

XVII.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the
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Chess. The etymology is known to be from A.F. *eschecs*, really the pl. of *eschec*, check. But it is interesting to know whether the *c* in the ending *es* was lost in E. or in A.F. The answer is, the latter. For the A.F. form *eschecs*, see William of Waddington, *Manuel des Peches*, l. 4106; Romance of Horn, 2551 (in both MSS.). In fact, the pl. *eschecs* is quite regular. Similarly, *blans* was the pl. of *blanc* in Norman. See Gaston Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, p. 43.

Cieling. I have shewn that a possible origin of this word is from O.F. *ciel*, heaven. Perhaps this is illustrated by a passage in the A.F. Romance of Horn, l. 2709: '*Cielee* iert la chambre par art dentailleor De un umbrelenc bien fait; bon fu linginneor.' I find that Godefroy quotes this from Michel's edition; my quotation is from that by Brede and Stengel. See also *celé* in Godefroy. I do not, however, fully understand the passage.

Clever. The E.Friesic word is *klüfer* (Koolman), explained by 'gewandt, geschickt, aufgeweckt, anstellig, lebhaft, munter, behende.'

Coble, a kind of boat. This word is given and defined by Halliwell. He refers us to *Morte Arthure*, l. 742; but in that passage *coblez* seems to mean 'cables.' Mätzner and Stratmann give no example. But in the Lindisfarne MS., Matt. viii. 23, the Lat. *in nauicula* is glossed by 'in lytilum scipe uel in cuopte.' Johnson's Dict., s.v. *cobble*, quotes '*cobles*, or little fishing-boats' from Pennant (no reference). See Jamieson and Brockett.

Cosset, a pet-lamb, a pet. Used by Spencer and Ben Jonson; see Nares. In Webster's Dictionary, a derivation is suggested from the word *col*. This does not seem very

likely at first sight, but there is some evidence for it. Somner gives an A.S. *cot-séta*, a 'cot-sitter,' or dweller in a cot, with no reference. But here we get help from Schmid's glossary to the Anglo-Saxon Laws and from Ducange. The Latinised plural *cotseti*, synonymous with *villani*, occurs in the Laws of Henry I., cap. 29; ed. Thorpe, i. 532; and again, spelt *cothseti*, in the same, cap. 81; ed. Thorpe, i. 589. Schmid remarks that the same plural occurs repeatedly in Domesday Book, spelt *coscez*, *cozets*, and *cozez*, where *z* originally stood for the sound of *ts*. See also *coscez* in Ducange, where we even find a form *coscatus*, with a suggested derivation from *cot* and *sit*. The A.S. *cote*, a cote, appears as *cot-* in composition; see the A.S. Dict. Perhaps *cosset* meant at first 'a dweller in a cot'; and, as applied to a lamb, a pet-lamb kept in the house. So the G. *Hauslamm* means both a house-lamb and a pet. Hence the verb *cosset*, to pet. See *Cot-lamb*. For the pronunciation, cf. *best* for *betst*, and *boatswain*; *bless* for *bletsian*, etc. But difficulties remain.

Costrel, a bottle. Used by Chaucer, L. G. Wom. 2668. Also spelt *costret*; see Mätzner. It is from the O.F. *costerel*, allied to *costeret*, *costelet*, all given by Godefroy, and signifying a pannier, basket, jar, esp. a jar or measure of oil or wine, as in the phrase 'un *costelet* de vin et de olie,' a measure of wine or oil. All are diminutives of O.F. *coste*, a measure of capacity, used for fruits taken to market, a pannier or basket of a certain size. 22 *costes* went to the *muid* (Lat. *modius*); so it was not very large. Ducange gives '*costa*, cista, calathus, F. *panier*.' It seems natural to connect it with Lat. *costa*, rib, side, but I cannot say that the connection is clearly made out. Lewis and Short quote *costa corbium* from Pliny, 16. 18. 30, § 75. Littré, s.v. *côte*, notes that this term is used in basket-making to denote the projections (*nerveures*) formed by the flexure of small osiers round the larger ones; which perhaps explains the word.

Cot, *Cot-lamb*, a pet lamb. In Grose's Prov. Dict. (1790), we find '*cotts*, lambs brought up by hand; *cadcs*.' In Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, col. 749, l. 1, we have the form

kodlomb in a Vocabulary of the 15th century. If these can be connected, then *kodlomb* would stand for *cot-lamb*, i.e. a lamb brought up in a cot. See *Cosset*.

Crack, a mischievous boy. Shakespeare has the word twice. I believe it is short for *crack-rope*, a contemptuous term for a rascal, occurring in Dodsley O. Plays, ed. Hazlitt, iv. 63. In the same way, *wag* is short for *wag-halter*, and is an equivalent term. Thus Cotgrave has: '*Babouin*, a craftie knave, a *crack-rope*, a *wag-halter*.' Todd's Johnson has *crack-rope*, without a reference, defined as 'a fellow that deserves hanging.' It means rather 'a fellow that has escaped the gallows, because the rope broke.' It seems to have been usual not to hang a man a second time in such a case.

Craier, Crayer, Crare, Cray, a kind of small ship. Shak. has 'sluggish *crare*'; Cymb. iv. 2. 205 (old edd. *care*); see also *craier* in Halliwell; *cray* in Todd's Johnson and Nares, M.E. *crayer*, *kraier*; Mortc Arthure, 738, 3666. From O.F. *craier*, *creer*, a vessel of war; spelt *craier* in 1339, and *creer* in 1334, according to Godefroy, and apparently a Norman word. Low Lat. *craiera*, in a charter of Edw. III. A.D. 1360; also *creyera* (Ducange). Widegren gives the Swed. *krejare*, a small vessel with one mast; but this is evidently a late form, and does not help us. Beyond this I cannot go. The suggestion, in Webster, that it is derived from the G. *krieg*, or Du. *krijg*, war, is in no way borne out. It does not account for the spelling, and we should rather expect the word to be of English origin. I would propose to derive it from the A.S. *crecca*, M.E. *croke*, *crike*, a creek. This word was Latinised as *creca*, and meant both a creek and a port or harbour. A Low Lat. **crecarius* would give the O.F. forms exactly, and might mean 'a ship frequenting the harbours.'

Cross. The great difficulty of accounting for the form *cross* is well known. Mr. Mayhew points out to me that *cross* is also the O.Irish form, found in the 'Leabhar Breac,' ed. Atkinson; see the Glossary. Of course this Celtic *cross* is from the Latin *crux*. In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, we find *cross*, a cross, a hindrance; *crossaim*, I cross, stop, hinder, debar; *crossanach*, cross, perverse; *crossog*, a small cross, per-

verseness, etc. I find A.S. *cross*, as in 'Normannes *cross*'; in Birch, *Curt. Sax.* iii. 367 (A.D. 963-984).

Cudgel. I have suggested that this word is of Celtic origin, but it is probably Teutonic. I have given no example earlier than Shakespeare. It occurs, however, once in Middle English, and, in fact, as early as in the Anceren Riwele, p. 292, l. 1, where it is spelt *kuggel*. Further, the A.S. form is properly *cyegel*, of which the dat. pl. is spelt *kyeglum* in the Hatton MS. of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Sweet, p. 297, l. 1. The acc. pl. *kigelas* occurs in Cockayne's *Shrine*, p. 163. The remarkable spelling *quodgell* is quoted from a piece called 'Pasquin in a Traunce' in the volume on 'Dialect' in the Gentleman's Magazine Library; reprinted from the *Gent. Mag.* for 1820, pt. 1, pp. 115, 116. The A.S. form is not given in any Dictionary.

Cullis, a very fine and strong broth, strained and made clear for patients in a state of great weakness (Nares). This is a common word in old dramas; Nares gives several examples, which could easily be multiplied. The M.E. form is *colis* (see Mätzner); also spelt *kolys*, *colice*, *colysshe*. This is from an O.F. *colis*, *couleis* (see *couleis* in Godefroy), later *coulis*. Cotgrave gives '*Coulis*, masc. a cullis, or broth of boiled meat strained;' and the adj. *coulis*, gliding, whence *pottage coulis*, lit. gliding pottage, i.e. gliding through a strainer, used in the same sense as *coulis* alone. It was therefore originally the masculine form of an adjective, answering to Low Lat. **colaticius*, from *colare*, to flow, to strain through a sieve. Similarly *port-cullis* means 'gliding gate'; and the only difference between *cullis*, broth, and the *cullis* in *port-cullis* is that the former is masculine (*colaticius*), and the latter feminine (*colaticia*); see *coulis*, *coulisse* in Cotgrave. And see Wedgwood.

Dogger, a kind of fishing-vessel. It occurs in Hexham as a Du. word; he has: '*een Dogger*, a Fishers Boat;' also 'a Sling or casting-net; also, a Satchell.' He gives also: '*Dogge*, an English Mastif; *een Dogge-boat*, a great Barke.' Also: '*Dogger-zandt*, a Shelve of white sand, or a Quick-sand in the Sea.' He also notes the verb: '*Doggen*, or

doggeren, to Dogg one, or, to follow one secretly.' But the word is said not to be old in Dutch. Again, the Icel. Dict. has: '*Dugga*, a small (English or Dutch) fishing-vessel; [mentioned] A.D. 1413, where it is reported that thirty English *fiski-duggur* came fishing about Iceland that summer.' Hence the word seems to belong neither to Dutch nor Icelandic, but rather to English. Minsheu's Dict. (1627) gives: '*Dogger*, a kinde of ship;' and says it is mentioned in the Statutes of 31 Edw. III.; Stat. 3, cap. 1; which is perhaps the earliest notice of it. Perhaps it is connected with *dog*; but evidence is wanting. When Hexham defined *Dogge-boot* as 'a great *Barke*,' one wonders whether he saw the joke. The Du. *Dogger-zandt* answers to E. '*Dogger-bank*.'

Dot. I have marked *dot* as Dutch, because I could find no early example. However, there is an A.S. *dott*, a little lump; see Bosworth's Dictionary, new edition; and *Dot* in the Supplement to my Dictionary.

Draught-house, a privy (2 Kings x. 27; cf. Matt. xv. 17). Some connect this word with *druff*, husks, refuse; but this is wholly a mistake. *Draught* is short for *with-draught*, precisely as *drawing-room* is short for *with-drawing-room*, the prefix being lost owing to lack of stress. *With-draught* means 'a place to which one withdraws,' and is a translation of the O.F. *retrait*. Cotgrave gives: '*se retrahir*, to retire, or withdraw himself;' whence '*retraicte*, fem. a retreat, retiring, withdrawing'; and '*retraict*, masc. an ajax, privy, house of office.' In the Curial of Alain Charretier, as Englished by Caxton, ed. Furnivall, p. 7, l. 23, we are told how the courtier has to dance attendance all day long upon the prince; 'he shal muse ydelly alday, in awaytyng that men shal open the dore to hym, of the chambre or *wyth-draught* of the prynee.' Here the original French has, as noted at p. viii, *l'uyz du retrait*; and M. Paul Meyer draws attention to Caxton's habit of rendering some of the words of the original by two consecutive synonyms. Hence *wyth-draught* and *chambre* are both translations of the same F. masc. sb., as to the meaning of which there is no doubt. It must seem very strange that a courtier should wait upon

a prince under such circumstances, but the matter is put out of doubt by no less an authority than Lord Bacon, in his *Life of Richard III.*, ed. Lumby, p. 82: 'Whiche thyng this page wel had marked and knowen . . . For vpon this pages wordes king Richard arose. For this communication had he [the king] sitting at the draught;' to which Bacon adds the contemptuous comment, 'a conuenient carpet for such a counsaile;' see the whole passage. This is a clear instance of a page bringing a message to a king by actually venturing into his *retrait*. In some cases the prefix was not lost, but preserved in a corrupted form. The *th* in *with* was assimilated to the *d* in *draught*. Hence the form *widdraught*, spelt *wyddrought* in Clark's edition of Willis's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 245. Next, one of the *d*'s was dropped, and we get the form in Phillips' *Dict.*, viz. '*wydraught*, a water-course, or water-passage, a sink, or common shore;' where the reference is, by a slight change, to the *withdrawal* of refuse or of water. In this form, it is extremely common in old leases, which mention 'sewers, drains, *wy-draughts*,' etc.; and '*wy-draught*, a sink, or drain,' is in Halliwell's *Dictionary*. Some years ago, I was asked to explain this prefix *wy-*, but I gave it up; it is now perfectly clear. Hence *draught* is merely short for *with-draught*, and *draught-house* for *with-draught-house*. Dr. Furnivall's glossary explains *with-draught* as *with-drawing-room*; which is quite correct radically; only we must make a distinction as to the sense in which *with-drawing-room* is used, and not consider it as all one with the modern *drawing-room*. The G. word *Abtritt* is formed with an analogous development of meaning. In the New Testament, we also have mention of 'a *draught* of fishes,' which is merely another use of the same word. The derivation is from the verb *to draw*.

Draughts, a game. The game of *draughts* means the game of *moves*. This we know from Caxton's *Game of the Chesse*, and the *Tale of Beryn*. *Draught*, in the sense of 'move,' is a translation of the F. *trait*. See my note to Chaucer's *Minor Poems*, p. 255, l. 653. Wedgwood has a similar note,

and cites Ital. *tiro*, a move, from *tirare*, to draw. Cf. 'a drawn game.'

Faldstool. A.S. *foldestol*; A.S. Leechdoms, ed. Cockayne, vol. i. p. lxxii, l. 3.

Fanteague, a worry, or bustle, also, ill-humour; Halliwell. To be 'in a *fanteague*' or 'in a *fanteey*,' i.e. to be in a state of excitement, is a familiar expression. The word is in Pickwick, chapter xxxviii, where *fanteegs* means 'worries,' or 'troubles.' It is clearly from F. *fanatique*, adj., 'mad, frantick, in a frenzie, out of his little wits;' Cotgrave. Hence it is allied to *Fanatic*.

Firk, to beat. Used by Shakespeare; see Nares. Nares remarks that it is said to be from the Lat. *ferire*. But it is the M.E. *ferken*, to convey, also to drive, etc.; see Mätzner. Further, it is the same word as the A.S. *fercian*, to convey. Ettmüller reasonably supposes it to be derived from *faran*, to go, fare.

Fit. This difficult form is commented on by Wedgwood in his book of 'Contested Etymologies.' We must, however, distinguish between the senses. It is best to take the easiest first. *Fit*, s. a portion of a poem, now obsolete, is certainly the A.S. *fit*, *fitt*, a song, poem, or verse. I do not think this is disputed. *Fil*, s. a sudden attack of illness, is derived by Wedgwood from 'G. *fit!* an interjection representing the sound of something whisking by,' etc. But it is plainly the M.E. *fil*, a contest, an attack, a bout, sufficiently illustrated by Mätzner; and from the A.S. *fit*, *fitt*, a contest, allied to *fettian*, to contend. I think Wedgwood has been troubled by my supposition that the A.S. *fitt*, a verse, and A.S. *fitt*, a contest, are the same word. If it will simplify matters, I am willing to dissociate them. But when we remember that a *fit* or poem was, I suppose, so much as was sung at once, I see no difficulty in supposing that, as the harp passed round at the feast in olden times, each singer contributed his *fit*, or portion, to the *fit*, or contest. The allusions to contests in singing are surely common in many languages. We next come to the adj. *fit*, and to the verb to *fit*. First as to the verb. Of this Mätzner gives no example; yet *fitlen*, to set

in order, or array, occurs at least five times in the *Morte Arthure*. It is probably derived from the adjective, and we shall see presently that Wedgwood takes the adj. to be of F. origin. There is a very strong objection to this when we find that Hexham gives the M.Du. *vitten*, 'to accommodate, to fitt, to serve;' which would seem to be a Teutonic word. Kilian gives the same, and says it is Flemish. I see no insuperable difficulty, as Wedgwood does, to the connection of M.E. *fitten*, to set in order, with the Icel. *fitja*, to knit together, to cast on stitches in making a stocking. On the contrary, the notion of casting on stitches is closely allied to that of *fittin*g or preparing the work, if indeed the ideas are not identical. To knit a stocking is the same thing as to fit it together. In provincial English *fit* commonly means 'ready.' Lastly, as to the adj. *fit*. It is, apparently, quite a late word, only found, as yet, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* and in later books. I see no difficulty in supposing that it is derived from the verb, and merely means *fitted* or prepared. In the *Morte Arthure*, l. 2455, an army is said to be 'Faire *fittyde* one frownte,' i.e. well arrayed in the front. Wedgwood's proposal is to say that '*fit* is a shortening of the O.E. [i.e. M.E.] *feat*, or *fete*, neat, well-made, good (Halliwell), from F. *faict*, *fait*, made, fashioned, viz. after a certain pattern or certain requirements.' There is no good evidence that the M.E. *fete* is an old word; the quotations suggest that it arose in the fifteenth century. The proper word for 'well-made' was *fetis*, used by Chaucer, and answering to Lat. *factitius*. Perhaps *fete* was suggested by it, as the Anglo-F. *fet* meant no more than 'done' or 'made,' like the Latin *factus* which it represents. At the same time, I am by no means disposed to reject this suggestion; whilst I also hold to my former view. So many E. words result from two or three sources, that I think it very likely that the use of 'fit' as an adjective was due to some confusion between the verb *fit* above, the adj. *fetis*, well-made, and the A.F. *fet*, made. In any case, Wedgwood makes one good point, in which I at once concur, viz. that the compound verb *to refit* certainly arose, primarily, from the M.E. *refeet*, representing

A.F. *refet*, Lat. *refectus*; precisely as our *benefit* represents A.F. *benfet*, Lat. *benefactus*. See, in the Prompt. Parv., the entry: "*Refecyd* [probably an error for *refetyd*], or *refect*, or *refeted*; *refectus*;" and the examples in Way's note. When Dr. Bradley is at work upon *fit*, he will have to consult the slips for *refit* at the same time. I also note here that several other words which may or may not be from the same root should be examined, as they may yield further information. I would instance Goth. *fetjan*, to adorn; G. *fitze*, O.H.G. *fizza*, a skein; Dan. *fid*, *fed*, a skein; Norweg. *fit*, the end of a texture or piece of woven stuff; Icel. *feti*, a strand in the thread of a warp. See also the article on E. Fries. *fetse*, a fragment, in Koolman.

Fives, a disease of horses (Shakespeare). Put for *vives*, which is short for *arives*. See *Arives* in the New E. Dict.

Flabbergast, to scare. Probably for *flapper-gast*, i.e. to scare away with a fly-flap. Cf. M.E. *gasten*, to scare, in Stratmann and Mätzner. Also: '*Flappe*, instrument to smyte wythe flyys: *Flabellum*;' Prompt. Parv. And see the quotation, in Richardson, from Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 201.

Flaw, a gust of wind (Shakespeare). Cf. Swed. *flaga*; M. Du. *vlage* (Hexham); Du. *vlaag*; Low G. *flage* (Brem. Wört.); M.E. *flai* in Mätzner; and *flag* (3) in Wedgwood. Allied to *flake* and *flag*.

Furlong. In Murray's Dict., s.v. *acre*, we learn that an *acre* was, originally, a piece of land 40 poles long and four poles wide. Thus the rood, or the fourth part of an acre, was a piece of land 40 poles long and one pole wide. The pole, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, represented the breadth between two furrows; and the 40 poles represented the length to be measured along the furrow. Thus the *furlong*, or length along the furrow, was 40 poles, i.e. 220 yards, or an eighth of a mile. The length of 40 poles was chosen, precisely because it was an exact fraction of a mile. Hence the relationship of acre to mile is clearly seen. This matter was explained to me by Dr. Murray. In Halliwell's Dictionary, we learn that the proper country-name for the

ground between two furrows was a *land*. This explains the phrase 'nine land's length' in the passage from Piers Plowman, quoted in my Dictionary, s.v. *furlong*. The reference is to the rood, which was a *land* in breadth and a *furlong* in length; so that 'nine lands' length' means 'more than a mile.'

Gallant. There is no doubt that this is the F. *galant*, allied to the verb *galer*, to riot, rejoice, be festive. I give the usual derivation from M.H.G. *geil*, mirthful; but the difference of vowel-sound is, perhaps, insuperable. I note, accordingly, the derivation given by Schwan (Grammatik des Altfranzösischen, p. 52), from O.H.G. *wallon*, G. *wallen*, to wander, rove, go on pilgrimage. I find that Godefroy gives *galant* with the sense of vagabond, or (as he says) 'sorte de brigands.' Perhaps further search may settle this question. The derivation here proposed involves no phonetic difficulty.

Gambeson, a quilted jacket. See *Gambison* in Godefroy, and *gambais* in Diez. Diez derives it from O.H.G. *wamba*, the belly. Mr. Wedgwood refers us to the Gk. *βαμβάκιον*, a fabric stuffed with cotton; and I think his article should receive due attention. The O. Span. *gambax*, quoted by Diez, certainly looks like the Low Lat. *bombax*, whence our *bombasine*. The Arab. *gombâz*, cited by Diez from Freytag, looks like another perversion of the same word. Perhaps the word found its way from Gk. into Arabic, thence into Spanish, and thence into other European languages. I think the form of the suffix is quite enough to shew that the O.H.G. *wambeis* was a borrowed word, and that we cannot in this case rely upon the initial *w* as original. It is remarkable that Ducange, who (s.v. *gambeso*) favours the G. origin, actually supposes, s.v. *bambacium*, that *gambacium* was an alternative spelling of the latter word.

Gambol. Cf. F. *jambe*. Diez and Scheler think these words are derived from a Low Lat. *camba*, the leg. The acc. pl. *cambas* occurs in a Latin prayer printed in Cockayne's A.S. Leechdoms, vol. i. p. lxxi, l. 20. It is glossed by A.S. *homme*, the hams. Ducange only gives the derivative *cambia*, leg-armour. The E. *ham* is from the same root as *camba*.

Garnep, a small mat (Nares). From F. *gardenappe* in Cotgrave and Godefroy. From F. *garder* and *nappe*, because it keeps the cloth clean.

Gay. The F. *gai* is derived by Diez, who follows Muratori, from O.H.G. *gáhi*, quick, whence also G. *jäh*. But a far more satisfactory original is the O.H.G. *wáhi*, M.H.G. *wáhe*, which has the precise sense of gay, pretty, artistically arrayed. The Bavarian form is *wah*, gay, pretty; Schmeller, ii. 880. The change of initial from *w* to *g* is regular, as in O.F. *gaimenter*, to lament, from the older form *waimenter*, appearing in M.E. *waimenten*. The O.H.G. *wáhi* is from the strong verb *wehan*, to shine; see Schade. The etymology of *gay* is affected by this change. This etymology is due to Mr. Mayhew; see N. and Q., 7 S. vii. 325. See *Jay*.

Ghoul. Not Persian, marked in my Dict., but a Persian word borrowed from Arabic, as Mr. Robertson Smith informs me. So in Palmer's Pers. Dict., col. 443: "*Ghúl* (Arab. Pers.), an ogre, a demon of the waste."

Gigging. Chaucer has *gigging of scheeldes* (Kn. Ta. 1646), which Morris explains by 'clattering,' as if it were *jigging*. But the *g* is hard. To *gig* a shield is to fit it with a new strap or handle, formerly called a *gig*. Cotgrave gives *guiges*, 'the handlos of a targuet or shield.' Godefroy explains *guige* as the strap by which a shield was hung round the neck, and gives numerous examples. Other spellings are *guigue*, *guice*, *guiche*, *guinche*, and even *grince* (probably corrupt). The word is evidently of Teutonic origin. Perhaps the word merely meant 'fold' or 'bend.' Cf. Swed. *vika*, to fold, to double, to plait; Icel. *vikja*, to turn; G. *wickel*, a roll, *wickeln*, to roll round, wrap up; but this is uncertain.

Gite, Gyte. This word occurs twice in Chaucer, C.T. 3952, 6141. Simkin's wife wore 'a *gyte* of red'; the Wyf of Bath wore 'gaze scarlet *gytes*.' Tyrwhitt explains it by 'robe,' but it may have meant 'cap' or 'veil,' or 'head-covering,' which suits the context even better. Nares shows that it is used thrice by Gascoigne, and once by Fairfax. The sense is uncertain there, but seems to mean 'robe'; Hazlitt's Glossary to Gascoigne omits the word altogether. I presume that the

g is hard; hence the scribes prefer *y* to *i* in writing it (cf. M.E. *gyde*, E. *guide*). It is doubtless of French origin. Godefroy gives: '*quite*, chapeau.' Roquefort has: '*wite*, voile.' The F. Gloss. appended to Ducange gives the word *wiart* as applied to a man, and *witarde* as applied to a woman. Hence, perhaps, the O.F. *wiart*, which Roquefort explains as a veil with which women cover their faces, evidently the same as O.F. *guiart*, explained by Godefroy as a dress or vestment. The form of the word suggests that it is of Teutonic origin; but the source is not apparent. It is probably the same word as the M.E. and Scot. *gyde*, *gide*, a dress, robe, of which Mätzner give two examples, and Jamieson three.

Glory, Hand of. One of the Ingoldsby Legends is called The Nurse's Story; or, the Hand of Glory. It introduces the line—'Lit by the light of the Glorious Hand.' This 'glorious hand' was supposed to be a dead man's hand, which gave a magic light. This fiction is due to a mistaken popular etymology. We find the O.F. *mandegloire* in Godefroy; it was supposed to signify 'hand of glory,' but, as a fact, it is a variant spelling of *mandragore* (Shakespeare's *mandragora*), and means a mandrake, the plant so often associated with magic. We even find the very spelling *maindegloire*; Godefroy cites, from the Glossaire des Salins, the entry: '*Mandragora*, *maindegloire*.' This is an excellent example of the way in which legends arise from making up a tale to explain a word. It is a caution to beware of such tales as these. The identification of the *hand of glory* with the *mandrake* is clinched by the statement in Cockayne's *Lecchodons*, i. 245, that the mandrake 'shineth by night altogether like a lamp.' The corruption of Lat. *mandragora* to F. *mainde-gloire* is noticed by Trench (*Eng. Past and Present*); but he does not notice the E. translation of the latter.

Goluptious. 'Cooking for a genteel fam'ly, John, It's a *goluptious* life!' 1862: *Verses and Translations*, by C. S. C(alverley). Perhaps it is a corruption of *voluptious*, i.e. *voluptuous*. The sense of the word is precisely the same as that of *voluptuous*.

Gourd, a species of false dice; Mer. Wives, i. 3. 94. See Nares, who suggests that it is named 'in allusion to a gourd, which is scooped out;' which is not a probable guess. Godefroy's O.F. Dict. gives the sb. *gourd*, in the sense of 'a cheat' (*fourberie*), which is much nearer the mark. I suppose, too, that this sb. is allied to the O.F. adj. *gourd*, 'numme, astonished, asleep, . . . drowsie, slow, heavy, sluggish;' Cotgrave. Minshew's Span. Dict. (1623) has *gordo*, 'grosse, fat, heavy, . . . foolish.' From Low Lat. *gurdus*, a dolt, a numskull; Lewis and Short. Perhaps the dice were loaded, and so sluggish in action, not falling truly. Cf. F. *engourdi*, torpid.

Hale. Mr. Mayhew points out to me that this is not necessarily a Scand. form, but simply the Northern English, corresponding to A.S. *hāl*. Cf. *haly* for *holy*, *hame* for *home*, etc. We have the Scand. form in the word *hail*, as a salutation.

Havoc. This word occurs several times in Shakespeare, but does not seem to be much older. Richardson quotes an example from Udall. I have supposed it to be of English origin, but Mr. Mayhew thinks it is French; and, strange as this may seem, he is certainly right. The corresponding O.F. word is *havot*, which, by the common confusion between *e* and *t*, is occasionally written and printed *havoc*, of which Godefroy, s.v. *havot*, gives an example. Moreover, the sounds of *t* and *e* were probably confused, the word being not clearly understood. Even the native M.E. *bakke* has been turned into *bat*. The equivalence of E. *havoc* with the O.F. *havot*, which had the sense of 'pillage, plunder,' is verified by its peculiar use. Thus Shakespeare has the phrase 'to cry havoc,' which is obviously a translation of the O.F. *crier havot*, to cry out plunder, i.e. as I suppose, to give the signal for plundering. Of this phrase Godefroy gives two clear examples. The etymology of *havot* is obscure; but I take it to be allied to F. *havel*, a hook, especially a hook or crook made of iron, which would be extremely useful to men bent upon plunder. This F. *havel* is of Teut. origin, and is either a F. adaptation of G. *Haft*, a clasp, rivet, crotchet, or from

the same root. The root is clearly the Germanic *HAF*, cognate with the Aryan *κᾶπ*, as seen in *capere*, the primary notion being 'to seize.' Hence *havot* has to do with seizing, or grasping, the very notion whence that of spoiling and plundering naturally arises. It is now easy to see that from the same root comes F. *haver*, which Cotgrave explains by 'to hook, or grapple with a hook;' and the F. sb. *harée*, which he explains by 'a gripe, or a handful; also a booty, or prey;' and even the F. adv. *havement*, which he explains by 'greedily, covetously.' Cf. also E. Friesic *haffen*, to devour greedily (Koolman); E. Friesic *heffen*, to catch up, orig. to seize. The latter is a strong verb, and is cognate with A.S. *hebban*, Goth. *haffjan*, and the Lat. *capere*.

Hog. Kemble's Charters contain the place-names *Hocgetwistle* and *Hoogestun*. We have *Hogston* in Oxfordshire, and *Hogsthorpe* in Lincolnshire; besides other traces of it.

Ill. The Icel. *illr*, *ill*, properly has a long *i*. Mr. Bradley suggests that it is short for **ǫðlr*, idle, cognate with A.S. *idel*. Otherwise the A.S. *idel* has no Scandinavian cognate. And the equation of Icel. *illr* with A.S. *yfel* is impossible. But the connection in sense is not made out.

Ive, or Herb Ive. In Chaucer's *Sec. Non. Ta.* 146, Partlet advises Chanticleer to eat some *erbe yve*. I find no explanation of this in Tyrwhitt or Morris. I used to think it was the same as 'ivy,' but it is nothing of the kind, as the word is French. Cotgrave has: '*Ive*, fem. The herb *Ive*; *Ive arthritique*, Field cypress, herb *Ive*, Ground-Pine, Forget-me-not.' Now Field-cypress and Ground-pine are both names for *Ajuga chamæpitys*, a kind of bugle. Littré explains the mod. F. *ive* by *Teucrium chamæpitys*, a kind of germander, a very closely allied labiate plant. The explanation 'ground-pine' will, I suppose, do very well. Britten's *Plant-names* duly gives *Herb Ive*, with three explanations, viz. *Plantago Coronopus*, or buck's-horn plantain; *Ajuga Chamæpitys*, or ground-pine, as above; and *Senebiera Coronopus*, or lesser wart-cress. A Glossary called *Sinonoma Bartholomei*, ed. J. L. G. Mowat, Oxford, 1882, at p. 17, has: '*Cornu cervi*, i. herbive;' where *cornu cervi* answers to 'buck's horn.'

Wright's Vocabularies give the Latin names as *ostriago* or *ostrugium* and *erifeon*, but the senses are unknown; also the A.S. name as *ŵsawrt*, which Mr. Cockayne doubtfully interprets as the 'dwarf-elder,' which does not suit. The etymology of the F. *ive* is unknown. There is no reason for connecting it with E. *ivy*, nor with E. *yew*, both of which Littré mentions, but does not seem to favour. Halliwell explains *Herbive* by forget-me-not, quoting from Gerarde; but the name of 'forget-me-not' is sometimes given to the ground-pine (see Britten), which brings us back to the same result as before. Thus the likeliest solution is the *Ajuga Chamæpitys*, as regards the sense, but the origin of the F. *ive* remains obscure.

Jay. The etymology of *jay* is from the O.F. *iaj*, *gay*, mod. F. *geui*; and this is supposed to be from O.H.G. *gāhi*, M.H.G. *gāhe* (G. *jāhe*), quick; hence, lively. This is already in my Dictionary; but it is necessary to notice it here, because it must be dissociated from *gay*. See *Gay*.

Lake. I have supposed this word to be borrowed from Lat. *lacus*, with which the A.S. *lagu* is cognate. Prof. Earle, in his A.S. Charters, p. 465, says—"It is important to observe that a *lake* is not [rather, *was* not] a pool, but a stream of running water. Thus a boundary often follows the course of a lake (A.S. *andlung lace*), and such a stream is called a boundary-stream (*gemær-lacu*). . . This *lake* for running water is a genuine English word, and it is still widely current in the W. of England, in Devon and Somerset, and probably Dorsetshire. If we are now familiar with the word as meaning a pool, it is one of the thousand proofs of the deep tinge our language has taken from the Romanesque." If this be so, our A.S. *lacu*, a lake, a running stream, has been more or less confused with the Lat. *lacus* and F. *lac*, from which it was originally distinct. Cf. Ship-lake, Mort-lake, both on the Thames. The G. *Lache* now means a pool, lake, or puddle; but, according to Weigand, it was once applied to running water. The theories about the G. *Lache* are various. Kluge dissociates it from Lat. *lacus*, but makes a difficulty of connecting it with the adj. *leck*,

leaky. But the Icel. strong verb *leka*, to leak, with the pt. t. *lak*, seems sufficient to furnish the root-form; see the Teut. root *LAK*, to drip, in Fick, iii. 261. The stem *lak* perhaps accounts both for A.S. *lac-u*, as above, and the verb *leccan*, for **lac-ian*, to moisten. From the same stem we have also the Lowl. Sc. *latch*, a pool, a swamp, in Scott's Guy Mannering (see Jamieson); also Yksh. *luche*, a muddy hole, a bog (see Halliwell). The orig. sense of *leka* was to drip, or ooze drop by drop; hence the A.S. *lacu* may have meant a stream formed by wet draining away from land, a sluggish stream or gutter, from which the transition to the sense of pool or swampy place was easy. The Bremen Wörterbuch assigns to *Lache* the double meaning of 'swamp' and 'brine'; and the latter agrees with the Swed. *laka*, pickle, juice, sap. We may also note here the prov. E. *letch*, a wet ditch or gutter, and the river *Lech* in Gloucestershire, near which is *Lechlade*. See *Latch*. (I make the above note by way of suggestion only.)

Lampas, a disease in the mouth of horses. It occurs in Cotgrave, and in Fitzherbert's Husbandry, ed. Skeat, sect. 81: 'In the mouthe is the *lampas*, and is a thyecke skyn full of bloude, hangyng ouer his tethe aboue, that he may not eat.' It is from F. *lampas*, 'the *lampasse*, or swelling in a horse's mouth;' sometimes spelt *lampast*. Littré discusses it, and shews that it is also spelt *empas*, as if *l* stood for the article. He hesitates as to the original form. But this is settled by the occurrence of Ital. *lampasco*, with the same sense; see Florio. Besides which, Godefroy gives *lampas* as the O.F. form; so that *empas* is a corruption. It is probably allied to F. *lamper*, to swallow in great gulps, a nasalised form of F. *laper*, to lap, spelt *lapper* in Cotgrave. The F. *laper* is of Teut. origin; cf. M. Du. *lappen*, *lapen*, 'to lap or lieke like a dogge;' Hexham. The insertion of *m* may have been suggested by Lat. *lambere*.

Lampers, **Lawmpas**, a kind of thin silk. Halliwell gives *lampors*, a kind of thin silk; and, in his edition of Nares, cites a quotation for it dated 1559. This form is probably an error for *lampers*, as that is precisely the M. Dutch form.

Hexham gives: '*lampers*, fine silke Cloath or Linnen; *een lampers*, a Covering Garment, or a Veile;' whence mod. Du. *lamfer*, crape. I find a much older form, viz. *lawmpas*, in the following examples: 'half a pes of *lawmpas*,' and, 'a volet [piece] of *lawmpas neu*'; both in Testamenta Eboracensia, i. 130. This is from the F. *lampas*, which see in Littré. I suppose that the M. Du., though probably borrowed from French, has preserved an older form. I suggest that the original form was *lampers*, and that it is composed of the word which we spell *lawn* in English, and of the word *pers*, used in Chaucer's Prologue. It may have been spelt *lampas* by confusion with F. *lumpas*, a disease of horses. See *Pers*.

Latch, to moisten. In Shak. M.N.D. iii. 2. 36, we have the words: "Hast thou yet *latch'd* the Athenian's eyes With the love-juice, as I did bid thee do?" Here *latch* means to moisten, or to distil drops. Perhaps it should be *letch*; from A.S. *leccan*, to moisten, irrigate; from the same root as Swed. *laka*, Dan. *lage*, to distil, also to pickle. Other related words are E. Fries. *lekken*, to drop, drip, leak; whence *lek-fat*, a vessel to catch drops, answering to prov. E. *latch-pan*, a dripping-pan. The Swed. *laka på*, to put hot water into a mashing-tub (Widegren), is precisely the prov. E. *latch on*, to put water on the mash when the first wort has run off (Halliwell). The prov. E. *latch*, to catch, is from a different root; but may have influenced the form of the less common verb. See *Lake*. With the above we may also compare prov. E. *leche*, a deep rut, used in Yorkshire (Halliwell); also, in the same county, *leck*, to leak, *leck on*, to pour on (obviously the Northern equivalent to *latch on*), *leck off*, to drain off; also *letch*, a wet ditch or gutter; and the East Anglian *letch*, a vessel for making lye. All these are related words, from the same root. The Teut. root is *LAK*, to drop, drip; Fick, iii. 261. See my letter on this word in *The Academy*, May 11, 1889, p. 323.

Lea (1), untilled land. A.S. *leah*; which see in the A.S. Dict. M.E. *ley*, *lay*; see my Dict. Also spelt *ley*, *leigh*. Often called *lay-land*, whence popular etymology connected it with the verbs *lay* and *lie*, and with the notion of lying

fallow. Even Stratmann suggests a derivation from *ligger*, to lie; which appears to be wrong. Cognate with O.H.G. *löh*, and Lat. *lucus*; see Schade. I believe that the account in my Dict. is correct; but I wish to point out the confusion that has arisen from two false connections, viz. one with the verb to lie, and another with *lea*, a pasture. See below.

Lea (2), **Lee**, a pasture. I believe that this word is a totally different word from *lea*, untilled land, and has arisen from mere confusion. I take the more correct spelling to be *lee*, and that it is really a mistaken form, due to cutting off the *s* from the word *lees*, a pasture. The correct form is preserved in *Lees*, a place in the N.E. of Staffordshire, and in the surname *Lees*. We have a similar loss of final *s* in *sherry*, *pea*, *Chinee*, *shay* for *chaise*, etc. This I take to be the word used by Gray: 'The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the *lea*,' i.e. over the pasture, not the fallow-land. I write this article chiefly by way of warning to Dr. Murray, believing that the words *lea* and *lees* have been almost inextricably confused. A good example of this is given by Nares. He quotes a passage from W. Browne, containing the word *lease*, a pasture, and remarks that 'the same author, with the carelessness of his time, in p. 66, writes it *leyes*;' whereas the unfortunate culprit is probably right, seeing that *leyes* means *leas*, the plural of *lea*. Nares only quotes one of these passages, but the other is in Richardson. The former passage suggests that *lease* is singular, and speaks of a river's overflow, which "makes that channel which was shepherd's *lease*," i.e. a shepherd's pasture. In the other passage, *leyes* is plural: 'Whilst other lads are sporting on the *leyes*,' Britannia's Pastorals, bk. i. song 3. We get a further trace of *lees*, a pasture, in Cowel's Interpreter; he gives us, s.v. *Ley*, the remark: 'We also term pasture by a frequent name in several counties *leys*, and so it is used in Domesday.' When we get back to the M.E. period, all confusion ceases. *Lea*, fallow-land, is the M.E. *ley*, A.S. *léah*; entered under *leze* in Stratmann. But *lees* or *lese*, pasture, is the M.E. *lese*, or *leswe*, entered under *leswe* in Stratmann; from an A.S. form *lés* or *lésu*. Of the M.E. form one example may suffice,

viz. from Will. of Palerne, l. 175, where we are told that William learnt 'to kepe alle her bestes, and bring hem in the best *lesc*.' The form *leasow*, from the stem of the oblique cases of *lêsu*, is common in Shropshire, pronounced *lezzer*, glossic [lez'u']. I think there must have been two distinct forms in A.S., both feminine, viz. *lês*, gen. *lêse*, and *lêsu*, genitive *lêswe*. In Bosworth's Dictionary, the latter of these forms is not given; but all the examples are entered under *lês* only. The nom. pl. *lêsiwe*, pascua, is given in Wright's Vocab. 80. 49 (or, ed. Wülker, 325. 25), as well as *lêsa*, pascua, in Ælfric's Grammar, 13. Somner, in his Dictionary, s.v. *læswe*, shows that he understood the matter; he explains it by '*pascuum*, feeding-ground or pasture, a *leese* or common.' The derived verb is *lêswian*.

Liana, *Liane*, a sort of cordage formed by climbing plants. In Stedman's Expedition to Surinam, i. 232, are described the *nebees*, or 'ligneous ropes' that abound on the trees; at p. 231 he speaks of 'the *nebees*, called by the French *liannes*, by the Spaniards *bejucos*, and in Surinam *tay-tay*.' The word is French; see *liane* in Littré. The E. spelling *liana* probably arose from a notion that the word was of Spanish origin, which is not the case.

Limpet. It is now found that this word is of Latin origin. The Lat. *lempreda* is sometimes found as *lempreda* or *lemprida*, and passed into A.S. as *lempetu*. Thus we find the gloss: '*lemprida*, *lempedu*,' in Wright's A.S. Gloss., ed. Wülker, col. 438, l. 17. The A.S. *emp* passes regularly into *imp*, as in E. *limp*, connected with A.S. *lemp-healt*. This, with loss of the suffix, gave the form *limped*, which naturally became *limpet* by association with the common F. suffix *-et*; cf. also A.S. *abbod* with the E. *abbot*. We still want an example of the M.E. form. *Lamprey* is a doublet, from the French.

Marry Gip. An exclamation in Ben Jonson; see Nares, who speculates wrongly as to its origin. The older phrase is 'By *Mary Gipey*,' in Skelton, ed. Dyce, vol. i. p. 419, l. 1455. *Gipey* or *Gipsy* means 'Egyptian,' and *Mary Gip* means St. Mary of Egypt, *Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca*, whose day is April 9. Dyce remarks that this is the origin of the

phrases *marry gep*, *marry gip*, *marry guep*, *marry gap*. We even find *marry gap* (Nares). But *guep*, *gup*, *gap*, with hard *g*, ought to be separated from *gep*, *gip*=*jep*, *jip*.

Marten. The older form is *martern*. I derive this from O.F. *martre*, with excrescent *n* after *r*, as in *bitter-n* for *bitour*. But the *n* may be adjectival. I find 'couertur *martrin*,' a coverlet made of marten's skins; Rom. of Horn, l. 726 (ed. Brede and Stengol).

Maunder, to drivel. The verb *to maunder* was a cant word, meaning to beg, and occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher; see Nares. Secondly, it meant to grumble, in which sense it also occurs in the same; see Nares. This sense of grumble easily arises from that of whining like a beggar. Thirdly, it came to mean to talk idly, to drivel; not a very different sense. The verb seems to have arisen from the sb. *maunder*, a beggar; so that *to maunder* was to act as a beggar. Again, *maunder*, a beggar (also in Nares) was made from the verb *maund*, to beg, used by Ben Jonson (Nares). Nares suggests that it meant, originally, to beg with a *maund*, or basket, in one's hand for the reception of victuals. This is one of those desperate guesses in which I have no faith. *Maunds* were baskets for flowers, herbs, or household merchandise; and the explanation is very forced. It is much more likely that the verb *to maund* is of F. origin. The F. *mander*, to command, sometimes meant to demand also (see Godefroy). It may easily have been confused with *mendier* (Lat. *mendicare*), to beg; for the O.F. *mendier* was sometimes spelt *mandier*, and the adjectives *mendi*, indigent, and *mendien*, begging, were also spelt *mandi* and *mandien* respectively (Godefroy). Hence I suspect that the E. *maunder* depends upon a confusion of the Lat. verbs *mandare* and *mendicare*, and has nothing at all to do with A.S. *mand*, a basket.

May-weed, a plant; *Matricaria inodora*, *Anthemis cotula*, etc. I make a note that *May* is here short for *maythe*, A.S. *mageþe*. See Britten's Plant-names and the A.S. Diet.

Mazzard, the head (Shakespeare). See Nares, whose suggestion is perfectly right, viz. that it "was made from *mazer*; comparing the head to a large goblet." But, almost

immediately afterwards, Nares quotes two passages in which he says it is "corrupted to *mazer*." Of course these two passages prove the exact contrary, viz. that *mazer* is the original form. The etymology of *mazer* is known; see my Dictionary. Wedgwood takes the same view.

Mean, to moan; Mid. Nt. Dr. v. 330. Ignorantly changed to *moans* in some modern editions; but it is quite right. *Mean* is the A.S. *ménan*, to moan; whereas *moan* should answer to a sb. **mán*, as yet undiscovered. So also we say to *feed*, not to *food*. It has the correct vowel-change.

Meese, Mees, a mansion, manse, plow-land, etc. Nares gives a quotation for *meese*, and says it means 'meads' or 'meadows'; but it means 'mansion.' Halliwell gives '*Meese*, a mead, field, or pasture,' which is still worse, and quotes 'a certain toft or *meese-place*.' In Cowel's Interpreter we get a glimpse of the truth; he gives: "*Meese*, messuagium, seemeth to come from the F. *maison*, or rather *meix*, . . . interpreted . . . *mansus*." He adds, "in some places called corruptly a *Mise* or *Miseplace*.' The hints at F. *meix* and Lat. *mansus* are both right. *Meese* is much the same as *manse*; see Low Lat. *mansus* in Ducange, who remarks that the word is found of all three genders, viz. *mansus*, *mansa*, *mansum*. His account is so full that little more need be said. The O.F. forms are various. Cotgrave gives '*mas de terre*, an ox-gang, etc., having a house belonging to it;' also *meix*, *mex*, with the same sense. Godefroy gives *maise*, *meise*, *meize*, *meyse*, *meze*, *mase*, a herb-garden, habitation, both masc. and fem. The form in Cotgrave is masculine. The masc. forms answer to Lat. *mansus*, *mansum*, the fem. to *mansa*. All from Lat. *manere*, verb. Thus the notion of its being a corruption of *meuds* or of *mead* is pure fiction. See *Chemis* in N.E.D.

Melocotone, a quince; hence, a peach grafted on a quince. Nares gives the spellings *male-cotoon*, *melicotton*, and explains it as 'a sort of late peach.' His examples shew that it was a kind of peach, and the same is true of the pl. *melocotones* in Bacon's Essay 46. Etymologically, the word means 'quince,' as will appear; but, as the term was applied also to a peach

grafted on a quince, the sense of 'peach' is, apparently, the only one in English authors. Mr. Aldis Wright has kindly helped me with this word, which I at first identified with the Italian form. Mr. Wright says: "It comes from the Span. *melocoton*, which is a peach grafted on a quince. Hence it is sometimes called a yellow peach, and sometimes a yellow quince; so that Nares is right in describing it, though his etymology is naught. [Nares thinks it has to do with *cotton*, which is not the case.] In Percyvall's (1591) and Minsheu's (1599) Spanish Dictionaries *Melocoton* is defined as a peach. In Captain Stevens' it is called 'the melocotone peach,' and he is followed by Pineda and Delpino." Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) has: '*Melocotón*, a peach.' Pineda (1740) gives two entries: '*Melocoton*, the Melocotone Peach;' and '*Melocoton*, s.m. a yellow quince, or the quince-tree in which the Peach is grafted.' The cognate Italian word is given in Florio (1598); '*Melocotogno*, the fruite wee call a quince;' compounded of *mela*, 'any kinde of apple,' and *cotogno*, a quince. The Low Latin Dict. of Ducange has: '*Cotonum* (or *Cotoneum*) *pomum*, Ital. *cotogno*, F. *coing*,' i.e. a quince. I suppose that *cotoneum* is a mere variant of *cydonium*; see *Quince* in my Dictionary, and in the Supplement to it.

Milk. The A.S. strong verb is not given in Bosworth's Dictionary. But it is duly given in Toller. The verb is *melean*, pt. t. *mealc*, pp. *molcen*.

Mite, a small coin. I have given the derivation from the M.Du. *mijte*, *myte*. As a fact, I now suppose that we did not take it immediately from Dutch, but from the O.F. *mite*, which occurs, according to Godefroy, as early as 1332. He tells us that it was an O.F. name of a Flemish coin.

Molland, high ground. In Halliwell and Wright's additions to Nares. It stands for *moor-land*.

Montanto, **Montant**, terms in fencing. Ben Jonson has *montanto*, and Shakespeare *montant*; see Nares. Schmidt says the latter is the F. *montant*, which Cotgrave explains by 'an upright blow or thrust.' I draw attention to the form *montanto*, to remark that it is not Italian, but Spanish, and a

corruption of *montante*, just as *tomato* is of the Span. *tomate*. Minshew's Span. Dict. gives: *montante*, 'a two-handed sword.' The Span. *montar* means 'to mount a horse'; so *montante* is a 'mounting-sword,' i.e. a horseman's sword. A two-handed sword is just suited for a horseman, and its best use is to cut straight downwards. Hence Span. *montante* and F. *montant* meant 'a downright blow,' which is precisely what Cotgrave meant by 'upright blow.'

Monnets. Halliwell and Wright's additions to Nares quote a passage from Saunders' *Physiognomie* (1653) to this effect. 'Little ears denote a good understanding, but they must not be of those ears which, being little, are withall deformed, which happens to men as well as cattel, which for this reason they call *monnets*; for such ears signifie nothing but mischief and malice.' The explanation given is 'small deformed ears,' which is palpably wrong; the context clearly shews that the term was applied to *cattle* that had small deformed ears. What is the precise joke I do not quite understand; but I believe that the word is simply the O.F. *monnet*, variant of *moinet*, a monk, dimin. of *moine*. We also find the fem. *moinette*, a nun. The tonsure gave a peculiar look to the head and ears.

Not-pated, having the hair cut short; 1 Hen. IV. ii. 4. 78. Schmidt is in some doubt as to the sense; but there need be none. See *Nott*, *Nott-pated* in Nares, who says that it is from the verb 'to *nott*, to shear or poll, which is from the Saxon *hnot*, meaning the same.' He has got the right idea, but gives it the wrong way about; and it is extraordinary to find him speaking of the A.S. *hnot* as being a verb. The A.S. *hnot* is an adjective, meaning close-cut or shaven; hence *not-pated* is formed at once, without any verb at all. Finally the verb to *not* or *nott* is formed from the adjective, and is a much later word. I find no example of it in M.E. For the adjective, see *hnot* in Stratmann.

Omelet. Spelt *aumelette* in the *Gazophylacium Anglicanum*, 1689. A cross-reference for this spelling is not given in the N.E.D.; but is important for the etymology, as it is spelt *aumelette* also in Cotgrave. See my Dictionary.

Ostrich. There is an early example of this word in 'plumes d'*oustrich*'; Testamenta Eboracensia, i. 227; A.D. 1398.

Pers, blueish gray; also, a thin stuff of that colour. M.E. *pers*, Chaucer, Prol. 439. From O.F. *pers*, blueish gray, in Bartsch's Chrestomathie. Low Lat. *persua*, *perseus*, blueish; see Ducange. And see *pers* in *Lâttré*. It seems to have denoted all kinds of blueish colours; and, according to Ducange, alluded to the colour of the peach. It came to mean quite a dark blue, quite the colour of indigo. Florio, s.v. *perso*, says it meant 'a darke, broune, black mourning colour. Some take it to be properlie the colour of dead marierom [marioram]; for *Persa* is mariorom. Some have vsed it for peach-colour.' He also gives *persa*, 'the herbo Margerome.' The flowers of marjoram are purple. The words relating to colours are usually very vague. In Ælfric's Glossary, we find: '*perseus*, blæwen,' i.e. blueish; see Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, col. 163, l. 29. In any case, it is highly probable that the word is ultimately derived from the name of the country which we call *Persia*.

Picaninny, Pickaninny, a negro or mulatto infant. Webster guesses this to be from Span. *picado niño*, which gives no sense; I can only find *picado*, pricked, stung. Following this, Ogilvie makes a better guess, viz. from Span. *pequeño niño*, i.e. young child. But I doubt this too, in some measure. I find that J. G. Stedman, who wrote an Expedition to Surinam in 1796, tells us, in vol. ii. p. 257, that he considered himself to be a perfect master of the language spoken by the black people in Surinam. In fact, he married a mulatto woman of unusually fine character, who saved his life, by careful nursing, three several times. He tells us that, in this dialect of the slaves, the word for 'small' was *peekeen*, and for 'very small' was *peekeeneence*, vol. ii. p. 258. The word is obviously a diminutive of Span. *pequeño*, small; so that *niño*, a child, has nothing to do with it. The Span. diminutive suffixes are numerous, and words involving them may be formed at fancy. Del Mar's Span. Grammar (Lecture 7) gives the masc. suffixes *-in*, *-illo*, *-ito*, *-ico*, etc.; so that *pequeñin* is a possible form; fem. *pequeñina*.

Pompelmoose, Pomplemoose, a shaddock. We learn from Stedman's Expedition to Surinam, i. 22, that this is merely the Surinam name for the shaddock. Ogilvie says the name is 'probably of Eastern origin.' As Surinam is in Dutch Guiana, I suspect that the Eastern language from which it is derived is Dutch. The shaddock is something like a huge orange; cf. Du. *pompoen*, a pumpkin, borrowed from F. *pompon*. The Du. *moes* means greens or potherbs; Hexham explains it by 'pottage or pulse.' I think these words may give the clue. See *Shaddock*.

Pull. Somner gives the A.S. *pullian*, without a reference. There are two references for it in Bosworth and Toller's Diet.

Puss, a cat. Mr. Wedgwood cites Du. *poes*, puss; Low G. *puus*, a call-name for a cat; Low G. *puus-katte*, *puus-man*, a pussy-cat; Lith. *puž*, *pužis*, a call-name for a cat; and suggests that it was originally a cry to call or drive away a cat, from an imitation of the noise made by a cat spitting. In any case it was probably imitative. I wish to add that we also find Norweg. *puse*, *puus*, a call-name for a cat; Swed. dial. *pus*, *katte-pus*, *kisse-pus*, a cat. Hexham gives M.Du. *poesen*, to kisse, or to busse, which is also imitative. Cf. also *buss*. Aasen also gives Norweg. *purra*, a call-name for a cat; evidently related to E. *purr*.

Quassia. We are told that *quassia* was named after a certain negro known as Graman Quacy. The standard passage is the following: "But besides these, and many other artful contrivances, he had the good fortune, in 1730, to find out the valuable root known by the name of the *Quacia bitter*, of which he was actually the first discoverer, and from which it took its name. . . . It has this valuable property, that of being a powerful *febrifuge*, and may be successfully used when the bark is nauseated, as is frequently the case. In 1761 it was made known to *Linnæus* by Mr. *d' Ahlberg*, formerly mentioned; and the Swedish naturalist has since written a treatise upon it. By this drug alone *Quacy* might have amassed riches, were he not entirely abandoned to indolence and dissipation," etc. (1796), J. G. Stedman, Expedition to Surinam, ii. 347. Stedman knew

him, and drew his portrait, which is engraved in the book at p. 348, with the title, 'The celebrated Graman Quacy.' *Graman* is a negro corruption of grand man or of great man. He must have been born about 1700, as he could remember having acted as drummer in 1712. He was born in Guinea, and carried off to Surinam as a slave; but he obtained his freedom, and amassed a competent living by practising as a medicine-man and selling amulets. Stedman saw him in 1777, when he must have been nearly 80 years old; but *Quacy* could not tell the year of his own birth.

Quean, a wench. Mr. Mayhew draws my attention to the mistake I have made in confusing this word with *queen*. The E. *queen* is the A.S. *cwén* (for **cwōni*), cognate with O. Sax. *quán* (for **quāni*), from primitive Teut. **kucāniz*, whence also Goth. *kucens*, strong sb. fem., a woman. See Sievers, Gram. § 68, note 1. The E. *quean* is the A.S. *cwene* (with short *e*, but marked long by mistake in Bosworth), O.Sax. *quena*, O.H.G. *quena*, Goth. *kwino*, weak sb. fem.; primitive Teut. **kwenōn*; see Brugmann, § 437, a. The short *e* in the open syllable of the A.S. *cwe-ne* regularly gave rise to a long open *e*, represented by *ea* in Tudor English; whence our present spelling.

Refit. See *Fit* (above).

Reveille. I have already noted that this word represents the F. imper. pl. *réveillez*; see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885-6, p. 321. I now add that I have received the following note from M. H. Gaïdez: 'C'est évidemment le premier mot d'une aubade, et une abréviation, par apocope, de *réveillez-vous*. Je me souviens d'un couplet de ce genre que j'ai entendu chanter dans mon enfance (il rime par assonance):

Réveillez vous, belle endormie!

Réveillez vous, car il fait jour!

Mettez la tête

A la fenêtre,

Vous entendrez parler de vous!

N.B.—This verse is quoted by Dryden, *The Assignment*, A. ii. sc. 3, with *Eveillez* for *Réveillez*; also *belles endormies*; *il est jour*; and *d'amour* for *de vous*.

Rigol, a circlet (Shakespeare). Nares refers us to the Ital. *rigolo*, but does not give us the etymology of that word, nor does he well explain it. It is certainly the same word. Torriano has: '*Rigolo*, a little wheel under a sledge, called a truck, also a rolling round log, as they use in gardens to smooth allies,' *i.e.* a garden-roller. A truck is a small wheel formed of a solid disc. The word is allied to *regola*, and derived from the Lat. *regula*, which not only meant a rule, a bar, a measuring rod, but also a disc of an oil-press; see Lewis and Short. In Italian, the use of *ri-* for *re-* is very common.

Robbins. Phillips, ed. 1706, gives '*Robbins, Robins*, in sea affairs, certain small ropes that are reeved, or put through eyelet-holes of the sail, under the head-ropes, and serve to make fast, or tie the sails to the yards.' It is a corruption of *Ro-bands*, where *ro* is the E. form answering the Lowl. Sc. *ra* or *rai*. In the Compl. of Scotland, ed. Murray, p. 40, we find: '*than the maister . . . cryit, tua men abuse to the mane ra, cut the rai-bands,*' etc. The word is common Teutonic, viz. Icel. *rá*, Swed. *rå*, Dan. *raa*, E. Fries. *rá* (Koolman), G. *rahe*, meaning 'a yard' of a ship; and the compound occurs in E. Fries. *rå-band*, Dan. *raaband*, Swed. *råband*, which Widegren explains by 'rope-band.' The E. form would be *ro-band*, though we have no early example of it; probably because the old form **ro* was displaced by 'yard.' That the E. word once had a long *o*, is shown by its corruption into *rope-band*; and the reason why I here make a note of the true etymology is because both Webster and the Imperial Dictionary actually take the corrupted form *rope-band* as the true original! This corrupt form occurs, as noted above, in Widegren (1788), who says he took it from Croker, *i.e.* the Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by the Rev. H. T. Croker (1766). *Ro* or *ra* may be from a Teut. root RAH; Fick, iii. 250. Cf. Skt. *ruch*, to arrange, compose.

Scamble, to struggle (Shakespeare). To *scamble* is probably allied to *scamper* and *shamble*. See *Shamble* in my Dictionary.

Scour, to run hastily over; in the phrase '*scour the country.*' I think this is quite distinct from the common

verb to *scour*, though the Dictionaries confuse them. The phrase is old. Jamieson refers us to Blind Harry's Wallace, vii. 795-7: 'The spy he send, the entre for to se; Upon the moss a *scurrou* sone fand he; To *scour* the land Makfadzane had him send.' Jamieson dismisses the right etymology in favour of the common one, which connects it with the ordinary verb *scour*. But the use of the sb. *scurrou*, as the name of the person who *scours*, gives us the right clue at once; and there is no difficulty. It is from the O.F. *escorre*, *escourre*, to run; Lat. *excurre*, to run out, to make excursions. For the sense, cf. Lat. *excursor*, a scout, spy; the precise sense of *scurrou*. Hence, in Pope's famous line—'Not so, when swift Camilla *scours* the plain'—my belief is that the lady merely made a swift excursion, and that there is no reference whatever to her use of a scrubbing-brush. I may add that there are two F. verbs spelt *escorre*; Cotgrave gives the other one, from Lat. *excitere*.

Scur, Skirr, to run rapidly over. Shak. has '*skirr* the country round,' *i.e.* run rapidly round the country; see Schmidt on Macb. v. 3. 35. Beaumont and Fletcher spell it *scur*, in the phrase '*scur* o'er the fields of corn'; Bonduca, Act i. sc. 1. Webster refers us to the verb to *scour*, to which I do not object; but he mixes up the two verbs of this form, and then, to add to the confusion, gives two etymologies. For *scour*, in the sense to run rapidly, he refers us to the Low G. *schüren*, and there is also an E. Fries. *scheren* with much the same sense. But both these references are useless. The word is not Teutonic at all, but French, and I have explained it above. The verb to *scur* plainly goes with the sb. *scurrou*, a scout, in Blind Harry, spelt *scurrer* in Berners; see *Scur* in Richardson. The frequentative form is *scurry*, used in North's Plutarch, p. 862 (Richardson). I suggest that the *ou* in *scour* is long, as representing the O.F. verb *escourre*; whilst the *u* in *scur* is short, as being associated with the M.E. *scurrou* above. See *Scour*.

Shaddock. In Stedman's Expedition to Surinam (1796), i. 22, is the remark: 'I was particularly struck with the *shaddock* and *awara*; the former of these, which is of a very

agreeable flavour, between a sweet and an acid, is produced from a tree supposed to be transplanted from the coast of Guinea, by a Captain *Shaddock*, whose name it still retains throughout the English West India islands, but is called *pompelmoose* in Surinam.' Guinea may be an error for China, as that seems to be the real home of the tree. See *Pompelmoose*. I have enquired in *Notes and Queries* for the date at which Captain Shaddock lived, but the only answer was, that he is mentioned, in connection with the fruit, in Sir Hans Sloane's *Hist. of Jamaica*, 1709-25. Perhaps he lived in the seventeenth century.

Share, the fork of the legs. A provincial word; see Nares and Halliwell. The A.S. form is *scære*, not in Bosworth's Dictionary; but at p. lxxii of Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, vol. i., we find Lat. *inguinam* (*sic*), glossed by *þa scære*. At p. lxxiv, l. 30, it occurs again, spelt *scare*.

Shire. The usual connection of this word with the verb to *shear* must be given up. The *i* was originally long; cf. 'procuratio, *scīr*'; *Corpus Gloss.*, 1625. There are, also, two forms; viz. *scīr*, fem., gen. *scīre*, which is the usual form, and the weak fem. *scire*, gen. *scīran*. There is a good account of these in Schmid's ed. of the A.S. *Laws*; *Gloss.* p. 651. The earliest occurrence of the word is in the A.S. *Chron.* s.v. 709, where the pl. *biscop-scīra* means 'bishop-provinces,' i.e. dioceses. The word *scīr* also means 'care' or 'business'; we even find *ágif þine scīre*, give an account of thy stewardship, and the compound *tūn-scīre*, lit. 'town-business,' i.e. business of the farm, both in *Luke* xvi. 2. The Northumbrian text has *groefscīre* as a gloss to 'uiculationis,' and the verb *gescīra* as a gloss to 'uicare.' The corresponding O.H.G. word is *scira*, care, employment; see Schade. The A.S. *scīrian* is to distribute, impart, appoint, allot; it is given by Grein under *scērian*, a spelling which does not occur amongst his eight examples. All the evidence leads us away from the verb to *shear*, and suggests a base of the form SKĒN, meaning perhaps to appoint or allot. It is remarkable that the G. *Schirrmeister* sometimes has the sense of 'steward.' This word is related to G. *Geschirr*, implements, harness, gear; an obscure word.

Skirr. See *Scur*.

Skirret, Skerret, a plant closely allied to the water-parsnep. Britten (*Plant-names*) says it is the *Sium sisarum*, often called *water-parsnep*, though the latter is the *Sium latifolium* or *angustifolium*. M.E. *skyrwyrt*; in Wright's *Vocab.* 567. 31 and 41, and 580. 38. Webster considers this word to be a contraction of *sugar-root*, which I believe to be a mistake; I also think he is mistaken in supposing that *skirret* is short for *skir-wort*. On the contrary, *skir-wort*, occurring in Gerarde's *Herbal*, is probably due to a popular etymology of the *cray-fish* character, which delights in putting a sense into *half* the word, irrespective of the other half. The M.E. form *skyrwyrt* goes to shew that this is so. We do, indeed, find that the Dutch for 'skirret' is *suiker-wortel*, the German *sucker-wurzel*, and the Swedish *socker-rot*, but I suppose that these forms arose from a popular etymology, or else have nothing to do with *skirret*. The change from Du. *suiker-wortel* to M.E. *skyrwyrt* is too violent, and we should never have taken it from Swedish. Much more likely, the M.E. *skyrwyrt* was a bad adaptation of the O.F. name for it; the form *eschervis* is given by Godefroy. The Mod. F. form is *chervis*, and Cotgrave has: '*Chervis*, the root *skirret* or *skir-wicke*.' The F. *eschervis* may have been taken from the Span. *chirriera*, and both from the Arab. *karawia*, the identical word which has also produced F. *carvi* and E. *caraway*. This is the opinion of Scheler and Devic, s.v. *chervis*. The fact of an Arabic origin accounts for the strange forms which the word assumed. Moreover, the plant is foreign, being a native of China, Corea, Japan, etc.

Sounder, a herd of wild swine; see *Narcs*. Neither Webster nor Ogilvie give the etymology. The fact is, that the word is slightly disguised by the insertion of an excrescent *d* (as in *sound* from F. *son*). The Old Northumbrian form is *sunor*; see Luke viii. 32 in the Lindisfarne MS., where it translates Lat. *grex*; cf. O. Mercian *suner*, Matt. viii. 32, in the Rushworth MS. The word even found its way, from English, into Anglo-French. I find "un *sundre* de pors," a sounder of pigs, in the A.F. version of Horn, l. 4658.

Sparver, the canopy or tester of a bed; Nares. Nares could not find it in any Dictionary; it may now be found in Godefroy's O.F. Dict., s.v. *espervier*.

Stalwart. Formerly *stahworth*. The solution of A.S. *stæhwyrð* is given by Sievers, O.E. Grammar, ed. 1887, § 202 (3), note 2, p. 106. The *æ* has been shortened before the following *hw*, as in *Acton* from A.S. *æc-tūn*; and *stæ* is a contraction for *stæðel*, *stæðol*, a foundation. Cf. *gestælan* in Grein, short for *gestæðelian*, to found, establish. So also M.E. *melen*, to speak, answers to A.S. *mælan*, which may be short for *mæðlan*. *Stalwart* means, accordingly, 'foundation-worthy,' i.e. firm, steadfast.

Stammer. The Dictionaries do not give us the A.S. form of this verb, which is *stomrian*. 'Me thinceth thæt me sic tunge *stomrige*,' it seems to me that my tongue stammers; Cockayne's Shrine, p. 42, l. 3 from bottom.

Stop. Some Dictionaries give an A.S. *forstoppan* or *forstoppan*, but without a reference. The imp. s. *forstoppa*, stop up, occurs in Cockayne's Leechdoms, ii. 42. It is, however, of Lat. origin. The legal word *estop* is from A.F. *estoper*, also from Latin; see Gloss. to Britton.

Stour, a conflict. This is M.E. *stour*, occurring in Chaucer's Monk's Tale, C.T. Group B, 3560; and still earlier, ab. 1330, in Specimens of English, part 2, p. 91, l. 55. From A.F. *estur*, O.F. *estour*, a conflict, combat, attack; also spelt *estor*, and earlier *estorn*. The form *estorn* is altered from **estorm*; cf. Ital. *stormo*, 'a noise, a storme, an uprore, an hurlyburly, a broile, a quoil,' Florio. See also *estour* in Cotgrave, who gives as one sense 'an assault upon a town,' which is a sense found also in E. *storm*. Hence the derivation is from a Germanic form *storm*, as seen in A.S. and O.S. *storm*, Icel. *stormr*, a storm, also, a conflict. See *Sturm* in Kluge and Schade, and *stormo* in Diez. The loss of *m* after *r* in French, at the end of a word, is regular; thus the Lat. *uermem* gives Ital. *verme*, F. *ver*, a worm; see Schwan, Gram. des Altfr. p. 62, § 219. In the A.F. Romance of Horn, l. 1624, we have *lestur*, the conflict; and, in l. 1572, *la uile est esturmie*, the town is stormed.

Transom. I have suggested that E. *transom* is a corruption of Lat. *transtrum*. This is verified by the following entries in Florio (1598): ‘*Transtri*, crosse or over-thwart beames, *traustroms*.’ And again—‘*Trasti* . . . Also a *transome* or beame going crosse a house.’ Torriano, s.v. *transtri*, gives the spelling *transom*.

Twitch. Somner gives no reference for the A.S. *twiccian*; we find, however, the pt. pl. *twicedan*, in the Shrine, ed. Cockayne, p. 41, l. 2. Also the pr. s. *twiccað*, in Wright’s Voc. ed. Wülker, 533. 37.

Tybalt, prince of cats (Shakespeare). The allusion is to *Tybert* or *Tibert*, the name of the cat in Reynard the Fox. I take *Tybalt* to be a shorter form of *Theobald*, which again is short for *Theodbold*. The variant *Thetbold* occurs as the author of *Physiologus*, of which the English Bestiary is a translation. The A.S. form is *Théodbold*, which occurs in Bede, Hist. Eccl. bk. i. c. 34. It is spelt *Teodbold* in the A.S. Chron. an. 1140. Bardsley’s English Surnames gives the old spellings *Thebold*, *Thebald*, *Tebald*, *Tebaud*, *Tibaud*, *Tibot*, and the modern *Tibbald*, *Tibbat*, *Tebbot*, etc.

Vagrant. I once suggested that *vagrant* is a corruption of the A.F. *wakerant*, wandering. I now find that this A.F. word is the very word used to denote *vagrants*, in the Liber Albus, ed. Riley, p. 275, in the Statute “De *Wakerauntz* par Noet,” i.e. concerning vagrants by night.

WORDS DISCUSSED:—chess, cieling, clever, coble, cosset, costrel, cot, cot-lamb, crack, craier (crare), cross, cudgel, cullis, dogger, dot, draught-house, draughts, fald-stool, fanteagus, firik, fit, fives, flabbergast, flaw, furlong, gallant, gambeson, gambol, garnep, gay, ghound, gidding, gite, glory (hand oil), goluption, gourd, hale, havee, hog, ill, ive, jay, lake, lampas, lampers, latch, lea (1), lea (2), liana, limpet, marry gip, marten, maunder, may-weed, mazzard, mean (moan), meese, melecotone, milk, mite, molland, montanto, monnets, not-pated, omelet, ostrich, pers, picanony, pompelmoose, pull, puss, quassia, quoon, rofit, reveille, rigol, robbins, scramble, scour, scar, shaddock, share, shire, skirr, skirret, sounder, sparver, stalwart, stammer, stop, stour, transom, twitch, Tybalt, vagrant.

XVIII.—ON LATIN CONSONANT-LAWS. By E. R.
WHARTON, M.A.

(Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, December 20, 1889.)

(1) COMPARATIVE Etymology is so complex a science that not even a work of genius like Brugmann's 'Grundriss' can exhaust all the problems that arise. We may here confine ourselves to points in the Latin consonant-system in which Brugmann's remarks may be supplemented by fresh ideas, or in which he has too hastily adopted the views of other philologists, or in which—and this is the one defect of his system—he has paid too little attention to the influence of dialect. Latin, like every other language, at least every written language, is a congeries of dialects, each with phonetic laws of its own; no one of the classical Roman writers except Cæsar was by birth a Roman, and each doubtless imported traces of his own native idiom, Livy his 'Patavinity,' Catullus his (apparently Gaulish) *bāsium gingīva salīva*.—The references are to the sections of vol. i. of the 'Grundriss.' The references to the Romance languages are from Gröber's articles in Wölfflin's 'Archiv.' 'B.R.' denotes Bezzenger's 'Beiträge.' The letters are taken in the following order: Semivowels (j, v), Liquids (m, n, l, r), Mutes (labials, dentals, palatal and velar gutturals), and the Sibilant (s). Letters of the 'Ursprache' are given in capitals.

(2) Initial J drops before i, *dājiciō* and other compounds of *jacio* are properly spelt *dāiciō*, etc. So, I would suggest,

iciō 'strike' stands for **jiciō* from **jeciō* or (with 'pretonic' a, 'Latin Vocalism,')¹ *jacio* 'throw' (for the meaning cf.

¹ I may be permitted to append a note on some points in that essay. Sec. 2, for *similis* read *simpliciter*: sec. 3 fin., on *calix* see 'Loanwords in Latin' 10. Sec. 6, *aboleō* etc. from *atō* are 'survivals' of the older spelling, in which the unaccented vowel became o (*oppositum Hecuba marmor*), later ū.—The change from u to o was apparently rustic, Cato has *jogōlis* beside *jugum*. Sec. 7 fin., add *sevērū*, from SEGV-, see sec. 8 of this essay. Sec. 8, *enc* appears in *juvenētus*: the a in *nancīscor* is pretonic. *Congius* shows that o may remain before ng, and that *longus* is pure Latin. Sec. 10, *foetus* is post-classical for *fētus*, root DHĒ-, cf. *fēō* 'suck': the oe in *foedus* 'dirty' and *saena*, ū in *fūscus sūra*, may be from oi. Sec. 13, to the instances of i from ē add *occido* (Plautus) beside *occidō* 'go

βάλλω, which means both 'throw' and 'strike': Lucretius' *icit* and *icimur* borrow their long vowel from *icit* (a disyllable in 3. 877) for *ēicit*:

igitur 'therefore' means properly 'it is added,' and stands for **jigitur* from **jugitur*, an 'Aoristic' form of *jungitur* (as *tagō* of *tangō*):

bigae 'pair of horses' for **bi-igae* comes from a form **igum* (cf. Old Slavonic *igo*) for **jigum* from *jugum* 'yoke'; while *bi-jugus* comes straight from *jugum*:

Iverna 'Ireland' in Mela beside *Jūverna* in Juvenal points to an intermediate form **Jiverna*.

So New Umbrian *ivengar* 'juvencae' is for **jivengar* from **juvengar*.

(3) Original J¹ between vowels drops out (134); but in three cases it remains, lengthening (see Seelmann 'Aussprache' p. 104) the vowel before it:

(a) in onomatopoeic words, *ēja* (so it should be written, not *eia*: a diphthong *ei-* is unknown to classical Latin) and its derivative *ējulō* 'I wail':

(β) in Reduplication: I would derive

jējentō 'I breakfast' (for **ji-jentō*, the second *j* changing the *i* to *e*) from *jantō* (another form of the word, see Nettleship's 'Contributions to Latin Lexicography': the third form, *jentō*, is a blending of the two preceding forms, it owes its *e* to the reduplicated form), which is, I would suggest, from *jam* in the sense of 'at once,' breakfast being a meal taken immediately on rising:

jējūnus 'fasting' (for **ji-jū-nus*) beside Sanskrit *yu-* 'to bind,' cf. our 'fast' in the sense of abstinence beside 'fast' in the sense of fixt, strict (see Skeat):

to meet,' and *sān-ciput* from *sāmi-*. The *ū* from *ō* was really (cf. sec. 2 fin.) *ū̄*, representable by *ī*, *sāpes* from *sāpes* and (I would suggest) *ronīdeō* 'show the teeth' from *nūdus* i.e. **nōdus*, **nō(g)vidus*, Lithuanian *nūgas*. *Jēcundus* (Catalulus) comes from *forō*, the older form (preserved in Faliscan) of *juvō*. Sec. 14, *plērus* goes with *plēō* 'I fill' (Festus quotes *plentur*).

¹ As distinguished from *j* before which a *g* has dropped, *mājor* *ājō*. So *bōja* (as it should be written, not *boia*) 'collar of wood, iron, or leather' (Facciolati) may = **bog-ja*, though the derivation is quite unknown: the sense, as well as the form, is against any connexion with *βόειος*, quasi 'of cowhide.'—I may observe that *e* before *j* becomes *g* and drops; *pējor* = **pegjor* or **pee-jor* from *peccō*, *pūlējum* 'hebane' = **pūlegjum* (cf. the late form *pūlegium*) or **pūlec-jum* from *pūlec* 'flea,' and, I would add, *bājulus* 'porter' = **bagjulus* or **bac-ju-lus* beside *baculum* 'staff' ('supporter') and Hesychius' *βάκρυς* 'strong.'

(γ) in terminations, e.g. *plēbējus* (so it must be spelt, not *plēbeius*), *ējus* (whatever the origin of the termination here).

(4) Medial DJ in Latin became *di*, e.g. *acupediūs* (135): prima facie we should expect initial DJ to be treated in the same way, and there is really no proof that it ever became J. Brugmann's only instance is *Jovis* beside *Zēús* (for **Διεύς*); but (1) in no other case does the Latin name of a deity correspond with the Greek name, *Jūnō* cannot go with **Ἰπην* nor *Neptūnus* with *Ποσειδῶν*, and (2) the spellings *Diovis* for *Jovis* (Gellius 5. 12. 8 derives both 'a juvando'), *Diuturna* for *Jāturna* (Stolz, 'Lateinische Grammatik' 66¹), only prove that in some sub-dialect initial j was pronounced like English d in *dew*, as in a late inscription (Seelmann p. 239) we have *codiugi* for *co(n)jugi*.—How DJ could become j in *Jovis* (135) but *di* in *diēs* (188), Brugmann does not explain; not to add that inscriptions and the Romance languages prove the *i* in *diēs* to have been properly long (which does away with the connexion with Sanskrit *dyāus* 'sky, day').

(5) The existence of a 'spirant' J (our authorities do not tell us how they would have us pronounce it), distinct from the original semivowel J, is neither proved nor probable. Greek in some six words² represents original initial J by ζ, ζεία ζέω ζημία ζυγόν ζώνη ζώνη go with Sanskrit *yavas yas- yam- yugam yāshas* and Zend *yāh-* respectively; but in these words I would rather suggest the presence of some alien language, the ζ need no more be original than Lat. *dj* for *j* in *Diovis* (above). A peculiarity confined to one out of the eight branches of the Aryan family—and in all the other branches this 'spirant' J is treated in just the same way as the ordinary semivowel J—may fairly be assigned to foreign influence.

(6) Latin V, whether original or from GV, after *ū* remains in

¹ Stolz adds *Dionus* (in an inscription) for *Jūnus*; but in *Diānus* the *i* must have been long, as it was in *Diānu*.

² To these I would add the terminational -ζε 'at' (in *ἐραζε χαμᾶζε* 'on the ground,' *θύραζε* 'to the door,' *Ἀθήραζε* 'to Athens') or -ζην (in Thucydides' *βύζην* 'closely') beside Latin *jam* 'now, at this time.' The common view is that *θύραζε* stands for **θύρας-δε*, and that *ἐραζε χαμᾶζε* follow its analogy: but (1) no instance of ζ from *zd* is worth much, *δζας* (593) may go with Lithuanian *ūgis* (B. R. 4. 359), ζέω for **ζεω* is no more strange than *ἴσως* beside *egums* (in which Brugmann, 387, sees nothing surprising), *Διδζορος* is only a Bœotian form for *Διδζοδρος* (Gustav Meyer 'Griechische Grammatik' 2 283), and (2) 'analogy' hardly enables us to conceive a *Plural* from *ἐρα*, a form **ἐρας-δε* becoming *ἐραζε* (or **χαμᾶς-δε* becoming *χαμᾶζε*).

classical Latin only if *j* precede, *juvenis juvō*, or if *i* from original *J* follow, *exuviae fluvius* (cf. Vergil's *fluxorum*) *pluvius puvio* ('strike,' Festus); otherwise it drops, *exuō fluō pluio*, *duo* beside Umbrian *tuva*, *dēnuō* for *de novo* (modern Latin, not classical), *viduus* from **viduvus* for **videvos* (cf. ἡΐθεος, i.e. *ἡ-FiθεFos). So *soros* beside *ē(F)ōs* became **survus* and then *suus*, **toros* beside *τē(F)ōs* became **tuvus* and then *tuus*, *pover* (Corssen 'Aussprache' 2 l. p. 362) became **puver* and then *puer*.

(7) The assimilation of *V* to a preceding *L* (170) must have been Oscan: *sollus* 'whole' (Oscan according to Festus) must = **solvus* and go with *οἰλαος* (i.e. *ἰλFos). So *mella* for **melya* from **medva* seems to go with *μέθυ* 'wine' and Lithuanian *medus* 'honey' (Stokes, Neoceltic Verb Substantive, p. 7); *mollis* is for **molvis*, see sec. 21; *palleō* for **palveō* goes with Anglosaxon *fealu* 'yellow' and English *fallow*. So, I would suggest, the late form *milliō* 'a kind of hawk' beside *mīlvus* 'kite' must stand for **mīlvio*: for the terminations cf. *pūmīliō* beside *pūmīlus*.

(8) The fortunes of *V* after *D* or *S* (170, cf. Fröhde in B.B. 14. 108-113) are very complex, and show the influence of several different dialects.

(α) *dv-* might either remain or become *du-* or *d-* or *b-*. Thus:

dvellum (Plautus) becomes in Ennius and Horace *duellum* (in Cicero and Livy we may of course read the word either way), in ordinary Latin *bellum*:

**dvīs* (corresponding to *ēis*) becomes in Festus *duis* (his words, 'et pro *ēis* ponebatur et pro dederis,' show that he took it as a disyllable), in ordinary Latin *bīs*: the older form was *dis*, which remains in compounds to denote 'division,' and with it go (I would suggest) *dē* 'from' (denoting 'separation') and *dīrus* 'evil' ('different' from what should be), while *dēs* (Varro L.L. 5. 172) and *dīmus* (Stolz 66) were the older forms of *bēs* and *bīmus*:

dvonus (so apparently in early inscriptions; there is no proof that it was ever a trisyllable) became in ordinary Latin *bonus*. The derivation of both this and *dvellum* is wholly unknown, no etymology yet given is worth reviving.

Similarly medial *dv* became *du* (cf. *duellum duis* above) in *arduus* beside Sanskrit *ardhvas* (Brugmann should not, 306, have added ὀρθός, as this stands for **Fopθός*, Gustav Meyer 9): *svāvis* (cf.

īdūs) must be dialectic for **avābis*, as **svādvis* would become in ordinary Latin.

(β) *sv-* might either remain or become *su-* or *s-*. It remains in (a) *svāvis* (as it must be written), which becomes *suāvīs* (trissyllabic) in Sedulius (fifth century of our era) and the Romance languages, while a form **sāvis* appears in *sāvillum* 'cake of flour, cheese, and honey,' and *sāvium* 'kiss' (also spelt *svāvium*), a popular perversion of **vāsium* (see sec. 16) or *bāsium* (itself apparently Gaulish, 'Loanwords in Latin' 12), as though from *svāvis*; and (b) the Reflexive Pronoun Adjective *svos* (answering to *śe* 'his,' as *sovos* does to *śōc*, i.e. **śFōs*: Lucretius has *svēmus* from *svos*, while *suēmus suēvi suētus* are from *svus*) in Plautus, cf. Lucr. l. 1022 *svō*, while Festus quotes old forms *sam sās sīs* from it.—In all other words the *v* drops, leaving however a trace of its presence in the change of *ě* to *ō*, *socer* beside *ěkupōs* (172. 3¹): *sē* 'himself' is for **svē* (cf. Sanskrit *sva-*), *sī* for **svī* (Oscan *svai*, 'Latin Vocalism' 15), *sordēs* for **svordēs* (the *or* representing a 'sonant' *r*: the fuller form *SVARD-* appears in *svāsum* 'dark colour,' sec. 15, cf. Gothic *svarts* 'black,' and, I would add, *āpda* 'dirt').

(9) In (apparently) the popular dialect *vi* when unaccented (i.e. when not in the initial syllable) fell out, wholly or partially; but why sometimes wholly, *amānti* from *amāvisti*, *trahō* from *trāvchō*, sometimes partially, *claudō* from **clāvidō* (cf. *clāvis*), *gaudeō* from **gāvideō* (cf. the Participle *gāvīsus*), our authorities do not stoop to explain. I can only suggest that the older dialect changed *āvi* to *au*, *claudō gaudeō* (*clāvis gāvīsus* must belong to some other dialect), the later to *ā*, *amānti trahō* (from **trāhō*, an intermediate *h* not preventing the usual shortening of vowel before vowel).

(10) To Brugmann's instances (208) of the change of *MJ* to *ni* I would add *lanius* 'butcher,' one who breaks up meat, from a root *LAM-* 'to break,' which appears in Old Slavonic *lomiti* 'to break,' English *lame* ('broken') and the slang verb *lamm* 'to beat' (for which Johnson quotes Beaumont and Fletcher).

(11) *MN* is a favourite combination in Latin, e.g. *abunvus lūmna*:

¹ *Sevērus* 'stern' ('fixt') must go with Lithuanian *segu* 'I fix,' not with *śėšw* 'I worship' (as though this were from **śféyfw*), or we should have **sovērus*. *Sex* is not for **svex* (170), it has not lost a *v* any more than *ěg* or Gothic *svihs* has, though there are perplexing by-forms *SVEKS* (Welsh *chwēch*), *VEKS* (*Fēg* and Armenian *veths*), and *KVSVEKS* (Zend *kshkrash*).

its change to **nn** must be dialectic, cf. Umbrian *uno* (for **unne*) beside *unne* 'unguent.' In Varro L.L. 5. 168 for *scannum* one manuscript has *scannum*; *ante-mna* 'yard-arm' ('opposite' the mast, *ante*, cf. *avri* 'against') and *soll-omnis* 'appointed' (from *sollus* 'whole,' see sec. 7, +**annus* 'circuit,' Oscan *anno*-) are also written *antenna* and *sollennis*.

(12) **NM** in compounds (e.g. *immītis*) becomes **mm**, in derivatives **rm**: *carmen* must go with *canō*, *germen* with *genus* and *gignō*, *nōrma* (as I have suggested, 'Loanwords in Latin' p. 4) with *nōna*, the carpenter's square being shaped like the letter L, the 'ninth' in the Faliscan and Etruscan alphabets. In some Sabellian dialect **m** before **f** seems similarly, even in compounds, to have become not **n** but **r**: *Corfinium*, the capital of the Paeligni, must, I would suggest, have been named from its situation on the 'confines' of the Vestini and Marrucini.

(13) In one dialect **r** must have been dropt after **st**: hence the spellings *frūstum mediastinus praestīgiae* beside *frūstrum mediastrinus praestīgiae*, and the epigraphic *ministorum* (Corssen i. p. 245) *stavit* (Seelmann p. 330) for *ministrorum stravit*. *Mediastrinus* 'hobbledehoy, between boyhood and manhood,' comes from **mediaster* (which stands to *medius* as *surdaster* to *surdus*: both on the analogy of Greek Verbs in -άζω, e.g. *μητέραζω* 'take after my mother') as, I would suggest, *clandestinus* (for **clandestrinus*) from **clandester*, **clandus* (*clam*): *praestīgiae* 'glamour,' comes, I would suggest, from *striga* 'witch.'—So (see Kluge in Paul's 'Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie' p. 332-3) **spr-** in some Teutonic dialects became **sp-**, German *sprechen* = Eng. *speak*.

(14) In some nine words we find **er** from original **ri** (which sometimes stands for **ru** with a 'modified' **u**, 'Latin Vocalism' 1) or **rī**: both (1) in the accented syllable, *ter ternī* beside *tri-trīnī*, *tēstis* (i.e. **terstis*) beside Oscan *tristaamentud*, and, I would add, *cervix* 'neck' beside Old Slavonic *krivū* 'bent' (so Old Slavonic *eratū* 'neck' is from *eratiti* 'to turn'), *terō* beside *tritus* (i.e. **trūtus*) and *τρῶω*: and (2) in the unaccented syllable, *acerbus* beside Old Slavonic *ostrū* (with inserted *t*), *hibernus* (for **hīm-ri-nus*¹) beside

¹ In Latin **m** before **r** becomes **b**, *brevis* for **mregvis* goes with Gothic *gamaurg-jan* 'to shorten'; and so, I would suggest, before **r** (see below), *tuber* for **tūmr* beside *tumēō*.

χερσεννός (which differs only by having a fuller stem), *nov-er-ca* beside *vit-ri-cus* (on this see sec. 22), *quater* beside *quadru-*, *sacerdōs* for **sacridōs* from **sacrodōs*. Two other instances commonly given must be rejected: *cernō tergō* cannot go with *κρίνω τρίβω*, or the Perfects would be not *ερέει τερᾶ* but **ερίει* **τριει*.—Brugmann (33), following Osthoff ('Morphologische Untersuchungen' 4. 1-3), would confine this phenomenon to unaccented *ri* between consonants,¹ supposing, e.g. *tēstis* to follow the analogy of *contēstor*. But (1) it cannot seriously be pretended that *tēstis* is a younger word than *contēstor*; (2) unaccented *ri* remains between consonants in *vitricus*, as unaccented *ri* does in *apricus*; (3) in *terō* the *er* is not between consonants, and yet this word cannot go with *τέρω*, or we could not account for *τριει* or *tritius*. I would rather suggest that the retention of *ri*, accented or unaccented, may be due to Oscan influence, cf. *tristaamentud*, and its change to *er* to some other dialect, which preferred close syllables as conversely (281) Old Slavonic prefers open ones. In Umbrian, as in Latin, both dialects appear, we have *tripler* beside *tertiam*.

Similarly Brugmann explains the Nominatives *ager ācer* as standing for **agros* **āceris*, the *er* representing a sonant *r*. I would rather suggest that in these words the *e* was originally long (with **ācer* cf. *patēr* in Aen. 5. 521), and that the termination is due to the desire to distinguish Nominative from oblique cases by forming it from a fuller stem. So in Umbrian we have Nom. Sing. *pacer* 'pacified' from the longer stem, Nom. Plur. *paer-er* from the shorter: conversely in *ἀγρός*, Gothic *akrs*, Sanskrit *ajras*, the Nominative follows the analogy of the other cases. On Brugmann's principles it is difficult to see why, if **agros* became *ager*, **agrom* (*agrum*) did not become **agerm* (or **agerem*).

(15) The combination *rs* (§71) before a consonant loses the *r*,

¹ Stolz in 'Wiener Studien' 9. 304 sq. holds that *er* represents a sonant *r* developed within the Latin language, or or *ur* one inherited from the Ursprache: I would rather suggest that, as in other cases of the change from *o* to *u* ('Latin Vocalism' 2 fin., cf. *similis* beside *δμᾶλός*, *ἕλιος* from *locus*), so here also the *u* was a 'modified' *u*, representable by *i*, which in the unaccented syllable would before the *r* become *e*, as in *uber* beside *οὔδαρ*, *inferus* compared with *ἰνφῦν*, and (see sec. 22) *iterum* *uterus*. So *i* is represented by *ol*, *ul*, or *il*, e.g. *stabilis* (beside *stabilum*) *rutilus* (see sec. 22).—It is only in the unaccented syllable that the combination *ir* is forbidden ('Latin Vocalism' 6); hence we may see that this change from *ri* to *er* is no metathesis, or we should have **tir* **tistis* **cirvia* **tirō* instead of *ter* *tēstis* *corvix* *terō*.

and in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened: *fāstīgium* 'top' = **farstīgium* (cf. Anglosaxon *byrst* 'bristle'), *pōscō* = **porscō* from **pore-scō* (cf. *precor*): while before *n* the *s* also goes, *cēna* = **cēsna* from **cērsna* (Umbrian *çerana*-). Before a vowel the *rs*, if original, becomes *rr*, *horreō* 'bristle' = **horseō* (Sanskrit *harṣh*); but if the *s* represent either *x* (from original *kth*, 554 fin.) or *ss* (from original *tt* or *dt*), the *rs* remains, *ursus* beside *ἄρκτος* and Sanskrit *ṛkṣhas*, *dorsum* (I would suggest) for **dort-tum* (cf. Irish *druim* for **dort-men*: *δειρή* 'neck' can hardly be connected), *morsus* for **mord-tas*. But in some (perhaps rustic) dialect *rs* from *rss* (for *rtt*) before a vowel was treated just as before a consonant, the *r* dropping and the preceding vowel lengthening, *prōsa rūsum sūsum* for **prōrsa rūrsum sūrsum* from **prōrt-ta* **rūrt-tum* **sūrt-tum* (contractions, i.e., of *prō-rorsa re-rorsum sur-rorsum*, all from *vortō*), and see *evāsūm* (i.e. **svard-tum*) sec. 8: later the *s* was written double and the vowel before it pronounced short, *russum*, *dossum*, *pessum* (from **persum*, as Plautus' 'Persa me pessum dedit,' Persa 737, proves: the further derivation is not so clear, if it = **perd-tum* from *perdō* it is difficult to get for it the meaning 'down,' which seems to have been the original one).

(16) Apparently one dialect made *B* into *v*, another made *V* into *b*; but many of the words in which those changes occur are etymologically so obscure that we cannot always tell which sound was the original one. The commonest change was from *V* to *b*: for *bovile* (quoted from Cato) the ordinary form was *bubile*, and from **bovulus* (from the same root) must have come *bubulus*: the change was most common after *r*, *arvina* 'fat' (i.e., I would suggest, 'accretion,' from **arvus* Adjective of *ar*, *ad*) appears in Festus as *orbilla*, *corvus* has another form *corbus* (which reappears in the Romance languages), *curvus* must also have (according to the Romance languages) been spelt *curbus*, *ferveo* seems more original than *ferbeō* (the Perfect however is always *ferbuā*, a dialectic form retained to avoid the collocation *ru*), *sorvum* ('service-berry'; so spelt in one manuscript of Pliny) if it goes with Sanskrit *śravā* 'a plant' must be older than *sorbum*, *urvum* 'ploughshare' (Oscan *uruvā* 'bent') than *urbum*: so *gilvus* is in late Latin spelt *gilbus*. On the other hand *sēbum* 'tallow,' if it is really a dialectic spelling for **saebum* and goes with our *soap* (see Kluge under *seife*), must be

more original than *sēvum*; and *morbus* than *morvus*, the spelling substantiated by the Romance languages. But whether *bāsium* (apparently Gaulish), *batillum* ('fire-pan'), *berbēx* ('wether': so one manuscript has in Petronius 57), are more original forms than **vāsium* (whence *sāvium*, if I am right above, sec. 8), *vatillum*, *vervēr*, etymology does not tell us.

(17) The combination **bl** in Latin is found at the beginning of a few words, *blaesus blandus blaterō blatiō blatta*, and in compounds, *ē-blandior ab-lātus* etc.; but otherwise in no pure-Latin word but *pūblicus*, in which it represents BD, as Umbrian *popōdike* shows (*poplicus*, from *populus*, must be quite another word).—The combination **bl** is common enough in terminations, where ('Grundriss' 2, p. 202) it represents original DHL, e.g. *stabulum stabilis*;¹ otherwise it is found only in *scabellum* or *scabillum* 'bench' (presupposing a form **scabulum*, whence would come *scabel-lum*, the second vowel becoming *e* before a double consonant), where it represents original BH-L, cf. Sanskrit *skabh-* 'to support.' But what are we to make of *scamillus* in Vitruvius, and Terentius Scaurus' 'alii scamillum [*scapillum* is only a conjecture, and apparently a figment] alii scabillum dicunt'? I can only suggest that before terminational **l** one dialect retained the **b** at the end of the root (*scabellum*), another changed it to **p** (*scapulae* 'shoulder-blades,' i.e. as I would suggest, 'supporting burdens'), a third made it into **m** (*scamillum*): thus I would connect (α) *stipula* 'stalk' and *stimulus* 'stake' (so Cuesar uses the word) beside Old Slavonic *stǔblo* or *stǔblo* 'stalk, trunk of a tree'; (β) *con-cipulō*² 'finish off' and *cumulus* 'heap' (both from KVUB-, cf. KVOUB- in Anglosaxon *heap*, English *heap*), cf. *cumulō* in the sense of 'finish.'

(18) An epigraphic form of *et* is *ed* (Corssen l. p. 194); it appears, I would suggest, in *edepol* as a condensed expression for 'ē Castor ed e Pol,'³ O Castor and O Pollux, and in *idēō* 'therefore' for *ed ed* 'and by that.' This change of final **t** to **d** seems to be Oscan,

¹ Cf. Umbrian *staflavem*. There is no particular reason in such cases for supposing the forms with **l** to be younger than those with **l**: rather they belonged to a different dialect.

² Plaut. *Truculentus* 621 (Schoell) quem ego jam jam concipulabo (another reading *concupilabo*). Festus takes the word as = 'scize,' *corripio*, apparently deriving it from *concupiō* 'take hold of'; but there are no parallels to such a formation.

³ With *ē*, *ē*, cf. the Greek interjections *η*, *ε*, respectively.

Corssen l. 195: parallel to it is the Latin change of *ap (whence *aperiō*) *op (whence *opīnor* 'I put before myself, think,' and, I would suggest, *oportet* 'the occasion arises, it is necessary,' from *orior*) *sup (whence *supīnus*) to *ab ob sub*; *volup* on the other hand has preserved its *p*.

(19) The change of *d* to *l* in Latin must have come from some neighbouring sub-dialect, beside Umbrian *fameḍias* 'families' we have Oscan *famel* 'slave,' whence Latin *famulus*: in Umbrian, *tribḍiḡu* 'trebling' and *tripler* 'three' (cf. Latin *triplex*) appear on the same tablet of the Eugubine Tables, but whether they are dialectic forms from the same stem it is hard to say, nor does the termination *bdō* (or *plo*) appear in other languages. Brugmann (369) gives nine examples of the phenomenon, *lacruma levīr limpa* (i.e. *lympa*) *oleō solium solum-solea ulīgō* (doubtful: why not from **avilis* rather than *avidus*?) *mālus*: Stolz (51 and 9) has nine more, *alipēs calamitūs impelimentum larix laurus lingua mulier praesiliūm miles* (from *μισθός*, Bartholomae in B.B. 12. 90; but on Brugmann's principles, 594, the Latin form should be **mistes*): other philologists have added (besides proper names, *Aquilōnia Capitōlium Novensiles Pollūx Silicīno*: in *Uliāēs* the change was apparently already made in Greek, *Ὀλυτεός*, Gustav Meyer 171) the following fifteen instances, *an-cile* (caedō) *baliolus* ('dark,' *badius*) *cassila* (*cassida* 'helmet') *con-sul* (sedco) *dēlicō* (*dōdicō*) *largus* (cf. *ἐδλιχός*) *lautia* ('banquet,' *dautia*: *lautus* 'sumptuous' must be connected) *melipontus* ('rope,' also spelt *medipontus*) *reliuivum* ('agnuil,' cf. *reduvia*) *simila* ('wheat-flour,' *σμιδάλης*, itself doubtless foreign) *almus* (cf. New Umbrian armor 'ceremonies': it must go with *ad*, not *alō*) *mella* (*μέθυ*, see sec. 7) *pūblius* (see above) *sella* (*sedda*, Terentius Scaurus in Keil 7. 13) *ultrā* (cf. Sanskrit *ud* 'out'). I would further add the following 18 instances, making altogether (without proper names) 51 or, excluding doubtful cases, 48:

ad-ūlor from *audiō*, cf. *ob-uediō*:

al-acer from *ad*+*a* byform (with short vowel) of *ācer*; *al-apa*
'slap' from *apiscor* 'reach'; *al-ūta*, 'Loanwords in Latin' 3:

lanīsta beside *danīsta*, 'Loanwords' 7:

mīlvus 'kite,' for **smīdvus*, cf. English *smite* (?):

pōliō, cf. *σποδέω* 'beat':

scūlae, **scādae*, cf. *scandō*:

sileō 'settle down' from *sedeō*; and *sili-cērnium* 'feast (see sec. 15 on *cēna*) at which they sat':

soleō 'go my way,' and *solvō* 'let go,' beside *ódós* 'way':

squālor (i.e. **squādor*) beside *equā-ma* 'scale' (for **squād-ma*):

strigilis 'flesh-brush' from **στρεγίδα* Accusative of **στρεγίς*, a by-form of *στρεγγίς*, see Liddell and Scott under *στλεγγίς*:

with *d* from *DII*,

caelebs 'bachelor' from *caedō* in the sense of 'separate,' cf. Gothic *skaidan* 'to divide':

medior beside *medius*, 'moderate' (a *λιτότης*, saying less than one means):

stilus 'stake,' for **studus*, cf. Anglosaxon *studu* 'pillar':

and, with *d* from *sd*, *ZDH*,

mēlēs or (Caper in Keil 7. 110) *mālēs* 'marten' beside Anglo-saxon *meard*.

(20) The change of *d* to *r* appears in Umbrian (Old Umbrian has both *teđtu* and *tertu* 'dato'; New Umbrian has *arfertur* 'adfertor' beside *arsfertur* and Old Umbrian *ađfertur*, and *tribrisino* beside Old Umbrian *tribđiđu*), Marsian (*apur*), and Volscian (*ar*); it remains in the modern Neapolitan dialect, Seelmann p. 311. Brugmann's instances (369) in Latin are

apor (Festus) for *apud*:

ar (for *ad*), used by Plautus, and familiar in the compounds *arbiter* *arcēssō*: Priscian's *arger* for the ordinary *agger* (i.e. **ad-ger*) reappears in the Romance languages: I would add *arma* and *armentum* 'cattle,' both meaning 'appendages.'

Stolz (51) gives five more words: *cūr* for **quō-d* Ablative of *quī* or *quis*; *maređus* for *madidus*; *merīdiēs* for *medīdiēs* (which Varro L.L. 6. 4 had seen at Praeneste: on this see below); *quirquir* Varro L.L. 7. 8 for *quidquid*; *simitur* in an inscription for **simitū-d* (cf. *simitū* 'together'). He might have added *glārea* 'gravel' beside *χλῆῆος* 'rubbish,' and *medula* (Isidore, Origines 12. 7. 69) for *merula* 'blackbird' (which unhappily does away with the ingenious connexion of *merula* with our *ousel*). In these two, as in *Larinum* for Oscan *Ladīno-*, the *r* (instead of *l*) from *d* might be accounted for by a desire to avoid two *l*'s close together; but our other

instances are against this explanation, and show that this *r* from *d* is merely dialectic. Varro L.L. 5. 110 derives *perna* ('ham') 'a pede,' which must point to a dialectic form *pere*: Consentius (Keil 5. 392) marks *perēs* as barbarous, but it remains (see Seelmann as above) in the Neapolitan dialect. I would add the following 12 instances:

careō 'want' beside *κεκαδών* 'depriving':

hirūdō 'swallow' for **hedūdōn* beside *χελιδών* for **χεδιδών* (it seems impossible to dissociate the words): with *λ* from *δ* see sec. 19 on *Ἰαλυτεός*, with *τ* from a long 'modified' *u* cf. *ι* from a short modified *u* in Lesbian *ἔψος* for *ἕψος*:

mereō 'have measured out to me, earn,' from MED-, Gothic *mitan* 'to measure':

plōrō 'beat the breast' beside *plōdō* 'beat':

varius 'dappled' beside *badius* 'brown' (whence also *balialis*, see sec. 19) and Irish *buide* 'yellow': the original form must have been *grodīōs*:

accērsō 'summon' for **ac-cēd-sō* from *cēdō* 'go':

mergus 'diver,' Sanskrit *madgus*: to suppose (590) that *dg* here comes from ZGV is preposterous:

virga 'wand' for **vidga*, German *wisch* 'whisk' (see Kluge), our *wisk* ('the *h* is intrusive,' Skeat) and *wisp* (596):

and, with *d* from DH,

caerimōnia 'veneration' from *caedō* (see above, sec. 19, on *caelebs*), with the idea of separation, exclusiveness:

merus 'simple,' i.e. 'central, essential,' for **medus* 'middle,' whence *medulla* 'marrow' ('in the middle' of the bone), and, I would suggest, *medeor* 'heal, stand in the way of the disease.' Irish *medōn* 'μέσων,' and the town-names *Μεθώνη* and *Ἀθήναι* (the latter from the shorter form MDH-, sec. 26), prove that in *medius* and its cognates (as in *alt-us* beside *al-ter*) the *i* or *j* is terminational. From *merus*, not from *medius*, comes *merīdiēs*, formed from the Locative *merī-diē* (cf. *quotī-diē*):

ergā 'opposite,' and *ergō* 'on account of,' from EDH- in Sanskrit *adhī* 'up' and (with 'pretonic' *a*) Latin *ad-* in *adimō* *adsurgō* *ascendō* *attollō*, + a termination GVO ('Grundriss' 2. 91):

firmus (the *i* is short in the Romance languages, but in the town-name *Firminum*, which must have meant 'the stronghold,' Latin inscriptions make it long) from *fidō*, 'trust-worthy.'

(21) There is no proof that *LD* ever became *ll* in Latin (369). *Sallō* 'I salt' stands for **sal-nō* as *fallō* (Stolz 103) for **fal-nō* (the Participle *salsus* no more proves that *sallō*=**saldō* than *falsus* proves that *fallō*=**faldō*, which nobody has yet pretended): it is very unlikely that Latin had two words for salt, *sal* and **saldus*. So *percellō* 'throw down'=**per-cel-nō*, cf. Lithuanian *kalti* 'to strike' (Fröhde in B.B. 3. 306): **percellō* could not give a Perfect *perculi*. *Mollis* for **molvis*, see sec. 7, goes with Gothic *ga-mat-rjan* 'to crush' and English *mellow*, not with Sanskrit *mṛḍus*, with which Brugmann connects it (though this on his principles could only give **mollvis*, **molvis*, and he has before, 170, doubted whether *lv* ever becomes *ll*).

(22) On the Latin aversion to the combination *dr* I have touched in 'Latin Vocalism' 5 note: the aversion appears even in borrowed words, *κέδρος* became in Old Latin *citrus* (Naevius has *citrosus*: *cedrus* first in Vergil), *Cassantra* and (with *t* from the oblique cases) *Alexanter* were the old forms of *Cassandra Alexander* (Quintilian 1. 4. 16): *quadru-* may be Celtic, and to it *quadra* owes the preservation of its *d*, in all other words the *d* before *r* becomes *t*. Thus I would explain

atrōx from **at-rus* (as *ferōx* from *ferus*: the *a* is 'pretonic') beside *odium*:

nūtrix or *nōtrix* (Quintilian) from **nōt-rus* beside *νῆψμος* (*ō* an Ablaut of *ē*) 'refreshing' and Sanskrit *nand-* 'to enjoy':

taetrum 'foul' beside *taedet* 'it wearies':

ūtrem (from **ōtrem*) 'skin' beside Lithuanian *ūda*:

and, with *d* from *DH* (as it may be in *ūtrem* also),

palpebra 'eyelid' (Caper in Keil 7. 110, beside *palpebra*, which must belong to another dialect: the Romance languages substantiate both forms) with a termination *DIRĀ*, 'Grundriss' 2. p. 202:

vitricus 'stepfather,' which I would explain as 'belonging to the widow,' **vit-ra* a byform of *vidua* from a root *VIDH-*.

The same law obtains before a sonant *r*, represented (see sec. 14, note) by *er*: *uterus* is for **ud-rus* beside Sanskrit *udaram*, and, I would suggest, *iterum* 'again' (coming *back*) for **ed-rum* (with *d* from *DH*) beside Anglosaxon *ed-* 'back' and Sanskrit *adhi* 'up' (see sec. 20, fin., on *ergā*, and for the transition of meaning cf. *ādā* 'up, back'). So, I would add, *d* (from *DH*) before *l* became *t*, *rutilus* is for **rudlus* (cf. *ῥυθρός*).

(23) The Oscan assimilation of *x* to *ss* ('Loanwords in Latin' 7) appears in *assis* (Vitruvius, see Key) *nassa* (whence the Romance forms) *tosillae* (see Nettleship: the form *tonsillae* is due to a popular connexion with *tonsa* 'oar,' the tonsils being compared to poles) *trissagō* ('germander,' Facciolati; the form does not seem to occur in Pliny) beside *axis nava toxillae trixagō*, *amussis* from *ἄμυξις*, *paussillus* (for **paussillus*) beside *pauzillus*, and, I would suggest, *pessimus* for **peximus* from *peccō* (see sec. 3, note, on *pējor*). So, I would suggest, the curious triple forms *assula astula acsula* 'splinter,' *pessulus pestulus pexulus*¹ 'bolt,' point respectively to originals **ad-tla* ('rising up,' from *ad-*, see above) **ped-tlus* (the bolt being the 'foot' of the door), in which either

(a) the *dt* became as usual *ss*, *assula pessulus*: or

(β) *dtl* became *stl* as *dtr* became *str* (e.g. *monstrum* from *MONDH-*, cf. *μαθῆν*), *astula pestulus*: or

(γ) by a 'contamination' of *ss* (from *dt*) and *cl* (from *TL*) we get **ascula* **pesculus*, and by metathesis (see next paragraph) *acsula pexulus*.

One dialect must have changed *x* (of whatever origin) to *sc*: cf. Lesbian *σκιφος* for *ξίφος*, Old French *vescut* 'lived' from Latin **viscūtum* for *vixūtum* (Seelmann p. 339), as conversely Anglosaxon *vaxan* for *vasean* 'to wash' and our dialectic *ax* for *ask*. Thus *assculus* 'winter-oak' is for **aeg-s-ulus* from *AIG-*, Eng. *oak*: *ascia* 'axe' = **axia*, Eng. *axe* (Gothic *aqizi* is from the longer stem *AGV-ES-1*):

luscus 'one-eyed,' I would suggest, = *luxus* 'dislocated,' beside *λοξός* 'slanting,' and (with the same Metathesis as in *luscus*) Irish *losc* 'lame, blind':

viscum 'mistletoe,' cf. *ῥσκαί* 'fungus,' goes with *ῥξός* 'mistletoe':

¹ Capser in Keil 7. 111 *pessulum* (another reading *pexulum*) non *pestulum*.

viscus 'inner parts' with *ἰξός* 'waist,' from the idea of softness, fleshiness.

(24) The reason why final *ga* in trisyllables became *ca* I have explained in 'Loanwords in Latin' 7 γ: Latin had in such cases an ending *ca*, *fabrica pedica juvenea* etc., but no ending *ga*, and hence trisyllables in which the *g* was part of the root were treated as if it were part of the ending, and changed it to *c*. Thus we may explain (I do not know whether any one has done it before: in such matters it is difficult to be as cocksure¹ as our masters the Germans always are) not only the loanwords *amurea spalunca* beside *ἀμόργη σπήλυγγα*, but also

fulica 'coot' for **fuliga* beside German *belche* (on which see Kluge):

pertica 'pole' beside *pertingō* 'reach':

sublica 'stake' (according to Festus a Volscian word) beside *subligō* 'bind on': and, I would suggest,

praefica 'hired mourner' beside *pingō* 'pretend.'

The only exception I know of is *caliga* 'sandal,' which I would suggest is borrowed from **κάλυγα* a by-form (cf. *ὄρυγα* beside *ὄρυκα*) of *κάλυκα* 'husk,'² and as a Greek word retained its *g*.

(25) Why does *g* sometimes remain before *m*, sometimes drop? Brugmann (506) derives *agmen* from *ǺG-*, *exāmen* from *ĀG-*: but (1) there is no particular reason why the root-vowel should be short in the one case and long in the other, and (2) a vowel before *gm* was always long by position (Marx, 'Hilfsbüchlein' ² p. 2), the *a* in *agmen* was just as long as the *a* in *exāmen*. The real difference, I would suggest, was that the *a* in *agmen* was accented, the *a* in *exāmen* was not (according to the Latin system, in which the first syllable had the stress-accent, whatever the quantity of the second

¹ 'I wish I was as cocksure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything' (Lord Melbourne).

² This may be added to my list of instances of Roman wit, such as it was, in 'Loanwords' p. 4: together with
abdōmen 'holder, belly,' see sec. 27:
emolumentum 'grinding out, gain':
faenus 'harvest (from *faenum* 'hay'), interest':
lacertus 'lizard, muscle of the arm,' from some fancied resemblance:
rabula 'mad dog (from *rabiō* 'rave'), advocate':
sartagō 'putting things in good order (i.e., I would suggest, making them *sarta*), frying pan':
scabellum 'bed-step' and so 'castanet,' inserted in the performer's shoe:
venter 'wind-bag (i.e., I would suggest, from *ventus*), belly.'

syllable). So we have *augmen figmentum fragmen magmentum pigmentum sagmen segmen strigmentum tegmen*, but *contāminō*¹ *subtāmen* (from *tegō*) *sufflāmen* ('clog,' going with Anglosaxon *balc* 'beam'). On the other hand *ablegmina antepagmentum coagmenta exagmen* (another spelling of *exāmen*) owe the retention of their *g* to 'Ro-composition' (see 'Latin Vocalism' 9) and so do not come under our rule; while

flāmen 'priest' is not for **flagmen* (Sanskrit *brahman-*), but for **flād-mon*, cf. Gothic *blōtan* 'to worship':

flamma not for **flagma* (*flagrō*), but, I would suggest, for **flāma* ('blast') from *flō* (for the spelling cf. *dūmma* beside *dūma*):

jūmentum, originally 'a carriage,' Gellius 20. 1, not for **jugmentum*, but (as Columella suggests) from *juvō* 'help,' or rather from a by-form **juvō* whence the Perfect *jūvī*:

plūma 'feather' not for **plūgma* (Anglosaxon *fleōgan* 'to fly'), but from PLŪ-, cf. Sanskrit *plu-* 'float.'

Exactly similar is the fate of *g* before *n*: it remains in the accented syllable, *cygnus dignus*, drops in the unaccented, *arānea* ('Loanwords' 7 β) *indānis* (from, I would suggest, **āgnis*, going with *ἀχῆν* 'poor,' and, with a nasal, *angustus* 'narrow'; the *in* meaning no more than in *incānus inclutus incolūmis* beside *cānus clutus colūmis*, or, I would add, *invidus* 'jealous, standing aloof' beside *dī-vidō*, *invitus* 'forced' beside *vis*). On the other hand *apru-gnus* (Plautus; Pliny's *apru-nus* or *apru-nus* must be a different word, a direct derivative from *aper*) and *beni-gnus* keep their *g* to show that they are Compounds.

Before *M*, which in Latin in the unaccented syllable may be written *um* or *im*, a 'fixt' velar *g* (represented in Sanskrit by *g*, and not labialised in any language) remains, *tegumen* or *tegimen*; a labialisable velar is represented by *v*, which in all extant Latin drops with the following *i*, *flāmen frūmentum ūmeō* from **fluvimen fruvimontum* **ūvimeō*, see sec. 9.

(26) The Latins modified all the original Aspirates. In their method of doing so we may trace three different dialects:

(a) The proper Roman dialect represented all but the Dental

¹ Festus' *tāminō* is a grammarians' word formed out of *attāminō* *contāminō*: the proper form would be **tagminō*.

Aspirate by **h**, itself in the popular dialect omitted: BH *hariolus* 'soothsayer' (Irish *bar* 'sage'), GH *holus* 'vegetables' (Old Slavonic *zelije*) *vehō* (cf. *ῥῆος*), GHV *hīlum* 'gut' (Varro L.L. 5. 111, cf. Lithuanian *gysla* 'sinew'), cf. *ariolus olus via illa* respectively.

(β) The Oscans represented all the Aspirates without exception by **f**: the classical Roman dialect kept this when initial—whether for BH *fāba* (Old Slavonic *bobū*: the old Latin form was *hāba*) *frangō* (Gothic *brikan*), DH *fēdō* 'suck' (cf. *Θηλή* 'breast'), GH *fovea* 'pit' (*χειά*) *flāvus* (*χλωρός*), or GHV *filum* (see *hīlum* above) *fremō* (Old Slavonic *gromū* 'thunder')—but when medial reduced it to **b**, for BH *glūbō* (*γλίφω*) *ambō* (*ἄμφω*), DH *rubeō* (*ἐρέθειω*) *umbra* (cf. Sanskrit *andhas* 'blind') *arbor* (Sanskrit *ardh-* 'thrive'), GHV *nōbrundinēs* 'kidneys' (*νεφρός*, German *niere*).—The **f** retained for DH in *rūfus* and (I would suggest) in *infīt* 'begins' ('interposes,' *MDH-*, cf. *MEDH-* *medius*), and for GH in *infūla* 'fillet' (*NGH-*, cf. *NEGII-*, Sanskrit *nah-* 'to tie,' Lat. *nectō*), must belong to the stricter Oscan dialect.

(γ) A third dialect reduced the Aspirates—as do all Aryan languages but Greek and Sanskrit—to Mediae: hence

BH initial=**b**, *barba* (Eng. *beard*) *battuō* 'beat' (cf. Anglo-saxon *beadu* 'combat') *bulia* (cf. *foliis*) *im-buō* (*ἐμ-φύω*) *blaterō* (Old Norse *blæðr* 'nonsense'):

DH medial=**d**, *gradus* (Gothic *grids*) *arduus* (Sanskrit *ārdh-* *vas*), and *russus* (= **rud-tus*, *ἐρωθρός*); becoming **r** in *ergā firmus* (see sec. 20 fin.):

GH=**g** in *gilvus* beside *helvus* and Eng. *yellow*, and so, I would suggest, in *geminī* 'twins' beside *hemō* 'man' ('follow': for the terminations cf. *terminus termō*), *gutta* 'drop' for **gū-ta* beside *χέω* 'pour' and Sanskrit *hu-*: *glārea* (*χληῆδος*) *grandō* (Sanskrit *hrād-* 'rattle') *figmentum* (Sanskrit *dih-* 'smear') *angō* (*ἄγχω*):

¹ Initial DH also might=**d**, but no instances seem to appear: *crēdō* beside Sanskrit *crād-dhō-* ('put the heart to') may have been regarded as a word of the Ursprache and not as a compound (of course Verbs in composition keep their initial unchanged, as a compound the word would be **crēfō* from **creffō*, **cred-fō*), *abdō* etc. I would derive from Adjectives **ab-dus* etc., cf. *conādō* from *condus*.—Brugmann (370) makes DH after **n** always=**b**, *jubeō rubeō über*; but this must be merely dialectic, *jussi* can only come from **jud-si* (**jub-si* would give **jupsī*, cf. *nūpsī*), see *russus* above, and *rutilus* sec. 22 fin., *stilus* sec. 19 fin.

GHV = **g** *glaber* (Lithuanian *glodus*) *gradus* (Old Slavonic *grędę* 'I come') *indulgeō* (Sanskrit *dīrghas* 'long') *tergum* (στέρφος 'skin'): so KHV *congius* 'quart' (Sanskrit *ṣankhas* 'cockle').

The classical forms show a strange mixture of these three dialects:

BH = **h** *hariolus herba horreum, f faba fūnum fortis, b barba* etc.

(see above):

DII medial = **b** *jubeō ruber ūber, d gradus* etc. (above):

GH = **h** *haedus holus homo, f fovea, g gilvus* etc. (above):

GHV = **h** *hilum hordeum, f filum, g glaber* etc. (above).

(27) To Brugmann's instances (510) of the loss of initial **h** I would add

abdōmen or *abdūmen* from **habdus* (cf. *albūmen* from *albus*)

**habidus* 'holding':

abundō (in Plautus also *habundō*, see Key, who rightly remarks

that *ab-undus* from *unda* should mean 'without water')

from **habundus* Gerundive of *habeō*:

ālūcinor (also spelt *hālūcinor*) 'prate' from **hālūcus* Adjective

of *hālō* 'breathe out': for the form cf. *cadūcus* from *cadō*.

The Romans made several attempts to represent by their spelling the quantity of a vowel. One resource, apparently borrowed from Oscan (Corssen l. 15-17) was to double the vowel: besides epigraphic forms, for which see Corssen, we have *bee* (Varro, to express the cry of the sheep, for which the Greeks used βῆ; hence came the form *bēlāre* 'to bleat,' which remained in the Romance languages instead of *bālāre*) *peena* (Festus, for **pēna*, i.e. *peenna*) *veemens* (= *vēmens*): cf. Oscan *ausas trīstaamentū eestīnt teor-* beside Latin *drae tēstamentō exstant* (or rather **ēstant*) *terra* (for **tēra*), Faliscan *vootum* for *vōtum*.—Another method, found also in Umbrian, was to employ **h** as a mark of vowel-length:

(a) The **h** was written after the vowel: the Interjections *ā ō prō* are also written *ah oh proh*, for **vā* we have *vah*. So in Old Umbrian we have *ah-* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *aktu*¹ for Lat. *actui*; in New Umbrian *trah-* for Lat. *trā-* (i.e. *trans*), *avishclu* 'augural' beside *avīchlu*, *eh-* for Lat. *ē* (Preposition), *screhto* for **scrētō* (Lat. *scriptum*); in Volscian *covehriu* 'meeting' for **co-vērīō* **co-viriō*

¹ In this, as in *screhto*, the **h** seems a mere mark of vowel-length.

(on the dialectic change of *i* to *e* see 'Latin Vocalism' 11) from **vīros* (Sanskrit *vīras* 'hero,' cf. Lat. *vīr* 'man'):

(β) The two methods were combined, the vowel written twice and *h* inserted: *aha* (in Plautus a monosyllable) was another way of writing the Interjection *ā*, *vaha* must stand for **vā* or *vah* (see above),¹ *ehens* (when a monosyllable) = *ēm* (Interjection), *mehe* (Quintilian) = *mē*, *vehemens* (in poetry always a disyllable, Lachmann on Lucr. 2. 1024) = *vē-mens* ('senseless,' cf. *vē-cors*). So in New Umbrian we have *aha* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *trahaf* beside *trāf* = Lat. **trās* (*trans*), *eho* = Lat. *ē*, *comohota* = Lat. *co(m)mōta*, *preplōhotatu* beside *preplōtatu* 'captivity' = Lat. **praeploātū* ('treading down,' from *plautus* 'flat-footed').

(28) Despite Stolz ('Lat. Gramm.' 60) intervocalic *s* after *r* + a vowel, instead of as usual becoming *r*, drops entirely, to avoid two *r*'s so close together: *Cereālis* must be for **Cererālis*, *cruor* 'blood' ('curdled,' thicker than water) for **crūr*-or beside *crūs-ta* 'crust,' *pruīna* 'hoar-frost' for **prūrīna* beside Gothic *frīus* 'frost';² and, I would add, *prior* for **prūr*-or beside *prīs-cus* and Paelignian *prīs-mu* 'first,'³ with *proprius* 'special' ('set in front') for **pro-prūr*-us from the same root. Later, *s* in such a position became *r* as usual, *prūrīō* 'itch' ('burn') beside *pruīna* above ('cold performs the effect of fire'): *crūra* and *rūra* are due to analogy.

¹ A grammarian in Keil 4. 255 says "vā sive vaha ex brevi et longa constat," apparently taking *vah* (as Priscian does) as an abbreviation of *vaha*, and wrongly connecting the final *a* of *vaha* with the Interjection *ā*.

² *Frīs* however is not for **frīvō*, or the derivative would be **friscō* not *fricō*: forms like *χρίσμα* (beside *χρίμα*) must come not from *χρίω* but from a by-form **χρίζω*.

³ *minor* is another instance of a Comparative—originally doubtless a Positive, with the sense of comparison only implied by the order of the words—ending in -or not -ior.

XIX. — ALBANIAN, MODERN GREEK, GALLO-ITALIC, PROVENÇAL, AND ILLYRIAN STILL IN USE (1889) AS LINGUISTIC ISLANDS IN THE NEAPOLITAN AND SICILIAN PROVINCES OF ITALY. By the PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE, D.C.L.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONGST the languages spoken in the 69 provinces of the kingdom of Italy the following are generally and without discussion considered as Non-Italian: Modern Greek, Albanian, Romansch, Provençal, German, Illyrian (Servian), and Slovenian, but, although Frioulan is admitted by Ascoli (whom I follow in this respect) to be not Italian, other writers continue, as formerly, to consider it as such. In fact, Ascoli considers Frioulan as a Romansch dialect. With regard to Frioulan, I prefer to see in it a Neo-Latin language intermediate between Gallo-Italic and Romansch, in the same way as I consider Catalan independent of Provençal. Franco-Provençal, according to Ascoli (whom I follow entirely in this particular), is an independent Neo-Latin tongue. The other dialects of Italy which, in my opinion, may be regarded as independent Non-Italian languages, are: Central and Southern Sardinian; Genoese (forming the transition between Gallo-Italic and Italian); and Gallo-Italic. According to this opinion of mine, which I submit, with all due deference, to the consideration of modern linguists, the following are the Non-Italian languages spoken in Italy: 1, Modern Greek; 2, Albanian; 3, Sardinian; 4, Genoese; 5, Gallo-Italic; 6, Frioulan; 7, Romansch; 8, Catalan; 9, Provençal; 10, Franco-Provençal; 11, German; 12, Illyrian; 13, Slovenian.

The languages 4, 6, 7, 10, and 13 are never insulated; 5, 9,

and 11 may be insulated or not; and 1, 2, 3, 8, and 12 are always insulated. The present paper treats of the languages 1, 2, 5, 9, and 12. (See the Historic Notes, pp. 363-364, and Maps at the end.)

List of places in Italy in which these languages are spoken :

A. ALBANIAN.

I. ABRUZZO ULTERIORE I. (TERAMO) Map II. :

1. *Badessa*, an annex of Rosciano, canton of Pianella, district and diocese of Penne ;

II. MOLISE (CAMPOBASSO) Map III. :

2. *Campomarino*, c.¹ of Termoli, d.¹ and d.¹ of Larino ;
3. *Montecilfone*, c. of Guglionesi, d. and d. of Larino ;
4. *Portocannone*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.* ;
5. *Ururi*, c., d., and d. of Larino ;

III. CAPITANATA (FOGGIA) Map IV. :

6. *Casalvecchio di Puglia*, c. of Casalnuovo della Daunia, d. of San Severo, d. of Lucera ;
7. *Chicuti*, c. of Serracapriola, d. of San Severo, d. of Larino ;

IV. PRINCIPATO ULTERIORE (AVELLINO) Map V. :

8. *Greci*, c. of Orsara Dauno Irpina, d. of Ariano di Puglia, d. of Benevento ;

V. BASILICATA (POTENZA) Map VI. :

9. *Barile*, c. of Barile, d. of Melfi, d. of Rapolla ;
10. *Ginestra*, an annex of Ripacandida, c. of Barile, d. of Melfi, d. of Rapolla ;
11. *Maschito*, c. of Forenza, d. of Melfi, d. of Venosa ;
12. *San Costantino Albanese*, c. of Noepoli, d. of Lago-negro, d. of Anglona e Tursi ;
13. *San Paolo Albanese*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.* ;

VI. TERRA D'OTRANTO (LECCE) Map VII. :²

14. *Faggiano*,³ c. of San Giorgio su Taranto, d. and d. of Taranto ;

¹ c. means canton, the first d. in any description means district, and the second d. diocese.

² For Albanian in Terra d'Otranto, see p. 341.

³ Only a very small minority (a few old people can still speak Albanian at Faggiano. *Official information by its Mayor.*)

15. *San Marzano di San Giuseppe*, c. of Sava, d. and d. of Taranto;

VII. CALABRIA CITERIORE (COSENZA) Map VIII.:

16. *Acquaformosa*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

17. *Carpanzano*,¹ c. of Scigliano, d. and d. of Cosenza.

18. *Castroregio*, c. of Amendolara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Anglona e Tursi;

19. *Cavallarizzo*, an annex of Cerzeto, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

20. *Cerzeto*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

21. *Civita*, c. of Cassano, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

22. *Falconara Albanese*, c. of Fiumefreddo Bruzio, d. of Paola, d. of Tropea;

23. *Farneta*, an annex of Castroregio, c. of Amendolara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Anglona e Tursi;

24. *Firno*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

25. *Frascineto*, c. and d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

26. *Lungro*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

27. *Macchia*, an annex of San Demetrio Corone, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano;

28. *Marri*, an annex of San Benedetto Ullano, c. of Montalto Uffugo, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

29. *Platici*, c. of Cerchiara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cosenza;

30. *Porcite*, an annex of Frascineto, c. and d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

31. *San Basile*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

32. *San Benedetto Ullano*, c. of Montalto Uffugo, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

33. *San Cosimo (Strigàr)*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano;

34. *San Demetrio Corone*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

¹ The only natives of Carpanzano who can speak Albanian, and that but imperfectly, are some makers of weavers' combs.

35. *San Giacomo*, an annex of Cerzeto, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano ;
36. *San Giorgio Albanese (Mbuzdt)*, c. of Corigliano Calabro, d. and d. of Rossano ;
37. *San Lorenzo del Vallo*, c. of Spezzano Albanese, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Rossano ;
38. *San Martino di Finita*, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano ;
39. *Santa Caterina Albanese (Pizziglia)*, c. of San Sosti, d. of Castrovillari, d. of San Marco Argentano ;
40. *Santa Sofia d'Epiro*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. of Rossano, d. of Bisignano ;
41. *Spezzano Albanese*, c. of Spezzano Albanese, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Rossano ;
42. *Vaccarizzo Albanese*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano ;

VIII. CALABRIA ULTERIORE II. (CATANZARO) Map IX.:

43. *Andati*, c. of Cropani, d. of Catanzaro, d. of San Severino ;
44. *Caraffa di Catanzaro*, c. of Tiriolo, d. and d. of Catanzaro ;
45. *Carfizzi*, an annex of San Nicola dell' Alto, c. of Strongoli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati ;
46. *Marcedusa*, c. of Cropani, d. of Catanzaro, d. of Santa Severina ;
47. *Pallagorio*, c. of Savelli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati ;
48. *San Nicola dell' Alto*, c. of Strongoli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati ;
49. *Vena*, an annex of Maida, c. of Maida, d. and d. of Nicastro ;
50. *Zangarona*, an annex of Nicastro, c., d. and d. of Nicastro ;

IX. PALERMO (Map XI.):

51. *Contessa Entellina*, c. of Bisacquino, d. of Corleone, d. of Monreale ;
52. *Mezzoiouso*,¹ c. of Mezzoiouso, d. and d. of Palermo ;
53. *Palazzo Adriano*, c. of Prizzi, d. of Corleone, d. of Monreale ;

¹ Only a few old people can still speak Albanian at Mezzoiouso.

54. *Piana de' Greci*, c. of Piana de' Greci, d. of Palermo, d. of Monreale;

55. *Santa Cristina Geta, id.*, d. and d. of Palermo;

B. MODERN GREEK.

I. TERRA D'OTRANTO (LECCE) Map VII.:

1. *Calimera*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

2. **Cannole*, c. of Carpignano Salentino, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

3. **Caprarica di Lecce*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

4. *Castrignano de' Greci, id., id., id.*;

5. *Corigliano d'Otranto*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

6. **Cursi*, c. of Maglie, d. of Gallipoli, d. of Otranto;

7. **Cutrofiano*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

8. *Martano*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

9. *Martignano*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

10. **Melpignano*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

11. *Soletto*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

12. *Sternatia*, c. of Galatina, d. and d. of Lecce;

13. *Zollino*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

II. CALABRIA ULTERIORE I. (REGGIO DI CALABRIA) Map X.:

14. *Amendolea*, an annex of Condofuri, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;

15. *Bova*, c. and d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;

16. **Cardeto*, c. of Sant' Agata di Bianco, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;

17. *Condofuri*, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova

18. *Corio di Roccaforte*, an annex of Roccaforte del Greco, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;

19. *Corio di Roghudi*, an annex of Roghudi, *id., id., id.*;

20. *Galliciano*, an annex of Condofuri, *id., id., id.*;

21. **Mosorrofa*, an annex of Cataforio, c. of Gallina, d. and d. of Reggio of Calabria;

¹ The asterisk indicates the localities where Modern Greek is spoken only by a minority, which is sometimes very small. (See Pellegrini and Morosi.)

22. *Pietrapennata*, an annex of Palizzi, c. of Staiti, d. and d. of Gerace;
23. *Roccaforte del Greco*, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;
24. *Roghudi*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;
25. *San Carlo*, an annex of Condofuri, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;
26. *San Pantaleone*, an annex of San Lorenzo, c. of Melito di Porto Salvo, d. and d. of Reggio of Calabria;

C. GALLO-ITALIC.

I. CALABRIA CITERIORE (COSENZA) Map VIII.:

1. *Guardia Piemontese*, c. of Cetraro, d. of Paola, d. of Cosenza;

II. MESSINA (Map XI.):

2. *Novara di Sicilia*, c. of Novara di Sicilia, d. of Castroreale, d. of Messina;
3. *San Fratello*, c. of San Fratello, d. of Mistretta, d. of Patti;

III. CATANIA (Map XI.):

4. *Nicosia*, c., d., and d. of Nicosia;
5. *Sperlinga*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

IV. CALTANISSETTA (Map XI.):

6. *Aidone*, c. of Aidone, d. and d. of Piazza Armerina;
7. *Piazza Armerina*, c., d., and d. of Piazza Armerina;

D. PROVENÇAL.

I. CAPITANATA (FOGGIA) Map IV.:

1. *Celle San Vito*, c. of Troia, d. of Bovino, d. of Troia;
2. *Faeto*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

E. ILLYRIAN.

I. MOLISE (CAMPOBASSO) Map III.:

1. *Acquariva Collecroce*, c. of Palata,¹ d. of Larino, d. of Termoli;
2. *Montemitro*, an annex of San Felice Slavo, c. of Montefalcone del Sannio, d. of Larino, d. of Termoli;
3. *San Felice Slavo*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*

¹ At Palata and Tavenna, in the province of Molise, Illyrian is now extinct.

I wish here to record my great obligations to Monsignor Raphael Rossi, Grand Vicar of the Archbishopric of Taranto, by whose mediation alone it has been possible for me to procure all the local accounts supplied by the numerous rectors of the parishes of the southern Neapolitan provinces where Albanian was still more or less spoken in 1889.

ALBANIAN IN TERRA D'OTRANTO (Map VII.).

(Second Edition,¹ partly abridged and partly very much enlarged and corrected, with the assistance of Signor Cosimo Santoro, a native of the Albanian village of San Marzano di San Giuseppe, partly at San Marzano itself and partly at Leucaspide, near Taranto, in the month of April, 1889, during my stay at the mansion of my excellent and honoured friend Sir James Lacaita, K.C.M.G., and Member of the Italian Senate).

Having had occasion, six or seven years ago, to make inquiries as to the number of the localities in which Albanian is still more or less spoken in Terra d'Otranto, I received the following very valuable, because very reliable, information from Taranto, through the kindness of the Rev. P. D. L. De Vincentiis, O.P., the well-known author of the "Storia di Taranto," Taranto, 1878-9, 5 vol., 8vo., as well as of the "Vocabolario del dialetto tarantino," Taranto, 1872, 8vo.

According to this distinguished writer, out of the seven villages of the diocese of Taranto, places in which alone the Albanian language has been still more or less spoken within the memory of man, *viz.* San Marzano di S. Giuseppe, Roccaforzata, Monteparano (anciently Parcello), San Giorgio sotto Taranto, San Martino, Faggiano, and Carosino, there is now only one where Albanian is at present more used than Italian, namely San Marzano, while at Faggiano Albanian is to be heard only from a few old persons. In the remaining villages Albanian is quite extinct. Thus, at Roccaforzata, it has ceased to be spoken for more than fifty years, and of the village of San Martino nothing now remains but the parish church.

The same thing happens in other provinces. Thus, Albanian

¹ The first edition appeared in the "Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 1882-3-4," p. 492.

has become extinct at Santa Croce di Magliano, in the province of Molise (Map iii.); at Casalnuovo di Monterotaro and S. Paolo di Civitate, in the province of Capitanata (Map iv.); at Brindisi di Montagna, at San Chirico Nuovo, and at San Giorgio Lucano, in the province of Basilicata (Map vi.); at Cervicati, Mongrassano, Rota Greca, and Serra di Leo, in the province of Calabria Citeriore (Map viii.); and at Amato, Aricetta, and Gizzeria, in the province of Calabria Ulteriore II. (Map ix.).¹

In the thirteen Greek villages of the province of Terra d'Otranto (Map vii.) no Albanian is heard (as has been erroneously stated), but only Modern Greek, in a corrupted dialect, which, as well as the Modern Greek of Calabria Ulteriore I. (Map x.) has been scientifically treated by Comparetti, Pellegrini, and especially by Morosi (Map viii.).

With reference to the Albanian of Terra d'Otranto (Map vii.), which is still in use at San Marzano, in the diocese of Taranto, P. De Vincentiis has not limited his kindness to the preceding information, but has also succeeded in procuring me, from a native of that village: 1^o. A list of about forty words; 2^o. Three phrases; 3^o. A very short song, improperly called in Italian "Novella degli Sposi," viz. "Romance of the Betrothed." These three documents, as stated at p. 341, (Go to p. 344.)

¹ This gradual extinction of a language has a mournful interest. Had I been born twenty-five years earlier, I could have heard Albanian still spoken at Pianiano, an annex of Cellere, near Camino, formerly in the Duchy of Castro, and now in the province of Rome. This small hamlet of about twenty families was given by Pope Benedict XIV. to these poor Christians belonging to the diocese of Scutari in Albania, who were seeking refuge from Mahometan persecution under the guidance of Andrea and his sons Antonio and Don Stefano Remani, a family which was still in the recollection of some of the Albanians of Pianiano about half a century ago, when I used to pay them frequent visits from Musignano, the country-seat of my father, the first Prince of Camino and Musignano. The three Remani's were very intelligent men, and quite fit to be the guides and administrators of a much larger community. As they were men of some means and very charitable, their names were still held in great veneration by the Italianized Albanians, who called afterwards a detached portion of the Principality of Camino "Piane di Don Simone," from the name of one of their rectors, Don Simone Sterbini. Legendary stories made him sometimes appear in these plains by moonlight, spreading out his cloak as if to protect his cherished Albanians.

Such common words as *duk* "bread," *miš* "meat," *rrušk* "grapes," *jo* "no," and some others, very few in number, were still in their memory.

As these facts are almost unknown, I have thought them worthy, notwithstanding their comparatively small philological importance, to be preserved from oblivion.

a = a in <i>father</i> .	gh = Mod. Gk. γ in <i>γάλα</i> .	mm = strong m.	tth = strong <i>th</i> .
b = b in <i>but</i> .	ghh = Dutch <i>g</i> in <i>goed</i> .	n = French <i>n</i> in <i>nom</i> .	ts = Italian <i>z</i> in <i>la zia</i> .
bb = strong <i>b</i> .	gj = Ital. <i>ghi</i> in <i>la ghianda</i> .	nn = strong <i>n</i> .	tš = Italian <i>c</i> in <i>pace</i> .
d = French <i>d</i> .	h = <i>h</i> in <i>how</i> .	nj = French <i>gn</i> in <i>digne</i> .	ttš = strong <i>tš</i> .
dd = strong <i>d</i> .	i = <i>e</i> in <i>me</i> .	<i>n</i> = <i>ng</i> in <i>king</i> .	u = <i>oo</i> in <i>fool</i> .
dh = <i>th</i> in <i>thee</i> .	j = <i>y</i> in <i>you</i> .	o = <i>o</i> in <i>more</i> .	v = <i>e</i> in <i>vine</i> .
dz = Italian <i>s</i> in <i>la zona</i> .	k = <i>e</i> in <i>cat</i> .	p = <i>p</i> in <i>pear</i> .	y = French <i>u</i> .
ddz = strong <i>dz</i> .	kk = strong <i>k</i> .	r = <i>r</i> in <i>marine</i> .	z = <i>s</i> in <i>seat</i> .
dž = Italian <i>g</i> in <i>la gente</i> .	kj = Italian <i>chi</i> in <i>la chiave</i> .	rr = Spanish <i>rr</i> .	zz = strong <i>z</i> .
ddž = strong <i>dž</i> .	kkj = strong <i>kj</i> .	s = <i>s</i> in <i>so</i> .	Δ, nasalize the preceding vowel.
e = <i>e</i> in <i>bed</i> .	l = French <i>l</i> .	ss = strong <i>s</i> .	(') = tonic accent.
o = French <i>e</i> in <i>le</i> .	ll = strong <i>l</i> .	š = <i>sh</i> in <i>shoe</i> .	(~) = length.
f = <i>f</i> in <i>fee</i> .	lh = Polish <i>ł</i> .	šš = strong <i>š</i> .	(^) = length with tonic accent.
ff = strong <i>f</i> .	lj = Spanish <i>ll</i> .	t = French <i>t</i> .	(˘) = divides two vowels.
g = <i>g</i> in <i>go</i> .	llj = strong <i>lj</i> .	tt = strong <i>t</i> .	
gg = strong <i>g</i> .	m = <i>m</i> in <i>me</i> .	th = <i>th</i> in <i>thin</i> .	

have been very much corrected and modified in this second edition, after reading with great care the excellent article "L'Albanais en Apulie," by the lamented Dr. John Hanusz, printed in the "Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris," vi. pp. 263-7.

I. LIST OF WORDS. (See p. 343.)

N.B.—The Albanian substantives of this list are given as a rule under the indefinite or unarticulated form, but the definite or articulated one is often given as well. In other instances this last is only indicated by numbers, 1. following the masculines ending in *i*; 2., the masculines ending in *u*; and 3., the feminines ending in *a*.

arə 1.	<i>gold.</i>
aštə 1.	<i>bone; stone (of a fruit).</i>
balle 3.	<i>forehead.</i>
bardo	<i>white.</i>
barkə 2.	<i>belly.</i>
batthə	<i>bean.</i>
battha	<i>the bean.</i>
bekkuámi	<i>blessed, m.</i>
I Bbekkuámi	<i>The Blessed, God.</i>
bekkuámia	<i>blessed, f.</i>
Bekkuámia	<i>The Blessed, the Virgin Mary.</i>
brek 3.	<i>pantaloons.</i>
brəmmə 3. (see brənbə)	<i>evening.</i>
brənbə 3. (see brəmmə)	<i>evening.</i>
budz 3. (see buz)	<i>lip.</i>
buk (see dəkrúmə)	<i>bread.</i>
buka (see dəkrúma)	<i>the bread.</i>
bukrə (see ndarə)	<i>beautiful.</i>
burblə 1.	<i>gun-powder.</i>
burr 1.	<i>man (lat. vir).</i>
burrík 3.	<i>jacket.</i>
buz 3. (see budz)	<i>lip.</i>
darde 3.	<i>pear-tree; pear.</i>
dəkrúmə (see buk)	<i>bread.</i>

dækrúma (<i>see</i> buka)	<i>the bread.</i>
dello	<i>ice.</i>
dellja	<i>the ice.</i>
dets 1.	<i>sea.</i>
diéla 1.	<i>sun.</i>
ditto	<i>day.</i>
doræ 3.	<i>hand.</i>
drendafilla 3.	<i>rose.</i>
dru	<i>wood, firewood.</i>
druto <i>pl.</i>	<i>wood, firewood.</i>
duf (<i>see</i> škupetta)	<i>musket.</i>
dziárr 1.	<i>fire.</i>
enjæ	<i>ye.</i>
engljo 1.	<i>angel.</i>
erbæ	<i>barley.</i>
erbi	<i>the barley.</i>
enblæ	<i>sweet.</i>
ergjændræ 1.	<i>silver.</i>
fattsæ 3.	<i>cheek.</i>
fero	<i>fair sub.</i>
fera	<i>the fair.</i>
fiúr 1.	<i>flower.</i>
flenjæ	<i>to sleep.</i>
fi	<i>sleep, imperat.</i>
fund 3.	<i>nose.</i>
gidz 3.	<i>the Italian "ricotta."</i>
gitthæ	<i>all.</i>
gjakkæ 2.	<i>blood.</i>
gjarpræ 1.	<i>serpent.</i>
gjella 3.	<i>breast.</i>
gjelle	<i>cock.</i>
gjellji	<i>the cock.</i>
gjémmæsæ 3.	<i>middle, sub.</i>
gljumstæ 1.	<i>milk.</i>
glænbæ 1.	<i>thorn; bone (of a fish).</i>
glistæ 1.	<i>finger.</i>
glukæ 3.	<i>tongue.</i>
glunjæ 3.	<i>knee.</i>

gri	<i>rise, imperat.</i>
grigu	<i>rise up, imperat.</i>
grik	<i>mouth.</i>
grika	<i>the mouth.</i>
grine	<i>to rise; to rise up.</i>
grok	<i>fork.</i>
grokka	<i>the fork.</i>
grúa	<i>woman.</i>
gruja	<i>the woman.</i>
grurø	<i>corn.</i>
grúradø	<i>the corn.</i>
horø 3.	<i>town.</i>
jatti (<i>see tatto</i>)	<i>the father.</i>
jema (<i>see mæmma</i>)	<i>the mother.</i>
jertø	<i>high.</i>
jo	<i>no, adv.</i>
kalø 1.	<i>horse.</i>
katunde 1.	<i>village.</i>
kerkjærø 3.	<i>lime (lat. calx).</i>
kerkjø 1.	<i>glass (lat. poculum).</i>
kænbø 3.	<i>foot.</i>
kjaf	<i>throat.</i>
kjaffa	<i>the throat.</i>
kjen 1.	<i>dog.</i>
kjengrø 1.	<i>lamb.</i>
kjerreø 3.	<i>coach.</i>
kliša	<i>church.</i>
klittšø 1.	<i>key.</i>
krægø	<i>arm (lat. brachium).</i>
kríø 3.	<i>head.</i>
krinbø 1.	<i>worm.</i>
krisí (<i>see verø</i>)	<i>wine.</i>
kukjø	<i>red.</i>
kumarø	<i>ass.</i>
kumiš	<i>shirt.</i>
kunbore	<i>bell.</i>
kunbora	<i>the bell.</i>
kupúts	<i>shoe.</i>

lækúr 3.	<i>skin.</i>
lešša 1.	<i>hair.</i>
leštada, lešta	<i>hairs.</i>
ligə	<i>ugly.</i>
lis 1.	<i>tree.</i>
lístaka	<i>lean.</i>
mafiér 1. (<i>see thik</i>)	<i>knife.</i>
máimə	<i>fat.</i>
matə	<i>great.</i>
mattə 1.	<i>cat.</i>
menatta 3.	<i>morning.</i>
mendašša 1.	<i>silk.</i>
mezəditte 3.	<i>noon.</i>
məmma (<i>see jema</i>)	<i>mother.</i>
məraljə 3.	<i>medal.</i>
məsál	<i>table-cloth.</i>
məsalla	<i>the table-cloth.</i>
miekra 3.	<i>beard.</i>
miro	<i>good.</i>
mišt	<i>flesh; meat.</i>
mištada	<i>the flesh; the meat.</i>
molle 3.	<i>apple-tree; apple.</i>
muška	<i>she-mule.</i>
muška	<i>he-mule.</i>
nanmaronkjə 3.	<i>frog.</i>
natta 3.	<i>night.</i>
neró (<i>see ujə</i>)	<i>water.</i>
njeri 2.	<i>man (Lat. homo).</i>
nus	<i>betrothed, sub. m.</i>
nussi	<i>the betrothed, m.</i>
nússie	<i>betrothed, sub. f.</i>
nússia	<i>the betrothed, f.</i>
ndarə (<i>see bukrə</i>)	<i>beautiful.</i>
ndziro	<i>to raise.</i>
pagə	<i>little, adv.</i>
pelle	<i>mare.</i>
pellja	<i>the mare.</i>
pərnakokkə	<i>apricot-tree; apricot.</i>

peške 2.	<i>fish.</i>
plakkə 2.	<i>old man.</i>
plakkə 3.	<i>old woman.</i>
pləkə 3.	<i>dust.</i>
pugattə	<i>rich.</i>
pullə 3.	<i>hen.</i>
rezzə 3.	<i>plant.</i>
ruespə 1.	<i>toad.</i>
rušə 3.	<i>grapes.</i>
sandón 1.	<i>bed-sheet.</i>
si	<i>eye.</i>
siu	<i>the eye.</i>
sito	<i>eyes.</i>
stipí	<i>house.</i>
stipía	<i>the house.</i>
strate	<i>bed.</i>
stratti	<i>the bed.</i>
summo	<i>much, adv.</i>
šárpəkə 2.	<i>hat.</i>
šəndə	<i>saint.</i>
šəndədo	<i>saints.</i>
škal	<i>ladder.</i>
škupettə 3. (<i>see duf</i>)	<i>muskot.</i>
šokkjo 1.	<i>companion.</i>
šokkjə 3.	<i>female companion.</i>
šunbə 1.	<i>button (of flowers); bud (of trees).</i>
talurə 1.	<i>dish.</i>
tattə (<i>see jatti</i>)	<i>father.</i>
te	<i>earth.</i>
teu	<i>the earth.</i>
tənbə	<i>tooth.</i>
tənbí	<i>the tooth.</i>
tərgudz 3.	<i>rope.</i>
tərloddžə 1.	<i>watch (French montre).</i>
thenə 3.	<i>moon.</i>
thik (<i>see mafíer</i>)	<i>knife.</i>
thikka	<i>the knife.</i>

thonjə 3.	nail (Lat. <i>unguis</i>).
tirašə	big.
i ttrašə	big, m.
e ttrašə	big, f.
trašoro	oats.
tresašəde	the oats.
trimə 1.	young man.
u	I.
uddə 3.	road.
ujə 3. (<i>see neró</i>)	water.
ulinjə 1.; 3.	olive-tree; olive.
vábbokə	poor.
vadz 3.	young woman.
vangariele	chin.
vangariclli	the chin.
vanjunə	baby; child; boy; lad.
vanjunni	the baby; the child; the boy; the lad.
vaššu	low.
i vaššu	low m.
e vaššu	low, f.
verə (<i>see krisí</i>)	wine.
veššə 1.	ear.
vongljə	little.
zəddzə	black.

II. PHRASES (Transl. by Santoro).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Lenja, zoderotte, díttənə e
mirə. | Lascio, signoria, giorno-il il
buono. |
| 2. Pəndzó pə gjəndənə imma
tšə jətə mə tí. | Pensa per la-gente mia che è
con te. |
| 3. Eda, ka tə japə funjə | Va, che ti do mazzate. |

III. ROMANCE (Transl. by Santoro).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Thinja kə u ngə denja, ma
iši panzán, | Dissi che io non voleva, ma
era falso, |
| 2. Ma tí e dinjə pəndzierin'
imma. | Ma tu lo sapevi pensiero-il
mio. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. Pärpara tē škoda me buz. | Davanti te passai con labbro
(<i>muso</i>). |
| 4. Klevvi pē do kraštérato tšə
ngə tē hava mir dit. | Fu per gli cristiani (<i>uomini</i>)
che non ti dissi buon di. |
| 5. Kame len kušē denja mirə, | Ho lasciato chi voleva bene ; |
| 6. Do dúa mirə, zəbra immə. | Ti voglio bene, cuore-il mio. |
| 7. Naní, piérrimi tē duákimi
mirə ; | Ora, ritorniamo a volerci
bene ; |
| 8. Šə ti šokkje immə ka-tə-
jessesa, tšə do I Bek-
kuámi. | Che tu compagna (<i>moglie</i>)
mia sarai, se vuole Il
Benedetto (<i>Il Dio</i>). |

IV. THE LORD'S PRAYER (Transl. by Santoro).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Tatta inə, tšəjetəndə kjelə: | Pater noster, qui es in caelis : |
| 2. Tə jessi kljotta éabrenə itə. | Sanctificetur nomen tuum. |
| 3. Tə ví párraddzi itə. | Adveniat regnum tuum. |
| 4. Tə jessi bənnə si do ti, si
ndə kjelə, kəštú pər de. | Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in
caelo, et in terra. |
| 5. Innə sodə búkəno jonno pə
dítəntə. | Panem nostrum quotidianum
da nobis hodie. |
| 6. Lerə tē tírate tē tónnata, si
nə ja lemmi tē tíerave tē
tonna. | Et dimitte nobis debita nostra,
sicut et nos dimittimus
debitoribus nostris. |
| 7. E mose nə špíre ndudə e
lliggə. | Et ne nos inducas in tenta-
tionem. |
| 8. E dikə nevé ka təkəkia. | Sed libera nos a malo. |
| 9. E kə štu kjošta. | Amen. |
| E'abreni Táttoše, éabreni tə i
Bírriti, e Spírti Šéndidi.
E ko štu kjošta. | In nomine Patris, et Filii, et
Spiritus Sancti. Amen. |

V. ROMANCE.

(A different reading according to Hanusz.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Thinja, se ngə tē denja, e
iši panzán, | Je simulais que je ne t'aimais
pas, et c'était un mensonge. |
| 2. Kundzədró ti zəbra imə. | Tu as pénétré mon cœur. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. Pərpara tə škoda njaj me
buz, | Devant toi je marchais un peu
fâché ; |
| 4. Kljeve po greštera, tso nge
te vreta. | C'était pour les hommes que
je ne t'ai pas regardée. |
| 5. U kam e ljon, ku iše mir
denja, | Je l'ai laissé où il était, l'amour,
denja, |
| 6. Tə t'mar ti, zóbra imo. | Pour te prendre, ô mon cœur. |
| 7. Naní príremi ne día, se ne
dúgemi, | Alorstournons-noustousdeux,
si nous nous aimons, |
| 8. Šokje mə ka tə jesəš, tšə
do Krišti. | Afin que tu sois ma femme,
ce que Dieu veut. |

VI. SONÉT "SONETTO." (According to Hanusz.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Díe mbrənb škoda e nge
tə péu, | Hier soir j'ai passé et je ne
t'ai pas vue, |
| 2. E ti búkora imə, nd' argali, | Et toi, ma beauté, au métier
à tisser, |
| 3. Nga kopané, tš' ipuje nd'
ajó kaš, | Chaque coup que tu donnais
dans cette caisse |
| 4. Me škandogšə zənbra pə ti. | M'a brisé le cœur pour toi. |

VII. IMPROVISATION. (According to Hanusz.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Denja tə dinja, tšə ka te
bəše, | Je voudrais savoir ce que tu
dois faire |
| 2. Me kat tə škrúor, tšə je tə
ben. | Avec cette écriture que tu
es en train de faire. |

APPENDIX I.

As I have received from different localities of the Neapolitan provinces the Lord's Prayer, etc., translated into nine varieties of the Albanian dialect of Italy, and wish to prevent the loss of these comparative, local, and original specimens, I add them here in the form in which I received them, without any appreciation or observation of my own, using the orthography followed by each of the native translators.

I. *Ururi, in the province of Molise, by a native of that place.*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Tata ione, cì ie ca chieisa: | 6. Rīmītirma neve dītirt e |
| 2. Clīoft sceīt emeri iote. | tona, sī na ia rīmītirmi |
| 3. Art regnī iote. | dībīturvet e tona. |
| 4. Ubīft vuuntata iote, si ca | 7. È mos na ducir ca tenta- |
| chieisa, chīsciu pīr det. | ziuna. |
| 5. Buchīn ione ga dita īna | 8. Ma libroua ca e chechia. |
| sonte. | 9. Chīsciu clīofit. |

II. *Casalvecchio di Puglia, in Capitanata, by a native.*

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Tata iona, cè ¹ ie ndrè chiél: | 6. Glièna névra dtirta iona, |
| 2. Bōēfsc ² scēt nomi iot. | si na glièmi dēbiturta |
| 3. Èt vignè regnī iot. | iona. |
| 4. Tè bōēhat voluntata iota, | 7. È nzir ca né tēntaziunt. |
| si ndrè chiél, ksu prè dé. | 8. Ruièna ca tè chechiètè. |
| 5. Jèna sod bucnè iona dè | 9. È ksciu et iét. |
| nga dđita. | |

III. *Barile, in Basilicata, by Angelo Bozza, a native.*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Tatta jonn, cī jci ta chjeli: | 6. Bunnimi mir dđtiri jonn, |
| 2. Chgljofst baccuar emmira | ghjal' nej j bugnīmī |
| jott. | mir attiriva cī eat' nī |
| 3. N' chiassat regnī jott. | jappini. |
| 4. Chagjofst voluntatta jott, | 7. Nga nej schiass' dđjali |
| ta chjeli, ta scecculi. | gligg. |
| 5. Bucc' jonn nga dđit ipp | 8. Ma ghjtt sciurbissita gljgg. |
| niriva. | 9. Aesctu jct. |

A short letter.

Faglimi sciocch

U nēngh mēnd' èrda tē
ghiéja, sa cammu sciurnn cēt
bēgn, e ti a dij. Tī rīja
mājrè; u a zóra! Ma nēssēr
tē vign' a ghiégnē.

Vi miirē--Seibmi.

Jotte sciocch

Mincarucci.

Salute amico

Io non ho potuto venire a
trovarti, perchè ho assai da
fare, e tu lo sai. Tu stai bene;
io l'ho appreso! Ma domani
ti vengo a trovare.

Sta bene—Vediamoci.

Tuo amico

Domenicuccio.

¹ è is pronounced as e; and ² oē as French eu in leur. (The transl.)

IV. *San Costantino Albanese, in Basilicata, by Papás N. Emmanuele.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Tata in, cē jēc ndēr kíel: | 6. Se na ndēgliemi, ghiθ atà
cē na kán ftesur něve. |
| 2. Scēitrōi ēmri it, | |
| 3. A'rt pentía jótte. | 7. E mōs na chiēel něve ndē
pirasmōn. |
| 4. Kíōft e bēer faglīma jótte,
asetí ndēkiel, si mbií dec. | 8. Gllērēna něve ca ghiθ
flšurat. |
| 5. Būken tēn, ci chee mbē
críc, ēmna něve sod. | 9. Asetí chiōftit. |

V. *San Marzano di San Giuseppe, in Terra d'Otranto.*
(See p. 341.)VI. *San Giorgio Albanese, in Calabria Citeriore, by Prof. Gior. Battista Canadé, a United Greek Priest.*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Tat' iin, ciē jec ndēc kíel: | 6. Ndēgliēna neve mbēcath'
tónna, si na ndēgliemi
mbēcath tētiēve. |
| 2. Chiōft beccuar ēmri it. | |
| 3. Affōruar regghiēria jótte. | 7. Mos na véer ndē tenta-
ziona. |
| 4. Chiōft bēer vugliēmna
jótte, asetú ndēer kíel,
si mbií dec. | 8. Pōr largónna caa ghiθ'
gligghat. |
| 5. Bucchen tēen, ciē natacon
ngū ditta, ēmna sot. | 9. Chesctú chiōft. |

Ave Maria.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Eghēzúase Sciēn Mērii, | Ave Maria, |
| 2. Grazie piōt tí jee. | Gratia plena. |
| 3. Jinzót ec me tij. | Dominus tecum. |
| 4. E becúar tí jec ndēc ghiθ'
ghraat, | Benedicta tu in mulieribus, |
| 5. E í becúar carpói bárcut'
tēnd Jesus. | Et benedictus fructus ventris
tui Jesus. |
| 6. Zogna Sciēn Mērii, Émme
Innit Zot, | Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, |
| 7. Pēr ne ciē chemmi mbēcàt
parcagliēs, | Ora pro nobis peccatoribus, |
| 8. Naní e ndēc gheren vdec-
chies tōen. | Nunc et in hora mortis
nostro. |
| 9. Asetú chioft. | Amen. |

VII. *Zangarona, in Calabria Ulteriore II., by Giu. Canton Lanzo, from Nicastro, in Calabria Ulteriore II.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Játtjón, cē ¹ rrii ndēr kiél; ² | 6. Ndéi dētirat t' on, si na ndēimi dētirsit t' on. |
| 2. Ēmērijót kióft persceitnue. | 7. E dhé mos bēnia ngash-shpirtí khii. |
| 3. Ardht ³ mbrētría jótta. | 8. Po ni á ghitt ca i lighú. |
| 4. U bēft e vulhnessa jótta, si ndē kiél, ashtú ⁴ ndē dhec. | 9. Ashtú kióft. |
| 5. Buken jón ngaditshén ip neva sot. | |

VIII. *General Italo-Albanian, by Prof. Modesto Miracco, from Santa Sofia d'Epuro, in Calabria Citeriore.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Ati ínē, nēdēr chiēl cē jō : | 6. Nēdegliena neve dētiret tona, si edhé na i nēdegliemi armikvet tōné. |
| 2. I becuarē chioftē émri itē. | 7. Emos na chiēl nēdē tanduamit. |
| 3. Artē reghiēria jotte. | 8. Po gliēf thēronna neve na e echochia. |
| 4. U bēfti e duamia jotte, si nēdēr chiēl, asctú nēdēr dhē. | 9. Asctú chiotē. |
| 5. Buchen tēnē tē sosōmen ēnna neve sotē. | |

IX. *Unspecified Italo-Albanian, by Antonio Dorsa, from Civita, in Calabria Citeriore.*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Tata joon, ci jee dy kial : | 6. Dygliena neve mycat tona, si na dygljemi a ta ey caan na japin. |
| 2. Kyft i becuar ymri tynt. | 7. E mos na kiel dy testimi-surit. |
| 3. Arht regghyria jote. | 8. Eghibrarna nevecaigliggu. |
| 4. Kyftit mogliema jote, ak dy kial, sa dy deet. | 9. Chysetu kyoft. |
| 5. Buckyn tyyn gga dit jipna neve sot. | |

To these nine, more or less correct, Italo-Albanian translations of the Lord's Prayer, the following five may be added. They are reduced from their translator's orthography to that of which the key is given on p. 343 :

1°. Into the Italo-Albanian of Frascineto, in Calabria

¹ ē = e. ² k = kj. ³ dh = dA. ⁴ sh = š. (The transl.)

Citeriore. (See "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dal testo greco nel dialetto calabro-albanese di Frascineto dal Sig. Vincenzo Dorsa. Riveduto e corretto da Don Demetrio Camarda, autore della Grammatologia Albanese. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte*. Londra. 1868.")

2°. Into the Italo-Albanian of Piana de' Greci, in the province of Palermo. (See "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dal testo greco nel dialetto albanese di Piana de' Greci in Sicilia da un nativo di questo luogo. Riveduto e corretto da Don Demetrio Camarda, autore della Grammatologia Albanese. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte*." Londra. 1868.")

3°. Into the Tosk or Southern Albanian of Albania. (See at p. 22 of the "'Αλφάβητον Ἀλβανικόν." (S. H. Weiss, *anc. mais. Köhler et Weiss, grand' rue de Pera 323. Constantinople*. Without any date.)

4°. Into the Gheg or Central Albanian of Albania. (See "Dhiata e Rë e Zotit edhe Šeljbúesit t'ynë Jesu-Krištit, kothyem prei Grekjištesë victor Škqip ndo gjuhë Gegënište prei Konstantinuit Kristoforidit, Elbasanasit. Koustantinopol. 1869.")

5°. Into the Gheg or Northern Albanian of Scutari in Albania. (See "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dalla Volgata nel dialetto albanese ghegò scutarino, dal P. Francesco Rossi da Montalto. Riveduto e corretto da Mons. Gaspare Crasnich, Abate Mitrato di Mirditta. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte*. Londra. 1870.")

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THESE FIVE DIALECTS.

I. *Frascineto*.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Tata in, tšə jê te kjielət : | 6. E ndəlĵena neve dətirat |
| 2. Kĵoftə šoitərúar óməri it. | tona, si edhé na ja ndə- |
| 3. Árthətə rregĵerĳa jote. | ljemi atire tšə kân to |
| 4. Kĵoftə boan vəlĵema jote, | na ĵapen. |
| si ndə kjiel, edhé ŋbi | 7. E mos na sielšə ndər tan- |
| dhê. | tatsiúna. |
| 5. Bukən tén tə pərdísəmen | 8. Po lĵəšona ka i lĵigu. |
| əamına sot. | 9. Aštú kĵoftə. |

II. *Piana de' Greci.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Tata jinə, tša jê te kjie-
ghhiatə: | 6. Edhê ndəjəna detirətə to-
na, si edhê na ndejėjəm'
atá tšə na kəne dotúarə
neve. |
| 2. Kloftə šəitúar emri jita. | 7. E mos na bíeš ndo to kseva-
lur. |
| 3. Járthətə nbretría jote. | 8. Po špatona ka i ligu. |
| 4. U-bəftə vulema jote, aštú
si ndə kjieghha, edhê
nbi dhê. | 9. Aštú kloftə. |
| 5. Búken tənə to pordítšəmen
éna neve sot. | |

III. *Tosk.*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Āti yno kje jê ndə kjiej: | 6. Edhê falj-na fájeto t'ano,
sikundro edhê na úa
faljmo fajtórəvet t'ano. |
| 2. Ušənjtəroftə éməri yt. | 7. Edhê mos na štíerə ndo
ghətsím. |
| 3. Arthto nborətəria jote. | 8. Po špató-na prei sə kekjit. |
| 4. Ubəftə dašurimi yt, si ndə
kjiel, edhê nbo dhêt. | 9. Amin. |
| 5. Búkəne t'əne to perdítəš-
menə ep-na neve sot. | |

IV. *Gheg.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Āti yno, kji jê ndə kjiel: | 6. Edhe falj-na fájeto t'ona,
sikursé edhe na úa faljim
fajtórəvet t'ano. |
| 2. Ušənjtənoft' éməri yt. | 7. Edhe mos na štíerə ndə
ngásəje. |
| 3. Arthto nborətəria jote. | 8. Por špeto-na prei sə kekjit. |
| 4. Ubāaftə dašunimi yt, si
ndə kjiel, edhe nbo dhêt. | 9. Amen. |
| 5. Búkəno t'əne to pordí-
tšəmen' ep-na neve sot. | |

V. *Gheg of Scutari.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Atýn, tši jê n' tšielh: | 6. E nnina neve fajet e mka-
tet tona, sikursé nuim
na faitört tāa. |
| 2. Šəaitnúem kjoft emri yt. | 7. E mos na lea me rā n'tun-
nīm. |
| 3. Ardht redžnia jote. | 8. E na largó prei gith
s'kəttsh. |
| 4. U baaft vulnessa jote,
sikúr n' tšielh, aštú n'
dhê. | 9. Aštú kjoft. |
| 5. Búken tāa t' perdítšmen
epna neve sot. | |

APPENDIX II.

NOVEL IX OF THE FIRST DAY OF BOCCACCIO'S DECAMERON.

(See "Papanti—I Parlari italiani in Certaldo. Livorno. 1873.")¹

Italian.

Dico adunque, che ne'tempi del primo Re di Cipri, dopo il conquisto fatto della Terra Santa da Gottifrè di Buglione, avvenne che una gentil donna di Guascogna in pellegrinaggio andò al Sepolero, donde tornando, in Cipri arrivata, da alcuni scelerati uomini villanamente fu oltraggiata: di che elle senza alcuna consolazion dolendosi, pensò d'andarsene a richiamare al Re; ma detto le fu per alcuno, che la fatica si perderebbe, perciò che egli era di sì rimessa vita e da sì poco bene, che, non che egli l'altrui onte con giustizia vendicasse, anzi infinite, con vituperevole viltà, a lui fattene sosteneva; in tanto che chiunque avea cruccio alcuno, quello col fargli alcuna onta o vergogna sfogava. La qual cosa udendo la donna, disperata della vendetta, ad alcuna consolazion della sua noja propose di volere mordere la miseria del detto Re; et andatasene piagnendo davanti a lui, disse: Signor mio, io non vengo nella tua presenza per vendetta che io attenda della ingiuria che m'è stata fatta, ma, in sodisfacimento di quella, ti priego che tu m'insegni come tu sofferi quelle le quali io intendo che ti son fatte, acciò che, da te apparando, io possa pazientemente la mia comportare; la quale, sallo Iddio, se io far lo potessi, volentieri ti donerei, poi così buon portatore ne se'. Il Re, infino allora stato tardo e pigro, quasi dal sonno si risvegliasse, cominciando dalla ingiuria fatta a questa donna, la quale agramente vendicò, rigidissimo persecutore divenne di ciascuno, che, contro all'onore della sua corona, alcuna cosa commettesse da indi innanzi.

¹ The orthography of Papanti's Collection has been preserved in the following translations.

Albanian (Provincia di Calabria Citeriore).

FRASCINETO.—Thom poca sé nde motit te parit Régjie. i Tçiprit po tçe kjé marre dhéu i shêit ka Gufrédi i Buljonit érti sé nje zonje e Guasconjes vattè per vutte té varri Crishtit, e kur u-pruare, po sa errû Tçiper, kjé maltrattuar shum kékje ka tsa njérez te ljkje: per keté ajó e chol-kjassur pâ puscím vuu nde krièt te vêje te therrit té Régji. Po i kjé thâne sé biir mottin, psé régji ish nje njèri akje i bièrri, e i varéssur, sé jo vét te ljugat tçe i bënshin te tiérvèt, po èdhé te shumat tçe i böjen atije si mä i nëmuri i suffirenèj; akje sâ 'nka nje tçe kish 'ndo nje 'ndsërre mé te' e 'ndzire mé te ljugat e mé te shaitur. Gjégjur zonja ket shurbés, pâ sperëndse to gjénèj dçustitziè, sé te kish piadçir té chelimi saje, vuu 'nder trû ti 'nkit Régjit te bièrri e tije; o vatur tue kjâr ték ai, tha: "Zotti im, ú se vinje perpara tije sé te keem mindite per ljkite tçe m'u-böe, po si nje piadçir per te', te parcaljésenje te me mesóshe si ti i munden te ljugat tçe ú gjégëm sé te bönnen tije, psé ú, mesuar ka ti, te mundenje èdhé ú mé patçéntse timèn; e kte' ú Inzót e dii, 'nde mund' e böija, mé gjith zómer t' e règaloja, po tçe ti dii e i 'mbân pa farè lasti-missur."

Régji tçe njéra achièrna kish kjène molje e i varéssur, si kûr i sgjuat ka gjumi, tue zèn ka shurbéssi zonzes tçe vindicarti sa jo mäe, u-böe mäe i tharti njèri kunter 'nga njéje tçe ka ajó dit i 'nkit 'ndéren e règjeris tije.

Modern Greek (Provincia di Terra di Otranto).

CALIMERA.—Cusote, sto cerò tu pronù Vasili tu Cipru, motta o Goffrido tu Buglione iche pianta us topu vloimenu, vrosi mia jinega calì jennimèni pu sti Guascogna pu pirte e sto nima tu Icù, e sto jurisi ftazzònta sto Cipro, jeno cameno i craise, ce i sti n'ecame; manichedda, utto prama togfase i cardia, ipe pao ce cleo u Vasili; tupane ti en iche ti camì, t'ione cerò cameno, ti eino ione toso stradò, ce af ze zoi toso ascimarda, pu ci pu u cannane en ecchite, alio ce macà canoni cì pu cannane stos addò, ce stu fteccù pu isane pesammeni evadde pu panu lisaria. Mazzònta utta pramata e jinega, e sozzonta camì addò na mi tí pari o pono, ipe, evò e na daccaso utto Vasili, ce panta cleonta bro eino: "Meamu, ipe, evò en'ereome bro stin aftentiasu ja citto stradò pu mu camane, ercome na maso, se pracalò, pos canni na su diavi ticanè pu bro af ze tossa pramata pu socune janomena, ce tuo to telo na soso masì, na mu diavi in dichimmu; possa pramata sodione an isoza camì evò pos canni aftentiasu."

O Vasili pu iche stasonta af ze cinu pu en itele na camì tipoti, sia ti fzunnise a pu ston ipuno, nzignase pu toa na jettì antrepo, eftiase calù calù cini pu camane ta stradà is jinega, ju s'addu, macari t'ione tipoti ci pu u cannane, mara oes aftu.

Gallo-Italic (Provincia di Messina).

SAN FRATELLO.—Dich danqua ch' ai tainp du prim Re di Cipr, dipuoi la cunquista fatta di la Terra Santa da Gufreu di Bugghian, avvon chi 'na gintiu fomna di Gua-scogna 'n piligrinegg annaa a u Samuorch, d' anna turnain, 'n Cipr arrivare, da arcui scialarei hami vidaunamaint fu attraggiera: di co rodde senza arcuna cunsulazian dulainns, pinsia d' annér a ricuorriri au Re; ma ditt ghi fu p' arcun chi la fataigha si pirdirross, pircó rau era di cuscè dibu vita e di cuscè pacch bai, chi chiù tasst chi li anti di hieutr cun giustizia vindichiess, hienz 'nfiniri cu 'nfam viltàa, a rau fatti, suppurtava; tant chi qualunch avaja ira arcuna, quodda cun ferghi arcuna anta o virgagna sfughieva. La chiù causa sintain la fomna, dispirara di la vinnitta, p' arcuna cunsulazian di la saua nuoja, pripunó di vulair mardr la miseria du ditt Re; e annaa ciangiaïn davant a rau, e diss: "Signaur miea, jica ni viegn 'nta la taua prisainza pi vinnitta, chi jica aspittass di la 'ngiuria chi m' è stata fatta; ma 'n sadisfanzian di quodda ti priegh chi tu m' insigni cam tu suoffri quoddi chi jiea 'ntain chi ti san fatti, pircó da tu 'mparaïn, jiea pazza cun paciaïnza la maja campurtér; chi ('u saa Diea) si jiea fer ù puloss, di bauna vuogghia ti cumprimintass, pircó cuscè ban purtaraur ni saï."

U Re fina addaura stat tard o dagnauss, quasi da sagn si risvigghieess, cumunzaïn da la 'ngiuria fatta a quosta fomna, chi fart vindichiea, durissim pirsicutaur divintaa d' agnun chi cauntra d' amaur di la saua curanna arcuna causa cumitoss da puoi in avant.

Provençal (Provincia di Capitanata).

CELLE SAN VITO. — Ge disce dunc, che a lu tène de lu primmie Raie de Cìpre, dappòie che ì fì pràie la Tèra Sant da Guttèfrè de Buglione, avvenit che na gintile fenne de Guascogne iallatte pillirine a lu Subbulche, disèi turnan, arrovà che ì fitte a Cìpre, da paraie mà mmuen ì fit nammuor trì brì ngirià: pessù iglie ne pregnitte tân e tân dolanc, ca ì pinsat allà a ròccuorre a lu Raie; me cacum le discitte c' aiève tèn perdi, pecchè io gliève de cùorr trì pittitte e trì pabbunc, tân che nun sulammen ì pregnive pà dò iustise la vinnitte de lo ngiurie de lo sàte, mo s' ellè trinnammuor che ì fascivant a ìe, se le prignive cu tân vie vetuperie; tanluvaie che tut sellòe che ì tenevant da dir cache ciuose de ìe, ì sfugàvant pe le denà despiascie o pe lu sbrugnìe. Sentan sta ciuose sela fonno, persuadi che ì potive pà avàitre la vinnitte, p' avaie un pù de cunsulaziun a lu despiascie sine, se mettitte ntète do mmuordere un pù lu mèsterie de sètte Raie; e pianan se n'allatte devane a ìe, e li discitte: "Segnaue min, gè ge vien pà devan a ti pe la vinnitte che gè m'attant de la ngiurie cho m'ostà fèie, mo p'avaie un pù de piascie de sèlle, ge te pràie do m'emparà cumm ti tin tân de pasienz de suffric sèlle ngiurie, che gè gè sinte che ì fasciunt a ti, pecchè gè avoie mparan do ti, ge putisse pùre dò pasienz supportà la mià; ca ì sà Diabbenaic, se ge jò putisse fà, bunammuor ge te la dunàre, pecchè ti te sà tân bun purtà u còe."

Lu Raie, nsì addunc cà se muive pà o pà rên ì fascive, cumm se fìss ruveglia de lu suonno, abbiàtte primmammen de la ngiuria feie a sètta fenne, che ì vinnicà dò ràgge, poie se fascitte trì dije persecuttàne de tutt sellòe cà ì fascivant mèie a pròie cache ciuose cuntre l'unnaue de la curona sià.

Illyrian (Provincia di Molise).

ACQUAVIVA COLLECROCE—Govorem dakle, da na vrimu per-
voga Kralja Ciprina, potli vasetija zemlja sveta po Guffred
Buljunow, je bio da nika dragostiva žena Guascognova, je
pošla sputnica u grobu, odkuda vratajuè, u Cipru došla, po
nike zaè ljude hlapno je bila izapsovana. Za to ona bez
ikoja utiha jadajuè, je mislila poèi praviti Kralju, ali su
reklo njoju, da bi tegh zgubila; poklé on biše torko ponizan
do života, i torko mali milosardnik, da pace tuje uvríde
pravdom odkupiti, nezbrojne odurnom prikornostom njemu
cinjene tarpejaše; zašto koj imaše ikoja rasarda, ova, cinjuè
njemu uvrída, al sramota, zapaciajaše. Koja stvar cinjuè
žena bez uhvanja fantenja, za ikoja utiha svoja prigrušenja,
je nakanila ujesti lenost Kralja; i pošla placiajuè napri
njemu, je rekla: “Gospodar moj, ja negrem napri tebi za
imati fantenja do uvrída, koja su meni cinile; ali na zada-
volinosti onoj, tebe molim da meni kazaš ako tarpíš onc,
koje cinjem da jesu tebi cinjene; pokle do tebe nauciujuè, ja
bi mogla moja sterpljivostno tarpíti; koja, znade Bog, ako ja
bi mogla ciníti, dobrovoljeno bi tebi darovala, zašto jes torko
dobar nositelj.”

Kralj jošè tada (*or, dotle*) bil spor, i len, ako do san bi
sa probudio, pociujuè do uvrída cinjena ovoju ženi, koja
krutno je odkupio, nenaprošljv nastornik (*or, naslidnik*)
je postio do svako, koj proti poštenje svoja kruna što god bi
cinio po napredka.

HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

1°. Albanian, as is generally known, was first introduced into Southern Italy, about 1440, by Demetrius Reres Castriota; by his son, the celebrated Albanian Captain Scanderbeg; and by their followers.

2°. Modern Greek did not take its origin in Southern Italy, as has been erroneously stated, from the Ancient Greek of Magna Græcia, but simply from the Modern Greek of Greece, of which it is a corrupted and very much Italianized dialect, as Italic Albanian is a very much corrupted and Italianized dialect of Tosk Albanian. (See "Comparetti—Saggio dei dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto. Lecce, 1879; Morosi—Dialetti romaiici del mandamento di Bova in Calabria, in *Archivio Glottologico italiano*, vol. iv. p. 1. Roma, Torino, Firenze, 1874; Pellegrini—Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova. Torino e Roma, 1880.")

3°. The Gallo-Italic of Guardia Piemontese, in Calabria Citeriore, owes its origin to the Waldensian Piedmontese subdialect of the valleys of Pinerolo, Province of Turin, District, Canton and Diocese of Pinerolo. The Protestant Waldensians emigrated from Piedmont to Calabria about the year 1315. (See "Vegezzi-Ruscalla—Colonia piemontese in Calabria, in *Rivista Contemporanea*. Novembre, 1862.") With regard to the Gallo-Italic of Sicily, it seems, according to De Gregorio, that, generally, it represents Northern Piedmontese, while the Gallo-Italic dialect of San Fratello and Nicosia shows rather, according to the same author, an Emilian origin. (See "De Gregorio—Fonetica dei dialetti gallo-italici di Sicilia, in *Archivio Glottologico italiano*, vol. viii. p. 305," and "Affinità del dialetto sanfratellano con quelli dell' Emilia. Torino, 1886," by the same author.)

4°. For Provençal and its probable origin, see "Galiani—Vocabolario Napoletano. Napoli, 1789, vol. i. p. 141.")

5°. The Illyrian dialect owes its origin to the Illyrians of Dalmatia who emigrated from there to the province of Capitanata (Foggia), Map IV., under the reign of Charles V. (Communicated by the Rev. Titus de Leonardis, Archpriest of Montecilfone, an Albanian village of the province of Molise (Campobasso), Map III., in his letter of the 26th June, 1889, dated from the said village.)

ERRATUM.

At Map VIII., instead of *Carpinzano*, read *Carpanzano*.

MAPS SHOWING
THE LINGUISTIC ISLANDS OF
THE NEAPOLITAN AND SICILIAN PROVINCES OF ITALY
IN 1889.

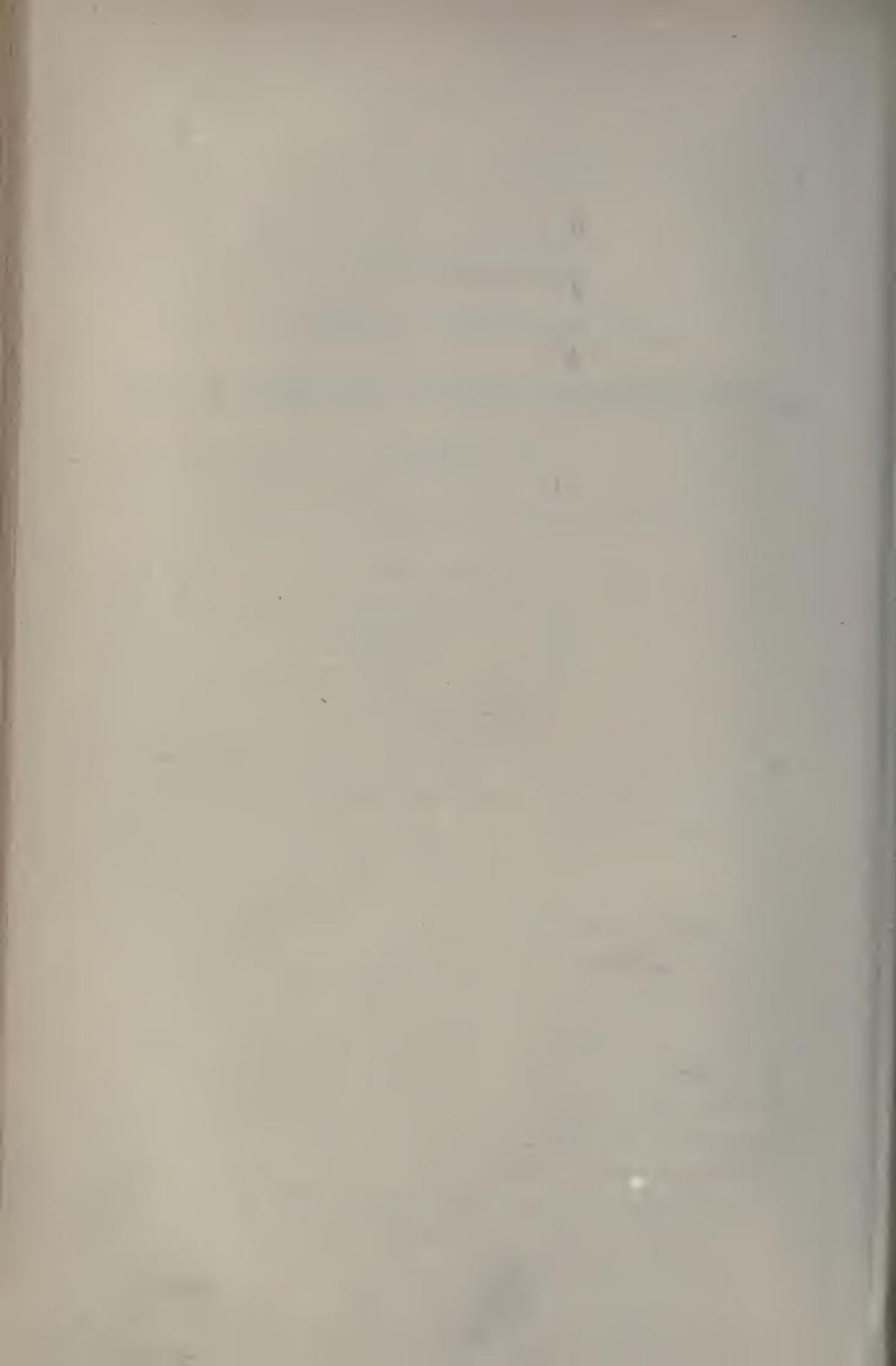
BY THE PRINCE L.L. BONAPARTE D.C.L.

LONDON, 1890.

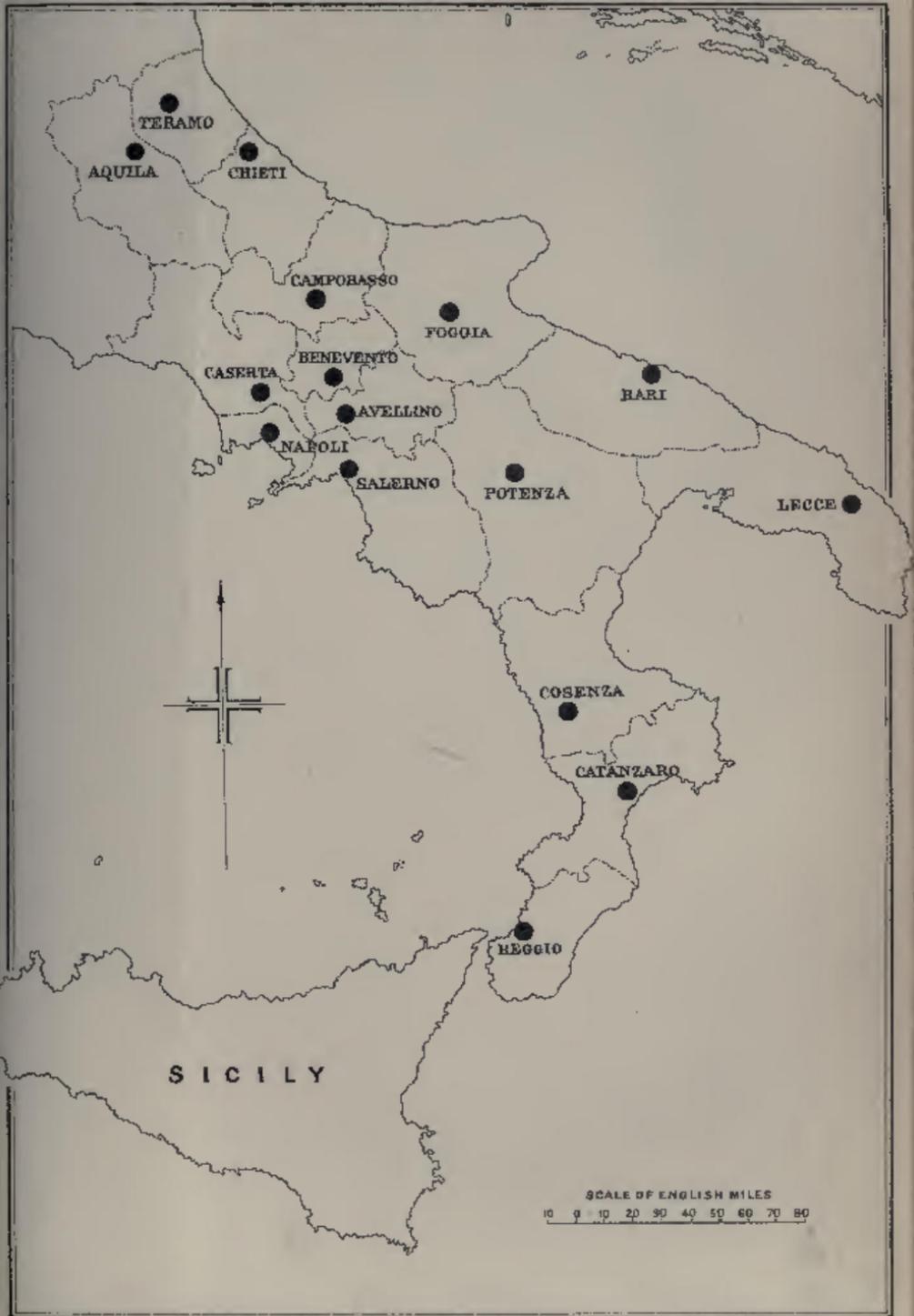
<i>Red</i>	<i>means</i>	<i>Albanian</i>
<i>Green</i>	"	<i>Modern Greek</i>
<i>Blue</i>	"	<i>Gallo-Italic</i>
<i>Brown</i>	"	<i>Provençal</i>
<i>Yellow</i>	"	<i>Illyrian.</i>

EXPLANATIONS.

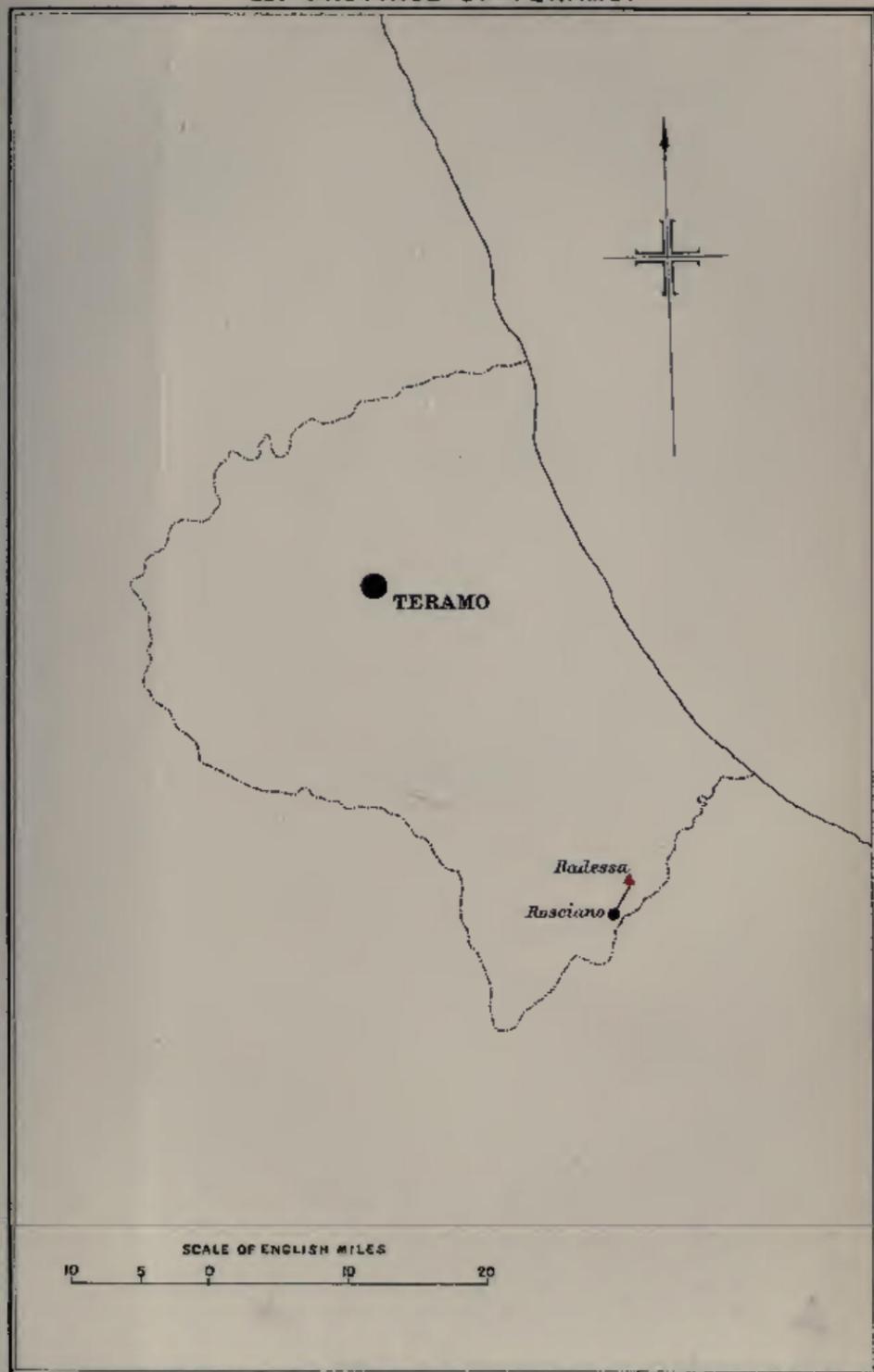
- = *A Capital of a province where no insulated dialect is spoken by natives*
- = *A small Locality where no insulated dialect is spoken by natives*
- = *An Albanian locality*
- = *id., but only Albanian in minority (large, small, or even very small.)*
- ▲ = *id., an annex of a parish*
- = *A Modern Greek locality*
- = *id., but only Modern Greek in minority*
- ▲ = *id., an unnex of a parish*
- △ = *id., id., in minority*
- = *A Gallo-Italic locality*
- = *A provençal locality*
- = *An Illyrian locality*
- ▲ = *id., an annex of a parish*
- ↙ = *unites a part of a parish with the parish itself*



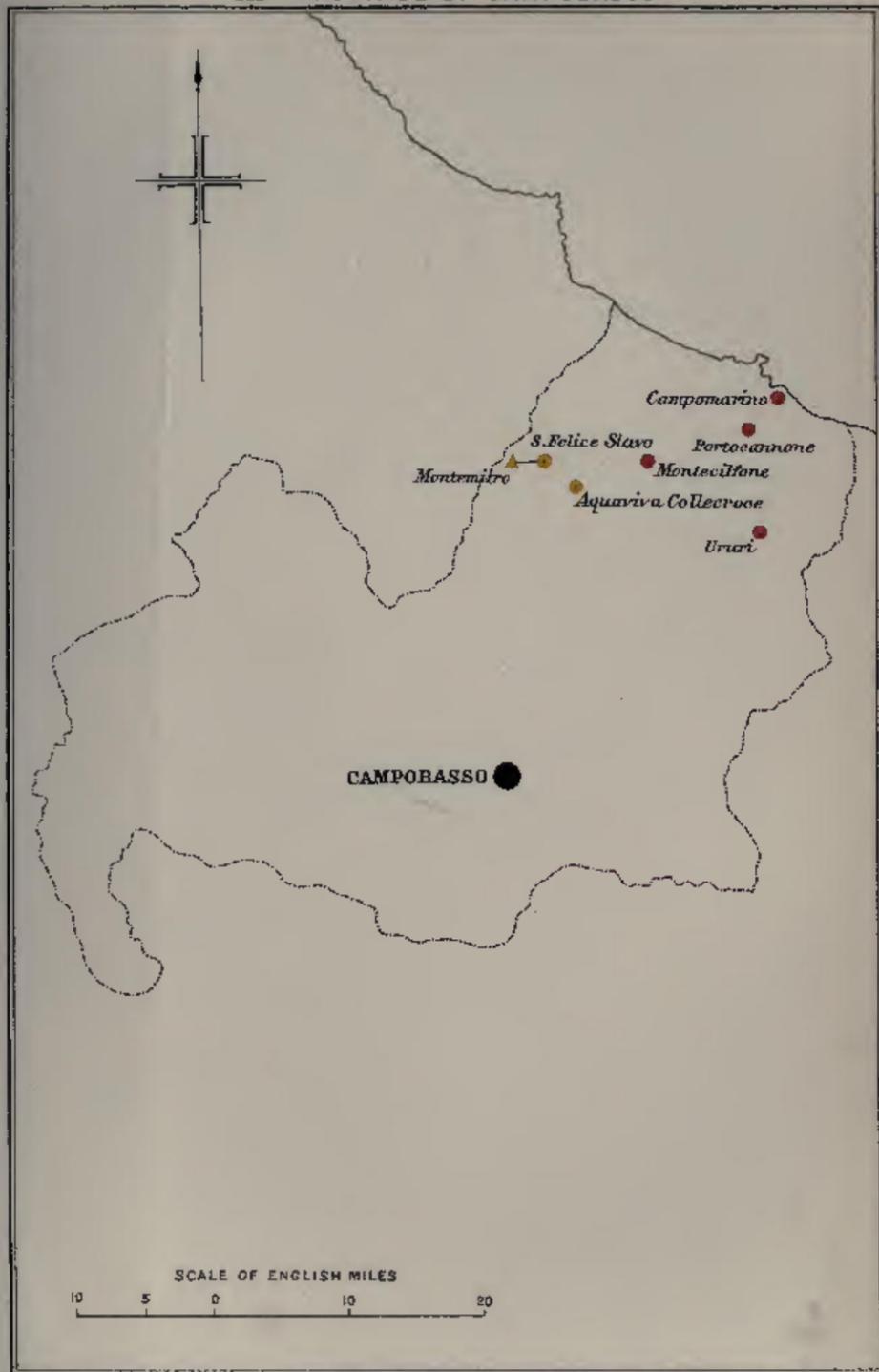
1. A GENERAL MAP OF THE NEAPOLITAN PROVINCES.



II. PROVINCE OF TERAMO.

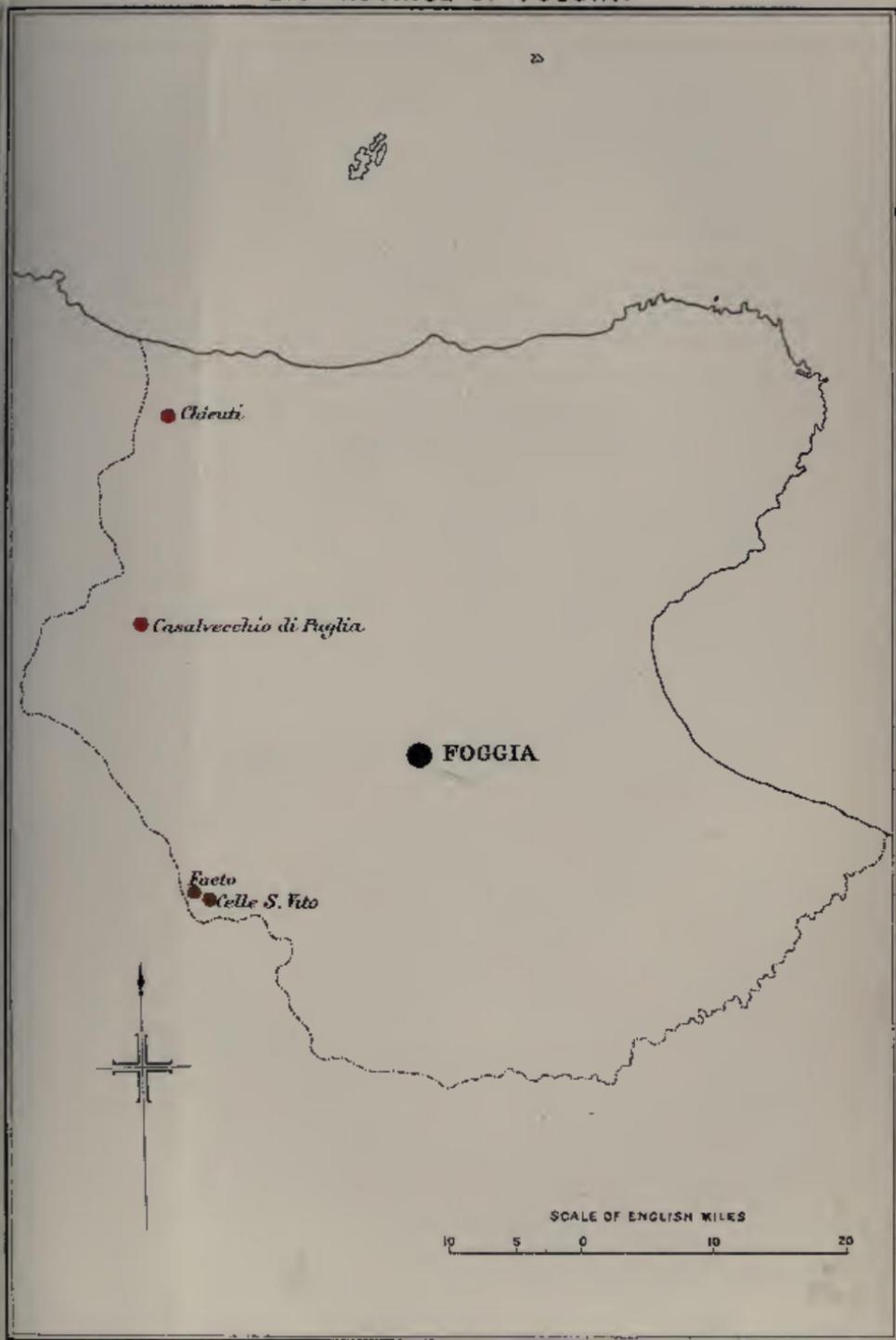


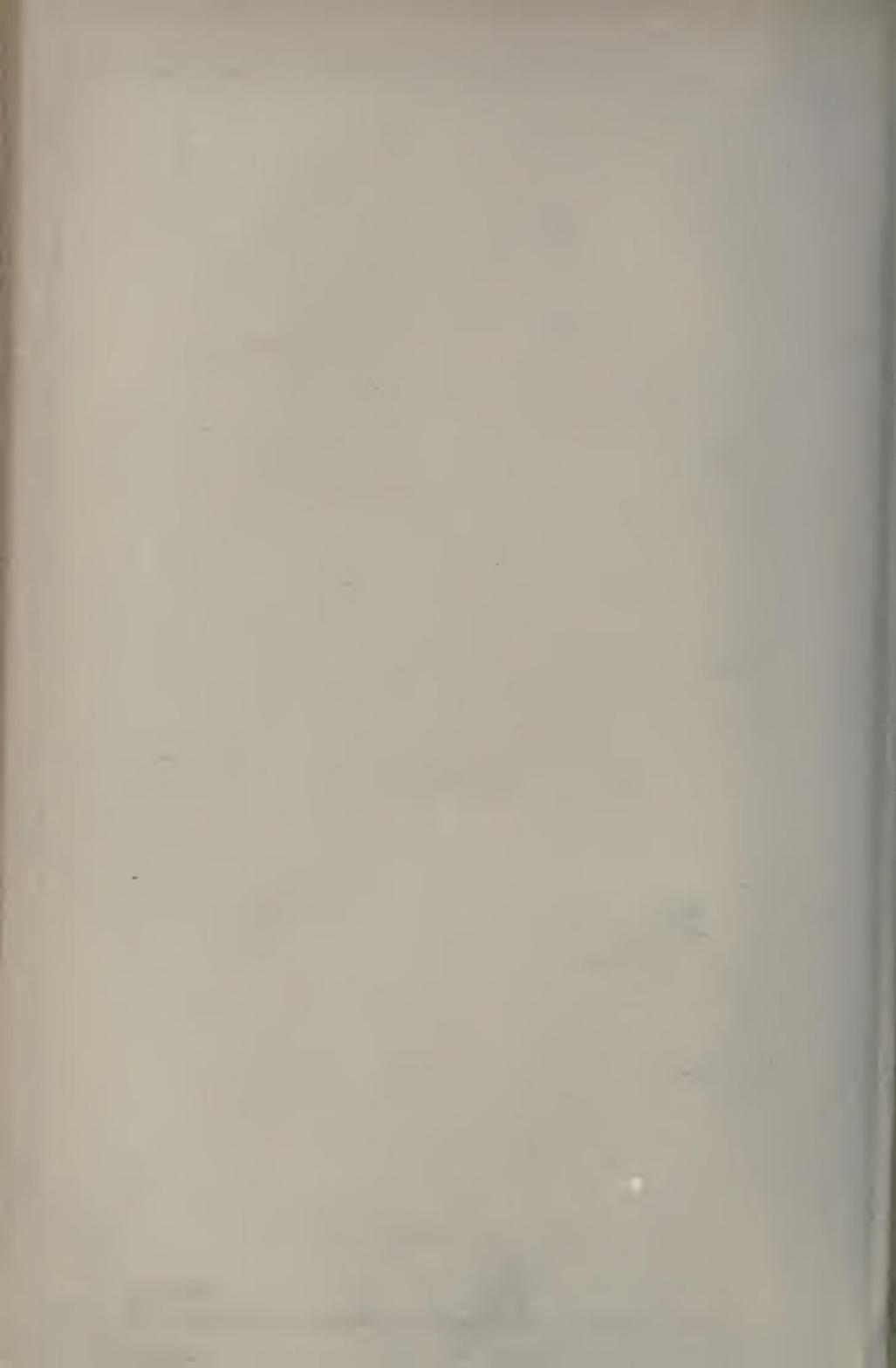
III. PROVINCE OF CAMPOBASSO.



IV. PROVINCE OF FOGGIA.

25



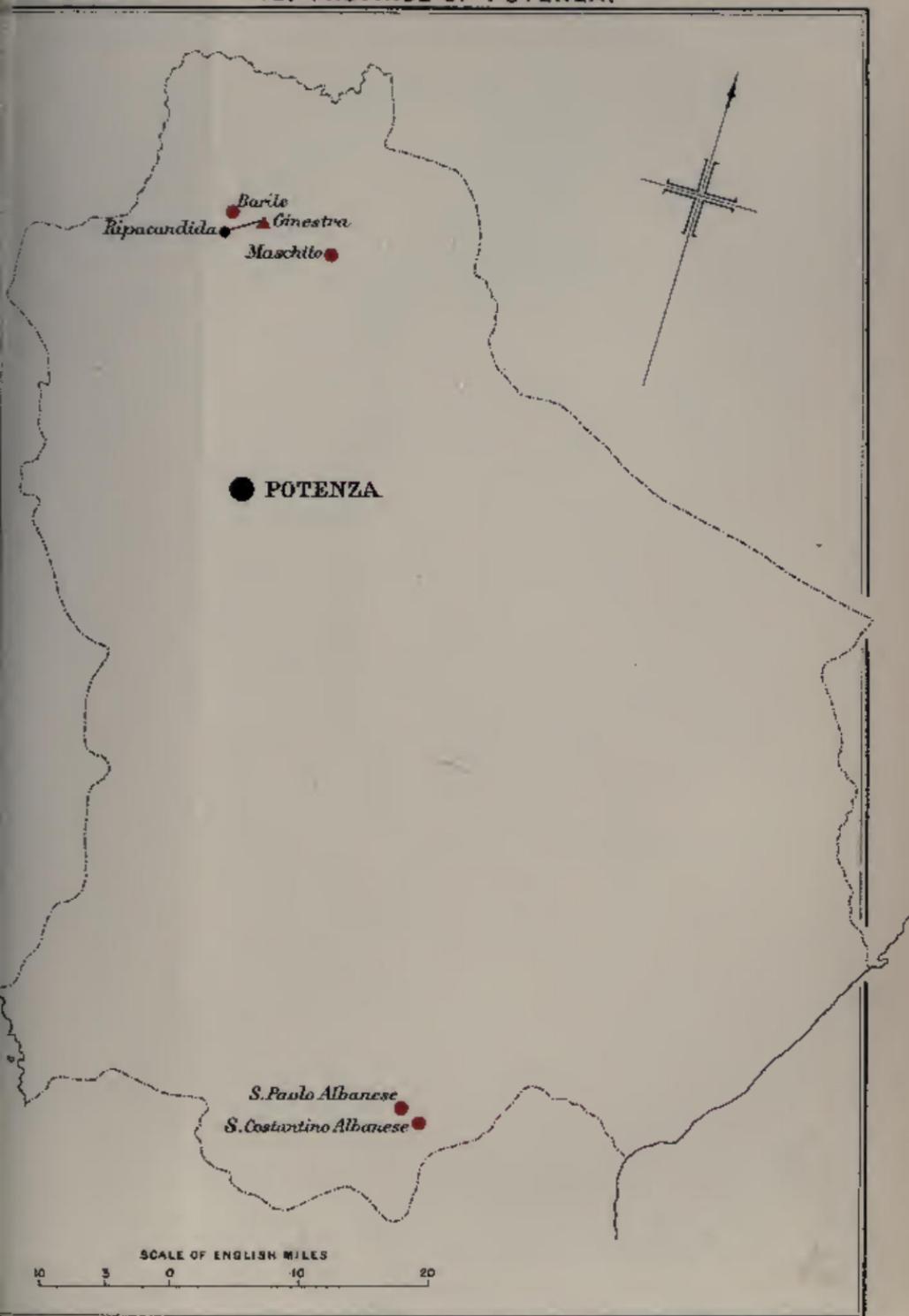


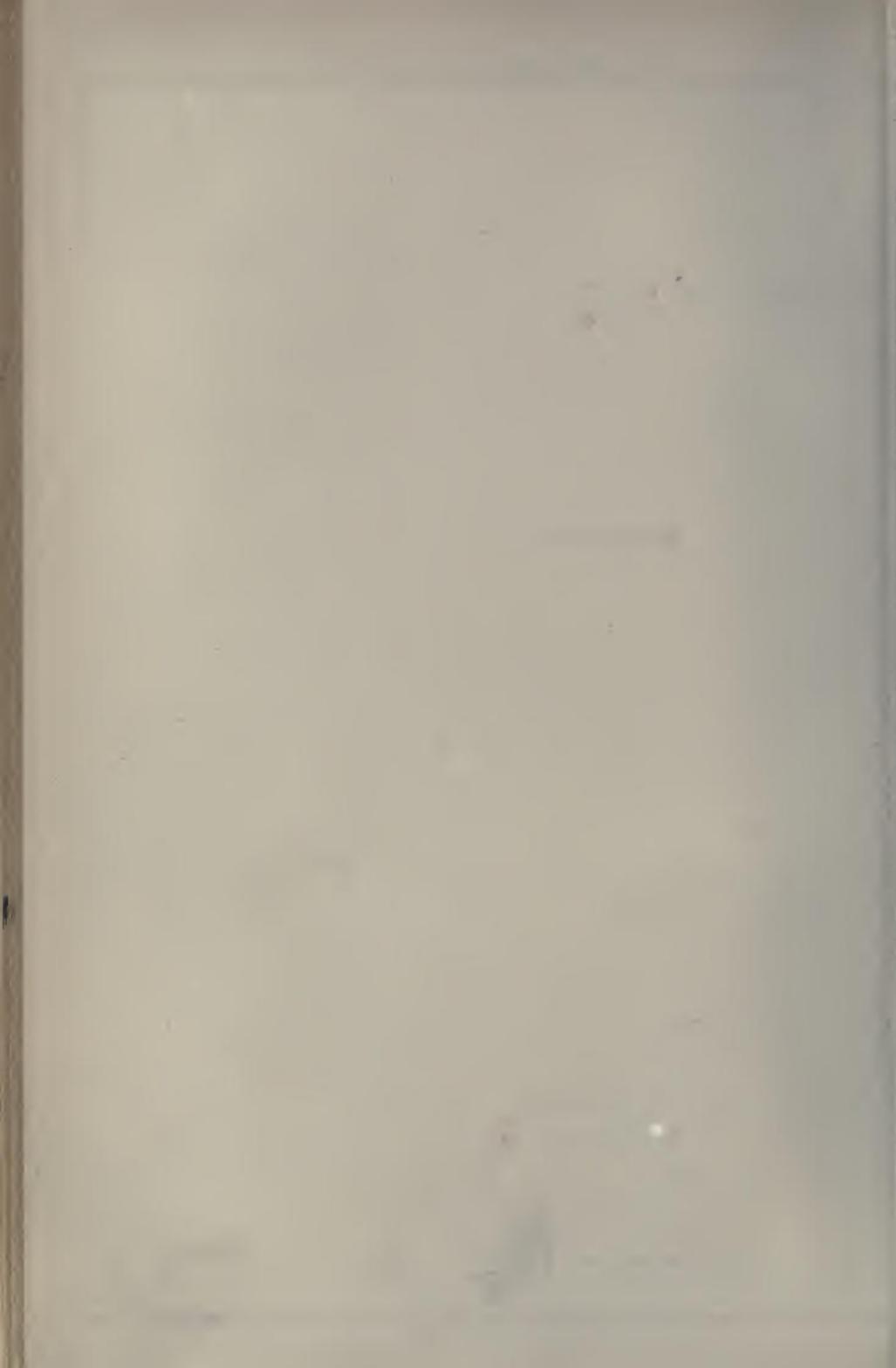
V. PROVINCE OF AVELLINO.



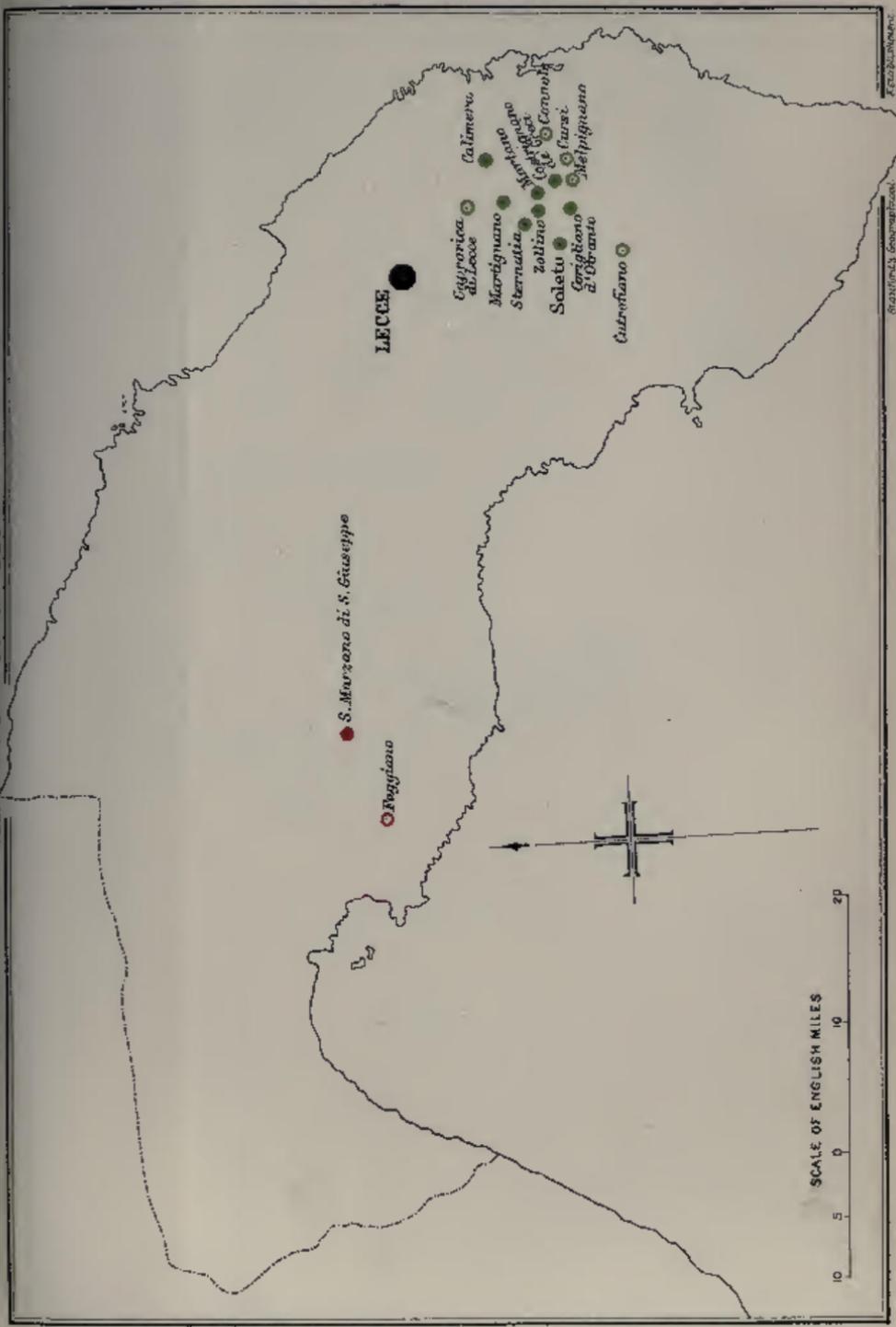
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
10 5 0 10 20

VI. PROVINCE OF POTENZA.





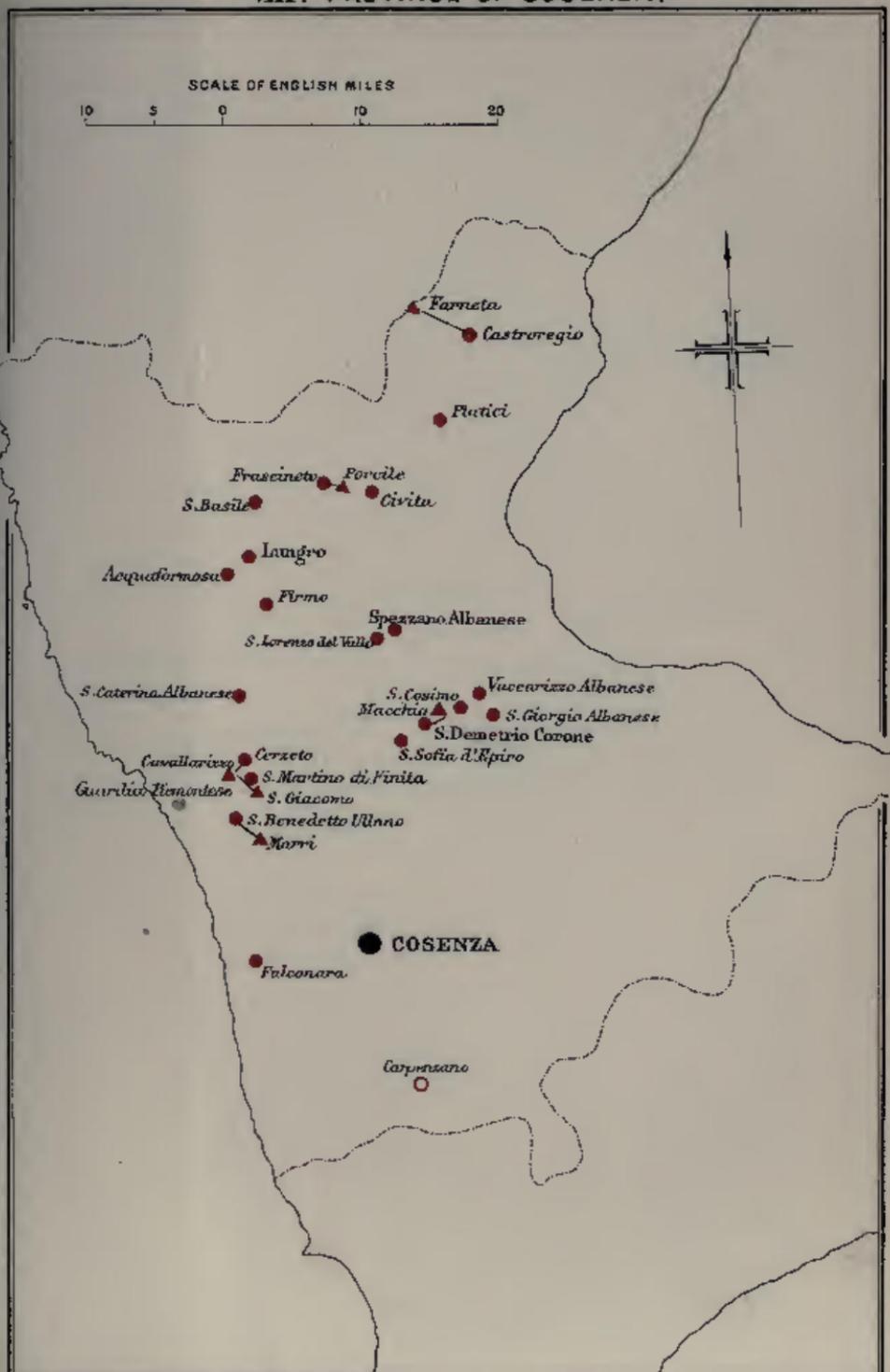
VII. PROVINCE OF LECCE.



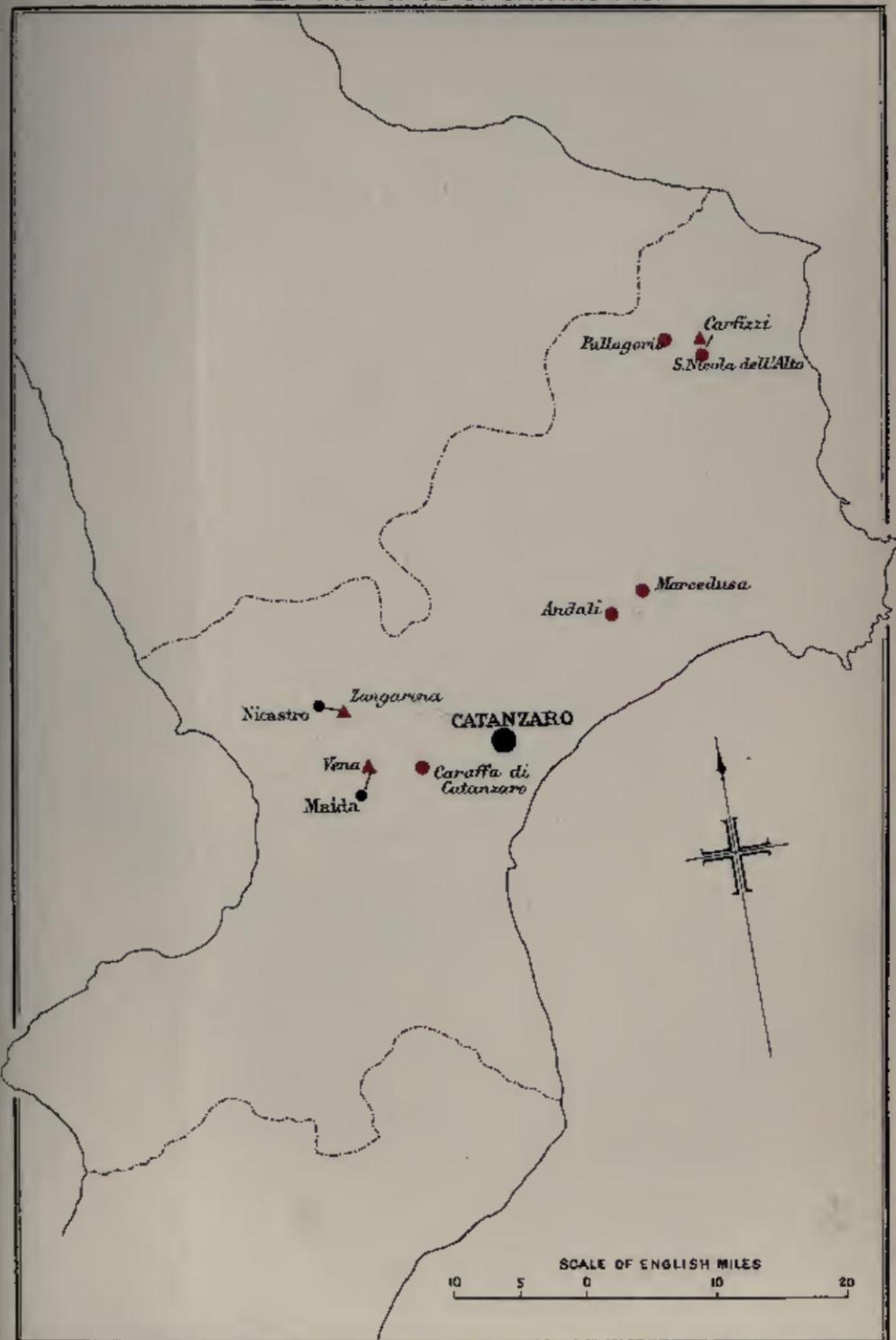
Author's Collection
Geographical

VIII. PROVINCE OF COSENZA.

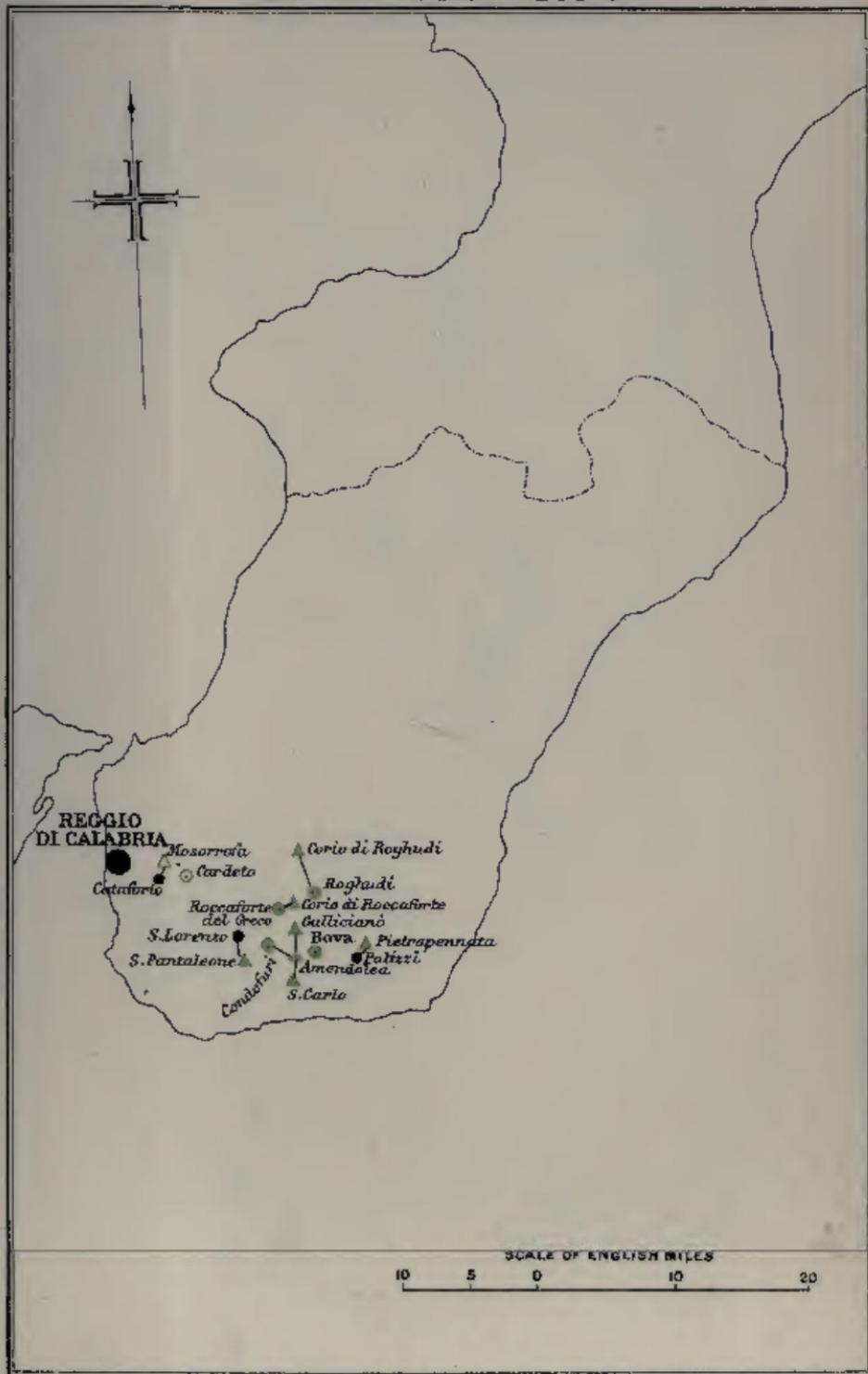
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES



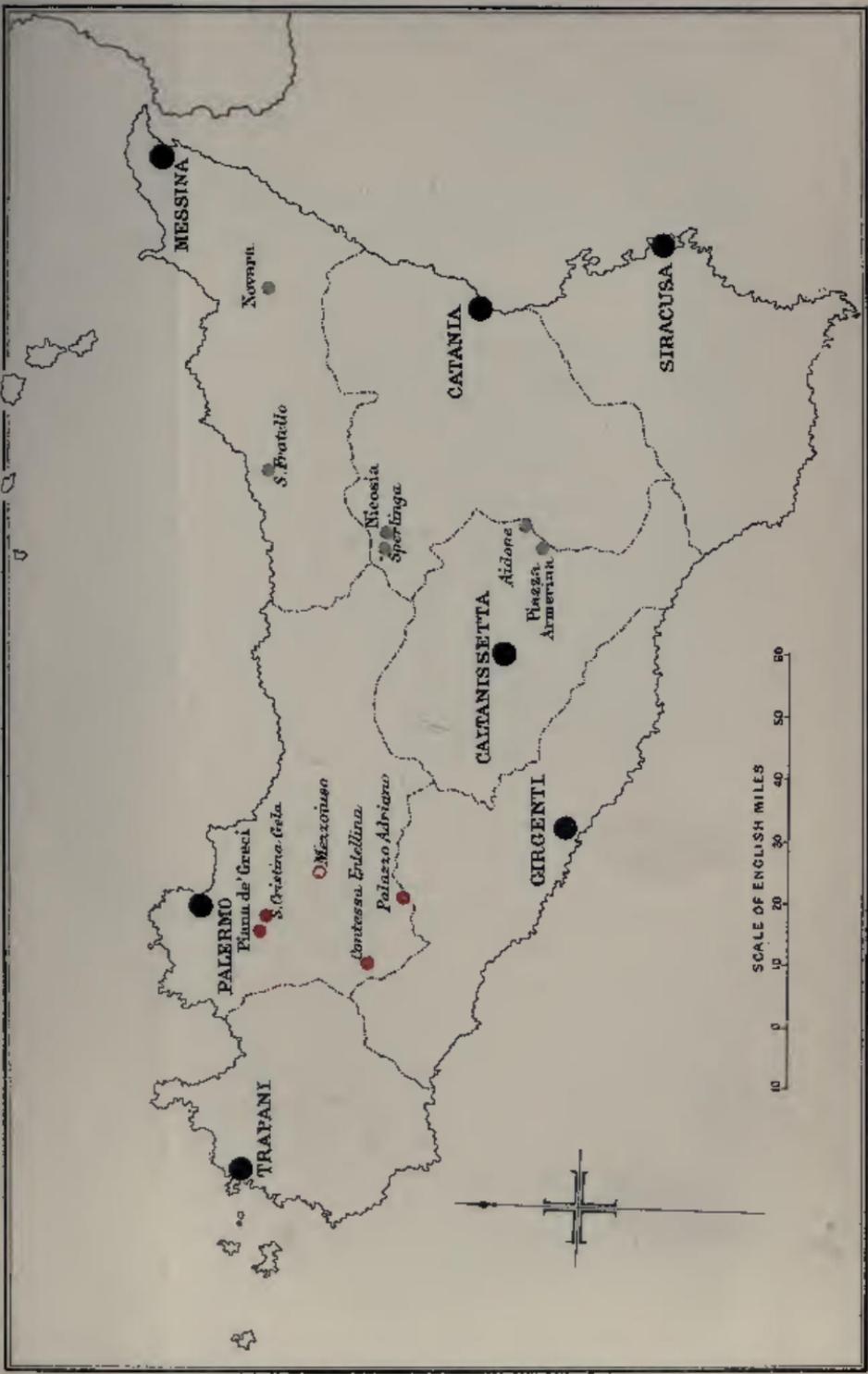
IX. PROVINCE OF CATANZARO.



X. PROVINCE OF REGGIO.



XI. SICILIAN PROVINCES



XX. — ON THE LINGUISTIC VALUE OF THE
IRISH ANNALS. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

[Read June 6th, 1890.]

It was Reinhold Pauli, I think, who suggested that the mediæval institution of annal-writing originated in Northumbria, and was carried thence by the Saxon missionaries into Frankland and Germany. Considering the close spiritual connexion between Ireland and Lindisfarne, long the monastic and episcopal capital of the North of England, it might be worth inquiring whether the Northumbrians learned annal-writing from their Scotie teachers, or whether the converse was the case. However this may be, there is no doubt of the existence in the Irish language of a great mass of ancient annals which (like the laws and the Cúchulainn romances) show little or no trace of foreign influence, and which often profess to be, and sometimes certainly are, founded on lost books of the Old-Irish period, say of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

The Irish annals may be briefly described in the alphabetical order of the compendia by which they are respectively denoted in the present paper :—

A.B. The Annals of Boyle, a vellum in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Titus A. xxv. ff. 13^a-35^b. Written in the thirteenth century. Extend from A.D. 420 to A.D. 1245. Printed inaccurately by Dr. O'Connor in *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, Buckingham, 1825, vol. ii. pp. 5-48 (separate pagination). The part relating to the Battle of Clontarf (A.D. 1014) is printed in O'Donovan's *Grammar*, pp. 444-447. I have collated O'Connor's edition with the MS.

A.I. The Annals of Inisfallen, a vellum in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 503. Extend from the Creation to the year 1319. Written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The part extending from A.D. 428 to A.D. 1195 (ff. 9-40) is printed

inaccurately in the *Rerum Hib. Scriptt.* ii. pp. 1-122 (separate pagination). An entry for the year 1201 is in O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1418, note *y*. I have collated O'Conor's edition with the MS.

A.L.C. Annals of Loch Cé, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1. 19. Written about 1580. Extend from A.D. 1014 to 1590. Edited by the late Mr. W. M. Hennessy, Dublin, 1871, in two volumes.

A.U. The Annals of Ulster, a vellum in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 489. Extend from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1541. The greater part compiled in the fifteenth century, from the lost Books of Cuana, Mochtae, Dub-dá-lothe, etc., by Cathal O'c Mac Maghnusa. Printed inaccurately, down to the year 1131, in O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. iv. Another copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 1. 8), has been published, much more correctly, but only down to the year 1056, by the late Mr. Hennessy, Dublin, 1887. I have collated O'Conor's edition with the Bodleian MS.

C.S. *Chronicon Sctorum*, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1. 18, a manuscript written by Dudley mac Firbis. Extends from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1131. Edited by the late Mr. Hennessy, Dublin, 1866.

F.M. The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters.¹ Extend from the Deluge down to A.D. 1616. Compiled in the years 1632-1636, from the Book of Clonmacnois, now lost,² the Book of Oilén na Naomh (Island of the Saints), of which there is said to be a fragment in the Bodleian:³ the Annals of Ulster above mentioned: the lost Books of the Clan O'Mulconry, the lost Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilonan, and the lost Historical Book of Lecan Mic Firbisigh. Edited, very erroneously, down to A.D. 1171, by Dr. O'Conor in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. iii. The whole edited by Dr. O'Donovan, in five quartos, Dublin, 1848, 1851, the

¹ Three O'Clerys and Fer-feasa O'Mulconry.

² There are, however, several copies of an English translation made in 1627 by Connell Mageoghagan.

³ Rawl. B. 488, ff. 29-34, comprising the years 1392-1407. But in the Approbation prefixed to the Annals of the Four Masters, p. lxx, it is said that the Book of the Island was not carried beyond A.D. 1227.

annals relating to the years 1172–1616 from the autograph MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin: the rest from O'Connor's edition, controlled by two copies made in the eighteenth century. The earlier part of O'Donovan's great book is often obviously faulty.

L.L. Annals in the *Lebar Laignech* (Book of Leinster), a MS. of the middle of the twelfth century, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Extend from the introduction of Christianity to A.D. 1189. Printed in the Rolls edition of the Tripartite Life, London, 1887, pp. 512–528,¹ from pp. 24–26 of the lithographic facsimile.

T.F. Three Fragments of Irish Annals, in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, Brussels, marked vol. xviii. No. 5301. Extend from A.D. 573 to 735, from 662 to 704, and from 851 to 913. Transcribed from Mac Firbis' copy of a lost vellum of unknown date. Edited by O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860. Correspond in part with Egerton 1782 (a MS. in the British Museum), fo. 61^a et seq.

Tig. The Annals of Tighernach. Of these, the oldest and honestest of all the extant Irish Annals, we have only fragments. The first, in Latin, with a few Irish passages, names and glosses interspersed, extends from the foundation of Rome to the time of Antoninus, and is preserved in Rawl. B. 502, a twelfth-century vellum in the Bodleian, ff. 1–12. The second fragment extends from B.C. 305 to A.D. 360; the third from A.D. 489 to 766; the fourth from A.D. 975 to 1088. The second, third and fourth fragments are for the most part in Irish, and are preserved in Rawl. B. 488 (ff. 1–19), a vellum of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, also in the Bodleian. The fourth fragment is followed by an anonymous continuation (ff. 20–26), in Irish, from A.D. 1088, when Tighernach died, to 1178. The first fragment has never been published. The second, third and fourth have been printed by O'Connor, with his usual inaccuracy, in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. pp. 1–314.

¹ The following corrections are required: p. 512, l. 15, for *sancti* read *secundi*; p. 513, l. 15, for *holy* read *second*; p. 515, at the year 573, for *A fight in Iardoman (?)* read *An expedition into the Western world, that is, into Soil and Islay.*

A fifth fragment, which the late Dr. Todd supposed to be part of Tighernach,¹ is at the beginning of the MS. of the Annals of Ulster in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It consists of four leaves of vellum and covers the time from A.D. 34 (about) to A.D. 378 (about). It has never been printed, but I have had it photographed, as well as the four Bodleian fragments of Tighernach. I have transcribed all the Irish in these fragments and in the continuation.

Besides the Annals above described, there are the following, which I have not read for this paper:—

1. The Annals of Connaught. The original is said to be one of the Stowe vellums now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Paper copies are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (class H. 1. 1 and 2), and in that of the Royal Irish Academy (class 23. F. 8-9). The part extending from A.D. 1316 to 1412 has been printed from H. 1. 1 and 2, in Mr. Hennessy's edition of the Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i. pp. 584-652, vol. ii. pp. 2-144.

2. A fragment of a chronicle in the British Museum, Clarendon xlv. Add. 4792, ff. 27-40. Four of the leaves (29, 30, 31, 32) are vellum; the others are paper. The part relating to the years 1578-1590 is printed in Mr. Hennessy's edition of the Annals of Loch Cé, vol. ii. pp. 420-514.

3. Two vellum fragments of a chronicle in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 488, ff. 27, 28. Extend from A.D. 1238 to 1248 and from A.D. 1306 to 1314. According to Mr. Macray's catalogue of the Bodleian MSS., Part V., fasc. i., col. 708, "probably written in the beginning of the fifteenth century."

4. A vellum fragment of what Mr. Macray states (*ubi supra*) to be the Annals of the Abbey of the Island of All Saints, in Lough Rie, County of Longford, by Augustine Magraidin, Rawl. B. 488, ff. 29-34. Extends from A.D. 1392 to 1407.

5. A vellum fragment of Annals at Cheltenham, in the Phillipp's library, No. 9194, fo. 9^a et seq. A small quarto,

¹ See his letter in O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, pp. 517-8. The late Mr. W. M. Hennessy told me that he did not agree with Dr. Todd.

written in the fourteenth century. Extends from A.D. 1160 to A.D. 1315 or thereabouts. Owing to a bookbinder's blunder the leaves containing the annals for 1160-1183 come *after* those containing the annals for 1192-1315.

6. Another vellum fragment of Annals in the same library, No. 9195, ff. 1-12. A small quarto, written about 1400. Extends from A.D. 1120 or thereabouts to 1156.

The large mass of literature above described has hitherto never been used for philological purposes, first, because O'Connor's editions of the Annals of Tighernach, Innisfallen, Boyle, and the Four Masters are so untrustworthy as to discredit the better editions of the other Annals, which we owe to O'Donovan and Hennessy; secondly, because the use of the so-called Irish character has led to many misprints,¹ and has also rendered it impossible, without collating the printed texts with the MSS., to know when we have to deal with an actual form, when with an ignorant extension of a contraction; thirdly, because the Irish Annals are, as a rule, of repulsive aridity; and, lastly, because the translations given by the editors are notoriously full of reckless and unlucky guesswork.²

Some idea of the richness of the Annals as a mine for Irish lexicography may be gathered from the fact that in a few weeks I have collected from them about 3500 words, most of which are not found in any dictionary, while those which are so found are either wrongly explained, or not accompanied by any quotation or reference. To print these words with their respective *belegstellen* would require a volume of about 200 pages, which would benefit only a limited number of students of Irish. I therefore propose, on the present occasion, to give little more than a selection of such of these words as are likely to interest the wider circle of comparative philologists.

¹ Two out of some hundreds may be quoted: *dainnaibh*, FM. 1595, p. 1986, l. 16. Read *d'armaibh*. *diairin*, FM. 1597, p. 2010, l. 9. Read *diairm*. For misprints in the Annals of Ulster see *The Academy*, Sep. 28, 1889, p. 207.

² See as to the Annals of Ulster *The Academy*, Oct. 5, 1889, pp. 224, 225.

The contents of the present paper are arranged as follows :

- I. Irish words etymologically interesting,
- II. 1. Low-Latin words.
 2. Irish loans from Latin.
 3. Irish loans from Old-French.
- III. 1. Welsh names.
 2. Irish loans from Welsh.
- IV. Pictish names and other words.
- V. 1. Old-Norse names and other words.
 2. Irish loans from Old-Norse.
- VI. 1. Anglo-Saxon names.
 2. Irish loans from Anglo-Saxon.
 3. Irish loans from Middle-English.

I. IRISH WORDS ETYMOLOGICALLY INTERESTING.

accidecht *patrimonial right*, gen. *aicidheachta*, A.I.C. 1225. Cognate with Ir. *aicme* *race, tribe*, W. *ach*, 'stemma, prosapia, parentela, genealogia': *achydd* *genealogist*, *achyddiaeth* *genealogy*, *achyddol* *genealogical*.

altru *fosterer*, CS. 108, gen. *altrann*, Tig. AU. 1129, *altronn*, A.I.C. 1129. Corn. *altrou* (gl. *victricus*), Br. *autrou* 'seigneur,' pl. *autronez*, W. *alltraw* 'sponsor,' pl. *alltrawon*.

Anmargach a Dane, for *Danmargach*, AB. 1014, as *uimir* for *nimir*=Lat. *numerus*. The *d* in the one case, like the *n* in the other, is lost after the *n* of the article. Zimmer's explanation of *na hAnmarraig*, LL. 262^b, as "phonetische schreibung" for *no.Dhanmarraig* is impossible.

ar-chú *watchdog*, metaph. *vigilant hero*, acc. sg. *archoin*, Tig. 1171. Cogn. with Ir. *airo*, and the *Areanos* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

brech *wolf*, in *Brech-mag*, FM. 753, Skr. *vyka*.

cel *death*, AU. 1056=O.-Norse *Hel* the death-goddess.

cessach *basket*, pl. dat. *cessachaib*, Ann. Conn. cited FM. 1225, note 5. Formed from *cess*=Lat. *cista*, Gr. *κίστη*.

cimbid *captive*, AU. 745, *cim(b)idecht* *captivity*, A.I.C. 1315, *√cing-*, Lat. *cingo*. See *coimm*.

cin *revenge*, pl. hi *ceintaib*, CS. 1034=*a ndioghail*, FM. 1036. Cognate with *ποινή*, and Zend *kaēna* 'strafe, rache.'

coimm 1. *garment*, 2. *covering, shelter, protection*, FM. 1073,

ALC. 1186. From **kombi* (from **kongvi*), cogn. with *κόμβος*, and the Hesychian *κομβώσασθαι* *στολίσασθαι*.

condem, FM. 1162, condme, ALC. 1202, condmed, Tig. 1163, *billeting*. condmedim, ALC. 1310, condmim, Tig. 1159, *I billet*. Skr. *khād*, *khādāna*, Gr. *κνώδων*.

cule *storehouse*, Tig. 612. Gr. *καλιδ*.

culebad, AU. 1128, gl. *flabellum*, Aug. The *cul* is cognate with Lat. *culex*. The rest of the word is obscure.

dadaig at night, FM. 1161,¹ 1592 (arabharach *dadhaigh*). From *da* and *adaig*. Not to be confounded with *dádaig*, 'after' or 'following.' Thus in the Táin Bó Fraích (LL. 250^v) King Ailill says of his guilty daughter: *atbélat a bbeoil side imbarach dadaig* 'her lips (*i.e.* she) shall perish on the following morning,' and in the same story, 251^a, when Ailill enters the fortress; *gaibthir fledugud leu dádaig* 'feasting is begun by them afterwards.' So in the Calendar of Oengus, Feb. 15, *iarnabarach ndádaig*, *arnabarach dádaig*. So *cuít na aidhí dádaig the ration for the following night*, LL. 72^b 38: *am-búi Maclruáin and dádaig when M. was there afterwards*, LL. 288^b. A cognate adverb is *daiðe* or *duidhí*: see *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, l. 3565, and *Irische Texte*, 2^{te} serie, p. 190.

daig fire, acc. *fri daigid*, Tig. 977=*la daigid*, AU. 977: *daigthech fiery*, AU. 814: \sqrt{dhagh} , whence Skr. *dahati*, Gr. *τέφρα*, Lat. *favilla*, *fōmos* (**fohmet*, Fröhde) and the Teut. *dagaz* *day*.

dímicin dishonour, contempt, gen. *dímíne*, FM. 1155. Cf. W. *myg*, *honoratus*, O.-Welsh *cein-micun*.

din, Tig. 1124,=*dídu*, *dídiu*, 'inde,' 'ergo,' as to which see G.C.² and Kuno Meyer, *The Academy*, No. 940, p. 321, col. 3.

dremire ladder, ALC. 1501, from *dréim*, \sqrt{dreg} , whence also NHG. *treppe*.

duirthech prayer-house, CS. 1039, compounded of *d*, the weak form of the prep. *ad*, or cognate with Lat. *oro*, and *teg*=*τέρος*. So W. *addoldy* is compounded of *ad* a prepositional prefix, *ol* cognate with Ir. *dílim* 'I pray,' and *ty*=*τέρος*.

ech-lasc horsewhip, whence *echlascach full of horsewhips*, Tig. 671, and the verbal noun *echlascadh* (spelt *eachlascadh*, FM. 1595, p. 1978, l. 10). From *ech*=Lat. *equus* and *lasc* cogn. with NHG. *lasche* 'a stripe sown on cloth,' Eng. *lash*.

¹ Here O'Donovan, p. 1144, l. 8, bisects *dadhaigh*, printing *da daigh*, and translating 'by fire.'

eiss cataract, gen. *esso*, AU. 752, is, according to Prof. Bezzenberger, from *(p)*ed-ti*, cogn. with Skr. *á-patti*, Lat. *pestis*. Hence Flainn-ess: mors Ailella Flainn-esso 'of the red cataract' or 'of the blood-cataract,' AU. 665.

éssi reins (habenac), pl. dat. *ésibh*, FM. 1600, p. 2168, acc. *éssi*, LU. 79^a. Lat. *ansa*, Lith. *asa*, Lett. *osa*.¹

fichim I fight, t-pret. pl. 3 *fechtatar*, AU. 1024, cogn. with Lat. *vi-n-co*.

fiu-scothach brightflowered, FM. 3847, 3867: *fin-snechta bright-snow*, AU. 894: *Fin-ghin* a man's name, FM. 1600, p. 2168. Here *fin* seems cognate with Gr. *φύσις* from **swēnops*.

fochann battlecry, ALC. 1256. This, like the Old-Irish *iarma-foich* 'quarrel,' is cognate with Lat. *vox*, Gr. *ὄψ*, Skr. *vacana*.

foel (fael?) *wolf*, pl. nom. *foeil*, ALC. 1024, a primeval Celtic *roilo-s* or *vailo-s* = Arm. *gail*, where *g* is from *v*, as in *goro* = *Γέρον* and *gilem* = *vēda*.

foirsed act of harrowing, AU. 1012, from **vort-ti-to*, Lat. *verso*, *verso*: cf. *ligonibus versare glaebas*, Hor. C. 3. 6. 39.

fo-morach, pl. dat. *fomorchuib*, which in OS. p. 6, is explained by 'devils in human shapes, i.e. men with single hands and single feet.' The *morach* seems cognate with the *mor* of O.Ir. *mor-(r)igan* (gl. *lamia*), and this with OHG. and A.S. *mara*, Engl. *mare* in *night-mare*, Germ. *lamia mar* cited in Grimm's Wörterbuch, s.v. *Mahr*. In the vowel it agrees with Pol. *mora*. Cognate are the subst. *Fomoir*, acc. sg. *Fomóir*, LL. 86^b, 37, gen. pl. *Fomoire*, FM. 3790 = *Fomóre*, LU. 89^b, or *Fomra* (*fine Fomhra*, ALC. 1318), acc. *trénfiru an tsidho .i. na Fomóre*, Harl. 5280, fo. 64^b.

geltai (gl. *uolátiles*) Tig. 722: *geltacht flying*, TF. p. 40, FM. 718, in both cases referring to warriors who went mad with terror and flew in the air. Hence O.-N. *verða at gjalti*. The root may be *ghel* 'to fly,' whence also Gr. *χάλι-ε-δών*, the flyer par excellence, and perh. Ir. *gaille*, Trip. Life 46, corresponding with *en find* 'white bird,' *ibid.* 448.

gemel fetter, sg. dat. *gemul*, AI. 1076, *geimhil*, ALC. 1536, W. *gefyn*, whence Eng. *gyve*. The Lat. *gemini* and Gr. *γάμος* may be cognate.

gen sword, AU. 687, FM. 686, *√ghen* = Skr. *han*. Lit. *genėti* (*äste*) *abbauen*.

imnoneitir invicem, inter se, AU. 964, 1004 = *immanctar*, im-

¹ O'Reilly (*more suo*) explains *eisi* (as he misspells *éssi*) by 'the loins.' The *aradhna*, which he gives as a gloss, is a deriv. of *ara*, gen. *arad* 'charioteer.'

menetor, immenetar, G.C.² 614, 1097. Dr. Reeves (*Columba* 394, 395 n.), misled by Dr. O'Connor, makes a place-name, Moneitir, out of this adverb.

ini daughter, ALC. 1517 = Manx *in*, an abbreviation of *ingen* (now *inghean*) as *nii* (leg. *ni*), ALC. 1588, of *nigen* (now *nighean*). Both are descendants of the ogmic *inigena* of Eglwys Cymmun Church.

machtaim *I slaughter*, pass. pret. pl. 3 ro *machtait*, FM. 733, 1013. Cognate with Gr. *μάχαιρα* and Goth. *meki*. As to Lat. *macto*, *macellum*, see Ascoli in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xvii. 333.

matta staff, crozier, mada Ciarain, CS. 1083. From **mazdio-* cognate with Eng. *mast* and perhaps Lat. *nidus* from **mas-lo-s*: cf. Ir. *neti*, Eng. *nest*, Lat. *nidus* from **nizdo-s*.

ro-mídratar, ALC. 1088, AU. 1088, perf. act. pl. 3 of *mídiur* 'I think.' For the first *r* of *mídr-atar* cf. Old-Ir. *ro gén-ar-tar*, Wb. 4^e 12, and Mid.-Ir. *ro lam-r-atar*, Circuit of Ireland, 5^b, and *ro fot-ar-tar*, LU. 90^b 10. As to these forms see Windisch, *Ueber die Verbalformen* u.s.w. 61.

muce *pig* is used in ALC. 1527 to denote the warlike machine called in the Middle Ages *sus*, *scropha*, *sow*, and *truie*. See Duceage, s.v. *sus*, and O'Donovan, FM. 1595, p. 1981, note °.

muir-iucht *a fleet*, AU. 920, 927. FM. 919. An Old-Celtic **mori-jueto-*, literally 'a sea-junction: ' *iucht* from **jug-to-*, cogn. with *ζυκτός*, Lat. *jugum*, O.-Welsh *iou*.

nemed, neimheadh *i. talamh ecclusda* 'ecclesiastical land,' FM. 1148. In Old-Irish *nemed* (Gaul. *nemeton*) glosses *sacellum*, and is rightly regarded by Zimmer as a 'heathen conception which found entrance into Christendom.' Cf. Ir. *fid-nemed* 'a sacred grove,' AU. 995, with Gaul. *Δρυ-νεμετον*. As *τέμενος*, *tem-p-lum* are cognate with *τέμενω*, so *nemed* is cognate with *vépw*.

nómád, gen. *nómaide*, *an ennead of eight hours*, i.e. three days and three nights, AU. 1093, 1125. ALC. 1093, 1125. FM. 1021. CS. p. 10.

oco prep. *at* occurs in composition with the article: *oco-na Deilgne*, AU. 1021, *oco-naibh iusibh*, AU. 851. This is the Old-Irish *ocu* (*ocu an-denum*, Ml. 18^b 4). In Middle-Irish it is usually found in the apocopated form *cu*, *co*, e.g. *co dú* 'ubi,' lit. 'apud locum.' See Bezzenger's *Beiträge*, xvi. 61 note.

othar *a sick person*, but in ALC. 1204, 1296, *sickness*. From (*p*)*utro-*, cogn. with Lat. *puter*.

rathannaib dat. pl. *rafts*, FM. 1138. Cognate with Lat. *ratis*.

An Irish *rethe*, gen. *rethed*, meaning 'raft,' and not, as usual, 'ram,' seems to occur in ALC. 1235.

rogach select, AU. 902, *roigne choice*, pl. dat. *roighnibh*, FM. 1153, *roignib*, ALC. 1636, *raighnib*, Tig. 1166, a deriv. of the Old-Irish *n*-stem *rogu* 'choice,' gen. *rogan*, which in the G.C.² 270, 864, is wrongly treated as a stem in *s* (*ro-gu*). All cognate with Lat. *rogare*.

Sabran *the ancient name of the river Lee*, dat. *Sabhraind*, FM. 1163. Cogn. with W. *Hafran*, Ptolemy's *Σαβρίνα*. Is the double *n* of the Irish form due to the accent?

scálan in *bél-scálan* 'hut,' FM. 1244, ALC. 1244, from **scānlō* or **scānlā*, cogn. with *σκηνή*, Dor. *σκᾶνά*, and perhaps (as Fröhde thinks) Lat. *cāsa* from **skānsā*.

seothaim, *seathaim I maim*, pret. pass. sg. 3 *roscoathadh*, FM. 1504. Cognate with Goth. *skafjan*, OHG. *scadōn*, and perhaps Gr. *ἀ-σκηθής*.

sengán an ant, gen. pl. in *Cnoc na songán*, FM. 1148, 1181. From **stingagno-*, cogn. with Eng. *sting*?

sonn club, staff, but in FM. 1397, p. 750, it means a body of cavalry, shaped doubtless like a club, as *cippe*, a body of infantry shaped like a *copp* (=Lat. *cippus*), or a *φάλαγγξ*, i.e. a round piece of wood (*φάλαγγας ἐβένου*, Herod. iii. 97). pl. *suinn catha, captains*, TF. p. 76. W. *ffon* from **spu-n-dā*.

sruith an old person, gen. pl. *sruithe* in the phrase *tech sruithe γερωντοκομεϊόν*. Condal . . . *abatissa tighe sruithe Cille daro*, AU. 796. So *Tuathal abbas sruithe Cluana*, AU. 810. *Huae Miannaigh abbas sruithi Cluana*, AU. 767.¹ O.W. *struithu* (gl. *antiquam gentem*).

tlusach wealthy, in *beo-tlusach* ALC. 1536, cogn. with W. *tlus* 'jewel.'

toeb side (W. *tu*), a neut. stem in *s*: gen. sg. *toíbe*: *tighearna an taoibhe thoir do Cloinn Cuilein*, FM. 1570; *tanaiste an taoibhe thoir do Cloinn Cuilein*, FM. 1579; *tighearna an taoibhe thiar do Cloinn Cuilein*, FM. 1585.

tunna tun, acc. pl. *tunnadha*, ALC. 1235, 1310. Kluge thinks this the source of the German *tonne*, Ohg. *tuunna*, Ags. *tunne*, O.Swed. *byn*, as well as of Fr. *tonne* (*tonneau*), Span. *tonel*. But is it not rather a loan from Icel. *tunna*?

¹ Here and at 810 Mr. Hennessy mistakes the gen. pl. of a subst. for the superlative of an adj.

II. 1. LOW-LATIN WORDS.

The Latin written in Ireland and by Irishmen abroad from the middle of the fifth to the end of the twelfth century is of interest as probably preserving much of the *lingua rustica* used in Gaul and Britain. The Celts of Ireland, Wales, and Brittany also appear to have developed in the eighth century a fantastic speech made up of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Of this examples may be found in the *Lorica* of Gildas,¹ the *Hisperica Famina*,² the Luxemburg fragment, ed. Rhys (Rev. Celtique, i. 346, 503), and the alphabetical poem published from a St. Omer MS. by Stowasser in his *Stolones Latini*, Vienna, 1889, and by Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. xi. 86-89.³ The late Henry Bradshaw made a special study of Celtic latinity, and contributions to its lexicography will be found in Bishop Reeves' edition of Adamnán's *Life of Columba*, pp. 439-455, and in the Rolls *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, pp. 660-666. There are also a few extracts from Irish Lives of Saints in Ducange. The following words occur in the Annals:

abaruersio (abreuersio?), Tig. 578=reversio, AU. 577.

aduisito, see infra s.v. paruchia.

agon *the assembly at Teltown*, gen. comixtio agonis, AU. 773, ἀγων.

ante *by* (Ir. *ria*), bellum ante Cathal . . . 7 re muintir Tighi Mundu for Muintir Fernand, AU. 816.

apud *by* (Ir. *la*). Distructio Duin Ollaigh apud Sealbach, AU. 700, apud Cruithne, AU. 709, apud Saxones AU. 710. apud Schbachum, AU. 711. Tolargg . . . ligatur apud fratrem suum Nectan regem, AU. 712. apud Munnenses, AU. 713. N. mac D. constringitur apud Druist, AU. 725. apud Dunghal, AU. 730. Strages gentilium apud Ultu, AU. 810. heres Coluim cille . . . apud Saxones martirizatur, AU. 853.

¹ *Irish Glosses*, Dublin, 1860, pp. 136-143.

² ed. Mai, and lately by Stowasser, *Incerti auctoris Hisperica Famina*, Vienna, 1887.

³ A fifth specimen of this queer Latinity is the charm printed by Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, iii. 181, 182, beginning 'O rex, o rector regminis,' and reprinted, with some conjectures, in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, p. 324.

ballenium *bathroom?* combustio lethairle Cluana Iraidh in ballenio, AU. 750.

belliolum *skirmish*, AU. 802, 816, 818, dimin. of bellum *battle*, passim.

binales for bini: bellum . . . in quo binales reges . . . congressi sunt, AU. 737. Cf. binales sudes, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, p. 114. *cecidit it happened, befell*, AU. 887.

cena Temhra=*feis Temra*, AU. 454, 467.

circius = circius 'circulus,' Ducange: in circio ferie filii Cuilinn Iascan, *about (circitor) the festival of Mac Cuilinn of Lusk*, AU. 799.

ciuitas *monastery*. Constructio nouae ciuitatis Columbae cille i Ceninnus, AU. 806. Abbas Airdh Breccain et aliarum ciuitatum, AU. 781. Abbas Slane et aliarum ciuitatum, AU. 824.

comixtio *a tumultuous conflict, or attack, mêlée*, AU. 729, 773, 780=Ir. *cumase*, AU. 642. *cumusce*, TF. p. 20.

commixta regna : per c. r. *in joint sovereignty*, AU. 642.

commotatio martirum, c. reliquiarum, *shifting or translation of relics*, AU. 733, 742, 784, 792, 793.

cum *by*, cum illis in aqua demersus est *he was drowned by them*, AU. 733.

dehonoro, dehonoraui, AU. 732=Ir. *ro sáraig* 'profaned.'

dexteriores *southerners*, Tig. 712, AU. 711. *Dexter* in Irish latinity means 'southern': so dextrales Britones, Ann. Camb. 722: cf. Skr. dakshina, *the right side, southern*.

dominatrix *abbess*, Tig. 732, 758. AU. 731, 770.

dominatus, *abbacy*: abbas Achaid bó . . . dominatus xl^o. in anno.

effugatio, AU. 635, where it is rendered by 'flight'; but it rather means 'escape' (see Ducange, s.v. *effugacio*), or possibly 'going into exile.'

economus=occonomus, AU. 780, 782, 786, 795, 809, 813, 828.

erga : plurimi nobiles interfecti sunt erga duces, AU. 821. strages uirorum Breibne erga regem suum, AU. 821.

exactor *taxgatherer*, Ir. *toiðgebir*, AU. 728.

exulo *I go into exile*, Mac-tuile abbas Bonncair exulat, AU. 816. Robartach . . . abbas Slane exulauit, AU. 848. Darlugdach . . . de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam, Pictish Chron. ed. Skene, p. 6.

familia *a monastic community*, AU. 805, 806.

feria *a day of the week*. prima feria *Sunday*, AU. 912, die quintae feriae *Thursday*, die sextao feriae *Friday*, Tig. 719.

sexta feria ante pascha *Friday before Easter Sunday*, AU. 673. So in Portuguese *sesta feira* 'Friday,' and in Spanish *feria segunda* 'Monday.'

fossa earthen fort, Ir. *ráith*. AU. 717, TF. p. 20.

galamirum, Tig. 733, 'vox barbara quae non caseum significat, sed primitias lactis post partum coagulatas,' says O'Conor. But it seems = galmaria *caluuer*, *caluere*, Wright-Wülker, 24, 3; 413, 2. If so, it means 'pressed curds.'

gronna *bog*. Bellum Gronnae Magnae, AU. 755 = Cath Móna Móire, see Tig. 756. grunna *moin*, Ir. Gl. No. 118. The continental form seems *gronna*: see G.C.² 773 note.

hinulus = hinnuleus: capris et hinulis simulata est, AU. p. 294.

hostium = ostium: in hostio = Ir. *in-dorus*, a nominal prep. meaning 'in front of,' 'before': in hostio oratorii lapidei, AU. 788 = Ir. *indorus daim liacc*.

immolo 'offer in perpetuum'; immolauit Nectonius Aburnothige Deo et S. Brigidae, Pictish Chronicle, Sk. 6.

iugulatio 'a death inflicted by violence,' AU. 776.

latinus a *Latinist*. Dubthach . . . doctissimus latinorum totius Europae, AU. 868.

Nordmannus a *Scandinavian*, a Nordmannis, AU. 858. Nordmani Ann. Camb. 895.

Octimber *October*, Tig. 677. gen. Octimbri, Tig. 683. The *m* is due to the analogy of *Septimber*, *Novimber*, *Decimber*, to follow the Irish spelling.

oferauit, Tig. 574, for obtulit, as it is in AU. 573.

oratorium, AU. 788, 804, 808, 815, *αἶκος προσευχῆς*, the Ir. *duir-thech*.

orbis *rank*? infimi orbis mulieres, AU. 737.

paruchia the 'jurisdiction of a Superior over the detached monasteries of the order': Dubh-da-bairenn abbas Cluana Iraisidd aduisitauit paruchiam crichae Muman, AU. 786, where it means the Munster monasteries subject to the abbot of Clonard.

pausatío *resting* (in the grave), *dying*, AU. 746.

pauso *I rest* (in the grave), *die*. Cumsuth . . . pausauit, AU. 857.

periculum *attempt*? AU. 576.

pontifex *bishop*, pontifex Maige Eo, AU. 731. Imitated in Ir. *droichteach*, lit. 'bridgobuilder,' AU. 751.

principatus *abbacy*, AU. 706, 800, 822.

satrapa *viceroy*, satrapa Lagenarum, AU. 813. satrapas Athochlach, Pictish Chron., Skena, 10 (*errig*, gl. satrapae, Ml. 67^d 17).

scedes=caedes, AU. 806, with prothetic *s*.

scintilla leprae, *an outbreak of leprosy?* Tig. 576, AU. 575.

scratarium *sacristy?* AU. 592.

senodus, senadus [=synodus] *a tribal assembly*: congressio senodorum nepotum Neill Laginentiumque in opido Temro, AU. 779. Congressio senodorum nepotum Neill, cui dux erat Condmach abbas Airdh Machae, AU. 803, where Mr. Hennessy changes *senodorum* into *senatorum*. Cf. Corn. *sened* (gl. *sinodus*).

simulo *I liken, compare to*: eorumque fuga capris et hinnis simulata est, AU. 807.

termini = fines. accenderunt igni omnes terminos Laginentium, AU. 769. combussit terminos Midi, AU. 807.

traiectus *thrown off*. Ailill . . . traiectus est de equo suo, AU. 799.

uellenio, in, Tig. 751 = ballenio q.v.

II. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM LATIN.

Collections of Irish words borrowed from Latin will be found in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1860, pp. xx-xxvii; in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, ii. pp. 139-155; iii. pp. 277-278; in d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Etudes sur le Droit celtique. Le Senchus Mor*; in Güterbock's *Bemerkungen über die Lateinischen Lehnwörter im Irischen*, Leipzig, 1882; and in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, pp. lxxxii-xc. The following are only a selection of the Latin loan-words in the Irish Annals.

aibit, gen. aibido, ALC. 1224, 1238, 1313, 1331, 1636. U. From Lat. *habitus* (monasticus).

árc *shrines*, dat. sg. áirc, FM. 796, arg, Ir. Gl. No. 198. From *arca*.

aracul, airecal, FM. 1592, p. 1922, gen. aracuil .i. cill, CS. 827, airicuil AU. 837, airecuil AU. 809. From *oraculum* *acles sacra*, in qua oratur, Ducange. A dimin. *ariucán* occurs in the St. Paul Codex, Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, p. 318. For the change of *o* to *a*, cf. *accas*=*occasio*, *aistiro*=*ostiarius*, and *manach*=*monachus*.

Alastrann *Alexander*, FM. 1591, p. 1908, gen. Alustrainn, ALC. 1473, Alustruinn, ALC. 1487.

úncara, AL. 955, angeoire, FM. 737, ancoire, FM. 740. Corn. *uncar*: from *anachoreta*.

annalach M. the anniversary, a year of an era: in t-annalach, ALC. 1407. From *annale*.

an-ordaigthe, *not in order, in disorder*, ALC. 1392, 1524, 1539. A hybrid from the neg. prefix *an-* = *ava* and *ordaigthe* pret. part. pass. of *ordaigim*, a denom. from *ord* = Lat. *ordo*.

an-sén *bad luck*, FM. 1225, p. 234, 1600, p. 2170. Another hybrid, from the prefix *an-* and *sén* borrowed from *signum* (crucis).

an-umaldóit *inhumility, disobediencce*, AU. 835.

archideochain = *archidiaconus*, ALC. 1288, 1361, AB. 1231, FM. 1243.

ard-chroinicid *chief chronicler*, FM. 1023, p. 806.

aistire, *doorkeeper, bellringer*, FM. 1101 = *ostiarium*.

bairrell *barrel*, pl. n. bairill, ALC. 1589, p. 494. bairille *barrel*, FM. 1591, 1598, Low-Lat. *barillus*.

Basloc, gen. Baslice, AU. 763, 804, from *basilica*.

bicaire = *vicarius*, ALC. 1357, 1587, p. 478. Cnoc an biocara, FM. 1595, p. 1962. Hence bicairceht (gl. *uicaria*), Ir. Gl. No. 171.

brostaim *I incite, provoke*, FM. 1596, p. 2004, acca mbrostadh tairis, FM. 1597, p. 2026. Founded on Low-Lat. *brostus, brusdus*.

bualc = *bovile*, pl. buailte, FM. 1044.

buirgéis, buirghéis, ALC. 1247, 1266 = *burgencia*, *praedia quae a burgensibus possideri poterant*. Anglicised *Burris*. Hence buirgéisec *a burgess*, pl. n. buirgeisigh, FM. 1579.

caipitil, caibitil, caipidil = *capitulum* 'conventus, synodus,' ALC. 1217, 1242, 1530: FM. 1242.

cairt 1. *manuscript*, 2. *charter*. OS. p. 10. ALC. 1210, 1257. gen. sen-cairte, FM. 1597, p. 2040. A pl. nom. and acc. *cartacha*, gen. *cartach*, occur in FM. 1514, 1524, 1537, 1605. From *carta*.

calad gen. calaid, *harbour, landing-places*, ALC. 1535. From a Low-Latin **calatum*; Ital. *calata, cala*, Fr. *cale*, Lat. *chalaro* from χαλαρῶν, Diez.

calc, *chalk*, especially the chalk with which shields were whitened, cath in ro-dáiled crú dar caile, FM. 978, p. 710. From an oblique case of *calx*. Hence calcech *chalkwhite*, FM. 939, p. 642.

candel *candle*, candel-bádud *excommunication*, lit. *candle-drowning*, ALC. 1236, 1538. From *candela*.

cápa *cape*, M. Lat. *cappa*, pl. n. cábaidhe, ALC. 1170.

capall = *caballus*, pl. n. capoill, TF. p. 206, dat. caplibh, FM. 1599, p. 2140.

castél, caistiall = *castellum*, FM. 1133, AI. 1102, gen. caisteóil FM. 1166, 1595.

cathair = *cathedra*. Metaph. a *bishopric*, FM. 1166. cathair proicepta *pulpit*, Tig. 1020.

cellóir = *cellarius*, ALC. 1213, FM. 1213.

(cenn-)litir, lit. *head-letter*, applied to persons, *chief, leader*, ALC. 1451, 1463, 1467, 1524.

cese, ceisc = *quaestio*, TF. p. 46, with change of *st* to *sc*.

ciul, ciuil = *cyclus*, Tig. 1045, 1063, ALC. 1231, 1407.

cippe, cipe, *phalanx*, FM. 1601, TF. p. 182. Derived from cipp = *cippus*.

ciste *casket, treasury*, a formation from *cista*, ALC. 1173, 1504.

clabhstra, gen. sg. *cloister*, ALC. 1202 = *claustra*, Ir. Gl. No. 818, From *claustrum*. O'B. has nom. sg. *clabhstur*.

cnáib = *cannabis*, gen. cnáibe, FM. 1584, p. 1818.

coach = *caucus*, AU. 552, usually cuach, W. *cawg*.

coinntinn = *contentio*, ALC. 1244, gen. coinntinne, ALC. 1543.

coite *boat*, AB. 724, ALC. 1390, 1475, FM. 1155, p. 116. From Low-Lat. *cotia* navis Indiae, Ducange.

compóitecht *computation*, sg. gen. compóidechta, ALC. 1301. Founded on *computus* or *compotus*.

confirmaigthe, ALC. 1284 (leg. *confirmaigthe*), *confirmed*.

cónsal = *consul*, ALC. 1520.

contrárda *contrary*, a formation from *contrarius*. As applied to a year, *non-bisextile*, ALC. 1215.

coppán, dimin. of copp, gen. cuippe, IB. 241^a = *cuppa* = *cûpa*: gen. copáin, ALC. 1306. The Ir. copp *foam* has a different source, perhaps AS. *copp* 'vertex, summitas,' Thurneysen *Keltoromanisches cordia*: fa chordia *cordially*, ALC. 1589.

crepuscul = *crepusculum*, i crepuscal na maidne, FM. 1583, crepuscal, ALC. 1536.

cripta = *crypta*, AB. 1236. Also with prothetic *s*, scripta FM. 1235, scriophtha ALC. 1235. With the latter form cf. *septuagint*, MI. 103 d 26, W. *Aipht* = *Aegyptus*, and Mod. Gr. Γύπροσ. Note also the Icelandic pronunciation of *pt* as *ft*, Magnússen's Thomas Becket, ii. clxxii.

Crisdóir = *Christophorus*, ALC. 1517, 1578, 1582. Cristóir, FM. 1595, gen. Criostora, FM. 1600.

cronicae = *chronica*, ALC. 1405. Cronicid, see Ard-chronicid.

crossad, the act of being *crossed*, assuming the badge of a crusader, ALC. 1204, 1216, 1231.

cubachal, *cell* of a monastery, FM. 1595, or prison, FM. 1590, pp. 1896, 1893: *cabin* of a ship, acc. sg. cubachail, FM. 1587, p. 1862: acc. pl. cubachla, ib. 1600, p. 2192. From *cubiculum*.

cubidil, gubidir = *confiteor* used as a noun, Tig. 1130, CS. 1126.

cuidiu = *calvus*, CS. 1125. But *cuidiu* seems to point to an Old-Celtic **koſino-* agreeing in the first vowel with *κατὸν*. Perhaps therefore we have here a native Irish word.

cúis, eais, TF. p. 32 = *causa* 'dispute,' gen. cuisi, FM. 1233; dat. pl. cúisib, ALC. 1170, cauisibh, TF. p. 208.

decánach *dean*,¹ a formation from *decanus*, ALC. 1243, 1258, 1367, 1527, 1589.

doctúir = *doctor*, ALC. 1513, 1527, 1636, *doctor* (gl. Ovidius) Ir. Gl. No. 536. From *Ovidius* with the meaning 'doctor' the Welsh *ofydd* seems to come.

dux, ALC. 1226, 1234, 1260, 1268, 1282, 1286, 1290.

faillium, Tig. 1152, paillium, ALC. 1237 = *pallium*.

fairche = *parochia*, *diocese*, *monastic jurisdiction*, Tig. 1174: CS. 1107.

fallaing, *mantle*, gen. fallainge, FM. 1598, p. 2054, the *falanga* or *phalinga* of Giraldus, *phata* genus vestis, Ducange. Lat. *palla*.

falmaire = *palmarius* 'a palmer': ALC. 1249.

farcideochain = *archideochain* (q.v.) with prothetic *f*. ALC. 1366, 1402.

fiabhrus = *febris*, ALC. 1551, gen. fiabhruasa, FM. 1597, p. 2024.

foirm = *forma*, an arrangement, persons intervening to make an arrangement, ALC. 1538.

generáilte *generalis*, FM. 1215, p. 184.

geócach (gl. *mimus*, Ir. Gl. No. 513), formed on *iocōsus*, CS. 1106. FM. 1110.

geometer, Ferghil .i. an geometer, FM. 784.

graiffed *to write*, formed on Mod.-Lat. *graphiare*, and this from *graphia* γραφή.

imáig = *imāgo*, iomáig, ALC. 1538, p. 316. pl. acc. iomáighe, FM. 1537, p. 1446. Corn. *auain* = *imāginem*.

init = *initium* (*iciunū*), *Shrovetide*, gen. inite, AU. 1127, dat. init, AU. 1014.

latronn, *robber*, gen. pl. *latronum*, FM. 1599, p. 2106.

lebrad = [lebar-rad?] *books*, sg. dat. leabhraidh, FM. 990. Cognate is lebróir = *librarius*, ALC. 1249.

¹ O'Reilly has "deáganach s. a deacon," where this ludicrous lexicographer contrives to commit two blunders. O'Brien's 'Dane' is a misprint.

legáit = *legatus*, AI. 1166, 1181. FM. 550. ALC. 1245. Hence legáitecht, AI. 1192, gen. sg. leccaidechta, FM. 1148, p. 1084.

lubra *work*, esp. ecclesiastical, gen. sg. lubra, FM. 1148, 1173. Formed on *labor, laboris*, with change of *a* before *b* to *u*.

maighistir = *magister*, FM. 1599, p. 2140.

mandáil. Formed on *mandatum*, Fr. *mandé*. dardaoin mandail *Maundy Thursday*, ALC. 1542, = dardain mbandal, LB. 238° lower margin, translated at p. 40 of the preface to the facsimile, "*Thursday of the . . . woman meeting* [?]."

manér = Med.-Latin *manerium*, Fr. *manoir*, ALC. 1264, 1535.

mí-chostad *commotion, wrangling*, FM. 1160, 1213 : from *mí-* and *costad* founded on *constare*, or is it *consuetudo*?

modh = *modus*, ionmolta hí modhaibh mná, FM. 1599, p. 2094.

monad *money* = *moneta*, ALC. 1252, FM. 1252, 1546, p. 1498.

múr = *mūrus*, gen. múir, FM. 987.

mút = *mūtus*, duine mut no got, FM. 936, p. 636.

octaid dat. eg. = *octas*, i n-octaidh na hepifania 'in the octave of the Epiphany,' ALC. 1252.

oifícc = *officium*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, gen. oifíccí, *ibid.* p. 2038.

Hence oifícceach *officer*, FM. 1600, p. 2144.

oifíccel = *officialis* 'procurator, administrator,' Ducange, or Fr. *officiel*, FM. 1232, 1268, ALC. 1328, offistel ALC. 1232, 1268, 1390.

ofráil *offering*, founded on *offerre*, ALC. 1244, 1527, pl. acc.

ofrála, FM. 1600, p. 2148.

págán, págánach, págánda, *pagan*, TE. pp. 226, 232, 244.

pagin *abridgment*? et in pagin et in figell, OS. 686 : 'paginare' breuiter scribere, summam de aliqua disserere, Ducange.

part = *pars, partis*. páirt do tosach sluaig mic Diarmada *a part of the van of Mac D.'s army*, ALC. 1562. pl. n. parti éró *particles of gore*, AU. 877.

pairilis = *paralysis*, FM. 865. pailleiris, O'B. W. *parlys*.

parthús = *paradisus* 'atrium porticibus circumdatum ante aedes sacros' (Ducange), AI. 1180. For the *th* cf. *Orrthannain* 'Jordan.'

pell = *pellis*, CGG. p. 196. pl. n. pill, LL. 297^a 43.

pendaind = *poenitentia*, FM. 1022. pennaintt, FM. 1608, p. 2360.

penetincier = *poenitentiarius*, ALC. 1248.

persún = *persōna*, ALC. 1224, 1278.

Florint = *Florentius*, Tig. 1174.

praed = *praeda*, AU. 820. spré *cattle*, O'B., with prothetic *s*.

próisidens = *praesidens*, ALC. 1570, 1571. presidens, ced-phresident, FM. 1569, p. 1632.

prímáit, prímháit = *primas*, ALC. 1201. For this (by popular etymology) *prímáíth chief prophet* is sometimes written: see ALC. 1172, 1242, 1360. Hence *prímáítecht primacy*, ALC. 1220.

príóir = *prior, prioris*, ALC. 1230, 1234, 1250, 1265, gen. *príóra*, ALC. 1519, *príóra*, 1527. Hence the name Mac-briar.

próindsí = *provincia*, Tig. 583. *próuinse*, Ir. Gl. No. 175, pl. dat. *prouinnsibh*, FM. 1598, p. 2088.

procecht = **proceptum* for *praeceptum*, CS. 811.

proiceptaid *teacher*, formed on **proceptum*, FM. 742.

purgadóir = *purgatorium*, gen. *purgadóra*, ALC. 1516.

rebercens = *reverentia*, ALC. 1541 (where the Irish word is misprinted *roberens*), *reuerens*, FM. 1541, p. 1462.

riast *arrest, rē-stare*, fo *rost*, FM. 1578, p. 1700, l. 2, fá riast ag rígh Saxan, ALC. 1530.

sacrista *sacristan*, FM. 1390 : *sacrita*, FM. 1430, is probably a misprint.

saigdeóir, saighdiuir = *sagittarius*, ALC. 1581, 1582. FM. 1170. In FM. 1589 it means *musketeer*.

scarláit, sgarláid = *scarlatum*, FM. 1463, p. 1026. sgarlóid, O'B.

scrín = *serinium*, AU. 799.

scuap *broom*, gen. pl. FM. 1595, p. 1972 = *scōpas*.

secreít = *secreta*, *acrarium principis*, Ducange; *rocrochsat ar' ben re secreíd* Mic Diarmada dou tír.

senescál, senscal, sínascal, FM. 1247, p. 324. ALC. 1247, 1587, p. 482. From Med.-Lat. *senescallus* or perh. from Fr. *seneschal*.

senmóir, sermóin : both from *sermo*, the former being used for 'sermon' Tig. 583, FM. 431, ALC. 1535, p. 286, the latter for a congregation or other collection of people, ALC. 1249, FM. 1249. *Sermóntaidh preacher* occurs in ALC. 1586, p. 476, where it is misspelt *sermóntaigh*.

serreend = *serpens, serpentis*, Tig. 1137, AI. 1018, a kind of warship : cf. ON. *snekkja*, AS. *snacc* (Eng. *smack*), and ON. *dreki*.

simóntacht *simony*, formed on *simonia* 'a Simone mago dicta Sacrorum venditio' (Ducange), ALC. 1271.

srát = *strata*, *via publica lapidibus seu silice munita*, Ducange. ar *sráitt* Sligig, ALC. 1294. Compounds : *srát-baile*, ALC. 1218, 1257; *srát-slige*, FM. 1258, p. 366.

Sulchóit, FM. 1602 = *Sailchoit* Corm. From *salicētum* as pronounced by a Briton, i.e. *salikoitum*.

taibhli *battlements*, dat. *taibhlibh*, FM. 1454, p. 561, 1595, p. 1982 : from *tabulae*.

tempestech *unfortunate, calamitous*, in the adverb *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1499, 1580, 1581, 1584. Derived from **tempest* = *tempestas*, 'calamity, misfortune.'

tesc = *discus* 'paten:' cailech . . cona tesc, a *chalice with its paten*, FM. 1129, p. 1032, where O'Donovan translates 'with an engraving.'

tumba, tomba = *tumba*, FM. 525, 1064, 1240, 1254, p. 352, 1403.

uigil, uicil = *vigil*, FM. 1497.

uimir = *numerus*, Tig. 1111. But nuimhir, FM. 1578, p. 1700.

uricli *ōracula* 'oracles,' CGG. 12, where it is mistranslated 'audience': cf. *circlech* (gl. *flamen*, i.e. *oracularius*) Sg. 96^b.

II. 3. IRISH LOANS FROM OLD-FRENCH.

These must have entered the language between the years 1169 and 1350. Of some few of the following it may be doubted whether they came directly from Old-French, Middle-English, or mediæval Latin.

ambantur, *good luck*, ALC. 1589, p. 498. From *aventure*.

apel, co-hapel, ALC. 1331. From *habile* or perhaps Eng. *able*.

armáil, gen. *armala*, *army, armament*, ALC. 1570, 1571, 1579, 1581, 1586; but *arms*, FM. 1595, p. 1982. From *armaire* with change of *r* to *l* as in *pirrel*.

áirseóir *archer*, dat. pl. *áirseóraib*, Tig. 1174. From **archoeir* (*archerere* is the form in Godfrey, *archier* in Burguy).

banda, banna a *band of warriors*, ALC. 1581, 1582, 1586, 1589. FM. 1580. pl. n. *bandai*, FM. 1595, p. 1986, acc. *bandadha*, FM. 1592, p. 1912. From *bande*.

barún, gen. *barúin*, ALC. 1589, pl. n. *barúin*, ALC. 1237, 1261. From *baron*, *barun*, *barrun*. Hence *barúntacht* *barony*, FM. 1582.

basdard *bastard*, gen. *basdaird*, ALC. 1581. W. *basdardd*.

bitáill, gen. *bitaille*, Tig., *biotaille*, FM. 1522, 1570. O.-Fr. *vitaille* (now *victuaille*), Med.-Lat. *victualia*.

bodaeh *clown*, ALC. 1388, FM. 1388. Formed on *botte* 'clod.'

brisca *biscuit*, pl. gen. *briosecadh*, dat. *briosecaibh*, FM. 1591, p. 1952, with a curious insertion of *r*.

cabán a *hollow*, FM. 1188, p. 82. O.-Fr. *cavan*, *cavain*.

cailís, pl. acc. *cailisí*, FM. 1595. From *calice*.

caiptín, *captain*, ALC. 1544, 1577, 1582. From *capitaine*, Med.-Lat. *capitaneus*.

cardináil, cairdinel, ALC. 1202, Tig. 1152, FM. 1151. From *cardinal*, or Lat. *cardinalis*.

coilér *quarry*, gen. coileir, FM. 1501, now *coireul*. From Fr. *carrière*, with differentiation of the liquids.

coip *copy*, ALC. 1527. From *copie*, or perhaps Med.-Lat. *copia* 'the reproduction of a MS.'

coir? gen. corad, 1. *choir*, 2. *a party*, gen. corad, ALC. 1343, dat. coraid, ALC. 1244, 1307, 1588. Formed on *chœur* or perh. Lat. *chorus*.

compánach *companion*, ALC. 1524, gen. companaigh, ALC 1581. Formed on O.-Fr. *compaign*, Med.-Lat. *cum-panio*.

constábla, consápla, consabal, consopul, *constable*, ALC. 1217, 1227, 1368, 1405, 1514, 1524, 1557, FM. 1485, etc. From O.-Fr. *conestable* = Lat. *comes stabuli*.

contae, condae *county*, ALC. 1405, 1510, FM. 1383, 1405. From *comté*. So conndaois, cundaois, cundais, *countess*, ALC. 1589, 1568, 1392, is from *comtesse*.

costus, cosdus, *cost*, ALC. 1582, 1530. From O.-Fr. *couster* or Lat. *constare*. Hence costasach *sumptuous*, *costly*, O'B.

croscá, the manger in which Christ was put after he was born, Coria. Tr. 46, O.-Fr. *cresche* (K. Meyer).

crét *ridge* (of a house), pl. n. créta na tighe(dh), ALC. 1202. Fr. *crête du toit*, from Lat. *crista*.

cúirt *court*, *mansion*, *palace*, gen. cúirtte, ALC. 1227, but acc. pl. cúirtenda, ALC. 1274. From O.-Fr. *court*, or Low-Lat. *curtem*. Perhaps the acc. pl. may be due to Med.-Lat. *cortina*, the wall between two bastions.

cuncúir *conqueror*, ALC. 1270, 1530. From Old-French *conquerur* (Godefroy).

díg *a trench*, pl. gen. díoc, FM. 1595, p. 1968: lethain-díog *a broad trench*, FM. 1266, p. 400. From Fr. *digue*.

dú *due*, ALC. 1217, 1527, p. 262. From Fr. *dû* = *débutus*. Hence dúal, *meet*, ALC. 1405, 1587? O.-Fr. *dúal*?

fabheúin = *faucon*, a kind of small cannon, pl. n. fabheúin, FM. 1582.

fonsura *chisel*, FM. 1545, Fr. *fonçoir*, *fonsoir* 'outil de forge en forme de marteau dont la panne est tranchante,' Littré.

fundúir *founder*, FM. 1495 = O.-Fr. *fondeor* obl. case of *fondiere*.

galler *a mangonel*, pl. dat. gallerib, gailleribh, AB. 1236, ALC. 1235. From an Old-French **gallier* = *jacularis*, and cognate with *galir* in the following passage cited by Godefroy, s.v. jaillir:

Au matinet, quant l'aube parust eler,
li rois a fet molt grant assaut livrer
et ces perrieres et galir et geter.

giurness *an acre?* pl. n. giurneisi, ALC. 1215. Based on French *journée de terre* 'autant comme une charrette peut labourer le jour,' Ducange s.v. 2. *jornata*.

giúsdís, iústis *justiciary*, ALC. 1203, AB. 1230, 1234. From *justies*.

halabard *halberd*, lucht halabard *halberdiers*, FM. 1570. albárd, O'Br. Fr. *hallebard*.

marascál *marshal*, márasgul, ALC. 1234, marasceal, FM. 1593, gon. maruseail, ALC. 1587, p. 478. From O.-Fr. *mareschal*, Low-Latin *mariscalcus*.

nouice, nobitsi, ALC. 1196, 1197, 1202, 1230, nouist, FM. 1230. From Fr. *novice* or Lat. *novicius*.

ósda : ar ósda *billeted*, FM. 1595, p. 1990, formed on O.-Fr. *oste*, *hoste*. Tech ósda, *inn, lodging-house*, FM. 1599, p. 2138.

pailís *palisade*, ALC. 1306, FM. 1306, gen. caislén na pailíse, ALC. 1510. From *paliz*, *palis* 'pieu, palissade.'

pailliún *pavilion, tent*, pl. n. pailliúin FM. 1574. Fr. *pavillon*, as the synonymous *puball*, gen. puible, TF. pp. 36, 148, is from Med.-Lat. *papilio*.

pardún, ALC. 1535, 1585, 1586, FM. 1599, p. 2110. From *pardon*.

pelér *bullet, ball*, FM. 1487, 1499, 1532. From some French descendant of Lat. *pila* : cf. *pelotte*. W. *pel, pelen*.

petta *pet*, Tig. 1103. ALC. 1086. From some Fr. cognate of *petit*.

pípa a *pipe* (of wine), Domhnall na bhíopaidhe, FM. 1593, p. 1945, n. Fr. *pipe*.

pirrú *catapult*, AB. 1236, ALC. 1235. Fr. *pierriere, perrière* machine de guerre qui jetait des pierres pour briser les murs. "Si drocierent lors perrieres et lors mangonials."

poinn = Fr. *point* : ní raibhe poinn annseic 'this was of little consequence,' ALC. 1236, cf. *mettre à point*, accommodate, apaiser. *estre point être temps, à propos*.

preciúr = Fr. *prechor, prêcheur*, ALC. 1253.

prínsa, prínsa = *prince*, ALC. 1547, 1553, 1586, 1587 (where Elizabeth is meant), 1588.

prisún = *prison, prisun, prisoun*, Tig. 583, ALC. 1265, 1332.

prínleil, ALC. 1241, where it is rendered by "privileges."

résún, ressún, résúna, TF. p. 26 = *reson, raison*, ALC. 1537, 1568.
 rúta *troop* = O.-Fr. *rote* (Lat. *rupta* 'a division of a host'), ALC.
 1225, 1200, 1235, AB. 1236.

seomra = *chambre*, ALC. 1350, 1490. seómra, O'B.

sepél = *chapelle*, FM. 1498. séipéal, O'B.

scribis = *service*, ALC. 1581, p. 436, 1587, p. 480. gen. seirbhísi,
 FM. 1599. Hence scribísech *servant, agent*, pl. dat. seirbhís-
 eachaibh, FM. 1598, p. 2082.

sersénach *footsoldier*, ALC. 1195, 1196, 1199, 1202, 1235, 1236.
 Formed on Fr. *serjant, sergent*, servientes milites padites, Ducange.
 O'Brien's *seirseánach* 'an auxiliary, or helper.'

Siacus = *Jacques*, FM. 1463, gen. Siacusa, FM. 1476, 1482.
 The form *Sémus*, FM. 1600, p. 2148, comes from Eng. *James*.

soilér a *sollar*, ALC. 1582. O.-Fr. *solier*. Corn. *soler*.

sousiler, soinsilér = *chanceler, chancellor*, FM. 1545, 1597.

III. I. CYMRIC NAMES.

The following is a list of the Cymric names of persons and places which occur in the Irish Annals :

Artgha rex Britanorum Sratha Cluade, AU. 871. Doubtless a scribe's mistake for Artgal.

Artuir mac Bicoir, Tig. 625 = Arthur filio Bicuir, OS. 625.

Auin, Domnall mac Auin, rex Alo Cluathc, Tig. 694, AU. 693. O.-W. Eugein, Ann. Camb. 811 [MS. Eugem]. The Irish annalists spell this name also Ohan, Hoan, Haan.

Bennchar : combustio Bennchair Brittonum, AU. 671, TF. 672. Now Bangor.

Bili mac Elphine rex Alo Chluaithe, Tig. 722 = Bile mac Eilphin, AU. 721 = Beli filius Elfin, Ann. Camb. 722.

Caer Ebroic, *York*, TF. pp. 158, 170, Cair Ebroc, AU. 866, [C]air Ebrauc, Harl. 3859, fo. 195^a, 3, the Urbs Ebrauc of Ann. Camb. 866.

Cair Legion, *Chester*. Cath Caire Legion, Tig. 613 = Gueith Cair Legion, Ann. Camb. 613. [C]air legeion guar usic [log. uisc], Harl. 3859, fo. 195.

Caitill mac Rutrach ri Bretan, TF. 909 = Catell filius Rodri, Ann. Camb. 909.

Catlon rex Britonum, Tig. 631. Cathloen, AU. 631. Contra

Catlonem Britonum regem, Vita Columbæ, ed. Reeves, 14 = Catuollann, Ann. Camb. 630. Boda's Cædwalla.

Con. o Chon regi Britonum, Tig. 631, a scribal error for Conan?

Conan. Solon mac Conain, Tig. 613 = Selim filius Cinain, Ann. Camb. 613. Conan mac Ruadhrach rex Britonum, AU. 814. Cinan, Ann. Camb. 814, 816. Kinan *ibid.* 813.

Domnall mac Auin rex Alo Cluaithe, Tig. 694, AU. 693.

Domnall mac Eogain ri Bretan, AU. 974. O.-W. Dumngual.

Eidgin Brit, TF. 864, cf. Etguin, Ann. Camb. 617, 626, 630.

Gaimud: im Breathnaibh Gaimud, TF. 864: for Guined.

Guret. Mors Gurcit regis Alo Cluaithe, AU. 657 = Guriat, Ann. Camb. 877.

Iaco ri Bretan, Tig. 1039 = Jacob rex Venedotiae, Ann. Camb. 1039.

Iudruis rig Bretan, Tig. 633. bellum Iudris regis Britonum, AU. 632. Iudris, Ann. Camb. 632.

Leobelem, AU. 1023. Lewelin filius Scisil, Ann. Camb. 1023.

Maen Conain *Conan's stone*, some place in Mona, AU. 864.

Medgoeth, Iusula, AU. 631 = Inis Medcoit, FM. 627, *Lindisfarne*.

Merminn, AU. 855. Muirminn gen. sg. AU. 876, 877. Murmin, AU. 621. Muirmin, AU. 681. Meruin, Ann. Camb. 844. Merwyn, Ann. Camb. 903.

Oel ri Bretan, AU. 949. O.-W. Higucl, Ann. Camb. 950 = Pictish Simal (i.e. Sivel) *infra*.

Ohan, Tig. 642 = Haan, Tig. 686. Hoan rex Britonum, AU. 641 = Auin, q.v.

Radgann, gen. Radgainn, AU. 702 = Radgund, TF. p. 108, seems meant for a British name, but is probably a Teut. *Hrodgund*.

Rés mac Scothair [leg. Teothair] ri Bretan . . . do marbad do[F]rancaib, AI. 1076 = Resus filius Teudur rector dextralis partis a Francis Brecheniauc occisus est, Ann. Camb. 1091.

Roderc ('De Roderco filio Tothail,' Vita Columbæ, p. 43, ed. Reeves), later Rhydderch.

Rusidhri mac Muirminn, AU. 876, Ia Ruadhraigh mac Meirminn, AU. 855 = Rotri map Mermin, Ann. Camb. 754, 877, and Harl. 3859, fo. 183^a. Rodri, Ann. Camb. 909, gen. Rutrach, TF. 909. This seems identical with the *c*-stem *Ruaidhri*, gen. *Ruadrach*, AU. 779, 814, acc. *Ruadraich*, AU. 781, or *Ruadraig*, and cognate with the Old-Irish *io*-stem *Rudraige* (gen. sg.). Zimmer considers these names to be borrowed from O.-Norse *Hröðekr*, AS. *Hrédric*. But *Rudraige*, FM. 1483, occurs as the name of a king of Ireland

said to have lived A.M. 3845, and *Ruaidhri* occurs as the name of the son of a king of Leinster, in 785, ten years *before* the first Vikings came to Ireland. There can be little doubt that Ruaidri, Rotri, Rudraige, are genuine Celtic names and that Noreen has here been misled by Zimmer.

Solon mac Conaen rex Britanorum, AU. 612, Solon mac Conain, Tig. 613 = Selim filius Cinan, Ann. Camb. 613.

Spris, FM. 1579 = *W. Prys*, with prothetic *s*.

Taudar [leg. Teudar] mac Bile rex Alochlandaib [leg. Alo Cluade], Tig. 752, Teothar = Teudur, see *Rés* supra.

Uiter Pendragen, gen. sg. AU. 467 = *Vthurpendroic*, Jesus Coll. MS. 20, fo. 41^a.

III. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM WELSH.

The connexion between the Cymric tribes and the Gaels, during which names and other words were borrowed by one race from the other, began at least as early as the fifth century,¹ when a Gaelic ogham-writing population was established in South Wales, Cornwall, and Devon, and when S. Patrick, a Briton of Strath Clyde, led his mission to Ireland. It was continued and extended by the second order of saints, who renewed Christianity after the apostacy which took place on Patrick's death; for these were connected with Menevia (St. David's) and the Church of Wales. In the year 707 or 708 "Cellach's Britons" (probably mercenary troops) were slain in a battle in Wicklow (AU. 708; FM. 707). In 870 the vikings Anlaib and Invárr came to Dublin with a fleet of two hundred ships, 'et preda maxima hominum Anglorum et Britonum et Pictorum deducta est secum in captiuitate.' In 1170 and 1171 Fitzstephen and Strongbow were doubtless followed to Wexford and Waterford by many Welshmen; and about a century after the Anglo-Norman invasion there was a considerable settlement of Welsh in Tyrawley. At present they are represented by the Barretts,

¹ I have not overlooked the tradition mentioned in the Irish Nennius, pp. 122, 136, and also by O'Curry (*Manuscript Materials*, etc., p. 456), that at a much earlier time there was a tribe of Britons, called the Tuath Fídba, using poisoned weapons and living in certain forests in Wexford.

Lawlesses, Joyces, Tomlyns, Mac Andrews, Hostys, and Walshes (Ir. Breathnaigh). See O'Donovan's *Iiy Fiachrach*, pp. 324 et seq.

brocóit *bragget*, FM. 1107, AU. 1107, ALC. 1108. From O.-W. *brocaut* (gl. *mulsum*, gl. *mellicatum*) GC. 94. Corn. *bregaud*.

cloccen *skull*, pl. nom. *cloicne*, Rev. Celt. iii. 177, dat. *cloignibh*, FM. 1570. W. *clopen*. See *clocc-at*, infra p. 424.

gardha *garden*, FM. 988, formed on W. *gardd*, and this from A.S. *geard*.

mael *chief*, gen. *maoil*, FM. 1070, p. 898. From W. *mael* = *maglo-s*,¹ of which the regular Irish equivalent is *mál*.

nós *custom*, ard-nós, ALC. 1362, 1402. From W. *naws* 'nature,' 'disposition.'

pit *portion*, *ration*. From W. *peth* from **petti*, **quetti*.

seboe *hawk*. From W. *heboe* = A.S. *hafoc*.

Other Old-Welsh words, which we know from Cormac's *Glossary*, are *braut* 'judgment,' *eat* 'battle,' *coit* 'wood,' *cusil* 'counsel,' *din* 'fort,' *dobar* (leg. *dubr*) 'water,' *doborei* (leg. *dubrei*) 'otter,' *duiu* 'god,' *gour* (leg. *guor*) 'dawn,' *grucc* (leg. *gruck*) 'woman,' *map* 'son,' *med* 'mead,' *muin* 'my,' *preu* 'worm,' *preuter* (leg. *prebter*) 'priest.'

spochad *act of castrating*, ALC. 1194, 1244, 1320, p. 598, 1478, seems from Bret. *spac'hain*, *spac'h* and this from *spaz*, borrowed, like W. *dy-spaddu*, from Lat. *spado*. So *deorad* 'an exile' (*deóraidhe*, O'B.), whence *deoraidecht* 'exile, pilgrimage,' CF. 978, 106, seems from Br. *divroet* 'depaysé,' Corn. *diures* (gl. *exul*).

IV. PICTISH NAMES AND OTHER WORDS.

The Gaelic race came in contact with the Picts both in Ireland and in Scotland. In Ireland there were Picts in Dál-Araide (Down and part of Antrim),² in Meath,³ and in Roscommon,⁴ and in Adamnán's Life of Columba, ii. 9,

¹ See Hübnér Inscr. Christ. Brit. Nos. 64, 92, 157, 168, and *Brigo-maglos*, Rev. Celt. xi. 344.

² cf. Cruithne Ulad, Tig. 708.

³ cf. Cruithne Midhi, Tig. 666. And see Keating's Hist. ed. Malliday, p. 318.

⁴ There was a tuath Cruithnech in Magh Aei and Magh Luirg: see the Book of Ballinote, 256^a 10. This perhaps is the gens Pictancorum of the Life of S. Cadroe, Skene 108.

we read of a Pictish priest living in Leinster. In Scotland in the eighth century all north of the Forth was Pictish territory¹ except Argyle (= *Airer Goedel*) and perhaps a Gaelic settlement on the Tay (*Tava*). The Irish Picts were called

Cruithni, Tig. 629, 645, 646, 666, 682, 708, pl. gen. Cruithne, FM. 679, 680, acc. Cruithniu, FM. 587, 604, 706, 725. The *Cruidnenorum* of Lib. Arm. 3^a 1, is perhaps an error for *Cruithneorum*=Adamnán's *Cruithniorum*, Vita Columbae, p. 33.

Cruithnig, Tig. 558, 681, the nom. pl. of *Cruthnech*, which is etymologically identical with the *Cruthinicus* of Adamuán, p. 66, the *Cortonic-* of the Old-High-German gloss 'Gallia uualcholant. Chortonicum auch Walcholant.' The dat. pl. Cruithneachobh, FM. 552. Hence the diminutive Cruithneachan(us), Adamnán, p. 191. [These words are probably derived from *cruth* 'forma' = W. *pryd*. Hence we have *Cruithne* as the name of the artificer, *cerd*, of the Picts, Ir. Nennius, 124.]

The Scottish Picts were sometimes called by the Irish annalists Cruithnig, Tig. 560, 583, gen. pl. Cruithnech, FM. 430, 863;² and their country Cruithen-tuath, FM. 3790; Laud, 610, fo. 92^a; but the people and their country are generally denoted by names beginning with *p*, thus:

Piccardai (dat. pl. Piccardaib), Tig. 729.

Picardaig (gen. pl. Piccardach), Tig. 728, 750. Piccardaig (gen. pl. Piccardach), Tig. 729.

Picti (gen. pl. Pictorum, acc. Pictos), Tig. 580, 631, 653: AU. 630, 652, 656, 697, 728, 733, 735, 788, 857, 861, 864, 870, 874, 877.

Pictones, Tig. 750, 752, AU. 749.

Pictos, Tig. 669; AU. 668, 675, 727. The gen. pl. *Pictorum*, cited supra under *Picti*, may of course belong to *Pictores*.

Pictavia, Sk. 8, 9, 135.

These *p*-names, like the Gaulish *Πικροves*, later *Pictavi*

¹ Old-Norse *Pettland*, *Pettlandz fjörðr*, whence *Pe-n-t-land*, *Pentland firth*, with a curious insertion of *n*.

² A bardic name for their territory is *Cruithen-chliu*, Ir. Nenn. p. 174, where, as in *Cruithen-tuath*, we have the stem *Cruten-*, whence W. *Prydyn* 'a Pict.' Hence also *Queretinus*, the surname of Bonifacius, a missionary to the Picts.

(now *Poitou*), have been connected by Windisch with the Ir. *cicht* i. *gebiach* Corm., i. *geibire* 'carver' i. *rindaire*, 'engraver' II. 3. 18, p. 66, col. 2. Cognate, seemingly, is Ptolemy's *Πηκετόμιον ἄκρον*, which may be explained by the W. *pyyth* 'point,' 'stitch,' from **pékto*.¹ The root is *geik*, and the resemblance of the *p*-names just quoted to the Latin *pictus*, cognate with Gr. *ποικίλος*, Goth. (*filu*)*faihs*, is deceptive.

As to the linguistic and ethnological affinities of the Picts, four irreconcilable hypotheses have been formed, three of which are still upheld. The first, due to Pinkerton, and supported, I am sorry to say, by the late Mr. Oldbuck of Monkbarne,² is that the Picts were Teutons and spoke a Gothic dialect: the second, started by Prof. Rhys, is that the Picts were Non-Aryans, whose language was overlaid by loans from Welsh and Irish: the third, the property of Mr. Skene, is that they were Celts, but Gaelic Celts rather than Cymric: the fourth, and, in my judgment, the true hypothesis, favoured by Prof. Windisch and Mr. A. Macbain, is that they were Celts, but more nearly allied to the Cymry than to the Gael.

For the sake of completeness and comparison, I have inserted in the following list the Pictish names found in the inscription of S. Vigean,³ the Pictish Chronicle and other tracts printed by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, the fragment of that chronicle in Laud 610, fo. 92^a, the Irish Nennius,⁴ Adamnán's *Vita Columbae*, the Book of Deir,⁵ and some of the names in the records printed by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 105-143. I have also inserted from C. Müller's edition of Ptolemy's Geography the names of such tribes and places as there is reason to think were Pictish.

Accidan, gen. Accidain, AU. 648, Acithaen, AU. 685, corruptly Athicain, Tig. 686.

¹ Rhys, however, regards *pyyth* as a loan from *puctum* or Low-Latin **puctus* (Ducange has *pucta*).

² See *The Antiquary*, chap. vi.

³ *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, ed. Hübner, Berlin, 1876, p. 77.

⁴ ed. Todd, Dublin, 1848.

⁵ *Goidetica*, London, 1872, pp. 106-121.

Achúir gen. sg. Talore mac Achúir, L. 92^a = Talore filius Achivir, Sk. 6 = Tolore mac Aithúir, Ir. Nenn. 160. Seems gen. sg. of a compound of *aco* (*ach*) = W. *ach* 'stemma,' Corn. *ach* (gl. suboles), and *íor* = W. *íor* 'dominus, princeps.'

Aed mac Boanta, AU. 838.

Ailill Oil-fíndachta, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. From *Alpilli-s, cogn. with A.-S. *ælf*, O.-Norse *álfr* (but see Kluge, s.v. *Alp*).

Air-chartdan, nom. loci, Vita Columbae, p. 114^b, now 'Glen Urquhart on the W. side of Loch Ness' (Reeves).

Alauna (*Ἀλαῦνα*), Ptol. a town of the Dumnonii.

aleph, see *Cenn-aleph*, and cf. *Alef* the name of a king of Cornwall, in Ward's Catalogue, i. 449.

Alpin, Ailpín, Tig. 693, AU. 856, 861, Alphin, AU. 692 : with umlaut : Elpin, L. 92^a. Sk. 7 : Eilpin, AU. 729 : Elphin, Tig. 726 : Eلفín, Ann. Cambr. 722. Borrowed from Lat. *Albinus*?

Alpine, Tig. 728, with umlaut, Eilpine, AU. 727. Borrowed from *Albinus*?

Anfrith, Anfrait, Ainfrith, see Enfret.

Aniel gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 160, Sk. 6 ; Ainel, L. 92^a. Perhaps W. *anial* 'wild.'

apor, apur, abur, abbor, abber, *estuary, rivermouth*, gen. apuir, Tig. 737, dat. apur, Tig. 722. Apor-crosán (now Applecross, Ross-shire) AU. 672, 801, FM. 671, 721, 792, Sk. 6. Apur-feirt, Apur-nethige Sk. 6 : Abur-nethige, Sk. 6 : Apuir-nige Ir. Nenn. 162 = Apur-nige, L. 92^a. Abbor-doboir (now Aberdour), Abber-deon (now Aberdeen), Bk. of Doir, fo. 39^a = the Apardjón of the Orkneyinga Saga. Æbbor-curnig (now Abercorn, at the eastern end of the Picts' wall), Bæda, H.E. i. 12, iv. 26. Old Aber-brothoc, now Arbroath. This is the Old-Welsh *aper*, now *aber*, cogn. with *oper* (Oper-gelei, Ann. Cambr. 856, Oper Linn Liuan, Nennius, § 69), Corn. *aber* (gl. gurgus), and Ir. *in-ber*.

ar-diinois, see Deo-ar-diinois: ar- may be = Gaulish *aré*, Gr. *ἄρα*.

arg, see Tal-org = Gr. *ἀργός* 'shining, bright.' Cognate with Gaulish *argio-s* in *Argio-talus*, Lat. *argutus*, *argilla*, *argentum*, Skr. *arjuna*.

Art-ablár, gen. Artablár, AU. 708. Here and in the next three entries *art* may be = W. *arth* 'bear,' *ἄρκτος*, in the names *Arth-mael*, *Arth-biu*, etc.

Art-branan, 'de quodam Artbranano,' Vita Col. p. 34^b : cf.

the Ir. Artbran, gen. Artbrain, Tig. 716 (*Ardbrand*, Tig. 758, seems a blunder).

Art-cois; L. 92^a (misprinted Arcois in Ir. Nennius, lxxv) = Arcois, Sk. 6 : cf. *Argento-cozus*.

*Art-gust, Tuathal mac Artgusso primepscop Fortrenn, AU. 864. Artgossa, TF. 869 : Ardghusa, FM. 863.

Asreith gen. sg. nom. loci, Tig. 752.

Ate-cottí, Notit. Imp. a division of the ancient Piets, meaning, probably, 'very ancient ones': pl. of a compound of *ate-*, later *at*, and *cottos* = W. *cotb* 'old.'

Athan, nom. loci, Sk. 6. If this be for *atan* = W. *adan* 'wing' (cogn. with *πέτρομα* and *feather*), we may perhaps identify it with Ptolemy's Πτερωτόν στρατόπέδον, the *Pinnatis* of Geogr. Rav. Compare for the meaning *Pinna*, a town of the Vestini, on the E. slope of the Apennines.

Athfotla gen. sg. Tig. 739, corruptly Athfoithle, AU. 738, Athochlach, Sk. 10, Adtheodle, Sk. 136, Athótle, Bk. of Deir, fo. 9^a, now Athol, a compound of *at* and *fótle* q.v. In the Norse *Atjökklar*, the *tí* has become *kl*.

Athran, Sk. 136. 'Athric near Stirling,' Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 341.

Bagag Ollfiacha, one of the Pictish kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii. Ir. *bágaoh*, Urkelt. *bágako-s*, a deriv. of *bágo-* 'battle,' Ir. *bág*.

Buine, daughter of the *ri Alban*, FM. 10 : cogn. with W. *benyw* or *banyw*? Or if the *a* be long, cogn. with Ir. *bán* 'white.'

Banb acc. sg. Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, now Banff, cogn. with *Banba*, a name for Ireland, Trip. Life, 426, *glan-Bhanbha*, FM. 1602, p. 2294. The Ir. *banb* 'pig' = W. *banic*, may also be cognate.

Bannatia (*Bavvaria*), a town of the Vacomagi, Ptol.

Bargoit gen. sg. L. 92^a. Ir. Nenn. 166, Sk. 8, nom. *Barcot possibly = W. *barcot*, *barcod* 'a kite.'

Béde cruthnec[h], Bk. of Deir, i. = a Gaulish *Bedaicos*? O.-Br. *Bedoe*, *Bidoe*.

Bergib, Sk. 187, gen. sg. of the name of the father of "Duptalaich": cf. *Scor-bergg*, AU. 790.

Bern-gul, Bearngal, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii. Cf. perhaps the Tent. *bern* 'bear' in *Bern-rich*, etc. best, bust, see *Onbest*, *Usconbust*. So we have *Drest* and *Drust*.

Biceot mac Moneit, AU. 728.

Bili gen. Tig. 686, 693 : AU. 629, 692. Bile, TF. p. 40. Bredei filius Bili, Sk. 7 = W. Corn. *Beli*, O.-Br. *Bili*, from **belesio*?

Blathaug, AU. 728, a corruption of *Blatbulg* = *Blatum Bulgium* of the Antonine Itinerary, p. 223. *Bladebolg* in a charter of 1144, printed in Reeves' *Culdaes*, p. 110, where Dr. Reeves says that "Bladbolg was a denomination of land belonging to the bishop" of St. Andrews.

Blieberlith, L. 92^a, Blielith, Ir. Nenn. 158. Blies-blituth, Sk. 6 Here perhaps *blituth* is = O.-W. *Bledud*: but the rest is obscure.

Boanta gen. sg. AU. 838.

boch = W. *böch*, Lat. *bucca*, see *gurth-in-moch*.

bodb in Iarn-bodb, q.v. cf. Gaul. *Ate-boduus*, *Boduo-genus*, *Boduo-gnatus*: W. *Arth-bodu*, *El-bodu*, *Gur-bodu*: Br. *Tri-bodu*, *Cat-bodu*, *Fu-bodu*. Ir. Bodb, gen. Beidb, AU. 675, Bodbchaidh, TE. p. 52, Bodb-cath, AU. 703, and the place-name Bodb-gna, AU. 679.

bolc, Gartnait bole, L. 92^a, misspelt Gartnaith loc, Sk. 6. Gernard bolg, Sk. 149. Bolge, Sk. 187. See Crutbolc, Dun-bulce, infra. I know not whether to compare Ir. *bolg*, *bolc* from *bulga*, or O.-W. *Morcant bulc*, the Mod.-W. *bulch* 'broken, cut,' or, lastly, Ir. *bale* 'strong' = W. *balch*.

Boresti, the right reading of *Horesti*, Tac. Agr. 38, may be cogn. with *Bopéas* and *Ἰνρεπ-βόρειοι*.

Bran mac Oengusa, AU. 838. Ir. *bran*, *Bran*, O.-Br. *Bran*: cf. *Branodunum*, *Piulo-brani*, Hübner 84.

branan in *Art-branan*, dimin. of *bran* 'raven.'

brecc. Neetan mór brecc mac Erip, L. 92^a = Neetan mor breac mac Eirip, Ir. Nenn. 160. Brecc Fortrend, AU. 724. Ir. *brecc* 'speckled,' W. *brych*.

Brecini gen. sg. Bk. of Deir iii., dat. Brecin, ib. fo. 39^a. The gen. sg. is Brechne in Sk. 10. The similarity of W. *brycini*, *bryein* 'a brake, forest,' derived from *brieg* = Br. *bruk*, is deceptive.

Bred, L. 92^a, Sk. 8. Brod, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Bredei filius Wirguist, Sk. 7. Brete filius Uurgu[s]t, L. 92^a = Breite f. Ungut, Ir. Nenn. 164. Breidei filius Uuid, Sk. 7. Bredei filius Bili, Sk. 7.

Brei f. Derelei, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Breth, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. Perhaps for Breð = Bred, q.v.

Bridiu: cum Bridayo, L. 92^a. Briduo, Sk. 7. Brideno, Ir. Nenn. 162.

brocc *badger*, in *Caer na mbrocc*, q.v. Ir. *brocc*, W. Corn. *broch*, cogn. with *φορκόν λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν*, Hesych.

Broichan(us), Vita Columbae, 146, 148, from *Vroichan = Ir. Froechan?

Brudo, Bruidhe, Bruidhi, Tig. 560, 583, 682, 686, 693, 706, 752. AU. 583, 692, 762. Bruide, L. 92^a, AU. 705. Bruite, TF. 687. Bruide mae Derilei ri Cruithintuaiti, Rawl. B. 505, p. 309. Latinised *Bruideus*, AU. 730, 735, but *Brudeus*, by Adamnán. Possibly cogn. with A.S. *prūt*, *Prāda*, Eng. *proud*, O.-N. *prúðr*. The long *ú* becomes *í* in Bridei filius Mailcon, Sk. 7, Brideo filio Meilochon, Beda H.E. iii. 4. In Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, Brude Urleo, and so on, Sk. 5, *Brude* seems not a name but a regal title.

Brun (Bruin) Alban, Sk. 136, 137. Brun-here, Sk. 137. Cam-brun, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 112. If this word be genuine, it is the Welsh *brynn* 'collis.'

Búchan gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, i. vi. Buchan ib. vi. Buchen, Sk. 136, abl. Buchain, Sk. 10, now Buchan, part of Aberdeen.

Budros, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 162 is = Uudrost, q.v., *ð* being written for *w* as in *balla* 'wall' infra.

Buthud gen. sg. L. 92^a. Buthut, Sk. 6.

Caer na mbrocc, Reeves' *Columba*, p. 191 note = ceir infra. W. and Br. *caer*, Ir. *cathair*. The same word is in *Car-buddo* in Angus.

Cailt arni, L. 92^a = Cailtaine, Ir. Nenn. 162, Cailtram, Sk. 7, Chelturan, Sk. 187. Hopelessly corrupt.

Cuiréni (*Καιρηνοι*), Ptol.

Cal, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: also in Wr-cal. Cognate with Corn. *cal* (gl. *astutus*), W. *call*, Lat. *callidus*.

Calat-ros nom. loci, TF. 578, Calitros, Tig. 678, Calathros, AU. 677, Calathros in Etarliudu, AU. 735: cf. Ir. *calath* 'hard,' Br. *calot*, W. *caled*, Corn. *cales*.

calden, callen, callenn in Dun-calden, Sk. 8, Dun caillen, AU. 964, Dun cailenn, AU. 1027, Dun callden, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, gen. Duni callenn, Bk. of Deir, iii. Now Dunkeld. The *calden(n)* is probably cogn. with the Ir. *caill* 'wood' (from **kaldet*), *cuillteamhail* (gl. *sylvester*), Gr. *κλάδος*, Lat. *callis* 'forest' (K.Z. 30, 434), A.S. *holt*, Germ. *holz*. But a connexion with Goth. *hallus*, *πέτρα*, is possible.

Calēdon in Dvē-calēdones, q.v. Calēdonios in *Καληδόσιος ἐρυμός*, Ptol. = *Coit Celidon*. Notwithstanding Ptolemy's *η*, Zenss, G.C.² 790, thinks that the second vowel was short. The Gaulish names *Sembedon* (P. Secunda Sembedonis filio), Orelli, 204, and *Tenedon* would then be similar formations. But the umlaut of *a* in Nennius' (in silva) *Celidonis* proves the length of the following vowel.

Calgācos sworded, the 'Galgacus' of Tacitus. Ir. *calg* 'sword,' W. *caly* 'veretrum,' Br. *calch*.

Canaul filius Tañg., L. 92^a: Canul, Ir. Nenn. 164: Canaul filius Tarl'a, Sk. 7.

Canā, TF. 687, gen. sg. Canonn, AU. 620, 687, Tig. 688, Canond, Tig. 690. Is the 'Cland Canan' of Bk. of Deir, v. miswritten for Cland *Canonn*? Cognate are *Canaone* (abl. sg.) Greg. Tur. iv. 4, W. *cenaw* 'cub, whelp,' pl. *cenawon*, O.Br. *Ri-censu*, O.W. *Ri-cennu*.

Canutulachama, Sk. 6. Canutulahina, L. 92^a, Canutulaema, Ir. Nenn. 160. This corrupt name seems to be *Canu* (the nom. sg. of *Canonn* supra) followed by the epithet *tulahama*, of which *Tulaaman* may be a derivative. For the insertion of *h* or *ch* between vowels cf. *Cathic*, *fahel*, *Tarachin* infra; W. *tra-noheth*, Laws, i. 27: Corn. *guillihim* (gl. forceps): Br. *Gurmahilon*, G.C.² 102.

Carno, see Monit carno, cognate with Ptolemy's *Kápvoves* or *Kapvónakas*, *Kopvaóvot*.

Carnonacae (*Kapvónakas*) Ptol. cf. the Galatian *Kápvov* τὴν σάλπινγχα.

cartit i. delg a brooch, Corm. Borrowed from AS. *geard* or Welsh *garthan* 'goad,' Corn. *garthou* (gl. stimulus).

cat battle, occurs in the next five names. W. *cat*, Ir. *cath*, Gaul. *catu*.

Catluan mac Catmind, L. 92^a=Cathluan mac Caitmind, Ir. Nenn. 140. Catluan mac Cing, LL. 15^a, Ir. Nenn. lxxiv. Cathluan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathluain, Ir. Nenn. 138.=O.Br. *Cat-louuen*, 'delighting in battle.'

Catinolachan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathmachan, Ir. Nenn. 140. Perhaps for *Cat-moluchan, a compound of *cat* 'battle' and *molachan* =W. *molochain* 'full of uproar.' Perhaps for *Cat-uolocan, cf. *Volocus*, Forbes's *Kalendars*, pp. 459-461.

Cat-mind gen. sg. L. 92^a. Caitmind, Ir. Nenn. 140. From *cat* 'battle' and *mind* 'dindem' =Ir. *mind*, O.W. *minn* (gl. sertum), pl. *minnou* (gl. sarta, gl. stemmata).

Cat-molodor, Ir. Nenn. 140, for *Cat-uolatr* =O.W. *Catqualart*, O.Br. *Cat-uualart*. Here, as in *Simal* and *Almuine* infra, the Irish scribe has written (infected) *m* for *w*.

Catōc, gen. *Cathic*,¹ AU. 749, (for the insertion of *h* cf. *fahel* infra) O.W. O.Br. *Catoc*: *Catdeus*, Hübner 35.

Catt, Cat son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, Aenbeagan mac Caitt, ibid. (corruptly *Cuitt*, *Gatt*, Ir. Nenn. 154, *Got*, Sk. 4) =Gaul. *Cattos*: an eponymous king. Cat-ness, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a.

¹ Mr. Hennessy bisects this word, and translates the "bellum Cato hic" thus produced by "The battle of Cato, in this year."

i Cataib, Féil. crich Cat, Ir. Nenn. 148. insi Cadd, LL. 171^b. Cathanesia, Sk. 136. O.Norse *Kata-nes*.

Ce son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, an eponymous king. In topography (according to Mr. A. Macbain) *Kaith*.

Ceir-fuill id est Lethfoss, Sk. 6. Is this = Kerpul, Roeev's *Culdees*, p. 138? where *pul* is = W. *pwll*, Corn. *pol* (gl. puteus)?

cenn-aleph, L. 92^a, Sk. 7. Corruptly cenamlapeh, Ir. Nenn. 162, cennalath, AU. 579, may be W. *Ken-elaph*, Jesus Coll. MS. No. 20, fo. 36^b. Here *cenn* seems = W. *cen* 'skin,' Corn. *cennen* (gl. membrana), Ir. *ceinn* pl. *ceinni* (gl. scamac), Lib. Arm. 176^b, 2. The *aleph* may be = Ir. *álaib*, Féil. Sep. 3. Similar names are Corn. Wuen-cen, Gluiu-cen.

Cerônes (*Képoues*), Ptol.

Cillimon, see Deo-cillimon, cilunon.

Cing, gen. Cinge, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 154. Cínca, Ir. Nenn. 142. Cogn. with the Ir. *t*-stem *cing*, Gaul. *cinget-* in *Cinget-a-ris*.

Cinioioth, L. 92^a. Cinioid, Ir. Nenn. 158 = Cimoiod filius Arcois, Sk. 6. Cinioid mac Derili, AU. 712. Cinioid filius Wredech, Sk. 7, Cinioid¹ filius Uuredeg, L. 92^a. Cinoioth, gen. Cinadhon, AU. 774, 777. Cynoeth, Cynoht, Sim. Dunelm. 774, 775. Cenioyð, Cemoth (leg. Cenioyðth), Ann. Camb. 776, 856. Ciniath mac Lutrin, L. 92^a = Cinhoint f. Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, Cinoioch filius Lutrin, Sk. 7, gen. sg. mors Cinedon filii Lugthreni, AU. 630. The name underlying this mass of mis-spellings is *Cini-oið*, gen. *Cini-oiðon*, where *cini-* is = *cin-* in the Irish name *Cinacod*, and *oið* is = Gr. *αἰθωv* 'fiery.' Cf. the O.-Ir. gen. *Jugu-aedon*, Insern. of Inis an Ghoill = *Lugudon*, AU. 780, 809, *Lugedon*, AU. 739, the ogmic *Biv-aiddonas*, and the Gaul. *io*-stem *Aedonius*, C.I.L. v. 3459.

Cinid one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-cinid. Perhaps = O.W. *Cinuit*, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a.

Cint, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes, also in Ur-cint. *Cintu-* 'first' in *Cintu-genus*, *Cintu-gnatus*.

Circinn son of Cruithne, Sk. 4. Circin, Circing, Ir. Nenn. 154. Mag Cirgin, Ir. Nenn. lxxi. i cath Chircind, Tig. 596 (where Bp. Reeves would identify *Circind* with *Kirkin-tulloch*, N.E. of Glasgow, on the borders of Dumbarton and Stirling), in terra Circin, Tig. 752.

Cirice, Sk. 324. Cirig, Ir. Nenn. 50. Ciric, ib. 51 note. A gen. Cirigh, *ibid.* 124, 142. Borrowed from *Cyricus*.

¹ Misprinted Oimod, Ir. *Nennius*, p. lxxxvii, l. 2.

cisirne, see Findoll.

Claideom nom. loci, Sk. 10.

Cluannan nom. loci, Sk. 8. dimin. of *cluan*=Ir. *clúain*?

Coblait filia Canond, Tig. 690.

cois (Art-cois)=W. *coes*, Ir. *cois*, Lat. *coxa*.

*Con-gust, Talorgg mac Congusso, AU. 733, O.W. *Cingust*, *Cinust*. The *con*=*cuno*- is also in *Cuno-barrus*, *Cuno-gussi*, Rhys 5, *Cuno-pennius*, *Cuno-mori*, *Cuno-vali*. In Ireland *Con-chobar* is not only a man's name, but occurs as the name of a river in Irish Pictland: see Rev. Celt. vi. 125.

Corindu, Tig. 669, AU. 668. An etymological connexion with *Κόρινθος* is possible; but both words are obscure.

Cornavii, Ptolemy's *Κορναβίοι*. Cf. W. *Cornou*, Lib. Land. 230, l. 35. Derived from *corn*=Lat. *cornu*.

Costantin, *Cosāntin*, Caustantin, l. 92^a, Castantin, Sk. 8, Consatin, Ir. Nenn. 166, Cusaintín, ib. 274. Borrowed from *Constantinus*. So W. *Custenhin*, Lib. Landav. 69, 263, and Corn. *Cos-tentin*, *Custentin*, Rev. Celt. i. 340.

cottos (whence *Ate-cotti* 'the old inhabitants'), W. *coth* 'old,' Br. *coz*, Gaul. *cottos* (*Cotti officina*, C.I.L. xii. 5686, 272).

credi gen. sg. Caislen Credhi, Tig. 728, Castellum Credi, AU. 727=Collis Credulitatis, Sk. 9. Reeves, *Columba*, 383. Cognate with Ir. *cretim* from **cred-dim*, Lat. *crēdo* from **cred-do*.

Creōnes (*Κρέωνες*), Ptol.

Crin, Ur-crin, two of the thirty Brudes, Ir. Nenn. 158. A Crin servus occurs in Lib. Land. 198. Cf. W. *crin* 'aridus,' also 'avarus, sordidus, parcus.'

croib, in Menid Croibh, may be Ir. *cræb* 'a branch,' 'a branchy tree,' the diphthong *ai* becoming *oi*, as in Cini-oið.

crosan, see Apor-crosan.

crup, Dersum Crup, Sk. 10, 'which Chalmers makes Duncrub in Strathern,' Reeves' *Columba*, 383. *Cruip*, gen. sing. AU. 711. W. *crwab* 'gibba,' *crwabān* 'testudo,' *crwabach* 'hamus,' with which Glöck connects the Gaulish name *Crupios*, and the *cruppellurii* of Tacitus.

Crus mac Cirigh, the soldier of the Picts, Ir. Nenn. 124, 142. Perhaps an Irishism for **Prust*=W. *prwst*, Corn. *prost* (in *Iudprost*), O.Br. *Prost-lon*, *Prost-uoret*.

Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 154. *Cruidne* . . . pater Pictorum habitantium in hoc insula, Sk. 4, an eponymous hero. An Irishism for **Prutene* or *Predene*, AU. 783, where it is the name of the grandfather of an Irish king.

Crutbole, Ir. Nenn. 158: Crautreic, L. 92^a (where the *-reic* comes from the preceding *Deo-totreic*); and Carvorst, Sk. 6. The name underlying these corrupt spellings may be **Craust*, an Irishism for **Praust*=W. *Prawst*. As to *bolc* see Gartnait *bolc*, supra.

Culen-ross, Culenros, now Culross, Sk. 417. Cuilenn ros, in BB. 214^a, 21: Alina ingen rig Cruithnech máthair Seirb meic Proic rig Canandan Egipti, 7 is c sin in sruthsenoir congeibh Cuilleann ros hi Sraith Ern. hi Comgellaibh etir Sliabh n-Ochel 7 Mur nGuidan. Ir. *cuileann*, W. *celyn-en*, M.Br. *queleann-en*, A.S. *holegn*, *holen* 'holly.' As to *ross* see infra, p. 412.

Curnach, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a. The gen. sg. may be *curnig*, in *Æbber-curnig*.

Deauae, leg. Dēuae? gen. sg. of *Dēva*. Obsessio Druin Deauae, AU. 691. De, Sk. 136.

Decantae (Δεκανταί), Ptol. From the same root as *Decangi*, Tacitus Ann. xii. 32, and *Decetia*, Caesar B.G. vii. 33. Ir. *dech* 'best,' Lat. *decor*, *decus*.

Dele-roth, Tig. 711. filius Deile-roith, AU. 710, 715.

Demene, Sk. 187, is perhaps the Ir. name *Daimene*, AU. 960.

deo= *divo*- seems to occur in the next four articles: cf. the Gaulish *Divo-genus*, *Divo-gena* and the place-names *Divo-durum* (now Metz), and *Deo-brigula* in Spain. W. *Diu-north*, Lib. Land. 178, l. 8.

Deo ardivois, Sk. 6. Deordiuois, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 160.

Deo-cillimon, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158 = Deocilunon, Sk. 6.

Deo-ord, Sk. 6 = Deort, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158.

Deo-totreic, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158, misspelt Dectotr'ic, Sk. 6. Here the *totreic* seems a corruption of the A.S. *Theudric*, = N.H.G. *Dietrich*, Gaul. *Teutorix*, O.W. *Tutri*; but the loan *Theudric* occurs in the Jesus College MS. No. 20, fo. 35^a.

deon in Abberdeon q.v. Perhaps = Ptolemy's *Dēvana* (Δηνώνα): cf. *Ditona*, now Cahors.

Der, nom. loci, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a. The connexion with Ir. *dér*, W. *dagr*, Gr. *δάκρυ*, is mere volksetymologia.

dergg in 'bellum Droma dergg,' AU. 728. Ir. *derg* 'red.'

Derile, Tig. 126, 728, gen. Derili, Derile, AU. 705, 712, 725.

Derelei, Derilei, L. 92^a, Derleoi, Sk. 7. The *der-* may be an intensive prefix as in O.-Bret. *Der-monoc* and W. *Der-guentid*, *Der-guist*.

Dēva, a river, Ptolemy's *Δηώα*: see Deauae, supra. W. *Diu-*

gurach, Lib. Land. 133, l. 4. Diu-guinid, *ibid.* 199, ll. 6, 10. a flumine quod vocatur Dubr Duiú, Harl. 3859, fo. 195^a, col. 3.

Dévana (Δηουάνα), the πόλις of the Taexali, Ptol.

Diu, Sk. 6=deo q.v. is=Tui, L. 92^a.

diuois, see Ar-diuois.

diuperr, Gartnait diuperr, L. 92^a, Gartnait duipeir, Ir. Nenn. 160=Gartnaich diuberr, Sk. 6=Canath dives, Sk. 149=Garnard dives, Sk. 172. Garnard le riche, Sk. 200. The *diu* may be cognate with Lat. *dives*. The *perr* or *peir* is obscure.

dobor, gen. doboir, see Abbor-doboir. Dobur Artbranani, *Vita Columbae*, p. 35^a. Hence the diminutive. *Dobran, now the *Doceran*. W. *dufr*, Corn. *dour*.

Doirgarto gen. sg., AU. 709, 711, is perhaps a Pictish name. The "Dargarto" of AU. 685 seems a scribal error for Doirgarto.

Domech gen. sg., L. 92^a=Domeleh, Sk. 7. Domnach, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Domnual: Mors Gartnaidh filii Domnail 7 Domnail mic Totholain, AU. 662. Donuel gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 164 (corruptly = Donnel Sk. 7). W. Dumn-ual. Ir. Domnall.

Drostan, Tig. 713, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130. Drostan, Bk. of Deir i. Drostan Dairtighe or Dairtaighe, FM. 717, AU. 718. gen. Drostain, AU. 712=*Drustagni*, Hübner, 20. Hence the *Tristan* of Lib. Land. 267, l. 27, and the Arthurian tales.

Drosten, Inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Druisten gen. sg. L. 92^a, misprinted *Dsuisten*, Ir. Nennius, p. lxxv, l. 5.

drum 'ridge' in *Drum-ckarach*, *Drum-sae*, *Muko-drum*, Reeves, *Culdees*, pp. 109, 133: gen. droma, in "bellum Droma dergg Blathung in regionibus Pictorum," AU. 728. Chalmers identifies *Druim d. b.* with *Drumderg*, an extensive ridge on the western side of the river Ila in Forfarshire, Reeves, *Columba*, 384 n. Ir. *druim*, W. *trum*, from **drosmen* cognate with Lat. *dorsum*.

Drust, Tig. 729, AU. 728, L. 92^a. Sk. 6, TF. p. 54. Druist, Tig. 725, 726, AU. 724. Druxst, Tig. 724. Drest, L. 92^a, Sk. 7. gen. Drosto, Tig. 768, AU. 671, 677. Latinised abl. Drusto, Sk. 6. From **drut-to-s*, **drut-tu-s*, cogn. with W. *drúd* 'audax, fortis strenuus.'

Drustice daughter of 'Drust rex Bretan,' Lib. Hymn. 4^a (*Goidelica*, p. 96). For the diminutival ending cf. O.W. *enderic* (gl. vitulus).

dub 'black' in Dub-Tholargg AU. 781. So in Dup-talzich, Sk. 127, where *p* seems miswritten for *þ*, and Dub-loinges mac Trebúait,

the name of a Pictish champion mentioned in J.U. 88^a. O.W. *duib*, Corn. *dup*, Ir. *duib*.

Dumna (Ptolemy's *Δουμνα*), an island N. of Orcas and south of the Orcaes.

Dumnonii, **Δουμνόιοι*. So we should probably correct Ptolemy's *Δαρμόιοι*.

Dun-bulcc, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 133. Dun-calden, Sk. 8, 9. Dún-Nechtain, AU. 685, Tig. 686, TF. 687, 'supposed to be Dun-nichen in Forfarshire,' Rhys, E.B. 143. The *dún* (an Irishism for *din*?) is=Ir. *dún* 'fortress,' W. *din*, Gaul. *dānon*, A.S. *tūn*, Germ. *zoun*.

Dvé-calédones, a division of the ancient Picts. Hence the adj. dvé-calédonio-s, *ὠκεανὸς καλοῦμενος Δουγκαληδόνοιος*, Ptol. Rhys, *Early Britain* 291, equates with *dvé* the Welsh *duwy*, Ir. *dí*, the fem. form of the numeral two = Skr. *dvē*.

Ebuda (*Ἐβούδα*), Ptol.

*Ectan, gen. Eactain, Tig. 724. Perhaps a scribe's mistake for Nectain, gen. of Nectan, q.v.

Eden, oppidum, Sk. 10.

elei, ilei, ile, see Derile.

Elgín, Orkn. Saga, now Elgin, cogn. with Elca or Elga, a name for Ireland, Trip. Life, p. 426, Ir. Nenn. p. 142, said to mean 'noble,' ib. p. 143 n. The resemblance of *Ἐλγαῖος*, the name of a city in Lydia or Lycia, is probably accidental.

Elpin, Elpine, see Alpin, Alpine.

Emchat(us), *Vita Col.* p. 114^b=Ir. Imm-chath, a Gaul. **Ambi-catus*, which is perhaps the true form of Livy's *Ambigatus*.

Enfidaig L. 92^a, corruptly Enfidaid, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 164 = Entifidich, Sk. 7. Nom. sg. En-fidach, see Fidach, *infra*.

Enfret gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7, Ir. Nenn. 164. Also spelt Anfrith, AU. 656, Anfrait, Ainfrith, Tig. 654, 657. Borrowed from A.S. *Fanfrith*?

Éngus, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, an Irishism for *Oengust*, *Ungust*=O.W. *Ungust*, Lib. Land. 201, l. 26.

Epidioi (*Ἐπίδιοι*), Ptol. Epidion (*Ἐπίδιον*), perhaps from (*p*)*ekvidioi*, (*p*)*ekvidion*, cogn. with Ir. *Eochaid*, Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu*, Skr. *paṇu-s*.

Erp, Drust mac Erp, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 160=Drust filius Erp, Sk. 6, but 'filius Erip,' Sk. 6, l. 25, 'filius Wirp,' Sk. 6, l. 31. Nectan mór broc mac Erip, L. 92^a. The name Crach-erpais, AU. 701, may be cognate.

Esk, the name of two rivers in Pictland, from *Iscā = (in form) Ptolemy's Ἰσκα, now the *Esc*. The initial *p* may have been lost, and the name may mean '(flumen) piscosum.' So the O.W. river-name *Uisc* is, acc. to Mr. Phillimore, cogn. with Ir. *iasc* 'fish.'

Ethairt, gen. sg. CS. 651, Ethairt, AU. 653.

Eten, gen. obsesio Etin, AU. 637. "*Cair-eden*, now Carriden, a parish on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire," Reeves, *Vita Col.* p. 202 n.

Eu = *Iona*, infrā, the island now called Iona, LU. 11^b, seems cogn. with Ir. *eo-rna* 'barley' = Skr. *yava*, Gr. ζέα, ζεία. Compare *Java* and Ptolemy's Ἰαβαδίου [*i.e.* Ἰαφαδίου] νήσος. Compare also the island-name *Tir-ee* = *Tir-etha*, Adamán's *Elthica* insula.

Euganan mac Oengusa, AU. 838.

fahel (in *Pean fahel*, Buda, H.E. i, 12), gen. sg. of *fāl = Ir. fál, FM. 1586, p. 1846, O.W. *guaul*. (As e ainm in claid sin la Breatnach, *guaul*, Ir. Nennius, p. 64.) From a primeval *vāto-n* cogn. with Gr. Φηλος in ἀργυρόΦηλος, Latin *vallus*, of which *vallum* is a collective. For the insertion of the *h* see Catoc, Tarain.

Fáich, gen. sg. name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, LU. 83^a; cf. perhaps *Faco-magi*, Ptolemy's Οὐακόμαγοι, O.W. *Guoccoan*, Cat-*guoccoan*.

Fecir, Ur-fecir, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Possibly = W. *gwychyr*, *gwychr* 'alacaz, strenuus.'

feirna, see Luto feirna. cf. W. *guernin* 'alder,' JL. 230, l. 27.

feirt, in Apur-feirt, Sk. 6.

Feradach (Pheradach, Sk. 137) may represent an O.-Celt. *Verédāco-s*, cogn. with W. *gorwydd* 'horse,' Low-Lat. *veredus*, whence *puraveredus* = *pferd*.

Feroth, AU. 728, gen. Ferith, AU. 652, corruptly Ferich, Tig. 653, W. Guerdue, Lib. Land. 201, l. 17.

Fet, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5; Ir. Nenn. 156, see also Ur-fet. Either cognate with Gaul. *vitu* in *Vitudurum*, now Winterthür, or miswritten for feth, q.v.

Feth *i. ges*, BB. (Ir. Nenn. p. xcii), *i. ges*, Ir. Nenn. p. xc. Sk. 324. If *geis*, *ges* here be meant for *géis* 'swan,' *Feth* may be = W. *gwydd* 'goose.'

Fib, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an eponymous hero: comite de Fib 'carl of Fife,' Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a. Fif, Sk. 136. O.-Norse *Fífl*, Orkn. Saga.

Fibaid, Sk. 4. Fidbaid, Ir. Nenn. 154. Obscure.

Fidach, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an

eponymous hero. Fidaich, ib. O.-W. *Guidauc*, *Guidoc*. See *Enfidach*, *suprà*.

File, gen. sg., L. 92^a = Fle, Ir. Nenn. 164. Ir. *filí* 'poet,' cogn. with W. *gweled* 'to see.'

Finchem, name of a Pictish queen, Sk. 185. An Irish *Findchoem*? *Fín-choem*?

Findoll eisirne, a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. The *find* is = *vindo-* in *Vindo-gara* (Οὐινδόγαρα) a *πῶλις* of the Dumnonii, Ir. *find* 'white,' W. *gwynn*. As to *oll* see *infra*, p. 411.

Findgaíne mac Deleroith, Tig. 711 = Finngaine filius Deileroith, AU. 710. Mac Fhindguini is now *Mackinnon*.

Fodresach, "in F. id est in Claidoom," Sk. 10.

Foirchin, Foircu: o crich [C]ath co Foirchin, BB. 205^a 13 = o crich Cat co Foircu, Ir. Nenn. 148, Sk. 43, 'from Caithness to the Forth,' as Mr. Macbain translates.

Forchet, a man's name, Sk. 187.

Forcus (from **ver-gustu-*), inser. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Forcus, *Vita Col.* p. 33.

Fortrenn, son of Cruithne, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero: gen. sg. of **Fortriu* = *Verturio*, AU. 692, 762, 819, 833, the country between the Tay and the Forth; dat. i Fortrinn, AU. 767; acc. Foirtrind, AU. 735; pl. dat. Fortreannoibh, TF. p. 58. The 'Wertermorum' of Sim. Dunelm. 934 is prob. a scribal error for *Verturionum* (fines). Rhys compares *Verterae* and W. *gwerthyr* 'fortification.'

Footh, gen. Fooith: éc Tolaig¹ maic Fooith regis Pictorum, Tig. 658 = mors . . . Tolaig mic Fooith, AU. 652. Gartnaith mac Foith, AU. 634: mors Bruidi filii Foith, AU. 640. The Uid of Sk. 28 is possibly = W. *gwydd*.

Fothad mac Brain, FM. 961 = Fothach (misspelling of Fothath?), Sk. 10, a Pictish bishop. Another Fothad, bp. of St. Andrews, died in 1093.

Fother, foither, gen. sg. Obsessio Duin Foither, Fother, AU. 680, 693 = Dun foedor, Sim. Dunelm. 934. Opidum Fother, Sk. 9. "Probably Dun ottar in Kincardine," says Bishop Reeves, *Vita Col.* 377 n. This may be = *fothir*, the nom. sg. of Ir. *foithre* i. e. coillte 'woods,' O'Cl. It is anglicised as *Fetter* and *Fother*, acc. to Macbain.

Fothrene, Sk. 136. Fothrif (Fothribe?) was, according to

¹ Mr. Skene, following Dr. O'Conor and the carelessly written MS., combines these two words, and gives us, as a Pictish name, Ectolaig. See his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 71, 454.

Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 128), the S.W. half of the united counties of Fife and Kinross. The Ir. *fothirbe*, Trip. Life, 82, 168, said to mean 'forest,' may be cognate.

Fothuir-tabaicht, Sk. 8 = Fothuir-thabaieth *ibid.*, now *Forteviot*, Reeves, *Columba*, p. 377 n. Is it *fuithir* i. fearann, O'Cl. ?

Fotla, son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero. The spellings *Foltlaid*, *Foltlaig*, Ir. Nenn. 154, and *Floclaid*, Sk. 4, are corrupt. Identical with *Fötla*, one of the names of Ireland, Trip. Life, 426: glan-Fódla, FM. 1601, pp. 2288. Hence *Athfötla*, q.v.

gaed, Guidid gaed brechach, Sk. 5 = Guidedh Gaeth Breatnach, Ir. Nenn. 156 = Guidid gadbre, Sk. 25, 324. Ir. *gaeth* 'wise' ? or cf. W. *Gaidan*, Lib. Land. 117, l. 18 ?

gal, see Bern-gal. Br. *gal* 'force, puissance,' in *Gal-budic*, etc. Ir. *gal* 'bravery.'

Galam cennaleph, L. 92^a. Sk. 7, corruptly Galum cenamlapeh, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galau-arilith L. 92^a, Galam-arbith, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galanan erlich, Sk. 7. For an Irish *Galanh*, see O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, etc. 447.

Gant, Sk. 5, Ur-gant. See Grant.

Gart, Ur-gart, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. *gart* 'head,' Corm. m. W. *garth* 'cape,' 'headland.'

Gartnait, Sk. 7, L. 92^a. Ir. Nenn. 160, Bk. of Deir, iii. Garnat, AU. 715, gen. sg. Gar[t]nait, Bk. of Deir, vi. Corruptly Gartnaidh, AU. 662, 687; Gartnaith, AU. 634, Sk. 6; Gartnaich, Sk. 6; Garthnach, Sk. 7; Gartnart, Sk. 7; Garnard, Sk. 7; Garnait, AU. 669. A diminutive of *gart* 'head': cf. Irish forms like *Beccnait*, *Blathnait*, *Erenait*, *Gobnait*, *dadnait*, *mátharnait*. This name is Anglicised *Garnet*.

Gartnan, gen. Gartnain, AU. 634, another dimin. of *gart* 'head.' Cf. Irish names like *Adamnán*, *Dadnán*, *Flaithnán*, *Lommnán*, *Liathnán*, *Lubnán*, *Menenán*.

Geide (gen. Geithi) ollgothach, Ir. Nenn. 154, lxxiii = Gede Olgudach, Sk. 5.

Genunia, *Γενουσία νοῖρα*, Pausanias, cited by Rhys, E.B. 89. Adamnan's *Geonae* . . . cohortis, *Vita Columbae*, i. 34^b, may be a scribal error for *Genonae*.

Gest, Sk. 5 for Gust? Or is it cognate with O.-W. *Gistin*, Lib. Land. 1771, 206, etc., and Eu-gist, Lib. Land. 217, l. 4 ?

Gilgidi, Sk. 5 = Gidgie, Ir. Nenn. 158. Hopelessly corrupt.

Girom, Giron gen. sg. L. 92^a. Girom, Giron, Ir. Nenn. 162.

Gyrom, Girom, Sk. 7. Possibly cognate with Γγρωών, Ir. *gáir*, W. *gawr*.

Giudan gen. sg. *muir n-Giudan*, the Firth of Forth, Bk. of Lecan cited in Reeves' *Culdees*, 124. Perhaps the *g* here is only a way of expressing the semi-vowel of *Iudeu*, q.v.

Glun-merach, Sk. 187. A nickname, qy. *Glun-šmerác* 'marrowy-knee,' W. *merog*.

Gnith, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5 : see Ur-gnith = O.-Br. Uurgnit.

Gobriat : 'flumen Gobriat in Pictavia,' Acta SS. Mart. tom. ii. p. 449, cited by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 45, note, where he identifies it with the Inver-Gowrie river, which nearly divides Gowrie in Perthshire from Angus or Forfar.

Gonerin, Sk. 136, now Gowrie?

Grant, Ur-grant, Sk. 324, two of the thirty Brudes. These names are (corruptly) *Gant* and *Urgant* in Sk. 5. Cf. the Irish adj. *grant* .i. each liath no findach, 'every grey or hairy one,' Corm. s.v. Crontsaile. Conall Grant, AU. 717.

Graupios, the mountain on which Agricola defeated Calgâcos. The root may be *grug*, whence also Gr. γρῦπός 'hooknosed, curved, rounded.'

Grid, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-grid infra. Here *grid* may be = O.-Br. *gred* in *Gred-canham*, *Gred-uobri*, *Gred-uuocon*, *Gred-uurost*.

Gúd, L. 92^a, Gud, Ir. Nenn. 158, corruptly Gub, ib. 124, name of a Pictish king of Alba, cognate perhaps with Ir. *Gbidel*.

Gudid, Guidid, Sk. 5, 25, Guidedh, Ir. Nenn. 156. Obscure.

gureich, Sk. 5, where *Gest gureich* seems = the *Geascuirti* of Ir. Nenn. 156. Hopelessly corrupt.

gurthimoch, Sk. 7, gurthimoth, Drest g. L. 92^a, -gnitimoth Ir. Nenn. 162. The *gurth* may be = W. *gwrdd* 'fortis, robustus, strenuus,' and the *inmoch* may be = Corn. *envoch* (gl. facies), the Irish scribe writing (infected) *m* for *v*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Simat*.

Hii 'insula quae uocatur Hii,' Beda H.E. iii. 3, v. 15, v. 22, now called *Iona*. No connexion with *Eu, Iona*. O'Clery's *I* .i. íseal 'low,' *I* .i. inis 'island,' seem mere guesses. Is the *h* from *p*, as in O.Ir. *haue*, *hua* = *raís* and *Hériu* cogn. with *Ηερία*? If so, we might connect *Hí* with Lat. *pius* (from **pu-i-ios*) and *pu-tus*.

Hilef, a river, Sk. 136. Etym. obscure.

Hinba, name of an island, Vita Col. p. 46^a. *Hinbina*, insula, ibid. p. 26^b. Etym. obscure.

Iarnbodb (= *Îsarno-bodve-s), gen. loscoth Iarnhoidbh mic Gart-naith, AU. 642, corruptly *Iarnduidh*, Tig. 643, and perhaps *Ythern-buthib*, Sk. 187. Here *iarn* is = O.-Ir. *iarn*, Corn. *iarn-*, O.-Br. *Iarn-*, *hoiarn*, from *eisarno-* 'iron,' G.C.³ 106, which helps to form numberless Celtic names, e.g. Gaul. *Isarno-dori* (i.e. ferrei ostci) Ir. *Iarnan*, W. *Haern-gen*, Corn. *Iarn-wallon*, O.-Br. *Iarn-bidos*, -*bud*, -*cant*, -*car*, etc.

Ila, a river, Ptolemy's *Ιλα. Cogn. with O.H.G. *ilen*, now *eilen*?

Im mac Perrnn, Ir. Nenn. 142=Imm mac Finn, Sk. 328.

A Gaulish **Ambio-s*, compounded in *Ambio-ris*.

inboec in Gurth-inmoch. Here the prefix *in-* is = Corn. *en-*, Ir. *in-* (in *in-chinn*), ogmic *ini* in *inigina* 'daughter,' Gaul. *eni*, in *Eni-gnus*, C.I.L. iii. 3784, 3793. Gr. *ἐνί*, Lat. *in-*.

Iogenan(us), Vita Col. p. 60* (Reeves, p. 117)=Ir. Euganan, AU. 659, 676, 691. Dimin. of *Eogen*=*Ougen* infra.

Iova, Vita Col. passim, the island now called Iona from misreading *v* as *n*. See Eu, supra.

ior, see Achuir.

Ipeuoret, inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Rhys compares the Gaulish *Ambivaretos*. For *p* from *mb*, cf. O.-W. **leipio*, now *Ueibio*, Br. *lippiat*, and O.-W. **helip*, now *helyb* in *cyf-helyb*, Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 191-192.

Itharnan, Tig. 669, Itarnan, AU. 668. This may be a dimin. of **itarn*=Ir. *itharna* 'a torch,' cogn. with Corn. *itheu* (gl. *titio*), Br. *eteo*, and the Irish saint's name *Itharnaisc*, Féline, Dec. 22.

Itis (*Ιτις), name of a river, Ptol. *i-ti-s*, root *i* whence Lat. *i-re*, Gr. *ίέναι*, O.-Slav. *iti*, Lith. *eiti* 'to go.'

Iudeu, a city, Nennius § 64, possibly=Bæda's Urbs *Giudi*. Moni Iudeorum, Rhys, E.B. 226. See Guidan supra, p. 106.

laib : de rege Cruithnorum qui Echodius laib uocitabatur, *Vita Columbae*, p. 18*: mors Eugain mic Echach laibh, AU. 610. A nickname possibly identical with Ir. *laoibh* in *laoibh-rí* .i. *rí* claon no leathronnach, O'Cl., which seems a loan from Lat. *laevus*. An Irish man's name *Laebán* occurs, Trip. Life, 266.

Land-abae, AU. 675, identified by Skene with Lundaff in Perthshire. O.-W. *lann*, now *llan*, Ir. *land*.

Lemannonios (Λεμαννόσιος κόλπος, Ptol.), supposed to be Loch Fyne.

Leo, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes: see Mor-léo, Ur-leo.

W. *Uew* 'lion,' *Cat-leú*, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a 3, O.-W. Lou-march, now Llywarch, Corn. Leu-march.

Letend, Leithenn, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, gen. Leitind, ib. 122.

Lindon (*Λίνδον*), a town of the Dumnonii, *Clindum*, Geogr. Rav.

Longos (*Δόγγος*), name of a river, Ptol. identified by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 206) with "the river in Argyllshire called the Add, and in Gaelic the 'Abhainn Fhada,' or long river." Cognate with Lat. *longus*, Goth. *lagg-s*, Gr. *λογγάζω*, and prob. Gaul. *longo-s* in *Λογγο-σταλητων*, *Rev. Celt.* i. 296. The Norse *Skipa-fjörðr* may be due to confusion of the adj. *long* 'long' with the subst. *long* 'vessel.'

Lonsce, gen. sg., name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a.

Loxa, a river, Ptolemy's *Λόξα*, now the *Lossie*.

luan in *Cat-luan* may be = W. *Uawen* 'joyful.'

Luchtren, gen. sg. Tig. 631=Lug-throni, gen. sg. AU. 630. Cognate are *Lugu-dunum*, and *Lugi* (*Δούγιος*), Ptol.

Luto feinn, gen. sg. AU. 663.

Lutrin, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7, Luthren, Sk. 173, Lutheren, Sk. 187, Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, a corruption of Luchtren? Is this Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Loerinus*, the *Loerine* of Milton's *Comus*?

Maeatae (*Μαίαται*), Dion Cassius, Adamnán's *Miathi*, 33, or *Miati*, 36. An island *Maya* is mentioned in the Legend of S. Adrian, Sk. 424, 425.

Mail-con, gen. sg. Sk. 7=Melcon, L. 92^a, Maelcon, Tig. 560, 583, 653, AU. 599, Maelcon, AI. 576, Maelcon, AU. 583. To be compared with W. *Maelgwn* (= Maglo-cunos) rather than with Ir. *Mael-chú*.

Mag Circinn, *Moerne*, Sk. 136, now the *Mearns*.

Malaioi (*Μαλαίος*), Ptol. Adamnán's *Malea*, a mountainous island now called Mull, Norse *Myl*. The resemblance to Skr. *Malaya*, a mountainous range in the Dekhan, is probably accidental.

Mano, gen. Manann; Cath Manann, Tig. 582, TF. 581=bellum Manond, Manand, AU. 581, 582, in campo Manand, Tig. 711, in campo Manonn, AU. 710, dat. Iugulatio Muirmin in Mano,¹ AU. 681. Now represented by Slamannan (*Sliab Manann*), and Clackmannan (*Cloch Manann*).

Maphan, Talarggan maphan mortuus est, AU. 725. Perhaps

¹ Dr. Reeves (*Columba*, p. 377, l. 8) mistakes this for Latin and prints *in manu*.

for *mapon*—the O.-British *Maponos*, which occurs in the inscription found at Hexham, *Apollini Mapono* (C.I.L. vii. 1345).

Marr, Sk. 136, gen. sg. *Ráudri móрма[e]r Márr*, Bk. of Deir iii. but Mair, AU. 1014: now Mar, part of Aberdeen.

Menoted, Sk. 136, Menetheth, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 113, now *Monteith*, part of Perth.

Migdele, villa, Sk. 188, now Meigle, according to Skene, p. lviii. *minn diadem*, see *Cat-mind*.

Mochan, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 126, a dimin. of *much* 'swine'?

Moerne, gen. sg. Sk. 10, 136. The *Mearns*, now Kincardine.

Moncit, gen. sg. AU. 728, is explained by Rhys (E.B. 259, 260) as *Mog Néit*.

Moethel (anglicised *Muthill*), Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 142, near Dunblane, is identified by Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 57 n.) with Ir. *maothail* 'spongy ground.'

moni, muni, in *Moni Iudeorum* (= *Menevia*), *Moni-feth*, *Muni-feit*, *Moni-fodh*, *Moni-futh* (Reeves, *Culdees*, 143), *Muni-musc*, ib. 135, *Chine-monic*, ib. 109. The same word seems to be in *Moneclatu*, *Monochi*, Sk. 185.

moneð, gen. *monið*, *mountain*, in *Monith carno*, AU. 728, and Reeves' *Columba*, p. 387, note v. *Monid Croibh* (now *Moncrieffe*, Perthshire), AU. 727, *Rig-monid*, q.v. *citra Monoth* (leg. *Moneth*), AU. 781. *Moneth* (gl. *montana*, acc. pl.), Sk. 186. Anglicised *Mounth* or *Mound*, Sk. 135, 136. Here perhaps belongs *Dun Monaid*, *Fled duin na ngéd*, p. 46. *Moneð* or *moneth* appears in the other Celtic languages as W. *mynydd*, Corn. *menit(h)*, *moneth*, O.-Br. *monid*, *Win-monid*, Ir. *muine* 'mountain' (O'Brien's Ir.-Eng. Dict.), a different word from *muine* 'bush.' The primeval form must have been *monjo-* or *monijo-*. For the development of *d* before *j* see Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 115.

mór great, *Nectan mór brec*, L. 92^a=*Necton morbet*, Sk. 6, l. 25 = *Nectonius magnus*, Sk. 6, l. 31. Also *mur*, q.v. Gaul. *máro-s*, W. *mawr*, Corn. *neur*, *mur*, Ir. *már*, *mór*, Gr. *μυρος* in *εργασίμυρος*.

Mor-cunt, *Mor-cunn*, gen. sg. Bk. of Deir ii., *Mor-guinn*, ib. vi. *mors Tuathail mic Morguind*, AU. 662. The nom. is *Morgunn*, ib. vi. O.-Br. *Morcant* 'sea-bright,' a Gaulish *Mori-cantus*, G.C.² 162. Cf. for the former element, *mor-glas*, *Mor-leo* infra, *Mori-tasgus*, Ir. *muir*, W. Corn. *mor*, Lat. *mare*; for the latter element, the Gaulish *Avi-cantus*, *Viro-cantus*, *Canto-senus*, D'Arbois, *Recherches sur la propriété foncière*, etc., pp. 538, 539, 638. *Canto-s* may (as

Prof. Bezzenberger suggests) come from **cansto-*, **cand-to-*, and be cognate with Lat. *candidus*.

Moreb, Sk. 10, Muref, Sk. 136, gen. Murebe, AU. 1032, now *Moray*. A similar word occurs as the name of an Old-Welsh witness in Lib. Land. 199, l. 3. The *Morhaf*, *Marhaf* of the Orkn. Saga seems to rest on a popular etymology.

mor-glas, *sea-green*? 'arbor pomifera,' Sk. 416.

Mor-léo, L. 92^a, Morleo, Sk. 6 = W. *Mor-leu* 'sea-lion,' the name of a witness in Lib. Land. 193, 195.

Moureu, Muren, name of a daughter of a Pictish king, Sk. 185, 187. A scribal error for *Moruon* = W. *Morwoen* [ex **Mori-genā*?] the name of the foster-mother of Meriadocus. Ward's Catalogue, i. 374.

Mucc-ross, nomen loci, "in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kylrimont* dictus, nocte Sancti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero nomen porcorum dicitur," Legend of S. Andrew, Sk. 185. Here *Muck-ross* (rectius Mucc-ross) is = W. *moch-ros* (gl. locus porcorum), Lib. Land. 77, l. 15. There is also an Irish *mucc-ross*, now the name of an abbey in Kerry. The first element *mucc* occurs also in *Muke-drum*, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 133, and with *ch* from *cc* in *Moch-an*, supra.

Munait, Sk. 7, l. 12 = Munaith, gen. sg. L. 92^a.

Mund, Urmund, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: cf. Lat. *mundus*? or O.N. *mundr*, the latter element of many compound names like *Asmundr*?

Muriel, Forbes's *Kalendars*, p. 407 = Ir. *Muirgel*, CS. 882, AU. 927.

Mur-tolic, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 162 = Murtholoic, L. 92^a. Corruptly Muircholaich, Sk. 7. Perhaps the nom. sg. was *murtalóc* 'great-browed': *mur* from *mór*, *már*; *talóc* derived from *tal* 'brow.'

Naburos (*Náßapos*), name of a river, Ptol.

Nairn, Sk. 9, where it is misspelt *Nyurim*.

namet 'albus,' an epithet of Vipoig infra. Cognate with the Gaulish *Ail-nametos* in an inscription at Bourdeaux: D(is) M(anibus) Cl(audiae) Mat(ernae) Adnameti f(iliae), Jullian, No. 102, p. 231, 232.

Necton, Tig. 717, Sk. 6, Necthon, Sk. 7, Nechtan, Tig. 726, 732, AU. 620, Ir. Nenn. 120, Nectan, L. 92^a, Néctan, Bk. of Deir, iii. Nechtain, Tig. 728, Ir. Nenn. 130, Nectu, Necthon, Sk. 7: gen. Nectin, AU. 692. Latinised Nectano rege, AU. 716, Nectonius, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Naiton, Beda, H.E. v. 21, O.-Br. Naitan, for **Neithan*. Nechtain occurs in BB. 148^a, 24 (Skene, 309), as the name of a

Scottish Gael, and a compound name Necht-lecc occurs, AU. 689. From *necht* .i. glan 'puro,' 'clean,' Corm. s.v. Cruithnecht.

Ner: gen. sg. dormitatio Nectain Neir, AU. 678 (cf. Nechtan Nair de Alba, FéL. Jan. 8). Quies . . . Uinei abutis Neir, AU. 622.

Nes, fluvium . . . Nesam, Vita Columbæ, p. 74^b, Nisac fluminis, 114^b. From *nes-tā, *ned-ta, cognate with Νέδα and Skr. *nadī* 'river.'

Nethige, Apur-nethige, for *Neðige, gen. sg. of *Neðec?

Niduari, 'ad terram Pictorum quæ Niduari vocatur, navigando pervenit,' Beda, Vita S. Cuthberti, c. xi.

Ochel, Sliab n-Ochel, 'the Ochil Hills,' Bk. of Lecan, 43^b, 2, cited in Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 124, note. W. *uchol* 'high, lofty,' Ir. *uasal*, Gaul. *uxello-s*.

Oenbecan (misspelt Cenbecan), Sk. 5, Aenbeagan mac Caitt, Ir. Nenn. 50, Oenbegan, ib. 154, Onbecan, ib. xciv.

1. Oengus Pictorum rex, Beda, H.E. v. 24. Aengus, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, Hungus, Sk. 188=Corn. *Ungust*, Rev. Celt. i. 345, a primeval Celtic *Oinogustu-s*.

2. Oengus the territory now called Angus, or Forfar, gen. *mormair Oengusa*, Sk. 9. Corruptly Enegus, Sk. 136.

Oith, Gartnaith mac Oith, AU. 684. From *Octo-?* *Octa?* cf. 'Ὀκτα-πίταρον ἄκρον, Ptol. W. *oeth* 'harsh.' Or is it for *Oið*=Ir. *Aed*?

oll=πολλός, see Oll-fiacha, Oll-finechta, oll-gothach, Find-oll, Slán-oll. The Gaulish reflex of *oll* may be in *Ollo-vico*.

Ollam, gen. Ollaman, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii, the title for the head of any art or science.

Oll-fiacha, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii.

Oll-finachta, Ir. Nenn. 154=Olfinecta, Sk. 5, see Aikil ollfin-dachte.

oll-gothach, *great-voiced*, Ir. Nenn. 154, lxxiii, olgudach, Sk. 5.

Ommon, name of an island in Vita Columbae, p. 37^b, may be =Lat. *umbo*, *umbonia*, and cogn. with *σφραλος*.

Onbecan for Unbecan, see Oenbecan.

*Onbest, Onbes, f. Urgart, Ir. Nenn. 164=Onnist [leg. Onuist?] filius Urganist, Sk. 7.=Onuis f. Urganist, L. 92^b. Talorgen filius Onnist, Sk. 7=Taloreen filius Onuist, L. 92^a=Taloreen f. Onust, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Orcas (Ὀρκάσι), a promontory, Orcades (Ὀρκάδες), 'the Orkneys,' AU. 681, where Ptolemy's *-ades* is probably due to the analogy of

Κυκλάδες, Σποράδες. Bellum for Orcaib, AU. 708. fecht Orc, AU. 579. The *orc* seems cognate with Ir. *orc* = Lat. *porcus*, Gr. *πόρκος*, O.H.G. *farah*.

Ord, see Deo-ord. Cognate with *Ordous*, Hübner 115, *Ordovices*, O.-W. and Ir. *ord* 'malleus,' Br. *orz*.

Orrea (**Oppca*), the town of the Venicōnes, Ptol.

Ougen rex Pictorum, Ann. Cambr. 736 = Uven, Sk. 8. Oan princeps Ego, AU. 724, O.-W. *Ouein*, Lib. Land. 214. *Ouguen*, *Ouguin*, Lives, 30, 81. Ir. *Eugan*, *Eogan*. From **Avigenos*.

pant, Sk. 5 and see Ur-pant. From **qvnto* = Ir. *Cét* (mac Magach), and possibly cognate with Lith. *szweñtas*, O.-Slav. *světa*, Zend *speñta* 'holy,' Skr. *çvātra* 'offering.' Corruptly bout, Sk. 5, pante, Ir. Nenn. 156.

pean (for penn), in Pean fabel: "Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a Monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum Pean-fabel, lingua autem Anglorum Pen-neltun appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Aleluith," Bede, H.E. i. 12. Here *penn* = W. *penn*, Ir. *cenn*, 'head,' 'end,' urkelt. **qvendo-s*. Also in *Pen-icueik*.

Pern: Im mac Perrun, Ir. Nenn. 142 = Imm mac Pirm, Sk. 328. An Old-Celtic **Qverno-s*: cf. Ir. *cern* 'victory' (do cernaib .i. do buadaib no do gnimaib, Amra Conroi), whence *Cernach* 'victorious,' AU. 700 (O. Norse *Kjarnakr*), and the name *Cernachán*.

perr, peir, see diuperr supra.

Perth = W. *perth* 'rubus, dumus,' Ir. *scairt*, urkelt. *squerto-*, *squarti-*. Or is it = O.-Bret. *per* in *Pert-uuoccon*?

pett 'a portion of land,' anglicised *Pit*, gen. *pette*, Bk. of Deir, i. acc. *pett*, ib. ii. *pet*, ib. iii. dat. *pett*, ib. ii. W. *peth*, Ir. *cuit* 'portion,' urkelt. **quetti*, Thurneysen, *Keltorum*. 71. From a prehistoric Pictish *petti* the Icelanders borrowed their *petti* 'a small piece of a field.'

**Rig-mone*ð, gen. **Rig-moni*ð, *Righ-monaigh*, Tig. 747, *Cin-rigmonai*, AU. 746, are corrupt Middle-Irish spellings. The *Righmonaidh* of FM. 742 is better. Erat autem regia urbs Rymont Regius Mons dicta, quem praefatus Rex Hungus Deo et sancto apostolo dedit, Sk. 188. *Kel-rimoneth*, Sk. 202. Still preserved in East and West *Bal-rymonth*, two high grounds in the southern part of the parish of S. Andrews (Recves). The *Monedorigi* of Hübner, 128, has the same elements in converse order; cf. Ptolemy's *Πυρό-δουρον*.

ross, see Mucc-ross, Calat-ross, Culenn-ros. The *Ross* (Ros, Sk.

136) in *Ross-shire* is the *Ros* of the Orkn. Saga. In Ireland *Ross*, gen. *Rois*, AU. 815, the name of a district in co. Monaghan, is = W. *rhos* 'planities irrigua.' The same word is in *Ard-ross* part of Perth.

Rú, L. 92^a. Ru, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. Nenn. 160. Ru, Sk. 6, and see Ur-ru (MS. eru). Either = Corn. *ruy* (gl. rex), or a scribal error for Run = O.-W. Run.

Rum, gen. Ruimm, AU. 676, the lozeng-shaped island west of Sleat Point in Skye, identical with Gr. *ῥύμβος*, *ῥόμβος*.

Scétis (Ptolemy's *Σκηρίς*), the wing-shaped Isle of *Skye*, Norse *Skéð*, Ir. *Sciú*, dat. sg. AU. 700, latinised *Scia* by Adamnán, gen. Scéth, AU. 667 = Scith, Tig. 668, means 'wing,' Ir. *sciath*, *sciathán*.

Seoan, civitas, Sk. 9, now Scone.

scolloftbes, 'clericique Pictorum lingua cognominantur,' Reginald. Dunelm. de Cuthberti Virtt. p. 179, cited by Reeves, *Columba*, p. 63 note. This is no Pictish word. It is a corrupt loan from Lat. *scholasticus*, whence Corn. *scolheic*, W. *ysgolhaig*.

Simal, Tig. 725, Simul, AU. 724. If *m* be here written for *v*, as it certainly is in *Cat-molodor*, cf. W. *Hiquel*, an Old-Celtic **Su-velo-s*, where the prefix *su-* is = Ir. *su-*, *so-*, Skr. *su-*.

Slan-oll, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii.

smerach, in Glúnmerach, q.v. Cognate with Ir. *smir* 'marrow.'

Smertae (*Σμέρται*), Ptol. cf. the Gaulish *Smertu-litanos*, *Ad-smerios*, etc.

Solen, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, 138. Possibly = O.-W. *Sulgen*, *Sulien*.

Spe, Sk. 136, now the *Spey*. Supposed to be Ptolemy's *Tvæsis*; but it points to an Urkelt. *squéas*, cognate with Ir. *scéim* 'vomo,' W. *chwýd* 'a vomit.' For the connexion of ideas cf. Pliny's *Vomanus* a river of Picenum. The river name *Spean* may be a dimin. of *Spe*.

srath, strath, srad, strad in Sratho Ethairt, gen. sg. AU. 653, but Sraith Cairuin [or Cairiun], AU. 641. *Srad-ern* [leg.-eren], Sk. 136, *Strad-kines*, Reeves, *Culdees*, pp. 109, 111. *Strath-eren*, ibid. 113. Cognate with Ir. *srath*, W. *ystrad*.

tabacht, see Fothuir-tabaicht.

Taexalí (*Ταιξάλι*), Ptol.

talach, tolōc in Dup-talaich, Nach-talich, Sk. 187, mur-toloc supra. Cf. W. *talawg* 'high-fronted, bold-faced.'

Tal-orgg, AU. 686, 733. Tal-orc, Tig. 731, L. 92^a. Thalarg, Sk. 187 and L. 92^a. Talorg, L. 92^a. Tol-arg, Tig. 713, 734. Tol-argg, AU. 712. Tolar[g], Tig. 786, gen. Tolaig, Tig. 653, AU.

652 = Taloire ('Baitaus gente nepos Niath Taloire') Vita Col. p. 25^b, corruptly Talore, Sk. 6, 7. This is the Pictish reflex of the Gaulish *Argio-talus* 'bright-browed,' Rev. Celt. iii. 157. Compound: Dub-tholarg.

Tal-orggan, AU. 725, 733, 736, 738. Talorgen, Sk. 7. Talorcan, L. 92^a. Talorcen, Sk. 7, L. 92^a. Tol-orcain, Tig. 657. Tol-arcain, Tig. 739. Tol-argan, Tig. 750, AU. 656. Gen. sg. mors Tolorggáin, AI. 610. Tal-argan, Ann. Cambr. 750. A diminutive of Talorgg, q.v.

Tamia (*Ταμία*), Ptol., a town of the Vacomagii.

*Tana. Thana filius Dudabrach [leg. Dubabrach?] scripsit regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele, Sk. 188. Ir. *tana*, W. *tonou*, Lat. *tonnis*, Gr. *ταναίος*.

Tarachin, Tig. 697, AU. 696, for Tarahin (cf. *Cathio, fahel*), Tarain, AU. 698, L. 92^a (misprinted Taram in *Ir. Nennius*), Tharain, Sk. 6. Latinised acc. sg. *Tarainum*, Vita Columbae, p. 71^a (ed. Reeves, p. 134), urkelt. *Taranjo-s?

Taran mac Eufidaig, L. 92^a = Taran filius Entfidich, Sk. 7, Glunmerach filii (leg. filius) Taran, Sk. 187. Gaul. *Taranis*. W. *taran* 'thunder.'

Tar-vedum, a promontory, Ptolemy's *Ταρουδούμ*.

Tava, Ptolemy's *Ταυία*. Tau the river *Tay*, Reeves' *Columba*, 316, where this form is cited from an A.-S. tract in Hickes. (*Tau* Lib. Land. 74), Tae, Sk. 136. The gen. sg. in LU. 8^b, 14^b, LH. 26^a 1: LB. 240^a, is *Tóí* (ie ardrig *Tóí*, do lucht *Toi*, tuatha *Tóí*), dat. *Toí*, LU. 14^b, acc. in Thai, LU. 8^b, LH. 26^a 1. Glück connects W. *taw* 'quietus, tranquillus,' and the Gaulish *Tavia*, *Tavium*, and the woman's name *Tavona*.

Tolartach, mac Anbrait rig Cruithne, Tig. 654.

tolóc, see Murtolic.

*Tóial, Hibernicised Tuathal, AU. 864, TF. 869, is=W. *Tutgwál*, Ann. Camb. x. *Tudwál*; cf. O.-Br. *Clut-uual*. Hence the diminutive Totalan, Tig. 653, gen. Totholain, AU. 652 = Ir. *Tuathalán*.

Trebúait, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a. The *tre-* is probably an intensive prefix=W. *tre-*, *tri-*, Ir. *tri-*, Old-Celtic *tri*, as in *Tri-novantes*, *Tri-cassini*, etc.

tren, see Luchtren, Lug-threni.

Tuí gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158, is=Diu, Sk. 6.

Tulaaman, AU. 865. The context is "Bellum duin nechtain . . . in quo etfrith . . . interfectus est et combusit tula aman duin ollaig"; and the Editor cannot say "whether *tula aman* is

the name of a person or a term for some fiery element." It seems to be a man's name, derived from *tulahama*, an epithet following *Canu*, supra. For *aa*=*á*, cf. *gnaan*, Otho E. xiii.

tulig in Tulig-botuan, Sk. 418. Tulig-cultrin, Sk. 419, seems = an oblique case of Ir. *tulach* 'hill,' cogn. with Gr. *τῶλη, τῶλος*.

Turbrud gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, iii. Turbruid, ib. vi. dat. Turbrud, ib. fo. 39^a, now Turriff, cf. rex Turbi, AU. 902.

Tvesis, a river, Ptolemy's *Toúsis*. Etym. obscure.

Uasnem (Uaisneimh, Huaisneam, corruptly Huaisem, Ir. Nenn. 124, 142), the poet of the Picts. The *uas-* (an Irishism for *us-*?) may be an intensive prefix: cf. *Us-con-bust*? The *nem* cogn. with Ir. *tait-nem* 'light,' *tait-nemach* 'shining,' and *Nem mac hui Birn*, AU. 653. See *namet* supra.

Uerb gen. sg. L. 92^a, Uerp, Ir. Nenn. 162 (corruptly Uerd, Sk. 7), Gaul. *Verbi-genos*.

uctla, Uuradech uetla, L. 92^a = Wradech uecla, Sk. 6 = Ferdach fyngal, Sk. 149, corruptly Stradach fingel, Sk. 200, where the Ir. *fingal* 'parricide' seems intended.

Uidnuist, L. 92^a, Uidnust, Ir. Nenn. 166. Here *Uid* for *Uuid*, is=O.-W. *guid* in *Guid-lon*, *Guid-nerth*.

Uip, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5; and see *Ur-uip*. Cf. the Gaulish *Vepo*, *Veponia*, *Vepo-s* (C.I.L. xii. 2623), *Vepo-mulus*, *Vipius* (C.I.L. xii. 2590), if the *ē* (*i*) be long: cf. also O.-Slav. *věkū* 'kraft,' Lit. *wėkū* 'kraft,' lit. *wikrūs* [Ir. *Fiachra*?] 'lebhaft.'

Uipoig *namet*, Sk. 6 = Uipo ignainet, L. 92^a, Uipo ignauit, Ir. Nenn. 160 = Fiacua albus, Sk. 149, Fiacha albus, Sk. 172, Fiachua le blank, Sk. 200. With *Uipoig* cf. the Ir. acc. sg. *Fiachaig*? As to *namet* see above, p. 410.

Uiroleo(us), *Vita Columbae*, p. 114^b. Etym. obscure.

Uist, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. The Uist (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 668, and the Gall-uist (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 705, may have been Picts.

Ulpha, Ir. Nenn. 130. Ulfa, ib. 120, 138.

Unen filius Unuist, L. 92^a. A scribe's mistake for Uven?

Unest, Ir. Nenn. 166 = Unuist, L. 92^a.

Ungust = Unust, Sim. Dunelm. 759, 759, Hungus, Sk. 183, 187 = Oengus.

Unnist, Sk. 8, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8. See Onbest.

ur, a prefix in *Ur-cal*, *Ur-cinid*, *Ur-cint*, *Ur-fecir*, *Ur-fet*, *Ur-grant*, *Ur-gnith*, *Ur-grid*, *Ur-leo*, *Ur-mund* [= *Ur-mum*, L. 92^a, *Ur-main*, Ir. Nenn. 158], *Ur-pant*, *Ur-uip*, names of twelve of the thirty

Brudes. This prefix (= the Old-Pictish *cor-* in Ptolemy's *Ver-vedrum*, *Ver-ubium*, Gaul. *cor-*, Gr. *ὑπερ-*) is used in the list of Brudes like the Old-Welsh *guor-*, *gur-*, in "map Cein, map Guor-cein, map Doli, map Guor-doli, map Dumn, map Gur-dumn," Harl. 3859, fo. 193^b, 1.

Us-con-bust, L. 92^a, misspelt Usconbutis, Sk. 6, Usconbert, Ir. Nenn. 158. Br. *us*, W. *uch*, *Uxo-pilli*, *Uxa-cona*, Itin. Anton. ed. Parthey, p. 224. Or is *us* for *uas*?

unalatr, see Catmolodor.

Uudrost, Sk. 7, printed Wdrost, corresponds with Rudros, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 162, and (as Mr. Egerton Phillimore thinks) the W. *wedros(t)* in *Caerwedros*, Carmarthenshire.

Uuen, Sk. 8. Unen, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Uuid, L. 92^a, Sk. 7, gen. sg. of *Uued* = *Vodo-(mavi)*, Hübner 71^b. Or is it W. *gŵydd* 'ferus,' Br. *gwes*?

Uuirguist (printed Wirguist) gen. sg. Sk. 7.

Uuirp gen. sg. Sk. 6, l. 31.

Uurad, Wrad, filius Bargoit, L. 92^a, Sk. 8.

Uuradech uetla, L. 92^a = Wraddech uecla, Sk. 6. Uuredeg gen. sg. L. 92^a. Iuuredeg, Ir. Nenn. 164. Uuradech L. 92^a = Uuredech (printed Wredech), Sk. 7 = Ir. *Feradach*?

Uurgest, spelt Wurgest, Sk. 5 = Fergustus, Mansi *Concilia* viii. 109, cited by Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 338. Uurguist, Wrguist, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8. Uргуист gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7 = O.-W. *Gurgust*, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a, 1. Ir. *Fergus*. The "Fergusian mac Maelcon," whose obit is given in AU. 702, was probably a Pict, *Uurgustan.

Uuroid gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7.

Uurthrost, printed Wrthrost, Sk. 187. Perhaps Uur-θrost.

Uuthoil, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8, Ir. Nenn. 166. nom., perhaps, *Vodal* or *Vodval*, Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 459.

Vaco-magi (Ὀυακομάγοι), Ptol.

Varar (Ptolemy's *Ὀυαράρ*), the Moray Frith, now represented by the river *Farrar*.

Venicōnes (Ὀυενικωνες), Ptol.

Ver-ubion, Ptolemy's *Ὀυερουβίουμ ἄκρον*. Cf. perhaps Ir. *ubh* 'sword-point.'

Ver-vedron, Ptolemy's *Ὀυερουεδρουμ ἄκρον*. Cf. perhaps O.-Slav. *vedrŭ* 'heiter.'

Vola, Volsa? (Ὀυόλα, Ὀυόλαου?), name of a river, Ptol.

The foregoing list of names and other words contains much

that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech.¹ Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish. Thus:

Vowels: the umlaut of *a* by *i* is *e*: *Elphin*; the breaking of *i* by *ā* is *e*: *Esk*; the umlaut of long *ā* is *ah* in *pean-fahel*; the umlaut of long *ō* is *ohi* in *Catohic*; long *ū* becomes *ō*: *Catōc*; long *ū* becomes *i*: *Bridei*.

Diphthongs: *ai* remains, *Tarain*, or becomes *oi*, *Cini-oið*, *croibh*: *oi* becomes *os* in Beda's *Oengus*, but *u* in *Un-gust* and *muthill*: *eu*, *ou* become *o* (*ó*?) in *Tutalan*, *Ochil*.

Semivowels: a dental is developed before *j*, in *moned*, *monith*=W. *mynydd*, but Ir. *muine*; initial *w* (from *v*) either remains as in *ur-*, *uuid*, or becomes *f* as in *fahel*, *Fortrenn*.

Consonants: *c* between vowels remains, *Bicoat*, *Catohic*; *ct* becomes *th*, developing a diphthong, *Naiton* (for **Neithán*), *Oith*; *cc* remains: *brecc*, *brocc*, *mucc*; *cs* becomes *ch*, *Ochil*=W. *uchel*, but Ir. *uasal*, or *s*, developing a diphthong, *cois*; *qv* becomes *p*, *pean*, *pett*, *Perth*, *Pern*;

g between vowels remains: *Ougen*, or becomes a semivowel, *Muriel*; *-gl-* becomes *-il-*, *-el-* in *Maelchon*=Maglo-cunos; *rg*, *Tol-arg*, becomes *ryg* or *re*, *Talorgg*, *Taloroc*, *Forcus*: *lc* remains, *bale*;

t between vowels remains, *Catohic*, *Fetter*: *rt* remains, *art*, *gart*, *urgart*, *cartit*: *tt* remains, *catt*, *pett*; *tr* becomes *dr*, *Catmolodor*.

n is kept before *t*, as in *pant*, *grant*, *cint*, *Morcunt*, or the *t* is assimilated: *Morgunn*, gen. *Morgainn*;

Indo-European *p* is lost, *Esk*, *oll*, *Oreades*, *ur*.

lb becomes *lp*, *Alpin*, and the *p* is then infected, *Elphin*.

¹ Prof. Rhŷa, in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1890, p. 38, asserts that "both *Macbeth* and *Maelbeth* were real names current . . . in the land of the northern Picts," and seems to suppose, p. 391, that 'beth' is a non-Celtic word meaning "hound." I have not inserted these names in the foregoing list of Pictish vocables. For "Macbeth" is a recent corruption of the Gaelic *Mac beud* (Book of Deir, iii. v), earlier *Mac bethad*, AU. 1041, 1058, which means literally 'son of Life' (i.e. a religious person), *bethad* being = Gr. *Βιότρος*. And "Maelbeth" is a very recent corruption of the Irish *Mael bethad* 'tansured (servant) of Life,' spelt *Maelbhadh* in FM. A.D. 914. An antithetical expression is *mac báis* 'son of death,' i.e. a malefactor or wicked person, FM. 1600, p. 2218, the silius perditionis of 2 Thes. ii. 3. The "Maelbaetha" (rectius *Maelbæthe* or *Mealbæðe*), which Skene cites from the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031, is *Mael-Boethi* "servus Boethi," a well-known saint, bishop of Monasterboice, co. Louth.

initial *s* remains, *Si-mal*: vowel-flanked *s* disappears, *Iarn-bodh*, *Glun-merach*: *st* remains, *Drust*, *Ungust*, *Uurgest*.

Traces of declension are perhaps in *Achiuir*, *fahel*, *Catohie*, *Canonn*, *Cinedon*, *Cinadhon* (log. *Cinoidhon*), *Manann*.

Diminutives in *-án* (*Accidan*, *Drostan*, *Fischan*, *Iogenan*, *Itharnan*, *Mochan*, *Nectan*, *Talorggan*, *Totalan*); *-nán* (*Gartnan*); *-nait* (*Gartnait*); *-ice* (*Drustice*).

Numerals: *oos* or *un*, *deë*.

Prefixes: *ar*, *ate*, *at* (in *apor* = *at-bor*), *em*, *en-*, *in-*, *si-*, *us-*, *uu*, *ver-*, *uur-*.

V. I. OLD-NORSE NAMES AND OTHER WORDS.

Intercourse between the Irish and the Scandinavians began in 795 (when the Vikings made their first attack on Ireland) and continued for about four hundred years. As the Irish certainly wrote annals in the ninth and tenth centuries, and as the oldest Old-Norse manuscript dates from the end of the eleventh century (Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 426), we may expect that some light will be thrown on primæval northern speech from the Scandinavian names preserved in the Annals, as well as from the Scandinavian words borrowed by the Irish. In this expectation we shall not be wholly disappointed, though as sources for *Ur-nordisch* the Irish documents are not to be named with the runic inscriptions, or with the loan-words in Finnish, Lappish,¹ Russian, and English. Compare:—

Amlaib	with	Aleifr, Oláfr
Bárið, Barid	„	Bárðr
elta, erell	„	hjalt, jarl
Fulf	„	Ulf.
In-fuit, In-scoa	„	I-hvítr, í-scoa
Imar	„	Ivarr
Roalt	„	Hróaldr
Ruadhmand	„	Hrómundr
Tomruir, Tomrir	„	pórr

¹ See Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-lappischen*, Halle, 1870.