

THE DOUBLE ARTICLE AND RELATED FEATURES OF  
GENITIVE SYNTAX IN OLD IRISH AND MIDDLE WELSH<sup>1</sup>

THIS PAPER examines the internal structure of the OIr. and MW genitive syntagm, and in particular the interaction of ART (article) and PRO (genitive pronoun) with the major constituents HEAD, the head noun of the genitive, N, the noun which modifies HEAD, and the satellites of HEAD and N, namely A (adjective), DEM (demonstrative pronoun), and NUM (numeral). Both OIr. and MW are VO (verb-object) or 'head-initial' languages. Modifying or limiting elements usually follow those modified or limited: relative clauses, adjectives and modifying nouns in genitives follow their HEAD. The linear order of constituents in genitive expressions in both languages under discussion is HEAD - N.<sup>2</sup> In some other languages HEAD is preceded by N, e.g. the English 's-genitive has the structure N - HEAD.<sup>3</sup>

The following are the observed combinations of ART and PRO with HEAD and N. Types A-D are common to both languages, types E-G are peculiar to OIr.:

(A) HEAD - ART - N

- OIr.: (1) trímrechtrad natintathach (Ml. 2 d 5)  
'through the variegation of the interpreters'  
MW: (2) penn yr orssed (*PKM*, 10.16)  
'the top of the mound'

<sup>1</sup>Based on a chapter from an MA thesis entitled 'The syntax of the article in Old Irish and Middle Welsh' (University College, Dublin, 1988). I would like to thank Professors Proinsias Mac Cana, Próinséas Ní Chatháin, Brian Ó Cuív, T. Arwyn Watkins, and Pádraig de Brún for their advice and help.

ABBREVIATIONS: *BB*, B. F. Roberts (ed.), *Brut y Brenhinedd* (Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series V, Dublin 1971); *CIH*, D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Corpus iuris Hibernici* I-VI (Dublin 1978); *Lismore Lives*, W. Stokes (ed.), *Lives of saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford 1890) [reference by line]; *LL*, R. I. Best, O. J. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster formerly Lebar na Núachongbála* I-V (Dublin 1954-67) [reference by line]; *Llyfr Blegywryd*, S. J. Williams and J. E. Powell (ed.), *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd* (Caerdydd 1942); *Llyfr Coch*, J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans (ed.), *Y Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (Oxford 1887); *LU*, R. I. Best, O. J. Bergin, *Lebor na hÚidre* (Dublin 1929) [reference by line]; *ML*, Milan glosses, in *Thes.* i 7-483; *PH*, R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Royal Ir. Academy, Todd Lecture Series II, 1887) [reference by line]; *PKM*, I. Williams, *Pedeir keinc y Mabinogi* (Caerdydd 1930); *Sg.*, St Gall glosses, in *Thes.* ii 49-224; *SR*, W. Stokes (ed.), *The Saltair na Rann . . .* (Oxford 1883) [reference by line]; *Thes.*, W. Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus* I-II (Cambridge 1901-3; repr. Dublin 1975); *V.Trip.*, K. Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic : the Tripartite Life of Patrick* I (Dublin 1939) [reference by line]; *Wb.*, Würzburg glosses, in *Thes.* i 499-714.

<sup>2</sup>In OIr. poetry and law-texts HEAD is sometimes preceded by N, e.g. *comaig laech* (*LU*, 8314) 'a warrior of destruction'. On the preposed genitive in OIr. see J. Carney, 'The dating of early Irish verse texts', *Éigse* 19 (1982-3) 177-216, p. 201; R. Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin 1946) 158 § 250.

<sup>3</sup>On the English 's-genitive see C. Lyons, 'The syntax of English genitive constructions', *Journal of Linguistics* 22 (1986) 123-43, pp. 123-5.

## (B) ART - HEAD - N

- OIr.: (3) *allaa m brithemnacte sin* (Wb. 6 b 26)  
 'that day of judgement'  
 MW: (4) *y peir dadeni* (*PKM*, 44.9-10)  
 'the cauldron of rebirth'

## (C) ART - HEAD - ART - N

- OIr.: (5) *dungabail innammraithemnachtæ* (Ml. 31 b 3)  
 'to the taking of the treachery'  
 MW: (6) *y corph y wreic*<sup>4</sup>  
 'the body of the woman'

## (D) HEAD - N

- OIr.: (7) *imbed mbech*<sup>5</sup>  
 'an abundance of bees'  
 MW: (8) *llathen aryant* (*PKM*, 33.19)  
 'a staff of silver'

## (E) PRO - HEAD - ART - N

- OIr.: (9) *a ainm in meicc* (V. TRIP., 889)  
 'the name of the son'

## (F) ART - HEAD - PRO - N

- OIr.: (10) *in lobra a galair* (*LU*, 10757)  
 'the infirmity of his disease'

## (G) PRO - HEAD - PRO - N

- OIr.: (11) *a nggraige senlúatha mo námat* (*LU*, 9319-20)  
 'the swift old steeds of my enemies'

Type A occurs in both languages with two definite nouns. ART need not precede HEAD, because HEAD is always definite in this position. In fact ART need only appear before the last noun of a sequence of nouns in a genitival relationship in order to mark all the constituents as definite. In other words, definiteness is regressive in the genitive syntagm in Irish and Welsh. So we can get complex configurations like the following, in which all the constituent nouns are definite although only the last in the sequence has an overt article:

- OIr.: (12) *da rind ága 7 imgona airthirthuascirt in betha* (*LL*, 31112-13)  
 'the two points of battle and slaughter of the northeast of the world'

<sup>4</sup>D. Gwenallt Jones, 'Bucedd Mair Fadlen a'r *Legenda aurea*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 4 (1927-9) 325-39, p. 332.10-11.

<sup>5</sup>*Bechbretha* (ed. F. Kelly and T. M. Charles-Edwards, Dublin 1983) § 45.

MW: (13) *gobreu merchet y kerdoryon (Llyfr Blegywryd, 25.13–14)*  
 ‘the maiden fee of the daughters of the musicians’

There is in OIr. a group of words which tend to resist the article – a feature also of other older Indo-European languages. This resistance is neutralised to some extent when the word in question appears as N, so that a word like *demun* ‘demon’, which rarely appears with ART up to the Middle Irish period, may take ART if it appears as N:

- (14) *fri rí na ndemna (LU, 720)*  
 ‘against the king of the demons’  
 (15) *fri slúagaib na ndemna (LU, 2211)*  
 ‘against the hosts of the demons’

These two instances exhibit type A where one might expect type D. The following examples are from the OIr. glosses. In each case N has ART, whereas when it is not a constituent of a genitive expression it has a tendency to resist ART:

*deacht* ‘godhead’: Wb. 2 b 10, 5 c 16, 32 c 15, 32 b 7, Ml. 25 d 6, 66 c 6, 67 c 12  
*spirut* ‘spirit’: Wb. 5 d 18, 6 d 11, 9 c 30, 12 a 11, 12 b 33, 21 c 2  
*recht* ‘law’: Wb. 3 c 4; Ml. 46 c 20  
*Fetarlaic* ‘Old Testament’: Wb. 4 d 25  
*domun* ‘world’: Wb. 5 c 14, 30 a 18, 15 d 18; Ml. 59 d 3, 67 b 17  
*Assair* ‘Assyrians’: Ml. 34 b 14  
*persan* ‘person’: Wb. 22 a 11; Sg. 197 b 10, 200 a 4  
*doínecht* ‘manhood’: Wb. 32 c 14; Ml. 25 c 8  
*grian* ‘sun’: Ml. 118 c 12

Type B is the case where HEAD is definite and N lacks the article. Count-nouns do not occur frequently in this type of genitive and examples such as *ind apstail soscelae* (Ml. 42 b 7) ‘the apostles of the Gospel’ are infrequent. Note that *soscéle* is a word which tends to resist the article in Old Irish: cf. Wb. 14 c 8; *LU*, 9735–6. I would say that the modifying noun in this type of genitive has a quasi-generic meaning and this genitive provides a means of testing capability of nouns in Irish. Type B is found frequently in OIr. and MW. In classical OIr. prose and in MW prose, type D is usually found when both HEAD and N are indefinite. Nor is this the case in OIr. law-texts or in the oldest poetry in either language, where type D is the most productive genitive. In these registers both HEAD and N can be definite without any overt mark. As an indication of this, in six law-texts twenty-five genitives occurred with ART, while three hundred and twenty occurred without it.<sup>6</sup> Even in

<sup>6</sup>This sample was taken from the published law-texts *Bretha Crólige* (ed. D. A. Binchy, *Ériu* 12 (1938) 1–77), *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* (ed. idem, *Ériu* 17 (1955) 52–85), *Bretha Déin Chécht* (ed. idem, *Ériu* 20 (1966) 1–66), *Gúbretha Caratniad*

classical OIr. prose we find instances of type D where we would expect type A, e.g. *ar dorus brudne* (*LU*, 7785) 'at the entrance of the hostel'. Both HEAD and N are definite in this example. Similar examples occur in MW prose, e.g. *eithafoed byt* (*Llyfr Coch*, 170.27) 'the extremities of the world'. We might expect type A here. The opposite also occurs, i.e. type A is found instead of type D, e.g. *oc funi in tuircc* (*LU*, 4949) 'cooking a boar', where *torc* is a first mention.

Types F and G are extremely infrequent in OIr. Of type F only ten other examples have been found. These occur at *CIH* ii 357.3, iii 745.32; *SR*, 4658; *Gúbretha Caratniad*, § 38 gloss; *Lismore Lives*, 3159, 4450-51; *V. Trip.*, 3084; *MI*. 24 a 13 b; *PH*, 2726-7, 4938-9. Only five other examples of type G have been recorded in OIr.: *CIH* i 86.15-16, i 94.26-7, ii 480.24, iii 967.35; *LL*, 14642.

Type C is found sparingly in OIr. and hardly ever in MW. The construction is known as the double article.

The collection below is a large body of examples from Old and Middle Irish. It is not intended to be exhaustive.

*Cáin Adamnáin*<sup>7</sup> (end of 7th cent.),<sup>8</sup> 26 § 41

*Lambeth Commentary*<sup>9</sup> (c.725), lines 136, 144, 251, 321-2, 322-3, 325-6, 427

*Cáin Domnaig*<sup>10</sup> (1st half of 8th cent.), lines 37, 83, 89

*Wb.* (c.750),<sup>11</sup> 4 a 7, 5 a 5, 11 a 19, 7 c 8 twice, 7 d 9, 9 c 10, 9 d 5, 5 c 16, 21 c 2

*Bretha Déin Chécht*<sup>12</sup> (c.750), § 17

*Hibernica minora*<sup>13</sup> (c.750), lines 94, 164, 440.

*Poems of Blathmac*<sup>14</sup> (c.750-70), 30.342

*Féilire Óengusso*,<sup>15</sup> (797-808),<sup>16</sup> 31 § 333, 268 § 101

*MI.* (early 9th cent.),<sup>17</sup> 15 a 2, 16 a 12, 16 c 12, 22 d 9, 24 d 12, 25 a 8, 25 c 8, 25 d 6, 26 b 6, 27 b 15, 28 c 19, 31 a 12, 31 b 3, 31 b 24,

(ed. R. Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 15 (1925) 302-370), *Bretha im Gatta* (ed. V. Hull, *ibid.* 25 (1956) 211-25), *Cáin Domnaig* (ed. idem, *Ériu* 20 (1966) 151-77).

<sup>7</sup>Ed. K. Meyer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series XII* (Oxford 1905).

<sup>8</sup>F. J. Byrne, 'Seventh-century documents', *Ir. Ecclesiastical Record* 108 (1967) 164-82, p. 169.

<sup>9</sup>Ed. J. Carney, L. Bieler, *Ériu* 23 (1972) 1-55.

<sup>10</sup>Ed. Hull, *Ériu* 20 (1966) 151-77.

<sup>11</sup>Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 4 § 5.

<sup>12</sup>Ed. Binchy, *Ériu* 20 (1966) 1-66.

<sup>13</sup>K. Meyer (ed.), *Hibernica minora: an Old Irish treatise on the Psalter* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series VIII*, Oxford 1894).

<sup>14</sup>Ed. J. Carney, *Ir. Texts Soc. XLVII*, Dublin 1964.

<sup>15</sup>W. Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: the Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London 1905; repr. Dublin 1984).

<sup>16</sup>Carney, *Éigse* 19 (1982-3) 184 § 8.

<sup>17</sup>Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 5 § 6.

- 31 c 3, 31 d 1, 34 b 14, 35 b 16, 36 a 25, 37 b 4, 37 b 16, 37 b 21, 37 b 27, 42 c 4, 43 d 18, 44 b 33, 44 d 11, 45 b 8, 46 d 6, 48 a 21, 50 c 11, 56 b 24, 57 d 8, 59 d 3, 61 c 2, 62 b 20, 62 b 23, 66 c 6, 67 b 19, 68 b 9, 72 b 27, 72 d 16, 73 c 9, 74 c 8, 75 c 4, 76 a 3, 77 d 7, 81 a 4, 81 c 8, 90 c 6?, 90 c 27, 92 d 5, 93 b 11, 99 a 9, 102 a 14, 111 b 26, 118 d 20, 121 a 6, 122 d 7, 122 d 11, 123 c 8, 127 d 14, 136 b 1, 142 b 2
- Sg. (c.845),<sup>18</sup> 7 b 9, 7 b 18, 12 a 3, 14 a 9, 32 a 8, 33 a 26-7, 33 a 28, 39 a 29, 50 a 6, 136 a 2, 149 a 5, 157 b 2, 168 a 3, 198 a 13, 198 a 20, 198 b 3, 200 a 4
- LU, 170 (*Sex Aetates Mundi*, 11th cent.),<sup>19</sup> 453 (commentary on *Amra Cholúim Chille*, 11th cent.),<sup>20</sup> 1364-5 (*Dá Brón Flatha Níme*), 1630 (*Táin Bó Flidais*), 1708, 1767, 1860, 1914 (*Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin*, 9th cent.),<sup>21</sup> 1939, 1948-9 (*Fís Adomnán*), 2308, 2319-20 (*Scéla Láí Brátha*, 11th cent.),<sup>22</sup> 2722 (*Scéla na Esérgi*), 2951 (*Aided Echach meic Máireada*, 11th cent.),<sup>23</sup> 5180 (*Táin Bó Cúailnge*, 9th cent.),<sup>24</sup> 7054, 7074, 7674 (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, c.900),<sup>25</sup> 9112-13 (*Fled Bricrend*, 2nd half of 9th cent.),<sup>26</sup> 10016 (*Echtra Condla Chaím*), 10088 (*Immram Brain meic Febail*, 9th cent.),<sup>27</sup> 10751-2 (*Tochmarc Emere*)
- LL, 1804 (*Do Fhlathusaib hÉrend*), 3695 (*Suidigud Tigi Midchúarda*), 3801 (*Dingnai Temrach*), 31671, 8147-8, 10367 (*Táin Bó Cúailnge*), 12478 (*Scéla Chonchobuir*), 31082, 31114, 31669, 32577-8, 31672-3, 31767-8, 31930, 31942-3, 32161, 32214-15, 32216-17, 32428 (*Togail Troí*), 33146-7 (*Táin Bó Fraích*, c.750),<sup>28</sup> 33785-6 (*Tochmarc Ferbae*), 34648-9, 34872 (*Mesca Ulad*), 35283 (*Orgain Dind Ríg*, beginning of 10th cent.),<sup>29</sup> 37320, 37321 (*Cath Maige Mucrima*, 1st half of 9th cent.)<sup>30</sup>
- YBL,<sup>31</sup> p. 62 a 14-16

<sup>18</sup>Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 6 § 7.

<sup>19</sup>J. Strachan, 'Contributions to Middle Irish declension', *Philological Society Trans.* 1903-6, 202-246, p. 203.

<sup>20</sup>ibid.

<sup>21</sup>A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Immrama* (Mediaeval and Mod. Ir. Series X, Dublin 1941) 24.

<sup>22</sup>Strachan, 'Middle Irish declension', 203.

<sup>23</sup>ibid.

<sup>24</sup>R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Halle 1921) 112.

<sup>25</sup>M. Dillon, 'Nominal predicates in Irish', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 16 (1927) 313-56, p. 320.

<sup>26</sup>Ed. G. Henderson, *Ir. Texts Soc.* II (London 1899) lxii.

<sup>27</sup>S. Mac Mathúna (ed.), *Immram Brain: Bran's journey to the Land of the Women* (Tübingen 1985).

<sup>28</sup>Ed. W. Meid, *Mediaeval and Mod. Ir. Series XXV*, Dublin 1974.

<sup>29</sup>D. Greene (ed.), *Fingal Rónáin and other stories* (Mediaeval and Mod. Ir. Series XVI, Dublin 1955).

<sup>30</sup>Ed. M. O Daly, *Ir. Texts Soc. L* (London 1975) 18.

<sup>31</sup>R. Atkinson (ed.), *The Yellow Book of Lecan facsimile* (Dublin 1896).

- Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*<sup>32</sup> (2nd half of 9th cent.), 2.58  
*Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin*<sup>33</sup> (12th cent.), 52.10, 52.12, 84.10,  
 104.19, 104.25  
*V. Trip.* (895–936),<sup>34</sup> 7–8, 334, 329, 926, 1993–4, 2066, 2166  
*SR* (988), 141, 325, 413–14, 3703, 6225–6, 5925, 5907–8, 6115–16, 7289,  
 8281, 8312  
*CIH*, i 62.15–16, ii 369.35  
*Tenga Bhith-Nua*<sup>35</sup> (10th cent.), §§ 3, 5 (× 2), 11, 22 (× 2), 57, 60, 95,  
 129, 151  
*Echtra Cormaic*,<sup>36</sup> 186 § 5  
*Auraicept na nÉces*,<sup>37</sup> lines 81–2, 233, 252, 255, 355, 376, 392, 394, 395,  
 423, 429, 509, 662, 733, 919, 920, 925, 932, 958, 1039, 1057, 1100,  
 1128, 1134, 1140, 1181, 1199, 1260, 1296, 1513, 1686, 2548, 2565,  
 2773, 2781, 2784, 2789, 2790, 3276, 3424, 3848, 3854, 3860, 3992,  
 4013, 4048, 4226, 4228, 4238, 4278, 4370, 4431, 4444, 4644, 4650,  
 4873, 5275, 5513, 5660, 5664, 5783, 5822, 5828  
*Imthechta Éniasa*,<sup>38</sup> lines 241–2, 802–3, 920–21, 1021–2, 1033, 1744–5,  
 1784–5, 1795, 1813, 2353–4, 2472, 2751–2  
*PH* (c.1150),<sup>39</sup> 5–6, 37, 48, 152, 347, 404–5, 1086–7, 1487–8, 1490, 1546–  
 7, 1597, 1612–13, 1904–5, 2975, 3064–5, 3375–6, 3424, 3516–17, 3522,  
 3610, 3912–13, 4290, 4294, 4347–8, 4579, 4581, 4675, 4678, 4713–14,  
 4719, 4826–7, 4830, 4928–9, 4938–9, 4941, 4944, 4982, 4992, 5217–18,  
 5426–7, 5440–41, 5474, 5484, 5514, 5516, 5527–8, 5539, 5562, 5729,  
 5840–41, 5845, 5848, 5893, 5894–5, 5929, 5967, 6024, 6045–6, 6099,  
 6120, 6140, 6173–4, 6186–7, 6213, 6344–5, 6369, 6374, 6589–90, 6790,  
 6838, 6919, 7241, 7468–9, 8032, 8114, 8307–8, 8312–13  
*Lismore Lives*, 663–4, 676–7, 732, 834, 978, 1917, 3315, 2600, 2642,  
 3754–5, 3883

The collection comprises three hundred and fifty-eight examples of type C. Not included in this collection are instances in which N is an inherently definite noun, i.e. a proper noun:

- (16) in tres láechaicmi Herend (*LU*, 1620)  
 ‘one of the three warrior classes of Ireland’

<sup>32</sup>Ed. D. A. Binchy, *Mediaeval and Mod. Ir. Series XVIII*, Dublin 1963.

<sup>33</sup>Ed. K. Meyer, *Royal Ir. Academy, Todd Lecture Series XVII*, 1911.

<sup>34</sup>K. Jackson, ‘The date of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 41 (1986) 5–45; F. Mac Donncha, ‘Dáta Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii’, *Éigse* 18 (1981) 125–42.

<sup>35</sup>Ed. W. Stokes, *Ériu* 2 (1905) 96–162.

<sup>36</sup>Ed. W. Stokes, *Irische Texte* III/1 (Leipzig 1891) 183–229.

<sup>37</sup>Ed. G. Calder, Edinburgh 1917.

<sup>38</sup>G. Calder (ed.), *Imthechta Éniasa: The Irish Æneid* (Ir. Texts Soc. VI, London 1907 for 1903)

<sup>39</sup>Dillon, *ZCP* 16 (1927) 319.

- (17) forsin muinciund mór Mara Caisp (*LL*, 194)  
 ‘on the great surface of the Caspian Sea’

The following similar instances have been recorded:

- A chóicid choín Chairpri cruaid*<sup>40</sup> (c.770–800), 184.12  
*Ml.*, 16 c 5, 41 a 11, 65 c 16, 121 a 6  
*LU*, 576, 1392, 1586, 1620, 3226, 3461, 3656, 4338, 4609, 5257, 6440,  
 7890, 7929, 8112, 8277, 8412, 8421, 8788, 9817–18  
*LL*, 30, 66, 1101, 1105, 3065, 3808, 3881, 7483–4, 7910, 9595, 9578–9,  
 12507, 12509, 12510–13, 14408–9, 14438, 22810, 23199, 23229, 31763,  
 31897, 31926, 32529  
*YBL*,<sup>41</sup> p. 134 a 50, 137 a 15  
*V. Trip.*, 425–6, 814  
*Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin*, 4.10, 22.7, 42.3–4, 42.4, 54.18–19, 56.3,  
 58.3–4, 76.16, 78.17, 80.15–16, 102.8–9, 102.11, 102.12  
*SR*, 5198  
*Imthechta Ániasa*, lines 42, 94, 379, 1347, 1658, 1692–3, 1706  
*Echtra Cormaic*, 186 § 4, 187 § 6  
*PH*, 5–6, 48, 3856–7, 4281, 4541, 4899  
*Auraicept na nÉces*, line 5350  
*Lismore Lives*, 1790, 1837, 3346–7

#### ANALYSIS OF TYPE C

Type C occurs most frequently when HEAD is accompanied by a modifier. This is the only sub-category of type C that is productive in OIr. and for which it is possible to produce useful statistics. The nominal modifier may be pre-modificatory, A, NUM, or postmodificatory, A, DEM, as the following examples will show:

- (18) frissalind serb inchúrsactha (*Wb* 7 d 9)  
 ‘with the bitter drink of reproof’  
 (19) isin chorthair thuascertaig in domain (*LL*, 31942–3)  
 ‘in the northern part of the world’  
 (20) in cora coitcend na fine (*CIH* ii 369.15)  
 ‘the common fishing weir of the kin-group’  
 (21) na huili arrachta na n-ídal (*V. Trip.*, 334)  
 ‘all the spectres of the idols’  
 (22) isind aidchi si na casc<sup>42</sup>  
 ‘on this eve of Easter’  
 (23) in tress persu na diadachta uaisle (*PH*, 3951)  
 ‘the third person of the noble divinity’

<sup>40</sup>Ed. M. O Daly, *Éigse* 10 (1961–3) 177–97.

<sup>41</sup>R. Atkinson (ed.), *The Yellow Book of Lecan* facsimile (Dublin 1896).

<sup>42</sup>‘Tenga Bhith-Nua’, ed. Stokes, *Ériu* 2 (1905) 102 § 11.

- (24) na da fuil .x. na ndoirrsi anma (BDC § 17.1)  
 'the twelve wounds in the doors of the soul'

The above genitives have the configuration [HEAD – mod] – ART – N. The tendency for HEAD to take ART is particularly marked in the glosses, so that genitives with the above configuration rarely appear without ART. In fact in Wb., Ml. and Sg. only ten examples were found lacking ART: Wb. 1 a 3, 3 a 14, 3 d 22, 12 b 33 Ml. 26 d 12, 38 c 7, 65 b 14, 105 b 7, Sg. 200 b 10, 215 b 7. Six examples have ART in Wb. 4 a 7, 7 d 9, 9 c 10, 9 d 5, 11 a 19 (× 2). Seventeen examples have ART in Ml. 15 a 2, 22 d 9, 25 a 8, 31 a 12, 31 b 24, 31 c 3, 37 b 21, 44 d 11, 48 a 21, 59 d 3, 62 b 20, 62 b 23, 66 c 6, 68 b 9, 99 a 9, 121 a 6, 136 b 1. Twelve examples have ART in Sg. 7 b 9, 7 b 18, 12 a 3, 14 a 9, 32 a 8, 33 a 26, 27, 39 a 29, 50 a 6, 136 a 2, 149 a 5, 157 b 2, 198 a 13.

This tendency for HEAD to take ART when modified is not as marked in other forms of OIr. prose. Thus in *LU*, twelve examples occur with ART while twenty-three occur without it:

*With*: 170, 453, 1767, 1914, 2308, 2319–20, 2722, 2732–3, 2951, 5180, 7054–5, 7074.

*Without*: 104, 2337, 2528, 2570, 2588 twice, 2590–91, 2667–8, 4219, 5171, 6499, 6501, 6514, 6519–20, 7587, 7611, 7622, 7630, 7638, 7672–3, 7682, 8056–7, 10128.

In the first four volumes of *LL* eighteen examples were found with ART and forty-nine examples without it.

*With*: 1804, 3695, 3801, 8147–8, 10367, 12478, 31082, 31114, 31669, 31930, 31942, 31671, 31672, 31767–8, 32161, 32214–15, 32577–8, 32428.

*Without*: 442–3, 1056, 1158, 2785, 3791–2, 3808–9, 8892, 9241–2, 9745–6, 9747, 10296–7, 11205–6, 11364, 11708, 11816–17, 23232, 24334, 30890–91, 31008, 31024–5, 31101, 31111, 31271, 31348 twice, 31437, 31438, 31469, 31481, 31550, 31737–8, 31749–50, 31790–91, 31898, 31913, 31939, 31961, 31991, 31999, 32125, 32129, 32244, 32259, 32273–4, 32371, 32374, 32393, 32394, 32678–9.

The percentages are:

Glosses 78%  
*LU* 34%  
*LL* 27%

The statistics are misleading in so far as they show a gradual decrease in the frequency of this type of genitive during the OIr. period. The relative chronology of texts has little to do with the frequency of the genitive in question. It is rather a question of register. Religious texts show a proclivity for type C, it being used more stylistically than syntactically. In these religious texts (*Fís Adomnán*, *Scéla na Esérgi*, *Lambeth*

*Commentary, V. Trip., PH, Tenga Bhith-Nua, Féilire Óengusso, SR, Wb., Ml.*) we can even find the same words appearing in this type of genitive.

- (25) in tres perso na deachta úasli (*LU*, 2308, cf. *PH*, 1086-7, 3951, 6185-6, 6838)  
 'the third person of the noble Godhead'

The most common type of modifier of HEAD is DEM, and it is doubtful whether DEM has any deictic force in these religious texts. In the long text, *PH*, for instance, there are twenty-nine examples of enclitic *-sa*, *-se*, and six examples of *sin*.

*PH, -sa, -se*: 37, 152, 1904-5, 3064-5, 3424, 3610, 4713-14, 4830, 4928-9, 4944, 4982, 4992, 5426-7, 5484, 5514, 5516, 5527-8, 5539, 5729, 5840-41, 5845, 5848, 5894-5, 5929, 6213, 6790, 6919, 7468-9, 8032.  
*sin*: 5-6, 404-5, 2975, 3375, 4678, 8114.

The question poses itself as to why ART tends to precede HEAD when it is modified. The phenomenon is easily explained when the modifier is DEM, since these lexical items rarely appear in OIr. without ART in combination with nouns, and the absence of ART before nouns followed by DEM in genitives results in an intuitively felt gap before HEAD.<sup>43</sup>

All modifying elements – whether DEM, NUM or A – increase the specification of HEAD, and this is sometimes marked with ART. Modifiers introduce the mechanism of contrastive emphasis into genitives – if HEAD is modified and N is not, then it follows that HEAD must have more emphasis than N or that HEAD is the more topical constituent of the genitive. In such a situation ART may appear before HEAD in surface syntax.

That ART and PRO may be used as indicators of contrastive emphasis in genitives is proved by the following examples:

- (26) . . . etir a tairngere 7 *incomallad* intairngeri (Ml. 122 d 7)  
 ' . . . between the promise and the *fulfillment* of the promise'

<sup>43</sup>Thurneysen, *Grammar*, 300 § 475, says that nouns followed by a demonstrative particle lacking the article appear to be scribal errors, but an example that occurs in Carney, *Poems of Blathmac*, 32.361, *cen híse* 'without these things', is guaranteed by metre (*ibid.*, xxii). Other instances are also found, e.g. *bethusin* (Ml. 53 c14) 'that life', *iar sétsain* (*SR* 1687) 'after that way', *illeth-sea* (*Lismore Lives*, 1962) 'in this direction', *re taeb saltrach so* (*Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin*, 12.30) 'together with the psalter', *cía sloigh sa* (*Imithechta Ániasa*, line 1318) 'who are these hosts', *hifogur digamma* 'into the sound of digamma' (Sg. 14 a 6). The Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish language* s.v. *digamma* takes this as a mistake for *digamma*, but *-sa* could well be the clitic demonstrative: 'into the sound of this digamma'. Two examples have been recorded in which a noun is followed by the reflexive *fein* and lacks the article: *duchathraig fessin* (Ml. 131 c 3) 'of the city itself', *do chrunn fessin* (Sg. 61 b 8) 'for the tree itself'.

- (27) dodechor etir anmmann innacrann 7 anmmann a toraid  
innacrannsin (Sg. 61 b 3)  
'to make a difference between the names of the trees and names of  
the fruit of those trees'

In both examples we have two occurrences of the same noun *tairngere* and *crann*. The first occurrence is co-ordinated with a genitive in which the second occurrence is N. HEAD is contrastively emphasised in the first example by ART and in the second by a proleptic PRO. In fact most examples of the proleptic genitive PRO display contrastive emphasis.

#### PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

This section contains an analysis of partitives and genitives in MW in which HEAD is modified. It will become apparent that in many cases where we would find a genitive in OIr. we get a partitive in MW. Of particular concern will be the role of ART with modifiers in the MW partitive and genitive. The section begins with a discussion of the distribution of the partitive vis-à-vis the genitive in both languages.

The partitive is used in both OIr. and MW when HEAD is a single entity or a group constituting a subset of N, e.g. HEAD - [PP - ART] - N. This will suffice as a working definition of the partitive.

- (28) Irish: duine den fhoireann; Welsh: un o'r tim  
'a player of the team'

The genitive in this instance would imply that the team in question has only one player. But the situation is more complex than this in OIr. and MW. In OIr. we find examples of the partitive in which both HEAD and N are definite, e.g. at *LL*, 36566, the phrase *in laech do romanchaib* occurs, in which both constituents are definite. The equivalent genitive would be *laech na rómánach*. However, there is a clear semantic distinction here between the constructions. *In laech do romanchaib* can only mean 'the Roman warrior', and is so translated by Meyer.<sup>44</sup> *Laech na rómánach* can only mean 'the warrior of the Romans', implying that in this situation the Romans have only one warrior.

Similar prepositional phrases are found in OIr. and Mid.Ir. which do not differ semantically from their genitive counterparts:

- (29) indi dubcend oc Diarmait (*LU*, 1043) = dí dubcend Diarmata  
'the two black-headed horses of Diarmait'  
(30) na tri meic oc Nabcodon (*LU*, 2501) = trí meic Nabcodoin  
'the three sons of Nabcodon'

It is in such phrases as the above that I would see the genesis of the development that took place in Eastern Gaelic by which the genitive PRO was largely replaced by the syntagm ART - NP - PP (inflected). In Scottish Gaelic we would say *an taigh agam* 'mo theach', *an cú agam*

<sup>44</sup>K. Meyer, 'Anecdota from Irish MSS. IX', *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* 4 (1893) 216-17, p. 217.3.

'mo chú'. In both OIr. and MW the genitive PRO can be replaced by the syntagm ART - NP - PP (inflected), e.g.

- OIr. *in scíath dó* (*LU*, 7983) 'his shield'  
 Mid.Ir. *in cet bás dó* (*PH*, 1213) 'his first death'  
 MW *y danned udunt* (*Llyfr Coch*, 28.30) 'their teeth'

There is one syntactic environment in OIr. in which partitive and genitive are in free variation. This is when HEAD is a relative copular sentence introduced by the relative particle *a*, and contains a predicative A, e.g.

- (31) *a mbad soírem na mban 7 a mbat seisc dind folud* (*LU*, 5607-8)  
 [literally, 'what would be noblest of the women and what would be dry of the kine'] 'the noblest of the women and the dry kine'  
 (32) *Berar 'n-as [= a n-as] blicht dond alaid dó 7 'n-as dáer na braiti*  
 (*LL*, 9017; cf. *LU*, 4979-80)  
 'Let those of the cattle that have milk and those of the captives that are base-born be given to him'

We shall now examine genitives and partitives in MW in which HEAD is modified by A, DEM and NUM. The two available syntagms have the following structures:

- GEN. [HEAD - mod.] - ART - N  
 PAR. ART - [HEAD - mod.] - PP - ART - N

The choice between genitive and partitive is determined by the modifier and its occurrence with ART. If the modifier is such that it invariably occurs with ART in combination with nouns then the partitive tends to be used. If the modifier can occur in combination with nouns without ART then the genitive is used. Therefore, we should expect the partitive when the modifier of HEAD is DEM or a superlative A since in combination with nouns superlatives and demonstratives normally take ART.<sup>45</sup> In the following analysis all genitives and partitives in which HEAD is modified have been listed. The analysis is based on the texts

<sup>45</sup>When a superlative adjective follows the noun it modifies, there is a strong tendency for the noun to take the article. In *Llyfr Coch* there are 101 instances of nouns with the article modified by a superlative. Only 18 instances were recorded which lacked the article: ART - NP - SUP. A, 3.8, 4.9, 5.3, 11.9, 11.12, 11.24, 13.5, 17.24, 20.8, 25.1, 25.2, 45.4, 48.27, 48.30, 52.10-11, 54.16, 55.3, 68.19, 71.25, 73.22-3, 73.27, 79.6, 80.13, 83.20, 86.15-16, 88.12-13, 88.21, 89.6, 93.14-15, 97.1, 97.12, 98.2, 98.10, 110.22-3, 113.2, 113.29, 117.26, 124.20-21, 130.13, 132.30, 133.7, 147.25, 148.11-12, 151.30, 152.1, 155.14, 155.20, 159.6-7, 159.8, 163.1, 164.17, 164.24-5, 167.21-2, 170.3, 185.18-19, 191.16-17, 204.22, 205.15, 206.1, 206.16-17, 207.2-3, 211.17, 211.26, 212.21, 213.26-7, 214.6, 218.15, 219.4-5, 224.17, 225.25, 227.8, 227.9, 227.10, 227.16, 228.20, 232.15, 233.12, 236.27, 238.9, 239.30, 241.9-10, 251.13, 252.23, 256.5, 257.27, 258.22, 259.29, 263.12, 268.5, 269.22-3, 270.16, 270.17, 273.19, 276.6-7, 277.21, 279.28, 288.21, 291.3, 292.4, 293.11; NP - SUP. A 4.1-2, 53.25, 60.10, 83.3, 83.7, 87.6, 91.13, 126.19-20, 132.3, 151.6, 154.28, 183.27, 195.7-8, 228.24, 276.12, 281.11, 281.14, 287.12.

*Llyfr Blegywryd*, *Llyfr Coch*, *PKM*, *BB*. The conclusions and statistics only are given here. All the examples can be found in the appendix to this paper.

(i) The modifier is A

*Llyfr Blegywryd*, GEN: 1.5, 3.22, 9.19–20, 16.11–12, 18.27, 22.11, 27.1, 35.1, 43.23, 43.24, 62.12, 65.9, 67.8, 74.22

*Llyfr Blegywryd*, PAR: 65.27–8

TOTAL: GEN 14, PAR 1

*BB*, GEN: 171–2, 352, 512, 623, 689–90

TOTAL: GEN 5, PAR 0

*Llyfr Coch*, GEN: 95.7, 97.27, 112.20–21, 181.26, 202.16–17, 235.4–5, 239.20–21

*Llyfr Coch*, PAR: 202.14, 222.20–21,

TOTAL: GEN 7, PAR 2

*PKM*, GEN: 4.23, 13.1–2, 13.19–20, 40.15

*PKM*, PAR: 42.25

TOTAL: GEN 4, PAR 1

There are thirty genitives and four partitives in the MW texts. In conclusion then we may say that there is a tendency to use the genitive when HEAD is modified by A.

(ii) The modifier is a superlative A

*Llyfr Blegywryd*, GEN: 0

*Llyfr Blegywryd*, PAR: 1.17, 6.21, 7.7–8, 11.21, 22.22–3, 28.21, 72.25.

TOTAL: GEN 0, PAR 7

*BB*, GEN: 0

*BB*, PAR: 295–6.

TOTAL: GEN 0, PAR 1

*Llyfr Coch*, GEN: 0

*Llyfr Coch*, PAR: 82.20, 83.18–19, 83.20, 87.6, 91.13, 93.14–15, 148.11–12, 185.19.

TOTAL: GEN 0, PAR 8

*PKM*, GEN: 0

*PKM*, PAR: 71.14, 90.8.

TOTAL: GEN 0, PAR 2

All eighteen examples in which HEAD is modified by a superlative A are partitives. It seems therefore that there was a strong tendency in MW to avoid the genitive here. I suggest that the reason for this situation is that superlatives always occur with definite nouns in MW prose. Superlatives never modify HEAD in genitives, because genitives require automatic deletion of ART before HEAD, unlike partitives. There

is another reason, however although it is purely conjectural: Welsh differs from OIr. in the syntax of superlative and comparative As – in Welsh they may and usually are used attributively.<sup>46</sup> In Irish they must, up to the present day, be used predicatively. The transition from predicative to attributive emanated from the use of superlatives and comparatives in  $\emptyset$  – copular sentences, e.g.

- (33) wr well no Chynon<sup>47</sup>  
 ‘a man better than Cynon’

In the above example the relative copula *a fei* has been deleted between *gwr* and *gwell* but the lenition caused by the copula is preserved because this is an interrogative sentence. At some stage in the development of Welsh the superlative also must have been used predicatively in the same manner as the comparative above. The fact that superlatives show an overwhelming tendency not to modify HEAD in genitives may be a vestige of the predicative use of superlatives. The genitive syntagm would not have been possible under such circumstances – the partitive would have to have been used.

- (34) GEN \* y gwr a fei fwyaf y fyddin  
 PAR y gwr a fei fwyaf o'r fyddin  
 ‘the best man of the army’.

Of the five examples found in the texts in which HEAD is modified by DEM, all are partitive, the reason once again being that DEM always takes ART in combination with nouns. As regards numerals the ratio is GEN 13, PAR 8.

The statistics on type C in OIr. raise the question as to why it is found more frequently in the glosses than in other forms of OIr. prose. Apart from the fact already mentioned that Wb. and Ml. are Biblical glosses and type C is used stylistically in the religious register of OIr. and

<sup>46</sup>When used attributively superlative adjectives may be preposed or postposed in MW. When preposed they are never preceded by the article. There are two syntactic environments in which superlative adjectives appear before the noun they modify. Firstly, when they constitute the first arm of an identificatory copular sentence, e.g. *disemylaf gwreic . . . oed* (*Llyfr Coch*, 4.17–18) ‘she was the most unaffected woman’; *teckaf morwyn oed* (*Llyfr Coch*, 59.11) ‘she was the most beautiful maiden’; *goreu kyuarwyd yn y byt oed* (*Llyfr Coch*, 61.8–9) ‘he was the best storyteller in the world’; also *Llyfr Coch*, 27.30, 82.3, 83.10–11, 114.17–18, 127.26, 152.6, 173.9–10, 175.28, 201.23–4, 203.1–2, 244.6, 258.8. Secondly, when they are preceded by the predicative particle *yn*, e.g. *ar urenhines y gyt ac wynt yn deckaf gwreic o'r a welsei neb* (*Llyfr Coch*, 4.10–11) ‘and the queen with them, the most beautiful woman that anyone ever saw’; *Ynteu yna a meint gwr yndaw ac yn delediwhaf gwas or a welas dyn eiryoet* (*Llyfr Coch*, 73.19–20) ‘And he himself there with a man's physique and (he was) the most handsome lad that a man ever saw’; also *Llyfr Coch*, 80.16, 84.27–8, 85.14, 215.14–15, 215.19, 216.28–9, 220.17, 220.18–19, 224.24. Superlative and comparative adjectives are always used predicatively in OIr. The only exception to this rule known to me is *saeb* ‘perverse’: *it doini saibibem dogniat inso* (Ml. 3 a 5) ‘they are most perverse people who do this’.

<sup>47</sup>I. Williams (ed.), *Canu Aneirin* (Caerdydd 1938) 8.200.

Mid.Ir., many of the examples found in the glosses exhibit the influence of the Latin text, just as one might expect. Consider the following example. The lemma is the dative form *captioni*, glossed by the genitive expression.

- (35) *dungabail innammraithemnachtae* (Ml. 31 b 3)  
 ‘to the taking of the treachery’

When it is specifically HEAD in the genitive expression, rather than N, which glosses the Latin text then ART may precede HEAD. We might say that ART functions as an indicator of focussed emphasis. It augments HEAD, marking it as the more important constituent of the genitive. Similarly at *Thes.* i 259.21 the lemma is *pro exaggeratione*, which is glossed as:

- (36) *arin dumugud inna pecthe ón* (Ml. 76 a 3)  
 ‘for the exaggeration of the sins’.

Once again HEAD has ART because there is a one-to-one correspondence between it and the Latin *exageratione*. HEAD is the more important constituent of the genitive. At *Thes.* i 542.6 the lemma is *æclesia uniuersa Christi*.

The Irish text reads:

- (37) . . . i. in chatlach inna fer (Wb. 7 c 8)  
 ‘the universe of the men’

There is one-to-one correspondence between the Latin adjective *uniuersa* and the HEAD of the genitive *in chatlach*. In the following examples the HEAD of the genitive is given and the word in the lemma with which it has a one-to-one correspondence.

- innatimthrechta* (Ml. 42 c 4): *sermonis*  
*honaib imbedaib* (Ml. 45 b 8): *copiis*  
*aforcenn* (Ml. 59 b 1): *terminus*  
*afuar* (Ml. 81 c 2): *proidentie*  
*intóscugud* (Ml. 72 b 27): *successio*  
*indaugtair* (Ml. 73 c 9): *auctoribus*  
*infoircnithid* (Ml. 102 a 14): *exterminatorem*  
*aforcital* (Ml. 103 b 6): *docendi*  
*honaib coscaib* (Ml. 111 b 26): *castigationibus*  
*trissammrechtrad* (Ml. 122 d 11): *ornatum*  
*intesamni* (Ml. 142 b 2): *fiduciam*  
*tresingenitin* (Sg. 201 a 2): *in genetiium*

A somewhat different example occurs at *Thes.* i 80.21. The Latin reads *plaga . . . illa qua cæsi sunt, qua magnitudine sui Deum esse in midio iustorum evidentissime comprobauit .i. plaga*. The Irish text reads:

- (38) innaplage innanasar (Ml. 34 b 14)  
 ‘of the disaster of the Assyrians’

glossing *qua magnitudine*, according to the editors. Although there is no one-to-one correspondence between the Latin and Irish, *plaga* is contextually ‘well known’ or ‘given’ information and ART is used to mark this. All the examples discussed in this section show the influence of the Latin text. An example that occurs at *CIH* ii 369.35 can be explained by the same process. The original text reads *Im corus duin*, which is glossed by *issin dun coitcend na fine* ‘in the common fort of the tribe’. There is a one-to-one correspondence between *duin* in the original text and *dun* in the gloss.

There is a proclivity to mark HEAD with ART in surface syntax in a discourse situation where HEAD is fully specified by references to it in the preceding discourse. These references contain a noun which is co-referential, though not necessarily lexically identical, to HEAD. This might be stated another way: the more well established a noun is in the discourse at hand, the more likely it is to take ART if it appears as HEAD in a genitive expression, as the following examples show:

- (39) Is inna luc coir, t[rá] tárbid *in bieitso*. Ar is fris samaltir int í chomalnas *na bieiti so*: frí fer seircc. Is básad do sudiu ní arrbir biuth praint con-r-étrommigidar fair in sáeth. Is íar suidiu prainnid 7 gaibthir cíall for a bethid. Im-tá samlid in peccdach: ní-n gaib ítu immin firinni conro-chomalla *in mbieit inna bocte*<sup>48</sup>  
 ‘Now *this beatitude* has appeared in its proper place. For he who fulfils *these beatitudes* is likened to a sick man. It is such a one’s habit that he cannot eat a meal until his sickness lightens. Thereafter he eats and is expected to live. Similarly the sinner: thirst for justice does not lay hold of him until he fulfils *the beatitude of poverty*.’
- (40) *innuaisletaid* .i. ni digned Duid *innuaisletaid innafindbuide* adfiadar isintalmso (Ml. 14 b 4)  
 ‘*The height*, that is, David would not have ascribed *the height* of bliss that is declared in this psalm’
- (41) *huandisiu* .i. *huandimbiud innanámat* (Ml. 72 d 16)  
 ‘from *this*, from the abundance of the enemies’
- (42) Bun 7 Meccun sin olse da *chometaib* ind ríg insin da mac Maffir Thuill. Imda *na cometaidi* ind ríg (*LU*, 7672–4)  
 ‘“They are Bun and Meccun,” said he, “the two guards of the king, the two sons of Maffir Thuill. The apartment of the guards of the king”.’

<sup>48</sup>Carney and Bieler, ‘Lambeth Commentary’, lines 129–36.

- (43) *inna aidmi* (Ml. 75 c 3); *caraid som inna aidmi inchiuil* (Ml. 75 c 4)

‘The *instruments*. He loves the musical *instruments*’

Further examples occur at Wb. 13 c 26, Ml. 26 b 6, 28 c 19, 43 d 18, *LU*, 1885, 9080, *PH*, 8312–13, *V. Trip.*, 915–27, *Auraicept na nÉces*,<sup>49</sup> 355.

There is a related type which is possibly to be explained by the occurrence of ‘associative anaphora’<sup>50</sup> in the discourse:

- (44) Is and tra forfópart cehtar na da ergal dochum araile. Amnass iṁ in gress rollásat . . . béimnech 7 briscbrúar na mboccóti iarna truastad dena calggaib 7 dina buirnib in t-airbrech dina dibairgthib na n-arm (*LL*, 37314–20)

‘The two battalions attacked one another. Cruel was the onset that they delivered . . . the hacking and shattering of the faces of the shields beaten by swords and the large stones. The piercing hail of the flights of the arms’

- (45) úair ní acca nech in mnaí acht Condla a óenur. Ro recair in ben. r. . . . Docháchain iarom in druí forsin nguth inna mná (*LU*, 10000–10016)

‘for nobody saw the woman save Condla. The woman answered r. . . . The druid sang over the voice of the woman’

In the first example, once reference has been made to *gress* ‘battle, onset’, one can proceed to speak of *dena calggaib*, *dina buirnib*, *dina dibairgthib*, as definite descriptions. The nouns *dena calggaib*, *dina buirnib*, *dina dibairgthib*, are the associates which are triggered by the noun *gress* in the preceding discourse. Similarly the noun *guth* in the second example is the associate which is triggered by the verb *canaid*. In such a situation if the associate appears as the HEAD of a genitive expression then it may have an overt ART. It must be said, however, that some examples admit of more than one explanation. The genitive expression *forsin nguth inna mná* could well involve contrastive emphasis, since we have two occurrences of the noun *ben*, once independently and once as N. In this respect the example parallels Ml. 122 d 7 and Sg. 61 b 3.

Sometimes ART surfaces before HEAD when the genitive functions as a single constituent. The following are the most commonly occurring expressions in this category:

- (46) *forsind airiniuch na imdai* (*LU*, 3301–2)

‘on the forefront of the apartment’

<sup>49</sup>Ed. G. Calder, Edinburgh 1917.

<sup>50</sup>See C. Lyons, ‘The meaning of the English definite article’, in *The semantics of determiners* (ed. J. Van der Auwera, Croom Helm, London, 1980) 81–95, p. 85.

- (47) forsin fordorus ind liss<sup>51</sup>  
 ‘on the lintel of the court’  
 (48) issind aurlaind in dúine (*LL*, 33146–7)  
 ‘in the forecourt of the fort’  
 (49) huan cetnu dedól ind laithi (Ml. 136 b 1)  
 ‘from the first dawn of the day’  
 (50) forsin doa in dúni (*LL*, 35283)  
 ‘on the rampart of the fort’  
 (51) in coimdid na ndula (*PH*, 4581)  
 ‘the Lord of the elements’  
 (52) in domnuch na Cengcigis-[s]e (*PH*, 5440–41)  
 ‘on the Sunday of Pentecost’

There is some positive evidence which supports the analysis of these genitives as single constituents or phrases: they are largely indivisible with respect to post-nominal modifiers, i.e. HEAD and N are in such close syntactic association that lexical items rarely intervene between them. In the long text *PH* sixteen examples of the genitive expression *in Coimdid na ndula* were recorded and only twice did it occur with A: lines 6374, 6173–4. In these examples A is preposed.

## SYNTAX OF CO-ORDINATION

ART may appear before HEAD in the syntax of co-ordination. Now co-ordination in OIr. and Mid.Ir. can be accompanied by conjunction reduction of the categories preposition, PRO and ART.<sup>52</sup> The following illustrate conjunction reduction of ART:

- (53) angaibther isindbuinniu l croit (Wb. 12 c 44)  
 ‘what is played on the pipe or harp’  
 (54) sechis indfrithorcunsón 7 digal (Ml. 87 a 11)  
 ‘that is, the offence and punishment’  
 (55) imon rí 7 deoraid 7 amais (*Betha Colmáin maic Lúcháin*, 102.4)  
 ‘with the king and strangers and mercenaries’  
 (56) in duibsin 7 dearrtan<sup>53</sup>  
 ‘storm and thunder’  
 (57) for an domattaíd 7 dáidbre (*PH*, 4234)  
 ‘on the want and poverty’

Similarly, when HEAD consists of a series of co-ordinated nouns ART may appear before the first noun in the sequence, the remaining nouns lacking ART:

<sup>51</sup>Binchy, *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*, 2.58.

<sup>52</sup>On the term ‘conjunction reduction’ see P. Kiparsky, ‘Tense and mood in Indo-European syntax’, *Foundations of Language* 4 (1968) 30–57, p. 30 n. 4. Examples of conjunction reduction of PRO are *triana rath-son 7 bennachtain* (*PH*, 4299) ‘through his pledge and his blessing’ and *no-s-crochand 7 marband* (*PH*, 4198) ‘he hangs and kills them’, the latter illustrating the reduction of a pronominal infix.

<sup>53</sup>Calder, *Imthechta Éniasa*, line 224.

- (58) . . . in gairguba 7 golgairi 7 iachtach 7 eigmeach 7 mairgneach  
in tshloigh mormuirnigh na namat<sup>54</sup>.  
' . . . the cry of sorrow and lamentation and yell and shout and  
wailing of the tumultuous host of the enemy. . . '

Alternately ART may precede all the constituents of HEAD:

- (59) dindbéstatu etdind tinchosc innandoíne (Wb. 5 c 16)  
'from the morality and from the teaching of human beings'  
(60) cosmailius innarétae tanide 7 innacumscaigthe inmenman frisna  
gnimu corpthi (Ml. 15 a 2)  
'a comparison of the subtle things and of the motions of the mind  
with the bodily actions'  
(61) tar in cladh l tar in cora a ferainn fein (CIH iii 745.32)  
'over the bank or over the fence of his own territory'  
(62) doriacht in Scithecda tuascertach 7 in tEthiopacda descertach.  
7 in tInnecda airtherach in domain (LL, 32576-8)  
'he reached the Scythian north and the Ethiopian south and the  
Indian east of the world'  
(63) in tóscach 7 in tinsaitin na fola (LL, 37321)  
'the spilling and the shedding of the blood'  
(64) in grian 7 in gainem in mara (LU, 1883)  
'the gravel and the sand of the sea'

In the above six examples HEAD consists of two co-ordinated nouns. In the following example the first noun is co-ordinated with the genitive syntagm but is independent of it. HEAD receives ART here under the influence of the first noun, which is preceded by ART:

- (65) sechis inna diamri l inna imdoirseá inna loc cossecarthaé (Ml.  
92 d 5)  
'that is, the secret places, or the vestibules of the consecrated places'

Examples of type C remain which do not fit acceptably into any of the above categories. In the case of the following examples, as in the cases involving co-ordination, the occurrence of double ART in the second clause seems to lend balance or symmetry to the statement:

- (66) indfithis tete *inpeccad* issi tete *in pian innadíglae* (Ml. 28 c 19)  
'the circuit by which the sin comes, by that comes the punishment  
of the vengeance'

<sup>54</sup>Calder, *Imthechta Éniasa*, lines 528-9

- (67) *it uilliu innammaini dorataissiu damsa indatae indánai innanguide rongadsa daitsiu a dáé* (Ml. 43 d 18)  
 ‘more abundant are the riches which you have given me than the gifts of the prayers that I have prayed unto thee O God’

A common factor in the following is that the double ART occurs in a relative clause and HEAD is not modified: Ml. 24 d 12, 27 b 15, 37 b 4, 37 b 16, 90 c 6?, 118 d 20, Sg. 198 b 3. These examples may involve cataphoric occurrences of the double article.

Type E: PRO – HEAD – ART – N  
 Consider the following examples:

- (68) *Amal ro bátar and trath nóna deód laí co n-accatar bachlach mór forgrainne chucu isa tech. Indar leó ní rabi la Ultu láth gaile rosassad leth méite fair. Bá úathmar 7 bá granni a innas in bachlaig* (LU, 9182–5)  
 ‘As they were there one evening at the end of the day they saw a great hideous churl coming towards them into the house. It seemed to them that there was no warrior of the Ulaid that was half as big as him. Terrible and ugly was the manner of the churl’

In the text the word *bachlach* appears as new information and is immediately specified by A – *mór*. When it occurs a second time it is pronominalised. The third reference to *bachlach* is a genitive expression headed by a proleptic genitive PRO.<sup>55</sup> Genitives of this type typically occur in such a discourse situation. They must be co-referent to a pronoun or a noun which is close to them, since pronouns refer over short distances. If the distance between references is too long the topicality of the modifying noun increases, precluding the use of PRO before HEAD and the normal unmarked genitive type A is used. In the following examples, note that the distance between references is slight:

- (69) *Atchiat úadib iar sin slíab már isind insi 7 imráidset techt día déicsin na hindse ass* (LU, 1744–5)  
 ‘They saw a big mountain on the island and they rowed onwards to view the island from it’  
 (70) *Cid día mbúpthai na báethlaegu ol in t-áegaire már hísín. Cairm hi tat a mmaithre na lloegsa ol Germáne* (LU, 1751–2)  
 ‘“Why do you frighten the tender calves”, said that big shepherd. “Where are the mothers of these calves”, said Germane.

<sup>55</sup>In copular sentences the pronoun can anticipate a noun in the nominative and a genitive need not be construed, e.g. *bidh mor a cata in gein . . .* (Lismore Lives, 1838) ‘great shall be the dignity of the infant. . .’; cf. (LU, 7778). In *Ériu* 2 (1905) 24 § 7 (apparatus), R. I. Best suggests emending *Cíarbo mór a nert a colaind* to . . . *nert a chomlaind*, thereby construing a genitive and omitting the proleptic pronoun. Perhaps such an emendation is unnecessary.

- (71) Boí coire feile la Laigniu. *Buchat* a ainm. Tech n-oeged fer ñHerend a thech in *Buchet* (*LL*, 35341-2)  
 ‘The Laigin had a cauldron of generosity called Buchet. Buchet’s house was the guesthouse of the men of Ireland’
- (72) Dothiagat aṅgil ara chend a lláma foena *fris*. Fo chen duit. tair im uchtsa. Cucumsa doraga ol alaile. Is comthrom dano a maith 7 a saich ind *fírse* (*LL*, 36443-5)  
 ‘Angels came before him, their arms languid against him. “Welcome, come into my bosom”. “To me he shall come”, says another. Equal are the good and the evil of this man’.

Pokorny<sup>56</sup> saw in the proleptic genitive PRO, an instance of ‘das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen’. He noted that the possessive suffix is used with the same proleptic force in Coptic and Berber, e.g.

- (73) Kunef en Abraham  
 ‘sein Schoss von Abraham’ = ‘Abrahams Schoss’

Type E is found most frequently when N – the modifying noun – is animate, indeed it occurs frequently when N is a human noun. This characteristic may be a function of the genitive PRO, i.e. possession is a concept that is thought of chiefly in terms of our own species.

N is animate: Wb. 28 c 25; Ml. 45 c 9, 65 c 16; *LU*, 976, 1384, 1389-90, 1591, 2183-4, 2622, 4949-50, 7085, 7185, 7866-7; *LL*, 8031, 8281, 8342, 9557-8, 10782, 11811, 11833-4, 11840, 12423, 12430, 13218, 13511, 14639-40, 33065, 33079, 33637-8, 34352, 34388, 36372, 36441, 36445, 36447, 36994, 37149-50; *V. Trip.* 830, 2298, 2324, 953-4, 2588-9; BCML 88.12, 88.14, *Lismore Lives*, 2514, 3181, 3950-51, 3990.

N is inanimate: Wb. 25 b 27; Ml. 36 c 20, 138 a 3, Sg 47 b 5, *LU*, 1928, 2446, 2480, 8739, 10178-9; *LL*, 8039, 23092, 33295, 35342, 35468-9; *V. Trip.* 2777; *Lismore Lives*, 2019, 3866.

One noun *ainm* ‘name’ has a proclivity to appear as HEAD in type E when the genitive is the second arm of an identificatory copular sentence.

- (74) Botha a ainm in puirt sin (*LU*, 5379)  
 ‘Botha is the name of that place’
- (75) Áth Carpait a chomainm inn atha (*LL*, 8806-7)  
 ‘Áth Carpait is the name of the ford’

<sup>56</sup>J. Pokorny, ‘Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 18 (1930) 233-48, pp. 247-8.

- (76) Cormac Snithene a ainm in meicc (*V. Trip.* 889)  
 ‘Cormac Snithene is the name of the son’

Cf. *LL*, 8827; *V. Trip.* 1509–1510, 1657, 2315.

The constructions discussed in this paper suggest that there is a hierarchy of definiteness in the OIr. genitive syntagm. In this respect the behaviour of ART and PRO in the genitive syntagm mirrors their behaviour in normal discourse functions in Old Irish.<sup>57</sup> Type A, HEAD – ART – N, is the normal unmarked construction for two definite nouns. It seems best to regard type A as having a covert ART before HEAD which is phonologically null. Under certain circumstances this covert ART is phonologically realized. One such circumstance is when HEAD is fully specified by references to it in the preceding discourse. In this respect type C has a higher degree of definiteness than type A. Type E, PRO – HEAD – ART – N, occurs when N the modifying noun is coreferential with a pronoun or a noun which is close to it. Type E has a higher degree of definiteness than types A and C, indicated by PRO, which appears before HEAD. In fact type E is intermediate between type C and full pronominalisation, i.e. PRO – NP. The difference between type E and full pronominalisation is illustrated by the following example:

A mboí Pátraic oc baitsed Óengussa, luid ermted na bachlai tréna thragid Óengusso (*V. Trip.*, 2297–8)  
 ‘When Pátraic was baptising Óengus, the point of the crozier went through the foot of Óengus’.

Full pronominalisation here, i.e. *tréna thragid*, would of course result in ambiguity. Type E circumvents this ambiguity and simultaneously indicates a higher degree of definiteness than types A and C through retention of PRO.

Type C is very much peripheral in MW. The examples found number less than twenty. Most occur in translation literature and probably result from this fact.<sup>58</sup> Four examples occur in *The White Book Mabiniogion*,<sup>59</sup> only one of which is found in *Llyfr Coch – Mabiniogion*, 154.29–30 = *Llyfr Coch*, 223.2–3: *meibon y brenhin ydiodeyfeynt* ‘the sons of the king of suffering’. In most of the examples N, the modifying noun, is inherently definite. Along with the examples cited in *Grammar of Middle Welsh* and *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* we may add: *a’r hon Gymry oll* ‘and that of all Wales’ (*Llyfr Blegywryd*, 2.11); *a’r honn y brenhin a’r vrenhines* ‘and that of the king and queen’ (6.2); *y nauvettyd Mei*

<sup>57</sup>On the scalar or hierarchical nature of definiteness see K. C. Kossuth, ‘Definite default in Old Icelandic’, *American Indian and Indo-European studies: papers in honor of Madison S. Beeler* (ed. K. Klar et al., Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 16, The Hague 1980) 395–408, p. 397, and the references there cited.

<sup>58</sup>See T. Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (Caerdydd 1940) 67–8; D. Simon Evans, *A grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin 1964) 25.

<sup>59</sup>Ed. J. Gwenogrhyn Evans, Pwyllheli 1907.

'the ninth day of May' (21.18); o'r kalan Mei 'from the first day of May' (48.17).

In *A historical morphology and syntax of Breton* (Dublin 1975) 46 § 1.2, Roparz Hemon states that in genitives like *an thron an aelez* 'the throne of the angels', *ar ruin an ifern* 'the ruin of hell', the word *an* before the modifying noun is not the definite article but a contraction of the preposition *a* 'of' and the article, i.e. *a + an*. He notes that in Middle Breton ART is sometimes found before HEAD when N is inherently definite, e.g. *an les Iesu* 'the court of Jesus'.

George Broderick lists five examples of double ART in Manx:<sup>60</sup> *ozə k'ed ən g'au* 'in the trade of the smith', *egə b<sup>u</sup>o<sup>d</sup>n nə grizən* 'at the foot of the stairs', *wəf ən ra:d in bu:ə* 'out of the way of the cow', *ən tai d'zud<sup>n</sup>* 'Juan's house', *nə prösū:ni nə 'ka:igə* 'the prisoners of war'.

Type C is widely attested in Modern Irish, though its range of usage is not as broad as in the OIr. and Mid.Ir. periods. It seems not to be used in the syntax of co-ordination or as an indicator of contrastive emphasis. Nevertheless there are four subcategories which can be distinguished.

(i) The case where HEAD is accompanied by a modifier:

- (77) *os na guibsea na gabhalóige*<sup>61</sup>  
'from these tips of the fork'  
(78) *an t-an-challán na bpáisti* <sup>62</sup>  
'the great noise of the children'  
(79) *fan chascairt mhór sin na dtonn*<sup>63</sup>  
'about that great tumult of the waves'  
(80) *sa pointe deanach a[n] bhais*<sup>64</sup>  
'in the late point of death'  
(81) *an sa nglean so [na] ndeor*<sup>65</sup>  
'in this valley of tears'

(ii) The case in which N is an inherently definite noun:

- (82) *insa Cúige Uladh*<sup>66</sup>  
'in the province of Ulster'

<sup>60</sup>G. Broderick, *A handbook of late spoken Manx I* (Tübingen 1984) 74.

<sup>61</sup>Dublin, University College, IFC MS 1174, p. 33.

<sup>62</sup>Example supplied by Dr Seosamh Watson, from the speech of Na Cruacha, Co. Donegal.

<sup>63</sup>S. Mac Grianna, *An Druma Mór* (Baile Átha Cliath 1981) 2.1–2.

<sup>64</sup>M. Kennedy, *The spiritual rose* (Monaghan 1800) 111. This example and nos. 81–4 were brought to the author's attention by Dr Malachy McKenna.

<sup>65</sup>*ibid.*, 29.

<sup>66</sup>H. Wagner and C. Ó Baoill, *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects IV* (Dublin 1958) 13 s.v. Uladh.

- (83) a[n] chlann bocht so dhibirtha Eabh<sup>67</sup>  
 ‘this poor banished family of Eve’

(iii) The case where the whole genitive phrase functions as one syntactic constituent.

- (84) an bhean an toighe<sup>68</sup>  
 ‘the woman of the house’

The examples from Modern Irish prove that the double article always was a habitual syntax. The importance of register is particularly evident in some texts such as *Auraicept na nÉces* and Sg. glosses. Examples occur in these texts in which the double article merely indicates the nominal nature of certain items, and it is difficult to imagine these genitives being construed without a double article:

- (85) forsin beithi-luis-nin in oghaim<sup>69</sup>  
 ‘in the B-L-N of the Ogham’
- (86) in condelg in etechtu in cheternail ind Auraicept[a]<sup>70</sup>  
 ‘the comparison of the unallowable of the first part of the primer’
- (87) ind .e. timmorte indeoguir (Sg. 12 a 3)  
 ‘the short *e* of the diphthong’
- (88) ind .l. inna dédensillabe (Sg. 14 a 9)  
 ‘the .l. of the last syllable’

Some of the examples of the genitive syntagm in Old Irish, and of the double article and prolepsis in particular, have been explained in terms of their role in reference. The majority of examples, however, involved non-referential definiteness. The methodology employed in this paper has been to accommodate the greatest number of examples into the least number of categories. The idiosyncratic nature of a dead written language makes it difficult to arrive at one overriding principle which determines the occurrence of the double article. Indeed some of the examples invite a more textually orientated approach, but such an approach has been avoided, and as many examples as possible have been explained in terms of their role in reference.

<sup>67</sup>Kennedy, *Spiritual Rose*, 29.

<sup>68</sup>Wagner and Ó Baoill, *Atlas* iv 293.2.4.8.

<sup>69</sup>Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces*, line 392.

<sup>70</sup>*ibid.*, lines 376–7.

## APPENDIX: examples from Middle Welsh

## (i) The modifier of HEAD is A

*Llyfr Blegywryd*: holl eglwysswyr y teyrnas (1.5–6) ‘all the churchmen of the kingdom’; llawn diawt y brenhin (3.22) ‘the full drink of the king’; holl negesseu y brenhin (9.19–20) ‘all the transactions of the king’; march peunydyawl y brenhin (16.11.12) ‘the daily horse of the king’; henn gyurweu a hen ffrwyneu amws y brenhin (18.27) ‘the old saddles and the old bridles of the team-horse of the king’; hen gyfrweu y vrenhines (22.11) ‘the old saddles of the queen’; holl weith y brenhin (27.1) ‘all the work of the king’; holl affeithu gweithret (35.1) ‘all the accessories of an act’; trwy vreint eglwyssic yr abadaeth (43.23) ‘through the ecclesiastic privilege of the abbacy’; yn llys beunydyawl y brenhin (43.24) ‘in the daily court of the king’; oll dotrefyn y ty (62.12) ‘all the furniture of the house’; holl lestri y llyn (65.9) ‘all the vessels of the drink’; ar holl iawn y wreic (67.8) ‘on all the equity of his wife’; a’r llestreit bwlch o’r emenyn (65.27–8) ‘and the partly used vesselful of the butter’; holl adeil y tat (74.22) ‘all the building of the father’.

*BB*: holl crefftwyr e dynas hvnnv (171–2) ‘all the craftsmen of that city’; holl yevenctyt er enys (352) ‘all the youth of the island’; holl kedernyt e Brytanyeyt (512) ‘all the strength of the Britons’; holl rann er enys (623) ‘the whole part of the island’; holl gwyrda e teyrnas (689–90) ‘all the noblemen of the kingdom’.

*Llyfr Coch*: holl wyrda y gyuoeth (95.7) ‘all the noblemen of his kingdom’; holl giwtawt y coranneit (97.27) ‘the whole tribe of the Coranians’; merchet eur dyrchogyon yr ynys honn (112.21) ‘the gold torqued women of this island’; holl gegleu eu meirch (181.26) ‘all the saddle-girths of their horses’; ar y neill law y’r gwr (202.14) ‘on the one side of the man’; ar neill law y gwr mwyn (202.16–17) ‘on the one side of the gentleman’; a’r pryf du o’r garn (222.20–21) ‘with the black worm of the mound’; ar neill law y uorwyn (235.4–5) ‘on the one hand of the maiden’; ar neill law y brenhin (239.20–21) ‘on the one hand of the king’.

*PKM*: o holl lyssloed y dayar (4.23) ‘of all the courts of the Earth’; ar holl wraged a morynnyon y byt (13.1–2) ‘on all the women and maidens of the world’; holl uaranned y llys (13.19–20) ‘all the wealth of the court’; holl wyr ymlad Iwerdon (40.15) ‘all the fighting men of Ireland’; o’r hollwyr o’r deu kannwr (42.25) ‘of all the men of the two hundred’.

## (ii) The modifier of HEAD is a superlative A

*Llyfr Blegywryd*: y deudec lleyc doethaf o’e wyr (1.17) ‘the twelve wisest laymen of his men’; y dyn diwethaf o’r llys (6.21) ‘the last man of the court’; y yn diwethaf o’r ystauell (7.7–8) ‘the last man of the

chamber'; wedy yr wythnos gynntaf o Vei (11.21) 'After the first day of May'; y llwdyn goreu o'r anreith (22.22-3) 'the best young animal of the spoils'; a'r maen issaf o'r vreuan (28.21) 'the lower stone of the quern'; y'r brawt hynaf o'r brodyr oll (72.25) 'to the eldest brother of all the brothers'.

*BB*: er rann wuyhaf o'r dyd (295-6) 'the best part of the day'.

*Llyfr Coch*: y vynydd uchaf or byt (82.20-83.1) 'to the highest mountain in the world'; y ynys deckaf or holl vyt (83.18-19) 'to the most beautiful island in the whole world'; hyt yr ymyl eithaf or ynys (83.20) 'as far as the furthest edge of the whole island'; Llynghes vwyhaf or byt a welynt yn aber yr auon (87.6) 'they saw the biggest fleet in the world in the mouth of the river'; gweisson doethaf or byt (91.13) 'the wisest lads in the world'; y rann vwyhaf o'r vlwydyn (93.14-15) 'the best part of the year'; yn gyncochet ar gwaet cochaf or byt (148.11-12) 'as red as the reddest blood in the world'; y rei goreu or byt (185.19) 'the best ones of the world'.

*PKM*: y dref uchaf o Arllechwoed (71.14) 'the highest town of Arllechwoed'; yn y geing issaf o'r pren (90.8-9) 'in the lowest branch of the tree'.

(iii) The modifier of HEAD is DEM

*Llyfr Blegywryd*: no examples

*BB*: no examples

*Llyfr Coch*: no examples

*PKM*: y geing hon yma o'r Mabyngogyon (27.27, 48.12, 65.24, 92.27) 'this branch of the Mabinogi'; y'r wydic honn o wyr Ynys y Kedyrn (44.15-16) 'of this desolation of the men of the Isle of the Mighty'.

(iv) The modifier of HEAD is NUM

*Llyfr Blegywryd*: y deudec lleyc doethaf o'e wyr (1.17-18) 'the twelve wisest laymen of his men'; y deudec swydauc arbennic llys (17.1) 'the twelve special officers of the court'; Nawuettyd o galan gayaf (20.5) 'the ninth day of the Calends of winter'; y nawuettyd Mei (21.18) 'the ninth day of May'; y nawuettyd o'r vn mis hwnnw (20.9-10) 'the ninth day of that same month'; o naw affeith galanas (30.11) 'of the nine acts accessory to a felony'; yrwg y deu dyn plwyf (38.21) 'between the two men of the parish'; a phedeir keinhawc y gwastrodyon (87.14-15) 'and the four pennies of the grooms'; Eil dyd o Whefrawr (88.14) 'the second day of February'; ar y petwryd ar hugeint o'e gyfnesseifeit (90.18-19) 'on the three and twenty of his kinsmen'.

*BB*: a thryded rann e kyuoeth (24) 'one third of the kingdom'; tryded rann Ffreync (64-5) 'one third of France'; dev neyeynt e brenyn (250) 'the two nephews of the king'; tryded eystedva archescop (915-16)

'one of three archbishoprics'; a phedeyr gwraged e pedwar brenyn (980) 'and the four wives of the four kings'.

*Llyfr Coch*: y ter rann y byt (86.7-8) 'in the three parts of the world'; am y tryded wylua or nos (98.20) 'for the third watch of the night'; ar dwy ysgwyd yr ehawc (131.12) 'on the two shoulders of the salmon'; pymhet ran y iwerdon (137.1-2) 'the fifth part of Ireland'; deu weisson ystauell y iarllles (187.25) 'the two chamberlains of the lady'.

*PKM*: y pedwryd ar ugeint o ueibyon guyrda (72.21) 'one of twenty-four sons of noblemen'.

SÉAMAS Ó GEALBHÁIN

*University College, Dublin*