

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

[Read June 6th, 1890.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² There are, however, several copies of an English translation made in 1637 by Connell Mageoghegan.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ The following corrections are required: p. 512, l. 16, for *sancti* read *secundi*; p. 513, l. 16, for *holy* read *second*; p. 515, at the year 578, for *A* fight in Iardoman (?) read *An expedition into the Western world, that is, into Soil and Islay.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. A vellum fragment of Annals at Cheltenham, in the Phillipps library, No. 9194, fo. 9^a et seq. A small quæ-*re*,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The contents of the present paper are arranged as follows :

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I. IRISH WORDS ETYMOLOGICALLY INTERESTING.

accidecht patrimonial right, gen. *aicidheachta*, ALC. 1225. Cognate with Ir. *aicme raca, triba*, W. *ach*, 'stamma, prosupia, parentela, genealogia': *achydd genealogist, achyddiaeth genealogy, achyddol genealogical*.

altru fosterer, CS. 108, gen. *altrann*, Tig. AU. 1129, *altronn*, ALC. 1129. Corn. *altrou* (gl. *victicus*), Br. *autrou* 'seigneur,' pl. *autronez*, W. *alltraw* 'sponsor,' pl. *alltrauon*.

Anmargach a Dane, for *Danmarchach*, AB. 1014, as *nimir* for *numir*=Lat. *numerus*. The *d* in the one case, like the *n* in the other, is lost after the *n* of the article. Zimmer's explanation of *na hAnmarcaig*, LL. 262^b, as "phonetische schreibung" for *noDhanmarcaig* is impossible.

ar-chú watchdog, metaph. *vigilant hero*, acc. sg. *archoin*, Tig. 117, 71. Cogn. with Ir. *aire*, and the *Arcanos* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

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

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

cessach basket, pl. dat. *cessachaib*, Ann. Conn. cited FM. 12, 25, note 5. Formed from *cess*=Lat. *cista*, Gr. *κίστη*.

cimbid captive, AU. 745, *cim(b)idecht captivity*, ALC. 13, 15, *cing-*, Lat. *cingo*. See *coimm*.

cin revenge, pl. hi *ccintaib*, CS. 1034=*a ndioghail*, FM. 10, 98. Cognate with *κωινή*, and Zend *kaēna* 'strafe, rache.'

coimm 1. *garment*, 2. *covering, shelter, protection*, FM. 1, 73.

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

condem, FM. 1162, condme, ALC. 1202, condmed, Tig. 1163, *billeting*. condmedim, ALC. 1910, condmim, Tig. 1159, *I billet*. Skr. *khadd*, *khaddna*, Gr. *κνώδων*.

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

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

dadaig at night, FM. 1161,¹ 1592 (*arabharach dadhaig*). From *da* and *adaig*. Not to be confounded with *dádaig*, 'after' or 'following.' Thus in the *Táin Bó Fraích* (LL. 250^v) King Ailill says of his guilty daughter: *atbélat a bbéoil síde imbarach dádaig* 'her lips (*i.e.* she) shall perish on the following morning,' and in the same story, 251^a, when Ailill enters the fortress; *gaibthir fíodugud leu dádaig* 'feasting is begun by them afterwards.' So in the Calendar of Oengus, Feb. 15, *iarnabarach ndádaig*, *arnabarach dádaig*. So *cnit na aidechi dádaig the ration for the following night*, LL. 72^b 38: *am-búi Maelrúain and dádaig when M. was there afterwards*, LL. 286^b. A cognate adverb is *daidche* or *daidchi*: see *Lives of Saints from the Book of Liamore*, l. 3565, and *Irish Texts*, 2nd serie, p. 190.

daig fire, acc. *fri daigid*, Tig. 977=*la daigid*, AU. 977: *daigthech fery*, AU. 814: *√dhagh*, whence Skr. *dahati*, Gr. *τέφρα*, Lat. *favilla*, *fomes* (**fohmet*, Fröhde) and the Teut. *dagaz* *day*.

dámicin dishonour, contempt, gen. *dámicne*, FM. 1155. Cf. W. *myg*, *honoratus*, O.-Welsh *csin-wicoun*.

diu, Tig. 1124,=*didu*, *didiu*, 'inde,' 'ergo,' as to which see G.C.³ and Kuno Meyer, *The Academy*, No. 940, p. 321, col. 3.

drémire ladder, ALC. 1501, from *dréim*, *√dreg*, whence also NHG. *trepps*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

foel (fœl?) *wolf*, pl. nom. foel, ALC. 1034, a primeval Celtic *roilo-s* or *vailo-s* = Arm. *gail*, where *g* is from *v*, as in *gore* = *Ἐρύρον* and *gitem* = *vēda*.

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

fo-morach, pl. dat. fomorchaib, which in CS. p. 6, is explained by 'devils in human shapes, i.e. men with single hands and single feet.' The *morach* seems cognate with the *mor* of O.Ir. *mor-(r)igan* (gl. *lamia*), and this with OHG. and A.S. *mara*, Engl. *mare* in *night-mare*, Germ. *lamin mar* cited in Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Muhr*. In the vowel it agrees with Pol. *mora*. Cognate are the subst. Fomoir, acc. sg. Fomóir, LL. 86^b, 37, gen. pl. Fomuire, FM. 3790 = Fomóre, LU. 89^b, or Fomra (*fino Fomhra*, ALC. 1818) acc. *trénfiru an tsidho .i. na Fomóre*, Harl. 5280, fo. 64^b.

geltai (gl. *volutiles*) Tig. 722: geltacht *flying*, TF. p. 40, FM. 7 in both cases referring to warriors who went mad with terror and flew in the air. Hence O.-N. *verða at gjalti*. The root may be *ghel* 'fly,' whence also Gr. *χελ-ι-δών*, the flyer par excellence, and *ghel* Ir. *gaille*, Trip. Life 46, corresponding with *en find* 'white bird,' ibid. 448.

gemel *fetter*, sg. dat. gemul, AI. 1076, goimhil, ALC. 1636, W. *gesyn*, whence Eng. *gys*. The Lat. *gemini* and Gr. *γάμος* may be cognate.

gen *sword*, AU. 687, FM. 686, *ghen* = Skr. *han*. Lit. *genzli* (*äste*) *abhauen*.

immonaitir *invicem*, *inter se*, AU. 964, 1004 = *immanetar*, *im-*

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

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

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

machtaim *I slaughter*, pass. pret. pl. 3 ro *machtuit*, FM. 738, 1018. Cognate with Gr. *μαχαιρα* and Goth. *meki*. As to Lat. *mactō*, *macellum*, see Ascoli in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xvii. 333.

matta *stuff, crozier*, mada Ciaraín, CS. 1083. From **mazdio-* cognate with Eng. *mast* and perhaps Lat. *mālus* from **mas-lo-s*: cf. Ir. *nett*, Eng. *nest*, Lat. *nidus* from **nido-s*.

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

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

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

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

nómad, gen. nómaide, *an enneed of eight hours*, i.e. three days and three nights, AU. 1098, 1125. ALC. 1093, 1125. FM. 1021. CS. p. 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

scothaim, *scuthaim I maim*, pret. pass. sg. 3 *rosceathadh*, FM. 1504. Cognate with Goth. *skuhjan*, OHG. *scadōn*, and perhaps Gr. *ἀ-σκηθίς*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. 1. LOW-LATIN WORDS.

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

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

aduaito, see infra s.v. paruchia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

binales for bini: bellum . . . in quo binales reges . . . congressi sunt, AU. 737. Cf. binales sudes, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, p. 114.

cecidit *it happened, befall*, AU. 887.

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

circius = circhius 'circulus,' Ducange: in circio ferie filii Guilinn Iusean, *about (circiter) the festival of Maon Guilinn of Lusk*, AU. 799.

ciuitas *monastery*. Constructio nouae ciuitatis Columbae cille ~~in~~ Ceninnus, AU. 806. Abbas Airdá Broccain et aliarum ciuitatum, AU. 781. Abbas Slane et aliarum ciuitatum, AU. 824.

comixtio *a tumultuous conflict, or attack, mêlée*, AU. 729, 77~~0~~, 780=Ir. *cumasa*, AU. 642. cumusce, TF. p. 20.

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

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

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

dehonorō, dehonorauit, AU. 732=Ir. *ro sdraig* 'profaned.'

dexteriores *southerners*, Tig. 712, AU. 711. *Dexter* in Irish latinity means 'southern': so dextrales Britones, Ann. Camb. 7^o 22: cf. Skr. dakshina, *the right side, southern*.

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

dominatus, *abbacy*: abbas Achaid bó . . . dominatus xl^o. in ~~au. 730~~.

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

equonimus=oeconomus, AU. 780, 782, 786, 795, 809, 813, 828.

erga: plurimi nobiles interfecti sunt erga duces, AU. 821.

strages uirorum Breibne erga regem suum, AU. 821.

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

exulo *I go into exile*, Maol-tuile abbas Beuncair exulat, AU. 816.

Robartach . . . abbas Slane exulauit, AU. 848. Darlugduch . . . de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam, Pictish Ghron. ed. Skene, p. 6.

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

feria *a day of the week*. prima feria *Sunday*, AU. 942, die quintae feriae *Thursday*, die sextae feriae *Friday*, Tig. 719.

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

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

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

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

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

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

immolo 'offero in perpetuum'; *immolauit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et S. Brigidae*, Pictish Chronicle, Sk. 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

periculum *attempt?* AU. 576.

pontifex *bishop*, *pontifex Maige Eo*, AU. 731. Imitated in Ir. *droichteck*, lit. 'bridgebuilder,' AU. 751.

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

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

scedes=caedes, AU. 806, with prothetic *s*.
scintilla leprae, an outbreak of leprosy? Tig. 576, AU. 575.
secretarium sacristy? AU. 592.

sonodus, senodus [=synodus] a tribal assembly: congressio senodorum nepotum Neill Laginentiumque in opido Temro, AU. 779. Congressio senadorum nepotum Neill, cui dux erat Condmach abbas Airdh Machae, AU. 808, where Mr. Hennessy changes *senadorum* into *senatorum*. Cf. Corn. *sened* (gl. sinodus).

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

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

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

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

II. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM LATIN.

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

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

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

aracul, aireccal, FM. 1592, p. 1922, gen. aracuil i. oill, GS. 827, aircuil AU. 837, airecuil AU. 809. From *oraaculum* *scedes sacra*, in qua oratur, Ducange. A dimin. *ariculdin* occurs in the St. Paul Codex, Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, p. 318. For the change of *o* to *a*, cf. *accas*=*occasio*, *aistiro*=*ostinarius*, and *manaoh*=*monachus*.

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

ánchara, AI. 955, angoire, FM. 737, ancoire, FM. 740. Corn. *anear*: from *anachoreta*.

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

an-ordraigthe, *not in order, in disorder*, ALC. 1392, 1524, 1589. A hybrid from the neg. prefix *an-* = *anu* and *ordraigthe* pret. part. pass. of *ordraigim*, a denom. from *ord* = Lat. *ordo*.

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

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

archideochain = *archidiaconus*, ALC. 1288, 1361, AB. 1231, FM. 1248.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cicul, cicil = *cyclus*, Tig. 1045, 1063, ALC. 1231, 1407.

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

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

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

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

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

coinntinn = *contentio*, ALC. 1244, gen. coinntinne, ALC. 1643.

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

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

confirmaitige, ALC. 1284 (leg. confirmaitigthe), *confirmed*.

cónsal = *consul*, ALC. 1520.

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

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

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

cripta = *cripta*, AB. 1236. Also with prothetic *s*, scripta 1235, scriophta ALC. 1235. With the latter form cf. *sephthia* = septuaginta, MI. 103 d 26, W. *Aipht* = Aegyptus, and Mod. *Γύφρον*. Note also the Icelandic pronunciation of *pt* as *ft*, Ma nussen's Thomas Becket, ii. clxxii.

Crisdóir = Christophorus, ALC. 1517, 1578, 1582. Crístói FM. 1595, gen. Críostora, FM. 1600.

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

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

cubachal, *cell* of a monastery, FM. 1595, or prison, FM. 1590, pp. 1896, 1898: *cabin* of a ship, acc. sg. cubachail, FM. 1587, p. 1862: acc. pl. cubachla, ib. 1600, p. 2192. From *cubiculum*.

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

cuidin = *cattus*, CS. 1125. But *cuidin* seems to point to an Old-Celtic *kotino- agreeing in the first vowel with *κοτύλη*. Perhaps therefore we have here a native Irish word.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

graffined *to write*, formed on Med.-Lat. *graphiara*, and this from *graphia* γραφή.

iomáig = *indigo*, iomáig, ALC. 1538, p. 316. pl. acc. iomáighe, FM. 587, p. 1446. Corn. *auain* = *indiginem*.

inait = *initium* (*ieiunii*), *Shrovetide*, gen. inito, AU. 1127, dat. it, AU. 1014.

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

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

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

legáit=*legatus*, AI. 1166, 1181. FM. 550. ALC. 1246. Hence legáitecht, AI. 1192, gen. sg. leccaidochta, FM. 1148, p. 1084.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

múr = *murus*, gen. múir, FM. 987.

mút = *mūtus*, duine mut no got, FM. 936, p. 686.

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

oificc = *officium*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, gen. oifici, ibid. p. 2020. Hence oificeach *officer*, FM. 1600, p. 2144.

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

offráil *offering*, founded on *offerre*, ALC. 1244, 1527, pl. offrála, FM. 1600, p. 2148.

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

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

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

pairilis = *paralysis*, FM. 865. paileiris, O'B. W. *parlye*.

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

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

peudaind = *poenitentia*, FM. 1022. pennuintt, FM. 1608, p. 2360.

ponetincier = *poenitentiarius*, ALC. 1248.

persún = *persona*, ALC. 1224, 1278.

Florint = *Florentius*, Tig. 1174.

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

préisilens = *praesidens*, ALC. 1570, 1571. presidens, ced-plúresident, FM. 1569, p. 1632.

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

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

probindsi=*provincia*, Tig. 583. *próinse*, Ir. Gl. No. 175, pl. dat. *próinnsibh*, FM. 1598, p. 2088.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

scrín=*scrinium*, AU. 799.

seunp *broom*, gen. pl. FM. 1595, p. 1972=*scópae*.

secreit=*secreta*, *aerarium principis*, Ducange; *rocrechsat ar' ben re secreid* Mic Diarmada don tír.

senescál, sonescal, sinascal, FM. 1247, p. 324. ALC. 1247, 1587, p. 482. From Med.-Lat. *senescallus* or perh. from Fr. *soneschal*.

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

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

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

srát=*strata*, *via publica lapidibus seu silice munita*, Ducange.

sráitt Sligig, ALC. 1294. Compounds : *srát-baile*, ALC. 1218, 1257; *srát-slige*, FM. 1258, p. 366.

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

taibhli *battlemonts*, dat. *taibhlibh*, FM. 1454, p. 561, 1595, p. 1982; from *tabulae*.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*, in the adverb *co-tempestech*,
 ALC. 1589, 1591, 1592, 1594. Derived from **tempes* = *tempestas*,
 'stormy, tempestuous.'

co-tempestech = *co-tempestech*: *co-tempestech* . . . *co-tempestech*, a chalice with its
 stem, FM. 1595, p. 1982, where O'Donovan translates 'with an
 inscription.'

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech* = *co-tempestech*, FM. 535, 1064, 1240, 1254, p. 352, 1403.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech* = *co-tempestech*, FM. 1497.

co-tempestech = *co-tempestech*, Eg. 1111. But *co-tempestech*, FM. 1578, p. 1700.

co-tempestech = *co-tempestech*, CGG. 12, where it is mistranslated
 'co-tempestech': *co-tempestech* *co-tempestech* (i.e. *ocularius*) Sg. 96^b.

II. 3. IRISH LOANS FROM OLD-FRENCH.

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

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1589, p. 498. From *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1581. From *co-tempestech* or perhaps Eng. *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, gen. *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1570, 1571, 1579,
 1581, 1586: but *co-tempestech*, FM. 1595, p. 1982. From *co-tempestech* with
 change of *co* to *co* as in *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, gen. *co-tempestech*, Fig. 1174. From **co-tempestech* or
co-tempestech is the form in Godefroy, *co-tempestech* in Burguy).

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech* = *co-tempestech* of *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1581, 1582, 1586, 1587,
 FM. 1589, pl. *co-tempestech*, FM. 1595, p. 1986, acc. *co-tempestech*, FM.
 1592, p. 1982. From *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, gen. *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1589, pl. *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1237, 1238,
 From *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*. Hence *co-tempestech* *co-tempestech*, FM. 1589.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, gen. *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1581. W. *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, gen. *co-tempestech*, Fig., *co-tempestech*, FM. 1522, 1570. O.-Fr.
co-tempestech (now *co-tempestech*), Med.-Lat. *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1388, FM. 1388. Formed on *co-tempestech* 'clo-

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, pl. gen. *co-tempestech*, dat. *co-tempestech*, FM. 1595,
 p. 1982, with a curious insertion of *co*.

co-tempestech = *co-tempestech*, FM. 1188, p. 82. O.-Fr. *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, pl. acc. *co-tempestech*, FM. 1595. From *co-tempestech*.

co-tempestech, *co-tempestech*, *co-tempestech*, ALC. 1544, 1577, 1582. Fr.
co-tempestech, Med.-Lat. *co-tempestech*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

creasa, the manger in which Christ was put after he was born, Corm. Tr. 46, O.-Fr. *eresche* (K. Meyer).

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

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

cuncúr *conqueror*, ALC. 1270, 1530. From Old-French *cunquerur* (Godefroy).

dlg *a trench*, pl. gen. dlócc, FM. 1595, p. 1968: lethain-dlóg *a broad trench*, FM. 1266, p. 400. From Fr. *digua*.

dú *due*, ALC. 1217, 1527, p. 262. From Fr. *dú* = *debutus*. Hence *dúal*, *meet*, ALC. 1405, 1537? O.-Fr. *dúal*?

fabhcún = *faucon*, a kind of small cannon, pl. n. fabhcúin, FM. 1532.

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

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

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

tempestech *unfortunate, calamitous*, in the
ALC. 1499, 1580, 1581, 1584. Derived from
'calamity, misfortune.'

tesc = *dincus* 'paten:' cailech . . . cona t'
paten, FM. 1129, p. 1032, where O'Donoghue
engraving.'

tumba, tomba = *tumba*, FM. 525, 1064, 1
uigil, uicil = *rigil*, FM. 1497.

uimir = *numerus*, Tig. 1111. But nuir
uricli *ōracula* 'oracles,' CGG. 12, w
'audience' : cf. *oirclech* (gl. *flamen*, i.e.

II. 3. IRISH LOANS FROM

These must have entered the language
1169 and 1350. Of some few it has
doubted whether they came directly from
English, or mediaeval Latin.

amhantur, *good luck*, ALC. 1589.

apel, co-hapol, ALC. 1331. From

armáil, gen. armala, *army*, or
1581, 1586; but *arms*, FM. 1581, 1586;
change of *r* to *l* as in *pirrél*.

áirceóir *archer*, dat. pl. áirceóir
(*archerere* is the form in Gothic).

bauda, banna *a band of warriors*,
FM. 1580. pl. n. bandai, 1
1592, p. 1912. From *banda*.

barún, gen. barúin, ALC. 1581.

From *baron*, *barun*, *barrun*.

basdarl *bastard*, gen. basdarl.

bitáill, gen. bitaille.

bitaille (now *victuaille*).

bodach *clown*, ALC. 1581.

brisca *biscuit*, pl.

p. 1952, with a curious form.

cabán *a hollow*, 1

cailís, pl. acc. cailís.

caiptín, *captain*.

capitaine, Med.-

raison, raison, ALC. 1537, 1568.

(‘a division of a host’), ALC.

90. *seómra*, O’B.

seál, O’B.

6, 1587, p. 480. gen. *seirbhísi*,

seánt, *agent*, pl. dat. *seirbhís-*

7, 1196, 1199, 1202, 1235, 1236.

seántes milites pedites, Ducange.

‘or helper.’

gen. *Siacusa*, FM. 1476, 1482.

118, comes from Eng. *James*.

solier. Corn. *soler*.

chancelier, FM. 1545, 1597.

CYMRIC NAMES.

of the Cymric names of persons
in the Irish Annals :

Brutha Cluade, AU. 871. Doubtless a

625 = Arthur filio Bicuir, CS. 625.

Aluain, rex *Alo Cluath*, Tig. 694, AU. 693.

ib. 811 [MS. Eugem]. The Irish annalists

Aluain, *Hoan*, *Huan*.

Bennehair Brittonum, AU. 671, TF. 672.

Alu Chluaithe, Tig. 722 = *Bile mac Eilphin*,

Elfin, Ann. Cambr. 722.

Alu, TF. pp. 158, 170, *Cair Ebroc*, AU. 866,

vi. 3859, fo. 195^a, 3, the *Urbs Ebrauc* of Ann.

Alu. *Cath Caire Legion*, Tig. 613 = *Gueith Cair*

ib. 613. [C]air legion guar usic [leg. uisc],

195.

Rutrach ri Brotan, TF. 909 = *Catell filius Rodri*,

Brittonum, Tig. 631. *Cathloen*, AU. 631. *Contra*

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

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

giúsdís, iústis *judiciary*, ALC. 1208, AB. 1230, 1234. From ~~_____~~ *justice*.

halabard *halberd*, lucht halabard *halberdiere*, FM. 1570. albard ~~_____~~, O'Br. Fr. *hallebard*.

marascál *marshal*, márnsgul, ALC. 1284, marasocal, FM. 159 ~~_____~~ 3, gen. maruscail, ALC. 1587, p. 478. From O.-Fr. *mareschal*, Low ~~_____~~. Latin *mariscalcus*.

nouice, nobitsi, ALC. 1106, 1197, 1202, 1230, nouist, FM. 12 ~~_____~~ 30. From Fr. *novice* or Lat. *nouicius*.

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

pailís *palisade*, ALC. 1306, FM. 1306, gen. cuisléen na pail ~~_____~~ is, ALC. 1510. From *paliz, palis* 'pieu, palissade.'

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

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

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

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

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

pirrél *catapult*, AB. 1236, ALC. 1235. Fr. *pierriere, perriere* machine de guerre qui jetait des pierres pour briser les murs. "Si drezierent lors perrieres et lors mangoniars."

poinu = Fr. *point* : ní raibhe poinn annscie 'this was of little consequence,' ALC. 1236, cf. *mettre à point*, accommoder, apaiser. ~~_____~~ *estre point être temps, à propos*.

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

priunsa, prindsa = *prince*, ALC. 1547, 1553, 1586, 1587 (where ~~_____~~ Elizabeth is meant), 1588.

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

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

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

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

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

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

sersénaoh *footsoldier*, ALC. 1195, 1196, 1199, 1202, 1235, 1236.
 Formed on Fr. *serjant, sergent*, *servientes milites pedites*, Ducango.
 O'Brien's *séirseánaoh* 'an auxiliary, or helper.'

Siacus = *Jucques*, FM. 1463, gen. Siacusa, FM. 1476, 1482.

The form *Sémus*, FM. 1600, p. 2148, comes from Eng. *James*.

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

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

III. I. CYMRIC NAMES.

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

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

Artuir mac Bicoir, Tig. 625 = Arthur filio Bicuiri, CS. 625.

Auin, Domnall mac Auin, rex Alo Cluatho, Tig. 694, AU. 693.
 O.-W. Eugciu, Ann. Camb. 811 [MS. Eugem]. The Irish annalists spell this name also Ohan, Houn, Hann.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Catlonem Britonum regem, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, 14 = Catguollaun, Ann. Camb. 630. Beda's Cædwalla.

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

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

Domnall mac Auin rex Alo Cluaithe, Tig. 694, AU. 693. Domnall mac Eogain ri Bretan, AU. 974. O.-W. Dumngual.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Merminn, AU. 855. Muirminn gen. sg. AU. 876, 877. *Murraia*, AU. 621. Muirmin, AU. 681. Mermin, Ann. Camb. 844. Merwyn, Ann. Camb. 903.

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

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

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

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

Roderic ('De Roderico filio Tothail,' Vita Columbae, p. 43, ed. Reeves), later Rhydderch.

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

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

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

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

Taudar [leg. Teudar] mac Bilo rex Alochlanduib [leg. Alo Cluade], Tig. 752, Teothar = Teudur, see *Re's supra*.

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

III. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM WELSH.

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

¹ I have not overlooked the tradition mentioned in the Irish Nennius, pp. 122, 136, and also by O'Curry (*Manuscript Materials*, etc., p. 450), that at a much earlier time there was a tribe of Britons, called the Tuath Fidba, using poisoned weapons and living in certain forests in Wexford.

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

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

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

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

mael *chief*, gen. *maoil*, FM. 1070, p. 898. From W. *mael* = *maglo-s*,¹ of which the regular Irish equivalent is *mdl*.

nós *custom*, ard-nós, ALC. 1362, 1402. From W. *naws* 'nature,' 'disposition.'

pit *portion*, *ration*. From W. *poth* from **petti*, **quetti*.

seboe *hawk*. From W. *heboe* = AS. *hufoo*.

Other Old-Welsh words, which we know from Cormac's *Glossary*, are *braut* 'judgment,' *cat* 'battle,' *coit* 'wood,' *cusil* 'counsel,' *din* 'fort,' *dobar* (leg. *dubr*) 'water,' *doborei* (leg. *dubrei*) 'otter,' *duiu* 'god,' *gour* (leg. *guor*) 'dawn,' *gruce* (leg. *gruch*) 'woman,' *map* 'son,' *med* 'mead,' *muin* 'my,' *prom* 'worm,' *prenter* (leg. *prebter*) 'priest.'

spochad *act of castrating*, ALC. 1194, 1244, 1320, p. 598, 1478, seems from Bret. *spac'hein*, *spac'h* and this from *spaz*, borrowed, like W. *dy-spaddu*, from Lat. *spado*. So *deoraíl* 'an exile' (*deóruidhe*, O'B.), whence *deoraidecht* 'exile, pilgrimage,' CF. 978, 106, seems from Br. *divroet* 'depaysé,' Corn. *diures* (gl. *axul*).

IV. PICTISH NAMES AND OTHER WORDS.

The Gaelic race came in contact with the Picts both in Ireland and in Scotland. In Ireland there were Picts in Dál-Araide (Down and part of Antrim),² in Meath,³ and in Roscommon,⁴ and in Adamnán's Life of Columba, ii. 9.

¹ See Hübner Inscr. Christ. Brit. Nos. 64, 92, 167, 168, and *Brigo-maglob* Rev. Celt. xi. 344.

² ri Cruithne Ulad, Tig. 708.

³ ri Cruithne Midhi, Tig. 686. And see Kenting's Hist. ed. Halliday, p. 31.

⁴ There was a tuath Cruithnech in Mugh Aei and Mugh Luirg: see Book of Ballinote, 256* 10. This perhaps is the gens Pictaneorum of Life of S. Cadroe, Skene 108.

we read of a Pictish priest living in Leinster. In Scotland in the eighth century all north of the Forth was Pictish territory¹ except Argyle (= *Airer Goedel*) and perhaps a Gaelic settlement on the Tay (*Tava*). The Irish Picts were called

Cruithni, Tig. 629, 645, 646, 666, 682, 708, pl. gen. *Cruithne*, FM. 679, 680, acc. *Crúithniu*, FM. 587, 604, 706, 725. The *Cruithnorum* of Lib. Arm. 3^a 1, is perhaps an error for *Cruithneorum*=Adamnán's *Cruthniorum*, *Vita Columbae*, p. 38.

Cruthnig, Tig. 558, 681, the nom. pl. of *Cruthnech*, which is etymologically identical with the *Cruthnicus* of Adamnán, p. 66, the *Cortonico-* of the Old-High-German gloss 'Gallia unalcoholant. Chortonioum auch Walcoholant.' The dat. pl. *Cruithneachoibh*, FM. 552. Hence the diminutive *Cruithnechan(us)*, Adamnán, p. 191. [These words are probably derived from *cruth* 'forma' = W. *pryd*. Hence we have *Cruithne* as the name of the artificer, *ceard*, of the Picts, Ir. Nennius, 124.]

The Scottish Picts were sometimes called by the Irish annalists *Cruithnig*, Tig. 560, 583, gen. pl. *Cruithnech*, FM. 430, 863;² and their country *Cruithen-tuath*, FM. 3790; Laud, 610, fo. 92^a; but the people and their country are generally denoted by names beginning with *p*, thus:

Piccardai (dat. pl. *Piccardaib*), Tig. 729.

Picardaig (gen. pl. *Picardach*), Tig. 728, 750. *Piccardaig* (gen. pl. *Picardach*), Tig. 729.

Picti (gen. pl. *Pictorum*, acc. *Pictos*), Tig. 580, 631, 653: AU. 630, 652, 656, 697, 728, 733, 735, 788, 857, 861, 864, 870, 874, 877.

Pictones, Tig. 750. 752, AU. 749.

Pictores, Tig. 669; AU. 668, 675, 727. The gen. pl. *Pictorum*, cited supra under *Picti*, may of course belong to *Pictores*.

Pictavia, Sk. 8, 9, 135.

These *p*-names, like the Gaulish *Πίκτορες*, later *Pictuci*

¹ Old-Norse *Pettland*, *Pettlands fjörðr*, whence *Pe-n-t-land*, *Pentland firth*, with a curious insertion of *n*.

² A bardic name for their territory is *Cruithen-chldr*, Ir. Nenn. p. 174, where, as in *Cruithen-tuath*, we have the stem *Cruteno-*, whence W. *Prydyn* 'a Pict.' Hence also *Queretinus*, the surname of Bonifacius, a missionary to the Picts.

(now *Poitou*), have been connected by Windisch with the Ir. *cicht* *i.* *gebiach* Corm., *i.* *geibire* 'carver' *i.* *rindaire*, 'engraver' H. 3. 18, p. 66, col. 2. Cognate, seemingly, is Ptolemy's *Πηκτόνιον ἄκρον*, which may be explained by the W. *pyyth* 'point,' 'stitch,' from **pékto*-.¹ The root is *grik*, and the resemblance of the *p*-names just quoted to the Latin *pictus*, cognate with Gr. *ποικίλος*, Goth. (*filu*)*faihs*, is deceptive.

As to the linguistic and ethnological affinities of the Picts, four irreconcilable hypotheses have been formed, three of which are still upheld. The first, due to Pinkerton, and supported, I am sorry to say, by the late Mr. Oldbuck of Monkbarne,² is that the Picts were Teutons and spoke a Gothic dialect: the second, started by Prof. Rhys, is that the Picts were Non-Aryans, whose language was overlaid by loans from Welsh and Irish: the third, the property of Mr. Skene, is that they were Celts, but Gaelic Celts rather than Cymric: the fourth, and, in my judgment, the true hypothesis favoured by Prof. Windisch and Mr. A. Macbain, is that they were Celts, but more nearly allied to the Cymry than to the Gael.

For the sake of completeness and comparison, I have inserted in the following list the Pictish names found in the inscription of S. Vigeaus,³ the Pictish Chronicle and other tracts printed by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, the fragment of that chronicle in Laud 610, fo. 92^v, the Irish Nennius,⁴ Adamnán's *Vita Columbae*, the *Book of Deir*,⁵ and some of the names in the records printed by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 105-143. I have also inserted from C. Müller's edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* the names of such tribes and places as there is reason to think were Pictish.

Accidan, gen. Accidain, AU. 648, Acithaen, AU. 685, corruptly Athicain, Tig. 686.

¹ Rhys, however, regards *pyyth* as a loan from *pictum* or Low-Latin **pu* (Ducange has *pucta*).

² See *The Antiquary*, chap. vi.

³ *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, ed. Hübnor, Berlin, 1876, p. 77.

⁴ ed. Todd, Dublin, 1848.

⁵ *Goidelicæ*, London, 1872, pp. 106-121.

Achfuir gen. sg. Talore mac Achfuir, L. 92^a = Talore filius Achivir, Sk. 6 = Tolore mac Aithivir, Ir. Nenn. 160. Seems gen. sg. of a compound of *acc* (*ach*) = W. *ach* 'stemma,' Corn. *ach* (gl. subolus), and *ior* = W. *íor* 'dominus, princeps.'

Aed mac Bounta, AU. 838.

Ailill Oil-fíndachta, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. From *Alpilli-s, cogn. with A.-S. *alf*, O.-Norse *dlfr* (but see Kluge, s.v. Alp).

Air-oburtdan, nom. loci, Vita Columbae, p. 114^b, now 'Glen Urqubart on the W. side of Loch Ness' (Reeves).

Alauna ('Αλαῦνα), Ptol. a town of the Dumnonii.

aleph, see *Cenn-aleph*, and cf. *Alef* the name of a king of Cornwall, in Ward's Catalogue, i. 449.

Alpín, Ailpín, Tig. 693, AU. 856, 861, Alphin, AU. 692 : with umlaut : Elpin, L. 92^a. Sk. 7 : Eilpin, AU. 729 : Elphin, Tig. 726 : Elfin, Ann. Cambr. 722. Borrowed from Lat. *Albinus*?

Alpine, Tig. 728, with umlaut, Eilpine, AU. 727. Borrowed from *Albinus*?

Anfrith, Anfrait, Ainfrith, see Eufret.

Anial gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 160, Sk. 6 ; Ainal, L. 92^a. Perhaps W. *anial* 'wild.'

apor, spar, abur, abbor, abber, *estuary, rivermouth*, gen. apuir, Tig. 737, dat. apur, Tig. 722. Apur-crosan (now Applecross, Ross-shire) AU. 672, 801, FM. 671, 721, 792, Sk. 6. Apur-feirt, Apur-nethige Sk. 6 : Abur-nethige, Sk. 6 : Apuir-nigo Ir. Nenn. 162 = Apurnige, L. 92^a. Abbor-doboir (now Aberdour), Abber-deon (now Aberdeen), Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a = the Aparljón of the Orkneyinga Saga. Æbber-curnig (now Abercorn, at the eastern end of the Picts' wall), Bæda, H.E. i. 12, iv. 26. Old Aber-brothoc, now Arbroath. This is the Old-Welsh *aper*, now *aber*, cogn. with *oper* (Oper-gēlei, Ann. Cambr. 856, Oper Linn Liuan, Nennius, § 69), Corn. *aber* (gl. gurgas), and Ir. *in-ber*.

ar-diuis, see Deo-ardiuois : ar- may be = Gaulish *arē*, Gr. *ραπαί*.

arg, see Tal-org = Gr. *ἀργός* 'shining, bright.' Cognate with Gaulish *argio-s* in *Argio-talus*, Lat. *argutus*, *argilla*, *argentum*, Skr. *arjuna*.

Art-ablár, gen. Artabláir, AU. 708. Here and in the next three entries *art* may be = W. *arth* 'bear,' *ἄρκτος*, in the names *Arth-mael*, *Arth-biu*, etc.

Art-branan, 'de quodam Artbrano,' Vita Col. p. 34^b : cf.

the Ir. Artbran, gen. Artbrain, Tig. 716 (*Ardbrand*, Tig. 758, seems a blunder).

Art-cois, L. 92^a (misprinted Ardcoist in Ir. Nennius, lxxv) = Arcois, Sk. 6 : cf. *Argento-cozus*.

*Art-gust, Tuathal mac Artgusso primepscop Fortrenn, AU. 864. Artgossa, TF. 869 : Ardghusa, FM. 868.

Aarcith gen. sg. nom. loci, Tig. 752.

Ate-cotti, Notit. Imp. a division of the ancient Picts, meaning, probably, 'very ancient ones' : pl. of a compound of *ate-*, later *at*, and *cottos* = W. *coth* 'old.'

Athan, nom. loci, Sk. 6. If this be for *atan* = W. *adan* 'wing' (cogn. with *πέτομαι* and *feather*), we may perhaps identify it with Ptolemy's Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον, the *Pinnatis* of Geogr. Rav. Compare for the meaning *Pinnu*, a town of the Vestini, on the E-slope of the Apennines.

Athfotlu gen. sg. Tig. 739, corruptly Athfoithle, AU. 738. Athochlach, Sk. 10, Adtheodle, Sk. 136, Athótlu, Bk. of Deir, fo. 9^a, now Athol, a compound of *at* and *fólla* q.v. In the Norse *Alfjökklar*, the *l* has become *ll*.

Athran, Sk. 136. 'Athris near Stirling,' Skene, *Collis Scotla* d, i. 341.

Bagag Ollfiacha, one of the Pictish kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii Ir. *bágach*, Urkelt. *bághko-s*, a deriv. of *bágo-* 'battle,' Ir. *báig*.

Baine, daughter of the *ri Alban*, FM. 10 : cogn. with W. *banyw* or *banyw*? Or if the *a* be long, cogn. with Ir. *bán* 'white.'

Banb acc. sg. Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, now Banff, cogn. with *Banba*, a name for Ireland, Trip. Life, 426, *glan-Bhanbha*, FM. 1602, p. 2294. The Ir. *banb* 'pig' = W. *banic*, may also be cognate.

Bannatia (*Bannaria*), a town of the Vacomagi, Ptol.

Bargoit gen. sg. L. 92^a. Ir. Nenn. 166, Sk. 8, nom. *Bargot possibly = W. *barent*, *bareud* 'a kite.'

Béde cruthnec[h], Bk. of Deir, i. = a Gaulish *Bedaios*? O.-Br. *Bedos*, *Bidos*.

Bergih, Sk. 187, gen. sg. of the name of the father of "Duptalaich": cf. *Soer-bergg*, AU. 790.

Bern-gal, Bearngal, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii. Cf. perhaps the Teut. *bern* 'bear' in *Bern-rich*, etc. best, hust, see *Onbest*, *Usconbust*. So we have *Drest* and *Drust*.

Biceot mac Moneit, AU. 728.

Bili gen. Tig. 686, 693 : AU. 629, 692. Bile, TF. p. 40. Bredei filius Bili, Sk. 7 = W. Corn. *Beli*, O.-Br. *Bili*, from **bolesio-*?

Blathuug, AU. 728, a corruption of *Blatbulg* = *Blatum Bulgium* of the Antonine Itinerary, p. 223. *Bladebolg* in a charter of 1144, printed in Reeves' *Culdaes*, p. 110, where Dr. Reeves says that "Bladbolg was a denomination of land belonging to the bishop" of St. Andrews.

Blioberlith, L. 92^a, Blioblith, Ir. Nenn. 158. Blies-blituth, Sk. 6 Here perhaps *blituth* is = O.-W. *Blodud*: but the rest is obscure.

Boanta gen. sg. AU. 838.

boch = W. *böch*, Lat. *bucosa*, see gurth-in-moch.

bodb in Iarn-bodb, q.v. cf. Gaul. *Ata-boduus*, *Doduo-gennus*, *Boduo-gnatus*: W. *Arth-bodu*, *El-bodu*, *Gur-bodu*: Br. *Tri-bodu*, *Cat-bodu*, *Eu-boduu*. Ir. Bodb, gen. Boidb, AU. 675, Bodbehaidh, TF. p. 52, Bodb-cath, AU. 703, and the place-name Bodb-gna, AU. 679.

bolc, Gartnait bolc, L. 92^a, misspelt Gartnait loc, Sk. 6. Gernard bolg, Sk. 149. Bolge, Sk. 187. See Grutbolc, Dun-bulco, *infra*. I know not whether to compare Ir. *bolg*, *bolo* from *bulga*, or O.-W. *Morcant bule*, the Mod.-W. *bwlech* 'broken, cut,' or, lastly, Ir. *balo* 'strong' = W. *balch*.

Boresti, the right reading of *Horesti*, Tac. Agr. 38, may be cogn. with *Βορέας* and *Ἵπερ-βόρειοι*.

Bran mac Oengusu, AU. 838. Ir. *bran*, *Bran*, O.-Br. *Bran*: cf. *Branodunum*, *Rialo-brani*, Hübner 84.

branan in *Art-branan*, dimin. of *bran* 'raven.'

brecc. Nectan mór bree mac Erip, L. 92^a = Nectan mor breac mac Eirip, Ir. Nenn. 160. Brecc Fortrend, AU. 724. Ir. *brecc* 'speckled,' W. *brych*.

Brecini gen. sg. Bk. of Deir iii., dat. Brecin, ib. fo. 39^a. The gen. sg. is Brechne in Sk. 10. The similarity of W. *brycini*, *brycin* 'a brake, forest,' derived from *brycg* = Br. *bruk*, is deceptive.

Bred, L. 92^a, Sk. 8. Brod, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Bredei filius Wirguist, Sk. 7. Brete filius Uurgu[s]t, L. 92^a = Breite f. Uugut, Ir. Nenn. 164. Bréidei filius Uuid, Sk. 7. Bredei filius Bili, Sk. 7.

Brei f. Derelei, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Breth, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. Perhaps for Breð = Bred, q.v.

Bridiu: cum Bridiuo, L. 92^a. Briduo, Sk. 7. Brideno, Ir. Nenn. 162.

brocc *badger*, in *Caer na mbrocc*, q.v. Ir. *brocc*, W. Corn. *broch*, cogn. with *φορκόν* 'λευκόν, πολίον, ῥυσόν,' Hesych.

Broichan(us), Vita Columbae, 146, 148, from *Vroichan = Ir. Froechan?

Brude, Bruidhe, Bruidhi, Tig. 560, 588, 682, 686, 693, 706, 752. AU. 583, 692, 762. Bruide, L. 92^a, AU. 705. Bruite, TF. 687. Bruide mac Derilei ri Cruithintuaiti, Rawl. B. 505, p. 309. Latinised *Bruidius*, AU. 730, 735, but *Brudius*, by Admnán. Possibly cogn. with A.S. *prūt*, *Prūda*, Eng. *proud*, O.-N. *prúðr*. The long *ū* becomes *i* in Bridei filius Mailcon, Sk. 7, Brideo filio Meilochon, Beda H.E. iii. 4. In Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, Brude Urleo, and so on, Sk. 5, *Brude* seems not a name but a regal title.

Brun (Brnin) Alban, Sk. 136, 137. Brun-hero, Sk. 137. Cam-brun, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 112. If this word be genuine, it is the Welsh *brynn* 'collis.'

Búchan gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, i. vi. Buchan ib. vi. Buchan, Sk. 136, abl. Buchain, Sk. 10, now Buchan, part of Aberdeen.

Budros, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 162 is = Uudrost, q.v., being written for *uo* as in *balla* 'wall' infra.

Buthud gen. sg. L. 92^a. Buthut, Sk. 6.

Caer na mbrocc, Reeves' *Columba*, p. 191 note = ceir infra. and Br. *caer*, Ir. *calhair*. The same word is in *Car-buddo* in *Angus*.

Cailt arni, L. 92^a = Cailtaine, Ir. Nenn. 162, Cailtram, Sk. 7, Chelturan, Sk. 187. Hopelessly corrupt.

Cairéni (*Καιρηνοί*), Ptol.

Cal, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: also in Wr-cal. Cognat with Corn. *cal* (gl. *astutus*), W. *call*, Lat. *callidus*.

Calat-ros nom. loci, TF. 578, Calitros, Tig. 678, Calathros, AU. 677, Calathros in Etarlindu, AU. 735: cf. Ir. *calath* 'hard,' Br. *calet*, W. *calet*, Corn. *cules*.

calden, callen, callenn in Dun-calden, Sk. 8, Dun caillen, AU. 964, Dun caillenn, AU. 1027, Dun callden, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, gen. Duni callenn, Bk. of Deir, iii. Now Dunkeld. The *calden(n)* is probably cogn. with the Ir. *caill* 'wood' (from **kaldet*.), *caillteambail* (gl. *sylvester*), Gr. *κλάδος*, Lat. *callis* 'forest' (K Z. 30, 434), A.S. *holt*, Gorm. *hols*. But a connexion with Goth. *hallus*, *πέτρα*, is possible.

Calēdon in Dvū-calēdones, q.v. Calēdonios in *Καληδόμιον ὄρυμός*, Ptol. = *Coit Celidon*. Notwithstanding Ptolemy's *η*, Zeuss, G.C. 790, thinks that the second vowel was short. The Gaulish name *Sembeton* (P. *Socunda Sembetonis filio*), Orelli, 204, and *Tenedon* would then be similar formations. But the umlaut of *a* in Nennius (in *silva*) *Celidonis* proves the length of the following vowel.

Calgācos *sworded*, the 'Galgacus' of Tacitus. Ir. *calg* 'sword,' W. *calg* 'veretrum,' Br. *calch*.

Canaul filius Taðg., L. 92^a: Canul, Ir. Nenn. 164: Canaul filius Tarl'a, Sk. 7.

Cana, T.F. 687, gen. sg. Cānann, A.U. 620, 687, Tig. 688, Canond, Tig. 690. Is the 'Clund Canan' of Bk. of Deir, v. miswritten for Clund *Canonn*? Cognate are *Canaons* (abl. sg.) Greg Tur. iv. 4, W. *cenaio* 'cub, whelp,' pl. *ceñuioon*, O.Br. *Ri-ceneu*, O.W. *Ri-cenou*.

Canutulachama, Sk. 6. Canutulahina, L. 92^a, Canutulacma, Ir. Nenn. 160. This corrupt name seems to be *Canu* (the nom. sg. of *Canonn* supra) followed by the epithet *tulahama*, of which *Tulaaman* may be a derivative. For the insertion of *h* or *ch* between vowels cf. *Cutohic*, *fuhel*, *Turachin* infra; W. *tra-nohelh*, Laws, i. 27: Corn. *guillihim* (gl. forceps): Br. *Gurmahilon*, G.C.² 102.

Carno, see *Mouit carno*, cognate with Ptolemy's *Κάρνορες* or *Καρνόρακαι*, *Κορνοούτοι*.

Caronacae (*Καρνόρακαι*) Ptol. cf. the Galatian *Κάρνον' τήν σάλπιγγα*.

curtit .i. delg a brooch, Corm. Borrowed from AS. *geard* or Welsh *garthlon* 'goad,' Corn. *gurthou* (gl. stimulus).

cat battle, occurs in the next five names. W. *cat*, Ir. *cath*, Gaul. *catu*.

Catluan mac Catmind, L. 92^a=Cathluan mac Caitmind, Ir. Nenn 140. Catluan mac Cing, LL. 15^a, Ir. Nenn. lxxiv. Cathluan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathluain, Ir. Nenn. 138.=O.Br. *Cat-louuen*, 'delighting in battle.'

Catmolachan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathmachan, Ir. Nenn. 140. Perhaps for **Cat-moluchan*, a compound of *cat* 'battle' and *molachan* =W. *moloohain* 'full of uproar.' Perhaps for **Cat-uuolocan*, cf. *Folocus*, Forbes's *Kalendars*, pp. 459-461.

Cat-mind gen. sg. L. 92^a. Caitmind, Ir. Nenn. 140. From *cat* 'battle' and *mind* 'diadem' =Ir. *mind*, O.W. *minn* (gl. sertum), pl. *minnou* (gl. serna, gl. stemmata).

Cat-molodor, Ir. Nenn. 140, for *Cat-uuolatr* =O.W. *Catqualart*, O.Br. *Cat-uuolart*. Here, as in *Simal* and *Almuine* infra, the Irish scribe has written (infected) *m* for *w*.

Catōc, gen. *Catohic*,¹ A.U. 749, (for the insertion of *h* cf. *fuhel* infra) O.W. O.Br. *Catoo*: *Catōcus*, Hübner 35.

Catt, Gat son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, Aenbeagan mac Caitt, *ibid.* (corruptly Cuitt, Gatt, Ir. Nenn. 154, *Gat*, Sk. 4) =Gaul. *Cattos*: an eponymous king. Cat-ness, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a.

¹ Mr. Hennessy bisects this word, and translates the "bellum Cato hic" thus produced by "The battle of Cato, in this year."

i Cataib, Féil. crich Cat, Ir. Nenn. 148. insi Cadd, LL. 171^b. Cathanesia, Sk. 136. O.Norse *Kata-nes*.

Ce son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, an eponymous king. In topography (according to Mr. A. Macbain) *Keith*.

Ceir-fuill id est Lethfoss, Sk. 6. Is this=Kerpul, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 133? where *pul* is=W. *puell*, Corn. *pol* (gl. puteus)?

cenn-aleph, L. 92^a, Sk. 7. Corruptly cenamlapeh, Ir. Nenn. 162, cennalath, AU. 579, may be W. *Ken-aleph*, Jesus Coll. MS. No. 20, fo. 36^b. Here *cenn* seems=W. *cen* 'skin,' Corn. *cennen* (gl. membrana), Ir. *ceinn* pl. *cenni* (gl. scamae), Lib. Arm. 176^b, 2. The *aleph* may be=Ir. *álaib*, Féil. Sep. 8. Similar names are Corn. Wuen-con, Gluiu-con.

Cerónes (Κέρωνες), Ptol.

Cillimon, see Deo-cillimon, cilanon.

Cing, gen. Cinge, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 154. Cínca, Ir. Nenn. 142. Cogn. with the Ir. *t*-stem *cing*, Gaul. *cinget-* in *Cinget-o-riz*.

Cinioiodh, L. 92^a. Cinioid, Ir. Nenn. 158=Cimiod filius Arcois, Sk. 6. Cinioid mac Derili, AU. 712. Ginioid filius Wredech, Sk. 7, Cinioid' filius Uuredog, L. 92^a. Cinoih, gen. Cinadhon, AU. 774, 777. Cynoth, Cynoh, Sim. Dunelm. 774, 775. Cenioid, Cemoth (leg. Cenioidh), Ann. Camb. 776, 856. Ciniath mac Lutrin, L. 92^a=Cinhoint f. Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, Cinioch filius Lutrin, Sk. 7, gen. sg. mors Cinedon filii Lugthreni, AU. 630. The name underlying this mass of mis-spellings is *Cini-oi's*, gen. *Cini-oi'son*, where *cini-* is=*cin-* in the Irish name *Cinaed*, and *oi's* is=Gr. *αἶθων* 'fiery.' Cf. the O.-Ir. gen. *Lugu-aedon*, Inscrn. of Inis an Ghoill=*Lugudon*, AU. 780, 809, *Lugedon*, AU. 739, the ogmic *Biv-aiddonas*, and the Gaul. *io*-stem *Aedonius*, C.I.L. v. 3459.

Cinid one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-cinid. Perhaps =O.W. Cinuit, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a.

Cint, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes, also in Ur-cint. *Cintu-* 'first' in *Cintu-génus*, *Cintu-gnatus*.

Circinn son of Cruithne, Sk. 4. Circin, Ciroing, Ir. Nenn. 154. Mag Cirgin, Ir. Nenn. lxxi. i cath Chircind, Fig. 596 (where Reeves would identify *Circind* with *Kirkin-tulloch*, N.E. of Glasgow on the borders of Dumbarton and Stirling), in terra Ciruin, Fig. 75.

Cirice, Sk. 324. Cirig, Ir. Nenn. 50. Ciric, ib. 51 note. gen. Cirigh, ibid. 124, 142. Borrowed from *Cyricus*.

¹ Misprinted Oimod, *Ir. Nennius*, p. lxxxvii, l. 2.

eisirne, see Findoll.

Claidem nom. loci, Sk. 10.

Cluanan nom. loci, Sk. 8. dimin. of *oluan*=Ir. *clúain*?

Coblait filia Canond, Tig. 690.

cois (Art-cois)=W. *coes*, Ir. *cois*, Lat. *coxa*.

*Con-gust, Talorgg mac Congusso, AU. 733, O.W. *Cingust*, *Cinust*. The *con*=*cuno*- is also in *Cuno-barrus*, *Cuno-gussi*, Rhys 5, *Cuno-pennius*, *Cuno-mori*, *Cuno-vali*. In Ireland *Con-chobur* is not only a man's name, but occurs as the name of a river in Irish Pictland: see Rev. Celt. vi. 125.

Corindu, Tig. 669, AU. 668. An etymological connexion with *Kopίνov* is possible; but both words are obscure.

Cornarii, Ptolemy's *Kopραοίνοι*. Cf. W. *Cornou*, Lib. Land. 230, l. 35. Derived from *corn*=Lat. *cornu*.

Costantin, *Cosāntin*, Caustantin, L. 92^a, Castantin, Sk. 8, Consatin, Ir. Nenn. 166, Cusaintin, ib. 274. Borrowed from *Constantinus*. So W. *Custenhin*, Lib. Landav. 69, 263, and Corn. *Ca-sentin*, *Quatontin*, Rev. Celt. i. 340.

cottos (whence *Ats-colti* 'the old inhabitants'), W. *coth* 'old,' Br. *coz*, Gaul. *cotton* (*Cotti officina*, C.I.L. xii. 5686, 272).

credi gen. sg. Cuislea Credhi, Tig. 728, Castellum Credi, AU. 727=Collis Credulitatis, Sk. 9. Reeves, *Columba*, 383. Cognate with Ir. *crelim* from **cred-dim*, Lat. *crēdo* from **cred-do*,

Creōnes (*Kpéwres*), Ptol.

Crin, Ur-crin, two of the thirty Brudes, Ir. Nenn. 158. A Crin *servus* occurs in Lib. Land. 198. Cf. W. *ortn* 'aridus,' also 'avarus, sordidus, parvus.'

croib, in Monid Croibh, may be Ir. *crasb* 'a branch,' 'a branchy tree,' the diphthong *ai* becoming *oi*, as in *Gini-oi*ſ.

crosan, see Apor-crosan.

crup, Dorsum Crup, Sk. 10, 'which Chalmers makes Duncrub in Strathern,' Reeves' *Columba*, 383. *Cruip*, gen. sing. AU. 741. W. *criob* 'gibba,' *crioban* 'testudo,' *criobaoh* 'humus,' with which Glück connects the Gaulish name *Crupios*, and the *cruppellarii* of Tacitus.

Crus mac Cirigh, the soldier of the Picts, Ir. Nenn. 124, 142. Perhaps an Irishism for **Prust*=W. *priost*, Corn. *prost* (in *Iudprost*), O.Br. *Prost-lon*, *Prost-uooret*.

Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 154. Cruidne . . . pater Pictorum habitantium in hoc insula, Sk. 4, an eponymous hero. An Irishism for **Prutene* or *Prudene*, AU. 783, where it is the name of the grandfather of an Irish king.

Crutbole, Ir. Nenn. 158: Crautreic, L. 92^a (where the *-reic* comes from the preceding *Deo-totreis*); and Carvorst, Sk. 6. The name underlying these corrupt spellings may be **Crauat*, an Irishism for **Prauat*=W. *Prawat*. As to *bole* see Gartnait bole, supra.

Culen-ross, Culenroa, now Culross, Sk. 417. Guilenn ros, in BB. 214^a, 21: Alina ingen rig Cruithnech málhair Seirb meic Proic rig Canandan Egipti, 7 is e sin in sruthsenoir congeibh Cuilleann rós hi Sraith Ern. hi Comgellaibh etir Sliabh n-Ochel 7 Mur nGuidan. Ir. *cuilenn*, W. *colyn-en*, M.Br. *quelenn-en*, A.S. *holegn*, *holen* 'holly.' As to *ross* see infra, p. 412.

Curnach, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a. The gen. sg. may be *curnig*, in *Æbber-curnig*.

Deauae, leg. *Dēuae*? gen. sg. of *Dēva*. Obsesio Duin Deauae, AU. 691. De, Sk. 136.

Decantae (*Δεκάνται*), Ptol. From the same root as *Decangi*, Tacitus Ann. xii. 32, and *Decetia*, Caesar B.G. vii. 33. Ir. *dech* 'best,' Lat. *decor*, *decus*.

Dele-roth, Tig. 711. filius Daile-roith, AU. 710, 715.

Demene, Sk. 187, is perhaps the Ir. name *Daimena*, AU. 960.

deo = *divo* seems to occur in the next four articles: of the Gaulish *Divo-genus*, *Divo-gena* and the place-names *Divo-durum* (now Metz), and *Deo-brigula* in Spain. W. *Diu-north*, Lib. Lund. 178, l. 8.

Deo ardivois, Sk. 6. Deordiuis, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 160.

Deo-cillimon, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158 = Deocilunon, Sk. 6.

Deo-ord, Sk. 6 = Deort, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158.

Deo-totreic, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158, misspelt Deototr'ic, Sk. 6. Here the *totreis* seems a corruption of the A.S. *Theudric*, = N.H.G. *Dietrich*, Gaul. *Tautorix*, O.W. *Tutri*; but the loan *Theudric* occurs in the Jesus College MS. No. 20, fo. 35^a.

deon in Abberdeon q.v. Perhaps = Ptolemy's *Dévana* (*Δηούανα*) cf. *Divona*, now Cahors.

Der, nom. loci, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a. The connexion with Ir. *dér*, W. *dagr*, Gr. *δάκρυ*, is more volksetymologie.

dergg in 'bellum Drama dergg,' AU. 728. Ir. *derg* 'red.'

Derile, Tig. 126, 728, gen. *Dorili*, *Derile*, AU. 705, 712, 728. Derelei, *Derilei*, L. 92^a, *Derelei*, Sk. 7. The *der-* may be intensive prefix as in O.-Bret. *Dar-monoo* and W. *Der-guentid*, *Derguist*.

Dēva, a river, Ptolemy's *Δηούα*: see *Deauae*, supra. W. D *Ūu*.

gurach, Lib. Land. 133, l. 4. Diu-guinid, ibid. 199, ll. 6, 10. a
 flumine quod uocatur Dubr Duiú, Harl. 3859, fo. 195^a, col. 3.

Dévanu (Δηουάνα), the πόλις of the Taexali, Ptol.

Diu, Sk. 6=deò q.v. is=Tui, L. 92^a.

diuois, see Ar-diuois.

diuperr, Gartnait diuperr, L. 92^a, Gartnait duipeir, Ir. Nenn.
 160—Gartnaich diuberr, Sk. 6=Ganath dives, Sk. 149=Garnard
 dives, Sk. 172. Garnard le riche, Sk. 200. The *diu* may be cognate
 with Lat. *dives*. The *perr* or *peir* is obscure.

dobor, gen. doboir, see Abbor-doboir. Dobur Artbranani, *Vita
 Columbae*, p. 35^a. Hence the diminutive. *Dobran, now the
Doveran. W. *dufr*, Corn. *dour*.

Doirgarto gen. sg., AU. 709, 711, is perhaps a Pictish name. The
 "Durgarto" of AU. 685 seems a scribal error for Doirgarto.

Domech gen. sg., L. 92^a = Domelch, Sk. 7. Domnach, Ir. Nenn.
 164.

Domnuall: Mors Gartnaidh filii Domnaill 7 Domnaill mic
 Totholain, AU. 662. Donuel gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 164
 (corruptly = Donnel Sk. 7). W. Dumn-ual. Ir. Domnall.

Drostan, Tig. 713, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130. Drostan, Bk. of Deir i.
 Dróstan Dairtighe or Dairtaighe, FM. 717, AU. 718. gen.
 Drostain, AU. 712=*Drustagni*, Hübner, 20. Hence the *Tristan*
 of Lib. Land. 267, l. 27, and the Arthurian tales.

Drosten, Inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Druisten gen.
 sg. L. 92^a, misprinted *Dauisten*, Ir. Nonnius, p. lxxv, l. 5.

drum 'ridge' in *Drum-ckarach*, *Drum-sac*, *Muka-drum*, Reeves,
Culdees, pp. 109, 133: gen. droma, in "bellum Droma dergg
 Blathuug in regionibus Pictorum," AU. 728. Chalmers identifies
Druim d. b. with *Drumderg*, an extensive ridge on the western
 side of the river Ila in Forfarshire, Reeves, *Columba*, 384 n. Ir.
druim, W. *trum*, from **drosmen* cognate with Lat. *dorsum*.

Drust, Tig. 729, AU. 728, L. 92^a. Sk. 6, TF. p. 54. Druist,
 Tig. 725, 726, AU. 724. Druxst, Tig. 724. Drest, L. 92^a, Sk. 7.
 gen. Drosto, Tig. 768, AU. 671, 677. Latinised abl. Drusto,
 Sk. 6. From **drut-to-s*, **drut-lu-s*, cogn. with W. *drud* 'audax,
 fortis strenuus.'

Drustice daughter of 'Drust rex Bretan,' Lib. Hymn. 4^a (*Goido-
 lica*, p. 96). For the diminutival ending cf. O.W. *enderic* (gl.
vitulus).

dub 'black' in Dub-Tholargg AU. 781. So in Dup-talaich, Sk.
 127, where *p* seems miswritten for *p*, and Dub-loinges mac Trebúait,

the name of a Pictish champion mentioned in LU. 88^a. O.W. *dub*,
Corn. *dup*, Ir. *dub*.

Dumna (Ptolemy's *Δουμνα*), an island N. of Orcas and south of
the Orcades.

Dumnonii, **Δουμνόνιοι*. So we should probably correct Ptolemy's
Δαμνόνιοι.

Dun-bulcc, Reeves, *Culdess*, p. 133. Dun-calden, Sk. 8, 9. Dún-
Nechtáin, AU. 685, Tig. 686, TF. 687, 'supposed to be Dun-
nichen in Forfarshire,' Rhys, E.B. 143. The *dún* (an Irishism
for *din* [?]) is=Ir. *dún* 'fortress,' W. *din*, Gaul. *dūnon*, A.S. *tūn*,
Germ. *zaun*.

Dvé-calèdones, a division of the ancient Picts. Hence the adj.
dvè-calèdonio-s, *ὠκεανὸν καλούμενον Δουηκαληδόνιον*, Ptol. Rhys,
Early Britain 291, equates with *dvè* the Welsh *dyw*, Ir. *dí*, the
fem. form of the numeral two=Sk. *dvè*.

Ebuda (*Ἐβούδα*), Ptol.

*Ectan, gen. Eactain, Tig. 724. Perhaps a scribe's mistake for
Nectain, gen. of Nectan, q.v.

Eden, oppidum, Sk. 10.

elci, ilei, ile, see Derile.

Elgin, Orkn. Saga, now Elgin, cogn. with Elca or Elga, a name
for Ireland, Trip. Life, p. 426, Ir. Nenn. p. 142, said to mean
'noble,' ib. p. 143 n. The resemblance of *Ἐλγαῖος*, the name of
a city in Lydia or Lycia, is probably accidental.

Elpin, Elpino, see Alpin, Alpine.

Emohat(us), *Vita Col.* p. 114^b=Ir. Imm-chath, a Gaul.

**Ambi-catus*, which is perhaps the true form of Bivy's *Ambigatus*.

Enfidaig L. 92^a, corruptly Enfidaid, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 164=
Entifidich, Sk. 7. Nom. sg. En-fidach, see Fidach, infra.

Enfret gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7, Ir. Nenn. 164. Also spelt
Anfrith, AU. 656, Anfrait, Ainfrith, Tig. 654, 657. Borrowed
from A.S. *Eanfrith*?

Éngus, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a, an Irishism for *Oengust*, *Ungust*=
O.W. *Ungust*, Lib. Land. 201, l. 26.

Epidioi (*Ἐπίδιοι*), Ptol. Epidion (*Ἐπίδιον*), perhaps from
(*p*)*ekvidioi*, (*p*)*ekvidion*, cogn. with Ir. *Eohaid*, Lat. *pecu*, Götli
faihu, Skr. *paçu-s*.

Erp, Drust mac Erp, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 160=Drust filius Erp,
Sk. 6, but 'filius Erip,' Sk. 6, l. 25, 'filius Wirp,' Sk. 6, l. 3
Nectan mór brecc mac Erip, L. 92^a. The name Crach-arpais, A
701, may be cognate.

Esk, the name of two rivers in Pictland, from *Iscā = (in form) Ptolemy's *Ἰσκα*, now the *Esca*. The initial *p* may have been lost, and the name may mean '(flumen) piscosum.' So the O.W. river-name *Uisc* is, acc. to Mr. Phillimore, cogn. with Ir. *taso* 'fish.'

Etairt, gen. sg. CS. 651, Ethuirt, AU. 653.

Eten, gen. obsesio Eten, AU. 637. "*Cuir-eden*, now Carriden, a parish on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire," Reeves, *Vita Col.* p. 202 n.

Eu=*Iona*, infra, the island now called Iona, LU. 11^b, seems cogn. with Ir. *eo-rna* 'barley' = Skr. *yava*, Gr. ζέα, ζεία. Compare *Java* and Ptolemy's *Ἰαθαδίου* [*i.e.* *Ἰαφαδίου*] νήσος. Compare also the island-name *Tir-co* = *Tir-etha*, Adamnán's *Ethica* insula.

Eugunan was Oengusa, AU. 838.

fahel (in *Pean fahel*, Beda, H.E. i, 12), gen. sg. of **fúl*=Ir. *fúl*, FM. 1586, p. 1846, O.W. *gaul*. (As *e ainm* in *claid sin la Bréatnach*, *gaul*, Ir. Nennius, p. 64.) From a primeval *vālo-n* cogn. with Gr. *Φηλον* in *ἀργυρόΦηλον*, Latin *vallus*, of which *vallum* is a collective. For the insertion of the *h* see *Catoc*, Tarnin.

Fáich, gen. sg. name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a: cf. perhaps *Faco-magi*, Ptolemy's *Ὀυακόμαγοι*, O.W. *Guoccaun*, *Cat-guoccaun*.

Fecir, Ur-fecir, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Possibly = W. *gwychyr*, *gwychr* 'alacer, strenuus.'

feirnn, see Luto feirnn. cf. W. *guernin* 'alder,' LL. 230, l. 27.

feirt, in *Apur-feirt*, Sk. 6.

Ferndach (Pherudach, Sk. 137) may represent an O.-Celt. *Ferédáco-s*, cogn. with W. *gorwydd* 'horse,' Low-Lat. *veredus*, whence *paracaredus*=*pserd*.

Feroth, AU. 728, gen. Ferith, AU. 652, corruptly Ferich, Tig. 653, W. *Gueruduc*, Lib. Land. 201, l. 17.

Fet, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5; Ir. Nenn. 156, see also *Ur-fet*. Either cognate with Gaul. *vitu* in *Vitudurum*, now *Winterthur*, or miswritten for feth, q.v.

Feth .i. geis, BB. (Ir. Nenn. p. xcii), .i. ges, Ir. Nenn. p. xc. Sk. 324. If *geis*, *ges* here be meant for *geis* 'swan,' *Feth* may be = W. *gwydd* 'goose.'

Fib, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an eponymous hero: comite de Fib 'earl of Fife,' Bk. of Deir, fo. 39^a. *Fif*, Sk. 136. O.-Norse *Fifi*, Orkn. Saga.

Fibuid, Sk. 4. Fidbuid, Ir. Nenn. 154. Obscure.

Fidach, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an

onymous hero. Fidaich, ib. O.-W. *Guidauc*, *Guidoc*. See *En-fidach*, *suprà*.

File, gen. sg., L. 92^a—Fle, Ir. Nenn. 164. Ir. *fili* 'post,' cogn. with W. *gwelod* 'to see.'

Finchem, name of a Pictish queen, Sk. 185. An Irish *Find-choem*? *F'in-choem*?

Findoll cisirne, a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. The *find* is = *uindo-* in *Viindo-gara* (*Οὐινδογάρα*) a *πῶλις* of the *Dumnonii*, Ir. *find* 'white,' W. *gwynn*. As to *oll* see *infra*, p. 411.

Findgaine mac Deleroith, Tig. 711—Finngaine filius Deileroith, AU. 710. Mac Fhindguini is now *Mackinnon*.

Fodresach, "in F. id est in Claideom," Sk. 10.

Foirchiu, Foireu: o crich [C]ath co Foirechiu, BB. 205^a 13 = o crich Cat co Foireu, Ir. Nenn. 148, Sk. 43, 'from Caithness to the Forth,' as Mr. Macbain translates.

Forchet, a man's name, Sk. 187.

Forcus (from **ver-gustu-*), inscr. of St. Vigean, Hübner, No. 212. Forcus, Vita Col. p. 33.

Fortrenn, son of Cruithne, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero: gen. sg. of **Fortriu* = *Forturio*, AU. 692, 762, 819, 833, the country between the Tay and the Forth; dat. i Fortrinn, AU. 767; acc. Foitrind, AU. 735; pl. dat. Fortreannoibh, TF. p. 58. The 'Wertormorum' of Sim. Dunelm. 934 is prob. a scribal error for *Forturionum* (lines). Rhys compares *Forterae* and W. *gwerthyr* 'fortification.'

Footh, gen. Fooith: éo Tolairg¹ meic Fooith regis Pictorum, Tig. 653 = mors . . . Tolairg mic Fooith, AU. 652. Gurtuath mac Foith, AU. 634: mors Bruidi filii Foith, AU. 640. The Uid of Sk. 28 is possibly = W. *gwydd*.

Fothad mac Brain, FM. 961 = Fothach (misspelling of Fothath?), Sk. 10, a Pictish bishop. Another Fothad, bp. of St. Andrew, died in 1093.

Fother, foither, gen. sg. Obsessio Duin Foithar, Fother, AU. 680, 693 = Dun foeder, Sim. Dunelm. 934. Opidum Fother, Sk. 377 n. "Probably Dun ottar in Kincardine," says Bishop Reaves, *Vita C.* 377 n. This may be = *fothir*, the nom. sg. of Ir. *foithra* .i. *coill* 'woods,' O'Cl. It is anglicised as *Fetter* and *Fother*, acc. to Macbain.

Fothreue, Sk. 136. Fothrif (Fothribe?) was, according to

¹ Mr. Skene, following Dr. O'Connor and the carelessly written MS., combines these two words, and gives us, as a Pictish name, *Ectolairg*. See his *Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 71, 454.

Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 128), the S.W. half of the united counties of Fife and Kinross. The Ir. *folhirbe*, Trip. Life, 82, 168, said to mean 'forest,' may be cognate.

Fothuir-tabnicht, Sk. 8 = Fothiur-thabaieth *ibid.*, now *Forteuiot*, Reeves, *Columba*, p. 377 n. Is it *fuithir* .i. *fourunn*, O'Cl.?

Fotla, son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero. The spellings *Follaid*, *Folltaig*, Ir. Nenn. 154, and *Floclaid*, Sk. 4, are corrupt. Identical with *Fólla*, one of the names of Ireland, Trip. Life, 426: *glan-Fódlá*, FM. 1601, pp. 2288. Hence *Athfólla*, q. v.

gaed, Guidid gaed brechach, Sk. 5 = Guidedh Gaeth Breatnach, Ir. Nenn. 156 = Guidid gudbre, Sk. 25, 324. Ir. *gaeth* 'wise'? or cf. W. *Gaidan*, Lib. Land. 117, l. 18?

gal, see Bern-gal. Br. *gal* 'force, puissance,' in *Gal-budia*, etc. Ir. *gal* 'bravery.'

Galam cennaleph, L. 92^a, Sk. 7, corruptly Galum cenamlaph, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galau-arilith L. 92^a, Galam-arbith, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galanan erilich, Sk. 7. For an Irish *Galanh*, see O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, etc. 447.

Gant, Sk. 5, Ur-gant. See Grant.

Gart, Ur-gart, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. *gart* 'head,' Corm. m. W. *garth* 'cape,' 'headland.'

Gartnait, Sk. 7, L. 92^a. Ir. Nenn. 160, Bk. of Deir, iii. Garnat, AU. 715, gen. sg. Gar[t]nait, Bk. of Deir, vi. Corruptly Gartnaidh, AU. 662, 687; Gartnaith, AU. 634, Sk. 6; Gartnaich, Sk. 6; Garthnach, Sk. 7; Gartnart, Sk. 7; Garnard, Sk. 7; Gurnait, AU. 669. A diminutive of *gart* 'head': cf. Irish forms like *Bacnait*, *Blathnait*, *Erenait*, *Gobnait*, *dadnait*, *mátharnait*. This name is Anglicised *Garnet*.

Gartnan, gen. Gartnain, AU. 634, another dimin. of *gart* 'head.' Cf. Irish names like *Adamnán*, *Dadnán*, *Flaithnán*, *Lomnán*, *Liathnán*, *Lubnán*, *Menonán*.

Geide (gen. Geithi) ollgothach, Ir. Nenn. 154, lxxiii = Gede Olgudach, Sk. 5.

Genunia, Γενουνία ποῖρα, Pausanias, cited by Rhys, E.B. 89. Adamnan's *Genonae* . . . cohortis, *Vita Columbae*, i. 34^b, may be a scribal error for *Genonae*.

Gest, Sk. 5 for Gust? Or is it cognate with O.-W. *Gistin*, Lib. Land. 1771, 206, etc., and En-gist, Lib. Land. 217, l. 4?

Gilgidi, Sk. 5 = Gidgio, Ir. Nenn. 158. Hopelessly corrupt.

Girom, Giron gen. sg. L. 92^a. Girom, Girum, Ir. Nenn. 162.

Gyrom, Girom, Sk. 7. Possibly cognate with Γηρωών, Ir. *gáir*, W. *gawr*.

Giudan gen. sg. *muir n-Giudan*, the Firth of Forth, Bk. of Lecan cited in Reeves' *Culdees*, 124. Perhaps the *g* here is only a way of expressing the semi-vowel of *Iudeu*, q.v.

Glun-merach, Sk. 187. A nickname, qy. *Glún-smerāo* 'marrowy-knee,' W. *merog*.

Gnith, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5 : see Ur-gnith = O.-Br. Uurgnit.

Gobriat : 'flumen Gobriat in Pictavia,' Acta SS. Mart. tom. ii. p. 449, cited by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 45, note, where he identifies it with the Inver-Gowria river, which nearly divides Gowrie in Perthshire from Angus or Forfar.

Gouorin, Sk. 136, now Gowrie?

Grant, Ur-grant, Sk. 324, two of the thirty Brudes. These names are (corruptly) *Gant* and *Urgant* in Sk. 5. Cf. the Irish adj. *grant* .i. *cach liath no findach*, 'every grey or hairy one,' *Corm. a.v. Crontáile*. Conall Grant, AU. 717.

Grupios, the mountain on which Agricola defeated Calgācos. The root may be *grug*, whence also Gr. *γρῦρός* 'hook-nosed, curved, rounded.'

Grid, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-grid infra. Hero *grid* may be = O.-Br. *gred* in *Gred-canham*, *Gred-uobri*, *Gred-uuocon*, *Gred-uoret*.

Gúd, L. 92^a, Gud, Ir. Nenn. 158, corruptly Gub, ib. 124, name of a Pictish king of Alba, cognate perhaps with Ir. *Gáidel*.

Gudid, Guidid, Sk. 5, 25, Guidedh, Ir. Nenn. 156. Obscure.

gureich, Sk. 5, where *Gest gurcich* seems = the *Geascurti* of Ir. Nenn. 156. Hopelessly corrupt.

gurthinmoch, Sk. 7, gurthimoth, Drest g. L. 92^a, -guitimoth Ir. Nenn. 162. The *gurth* may be = W. *gwrdd* 'fortis, robustus, strenuus,' and the *inmoch* may be = Corn. *ennoeh* (gl. *facies*), the Irish scribe writing (inflected) *m* for *v*, as in *Catmblator* and *Sim*.

Hii 'insula quae uocatur Hii,' Beda H.E. iii. 3, v. 15, v. now called *Iona*. No connexion with *Eu*, *Iuca*. O'Clery's *I* .i. *is* 'low,' *I* .i. *inis* 'island,' seem mere guesses. Is the *h* from *p* as in O.Ir. *haus*, *hua* = *rais* and *Hériu* cogn. with *Περύου*? If so, we might connect *Hii* with Lat. *pūs* (from **pu-i-ias*) and *pu-tus*.

Hilef, a river, Sk. 136. Etym. obscure.

Hinba, name of an island, Vita Col. p. 46^a. *Hinbina*, *insula*, i *Bid* p. 26^b. Etym. obscure.

Iarnbodb (= *Ísarno-bodvo-s), gen. loscoth Iarnboidbh mic Gartnaith, AU. 642, corruptly *Jarnduidb*, Tig. 643, and perhaps *Ythern-buthib*, Sk. 187. Here *iarn* is = O.-Ir. *iarn*, Coru. *iarn*-, O.-Br. *Iarn*-, *hoiarn*, from *eisarno*- 'iron,' G.C.² 106, which helps to form numberless Celtic names, e.g. Gaul. *Isarno-dori* (i.e. ferrei ostei) Ir. *Iarnan*, W. *Haern-gen*, Corn. *Iarn-wallon*, O.-Br. *Iarn-bidos*, *-bud*, *-cant*, *-car*, etc.

Ila, a river, Ptolemy's *Ιλα. Cogn. with O.H.G. *tlen*, now *eilen*?

Im mac Perrun, Ir. Nenn. 142 = Imm mac Pirn, Sk. 328.

A Gaulish **Ambio-s*, compounded in *Ambio-ria*.

inboce in Gurth-iumoch. Here the prefix *in-* is = Corn. *en-*, Ir. *in-* (in *in-chinn*), ogmic *ini* in *ingina* 'daughter,' Gaul. *eni*, in *Eni gnus*, C.I.L. iii. 3784, 3793. Gr. *évi*, Lat. *in-*.

Iogenan(us), Vita Col. p. 60^a (Reeves, p. 117) = Ir. Eugunan, AU. 659, 676, 691. Dimin. of *Eogen* = *Ougen* infra.

Iova, Vita Col. passim, the island now called Iona from misreading *u* as *n*. See *Eu*, supra.

ior, see *Achiuir*.

Ipeuoret, inscr. of St. Vigean, Hübner, No. 212. Rhys compares the Gaulish *Ambivaretos*. For *p* from *mb*, cf. O.-W. **leipio*, now *lleibio*, Br. *lippiat*, and O.-W. **helip*, now *holyb* in *cyf-helyb*, Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 191-192.

Itharnan, Tig. 660, Itarnan, AU. 668. This may be a dimin. of **iturn* = Ir. *itharna* 'a torch,' cogn. with Corn. *itheu* (gl. *titio*), Br. *eteo*, and the Irish saint's name *Itharnaisc*, Felire, Dec. 22.

Itis (*Ιτις), name of a river, Ptol. *i-ti-s*, root *i* whence Lat. *i-ra*, Gr. *iévas*, O.-slav. *iti*, Lith. *itti* 'to go.'

Iudeu, a city, Nennius § 64, possibly = Breda's Urbs *Giudi*. *Moni Iudeorum*, Rhys, E.B. 226. See *Guidan* supra, p. 406.

laib : de rege Cruithniorum qui Echodius laib uocitabatur, *Vita Columbae*, p. 18^a: mors Euguin mic Echach laibh, AU. 610. A nickname possibly identical with Ir. *luoibh* in *luoibh-ri* i. rí claon no leuthrounach, O'Cl., which seems a loan from Lat. *laevus*. An Irish man's name *Luebán* occurs, Trip. Life, 266.

Land-abue, AU. 675, identified by Skene with Lundaff in Perthshire. O.-W. *lann*, now *llan*, Ir. *land*.

Lemaunonios (Λεμαννόνιος κόλπος, Ptol.), supposed to be Loch Fyne.

Leo, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes: see *Mor-léo*, *Ur-leo*.

W. *llew* 'lion,' Cat-leú, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a 3, O.-W. Lou-march, now Llywarch, Corn. Leu-march.

Letend, Leitheun, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, gen. Leitind, ib. 122.

Lindon (Λίνδον), a town of the Dumnonii, *Clindum*, Geogr. Rav.

Longos (Λόγγος), name of a river, Ptol. identified by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 206) with "the river in Argyllshire called the Add, and in Gaelic the 'Abhainn Fhada,' or long river." Cognate with Lat. *longus*, Goth. *lugg-a*, Gr. λογγίζω, and prob. Gaul. *longo-a* in Λογγο-σταλητων, *Rev. Celt.* i. 296. The Norse *Skip-sjöföðr* may be due to confusion of the adj. *long* 'long' with the subst. *long* 'vessel.'

Lonsca, gen. sg., name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, IJ. 88^a.

Loxa, a river, Ptolemy's Λόξα, now the *Lossie*.

luan in *Cat-luan* may be = W. *llawen* 'joyful.'

Luchtren, gen. sg. Tig. 631=Lug-threni, gen. sg. AU. 630. Cognate are *Lugu-dunum*, and *Lugi* (Λούγοι), Ptol.

Luto feirnn, gen. sg. AU. 663.

Lutrín, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7, Luthren, Sk. 173, Lutheren, Sk. 187, Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, a corruption of Luchtren? I this Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Loerinus*, the *Loerine* of Milton's *Cornus*?

Maeatne (Μαιάται), Dion Cassius, Adamnán's *Miathi*, 33, or *Miati*, 36. An island *Maya* is mentioned in the Legend of S. Adrian, Sk. 424, 425.

Mail-con, gen. sg. Sk. 7=Malcon, L. 92^a, Maelchon, Tig. 580, 583, 653, AU. 599, Málccon, AI. 576, Maelcon, AU. 583. To be compared with W. *Maelgwn* (= Maglo-cunos) rather than with Ir. *Mael-chú*.

Mag Circoinn, *Moerns*, Sk. 136, now the *Mearns*.

Mulnios (Μαλνίος), Ptol. Adamnán's *Maleu*, a mountainous island now called Mull, Norse *Myl*. The resemblance to Skr. *Mala*, a mountainous range in the Dekhan, is probably accidental.

Mano, gen. Manann; Cath Manann, Tig. 582, TF. 581=bell Manond, Manand, AU. 581, 582, in campo Manand, Tig. 711, in campo Manonn, AU. 710, dat. Iugulatio Muirmin in Mano, AU. 681. Now represented by Slamannan (*Sliab Manann*), and Clackmannan (*Cloch Manann*).

Maphan, Talarggan maphan mortuus est, AU. 725, Perhaps

¹ Dr. Reeves (*Columba*, p. 377, l. 8) mistakes this for Latin and prints in *manu*.

for *mapon*=the O.-British *Maponos*, which occurs in the inscription found at Hexham, *Apollini Mapono* (C.I.L. vii. 1345).

Marr, Sk. 136, gen. sg. Rúadri móрма[e]r Márr, Bk. of Deir iii. but Mair, AU. 1014: now Mar, part of Aberdeen.

Meneted, Sk. 136, Menetheth, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 113, now *Menteith*, part of Perth.

Migdele, villa, Sk. 188, now Meigle, according to Skene, p. lviii. minn *diadem*, see Cat-mind.

Mochun, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 126, a dimin. of *much* 'swine'?

Moerne, gen. sg. Sk. 10, 136. The *Mearna*, now Kincardine.

Moneit, gen. sg. AU. 728, is explained by Rhys (E.B. 259, 260) as *Mog Néit*.

Moothel (anglicised *Muthill*), Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 142, near Dunblane, is identified by Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 57 n.) with Ir. *maothail* 'spongy ground.'

moni, muni, in *Moni Iudeorum* (=Menevia), *Moni-feth*, *Muni-feit*, *Moni-fodh*, *Moni-futh* (Reeves, *Culdees*, 143), *Muni-musc*, ib. 135, *Chine-monie*, ib. 109. The same word seems to be in *Moneclatu*, *Monechi*, Sk. 185.

moneð, gen. *monið*, *mountain*, in *Monith carno*, AU. 728, and Reeves' *Columba*, p. 387, note r. *Monid Croibh* (now *Monerieffe*, *Parthshire*), AU. 727, *Ríg-monid*, q.v. *citra Monoth* (leg. *Moneth*), AU. 781. *Moneth* (gl. *montana*, acc. pl.), Sk. 186. Anglicised *Mounth* or *Mound*, Sk. 135, 136. Here perhaps belongs *Dun Monaid*, *Fled duiu na ngéd*, p. 46. *Moneð* or *moneth* appears in the other Celtic languages as W. *mynydd*, Corn. *menil(h)*, *meneth*, O.-Br. *monid*, *W'in-monid*, Ir. *muine* 'mountain' (O'Brien's Ir.-Eng. Dict.), a different word from *muine* 'bush.' The primeval form must have been *monjo-* or *monijo-*. For the development of *d* before *j* see Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 115.

mór great, *Nectan mór breo*, L. 92^a=*Necton morbet*, Sk. 6, l. 25 = *Nectonius magnus*, Sk. 6, l. 31. Also *mur*, q.v. Gaul. *máro-s*, W. *maior*, Corn. *mour*, *mur*, Ir. *már*, *mór*, Gr. *μωρος* in *εγχεσί-μωρον*.

Mor-cant, *Mor-cunn*, gen. sg. Bk. of Deir ii., *Mor-gainn*, ib. vi. *mors Tuathail mic Morgaind*, AU. 662. The nom. is *Morgunn*, ib. vi. O.-Br. *Morcant* 'sea-bright,' a Gaulish *Mori-cantos*, G.C.² 162. Cf. for the former element, *mor-glas*, *Mor-leo* infra, *Moritasagus*, Ir. *muir*, W. Corn. *mor*, Lat. *mare*; for the latter element, the Gaulish *Avi-cantus*, *Viro-cantus*, *Canto-senus*, D'Arbois, *Recherches sur la propriété foncière*, etc., pp. 538, 539, 638. *Canto-s* may (as

Prof. Bezzenberger suggests) come from **cunsto-*, **cand-to-*, and be cognate with Lat. *candidus*.

Mureb, Sk. 10, Muref, Sk. 136, gen. Murebe, AU. 1032, ~~now~~ *Moray*. A similar word occurs as the name of an Old-Welsh witness in Lib. Land. 199, l. 3. The *Morhæfi*, *Marhæfi* of the Orkn. Saga seems to rest on a popular etymology.

mor-glus, *sea-green*? 'arbor pomifera,' Sk. 416.

Mor-léo, L. 92^a, Morleo, Sk. 6 = W. *Mor-leu* 'sea-lion,' the name of a witness in Lib. Land. 193, 195.

Mouren, Muren, name of a daughter of a Pictish king, Sk. 186, 187. A scribal error for *Moruen* = W. *Morwoen* [ex **Mori-genū*?] the name of the foster-mother of Meriadocus. Wurd's Catalogue, i. 374.

Mucc-ross, nomen loci, "in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kyrlimont* dictus, nocte Sancti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero nemus porcorum dicitur," Legend of S. Andrew, Sk. 185. Here *Muck-ross* (rectius Mucc-ross) is = W. *moch-ros* (gl. locus porcorum), Lib. Land. 77, l. 15. There is also an Irish *mucc-ross*, now the name of an abbey in Kerry. The first element *mucco* occurs also in *Muke-dressa*, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 133, and with *ch* from *co* in *Mach-an*, supra.

Munsit, Sk. 7, l. 12 = Munaith, gen. sg. L. 92^a.

Mund, Urmund, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: cf. L. ~~mundus~~? or O.N. *mundr*, the latter element of many compound names like *Asmundr*?

Muriel, Forbes's *Kalendar*, p. 407 = Ir. *Muirgel*, GS. 882, A. ~~U.~~ 927.

Mur-tolic, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 162 = Murtholoic, L. 92^a. Corruptly Muircholuich, Sk. 7. Perhaps the nom. sg. was *murtalóc* 'green-browed:' *mur* from *mór*, *mdr*; *talóc* derived from *tal* 'brow.'

Naburos (*Ναβυρος*), name of a river, Ptol.

Nairnn, Sk. 9, where it is misspelt *Nrúrim*.

namet 'albus,' an epithet of Vipoig infra. Cognate with the Gaulish *Ad-nametos* in an inscription at Bourdeaux: D(is) M(anib(us)) Cl(audiae) Mat(ernae) Adnameti f(iliae), Jullian, No. 102, p. 231, 232.

Necton, Tig. 717, Sk. 6, Necthon, Sk. 7, Nechtan, Tig. 7²⁶, 732, AU. 620, Ir. Nenn. 120, Nectan, L. 92^a, Néctan, Bk. of *Deir*, iii. Nechtain, Tig. 728, Ir. Nenn. 130, Nectu, Necthon, Sk. 7: gen. Nectin, AU. 692. Latinised Nectano rege, AU. 716, Nectonius, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Naiton, Beda, H.E. v. 21, O.-Br. Naitan, for **Neithan*. Nechtain occurs in BB. 148^a, 24 (Skene, 309), as the name of a

Scottish Gael, and a compound name *Necht-lecc* occurs, AU. 689. From *necht* .i. *glan* 'puro,' 'clean,' Corm. s.v. *Cruithnecht*.

Ner: gen. sg. dormitatio *Nectain Neir*, AU. 678 (cf. *Nechtán Nair de Alba*, Féil. Jan. 8). *Quies* . . . *Uinei abatis Neir*, AU. 622.

Nes, fluvium . . . *Nesam*, *Vita Columbae*, p. 74^b, *Nisae fluminis*, 114^b. From **nes-tā*, **ned-ta*, cognate with *Néāa* and Skr. *nadī* 'river.'

Nethige, *Apur-nethige*, for **Neðige*, gen. sg. of **Neðeo*?

Niduari, 'ad terram Pictorum quae *Niduari* vocatur, navigando pervenit,' *Beda*, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. xi.

Ochel, *Sliab n-Ochel*, 'the Ochil Hills,' *Bk. of Lecan*, 43^b, 2, cited in *Reeves' Culdeas*, p. 124, note. *W. uchel* 'high, lofty,' *Ir. easal*, Gaul. *uxello-s*.

Oenbecan (misspelt *Conbecan*), *Sk. 5*, *Aenbengan mac Caitt*, *Ir. Nenn. 50*, *Oenbegan*, *ib. 154*, *Onbecan*, *ib. xciv*.

1. *Oengus Pictorum rex*, *Beda*, H.E. v. 24. *Aongus*, *Ir. Nenn. 120*, 130, *Hungus*, *Sk. 188*=*Corn. Ungust*, *Rev. Celt. i. 345*, a primeval Celtic *Oinogustu-s*.

2. *Oengus* the territory now called *Angus*, or *Forfar*, gen. *mormair Oengusa*, *Sk. 9*. Corruptly *Enegus*, *Sk. 136*.

Oith, *Gartnaith mac Oith*, AU. 634. From *Octo-? Octa?* cf. *Ὀκτα-πίταρον ἄκρον*, *Ptol. W. oeth* 'harsh.' Or is it for *Oið*=*Ir. Aoi?*

oll=*πῶλλον*, see *Oll-facha*, *Oll-finechta*, *oll-gothach*, *Find-oll*, *Slán-oll*. The Gaulish reflex of *oll* may be in *Ollo-vico*.

Ollam, gen. *Ollaman*, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, *Ir. Nenn. lxxii*, the title for the head of any art or science.

Oll-facha, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, *Ir. Nenn. lxxiii*.

Oll-finachta, *Ir. Nenn. 154*=*Olfinecta*, *Sk. 5*, see *Aililí ollfin-dachte*.

oll-gothach, *great-voiced*, *Ir. Nenn. 154*, *lxxiii*, *olgudach*, *Sk. 5*.

Ommon, name of an island in *Vita Columbae*, p. 37^b, may be =*Lat. umbro, umbonia*, and cogn. with *ὄμβρον*.

Onbecan for *Unbecan*, see *Oenbecan*.

**Onbest*, *Onbes*, f. *Urgurt*, *Ir. Nenn. 164*=*Onnist* [log. *Onuist?*] *filius Urguist*, *Sk. 7*=*Onuis* f. *Urguist*, *L. 92^a*. *Talorgen filius Onnist*, *Sk. 7*=*Taloreen filius Onuist*, *L. 92^a*=*Taloreen* f. *Ónuist*, *Ir. Nenn. 164*.

Orcus (*Ὀρκίς*), a promontory, *Orcades* (*Ὀρκάδες*), 'the Orkneys,' AU. 681, where *Ptolemy's -ades* is probably due to the analogy of

Κυκλάδες, Σποράδες. Bellum for Oronib, AU. 708. fecht Orc, AU. 579. The *orc* seems cognate with Ir. *orc* = Lat. *porcus*, Gr. *πόρκος*, O.H.G. *surah*.

Ord, see Deo-ord. Cognate with *Ordous*, Hübner 115, *Ordovices*, O.-W. and Ir. *ord* 'malleus,' Br. *ora*.

Orrea ('*Opree*'), the town of the Venicōnes, Ptol.

Ougen rex Pictorum, Ann. Cambr. 736 = Uvan, Sk. 8. Oan princeps Ego, AU. 724, O.-W. *Ouin*, Lib. Land. 214. *Ouguen*, *Ouguin*, Lives, 30, 81. Ir. *Eugan*, *Eogan*. From **Anigenos*.

pant, Sk. 5 and see Ur-pant. From **qvnto-* = Ir. *Cét* (mac Magach), and possibly cognate with Lith. *szwečtas*, O.-Slav. *svědъ*, Zend *speñta* 'holy,' Skr. *cvātra* 'offering.' Corruptly bout, Sk. 5, pante, Ir. Nenn. 156.

pean (for penn), in Pean fahel: "Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a Monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum Pean-fahel, lingua autem Anglorum Pen-neltun appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith," Beda, H.E. i. 12. Here *penn* = W. *penn*, Ir. *cenn*, 'head,' 'end,' urkelt. **qvendo-s*. Also in *Pen-icwick*.

Pern: Im mac Perran, Ir. Nenn. 142 = Imn mac Eirn, Sk. 32. An Old-Celtic **Querno-s*: cf. Ir. *cern* 'victory' (do cernaib .i. do buadaib no do gnimaib, Amra Courai), whence *Cernach* 'victorious,' AU. 700 (O. Norse *Kjarnakr*), and the name *Cernachán*.

perr, peir, see diuperr supra.

Perth = W. *perth* 'rubus, dumus,' Ir. *scairt*, urkelt. *squrt*, *squrti*. Or is it = O.-Bret. *per* in *Per*-uuocon?

pett 'a portion of land,' anglicised *Pit*, gen. *pette*, Bk. of D i. acc. *pett*, ib. ii. *pet*, ib. iii. dat. *pett*, ib. ii. W. *peth*, Ir. 'portion,' urkelt. **qvetti*, Thurneysen, *Keltorum*. 71. From a prehistoric Pictish *petti* the Icelanders borrowed their *petti* 'a small piece of a field.'

*Rig-moneð, gen. *Rig-monið, Righ-monuigh, Tig. 747, *Gin-rigmonai*, AU. 746, are corrupt Middle-Irish spellings. The *Righmonaidh* of FM. 742 is better. Erat autem regia urbs Rymont Regius Mons dicta, quem praefatus Rex Hungus Deo et sancto apostolo dedit, Sk. 188. Kal-rimoneth, Sk. 202. Still preserved in East and West Bal-rymonth, two high grounds in the southern part of the parish of S. Andrews (Reaves). The *Monedorigi* uī Hübner, 128, has the same elements in converse order; cf. Ptolemy's *Πρυό-δουρον*.

ross, see Mucc-ross, Calat-ross, Culenn-ros. The *Ross* (Ros, Sk.

136) in *Ross-shire* is the *Ros* of the Orkn. Saga. In Ireland *Ross*, gen. *Rois*, AU. 815, the name of a district in co. Monaghan, is = W. *rhos* 'plainties irrigua.' The same word is in *Ard-ross* part of Perth.

Rá, L. 92^a. Ru, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. Nenn. 160. Ru, Sk. 6, and see Ur-ru (MS. cru). Either = Corn. *ruy* (gl. rex), or a scribal error for Run = O.-W. Run.

Rumm, gen. Ruimm, AU. 676, the lozange-shaped island west of Sleat Point in Skye, identical with Gr. *ρύμβου*, *ρόμβου*.

Scētis (Ptolemy's *Σκητίς*), the wing-shaped Isle of *Skys*, Norse *Skifð*, Ir. *Soi*, dat. sg. AU. 700, latinised *Soia* by Adamnán, gen. Scóth, AU. 667 = Scith, Tig. 668, means 'wing,' Ir. *sciath*, *sciuthán*.

Seann, civitas, Sk. 9, now Scone.

scollothes, 'clerici qui Pictorum lingua cognominantur,' Reginald. Dunelm. de Cuthberti Virtt. p. 179, cited by Reeves, *Columba*, p. 63 note. This is no Pictish word. It is a corrupt loan from Lat. *scholasticus*, whence Corn. *scolheic*, W. *yegolhaig*.

Simal, Tig. 725, Simul, AU. 724. If *m* be here written for *n*, as it certainly is in *Cat-molodor*, cf. W. *Higuel*, an Old-Celtic **Su-velo-s*, where the prefix *su-* is = Ir. *su-*, *so-*, Skr. *su-*.

Slau-all, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii.

swerach, in Glúnmerach, q.v. Cognate with Ir. *amir* 'marrow.'

Smertae (*Σμέρται*), Ptol. cf. the Gaulish *Smertu-litanos*, Ad-*merios*, etc.

Solen, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, 138. Possibly = O.-W. *Sulgen*, *Sulion*.

Spe, Sk. 136, now the *Spey*. Supposed to be Ptolemy's *Tvesis*; but it points to an Urkelt. *sguēas*, cognate with Ir. *scáim* 'vomo,' W. *chwíyd* 'a vomit.' For the connexion of ideus cf. Pliny's *Vomanus* a river of Picenum. The river name *Spean* may be a dimin. of *Spe*.

srath, strath, srad, strad in Sratho Ethairt, gen. sg. AU. 653, but Sraith Cairuin [or Cairiun], AU. 641. *Srad-cern* [leg.-eren], Sk. 136, *Strad-kines*, Reeves, *Guldoes*, pp. 109, 111. *Strath-eren*, *ibid.* 113. Cognate with Ir. *srath*, W. *ystrad*.

tabacht, see Fothuir-tabuicht.

Taexali (*Ταιξάλαι*), Ptol.

talach, tolōe in Dup-talaich, Nach-talich, Sk. 187, mur-toloc supra. Cf. W. *tuluog* 'high-fronted, bold-faced.'

Tal-argg, AU. 686, 733. Tal-orc, Tig. 731, L. 92^a. Thalarg, Sk. 187 and L. 92^a. Talorg, L. 92^a. Tol-arg, Tig. 713, 734. Tol-argg, AU. 712. Tolar[g], Tig. 786, gen. Tolairg, Tig. 653, AU.

652 = Talairo ('Baitanus gente nepos Niath Talairo') Vita Col p. 25^b, corruptly Talore, Sk. 6, 7. This is the Pictish reflex of the Gaulish *Argio-talus* 'bright-browed,' Rev. Celt. iii. 157. Compound: Dub-tholarg.

Tal-orggan, AU. 725, 733, 736, 738. Talorgen, Sk. 7. Talorca, L. 92^a. Talorcen, Sk. 7, L. 92^a. Tol-orcain, Tig. 657. Tol-arca, Tig. 739. Tol-argan, Tig. 750, AU. 656. Gen. sg. mo Tolorggáin, AI. 610. Tal-argan, Ann. Camb. 750. A diminutive of Talorgg, q.v.

Tamia (*Ταμία*), Ptol., a town of the Vacomagi.

*Tana. Thana filius Dudabrach [leg. Dubabrath?] scripsit Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdale, Sk. 188. Ir. *tana*, W. *tennis*, Lat. *tennis*, Gr. *ταναός*.

Tarachin, Tig. 697, AU. 696, for Tarahin (cf. *Cathio*, *farachin*), Tarain, AU. 698, L. 92^a (misprinted Taram in Ir. *Nennius*), Tharain, Sk. 6. Latinised acc. sg. *Tarainum*, Vita Columbae, p. 71^a (ed. Reeves, p. 134), urkelt. *Taranjo-s?

Taran mac Enfidaig, L. 92^a = Taran filius Entifidich, Sk. 7, Glunmerach filii (leg. filius) Taran, Sk. 187. Gaul. *Taranis*. W. *taran* 'thunder.'

Tar-vedum, a promontory, Ptolemy's *Ταρνεδούμ*.

Tava, Ptolemy's *Ταύα*. Tau the river *Tay*, Reeves' *Columbae*, 316, where this form is cited from an A.-S. tract in Hicke. (*Ta*, Lib. Land. 74), Tac, Sk. 136. The gen. sg. in LU. 8^b, 14^b, LH. 26^a 1 : LB. 240^a, is *Tóí* (ic ardrig Tóí, do lucht Toi, tuath Tóí), dat. *Tóí*, LU. 14^b, acc. im Thai, LU. 8^b, LH. 26^a 1. Glück connects W. *taw* 'quietus, tranquillus,' and the Gaulish *Tavium*, and the woman's name *Tavona*.

Tolartach, mac Anfrait rig Cruithne, Tig. 654.

tolóc, see Murtolic.

*Tótal, Hibernicised Tuathal, AU. 864, TF. 869, is = W. *Tutgwa*, Ann. Camb. x. *Tudwal*: cf. O.-Br. *Clut-uwal*. Hence the diminutive Totalan, Tig. 653, gen. Totholain, AU. 652 = Ir. *Tuathalán*.

Trebúait, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88^a. The *tre-* is probably an intensive prefix = W. *tre-*, *tri-*, Ir. *tri-*, Old-Celtic *tri-*, as in *Tri-novantes*, *Tri-cassini*, etc.

tren, see Luchtren, Lug-threni.

Tui gen. sg. L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 158, is = Diu, Sk. 6.

Tulaaman, AU. 865. The context is "Bellum duin necht . . . in quo etfrith . . . interfectus est et combustit tula aman d. *ain* ollaig"; and the Editor cannot say "whether *tula aman* is

the name of a person or a term for some fiery element." It seems to be a man's name, derived from *tulahama*, an epithet following *lanu*, supra. For *aa=d*, cf. *gnaan*, Otho E. xiii.

tulig in *Tulig-botuan*, Sk. 418. *Tulig-cultrin*, Sk. 419, seems = an oblique case of Ir. *tulaoh* 'hill,' cogn. with Gr. *τύλη, τύλος*.

Turbrud gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, iii. *Turbruid*, ib. vi. dat. *Turbrud*, ib. fo. 39^a, now *Turriff*, cf. rex *Turbi*, AU. 902.

Tvesis, a river, Ptolemy's *Τούεσις*. Etym. obscure.

Uasnem (*Uaisneimh*, *Huaisneam*, corruptly *Huaisem*, Ir. Nenn. 24, 142), the poet of the Picts. The *uas-* (an Irishism for *us-*?) may be an intensive prefix: cf. *Us-con-bust*? The *nom* cogn. with Ir. *tait-nem* 'light,' *tait-nomach* 'shining,' and *Nam mac hui Birn*, AU. 653. See *namet* supra.

Uorb gen. sg. L. 92^a, *Uorp*, Ir. Nenn. 162 (corruptly *Uard*, Bk. 7), Gaul. *Verbi-genos*.

uetla, *Uuradech uetla*, L. 92^a = *Wradech uecla*, Sk. 6 = *Ferdach yngal*, Sk. 149, corruptly *Stradach singel*, Sk. 200, where the Ir. *ngal* 'parrioides' seems intended.

Uidnuist, L. 92^a, *Uidnust*, Ir. Nenn. 166. Here *Uid* for *Uuid*, = O.-W. *guid* in *Guid-lon*, *Guid-nerth*.

Uip, one of the thirty *Brudes*, Sk. 5; and see *Ur-uip*. Cf. the Gaulish *Vapo*, *Vaponia*, *Vapo-s* (C.I.L. xii. 2623), *Vepo-mulus*, *Vipius* (C.I.L. xii. 2590), if the *v* (*i*) be long: cf. also O.-Slav. *ekŭ* 'kraft,' Lit. *wekd* 'kraft,' lit. *nikrŭs* [Ir. *Fiachra*?] 'lebhaft.'

Uipoig namet, Sk. 6 = *Uipo ignaiuet*, L. 92^a, *Uipo ignauit*, Ir. Nenn. 160 = *Fiacua albus*, Sk. 149, *Fiacha albus*, Sk. 172, *Fiachna lo blank*, Sk. 200. With *Uipoig* cf. the Ir. acc. sg. *Fiachaig*? As to *namet* see above, p. 410.

Uirolec(us), *Vita Columbae*, p. 114^b. Etym. obscure.

Uist, L. 92^a, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. The *Uist* (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 668, and the *Gall-uist* (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 705, may have been Picts.

Ulpha, Ir. Nenn. 130. *Ulfu*, ib. 120, 138.

Unen filius Unuist, L. 92^a. A scribe's mistake for *Uven*?

Unest, Ir. Nenn. 166 = *Unuist*, L. 92^a.

Ungust = *Unust*, Sim. Dunelm. 759, 759, *Hungus*, Sk. 183, 187 = *Oengus*.

Unuist, Sk. 8, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8. See *Onbest*.

ur-, a prefix in *Ur-cal*, *Ur-cinid*, *Ur-cint*, *Ur-fecir*, *Ur-fet*, *Ur-grant*, *Ur-gnith*, *Ur-grid*, *Ur-leo*, *Ur-mund* [= *Ur-mum*, L. 92^a, *Ur-muin*, Ir. Nenn. 158], *Ur-pant*, *Ur-nip*, names of twelve of the thirty

Brudes. This prefix (= the Old-Pictish *vor-* in Ptolemy's *Vorvedrum*, *Ver-ubium*, Gaul. *vor-*, Gr. *ἰνερ-*) is used in the list of Brudes like the Old-Welsh *guor-*, *gur-*, in "map Cein, map Guor-cein, map Doli, map Guor-doli, map Dumn, map Gur-dum," Harl. 3859, fo. 193^b, 1.

Us-con-bust, L. 92^a, misspelt Usconbutis, Sk. 6, Usconbert Ir. Nenn. 158. Br. *us*, W. *uch*, *Uxo-pilli*, *Uxa-cona*, Itin. Anton ed. Parthey, p. 224. Or is *us* for *uas*?

uualatr, see Catmolodor.

Uudrost, Sk. 7, printed Wdrost, corresponds with Budros, L. 92^a, Ir. Nenn. 162, and (as Mr. Egerton Phillimore thinks) the *W. gwedros(t)* in *Caerwedros*, Carmarthenshire.

Uuen, Sk. 8. Unen, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Uuid, L. 92^a, Sk. 7, gen. sg. of *Uuod* = *Vodo*-(mavi), Hübner 71^b. Or is it W. *gwydd* 'ferus,' Br. *gwes*?

Uuirguist (printed Wirguist) gen. sg. Sk. 7.

Uuirp gen. sg. Sk. 6, l. 31.

Uurad, Wrad, filius Bargoit, L. 92^a, Sk. 8.

Uuradech uetla, L. 92^a = Wraddech uecla, Sk. 6. Uuredeg gen. sg. L. 92^a. Iuuredeg, Ir. Nenn. 164. Uuradech L. 92^a = Uuredec (printed Wredech), Sk. 7 = Ir. *Foradaoh*?

Uurgest, spelt Wurgest, Sk. 5 = Fergustus, Mansi *Concilis* viii. 109, cited by Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 338. Uurguist, Wrguist, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8. Uргуист gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7 = O.-W. *Gurgus*, Harl. 3859, fo. 194^a, 1. Ir. *Fergus*. The "Fergusian mac Maelcon, whose obit is given in A.U. 702, was probably a Pict, *Uurgustan.

Uuroid gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 7.

Uurthroost, printed Wrthroost, Sk. 187. Perhaps Uur-*throost*.

Uuthoil, gen. sg. L. 92^a, Sk. 8, Ir. Nenn. 166. nom., perhaps *Vodal* or *Vodval*, Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 459.

Vaco-magi (Οὐακομάγοι), Ptol.

Varar (Ptolemy's Οὐαράρ), the Moray Frith, now represented by the river *Farrar*.

Venicônes (Οὐενικωνες), Ptol.

Ver-ubion, Ptolemy's Οὐερουβίουμ ἄκρον. Cf. perhaps Ir. 'sword-point.'

Ver-vedron, Ptolemy's Οὐερουεδροῦμ ἄκρον. Cf. perhaps O.-S. *Jar. vedrū* 'heiter.'

Vola, Volsa? (Οὐόλα, Οὐόλσα?), name of a river, Ptol.

The foregoing list of names and other words contains much

that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech.¹ Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish. Thus:

Vowels: the umlaut of *a* by *i* is *e*: *Elphin*; the breaking of *i* by *ā* is *e*: *Esk*; the umlaut of long *ā* is *ahe* in *pean-fahel*; the umlaut of long *ō* is *ohi* in *Catohic*; long *ā* becomes *ō*: *Catōc*; long *ū* becomes *ū*: *Bridei*.

Diphthongs: *ai* remains, *Tarain*, or becomes *oi*, *Cini-oið*, *croibh*; *oi* becomes *oo* in Beda's *Oengus*, but *u* in *Un-gust* and *muthill*: *eu*, *ou* become *o* (*ō*?) in *Totalan*, *Ochil*.

Semivowels: a dental is developed before *j*, in *moneð*, *nonith*=W. *mynydd*, but Ir. *muine*; initial *w* (from *v*) either remains as in *ur-*, *uuid*, or becomes *f* as in *fahel*, *Fortrenn*.

Consonants: *c* between vowels remains, *Bicoel*, *Catohic*; *cl* becomes *th*, developing a diphthong, *Naiton* (for **Neithán*), *Oith*; *cc* remains: *brecc*, *brocc*, *mucc*; *cs* becomes *ch*, *Ochil*=W. *uchel*, but Ir. *uasal*, or *s*, developing a diphthong, *oois*; *qv* becomes *p*, *pean*, *patt*, *Perth*, *Pern*;

g between vowels remains: *Ougen*, or becomes a semivowel, *Muriel*; *-gl-* becomes *-il-*, *-el-* in *Maelchon*=Maglo-cunos; *rg*, *Tolarg*, becomes *ryg* or *rc*, *Talorgg*, *Taloroo*, *Forcus*: *lc* remains, *balc*;

t between vowels remains, *Catohic*, *Fetter*: *rt* remains, *art*, *gart*, *urgart*, *cartit*: *tt* remains, *call*, *pelt*; *tr* becomes *dr*, *Catmolodor*.

n is kept before *t*, as in *pant*, *grant*, *cint*, *Morcunt*, or the *t* is assimilated: *Morgunn*, gen. *Morgainn*;

Indo-European *p* is lost, *Esk*, *oll*, *Orcadea*, *ur*.

b becomes *lp*, *Alpin*, and the *p* is then infected, *Elphin*.

¹ Prof. Rhys, in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1890, p. 38, asserts that "both Maobeth and Maelbeth were real names current . . . in the land of the northern Picts," and seems to suppose, p. 391, that 'beth' is a non-Celtic word meaning "hound." I have not inserted these names in the foregoing list of Pictish vocables. For "Maobeth" is a recent corruption of the Gaelic *Mae bead* (Book of Deer, iii. v), earlier *Mae bethad*, A.U. 1041, 1058, which means literally 'son of Life' (i.e. a religious person), *bethad* being = Gr. *βιόητος*. And "Maelbeth" is a very recent corruption of the Irish *Mael bethad* 'tonsured (servant) of Life,' spelt *Moulbethadh* in F.M. A.D. 944. An antithetical expression is *mae bidis* 'son of death,' i.e. a malefactor or wicked person, F.M. 1600, p. 2218, the filius perditionis of 2 Thes. ii. 3. The "Maelbaetho" (rectius Maelbethe or Maelbæde), which Skene cites from the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031, is Mael-Boethi "servus Boethii," a well-known saint, bishop of Monasterboice, co. Louth.

initial *s* remains, *Si-mal*: vowel-flanked *s* disappears, *Iarn-bodh*, *Glun-merach*: *st* remains, *Drust*, *Ungust*, *Uurgest*.

Traces of declension are perhaps in *Achiuir*, *fahel*, *Catohic*, *Canonn*, *Cinodon*, *Cinadhon* (leg. *Cinioi'ōon*), *Manann*.

Diminutives in *-án* (*Accidan*, *Drostan*, *Fiachan*, *Iogenan*, *Itharnan*, *Mochan*, *Neotan*, *Talorggan*, *Totalan*); *-nán* (*Gartnan*); *-nait* (*Gartnait*); *-icc* (*Drustico*).

Numerals: *oen* or *un*, *deē*.

Prefixes: *ar*, *ats*, *at* (in *apor* = *at-bor*), *em*, *en-*, *in-*, *si-*, *us-*, *uu*, *ver-*, *uur-*.

V. I. OLD-NORSE NAMES AND OTHER WORDS.

Intercourse between the Irish and the Scandinavians began in 795 (when the Vikings made their first attack on Ireland) and continued for about four hundred years. As the Irish certainly wrote annals in the ninth and tenth centuries, and as the oldest Old-Norse manuscript dates from the end of the eleventh century (Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 426), we may expect that some light will be thrown on primaevaeval northern speech from the Scandinavian names preserved in the Annals, as well as from the Scandinavian words borrowed by the Irish. In this expectation we shall not be wholly disappointed, though as sources for Ur-nordisch the Irish documents are not to be named with the runic inscriptions, or with the loan-words in Finnish, Lappish, Russian, and English. Compare:—

Amlaib	with	Aleifr, Oláfr
Báirith, Barid	„	Bárör
elta, erell	„	hjalt, jarl
Fulf	„	Ulf.
In-fuit, In-scoa	„	Í-hvítr, í-skoa
Imar	„	Ivarr
Roalt	„	Hróaldr
Ruadhmand	„	Hrómundr
Tomrair, Tomrir	„	þórer

¹ See Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-lappischen*, Halle, 1870.

In *Amlaib*, *Imar*, *Tomrair*, *Tomrir*, the *m* merely indicates the nasality of the preceding vowel.

In the following list I have inserted, for sake of completeness and comparison, the Scandinavian names and other words which occur in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Galluibh*, ed. Todd, Dublin, 1867, and in the Book of Leinster, pp. 172^a, 309^a–310^b of the facsimile. The former work is denoted by CGG. : the latter by LL. The runic forms I have got from Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* and Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik*.

Accolbh, FM. 928. **Hákúlfr*. The last syllable is certainly *úlf*. Dr. Kuno Meyer thinks that the first is perhaps *hdkr* in *mat-hákr* 'glutton,' *ord-hákr* 'foul mouth.'

Albdan, TF. p. 159, Albdon, LL. 25^b, Albdann, FM. 924, Alpthann, AU. 925, corruptly Albann, Albund, AU. 874, 876. Icel. *Halsdan*.

Amand, Pol mac Amaind, FM. 1103, p. 974, AU. 1103. Amond mac Duibginn, CGG. 206. Icel. *Amundi*? *Hámundr*?

Amlaidhi, TF. 222, Icel. *Amlóði*. Saxo's *Amløthus*, Shakspeare's *Hamlet*.

Amhlaeibh, FM. 851, 904, 943, 1027, etc. Amlaim, Tig. 997, 980, Amlaiph, AU. 856, 863, 865, 869, Amlaiph, AU. 870, Amhlaim, AU. 976, Amláib hua Inscóa rig Lochlann, LL. 172^a, 2; = *Alaib*, *ibid.* 172^b, 17. gen. Amlaim, AU. 866. Icel. *O'láfr*. *Mao Amhluoibh* is now *Mao Auliffe*.

Anlaf, FM. 938 = the *Anlaf* of the Saxon Chronicle, immediately from **Anleifr*.

Anrath mac Elbric, CGG. p. 164.

Aralt, Tig. 989, FM. 938, 998. mac Aralt, AU. 986, mac Arailt, AU. 988. Norse *Haraldr*.

Asgall, FM. 1170, Norse *Asgell*. Mac Asguill is now McCaskil.

Aufer, FM. 924. Norse *Afvirðr*, Icel. *Auvirðr*, A.S. *afwyrð*.

Auisle, AU. 862, 865, Ausli, AU. 882, Oieli, LL. 310^a, 46, Oisle, TF. 866. Unlsi, FM. 861 = Icel. *auviali* 'devastation,' personified.

Badbarr, Baethbarr, CGG. 24, 32. Icel. *Böðvarr*, from **Baðu-hari-r*.

Barith, TF. 873, AU. 880, FM. 878, 935, LL. 310^b, 13, 15, Barid, AU. 913, Barnid, CGG. 24, Baruit, FM. 878, Báirith, TF. 873. gen. Baritha, FM. 888. Icel. *Dárðr* = *Bár-röðr*, Vigf. s.v. þórr.

Or from *Böörðr, Böðwörðr, O.H.G. Badward, Noreen, in Paul's Grundriss, i. 466.

Birndin, CGG. 40. The *Birn* may be *Bjarni* or *Biörn*: the *-din* is obscure.

Blacaire, FM. 938. Blacair, AU. 944. Blocair, AU. 947, *Blaka*—ri, Orkn. Saga 105, nomen agentis from *blaka* 'to slap, to flutter'?

Brodor, CGG. p. 150, Brotor, *ibid.* pp. 164, 172, AU. 1014, Broc—ar, CGG. 206, FM. 1013. Brodor roth, Brodor ffuit, LL. 172^a, 6 = 7. Icel. *bróður*, gen. dat. acc. of *bróðir* 'brother.'

Buidnin, gen. sg. CGG. 40.

Buu, loinges Milid Buu, CGG. 40. O.N. *Búi*?

Caittil, AU. 856. O.N. *Kotill*?

Cano gall, LL. 172^a, 13.

Carran, CGG. 78.

Cnutt, Tig. 1031, 1034. Cnút mac Sain ri Saxan, AU. 1035. Norse *Knútr*.

Colphín, CGG. 24. Norse *Kolbeinn*? *Kolfinna*?

Elbric gen. sg., CGG. p. 164. Cognate with A.S. *Ælfric*.

Elge, CGG. 38. Ailche, TF. p. 164, note o. Norse *Helgi*.

Elóir mac Iargni, FM. 885. Eloir mac Baritha, FM. 888.

Haldórr (= Hall-þórr).

Eoan, CGG. 40. Eon Barun, CGG. 206. Norse *Jóann*.

Eric gen. sg. FM. 1103, p. 974. Norse *Eiríkr*.

Eruib, AU. 1014, CGG. 41, gen. Eruilb, CGG. 164, 206, Erolb—, FM. 1151. Norse *Herjólf*.

Etalla, Etila, given as Norse, CGG. 78. Prob. the A.S. *Ætla*, Beda H.E.

Ffuit, LL. 172^a, 7 = *Hvitr* 'white,' see *Infuit* infra.

Fulf, CS. 870. Ulbh, TF. 909. Hulb, FM. 904, 917. Ul—, AU. 869. Norse *Ulf*. Goth. *wulfs*.

Goistilin, Gall. CGG. 206.

Gothfraidh, Gofraid, Tig. 989. Gothrin, Gofraigh, Tig. 1035—, 36
Gothbraith, AI. 907, 908. Gothbrith, AU. 917. Goithbrith, AU—, U
920. Gothfraid, LL. 25^b. Gobraith, AI. 1078. Gofridh, TF. 87—, 71.
Goffraig, AU. 1095. Iufraigh, FM. 1146. Iefraidh, CGG. 20—, 6.
Norse *Jófreyr*, *Góðröðr* (*Goðröðr*) 'Gottfried.' Hence McCaffre—er.

Graggabai, AU. 917, a scribal error for *Cracabain* miswritt—en
Cracabam, Simon Dunelm. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 686 B. **Krðku*—
bein 'crow-leg,' a nickname, like *Krðku-nef*.

Griffin, CGG. 40, leg. Grissin?

Grisin, CGG. pp. 164, 206. Grisine, AU. 1014. May be *Lr*.

diminutives formed from Norse *griss* 'a young wild pig.' Or is it
 or *Grisinn*, the *-inn* being the def. article? Cf. *Suinin* infra.

Hacond, CGG. 26. Norse *Hákon*.

Haimar, TF. 172. Is this *Aymar* = *Ailmar* from *Agilmar*?

Herling, LL. 172^a, 18, *Erlingr*.

Hil, LL. 172^a, 13. Icel. *Hillr*.

Hingatund, TF. p. 226. Norse *Ingimundr*. The *Igmund* of
Trut y Tywysogion, 900.

Hona, TF. p. 144. *Onund*?

Horm, TF. p. 120. AU. 855. Norse *Ormr*.

Ierone, AU. 851, Iargna, TF. 851 (*Iarngna*, p. 230, l. 12, may
 be a misprint), gen. *Iargni*, FM. 885, corruptly *Ergni*, AU. 885.

árn-kne 'Iron-knee,' of which the Irish name *Glán Iairn*, AU.
 88, seems a version.

Illulb, Ilulb, Tig. 977. Culca [mac] Illuilb ri Alban, AU. 970.
mhlaim mac Ailuilbh .i. ri Alban, AU. 976. Perhaps *Hll-ulfr*.

Imar, Imhar, FM. 856, etc., AU. 856, gen. *Imair*, LL. 310^b,
 2, dat. *Imur*, Tig. 982, Norse *Ivarr*. Hence *MacKeever*.

Infuit, CGG. 78 = *In-hvittr*, prehistoric form of **Ihvitr*, 'whitish,
 ery white, ever-white'?

Inscou, LL. 172^a, a nickname meaning perhaps 'Big shoes.'

Ladar, gen. *Ladair*, CGG. 206 = *Lotar*, q.v.

Lagmand, AU. 1014, *Laghmand*, CGG. 40, *Lagmaind*, CGG.
 65, gen. *Lagmain*, CGG. 206. From an oblique case of *lagamaðr*
 'lawman,' as *ármand* infra from an obl. case of *ármaðr*. Now
Lamont, *MacLamond* and perhaps *MacCalmont*.

Laraic, FM. 951, cf. perhaps O.N. *lær* 'thigh' (cf. *Lær-Bjarni*,
turl. vii. 181). The *-aic* is obscure.

Leodús, LL. 172^a 20 = *Ljóðús*, now the *Lewis*.

Líagríslach, CGG. 40. Here we have perhaps a comp. of O.N. *ljátr*
 'coyote,' and the Norse cogn. of A.S. *grislic*, *grýslic*, N.H.G. *graulich*.

Lotar, CGG. p. 164 = *Hlöðver*, *Njula*, 184.

Lummin, CGG. p. 164. *Luiminin*, CGG. p. 206. *Luimne*,
 AU. 1014.

Maghnus, gen. *Maghnusa* FM. 972, 1101. Hence *MacManus*
Mod mac Herling, LL. 172^a, 18.

Northmann, LL. 171^b, pl. dat. *Nordmannuib*, AU. 836.

Odolbh Micle, TF. p. 176. O.-Norse *Auðólfr inn Mikli*.

Odund, gen. *Oduind*, CGG. p. 40. O.-Norse *Auðunn*.

Oiberd, CGG. p. 40, perhaps a nickname, **óbjarto* 'beardless.'
 Or it is a clerical error for *Roiberd* = *Hróbjardr* (*Robert*), FM. 1433?

Oasill, CGG. 22, Oisill, CGG. 206. Perhaps *Eysill*, a nickname meaning 'little ladle.'

Oistin, AU. 874 = *Eysteinn*. Now MacQuiston.

Ona, LL. 310^a, 45, CGG. 22 = Hona.

Onphile, LL. 309^a, 36, CGG. 14, perhaps O.-Norse *áfelli* 'calamity,' cf. *Auisle* supra.

Otta, or perhaps Atta, wife of Turgea, LL. 309^b, 16. *Auðig*, *Auðug*? Or is it = *Auda*, which occurs in Förstemann as the name of a daughter of Eckard v. Meissen?

Ottir, LL. 310^b, 42, AU. 917, Oittir, AU. 1014, TF. 909, pp. 230, 246, LL. 310^b, 57. Oitir dubh, CGG. p. 206. *Otter*, An. Camb. 913, = Icel. *Ottarr* (A.S. *Ohthere*).

Plat, CGG. 152, Plait, CGG. 174. Icel. *Flatr* 'flat.' Cf. the nickname *Flat-nefr*. For *p* from *f* cf. *Piscarcarla*, LL. 172^a, 5.

putrall, see Roalt putrall, LL. 310^b, 31. A similar Irish word is glossed by *gruag* 'hair,' O'Cl. Perhaps it is for **futrall* = Low-Lat. *fōtrals*, N.H.G. *futteral*.

Ragnall, Tig. 980, 995, 1031, AU. 913, 916, Raghnaill, CGG. 206, gen. Ragnaill, LL. 310^b, 12, TF. 871. Norse *Rögnvaldr*. Hence MacRannal.

Roalt¹ Putrall, LL. 310^b, 31 = Rot Pudarill, CGG. 28. Roilt, FM. — 924, *Hróvaldr*? runic RhoaltR (Vatn), OHG. *Hrodowald*.

Rodlaib, TF. 863, Rodolbh, TF. 852. gen. Roduilbh, TF. 860. — *Hróðúlfr*.

roth : Brodor roth, LL. 172^a : *rauðr* 'red.'

Ruadhmand, Ruamand, CGG. 78, *Hrómundr*, from **Hróðmundr*.

Saxulb, CGG. p. 20, Saxalb, LL. 310^a, 22 (misprinted 'Raall' by Todd, p. 229), gen. sg. Saxoilbh, AU. 836. **Saxi-úlfr*? A.S. *Sexuulf* in Bede, H.E. iv. 6.

Sciggire, LL. 172^a, 4, the Faeroe Islanders (*skeggjar*).

Scolph, LL. 310^a, 45, CGG. 22. Perhaps a corruption **Aka-úlfr*.

Sigmall, gen. Sigmaill, CGG. 78. Perhaps *Sigvaldi*, the Ir——i scribe constantly representing *v* by (infected) *m*.

Simond mac Tuirgeis, CGG. 206. Norse, *Simon*.

Sitriuc, Tig. 977, 1022, 1031. Sitriucc, AU. 895. A.S. *Sihl*——*ic*, Norse *Sigtryggr*.

Siucrad, CGG. 152. Siuc[r]aid, CGG. 164. Siuchraidh, AU. 1014,

¹ For this (which is clear in the facsimile) Dr. Todd prints *Ascoll*.

Sichraídh, FM. 1102. Sioghradh, CGG. 206. Siugraídh *soga rig* Súdiam, LL. 172^a, 9. Siugraídh mac Imair, LL. 310^b, 41. Norse *Sigurðr*.

Sichfríth, AU. 887, FM. 1013. O.N. *Sigfríð*.

Smurull, LL. 310^b, 31 (=Murull, CGG. 28). Probably a nickname compounded with *smör* or *smjör* 'butter.'

Snadgair, CGG. 164. The *-gair* is probably *geirr* 'spear,' cf. Suart-gair, infra. The *snad* is perhaps for *snuad* = *snauðr* 'smooth,' or cf. *snúðr* 'twist,' 'twirl' (K. Meyer).

Snuatgair, CGG. 40, gen. sg. of *Snuad-gair* = **snauð-geirr*.

Somarlid, CGG. 78. Norse *Sumarliði*. Hence MacSorley.

Sortadbud sort, LL. 172^a, 10.

Stabball, CGG. 78. Prob. a nickname: cf. *stapal* 'torch,' O'B.

Stain, Sdain, Tig. 1031, 1034, Stain, AU. 851, 846, Zain, TF. 851. Norse *Steinn*.

Suainin, CGG. pp. 40, 206, Suanin, CGG. p. 164. Perhaps a dimin. of **Suan* = *Suanr* 'swan,' or is it *Seeinn*?

Suurtgair, AU. 1014. A compound of *suurt-r* 'black,' and *geirr* 'spear.'

Suimin, CGG. p. 40, a scribal error for Suinin, q.v.

Suinia, CGG. p. 206, Sunin, CGG. p. 164. *Sein-inn* 'the swine.'

Tamar, CGG. p. 38 = Tomar, q.v.

Tolbarb, CGG. 78.

Tomar, CGG. p. 22, F.M. 994. Hence Toner.

Tomralt, FM. 923 = Icel. *Þórvaldr*.

Tomrar, AI. 852, TF. 869. Tomhrar, FM. 846. Tomrair, AI. 833, LL. 310^a, 46. Tomrair Erell, AU. 847. O.-N. *Þórer*, *Þóreirr*, *Þór-gairr*.

Tomrir Torra, TF. p. 144. Icel. *Þórir*.

Torbend dub, CGG. 164 = Torfind, q.v.

Toirberdach, CGG. 40. Formed on *þorbjartr*? bearded like Thor?

Torfind, AU. 1124. Norse *Þorfinnr*.

Torchar mac Treni, FM. 1171. Norse *Þorgeirr*?

Torolbh, FM. 928 = Torulb iarla, AU. 931. Icel. *Þorúlf*.

Torstan mac Eric, FM. 1103. Tórstain mac Eric, AU. 1103. Norse *Þorsteinn*.

Turcall, gen. Turcaill, AU. 1124. *Þorkell*. Mac-Thorcaill is now MacCorkell.

Turges, AB. 794, AU. 844. Turges and Turgeis, LL. 309^a. Icel. *Þorgestr*, whence *Þorgestlingar*, Vigf. s.v. *Þórr*.

Torgelsi, FM. 1167. Norse *Þorgísl*.

OLD-NORSE WORDS QUOTED.

conung, TF. 126, 228 = *konungr* 'king.'

erell, AU. 847, from **erl*, prehistoric form of *jarl*.

far-as, CGG. 174 = *hvar as* 'where is?' The context is: Is 'arsin tanic Plait a cath na lureach amach, 7 asbert fothri: "Far-as Domnall?" .i. cait ita Domnall? Ro[f]reair Domnall 7 asbert: "Sund, a sniding!" ar se. 'Thereafter came Plait forth from the battalion of the mailcoats and said thrice: "Where is Domnall?" Answered Domnall, "Here, thou villain!" saith he.'

litil, AI. 953. litill, CGG. p. 84. Norse *litill*.

micle, TF. 176. Norse *mikill*, *ihn mikli*.

núi, TF. p. 164. The context is: As annsaide dorala an chrech Lochlannach inaighidh Cinnédigh . . . Rothoghbaid gotha allmhardha barbardha annseidhe, 7 stuic iomdha badhphdha, 7 sochuidhe 'ga rádh "núi, núi!" Then the Lochlann raiders marched against Kennedy. . . . They raised foreign, barbarous shouts there, and (blew) many warlike trumpets, and a multitude (was) saying "*knús! knús!* press on, press on!"—as the late G. Vigfusson orally explained the words to me. See his Icelandic-English Dictionary, s.v. *Knúja*.

In CGG. 202, *oing* and *prist* are given as Norse words.

V. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM OLD-NORSE.

This subject has been handled by Prof. Zimmer, in Steinmeyer's *Zeitschrift*, xxxii. 267 et seq., and by Dr. Kuno Meyer, in the *Revue Celtique*, x. 367—369.

armand *officer*, Tig. 1170, FM. 1170, p. 1176. pl. n. armainn .i. oificcigh, O'Cl., dat. ármannaib Tig. 1174. From an oblique case of O.N. *ármaðr* (K. Meyer).

at-cluic *helmet*, ALC. 1261, FM. 1261: (gl. galea), Ir. Gl. 2 = clocc-att, acc. sg. trena chlocc-aitt, FM. 1583, p. 1802. He: the *att* is=Norse *hatt* (or perh. A.S. *hat*), and the *cluic* is ge sg. of *cloc*, cognate with Highland *claiçann*, *claiçionn* 'cranium.' A dimin. of *at*, viz. *atan*, occurs in a poem cited by Dr. Reeves, *Columba*, p. 322, where it is rendered by 'hood.'

banna, *a bond in writing*, pl. dat. bannuidhib, ALC. 1584. Formed on O.-Norse *band*.

bróc in suath-bróc, hern-bróc. LU. 79^a, 179^b, 86^a. O.N. *brók*. cantarchapa, *a cope worn by ecclesiastics in the choir*, ALC. 1248, where *cantarhaptha* is printed in the text, *cantarhapath* in the translation and notes. O.N. *kantura-kápa*. The context is : Fedhlim . . . do thabairt . . . do chanánchaib Chille moire . . . cantarhaptha do sróll, 'Felim gave the canons of Kilmore choir-copes of satin.'

cnapp, *stud, button*, pl. dat. cnappaib, LL. 98^b. ON. *knappr*. costus, *provisions, eatables*, sg. gen. cosduis, ALC. 1577. acc. costus. FM. 1409. O.N. *kostr*, NHG. *kosten*. Cognate with *costud*, LL. 64^a, 27; 263^a, 46.

cuiniu .i. ben, 'woman,' Gorm. from O.N. *kona*, from **kuenō*. So partchuine *harlot*, Corm. is=O.N. *portkona*. A.S. *cwēne*, now *queen*.

elta *hill*, LL. 268^b, 47, O.N. *hjall*.

fuindeóg *window, aperture* = *vindauga*. pl. fuinneóga, O'B. iarla *earl*, AB. 1324, O.N. *jarl*. W. *iarll*, Corn. *yurl*. Hence *iarlacht earldom*, gen. *iarlacha*, ALC. 1535, p. 286, FM. 1398, p. 760. W. *iarllaeth*.

lipting, LL. 219^a, *lifting taffrail*. O.N. *lypting* summa 'pup-pis.'

loun, *a roller for launching ships*, from O.N. *hlunnr* (Bugge).

maróc *sausage*, founded on O.N. *mör* (st. *marva*).

pundand, punnann *sheaf, bundle*, from O.N. *bundin* (Bugge).

rossál, rosualt, LU. 11^a, 47, pl. n. rossáil, LL. 172^b, 10. O.N. *hrosscalr*, Eng. *walrus*.

rúm LL. 236^a, O.N. *rúm*, the room or place for a pair of oars (K. Meyer).

sceld, scell *shield*, gen. pl. LL. 87^b, 40, sceld-gur, LL. 83^a, 1. O.N. *skjöldr*.

scot, *sheet*, pl. scéti, LB. 219^b, 68. O.N. *skaut*.

sniding (leg. *sniding*) *villain*, CGG. 174. From O.N. *niðingr* with prothetic *s*.

sopp, *wisp, bundle of straw*, pl. n. suipp, LL. 93^b. From O.N. *sópr* 'besom.' Zimmer (wrongly, I think) refers *sopp* to O.N. *svöppr* 'sponge.'

sparr, pl. dat. sparrib, LL. 107^b, 12. O.N. *sparri*. Hence *sparra* 'a military gate,' indorus spairri na Guillmhe, FM. 1597, p. 2008.

staca *stack*, FM. 1579, p. 1722. O.N. *stakkr*.
 stáio *steak*, LB. 219^b. O.N. *steik*.
 starga *shield*, LL. 265^a, 18. *stargha*, O'B. O.N. *targa*, with
 prothetic *s*. Or from A.S. *targo*, *targa*?
 tile *plank, partition*, LL. O.N. *pili* (K. Meyer).¹

VI. I. ANGLO-SAXON NAMES.

Here follow the A.S. names found in the Irish Annals. I have inserted three from the Lebar na hUidre, p. 93. There are many more in the Irish abridgment of the first two books of Beda's H.E., which is found in Laud 610, ff. 89^b—92^a.

Adulstan, AU. 936, 938, Atalstan, FM. 944 = *Æthelstán*.
 Adulph ri Saxon, TF. 158. Adulf, AU. 857 = *Æthelwulf*, A.S. Chron. 855(6).
 Ailfrid, FM. 900. *Ælfred*.
 Albruit, Tig. 629, a scribal error for Albruic = *Ælfric*.
 Aldfrith mac Ossu, AU. 703. Altfrith mac Ossa, Tig. 704 = Aldfrith, Tig. 716. *Aldferth, Aldfrith (Ealdferth)*.
 Alli rex Saxon aquilonalium, AU. 866, bellum filii, Ailli, AU. 630 = *Ælla*.
 Almuine filius Osu, Tig. 680 = Ailmíne filius Oseu, AU. 679, *Ælfoino*, son of Oswy, (infected) *m* being written for *w*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Simal* supra, and *Bristoma* infra.
 Anfrith, AU. 631 = *Eanfrith*.
 Anna : bellum Annæ, AU. 655, TF. 657. See A.S. Chron. 654.
 Beda, AU. 734, TF. 739; Béid, TF. p. 112. *Baeda*.
 Bernith, Tig. 698. *Beornhæð, -hóð, -noð, -oð*?
 Brechtraig, Tig. 698, scribe's error for Brechtraid = Brectrid, ~~Æ~~
 AU. 697, *Berctrad*, Beda, H.E. v. 24.
 Bristoma, ALC. 1247, Bristuma, FM. 1256. From an oblique ~~Æ~~
 case of *Bricgatow*, AS. Chron. 1088, now *Bristol*.
 Ceode espoc Iae, Tig. 712. Coeddi, FM. 710. *Ceadda*? *Cedde*.
 Coniulf [printed Comulf] rex Saxonum, AU. 820. *Céuwulf*, kin ~~Æ~~
 of Mercia.

¹ To this I may add Prof. Bugge's remark (in a letter) that Ir. *Adhch* ~~Æ~~
 'mousetrap,' lit. 'wooden cat,' agrees with O.N. *tráköttr*.

Cuitin, Tig. 718, mac Cuitine, Tig. 731, filius Cuidino, AU. 717, clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini, rex Saxon, AU. 730. *Cuthwina*.

Cuthbertus, AU. 687 = *Cuthberht*.

Dolfinn mac Finntuir, slain in battle by the men of Alba, AU. 1054. A *Dolfin* is mentioned in the A.S. Chron. at 1093, as ruling Carlisle.

Dunstan, Tig. 988 = *Dúnstán*.

Eanfraith [MS. -ch] frater Etalfraith [MS. -ch], Tig. 600 = *Eonfrith*, son of *Æthelfrith*.

Eberctus [MS. 7berotus], Tig. 701, rectius 715, Ecbertus, TF. 729, Eieberict, AU. 728 = *Egbyrht*.

Ecfrið mac Ossa, Tig. 686 = Etfrið mac Ossu, rex Saxonum, AU. 685 = *Ecgferth*.

Edilfrido, TF. 687, a mistake for Ecfrido.

Edeldrida, TF. 687, 913 = *Ætheldryth*, -*thryth*.

Etalfraidh, Tig. 613 = Etilbrith, Tig. 671, Mors Ossu filii Eitilbrith, AU. 670. Edelfrid, TF. 909 = *Æthelferth* (-*frith*).

Eithilfoith famosissima regina Saxonum, AU. 917. Edelfrida, TF. 909 = *Æthelflæd*.

Etgair, Tig. 965. Etgair mac Etmonn, ri Saxon, AU. 974 = *Eadgar*.

Etmonn, AU. 974 = *Eadmund*.

Etuin mac Elle, Tig. 625 = E. mac Ailli, Tig. 631 = *Eadwina*.

Etulb, Tig. 717, AU. 716, Etulb ri Saxon tuaiscirt, AU. 912, **Etalbh**, TF. 913 = *Eadulf*. A gen. sg. Ecuilb, Ecuilp, AU. 716, 740, is prob. a scribal error for Etuilb.

Finn-tur, father of Dolfin, AU. 1054 = ON. *þor-finnr*?

Garailt, Tig. 732, Garolt TF. 732, Garault AU. 731 = AS. *Gár-wald* or *Gárwald*.

Giuais. Arult ri Saxon Giuais, AU. 1040. Giuoys, Ann. Camb. 900. A.-S. Gewissas *West Saxona*, Beda, E.H. ii. 5, iii. 7.

Ild, in monasterio Ild, AU. 712 = *Iild*, abbess of Whitby.

Lindas, LU. 93.

Moll, Tig. 764 = *Moll Æthelwald*, A.-S. Chron. 759. Prof. Napier tells me that it occurs also in the Northumbrian Liber Vitae. Is it borrowed from the Highland Gaelic *moll* 'chaff'?

Offa rex bonus Anglorum, AU. 795 = *Offa*, King of Mercia, A.-S. Chron. 794.

Oisirió mac Albruit, Tig. 629 = *Oeric* son of *Ælfric*, A.-S. Chron. 634. Oisirió father of Oissene (=Oswine) AU. 650.

Oissene mac Oisirgg, AU. 650 = *Oswine* son of *Oeric*.

Osbrit lamfota, 'longhand,' LU. 93. *O'sbryht*.

Osriith mac Aldfrith, Tig. 717. AU. 715 = *Osered*, King of Northumbria, son of *Aldferth*.

Ossiu, Tig. 656. Osu, Tig. 680, 713. Ossu, Tig. 650, 671. AU. 641, 649, 655, 670, 679, 685, 712, 715, TF. 671. mac Gossa, AI. 694 for mac Ossa? A.-S. *Oswiu*.

Osuait mac Etalfraith, Tig. 632. Osuait, Tig. 634. gen. Osuait, Tig. 639. Ossuait, AG. 659. Ósalt, LU. 93. bellum Osuait, AU. 638 = *O'sweald*.

Panta, Tig. 631. Pante, Tig. 650, 657. AU. 649, 655, 674. gen. Panntea, Tig. 675. *Penda*, Beda, HE. v. 24.

Pilu . . . Saxo, *Vita Columbae*, p. 227.

Tíne : the river Tyne; for brú Tine la Saxanu Tuaiscirt, AU. 91. Latinised *Tinus* by Beda.

VI. 2. IRISH LOANS FROM ANGLO-SAXON.

As to the early intercourse between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, see Beda, H. E. iii. 27. The monastery founded for the English at Mayo by S. Colman, of Lindisfarne, about the year 670 (Beda, H. E. iv. 4) may also here be mentioned. Some few of the following have already appeared in the papers of Zimmer and Kuno Meyer above referred to.

assan (gl. caliga), pl. n. assain, O'B., W. *hosan*, both borrowed from an oblique case of *hosa*, gen. *hosan*.

bád *boat*, gen. báid, ALC. 1517. A.S. *bát*.

barda, bharda *warders*, ALC. 1246, 1512, 1516. A.S. *ward*. Hence bardacht *wardership*, ALC. 1369, 1478, 1589. FM. 1584, 1600.

beór *beer*, gen. beóiri, beoiri, LB. 215^a, 215^b. A.S. *beór*.

blede *goblet*, Tig. 1115. A.-S. *blodu*.

boga *bow*, pl. dat. bodhadhaibh (leg. boghadhaibh), ALC. 1405. A.-S. *boga*. Hence boghadóir *archer*, O'B.

bord *border, brink*, FM. 1247, p. 320, 1318, p. 516, imel-bhord na habhand, FM. 1595, p. 1978, pl. dat. borddaib, LL. 254^a, 11, 256^a. A.S. *bord* in such phrases as *innan bordes, útan bordes*.

bord *table*, an bord cr[uind] *the Round Table*, AU. 467. A.S. *bord tabula*. Hence also W. *bwrd*.

crocán (gl. olla) = W. *crochan*, from A.S. *crocca*. O'B.'s *corcán*.
 cromb *crooked* = W. *crwm*, from A.S. *crumb*.

fiatail *weeds*, gen. sg. fiataile, FM. 1582, p. 1784. Founded on
 A.S. *wédd*, *wídd*. O'B. has *fiatghail* 'vetches.'

Futerna = *Hwiterna* in Galloway.

geta *gate*, Geta nua = *Newgate*, FM. 1535, glas geta, FM. 1596,
 p. 2006. pl. dat. getadaibh, FM. 1601, p. 2258. A.S. *geat*.

gúala, A.S. *gebla* 'yule.' ierngúala, LU. 121^b = *se astra*
gebla.

maighden, *maiden*, pl. dat. maighdenaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012.
 A.S. *magden*.

pinginn, *pinging penny*, occurs in the idiomatic phrases *ara phin-*
ginn fein 'at his own expense,' ALC. 1245, FM. 1245, and *dul*
sa phinginn 'to become tributary,' FM. 1577, p. 1698. From
 A.S. *pending*, *penning*. An Ir. *penning* = O.N. *penningr*, also occurs
 (LL. 54^b, 2).

ritere *knight*, Tig. 729, ALC. 1177, 1200, ritaire, TF. p. 170.
 A.S. *riders*.

rót *road*, LU. 104^b, 106^a, gen. sg. róid, FM. 1598, p. 2060, pl.
 dat. ródaibh, FM. 1592, p. 1920, A.S. *rdā*.

scilling, scillinn *shilling*, pl. nom. sgillingi, FM. 1585, p. 1840.
 gen. sgillinn, ALC. 1549, p. 354. A.S. *scylling*.

srámach, sremach, *blear-eyed*, FM. 1380, 1363, deriv. of *eram*
 "matter running from the eyes," O'R. A.S. *strodm*.

staighre acc. sg. *stair*, FM. 1454. A.S. *stégar*.

stéd, sdéd, ALC. 1231, pl. dat. sdéduibh, ALC. 1277. A.S. *stéda*,
 'horse.'

stiurnaid, *steerer*, sdiuraidh, ALC. 1283. stiurnaim *I steer*, *I guide*,
 ro sdiurastar, ALC. 1217. A.-S. *steóran*, *stióren*, *stýran*.

stocce [misprinted siocce] in the alliterative phrase *gach tegh, gach*
teghdais, gach stocce, gach staca, FM. 1579, A.S. *stoco*. Corn. *stoc*
 (gl. *stirbs*).

tráill *thrall*, Corm. Tr. p. 162, Old-Northumbr. *ƿræl* or ON.
ƿræll. Hence tráillidheacht *slavery*, O'B.

I take this opportunity of suggesting that *gimach*, which occurs
 as an epithet for a scorpion (*Lives of Saints from the Book of*
Lismore, l. 3651), may be a loan from A.S. *gimach* (gl. *improbis*),
 Epinal Glossary, ed. Sweet, p. 12, l. 31, later *gamdh*, and that
réfedh 'rope,' FM. 1590, 1592 (pl. dat. *refedaib*, LU. 63^a, 18), may
 be connected with O.H.G. *reif* (whence Ital. *refe*), as W. *rhaff*,
rhaffyn, with A.S. *ráp*.

VI. 3. IRISH LOANS FROM MIDDLE-ENGLISH.

Lastly, we may set forth the following list of words, most of which are borrowed from Middle-English, though a few (cited from the Four Masters) may have been taken over from Modern English. We know from the decree of the Synod of Armagh, described by Giraldus (Hib. Exp. l. i. c. 18), that for some time before 1170 the Irish held large numbers of English slaves. From that year down to the present time the intercourse of the two peoples has been incessant; and now the jargons called Modern Irish are as full of English loan-words as Breton is of French.

act pairlimint, *a session*, do dol . . . docum acta pairlimint, ALC. 1585.

airteccal, *article*, gen. pl. FM. 1597, p. 2044.

balla *wall*, gen. sg. acc. blodhadh [leg. bloghadh] an bhalla, FM. 1595, p. 1980, pl. n. balladha, FM. 1572.

baránta, *warrant*, ALC. 1538, p. 314. Hence barántas, *warranty*, FM. 1600, p. 2164.

beinnsi, gen. sg. *bench*, iustis Beinnsi an Righ, FM. 1597, p. 2044.

brugen, *strife, conflict*, ALC. 1531, p. 276. N. Eng. *bargans*.

campa *camp*, FM. 1561, p. 1586.

caraiсте, *carriage*, do chaiplibh caraiсте, FM. 1597, p. 2032, caraisde, FM. 1598, p. 2060.

cing, *king, queen*. ALC. 1485; 1543, p. 342: cing Maria, ALC. 1547.

cistinech, *kitchen*, gen. cistinighe, FM. 1449, p. 946.

commesseóir *commissioner*, FM. 1583, p. 1802. pl. dat. commesseoraibh. Hence commesseoirecht *commissionership*, FM. 1584, p. 1816.

composeision, *composition*, FM. 1596, p. 1996.

corinel *colonel*, FM. 1600, p. 2224.

cósta *coast*, pl. dat. cóstadhaibh, FM. 1580, p. 1732.

cross *cross*, gen. croise, FM. 1600, p. 2222.

óúpla, *couple*, pl. dat. cúpladhaibh, FM. 1599, p. 2108.

daoradh, *act of making dear* (costly), FM. 1598, p. 2076.

dignite, *dignity*, FM. 1600.

diúice, *duke*, ALC. 1307, 1581, p. 438, FM. 1449, p. 964.

- druma, *drum*, ALC. 1589, p. 492, fuaim droma, FM. 1595.
 físicídh *physician*, FM. 1497, p. 1232; 1582, p. 1772.
 físicocht *medical science*, FM. 1504, p. 274.
 flux *diarrhoea*, FM. 1536.
 guirdían, *guardian*, ALC. 1540. gáirdián, O'B.
 gairision, *garrison*, pl. n. garasuin, FM. 1599, p. 2110, pl. dat. gairisionaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2014, garasunaibh, FM. 1598, p. 2058.
 gárda *guard*, FM. 1570, p. 1638, 1602, p. 2296.
 general coccaidh, FM. 1595, p. 1960, gen. sg. generala, FM. 1596, p. 2000. Hence generaltacht, *generalship*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, generalacht, *ibid.* p. 2044.
 giomanach, *yeoman*, pl. n. giomanaigh, ALC. 1561. gen. giomanach, ALC. 1542, p. 334, 1562, gímánchoibh, ALC. 1581, p. 438.
 giosdáil, *joisting*, ALC. 1582. Eng. *joist*, Fr. *gîte*.
 gobernóir, gubernóir, *governor*, ALC. 1585, FM. 1856, p. 1846, 1586, p. 470, sg. gen. gobernora, FM. 1586, p. 1844, goibernóra, ALC. 1586, p. 472. Hence gobernóracht *governorship*, FM. 1584, 1596.
 gráinsech, F. *grange*: ar an Grainsigh mhoir, ALC. 1589, p. 502.
 gunna, gonna, a *gun*, ALC. 1516, 1523, 1546.
 haiste, *hatch* (of a ship), comla an haiste, FM. 1587, p. 1862.
 imperess, *empress* (O.-Fr. *empresse*), gen. imperasi, ALC. 1189. An apocopated form, peress, gen. pereise, perisi occurs, Tig. 1172, ALC. 1171, 1183, 1210. Corn. *emperis*.
 iustis, *justiciary*, AB. 1230, 1234; iustiscecht, *office of a justiciary*, FM. 1492.
 liberti *liberties*, FM. 1585, pp. 1840, 1842.
 loard, *lord*, gen. louird, ALC. 1415, 1419, 1535, Mid.-Eng. *louerd*, *lauord*, Ags. *hláford*.
 Mairghréce, *Margaret*, FM. Marghree, ALC. 1364, gen. Mairgréige, FM. 1597, p. 2042.
 maisde, *match* (Fr. *mèche*), FM. 1598, p. 2072.
 marg, a *mark* (money), Tig. 1156, ALC. 1546, 1578.
 margad, *market*, gen. margaid, Tig. 1134, A.I. 1090, AB. 1231.
 muinission, *munition*, FM. 1599, pp. 2110, 2116. gen. munission, FM. 1601, p. 2272.
 muscaed. *muskot*, pl. dat. muscaédibh, FM. 1597, p. 2028.
 Norbus=*Norwich*, FM. 1208.
 ordonass, *ordnance*, ALC. 1516, 1551, gen. ordonáis, ALC. 1538, p. 314, dat. ordonás, ALC. 1581, p. 444.

- parliament, acc. ar an bparliament, FM. 1595, p. 1984, *parliament*, gen. pairlimint, ALC. 1585, p. 466.
- paitent, letters *patent*, ALC. 1568, p. 404. gen. paiteint, FM. — 1603, p. 2342.
- pécach *gaudy, showy*, FM. 1569. Founded on *peacock* ?
- píce *piko*, FM. 1599, p. 2114.
- píosa *pieces*, FM. 3311. The Eng. *pieces*, Fr. *pièces*, comes from Low-Latin *pettium*, which represents a Gaulish **pettion*, cognate with W. *peth*, Pictish *pett*, M.Ir. *ouitt*, a primeval Celtic **qvetti*.
- pláta *plate*, eidedh pláta *plate-armour*, FM. 1570, 1597.
- Plemendach, *Fleming*, Tig. 1176, with *pl* for *f* as in Plendru Plóndrus, *Flanders*, ALC. 1585, pp. 468, 472 (but gen. Flondrais, FM. 1586, p. 1856).
- plóit *portion*, pl. acc. ploiti, TF. p. 28, Eng. *plots* porciunca Prompt. Parv.
- pócoit, *pocket, pouch*, pl. n. pócoide púdair, FM. 1597, p. 2034, gen. sg. pócóide, ibid. p. 2072.
- port, *fort*, O'B. pl.n. puirt, FM. 1600.
- Portigel, Poirtengél, *Portugal*, ALC. 1579, 1581, 1589.
- post, *prop, én-phost, sole prop*, FM. 1383, p. 690, *posta*, O'B. pl. dat. posdadhaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012. From Eng. *post*.
- potaire, *potter*, FM. 1461, p. 1014, note p.
- práca, *a large harrow*, FM. 1600, p. 2186. Eng. *braks*.
- proaitsi, *provost*, FM. 1460.
- protexion, *protex, protection*, FM. 1569, 1574, 1581, 1583, 1592.
- próuision, FM. 1601, pp. 2270.
- púdar, (gun)*powder*, FM. 1549, 1572, gen. púdair, FM. 1597, p. 2012.
- punt, *pound*, tri mili punt '£3000,' ALC. 1584.
- resiber = *receiver*, i.e. agent or treasurer, FM. 1581, p. 1760.
- Salender, FM. 1600, p. 2160, *St. Leger*.
- sép, sépet ? the *chape* of a scabbard: ag sín sépea cloidem, ALC. 1244 = ag sinedh sepete a chloidimh, Ann. Conn.
- sirriam, serriam, sirriem, siarrium, *sheriff* (Ags. *scirgerífa*), ALC. 1225, 1247, 1258, 1586, 1588: suibsirriam, FM. 1595, p. 2108, su-sirriam = *sub-sheriff*, ALC. 1587.
- spidél *spital*, ALC. 1242, tech spidél, ALC. 1244, 1245.
- spor, *spur*, ALC. 1376, FM. 376, Early Eng. *spore* (A.-S. *spora, spura*).
- státa, *state, pomp*, FM. 1599, p. 2138, 1602, p. 2296. Hence státamhail *stately*, O'B.

statuite, gen. sg. FM. 1600, p. 2148, statúiti *statutes*, FM. 1537, . 1444.

stóras *stores*, gen. stóruis, FM. 1582 : *lán storús*, FM. 1594, is misprint for *lánstóras*, see Ir. Gl.

tábúr, gen. pl. *tabors*, Life of Aed Ruad, cited FM. 1598, p. 2068, ote : tápúr, FM. 1599, p. 2132. tabar, O'B.

tácla *tackle*, pl. gen. tácladh, FM. 1566, p. 1582.

taiplis, F. *tables*, *draughtboard*, gen. na taiplisi, ALC. 1554.

térma na samhna, *Michaelmas term*, FM. 1591, 1596, 1601.

treisireir, *treasurer*, ALC. 1579, tresinér, treisincir, FM. 1541, 547.

trétuir, gen. trétúra, *traitor*, FM. 1546, 1579. Hence trétúrdha *traitorous*, FM. 1601, p. 2258, tretúrecht *treason*, FM. 1581, 1588.

treinse, eg. *trench*, O'B. dat. treinnsi, FM. 1602, p. 2310, pl. insidhibh, FM. 1600, p. 2192.

trompadh, gen. pl. *trumpets*, FM. 1599, p. 2128, 2132.

tronc, a *trunk*, FM. 1598, p. 2074.

turnaé, *attorney*, FM. 1598, p. 2088. O'B.'s turnaidhe *minister*. uardian, *warden*, ALC. 1585.

ucsanfort. This ἀπαξ λεγόμενον occurs in the following passage from ALC. 1540, referring to a literary congress at the seat of the Macdermots: tángadar éixe 7 ollamain Eiriond co ucsanfort inigh 7 engna cúicidh Connacht, ALC. 1540, where Mr. Hennessy renders *ucsanfort* by 'seat.' I take *ucsanfort* to be = *Oxnaford*, and translate: "The poets and ollaves of Ireland came to the Oxford of the hospitality and knowledge¹ of Connaught."

uers, *verse*, gen. pl. uersa, FM. 1224. Compound : uers-dén-*shuidhecht* *verse-making*, ALC. 1224.

¹ Mr. Hennessy here renders *engna* (= *engne*, Windisch's Wörterbuch) by generosity."