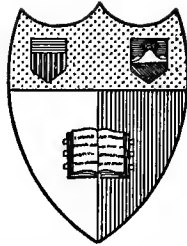


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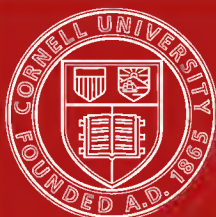
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Etymology of the principal Gaelic nation



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OUTLINES
OF
GAELIC ETYMOLOGY

BY THE LATE

ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., LL.D.

ENEAS MACKAY, STIRLING

1909,

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PREFACE.

The following Outlines of Gaelic Etymology originally formed part of, and was bound up with, the first edition of the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary by the late Dr MacBain. The publisher, now thinking that there are students of the Language who might wish to have the "Outlines" in a separate and handy form, is here publishing them.

The Supplement, the words and letters in square brackets, and a few slight changes from the original are the work of the Rev. Dr George Henderson, Lecturer in Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Glasgow, who found it necessary to abandon his intention of seeing the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary through the press, after reaching the sixteenth page of these "Outlines."

OUTLINES OF GAELIC ETYMOLOGY.

GAELIC belongs to the Celtic group of languages, and the Celtic is itself a branch of the Indo-European, or Aryan family of speech; for it has been found that the languages of Europe (with the exception of Turkish, Hungarian, Basque, and Ugro-Finnish), and those of Asia from the Caucasus to Ceylon,¹ resemble each other in grammar and vocabulary to such an extent that they must all be considered as descended from one parent or original tongue. This parent tongue is variously called the Aryan, Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, and even the Indo-Celtic language. It was spoken, it is believed, some three thousand years B.C. in ancient Sarmatia or South Russia; and from this as centre² the speakers of the Aryan tongue, which even then showed dialectal differences, radiated east, west, north and south to the various countries now occupied by the descendant languages. The civilization of the primitive Aryans appears to have been an earlier and more nomadic form of that presented to us by the Celtic tribe of the Helvetii in Cæsar's time. Here a number of village communities, weary of the work of agriculture, or led by the desire of better soil, cut their crops, pulled down their lightly built houses and huts, packed child and chattel on the waggons with their teams of oxen, and sought their fortune in a distant land. In this way the Celts and the Italians parted from the old Aryan home to move up the Danube, the former settling on the Rhine and the latter on the Gulf of Venice. The other races went their several ways—the Indians and Iranians eastward across the steppes, the Teutons went to the north-west, and the Hellenes to the south.

The Aryan or Indo-European languages fall into six leading groups (leaving Albanian and Armenian out of account), thus:—

I. INDO-IRANIAN OR ARIAN, divisible into two branches:

- (a) Indian branch, including Sanskrit, now dead, but dating in its literature to at least 1000 B.C., and the descendant modern (dialects or) languages, such as Hindustani, Bengali, and Mahratti.

^{1 2} See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

- (*b*) Iranian branch, which comprises Zend or Old Bactrian (circa. 1000 B.C.), Old Persian and Modern Persian.
- II. GREEK or HELLENIC, inclusive of ancient and modern Greek (from Homer in 800 B.C. onwards). Ancient Greek was divided traditionally into three dialects—Ionic (with Attic or literary Greek), Doric, and Æolic.
- III. ITALIC, divided in early times into two main groups—the Latin and the Umbro-Oscan. From Latin are descended Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Rhoeto-romanic and Roumanian, called generally the Romance languages.
- IV. CELTIC, of which anon,
- V. TEUTONIC, which includes three groups—(*a*) East Teutonic or Gothic (fourth cent. A.D.); (*b*) North Teutonic or Scandinavian, inclusive of Old Norse and the modern languages called Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish; and (*c*) West Teutonic, which divides again into High German (whence modern German), the Old High German being a language contemporary with Old Irish, and Low German, which includes Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, and Frisian.
- VI. BALTO-SLAVONIC or LETTO-SLAVONIC, which includes Lithuanian, dating from the seventeenth century, yet showing remarkable traces of antiquity, Lettic, Old Prussian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now extinct, Old Bulgarian or Church Slavonic, into which the Bible was translated in the ninth century, and the Slavonic modern languages of Russia, etc.

These six groups cannot, save probably in the case of Latin² and Celtic, be drawn closer together in a genealogical way. Radiating as they did from a common centre, the adjacent groups are more like one another than those further off. The European languages, inclusive of Armenian, present the three primitive vowels *a, e, o* intact, while the Indo-Iranian group coalesces them all into the sound *a*. Again the Asiatic languages join with the Balto-Slavonic in changing Aryan palatal *k* into a sibilant sound. Similarly two or three other groups may be found with common peculiarities (*e.g.*, Greek, Latin, and Celtic with *oi* or *i* in the nom. pl. masc. of the *o*-declension). Latin and Celtic, further, show intimate relations in having in common an *î* in the gen. sing. of the *o*-declension (originally a locative), *-tion*-verbal nouns, a future in *b*, and the passive in *-r*.

² See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

The Celtic group now comprises five living languages ; in the 18th century there were six, when Cornish still lived. These six Celtic languages are grouped again into two branches, which may be named the BRITTONIC and the GADELIC. The former includes the Welsh, Cornish, and Breton ; the GADELIC comprises Irish, Manx, and (Scottish) Gaelic. The main difference between these two branches of the Celtic group consists in this : the velar guttural of the Aryan parent tongue, which we represent here by the symbol *q*, when labialised, that is when the sound *w* or *v* attaches itself to it, becomes in Brittonic a simple *p* and in Gaelic a *c* (*k*, Ogam *qu*). Thus the Welsh for "five" is *pump*, Cornish *pymp*, and Breton *pemp*, Gaulish *pempe*. whereas the Gaelic is *cóig*, Manx *queig*, and Irish *cúig* : the corresponding Latin form is *quinque*. Professor Rhys has hence called the two branches of the Celtic the P group and the Q group (from Ogmic *qu*=Gaelic *c*). The distinction into P and Q groups existed before the Christian era, for the Gauls of Cæsar's time belonged mainly, if not altogether, to the P group : such distinctive forms as Gaulish *petor*, four (Welsh *pedwar*, Gaelic *ceithir*), *epo-s*, horse (Welsh *ebol*, Gaelic *each*), and *pempe*, five, already noted, with some others, prove this amply. At the beginning of the Christian era the Celtic languages were distributed much as follows : GAULISH, spoken in France and Spain, but fast dying before the provincial Latin (and disappearing finally in the fifth century of our era) ; GALLO-BRITISH or BRITTONIC, spoken in Britain by the conquering Gaulish tribes ; PICTISH, belonging to the Gallo-Brittonic or P group, and spoken in Scotland and, possibly, in northern England ; and GADELIC, spoken in Ireland and perhaps on the West Coast of Scotland and in the Isles. The etymology of the national names will be seen in Appendix A. Our results may be summed in a tabular form thus :—

Celtic	{	Q Group	{	Gáelic	{	Irish
				Dialects in Spain and Gaul (?) ⁴		Manx
						Gaelic
		P Group	{	Gallo-Brittonic	{	Breton
				{ Brittonic . . .		Cornish
						Welsh
				Gaulish—various		
				Pictish ⁵		

There are no literary remains of the Gaulish language existent ; but a vast mass of personal and place names have been handed

^{4 5} See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

Examples of Ogam inscriptions are :—

- Sagramni maqi Cunotami
 “(The stone) of Sagramnos son of Cunotamus.”
 Maqi Deceddas avi Toranias
 “Of the son of Deces O’ Toranis.”
 Cunanettas m[aqi] mucoi Nettasegamonas
 “Of Cunanes son of the son of Nettasegamon.”
 Tria maqa Mailagni
 “Of the three sons of Maolan.”

These examples show that the state of declensional inflection was as high as that of contemporary Latin. The genitives in *i* belong to the *o* declension; the *i*, as in Old Irish, is not taken yet into the preceding syllable (*maqi* has not become *maic*). The genitives *os* and *as* belong to the consonantal declension, and the hesitation between *a* and *o* is interesting, for the later language presents the same phenomenon—the *o* in unaccented syllables being dulled to *a*. The Ogam language seems to have been a preserved literary language; its inflections were antique compared to the spoken language, and Old Irish, so near it in time as almost to be contemporary, is vastly changed and decayed compared to it.

Irish is divided into the following four leading periods :—

- I. OLD IRISH: from about 800 to 1000 A.D. This is the period of the glosses and marginal comments on MSS. Besides some scraps of poetry and prose entered on MS. margins, there is the Book of Armagh (tenth century), which contains continuous Old Irish narrative.⁹
- II. EARLY IRISH, or Early Middle Irish: from 1000 to 1200 A.D. —practically the period of Irish independence after the supersession of the Danes at Clontarf and before the English conquest. The two great MSS. of *Lebor na h-uidre*, the Book of the Dun Cow, and the Book of Leinster mark this period. Many documents, such as Cormac’s *Glossary*, claimed for the earlier period, are, on account of their appearance in later MSS., considered in this work to belong to this period.
- III. MIDDLE IRISH: from 1200 to 1550 (and in the case of the Four Masters and O’Clery even to the seventeenth century in many instances). The chief MSS. here are the Yellow Book of Lecan, the Book of Ballimote, the *Leabar Breac* or Speckled Book, and the Book of Lismore.
- IV. MODERN, or NEW IRISH, here called IRISH: from 1550 to the present time.

⁹ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

As already said, the literary language of Ireland and Scotland remained the same till about 1700, with, however, here and there an outburst of independence. The oldest document of Scottish Gaelic is the Book of Deer, a MS. which contains half a dozen entries in Gaelic of grants of land made to the monastery of Deer. The entries belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the most important being the first—the Legend of Deer, extending to 19 lines of continuous prose. These entries form what we call OLD GAELIC, but the language is Early Irish of an advanced or phonetically decayed kind. The next document is the Book of the Dean of Lismore, written about 1512 in phonetic Gaelic, so that we may take it as representing the Scottish vernacular of the time in inflexion and pronunciation. It differs considerably from the contemporary late Middle Irish; it is more phonetically decayed. We call it here MIDDLE GAELIC, a term which also includes the MSS. of the M'Vurich *seanchaidhean*. The Fernaig MSS.,¹⁰ written about 1688, is also phonetic in its spelling, and forms a valuable link in the chain of Scottish Gaelic phonetics from the Book of Deer till now. The term GAELIC means Modern Gaelic.

Scottish Gaelic is written on the orthographic lines of Modern Irish, which in its turn represents the orthography of Old Irish. The greatest departure from ancient methods consists in the insistence now upon the rule of "Broad to broad and small to small." That is to say, a consonant must be flanked by vowels of the same quality, the "broad" being *a, o, u*, and the "small" *e* and *i*. Gaelic itself has fallen much away from the inflexional fulness of Old Irish. Practically there are only two cases—nom. and gen.: the dative is confined to the singular of feminine nouns (*a*-declension) and to the plural of a few words as laid down in the grammars but not practised in speech. The rich verbal inflexion of the old language is extremely poorly represented by the impersonal and unchanging forms of the two tenses—only two—that remain in the indicative mood. Aspiration, which affects all consonants now, (though unmarked for *l, n, r*), has come to play the part of inflection largely; this is especially the case with the article, noun, and adjective. Eclipsis by *n* is practically unknown; but phonetic decay is evidenced everywhere in the loss of inflection and the uniformising of declension and conjugation.

There are two main Dialects of Gaelic, and these again have many sub-dialects. The two leading Dialects are known as the Northern and Southern Dialects. The boundary between them is described as passing up the Firth of Lorn to Loch Leven, and then across from Ballachulish to the Grampians, and thence along

¹⁰ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

that range. The Southern Dialect is more Irish than the Northern, and it has also adhered to the inflections better (*e.g.*, the dual case still exists in feminine *a* nouns).¹¹ The crucial distinction consists in the different way in which the Dialects deal with *é* derived from compensatory lengthening ;¹² in the South it is *eu*, in the North *ia* (*e.g.*, *feur* against *fiar*, *breug* against *brìag*, &c.) The sound of *ao* differs materially in the two Dialects, the Southern having the sound opener than the Northern Dialect.¹³ The Southern Dialect is practically the literary language.

Modern Gaelic has far more borrowed words than Irish at any stage of its existence. The languages borrowed from have been mainly English (Scottish) and Norse. Nearly all the loan-words taken directly from Latin belong to the Middle or Old period of Gaelic and Irish ; and they belong to the domain of the Church and the learned and other secular work in which the monks and the rest of the clergy engaged. Many Latin words, too, have been borrowed from the English, which, in its turn, borrowed them often from French, (such as *prìs*, *cunntas*, *cùirt*, *spòrs*, &c.). Latin words borrowed directly into English and passed into Gaelic are few, such as *post*, *plaid*, *peur*, &c. From native English and from Lowland Scots a great vocabulary has been borrowed. In regard to Scots, many words of French origin have come into Gaelic through it. At times it is difficult to decide whether the Teutonic word was borrowed from Scottish (English) or from Norse. The contributions from the Norse mostly belong to the sea ; in fact, most of the Gaelic shipping terms are Norse.

I. PHONETICS.

Under the heading of Phonetics we deal with the sounds of the language—the vowels, semi-vowels, and consonants, separately and in their inter-action upon one another.

§ 1. ALPHABET.

The Gaelic alphabet consists of eighteen letters, *viz.*, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, and *u*. Irish, Old and New, have the same letters as the Gaelic. As this number of letters in no way adequately represents the sounds, signs and combinations are necessary.

Firstly, the long vowels are denoted by a grave accent: *à*, *ì*, *ù*, *è*, *ò*, the latter two having also the forms *é*, *ó*, to denote sounds analogous to those in English *vein*, *boar*. Whereas *à*, *ì*, *ù*, which have only one sound, represent corresponding Indo-European sounds (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*), none of the long sounds of *e* or *o* represent simple corresponding I.E. sound.

¹¹ ¹² ¹³ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

The Gaelic vowels are divided into two classes—broad and small. The broad vowels are *a, o, u*; the small, *e, i*. The Gaelic diphthongs¹⁴ represent (1) simple sounds, (2) real diphthong sounds, or (3) modification of the consonants and carrying out of the law of “broad to broad and small to small.” They are as follows:—

<i>ai, ao, [au]*</i>	<i>ài</i>
<i>ea, ei, eo, eu, èò</i>	<i>éi, èi</i>
<i>ia, io, iu, iù</i>	<i>ìò</i>
<i>oi, [oy]*</i>	<i>òì</i>
<i>ua, ui</i>	<i>ùì</i>

Here *ea, ei, eu* represent O. Ir. *e, é*, and are practically simple sounds, as certainly is *ao*. The forms *ia, ua* are genuine diphthongs, as are usually the long vowel combinations. The rest may be diphthongs, or may be a trick of spelling, as in the word *fiòs* (O. Ir. *fis*), where the *o* shows that the *s* has its normal sound, and not that of E. *sh*, as *fis* would imply.

Tripthongs occur in the course of inflection, and in the case of *ao* otherwise. These are—*aoi, eoi, iai, iui, uai, eòi, iùì*.

The consonants are classified in accordance with the position of the organs of speech concerned in their utterance:—

I. LIQUIDS.—The liquids are *l* and *r*, with the nasals *n* and *m*. In writing, *m* only is “aspirated,” becoming to the eye *m^h*, to the ear a *v* with nasal influence on the contiguous vowels. The other liquids, *l, n*, and *r*, are really aspirated in positions requiring aspiration, though no *h* is attached to show it.¹⁵ There is, however, only a slight change of sound made in these letters by the aspiration—a more¹⁶ voiced sound being given them in the aspirating position.

II. MUTES AND EXPLOSIVES.—These all suffer aspiration when intervocalic. They are classified as follows:—

	Tenuis.	Media.	Aspirates.
Labials.....	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p^h, b^h</i>
Dentals.....	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t^h, d^h</i>
Gutturals.....	<i>c</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ch, gh</i>

The dentals *d* and *t* become spirants¹⁷ when in contact with, or flanked by, the “small” vowels *e* and *i*. The other mutes are not affected by such contact.¹⁸ The aspirate sounds are—*p^h = f, b^h = v, t^h = h, d^h* and *g^h* before *e, i = y, ch = German and Scotch ch*.

* Dialectal, before *ll, nn, mh, bh*, though not in the script.

¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

III. THE SPIRANTS.—These, outside the above spirant-made mutes, are *f* and *s*. The sound [resembling E.] *sh* is represented by *s* flanked with “small” vowels. The aspirate forms of these are—*jh* (= the Greek open breathing or nothing practically), G. *sh* (= *h*).

Celtic Alphabet.

The Celtic alphabet, as deduced from the Neo-Celtic dialects, checked by Gaulish, possessed the following sounds :—

I. VOWELS :—

Short—*i, u, e, o, a*

Long—*ī* (= *ī, ē*), *ū, ē* (= *eī*), *ō* (= *au*), *ā* (= *ō, ā*)

Diphthongs—*ei, oi, ai, eu, ou, au*

II. LIQUIDS—*r, l, m, n*

III. SPIRANTS—(*h*), *s, j, v*

IV. EXPLOSIVES :—

	Tenues.	Mediae.
--	---------	---------

Labials.	—	<i>b</i>
---------------	---	----------

Dentals.....	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
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Gutturals.....	<i>k, kv, (p)</i>	<i>g, gv (b)</i>
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It has to be noted that Indo-European *p* initial and intervocalic is lost in Celtic.¹⁹ Before another consonant, it manifests its former presence by certain results which still remain. Thus I. E. *septn* is G. *seachd*, *supno-s* becomes *suán*.

Indo-European Alphabet.

By a comparison of the six Indo-European or Aryan language groups, the sounds possessed by the parent tongue may be inferred. The following is the form of the I. E. alphabet which is used in the present work :—

I. VOWELS : Short—*i, u, e, o, a, ə*

Long—*ī, ū, ē, ō, ā*

Diphthongs—*ei, oi, ai, eu, ou, au*

ēi, ōi, āi, ēu, ōu, āu

II. SEMI-VOWELS : *ī, u*, represented in this work, always by *j, v*. See the spirants.

III. CONSONANT-VOWELS : *r, l, ŋ, ŋ, r̄, l̄, ŋ̄, ŋ̄*

IV. LIQUIDS AND NASALS : *r, l, m, n*

V. SPIRANTS : *j, v, s, z*

¹⁹ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

VI. EXPLOSIVES²⁰ :--

	Tenuis.	Media.	Aspirates.
Labial.....	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ph, bh</i>
Dental.....	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>th, dh</i>
Palatal.....	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>kh, gh</i>
Velar.....	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>qh, gh</i>

§ 2. VOWEL MODIFICATION.

In Gaelic the vowel or vowel combination of a syllable may undergo "mutation" (German *umlaut*) in the course of inflection or word-building. This mutation is caused by the influence exerted backward by the vowel of the next syllable now or previously existent. There are three classes of mutation in Gaelic caused either by a following (1) *e* or *i*, (2) *a* or *o*, or (3) *u*.

Mutation by "e" or "i."

- a* becomes (1) *ai* : *cat*, gen. *cait*, *damh*, g. *daimh*.
 (2) *oi* (with double liquids usually) : *dall*, pl. *doill*, *clann*, g. *cloinne*.
 (3) *ui* (with liquids) : *ball*, pl. *buill*, *allt*, g. *uillt*. Also where Irish shows *o* : *balg*, O. Ir. *bolc*, pl. *builg* ; so *clag*, *falt*, *gal*, *fuil*, *car*.
 (4) *i* : *mac*, g. *mic*. Dialectally *ai* becomes *ei*, especially with liquids, and in ordinary G. *eile* represents O. Ir. *aile* ; so *seileach*, too.

o becomes (1) *oi* : *sgoltadh*, *sgoilte*.
 (2) *ui* : *bonn*, g. *buinn*, *post*, g. *puist*.

u becomes *ui* : *dubh*, comp. *duibhe*.

e becomes *ei* : *beir* for **bere*, catch thou.

à, ò, ù become *ài, òi, ùi* : *làimhe, òige, dùin*.

eo, iu, ua become triphthongs ; [the digraph *ao+i* forms a diphthong.]

ea becomes (1) *ei* : *each*, g. *eich*.

(2) *i* : *ceann*, g. *ciunn* ; the usual mutation.

eu, with liquids, becomes *eòi* : *beul*, g. *bedil*. It sometimes becomes *ao* : *eudann*, *aodann*.

ia is restored to *éi* : *fiadh*, g. *féidh* ; irregularly—*fiar*, crooked, comp. *fiaire*, *biadh*, g. *bìdh*, [Dial. *béidh, beidh, bi-idh.*]

io becomes *i* : *fionn*, g. *finn*.

Mutation by "o" or "a."

o becomes *a*, a mutation of principal syllables rare in Irish : *cas*, Ir. *cos*, original **coxa* ; *cadal* for *codal*.

u becomes *o* : *sruth*, g. *srotha* ; *nuadh*, *nodha*.

e becomes *ea* : *cearc* from **cerca*.

²⁰ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

i becomes *ea* : *fear* from **viro-s*.

ei becomes *ia* : the stem *féidh* becomes *fiadh* in the nom. (**veido-s*).

ì becomes *ìo* : *fìor* from **vîro-s*.

Mutation by "u."

A succeeding *u* affects only *i* or *e* ; it is a mutation which does not now operate. Thus *fiodh* comes from **vidu-* (O. Ir. *fid*) ; *bior* from **beru* (O. Ir. *bir*) ; *slíochd* from *slektu-* ; *cionn* from the dat. **cennū*, from **cennō*.

§ 3. INDO-EUROPEAN AND GAELIC VOWELS.

The representation in Gaelic of the I. E. vowels is very complicated owing to the principles of mutation discussed above.

I. E. *i*.

- (1) Gaelic *i*, O. Ir. *i*, W. *y*.
bíth, world, O. Ir. *bíth*, W. *byd*, Br. *bed* : **bitu-s*, root *gi*. So *ith*, *fidir*, *nigh*, *fír* (gen. and pl. of *fear*), as also *níd* from *nead*, etc.).
- (2) G. *ea*, O. Ir. *e*.
beatha, life, O. Ir. *bethu* : **bitús*, stem **bitát-*, root *gi*. So *eadh*, *it*, *fear*, *geamhradh*, *meanbh*, *nead*, *seas*, *seasg*, *sleamhainn*, *sneachd*.
- (3) G. *io*, O. Ir. *i*.
G. *fiodh*, wood, O. Ir. *fid*, W. *gwydd*, Br. *gwez* : **vidu-*. So *fios*, *iodh-*. The *io* of *fionn*, O. Ir. *find* is due to the liquid and medial mute, which together always preserve the *i* and even develop it from an original *ɨ* or *en* (*ɨb*, *ɨd*, *ɨg*).
- (4) G., O. Ir. *iu*.
This is a mutation by *u* : *fíoch*, wet, from **vliqu-* ; *tiugh*, **tigu-s*.

I. E. *u*.

- (1) G., O. Ir. *u*, W. *w* (*o*).
G., O. Ir. *sruth*, stream, W. *frwl* : **srutu-s*. So *bun*, *dubh*, *guth*, *muc*, *musach*, *slug*, *smug*, *tulach*.
Here add G. *ui* : *cluinn*, *luibh*, *uisge*.
- (2) G., O. Ir. *o*.
bonn, bottom, O. Ir. *bond*, W. *bon*, **bundo-s*. So *bothan*, *con*, *dogs*, *do-*, *so-*, *domhan*, *dorus*, *tom*, *os*, *trod*.

I. E. *e*.

- (1) G., O. Ir. *e*, W. *e*.
Simple *e* is rare in G. : *leth*, side, O. Ir. *leth*, W. *lled*, **letos*. So *teth*, hot.

- (2) G. *ea*, O. Ir. *e*.
G. *each*, horse, O. Ir. *ech*, W. *ebol*, Lat. *equus*. So numerous words—*each*, space, *bean*, *beart*, *cearc*, *ceart*, *dearc*, *dearg*, *deas*, *fearg*, *geal*, *geas*, *meadhon*, *meanmna*, *meas*, *neart*, *reachd*, *seach*, *seachd*, *sean*, *searg*, *teach*, *teas*, *treabk*.
- (3) G. *ei*, O. Ir. *e*.
G. *beir*, take, O. Ir. *berim*, W. *adfer*, Lat. *fero*. So *beil* (*meil*), *ceil*, *ceirtle*, *ceithir*, *creid*, *deich*, *deis*, [Dial.] ready, *meirbh*, *seinn*, *teich*, *teine*.
- (4) G., O. Ir. *i*.
G., O. Ir. *fine*, tribe, root *ven*, O. H. G. *wini*, Ag. S. *wine*, friend. So *cineal*, *gin*, *ite*, *mil*, *misg*, *sinnsear*, *tigh*, *tighearna*.
- (5) G. *io*, O. Ir. *i*.
G. *bior*, spit, O. Ir. *bir*, W. *ber*, Lat. *veru*. So *iol*-, *sliochd*, *smior*, *biolaire*, *ciomach*, *tiòram*.
- (6) G. *ui* in *ruith*, *ruinn* = *rinn* (bis), *ruighinn* and *righinn* : (Cf. *roinn*, [Dial.] did, for *rinn* ; *ruigheachd*). So *trusdair*, *stuthaig*.
- (7) Compensatory long vowels in G. and O. Ir. These arise from loss of one consonant before another, one of which must be a liquid.
- a. *ent* becomes G. *eud*, O. Ir. *ét*. G. *ceud*, first, O. Ir. *cét*, W. *cynt*. So *seud*, journey. Similarly **enk* ; G. *eug*, death, O. Ir. *éc* ; **brenkd*, G. *breug*, lie, O. Ir. *bréc*, ; **enkt*, G. *euchd*, E. Ir. *écht* (Cf. *creuchd*, **crempt*- ?) ; **centsó* ; G. *ceus*, crucify. Parallel to these forms in *ent*, *enk* are those in *nt*, *nk*, such as *ceud*, one hundred, O. Ir. *cét*, W. *cant*, Lat. *centum* (so *deud*, *eug*, *geug*).
- b. *ehl* : in G. *neul*, cloud, O. Ir. *nél*, W. *níwl*.
egr : in G. *feur*, grass, O. Ir. *fér*, W. *gwair*.
egn : in G. *feun*, O. Ir. *fén* : **vegno-s*.
etl : in G. *sgeul*, O. Ir. *scél*, W. *chwedl*.
etn : in G. *eun*, O. Ir. *én*, W. *edn*.
- c. G. *eadar* and *thig* show short vowels for original **enter* and *enk*. This is due to sentence accent in the case of *eadar* and to the word accent in the case of *thig* or to both.

For *ceum*, *leum*, etc., see under *u*.

I. E. o.

- (1) G., Ir. *o*.
G. *co*-, *comh*-, with, O. Ir. *co*-, *com*-, W. *cy*-, *cyf*-, **kom*- ; so *ro*- (= Lat. *pro*), *fo* (= Gr. *ἰπρό*), *nochd*, naked, night, *ochd*, *mol*, *bodhar*, *gon*, *gort*, *roth*.

(2) G., O. Ir. *u, ui*.

G., O. Ir. *muir*, sea, W. *môr*, Br. *mor*, from **mori*. So *druim* (**dros-men*), *guidhe*, *guil*, *guin*, *sguir*, *suidhe*, *uidhe*, *wileann*, *wirean*, *gu*, *to*, *cu*, *fu*, *fur*- (*for* = **vor*).

(3) G. *a*, O. Ir. *o*.

G. *cas*, foot, O. Ir. *cos*, W. *coes*, **coxâ*. So *amh*, *balg*, *call*, *falt*, *gart*, *gar*, *calltuinn*. So, too, compounds. With *con* as in *zagainn*, *cadal*, *cagar*, *caisg*, as against *coguis* (O. Ir. *conculus*), with its *u* sound terminal.

4 Compensatory long vowels.

G. *dual*, lock of hair, **doglo*-, Got. *tagl*, Eng. *tail*. So *òl* (**potlo*-), *buain*, (**bog-ni*- or **bongni*-), *cluain*, *cuan*, *bruan*, *sròn*, *còmh*-.

I. E. *a*.

(1) G. *a, ai*, O. Ir. *a*, W. *a*.

G., O. Ir. *can*, sing, W. *cana*, Lat. *cano*. So many words, such as *abhainn*, *ad*-, *agh*, *air*, *altrum*, *anail*, *anam*, *cac*, *damh*, *gad*, *mac*, *maide*, *marc*, *nathair*, *salann*, &c.

(2) G. *à* before *rd*, *rn*, *m*.

See *àrd*, *bàrd*, *bàrr*, *càrn*, *sgàird*, *càm*, *àm*, *màm*.

(3) G. *i*.

In two cases only : *mac*, g. *mic* ; *sile* [Dial. for *seile*], saliva, O. Ir. *saile*.

(4) G. *u, ui*.

This happens in contact with liquids. The prep. *air* becomes *ur*-, *uir*-, *urchar*, *wireasbhuidh*. So *muigh* from **magesi*. Common in oblique cases : *allt*, g. *uillt*, *ball*, *buill*, &c.

(5) G. *ea, ei* for *e*.

G. *seileach*, willow, E. Ir. *sail*, W. *helyg*, Lat. *salix*. So *ealtuinn*, *eile*, *eir*- for *air*-, *eilean*, [Dial.] training, *deigh*, ice.

(6) G. *oi*.

This change of I. E. *a* into Gaelic *oi* is due mostly to a liquid followed by a "small" vowel.

G. *oil*, rear, E. Ir. *ailim*, Lat. *alo*. So *oir* for *air*-, *coileach*, *goir*, *trough*, *coire*, *loinn*, &c., and *goid*, *cide*.

(7) Compensatory lengthenings in G.

a. As *à, ài* :

G. *dàil*, meeting, O. Ir. *dál*, W. *dadl*, where *-atlo-* is the original combination. *-agr-* appears in *nàire*, *sàr*, *àr*.

b. As *eu*, *ao*, *ia* :

It has been seen that *ceud*, hundred, corresponds to W. *cant*, Lat. *centum*. The Celtic, in these cases, is regarded as having been *nt*, *nk*, (**knto-n*). See under *n*.

An undoubted case of *a* landing by compensation into *eu* (= *é*) is *deur*, tear, O. Ir. *dér*, O. W. *dacr*, I. E. *dakru*. Prof. Strachan has extended this analogy to words like *meur*, *breun*, *léine*, *sgeun*, *mèanan*. The case of *deur* seems rather to be an anomaly.²¹

I E. *ə*.

This is the I. E. "indefinite" vowel, appearing in Celtic as *a*, in the Asiatic groups as *i*, and generally as *a* in Europe (Greek showing also *ε*). Henry denotes it by *ä*, a more convenient form than Brugmann's *ə*. Some philologists refuse to recognise it.

G. *athair*, father, O. Ir. *athir*, I. E. *pāter-*, Gr. *πατήρ*, Skr. *pitar*.

It is common in unaccented syllables, as G. *anail*, breath, W. *anadl*, **ans-tla*, Gr. *ἄνεμος*. In the case of syllables with liquids it is difficult to decide whether we have to deal with *a*, *ə*, or a liquid vowel; as in G. *ball*, member, **bhal-no-*, root *bhsl*, whence Gr. *φαλλός*, Eng. *bole*.

I. E. *Long Vowels*.

I. E. *ī* and *ū* are so intimately bound with *ei* and *eu* (*ou*) that it is difficult to say often whether we have to deal with the simple vowel or the diphthong as the original. For *ī* see *lī*, *sīn*, *sgīth*, *brīgh*; for *ū*, see *cūl*, *dūil*, element, *dūn*, *clīū*, *mūch*, *mūin*, *rūn*, *ūr*. The W. in both cases (*ī*, *ū*) show simple *i*.

I. E. *ē* appears in Celtic as *ī*, G. *ì* : as in G. *fīor* (*fīr*), true, O. Ir. *fīr*, W. and Br. *gwir*, Lat. *vērus*. So *līon*, *mīal* (*mīol*), *mīos*, *rīgh*, *sīth*, *sīol*, *sīor*, *tīr*, *snīomh*.

I. E. *ō* and *ā* appear both as *ā* in the Celtic languages—Gaelic *á*, W. *aw*, Br. *eu*. For *ō*, see *blāth*, *gnāth*, *lār*, *dān*, *snāth*. For *ā*, see *bān*, *brāthair*, *cnāimh*, *cār*, *clār*, *dāimh*, *fāidh*, *gāir*, *māthair*, *sāth*, *tāmh*. But *rōin*, *rōn*, *nòs*, *mòin*, all from *á*? *ò* in finals, etc., may equal *u* : **svesor* = O. Ir. *siur*, *fiur*, Med. Ir. *siúr*.

I. E. *Diphthongs*.

I. E. *ei* (*ej*?) appears in G. in two forms—as *éi* and *ia*. Thus—
a. G. *éi*, O. Ir. *éi*, W. *wy*, Br. *oe*, *oa*. See *féith*, *géill*, *méith*, *réidh*, *séid*, *snéid*.²²

²¹ ²² See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

b. G. *ia*, O. Ir. *ia*. This is due to the influence of a succeeding broad vowel. See *cia*, *ciall*, *cliathach*, *criathor*, *fiadh*, *flanuis*, *giall*, *iarunn*, *liagh*, *riadh*, *riar*, *sgiath*, *sliabh*. Consider these—*feuch*, *lean*, *glé*, and, possibly, *geadh*.

I. E. *oi* (*ōj*?). This consistently appears in G. as *ao* long, O. Ir. *ái*, *ói*, later *oe*, *ae*, (*ōe*, *áe*), W., Br. *u*. See *caomh*, *claon*, *fráoch*, *gaoth*, *gaol*, *laogh*, *maoin*, *maoth*, *taobh*.

I. E. *ai* can with difficulty be differentiated from *oi*; certainly not on Celtic ground, nor, indeed, outside Greek and Latin. The following are real cases: G. *aois*, *caoch*, *saothair*, *taois*.

I. E. *eu* and *ou* are also confused together in the modern Celtic languages. They both appear as either G. *ua* or *ò*.

a. G. *ua*, O. Ir. *úa*, W., Br. *u*.

G. *buaidh*, victory, O. Ir. *buaid*, W. *bud*, Gallo-British *Boudicca*, "Victoria." See also *buachaill*, *cluas*, *luath ruadh*, *ruathar*, *truagh*, *tuath*, *uasal*.

b. G. *ò*; as *bòidheach* from *buaidh*, *tròcair* from *truagh*, *lòchran*, *còs* for *cuas*.

I. E. *au*²³ appears in G. as *ò* or *ua*, much as do *eu*, *ou*. Thus—G. *gò*, a lie, O. Ir. *gó*, *gáu*, W. *gau*, Br. *gaou*. Also *òigh*, virgin, from *augi*-, *fuachd*, *uaigneach*.

§ 4. I. E. SEMI-VOWELS AND CONSONANT VOWELS.

The semi-vowels are denoted by Brugmann as *i* and *u*, by Henry as *y* and *w*; and these forms are used by them not merely for intervocalic semi-vowels but also for the diphthongs which we have printed as *ei*, *oi*, *ai*, *eu*, *ou*, *au*, which Henry, for instance, prints as *ey*, *ew*, etc. In this work Fick is followed in the forms of the diphthongs, and also, where necessary, in his signs for the semi-vowels, viz., *y* and *v*, with *j* and *v* as signs for the spirants.

I. E. *y*, *j*, *v*.²⁴

I. E. *y* and *j* disappear in Gadelic, but are preserved in the Brittonic as *i*. Thus *ìoc*, heal, O. Ir. *íccaim*, W. *jach*, I. E. *yakos*, Gr. ἄκος, Skr. *yácas*; see *deigh* and *òg*. For I. E. *j*, compare G. *eòrna*, for *eò-rna*, **jevo*-, Gr. ζεία, spelt, Skr. *yáva*; also *eud*, jealousy, **jantu*-, Gr. ζήλος, zeal, Skr. *yatná*.

I. E. *v* is thus dealt with:—

- (1) Initial *v*: G., O. Ir. *f*, W. *gw*, as in G. *falt*, hair, Ir. *folt*, W. *gwalt*; also *fàidh*, Lat. *vâtes*, *feachd*, *fear*, Lat. *vir*, *fiadh*, *fichead*, *fne*, *fiodh*, with succeeding consonant in *flath* (**vlati*-), *fluch*, *fraoch*, *fras*, *freumh*, etc.

²³ ²⁴ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

- (2) Intervocalic *v*. This disappears in G. leaving the vowels to coalesce with varying results, thus:—
- ivo- produces *eò*, as in *bèd*, *givo-s, Lat. *vivus*, or *ia* in *biadh* (*bivoto-n, cf. *dia*), *dian*.
 - evo- produces *eò*, as in *ceò*, *skevo-, Eng. *shower*; *deò*, W. *dywy*, *devo-, Lat. *fūmus*, *còrna*. Stokes gives *cliù* as *klevos, Thurneysen as *kloves*.
 - ovi- gives *nuadh*, *novios, -ovo- in *crò* (*krovos), -ovv- in *òg*.
 - avi- in *ogha* (*pavios); *dàth* (*daviò); -avo- in *clò*.
 - eivi- in *glé*, -eivo- in *dia*.
- (3) Post-consonantal *v*.
- After liquids it becomes *bh*. See *garbh*, *marbh*, *searbh*, *tarbh*, *dealbh*, *sealbh*, *meanbh*, *banbh*.
 - After explosives it disappears save after *d*, (*gv*): *feadhbh*, widow, O. Ir. *fedb*, *faobh*, *baobh*. For *gv*, see *g* below.
 - After *s*, it sometimes disappears, sometimes not. Thus *piuthar* is for *svesòr, O. Ir. *siur*, whereas in *searbh* (*svervo-s), *solus* (but *folas*), *seinn*, etc., it disappears.

The Consonant Vowels.

These are *r*, *l*, *u*, *u*; *r̄*, *l̄*, *ū*, *ū*. The regular representation of *r*, *l* in G. is *ri*, *li* (mutated forms being *rei*, *lea*, *lei*). See the following regular forms: *bris*, *britheamh*, *fri*, *lit*; also the modified forms—*bleath*, *bleoghainn*, *breith*, *cleith*, *dreach*, *leamhann*, *leathan* (?), *sreath*.

The numerous Gaelic *a* forms of I. E. *e* roots containing liquids fall to be noticed here. Some of them Brugmann explains as glides before sonants, somewhat thus: G. *mair*, remain, O. Ir. *maraim*, would be from *m̄ra-*, root *mer*, Lat. *mora*; so *sgar* from *sker*; *garbh*, *marbh*.

Add the following:—*alt*, *carbad* (Lat. *corbis*), *bàrr*, *bàrd*, *cairt*, *garg*, *mall*, *dall*, *sgàird* (Lat. *muscerda*), *tart*, *tar*; *fras*, *flath*, *fraigh*, *graigh*, *braich*. With modified vowels in—*coille* (*caldet-), *doire*, *foil*, *goile*, *goirid*, *sgoil*.

The long vowels *r̄* and *l̄* appear regularly as *rā* (?) *lā*. See *làn* (*p̄l̄-no-, Skr. *pūrnas*), *slàn*, *tlàth*, *blàth*. Long *r̄* seems to appear as *ār* in *dàir*, *màireach*, *fàireag* (?).²⁵

Vocalic *n* and *m* may be looked for in G. *sanhail*, which Brugmann explains as *sn̄m̄li-s*, in *tana*, thin; reversed in *magh* and *nag*.

Compensatory *u* plays a great part in G., appearing usually as *eu* (*ao*). We have *ceud*, hundred, W. *cant*, *deud*, W. *dant*, *teud*,

²⁵ See *Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*.

eud, eug, eudann, éiginn, geug. The negative *n* appears before vowels as *an*, before *c, t,* and *s*, as *eu, éi: eutrom, éisleán, &c.* The most curious result arises from *-ngm-*, which ends in G. as *eum-*; see *ceum, W. cam, leum, W. lam,* and add *teum, W. tam,* from **tnd-men.*

Before the medials *b, d, g,* both *n* and *m* become *in (ion), im (iom),* and original *in* retains its *i* (cf. *fionn*). Thus we have *im-, iom-* from *m̄bi, Lat. ambi,* also *im, ionga, imleag, ciomach.*

I. E. "r" and "l" Liquids.

Gaelic *r* and *l* represent the I. E. liquids *r* and *l*. Initially we may select *rámh, reachd, ruadh, rùn, loch, laigh, labhair, leth*; after *p* lost—*ro, ràth, làmh, làn, làr.* Medially *r* and *l* are "aspirated," but the sounds have no separate signs—*dorus, tulach, geal, meil, eile, seileach,* etc. Post-consonantal *r* and *l* appear in *sruth, srath,* etc., *chuinn, fliuch, slug,* etc. In *-br, -tr, -dr,* the combinations become *-bhar, -thar, -dhar,* while in *-cr, -gr, -bl, -tl, -dl, -cl, -gl* the respective explosives disappear with lengthening of the preceding vowel. For *-sl,* see below (*-ll*).

Ante-consonantal *r* and *l* preserve the explosives after them—*àrd, bàrd, ceart, neart, dearg, dearc, allt, calltuinn, gilb, balg, cealg, olc,* etc.

Gaelic *-rr* arises from *-rs*; see *bàrr, èarr, carraig*; from the meeting of *r* with *r*, as in *atharrach*; from *rth*, as in *orra* from *ortha, Lat. orationem.* Again *-ll* comes from *-sl*, as in *uail, coll, ciall,* etc.; especially from *-ln-*, as in *follas, ball, feall,* etc.; from *-ld-*, as in *call, coille,* and many others.

Gaelic *-rr* arises from *-rp*; *corran, searrach* (St.); Ir. *carr,* spear, *cirrim,* I cut, *forrach,* pole. KZ. 35.

I. E. "n" and "m" Nasals.

I. E. *n* and *m* appear normally in G. as *n* and *m*, save that I. E. terminal *m* in neuter nouns, accusative cases, and genitives plural, became in Celtic *n*. (1) Initial *n* appears in *nead, Eng. nest, neart, neul, nochd, naked, night, nathair, nuadh, nasg, na, not,* etc. (2) After an initial mute, *n* appears in *cnàimh, cneadh, cnò, gnàth,* etc. After *s*, in *snàth, snìomh, snuadh, snigh, sneachd.* After *b* it changes the *b* into *m* (*mnatha* for **bnás*). (3) Intervocalic *n* is preserved—*bean, làn, maoin, dàn, rùn, dùn, sean,* etc. (4) Pre-consonantal *n* is dealt with variously:

a. Before the liquids, *n* is assimilated to *m* and *l*, and disappears before *r*.

- b. Before the labials, *n* becomes *m* in modern Gaelic. Before *t*, *c*, the *n* disappears with lengthening of the previous vowel, as in *ceud*, first, *breug*, *cóig*. Before *d* and *g*, it is preserved, as in *cumhang*, *fulaing*, *muing*, *seang*, but it assimilates *d*—*fionn* (**vindo-s*), *bonn*, *inn*, *binn*. For *-ngm*, see under *n* and *g*.
- c. Before *s*, *n* disappears as before *t* and *c*. Compare *mìos*, *feusag*, *grìos*, *sìos*.
- (5) Post-consonantal *n* disappears after *l*, leaving *ll* (see under *l*), but is preserved after *r*, as in *càrn*, *èrna*, *tighearna*, etc.
- a. After *s*, that is, *-sn* becomes *-nn*; as in *dronn* for **dros-no*-, *donn*, *uinnsean*, *cannach*, *bruinne*, etc.
- b. The mutes, *t*, *d*, *c*, *g*, *p*, disappear with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel: *-tn*-, as in *eun*, *buan*, *ùin*; *-dn*-, as in *bruan*, *smuain*; *-cn*- is doubtful—cf. *tòn*, also *sgeun*, *breun*, *leòn*; *-gn*-, as in *feun*, *bròn*, *uan*, *sròn*; *-pn*-, as in *suain*, *cluain*, *cuan*; *-pn?* *tepno* = *tēn*; *apnio* = *āne* (Lit. *aps*); *lipn* = *lēn*, follow; but *supn* = *suan*; *copn* = *cuan* (Stokes); *cn*, *gn*, and *tn* initial become *r* in pronouncing; but the vowel is nasal—*gnàth* is *gràth* with nasal *à*; *bn* becomes *mn*, as in *mnaoi*, pronounced *mraoi*; even *snàth* becomes dialectally *sràth*, especially in oblique cases.
- c. After *b*, that is, *bn* changes into *mh-n*, as in *domhan* (**dubno*-), *sleamhuinn*.

The G. combination *-nn* arises therefore from (1) *n* before *n*, (2) *n* before *d*, and (3) from *-sn*; or (4) it is a doubling of *n* in an unaccented syllable at the end of a word (*tighinn*, etc.), or, rarely, of a one-syllable word like *cinn*, *cluinn*, *lìnn*. In Islay, *-in* becomes *-inn*; *duinne* is for *duine*; *minne* gen. of *min*, etc. In general, *gloinne* is comp. of *glan*.

Initial *m* appears in *mìos*, *muir*, *mil*, *maide*, etc. Before the liquids *r* and *l*, the *m* becomes *b*, as in *braich*, *brath*, *brugh*, *blàth*, *bleith*, *bleoghainn*. Intervocalic *m* is always aspirated—*geimheal*, *amhuil*, like, *cruimh*, *amh*, *damh*, *caimh*, *làmh*, *caomh*. In combinations with other consonants, various results occur:—

(1)^a Pre-consonantal *m*.

- a. Before liquids, *m* is preserved in an aspirated form (*geamh-radh*, etc.), but there are no certain ancient cases. Of course, *m* before *m* results in preserved *m* (cf. *amadan*, *comas*, *comain*).

- b. Before *s*, *m* should disappear, but no certain Celtic cases seem to occur. In the historic language, *m* before *s* results in *mp* or *p* as usually pronounced, as in *rompa* for *rom* + *so*, that is, **rom-sho*; so *iompaidh*, *umpa*.
- c. Before the explosives. Original *mb* is now *m*, as in the prefix *im-*, *iom-*, in *imleag*, *tom*. I. E. *m* before *t* and *k* (*g*) became *n* (as in *ceud*, *breug*), and disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Compare also *d̄idean*, *eiridinn*. Prehistoric *mg*, *md* fail us; in the present language both appear aspirated (*mhgh*, *mhdh*).
- (2) Post-consonantal *m*. After the liquids *r*, *l*, and *n*, the *m* is preserved. Whether an intermediate *s* is in some cases to be postulated is a matter of doubt (as in *gairm*, from **gar-s-men*? W. *garm*). See *cuirm* (W. *cwru*), *gorm*, *seirm*, *deilm*, *calma*, *ainm*, *meanmna*, *anmoch*.

After *s*, *m* becomes in the older language *mm*, now *m*; *druim* comes from **dros-men*. But *s* is very usual as an intermediate letter between a previous consonant and *m*: many roots appear with an additional *s*, which may originally have belonged to an *-es* neuter stem. We actually see such a development in a word like *snaim*, which in E. Ir. appears as *snaidm* (d. *snaidmaimm*), from a Celtic **snades-men*. In any case, a word like *ruaim* postulates a Pre-Celtic **roud-s-men*. See also *gruaim*, *seaman*, *réim*, *lom*, *trom*.

After the explosives the *m* is aspirated and the explosive disappears, as in the case of *freumh* (*vr̄dmá*); but seemingly the accented prefix *ad-* preserves the *m*: cf. *amas*, *amail*, *aimsir*.

Preserved G. *m*, intervocalic or final, may arise from (1) *m* or *n* before *m*, (2) *s* before *m* (also *-bsm*, *-tsm*, *-dsm*, *-csm*, *-gsm*), (3) *-ngm*, or *-ngm*, as in *ceum*, *leum*, *beum*, *geum*, or *-ndm* as in *teum*, (4) *ng* becoming *mb* as in *im*, *tum*, *tom*, etc., or (5) *mb* (*-mbh*), as in *im-*, *iom-*.

§ 5. VOWEL GRADATION OR ABLAUT.

The most characteristic roots of the I. E. languages are at least triple-barrelled, so to speak: they show three grades of vowels. The root *pet*, for instance, in Greek appears as *pet*, *pot*, *pt* (*πέτομαι*, fly, *ποτάομαι*, flutter, *πτερόν*, wing). The first grade—*e*—may be called the “normal” grade, the second the “deflected” grade, and the last—*pt*—the “reduced” or “weak” grade. The reason for the reduced grade is evident; the chief accent is on another syllable. Why *e* interchanges with *o* is not clear. The

leading I. E. series of vowel gradations are six in number, as follows:—

	Normal.	Deflected.	Weak.
1. <i>e</i> -series	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nīl</i>
	but <i>ei</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>i</i>
2. <i>ē</i> -series	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	∅
3. <i>ā</i> -series.....	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	∅
4. <i>ō</i> -series.....	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	∅
5. <i>a</i> -series	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	(<i>a</i>)
6. <i>o</i> -series.....	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>	(<i>o</i>)

Corresponding to the *e*, *o*, *nīl* series are the two "strong" vowel grades *ē*, *ō*, as in *sed*, *sit*, *sod*, *sēd*, *sōd*, *si-zd*, found in Latin *sedeo* (*sed*), G. *suidhe* (*sod*), G. *sìth* [properly *sìdh*], peace (*sēd*), Eng. *soot* (*sōd*), Lat. *sīdo* (*si-zd*).

The *e*-series in full is as follows:—

	Normal.	Deflected.	Weak.
<i>e</i> simple	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>nīl</i>
<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>eu</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>er</i> (or <i>el</i> , <i>en</i> , <i>em</i>)....	<i>er</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>r</i>

To all these correspond "reduced" long forms—to *ei* belongs *ī*, to *eu* belongs *ū*, and to the consonant-vowels correspond the long *ī*, *ī*, *ū*, *ū*. We may also here add the triple *ve*, *vo*, *u* (*vet*, *vot*, *ut*, as in G. *feitheamh*, *ùine*, *uiridh*; *vel*, *vol*, *ul* as in *falt*, O. Ir., Mod. Ir. *folt*, *olann*).

Some Gaelic examples will now be given.

- (1) The *e*-series. G. *eadh*, *uidhe* from **pedo-*, **podio-*; *tigh*, *tugha*, from **tegos*, **togio-*; *geas*, *guidhe* from *ged*, *god*; *cleachd*, *cleas*, *cluich*, etc. In *ei* we have the complete set *meit*, *moit*, *mīt* in *mèith*, *maoth*, *meata* or *miosa*; further *cliathach*, *clao*n from *klei*, *kloi*; *fianrus*, *fios* from *veid*, *vid*; *gaoth*, *geamhradh* from *ghoi*, *ghi*; and others. The diphthongs *eu*, *ou* cannot be differentiated, but the short form of the root occurs, as in *ruadh*, *roduidh* from *roud*, *rudd*; *buail*, *buille* from *bhoud*, *bhud*; *cluas*, *cluinn* from *kleu*, *klu*; *nuadh*, *nodha* (?). The liquids show the changes also: *beir*, *breith* from *ber*, *br*, and in the sense of speech we have also *bràth*, judgment (*bṛtu*). The root *pel* is especially rich in forms: *iol* (**pelu-*), *uile* (**polio-*), *lòn* (**plēno-*, Lat. *plēnus*, from *plē*), *làn* (either **plōno*, *plō*, Eng. *flood*, or **pl-no-*, from *pl-*), that is, root forms *pel*, *pol*, *pl*, *plē*, *plō*, *pl̄*, meaning "full." In *n* we have *teann*, *tana* (**tendo-* *tṛnavo-*, according to Brugmann), and *teud*; from *gen* we get the long forms *gnē* in *gnìomh* and *gnō* in *gnàth*. In *nem* we have *nèamh*, heaven, O. Ir. *nem*, and *nàmhaid*, foe, from *nōm* (Gr. *νομάω*).

- (2) The \bar{e} and other series. One of the best examples of the \bar{e} series is *snē*, *snō* (*snā*), spin, which gives *snlomh* (**snēmu-*) and *snāth*, thread (**snātio-*). From *sē* comes *sìol* (**sēlo-*) and, possibly, *sāth*, transfix (*sōto-*). The \bar{a} -series is not differentiated in G. nor is the \bar{o} -series; but from *a* short we get, among others, the root *āg*, lead, in *aghuidh*, etc., and *āg* in *āgh*, success, *āghach*, warlike. The diphthong *ai* has as its "reduced" grade *i*. The name *Aodh* in Mackay represents O. Ir. *Aed*, *aed*, fire, Gr. *αἶθω*, I burn.

§ 6. THE SPIRANTS.

The I. E. spirants were *j*, *v*, *s*, and *z*. We have already discussed *j* and *v* under the heading of semi-vowels, from which it is difficult to differentiate the consonantal *j* and *v*. Here we deal with *s* and *z*, and first with *s*.

- (1) Initial *s*. Before vowels and the liquids, I. E. *s* remains intact in Gadelic. In Brittonic *s* before vowels becomes *h*; before *l*, *n*, and *m*, it disappears, while before *r* it or its resultant effect is preserved (see *sruth*, *srath*, *srōn*).

a. I. E. *sv* appears in Gadelic as *s* usually, more rarely as *f* and *p* or *t*; in W. the form is *chw*. See *searbh*, *seal*, *sē*, *sibh*, *séid*, etc. The G. *pruthar* appears in Ir. as *siur*, *fiur*, from **svesōr*, while *pill* (**svelni-*) gives *fill* and *till*; compare also *séisd* (*téis*).

b I. E. *sp* (*sph*) is treated in Celtic much as *sv*. And *spr* appears as *sr*; cf. *srōn*, *straighlich*, *slis*, *sonn*, *sealg*, *sine*.

I. E. *st* appears in Gadelic as *t*, as in *tigh*, *tà*, *tighinn*, *taois*. But *str*, *stl*, become *sr*, *sl*, as in *srath*, *sreothart*, *sreang*, *slìos*, *slat*, *sloinn*, *slaid*. Some hold that *st* may appear as simple *s*, which is the case in Welsh, but the instances adduced can be otherwise explained (cf. *seirc*, *sàil*, *searrach* (St.), *seall*).

I. E. *sq*, *sqh*, appear in Gaelic as *sg*, O. Ir. *sc*, as in *sgàth*, *sgath*, *sguir*, etc. The W. precedes the *sg* with a *y* as in *ysgwyd*, Ir. *sgiath*, G. *sgiath*, shield: I. E. *sqv* is in W. *chw*, as G. *sgeul*, W. *chwedl*, *sgeith*, W. *chwylu*.

I. E. *shn* appears in Gaelic as *sn*, as in *sneadh*.

- (2) Intervocalic *s*. This becomes *h* and disappears; compare *tagh* (**to-gusó*), *do-*, *chà*, etc.
- (3) Terminal *s* disappears altogether; but in closely connected combinations of words its former existence is known from the so-called euphonic *h*, as in the article genitive feminine and

nom. plural before vowels (*na h-dighean* = **sen-lás augeis*), also O' H- of Irish; and it may be the origin in most cases of prothetic *s*.

- (4) Pre-consonantal *s*. A prehistoric case of *-sr* is not forthcoming, but *éirich* comes from **ek-s-regô*. Before *l*, *m*, and *n* the *s* disappears, and the liquid is doubled (*m* of Gaelic being for older *mm*), as already shown under these letters. Medial *sv* appears as *f* in the older language (see *seinn*), and it is still seen in *tíbhann* (**to-sven-*), *feabhas*.

Before the explosives, *s* is preserved before the tenues, which in the modern language become mediæ. The combination *sp* is not certain; but *-sc* becomes *-sg* (see *fasgadh*, *seasg*, *measg*, etc.), *st* becomes *s* (older *ss*) simply, as in *seas* (= **sisto-*), *fois*, *fàs*, *dos*, etc. Before the medials *s* becomes *z*, which see for results in Gaelic; **sg* becomes *g*; *sp* becomes *s*.

- (5) Post-consonantal *s*. After the liquid *r* the *s* is assimilated to the *r*, and the result is *rr*, as in *tàrr*, *èarr*, etc. From *-ls* seemingly *s* results, at least in the later language; *-ms*, *-ns* become *s* with compensatory lengthening for the previous vowel; *-ds* becomes *t*, as in *an t-each* (= **sindos eqos*); Thn. adds *fitir* (= **vid-sar*). For *m-sh* = *mp*, see under *m*.

The explosives combine with the *s* and disappear into O. Ir. *ss*, now *s*, as in *uasal* (= **oups-* or **ouks-*), *lus*, *leas* (**led-so-*), *lios*, *as*, out (= *eks*), and many others.

Gaelic preserved *s* intervocalic, therefore, arises from (1) *st*, as in *seas*; (2) from *-ms*, *-ns*, as in *mios*; and (3) from *-ps*, *-ts*, *-cs*. Gaelic *-st* arises from this *s* by a sort of modern restoration of previous *st*, only, however, *x* may also become modern *st* (as in *aiste*, now *aisde*, out of her). Final *x* disappears, as in *caora*, *sè*.

I. E. z.

Even in I. E. this is assured only before the medial explosives. Thus G. *nead*, nest, is from I. E. *nizdo-s*: so *maide*, brood, *cead*, gad, *séid*. Again *-zg* seems to have developed in G. into *g*; compare *beag*, *biog*, *mèag*, *griogag*, *eagal* (= *ex-gal-*), *rag*.

§ 7. THE EXPLOSIVES OR MUTES.

The I. E. explosives formed a possible sixteen in number between tenues, mediæ and the double set of aspirates (*ph*, *bh*, *th*, *dh*, *kh*, *gh*, *qh*, *gh*). The tenues aspirate were "rare and of no importance" in the resulting languages, save only in Sanskrit and Greek. The mediæ aspirates are the predecessors of aspirates of the modern languages. But in the Celtic languages these mediæ

aspirates were merged into the mediæ themselves, so that *b* and *bh* appear in Celtic as *b*, *d* and *dh* as *d*, *g* and *gh* as *g*, and *g* and *gh* as *g*. The Balto-Slavonic, in this matter, shares the peculiarity of the Celtic.

All the explosives, when intervocalic, are "aspirated" in Gaelic—*p* to *ph*, *b* to *bh* (= *v*), *t* to *th* (= *h*), *d* to *dh* (= *y*), *c* to *ch*, *g* to *gh*, (= *y*); the corresponding Welsh changes are the tenues to mediæ, and the mediæ to *f*, *dd*, and *nil* in the case of *g*. Intervocalic preserved explosives in Gaelic arise from a doubling of the explosive, the cause of which in many cases is obscure. The following are the leading cases and causes of intervocalic G. mutes :

- (1) Doubling of the explosive in the course of inflection or word-building.
 - a. Inflection. The participle passive in *-te* preserves the *t* or *d* of the root as *t*; thus [*caith* gives *caithte*,] *bàth* (for *bàdh*) gives *bàite*, *ràdh* gives *ràite*, etc.
 - b. Word-building. The prepositional prefixes which end or ended in a consonant preserve the succeeding explosive; even vowel-ending prepositions like *air* (**are*), *with* (**atì*) do the same, if the accent is on the preposition. Thus—*abair* is for *ad-ber*, *aitreabh* is for *ad-treb*, *aidich* is for *ad-dam*, *faic* for *ad-ces*, *agair* for *ad-gar*. In the way of affixes, we have *ruiteach* from *rud-t* and *ruicean* from *rud-c*, *creid* from **cred-dhò*; compare the compounds *boicionn*, *laicionn*, and *craicionn*.
- (2) After sunk *n* or *m*. Thus *deud* comes from *dnt*, and so with *ceud*, *teud*; *ceud*, first, from **cento-*, so *seud*; *evg* from *ṅko-*, etc.
- (3) After sunk spirant *z*. This is assured for *zd*, as in *brod* (**broz-do-*, Norse *broddr*), *cead*, *gad*, *maide*, *nead*; but *zg* giving *g* is doubtful—*eagal* seems for **es-gal* or **ex-gal-*, *beag* for *gvezgo-s* (Lat. *vescus*), *mèag* for *mezgo-*.
- (4) Cases corresponding to double explosives in other languages: *cat* and Lat. *catta* (borrowing ?), *cac* and Gr. *κάκκη*. Compare also *slug*.
- (5) Doubtful cases. Many of these cases can be satisfactorily explained as due to suffixes immediately affixed to consonant-ending roots. Thus *brat* may be for *brat-to-*, *trod* for *trud-do-*, *ìoc* for **yak-ko-*, *breac* for *mrg-ko-*. Even suffixes in *-bho-* and *-go-* (Eng. *k* in *walk*) are not unknown, and they might account for *reub* (**reib-bo-*, **reib-bho-*, Eng. *reap*, *rip*), *slug* for *slug-go-*, etc. Dr Whitley Stokes has given a different theory founded on the analogy of a Teutonic phonetical law, stated

thus by Brugmann : “*bn, dn, gn* became *bb, dd, gg* before the principal accent in primitive Teutonic, thence *pp, tt, kk* (by Grimm’s law), which were further treated just the same as *pp, tt, kk*, which had arisen from *pn, tn, qn*, and from I. E. *bhn, dhn, ghn, ghn*. . . . O. H. G. *sluccho, slukko*, glutton [**sluk-no-*], M. H. G. *sluchen*, gulp, have hiccup, allied to Gr. *λύζω, λυγγανόομαι*, I have hiccup.” These last words are allied to G. *slug*, which Dr Stokes refers to a pre-Celtic **slug-nó*, the accent being on the suffix *-no-*. The weakness of this hypothesis lies in the fact that uniform results are not found from it. Thus *breac*, from *mrg-nó*, should be *breag*, not *breac*, on the analogy of *slug*.

I. E. *p*.

Initial and intervocalic I. E. *p* disappears in Gaelic, as in *athair*, Lat. *pater*, *eun* for **pet-no-*, *eadh* for *pedo-*, *iasg* against Lat. *piscis*, *ibh* against *bibo* (for *pibo*), *làr* against Lat. *plenus*, *làr* and Eng. *floor*, etc. For intervocalic *p*, see *fo* (**upo*), *for*, *teth*, *caora*, (**kaperax*), *saor*, (**sapiros*), etc.

Lat. and G. agree in the initial of the numeral five—*quinque* and *cóig*, though the I. E. was *penqe*. In *feasgar* the G. gutturalises an original *vesperos* without Latin countenancing it. Initial *sp* appears as *s*; see *sealg*, spleen, *sonn*, *sliseag*, *sine*, *sir*.

When *p* appears before the liquids and *t*, *c*, or *s*, it is not lost in G.; it leaves its influence either in a new combination or in compensatory lengthening. Thus *suain* is for *supno-s*, and see *chuain*, *cuan*. G. *dias* seems from **steip-s-d*, W. *twys*, and *uasal* may have had an original form like *ὕψηλός*, Eng. *up*. (Cf. *teanga* and *díngua*). In *seachd*, Lat. *septem*, the *p* is gutturalised; we may add here **neachd*, O. Ir. *necht*, Lat. *neptis*, Eng. *niece*; *creuchd*, *drèachd*. Possibly *leac* may be for *lep-ká*.

G. intervocalic *p* is, of course, due to some combination. In *leapa*, genitive of *leabaidh*, it arises from **leb-tha*; and we must explain similarly *tap* (**tabaidh* arising from **tab-tha*); so *raip*, *streap*.

For *t* taking the place of *p* through an initial *h* compare the derivations offered for *torc*, *turlach*, *tuil*, *tlàm*, *tlùs* for *liths*.

I. E. *b, bh*.

These two become *b* in Gaelic and the other Celtic languages, I. E. *b* is rare in any language; in G. it appears in *ibhim* (**pibó*). *treabh*, *domhain* and *drùchd* (**dhreub-tu-*).

(1) Initial I. E. *bh*, G. *b*. See *beir*, *balg*, *ball*, *bàn*, *blàth*, bloom, *bragh*, *bruthainn*, *buaidh*.

- (2) Intervocalic I. E. *bh*, G. *bh* (= *v*), O. Ir. *b*, W. *f*. See *abhainn cràbhach*, *dubh*, *gobhal*.
- (3) Pre-consonantal *bh* or *b*.
- a. Before *r* it remains—*abhra*, *gabhar*, *dobhar*, Gaul. *dubrum*.
- b. Before *l* it disappears with compensatory lengthening—*neul* for *neblo-s*.
- c. Before *n* it becomes *mh* now—*sleamhuinn* is for **slìbno-s*, Eng. *slippery*; so *domhain*. These are I. E. *b*.
- d. Before *t*, I. E. *b* becomes *ch* as in *drùchd*.
- (4) Post-consonantal *b*, *bh*. It is preserved after the liquids *r* and *l*—*carbad*, *cearb*, *earb*, *gilb*, *sgolb*. After *m* it preserves the *m*, as in *im-*, *iom-* from *ḡibi*, *ambi*. After *s* it is preserved in *eabar*; after *d* in *abair*, *leòb*, *faob*, *aobrann*; perhaps after *g* in *leabaidh*, **leg-butì* (?).
- (5) Gaelic intervocalic *b*. In *reub* and *gob* we seem to have a suffix *-bo-*, **reib-bo-*, *gob-bo*; also *cliob* from *clib-bo-*, root *qīg*, Gr. *κολοβός*, stumpy (?). Oftenest *b* is produced from a previous *d*, especially of the prefixes—as *abair*, *abadh*, *faob*, etc. (see the paragraph above).

I. E. *t*.

Initially this is Celtic *t*; intervocalic, it is aspirated, and otherwise it is variously modified.

- (1) Initial *t*, G., O. Ir., W. *t*. See, among many, *tiugh*, *tar*, *teth*, *teich*, *tais*, *tora*, *tlàth*, *tnùth*, *tri*, *treabh*.
- (2) Intervocalic *t*, G. *th* (= *h*), O. Ir. *th* (*d*), W. *d*. See *athair*, *màthair*, *ith*, *roth*, *ceithir*, *leth*, etc. Sometimes in non-accented syllables it appears as *dh*, as in *biadh* from **bivoto-s*, and this is always the case with the infinitives in *-atu-* (*glan-adh*). Irregularly *fàidh* for *fàith*.
- (3) Pre-consonantal *t* not initial. Before *r* it is preserved, as in *criathar*, *briathar*, etc. Before *l* it disappears with compensatory lengthening—*sgeul*, W. *chwedl*, *òl*, *beul*, etc.; so before *n*, as in *eun*. Before *s* the *t* disappears and the *s* is preserved, as in *miosa*, *ris*, *sàs*. Words like *fios* are from *vid-s-tu-*, formerly explained as from *vid-tu-*. Before another *t*, *t* is preserved in the resultant *t* of G., as in *ite*, etc.; *-td-* seems to become *-dd-*; *-tc-* becomes O. Ir. *cc*, G. *c*, as in *freiceadan*; *-tg-* becomes *gg*, that is *g*, as in *freagair*.
- (4) Post-consonantal *t*. After *r* and *l* it is preserved, as in *beart*, *ceart*, *ceirtle*, *alt*, *falt*; after *n* and *m* it sinks to *d*, as in *ceud*, etc. As seen, *-bt* becomes *-chd*, as in *drùchd*, while *-pt* is in *seachd*. After *c* or *g*, the *t* sinks in G. to *d*, preserving the

guttural as an aspirate: *ochd*, *nochd*, *bochd*, *reachd*. O. Ir. has *-cht* here and W. *th*.

- (5) Gaelic intervocalic *t*. The *t* of a root is preserved when the suffix begins in *t*, as [in *caithte*, spent,] in *ite*, O. Ir. *ette*, **pet-tiá*, *lit*, **pl̄t-tion*-. The *d* of the affixes preserves it, as in *aitreabh*, *taitinn*, *ruiteach*, *réit*. The *t* of the following does not belong to the ultimate root: *ciotach*, **sqvi-tto*-, Eng. *skew*, *crcit*, root *kur*, *lot*, root *lu*.

I. E. *d*. *dh*.

This is a uniform Celtic *d* initial; Gaelic *dh* between vowels and W. *dd*.

- (1) Initial *d*, *dh*. See *deas*, *dearc*, *deich*, *druim*, *dùn*, *damh*, etc., for *d*; for *dh*, *dubh*, *domhan*, *dearg*, *dorus*, *dall*; also *dlighe*.
- (2) Intervocalic *d*, *dh*. See *ficdh*, **vidu*-, *eadh*, *suidhe*, *fiadh*, *guidhe*, etc.
- (3) Pre-consonantal *d*, *dh* non-initial. Before *r*, *l*, *n*, the *d* disappears with compensatory lengthening, as in *àireamh* (**ad-rím*-) *àros*, *àrach*, *buail*, (**boud-lo*-), but *buille* is for **bud-s-lic*-; *smuigin* for *smoud-no*-. Before *m* it sometimes disappears, as in *freumh*, **vrd-mh*, but with an accented prefix the *d* and *m* become *m*, as in *aimsir*, *amal*, *amas*. With *s* it coalesces into *s*, as in *musach*, or in *uisge* for **ud-s-gio*-, or *fios* for **vid-s-tu*-. Before the explosives, with *b* it coalesces to *bb*, now *b*, as in *abair*, etc. So with *t*, as in *aitreabh*; with *d*, as in *aidich*; with *c*, as in *faic*; with *g*, as in *agair*.
- (4) Post-consonantal *d*, *dh*. The liquid *r* preserves a following *d*, as in *àrd*, *bàrd*, *sgàird*, *òrd*, etc. It assimilates with *l*, as in *coille*, *call*, *moll*, *mullach*; and with *n*, in *fionn*, O. Ir. *find*, *bonn*, O. Ir. *bond*, *binn*. For *zd*, see next paragraph. The explosives before *d* are unusual, save *t* and *d*, for which see next paragraph.
- (5) Intervocalic G. *d*. There are three sources at least for this *d* :—
- The *d* from *nt* in *ceud*, *teud*, *beud*, etc.
 - The *d* arising from the spirant *z* before *d*, as in *brod*, **brozdo*-, *cead*, *qad*, *maide*, *nead*, *druid*.
 - From *-dd*- as in *creid*, *goid*, *rodaidh*, *trod*, etc.; also *aidich*, **ad-dam*-.

I. E. “*k*” and “*q*.”

These appear in G. uniformly, as *c*; but in the Brittonic languages *q*, if labialised, becomes *p* as in Greek.

- (1). Initial *k*. See *cluinn*, *cù*, *ceud*, hundred, *cac*, *cridhe*, *caomh*, *còrn*.

Initial *q* simple. See *caraid*, W. *câr*, *ceud*, first, W. *cynt*, *coille*, W. *celli*, *cas*, W. *coes*, *coileach*, W. *ceiliog*, etc.

Initial *q* labialised, that is, *qv*: *casd*, W. *pâs*, *ciall*, W. *pwyll*, *ceithir*, W. *pedwar*, *ceann*, W. *pen*, *coire*, W. *pair*, *co*, W. *pa*, *cruimh*, W. *pryf*.

It seems clear that G. *g* at times represents I. E. *k*, *q*, as W. has the latter. Compare G. *geug* with W. *cainc*, Skr. *ḡaṅku*; but W. *ysgainc* shows the reason for the anomaly—an *s* initial has been dropped, and in dropping it the G. reduced *c* to *g*. Further compare *garmainn*, *giomach*. Cf. *dias*.

- (2) Intervocalic *k*, *q*. The G. is *ch*, W. *g*, *b*. Compare *cruch*, W. *crûg*, *fichead*, *deich*, *loch*; also *each*, W. *ebol*, *seach*, W. *heb*, etc.
- (3) Pre-consonantal *k*, *q*. Before *r*, *l*, *n*, the *c* disappears with compensatory lengthening as in *deur*, Lat. *ducrima*, *neur*, *dual*, *muineal*, *tòn*; and compare Prof. Strachan's derivations for *mènan*, *breun*, *càin*, *lèana*. With *s*, the result in G. is *s*, O. Ir. *ss*, W. *ch*, as in *uasal*, W. *uchel*. Before explosives, *cb*, *cd*, *cg* do not appear; *ct* becomes *chd*, for which see under *t* (4); for *c-c*, see paragraph (5) here.
- (4) Post-consonantal *k*, *q*. After *r* and *l*, the guttural appears as *c*, as in *cearc*, *uircean*, *malc*, *olc*, *falc*, etc. After *n* (*m*), it sinks to *g*, with a preceding long vowel, as in *eug*, *breug*, already discussed. After *s*, the *c* is preserved, but in G. it is written as *g*, as in *measg*, *nasg*, *teasg*, etc. After explosives, the *t* and *d* of the prefix or root preserves the *c* following, for which see under *t* and *d* pre-consonantal. For *c* or *g* before *c*, see next paragraph.
- (5) Intervocalic Gaelic *c*. It may arise from *-tk*, *-dk*, *-kk*, *-gk*. From *-tk* in *freiceadan* (**frith-com-ét-ân*); *-dk* in *faic*, *acarach*, *ruicean*, *acuinn*; *-kk* in *muc*, **mukkus*, *cac*, *craicionn*, *ìoc*, *leacainn*; from *-gk* in *bac*, *boc*, *breac*, *cnoc*, *gleac*. The word *mac*, son, postulates a Gadelic *makko-s* as against the Ogmic *maqvi* (gen.) and W. *mab*; it is difficult to account for the G. form.

I. E. *g*, *gh*; *g*, *gh*.

These consonants all, save in one case, appear in G. as *g*, aspirated to *gh*, and W. shows *g* and *nil* in similar circumstances. The exception is in the case of *g*, which when labialised, becomes G. and W. *b*. But *gh*, whether labialised or not, becomes *g* in G.

- (1) Initial I. E. *g*: in *guth*, *gin*, *gnàth*, *geimheal*, *gò*. I. E. *gh* is in *geamhradh*, *gabh*, *gàg*, *geal*, white. I. E. *g* simple appears in *geal*, leech, *goir*, *goile*, *gearan*, *guala*, *gràdh*; I. E. *gh* in

- gar, grian, gaol, guidhe, geas, guin.* Labialised *g* appears in *bean*, Eng. *queen*, *bior*, *bed*, *bó*, *brà*, *quern*, *bràghad*.
- (2) Intervocalic Celtic *g*. See *deigh*, *aghaidh*, *greigh*, *truagh*, *bleoghainn*, *tigh*, *bragh*, etc. In the termination of words it appears often as *ch*: *teach* (**tegos*), *mach*, (**magos*), *imlich*, *im[th]ich*, *éirich*, *fuirich*. Intervocalic *g* labialised does not seem to exist in modern G.
- (3) Pre-consonantal Celtic *g*. Here *-gr*, *-gl*, *-gn*, become *-r*, *-l*, *-n* with vocalic lengthening, as *feur*, **vegro-*, *àr*, *nàir*, *fuair*, *àl*, *fual*, *feun*, **vegno-*, *sròn*, *uam*, *tàin*, *bròn*, etc. Before *m*, *g* is found in the combination *ng-m*, which results in *m* with a preceding long vowel, as in *ceum*, *leum*, *geum*. Before *s* it becomes *x* and modern *s*, W. *ch*, as in *uasal*, W. *uchel*, as for *ex*, *os*, deer, W. *yeh*, *cas*, *las*, *uiseag*. Before explosives the *g* is variously preserved: *-gb*, *-gd* may be passed over; *-ct*, *-gt* appear as *chd*, as in *seachd*, *bliochd*, *smachd*, *nochd*, *sneachd*, etc.; *-gk* ends in *-kk*, now *c*, for which see post-consonantal *k*; *-gg* appears as *g*, as in *slug*, *bog*, *clag*, *lag*, *slige*, *smugaid*.
- (4) Post-consonantal Celtic *g*. After *r* and *l* the *g* is preserved in G., but often in W. becomes *y*; see *dearg*, *fearg*, *searg*, *garg*, *lorg*, *balg*, *cealg*, *dealg*, *tulg*. After *n* ordinary *g* is preserved, as in *cumhang*, *long*, *muing*, *seang*, *fulaing*. But labialised *g* became *b*, and then coalesced with the *n* into *mm*, now *m* as in *àm*, *butter*, Lat. *unguentum*, *tum*, *cam*, *tom*, *ciomach*, and in modern times *cum*, *keep*, from **congv* in *congghail*. For *ng-m* see the foregoing paragraph. For *sg* see the next paragraph. After the explosives, the *g* is preserved in the combinations *-tg* (*freagair*), *-dg* (*agair*), and *-gg*, which see below.
- (5) Intervocalic Gaelic *g*. It arises from *-sg* firstly, which in pre-Celtic times was *-zg*, as in *beag*, *mogul*, *griogag*, *mèag*, *eagal*, etc., which see under I. E. *z* above. From the explosive combinations we have *tg* in *freagair*, **frith-gar-*, *eagna*, *eagar*; *dg* in *agair*, *agus*. The *-gg* must arise from a suffix in *-go-*, which was operative in early Gadelic, if we discard Dr Stokes' view already set forth. Cf. Eng. *walk*, *hark*, *lurk*, *skulk*, *smirk*. For this *-gg* see paragraph third above.
- Intervocalic *g* may arise from a lost *n* before *c*, as in *breug*, *geug*, *eug*, etc. The previous vowel is lengthened save in a few cases where the word—or sentence—accent has brought about a short syllable. Thus *thig* has short *i*, and in G. *leig* is short. This is regularly the case with the results from the prefix *con*, confused with *cos*, as in *cogais*, O. Ir. *concubus*, *cadal*, *cagar*, *cogadh*, etc.

§ 8. ACCENT.

In Gaelic, only the stress accent exists, and it is placed always on the first syllable. The accent of the Old Gaelic was likewise on the first syllable, save in the case of the verb. Here in the compounded verbs the stress accent rested on, as a rule, the second syllable; but the imperative placed the accent on the first syllable, and this also took place after the negative and interrogative particles and after the conjunctions *gu'n* and *na'n* (*da'n*). Thus *faic*, see thou, is for *f-aid-c*, with accent on the preposition *ad*, for it is imperative; the future *chì* stands for the old present *at-chi*, videt, where the accent is on the root *cí*. Again in *cha'n fhaca* the negative brings the accent on the prefix *ad*, that is, *f-ad-ca*. When the accent is on the prefix, its ending consonant and the initial consonant of the root coalesce and result in a preserved G. intervocalic consonant, but the root suffers truncation: when the accent is on the root, these consonants are aspirated, and the root is preserved. The ten irregular verbs in G. present sufficient illustrations of this rule. The preposition *con*, when accented, was always *con*, when unaccented it was *com* (*comh*). In the unaccented syllables, long vowels become short (*àireamh* from **ád-rim*, *anaíl* for O. Ir. *anáil*), and in many cases change completely their grade, as from small to broad (e.g. *còmhnadh*, O. Ir. *congnam*, from *gnòmh*, and the compounds in *-radh* and *-lach*).

II. WORD-BUILDING.

Word-building consists of two parts—composition and derivation. The first deals with the compounding of separate words; the second deals with the suffixes (and prefixes) that make up the stem of a word from its root.

- (1) The compound may be two stems welded together: *righ-theach*, palace, **rigo-tegos*, “king’s house”; *righ-fháidh*, royal prophet — “king who is a prophet”; *ceann-fhionn*, white-headed, *penno-vindo-s*; *ceithir-chasach*, four-footed; *dubh-ghlas*, dark-blue; *crannchur*, lot, “casting the lot.” These are the six leading relationships brought out in compounds. In Celtic the first stem is nearly always in *o-*, as *Teuto-bōdiaci*, G. *seanmhathair* (but *Catu-slógi*, *Mori-dúnum*, G. *Muirgheal*). Consider the following compounds: *iodhlann*, *mìolchu*, *dircheard*, *buarach*, *cèardach*, *clogad*, *bàthach*, *eilthire*, *gnàth-fhocal*, *moirear*, *leth-chas*, *leth-trom*, etc.

The following are common prefixes: *ath-*, re-, *ath-ghlac*, recapture; *ban-*, she, *ban-altrum*, *bantrach*; *bith-*, ever-, *bith-bhèd*, *bith-bhuan*; *il-*, *iol-*, many; *ion-*, fit; *sìr-*, *sìor-*, ever-, *fìr-*, *fìor-*, very, *saobh-*, pseudo-

The following suffixes belong to this branch of word-building :—

- lach*, from **slougo-*, now *sluagh* ; seen in *teaghlach*, *dòrlach*, *òglach*, youth, etc.
- radh*, from **rêda*, W. *ruyd* (see *réidh*) ; seen in *reabhradh*, *madráidh*, dogs, *òigridh*, youth, *macraídh*, sons, *rìghre*, kings, *gnìomharra*, deeds.
- mhor*, -*or*, from *mór*, great ; it makes adjectives from nouns, etc. : *lìonmhor*, etc.
- ail*, like ; from *samhail*, *amhail* : *rìoghail* for *rìogh-amhail*, king-like.
- an*, diminutive masculine, O. Ir. *án*, Ogmic -*agnos*, for **apogno-s*, root *gen*, bear (Stokes) : as in *fearan*, *truaghan*, etc.
- ag*, diminutive fem. in G., O. Ir. -*óc* (masc. and fem.), from *óc*, *óg*, young : seen in *caileag*, etc.
- seach*. This feminine termination has been explained by Stokes as from O. Ir. *es*, a fem. form, with the adjectival addition **iqá*, and this *es* he deduces from W. *es*, which comes from Lat. *issa*. Cf. *baiseach*, *cláirseach*, *bonnsach*, *céirseach* or *ciarseach* (Ir.).

(2) The compound may be one noun governing another in the genitive : *mac-leisg*, and all the personal names in *mac*, *gille*, *maol*.

(3) Uninflected prefixes :

- a.* Negative prefixes—I. E. *n*, G. *an* before vowels, *aineol*, *ion-*, *in-* before *b*, *d*, *g* (*iongantás*), *eu-* (*ao-*) before *t*, *c*, *s* (*aotrom* for *é-trom*, **n-trommo-s*).

To this negative add also *mi-*, *neo-*, *as-* (*eas*), *di-* (*der*=*di-air*-).

- b.* Prefixes of quality : *do* (*do-char*), and *so-* (*so-char*) ; and the intensive *ro-*.

(4) Old adverbial forms and all prepositions. These prepositions are often combined with one or two other prepositions.

ad-, Lat. *ad* : *faic* = *f-ad-ci* ; *àireamh* (= *ad-rím*-).

aith-, *ad-*, **ati-*, *re-*, continually confused with the above prep. (*aith* gives accented *é* as in *épiur* ; *ad* gives *a* as in *aca*) : *abair* (**ad-ber*-), *agair*, *aithreachas* (**ati-réc*-), etc. Compounded with *to-* in *tagair*, *tapairh*, *taitinn*, *taitheasg*, *taísg*, etc. ; with *fo-* in *fàg* (*fo-ad-gab*).

air, 'by, on : *air-leag*, *eir-idinn*, *òir-dheirc*, *oir-thir*, *urchair*, *ùrlar*. Compounded with *com* in *comhairle* ; with *to-* in *tairis*, *tairg*, *tèarainn* ; with *di-* in *dearmad*, with *imm-* in *iomar-bhaigh*, *iomarchur*.

- as*, out, *es* : *as-eirigh*, *as-creideamh*, *eas-bhuidh*, *ei-rich*. Compounded with *air* : *uireasbhuidh* ; with *to-*, *teasaig* ; with *to-for-* in *tuairisgeul* ; with *to-fo-ar* in *tuarasdal* ; with *to-fo-* in *tuasgail*.
- eadar*, between ; *eadar-sgaradh*.
- iar*, after ; in **iarfaighim*, now *fedraich* : *iarogha*.
- in*, in ; with *to-* in *tional* and *comh-thional*. With a double *nn* in *ionnsuidh*.
- inn-*, *ionn-*, to, Gaul. *ande-* : in *fionnogha* ; with *to-* in *tionnsgainn*, *tionndadh* (Zeuss). Confused with *in*, *ind*, above.
- im-*, *iom-*, about : *iomair*, *iomradh*, *imich*, *iompaidh* (**imb-sh*). Compounded with *com* in *caochladh* ; with *to-* in *timchioll*, *tiomsach*, *tiomnadh*.
- od-*, *ud-*, out, Eng. *out* : *obann*, *obaidh*. Compounded with *aith-* in *ìobairt* ; with *di-* in *dùisg* ; with *fo* in *fògair* ; with *to-* in *tobar*, *tog*.
- con-*, *comh-*, co : *coimhead*, *comaidh*, *caisg*, *cogadh*. Compounded with *im-* in *iomchorc* ; with *con* in *cogais* (O. Ir. *conculus*) ; with *to-aith-* in *teagasg*, *teagamh*.
- di-*, *de*, de : *dimeas*, *dìoghal*, *dìomhain*, *dìreach* ; also *deach*, *dèan*.
- do-*, to : this is the unaccented form of *to-*.
- fo*, under : in *foghnadh*, *foghlum*, *falach*, *fulaing*. Compounded with *to-* in *tòrachd*, *tuisleadh* (*to-fo-ess-*) *tuarasdal* (*to-fo-ar-as-*), *tuasgail* (*to-fo-as-*).
- for*, *far*, super : in *forail*, *forradh*, *fàrdorus*, *farmad*, *furtachd*. Compounded with *to* in *tormach*, *tuairisgeul*.
- fri-*, *ri*, to, **ort*, Lat. *versus* ; it appears as *frith*, *fris* : in *freagair*, *frithheil*, *freiceadan* (*frith-com-*).
- ro-*, before : in *robhas*, *rosg*, *rabhadh*, *radharc*. Compounded in *rug* (*ro-ud-*).
- tar*, across, *tairm-* : in *teirig*, *toirmisg*.

Stem Suffixes.

The following are the most important suffixes used in Gaelic for stem formation :—

1. *o-*, *á-*, as in *cùl* (**cùlo-*), *aitreabh*, *cas* (**coxá*).
2. *tro-*, *tlo-*, *trá-*, *tlá-* : *criathar*, *krei-tro*, *anaíl*, (**ana-tlá*), *sgeul*, *cineal*.
3. *jo-*, *já-*, *ijo-*, *ijá-* : *eile*, *suidhe*, (**sod-i-on*). See *no-*, *ro-*, *tjo-*, *sqio-*.
4. *vo-*, *vá-*, *uvo-*, *uvá-* : *tarbh* (**tar-vo-*), *each* (**ek-vo-*), *beò*, (*bi-vo-*).
5. *no-*, *ná-*, *no-*, *eno-*, *ono-* : *làn*, *slàn*, *duan*, *domhan*, *leathan* (*letano-s*). It is secondary in *iarunn* ; cf. *tighearna* (**teger-nio-*).

6. *mo-, má-* : *trom, lom, caomh.*
7. *ro-, rá-, rro-*, etc. : *sìor, mór, làr, àr, bodhar.* Here comes the Gaelic numeral stem *-áro-n*, as *aonar*, one person, *cóignear*, five persons ; it is allied to Lat. *-arius, -arium*, Gaelic *-air, -eir*, denoting agents or doers—*clàrsair*, harper, etc.
8. *tero-, ero-* : in *sinnsear, uachdar, eadar.*
9. *lo-, lá-, llo-*, etc. : coll (**cos-lo*), *sìol, neul, ciall, giall.*
10. *dhro-, dro-, dhlo-, dlo-* : *odhar, uallach.*
11. *bho-, bhá-* : *earb, gob* (**gob-bo*).
12. *to-, tá-*. This is the participial termination in most I. E. languages. In G. it is used for the past passive. Also in the adjectives *nochd, bochd, gnàth*, etc. ; nouns *dligheadh, dearmad, gort.*
13. *tjo-, tjà-* : Gr. ἀμβρόσιος. This forms the passive participle in G. : *briste, caithte*, etc.
14. *tá-* of abstract nouns : *ìobairt*, now *ìobairt.*
15. *to-* comparative. This appears in the ordinal numerals : *deicheamh*, O. Ir. *dechmad*, for **dekm-meto*.
16. *ko-, ká-* : òg, young, *juvη-ko*.
17. *go-, qá-, qio-, āgo-* ; *sàileach* for **sàli-go-s* ; *cùimhneach, creidmheach*. Especially the adjectives and nouns in *ach*, as *marcach, buadhach*. Further, the form *iche* (*-iqio-s*) denoting agent ; *maraiche*, etc.
18. *sgo-, sqio-* : as in *measg, seasg, uisge.*
19. *go-, gá-* : see *muing*, Danish, *manke* ; cf. Eng. *walk, hark*, etc.
20. Stems in *i-* : *àird, muir, maith, deigh*. In *ni-, tàin, cluain, buain* ; in *mi-, cruimh, cnàimh* ; in *li-, samhail, dùil* ; in *ti-, fàith, féith, breith, bleith*, etc.—a form in which some infinitives appear.
21. *táti-*, that is, Celtic *tát-, tús* : *beatha*, life, **bitús*, g. **bi-tát-os*.
22. Stems in *u-* : *tiugh, fliuch, dub, loch*. In *nu-, linn*, O. Ir. *lín, lénu-* ; in *tu-* there are many—*bith, iodh, fìos* (**vid-s-tu*), *guth, cruth* ; especially *reachd* and its like in *chd*. Here come the infinitives in *adh* (*-ātu*).
In G. *-eas*, as of abstract nouns, the form arises from *tu-* being added to an *-es* stem : *aois, *aiv-es-tu* ; so *dorus, follus*.
23. Stems in *-n* : *cù, àra, ìm, ionga*. In *-ien*, there is *'Eire, 'Eireann*. The stems in *tiò* are very common ; the oblique cases are in *-tin-* ; see *eiridinn, faotainn*, etc. : common in infinitives. Similarly common is *-men, -mon*, in *ainm, cuirm, druim, leum* ; and masculine in *brìtheamh, ollamh, talamh*.
24. Stems in *-r* ; only the family names *athair, màthair*, etc.
25. Stems in *-t, -nt* : *nochd*, night : *caraid*, friend—a participial form.

26. Stems in *k* or *q* : G. *nathair*, g. *nathrach*, so *làir*, *lasair*, *cathair*, etc.
 27. Neuter stems in *-es* : *teach*, *leth*, *magh*, *gleann*.
 28. Comparative stems in *-jes*, *-is*, *jós* : *mò*, greater **má-jós*, *sine*, Skr. *san-yas*.

Adair in *tughadair*, *dialladair*, *figheadair*, *breabadair*, etc. (?)

Two or three stems peculiar to Gaelic may be mentioned. Adjectives in *-idh*, O. Ir. *-de*, as *diadhaidh*, come from an original *-dio-*. Endings like *maireann*, *firionn* have been correlated with the Lat. gerund, itself a much disputed form. The preserved *d* in words like *fhichead*, moisture, O. Ir. *fhúchaidatu*, has been variously referred to **antu-* or *-ato-tút* ; possibly the latter is its origin.

III. SYNOPSIS OF GADELIC ACCIDENCE.

A. DECLENSION.

1. *o*-stems. Masc. *o*-stem *ball*, member.

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Gaelic.
Sing. Nom.	ball	ball	ballos
Gen.	buill	baill	balli
Dat.	ball	baull	ballū (ballōj. <i>Jub.</i>)
Acc.	ball	ball n-	ballon
Voc.	bhuill	baill	balle
Dual N., A.	dà bhall	dá ball	ballō
G.	dà bhuill (?)		
D.	dà bhall	dib mballaib	ballobin
Plur. Nom.	buill	baill	balli (balloi)
G.	ball	ball n-	ballon
D.	ballaibh	ballaib	ballobis
A.	buill	baullu	ballōs (ball'ns)
V.	bhalla	baullu	ballōs

Neuter *io*-stem *críde*, heart.

S. N., A.	críde	críde n-	kridion
G.	críde	crídi	kridiī
D.	críde	crídiu	kridiū
V.	chríde	críde n-	kridion
Pl. N., A.	crídeachan	críde	kridia
G.	crídeachan	críde n-	krid on
D.	crídeachan	crídib	kridiobis
V.	chrídeachan	chríde	kridia

2. *á*-stems : all feminine. *cas*, a foot.

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Gaelic.
S. Nom.	<i>cas</i>	<i>coss</i>	<i>coxā</i>
	G. <i>coise</i>	<i>coisse</i>	<i>coxies</i>
	D. <i>cois</i>	<i>coiss</i>	<i>coxī (coxai)</i>
	A. <i>cas</i>	<i>coiss n-</i>	<i>coxin</i>
	V. <i>chas</i>	<i>choss</i>	<i>coxa</i>
Dual	A. <i>dà chois</i>	<i>dí choiss</i>	<i>coxē</i>
	G. <i>dà chois</i>	<i>dá choss</i>	<i>coxō</i>
	D. <i>dà chois</i>	<i>dib cossaib</i>	<i>coxābin</i>
Pl. N.	<i>casan</i>	<i>coisa</i>	<i>coxās</i>
	G. <i>cas</i>	<i>coss n-</i>	<i>cozan</i>
	D. <i>casaibh</i>	<i>cossaib</i>	<i>coxābis</i>
	A. <i>casan</i>	<i>coisa</i>	<i>coxās</i>
	V. <i>chasa</i>	<i>chossa</i>	<i>coxās</i>

3. *i*-stems. Feminine noun *sùil*, eye.

S. Nom.	<i>sùil</i>	<i>sùil</i>	<i>sùilis</i>
	G. <i>sùla</i>	<i>sùla</i>	<i>sùlōs (sùlous)</i>
	D. <i>sùil</i>	<i>sùil</i>	<i>sùlī</i>
	A. <i>sùil</i>	<i>sùil n-</i>	<i>sùlin</i>
	V. <i>shùil</i>	<i>shùil</i>	<i>sùli</i>
Dual	N. <i>dà shùil</i>	<i>dí shùil</i>	<i>sùlī</i>
	G. <i>dà shùil</i>	<i>dá sùla</i>	<i>sùlō</i>
	D. <i>dà shùil</i>	<i>dib sulib</i>	<i>sùlibin</i>
Pl. N.	<i>sùilean</i>	<i>sùli</i>	<i>sùleis (sùlejes)</i>
	G. <i>sùil</i>	<i>sùle n-</i>	<i>sùlion</i>
	D. <i>sùlibh</i>	<i>sùlib</i>	<i>sùlibis</i>
	A. <i>sùilean</i>	<i>sùli</i>	<i>sùleis</i>
	V. <i>shùilean</i>	<i>shùli</i>	<i>sùleis</i>

4. *u*-stems. Masculine noun *bith*, world.

S. Nom.	<i>bith</i>	<i>bith</i>	<i>bitus</i>
	G. <i>bith</i>	<i>betho</i>	<i>bitous</i>
	D. <i>bith</i>	<i>biuth</i>	<i>bitū</i>
	A. <i>bith</i>	<i>bith n-</i>	<i>bitun</i>
	V. <i>bhith</i>	<i>betho</i>	<i>bitou</i>
Pl. N.	<i>bithean</i>	<i>bithi</i>	<i>bitois, (bitoves)</i>
	G. <i>bith</i>	<i>bithe n-</i>	<i>bition, (bitovon)</i>
	D. <i>bithibh</i>	<i>bithaib</i>	<i>bitubis</i>
	A. <i>bithean</i>	<i>bithu</i>	<i>bitūs</i>
	V. <i>bhithean</i>	<i>bithu</i>	<i>bitūs</i>

5. Consonantal Stems.

(a). Stem in *r*; *athair*, father.

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Gaelic.
S. Nom.	athair	athir	atīr
G.	athar	athar	atros
D.	athair	athir	atri
A.	athair	athir n-	atren
V.	athair	athir	ater
Dual N., A.	dà athair	dá athir	atere
G.	dà athair	dá athar	atrō
D.	dà athair	dib n-athrib	atrebin
Pl. N.	athraichean	athir	ateres
G.	athraichean	athre n-	atron
D.	athraichean	athrib	atrebis
A.	athraichean	athrea	aterās (<i>aterūs</i>)
V.	athraichean	athrea	aterās

(b). Stem in *men*; neut. *ainm*, name.

S. N., A.	ainm	ainm n-	anmen
G.	ainme	anma, anme	anmens
D.	ainm	anmainm	<i>anmñbi</i>
Pl. N., A.	ainmeannan	anmann	anmena
G.	ainmeannan	anmann n-	anmenon
D.	ainmeannan	anmannaib	anmenobis

(c). Stem in guttural *c*, fem. *nathair*, serpent.

S. Nom.	nathair	nathir	natrīx
G.	nathrach	nathrach	natracos
D.	nathair	nathraig	natraci
A.	nathair	nathraig n-	natracen (<i>natrcñ</i>)
Dual N., A.	dà nathair	dí nathraig	natrace
G.	dà nathair	dá nathrach	natracō
D.	dà nathair	dib nathraich	natracobin
Pl. N.	nathraichean	nathraig	natracos
G.	nathraichean	nathrach n-	natracon
D.	nathraichean	nathraich	natracobis
A.	nathraichean	nathraicha	natracās
V.	nathraichean	nathraicha	natracās

(d). Neuter stem in *-es*; *tigh*, house.

S. N., A.	tigh	teg, tech	tegos
G.	tighe	tige	tegosos
D.	tigh	tig	tegesi
Dual N.	dà thigh	dá thech	tegece

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Gaelic.
	G. dà thigh	dá thige	tegesō
	D. dà thigh	dib tígib	tegesobin
Pl. N.	tighean	tige	tegesa
	G. tigh	tige n-	tegeson
	D. tighibh	tígib	tegesobis

6. Adjectives.

Adjectives belonged (1) to the *o*- and the *a*- declensions, as *marvos, *marvâ, *marvon, now *marbh*, declined like the nouns of *o*- and *a*- declensions; (2) *i*- declension, as *maith*, *matis, *matis, *mati, the neuter nom. being the stem; (3) *u*- declension, as *tigus, *tigus (?), *tigu, now *tiugh*; and (4) consonantal adj., *tepens, *te*, *téit*, etc. Comparison was in two ways—(1) *caomh*: O. Ir. cóem, coemiu, coemem: *koimos, *koimjôs, *koimimos; (2) *luath*: O. Ir. lúath, lúathither, lúathem: *loutos, *loutiteros, *loutimos.

The numerals may be seen in the Dictionary in their Celtic form: *oinos, *dvâ, *treis, etc.

The pronouns are so phonetically gone astray that they cannot be restored.

B. CONJUGATION.

Active Voice.	Indicative—Present.	Verb <i>beir</i> , bear.
S. 1.	beiridh mi	berimm berommi*
	2. beiridh tu	beresi
	3. beiridh e	bereti
Rel.	beireas	beres beret-se
P. 1.	beiridh sinn	bermme berommesi
	2. beiridh sibh	berthe berete
	3. beiridh iad	berenti (beronti)
Rel.	beireas	berte berent-eis

Dependent Present.

S. 1.	bheir mi	do-biur	berô
	2. bheir tu	do-bir	beres
	3. bheir e	do-beir	beret
P. 1.	bheir sinn	do-beram	beromos
	2. bheir sibh	do-berid	berete
	3. bheir iad	do-berat	beront' ₁

The first sing. is from theme-vowel-less verbs: *ber-mi. Cf. *orm*, *tharam* even *agam*, *asam*.

Secondary Present or Subjunctive.

	Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Gaelic.
S. 1.	bheirinn	no berinn	berín (?)
2.	bheireadh	no berthā	berethās
3.	bheireadh e	no bered	bereto
P. 1.	bheireamaid	no bermmis	berimmiss (?)
2.	bheireadh sibh	no berthē	berethi
3.	bheireadh iad	no bertis	berintiss (?)

Aorist.

S. 1.	do ghabh	ro gabus	gabassu
2.	ghabh	ro gabis	gabassi
3.	ghabh	ro gab	gabas-t
P. 1.	ghabh	ro gabsam	gabassomos
2.	ghabh	ro gabsid	gabassete
3.	ghabh	ro gabsat	gabassont

Imperative.

S. 1.	beiream	—	—
2.	beir	{ beir berthe	bere berethēs
3.	beircadh e	berad	beretō
P. 1.	beireamaid	beram	—
2.	beiribh	berid	berete
3.	beireadh iad	berat	berontō

Passive. Indicative—Present.

S. 3.	beirear e	berir	beretor
P. 3.	beirear iad	bertir	berentor

Secondary Present or Subjunctive.

S. 3.	bheirteadh e	no berthē	—
P. 3.	bheirteadh iad	no bertis	—

Past Tense.

S. 3.	chanadh e	ro chét	cantos, "cantus"
P. 3.	chanadh iad	ro chéta	cantás (n.f.)

Imperative.

S. 3.	beirear e	berar	—
P. 3.	beirear iad	bertar	—

Participle.

cainte	céte	cantjos
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SUPPLEMENT TO OUTLINES.

1. cf. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* as to how far the statement is to be limited as embracing India. Concerning Asia the statement is to be restricted to living Aryan languages.

2. v. J. Hoop's *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen* (Trübner, 1905), pp. 113-114, 382-384. The question is far from being settled.

3. cf. G. Dottin: *Les désinences verbales en r en sanskrit en italique et en celtique*. He regards the passive in *r* in Celtic and Italic as an independent creation, the common element *r* going back to the period of Indo-European unity. Even the future in *-bo* he regards as a possibly analogous formation and different in origin and development. Compare critique in *Revue Celtique*, 18, 343, where M. D'Arbois de Jubainville takes exception to some points. Irish, contrary to the Latin, has conserved the Indo-European perfect. Further, see G. J. Ascoli: *Osservazioni fonologiche concernenti il celtico e il neolatino* in *Actes du dixième congrès international des Orientalistes* ii. ème partie, Leide Brill, 1895; cf. *Indogerm. Forschungen Anzeiger* vii., i., 70. Also Windisch in *Grundriss der Rom. Philologie* where most of the relative literature is summarized and discussed. The views of M. D'Arbois were made accessible some years ago in a paper in the *Celtic Magazine*, ed. by Dr MacBain. cf. Giles's *Manual* § 449.

4. cf. Rhys's *Celtae and Galli* in *Proceedings of the British Academy*. Dr MacBain's notices of it in the *Scottish Historical Review* and in the *Celtic Review* are of interest, as also Sir J. Rhys's references in his *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, reviewed by the writer in the *Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1908.

5. See Stokes on *Pictish and Other Names* in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, Band 18. In the second edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, Dr MacBain clearly summarizes the whole of the Pictish problem. Dr Zimmer's views were made accessible in a paper treating of *Matriarchy Among the Picts* given in the writer's *Leabhar Nan Gleann* (Edin.: N. Macleod).

6. See *Old Celtic Inscriptions* by Stokes in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, B. xi. 112-141; Rhys's *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, and reviews by Thurneysen in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*.

7. cf. Rhys and Jones: *The Welsh People*; v. Henry's *Lexicon Etymol.*, p. xxiii., where he refers to the dialects of Modern Breton. On the periods of Old Breton see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, Paris, 1884, ch i.

8. The presence of *z* (for vowel-flanked *s*) can only be explained by assuming that the Ogmic alphabet was invented or imported before the regular disappearance of *s* between vowels—v. *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xi., 144. Mr R. A. Stewart MacAlister in his work on *The Ogam Inscriptions* (London: D. Nutt), suggests a different value in the case of *z*; in which case, if we have *f* for *z*, we require to read *v* for the *f* of this transcription of the Ogam alphabet.

9. Add K. Meyer's Old Irish treatise on the Psalter (Oxford: Clarendon Press), his edition in the *Revue Celtique* of the Old Irish version of *Tochmarc Emere*; and *Félire Oengusso* (2nd ed. by Stokes in Publications of Henry Bradshaw Society).

10. About one half of the contents was transliterated by the writer in *Leabhar Nan Gleann*; cf. Stern's critique in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. One of the chief poems has since been found in a good version in an Irish MS. from Ratisbon, of which an account has been given by the writer in the forthcoming volume of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*.

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. cf. the writer's treatment of *The Gaelic Dialects* in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*; also Rev. C. Robertson on the same subject in the *Celtic Review*; M. Macfarlane's *The Phonetics of Scottish Gaelic*; and Professor Mackinnon on Scottish Gaelic Dialects in a paper in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*.

19. "*h* in anlaut before a vowel seems to come from *p*. So apparently in Irish *haue* = *πáus*, and *Hériu* cognate with *περία*. This change is regular in Armenian, see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, § 30"—Stokes in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 23, 44. In last ed. of the *Félire* Stokes regards *íre* as the cognate of the Greek word cited. But this does not affect the cases in which an historic *h* seems to represent a vanished *p*; compare the *m* for *n* in the derivation of *amharus*; and see Dr Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, as well as the second edition of Brugmann's *Grundriss der Vergl. Grammatik*.

20. A great levelling, as compared with what one must infer from the historic development of Indo-European, has taken place in Gadelic. Dr MacBain's Indo-European Alphabet is therefore simplified in the gutturals, although perhaps it would have been more regular to have put in a labio-velar series apart. Osthoff recognises three k-rows, labio-velar, velar, palatal, in the mother

speech; v. *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 4, 264; Wharton's *Etyma Latina* recognise the three rows *c, k, q*; cf. Zupitza's treatment of the gutturals. In Gadelic the velar and the palatal series have fallen together, but there is a distinct treatment of the labio-velar.

21. Contamination may have been at work here. But although the Cymric cognate is *daigr*, and Old Latin shows *dacruma*, O. H. German, *zahar*, O. Icelandic, *tár*, Germ., *zähre*, in view of the Gadelic forms, we may take the pre-historic form to have been **dnkru*, which developed on the Brythonic side into a proto-Celtic **dakru*. Compare Dr Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 319, also p. 5, where L. *acer* is given as cognate with Irish Gadelic *ér*, high.

22. *méith* should be *mèith*, as in the Dictionary, with long open *è*; this is diphthongized in the Northern dialect as *māath*—a case of diphthongization of long open *è* where there has been no compensatory lengthening.

23. See *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Band 3, 264, 275, 591.

24. See Zupitza on *i, j* in Celtic, in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 2, 189-192.

25. See Foy in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 6, 337, on Celtic *ar*, *al* = Indogerm. *r̄, l̄*; and Zupitza on *r, l* in Celtic, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 35, 253.

CORRIGENDA.

Page xxxiii.—In the third line from the bottom of the page, for krid on, read kridion ; in the eleventh line from the bottom of the page, for the word in brackets, read (ballons).

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PERSONAL NAMES
AND
SURNAMES

TO WHICH IS ADDED
A DISQUISITION ON PTOLEMY'S
GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND

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ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., LL.D.

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P R E F A C E

THE following Etymology of the Principal Gaelic National Names, Personal Names, and Surnames was originally, and still is, part of the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary by the late Dr MacBain. The Disquisition on Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland first appeared in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and, later, as a pamphlet.

The Publisher feels sure that the issue of these Treatises in their present form will confer a boon on those who cannot have access to them as originally published. They contain a great deal of information on subjects which have for long years interested Gaelic students and the Gaelic public, although they have not always properly understood them. Indeed, heretofore they have been much obscured by fanciful fallacies, which Dr MacBain's study and exposition will go a long way to dispel.

ETYMOLOGY
OF THE
PRINCIPAL
GAELIC NATIONAL NAMES
PERSONAL NAMES
AND
SURNAMES

NATIONAL NAMES

- ALBION**, Great Britain in the Greek writers, Gr. Ἀλβίων, Ἀλβίων, Ptolemy's Ἀλουίων, Lat. *Albion* (Pliny), G. *Alba*, g. *Albainn*, Scotland, Ir., E. Ir. *Alba*, *Alban*, W. *Alban*: **Albion-* (Stokes), "white-land"; Lat. *albus*, white; Gr. ἀλφός, white leprosy, white (Hes.); O. H. G. *albiz*, swan.
- ARMORIC**, belonging to Brittany, Lat. (Cæsar) *Armoricus*, *Aremoricus* (Orosius), **are-mori*, "by the sea" (see *air* and *muir* in Dict.), M. Br. *Armory*, Brittany, *armor*, land by the sea, Br. *arvor*, maritime.
- BRITAIN**, G. *Breatann*, Ir. *Breatain*, E. Ir. *Bretan*, n. pl. *Breatain*, the Britons, W. *Brython*, Briton, Corn. *Brethon*, Br. *Breiz*, Brittany, Lat. *Brittania* (Cæsar), *Brittani*, Britons, Βρεττανοί (Strabo). The best Gr. forms are Πρεττανοί, Πρεττανική, W. *Prydain*, Britain, E. Ir. *Cruithne*, a Pict, O. Ir. (Lat.) *Cruithnii* (Adamnan, *Cruthini Populi*): **Qrtaniá*, root *qrt*, to which Stokes refers G. *cruthneachd*, wheat, though the usual reference is to G. *cruth*, picture, form, still retaining the notion of "pictured" men as in the old explanations of *Pict*. Stokes, Rhys, etc., regard the Lat. *Brittania* as a word of different origin from the Gr. Πρεττανία, and G. *Cruithne*; though, as a matter of fact, the Lat. seems to have been a bad rendering of the Greek. The *Cruithne* or Picts thus gave their name to Britain, as being, about 300 B.C., its then Celtic inhabitants.
- BRITANNY**; the **BRETON** language; from *Britain* above. Britons poured into France in the fifth and sixth centuries.
- CALEDONIA**, northern Scotland (Tacitus), Gr. Καληδόνιοι (Ptol., etc.), Lat. *Calēdonii* (Lucan, Martial, etc.), O. G. *Dun-Calden*, *Duni-Callen*, *Dun-Keld*, fort of the Caledonians, G. *Dùn-Chaillinn*; explained by Windisch as from **cald*, the root of G. *coille*, the force being "wood-landers." Stokes and others object because of the η (Lat. ē) in Καληδ-; but if the Eng. and Gaelic modern forms are the descendants of the word Caledonia as locally spoken, the objection cannot hold.
- CELTS**, Lat. *Celtæ* (Cæsar), Gr. Κελτοί, Κελταί, Κελτικός, appearing in the fifth and fourth cent. B.C. in Herodotus, Xenophon, etc.: **Kelto-s*, "the lofty," root *qel*, raise, go, Lat. *celsus*,

NATIONAL NAMES.

- high, Eng. *excel* Lit. *kéltas*, raised. Rhys refers the name to the root *gel*, slay, Ag. S. *hild*, war, Norse *hildir*, Lat. *percello*, hit, Lit. *kalti*, strike: the Celtæ being "smitters."
- CORNWALL: CORNISH, Ag. S. *Cornwalas*, the *Walas* or Welsh of the Corn or Horn, E. Ir. *i tírib Bretann Cornn* (Corm.), in the lands of the Britons of the Corn. For *Walas* see *Wales*.
- CRUITHNE, a Pict; see under *Britain*.
- CYMRU, the Welsh (pl.), *Cymraeg*, the Welsh name for the Welsh language; the singular of *Cymru* is *Cymro*, older *Cym-mro*: **Com-mrox*, pl. *Com-mroges* or *Combrogés* (cf. Cæsar's *Allobroges*, "Other-landers"), country-men, "co-landers," from *brog*, *mrog* of *brugh* in Dict., q.v. The E. Ir. Gaelic for Wales is found in the phrase *isinchomreic* = im Kymrischen (Zim. Zeit. ³² 162).
- ERIN; see *Ireland*.
- GAELIC, GAEL, the name of the language and people of the Scottish Highlands, G. *Gàidhlig*, *Gàidheal*, Ir. *Gaoidhlig*, *Gaedhilig*, the Irish language, *Gaoidheal*, Irishman, E. Ir. *Gédel* (1100 A.D.), *Gaideli* (Giraldus), W. *Gwyddel*, Irishman: **Gádelo-s* (for Sc. Gaelic) or **Gádelo-s* (for Irish), root *ghádh*, Eng. *good*, Ger. *gut*, etc.? The Scotch form seems the best, as its use has been continuous, the race being only a fourth item in Scotland. Stokes gives a proto-Gaelic **Goidelos* or **Geidelos*, which Bez. compares to the Gaul. *Geidumni*, and which Stokes compares with Lat. *hoedus*, goat ("Goat-men," cf. Oscan *Hirpini*) or Lit. *gaidys*, cock.
- GALLI, GAUL, now France, Lat. *Gallus*, *Galli* (fourth to first cent. B.C.), Gr. Γαλάτης, Γαλάται (third and second cent. B.C.); from the root *gal*, bravery, which see in Dict., with discussion of Galli and G. *Gall*, Lowlander, stranger.
- IRELAND, IRISH; G. *Éireann*, Ir. *Éire*, g. *Éireann*, E. Ir. *Ériu*, *Érenn*, W. *Iwerddon*, *Iwerddon*, M. W. *Ewyrdonic*, Irish, Ptol. Ἰουερνία Ἰέπνη (Strabo), Lat. *Hibernia*, *Iverna* (Mela), *Ierne* (Claudian, fourth cent. A.D.), *Evernili*, Irish (Adamnan): **Iverjôn*-, **Everjôn*-, usually referred to *Piverjo*-, Skr. *ṛívarî*, fat, Gr. Πιερία, the Grecian seat of the Muses, *πίων*, fat (Windisch, Stokes): "rich-soiled, swelling." Others refer it to G. *iar*, west, or Skr. *ávava* (from *ava*, G. *bho*), western, lower. No derivation can be satisfactory which does not at the same time account for the similarly named Highland rivers called *Éire*, *Éireann*, Eng. *Earn*, *Findhorn*.
- MAN, MANX; MANX *Manninagh*, MANX (adj.), *Gaulck*, *Gaalk*, the MANX Gaelic, E. Ir. *inis Manann*, Isle of Man, a genitive from **Mana* (= Lat. *Mona*), early W. *Manau*, Lat. *Mona* (Cæsar),

Ptol. Μονάουδα, *Monapia* (or *Mona*?) The E. Ir. god-name *Manannán Mac Lir* (son of the Sea) is connected with the Island; Skr. *Manu*, the Law-giver; Teutonic *Mannus* (Tacitus), Eng. *man*.

PICTS; G. Cruithnich, for which name see under *Britain*. The name *Picti* can scarcely be separated from the Gaul. *Pictavi*, now *Poitiers*; and, if this be the case, the usual derivation from Lat. *pictus*, painted, must be abandoned. Windisch adduces E. Ir. *cicht*, engraver, carver, for which a Brittonic *piht*, *pict* may be claimed as a parallel (**qict*); this again leaves the idea of tattooing intact, and so agrees with the historical facts.

SCOTLAND, SCOTS; E. Ir. *Scott*, pl. n. *Scuit*, d. *Scottaib*, Irishmen; Adamnan—*Scotia*, Ireland, *Scoti*, the Irish, *Scoti Britanniae*, Scots of Dalriada, etc., *Scoticus*, Irish, *Scotice*, in the Gaelic language, Lat. (fourth cent.) *Scotti*, *Scôti*, **Skotto-s*. Stokes translates the name as "masters, owners," allied to Got. *skatts*, money, Ger. *schatz*, treasure, stock, Ch. Sl. *skotŭ*, property, cattle. The root *skat*, hurt, scathe, cut, of Eng. *scathe*, has been suggested, either as "cutters" or "tattooed ones" (so Isidore of Saville). Rhys has suggested connection with W. *ysgwithr*, a cutting, carving—"tattooed or painted men."

WALES, WELSH; Ag. S. *Wealas*, *Walas*, the Welsh—the name of the people in pl. being used for the country, *Wylisc*, *Welsh*, *Wylisce men*, the Welsh; sing. of *Wealas* is *Wealh*, a foreigner, Welshman, O. H. G. *walh*, foreigner, Celt, Ger. *wal-* in *walnuss*, Eng. *wal-nut*: from the Gaul. nation of the *Volcae*, bordering on the Germans, **Volko-s*, **Volkâ*, "the bathers," from *volc*, bathe (see *faile* in Dict.). Stokes connects the name with Lit. *wilkti*, pull, referring to the restless wanderings of the Gauls.

PERSONAL NAMES AND SURNAMES

- ADAM, G. **Adhamh**, *Ahū* (Fer. MS.), *Awzoe* (D. of L.), E. Ir. *Adam*, O. Ir. *Adim* (g); from Hebrew *Adam*, red. Hence *Macadam*, *M'Caun*, and from Dial. G. *Adaidh* (a diminutive from Sc.) *M'Cadie*, *M'Adaidh*.
- ADAMNAN, G. **Adhmhnan** (pronounced *Yowan* or *Yōnan*), earlier *Adhamhnan* (*Oghamhnan*, M'V.), E. Ir. *Adamnán*, Lat. *Adamnanus* (seventh cent.), St Adamnan (died 704 A.D.), "little Adam," a Gaelic diminutive from *Adam*. Hence the personal name *Gilleownan* (1495), *Giolla-Adhamhndáin*, father of Somerled (twelfth cent.), *Gilla-agamnan* (1467 MS.), whence Skene deduces the *Mac-lennans*, q.v.
- ALEXANDER, G. **Alasdair**, *Allex* (D. of L.), *Alaxandair*, (1467 MS.), M. Ir. *Alaxandair*; from Lat. *Alexander*, from Gr. Ἀλέξανδρος, "defending men." Hence G. *M'Alasdair*, *Macalister*; further *Mac-andie* (from *Sandy*).
- ALLAN, G. **Ailean**, E. Ir. *Ailéne*, Adamnan's *Ailenus*, from *al*, rock? The Norman *Alan*, whence Scotch *Allan* mostly, is O. Br. *Alan*, *Alamnus*, Nennius *Alanus*, from *Alemannus*, the German tribe name—"All Men." Cf. Norman, Frank, Dugall, Fingall. Hence *Mac-allau*.
- ALPIN, G. **Ailpein**, E. Ir. *Alpin* (Dalriadic king 693); from Pictish or Welsh sources—M. W. *Elphin*, *Elfin*, which Stokes suggests to be from Lat. *Albinus*, from *albus*, white (or allied rather?). Hence G. *M'Ailpein*, *Mac-alpine*.
- ANDREW, G. **Aindrea** (*Anndra*, Dial.), *Gilleannndrais*, Eng. *Gillanders*, St. Andrew's *gille*, M. G. *Andro* (D. of L.), *Ainnrias*, *Gille-ainnrias* (1467 MS.), E. Ir. *Andrias*; from Lat. *Andreas*, g. *Andraea*, from Gr. Ἀνδρέας, a reduced double-stemmed name now showing only ἄνδρ-, man (see *neart*). Hence *Mac-andrew*, *Gillanders*, *Anderson*.
- ANGUS, G. **Aonghas**, Ir. *Aonghusa*, E. Ir. *Oengus*, O. Ir. *Oingus*, W., Cor. *Ungust*; *Oino-gustu-s*, "unique choice," from *aon* and *gus*, choice (Eng. *choose*, Lat. *gustus*, taste, as in G. *tagh*). Hence *M'Aonghuis*, *Mac-innes*; further *M'Ainsh*.
- ARCHIBALD, G. **Gilleasbuig**, Bishop's *gille* (see *easbuig* in Dict.), M. G. *Gillespik* (D. of L.), *Gilla-espik* (1467 MS.). Hence *Gillespie*. The name *Archibald*, Ag. S. *Arcebold*, *Arcebold*

or *Ercenbald*, which vaguely means "right-bold" (O. H. G. *erchen*, right, real), has no apparent connection with *Gillespic* in meaning or origin (cf. similarly Ludovic and *Maoldomhnuich*).

ARTHUR, G. *Artair*, M. G. *Artuir*, E. Ir. *Artuir*, *Artur*, Ir. Lat. *Arturius*, son of *Edan* (Adamnan), W. *Arihur*, to which the Lat. *Artorius* (Juvenal) has been compared and suggested as its source (it being maintained that the Gens Artoria of Yorkshire lasted from Roman to Domesday-Book times, where *Artor* appears in the days of Edward the Confessor). If native to Brittonic (which is probable), it is from **arto-s*, a bear, W. *arth*, O. Ir. *art*, whence the names *Art*, *Artgal*, *Artbran*. Rhys prefers to render the **arto-* as "cultor," from *ar*, plough (*Arth. Leg.*, 40-48), allying Arthur to the idea of a "Culture God." Hence G. **M'Artair**, *Mac-artthur*.

BAIN, from G. *bàn*, white. The Bains of Tulloch appear in the sixteenth century variously as *Bayne* or *Bane*, with a contemporary near them called John Makferquhair *M'Gillebane* (1555). This last name is now **M'Ille-bhàin**, "Fair-gille," rendered into Eng. by *Whyte*; whence also *à'Gilvane*.

BARTHOLOMEW, G. *Parlan*, Ir. *Partholon*, E. Ir. *Partholón*, Lat. *Partholomæus* or *Bartholomæus* (Nennius, ninth cent.), the name of a personage who is represented as the first invader of Ireland after the Flood (278 years after!). The *p* proves the name to be non-Gaelic; and as the historians take *Partholon* from Spain, the Spanish *Bar Tolemon* of legend has been suggested as the original. Prof. Rhys thought it came from the Ivernians or Pre-Celtic race in Ireland. Hence the Clan *Mac-farlane*, G. **M'Pharlain**.

BROWN, G. **M'A'-Bhriuthainn**, M. G. *M'abhriuin* (1408 Gaelic Charter), from *britheamhain*, the former (Sc. Gaelic) genitive of *britheamh*, judge, q.v. Hence *Mac-brayne*.

CAMERON, G. **Camsron**, **Camaran**, M. G. *Cámsroin*, g. (M'V.), *Camronaich* (D. of L.), *Gillacamsroin* (1467 MS.), Charter Eng. *Camroun* (1472); explained as from *càm-sròn*, "wry-nose," which is the most probable explanation (cf. *caimbeul*, E. Ir. *cerrbél*, wry mouth). Connection with *camerarius* or *chamberlain* (of Scotland) unlikely, or with the fourteenth century *De Cambruns* or *Cameron* parish in Fife.

CAMPBELL, G. **Caimbeul**, M. G. *Cambel* (1467 MS.), *Cambell* (1266, etc.), from *cambél*, wry-mouthed (*càm* and *beul*; see *Cameron*). There is no *De Cambel* in the numerous early references, but *De Campo-bello* appears in 1320 as a Latin

- form and an etymology ; this, however, should naturally be *De Bello-campo* as Norman-French idiom and Latin demand—a form we have in *Beau-champ* and *Beecham*. *De Campello* or *De Campellis* (little plain) has been suggested ; but unfortunately for these derivations the earliest forms show no *de* : *Cambell* was an epithet, not a place-name.
- CARMICHAEL, G. **M'Gillemhicheil**, Son of the *gille* of St Michael, M. G. *Gillamichol* (1467 MS.), O.G. *Gillemicel* (B. of Deer). The name Carmichael is really Lowland—from the Parish name of Carmichael in Lanark (Michael's *caer* or *cathair*, q.v.).
- CATTANACH, CHATTAN, G. **Catanach**, M. G. plural *Cattanich* (D. of L.), "belonging to Clan Chattan," *Clann Gillacatan* (1467), which claims descent from *Gillacatain* (1467 MS.), servant of St Catan, whose name denotes "little cat" (see *cat*).
- CHARLES, G. **Tearlach**, M. Ir. *Toirrdhealbhadh* (Maclean Genealogy), Englished as *Tirlagh* and *Turlough*, E. Ir. *Toirdelbach*, Latinised and explained as *Turri-formis*, "Tower-shaped," but the *toir* in Gaelic took the phonetics of the prefix *tair*, super, and hence the modern G. form. Hence *M'Kerlie*.
- CHISHOLM, G. **Siosal, Siosalach**, *De Chesholme* (thirteenth century documents), *De Chesholme* (1254), a Border name, the place-name Chisholm being in Roxburgh : *Ches-holm* (a holm, but *Ches* ?).
- CLARK, G. **Cléireach** ; see *cléireach* in Dict. Also **M' A' -Chléirich**, whence Galwegian *M'Chlery*.
- COLL, G. **Colla**, M. G. *Colla* (M'V., 1467 MS.), E. Ir. *Colla* : **Colnavo-s*, from *col*, *cel*, high, as in *Celtæ* (see above).
- COLIN, G. **Cailean**, M. G. *Callane* (D. of L.), *Cailin* (1467 MS.), *Colinus* (Lat. of 1292). This is a personal name, once more or less peculiar to the Campbells, the Chief being always in Gaelic **M'Cailein**. Its relation to Eng. and Continental *Colin* is doubtful. Cf. *Coileán*, "whelp," and personal name ; the G. is a dialectic form of old *coileán* (see *Foi.*), *cuilean*, whelp.
- CRERAR, G. **Criathrar**, the name of a Lochtay-side clan who regard themselves as Mackintoshes, explaining the name as "riddler," from *criathar* (which see in Dict.) : the derivation is right, but for the meaning compare the Eng. noun and name *Sieve(w)right*. See *Celt. Mag.* ⁶, 38.
- CUMMING, G. **Cuimein, Cuimeanach**, earliest Eng. form *Comyn*, a Norman family dating from the Conquest, belonging to the Norman house of De Comines, a territorial designation.

- DAVID, G. **Daibhidh** (Classical), **Dàidh** (C.S.); hence **Clann Dàidh** or the *Davidsons*, a branch of the Clan Chattan. In C.S., *Davidson* appears as **Déibhiosdan**.
- DERMID, G. **Diarmad**, M. G. *Dermit* (D. of L.), *Diarmada*, gen. (1467 MS.), E. Ir. *Diarmait*, O. Ir. *Diarmuit*, *Diarmit*, Ir. Lat. *Diormitius* (Adamnan). Zimmer explains the name as *Dia-ermit*, "God-reverencing," from *dia* and *ermit*: **arement*-, "on-minding," root *ment*, as in *dearmad*, q.v.
- DEWAR, G. **Deòir**, **Deòireach**, documents *Doire* (1487), *Jore* (1428); from *deòradh*, a pilgrim, q.v. Hence *Macindeor*.
- DONALD, G. **Domhnall**, M. G. *Domnall* (1467 MS.), gen. *Donil* (D. of L.), O. G. *Domnall* (B. of Deer), E. Ir. *Domnall*, Ir. Lat. *Domnallus* (Adamnan), *Domnail* (do., ablative), Early W. *Dumngual*, later *Dyfnwal*: **Dumnovalo-s*, from *dubno-* of *domhan*, and *valo-* (see *flath*), meaning "world-wielder, world-ruler," much the same in meaning as *Dumnorix*, world-king, Cæsar's opponent among the Aedui. See *domhan*, *flath*. Hence **M'Dhòmhnuill**, *Mac-donald*.
- DUFF, M. Ir. *Dubh* (*Clann Dubh*, Clan Duff, of which was Macbeth, etc.), earlier *Dub*, King Duff in tenth century; from Gadelic *dub*, now *dubh*, black, q.v. As a personal name, it is a curtailment of some longer or double-stemmed name (cf. *Fionn*, *Flann*, red). Hence *Macduff* (*Clen m^c Duffe*, 1384). The family name *Duff* is merely the adjective *dubh* used epithetically.
- DUFFY, Ir. *Dubhthaigh*; see *Mac-phae*.
- DUGALD, G. **Dùghall**, M. G. *Dowgall*, g. *Dowle* (D. of L.), *Dubgaill*, gen. (1467 MS.), thirteenth century documents give *Dugald* (1289), *Dufgal* (1261), M. Ir. *Dubgall* (first recorded Dubgall is at 912 A.D.), from Early Ir. *Dubgall*, a Dane, "Black stranger," as opposed to *Finngall*, a Norwegian, "Fair foreigner." See, for derivation, *fionn* and *Gall*. Hence **M'Dhùghaill**, *Mac-dougall*, *Mac-dowel*, etc.
- DUNCAN, G. **Donnchadh** (Dial. **Donnach**), M. G. *Duncha* (D. of L.), *Donnchaid*, gen. (1467 MS.), O. G. *Donchad* (B. of Deer), E. Ir. *Donnchad*: **Donno-catu-s*, **Dunno-catu-s*, "Brown warrior," from *donn* and *cath*, q.v. The Gaulish *Donno-* of personal names has been referred by De Jubainville to the same meaning and origin as M. Ir. *donn*, king, judge, noble—a word occurring in O'Davoren's glossary.
- EDWARD, G. **Eideard** (**Eudard**, Dial.), **Imhear**, **Iomhar**; the first is the Eng. *Edward* borrowed, the second is the Norse *Ivarr* borrowed (see *Mac-iver*). Hence **M'Eideard**, *M'Edward*.

- EWEN, G. **Eòghann** (Dial. **Eòghainn**), M. G. *Eogan*, *Eoghan*, E. Ir., O. Ir. *Eogan*: **Avi-gono-s* (**Avigenos*, Stokes), "well born, good," from **avi*, friendly, good, Skr. *ávi* (do.), Got. *avi-liud*, thanks, Lat. *aveo*, desire, possibly Gr. εὖ-, good (cf. here Εὐγένης, *Eugenius*), W. has *Eu-tigirn*, *Eu-tut*, O. Br. *Eu-cant*, *Eu-hocar*, Gaul. *Avi-cantus*. Rhys (*Hib. Lect.* 63) refers Ir. *Eoghan* and W. *Owen* to **Esu-gen-*, Gaul. *Esugenus*, sprung from the god *Esus*. Zimmer regards *Owen* as borrowed from Lat. *Eugenius*. Cf., however, the *evo-* of Ogmic *Eva-cattos*, now *Eochaidh*. Hence *Mac-ewen*.
- FARQUHAR, G. **Fearchar**, M. G. *Fearchar*, *Fearchair*, Ir. *Fearchair* (F. M., year 848 A.D.): **Ver-caro-s*, "super-dear one"; for *fear*, see *Fergus*, and for *car* see Dict. above. Hence **M'Fhearchair**, *Mac-erchar*, *Farquharson*, *M'Farquhar*.
- FERGUS, G. **Fearghas**, M. G. *Fearghus*, *Fergus*, E. Ir., O. Ir. *Fergus*, g. *Fergusso*, W. *Gurgust*, O. Br. *Uuorgost*, *Uurgost*: **Ver-gustu-s*, "super-choice"; for *ver-* or *fear-*, see in Dict. *far*, *air* (allied to Lat. *super*), and for *gustus*, see under *Aonghus* above. Some regard *Fer* here as G. *fear*, man, **viro-* or **vir*.
- FINGAL, G. **Fionn**, Macpherson's Gaelic **Fionnghal**, which really should mean "Norseman," or Fair-foreigner, M. G. *Fionnghall*, a Norseman (M.V.), *ri Fionn-gal*, king of Man and the Isles (M.V.), *Fingal* (*Manx Chron.*), king of Man and the Isles from 1070 to 1077: from *fionn* and *Gall*, q.v. *Fingal* as the name of the Gaelic mythic hero is an invention of Macpherson's, as likewise is his Gaelic **Fionnghal**. As a matter of fact the name is a Gaelic form of the female name *Flora*! See *Fionnaghal* in the addendum to this list.
- FINLAY, G. **Fionnla**, **Fionnlagh** (misspelt **Fionnladh**), M. G. *Finlay* (D. of L.), *Finlaeic*, gen. (1467 MS.), *Fionnlaeich*, gen. (*Duan Albanach*), E. Ir. *Findlaech* (Lib. Leinster), *Finnloech* and *Finlaeg*, gen. (Marianus Scotus). Those early forms and the Norse *Finnleikr* prove that the name means "Fair hero" (*fionn* and *laeich*). It is a popular (10th and 11th century) rendering of *Finnlug*, "Fair attractive one," the older name. It has been explained as "Fair calf," which would suit the phonetics also. Hence *Finlayson*, *Mackinlay* (**M'Fhionnlaigh**).
- FORBES, G. **Foirbeis**, **Foirbeiseach**, early document form *De Forbes* (thirteenth cent.), so named from the place-name *Forbes* in Aberdeenshire.
- FRASER, G. **Friseal**, **Frisealach**, circ. 1298 the patriot's name is variously *Simon Fraser*, *Frasel*, *Fresel*, *Frisel*, in Domesday B. *Fresle*, Battle Abbey Rolls (?) *Frisell* or *Fresell*; usually

- referred to O. Fr. *freze*, a strawberry, **frezele*, from Lat. *fragula*, *fragum*, Fr. *fraisier*, strawberry plant. For sense, cf. the name *Plantagenet* (broom). Strawberry leaves form part of the Fraser armorial bearings. The word may also mean "curled" (Eng. *frizzle*, *frieze*).
- GALBRAITH, G. M' A'-Bhreatnaich**, son of the Briton (of Strathclyde). The name appears in the thirteenth century in Lennox, etc., as *Galbraith* (from *Gall* and *Breat-* of *Breatann* above).
- GEORGE, G. Seòras, Seòrsa, Deòrsa**, ultimately from Gr. *γεωργός*, a farmer, "worker of the earth" (*γη*, earth, *ὄργος*, Eng. *work*). Hence the Border *M'George*.
- GILBERT, G. Gilleabart, Gillebride**. *Gilbert* is from Ag. S. *Gislebert*, "Bright hostage" (see *giall* in Dict.); *Gillebride* is St Bridget's slave, an exceedingly common name once, but now little used.
- GILCHRIST, G. Gillecriosd, M. G. Gillacrist, Ir. Gillacrist** (several in eleventh century): "servant of Christ." Hence *M'Gilchrist*. It translates also *Christopher*.
- GILLESPIE, G. Gilleasbuig**; see *Archibald*.
- GILLIES, G. Gilliosa**: "servant of Jesus." From **M'A-Lios** comes the "English" form *Lees*, *M'Leish*.
- GLASS, G. Glas**, an epithet, being *glas*, grey. See *M'Glashan*.
- GODFREY, G. Goraidh, M. G. Gofraig** (1467 MS.), *Godfrey* (do.), Ir. *Gofraidh* (F.M.), M. Ir. *Gothfrith*, *Gofraig*, also *Gofraig* (Tigernach, 989), E. Ir. *Gothfraid* (Lib. Lein.), E. W. *Gothrit* (*Ann. Camb.*). The Norse name, for it is Norse-men that are referred to, is *Goðröðr* or *Gudrod* (also *Góröðr*), but the earlier Gaelic shows rather a name allied to the Ag. S. *Godefrid*, Ger. *Gottfried*, "God's peace." Modern Gaelic is more like the Norse. The Dictionaries give G. **Guaidhre** as the equivalent of *Godfrey*; for which, however, see *M'Quarrie*.
- GORDON, G. Gòrdan, Gòrdon, Gòrdonach**; from the parish name of *Gordon* in Berwickshire. The De Gordons are well in evidence in the thirteenth century. Chalmers explains the place-name as *Gor-dyn*, "super-dûnum" (see *far* and *dùn*).
- GOW, G. Gobha**, a smith, now usually *gobhainn*, q.v. Hence *Mac-cowan*, *Mac-gowan*, *Cowan*.
- GRANT, G. Grand, Grant** (1258), an English family which settled about Inverness in the thirteenth century, Eng. *Grant*, *Grand*, from Fr., Eng. *grand*.
- GREGOR, G. Griogair, Griogarach, M. G. M'Gregar** (D. of L.), M. Ir. *Grigoir*, E. Ir. (Lat.) *Grigorius* (Gregory the Great, died 604), from Lat. *Gregorius*, Gr. *Γρηγόριος*, a favourite

- ecclesiastical name from the third century onward (cf. Gr. *γρηγορέω*, be watchful, Eng. *care*). Hence **M'Griogair**, *Macgregor*, *Gregory*.
- GUNN**, G. **Guinne**, **Gunnach**, early documents *Gun* (1601), *Clan-gun* (1525), in Kildonan of Sutherland, originally from Caithness; from the Norse *Gunni* (twelfth century), the name then of a son of Olaf, a Caithness chief (*Ork. Saga*). This *Gunni* is a short or "pet" form of some longer name of two stems, with *gunn-r*, war, as the first and chief one (cf. *Gann-arr*, which is an old Orkney name, *Gunn-björn*, *Gunn-laugr*, *Gunn-ólfr*, war-wolf, *Gunn-stein*, *Gunn-valdr*).
- HAROLD**, G. **Haralt**, M. Ir. *Aralt*, from Norse *Haraldr* (same in roots and origin as Eng. *herald*). Hence *Mac-raird*.
- HECTOR**, G. **Eachunn** (Dial. **Eachainn**), M. G. *Eachuinn*, g. (M'V.), *Eachdhuin*, g. (M'V.), *Eachdhonn*, g. *Eachduinn* (1467 MS.), Ir. *Eachdonn* (year 1042): **Ego-donno-s*, "horse lord," like *Each-thighearna* of *Mac-echern*. Of course "Brown-horse" is possible; cf. Gr. *Ξάνθιππος*. The phonetics are against **Each-duine*, "horse-man," as an explanation.
- HENRY**, G. **Eanruig**; from O. Eng. *Henric*, now Henry, from Germanic *Heim-rik*, "home-ruler" (Eng. *home* and *ric* in *bishop-ric*, *rich*). Hence *Mackendrick*, *Henderson*.
- HUGH**, G. **'Uisdean** (**Huisdean**), in Argyle **Eòghan**, M. G. *Huisduinn*, which comes from Norse *Eysteinn*, "*Ey*(?)-stone." The Dictionaries also give the G. **Aodh** (see *Mackay*) as equivalent to Hugh, which is itself from Germanic sources, Teutonic root *hug*, thought.
- JAMES**, G. **Seumas**, M. G. *Séamus* (M'V.); from the Eng. *James*, a modification of Hebrew *Jacob*.
- JOHN**, G. **Iain**, older **Eòin**, in compounds **Seathain**, as *Mac-Gille-Sheathainn*, now **M'Illeathainn**.
- KATHEL**, G. **Cathal**, M. G. *Cathal* (M'V.), Ir. *Cathal* (common from seventh century onwards), O. W. *Catgual*: **Katu-valo-s*; see *cath*, war, and *val* under *Donald*. Hence *M'All*, *Mackail*.
- KENNEDY**, G. **Ceanaideach**, **Ceanadaidh**, *Kennedy* (*Kenedy*, John *M'Kennedy*, fourteenth century) is the family name of the old Earls of Carrick, now represented by the Marquis of Ailsa; it is a famous Irish name borne by the father of Brian Boru in the tenth century—Ir. *Ceinneidigh*, E. Ir. *Cennétich*, gen.; from *ceann*, head, and *éitigh*, ugly: "ugly head." Called also **M'Ualraig** from Walrick Kennedy (sixteenth century), who first settled in Lochaber: *Walrick* may be G. **Ualgharg** confused with Teutonic *Ulrick*, older *Uodalrich*, "rich patrimonially."

- KENNETH, G. Coinneach, M. G. Coinndech, Coinnidh, g. Coinndigh,** g. (M'V.), O. G. *Cainnech, g. Caennig* (B. of Deer), E. Ir. *Caennig*, gen., Ir. Lat. *Cainnechus* (Adamnan): **Cannico-s*, "fair one," from the same stem as *cannach* (root *gas*), q.v. The Eng. *Kenneth* is a different word: it is the old Scotch king name *Cinœd* (E. Ir. form), O. G. *Cinathá* (B. of Deer), Ir. *Cinaedh*, "fire-sprung," from *cin* of *cinn* and *aed* of *Mackay*.
- LACHLAN, G. Lachlann** (Dial. *Lachlainn*), **Lachunn, M. G. Lochlann, g. (M'V.), Lochloinn, n. and g., Lachlan, g. (1467 MS.),** Ir. *Lochlainn Mac Lochlainn* (F.M., year 1060); probably from *Lochlann*, Scandinavia, possibly commencing as *Mac-Lochlainne*, a Scandinavian ("son of L."). *Lochlann* evidently means "Fjord-land."
- LAMOND, G. M'Laomuinn, Laman, M. G. Ladmann,** early documents *Lawemundus* (Lat. of 1292), *Laumun* (circ. 1230), M. Ir. *Laghmand, Lagmand*; from Norse *lagamaðr, lögmaðr*, lawman, pl. *lögmen*, "law-men," by meaning and derivation. Hence *M'Clymont* (D. of L.), *V'Clymont, Clyne lymyn*.
- LAURENCE, G. Labhruinn, M. G. Labhran** (1467), Ir. *Laurint* (*Saint*), from Lat. *Laurentius*, St. Laurence, the ultimate stem being that of Lat. *laurus*, a laurel. Hence **M'Labhruinn**, or *Mac-laren*.
- LEWIS, G. Luthais**; from Fr. *Louis*, from *Chlovis*, the Frankish king (fifth century), degraded from old German *Chlodwig*, now *Ludwig* (**Kluto-vigo-s*, famed warrior, roots in *cliu* and Eng. *victory*). Hence Eng. *Ludovic*, which is rendered in G. by **Maoldónuich**, shaveling of the Church.
- LIVINGSTONE, G. M'An-léigh**; see *Mac-leay*.
- LUKE, G. Lúcais.** Hence *Mac-lucas*.
- MAGNUS, G. Manus, Mánus, M. G. Magnus, Manuis, g. (1467 MS.),** Ir. *Maghnus*, Norse *Magnúss*, from Lat. *magnus*, in the name of Charlemagne—*Carolus Magnus*.
- MALCOLM, G. Calum, earlier Gillecalum, M. G. Mylcollum** (D. of L.), *Maelcolaim*, O. G. *Malcoloum, Malcolum, Gillicolaim*, Ir. *Maelcoluim*: from *maol*, bald, and *calum*, a dove (Lat. *columba*), the particular *Calum* meant here being St. Columba. Hence *Maccallum*.
- MALISE, G. Maoliosa, E. Ir. Maelísu,** servant of Jesus. Hence also *Mellis*.
- MATHESON, G. M'Mhathan, Mathanach, M. G. Mac-Matgamna** (1467 MS.), *Macmaghan* (*Exchequer Rolls* for 1264), the Ir. *Mac-mahon*, "son of the bear," for which see *mathghamhuin*. Matheson in Perthshire and Kintyre is, as elsewhere outside the Highlands, for *Mathew-son, G. M'Mhatha*.

- MENZIES, G. Mèinnear, Mèinn and Mèinnearach** locally, early documents de *Mengues* (1487), de *Meyners* (1249); *De Meyneria* would mean much the same as *De Camera*, that is, "of the household," from *mesn-, masn-*, giving Fr. *mén-* (our *ménage, menagerie, menial*), from Lat. *mans-* (our *mansion*), from *maneo*, remain. The root anyway is *man* of *mansion* and *manor*, and the name is allied to *Manners* and *Main-waring*.
- MORGAN, M. G. Clann Mhorguinn (M'V.), O. G. Morgunn, g. Morcunt, W. Morgan, Cor. and O. Br. Morcant: Mori-canto-s,** "sea-white," from the stem of *muir* and root *kn̄d*, burn, as in *connadh* (Lat. *candeo*, shine, Eng. *candle*). See *Mackay*.
- MORRISON, G. Moireasdan, earlier M'Gille-mhoire, Mary's servant, M. G. Gillamure, whence Gilmour.** The name *Morris* is for *Maurice*, from the Latin saint's name *Mauricius*, "Moorish."
- MUNRO, G. Rothach, Mac-an-Rothaich (Dial. Munro).** In the fourteenth century the name is "of Monro," which shows it is a territorial name, explained as *Bun-roe*, the mouth of the Roe, a river in County Derry, Ireland, whence the family are represented as having come in the eleventh century.
- MURDOCH, G. Muireach, Murchadh;** the first is M. G. *Muireadh-aign*, gen. (M'V.), *Murreich* (D. of L.), *Muireadhaigh*, g. (1467 MS.), Ir. *Muireadhach*, E. Ir. *Muiredach*, O. Ir. (Lat.) *Muirethachus*, Adamnan's *Muiredachus*, "lord," allied to *muirenn* and *muriwán*; Ag. S. *masre*, *clarus*; Br. *conomorios* (?) (Stokes R. C. 1876.) The form **Murchadh** is in Ir. the same, E. Ir. *Murchad*: **Mori-catu-s*, sea warrior. Hence (from the first) **M'Mhuirich** (in Arran, etc., becoming *Currie*), and from the second, *Murchison, Murchie*, and Ir. *Murphy*. See *murrach* above.
- MURRAY, G. Moirreach;** from the county name Moray or Murray, early Gaelic forms being *Moreb, Muref*, and Norse *Morhæfi* (influenced by Norse *haf*, sea): **Mor-apia*, from *mor* of *muir*, sea, and **apia*, the termination of several Celtic place-names. Andrew *Morrish*, Kiltarn, 1672.
- MYLES, G. Maolmoire, servant of Mary, an old and common name.** *Myles* is from the Med. Lat. *Milo*, with a leaning on *miles*, soldier—a common name in the Middle Ages.
- MAC-ALISTER;** see *Alexander*.
- MAC-ANDREW;** see *Andrew*.
- MAC-ARTHUR;** see *Arthur*.
- MAC-ASKILL, G. M'Asgail;** from Norse *'Askell*, for **'As-ketill*, the kettle (sacrificial vessel) of the Anses or gods: "a vessel of holiness."

- MAC-AULAY**, G. **M'Amhlaidh**, Ir. *Mac Amhlaoihb*, M. Ir. *Amlaibh*, E. Ir. *Amláib*, 'Alaib; from Norse 'Oláfr, *Anlaf* (on coins), "the Anses' relic" (Eng. *left*).
- MAC-BEAN**, G. **M'Bheathain**, from **Beathan**, Englished as *Bean* (1490, *Beane*, 1481) or *Benjamin*: **Bitdtagno-s*, life's son, from *beatha*, life, with the termination *-agno-s*, meaning "descendant of," Eng. *-ing*, now used like the Eng. to form diminutives. Also *Mac-bain*, *Mac-vean*.
- MAC-BETH**, G. **M'Bheatha** (Dial. **M'Bheathain** and **M'Bheathaig**), M. G. *Macbethad*, O. G. *Mac-bead* (B. of Deer), M. Ir. *Macbethad*, *Macbeth* 1058, 1041 A.D.): "son of life," from *beatha*, life. It is a *personal* name originally, not *patronymic*. From *Macbeth* come *M'Bey*, *M'Vey*, *M'Veagh*.
- MAC-CAIG**, G. **M'Caog**, Ir. *Mac Taidhg*, son of Teague, E. Ir. *Tadg*, possibly allied to Gaul. *Tasgius*, etc. *Tadg* explained by O. Cl. and Dav. as "poet."
- MAC-CALLUM**, G. **M'Caluim**; see under *Malcolm*.
- MAC-CODRUM**, G. **M'Codrum**; from Norse *Guttormr*, *Goðormr*, Ag. S. *Guthrum*: "good or god serpent" (*orm*).
- MAC-COLL**, G. **M'Colla**; see *Coll*.
- MAC-COMBIE**, G. **M'Comaidh**, M. G. *M'Comie* (D. of L.): "son of Tommie," or Thomas.
- MAC-CONACHIE**, G. **M'Dhonnchaidh**, son of Duncan, which see. The Clan Donnachie are the Robertsons of Athole, so-named from Duncan de Atholia in Bruce's time: the English form of the name is from Robert, Duncan's great-grandson, who helped in bringing the murderers of James I. to execution.
- MAC-CORMIC**, G. **M'Cormaig**, from **Cormac** (**Cormag**), E. Ir. *Cormac*, Adamnan's *Cormacus*: **Corb-mac*, charioteer, from *corb*, chariot, Lat. *corbis*, basket. See *carbad*. From *corb* also comes **Cairbre**, O. Ir. *Coirbre*.
- MAC-CORQUODALE**, **M'Corcadail**, M. G. *Corgitill*, g. (D. of L.), early documents *Makorquydill* (1434); from Norse *Thorketill*, Thor's kettle or holy vessel (see *Mac-askill*).
- MAC-CRIMMON**, G. **M'Cruimein**; from *Rumun* (on a Manx Rune inscription), from Norse *Hrómundr* (for *Hróð-mundr*, famed protector)? Ceannfaelad *Mac Romain*, Bishop, d. 820; *Ruman*, the poet, d. 742; *Ruman*, the bishop, d. 919. Erig a n-agaid *Rumund*, MS. Bodl. Lib. Laud. 610, fol. 10, a, a (O. Don's Gram.).
- MAC-CULLOCH**, G. **M'Cullach**, early documents *M'Culloch* (1458), *M'Cullo*, *M'Cullach* (1431)—in Easter Ross: "son of the Boar" (*cullach*)? *M'Lulach*, son of *Lulach* (little calf?), has been suggested, and this appears as *M'Lulich*.

- MAC-DERMID ; see *Dermid*.
- MAC-DONALD ; see *Donald*.
- MACDUFF ; see *Duff*.
- MAC-ECHERN, G. M'Eachairn, M. G. M'Caychirn (D. of L.), early documents *Mackauchern* (1499), Ir. *Echthighern* (Annals 846 A.D.): "Horse-lord," from *each* and *tighearna*. Also Englished as *M'Kechnie* (**Mac-Echthigerna*).
- MAC-FADYEN, G. M'Phaidein, early documents *M'Fadzeane* (1540); from *Paidean*, Pat, a pet form of *Patrick*.
- MAC-FARLANE ; see *Bartholomew*.
- MAC-GILL ; from a G. M'Gille, used as a curtailment, especially of *Mac-millan* or *M'Gille-mhaoil*.
- MAC-GILLIVRAY, G. M'Gillebhráth, son of the Servant of Judgment, from *bráth*, judgment, q.v.
- MAC-GLASIAN, G. M'Glaisein, a side-form of *M'Ghilleghlais*, the Grey lad, M. G. M'Illezlass (D. of L.), documents *M'Gille-glasch* (1508). For the formation of this name, cf. *Gille-naomh* (Mac-niven), *Gille-maol* (Mac-millan), *M'Gillebane* (1555), *M'Gille-uidhir* (M'Clure, dun lad), *Gibroy*, red lad.
- MAC-GOWAN ; see under *Gow*.
- MAC-GREGOR ; see *Gregor*.
- MAC-HARDY, G. M'Cardaidh :
- MAC-INDEOR ; see *Dewar*.
- MAC-INNES ; see *Angus*.
- MAC-INTYRE, G. Mac-an-t-saoir, son of the carpenter ; see *saor*.
- MAC-IVER, G. M'Iamhair, M. G. M'Imhair (1467 MS.), Ir. *Imhar*, E. Ir. *Imair*, g. ; from Norse *Ivarr*.
- MACKAY, G. M'Aoidh, from *Aoidh*, O. G. *Aed*, O. Ir. *Aed*, Adamnan's *Aidus*, g. *Aido* : **Aidu-s*, fire, E. Ir. *aed*, fire, Gr. *αἶθος*, fire, brand, Lat. *aedes*, house (=hearth), *aestus*, heat, O. H. G. *eit*, fire, pyre. Hence the Gaul. *Aedui*.
- MAC-KELLAR, G. M'Ealair, M'Eallair, old documents *Makkellar* (1518), *Makalere* (1476), *M'Callar* (1470), all "of Ardare" in Glassary, Argyle. *Ellar M'Kellar* (1595), proves the name to be *Ealair*. M. Ir. *Elair*, the Gaelic form of Lat. *Hilarius* borrowed.
- MAC-KENZIE, G. M'Coinnich ; from *Coinneach*, which see under *Kenneth*.
- MACKERCHAR, G. M'Fhearchair ; see *Farquhar*.
- MACKESSACK, for G. M'Isaac, son of *Isaac*. Also MACKIESON, *M'Kesek*, 1475 ; *Kessokissone*, *Kessoksone*, 1488 ; *Makesone*, 1507 ; *Makysonn*, 1400 (mostly in Menteith and S. Perth), from *Kessoc*, *Kessan*, personal names circ. 1500, also St. *Kessog* or *Kessock*.

- MACKILLOP, G. M'Philib**, for **Philip** (= *Filip*), where *f* (= *ph*) is aspirated and disappears; from Lat. *Phillipus*, from Gr. *Φίλιππος*, lover of horses (see *gaol* and *each*).
- MACKINLAY, G. M'Fhionnla(idh)**; from *Finlay*.
- MACKINNON, G. M'Fhionghuin**, M. G. *Fionghuine*, g. (M'V.), in *Macfingon* (1400), O. G. *Finguni*, gen. (B. of Deer), Ir. *Finghin*, M. Ir. *Finghin*, *Finghuine*, E. Ir. *Finghuine*: **Vindo-gonio-s*, "fair-born" (*fionn* and *gin*); cf. for force and partial root Gr. *Καλλιγένης*, and *-γονος* in proper names.
- MACKINTOSH, G. Mac-an-tóisich**, the Thane's son (see *tóiseach*), M. G. *Clanna-an-tóisaigh*, Clans Mackintosh (M'V.), *Toissich* (D. of L.), Mackintoshes, *Clann-an-toisigh* (1467 MS.), early documents *M'Toschy* (1382).
- MACKIRDY, G. M'Urardaigh**, *M'Urarthie*, 1632; *M'Quiritei*, 1626; *Makmurrarty*, 1547; *Makwerarty*, 1517; common in Bute and Arran of old, from *Muircheartach*, "sea-director" (*muir* and *ceart*); whence also *M'Murtrie*, *M'Mutrie*.
- MAC-LACHLAN, G. M'Lachlainn**; see *Lachlan*.
- MACLAGAN, G. M'Lagain (Lathagain** in its native district of Strathtay), documentary *Maklaogan* (1525): **M'Gillaagan*, sed quid?
- MAC-LAREN, G. M'Labhrúinn**; see *Lawrence*.
- MAC-LARTY, G. M'Labhartaigh and Lathartaich**, from *Flaithbheartach*, Eng. *Flaherty*: "dominion-bearing" or "princely-bearing" (see *flath* and *beartach*).
- MAC-LEAN, G. M'Illeathain**, for **Gill' Sheathain**, John or *Seathan's* servant, M. G. *Giolla-eóin* (M'V.), *Gilleeoin* (1467 MS.), documents *Makgilleon* (1390); from *gille* and *Seathain (Iain)* or *Eóin*, John, the latter being the classic G. for the name. John means in Hebrew "the Lord graciously gave."
- MAC-LEARNAN**, so G.; from *Gill' Ernan*, St Ernan's *gille*. The Latin name of this saint is *Ferreolus*, "Iron-one"; from *iarunn*.
- MAC-LEAY, G. M'An-léigh**, or earlier **M'An-léibh**, documents *M'Conteif* (1498 in Easter Ross), *Dunslephe*, gen. (1306-9, Kintyre), *Dunslaf* Makcorry (1505), M. G. *Duinsleibe*, gen., Ir. *Donnsléibhe*, E. Ir. *Duindslébe*, gen.: "Brown of the Hill," from *donn* and *sliabh* (not "Lord of the Hill," as other similar names exist in *dubh*, e.g. *Dubhsléibhe*; see *Mac-phae*). Capt. Thomas regarded the M'Leays of the north-west as descended from *Ferchar Leche*, F. the physician, who gets lands in Assynt in 1386, being thus *M'An-léigh*, physician's son, Manx *Cleg*, *Legge*. The Appin M'Lea clan Englished their name as Livingstone, of whom was the celebrated traveller.

- MAC-LELLAN, G. M'Gillfhaolain, M. G. M'Gillelan (D. of L.), *Gilla-faelan* (1467 MS.), St Fillan's slave, E. Ir. *Faelán*, O. Ir. *Fáilan*, from *fáil*, now *faol*, wolf, q.v. Hence *Gilfillan*.
- MAC-LENNAN, G. M'illinnein, Servant of *St Finnan*, Ir. *Mac-Gilla-finnen* (common in fourteenth and fifteenth century), M. Ir. *Finden*, E. Ir. *Finnian*, Adamnan's *Vinnianus* = *Finnio*, *Finnionis* = *Findbarrus*; from *finn*, *fionn*, white: the full name, of which Finnan is a pet form, was *Findbarr* or "Fair-head," Eng. Fairfax. Skene deduced *Mac-lennan* from M. G. M'Gilla-agannan, Adamnan's *gille*, documents *Gilleganan* Macneill (1545), *Gilleounan* (1427).
- MAC-LEOD, G. M'Leoid, M. G. M'Cloyd (D. of L.), M'Leod (MS. 1540), documents *Macloyde* (fourteenth century), O. G. *Léot* (B. of Deer), Norse Sagas *Ljótr*, earl of Orkney in tenth century, and otherwise a common Norse name; the word is an adj. meaning "ugly" (!), Got. *liuta*, dissembler, Eng. *little*.
- MAC-MAHON, G. M'Mhathain; see *Matheson*.
- MAC-MARTIN, G. M'Mhairtinn, no doubt for earlier *Gillamartain*; gen. (1467 MS., an ancestor of the Cameron chiefs): Eng. *Martin*, from Lat. *Martinus*, the name of the famous fourth century Gaulish saint; it means "martial."
- MAC-MASTER, G. M'Mhaighistir, son of the Master.
- MAC-MICHAEL, G. M'Mhicheil, doubtless for earlier *Gillamichol*; see *Carmichael*.
- MAC-MILLAN, G. M'Mhaolain, M'Ghille-mhaoil, son of the Bald *gille* (cf. *M'Glashan*). To *Maolan* must be compared the Ogmic *Mailagni*.
- MAC-NAB, G. M'An-aba, M. G. m'yinnab (D. of L.), M' An *Aba* (1467 MS.): "son of the Abbot"; see *aba*.
- MAC-NAIR, G. M'An-uidhir; for *Mac Iain uidhir*, son of *dun* (*odhar*) John (cf. *Makaneroy*, 1556, now *Mac-inroy*, and *Makaneduy*, 1526, now *Mac-indoe*). Such is the source of the Gairloch branch of the name. The Perthshire sept appears in documents as *M'Inayr* (1468), *Macnayr* (1390), which is explained as *M' An-oighre*, son of the heir. *M'Nuirs* in Cowal (1685), John *Maknewar* (1546, in Dunoon); Tho. *M'Nuyer* (1681, Inverness). Prof. Mackinnon suggested *M'An-fhuibhir*, son of the smith or *faber*; nor should *M'An-jhuidhir*, the stranger's son, be overlooked as a possible etymology.
- MAC-NAUGHTON, G. M'Neachdainn, M. G. M'Neachtain (1467), O. G. *Nectan*, Pictish *Naiton* (Bede), from *necht*, pure, root *nig* of *nigh*, wash.

- MAC-NEE, G. **M'Righ**; D. of L. *M'onee*, *M'Nie*, 1613; *M'Knie*, 1594; *M'Kne*, 1480 (Menteith and Breadalbane). From *mac-nia*, champion?
- MAC-NEILL, G. **M'Neill**, documents *Makneill* (1427). See *Neil*.
- MAC-NICOL, G. **M'Neacail**, M. G. *M'Nicail*, from Lat. *Nicolas*, Gr. *Νικόλας*, "conquering people." Hence *Nicholson*.
- MAC-NISH, G. **M'Neis**; from **M'Naois**, the *Naois* being a dialectic form of **Aonghus** or **Angus**.
- MAC-NIVEN, G. **M'Ghille-naoimh**, the saintly *gille* (cf. for form in Eng. *Mac-glashan*). Documentary form *G'ilnew M'Ilwedy* (1506). The M. G. and Ir. *Gilla Nanaemh*, servant of the saints (1467 MS.), is a different name. The Ir. *M'Nevin* is for *M'Onaimhín*. *Mac Nimheín* (*Oranaiche* 520).
- MAC-PHAIL, G. **M'Phàil**; son of Paul. See *Paul*.
- MAC-PHEE, G. **M'a-Phi**, M. G. *M'a ffeith* (D. of L.), *M'Duibsiithi* (1467), documents *Macduffie* (1463), for *Dub-shithe*, Black of peace (*dubh* and *sith*).
- MAC-PHERSON, G. **M'Phearsain**, son of the Parson, M. G. *M'a pharsonne* (D. of L.), documents *M'Inphersonis* (1594 Acts of Parl.). Bean *Makimpersone* (1490, Cawdor Papers), *Makfarson* (1481, Kilarvock Papers), Archibald M'Walter vic Doncho vic *Persoun* (who in 1589 has lands in Glassary of Argyle); Tormot *M'Farsane* (vicar of Snizort, 1526). The Badenoch M'Phersons are known as *Clann Mhuirich*; the Skye sept are called *Cananaich* (from Lat. *canonicus*, canon).
- MAC-QUARRIE, G. **M'Guair**, M. G. *Guair*, *M'Guair* (1467 MS.), *Macquharry* (1481), *M'Goire* of Ulva (1463, *Makquhory* in 1473); from Gadelic *Guair*, **Gaurio*-s, E. Ir. *guair*, noble; Gr. *γαῦρος*, proud, exulting; further Lat. *gaudeo*, rejoice, Eng. *joy*.
- MAC-QUEEN, G. **M'Cuinn**, documents *Sween M'Queen* (1609, Clan Chattan Bond), *M'Queyn* (1543, *Swyne* then also as a personal name, in Huntly's Bond), *Makquean* (1502, personal name *Soyne* also appears), M. G. *Suibne*, gen. (1467 MS., Mackintosh genealogy), *M'Soenith* (D. of L.), documents *Syffyn* (1269, the Kintyre Sweenes), Ir. *Suibhne* (Sweeney), E. Ir. *Subne*, Adamnan's *Suibneus*: **Subnio*-s, root *ben*, go: "Good going?" The opposite *Duibne* (O'Duinn, etc.) appears in Ogam as *Dovvini*s (gen.). Cf. *dubhach*, *subhach*. Usually Mac-queen is referred to Norse Eng. *Sweyn*, Norse *Sveinn*, which gives G. *M'Suain*, now *Mac-Swan*, a Skye name. Pronounced in Arg. *Mac Cui'ne* or *Cuibhne*, for **M'Shuibhne**, which is the best spelling for Argyle.
- MAC-RAE, G. **M'Rath**, M. G. gen. *Mecraith*, documents *M'Crath* (1383 in Rothiemurchus), Ir. *Macraith* (years 448, onwards):

- "Son of Grace or Luck," from *rath*, q.v. A personal name like *Macbeth*.
- MAC-RAILD; see under *Harold*.
- MAC-RANALD, G. M'Raonuill; see *Ranald*.
- MAC-RORY, MAC-RURY; see *Rory*. Documents give *Makreury* in 1427.
- MAC-TAGGART, G. M'An-t-Sagairt, son of the priest.
- MAC-TAVISH, G. M'Thàimhs, for M'Thàmhais, son of Thomas or Tammas, M. G. Clyne *Tawssi* (D. of L.), documents *M'Cawis* and *M'Cause* (1494, 1488, in Killin of Lochtay).
- MAC-VICAR, G. M'Bhiocair, documents *Makvicar* (1561, when lands are given near Inveraray to him): "Son of the Vicar."
- MAC-VURICH, G. M'Mhuirich, M. G. *Mhuireadhaigh* (M'V.): the Bardic family of M'Vurich claimed descent from the poet Muireach Albanach (circ. 1200 A.D.). They now call themselves Macphersons by confusion with the Badenoch Clann Mhuirich.
- NEIL, G. Niall, so Ir., E. Ir. *Níall*, Adamnan's *Nellis*, gen.: **Neillo-s*, **Neid-s-lo*; see *niata* for root, the meaning being "champion." Hence *Mac-neill*. The word was borrowed into Norse as *Njáll*, *Njal*, and thence borrowed into Eng., where it appears in Domesday Bk. as *Nigel*, a learned spelling of *Neil*, whence *Nelson*, etc.
- NICHOLSON, G. M'Neacail; see *Moc-nicol*.
- NORMAN, G. Tormoid, Tòrmod (Dial. *Tormailt*, for earlier *Tormond*), documents *Tormode* (David II.'s reign); from Norse *Thórmóðr*, the wrath of Thor, Eng. *mood*. The form *Tormund* alternates with *Tormod* (1584, 1560): "Thor's protection;" whence the Dial. *Tormailt* (cf. *iarmailt* for phonetics). Cf. *Gearmailt*, Germany.
- PATRICK, G. Pádrúig, Pàruig (with pet form *Para*), for *Gillephadruig*, M. G. *Gillapadruig*, Ir. *Pádraig*, *Giollaphátraicc*, O. Ir. *Patricc*; from Lat. *Patricius*, patrician. Hence *Macphatrick*, *Paterson*.
- PAUL, G. Pòl (Classic), Pàl (C.S.); from Lat. *Paulus*, from *paulus*, little, Eng. *few*.
- PETER, G. Peadair; from Lat. *Petrus*, from Gr. Πέτρος, rock, stone.
- PHILIP, so G.; see *Mackillop*.
- RANALD, G. Raonull, M. G. *Raghnall* (M'V.), *Ragnall*, *Raghnall* (1467 MS.), Ir. *Ragnall* (common); from Norse *Rögnvaldr*, ruler of (from) the gods, or ruler of counsel, from *rögn*, *regin*, the gods, Got. *ragin*, opinion, rule; whence *Reginald*, *Keynold*, etc. Hence M'Raonuill, *Mac-ranald*, *Clanranald*.
- ROBERT, Raibert, Robart, Rob, M. G. *Robert* (D. of L.), *Roibert* (1467 MS.); from Eng. *Robert*, Ag. S. *Robert*, from *hró*, *hróð*,

- fame, praise, and *berht*, bright, now *bright*, "bright fame."
Hence *Robertsons* (= **Clann Donnchaidh**), *Mac-robbie*.
- RODERICK, RORY, G. Ruairidh, M. G. Ruaidri** (1467 MS.), O. G. *Rúadri*, Ir. *Ruaidhri*, gen. *Ruadrach* (Annals at 779, 814), O. Ir. *Ruadri*, E. W. *Rotri*, *Rodri*; from *ruadh*, red, and the root of *rìgh*, king? The Teutonic *Roderick* means "Famed-ruler" (from *hróð* and *rik*, the same root as G. *rìgh*). The terminal *-ri*, *-rech* (old gen.) is a reduced form of *rìgh*, king (Zimmer, who, however, regards *Ruadri* as from N. *Hrórehr*, but this in Galloway actually gives *Kerik*, *M'Kerik*, *M'Crerik*, 1490, 1579, thus disproving Zimmer's view). *M'Cririck* still exists.
- ROSS, G. Rosach, Ros**; from the County name *Ross*, so named from *ros*, promontory.
- ROY, G. Ruadh**, red. Hence *Mac-inroy*, earlier *Makaneroy* (1555), for **M'Iain Ruaidh**, Red John's son.
- SAMUEL, G. Samuel, Somhairle**. The latter really is *Somerled*, M. G. *Somuirle* (M.V.), *Somairli* (1467 MS.); from Norse *Sumarliði*, which means a mariner, viking, "summer sailor," from *sumar* and *liði*, a follower, sailor.
- SHAW, G. Seaghdh**, Englished as *Seth*; evidently formerly *Si'ach* or *Se'ach*, *Schiach M'Keich*, Weem in 1637 (= Shaw M'Shaw), *Jo. Scheach*, Inverness in 1451, *Jo.* and *Tho. Scheoch*, king's "cursors" 1455-1462, *Sythach* Macmallon in Badenoch in 1224-33, Ferchar filius *Seth* there in 1234, *M'Sithig* in B. of Deer: **Sithech*, M. Ir. *sidhach*, wolf. The female name *Sitheag* was common in the Highlands in the 17th century (*Shiak*, *Shihag*). The Southern Shaws—of Ayrshire and Greenock—are from *De Schaw* (1296), from Sc. and Eng. *shaw*, *shaws*; the southern name influenced the northern in spelling and pronunciation. In Argyle, the Shaws are called **Clann Mhic-ghille-Sheathanaich**.
- SIMON, G. Sim**. This is the Lovat personal name; hence **M'Shimidh**, Simmie's son, the name by which the Lovat family is patronymically known. Hence in Eng. *Sime*, *Mac-kimmie*, *M'Kim*, *Simpson*, etc.
- SOMERLED**; see *Samuel*.
- SUTHERLAND, G. Suthurlanach**; from the county name.
- TAGGART**; see *Mac-taggart*.
- THOMAS, G. Tòmas, Tàmhus** (M.F.), M. G. *Tamas* (1467 MS.). Hence *Mac-tavish*, *Mac-combe*.
- TORQUIL, G. Torcull** (Torcall); from Norse *Thorkell*, a shorter form of *Thorketill*, which see under *Mac-corquodale*.
- WHYTE, G. M'Illebhàin**; son of the fair *gille*. See *Bain* above.

WILLIAM, G. Uilleam, M. G. William (1467 MS.); the G. is borrowed from the Eng., O. Eng. *Willelm*, Ger. *Wilhelm*, "helmet of resolution" (from *will* and *helm*). Hence *Mac-william*.

SOME NATIVE FEMALE NAMES.

Beathag, SOPHIA, M. G. Bethog (M.V.), *Bethoc* (*Chronicles of Picts and Scots*: name of King Duncan's mother), for **Bethóc*, the fem. form of *Beathan*, discussed under *Mac-bean*.

Bride, BRIDGET, E. Ir., O. Ir. Brigit, g. Brigitte or Brigtae: **Brgnté* (Stokes), an old Gaelic goddess of poetry, etc. (Corm.); usually referred to the root *brg*, high, Celtic *Brigantes*, high or noble people; Skr. *brhatí*, high (fem.); further Ger. *berg*, hill, Eng. *burgh*. The Norse god of poetry was *Bragi*, whose name may be allied to that of *Brigit*. The name of the Gr. goddess Ἀφροδίτη (*Bhr̥g-ítá*) and the Teutonic name *Berhta* (from the same stem as Eng. *bright*), have been compared to that of *Bridget* (Hoffman, *Bez. Beit.*¹⁸, 290); but this derivation of *Aphrodite* ("foam-sprung"?) is unusual.

Diorbháil, Diorbhorguil, DOROTHY, M. G. Dearbháil (M.V.), Ir. *Dearbhail*, *Dearbhforghaill*, respectively translated by O'Donovan "true request" (see *áill*) and "true oath" (E. Ir. *for gall*, O. Ir. *for cell*, testimony, from *geall*). Hence the historic name *Devorgilla*.

Fionnaghal, FLORA, M. G. Fionnghuala (1469 MS.), documents *Finvola* (1463), *Fynvola* (1409), Ir. *Finnghuala*: "Fair-shouldered"; from *fionn* and *guala*.

Mór, Mórág, SARAH, M. G. Mór (M.V.), Ir. *Mór* (year 916); from *mór*, great, while Hebrew *Sarah* means "queen."

Muireall, MARION, MURIEL, Ir. Muirgheal (year 852): *Mori-gelá*, "sea-white"; from *muir* and *geal*.

Oighrig, Eighrig, EUPHEMIA, M. G. Effric (D. of L.), med. documents *Africa*, Ir. *Aithbhric*, older *Affraic* (two abbesses of Kildare so called in 738 and 833); from *Africa*?

Raonaid, Raonaid, RACHEL; from Norse *Ragnhildis*, "God's fight." Cf. *Ronald*.

Sorcha, CLARA, Ir. Sorcha; from the adj. *sorcha*, bright, the opposite of *dorcha*, q.v.

Una, WINIFRED, WINNY, Ir. Una; usually explained as from *úna* (*núna*, M. Ir. = *gorta*), hunger, famine, whence the Ir. proverb: "Ní bhíon an teach a mbíon Una lá ná leath gan núna"—The house where Una is is never a day or half one without hunger." W. *newyn*, Cor. *naun*, Br. *naon*, M. Br. *naffin*, **novengo*-, Eng. *need*. Cf. E. Ir. *uinchi*, scarcity, Eng. *want*, *wane*. Una, daughter of the King of Lochlan, is represented by Keating as Conn Céd cathach's mother (second century).

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

PTOLEMY, the famous Alexandrian geographer, flourished in the second quarter of the second century. Nothing much is known of his personal history, but his works on astronomy and geography dominated the world of learning and research for a dozen subsequent centuries. Ptolemy systematised the results of ancient research in these two subjects, adding some clarifying theories and facts of his own. That the earth was a sphere was a fact accepted by the ancient world of science ever since the time of Aristotle, but Ptolemy was the first to produce a rational plan for projecting the sphere, either in whole or in part, upon a plane surface. He is in fact our first real scientific map maker.

Ptolemy's work on Geography is very properly entitled "Instruction in Map-drawing"; for, of its eight books, the second to the seventh merely contain tables of names of places, with longitude and latitude attached, so as to be transferred to the map. The first book gives instructions how to make the map with the proper projection. Ptolemy also drew 27 maps himself, and maps that purport to be their descendants are still found in the Ptolemy MSS. It is easy, however, to see that the real value of the work lies in the tables and not in the maps, whose accuracy, unchecked by the tables, could never, after so many centuries of copying, be depended on.

Ptolemy's degrees of longitude start from the then known westernmost point of the world—the Canary Islands; his latitude, of course, begins from the Equator. His degree of latitude was estimated at 500 stadia, which is one-sixth too small; his longitude degrees properly enough converge as he moves northward. His northernmost point of all is Thule, which he places in latitude 63 degrees. In regard to Britain his latitude on the south coast of England is 2 degrees too high, and by the time Scotland is reached this error is doubled; the Solway Firth is put down as 58 degrees 45 minutes, whereas it is 4 degrees less than this really.

While Ptolemy's outlines of England and Ireland are in a general way fairly accurate, the fact that he places Scotland at right angles to England gives his map of the British Isles a grotesquely inaccurate appearance. On closer inspection, however, it will be found, when once this initial error is allowed for, that his outline of Scotland is as good as those for the two sister countries. Up to the Tyne and Solway, Ptolemy's map is as accurate as could be expected from his general work; but here, instead of continuing Scotland straight to the North, he turns it eastward, exactly 90 degrees wrong. Many explanations have been suggested for this error; the most satisfactory is that of Mr Bradley, who thinks that Ptolemy or a predecessor had England, Scotland, and Ireland first on three separate maps, and in fitting them together, he had placed Ireland too far North, and so, perforce, was led to place Scotland at right angles to England. In any case, latitude and longitude have shifted places as far as Scotland is concerned, and the Mull of Galloway is the furthest north point of Scotland according to Ptolemy.

Of course the text is often corrupt, different MSS. presenting different readings. The latest and best edition is that of Müller (Paris, 1883); he has collated some forty MSS., and he gives in his notes all the various readings, noting the MSS. in which they occur. I have followed Müller's text in the translation and transcription of Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland, which I here present. The map which accompanies this paper has been kindly prepared by Mr James Fraser, C.E., Inverness. He has given the latitudes and longitudes of Müller's text, but on these he has grafted the more or less rounded contours of the Latin Ptolemy map of 1478. This preserves the map from the odd look which such angular reproductions as those in Captain Thomas's maps always present, while accuracy, it is hoped, is not a whit sacrificed.

After describing the "Britannic Isle of Ivernia," that is, Ireland, Ptolemy sets about describing the situation of the Hebrides, which he places to the north of Ireland. Ptolemy's text runs thus:—

There lie above Ivernia islands which are called Æbūdæ, five in number, the westernmost of which is called—

	Longitude. Degs. Mins	Latitude. Degs. Mins.
Æbūda.....	15	62

The next to it towards the east is likewise

	Longitude.		Latitude.	
	Degs.	Mins.	Degs.	Mins.
Æbūda.....	15	40	62	
then Rhicina	17		62	
then Malæus	17	30	62	30
then Epidium	18	30	62	

And towards the east from Ivernia are these islands:—

Monacæda	17	40	61	30
Mona island	15		57	40
Adrū, a desert island	15		59	30
Limnū, a desert island	15		59	

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLAND ALVION.

The description of the north side, above which is the Ocean called Dvēcalēdonius:—

Peninsula of the Novantæ and Cape of the same name...	21		61	40
Rerigonius Bay	20	30	60	50
Vindogara Bay	21	20	60	30
Estuary of Clōta	22	15	59	20
Lemannonius Gulf	24		60	
Cape Epidium	23		60	40
Mouth of the river Longus ...	24	30	60	40
Mouth of the river Itys [Eitis]	27		60	40
Volas [or Volsas] Bay	29		60	30
Mouth of the river Nabarus...	30		60	30
Tarvedūm or Orcas Cape.....	31	20	60	15

The description of the west side, to which are adjacent both the Ivernic Ocean and the Vergionius Ocean. After the Cape of the Novantæ:—

Mouth of the river Abravannus	19	20	61	
Estuary of Iēna	19		60	30
Mouth of the river Dēva	18		60	
Mouth of the river Novius ...	18	20	59	30
Estuary of Itūna	18	30	58	45

The description of the next sides looking south-east, to which is adjacent the Germanic Ocean. After Cape Tarvedūm or Orcas, which has been mentioned:—

Cape Virvedrūm	31		60	
Cape Verubiūm.....	30	30	59	40
Mouth of the river Ila	30		59	40

	Longitude.		Latitude.	
	Degs.	Mins.	Degs.	Mins.
High Bank	29		59	40
Estuary of Varar	27		59	40
Mouth of the river Loxa	27	30	59	40
Estuary of Tvesis	27		59	
Mouth of the river Cælis	27		58	45
Cape of the Tæzali [Tæxali]...	27	30	58	30
Mouth of the river Dēva	26		58	30
Estuary of Tava.....	25		58	50
Mouth of the river Tina	24		58	30
Estuary of Boderia	22	30	59	
Mouth of the river Alaunus...	21	20	58	30
Mouth of the river Vedra.....	20	10	58	30

The Novantæ dwell along the north side below the Peninsula of like name, among whom are these towns:—

Lūcopibia.....	19		60	20
Rerigonium	20	10	60	40

Below them are the Selgovæ, among whom are these towns:—

Carbantorigum	19		59	30
Uxellum	18	30	59	20
Corda	20		59	40
Trimontium	19		59	

From these towards the east, but more northerly, are the Damnonii, among whom are these towns:—

Colanica	20	45	59	10
Vandogara	21	20	60	
Coria	21	30	59	20
Alauna	22	45	59	50
Lindum	23		59	30
Victoria	23	30	59	

More southerly are the Otalini [better Otadini], among whom are these towns:—

Coria	20	10	59	
Alauna	23		58	40
Bremenium	21		58	45

After the Damnonii towards the east, but more northerly, from Cape Epidium about eastwards are the Epidii, after whom (the Cerōnes, then more easterly) the Creōnes, then the Carnonacæ, then the Cærēni, and, most easterly and furthest, the Cornavii. From the Lemannonius Gulf as far as the

Estuary of Varar are the Calēdonii and above them the Caledonian Forest; from them more easterly are the Decantæ, touching whom are the Lūgi, and above the Lūgi are the Smertæ. Below the Calēdonii are the Vacomagī, among whom are these towns:—

	Longitude. Degs. Mins.	Latitude. Degs. Mins.
Bannatia	24	59 30
Tamia	25	59 20
Alata Castra (Winged Camp)	27 15	59 20
Tvesis	26 45	29 10

Below these but more westerly are the Venicōnes, among whom is this town:—

Orrea	24	58 45
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More easterly are the Tæzali [Tæxali] and their city:—

Dēvana	26	59
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Islands lie adjacent to the Isle of Alviōn at Cape Orcas:—

Scētis Isle	32 40	60 45
Dūmna Isle	30	61 20

Above which are the Orcades Isles, about 30 in number, the middle of which is

30	61 40
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And still further up than these is the Isle of Thūlē, the parts of which lie—

The westernmost	29	63
The easternmost	31 40	63
The northernmost	30 20	63 15
The southernmost	30 20	62 40
The middle	30 20	63

I will examine the above names with a double purpose: first, to see if they, or the places they refer to, can be traced to modern times; second, to discover, if possible, what language or languages the names belonged to. This last point practically means that I am to discuss the Pictish question from a linguistic standpoint. Professor Rhys, as is well known, maintains that the Picts were non-Celtic and non-Aryan, a view which he has lately expounded afresh in an extraordinary paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, on the language of the Northern Picts. We shall see whether Ptolemy's names for the ancient Highlands and Isles involve necessarily non-Aryan or non-Celtic elements. Of the above

names, fortunately about two-thirds of them belong to the region of the Northern Picts.

Ptolemy, as we know from Marcian, called the British Isles the Prettanic Islands, but the MSS. now have the more or less Roman form of Brettanic. Prettania is the real old Greek name of our Isles, and it is clear that the Roman Britannia is but a corruption of it. Professor Rhys and others maintain that the two names are separate; he says that Britain got its Roman name from the South of England tribes, who called themselves Brittones. But there is no authority for this. In fact, the name Prettania or Pretania has been preserved in its Brittonic form in the Welsh Prydain for Britain, and in Prydyn, the Welsh for a Pict = Gaelic Cruithne. Gaelic *c* answers often to Welsh *p*, and consequently Gaelic Cruithne, pre-historic *Qrt-an-ic*, is the same as the ancient Pretania; in short, the Picts gave their name to the British Isles. Probably they were the only Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain when the Greek voyager Pytheas (circ. 300 B.C.) visited these isles. The name is allied to Gaelic *cruth*, form, appearance; they may have been called the "figured" or "painted" men, as old writers insist they were so adorned.

Ptolemy's Alvion appears in Pliny and others as Albion; he means by it Great Britain; but the Gaelic population of both islands have always restricted this name to Scotland—Alba, gen. Alban. We may compare the Latin Alba to it; the Latin adjective *albus* signifies white. The underlying meaning is the very common and, in this case, appropriate one of "White-land." Ivernia, "Ireland," is the Latin Hibernia—a piece of folk etymologising, for Hibernia in Latin means "Winter-land" (*hibernus*, winter). Another old Greek form of the name is Iernē, which is exceedingly near the modern Gaelic sound. Some think that an initial *p* has been lost, and explain the name as Piverion, "Fat or Rich-soiled Land," Greek Pieiria. It has, however, to be remembered that several rivers (the Scottish Earns, Find-horn, etc.) have the same exact name; consequently it is either the name of a goddess, or a name applicable to both "island" and "river." (Compare the Teutonic *ey*, isle, from a root allied to *aqua*). Not only does *E're*, Ireland, appear in river names, but we have at least two other island names applicable to rivers and estuaries—Ilea or Islay and Ptolemy's Dumna (compare the Irish Inver-Domnan, etc., from the goddess Dumna). Professor Rhys, of course, refers Ivernia incontinently to a non-Celtic source, and we hear much of the pre-Celtic Ivernians.

If Scotland be shifted back into its proper place, the Æbūdæ Isles will be to the west of it, and suit, in a general way, the Western Isles. Ptolemy has 5 Æbūdæ; Pliny says there are 7 Acmodæ (Æmodæ) and 30 Hæbudæ; Mela speaks of 7 Hæmodæ. The name now appears resuscitated as Hebrides, by the misreading of a MS. copyist. Ptolemy has two islands of the same name—Æbuda or Ebuda; it is usual, from their position, to equate them with Islay and Jura; but probably Capt. Thomas was right in identifying them with the two Uists, North and South. The Norse name for Uist is Ivist, and the first syllable is not unlike the first part of Ebuda.¹ Rhicina, Pliny's Ricina, appears in a few MSS. as Engaricina, and some have consequently been tempted to refer the name to Egg (Greek Enga may be Egga); but it seems certainly intended for Rathlin isle—Irish Reachrainn. Malæos is, of course, Mull; Adamnan calls it Malea. Dr Stokes equates the root *mal* with Albanian *mal'*, height, border; Lettic, *mala*, border. The change of *a* into *u* in modern times is caused by the influence of the *e* or *i* sound in the second syllable. The Norse name was Myl. The isle of Epidium has been equated by Skene with Lismore, and by Captain Thomas with Islay. As the name cannot be separated from Cape Epidium (Kintyre), Mr Bradley thinks that it is a bit of the Mull of Kintyre which was inserted on the Irish map which Ptolemy worked from—one of the three which he fitted so ill together. We shall treat of the name Epidium afterwards. It is generally agreed that Monacæda, Pliny's Monapia, is the Isle of Man (Welsh Manaw), and that Mona is Anglesey.

Ptolemy calls the Solway Firth the Estuary of the ltūna; this name is identified with that of the Eden river. Going westwards, or rather, according to him, northwards, we first meet the river Novios, the Nith; the word is the Celtic *novios*, new, Welsh *newydd*, Gaelic *nuadh*, and the word Nith is a Brittonic rendering of the old name. Next, in its proper order, we have the Dēva or Dee; the name simply means "goddess," and is one testimony, among many, of the worship of rivers and fountains, which Gildas (6th century) so bitterly complains of. There are many Deva's on Celtic soil both in Britain and Spain. Then comes the lēna, but, unlike the Nith and Dee, the name is lost, and the guesses made vary between the rivers Cree (Skene) and Fleet (Thomas) and any-

¹ Since the above was written, Sir Herbert Maxwell suggests that Bute is the modern representative of ancient Ebouda.

way in Wigtoun Bay (Muller). The Abravannus is identified with Luce river and bay (Skene and Bradley) and the Annan (Muller), the latter on account of the similarity of the names when *Aber* is removed from Abravannus. It is usual to etymologise the name into Welsh *Aber-afon*, "river's mouth" = Mouth of Avon; and this may be correct. Then we reach the Mull of Galloway, three times its normal distance away from the head of Solway (Itūna); under the name of the Cape of the Novantæ, the people who are represented as inhabiting the "chersonese" or peninsula which abuts here. The name has left no modern traces; the root seems to be the same as that in Novios river—"New-comers?"

Turning northward, or, according to Ptolemy, eastward, we have the Rerigonius Bay; this is by general consent set down as Loch Ryan; the form suits well enough the modern name. It might be divided into *Re-rig-onios*, "fore-stretching," the main root being the common one of *reg*, stretch, go. The Bay of Ayr is represented by Vindogara Sinus: there is no modern representative, but the *vindo* is the well-known Celtic adjective *vindos*, white, a nasalised form of the root *vid*, see. The *-gara* may be parallel to the common river-name of Garry—Gaelic *Garaidh*, being possibly from the root *gar*, sound, and meaning "brawling." The Clōta is, of course, the Clyde; the Gaelic is *Cluaidh*, old genitive *Cluade*, Adamnan's *Cloithe*, Bede's (Welsh) *Cluith*; it is usual to refer the word to the root *klu*, *klou*, cleanse, the Latin *cluo*, cleanse, *cloaca*, sewer.

Next comes the Lemannonius Bay: we may take this form as the correct one, though many MSS. have Lelaanonius. By general consent the place meant is recognised as Loch Fyne; Muller, Bradley, Thomas, and Stokes all agree on this. And it suits Ptolemy's position well enough, though Loch Long is technically more correct, where, indeed, Skene places it. The name still exists in that of Lennox, the older Levenax or Levanach, the Middle Gaelic of which is Leamhain. The root is *lem*, now *leamh*, an elm; and we may compare the Helvetian Lake Lemannus. Some think that Loch Lomond is meant; at anyrate, they think it is its name that we have here got by some confusion or other. The Gaelic of Loch Lomond is Loch Loimean, but in old times it was called Loch Leven, a name which in Ptolemy's times would be Līvona (Lei-vo-na, root *lei*, smooth, flowing, Greek *leois* ¹). The difficulty is not altogether with Lemannonius Bay, but with the Longus river,

¹ See further in *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 551.

which Ptolemy places next after Cape Epidium in a position that might suit, relatively to the other two places, the western mouth of the Crinan Canal. Here the river Add discharges itself into the sea; the name means the "Long River;" and hence Skene concluded that this Long river was Ptolemy's Longus. There are several objections to this theory. First, it takes for granted that the Gaels were the inhabitants of the district about the year 100; this may be true. Second, it is Ptolemy's practice to translate the native names into his own Greek, as witness High Bank and Winged Camp, not into Latin, as Longus would imply. Skene made the error because he used a Latin map and text, and he has even caused Mr Bradley to stumble after him. The name is the name of Loch Long, however much displaced; it means "Ship" or "Navigable Loch," from Gaelic *long*, *W llong*, ship. In fact, the Norsemen called this very firth Skipafjördhr, that is, Ship Fjord. Dr Stokes thinks that Longus is a Celtic word cognate with Latin *longus*; but the word *long* or *luing* is a common name in the Western Isles, one or two islands going by more or less oblique forms of the name (*Lunga*, *Luing*, and two *Longa*'s). The identification of Longus River with Loch Long implies much confusion on the part of Ptolemy or, rather, of his informants; but when one looks at the numerous lochs and firths and headlands of the Clyde Firth and Argyllshire Coast, one need not wonder that the Roman sailors blundered. It is right to say that Capt. Thomas identified the Longus river with Loch Linnhe—An Linne Dhubbh, or Black Linn. Cape Epidium (Mull of Kintyre), we shall discuss in the name of the Epidii.

Starting from the Mull of Kintyre and ignoring Longus river, we next meet with Itis or Eitis river, which fits quite well as to distance from the Mull with Loch Etive. This identification has commended itself to Muller, Bradley, and, doubtfully, to Captain Thomas. The name suits well; Etive in Modern Gaelic is Eitigh, in Middle Gaelic Eitichi (Story of Deirdre). The only difficulty is that, if the *t* was single between two vowels, we ought now to have it aspirated. It has, however, to be remembered that Etive is doubtless a word borrowed into the Gaelic, and in that case the rule does not always hold (witness the early borrow *sagart*, from *sacerdos*). Stokes gives the root as *ei* or *i*, to go, as in Lat. *itum*, *iter*, etc. Some compare the Gaulish Portus Itius, whence Cæsar started for Britain. Skene places Itis at Loch Carron.

Accepting Loch Etive as Ptolemy's Itis, we find that his distance therefrom to the Volsas (Volas) Bay will bring us to

the neighbourhood of Loch Alsh, a name that wonderfully fits with that given by the old geographer. The root may be *vel*, *vol*, to "well," "roll;" German *wolle*, a wave. Muller, Skene, and Thomas place the Volsas Bay at Loch Broom, a view that is tenable enough if the longitude of the Varar, Loxa, etc., on the east coast are considered. If Loch Alsh is the Volsas Bay, then the river Nabarus, which is undoubtedly the Naver, is much too far south—only one degree away from Loch Alsh. Any way we take it, there must be a discrepancy. As can be seen, Ptolemy ignores Cape Wrath, though many writers think that this is his Tarvedum Promontorium, notably Mr Bradley, who thinks that Ptolemy has misplaced the Naver; in fact, he thinks that Tarvedum and Vervedrum should come before the Naver. But this is very unlikely, as we shall see. In many MSS. Nabarus is given as Nabæus, but there is no doubt in the mind of any one that the river is the Naver. The root seems to be *nav*, swim, etc., whence *navis*, a ship; in short, the meaning of the word is much the same as we found in that of Loch Long. The Modern Gaelic is *Nauir*, the preservation, such as it is, of the *v* showing a borrowing from the previous Pictish tongue.

After the Naver comes Cape Tarvedūm or Orkas, which Captain Thomas and Mr Bradley identify with Cape Wrath. Mr Bradley rests his case on his derivation of Vervedrum, which he thinks is the progenitor of Farout in Farout Head—an impossible derivation. It is altogether a needless dislocation of Ptolemy's positions; he means the three or four heads to the north and east of Caithness—Holburn Head, Dunnet Head, Duncansby Head, and Noss Head. Tarvedūm is given by Marcian as Tarvedūnum, that is, Bull's Dun or Fort; compare the Tarodūnum of Gaul with like force. The meaning may, however, simply be Bull's Head. The point meant is either Holburn Head, near Thurso, or Dunnet Head, also forming an outpost to Thurso Bay. As a proof of our identification, Thurso itself is the Norse Thjórsa or Bull's Water! With it may be compared the Icelandic Thjórsá or Bull's Water of modern times. Ptolemy gives the cape a secondary name—Orkas; it seems to me that he means the two sentinel capes of Thurso Bay—Holburn and Dunnet Heads. Duncansby Head is called Virvedrūm Cape; all writers are agreed upon this, Mr Bradley excepted. He thinks that Farout Head is meant; he analyses Vir-vedrum into the preposition *ver*, the Gaulish form of the Gaelic *for* or *far*, Lat. *s-uper*, Greek *uper*; it means "upon" or "exceeding." The *vedrūm*

he equates with the Pictish *fothar*, appearing in Dunottar (Simon of Durham's Dum-foeder). The *vir* is doubtless the prep. *ver*; but *vedrūm* can hardly be *fothar*, for the latter word itself is simply a prefix word—a preposition, seemingly of like meaning with Gaelic *for*. The Wear river is called by Ptolemy *Vedra*; and Dr Stokes suggests a connection with O. Slavonic *Vedru*,¹ clear. This would give a meaning in each case of Cape Clear and Clear River, which are, as to signification, quite satisfactory. Cape Verūbium, or Noss Head, also contains the prep. *ver*; the root *ub* has been happily referred by Stokes to the Irish word *ubh*, sword-point, doubtless allied to the English *weapon* (root *veb*, *ub*). This would give the meaning of the word Verubium as “Sword Head.”

Turning now southward, or westward according to Ptolemy, we come to the river *Ila*. By almost common consent this is regarded as the Helmsdale River, called in Gaelic *Ilidh*, Eng. *Ulie*, Sir Rob. Gordon's *Vlly*. The name *Ila* is common as a river name in Scotland (spelt *Isla* usually), and there is also the Island of Islay so named. In this we must remember the parallel case of *Erinn* in being used both for rivers and for the Island of Ireland. Stokes suggests a reference to the root in German *eilen*, to hasten, go. Skene draws attention to the fact that the syllable *il* enters largely into Basque topography. A degree (of longitude) further south is “High Bank,” which Skene identifies with the hills north of the Dornoch Firth, but which most writers regard as the Ord of Caithness misplaced. It is likely the Ord of Caithness that is meant, and some seek the *Ila* north of it in the Latheron district, but without success. Berriedale Water may have also once been an *Isla*; witness the North and South Esks. The *Varar* Estuary is undoubtedly the Inverness and Beaully Firth. The name still exists in the River *Farrar*, and glen of *Strath-farrar*. The root is *var*, which may mean “winding,” “bending;” compare Lat. *varus*, *varius*. We are now at the innermost corner of the *Moray Firth*; and it may be remarked that Ptolemy has a wonderfully accurate account of this part, indeed of the whole, of the eastern coast of Scotland.

The river *Loxa* is represented as in the same parallel (that is, longitude) as *Varar*, but half a degree to the north. That is how the best MSS. have it; other MSS. place the *Loxa* between *High Bank* and *Varar*, equating it with the *Cromarty Firth* (Captain Thomas), or the *Loth*, an insignificant river in

¹ Root *vid*, see, as in Gaelic *fiann*, white. But *ved*, wet, suits the phonetics better.

Loth Parish (Bradley). The Loxa ought naturally to be the Nairn by position; but the name is identified by Skene, Stokes, and others with that of the Lossie, far away from Ptolemy's place for it on the map. The phonetic difficulty here is a racial one; from an early Pictish *x*, we should expect a later *ch*, that is, if the Pictish was a Brittonic language and treated *x* as the other Brittonic languages did. Compare Ochil of the Ochil Hills and the Welsh *uchel*, high, Gaelic *uasal*, Gaulish *uxellos*. The form *lok-s* may be from one or two roots, and may mean "oblique," "shining," etc. Measuring from Varar, we should put the Tvesis Estuary about Cullen; it is doubtless the mouth of the Spey that is meant. On this all the authorities are agreed. The names seem also allied; Spey, Gaelic Spé, may come from Spesi-s or Speisi-s, a Celtic *sqvei*, to vomit; Gaelic *sgeith*, Welsh *chwyd*, vomo; compare for force the old Italian river Vomanus. Ptolemy's *tv* initial is an attempt to reproduce the initial Pictish sound which has now settled into the very non-Gaelic form of *sp* in Spey. Half-way between Spey and Kinnaird Head is the Caelis (Greek *kailis*) River, or Celnus, which suits the position of the important river Doveran or Deveron, but which in name fits Cullen and Cullen Water (Welsh makes original *ai* into *u*; hence *Kailnios*, which two MSS. give, represents admirably a later Cullen). Doveran is a Gaelic name and a late one; as the earlier form Duffhern shows, it means the Black Earn opposed to the Findhorn or White Earn. The root *kail* is in modern Gaelic *caol*, narrow. Kinnaird's Head is called the Cape of the Tæzali or Tæxali (Taixali), a name that should produce in later times a Pictish (British) Tuch-al or a Gaelic Taosal; the parish of Tough in mid Aberdeenshire ideally represents the British form of the root.

Turning southward, we come to the River Dēva, now the Dee. Skene accepts the bad reading of one MS., which gives Liva or Leva, and identifies it with the North Esk. Next comes the Estuary of the Tava, the Tavaus of Tacitus, which in position suits the Esk, but in name and in reality means the Tay. The name Tava appears on Brittonic ground in the Devon Tavy and the Welsh Tawe, and there is a Welsh adjective *taw*, signifying "quiet," "gentle," to which Gluck equates the Gaulish Tavia, Tavium, and the woman's name Tavena. Between the Tay and the Forth Ptolemy places the river Tina or Tinna; by position, of course, it suits the Tay best. The river meant is the Eden, which makes a considerable bay near St Andrews. Many think that the Tyne, of New-

castle, is meant, but this is unlikely, because this portion of the coast was possibly the one best known to the Roman fleets, as we can easily guess from Agricola's campaign. If it be the Eden, then the remarks on the Eden from which we started may apply to its derivation. Otherwise Tina or Tinna may be referred to the root *ten*, stretch, pull, Welsh *tyn*.

The Estuary of Boderia is undoubtedly the Firth of Forth; this name Tacitus gives as Bodotria. By combining the two readings we may arrive at a form Bodertia, the first portion of which may be the well-known Pictish form Fother, so common in place-names as a prefix, latterly dwindling into For (compare Fothuirtabhaicht, now Forteviot, Fordun from Fotherdun), or protracted in Scotch to Fetter (Fettercairn, Fetteresso). It is possibly terminal in Dunottar, anciently Duin Foither, Oppidum Fother, Dun foeder (Simon of Durham for latter). Dr Stokes suggests a connection with Irish *foithre*, woods; but the Pictish *fother* points as likely to an older *voter*, a comparative form of the prep. *vo*, under, and comparable to a Greek *upoteros*. The old Picto-Celtic form of Forth may have been *Vo-ter-tia*, which with the hardening of the *v* and the softening of the *t* (to *d*), which were in process probably as early as the first century, would give us the *Boderia* or *Bodotria* of the Classical writers. Forth seems to be the descendant of the word which Bodotria stands for. The 12th century writer of "De Situ Albanie" says the river is called Froch in Gaelic (Scottice) and Werid in Welsh (Britannice)—Eng. Scottewatre, that is, Scottish Sea. In two Irish versions of a poem on the Picts, added to the Irish mediæval Nennius, we are told the Picts took Alba "O crich Cat co Foircu (or Foirchiu)," that is, "from the bounds of Caithness to Forth." Zeuss compares Bodotria to the form *buadarthe*, turbulentus, applied to a stream in an old Irish gloss, and no doubt a shorter form of the word *buadar*, that is, *bodar*, would do; but then the modern name Forth, which seems connected with the Classical names, must receive a separate explanation.

The next point on the coast noticed by Ptolemy is the mouth of the river Alaunus; the river named is the Alne of Northumberland, surely insignificant compared to the Tweed, which is ignored. Captain Thomas suggests that the Tweed is meant but the Alne named. In a similar way, the Tyne is passed unmentioned, while the Wear is taken, under the name of Vedra. For its derivation, see Cape Vervedrum. There was another Alaunus in the south of England, identified with the Axe, and two cities in France and two in Britain called

Alauna. There are at least three Scottish rivers called Alan, and this is supposed to be the modern form of ancient Alaunos, or, the more Celtic, Alauna. There is a Welsh Alun river, and the Cornish Camel is also known as the Alan. The word likely divides into *Al-auna*, and possibly the root is *pal*, as in Latin *palus*, marsh.

Let us now consider the sixteen or seventeen tribes that Ptolemy divides Scotland among. The Novantæ occupied Wigton; we have already regarded them as the "New-comers," root *nov*, new. Eastward to the head of the Solway lay the Selgovæ, whose name still survives in Solway Firth; the root is *selg*, which in the Celtic tongue means "hunting;" the Selgovæ were the "Huntsmen." The great tribe of the Damnonii occupied the counties of Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Stirling, Menteith and Fothreve of the western portion of Fife (Skene). They are generally in name regarded the same as the Dumnonii of ancient Devon, to which they gave that name. Prof. Rhys calls the Damnonii a Brythonic people, and finds remains of their name in that of the river Devon in Perthshire. If the Damnonii are in name the same as the Dumnonii, the root is the very common Celtic one of Dumnos or Dubnos, "world," the modern Gaelic *domhan*, allied to Eng. *deep*. East of the Selgovæ and Damnonii lay the Otadini (long *o*), along the east coast from the Wear to the Firth of Forth, if not into Fife! So awkwardly does the town Alauna fit the position of the Estuary of Boderia that the situation of the town suits only the isle of Inchkeith. Otalini is the reading of five good MSS., Otadini or Otadēni that of 15, and Tadini or Gadēni that of some others. The preferable reading is Otadini, which suits the old Welsh name of the Lothian district, viz., Guotodin.

While the tribes we have just enumerated are said to have possessed towns, which are duly named and "positioned," a matter which helps the identification of the tribal localities, the next ten tribes are slumped together townless, and with little or no guidance as to their position. First come the Epidii, touching the Damnonii to the north-west, and starting from Cape Epidium, as Ptolemy says. We may assign them Kintyre and Lorn. The name is from the root *epo-*, the Gaulish for "horse," Gaelic *each*. The ancient Gaelic name would have been Eqidios; indeed the name exists in Adamnan's personal name, Echodius, and the later Eachaidh, which in Gaelic passed into Eachuinn. Dr Stokes, however, thinks the root is *peku*, cattle, Lat. *pecu*; he would give the oldest form

as (*p*)*ekvidioi*, "cattle-holders," the later Irish personal name being Eochaid; but the other derivation seems the right one, for, as a matter of fact, the root *peku* appears nowhere else in Celtic. Next are the Cerones or Creones, for the MSS. differ as to whether these were two or one people. The root of the name is either *ker* or *kre*; it is a root of several meanings, the chief one of which is to "cut, divide, throw." Various authorities see remains of the name in the West Coast loch names—such as Crinan, Creran, etc., also Carron, Keiarn, Kearon. Captain Thomas extends them from Crinan to Loch Leven, and finds the name in Creran. The Carnonacæ, according to most writers, occupied Wester Ross, and, of course, Loch Carron has been equated with the name. The true derivation seems to be *carn*, "a hill," common to all the Celtic tongues; they were the men of the "Rough-bounds," or Garbh-chriochan—the "Cairn-men." The use of Carn or Cairn for mountain names is peculiar to Pictland and Wales. Dr Stokes connects the 8th century name Monith Carno, the scene of a battle between two rival Pictish kings, fought in 729, near Loch Lochy (?). The Cærēni, or, properly, Cairēni, may be placed in Western Sutherland up to near the Naver. The root *cair* is that of **cairax*, the modern *caora*, sheep; compare the Cæroesi of Gaul. Animal names giving names to persons or nations is not an uncommon phenomenon. The Cornavii occupied Caithness, the "horn" or *corn* of Scotland. There were Cornavii between the Dee and the Mersey in England, and Cornwall still holds the name, standing for Corn-Wales, "the Welsh of the Horn."

Neighbours to the Cornavii southwards were the Lūgi, occupying easter Sutherland. Around Loch Shin were the Smertæ, and Easter Ross was occupied, up to the Varar Estuary, by the Decantæ. The root *lūg* of the name Lugi appears in many Celtic names, both on the Continent and in Ireland. Indeed, there was a Lūgi tribe in Mid-Germany contemporary with the Highland Lugi. The god of light and arts among the Gael was called Luga of the Long Arms; and the old name of Lyons was Lūgdunum, explained by an old glossary as "desiderato monte"—the desirable town. Dr Stokes refers the root *lug* to a Celtic base corresponding to Ger. *loken*, allure, Norse *lokka*. In that case the Norse god Loki is Aryan cousin, probably, to Luga, though the former is the god of evil enticement, while the Celtic Lug is alluring by good. The Smertæ or Mertæ also shows a common root; we have the personal names Smertalos (Cumberland inscrip-

tion), Smertulitanos, Smertomara, Ad-smerios, etc.; and the goddess Minerva of the Gauls, called Ro-smerta. These Dr Stokes refers to the root *smer*, to shine. The Decantæ are paralleled by an ancient people of North Wales—the Decanti, or Decangi (?), now Degannwy. The name seems also to be found on the Ogam inscriptions as Deceti; there is also the Decetia of Cæsar. Dr Stokes gives the root as *dec*, Latin *decus*, glory, Eng. *decorous*.

The Calēdonii or Caledonians are definitely located; they stretched, says Ptolemy, from Lemann Bay to the Estuary of Varar—from Loch Fyne to the Inverness Firth; above them, that is, west of them, is the Caledonios Drumos or Forest. This last, as Skene said, is Drum Alban and the western Grampians. A line from Loch Fyne to Inverness goes right along Drum Alban for half the way; in fact, the district so defined is an impossible one for two reasons. The Caledonians were east of Drum Alban; secondly, Dunkeld, which most writers allow as containing their name, shews that Perthshire was occupied by them. In fact, the Caledonians inhabited Perthshire and easter Inverness. Much discussion has raged round the name, and authorities are by no means agreed yet. Professor Windisch gave as the root of Caledonian the form *Cald-onios*; the root *cald* in Gaelic and Welsh means “wood”—Gaelic *coille*, Welsh *celli*. Hence Caldonii or Caledonii meant “Woodlanders.” As a further proof, the name Dunkeld is in old Gaelic Dun Calden, now Dun-Chaillinn; and there is also the mountain Sidh-Chaillinn in mid Perthshire. The combined sound *ld* was separated by the Romans and a vowel *e* introduced; this was mistakenly lengthened by Ptolemy and his imitators. The Welsh forms show Celidon, but are evidently founded on the Latin pronunciation of Caledonia. Dr Stokes separates Caledonii from both Dun Calden and from *cald*, *coille*, wood. He cannot agree that the root in Calēdonia can be Calden and *cald*. Professor Rhys, on the other hand, allows that Dun Calden contains the name Caledonia, but he denies that either can be of Celtic origin, much less akin to the root *cald*. The Dv̄e-Caledonian Sea or Western Ocean has a puzzling name; the *dv̄e* has been explained as meaning “two.” This postulates two Caledonias, and this there was, if Perthshire was their southern and Inverness-shire their northern seat, and according to all evidences the Caledonians were an inland people; it is difficult to understand how they could have given their name to the Western Ocean, unless, indeed, the northern half occupied all

Inverness-shire, west as well as east. In the wars of Severus so important were the Caledonians become that only they alone are mentioned for the northern Highlands, the other tribe being the Mæatæ, near Agricola's wall.

The Vacomagi, according to Ptolemy, occupied territory east of the Caledonians and coterminous with theirs throughout. What suits his figures is the stretch of country which begins on the Moray Firth with Elgin and Banff, includes Western Aberdeenshire and Perthshire, or, at least, the eastern portion of it. One of their four towns—Bannatia—would fall about the Earn or Almond, near Crieff, while the northernmost town is identified, probably rightly, with Burghead, and is called "Winged Camp." The name Vacomagi has been explained by Mr Bradley and Professor Rhys as "men of the open plains," in opposition to the Caledonian Woodlanders. The stretch of country allotted to them by Ptolemy, intersected as it is with the Grampians and its south-tending spurs, would hardly gain them this name; but possibly they really occupied Forfar, West Aberdeen onwards to the Moray Firth, leaving Perthshire to the Caledonians. As to the derivation, the form *vacos* is very common in Celtic names, both as prefix and affix, but, as Gluck remarked, its meaning is obscure. The Welsh *gwâg*, empty, which Mr Bradley and Professor Rhys's derivation brings forward as a parallel, is apparently borrowed from Latin; Dr Stokes, however, allows it as a native word in his *Comparative Dictionary*, just published. The form *magi* may be equated with old Gaelic *mag*, plain, now *magh*. No trace of such a name as Vacomagi now exists. The Tæxali of Aberdeenshire we have already discussed; and Ptolemy's only other tribe is the Ven(n)icones, or Venicomæ; this name is found also, but only once or twice, as Vernicomæ. They occupied Easter Fife, and perhaps stretched northward into Forfar; Ptolemy makes them and the Tæxali fill the whole coast, apparently, from Kinnaird Head to Fife Ness. Modern editors prefer Vernicones as the name of this people; Professor Rhys once explained the name as "Marsh-hounds," adducing the Welsh *gwern*, a swamp, and *cwn*, hounds, as complete parallels. It may be remarked that "dog" names were common and popular among the Gaelic Celts, and the derivation is, therefore, not to be rejected on any idea that such a name would be insulting. But *verno* may also mean "good" and "alder," and, then, there is the terminal *comes* as against *cones* in the MS. readings. Possibly Professor Rhys's derivation is the best one. If we take *Ven*

instead of *Vern*, then we have the well-known Celtic root for "kin," "friends," Gaelic *fine*, seen in names like Veneti, etc.

Ptolemy mentions 21 towns as existent in Scotland in his time; they are mostly in the south, the Highland tribes having none, we may say. What exactly Ptolemy meant by his "towns" it is hard to say, for of regular towns in a Roman sense there were none. Possibly defensive positions—the *dūna* or fortified hills and the strongholds in woods or by rivers—are meant; and certainly within the lines of Roman conquest and campaigning the "towns" appear to have been so many Roman positions taken up and occupied by Roman camps and forts: witness such a name as Victoria, the position of which is naturally assigned to some place in Perth or Fife that presents prominent Roman remains. Hence we may account for so many towns being named by the rivers on which they were placed; the town, as it were, was "the Camp on the Allan" or whatever river it may have been. Again Ptolemy is very inaccurate in his account of the position of the towns, even in England. Says Mr Bradley:—"No reliance can be placed on any of Ptolemy's indications of the position of inland places not otherwise known to us; and the limits of the tribal territories are dependent almost entirely on the situation of the towns. Under these circumstances, it does not seem that Ptolemy's internal geography of Britain is likely to repay the trouble of a minute examination." The case in Scotland is much worse than with England; there certain names are recognisable, but in Scotland no town name has survived from Ptolemy's time. In these circumstances, we shall pass them in very brief review.

The Novantæ had two towns—Lūcopibia and Rerigionium. The former is placed by Skene at Whithorn, once St Ninian's Candida Casa. The *lūco* of Lucopibia means "white" in Greek and "shining" in the Brittonic languages; so that the English, Latin, and Greek are all translations or adaptations (Greek) of the Celtic original. Others see the name preserved in Luce and Glen Luce, and transfer the town to the latter place. Rerigionium was on Loch Ryan, doubtless, where Roman works can still be seen. The Selgovæ had four towns—one was Carbantorigon, possibly at the Moat of Urr, between the Nith and the Dee (Skene); Rhys thinks the name is a Celtic degradation of Carbantorion, "chariot town," for *Carbantōn* meant "chariot." Uxellum or "High-town" (Welsh, *uchel*; Gaelic, *uas*, *usal*) may have been Wardlaw Hill, at Caerlaverock (Skene); while Corda, whose derivation

is doubtful, was possibly at or about Sanquhar. Trimontium, or "Three Mount," suits the Eildon Hills for meaning, but Skene, for position and for the Roman works there, places it at Birrenswark.

The Damnonii had six towns—the first town is Colonia, near the sources of the Clyde, making a frontier post on a northward march; second, Coria, which Skene places at Carstairs, where numerous remains, both Roman and Native, have been found; third, Vindogara, whose derivation we discussed already, which may have been at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire, where remains of a Roman camp exist; fourth, Alauna, which Skene places at the junction of the Allan and Forth, and which would form a defence against a foe advancing into Caledonia. It was somewhere on the Allan; Rhys places it at the famous Ardoch, *near* the Allan. The fifth town is Lindum, which Skene places at Ardoch; the word means "water, *linn*;" for name Lindum would suit Lin-lithgow best. The town of Victoria, which, in Celtic, would be Boudica or Pictish Budic, must have been a Roman station, possibly at Lake Orr, in Wester Fife (Skene) where Roman remains exist.

The Otadini had three towns: first, Coria, which is variously placed at Peebles and at Carby Hill, Liddesdale (Skene); second, another Alauna, which, as was said, suits Inchkeith by position, but is possibly Alnwick misplaced. Bremenion, whose root *brem* means "roaring," is placed by Skene at High-Rochester in Redesdale, where traces of the Romans still exist.

We are on the confines of the Highlands, if not actually in them, when we come to the Vacomagi. In any case they were a great Pictish tribe. They had four towns: first, Bannatia or Banatia, which is variously placed on the Earn at Strageath, the Almond at Buchanty (Skene, Rhys), or the Garry in Atholl (Thomas). The editor of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* places it at Inverness and *Bona*. The root *ban* or *bann* is found often on Celtic ground: it means "white," "milk," "bond," etc. The second town is Tamia, which Skene places on the isle of Inchtuthill in the Tay, where numerous remains exist; the root *tam* is common, especially for river names, and possibly means "dark." The "Winged Camp" is by common consent allocated to Burghead; while Tvesis is placed by Skene at Boharm on the Spey, for it is but the river name used as a town name.

The Vernicones have been allocated only one town—Orrea, which has been variously placed by modern writers—at the

junction of the Orr and Leven in Fife (Rhys), at Abernethy (Skene), and at Forfar (Thomas). Somewhere on the Orr seems best. Skene has suggested that Orr, the river name, is connected with Basque *Ur*, water; so, he thinks, are the several rivers of similar names which we have—Oure, Ure, Urie,¹ Orrin, and Ore. This should delight Prof. Rhys. The root *or*, however, is a good Aryan one, and signifies to “run,” “start;” the Norse *örr* means swift; and the root *por*, which also in Celtic results in *or*, gives like meanings—“passing through,” etc. The Tæxali are represented as having one town—Dēvana. Skene places this, mostly because of similarity of name, at Loch *Daven*, near Ballater. The phonetics are unsatisfactory in two ways; the *a* does not correspond to *ē* in Dēvana, and it is unlikely that *v* could be preserved in such a unique word. In fact, the *v* has disappeared out of the name Deon, the Don now, from which Aberdeen has its name. The Gaelic is Dian, for ancient Divona, or rather Deivona. This is undoubtedly Ptolemy's word as well, and possibly Aberdeen, or rather Old Aberdeen is meant. The name means “goddess,” and is found in Gaul;² for the idea underlying it, see the remarks on the Dee or Deva.

Ptolemy places four islands, or island groups, adjacent to his Cape Orkas. The first is known in the best MSS. as Skitis or Sketis (once only), while most MSS. give the form Ocitis. Ptolemy places Skitis about 70 miles N.E. of Cape Orkas, and, owing to the form Ocitis, many writers consider it as having been one of the Orcades islands. It is, however, more probably the Isle of Skye misplaced, a view which commends itself to Muller, Thomas, and Stokes. The latter says that it is “the wing-shaped island of Skye; Norse *Skidh*; Irish *Scii* (dat. case, date 700 in Annals of Ulster); Adamnan, *Scia*; gen., *Sceth* (date 667 in Annals of Ulster), *Sciith* (Tigernach, 668); means wing, Ir. *Sciath*, *Sciathan*.” Dr Stokes' derivation is the one usually accepted; the Norse *Skidh*, which is possibly influenced by “folk-etymology,” means a “log,” “firewood,” “tablet,” and is allied to another Gaelic *Sgiath*, a shield. It is interesting to note that the Dean of Lismore refers to the island as “Clar Skeith”—the Board of Skith.

¹ The *u* in most of these cases is long. Inver-urie appears in 1300 as Inver-vwry, though the modern spelling existed in 1199. The derivation suggested is from *iubhar*, the yew, the Gaulish *Eburo*, which appears in so many ancient names of places, rivers, and peoples.

² Ansonius (4th century) explains it thus: “Divona, fons addite divis.”

The second island is called Dūmna; he places it some 60 miles north, that is west (?), of the mouth of the Naver, and the Orcades Isles only twenty miles further off northwards. Pliny mentions Dumna, but places it along with Scandia or Scandinavia. Mr Elton thinks it is one of the Orkneys, Captain Thomas says that it is usual to connect it with Stroma ("Current Isle"), and Mr Bradley considers it either to be Skye or the Long Island. It may be the Long Island; the name seems to contain the root which we have already discussed in the case of the Damnonii or Dunmnonii, the *u* of which is also long.¹

There are thirty Orcades Islands, says Ptolemy; other writers, such as Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, mention them and their numbers (40 or 30), and Tacitus tells us that Agricola's fleet subdued them. The name is still with us in Orkney, a Norse form signifying the "Isles of Ork." Old Gaelic *orc* signified a "pig, a whale;" hence "Whale-Isles" is the force of the word. Allied by root is the Lat. *porcus*, pig, whence radically we have the Eng. *pork*. The fourth island is the ever-famous Thule, but what the meaning of the name is or where the island was situated we do not here intend to discuss, for it is a very fruitless task. It is possibly part of Scandinavia; at least we cannot consider Thule as belonging to Scotland.

In conclusion, I will now draw some inferences from these names given by Ptolemy for northern Scotland. Early Pictland, we may take it, was Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde—the part of the country never subdued by Roman arms and called by Tacitus Caledonia. For this district north of the Firths up to the Orkneys, Ptolemy has given us some 44 names. Are the names Aryan by root and character? Are they Celtic? If Celtic, do they belong to the Brittonic or to the Gâdelic branch of Celtic? The first two questions are practically answered; we have only to summarise the results at which we arrived in discussing the names separately. Of the 44, three are translated names—Ripa Alta, Pinnata Castra, and Victoria; these cannot count in our argument. The following names we found (1) Celtic derivations for, and (2) noted them as existent either on the Continent in Celtic regions or in England and Wales on Brittonic ground, viz.:—Lemannonius, Itis, Tarvedum (Tarvedunum), Deva, Devana, Tava, Cornavii, Decantæ, Lugi, Smertæ, Lindum, to which we

¹ Compare the goddess Domnu, whose name is in Inver Domnann (Rhys' Hib. Lect., p. 593).

may add Alauna. The root of Dumna and Dumnonii is common in Celtic lands, and the elements of Vaco-magi are easily paralleled in Gaul. Epidii is specially Brittonic, and good Celtic roots were found for Clota, Longos, Nabaros, Carnonacæ, Cæreni, Vernicones, Orcades; the Gaulish prefix *ver* appears in Vervedrum and Verubium; we suggested probable roots for Volsas, Ila, Varar, Loxa, Cælis, Cerones (Creones), Sketis, and also for Bannatia and Tamia. Even should our derivation of Caledonia be disputed, the root *cal* may be fallen back upon, and it is quite common in Celtic names; but it is a root of several meanings. The Tvesis and Tina are doubtful as to form and origin (Spey and Eden?); Bodotria, which is in a similar position, was referred to a Pictish comparative (vo-ter-); Orrea we referred to the root *or*, and Tæxali was left underived. Skene suggests for Orrea and Ila a Basque origin, a view that should commend itself to Professor Rhys.

We thus see that only three or four words cannot be satisfactorily accounted for; and these, in two cases, are badly recorded forms; we are not sure that we are dealing with the genuine forms of the words. One-third of the names can easily be paralleled elsewhere on Celtic ground—Gaulish and Brittonic, but not, however, on Gadelic ground; a fourth more show good Celtic roots; and another fourth can be satisfactorily analysed into either Aryan or Celtic radicals. Hence we may justly conclude that the Picts or Caledonians spoke not only an Aryan, but also a Celtic language in the first century of our era. Two further facts point to the conclusion that the Pictish language and people were rather Brittonic than Gadelic. First, the *p* of Epidii is thoroughly non-Gaelic, but it is equally thoroughly Welsh; the root *ego* or *epo*, as we saw, means "horse," and the former is the Gadelic and the latter the Brittonic form. Again, the names which are paralleled by Gaulish and British similar forms clearly belong to Brittonic, or rather Gallo-British, ground, such as Devana, Tava, Alauna, Smertæ, Itis; these names cannot be got either in ancient or modern Ireland. We thus see that Ptolemy's geography of Pictland yields some proof that the Picts were, as to language, allied to the Cymric branch of the Celtic race. With later sources, such as Bede, Adamnan, the Annalists, and the Place-names, these proofs accumulate, so that now we may claim, despite the cranky theories and objections of certain people, that the Pictish question is settled.

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