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The Mutational Effects of the Preposition ós: Bile ós Chrannaibh and Related Matters

1. Introduction

In his very positive review of Professor William Gillies's Festschrift (McLeod et al. 2010) in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 27, Colm Ó Baoill, 'having tried, unsuccessfully, to find faults in the contributions', thinks he 'finally found one in the title, *Bile ós Chrannaibh*, where there ought to be no lenition following the preposition ós' (Ó Baoill 2010: 128). As the co-editor, who suggested the title for the Festschrift and who argued for the retention of lenition in this instance, it seems appropriate to outline here, with Professor Ó Baoill's encouragement, the justification for the form *ós chrannaibh* with lenition. It is hoped that the evidence and analysis presented below may be of more general interest for the light it sheds on the historical development of the preposition *ós* in the Gaelic languages, and, moreover, for reinforcing the value of Scottish Gaelic evidence in helping us to identify one possible explanation for lenition following *ós*.

It is true that the conventional view is that δs is a non-leniting preposition and Thurneysen ([1946] 1993: 527, §850C) notes it as such for Old Gaelic. McCone (1994: 177, §31.2; 190, §33.6) accordingly derives the preposition and preverb from $*\bar{o}xs$ < Insular Celtic *(o)uxs(t) < Indo-European *(s)(o)upsi (cf. Greek hupsi), implying that the final -i was somehow lost in Goedelic. Matasović (2009: 303–04) similarly derives the preposition from *owxsos although he suggests that the zero grade of the Proto-Indo-European root may be preserved in the preverb uss- / oss- <*uxso- (for which see Russell 1988). That ós was originally non-leniting in Gaelic seems to be supported by the evidence of Old Gaelic and the majority of Gaelic dialects (though not all) in Ireland, Scotland and Man; the lack of lenition following és can be illustrated by the complex prepositional forms and similar constructions os comhair, os cionn, os coinne, os meán, os méid, which are common in Modern Irish; cf. Scottish Gaelic os cionn, os bàrr, etc.2 The entry in DIL for ós does not contain any examples of leniting δs^L , which perhaps perpetuates the notion that δs is a nonlenting preposition (DIL: s.v. ós (úas)).3 However, there is ample evidence for leniting ós in Gaelic from the Middle Gaelic to Modern Gaelic periods, and, as we shall see below, there is also dialectal evidence from County Kerry for leniting δ^L . The cognate Welsh form, uch^L , is a leniting preposition, reflecting the underlying Indo-European form *(s)(o)upsi with final vowel -i (Hamp 1982; 1992); indeed, Lewis and Pedersen ([1937] 1961: 131) list uas and Welsh uwch amongst the leniting prepositions originally ending in a vowel, citing Welsh unchben 'overhead' (< unch + pen), which illustrates the soft mutation of p to b. The history of the preposition is further complicated by the evidence of Scottish Gaelic nasalising δs^N , which, happily, helps us to formulate a possible explanation for the development of lenition following és in Gaelic more generally. The collective evidence of Welsh and Gaelic textual and dialectal sources indicates that the history of the preposition és is not straightforward and that it cannot be categorised purely as a non-leniting preposition. The main purpose of this paper is to present some of the textual and dialectal evidence for leniting and nasalising δs (i.e. $\delta s^{L/N}$) in Gaelic and to consider their possible origins. An ancillary objective is to provide the specific textual evidence in support of lenition following ós in the phrase bile ós chrannaibh, the main title of Professor Gillies's Festschrift.

2. Bile ós chrannaibh

The title of Professor Gillies's festschrift, *Bile os Chrannaibh*, with lenition following os, was taken from a Classical Gaelic poem (*Cid dia ndálait na daíni*) of 16 stanzas in strict *deibhidhe* metre composed by Professor Osborn Bergin for the occasion of Professor Rudolf Thurneysen's seventy-second birthday, which was celebrated in Dublin in 1929. Bergin's poem, dated 14 March 1929, was subsequently published in the journal *Éigse* 2.4 in 1940 by Professor Daniel A. Binchy (1940) in a brief obituary following Thurneysen's death in August 1940.

Professor Ó Baoill (2010: 128) is correct when he says that *crannaib*[b] is not lenited in the published edition of the poem (Binchy 1940: 287). However, a typescript copy of the poem in my possession clearly shows lenition in 'Bile 6s chrannaib[b]' (stanza §9a) (see Appendix). This typescript was given to me by Professor Gillies in the early 1990s when I lectured at the University of Edinburgh, the text having been given to him originally in the early 1980s by Professor Kenneth Jackson, his predecessor in the Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh. Jackson may have acquired the typescript in the early 1930s when he studied at University College Dublin under Osborn Bergin and Gerard Murphy (Gillies 2004). There can be little doubt that this typescript is the text upon

which Binchy's edition of the poem was based. A comparison of both texts shows that Binchy made a small number of editorial alterations to the original text and it seems certain that it was he who decided upon emending *bile ós chrannaib*[h] to *bile ós crannaib*[h] in the published text. Other minor changes he made are:

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'na mesc for na mesc ($2a)

connách for connach ($5c)

íat for iat ($6a)

'na rathréimimm for na rathrémimm ($8c)

ind fiss for in fiss (14c)

'sa deich for sa deich (15a)

'na féin for na féin ($16c)
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Lenition of c is regularly rendered as ch in the unpublished and published version of the poem ($dia\ chess\ (\S5d)$), $bad\ chnibdi\ (\S5d)$, $cen\ chosc\ (\S6c)$, $do\ chách\ (\S10d)$, $\delta\ Charatníaid\ (\S12b)$) and there can be no doubt that lenition was intended by Bergin in the phrase $Bile\ \delta s\ chrannaib[h]$. Given Professor Gillies's personal connection with the original typescript text, his professional interest in primary sources, and the further confirmation of lenition in the phrase $\delta s\ chrannaibh$ in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (see below), I felt that it was entirely fitting to retain Bergin's lenition in the title of the Festschrift.

3. Historical evidence for leniting δs^L

Leniting ós (also úas and ás / as, for which see L. Breatnach (1994: 329, §13.22) and DIL: s.v. ós (úas)) occurs in sources ranging from the Middle Gaelic to Modern Gaelic periods. In his Grammar of Old Irish, Thurneysen ([1946] 1993: 527, §850C) notes 'ós, (h)úas, with the dative, apparently without lenition in Old Irish, though leniting in the later language'. Bergin, who studied with Thurneysen (Binchy 1940: 286) and who was one of the translators of Thurneysen's Handbuch des Altirischen into English, was also well aware of the leniting potential of the preposition ós. In fact, leniting ós occurs in a number of texts edited by him, e.g. ós fhionnshrothaibh (alliterating with eala) in Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh's poem, A chláirseach Chnuic Í Chosgair, which Bergin edited in the year 1923 in the journal Studies (see Bergin [1970] 1974: 67, §9d). A number of instances also occur in the Irish Grammatical Tracts, edited by Bergin, e.g. os

fhert (rhyming with Eóghain) (IGT, II: 1266), os chleith (IGT, II: 1425), ós chuilt (IGT, II: 1508), ós bhall (IGT, II: 1561 (= IGT, v: §90cd)), ós Bhanbha (IGT, II: 1552), os choirthibh (IGT, II: 2123). The preposition ós / úas is explicitly noted as a leniting preposition by a number of editors, e.g. van Hamel in his glossary to Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories ([1933] 1956: 22); Mac Cionnaith in his glossary ('foclóir') to Dioghluim Dána (DD: 593); James Carmichael Watson in his glossary to Mesca Ulad ([1941] 1967: 120); Vernam Hull in his glossary to Longes Mac n-Uislenn (1949: 180); Thomas F. O'Rahilly in his description of the grammar of Desiderius ([1941] 1955: xxxv) and Eleanor Knott ([1957] 1981: 125) who, in her glossary to Irish Syllabic Poetry, notes that ós 'regularly lenites, but in some phrases, as: os chionn, the lenition is often absent. Father Dinneen, in his Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla, notes ós as 'formerly asp[irating]' (Dinneen [1927] 1953: 826, s.v. ós).

Lenition following δs is found with all lenitable consonants (including the dentals d, s, t) as the following selective examples illustrate. My overall collections suggest that lenition occurs most commonly with c and f, with ds chionn counting for a large portion of all examples of lenited c:

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The Book of Leinster
       os chlaind (LL, 1: 6, l. 181)
       os chlaind (LL, 1: 9, 1. 265)
       os chind (LL, 1: 166, l. 5045)
       ós chách (LL, 1: 103, 1. 3281)
       ás argi (LL, II: 359, l. 10965; cf. L. Breatnach 1994: 329, §13.22)
       ás fanglentaib (LL, II: 379, l. 11676; cf. L. Breatnach 1994: 329,
       (13.22)
       uas Chonchobur (LL, 11: 404, l. 12554)
       uas chianbla (LL, III: 507, l. 15753)
       uas chind (LL, v: 1141, l. 33609)
Lebor na hUidre
       os chind (LU: 69, 1. 2014)
       ós chind (LU: 140, 1. 4456)
Félire Óengusso (Stokes [1905] 1984)
       úas fhlathib (24, §177c)
       uas [fh] laithib (possibly alliterating with fhlaith) (81, §11b)<sup>7</sup>
       os chrichaib (141, \S17a)<sup>8</sup>
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Serglige Con Culainn
              úas chret (Dillon 1953: 6, l. 157)
       Fingal Rónáin ans Other Stories
              ōs chaemrīgaib (Greene [1955] 1975: 39, l. 808)<sup>9</sup>
       Togail Bruidne Da Derga
              húas chairpthib (Knott [1936] 1975: 14, l. 459)
       Acallam na Senórach
              os chaill (Stokes 1900: 1. 3677)
              os chind (Stokes 1900: ll. 2404, 3108, 3170, 4199, 4200, 5683, 7877)
              ós bharraibh (Stokes 1900: 1. 95)
              ós bhorduibh (Stokes 1900: l. 799)
       Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma
              ós chionn (Ó Cuív 1994: [1].15)
              ós chíonn (Ó Cuív 1994: 8.6)
Examples from classical verse include:
       os bharr (BM: 262, §21b)
       ós Bhóinn (TD: 118, §69b)
       ós bhiodhbhadhuibh (W. J. Watson 1922: 228)
       os chāch (ABM: 626, no. 447, §1a)
       ós chách (BOH: 294, §16c)
       ós chathrachuibh (POR: 2, §9b)
       os chēimibh (ABM: 459, no. 333, §1c)
       os chionn (DD: 420, §10b)
       os chloinn (ABM: 107, §10c)
       ós chionn (IF, 11: 250, §26b)
       ós chionn (DD: 200, §6b)
       ós chionn (TD: 166, §45c)
       ós chlár (TD: 118, §68d)
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os choill (TD: 34, §41c)

ós choill (TD: 198, §27c)

os cholbha (RC, II: 228, [§1c)

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ós chomhair (BOH: 294, §18b)
ós chrobhaing (TD: 40, §16c)
ós Dhanaroibh (BOH: 14, §5a)
os dheallradh (A. Matheson 1964: 1, §2c)<sup>10</sup>
os fhearaibh (in alliteration with Éireann) (IF, 1: 46, §146d)
ós fhine (in alliteration with orrdhraic) (DD: 360, §3a)
ós fhiodh (in alliteration with fhíneamhuin and éirigh) (LBran: 2, 1. 37; 250,
ós fhiodh (in alliteration with óir) (TD: 193, §43c)
ós Fhréamhuinn (in alliteration with rátha) (TD: 124, §27d)
os fhíon (in alliteration with orgháin) (RC, II: 240)
os ghléighealaigh (ABM: 549, §1b)
ós ghasraidh (TD: 190, §22b)
ós mhintighibh (POR: 2, §9a)
ós mhnáibh (TD: 242, §82c)
ós Mhumhain (IF, 1: 70, §126b)
os fartluing (= os phartluing) (BM: 66–67, (25d)^{11}
ós shíol (ABM: 93, §39d)
ós thráigh (BOH: 212, §24a)
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Ó Maolalaigh

As a final apposite example to illustrate the use of lenition following *ós*, we may refer to *ós chrannaibh* in two Scottish versions of the poem *Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir*, one contained in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (*a' phailm os chrannaibh*, MS *phelm os chrannen*) (RC, I: 96, 97; Gillies 1996: 220, §6a) and the other in the Eigg Collection (*crann os chrannabh*) (Mac Domhnuill 1776: 134). ¹² The above evidence provides ample evidence for lenition following *ós* from Middle Gaelic down to the Modern period as well as specific evidence for lenition in the phrase *ós chrannaibh*.

4. Dialectal evidence for leniting δs^L

Non-lenition following δs is the norm in all Gaelic dialects. However, lenition is found in δs chionn (os x'u:n, as x'u:n, o:s x'u:n), δs choinne (as xin'I) and optionally in δs c(δs) omhair (os ko:r', os ku:r', os xo:r', os xu:r', as ko:r', as ku:r', as xo:r', as xu:r') in the Irish of Corca Dhuibhne (δs) Sé 2000: 216). It also occurs commonly following the preposition δs out of' in this dialect although there are some exceptions (δs) Sé 2000: 181, §391). Seán Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 492, §3.3; 503, §6.2; 510, §6.23) suggests that leniting δs ('out of, from') (which is ahistorical) in Corca Dhuibhne has affected historical δs in this dialect. However, given the historical presence of leniting δs it seems more likely that the opposite is the case, i.e. that leniting δs which is frequently realised as **as** in this dialect (albeit in variation with δs / δs) and other dialects (very often as δs only), has affected the preposition δs (out of, from'). (13)

$4.1 \, \acute{o}s > as$

I present here some of the evidence for the development $\acute{os} > as$ in Gaelic dialects. The development can be seen as a reduction common in proclitic elements although influence from the prepsotion as ('out of, from') cannot be ruled out.

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Irish: os, os, o:s, as, æs, æ:s, a:s, əs, ïs, ə∫¹⁴

(a) os
os os + cionn but bun os cionn bin'i∫ g'u:n (Ó Cuív [1944]
1980: 43, §147; 101, §294)¹⁵
os os + cionn (Holmer 1940: 51, §66)
os os + aird (Sommerfelt 1922: 124, §416; 126, §422)

(b) as ~ os (ós)
os os, as əs + cionn (Stockman 1974: 12, §124; 125, §1016)
as ïs, əs, os (Hamilton 1974: 308)
ós, os, as o:s, os, as + cionn; as as + coinne; os os, as as + comhair (Ó Sé 2000: 216, §432)

(c) as
as æs + cionn, comhair, coinne (Ó Curnáin 2007, 1: 86, §1.20; 1: 211,
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$\sqrt{1.173}; \text{ III} : 1441-42, \sqrt{7.106}; \text{ III}: 1847, \sqrt{10.7}\]

as \(\pas, \rightarrow\int \cdot \
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Scottish Gaelic: as

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as as + cionn (Borgstrøm 1941: 192, §275; SGDS: 163, pt 28) as as + cionn (Mac Gill-Fhinnein 1966: 18) as + cionn (MacAlpine [1932] 1955: 68, 74, s.vv. ceann, cionn) as ilse as iL'\int (\langle isle \rangle) (Dieckhoff 1932: 11, s.v. as isle)<sup>16</sup>
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Manx: $\epsilon'(s)$, $\epsilon r'(s)$

ós cionn > e(r)skyn ϵ 'ski:n, ęr'skin (Broderick 1984–86, II: 153)¹⁷

5. Contamination with other prepositions

On the confusion of δs and δs , we may note δs as in both δs nar ndéidh (the complex preposition as déidh) and δs mo chionn in Antrim Irish (Holmer 1940: 51, §66). On contamination with the preposition δs (and δs or δs), note δs as δs .

Scottish Gaelic forms with labial consonantal onset (*bhos*, *fos*) may indicate possible confusion with the preposition *bho* and / or *fo*. ¹⁸ The development in *os n-ìosal* > *fos n-ìosal* may have been semantically motivated through the interpretation of the phrase as meaning something like 'below low', which would offer a neat parallel to *ós* (*n-)àird* 'above high'. ¹⁹ Examples of *fos* and *bhos* include: *fo sceann* (for *fos ceann*), *fo snard* (for *fos n-àrd*) (Chaimbeull 1798: 86, 108); *bhos air ceann* ('above us') (Mc Pharson 1812: 3); *fos do chionn*, *fos làimh*, *fos n-àird* ~ *os n-àird*, *fos n-ìosal*, ²⁰ etc. (Munro [1828] 1843: 195, n. 3); *fos ìosal* ~ *fos*

n-ìosal, fos-nàird, os-cionn ~ fos-cionn (E. Mac Eachainn [1842]: 221, 285); fos cionn, bun fos cionn (MacDonald [1937] 1980: 33, l. 29; 42, l. 371; Mark 2003: 311, s.vv. fos, bhos, os); fos cinn (Borgstrøm 1941: 101, §59; 117, §106; Dorian 1978: 144, 115; Wentworth 2003: s.v. above); fos n-ìsle (Dieckhoff 1932: 90, s.vv. fos cionn, fos'n iosal [sic]); Dwelly (s.v. fos) notes fos as the Badenoch form of os. Fos seems to be the most commonly occurring form in modern Scottish Gaelic dialects; see, for instance, fos fos (Borgstrøm 1941: 117; Wentworth 2003: s.v. above) although bhos also occurs, e.g. bhos do chionn, bhos cionn (Caimbeul 1979: 29, 42, 77). For further examples from Scottish Gaelic sources, see below.

The development $\delta s > bhos / fos$ in Scottish Gaelic is paralleled by the development $\delta > bho$ ('from') and may be independent.²² Both developments are evidenced from the early sixteenth century in Scotland. The poem $M\delta r$ a-nocht mo chumha féin in the Book of the Dean of Lismore furnishes us with a number of examples: bhos cionn (MS woskin), bhos ar gcionn (MS vos ir g{'}in, bhos a chionn (MS vos a chionn), bhos a chionn (MS wos a chion) (Meek forthcoming: XXII, §§20b, 42b, 44b, 51b; cf. McLauchlan 1862: 24, 25, 28, 29);²³ however, not all examples have the initial labial consonantal element, e.g. os cionn (MS oskin) from the same poem (Meek forthcoming: §19a; cf. McLauchlan 1862: 24, 25). The development is also witnessed in the preposition $\delta > bho$ in this manuscript, e.g. δ (MS wo) (W. J. Watson 1937: 82, §6d).

Manx *erskyn* (Broderick 1984–86, II: 153) suggests influence from the preposition a(i)r and is found as early as Bishop Phillip's translation of the Book of Common Prayer in 1610: *erskyn*, *er y-skynn*, *er an skinn* (Moore and Rhŷs 1895, I: 128, §37; 162, §38; 452, §29). We may compare ar c(h)ionn for *as cionn* in Ó Curnáin (2007, III: 1439, §7.105) and the variant *fur 's niosal* referred to below (MacLeod 1978: 128, l. 1810; 468).

6. (f)os n-iosal (os n-iseal) and (f)os n-àird in Scottish Gaelic

In Scottish Gaelic, forms with and without *n*-provection are found in constructions involving the (f) os with a(i)rd and iosal (iseal). Focusing here only on those examples with *n*-provection, Scottish Gaelic sources provide evidence for the following main forms (ignoring the absence of accents), with os *n*-iosal and os *n*-aird being the most common:

os n-àird os n-ìosal fos n-àird fos n-ìosal fos n-àrd os n-ìseal fos n-isle

The following examples are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive:

The Book of the Dean of Lismore (early 16th century)

os n-aird (MS oss nard) (McLauchlan 1862: 118, 119; W. J. Watson
1937: 234; McLeod and Bateman 2007: 290)²⁶

The Fernaig Manuscript (c. 1699)

fos n-àird (MS fois naird) (Mac Farlane [1923]: 88, 89, §16a; 296) fos n-ìosal (MS foisnysill) (Mac Farlane [1923]: 114, 115, §14a; 296) fos n-ìosal (MS fois nijsle) (Mac Farlane [1923]: 164, 165, §10h) fos n-àird (MS fos-naird) (Mac Farlane [1923]: 164, 165, §11h) (cf. also Fraser 1926: 120).²⁷

Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach os naird (Mac Domhnuill 1776: 224).

Earail Dhurachdach do Pheacaich Neo-iompaichte os n iosal ([Smith] 1781: 121)

Coir Mhor a Chriosduidh os n áird (Guthrie 1783: 5)²⁸

Orain Ghaidhealach

os n àird (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 60, IVb) os n aird (Mac'Coinnich 1792: 102, (XIIh)

The Book of Common Prayer / Leabhar na h'Urrnuigh Choitchionn os-niosal (Stewart 1794: 299, §8; 300, §2) os niosal (Stewart 1794: 319, §22; 323, §7; 392, §6)

An Saighidear Criosduidh os n'aird (Broughton 1797: 20)

Nuadh Orain Ghailach fo snard [sic] (Chaimbeull 1798: 108)

Comhchruinneacha do dh' Orain Taghta os 'n aird (Mac-an-Tuairneir 1813: 177)

Original Songs and Poems
os 'n aird (MacKay 1821: 175)

A Practical Grammar fos n-àird, os n-àird (Munro [1828] 1843: 195, n. 3) fos n-ìosal, *os n-ìosal (Munro [1828] 1843: 195, n. 3)

The Mountain Minstrel
os n-ìseal (McColl 1836: 213)

MacEachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary

fos iosal ~ fos n-iosal (Mac Eachainn ([1842]: 221)

os-àird ~ fos-nàird (Mac Eachainn ([1842]: 285)²⁹

Eachdraidh a' Phrionnsa fos-n-iosal, fo's n-iosal (Mac-Coinnich 1844: 84, 310)

Metrical Reliques of "The Men" in the Highlands os n' iosal (Rose 1851: 141)

An Gaidheal os n iseal (Camshron [1871] 1873: 55)

Am Filidh Gaidhealach
os 'n iosal (H. MacKenzie 1873: 90)

Leabhar nan Gleann
fos n-iosal (Henderson 1898: 113, 118, 266)
fos n-ard (Henderson 1898: 284, 288)³⁰

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Na Baird Leathanach
os 'n iosal (Sinclair 1898: 156)
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The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary (1901–11) os ìosal ~ os n-ìosal (Dwelly: s.vv.)³¹

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Guthan o na Beanntaibh
ós n-aird (MacDonald 1927: 252)
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A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic fos'n isle fosni: [1'ə ~ as ilse as i:L':] (Dieckhoff 1932: 90, s.v. fos'n iosal; 11, s.v. as isle)

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Gaelic Songs by William Ross
fos n-ìosal (vv.ll. fo's n-iosal) (Calder 1937: 42, l. 27; 207)
os n-ìosal (vv.ll. n'iosal, 'n iosal) (Calder 1937: 128, l. 45; 231)
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Ewen MacLachlan's Gaelic Verse fos'n àird (MacDonald [1937] 1980: 193, l. 120)

Orain Iain Luim ([1964] 1973)

os ìosal (v.l. niosal) (A. M. MacKenzie [1964] 1973: 116, l. 1480; 349)

The Blind Harper os aird (vv.ll. o's n àird, fos n-aird) (W. Matheson 1970: 60, l. 842; 89)

Poems and Songs by Sileas MacDonald c. 1660–c. 1729 os n-ìosal (Ó Baoill 1972: 80, l. 949)

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The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre
os n-àird (MacLeod 1978: 88, l. 1298).
os 'n ìosal (vv.ll. os 'n iosal, o's 'n ìosal, o's 'n-ìosal) (MacLeod 1978: 210, l. 3025; 494)
os n-ìosal (vv.ll. fur 's niosal, fu' 's niosal, fuidh 's n-ìosal, fo 's n-ìosal) (MacLeod 1978: 128, l. 1810; 468)
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'Latha dhomh 's mi leam fhìn'32

os n-ìosal (Barron 1978: 136, §11e)

Provected *n*- in these expressions is found only in Scottish Gaelic. I have explained the Manx form *injil* [Ind´ʒəl] ('low') as a development of *iseal* and as being due to rhinoglottophilia, i.e. the development of spontaneous nasalisation in vowels adjacent to voiceless consonants characterised by heavy airflow (Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 109–17). It is possible that the nasalisation in this case originated in nasalised forms such as *n-iseal*, perhaps even in the expression *ós n-iseal* although it seems not to be evidenced in surviving Manx sources so far as I am aware.

7. The relative copula as a possible origin for leniting and nasalising δs^{LN}

Leniting δs^L may be accounted for in a variety of ways. One possible explanation is that it may have arisen due to contamination with the leniting relative form of the copula as^L , with which it could be homophonous or near-homophonous. (For other possibilities, see section 8 below.) Recall that δs is realised as δs and δs in Middle Gaelic (L. Breatnach 1994: 329, §13.22; δs DIL: s.v. δs (δs) and as δs as δs as δs in modern dialects. If correct, this raises the possibility that the labial-initial forms δs of the preposition in Scottish Gaelic may in origin derive from, or have been influenced by, the relative future or present subjunctive forms of the copula, δs as, δs (Thurneysen [1946] 1993: 488, §802; 490, §808; δs DIL: s.v. δs ; for the lenited form δs in Early Modern Gaelic, see, for instance, δs TD: lxxviii, T. F. O'Rahilly ([1941] 1955: xxxi) and McManus (1994: 417, §7.27).

It is perhaps strange that the copula might influence a preposition in this way, when there are no immediately obvious semantic connections. Nevertheless, such influence provides a neat explanation for the Scottish Gaelic variants (f)os n-ìosal and (f)os n-àird with prothetic n-, which, I claim, could derive ultimately from nasalising relative forms of the copula such as as \(\frac{n}{2} \), bas^N. The Glengarry forms given by Dieckhoff fos'n isle fosni: \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\sigma \) as ilse as iiL': \(\frac{1}{2} \) ('secretly'), both deriving from comparative \(\hat{1} \)sle, could support a derivation from, or connection with, relative copula clauses as \(\hat{1} \)sle and as \(n-\hat{1} \)sle (Dieckhoff 1932: 90, s.v. fos'n iosal, 11, s.v. as isle).

The Milan glosses provide three examples of *n-isel* following relative forms

of the copula:

foillsigthir as nīsel in dóinacht ('it is shown that the humanity is lowly') (Ml. 25c5) (Stokes and Strachan [1901–03] 1987, I: 48; Strachan [1909] 1976: 107, 142; Stifter and Griffith 2012) [emphasis added].³³

air dommuinfide **bed nisel** inti dia ('for it would have been thought that that God was mean') (Ml 40c17) (Stokes and Strachan [1901–03] 1987, I: 109; Stifter and Griffith 2012) [emphasis added].

arna tomainte **bednisel** som (Ml 96b18) ('lest it be supposed that He was lowly') (Stokes and Strachan [1901–03] 1987, I: 327; Stifter and Griffith 2012) [emphasis added].³⁴

In cleft sentences in which *isel* or *ard* was fronted and topicalised following the nasalising or leniting relative copula, it is possible to see how the adverbial force of the relative forms *as n-isel* / *as n-ard* and *as isel* / *as ard* (respectively) may have been associated with the prepositional phrases *ós isel* $\sim *ás$ *isel* / *ós aird* $\sim *ás$ *aird*, thus potentally providing new analogical variants *ós n-isel* $\sim *ás$ *n-isel* / *ós n-a(i)rd* $\sim *ás$ *n-a(i)rd* for the prepositional phrases.³⁵ This can be illustrated by the hypothetical examples:

*in tan **as n-ard** (n-)éigid / (n-)éiges in bantrocht ('when it is aloud that the womenfolk cry out').

*éigid in bantrocht ós aird ('the womenfolk cry out aloud').36

Semantic considerations would suggest that *ós ísel* is secondary and has been modelled on *ós aird*; however, the relative clauses *as n-ísel*, *as ísel* may have played a part in establishing the forms *ós n-ísel*, *ós ísel*.

The basis for analogy or transference from the leniting copula as^L to the preposition δs is admittedly difficult to envisage. Perhaps the homophonous or near-homophonous nature of both forms was sufficient to trigger analogical lenition in the preposition. However, it is possible that the leniting relative clause as chenn ('who is leader') provided an analogical basis for the introduction of lenition in the prepositional phrase δs ciunn > δs chiunn. The semantic cross-over between constructions containing δs chenn (a1–a3) and δs ciunn (b) can be illustrated by the following hypothetical examples:

- (a1) *Medh as chenn Connacht ('Medb who is leader / head of the Connacht people')
- (a2) *Medb as chenn do Chonnachtaib ('Medb who is leader / head of the Connacht people')
- (a3) *Medb **as chenn** ar Chonnachtaib ('Medb who is leader / head of the Connacht people')
- (b) *Medb (fil) **ós ciunn** Chonnacht ('Medb (who is) above / leader of the Connacht people')

We have already noted that lenition following *ós* is particularly common in the phrase *ós chionn*; perhaps lenition following *ós* was first established in this phrase, from which it spread to other environments.

7.1 A possible parallel: níosa^{L/N}

As a possible parallel to leniting and eclipsing ás, we might refer to the leniting comparative particle niosa^L and its by-form, niosa^N, which synchronically causes eclipsis of fearr in some Munster dialects: níosa bhfearr (Ua Súilleabhain 1994: 499, §4.2; Ó Sé 2000: 151, §324; *LASID*, II: 164, s.v. *fearr* (pt 15, Coolea); 205, s.v. feárr (pt 18, Waterville)). This is a particularly apposite example in the present context as níos and níosa contain the relative copula; for níos, see Lewis and Pederson ([1937] 1961: 186, §324); Ó Dochartaigh (1983: 337) and R. A. Breatnach (1990: 1; 1997: 2, 4). R. A. Breatnach (1990: 2, 3), following Robert L. Thomson (1970: 133, n. 816), would explain níosa as being based on níos but with contamination from 'such adverbial comparative stereotypes as mó sa mhó, lia sa lia';37 R. A. Breatnach (1990: 2, 3) relates sa in such expressions to the Old Gaelic particle assa which expresses 'continuous increase' (Thurneysen [1946] 1993: 238, \(\)377), albeit with influence from the leniting relative copula as^L . This assa is noted as a geminating particle by Thurneysen ([1946] 1993: 153, \$243 (3); 238, \$377), the editors of *DIL* (s.v. ¹assa) and R. A. Breatnach (1990: 3), presumably on the basis of messa assa-mmessa (Wb. 30c25) with apparently geminated mm. This form and others cited in DIL are, however, also compatible with an eclipsing particle assa^N although some (asa ferr, assa moo) are amibiguous and could conceivably contain a leniting particle as(s)a^L: ferr asaferr (Wb. 15c5), mooassamoo, ferrassaferr (Wb. 23b1), ferr asa (isa v.l.) ferr, cōile sa cōile, mo 'sa mó (DIL: s.v. ¹assa). Given the existence of the disyllabic relative form of the copula, asa (L. Breatnach 1980: 1), it is possible that Early Modern and

Modern *niosa* (for which see R. A. Breatnach 1990) may derive from ni + relative asa. Perhaps the particle which is inserted between comparatives contains the nasalising / leniting relative copula asa^N / asa^L , where the final vowel may have been interpreted as the relative copula as + 3 person possessive pronoun (cf. L. Breatnach 1980: 1, 2).

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If *níosa bhfearr* represents a genuine instance of historical eclipsis, it would suggest that the nasalisation here can also be traced to the nasalising relative copula, which in turn would provide evidence for the nasalising relative copula in southern Gaelic dialects. It is possible, however, that *níosa bhfearr*, rather than deriving from eclipsed *bhfearr*, represents an instance of lenition, based on a backformation *bearr extrapolated from *b'fhearr*.³⁸ As far as I can tell, *níosa bhfearr* occurs only in dialects in which leniting *níosa*^L occurs. A back-formation *bearr could conceivably have been extracted from a nasalised form such as *go mb'fhearr* (= *go mbearr*) or a reduplicated form such as *ba bh'fhearr* (= *ba bhearr*) (*LASID*, II: 46, s.v. *feárr* (pt 4, south Tipperary)). Alternatively, *níosa bhfearr* could be based on past / conditional *nío(r) bh'fhearr* / *nío(r)bh fhearr*.

7.2 A further possible relict of the nasalising relative: Is ann

The more frequent occurrence of nasalising relative clauses in the Milan Glosses when compared with the Würzburg Glosses, conventionally dated earlier than Milan, has been implicitly explained by some on chronological grounds (e.g. McCone 1980: 22; Ó hUiginn 1986: 63, 70; Ahlqvist 1985b: 327, §1.4.1). However, it is possible, especially given the short time difference between their compilation (perhaps as little as c. 50 years), that the differences can be explained on dialectal grounds. Indeed, McCone (1985: 96-97; 1989: 79–80) has argued that the prepositional nasalising relative (i.e. preposition + $-(s)a^{N}$ is a northern Gaelic dialectal feature. Whatever about the contentious historical origin of the nasalising relative (e.g. Pedersen 1913: 233; Thurneysen [1946] 1993: 323-24, \$510; Watkins 1963: 29, n. 2; L. Breatnach 1980: 7–8; McCone 1980: 21–22; Ahlqvist 1983: 10–12; 1985a: 138; 1985b: 339–41; Ó hUiginn 1986: 76–84; McCone 1994: 197–99, \\$34.4–34.6; Schrijver 1997: 91–113), it is tempting to speculate that it too may have been predominantly a northern dialectal feature in the latter part of the Old Gaelic period at least. If the origin suggested here for *ós n-ísel* and *ós n-aird* is correct, its survival only in Scottish Gaelic is consonant with a northern, possibly even a Scottish, locus for the productive nasalising relative. If correct, its frequent use in the Milan

Glosses may provide support for a further Scotticism in these glosses,³⁹ and possibly lend further tentative support for identifying the scribe, Diarmait, with 'Diarmitius alumnus Daigri' (AU 814.9), abbot of Iona (814/831×849) (Clancy 2003–04: 229–30).

The nasalising relative has been described as a marker of oblique grammatical cases, which includes 'the accusative and a number of others cases, all of a more or less adverbial nature' (Ahlqvist 1985b: 334). We may compare L. Breatnach's (1980: 8) derivation of the nasalising relative from *yom which he suggests may have developed as 'a general adverbial relative marker'. It is tempting to connect the possible northern locus of the nasalising relative, which functioned as an adverbial relative marker, with the development of ann as a distinctive marker in Scottish Gaelic to topicalise non-nominal elements (Moffatt-Pender 1930; Ahlqvist 1978). 40 More specifically, it is possible that it was nasalising relative forms of the copula, especially those with vocalic auslaut, when used to front 'adverbial' elements, such as adjectives and prepositional phrases, that provided the impetus for the development of the productive copula + ann topicalisation marker in Scottish Gaelic, whereby the relative nasal segment was subsequently reinterpreted as the prepositional pronoun ann < Old Gaelic and ('in it'). 41 We may speculate that nasalising relative forms of the copula with vocalic auslaut would have developed into forms with nasal coda as a result of the particular system of eclipsis / nasalisation which evolved in Scottish Gaelic (cf. $gun < go^N an < a^N$, $nan < na^N$, etc; see Ó Maolalaigh 1995–96; 2008: 244–50), e.g.

```
asa^{N} (3 sg present)<sup>42</sup> \rightarrow *asan

ata^{N} (3 pl present) \rightarrow *atan

ba^{N} (3 sg past) \rightarrow *ban
```

This can be illustrated by the following two hypothetical sentences based on Ml. 57c12 and Wb. 6a13 respectively:⁴³

```
*amal ba ngair no mbith ('as it was briefly that it existed')
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^{= *}amal ban gair no mbíth

> *amal b' ann gair no mbith (by reinterpretation as copula + ann)

^{*}amal ba ndo thabirt díglae birt in claideb sin ('as it was to inflict punishment that he bore that sword')⁴⁴

^{= *}amal ban do thabirt díglae birt in claideb sin

> *amal b' ann do thabirt díglae birt in claideb sin (by reinterpretation as copula + ann)

This explanation provides a convincing basis for the development of *is ann*, etc. as a productive topicalisation marker in Scottish Gaelic for non-nominal (i.e. adverbial) elements; if correct, it may in turn provide evidence for the productivity of the nasalising relative in the northern Gaelic area. The proleptic use of *ann* / *and* to anticipate an adverbial element (*is and rogab artús tes* 'it began in the south' [emphasis added])⁴⁵ and the 'sentence-connective' use of *is and* found in Middle Gaelic (Ahlqvist 1978: 70)⁴⁶ may have provided the model for the reinterpretation of the nasalising relative copula when it ceased to be productive.

8. Other explanations for leniting δs

Other sources for lenition following \(\delta \) include the following possibilities:

- (a) Lenition could be analogical, based on other compound prepositions containing ceann / cionn, e.g. ar chenn, ar chiunn, di / do chiunn, fo chenn, imm chenn (DIL s.v. cenn), modern δ / bho chionn. Analogy with the preposition δ cannot be ruled out (based on the common $\hat{u}a$ in pronominal forms of both δ and δs).⁴⁷ We have noted above our impression, based on literary sources, that lenition following δs occurs very commonly with ϵ , particularly in δs chionn. It is possible that lenition following δs first established itself in the phrase δs chionn, spreading to affect other words containing initial ϵ and from there to words with different initials.⁴⁸
- (b) Lenition could have arisen in *ós cionn* due to anticipatory correlative lenition based on a following lenited initial, particularly in the case of a lenited *ch*, e.g. *ós cionn cháich / cháigh* (*LBran*: 139, l. 3674; *BOH*: 294, §17a; *TD*: 238, §56a), ⁴⁹ i.e. *ós cionn cháich / cháigh* leads to *ós chionn cháich / cháigh*; for examples of the latter, see, for instance, T. F. O'Rahilly ([1941] 1955: 45, ll. 1262, 1288). ⁵⁰ While lenition may have originated in the phrase *ós cionn* > *ós chionn* and spread to other environments, its development originally as anticipatory correlative lenition may not have been confined to *cionn*.
- (c) The development *ôs cionn* > *ôs chionn* may have been phonetically motivated. It has been noted that the velar stop is the most 'fricative' of the plosives. It has the longest duration of postaspiration and preaspiration and has been shown to often have two visible releases on spectrograms; see for instance, Fry ([1979] 1982: 124); Ladefoged ([1975] 1982: 268); Ladefoged et

- al. (1998: 10, 12); Nance and Stuart-Smith (2013: 137, 138,144–45); Ó Maolalaigh (2010: 369); cf. Ohala (1983: 195) on the observation that 'velar stops and voicing show the greatest incompatibility'. As Ó Curnáin (2007, III: 1756, §9.81; cf. III: 1776, §9.101; III: 1785–86, §9.113; III: 1788–89, §9.115) has noted in the context of the frequent ahistorical lenition of broad and slender c in the Irish of Connacht, it is possible that salient friction of c may have led to this friction being reinterpreted as being phonological. In the case of δs cionn δs chionn, this may have been reinforced by the existence of lenited chenn / chiunn in the likes of ar chenn, ar chiunn, di / do chiunn, fo chenn, imm chenn (DIL: s.v. cenn), modern δ / bho chionn. The acoustic impression of a fricative ch (for underlying c) may also have been triggered by assimilation with the preceding heavy airflow voiceless fricative c of the preposition δs .
- (d) Cluster reduction in sandhi resulting in the loss of f may have been interpreted as lenition, i.e. $\delta s + fV \delta s + V = \delta s + fhV ^{51}$ We have noted above our impression based on literary sources that lenition following δs occurs frequently with f. Perhaps 'lenition' developed in this way with f and spread to other phonemes.
- (e) It is theoretically possible, though perhaps unlikely, that leniting δs^L may represent the survival in some varieties of a reflex of an older variant form with final vowel as in Welsh ucb^L and / or that it arose through contact with a Brittonic language.

9. Loss of lenition following δs and defricativisation in continuous clusters

Once in existence, the productivity of lenition following δs^L may have been reduced through levelling with other dialects or registers which did not have leniting δs^L , through analogy with non-leniting δs ('out of, from'), or through delenition / dissimilation, whereby s+fricative clusters were reduced to s+stop clusters as part of the general facultative tendency (not hitherto reported) in Gaelic to defricativise one of the members of continuous+continuous clusters. Defricativisation in s-clusters is evidenced in:⁵²

Word internally

coiscéim < *coischéim⁵³

asca(i)ll / asga(i)ll < ochsal. The grammatical tracts have the following variants: asgal(l), as

```
dúscad / díuscad < do-fíusc(h)i
deisceart < *deischeart
tuaisceart < *tuaischeart

deascabháil / deasgabháil < deasghabháil (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1711, §9.26;
DIL: s.v. deasgabál)
cluaisgléigeal < *cluaisghléigeal (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1711, §9.26)
leasgleanntán < ?*leasghleanntán (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1711, §9.26)
clascannaí / glascannaí < claschannaí / glaschannaí (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1711, §1.113).
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easpa < easbhaidh (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 115, §368; R. B. Breatnach 1947: 133, §499(5) but cf. easbhaidh aswi: (Mhac an Fhailigh [1968] 1980: 154, §384)). Both variants easbhaidh and easbaidh are found in Classical verse (Armstrong 1985: 328)

taispeán- < taisbhéan (< do-aisféna). Note the variation between taispeá(t) n- and taiseá(t)n- (< taisbheá(t)n) in modern Irish dialects (Sommerfelt 1922: 104, §238; Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 115, n. 1) and between taisbhé anadh ~ taisbéanadh ~ taiséanadh in Classical verse (Armstrong 1985: 395, 396)

teaspach < teasbhach (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 115, §368; de Búrca [1958] 1970: 125, §455; Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2616); cf. teasúch < teasbhach (de Bhaldraithe 1985: 227).

In sandhi

```
an bóthar cloc sin < an bóthar cloch sin
mhúc siad < mhúch siad
agus caithidís < agus chaithidís.
agus cuaigh sí < agus chuaigh sí
timpeall agus gá mhíle < timpeall agus dhá mhíle (Ó Curnáin 2007, 1: 455–56,
§2.37).<sup>54</sup>
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We may also note the variation between *ghs* and *gs* in *Saghsa(i)n* ~ *Sagsa(i)n* in Classical Gaelic (Armstrong 1985: 383). The development of defricativised -*b* forms in second and third personal plural prepositional pronouns in some Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects,⁵⁵ which have been traditionally explained as developing in sandhi with the reflexive pronoun *féin* (T. F. O'Rahilly [1932] 1976: 81; Gleasure 1968: 84–85; Quin 1969: 39), may conceivably have first

arisen in sandhi involving the emphatic / contrastive suffixes (-se, -san, etc.), whereby -bh+s- clusters were reduced to -b+s-56 The detailed discussion in the grammatical tracts of the powers of s (cumhachda soil), in particular, that s does not cause defricativisation (of s or s or s in compound words (e.g. cneascháomh, measchoill, cneasbhán, glaispheann) provides counter evidence for defricativasation following s (s or s or s one wonders if the need for such an explicit discussion of the matter implies an underlying tendency for defricativisation following s in certain vernacular varieties or lects.

Variation in the mutational effects of the preposition δs (i.e. δs , δs^N) is paralleled by similar variation in the preposition ar / air (deriving from earlier ar^L , for, iar^N), e.g Scottish Gaelic air $ais \sim air$ n-ais, iar ndul / ar dhul / air falbh, etc. Where such variation exists, the tendency is for one variant to be adopted as the unmarked form or as the norm, with other variants retained as marked variants or lost entirely. We might compare the merger of ar and for in Irish as leniting ar (e.g. ar $Sh\acute{e}amas$) but as non-leniting ar in phrases denoting states (e.g. ar buile, ar crith, ar meisce, etc.) and the mirror opposite in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. air Seumas vs air bhoil, air chrith, air mhisg, etc. (Ó Maolalaigh 2008: 193).

10. Conclusion

This paper establishes the textual basis for leniting δs in the Festschrift title *Bile \delta Chrannaibh*. It also sets out the evidence for leniting and nasalising δs in Gaelic, and suggests as one possibility an analogical origin based on the leniting and nasalising relative copula of the older language. If correct, it illustrates how the conservative nature of Scottish Gaelic, which retains nasalising δs^N , lost in all other varieties of Gaelic, provides a potentially crucial key for better understanding the history of the preposition δs in Gaelic. This solution suggests new possibilities for our understanding of the development of δs and δs and in Scottish Gaelic as a productive marker of topicalised non-nominal elements. Other possible phonological and analogical explanations and factors are also considered, especially in the case of leniting δs^L .

Given the frequency of lenition following & during the Early Modern period, it seems that leniting & may have been more widespread in Gaelic dialects than previously thought. If so, its subsequent disappearance can be accounted for as the result of a general facultative defricativisation rule in continuous + continuous clusters (not previously reported) and / or the elimination of

variation in the initial mutation in favour of more established or prestigious non-lenition, possibly involving analogy with the non-leniting preposition as.

Appendix: Copy of Osborn Bergin's poem Cid dia ndálait na daíni

Original text of Osborn Bergin's Classical Gaelic poem in honour of Rudolf Thurneysen's seventy-second birthday, which was celebrated in Dublin in 1929. Bergin's poem was published in Éigse 2.4 (1940) by Daniel A. Binchy following Thurneysen's death in August 1940. See also *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970), pp. x–xi. Professor Kenneth Jackson gave this text to Professor William Gillies who in turn gave a copy to the present author.

Do Rudolf Thurneysen

14.3.1929

Cid dia ndálait na daíni, cid dia canait cáemlaídi, a fáilte cia rét fotrúair, in sláinte no in sét sárlúaig?

Sét móreólais na mesc sund, a lorg ní sirthi sechund: écse in betha búain leissem, betha slúaig a sláintesem.

Scél in lega, búan a blad, ní saí cách lasnach cuman: ciar bét, ropa garb a glac, ro marb tria ét a fialmac.

Ásait and a colainn Méich, as cach alt, as cach óenféith, tuile gelfis iarna guin, luibe legis cach lobair. Fích a athar nír an de, scaílis na scotha aríse, connach fess dia fuil i crí cia luib dia chess bad chuibdi.

Na luibisin cid iat ann, crét acht sous na sáerchland? múchad mían is écht cen chosc in Dían Cécht rodas cummasc.

Minas táirsed in suí slán co ngliccus glére Germán, minbloga iar creich cnúas Gaídel, gúass a beith for bithscaíled.

Tánic co fial diar fáesam Rudolf rígda Thurneysen na rathrémimm tar Muir Menn, tuir athlégind na Hérend.

Bile ós chrannaib cláir Banba, lócharnd áesa heladna, gell glanta cacha caingne, ar n-altra, ar cenn comairle.

Cech scol, cech scélaige bind, cech fili, cech fer légind, acht co mbeth tráth sin tigsi, do chách ba tech tairismi.

Roán is Roae in dána, senchaidi na senTána, cia ros básaig Cú na cless, sund ro ásair clú comdess.

La cách ropad machdad már ó Charatníaid co Cathán,

sé mar glélethas a greim tarin fénechas fairsing.

No sínfed co glé a gelláim Cormac cáid mac Cuilennáin oc ól maróen ruind co n-aíb, in suí sáer nár thuill tathaír.

Ó nach anann d'fuil Gáedel suí admolta ar n-ardáeged, dlútham for degthóir in fiss, ní nemchóir cia donemmis.

Sesca blíadna a dó sa deich ó rucadsom, ba rígbreith: dó rop sén úaire cen on, rop cél búaide ocus bethad!

Más dil lib, lór a dile, slúagad for slicht senfine, búaid na féin úrnaísem lib, hi rréir Thurneysen ticcid.

CID

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

- ABM = A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries, ed. by Damian McManus and Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh (Dublin: Department of Irish, Trinity College Dublin, 2010).
- AU = The Annals of Ulster, ed. by Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin: DIAS, [1983] 2004).

- BOH = The Book of O'Hara: Leabhar Í Eadhra, ed. by Lambert McKenna (Dublin: DIAS, [1951] 1980).
- BM = The Book of Magauran: Leabhar Méig Shamhradháin (Dublin: DIAS, 1947).
- DD = Dioghluim Dána, ed. by Láimhbheartach MacCionnaith (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, [1938] 1969).
- DIL = Dictionary of the Irish Language, ed. by E. G. Quin (Dublin: RIA, [1983] 1990).
- Dwelly = The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary (Glasgow: Gairm, [1901–11] 1977).
- IF = Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh, 2 vols, ed. by L. McKenna (London: Irish Texts Society, 1918).
- IGT = Irish Grammatical Tracts, ed. by Osborn Bergin: IGT, I, Ériu 8 (1916); IGT, II: §1–§11, Ériu 8 (1916); IGT, II: §12–§87, Ériu 9 (1921–23); IGT, II: §88–§207, Ériu 10 (1926–28); IGT, III, IV, Ériu 14 (1946); IGT, V, Ériu 17 (1955).
- LASID = Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects, 4 vols, comp. and ed. by Heinrich Wagner (Dublin: DIAS, 1958–69).
- LBran = Leabhar Branach: The Book of the O'Byrnes (Dublin: DIAS, 1944).
- LL = The Book of Leinster, Formerly Lebar na Núachonghála, ed. by R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan, 6 vols (Dublin: DIAS, 1954–83).
- LU = Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow, ed. by R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin (Galway: O'Gorman, [1929] 1970).
- Ml = Milan Glosses
- POR = Poems on the O'Reillys, ed. by James Carney (Dublin: DIAS, [1950] 1997).
- RC = Reliquiae Celticae, 2 vols, ed. by Alexander Cameron (ed. by Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy) (Inverness: Northern Counties, 1892–94)
- SGDS = Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland, ed. by Cathair Ó Dochartaigh, 5 vols (Dublin: DIAS, 1994–97)
- TD = The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591), vol. 1, ed. by Eleanor Knott (London: Irish Texts Society, 1922).
- Wb. = Würzburg Glosses

Endnotes

1 McCone (1994: 190, §33.6) suggests that the final -s is $\delta s / uas$ is analogical based on uasum, etc. and the model of uasum, etc. as * $\bar{o}xs$ might be expected to yield (non-leniting) *d < * $\bar{o}h$.

- 2 The preposition os is occasionally found in other constructions in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. os coinneamh (D. M. N. C. 1921: 55, 74); os cùl (Guthrie 1786: 174); os cùl ŏs 'kʰuł ('behind') (S. MacEachainn 1983: 52); os làimh in phrase gabh os làimh ('undertake, engage in') (Dwelly: s.v. làmh); fɔ 'sk'ınəl' ('opposite') (S. MacEachainn 1983: 52), which might be represented by *fos cion(n)ail or possibly *fos cin(n)eil; the (handwritten) transcription may conceivably be for fɔ'skʰunəl' (fos coinneil).
- 3 Examples of leniting δs^L are, however, to be found under other headwords in *DIL*, e.g. os chliathblai, os chind, os chionn, bile úr os chnairr, os fhidhbhadh, etc. (*DIL*: s.vv. clíath, aird, cenn, cnairr, dos).
- 4 These examples can be easily accessed in McManus (2010).
- 5 Mac Cionnaith (*DD*: 593) implies lenition when he notes that *ós* frequently does not lenite in the manuscripts ('is minic nach séimhigheann sé sna ll.'). We may compare the observation, in his article on lenition and eclipsis in Classical Gaelic verse, that lenition is 'less regular' after the prepositions *gan*, *tar*, *ar* and *ós* (McKenna 1941: 65); also his comment that 'ós, uas aspirates irregularly', in his edition of *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* (*IF*: xxviii).
- 6 The glossary to Jackson's (1990: 189) edition of *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* lists the preposition ' δs^L , uas^L ' as a leniting preposition. The only 'clear' instance of lenition following this preposition in this text, however, is $uas\ c[h]l\acute{e}thi$ (Jackson 1990: 34, l. 1048), where the lenition is editorial. I can confirm that lenition does not in fact occur in the Leabhar Breac copy of this text, upon which Jackson's edition is based; this is reflected in Meyer's (1892: 87, l. 14) earlier edition which has $uas\ clethi$ without lenition. The description of prepositions in the appendix on language in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* does not include any discussion of the preposition δs .
- 7 This reading is from the seventeenth-century manuscript, Brussels MS 5100–04.
- 8 This reading is from the fifteenth-century manuscript, Rawlinson B 505.
- 9 This reading is from the twelfth-century manuscript, Rawlinson B 502.
- 10 Angus Matheson (1964: 1; 11, n. 2c) edits as *ό dheallradh*, noting 'For *ό* MS. has *os*, which I do not understand.'
- 11 For the variant partlaing, etc., see DIL: s.v. partaing.
- 12 Interestingly, McLauchlan (1862: 84–85) transcribes the Dean's manuscript as oss crannew but edits it as os chrannaibh. Lenition also occurs following ós in this poem in ós cheithribh / ós cheathraibh and ós fhearaibh (apparently alliterating with éinfhear) (Gillies 1996: 221, §§7a, 9a); the editors of Reliquiae Celticae print os ceathra (RC, 1: 96–97); McLauchlan (1862: 84–85) has os chairbhe for this form. Note also ós bhord (Ms os word) which occurs in another poem in the Dean's manuscript (RC, 1: 72; McLauchlan 1862: 42–43).
- 13 The form *os-bharr* ('besides, moreover') occurs in MacAlpine's ([1832] 1858: 198) pronouncing dictionary but this may be based on, or influenced by, *bharr* ('moreover') (*Dwelly*: s.v.). This normally appears as *os bàrr* in Scottish Gaelic; see *Dwelly*: s.v. Lenition following *fos* in *fos chean gach Choradh* in an initial printing of Chaimbeull (1798: 15) is most likely a printer's error; a corrected version of this edition has *os cean gach Coradh*. On the two versions of this book, see Flahive (2008: 82–83).
- 14 Dinneen ([1927] 1953: 826, s.v. *ós*) notes that *ós* is 'now oft[en] as'.
- 15 Cf. buinis ciunn (Ó Cuív 1947: 44; R. B. Breatnach [1961] 1984: 69) and bunoscionn (Ó Dónaill ([1977] 1998: 162, s.v.). The contraction to bun 's cionn

- (with two syllables) is found in syllabic verse (Ó Cuív [1944] 1988: 59, §202), e.g. bun 's cionn (T. F. O'Rahilly [1927] 1977: 157, §4d; DD: 41, §13b); for an example from the Book of the Dean of Lismore, see bun 's cionn (Ross 1939: 184, §6c).
- 16 Cf. as ceann for os ceann in The Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan (Buchanan [1767] 1913; 34, 1, 49).
- 17 We may compare *ar cionn* ~ *ar chionn* for *as cionn* in the speech of one speaker in Iorras Aithneach (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1439, \$7.105).
- 18 On possible contamination between *bho* < *ó* and *bhos* < *ós* in Scottish Gaelic, we may note the following forms from Sutherland Gaelic: *Cha d'thàinig e bhos mios* ('he has not come for (lit. since) a month') for *bho* (*chionn*) *mìos*; *Is fhada bhos nach fhac mi thu* ('it is long since I have seen you') for *bho nach fhac mi thu*; *bhos a thàinig e* ('since he came') (Robertson 1907: 117). However, the final -s here may be abstracted from the likes of '**is mìos bho* [...]' and / or '*is fhada bho* [...]' influenced analogically by *gus* ('until').
- 19 For an alternative explanation of the labial element, deriving it from the relative copula form *bhus*, see section 7 below. Calder ([1923] 1980: 37, §33) analyses the *f* in *fos cionn* as prothetic *f*. On possible cross-contamination between the adverb *a-bhos* and the preposition *os* in Scottish Gaelic, we may note *os is thall* ('near and far') for (*a-)bhos is thall* in the earliest editions of Duncan Ban's poems (MacLeod 1978: 166, 1. 2329; 478). On the use of *fo* in an adverbial expression meaning 'secretly', we may compare *fo láim* (*DIL*: s.v. *lám*).
- 20 On the variant *ìosal*, see n. 24.
- 21 Fos cionn also occurs from a number of informants in the fieldwork section of DASG (Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic) at the University of Glasgow, e.g. Aultbea (collected December 1969), Bunloit (collected May 1969) and Loch Tay / Comrie (collected 1975).
- 22 We may compare the development *ua-> bhua-* in prepositional forms of the preposition *ό* in Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects; see, for example, Wagner ([1959] 1979: 77, §213, nóta), McCaughey (1968: 72), S. Watson (1994: 686, §18.2), Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 507, §6.17), Ó Curnáin (2007, III: 1404, §7.69).
- 23 All of these forms have been edited as *ós* in Ross's edition (1939: 156, §21b; 162, §47b; 164, §49b; 166, §56b).
- 24 Modern Irish has *iseal* and the variant **iosal* does not occur as a variant in Classical verse. The autograph manuscript copy of Brian Merriman's *Cúirt an Mheonoíche | The Midnight Court*, however, has *go híosail* (L. P. Ó Murchú 1982: 48, 1. 905). In Scottish Gaelic both forms *iseal* and *iosal* occur: *iseal* occurs in western dialects including a contiguous area from Harris, the Uists, eastern and southern Skye, West Inverness-shire southwards to Islay, Kintyre and Arran. *ìosal* is found in dialects to the north and east of the *iseal*-area: see *SGDS* (532). The innovative Scottish Gaelic form *iosal* is doubtless a backformation with oblique *isle* implying an underlying *iosal* based on the analogical model of *uasal* ~ *uaisle*. On the collocation of *iseal* and *uasal*, see *DIL*: s.v. *isel*.
- 25 The forms fos n-ìosal and fos n-àird may have influenced fainear ('under consideration', etc.) (Dwelly: s.v.), which has the variant forms fanear, fonear, forsnear, fosnear (Dieckhoff 1926: 193); cf. Munro ([1828] 1843: 195, n. 3), who analyses this as fos n-ear in his discussion of the preposition os / fos. That fosnear was understood by some at least to contain the preposition os is supported by the form os-near: Cha tug a haon dhiu, gu so, os-near a chuid àiridh so do'n chùis [emphasis added]. (MacGille-fhaollain 1900, III: 307, col. 2) On the origin

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- of fainear and Irish fa (n)deara, see Dillon (1968; 1969).
- 26 Ó Rathile [1925] 1976: 75) edits this as *ós aird*.
- 27 Fos also occurs in fos cionn (MS fois keijnd) (Mac Farlane [1923]: 114, 115, §14a).

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- 28 A later edition replaces os n áird with gu follaiseach (Guthrie [1783] 1894: [v]).
- 29 A later edition has os iosal ~ os n-iosal and os àird but not os n-àird (E. Mac-Eachainn [1842] 1922: 256, 315, 316).
- 30 The original form is os aird. The use of os ard can be explained as being due to contamination with the adjective àrd (perhaps through analogy with adjectival *ìosal*) although the loss of palatal quality in rd clusters in some dialects cannot be ruled out as a factor in Scottish Gaelic. In Irish os ard is the norm (Dinneen [1927] 1953: s.v. ós; Ó Dónaill [1977] 1998: s.v. ard).
- 31 Dwelly has *os-àird* but not *os n-àird* (*Dwelly*: s.v.).
- 32 Song composed by the bard, Ewen Macdonald (c. 1860–1941), 'a native of Strathglass, who lived for many years at Milness in the Braes of Glenurguhart' (Barron 1978: 132).
- 33 Note that Stifter and Griffith (2012) provide corrected readings which are slightly different to those of Stokes and Strachan ([1901-03] 1987: 48) and Strachan ([1909] 1976: 107, 142). The English translations of these three examples are from Stifter and Griffith (2012).
- 34 We may compare the following superlative example from the Cáin Domnaig epistle: nach tan bus n-islem cech bendchopur Arad Móra ('whenever every other tower of Ara Mor is lowest') (O'Keefe [1905] 1971; 202, 203, §20) [emphasis added1.
- 35 Calder ([1923] 1980: 20, §13.I) suggests that 'The rel[ative] eclipse remains in os **n**-aird *publicly*, os **n**-iosal *secretly*' but the example he provides (*Iad fudh 's* n-iosal sileadh dheur 'They secretly shedding tears') suggests that he may have interpreted fos n-losal as a prepositional relative clause (containing the copula?). i.e. *fu(i)dh / fo + s + an. Fraser's (1926: 120) suggestion that the n- of Scottish Gaelic os n-ìosal and os n-àird 'may be due to the analogy of [...] gach n-uair and the like' seems far-fetched.
- 36 I have also considered the possibility of nasalising δs^N having been influenced by the noun phrase osna ard / n-aird in phrases such as *do-léici osnaid n-aird / *do-léici osna ard / n-aird ('he let out a loud sigh'); for the example, see dolléci in n-osnaid as trummu cach n-osnaid (LU: 72, 1. 2133). It is perhaps possible to see how ós n-aird might have arisen or spread due to contamination between the likes of *do-léici osnaid n-aird / osna ard and *do-léici osnaid ós aird. On the collocation of osna and ós aird, see tic a osna os aird ass from the Agallamh Bheag (Hyde 1924: 80).
- 37 The editors of *DIL* derive *nios* and *niosa* from ni + as (*DIL*: s.v. ni).
- 38 Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 499) makes the unlikely suggestion that fearr is eclipsed in niosa bhfearr in order to separate the final vowel of niosa from the initial vowel of *fhearr* if f were lenited ('d'fhonn an dá ghuta, a bheadh i ndiaidh a chéile dá séimheofaí an f, a scarúint'). He compares ní bhfuair, thus following T. F. O'Rahilly's ([1932] 1976: 44) explanation of the apparent eclipsis in ni bhfuil, ní bhfuair and ní bhfuighe as instances of a glide developing between ní and a following u-. Even if O'Rahilly's analysis were correct, the development of a labial glide / fricative could not be argued for in the case of niosa fhearr since there is no rounded vowel present from which a labial glide could develop. For a contrary view which derives these ni bhf- forms from eclipsis, see M'Caughey (1968).

- 39 Plural forms of the noun *erelc* ('ambush') occur twice in the Milan Glosses: erelcaib (MI 28c1) and erelca (MI 30a3). Clancy (2003-04: 229-30) suggests that erelc is a metathesised form of elerc ('a naturally formed deer-trap created by the narrowing of high land to form a funnel-shaped pass'), a Scottish rather than an Irish lexeme, which could be a borrowing from Pictish. On this element and its occurrence in Scottish placenames, see W. J. Watson ([1926] 1986: 489– 91). Perhaps the confusion of n and nn (and l and ll) in final unstressed syllables in some words in Milan represents another northernism or Scotticism, e.g. n for nn: coitchen, cocran, colain, eachtran, forcan, etc.; nn for n: talmainn, persa(i) nn: l for ll: tadal, forcal and ll for l: focull (Strachan 1903a: 56–58); for similar examples from St Gall, see Strachan (1903b: 479, 483–84); cf. also Ó Buachalla (1988: 39, 40, 42).
- 40 The use of is ann in cleft sentences is a well-known feature of Scottish Gaelic which distinguishes it from Irish and Manx; see, for instance, Ó hÚrdail (1983: 177). Dónall Ó Baoill has, however, noted the use of is ann to front prepositional pronouns and adjectives in his native Gweedore (Co. Donegal) dialect (Ahlqvist 1978: 69). T. F. O'Rahilly ([1932] 1976: 238) refers to the use of is ann in place of is amhlaidh in south-west Munster; cf. C. O'Rahilly (1977: 189, n. 12). This Munster usage, however, occurs only before verbal phrases and is quite different to the use of is ann in cleft sentences in Scottish Gaelic although is ann also occurs in Scottish Gaelic before verbal phrases (Moffatt-Pender 1930: 6–7). Ó Sé (2000: 438, §781) notes for the Irish of Corca Dhuibhne (Co. Kerry) the variants ann an \sim oun, un un (which he spells as ion), and ea(n) an (which seems to be a mixed form based on ea and ann).
- 41 We may compare Ahlqvist's (1988:29) general and tentative suggestion that the development of is ann in cleft sentences in Scottish Gaelic somehow served to maintain a syntactic distinction between cleft sentences involving fronted adverbials + non-relative verbal forms and other cleft sentences with relative verbal forms.
- 42 On the relative form asa, see L. Breatnach (1980: 1) and Ahlqvist (1985a: 139).
- 43 These hypothetical sentences are based on amal as ndian ade 7 as ngair mbis (Ml. 57c12) and arisdothabirt díglae berid inclaideb sin (Wb. 6a13) (Stokes and Strachan [1901–03] 1987, I: 190, 534); cf. Stifter and Griffith (2012).
- 44 For nasalisation of prepositions following the nasalising relative copula, compare amal as ndi ('as to it') (Sg. 9b11), meit as ndo scríbund ('as far as writing') (Sg. 3b30) (Ó hUiginn 1986: 48).
- 45 Cf. C. O'Rahilly's (1977: 189) reference to the use of is and ('there') used as 'an emphatic anticipation of a following prepositional phrase [...] common in Mid[dle] Irish, e.g. Is and ba(d) dóig la Fergus bith Con Culaind i nDelga, LU 5593-4 (TBC)' [emphasis added].
- 46 C. O'Rahilly (1977: 189–91) provides examples from Middle Irish of is and 'used with exactly the same emphasizing force as is amlaid'.
- 47 Note also the presence of s in plural forms of the preposition $\dot{\phi}$ when used with the article in some dialects, which may be due to analogy with δs , e.g. δs $na < \delta na$ (O Sé 2000: 178, §387). Recall also the possible contamination between $bho < \dot{o}$ and bhos < ós in Sutherland Gaelic: Cha d'thàinig e bhos mios ('he has not come for (lit. since) a month') for bho (chionn) mìos; Is fhada bhos nach fhac mi thu ('it is long since I have seen you') for bho nach fhac'mi thu; bhos a thàinig e ('since he came') (Robertson 1907: 117).
- 48 We may compare the spread of lenition to nouns with initial c- following the

- numeral tri, which is due to the influence of tri cheud, where lenition is expected historically before originally neuter nouns such as $ceud < c\acute{e}t$ (Ó Maolalaigh forthcoming).
- 49 Lenition of *càch* in the phrase *os cionn chàich* is still found in modern Scottish Gaelic; see, for instance, Murchison (1988: 14, 53).
- 50 We may compare the anticipatory correlative *h*-provection in *ó háit go háit* (for *ó áit go háit*), *ó ham go ham* (for *ó am go ham*) and the notion of continued lenition in, for instance, *mo mhaide bhreá* (for *mo mhaide breá*) (Ó Curnáin 2007, III: 1701, §9.15; 1819, §9.152). I hope to discuss the effects of serial or contined lenition in phrases containing numerals in Scottish Gaelic elsewhere, e.g. *mu shia mhìosan* ('about six months') (Ó Maolalaigh forthcoming).
- 51 We may note the 'lenition' (or loss) of f following the copula is and comparative nios / nas in some Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects, e.g. -s fearr / fior / fiù / furasta > -s (fh)earr / (fh)ior / (fh)iù / (fh)urasta (Ó Curnáin 2007, I: 170, §1.112(iv); III: 1797–98, §9.127); -s + faisg(e) / faide / fearasta / farsaing / feàrr > -s + f(h) aisg(e) / f(h)aide / f(h)earasta / f(h)arsaing / f(h)earr (Oftedal 1956: 199, §244; 248, §305). In such cases we cannot be certain whether these patterns reflect an original leniting relative form of the copula or genuine -s+f- cluster reductions.
- 52 Examples involving clusters without s include: badhb < badhbh (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 113, §357; Lysaght [1985] 1996: 28, 37–39); fa(i)dhb < fadhbh < (f)odb (de Bhaldraithe [1945] 1975: 100, §539; Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2478; Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 28, §95); iorgail < iorghail (de Búrca [1958] 1970: 127, §461; Jones 2010: 259); aircis < airchis; socraide < sochraide (Mhac an Fhailigh [1968] 1980: 158, §410); coimirce < *coimirche < commairche (Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2436; DIL: s.v. commairge); imirce < immirche (Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2514; DIL: s.v. immirge); eólgaiseach < eólghaiseach (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 111, §353); diablaidhe < diabhlaidhe (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 115, §368); aibneacha < aibhneacha (Sommerfelt 1922: 170, §512; cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 129); ceobrán < ceobhrán (Sommerfelt 1922: 171, §517; Ó Curnáin 2007, IV: 2427); dobharcú < dobharchú (Hamilton 1974: 166, §269); leanbaidhe < leanbhaidhe (Hamilton 1974: 166) but leanth (Hamilton 1974: 293): note variation in Classical Gaelic between lean(a) bh ~ lean(a)b (Armstrong 1985: 358); Banba < Banbha (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 115, §368; cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 129); díogras / díograiseach < díoghras / díoghraiseach (Ó Cuív [1944] 1980: 111, §353); aicearra < aithghiorra (de Bhaldraithe [1945] 1975: 101, §544; Mhac an Fhailigh [1968] 1980: 149, §364). Cf. also timpeall < timcheall and iompar < iomchar generally in Irish. I would include as further evidence of this tendency homorganic examples such as the following: liom péin < liom féin; sibh péin < sibh féin; Cionn tSáile < Cionn Sáile; clainn tSeáin < clainn Seáin (Wagner [1959] 1979: 95, §269); an seo njo, an sin njen ~ njin (M. Ó Murchú 1989: 284). I hope to discuss this matter more fully on another occasion.
- 53 For what are presumably re-formations in Scottish Gaelic, see *cois-cheum*, *cois-cheumnach*, *cois-cheumnaich* (*Dwelly*: s.vv.).
- 54 Also perhaps anuas comh fada le < anuas chomh fada le; however, co here may be a by-form of chomh (Ó Curnáin 2007, 1: 455, §2.37).
- 55 Forms with -b are under-represented in the discussion in Ó Maolalaigh (2003b) as the focus was on third person plural prepositions forms. Nevertheless, the table in Ó Maolalaigh (2003b: 171) should have included -**9b** for 2 and 3 pl. Scottish Gaelic forms, e.g. 2 pl: asaib, bhuaib, dhìb, eadaraib, fodhaib, leib, romhaib,

- ruib, tromhaib (Borgstrøm 1941: 115–17; Wentworth 2003: s.vv. before, between, from, off, out of, through, to, with); 3 pl.: bhodhaib vəəb, fodhaib fəəb, romhaib rəəb, tromhaib trəəb (M. Ó Murchú 1989: 292, 345, 391, 419); and also -b' for 2 pl. southern Connacht forms, e.g. tharaib harəb' (Ó Curnáin 2007, I: 142, §1.79(iii)).
- 56 On the importance of emphatic suffixes in the development of the endings of second and third person plural prepositional pronouns, see Ó Maolalaigh (2003b: 172).

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