the Latin aduersari this verb glosses. It also matches the meaning of the causative of this verb, do·fortai ‘pours’ (see below, page 200), i.e. ‘causing liquid to turn around’. It is not the first or only verb to take on weak flexion.

Con·secha ‘corrects, reproves’ (page 271, DIL s.v. con·secha 460: 29), do·díuschi ‘awakens, brings back to life’ (DIL s.v. do·díuschi 241: 81)
and dofaisgi ‘announces’ (DIL s.v. dofásaig 263: 48) are compounds of the primary verb sechid ‘asserts, declares’ (DIL s.v. sichid 214: 20) from root *sek˜- ‘say’ (LIV^2 526-7). Sechid has been discussed as a weak i-verb (GOI §768), only compounded (Ped. ii 619) and already taking on weak flection in Old Irish, together with its compounds (Schumacher 2004: 265-8). These statements are all incorrect. There is a simplex sechid which can be found in DIL s.v. sichid 214: 20. Of the Old Irish forms given, nad sich (214: 22) seems a preterite 3sg. rather than a present 3sg., but is in either case strong^25, the present 3pl. no seghait (ibid.) cannot be a weak i-verb form and pret 3sg. sich[s] (214: 24) is emended by Thurneysen based on his interpretation of this verb as an i-verb and can therefore not be taken as evidence. The form given by Thurneysen in GOI is a misreading from Sanas Cormaic and can therefore not be taken as evidence.^26 The other forms given are either late or non-diagnostic. It is clear that in Old Irish, sechid still inflects as a strong verb of the BI class. Note that the DIL citation form seems based on sich as a present form. The correct present stem would be sechid.

Whereas sechid still inflects as a strong verb, con·secha has taken on weak a-flexion and do·díuschi ‘awakens, brings back to life’ weak i-flexion. Do·faisgi has been given the strong citation form dofásaig by DIL (263: 48). The forms registered seem to belong to two different forms, one a compound of sechid, one a derivation from the VN tāsc (DIL s.v. tásc 87: 62). This is not unusual. In fact, the same thing has happened with the verb con·secha, from the same root. The VN of con·secha is cosc, from which a verb coiscid has been derived, which already in Old Irish has been confused with con·secha. The entry for con·secha in DIL reflects this.

Taking out the forms with -c- under dofásaig leaves two forms, of which tafaisig (263: 53) is from the long version of Tochmarc Émire, which is not Old Irish. This leaves the Wb. 7d11 form dofarsiged. This is an

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26 Thurneysen reads ro·seched, a weak perfect passive singular. However, the actual form is fo-so-sech, a folk-etymological interpretation of fásach that does not even make sense. Arguments about the inflection of the verb cannot be based on this form.
s-preterite. Although one verb form is too little evidence to be certain, it certainly does not point into the direction of the reconstructed third singular citation form doːfásaig of DIL and Kavanagh’s Lexicon, which assumes it is strong. While DIL and Kavanagh are not necessarily wrong in positing this citation form, based on the attestation there is no certainty that the citation form should be doːfásaig. It could have been doːfaisgi. In Appendix 1, where this verb is found, I have given it a weak citation form for the sake of consistency. The other compounds of this verb have taken on weak inflection. It is therefore likely that this compound did too, especially since the one attested form is weak.

Pedersen (ii 613) sees doːinscanna ‘begins’ (page 266, DIL s.v. doːinscanna 319: 39) as originally a nasal present *scan-n-. LEIA (S-32) suggests a causative of root *skend- ‘jump’, but this verb is inflected as an AI verb. A causative would have inflected as an Old Irish AII verb. Whatever the precise origin of the verb, there are no nouns or adjectives or even a hint of anything that it could possibly be derived from. I have tentatively classified it as primary.
3.9 Semantics of derivative verbs

3.9.1 Introduction

The possibilities of creating a verb out of a noun or adjective are constrained by the semantic field of the noun. It is not possible make any verb out of any noun. Taking the noun ‘tree’ will not lead to a verb ‘sings’ in the first instance. The noun and the verb have to be connected to each other in some way for the verb to have meaning, a meaning that makes sense and can be understood by other speakers. One of the aims of this study is to find out how far the semantic fields of the nouns and adjectives can be stretched in the process of creating the new verb. What are the limitations? Which ways of creating new verbs are so semantically and morphologically common that the speaker no longer thinks about what he or she is doing, and which verbs show true innovation and creativity on the part of the speaker?

As has already been discussed above, page 66, in the -igidir verbs, there is a lot of diversity in meanings and possibilities, especially within Old Irish. There are many verbs that have stretched the semantic field of their base nouns or adjectives. In the earlier language and among the AI and AII verbs, on the other hand, the possibilities appear to be more restricted. These categories are therefore not exhaustive: not each verb will be found in a category. After all, the categories below serve to classify verbs that can be grouped together based on how they relate to their base. Not every verb can be grouped together with other verbs. Conversely, some verbs relate to their base in several ways and will therefore be found in several categories. The current section only deals with semantics and not with the morphological correlates of semantics as found in Proto-Indo-European.

Below, each category will be discussed with examples. Other verbs in that category follow in a list. Their first meaning (following DIL, unless stated otherwise in the corpus) will be given, unless the reason for grouping in a specific category is due to another particular meaning and not
immediately clear. In that case, several meanings will be given. For further details of these verbs, I refer to the corpus.

3.9.2 Semantic categories

3.9.2.1 Causative

In my thesis, there are two categories of causatives. The first is morphological: these are the verbs that have the Proto-Indo-European causative/iterative morphology. These are mostly active verbs, such as *báidid* ‘submerges’ (page 173; PIE *g"oh₂dʰ-éje-*, LIV² 206) and *do·fortai* ‘pours’ (page 200; PIE *yort-*, LIV² 691). The morphology also occurs in two deponents, namely *·cuirethar* ‘throws, moves’ (iterative, page 188, PIE *korH-éje-*, LIV² 353-4) and *tuigithir* ‘covers’ (page 254; PIE *(s)teg-*, LIV² 589, Schulze-Thulin 2001: 133). The morphological causatives have been discussed above, page 52.

Aside from using the term to describe a morphological category, it is helpful to use the term in its semantic meaning only and find that Old Irish has several denominate verbs that express ‘causing someone to do a verbal action’ and could therefore, semantically, be termed causatives. *Dianaigidir* (page 195), for example, means ‘hurries’, but also ‘causes to hasten’, the latter meaning being causative, because it causes the object to hasten. Another example is is *crithaigidir* which means both ‘trembles’ and ‘shakes’, i.e. ‘causes to tremble’. Note that these verbs have both non-causative and causative meaning in the same verb. The other causative verbs that don’t use causative morphology are the non-*igidir* verbs discussed in section 3.3.1.1, pages 55ff. These are:

- *airid* ‘guards’
- *airlithir* ‘advises’
- *álaid* ‘requests’
- *baitsid* ‘baptises’
- *brissid* ‘breaks’
- *búaadraid* ‘disturbs’
- *clannaíd* ‘plants’
- *coillid* ‘damages’
- *con·ruidethar* ‘intends’
- *con·terchomraic(i)* ‘collects’
There are plenty of verbs that mean causing a state, or causing someone to have something or become something, but those will be discussed individually below.

3.9.2.2 Iterative

Semantically, an iterative is a verb that expresses doing something repeatedly. The Old Irish verb *gnáthaigidir* is the ultimate semantic iterative. Its very meaning, ‘is accustomed to, practises, frequents’ implies doing something over and over again. Another semantic iterative is *crithnaigidir* ‘shakes, trembles’, which is also semantically causative. The other iterative verbs that don’t use iterative morphology are the non-*igidir* verbs discussed in section 3.3.1.1, pages 55ff. These are:

```
aírid ‘guards’
airlíthir ‘advises’
ath·mulnethar ‘says again’
at·toíbi ‘adheres to’
bágaíd ‘declares’
bíathaid ‘feeds’
brissid ‘breaks’
búadraid ‘disturbs’
cainid ‘laments’
caithid ‘consumes’
ceisid ‘complains’
cinnid ‘defines’
coillid ‘damages’
crádaid ‘torments’
crothaíd ‘shakes’
dáilid ‘portions out’
do·scé(u)lai ‘finds out’
durnid ‘smites’
for·comai ‘keeps’
gláedid ‘cries out’
```
malartaid ‘spoils’
oínaid ‘fasts’
rimid ‘counts’
sásaid ‘satisfies’
scalaid ‘bursts’
sroiglid ‘scourges’
trebaid ‘cultivates’

3.9.2.3 **Fientive**

Although Old Irish has no descendants of the Proto-Indo-European morphological fientive (zero-grade unaccented root with suffix *-êh/êh₁-) as given in LIV² (p. 25), it is nevertheless helpful to use the term in its semantic meaning only and find that Old Irish does have several verbs that express ‘become something’ and are therefore, semantically, fientives. In the case of derived verbs, they express the becoming of the adjective (or in a few cases the noun) that they are derived from. Examples are dorchaigidir ‘grows dark’ (page 201), deadj. < dorchaie ‘dark, gloomy’ or bocaid ‘softens’ (trans. / intrans.), deadj. < boc ‘soft, gentle’. In the latter case, the verb is not just fientive, but also falls into other categories. It is not just intransitive, but also transitive.

Other examples of fientives:

arsadaigidir ‘grows old’
scithaigidir ‘becomes tired’
cáelaigidir ‘makes thin’
úatigidir ‘becomes few’
feochraigidir ‘grows fierce’
lobraigidir ‘is sick, becomes sick’
londaigidir ‘is angry, becomes sick’
mincigidir ‘becomes frequent’
doirmámaigidir ‘becomes worthless’
úalchaigidir ‘is proud, becomes proud’
fergaigidir ‘grows angry’
teimligidir ‘grows dark’
seccaid ‘stiffens’
imdaigidir ‘abounds’? In meaning ‘increases’, i.e. becomes more?

3.9.2.4 **Inchoative**

The difference between the fientive and the inchoative is that whereas the fientive focusses on becoming something, the inchoative
focusses on beginning a process. The verb *ailithrigidir* ‘goes into exile’ (page 162), for example, expresses the beginning of the going rather than a becoming. This is however the only example in my corpus.

### 3.9.2.5 Essive

The morphological essives have been discussed above, page 54. Again it is helpful to use the term in its semantic meaning. The original Proto-Indo-European essives implied permanent states. Semantically, only very few secondary verbs could be called permanent essives. The inherent meaning of verbs that could be described as essives is always wider than a purely essive meaning, often incorporating temporary meanings within the same semantic field. *Cumachaigidir* (page 190), for example, means ‘rules’, but there also is an attestation *cia dia cumachtachtaigther* (sic) ‘for whom thou art powerful’ (Sg. 209b30). Considering that the ‘thou’ being addressed here is God, it seems likely that his being powerful is a permanent state; this is an essive proper, but only in this instance. *Brénaid* ‘is rotten’ (page 116), on the other hand, is a permanent state. *Díchsnigidir* (page 196) in its meaning ‘exists’ expresses the very essence of an essive. It is a late coinage based on the VN of *do·coissin* ‘there is, there are’ (DIL s.v. *do·coissin* 232: 60) and seems to have been coined to express a more permanent state of being, of existing.

When looking at the relationships between a verb and its base noun or adjective, it is also important to look at all cases in which the verb simply means ‘is the noun’ or ‘is the adjective’. These verbs are discussed in the next paragraph.

### 3.9.2.6 Semantic relationship between subject or object of a verb and its base

In the relationship between subject or object of verb and its base, it becomes clear that the formula ‘[subject] is [base]’ and ‘[subject] has [base]’ are very common, as are ‘[subject] causes [object] to be [base]’ and ‘[subject] causes [object] to have [base]’. On the other hand, ‘[subject] is
caused to be [base]’ is rare and ‘[subject] is caused to have [base]’ is very rare. Category D, when deadjectival, has a large overlap with the factitives.

A: Subject is [base]
B: Subject has [base]
C: Subject is caused to be [base]
D: Subject causes Object to be [base]
E: Subject is caused to have [base]
F: Subject causes Object to have [base]

It is impossible for a verb to be both C and E or both D and F. If a verb is deadjectival, it will be C or D; if it is denominative, it will be E or F. After all, it is not possible to have [cold], the subject must be caused to be [cold], ùaraid (page 156). It is not possible to have [stiff], the subject must be caused to be [stiff], seccaid (page 152). With nouns, it is mostly the other way around. C`airdinigidir ‘unites in friendship’ (page 178) is derived from cairdine ‘friendship’. One can have [friendship], but one cannot be it, so c`airdinigidir falls into category E and F (being used both transitively and intransitively). Another example is f`iachaigidir ‘incurs a debt’ (page 209), derived from f`iach ‘obligation, payment due’. You can have an [obligation], but you cannot be an [obligation], so this falls into category E and F (being ambitransitive27).

A possible exception to the above rule is cruthaigidir ‘creates’ (page 187), derived from cruth ‘form, shape’. It could be argued that this verb could mean either to cause to have [form] or to cause to be [form]. Considering that all the other denominative factitives have the ‘have’ connotation, it is tempting to interpret this verb in this way, but we cannot forget that these are my categories that I am superimposing on these verbs. It is just as reasonable to say that this verb does not fit perfectly into the category, as it is to say that this verb specifically meant ‘to cause to have shape’. Moreover, considering that the morphology does not seem to allow for a form of derivation that expresses both these concepts, it is certainly

27 See footnote 19 for the definition of ‘ambitransitive’ that is being used in this thesis.
possible that though it ended up in one category, it still encompassed both meanings. The same goes for *delbaigidir* (page 194) and *delbaid* ‘shapes’ (page 126).

Those verbs that are derived from adjectives that can be used substantively\(^{28}\) fall, almost without exception, into the categories C and D, implying that the verbs are based on the adjectival use rather than the substantival use. The three seeming exceptions are quite likely not even actual exceptions to that rule, because they depend on the interpretation of each of these verbs.

The first of these verbs is *mescaigidir* ‘intoxicates, confuses’ (page 230) which is derived from the adjective *mesc* ‘drunk, intoxicated’. The adjective is also used as noun, meaning ‘confusion’ and technically speaking, the verb *mescaigidir* could either mean ‘causes [object] to be intoxicated’ or ‘causes [object] to have confusion’. The same goes for *trénaigidir* ‘strengthens’ (page 253). The adjective this is derived from is *trénn* ‘strong’, which can also mean ‘strength’. It is not clear whether the verb means ‘causes [object] to be strong’ or ‘causes [object] to have strength’.

*Sommaigidir* ‘enriches’ is a slightly different case, because it could be derived either from the noun *sommae* ‘riches, wealth’ or from the adjective *sommae* ‘rich, wealthy’. The morphology, semantics and attestations give no clue as to what this is derived from.

The category ‘[subject] is [base]’ has a strong overlap with the essives, except for the fact that the essives are permanent states, and these are temporary. An example is *airladaigidir* ‘obeys’ The other meaning of this verb is ‘is obedient’. It has neither the morphology of an essive, nor the implication of permanence. The verb means obeying to a specific order at a specific time and place. It is deadjectival from *airlithe* ‘obedient, submissive’, so this verb expressly means ‘[subject] is [base]’. Another verb that explicitly states that ‘[subject] is [base]’ is *écmailtigidir* ‘is insolent’ (page 203), derived from *écmailt* ‘unquiet, restless’, but also ‘insolent’.

\(^{28}\) One could of course argue that every adjective can be used substantively, but it is those adjectives of which there are nominal attestations that are here referred to.
Other As are:

- dilmainigdir ‘is free’
- feidligidir ‘remains’
- imdaigdir ‘abounds’
- lobrai짙dir ‘is sick’
- londaigdir ‘is angry’
- sainigdir ‘is different’
- sulbairigdir ‘is eloquent’ (although note that in the glosses this seems to mean ‘speaks well’).
- úalchaigdir ‘is proud’

Other Bs:

- cosmailigdir ‘likens’
- bíudaigdir ‘vanquishes’
- cumachtaigdir ‘rules’
- dechraigdir ‘is scattered’
- deithidnigdir ‘concerns’
- diummussaigdir ‘is proud’, which in verbal meaning of course is more a temporary essive, but in relationship to its base falls into category B.
- dogailsigdir ‘grieves’
- espanaigdir ‘is idle’
- etargnaigdir ‘makes known’
- fáiltigdir ‘rejoices’
- indbadaigdir ‘abounds’
- miscsigdir ‘hates’
- mothaidigdir ‘is amazed’
- sercaigdir ‘loves’
- subaigdir ‘rejoices at’
- tairisnigdir ‘trusts in’
- tochomrachtaigdir ‘is weary’
- úaibrigdir ‘treats insolently’
- dlomaíd ‘announces’
- techtaid ‘has’
- selbaid ‘possesses’
- álilid ‘requests’
- cestaigdir ‘inquires’

Other Cs:

- ailigidir ‘changes’
- comoicsigdir ‘approaches’
- isligidir ‘lowers’
- lethnaigdir ‘spreads out’
- mallaigdir ‘makes slow’
- tirmaigidir ‘dries’, if not fientive
Other Ds:

- acarbaigidir ‘roughens’
- ailigidir ‘changes’
- álgenigidir ‘soothes’
- as·mea·na·gedar ‘roots out’
- béoaigidir ‘vivifies’
- daingnigidir ‘makes fast’
- echtrannaigidir ‘alienates’
- comadasaigidir ‘adapts’, if transitive
comoicsigidir ‘approaches’
ilaigidir ‘increases’
- cumgaigidir ‘constricts’
ingraigidir ‘renders impious’
- anfossaigidir ‘makes unstable’
deimnigidir ‘confirms’
- lethnaigidir ‘spreads out’
dianaigidir ‘hurries’
dilsigidir ‘makes forfeit’
cáelaigidir ‘makes thin’
- slánaigidir ‘makes whole’
dochraidigidir ‘defiles’
sorchaigidir ‘illuminates’
tirmaigidir ‘dries’
- énirtigidir ‘weakens’
érrassaigidir ‘makes void’
- étrummaigidir ‘lightens’
fairsingigidir ‘widens’
fásaigidir ‘empties’
cutrummaigidir ‘equalises’
foillsigidir ‘shows’
foirbthigidir ‘finishes’
gréschaigidir ‘makes continuous’
imdaigidir ‘abounds’
inilligidir ‘protects’
isligidir ‘lowers’
lobraigidir ‘is sick’
londaigidir ‘is angry’
madaigidir ‘makes vain’
dlúmigidir ‘nucleates’
maethaigidir ‘softens’
mallaigidir ‘makes slow’
oenaigidir ‘makes one’
ollaigidir ‘makes larger’
réidigidir ‘levels’
sainigidir ‘is different’
sechtaigidir ‘simulates’
séimigidir ‘thins’
sonartaigidir ‘strengthens’
suthchaigidir ‘makes fruitful’
trebrigidir ‘continues’
uimligidir ‘humbles’
firiánaigidir ‘justifies’
doíraid ‘debases’
berraid ‘shears’
marbaid ‘kills’
noíbaid ‘makes righteous’
soíraid ‘frees’
cammaid ‘bends’
derbaid ‘certifies’
do·tromma ‘makes heavy’
firaid ‘makes true’
glanaid ‘cleanses’
méthaíd ‘feeds up’
emnaid ‘makes double’

The other E is fiachaigidir ‘incurs a debt’.

Other Fs:

ainmmnigidir ‘names’
aírmitnigidir ‘honours’
etesseaigidir ‘makes warm’
fiachaigidir ‘incurs a debt’
findbadaigidir ‘makes happy’
fortachtaigidir ‘helps’
fothaigidir ‘establishes’
for·úaisligedar ‘ennobles’
indbadaigidir ‘abounds’
lónaigidir ‘fattens’
ruccaigidir ‘puts to shame’
sercaigidir ‘loves’
soinnmigidir ‘makes prosperous’
tessaigidir ‘warms’
úaisligidir ‘exalts’
cobraithir ‘helps’
do·ecrathar ‘covers’
biathaid ‘feeds’
íccaid ‘pays’
línaid ‘fills’
nertaid ‘strengthens’
rannaid ‘divides’
coillid ‘damages’
crádaid ‘torments’
mesraigidir ‘moderates’
ordaigidir ‘orders’
3.9.2.7 Subject causes [base]

Certain verbs express causing their [base], whether a condition, a state, a quality or something else. Whereas these are neither morphologically nor semantically actual causatives, the implication of causation is certainly there. Examples are *búadaigidir* ‘vanquishes’, which is derived from *búaid* ‘victory, triumph’ and means ‘causes triumph’, i.e. ‘causes [base]’. *Caird(i)(ni)gidir* ‘unites in friendship’, derived from *cairdine* ‘friendship, amity’ means ‘causes friendship’.

Considering that, as we saw above, deadjectival verbs seem to be based on the adjectival usage of their base, rather than the nominal one, this category excludes those verbs. It is not possible to ‘cause firm’, for example, one would have to cause [firmness].

Other base causatives:

- *aithisigidir* ‘reviles’
- *anfossaigidir* ‘makes unstable’
- *bráthnaigidir* ‘judges’
- *cathaigidir* ‘fights’
- *crithnaigidir* ‘shakes’
- *cruthaigidir* ‘creates’
- *cuimlengaigidir* ‘fights’
- *cutrummaigidir* ‘equalises’
- *debthaigidir* ‘dissents’
- *deiligdir* ‘separates’
- *delbaigidir* ‘shapes’
- *dlúmigidir* ‘nucleates’
- *etargnaigidir* ‘makes known’
- *fiachaigidir* ‘incurs a debt’
- *findbadaigidir* ‘makes happy’
- *fograigidir* ‘emits a sound’
- *follaigidir* ‘neglects’
- *sáraigidir* ‘violates’
- *soilsigidir* ‘makes bright’
- *soinnigidir* ‘makes prosperous’
- *teimligdir* ‘grows dark’
- *tessaigidir* ‘warms’
- *toirthigidir* ‘fructifies’
- *úaisligdir* ‘exalts’
- *molaithir* ‘praises’
- *do·ecrathar* ‘covers’
- *ásaid* ‘grows’
- *brúchtaid* ‘bursts’
- *crothaid* ‘shakes’
3.9.2.8 Gerative

The geratives (from Lat. *gerere* ‘bear, carry’) are derived verbs which denote the doing of the meaning of the nominal base.

Other geratives:

- crithnaigidir ‘shakes’
- cundradaigidir ‘trades’
- díchsnigidir ‘exists’
- saethraigidir ‘labours’
- suidigidir ‘establishes’
- aíraith ‘advises’
- ásaíd ‘grows’
- brúchtaid ‘bursts’
- iccaíd ‘pays’
- airid ‘guards’
- dálaid ‘portions out’
- foirrgid ‘presses hard’
- rímid ‘counts’
- aíraid ‘satirises’
- áilid ‘requests’
4 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to study the patterns of verbal derivation in secondary verbs in Old Irish. I have aspired to ascertain the relationship between morphology, origin and semantics of these verbs and to place their formation in a relative chronology. I have done this through the creation of a corpus of all verbal forms in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses. These verbs have been classified according to verb class and all the secondary verbs have been analysed. The conclusions discussed below and indeed throughout the thesis are based on this analysis. The analysis itself is based on the corpus of secondary verbs, which can be found below, from page 107 onwards.

Secondary verbs are by definition weak in Old Irish. The causative / iterative morphology is no longer productive; the denominative morphologies in *-ā-, *-ī- and *-sag-ī- are. The *-sag- morphology gains in productivity in Old Irish and its original meaning becomes bleached. Verbs formed with suffix *-ā- become the Old Irish AI verbs (active and deponent), verbs formed with suffix *-ī- become the Old Irish AII verbs (active and deponent, but excluding the -igidir verbs) and verbs formed with suffix *-sag-ī- become the Old Irish -igidir verbs.

AI verbs contain denominative verbs and deadjectival verbs, AII verbs contain denominatives and deverbals, and -igidir verbs contain denominatives, deadjectivals and the only Old Irish depronominial. Although the very great majority of Old Irish derivative verbs is therefore denominative and deadjectival (the deverbal morphology was no longer productive in Old Irish) this shows that it was at least possible to derive verbs from other parts of speech, even though this was uncommon.

All deverbal verbs are AII verbs. All deadjectival verbs are AI verbs. Exceptions are the AII verbs as·rochoíli ‘defines’ (page 120), do·aissilbi ‘refers, ascribes’ (page 152) and soíbid ‘makes, becomes crooked’ (page 245). As·rochoíli has become AII, contrary to its AI simplex coilaid ‘makes
thin’ due to its acquired iterativity. In soibid, the opposite has happened: its compound con·soiba is an AI as is expected for a deadjectival. The iterativity of soibid has motivated its change of class. In the case of do·aissilbi the reason for change from AI to AII is acquired causativity. Deadjectivals verbs are mostly factitives.

Through careful consideration of the denominative AI and AII verbs, the underlying motivation for a verb to become either AI or AII has been worked out. Proto-Indo-European sources for both the denominative suffix *-
ā- and the denominative suffix *-
ī-
- have been proposed (athematic factitive with suffix containing *
ē-
 or *
ō-
 plus laryngeal *
h
2- or *
h
3- or denominative suffix *
ēh
2-
je/o-
 used for all denominatives derived from all ā-stem and some o-stem nouns for *
ā-
- and essive suffix or perhaps denominative suffix *
j
2-ej/o-
 added to i-stem nouns for *
ī-
-). However, the original morphological reasons, insofar as those can be ascertained, for a verb to be formed with either suffix *
ā-
- or *
ī-
- are no longer maintained in Celtic. A possible exception to this is the factitives, which are still formed with suffix *
ā-
-, however, considering that deadjectivals become AI verbs by default, this cannot be claimed with certainty.

In Old Irish, the motivation for a given verb to become AI or AII is semantic rather than morphological:

_A verb becomes AII only if it is transitive and causative and/or iterative. Otherwise it becomes AI._

Again, a couple of verbs could be seen as exceptions until they are observed in their wider context. Gláedid ‘cries out’ and scaillid ‘bursts’ for example are ambitransitive (i.e. they have both transitive and intransitive usage) and yet AII. However, they exist in a wider context. Both have synonyms that are also denominative verbs, namely iachtai and brúchtaid respectively. These verbs are AI, and fit in the scheme. It has been shown that gláedid and scaillid are AII because these verbs are more iterative than their synonyms. On the other hand, malartaid ‘spoils’ should have been AII, but is AI because it is less iterative than its synonym coillid ‘damages’. These verbs show that the scheme is not a rigid cast into which every new
verb was forced, but that it existed as an underlying framework upon which a new verb could find a fitting place. The speakers of Old Irish and its precursors will have been aware of this underlying framework to a certain extent and will have interacted with it to some degree when creating new verbs.

The deponent verbs are morphologically derived from the Proto-Indo-European middle voice. Every single Old Irish derivative deponent verb outside the \textit{-igidir} class has been formed with that middle voice meaning. This shows that the middle voice meaning was not only retained in the primary verbs, but was still a productive part of the deponent morphology in Celtic. No derivative deponent verbs can be dated with certainty to the Old Irish period. It has however been speculated that the criteria for dating these deponents to the Common Celtic period are flimsy at best and that the hypothesis that the middle voice semantics were kept into Old Irish should at least be considered.

The \textit{-igidir} verbs are a reflex of the Celtic derivative in \textit{*-sag-} which is itself a reflex of the root \textit{*seh{\textcircled{g}}} ‘pursue, seek’. Within Celtic, this formation was at first restricted since it could only be used denominatively and only in meaning ‘seeks [base]’. However, it soon spread to deadjectival verbs and the meaning became bleached. In Old Irish, this is the most productive morphology and has become the default category for creating new verbs. Conversely, it could be argued that the AI and AII morphologies were less constrained in Celtic and only became more so in Old Irish. \textit{Ceisid} ‘grumbles, complains’ for example, does not have the expected direct relationship to its base as the other AI and AII verbs have. Had this verb been created within Old Irish, the expectation would be that it would have become an \textit{-igidir} verb. The fact that it is not is an argument for greater age.

\textit{-igidir} verbs derived from adjectives in \textit{-ach/-ech} commonly preserve this in the verb. This is however not always the case. Certain verbs must be argued to have been derived from a base in \textit{-ach/-ech} and this \textit{-ach/-ech} was subsequently lost by haplology. A hard and fast rule cannot be argued; therefore the principle of economy has been applied wherever possible.
For *-igidir* verbs where an *-n* appears between base and suffix, it has been argued that this was originally the *-n* of the stem of those verbs derived from *n*-stem bases. This *-n* spread by analogy.

There is no single underlying principle for deriving compound verbs. These can be derived from compounded nouns and reinterpreted as compound verbs, they can be derived from uncompounded nouns as simple verbs or they can be derived from uncompounded nouns and in the process of derivation a preverb can be added to make them compound verbs. If a simple verb is derived from a compounded noun, this is liable to be reinterpreted as a compound verb.

A relative chronology for the derivation of a number of verbs has been proposed based on several factors. A common factor is the occurrence of Brittonic cognates. If a verb has a cognate in one or more of the Brittonic languages, it is more likely to be old. This can however not always be taken on face value. The verb *biathaid* ‘feeds’, for example, has a cognate in W *bwydo*. However, for this verb, other factors have to be taken into account. Both *biathaid* and *bwydo* have synonyms in their respective languages (OI *méthaid*, *sásaid*, W *llithyaw*). Moreover, both *biathaid* and *bwydo* form their verbal noun with a productive suffix. The hypothesis is therefore that these verbs were created independently in their respective languages.

If a verb on the other hand has a Brittonic cognate and also uses its base as verbal noun, the argumentation for greater age is strong. Conversely, a verb denoting a clearly Christian concept can be argued to be a young formation.

For the *-igidir* verbs, outside the above concepts further evidence can be taken into account. As the meaning of the underlying *-*sag-* suffix is known to be ‘seeks’, verbs that retain this meaning can also be argued to be old. Then, for those *-igidir* verbs that have been deemed to be of greater age, a relative chronology has been proposed based on whether they are denominative or deadjectival and based on the precision with which they are based on the original ‘seeks’ meaning. Verbs that are denominative and can be argued to have been formed with that exact meaning, such as *cathaigidir* ‘fights’, i.e. ‘seeks battle’ have been assigned to the oldest chronological
layer among the -igidir verbs, whereas verbs that are deadjectival and have a meaning ‘becomes’ have been argued to belong to a younger chronological layer. On the other hand, since the -igidir morphology is so productive in Old Irish as well as in the Brittonic languages, case must be exercised when dating these verbs. Several of the -igidir verbs are rare and some could be calques on Latin, making it more likely that these are younger formations.

For individual verbs, further specific evidence has been taken into consideration. OI delbaid and W delwi, for example, are considered to be individual formations. Formally these are exact cognates, but the semantics of the Welsh base noun have become restricted to ‘statue’ and the Welsh verb is also restricted to that meaning, namely ‘become like a statue’. Another issue arises when the verb is derived from a base that is no longer extant in Old Irish. In that case, the verb has most likely been derived before that time.

On the basis of these arguments, several verbs have been placed in a relative chronology, as follows:

**Pre-Celtic:** ad·tluichetdar ‘gives thanks’

**Common Celtic:** ciallaithir ‘thinks about’

**Unspecified Celtic** (non-igidir):

- ad·gládathar ‘addresses’
- álaid ‘requests’
- as·scarta ‘drives’
- berbaid ‘boils’
- bertaid ‘brandishes’
- crothaid ‘shakes’
- dálaid ‘portions out’
- durnid ‘smites’
- for·cenna ‘puts an end to’
- nertaid ‘strengthens’
- rimid ‘counts’

**Unspecified Celtic** (-igidir, since the -igidir verbs can be placed in a more precise relative chronology, the order below is deliberately non-alphabetical)

- cathaigidir ‘fights’
- sáraigidir ‘violates’
- silaigidir ‘sows’
- tessaigidir ‘warms’
- follaigidir ‘neglects’
- ísligidir ‘lowers’
Conclusion

réidigidir ‘levels’
sonarmaigidir ‘strengthen’s
gnáthaigidir ‘is accustomed to’
cuimnigidir ‘remembers’

Pre-Old Irish:

do·dona ‘consoles’
dúnaid ‘closes’
toidid ‘shines’

Old Irish:
aithirgigidir ‘repents’
baitsid ‘baptises’
biaithaid ‘feeds’
cestaigidir ‘inquires’
cinnid ‘defines’
delbaid ‘shapes’
díchsnigidir ‘exists’
rannaid ‘divides’

From the semantic discussion, it has become clear that there is a wide range of possibilities for the relationship between a verb and its base noun or adjective. The verb can mean ‘causing someone to do a verbal action’ (semantic causatives), doing [base] repeatedly (semantic iteratives), ‘becoming [base]’ (semantic fientives), ‘beginning [base]’ (inchoatives) or ‘being [base]’ (essives). The most common relationship is that where the subject is caused to have [base] and that of the base causatives. Also common are the verbs where the subject causes object to have [base] and those where the subject has [base]. Furthermore, there are those verbs where the subject is [base], subject is caused to be [base] and subject causes object to be [base]. Lastly, the geratives are the verbs which denote the doing of the meaning of the nominal base.

There is significant semantic overlap in the possible relationships between verbs their bases: many verbs occur in several categories. This is especially true of the -igidir verbs. It is also the -igidir verbs that are often hard to classify at all. The relationship between the verb crottigidir ‘plays on a harp’ (page 186) and its base crott ‘harp’ for example is immediately clear. It is however quite unique as a relationship: there are not many verbs in which the verb expresses using [base].
Those verbs that are derived from adjectives that are also used substantively fall, almost without exception, in categories C and D, i.e. in the categories ‘Subject is caused to be [base]’ and ‘Subject causes Object to be [base]’, rather than in the categories ‘Subject is caused to have [base]’ or ‘Subject causes Object to have [base]’. Since one cannot have an adjective, but one must be an adjective (one cannot have [cold] or [stiff], one must be [cold] or [stiff]), it has become clear that these verbs are derived from adjectival use only.

These results about the relationships between morphology, origin, semantics and chronology are based on the clearly defined corpus of verbs from the Würzburg and Milan Glosses. The conclusions drawn can therefore at this point not be taken as strict rules for the whole of Old Irish or indeed the whole of Irish. The very size of the corpus and the large fraction of contemporary Old Irish material that it forms nevertheless gives a valid basis for a sound working hypothesis.

It has become clear that the speakers of Old Irish and its precursors used all of the morphological means available to them to extend the semantic fields their language as needed to provide for cultural developments. This study of secondary verbal derivation has shown but a fraction of the creativity of speakers when it comes to innovation and originality in using their language and expanding it. Although the language and the morphology itself provide not only opportunity but also constraint, the speakers have used even the constraints to create even further opportunities. The opportunities are clear: Any noun or adjective can be turned into a verb by using the suffixes *-ā-, *-ī- or *-sag-, depending on how the verb relates to its base. A simple or compound verb can be made out of an uncompounded or compounded noun. The constraints dictate in most cases whether a verb shall become AI or AII. However, where the constraints in the language mean that a deadjectival must become AI, but other constraints dictate that transitive iterative become AII, speakers interact with these constraints to turn the occasional AI deadjectival into an AII. Moreover, where two synonyms, such as gláedid and iachtaid, both
meaning ‘cries out’ have a subtle difference in meaning, speakers can express this difference through the use of different verbal classes. In this case, *gláedid* is more iterative than *íachtaid* and is therefore AII, even though both these verbs are intransitive and both these verbs should therefore have been AI. In this study, the ground rules have been established and the possibilities have been shown, with fascinating implications and promise for further research.
5 Corpus of secondary verbs

5.1 Structure and notational conventions

Verbs are organised under their simplex as headword, except where no simplex is attested and none can be reconstructed, in which case the headword is the verb with the least amount of preverbs. The headword is printed bold. If compounds are attested in the corpus, the headword is printed bold and underlined and each compound is printed bold. Headwords are given in their classical Old Irish form, even if this form has not actually been attested. This means that the conventions in DIL are sometimes departed from. Where DIL gives Middle Irish active forms of originally deponent verbs, these have been silently altered. The choice of convention for form of headword should not be interpreted as a claim that the headword necessarily existed and in the rare cases where an active form is the only attested form of the verb, the hypothetical deponent form has still been given as headword, for consistency (cf. McCone 1985 for a discussion of Middle-Irishisms in the Old Irish Glosses). The diphthongs aí~áe and oí~óe were already starting to fall together in Old Irish, and this is indeed already the case with several verbs in the Milan Glosses, although this is rare. For the sake of etymological consistency, in this thesis the diphthongs have been normalised following their etymology. Palatalisation was blocked in several environments (for details, see McCone 1996: 116), giving for example AII *fo·lugai instead of **fo·luigi. However, confusion often arose in analogy to the other verbs and in many verbs, a mixture of palatalised and non-palatalised forms can be found already in Würzburg. By Middle Irish, all AII verbs have been synchronically palatalised. DIL usually gives the Middle Irish forms for their headwords. In this thesis, the non-palatalised forms are given for the verbs in question. Other deviations from DIL are marked and discussed. Reference to the DIL headword is always given. If the headword itself is not attested within the Würzburg and Milan Glosses, but is extant elsewhere, it is preceded by †, if it is not attested at all, it is preceded by *. The translations following the headword and the individual
compounds are the first two translations given in DIL, unless otherwise stated.

Where a verb can be or has been directly derived from a Proto-Indo-European verbal root, either primary or secondary, this root is given, with the development to Common Celtic. Where roots are quoted from pre-laryngealistic sources, laryngeals are silently supplied. Cognates in other languages follow.

Within the entries, first the Würzburg, then the Milan forms are given, in the following tense and mood order: present indicative, imperfect, imperative, present subjunctive, past subjunctive, future, secondary future, preterite active, preterite passive, participle, verbal of necessity, verbal noun. Passives follow actives in each tense and mood. Following DIL, suppletive forms are given under the verb they supply forms for. The one exception to this are the ·cuirethar forms which supply forms of fo·ceird. Fo·ceird is a primary BI verb and as such falls outside the discussion, but ·cuirethar is a secondary AII verb. Moreover, it has several compounds that do not stand in suppletive relationship to other verbs. Simplex and compounds are given under headword ·cuirethar.

Nominal derivations are noted as ‘denom. / deadj. < [base noun / adj.] ‘[meaning]’. The verb arsadaigidir is therefore given as ‘Deadj. < arsaid ‘old, ancient’. If the base itself is derived, that derivation is given. Verbal derivations are given as ‘caus. / iterative’ (of [OI verb] if applicable). Verbal Latin loans are given as ‘Lat. [verb]’. Where applicable, discussion follows.

Full references are given at the end of each lemma.
5.2 AI verbs

**ad·cobra** ‘desires, wishes’


Denom. < *accobar* ‘desire, wish’, also used as VN. Cf. *milchobur* ‘honey-desirer, bear’ (Thurneysen, Watkins).


***ad·cranna*** ‘casts lots’ (translation mine)


Denom. < *crann* ‘tree, wood’, also ‘wooden piece used in casting lots’ (DIL 509: 33). LEIA does not register the verb. Only the participle is attested, and this is *hapax legomenon*.


**ad·éitchethar** ‘detests’


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adéitchide, aideitchide gl. detestanda 36a16, adéitchidi gl. exacrabilia 74c2, nom. pl. adeitchidi gl. prophanatis 100e16-17, VN (m u) adéitchet, acc. sg. adeitched 74c3, gl. execrationem 74c4, adeitched gl. detestationem 103a7, dat. sg. adeitched gl. detestatione 50b4.

Deadj. < étig ‘unnatural, unseemly’. Although this looks at first sight like an AII deadjectival, it is not. OI étig is a reflex of *an-tekiś. An a-verb formed from that would be *antekātor and an i-verb *antekītor (both with regular syncope). They would be completely indistinguishable in Old Irish in all their forms. The verb is synchronically AII, but was formed with suffix *-ā- and is therefore originally AI. This also shows that this verb must have been created before Old Irish. If it were, it would have been formed as an -igidir verb (**étigigedar or possibly **étigedar), because AII deadjectivals were not allowed (cf. p. 62). The verb only occurs in Milan.

Deponents are discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.

DIL s.v. ad-éitchethar 52: 1, étig 239: 53.

adraid ‘adores, worships’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. adras 9c33, perf. 3sg. rel. adrorsat 1b19, impv. 3pl. adrat 6d7, Milan: pres. 1sg. nadnadrain 132c1, impf. 3pl. (rel.) adordais 36d16, past subj. 3sg. (rel.) adrodar 14b4 (Note Thes.: ‘For adrodar, Ascoli suggests adradar, J.S. adrorad’; DIL follows the adrorad reading. A pass. is impossible in this context, and adraid would not take dep. endings in the pret., so I accept DIL’s reading.), fut. 3sg. rel. adnorfa 81d6, perf. 3sg. rel. atror 69d3 (Note Thes.: ‘MS. at ror’), VN (m u) adrad 93a1, acc. sg. atrab 94b25, gen. sg. adradā 49a23, 73d2, 3 dat. sg. adrad 81d5, 104c4, nom. pl. adradai 46b30, acc. pl. adradu 62d1, dat. pl. adradaih 46b26, 47d10.

Lat. adorare ‘honour, adore’ (cf. section 3.2, page 48 for a discussion of Latin loans). In Wb. Lex. as ad-ora. The only certain simplex form in Würzburg and Milan is the 3sg. rel. adras (Wb. 9c33), since the relative endings are confined to the absolute forms of simplex verbs. Against the one simplex form, we find four compound forms, three with ro-infixed after ad- and one with a nasalisation infixed after ad-. That implies
that the scribe saw *ad-* as a preverb. The other attestations in Würzburg and Milan have no diagnostic features. Considering that the earliest attestations already show a mixture, it is impossible to determine whether this was originally a simplex or a compound verb and DIL has therefore been followed. When a verb could be treated either as a compound or a simple verb, it seems that Old Irish had no one way of dealing with these. Some verbs became simple verbs, some verbs became compounds (cf. *consecra* ‘consecrates’, page 123, borrowed from Lat. *consecrare*), and some, like *adraid* became a mixture. The issue has been briefly dealt with in section 3.5, pages 74f.


*aíraid* ‘saturises, lampoons’

*aíraid*: Würzburg: pres. subj. 2pl. with infix. pron. 1pl.: *airid* 16a1, *do·athaíra* (‘censures, finds fault with’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. *donatháira* 3d3.

Denom. < *air*, ‘cutting, incising’, but also ‘act of satirising’ and ‘defaming’. Root uncertain. According to LEIA we can establish a connection with Lat. *aerumna* ‘toil, task’, but *aerumna* is a loan from Greek *αἱροµένη* (Walde & Hofman), which precludes a connection with the Irish.

Note that the glide is not written in the Wb. form.


*armaid* ‘arms, equips’


It is unclear whether *armaid* is denom. < *arm* ‘armour, battle equipment’, from Lat. *arma* ‘weapons, armour’ or directly borrowed from Lat. *armare* ‘equip’. See above, page 48, for further discussion.

ásaid ‘grows; increases’

ásaid: Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. nastae 87b12, perf. 3pl. roásaiset 2a6, for-ásá (‘grows, increases’): Würzburg: impf. 1sg. forássin 18c15, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. forása 29a10, pres. subj. 3pl. forásat 40b4, 46d7, perf. 2sg. forràssissiu (in DIL spelled forrasais-siu; Thes. has another interpretation: ‘leg. forràrsissiu (= fo-n-ror-asis-siu)? J.S.; in the MS. Nigra and Ascoli read forràrsissiu’) 38a9, forràssais 43d17, 3sg. forrás 115d11.

Denom. < ás ‘act of growing, growth’.


as-scarta ‘drives’


Milan: past subj. 3pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. atamscartis 59a21;

This verb is derived from a Celtic verbal adjective *skar-to- of the verb that becomes OI scaraid ‘separates, parts’. This participle itself is not attested in Old Irish. The Brittonic cognate and the fact that the base is not attested in Old Irish points towards this being an inherited formation, see Chronology, sections 3.6 and 3.7 pages 75ff. As-scarta is found in the chronology on p. 80.


bennachaid ‘blesses’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. and emp. pron. 1pl. nonbendachani 11b7, 3pl. with infix. pron. 2pl. nobendachat 7b21, fut. 1sg. with interrog. part. and infix. pron. 2sg. indathendachub 33d11, pres. subj. 2sg. manibendachae 5d23, Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. nobendachhar 33d23, verb. nec. bendachdai 138a1.

Lat. benedicere ‘bless, praise’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA B-36, DIL s.v. bennachaid 77: 1.
**berbaid** ‘boils, cooks’


Also *beirbid*. Based on the Proto-Indo-European root *bhers̥-,* which gives the above Welsh and Breton verbs. The Old Irish verb is secondary and an inherited denominative, because the base noun is not extant in Old Irish. It has been derived in Celtic from *bervyos*. This noun is attested in Welsh, *berw* ‘stock, bubbling’ (also as adj. ‘boiling’), MB *beru, ModB ber* ‘stock’ (LEIA). *Berbaid* is found in the Chronology on p. 80. It is not impossible that *berbaid* was originally a primary verb that has taken on weak flection, but note that in most cases where primary verbs have taken on weak flection, reasons can be given (most often nasal presents which become weak through regular phonological changes or a verb in a different tense or mood that has been reinterpreted or re-formed as a present form of a weak verb). There seems to be no underlying motivation for a primary verb going weak in this case. (See chapter 6, pages 259ff. for an overview of the primary verbs gone weak in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses.)

IEW 143-5, LEIA B-40-1, LIV^2^ 81, DIL s.v. *berbaid* 82: 22.

**berraid** ‘shears, clips’


Deadj. < *berr* ‘short’. DIL suggests that the adjective could also mean ‘short-haired’. However, they base this on the meaning of the verb. Considering the cognates in Welsh etc., it is clear that the adjective just means ‘short’. The verb then originally meant ‘shortens’, and took on the secondary meaning ‘shears’. The meaning of the adjective seems not to have been affected. *Do-berra* is hapax legomenon. The Middle Breton verb *berrhat* is not a direct cognate of this, because the -ha- shows that this is a *-sag-ᵅ-* verb.
bertaid ‘brandishes, flourishes’

bertaid: Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. bertaigther 75b13, ar·berta (‘proposes, intends’): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with emp. pron. 1sg. arromertussa 31d14, 3sg. rel. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. arrobertsom 29d23, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. ararbera 102c5, impf. 3sg. rel. arambertad 53d4, perf. 1sg. arromertz 51a12, 58c9, arrumertus 58d17, 3pl. rel. ararobert 66c19, VN airmert 98a7, dat. sg. airmiurt 40d12, airmiurt 65a8.

Denom. < bert, ‘burden, load’, also ‘deed, exploit’. The forms with -m- instead of -b- (such as arromertus Wb. 31d14 and the VN airmert Mi. 98a7 above) are not fundamental to the Old Irish verb but a contamination based on a root *smer-, cf. W armerthu, d-armerthu, ‘prepare’, Vann. armerhein, ‘prepare’ (Isaac).

The different meanings of the verb correspond closely to the different meanings of its base. Note the existence of a young verb bertaigidir (see below, page 174). Bertaigidir is not found in Würzburg and only has the meaning ‘shakes’. Bertaid on the other hand occurs with wider meanings that seem to cover the width of the meanings of the adjective, suggesting greater age (see also Chronology, pp. 80 and 82). It is likely that bertaigidir was formed for the more specific meaning of ‘shakes’. DIL’s statement ‘bertaigidir = bertaid’ (s.v. bertaigidir) is therefore incorrect.

Although there is certainly an element of iterativity in bertaid, this has nothing to do with the relationship between the noun and the verb; the fact that bertaid is an AI verb is thus consistent with the scheme proposed in this thesis (see section 3.3.1.1, pp. 55ff. for the importance of iterativity, as well as causativity and transitivity in the scheme underlying formation as AI or AII verbs).


biathaid ‘feeds, nourishes’

Cf. W bwydo ‘feed’ (Ped., note that he cites a rare late form bwyda).
Corpus of secondary verbs

ar·biatha (‘feeds, nourishes’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. arábéithfet 46c8.

Denom. < biad ‘food’. The W bwydo is denominative from bwyd. Whereas it could be argued that the Welsh and the Old Irish are cognates, there are two things that speak against this. First of all, both Old Irish and Welsh have synonyms for the concept of feeding (such as OI méthaid, sásaíad, cf. DIL, MW llithyaw, cf. Isaac), which makes it less likely that it was this particular verb that was used in Celtic. Secondly, both verbs form their verbal noun using a productive suffix within the individual language. I argue therefore that these verbs are not cognates, but have been individually coined within the languages, see also pp. 76 and 82.


bocaid ‘softens, makes soft’

Würzburg: past subj. 2sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. notbocctha 5b32.

Deadj. < boc ‘soft, gentle’.

Thes. translates the form in Würzburg above as ‘boasts’ and DIL follows that (s.v. bocaid 129: 75-78). They suggest that since the verb moídid ‘boasts’, which they derive from moíth ‘soft’, has a similar semantic development from ‘soft’ to ‘boasts’, the verb bocaid could also be used in this way. However, moídid is a causative (see below, page 232) and therefore DIL’s justification for translating bocaid as ‘boasts’ falls. No justification is given in Thes., but the context requires no translation ‘boasts’. ‘Softens’ will suffice just as well. The gloss reads ... nípatha labar et nípadro (mór) notbocctha et armtairismeoch inhiris’, ‘... thou shouldst not be talkative (?), and thou shouldst not boast / soften yourself overmuch, and that thou shouldst be constant in faith.’ The verbal form itself has an infixed pronoun 2sg. In this context, ‘you should not soften yourself’, perhaps meaning ‘you should not be too soft on yourself’ fits just as well as ‘you should not boast’. There is no reason to add an otherwise unattested meaning to bocaid.

brénaid ‘is rotten, putrid, putrifies’

Milan: perf. 3pl. robrénsat 58a15.

Deadj. < brén ‘stinking, fetid’. This is an unusual deadjectival, because most deadjectivals are factitives, see section 3.3.1.2, page 62. Its base brén is not attested in Old Irish, but its existence is clear from attestations in the later language. Note that the entry in LEIA is inconclusive about the origin of the noun. The corresponding Brittonic forms (W braen, MB breyn) are given, but the inconsistency in vocalism between OI -é- and MW -ae- is not addressed.

LEIA B-84-5, DIL s.v. brénaid 177: 14, brén 176: 69.

†brúchtaid ‘bursts, belches forth’

do-brúchta (‘gushes forth, breaks forth’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. dubrúcti 9d1, Milan: VN tobrúchtad, gen. sg. tobrúchto 64c15.

Denom. < brücht ‘burst, bursting’.

Thes. notes: ‘Three letters, cti (cti vel ctr Zimmer), seem to come between ú and á, leg. dubrú a triassom? J.S.’ In the Addenda and Corrigenda, page 726, the following note is added: ‘Nach dubrú lese ich auch cti oder ctr; ersteres wahrscheinlicher, Chroust.’

Wb. Lex. has the compound as du-brúcti, seemingly based on the emendation, and refers to the note in the addenda and corrigenda of Thes. DIL registers the verb as do-brúcta, gives the form in Würzburg with a question mark and states ‘reading doubtful, see note.’

Brúchtaid would have resisted palatalisation even if it were AII, so a conjunct form is needed to decide whether this verb is AI or AII. Two such forms are attested. One is the form dobrúcti in the Würzburg gloss above, the other the pres. ind. 3sg. conj -brúchta in the Old Irish Félire Oengusso Céli Dé (Stokes 1905b) for June 21st. The reading in Würzburg is doubtful, but the reading in the Félire is clear. Moreover, taking brúchtaid as an AI verb is consistent with the subclassification scheme argued in this thesis as brúchtaid is intransitive (see section 3.3.1.1, pages 55ff. for the scheme; brúchtaid has been discussed on page 59.).
Corpus of secondary verbs


**cammaid** ‘bends’


Deadj. < *camm*, ‘crooked, bent’. OI *camm* is a loan from MW *camm*, because the Old Irish cannot be a direct descendant of *cambo*; that would give OI **camb**. Since OI *camm* is consistently spelled *camm*\(^{29}\), it cannot be *camb*. For Continental Celtic cognates of the noun, see Delamarre s.v. *cambo*–.


**caraid** ‘loves’


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\(^{29}\) The only exception is in the Annals of Ulster, the manuscript of which is much later than the Old Irish period. *Caimb*, gen. sg. there is therefore most likely a hypercorrection.
carthach, carthacha 130b3, carthaig 133d7, VN (GOI §721, but cf. p. 683 note 157) serc 56b28-29, dat. sg. seirc 68b9, 98c3.

Given in IEW and by Pedersen as cognate to Latin cārus, Sanskrit cāru- etc., but the OI -a- is short, while the -a- in other Indo-European languages is long (LEIA). It is not registered in LIV² or Schumacher (2004). No reasonable Old Irish base noun or adjective can be found, and two realistic possibilities for its primary origins have been put forward by Watkins and Hamp. Watkins considers this to be ‘a formally gramaticalized borrowing from emotive child language’ and primary. Hamp suggests either PIE *keH₃aᵲ or *kerH₃a-. In the first case, the long ā found in for example Latin and Sanskrit would be regular and Celtic would have methathesized and the in second case, the short a found in Celtic would be regular and the other languages would have methathesized. (Cf. also Beekes and McConne).

However, Isaac points out that this verb could also be an old derivative from an adjective PIE *kh₂-r-ō/*kh₂-r-ēh₂- ‘desired, desirable, loved’, giving a verb PIE *kh₂-r-ēh₂-je-ti > CC *kar-ā-t(-i) > OI caraid, ‘cara’.


celebraid ‘celebrates’

Würzburg: perf. 1sg. arocelebrus 14d31, Milan: past subj. 3pl. rel. aracelebartis 102d3, VN celebrid 80a4, dat. sg. celebra 133c9.

Lat. celebrare ‘celebrate, perform’. Latin borrowings have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA C-60, DIL s.v. celebraid 109: 12.

†certaid ‘disposes, arrays’

con·certa (‘emends (text), corrects (person)’): Milan: perf. 1sg. conacertus 2a1, with infix. pron. 3sg. m./n. conaicertus 2a13, 3pl. aconcertat 129c11, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m./n. conaicert 2a6, etar·certa (‘interprets, decides’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. rel. co
Corpus of secondary verbs


Deadj. < cert, ‘correct, right’ < Lat. certus ‘certain’ (the Latin verb certare ‘vie with, contest’ has been deemed unsuitable as origin on semantic grounds). Direct and indirect borrowings from Latin have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

Ped. ii 485-6, LEIA C-75-6, DIL s.v. certaid 145: 58, con-certa 428: 53, eter-certa 231: 51, cert 143: 1.

*cíallaithir ‘thinks about, cares’ (transl. mine)

Cf. W pwyllaf ‘think about, care’, gobwyllaf ‘think, meditate, consider’ and ‘prepare’.

ar·foichledar (*gets ready beforehand, prepares*): Würzburg: pass. perf. 3pl. arforchelta 4c37, Milan: perf. 2sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. rel. arndamroichlis 74d7, part. airche(l)tae, ercheltae 19a2, ercheltae 53b14, nom. pl. aircheltai 27b10, acc. pl. ercheltu 32a18, VN airichill, erfoichell 73d2, 3; fo·cíallathar (*pays heed to, takes care of*): Würzburg: perfect. pres. ind. (or pres. subj. rel.) 3pl. rel. with infix. pron. 3pl. nacharochlat 19c15, fut. 3pl. rel. focheiftatar 30d15; pass.: pres. ind. rel. focialtar 29c4, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. fonrochled 19c13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. fuciallathar 114b3, impv. 2pl. foichlid 68a15, fut. 3sg. fucheillfeara (cf. McCone 1985: 98) 90c15.

Denom. < cíall ‘sense’. Although there are only two unclear attestations of the simplex *cíallaithir,*30 the Welsh cognate confirms that the simplex existed at some point. In the Chronology above (section 3.7, pages 77ff.) I have given cíallaithir as an early Celtic derivation (cíallaithir is on page 80). Its Welsh cognates and the fact that it uses its base as VN are arguments for it being an inherited formation. I argue that this is an early formation because thinking, considering, taking care, are very basic

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30 Pedersen (ii 482) refers to ciallathar (LU 91a4 = Best & Bergin 1929: 226, line 7373) and ciallastar (LL 14231 = Best & Bergin 1956: 455, line 14231). DIL has ciallathar as headword with a question mark and a tentative translation ‘gathers?’ and a reference to fo·ciallathar. They register ciallastar under ar·ciallathar.
Corpus of secondary verbs

concepts. The motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.

Note the confusion with roots in *cel-* in the compounds (Ped.).


**clannaid** ‘plants, sows’

Würzburg: pass. perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. *rob clandad* 21d6, Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. rel. *clantar* 63b9, impf. 3pl. rel. *noclantis* 63b9, VN *clannad, clandad* 121c12.

Denom. <*clann* ‘plant, planting’, <*Lat.* *planta* ‘cutting, seedling’ or a direct borrowing from Lat. *plantare* ‘propagate from cuttings’. Direct and indirect borrowings have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


**cloínaid** ‘bends’


Deadj(251,425),(300,448). <*clóen* ‘uneven, crooked’.


**cobraithir** ‘helps, succours’


Denom. <*cobair* ‘help, assistance’. Motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed on pages 63f.


†**coílaid** ‘makes thin, grows thin’

Cf. W *cul* ‘narrow’.

**as·rochoíli** (‘defines, determines’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. (with pret. and perf. meaning) *asrochoili* 10b20, impf. ind. 3sg. rel. *asrochoiled* 27a17, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *asrochoili* 35d22, impv. with infix. pron. 1sg. *atamrochoilse* 24a15, past subj. 3sg. *asrochoiled* 36b13, pret./perf. 3sg. rel. *diandrerchoil* 46c7, 1pl. (rel.) *asrochoilsem* 22c3, 2pl. rel. *asrochoilsid*
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95c3, 3pl. rel. asrochoilset 95c2, part. erchoilte 130b9, VN érchoiliud, aérochóiliud 22c3, érchoiliud 136d6, erchoiliud 31d1, dat. sg. érchoiliud 22c3, erchoiliud 22c3, gen. sg. erchoiltea 26d13, nom. pl. erchoili 74d7, aërhoilite 72d9, acc. pl. aërhotíiliu 132e15; *remi-erchoílii (‘predestinates, predetermines’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. remirérchóil (MS remiríérchóil) 4b8.

This is related to coílaígídir ‘makes thin, grows thin’ (see below, page 183), but pace LEIA the verbs were coined independently of each other. Both are derived from coil ‘thin, slender’, but they are morphologically distinct: coílaid is an AI active verb and coílaígídir is an -igidir verb.

The compound as-rochoíli has not only become figurative in meaning, but has also changed class. As discussed above, section 3.3.1.2, page 62, this is due to its acquired iterativity: As-rochoíli means ‘defines, determines’, which implies the repeated making thinner, making narrower.

Note that DIL cites the base adjective in its Middle Irish form with -áe-. The Old Irish would have been -oi-. Pedersen’s connection with W coel is incorrect: W -oe- does not correspond to OI -oi-.


comalnaithir ‘fulfils, discharges’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. comalnas 7b15, nád chomalnatar 27c14, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nodchomalnadar 15b14, 2pl. hore nocomalnít 15a9, 23a15, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. manidchomalnít 18b7, 3pl. with emp. pron. 3pl. ni comalnatsom 20c22, rel. forsnáhi comalnatar 20d1, comalnatar 20d2, hore nadcomalnát 31b31, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. rachomalnastar sede 24a37, with infix. pron. 3pl. roscomalnastar 21b9, 2pl. with emp. pron. 2pl. rocomalnisídsi 26b6, 3pl. rel. indí rochomalnisset 2c14, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. (elided) arinchomalnathar 31c14, 3pl. machomalnít 28c7, 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. maniscomalnadar 29a16, perfect. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. actrachomalnathar 31b11; 1pl. diacomalnammar 15d27, rel. cocomalnammar 31c11, 2pl. duís incomalnít 14d23, with infix. pron. 3sg.
n. nachomalnith 13a32, rel. aracomalnid 32a3, perf. 2pl. conrochomalnid 7c10, 23b40; 3pl. manicomolnathar 2c10, past subj. 1sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. (elided) dianchomalninn 3c28, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. cenachomalnithe 13a33; impv. 2sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. noscomalnithe 30a1, 2pl. comaln 8d26, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nachomalnidi 15a7, with infix. pron. 3pl. noscomalnidi 25b1; pass.: pres. subj. 3sg. manicomollnither 2c17, rel. aracomalnither 15a19, perf. act rocomalnither 26a15, past subj. 3sg. rel. conocomalnithe 3d26 (= 3d25, Thes. Suppl. p. 38), conocomalnide 19b22, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. comallaitdi 94b1, 3pl. comallait 146a1, neg. nacomallatar 94b4, pass. sg. comalnithir 128d11, impv. 2pl. comallaid 115c2, impf. 3sg. nochomallad 36a21, pres. subj. 1sg. manucomallainn 131d19, 3sg. maní comalla 94b10, 1pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. masc. dian d comallammar 46c20, 2pl. chomallaitde 95c3, past subj. 2sg. chomallada 70c13, 3pl. nocomallaititis 95c2, pass. sg. nochomallad 35c12, fut. 3sg. comallaibther 117c3, rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. nudcomálnabadar 46c20, 3pl. acomallaibte 121b8, pass. sg. comallaibther 89b11, pl. archomallaibtir 109c09, sec. fut. pass. sg. nocomallaibthe 105b14, perf. 1sg. rocomallus 74d5, 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. rondchomallastar 122b7, 3pl. neg with infix. pron. 3pl. niruscomallas(atar) 105a6, pass. sg. rocomallad 81d5, pl. rocomallada 74c20, rocomalnada 44d31, rel. roncomallad 38c9, verb. nec. comallaidi 62c5, VN comalnad, comall, comallad 14c14, comallada (?) 122d4, acc. sg. chomallad 70c15, 76a15, comallad 94b3 (2x), dat. sg. chomallad 39a12, 46c6, 95c3, chomalnad 77a12.

Deadj. < comlann ‘(equally) full, complete’. Motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.

LEIA C-165, 175, DIL s.v. comalnaithir 349: 9, comlann 387: 20, O’Rahilly 1942: 173-6, McCone 1997: 41.

con·delca ‘compares’

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Denom. *< coindelg* in the meaning of ‘comparison’. This is the VN of a Celtic verb *delg-eio- < PIE *delgʰh* ‘hold together’, not attested in Old Irish. The primary verb is attested in Brittonic, the root cognates are given above. It is not impossible that *con·delca* was originally a primary verb that has taken on weak flection, but note that in most cases where primary verbs have taken on weak flection, reasons can be given (most often nasal presents which become weak through regular phonological changes or a verb in a different tense or mood that has been reinterpreted or re-formed as a present form of a weak verb). There seems to be no underlying motivation for a primary verb going weak in this case. (See chapter 6, pages 259ff. for an overview of the primary verbs gone weak in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses.)


*con·secra* ‘consecrates, dedicates’


Lat. *consecrare* ‘consecrate, dedicate’, treated as a compound in Old Irish, cf. *adraid* ‘worships’ (page 110) which is another Latin loan that is treated as a compound in certain cases. For further discussion on the formation as either compound or simple verbs, see section 3.5, pages 74f. Latin loans are discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

Ped. ii 496, LEIA C-199-200, DIL s.v. *con-secra* 461: 3.
crechaid ‘plunders, spoils’

do·crecha (‘excogitates, devises’): Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. docrechub 126c23, 3sg. duchrecha (Note Thes.: ‘MS duchrech’) 85b15, 3pl. dochrechat 22b5, duchrechat 28c9, 30b6, duchrechat 85b3, perf. 3sg. durochrech 68c11, 3pl. durochrechat 47d15, VN (m u) tochrechad 55c13, acc. sg. tochrechad 103d8, dat. sg. tochrechad 19a, acc. pl. tochrechthu 26d4.

Denom. < crech ‘plunder, booty’.

LEIA C-225-6, DIL s.v. crechaid 514: 62, do·crecha 233: 20, crech 513: 44.

crochaid ‘crucifies, hangs’

Würzburg: perf. 3pl. rochrochsat 5c11; pass.: past subj. 3sg. nocrochthe 19b6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. nudamcrocha 32d28, perf. 3pl. (rel.) rocrochsat 24d4, rochrochsat 25b5, part. crochthae, gen. sg. crochta 16c5, VN (m u) crochad, dat. sg. crochad 86d19.

Denom. < croch ‘cross’, < Lat. crux ‘cross’. Direct and indirect borrowings from Latin have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA C-242, DIL s.v. crochaid 541: 30, croch 540: 17.

crothaid ‘shakes, causes to tremble’

crothaid: Milan: VN crothad, dat. sg. crothad 63d8, fo·crotha (‘makes quiver, shakes’): Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. nafocrothai 64a4, pres. subj. pass. focrotar 129a10, past subj. 3sg. focrothad 64a6, cofucrothad 23b14, pass. sg. focrothtae 68a5, part. (DIL gives this as part., but with a question mark) fochratae, dat. pl. fochrataib 80c11.

DIL refers to crod, ‘act of destroying, destruction’, but this seems unlikely. Under the PIE root *kret- ‘shakes’, Pokorny mentions both crothaid and a Gallo-romance *crottiare. *crottiare has been reconstructed by Von Wartburg on the basis of Catalan gronçar ‘to rock (a baby to sleep)’ (cf. French bercer < *bertiare), Occitan crossar ‘id.’, Bern dialect crouchier ‘id.’, French (regional?) grotter ‘id.’. *crottiare appears to be a Vulgar Latin verb based on a Gaulish causative *krot-t-. However, pace Schumacher, OI
crothaíd does not reflect an inherited causative/iterative, because it is AI. I propose that this verb is derived from a nomen actionis created using the o-acrostic form of the root *kret- declined as an o- or ā-stem: *krótos (/on/-ā). This noun is itself not attested in Old Irish, but the existence of the root in Celtic is corroborated by for example OI crith ‘act of shaking, trembling’, W cryd ‘trembling, ague’. Moreover, a denominative from this root would result in Old Irish as crothaíd and it is certainly possible for a verb to survive while its base gets lost (cf. fo·cridigedar, page 210). This implies that this verb is old: certainly old enough for the base noun to disappear from the language. Crothaíd’s relationship to the scheme argued in this thesis is discussed on page 60 and can be found in the chronology on page 80 with discussion on page 82.


cruachaid ‘piles up, stacks up’ (LEIA)

   Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. arnacrucha (Note Thes.: ‘MS. arnacrucha’)
   gl. turgescat 68c7.

   Denom. < cruach, ‘stack of corn, rick’. The verb is not translated in DIL, but Thes. translates the gloss as ‘that he may not swell’. As has been discussed on page 61, although cruachaid expresses an iterative action (piling up), it is not iterative in relationship to its base (making stack) and is therefore not AII. The verb only occurs twice outside of the Milan Gloses.

   LEIA C-249-50, DIL s.v. cruachaid 555: 14, 1. cruach 554: 46.

cúrsagaid ‘corrects, chastises’

   Würzburg: perf. 1sg. rel. with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. m. and emp. pron. 1sg. rondecársagusa (= -gussa) 19a6, 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. rodchúrsach 14d18, perf. pres. subj. 3sg. rocúrsacha 4a2, Milan: impf. 3pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. nomechuarsachtis 54c15, VN cúrsagad, cursachad 55c10, acc. pl. chuarsachada 54c14.
Lat. curas agere ‘take care of, take in hand’, the -ch- in the Old Irish forms is due to modelling on maldachaid, bendachaid etc. (Thurneysen). Loans from Latin have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA C-296-7, DIL s.v. círsgaid 636: 14, Thurneysen 1918: 412-3, GOI § 128.

damnaid ‘condemns, punishes’

Milan: pres. pass. sg. rel. huandamnither 57d8, VN damnad, dat. sg. with poss. 3pl. diannamnad 140b11.

Lat. damnare ‘pass judgement, find guilty’. Latin borrowings have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA D-21, DIL s.v. damnaid 66: 52.

dechraid ‘marks out, distinguishes’

Würzburg: pass.: pres. subj. 3sg. maní dechríther (Editors: dechrigther) 12c46.

Denom. < dechor ‘the condition of being different, difference’. DIL specifies that the verb is an ā-derivative; Pedersen and LEIA derive the noun dechor from *di-cuir-, which is only attested as VN.


delbaid ‘shapes, forms’

Cf. W delwi ‘stop, freeze’, delw ‘statue’ (LEIA).

Milan: perf. pass. sg. rudelbad 74a11.

Denom. < delb, ‘form, figure’. Whereas the W delwi and the OI delbaid are formally exact cognates, it is clear from the semantic fields of these verbs that each has been coined independently (see also page 76). The W delw that delwi is derived from, means ‘statue’. The verb is formed from that specific meaning and means ‘stop, freeze, become motionless’, i.e. ‘become like a statue’. The Old Irish verb, on the other hand, has the wider meanings ‘shapes, forms’ that correspond to the wider meanings of the noun delb ‘shape, form’ that this is derived from. Moreover, Old Irish has several synonyms for the concept of shaping and forming. These verbs have
therefore most likely been coined within the individual languages. In the Chronology, *delbaid* has therefore been assigned to Old Irish (page 82). The semantics of *delbaid* have been discussed on page 92.


derbaid ‘certifies, proves’


Deadj. < *derb* ‘sure, certain’.


dínochtaid ‘lays bare, uncovers’

cf. W *dinothi* ‘lays bare, uncovers’.


Deadj. < *nocht*, ‘naked, bare’. The verb is *hapax legomenon*. The Welsh cognate cannot be taken as an argument for age, since besides being *hapax*, this is too common a concept. It could have been formed in any stage of the language. It has therefore not been assigned to a specific language phase in the Chronology (section 3.7, pp. 77ff.). It could also be seen as a calque on Lat. *denudare* ‘strip’, but the same constraint applies that it is a very common concept. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

LEIA D-93, DIL s.v. *dínochtaid* 131: 6, 2. *nocht* 53: 70.

*dírgidir* ‘directs, aims’

Deadj. < *diriuch ‘straight, direct’. In Old Irish, *dirgedar has a mixture of AI and AII forms, cf. the pres. ind. 3sg condirgedar and the fut. 3pl. condirgebadar above. Both CC *dí-reg-ā-tor and CC *dí-reg-ī-tor would have given OI *dirgedar, leading to confusion in the Old Irish inflection. This is historically an AI verb (it must be, because it is deadjectival, cf. p. 62), but looks like an AII verb. In fact, this could also be an -igidir verb with loss of -ch- by haplology, but since there are other alternatives, I have applied the principle of economy (cf. section 3.4.1, page 67).

*dirigidir is not attested in Old Irish, and only as an active verb in Middle Irish. It is however clear that this was the simplex of the compound verbs attested in the glosses. DIL’s first meanings ‘straightens, makes straight’ do not show the subject involvement expected in a deponent verb (cf. section 3.3.1.3, page 43, footnote 10, and see page 63), but the meanings ‘directs, aims, guides’ (DIL s.v. dirgid 135: 36) do.


dlomaid ‘announces, proclaims’

Milan: pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. dlomas 30b19, pass. sg. dlomthair 59d7.

Denom. < *dlom ‘proclamation’. LEIA refers to O’Dav. 697 ‘dlom .i. foillsiugud.’ DIL has this reference under the verb dlomaid and does not register the noun itself, but has all the occurences under the verb.


dlúthaid ‘compresses, condenses’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. dlutair 116a4, pass. sg. dlutair 74c21, pres. subj. 3pl. codluthit 69d10, perf. 3sg. rel. rundlúth 33a17, VN dlúthad, acc. sg. dluthad 144d4.

Deadj. < *dlúth, ‘close, compact’.

†do·ecrathar ‘covers, protects’

imm·tecrathar (‘covers, protects’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel.
immethecrathar 65a1.

Denom. < técar ‘shelter, cover’. No simplex attested. As has been discussed above (page 63), the motivation for formation as a deponent verb is greater subject involvement. Since do·ecrathar always has the connotation of ‘protects’, the subject clearly has a direct interest in the action.


do·éta ‘clothes’


Pedersen and Wb. Lex. take the above form donetadsom as coming from a verb *do·éta ‘clothes’. DIL registers the form under do-etha ‘goes to, visits’ and does not list a verb do·éta. There is no Old Irish noun or adjective to derive a verb *do·éta from, but cf. étgud ‘covering, clothing’, étiud ‘raiment, covering’ and étach ‘covering, raiment’, which all contain this element ét-. Étach is given by DIL as VN of in·tuigethar ‘covers, clothes’. Either the VN was morphologically related to this verb, or it came to be used as the VN of this verb. In the first case it is possible that the element ét was reinterpreted as a noun in its own right of which a verb could be derived. In the second case étach is itself derived from a noun or adj. *ét. In both cases, there is certainly a possibility for a verb *do·éta as Wb. Lex. proposes. Moreover, the later verb étaiid also looks like it was derived from *ét. The etymology of *ét itself, however, remains unknown.

Both the Thesaurus and DIL emend the Würzburg gloss above to do-n-ethad-som, as if it came from the verb do·etha ‘goes to, visits’. Considering that this requires an emendation that does not even make sense, that analysis does not hold and I have followed Pedersen and Wb. Lex.’s suggestion for the verb do·éta.
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do·gaítha ‘deceives, dupes’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. nimthogaitha 4b27, perf. 1pl. niruthógaitsam 16a22, perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. nitorgaitha 25b5, pass. perf. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. conintorgáitar 14d27.

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dogaitha 31a13, (rel.) dugáitha 55c13, pass. pl. dugaithatar 31c8, 31c25, honuntogaitar 32a6, impf. 3pl. dungaitis 31c20, pres. subj. pass. pl. dungaithatar 54a30, fut. 3pl. dugaithfiter 54a26, perf. 3sg. nimthorgaith 38a13, part. (io, iā) togaethae, togaiteae 40b11, VN (f ā) togáes, togáis 28b17, acc. sg. togais 28c14, 30d18, 75d2, dat. sg. thogais 33d19, thogais 38a13, 74a7, togais 61a6.

Deadj. < gáeth, ‘wise, intelligent, shrewd’.

LEIA D-147, DIL s.v. do-gaétha 281: 21, gáeth 13: 15.

doíraid ‘debases, takes captive’

Milan: impf. 3pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. nondoiritis 34a7, past subj. 3pl. with infix. pron. nondoirtis 28c18, part. doirthe, nom. pl. doisri 34d10.

Deadj. < doir, ‘unfree, low-born’.

LEIA D-158-9, DIL s.v. doiráid 322: 59, doir 320: 56.

dolbaid ‘fashions, shapes’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. rondolbi 4c26, Milan: impf. 3pl. nodolbtais 54c12, part. doilbthe, dat. pl. doislothib 31a8, 61b13, VN dolbud, dat. sg. dolbud 24d8.

Denom. < dolb ‘sorcery, illusion’. The verb has meanings that include the fashioning of something magic or the fashioning of something by magic (DIL 327: 37), but these meanings are not attested in the Glosses and from the attestations given in DIL seem all later.

LEIA D-160, DIL s.v. dolb 327: 10, dolbaid 327: 32.
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do·molta ‘goads’

Würzburg: pres. subj. 2pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. nimthomoldid 20d4.


LEIA D-168, DIL s.v. do-molta 343: 76, molad 161: 47.

*donaid ‘consoles’


*donaid: Würzburg: VN donad 25c3, Milan: VN donad, dat. sg. donad 86d8; do·dona (‘consoles, comforts’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3pl. rel. dodonat 26d21, impv. 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. dandonid 14d21; pass.: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. and emp. pron. 1pl. dorondonadni 16b17, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. neg with infix. pron. 1sg. nachamdidna 86d3, impf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. dudamdonad 86d10, pass. sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. dumdontae 62c7, 62c18, VN didnad, didnad 59a15, didnad 126c15; *com·didnea (‘comforts, consoles’): Milan: VN comdidnad, acc. sg. comdidnad 87d1; imm·dítnathar (‘releases, exempts’): Würzburg: fut. pass. sg. ni imdidnibther (MS imdidnibther) 15c25.

*donaid is back-formed from do·dona. Do·dona is a verb based on a false interpretation of OI *diden as di-den. The Welsh cognate diddan shows that it was in fact did-en. OI *diden is not attested but its existence can be inferred from the compound deithiden ‘care, concern’. The interpretation of di as preverb also shows that this verb was created before the falling together of the preverbs di and do in deuterotonic position in Old Irish, see also the Chronology, pages 81 and 83.

The deponent flexion of imm·dítnathar is unusual. No active forms are attested for this compound.


do·tromma ‘makes heavy, weighs down’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. dobtromma 8c8.

†drúbaid ‘lingers, abides’

*fo·drúba (‘delays, lingers’): Milan: perf. 3sg. rel. forruadrú b gl. inmoratus 49b10.

Denom. < *drúb ‘delay, staying’.

dúnaid ‘shuts, closes’

dúnaid: Milan: part. nom. pl. f. dúntai 46a9, for-dúna (‘shuts, closes’): Milan: VN fordúnta, dat. sg. (?) forduntu 34a22, fris·dúna (‘shuts up, blocks’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. frisduntar 14c7, impv. 2sg. frithdún 54b7, perf. 3pl. frisrodúnsat 22a2, 39d4, part. frithdúntae 23b9.

Denom. < *dún ‘fort’. Watkins argues convincingly that the noun originally had the broader meaning of ‘enclosure’. The Celtic word *dūno- was at an early period borrowed into Germanic with the meaning ‘enclosure’, from which the meaning of ‘town’ develops, e.g. OE and ON tūn (from which OE tyñan ‘close, enclose’) and German Zaun (p. 451). Watkins connects OI dúin with Lat. fūnus ‘funeral’ and Hittite tuḫḫušta ‘it is finished’ (p. 452) and proposes an etymology *dʰeuh₂, *dʰuh₂ ‘finish, come to and end, come full circle’ (p. 453). This develops quite naturally into a meaning ‘enclosure’ for dúin, which itself only retains the meaning ‘fort’ in Old Irish. The verb dúnaid, then, will have been created prior to Old Irish, when dúin still retained its wider meaning of ‘enclosure’, see also Chronology page 81.


dúraid ‘hardens’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. duratar 132c5 (?DIL), part. dúrtha 84b8.
Deadj. < *dūr, ‘hard, rigid’. LEIA has *dūr as a loan from Lat. durus ‘hard, stern’; DIL suggests that with a question mark, but I see no problem with it. The verb could however also be a direct borrowing from Latin durare ‘harden’. Direct and indirect borrowings have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


emnaid ‘makes double, doubles’

Milan: VN emnad 76d2.

Denom. < *emon ‘a pair or triplet’. As discussed above, page 60, although the medieval attestations of emnaid are all transitive, it lends itself to ambitransitive reading. The intransitivity of the modern verb eamhnaigh supports this argument.

IEW 505, DIL s.v. emnaid 121: 13, emon 121: 52.

fégaid ‘looks at, observes’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. nadfēgar 36a38.

Deadj. < *féig ‘of sight, seeing, keen-sighted’. The etymology is complicated. The origin for the base adjective is unknown and the relationship between base adjective and verb is unclear. This is the only adjective in Old Irish from which the verb could conceivably have been derived, but it is an awkward derivation. It does, however, follow the pattern. It is a deadjectival, so it is in correspondence with the other verbs that it is AI. It is however not a factitive, which is unusual (see section 3.3.1.2, page 62). The relationship to the primary verb do·éccai (page 334) is obscure (DIL), but it is likely that fégaid and do·éccai became confused at an early stage.

Ped. ii 490, 611, DIL s.v. fégaid 59: 34, féig 65: 55.

feraid ‘grants, affords’

feraid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. ferid 4b19, perf. pres. ind. 3sg. rel. rofera 29b13, rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. romfera 24b15, perf. pres. subj. 3g. rel. with infix. pron. 1pl. Ṇdinroirea 29b16, 3pl. rel. Ṇróiret 29a9, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. with ro: romferat 22d5; con·foira (‘provides’; in Wb. Lex.
Corpus of secondary verbs

:foirea): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. with emp. pron. 1pl. aconfoirenni 8b13, Milan: pres. 2sg. conforsiu 114c4, perf. 3pl. conforoirisset 69a9, verb. nec. comfoiride (leg. comfoiridi) 64c4; dofera (‘assails’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. doferthar 138a9; fofera (‘causes, produces’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. fofera 2a17, rel. with petrified infix. pron. 3sg. n. fodera (= fo-d-[f]era) 3c33, 34, 5d5, 14c42, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. as object fuddera (= fu-d-d-[f]era) 33c12, 1pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. faeram 15d3, 3pl. nifoir 27d24, fut. 3sg. rel. foirfeas (= fo-firfeas) 11d3, perf. 3sg. furuar 2a18, rel. furuar 8b5, 14c43, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. fodruar 15a15, past subj. 1sg. rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. arnafoirinse 14d3, 3sg. rel. fuerad 33b13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with 3sg. infix. pron. n. fodera 32a5, 55d11, 93a13, past subj. 3sg. foired 43c3, fut. pass. sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. foirmfirdier 33b10, perf. 3sg. furuar 44b10-11, 3sg. with infix. pron. n. fodoruar 20b17, part. (io, ià) foiride 39b7, dat. sg. f foiridi 27b11, nom. pl. foiridi 43d13, VN fuar 81c2; *remi-foira (not in DIL, see part.): Milan: part. remfoiride, gen. pl. remfoiride 26c5, dat. pl. remfoiridib 72c3, VN remfuar, remuar 104b3.

Celtic derivative from the Proto-Indo-European for flowing water *h2uer-. The element appears in a series of ancient place names in Britain and on the Continent and a reflex of the element appears in Welsh gwêr ‘tallow’ (see Isaac 2004a and b and cf. Isaac 2009). This makes it clear that the root was productive in Celtic and therefore likely to have been common. The Brittonic languages do not have a cognate verb, but there are other arguments for ascribing this verb nonetheless to a common stage of the language: a noun to derive OI feraid from is not extant in Old Irish, nor is a cognate of this hypothetical noun extant in any of the medieval Celtic languages. If this element was still as productive in the later stages of the language as it had been in the earlier stages, we would expect it to occur in many forms, also as the base noun of the verb. It does not. Other than W gwêr and OI feraid, there are no traces of it outside of toponomy. Lastly, the semantics have undergone quite a shift. An understandable shift from ‘flowing water’ to ‘grants, affords’ (‘pouring wine or mead’, i.e. granting wine or mead), but this is certainly not a direct link between noun and verb as would be expected if the verb were created in Old Irish itself.
Corpus of secondary verbs


**figraid** ‘prefigures, foretokens’

Würzburg: pass.: perf. 3sg. *rofiugrad* 13a36, 15a31, with dem. rel. *anrofiugrad* 15a34.

Denom. < *figair* ‘figure, type’ < Lat. *figura* ‘figure’. The verb is most likely not directly borrowed from Lat. *figurare* ‘form’, since that has a different meaning altogether. For further discussion on direct and indirect loans, see section 3.2, pages 48ff.

DIL s.v. *figraid* 132: 38, 2., *figair* 130: 46.

**fíraid** ‘Makes true’


Deadj. < *fír* ‘true, veracious’.

IEW 1166, DIL s.v. *fíraid* 149: 45, *fír* 146: 11.

**fo·botha** ‘is alarmed, frightened’

Milan: past subj. 3sg. *cofotabothad* 33b16, VN (m u) *fubthad* 40c2.

This is a derivative of *butāt* of a root *bēhēu*- ‘pound’ (IEW, LEIA). The Old Saxon verb *unter-badon*, Old Icelandic verb *bauta*, Lat. verbs *confutare*, *refutare* and Irish verb *būalaid* were formed from the same root. All are secondary and the Latin and Old Irish stems are formally exact cognates. The noun is no longer extant in Old Irish or anywhere else in Celtic. I speculate that this common in the Celtic, Germanic and Italic vocabularies and open to derivation at that time. While this verb was not formed in Proto-Indo-European (otherwise there would have been more exact cognates), I would argue that it is at least as old as Celtic and possibly older.


**for·cenna** ‘puts an end to; brings to an end’

Cf. W *gorffen, forffennaf* ‘finish, end’ (Schumacher).

Denom. < *forcenn* ‘end, limit’. The resulting verb is treated as a compound, cf. Wb. 11a27 *fordarorcenn* above. Schumacher derives both the Old Irish verb and the Welsh verb *gorffennaf* as denominatives from a *york-enno-m* ‘termination’, which he dates back to Insular Celtic. Considering that this verb exists in both Welsh and Old Irish, and that both languages use the base noun as VN, I agree that it is likely that this verb has been inherited and I have therefore dated it to my unspecified Celtic category. The verb can be found in the Chronology on page 80. The verb has also been briefly discussed on page 61.


gataid ‘takes away, removes’


Denom. < *gait* ‘taking away, abstracting’ (PIE *gʰazdʰo*- ‘rod, stick’), which is also used as the VN of *gataid*. The nom. sg. of this fem *a*-stem is palatal, because in verbal nouns the dative singular is often used for the nominative singular. *Gat* is cognate to Lat. *hasta* ‘spear, lance’ (Thurneysen). The noun, and possibly the verb, would originally have meant something like ‘spearing’ or ‘piercing’, from which the meaning ‘taking away, stealing’ has developed (O’Rahilly).
Corpus of secondary verbs


†**gellaid** ‘pledges oneself, vows’


Denom. < *gell* ‘pledge, surety’. DIL gives *do·oggella* a strong citation form *do·oggell*, but its s-preterite shows that it is weak.


**giallaid** ‘gives hostages, obeys’


Denom. < *giall*, ‘human pledge, hostage’.


**glanaid** ‘cleanses, purifies’

Würzburg: perf. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) *ranglana* 30b19, impv. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) *nanglanad* (with the first n written over the g) 11d8; pass.: perfect. past subj. 3sg. rel. *roglante* 31c18; with infix. 3pl. pron. 3sg. n. *cerudglanta* (for *cerudglantae*) 4a6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *coglanaid* 51a10, rel. *nglanas*31 28b4, pres. subj. 2sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. *manimglanae* 71c19, perf. 1sg. with infix. pron.

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31 The nasal here remains unexplained. The form glosses *quae purificare* ‘who purifies’. It could possibly be a double marking of the relative with implied *a* although this is rare. It could not be a double marking of the relative with nasalising relative clause, because the Latin *quae* is nominative. In Old Irish, a leniting relative clause would therefore be obligatory.
Corpus of secondary verbs

2sg. *rutlanus* 103a5, with infix. pron. 3sg. *raglanus* 91b8, VN *glanad*

Deadj. *< glan*, ‘clean, pure’.


**iachtaid** ‘cries out, makes lamentation’

**iachtaid**: Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *aniachtaite* 63d9, **con-échta**

Denom. *< iacht*, ‘a loud cry, a shout’. *Iachtaid* is further discussed in
comparison with *gláedid* ‘cries out’, on pages 59f.

Ped. ii 509, LEIA C-191, DIL s.v. *iachtaid* 12:12, **con-échta* 435: 16,
*iacht* 11: 59.

**íccaid** ‘pays, attones for’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *íccas* 30d7, *íccass* 31b12, *hiccas* 31b34, 3pl. rel. *ícete* 30a2, fut. 2sg. *ícefe* 10a9, rel. 10a10, perf. 3sg. with
rel. *hoarice* 5c16, with rel. n *ronicc* 28b1, with infix. pron. 1sg. and emp.
pron. 1sg. *romíccsa* 28a12, with infix. pron. 1pl. *ronnhice* 31d6, and emp.
pron. 1pl. *ronniccni* 21b8, rel. with infix. pron. 3pl. *xdaricc* 5c13, past subj.
3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. *nod nicad* 2b4, perf. past subj. 3sg. rel.
with infix. pron. 3pl. *condariccad* 4d19; pass.: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *híccatar* 4a8, fut. 3sg. *íccdir* 25a30, rel. *hicñder* 4d6, with infix. pron. 2pl. *nib*
*íccñther* 20a11, perf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. *conromiccad* 28a10,
with infix. pron. 2pl. *rob hicad* 5c17, pres. subj. 3pl. rel. with prep. and rel.
tresaniccñtar* 27c20, perf. pres. subj. 3sg. *inrichtar* (MS *inrichtar*) 10a3, 4,
*ícaid* 55d11, rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. ánundaica 61b29, pres. subj. 2sg.
eg. with infix. pron. 3pl. *cenismicae* 88b7, pass. sg. rel. *nad chonricthar*
(but this form is not in DIL) 33d10, past subj. 2sg. with infix. pron. 1sg.
*conumictha* 74c16, fut. pass. sg. interrog. *inctfder* 96b11, pl. *ícfair* 54a1,
pret. pass. 3pl. rel. *ronthic* 50b16, perf. 2sg. with infix. pron. 1pl.
rondannicaí* 89a6, pass. sg. *roicad* 50d15, part. acc. sg. *nem nephicthe*
76a17, VN (f à) *icc, ic* 48b2, 58a9, acc. sg. *ic* 33b5, 34d5, 57d11, gen. sg.
*ice* 23c7, dat. sg. *ic* 23e9, 48d28, 58a4, *icc* 84c21.
Denom. < *ícc* ‘paying, payment’, which is also used as VN of this verb.


**labraithir** ‘speaks, talks’


**labraithir**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n.

Deadj. < *labar* ‘talkative, arrogant’ (DIL, Ped.). The motivation for formation as a deponent verb is discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


**láthraid** ‘arranges, disposes’


Denom. < *láthar* ‘arrangement, disposition’. DIL gives ‘explains, expounds’ as the first meaning of this verb, but the base noun shows that it originally meant ‘arranges, disposes’.

légaid ‘reads’

légaid: Würzburg: perf. 1sg. rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. rollegusa 19a6, 2sg. with dem. rel. arrolegais 28d7, 2pl. rel. rolégisid 7b23, Milan: perf. 1pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n rundalegsamni, 2pl. nadroiilgisid 17b18, 3pl. rolegsat 24d24, VN (n o) léigenn, gen. sg. legind 35a11, ar-léga (‘reads out, aloud’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 2pl. rel. with emp. pron. 2pl. conarlégidsi 27d14, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. aralleghar 9b3, 18a24, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. xårlegthar 27d13, co arlégthar 25c30, perf. pres. subj. 3sg. arroilgither 27d13, Milan: perf. 3sg. -arleg 43b14.

Lat. legere ‘read’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff. above.

Ped. ii 561-2, DIL s.v. légaid 72: 79, ar-léga 401: 34.

linaid ‘fills, floods’

linaid: Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rolin 22b13, with infix. pron. 1pl. ronlin 20d11; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. lintar 11b13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. anundlina 19b5, pass. pl., lintair 25a9, with infix. pron. 1pl. nonlintarni 18c3, impf. pass. sg. nolintae 32b6 (the Latin is pres.), nulintae 32b15, pres. subj. 3sg. rolina 43c7, fut. pass. nomlinfider 33b6, rel. linfider 103a10, sec. fut. 3sg. rel. nolinfed 25a8, 25a11, pret. pass. sg. lintae 63d12, perf. 3sg. rolin 64d16, part. linta, lintae 25c16, 68a14, VN linad, allinad 133c11, dat. sg. linath 129d17, fo-lina (‘fills up, makes up’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. fodlina 14b7, fut. 3sg. folinfe 12d14, pres. subj. 3pl. rel. folinat 24d25; pass. perf. pres. subj. 3sg. conrufailnither 1a9, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. folina 122d5, pass. follintar 123a10, pres. subj. 3sg. fulina 45c10, perf. 1pl. furollissem 100d8, VN (m o, u) fuilled, acc. sg. (?) filliud 138a2, dat. sg. fuillned 26c6, fuilled 69b6.

Denom. < lin ‘full number, complement’.


lobaid ‘decays, rots’

Milan: pres. subj. 3pl. arnalobat 65c3, VN lobad 103c16.

Denom. < luib ‘herb, plant’.
Corpus of secondary verbs


**lobaid** ‘concedes, remits’, in glosses ‘obtains, acquires’


Deriving this from *lóg* ‘value, equivalent’ is problematic, because the loss of vowel length between base noun and verb remains unexplained and because the relationship between base and verb is not altogether direct. An -igidir verb with long -ó- would be expected. However, there seems to be no alternative.


**lommraid** ‘shears off, strips off’

Milan: perf. 3sg. *rolommar* 14b2.

Denom. < *lommar*, a collective noun based on *lomm* ‘bare, naked’.

*Lommar* is not attested, but cf. *luma(i)r* ‘unfledged bird (?), down of unfledged bird (?)’.


**malartaid** ‘spoils, ruins’


Denom. < *malart* ‘damage, injury’, which is not attested in Old Irish, but extant in Middle Irish. *Malartaid* and its place in the scheme has been further discussed on pages 59f.


**maldachaid** ‘curses’

Cf. W *melltigaw* ‘curses’.


LEIA derives this as denom. < *maldacht* ‘curse, malediction’ < Lat. *maledicto*, but there is no explanation for the loss of -t-. I suggest a straight borrowing from Lat. *maledicere* ‘speak ill of’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.
Corpus of secondary verbs

LEIA M-14, DIL s.v. mallachaid 51: 27, mallacht 51: 35.

marbaid ‘kills, slays’


Würzburg: pass. pres. subj. 3pl. mamarbitir 4a13, Milan: pres. subj. 2sg. with uile: dianuilemarbae 77a12, fut. 2sg. neg. with infix. pron. 3pl. with uile: nisnuleairbhfe 77a15, pret. 3sg. sidmarb 23b10, perf. 3sg. nacharomarbsom 23b5, 3pl. romarbsat 56b6, VN marbad, gen. sg. marbtha 52 line 1632, dat. sg. marbad 45a17.

Deadj. < marb ‘dead’ (LEIA).
IEW 735, LEIA M-19, DIL s.v. marbaid 60: 81, marb 59: 37.

mesc ‘mixes, dips’

Cf. W mysgu, B mesci (Ped.).

con·mesca (‘mixes together, commingles’): Milan: VN cummasc 34b4, gen. sg. cumaisc 58b3.

LEIA states that it is not clear whether mescaid is a denominative verb or mesc a postverbal adjective, but that the second alternative seems more likely. That however poses a problem for the origin of mescaid, which according to Schumacher cannot be primary. Though Proto-Indo-European had an -sk- present *mik̂ske/o- (root *meĵk-, LIV2 428-9), this has no direct continuation in Old Irish according to Schumacher, who sees the verbal root as the origin of the Old Irish adj. mesc < PIE *misko/ā-, of which mescaid is then a deadjectival derivative. LIV2 has this as a primary verb that has taken on weak flexion (428-9). However, PIE *mik̂ske/o- would give OI **meccaid (*mik̂ske- > *mikske- > *mixske- > *mixke- > *mikke- > **meccaid, Isaac 2007), rather than mescaid.

The problems are solved if both the Old Irish verb and its Brittonic cognates and the adjective are taken as borrowings from Lat. miscere ‘mix, mingle’ and mixtum respectively. Latin mixtum would regularly give OI

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32 Ml. folio 52 is just a fragment with Latin text on one side and Old Irish on the other. Due to its size, no folio divisions are given in Thes.: the line numbers given in my corpus refer to the line numbers of Thes. Folio 52 is found in Thes. on p. 164.
**mess** but this has been reshaped to *mesc* in analogy to the verb. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


**messaid** ‘examines, judges’

*Milan*: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. *mestar*.

Denom. < mess, ‘act of judging, judgement’, VN of *midithir* ‘weighs, measures’.


**méthaid** ‘feeds up, fattens’

*Milan*: pres. subj. pass. sg. with infix *nóndammetar* 80a3.

Deadj. < *méth*, ‘plump, fat’, Note that *LEIA* does not register the verb.


**molaithir** ‘praises, extols’


Denom. < *mol* ‘a constantly reiterated refrain or noise’. The verb is deponent in Old Irish, but active forms occur in Milan and one even in Würzburg above (cf. Ó Cuív). Semantic motivation for formation as a deponent verb is discussed above, section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.
Corpus of secondary verbs


móraid ‘makes great, magnifies’


Deadj. < *mór* ‘great’.


múchaid ‘covers over, presses down’


Würzburg: perf. 3pl. *rumúgsat* 5a24.

Denom. < *múch* ‘smoke, stifling vapour’.


nertaid ‘strengthens, confirms’


Denom. < *nert*, ‘strength, might’. The existence of a denominative in W *nerthu* with congruent meaning makes it likely that this is a Celtic

33 Note that LEIA has this as *nerthi*, but for a verb of this shape a VN in -u is correct. *Nerthi* is a substantive.
derivative (Chronology page 80). Corn. *nertha*, MB *nerzhat* and Br. *nerza* are *-sag-* verbs.

IEW 765, LEIA N-10-1, DIL s.v. nertaid 36: 75, con-ertia 452: 7, nert 35: 25.

**noíbaid** ‘makes righteous, sanctifies’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. nóibas 19b14, 24a7, 28, fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. nibnóibfe 13b19, perf. 3sg. rel. ronóib 19b12, with infix. pron. 2pl. and emp. pron. 2pl. robnóibsi 19b12; pass. perf. 3sg. ronóibad 2b26, 2c4.

Deadj. < noíb ‘holy, sacred’.

IEW 760, LEIA N-20, DIL s.v. noíb 56, noíbaid 58: 1.

**notaid** ‘marks, denotes’

*remi-nota* (‘signifies beforehand’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. reminota 18c12.

Lat. notare ‘observe, record’, and / or denom. < not ‘mark, sign’, Lat. nota ‘mark, sign’. Direct and indirect Latin loans are discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


**oínaid** ‘fasts, keeps a fast’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. óinas 6b19.

Denom. < óin ‘fast, period of fasting’, Lat. ieiumium ‘fasting, fast day’ (GOI). Latin loans are discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA A-35, DIL s.v. ain 133: 71, ainid 150: 36, GOI §924.

**ordnaid** ‘appoints, ordains’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. nodnoirdnet 33c1, perf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. rudanordan (Note Thes.: “rectius rudnordan”34) 33e5, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. oirdnes 39d30, perf.

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34 Note that this Old Irish sentence makes perfect sense as it is, although not in the context of the Latin. I therefore accept the emendation.
Corpus of secondary verbs

3sg. róoirdned 14a3, rohortan 107b2, part. (io, iā) oirdnide 40a1, 43c10, dat. sg. oirdndiu 48b8, VN (m) oirdned, dat. sg. oirdned 73a18.

Lat. ordinare ‘order, arrange’. AI verb, but due to syncope patterns, certain forms look like AII forms. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

DIL s.v. oirdnid 125: 10.

**píanaid** ‘punishes, tortures’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. píanas 115b15, VN (m u) píanad, acc./dat. sg. píanad 26d12

Lat. punire ‘punish, inflict punishment’. It is unlikely that this is a denominative from pían ‘punishment, pain’, as LEIA suggests, since the verb is both transitive and causative (causing punishment to the object) and should therefore have been AII. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA P-8-9, DIL s.v. píanaid 185: 50, pían 184: 67.

**pretaid** ‘plunders, spoils’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. pretae 134b10.

Lat. praedare ‘pillage, despoil’. This is a *hapax legomenon*, glossing Lat. depraedantium. It seems unlikely that this was part of the wider lexicon. Note that OI -t- for Lat. -d- is irregular. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA P-14, DIL s.v. pretaid 202: 21.

**pridchaid** ‘preaches, teaches’

**cetu·pridcha** (‘first preaches’; not in DIL): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. ceturupridach 26c4, **pridchaid**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. pridchim 5c6, pridchim 24d1, predchim 5b16, with emp. pron. 1sg. predchimse 1d9, nopridchim 21c9, nopridchim 27c22, with emp. pron. 1sg. hóre nopridchim se 23b11, rel. nopridchim 11a15, diapridchimm 27c36, with emp. pron. 1sg. nopridchimse 28b7, 29b3, with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. (elided) and emp. pron. 1sg. amal nonpridchimse 30a21, with dem. rel. anopridchim 19d17, annupridchim 8d26, 3sg. pridchaid 13a22, rel. hore pridchas 7b15,
Corpus of secondary verbs

pridchas 12c23, praidchas (a prima manu) 12c27, apridchas 11c8, 1pl. pridchimmi 8b12, 14c8, 15b11, with emp. pron. 1pl. pridchimmini 15b18, nipridcham 15b17, rel. pridchimme 14d39, 40, 15b17, and with emp. pron. 1pl. pridchimmeni 12c6, 24d5, with dem. rel. apridchimme 13b14, and emp. pron. 1pl. apridchimmeni 15b14, 2pl. nopridchid 23a15, 3pl. mapridchit 12d37, pridchit 24a29, 27a11, rel. pridchite 5a6, 13a15, 16d5, 29a12, prechite 5a5, impf. ind. 3sg. rel. nopridchad 13a20, fut. 1sg. rel. nopridchob 17b20, 3sg. pridchibid 26a8, 3pl. with interro.: inipridchabat (MS hipridchabat) 13a13, perf. 1sg. c în ropridchos 17c1, ropridchus 23d18, rel. rophroidech 10c20, rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. diarupridchossa 7b7, ropridchussa 13b12, ropridchussa 20b4, 3sg. ropridach 27d3, with infix. pron. 3pl. rospredach 21b9, 1pl. rospredchissem 24d4, rel. rospredchissem 24c17, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. pridchaisem 5a7, maruppredchissem 10d9, and with rel. n (infix. pron. 3sg. n. elided) and emp. pron. 1pl. ronpredchissemni 13b10, with dem. rel. and emp. pron. 1pl. anropredchissemni 26b6, naropredchissemni 17b31, 2pl. rel. ropredchissi (= ropredchissid) doibsm 24c17; pres. subj. 1sg. with emp. pron. 1sg. pridchasa 10d23, manipridag 10d24, manipriderach 10d25, 3sg. rel. pridchas 18c11, 25c24, pridches 23b24, with rel. n elided and infix. pron. 3sg. n. nodpridcha 13a6, and with infix. pron. 3sg. f. nodapridcha 14d28, 1pl. with dem. rel. apridchimme 31c11, apridchimme 15d27, with emp. pron. 1pl. apridchimmeni 18c11, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emp. pron. 2pl. c ena pridchidsi 15d6, nipridched (for nipridchid) 33d1, perfect. pres. subj. 2pl. oropridchid 23b40; past subj. 1sg. nopridchinn 18c13, rel. conopridchinn 28a7, impv. 2sg. pridach 30d6, 31c20, predech 30a12; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. pridchider 14c26, with rel. elided ipridchither 15b15, fut. 3sg. rel. pridchabthar 26d6, perf. 3sg. ropridchad 13a21, 33, 19b6, ropridched 23a16, 25a41, rel. ropridched 25a40, ropriched 23a3, ropricad 7b12, ropridchad 13a32, ropridchad 7d4, 27a3, ropridchad 28a18, rel. diarupridchad 8c17, with dem. rel. arrupridchad 14d23, arropridchad 18b7; pres. subj. 3sg. pridchidir 10d27, 14d34, with dem. rel. apridchither 7c10; nopridch... (¿ leg. nopridchad perf. pass. 3sg. or rel. impf. ind. 3sg. act?)
Corpus of secondary verbs


Lat. *praedicare* ‘proclaim, preach’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


**promaid** ‘puts to the test, tries’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emp. pron. 3sg. m. *rondpromsom* 4b20; pass.: fut. 3sg. *promfidir* 17b7, Milan: part. (io, iā) *promthae*, gen. pl. m. *promthe* 56b8, VN (m u) *promad*, acc. sg. *promad* 54a16.

Lat. *probare* ‘approve of, esteem’. OI -m- for Lat. -b- is irregular. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff. above.


**rannaid** ‘divides, parts’


Denom. < *rann* ‘part, division’. Despite the Brittonic verbal forms, it cannot be claimed that these verbs are inherited. There are several synonyms within Old Irish (cf. *dálaid* and its compounds below, p. 191) and the VN formation follows the productive pattern. This has been discussed in the Chronology chapter above, sections 3.6 and 3.7 pages 75ff.

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\(^{35}\) This is the MS reading. Ascoli emends to *notpridchib* ‘I will preach thee’ (Thes. p. 130 n. i, see Add & Corr), but McCone (1985: 96) reads this as an early case of a fronted prepositional phrase followed by relative nasalisation (contrary to common Old Irish usage in which a relative would only follow fronted subject or object) and does not supply the infix.

\(^{36}\) Note that this form is mis-cited by LEIA (R-7) as *guorenniou*. That is the expected form, but the form found in the MS is *guorennieu* as given above.

rélaid ‘makes clear, manifests’

Würzburg: perf. 1sg. rel. rorélus 13a35, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. ari(n)rélá (= arindrélá vel arídrélá) 27b27, perf. pres. subj. rel. 1pl. cororélag 27c21; pass. pres. subj. 3sg. manirétartar 12d15, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. relas 24d20, pass. pl. nireltar (Note Thes.: ‘MS. niretal’ar’) 27d7, pres. subj. 1sg. conrúrél 41d11-12, perf. 2sg. rorelais 50c15 (2x), 3pl. rorélsat 117d2, adj. formation réil 42d7, neut. pl. réli 20c11, comp. reiliu 70b11, VN rélad, gen. sg. rels 60a1, dat. sg. relad 25b6, 93a5, 126c1.

Lat. reuelare ‘show, reveal’ with loss of -u- after -e- (GOI). Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff. above.

LEIA R-17, DIL s.v. rélaid 40: 14, GOI §922.

†rindaid ‘cuts, incises’

Cf. W ryn ‘cape, peninsula’ (only extant in placenames).

do·foirndea (‘expresses, signifies’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dofoirndea 2d2 (2x), pass. sg. dufoirndither 86a2, pl. dufornditer 65c16, perf. 3sg. tororan 29b8, VN (n o) tórann, torand 65c16, fris·tóirndea (‘marks off, traces a limit’, hapax legomenon): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. fristoirndea 67b9, tremi·tóirndea (‘transfers’, hapax legomenon): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with emp. pron. 1sg. trimirothorn 8d26.

Denom. < rind ‘point, tip’. Rindaid is one of only two verbs that are derived from i-stem nouns (the other one being samlaithir ‘compares’, directly below), which is discussed on page 54. The relationship between base and verb has been discussed on page 61.


samlaithir ‘compares, likens to’

Cf. B hevelout ‘copies, immitates’ (Ped.).

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nasamlur 3c6, fut. 1pl. with infix. pron. 1pl. nonsamlafammar 17b12, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg.
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samaltir 8d22, perf. pres. subj. 3sg. cerusamaltar 34a4, Milan: pres. ind. / subj. pass. pl. with infix. pron. 1 pl. condansamailter 63d7, VN samail 138c6, de·intamladar (‘dissembles’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. de intamladar 27d12, fut. 3sg. ni deintamlafa 69d8, di·samalthar (‘dissembles’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. disamalthar 21b2, past subj. 3sg. disamlad 114c3, VN (m u) diamlad, dat. sg. diamlad 52 line 19, in·samalthar (‘imitates, emulates’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. insamaltharside 9a15, 1pl. with interrog. and emp. pron. 1pl. inintsamlammarni 11b16, 2pl. with nach and elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n. nach intsamlid 14a28, fut. 2pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. and emp. pron. 2pl. atasamlibid si 5a13, perf. past subj. 2pl. ero intsamlithe 17a13, past subj. 3pl. with interrog. in intamlitis 5b20, impv. 2pl. intamlid 9a14, Milan: impv. 2sg. na intamaltae 56b26, pres. subj. 2sg. insamailer 56b38, ni intamlae (active flexion) 56c13, 1pl. coni tintamlammar 97c1, verb. nec. intamaltai 79c1, VN (declension combining different stems, see DIL) intamail 22c1, dat. sg. intamail 37c1.

Denom. < samail ‘likeness, similarity’. This verb is a root cognate to the Br. hevelout. Samaithir is the other of only two verbs that are derived from i-stem nouns (the other one being rindaid ‘cuts’, directly above), which is discussed on page 54. The motivation for formation as deponent verb is discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


sásaaid ‘satisfies, feeds’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. sásatar 40a10, VN sásad 121d3, acc. sg. sassad 129d16.

DIL derives this verb as a denominative from sás, ‘snare, trap’, but also ‘implement, instrument’, ‘means, device’ and ‘fit, competent’. Under sás, DIL refers to sáth, ‘sufficiency, as much as one requires’. Greene explains that sás could be derived from sáth with a semantic development from ‘sufficiency’ to ‘that which is capable of dealing with’, hence ‘trap’. LEIA on the other hand states that sás ‘snare, trap’ cannot be connected to sáth because the meanings are too different. According to them, sásaaid is
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not derived from \(s\text{ás}\), but from a non-attested noun \(*s\text{ás}*\) connected to \(s\text{áth}\).

Irslinger follows LEIA and adds that an \(st\)-formation such as proposed by DIL and Greene (\(s\text{áth} > s\text{ás}\)) is morphologically unlikely, because these are most often pairs of nouns and adjectives, rather than a pair of nouns. However, she gives the exception of \(b\text{ás} ‘death’ > b\text{ath} ‘death’. If there is one exception to the rule, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of another exception. Irslinger derives \(s\text{ás} ‘snare, trap’\) from \(*s\text{eh}_2(j) ‘tie, bind’\) (LIV), but this root has been dropped in LIV\(^2\), in favour of \(*s\text{eh}_1(j) ‘let go’\).

Deriving OI \(s\text{ás}\) from PIE \(seh_1(j)\) does not work semantically. Moreover, although \(*s\text{eh}_1-\) could give OI \(s\text{ás}\) if it were in the o-grade, that o-grade would be difficult to motivate. I therefore suggest following Greene’s semantic pathway of \(s\text{ás}\) and deriving the verb \(s\text{ás}aid\) from the earlier meaning ‘sufficiency’.


\textbf{scribaid ‘writes, writes down’}

Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with dem. rel. \(anroscribus\) 20c18, 3sg. \(roscrib\) 31d19, perf. past subj. 3sg. rel. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. \(roscribad som\) 26b31, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. \(rodscribad\) 27d16; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. \(scribther\) 27d13, 3pl. \(scribatar\) 17b2, perf. 3sg. \(roscribad\) 6c28, rel. \(roscrribad\) 2d2, with prep. and rel. part. \(diaroscribad\) 3b20, 23a10, \(diarroscribad\) 25d2, \(nádroscribad\) 27d13, Milan: pres. ind. 1pl. \(nondascribam\) 35b1, pres. subj. pass. pl. rel. \(scribtar\) 87a13, perf. 2sg. \(roscrribais\) 74d13.

Lat. \(scribere ‘write, compose’. Latin loans have been described above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA S-54, DIL s.v. \(scribaid\) 109: 54.

\textbf{scrútaid ‘examines, scrutinizes’}

Würzburg: pres. ind. 2sg. neg. \(ní scrúti\) 1d22, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. \(arascrita\) 31b10, Milan: impf. 1sg. \(noscrutain\) 91c1, perf. 2sg. neg \(ní roscrutais\) 80c9.
Lat. *scrutari* (*scruto* in some Christian sources) ‘search, probe’.

Latin loans have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA S-56, DIL s.v. *scrétaid* 114: 34.

**seccaid** ‘stiffens, hardens’


Deadj. < *secc* ‘stiff, rigid’ < Lat. *siccus* ‘dry’ or Lat. *siccare* ‘dry’.

Direct and indirect loans have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff.

The semantics of *seccaid* have been discussed on page 91.


**selbaid** ‘possesses, holds’


Denom. < *selb* ‘property, appurtenance’. *Selbaid* is transitive, but neither iterative nor causative, and accordingly AI. **Do·aissilbi**, on the other hand, is AII. Since it literally means ‘assigns to the possession of’ (DIL 196: 42), there is a strong element of causativity in it: causing someone to possess. This will have motivated the change in class (this has been further discussed above, page 63). A similar process is seen in *coilaid* ‘makes thin, grows thin’ and *as·rochoíli* ‘defines, determines’ (page 120 above), where the iterativity of *as·rochoíli* motivated its change in class.

Ped. ii 623-4, LEIA S-79-80, DIL s.v. **ad·selba** 71: 39, **selbaid** 165: 84, **selbad** 165: 32, **do·aissilbi** 196: 28.
sléchtaid ‘kneels, prostrates’

Milan: pres. 3sg. rel. sléchta 115a3, 2pl. annusléchtaid 115a1, past subj. 3pl. corrusléchtais 89d15, fut. 3pl. schlechtait 89d14, VN sléchtan, acc. sg. schlechta 138a2.

Lat. flectere ‘bend, bow’. The borrowing of Lat. f- as OI s- shows that this verb was most likely borrowed between lenition and the delabialisation of /sw/ (McManus). Latin loans have been discussed above, section 3.2, pages 48ff. The Old Irish verb only occurs in religious usage.


soíraid ‘frees, liberates’

Würzburg: fut. 3sg. sóirfed 32d13, with infix. pron. 1pl. nonsoírfea 24c18, infix. pron. 2pl. and emp. pron. 2pl. nobsóirfast 11b4, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. ronsoír 24c18, and emp. pron. 1pl. hóre ronsóírni 2d14, with infix. pron. 1sg. and emp. pron. 1sg. ronsóírsa 3d20, with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. m. ronsóír (for ro-n-d’-sóir) 32d13, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. nachansoirai 93d10, 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. nundamsoíra 62c6b, 3pl. rel. soírdae 75a2-3, pass. pl. rel. soirtar 75a4, impv. 2sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. nonsoerni 46b26, nonsóírni 136c11, pres. subj. 2sg. soíra 61c15, with infix. pron. 1sg. diarumsoírae 142b2, maninsoírae 142b3, neg. with infix. pron. 1pl. maninsoírae 77d6, past subj. 3sg. conid soirad 24a17, pass. sg. interrog. with infix. pron. 1sg. in damsoírthae 91d4, neg. with infix. pron. 1pl. maninsoírtha 96a10, fut. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3pl. nondasoirfe 27a6, with infix. pron. 2pl. nobsoírfea 45d10, 3pl. interrog. rel. insóírfetar 96b2, pass. sg. soirfithir 68d14, sec fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. nondasoirfetar 131c9, rel. neg. with infix. pron. 3pl. nachasoirbed (with b for f, see GOI §635) 53d6, interrog. with infix. pron. 1sg. in damsoírfitad 90c19, pass. pl. nosoirfitis 91a10, perf. 3sg. rel. rossoer 60b16, inrusoer 33b23, with infix. pron. 3sg. m. nirasoír 44c19, rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. rodamsoer 48a21, rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. rondsóer 52 line 20\(^\text{37}\), pass. sg. rosoirad 61d2, pl. rusoirtha 102d17, 124b7.

\(^{37}\) Ml. folio 52 is just a fragment with Latin text on one side and Old Irish on the other. Due to its size, no folio divisions are given in Thes.: the line numbers given in my corpus refer to the line numbers of Thes. Folio 52 is found in Thes. on p. 164.
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rosoirtha 102d17 (2x), 131c9, VN (m u) saerad, soirad 20a12, 30b18, 53d1, 61a37, 81a7, dat./acc. sg. soirad 19b2, 26d14, 55a7, acc. sg. soirad 33b21, gen. sg. soirtha 45b2, 62b6b, soertha 55d6, dat. sg. soirad 33a13, 52 line 20, 67d2.

Deadj. < soir ‘free’.

tehtaid ‘has, possesses’

Cf. W teithi ‘characteristic qualities’ (LEIA).

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. tectid 26a6, innátecta 4c28, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. manudtectid 23c11, 3pl. niteitat 12b21, rel. nadtectat 10b5, techte 2c11, perf. 3pl. rotectsat 1a9, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. techtas 12d41, aratechte 28d22, 2pl. nochtectaidsi 93a9, past subj. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. nístectitis 10b5, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. (rel.) nitechtai 56b31, 56b33 (2x), 3sg. rel. techtas 37b19, 85a4, neg. rel. nad techta 94c3, 1pl. rel. techtmae 74d4, 2pl. notehtaid 115b12, 3pl. neg. ñatechtat 94c3, 3pl. rel. techtae 37b16, 56b26, impv. 2pl. techtid 115b9, pres. subj. 3sg. ciatechten 56b30, 56b31, aratechte 122b7, with infix. pron. sg. na(c)hróthechta 56b33, 1pl. rel. techtmae 18d9, fut. 1sg. notechtub 59b3, perf. 3sg. rel. rothecht 37b27, with infix. pron. 3pl. nisrothecht 44b10-11, 3pl. rotechtsat 84c10, rel. neg. nad rothechtsat 97d7, VN techtad, acc. sg. techtad 68c8.

Denom. < techt ‘possessions, property’.
IEW 1057-8, LEIA T-41-2, LIV2 618-9, DIL s.v. techtaid 101: 80, 3.
techt 100: 4.

tráchtaid ‘comments, annotates’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. trachtid 48a6, 53d14, 55c14, 57c14, 57d17, 60b14, 63d6, 65b12, 67d8, 126c11, trachtaid 53d16, 55c6, 56b40, 60a14, 61c1, 84a1, 85b8, 94a13, 94a15, 94c5, 95c8, 103b12, 103b14, 103d26, 108c12, 111b25, 118c6, 122c6, 123c8, 123c11, 123c16, 128c5, 133a13, 133d9, 138c13, rel. forsatrachta 46c14, trachtait 51a14, nitrachta 74c12, 118d8, rel. thrachtithe 93a21, perf. 3sg. rotracht 121a8, VN tráchad, trachtad 25a4, dat. sg. trachtad 25a6, 25a7, 78b7, dat. pl. trachtadaib (note Thes.: ‘MS. innatrachtaib’) 35b22.
Lat. *tractare* ‘treat, discuss’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages op pagina 48ff. above.

Ped. i 229, LEIA T-121-2, DIL s.v. *tráchtaid* 269: 45, Bergin 1938: 223.

**†trebaid** ‘cultivates, tills’

Cf. OW *treb* ‘habitation, cultivated plot’, OB *treb* gl. *tribus*, ModC *trev* ‘town’.


Denom. < *treb* ‘house, farm’, a word of native origin, but which could have been influenced by the Latin *tribus* in the meaning of ‘household, tribe’ (DIL). Note that IEW does not give this as a denominative. Moreover, IEW splits *trebaid* (< *terh*<sup>1</sup> ‘drills, rubs’, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>) from ad·treba (<*treb* ‘building, house’), which is unnecessary.

IEW 1071, 1090, LEIA T-126-8, LIV<sup>2</sup> 632, DIL s.v. *trebaid* 282: 12, ad-treba 74: 56, treb 280: 69.

**†troíthaid** ‘subdues, abates’


Deadj. < *tróeth* ‘neuter’ (LEIA).

†úraid ‘grows or becomes cold or cool’


Deadj. < úar ‘cold, cool’. The semantics of úraid have been discussed on page 91.

LEIA U-8-9, DIL s.v. úraid 37: 34, etar-úara 224: 52, úar 28: 73.
5.3 AII verbs

acarbaigidir ‘makes rough’

Cf. W garw, agarw.

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. acarbaigte gl. asperantia 87b14.

Deadj. < acarb (o/a) ‘very rough, very fierce’, < ad + garb. The verb is hapax legomenon.

LEIA A-9, DIL s.v. 1. garb 44: 7, acarb 14: 5, acarbaigidir 14: 29.

ad·amraigedar ‘wonders (at), marvels (at)’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. (as a simple verb) noadamrugur 16c3, 3sg. rel. adamrigethar 5c16, pass. perf. pres. subj. 3 sg. rel. conroadamrigther 12d29; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. adamrigedar 64c19, 3pl. adamrigetar 124a6, adnamrigetar 39b10, pres. subj. 2sg. adnamrigther 56b39, 3pl. co adamrigetar 39b8, perf. 3pl. adruamrigset 88a18, verb. nec. adamrigthi 64c3, 69c1, VN adamrugud 26b10, 122c2, 128c3, acc. sg. adamrugud 61a15, dat. sg. adamrugud 90a5.

Deadj. < adamrae ‘very wonderful’ < ad + amrae, but in the Old Irish glosses treated as compound, except in Wb. 16c3 above (DIL). It is likely that the one verb was simply treated in two ways. However, there is a slight possibility that these are actually two verbs, one simplex derived from amrae and one compounded with ad-. The issue has been discussed in section 3.5, pages 74ff. Amrae is without certain etymology (LEIA). Note that LEIA does not register the verb.


adbartaigidir ‘opposes’

Cf. W gwerthyd ‘spindle’, OCorn gurhthit gl fusus, OB pl. guirtitou, MB guersit gl fuis.

Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. adbartaigther gl. áuersaris 44b31, 3sg. adbartaigid gl. auersetur 36a11, ní adbartaigedar gl. non paupertatem eorum auersatur 36a18a, impf. 1sg. nadbartaiginn gl. auersabar 132c10,
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3pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. nudadbartaigtis 19c5, fut. 1sg. adbartaigfersa gl. auersabor 37c12, 2sg. annunadbaraigfe (Note Thes.: ‘MS. annu nad bartaigfesi’u’) gl. auersato 48a12-13, pret. 3pl. roadbartaigset 26b20, perf. 1sg. roadbartaigsuir gl. auersatus sum 115a3, gl. sed etiam ita auersatus sum 117c5, 3sg. niroadbaraigestar gl. non fuerat auersatus 55d1, part. adbartaigthe (with a question mark in DIL), gen. pl. adbartaichthe 44d13, dat. pl. adbartaichthidib 24b9, VN adbartugud, dat. sg. adbartugud 26b20.

Denom. < adbairt ‘adversary’. The verb does not occur outside of the Milan Glosses.

Ped. ii 526, DIL s.v. adbairt 37:1, adbartaigidir 39: 37.

*ad-bélígedar ‘flatters, adulates’

Milan: VN aipélugud, apelugud 31a1, gen. sg. apelaigthe gl. adulatorum 28a8, nom. pl. abelaichthi 74a6.

Note that this verb is not attested in Old Irish, but we have the VN and the Middle Irish attestation aipélaigdir ‘flatters’. Because in Old Irish only the VN is attested, it cannot be seen whether this is a compound or a simple verb, nor whether it is derived from aipéle ‘quickness, suddenness’, aipéil ‘quick, sudden’ or from bél ‘lips, mouth’, (by extension ‘words, subject of talk’ (DIL B-62: 61)) with the preverb ad-.. This issue is discussed in section 3.5, pages 74f. Note that the verb does not occur in LEIA.


adchotadaigidir ‘reconciles’

Milan: sec. fut. pass. sg. neg. ní adchótadaigfide gl. nullum reconciliatio inueniet tempus 96a6, perf. 3sg. inradchotadaiged (Note Thes. ‘MS. inradchot adaiged’) gl. reconciliatus est 32d24.

The verb only occurs in Milan. DIL states that this is apparently based on a (reduplicated?) stem of ad-cota. The -da- could indeed be seen as reduplication, but it seems more likely that this verb is based on a non-extant and probably non-existent adjective from ad-cota in -de or a verbal adjective (the regular verbal adjective of ad-cota is éttae). This points in the direction of the verb being a nonce formation. The irregular lenition after
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*ad*- underscores this. This mention however does show that this is treated as a simple verb, which is discussed in section 3.5, pages 74f.

DIL s.v. *adchotadaigdir* 41: 13.

**ad·gládathar** ‘addresses, speaks to’


This verb is given in GOI as strong, but it is a weak *i*-verb (McCone, Schumacher). The root *ĝlād*- is registered in IEW, but this is incorrect: neither the Indo-Iranian, nor the Greek are related, because these verbs are onomatopoeic and made up on a base of ‘gla, gla, gla...’ (see also page 64). They could therefore have been created at any point, anywhere and cannot be derived back to a common Proto-Indo-European root. *Ad-gládathar* is an AII verb and has resisted first palatalisation in accordance with the regular sound laws that a consonant does not palatalise if preceded by long -ā- (cf. McCone 1996: 116). It has however undergone third palatalisation, which shows that this verb was created before Old Irish itself. If the verb had been created in Old Irish, this discrepancy would not have occurred (see also Chronology, pages 80 and 82). Motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


**ad·muilnethar** ‘says again, repeats’


DIL has the form in Würzburg above as headword and refers to *ad-muinethar* ‘remembers, calls’ with a question mark. Strachan considers a cognate with *molur*. However, it is probably simpler than that. This is
derived from *muilenn* ‘mill’, with a sense of going over things again and again, grinding things again and again. Motivation for formation as deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


**ad·ribaigedar** ‘reverberates’ (translation mine)


Denom. < *rib* ‘a snare, spring’. *Hapax legomenon.* The verb has not been translated in Thes., by DIL or by Joseph, nor has a derivation been given in either of these sources. The form found glosses Lat. *resultat* ‘reverberates’. Deriving the verb from *rib* gives a meaning ‘doing what a spring does’ (although note that as described above, section 3.4, page 65, *-igidir* verbs can have a wide range of meanings and relationships to their base and therefore basing the meaning of an *-igidir* verb on its base is always an approximation). The preverb *ad*- adds the sense of repetition.


**ad·tluichedar** ‘gives thanks, rejoices at’


IEW, followed by Sihler, connects · *tluichethar* to the Latin denominative *loquitur* ‘speaks’ and with the OCS *tīkkīb, R* *toikkīb* ‘explanation’, which is conjectural, but plausible. It is certainly possible that Celtic, Italic and Slavic would have some shared nominal vocabulary, from
which Celtic and Italic derived a verb. This derivation would have taken place independently in each language; the Latin formation is completely different from the Old Irish formation. These are root cognates. Since the linguistic relationships are at such a deep level, and since there is no trace of the base noun in Old Irish, *tluichethar* is a very old denominative, possibly even pre-Celtic, though not Proto-Indo-European: although the reconstruction of the root gives *teh₃lkʷ-, this would be an impossible root in Proto-Indo-European. *tluichethar* can be found in the chronology on page 80.

An alternative etymology for Latin with original -a- in the root (cf. Walde & Hoffman s.v. *loquitur*, Schrijver) is not impossible. In that case, the connection with OI *tluichethar* would fall.

LEIA gives W *adolwyn* ‘prays’ as cognate, but *adolwyn* is derived from root *leyk-* ‘become bright’ (Schumacher).

Motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


**adúathaigidir** ‘dreads, abhors’

Milan: impv. 3sg. *na adhuadaiged* gl. *formidat* 28b5

Denom. < *adúath* ‘great dread, horror’, *ad + úath* ‘fear, horror’.

LEIA is non-committal on the reconstruction of the noun, saying that the best etymology consists of a connection with Lat. *pauere* ‘be frightened of’. IEW connects OI *úath* to *au-* ‘from’ with *t*-formation *aut(i)o-, i.e. *h₂eu- and *h₂euti(o)-. Isaac on the other hand suggests that it is simply derived from the exclamation of pain ‘ow!’


**aidilecnigidir** ‘needs, wants’

Denom. < *aidilccne ‘what is needful, need’ < *aidliccen ‘needy, poor’.


**ailigidir** ‘changes’

PIE *h2elios

CC *alios, *ali-, *al-no-


Depronominal < *aille, ‘other, one of two’. This is the only verb in Old Irish that is derived from a pronominal, rather than a noun or an adjective and it could be argued that it is derived from the adjectival or nominal usage. This would however be unusual in itself, because when a verb is derived from an adjective, it is always derived from adjectival usage, and never from nominal usage (cf. page 92). It would be strange if this depronominal verb was suddenly derived from nominal or adjectival usage. This derivation shows that although within Old Irish the common way of creating new verbs was to derive them from nouns and adjectives, this constraint was not absolute. Verbs could also be derived from other parts of speech. The -igidir category is the natural category for this verb to end up in, being the default category in Old Irish, as discussed above, page 66.

Note that the verb is *hapax legomenon* and occurs only in Sg. 166a2. The form found in Milan above is the VN. It always glosses Lat. alternatio ‘alternation’ and could be a calque. OI *ailigud* is the VN of *ailigidir*, derived from *aille*, just as Lat. alternatio is derived from the verb alternare, derived from the adj. alternus. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**ailithrigidir** ‘goes into exile’


Denom. $< a일tir$ ‘stranger, pilgrim’, $< a일e$ ‘other, one of two’ and *tир* ‘territory, province’. *Hapax legomenon*. It seems likely that the creator of the verb was influenced by the Lat. *exulare* ‘live in exile’, which it glosses, but this is not a calque, since it is not an exact translation of the Latin verb. The Latin is made up of the preverb *ex*- ‘out of’ and *solum* ‘bottom, ground’, whereas the Old Irish is made up of the adverb *a일e* and *tир* as given above. Calquing and related issues have been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

The semantics of the verb have been briefly discussed on page 90.


*aинnnraicaigidir* ‘regards as unworthy’


Deadj. $< aинnnraic$ ‘unworthy, defective’, $< indraic$ ‘worthy, fitting’. The verb is *hapax legomenon*. It glosses Lat. *indignari* ‘deem unworthy, scorn’ on which it is a calque. Calques have been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


*aинmnigidir* ‘names’


Würzburg: pass. pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *aинmnigther* 21a14, Milan: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. *rondnainmnigestar* 17b9, with infix. pron. 3pl. *rosnainmnigestar* 26b8, 37b22.

Denom. $< aинm$ ‘name’.


*aирdrigigidir* ‘celebrates, solemnizes’


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Deadj. < airdirc ‘well-known, < derc ‘eye, squinting’. This compound adjective is old and has a Welsh cognate ardderch. However, the verb is late, as it is deadjectival and does not have the ‘seek’ meaning of the old *-sag-* verbs, cf. section 3.4, pages 65ff above.


*airgalaigídir

Milan: part. dat. pl. ergalaichthib gl. propugnaculis 78c5.

The only form attested of this verb is the dative plural participle above. The Lat. propugnaculis which it glosses is taken by the glossator as pro pugnaculis (Note Thes.). Pugnaculis means ‘fortress’ and is not verbal at all. The Old Irish verb is denominative from airgal ‘act of fighting, strife’ and is formed under influence of the Latin. This has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. above.

DIL s.v. airgalaichthib 207: 18, airgal 206: 70, 76.

†airid ‘guards, keeps watch over’

fris·airi (‘keeps watch’): Milan: VN frithaire, frithare 111a5.

Denom. < aire (f iā) ‘act of guarding, watching over’. This is a specialist usage of the same root that gave the preposition per. It is fundamentally a verbal root (LIV’s 1. *per- ‘pass, come through’), but in Old Irish only the secondary verb derived from the secondary noun is attested. The early attestations of the fris- compound are all religious.38


airigidir ‘perceives, notices’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with emp. pron. 1sg. ni χairigursa 16a28, perf. 1sg. (with elision of rel. n) nádrairigsúr 3c27, with rel. n nán

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38 IEW and LEIA refer to an Old Breton cognate, namely the accusative plural form areanos from Ammianus Marcellinus Book 28, Chapter 3, §28. This is a ghost form. The correct reading is Lat. arcanos.
According to DIL this is related to *aire* ‘act of guarding, watching over’, though LEIA derives it from *airech* ‘heedful, attentive’ < *aire*. As has been discussed above, page 67, where it is possible to derive a verb from a derived base or from a non-derived base, the principle of economy has been applied, and the verb has been derived from the non-derived base, rather than the derived base. I have therefore derived *airigidir* from *aire*.


**airladaigidir** ‘obeys’


Deadj. < *airlithe* (io/iā) ‘obedient, submissive’. The semantics of this verb have been discussed above, page 92.


**airlithir** ‘advises, counsels’<sup>40</sup>

**airlithir**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *airlethar* 17b22, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. *airlethar* 28b32; *caín·airlethar* (‘takes good heed’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 2sg. *mani cáinairlithar* 5b38; *con·airlethar* (‘consults, takes council’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *conairlethar* 125d2, 1pl. *saillemmar*, impf. 1sg. *sairlin* 54c27, perf. 3sg. *sairlestar* 125c1, VN *comairle* 23b7.

Denom. < *airle* ‘act of advising, giving counsel’, which is also used as VN of *airlithir*. This verb has synonyms, but they are all either from this

<sup>39</sup> The entire sentence reads: *ac si diceret: lingua mea impar est tanta adnuntiationis, sed ministerium præbet Spiritui Sancto, et tamquam cūdam scribē docēt calamus aptus obsequitur.*

<sup>40</sup> Note that the Wb. Lex. gives a different meaning for this verb, ‘cares for, gives attention to’.
stem, or derived from *comairle*, which has the same root again. Motivation for formation as deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.


*aírmitnígidir* ‘honours, reverences’


Denom. < *airmitiu* ‘act of honouring, respecting’, VN of *ar-muinethar*.


*aíthbéoaígídir* ‘revives, comes to live again’


There are three possibilities for the origin of this verb: 1. It is a compound of *béoaígídir* that has in most cases been reinterpreted as a simplex; 2. This verb is derived from *béo* ‘living, alive’ with reiterative *ad*; 3. It is derived from *aíthbéo* ‘survivor(s)’. The noun *aíthbéo* is only found in the 8th century text ‘The Expulsion of the Déssi’ (Meyer), in the following context: *Beritt a n-aíthbiu γ a marbu ...* This noun has been translated as ‘survivor’, but these survivors have to be carried (together with the dead), they are clearly wounded, they will need to be revived. Whereas option 1 and 2 are not fundamentally impossible, I suggest that the most straightforward explanation of this verb is as derivation of *aíthbéo* ‘revivee’. What one does with an *aíthbéo* is *aíthbéoaígídir*: ‘revive’.


*aíthirgígídir* ‘repents’

Cf. MW *dir-rwyn* ‘torture, suffering’.

Denom. < *aithirge* ‘act of doing penance, penance’ VN of *ad·eirrig*. Since this is a Christian concept, it is most likely that this verb was created in Old Irish, after the coming of Christianity. It has therefore been assigned to Old Irish in the Chronology and can be found on page 82.


**aithisigidir** ‘reviles, abuses’


Denom. < *aithis* ‘insult, reproach’, considered by Pedersen to be the abstract noun of root *finn*- with preverb *aith-*. This is followed by LEIA. The OW *atuis* or *atius* metioned by LEIA, with reference to Stokes, is a ghost-word, see McKee.


**álaid** ‘requests, entreats’


**álaid**: Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *ailes* 104b5; ar·álaí (‘enjoins, urgens an action on’): VN *eráil*, dat. sg. *eráil* 95b6; fris·áilethar (‘looks forward, expects’): Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. -frithalim 49d3, 49d4, 3sg. frisailethar 129a2a, 1pl. frissailemmar 63c7, impf. 3pl. rel. frisnáiltis 68a9, fut. 1sg. frisailefarsa 38a10, perf. 1sg. rel. frisrailsiur 86d8.

Denom. < *áil* ‘act of asking, request’ (fem *i* and *k*). LEIA states that the relationship between the noun and the verb is unclear. Besides, the etymology of *áil* is not uncontested. It seems logical to derive the verb *áilid* from *áil*, which is then also used as the VN of the same verb. The Welsh *yoli* is an exact cognate, making it likely that this denominative is inherited (Schumacher). It can be found in the Chronology on page 80.

álgenigidir ‘soothes’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. álgenigid 4a2.

Deadj. < álgen (o/a) ‘soft, mild’, without certain etymology. It could go back to the verb legaid ‘melts away, dissolves’, but according to LEIA it is better to see it as a compound of ail ‘gentle, shy’ and gen ‘smile, laugh’.

Note that the form in Würzburg is already active. This is an example of a very early Middle-Irishism, cf. McCone for other Würzburg examples.


andaid ‘kindles, lights’


Despite the appearance of this verb, it is an i-verb, rather than an a-verb, cf. its compound ad·annai and Schumacher. The etymology is complicated. Pedersen tentatively suggests a compound arising from generalised proclisis of the preverb that is found in Welsh as han- with the primary root *do- ‘scorches, burns’. LEIA also considers this primary and connects the root with MW ennynn ‘lights, sets fire to’, but Schumacher correctly rejects this, deriving ennynn from CC *-i-n-d-e/o- ‘lights’ (PIE *h2eidh-) and andaid as a secondary verb from a *anad-i- or *anod-i-. As looks like the privative ‘un-’, which is not part of the verbal system. This verb would therefore be denominative from a noun or adjective with the Celtic descriptive reconstruction *anad- or *anod-. Since it is an i-verb, a denominative would be more likely than a deadjectival (cf. section 3.3, page 52). More cannot be said about it at this time.


anfossaigidir ‘makes unstable?, makes uncertain?’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 2pl. with the interrog. inanfossigid gl. nescitis 8d5.
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Denom. < anfoss ‘restlessness, wandering’, < foss ‘rest, remaining quiet or stationary’. The verb is hapax legomenon. Inanfossigid above glosses the Lat. nescitis ‘do you not know?’ and is translated by the editors of Thes. as ‘are ye ignorant?’ I have given the meaning ‘makes unstable, makes uncertain’, which is from DIL and based on the meaning of the adjective. Note that Stokes, in Thes. supplement (vol. 2, p. 470) sees another verbal form, anfissigid. This is not followed by DIL or Wb. Lex. The verb anfissigidir would be another hapax legomenon derived from ainfis, ‘ignorance, lack of knowledge or information’. Although this may suit the Latin better in our eyes, there is no valid reason for emending an unproblematic form in the manuscript for another hapax based on what a modern scholar would say translates the Latin better.


ardraigidir ‘appears’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. roardrigestar gl. apparuit 28c12.

DIL has no certain translation, giving ‘is distinguished or dignified’ or ‘is apparent’ as possibilities. Note that the Würzburg form is not in DIL. Thes. and Wb. Lex. translate the verb as ‘appears’, which has been followed here.

As has been discussed above, section 3.4.1, page 67, where a verb could be derived from a non-derived base noun or from a derived base noun, the principle of economy is usually applied and the verb is usually derived from the non-derived base noun. However, in this case that is not possible. There is no Old Irish word *ardVr and there is nothing in this verb that calls for a pre-Old Irish dating. This verb must therefore have been derived from airdrech ‘face, front’.

DIL s.v. ardraigidir 391: 5, airdrech 189: 28.

arsadaigidir ‘grows old’

Milan: fut. 3sg. arsadaigfith gl. ueterescet 69b4.

Deadj. < arsaid ‘old, ancient’. The verb is a hapax legomenon. LEIA states that the connection with Gk. πράσβος (with dialectal variant
πρεσγυς gives grounds to believe that arsaid is an old compound of which the first element was an adverb of the type *peres- or *pres.-, connected with *per- ‘before’. The second element is derived from root *steh2- ‘stands’. However, Irish has also a word arsan ‘old’ and arsanta ‘old’ Therefore the etymology is uncertain. Pokorny has arsaid under *p, res, *p, ros, going back to *per- ‘pass, come through’.


ar·túaisi ‘keeps silence, listens’
PIE *th₂eṷs-
CC *taus-

Cf. W tav, ‘silence’, VN tewi (th. taw-) ‘is silent’, tawel ‘silent’, OB taguel ‘ibid’. The W andaw ‘listen’ has the same preverb as in·túaisi below (Ped. ii 652, GOI 520).

ar·túaisi: Milan: impv. 2sg. nierthuaisse 126d11, fut. 3pl. artúaisbet 126b12; con·túaisi (‘hears, is silent’, DIL has this as com-, but that seems a spelling mistake, as it is alphabetised under con-): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. diacoitsea (MS dicoitsea) 13a10, 2pl. nicoitsi (=nicoitsid) 17b32, Milan: VN (f ā) coitsecht, acc. sg. coitsecht 48a11; fo·éitsi (‘understands (what is implied but not expressed)’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. foétsider 34d5, VN foéitsecht, dat. sg. foitsecht 23a7; in·túaisi (‘listens (to)’): Würzburg: impv. 3pl. éitset 13a11. Milan: part. étside, éitside 136a9, VN étsecht, éitsecht 20a2, acc. sg. èitsecht 21b11, dat. sg. èitsecht 24a18, 53c18.

Iterative of *th₂eṷs- ‘be silent’. According to LIV², this root gives the Old Irish adj. tó, tuae ‘silent’, which leads to the deadjectival Old Irish verb -tuaisi. See also Schumacher, who gives a Common Celtic nominal root *taus-tV-. Although this is not impossible, an iterative is more likely, since if it were deadjectival, it would be the only verb inconsistent with the scheme proposed in this thesis (cf. section 3.3.1 and subsections on pages 55ff.). The Brittonic cognates could also be iterative. In both suggestions, the -s- remains unexplained.

**as·mecnaigedar** ‘roots out’ (transl. Thes.)

- Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. with emp. 1sg. coasmecnugursa gl. eradicem 2a8.
- Denom. < mecon ‘root’. *Hapax legomenon*. Note that LEIA does not register the verb. This could be a calque on Lat. *eradicare* ‘root out’ with OI as- corresponding to Lat. *e*- and mecon translating *radix*. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

- LEIA M-27, DIL s.v. as-mecnaigedar 434: 11, mecon 76: 53.

**as·rochoíli** ‘defines, determines’

See *coílaid* AI, page 120.

**as·toasci** ‘expresses’

- Cf. MW gwascu, Br. gwaska ‘press’ (IEW).
- Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. coastoaiscea gl. expremat 73a3, verb. nec. esto(a)iscthi, estoiscthi gl. inpremendam 134b2, VN (o) esto(a)sc, estoasc 114a9, acc. sg. estosc 24d9, gen. estoise 102c7, dat. sg. estoasc gl. interpretatione 97a15, gl. inpresione 144c8.

The simplex is not attested in Old Irish, but cf. Modl fäisgium, ‘I squeeze’ and the Middle Irish attestations in DIL. Pedersen and IEW derive this from PIE root *yedʰh₁- ‘push, pound’ with -*sk*- suffix. Pedersen gives MW gwascu, Br. gwaska and OHG wascan as cognates and states that the alternation within Celtic between Brittonic a and OI á is a reflex of Proto-Indo-European ablaut a : ą.

The root *yedʰh₁- is in LIV², but not with the -*sk*- suffix, since that can only occur with zero-grade root (LIV² 19). The derivation of *fáiscid* as primary verb from this root therefore falls. Moreover, the alternation between long á in Old Irish and short a in Brittonic is consistent as it stands. Celt. *yāsk- becomes gwōsk- in British, which becomes shortened in the
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late 6th, early 7th century to *gwošk-, and dissimilated to gwask-.

This verb is derived from the noun that gave OI fāsc. In DIL the first meanings given are ‘report, tidings’, because these are most numerous. The original meaning will perhaps have been ‘notice’ in the legal sense, which is not inconceivably distant from ‘pressure’. Cf. DIL s.v. fāsc 44: 58 and the Welsh noun gwasce ‘squeezing, pressure, weight’. Outside of Milan, the verb occurs once in the St. Gall Glosses.


at·toíbi ‘adheres to’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. atoibi 57d18, impf. 1pl. / past subj. 1pl. (at)toibmis 18c4, fut. 3sg. niatoífe 114c2, VN (m u) atoibed, dat. sg. atoibiud 54d3

Denom. < toíb ‘side’ with preverb ad-

LEIA A-101, 102, T-91-2, DIL s.v. at(t)oibi 477: 14, taeb 12: 25.

bágaíd ‘declares, asserts’

PIE *bʰeh₁gʰ- ‘get vexed, quarrel’, nomen actionis *bʰoh₁gʰ-eh₂- (cf. IEW) or iterative *bʰoh₁gʰ-éi̋e- (LIV^2)

CC *bāg-a- or iterative *bāg-ī-

Cf. G bāgaudae ‘rebellious guerillas’, MW kymwy (= Mid. Ir. combāg) ‘fight’, -boawc = Mid. Ir. bāgach ‘warlike’. It is not clear if W bai ‘mistake, fault’ and beio ‘blames’ can be connected to this.

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. bāgmi 2d15.

Bāgaíd could either be denom. < bāg ‘boast, threat’ or iterative < *bʰoh₁gʰ-éi̋e- from PIE *bʰeh₁gʰ- ‘get vexed, quarrel’. Both would phonologically regularly become OI bāgaíd.

The derivation of verbs from W kymwy ‘fight’ (< *bʰoh₁gʰ-ios) happened within Welsh itself and are therefore not cognates of the Old Irish. The simplex bwyo reported by IEW does not exist.

Bāgaíd’s more colourful meanings ‘glories, prides oneself; fights’ are more likely to be original than the bleached ‘utters, declares’, so if this is
denominative, in specific connection with the relationship with the base noun there is a strong element of iterativity involved.


**báidid** ‘submerges, drowns’

PIE \( ^*g^\text{eh}\text{d}^\text{h}^- \), caus. \( ^*g^\text{oh}\text{d}^\text{h}^-\text{eje}- \)

CC \( ^*bād-\text{i}^- \)


Caus. The verbal root is only extant in Celtic and this only as causative (LIV\(^2\)).


**baitsid** ‘baptises’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. and emp. pron. 1sg. *manubbaitsimse* 8a1, perf. 1sg. and infix. pron. 3sg. n. *marud baisius* 8a3.

Denom. < *baithis* ‘baptism, the order of baptism’, Lat. *baptisma* ‘baptism’. The verb could also be a direct borrowing from *baptizare*. In that case, it would be an AI verb that due to syncope patterns looks like an AII verb in most cases. Since there are no diagnostic forms attested in medieval Irish, I have treated this verb as an AII verb, but this is purely speculative. Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff. The verb can be found in the Chronology on page 82.


**béoaigidir** ‘makes alive, vivifies’


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Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. beoigidir gl. uuificantem 13d7, 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. nombeoigedar gl. Quod autem nunc uiuo in carne, in fide uiuo Filii Dei 19a20.

Deadj. < béo ‘living, quick; alive’. This verb is difficult to date. Joseph (p. 153-4) interprets béo as originally a noun, rather than an adjective, interprets the verb as ‘seeks life’ and dates it to the earliest stage of the *-sag- derivatives. The interpretation rests however on speculation. Even as a deadjectival, this verb could still have been formed in a common stage of the language and inherited into Old Irish, Welsh and Breton. On the other hand, all the early Welsh attestations are religious. While in Old Irish material, the verb occurs both in religious and learned material, as well as in saga material (cf. DIL), it is not inconceivable that the verbs were independently calqued on Latin uuificare, which it glosses in both Würzburg occurrences. I have left it out of the Chronology, since a definitive dating cannot be given at this point. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


bertaigidir ‘shakes’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. bertaigther 75b13, perf. 3pl. roberaigset 26d5.

DIL states ‘bertaigidir = bertaid.’ As has been discussed above, page 114, this is incorrect. Bertaid is an inherited denominative with a wider range of meanings than bertaigidir. Bertaigidir is younger and its meaning is restricted to ‘shakes’. Both verbs are derived from bert ‘burden, load’.

LEIA B-42-3, DIL s.v. bertaigidir 86: 85, bertaid 86: 69, bert 85: 53.

boltaigidir ‘smells’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. with anaph. pron. 3pl. niboltigetarside 14d34.

Denom. < bolad ‘smell, scent’. LEIA does not register the verb. Outside of the Würzburg occurrence, this verb occurs once in Thes. II 5.28.
*bráthnaigidir ‘judges’ (transl. mine)

Cf. OW braut, W brawd ‘judgement’.


Denom. < bráth ‘judgement, the last judgement’. Although DIL refers to brethnaigidir under the headword of the participle, the vowel shows that the participle actually implies the virtual existence of another verb, *bráthnaigidir, probably derived from bráth ‘judgement, esp. the Last Judgement’. The participle is only attested twice, both times in Milan, both times referring to God as judge, and was possibly created specifically for this religious context. The reason for the -n- appearing between root and suffix has been discussed on page 68.

LEIA B-86, 7, DIL s.v. brathnigte 164: 57, bráth 161: 64, bréthnaigidir 182: 73.

†brissid ‘breaks, smashes’

for·brissi (‘breaks down, crushes’): Milan: impf. 3pl. with infix. pron. 1pl. fortanbristis 135d4, fut. pass. sg. forbrisfither 56d10, niforbrisbedar 51b1, past subj. pass. pl. forbrissitis 85d10, perf. 3sg. forrobris 34b16, part. (io, iā) forbriste, nom. pl. forbristi 85d9, VN (m u) forbrissiud, forbrisiud 37b23, acc. sg. forbrisiud 46d10, dat. sg. forbrisiud 36a32.

Possibly denom. < bres ‘fight, blow’ (DIL, LEIA).

Ped. ii 478, LEIA B-91, DIL s.v. brissid 192: 33, bres 179: 8, forbrissi 317: 57.

búadaigidír ‘vanquishes, triumphs’


Milan: VN búadugud, buaduguth 33c13.

Denom. < búaid ‘victory, triumph’.

LEIA B-107, DIL s.v. búadaigidír 220: 6, búaid 221: 43.
búadraid ‘disturbs, troubles’

Cf. W budr ‘filthy’.


Denom. < búaidre ‘confusion, distraction’, < búaidir, ‘confusion’.

DIL states that the verb is also found as búaidrigid, but the only attestation that actually has -ig- in it is doubtful. It is from the 10th century Tochmarc Ailbe (ed. Thurneysen), and Thurneysen himself reads the form buaidrigthir as equative, rather than a verbal form. The non-palatal form in Milan shows that this form was created when the diphthong -ua- was still -o-, because a consonant (cluster) would not have been historically palatalised when preceded by long ò. Due to analogy with the other AII verbs this verb was synchronically palatalised in the later language.

LEIA B-108, DIL s.v. búaidrid 223: 46, búaidre 223: 7, Thurneysen 1921c.

búanaigidir ‘makes lasting’ (transl. mine)

Milan: pres. ind. / pres. subj. 3pl. cofinbuanaigí 102a12.

Deadj. < búan (o/a) ‘lasting, enduring’.

The formation of the form found in Milan above only becomes clear in context with the Latin. It glosses uindimiant, which is a form of the verb uindemiare ‘gather / harvest grapes’. The Old Irish verbs shows OI fin ‘wine’ (Lat. uinum) and OI búan ‘lasting, enduring’. There never was a compound fínbúan so it is only in the verb that these have been put together to translate the Lat. uindimiant. The verb thus created is at first sight not a perfect translation of the Latin verb, because the Old Irish verb means ‘makes wine lasting’. However, it certainly falls within the same semantic field: making wine is a way to conserve grapes, and gathering the vintage is in preparation of making wine. Calques and other Latin influences have been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

LEIA B-110, DIL s.v. búanaigí 228: 50, búan 227: 38, fin 137: 49.
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cainid ‘laments, bewails’


Denom. *< caine* ‘act of weeping, lamenting’, borrowed from W *cwyn* ‘complaint’. This interpretation follows LEIA C-18. While it is certainly the case that the OI *caíne* and W *cwyn* cannot be simple cognates, and while a borrowing would be a straightforward explanation, this ignores the fact that we have the exact same problem with OI *main* ‘riches’ and W *mwyn*. Rather than a borrowing, the identical nature of the problem shows that there may be a sound law that is not yet understood.


cáinid ‘reviles, rails at’


Denom. *< cain*, ‘law, regulation’ (DIL), with meaning development ‘punish by lampooning’ > ‘lampoons’ (O’Brien). I have followed this tentatively, although note that the origin of *cain* itself is disputed, see Pedersen and O’Brien for suggestions. If this is indeed the correct derivation, the verb must have been created prior to Old Irish, because in

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41 The form is clearly deponent, as listed by Strachan (1893: 595), although the reasons for this are not clearly understood. Above, pages 63f., I have tentatively suggested that this is perhaps an actual occurrence of the middle voice in Old Irish. Note that Strachan’s footnote on the syntax of Ml. 74b1 (p. 595) has been silently rejected by Thes., as they translate the Gloss differently.
Old Irish itself, the indirect relationship between verb and base would have lent itself to an -igidir verb, rather than an AII verb.

Ped. ii 496 (note that DIL refers to 497), see also i 125, 378 and 381, LEIA C-15-6, 18, DIL s.v. cáinid 40: 51, cáin 30: 82, O’Brien 1956: 172.

cairdigilder ‘makes a treaty’ (translation mine)

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. (rel.) cairdigter gl. federari 126c21.

Demom. < cairde ‘pact, covenant’. Hapax legomenon. This could be a calque on Lat. foederare, which it glosses. Both OI cairdigilder and Lat. foederare ‘establish by treaty’ are derived from nouns meaning ‘treaty’, cairde and foedus (gen. foederis) respectively. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

DIL s.v. cairde 44: 44, cairdigilder 46: 73.

cairdinigidir ‘unites in friendship’

Milan: past subj. 3pl. nocairdnigtis (Note Thes.: ‘the first letter in the MS. may be r, but no- is required’) gl. amicarentur 90d4, pret. pass. pl. rocairdnigthea gl. foderatae (leg. foederatae) sunt 137c10, part. cairdinigkeithe gl. federatarum 51d16.

Demom. < cairdine ‘friendship, amity’, < cara ‘friend’. Note that LEIA does not register the verb. The semantics of cairdinigidir have been briefly discussed on page 91. This could be a a calque on Lat. foederare ‘establish by treaty’. Calques have been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. Outside of the Milan occurrences, there is once attestation of this verb in Sg. 188a32.

LEIA C-20, DIL s.v. cairdinigidir 47: 18, cairdine 47: 5, cara 72: 11.

cairrigilder ‘rebukes, accuses’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. nochairigur 11d1, 2sg. rel. nocairirther 1c10, 3sg. rel. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. cairrigedarsom 25b9, pres. subj. 2sg. diacairirther 1c10; impv. 2pl. cairrigid 26b26, verb. nec. cairiglihi 28d22, carichthi (MS arichthi), Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. cairrigidir 36a39, rel. ni chairigedar 36a20, pass. sg. cairrigthir 16c16.
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Denom. < caire ‘crime, fault’.
LEIA C-21, DIL s.v. cairigidir 48: 42, caire 47: 23.

caithid ‘consumes, spends’

caithid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel.: nad caithi 6c11. do·caithi
(‘spends, consumes’): Würzburg: impv. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2sg.
nachitochhad (= nachi-t-tochaithed) 31d11, Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. rel.
duchaiter (Note Thes.: ‘this might be read duchaster’) 82a9, perf. 3sg.
durochthaissset (DIL durachthaissset) 98b13.

For caithid ‘consumes, spends’ different origins have been proposed,
most of which LEIA correctly dismisses. Loth has suggested a connection
with W peidio ‘abstain’, in the primitive sense of ‘supports’, which could be
borrowed from Lat. pati. Pedersen suggested a connection with Lat.
quater, but this is not convincing. Pokorny’s suggestion of a comparison
with G cateia ‘projectile’ on the other hand, is valid. Caithid will have been
derived in Celtic from a nominal base *kat- that is no longer extant in Old
Irish but that was clearly extant in Celtic. This base has given G cateia.
From the same base was derived for example OI cath ‘battle’ (< *katu). The
verb *katīti originally meant ‘casts, hurls’, which is still one of the
meanings of caithid in Old Irish. (DIL s.v. 56: 7).

Ped. ii 479, LEIA C-24, DIL s.v. caithid 55: 5, do-caithi 219: 31,
cath 86: 24, Loth 1892, Pokorny 1936: 96.

cathaigidir ‘fights, gives battle’

Cf. W cattau ‘fight’ (Joseph).

cathaigidir: Milan: impf. 3pl. no cathaigtis 16b20, part.
innehchathaigthe 126c22, VN cathugud 74b9, nom. sg. comchadugud
112b8, gen. sg. cathaigtho, 128a11 nom. pl. frithchathaigthi 36d4, acc. pl.
cathigthiu 55d17; fris·cathaigedar (‘fights against, opposes’): Milan: pres.
ind. / pres. subj. 3sg. friscathaigedar 90a6, VN frithchathugud 73a12, gen.
sg. frithchathaigtho 16a12, acc. pl. frithcathaigthiu 134c2.

Denom. < cath ‘battle, fight’. Note that DIL registers the simple verb
as active and compound as deponent. Both verbs are originally deponent.
This is an old denominative. There is an exact cognate in W cattau.
Moreover, the meaning retains the meaning of the old *-sag- suffix ‘seeks’. This verb originally meant ‘seeks battle’. It can be found in the Chronology on page 81.


†ceisid ‘complains, grumbles’

ar·ceissi (‘pities, has compassion’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. arcessi 4c19, rel. dianairchissi 4c20, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. coarcessea 5b35, nádnairchissa 5b35, Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. erchissea 46c15, past subj. 3sg. conna erchissed 61a5, VN (f ā) airchissecht, gen. sg. aircissechtae 22c14, erchissechtae 120a5, dat. sg. erchissecht 32d23.

According to Pedersen this is derived from a nasal-less variant of *kʰent-, which gives OI césaid ‘suffers, endures’. However, this root is not *kʰent-, but *kʰendh- (LIV²), which could not give OI ceissid. Moreover, it is not possible to take out a nasal that is part of the root. The connection between césaid and ceissid falls.

Ceisid is instead derived from ces ‘debility, inertia’ (LEIA). This verb is strongly iterative, as complaining about a debility is not a single event, and although it stretches the boundaries of transitivity, it is not inconceivable to see this verb as transitive. Although complaining about debility requires a preposition to express it, the complaining itself still needs an intrinsic object - the debility. It is therefore not surprising that this verb became an AII (cf. section 3.3.1.1, pages 55ff.). What is however surprising is that this did not become an -igidir verb. The relationship between base noun and verb is not direct. The verb does not mean ‘is debilitated, makes debilitated’ as is customary with the non-igidir verbs. The verb is a response to the noun: it means ‘complains about a debility’. If this verb had been created within Old Irish, this more indirect relationship would have called for an -igidir verb (see above, page 66, where this verb is also discussed). I therefore propose that this verb was created before Old Irish, quite possibly at a point when the *-sag- suffix was still restricted to the meaning ‘seeks’, so that that possibility was excluded. The compound ar·ceissi was then
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formed as another response to the noun, and possibly to the verb, with the meaning ‘pities, has compassion’.


cestaigdir ‘inquires, investigates’

Milan: perf. 2 sg. arrucestaigser 2d3.

Denom. < ceist ‘question, problem’ < Lat. quaestio ‘question’ (DIL, LEIA). Considering that this is rather technical, I would argue that this is a formation from the Christian period. It has therefore been dated to the Old Irish period and can be found in the Chronology on page 82. Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


cinid ‘is born, descends (from)’

Würzburg: perf. 3pl. rel. rochinset 4c6, Milan: perf. 3pl. rocinset 26b17.

IEW derives the verb directly from the primary root *ken- ‘arise, begin’, but LIV² states that that root is verbally only attested in Slavic and in the Mid. Ir. denominative cin- ‘arises’. LIV² is clearly not entirely correct, as there are two Old Irish attestations, however treating it as a denominative is a valid possibility. There is no Old Irish word that this verb could have been derived from, but cf. OI cenél ‘kindred, race’, OW cenetl ‘kindred’, W bachgen ‘boy’ and *kn̥i1- in OI caín ‘fine, good’ (LIV²). There is moreover an element *cen- attested in a large amount of Continental Celtic names (Evans). The Gaulish, Welsh and Old Irish nominal attestations are consistent with the verb either being an an older derivative (because the base noun itself is not attested in Old Irish), or with it being primary in the first place. No definitive answer can be given at this time.


cinnid ‘defines, fixes’

Cf. W pennu ‘defines, specifies’.

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Denom. < *cenn* ‘head’ (DIL, LEIA). Although Welsh has a formal cognate within the same shade of meaning, this is a young verb (see Chronology, page 82). Whereas the meaning ‘defines’ can be seen as a direct derivation of the word *cenn* and *penn* especially when taking into account that these words can also mean ‘end, termination’, the other meanings of the verb show the influence of the Latin word *terminare* ‘mark the boundaries of’, derived from *terminus* ‘end, termination’. The semantic field of the verb, where it exceeds that of the base noun, is too common between these three languages to be coincidental. The Old Irish and Welsh verbs were formed under influence of the Latin. The intellectual unity of medieval Ireland and Wales caused similarity in intellectual discourse and when one language used the denominative from *cenn* in this way, it is likely that this will have influenced the use in the other language. Cf. also the Welsh cognate *dibennu* ‘determine, settle (outcome, debate, etc.)’ that corresponds to the semantic field of Lat. *determinare*.

The relationship between *cinnid* and *forcenna*, both having been derived from the same base, has been briefly discussed on page 61.


**cluichigidir** ‘sports, plays’


Denom. < *cluiche* ‘game, play’ (DIL, LEIA). Outside of these Milan occurrences, there is one attestation in O’Mulconry’s Glossary.


***cobrigidir*** ‘foams’? (Thes.)


*Hapax legomenon.* No translation given in DIL, though they refer to *cubar* ‘foam, froth’. Thes. translates as ‘foams (?)’. Note that DIL cites the
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3sg. conjunct form as found in Milan, whereas I have given the hypothetical citation form.

LEIA C-137, 264-5, DIL s.v. *cobrigedar* 280: 61, *cubar* 579: 34.

**coílaigidir** ‘makes thin, grows thin’

Cf. MW *culhau* ‘make thin’ (Joseph).


DIL refers to *coilaid* ‘makes thin, grows thin’ (see above, page 120), deadj. < *coil* ‘thin, slender’, and just as *coilaid, coílaigidir* can be derived from *coil*. Both verbs have only two attestations.


**coillid** ‘damages, violates’


Denom. < *coll* ‘destruction, spoiling’. *Coillid* has been discussed in its relationship to *malartaid* on page 60 above.


**comadasaigidir** ‘adapts, fits’


Deadj. < *comadas* (o/a) ‘suitable, fitting’, < *adas* ‘according to, proportionate to’. No translation in DIL, but this verb is used to gloss Lat. *aptare* and *accomodare*, both meaning ‘adapts, fits’, which is also the translation Thes. gives for Ml. 53c8. The only other attestation of this verb, according to DIL, is in the glosses on the Carlsruhe Beda.


**comaicsigidir** ‘approaches, comes near to’

DIL refers to the adjective *comocus* ‘near, proximate’ in their entry for this verb, but it is more likely that this is derived from the noun *comoicse* ‘proximity, nearness’. In the base adjective, the expected syncope is missing (**com†cus**\(^{42}\)) and in the noun, the syncope is in the wrong place (**com†caise**), probably in analogy to *ocse* ‘nearness, proximity’. If the verb had been derived from *comocus*, the missing syncope in the adjective would almost certainly have occurred in the right place in the verb, **com†caisigidir**, rather than in the third syllable as found in *comaicsigidir*. When deriving the verb from the noun, on the other hand, it is likely that the already existing syncope would have been kept, as found in *comaicsigidir*.

This could be a calque on Latin *adpropriare*, since it translates the elements exactly. Latin *adpropriare* is derived from *propius* ‘near’ with the preverb *ad*-. OI *comaicsigidir* is derived from *comocus* ‘near’, which is formed from *com-* and *ocus* ‘near’. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**comdemnigidir** ‘rules’?


Deadj. < *comdemin* ‘very certain’, < *demin* ‘sure, certain’. Hapax legomenon. DIL has no translation of this verb, but refers to *coimdemnacht* ‘lordship, rule’ < *coimidiu* ‘lord, master’. It translates Lat. *dominare* ‘be master, rule over’. However, neither *coimidiu* nor *coimdemnacht* quite fits as origin. *Coimdemnacht* would lead to **coimdemnachtaitigidir**, with possibly a syncope, though the resulting consonant clusters would make that difficult. *Coimidiu* is a dental stem, so that would leave the -m- unexplained. Deriving this verb from *comdemin* has none of these problems. This verb is treated as a simple verb in Old Irish, since the preverb is always *com-*.

The treatment of denominative verbs as simple or compound verbs has been discussed in section 3.5, pages 74f.

\(^{42}\) Note the form *comhguis* in Keating’s Dánta, *amhráin is caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn* 133 (DIL s.v. *comocus* 376: 62).
con·ruidethar ‘intends’ (Wb. Lex.)

Würzburg: pret. 3sg. rel. ɔrodastar 7a14.

Denom. < suide ‘act of sitting’. DIL splits con·ruidethar and its pret con·rodastar, but there is no need for this. Whereas ‘suidethar has -u- in the present stem, its root is in -o-, so it is phonologically regular that this -o- would appear in the s-pret (cf. GOI). Since the verb is transitive and causative (‘deciding’ is causing settlement on an idea) it is also in accordance with the scheme suggested in this thesis that this verb is AII (cf. section 3.3.1.1, pages 55ff.). Moreover, intention implies subject involvement, which would require a deponent verb (cf. section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.).

Ped. ii 502, LEIA C-198, DIL s.v. con·ruidethar 459: 1, con·rodastar 458: 68, suide 413: 73, GOI §677.

con·terchomraici ‘collects, convenes’

con·terchomraici: Milan: impf. 1sg. conterchomraicinn gl. conueniendo 119a12, pret. 3sg. chontarchomraic (Note Thes. ‘leg. contarchomraic Ascoli; but for the aspiration of the initial consonant cf. KZ. xxxv. 367, Celt. Zeitscr. IV. 61’) gl. congregata 57a14; do·airchomraicci (‘heaps together, amasses’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. duerchomraici gl. adgregat 110d1, 3pl. duerchomracat gl. adglomerant 88c5, past subj. 3pl. duerchomraictis 61b16.

Denom. < comrac, ‘act of meeting, encounter’, VN of con·ricc with *kom-to-exs-ro- (Ped., DIL, com-to-are, proposed by LEIA, is incorrect). *comraicid would mean ‘calls a meeting’, making this verb inherently causative. The verb only occurs in the Milan Glosses.

Ped. ii 556-8, LEIA C-201, D-114, DIL s.v. con·terchomraici 465: 5, do·airchomraicci 185: 62, comrac 405: 25.
cosmailigidir ‘liken, compares’
   Milan: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. rocosmailigestar 55d8.
   Deadj. < cosmail ‘like, similar’ < com + samail ‘likeness, similarity’.
   LEIA C-216, DIL s.v. cosmailigidir 494: 39, cosmail 493: 29, samail 47: 32.

†crádaid ‘torments, persecutes’
   do-acrádi (‘provokes, exasperates’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. doacrradi 18d13, 3pl. duacradat 74c1, impv. 3sg. tacradad (in DIL as tacradoad) 87a1, impf. 3pl. duacratis 74c7, perf. 3sg. doracráid 28a17.
   Denom. < crád ‘torment, anguish’. Formally, this could also be an iterative, following the same line of argumentation as for búgaíd above (page 172). However, an added problem for crádaid is that there is no known etymology for its stem.
   Ped. ii 496, LEIA C-221, DIL s.v. crábid 507: 29, do-acrádi 178: 82, crád 503: 38.

críthnaigidir ‘shakes, trembles’
   Denom. < críth ‘act of shaking, trembling’. The -n- appearing between base and suffix has been discussed in section 3.4.2, page 68. The semantics of críthnaigidir have been discussed on page 87.
   LEIA C-239-40, DIL s.v. críthnaigid 536: 29, críth 534: 22.

*crottigidir ‘plays on a harp’
   Würzburg: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. crottichther gl. citharizatur 12c45.
   Denom. < crott ‘harp, lute’. Hapax legomenon. The semantic relationship between this verb and its base have been discussed on pp. 66 and 104. This could be a calque on the Lat. citharizare ‘play on a cithara, lyre’, which it glosses. Lat. citharizare is derived from cithara meaning ‘lyre’ and although the instruments are perhaps not the same, the actions are certainly similar. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.
   LEIA C-248, DIL s.v. crottichther 553: 39, crott 552: 67.
cruthaigidir ‘creates, shapes’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. cruthaigedar 140b5, pass. pl. rel. cruthaigter 138e1.

Denom. < cruth ‘form, shape’. The semantics of cruthaigidir have been discussed on page 91.

LEIA C-256, DIL s.v. cruthaigid 564: 82, cruth 563: 23.

·cuicsedar ‘taxes’ (transl. Thes.)

Milan: pres. subj. pass. sg. nadcuicsedar gl. taxari 36a38.

No translation in DIL. *Hapax legomenon*. Thurneysen takes this as a denominative of com + cis ‘census’ (< Lat. census). This seems correct, as it translates the Lat. taxari, which it glosses, exactly. I see no basis for DIL’s com-in-ci. From the form, it cannot be seen whether this is an active or deponent verb. I have therefore cited the form as found, rather than reconstructed a 3sg. citation form.

LEIA C-107, DIL s.v. -cuicsedar 586: 19, cis 202: 19.

*cuimlengaigidir ‘fights’ (Ped.) or ‘engages’ (Thes.)

Milan: verb. nec. cuimlengaigthi (Note Thes.: ‘The second g is interlined’) gl. congrediendum 16a11.

Denom. < cuimlen ‘act of contesting, contest’, VN of con·ling. DIL cites this verb with -ig- in brackets because the only early attestation of this verb is in the Milan gloss cited above. However, there the g is interlineair: i.e. added later (it is not clear whether that is by the same scribe).

This verb seems to be a coinage of the learned tradition. It may well first have taken place in this sort of Latinate context, but it cannot only have existed in the context of the Milan glosses, since it appears in other contexts too (cf. DIL).

Ped. ii 567, LEIA C-271, DIL s.v. cuimlenga(ig)id 590: 52, cuimlen 590: 24, conblicht 427: 10, conflechtaigthi 437: 54.

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43 The reference is taken from Thes., but cannot be traced to its source.
cuimnigidir ‘remembers, recalls’

Cf. MW coffau, MB couffhat, ModB kounaat (Joseph).

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. cuimnigedar 16b24.

This verb could either be derived from cuman ‘remembered, memorable’ (DIL) or from cuimne ‘faculty of memory, remembrance’ (LEIA). It is a *-sag- derivative with Brittonic cognates, either denominative or deadjectival, and widely attested in the later language. It is to be an early example of bleached meaning (cf. section 3.4, pages 65ff.) and can be found in the Chronology on page 81.


·cuirethar ‘throws, moves’

PIE *kerH- it *korH-éje-
CC *kor-ī-


·cuirethar: Würzburg: impv. 2pl. cuirid 27b11, pres. subj. 2sg. with inflex. pron. 3sg. f. niiscoirther 10a21, Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. arnach corathar 68b9, pret. 3sg. dia corastar 39a3, verb. nec. cuirthi, nom. pl. coirthi 72b13, part. cuirthe 56c5, VN (m o) cor, dat. sg. chor 72b12, cor 99d7, ad·cuirethar (‘restores, returns’): Milan: impf. 3pl. aidchuiritis44 118c3; ar·cuirethar (‘increases, extends’): Milan: VN (m) archor, dat. pl. erchoraib 75b8; do·aitchuiredar (‘returns’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. duadchuridar 34d7, fut. 3sg. donaithfoicherr 34d8, 3pl. dunathfoichret 72d1, part (io, iā) tathchoirthe, gen. pl. taidchoirthe 82c6, VN (m o) tathchor, tadchur 34d20, acc. sg. taidchor 47b3, 119c2, gen. sg. aithchuir

44 The reading of the form is unclear. DIL discusses this verb s.v. fris·tacuirethar (430: 65):
‘Cf. co fristacor aid-chuiritis du aithis form (gl. oblicerent) MI. 118c3, where Thurneysen [Thes. - ELM] would read: co fristacuiritis du aithis, and Pedersen: fristacortais co n-aichuiris (VG ii 501-502), Strachan, Depon. Vb. p. 9 n. 5 renders “that I may cast back upon them.” It is to be noted that the form is deuterotonic and therefore co renders ut in the Latin text. The glossator evidently went astray in searching for the verb depending on ut.
Cf. further frithtacuirsimem MI. 106b15.’
DIL s.v. frithtacuirsimem (446: 27): ‘adj. superl. (apparently corresp. to fris-tacuir-, see Thurn., Gr. 443 ), gl. infestissimum MI. 106b15.’
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42c26, taidchuir 46a26, 62c7, dat. sg. taidchur 62b4, 70c5; do-cuirethar ('puts, invites'): Würzburg: with forms from *to-ro-la-: pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. ɔdidtar(la) 24a17; pass. perf. 3sg. doralad 13d8, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. dundchuirethar 35d22, pass. sg. dofocuirther (Ped. ii 501) 18c10, tarsatochuirther 22c1, rel. diatochuirther 80b7, impf. 3sg. (rel.) tochorad 44a19, fut. 1sg. docuirifar 3a1, 3pl. condichret 44a16, sec. fut. 3sg. nitochuiribthe 128a2, pret. 3sg. ducorastar 52 line 18, perf. 3sg. do-rochuresstar 16c6, niruthochuresstar 18d6, dorochuiristar 25c13, forms from *to-ro-la-: pres. subj. 3sg. torala 43b15, perf. 3sg. dusrale 23c16, pass. sg. duralad 67d9, VN (m o) tochor, dat. sg. tochor 28c12, 29a8, do-etarcuirethar ('intercedes'): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel.: doetarcuirethar 4b19, fris-cuirethar ('puts forward'): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) with infix. pron. 3sg. frictuirethar 41d16, pres. subj. pass. pl. friscoirter 21d3, past subj. pass. sg. friscoirthe 95a1, fut. 1sg. friskoichiurr 78c8, VN frecor, frecor 131a8, frecur 22a4, 137c1, acc. sg. frecor 43a2, 79b2, acc. pl. frecr 30d16; imm-cuirethar ('carries, brings, bears'): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. immechuresstar 5a5.

Iterative, PIE *korH-éje- of root *kerH- ‘disseminate, throw’ (LIV\textsuperscript{2}, for suggestion of alternative root, see Isaac), root cognate to OI fo-ceird ‘sets, puts, places’ (301). ‘Absolute’ forms of the simplex and deuterotonic forms of the compounds with one preverb supplied by fo-ceird in present and subjunctive, all forms supplied by fo-ceird in the future and the perfect is supplied by ro-la- (Ped.).

GOI derives this as denominative from the VN cor ‘act of putting, placing’, which is incorrect, considering its inflection as a causative: it consistently shows the alternation between -u- in the present stem and -o- in the other stems (cf. above, page 30 and GOI §607).

LEIA separates two roots, one strong (with meaning ‘places, puts’) and one weak (with meaning ‘invites’), the weak root being further subdivided between an originally denominative present and causative subjunctive. There is no need for this separation. The verb inflects weak

\textsuperscript{45} Ml. folio 52 is just a fragment with Latin text on one side and Old Irish on the other. Due to its size, no folio divisions are given in Thes.: the line numbers given in my corpus refer to the line numbers of Thes. Folio 52 is found in Thes. on p. 164.
throughout and the vowel alternation between present and subjunctive stem is explained by regular phonological processes, through which an original -o- followed by -ī- (< PIE *-eje-) is raised to u, but followed by ā remains o.


cumachtaigidir ‘rules, is powerful’

Milan: fut. 3pl. cumachtaigfet gl. potituri 28a12.

Denom. < cumachtae ‘power, strength’. The semantics of cumachtaigidir have been briefly discussed on page 90 above.

LEIA C-286, DIL s.v. cumachtaigidir 616: 2, cumachtae 615: 9.

cumgaigidir ‘constricts, confines’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. nicumgaigther 32d14, impf. / past subj. pass. pl. nocumgaigtis 87c5, pret rel. racumgaigestar 133a9.

Deadj. < cumung (u) ‘narrow, constricted’.

LEIA C-291-2, DIL s.v. cumgaigid 619: 80, cumung 629: 29.

*cundradaigidir ‘trades’


The form above is found under headword cundraiged in DIL. The 3sg. citation form might never have existed; this could be a nonce-formation. DIL gives no translation, but Thes. translates the gloss as ‘that he should traffic’. It glosses Lat. mercari ‘to trade, to buy’ and it is denom. < cundrad ‘(act of) trading, buying and selling’. I have therefore translated it as ‘trades’. LEIA makes the same connection and has the same translation.

LEIA C-292, DIL s.v. cundraiged 630: 50, cundrad 629: 83.
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cutrummaigidir ‘equalises, makes equal’

   Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *cochutrummaigidir* 25c12, pass. sg. with infix.
   pron. 1sg. *nimchutrummaichther* 44c3, perf. 3sg. *rocutrummaigestar* 55d3.

   Denom. < *cutrummae* ‘equal weight or amount, equivalent’, < *com + trummae* ‘heaviness, weight’.

   LEIA C-298-9, DIL s.v. *cutrummaigidir* 639: 8, *cutrummae* 638: 16,
   *trummae* 328: 37.

daingnigidir ‘makes fast, fixes’

   2sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. rel. *nundundaingnichfe* 78c6, perf. 3sg. *rodaingnigestar* 51d8, part. *daingnigthe* 47c8, VN (m u) *daingniugud*,

   Deadj. < *daingen* ‘firm, fast’ and ‘stronghold, fastness’.


†dálaid ‘portions out, pours out’

   Cf. W gwaddol ‘a portion or dowry’ (Ped. ii 503).

   *con·fodlai* (‘shares jointly, divides’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 2pl.
   *aconfodlid* (MS *aconfodli*) 24b19, Milan: fut. 2pl. *confodaibid* 53b18;
   *do·dáli* (‘pours out, dispenses’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. *dudaitler* 76b4,
   pres. subj. pass. pl. *dundaleter* 101d5, VN *todail*, dat. sg. *todail* 94c20,
   134b4, dat. pl. *todalib* 30d1, 118c7; *fo·dáli* (‘distributes, dispenses’):
   Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. *fot dúli* (= *fo-d-dáli*)
   12a8, with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. *fondrodil* 10a11, pass. pres. ind. 3pl.
   with rel. n *fundailter* 33b19, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. *fodali* 39c2, 3sg. *fundali*
   20c8, 30d26, *fodali* 42b27, fut. 1sg. *fodalib* 78a10, 3sg. *fodaildea* 90a8,
   impf. 3sg. / past subj. 3sg. *fodlad* 82d2, perf. pass. pl. *forodalta* 99c4, verb.
   nec. *fodlaidi* 105b13, part. *fodlaide* 26a9, VN *fodail*, dat. sg. *fodail* 22d16,
   93d6.

   Denom. < *dál* ‘a dispensing of drink or food, a distributing’, also
   used as VN of *dáilid*. Denominative in both Welsh and Old Irish, so this is
   probably a Celtic formation. Schulze-Thulin sees a CC *dál-īt,*
denominative from PIE *deh₂-lo- of PIE root *deh₂ ‘share’. It can be found in the Chronology on page 80.


dánaigidir ‘gives, bestows’

dánaigidir: Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. rosdánigestar 21b9, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n (rel.) naddanaiged(ar), pass. sg. rel. daraigther 17c7, pres. subj. pass sg. rel. daraigther 40b2, fut. 3sg. neg. with infix. 3sg. f. connachdánaigfeáa 96a7, perf. 3sg. rel. rondánaigestar 96b9, neg. with infix. pron. 3sg. nach radanaigestar 97d17, part. dánaigthe 135c4, VN (m u) dánaigud, dat. sg. danaigthe 96a8, *ad-dánaigedar: Milan: fut. 3sg. addanigfeáa 112c4, part. (io, iā) atdánaigthe, atdanigthe 116b7-9, atdanaigthe (Note Thes.: ‘at over the line’) 116b7-9, nephatdanaigthe 138a5, acc. pl. nephatdanigthi 56b10.

Denom. < dán ‘gift, bestowal’. Ad·danaigedar could be a compound of dánaigidir or it could have been independently coined from dán. It only occurs in Milan and was formed to gloss Lat. remunerare ‘reward’. It could be a calque, since both the Old Irish and the Latin verb are derived from the word for ‘gift’. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. above.


debthaigidir ‘dissents, quarrels’

Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. nidephthigim gl. non desideo 21a2, 3pl. rel. debthaigte gl. tumultuantibus 103d17, impf. 3 sg. nodebthaiged gl. desedebat 19c13, 3pl. rel. nodebthaigtis gl. iurgantes 103b15, perf. 3 pl. rodebthachsetar gl. desiderant 19c16.

Denom. < debuith ‘strife, contention’ (DIL), cmpd of buith, VN of at·tá (LEIA).

LEIA D-30, DIL s.v. debuith 182: 2, debthaigidir 181: 54.
**dechraigidir** ‘is scattered, dispersed’


Denom. < *dechor* ‘the condition of being different, difference’. Note that one of the meanings of the verb is ‘is different’. There is no reason to assume that this verb is old. It is therefore likely that it developed multiple meanings simultaneously. This is not uncommon for *igidir* verbs and it is a logical consequence of their varied relationship to their bases as described above, page 66.


**deiligidir** ‘separates, scatters’


Denom. < *deil* ‘separation’.


**deimnigidir** ‘confirms, certifies’


Deadj. < *deimin* ‘sure, certain’.


**deithidnigidir** ‘concerns, troubles’


Denom. < *deithiden* ‘care, concern’, generally bestowed on a person or a thing, which would logically lead to a transitive verb. However, this verb seems to have simultaneously developed an intransitive meaning.

**Corpus of secondary verbs**

**delbaigidir** ‘shapes, forms’

Milan: pres. ind. rel. pass. sg. nephdelbaigther 138c3, nad delbaigther 138c3, part. nephdelbaigthe 138c3 (Note Thes.: ‘MS. neph delbaigthe’).

Denom. < delb ‘form, figure’. The three occurrences above are all in the same gloss, glossing Lat. informem ‘formless’. There is only one attestation of this verb outside Milan found in DIL. The semantics of delbaigidir are briefly mentioned on page 92.


**dérgid** ‘spreads (coverings, a couch), makes a bed’

PIE *h₃reg̥- ‘stretch, point’, caus. * h₃roɡ̥-eje- (LIV²)

CC *rog-ī-

**ar·dérg(a)** (‘proposes, intends’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. arrudérgestar 4c13; pass. perf. 3sg. arrudérged 2b10, Milan: perf. 1sg. arrudergus 51a13; dérgid: Milan: VN (m u) dérgud, dat. sg. dérgud 21a3, 21c7, dat. pl. dergudaib 20c1.

Pedersen states that although this verb inflects as a denominative, it is originally a compound of *reg- ‘binds’, *di-ess-reg-, and therefore a primary verb that took on weak flexion. In this case, reg- was reflexive (deponent), whereas in it’s compound air-di-ess-reg- it was transitive.

DIL states that this verb in later texts sometimes occurs with non-palatal -g-, thereby implying that that the -g- is palatal. It is however more likely, as Thurneysen and Dillon have suggested, that dérgid is originally a compound of a causative rogid (page 236 below) of a root *h₃reg̥- and that the -g- is therefore regularly non-palatal. LEIA suggests that rogid is an iterative, rather than a causative, which certainly suits the meaning better, but has no further consequences for the morphology of either rogid or dérgid. Occasional examples of dérgid with palatal -g- are according to Dillon explained by confusion with do·érig, déirig ‘abandons’, but could also be due synchronic palatalisation in analogy to other AII verbs. The same confusion appears in the compound ar·derga.
Corpus of secondary verbs


**détnaigidir** ‘gnashes’

Milan: impf. 3pl. nodétnaigtis (in DIL without fada) gl. stridebant 54d20.

Denom. < détnach ‘gnashing of teeth’. Although I usually derive verbs from their non-derived base, as discussed above, section 3.4.1, page 67, that is problematic in this case, because a non-derived base is not attested. It could be argued that a word *détne* might have existed, however it is not extant in any of the later phases of the language either. I have therefore chosen to derive the verb from détnach instead, keeping in mind that the non-attested *détne* may well have been a virtual intermediate in this case.

The verb is *hapax legomenon*.


**deugaigidir** ‘drinks’

Milan: fut. 3pl. deugaigfit gl. potabunt 30c18.

Denom. < deog ‘drink, draught’. *Hapax legomenon*. LEIA does not register the verb.

LEIA D-51-2, DIL s.v. deugaigid 51: 32, deog 26: 10.

**díanaigidir** ‘causes to hasten, hurries, makes haste’

Milan: pres. ind. 2pl. dianaigthe 49d9, impf. 3pl. nudianaigtis 54d15, sec. fut. 3sg. nudianaigfed 91a10, perf. pass. sg. rudianaiged 98b14, part. comp. dianaigthiu 91a13.

Deadj. < dian ‘swift, rapid’. The semantics of díanaigidir have been briefly discussed on page 87.

**díchsnigidir** ‘exists, is extant’

**díchsnigidir**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. dixnigedar 4c24, 3sg. with interrog. indexnigedar 3c32, with the copula and nad, isnaddixnigedar 9c14, 3pl. rel. dixinetar 12b7, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. cate n dixinigedar 80c2, 103d24, rel. ndixnigedar 23a1, neg. rel. nadndixnigedar 55c9, nad ndixnigider 55c10, pres. subj. 2sg. rel. mundayxnaigther 75c9; in·dixnigedar (‘is in, exists in’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. indexnigedar 19b14, indexnigedar 20c6 (2x), indexnigedar 37b17, 51c16.

Denom. < *dichsain, possibly VN of do·coissin ‘there is, there are’. Díchsnigidir shows double syncope: First in the VN of do·coissin, *dich†sain. Then when the *-sag- suffix was added, it was synchronically syncopated again. Therefore this form must have been created after syncope, i.e. after the middle of the 6th cent and can be found in the Chronology on page 82. The semantics of this verb have been briefly discussed on page 90.


**dílmainigidir** ‘is free, unoccupied’

Milan: perf. 3pl. rondilmainaigset gl. uacasse 76a8.

Deadj. < dilmain ‘free from restraint, without attachment’, < di + loman in meaning b) ‘restraint’ (DIL). Outside of Milan, this verb occurs twice in legal transcripts.


**dílsigidir** ‘makes forfeit, renounces’

Milan: VN (m u) dílsigud, dat. sg. dílsigud 74d13.

Deadj. < díles ‘forfeited to, given over’.

LEIA D-84, DIL s.v. dílsigid 112: 59, díles 103: 14.

**díummussaigidir** ‘is proud’

Milan: impf. nodiummussaigtis gl. superbientes 136b5, pres. subj. 3sg. arnadiummussaigedar gl. turgescat 68c7.
Denom. < díummus lit ‘overestimating’, hence ‘vainglory, arrogance’, VN of *dī-uts-med-* (Ped.). The verb only occurs in Milan.


dlíumigidir ‘nucleates, masses together’

Würzburg: pass. perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. and emp. pron. 1pl. rondlúmigidni gl. Etenim in uno Spiritu omnes nos in unum corpus bātizati sumus 12a15.

Denom. < dlíum, ‘mass, nucleus’. Hapax legomenon.

LEIA D-109-10, DIL s.v. dlíumigid 168: 1, dlíum 167: 42.

do·áirci ‘causes, effects’

PIE *h₂nek̂- ‘get, achieve’ (LIV²), caus. *h₂nok-éje-

con·táirci: Milan: perf. 2sg. orótaircissiu (DIL as this as orótaircissiu, which seems a misreading of the con-sign. They give no translation, only refer to this gloss) 77d1, part. comthaircidi, contaircidi 135a5. do·áirci: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. doáirci 3d19, 15b28, doáirci 12c26, nitáirci 27a28, tárci 25a4, anu tairci 12c31, 3pl. nitáircet 30b12, nitarcat 31d10, tárcet 3b8, perf. doráricce 3c29, dorárriccce 3c15, dorarice 19b23, impv. 3sg. tairedd 23c14, natáirged 23c13. Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. duairci 76a16, 3pl. rel. dunáircceat 86c14, impv. 2pl. taircid 48b15, impf. 3sg. dunairced 35a12, pres. subj. 1pl. coduaircem 35b3, 3sg. rel. dunáirreca 78b22, dunaireca 85c2, 3pl. dunaircete 46b15, pass. sg. nitáircither 17d5, sec. fut. 3sg. duaircibed 29c10, rel. dunaircibed 29c11 (this form found under another gloss in DIL), 100b7, perf. 3sg. durairricce 33b20, verb. nec. táircidi 19a4, taircithi 18a6, nom. pl. taircidi 34d14, part. táircide 27c20, gerund táircidi 39d24, 50a4, VN tárcud, acc. sg. tárcude 74a1, dat. sg. tairciud 47b4, 121c2; fo·tairci (‘substitutes, supplies’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. fotaircether 108c15, pl. fotairciter 122b2; in·táirci (‘infllicts, brings (upon)’): Milan: past subj. 3pl. intaircitis 33a3, pret. 3sg. indaricc 54b30.
Caus. If these were compounds of *icc, they would have been the only compounds of this root to inflect weak and they should have had a preterite based on anaic rather than the attested s-preterite. Pedersen suggests deriving from the VN tairecc ‘providing, supplying’, however this would not explain the anomalous form in Wb. 31d10 above, where the pres. ind. 3pl. is *tarcat. If this verb were derived from tairecc, palatalisation would have been regular. The lack of palatalisation makes sense if this verb is a causative. The palatal forms can then be explained by analogy to other compounds of *icc and/or other AII verbs. The W deirwng⁴⁶ is consistent with a verb derived from *to-ad-ro-onk-ī. The meaning of doáirci ‘causes, effects’ is also consistent with that of a causative.

Note that reflexes of a Proto-Indo-European causative formation *h₂nok-ēje- are not attested. If a Proto-Indo-European causative formation would have existed, it would have been *h₂nok-ēje-, but the only causative formation attested is that in Celtic, which does not continue a Proto-Indo-European formation.


Contáirci is not translated in DIL, Thes. translates gloss as ‘thou hast conferred’.


doáissilbi ‘refers, ascribes’
See selbaid AI, page 152.

do·bidci ‘shoots, casts’
PIE *bʰer gö · ‘rise’, *bʰorg-ēje- (LIV²)
CC *borg-ī-

⁴⁶ Note that the citation form is hypothetical, since only two forms are attested, both too obscure to draw any definite conclusions about its meaning. However, both these forms are consistent with the derivation given for OI doáirci.
Cf. MW bwrw, ‘throw’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. dubidcet 93d11, impf. 3sg. rel. andumbidced 53d7, past subj. 3pl. dubidcitis 30b1, pret 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. dambidec 58c4, perf. 3sg. dorrubiddec 40d9, dorobidec (darobidec in DIL) 58c3, VN dibiriciud, acc. sg. dibiriciud 99d1, dat. sg. dibiercu (this form not in DIL) 26d6, dibiriciud 58c6.

Pedersen (i 88) states that the prototonic ·díbairg is a different root from ·bidci and connects this to W bwrw. LEIA also separates the roots, deriving do·bidci from bidg, bedg ‘start, spring, leap’.

Thurneysen (GOI) connects ·díbairg to ·bidci with PIE *-zg- > OI -rg-, while *-z- before *-d- disappeared. According to Schrijver, since the -b- in dibairg is non-palatal, the verbal root can not have contained a front vowel, contrary to that in bidci < *bисg- or *bэзг-. Moreover, OI cuit ‘part’, sochuide ‘multitude’ < *kʷэsd- shows that *-s- in unaccented syllables is lost, rather than that it developed into -r- as Thurneysen claimed.

Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru reconstructs a root *borg- rather than *burg-, which is supported by the Old Irish VN dibiriciud (see above Ml. 58c6, 99d1) which points to dīberg with -e- due to palatal -rc-, but this is hardly conclusive. If this reconstruction is correct, it points towards a causative / iterative formation of Proto-Indo-European root *bʰergʰ-, which would be in line with the weak i-flexion of OI dibairg. It is also possible from the Welsh side of things, since there are a number of Welsh words showing raising of *o to *u (Schrijver p. 67). This is the reconstruction found in LIV². Schulze-Thulin follows this analysis, and also points out that the earlier considered *burg- cannot be connected with any known Proto-Indo-European root (suggestions would be ?**b(h)yı̯erg(h) or ?**b(h)уйерг(h)). The meaning of the verb, ‘shoots, casts’ is also in line with the causative analysis: ‘making high, raising’.

Whereas the above analysis explains -dibairg, it does not explain do·bidci, which remains unexplained.

dochenélaigidir ‘degenerates’

Cf. MW digenedylyhau (Joseph).

Milan: perf. 1sg. rondoichenelaigsiu gl. degenerans 44b36.

Deadj. < dochenéuil ‘low-born, degenerate’, cmpd. of cenél ‘kindred, race’. Hapax legomenon. Despite the Middle Welsh cognate, it is possible that this is a calque on the Latin degenerare which it glosses, since the verbs are formed in the same way. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


dochraidigidir ‘defiles’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. dochraidigthir gl. turpatur 28b2, nadndochridichther gl. fedari 35d15.

Deadj. < dochraid ‘unshapely, unsightly’, cmpd. of cruth ‘form, shape’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

LEIA D-127, DIL s.v. dochraidigidir 226: 35, dochraid 225: 54.

do·fortai ‘pours, pours out’

PIE *uert- ‘turns oneself’, caus. *uort-éje- (LIV²)
CC *uort-í-

Milan: pres. subj. pass. pl. dofortatar 124d12, past subj. 3sg. dofortad 36d22.

Caus. The e-grade of this root is attested in OI ad·ferta (page 261, see discussion above, page 83). Ad·ferta has a Welsh cognate gwerthu, but the causative is not attested in Brittonic.

Ped. ii 526, IEW 1150-1, LEIA D-143-4, LIV² 691, DIL s.v. ad-ferta 53: 32, do·fortai 273: 44.

dogailsigidir ‘grieves, is sad’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. cdogailsegetar 87b17.
Denom. $<$ \textit{dogailse} `grief, sadness' $<$ \textit{dogail} `anguish, affliction?'.
The verb is attested once in Milan and once in the \textit{Vita tripartita Sancti Patricii}.


\textbf{*doirmámaigidir} `becomes worthless, vile' (translation mine)


Denom. $<$ \textit{doírmám} `servile yoke, servitude'. This verb is found under \textit{doir} in DIL, as a denominative of the compound \textit{doírmám}. DIL has no translation. The verb only occurs in Milan and glosses Lat. \textit{uilescre} `become worthless, vile'. Since \textit{doírmám} means `servile yoke, servitude', it seems likely that the verb was coined to translate the Latin. It is not a simple calque, because although OI \textit{doír} translates Latin \textit{uilis}, it is OI \textit{doírmám} that is used to form the verb, not \textit{doír} itself. Calquing is discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


\textbf{†dorchaigidir} `grows dark, is eclipsed’

\textbf{fris·dorchaigedar} (`darkens, obscures’): Milan: pres. subj. pass. sg. \textit{frisndorchaigther} 73c3

Deadj. $<$ \textit{dorchae} `dark, gloomy’. \textit{Fris·dorchaigedar} is a \textit{hapax legomenon} formed to gloss Lat. \textit{obtenebrare} `darken, make dark’ (DIL). The semantics of \textit{dorchaigidir} have been briefly discussed on page 89.


\textbf{do·scé(u)lai} `finds out, ascertains’

\textit{Milan}: pres. ind. 3sg. \textit{dusceulai} 68d12, 102a22, pres. subj. 3sg. \textit{dusceula} 95c4, 3pl. \textit{dussecelat} 83b8, fut. 1sg. \textit{dusceulub} 59a2, 3pl. neg. with infix. pron. 2 sg. \textit{toscelfat} 107c11, VN (m u) \textit{taiscélad}, dat. sg. \textit{thaiscelud} 90c1.


**dumaigidir** ‘piles up, exaggerates’


Denom. < *duma* ‘mound, tumulus’. DIL suggests deriving this from *dumach* ‘sandbank’, also used for ‘bank, mound’ in general. However, as discussed above, section 3.4.1, page 67, if a verb could be from a derived base in *-ch*- or a non-derived base, the principle of economy has been applied and the verb has been taken from the non-derived base. I have therefore followed LEIA and derived this verb from *duma* rather than *dumach*. The verb is only attested in Milan and could be a calque on Lat. *exaggerare* ‘heap up, accumulate’, which it glosses. Both the Latin and the Old Irish are derived from a noun meaning ‘heap, pile’ (Lat. *agger*) and the verb deriving from it includes the metaphorical meaning of ‘exaggerates’ in both languages. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**durnid** ‘smites, buffets’ (DIL)

Cf. MW *dyrnu* ‘thresh, thumb’, MB *dournaff* ‘bash, thumb’.


Denom. < *dorn* ‘hand, fist’. Although this is *hapax legomenon*, I would argue that this is a Celtic coinage. The Brittonic cognates are an argument for this position. Although the *i*-verbs are productive in Old Irish, the category is certainly not as productive as the *-igidir* verbs. Moreover, the meaning is an elementary one, using one’s fist to hit someone, whose semantic field has broadened to include hitting someone by any means. This indirectness is another argument for greater age, since in Old Irish, indirect
relationships between base noun and verb gives -igidir verbs, not a-verbs or i-verbs. Durnid can be found in the Chronology on page 80.

IEW 203, LEIA D-177-8, DIL s.v. durnid 454: 33, dorn 360: 6.

echtrannaigidir ‘alienates, is alienated’

    Milan: perf. 3pl. roechtrannaigsetar 66d2, pass. pl. rel. roechtrannaigthea 66d1.

    Deadj. < echtrann ‘strange, foreign’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

    DIL s.v. echtrann 37: 3, echtrannaigidir 37: 59.

écmailtigidir ‘is insolent’


    Deadj. < écmailt ‘unquiet, restless’. The semantics of écmailtigidir have been briefly discussed on page 92. The verb is only attested in the Milan Glosses.

    DIL s.v. écmailtigidir 42: 56, écmailt 42: 38.

écndaigidir ‘slanders, reviles’

    Würzburg: pass. pres. ind. rel. with infix. pron. 1pl. and emp. pron. 1pl. áeicndichtherni 2a11; Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. écndigitir 126d16.

    Denom. < écndach ‘reviling, slandering’. As has been discussed above, section 3.4.1, page 67, where possible a verb has been derived from its non-derived base. However, for écndaigidir, a non-derived base is not attested. Therefore, the verb has been derived from écndach with loss of -ach- by haplology. The verb is not attested outside of the Milan Glosses.

    DIL s.v. écndaigidir 48: 54, écndach 47: 61.

†éicnigidir ‘compels, constrains’

    con·éicnigedar (‘forces, compels’): Würzburg: pass. pres. ind. 3sg. nád comeicnigther 28b1, Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. cotammeicnigther 21b10.
Denom. \(< éicen \) ‘necessity, compulsion’.

DIL s.v. éicnigid 74: 64, éicen 66: 57.

†éigid ‘cries out, screams’

**ar-éigi** (‘cries out, laments’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. araneği 18d1, arégi 29d10, 30d5, aregi 31c4, 3pl. rel. araneiget 20b8, rel. araéget 29b3, (rel.) ara eget (this is translated rel. by Thes., but this is unnecessary) 54a3, rel. araneget (Note Thes.: ‘n is infixed because of the preceding cum = Ir. lasse.’) 97d9, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. aranêgea 95c7, perf. 3sg. ciarudreig 50d1, arruáig 54b29, arroæig (this form not in DIL) 58b14, impf. / past subj. 3sg. araneged 24c11, VN (f ā) aireigem, eregem 35a20, erégem 36b15, 90b19, acc. sg. erigim 55d11, gen. sg. erigeme 27d5, dat. sg. erigim 44b4, 74b1, 139a13, acc. pl. erigmea 26b22.

There is very little to base éigid on. IEW has a root *eig-, *oig- ‘wail’ with Gk. οἰκτος ‘the complaining’ and the Gothic denom. aihtrōn ‘beg’, but both the Greek and the Gothic are o-grades and both are characterised by a dental suffix. It is not at all certain if the Old Irish verb can be connected to these words or even if there is a basis for a Proto-Indo-European root at all.

In Old Irish itself, the nouns éigem and éigme both mean ‘scream, cry’ and both contain the element éig-, which is a good candidate as base for this verb, but an actual base noun or adjective is not attested, and it cannot be shown whether this element is itself primary or secondary.


** elitesaigidir** ‘makes warm or lukewarm’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. neg. rel. nádtesaigedar gl. tepefacit 94b21 (Note Thes.: ‘MS. nadeltesaigedar: corr. Thurneysen’, but note DIL: ‘the emendation in Thes. is shown by elte, etc. to be unnecessary’).

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47 It is unusual for Thes. to explain relative nasalisation in a form, but in this case, this form could belong to both ar-éigi ‘cries out, laments’ and to ar-neget ‘prays’. Thes.’ note shows their opinion that it is ar-éigi.
Corpus of secondary verbs

Denom. < *eltes* ‘tepidity’, < *elle* ‘luke-warm’. Both noun and verb are *hapax legomenon* (although not occurring in the same text).


*engraicigidir* ‘takes the place of’


Denom. < *engraic* ‘place, stead’ (DIL).


*énirtigidir* ‘weakens, enfeebles’


Deadj. < *énirt* ‘without strength, weak’, < *nert* ‘strength, might’. This could be a calque on Lat. *eneruare* ‘weaken’, which it glosses, if we allow for a pseudo-etymological reading of the Latin verb as *e-neru-* > OI *é-nert*-. Calquing has been discussing in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


*érassaigidir* ‘makes void, invalidates’


Deadj. < *éraise* ‘useless, insignificant’. DIL has the meaning of the adjective with a question mark, but it is confirmed by the verb. It is only attested once outside the Glosses.


*erbirigithir* ‘charges (?); explains’

Denom. < *airbire* ‘act of reproaching, reproach’. DIL translates with ‘charges (?)’, explains’. The only four attestations of this verb are found in Ml. and gloss Lat. *causari* ‘allege an excuse’ in all instances. Ml. 35a5 and 35b6 are one word glosses; Ml. 54b10 is followed by *i.e. connamanairi* ‘i.e. that it may not succeed’, which does not shed any more light on the meaning of the verb. Ml. 90a7 is the only gloss that is followed by a more lengthy explanation: *i.e. dobersom innaccuis aratartad ndermitiu feid mórsa du solmain...* ‘i.e. he gives the cause why this great reverence had been given to Solomon...’ The verb *erbirigithir* is here explained by *dobeir innaccuis* ‘gives cause’. Although DIL’s tentative translation ‘charges’, based on the meaning of the base *airbire* ‘reproach’ is not illogical, it is not borne out by any of the attestations. In this case, the verb seems more a response to the base noun, rather than being a direct extension of it, as is more common.


**erlissaigidir** ‘loathes’


Denom. < *lius* ‘loathing, disgust’. Hapax legomenon. This could be a calque on Lat. *fastidire*, which it glosses. Both verbs are derived from a noun meaning ‘disgust’ (Lat. *fastidium*). Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**espanaigidir** ‘is idle, vain’


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étaigidir ‘emulates, envies’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. with infix. pron. 2pl.: nobétzigetar 19d27,
Milan: pres. subj. 2sg. -etaigther 56b31, nonetaigther 56b39, with infix.
pron. 1pl. nonétagther 56b17.

Denom. < ét ‘emulation, jealousy’
DIL s.v. étaigidir 209: 37, ét 207: 40.

etargnaigidir ‘makes known, denotes’

Milan: perf. 3sg. roetarcnaigestar gl. notauit 32b5;
remi·etarcnaigedar (‘distuingishes, makes known beforehand’): Milan:
pres. subj. 3sg. remínetarcnaigedar gl. prænotare 18c12.

Denom. < etargne ‘knowledge (of), acquaintance (with)’, VN of etar·gnín. The semantic development is from etar·gnín ‘finds out, learns, knows’ to the thing known, i.e. knowledge, etargne, to passing on that knowledge etargnaigidir (which itself also has the meaning of ‘knows’).
The compound remi·etarcnaigedar could be a calque on Lat. prænotare ‘mark before’, which it glosses: preverb and stem match each other exactly. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

DIL s.v. etargnaigidir 218: 5, remi·etarcnaigedar 43: 37, etargne 218: 25, etar·gnín 219: 5, etargnaigidir 218: 5.

étendigidir ‘loosens, relaxes’

Milan: perf. 3sg. arrunetendiged 113c2.

Deadj. < *étend ‘not strong, loose, relaxed’, < tend ‘strong, firm’. Hapax legomenon. The derivation is based on the fact that both ro and the nasal are infixed before é-. This shows this verb is treated as a simplex and therefore must have been derived from a non-attested *étend.

DIL s.v. étendigidir 227: 17, tend 143: 39.

etrummaigidir ‘lightens, alleviates’

Milan: fut. 3sg. étrummaigfid gl. subleuabit 89c9, perf. pass. sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. rommétrummaiged gl. releuatus 48b5, 3pl. roétrummaigset gl. laxati sunt 113c8, part. gen. sg. étrummaigthi (not in DIL) gl. 207
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Deadj. `< *étromm* 'not heavy, light', neg. of *trom* ‘heavy’. The verb only occurs in Milan.


*étuailngigidir* ‘chafes (under), is out of patience (with)’


Deadj. `< *étualaing* ‘intolerable, insufferable’, neg. of *túalaing* ‘able (to), capable (of)’. The verb is only attested in Milan.


*fáiltigidir* ‘rejoices, is glad’


Denom. `< *fáilte* ‘joy, happiness’.


*fairsingigidir* ‘widens, enlarges’


Deadj. `< *fairsing* ‘ample, broad’.


*fásaigidir* ‘empties, makes void’

Würzburg: perf. pass. 3sg. *rofásiged* 15a33.

Deadj. `< *fás* ‘empty, void’.


*feidligidir* ‘remains, abides’

Corpus of secondary verbs

**feidliged** 136d2, fut. 3sg. *feidligfid* 128a7, sec. fut. 3pl. *rofeidlipitis* 108b05, perf. 1pl. neg. rel. *nírfeidligsemmar* 105a4, 3pl. neg. rel. *nadrofeidligset* 105a4, VN (m u) *feidligud* 15a6, 63b15, gen. sg. *feidligtheo* 15a5;


  Deadj. < *feidil* ‘lasting, enduring’.


**feochraigidir** ‘grows fierce, wild’


  Deadj. < *feochair*, ‘stern, severe’. Note that DIL has the meanings ‘fierce, indomitable, wild’ as ‘later’, although the verb seems to be derived within that semantic range. It is likely that although those meanings are not attested within Old Irish sources, they were present in the language. The verb could be a calque on Latin *efferare* ‘make wild’, which it glosses. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**fergaigidir** ‘grows angry’


  Denom. < *ferg* ‘anger, wrath’.

  DIL s.v. *fergaigid* 91: 61, 1. *ferg* 90: 77.

**fiachaigdir** ‘incurs a debt, makes liable’


  Denom. < *fiach* ‘obligation, payment due’. The semantics of this verb have been briefly discussed on page 91.


**findbadaigidir** ‘makes happy’

Denom. $< \text{findbad}$ ‘bliss, felicity’, possibly a compound of $\text{finn}$ ‘white, bright’ and $\text{bith}$ ‘world’ (DIL, GOI). The verb only occurs in Milan.

DIL s.v. $\text{findbadaigidir}$ 138: 32, $\text{findbad}$ 138: 10, $\text{finn}$ 141: 60, 1. $\text{bith}$ 106: 56, GOI §124.

$\text{firiánaigidir}$ ‘justifies, makes righteous’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with suff. pron. 3sg. m. $\text{firianichthi}$ 2b28, rel. $\text{firianigedar}$ 19b1, with infix. pron. 1pl. $\text{nodonfirianigedar}$ 19a14, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. $\text{rafirianigestar}$ 19b13, pass.: perf. 3sg. rel. $\text{rofírianiged}$ 2b24, $\text{rofírianiged}$ 2c8, Milan: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. rel. $\text{rondfiríanaigestar}$ 19d16.

Deadj. $< \text{firén}$ ‘just, righteous’, loan from W $\text{gwirion}$ (GOI). The verb is not attested outside of the Glosses.

GOI § 917, DIL s.v. $\text{firiánaigidir}$ 151: 8, $\text{firén}$ 150: 8.

$\text{fo·ammámaigedar}$ ‘subjugates’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. $\text{foammamaigedar}$ 113c6, pass. pl. $\text{foammamaigter}$ 26a8, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. $\text{fosroammamigestar}$ (Note Thes.: ‘MS. $\text{fosro ammamigestar}$ with the first $s$ over the line’) 67b24, part. $\text{foammámaigthe}$, gen. pl. $\text{foammamaigthe}$ 43c5, 105b1, VN $\text{foammámugud}$, $\text{foammamugud}$ 67c2, acc. sg. $\text{foammamugud}$ 26a8, dat. sg. $\text{foammamugud}$ 28d5.

Denom. $< \text{mám}$ ‘yoke’, could be formed on analogy to Lat. $\text{subiugare}$ ‘subjugate, make subject’ (DIL), which has been discussed in section 3.4.3 on pages 69ff. Simplex not attested. The verb only occurs in Milan.

DIL s.v. $\text{fo-ammámaigedar}$ 181: 76, $\text{mám}$ 52: 25.

$\text{fo·crigidgedar}$ ‘girds’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. $\text{focrigidedar}$ gl. $\text{accingat}$ 35c32, pass. 3pl. $\text{focridigter}$ gl. $\text{accingi}$ 135b1, impv. 2sg. $\text{fochridigthe}$ gl. $\text{acingere}$ 27c5, pres. subj. 2sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. $\text{fotchridigther}$ g. $\text{præcingere}$ 101c3, fut. pass. sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. $\text{fomchridichfidersa}$ gl. $\text{accingar}$ 31c7, VN (m u) $\text{fochridigud}$, dat. sg. $\text{fochridigud}$ gl. $\text{accinctum}$ 37c9.
The simplex of this verb is not attested. Ó Crualaoich derives this from *cride* ‘heart’, which certainly works from a morphological point of view, but is semantically problematic. Russell, in his forthcoming article on British *uocridem* has connected Ol *fo·cridigedar* with *uocridem* and derived it from a word *yokridjo* from the prepositional phrase *yō krido* ‘under the girdle, centrally’. The exact etymological details of the root remain inconclusive. Russell points out that whereas *kerd* ‘bind’ is the most attractive, the evidence is thin. However, the basic interpretation of *fo·cridigedar* and its implied nominal base is sound and I have followed it here. The verb is treated as a compound in Old Irish, cf. section 3.5, pages 74f. It is not attested outside of the Milan Glosses.


**fograigiddir** ‘emits a sound, sounds’


Denom. < *fogur* ‘sound’.


**foídid** ‘sends’

PIE *uẹjdi* ‘see’, caus. *uọjd-eje- (LIV²)

CC *uọjd-t-


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48 I am would like to thank Dr. Paul Russell for showing me his forthcoming article on *uocridem*. 

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rofóitea 27c35, ni roitea 5a3; Milan: part. (io, iā) foíte 34c9, VN foít, dat. sg. foít 34a6; as·foídi ('sends forth'): Milan: pres. ind./subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. ardatuaisi 129b2, pass. sg. rel. assafoite 48c8, part. (io, iā) esfoite, nom. pl. esfoiti 48c8, acc. pl. esfoitiu 102b8, VN esfoil, dat. sg. esfoil 44a10; do·foídi ('sends'): Würzburg: impv. 2pl. dofoïdid (leg. dafoidid) with infix. pron. 3sg. m. 14a17, pass. perf. 3sg. dofoïded 32d14; Milan: perf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1pl. donróid 53d9; in·fóidi ('sends, sends down'): Milan: part. infóite 99b3; *remi·foídi ('sends beforehand, in front'): Milan: pret. 3sg. arremiroid 31c9, part. remfoite, acc. sg. f. remfoiti 30c15, nom. pl. f. remfoiti 35a7, dat. pl. remfoitiu 58a7.

Caus. Since this formation exists in several other IE languages, it is likely that it is a Proto-Indo-European formation, though the possibility of each language having formed it independently cannot be excluded. The reinterpretation of this causative as ‘causes to be seen’ rather than ‘causes to see’ is unusual.


foillsigidir ‘shows, reveals’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with suffix. pron. 3sg. n. foïlsigthi 12a7, perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. f. and emp. pron. 3sg. m. rofailsigsetar som 31a9, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. vidrofoilsigsetar 21c22, impv. 3sg. foïlsiged 12d41, pass.: perf. 3sg. rel. rofoïlsiged 21c15, 13d26 (MS roföllsiged); Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. foïlsigidir 24c13, 53b27, mundfoïlsigedar 42b18, 93a6, rel. foïlsigedar 74d13, 85b11, pass. sg. foïlsigethir 25c5, pres. subj. 2pl. foïlsigthe 56c2, past subj. 2sg. rofoïlsigthea 61a3, fut. 3sg. foïlsigfid 69d8, perf. 3sg. rofailsigestar (this form not in DIL) 51d14-15, rofoïlsigestar 103d11, rafailsigestar 109b02, rofailsigestar 145b4, 3pl. rel. arufáilsigset 74a4, pass. sg. diarlofoïlsiged 136d9, part. (io, iā) foïlsigthe, foïlsigthea 72a9, fálsigthe 91a5, VN foïlsigud 74b1, foïlsigud 70a5, dat. sg. failsigud 36b16, 71c9, fóïlsigud 78b7, foïlsigud 131a1.

Deadj. < follus ‘manifest, evident’.

DIL s.v. foïlsigud 247: 39, follus 273: 3.
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fóirbthigidir ‘finishes, completes’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. fóirbthigedar 4d6, perfect. pres. subj. 1sg. rofóirbhígher 7a9, past subj. pass. sg. rel. nofóirbhíchthe 32d5, Milan: perf. 2sg. rofóirbthíchser 43d17, rofóirbthíchsir 50c13, VN fóirbthigud 48b11.

Deadj. < fóirbthe lit. ‘finished, completed’ > ‘complete, perfect’, part. of fóir-fen (page 329).

DIL s.v. fóirbthidid(ir) 254: 72, fóirbthe 253: 47, for-fen 334: 35.

fóirrgid ‘presses hard, bears down’

Würzburg: pres. subj. 3pl. rel. cifórrgot 93b27.

Denom. < fórrach ‘act of oppressing, overpowering’ (Ped.). DIL takes the one occurrence of subj. fóoir as indication that the verb may originally have been a strong compound fóoraigh, but there is no other evidence for this and it is more likely that this is analogical confusion.

Ped. ii 525-6, DIL s.v. fóirrgid 258: 73, fórrach 355: 84.

†fólcáid ‘washes’

PIE *weekly ‘be or become damp or moist’, *yolk-éje- ‘causes to become damp: washes’ (Schulze-Thulin)

CC *yolk-i-

etar·fólcái (‘washes between’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. etirfólcái 81c1.

Caus. The compound etar·fólcái imitates Lat. interluere ‘flow between’, which it glosses. Interluere is a compound of luere ‘wash, lave’. OI fólcáid means ‘washes’ and is compounded with the Old Irish equivalent of the Lat. inter, eter. This has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. The compound is hapax legomenon.

IEW 1145, LIV² 679, DIL s.v. fólcáid 267: 11, etar-fólcái 216: 30, Schulze-Thulin 2001: 159.

fóllaiggidir ‘neglects, omits’

Cf. MW gwallocau, Br. gwallekaat (Joseph).
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The principle of economy as usually applied in this thesis would require this verb to be derived from *faill* ‘neglect, negligence’ (cf. section 3.4.1., pages 67f.) However, the Brittonic forms above are both deadjectival, *gwallog-ha-u*, with *gwallog* being cognate to OI *follach*. If the Brittonic and the Old Irish verbs are exact cognates, the Old Irish verb has undergone dissimilatory haplology of -*ch*- and the verbs can be dated to Celtic (see above, pages 75ff.). If, on the other hand, the principle of economy is applied, these verbs cannot be exact cognates. They must then have been formed in the individual languages and be ascribed to Old Irish and Middle Welsh, Breton respectively. In the Chronology, this verb has been ascribed to the Celtic phase of the language (page 81), although the alternative option has been taken into account.


*fo·niti* ‘mocks, derides’


Etymology unknown. The verb is a *hapax legomenon*. Pedersen tentatively suggests a connection with the *nessa* verbs (ad·nessa, fo·nessa etc), but neither vocalism nor consonantism are transparently regular. Simplex not attested. Note that both the attested verbal form and the verbal noun in Milan gloss a form of *subsannare* ‘mock, deride’, which is a derivation from the noun *sanna* ‘mocking grimace’ with preverb *sub*-.. Since the Old Irish derivation is not known, however, this can not be claimed to be a calque. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


*for·comai* ‘keeps (in possession), preserves’

DIL s.v. for-comai 323: 27, 1. coim 298: 40, coimge 302: 73, cuime 589: 64.

fortachtagidir ‘helps, succours’
Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nodafortachtaigedar 25c5, past subj. 3sg. mani fortachtaiged 88b16, part. (not in DIL) fortachtaigthe, dat. pl. fortachtaigthib 63b13, verb. nec. fortachtigthi 64b2.
Denom. < fortacht ‘act of aiding, succouring’, VN of for·tét.
DIL s.v. fortachtaigidir 364: 19, fortacht 363: 57, for-tét 367: 17.

fo·ruimi ‘sets, places’
PIE *h₁rem- ‘becomes quiet’, *h₁rom-éje- (LIV²)
CC *rom-i-
Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. nifuirmi 8c1, Milan: pret 3sg. foruirim 2a6, perf. pass. sg. foruirmed 74c20.
Caus. Simplex not attested.
Ped. ii 602, IEW 864, LIV² 252-3, DIL s.v. fo-ruimi 370: 61.

fothaigidir ‘establishes, settles’
Würzburg: perf. pass. sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. robfothiged 21d6.
Denom. < fortha ‘foundation, basis’. Thurneysen has noted the correspondence of the elements of fortha (*fo-suide) to Lat. subsidium. It is likely that this noun was in fact a calque on Latin and if so, this verb will not have been formed before contact with Latin. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.
DIL s.v. fothaigid 393: 77, fortha 392: 28, Thurneysen 1921: 300-3.

drepthaigaigidir ‘heals’
Milan: perf. 1sg. rel. arrufrepthanaigisiur (Note Thes.: ‘MS. arrufrephanaigthiisur’) gl. medicatus 103a6, part acc. sg. nephfrepthanaigthe gl. inmedicabilem 76a17.
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Denom. < *frepaids ‘healing, remedy’, VN of *fris·gen. The verb only occurs in Milan.

DIL s.v. frepthaí 408: 74, frepaid 408: 55, fris·gen 424: 39.

**fris·brudi** ‘rejects, refuses’

PIE ?*bhredh - ‘wade’, caus. ?*bhrôdêh-êje- (LIV²)

CC *brod-i-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. frisbrūdēmor 15b22 (Note Thes.: ‘Literal and unidiomatic translation of the Latin deponent; Ped. II, 479’), Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. frisbrudi 28b8, 44b12, VN (m u) frithbruduth 76c4.

Etymology unknown and outside Pedersen not discussed, although IEW (169) mentions the verb. I suggest this is a causative based on PIE ?*bhredh - ‘wade’ (LIV²) with regular raising from -o- to -u- (cf. McCone 1996: 110). The attestations in IEW (164) make it clear that this wading took place at a ford, which would have been a natural border. Causing someone to wade, either through pursuit out of territory or by not allowing someone into the territory in the first place, opens up the semantic possibilities for this verb to come to mean ‘reject’, especially when compounded with preverb *fri- ‘against’.


**fuinid** ‘sets, sinks (of sun)’

**fuinid**: Milan: VN (m o) fuined, gen. sg. fuinid 94b19; *do·fuini (meaning of VN ‘descending, departing’): Milan: VN (m? u) tóiniud, acc. sg. toined 42c30.

*Do·fuini* is not in DIL, but it can be found under its VN tóiniud.

There, the verb is cited as do·fuin. This citation form implies that the verb is strong. That is incorrect. **Fuinid** and *do·fuini* are weak i-verbs. **Fuinid** has an f-future and the other compound of this verb do·airindi ‘lets down, lowers’, also inflects weak. Pedersen states that **fuinid** itself is most likely already a compounded verb of a primary root *n*- or *ne*- , and he connects it to Gk. νέομαι, meaning ‘return home, escape’. However, the root *ne*- does not
exist. Gk. νέοµαι comes from PIE *nes-, ‘escape, return home unharmed’ (LIV² 454-5).

Lewis and Pedersen reject Pedersen’s earlier analysis and register fuinid under *ned-, compounded with fo-. This root *ned- consists, according to them, of a preverb ni- plus the reduced grade of PIE *dʰê. LEIA refers to both Pedersen and Lewis-Pedersen, but only cites the *ned- reconstruction of Lewis-Pedersen. However, with this reconstruction there are also problems. First of all, ni + reduced *dʰê would become **nid-, not ned-, and secondly, there is neither nid nor ned in fuinid.

I argue that this is an iterative verb of a root *ṷen-, possibly with laryngeal. Two such roots are found in LIV², *ṷenh₁- ‘places, puts, lays down’ and *ṷenH₁- ‘become fond of’ (LIV² 682-3). Although *ṷenh₁- at first sight is the better fit, note that it is transitive. Therefore, an iterative formed on this root would be transitive too, and fuinid is only attested as an intransitive verb in Old Irish. Moreover, the root is speculative⁴⁹ (this of course also means that its transitivity is speculative). I do not dismiss the root, but I prefer deriving fuinid from *ṷenH₁- instead. Note that there are Germanic forms meaning ‘to live’ (OHG wonēn) and the iterative ‘to get used to (ON venja). The sun sets every night in the place where it lives. This semantic route is certainly not impossible, this is root securely attested and it is ambitransitive so does not require the loss of transitivity.


gaimigidir ‘passes the winter’

Cf. MB gouaffhat (Joseph).

Würzburg: fut. 1sg. gaimigfer 14a9.

Denom. < gaim ‘winter-storm, winter’. Hapax legomenon. It is difficult to ascertain the age of this verb. While it has a Middle Breton cognate gouaffiat, the *-sag- verbs were very productive both in the

⁴⁹ Note that the AED has another etymology for the Albanian word that Klingenschmitt’s root is based on: s.v. vê ~ vé ‘to put’: PA innovation *awena, a derivative in *-no- based on *aṷe ‘down, off’.
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Brittonic languages and in Old Irish. Moreover, *gaimigidir* does not have a ‘seek’ meaning. These verbs could have been independently formed at any stage in the language. Despite the existence of a Latin verb *hibernare*, I would hesitate to say this is a calque on Latin. If this verb were coined in the Old Irish period, given the climate at the time, ‘wintering’ would be a common concept which a speaker would hardly need Latin to create a verb for. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


gláedid ‘cries out (of inarticulate utterance of men and animals)’

  Würzburg: pret. 3pl. rel. *gláidsete* 93b14.
  Denom. < *gláed* ‘shout, loud call’. *Gláedid* is further discussed in comparison with *íachtaid* ‘cries out’ (page 138) and their respective places in the scheme on page 59 above.


glúasid ‘moves, stirs’


  The etymology of *glúasid* is problematic. There are no Brittonic cognates and there are no Old Irish nominal or adjectival bases that this could conceivably be derived from. OI *glúas* ‘gloss’, while fitting morphologically, has no semantic relationship to this verb. The only remotely possible Proto-Indo-European root would be *ǵleu*- ‘be jolly’ (being moved with joy). It is only attested nominally and would leave the -s-unexplained if this were a primary verb. It would be possible to derive *glúasid* from a noun *gleu-sto-*, although this is not attested in Old Irish or indeed anywhere else.


gnáthaigidir*’ is accustomed to, practises’

  Cf. W *gnotaa* ‘is accustomed’ (Joseph).

  Milan: perf. 3pl. *rognáthaigsetar* 34b2.

50 Although for other examples of unexplained -s- in verbs, cf. *ar-tíaisi* and *asa-gúsi*.
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Deadj. < gnáth ‘customary, usual’. The verb can be found in the chronology on page 81. Its semantics have been briefly discussed on page 88.


**goistigidir** ‘puts a noose around, hangs’

Milan: impf. 3pl. with infix. pron. 1sg. nomgoistigisse gl. laqueare (Note Thes.: ‘MS. lacerare: corr. Ascoli’) 54b26; *in·goistigedar* (’ensnares’): Milan: pres. subj. pass. sg. ingoistigther 28c16.

Denom. < goiste ‘halter, noose’. The verb occurs only in Milan and is a calque on Lat. laqueare, which it glosses. The Latin is denom. < laqueus ‘noose, snare’. Both verbs are thus formed in the same way. Moreover, the compound in·goistigedar is formed on the model of the Latin compound illaqueare ‘ensnare’, which it glosses. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**gortaigidir** ‘is hungry’

Milan: VN gortugud gl. esuriero, quod fieri non potest 70b12

Note: this is not DIL’s gortaigid ‘salts, pickles’, of which the VN is also gortugud. This is verb not extant except for its VN. It is derived from gortae ‘hunger, famine’.

DIL s.v. gortugud 140: 63, gortae 140: 13.

**gréschaigidir** ‘makes continuous’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. gréschaigidir gl. continuet 85a5, fut. 1sg. grœschaigfeasa gl. continuabo 122b10, part. greschaigte gl. diuturnorum 88b3.

Deadj. < grésach ‘lasting, perpetual’, < grés ‘continuance, practice’. There is no translation of this verb in DIL. It is only attested in Milan and glosses Lat. continuare ‘make continuous’, which fits the meaning of its base, so I have used that as translation of this verb. Gréschaigidir could be a calque on continuare, since both verbs are derived from an adjective
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meaning ‘lasting, perpetual’ (Lat. continuus). Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

DIL s.v. gréschaigidir 156: 80, grésach 156: 58, 2. grés 156: 33.

gúaigidir ‘lies, tells a lie’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. anguaigedar gl. mentiente 31b1, 3pl. guaigitir
       gl. mentiente 31b1, pass. pl. niruguigter gl. mentiri 51c14.

Denom. < gáu ‘falsehood, misstatement’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

DIL s.v. gúaigidir 168: 77, gáu 51: 48.

guirid ‘warms, burns’

PIE *gᵻᵢh-cr- ‘becomes warm’, caus. *gᵻᵢh-or-ᵢje- (LIV²)
CC *gᵻᵢh-orᵢ- (McCone, Schulze-Thulin)

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. guirit 39c24.

Caus. Cf. OI fo·geir.

Ped. ii 537, IEW 493-5, LIV² 219-20, DIL s.v. guirid 174: 79,
       fo·geir 230: 64, Sjoestedt 1925: 327, McCone 1996: 38, Schulze-Thulin

ilaigdir ‘increases, multiplies’

Milan: fut. 2sg. ilaigfe gl. multiplicasti 81c5, part. dat. pl. ilaigthib
       gl. multiplicatis tamen benedictionibus 105a7.

Deadj. < il ‘many, numerous’. This could be a calque on Lat.
       multiplicare ‘multiply’, which it glosses. Calquing has been discussed in
       section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

DIL s.v. ilaigdir 62: 8, il 55: 46.

*ilchigidir ‘howls, screams’

Milan: VN ilchugud 51c8, gen. sg. innaílchaigthiú gl. ululátus
       76d13.

The verb itself is not attested but underlies the VN. It is a
denominative of ilach ‘a cry of excultation, a howl of victory’. The verbal
noun could be a calque on Latin, since the Latin, too, is a noun, ululátus
‘shriek, howl’, derived from a verb *ululare* ‘shriek, howl’. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**imdaigidir** ‘abounds, increases’


Deadj. < *imdae* ‘many, numerous’.

DIL s.v. *imdaigid(id)ir* 83: 42, *imdae* 81: 49, *do-im(m)daig*- 309: 76.

**imm·folngi** ‘causes, produces’

Cf. OW pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *emmiguollig* (computus fragment).

Pedersen says that this inflects like a regular i-verb, but is from a stem lo-n-gr-, to which it is related much like do·áirci is related to ·icc. According to Pedersen, do·áirci is derived, via the VN tairc, from ·icc. However, he is wrong about the relationship between ·icc and do·áirci (see above do·áirci page 197). He is also incorrect about the derivation of imm·folngi. Although it is possible that a verb derived from the VN fulang ‘bearing, supporting’ would be reinterpreted as a compound verb *fo·luingi, rather than a simplex *folngaid, such a verb is itself not attested. The only attested verb is the (further) compounded imm·folgni. If imm·folgni were derived from fulang, it would have been formed directly from it with the extra preverb imm- and because of that, the elements of the original compounded noun fulang should be inseparable. Therefore, in the perfect of the verb we would expect to find moveable ro rather than fixed ro (cf. GOI § 528). However, the perfect forms consistently have ro right before the verbal root: this verb uses fixed ro throughout. This verb can therefore not be derived from folung. It is certainly weak: it has s-subjunctive, f-future and s-preterite and the nasal remains throughout. The use of fixed ro also shows that it is most likely old.

This verb has further been discussed by Schrijver, Schulze-Thulin and Schumacher. There is consensus that it is cognate to the ·loing verbs as Pedersen noted, but the reason for it becoming AII, as opposed to the other verbs of this root, has not been addressed.

I propose that imm·folngi is a causative. Of course, in Proto-Indo-European the morphology of causatives and nasal presents was mutually exclusive, but it is not at all certain that this was still the case in Celtic. In Celtic, the AII class was still transparently used to form causatives. If a

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51 The etymology of the ·loing verbs is unclear, but it is certain that these are nasal present verbs.
Celtic speaker wanted to form a causative based on the verb *wo-lung-, the most straightforward way to do that would be to take the present stem and adapt it to the AII pattern, even though in Proto-Indo-European that would not have been possible. Because this verb now inflects as a weak AII, it will keep the nasal throughout the other tenses. This also works semantically: ‘causing someone to support’ isn’t very far removed from ‘causing’, ‘producing’ and ‘making’. Moreover, this is not the only verb that formed its causative from a base from which usually a causative would not have been formed. Ol loscaid (page 227) is a causative formed from an original *-sk- present, on which a causative would also not have been formed in Proto-Indo-European, and yet one was formed on this stem in Celtic.


inbothaigidir ‘marries, weds’


Denom. < inboth ‘wedding, nuptials’. Hapax legomenon.

DIL s.v. inbothaigidir 206: 36, inboth 206: 23.

indbadaigidir ‘abounds, is rich’

Milan: sec. fut. 3pl. no indbadaigfitis gl. lucrificarent 15c8, verb. nec. indbadagthi (this is incorrectly analysed in DIL as a part.) gl. lucratiui 92a17.

Denom. < indbad ‘riches’. The verb is only attested in Milan.

DIL s.v. indbad 218: 72, indbadaigid 218: 76.

*indenmigidir ‘weakens’

Milan: part. nom. sg. indemnichthe (recte indenmichthe), gl. debilitatum 50a3.

Deadj. < indenim ‘weak’. As has been discussed above, page 70, the verb is unattested except for the participle, which is hapax legomenon and seems to be a calque.
Corpus of secondary verbs


**indraicigidir** ‘thinks fit, deigns’


Deadj. < *indraic* ‘worthy, fitting’, < *in* + *reic* ‘act of selling or bartering’, VN of *renaid. Hapax legomenon*.


**ingraigidir** ‘renders impious, pollutes’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. *ingraigther* gl. *impiatur* 127a9, perf. pass. pl. *roingraigthea* (DIL gives this as pres. ind. pass. pl., but the form is perfect, and so is the Latin it glosses: *impiata sunt*) 100c18.

Deadj. < *ingor* ‘undutiful, unfilial’. The verb only occurs in Milan and could be a calque on Lat. *impiare* ‘render impious’, which it glosses. Lat. *impiare* is derived from *impius* ‘wicked, impious’, which is the negative of *pius* ‘conscientious’, also ‘patriotic, dutiful’, just as OI *ingraigidir* is derived from *ingor*, the negative of *gor* ‘pious, dutiful’.

Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**inilligidir** ‘protects, defends’


Deadj. < *inill* ‘safe, secure’. The verb is *hapax legomenon* and could be a calque on Lat. *tutare* ‘guard, protect’. Both protecting and defending are of course common concepts in the Old Irish culture already, but any of the available synonyms (e.g. *ad·comai*, *con·eim*) could have been used. Instead, a new verb was created. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

Corpus of secondary verbs

**inlínaigidir** ‘ensnares, entangles’


Denom. *< lín* ‘linen, cloth’, but also ‘hunting-net, snare’. The verb is only attested in Milan and is formed in analogy to Lat. *irretire* ‘entangle’, which it glosses. This has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**intledaigaildirt** ‘lies in wait for, ambushes’


Denom. *< intled* ‘snare, ambush’. The verb is not attested outside of the Milan Glosses.


**ísligidir** ‘lowers, brings down’


Deadj. *< ísel* ‘low, of low stature’. This verb can be found in the Chronology on page 81.


***iúdigidir** ‘lives as a Jew’


DIL registers this under the actual form in Wb. 19a13 above and states: ‘subj. pres. pl. 3 rel. of a vb. *iúdigid* invented to translate the Latin. *iudigete* (gl. *(quomodo gentes cogis) iudaizare*) that they live as Jews, Wb. 19a13.’ This verb is either derived from *Iúd(a)e*; which was adopted from the Latin but of which it is often unclear whether the writers regarded it as Latin or Old Irish (DIL) or the verbal form itself could have been directly
adapted from the Latin. Latin loans and other influences have been discussed in sections 3.2, pages 48ff. and 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**laisrigidir** ‘sets on fire, enflames’ (translation mine)


**lethnaigidir** ‘spreads out, extends’


Deadj. < *lethan* ‘broad, wide’.


**lobraigidir** ‘is sick, becomes sick’

Cf. W *llwfrhau* ‘become timid’ (Joseph).


Deadj. < *lobur* ‘weak, infirm’.


**lochtaigidir** ‘finds fault with’


Denom. < *locht* ‘fault, shortcoming’. Since both the Latin *criminare* ‘accuse’ and OE *lochtaigidir* are derived from a noun ‘fault’ (Lat. *crimen*),
this verb could be a calque. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. The verb occurs once outside of Milan.

DIL s.v. *lochtaigid 180: 81, l.locht 180: 15.

*lónaigidir ‘fattens’ (translation mine)

Milan: part nom. pl. lónaichthi gl. adipati 20a24.

The verb itself is not attested and has to be inferred from its participle as found in Ml. 20a24 above. The hypothetical verb is a denominative from lón ‘fat, provisions’.

DIL s.v. lónaichthi 199: 6, lón 197: 76.

londaigidir ‘is angry, becomes angry’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. londaigedar gl. indignantis 64b5, gl. indignantis 102b11, perf. 3sg. rolondaigestar gl. commouit 29a2.

Deadj. < lond ‘fierce, strong’.


loscaid ‘burns, consumes by fire’

PIE *leh₂p- ‘flash, gleam, light up’ (LIV²), *lh₂p-ské- (Klingenschmitt)

CC *losk₁-.


loscaid: Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. loscaid 48d1-2, 3pl. rel. loiscde 141b2, impv. 2sg. loisc 47a6, impf. pass. sg. nulloiscthe 32c13, pres. subj. pass. pl. loscatīr 24c5, perf. 3sg. rolōisc 123a15, part loiscethe 118d1, nom. pl. huleloiscthi 60b13, VN (m & o) loscud 102b9, acc. pl. loiscthi 39a7, dat. pl. loiscthib 133a3; for-loisci (‘burns, sets on fire’): Milan: part. (io, iā) forloiscthe 31c28.

Klingenschmitt suggests a causative formed from *lh₂p-ské- with analogical vocalism. CC *lask₁- is then falsely reinterpreted as the verbal root. When a Celtic speaker wanted to form a causative based on this verb, the easiest way to do this would be to use the present stem. Although in Proto-Indo-European the morphology of *-sk- presents and causatives was mutually exclusive, it is not clear whether this was still the case in Celtic. In
fact, it is likely that this was not so. Compare imm·folgnī above (page 221), which was most likely a causative formed in Celtic from an original nasal present stem. To make a causative of *lask-, the root vowel is analogically changed to *-o- and the suffix *-ī- is added, giving *losk-ī-. Since the *-o- was accented and rounded, the dorsal *-k- resisted palatalisation, giving OI loscaid (raising to -u- failed to take place over a group of consonants, cf. McCone).


lúaidid ‘moves across, traverses’

lúaidid: Milan: fut. pass. sg. luaithfider 57c7; for·lúadi (‘moves, sways’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. forluadi 79b5; imm·lúadi (‘sets in motion, moves’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. imm-lúadi 33d16, pass. pl. immeluaiter 135b9, impf. 3sg. imluadad 33b25, pres. subj. 1pl. imluadam 93d13, VN (not in DIL as VN) imlíad, dat. sg. imluad 15a17.

For this verb, different derivations have been given. DIL suggests it is denom. < lúad, ‘act of moving, setting in motion’, VN of luïd ‘moves’. GOI gives it as caus of luïd ‘went’, suppletive preterite of téit ‘goes’. LIV\(^2\) (488) gives this as caus of root ?*pleḑ- ‘swim, flow’. These three options are each equally valid and it is not possible to ascertain which is ultimately correct. It is also possible that the verb attested in Old Irish is the result of a falling together of two or three originally distinct verbs. In fact, if a falling together is not proposed, DIL’s option most likely falls, because it would not be consistent with the scheme proposed in this thesis. Lúaidid is ambitransitive: if it were denominative, it would have been an AI verb. However, if there already was a causative verb with which the denominative verb fell together, this is not an issue.

Corpus of secondary verbs

\textbf{\textit{\`lugai}}

PIE *\textit{leg}^h\textsuperscript{h}·\textit{lie down\textsuperscript{h}}, *\textit{log}^h\textsuperscript{h}· (LIV\textsuperscript{2})

\textit{CC} *\textit{lōg}-\textit{i}-

Cf. MW, MB golo, Goth. lagjan, OIsL. leggja, OHG leggen, OCS ložiti ‘lays’.


\textit{\`lugai} is the causative of OI \textit{laigid} ‘lies (down)’. Since this causative is not only attested in Old Irish and Welsh, but also in Germanic, Slavic and Hittite (see above), the formation should most likely be attributed to Proto-Indo-European, although the possibility of each of these languages forming their own causatives cannot be discarded.

madaigidir ‘makes vain, frustrates’

Milan: perf. 3pl. nirumadaigset gl. frustrata sunt 48a2, with infix. pron. rusmadaigset 48a1, pass. pl. romadaichthea (Note Thes.: ‘MS. romadaichthea’) gl. casata sunt 80d3.

Deadj. < madae ‘vain, ineffectual’. The verb only occurs in Milan.
LEIA M-6, DIL s.v. madaigid 17: 32, madae 16: 53.

maithid ‘forgives’

maithid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. nimathi 6a5; do·maithi (‘threatens’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dommathi 18c7, domathi 31c24, VN (mu, perhaps originally ā) tomad, tomaith 31c26, gen. sg. thomtho (GOI §724) 26d2, dat. sg. tomaith 33b15, dat. pl. tomthaib 79a7.

LEIA suggests that both these verbs are derived from maith ‘good’. Pedersen separates maithid from do·maithi, stating that maithid is a loan from W maddeu ‘pardons, forgives’ and connecting do·maithi to Alb. mas (< *matjō) ‘measures’. Do·maithi then, according to Pedersen, had the original meaning gesturing threateningly.

Ped. i 110, ii 575, LEIA M-12-3, DIL s.v. maithid 46: 37, do·maithi 335: 56, maith 43: 43.

mallaigidir ‘makes slow, retards’

Milan: part. mallaigthe (DIL has this as mallaighthe) gl. tardatus 122a14.

Deadj. < mall ‘slow, sluggish’.

mescaigidir ‘intoxicates, confuses’

Milan: fut. 2sg. mescaigfider 81c4.

Deadj. < mesc ‘drunk, intoxicated’. LEIA only registers the active verb, not the deponent. The semantics of mescaigidir have been briefly discussed on page 92.
LEIA M-41-2, DIL s.v. mesc 112: 61, mescaigid 114: 4.
Corpus of secondary verbs

**mesraigidir** ‘moderates, tempers’

Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. -mesraigea 46c15, part. mesraigthe 22c13, 32d4, VN mesrugud 89d1.

Denom. < mesar ‘measure, measurement’, < Lat. mensura ‘measure, length’ (LEIA). Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA M-41, DIL s.v. mesar 112: 14, mesraigid 115: 57.

**mineigidir** ‘becomes frequent’

Milan: perf. 3sg. romincigestar gl. increbruit 36a40

Deadj. < meinic ‘frequent, recurring often’. Hapax legomenon.

LEIA M-37, DIL s.v. meinic 84: 17, mineigidir 143: 83.

**mindchigidir** ‘begs, is a mendicant’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. mindchigitir gl. emendicant 36c18.

Deadj. < mindech ‘poor, wretched’, < Lat. mendicus ‘poor as a beggar’ (DIL). LEIA does not register the verb. Note that Thes. translates this verb as ‘attenuates’ (MI 36c18). They state that the glossator misunderstood the Lat. emendicant which this glosses, because he was thinking of the OI mindech. DIL correctly translates this verb as ‘begs’, because there is no problem in taking OI mindech ‘poor’ to make a verb meaning ‘begs’. The -igidir category certainly allows for that. Moreover, the Lat. emendicare ‘begs, sollicits’ is derived from the adj. mendicus ‘poor as a beggar’, so it is even likely that the Old Irish verb was calqued on the Latin. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. Direct and indirect borrowings have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.


**miscsigidir** ‘hates’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. romiscsigestar gl. Iacob dilexi, Esau autem hodio habui. 4c16.

Denom. < miscais ‘hatred, dislike’. Hapax legomenon.

LEIA M-55, DIL s.v. miscsigidir 149: 41, micscech 149: 37, miscais 148: 54.
moídid ‘boasts, vaunts’

PIE *smej(d)- ‘laugh’ (LIV\(^2\)), caus. *smoijd-ěje-

CC *moiđ-ī-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. (reflex.) nom móidim 14c18, 3sg. with suffix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) móiti 23d29, 27a29, 1pl. with infix. pron. 1pl. (reflex.) nínmóidem 23d23 and emp. pron. 1pl. (reflex.) nonmóidemni 2d9, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. (reflex.) nosmóidet 17c5, nosmóidet 31b14, rel. with infix. pron. 3pl. (reflex.) indámóidet 24a30, fut. 1pl. with infix. pron. 1pl. (reflex.) ninmóidifem 17b10, perf. 3sg. with rel. n and emp. pron. 3sg. m. rommóidisom 17a12, 1pl. with infix. pron. 1pl. (reflex.) ronmóitsem 17a13, pres. subj. 2sg. with prep. and rel. and infix. pron. 2sg. (reflex.) indit móide 2b12, 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) connach moidea 2b4, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. (reflex.) arnamóidet 5a16, impv. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex. with nas. elided) nach moided 9d18, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. inmóidid (Note Thes.: ‘MS. inmodi: leg. innidmoidi?’) 49c13, rel. móides 41d4, VN moidem, moidem 86b5.

DIL (s.v. bocaid 129: 75-78, see also page 115) suggests that this is derived from moith ‘soft’. This is semantically problematic, because there is no motivation for the verb derived from an adjective meaning ‘soft’ to mean ‘boasts’. I would rather follow Sjoestedt’s derivation as a causative and take this from the root *smej- ‘laugh, smile’.


moithaigidir ‘softens, mitigates’

Milan: pres. ind. / pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. nonmoithiged 74d12.

Deadj. < moith ‘soft, tender’.

LEIA M-61, DIL s.v. maeth 23: 61, maethigid 24: 79.

mothaigidir ‘is amazed, wonders’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. mothaigid 25c6, mothaigedar 26b9, impf. 3sg. annumothaiged 25a12.
Corpus of secondary verbs

Denom. < moth ‘amazement, stupor’.

**múinid** ‘teaches, instructs’

Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. (reflex.) rommunus 24b17, rommúinus 24b18, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. ramúinset 5b44.

Etymology unknown (Ped.). IEW connects this with *meṷH- ‘push away’ (LIV²’s *mjeɣh₁- ‘move’) on the basis of a note from E. Lewy that is not referenced. The verb is not mentioned in LIV². LEIA notes that it could be connected to a root *men-, but it is not possible to go from PIE *men- to OI -ʊ-. There are no suitable bases in Old Irish to derive this verb from. The etymology remains unknown.

Ped. ii 582, IEW 743, LEIA M-75, LIV² 445-6, DIL s.v. múinid 190: 20.

**núallaigidir** ‘cries aloud’

Milan: pres. subj. 1pl. nuallaigem gl. ploremus 114d3.

Denom. < núall ‘loud noise’. The verb is only attested once outside of the Milan Glosses.

LEIA N-24, DIL s.v. núall 69: 54, núallaigid 70: 66.

**oenaigidir** ‘makes one, unites’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with suffix. reflex. 3sg. m. and emp. pron. 3sg. m. oenichthisom 32d8, Milan: part. oinigthe gl. unitus 25a2.

Deadj. < oen ‘one’.

LEIA O-10-1, DIL s.v. oenaigidir 104: 17, oen 100: 13.

**oingid** ‘anoints’


Lat. ungere ‘anoint, rub’. Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA O-24, DIL s.v. oingid 122: 11.
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ollaigidir ‘makes larger, expands’

Milan: impv. 2sg. ollaigthe gl. amplicā 70c7, impf. 3sg. noollaiged (Note Thes.: ‘MS. no ollaiged’) gl. ampliauit 61c6, verb. nec. ollaigthi gl. ampliandae 88a14.

Deadj. < oll ‘great, ample’. This could be a calque on Lat. ampliare ‘enlarge’, which it glosses. The verb only occurs in Milan. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

LEIA O-21-1, DIL s.v. oll 136: 73, ollaigdir 138: 41.

ordaigidir ‘orders, ordains’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. rodordigestar 6a3, ronortigestar 6a4.

Denom. < ordd ‘order, sequence’, < Lat. ordo ‘row, order’. Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA O-29, DIL s.v. ordaigidir 156: 16, l. ordd 154: 15.

pecthaigidir ‘sins, commits sin’

Milan: impf. 3pl. nupectaigtis 74c3.

Denom. < peccad ‘sin’, < Lat. peccatum ‘sin’. Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA P-5-6, DIL s.v. peccad 178: 60, pecthaigid 179: 54.

rádaid ‘speaks, says’

PIE *reh₁dh²- ‘perform succesfully’ (LIV²), caus/it *roh₁dh²-éje- (Schulze-Thulin)

CC *rād₁- (Schulze-Thulin)


rádaid: Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. rurádi 7d9, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. noradim 47b13, 3sg. niradi 35d22, rel. radas 42c4, 42c10, 3pl. ní radat 31a18, 31b11, pass. sg. rel. frissarater (Note Thes.: ‘corrected from frissather’; this form not in DIL) 42c4, impf. 1sg. rel. nuradin 74c3, perf. 1sg. with emp. pron. ruradussa 50d7, VN (m o) rád, gen. sg. raid 39a11;
**Corpus of secondary verbs**


This verb has often been seen as an inherited denominative (cf. OI *ríad* ‘act of saying, uttering’) (GOI, GPC), but can on the basis of Goth. *rōdjan* ‘speak’, Skt. *rādhāyati* ‘brings about, satisfies’, OCS *raditi* ‘worry’, and OIsI. *rōða* ‘speak’ be interpreted as the iterative of *rehidh* ‘perform successfully’ (Stokes, LIV², Schumacher, Schulze-Thulin, cf. Isaac, Schrijver). The Welsh cognate is only extant compounded.


**réidigidir** ‘levels, smooths’

Cf. MW *rhwyddhau* ‘facilitate’, Br. *rouézzât* ‘clear’ (Joseph).


Deadj. < *réid* ‘level, smooth’ (LEIA). *Réidigidir* can be found in the Chronology on page 81.


**†rímid** ‘counts, reckons’

Cf. W *kyfrif* ‘to count’ (Schumacher).

**ad·rími** (‘counts, numbers’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with emp. 3sg. m. *adrímisom* 14d2, with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n.
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adindrimisom 13d17, ní aírmí 24a17, with emp. pron. 3sg. m. niármisom 6a1, ní áirmisom 13d17, pres. subj. 1sg. rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. coniarimse 14d17, pass. perf. 3sg. rel. atruirméd (Cf. McConé 1985: 97) 2c6, with dem. rel. anadruirméd 2d7, Milan: pres. ind 3sg. adrimísón 24a13, adrimisiu 24b6, atrim (DIL: atrim[i]) 49a11, with infix. pron. 3pl. atarimi, with infix. pron. 3sg. ní n aírmí 82a8, 3pl. adrimet 103b5, 129d19, 129d22, pass. sg. adrimheth 46c24, pl. adrimter 99d9, adrimetar 111a10, impf. 3sg. coniairméd 46b31, 3pl. adrimtis 91a6, past subj. 3sg. adriméd 21a4, fut. 1pl. adrifém 14d5, perf. 3sg. adruirim 28d5, with infix. pron. 3sg. ninarraim 49c9, 3pl. adruirmiset 101b2, VN (f a) áirem, acc. sg. arim 102d17, dat. sg. arim 17d6, do-rími (counts, enumerates): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. nistuirmi 30c17, perf. 1pl. with rel. n. and infix. pron. 3sg. n. dondruirmissem 24d16; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. (depon.), rel. itiiremar 12d39; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dorími 44c28, dorími 54a37, durími 125b3, durími 83d6, 96b14, torri mi 130c1, 1pl. dorímen 14d6, pass. sg. dorímen 16c10, 23b8, rel. durímen 103d12, pres. subj. 3pl. durímet 19b13, fut. 1sg. dorímiub 26c7, durímiub 106c10, 1pl. dorímen 44a24, perf. 3sg. doruirim 36b6.

Denom. < rímid ‘act of counting, enumerating’, also used as VN of rímid. The lenited -m of the Old Irish and the -f of the Welsh noun are reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European nominal suffix */mo/. Both verbs are therefore denominative. Considering that both in Welsh and in Old Irish this verb (and compounds) are the only ones used for counting, it is likely that this verb was created within Celtic. Moreover, both the Old Irish and the Welsh (in the compound MW kyfrif) use the base noun as VN, rather than adding a verbal noun suffix still productive in both Old Irish and Welsh to create a new verbal noun, which would have been likely if these verbs had been created within the individual languages. The verb can be found in the Chronology on page 80.


rogid ‘stretches, extends’

PIE *h₃reǵ- ‘stretch, direct’, caus. h₃roǵ-éje- (LIV²)
CC *rog-ī-

Cf. YAv. -rāziieite ‘stretches, directs’, Goth. -rakjan ‘elongate’ (LIV²).

Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. rel. rogas 79d4, pass. sg. roichther⁵² 44a4, 138a2, roigthir 110a1, part. rogid, nom. pl. roigthi 33b1, VN rogad, dat. sg. rogud 37d6.

Thurneysen suggests this is a causative; LEIA classifies it as an iterative. Morphologically, there is no difference, but semantically, an iterative is more suitable.


roisid ‘wavers, vacillates’

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. nirorois 2c28; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. roissid 21a6, rel. roisses 18d21, pres. subj. 3sg. coroissid 73c10, sec. fut. 3sg. noroisfed 85d10, perf. 3sg. rorois 84c16, nirorois 44a1.

Etymology unknown. This could possibly be derived from OI ros ‘flax-seed, linseed’, in its second meaning of ‘some small aquatic plant’ (DIL s.v. 2. ros 98: 30), in the sense of ‘wavering like a plant in the water’. Note though that the meaning of the base noun itself is uncertain.

LEIA R-41, DIL s.v. roisid 94: 16, 2. ros 98: 20.

roithid ‘sets in motion, makes run’

PIE *ret- ‘walk’ (LIV²), caus. *rot-éje-

CC *rot-ī-

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. roithes 42b27, pres. subj. pass. pl. rel. rothetar 92a16, fut. 3pl. roithfiter 15c18, part. roitte 36d21, dat. sg. m roitiu 36b4.

Caus. of reithid (page 306; LEIA), morphologically regular, but phonologically irregular. CC *rot-ī-ti > *roθiθi. Regularly, an *-o- before

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⁵² McConne’s (1985: 100) reading as an early simplex of rosaig ‘reaches, comes to’ is illogical in the context, considering that it glosses the Lat exsero ‘stretch forth’. The gloss reads ‘i. ascasar i. roichther.’ As·cesar is pres. subj. pass. sg. of asc·cid which also means ‘extends, stretches’. The glossator translated the Latin with two synonyms.
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and *-i- should be raised to *-u-: *ruθiθi > OI ruithid, which is also extant (DIL s.v. ruithid 94: 71). The form roithid was probably formed in analogy to roth, a wheel.

IEW 866, LEIA R-23, 41, LIV² 507, DIL s.v. roithid 94: 75, reithid 38: 72, 1. roth 103: 56.

ruccaigidir ‘puts to shame, confutes’

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rucaigthir gl. confutatur 24d3, pres. subj. pass. sg. rucaigther gl. frustrata 87c2, pl. ruccaigter gl. confundantur 54b8, past subj. 3sg. comruiccaiged gl. confutaret 25b10, part. ruccaigthe gl. condemnna 27c11.

Denom. < ruccae ‘shame, disgrace’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

LEIA R-50, DIL s.v. ruccaigid 111: 75, ruccae 111: 53.

saethraigidir ‘works, labours’

Milan: pres. 3pl. pass. saithraite 123c8, perf. 1pl. rel. frissarusaithraigestar 92c5.

Denom. < saethar ‘work, labour’.

LEIA S-7, DIL s.v. saethar 14: 42, saethraigidir 15: 60.

sáidid ‘thrusts, fixes’

PIE *sed- ‘sit’, caus. *sód-je- (Schulze-Thulin)

CC *sād₁-i₁ (Schulze-Thulin)


sáidid: Milan: pret. 3sg. with suffix. pron. 3sg. n. saidsi 55c1; con·sáidi (‘complains, stirs’): Milan: VN chosait 133a1.

For sáidid, GOI suggests a lengthening of the vowel in saidid ‘sits’, if this verb is not formed like Lat. sōpīre. Nagy sees it as a neologism to OI saidid ‘sits, sits down’, but as Schulze-Thulin correctly points out, this would be a unique development. Moreover, there is no motivation for it. Klingenschmitt derives W gwahawō and OI sáidid from a causative formation from an aorist stem *sēd₁- < *sēde₁-o₁. However, there are in Celtic no verbal *sēd₁- forms from which this could have been derived. If
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*sáidid* were a causative formation from this root, it would have to have been a pre-Celtic derivation. There is no noun or adjective attested in Old Irish (or Welsh) from which this could be derived. This and its Welsh cognate *gwahawδ* are lengthened-grade causatives *sōd-je-* of a Proto-Indo-European root *sed- ‘sit’, as proposed by Schulze-Thulin (followed by Schumacher and LIV\(^2\)). These lengthened-grade causatives occur not just in the Celtic languages, cf. Lat. *sōpire* ‘lull to sleep’ and OIsl. *sōfa* ‘kill’ (< ‘cause to sleep’) < *s(y)ōp-je/o-*. They were first discussed by Klingenschmitt in 1978 and are therefore often called ‘Klingenschmitt causatives’. The type is however not uncontested. For alternative explanations of the long vowel in this type of verbs, cf. Schulze-Thulin (p. 4-6). The only other causative of this type in the Celtic languages is *W digoni* ‘make, do, work’ (< CC *kān- to the Proto-Indo-European root *kenh₁- ‘try, strive’, Schulze-Thulin p. 138-9). Note that Klingenschmitt himself did not recognise the Celtic verbs as long vowel causatives.

The Proto-Indo-European root *sed-, ‘to sit’ also has ō-grade causative PIE *sod-éje/o- > CC *sod-ī- > OI *suidid* (page 247).


**sainigidir** ‘is different, distinct’

Milan: VN *sainigud* 133c1.

Deadj. < *sain* ‘different, distinct’.


**sáraigidir** ‘violates, outrages’

Cf. MW *sarhau* ‘injure, compensate’ (Joseph).


Denom. < *sár* ‘outrage, insult’. Since this verb has a Welsh cognate and preserves the old ‘seek’ meaning of the *-sag-* suffix, it is most likely an inherited denominative. It can be found in the Chronology on page 81.
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tascailid ‘bursts, scatters’

ar·ascaili (‘looses, hurls’): Milan: VN airascailiud, acc. sg. aerscailiud

Denom. < scail ‘scattering, dispersion’. The noun has been connected with the root *skelH1 ‘cut, split’ (as found in LIV 2 553 and IEW 923-6) and W chwalu ‘shatter, smash’ (for discussion with references, see LEIA), but if this is correct, the vocalism of the Irish forms is irregular. I prefer to follow LIV 2’s (354 n. 1.) suggestion of taking the noun as a -lo-formation *skoi-le- to the root *skei- (IEW 920). In that case, W chwalu is unrelated.

Scailid’s place in the scheme has been discussed in comparison with brúchtaid ‘bursts’ on page 59.


scíthaigidir ‘becomes tired, fatigued’

Milan: impf. 3pl. noscithaigitis 102d14.

Deadj. < scíth ‘weary, tired’.

LEIA S-46-7, DIL s.v. scíthaigidir 97: 31, scíth 96: 42.

†scuchaid ‘moves, starts’

PIE *skek- ‘move fast, jump’, caus/it *skok-éje- (LIV 2)

CC *skok-i- (Schulze-Thulin)

Cf. OCS skočiti ‘jump’, MW kyscoc ‘shake’ (Schulze-Thulin).

con·oscaigi (‘moves, changes’): Würzburg: pass. perf. pres. ind. 3sg. nirochumscighersón 30b15, Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. chonnoscaigther 38d15-16, oscaigther 118c12, pl. conoscaigther 94c3, impf. 3sg. conidchumscagied 109d05, pres. subj. 1sg. cotamoscaig 29d3, 2sg. conoscaigesiu 32a3, 3pl. conoscaiget 54a19, pass. sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. cotoscaigther 55b3, cotatoscaigther 58d14, pret. 3sg. ṣoscaig 55c1 (2x), perf. 2sg. conroscaigis 21d7, 3sg. conroscaig 45c1, part. (io, iā)
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cumscaighe 15a2, 33b2, 40d23, 46b9, VN (m u) cumsugud 26d12, 35c17, 105d7, acc. sg. cumsugud 27b15, 100b13, 118c12, dat. sg. cumsugud 31d4, 38d15-16; dofoscaig (‘moves, comes to’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. (rel.) dufoscaiget 33b3, dufoschaiget (DIL: dufoscaiget) 90c26, pres. subj. pass. condatoscaigther 23d21, perf. 3sg. dorforscaig 37d12; doróscai (‘stands forth, distinguishes oneself’), Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. ní derscigem 2a14, fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. ditróscaibea 1d21, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dirósci 57a1, diroscai 133a4, duroscai 129b10, (rel.) duróscai 113a9, 114d1, 115b16 (x2), 134c4, doroscai 138e12, pass. sg. doroscithir 107b5, impf. 3pl. duroscaitis 79c6, 124d2, doroscaitis 136a7, pres. subj. 3sg. doroscea 56a4, 3pl. ciadudróscat 121a3, past subj. 1sg. duroscaimn 41c6, 3sg. dirosced 58d15, durosced 129b13, rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. dundrosced 33c5, 1pl. doroscaims 32a21, 3pl. doroscat 37b14, fut. 3sg. duroscaifea 139b3, durosciba 89c12, 3pl. duroscibet 84b1, duroscifet 84b4, pass. pl. duroscibaet 87b4, pret./perf. 3pl. doróscaiset 119d3, pret pass. sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. dundamroscad (Note Thes.: ‘MS. dundanroscad’) 100b14, verb. nec. rederscaigthe (Note Thes.: ‘MS. rem derscaigthe’) 105b3, part. (io, iā) derscaigthe 109c08, 123a7, nom. pl. derscaigthe 100c26, comp. nom. sg. derscaigthiu 78b1, 92d14, VN derscaigthe, dat. sg. derscaigthiu 119d4, VN derscugud, 129b12; foscuichi (‘moves away, departs’); Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. fosochet 36a8, VN foscugud 42a5, 126b2, dat. sg. foscagiu 21c3.

The simplex scuchaid has a mixture of strong and weak forms. Thurneysen (GOI) has stated that the simplex inflects strong, but this is incorrect; there are plenty of weak forms in the simplex. Schulze-Thulin makes the distinction between strong forms for the meanings ‘moves, starts, goes’, intransitive, non-causative, and weak forms for the meanings ‘moves, stirs, sets in motion’, transitive, causative. She states that this is the result of confusion between an original primary verb < *skek- and a causative < *skok-eje-. LEIA states that in the present the causative stem has superseded the stem of the primary verb. However, against this can be said that in the present stem the distinction is not quite so clear. Some present forms have intransitive meanings, although these are all late. More importantly, as Schumacher has pointed out, strong inflection is confined to
the meanings ‘comes to an end, is finished, exhausted’, whereas the meanings ‘moves’ (trans.), ‘stirs, moves’ (intrans.), ‘starts’ (intrans.) have weak i-inflection. Strong inflection is confined to the subjunctive and the preterite, so in the present there never was any confusion. It seems clear that to the Irish themselves, these were two distinct verbs, with two distinct inflections and two distinct meanings.

The presence of preverb *uts- in do·roscai shows that this is an old compound, cf. Marmé and Russell.


**sechtaigidir** ‘simulates, pretends’

Milan: impf. 3sg. rel. nosechtaiged (Note Thes.: ‘MS. nosechaiged: corr. Ascoli’) gl. simulantis 133a12, part. dat. pl. sechtaigthib gl. simulatis 38c17, VN (m u) sechtugud gl. simulatio 103b13, gen. sg. sechtaigtho gl. simulandi 30d6, gl. simulationis 31d13, dat. sg. sechtugud gl. non disimulatione 32b4, nom. pl. sechtaigtha gl. simulationis 30d17.

Deadj. < secht ‘feigned, pretended’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

LEIA S-66-7, DIL s.v. 2. secht 133: 41, sechtaigidir 135: 38.

**séimigidir** ‘thins, attenuates’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. cosemigidir gl. adtenuet 44d9, 3pl. rel. sémigte gl. extinuata 86a10, impf. pass. sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. nomséimigthe gl. me iecirer 88a11, pres. subj. pass. pl. semigter gl. temuentur 54b15, perf. pass. sg. rosemiged gl. adtinuatus sit 118b5, pl. roseimigthea gl. adtenuata sunt 93d2

Deadj. < séim ‘slender, thin’.

LEIA S-72, DIL s.v. séimigidir 148: 56, séim 146: 35.

**†sercaigidir** ‘loves’

con·asarcaigedar (‘delights in, is delighted with’, transl. Wb. Lex.):

Würzburg pres. ind. 1sg.: conasarcaigim gl. condilector 3d9.
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Denom. < serc ‘love’. The simplex is only attested later. The compound is *hapax legomenon* and in DIL only found under the form *conasarcaigim* from Wb. 3d9 above. This is a *-sag-* derivative with an active ending. Although active endings for deponent verbs are rare in Würzburg, they do occur (cf. McCone). The alternative would be that this is a *-sag-* derivative formed as an active verb and for that it is perhaps still a bit too early in the language. It is possible that this is a calque on the Latin *condelectari* ‘delight in’, which it glosses. Certainly, the elements match each other in meaning, and the Old Irish form is *hapax legomenon*. The simplex could the later have been back-formed. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

LEIA S-91-2, DIL s.v. serc 189: 5, sercaigid 190: 40, conasarcaigim 426: 12, McCone 1985: 95.

**sétaigidir** ‘goes on a way, journeys’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. sétaigte (in DIL without length mark) gl. uiantium 82d4; **insétaigedar** (‘travels’): Milan: impf. 3pl. inséitaigtis (note Thes.: ‘leg. nuséitaigtis?’) gl. uiantibus 124b9.

Denom. < sét, ‘path, way’. The emendation for Ml. 124b9 in Thes. as given above is unnecessary. This verb behaves perfectly regularly as a compound of sétaigidir. I suggest a citation form **in-sétaigedar**.


**sílaigidir** ‘sows; causes’

Cf. OB hilheiat ‘sower’ (Joseph).

Milan: past subj. 1sg. nosilaiger gl. exserere 23c28, 2pl. nosilaigid gl. adserendo 115b11.

Denom. < sil ‘seed of plants and animals’.


**slánaigidir** ‘makes whole, heals’

Milan: pres. ind. 2pl. slanaigthe 17b15, 25b2.
Deadj. < *slán* ‘whole, sound’.

**sluindid** ‘expresses, signifies’
PIE *splend-* ‘shine, become bright’, caus *splond-éje-* (Schulze-Thulin, LIV²)
CC *slond-ï-
Cf. MW *kystlwn* ‘explain’ (Schulze-Thulin).


The relationship between this verb and the noun *slond* ‘act of expressing, mentioning’ is unclear. Sjoestedt and Schulze-Thulin take the verb as a genuine old causative of root *splend-* ‘shines, becomes clear’, but do not take the existence of the noun into account. *Sluindid* could also be denominative from *slond* as LEIA has suggested. LIV² has *sluindid* as causative, but note that even the root is given with a question mark and outside of Old Irish this is only attested in a Latin esseve *splendere* ‘shine, gleam’. Is *sluindid* denominative, or is *slond* deverbal?


**†snádaid** ‘protects, convoyos’

Etymology unknown. LEIA refers to Sjoestedt and Pokorny, who derive it from *snōd- < *nedʔ- and *snēd- <*snē- (laryngealised *h3neh2-) respectively. LEIA dismisses both these options, but endorse Fowkes, who connects it with with Skt nā-tha- < *neh2. This has been dismissed by LIV2.


soíbid ‘makes / becomes crooked, contorts’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. saibes 27a9, Milan: perf. 3 pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. rondasaibset 24d24; con-soiba (‘deceives’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3pl. rel. consoibat 30c13.

Deadj. < soiib ‘crooked, aslant’. Note that Wb. Lex. gives consoibat above under saebid.

As has been discussed above, page 61, the deadjectival soíbid is AII due to its iterativity. Con-soiba remains AI because the finality implied by the preverb con- blocks iterativity. These verbs are both derived from the adjective soib but they have different meanings and different syntactic behaviour.


soillsigidir ‘makes bright, lights’


Denom. < soilse ‘brightness, light’, < solus ‘bright, clear’.

LEIA S-168-9, DIL s.v. solus 337: 1, soillsigidir 329: 3, soillse 328: 50.

soinmigidir ‘makes prosperous’


Denom. < soinme ‘great wealth’. The verb only occurs in Milan.

LEIA S-166, DIL s.v. soinmigidir 330: 81, soinme 330: 22.
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sommaigidir ‘enriches’


Denom. < *sommiae* ‘riches, wealth’, or deadj. < *sommiae* ‘rich, wealthy’, both of which are themselves derived from *soim* ‘rich, wealthy’. The verb only occurs in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses.


sonartnaigidir ‘strengthens, confirms’

Cf. OB *henertha* (Joseph).


Deadj. < *sonairst* ‘strong, firm’, < *so* ‘good, excellent’ + *nert* ‘strength, might’. LEIA does not register the verb. The appearance of the -n- between the base and the suffix has been discussed in section 3.4.2, pages 68f. *Sonartnaigidir* can be found in the Chronology on page 81.


†sorchaigidir ‘illuminates, enlightens’


Deadj. < *sorchaes* ‘bright, luminous’ or denom. < *sorchaes* ‘light, brightness’. The compound could be a calque on Latin *inluminare* ‘illuminate, give light to’, which it glosses. The simplex might be a calque too, but there is no evidence to base this on. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.

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sroiglid ‘scourges, lashes’
   Milan: pret pass. 3sg. nosroiglide 32c3.
   Denom. < sroigell ‘scourge’ (DIL), Lat. flagellum ‘whip, lash’ (GOI). S- for f- is regular: Lat. f- was borrowed in Proto-Irish as *sw-. For -r- for -l- see GOI, McManus and cf. W ffrewyll. Direct and indirect Latin loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

subaigidir ‘rejoices at, is cheerful’
   Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. subaigidir 122a11, 3pl. subaigit 61c18, VN subugud 51c8, acc. sg. subugud 67d5.
   Denom. < subae ‘joy, pleasure’.

†suidid ‘puts, places’ (Schulze-Thulin)
   PIE *sed- ‘sit’, caus. *sod-éje/o- (Schulze-Thulin)
   CC *sod-ī (Schulze-Thulin)
   Cf. Goth. satjan, OIsl. setja, OHG sezzen < PG *sat-eja. MW paratoi is a cmpd. of adj. *parad (< Lat. paratus ‘prepared, ready’ > late Brit. *parōd > shortened and de-rounded with -o- in following syllable *parad-) + -hoi < *ho̞i < CC sod-ī (Schulze-Thulin).

ad·suidi (‘stops, holds back’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 2sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m ciadsode (= ci-ad-d²-sode) 10a9, with infix. pron. 3sg. f. ciatasode 10a10, 3pl. maniastat 29a16, impv. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. nach nastad 10a7, Milan: pres. ind. adsudi 114c6, pres. subj. 2sg. ni astaesiu 55a19, perf. 3sg. atrosoid 39a16, adrosoid 97d16, part. astide 20a22, VN (m u) astud 15c4, acc. sg. astud 15a15.
   Causative. Two causative formations remain in Common Celtic of the Proto-Indo-European root *sed-, ‘sit’ > OI saidid. There is ō-grade CC *sād-ī > OI sāidid (page 238), and ō-grade PIE *sod-éje/o- > CC *sod-ī > OI suidid (Schulze-Thulin).
suidigidir ‘establishes, founds’

suidigidir: Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rosuidigestar 12a30, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. suidigitir 94c3, pass. sg. suidigthir 120d9a-b, rel. suidigther 87d15, pl. suidigter 65c16, suidigtilir 120d9a-b, fut. 2sg. suidigfe 22d10, 3sg. fluidigfith 46c20, perf. 1sg. rel. rusuidigstir 59b2, 2sg. rosuidigser 121a12, 3sg. rosuidigestar 46c20, 63c10, pass. rusuidiged 23a18, part. suidigthe 18d20, 48d6, suidigthi, VN (m u) suidiugad, acc. sg. suidigud 60b16; con·suidigedar (‘compounds, arranges’): Milan: VN consuidigud 126b10; etar·suidigedar (‘places between’): Milan: perf. pass. etarrusuidiged 27d23, part. etarsuidigthe, etarsuidigthi 138d3; fo·suidigedar (‘substitutes’): Würzburg: perf. 3pl. rel. forrusuidigsetar 7b5; *fris·suidigedar (‘places over against, opposes’): Milan: past subj. 3sg. conifrithsuidiged 34a8, nadfrithsuidiged 39a21, part. (io, iā) frithsuidigthe, nom. pl. frithsuidigthi 39c12; iarmi·suidigedar (‘places after’): Milan: perf. 3sg. iarmurusuidigestar 130a7; in·suidigedar (‘institutes, establishes’): Milan: part. nom. pl. anat n-insuidigthi 146a4, VN insuidigud, acc. pl. insuidigthistu 30b5.

Denom. < suide ‘act of sitting, sitting down’, VN of saidid.


sulbairigidir ‘is eloquent, fluent’

Würzburg: fut. 1sg. sulbirigfer 12d12, pres. subj. 1sg. cia sulbiriger 12d10, 2pl. rel. sulbaireichthe 12d8, impv. 3sg. sulbaireged 12d9, sulbirdigfer 12d12, sulbiriger 12d10, sulbaireichthe 12d8, sulbaireged 12d9.

Deadj. < sulbair ‘eloquent, well-spoken’, < so ‘good, excellent’ + labar ‘talkative, arrogant’. The verb is not attested outside of the Würzburg Glosses.
Corpus of secondary verbs


**suthchaigidir** ‘makes fruitful’


Deadj. < *suthach* ‘fruitful, fertile’, < *suth* ‘fruit, produce’. *Hapax legomenon*. The verb could be a calque on Lat. *foetare* ‘breed’, which it glosses, since both these verbs are derived from adjectives meaning ‘fruitful’ (Lat. *foetus*). Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


**tairisnigidir** ‘trusts in, relies on’


Denom. < *tairisiu* ‘faith, trust’.


**taitnigidir** ‘shines, is bright’

Milan: perf. 2sg. *rotaitnigser* 105c7, VN *totnugud* (this seems the only time that the VN is extant. Irregular: the consonant cluster should be palatal) 43a11.

This verb is derived from a VN *taitin* that is not attested in Old Irish itself, but that is extant in Scottish Gaelic *taitinn* with the meaning ‘pleasant, nice’. This was originally the VN of *do·aitni* ‘shines, is refulgent’ (itsel deadj. < *tind* ‘bright, dazzling’), of which the extended VN *taitnem* ‘shining, gleaming’ is attested in Old Irish. That *taitin* existed in Old Irish is borne out by its continuation in Scottish Gaelic and by the existence of the denominative verb *taitnigidir* that is derived from it.

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†teimligidir ‘grows dark, dull’

Cf. W tywyllau, MB teffalhat, ModB teñvalaad.

fris·teimligedar (‘darkens, obscures’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. fristemligther 73c2.

Denom. < teimel ‘darkness, gloom’, < teim ‘darkness, death’. The simplex does not appear in the Glosses and the compound is hapax legomenon and might be a calque on Lat. obtenebrare ‘darken’, which occurs further down in the Latin sentence. Both the Old Irish and the Latin verbs are derived from nouns meaning darkness (Lat. tenebra) and the Old Irish preposition translates the Latin. Calquing has been discussed in section 3.4.3, pages 69ff.


tessaigidir ‘warms, heats’

Cf. OB adj. teshegetic (Joseph).

tessaigidir: Milan: VN tessugad, dat. sg. thessugud 42c28;
con·tessaigethar: Milan: perf. 3sg. conrutessaigestar 59a16.

Denom. < tess ‘heat, warmth’. Con·tessaigethar has not been translated by Thes. or DIL. The form in Milan above glosses Lat. concaluit, which is the perf. ind. 3sg. of either concalere ‘be, become warm’ or concalescer ‘become, grow warm’. Tessaigidir can be found in the Chronology on page 81.

LEIA T- 54-5, DIL s.v. tessaigid 159: 3, con·tessaigethar 465: 10, 2. tess 158: 7, Joseph 1987: 150.

†tibid ‘touches, breaks against’, develops into ‘laughs, smiles’ (Vendryes)

con·tibi (‘laughs at, mocks’): Milan: fut. 3sg. contifea 17a3, VN cuiubid, dat. sg. cuibbud 86a11.

Etymology unknown. LEIA reports a discussion based on trying to tie this to other Indo-European verbs and the assumption of the verb being primary. However, they also state that none of the solutions proposed can be imposed with certainty. Vendryes discusses the semantics of the verb, but leaves the etymology mostly aside.
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**tirmaigidir** ‘dries, dries up’


Deadj. < *tírim*, *tirim* ‘dry, formal’, < *tír* ‘dry’.


**tocaíd** ‘destines’

PIE *temk-* ‘become solid, become manifest’, caus. *tomk-éje-* (LIV²)

CC *tonk-í* (Schumacher)

Cf. MW *tyngaf* ‘I destine’, MB *tonquaff* ‘destine’ (Schumacher).

Milan: VN *tocaíd* 19d5, 35d22.

According to Pedersen and McCone this is originally a nasal present that has taken on weak flection. LEIA mentions a causative morphology, however, Schumacher (followed by Schulze-Thulin and LIV²) has conclusively shown that this is in fact a causative of the same root that gave OI *tongaid* ‘swears’. The distinction between nasal present on the one hand and causative on the other is clearly seen in MB *toeaff* ‘swear’ and *tonquaff* ‘destine’ respectively (Schumacher p. 51). OI *tocaíd*, too, behaves perfectly regularly like a causative, and it can be argued that early Middle Welsh would have preserved a distinction between *tyngaf* ‘I destine’ and *tyngaf* ‘I swear’, which would have merged due to the loss of post-tonic -h- during the Middle Welsh period (Schumacher p. 51). On Gaulish *toncsiíontio*, see: Fleuriot, Schmidt, Koch and Lambert.


**tochomraochtaigidir** ‘is weary’


Denom. < *tochomraoch* ‘weariness, vexation’, VN of *to-com-reth-, compound of *reithid* ‘runs, hastens’ (page 306). The compound itself is only
Corpus of secondary verbs

attested once, in Wb. 14b23, as *toncomra (prima manus), glossing *tederet nos, impf. subj. 3sg. of *taedere ‘be tired, weary’. Pedersen reports a reading *toncomrit pret. 3sg. due to Zimmer, reproduced without attribution by Wb. Lex. The denominative *tochomrachtaidigirt is *hapax legomenon as well.


†toídid ‘shines, illuminates’

as·toídi (‘shines, appears’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. ástóidi 12b28, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. astoidi 40c15, 115d3, 3pl. (rel.) astoidet 2a14, impf. 3pl. rel. astoitis 99a4 (2x), pres. subj. 3sg. co áis tuaethe 131d15, impf. / past subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. attóided 56c3, VN atoidiud, dat. sg. atoidiud 85c5, nom. pl. atoitecha 20d7.

This verb is derived from a noun *taídid-, a compound of the root *yed- ‘see’. The noun is no longer extant in Old Irish and the verb therefore probably predates Old Irish (page 81). Since this ultimately goes back to the ‘see’ root, it can tentatively be argued that the verb fits the scheme, although the exact meaning of the underlying noun remains unknown. ‘shines’ means ‘causes to be seen’.


toirthigidir ‘fructifies, makes fertile’

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. toirthigedar 26c3.
Denom. < torad ‘produce, increase’.
LEIA T-112, DIL s.v. toirthigidir 231: 8, torad 253: 36.

toltanaigidir ‘pleases, is pleased’

Milan: VN toltonugad, toltonugud 74d9.
Denom. < tolto, ‘desire’.
LEIA T-101, DIL s.v. toltnaiglid 242: 77, tolto 243: 5.

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53 Earlier disagreements over the etymology of this verb (Ped. ii 650-1, LEIA T-95-6, Zupitza 1901: 281, Stokes 1905a: 161) were based on imperfect understanding of the relevant soundlaws.
tosnachtaigidir ‘weighs’

Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. tosnachtaigim gl. pendo 79a9, past subj. 2sg. notosnachtaigthea (Note Thes.: ‘the last h over the line; is 2 sg. past subj. and a mistranslation, cf. Ml. 19b12, 79a9’) gl. pendere 78c3, tosnachtaigtae gl. inpendentia 19b12.

There are no nouns attested in Old Irish that this could be derived from, but this is a *-sag- derivative and must therefore be secondary. LEIA suggests a VN of *to-oss-snig (oss = uts), compound of snigid ‘snows’. The verb is not attested outside of Milan.


trebrigidir ‘continues’

Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. notrebrigim 88d7, part. trebrithe 88d10.

This verb could be derived from trebrech ‘continuous’, with haplology of -ech-. Certainly, trebrech seems closest in meaning to trebrigidir and haplology of -ech- is not unheard of. However, as Joseph points out, the meaning given in DIL for the adjective trebrech seems based entirely on that of the verb. Deriving the verb from this adjective based on the meaning therefore becomes a circular argument. Joseph derives trebrigidir from trebar ‘careful, prudent’ instead, although he correctly points out that there are semantic issues with deriving a verb meaning ‘continues’ from an adjective meaning ‘careful, prudent’. It is however noteworthy that ‘careful’ and ‘prudent’ are not the only meanings of this adjective; DIL also gives ‘secure, solvent, strong’ and in compounds it comes to mean things such as ‘strongly secure’ and ‘steadfastness’. With that background, I think it is entirely possible to derive this verb directly from trebar.


†trénaigidir ‘strengthens’

Deadj. < *tréń* ‘strong’. The semantics of this verb have been briefly discussed on page 92.


**tüailngigidir** ‘deigns, considers worthy’


DIL derives this from *tüailnge* ‘ability, capability’, < *tūalaing* ‘able to, capable of’. LEIA derives the verb directly from *tūalaing*. Both are possible. The verb only occurs in Milan.


**†tuigithir** ‘covers’

PIE *(s)teg* ‘cover’, caus. *(s)tag-eje-*(LIV²)

CC *(t)og-ī-

Cf. MW *toi* ‘cover’ (Schulze-Thulin)


DIL and LEIA refer to *tugae*, *tuige* ‘act of covering, cover’, also used as VN of *tuigithir*, but this verb is an an iterative of PIE *(s)teg*– ‘cover’ (Sjoestedt, Schulze-Thulin, LIV²). Motivation for formation as a deponent verb has been discussed in section 3.3.1.3, pages 63f.

†tuilid ‘sleeps, falls asleep’

PIE *telH- ‘become silent’, caus/it *tolH-éje- (LIV\textsuperscript{2})

CC caus/it *tol-í-

Cf. OCS u-toljı̈, -toliti ‘stills’ (LIV\textsuperscript{2}).

con·tuili (‘sleeps, falls asleep’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. ma čatil 29d15, Milan: VN cotlud 95a6.

Causative.

Ped. ii 655-6, IEW 1061-2, LEIA T-170, LIV\textsuperscript{2} 621, DIL s.v. tuilid 360: 33, con-tuili 464: 37, Strachan 1893a: 369.

*úad·fíaligedar ‘unveals, reveals’ (translation mine)


Derived from fíal ‘veil’ < Lat. uelum (cf. section 3.2, pages 48ff.), with preverb úad. It could be a calque on Lat. reuelare ‘show, reveal’, which it glosses. Latin uelare means ‘veil, cover’ and combined with the preverb re becomes ‘unveil’. The glossator has translated the components of the participle individually and created an Old Irish participle out of them. Cf. indenmichthe ‘weakened’ above, page 70 and see section 3.4.3, pages 69ff. Note that since the verb itself is not attested, it is not certain if this verb would have been treated as a simplex or a compound verb (cf. section 3.5, pages 74ff.). The hypothetical citation form given is as if this were a compound, but might have been *úadfíadligidir.


úai brigidir ‘treats insolently, profanes’

Milan: fut. 3sg. huaibrigfidir gl. frustrabitur 109b08, perf. 3sg. rel. runuaibrigestar gl. profanauerat 73b10, part. úaibrigthe, nom. pl. uai bri gthi gl. profanatis 100c16-17, VN úai brigiu d, uai brigiu d gl. frustratio 67d18, dat. sg. huai brigu d gl. frustratione 63c2.

DIL derives this from úaibrech ‘proud, arrogant’, < úaibre ‘pride’, but as discussed above, section 3.4.1, page 67, the principle of economy has been applied and this verb has been derived directly from úaibre so that
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there is no loss of -ech- to be accounted for. Úaibre itself is derived from ūabar ‘pride, arrogance’ (LEIA). The verb is only attested in Milan.

LEIA U-1, 3, DIL s.v. ûaibre 8: 7, ûaibrech 8: 12, ûaibrigidir 8: 49, ūabar 3: 23.

†úaigid ‘stitches together, sews’
PIE *peug- ‘stick, prick’ caus. *poug-éje- (LEIA)
CC *ōg-ī- (LEIA)

Cf. Lat. pungere ‘prick, pierce’ (LEIA, LIV²).

con·óigi (‘sews, knits together’): Würzburg: pret. 3pl. conoígset (Note Thes.: ‘Here the glossator seems to have mistaken consuerunt (from consuesco) for consuerunt (from consuo)’) 19a1, Milan: perf. 3sg. conruaig 99a2.

Iterative from PIE *peug- ‘stick, prick’, *poug-éje-, CC *ōg-ī- (cf. LEIA).

Pedersen takes conruaig Ml. 99a2 above as a compound of figid ‘weaves’ rather than a form of con·óigi. There are no etymological or contextual grounds on which preference can be given to this or taking it as a form of con·óigi. It glosses Lat. contextuit, perf. 3sg. of contextere ‘weave, entwine’. The Old Irish continues i. arrudibaid i. rouc cechnúrdataid ñ as conrubu chrin· ‘i.e. destroyed, i.e. brought all freshness out of it so that it became withered.’ Both ‘sewing’ and ‘weaving’ fit the Latin verb, and the Old Irish context adds nothing to our understanding. Both the perf. 3sg. of a verb con·fig, of which a pret. 3sg. is attested in ACC VIII 19 (Bisagni), and that of con·óigi could be conruaig.

IEW 480, LEIA C-197, U-3, LIV² 480, DIL s.v. úaigid 9: 3, con·óigi 454: 54, figid 131: 63, Bisagni 2008: 271.

†úaisligidir ‘exalts, ennobles’

Cf. MB vhelhat, ModB uhelaat (Joseph).

for·úaisligedar (‘ennobles, exalts’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. with emp. pron. 1pl. niforuaisligemeni 17b17.

Deadj. < úasal ‘high, lofty’.

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úalchaigidir ‘is proud, becomes proud’

Milan: impf. 1sg. conuhualchaiginn gl. adrogarem 49b14.

LEIA U-6, DIL s.v. úalchaigid 24: 37, 1. ūallach 23: 68, 1. ūall 22: 53.

úatigidir ‘becomes few’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. uatigitir gl. rarescunt 33a15.
Denom. or deadj. < ūa(i)te ‘oneness, a small number’ or ‘few’. Hapax legomenon.


uimligidir ‘humbles’

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. huimligte 136a11.
Deadj. < umal ‘humble, obedient’, Lat. humilis ‘low, humble’.

Direct and indirect loans have been discussed in section 3.2, pages 48ff.

LEIA U-25, DIL s.v. umlaigid 85: 22, umal 80: 74.

úraigidir ‘grows green or fresh’

Cf. MW ērhau ‘make or become fresh’ (Joseph).
Milan: pres. 3sg. rel. nuraigedar gl. uirere 15b14.
Deadj. < ēr ‘fresh, new’.

LEIA U-26-7, DIL s.v. úraigidir 90: 70, 2. ēr 87: 69, Joseph 1987: 150.
6 Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

ad·ágathar ‘fears, dreads’
PIE *h₂egʰ- ‘become afraid, sad’ (LIV²)
CC *āg- (Schumacher)
Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. ní ágathar 1a3, with infix pron. 3pl. ní snagathar 6a7; Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. nadnagursa, 74b19, rel. adnagur 74d4, 3sg. (rel.) adagadar 53c14, rel. agathar 87d15, rel. agether 129a2, nadagathar 129a2a, nadnagathar, 74b21, nístagathar 129a12, pass. sg. with infix. 3sg. m adnaigther 27c1, impv. 3pl. agatar 51d11, impf. 1sg. adagain 63d11, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. coruagathar 66a2, fut. 1sg. adaichfer 68c17, 3sg. (rel.) adaichfedar 46c20, 3pl. neg ní aichfetar 80b13, perf. 3pl. adraichsetar 80d4, conaraigaigsetar 35c4, adraigsetar 124b6, adraigsetar 124b6; verb. nec. aigthi 104a5, VN (f n) áigthiu, acc. sg. aigsin 51d12, gen. sg. aichthen 82d8.

Common Celtic perfect re-formed to an AII (Schumacher).

ad·ella ‘visits, approaches’
PIE *pelh₂- ‘approach’, nas pres. *pl-ne/n-h₂- (LIV²)
CC *al-na-
ad·ella: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix pron. 3pl. ataella 19b15, fut. 1sg. adeilliub 14a7, with rel. n adnelliub 14a6, with infix pron. 2pl. atdubelliub 7a4, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. adnellat 102a15, VN ([n] o) adall, nom. pl. adaill 102a15, do·aidlea (‘comes to, approaches’):
Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. f. dodaaidlea 9d5, fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. dosnaidlibea 25d14, perfect. pres. subj. 2sg. nitáirle 30d20, Milan: fut. 1pl. doaidlibem 14d5, VN tadall, acc. sg. tadal 25a3. 1. do·alla (‘takes away, steals’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with infix.
pron. 3sg. n.: .i. madudêll 22b7, Milan: pres. subj. 1sg. ɔtall 58c6, 2. do·alla
(‘there is room for’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. nitella 5c13, fut. 3sg. nitellfea 26a23, nitellfea 25b18, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nihelxea 25c2, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. nitalla 65d6, 97a7, do·ecmalla (‘gathers, collects’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. doecmalla 9d5, with anaph. pron. doecmallaside 9d5, (pret. &) perf. 3pl. tüercómêllasát (a prima manu; Thurn. Gr. p. 519 tu-e-r-c[h]omlassat) 7a7 (= 7a5a, Thes. Suppl. p. 42 ), Imperat. 2pl. tecmallid 14a1. 539, do·ella (‘turns aside, deviates’): Milan: impf. 3sg. rel. dunellad 83b6, pres. subj. 1pl. neg rel. nad ṅ dillem106c4, perf. 3sg. dureill 54d8, 3pl. dorellsat 36c22, rel. durellsat 105b18, verb nec dillithi 29d6, VN andiall 119b9, fo·indlea (‘wanders, roves’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. rel. fonindlea 25a5, VN foindel, foindel 121d8, sechmi·ella (‘passes by, passes’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. nach sechmalla 35d13, sechminella 61a5, impf. 3sg. ni consechmallasat 33c21, fut. 1pl. nisechmallfam 25a3, pass. sg. nisechmallfaider 14d3, VN sechmall, dat. sg. sechmall 70b3.

Schumacher separates the root of do·alla ‘there is room for, fits’ from that of do·alla ‘takes away, steals’ and do·ella ‘turns aside, deviates’. He bases do·alla ‘there is room for’ on a hypothetical weak verb *tallaid of which the conjunct form ·talla was reinterpreted as the prototonic form of a compound verb. There is however no reason to separate two roots. These verbs are, as Schumacher himself points out, formally indistinguishable already in the Glosses. There is overlap in meaning between the three of them. In Würzburg, both the do·alla verbs are consistently spelled as do·ella and in Milan they are both consistently spelled as do·alla. Finally, the derivation is wrong. Schumacher derives *tallaid from the root *telp- ‘make room’ (cf. LIV^2 > *tl̥φ > *tal̥φ > OI tall-, which would be possible if the development *l̥ > *l became *φ before stops. This development is however contradicted by the derivation of OI crí, ‘body’, cognate to W cryf, < PIE *krip-. The development can only have gone: *krip > *krip > *kri-. If *p > *φ, this would have been: *krip > **kφ > **karφ (Cf. Isaac 2007c: 62, 71 for relative chronology). That is not what we have, so by implication the etymology of tallaid is wrong and therewith the justification for two roots falls.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs


ad·ferta
PIE *uert- ‘turns oneself’ (LIV\textsuperscript{2})
CC *uert-

Milan: pres. 3sg. adferta (note Thes.: ‘leg. adfertaigedar?’) 123d8.

No translation in DIL, Thes. translates the gloss as ‘he turns’. *Hapax legomenon*, glossing Lat. aduersatur. As has been discussed above, page 83, this is probably the e-grade primary verb corresponding to the causative do·fortai ‘pours’ (page 200) that has taken on weak flexion. Thes.’ emendation to adfertadaigedar has no basis in evidence.

Ped. ii 526, IEW 1150-1, LIV\textsuperscript{2} 691-2, DIL s.v. ad-ferta 53: 32.

anaid ‘stays, remains’
PIE *h₂enh₁- ‘breathe’ (LIV\textsuperscript{2})
CC *ana- (Schumacher)

Würzburg: fut. 1sg. ainfa 14a8, sec. fut. 2sg. rel. noainfeda 27d20, 3sg. niainfed 32a11, perf. 1sg. niruanus 14d29, 2sg. with rel. n and emp. pron. 2sg. ronanissiu 29d9, 3sg. rel. nadran 14d30, 1pl. nirransam 19d6, perfect. pres. subj. 1sg. rel. corran 7a17, impv. 1pl. naanam 20c14, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. cena nid (Note Thes.: ‘leg. ce anaid?’) 27b16, rel. ánanas 71b5, impf. 3sg. nunanad 83a4, pres. subj. 3pl. corruanat 42a4, fut. 1sg. ni ωainiubsa (Note Thes.: ‘MS. ωainib: corr. Ascoli; but cf. Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 49’) 53b8, perf. 3sg. ronan 126b1, 126b2, VN andud, dat. sg. andud 131d14, con·osna (‘ceases, stops’): Milan: impf. 3pl. ϵnosnaitis 46b3, pres. subj. 2sg. conosnai (note Thes.: ‘rather conosnaesiu (Ascoli)’) 70c3, fut. 3sg. neg ni cumsanfa 80d5, perf. 1sg. neg ni ruchumsanus 94b14, 3sg. inruchumsan 32d26, corosan 113c5, VN cumsanad 33d20, acc. sg. cumsanad 21c3, gen. sg. dinchumsanad 112c11, dat. sg. duchumsanad 121d12; fo·fúasna (‘agitates, disturbs’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

3sg. m fafuasna 94c8, pass. sg. fufuasnither 66d17, part. fuasnaide, nom. pl. fuasnaidi 22d8, VN fúasnad 2d5, gen. sg. fuasnada 16b12 (2x).

Primary verb that has taken on weak flexion.


ar·cela ‘takes away, steals’

PIE *kᵗʰel₁₁ ‘turn’, nas pres. *kʰ₁₁-nē/n-h₁₁ (LIV²)

CC *kʰ₁₁al-na- (Schumacher)

ar·cela: Würzburg: pres. ind. 2pl. arcelith 9c23, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. n. arachela 31a13, 3pl. rel. arachelat 134b10, pass. pl. ercheltar 21c12, impf. 3pl. with infix. 3pl. arascalatais 26b19, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. aracela 36b2, fut. 3sg. with infix. arachelfea 18c9, VN (m u) aircHELLAD 28c5, erchellad 102a10-11, acc. sg. erchella 57a2, aircHELLAD 90a11, dat. sg. arichellad 36b2, erchellad 38a13, gen. pl. erchella (this form not in DIL) 63c16, do·airechella (‘hides, withdraws’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. tairchella 12b33; do·immchella (‘goes round, makes a circuit of’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. duimchella 67d8, pass. sg. duimcheltar 108a14, past subj. 3pl. doimchelltis 90d5; imm·cella (‘surrounds’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.?) immecella 67d12; imm·timchella (‘surrounds’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. pass. imtimcheltar 127b17, rel. immetimcheltar 121a1, 3pl. intimchellat 116a2, rel. immethimcheltat 68d3, impv. 2sg. imthimchellsu 28d10, 3sg. intimchella 40c13, impf. pass. sg. imthimcheltae 65c2, pl. immintimcheltis 32a19, pres. subj. pass. sg. arnachanimthimcheltar 69b7, fut. 1pl. intimcélfamni 24a7, sec fut. 3sg. imthimchellfad 43b9, perf. 3pl. imimthimmerchelsat 44c25, immumthimmerchellsat sa 130b12, VN doimthimchiull 120d2, dat. sg. imthimchiull 123b9.

Nasal present that took on weak flexion due to *-ln- > -ll- (McCone). The simplex ceilid also lost the nasal, but remained strong and inflects in Old Irish as a BI verb. Pedersen states that the compounds of this root have become mixed up with the roots cell- and ciall-. It is therefore not possible to make a clear distinction between the three.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs


as·fena ‘attests, swears’

as·fena: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. asfenimm 22a20, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) aspena 39b6, perf. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. adruspén (DIL gives this as pret, but it contains ro) 78a5-6, VN aspenad, dat. sg. aispenuid 54d2, aspenud 102d2; do·aisféna (‘shows, exhibits’): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. doairfenus 18d7.

There is no Old Irish base to derive this from. It is therefore problematic to classify it as secondary. If this is primary, its origins are unclear. Pedersen derives this from PIE *yejd- as a nas. pres. *ui-né/n-d- > CC yid-na-, cf. also IEW.

Ped. ii 517, IEW 1125-7, LEIA D-116-7, LIV² 665-7, DIL s.v. doaisféna 195: 42, as·fena 430: 16.

as·lena ‘pollutes, defiles’

PIE *h₂lejH- ‘besmear’ (LIV²)

CC *li-na- (Schumacher)

Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. assailant 92d12, rel. as lentar 92d12, pl. as lentar 129c17, impf. 3pl. as lentis 74c3, with infix. 3sg. atléntai ssom 22a4, perf. 3sg. rel. arruneillestar (cf. Mc Cone 1985: 95) 63a14, 1pl. nadreildisem 63d15, 3pl. asrulensat 74a3, pass. sg. roheilled 127a13, pl. asrulenta 28a22, 100c18, part. eilnithi, gen. sg. masc éilidi 63a16, verb. nec. él nit hi, eilniti 128d2, VN éilned, eilled 22b1, ennachneilled 137c5, dat. sg. elled 92d12; *druailnid (‘corrupts, pollutes’): Milan: part. trúailnide, nom. pl. druailnidi 76a5, VN trúailned, acc. sg. druailned 38c9.

Simplex not attested. Nasal present that took on weak flexion.

The verb *druailnid is not attested in Old Irish. The participle and VN found in Milan are based on the participle eilnithi from as·lena with intensive prefix dru- (Ped., LEIA, cf. GOI). The verb *druailnid itself is
found in Middle Irish, with d- changed to t- and probably back-formed based on the then already existing participle and VN.


césaid ‘suffers, endures’
PIE *kʷe ndʰ- ‘undergo an impression, experience’, desiderative *kʷydʰ-s- (LIV²)
CC *kʷanss-e-

Cf. Lit. keńčia ‘suffer’, Gk. πάσχω ‘suffer’ (Watkins).

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. nocéssimse 14d8, 1pl. with dem. rel. acésme 13c7, perf. 1sg. rel. with emp. pron. 1sg. rochéssusa (-sa = -ssa) 17d12, perf. 3sg. rocées 6b20, 6c27, rocéss 10c10, rocess 4b13, rel. rochéess 6c8, pres. subj. 2pl. with cia, ciacheste 25a10, Milan: perf. 3sg. rocés 17a13, rocès 4b1, rel. roches 44d4, VN (m u) césad, dat. sg. céssad 74b1, cæsad 86d15.

PIE desiderative *kʷydʰ-s- reinterpreted as pres. ind. of a weak verb (LIV²).


creitid ‘believes, trusts’
PIE *dʰe hr- ‘put’ (LIV²)
CC *kret-di-di-

creitid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. nocretim 1a2, 13c10, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. (ma)nid chretim 13c10, 3sg. rel. cretes 2b11, 15b1, 23a8, creites 2b27, crettes 2b19, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nadid chreti 15b14, 1pl. rel. with emp. pron. 1pl. creteni 13b21, 2pl. nicretid 20a13, rel. nadcreitid 1d14, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. manichretid 13b19, with rel. n and emp. pron. 2pl. nonchretidsi 23c7, 3pl. rel. cretite 3d18, fut. 3sg. cretfed (for cretifid) 1a3, rel. crettes 1a3, 32d13, creitfes 4d5, creiefes 4d21, 23b7, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nodchretfēa 4d7, 3pl. rel. cretfite 14c4, 15b1, creitfite 5c12, sec. fut. 3sg. rel. nochreitfed 5a20, pret. 3pl. o chretsit 31c7, perf. 1sg. rocretus 17a6, 2sg. rocretis 10a29, 30, 3sg. rel. rochretti 5a7, rochreti 5b21,
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

24b31, nadrochreit 5c2, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emp. pron. 2pl. rachretsidsi 13b10, with emp. pron. 2pl. rocreitsidsi 25d20, sechrocreitsidsi 26a23, rel. diaruchretsidsi 8e11, rocretsisi 1a3, rel. rochreti 13a34 (leg. rochretsid), nadrochreitsid 5c10, 3pl. ro creitset 1a3, canirochretset 10c20, rel. rochretset 7b11, rochreitset 24d23, 31a6, perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. actrocretem 30b2, perf. pass. subj. 2pl. rel. rochretset 27a27, perf. past subj. 2pl. rel. with emp. pron. 2pl. ní manu cretitis huili 5b21a, pass.: fut. 3sg. rel. nad creidfider 28c14, impf. ind. 3sg. rel. 527 nádcrette 15a31, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. ni cretet 96b1, rel. crete 17b4, nocrete 33b26, 126c10, impf. pass. sg. with infix. 2pl. nobcrete 46a13a, pres. subj. 3sg. arnarochretea 127a7, perf. 3sg. rochreti 46a14, ònarochret 33b5, 3pl. rochreitset 35c20, rocretset 96b5, 123c1, 131c9, rel. nadrochretset 131c9, 131d11, with infix. 3pl. nísrochreitset (Note Thes.: ‘MS. nísrochret’) 39d3, rel. rochreitset 60b16, nirochreitset 90c22, verb. nec. creiti, creti 96b5, VN creitem, cretem 15b4; ceta·creti (‘first believes’; this verb not in DIL): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. cetaruchreti 7b11, 3pl. rel. ciaturuchreitset 14a29.

The Celtic athematic i reduplicated present stem was replaced by the stem -dī- in Celtic (Schumacher). This -dī- was the original imperative of the aorist. It is only attested in two compounded forms, neither of which are still felt as compounds in the attested Celtic languages. In Old Irish, only creitid (< *kred-dī-) is attested, which is itself compounded to ceta·creti. In MW also roði (< *ro-dī-) is attested.


dedaid ‘melts away, decays’
PIE *dʰeṷ ‘walk, rush’

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rudeda 22d7, 3pl. dedait 79b10, cudedait (Note Thes.: ‘MS. seems cádaitt; Sarauw 138 conjectures combaat’; 77b10, impf. 1pl. nodedmais (Note Thes.: ‘MS. notedmais’) 131c4, 3pl. nodedais (note Thes.: ‘rectius nodedtais, cf. noreithis 129d4’) 102d14, pres. subj. 3sg.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs


If the opinions expressed in the literature are correct, this is a primary verb that has taken on weak flexion, but the derivation is quite unclear, see Pedersen, IEW and LEIA.


**do·inscanna** ‘begins’

**do·inscanna**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. *doinscannsom* 17c8, fut. 1pl. with interog. in *intinscanfam* 15a1; **fo·scanna** (‘tosses, winnows’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. with infx. 3sg. *fascannat* 63b17, impf. 1sg. *fusscannainn* 96a4, **in·tinnscana** (‘begins, commences’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *intinscana* 26b10, 1pl. *intinscanam* 23c3, VN *intinscetal*, dat. sg. *intinscitul* 15a3.

Origin disputed, see above, page 85.

Ped. ii 613, LEIA D-158, S-32, DIL s.v. *do·inscanna* 319: 39, **fo·scanna** 376: 31, *in·tinnscana* 290: 18, Sarauw 1900: 70.

**erbaid** ‘entrusts, commits’

PIE *h₁erbʰ* (Schumacher)

Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

3sg. m./n. conidrerb 33b5, with infix. pron. 3sg. m./n. conidreirb 54b1, with infix. pron. conidrerp 106b8.

Schumacher’s reconstruction is based on McCone 1999 who connects OI erbaid, ·erbai with Pokorny’s (IEW) etymology of *orbʰ-. He states that the underlying root is *h₁erbʰ- and that erbaid, ·erbai are the reflexes of a primary verb based on this root. The basic meaning of the root is according to McCone ‘leave (after death)’ (information taken from Schumacher). Erbaid and its compounds inflect weak in Old Irish, which according to Schumacher can be explained because of its future, which would have lost reduplication due to syncope and thus become unrecognisable as strong future and replaced by a weak f-future.


†ethaid ‘goes’
PIE *h₁ej- ‘go’ (LIV)
CC perf. pass. *i-to- (Schumacher)
   at·etha (‘goes towards, attacks’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. adetha 48d1-2.

Common Celtic perf. pass. reinterpreted as s-pret. 3sg. act. conj. of a weak verb. Weak present stem with pres. ind. 3sg. conj. ·etha was then backformed. Supplies pret. pass. of téit (Schumacher).


†fillid ‘bends, kneels’
PIE *ṷel- ‘turn, roll’, nas pres. *ṷl̥₁néṷ (LIV²)
CC *ṷel-
   in·fill: Milan: perf. 3sg. inrufill 33c11.

Nasal present that has taken on weak flexion, cf. IEW and Pedersen. Note that the only form attested for in·fill is an s-preterite. If this were strong as DIL’s headword suggests, it would have a t-preterite. The headword should be in·filli.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

Ped. ii 522, IEW 1140-2, LIV² 675, DIL s.v. fillid 135: 18, in-fill 252: 30.

iadaid ‘closes, fastens’
PIE *deh₂- ‘give’ (LIV²)
CC *-dā-

Würzburg: pass. fut. 3sg. rel. intain neidfider 32c13, Milan: VN (mu) iadad, gen. sg. ithiata 46a8.

The Celtic reflection of PIE *deh₂- was an athematic root with i-reduplication. This has been replaced by the verbal stem *-dā- in the same way as *-dī- replaced the original root in the case of creitid above (page 264). The basis of this *-dā- is the root aorist imperative *dā, which itself is also not an inherited formation (Schumacher). The original formation was compounded with *epi- (< PIE *h₁epi-dideh₂-), but has been reinterpreted as a simple weak verb.


legaid ‘melts away, dissolves’
PIE *?leg- or *?leğ- ‘drip, trickle’ (LIV²)
CC *leg-e/o- (Schumacher)

do·lega (‘destroys, abolishes’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) dolega 46d6, 62b20, impv. pass. sg. dilegegar 127b5, pres. subj. 2sg. ni derlegae 74d13 (2x), ni derlega 74d13, pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. dundamlegthar 126d10, sec. fut. 3pl. dusleichfititis 84c20, VN (n o) dilgend 112d5, dillegent 33c13, 48b1, 53d1, acc. sg. dilgent 83a12, gen. sg. dilgint 48b17, dat. sg. dilgiunn 33c15; legaid: Milan: VN legad 103c16, acc. sg. legad 94b3, gen. sg. legtha 38c9.

The continuants of this root inflect as a weak á-verb in Old Irish (Pedersen, Schumacher). This could possibly be under influence of légaid ‘reads’.

Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

mogaid ‘makes greater, increases’
PIE *meĝ-, *mê-je/o-
CC *mag-je/o- (Watkins)

Milan: part. mogthaë 110a2, 124c18.

Wodtko et. al. express doubt about whether this verb is in fact primary at all. However, there are no arguments for deriving it as a secondary verb.


loingid ‘eats, consumes’
PIE *(s)leṷg- ‘swallow, gulp’, nas. pres. *slú-n-g- (LIV^2)
CC *lu-n-g-


DIL derives this as denominative from long in the meaning of ‘container, cauldron’. LIV^2 gives it as a nasal present that took on weak flexion. I see two problems with DIL’s derivation. First of all, the semantic route from ‘container’ to ‘eats’ is not direct and in Old Irish this indirectness would have led to an -igidir verb, rather than an active verb. Secondly, although the relationship between verb and noun could be seen as iterative, ‘using a container repeatedly’ (thus motivating the flexion as AII), this stretches both the category of iterativity and the link between base and verb uncomfortably far. This is not impossible, but since there is another option available, namely deriving this verb from the primary root *(s)leṷg- ‘swallow, gulp’ as LIV^2 has done, the derivation from long is not necessary. Note that Pedersen gives strong subjunctive forms folló etc., which DIL gives as a completely different verb lúsaid.

Ped. ii 568, IEW 964, LIV^2 567-8, DIL s.v. 2. loingid 188: 47, 1. long 199: 21, lúsaid 248: 33.

oslaicid ‘opens, lets loose’

Milan: VN oslucud, acc. sg. oslucud 46b5.

Etymology contested, for details, see LEIA.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

Ped. ii 563-4, LEIA O-33, DIL s.v. oslaicid 165: 14, Sjoestedt 1925: 328, GOI §181.

**scaraid** (‘separates, parts’)

PIE *(s)kerH- ‘part, separate’ (LIV*)

CC *skara- (Schumacher)


Primary verb that has taken on weak flection (Schumacher). What Pedersen calls a Middle Irish innovation of the ē-future is already present in several Würzburg forms seen above, cf. McCone.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

Ped. ii 613, IEW 938-40, LEIA S-33-4, LIV² 558, DIL s.v. scaraid

†sechid ‘asserts, declares’
PIE *sekʰ- ‘say’ (LIV²)
CC *səkʰ- (Schumacher)

di·uschi ‘wakes, starts’: Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. rel. with infix.
pron. 3sg. m. diusgea 4a6, con·secha (‘corrects, reproves’): Würzburg: pres.
ind. 3sg. rel. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. ðe@cha som 7d10, (con)secha 26c1,
3pl. rel. ðe@chat 6a9, perf. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. marudehoiscset
28c7, perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. with emp. pron. 3sg. manirochocasom
28b28, impv. 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. nacoscid 26b29, pass.: pres. ind.
3pl. coscitir 22c10, coisctir 31b25, 3sg. or 3pl. osechta (from ðe@chtar)
22c20, Ped. II, 69; fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. cotob sechfider 9a23,
Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. ðe@chtar 57d14, perf. pass. sg. rocscad 49a5,
part. coiscthe, nom. pl. coiscthi 49a7, VN cosc 109c14, dat. pl. choscaib
41d11-12; do·dïuschi (‘awakens, brings back to life’): Würzburg: pass.: fut.
3sg. dodiusgibther 9d3, perf. 3sg. dorodiusgad 9d3, 21b6, impv. 3sg.
todiusgadar 5c18, Milan: past subj. 2sg. with infix. 1pl. dundiusgada 102c3,
perf. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. dundersaig 66c14; do·fásaig (‘announces’):
Würzburg: pass. perf. 3sg. dofersiged 7d11.

See discussion above, page 83.

Ped. ii 619-20, IEW 897, LEIA C-199, D-132, 141, S-62-4, LIV²
526-7, DIL s.v. do-fiuschi 266: 21, sichid 214:20-26, con-secha 460: 29, do-

séitid ‘blows, blows across’
PIE *sʰei-zd- ‘fizz, whistle’ (IEW, Ped.)
CC *sʰeizd-


Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. setir 38d18.
Based on the Old Irish, *sweizd- would be presumed, based on the Brittonic, *swizd-, cf. OCS vízdati, svistati, ‘nuīζεῖν’ (assimilated from *sweizd-). Irish sét is close in meaning with seth, to which it however cannot be related (Pedersen, LEIA). The primary root is tentative (note that it is not taken up in LIV\(^2\), nor are any of the cognates given in IEW) and a secondary origin can not be excluded for this verb, there is however no base to derive it from.


\*silid ‘drops, flows’

CC *sṷel-

do·fuisli (‘slips, stumbles’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. dufuisledar 30c10, fut. 3sg. nicontuislifea 27b18, VN tuisled 2d5; do·fochsla (‘seizes, carries off’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. doforchossol 13d27, 1pl. doforchosalsam 21b4. Milan: past subj. 3pl. tooxlaitsi 47a13; fo·coisle(a) (‘takes, abstracts’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. forróxul 27a19, Milan: perf. 3pl. forochsalsat 18d11, pass. sg. foroxlad 31a5, VN fochsal, foxal, dat. sg. difoxul 134a3.

Silid itself is not attested in Old Irish. It is originally strong with reduplicated future and preterite (see Pedersen & DIL). Silid is in IEW under root *sei-, *soi- (= *seh'i-) ‘trickles, runs’, but this root cannot be brought further back than Celtic. There is no reason for this to be secondary, since it inflects mostly strong and there is no suitable base to derive it from, but there are no appropriate Proto-Indo-European roots for it either. The preverbs of fo·fuisli are given by Pedersen, LEIA and DIL as *to-uts- with the -f- being inorganic, but there is no reason for this. Although it is not impossible for an inorganic -f- to develop this early, *to-fo-uts-sṷel- would also give OI do·fuisli. For do·fochsla, too, a root *sṷel- could be given. It is not clear if any of these verbs are directly related to each other, or indirectly. Do·fochsla could also be derived from sel ‘a turn’.

Ped. ii 621-3, IEW 889, LEIA D-146, S-78-9, DIL s.v. silid 226: 69, do-fuisli 277: 74, do-fochsla 270: 37, focioisle(a) 205: 60.
Appendix 1: Weak primary verbs

†sirid ‘ranges, traverses’
PIE *ser- ‘join things up in a row’ (LIV²)
CC *ser-

túirid (‘seeks, searches’): Milan: perf. 3pl. rutuirset 44d23.

Pedersen sees this as a deadj. < sir ‘long, lasting’, but the vowel is originally short (Bergin) so that is impossible.IEW registers sirid under *ser- ‘flows, runs’. This is followed by LEIA, but this root has been deconstructed and the various forms have been added to other roots by LIV.
Since there is nothing in Old Irish to derive this from, I do suggest this is primary, and would assign it to PIE *ser- ‘join things up in a row’ (LIV² 2.*ser-).


sluaid ‘swallows, engulfs’
PIE *sleyk- ‘swallow’, nas pres. *slu-né/n-k- (LIV²)
CC *slu-n-k-e/o- (Schumacher)

Cf. W lluncu, Br. lonkañ, MC loncaff.

Würzburg: perf. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. arnách rólca 14d21, pass. perf. 3sg. roslogeth (a prima manu) 13d24, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. sluicthi 76b5, rel. sluces 22b1, 3pl. slogait 123d3.

This was originally a nasal present verb, but since the nasal was lost through regular phonological processes, it was no longer regular as such and has been reinterpreted as a weak i-verb (Schumacher).

Appendix 2: Primary verbs

7 Appendix 2: Primary verbs

7.1 BI

**ad-eirrig** ‘repeats, reiterates’

PIE *rek- (LIV^2^ 506, IEW 863)

CC *-rek-e/o*


**ad-fét** ‘tells, relates’

PIE *مواد- (LIV^2^ 665-7, IEW 1125f.)

CC *مواد-e/o-


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54 The Common Celtic reconstructions are as given by Schumacher 2004. For details, s.v. the respective headwords there. Where Schumacher reconstructs *ϕ* for Common Celtic, this has been retained, although it is questionable whether this is appropriate at this time. See Isaac (2007c: 11-4, 62-4, 70-1).
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

pl. (rel.) adfiadatar 23a13, 46c14, 123d6, perf. 3sg. adcuaid 65a1, 110c5, 126b2, aniachduaid 123d4; asíndet (‘declares, tells’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. assindet 6a9, 11a18, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. assindetsom, 19b14, fut. 3pl. rel. asindisset 30d8; pass. pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n asindetdar 13a36, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) asindet 23c12, 40c20, 64c19, 65b14, 87d1, 100b8, 101a3, 102d16, 104c5, 108b6, assindet 95d3, (rel.) -aisndet 54a12, 103a1, rel. dianaisndet 54a20, asindet 41a3, 42b18, 94b3, 3pl. -aisndedat 31a19, rel. asindedat 42b7, pass. sg. asindedar 17a9, niaisndedar 119c1, assindethar 90b18, pl. asindetar 92e9, impf. 3sg. atininded 123b13, impv. 2sg. ainsndid 70c8, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. asnind. 23d2, rel. ainsindised 31a22, 2pl. ainsindid 115b11, 3pl. asindiset 23a19, past subj. 3sg. assindissed 131b1, with infix. 3sg. asindentidessel 42b18, fut. 1pl. asindisem 35a6, 3pl. asindisset 45b19, perf. 3sg. asrindid 25a10, 58a8, 64c10, 83d5, 107a12, pass. sg. asrindex 104c8, verb. nec. nom. pl. diasndisi 60b10, VN (f n, GOI § 730) ainsdis 14c19, 14d10, áisndís 14d03, acc./dat. sg. ainsdis 23c7, gen. sg. ainsdisen 93d12, dat. sg. ainsdis 42d10, 64d2, 66c2, ainsdis 65a1, ainsdis 76b7, nom. pl. ainsdisssi 16a13, 34b7, acc. pl. ainsdisnea 24b5, dat. pl. ainsdisib (dat. pl. not in DIL) 23a14, 27b6; doádbat (‘shows, displays’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n donadbat 3c21, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 3sg. m. daadbat som 24a7, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. tadbat som 4d10, tadbat som 10b21, tadbat som 13c26, 26c1, perf. 3sg. doárdbith 19c11, doárbdait 19c11, impv. 2pl. taiadbdid 14d22, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. doadbadar 3b20, 7a13, 7d10, 12a11, 12d20, 14d30, 23a13, 27d13, 29c4, (doad)adar 13b1, 3pl. doaidbdetar 27a27, perf. doárbas 3d21, 15a18, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. doadbat 19d17, 20a8, 39c22, 53b27, 94c10, duadbat 42b27, 47a17, 51c11, 62d9, 100c7, rel. donad(ba)it 15a2, rel. dunadbat 22c1, 77b6, 101a5, rel. dunadbat 89d6, (rel.) -tadbat 40a15, 56b33, 74d13, 100c3, 138c1, with infix. 3sg. ciadusnadbat 135b5, 3pl. with infix. 3sg. daadbat (Note Thes.: ‘The infixed pronoun anticipates the dependent clause’) 98c10, rel. dunaadhet 42c2, 138d12, pass. sg. duadbadar 40d3, 42c17, (rel.) -tadbadar 24d25, 32b18, 40c17 (2x), 40c22 (2x), 110d16, pres. subj. 2sg. condárbaits 101c6-7, pass. sg. condárbastar 95b6, past subj. 3sg. donadaset 20a9, pass. sg. rel. donadbaste 37b23, perf. 3sg. duarbuíd 46b28, duarbaid 46d15, 62c5, duárbaid 129c15, pass. sg. nad
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

tarbas 64d13, ní tárba 65d16, VN (f n) taidbsiu 42b9, acc. sg taidbsin 96b18, dat. sg. taidbsen 128c7, 128d11, taidbsin 39c22, 40b7, 51c22, 56c11, 62a2, 71c9, taidbsen 90b14, 94c10; inf ét (‘tells, relates’): Würzburg: perf. 2pl. rel. coneic did 24c17, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. inf(e)t 31b25, impv. 1sg. indiad (Note DIL: ‘cf. Ml. 35d11, but innadiad gl. proinde 63a7’) 103b11, past subj. (GOI §615) 1pl. infesmais 17d8, perf. 3sg. incuaid 123d7; *re miái·aisndet (‘tells beforehand, previously’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. remiaisándider (in DIL remiáisándider) 64c9.

†agaid ‘drives, impels’
PIE 1. *h2eğ- (LIV^2 255-6, IEW 4f.)
CC *ag-e/o-
   ad·aig (‘drives, impels (to)’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. rel. atomaig 10d26, with infix. pron. 2sg. rel. attotaig 6c16, with infix. pron. 2pl. rel. atobaich 9c20, atobaig 19d10a, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. 1pl. atannaig 93d12; imm·aig (‘drives around, drives’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. imdaaig 66d18.

aingid ‘saves, protects’
PIE ?*h1eğH- or ?*h1eğH- (LIV^2 231, IEW 290)
CC *aneg-e/o-
   aingid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. aingid 1d15, with infix. pron. 1pl. nonanich 16a4, 5, fut. 3sg. niain 25d14, with infix. pron. 3pl. nisnain 1d1, pret. & perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. rananacht 17d6; ad·anaig (‘escorts, conveys’): Würzburg: past subj. pass. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. atomanaste 14c20, Milan: past subj. 3pl. coadanastais 100c23, verb. nec. adnachtí, dat. pl. adnachtíb 33d7, VN adnacul 22a11, 22b1, dat. sg. adnacul 100c23; ad·indnaig (‘leads’): Würzburg: pass. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. atdomindnastar 7a5; do·indnaig (‘gives, bestows’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. and emph. pron. 3sg. m. donindnigsom 28a17, fut. 3sg. lasse donindin 13b29, perf. (with com-) 3sg. with rel. n donecomnacht 33d8, óre donécomnacht 1a1, tecomnacht 26d23, past subj. 1sg. with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. m. and emph. pron. 1sg. donindinisins 9b7, (with elision of infix. pron. 3sg. m.) manitindnised 4b13, 2pl. with elision of rel. n
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and infixed pron. 3sg. m. and emph. pron. 2pl. **dodnindastise** (= *dodnindnaste* si Ped. II, 456, cf. Add. & Corr., Thes. Pal. I, 725; leg. *dodnindnaste* J.S., Thes. Pal. I, 551 note c) 9b7; 551, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. *doindnagar* 16d14, with rel. n *donindnagar* 14b15 (bis), 16a11, 3pl. rel. *tindnagtar* 15c2, perf. (with com-) 3sg. *doécomnacht* 14c33, amal *donecomnacht* 25c26, with prep. and rel. *frisateícomnacht* 19c8, with rel. n (and -ro-) *dorrindnacht* 20d15, pres. subj. 3pl. *doindnasatar* 17a2, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *duindnaig* 59c11, 3pl. rel. *tinnagat* 93a20, pass. sg. *doindnagar* 103b13, pres. subj. pass. sg. -*duindnastar* 56a13, past subj. 3sg. rel. with inflix. 1sg. *duindnais* 78b18, fut. pass. sg. *doindnasatar* 46c20, pl. *doinnastr* 30c17, perf. 2sg. rel. *duneo*comnacht 56a18, 3sg. (du)*ecomnacht* 54c18, duécomnacht (DIL has this as 2sg., but Thes. translates it as 3sg.) 77c5, rel. donecomnacht 54c23, doe*comnacht* 54c26, rel. *duindnacht* 55c1, 96b5, rel. with inflix. 3sg. d(*un*)ecomnacht 69a16, part. thinnachtae 126d12, VN (n o) tindnacol, tinnacul 96d6, 105d10, acc. sg. tinnacul 93d6, gen. sg. tindnacul 55c1, dat. sg. tindnacul 15d6, 22d16, tindnacul 61b28, thinnacul 124c10.

**alaid** ‘nourishes, rears’

PIE *h₂el*- (LIV² 262, IEW 26f.)

CC **al-e/o-**

**alaid:** Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with inflix. pron. 3sg. m. *nodnai(l)* 5b28, with inflix. pron. 2sg. *not ail* 5b28, Milan: past subj. 1pl. *nonalmais* 104d6, perf. 3sg. rommalt 45c3, verb. nec. *áilti, ailti* 130c2, part. naltai 121c10.

**ar-eim** ‘accepts, receives’

PIE *h₁em*- (LIV² 236, IEW 310f.)

CC **-em-e/o-**

**ar-eim:** Milan: pres. subj. 3pl. coarfemat 15d4, impv. 2sg. eróim 132c15, fut. 3sg. *arfema* 105a8, VN (f n) airiti, eriti 59a15, acc. sg. eriti 29a15, dat. sg. airite 24a14, (?) eritnichi 132c15; **arfoim** (*accepts, receives‘): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *arfoim* 13c24, 3pl. arfoemat 34a6, fut. 3sg. with inflix. pron. 1sg. arfoimfe 31a3, perf. 1sg. with emph.
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pron. 1sg. arroiéitsa 6d14, 3sg. maarroéit 28d28, arróit 32d10, rel. araróit 9c10, and with emph. pron. 3sg. m. araróit som 4b19, araróéit 24a32, 1pl. rel. araróitmar 9c10, 2pl. aróítitd 13a30, 3pl. rel. nád arróímsat 26a23, Perfect. pres. subj. 3pl. rel. with emph. pron. 3sg. m. arna arroímsatsom 14d37, past subj. 2sg. with emph. pron. 2sg. ciarfémtha so 8d28, perfect. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. dianderóimtis 26a22, impv. 3sg. iroimed 6d4, pass. pres. subj. 3sg. arfemthar (MS arfenithar) 28c19, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. arafíomi 68a8, 3sg. (rel.) arafíom 17c7, 21c4, 29a3, pass. sg. honeroímer 17c7, 3pl. arafaímat 22b4, pres. subj. 3sg. (rel.) arafaíma 17c3, arfema 68d13, 3pl. eroímet 30d13, past subj. 3pl. arafaímtis 28c18, perf. 3sg. anarroéit 16a4, arróéit 17a8, arroét 17c7 (2x), araroáit 24d28, (rel.) arroet (Cf. McCone 1985: 93) 17c3, 25d11, 28d13, arároéit 25d10, arraroëit 25d11, -arroit 36a34, withinf 1sg. anaramroëit 131b8; con·eim (‘protects, preserves’, this compound not in Primärverben): Milan: perf. 3sg. xroíttatar 55c1, VN coímét (see also con·oi), gen. sg. chometa 55d6, dat. sg. comét 100c19, 100c21; do·eim (‘covers, shelters’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. doem 9d2, perf. 1sg. with rel. n and emph. pron. 1sg. dorreítsa 31a1, pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. dofema (= do-fema) 5d34, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. withnas dunem 112a5, 3pl. with nas donemát 39c22, pass. sg. duemar 87d15, with nas dunemar 39c7, with infix. 1pl. donemar 53b18, donemar 51d8, pl. neg rel. nad n dimter 100a5, impv. 2sg. with infix. 1sg. dunem 62d4, doneim 110d9, pres. subj. 2sg. with infix. 1sg. codumemaí 55b2, rel. dunemaí 93c18, 3sg. donema 23d3, 128b4, with infix. 1sg. dundamema (Note Thes.: “MS. dunamema: corr. Ascoli; dunamema is sufficient, cf. Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 56”) 87d11, with infix. 3sg. arinderoíma 39c22, neg with infix. 1pl. maníndimea 88c2, pass. sg. donemthar 112a2, withinf 1pl. dunnemthar 127c7, with infix. 2pl. codobemthar 53b15, past subj. 3sg. rel. donemthae 120c11, with infix. 3sg. xínderoímed 55d4, 1pl. dunemmaí 110b5, pass. sg. xdimthe 39c7, pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. innandimíthe fut. 1sg. (rel.) doemsa 37c19, 3sg. duema 53c2, 67c5, doemfèa (Cf. McCone 1985: 93) 128c8, pass. sg. with infix. 2pl. dobemthar 53b18, 3pl. with infix. pron. 2sg. dotemfèt 112c1, perf. 3sg. doret 16c8, with infix. 3sg. dundret 40b8, part. dite 103a4, 103c5, gen. sg. / nom. pl. nephditi 85d13, VN (f n) ditiu, acc. sg. ditin 19a14, 62b21, 83a8, ditin 47c18, dat. sg. ditin 37c15,
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67d9, 67d10-11, 76d9, 90d3, 101c14, dite 38b5, ditin 57c4, diten 85a4; *úad·deim (*uncovers’): Milan: perf. 3sg. huaderet 51d14-15.

**as·cid** ‘extends, stretches’
PIE *kei̭s9* (IEW 538)
CC subj. *keis-se/o-

**as·cid**: Milan: impv. 2sg. escse 65a4, pres. subj. pass. sg. ascesar 44a4, perf. pass. sg. asrochess 39c11, VN (f n) eiscsiu, escsiu 65a5; **·cessair** (*carries, brings forth’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. cochessair 51b25, pret. pass. 3pl. rocessa 114a6; **rem-ess-cid** (*stretches before’): Milan: past subj. 3sg. remiescsed (under this form in DIL) 33d20.

**as·gleinn** ‘investigates, examines’
PIE *gʰlendʰ* (LIV² 200, IEW 431)
CC *-gland-n-d-e/o-

**as·gleinn**: Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. neg rel. nadneclainn 64a4, 3sg. atgleinn 61a8, asglinn 70a12, with rel. asingleinn 105d9, 3pl. inglennat 137c2, impf. 1sg. asgleinn (Note Thes.: ‘leg asgleninn’) 96a4, pres. subj. ingléis 140c7, 3sg. rel. nad ecaill 56c8, verb. nec. ecailsì 15d7, 114b4, VN eclaìmm, acc. sg. eclaìn 114b15; **do·eclainn** (*picks out, selects’): Milan: VN teclaim, acc. sg. teclaim 35a13; **do·gleinn** (*selects, collects’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. dogleinnar 133b7; **fo·gleinn** (*studies, learns’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. (rel.) with infix. foglein 37b12; VN (n n) foglaimm, foglaim 14c10, 14c11; **for·diuclainn** (*devours, swallows’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. foründiuclannar (Note Thes.: ‘MS. for ṃ diuclannar’) 104b5, pres. subj. 3sg. arnachtsfordiucaill 36a32, 3pl. with infix. 1sg. fortamdiucaulset 44c32, fut. pass. pl. fordiugulscité 84d2, part. fordiucaîlse, nom. pl. fordiucaîlsi 134b5, VN fordiuclaimm 102a10-11, fordiuclaim 104b5, dat. sg. fordiuclaim 19d5, 75b4.

**at·bail(l)** ‘dies, vanishes, perishes’
PIE *gʰelh₁-* LIV² 208 (*gʰel-, *gʰel₃-, *gʰlē-* IEW 471f.)
CC *bal-ni-
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**beirid** ‘carries’

PIE *bʰer-* (LIV² 76f., IEW 128-32)

CC *ber-e/o*


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subj. 3pl. nobettis 16d4, impv. 3sg. berar 7b4, with infix. pron. 2pl. nachib berar 27a24, perf. forms with ro:- 1sg. rouiccius 9b6, 3sg. rouic 27a22, with infix. pron. 3pl. rosmuicc 5b3, with infix. pron. 1pl. ninruc 21b3, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. raucsat 26b11, Perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. rel. conrucca 12c32; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. berid 42b7, rel. beres 27c1, mberes 129e8, with infix. 3sg. n number 86d16, rel. with suff pron. 3sg. beirthi 42b7, 3pl. nodberat 16a17, no berat 16a18, neg. ni berat 103b16, pass. sg. berair 80c7, pl. bertair 26c6, pres. subj. 2sg. neg. ni berae 74d13, 94a1, 3sg. with infix. 3pl. nosbera 43a2, 3pl. comber(at) 20b11, -berat 54a28, pass. sg. (rel.) berthair 37a8, 37a10, berthir 37a8, fut. 3sg. rel. beraid 37a9, rel. beras 94b7, 3pl. neberat 54a23-24, 54a26, pret. 3pl. rel. bertar 127d6, rel. with infix. 3sg. nudabertatar 82d9, pass. sg. brethae 52 line 15, Perfective forms: pres. ind. 3pl. neg. nadrugat 75b3, pass. sg. ruucthar 35b10, past subj. pass. sg. ruucthae 104a8, pl. innaructais 125b7, rel. neg. arnaructais 125c2, perf. 3sg. rouc 99a2, with infix. 3sg. ráuc 45a1, rel. with infix. 3pl. rodaucai 46a19, 3pl. nadrucsat 23b5, -rcsat 54d16, with infix. 3pl. nisrucsat 44a15, pass. sg. rel. runucad 104a8, pl. ruuctha 102c7, verb. nec. with di dibrethe, dibirithi 58a16, VN (f a) breth 36c21, acc. sg. brith 16b5, 113d2, gen. sg. brith 33c13, dat. sg. brith 36c20 (used as nom.), 66c14, 73d2, 73d3, 103c15, acc./dat. sg. brith 95a11; ad-opair (‘offers up, sacrifices’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. with co", conidbarat 1b20, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. adobarar 11b12, adoparar 11b15, 20d13, with dem rel. anadobarar 10c3, with prep for and rel. part. foranidparar 5b6, 3 pl. rel. adopart.ar 10c1, imperf. 3sg. rel. adopart.he 15d20, perf. 3sg. with emph pron. 3sg. m adropredsom 15d20; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. 3sg. adidnopair 66b4, pass. sg. adopar 73a10, pl. rel. adobartar 60b17, perf. 3sg. adrobart 32b23, 3pl. adrobarar (Note Thes.: “MS. adrobartat”; DIL: adrobartat (sic MS.)) 14a16, pass. sg. atamroipred 44c17, VN (f a) idbart, edbart 87b8, acc. sg. idbairt 43c1, edbairt 92b9, dat. sg. edbairt 33a10, 73a10, nom. pl. edbarta 47c14, 70b4, gen. pl. edbart 60b17; ar-beir (‘lives, eats’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. arbirid 10c6, pres. subj. 2sg. rel. arambere 28c11, pres. subj. 2pl. rel. (with elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n.) airbirid 11b25, 3pl. ni arbarat 10c1, past subj. 3pl. ni airbertis 10b8, impv. 2sg. airbir 29a25, fut. 1sg. (with elision of infix. pron. -a-, 3sg. n.) niairbéer
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rel. ſeiper 33b7, 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. asberidis 5a31, with dem. rel. anasberid 5a8, 3pl. asberat 30c12, rel. 14a36, 29b12, asberat 17c6, with rel. n asmerberat 24a28, and infix. pron. 2pl. asdonberat 2a12, with dem. rel. anasberat 25c17, 28a2, imperf. ind. 3sg. with dem. rel. anasberer 15a18, 1pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. atbeirmis 26b19, 3pl. rel. asbeiridis 4c23, asbertis 25b27, fut. 1sg. rel. asbéer 32a22, ni épéer 32a20, 3sg. asbera 9a17, 26a6, rel. asbéra 12d6, 1pl. rel. asbéraram 17c23, 3pl. rel. asbérat 12d36, with dem. rel. anasbérat 12d12, perf. 3sg. rel. asrubart 4d16, 7c8, 18, 9c1, 10d2, 11b5, 25c20, 26a3, 27d27, 32c13, 32d2, asríbar side 10a26, with dem. rel. anasrubart 13d23, with prep. and rel. dianérbart 13c12, 1pl. rel. asrubartmar 8d26, 3pl. rel. asrubartatar 18d1, pres. subj. 1sg. with cia and emph. pron. 1sg. ciasberesa 16a24, rel. coniepersa 32a20, 2sg. rel. with emph. pron. 2sg. asbere siu 12d13, with ci and infix. pron. 3sg. n. ciatbera 5a28, with dem. rel. anasbere 30b10, 3sg. with ci ciasbera 22b23, and infix. pron. 3sg. n. ciatbera 12a4, with dem. rel. anasbera 12c32, 1pl. with rel. n and emph. pron. 1pl. asberammi 2a13, 2pl. with dem. rel. anasberaid 7d10, anasberith 12d3, perf. níerbarid 13c13, rel. with emph. pron. 2pl. ýébaridis 15d6, 3pl. with ci ciasbera 1d1, 26a1 27a27, with dem. rel. anasberat 28c1, rel. arnaepret 7d8, 30b17, perf. arnaerbarat 27c8, past subj. 1sg. with dem. rel. anasberinn 17b1, anasberin 14c23, 3sg. with ma ma asberad 13a13, rel. asberad 13a19, 1pl. with dem. rel. anasbermis 18a18; impv. 3sg. naepred 10a16. pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. asberar 9d5, 3c21, 6b7, 9b7, 22a6, rel. asberar 14c21, 16a17, with rel. n asmberar 9d5, 10b21 (bis), with dem. rel. anasberar 23c11, 27c14, asberr 21c7, with rel. n asmberr 33a18, with prep. and rel. dianeperr 21d4, 3pl. asberr 28a20, 30a3, perf. 3sg. rel. asrobrad 3c31, 5a4, 10d8, 12d26, with dem. rel. anasrobrad 33b16, nierbrad 32c8, pres. subj. 3sg. with ci ciasberthar 10a12, with dem. rel. anasberthar 5d14, rel. aranepethar (MS aranepetar) 5a5, perf. arna érbarthar 10d13, arnaerbarthar 31c7, 33b16, arnæ’rbarthar 29b2, past subj. 3sg. rel. with ci ciasberthe 15d20, cini eperthe 19a5, rel. arnaepethe 23d25; Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) asbeir 17b9, 17c6, 31b17, 45b9, 45d8, 46a12, 48b9, 50c5, 50d1, 51c3, 51d25, 53c13, 54a7, 54d4, 58b5, 61a23, 62a21, 62d13, 65b5, 83b13, 89d6, 90d19, 91a14, 91d7, 94a11, 94b15, 94c5, 96b18, 100c2, 102b1, 102b5, 126c1, 139a6, (rel.) asber
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22a8, 24d17, 27b9, 37b19, 40a15, 45b3-4, 46d3, 50d2, 51d25, 55d25, 56b33, 60a12, 61a23, 67c2, 67c2, 67d8, 74d7, 74d9, 89a8, 94a13, 101c13, 108c09, 114a293, 120d15, 126c10, 127d14 (x2), 145d4 with infix. 3sg. n asindber 25d12, asinbeir 27d22, asmbeir 25d18, 30b2, 34d5, 46d10, 53c11, 55c20, 55d11, 58a11 (2x), 67b2, 89a8, 102a15, 102c6, 129a2a, 130a6, 145d4, with infix. atbeir 46a11, assidbeir 130c3, with infix. 3sg. atbeir 56b3, atber 124b3, asmber 51b10, 56b3, 77d11, 107a11, ni eper 69a21, 1pl. (rel.) asberam 25d11, 25d12, 26a8, 34b5, 37b16, 3pl. (rel.) asberat 17b4, 17c7, 20c5, 21c11, 24d23, 24d25, 24d29, 25b5, 26c1, 34d6, 44c9, 56b15, 93d14, 129a2a, 130a6, 21c3, 133a10, dianaiperr 14d13, inepp 24d14, -epp 32c15, pl. asrobar (this form is given in DIL as asrobar preceded by a question mark) 17b23, asbetar 27b19, 123c8 rel. asmberdar 23a12, impf. 1sg. asberin 54c26, asberinn 91b10, 3sg. (rel.) asberad 32d5, 51b15, 53d6, 95b7, asbered 54c18, 54c23, 55c17, rel. with infix. 3sg. atberad 62c2, 3pl. asbertis 62c13, 95a5, 106d3, pres. subj. 3sg. (rel.) asbera 31d9, -airpred 33c17, past subj. 3sg. as-berad 59a7, asberad 67a8, 129b12, conepe 28b11, 36a32, 69a21, -ærbarad 31b20, 31b24, -epreid 70a6, 3pl. -epertais 28d8, coneper 136b4, rel. -asndarobartis 31b22, pass. sg. asberthae 77a6, epere 35a8, conepertis 65d13, fut. 1sg. asbær 91b10, 1pl. (rel.) asberam 14a9, 94a6, 131d1, 3sg. asbera 70c12, sec. fut. pass. nieperthae 127d14, pret. 3sg. asbert 16c10, with nas asmbert 58c6, 124d9, 3pl. rel. withinf 3sg. asindbertatar 124d9, perf. 1sg. (rel.) asruburt 50d7, -ørburt 44b19, with rel. infix. pron. asidrubart 3a15, with infix. 2sg. ciasidruburt 66c1, 3sg. (rel.) asrubart 15d2, 21d4, 32d5, 35a7, 35c26, 37b28, 43d1, 45a8, 48c10, 50b8, 51a19, 51d2, 53a17, 53b26, 53c16, 55c3, 62c1 (2x), 64d8, 65c6, 65c11, 66d15, 67b3, 73d4, 83b13, 89b2, 92a12, 94a13, 100c13, 101c4, 102d3, 112d2 (2x), 125c2, 131c14, asrubart 59a7, rel. with infix. 3sg. asinrobrad 50b8, 1pl. (rel.) asrubartmar 43b8, 37a14 (2x), 54a32, 111c9, 136c11, 3pl. asrubartatar 16c5, 24d4, 97d4, asrobarthar 20b2, withinf asinrubartatar 131d12, -ærbarat 29a4, pass. sg. (rel.) asrobrad 16a14, 31b24, 32c15, 33d12, 37b24 (2x), 45a9, 72b4a, verb. nec. eperthi 46a11, VN (f á) eper 15a2,
23a13, 31b12, 57c4, 72b3, etbert (Note Thes.: usually epert”) 83a5, acc. sg. epert 30c3, 31b24, 51a19, epirt 31b17, epirt 51d13, gen. sg. epertae 59a18, dat. sg. ebert 35c27, epert 36a32 (2x), ebirt 40c6, epirt 46a24, 48b16, acc. pl. eperta 26a2; con·beir (‘conceives, begets’): VN compert, gen. sg. combartae 71c6; do·aidbir (‘displays, shows’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 2pl. nitidbarid 3b11; Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. dunedbarar 123c4, nudetedbardar 19c18, pl. duaibdar 30b2, past subj. 3sg. donedbarad 23a4, part. (io, iä) tedbarthae, tedbarthe 47a5, nom. sg. with bas bastidbarthae 76a16, dat. pl. tedbartalb 45b6, verb. nec. tedbarthe 126d3; do·airbir (‘bends, bends down’): Würzburg: pass.: pres. ind. (or pres. subj.) 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. nimtharbarar 9c31, 3pl. doairbertar 22c10, with rel. n donairber(ta)r 25c23, impv. (or pres. ind.) 3pl. taibertar 25c23; Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. with nas dunerbarar 99d1, pres. subj. pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. dumerberther 49c3, pret. pass. pl. duairberthae 130c7, VN (f a) taibert, dat. sg. therbirt 46d2; do·beir (‘gives’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. dobiur 14a20, 16c4, with emph. pron. 1sg. dobiursa 27d8, 3sg. dobeir 1c15, 4d25, 6a11, 14, 12a7, 15a8, 21a13, 29a23, 29b5, 33c3, dobeir 15a6, 16a18, dober 14b15, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. dobeisorm 7d8, 12a6, 30a17, dobeisom 16d14, with rel. n dombeisom 5b42, las dombeir 7c4, amal dombeir 11c14, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. donbeir 5c24, with dem. rel. andobeir 10d28, nitabir 14b15, 16a1, with infix. pron. 3pl. nistabir 16a30, 1pl. doberam 13b15, 25d21, nitaibrem 15c9, with conjn. and neg. anataibrem 15d25, 2pl. doberid 24b19, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 2pl. daberidsi 24c16, 3pl. doberat 2a23, doberat 15b2, fut. 1sg. dober 12c35, 3sg. with rel. n domba 25d19, with infix. pron. 3pl. dosimbéra 13b30, 3pl. doberat 6b27, sec. fut. 2pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. dosimbért the 19d24, pres. subj. 2sg. nitaibre 29a22, 28, nitoibre 29a20, with prep. and rel. forataibre 29a23, 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. manithobrea 4c20, 2pl. with rel. n and emph. pron. 2pl. dom beraidsi 8d21, with elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n. donberaisdi 16c9, nitaibrid 6c1, with conjn. and elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n. arintaibrid 7b3, past subj. 3sg. rel. doberad 18a3, 32a12, 2pl. ciado berthe 15d8a, impv. 3sg. taibred 5d16, 22b7, 27c28, nataibred 6b11, 27b12, with elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n. (leg.) nách thaibred or elision of infix. pron. 3sg. f. nacha taibred (MS nách
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taibred) 5d16, 1pl. taibrem 13d15, 2pl. taibri 16c17, taibrith 6a20, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. doberr 3c1, 28c4, with prep. and rel. diatabarr 17a3, aratobarr 12d29, 3pl. dober tar 10d20, imperf. ind. 3sg. doberthe 10d16, fut. 3sg. doberthar 1d21, 16a13, doberthar 27d13, with rel. n domberthar 25d12, nitberthar 18b11, pres. subj. 3sg. doberthar 8d18, 13a3, perfect. forms from *to-rat-. perf. 1sg. doratus 8c6, 3sg. dorat 4b10, (do)rrat 14c38, with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) darrat fessin 28b4, dorat 4c35, 6d7, 31b19, with enclitic doratside 23c17, 1pl. doratsam 13d15, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 2pl. daratsidsi 24b21, 3pl. nitartsat 24b20, ní tartissed 1b17, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 3pl. nithartsatsom 24b20, perfect. pres. subj. 1sg. with conjn. and emph. pron. 1sg. aratartsa 14d17, 3sg. with conjn.s arna tarta 11b18, àdarta 28b31, 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. ciadorattid si 16c11, pass.: perf. 3sg. doratad 21c3, rel. doratad 4a18, 19b15, 21c17, 22a19, doradad 23c16, with rel. n intain doratad 28d9, (gem.) dorratad 19c6, 28b6, duratad 33b8, perfect. pres. subj. with conjn.s aratatar 15a19, condartar4a18, 20c24, perfect. forms from *to-ucc-, perf. 1sg. with rel. n and emph. pron. 1sg. donuccussa 30a11, 3sg. with rel. n donuc 10d37, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. tuicsom 21d1, ni tuicsom 23a10, nitucsam 29b14, with dem. rel. and encl. atucside 24b25, impv. 2sg. natuc 10a30; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. nitucthar 27d22, perf. 3sg. tuccad 24b26, 28a3, with prep. and rel. diatuccat 12b12, pres. subj. 3sg. with interrog. in inducattar (d = nas. t) 9b19, Forms from do-ucci, “understands” pres. ind. 3sg. tucci 12c26, 12d42, nitucci 12d6, with infix. pron. 3pl. dosnucci 22c1, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. daucci 13a8, nithucci 12d11, nithucci 12c46, and with encl. 3sg. m. dahucciside 12c21, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nithuccat 12c20, nithucat 15a34, and with rel. n amal donuccet 8a14, fut. 3sg. tucfa 12d12, (tucfa) 15b1, nitucfa 12d3, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nitucfa 13a7, 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 2pl. daucfaid si 21c12, perf. 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. nitucsidsi 12a3, 3pl. nitucsat 15a32, nadtucset 15a29, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 3pl. nithucatsom 8a10a, with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. and encl. 3pl. amal (MS am) donuccatsidi 21d7, pres. subj. 2sg. with conjn.s aratuccce 28d7, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. condituccce 30a19, 3sg. aratucca 27b27, 1pl. with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. donuccet 24a22, 2pl. with conjn.s aratucid 32a3, conducaid (d =
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nas. t) 21a8, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. conidtuccid 21c11, past subj. 1sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. nistuccin 12d25, 1pl. with conjn. and infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph. pron. 1pl. condidtucmisi 20d17, 3pl. with conjn. and infix. pron. 3sg. n. condidtuctis 21c21, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. nítucthar 12c46, 3pl. nítucatar 12c43, fut. 3sg. nítuccfither 8a5; Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. dobiur 58d5, 2sg. rel. dubir 105d4, 111c13, airdubir 110d13, rel. dombir 87a7, with infix. 1sg. dombir 45a14, 111c13, neg. nitabair 63c13, rel. dumbir 88a4, -tabair 91a17, 106c12, 3sg. (rel.) dobeir 51b8, 103c12, (rel.) dober 16b12, 46c17, 49b7, 51c2, 51d5, 51d10, 78b12, 90a7, 121c16, 126b4, 127d10, (rel.) duber 65b10, 89d6, 90b13, 109a01 (2x), duber 77a2, 77b11, 77d3, 77d5, (rel.) with infix. 3sg. dodbeir 35c23, rel. domber 44b10-11, 101c6-7, 114d11, 126d4, dombeir 51c12, 48c34, 104c4, 107c16, 111d4, 116d3, rel. dumber 74d13, neg. nitabair 21b2, 51d2, nitaiber 51d5, rel. neg. nad tabair 91a20, 93c10, (rel.) with infix. 3sg. dabeir 47a14, 51d10, with infix. dosber 49b7, rel. dumbeir 62c5, 1pl. domberam 21a8, (rel.) doberam 37a10, -taibrem 37a10, 3pl. rel. duberat 69a11, 69a13, 85d5, -taibret 45a3, with inf. 1sg. domberat 124c16, pass. sg. doberthar 19b11, dober 51b23, dober 56b11, with inf. 1sg. dombertar 45b5, (rel.) -tabarr 30a9, 35b16, 35b18, (rel.) duberr 42a15, duber (Note Thes.: “rectius duberr”) 77d3, doberar 46b1, 60b19, 132a8, duberar 105d6, (rel.) -tabar 54a2, pl. toberar 25b6, (rel.) dobertar 27b15, 37a12, 37a14, 55d19, with nas. dumbertar, 69b1, rel. dubertar 81c4-6, neg. airmatabartar 101d6, impv. 2sg. tabair 27c12, 87d12, 93c15, 3sg. taibred 127b6, impf. 2sg. dubertha 130d15, 3sg. (rel.) doberad 35c23, duberad 55d11, 118c6, nitaibred 118b6, 56a13, 3pl. dobertis 54c30, dubertis 89a2, rel. dombeirtis 90d17, pass. sg. doberethe 83d9, 115a14, pl. dubertis 84c9, pres. subj. 2sg. doberae 106c1, rel. domberae 94d4, with infix. 3sg. dundaberæ 50c3, 3sg. dumbera 40c21, -taibred 32d5, -taibrea 93a9, 3pl. duberat 73d12, dumberat 40c21, pass. sg. with infix. domberthar 24d14, past subj. 3sg. doberad 35c26, -taibred 35c26, coniataibred 109c14, with nas dumberad 40c17, pass. sg. tabarthe 36a1, -tabarthaes 40d20, pl. dobertais 90a14, fut. 2sg. doberae 44a20, rel. domberae 55b13, int intibëræ 77a17, 3sg. dober 34d5, 90c14, rel. dombera 27a6, 30d25, 51b10, 57c4, rel. dumberæ 100d5, pass. sg. doberthar 24c2, 28a10, 33a9, doberær 118d22, duberthar 28a10, 66b3, pl. rel. dubérthar

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72d18, sec. fut. 3sg. domberad 108a5, neg. with infix. 3pl. nandatiberad 97d10, 3pl. with inf. 3pl. nondabértais 124b6, pass. pl. nitibertais 15c7, pret. 2sg. dobirt 56a13, 3sg. dobert 23b10, 58c4, rel. dombert 23b7.

Perfective forms: From *to-rat-: pres. ind. 3sg. -tarti 51b7, impf. 3sg. xdartad 77a7, 98b8, 3pl. neg ni taircitis 98c2, rel. neg nadtardatis 85d5, pres. subj. 2sg. diatar 89c5, 3sg. durata 57a13, 2pl. diatartaid 83b11, pass. pl. arnachontartar 127a14, perf. 1sg. doratus 103a6, 2sg. doratais 43d18, 44a14, doratis 56a15, duratais 56b24, (rel.) duratis 80b2, 92c8, 3sg. (rel.) dorat 22d19, 23c7, 25c11, 35d03, 37d3, 54c16, 118d19, 136c11, durat 40b8, 48a21, 91a21, 94c17, -tarat 36a1, 90c18, 91a21, 3pl. doratas 115b8, rel. duratsat 82c8, dorratsat 113d7, with infix. 3sg. daratsat 73b17, with infix. 3pl. dosratsat 44a14, pass. sg. (rel.) doratad 24d31, 34a23, 37a16, 44b19, 44b29, 46b26, 47a18, 53d2, 138a6, perf. 1sg. doratus 103a6, 2sg. doratais 43d18, 44a14, doratis 56a15, duratais 56b24, (rel.) duratis 80b2, 92c8, 3sg. (rel.) dorat 22d19, 23c7, 25c11, 35d03, 37d3, 54c16, 118d19, 136c11, durat 40b8, 48a21, 91a21, 94c17, -tarat 36a1, 90c18, 91a21, 3pl. doratas 115b8, rel. duratsat 82c8, dorratsat 113d7, with infix. 3sg. daratsat 73b17, with infix. 3pl. dosratsat 44a14, pass. sg. (rel.) doratad 24d31, 34a23, 37a16, 44b19, 44b29, 46b26, 47a18, 53d2, 138a6, duratad 102c7, 104b2, daratad (Note Thes.: “rectius doratad”) 25a1, nitardad 63d5, rel. forsatardad 80d4, rel. aratartad 90a7, pass. pl. dorata 54c17, 59a18, 82c8, 90c25, -tarta 40a13, From *to-nce: pres. ind. 3sg. tuic 30c5, duuic 40c22, pass. sg. tuucthar 42c2, duucthar 51c24, impf. 3pl. tucais 125d13, past subj. 3sg. neg withinf 3pl. asnachatucad 125b7, perf. 1sg. neg. nitucus 91c1, 2sg. tuucais 56a13, 3sg. donuic 16b12, douic 18c5, duuc 136c1 (no glide), (rel.) duuic 25d18, 84c24, 111b15, duduccai (GOI 678) 27d23, duuic (this form not in DIL) 30b10, (rel.) tuic 48c19, 51c30, 62a2, 63c9, 67a8, nituic 51d2, rel. with infix. 3sg. duucnuic 44d14, -tuc 40c17, with infix. 3sg. dauc 38c1, 38e3, damauc 38c4, dauic 50b8, withinf 3pl. dodauic 131c14, rel. fuantuic 35a9, fuantuc 38c5, (rel.), rel. tumuic 51c26, neg ni tuucc 98c11, 3pl. with infix. 1pl. dunnucsat 92d1, pass. sg. rel. duucad 56c11, tuuccad 71c9, Forms from do-ucci, “understands”: pres. ind. 3sg. -tucai 42c7, with infix. 3pl. dusnucai 42c12, 3pl. -thuccai 42c8, citidtucat 125d4, pass. sg. duuucathar 55a10, nadtucctar 112d7, pres. subj. pass. sg. rel. dumsuccthar 79d2, past subj. pass. sg. conducthe 51d1, perf. 3pl. neg. nadtucctas 75d10, nitucctas 75d10, verb. nec. thabarthis 22a4, VN tabairt 2b10, 42c13, 67c2, 76b7, tabart 35b17, 51d2, 54a4, acc. sg. tabairt 30a9, 30a10, 30a12, 34c11, 44d6, 54b22, 55a19, gen. sg. tabarthis 25b12, 112d1, tabartae 73b8, dat. sg. tabairt 22c14, 23b12, 24c1, 26d14, 27b15, 42c33, 49b6, 53a23, 53d13, 54a4, 54b30, 57d16, 62a4, 72b25, 76d9, 103d16,
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Appendix 2: Primary verbs

**canaid** ‘sings, recites’

PIE *kan*- or *kan*- (LIV² 342f., IEW 525f.)

CC *kan-e/o-

**canaid**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel.: **acanas** 27b27, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. **chanas** 24d14, 3pl. rel. **trissacantar** 122c2, pass. sg. **cianudchanar** 135a6, impf. pass. sg. **nocainte** 102c8, perf. 3sg. **rocachain** 48b11, pass. sg. **ro-cet** 2b6, rel. **rochet** 44b4, rel. (cf. McCone 1985: 96) **ruchét** 64a13, pass. pl. (rel.) **roceta** 30a9, **nadrocheta** 115b4, verb. nec. **cheta** 126c4, VN **cétal** 60a12, **cetul** 40d7, acc. sg. **cetul** 24d14, dat. sg. **cetul** 33b7, gen. pl. **cetul** 72a2; **ar·cain** (‘sings, recites’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. **aracain** 64c14, pass. pl. **arcantar** 66c7; **con·cain** (‘sings, utters in harmony’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. **xcanat** 32c17; **do·airchain** (‘foretells, prophesies’): Würzburg: pret. & perf. 3sg. **tairchechuin** 4c40, 4d8, 3pl. **nadtairchechnatar** 5a1, pass.: pret. & perf. 3sg. **doairchet** 6b26, **doarchet** 4d4, 26a11, **doarchet** 5a16, 6d8, with rel. n **donairchet** 13a36, **donairchet** 29c3, **tarrchet** 26d9, **tairrchet** 26d9, 7a2, with dem. rel. **atairchet** 15a34, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. and**unairchain** 15d10, **doerchain** 21a7, rel. **duerchanar** 111d4, 3pl. rel. **donerchanat** 19b11, impf. 3sg. rel. **donerchanad** 54c24, pret. 3sg. rel. **dunairchechainn** 64c22, **dunarchechainn** 64c22, with infix. 3sg. **dundarchechainn** 66c12, pass. sg. (rel.) **duaircet** 24d5, rel. **doairchet** 35b9, perf. 3pl. (rel.) **taircheta** 38c9, part. **terchanta**, dat. sg. **terchantu** 24d6, VN (n o) **tairchetdil, terchital** 64c22, gen. sg. **tairchitiil** 89b10, dat. sg. **taircitiil** 54c30, acc. pl. **tercita** 19b11; **do·inchain** (‘chants, utters’): Milan: pres. subj. 3pl. rel. **duninchanat** 76a18; **for·cain** (‘teaches, instructs’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. **forchanim** 8c3, **forchun** 10a13, 3sg. with emph. pron., 3sg. m. (for)cain som 27c8, rel. **forchain** 5d10, 8c2, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. **forchain som** 27b27, with infix. pron. 1pl. **fordoncain** 31c16, **ni forcain** 11c19, 3pl. rel. **forchainat** 20c20, 28c16, 29a11, 12, 30c12, 31b17, fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 2pl. **fordub cechna** 9a16, pres. subj. 2sg. rel. **forcane** 28c11, 21, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. **didforcane** 28d13, 3sg. rel. **forchana** 31b10, 2pl. rel. **forcanit** (a prima manu; = forcanith) 12c18, impv. 3sg. **forcanad** 12d41, 22c8, 2pl. **forcanid** 22d1; pass. pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n and infix. pron. 2pl. **forndobcanar** 3b23, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.)
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forcain 128d9, 129c9, forchain 35d7, 67b3, 136c11, with infix. fordacain 30d12, 3pl. (rel.) forcanat 28a15, rel. forchanat 45b15-16, pass. sg. forcanar 50d12, 82c8, pl. forcantar 34b12 impf. 1sg. forchanainn 54c31, pres. subj. 1sg. -farca(n) 68c15, 3pl. co farcanat (in DIL forcanat) 45b18, past subj. 1sg. forcanainn 94b13, fut. 2sg. forcechnae 114b11, perf. 1sg. forroichansa 17d1, 2sg. fortanroichan 22c3, 3sg. forrochain 68b8, 3pl. with infix. 1pl. fortanroichechnatar 63b1, part. foircthe 23b12, 35d6, 111c19 nom. pl. foircthi 16b4, 132a4, VN (n o) forcet, forcital 70d7, gen. sg. forcitil 19b17, dat. sg. forcitul 35b12, 42d5, 61d3, forcital 49a6, gen. pl. forcital 35b15, 47d11, dat. pl. foircthib 68c14; *remi·cain (‘sings beforehand (prophetically)’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. remicanar 67b11.

céilid ‘hides, conceals’ (prim B1)
Pf 1. *k̂el- (LIV² 323f., IEW 553f.)
CC *kel-e/o-

céilid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with emph. pron. 3sg. m. níceilson 4d16, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. nicheil 5b5, Milan: impf. 3pl. with infix. nudachéiltis 61a2, pres. subj. 3pl. with infix. 3pl. nudachelat 54c9, VN cleth, dat. sg. chlíthon 87d8, chlíth 100a7, acc. pl. cletha 59a9; con·ceil (‘hides, conceals’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n actmachotchela, Milan: pres. subj. 1sg. concela 101a1, 2sg. rel. chonchelae (Note Thes.: ‘chon over the line: rectius choncelae; if a relative form comes after cia, chon-chelae may be sound, cf. Celt. Zeitschr. IV. 61’) 106c14, past subj. 3sg. rel. schelad 114c3 perf. 3sg. with inf.? conaicelt 49c9; do·aircheil (‘restricts, withholds’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. arataircheila 9d1; do·ceil (‘conceals, denies’): Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. nadndichil 56c11, pass. sg. (rel.) duceltar 111b11, VN (f ä) dichleth, acc. sg. dichlid (this form not in DIL) 59a9.

cingid ‘steps, paces’
Pf *s)keng- or *(s)ken- (LIV² 555 IEW 930)
CC *keng-e/o

Milan: VN (n n) céim, cémim 41d7 (this form not in DIL), acc. sg. céim 19a3, nom./acc. pl. ceimmen 22a7.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

**Cladaid** ‘digs, excavates’
PIE **kelh₂d⁽ʰ⁾**- (*kelh₂- LIV² 350, IEW 546f.)
CC *klad-e/o

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. *anadeladat* 112b2, **do-claid** (‘digs up, uproots’):
Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. *dusclaid* 102a15; **fo-claid** (‘digs under, digs up’): Milan: perf. 3sg. *foroichlait* 24c18.

†**Clichid** ‘stirs?’
PIE ?, CC *kṷlek⁽ʷ⁾-
CC *kṷlik⁽ʷ⁾-e/o-


**Con-icc** ‘can, is able’
PIE *h₂-nek-*, *nek- (IEW 316-8)
CC *-an-n-k-e/o-

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2pl. rel. nád cóimnacaid 9b10, 3pl. rel. nad commactar 8a14, pres. subj. 2sg. cechonis 10a21, past subj. 1sg. ni cuimsin 17b1, 1pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. machotismis 25a1, 3pl. nicuimsimmis 17c18, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. -cumcu 18b5, 3sg. ônic 24d14, with infix. 3sg. ni chumgat 92c14, 3pl. -cumcat 23a5, 41d15, 57c5, 60b6, -cumgat 54b12, 94b3, 107a8, with infix. ni chumgat 56c7, connacumgat 76a19, with infix. 3sg. nand chumgat 94b3, annadcumget 112b16, rel. nadchumgat 121c22, impf. 3pl. rel. ónacumgaitis 102a9, pres. subj. 3sg. -cumai 31c9, 32d15b, 3pl. -cumgat 54b12, 94b3, 107a8, with infix. 3sg. -cumcat 23a5, 41d15, 57c5, 60b6, -cumgat 54b12, 94b3, 107a8, with infix. ni chumgat 56c7, connacumgat 76a19, with infix. 3sg. nand chumgat 94b3, annadcumget 112b16, rel. nadchumgat 121c22, impf. 3pl. rel. ónacumgaitis 102a9, pres. subj. 3sg. -cumai 31c9, 32d15b, 3pl. -cumgat 54b12, 94b3, 107a8, with infix. 3sg. -cumcat 23a5, 41d15, 57c5, 60b6, -cumgat 54b12, 94b3, 107a8, with infix. ni chumgat 56c7, connacumgat 76a19, with infix. 3sg. nand chumgat 94b3, annadcumget 112b16, rel. nadchumgat 121c22, impf. 3pl. rel. ónacumgaitis 102a9, pres. subj. 3sg. -cumai 31c9, 32d15b, náchum 87d13, 3pl. ónacumset 39c26, past subj. 3sg. -cuimsed 33b21, fut. 1sg. -cumgub 49c5, 3pl. -cumgubat 54a19, sec. fut. 3sg. ôicfed 14a6, -cumgaibed 42c32, pret. 3sg. conicoimnacuir 116c5, conanacuir 119d7, rel. nad coimnacuir 97d4, 97d5, 97d10, 1pl.-coimnacmar 53d9, 135d4, 3pl. nichoimnactar 19c5, 135d4, rel. nadchoimnactar 66d6, perf. 3pl. nad coimnactar 76a5, ni commactar 76a7, VN cumang 60d3; con·ricc (‘meets, encounters’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. ôricc 7d9, fut. 3sg. rel. frissacomricfea 12c35, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. (conco)muir 24a17, 1pl. rel. ćomairsem 33a9, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with fris frissacomraic 48d1-2, 69a18, 3pl. rel. with fris frisacomracat 69a19, rel. with fris frisa comracat 69a23, past subj. 3pl. cocomairsitis 119d12, perf. 3sg. conranaic 52 line 17, past subj. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. conmaired 39c15, VN (o) conrac, gen. sg. chomraic 75a1; con·teemaing (no translation in DIL): Milan: past subj. 3pl. chuntecmaistis 102a24; do·airicc (‘comes’): Würzburg: pret. & perf. 3pl. donarnactar 7b13; do·ecmaing (‘hits, strikes’): Würzburg: pret. & perf. 3sg. tecommnocuir 10a4, past subj. 3sg. doecmoised 5d26, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. doecmaing 5a4, 3pl. rel. doecungat 63c8, pres. subj. 3sg. nadnecai 15d5, VN tecmang 35d22, teemaing 54a31; do·fuiric (‘finds, comes upon’): Würzburg: fut. 3sg. dofuircifea 25b16; do·ice (‘comes to, approaches’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 2sg. with conjn. and infix. pron. 3sg. n. condid ticci 24b5, fut. 3sg. with rel. n and infix. pron. 3sg. n. intain dondicefa 5c5, (with elision of rel. n) dodicefa 29c4, with infix. pron. 3pl. dosnicfa 5c5, with conjn. artiefa 4d6, sec. fut. 3sg. with rel. n donicfad 21a3, pret. & perf. 3sg. tánice 30d11, tanice 3a7, nuie tanice 7c7, with anaph. pron. 3sg. m. tanicecsid 4d26, with conjn. ćanice 3a1, ćanice 29b2, ćianice (d = nas. t) 3c27, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. ćidtanice 12b34a,
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

with infix. pron. 2pl. ōdubtanicc 5c10, with infix. pron. 1sg. donanicc 12c9, with infix. pron. 1pl. nǐntānicc 1d1, and with infix. pron. 1pl. only hōre dumnānic 25a21, pres. subj. 3sg. with conjs cotī 8d25, 26a5 (bis), oti 26a11, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3pl. arnachatisat 17d10, past subj. 3sg. with conjs resiu tised 27c8, ɔdised (d = nas. t) 25a6, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. conditised 21a1, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. manithised 4c15, (with only len. remaining) nachthised 26a12, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infn 3pl. doda-ic 123d3, with nas dunnic 69a20, impf. 3sg. -tisc 41d9, past subj. 3sg. -tissed (this form not in DIL) 27c4, with infix. 3pl. dodaissed 39c15, fut. 3pl. dundicfet 19b11, sec fut. 3sg. neg nad ticfed 46a19, with infx. 2pl. nachabticfed 46a14, 3pl. rel. duncifitis 68a1, pret. 3sg. tanaic 35d1, 82d9, with infix. 3pl. dudaānaic 123c3, pret./perf. 3sg. with infix. 1pl. nīntanīc 14d04, 37a15, VN (f n) tichtu, acc. sg. tichtain 34d12, tichtin 60a12, dat. sg. tichtin 39d3, diチin (Note Griffith: “leg. diチin”) 90c22; for-cumaing (‘happens, comes into being’): Würzburg: pret. 3sg. forcomnucuir 22b8, forcomnucuir 22b8, farcomnucuir 19c3, rel. forcomnucuir 28c14, forchomnucuir 3d25, forchomnucuir 11c15, rel. hiforcomnucuir 28b6, past. subj. 3sg. forcuimsed 4d8, Milan: pret. (GOI §688) 3sg. forcomnacair 131c14, forcomnacuir 16c5, 3pl. forcomnactar 97a5, 145d8, rel. forchomnacuir 16c5, 67c18, forchumnaccuir 113d3, part. formachtae, nom. pl. formachti 34a10; fo·ricc (‘comes across, finds’): Würzburg: pret. 3sg. with rel. n hore fonairnicc 16b2, nifarnic 2a21; imm·airicc (‘concerns, suits’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) immeairicc 35a7, 73a11, 74b1, 74d13, immeairicc 72d9, 74d13, 103b7, immairicc 74d13, 119d5, commairicc 133c4, imminndairicc 35a7, 3pl. rel. with infix. 3sg. immindairicc 2b5, 2d4, immairicc 17b20, rel. with infix. 3sg. masc immindairicc 25c15, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. immanairicc 14d16, rel. immenairicc 27b12, rel. connamanairicc 54b10, pret. 3sg. immemeanairicc 24d5, 3pl. mainmidarnactar 17b19; imm·rice (‘happens, befalls’): Würzburg: (with petrified infix. pron. 3sg. n.) Sec. fut. 3sg. nimiriccfed 4b13, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. commari 5d37; ro·icc (‘comes, reaches’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. roiccu 23d9, rel. ani rico 32a4, niriccim 12a33, 2sg. corricci 9a9, conricci 9a9, oricci 31b13, orici 33b18, 3sg. rel. nādice 12a34, 1pl. ni recam 15d1, fut. 1sg. with rel. nronicub 18b14, with emph. pron. 1sg. rICCUBSA 9a19, mos rICCUBSA 28c9,
Appendix 2: Primary verbs


**con·rig** ‘binds together, ties’

PIE *reig- or *reig- (LIV² 503, IEW 861f.)

CC 2. *-rig-e/o-

Appendix 2: Primary verbs

con·tuit ‘falls together’
PIE 1. *(s)teṷd- (LIV2 601, IEW 1033f.)
CC *-tud-e/o-

**con·tuit**

dligid ‘is entitled to, has a right to’
PIE *dʰlegʰ- or *dʰleɡʰ- (IEW 271f.)
CC *dlig-e/o-


do·bruinn ‘flows, trickles’
PIE ?*bʰrendʰ- (LIV2 95, IEW 167f.)
CC *bran-n-d-e/o- or *brend-e/o-


do·essim ‘sheds, pours’
PIE *semHʰ- (LIV2 531, IEW 901f.)
CC *-sem-e/o- and *-sem-de/o-

Appendix 2: Primary verbs

pl. rel. dunesmiter 54b6, past subj. pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. dummesmide 44c11a, part. (io, ia) teiste, ærtheste 58d10, gen. sg. testi 43b4, acc. pl. testiu 55a16, gen. pl. teste 77a18, VN (f n) teistiu, acc. sg. testin 37c6, gen. sg. testiu 22b1, dat. sg. teste 30b7, thestiu 37c4; do·fuissim ('pours out, pours forth'): Würzburg: pass. fut. 3sg. dofuisémthar 4c7, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dofuisssim 111a13, pass. sg. dofuissimar 44a11, perf. 3 sg. duforsaisset 110a8 (Note Thes.: ‘leg. dufórásaisset (cf. roásaiset, Ml. 2ab), the glossator mistaking creauere for creuere? Windisch, leg. dofors[attār .i. imforlang]isset? Thurneysen’, but cf. Mccone 1985: 93), (rel.) doforsat 17b2, 17b6, rel. with infix. dudaforsat 94b7, pass. pl. rel. aratorsata 42b13, rel. hitorsata 99a8, part. (io, ia) tuiste, nom. pl. tuaist 40a8-9, VN (f n) 2. tuaistiu, gen. sg. tuisten 42c16, tussten 85b14, dat. sg. tuistin 19d1, 74a11, 85b16, 99a8, *fo·tessim (no transl. in DIL): Milan: past subj. pass. sg. neg arna forthingride 85d8.

do·fil ‘is coming, is at hand’
PIE 3. *ṷel- (LIV 2 675, IEW 1136f.)
CC *ṷel-e/o-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. dofeil 26a1, dofil 4d29.

do·formaig ‘increases, amplifies’
PIE *meh₂k- (IEW 709)
CC *mak-e/o-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. ardoformach 1b5, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. doformaig 55c20, impv. 2sg. tómaig 105d4, pres. subj. pass. sg. diatormastar 20a19, cenitormastar 20a20, fut. pass. sg. duformaster (DIL gives this as duformastar) 105a8, sec. fut. 3sg. doformised 35a17, perf. pass. sg. durormacht 90d1, verb. nec. tromchait 88a14, VN tormach 2a15 (2x), 97c2, acc. sg. tormach 83b2, dat. sg. thormuch 16c10, 51d10, 54a14, 60a1, 61c3, 76a5, 94c5, 96b7, tòrmuch 43d27, tormuch 44d18.

do·im(m)na ‘commits, entrusts’
PIE *neυ- (LIV 2 455f., IEW 767)
CC ?*-neυ-e/o-
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

Milan: perf. pass. sg. doimmarnad 34a6, VN (n io) timne, acc. sg. atimnae 115c2, acc. pl. thinmae 74d5, gen. pl. timnae 46c4, 51b20.

do·infet ‘blows, breathes’
PIE **sṷejsd- (IEW 1040f.)
CC *sṷisd-e/o-

do·infet: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n doninfet 4b3, with emph. pron. 3sg. m. tinfetsom 4b4, 1pl. with rel. n hore doninfedam 14d32, pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. mani thinib 4a27; pass.: perf. 3sg. dorinfess 30d1, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. withnas duninfet 41d17, perf. 3sg. rel. durinfid 96c4; fris·tinfet (‘blows against’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. fristinfet 28b8.

do·seinn ‘pursues, drives’
PIE *senh₂- (LIV² 532f., IEW 906)
CC *san-na-

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. with infix. 1sg. dumseennat 39c28, impv. 3sg. toibned 44a13, impf. 3sg. (rel.) duseinned 41d10, pass. sg. dusente 142b4, pres. subj. 1sg. dusésa 61c16, past subj. 1sg. dusesáinn 41c5, pret. 3sg. rel. with infix. 3pl. andundasepfainn 36d17.

feidid ‘brings, leads’
PIE ṷedʰ and *ṷed- (LIV² 659, 658f., IEW 1115-7, IEW 78-80)
CC *ṷed-e/o-

feidid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. rel. afedme 15b26, perf. 3pl. rel. rofádatar (leg. rofádatar) 29c13, Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. rel. nadfedar⁵⁵ 39d7, impf. 3pl. nofeiditis 54d12, VN (f a) fedan, gen. sg. fednae 76a9; do·díat (‘leads down, leads’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. -dudí 35c30, past subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. 1sg. dumdiséd 78b18, pass. sg. dundiastae 45c4, perf. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. dusřkeraíd 99b13, VN tuididen, tudidin 137c6, acc. sg.

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⁵⁵ Reading following DIL; Thes has this as nadfendar with note ‘MS. nadfedar: corr. Thurneysen, here f is for bh’, and translates it as ‘they are not stricken’. It is not clear where Thurneysen emends this, but he seems to take it as from benaid rather than feidid. There is no reason for this emendation.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

tuidin 96d1, gen. sg. tuididne 93b3, dat. sg. tuidin 50a1, tuididin 86a1, tuididen 92c5; do·díchid (‘leads down, leads’): Milan: fut. pass. sg. dudichestar 30d25, part. tuidchisse 72d1; do·fed (‘brings, leads’): Milan: impf. 3sg. with infix. 1pl. dusfeded 97c5, with infix. 3pl. dudafeded 100b17, past subj. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. dudfessed 78b14, perf. 3pl. with infix. 3pl. dudaruid 63b12; for·feid (‘carries over’): Milan: pres. pass. forfedar 129b14; *imm·fed- (‘brings around, carries around’, found in DIL under pres. ind. 3pl. imm-fedat): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. immefedat 47d7.

†fethid ‘watches, observes’
PPIE *ṷet- (LIV² 694, IEW 346)
CC 1. *ṷet-e/o-

ar·coat (‘prevents, hinders’): Würzburg: fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. niimirchói 7a11, past subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. and emph. pron. 3sg. m. arnach naurchoossed som 8a4, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. arachoot 31d10, impf. 3sg. rel. arachoided 83d2, pres. subj. 3sg. arcói 46d11, pret. pass. sg. neg olhadnairchós 97d1, part. (io, iā) airchoisse, nom. pl. rel. nerchoissi 73c9, VN (o) airchót, acc. sg. erchot 56a13 (2x), dat. sg. erchót 39c20, erchot 121d4, erchot 47c7; ind·feith (‘pays heed to, is intent on’): Milan: VN indithem 65a5, acc. sg. indithem 21b2, indithim 93c15, gen. sg. indithem 31a12, dat. sg. indithem 75d7.

†fichid ‘fights’
PPIE 2. *ṷeık- (LIV² 670f., IEW 1128f.)
CC *ṷık-e/o-

ar·fich (‘fights, does battle’): Milan: VN (f a) airgal, dat. sg. ergail 34c12; 1. do·fich (‘punishes, avenges’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. dofich 9d2, 15a16, dofeich 6a16, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. with infix. 1sg. n(o)mdichimse 38c21, 2sg. rel. dufichi 71b18, 3sg. (rel.) dofich 19d3, 115b13, dufich 123d8, neg with infix. 3pl. nisndig 24b17, pass. sg. diagar 101c16, impf. pass. pl. dofestais 29c7, pres. subj. 2sg. -dufess 44a9, pass. sg. -dufessar 32c20, fut. 1sg. withinf 3pl. withsuff 3pl. dondaflus 126c19 3sg. dufl 67c5, pass. sg. dafliastar 27c4, 129b4, pl. dufesatar 24b19, perf. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. dafuiuch 43d19 pass. sg. duruacht 43d11, verb. nec. diachti
Appendix 2: Primary verbs


**fo-ceird** ‘throws, casts’
PIE */kerdʰ-/* (3. *kerH- LIV² 353-5, IEW 934f.)
CC *kerd-e/o-

Note: Suppletive forms based on *cuirethar* are AII verbs and recorded there.


**gelid** ‘grazes, consumes’
PIE */gʰel-/* (LIV² 217f., IEW 365)
CC *gʰel-e/o-

Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *gélda* 80a11

**gonaid** ‘pierces, wounds’
PIE */gʰen-/* (LIV² 218-9, IEW 491ff.)
CC *gʰan-e/o-

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ibid ‘drinks’
PIE 2. *peh₃(i)̣- (LIV² 462f., IEW 839f.)
CC *φib-e/o-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. ni ib 28b24, perf. 1pl. assibsem (MS assib sem) 12a17, pres. subj. 3sg. [ni] roiba 31b9, impv. 2pl. ibid 22c7, Milan: pres. subj. pass. pl. with nas nebtar 101d5, fut. 3pl. ibait 30c18, VN (m o, u) ól, dat. sg. óul 94c12.

imm·comaire ‘questions, asks’
PIE *prek̂- (LIV² 490f., IEW 821f.)
CC *φar-ske/o-

Würzburg: impv. 3sg. i na imchomarcad 28b12, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. immemchomaire 27d4, impv. 1pl. imchomarcam 18a1, 18a3, past subj. 3sg. immchomairset 20b18, rel. immemchomairsed (Cf. McCone 1985: 96) 63c9, VN imchomarc 20b14, acc. sg. imchomarc 30b10, gen. sg. inchomaire 107d07, dat. sg. imchumarc 77a15.

in·greinn ‘persecutes, pursues with hostile intent’
PIE ?*gʰreidʰ- (LIV² 203, IEW 456f.)
CC *gri-n-d-e/o

Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. with infix. 3pl. -indagreinn 36d2, 3sg. rel. adgréinn 54b23, 73c1, adgreinn 140c2, 3pl. (rel.) ingrennat 26d12, 127c4, with infix. 1sg. atamgrennaf 127c8, withinf 3sg. m Cl C asidgrennat (as for in) 18d2, with infix. 1pl. atangreinnet 45a16, with infix. 1sg. atamgrennät 39d13, impf. 3pl. rel. ingreintis 87c5, pres. subj. 3sg. arnaingre 111c6, impv. 3sg. ingrained 44a13, impf. 3sg. ingreinned 36d25, perf. 2sg. -inroigrann 36d7, 3sg. inroigrainn 26b24, inroigrainn 26d3, 37a4, 3pl. adroigegrannatar 25b11, VN (n n) indgreimm, ingrain 26d12, acc. sg. ingrain 56c7, 57c5, dat. sg. ingrammaim 33a9, ingramimm (this form not in DIL) 38c14, ingrammim 87c1, gen. sg. ingrime 18d23, ingrime 29d8, ingrime 75a13, dat. sg. ingrime 74a10, 74a12, dat. pl. ingrammanaib 38c13.
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**in-snaid** ‘inserts, ingrafts’
PIE *sneHd* (LIV² 571, IEW 972f.)
CC *snad-e/o-

Würzburg: pass. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg *coatomsnassar*
5b30, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *insnadat* 118d20, past subj. 3pl. *insnastis* 26c17

**ligid** ‘licks’
PIE *lei̭ĝ* (LIV² 404, IEW 668)
CC *lig-e/o-


**lingid** ‘leaps, jumps’
PIE *(s)preng* (LIV² 583, IEW 660f., IEW 1000)
CC *φleng-e/o-


**maraid** ‘lasts, persists’
PIE *mer(H)* (IEW 969f.)
CC *mar-e/o-


**meilid** ‘grinds, crushes’
PIE *melh* (LIV² 432f., IEW 716f.)
CC *mal-e/o-

Milan: VN *mleith*, dat. sg. *mlith* 23a20; **do·meil** (‘spends, consumes’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *dommeil* 6c7, 1pl. with dem. rel. *andumelam* 13c12, 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. *damelat* 10c3, perf. 1sg. *nitormult* 18a10, past subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. *ciadamelad* 10d3,
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1pl. cedumelmis 10c21, 3pl. domeltis 10c3, impv. 2sg. tomil 6c7, 3sg. with
infix. pron. 3sg. n. (len. only remaining) nach thoilmled 11b18, Milan: pres.
ind. 1pl. with infix. dosmelmais 111b15, pres. subj. 1 sg. anatormal 119b6,
past subj. 3sg. doromlad 36a29.

†mligid ‘milks’
PIE *h₂melǵ- (LIV² 279, IEW 722f.)
CC *mlig-e/o-

  do·immlig (‘promulgates, proclaims’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg.
coduinmail 50b1, perf. 3sg. durinmailc 31d3, VN (m o) tinmlegon, dat. sg.
tinmlegun 71c18.

†naiscid ‘binds’
PIE *neHd- (*Hnedʰ- LIV² 227, IEW 758f.)
CC nad-ske/o-

  ar·naisc (‘guarantees, betroths’): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with infix.
pron. 2pl.: arobróinasc 17b27; imm·naisc (‘binds round, twists round’):
Milan: part. immainse 62c9, nom. pl. immainsi 36d11.

orgaid ‘kills, slays’
PIE *h₃erg- (LIV² 301, IEW 819)
CC *org-e/o-

  orgaid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. nech orcas afini one who slays
his kindred (gl. homicidis) 28a4, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. orcaid 19d6, fut. 2sg.
inni irr 77a10, 77a15, in ni irr 77a13, int with infix. 3pl. indahier 77a16,
perf. 3sg. roort 48c8, ruhort 63b12, VN orgun, orcuin 99b4, acc. sg. orcuin
23b4, 23b5, 85b9, orcain 73d6, gen. sg. oircne 22b1, dat. sg. orcuin 60d3;
as-oirc (‘cuts down, beats’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. asóircc 11a11,
Milan: perf. pass. sg. aschomart 34b18, ascomart 36b22, pl. aschomarta
26d11, resarta 34b13, part. esartae, dat. pl. esartaib 36b17, 37b29, VN
esorcon, nom. pl. esaircnea 51b21, dat. pl. essarcnaib 131b12; con·túairec
(‘strikes, pounds’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. rel. contuarcar 34a27, past subj.
pass. pl. ọtuartis 54a18, pret. 2sg. contochmairt 17a2, 19c7, VN
comthiáarcon, contuarcan 34a27; 1. do·essuirg (‘saves, excepts (?)’):

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Appendix 2: Primary verbs

Würzburg: fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. and emph. pron. 3pl. dodaessarrsom 5c12, pres. subj. 2sg. with ma and infix. pron. 3sg. n. madaessa 17d2; 2. do·es(s)uirg (‘smites, slays’): Milan: VN dat. sg. diasarcuin, diasarcuin 84b11; do·fiáirc (‘grinds, crushes’) Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. dufuáirc 10d6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dufuairc 84b12, 3pl. dufuargat 85b6, impv. pass. pl. tuargatar 86d22, impf. 3sg. arnatuarrad 121d17, nachartuarad 121d18, 3pl. dufuarctis 33a6, pres. subj. 3sg. dufuarr 48c31, with perf. part. docomar 23d5, ducomarr 85c3, pret. 3sg. rel. with infix. 3pl. annundacomart 36d9, perf. 3sg. docomart 45a11, 3pl. docomartatar 22d4, verb. nec. tuarti 126c18, VN (f a) tuarcon, gen. sg. tuarcnae 29b9, dat. sg. tuarcain 56d4, 84c22, 129b11, acc./dat. sg. tuarcain 58a6; do·immoirg (‘presses, compress’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. domimmuirc 23b36, fut. 1sg. doimmarr 9a20, perf. 3sg. with perf. 3pl. domimmairctis 36a26, pres. subj. 3sg. with perf. com daimchomarr 77a12, past subj. pass. domimmarthae 130c21, fut. pass. sg. diummarthar 90a9, perf. 3pl. with infix. 1sg. domnimchomartatar 39a20, perf. 3pl. with perf. 3sg. dommimchomartatar 39c27, 62c21, pass. sg. frisnorgar (note Thes.: ‘n is inserted because of the preceding cum = Ir. an’) 77d10, impf. 3sg. frisnorgad 77d10, imp. pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. dumimmairctir 73c4, pl. doimmairctis 36a26, pres. subj. 3sg. with perf. com daimchomarr 77a12, past subj. pass. domimmarthae 130c21, fut. pass. sg. diummarthar 90a9, perf. 3pl. with infix. 1sg. domnimchomartatar 39c27, part. timortaen, turnorte 44a2, timmartai 118d11, dat. pl. timmartait 27a4, VN timorcon, acc. pl. timmairenea 55d18; fris·oirg (‘moles, offends’): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with emph. pron. 1sg. friscomurtsa 33a12, 3pl. rel. friscomartatar 5b11, past subj. 2pl. frisorthe 10c12, impv. 3sg. frisoirctis 36a26, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. frisorcar 6c13, perf. 3sg. with perf. 3pl. frisichomartatar 39c27, 62c21, pass. sg. frisnorgar (note Thes.: ‘n is inserted because of the preceding cum = Ir. an’) 77d10, impf. 3sg. friscorcad 118a1, 3pl. frisoiroctis 67b14, rel. with perf. 3sg. frissidnoirctis 39a20, impv. 2sg. nafritiorcaid 114a9, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. frisnor 15a10, rel. with perf. com frisochomarr 77a12, 3pl. rel. frisnorrad 80b9, past subj. 3sg. rel. frisnorrad 124d8, fut. 1sg. frisiur 37c12, 3sg. (rel.) with perf. 1sg. fritammior 32d27, with perf. 2sg. fritatnior 93a15, 3pl. with perf. 1sg. fritammiur 33a1, rel. frisnorrat 100c9, perf. 1sg. fritichomart 47a2,

**reithid** ‘runs, hastens’

PIE *ret-* (LIV 2 507, IEW 866)

CC *ret-e/o-

**reithid**: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *rethess* 24a17, 3pl. *rethit* 11a4, 13b13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *rethes* 42c19, 1pl. *a retham* 120b2, 3pl. *rethait* 138d6, rel. *rethae* 68b10, *arretae* 138d8, impf. 3pl. *noreithis* 129d4, perf. 3pl. neg *nadorthatar* 129c21, VN (m u) *rith*, gen. sg. *retho* 42c19, *retha* 93b4, dat. sg. *riuth* 89c10, 129d4, *rith* 81b11; **ar-reith** (‘sets out for, captures’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. *ararethi* 6b22, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. *arrethat* 56d12; **con·tetarrat** (‘comprises, contains’): Milan: part. nom. pl. / verb. nec. *nephchomtetarrachti* 55d11, VN *comthetarracht*, dat. sg. *chomtetracht* 56b3; **do·airndret** (‘runs about, roams’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *duairndredat* 81b2; **do·airret**, **do·áirret** (‘brings in contention or contest with?’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *tairthet* 27d23; **do·etarrat** (‘encompasses, comprehends’): Würzburg: pret. 3sg. *doetarrid* 19c11, *duetarrid* 5c13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *duetarrat* 30c6, pret. 3sg. *duescmart* (Note Thes. : ‘MS. *duescmat*: corr. Ascoli’) 103d4, perf. pass. sg. *doretarracht* (according to DIL this is pret., but the r shows it is perf.; this form is peculiar: adding the pret. pass. suff -t to the stem ending -t should give -s. See GOI p. 438-9 § 707, 8, where this peculiarity is noted, but not explained. It could be a scribal error.) 33c20; **do·fúarat** (‘remains over, remains’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *ni ɔdiurat* 72b17, impf. 3sg. *dufuairthed* 97d10, 97d12, past subj. 3p *difuairsitis* 57d3, fut. 3sg. *ni ɔdiuair* 56d2, perf. 3sg. *duruarid* 44a20, -deruarid 31a6; **do·íarmórat** (‘follows,
comes or goes after’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. dodiärmo(rat) 9c1, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. withinf 3sg. n dodiarmorat 21c3, VN (f [al]) tiamóracht, dat. sg. thiarmoracht 87d4; do-im(m)thurat
(‘administers, serves’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. dodrimthirid 32c15, and with ma madudrimthirid 28d30, 3pl. dorimthirheta 32b5, Milan: VN timthirecht, thimthrech 23a18, timthrech 37b3, 73a10; for-diurat (no translation in DIL): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. fordiuart (found under for-duair) 23d7; ind-reith (‘invades, overrun’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. inreith 19d13, pres. subj. 3sg. co inré 134d1, past subj. 3pl. inrestais 37d1, pret. 3sg. rel. aninrorad 84c2, 3pl. inororthetar 104b8, perf. 3sg. inroraid 66d21, 3pl. inrorthetar 35a21, verb. nec. indriisses 127b15, part. indriisse 18c14, dat. pl. indirsib 35a21, VN (n o) indred 43d25, 102a21, gen. sg. indrid 48d20, 66c19, dat. sg. indriud 53a17, dat. pl. indredaib 67c4.

rigid ‘stretches, distends’
PIE *reiğ- (LIV^2 503, IEW 862)
CC 1. *ríg-e/o- and *ri-n-g-e/o-

rigid: Milan: perf. 3sg. rorecht 20a23, 39c11, part. rechte, nom. pl. rechti 20a23; at-reig (‘rises’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. adreig (for atreig) 13a12, fut. 1pl. with prep. l^1 (and rel. which is elided) and emph. pron. 1pl. ineresomni 93a7 (Taur. F. IV. 24), Thes. Pal. I, 713, Milan: pres. subj. 3pl. ondaerator 46a12, impv. 2sg. atré 126c3, fut. 1sg. ataimmresa 31c14, VN (n io) eirge, gen. sg. æргe 83a5, dat. sg. ærgiu 21c3; as-eirig (‘rises again’): Würzburg: fut. 2pl. with rel. n asneirsid 25b25, 3pl. rel. asseirset 13b26, 25b16, with prep. and rel. ineséirset 13c20, perf. 3sg. aserachit 4d27, 15d12, rel. asëracht 13b12, Milan: past subj. 3pl. esersitis 15c7, esóersitis 15c8, VN (n io) es(es)eirge, æsærge 38c9, gen. sg. esærgi 15d2, 45d7, esärgi 81d1; do-dúrig (‘incites, provokes’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. with infix. 2pl. dundabdurghathar 79c4, impf. pass. sg. dudurgaithe 80b5, dodiurgat (Note Thes.: “leg. dodiurgatha Ascoli; Sarauw emends to dodiurgatis, 3d pl. impf.. passive”) 105c11, past subj. 3sg. codudursed 33b14, verb. nec. tudrachti 93a8, part. tudrachtae, tudrachtai 135b3; do-érig (‘leaves, abandons’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. f. and emph.
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+t*saidid* ‘sits’

PIE *sed*- (LIV² 513–5, IEW 884–7)

CC *sed-c/o-

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sceirtid ‘strips, peels off’
PIE *skerd (LIV 558, IEW 940f.)
CC *serd-(j)e/o-
  Milan: perf. 3sg. roscaird 14b2.

seinnid ‘plays (an instrument), sounds’
PIE *sṷenh (LIV 611, IEW 1046f.)
CC *sṷan-na-
  Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. nodseinn 12c46, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. frissasennar 12c46, Milan: impf. 3sg. nosenned 2b9.

†sichid ‘asserts, declares’
PIE 2. *sekʷ (LIV 526f., IEW 897f.)
CC 2. *sekʷ-e/o
  do·coisig (‘supports, sustains’): Würzburg: impf. ind. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. dodcoisged 9a6; in·cosaig (‘signifies, indicates’): Würzburg: past subj. 3sg. rel.: inchoissised 2c7, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. inchoissig 59a7, inchoisig 137d5, inchosaig 116d3, pass. pl. incoissegar 48a11, 127d14, impf. 3sg. incoisged 24c14, with infix. 3sg. atcoisged 24c15, past subj. 3sg. incoississed 24c22, 28b10, rel. inchoissised 56a13, pret. 3sg. rel. inchoisecht 16c10, perf. 3sg. rel. inrochoissecht 43d27.

sligid ‘cuts, fells’
PIE *slei̭g (LIV 566f., IEW 663f.)
CC *slig-e/o-
  sligid: Milan: perf. pass. pl. roslechta 48d28, with infix. 3pl. conrusleachta 53d11, VN (f ia and t) slige 2a6, 51c17, 67d2, acc. sg. sligi 49b2, 16c12, dat. sg. sligi 2a6; ad·slig (‘tempts, entreats’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. adslig 14d27, pres. subj. 3sg. with cia, ciadsléi 20b2, Milan: VN (n o) aslach 95b6, acc. sg. aslach 141d1, gen. sg. aslaig 28b7, dat. sg. asluch 26e9-10, gen. pl. aslach 38a6; fo·slig (‘smears, anoints’): Würzburg: pass. perf. 3pl. foruillecta 7d9, Milan: part. fuillectae 127c17.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

**teichid** (‘flees, runs away’)

PIE *tekʰ*- (LIV² 620f., IEW 1059f.)
CC *tekʰ*e/o-

**teichid**: Milan: pres. subj. 1sg. rel. *notes* 29d2, past subj. 3sg. *nutesed* 29d9, pret. 3sg. *táich* 32b24, perf. 3pl. *rotachatar* 44a19, VN (m o) *teiched*, acc. sg. *teiched* 54b12, 63c14, dat. sg. *teichiud* 44a18, hiteichiud 109c02, acc./dat. sg. *teiched* 77a18, gen. sg. / nom. pl. *teichid* 77d13, 100b1;

**ad·teich** (‘flees to, resorts to’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *ateich* 39b6, perf. 3 pl. *oattlechtatar* 90b16, VN (n o) *attach, atach* 40b13, 66d1, nom./acc. sg. *atach* 49d14, gen. sg. *ataig* 40b12, 54b21, dat. sg. *atuch* 121c21;

**tremi·teich** (‘flees across’): Milan: impf. 3sg. *tremiteiched* 54c21.

†**teinnid** ‘cuts, cracks’

PIE 2. *tend*- (LIV² 628, 1062f.)
CC *tan-n-d-e/o- or *tend-e/o-

**fo·teinn** (‘nibbles’): Milan: pres. subj. 1sg. *cofotheasa* 3a9.

**téit** ‘goes, proceeds’

PIE *stei̭gʰ* - (LIV² 593f., IEW 1017f.)
CC *ti-n-g- & *teig-e/o-

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suppletive forms: 1sg. with prep. do and rel. diauïdched 10a28, 3sg. dodechuid 17b29, 24c10, 27c8, (do)dech(uid) 31d2, with prep. do and rel. diandechuith 16c7, 1pl. dodechommar 25a12, with rel. n dondechommar 24c17, past subj. 3sg. with conjn. ɔtuidchissed 15c16, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dotét 21c3, dutét 22b1, dotet 53a8, rel. dothét 46a7, 46a12, dothet 53a8, 3pl. (rel.) dutiagat 45d12, 103b16, 111c9, rel. diatét 56b1, pass. sg. dutiagar 101c6-7 (2x), 116b5, pl. dutiagtar 106c3, impf. 3sg. cotaised 121b3, 3pl. dutéigtis 108b01, pres. subj. 2pl. -thaisid 33b15, past subj. 1sg. ɔtuidchesmais (Note Thes.: 'MS. ɔtuichesmais: corr. Ascoli') 93b5, 3pl. rel. dondichsitis (note Thes.: ‘regularly dodichsitis’) 104c5, fut. 3sg. dorega 28a10, nitirga 121a17, 1pl. duregam 80d10, nitergam 107d11, 2pl. daregaid 33b15, 3pl. doregat 61a13, 111c14, rel. durigat 106a4, cond. 3sg. noregad 118b6, pret. 3sg. doluid 55c1, dialuid 58c4, perf. 3sg. (rel.) dodechuid 16c5, 46b6, 126b10, rel. dundechuir 111c14, VN tuidecht, acc. sg. tuidecht 46a17, 53d9, 104c5, dat. sg. tuidecht 44b1, 60a10; for·tét (‘helps, assists’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. fortéit 4a27, rel. forthéit 4a27, with infix. pron. 1pl. and emph. pron. 1pl. ninforíteimí 4a27, 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. afortéitsi 14c3, afortegidisi 14c2, pres. subj. 2pl. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. and emph. pron. 1sg. cofardumthésidse 7a12, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. fortíög 44b32, 3sg. (rel.) fortét 30c3, 80d8, rel. forthet 35a8, with infix. 3sg. m foriðet 30c3, impf. 3sg. fortattet 43b11, pres. subj. 2sg. fortéis 78c1, 3pl. fortiassat 68d7, fut. 2sg. forregae 19a1, perf. 2sg. rel. forĎechuid 78c9, 3sg. fordechuid 138a7, VN (f a) fortacht 38b7, acc. sg. fortacht 27d19, fortachtain 83b11, gen. sg. fortacte (this form not in DIL) 19c19, dat. sg. fortacht 22c3, 30b11, 30b22, 33a13, 37b25, 38c4, 46b20, 86b7, 88a6, dat. pl. fortachtait 83b10; ?for·tét (‘goes under, passes beneath’): Milan: fut. 3sg. forriga (Note Thes.: ‘the first r over the line; leg. foriga?; rr may denote unaspirated r’) 85b1a; fris-tait (‘comes against, is at variance with’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. fristait 14a13, rel. fristait 12d39, nifrittáit 31a6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) fristait 23c11, 3pl. frítthaigtait 17c5, pres. subj. 3sg. fristes 31d6, past subj. 1sg. fristaissin 132a5, perf. 3pl. fristuidchetar 21c2, 67b20, 67b22, VN frithtuidecht, dat. sg. frithtuidecht 16b6, gen. sg. frithtuidechtae 25b13; in·otat (‘enters into, comes upon’): Milan: pres. ind. 1pl. rel. inotgam 96b5,
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3pl. (rel.) inotgat 44c22, pres. subj. 1pl. inotsam 16a16, pret. 3sg. inolaid 25a21, perf. 1sg. inrualad 142a2, 2sg. rel. huarindualad 93c14, 3sg. rel. inrualaid 71c7, 3pl. nad rindualdatar 24b11, inrualdatar 24b11, inrualdatar 62b15; imm·tét (‘goes around, goes about’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1pl. imtiagam 6a30, pres. subj. 2pl. ni imthesid 22c4, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. immetiagat 45c9, rel. imm(t)ét 45c9, pres. subj. 1pl. nimthiasam 46c20, VN (f a) imthecht, dat. sg. imthecht 46a14; remi·tét (‘goes before’): Würzburg: perf. 3pl. ni remdechutar 5a30, pres. subj. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. diandremthiasat 5a32, Milan: pret. 3sg. remelluid 132c13; tarmi·tét (‘traverses, goes across’): Milan: VN (f a) tairmthecht, gen. sg. tairmthechtta 74b7, dat. sg. tairmthecht 39a17; tremi·taít (‘penetrates’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. tremitíagat 25d14, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. tremethait (Note Thes.: ‘MS. tremiel’hai: corr. Thurneysen; should probably be emended to tremietha, cf. ML. 127b 11, sg. 3 tremaetha Laws IV, 344, 346’) 43c14.
7.2 BII

†daimid ‘endures, suffers’
PIE 2. *demh₂- LIV² 116f. (IEW 199f.)
CC *dam-je/o-
   ad·daim (‘acknowledges, admits’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. ataim 42b26, 3pl. ataimet 131d16, pres. subj. 3pl. conárdamat 131d16, ɔdatardat 131c16; con·fodaim (‘co-endsures’): Milan: pres. subj. 1pl. màconfodnam 4a17, fo·daim (‘suffers, endures’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. rel. fodaimim se 23b12, fodaimimse 23b17, 2pl. fodaimid 17b24, 23c7, 3pl. rel. fodaimet 2c10, ni fodmat 20c21, perf. 1sg. rel. forrodamar 19d20, pres. subj. 1sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. fadam 29d27, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. cidaradodmaištiu 55d11, (rel.) fodaimi 55d11, 55d14, 3sg. rel. fodaim 99b1, cidarafofodaim 55d11, 1pl. fodaimem 111c13, 3pl. (rel.) fodaimet 26d12, 77d2, 87b17, 87b20, impf. 1sg. rel. neg. with infix. nadfordamainn 107b8, pres. subj. 3sg. fidama 68d14, pass. pl. fondamtar 46d6, past subj. 1sg. conifodmain 73c7, 3pl. afondamitis 34b11, fut. 2sg. rel. foudidmae 35c33, 3sg. ni fuidema 56e9, 3pl. (with infix. 3pl.) fosdidmat 15c10, perf. 1sg. (rel.) forodamar 22d5, 58d13, 95d13, 95d14, 132c12, with infix. 3pl. fosrodamar 39a13, 3sg. (rel.) forodamair 54b28, furodamair 131b12, 62d9, rel. forudámair 54a35, 3pl. rel. forodamnatar 90c13, furodamnatar 96b8, with infix. 3sg. fondrodamnatar 105b9, VN foditiu, dat. sg. fodattin 24b13.

igid ‘weaves, plaits’
PIE ?*uşeg- LIV² 662 (IEW 1117)
CC *uşeg-je/o-
   Milan: VN (f iā) fige, gen. sg. fīge 59d2, fīgi 111b16.

gaibid ‘takes’
PIE ?*uşegʰeHb- or ?*ţegʰeHb- LIV² 195 (IEW 407-9)
CC *gab-je/o-
   gaibid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. nángabimmse 16d4, 2sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. manumgaibi 32a16, 3sg. gaibidside 9a3, nigaib 3d8, nigaib
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16d4, with prep. and rel. ingaib 29b19, rel. gaibes 3d15, 11a4, 26a13, with
dem. rel. angaibes 12d42, fut. 3sg. gebaid 8a7, rel. gebas 11a6, 3pl. nigebat
4c8, with suffix. pron. 3sg. m. as object gebit (for gebit) 26a8, perf. with
rel. n 1sg. rongabus 23b18, amal rongabusa (-sa = -ssa) 9d25, amal
rongabussa 23c11a, 3sg. rongab 6d12, amal rongab 12b1, 27a11, 15, 3sg.
rogab 2c21 (bis), 4b18, 12a25, 24c14, 1pl. nirogabsam 24d2, with emph.
pron. 1pl. nirogabsamni 24b20, 2pl. rel. rogabsid 26a25, 3pl. rel. rogabsat
12b13, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. arnagaba 28a20, arangaba 32a2, congaba 31c8,
perf. rel. sorgba 28d6, 11, with infix. pron. 1pl. nachin rogba 15d40,
nachinrogba 15d40, rel. lasse gabas 13d22, perf. rel. 2pl. sorgbaid 26b7,
3pl. rel. sorgbat 30a24, past subj. 2pl. with rel. n nongabthe 26b13, perf. rel.
with emph. pron. 2pl. sorgbathesi 24c8, 26d7, impv. 3sg. gaibed 12d41,
2pl. gaibid 7b14, 9a14, 22d11, 27b16; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. gaibthir 16d7,
with dem. rel. angaibther 12c44, rel. gaibther 28c20, perf. horgaibther
13b13, perf. 3sg. rogab 7a7, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. cia gabthar 29b5, past
subj. 3pl. rel. congabtis 19a4, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. gaibid 50a5, 64c12,
nadngaib 34b6, with infix. 1pl. nongaib 43a14, with infix. 3pl. nisgaib
34b6, rel. gaibes 36a1, 101c6-7, 1pl. gabmai 32a4, 3pl. gavit 38a8, rel.
gai state 7a16, pass. huangaibter 122c2, impf. 2pl. with infix. 3sg.
nosgabthe 68b2, nusgabtis (note Thes.: ‘MS. nus gabtis, leg. nusgabthe?
Thurneysen, which has been translated. Can the -s- be an affixed pronoun,
as in ro-fiti-s Wb. 6a 18, 14c 12? W. S.’) 68b3, 3sg. nogaibed 138d1, 3pl.
nogaibtis 83a4, with infix. 3pl. nosgaibtis 2b7, condagaibtis 31c6, pass. sg.
nogabthe 35b18, nogabthe 48d27 nogaibthe 138d1 pass. pl. nogabtis 35b16
pres. subj. 3sg. ∼irogbad 39d22, compounded with làm: nondalámgaba
43a2, pass. sg. arnarogabthar 30d13, diangabthar 118a7, past subj. 3sg.
(rel.) nogab 33a5, 113c7, neg. with infix. 3sg. onachgab 69a17, 3pl.
nugabtis 39c15, rogabtis 123a1, 139a9, rel. nogabtis 53c13, rel.
annungebtai (this form not in DIL) 95a9, sec. fut. 3pl. rel. with infix. pron.
3sg. nundagebtis 34c8, pret. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. nogabad 35a9, pass. sg.
gabthe 55c1, perf. 3sg. (rel.) rogab 25a16, 35b24 (2x), 44b1, 48d28, 52 line
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2056, 55c1, 90b15 (2x), 127a12, 137b7, (rel.) ar·rogab 36a32 (2x), 38c3 (2x), 45a3, 50a10 (2x), 74b12, 111c11, with infix. 3sg r·undgab 32d05, 67d14, with infix. 3sg. ju·andrargab 38c5, 42b7, 50a8, rel. with infix. 3 sg. ra·gab 44b2, 50d18, rel. with infix. 3sg. masc. r·ondgab 30b11, rel. r·ongab 38c7, 82d11 (2x), 131c12, rel. with infix. 3sg. m. arin·rogab 35a8, rel. with infix. ro·dagab 49a2, rel. with infix. 3sg. ro·ngab 61a1, with infix. 3pl. ro·gab 57c13, 3pl. ro·gabsat 139a15, rundgabsat 67d14, pass. sg. (rel.) ro·gabad 14a4, 17b18, 24d10 (2x), 24d12, 24d14, 24d26, 24d29, 35a8 (2x), 35a10, 35b10, 38c4, 45d7 (2x), 56b16, 67c18, 86d13, 98c10, 110d7, 112c11 (x2), 113d3, 116c2, 133b1, r·ogabthe 16a10, ro·gabath 24d13, rel. ar·arogbad 74b11, rel. di·arogbad 103b7, pass. sg. rel. ro·gabad 74b1 pl. ra·gthi 35b24, ro·gabha 133b2, 139a6, 139a8, 139a10, 139a11, part. rongabthe 24d7, verb. nec. ga·bthi 76d4, VN (f ā) gabál, acc. sg. gabail 22b1, gen. sg. gabale 83a3, dat. sg. g·abail 29d4 (this gloss not in DIL), 31b3, 47b16, 60a12 (2x), dat. pl. gabalaib 54b25; ad·gaib (‘gets back, recovers’): Milan: impv. 3sg. at·abgabeled 20d11; ar·gaib (‘seizes, captures’): Würzburg: perf. past subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. and emph. pron. 1sg.: condomar·r·gabadsa 17d14, Milan: pret. 3pl. arangabsat (note Thes.: ‘cf. ar·ngaib Laws IV. 336, YBL. 91b 29; n is the infixed relative after cum = Ir. lasse or intain. If it were to gloss cum tenuerunt, it would have been arrun·gabsat’) 74b2, VN (f ā) airgabál, gen. sg. ergabale 29c18; ar·ingaib (‘avoids, flees from’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. nier·gaib (Note Thes.: ‘MS. nier n gaib; cf. erngabthi Ml. 16a5’) 32d19, verb. nec. air·ngabtha, erngabthi 16a5, VN airngabál, dat. sg. airngabail 29c14; as·gaib (no translation given in DIL, hapax legomenon, glossing excipere, ‘take out, remove’): pres. ind. pass. pl. ni·esar·gabter 145c1; as·ingaib (‘surpasses, exceeds’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) as·ingaib 23a13, 57d16, 89d8, 125d8, 131a6, 144d1, pres. subj. 3sg. arna·esngab·a 22c8, perf. 1sg. as·ringbus 130d4 (x2), 3sg. (rel.) as·ringaib (cf. McCone 1985: 94) 22d9, 32d8, 32d10, 3pl. as·r·gabsat 113d8, nadresngabsat 122d8, part. es·gabthe, esngabthi (Note Thes.: ‘rectius -esngabthe For other instances of final i for e see 4 CZ. 52’) 22d9; con·gaib

56 Ml. folio 52 is just a fragment with Latin text on one side and Old Irish on the other. Due to its size, no folio divisions are given in Thes.: the line numbers given in my corpus refer to the line numbers of Thes. Folio 52 is found in Thes. on p. 164.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

(‘contains, includes’): Würzburg: pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. congaibther 21c6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. congaib 131c12, impf. 3pl. with infix. 3pl. níscongbaitis 55a18, pass. sg. conumgabthae 27b7; con-ocaib (‘lifts up, raises’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. conocabar 57d8, impv. with infix. 2pl. cotabucabar 46a7, impf. 3sg. cunbad 35c6, cotnucbad 53d8, 3pl. -conucbaitis 58c2, with infix. 1sg. condammucbaitisse 39d11, pass. sg. conucbad (Note Thes.: ‘leg. conucbada, unless conucbaim be here intransitive, which is contrary to the general usage in O. Ir.; but cf. Hy. II 66, v 107’) 83a4, pres. subj. 3sg conoba 79c5, 3pl. arndacumcabat 46a12, past subj. 3sg. conucbad 39a22, fut. 3sg. conocaeba 20b5, pass. sg. conuicgebthar 64b8, perf. 3sg. nadruchumbad 20a7, with infix. 3pl. connuargab 37b15, pass. sg. connuargabad 32c1, impf. / past subj. 3pl. conucubits 68c6, part. cumgabthae, chumgabtha (Note Thes.: ‘rectius chumgabthae’) 84c3, nom. pl. cumgabthi 43d7, VN (f ā) cumgabant 57d4, 79d5, chumgal 94c2, cumgabat 138a1a, acc. sg. chumgabal 39d22; do-fócaib (‘lifts up, raises’): Würzburg (note that Wb. Lex. puts these under a separate headword, do-ócaib): perf. 1sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. f. condatuárgabusa 26d10, tuargab 26d11, nádtuárgab (MS nádtuárgabar) 14b22; pass.: perf. 3sg. tuárgabad 14b22, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. dorogbaim 43a5, do-furgaib (‘raises, lifts up’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dufurgaib 138b1, rel. dufurgabat 75a2-3, pret. 3sg. dufurbad (DIL dufurbat) 72b7, perf. 3sg. dururgaib (cf. McCone 1985: 94) 63a15, 138d11, dururgab 72c16, 3pl. dufurgbatsat 96c1, part. (io, iā) turcabthae, turcabthae 86d14, nom. pl. turcabthi 32b1, gen. pl. turcabthae 75a4, VN turcbál, turcabal 75b19, gen. sg. turcvalae 85c13, dat. sg. turcbail 94b18; do-gaib (‘lessens, diminishes’): Würzburg: perf. pres. subj. 3sg. arnadergaba 10d13, Milan: fut. 3pl. neg. ni digebtar 73d13, perf. pass. sg. dorogbad 17a13, durogab 34d18, 111b28, part. digabthe 45c12, digabthi 107c07; dorogaib (‘commits, transgresses’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. with dem. rel. andorogba 22b9, 2pl. andorogbid 27b18, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. dorogaib 16c13, 3pl. dorogbat 28d11, past subj. 1sg. dorogbáinn 39a18, pret./perf. 1sg. durogbusa 23c13, 3sg. dorogbad 58d1, dorogab 71b14, hotorgab 32a23, 3pl. dorogbatsat 54a36, 98c6, codurogbsat 108a06, pass. sg. durogab 32c9, part. (io, iā) torgabthe 27c17, f acc. sg. torgabthi 23c14, VN
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

(f ā) targabál, torgabal 15c11, acc. sg. torgabail 99d6, gen. sg. torgabale 58a19, targabalę 71b3, dat. sg. torgabail 22c7, 22d24, torgabail 59a6, acc. pl. torgabala 44b10-11, 138b7, dat. pl. torgabalaib 70d6; fo·ácaib (‘leaves’): Würzburg: perf. 1sg. with infix. pron. 2sg. fotráčbussa 31b1, pass.: perf. past subj. 3pl. rel. annafarcabtis 31d13, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. neg. with infix. 3sg. nadfaćaib 102a20, 3pl. rel. fuácbat 80a10, fut. 3pl. ni confoigebat 69a8, perf. 3sg. foragab 30a9, foracab 37d10, 53c14, 3pl. rel. foragabsat 95a12; fo·gaib (‘finds, gets’): Würzburg: sec. fut. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. 8a14, Milan: pret. 1sg. ni cosfuarsa 57d3, nachfuar 57d3, ·fresgaib (‘rises, ascends’): Milan: VN (f ā) fresgabál, acc. sg. frisngabail 42c30, dat. sg. fresngabail 56b1, 56b3; fris·gaib (‘checks, restrains’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. neg. nachidfrithgaib 55c11, impf. 3sg. frisgaibed 49a24, perf. 3sg. neg. nírufrithab 124c11; imm·imgaib (‘goes around; avoids’): Würzburg: impv. 2sg. imcaib 28c24, with infix. pron. 3sg. m. immanimcab 30d20, 2pl. imgabaid 9d6, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. immgaib 22c11, immmeimgaib 35d29, with infix. imdaingaib (Thes: ‘leg. imdaimgaib’; this form not in DIL) 38a3, impv. 2pl. imgabaid 116b5, pres. subj. 1sg. immnenimgaib 29d2, 3sg. immnimgaba 15b12, -nimgaba 36b11, coni imegeba 52a13, 1pl. -imgabamsón 35d1, imdaimgabam (this form not in DIL) 35d19, comimmimgabat 114b8, past subj. 3sg. immnenimgabad 41a6, verb. nec. imcbthi, imgabthi 40b9, 51b8, 51b10, 58a20, dat. pl. imgabthib 29d6, VN imgabáil, imgabail 14c12, 35d14, ind·ocaib (‘exalts, glorifies’): Milan: part. inducbaide 64d9, 75c5, 139c2, VN (f ā) indocebál, inducobál 75c4, gen. sg. inducobálé 51d10; in·gaib (‘reproaches, censures’): Würzburg: fut. 1sg. with emph. pron. 1sg. ingeb sa 8d12, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. indiel ningaba 11d8; pass.: fut. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1pl. ninincébthar 15d27, Milan: pres. subj. pass. sg. ingabthar 22c10, pl. ingabtar 54a7, impf. ingaibthe 133b5, 133b7, past subj. pass. sg. -ingabthe 32c19, VN ingabal 54a10, acc. sg. ingabail 74c3.

†gairid ‘calls, cries out’
PIE *ǵar- (LIV² 161, IEW 352)
CC *gar-je/o-
ad·gair (‘sues, prosecutes’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 2pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n atgairith 9c22, perf. 3sg. w infix. pron. 2pl. adobragart (a prima manus) 19b5, pass. perf. 3sg. adrograd 3c22; ? ad·togair (no transl.): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. adintogra 22d23; ar·fócair (‘proclaims, announces’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. arafocair 16d7; pass. pres. ind. 3sg. arfocarar 16d7; ar·gair (‘forbids’): Würzburg: pres. subj. 3sg. argair 27c21, with infix. 3sg. masc argair 27c21, fut. 3pl. argerat 121b8, pret. 3sg. argart 55c1, neg. with infix. 3sg. nandargart 53d9, part. ergarthai 121d6, VN (n io) airgair, gen. sg. ergairi 35c11, 35d18, dat. sg. ergairi 48c5, anergairiu 125a7; as·congair (‘proclaims, gives notice’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. ascongarar 14c20, fut. asconger 126c8, pret. pass. sg. asrochongrad 121d19, verb. nec. asngairthi, dat. pl. esngarthib 104d7, part. esngairthe, gen. sg. / nom. pl. esngarthi 94b5, VN esgaire, esṅgaire 105c6; do·accair (‘pleads, sues’): Würzburg: fut. 3sg. taiccéra 6b28, perf. 1pl. doracartmar 2a16, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. duacair 36b3; do·airngir (‘promises, foretells’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. dorairngert 14c32, 30b2, 31a9, intan durairngert 33d10, with dem. rel. andorairngert 25c28, andorairngert 31a7, andurairngert 5c9, 30b3; pass.: perf. 3sg. dorairngred 2c12, 19c5, with dem. rel. andurairngred 19b22, andurairngred (MS andurairngred) 33b3, past subj. duairngerthe 2c17, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. duairngir 106a2, 3sg. duarnig 94a4, rel. tairngir 50d10, 2pl dunairngarid 75d6a, 3pl. duairngertar 87b15, perf. 1sg. dundarairngiert 109c09, 2sg. rel. durairngirt 74c20, 3sg. dorairngert 46c20, 136c12, (rel.) durairngert 105b11, 108b08, 108c02, 123c1, 126c10, 130c16, 3pl. dunairngertar (Thes: ‘MS. dundraingertar: leg. perhaps dundraitgertar, 4 CZ. 60′, DIL: ‘dund- rai[r]ngertar’) 67b8, rel. doraingeregad 113d5, VN tairngire, gen. sg. tairngiri 68b4, tairnger 78c11, dat. sg. tairgiri 33d22; do·gair (‘calls, summons’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. dorogart 21d2, with infix. pron. 3pl. dodarogart 22c1; pass.: perf. 3sg. dorograd 10a22, amal dorogard 10a12, with rel. n donrograd 20d9, with infix. pron. 2pl. dobrograd 24c4, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) dogair 29c6,
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

30c17, 1pl. dogairemni 37b16, 3pl. rel. dugairet 62b7, pres. subj. 1sg. with infix. 2sg. indattogar 72c4, pass. sg. torogarhar 43b15, perf. 3sg. rel. dorogart 69d14, with infix. 3sg. m darogartsom 20b2, VN (n n) togairm, acc. sg. thogairm 102d17; do·ingair (‘calls’): Milan: part. dingarthe 93b7; for·congair (‘commands, ordains’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. lasse forcongur 19d25, rel. forchongrimm 9d30, 3sg. with emph. pron. 3sg. m. Farcongair som 13a27, rel. forchongair 15a26, with dem. rel. aforchongair 5c23, impf. ind. 3sg. rel. farchoṅgrad 32d9, perf. 3sg. forrochongart 20c9, pres. subj. 1pl. rel. with emph. pron. 1pl. (with irreg. len.) coforconggramni 11b16a, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. forcongair 53a23, 94b3, 129b7, 146a1, rel. forchongair 94b10, rel. with infix. pl. fortacongair 59c11, rel. with infix. 3pl. forndacongair 94b3, pass. forcongarar 129b8, perf. 3sg. forrochongart 145d7, forruchongart 145d8, perf. pass. sg. forruchongrad 34d4, 102d15, VN forngaire, forgairi 62c5, dat. sg. forgairi 100b24, forngairi 120c8, dat. pl. forgairib 66c3, 103d27; for·dingair (‘signifies, expresses’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. (rel.) fordingrat 37a14; fo·úacair (‘proclaiims, announces’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. fodúacair 11b24, perf. 1sg. with infix. pron. 3pl. fosrocurt 24a26; pass. perf. 3sg. forócrad 19b6; fris·gair (‘answers, replies’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. frisgair 77a15, VN frecra(e), frecrae 35c24, 56a13, 62c13, acc. sg. frecrae 30b10, 129d6; imm·freccair (‘answers, corresponds’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. immefrecrat 58a11 (2x), VN (n n) imfrecrae, imfrecrae 58a11.

guidid (‘prays, entreats’)
PIDE *gṷ edh- LIV² 217 (IEW 488)

CC *gṷ ed-je/o-

guidid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. guidim 30d3, guidimm 22a20, 29a19, rel. noguidimm 21a8, with rel. n and emph. pron. 1sg. noguidimse 27d19, with infix. pron. 2pl. and emph. pron. 1sg. nobguidimse 25c29, 3sg. guidid 27d7, with infix. pron. 3pl. and emph. pron. 3sg. m. nosn.guidsom 25b9, rel. amal n. guidess 24d19, 1pl. with emph. pron. 1pl. guidmini 25d21, 26b8, rel. intain guidmeni 4a27, nádguidemni 21d10, with suffix. pron. 3sg. n. as object guidmit 15d18, 3pl. with infix. pron. 2pl. nobguidet 7b21, fut. 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. gigestesi 14c2a, perf. 1sg. with infix. pron. 2sg.

**ind·aim** ‘washes’
PIE *h₂emH*- LIV² 265 (IEW 35)
CC *-am-(i)je/o-


**maidid** ‘breaks, bursts’
PIE *mad*- LIV² 421 (IEW 694f.)
CC *mad·je/o-

**maidid**: Würzburg: impv. 3sg. *maided* 7c4, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) *forsamoith* 110d10, *forsamaid* 115d12, fut. 3sg. *roima* 89c11, neg. *ní*
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

*mema* 89c11, perf. 3sg. *rommemaid* 127d6, 3pl. *rumaith* 51c9, VN *maidm* 33b11, gen. sg. *madmae* 84c6, dat. sg. *maidm* 85c6, **do·maid** (‘bursts forth, breaks forth’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. *asatoròimed* 11a19.

†*nigid* ‘washes’

PIE *neig*- LIV² 450 (IEW 761)

CC *nig-je/o-

do·fonaig (‘washes, washes away’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *dufonget* 78b5, fut. 1sg. *dofonu* 47a19.

*saigid* ‘goes towards, approaches’

PIE *seh₂g*- or *seh₂g*- LIV² 520 (IEW 876f.)

CC*saig-(j)e/o-


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57 *saigid* is traditionally categorised as a BII, but since there are no 1sg., 1pl. or 3pl. attested, it strictly speaking is not possible to tell whether this was BI or BII.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

infix. pron. 1sg.: domroisechtatar 17c1; do·roich (‘reaches, comes to’): Milan: pret. / perf. 1sg. doroacht 98d9, part. (DIL gives this with a question mark) torachta, nom. pl. thorachti 18a11, VN toracht, dat. sg. toracht 51b30, 54c32, 56b19-20, 68c3, 90c7, 92c15, gen. pl. toracht 29a14, 81b10, dat. pl. torachtib 34c3, 55b4, do·saig (‘seeks, searches’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. dosaig 15a22, 23c23, Milan: VN degaid, digaid 138c18; ind·saig (‘approaches, goes to’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. with infix. pron. 2pl. atobsegatsi 14d37; ro·saig (‘reaches, comes to’): Würzburg: past subj. 1sg. rel. ɔroissinn 26d17, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. rasaig 102a8, connachroig (This form not in DIL) 39c7, fut. 3pl. neg. niroisset 74a11, sec. fut. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. nisroussed 39c34, pret. 3sg. rosiacht 55d2.

**slaidid** ‘strikes, slays’
PIE *sleHd(h)*- LIV² - (IEW -)
CC *slad·je/o-

slaidid: Milan: VN slaid 16b7, dat. sg. slaidi 91b9; do·slaid (‘strikes’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. duslaid 140b5.

**snigid** ‘pours down, flows’
PIE *snei̭gṷh*- LIV² 573 (*sneigṷh*- IEW 974)
CC *snig·je/o- or *snigù/e/o-

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. sniges 89c15.
7.3 BIII

as·boind ‘refuses’
PIE *bʰeṷdʰ- (LIV² 82f. IEW 150-2)
CC *-bu-n-d-e/o-

as·boind: Milan: subj. 3sg. with infix. 3sg. conimop 20b6; opaid
(‘refuses, declines’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. -oip 42a2.

†boingid ‘breaks, smites’
PIE 2. *bʰeṷgʰ,*bʰeṷg - (LIV² 84f., LIV² 85f. IEW 152f.)
CC *bu₉n₉g₉/e/o-

con·boing (‘smashes, breaks’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. boveing 4d15, Milan: past subj. 3sg. with infix. 2pl cochotabosad 18a7, VN combach, dat. sg. diacombuch 126a7.

†dingid ‘presses, thrusts’
PIE *dʰeĩɡʰ- (LIV² 140f, IEW 244f.)
CC *di-n-g-e/o-

ar·utaing (‘builds up, restores’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. arutaing 64c20, fut. 2sg. arutaissiu 56a11, verb. nec. airdachtaib, erdachtaib 130b10, VN airtach, ertai 118c7, anertach 121b7; con·utainc (‘builds, constructs’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. conutuing 10b28, rel. intí conutuing (MS conutunig) 8d2, with infix. pron. 2pl. and emph. pron. 2pl. cotofutaincsi (MS cotofutaircsi) 8c16, perf. 3sg. rel. ərotaig 33a5, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n. əidrotig 33a2, impv.. 3sg. comtangad 31c15, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. cotauaing 36a18a, perf. 3sg. ərotaig 40d5, pass. sg. conrotacht 48d27, part. cumtachtae 57c2, VN (n o) cumtach, acc. sg. cumtach 72a5, dat. sg. cumtuch 94b11, 131c8, dat. pl. chumtachtaib 102d10; for·ding (‘crushes, oppresses’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. fordengat 29a13, pass. sg. fordengar 57d7, impf. 1sg. forndinginn 115a16, pres. subj. pass. pl. forndiassatar 39b12, perf. 2sg. forrudedach 96c17, 3pl. forrudedgatar 63c3.
†dlongid ‘splits, cuts’
PIE *d(h)leṷg(h) or *d(h)leṷĝ(h)- (*delg₇* - LIV² 113f., IEW 196)
CC *dlu-n-g-e/o-

in-dloing (‘cleaves, parts’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. asdloing 48c32, fut. 3sg. neg ni indail 96a8, VN (n o) indlach, acc. sg. indlach 32a1, 40d16, 64a1, dat. sg. indluch 129d8.

fo·loing ‘bears, supports’
PIE 2. *leṷg’9 (LIV² 416, IEW 685f.)
CC *-lu-n-g-e/o-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. foloing 29d17, 1pl.. rel. follongam 14b15, 2pl. with emph. pron. 2pl. nifulngidsi 8c3, fut. 1sg. with emph. pron. 1sg. folilussa 23b25, 3pl. rel. folilsat 25d15, sec. fut. 3pl. nifoilsitis (MS nifoísitis) 15a20, pres. subj. 1pl.. arafúlsam 14c2a, perfect. pres. subj. 1pl. rel. nádfochomolsam 14b15, 2pl. rel. nadfochomalsid 11b2, impv. 2pl. fulget 20c5, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. annadfulngat 122a8, ónachful 129a5, rel. nad fulaing 77d3, 77d6, 1pl. ni fulgam 77d6, 77d7, rel. neg nad fulgam 77d7. impv. 3pl. fulúngat 60d4, fulngat 60d7, pres. subj. 1sg. fulós 33a2, -fullos 58c12, follós 62b12, 3sg. follo 32d18, folló 100d10, (rel.) -ful 32d5, 57d15, 3pl. follosat 69a7, 118a12, past subj. 3pl. folostais 104c5, fut. 3pl. folilsat 80a13, pass. sg. fulilastar 109b02, sec. fut. 1sg. fulilsain 73d1, pret. 1sg. forroiblang 107d13, perf. 3pl. folongat 35a3, fcoimlachtar 47c6, part. fulachtae 88b12, VN fulach 22d9, 32d4, fulang (m o, in DIL given as later, but already found in Wb); in·loing (‘joins, unites’): Milan: part. ellachtae, nom. pl. ellachtai 84a6.

†rondid ‘colours, dyes’
PIE 1. *(h₁)reṷd(h) (LIV² 508f., IEW 872f.)
CC *ru-n-d-e/o-

fo·roind (‘darkens, stains’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. -forondar 35d8, pres. subj. pass. pl. furastar 15b11, pret. 3sg. fororaid 51a23.

tongaid (‘swears, takes an oath’)
PIE *h₂leṷg₇ or *h₂leṷĝ₇ (IEW 687)
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

CC *tu-n-g-e/o- ↔ 2. *lu-n-g-e/o-

Appendix 2: Primary verbs

7.4 BIV

**benaid** ‘beats, strikes’
PIE *bʰejH- (LIV² 72, IEW 117f.)
CC *bi-na-


**ad·cuimben** (’strikes, cuts’): Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. *adcumnet* 77a1;


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⁵⁸ Reading following DIL; Thes has this as *nadfendar* with note ‘MS. *nadfedar*: corr. Thurneysen, here *f* is for *bh*, and translates it as ‘they are not stricken’. The reference from Thurneysen cannot be traced, but he seems to take it as from *benaid* rather than *feidid*. There seems no reason for this emendation.

⁵⁹ DIL: ‘verb of uncertain form and analysis. Ped ii 445 postulates a compound *to-ro-ben-(bi-) influenced in meaning by a hypothetical *to-for-len-*, Thurneysen a verb *to-for-bi- in meaning arrives* (GOI §551) and for the meaning profits a back-formation from torbae (to-ro-withbae profit) (§852), both influenced in form by *benaid* and its compounds.’
duforbaithe 31c11, pres. subj. 1pl. with infix. dundórbiam 105b6, 3pl. 
dofórbiat 27a10, perf. 1sg. -ruthórbha 44b29, 3sg. dororbai 123d5, 3pl. rel. 
hírothorbatar 44b29, VN (n) torbae 42b13, 102d4, 120c7, acc. sg. torbae 
41a10, eter·diben (‘destroys’): pres. ind. 3pl. etirdib(n)et 15b6, impf. 3pl. rel. 
etirdibnitis 99a7, pres. subj. 3pl. with infix. 1sg. etardam dibet 44c31, 
past subj. 3sg. rel. with infix. 3pl. itirndadibed 45c6, sec. fut. 3pl. with infix. 
1sg. coetardam dibitis 54d14, perf. 3sg. etirrudib 123b10, forubid 27c27, Milan: 
pres. ind. 3pl. fobenat 13b13, perf. 2pl. rel. forubid 
coetardam dibitis 54d14, perf. 3sg. etirrudib 123b10, fo·ben (‘attacks, 
impairs’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. frisben 125c4, VN frepaid 123c2, dat. sg. frepaid 
imm-diben (‘excises, circumcises’): Würzburg: impv. 1pl. imdinbem 
15b9; pass.: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. immuruidbed 23d30, 3sg. 
niuroim dibed 18d9, 23d25, with interrog. inroim dibed 2c8, rel. immuruidbed 
18d9, past subj. 3sg. ni imidibthe 1d17, rel. nád imdibthe 1d15; indárban 
(‘drives out, expels’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. with infix. pron. 1sg. and 
emph. pron. 1sg. nachimrindarpai se 5a18; pass.: perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. with 
imph. pron. 2sg. arnachitindarpither 5b33, past subj. 3pl. with emph. 
pron. 3pl. inár pitis som 5c1, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. ataárban 
65a14, pass. sg. innarbanar 14c16, inárbanar 73a20, pl. innárbanar 15c5, 
impv. 3sg. atatáir bined 86c10, pass. sg. with infix. 1sg. nachamindr arbanar 
56a22, pret. 1sg. inrar ba 46b10, 3pl. inrarpatar 23d8, VN (n io) indarba, 
nom./acc. sg. indarbae 23c8, 41c10, acc. sg. indarbae 30d13, gen. sg. 
indar pai 67a9, dat. sg. indar bu 48d27, 127b9. ocuben (‘touches’)60. Milan: 
pres. ind. 3sg. with infix. 3pl. ni con rocmi 76a12, pass. pl. rel. ocubendar 
54a12, nad ocmanatar 54a12, fut. 3pl. ocubiat 126b12 pass. sg. ocubether 
53b17, perf. 3sg. occuroae 98d8, VN (f a) ocmad, gen. sg. ocm a ide 39a10. 

ad·fen (‘repays, requites’)

PIE *yeh₁ (LIV2 695 IEW 1120-2)

CC *-ui-na-

60 Schumacher has this as a compound of benaid while DIL has it as a compound of the substantive verb.
ad·fen: Würzburg: past subj. 3pl. rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emph pron. 3pl. arandathidisom 21d11, pass. fut. 3sg. adfether 20b7; for·fen (‘finishes, completes’): Würzburg: pass. pres. ind. 3sg. forbanar 14d27, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. forfen 64c2, pres. subj. 3sg. forfiatsom 23a19, pass. sg. (perfective) burorbaither 15a6, pret. 3sg. forruchui 121c24, part. (io, iā) foirbthe 124c4, dat. sg. fem. forbthi 39a2, part. (io, iā) forbaide 42c18, dat. pl. forbathib 105a10, VN forba, dat. sg. forbu 15a4, 15a5, 50c14, 55c21; imm·fen (‘hedges round’): Milan: part imbide, imbithe 128a9.

renaid ‘sells, barters’
PIE *h₂reiḤ- (IEW 60f.)
PIE *ri-na-
renaid: Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with infix. pron. 1sg. romrir 3c38, pres. subj. 3pl. niriat 28c2, Milan: pres. 3pl. rel. rendæ 120d1, verb. nec. rithi 36a37, ar-ren (‘pays on behalf of another’): Milan: pres. ind. 2pl errenaide 20c2, as-ren (‘pays away, expends’): Würzburg: fut. 1sg. with emph. pron. 1sg. asrirusa 18a14, 3sg. asriri 25b6; pass. fut. 3sg. asrirther 1c3, Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. asrenai 44a6, 3sg. asren 36a30, 127a18, impf. 3sg. asrenad 32b10, pres. subj. 3sg. asria 127a18, past subj. 3sg. asriad 36a29, fut. 3sg. asriri 30c13, VN (f i) éric, éraic 59a15, dat. sg. éric 127a1.

sernaiti (‘arrays, disposes’)
PIE *sterh₃- (LIV² 599f., IEW 1029f.)
CC *star-na-
sernaiti: Würzburg: pass. past subj. 3sg. rel. sernte 18c8, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. -sernat 31a19, impv. 2sg. sèrnn 56c12, part. dat. sg. srithiu 31c18, VN (f ā) sreth, dat. pl. srethaib 20d9; con-sern (spreads out, strews): Milan: pres. subj. 1pl. consernam 35c36, impv. 2pl cosrid 68a15, 3sg. cosrad 124a5, verb. nec. consrithi (punctum delens over s) 16a13; do·sern (‘brings up?’): Milan: part dirathe 33c4.

crenaid ‘buys, obtains’
PIE *k³reih₂- (LIV² 395f., IEW 648)
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

CC *kʰri-na-

crenaid: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. crenas 29d23, 3pl. rel. nadchrenat 10b7, do-aithchren (‘buys back, redeems’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. doradchiúir 2b9, with rel. n dorraidchiúir 32d10, impv. 2pl. (tai)dehrenid 27c27, Milan: impf. 3pl. pass. doaithchretis 123c10, perf. 3sg. duarchiuir 73b5, pass. pl. dorathchratha 125b9; fo-cren (‘buys, purchases’): Milan: VN fochraic, acc. sg. fochraic 91b5, 91b6, gen. sg. fochraice 15d6, 44d18, fochricce 54a14, acc. pl. fochraicci 90c14, dat. pl. fochraithectb 18c5.

ernaid ‘bestows, grants’
PIE *perh₃- (LIV² 474f., IEW 817)
CC *φar-na-

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. roir 17b13, with infix. pron. 1pl. ronnir 20d11, perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. ra ʿera 25a31; pass.: fut. 3sg. ebarthir 32a27, perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. ro erthar 18b23, perfect. past subj. 3sg. roerthe 27a16, Milan: fut. 1sg. with suff 3sg. ebarthi 46b12, VN rath 89c15.

glenaid (‘adheres, cleaves’)
PIE *glejH₃- (LIV² 190, IEW 362f.)
CC *gli-na-

Milan: pres. subj. 1sg. conigléu 86b8, 3pl. rel. glete 127b19, fut. 3pl. giulait 65b7, perf. 3sg. rogiuil (DIL rogiul) 98b8.

lenaid ‘remains, continues’
PIE *h₂lejH₃- (LIV² 277f., IEW 662)
CC *li-na-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. lenid 5c16, 3pl. lenit 29a23, fut. 3sg. with dem. rel. alliles 10a5, Milan: perf. 3sg. rolil (note Thes.: ‘MS. rolin’, but this form is interpreted by McCone (1985: 93) as an innovative s-pret. that still retains the vocalism of the suffixless form.) 54d7, 3pl. roleldar 96c13, VN len(a)main, dat. sg. lenamain 101b1.

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Appendix 2: Primary verbs

**mairnid** ‘betrays; plays false’
PIE *merh₂*- (LIV² 440, IEW 735f.)
CC *mar-na-

Würzburg: fut. 3pl. i. *nimmerat* 30c20, Milan: past subj. 3sg. *conumerad* 24c20, perf. 3pl. rel. *romertatar* 75d5.

**tlenaid** ‘takes away, steals’
PIE *telh₂*- (LIV² 622f., IEW 1060f.)
CC *tli-na-

7.5 BV

**ad·gnin** ‘knows, recognises’
PIE ĝneh₁- (LIV² 168-70, IEW 376-8)
CC *-gni-na-

**ad·gnin**: Würzburg: pret. and perf. (with pres. ind. meaning) 1sg. rel. and with emph pron. 1sg. adgénsa 12c13, 3sg. rel. adgeuin 12c13, and with infix. pron. 3sg. n adidgeúin 12c13, 1 pl. adgenammar 14d28, Milan: fut. pass. sg. atatgentar 121d22, pret. 2sg. asgen 140b3, 3sg. with infix. 3sg. ni naithgeuin 52 line 17, VN (n io) aithne, dat. sg. aithgni 42b13, etar·gnín (‘finds out, learns’): pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) -etargéuin 42c10, 42c15, fut. 3pl. etirgénat 68c20, etirgenat 73a1, pret. (often with pres. meaning) 1sg. etiringén 94b12, 3sg. (rel.) etirgein 24a19, etirgén 79a11, VN (n io) etargne, etarcnae 58a20, 103a9, acc. sg. etarcnae 42b27, gen. sg. etarcnai 14c9, etarcni 53c5, 59a20, dat. sg. etarcnu 9a13, 27d5, 42b13, 42c11, 42d2, 46c20, 63a8, dat. pl. etarcnaib 72c6, in·gnin (‘recognises, knows’): Milan: pret. 3sg. ningeuin 52 line 19, ni ingéuin 69a15, verb. nec. ingnai 63a9, 105c10, VN engnae, ingnae, 26b8, dat. sg. engnu 14c19, 14d7, ingnu 140b2, gen. sg. / nom. pl. inngnai 89b8, *remi·asgnin* (‘knows beforehand’): Milan: past subj. 3pl. remiergnaitis 19b8.

**ara·chrin** ‘decays, fails’
PIE *kreh₃* (LIV² 366f., IEW 945f.)
CC *kri-ni-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n (and elision of infix. pron. 3sg. n.) arinchrin 32c10, 3pl. arinchrinat 27b1, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. arachrin 57c12, with infix. pron. 3sg arindchrin 57a10, 3pl. aracrinat 73c2, past subj. 3pl. arindrochrietin 85d1, fut. 3pl. arachiurat 59b9, perf. 3pl. arrceoratar 26d6 (Thes gives translation of this gloss under 7), part. airchraide, erchrıde 26d12, VN (n io) airchra, acc. sg. erchrae 39c34, 119b9, 122a17, dat. sg. erchru 30d27, 31a4, 58b10.
**do·lin** ‘flows; swarms’

PIE *pleh₁* (LIV² 482ff., IEW 798-800)

CC φli-ni-

Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. *dolin* 2a9, 3pl. (rel.) *dulinat* 56a14, 83c7, impf. 3sg. *dolinad* 133c7, pres. subj. 3sg. *dulin* (Note Thes.: ‘rather the subj. *dulina* to translate the infinitive’) 68b11, fut. 3sg. *dolili* 30c13, perf. 3sg. *dorulin* 64c18.
7.6 Hiatus verbs

Note that in a compound verb with two or more preverbs, it is meaningless to speak of a hiatus verb, since the root is never stressed and therefore the hiatus will never show. I classify a verb as a hiatus verb if its simplex is, or if a hypothetical simplex would be such.

**ad·cí** ‘sees’

PIE *kʰeis- (LIV² 381f., IEW 637)

CC *kʰis-e/o-

Appendix 2: Primary verbs


ad·comla ‘joins, unites’
PIE *leh₁-* (LIV² 399, IEW 666, IEW 682f.)
CC *-la-je/o-
ad·comla: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. adcomla 3c13, with infix. pron. 3sg. m. atcomla 16a19, with emp. pron. 3sg. atcomlasom 4a10, atcomlasom 25b16, Milan: pres. ind. pass. pl. (rel.) adchomlatar 35b2, perf. 3sg. adrochomul 58b12, part. (io, iā) acomoltae, nom. pl. acomaltai 44c1, VN (n o) accomol, gen. sg. acumul 58b3, dat. sg. (?) accumul 15b8, dat. sg. accomul 35d26, 121c6; do·inóla (‘gathers, collects’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. doninola 25b3, pres. subj. pass. sg. doninoltar 24a8, pl. -tinoltar 55b5, perf. 3sg. dorinól 51a21; fo·accomla (‘subjoins’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. fo(a)comla 30b10; imm·tecmalla (‘assembles, collects together’): Würzburg: perfect. pres. subj. rel. commaterchomla 14a2.

ad·cota ‘gets, obtains’

PIE *steh₂- (LIV² 590-2, IEW 1004f.)

CC 1. *tā-je/o-

ad·cota: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. adcotat 6a6, pret. 1sg. with dem. rel. and emp. pron. 1 sg. anadchodadossa 7a16, pres. subj. 1sg. in diüs inétim techt? 1a6, 2pl. rel. conétid 22d20, conetid 22d24, 3pl. rel. etat 31b18, pass. pres. ind. 3sg. nietar 17d27, rel. with nad nád etar 16b11, Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. adcota 20a13, 3pl. adcotat 87c3a, pass. sg. rel. adchotar 56b15, 92b9, 128d18, trisanétar 126b19, trisanétar 126c1, pres. subj. 1sg. (rel.) adcot 60c6, 92a17 (2x), 3sg. coadcota 77b12, conneta 32d15, past subj. 3sg. coadcotad 39c5, 3pl. conetaitis 130b6, condetaitis 125a4, pass. sg. adchotate (DIL: adchotatae) 100c23, fut. 3sg. nixetada 129b5, pass. sg. aracotar (Cf. Mccone 1985: 99) 118d10, sec. fut. pass. sg. étaste 43d20, pl. neg nadétatais 124d9, pret. 1sg. adcotadus 44c18, niétade 111b20, 3sg. adcotade 89c1, 1pl. adchotadsam 92c5, 3pl. adchotatsat 57a2, adchotatsat 67b10, with infix. 3sg. atchotatsat 54a9 rel. trissanétatsat 57a3, adchotatsat 123a9, pret. pass. adcotad 43d24, part (io, iā) éttae, étae, 129a3, étite 118d11, dat. sg. éttu, iarneit 119a5, 59b13, dat. pl. étib 69a5, VN ét, éit 127a9 dat. sg. duét 118a16, duéit 118d5; ad·nessa (‘lampoons, censures’): Milan: VN ainsem, gen. sg. ainsemo 34a18; ar·ossa (‘awaits’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. arossa 96a11, with infix. pron. ar ossa 134d7, rel. with infix. pron. aranossa 15b16; ar·tá (‘is in store for, impends’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. arathá 10b3, arthá 30d13; with infix. pron. 1pl. aruntáa
Appendix 2: Primary verbs


**ad•noí** ‘entrusts, commends to’

PIE *neṷ*- (LIV² 455f., IEW 767)

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. *adroni* 29d29 (2x), pres. subj. 3 sg. rel.? *adnoodur* 93b21.

**asa•gú(si)** ‘desires, wishes’

PIE *ĝeṷs* (LIV² 166-7, IEW 399-400)

Würzburg: perf. 3sg. rel. *asagú* 58b9, 3sg. *assagusea* 129b5

**asa•gú(si)**: Milan: past subj. 3sg. rel. *asagusi* 61b17, 3pl. rel. *adguset* 56b21, rel. *assaguiset* 61b17, impf. 3pl. rel. *adgustis* 69a2, pres. subj. 1sg. *asagú* 58b9, 3sg. *assagusea* 129b5

Appendix 2: Primary verbs


**as·lúi** ‘escapes, absconds’
PIE *leṷH9* (LIV² 417, IEW 681f.)
CC *-luṷ-e/o-

*as·lúi*: Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. *asluat* 29a3, perf. 1sg. rel. *asru luís* 17d16,
perfect. pres. subj. 3sg. *ní rohela* 30a10, pres. subj. 2pl. with ci and infix.

**baïd** ‘dies’
PIE *g³eh₂* (LIV² 205, IEW 463f.)
CC *bā-


**bruïd** ‘breaks in pieces, smashes’
PIE *b³reṷs* (LIV² 97, IEW 171)
CC *brus·je/o-* (note: not in Schumacher)

Appendix 2: Primary verbs

ceta·bi ‘feels, perceives’
PIE *b³uèh₂- (LIV² 98-101, IEW 146-50)
CC *bu-ije-o-
ceta·bi: Würzburg: impf. 1sg. cetabiinn 2c8, Milan: cons. pres. 3sg.
citambi 36b1, pres. subj. 3sg. citambé 36b1, citabé 68d15, perf. 1sg.
citaroba 44b22, VN céfaid, acc. sg. cétbaíd 68c14, dat. sg. chétbaid 61a7,
chëbaíd 61c3; do·doichbi (‘comes’): Milan: fut. 3sg. dundoichféa (DIL
states ‘-doichféa (sic MS)’) 39d26, 3pl. -todoichfet 28b6.

ciïd ‘cries, weeps’
PIE ?2. *k’ej- (LIV² 321, IEW 542)
CC *ki-je/o-
Würzburg: pres. ind. 3pl. rel. nàdchiat 10b6, past subj. 3pl. nicetis
10b6.

cloïd ‘turns, turns back’
PIE *k¹leu- (LEIA C-121-2)
CC *k¹lou-ie-o-
sg. cloithir 16b3, cloïther 30c1, past subj. 3pl. with infix. 3sg. òticloïtis
112b20, fut. pass. sg. with infix. 2pl. nobcloîfether 67a11, perf. 2sg. roclois
43d18, 3sg. rel. rochlóí 37a5, part. cloîthe 32b2, nom. pl. nepchloïthi 83b7,
dat. pl. clothib 67b13, 131d11, 135c2, VN clôd, cloud 70a7, dat. sg. clëod
56b16; con·erchloï (‘leads, drives’): Würzburg: pass.: pres. ind. 3pl.
conirclóithier 4a14, pres. subj. 3pl. cocherclôoatár 14c6, Milan: pres. ind.
3sg. conerclói 33d16, pass. sg. ñerclôoïther 18d19, part (io, ia)
conerclôithe, gen. sg. conerclôoihi 54b16, 80b4; con·imchloï (‘changes,
alters’): Milan: VN (m u and o) coimclôoad, choimclôod 109d04, gen. sg.
coimclôoda 63d3.

con·cnaí ‘chews, masticates’
PIE *kneh₂- (LIV² 365, IEW 560)
CC *knä-je/o-
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

Milan: VN (m u) cocnam 75b7.

**con·oi** ‘protects, preserves’
PIE *h₁eṷ- (LIV² 243-4, IEW 78)
CC *eṷ-jē/o- (not in Schumacher)

Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. ɐ́óí 29d29, with infix. pron. 3sg. f. and anaph. pron. 3sg. f. cota ɓeiaɗ 29d29, impv. 2pl. comid 27a3, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emp. pron. 2pl. cotdòith sì 7d4, Milan: VN coimēt (see also con-eim), gen. sg. chometa 55d6.

**†dóïd** ‘kindles, burns’
PIE *deh₂u- (LIV² 104-5)

ad·dai (‘kindles, lights’): Milan: pres. ind. pass. sg. astoither 38d18.

**do·slí** ‘deserves, merits’
PIE *selh₁- (LIV² 529, IEW 899)
CC *-sl-ije/o-

do·slí: Würzburg: perf. 1pl. nirothuillussem 24d6, Milan: VN (m u & o) tuillem, tuilem 72c15, dat. pl. tullemaib 39d18, ad·roilli (‘deserves, is entitled to’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with proleptic infix. pron. 3sg. n. attrroilli 2d13, pret. 1pl. with emp. pron. 1pl. niarilsemmn 20d14, 2pl. niarilsid 21a17, 3pl. rel. atroillisset (Cf. Mccone 1985: 97) 4c15, adroilliset 4e35, rel. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. assidroilliset 17a9, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. cinid arilliset 4c39, niarilset 4d10, pres. subj. 3pl. with infix. pron. 3sg. n. ciatroillet 31c23, ciniarillet 31c23, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. adroiliu 75a11, 2sg. rel. nad nairilli 55d13, 3sg. atroilli (Cf. Mccone 1985: 97) 51d12, (rel.) asroilli 51d12, 111b28 withinf (?) 130b8, rel. adroilli 61a20, rel. nachid áirilli 84c13, 2pl. with infix. 3sg. arnachaaairillid 115b11, 3pl. asroillet 40a4, nadnairillet 40c12, rel. with infix. 3sg. assidroillet 54d6,

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61 The derivation is uncertain. If this is primary, it could be either PIE *deh₂u-e-ti > *dah₂u-e-ti > *daw₂-e-ti > OI dōïd or *deh₂u-ie-ti > *dah₂u-ie-ti > *daw₂-ie-ti > *daw₂-i-ti > dōïd. However, the possibility that this is causative, *doh₂u-e-ti > *doh₂u-i-ti > *dōw₂-i-ti > CC *daw₂-i-ti > OI *dāïd should not be discarded. Note that ‘kindles’ is semantically causative, although that meaning could also have developed directly from the meaning ‘catch fire’.

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Appendix 2: Primary verbs


**gníid** ‘acts, does’

PIE *ǵenh₁*- (LIV² 163-5, IEW 373-5)

CC *gn-ije/o-

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Appendix 2: Primary verbs

2sg. dogné 32a24, with emp. pron. 2sg. dognésu 5d39, mani dëne 10a17, ní dëne 5d38, perfect. (gem.) dorronai 32a24, 3sg. dogné 12c46, with infix. pron. 3sg. n. dodgné 27c14, perfect. with conjn.s arnaderna 4a5, ëderna 12b6, 17a13 (= Facs.), 1pl. with conjn. and
infix. pron. 3pl. codos gnem 21b9, perfect. with conjn. condernam 22a12, ëdernam 25c10, nádernam 17b6, 2pl. dogneid 5d30, 11d16, 13a29, dogneith 27c9, ciadugneid 22b23, with rel. n dongneid 5c20, dongneith 5d27, with emp. pron. 2pl. dognethsi 12d7, dognedsi 25d22, with infix. pron. 3sg. f. nísndenaith 6b29, perfect. with conjn.s ëdernaid 13d30, arandernaïd 16a24, arnadernaid 16a24, past subj. 1sg. dognein 10a27, cedugnén 10c16, with ma and infix. pron. 3sg. n. madagnenn 10d31, perfect. with nach and infix. pron. 3sg. n. and emp. pron. 1sg. nachderinnse 8a5, 3sg. dogned 17a13, perfect. duronad 8a4, 1pl. cedugnemmis 10c21, 2pl. dognethe 9d25, with prep. and rel. frissandênte 9c24, perfect. doróntae 16a23, impv. 3sg. with infix. pron. 3sg. m. (reflex.) dangniid (MS dangiidd) 8d9, dénad 6b18, 28b19, with emp. pron. 3sg. f. dénadsi 28d19, 2pl. dénid 23c11, 25c17, denid 24a23, 27a7, with infix. pron. 3pl. and emp. pron. 2pl. dosgníthsi 24b12, pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. with prep. and rel. arandéntar 2a10, dogníther 9c22, 10c11, 14c21, 20a7, 22b21, 23c11, dogníther 3c36, 9c14, 10c11, 23b20, with prep. and rel. frissandéntar 11a9, impf. 3sg. dogníthe 15a18, fut. 3sg. dogéntar 4d1, 26a8, perf. 3sg. doronad 15a33, (with gem.) dorronad 26d5, with ce and infix. pron. 3sg. n. cedudrónath 33a15, pres. subj. dogníthe 13a29, dogníther 29a21, madugnether 5c23, manidénatar 8a11, perfect. with rel. n dorróntar 13d21, past subj. 3sg. dognethe 9c20, Milan: pres. ind. 1sg. -denim 37c3, 37c5, 40a17, neg with infix. 3sg. nisdénaim 75a9, 2sg. dugni 106c12, rel. dogni 44a23, aranden 55d21, neg cenid deni 56b33, 3sg. (rel.) dogni 16c10, 20a19, 23c20, 26c2, 37a10, 51b12, 145b6, (rel.) dugni 59a7, 81a5, (rel.) dugni 39b2, 128c3, dugni 93a13, with infix. 3sg. n dusgni 29a3, rel. dungni 29a3, 90d3, 96a9, 102a15, 138a4, rel. dungni 90d12, 92b10, 114d12, 127a5, rel. dong(ni) 51b27, rel. duñgni 81a6, rel. with infix. 3sg. dugnìt 44d21, with ro nachderni 128c3, 2pl. with nas dundgniid 103b13, 3pl. (rel.) dogniat 3a5, 42c2, dugniat 120c7, 139a8, (rel.) -denat 18b4, 37b26, with infix. dundgniati 26b10, with infix. 3sg. n dagniat 26c2 (translated as pass.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>dudagni</td>
<td>inf. 3pl.</td>
<td>action of bringing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

16d6, 23b5, 28d7, 29d8, (rel.) *dorigensat* 43b13, 46d10, 48b18, 53b11, 54a34, 80b10, 90c12, 97b4, 124d4, 136b4, (rel.) *durigensat* 50c7, 80b4, 84c1, 91a21 (2x), 105a2 (2x), rel. *durigénsat* 62d6, with infix. 3sg. n *dondarigensat* 31b17, rel. with infix. 3sg. *dundrigensat* 87a8, with infix. 3pl. *rondageinset* 29a4, with nas *dundrigensat* 68b4, pass. sg. *doronad* 90c11, *duronad* 136c1, pl. *doronta* 133c5, verb. nec. *denti*, *denti* (this form not in DIL) 51b8, 82a7, *deinti* 58a20, part. *margnethi* 126c6 VN (m u) *dénem*, *denum* 2d11, 14c12 (2x), 22b1, 23c20, 35d14, 55c18, 114b9, dat. sg. *denum* 14a8, 18c6, 23a5, 23c5, 40c5, 54c12, 60b6, gen. sg. *denma* 34b10, 35b25, 38d20, 47c13; *coni·dénim* (this verb not in DIL, but referred to under VN): Milan: VN *comdénam*, dat. sg. *comdenum* 34a23; *coni·gní* (‘helps, assists’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with emp. pron. 3sg. m. *gní som* 26d17, 1pl. *congniam* 14c42, fut. 3sg. *congéna* 22d9; *fo·gní* (‘serves’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. with rel. n amal *fogní* 12a12, perf. 3sg. *foruigéni* 13b7, 1pl. with prep. and rel. pron. *diaforgénasam* 3c15, 2pl. amal *foruigensid* 3b28, 3pl. rel. *foruigensat* 1b22, pres. subj. 3sg. rel. *arafogna* 12a12, 1pl. rel. *fognem* 5d19, 2pl. *fogeith* 20a11, impv. *fognad* 20b11, 2pl. *fognid* 3b28; pass.: pres. ind. 3sg. *fogniter* 27b9, 3pl. amal *fogniter* 27b9, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. *fogniati* 112b4, fut. 1sg. rel. *fungen* 78d2, perf. 3sg. rel. *diaforgeni* 44c9, VN *fognam*, *dufognam* 121b13, gen. sg. *fognama* 84c12, dat. sg. *fognam* 18b8, 28b9; *fris·gní* (‘exercises, practises’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. *frisgni* 27b3, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. (rel.) *frisgni* 37b12, VN (m u) *frithgnam*, nom. pl. *frithgnamai* 39d15, acc. pl. *frithgnamu* 56b4; *imm·fogní* (‘is construed’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. (rel.) -infogni 27c10 (2x); *remi·gní*: Milan: part. *remgnethi*, gen. sg. *remgnethi* 103d15.

liïd ‘charges, accuses’
PIE *slejH*- (IEW 650f.)
CC 2. *liij-e/o-

Würzburg: pres. ind. 1sg. with emp. pron. 1sg. liïmse 13b18, ni liïm 10a1, 1pl. limmi 13b17, 3pl. liït 2a13.

†raid ‘rows, sails’
PIE 2. *h1reh1*- (LIV² 251f., IEW 338)

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Appendix 2: Primary verbs

CC *rā-je/o-

imm·rā (‘rows’): Milan: VN imram 126a1.

snáid ‘swims, floats’
PIE *(s)neh₂- (LIV² 572f., IEW 971f.)
CC *snā-

snáid: Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. snaid 93c1.

snīd ‘spins’
PIE *sneh₁- (LIV² 571f., IEW 973)
CC *snîj-e/o-

snīd: Milan: part snithe 24b7, VN snim 89b7; imm·fresnai (‘contends, disputes’): Würzburg: pres. ind. 3sg. imfresna 30c16, 3pl. imfresnat 31b30, ni imbresnat 29d2, Milan: pres. ind. 3pl. immafresnat 20d6, impv. 3sg. naimresnad 139a12, VN imresan 46b5, dat. sg. imresun 132c3; ad·cosnai (‘strives, seeks’): Milan: pres. subj. 2sg. adcosnae 56b39, -ascnae 56b31, 3sg. adcosna 51b6, perf. 3sg. adruchoissēnī 69d4 part (io, iā) ascnaide, dat. sg. f ascnaidi 31c21, dat. sg. / acc. pl. ascnaidiu 53b25, VN (m u) ascnam 56b28-29, acc. sg. ascnam 48d21⁶², dat. sg. ascnam 72b23, acc. pl. ascnamu 53a7; as·roinni (‘escapes’): Milan: pres. subj. 3sg. asroinnea 31a2, part. émaide, nephērnaidi 134b9; con·sni (‘contends, contests’): Milan: VN (m u) cosnam, dat. sg. cosnam 73a12;


sŏïd ‘turns, turns round’
PIE *seṷh₁- (LIV² 538f., IEW 914)
CC *suṣ-e/o-

sŏïd: Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. rel. soas 64b4, 123d8, past subj. 2sg. nosoe 44b15, sec. fut. 2sg. no soifē 33a1, perf. 2pl. with infix. 3sg. rasoisit

⁶² The gloss is innascnam. DIL separates this as inna ascnam, but this is incorrect. In a masc u-stem, the only forms identical to the nom. sg. can be acc. sg. or dat. sg., and that does not work with the article. The Latin is acc., and that would fit the OI form perfectly with an acc. sg. art, nasalising, and the acc. of ascnam.
Appendix 2: Primary verbs

103c15, 3pl. rosoisset 124c6, pass. sg. rusoaid 101a6, part. soithe 94c15, VN (m u) soud, acc. sg. soud 86c4, dat. sg. soud 99d7; con-toí (‘turns, converts’): Milan: pres. ind. 3sg. stoi 65a1, 3pl. rel. contoat 46c1, perf. 3sg. conruthói 51c22, conroroe 123b7, VN comthód, comthoud 20a16, acc./dat. sg. comthod 53c14, 111a5; do-intái (‘turns back, returns’): Würzburg: perf. 3sg. with rel. n donintarrái 16b18, pres. subj. 2pl. manitintáith 12d2, pass.: pres. subj. 3sg. manitintither 12c46, Milan: pres. subj. 2sg. duintae 3a13, nadtintae 3a15, past subj. 3sg. duintad (this form not in DIL) 89d6, perf. 3sg. (rel.) dorintai 3a7, duintarraid 54d3, VN (m u) nom. sg. intud 2a6 (2x), 3a11, acc. sg. tintuda 3a14, dat. sg. tindud 2a15 (2x), 37a10, gen. sg. tintuda 2b3, 3a8, tintúda 45d2, acc. pl. tintudai 3a14, nom. pl. tintuda 2d11; imm-sóí (‘turns around, moves’): Milan: pres. ind. 2sg. rel. immesoisiu 111a6 pass. sg. rel. immesoither 61a26, past subj. 3sg. connachnimpad 122a14, verb nec. impaithi 125a8, VN impód, impúd 61a28, impud 120c8, acc. sg. impúd 93a18.

†sreíd ‘scatters, hurls’
PIE *sterh3- (LIV² 599-600, IEW 1029-30)
CC *stre- (not in Schumacher)

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