PLEASE NOTE THAT SOME IMPORTANT CORRECTIONS WERE ONLY MADE AT PROOF STAGE

Seacht bpearsain fhichead uair mé:

A poem on the optative subjunctive in a copy of *Irish Grammatical Tracts* III–IV

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(<u>Short title</u>: *Seacht bpearsain fhichead uair mé*)

Abstract

This article concerns a re-discovered Classical Modern Irish poem on the optative subjunctive. In Classical Modern Irish most verbs are regularly preceded by *gur* (neg. *nár*) in the optative subjunctive (e.g. *gur léagha* 'may you read'), but 27 verbs take *go* (neg. *ná*) (e.g. *go bhfionna* 'may you know'); the poem edited here lists the latter verbs based on information gleaned from *Irish Grammatical Tracts* III–IV. This article discusses the manuscript context of the poem, its relationship to *IGT* III–IV and the make-up of that tract, the linguistic background to *go*/*gur* variation in the optative, and it presents a critical edition of the poem itself with an English translation.

Irish Grammatical Tracts III–IV

In 1946, Osborn Bergin published a Classical Modern Irish grammatical treatise on verbal morphology and the derivation of abstract nouns from adjectives in a supplement to this journal as part of a series of editions of Bardic didactic works (*Irish Grammatical Tracts* or *IGT*). For reasons that will become clear, I refer to this particular text as *IGT* III–IV. It is preserved in four manuscripts: TCD H 2.12 (1305), 1–17r [Section 4], henceforth referred to as '**H12**'; TCD H 2.17 (1319), 195a–232b, henceforth '**H17**'; RIA C i 3 (750), 1a–27a [Section B], henceforth '**C**'; RIA E iv 1 (751), 1–50b, henceforth '**E**'.[1] In common with his

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editions of other grammatical tracts, Bergin provides no translation or commentary, though he had hoped at a later point to provide 'an introduction describing the MSS., a commentary on the text, identifications of poetical quotations where possible, a glossary of technical terms, and indexes to words discussed and lines quoted' (*IGT* I, p. iv). Bergin died in 1950, prior to the publication of *IGT* V, before he could supply these desiderata for *IGT* III–IV or any of the other tracts published in that series.

Setting aside the deficiencies common to the entire *IGT* series, Bergin's edition of *IGT* III–IV has it own particular flaws. Perhaps most seriously Bergin obscured the original unity of the tract, publishing it as two discrete tracts under the titles 'Irregular Verbs' (*IGT* III) and 'Abstract Nouns' (*IGT* IV) – a division for which there is no manuscript authority. In all four extant manuscripts, *IGT* III and IV are presented as a single text. In no manuscript is there a break between the end of what Bergin edits as *IGT* III and the beginning of his *IGT* IV; the text edited as *IGT* IV is presented in the manuscripts as the final section of a tract beginning with *IGT* III, §1. *IGT* III–IV should be understood as a text consisting of 126 sections on verbal morphology (Bergin's *IGT* III) with a coda (Bergin's *IGT* IV) on the morphology of adjectival abstracts. In the case of the verbal sections, information on morphology is given (for the more irregular verbs, sometimes a more or less complete paradigm of the verb is provided), followed by citations which illustrate in metrically-fixed form correct (and sometimes incorrect) usage;[2] in the final section on adjectival abstracts, examples of correct and incorrect forms are presented first with minimal commentary and these are then followed by verse citations. For the first 126 sections of *IGT* III–IV, the

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E is a seventeenth-century paper manuscript, while the others are sixteenth-century vellums. Bergin did not consult H12 for his edition.

Thomas Astle's *The origin and progress of writing* [...], published in London in 1784, would appear to point to there being another copy of *IGT* III–IV in existence in the eighteenth century which is not now known, but the evidence is misleading. Astle reproduces (pp 125–6 and Plate 22) a part of *IGT* III, §1 ('from a treatise on Grammar, written in the Gaelic or Erse tongue in the latter end of the fifteenth century') and the beginning of §83 ('from a fair MS. on paper, written in the latter end of the fourteenth, or in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the initial letters of which are much ornamented'). Of the former manuscript, the Rev. Charles O'Conor reports at p. 206 of his *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis* (Buckingham, 1818) 'it is part of an Irish Grammar, of the 16th century, in ten pages, 4to'; O'Conor has no comment on the second putative manuscript. Despite Astle's descriptions, it is clear from the accompanying plate that both extracts are from E.

2 For citations marked faulty, see McManus 2017.

headword is a verbal noun (or *pearsa* (*oibrighthe*) in Bardic grammatical taxonomy),[3] as Bardic grammarians evidently believed finite verbal forms to be derived from the verbal noun.[4] The final section of the tract is headed *Persoin lóir ann so sís* 'Abstract nouns derived from adjectives from here on'. While the grammatical categories of verbal noun and adjectival abstract are not treated together in any modern grammatical framework used to describe and teach the Irish language, and for that reason it is perhaps understandable that Bergin thought it right to present *IGT* III–IV as two separate texts, it was perfectly natural

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3 Liam Breatnach informs me that the verbal noun is often employed as the 'citation form' to gloss finite verbal forms in Irish glossaries.

4 In light of this understanding of the verbal noun, *pearsa* is often best translated simply 'verb'. The belief that finite verbal forms were derived from verbal nouns accounts for the use of what we might term 'synthetic' or – to avoid confusion with another use of the term 'synthetic' in Irish grammar – 'invented verbal nouns' in *IGT* III–IV. For example, note the comment on the limited use of *do-chichs-* as a stem of *do-chí* (for which, see *SNG* iv, §7.19) in the treatment of that verb in the tract (*IGT* III §4):

> *an chichsin ní thógaib ceand acht ar chúig fhoclaib, do-chichser, do-chichsem, do-chichsedh* [sic?], *do-chichsind, do-chichsead .c.,* ⁊ *ní .c. uirre acht sin,* ⁊ *ar énlorg gabas fáisdine* ⁊ *lethfháisdine orra sin*

> *Cichsin*: it only appears in five words: *do-chichsear* [1 sing. pres. subj.], *do-chichseam* [1 pl. pres. subj.], *do-chichsead* [3 pl. pres. subj.], *do-chichsinn* [1 sing. past subj.], *do-chichseadh* [3 sing. past subj.] are correct; and only those are correct from it, and the future and the conditional follow the same pattern in those.

In other words *do-chichs-* is also found in the 1 person sing. and pl. and the 3 person pl. of the future tense (identical with the pres. subj. forms *do-chichsear*, *do-chichseam* and *do-chichsead* respectively), and also in the 1 and 3 sing. of the conditional (identical with the past subj. forms *do-chichsinn* and *do-chichseadh* respectively). The headwords for *do-chí* are *faicsin*, *faisgin*, *fairgsin*, *fairsge* and *cichsin*. (Grudging acknowledgment is also given to *aicsin* in the statement *Do-rindedh aicsin* 'Aicsin has [also] been used', i.e. '*Aicsin* is [also] found'. Given the wording of this remark, its position at the end of the 'theory' section of the treatment of this verb and the examples of vowel-initial prototonic forms for the more familiar *f*-initial forms, it is likely that this statement refers not only to the existence of a verbal noun *aicsin* and its use in Classical verse but also to its status as a derivational basic for verbal forms without an expected inorganic initial *f-*.) I know of no example of the verbal noun *cichsin* in poetry or in any other source but the 'theory' section of §4 of *IGT* III–IV, whereas examples of *faicsin*, *faisgin* and *fairgse* (but not *fairgsin*) are found in verse. See, for example, *Tig bean is táiplis don tigh. fáibtis ºfear agá ºfaigsin* (*tigh* : *faigsin*) (*IGT* III 785 = ii 608), 'A woman with a backgammon-board come to the house; a man smiled upon seeing them' (there is likely some innuendo here; see Greene 1955); *téid ar ºbhfaicsin na ºfaille / go géig n-aisdrigh nEochaille* (*bhfaicsin* : *aisdrigh*), 'Having noticed that [Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchobhair] was unguarded, [his kin] went to the roving hero of Eóchaill' (*DiD* 86.15cd); *Leasg liom aghaidh ar Chúil Chliabh / cúis mhaoithe fairgse a foinnrian* (*ABM* 297.1ab), 'I am loathe to journey to Cúil Chliabh; it is a cause of sadness to look upon its paths'; and *Tuc drem ar n-ºaicsin a ºfhedma.*

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that Bardic grammarians should treat them together as they both were perceived as belonging to the grammatical category of *pearsa*; every paragraph of *IGT* III and IV thus begins with one or more *pearsain*.[5] In other words, the unifying principle of *IGT* III–IV is the grammatical category of the headwords.

Besides misrepresenting the unity of the text, Bergin's edition is unsatisfactory in other respects. As noted by Armstrong (1985, 187), his edition is compromised by the editorial policy.[6] Both in terms of content and *mise-en-page*, there is significant variation between the different manuscript witnesses. Despite complex recensional differences, Bergin creates a single text by combining the texts of all of the manuscripts consulted. The critical apparatus is awkward and, indeed, partially unusable: frustratingly, Bergin uses superscript [a] and [b] throughout his edition, but never explains what these letters refer to. It is not at present possible to reconstruct with ease or certainty the content of the individual witnesses on the basis of the published edition.[7]

Curiously, Bergin also omitted information found uniquely in H17 regarding the authorship of some of the metrical citations in the tract; forty ascriptions, apparently in the scribal hand, written either after particular citations or in the margin find no place in his edition.[8] This information might have been withheld for the projected introduction to *IGT* and the 'identifications of poetical quotations' (see above), but it is regrettable that the editor chose to pass over such a rich vein of information on the compilation of the Bardic tracts in silence when publishing this tract. Bergin was a pioneer in the investigation of medieval Irish

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gell gaiscid gell delba dó .l. (*IGT* III 44), 'Having watched him battle, a crowd acknowledged him supreme in warfare, supreme in looks'. Though I have no example of *fairgsin*, there is nothing improbable in its being a real variant of *fairgse*. It appears likely, however, that *cichsin* was an entirely artificial verbal noun created to provide a derivational basis for *do-chichs-* in a small number of finite verbal forms. Note also the verbal nouns *rugadh* and *tugadh* and the *béarla*-type headword discussed in the list of verbs below (xv, xvii, xix, xx and xxvii). While *cichsin* does not appear to have been in use except as a theoretical derivational basis for certain reduplicated finite verbal forms in *IGT* III–IV, the verbal noun *geóghain*, which was formed from the reduplicated preterite of *gonaid* does appear in literature (Mac Cárthaigh 2017, 134).

5 For various uses of the term *pearsa*, see *ABP* pp 174–5.

6 See also the remarks on the ordering of citations in *IGT* III–IV in Breatnach 2015, 14–15.

7 In this regard, the approach of Lambert McKenna in editing *BST*, where the different manuscript versions are printed separately, is far superior.

8 See Breatnach 2004, where these ascriptions are incorporated into an index of names in *IGT*. I hope to publish more on these identifications in the near future. The manuscript has been digitised and can be viewed (under the rubric '1319/2/7') on Irish Script on Screen (isos.dias.ie; accessed 13 August 2018).

grammaticography and his editions of the Grammatical Tracts have been used with great profit to shed light on Classical Modern Irish language and metre; nonetheless, given the problems outlined above, scholarship in this area would greatly benefit from a new edition of *IGT* III–IV (currently in hand) and the other tracts that have not yet been re-edited.

Didactic material added to H 2.17

As a result of Bergin's policy of ignoring marginalia (both in the scribal hand and material added later) and other extratextual material, at least two short Classical Modern Irish didactic texts have gone unnoticed in this manuscript: the first is a poem on the optative subjunctive, which I edit and translate below; the second is a list of defective verbs, which I will publish on another occasion. Both are found on p. 197 of the manuscript, written in two of the fairly extensive blank spaces between the different sections of *IGT* III–IV, lines which were presumably left blank to allow for the addition of relevant citations in the future.[9] Both of the added texts were written out by a single scribe, whose hand is similar to that of the main scribe of the manuscript but somewhat less confident. He may have been a pupil of the Mac Craith poetic family of Thomond, as the copy of *IGT* III–IV in this manuscript was probably made in a Mac Craith school: that family is afforded particular prominence in the added ascriptions referred to above, and on the upper margin of p. 219 a later hand has written *as maith an leabhar-so ag Cloinn C*[*h*]*raith* 'this book of Clann Chraith is good'. The manuscript appears to have changed hands among learned families, however, for on the upper margin of p. 221 a later somewhat immature-looking hand writes *Ag so leabhar Iollainn Í Dhomhnallāin* 'Behold Iollann Ó Domhnalláin's book'.[10]

The text of the poem on the optative subjunctive occupies ten manuscript lines of p. 197a. It is hardly coincidental that the first verbal noun listed in the poem is *teagmháil* and that our poem begins after the last citation given under that headword (*IGT* III, §2.29). The poem is in *deibhidhe* metre and – unusually for a didactic poem – fulfils the requirements of strict verse (*dán díreach*).[11] The anonymous poet sets out to list the 27 verbs which in the

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9 It is a feature of this copy of *IGT* III–IV that it omits many of the citations found in other copies of the tract.
10 He may be the poet of this name who composed a poem for Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (†1589) (*DMU* 24) and for Toirdhealbhach Ó Néill (†1595) (*ABM* 449). In addition to the marginalia noted above, the name *Domhnall* is written in Ogham on p. 199, but no surname is given.
11 I know of six other Classical Modern Irish didactic poems: Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh's wide-ranging *Madh fiafraigheach budh feasach* (McKenna 1947); Tadhg Ó hUiginn's poem on rhyme, *Comhardadh cionnas is cóir?* (Ó Riain 2013); another poem on rhyme beginning *Feadha an oghaim aithnidh damh* (Breatnach 1941–2);

optative subjunctive (*itche*)[12] are preceded by the verbal particle *go* rather than *gur*. Our text is incomplete, however: only 25 verbs are listed[13] and a *dúnadh* (metrical closure) is lacking.

The optative subjunctive

To contextualise the issue addressed in this poem, it may be useful to briefly examine here the history of the optative subjunctive in Irish and some references to it in other Classical Modern Irish didactic works.

In Old and Middle Irish, one of the functions of the verbal particle *ro* was to make the preterite form of the verb perfect in meaning, e.g. *gabais* 'took' (dependent *-gab*), but **ro** *gab* 'has taken' and *as-bert* 'said', but *as-**rubart*** 'has said'. Another function of *ro* was to give optative force to the present subjunctive of the verb (*GOI* §531), e.g. *da-rolgea día doib* 'may God forgive it to them' (*Wb.* 31a2) (< 3 sing. pres. subj. *du-loga* with infixed *ro*),[14] *ní **ro**héla uáit* 'may it not escape thee' (*Wb.* 30a10) and **Ro** *béosa fort láimsiu / isind *flaith i *mbísiu!* 'May I be on Thy hand in the realm wherein Thou art!' (*Fél* Prol. 273–4).[15] Some verbs, however, are never augmented by *ro*. To mark the perfect (or to give optative sense to the subjunctive) some of these latter verbs took other particles in place of *ro* or formed their perfect and subjunctive by suppletion, while some did not distinguish morphosyntactically between perfect or preterite at all (or between the optative subjunctive and other uses of the subjunctive mood) (see *GOI* §§532–6).

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a poem on *sealbhadh* (on which see fn. 30 below) beginning *A aos dána is aithnidh damh* (Ó Riain 2008); and two unpublished didactic poems in NLI G 3, ff. 74r–76v, *A fhir a-tá ar sliocht na suadh* (described by Ní Shéaghdha, 1967, 27 as a poem 'on the letters of the Ogham alphabet') and *Cá mhéad focal féaghtar leinn* ('on pronouns and prepositions'; Ní Shéaghdha 1967, 27). All of these poems are *deibhidhe* (*ógl* *áchas*) with the exception of Gofraidh Fionn's tour de force which, like the poem edited in this paper, is *deibhidhe* (*dán díreach*).

12 The primary sense of *itche* is 'prayer, entreaty'; 'optative subjunctive' or 'optative subjunctive particle' is a natural extension of meaning. The word remains in use in its original sense in Bardic poetry. See, for example, *Muire Ógh an uair aitghe. ní haibche fuair ógh itche* (*IGT* III 447), 'No more promptly has a virgin received what she was praying for than when you prayed to the Virgin Mary' and *Mór n-itche bhan is bhrughadh / 's guidhe ord is ollumhan / dod chaomhna ar ghníomh na ngreaschath, / a ghríobh aobhdha imreasnach* (*ABM* 433.6), 'Many the supplications of women and hospitallers, and the prayers of those in holy orders and of master-poets that you be protected from the wicked deed of the hostile battles, O lovely, bellicose hero'.

13 1c *claisdin* and *cluinsin*, verbal nouns of *do-chluin*(*eann*), are to be counted as a single verb.

14 For the palatalisation of the medial consonant in *-loga* following syncope, see *GOI* §607.

15 Note also the long sequence of quatrains beginning *Rom *sóerae* 'May you save me' (*Fél* Epil. 441–561).

The conjunction *co* 'that' was used to introduce a subordinate optative subjunctive clause after verbs such as *guidid* 'prays' and *áilid* 'beseeches', as in *no-t-guidimm co ro-airchise dīmm ⁊ do'n uli atāt imallē frim*, **co** *tarta dún comartha na Crīstaidechta*, **co** *na dechsum is-in lucc dorcha cētna*, 'I beseech thee to have mercy on me, and on all who are with me, and give us the token of Christianity, that we may not go into the same dark place' (Atkinson 1887, ll 1299–1302). In the course of the Middle Irish period, subordinated optative *co*-clauses were re-analysed as direct objects of verbs such as *guidid* rather than as subordinate clauses, as if *coro airchise dím...* in the last citation were an instance of direct speech ('I beseech you "May you have mercy on me..." '). As a result *co* began to appear in main clauses with no connective force (see McQuillan 2002, 45–9),[16] giving the likes of **Co** *tartar cuir ⁊ glinne, rátha ⁊ trebairi imm airisium arna comai[-]sin ⁊ 'ma tabairt di Choin Chulaind*, 'Let pledges and covenants, bonds and guarantees be given for abiding by those terms and fulfilling them to Cú Chulainn' (*TBC LL* 1562) and *Ar cach óen ro chí / a chlóen for bith ché, / mo chloíne, a Dé bí, /* **co** *ro choíne mé*, 'For the sake of everyone who has wept for his wrong-doing in this world, may I, O living God, bewail my wickedness' (Murphy 1956, poem 27.6).[17] By the Early Modern Irish period a positive optative verb is regularly introduced by the conjunction *go* (< *co*) or *gur* (< *cor* < *coro*).[18]

Another development in connection with the optative subjunctive to be mentioned here is the spread in the Middle Irish period of the negative particle *ná* – in main clauses earlier proper only to the imperative – to optative subjunctive main clauses at the expense of

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16 The rise of obligatory *co* (*go*) is a symptom of the retreat of the subjunctive from the main clause in Irish: by the Early Modern Irish period, the subjunctive is only found in dependent and relative clauses, outside of the optative, which is morphologically a dependent clause. McQuillan (2002, 279–81) sees the spread of *co* to main clauses as a result of de-semanticisation: the independent subjunctive gradually became 'semantically too inexpressive for main clause function, with the result that it has to be buttressed by an appropriate subordinator, the final conjunction/complementizer *co*'.

17 Perhaps translate rather 'By everyone who has wept...', i.e. 'by penitents who are now saints' (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *ar* II (b)).

18 A partial exception is the copula, which occurs combined with *go* (e.g. *gurab buan an teach mar tá*, 'may this castle stand forever as it is'; McKenna 1923, quatrain 37a = *DiD* 120) and also without *go* (e.g. *rob tuar baoghlaighthe biodhbhadh*, 'may it be an omen of danger to the enemies [...]', *Rob séan caomhanta carad*, 'May [it] be a sign of protection of friends', etc.; *TD* 19.1d, 2a). The copula is not treated in *IGT* III–IV; in Classical Modern Irish grammatical terminology it belonged to the category of *sealbhadh*, for which see fn. 30 below.

ní (cf. McQuillan 2002, 49–52),[19] e.g. *Clunid mo thimna do léir, / **nārbar** dúrc[h]ridig dochéil; nā dénaid friū, rúathar mbras, / cuibdi, cardes nā clemnas*, 'Hear my commandments attentively, do not be hard-hearted or foolish; do not make any agreement, treaty or marriage with them, swift attack' (*Saltair na Rann* 4841–4)[20] and ***Ná** ro tréice do ruire / in chéin bheir a[r] bith bhuidhi, / ar ór ná ar *séd ar bith cé / nā tréic-si do chomairce* (Stokes 1900, ll 592–3), 'May you not abandon your lord so long as you are alive; for gold or for any wealth whatsoever do not forsake the protection you give!'. While the Grammatical Tracts sanction both *ní*(*or*) and *ná*(*r*) as negative particles in optative clauses,[21] I am unaware of any example of optative *ní*(*or*) in Classical Modern Irish poetry; the retention of *ní* in the tract is most likely an example of the conservatism of the Bardic grammarians and their familiarity with earlier linguistic conventions.

As is well known, the verbal system was greatly simplified in the Middle Irish period, so that by Early Modern Irish there was no longer a category of deponent verbs and only a handful of compound verbs. Of relevance for this paper too is the loss of distinction between preterite and perfect, so that the Early Modern analogues of historical perfects such as OIr *as-rubart* (*a-dubhairt, a-dobhairt* etc.) could mean both 'said' and 'has said'.[22] Despite the general diachronic trend towards simplification, many complexities in verbal morphology and syntax endured into the Early Modern Irish period (as *IGT* III–IV attests), new complications arose and certain archaic verbal forms that had probably long vanished from

19 The optative subjunctive and the imperative have similar though not identical semantic force and, as noted, for example, by McKenna for Classical Modern Irish (*BST* p. 175), are regularly identical in (dependent) morphology for some persons. For overlap between the subjunctive and imperative, see also McQuillan 2002, 32–3. Note also that the 1 sing. subjunctive ending *-ear* serves also as the 1 sing. imperative ending throughout *IGT* III–IV: see *dénar, déinear: ná dénar, ná déinear* in §1 (*do-ní*), for instance, or *eirgear, eargar* in §8 (*téid*); the 1 sing. subjunctive and 1 sing. imperative of regular verbs are, of course, identical.

20 I am citing the edition of David Greene available on the website of the Dublin Institute (https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/celt-saltair-na-rann/; accessed 14 August 2018). Note the move in this and the following citation from optative to imperative. The clause *nárbar dúrchridig...* is probably to be understood as a parenthetical wish ('may you not be...') in this context and not as an order. Note that the actual commandments, in the cited quatrain and those following, are all given in the imperative: *ná dénaid* 'do not make' (l. 4843), *cométaid* 'keep' (ll 4853 and 4857), *ná dermaitid* 'do not forget' (l. 4869), *cluinid* 'hear' (l. 4872).

21 In the paradigm of *do-ní* in *IGT* III, §1, for example, both *ní dernar* and *ná dernar* are given as negatives of optative *gu ndernar*. See further discussion on the negative particles of the optative below.

22 The breakdown of the distinction between preterite and perfect and the dominance of originally perfect verbal forms was already in train in the Old Irish period (McCone 1997, 93–8) and was more or less complete by the tenth century (see *SNG* iii, §12.27 and also McCone 1997, 183–7).

speech remained in use for high-register literature. Among the difficulties of Classical Modern Irish verbal syntax observed by contemporary grammarians was variation in the verbal particles used in the past tense and in the optative subjunctive. In the past tense, most verbs were preceded by a particle *ro* (later *do*) in declarative past tense sentences and, in other environments, by particles which contained a historical *ro* (*níor, gur, nár, nachar,* interrogative *nar* etc.); these same verbs were preceded by *gur* or *nár* in the optative. Other verbs were not preceded by a verbal particle *ro* in declarative past tense sentences. In other environments this second group of verbs was preceded by the particles *ní, go, nach, nocha*(*n*), *an* etc. in the past. In the optative they are found with *go* or *ná*.

The distinction described in the preceding paragraph is adverted to several times in Bardic didactic literature. See for example, the following passage from *IGT* I:

> *Gach pearsa agá bhfuil .r. ar a hitche, .n. as cóir ar a fíafruighidh ar láindeimhnioghadh. An phearsa ag nach bhfuil, ní cóir .n. ar a fíafruighidh, mur tá so: 'Ar mharbhus tú?' lochtach; 'Nar mharbhus tú?' as cóir ann.*

> 'Every verb that has *r* on its optative subjunctive should have *n* on its interrogative in the perfect sense. A verb that does not [have *r* on its optative subjunctive] should not have *n* on its interrogative; for instance, *Ar mharbhus tú?* is incorrect; *Nar mharbhus tú?* is what is correct there.'

(*ABP* ll 275–8)

The point being made here appears at first sight to be that *ar,* the reduced form of the past interrogative particle, is sometimes used incorrectly – in the view of the prescriptive Bardic grammarian – in place of the more correct *nar,* but it is more likely that the passage here is concerned with the distribution of verbal particles, namely the use of interrogative *nar* rather than *an*; in citing examples, the grammarian incidentally notes that *ar* is an incorrect form of *nar*.[23] Verbs that mark their past tense forms with a particle *ro* (*do*) in the positive will take *nar* in the interrogative; verbs that do not mark their past tense with *ro* take *an* (earlier *in*) as

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23 One might object that both *nar* and *an* contain *n* and that this passage is therefore really concerned with prohibiting past tense interrogative *ar*, but the '*n* on its interrogative' (*.n.* **ar** *a fíafruighidh*) most likely refers to an initial *n-* (*nar*).Cf. *Gach pearsa* **ar** *a mbia duir ailm coimlenamna* 'Every verbal form on which [or 'before which'] there is an adhering *da*' (i.e. the preverb *do-*/*da-*) (see fn. 88 below). Cf. *BST* 211.13, which forbids interrogative *ar mharbhus tú?* and sanctions *nar mharbhus tú?*.

an interrogative particle. To define the set of verbs which take *nar* (earlier *inro*[24]), the grammarian refers to the distinction between verbs which take *go* in their optative subjunctive and those which take *gur*, as the past tense and the optative subjunctive pattern together in the use (or non-use) of verbal particles in *-r*. The verb *marbhaidh* will properly take *nar* as an interrogative particle in the past tense (*nar mharbh?* 'did he kill?') because it takes *gur* in the optative subjunctive (*gur mharbha* 'may he kill'); *do-ní* will not take *nar* as an interrogative particle in the past tense (*an ndearna?* 'did he do?') because it takes *go* in the optative subjunctive (*go ndearna* 'may he do'). The correspondence in the verbal particles used in the past tense and the optative subjunctive is referred to elsewhere in Bardic didactic literature: for examples of similar formulations in *IGT* III–IV, *BST* and *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae*, see the notes on the above passage in *ABP* (pp 204–5).[25]

As will be clear from the list in our poem (see below), among the verbs that take *go* rather than *gur* in the optative subjunctive are some of the most commonly occurring verbs in the language (the verb *do-ní* 'does, makes' mentioned in the last paragraph is a case in point). It should also be noted that, outside of the optative use of the subjunctive, *go* is the conjunction used in subordinate clauses even before verbs that regularly take *gur* in the optative. It is probably for these reasons that *go* begins to spread at the expense of *gur* to verbs that historically took *gur* in the optative, a development commented on in *BST* 225.1–6 (cf. also 14b and 45a), where *go* for earlier *gur* is called *itche chanamhna*. This term is translated by McKenna as 'a colloquial way of expressing wish' (*BST* p. 174). Cf. McQuillan's ' "popular" optative' (2002, 45–6). I prefer the translation 'anomalous optative', though the use of *go* for *gur* in these examples is innovative and almost certainly reflects developments in ordinary spoken Irish. The label *canamhain* is used to describe both historical and innovative forms in the Tracts (see *SNG* iv, §4.9): it is best understood as meaning 'a form which does not conform to the paradigm/rule but is nonetheless acceptable'.[26]

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24 We might expect *inro* to have been reduced to **nro*, but presumably because absolute initial *nr-* was not found in Irish (as opposed to vowel + *nr-*) the reduced form was realised with a secondary vowel as *naro*. Like *coro* (> *gur*), *naro* was reduced to *nar* and eventually to *ar*, the last-mentioned form showing the influence of interrogative *an* (*in*).

25 While *go* is the only particle used in the positive optative subjunctive in Modern Irish, the patterning of *go*/*gur*, *ní*/*níor* etc. is still found in the past tense (at least in standard written Irish), e.g. *níor mharaigh* but *ní dhearna.*

26 I have slightly altered the formatting of passages cited from *BST* and added the letters (a), (b) and (c) for ease of citation.

<center>*Itche chanamhna sunn.*</center>

(a) *Go nach bía oirbhire air*

Día go °soirbhighe an °sédsain.

(b) *Óm rún go °síothlór go °soirbh*

giodh doirbh dhúnn síothlódh ór snaidhm.

(c) *Teampall °Solmhan*

go °sléachtar ann go hoirichleach:

cloch go ngné ngairbh

gurab é m'ainm a hoilithreach.

<center>Anomalous optative here.</center>

'May God bless that treasure so that no harm may ever befall it.'[27]

'May I enjoy a pleasant peace owing to this decision, though 'tis hard for me to be at peace from my trouble.'[28]

'May I in all observance prostrate myself in Solomon's Temple; may I be known as a pilgrim to that smooth-polished castle.'[29]

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[27] Better 'so that there will be no malediction upon it may God clear that way'.

[28] From *A-tú i ndeacair eder dhís* (*ABM* 57), quatrain 29cd. The complete quatrain in the unique copy of this poem (TCD H 3. 19 (1340)) when normalised reads *An t-anam ara bhfuil feidhm / is an chalann fár chuir tairm / re tnúdh go síothlór go soirbh / giodh doirbh dhúnn síothlódh re snaidhm*, which I would translate 'The soul, which is essential, and the body, which it has disturbed, with purpose may I tame [them] completely, though it is hard for me to tame [them] for good [lit. 'with a knot']'.

[29] I am unsure why McKenna takes *go ngné ngairbh* to mean 'smooth-polished'. This is quatrain 13 of Gofraidh Ó Cléirigh's *Dlighidh iasacht* (edited from the unique copy of the whole poem in the Book of Uí Mhaine (RIA D ii 1 (1225)) in *AiD* 61, from where I cite the translation). The version of this quatrain in the Book of Uí Mhaine reads *Solmha* for *Solmhan*: both are acceptable forms of the genitive of *Solamh*, as also is *Solaimh* (see *IGT* ii, §§19 and 194). In the same poem (quatrain 16), we find another example of *itche chanamhna*: *sruth cithmhear cas / go nighthear as an t-anamsa*, 'may my soul be cleansed by that rapid winding stream'. This example is not metrically fixed, however.

<center>11</center>

Historically we would expect the verbs *soirbhighidh* (a), *síothlóidh* (b) and *sléachtaidh* (c) to take *gur* in the optative (and, following the teaching of *IGT* I discussed above, interrogative *nar* in the past tense), but in all three instances we have *go* confirmed by metre: in (a), a poem in *deibhidhe* (*dán díreach*), reading *gur shoirbhighe* would spoil alliteration (*uaim*) with *séad-sain*; in (b), a poem in *rannaigheacht mhór* (*dán díreach*), reading *gur shíothlór* would spoil alliteration with *soirbh*; while in (c), a poem in *snéadhbhairdne* (*dán díreach*), reading *gur shléachtar* would deprive the first half-quatrain of linking alliteration (*lorga*) with *Solmhan*.

The issue of *itche chanamhna* is also addressed indirectly in a discussion of *sealbhadh* in *BST* 72a32–b3:[30]

> *'Gur shaora Dia thū' agus 'gu saora Dia thū', 'gurad saora Dia' a .s. araon; 'nīr' agus 'nār' a n.d.*[31] *Gach pearsa gā mbī soil ar a tosach, .c. itche cheart agus chanamhna mar sin aici, agus a ndiaigh an chirt tēid a .s. araon, gē a-dubhradh gur .c. so ō .s.:*
>
>> *'**Go sāsar**[32] ort mo bhrū a bhairghean.*
>>
>> *as tū corp an Choimdheadh'*
>
> *Agus a-dearar gura .c. 'gu ad saora Dia' do .s. aige so: 'gu saora Dia thū'; .l. aige achd 'nār' do .d.*
>
> *Gur shaora Dia thú* and *go saora Dia thú*: *gurad saora Dia* is the *sealbhadh* of both; *níor* and *nár* are their negative. Every verb which has an *s* at the beginning, it can have a regular subjunctive or an anomalous subjunctive like this, and the *sealbhadh* of both follows the correct form, though it has been said that the following is correct as regards *sealbhadh*:
>
>> 'May I satiate my appetite with you,[33] O bread;

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30 *Sealbhadh* refers to both infixed pronouns and the conjugated forms of the copula (*SNG* iv, §§7.27 and 9.2).

31 Printed *an .d.* by McKenna.

32 From context, this must represent *gos sásar*, i.e. *go* + 3 sing. feminine infixed object pronoun (cf. *ná*[*s*] *sir* and *do*[*s*] *sgoilt* in *IGT* I, §82). This helps to explain nom. *brú* (: *tú*) here for the expected accusative *broinn*, though one could also argue that the accusative is avoided as the object is separated from the verb that governs it. See *IGT* I, §82 (= *ABP* ll 794–804) for the use of the infixed pronoun to avoid the accusative.

33 More literally, 'may I satisfy it, my stomach'.

you are the body of the Lord'

> And it is said that *gu ad saora Dia* is correct as *sealbhadh* to this: *gu saora Dia thú*;
> as a negative, only *nár* is not faulty with it.[34]

This passage makes clear that despite the asymmetry involved, the anomalous subjunctive (in this case specifically with infixed pronouns) takes *nár* as its negative particle.[35] It states that only the regular subjunctive is to be used when infixing an object pronoun (or with the conjugated forms of the copula), though it is acknowledged that there is a difference of opinion among Bardic grammarians on this point with some allowing *go* + infixed pronoun (or *go* + conjugated forms of the copula).[36]

The relationship of the poem to *IGT* III–IV and the identity of the poet

IGT III–IV makes no mention of *itche chanamhna*. This could be an instance of disagreement between the tracts, but it is unsurprising that *IGT* III–IV, which is concerned primarily with morphology, should not treat in detail of what is essentially a point of syntax. Our poem also makes no mention of the anomalous subjunctive, though this too is unsurprising as the poem is a *précis* of information to be gleaned from *IGT* III–IV on the optative subjunctive with *go*.

That our poem is a synthesis of another source might be suggested by the wording of the first line, in which the poet states that he has found (*uair mé*) 27 verbs. This naturally

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34 With the exception of the first line of the verse citation (a half-quatrain in strict *deachnadh mhór*), McKenna does not translate the rest of this passage, but provides some commentary in his notes on *BST* 225.1–6 at p. 175. McKenna's translation of the first verse line is 'May I comfort my bosom resting on Thee, O Wafer'.

35 In the optative subjunctive in Modern Irish, only *go* (not *gur*) and neg. *nár* (not *ná*) are used (in standard written Irish at any event): *go gcúití Dia leat é* 'may God reward you for it' but *nár laga Dia do lámh* 'may God not weaken your hand'.

36 I agree with McKenna (*BST* pp 174–5) that, despite the potentially misleading wording above, the anomalous subjunctive was not confined to *s*-initial verbs: such verbs were, however, particularly useful as examples in the tracts given the rules of alliteration in Bardic poetry. McKenna gives a number of putative examples of *itche chanamhna* but only one of these (*go gcuire*) is relevant: the rest are not optative subjunctive and/or regularly take *go* in that mood. Similarly, only one of McQuillan's examples (2002, 50) (3 pl. *go ttréigitt*) is relevant. For a genuine example of *itche chanamhna* confirmed by alliteration, see *A óigmheic arsaidh dar siair / mo chasbhraid go °bhfóire °féin / 's ná leig m'anam uaibh dá thaoibh / sgaoil uainn mo ralam go réidh* (*DiD* 51.8), translated by McKenna (1925) as 'Relieve, O son of my sister, young yet eternal, my sore plight; let me not, by it, be lost to Thee; free me gently from my exposure (to sin)'. Note again the shift from optative to imperative in this quatrain (cf. fn. 20).

raises the question 'Where did he find them?'. The dependence of our poem on *IGT* III–IV is suggested not only by the manuscript context of the poem, but also by the ordering of the verbs listed. As will be clear from the references to *IGT* III–IV in the list below, they occur in broadly the same order in both our poem and in *IGT* III–IV as edited by Bergin. The small number of exceptions would seem to be motivated by the requirements of the strict metre. *Déanamh* (§1 in *IGT* III–IV) occurs between *beith* (§7) and *dol* (§8), but *déanamh* provides alliteration with *dol* as well as the correct number of syllables in quatrain 2a. *Rochtain* (§15) occurs between *rugadh* (§13) and *tugadh* (§14), but this positioning allows for end-rhyme with 2d *tárochtain*; it also allows *rugadh* and *tugadh* to make internal rhyme with one another. Similar motivations are clear in the re-ordering of verbs in quatrain 3 (which correspond to §§17, 21, 19, 18, 20 and 22 of *IGT* III–IV). As mentioned above, our poem is incomplete, giving only 25 of the 27 relevant verbs. If it is indeed a synopsis of *IGT* III–IV, we would expect the two missing verbs to occur later in *IGT* III–IV than the last-mentioned verb in our poem, *an ithe* (§31 in *IGT* III–IV). If I am correct, the two missing verbs are *an ibhe* and *béarla na buana*, and these do occur later in the tract than *an ithe*: *an ibhe* is mentioned after *an ithe* in §31, while *béarla na buana* is treated in the next section.

The fact that Bergin's edition of *IGT* III–IV obscures significant differences between the manuscripts he consulted has already been adverted to. Bergin is silent on the fact that the order of sections is not identical in the different witnesses. All of the verbs listed in our poem occur in the first 32 paragraphs of the tract,[37] but they do not occur in the same order in all the manuscripts. The order of sections in Bergin's edition follows that of H17 (and also H12, which he did not consult). In E and C there is a different sequence: *béarla na tuitme* (§21 in Bergin's edition) follows *torachtain* (§19) and precedes *fionnachtain* (§20), while *ithe* (§31) precedes *gabháil* (§23). The placement of *ithe* in our poem in particular suggests that the poet was working from a copy of *IGT* III–IV similar to that in H17 (where we find the sole extant copy of the poem) and H12 or, indeed, from one of those two manuscripts. Conversely, it is unlikely that our poet was working off a copy of *IGT* III–IV like that in C or E.

In addition to extratextual evidence such as scribal marginalia, it is likely that a closer analysis of the citations found uniquely in individual witnesses of *IGT* III–IV will shed light

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37 *Marthain* (§23 in Bergin's edition) does not occur among the first 32 paragraphs of C, however. All of the verbs listed in this poem are – at least viewed synchronically – highly irregular in Classical Modern Irish and therefore occur early in *IGT* III–IV.

on their provenance (and so on the provenance of our poet); this will form part of a future edition of the tract. The Mac Craith associations of the H17 copy have already been mentioned. I am not at present in a position to suggest a possible provenance for either H12 or C, but it is clear that the copies of *BST* and *IGT* III–IV in E were produced for an Ó hUiginn school (see *BST* p. viii). Particularly significant is the remark concerning the school of Cill Chluaine added to §106 of *IGT* III–IV in E. The citation *A chlú oraib 'gun oireacht. gur gnodaig tú in teachtaireacht,* translated by McManus (2017, 207–8) as 'You are credited in the assembly with success in the errand' or 'with having earned the prophecy (?)', is marked as faulty because the hiatus marker *-dh-* in the verb *gnodhaighidh* (*gnöaighidh*) is allowed to rhyme (*gnodhaigh* : *oraibh*). To the copy in E has been added the sentence *Tángas leis sin do bheith .c. ar sgoil Chille Cluaine* 'It was agreed that this is correct on the authority of the school of Cill Chluaine' (cf. McManus 2017, 207–8).[38]

The poet reveals little about himself in the poem and unless further evidence comes to light his identity must remain a mystery. It is noteworthy that in four extant quatrains he refers to himself twice (1a, 4cd) in a manner that suggests a justifiable pride in his achievement in synthesising information on an aspect of the syntax of the optative subjunctive.

The 27 verbs: synchronic analysis

The following 25 verbs are named in our poem. The information on the Classical Modern Irish verbal forms given below is derived from *IGT* III–IV. Cited final verbal forms are 3 sing. unless otherwise stated. The reason for giving the past tense and its negative will be obvious from the discussion above. In Classical Modern Irish, the present subjunctive is only found in subordinate or relative clauses (except for the optative where even in main clauses it is always preceded by *go/gur*); following the usage of *IGT* III–IV, therefore, I give the relative form of the present subjunctive as well as the optative form (*go* + dependent form of the present subjunctive).[39] In citing examples from verse to illustrate how far the teaching of this poem was observed by poets and scribes, I am not concerned with providing a representative selection of morphological forms – which are common to the subjunctive in all its functions in Classical Modern Irish – but with the use of the verbal particles. Where usage can be confirmed by metre, this is mentioned.

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38 For the Ó hUiginn school at Cill Chluaine (englished 'Kilcloney', north of Tuam), see the notes on *TD* 12.6.
39 In some verbs the future and pres. subj. forms are identical (such as (xxi) below).

(i) **Teagmháil** (*IGT* iii, §2): Verbal noun to the compound verb[40] *teagaimh / do-eagaimh* 'happens'; past tense *tarla / do-arla / do-rala*,[41] neg. *ní tharla*; rel. pres. subj. *teagmhas / do-eagmha*, optative *go dteagmha*. The sole example of the optative of this verb in verse known to me is the 2 sing. form in *ABM* 315.13: *Lá an chomhthroim do dhéanamh deit, / a Mhíchéil uasail oirdhreic, / (iúl taidhiúir!) go dteagmha dhó / ar eagla ainiúil m'anmo* (*dteagmha* : *eagla*), 'On the day when you work the scales [i.e. Judgement Day], O noble, famed Mícheál (it is sad to think about it!) may you meet my soul lest it go astray'.

(ii) **Claisdin is cluinsin** (§3): Verbal nouns to the compound verb *do-chluin(eann)* 'hears' (also *ad-*); past tense *do-chuala(idh)*, neg. *ní chuala*; rel. pres. subj. *do-chluine / do-chló / do-chlá*, optative *go gcluine / gcló / gclá*. For examples of the expected optative, see *go gcluine sinn* 'may we hear' (*DiD* 81.30) and 1 pl. *go gcluineam* (*ibid*., 31), but note also 1 sing. *nár chluinear* (*ABM* 159.32)[42] and 1 pl. *nár chluineam* (*DiD* 63.30),[43] where there is, in theory at least, no impediment to emending to *ná cl-*.

(iii) **Faicsin** (§4): Verbal noun to the compound verb *do-chí* 'sees' (also *ad-*); past tense *do-chonnai(r)c* (also *ad-*), neg. *ní fhaca(idh)*; rel. pres. subj. *do-ché*, optative *go bhfaice*. I note the following metrically-confirmed instance of the expected *go*-form: *an tslighe ghlan °fós go °bhfaicear*, 'may I yet see the virtuous path' (Ó Cuív 1946–50, l. 3). However in a quatrain by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh we find both the expected *go* and also the 'incorrect' *nár* confirmed by alliteration: *Brugh °Ifreinn nár °fhaice mé / [...] / an dún i °bhfuil go °bhfaicear* 'May I not see the hall of Hell [...]; may I see the house he [God] is in' (*DiD* 37.39ad). This quatrain would appear to indicate that no less an authority than Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh was guilty of the use of *nár* for expected *ná*. It is worth noting, however, that vowel-initial present subjunctive forms of *do-chí* may have been permitted by some schools (see fn. 4), and so an emendation to *ná haice mé* or similar might be possible. As noted by Damian

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40 The term 'compound verb' here should be understood as covering 'contracted deuterotonic' forms such as *teagaimh* and *tig* in independent position.

41 Note the comment *ní uil do-rala acht ar in focal*[-]*sin*, '*do-rala* is only found in that form [the 3 sing. past]', i.e. 1 sing. *tarladh/do-arladh* does not have a variant **do-raladh*. The past tense forms of this verb are taken over from the perfect forms in *to-ro-la-* belonging to OIr *do-cuirethar*. *Do-arla* is back-formed from *tarla* like *do-ig* from *tig*.

42 Note also, in the same poem, the regular use of *nár* with the 3 pl. pres. subj. of *tuillidh*: *nár thuillead féin ar bhfeirg-ne / 'náid goirtbhriathra ar nGaoidheilge*, 'may they not earn my anger or the bitter words of my speech' (quatrain 29ab).

43 Compare, in the same poem, optative *go dtí* (quatrain 24) and *nár léige* (quatrain 25).

McManus (*SNG* IV, §7.19), *IGT* III 53 contains an example of a 1 sing. subjunctive form -*acar* (cf. OIr -*accar*); the expected 1 sing. subjunctive is -*faicear*, following *IGT*, but, while the citation is faulted in H17, it is there ascribed to *Tadg M*[*ór*], probably the distinguished poet Tadhg Mór Ó hUiginn (†1315), for whom see Ó Riain 2013, 56–7.[44]

(iv) ***Teacht*** (§5): Verbal noun to the compound verb *tig /do-ig* 'comes';[45] past tense *táinig / do-áinig*, neg. *ní tháinig*, and *tánaig / do-ánaig*, neg. *ní thánaig*; rel. pres. subj. *tí*, optative *go dtí*.[46] Optative *go dtí* is very common in verse (see, for example, *AiD* 61.16–17 and *ABM* 160.16, 18–19, 21), but examples of *nár thí* are also found, for instance in *TD* 12.10 and *LBran* 33, l. 3611. In the case of *TD* 12, Knott registers the expected *ná tí* in the MS variants (cf. *AiD* 81.10 for another example); it is interesting to note two of the most important seventeenth-century miscellanies, the Book of the O'Conor Don and RIA A iv 3 (743), among the MSS which read *nár*.

(v) ***Abairt*** (§6): Verbal noun to the compound verb *a-deir / a-dir* 'says';[47] past tense *a-dobhairt / a-dubhairt / a-dóbhairt / a-déabhairt / ad-óbhairt / ad-éabhairt*, neg. *ní dobhairt / dubhairt / dóbhairt / déabhairt*;[48] rel. pres. subj. *a-deara*, optative *go n-abra*. I have no examples of the optative of this verb in verse.

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[44] For the status of non-*f*-initial forms such as -*acar* in the Bardic register, see McManus 2017, 215. It should be noted that an emendation to *ná haice* is not as violent a departure from the manuscript texts as might initially appear. Even in authorial copies of Bardic poems, one acceptable variant is often written in place of another equally acceptable variant, even when the latter form is required by metre (see Ó Macháin 1991, 273–85). Rather than assuming that *ná haice* has been corrupted – in stages or in a single scribal intervention – to *nár fhaice*, we could imagine an archetype which read *ná faice* (though *ná haice* was required for alliteration), which was then corrupted to *nár fhaice* under the influence of *itche chanamhna*.

[45] *Do-igeann* is given as faulty in *IGT* III–IV.

[46] Rel. *do-í* is faulted *ara mheirbhe* 'on account of its weakness' in *IGT* III–IV.

[47] For examples of forms in *b-* (from *ad-bheir* rather than *a-deir*), see McManus 2005, 152–3.

[48] For the past tense forms of *a-deir*, see Ó Cuív 1971–2, 66–72. Sometimes neg. forms without the initial *d-* are found, though this is not the teaching of *IGT* III–IV; outside of the negative, dependent forms with and without initial *d-* are acceptable, e.g. *a n-éabhairt* and *a ndéabhairt* 'that which she said' (see *SNG* iv, §7.21). As an explanation for this rather arbitrary-seeming rule, it should be noted that, following the teaching of the Tracts, these vowel-initial dependent forms will only occur after nasalising particles, i.e. where there is no phonological distinction between *n-* + vowel and *nd-* (though despite this homophony *n-* and *nd-* are always distinguished for alliteration in poetry). In Modern Irish, some dialects have re-analysed forms with initial unlenited *d-* such as *dúirt* (< *a-dubhairt*), taking the initial *d-* to be a past-tense marker (as in *d'ól, d'fhoghlaim* etc.); this re-analysis allows the likes of *níor úirt* (McManus 2017, 221 n. 28), which find no place in the Bardic register (unlike *do uaidh, níor uaidh,* beside *do-uaidh, ní duaidh,* discussed below).

(vi) **Beith** (§7): Verbal noun to *a-tá* 'is' (consuetudinal *bídh*); past tense *do bhí* /*do bhaoi*, neg. *ní rabha* / *raibhe* / *robha* / *roibhe*; rel. pres. subj. *beas* / *ra(i)bh* (and, in E, *bheith* is given as a *canamhain*-form), optative *go mbé* / *ra(i)bh* (also *ro(i)b*). These forms are common in verse; see, for example, *go rabh* (*DiD* 38.30), *ná rabh* (*IBP* 21.37), 1 pl. *go mbeam* (*AiD* 61.10) and 1 sing. *go mbear* (see (xiii) below) and *go rabhar* (*AiD* 92.18, 20).[49] I have not noted their use with *gur* or *nár*.

(vii) **Déanamh** (§1): Verbal noun to the compound verb *do-ní* 'makes, does';[50] past *do-rinne* / *do-roinne* / *do-ríne* / *do-róine* / *do-righne* / *do-roighne*,[51] neg. *ní dhearna*; rel. pres. subj. *do-né*,[52] optative *go ndearna*. The 1 sing. optative form is explicitly mentioned in *IGT* III–IV, along with the observation that both *ní* and *ná* can be used with it. For examples of the optative of this verb in verse, see 1 sing. *go ndearnar* (*DiD* 39.14) and *ná dearnor* (*DBM* 15.3), and 1 pl. *go ndearnam* (*AiD* 92.19). I note the following forms with *nár* in late MSS: *nár dearna mé* (*ABM* 160.27) and 1 sing. *nár dhearnar* (*DiD* 4.3);[53] for the latter example, McKenna registers a variant *ná dearnar*.

(viii) **Dol** (§8): Verbal noun to the (compound) verb *téid*; past *do-chuaidh* / *do-chóidh* / *do-cháidh* / *do-dheachaidh*, neg. *ní dheachaidh*; rel. pres. subj. *deach* / *digh*, optative *go ndeach* / *ndigh.* For examples of the optative of this verb, see 1 sing. *go ndighear* (*DiD*

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49 *AiD* 92, of which the copies are 'all late and corrupt' according to its editor, has many examples of *itche chanamhna* (see 1 sing. *go n-iodhbraim* [sic], 1 pl. *go ndáileam* in quatrain 6; passive *go ngabhthar*, *go mbraittear*, *go naomhar* in quatrain 9, etc.), but only one of these examples can be tested with alliteration (quatrain 21) and unfortunately it is ambiguous: *Grása ód naoimhspiorad ar nimh / dot iarraidh, a mheic mhaithmhigh, /go bhfeara 'na firtlinn te / im inntinn cheana im chroidhe.* McKenna translates as 'At Thy command, O kindly Son, may the grace of the Holy Ghost in Heaven pour down in warm virtue-rich flood on my sinful mind and heart', but as *fearaidh* is not usually intransitive, optative *go bhfeara* should perhaps be interpreted as 2 sing. referring to Christ ('may you pour'). *Grása* could be a sing. masc. noun (see *IGT* II, §2 for *grása* 'grace'), in which case we must lenite *fhirtlinn* after the 3 sing. masc. possessive pronoun, which necessitates reading *gur fheara* for alliteration. However, *grása* could also be the pl. of *grás* (see *IGT* II, §38), in which case we must read *'na bhfirtlinn* and retain *go bhfeara*.

50 For forms in *g-* (from *do-ghní*), see McManus 2005, 153–4 and McManus 2017, 215–16.

51 *Do-róna* is faulted in *IGT* III–IV.

52 For 2 sing. *do-néis*, see McManus 2013.

53 Note an example of *itche chanamhna* in this poem: *go mbeana* (quatrain 16).

38.29)[54] and 3 sing. *go ndeach* (*AiD* 61.11), *ná deach* (*IBP* 3.5).[55] I have not noted any examples with *gur* or *nár*.[56]

(ix) **Tairgsin** (§9): Verbal noun to the (compound) verb *tairgidh / do-airg*(*eann*) 'offers'; past *targaidh / do-argaidh*, neg. *ní thargaidh*; rel. pres. subj. *tairge / do-airge*, optative *go dtairge*. I have no examples of the optative of this verb in verse.

(x) **Tairgsin** (§9): Verbal noun to a defective compound verb meaning 'comes to an end',[57] which in the past tense has the forms *tarnaig / do-arnaig* (neg. *ní tharnaig*) and *tairnig / do-airnig* (neg. *ní thairnig*) and in the present subjunctive *táir / do-áir* (optative *go dtáir*). For examples of the optative, see 1 pl *go dtáiream bocht id bhochtacht* 'may I suffer poverty in thy poverty [lit. 'may I die as a pauper in your poverty'?]' (*AiD* 92.6) and note the variation in *Nár tháire* [v.l. *ná táire*] – *ná táire mé* – / *Aodh Ó Domhnaill i ndaoirse* (*DiD* 63.30ab), 'May Aodh Ó Domhnaill not end up imprisoned – may I not end up imprisoned [either]'. It is difficult to separate forms of this verb from (xviii).

(xi) **Teasdáil** (§10): verbal noun to the defective compound verb which has as its past tense *teasdó / teasdá / teasda / do-easdó / do-easdá / do-easda* '(has) died', neg. *ní theasdó / theasdá / theasda*; the present subjunctive forms are identical, which would give optative *go dteasdó* etc. I have no examples of the optative of this verb in verse.[58]

(xii) **Téarnamh** (§11): verbal noun to the (compound) verb *téarnóidh / téarnáidh / téarnaidh / téarnáeïdh*[59] 'escapes, recovers'; past tense *téarnó / téarná / téarna*, neg. *ní théarnó /*

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54 Note also an example of *itche chanamhna* in this poem: 1 sing. *go dtuillior* (quatrain 2).

55 *IBP* 3 contains a few examples of *itche chanamhna*, including *go ttréigitt* and *go ttille* (quatrain 4).

56 The suppletive subjunctive forms of Classical Modern Irish are replaced in Modern Irish by forms based on *téigh-* (Mod. Ir. *go dté < go dtéighe*), the same stem as the indicative (1 sing. *téighim*) (see *SNG* iv, §7.23). Owing to phonological developments, the Mod. Ir. subjunctive forms superficially resemble OIr dependent 3 sing. pres. subj. *-té* (independent *téis*).

57 The two verbs are distinguished from each other in *IGT* III–IV as *tairgsin duit* 'offering to you' and *tairgsin ó thairgsin an éadaigh* '*tairgsin* in the sense "wearing away of clothes"' (Bergin 1932, 140).

58 In *IGT* III, §10 doubt is expressed about how far this verb can have a meaningful verbal of necessity: *is tesdótha, is tesdátha .c. (má tá ciall and)*, '*is tesdótha, is tesdátha* are correct [as verbals of necessity], if that makes sense'. It is further stated that it does not have forms in two tenses (presumably the past habitual and present indicative) (*.l. cuid aici ar in dá aimsir (sin) eili, muna fagthar ciall and*, 'it is faulty for this verb to have equivalents in the other two tenses, unless sense can be found in that') and the verb also does not have an imperative mood (*.l. furáilim aici*).

59 A later hand in E adds *do-éarnó*(*nn*) */ do-éarná*(*nn*) */ do-éarnae*(*eann*) */ do-éarna*(*nn*).

théarná / théarna; rel. pres. subj. *téarnós / téarnás / téarnaíeas / téarnas / do-éarnóa / do-éarnáa / do-éarnáae / do-éarnaíe / do-éarna*, optative *go dtéarnó / téarná / téarnaíe / téarna / téarnóa / tárnáa / téarnaíe*. The only example of the optative of this verb in verse that I have found is *Más é mh'olc nar fhagha sionn / saoghal is sia ná a bhfuairsiom; nar théarna leam, tar mo leas / gidh énlá i gceann ar chaitheas*, 'Should it be bad for me, may I not live any longer – may I not survive with prejudice to my salvation, even a single day more' (*DBM* 15.6).[60]

(xiii) **Ríochtain** (§12): verbal noun to *rig* 'arrives'; past tense, *ránaig*, neg. *ní ránaig* and *ráinig*, neg. *ní ráinig*; rel. pres. subj. *rí*, optative *go rí*. I note the following 1 sing. example from an Early Modern Irish dialogue-poem put into the mouths of Mac Liag and Mac Coise, where *rís* may be an error for *rús*:[61] *Go rís co Cīarān Clūana / gusna ceōl*a[ibh] *rochūala, / go mber isin flaith i bfuil / mar i mbía maith ar marthain* (Meyer 1912, 222, quatrain 52), 'May I come to Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, to the music of which I have heard; may I be in the kingdom where he is, where goodness will endure forever'.

(xiv) **Ríochtain** (§12): verbal noun to *rig a leas* 'needs', which is regarded as a separate lexical item from (xiii) by Bardic grammarians, though it is inflected the same way. I have no example of this construction used in an optative sense.

(xv) **Rugadh** (§13): 'invented' verbal noun to *beiridh* 'bears' (see fn. 4 above), the normal verbal noun of which is *breith*. I have no evidence that this verbal noun (or the similar *tugadh*) was ever used outside of the treatment of *beiridh* in *IGT* III–IV (see Quin 1983, 119–20).[62] It was only created to account for finite forms of the verb in *rug-*. *Beiridh* has past tense *rug*, neg. *ní rug*, and rel. pres. subj. *ruga* (optative *go ruga*) on the same stem. It also has rel. pres. subj. *bheireas* and *bhearas* (optative *go mbeire / beara*). Bardic grammarians would

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60 I assume that reflexive *leam* here indicates continued action: 'may I not continue to survive'. Cf. Mod. Ir. *bhíos ag léamh liom* 'I was reading away'.

61 A <v>-shaped *u* can easily be confused with <i>.

62 *Rugadh* is given a genitive in H17 (*méd in rucaid, méd [in] ructha*) but in no other copy of the tract. All of the Tracts have *.l. oibriugad ná fuláirem aige, ₇ do-rindeadh ruc ó fuláirem*, 'It is faulty for it to have a verbal of necessity or imperative, and *rug* is found as an imperative'. For the term *oibriughadh*, see *ABP* pp 205–6. The genitive of the verbal noun is normally given before the verbal of necessity in the tract because the verbal of necessity is generally formed by adding *-t(h)a* or *-the* to the verbal root (*SNG* iv, §7.29) and so is often identical with the genitive of the verbal noun (e.g. *buailte*) (cf. Greene 1966, 84). For 2 sing. imperative *uic* (?) in OIr, see *GOI* §759 and cf. *tug*, 2 sing. imperative to *do-bheir* 'gives'.

regard these latter forms as being derived from the verbal noun *breith*.[63] It seems likely that our poet wished to include all subjunctive forms of *beiridh* here and not merely those 'derived' from *rugadh*. In the cases of other verbs, he does not give all the various verbal noun-forms of each verb (the only variation noted is (ii) and even there the full range of alternative forms is not given), but cannot have meant to exclude other forms. For example, the poet only gives one of the eight sanctioned forms of the verbal noun of *do-gheibh* (xxiv), but could hardly have meant to limit the use of *go*/*ná* in the optative subjunctive only to forms in *fa-*, excluding *a-*, *o-* and *fo-*forms. Note also that in the case of a verb that does have two sets of optative subjunctive forms – one which takes *go* and one which takes *gur* – this variation is explicitly referred to (xxv) in quatrain 4ab. For examples of the optative of this verb in verse, see *go mbeire* (*ABM* 297.22), 1 pl. *go mbearam* (McKenna 1922, 27.16)[64] and 2 sing. *go rugair* (*Gearóid Iarla* 14.9).[65] For an example with *nár*, see *Nár bheiread* [MS *bheirid*] *Gaoidhil ghuirt Fhionntain / urraim riamh ó ríoghraidh Ghall* (*ABM* 373.9ab), 'May the Gaels of Ireland never take any honour from English kings'.

(xvi) **rochtain** (§15): verbal noun to the compound verb *do-soich*(*eann*) / *do-roich*(*eann*) / *do-seich*(*eann*) / *do-reich*(*eann*) / *do-sóigh* / *do-róigh* 'arrives'; past tense *do-suacht* / *do-ruacht* / *do-siacht* / *do-riacht*, neg. *ní suacht* / *ruacht* / *siacht* / *riacht*, and also *ránaig* / *ráinig*, neg. *ránaig* / *ráinig*; rel. pres. subj. *do-só* / *do-ró* / *do-sua* / *do-rua* / *do-sia* / *do-ria*, optative *go só* / *ró* / *rua* / *sia* / *ria*. I have no examples of the negative optative in *s-*,[66] but the following examples of the positive with *go* are confirmed by alliteration: *slán a Saghsaibh go °só °soin* (*ABM* 112.28), 'may he return safe from England',[67] and *ar an orsain i[s] sia siar / don tsliabh chorr-sain cu sia in slógh* (Carney 1945, poem 18.39), 'May the host come to the

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63 Cf. the discussion of the imperfect forms of *beiridh* in *IGT* III–IV, where some forms are said to be derived from *breith* (and also *tabhairt*, i.e. *do-bheir*) and some from *rugadh*, e.g. *do berinn, .s. ₇ .g. ón breith* and *₇ .g. ón tabairt. do beruinn, .s. ón breith ₇ ón tabairt ann. do ruguinn .s. ón rugadh*, '*do bheirinn*, it is past subjunctive and imperfect to *breith* and [as *do-bheirinn*] imperfect to *tabhairt*; *do bhearainn*, it is past subjunctive to *breith* and [as *do-bhearainn*] to *tabhairt*; *do rugainn*, past subjunctive to *rugadh*'.

64 This poem has several examples of *itche chanamhna*, including *go dturna* (quatrain 32) and 1 pl. *go bhfuilngeam* (quatrain 33).

65 The -(*a*)*ir* ending is not Classical. Note in the same text (quatrain 1) *go saora*, an example of *itche chanamhna*.

66 In theory, a form *nár shia* might be confirmed by alliteration, though *s-* in this verb often resists lenition (e.g. 3 sing. present indicative *do-soich*; *IGT* III 195).

67 There is an example of *itche chanamhna* (*go dtille*) in this poem (quatrain 13).

furthest edge of that pointed mountain'. Note also neg. *ná ria mé* (*ABM* 172.9). I have not noted any examples with *gur.*

(xvii) **tugadh** (§14): 'invented' verbal noun to the compound verb *do-bh(e)ir* 'gives';[68] past tense *tug / do-ug / tard / do-rad*, neg. *ní thug / thard*; rel. pres. subj. *do-bheara*, optative *go dtabhra* and *go dtuga.* As in the case of (xv) *rugadh,* it seems likely that our poet wished to include all the optative subjunctive forms of *do-bheir* here, both those 'derived' from *tugadh* (*go dtuga*) and from *tabhairt* (*go dtabhra*). For examples of the optative of this verb, see 1 sing. *go dtugar* (*ABM* 267.42)[69] and 3 sing. *go dtuga* (*ABM* 267.41 and *Gearóid Iarla* 21.6) and *go tabhra* (*ABM* 430.42). I also note 1 sing. *nár thugar-sa* (McKenna 1918, poem 29.37), and Damian McManus draws my attention to 1 pl. *nár thabhram* (*AiD* 73.19).[70]

(xviii) **tárrachtain** (§16): verbal noun to *tár(th)aidh / táir(th)idh / tarraidh / tairridh / tárthann / táirtheann* 'overtakes, catches; finds, attains', though not all these forms may have been in use. No paradigm is given for this verb in *IGT* III–IV, the only comment being *.l. d. neith aca acht in t-inad a fuigther dán orra,* 'It is faulty for them to have finite forms except where these are found in verse [i.e. except where authority is found for these in the corpus of poetry]'. Like *tig* and *téid* it did not take the verbal particle *ro* (*do*) to mark its past tense. For an example of the optative of this verb in verse, see *Gan mhearbhall gan fhíoch gan uaill / do shíoth go ndearnam fa dheoidh / i dtráth sguir a Dhé don dáil / go dtáir mé th'fhuil agus th'fheoil,* 'Crushing folly, anger, pride, may I at last make peace with Thee; when life is passing away, may I receive Thy flesh and blood' (McKenna 1922, poem 27.16). It is formally difficult to separate forms of this verb from those belonging to (x).

(xix) **béarla ón éirghe** (§17): The simple verb *éirghidh* 'rises' is treated in *IGT* III, §54; the term *béarla* refers to forms that were not regarded as being derived from the verbal noun itself (*éirghe*) but are nonetheless regarded as belonging to that verb – in this case, archaic verbal forms derived from earlier *at-reig* rather than the simple verb *éirgid.* I understand the

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68 As with (xv) *rugadh*, H17 provides the genitive forms of this artificial verbal noun, but in this case the root *tug-* is found in the verbal of necessity (*is (ion)tugtha* and also *is iontugaidh*).

69 This quatrain also contains an example of *itche chanamhna*, viz. *go gcreideam duit id dhiadhocht* 'may I believe in you in your divinity'.

70 Passive *go dtuilltear* is an example of *itche chanamhna* (*AiD* 73.15), as is 1 sing. *go n-iarrar* in the same quatrain. In quatrain 18 of this poem, we have another 1 sing. example (*go gcríochnaighear*). Elsewhere in the poem we find regular *nár* (1 pl. *nár ghrádhuigheam* in quatrain 19 and *nár thréige mé* in quatrain 24). Note also the combination of *ná* + *ro* + 1 sing. infixed pronoun in *nárom dhalltar* 'may I not be blinded', where syllable-count precludes reading *nám*, which, in any event, we would not expect to encounter in this verb.

term *béarla* to mean something like 'suppletive forms'. Unlike, *beiridh* and *do-bheir*, for which artificial verbal nouns were invented to account for suppletive forms in *rug-* and *tug-* respectively, or (xxi) *béarla an teachta* 'the suppletive forms of *tig*', for which an inherited verbal noun (*torachtain*, verbal noun to *do-roich*) was pressed into service (see also (xxii)), Bardic grammarians did not have – and evidently were unwilling to invent – a verbal noun from which to 'derive' the suppletive forms of *éirghidh*, hence the comment in *IGT* III, §17 that *béarla na héirghe*[71] has neither verbal noun nor verbal of necessity (.*l. persa ná oibriugad aigi*).[72] No present tense is allowed for *béarla na héirghe* in *IGT* but the past tense is *a-dréacht*, neg. *ní dréacht*, and the rel. pres. subj. is *a-dré*, which would lead us to expect optative *go ndré*.[73] I have no examples of the optative of this verb in verse.

(xx) **béarla ón tuitim** (§21): The simple verb *tuitidh* 'falls' is given as part of *IGT* III, §79, while *béarla ón tuitim* embraces the future (indicative and secondary) and subjunctive stem *táeth-* and the suppletive past tense forms (*torchair / a-drochair*, neg. *ní thorchair*).[74] The rel. pres. subj. is *táeth* (see fn. 74) and the optative would be *go dtáeth*, but I have no examples in verse.

(xxi) **torachtain** (§19): verbal noun to the defective, compound verb *a-droigh*,[75] regarded by Bardic grammarians as suppletive to *tig*.[76] Past tense *do-oracht / do-aracht*, neg. *ní thoracht /*

71 In *IGT* III–IV, the headword is *béarla na héirghe*, while in our poem we have *béarla ón éirghe*. This variation may be metrically motivated: the syllable-count in 3a precludes reading *béarla na héirghe*. Similarly, in 3b we cannot read *béarla na tuitme*.

72 One might wonder whether the reluctance to invent a verbal noun to serve as the theoretical derivational basis for the verbal forms in question is to be connected with the fact that they are deuterotonic in independent position. All of the forms of *ad-chí* in *cichs-* are also deuterotonic, however, and it was nonetheless furnished with a verbal noun *cichsin* (fn. 4 above). See also (xxii) *dleachtain*.

73 Bergin prints *ad-ré*, but the negative forms of this verb point to the division *a-dré*. Note also *IGT* III ex. 217, where the stressed initial *d-* of *a-dréacht* is confirmed by alliteration and see Ó Cuív 1971–2, 62.

74 The use of the stem *táeth* in the preterite is faulted in *IGT* V, §25 (*nachar tháeth*) as an example of *bérla lochtach*. Gillies (2007, 47) takes *mun tí taoth* in *IGT* III 252 as meaning 'about the one who has fallen', but *taoth* is subjunctive in that example: *Ní bhí a gcumhaidh* [divide rather as *ag cumhaidh*?] *mun tí taoth. ní bhí laoch bunaidh go bráth*, 'She (?) does not grieve for the one who dies; one born to be a warrior does not live forever'. Note the absence of a past-tense verbal particle (such as *nachar* in *IGT* V, §25) and the consuetudinal present *ní bhí*, which suggests that *an tí* is indeterminate here and as such is followed by the subjunctive in relative clauses. Cf. *gi-bé bheas* 'whoso may be' with rel. pres. subjunctive (*IBP* 1.5, 6).

75 Sometimes also *ad-roigh* and *a-troigh* (see Ó Cuív 1971–2, 63 and *BST* 226. 14–15, 242.14–15).

76 *Torachtuin, tarachtuin* [...] *Bérla in techta iad, .l. cuid ag techt* [E adds *an tsrotha nó*] *in libhair dhíb*, '*Torachtain, tarachtain*, they supply the suppletive forms of *teacht*; it is faulty for *teacht an tshrotha* or *an*

tharacht; rel. pres. subj. 1 sing. *do-oirsear / do-airsear,* 3 sing. *do-oir / do-air / do-ora*(*igh*) / *do-ara*(*igh*), optative *go dtoir / dtair / dtora*(*igh*) / *dtara*(*igh*), and also *targa / do-arga,* optative *go dtargha*.[77] The following 1 pl. example of the optative is found in this section of *IGT*: *Gu tairseam san teag neamdha. in treab fhairseang oireaghda* (*IGT* III 223), 'May I come into the heavenly house, the capacious, excellent homestead'.

(xxii) **dleachtain** (§18): The simple verb *dlighidh* 'is entitled to' is 'derived' from *dlighsin* (*IGT* iii, §35). *Dleachtain,* a verbal noun of *dlighidh* inherited from the earlier language, is reserved as the derivational basis for the defective compound verb of which the past tense is 1 sing. *a-dléeas,* neg. *ní dléaas* and 3 sing. *a-dlé,* neg. *ní dlé*.[78] The statement that this verb only has three tenses (*ní fhuil acht ar thrí haimseraibh*), namely the past tense (the forms are given) and the future and secondary future (which are merely mentioned), does not mean that it has no present subjunctive: the subjunctive forms of this verb, like those of (xvi), (xix) and (xxvii), are identical with its future forms; as the future and conditional forms of this verb are said to behave the same way as *béarla na héirghe* (xix), this verb has future (and rel. pres. subj.) 1 sing. *a-dléisear* (optative *go ndléisear*) and 3 sing. *a-dlé* (optative *go ndlé*).[79] I have no examples of the optative from verse.[80]

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liobhair to have counterparts of them [i.e. of these forms]' (*IGT* III, §19). A genitive noun governed by a verbal noun is normally its logical object in Early Modern Irish (see O'Rahilly 1941, 262–5). The point seems to be that *do-roigh* cannot be used transitively in the sense 'comes to' (*teacht an tshrotha*) nor in the sense 'brings' (*teacht an liobhair*). Though *do-roich* was used transitively in the earlier language, by Middle Irish it is found in intransitive use (see *DIL* s.v.). The transitive use of *tig* 'comes to' is alluded to in *IGT* III, §5 (the paradigm of *tig*): *As fear teachta srotha mhé .c. ón teacht. Is fear teachta shrotha mhé ón teachta .c. Ní persa innscne láin in teacht sin, ₇ .l. bérla aici,* '*As fear teachta srotha mhé* "I am a man who comes to a stream" correct from *teacht*. *As fear teachta shrotha mhé* "I am a man who comes to a stream" correct from *teachta*. That *teacht* is a defective verb, and it is faulty for it to have suppletive forms'. The prohibition on *a-droigh* taking a direct object is also mentioned in *BST*; see 226.1–15, 242.14–15 and 67b28–30, and note in particular *Techt an leabhair .l. berla aige agus (?) torachtain an leabhair* (1bb21). According to *IGT* III, §14 (the paradigm of *do-bheir*), *tig* can be used in the historical present to mean 'gives, brings' (*tic ní dam: ní thuc a .d.,* ' "He/she gives something to me": "he/she has not given" is its negative'); this is to be connected with *teacht an liobhair* etc.

77 The second set of subjunctive forms belongs originally to *do-tét* with which this verb was synonymous in its intransitive use (see previous footnote).

78 *Dligheadh* is evidently felt to be an ordinary noun by this period without any verbal function.

79 This cross-reference to *béarla ón éirghe* seems to have been missed by Bergin (1949–50, 188), who refers to 'a late form, *adlé, ní dlé, IGT,* III, §18, but this is used as pret. or perf. ind.'

80 Note that *IGT* III 217 in this section illustrates the adj. *dleacht* (: *seacht*) with the gloss *.c. ₇ d'focal leis féin as .c. hé* 'correct and it is as a word by itself that it is correct'. This seems to mean that the verbal adjective

(xxiii) **fionnachtain** (§20): verbal noun to the compound verb *do-fhionnann* 'knows, discovers';[81] past tense *do-fhidir*, neg. *ní fhidir*;[82] rel. pres. subj. *do-fhionna*, optative *go bhfionna*. See 2 sing. *go bhfionna* (*ABM* 99.21) and 1 pl. *go bhfionnam* (*DiD* 67.29), neither of which is in alliterating position. I have no examples with *gur* or *nár*.

(xxiv) **fagháil** (§22): verbal noun to the compound verb *do-gheibh* 'gets'; past tense (*f*)*uair* / *do-uair*, neg. *ní* (*f*)*uair*; rel. pres. subj. *do-ghabha*, optative *go bhfagh*(*bh*)*a* / *bhfogh*(*bh*)*a* / *n-agh*(*bh*)*a* / *n-ogh*(*bh*)*a*. For an example of the optative with *go* confirmed by alliteration, see *ceannsa Dé go ᵒbhfagha an ᵒfear*, 'may that hero get gentle treatment from God' (*Magauran* 4.42). Examples with *nár fh-* are common, but as these could (in theory at least) be emended to *ná h-*, they cannot be confirmed by alliteration. See, for example, *D'á ᵒhaithbhe nar ᵒfhagha sinn* 'May I have no requital of it' and *Más é mh'ᵒolc nar ᵒfhagha si[o]nn / saoghal is sia ná a bhfuairsi[o]m*, 'Should it be bad for me, may I not live any longer' (*DBM* 15.5a and 6a) alongside *Go ᵒbhfaghbhar mar ᵒfuaras air* (which could be emended to *Go n-aghbhar mar uaras air*), 'May I obtain as I have obtained' (7a).

(xxv) **ithe** (§31): verbal noun to *ithidh* 'eats'. The past tense forms are as follows: *do ith*, neg. *níor ith*; *do uaidh*, neg. *níor uaidh*; *do-uaidh*, neg. *ní duaidh*. The rel. pres. subj. is *itheas / eathas*. The copy of *IGT* III–IV in E has the additional note *Gach pearsa ar nach bia .r. ar .d. a choda so, do ghon, ní .c. r. ar a hitche, ₇ an phearsa ar a mbia as .c. r. ar a hitche*, 'Every verb which does not have *r* on the negative of what corresponds to this, *do ghon* [i.e. the past tense], it should not have an *r* on its optative, and the verb which does, it should have *r* on its optative'. Following this rule (discussed above) and our poem, *ithidh* takes both *go* and *gur* in the optative subjunctive, as it has two sets of past tense forms – one which takes *níor* and another which takes *ní*. We would therefore expect the optative to be *go n-ithe / n-eatha* and *gur ithe / eatha*. I have no examples of the optative in verse.

 Though our poem is incomplete, as it is most likely based on *IGT* III–IV, it can safely be assumed that the two missing verbs will also be found in the tract and probably later than (xxv) *ithe*. I therefore give below the relevant information on the two missing verbs in the same way as for verbs (i)–(xxv).

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dleacht can be regarded as being entirely independent from *dleachtain*.

81 *Do-fhinn* is given as faulty.

82 1 sing. *nír fhinnas* is faulted in *IGT* III 240. (Cf. 3 pl. past *nír fhionnadar* in *DMU* 20.4f.) E adds that it is said *do-fheidir* is also correct.

(xxvi) *ibhe* (§31): verbal noun to *ibhidh* 'drinks'. This verb is treated as part of the section on *ithe* in the tract: *An ithe ⁊ an ibhe inand, acht do itheas, do-úadhas* [read *do uadhas*], *ad-uadhas .c., ⁊ gan acht do ibheas ⁊ atibheas and,* '*Ithe* and *ibhe* are [inflected] the same way, except whereas *do-itheas, do uadhas* and *ad-uadhas* are correct [for 1 sing. past of *ithe*], there is only *do ibheas* and *a-tibheas* [for 1 sing. past of *ibhe*]'. The 3 sing. past tense forms are *do ibh* and *a-tibh* (see Ó Cuív 1971–2, 63–5). The rel. pres. subjunctive is *ibheas / eabhas*, while the optative will be *go n-ibhe / n-eabha* and *gur ibhe / eabha*. I note only one example of the optative: 1 pl. *go n-ibheam* (*AiD* 92.17).[83]

(xxvii) *béarla na buana* (§32): To E has been added the remark that this *béarla* should not have a proper verbal noun (.*l. pearsa aige*), though a verbal noun *tallad* (*tellad*) from the simple verb *tallaid* (*tellaid*) 'takes away, steals; cuts off' – glossed as *buain* in the Stowe and Lecan Glossaries (*DIL* s.v. *tellad*) – is attested in the earlier language. The present tense of this (compound) verb is not given in *IGT*, but the 1 sing. future is given as *tallfad / do-allabh* and it is further remarked that the verb has a complete paradigm of finite forms (*láindénmhas neith aigi*). The 3 sing. past tense is *tall*, neg. *ní thall*; the expected rel. pres. subj. would be *thallas*, optative *go dtalla*. The tract explicitly states that it takes *go* (*ná*) rather than *gur* (*nár*) in the optative: .*l. ruis ar a hitche.* I have no examples of the optative of this verb.

There may be a degree of artificiality about the list of verbs in this poem: it has been noted that some of them are not found in the optative subjunctive at all (at least in the extant corpus of poetry) despite their appearance in our poem. Be that as it may, it will be clear from the foregoing that our poet had in mind a general rule such as that added to the discussion of (xxvi) in E and discussed above: that verbs which take *nar, nár, gur* etc. in the past tense, take *gur* and *nár* in the optative, while verbs that take *an, nach, go* etc. in the past tense take *go* and *ná* in the optative. The usage of scribes (and possibly also of poets; see (iii) above) shows the spread of *nár* to this second group of verbs. Despite the penetration of *nár* to verbs which historically should take *ná, gur* is not found for historical *go*; this is hardly to be expected, as *itche chanamhna* (as well as the usage of Modern Irish) shows that it was the optative particle *go* that was ousting *gur* in all environments in this period. The development is thus *go – gur* (neg. *ná – nár*) → *go* (neg. *nár*). The spread of *nár*, which on the surface is

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83 *IGT* III 13 is ambiguous, as -*eabhar* might be pres. subj. or imperative passive there, though I am more inclined to take it as imperative: *Maith dleaghar dorn ós an dál. ná heabar corn na copán,* 'There is one who well deserves drink first [lit. 'a fist above the gathering is well deserved']; let no-one else drink from goblet or cup'.

rather surprising given the retreat of *gur,* is probably due to its utility: owing to a degree of formal overlap between imperative and subjunctive, negative optative subjunctive clauses with *ná* are often potentially ambiguous (e.g. *ná cluineam* 'may we not hear' or 'let us not hear!'), while *nár* unambiguously marks such sentences as optative (e.g. *nár chluineam* 'may we not hear'). In all of the verbs listed in our poem where neg. optative *ná* rather than *nár* is actually attested, the subjunctive form is quite distinct from the imperative,[84] though optative *nár* is still sometimes found with these verbs nonetheless, as noted above.

<center>The 27 verbs: diachronic analysis</center>

Viewed synchronically, all these 27 verbs are highly irregular; analogues of some are found in the living language today, but many represent artificial forms that were maintained in literary Early Modern Irish and were most likely not found in contemporary speech. The complexity and frequency of use is reflected in their placement near the beginning of *IGT* III–IV. We have already reviewed the contemporary understanding of the variation in the use of verbal particles in the optative subjunctive in these verbs. In this section the issue will be viewed diachronically. Why do the 27 verbs listed in this poem take *go* rather than *gur* in Classical Modern Irish?

It has already been mentioned that some verbs did not combine with modal *ro* in Old Irish (see *GOI* §§535–7 and McCone 1997, 144–7). Verbs (i), (iv), (x), (xiii) and (xiv) are the Classical Modern Irish outcomes of verbs in *-ic* (*do-ecmaing, do-ic, do-airicc* and *ro-ic* (twice) respectively), which resisted *ro*-augmentation in the earlier language. To this category belongs also (xxiv) *fo-gaib*. I have no evidence of *ro*-forms of (xviii) *do-airret,* which in its subjunctive had in any event already fallen together with *do-airicc* (cf. (x)) and *do-roich* at an earlier stage (see *DIL* s.vv). Verbs (ii), (iii) and (viii) (OIr *ro-cluinethar, ad-cí* and *téit*) formed their perfect and optative subjunctives on a separate stem without modal *ro*.[85] In Old Irish, the verb *gataid* 'takes away, steals' too had suppletive forms corresponding to the modal *ro*-forms of other verbs (*VKG* ii, 510; cf. *GOI* §764); these eventually formed the basis for a new (defective) simple verb *tallaid* (xxvii).

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84 All forms in this footnote are neg. 2 sing. See (iv) optative *ná tís,* imperative *tar(r)(a)* etc.; (vi) optative *ná rabha* etc., imperative *ná bí*; (vii) optative *ná dearnar,* imperative *ná déana*/*déine*; (viii) optative *ná deach* etc., imperative *ná heirg*; (x) optative *ná táire,* imperative *ná tairge*; (xvi) optative *ná ria,* imperative *roich*/*reich* etc.
85 Note that the *ro-* of preterite/perfect *ro-cúalae* is not the modal *ro* but part of the lexical compound.

<center>27</center>

Some compound verbs already contained a preverb *ro* and so did not normally combine with a modal *ro*. To this category belong (ii) *ro-cluinethar* and (xxiii) *ro-fitir*. OIr *targaid* (ix) is etymologised as **to-ro-ad-guid* by (Bergin 1932, 139–40), while for (xii) *do-érni*, Pedersen proposes **to-ess-ro-sní* (*VKG* ii, 635). Verb (xvi) is descended from OIr *ro-saig* (and should therefore resist *ro*-augmentation), and in addition the Classical Modern Irish forms show contamination with *ro-ic* and *do-saig* (the *ro*-forms of which would overlap with forms of (xxi) *do-roich* (< **to-ro-saig*; *VKG* ii, 610)).

In the case of (vii) *déanamh*, the optative (and perfect) forms do contain a modal *ro*, but this was a fixed *ro* found invariably after the preverb (*do-*, in prototonic forms *de-*) and before the verbal stem, so that the optative forms were preceded by *co* (later *go*) rather than *coro* etc. This is also the case in (xv), where *ruga* (OIr *ruca*) contains a reduced modal *ro* combined with the suppletive stem *-uc*. Cf. the augmented subjunctive of the substantive verb (vi). There has clearly been a breakdown in the distinction between the suppletive *ro*-subjunctive forms and the standard subjunctive forms based on *ber-*, however, as there is no indication of a distinction in usage between the two sets of forms in Classical Modern Irish. Similarly, there is vacillation in the optative present subjunctive of the substantive verb (vi) between forms which contain a fixed modal *ro* (*ro(i)bh* < OIr *-roib*) and forms without (*bé*) in Classical Modern Irish. However, this vacillation can be traced back to Old Irish, where we find examples of the optative subjunctive with and without *ro*: contrast the likes of *Slán bee* (glossing Latin *sana sis*) (Stern 1910, 494) and *ro-bé amail chroebnatain / do-thuit re n-a mes*, 'may you be as a little branch that falls before its fruit' (Carney 1964, 93, quatrain 9cd) or *bethumsa mogude* 'may I have what I pray for' (*Fél* Ep. 384 n. 14) and *rom bé nem co soillsi snéide*, 'may I have luminous Heaven' (Van Hamel 1941, 14, quatrain 76d).

In Old Irish (v) *as-beir* could combine with modal *ro*, but this fixed *ro* occurred after the preverb. CModIr simple past *a-dubhairt / a-dobhairt / a-dóbhairt* are descended ultimately from OIr deuterotonic perfect *as-rubart* with a petrified infixed pronoun (where *ru-* is the fixed modal particle), while the forms *a-déabhairt / ad-éabhairt* descend from the prototonic form *érbart* with contamination from the independent forms. Classical Modern Irish has no traces, however, of present subjunctive forms with fixed *ro*, e.g. *-érbara* (< *as-ro-bera*); even had such forms survived, however, they would regularly have taken *go* in the optative subjunctive. Likewise, there is no trace in the subjunctive in Classical Modern Irish of the suppletive augmented forms of OIr *do-beir* in the sense 'gives' (xvii), though past tense *do-rad / tard* is descended from OIr perfect *do-rat* 'has given'; the suppletive stem *-uc*

was used in OIr to supply the *ro*-forms only in the sense 'brings' (*GOI* §789). Had Classical Modern Irish retained a pres. subjunctive form *tarda, it would regularly have been preceded by *go.* In Old Irish, *do-esta* (xi) 'is wanting, dies', which is a compound of the substantive verb, could form a perfect with infixed *ro* (*tesarbae*) by means of a suppletive stem – the same stem in *b-* with which *atá* formed its perfect (and subjunctive) (*GOI* §834; McCone 1997, 145) – but these suppletive perfect forms of *do-esta* do not survive into Early Modern Irish. By Early Modern Irish the function of the historical preterite/perfect forms had been taken over by forms that are in origin present tense (OIr *do-esta* 'is wanting, dies' > EModIr *teasta* etc. '(has) died'). Once again, however, even had suppletive subjunctive forms survived into the later language they would regularly have taken *go*. Similarly, *at-reig* (xix) did have *ro*-forms in the earlier language,[86] but these *ro*-forms regularly took *co* rather than *coro* in the perfect (and optative subjunctive).

(xxii) is a curious case: *dligid* was a simple verb in Old Irish; by Early Modern Irish, however, it had acquired (modelled on the surviving archaic forms of *at-reig*) some compound verbal forms. The development of compound forms of *dligid* by analogy with *at-reig* poses no difficulty: in the subjunctive, CModIr *béarla na héirghe* has *a-dré, -dré*; the new compound verbal form *a-dlé* was back-formed from dependent *-dlé* on this model.[87]

Ithid (xxv) has retained into Classical Modern Irish the perfect forms in *de-fo-* (*GOI* §766) alongside the new regular past tense *do ith*, though the former have undergone partial reanalysis with the preverb *do-* in OIr *do-fúaid* (CModIr *do-uaidh, ní duaidh*)[88] being understood also as a positive tense-marking verbal particle *do* (from earlier *ro*) in *do uaidh, níor uaidh*.[89] There are no longer any traces of 'perfective' subjunctive forms in *de-fo-*, the corresponding forms now being supplied by the same stem as the present indicative with *i/ea* (for which see *SNG* iv, §7.14). Historically, *ithid* would take *co* rather than *coro* in the earlier language, but by Classical Modern Irish it could take both sets of particles in the simple past. Though the subjunctive in isolation is morphologically 'regular' when viewed synchronically

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86 For one explanation of the Mid. Ir. perfect form *at-raacht < at-raracht*, see *VKG* ii, 595.

87 For *-dlé,* itself quite irregular in Classical Modern Irish when viewed synchronically, see *GOI* §§613, 625.

88 As a pre-verb as opposed to a tense-marking verbal particle, *do* was known to Bardic grammarians (including the individual or school behind *IGT* III–IV) as *duir ailm coimhleanamhna* 'adhering *do*' (McManus 2012, 189–90).

89 As simple past to *itheann* 'eats', *d'uaidh, níor uaidh,* survived alongside *d'ith, níor ith,* into the twentieth century in the Irish of Co. Clare (Holmer 1962, 151). The anonymous reader and Prof. Ó hUiginn also draw my attention to its survival in the Irish of East Galway and Ossory (*SNG* vii, §5.21, and v, §4.10).

in the approved paradigm and though there is no impediment to its taking *gur*, the past form *do-uaidh* (as opposed to *do uaidh*) ensured the survival of *go* alongside *gur* in the optative subjunctive, as the optative subjunctive and past pattern together in their use of verbal particles.

By Classical Modern Irish, the past tense forms of (xxvi) *ibid* are *do ibh* and *a-tibh*, the latter of which arose from *a-dibh*, a re-division of *ad-ibh* (*at-ib* < *as-ib* + petrified infix) (see *DIL* s.v. *ibid* and *GOI* §§765, 822B; cf. Ó Cuív 1971–2, 64).[90] Though not immediately apparent, there is some trace, therefore, in the past tense of perfective *ess* for *ro* (*a-tibh*) beside a simple '*ro*'-past (*do ibh*). The subjunctive forms of this verb in Classical Modern Irish are formed on the same stem as the present and there is no trace of the 'perfective' subjunctive *ess* in these, but the patterning of verbal particle use in the past and optative subjunctive again ensured that there would be variation between *go* and *gur* in the optative.

Another curious case is that of (xx) *do-tuit*, where the OIr reduplicated future *do-tóeth* (where we would not, of course, except a modal *ro*) has taken over the role of the earlier subjunctive forms (which could combine with a fixed modal *ro*) (*GOI* §§626, 660);[91] the Early Modern Irish past forms continue the earlier perfect *do-rochair* (a suppletive stem *do-cer* combined with fixed modal *ro*) (*GOI* §773).[92]

To sum up the diachronic background: all of these 27 verbs regularly took *co* rather than *coro* in the optative subjunctive in Old Irish, except the innovative compound forms of *dligid*, which arose under the influence of another of these verbs.[93] In some cases, the actual forms employed in the optative subjunctive do not survive (the regular subjunctive forms have assumed this function or, in the case of *do-tuit*, future tense forms) or these alternate even in the optative with the later analogues of standard subjunctive forms. It has already

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90 My thanks to Liam Breatnach for discussing the development of these forms with me.

91 Cf. Mod. Ir. future indicative *beidh*, originally a subjunctive form. There is, of course, a great deal of overlap between the present subjunctive and future both morphologically and semantically (see *GOI* §§661–2, McQuillan 2002, 32–3 and the discussion of the subjunctive forms of (xxii) above).

92 For *do-tuit* in general, see Wagner 1966.

93 There are, of course, other verbs which in Old Irish would have taken *co* in the perfect and optative subjunctive but which by Early Modern Irish had been simplified to the point that they should regularly take *gur*. OIr *ad-fét*, for example, formed its perfect (and the corresponding subjunctive) with *com* rather than *ro* (perfect *ad-cu(a)id*), but this leaves no trace in Classical Modern Irish. CModIr *innisidh* is so unremarkable it is listed in eighth place in *IGT* III §65 and it receives no special comment whatsoever.

been noted too that some of these verbs were rarely (if ever) used in the optative – at least as far as we can reconstruct on the basis of the evidence now extant.

Editorial policy

In editing the poem, I have silently expanded all manuscript contractions, supplied punctuation and capital letters, as well as glide vowels, length-marks and lenition wanting in the manuscript. I have also normalised *-chd*(-) to *-cht*(-). Where necessary for *rinn* : *airdrinn*, I have emended unstressed vowels to reflect the rhyme (e.g. in 1b, I normalise MS *itchi* to *itche* to indicate the rhyme with *mé*).

EDITION

1 Seacht bpearsain fhichead uair mé

rus ní uil ara n-itche:

teagmháil, claisdin is cluinsin,

faicsin isna focluibh-sin.

2 Teacht, abairt, beith, déanamh, dol,

dá thairgsin, teasdáil, téarnomh,

dá ríochtain, rugadh, rochtain,

tugadh agus tárrochtain.

3 Béarla ón éirghe (as eadh cantair),

béarla ón tuitim, torachtain,

(cóir iomarcaidh deachtaidh dáibh)

dleachtain, fionnachtain, fagháil.

4 Rus ara hitche as dual di

's a beith gan ruis uair eili;

nochan fhágbhaim an ithe –

dá bhfágbhainn ní fúigfithe!

TRANSLATION

1 I have found 27 verbs which do not have an *r* in their optative subjunctive: *teagmháil, claisdin* and *cluinsin, faicsin* are among those words.

2 *Teacht, abairt, beith, déanamh, dol,* two *tairgsin, teasdáil, téarnamh,* two *ríochtain, rugadh, rochtain, tugadh* and *tárrachtain*.

3 The suppletive to *éirghe* (so it is said), the suppletive to *tuitim, torachtain,* (it would be proper to compose more about them) *dleachtain, fionnachtain, fagháil*.

4 It [*ithe*] is wont to have an *r* in the optative subjunctive and at other times to be without an *r*; I am not forgetting *ithe* – if I were to omit it, it would not be noted!

NOTES TO THE EDITION

1b MS *rur* must be a mistake for *rus* (cf. 4a). The usual form of the letter-name is *ruis,* which is apparently indeclinable: in another didactic poem, in *deibhidhe* (*ógláchas*), we find *i ndiaidh ruis is i ndiaidh nion* – where, however, emendation to *ruise* is possible – and in

glossing on that line *tinne i ndiaidh ruis 'fearta'* (Breatnach 1941–2: quatrain 20). In our poem *rus* appears to be a feminine noun: note that the final consonant is palatalised after the preposition *gan* in 4b.

1d *Focal* could more accurately be translated 'stressed word'. For various uses of the term, see *ABP* pp 166–7. For *focal* as 'verbal form', see fn. 4 above.

3a For the use of the article with the verbal noun as lemma here (*ón éirghe*) and in 4c (*an ithe*), cf. respectively *bérla **na** héirghe* (*IGT* iii, §17) and ***An** ithe ⁊ **an** ibhe inand [iad]* (§31), and note the not infrequent use of the article when referring to other verbal nouns in *IGT* III–IV (*don dénam,* §1; *ag **in** ríchtain a leasa,* §12; *inann gabas ⁊ **an** techt,* ibid.; ***in** rucadh,* §13; *.g. ón tabairt,* ibid.; *bérla **in** techta iad*, §19). For the use of the article to mark a citation (or citation-form) in the earlier language, see Breatnach 1990 and also Kelly 2014, 21–2.

4d I take it that we have to do with two different senses of the verb *fágbhaidh* here: in the first case it has the sense 'leaves (out), omits' and the second 'leaves on record, hands down' (see *DIL* s.v. *fo-ácaib* I (j) and Ó Dónaill 1977, s.v. *fág*[2] 6). Alternatively, Damian McManus has suggested to me that we might take this line to mean 'If I were to omit it [on the grounds that it sometimes has an *r*], it would not be omitted [by another]'.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABP = E. Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry: a new edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts I* (Dublin, 2014).

AiD = L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána*, Irish Texts Society 37 and 40 (London, 1939 and 1940).

DBM = C. Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr,* Scríbhinní Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr 8 (Dublin, 1967 and 1980).

DiD = L. Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dána* (Dublin, 1938).

DMU = D. Greene, *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir* (Dublin, 1972).

Gearóid Iarla = G. Mac Niocaill, 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla', *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963), 7–59.

IBP = O. Bergin (ed.), *Irish Bardic Poetry* (Dublin, 1970).

LBran = S. Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach: the Book of the O'Byrnes* (Dublin, 1944).

Magauran = L. McKenna, *The Book of Magauran* (Dublin, 1947).

TD = E. Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591),* Irish Texts Society 22 and 23 (London, 1922 and 1926).

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