



Aspects of Verbal Noun Constructions in Medieval
Irish and Welsh
With Reference to Similar
Constructions in Basque

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Abstract

This study provides a survey of the constructions of verbal nouns with prepositions that are used in a significant way, such as creating syntactic and semantic contexts not found with ordinary nouns. Particular emphasis is placed on constructions serving to denote tense, mood and aspect. Also some syntactic contexts involving verbal nouns as objects are examined. This material has been collected primarily from Old and Middle Irish texts, but some reference is made to Modern Irish where this seems helpful in order to illustrate developments. The observations made are compared to findings on the use of verbal nouns in a closely related language, Middle Welsh, and an unrelated, non-Indo-European language, Basque. The discussion of the Medieval Irish material is followed by the evaluation of an illustrative corpus of Middle Welsh data and available descriptions of Welsh verbal nouns. Parallel constructions in these Insular Celtic languages are then brought together in order to assess which prepositional verbal noun constructions might have been a feature of Insular Celtic. Data from Basque is compared to the findings for Insular Celtic. The results seek to identify the language specific features of Old Irish verbal nouns and a common core of verbal noun usage in Insular Celtic as opposed to other usages adopted by a non-Indo-European sample language.

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I gcuimhne m'athar.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations generally are those of the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL). Additionally some abbreviations have been used for grammatical terms. These, and further abbreviations referring to the Welsh texts, are given below:

- A: *The Book of Aneirin*. Ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. 1908.
Pwllheli: Series of Welsh Texts 1904-1908.
- Abs.: Absolute case.
- B: *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, i ff., 1921-3 ff.
- BB: *Brut y Brenhinedd*. Ed. J.J. Parry, 1937. Cambridge, Mass.
- Beh: *Black Book of Chirk*. Ed. Lewis, T. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 20,1936.
- BD: *Brut Dingestow*. Ed. Lewis, H. 1942. Cardiff: UWP.
- BT: *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Ed. Jones, Th. 1973. Cardiff: UWP.
- BT (RB): *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Red Book of Hergest Version. Ed. Jones, Th. 1955.
- BVL: *Branwen Uerch Lyr*. Ed. Thomson, D.S. 1961. Dublin: DIAS.
- C: *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Ed. J Gwenogvryn Evans 1906.
Pwllheli: Series of Welsh Texts 1904-1908.
- CDM: *De chopur in da muccidae*. Ed. Roeder, U. 1979. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
- DIAS: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- DIL: *Dictionary of the Irish Language*. Ed. Quin, G. 1953-75.
Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- EModIr: Early Modern Irish.
- Erg.: Ergative case.
- FE: *figura etymologica*
- GOI: *A Grammar of Old Irish*. Thurneysen 1946 [1980]. Dublin: DIAS.
- GPC: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. Ed. Thomas R. J., G. A. Bevan, P. J. Donovan 1967-2002. Cardiff: UWP.
- KLl: *Kynniver Llith a Ban*. Salesbury, W. 1551. Ed. Fisher, J. 1931. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LHDd: *The Laws of Howel Dda*. Ed. Lewis, T. 1912. Aberystwyth: Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales.
- LIA: *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi* 1346. Ed. J. Morris-Jones & John Rhys. 1894. Oxford: Clarendon.

- LIB: *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd*. Ed. Williams, St. J. and J. E. Powell 1942. Cardiff: UWP.
- LLDW: *Y Llyvyr Du or Weun*. Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws. Ed. Gwenogvryn Evans, J. 1909. Llanbedrog: priv. printed.
- LlHen: *Llawyysgrif Hendregadredd*. Ed. Morris-Jones, R., J. Morris-Jones, T.H. Parry-Williams, 1933. Cardiff: UWP.
- LII: *Llyfr Iorwerth*. ed. Rhys Williams, A. 1960. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- LIII: *The text of the Book of Llan Dâv*. J Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys 1893. Oxford: J. G. Evans.
- MidIr: Middle Irish.
- ModIr: Modern Irish.
- ModW: Modern Welsh.
- MM: *Meddygon Myddveu*. Ed. Diverres, P. 1913. Paris dissertation.
- [m.t.]: my translation
- MvL: *Manawydan uab Llyr*. Ed. Ford, P.K. 2000. Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie.
- MvM: *Math uab Mathonwy*. Ed. Ford, P.K. 1999. Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie.
- MW: Middle Welsh.
- OIr: Old Irish.
- OW: Old Welsh.
- PC: Periphrastic construction
- PKM: *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*. Ed. Williams, I. 1930. Cardiff: UWP.
- PCH: *Pasio Domini nostri Iesu Christi*. In: *The Passions and Homilies from Lebor Breac*. Ed. Atkinson, R. 1887. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- PPD: *Pwyll Pendevic Dyuet*. Ed. Thomson, R.L. 1957. Dublin: DIAS.
- SG: *Y Seint Gal. Selections from the Hengwrt MSS. Vol. i*. Ed. Williams, R. 1876. London: Thomas Richards.
- St.: *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Ed. O’Rahilly, C. 1961 Dublin: DIAS.
- TGB: *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*. Ed. Bergin, O. Dublin: DIAS.
- UWP: University of Wales Press.
- VGKS: *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. Pedersen, H. 1913. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- VN: Verbal noun.
- WM: *The White Book Mabinogion*. Ed. Evans, J. 1907: Pwllheli: Series of Welsh Texts 1904-1908.
- WML: *Welsh Medieval Law*. Ed. A.W. Wade-Evans. 1909. Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

YBH: *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*. Ed. Morgan Watkins. 1958.
Cardiff: UWP.

YCM: *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*. Ed. Williams, St. J. 1930. Cardiff:
UWP.

1. Introduction

1.1. Subject and aim of the investigation

Verbal nouns are remarkable both for their syntactic and their morphological complexity: while they display characteristics of ordinary nouns, they are clearly related to the verbal system. The question to be addressed in this survey is how verbal noun usage in combination with prepositions differs from that of ordinary nouns, such as their appearance in syntactic and semantic contexts not found otherwise. Particular emphasis is put on constructions serving to denote tense, mood and aspect. Furthermore, some significant syntactic contexts involving verbal nouns as objects are also examined. It is the aim of this investigation to show the language specific behaviour of Irish and Welsh verbal noun constructions in these contexts. The method used in this study is largely empiric. The emphasis is on the structures in evidence, rather than on quantifying methods. Evaluation of the prepositional data collected is carried out with the help of a structural approach seeking to determine the meaning components of a preposition. Attestations have nevertheless been counted and normalized to 100,000 words to facilitate inter-language comparison.

The investigation is based on a corpus of data which have been collected primarily from Old and Middle Irish texts, but some reference is made to Modern Irish where this seems helpful to illustrate developments (chapter 2). The observations made on Old and Middle Irish are supplemented by an investigation of prepositional usage of verbal nouns in the Middle Welsh language and similarities and differences in their usage are highlighted. The data are likewise taken from medieval texts, and additionally further studies and works of reference have been consulted. This material is supplemented by descriptions of the situation in Modern Welsh based on relevant grammars (chapter 3). Irish and Welsh (as a British language) will be regarded as separate branches of Insular Celtic, the general validity of which has been demonstrated by McCone (2003: 176-7). Parallel constructions in these two languages are brought together in order to assess a possible core usage of prepositions and verbal nouns in their common ancestor language Insular Celtic (chapter 4).

In order to illustrate the employment of verbal nouns in further languages using nominalised verbal structures, data have been taken from a non-Indo-European sample language, namely Basque. The comparison of the Celtic and Basque data seeks to identify the language specific features of Old Irish and Middle Welsh verbal nouns as opposed to other possible approaches adopted by the non-Indo-European sample language (chapter 5).

1.2 Previous work on Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns in the Celtic languages have been the object of a certain amount of scholarly attention over the years. The category is remarkable both for its syntactic and morphological complexity. While verbal nouns are semantically related to the verbal system, they inflect like nouns and, like ordinary nouns may be used with articles and demonstratives. In this they resemble the category ‘infinitive’ in some other languages, such as in the Indo-European family, and they have indeed been referred to as ‘infinitive’, particularly by scholars writing at the turn of the 20th century.

Their formation is far from uniform and a considerable number of different derivations from the corresponding verbs have been observed by scholars in the field such as Thurneysen (GOI §720-37) and Pedersen (VGKS §634) for the Irish language. For the Welsh language the morphology of the verbal noun has recently been investigated by Schumacher (2000), an examination of the Welsh verbal noun which also contains much of relevance for the situation in Old Irish. The elaborate syntactical characteristics of this category have, however, received less scholarly attention.

Most treatments of verbal nouns, remain silent on how to actually define this category, commenting on its formation instead. The early 17th century Irish grammarian Bonaventúra Ó hEodhasa describes the category as follows:

Infinitivum non agnoscunt Hiberni, pro quo in praesenti usurpant aliquando ipsum nudum nomen verbale, ut *smuainim éirghe*, cogito surgere, *smuainim bualadh Thaidhg*; aliquando nomini verbali additur articulus verbalis <do>, ut *do smuaineas Brian do mharbhadh* .i. cogitavi occidere Bernardum; aliquando articulus pronominalis importans personam convenientem rei in quam transit <verbum>, nomini verbali associatur, ut *do smuaineas do b[h]ualadh, a bualadh, [bh]úr mbualadh* etc. (Mac Aogáin 1968: 60-1)

‘The Irish do not employ an infinitive. Instead of this they sometimes use the bare verbal noun itself in the present, as with *smuainim éirghe*, [‘I contemplate rising’], *smuainim bualadh Thaidhg*, [‘I contemplate beating Tadhg’], sometimes the verbal article <do> is added to the verbal noun, as in *do smuaineas Brian do mharbhadh*, [‘I considered killing Brian’]; sometimes a pronominal article indicating the person relating to the object of a verb is as-

sociated with a verbal noun, thus *do smuaineas do b[h]ualadh, a bualadh, [bh]úr mbualadh* [I considered beating you (sg.), her, you (pl.)] etc.’

Ó hEodhasa was clearly aware of the two-fold status of verbal nouns, with both verbal and nominal traits. A comprehensive study of the contexts in which verbal nouns could appear was carried out in the middle of the last century by Gagnepain (1963). He shows that verbal nouns have nominal traits in that they can be employed as subjects, if only as the head of subject-clauses (1963: 76), but also as objects, often conditioned by particular types of verbs, such as verbs of saying, thinking or wishing (*ibid.*, 79ff.). Additionally he points to the existence of the verbal noun as object of its own verb, the *figura etymologica*. A further syntactic context in which the verbal noun is used is that of a clausal complement to experiencer constructions involving an adjective or noun and an inflected preposition as in 1a) along with its variant 1b)

1a) *is dlíged leu tabart inna fochaide foraib* (MI 54a4)

1b) *is dlíged leu inna fochaidi do thabairt foraib* (MI 54a5)

‘They deem it a law that the tribulations should be inflicted on them’.

While the descriptions of verbal noun usage by Baudiš (1913) and Gagnepain (1963) are still standard, they must be considered slightly old-fashioned. Baudiš is mainly concerned with the syntactic distribution of verbal nouns as subjects, objects or after prepositions. Gagnepain has given a large number of examples from a variety of texts and periods but is lacking in description and evaluation of the motivation of the processes at work.

A different approach is chosen by Disterheft (1980). She argues (*ibid.*, 10) that an infinitive *per se* did not yet exist in Proto-Indo-European, which had a wide variety of abstract action nouns in oblique cases. From this category, a member of the noun class, a morphologically separate group of infinitives was developed within the verbal paradigm in various daughter languages. Disterheft points out that syntactically the shift from syntactic affiliation with the nominal paradigm to that of the verbal one has not started in Old Irish (1980: 10). According to Disterheft (1980: 17-8), whether a non-finite construction belongs to the nominal or verbal class can be determined by the behaviour of the corresponding subject. If the subject behaves similar to subjects in languages with clear morphological infinitives, then she the verbal abstract as infinitival. The criteria she employs are ‘equi NP deletion’ (as in *He wants [for himself] to come*), ‘overt infinitive subject’ marking for non-identical infinitive subjects (as in *He wants him to come*) and ‘subject raising’, where the subject of a subordinate clause becomes the object of the matrix clause (as in *He believes him to be a fool* from *He believes that he is a fool*).

Jeffers (1978: 4), in partial agreement with Disterheft, sees infinitives as different from verbal nouns in that they derive from nouns, particularly re-grammaticalized action nouns which are then reinterpreted as belonging to the verbal paradigm due to formal similarity. Irish verbal nouns, however, can differ significantly from the verbs they are associated with and transition due to reinterpretation could not have taken place in those cases. In other cases, the verb is actually formed as a derivative from an action noun that then serves as its verbal noun (e.g. *rím* ‘number’ and *rímid* ‘counts’). On the functional side, Jeffers (1978: 6) points out that verbal nouns have wider syntactic contexts than infinitives, they can also be used like gerunds, supines, participles or stand for clauses. And in the very cases where Jeffers sees the crossover from IE abstract nouns to infinitives, namely complement constructions, Irish typically uses prepositional constructions with *do* + verbal noun + object, indicating that the same processes could not have been applicable here (ibid., 7). Jeffers considers the rise of verbal nouns to be due to a necessity for nominal constructions deriving from the loss of old syntactic structures, fuelled by the change to VSO word order patterns. He points to comparable structures in other VSO languages like Ancient Egyptian and suggests that language typology can be partly responsible for the emergence of verbal nouns and the syntactic patterns of verbal noun usage (ibid., 9).

The infinitival subject in Old Irish is frequently expressed by means of a prepositional phrase fulfilling the semantic function of an agent. The precise conditions which impact on different means of expression have been investigated by Müller (1999). The agent is typically introduced by a preposition such as *do* or *ó* as in *fodord doib di dommatu* ‘their murmuring/complaining of want’ (MI 97d10) and *dílgud a pechthae ndó hó Día* ‘forgiveness of his sins to him by God’ (MI 59c3). The preposition *la* can also be found in this context. Due to the use after these prepositions the agent then receives dative case, and accusative after *la*, according to Thurneysen (1946: 158). Where the verbal noun is intransitive the subject may be postposed in the genitive case as in *fri turcubail ngréine* ‘at the rising of the sun’ (BP 1107). Disterheft (1980: 21) concludes from this that subject status for an infinitive is a secondary development as its original grammatical relationship to the verbal noun was unspecified.

It has also been discussed, whether the Celtic verbal noun itself is to be considered a member of the nominal or verbal paradigm. Borsley (1993) has argued for two functions of the Celtic verbal noun, a nominal one in cases like *I hear the singing* and a verbal one in *she is singing*. It appears to me that we are still dealing with one grammatical entity and that as features of the two categories can be found a clear distinction is neither necessary nor possible. The language that seems to use verbal nouns in more verbal contexts than other Celtic languages is Breton where it has taken the place of the imperative (Timm 1990: 196) and can also be used after prepositions which

usually take sentential complements, such as *pelech mont?* ‘where do you go?’ (Timm, *ibid.*, 197).

The strong connection to the verbal paradigm may be seen as due to both meaning and morphology of the verbal noun. Where nouns, including the verbal noun, have lost their nominal inflectional markers, as in the British languages, speakers of a language may increasingly disconnect the verbal noun from the nominal paradigm. At earlier stages of the languages, however, nominal uses were most prominent and inflection was still unquestionably nominal. It was furthermore originally impossible to use verbal particles like telic/resultative *ro/ry* with the verbal noun and the later introduction of this feature in British (cf. Pedersen, VGKS §583) is a symptom of the increasing verbalisation of verbal nouns (cf. 3.2.7.5).

1.3 The material

It has already been pointed out that verbal nouns are a rather diverse category that is not easy to pin down. So one of the first questions to be addressed is what a verbal noun is, how it can be distinguished from other nouns with verbal meanings, and what relevance a given attestation might have for the task in hand.

1.3.1 Criteria for the definition of verbal nouns

For Irish, the verbal noun is explained very broadly by Thurneysen as: ‘an abstract noun [...] attached to every verb or verb system [...] used in place of the infinitive and (in combination with a preposition) of all participles other than the past participle passive’ (GOI §720). Thus, the character of the verbal noun in Celtic is twofold. On the one hand it displays typical noun inflection and functionally it can be used as subject, object etc. of a sentence. On the other hand, it has verbal characteristics which manifest themselves in the connection with a verbal lexeme, and functionally in its use with prepositions to form aspectually conditioned verbal periphrasis.

Morphologically the verbal noun of a verb is mostly formed from the same root as the verb itself, particularly in the case of primary verbs, usually by adding one of a number of suffixes to the root as described by GOI §§722-37. This holds for cases like *marbad* ‘killing’ formed from the root *marb-*, *léiciud* ‘let, leave’ to *léic-* or *gabál* ‘taking’, formed from the root *gab-* + the suffix *-ál*, an ending which was to become highly productive on the way towards Modern Irish. Additionally, an abstract noun may serve as verbal noun of a denominative verb based upon it, such as in *rád* ‘speech’ to *rádid* ‘says’ or *rím* ‘number’ to *rímid* ‘counts’. In some cases, however, the

verbal noun is not actually morphologically related to the verb, but uses a suppletive stem: e.g. *caraid* ‘loves’ and the VN *sercc* ‘loving, love’. In spite of these differences, grammarians generally treat verbal nouns as part of the verbal paradigms, terming them a ‘non-finite verbal form’ (Thurneysen, GOI §720) or ‘Infinitiv’ (Pedersen, VGKS §634).

Nouns can also be considered verbal nouns if they display certain behavioural traits at the syntactic level. For Welsh verbal nouns Schumacher (2000:18-30) has employed criteria such as use with certain prepositions, particularly in verbal periphrasis, their use instead of finite verbal forms in a sentence, use in *gwneuthur*-periphrasis (‘do’-periphrasis) or in agentival compounds. The last two types are not applicable to (Old) Irish, but the first is. The use of verbal nouns with the prepositions *oc/ag* ‘at’ and *i n-* ‘in’ is frequently found in Irish, as is their use with *yn* in Welsh. Defining contexts for a true verbal noun in Irish are held to be verbal periphrasis denoting continuous aspect with the preposition *oc*, the occurrence of ‘do’ periphrasis with the verb *do-gní*, and subject assignment with *do* for transitive verbs together with object or intransitive subject in the genitive. Genée (1998) likewise distinguishes between a morphological definition, which explains verbal nouns as lexical nominalisations of verbs by means of suffixation, and a syntactico-semantic approach based on distributional characteristics (ibid., 100-101). The diagnostic features she employs for the syntactico-semantic definition of verbal nouns are the ability of the verbal nouns of transitive verbs to take objective genitives, to take subjective genitives for intransitive verbal nouns and to have agents expressed by the prepositions *do*, *la/le* or *oc/ag*. She furthermore takes the occurrence in periphrastic aspectual constructions with *oc/ag* and *iar/tar éis/ i ndiaidh* as a distinguishing feature, as well as the use of preposed arguments with the preposition *do*, ModIr. *a*. An additional diagnostic she employs is the omission of agents or patients in cases of co-referentiality with the participants mentioned in the main clause. An example given by her is *cis lir ata chóra[i] do rí **do giull** for a thúatha?* ‘How many things is it proper for a king to pledge on his tribe?’ (CG 505) where *do giull* has the unexpressed patient *cis lir*, mentioned in the main clause only (Genée 1998: 103).

Even where verbal nouns can be determined morphologically, however, they are not necessarily always used in a basically verbal way, but otherwise relevant forms may also be used like abstract nouns. This is the case particularly where they are used with the article:

- 2) Ml 28b9: *ilardatu inna aimsire mbite som isind fognam* ‘the multiplicity of the time they are in the service.’
- 3) BP 1872: *Dothoet bolud fina impu asind adnacul*. ‘The smell of wine came from the burial/grave about them.’

These forms, *fognam* ‘service’ and *adnacul* ‘burial’ are verbal nouns morphologically. In these cases, however, they are not used within the syntactic paradigm of verbal nouns, and they must be considered abstract nouns (see 1.3.2 below). In one particular case this definition of verbal nouns will prompt the question as to whether a category can indeed be described as containing syntactically defined verbal nouns, namely in the case of the *figura etymologica* (2.4.1 below).

Moreover, the forms in question generally have to be considered nominal rather than verbal when used in the plural:

4) BB148: *Boi drecd dib oc gairib impi*. ‘[Lit:] A number of them were at laughters about her.’

5) ACon§4: *Ethaid side in n-inchind al-láim indala n-ái & berid leiss, ó rofitir Cet robói i tarngere do Messgegra a dígail iarna écaib*. ‘He snatches the brain out of the hand of one of them, and carries it off; for Cet knew that it had been foretold of Mesgegra that he would be avenged after his death.’

A further case, where a morphologically defined verbal noun form is not used as a verbal noun in the narrow, syntactically defined sense, is where the agent of a verbal noun of a formally transitive verb such as *precept* ‘preaching’, to *pridchid* ‘preaches’, is not expressed prepositionally as would be expected, but by a genitive as in *tri precept Patraic* ‘through the preaching of Patrick.’

In the following our primary concern will be those contexts in which verbal nouns are employed outside a clearly nominal distribution. The only exception to this rule will be cases where the verbal noun functions as the object of an auxiliary-like transitive verb.

1.3.2 Concrete versus abstract nouns

The distinction of concrete versus abstract entities goes back to Sapir (1921: 93-102), who introduced a four element scale of abstraction. In his view, concepts ranged from concrete ‘radical’ entities (including objects, actions and qualities) to relational categories, which are made up of members that have purely abstract relations to the entities they denote. He considers intermediate stages of derivational and concrete relational concepts, which are seen as less concrete and more abstract respectively. His initial approach, largely based on intuition, has since been modified by various semanticists from different schools to cater for strategies of human perception. The common ground appears to be that the more central an element is to human perception, the less abstract it is considered to be (Heine et al. 1991: 43).

Central examples of the concrete category are nouns such as *tree*, *stone*, *animal*, *man*. These are visible and touchable entities and can easily be conceptualised. Other entities however are less ‘touchable’ and are thus termed ‘more abstract’. This can hold for some nouns, e.g. *fear*, *joy*, *age* but crucially it also holds for other word classes such as verbs or adjectives.

Obviously, verbal nouns do not usually belong to the category of concrete nouns, as they would typically denote actions rather than concrete entities. Thus *doing*, *eating*, *running* or their Old Irish counterparts *dénam*, *ithed*, *riuth* are nouns, but are abstract in that they cannot be seen or touched. It has been shown by various authors (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994: 283-5, Heine et al. 1991: 55) that the starting point for grammaticalisation of concepts is usually a concrete one and grammaticalisation involves the extension to more abstract senses, often triggered by metaphorical extension. Heine et al. (ibid.) further propose a ranking of abstraction, arguing that a quality is more abstract than a process because it is less perceivable. Thus while *running* or *eating* are not touchable but are visible, qualities like wisdom or weariness can only be perceived by means of further senses and are therefore even less obvious. This argument could also be applied to verbal nouns denoting mental activity or other situations which cannot be perceived visually.

It will be seen that in some cases, particularly in Old Irish constructions involving the preposition *oc*, the earliest attested examples involve verbal nouns denoting activities that tend towards the more concrete end of this scale.

1.3.3 Differences between verbal nouns and abstract nouns

As indicated above, a verbal noun is an abstract noun that is typically connected morphologically to a verb. Some abstract nouns with verbal meanings, however, are not related to a verbal form. Of these, some are never used in contexts where one would find verbal nouns. These clearly are not verbal nouns but ordinary nouns with verbal semantics. This holds for cases like *cath* ‘battle’ or *itge* ‘prayer, praying’. Other formations which may infringe on the semantic territory of verbal nouns are certain abstractions ending in *-acht* or *-echt* as in *techtairicht* ‘delivering messengers’ (TTr1, 236) or *oigidecht* ‘guesting’ (TTr1, 268). Then there is a second category of nouns which not only have verbal meaning, but can also be found in such contexts as *oc*-periphrasis. Nevertheless, these may not adhere to the usual pattern of verbal noun relations to a verb, the verb being either a denominative derived from it or else there may be a separate verbal noun derived from the verbal root. A clear example of the former is the noun *oif[f]rend*, ‘offering’. Even though it is not connected to a verbal paradigm, it is commonly found in *oc*-periphrasis like the verbal noun *precept* ‘preaching’ which is also borrowed from Latin:

6) BB.263: Ata .vii. laa eter di Cháisc oc precept & oc oifriund dún; ‘He Has been seven days between the two Easters preaching and offering to us.’

This also applies to non-Latin words, such as slatairecht ‘robbing’:

7) BP 2613: Boí alaili duni andgaid hi tírib Ulud in tan sin .i. Macc Cuill, [...] nó bíd oc slaitairecht & nó marbad na cuitechtai. [...] ‘There was another cruel person in the land of the Ulaid then, namely Macc Cuill, who used to be robbing and killing the company.’

The use of the MidW equivalent to oc, namely yn, and other participle constructions together with an expressed agent has been described as the clearest defining criterion for verbal noun status in Middle and Modern Welsh (Schumacher 2000: 23) and it is one of the criteria used by Genée (1998: 103) for the definition of verbal nouns in early Irish. This approach will be followed throughout this thesis, where *verbal noun* denotes the grammaticalised nominal form connected to the verbal paradigm. Where examples of action nouns are found in contexts where these criteria would predict verbal noun usage, those action nouns will be termed *abstract noun* hereafter.

1.4 Transmission of the material

A work that sets out to examine material in languages which are no longer spoken faces an obvious problem: native speakers of the language are no longer available as informants. This leads to a number of complications. Firstly, native speaker intuition cannot be invoked as a means of interpreting material. Some authors, particularly those working on Middle Welsh resort to native speaker competence in Modern Welsh. However, particularly in areas where significant language change has taken place, as in some syntactical constructions like emphatic or, indeed, verbal noun constructions, caution is called for in view of the half millennium or more that has elapsed since the sources were composed. Secondly, the material available to us is by no means complete but must remain a fraction of the total language system. For instance, we have little means of examining different registers, as texts that have come down to us tend to be in relatively formal, literary style. Constructions which appear in manuscripts more frequently than others may thus have mainly been a feature of this register. Moreover, though this may not be obvious in the documents transmitted by highly schooled literati, dialect variation may in fact have been greater than is apparent to us. In addition to these factors, the manuscripts are often a problem in themselves. Only in a

few cases does one know, when, where or by whom a text was written down originally. More often than not, the texts available to us have been copied and recopied, more or less faithfully in some cases but with a considerable amount of modification and innovation in others. Thus texts can have been transmitted to us in various layers due to copying and recopying, and may include, for example, Old Irish alongside Middle Irish and even later constructions, forms and spellings.

On the other hand, these highly educated writers seem to have been capable of writing in what appears to be an early language at a time when the language had already undergone substantial changes. The date of a text can therefore be difficult to assess and typically the scholar is confronted with texts which display different linguistic strata. For this reason the Old Irish material considered here consists largely of one of the few genres of approximately datable, unaltered material, namely that of Old Irish glosses found in continental manuscripts. Saga texts have also been used, particularly as specimens of the Middle Irish period and in these, different layers are often discernible. This is a severe problem in the transmission of the material of the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. This is commonly taken to derive from an older archetype (see 1.5.2. below) but, in addition to some older grammatical structures, it appears in a basically Middle Irish form and it is tentatively subsumed under the heading of Middle Irish. Consequently, datings suggested here are by no means to be taken as being absolute, also where the ordering of texts in tables is concerned, but rather as a rough and ready orientation to indicate tendencies.

1.5 Sources

1.5.1. Old Irish

The examples given are taken from the respective editions of the texts mentioned in the bibliography. Unless indicated otherwise, readings and spellings, particularly as regards macrons or *sínte fada*, have been retained as given in the editions. As the textual examples sometimes provide more than one instance of a relevant prepositional phrase, the item in question has been underlined in some cases to avoid confusion. The translations provided in the respective editions have for the most part been taken on board as well. Where some clarifications have been made, particularly in order to underline the grammatical structures of the examples in the translations, these are indicated by [m.t.] in the translation. Where the editions have translations into German or French these have been changed to English. For the Old Irish part of the corpus, texts of different types have been used to secure a certain diversity of styles. Thus there are law texts, glosses and narrative texts, hagio-

graphical and saga material. Poetry has generally been left out of consideration as its metrical constraints would be capable of affecting both word order and the selection of words. The earliest texts used are the *Cambray Homily* and *Audacht Morainn*, the latest text included is *Bethu Phátraic*, a text that is partly late Old Irish but seems to be very stratified and also displays many Middle Irish features. The main Old Irish texts used are the following:

1) The Cambray Homily (CH)

The Cambray Homily is edited by Stokes & Strachan (1975) on pages 244-7 of Volume II of the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*. It is a fragment of an Irish homily inserted into the text of the Irish Cannons at Cambry. Its appearance shows that the text was copied by a scribe unfamiliar with Irish. About two thirds of the text are in early Old Irish, one third in Latin. The editors date it from the 2nd half of the 7th century up to the beginning of the 8th century (ibid., xxvi). Reference to the Cambry Homily is to folio and line in the edited text as given by the editors.

2) Würzburg Glosses (Wb)

The Old Irish glosses on the Pauline Epistles from Würzburg are edited by Stokes & Strachan on pages 499-712 of Volume I of the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*. Three glossators have been identified. The first one, *prima manus*, is taken to be around 700 AD, the later glossators glossed the text down to 32d, and from 33a to the end respectively. These are considered to date from the earlier or mid- part of the 8th century, perhaps around 750 AD (Stokes and Strachan 1975: xxiii ff.). Reference to the Würzburg Glosses is according to folio and gloss-number as given by the editors.

3) Turin Glosses (Tu.)

The Old Irish glosses from Turin have been edited by Stokes & Strachan on pages 484-493 of Volume I of the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*. These consist of glosses on two fragments of commentary by Jerome on the Gospel of St. Mark dating from mid- to end 8th century (Stokes and Strachan 1975:xxii). Reference to the Turin Glosses will be according to folio and gloss-number as given by the editors.

4) *Liber Ardmachanus* (Book of Armagh, Arm.)

The Old Irish glosses from the Book of Armagh have been edited by Stokes & Strachan and can be found on pages 494-498 of Volume I of the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*. The Book of Armagh was partly written by 807 and had been completed before 846 (Thurneysen 1946: 6, GOI §7). The glosses are on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, probably dating from the 8th century according to the editors (Stokes and Strachan 1975: xxii, Vol. I and 1975: xiii Vol. II). Numbering is according to the gloss numbers as given by the editors.

5) Additions to the notes in the Book of Armagh (Arm. notes)

The Additamenta from the early 9th century Book of Armagh are edited on pages 238-44 of Volume II of the Thesaurus Paleohibernicus by Stokes & Strachan. These correspond to the original folios 16a2-18b2 of the Book of Armagh. They comprise additions to the writings of Tírechán's life of St. Patrick in Latin and in Irish. The editors consider the writing to be later than that of Tírechán and place it in the early 8th century (Stokes & Strachan, 1975: Vol. II, xv). Thurneysen (1946: 6, GOI §7) similarly considers it to be derived from earlier sources. References are to the folio and to the section number as given by Stokes and Strachan.

6) Milan Glosses (MI.)

The Old Irish glosses from Milan have been edited by Stokes & Strachan and can be found on pages 7-483, Volume I of the Thesaurus. These are glosses on the Psalter and expositions to ten Psalms as well as Jerome's preface to the Psalter. It is assigned to the mid to late 9th century by the editors (Stokes & Strachan 1975: xviii). Reference to the Milan Glosses will be according to folio and gloss-number as given by the editors.

7) St. Gall Glosses (Sg.)

On pages 49-224 of Volume II of the Thesaurus Paleohibernicus Stokes & Strachan edited the Old Irish glosses on the first 16 books, and part of the 17th, of Priscian's grammar. These are thought to be from different authors and of different antiquity, perhaps dating from about the 9th century (Stokes & Strachan, Vol. II, 1975: xix, xxiii). Reference to the St. Gall Glosses will be according to folio and gloss-number as given by the editors.

8) Abgitir Chrábaid (AC)

This text of moral guidance, virtues and vices is edited by Hull (1968) from the eight extant 14th to 17th century MSS. Its linguistic form is considered by the editor to be a blend, compiled in the first half of the 8th century, partly of older material (1968:52). References are according to paragraphs given by Hull.

9) Audacht Morainn (AM)

Audacht Morainn was edited by Kelly (1976), based on the version preserved in RIA MS 23. N. 10, transcribed in 1575, which is held to be the most archaic of the extant versions by the editor. It is ascribed to *Cín Dromma Snechta* by Thurneysen (1912: 27; cf. Kelly 1976: XXV). The dating of the two main extant versions has resulted in some considerable controversy¹. References are according to the paragraphs given by the editor.

¹ see ZCP 13, 1919, 43-6 (Pokorny), 298-9 (Thurneysen).

10) Aided Chonchobar (AChon)

This text was edited by Meyer in *The Death-tales of the Ulster heroes* with a 1937 reprint of an originally 1906 publication. Version A is from the Book of Leinster, Version B from RIA MS 23. N. 10. References are according to paragraphs given by Meyer.

11) Immram Brain (IB)

This text was edited by Meyer as *The Voyage of Bran* and published in 1895-7 and has since been re-edited as *Immram Brain* by Mac Mathúna (1985). Earlier manuscripts in which it is found include the LU fragment 121a, Rawlinson B 512, Brit. Mus. Harley 5280, Egerton 88 and TCD H.2.16 (YBL). Meyer dated the original version to the seventh century and held all extant copies to be derived from a tenth century copy (1895: xvi). McCone (2000: 43) defines the language as clearly Old Irish and sees no obstacle to dating the archetype to the 8th century. For the present work, Meyer's edition has been used and references are according to paragraphs as given by Meyer.

12) Compert Mongáin (CM)

Compert Mongáin was originally edited by Meyer and Nutt in *The Voyage of Bran*, originally published in 1895-7. According to the new edition of the Mongán tales by White (2006) the Mongán tales are found fragmentarily in Lebor na h-Uidre, including the second half of *Compert Mongáin*, in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Trinity College Dublin ms. H.2.16, in the Royal Irish Academy ms. N 10, Trinity College Dublin mss. H.4.22 and H.3.18 and in the British Library ms. Egerton 88. Although all of the above include *Compert Mongáin*, LU only contains the second half of it. There is a further manuscript containing some of the Mongán tales, G7 in the National Library of Ireland. This seems to have contained *Compert Mongáin*, but appears to be missing two folios including CM (White, *ibid.*). White argues that the Mongán tales may ultimately derive from an 8th century original and can now be traced back to an 10th century Middle Irish original (*ibid.*, 44). There is a considerable degree of overlap of the Mongán tales and *Echtrae Chonnlai / Immram Brain* in the manuscripts and White holds that the Mongán tales, like *Echtrae Chonnlai* and *Immram Brain*, may have been found in the now lost 8th century manuscript *Cín Dromma Snechtai* (*ibid.*, 44-5). References to this text here refer to paragraphs as given by Meyer.

13) Compert ConCulainn (CCC)

A diplomatic edition of this text is found on pages 34-41 in Thurneysen's 'Zu Irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern'. This is a text ascribed to the *Cín Dromma Snechta* MS by Thurneysen, who edited it from the texts in *Lebor na hUidre*, Egerton 88 fol. 12v and 23. N. 10, Trinity College MS

H. 4. 22 and Egerton 1782 (Thurneysen, *ibid.* 31-4). A further edition has been prepared by van Hamel (1933). References to this text are to paragraphs as given by Thurneysen in his edition.

14) Táin Bó Fraích (TBF)

This text was edited by Meid in 1967. Versions can be found in the later part of the Book of Leinster, TCD MS H.2.18., commonly dated to the second half of the 12th century, also in the Yellow Book of Lecan, TCD MS 2.16, dated to the end of the 14th century. Further versions exist in the British Museum manuscript Egerton 1782, dating from 1517, in the Edinburgh Gael. M.S. XL from the 16th century and in TCD MS H.3.18 (Meid, *ibid.* xvii-iii). Thurneysen (1921: 285) dated the text to the 11th century. The editor, on the other hand, sees both linguistic and textual grounds for assigning the archetype of the text to the 8th century. References are to lines given by the editor.

15) *Bechbretha* (BBr)

Bechbretha has been edited by Kelly and Charles-Edwards (1983) from the MS H.2. 15A dating from 1350. The editors consider the text to be earlier than the Würzburg Glosses, assigning it to the mid 7th century. References are to the number of the paragraph in their edition.

16) Críth Gablach (CG)

Críth Gablach is a law tract on the law of persons edited by D.A. Binchy. It is found in three incomplete texts in the Trinity College manuscript H.3.18 which, according to the editor, stem from the same exemplar (Binchy 1979: xiii). The editor considers it to have been redacted in the opening years of the 8th century on both textual and linguistic grounds (*ibid.*, xiv-v). References are according to the lines of the text as given by Binchy.

17) Bretha Crólige (BrC)

The legal tract *Bretha Crólige* has been edited by D. A. Binchy (1938). The text was mainly written down by the scribe Donnchadh Ua Bolgaidhi between the years 1468-74 (Binchy, *ibid.*, 1). It represents a translation of Latin medical works and as such forms part of the *Senchas Már*, which may have been composed in the 8th century. References to this text are according to the paragraphs given by the editor.

18) Bethu Brigte (BB)

The Life of St. Brigit is edited by Ó hAodha from the sole MS witness Rawlinson B. 512. Roughly three quarters of it are in Irish, but there is also about a quarter in Latin. The Irish is assigned to the 9th century by the editor. He considers the Life to be based on, probably translated from, an 8th century Latin Life (Ó hAodha 1978: xxxvi-vii). The text is followed in Rawlinson B.

512 by an appendix which is clearly Middle Irish. References are according to the lines of the text as given by the editor.

19) Bethu Phátraic (BP)

The Life of St. Patrick was edited by Mulchrone (1939) chiefly from the late 15th century MS Egerton 93, deriving from a compilation considered by the editor to stem from between 895 and 901. The language is taken to be 9th century and earlier by Mulchrone (1939: VI). In more recent research, Jackson (1987) has identified various strata in the text: he asserts that the body of the text contains Old Irish material, derived from Latin or Irish sources, and was compiled in the ‘very late O[ld] Ir[ish] period’ (Jackson 1987: 15). Furthermore, he identifies a large 10th century element roughly contemporary with *Saltair na Rann* of 988 AD, which he takes to be due to a recension of the body of the text (ibid.). Additionally he argues for a further redrafting of the recension in the 11th century, at the time of which also the Prefaces and Perorations might have been added. He suggests that the form may have been finalised by a school of learning, perhaps in the 12th century (ibid., 16). References to this text refer to lines as given in the edition by Mulchrone.

1.5.2. Middle Irish

1) Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó (SMMD)

This text was edited by Thurneysen (1935), based mainly on the versions in the Book of Leinster, Trinity College MS H.3.18, and Harley MS 5280 in the British Museum. Thurneysen aims at restoring what he holds to be an original 10th or 11th century archetype, but considers the date of composition to have been the 8th century (1935:iv). Numeration indicates number of paragraph and of line in this edition.

2) Táin Bó Cúailnge from Lebor na hUidre (LU)

This earliest version of the Táin, Recension I, can be found in Lebor na hUidre, where it occupies folios 55a1-82b44. The bulk was written by the main scribe Máel Muire (M) working together with a further scribe (A), writing around 1100. Furthermore, interpolations by the scribe commonly referred to as (H) are found. While Thurneysen holds him to have worked somewhat later than (M), possibly in the 13th century (Thurneysen 1921: 31), Mac Eoin (1994: 41) places him into the 12th century mainly on orthographic, but also on textual evidence.

Further incomplete manuscripts of the text of this recension are found in the late 14th century Yellow Book of Lecan, in the 16th century manuscript Egerton 1782 and in the early 16th century paper manuscript O’Curry MS1 (O’Rahilly 1976: vii). Thurneysen (1921: 112) considers this version to be based on two widely differing recensions that were taken down in the 9th century and compiled into one recension in the 11th century. The first extant manuscript of this version is that of Lebor na hUidre, written before 1106 (Thurneysen, ibid., 25).

The text used here is that on lines 4480 – 6722 of the diplomatic edition of *Lebor na hUidre* by Best & Bergin. References to Recension I of the Táin will be according to the lines given by Best & Bergin in their edition of *Lebor na hUidre*. Text added by H is separately marked as LUH in citations below.

3) *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Book of Leinster version (LL)

The version of the Táin found in the Book of Leinster is extant only in that manuscript and is commonly referred to as Recension II (e.g. by O’Rahilly 1967). It is almost complete, but lacks a folio between pages 74 and 75 (Thurneysen 1921: 115). This version was edited by O’Rahilly (1967), substituting the missing events from the Stowe version. The language is appreciably later than that of the LU Táin. Thurneysen (1921: 115) assigns it to the first third or quarter of the 12th century and LL itself to about 1160 (*ibid.*, 35). O’Rahilly (1967: xlvi) follows him in this. Numeration follows the lines of the text as given by O’Rahilly.

4) *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Stowe version (St)

The Stowe version of the Táin, edited by O’Rahilly (1961) is based on the earliest manuscript of this so-called IIB version (cf. Thurneysen 1921: 115), R.Ir.Ac., C.6.3, pages 1-76. It dates from 1633 and its composition is assigned to the 15th century by Thurneysen (1912: 117). He is followed in this by O’Rahilly (1961: xxxi), who nevertheless points out that some linguistic forms are older. There are further extant manuscripts of this from the 18th and 19th century. This version is based on the archetype *l* of the LL version and is closely connected to the latter but displays later language (O’Rahilly 1961: xxxi). Numeration follows the lines assigned in O’Rahilly’s edition.

5) *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (AMCG)

This text has most recently been edited by Jackson (1990) from the *Lebor Brecc*, dated to 1408-1411 by the editor. Jackson follows the *Lebor Brecc* text, but supplies significant variants from the much shorter version in the TCD manuscript H.3.18., dated 16th to 17th century (Jackson 1990: xi-ii). Linguistically Jackson assigns the *Lebor Brecc* text to the late 11th century (*ibid.* xxiii). Numeration is according to lines given by the editor.

6) *Togail Troí I* (TTr1)

This text is a translation and adaptation of the 5th or 6th century Latin version of Dares’ *Destruction of Troy* (Mac Gearailt 1996: 453). Mac Gearailt (1996: 462) has identified an Irish version dating back to the 11th century from which two Middle Irish versions emerged. The earlier version, TTr1, which is termed TTH by Mac Gearailt, is transmitted in the later part of the Book of Leinster, fol. 397a-408b, and it is also found in H.2.17. A version from this latter manuscript was edited by Stokes (1887). The LL text has

been edited Mac Eoin (1967), who asserts that this and H.2.17 are almost always identical (1967: 42). Mac Eoin dates both linguistically to the 11th century, allowing for later orthography, which Stokes (1881: iii) holds to be 16th century. The text used here is that of LL as edited by Mac Eoin, the translations being taken from Stokes' edition of H.2.17. Numbers refer to lines of the text as given by Mac Eoin.

7) Togail Troí II (TTr2)

This text is a longer version of the story of the destruction of Troy and Mac Gearailt (1996: 479) has identified it as a modernized version of the text underlying the version extant in TTr1. This younger text is found, incomplete without an ending, in the Book of Leinster, fol. 217a-244b. It is edited by Stokes (1881) along with the ending as given in LL 406b-408b. Stokes describes the text as transcribed in the middle of the 12th century, and Mac Gearailt (*ibid.*, 465) shows that it frequently uses younger linguistic forms than TTr1. The numbers refer to lines of the text as given by Stokes.

8) Stair Alexandair (SA)

This is edited by Peters (1967) in ZCP 30, following the text in the 14th century Book of Ballymote with readings from the likewise 14th century compilation Lebor Brecc. The editor holds the text in question to be an adaptation of the Latin source text partly attributed to Orosius which dates approximately from the 9th century (Peters 1967: 86). The archetype of the Irish text is dated by Peters to the 10th century on external and internal evidence (*ibid.*, 95). He considers it to be older than the common source for the text in both the Book of Ballymote and Lebor Brecc which he would assign to the 11th century (*ibid.* 93). References are to page and line number of the manuscript as given by the editor.

9) Pasio Domini nostri Iesu Christi (PCH)

Edited by Atkinson in his 1887 editions of the Passions and Homilies from the Lebor Brecc. Atkinson dates the manuscript to the late 14th century (1887: 36). At least part of the text, lines 2571-2976, are a translation of the Latin Gospel of Nicodemus (*ibid.*, 359). Skerrett (1963: 82) points out that all extant Irish texts are based on Latin versions. Numeration given here refers to the lines as given by Atkinson.

A survey of the texts used, their approximate length and the number of relevant verbal noun constructions can be found in the following table.

Text	Words: relevant VN (1 per x)
Cambray Homily	300: 2 (1 / 150)
Audacht Morainn	800: 2 (1 / 400)
Bechbretha	1,200: 5 (1 / 240)
Críth Gablach	5000: 86 (1 / 58)
Compert Mongáin	1,280: 13 (1 / 98)
Abgitir Chrabaid	1870: 11 (1 / 170)
Aided Chonchobuir	770: 18 (1 / 43)
Bretha Crólige	4,000: 18 (1 / 222)
Táin Bó Fraích	3,300: 44 (1 / 75)
Würzburg Gl.	21,000: 170 (1 / 123)
Compert ConCulainn	650: 6 (1 / 108)
Milan Gl.	33,000: 406 (1 / 81)
Immram Brain	680 (prose only): 3 (1 / 227)
Additions, Armagh	900: 5 (1 / 180)
St. Gall Gl.	11,000: 136 (1 / 81)
Bethu Brigte	6200: 81 (1 / 77)
Bethu Patraic	31,000: 277 (1 / 112)
Overall Old Irish	122,950: 1323 (1 per 93)
Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó	2,100: 28 (1 / 75)
LU-Tain	9,500: 209 (1 / 45)
LU Tain, Interpolator	2,700: 69 (1 / 39)
Táin Bó Cuailnge, LL	45,000: 550 (1 / 81)
Togail Troi I	14,000: 191 (1 / 73)
Togail Troi II	25,000: 365 (1 / 68)
Star Alaxandair	15,000: 186 (1 / 81)
Aislinge Meic Conglinne	13,000: 153 (1 / 85)
Pasio Domini Iesu Christi	10,000: 189 (1 / 53)
Overall Middle Irish	136,300: 1940 (1 per 70)
Overall	259,250: 3263 (1per 79)

Table I: Relevant verbal noun constructions in the Irish source texts

This table illustrates that the frequency of relevant verbal noun uses varies greatly in the different source texts. Overall, however, a slight increase can be observed from the Old Irish to the Middle Irish period.

1.5.3 Welsh texts

The Welsh material in this collection consists of the sparse amount of data found in transmitted Old Welsh texts, the *Surexit Memorandum*, the *Computus Fragment* and the *Juvencus Englynion*. The saga text *Culhwch ac Olwen* is taken as a representative of the early Middle Welsh period. In addition examples have been collected from *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* and the later Middle Welsh period is represented by *Historia o Uched Dewi*. Additionally, further examples have been provided from attestations given in Evans' *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* and the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC).

1) *Computus Fragment* (CF)

The *Computus Fragment* is contained in the Cambridge University Library MS Add. 4543. It contains some Latin phrases and terminology. The edition used here is that of Ifor Williams (1927), who dates the language to the early 10th century. Numbering is according to the lines given by the editor.

2) *Surexit Memorandum* (SM)

This text is Old Welsh interspersed with Latin. It is found in the *Lichfield Gospels* and may have been written in the second quarter of the 8th century (Zimmer 1997). The text has been edited by Jenkins & Olwen (1983, 1984). Numbering follows the lines given by the editors.

3) *Martianus Capella* (MC)

These glosses on the Latin text *De Nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii* are found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 153. Jackson (1953: 53) tentatively dates it to the 9th century. The editor Stokes assigned both the Latin text and the Welsh glosses to the 8th century (Stokes 1873: 387).

4) *Juvencus Englynion* (JE)

These verses are found on the margin of Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 4, 42, which is dated to the ninth or tenth century. They have been edited by Haycock (1994). The language has poetic features such as rhyme and is therefore of restricted diagnostic value as far as syntax is concerned. Numbers refer to the verses.

5) *Culhwch and Olwen* (CO)

The text is found in two 14th century manuscripts, the mid 14th century *White Book of Rhydderch*, P 4, columns 452-88 and in the late 14th century *Red Book of Hergest*, J 111, columns 810-44 (Bromwich & Evans 1992: ix). The edition used is that by Bromwich & Evans (1992), which follows the *White Book* till it breaks off at line 823, and after that the *Red Book*. On textual evidence the editors assign a composition date of about the last decade in the eleventh century (1992: lxxxix). Yet it is stated that the language is more ar-

chaic in some parts than in others, displaying similarities with Old Welsh material and the early Cynfeirdd and Gogynfeirdd poets (ibid., xviii). In a similar vein Zimmer (1997/8: 1033-53²) argues that archaisms from pre-11th century early Middle Welsh prose poetry can be found in lexicon, morphophonemics and syntax. Different views are put forward in Rodway (2005: 43), who argues for a composition date in the second half of the 12th century and bases his arguments on external and orthographic features. The numbers of the examples follows the lines given by the editors of the text.

6) *Historia o Uched Dewi* (B.De)

The edition of this text is by D.S. Evans, Cardiff 1988. The earliest Latin version of the Life of David is thought to belong to the third quarter of the 12th century (Evans ibid, xxxix).

The Welsh version is based on the Latin one, but shorter (ibid, liii). The editor holds the language to be that of the 14th century (ibid, liv). References are to page number of the edition, followed by line number.

7) *Pwyll Pendevic Dyvet* (PPD)

This text has been edited by R.L. Thomson in 1959. It appears in manuscripts which partly date back to ‘no later than the 13th century’ (1959: xii). One version is found in the White Book of Rhydderch (Peniarth 4 in the National Library of Wales), dating from the middle of the 14th century. Another one exists in the Red Book of Hergest, Jesus College, Oxford MS cxi, which is dated to the first quarter of the 15th century (Thomson 1959: xi). References are to lines as given by the editor.

8) *Branwen Uerch Llyr* (BvL)

The text used for *Branwen Uerch Llyr* is Derick S. Thomson’s edition from 1961. The manuscript sources are likewise the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest, and a fragment can be found in the manuscript Peniarth 6. While assuming an original composition date of the *Mabinogi* in the 2nd half of the 11th century, Peniarth 6, the earliest extant text, has been dated to circa 1235 (cf. Thomson 1961: x). References are to lines given by the editor of the text.

9) *Manawydan uab Llyr* (MvL)

This text is taken from the edition by Williams (1930) from the White Book of Rhydderch as prepared by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. A complete text is found in the White Book, dated to about 1350. The earliest surviving text is a fragment in Peniarth 6. Ford, in his assessment, follows its dating by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (2000: xxxi) to about 1225. Reference is to pages and lines as given by the editor.

² Likewise Zimmer (2003/4: 143-174).

10) *Math uab Mathonwy* (MvM)

The edition used is that by Williams (1930) which follows the White Book of Rhydderch-edition by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. The earliest extant manuscript is that found in the White Book datable to 1350 (Ford 1999: xxx). Reference is to pages and lines as given by the editor.

Text	Words (ca.): relevant verbal nouns, (1 per x)
<i>Computus Fragment</i>	260: 2 (1/130)
<i>Surexit Memorandum</i>	100: 2 (1/50)
<i>Martianus Capella</i>	150: 1 (1/150)
<i>Juvenus Englynion</i>	170: 3 (1/57)
Overall Old Welsh	680: 8 (1/85)
<i>Culhwch and Olwen</i>	14,000: 278 (1/50)
<i>Historia o Uched Dewi</i>	5,000: 130 (1/38)
<i>Pwyll Pendevic Dyvet</i>	7,500: 81 (1/93)
<i>Branwen Uerch Llyr</i>	5,500: 54 (1/101)
<i>Manawydan uab Llyr</i>	4,300: 77 (1/56)
<i>Math uab Mathonwy</i>	6,500: 105 (1/62)
Overall Middle Welsh	42800: 725 (1/59)

Table II: Relevant verbal noun constructions in the Welsh source texts

While the Old Welsh attestations are too sparse to be of any statistical value, the Middle Welsh data are more promising. In the texts investigated here, it is clear, though there are considerable differences between the texts, that overall there are more verbal noun constructions relevant to the present approach than there are in the roughly contemporary Middle Irish period. On the one hand, this is due to the higher frequency of some prepositional constructions, particularly the *yn* participle. The predominant factor by far, however, is the high use of *gwneuthur* periphrasis (see 3.4.1).

1.6 Relevant grammatical approaches

1.6.1 Case

Old Irish, along with other earlier Indo-European languages had a case system that was noticeably more complex than that of the modern language. Typologically it resembles Ancient Greek in having four cases assigning grammatical roles, plus a vocative case. In this respect, these languages present a part of a case hierarchy proposed by Blake (2001: 156):

Nomacc/erg -> gen -> dat -> loc -> abl/inst -> others

Blake argues that if a language has a case mentioned in this list, it is most likely to have the one to its left as well. The lowest case in this hierarchy he terms a kind of ‘elsewhere case’. This means that those cases not present in a language system are typically subsumed in the category furthest to the right on the list. This can also be observed in Old Irish where the dative, in addition to being used with many prepositions, also serves independently to denote meanings like temporal or instrumental, comitatives or apposition. The dative in Old Irish is a continuation of all the IE oblique cases, as has already been stated by Thurneysen (GOI §251, 3.). Cross-linguistically this multitude of functions does not appear to be uncommon. Blake (2001: 143) asserts that the central function of datives is the indication of indirect objects, as well as purpose. He points out, however, that some languages have a separate purpose case. These include Basque, which also has a separate benefactive. Furthermore, the dative’s function may be to express possession and different types of destination, among other functions. In Old Irish it is also used with prepositions indicating the local cases mentioned by Blake (2001: 151), namely for location (*oc* ‘at’, *i n-*, ‘in’), destination/benefactive (*do*, ‘to’), source (*di*, ‘from’) and path (*tri*, ‘through’). It therefore encodes entities which are indirectly affected by the verbal action. In contrast to this versatile case, the accusative is taken as typically denoting entities that are directly affected by the verbal action. This contrast between more and less central affection is also illustrated by Krahe (1972: 87) by means of the, albeit somewhat dated, example *er rief dem Hunde* (dative), where the dog is not directly affected, and contrastively *er rief den Hund zu sich* (accusative), where the dog is directly affected. Additionally, the accusative is used in Indo-European languages to express the local functions of destination and path. However, it is also pointed out by Blake (201: 144) that it is nevertheless impossible to predict which case will be used for a given role as the choice of dative or accusative complement is dependent on the verb. Less central case relations, in contrast to the most central ones like nominative and accusative, are commonly expressed cross-linguistically not by morphological case but by prepositions (ibid. 159). As we will see in the following, Old Irish likewise makes ample use of prepositional constructions to denote grammatical relationships also expressed by cases like locative, ablative or instrumental in some other Indo-European languages, i.e. lower ranking cases according to Blake’s schema. Welsh, on the other hand, has abandoned case marking completely and morphologically only retains the unmarked and prepositionally expressed cases.

1.6.2 Grammaticalisation

It has been proposed that this process works in ‘grammaticalisation chains’³ which move from concrete to abstract entities (Heine et al. 1991). In these, the most central element is considered to be primarily egocentric. As grammaticalisation proceeds, the entities become more difficult to conceptualise. It is suggested that extension of the entities works by metaphor throughout the grammaticalisation process.⁴ Thus typical patterns of abstraction, i.e. extensions of meaning, are observed cross-linguistically in the development of categories by Heine et al. (1991: 48-50):

PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

In this chain, ACTIVITY > SPACE was changed from an earlier approach which considered entities denoting ‘activity’ to be derived from those denoting ‘space’ in earlier work (Claudi & Heine 1986: 308⁵). This approach was subsequently changed to the above as a result of evidence from some languages which derive spatial concepts from verbs of movement. This chain, however, holds only for concrete categories, not functional ones. Functional ones, i.e. grammatical morphs have been shown to develop typically from spatial constructions denoting location at an action and a ‘TIME is SPACE’ metaphor has been identified by Bybee et al. (1994: 25; see also Heine et al. 1991: 160). Overall, directionality of grammaticalisation can apparently be argued for, even though the order of elements may be less stable than suggested here. In the framework envisaged here, qualities (including states) tend to be derived from concepts denoting activities/processes. Applied to nouns, this approach would predict that nouns denoting animate objects are most central to human perception, followed firstly by inanimate ones, secondly by processual ones and finally by those denoting qualities and states. As far as verbal nouns are concerned, this proposal suggests that those denoting processes would be more central to human perception than those denoting states.

³ I.e. it sets off from a starting point and extends its meaning step by step to further entities, leading to increasing applicability, but also to increasing generalisation.

⁴ The view of application of metaphor is modified by Bybee et al. (1994: 283 ff.) who, in considering the grammaticalisation of tense, mood and aspect markers, see metaphorical extension only at the initial stages of the process and argue for increasing generalisation of the usage.

⁵ Claudi, U. & Heine, B. 1986: ‘On the metaphorical base of grammar’, *Studies in Language* 10:2, 297- 335.

1.6.3 Grammaticalisation of prepositions

As seen above, Heine et al. (1991) argue for a grammaticalisation chain starting from PERSON and moving towards QUALITY along a chain of increased distance from ego. Work on the form of personal pronouns has revealed that those pronouns denoting these types of relations display characteristic differences cross-linguistically. Thus the central concepts identified here are typically morphologically and phonetically simple in languages. Those denoting PERSON, OBJECT/ACTIVITY and SPACE were generally the least complex, TIME and QUALITY/MANNER slightly more so. Further meanings associated with pronouns denoting PURPOSE and CAUSE were also selected and these were typically more complex morphologically. While the authors use examples of pronouns from German and Kenya Pidgin Swahili, examples from Basque will be introduced here as its interrogative pronouns illustrate the situation even more clearly:

Person	Object/Activity	Space	Time	Quality/Manner	Purpose	Cause
Nor/Nork	Zer/Zerk	Non	Noiz	Nola	Zertarako	Zergatik

Table II: Basque interrogative pronouns.

In the case of Basque interrogative pronouns, it can be seen that PURPOSE and CAUSE are also denoted by morphologically more complex formations. Observations along those lines lead the authors to suggest tentatively, that the latter are less central to human perception (Heine et al. 1991: 59). Based on the observation in the metaphorical chain proposed, Heine et al. (ibid., 54) endorse a case hierarchy established by Givón (1984: 174):

Case Function	Prototypical Function
Agent	PERSON
Benefactive	PERSON
Dative	PERSON
Accusative	OBJECT
Locative	SPACE
Instrument and others	QUALITY

Table III: Case hierarchy according to Heine et al. (1991)

It is argued that this hierarchy determines the ordering of participants in sentences and presents further evidence for human cognitive patterns. In this context it must be pointed out, however, that for the sample language used above, Basque, this pattern does not hold as the benefactive (*mutiarentzat*

‘for the boy’) is formally more complex than the dative (*mutiliari* ‘to the boy’). Observe furthermore that Givón’s hierarchy is different from Blake’s above in that the accusative is considered to rank after the dative rather than before it and in that the genitive is not considered at all. The starting points of the two approaches are slightly different in that Blake considers the likelihood of the presence of each category, while Givón argues for their centrality to human perception. Even so, one might expect the outcome to be identical, as the centrality of a category should correspond to its presence in a given system.

A further area where analogous behaviour can be observed in grammaticalisation is that of prepositional meanings. Thus it has been observed by Heine et al. (1991: 252) that prepositional case markers typically have different functions. It is shown that these different functions are only partly perceived as related by native speakers of a given language. Nevertheless the ordering of the perceived relevance of the different functions follows cross-linguistically identical patterns: spatial functions are perceived as being most relevant and this is followed, where applicable, by temporal functions. If no temporal functions exist, spatial functions are typically followed in perceived relevance by those functions involving human participants, namely AGENT/CAUSER (‘by’), BENEFACTIVE (‘for’) and COMITATIVE (‘with’). Those functions which did not involve human participants, namely CAUSE or CONDITION, generally were lowest in the hierarchy of perceived importance. Thus the German preposition *aus* can be used with the following functions, which are thought to decrease in centrality (Heine et al. 1991: 253):

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. SPATIAL: | Er kam aus dem Wald |
| 2. REASON: | Er half aus Mitleid |
| 3. Modal (MANNER): | Ein Haus aus Glas |
| 4. Transferred use (MANNER): | Er ist aus der Übung gekommen |

The core areas of meaning are accordingly identified as spatial rather than non-spatial. That said, the degree of association with human participants is important. The more central meanings are considered to be the least grammaticalised: they are basic and most transparent. Those more remote from the central functions of location and human participation are deemed more opaque, the corollary being that they are more grammaticalised. In chapters 2. and 3. we will find that this also applies to the prepositional examples from Irish and Welsh.

1.6.4 Semantics of prepositions

We have seen in the above that different uses and functions can be observed in a single preposition and that these may be influenced by conceptual differences between spatial uses and non-spatial ones. Nevertheless, there must be factors determining why one preposition is used by a speech community to denote a given entity, and how, in other cases, different prepositions can be employed. These questions of prepositional analysis have not received much scholarly discussion, a situation that does not appear to be due to the lack of their importance. Nevertheless, in the following an attempt will be made to introduce a framework for the evaluation of prepositional meanings which may help to group the material in the corpus collected for this work.

The ancestor of the Celtic languages and their sister branches, Proto-Indo-European, may have differed considerably from its offspring. It is suggested (Beekes 1995: 93, Tichy 2000: 39) that it did not have prepositions, but used a noun case system, supported by enclitic adverbial particles (Tichy, *ibid.*). The original case system would then have been eroded progressively, leaving Old Irish with a much reduced system of (mainly) prepositional dative in lieu of earlier ablative, instrumental and locative cases. Furthermore, motion towards an entity is denoted by the accusative case, as are some relationships largely expressing agent and patient. In contrast to the dative, no case syncretism has affected the accusative. Originally, the semantic relationships seem to have been clarified by the prepositions, but over the course of time the case system was eroded and a predominantly or exclusively prepositional system developed. In early Welsh, the case system has disappeared entirely, leaving only a handful of petrified vestiges. All former case relations are expressed by either word order or prepositions. The issue of how far prepositional expressions can be considered identical to or different from inflection is an open question. Schröder (1987: 29-37) suggests that prepositions tend to be employed to specify grammatical case. However, studies in language acquisition suggest that a difference exists between concrete, spatial use of a preposition, which is the most basic, and abstract or metaphorical usage, which takes longer to acquire. Generally Schröder sees the meaning of a preposition as determined not only by the preposition itself, but also by the nature of the verb and the noun dependent upon it. He suggests that the possibilities of prepositional meaning depend upon inherent semantic components present in the prepositions. As main components he identifies location, with sub-groupings indicating stativity, containedness, and directions towards, away from or through. Yet it has also been argued that directionality and location are not necessarily distinct factors. In assessing the semantics of English prepositions, Bennet (1974: 52) argues that a spatial preposition can be used to express both location and movement along a path. In examples like *The dog ran under the table* versus

The dog is under the table the expression of location must be seen as one possible position expressed by a preposition along a pathway from the source to a goal that could possibly be denoted by it. It has already been observed by Evans (1964: 187) in the case of Middle Welsh prepositions that the expression of direction after a verb of motion may result in intention and purpose. The second large category comprises temporal reference, such as precedence, simultaneity or subsequence. Instrument and cause are also recognised. These components will be traced in the prepositions in the corpus in order to determine their central usages and permutations.

1.6.5 Semantic classification of prepositions

For the analysis here, the system employed in Schröder (1987) is adapted. His approach is based on a componential analysis of semantic elements, and can be described as structural. In componential analyses, an entity is broken up into binary semantic components that distinguish one item from a related but separate concept. Palmer (1981: 109) exemplifies this by means of the human terms *man*, *woman*, *boy* and *girl*. These can be classified and distinguished from each other by using the components (+/- male) and (+/-adult). This system makes useful formalisations possible.

Schröder's system was developed with a contrastive analysis of German and Slavic languages, especially Polish, in mind. As there are some inevitable differences in the systems involved, some alterations had to be made in the present context.

The most prominent feature in Schröder's system is the feature of the location of a concept in space by means of a preposition. This is expressed by the feature /+ space⁶/, denoting 'spatial location'. This spatial location may then be further specified by other semantic components, those employed by Schröder being the following:

/stat/	stative	'at, by' ⁷
/vol/	(=incl) volume (inclusion)	'in' ⁸
/cent/	central	'within' ⁹
/cont/	contact	'at, in' ¹⁰
/bas/	base	'at the bottom of' ¹¹

⁶ Schröder calls this feature /loc/ for 'location'.

⁷ *Wir sind an Ort und Stelle* (Schröder 1987: 41).

⁸ [*Wir sind*] *im Gebäude* or abstract ... *im Staat*. (ibid., 43).

⁹ *Das Häuschen steht inmitten des Waldes*. (ibid., 48).

¹⁰ *Steht ihr Name noch an der Pforte* (ibid., 50). This is in contrast to *Sie hatte an der Tür gestanden*. *Sie steht an...* does not express contact (Schröder, ibid., 50).

¹¹ *Die Fliege sitzt auf der [Woll-]Decke*. (ibid., 48).

/plan/	sides of a cube	‘to the sides of’ ¹²
/bind/	binding to an entity	‘tied to’ ¹³
/cov/	cover, ‘Ummantelung’	‘around’ ¹⁴
/alt/	altitude	‘above, Pol. <i>nad</i> ‘higher than’ ¹⁵
/intro/	introduction,	‘(entering) into’ ¹⁶
/infer/	inferior, under	‘below’ ¹⁷
/super/	superior, ‘on top of’	‘above’ ¹⁸
/front/	‘in front of’	‘before, in front of’ ¹⁹
/rev/	reverse	‘behind’ ²⁰
/distance/	distance	‘away’ (entails /– cont/) ²¹
/terr/	territorial	German ‘nach’ ²²
/can/	spatial confinedness	‘room between’ ²³
/dir/	direction towards	‘to, towards’ ²⁴
/limit/	limit of an extension	‘until’ ²⁵
/exog/	exogenous	‘out of, coming out of’ ²⁶
/pass/	passage	‘past’ or ‘by’ ²⁷
/trans/	transition,	‘through’ ²⁸
/spec/	specific object	‘to (this specific place/person)’ ²⁹
/intmed/	intermediate	‘between’ ³⁰
/temp/	temporal senses	‘when’ ³¹
/simul/	simultaneous	‘at the same time as’ ³²
/final/	final, purpose	‘in order to’ ³³
/cond/	condition ³⁴	‘if’ ³⁵

¹² *Die Fliege sitzt an der Wand.* (ibid., 48).

¹³ *Das dressierte Äffchen tanzt an einem Seil.* (ibid., 49).

¹⁴ *Der Grossvater trägt immer eine Jacke über dem Hemd.* (ibid., 49).

¹⁵ *Saaleck und Rudelsburg stehen oberhalb der Saale.* (ibid., 51).

¹⁶ *Die Lahn fliesst in den Rhein.*

¹⁷ *Die Wohnungen sind unter dem Dachboden....* (Schröder, ibid., 53).

¹⁸ *Die Wohnungen sind über ...dem Keller.* (ibid., 53).

¹⁹ *Der Vogel sitzt vor dem Fenster.* (ibid., 55).

²⁰ *Hinter meiner Tür warten Studenten.* (ibid., 54).

²¹ *Noch sind wir ausserhalb des Gebietes... .* (ibid., 56).

²² *Ich fahre nach Hamburg.*

²³ *Er hätte mit der Faust in einen Sack voll Kleie [hinein, P.R.] schlagen können.* (Schröder, ibid., 63).

²⁴ *Er fährt nach Poznań.* (ibid., 61).

²⁵ *Das Klatschen schlug bis an die fernen Mauern.* (ibid., 66).

²⁶ *[It came] from under the bush.* (Schröder 1987: 69).

²⁷ He walked past the forest.

²⁸ He walked through the forest.

²⁹ Ich gehe zu Peter. Or Ich gehe nach Hause.

³⁰ Hans sass zwischen ihnen. (Schröder, ibid., 57).

³¹ Er baute sein Haus in den dreissiger Jahren.... (ibid., 72).

³² Als die Apfelbäume blühten fiel nicht ein Tropfen Regen. (ibid., 86).

³³ Zum Zeitunglesen setzten wir uns auf die Böschungskante. (ibid., 144).

³⁴ The condition under which another situation will come true.

³⁵ *Bei Gefahr ist die Handbremse zu ziehen.* (ibid., 133)

/caus/	causal	‘because’ ³⁶
/instr/	instrumental	‘by, through’ ³⁷
/consec/	consecutive	‘so that’ ³⁸
/concess/	concessive	‘in spite of’ ³⁹

Some elements on this list are not relevant for Celtic:

/cent/ location centrally within is not specified in relation to ‘in’. The category /base/ can be deleted for Irish and Welsh, as there is no simple preposition denoting location ‘at the bottom’. /plan/ is likewise lacking. /alt/ is not distinguished lexically in Celtic as versus /super/. /cond/, condition, is not denoted by prepositions but by conjunctions in Celtic, and the same holds for consecutive /consec/. Furthermore, Schröder employs a number of features which were needed to express differences particularly in Polish prepositions. These are features referring to whether a participant is human, inanimate or institutional or what kind of chemical composition it has (e.g. [+ liquid]). There are also further divisions of temporal factors such as whether they refer to a time-span or a point in time. These divisions were not found to be represented in the Celtic languages and have not been considered here (Schröder 1987: 79-85, 110-1).

Some further non-spatial features may also be posited. In addition to instruments, which do not act as agents, like the knife for cutting, there are cases where the instrument is also an agent. Schröder mentions the existence of instruments that are also agents without volition. He gives the examples of *Das Bergdörfchen wurde von der Lawine zerstört* (ibid., 101) and *Der Bulle schreckte die ganze Herde durch sein böses Brüllen* (ibid.). It would be possible to separate these two types further into categories involving the feature [+/- volition]. The differences between these two types, however, do not appear to be expressed differently in the material treated here and will consequently not be dealt with in the present approach. Furthermore, we might distinguish cases where the instrument directly affects the patient and where it only influences the patient indirectly. The difference between the two may be illustrated by the instrumental in *they moved the rock with a crane* and *they moved the rock with prayer*, which expresses means. However, this difference appears to be mainly based on the semantic content of the noun in question and may therefore be negligible.

On the other hand, it seems desirable to add some features for the treatment of the material in hand. Even though it is possible to express distance in binary [+/-] terms according to Schröder’s model, we may introduce a positive feature to contrast with [+distance], namely proximity:

³⁶ *Ein Gericht urteilt nur aufgrund von Beweisen.* (ibid., 118)

³⁷ *Peter schneidet den Stoff mit einer Scheere.* (ibid., 100)

³⁸ *Er war krank, so dass er zuhause bleiben musste.* (ibid., 129.)

³⁹ *Herman zielte trotz der Kälte recht ordentlich.* (ibid., 136)

/prox/ proximity ‘near’
Somebody is at the door.

In addition, some examples in the Insular Celtic languages were found to indicate the source of an entity:

/source/ source ‘from, out of’
He rose from his sleep.

Furthermore, a possible subgroup of a concessive was observed in some subordinate clauses. For those it seemed desirable to use reference to prohibition.

/prohib/ prohibitive ‘(so) that not’
He told him not to go.

It must always be borne in mind that this thesis is concerned with prepositions only where they appear with verbal nouns. As has been pointed out above, Heine et al. (1991: 252) caution that prepositional meanings are most central with concrete nouns. Schröder (1987: 42) also states: ‘Je konkreter die Raumstruktur, desto sicherer ist die Anwendung der richtigen lokalen Präposition’. As discussed above, verbal nouns are typically far from concrete and due allowance may have to be made for this in the analysis of prepositions for present purposes.

1.6.6 Prototype Theory

Componential analysis may be used in order to express the semantics of an entity. However, it has been argued that this structural approach is often too strict and cannot deal entirely with a term’s possible permutations. Some linguists try to capture the notion that certain members of a category may be more central to perception than others by using a ‘prototype’ approach (e.g. Aitchison 1987, Taylor 1995). Prototype theory has been developed in order to explain categories of human perception. In prototype approaches, meaning is not broken up into semantic components which determine membership of a given category. Categories are defined by their central members, and these are those which are most frequently named as being central by native speakers. The central members have all of the characteristics which define the category. In addition to the more central members, categories also have less central members, which still share some of the ‘necessary’ features postulated, but not all of them. Prototype theory not only differentiates between membership and non-membership of a category, but considers entities as more or less central members of a category. The upshot of this is that catego-

ries have fuzzy, i.e. not clearly defined, boundaries. Linguistically this is catered for by hedging expressions like *the apple is a fruit par excellence* or conversely *a zebra is some sort of a horse*. Aitchison (1987: 54) has taken the category of birds as an example. A robin is a prototypical member possessing all the essential attributes of birds. Chickens are less prototypical as they cannot fly but only flutter. Even more peripheral are penguins, which neither fly nor flutter, but swim. Bats do not belong to this category at all in scientific terms: even though they fly they are in fact mammals. Some similarities can therefore be argued, and children especially may consider them to be related to birds. Prototype theory takes account of the fact that categories are not necessarily clearly defined and that their edges can be fuzzy, with members of a category belonging to it to a greater or lesser degree. This theory can also be applied to grammatical categories (cf. Taylor 1995: 54). Thus a typical member of the noun class, such as a man or a stone, can be touched. However, there are also members that cannot be touched, for example air, or indeed verbal nouns, gerunds or participles. *The destruction of Troy* contains two nouns even though *destruction* is even less central a member than *Troy*. We find that grammatical categories resemble natural categories in their fuzzy boundaries. Not only can a grammatical item be an obvious or less obvious member of its category, but the use of a grammatical category can also extend beyond its central range. Thus *er kam aus dem Wald* shows a more typical use of the preposition *aus* 'out of', than *er half aus Mitleid*. We will see in what follows that prepositional meanings are particularly prone to extend far beyond their central range, but that the most central meanings are still the best represented.

1.6.7 Tense and aspect

Tense is a comparatively unproblematic term, denoting the location of a situation on the time axis in relation to the moment of utterance (Comrie 1976: 2). The notion of tense has been formalised by Reichenbach (1947: 290). Tense can be represented graphically by using a time line which illustrates the point of event (or the situation in question), also termed '*E*' and the point of speech '*S*', or now-time. Location to the left of the moment of speech, indicates past time. Location to its right indicates future time. For more elaborate temporal structures Reichenbach additionally proposes the existence of a point of reference '*R*'. This is identical with the point of speech in most cases. It needs to be distinguished from the point of speech, however, if the situation is prior or subsequent not to '*S*' but to a third temporal entity in the past or future. This would typically be the case with the past perfect in English or with the future perfect. This is illustrated by the following examples:

8) I had seen John ('E') (before he went to work ('R')).

E R S

-----:-----:-----

9) I shall have seen John ('E') (before I visit Mary ('R')).

S E R

-----:-----:-----

The past perfect describes something that happened before a certain moment which is itself in the past and not identical with the moment of speech. A similar scenario can be assumed for the future perfect. The reference point is in the future, the time of event located prior to the reference point.

Aspect on the other hand describes the "internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3). In contrast to some other studies (e.g. Henry 1957: 173) lexical properties of the verbs which result in an action being perceived as just beginning, ingressive, or just finishing, egressive, are not subsumed under the heading 'aspect' here, but are considered to be examples of *aktionsart*. Examples of the latter are:

10) He took to drinking. (Henry 1957: 174)

The candle burned out.

In considering the perfect category it has to be pointed out first that perfect is not the same as perfectivity, which has been described by Comrie (1976: 16) as follows:

Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various phases that make up that situation, while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.

Dahl (1985: 74) calls this the 'totality-view' of perfectivity and argues for more characteristics that need to be taken into account. One is the notion of 'boundedness' of the activity, which he states to be relevant for Slavic languages especially. Boundedness is described as the temporal restriction of the action to a point in time (1985: 74-75). It is prototypical therefore for the perfective category to occur in "single, completed events [that] will in the 'typical cases' be located in the past" (Dahl 1985: 79). Perfective aspect - in contrast to the perfect tense - is unlikely to occur with progressive aspect, but is often used in narrative contexts and with definite time adverbials. Dahl states that non-derived verbs are mostly imperfectives, but that, if a verbal prefix - comparable in meaning to the English preposition - is added, the aspect is perfective (1985: 84).

On Comrie's definition the perfect "expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation" (1976: 52). The situation may either extend from an unspecified point of time in the past to the present moment or a previous action may have a present impact. Typical realisations of the perfect are for example the 'perfect of result' (Dahl 1985: 133ff; Comrie 1976: 56ff), the 'perfect of persistent situation' (Comrie) or a 'perfect of recent past' (Comrie) or 'hot news perfect' (Dahl), which is used to communicate recent events. The common denominator of the perfect is considered by Dahl to be that a point of reference is involved "which is different from the point of event" (1985: 133).

It has been observed by McCone (1997: 93) that the *ro*-preterite in Old Irish typically creates a resultative which partly resembles the *have*-perfect in English whereas the Old Irish unaugmented preterite largely expresses past action as also found in narrative contexts. He also points out, however, that *ro*-preterites are notably more frequent in the non-narrative examples in the Old Irish Glosses than their English counterparts would be and that they therefore must have had a wider semantic range than the English *have*-perfect does (ibid, 94-5). At that stage they are especially found in dialogue, and the text of *Bethu Brigitte* shows the beginning of the later extension towards narrative contexts (ibid., 95-8).

Imperfective aspect refers to the expression of an internal structure of a situation, taking an 'inside view' of it (Comrie 1976: 24). It is thus opposed to perfectivity, which describes the situation as explicitly unstructured, as a point or a blot on the time line. Imperfectivity can be denoted by a number of aspectual sub-categories in different languages. Under the head term, *imperfective*, *habituality* and *continuousness* can be subsumed. The term *habituality* is employed for situations or states which hold regularly over a period of time. The exact length of a period or the number of occurrences of an event in order to qualify it for being habitual cannot be determined in absolute terms, but is rather conceptualised as being habitual by speakers (Comrie 1976:28). The situation cannot be divided up into a number of repeated actions but rather constitutes a single whole.

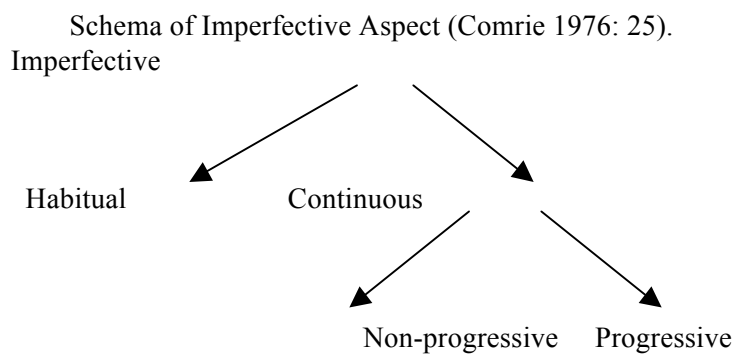
12) Mr. Simpson used to work on the Railway.

In the case where a situation is composed of a number of repeated events without infinite temporal extension, this situation is considered to form a subgroup of the habitual category, namely iterative as in:

13) The old professor used always to arrive late. (Comrie 1976: 28)

A number of repeated occurrences of (perfective) events seen as a single entity thus create the iterative situation (Comrie 1976: 27). Comrie also de-

scribes a second branch of imperfectivity, the continuous. This has a dynamic progressive subgroup and a stative non-progressive one. The progressive is used to refer to actions which are ongoing or which are “the combination of continuousness with nonstativity” (Comrie 1976: 12), such as *he is singing*. Thus, a progressive situation does not consist of a number of repeated actions, like an iterative such as *somebody is knocking on the door*. A further characteristic feature is that it is not static. It requires a continuous input of energy to keep going; a state, on the other hand needs energy only for it to be changed as in *the pyramids stand in Egypt*. The aspectual distinctions within the imperfective category are illustrated by Comrie in a schema:



Bybee et al., however, disagree with Comrie’s schema and on the evidence of their cross-linguistic survey propose a different approach. They contest the assumption of the existence of the distinct category of the continuous cross-linguistically. It is rather assumed that different types of imperfectivity are conditioned by differences in verbal semantics such as e.g. stative or dynamic verbs (1994: 139). So Comrie’s progressive and non-progressive categories would in fact be lexically conditioned.

They distinguish distinct manifestations of repetitive events in terms of the frequency of their occurrence. In cases where the repetition occurs on one occasion only and then for a number of times, the iterative category is constituted. If repetition can be observed on various, frequent occasions, this further group is termed frequentative (1994: 160). In his own consideration of repeated actions, Comrie does not mention frequentative aspect and merely states that iterativity may be included in habituality without discussing possible differences (1976: 27). Bybee et al. argue that

[t]he notion of repetition applies best to a situation that comprises a single cycle—that is, a situation with an inherent beginning, middle, and end, such as winking, hitting, kissing, and so on. However, an iterative gram [i.e. ‘grammatical morpheme’ (P.R.)] may also apply to a predicate that describes a situation with multiple cycles, such as walking or swinging, and in such a case it closely resembles what we have called continuative meaning, that is, the sense of ‘keep on doing’. (Bybee et al. (1994: 161))

It is thus concluded (1994: 166) that the repetition of single concluded actions results in habitual aspect and constitutes one branch of imperfective aspect. The repetition of 'multiple cyclic' events, on the other hand, leads to continuative and ultimately progressive meaning and constitutes the second branch of imperfective aspect. Imperfectivity is therefore schematized as follows:

Schema of Imperfective Aspect, (Bybee et al. 1994: 172)

ITERATIVE > CONTINUATIVE > PROGRESSIVE >
IMPERFECTIVE
ITERATIVE > FREQUENTATIVE > HABITUAL >

Nevertheless, in this schema, too, an opposition between actions which are characterized by repetition of a (concluded) action and those which indicate one action which continues on over an interval of time can be observed.

Comrie points out that the combination of habitual forms and other aspectual forms is possible in various languages if the language allows for this structurally (1976: 30). This combination would be possible in the Celtic languages, for instance where a habitually marked form is used together with a periphrastic present.

2 Verbal Nouns in Old and Middle Irish

2.1 Verbal noun usage

This summary of the syntactic use of verbal nouns in Celtic is merely a short survey. It is intended to provide a comparandum for the Basque material discussed in 5.1.2 and 5.2.2. Comprehensive analyses of verbal nouns in sentences are found in Gagnepain (1963), Ó hUiginn (1989, 1998 and 2002) and Genee (1998) for Irish and, less comprehensively, in Fife (1990) for Welsh.

2.1.1 Noun inflection

In the Celtic languages various syntactic functions are expressed by verbal nouns, namely clausal complements and what in other languages can be described as participles. They appear in their different inflectional forms as nominative, accusative or dative and may be further specified by prepositions. Moreover, a non-finite clause is negated by means of a verbal noun and a preposition (OIr *cen*, MidW *hep* ‘without’).

Old Irish had a five-case inflectional system which has been reduced to basically two cases in present-day Irish, the nominative and the genitive, plus an increasingly marginal vocative. In this Irish is tending towards a development similar to that in British, where grammatical case distinctions had already been lost by the earliest attested stages of Welsh and genitive function is determined only by position after its head noun. In both Gaelic and British, spatial case functions are typically expressed by a combination of noun plus preposition. Inflection is increasingly abandoned in favour of analytic marking strategies in both branches of Insular Celtic.

2.1.2 Syntactic possibilities of the verbal noun

2.1.2.1. Use as subject

Celtic verbal nouns behave like other nouns inflectionally. A verbal noun can be used as subject or object and when used with prepositions it is, like other nouns, inflected for the case required by the preposition in Old Irish. The following are examples of subject usage:

- 1) Wb 5b20: *combad æt leu buid domsa iniriss* ‘They are envious that I am in faith.’
- 2) Wb 15a6: *dobeir teist dínna cretem dúibsi* ‘Your believing bears witness of us.’

The verbal noun is often used as the subject of a copula clause as in example 1). But other verbs of existential predication may also be used with verbal noun subjects:

- 3) Ml 14c12: *atá in aicniud chaich denum maith agus imgabail uilc do denum*. ‘It is in the nature of every man to do good and to avoid doing evil.’
- 4) *Teastaíonn uaim imeacht*. ‘I want to leave [Lit: ‘Leaving is needed for me.’]’ (Ó Siadhail 1989, §11.1.2.i)

Modern Irish increasingly moves in the direction of marking experiencers by prepositional structures in order to express states. The logical goal becomes the grammatical subject, here the verbal noun *imeacht*. For a description of this development see Ó Corráin (1997b, 89-101).

2.1.2.2. Use as object

2.1.2.2.1 Factitive verbs

Examples of verbal nouns as objects are particularly frequent after certain types of verb. As has been shown for Old Irish by Gagnepain (1963: 85-91) verbal nouns are particularly prone to complement factitive verbs, i.e. verbs which denote actions creating a result in the broadest sense. These may be used to indicate that an action expressed by the verbal noun takes place at a certain time:

- 5) LU 5443: *Gabsait imbirt na fer fithchille iarum...* ‘They started moving around the chessmen then.’
- 6) LL 1231: *Do:gén a n-imtheclamad dáig is assu*. ‘I will collect them because it is easier.’

This type has also provided the starting point for auxiliary usage. Examples with *gaibid* may also have led to ingressive examples with *gabháil/goil* found in Modern Irish.

7) *Bhí sé ag goil a rá rud éicint.* ‘He was about to/going to say something.’

Conversely, Old Irish *dénam* develops into a marker of completed aspect in Modern Scots Gaelic:

8) *Rinn ar n-anail a mhùchadh.* ‘It choked our breath.’ (Calder 1972: 231)

Concerning the further development of collocations with the verb ‘to do’ it has been found that modern Scots Gaelic uses *dean* ‘do’ to a larger degree than Irish⁴⁰, notably for preterital periphrasis (cf. Calder 1972: 244): As a verb that expresses the carrying out of an action, a preterite form of *déanamh* is well suited to indicate the completion of an action.

In Welsh, verbal noun objects of the verb ‘to do’, *gwneuthur*, are particularly frequent. This is much rarer in Irish which uses structures predicating the verbal noun to its own inflected verb, the so-called *figura etymologica*, although some examples of *do:gní* + verbal noun are found.

9) B.De. 3.31: *Ac galw a oruc yr athro attaw y holl disgyblon...* ‘And the teacher called to him all his disciples.’

10) LU 4878-9: *indar lat ba tinnacan asnort cach foltne ina chend lasa comérge conérracht.* ‘One would have thought that it was a hammering whereby every hair was hammered into his head by the rising with which it rose [m.t].’

11) Wb 26a8: *dogéntar aidchumtach tempuil less.* ‘Rebuilding of the temple will be wrought by him.’

These structures will be treated in 2.4 and 3.4 respectively.

2.1.2.2.2 Complements of verbs of thinking, speaking etc.

Complementation of verbs of wishing and thinking is well attested in both branches:

12) Wb 20c23: *dofuthractor for nimdibesi* ‘They desire your circumcision.’ (cf. Gagnepain 1963: 82)

13) Ml 27b15: *inna ancríde... adcobratsídi cumscugud fercae dæ do*

⁴⁰ For the use in Modern Irish compare Tristram (2002b).

thabairt digle taranési. ‘The cruelties ... desire the stirring of the anger of God to inflict vengeance on their behalf.’ (cf. Gagnepain 1963: 82)

14) PKM 12.15: *ef a uyn ymrwymaw Ynys y Kedeirn ac Iwerdon y gyt.*

‘He wishes to bind together Ynys y Cedyrn and Ireland.’ (GMW §180)

Verbs relating to speech constitute a particular category of complementation. Object clauses with verbal nouns can represent indirect speech, particularly in the modern languages:

15) *Molann sé an teach a leagan.* ‘He recommends pulling down the house.’

16) *Duirt sé liom a bheith ann.* ‘He told me to be there.’

Gagnepain (1963: 90) points out that in Old Irish this non-finite complementation is still rare. Ó hUiginn (1998) has shown how it gradually emerged, gaining ground on subordinate clauses with finite verbs. In Modern Irish, verbal noun structures seem more frequent in northern dialects (Ó Siadhail 1989: 256) and are used mainly in cases with ‘goal orientation’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 262), i.e. where an object is expressed.

2.1.3 Agent structures

2.1.3.1 Old Irish

In contrast to finite verbs, the verbal noun does not directly assign agent and patient structures. These actional participants are added syntactically by pronouns and prepositions. The strategies employed by the Old Irish language are described in detailed examinations by Gippert (1997). Furthermore, Müller (1999: 83-178), gives a detailed account of possibilities to express agents both with verbal nouns and in non-finite clauses.

Where only one participant is present beside the verbal noun itself, this is either the agent of an intransitive verb, or the patient of a transitive structure. These are expressed by a genitive construction such as *seircc dae*, ‘(the people’s) love of God’. Alternatively, a pronominal patient can be expressed by a possessive pronoun suffixed to a preposition as in *dia denum* ‘to do it’ (on the order of elements see below).

The agent of a transitive construction, on the other hand, is expressed by a prepositional construction. This typically contains the preposition *do* as in *seircc dae do duini*, ‘man’s love of God’. Wherever the agent is pronominal it appears as a pronoun suffixed to the preposition *do*, staying with the above example, *seircc dae dúnn*, ‘our love of God’. This represents the general ordering of elements as *verbal noun, patient in the genitive, agent*. In some

cases, however, the combination of verbal noun and *do* resulted in non-finite subordinate clauses being used as complements:

- 17) Wb 10b24: *ba ferr limm immurgu buith di in ógi*. ‘I had rather, however, that she were in virginity.’
18) Wb 5b20: .i. *combad æt leu buid domsa in iriss* ‘that is, so that they may have emulation of my being in the faith.’
19) Wb 15a20: *ni foilsitis deicsin a gnúsa iar mbid dó oc accaldim dé oc tindnacul recto dó* ‘they would not have endured to behold his face after he had been conversing with God, when the Law was given to him.’

In these cases there is a finite matrix clause and a non-tensed subordinate clause. It has, however, been noted that this order may be liable to change, resulting in a construction approximating to the infinitive of some other languages. Thus Thurneysen (1946: 445) notes that the agent or the patient of the action may be preposed to the verbal noun which is then added on by means of the preposition *do* as in Ml 14c12: *imgabáil uilc do denum* ‘to avoid doing evil.’ Genée (1994) has shown that this construction typically results in contrastive emphasis of the preposed element. In most of the examples observed in the corpus here the action denoted by preposition and verbal noun provided a background to the main plot of the narrative.

2.1.3.2 Middle Irish

In Middle Irish the position of the verbal noun within the linguistic system is strengthened as compared to Old Irish.

The verbal noun is frequently used for subordination purposes (cf. Gagnepain 1963: 127) and constructions with preposed subjects and objects, and indeed other parts of speech, become more frequent. Additionally, nominal expressions or verb-less clauses become more frequent in what Gagnepain (1963: 128) has called ‘l’extraordinaire développement, à cette époque, d’énoncés nominaux’. From the late Old Irish period on we frequently encounter non-finite verbal noun clauses which express the subject with the preposition *do*. This structure can already be found regularly in *Bethu Phátraic*.

- 20) BP 779: *Oc dul do Pátraic sair do Themraig co Loegairi ... ó Domnach Pátraic...* ‘when Patrick was going west to Tara to Loegaire [...] from Domnach Patrick [...]’
21) TTr1, 195: *Iar richtain tra do Priam dochum Troi doronta muir mora daíngne leis imon Troi*. ‘After Priam had come to Troy he built a great strong wall around Troy.’

In contrast to the examples attested in earlier texts in the corpus, however, these non-finite clauses are typically initial to the inflected main clauses. While there still is the restriction that the agents of a transitive noun cannot be in the genitive, Müller (1999: 98) found for her data from *Táin*-texts that for ‘intransitive’ verbal nouns, prepositional agents are mostly found in complement clauses functioning like adverbials, whereas genitival agents are prominent in subject clauses.

2.1.4 Changes within the verbal noun category

The restructuring of the Middle Irish system is visible in both verbal noun and in verb formation. The verbal noun category, like that of verbs, undergoes a certain amount of restructuring. In Middle Irish texts the use of simple verbs derived from verbal nouns becomes increasingly frequent: instead of a compound verb being used, a new simplex is derived from the verbal noun, as in *tecoscis* ‘taught’ (TBCLL 1054), from the verbal noun *tecosc* ‘teaching’, itself a newer variant of *tincosc*, VN to *do:inchoisc* ‘instruct’. Also the opposite process can be observed: the verbal noun can be derived from a tensed form. Quin (1983) draws attention to a new type of verbal noun formation, namely those derived from the preterite of the verb, as for example *adnacht* ‘burial’ for Old Irish *adnacul* (Quin 1983: 117). The manner of verbal noun formation also changes: we find the interesting formation *imscribgal* ‘mutual scratching/scuffing’ (TBCLL 1042). *-gail* would be the dative of the verbal noun *gal* ‘fighting’, to *do:fich*. This is also assumed to attach to other verbal noun formations, typically denoting fighting, such as *imsrengal* ‘mutual tearing’, which DIL takes to consist of *imm* + *sreng* ‘pull’ + *gal*. This formation appears to compete with the verbal noun of *sreng*, *srengad*.

It is noteworthy that there is an increase in the number of verbal noun constructions with preposition during the Middle Irish period (cf. table in 1.5.2). This can be observed for example in the LU text of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, the bulk of which was written by Mael Muire, who died in 1106, while the interpolations of H are attributed to the 13th or even 14th century (Bergin & Best, 1929: xvii-iii). While in lines 4480 to 5834 there are approximately 0.1 verbal nouns per line, in the H interpolation from line 5835-5967 this number rises to a mean of 0.27 verbal nouns per line. Of the 37 verbal nouns observed, the overwhelming majority, 23 or 62%, are in conjunction with the preposition *do*, followed by *cen* in four cases and *im* in three cases.

It is also apparent that in Middle Irish passages containing a verbal noun are not uniformly distributed throughout the texts. The text *Togail Troi* is instructive in this respect. While overall a high percentage of verbal nouns can be observed, both from the older and newer parts of the Book of Leinster, there are passages which contain few verbal nouns. These are passages which are predominantly descriptive, such as TTr2, 1105-1205 where warri-

ors are described. A further descriptive passage, TTr2, 1950-2090, likewise shows few verbal nouns.

22) TTr2, 1127: *Tancatar and sluáig Dalmatia & Dardaniae & Istriae & Pannóniae & Rétiae. Tancatar and in d ócbad rochalma filet isin chorthair thuascertaig in domain fri struth Danuib atúaid .i. anraid Dáccia & Alania.* ‘There came the hosts of Dalmatia and Dardania and Istria and Pannonia and Rhaetia. There came the valiant warriors who dwell in the northern fringe of the world, to the north of the river Danube, to wit, the fighters of Dacia and Alania’

23) TTr2, 1954: *Tanic dana Agmemnon & Achil & Diomid & Aiax Lucreta don leith aile. Intan tra rafetatar Gréic na rabi hectoir issin chath immoro darat bruth & bríg & borrfad in-cach midlaig díb. Daringni immoro dam ndían ndásachtach & leoman londchrechtach do cech curaid & do cech cathmilid díb.* ‘Then came Agamemnon and Achilles and Diomedes and Locrian Ajax on the other side. When the Greeks knew that Hector was not in the battle, this gave fury and force and anger to every coward of them. It made a vehement, mad ox, and a cruel-wounded lion of every hero and of every battle-soldier of them.’

Here we have a colourful passage in very ornate style, abounding in alliterations. These descriptive passages are more frequent in Middle Irish and typically do not contain verbal nouns in large numbers.

2.2 Verbal nouns with prepositions in Old and Middle Irish

2.2.1 *Ar* and *for*

2.2.1.1 *Ar*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Old Irish preposition *ar*, pretonic in verbal composition *air* or *ar*, can be followed by either the accusative or dative. It is analysed as indicating ‘before, for’ by Thurneysen (GOI § 823). He describes the preposition as used with the accusative in some cases and gives the examples *techt ar chenn* ‘to meet’, and also with the dative in *ar chiunn* ‘in front of’ without further comment on the frequency and distribution of its usage. The data are inconclusive as regards the cases taken by verbal nouns in this corpus. The majority of the 68 examples do not allow a formal division as to whether the

VN is in the dative or accusative. Besides the ambiguity of Old Irish spelling, this is due to the large proportion of *u*-stem and of *a*-stem nouns which do not distinguish the two cases. Nevertheless, some instances suggestive of accusative or dative can be found. One attestation appears to be in the accusative: *ar legend leo* ‘for reading with them’ (Sg148a8). As a neuter *o*-stem, we would expect *u*-infection of the verbal noun, as is indeed suggested by *oc legund* in Sg 148a15. Only in one instance is there a clear indication of accusative case in the form of nasalisation of the genitive attribute:

24) BCr 27: *Air is airi der[o]nta lubgo[i]rt ar foichill n-otrusa*. ‘For it is for this purpose that gardens have been made; viz. for the care of the sick.’

In none of these examples is motion found explicitly. Motion is not clearly implied in any of the other corpus examples either⁴¹, though McCone (personal communication) suggests that *ar* in the sense of ‘for the sake of’ could be taken as being based on an original motion use. Nevertheless, the data in the present corpus does not prove the existence of a general rule that *ar* is used with the accusative of verbal nouns in the context of motion.

Clear use of the dative, on the other hand, is found in 7 instances: the verbal noun *tormach* in *ar tormuch* [sic] *fochraice ndo-són* ‘for increase of reward to him’ (Ml 44d18)⁴², *format* in *ní ar formut fribsi asbiursa inso* ‘I do not say this because of envy for you’ (Wb12c29), and *airec* in *exemplum ara airiuc far diull tanaisiu* ‘an example for its being found in the second declension’ (Sg 106b20). Use of the dative is also suggested by lack of nasalisation in the following, and indicated by the parallel with the participle in the dative:

25) Wb 12d25: *foirbthe ar anfoirbthiu inso .i. deich míli briathar ar labrad ilbétre* ‘perfect for imperfect (is) this, that is ten thousand words for speaking many tongues.’

If *ar chuingid* in Wb24b4 and 24d7 were to be taken as a dative, those two cases would provide further examples. Otherwise, there is no good evidence

⁴¹ Furthermore, if DIL is right in classifying examples of *cuinged* as accusative to nominative/dative *cuingid* we would have an example of accusative in *condenat fingail ar chuinged soinnmige do* ‘that he should commit parricide through seeking prosperity’ (Ml39a6). Yet cases of *ar chuingid* ‘for seeking’ in Wb24b14 and 24d7 suggest variation rather than case difference for the two spellings. As far as can be seen, DIL’s classification of *cuinged* as accusative rests on the attestation in Celtica iv, 24.312, where however *ar chuindched* is not construed as ‘for seeking’ by the editor, as suggested by DIL, but as possessive pronoun ‘our seeking’, with *cuindched* being a variant of the nominative. Thus evaluation of *cuinged* as accusative is not based on further parallels.

⁴² Likewise Ml 54a14, 76a5.

that the difference between dative and accusative was based on the distinction of motion versus rest in the present corpus.

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *ar* can generally be found to denote two different concepts. One is location in front of an entity such as in the already mentioned *ar chiuinn*. Here the central semantic component is spatial location [+ space] - typically but not invariably with the further meaning 'in front of' [+ front] as in

26) Ml 109d1: *ecal ar bás nó ar denum maith* 'fear of/before death or doing good'

Some further examples of spatial *ar* without direction are found in the context of the verb *ad:rimi* 'count as', where *ar* is used in the sense of English 'as, like':

27) Wb 13d17: *ní nádmha cid cumscugud donaib pecthaib ní áirmisom ón ar chumscugud ar is a bás i mbás do suidib [...]* 'Not that there will not be even a change for the sinners; but he (Paul) does not count that as change, for in their case it is out of death into death.'

28) Ml 129d19: [insultent licet illi et in contumeliam tuam* relictos putant] *ar melacht dait siu adrimetsom anisin* 'They count that as a reproach onto you.'

The fact that the appearance of these examples of *ar* in stative senses appears only in few examples after a restricted number of expressions in the Old Irish data indicates that we may be dealing with cases where the semantic content of the preposition is largely dictated by the noun or verb preceding it.

In the other cases we find not so much location as movement or orientation towards the direction of another entity [+ dir]. This category is prominent in the Glosses: *ar* in connection with the verbal noun may express consecutive meaning comparable to Latin *pro* '(in return) for, on account of' and can indeed be found translating it, e.g.:

29) Wb 10d20: *honorum dobertar ar precept soscéli* 'honorum which are given for teaching the Gospel'

30) Ml 19b2: [ut in uno atque eodem loco nunc pro absolutione* malorum refert gratias] *ara soirad són dinaib fochaidib* 'for his deliverance from the afflictions'

31) Ml 76a3: [cum dicitur de peccatore pro exaggeratione* quod tam corrupti deprauatique sint studiis ut nec tempore exortus sui] *ar indumugud inna pecthe ón* 'that is, for exaggeration of the sins.'

The semantics of indicating ‘directionality of an action’ towards a person or object are also represented by Latin *pro*, English *for* or German *zu* or *für*. The two uses with location and direction are related in the manner described by Bennet (1974: 53): in the case of a spatial preposition which can be used to express both location and movement along a path, location must be seen as one point along the pathway.

3. Further semantic components

Directedness of an action can also result in an expression of intention. This is exemplified in

32) Wb 10b14: *ni ar far nastud in ógi manip ar tháircud fochricce dúib* ‘it is not to detain you in celibacy unless it be for the purpose of preparing a reward for you.’

33) Wb 14c40: *is ar airchissecht dúibsi ni dechudsa cucuib statim* ‘it is for the sake of sparing you that I did not go to you *statim*.’

The ‘directionality of an action’ towards a person or object has intentional, prospective reference. The meaning is that of final clauses in the sense of ‘in order to’. This phenomenon has likewise been observed for Middle Welsh prepositions by Evans (GMW §205), who states that the expression of direction after a verb of motion may result in intention and purpose. Purpose could also be expressed by the conjunction related to the preposition *ar*, namely *ara n-* which can be derived from the preposition *ar* + relative *(s)a* (cf. Ó hUiginn 1998: 121-141.).

On the other hand, we also find *ar* where an action is not described as having a prospective or future intention, but is retrospective, indicating the reason why an action is carried out:

34) Ml 55a7: *ind feich .i. dlegair do neuch attlugud buide do dia ara soirad* ‘of the debt, i.e. everyone is bound to render thanks to God for his deliverance.’

This usage may be described as intentional in the past. As a past reason is given, the upshot is a causal statement [+ cause]. A further possibility is to view these retrospective uses as location in front of an event in the past, i.e. in front of the past event from the speaker’s view point. In that case causality would derive primarily from the temporal ordering of events as a later event can often be seen as caused by an earlier one. In later texts it can be observed that the uses in which *ar* is employed in the sense of ‘in order to’ decrease in number and those with the retrospective sense of ‘on account of’, ‘in return for’ or ‘against’ increase. The senses of remuneration and cause are particularly clear in the following examples:

35) TBF 299: *Asbiurtsa frie: ‘Cía lóg rom bia latt ara fagbáil?’* ‘He said to her: ‘What reward will I get from you for leaving it?’’

36) BP 286: *combad é pa breithem do Goí[d]elaib hi llathi bratha, & here in nónbuir chomthechtaigi di ór & argutt díá thabairt do Goídelaiab ar cretem.* ‘That he shall be judge to the Irish on the day of judgment and the load of the nine equal possessors (?) of gold and silver to be given to the Irish for believing.’

4. Conclusions

Overall it can be stated in relation to *ar* with verbal nouns in the Old Irish period that it centrally expresses location in front of an entity or direction towards an entity, as also indicated by English ‘for’ or ‘to’. This is closely related to denoting purpose. Purpose can be expressed by prospective reference, which is translatable as ‘in order to’. Purpose with retrospective reference may account for senses such as ‘against, in return for’. Alternatively these may be derived from location in relation to another entity.

In some cases, fewer for verbal nouns than for concrete nouns, location without directionality is expressed. Presumably this prototypically contains the component of situation in front of, although examples lacking the feature [front] can also be observed.

5. Examples:

Overall, there are 65 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 25.0 examples per 100,000 words.

1) location, no direction: a) ‘in front of’: Ml 109d1, 129d19,

b) indeterminate location: Wb 13d17

2) towards: (8 exx.) Wb 12d25, 20b10. Ml 76a5. Sg 106b20, 148a8, BP1153, CG 584, BC 27.

Wb 20b10: [tantum ne libertatem in occassionem carnis detis*] *ni dérsid for sóiri ar fognam* ‘ye should not desert your freedom for service’

3) purpose: a) prospective ‘in order to’ (28 exx.):

Wb 10b14, 13c9, 14c9, 14c40, 24b14, 18a15, 24d3, 24d7, 28b5, 31d12, Ml 19b2, 39a6, 39a12, 42c28, 44d18, 47b4, 54a5, 54a14, 54a16, 66b5, 73d12, 74b5, 87b20, 96b3, Sg 6b5, 8b11, 28a7, 38b1.

Wb 13c9: [Cotidie morior propter uestram gloriam, fratres*] *ar far táirciudsi in indocbáil* ‘for bringing you into glory.’

Ml 54a5: [sed ratione patientes et obidentes* simplicies] *ar denum tuile dæ ho menmain & huare as dlíged leu inna fochaidi do thabairt foraib tar æsi a pectha* ‘for doing the will of God from the mind, and because they deem it a law that the tribulations should be inflicted on them for their sin.’

b) retrospective: in a causal sense of ‘on account of’ (26 exx.):

Wb 2b26, 7d8, 10d20, 12c29, 14c12, 15d9, 16b16, 19d27, 23c24, 31d12. Ml 36a32, 36a34, 49b7, 55a7, 56b15, 73d12, 74b5, 83d9, 96b3, 93c2, 104c2, 113c8, Sg 148a8, BP 286, 1153. TBF 299.

Wb 12c29: *ni ar formut fribsi asbiursa inso ar ropad maith limsa labrad ilbelre dúibsi* ‘I say this not because of envy towards you for I should like you to speak many tongues.’

Ml 104c2: [Philistines arcé captiuitate percussis] *ar brith árcae in doiri* ‘for carrying the ark into captivity’

2.2.1.2 *for*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Old Irish preposition *for* has the basic sense of ‘on, upon’. It does not cause any mutation in Old Irish although later examples with lenition can be found (cf. GOI §838). It is used both with accusative and dative.

In the corpus material no clear distribution of these two cases is observable with verbal nouns. As with the preposition *ar* (cf. 2.2.1.1.1), the majority of examples are inconclusive as to dative or accusative. The accusative may be expected after a verb of motion and is formally obvious in the following example:

37) Wb 2a3: *Ni for torbe nimdibi tra dotéit som act is for molad iudeorum*
‘So that he touches not upon the profit of circumcision, but upon the praise of the Jews.’

Stative use of the verbal noun, on the other hand, should lead to use of the dative case with the preposition *for*. Clear evidence of this is provided by the following form:

38) Ml 44a18: [qui effigiunt tergum] *druim*, .i. *for techiud ria nnaimtib*
‘i.e. back, i.e. in flight before their enemies’

The verbal noun in this context is clearly marked as dative and could be explained as spatial location at an action as in German ‘auf der Flucht’. However, the following example which obviously has the same context and meaning, does not display *u*-colouring:

39) Ml 44a19: *amal bid nech tochorad a druim fria naimtea for teched remib is samlid insin rotachatar*. ‘as though it were one that turned his back to his enemies in flight before them, even so they fled.’

Thus we do not have unambiguous evidence of dative marking in all examples. Further variation can be found in the law text *Críth Gablach*, namely with the term ‘on sick-maintenance’ expressed by *for* plus verbal noun. In

this manuscript, however, we typically find a later spelling, which does not distinguish *u*-infection in the unstressed vowels:

40) CG 166 *A bíathad triur. Triur dó for folach* [MS]. ‘Refection for three. Three with him on sick-maintenance.’

41) CG 394: *Ochtar for foluch, fossugud ochtair*. ‘Eight on sick-maintenance, hospitality for eight.’

These examples indicate that in the same context no orthographic distinction was made between presence and absence of *u*-infection.

2. Central semantic components

This preposition expresses spatial location [+ space], describing an entity as stative [+ stat], typically expressing situation above [+ superior], and translatable as ‘on’ or ‘over’, as in *rí amrae ro boí for Laignib* ‘there was a splendid king over Leinster’ (*Fingal Rónáin* 1.1). This usage appears frequently in the present corpus:

42) CG 150: *Dí[i]s dó for folug, im[b] dó ala tráth*. ‘Two on sick-maintenance for him, butter for him every other day.’

43) CDM 39: “*Do gēn-so ēm*”, *oll se*, “*aurgairiu do mucc-so cona bat mēthi cia bet for mesrugud*”, “I will cause then”, said he, “the coursing of your pigs so that they shall not be fat though they be feeding on mast”.’

Due to the semantics of verbal nouns, however, the location on an entity typically results rather in ‘location or participation in’ than in ‘location on top of’.

3. Further semantic components

In addition to ‘location on or over’ an entity, the preposition is also used in contexts where motion onto or towards an entity is expressed. In this usage it contains the elements [+ dir] and [+ superior] and the accusative case seems to have been used originally, as in *Crap tine do dul forsin doa in dúni* ‘Crap tine went onto the rampart of the fort’ (*Orgain Denna Ríg*,⁴³ l. 398/9). A number of examples of preposition and verbal noun with verbs of motion likewise express the endpoint of a movement:

44) Arm 18a1.8: *Luid epscop Fith leo for longis*. ‘Bishop Fith went with them into exile.’

45) Ml 63c19: *du coid cách huainn a leth for assreud* ‘Each of us went apart in dispersal.’

⁴³ In: *Fingal Rónáin and other stories*, ed. Greene, D., Dublin 1955.

In examples containing verbs of motion, we also find expression of intention or purpose in relation to the motivation for the agent of the verb of motion. This observation has already been made regarding the expression of direction after verbs of motion in Middle Welsh by Evans (GMW §205), who points out that there is a close connection between ‘moving towards, making for’ and purpose or intention. This close relationship between intention and direction is also conveyed in the present corpus by the following examples, which also use *for* + verbal noun to complement verbs expressing directionality. These seem to express purpose [+ final]:

46) CDM 51: *Tét muccuith Buidb ... cona muccuib cóeluib leis for mesrugud hi tirib Connacht.* ‘Bodb’s swineherd goes with his thin swine with him to feed (them) upon mast in the lands of Connacht.’

47) BP 705: *Ro creit ... & ro boí Fortchern i[c] coitsecht frisín forcetul, co túlaid a máthair fora iarair.* ‘He believed ... and Fortchern was listening to the teaching till his mother came to search for him.’

An interesting idiom is found with the verb *gabid* ‘takes’ and *for* in the sense of ‘starts to’. This usage is confined in the corpus to the ‘H’ scribe in *Lebor na hUidre* and is also found in the *Book of Leinster*, where the Middle Irish conflation of *for* and *ar* has already taken place:

48) LU (H) 6197: *... o ro gab cach díb for truastad a chéili focheird ind escongón tri ol im cossa Con Culaind.* ‘when each began to belabour the other, the eel twined itself in three coils round Cú Chulainn’s feet.’

49) LL 4683: *And sain ro gabsat fir Hérend fós bar slaide & bar slechtad, for tochtad & for time, far airlech & for essargain araile [fri] ré cían.* ‘Then the men of Ireland again began to strike and smite, to hew and cut, to slay and slaughter the others for a long time.’

50) LL1411: *Ocus ra gab Medb ar acallaim Fergusá & dorigni laid.* ‘And Medb began to speak to Fergus and made the lay.’

In *LL* we also find the use of the verb *fo:fúabair* + *for* to denote ingressive action:

51) LL1431: *Ocus forfópart Medb for acallaim Con Culaind & dorigni laid.* ‘And Medb started addressing Cú Culaind and she made a lay.’

Gaibid for is the more frequent phrase, with *fo:fúabair* seemingly used more by the *LL-Táin* scribe without any appreciable difference in meaning.

A further modification of the central component of ‘location on’ is the expression of stative location ‘at’ an entity [+ contact]:

52) Wb 15d9: *excedere no non cogitare tola et accobra in betha act cach*

la sel dúin for imrádud dé in sel aile for precept ar seirc dæ dogniam cechtarde ‘*Exedere or non cogitare* the wishes and desires of the world, but that we should be at one time meditating on God, at another time preaching. It is for the love of God that we do each of these.’

53) Ml 35d17: *nibi indumaichthiu .i. nibi chondumu do degnímaib for nephdenum ind uilc* ‘It is not more augmentedly, i.e. there is not a co-augmentation (?) of good deeds in not doing evil.’

In these cases we find a considerable degree of semantic overlap with the Old Irish preposition *oc* ‘at’.

4. Conclusions

The preposition *for* can express two related central concepts, namely location above an entity or movement onto that entity. The latter usage can lead to intentional meanings, which are also well represented in the corpus. The former is connected to the expression of location, which is often less clearly ‘above’ an entity than just in its proximity. Further discussion of the relationship between spatial prepositions with verbal nouns and action in progress can be found in the treatment of the preposition *oc* ‘at’ (2.2.2.1).

5. Examples

1. Old Irish usage

There are 40 Old Irish examples, which corresponds to 32.5 examples per 100,000 Old Irish words.

a) location ‘on’ (18 exx.): Wb 13b28, 25b11, Ml 24d30, 44a18, 44a19, 88b14, CG 118, 150, 166, 204, 269, 351, 380, 394, 437, 455, 489. CDM 39.

Ml 44a19: *amal bid nech tochorad a druim fria naimtea for teched remib* ‘As though it were one that turned his back to his enemies in flight before them.’

Ml 88b14: [quinam* mala loquuti sunt mihi] *is for tórmach anam hisiu .i. quinam* ‘The *nam* here is in emphasis, i.e. *quinam*.’

b) movement towards + intention (19 exx.): Wb 2a3, Ml 54b12, 63c14, 63c19, BCr §11, 17, 26, 29, 37, Arm. 18a1.8, BP 705, 1440, 1443, CG 63, 128, 165, CDM 27, 32, 51.

Ml 54b12: [conspectum hominem ferre non possit*] *.i. tiagat for teiched* ‘let them go in flight’

CG 63: *Téit & a máthair for folog* ‘he goes on sick-maintenance with his mother.’

c) extensions of location ‘on, near’: Wb 15d9, Ml 26d12, 35d17.

Ml 26d12: *nícon bia cumscugud for pianad bithsuthin inna ní ingrennat inna firianu · ciasu erchride a ningraim & for soirad inna firian dinaib fochaidib fodaimet* ‘there will be no change in the everlasting punishment of those that persecute the righteous, though their persecution is transitory, and in the deliverance of the righteous from the tribulations that they endure’

MI 35d17: [neque enim perfecta uirtus est tantum uitiis non fedari et nullis uitae insignibus cumulatus* (uel cumulari)] & *nibi indumaichthiu .i. nibi chondumu do degnímaib for nephdenum ind uile* ‘it is not more augmentedly, i.e. there is not a co-augmentation (?) of good deeds in not doing evil’

2. Middle Irish usage

The Old Irish prepositions *ar* and *for* fell together phonetically in Middle Irish. They ceased to be distinguished graphically and both *ar* and *for* and other spellings such as *bar*, are found (cf. McCone 2005: 190). The semantic features of the original prepositions are maintained and, as now both prepositions have been discussed, the Middle Irish examples are presented here with an indication of their Old Irish precursors. Some of the Middle Irish examples still indicate a lack of lenition which may be traced back to the Old Irish preposition *for*.

There are 30 examples in the Middle Irish sections of the corpus, corresponding to 22.0 examples per 100,000 words of Middle Irish text.

1) Original *ar* senses (14 exx.):

a) Remuneration: LU 5721, 6002, LL 3175, AMCG 636, TTr2, 356, 704, 706.

LU 5721: *Rot bía Findabair or Medb ar dul ar cend ind fir uccut.* “You shall get Findabair”, said Medb, “as a reward for encountering yonder man.”

b) Causal: LU 5410, TTr2,335, TTr1, 14, 516, PCH 3029.

TTr1, 14: *Dorone Media [iar sin] gnim cuillech uathmar escon .i. marbad a maic ar seirc & inmone ind oclaigh rochoemh...* ‘Then Medea did a terrible cruel deed, namely the killing of her son for the love and adoration of the very beautiful warrior.’

LU 5410: *amal dondruiminso or Cuillius is amlaid fosfairneca hi comlepaid. Is dethbir disi or Ailill is ar chobair ocon Táin dorigni.* “As you thought,” said Cuillius, “I found them both lying together.” “She is right”, said Ailill, “she did it to help in the cattle-driving.”

c) Final/consequence: LL 454, 989

LL 454: *‘Mairgg théit ón ám,’ ar Sualtaim, ‘& Ulaid do lécad fo chossaib a nnámat & a n-echtrand ar thecht i comdáil nóenmná.* “Woe to him who goes thus”, said Sualtaim, “and leaves the Ulstermen to be trampled underfoot by their enemies and by outlanders for the sake of going to a tryst with any woman.”

2) original *for* senses (16exx.):

a) *teit* + *ar*: LU 4965, LL 808-9, TTr1, 1097.

TTr1, 1097: *Ni fetatar cindus noregadáis ar a marbad* ‘They did not know how to go about his killing.’

b) location ‘on, upon’: LL 44, 1003, LL 1072, TTr1, 393, TTr2, 523, 534, 815.

LL 44: *dáig fer ar tincur mná atatchomnaic*. ‘For you are a man dependant on a woman’s marriage-portion.’

TTr1, 523: ... *rotochuireadh do a brathair Agmemnon & atchuaigh do Helinn .i. do breith do Alexander, do mac righ na Troiana ar aithedh & ar elodh*. ‘He summoned to him his brother Agamemnon and told him about Helen, namely her carrying off by Alexander, the son of the king of Trojans, on elopement and flight’

c) gabid + ar: LL 1280, 1411, 1624.

LL 1624: *Luid Etarcumul ar cúlu & ro gab ar chomrád fria araid*. ‘Etarcumul went back and started to converse with his charioteer.’

d) Purpose: LU 5410, LL 449, 2745.

LL 2745: *Ní rucus for teched traig ar apa chomlund óenfir*. ‘I never retreated a step to avoid encounter with a single opponent. (Stowe 2769: *ní rucus ar techedh traigh ar aba comluinn aoinfhir*.)

2.2.1 *Oc, i n-* and *la*

2.2.2.1 *Oc*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *oc* is followed by the dative and causes no mutation. It can be translated into English as ‘at’ and may be connected to the conjunction *ocuis/ocus* ‘and’ (cf. Thurneysen, GOI §878).

2. Central semantic components

The basic meaning of the preposition *oc* ‘at’ is that of spatial proximity [+space] and [+prox]. As such it is stative [+stat] as can be observed in examples like *Dolluid Cu Chulaind ... co mboí oc Áth Grena* ‘Cu Chulainn went till he was at Ath Grena.’ (LU 4795). This spatial proximity can also be viewed as location at a place of action:

54) Bbr §23: *Acht dlegair donaib críchaib seo na rré sorche fo-cerdad in beich saithe ara mbé fer úaidib occa n-imchomét arna érlat a saithi*; ‘But it is required of these lands at any period of brightness in which the bees put out a swarm that there should be a man from them guarding them (the bees) [lit: ‘at their guarding’] so that their swarms cannot escape.’

55) CG 308: *nach sal asléna ainech duini biit a trí ocá díunuch .i. slíg & uisce & anart*. ‘Any dirt, which defiles a man’s face, there are the three (things) at its cleansing: soap, water, linen.’

Given the verbs involved here, these two early examples of *oc* + verbal noun seem to me to be less likely to express active participation of the agent in a durative action. Rather, spatial location seems to be an important factor here.

The arguably even earlier Cambray Homile, however, seems to offer both possible senses:

56) CH 38a, 19-15: *issí in dercmartre dó [...] amail tondeccomnuccuir dundaib abstolaib oc ingrimim inna clóen ocuis oc forcetul recto Dée* ‘This is the red maryrdom to him, ... as has happened to the apostles in/at the persecution of the wicked and in/at teaching the law of God.’

Overall, the earlier examples mainly indicate the usage of the preposition *oc* as an indicator of proximity of an agent to an action.

3. Further semantic components

In further Old and Middle Irish texts, location at an action can be understood as action in progress:

57) MI 122c2: *dede huangaibter in discipuil oc eitsecht inna preceptorae...* ‘There are two things by which the disciples are taken while listening to the teachers [m.t].’

58) BB 207: *Ro-llassat immach a lloeg oc tuidecd tresin fidbuith.* ‘They had lost their calf while coming through the wood [m.t].’

These examples express the temporal proximity [+ temp, + prox] of two events, the two actions being understood as simultaneous [+ simul]. In the case of verbal nouns of durative verbs, the action is understood as ongoing over a period of time, as in examples 57), MI 122c2 and 58), BB 207. Where the verbs are semantically punctual, the action can be interpreted as iterative or habitual (MI 21c3, Sg 7b11):

59) MI 21c3: *.i. huare as failith in menmae isin matin oc ærgiu iar foscaigiu inna aithche* ‘For the mind is glad in the morning when rising after the night has left.’

60) Sg 7b11: [placitum a Victore quoque in arte grammatica in syllabis* comprobatur] *sáer oc suidigud sillab* ‘an artist in putting syllables’

With forms of *attá* progressive periphrasis can be expressed. The action is understood as ongoing at the point of reference:

61) BB 142: *Fa – ricfa[e] in les n-oibela & biaid in ingen oc folcad chinn a athar.* ‘You will find the enclosure wide open and the maiden will be washing her father's head.’

62) MI 58c6: *tiagsa [co]tall a chenn dind aithiuch labar fil oc du dibirciud su & oc du chaned.* ‘I will go to take his head off the proud vassal who is pelting thee and reviling thee.’

Examples of these can be found with main verbs in the present tense (11), preterite (25), perfect/*ro*-preterite (21), future (4), habitual present (4), imperfect (4), present- and past subjunctive (3/2). Semantically, some examples with punctual verbs express iterativity, and also intensity:

- 63) BP 821: *Baí immurgo Ciaran oca iarfaigid do Patraic cáit i ggebad.*
 ‘Ciaran, however, was asking Patrick what place he should settle in.’
 64) BP 1155: *Táinic Caplait co rabi ic coí fri Patric, [...].* ‘Caplait came till he was making an outcry against Patrick.’

For more detailed discussions of these distributions see Ó Corráin (1997) and Ronan (2003).

Examples of the combination of *oc* + verbal noun are often found in temporal clauses, such as with conjunctions like *céin* or *in tan*, or with temporal adverbials:

- 65) BP 308: *Et in tan ro mbóth ic airlégunn in[n]a grád ‘musfrícartar na tri classa....* ‘And when the orders were being recited, the three classes mutually responded...’
 66) BB 263: *Ata .vii. laa eter di Chaisc oc precept & oc oifriund dún.* ‘He Has been seven days between the two Easters preaching and saying mass to us.’

As these temporal conjunctions and adverbials express duration, their co-occurrence with *oc* + verbal noun underlines the durative aspect of the construction. Furthermore, a number of examples in the Glosses are found in relative clauses:

- 67) Wb 8b1: *.i. comadas lobre et immomon forsin mug céin mbíis oc fognam dia choimdid.* ‘i.e. meet (is) weakness and great fear on the slave so long as he is serving his master.’
 68) Wb 9c27: [... neque maledici*,...] *.i. qui aliis maledicunt .i. áis bíis oc irchollud* ‘folk who are reviling.’

As relative clauses generally add further specific information, especially temporal relative clauses could be argued to place a certain emphasis on the temporal or aspectual component described in them.

In addition to the construction being used in main and temporal clauses some further structures can be observed. In some cases a local element intervenes between the substantive verb and *oc* + VN:

- 69) BP 2444: *Día mboí Pátraic hi crích na nDéisi oc idnuidiu rí in tíre .i. Fírgair macc Rossa, asbert Patraic fris íarna tíchtain: ...* ‘When Patrick was in the land of the Déise awaiting the king of the land,

Fírgair macc Rossa, Patrick said to him after his coming:’

In these cases *oc* + VN cannot be seen as complementing the inflected verb directly. It rather functions like an additional adverbial clause of manner. These structures are often described as ‘subplots’ (e.g. by Mittendorf and Poppe 2000). Further, in some examples we find *oc* and verbal noun in non-finite adjuncts:

70) BB20: *Conda-acca[e] inna crois-[[f]igil (hi) hi ligiu os si oc irnaigaidhi.* ‘He saw her lying in a cross-vigil and she [was] praying.’

71) BP2182: *Is and sein ro ráidi Pátraic frisin mnaí fuine, & sí oc tergorud a maicc;* ‘Then Patrick addressed the cook, and she/ who [was] cherishing her son.’

Parallel non-finite clauses also exist in the other members of the Celtic language family (see Ronan, 2002). Furthermore, in the Glosses in particular we find examples of *oc* + VN as the cleft element in cleft sentences:

72) Wb 21b19: *is oc precept soscéli attó* ‘It is teaching the Gospel that I am.’

73) Ml 55c19: *cid in tan nombíth inna ligiu ba oc imradud chloine nobíth* ‘Even when he used to be in his bed he used to be meditating iniquity.’

This type may serve to add syntactic emphasis to the verbal noun phrase. As seen above, our earliest examples of *oc* and verbal noun do not show periphrastic progressive constructions, but exclusively denote location. These may have provided a starting point for periphrastic progressive constructions in examples where both a location and an action may be understood:

74) ACon§4: *Intan bátar na ónmite ’co cluchiu do inchind Me[i]sgegra, issed atbert ind ónmit fri araile.* ‘While the jesters where at their game/playing with the brain of Mesgegra, this is what one jester said to the other.’

The evolution of progressive periphrasis with verbal noun constructions can be clarified by grammaticalisation theory. Explaining the development of progressives from spatial constructions in opposition to unmarked presents, Bybee et al. (1994: 25, 133-7.) use a “time is space” metaphor. They argue for a grammaticalisation path, in which a construction first denotes a person placed at a location or activity. In further development the space component erodes and the image of a person involved in an activity remains because physical location must also imply a temporal one. They would therefore predict that the earliest examples of this type to be found in any language should consist of actions possible only at certain locations (e.g. ‘fishing’,

‘bathing’) which then grammaticalize to verbs implying non-specific location and finally actions without any spatial elements at all.

4. Conclusions

Oc centrally expresses proximity. With verbal nouns this shifts to participation in an action. Historically the noun and the preposition probably denoted the location of an agent at an action and then came to express action in progress. Depending on the semantics of the verbal noun, the ongoing action will be understood as iterative-intensive or progressive. In Irish the periphrastically constructed form is less under pressure to denote habituality, as this is expressed synthetically by the habitual present or imperfect forms particularly of the substantive verb. And indeed, habitual aspect marking on the inflected verb and *oc* + verbal noun co-occur not infrequently. The syntagm of *oc* + verbal noun can be used together with the substantive verb, creating periphrastic tenses. A further prominent feature is the use of *oc* + VN in non-finite adjunct clauses.

5. Examples

Overall, there are 578 examples, this corresponds to 222.9 examples per 100,000 words.

a) With VS (245 examples): 1) Progressive (146 exx): Wb 10d17, 13a14, 14a30, 15a20, 16d2, 16d8, 20a3, 21c19, 26d17, 28a9, 29b18, 29d6, 30c17. Ml 15a4, 33a9, 53a17, 53b15, 54c17 55c19, 58c6, 60c4, 65b10, 86d19, 100b15, 102b7, 100c21, 112b20, 115d14, 131c8. Sg 148a15, 213b4. AConB§4. TBF 89, 104, 119, 360. BB 10, 142, 263, 342, 390, 411. BP 87, 204, 308, 705, 805, 806, 827, 1014, 1431, 1453, 1694, 1917, 1940, 2117, 2297, 2311, 2375, 2381, 2587, 2617, 2613, 2650, 2788, 2869, 3005, 3008. LU 4887, 5319, 5579, 5633, 5975, LUH 6187, LL 426-7, 755, 790, 852, 867, 968, 996, 1221, 1226, 1551, 1844, 1991, 2000, 2002, 2104, 2521, 2589, 2734, 3185, 3879, 4006, 4030, 4794, 4911, AMCG 99, 336, 511, 544, 572, 581-2, 682, TTr2, 234, 358, 364, 458, 752, 892, 895, 1223, 1265, 1465, 1503, 1797, 2027-8, 2095, 2107, 2121, 2123, 2165, 2186, 2244, TTr1, 222, 344, 940, 944, 1075, 1086, SA 489a5, 491b12, 491b16, 491b49, 492a17, 492b40, 494b11, PCH 2886, 2970, 3076, 3301, 3321, 3372, 3382, PPA 2513.

Wb 9c27: [... neque maledici*,...]i. qui aliis maledicunt .i. *áis blís oc irchollud* ‘folk who are reviling.’

Ml 102b7: *huandlud blís oc coscrad mur* ‘by the battering ram which is wont to be demolishing walls.’

2) Subpredicate (31 exx.): Wb 5a25, Ml 18b4. BP 982, 1095, 2051, 2444. LU 4692, 5727, 6418, 6714, LL 939, 1305, 1576, 1784, 2238, 4023-4, AMCG 603, 647, TTr2, 615, 624, 1071, 2264(LL2), TTr1, 92, 957, SA 489a8, 493a86, 494a30, 500b44, PCH 2584, PPA 2484, 2388.

Wb 5a25: *nifil nech and occ tadrad so acht meisse móinur* ‘There is no one therein worshipping Thee save me alone.’

BP 1095: *Día mboí Pátraic oc Dumu Graid ic ordned int shlúraig móir, fóaitbi.* ‘When Patrick was at Duma Graid ordaining the great host, he smiled.’

3) Nominal/Location (8 exx.): Wb 9c11? MI 94b18. ACon §4. LU 4628, 4629, SA 492b2, 494b12, 494b47-8.

MI 94b18: [neque qui primi* hominum solem uident] *áis fil oc turcbail grene* ‘people who are at the rising of the sun [m.t.]’

4) Iterative (42 exx.): Wb 23d25, BP 440, 821, 1155, LU 5008, 6689, LUH 5967, LL 398, 2636, 2737, 2804, 3032, 3223, 3361, 3385, 3439, 3555, 3743, 3866, 3874, 4272, 4597, 4601, AMCG 669, TTr2, 56, 339, 1060, 2102, SA 495a50, PCH 2669, 2690, 2752, 2761, 2768, 2769, 3142, 3162, 3327, 3341, 3350-1.

PCH 2669: *ar ata drong da bar cined fén oca-bar n-aithceód & oc a ráda co n-id mac lánomna pósta Ísu.* ‘For there are people of your own race contradicting you and saying that Jesus is the son of a married couple’

b) No VS (335 exx.): 1) time frame (71 exx.):

Wb11a19, MI 58c4, 74b13, 79a2-3, 122c2, Sg50b17, Bbr§28, TBF 178, 248, 299, 303, 380. BB 207. BP 34, 298, 924, 1237, 1318, 2041, 2281, 2370, 2726, 2728, 2729. LU 4949, 4984, 5224, 5249, 5255, 5257, 5317, 5569-70, 5575, 6089, 6246, 6280, 6472-3, LL 576, 595, 1228, 1261, 1662, 1842, 2282, 2488, 3939, 4665, 4781, 4833, AMCG 163, 606, 709, 1096, 1106, 1238, TTr2, 562, 575, 963, 639, 1320, 1458, 1646, TTr1,155, 918, 953, 1080, SA 487a20, 489b50, 492a38, 498a27, 494a45.

Bbr §28: *Étechteae doib dano cip é in-ruirset oc dul seccu íarna chonair di neoch na déni olcc na annrecht friu.* ‘It is wrong for them, however, whatever they might attack going past them on his way who is doing them no harm or illegality.’

2) Progress (142 exx.): Wb 1c18, 7b12, 7b19, 7c6, 10d32, 15a18, 16d1, 23d6, 24a36, 24c13, 26b7, 27c31, 27d5, 28d10, 31c5, 31d21, 32d1. MI 2b12, 22a5, 26d6, 36d1, 54c30, 73a12, 73b16, 81a1, 82c8 (rel.), 86a1, 92a3, 107d10, 115a2, 118c9. Sg 4b7, Tur. 85. IB §61, CM 47:14, CG 539, 546. BB 20, 116, 206, App. 26, App. 71. CDM 72, 90. BP 57, 134, 421, 770, 779, 1404, 1701, 1831, 2163, 2182, 2195, 3013, 3015. TBF 338. LU 4489, 4504, 4858, 4859, 4860, 5037, 5189, 5249, 5255, 5600, 6235, 6339-40, 6463, LL 9, 173, 191, 198-9, 310, 572, 743(2x), 1180, 2162, 2514, 2546, 2615, 3346, 3896-7, 3945, 3984, 3988, 4180, 4188, 4204, 4207, 4255, 4271, AMCG 136, 140, 470, 718-9, 765-6, 1100, 1345, TTr2,130-5, 136-140, 420, 468, 1490, 1512, 1597, 1857, 1924, 1985, 1992, 2012, 2147-8, 2229, TTr1, 43, 446, 936, 1035, 1048-9, SA 489b7, 490b32, 491a3-4, 491b11, 492a32, 493a44, 493b46, 494b18, 495a47, 495b21, 497b8, 500b46, PCH 2613, 2614, 2615, 2623, 2911, 2965, 2968, 3307, 3351.

Wb 7c6: *oc precept soscéli* ‘in preaching (the) Gospel.’

BP 57: *Int shoillsi atconcatar .i. soillsi Crist & na n-apstal ic praicept soscéla in sin.* ‘The light which they saw, i.e. the light of Christ & the apostles preaching the Gospel there.’

3) Presence (107 exx.): Wb 14c42, 14d27, 14d30, 15a18, 15c25, 16a12, 16a15, 16c5, 16c25, 16c26, 19d20, 20c362, 24d11, 26b14, 26c2, 27a8, 28d16, 30b29, 30c13, 31c22, Ml 21c3, 37c15, 38d18, 44b4, 82d11, 85a4, 92c5, 103b4, 103d27, 111b17, 120d5, 129d13-14, 137b7, 138a2. Sg 148a3, 209b28, CB 18c2, 33a10, VB 21. CH 38a14-15 Sg inc. Thes 249,10. SM 65b§16, Bbr. §7, §8. AC 72, CCC §1, 5, CM 51:19, CG 560. CDM 145, BP 115, 770, 1466, 2728, 2729, 2911, 2959, 2961, 2963, 3013, 3015. LU 4982, 5653, 5819-20, 5821, 6463, LL 1329, 1359, 1479, 1605, 1608, 2129, 2517, 4489, 4590, 4598, 4666, AMCG 602, 604, 682, 779, 1181, 1211, TTr2, 233, 291, 563, 604, 1281, 1343, TTr1, 500, SA 491b22, 491b24, 491b26, 494a12, 494b9, 495a3, 495a6, 495a18, 495b1, 499b29, PCH 2829, 2989, 3126, 3267, 3270, 3373, 3375.

BP 2728: *Is degbriathar leis-som, ol Dáire, graticum ocá edbairt dó* ‘“this is a good expression of his, "said Dáire, "graticum at his offering to him.”’

4) non-conforming examples: Wb19d20, 26b7, ML 92a4.

Wb 19d20: *forrodamar oc precept dúib ab incredulis uestris* ‘which we have endured in preaching to you ab incredulis vestris.’

Wb 26b7: *corogbaid desemrecht di crist amal rombo ainmnetach oc fulung fochide no combad ainmn(etich) oc indn(idiu) laithi (brá)th(a)* ‘so that ye may take example from Christ as he was patient suffering tribulations or so that you should be patient awaiting Doomsday.’

Ml 92a4: [Tenuisti usque me. prosequator pariter ac praeuius* [...]terram quamquam desperaueram, me intrare fecisti] *rium oc mo fortacht dumthabairt imthir són* ‘before me helping me. To bring me into my land.’

5) Punctual quasi-participle (22 exx.): Ml 19d1, 19d5, 74a11, 114a14, Ml121d16, 181a8, Tur 102, BP 886, 1886, 2019, TBF 53, CDM 135. AMCG 262, TTr2, 189, 1383, 1412, 1650, TTr1, 121, 331, SA 497a34, 496b3.

Ml114a4: [pronuntiat "tuum" quia grandis uis est in pronomibus*] *oc engracugud ón .i. combít tar aesi* ‘in taking the place of, i.e. so that they are after.’

2.2.2.2 In-

1. Grammatical considerations

The Old Irish preposition *i* ‘in’ nasalizes and can be used with either the accusative or the dative (GOI §842). This depends on whether originally motion was implied (‘into’) or not (stative ‘in’). A verbal noun used with this preposition does not express its subject with the prepositions *do* or *o*, but leaves this to be inferred from the context as in *co:rronertam-ni cách hi foditin fochide* ‘so that we may strengthen everyone in suffering tribulations’ (Wb 14b13). Alternatively, particularly with stative verbs, the subject may

also be expressed as possessive pronoun as *in tan nombíth inna ligiu* ‘when he is lying down’ (MI 55c19).

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *i n-* can denote location within a concrete entity [+ spatial, + stative, + inclus], as in *ocht n-imdai isin tig cona n-ógthinchur...* ‘eight couches in the house with their full equipment’ (CG 402) or also less concrete terms ... *nach grád bis i n-eclais is coir cia beith a [a]urlann i túaith* ‘every grade which is in church, it is fitting that its equivalent be in the túaith’ (CG 7-8). *I n-* is also used to express a path into an entity [+ spatial, + direction, + introduction] as in *lotar uili isa cluichemag iarum* ‘they all went into the playing-field then’ (LU 4900) or in the case of an abstract noun *atnaig tar fót crúach i n-ardnemed di[a] díte...* ‘He leads him over bloody ground into a high sanctuary for his defence.’ (CG 53-4). The location inside an abstract concept can also be applied to verbal nouns:

75) Wb 27c24: [In sapientia ambulate* ad eos qui foris sunt, tempus redimentes] *i pricept na rrún diade doib et ina nebthórtrommad do chuingid neich cuccu* ‘In the teaching of the divine mysteries to them and in not pestering them by asking aught of them.’

The agent of the action can be understood as being located inside the situation. Gagnepain (1963: 65-6) suggested in his earlier treatment that various examples in the Glosses are calques on the Latin base text.

76) Wb 13d1: [Seminatur in corruptione* surget in incorruptione] *.i. i llobad et leged* ‘in decaying and dissolving’

77) Wb 5d9: [Siue ministerium in ministrando* siue qui docet in doctrina] *bad i⁴⁴ timthirect .i. in obidentia do chách* ‘Let it be in ministry, that is, in *obidentia* to every one.’

78) Wb 5d10 [Siue ministerium in ministrando siue qui docet in doctrina*] ... *nó precept do chách .i. hominibus post bapitisma .i. bad hi forcitul .i. achomalnad condib desimrecht do chách* ‘or preaching to every one, i.e. *hominibus post bapitisma*, ‘i.e. let it be in teaching that is, i.e. fulfilling it so that he may be an example to every one.’

The fact that in both languages the use of the preposition ‘in’ with abstractions is possible does not necessarily mean that one is calqued on the other as the use with both concrete and abstract nouns appears to be a common phenomenon in many languages. In addition to Irish and Latin we also find

⁴⁴ The *sineadh fada* on the *i* as indicated by the editors of the Thesaurus suggests that the *i* could be the pronoun ‘this’. Both the base text, however, and the continuation of the gloss suggest that this is in fact a case of the preposition *i n-*.

examples like German *Das Flugzeug ist im Anflug* or French *En tournant il s'est trompé*.

Gagnepain (1963: 65) has also observed that *i n-* is often used like *oc* in progressive periphrasis but makes the interesting observation that the former differs from the latter in rather giving additional information on how the action is carried out⁴⁵. These phrases specify further co-occurring circumstances [+ simultaneous] and function like an adverbial of manner added to the verb.

79) Ml 34a23-24: [in memores* eorum uituperatio dirigitur] *isna foraitmitechtu .i. indí foraitmenatar assaru hi comdenum pectha friu* [...] ‘to the mindful, i.e. those who call to mind the Assyrians in doing sin equally with them.’

80) Wb 13a24 [Si quis autem ignorat, ignorabitur*] *.i. a deo i tindnacul raith* ‘a Deo in bestowal of grace’

81) AMCG513: *Atát noí ngráid nime, im hirophin & sarophin, i frestul m'anma*. ‘The nine orders of Heaven, with Cherubim and Seraphim, are awaiting my soul.’

Where the case of the verbal noun can be determined in the Old Irish examples, as in Ml 34a23 above, this group of manner and attendant circumstances adverbial seems to have been used mainly with verbal nouns in the dative case.

Particularly outside the Glosses we find *i + VN* used largely to denote states with intransitive verbs (cf. Gagnepain 1963: 66). Often the prepositional construction predicates the substantive verb:

82) BP 2657: *Asbert Pátraic fri Echuich maicc Muiredaig ...is i scoiliud & i n-esrédiud no biad a chenel [...]*. ‘Patrick said to Echaig Macc Muiredach that his race would be scattered and in dispersion.’

83) Sg 2a7: *...bith má de do buith daitsiu hi coimthecht oco* ‘it will be the greater from you being in association with it [m.t.]’

These stative examples are likewise constructed with dative verbal nouns. In the narrative texts in the corpus certain verbs are used especially frequently in stative situations, with the subject typically expressed by a possessive pronoun. These are *cotlud* (11 exx.), *comaitecht* (4), *ligu* (3), *suide* (2), together with the compounds *comsuide*, *suidigud*, *imsuidi* (1 each), *ergabal*, *frithguin*, *íarmoracht* (2 each). Further single examples of stative expressions include: *edbart*, *tochmairc*, *fortacht*, *críthnugud*, *frestul*, *imforgab*, *forcipul*, *comruc*, *legius*, *ruathar*, *ceim*, *dilgud*, *orgairecht*, *coimét*,

⁴⁵ “Si *oc*, in effet, exprime l’accompagnement, *i n-*, lui, exprime l’information, la façon dont une activité ou une qualité s’actualisent” (1963 : 65).

incosc, cosnam, fognam, forcetal, comorcain. Further, the abstract nouns *cess* (6 exx.) *bethaid* (1 ex.) are found in this context. Gagnepain (ibid., 66-7) observes that, in contrast to constructions involving *i n-* and transitive verbs, in these cases a subjective genitive is possible. These constructions typically express stative events which last a certain period of time:

84) Wb 13a12: *ma beid ní di rúnaib dothéi ar menmuin ind fir bíis inna suidiu et adreig* ‘if aught of the mysteries should come into the mind of the man who is sitting, and he rises.’

85) LL2189: *dobertsat teora catha dona sluagaib ri hed na tri laa & na tri n-aidche i tai-siu it chotlud innoisa*. ‘They waged three battles on the host during the three days and three nights during which you were asleep up to now.’

86) LU4532: *Ní fír són ém ol Médb. Ar atá Conchobor ina chess i nEmain & hUlaid imbi co neoch as dech a n-ócc*. ‘“That is not so,” said Medb, “for Conchobor lies in his debility in Emain together with the Ulster and all the best of their warriors.”’

Here a non-permanent state is denoted by an intransitive verb with a possessive pronoun. Syntactically the verbal noun phrase predicates the main verb; apart from the substantive verb, these are most frequently verbs of movement. That accusative case was used in the latter case is most clearly illustrated by a plural noun form in *conna dechsam in adradu idal* ‘that we may not pass into the adoration of idols’ (Ml 62d1). Syntactically, the prepositional constructions function as necessary complements to the verb:

87) Ml 90c17: *bec nachamralae i nderchóiniud* ‘I have almost fallen into despair.’

88) LL2730: *‘Attear ar cobias,’ bar Cú Chulaind, ‘ní ’na dáil dúthracmar ar cara do thuidecht.* ‘“By my conscience,” said Cú Chulainn, “it is not to encounter him we wish any friend of ours to come.”’

Uses of the preposition in temporal contexts are also observable, either with nouns denoting time, or in prepositional phrases involving *dead* as in *i ndead innanísín* ‘after these’ (Sg 1a5, cf DIL *i*). *Dead* is derived from a verbal noun itself: DIL (*dead*) bases it on *fedid* ‘leads’ with the preverb *de-*, ‘lead out’. An early forerunner of perfect periphrasis seems to be the following:

89) Ml 62b1: *ind foisitiu du thabairt i ndiad ind escumluda hi tempul* ‘in putting the confession after the going forth into the Temple’

Here *i ndiad* is used for the temporal ordering of two actions. Later it became possible to express temporal ordering of two actions by means of the

preposition plus a verbal noun, i.e. to predicate the second action not to a previous action but to the substantive verb.

90) *Bhí sé anseo i ndéidh domhsa imeacht.* ‘He was here after I went.’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 283)

According to Ó Siadhail (1989:282-3) there is a certain amount of dialectal variation for this structure: Munster and Conamara typically employ a different structure, namely *tar éis* or *th’éis* respectively, Donegal prefers to use *i ndéidh*. In addition to these structures functioning as temporal adverbial phrases, the modern language has also developed temporal periphrastic constructions involving the verb ‘to be’ with these prepositions and the verbal noun:

91) *Tá mé i ndéidh leabhar a léamh.* ‘I have read a book.’ (ibid., 297)

These types typically express the result of the preceding action. In Modern Irish it is therefore termed a perfect (Greene 1979), and Ó Corráin (2007) traces its development, particularly during the Early Middle Irish period. No examples of this are found in the Old or Middle Irish material from the corpus here.

3. Further semantic components

In addition to the stative cases discussed above, we find examples that seem to indicate further contexts:

92) CG 211: *Cóic séoit i n-osoilggud a thige díchmairc, bó i ndéicsin [n]-ind.* ‘Five sêts for opening his house unauthorized, a cow for looking into it.’

93) CG 217: *lethlóg [n-]enech cach gráid túaithe i ngait nádbi aí asa airtlisi...* ‘Half his honour price for every rank for stealing anything which is not out of his yard.’

In these examples the *sét* or the *lóg n-enech* is not only conceptualised as being inside the prepositional phrase, but a relationship directed towards, or in return for, this further entity is also implied [+ direction]. Whether the original case form of the verbal noun was accusative or dative cannot be determined on the basis of the earlier examples from *Bechbretha* and *Críth Gablach*, but it seems likely to have been accusative as in the case of *ar* ‘on account of’. In this context *i n-* may also resemble some uses of the preposition *fri*

94) Bbr §16: *Atá amser inid comdíri tairdbe cach fedo fria bunep; atá ind amser aile ní áili acht trian ndíri ina thairdbe.* ‘There is a time in

which the lopping of every tree has an equal penalty to the cutting of its trunk. There is another time which entails only a third of the fine for its lopping.'

In this example the goal or endpoint of the direction [+ limit] is indicated. Examples of this usage are centred on legal language and narrative texts in the corpus provide no examples. Furthermore, the text *Críth Gablach* provides an example of a verbal noun of a transitive verb used after a possessive pronoun:

95) CG 111: *ta(i)rr muicce les is tin[n]e iccas la boin, nó thin[n]e ord laig(e) inna chumbu choir* 'He has a pork belly and bacon which he sells with a cow, or bacon of an inch, properly cut.'

In contrast to the majority of state constructions discussed above, this instance expresses a permanent state that resembles a past participle construction.

4. Conclusions

We find that *i n-* + VN matches the use of the preposition with other nouns. Both being inside an entity/state, and entering into entity/state are expressed. The most frequent verbal nouns with *i n-* are those denoting durative states, such as *coitlud* 'sleeping', *luige* 'lying' or *suide* 'sitting' as illustrated both in Old and Middle Irish. Overall the amount of states denoted by *i n-* plus VN increases towards Middle Irish.

There is a syntactic difference between intransitive and transitive constructions. There are possessive pronouns, coreferential with the subject, found with intransitive verbs. For transitive verbs, in contrast to other prepositional phrases, subjects are not expressed by *do* or *o*, but rather are inferred from a preceding verbal inflection or a nominal subject.

5. Examples

There are 191 examples in the corpus. This corresponds to 74 examples per 100,000 words.

1) situation in a state (81 examples): Wb 4b2, 5d9, 5d10, 12c39, 13a28, 14b13, 16d4, 17c7, 18b13, 19d17, 21c13, 24c9, 27a2, 27c1, 27c24, 30a5, 30a14, 30a26, 30b2, 32a30. Ml 2a15, 15d6, 23a7, 28d5, 31a16, 33b13, 37a20, 40c1, 45a15, 46c4, 48b11, 48d21, 53a20, 54a8, 62d12, 82d1, 95a7, 97a2, 109c2, 124c2, 125a10, 127d13, 128a3, 136c7, Sg 9a5, 9a22, 27b1, 69a13, 161b2, 161b8, 188a4, 197b4, 197b15, 207b5, 212b3, 217a1, Tur 76, TBF 227, 231. BB 82, 251, 294, 342, 376, BB App. 45, BP 666, 699, 1930, 2153, 2657, 3160. CG 55, 497. CM 42:5, ACon §4, §5, §9, §10. SA 489b41, 490b35, PPA 2537.

LUH 5977: *Ro boí dano Cáur oc airimbert gascid hi túamaim a scéith co rrice trian ind laí frisseom [...] & nicon fitirseom in fer i n-imforgub friss co n-epert Fiacha mac Fir Febe fri Coin Culaind...* 'For a third of the day Cú was plying his weapons against him protected by the boss of his shield, ..., and he did not realize that the man was attacking him until Fiacha mac Fir Febe cried to him.'

2) adverbials of manner (23 exx.): Wb 5a13, 18a17, 23c29, MI 34a23, 56a13, 137d9, Sg 9a18, 9a21, 16a14, 188b2, 212b2, BCr §5, BP3160. LU 4651, 5734, 6343, AMCG 586, TTr2, 97, 283, 580, SA 488b9, 495a18.

Wb 5a13: *in hétt, .i. bid héet lib si geinti do bith in hiris no do intamil .i. ata samlibid si in áiritiu hirisse* 'into jealousy, i.e. ye will be jealous that (the) Gentiles are in (the) faith. You imitate them in receiving the faith.'

3) States (82 exx.): a.) without possessives (28 exx.):

Wb 15d13, 32a28, MI 28b9, 56b26, 61b28, 87c5, Sg 2a7, 27b2, 154a1, 212b9, 212b10, BB 80, 346, 594. LU 4489, 4690, LUH 5977, AMCG 243, 513, TTr2, 580, 1346, 1551, 1890. SA 490b6. PCH 2963, 3134, 3258. PPA2511.

Wb 13d1: [in corruptione] *.i. i llobad et leged* 'in decaying and dissolving'

b) Stative with possessive (30 exx.):

Wb 13a12, MI 55c19, CG 111, BB 2, 4, 15, 20, 351, 456, BP 139, 764, 810, 2760. LU 4532, 5129-30, 6334, 6367, LUH 5857, 5888, 6199, TBCLL 206, 211, 216, 324, [2030], 2189, [4783], [St 3845]. TTr2, 2231-3. PCH [2818], 3049.

BB 2: *ni fácaib nech inna taig nisi in(d) nnoeb-ingin tantum ina cotlad.* 'He leaves nobody in his house but the holy girl who was asleep.'

c) verbal nouns complementing verbs of movement (24 exx.):

MI 40a5, 90c17, BP2721, LU 4925, 4955, 5148, 5643, 5671, LUH 6152, 6164, LL 1249, 1362, (St)1949, (St)1950, 2106, 2730. TTr2, 1838, 1902. TTr1, 436. SA 500a24, 490a31, 491a41, 493a2. PCH 3048.

LUH 6164: *Tic iarum Cú Chulainn ina dáil.* 'Then Cú Chulainn came to meet her.'

TTr2, 1838: *dofaetsad leo mena thisad Hectoir & Aqenaias da thessargon f'orru, co rucsat il-lorgairecht hé issin Tróe.* 'He would have fallen by them had not Hector and Aeneas made at them to protect him, and carried him in pursuit into Troy.'

4) 'towards' uses (5 exx.): Wb 11a4, Bbr §16, CG 214, 252, 304.

Wb 11a4: *rethit huili et is óinfer gaibes buáid diib inna chomalnad* 'All run, and it is one man of them that gets victory for completing it.'

2.2.2.3 *la*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *la* 'with', governs the accusative. Thurneysen (GOI §845) describes the preposition as geminating. In Modern Irish it prefixes a *h* to

vowels and has presumably likewise done so in Old and Middle Irish speech. This preposition is not connected to any preverb used in verbal composition but according to Thurneysen it is connected to the noun *leth* ‘side’ (ibid.).

2. Central semantic components

According to DIL (*la*) the main areas of usage of the preposition lie in the expression of spatial relations such as proximity ‘close to, with’ [+ space, + prox] as in *ní indráigne dúib cini-n fíl lib* ‘it is no detriment to you that we are with you’ (Wb 16b9). Further, some marginal purpose uses are argued for by DIL (*la* IIIb). It also denotes possession, either of material or of mental perceptions (Fraser 1912: 46) as in *atá mac maith lat-so* ‘you have a good son’ (FR 18). These uses are stative [+ stat]. The sense of proximity or abstract possession may be extended to produce senses like participation or temporal co-occurrence, the denoting of customs (*la Féine*) or opinions – *is mebul lemm* ‘I am ashamed’ (Wb 1b10)- are frequent. Müller (1990: 115) sees its main function as denoting proximity in which the logical subject expressed with the preposition has control over the syntactic subject. In cases where the preposition is used with actions the result typically is temporal proximity [+ temp, + prox]:

96) Sg 185b4-5: *arbá fío factus sum dogéni prius suffio suffiui immurgu infecht so la cumscugud ninne [...]* ‘For it was *fío factus sum* that it formerly made, *suffio suffiui*, however, this time, with change of meaning.’

97) Sg 146b15:[Nam ‘lego legas’ et ‘lego legis’ et ‘dico dicas’ et ‘dico dicis*’ etiam in prima persona habent differentias temporum] *Ar atá dechor naimsire hi súidib la cumscugud coibedne non sic praedicta* ‘For there is a difference of time in them along with the shifting of the conjugation.’

This leads to the description of attendant circumstances [+ simultaneous] if two co-occurring actions are mentioned.

98) TBCLL 525: *Táncatar cethri ollchóiceda Hérend co moch arnabárach la turcbail ngréne dar taitnem in tsnechtai & lotar rempo assin chrích i n-araile.* ‘The four great provinces of Ireland came forth early on the morrow with the rising of the sun across the glistening snow, and they went forward from that district to another.’

99) TTr1, 980: ‘*Frit fein impaigfes sin uile,*’ *ar Hectoír, la tocbail in gai bai* ‘na laim, co tabairt forgaba for Cliophinor...’ ‘“It is on you all this will turn”, said Hector, raising the lance which was in his hand and gave a thrust on Cliphinor.’

Mac Cana (1983: 56) also offers some examples of *la* plus verbal noun, and with reference to LU attestations identifies those as denoting concomitant action. The examples adduced by him are all with speech act verbs as matrix verbs to direct speech. He offered the opinion that other examples would also be found, which is indeed the case as indicated by the above.

3. Further semantic components

Further possible semantic components may be cause or instrument (cf. DIL *la* IIIa). No cases of [+ cause] are found in the corpus, but a possible example of instrument [+ instr] is the following:

100) Wb 27c19: [Orantes simul et pro nobis*, ut aperiat Deus nobis
hostium sermonis ad loquendum misterium Christi] *la irnigdi airib féisne*
'by prayer⁴⁶ for you yourselves'

Here the instrument, the prayer, is expressed. This sense of instrumentality is closely related to agency frequently denoted by *la* with a noun, as in Wb 3a5 *tri óenpheccad la adam* 'through one sin by Adam'.

As yet there are no signs detectable of the future-intentional periphrasis, consisting of the substantive verb (*attá*) + *la* + verbal noun. This is one of the standard future-intentional formations of Modern Irish:

102) *Tá Liam le teacht i gceann dhá lá.* 'Liam will come in two days.'
(Christian Brothers, 1997: 129)

These future uses are likely to derive from intentional or purpose senses for which, however, there was no evidence in the present corpus of verbal nouns. DIL argues for its existence in general terms, even though the examples adduced rather seem to express means or instrument, such as *in tan scaras fria thola leo* 'when by means of them he separates from his desires' (CH 38a,7, DIL *la*, IIIb). On the other hand, in further development towards Modern Irish, *la* merged with the successors of the original prepositions *fria* 'towards' (2.2.3.1) and *re* 'before' (2.2.3.2), which would have been likely to contribute to future senses.

4. Conclusions

La is commonly used to denote proximity. Also possession can be denoted both with or without the copula. In this respect *la* shares space with *oc*, but in contrast to the latter *la* can also be used with possession of abstract entities (see above, 2.2.2.1). With verbal nouns this results in denoting simultaneity and manner or instrument. Overall examples of *la* and verbal noun are

⁴⁶ Stokes & Strachan: 'with prayer'.

relatively scarce. It seems as if this preposition did not lend itself very well to abstract usage with verbal nouns or the like. This task may have been fulfilled by other prepositions such as *oc* for spatial proximity or *fri* to express association (see below 2.2.3.1).

In the corpus here the use of *la* for future or obligation senses could not be found and it may be a product of the later merger with other prepositions.

5. Examples

There are 16 examples in the corpus. This corresponds to 6.1 examples per 100,000 words.

a) attendant circumstances (13 exx.): Wb 32a26, Ml 107a5, Sg 146b15, 185b4-5, 200a5, LUH 5855-6, TBCLL 525, BP 1515. AMCG 229, TTr1, 101, 980, SA 429a49, PCH 3088.

Sg 200a5: [in quibus demonstratio ipsa secum genus ostendit*] *lasin foilsigud* ‘with the demonstration’

Ml 107a5: [has ergo nationes, quæ cum Babiloniis* auxilio fuerint Assiriis, in uindictam uestri pariter ulciscar] *la digail du thabairt for aes mbabelone* ‘while inflicting punishment on the Babylonians’

BP 1515: *Fecht and dolluid dall ar chenn Pátraic. Tairpthech do ndechuid la accobur na icci.* ‘Once there came a blind man towards Patrick. Impetuously he came with the desire to be healed.’

AMCG 229: *Fil tread dar ná dlegar oirbire i nd-eclais, .i. nua-thorud & nua cormma & cuit aidche Domnaig; ar cid bec isna h-aidchib Domnaig, iss es is nessam ar a b́arach, sailm do ghabáil, cloc iar sin, celebrad la precept & oiffrend, sásad bocht.* ‘There are three things about which there should be no grumbling in the church, viz. new fruit, and new ale, and Sunday eve’s portion. For however little is obtained on Sunday eve, what is nearest on the morrow is psalm-singing, then bell-ringing, Mass, with preaching and the Sacrament, and feeding of the poor.’

PCH3088: *co r-ba lan nem & talam do’n tóchim & do’n tarmcruthugud ro-fás ann la toidecht Ísu dochum nime* ‘till heaven and earth were full of the ascension and the transformation, which happened there with the going of Jesus towards heaven.’

b) instrumental (3 exx.): Wb 27c19, Ml 51b28, SA 494b43 (means?).

Ml 51b28: *nach comairle immurgu dognither la fortacht dae is bithsuthin [...]* ‘Every council, however, that is done with the help of God is lasting.’

SA 494b43: *Ro suidigiset la sodain na Maicedonda & oig na Grecia olcena la for<ng>aire Alaxandair sciateru na sciath & na m-bocaoite ar a cinn.* ‘Upon this the Macedonians and the warriors of Greece besides assembled a shield-enclosure of the shields and the buckle-shields before them.’

2.2.3 *Fri, re and iar*

2.2.3.1 *fri*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *fri* ‘facing, towards’ is used with the accusative in Old Irish and, like its Modern Irish counterpart *le*, doubtless prefixed *h-* to a vowel. The feature of gemination postulated by Thurneysen (GOI §839) is now generally taken to be restricted to the addition of *h-* before vowels (e.g. McCone 2005: 59).

2. Central semantic components

Its core meaning might be described as denoting direction ‘against, facing’ [+ space, directed] (cf. Williams 1956: 126). Examples frequently express spatial relations or figurative direction, e.g. after verbs of utterance like *as:bert fris* ‘he said to him’. Typically direction with verbs of movement is expressed by *do* as in *teicht do Róim* ‘going to Rome’ (Thes. II, 269), but *fri* can likewise express similar concepts, for example after *con:ricc*, e.g. *con-ranaic side... fri dauid* ‘he met David’ (MI 52). Thus a recipient or an endpoint is denoted as well [+ limit]. This pattern can also be found with verbal nouns as illustrated by example 105).

103) MI 37b2: [hinc etiam uasa Templi sancta dixerunt, a promiscuo* usu Deiministerium separata] *coitchenn .i. fri timthrecht tuatae* ‘common, namely, to lay service.’

104) Wb 13d15: *ind leire doratsam fri sechim gníme adim hi peccidib taibrem fri sechim gníme crist in iustitia et bemmi caelestis iarum* ‘the diligence we have bestowed on following Adam's works in sins, let us give to following Christ's deeds in iustitia, and we shall be caelestes then.’

105) AMCG 309: *acht oen ní chena , cid ed bess de, regmait fri h-umalóit feib ro-chóid ar magister Íhsu Críst fri a chésad*. ‘Nevertheless, whatever may come of it, we will go in humility, as our Master, Jesus Christ, went to His passion.’

Particularly in the Glosses, *fri* is also found to denote adverse circumstances, translating Latin *contra* as in:

106) MI 16b5: [hisdem sane obiectionibus si qui studiosi sunt fratrum contra* utrumque poterint armari sufficienter] *fria brith do duaid & sorbabel* ‘against referring it to David and Zorobabel.’

107) Sg 14a7: [Est quando transit in consonantem uau, sicut e contra* a consonante transit in uocalem] *fri tairmthecht hi consain* ‘(contrary) to the passage into a consonant.’

108) AC 165: *Cot-ēraig menmae fri cūrsachad. Is ísel fri cosc.* ‘The mind rebels against reproof. It is humble regarding being corrected.’

Williams (1956: 131) is inclined to see this adverse usage as a separate semantic component. Fraser (1912: 39), on the other hand, points out that this division depends on the context of the utterance. In that case both senses could be subsumed under the English ‘against’, as represented here by [+direction, +limit].

3. Further semantic components

Expression of direction or movement towards an entity in various cases leads to the expression of intent or purpose (cf. e.g. Evans, GMW: §205). The preposition *fri* can likewise be found in contexts where it signifies intent and purpose [+final].

109) Ml 31a17: [non enim subdola atque fallacia ad quoscumque loquuntur ignotos*, sed neque cum his fidelia conserunt uerba] *sechi donaib anetarcnaidib .i.nibiat som fria togais adi etir* ‘to any strangers whatever, i.e. they do not seek to deceive them at all.’

110) BP 261: [...] *dodechaid senóir tairise leis o German fria imchomet & fria thestas, Segetius a ainm* [...] ‘Then a trusted elder came with him from Germanus to guard him and as his witness, Segetius was his name.’

111) SA 493b51: *Batar dirime (na halma) ro batar ann fri timchireact feola dona slugaib.* ‘They were uncountable, the herds that were there for the provision of meat to the hosts.’

In a notable number of examples these verbal noun constructions complement the substantive verb. Complementation of verbs of movement, on the other hand, has not been found in the Old Irish texts. Arguably the earliest example of complementation of a verb of movement is that illustrated in BP261. In less specified contexts there is some overlap of *fri* and the preposition *do* as both can be used to express purpose senses:

112) Sg 76b8: [quae neutram habent significationem, id est nec actiuam nec pasiuam, absolute dicta*] *fri slond dúilo* ‘in order to signify a thing’

113) Sg 28b24:[itaque communiōne naturali caret*] *do slund hile* ‘to signify many.’

114) Sg 45b1: *robbí uár recar less dígbail ind folaid conid écen suin fria slond sidi huare nád robarat suin do slund in dúildetad inchoisget* ‘There may be a time when it is necessary to diminish the substance so that there is need of words to signify it, because there were not words (enough) to signify the proper nature which they express.’

115) TTr1, 1058-60: *O rangatar iarom co rigphelait Prim adfiadhat a scela .i. tiachtain do chuinnchidh osaig o Grecaib fri coiniudh a caom &*

a carat & fri hadnacul a marb, fri hic a n-othrac, fri daingniugad a long, fri turcomruc a sluag, fri lesugad na longport. ‘When they came to the royal palace of Priam, they told their tidings, namely their coming to seek a truce from the Greeks to mourn their comrades and their friends and to bury their dead and to heal their wounded and to strengthen their ships and to assemble their hosts and to strengthen their camp.’

Gagnepain (1963: 69) suggests that the difference may be that examples with *do* express orientation, and that those with *fri* do not, but are used rather in cases like “‘beau à voir’, ‘facile à faire’” (ibid.). Unfortunately he does not elaborate on this topic and it remains unclear whether he is referring to syntax or semantics. It appears that the objects of *fri* could be described as being patients more often than agents, while the agents are covered by *do*.

Expressions of intent with *fri* are noticeably more frequent in the Middle Irish than in Old Irish material. The following two examples, Ml 91a6 and Wb 30b26, are among the examples given by Gagnepain (ibid.) entailing intentional periphrasis:

116) Wb 30b26: [serum autem Domini non oportet litigare] *ni uisse do mug dæ buith fri debuid* ‘It is not proper for a servant of God to be at strife.’

117) Ml 91a6: *adrimtissom ar aithissib dumni buith fut recht su & fri ermitin feid tanmae & cen ar nditin ni daitsiu [...]* ‘They used to count as reproaches to us that we should be subject to Thy law and that we should honour Thy name, and that Thou should not defend us.’

In addition to expressing intentionality it is conceivable that these could also be explained as cases of *fri* ‘facing, against’ in a temporal stative sense [+stat] denoting temporal proximity to an action [+space, +temp, +prox]. The result resembles the expression of location near an action as also seen with *oc* to a certain degree. In cases where the verbal noun clause depends on certain verbal or nominal expressions that are frequently complemented by *fri*, as in the examples with *ésteacht* ‘listening’ or *omun* ‘fear’, the preposition + verbal noun may also fulfill the task of expressing attendant circumstances [+simult]:

118) AMCG 709-10: *Is ed at-fiadut senchaide & senóir & libair Chorccaige nát boí do uasal nó d’isel ná ro-s teilg tri frassa dér ic ésteacht fri precept in scolaige.* ‘And historians and elders, and the books of Cork declare, that there was neither high nor low that did not shed three showers of tears while listening to the scholar’s preaching.’

119) PCH3391: *Ro-gab din [sic] omun tromm na coimetaigi fri fegud in aingil, & do-ráitne gné báis forru.* ‘Heavy fear then seized the guards when they saw the angel and an appearance of death came upon them.’

As a further development in the Middle Irish period, *fri* and the preposition *re* ‘before’ fell together through the loss of *f*, leading to confusion of the two in Middle Irish manuscripts, compare example PCH 3391 above to PCH 3385:

120) PCH3385: *co mad lugiati no-bidgtís na banscála ria n-a fhacsin* ‘so that the women might be less shocked to see him.’

121) LL 4298: *Dóig ri farcsin & ri fégad trí trichu cét indi* ‘It seems on looking at it as if it numbered thrice thirty hundred.’

4. Conclusions

Centrally we find direction towards an entity. Direction usually contains an element of intention which leads to other examples expressing purpose and intention. Expression of intention in periphrasis with the substantive verb and *fri* + verbal noun is attested in some few examples. However, stative senses of ‘location at’ can also be found. This may be the result of an erosion of the feature [+ directed] and such senses are likely to have provided the semantic overlap for the later merger with *la*. The merger of *re* and *la* could have been made easier by an *r/l* change that is observable in other words in the Middle Irish period, such as *ol sé* and *or sé* ‘said he’ or *indala* and *indara* ‘the other’. After *fri* and *re* fell together with *le* after the Middle Irish period, periphrasis with the preposition *le* to express intention was strengthened in Modern Irish.

5. Examples

Overall, there are 141 examples in the corpus, i.e. 54.3 examples per 100,000 words.

1a) Directionality (36 exx.): Wb 12c46, 13a3, 13d15, 24b3, 25c23, Ml 16b5, 31a23, 37b2, 44d6, 79b2, 93c15, 94c3, 99d1, 144d3, Sg 14a7, 28b22, CG 22?, AC 46, 164, LU 5046, LL382, AMCG 251, 309, 569-70, 671, 1141, TTr2(LL2) 1653, 2134. TTr1,443, 504, 950, SA 492a47, 497a27, 499b30, PPA 2510. PCH 3220.

Wb 24b3: [petitiones uestrae innotescant apud Deum*] *ná bad chotarsne fri bar nícc annogessid* ‘let not what ye pray for be contrary to your salvation’

Wb 25c23: [sine intermissione orate*] [...] *tairbertar súili fri déicsin maith* [...] ‘their eyes are inclined to see (the) good’

AMCG 251: *Atn-agar rátha & nadmand tenna & trebair for muintir Chorccaige fri a comall & naidmis for a churu.* ‘Pledges and bonds stout and strong were imposed on the monks of Cork for its fulfillment, and he bound them upon his pledges.’

TTr2(LL2) 2134: *‘Is doigh chena’, ol Palamede, ‘bid emilt la hAgmemon iar mbeith hir-righu a foidiudh fri techtairecht.* ‘‘It is likely,’ said

Palamedes, ‘that Agamemnon will deem it irksome to be sent on an embassy after having been on the throne.’”

PCH 3220: & o ro-laustar Iudas in airgent is-in tempul dochoid uadib ind-sin, & do-rat gosti im a brágait fen, co mba marb de; amal ro-bo chubaid fri-a airilliud. ‘And when Iudas had thrown the money down in the temple, he went from them then and put a noose around his own neck so that he died of it as was fitting for his desires.’

CG 22: *Ara fesser gráda Féne fri mes [n-]airechta[e] adrimter.* ‘The grades of the Irish shall be known by the judgement of court they are counted’⁴⁷

1b) Purpose (60 exx.): Wb 31a5, 31d17, 32c3, Ml 20d5, 23d6, 28c14, 31a17, 43a2, 44a14, 133b13, 138b2, Sg 3a3, 3a4, 45b1, 72b1, 76b8, 197a11 (3x), AM 61, CG 359, BCr 59, BP 241, 261, 439, CG 190, CG 511a, CG 591, LU 5081, 5086, LU(H) 5929, AMCG 354, 529, 878, TTr2, 505-6, 822, TTr2(LL2) 151, 184, 191, 441, 816, 1109, 1621, 1699, 1709-10, 1712, 2096, TTr1, 215, 221, 292, 1056, 1058-60. SA 492a39, 492a41, 493b51, 495a10, 496a25, 498a1, 501a5.

Wb 31a5: [Erastus remansit Corinthi*] *fri precept et forcital* ‘for instruction and teaching.’

Ml 23d6: [ita me aterat ut* nihil memoriae meae superesse patiatur] *connachonroibh nech dim chlaind frim foraitmet dimæs* ‘that there may be none of my children after me to preserve my memory.’

BCr. 59: *Segair teora[ib] flathib: flaith foridmbi, fiu-flaith fuissiten i feine fresndul, flatha fiadnaisi fri forgell.* ‘He [the invalid] is sought out with [i.e. in the presence of] three lords: a lord who is over him, a worthy lord of acknowledgement (?) for attendance according to Irish law (?), a lord of testimony for testifying.’

SA 495a10: *No bertaigtis a tengtha [tri athchumi] i n-a ceannaib fri hatchuma int sluaigh.* They shook their tongues in their heads to surprise the hosts’.

LU 5081: *no bíid cach lath gaile do Ultaib a laa hi Sleib Fuait fri snádud neich dothissad co n-airchetul* ‘For each warrior of the Ulstermen spent a day in turn in Sliab Fuait, to protect anyone who came that way with poetry.’

2a) location at (39 exx.): Wb 9c20, 30b17, 30b26, 31b23, 31d11, 37c6, 91a6, 202b3, VB 23, AC165, BB95, BP 652, 3073, 3074, 3075, CG 511b, TBCLU 6280, 6466, 6470, LL1612, 2289, 3347, 4298, AMCG 126, 884, 916, 1049, 1220. TTr2 1158, 1471, 1561, 1660, 2056, SA 492a47, 493a46, 493b50, 494b34, 498a1, 501a2.

Wb 9c20: [Quare non magis iniuriam accipitis?] *Cid atobaich cen dilgud cech ancridi dognethe frib et ní bethe fria acre* ‘What impels you not to forgive every injury that may have been done to you and that ye should be complaining of it?’

⁴⁷ While this appears to be an example of directionality in the sense of ‘with regard to’, also purpose ‘they are divided for the purpose of court’ seems possible.

Sg 202b3: *cid druailnide mbes chechtarindarann isin chomsuidigthiu adcuireddar doláni fri taidbech in chomsuidigthi sin [...]* ‘Though each of the two parts in the compound be corrupt, they return to completeness at the breaking up of that compound.’

VB 23: *Luna trideci rl.i. in da la & inna III hore do chaithi friarrachtin gréne iar thimchul ndí indrindidi do gres [...]* ‘*Luna trideci rl.* i.e. the two days and the four hours which it spends to overtake the sun after its circuit of the zodiac continually.’

2b) attendant circumstances (6 exx.): BP 1107, LL 2259, AMCG 709-10, TTr2, 930?, PCH 3385, 3391.

BP 1107: *Doluid Patraic iar sin don topur .i. Clibech, i slessaib Cruachan fri turcubail ngréine.* ‘After this Patrick went to the well, namely Clibech on the borders of Cruachan at sunrise.’

LL2259: *dáig is cumma congáiritis de bánanaig & bocánaig & geinithi glinne & demna aeóir ríam & úasu & ina thimchuill cach ed imatéiged re tesitín fola na míled & na n-anglond sechtair.* ‘For there used to cry from it alike goblins and sprites, spirits of the glen and demons of the air, before him and above him and around him, wherever he went at the shedding of the blood of warriors and champions.’

TTr2 930: *Conid airesin is cáinchomairlechu beith is-síd ... andás colluid saire ... fri tinol nguasachta* ‘Thus it is better to be in peace than to destroy freedom when/by gathering danger.’⁴⁸

2.2.3.2 re

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *re*, also *ri* and later *ria*, governs the dative and nasalises in Old Irish (cf. Thurneysen, GOI §851). It is commonly translated as ‘before’ or ‘pre-’. Gagnepain has observed that in the Glosses *re* is mostly found with unexpressed subject or with prepositional subject constructions (1963: 72), as illustrated by *re fothugud hirisse nó re narichtin du pool* ‘before the founding of the Faith, or before Paul reached it’ (Arm. 107b). He further states that it is mostly employed to translate Latin *prius* or *ante*. While this observation holds true for Milan, the preposition can be found frequently in Würzburg without the Latin counterpart⁴⁹.

2. Central semantic components

Re mostly denotes precedence in time [+ temp] [+ front] in cases like *is marb re cind nomaide* ‘he is dead before the minute is out’ (LU5955). In

⁴⁸ Conceivably this could also be an example of denoting means ‘by gathering’.

⁴⁹ E.g. Wb 28c6: [Diacones sint unius uxoris uiri*] *re nairite gráid són* ‘before ordination’ and Wb 30a5: [Det misericordiam Dominus Onesfori domui, quia sepe me refrigeravit*] *rem chuimriug et im chuimriug* ‘before my captivity and in my captivity’. Likewise Wb. 2c15, 9b16, 28b21, 31b4, 31b11.

addition to the meaning ‘before’, spatial location can be found [+ space]. *Re* denotes ‘in front of’ as in Sg 20a9: *ni airecar .b. remi* ‘*b* is not found before it’ (c.f. DIL *re* II). It is also quite common with expressions of motion or of fleeing: TBC I 404 *cia bem-ni for longais riam* ‘even though we are on exile before him’, (cf. DIL *re* II c). Further uses include direction away from an agent towards a patient as in *ro oslaic in dorus re Cesair* ‘he opened the door to Cesar’ (CCath 3334, cf. DIL *re* II c-h). With verbal noun clauses two actions are typically put into a temporal sequence.

122) Wb 28c4: [Et hi autem probentur primum*] *doberr teist diib ri techt gráid forib* ‘Let testimony concerning them be given before they are ordained.’

123) PPA 2535: *Ro-gairmestar tra Pilip chucai in da laa déc re n-a cesad in uli shacart & deochain & escop na cathrach comfochraib dó.* ‘Twelve days before his passion, Philip called to him all the priests and deacons and bishops of the surrounding cities.’

124) TTr1,450: *Nirbo chian tra riasin n-aimsir sin i ndecheid Alaxander dochum tiri na nGrec & ria toscughadh co comfhochraib Chetheree doluidh Menelaus mac Athir, artoisseach side do Grecaib, dochum indsi Pil do accalaim Nestoir.* ‘It was not long then before this time in which Alexander went to the land of the Greeks and before the starting off to the neighbourhood of Cythera that Menelaus son of Athar, the high leader of the Greeks went to the island of Pil to address Nestor.’

The non-finite clause with *re* typically provides information on temporal structure or on the temporal setting of an action. In TTr1, 450, the main information is that Menelaus went to Pil, and the temporal adverbial phrase *riasin n-aimsir* ‘before this time’ expresses temporal precedence. Gagnepain (1963: 156) contrasts *resiu ro cessad Crist* ‘before Christ suffered’ (PH 221) with *ria cessad Crist* ‘before the suffering of Christ’ (PH 219) and asserts that the former type is more frequent than the latter. The two, however, are not used in identical contexts: the non-finite construction is typically not conceptually salient, but it is used to provide background information only. In few isolated cases only does the information add to the advancement of the story:

125) LU5007: *Nibo moo in band oldas a chéle & focheird a bunsraig inna ndíaid conda gebed re totim & niro tairmesc a cluchi imm ce ro boi in cú oca ascnam.* ‘Neither stroke was greater than the other. And he threw his toy spear after them and caught it before it fell. And though the dog was approaching him, it interfered not with his play.’

This difference in pragmatic status may be influenced by the position of the adverbial clause, in the case of LU 5007 after the inflected verb. On the basis

of temporal subordinate clauses involving *in tan* ‘when’, Poppe (1994) has shown that the position of temporal clauses correlates with their pragmatic function. According to him (ibid., 18-9), initial non-focal *in tan* clauses give situational background information and define the temporal setting of the event. Those adverbial clauses which follow their main clause, on the other hand, were found to add extra information to the statement. This state of affairs can also be argued to hold for the examples involving *re* + verbal noun in the present corpus.

The temporal direction of the clause can be interpreted in two ways: looking back and looking forward. Here the direction is backward looking, i.e. anterior direction with a verbal form in the past, denoting that ‘something happened before us’.

Secondly, the perspective can be forward looking, denoting ‘we are before something’. This describes future direction and uses a present tense verbal form. This can be seen in the following:

126) MI 111c13: *is hé rufiastar comachtae inna diglae dombir siu hua londas inti dúcigi is ar trocairi 7 censi dubirsiu forunni siu innahi fodaimem re techt innúnn.* ‘He it is that shall know the power of the punishment which you inflict in wrath, he who shall see that it is from mercy and gentleness that you inflict on us here what we suffer before going thither.’

In the Middle Irish corpus, too, most examples are constructed with past tense verbs and the only present tense examples are from *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*:

127) AMCG 253 ‘*Apair,*’ *ol Manchin,* ‘*cid chondige.*’ ‘*At-bér,*’ *ar Aniér,* ‘*i. pars fil a m’ théig libair do chaithem ré ndul for cel, ar ní dlegar escomlad cen dol do láim.*’ “Say what you want said Manchin, I will,” said Anier: “to eat the viaticum that is in my book satchel before going to death, for it is not right to go on a journey without being shriven.”

128) AMCG965: *Ug-Adarc mo gilla glomair, nítha tuir ré ndul i ndáil báis dáig....* ‘Egg-horn is my bridle boy, a pillar in conflict before going to a meeting with certain death’

As the MidIr corpus is primarily narrative, past tense narrative is more usual than present tense. Thus the majority of the MidIr examples of *re* in this corpus, 34 out of 42, express past time reference, not future direction. There are no examples with *re* used in periphrastic constructions with the substantive verb *attá* to denote future periphrasis even though this would have been a theoretical possibility. This usage of *re* with a form of *attá* and VN to express a periphrastic future does not exist in Modern Irish either. Contemporary Irish uses *roimh* for adverbials, but different structures for periphrasis:

- 129) Ghlan mé an tábla roimh imeacht domh. ‘I cleaned the table before I went off.’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 283)
 130) *Tá an traein le himeacht* ‘The train is going to leave.’
 131) *Tá an traein ar tí imeacht.* ‘The train is about to leave.’

3. Further semantic components

During the Old Irish period all examples of *re* in the corpus denote temporal precedence. After the preposition had fallen together phonetically with *fri* the two meanings merged as well. Some examples of *fri* spelled *ri* were seen in 2.2.3.1, 3. In Middle Irish some further conflation may be observed:

- 132) SA487a47: *Jodas ba huasalsagart i n-Jerusalem re dered flaitus Pers & re tindscetal flaitusa na n-Grec.* ‘Jaddus was high-priest in Jerusalem at the end of the Persian empire and at the beginning of the Greek empire.’

Peters (1967 : 163, fn.28) sees *re* in this case as equalling *la* ‘with’. While this might indeed be the case, it is also possible that this is an instance of the ‘location at’ sense of the preposition *fri*, [+ prox] (cf. 2.2.3.1, 3.).

The preposition is also connected to the preverb *rem-*, which is used with verbs, nouns and verbal nouns, modifying the meaning of the lexical element. An example of this usage, a calque on the Latin word *providentia*, can be observed in the following:

- 133) Ml 90b17: [constitutus adversus providentiam ussis sit] dorusluindset són remdéicsin dæ du buith díib dianícc ‘They had denied that there was any providence of God for them to save them.’

It is obviously hard to assess how natural this construction was in everyday language in earlier Irish, or whether it was mainly used in learned expressions. In ModIr, however, the prefix *réamh-* is well established in cases of learned composition like *réamhrá* ‘foreword’ or *réamhfhocal* ‘preposition’.

4. Conclusions

The preposition *re* used with the verbal noun indicates that another event happened before that of the verbal noun group. The actual temporal reference can be towards the future or the past. The possibility of future periphrasis with the substantive verb and *re* + verbal noun may have existed, but is unattested in the corpus. The medieval Irish system offered periphrastic means of expressing present and perfect periphrasis and would have become fully symmetrical with the addition of future periphrasis.

5. Examples

There are 42 examples in the corpus. This corresponds to 16.2 examples per 100,000 words.

1a) Examples in an anterior setting (27 exx.):

Wb 2c15, Wb 9b16, Wb 13a29, Wb 28b21, Wb 28b32, Ml 47b16, Ml 71b1, Ml 80d9, Ml 82c2, Ml 86d15, Ml 111c13, Ml 117d1 Sg 5a11, Arm 17a2.3, BP 336, BP 516, BP 712, ACon §12. LU 4697, 5332, LL 3417, TTr2 232, 945, 1906. TTr1, 450, SA 488a1, PPA 2535.

Examples: LU 4697: *Dogní id n-erchomail iarom ría techt & scribais ogum inna menoc & focheird im úachtar in corthe.* ‘Then before he went, he twisted a withe into a ring and wrote an ogam inscription on its peg and cast it over the top of a pillar-stone.’

Wb 2c15: [Si enim qui ex lege, heredes sunt, exinanita est fides* abolita est promissio] *fides .i. robói la abracham re comallnad rechto* ‘which Abraham had before fulfilling (the) Law.’

BP 336: *Dí bliadain nó teora bliadnai ré tíchtu Pátraic dochum nÉirenn, is ed doaircantais: [...].* ‘Two or three years before Patrick came to Ireland this is what they prophesied.’

1b) Examples in an anterior setting with narrative relevance: LU 5007 (above).

2) examples in a future setting (9 exx.):

Wb 28c4, Wb 28c6, Wb 30a5, Wb 31b4, Wb 31b11, Ml 22d17. AMCG 253, 334, 965.

Wb 28c6: [Diacones sint unius uxoris uiri*] *re naitite gráid són* ‘before ordination’

AMCG334: ‘... *acht mo sháith do biud olardai inmardai, ..., corup lónfheiss coicthigisi dam ría ndul i ndáil báis.*’ ‘...but I want my fill of generous juicy food, ... , a gorging feast of a fortnight for me before going to the meeting with death.’”

3) examples of *rem-or reme-* (5 exx.):

Ml 41a5, 90b17, 91a21, 94c13, 132c13.

Ml 94c13: *uinum aithbeim forais lesom anisiu fora uini meri · remierbart* ‘*uinum*. He has here a recapitulation of the *uini meri* that he has spoken of before’

Ml 91a21: *is hé forcan duratsom forsna mmórchol durigensat a namait fris díltud remdeicsen dae desom* ‘this is the end that he had put to the great wickedness that his enemies had committed against him, the denial of providence for him.’

Ml 132c13: *remelluid* ‘which went before’

2.2.3.3 *iar*

1. Grammatical considerations

Old Irish *iar* takes the dative and nasalizes. Thurneysen gives ‘according to’ and ‘after’ as basic meanings (GOI §840). With verbal nouns *iar* denotes temporal precedence and in this it is functionally paralleled by Middle Welsh (*g*)*wedy*

2. Central semantic components

Íar can be found in spatial contexts [+ space] as in *a mbís iarna chíul dind séit* ‘what of the way lies behind him’ (Wb 24a17). Typically these expressions are stative [+ stat], but in some contexts directionality can also be observed: *oc techt iar fraíchrud* ‘going across the heath’ (SMMD §20.5, cf. DIL *iar* IIa). Even more frequently *iar* is used in temporal senses [+ temp], as such also in forming temporal adverbials, particularly with demonstratives such as *iar sin* ‘after this’. In both spatial and temporal senses *iar* denotes that something is positioned behind or to the back of something else [+ stat, + reverse]. *Íar* is frequently found with nouns and verbal nouns in this sense:

134) Wb 3c2: *tri chreitim in ísu nó isin beothu itáa ísu iar nesséirgu* ‘through belief in Jesus, or in the life wherein Jesus is after resurrection’

Two situations are temporally ordered: the element consisting of verbal noun and preposition has happened before another situation. This other situation can be an event in the present tense, as for instance in Wb3c2. It can also relate to apparently non-specific events (ML 62b4) or to future events (ML 107a10). In contrast to use in the later language, the *iar*-clause typically still follows the verb of the matrix clause:

135) ML 107a10: *.i. bit dilmaini du denum chlainde iarna soirad* ‘They will be free to beget children after their deliverance.’

In narrative texts, the clauses containing *iar* plus verbal noun mostly give information that is not new or relevant but serves as background information or clarifies the temporal setting of an example:

136) LL2: *Fecht n-óen do Ailill & do Meidb iar ndérgud a rígleptha dóib i Crúachanráith Chonnacht, arrecaim comrád chind cherchaili eturru.* ‘Once upon a time it befell Ailill and Medb that, when their royal bed had been prepared for them in Ráth Crúachain in Connacht, they spoke together as they lay on their pillow.’

137) LU 5102: *Tíagam co risam ol Cu Chulaind. Tíagait iarum co rrancaatár. Iar riachtain dóib in tslébe imchomarcair Cu Culaind iarom cia carnd ngel inso thall i n-úachtor in tslébe.* ‘“Let us go to it,” said Cú Chulainn. Then they went to it, and when they had reached the mountain, Cú Chulainn asked “what white cairn is that over there on the mountain-top?”’

In the Middle Irish narrative texts we particularly often find examples with late verbal nouns *ríchtain* ‘arriving’ and *tíchtain* ‘coming’, where the non-finite clause sets the stage for the activities expressed by a finite verb. The structure is similar to the examples of verbal noun with the preposition *re*. *Íar*, though, is used to express the past event in a non-finite clause, e.g. *íar tíchtain dó ránaic fri x* ‘after arriving he met x’, whereas in temporal constructions involving *re* the preceding event is denoted by a finite clause as in *tánaic re ríchtain dó fri x* ‘he came before he met x’.

Concerning the position of the prepositional phrase in Middle Irish, Gagnepain (1963: 150) observed that in contrast to verbal noun constructions with other prepositions, *íar* plus verbal noun mostly stands before the main verb. In this preposed position, then, the agent must be expressed by the preposition *do*. His claim, based on the *Passions and Homilies from the Lebor Brecc*, is too strong as regards the present corpus, where a total of 20 out of the 259 examples are initial to their matrix clause. The highest ratio of these is indeed to be found in the data from the *Passions* texts, where 5 out of 11 examples were preposed. The feature cannot be exclusively classified as ‘late’ either, as the text *Stair Alexandair* from 14th century *Book of Ballymote* lacks it completely. Here, as with temporal clauses containing *re* + VN (cf. 2.2.3.2) the pragmatic ordering of the events is more likely to have an impact. It is illustrated by example LL2 and LU 5102 that preposed non-focal adverbial clauses containing *íar* + verbal noun tend to express situationally inferable or previously mentioned information in the manner observed by Poppe (1994: 18), typically serving to structure the narrative. In those cases, however, where the verbal noun phrase follows the main clause it can be argued that the clauses provide information that has more salient content.

In the Old Irish period, true periphrasis to denote the perfect (in the sense of Modern Irish *táim tréis canadh* ‘I am after singing’) cannot be observed⁵⁰. The instances where *íar* is used with the substantive verb are not yet in periphrastic settings but rather constitute temporal adverbial complements as in MI 107a10 above. The first steps towards the later periphrastic constructions may, perhaps, be observed in passive participial uses:

138) BB. 527: *Boe oenchauru mblicht and iarna blegon; do-scarad do Brigiti.* ‘There was a single milk ewe there which had been milked, and it was killed for Brigit.’

⁵⁰ *Perfect* and *perfectivity* are here taken in the senses described by Comrie (1976:16-19): the perfect denotes the connection of an event in the past to the present moment. A perfective event is considered not to be ongoing for any period of time, but indefinite as regards its duration. It represents a ‘blob’ on the timeline rather than a stretch. The action typically is completed and thus combines non-duration with past time reference (Dahl 1985: 23).

The patient, here the sheep, is doubly expressed by a nounphrase and also by an anaphoric possessive pronoun affixed to the preposition *iar*. Here we basically encounter *iar* plus *blegon* used like a passive participle. The patient, the sheep, is also the subject of the main verb. In the participial construction ‘the sheep’ represented by a possessive pronoun. This referential identity of subject and patient, and the fact that the main verb is the substantive verb, used with an spatial marker *and*, suggests that this type of construction is a likely candidate for the emergence of the later periphrasis, if the spatial feature is lost. This scenario was also assumed for the grammaticalisation of a progressive periphrastic construction containing the preposition *oc* (cf. 2.2.2.1). That said, for full grammaticalisation of *iar* as a temporal marker, structures without the possessive markers also had to emerge. In the Middle Irish texts we quite frequently find the usage as a quasi participle:

139) BB. App. 45: *Tic a nda[i]l Brenaind co Domnach Mór fri Cill aniar, iarna inchosc ónd angel di.* ‘She comes to Domnach Mór to the west of Kildare to meet Brendan, after it had been told to her by an angel [m.t.]’

140) AMCG 795: *Tan tánuc ’n-a mórimchel do f[h]égrad a uird, maróca ar n-a cét-berbad ba h-iat sin a scuilb.* ‘As I went all around it to view its arrangement: Puddings fresh-boiled, those were its thatch-rods.’

No examples of full perfect periphrasis were found in the corpus material collected here. Gagnepain (1963: 156) offers the following example:

141) PH 4447: *is for sliss tuaiscertach slebe Sióin ata side iar suidigud* ‘It is on the north slope of Mount Sion that they are set.’ (Gagnepain, *ibid.*)

Gagnepain (*ibid.*) asserts that the usage of *iar* + VN as a quasi-participle is a case of *parole* rather than *langue* and he holds it not to be grammaticalised in MidIr. He also suggests (1963: 62) that the construction with the passive participle was not temporal but aspectual. It seems clear, however, that it denotes a state of result, irrespective of whether this should be referred to as aspectual or temporal.

The structure did gain ground towards the EModIr period. This is proven by the fact that the Irish grammarian Bonaventúra Ó hEodhasa deals with this construction in his grammar dating from the early 17th century. He states:

Iberni non agnoscunt participia. Pro participio verbi activi praesentis, utuntur nomine verbali cum praepositione *ag*, ut *atá Tadhg ag bualadh Bhriain*. Pro participio activo praeterito, verbale et[iam] nomen cum praepositione *ar* vel *iar* accipiunt, ut *atá Tadhg ar mb[ua]ladh <nó iar mbualadh> Bhriain*. (Mac Aogáin 1968: 64).

‘The Irish do not have participles. For the present participle active they use the verbal noun with the preposition *ag*, thus *atá Tadhg ag bualadh Bhriain* [‘Tadhg is beating Brian’]. For the past participle active they use the verbal noun with the prepositions *ar* and *iar*, thus *atá Tadhg ar mb[u]aladh <or iar mbualadh> Bhriain* [‘Tadhg has beaten Brian’].’

The evidence gleaned from the examples would suggest that the structure of substantive verb + *iar* + verbal noun had not developed within Old Irish and had not become grammaticalised within the Middle Irish period. The modern languages have also developed temporal periphrastic constructions involving the verb ‘to be’ and the verbal noun, but the prepositions are different, namely *tréis* or *i ndíaidh* as in *tá sé tréis/ i ndíaidh imeacht* ‘he has (just) left’. These types typically express the result of the preceding action and are therefore termed a perfect (Greene 1979). The fact that we do not have the old simple preposition fulfilling this task in Modern Irish, but rather more newly emerged compound prepositions, provides additional evidence that this structure has emerged secondarily. For a comprehensive discussion of the emergence and development see Ó Corráin (2007).

3. Further semantic components

While the majority of examples, as seen above, indicates temporal sequence of two events, in some cases the events could be contemporary [+ temp, + contained]. It is stated in DIL (*iar* Iiii) that with the verbal noun *beith* the meaning expressed is generally ‘(when) being’. An example of this the following:

142) TGB999: *Agus iar mbeith ag teitheadh do Absolon, tarla géag dhairghe ‘na fholt, do chongaibh i n-airde é, ionnus gur ling an t-each uibdh fân gcoill, & go raibhe ar crochadh as an ngéig amhlaidh sin.* ‘And while Absolon was fleeing, an oak branch stuck in his hair, he was lifted up and the horse jumped away into the wood and he was hanging from the branch in that manner.’

Here the events happen at the same time. Compare the following examples, however:

143) TTr2, LL2, 2134: ‘*Is doigh chena’, ol Palamede, ‘bid emilt la hAgmemnon iar mbeith hir-righu a foidiudh fri techtairecht.*’ “It is likely,” said Palamedes, “that Agamemnon will deem it irksome to be sent on an embassy after having been on the throne.”

144) SA490a40: *Do bud annum lib beth fo chiss do rigaib ele iar m-beth do chach fo bar cis.* ‘It would be strange for you to be subject to other kings after/since everybody was subject to you.’

Thus the statement that with *beidh, iar* [always] denotes simultaneity is too strong with reference to the Middle Irish period. It would seem possible that these are examples of a further extension towards causal senses. However, contemporaneity could likewise be argued for in some cases, as with the substantive verb and also with other verbs:

145) LL 4240: *Tánic reme go airm i mbáe Ailill & Medb & Fergus & mathi fer nHérend. Atfócht Ailill scéla de ar rochtain.* ‘He went to where Ailill and Medb and Fergus and the nobles of the men of Ireland were. Ailill asked tidings of him when he arrived.’

These attestations appear typically with the VN for *ro:saig* or *do:roich*, but presumably we are not really dealing with contemporaneity here. The Irish idiom may indicate temporal sequence, but it could express that the action denoted by the finite verb follows without delay, as in English ‘upon reaching’.

In addition to the temporal and local senses, use of the preposition has been expanded to denote conceptual consequence in the sense of ‘according to’. These uses are found particularly with verbal nouns denoting mental activity:

146) Wb 26d25: *ar is and is ecne et is fissid cách iar netarcnu crist* ‘For therein is everyone wise and a knower according to knowledge of Christ.’

147) SA496b39: *Tug Alaxandar dano iarum araill dina bolgaib na[n o] pobballsaib & [ar]arubairt bid iar forcongra int sagairt, ar adbertadar bid uad na tri cet laech robadar in coimideacht-sum.* ‘Alexander then also took of the shells of the balm shots and said it was according to the order of the priest, but the 300 warriors in his company said that it was his own determination.’

148) TTr1,249: *Rodlom tra Peil do Antinor dul asin tir & assin purt. Tanic tra Antinor iar forcongra in rig docum a lunga.* ‘Pelias then told Antenor to leave the country and the port. After the command of the king then Antenor went to his boat.’

There are only a few examples of this phenomenon in the corpus. All the MidIr examples are with the late verbal noun of *for:congair* ‘order’, plus one example with a noun, namely *iar timna Crist*, ‘according to the Testament of Christ’ (AMCG 613). This usage is restricted to admonitions and must be considered no more than marginal with verbal nouns in the Middle Irish period. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is by no means restricted to Irish, but similar uses are also found in English and German, where arguments or examples can be *after Matthew* or *nach Matthäus*. We could have a simile

which relates following a person on a path to following their ideas. This would imply the lack of a spatial component. This situation could be expressed as [+ prox, + reverse].

4. Conclusions

Íar is most frequently used in temporal senses and there its central meaning component can be described as ‘after’. It is also employed with verbal nouns to create the functional equivalent of past participles. Full periphrastic constructions denoting perfect senses are hardly attested and do not seem to have been grammaticalised in the period in question. In contrast to both Modern Irish and Middle Welsh the perfect periphrasis ‘to be after = to have done’ had not yet developed in Old Irish. The Old Irish morphological perfect was in most cases originally expressed by the preterite stem and the augment *ro-*. At the end of the Old Irish period this *ro-*marker broadened its use from the original resultative and anterior completion marking and became a general past narrative marker and with this lost its force as distinguishing the perfect from the preterite category (cf. McCone 1997: 93-101). In line with a growingly analytic language structure an alternative developed in periphrasis with a preposition denoting anteriority. The use of preposition *ar* or *íar* + verbal noun to denote past reference was well developed in the EModIr period (cf. Ó Corráin 2007).

Whereas the position of the adverbial clause in the middle or at the end of a sentence often appears to coincide with not contextually inferable content, examples of initial position are frequently used for scene-setting (LU 5102, LL2). They often, but not invariably, appear with the agent expressed by *do* (LU 5102, LL2). Furthermore, some examples may suggest further extension towards causal meanings. The use in ‘according-to’ senses is found in the earlier material, but is infrequent in the later material.

5. Examples

There are 259 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 99.9 examples per 100,000 words.

I a) Adverbials (207): Wb 3c16, 3c30, 3c35, 4a27, 4d30, 5b41, 10a29, 10a30, 12c40, 14c7, 14d27, 17b6, 17b7, 19b20, 19c3, 20a14, 21b15, 22c2, 26a12, 31b33, 33b6, 33b14, MI 2b10, 14a2, 15a5, 21c3, 23b5, 31d10, 35b24, 35b25, 35c18, 39c22, 44a10, 44c6, 48d27, 51d13, 52, 60a12, 61a34, 62b4, 68b4, 76b7, 82d10, 84c9, 91a1, 92d2, 95a8, 104d2, 105a8, 105c3, 107a10, 114b9, 114d16, 119a5, 119c3, 120c2, 131a12, 137d2. Sg 9a16, 12a3, 15b9, 55b4, 67a18, 73b2, 73b3, 150a1, 151a2, 197b10, 197b11, 202b2, 202b3, CA5c1, CP 62a2, VB 23, Thes 249,1 (StG Inct), Arm 17a2.2, 18a1.8, SM 64b7, 65a13, 65a14, 65b16, AM 4, ACon §4, BB 211, 240, 346, BBAp45, BP 19, 666, 728, 1086, 1237, 1492, 1655, 2043, 2262, 2444, 3076, 3078, 3079, 3079, 3079, 3080, 3100, 3101, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3103,

3104. TBF 353, CG 549, 551, 562, CDM 229, 237. LU 4625, 4633, 4687, 4691, 4738, 4772, 4805, 5102, 5118, 5158, 5161, 5361, 5393, 5574, 5818, 5823, 6532, LL2, 362, 795, 815, 1123, 1382, 1478, 1775, StLL 3240, 3259, 3265, StLL 3267, LL 3619, 3793, 3797, St 3847, LL 4240, 4293, 4793, AMCG 149, 275, 610, 833, 862, 1093, TTR2 235, 353, 479, 656, 668, 727, 804, 947, 1030, 1090, 1230, 1810, 1913, 2098, 2134, 2190, 2254, TTr1 3, 136, 195, 282, 299, 301, 377, 970, 986, 1011, 1133, 1185, SA 487a31, 488b18, 488b29, 490a40, 490b30, 495b23-4, 495b49, 496a15, 496b3, 496b33, 500b17, PCH 2935, 2938, 2949, 3006, 3136, 3234, 3288, 3302, PPA 2562.

PCH2938: *Do-fetumar, ol siat, co nach dingbala th'adnocul-sa ar fhagbail bais duit; ar tucais t'ádnocul fén do Christ.* 'We know that you deserve no burial after you die, for you gave your own grave to Crist.'

PCH2949: *Iar coitsecht na n-athcomsan-sin do na hlúdaidib, ro-gab ferg & londus iat co r-chuibrigset Iosep....* 'On the hearing of these accusations by the Jews, anger and fury seized them and they bound Joseph.'

b) of those in constructions similar to past participle (27): Wb 3c30, 3c35, 5b41, 12c40, Ml 2b10, 31d10, 35b25, 35c28, 44a10, 48d27, 92d2, 104d2, 107a10, 114b9, Sg 67a18, 73b2, 151a2, 202b2, 202b3, CA 5c1, Thes 249,1 (St.Gall Inct.), BB240, BBApp45, BP 19, 2262, 2444, 3079.

Wb 5b41: [potens est enim Deus iterum inserere illos*] *iarna tóebu* 'after their severance'

c) Temporal adverbial with substantive verb (20 exx.):

Wb3c2, 15a1, 15a20, 21b7, BB527, LU 4805, AMCG 345, 655, 792, 795, TTr2, 2231-3, TTr1, 937, 1016, SA 489b38, 491b34, 500b41, PCH 2927, 3289.

TTr1,1016: *Mor righ, mor ruirecha, mor ruanaigh, mor triath, mor tigearna, mor trenfer robatar iarna fortbiu isin berna mileadh ruc .i. Achil a cath na Troiana.* 'Many kings, many princes, many nobles, many lords, many heroes were cut off in the soldiers' gap he put in, namely Achilles in the battalions of the Trojans.'

d) in participial constructions (12 exx.): BB527, LU 4805, AMCG 345, 655, 792, 795, TTr2, 2231-3, TTr1, 937, SA 489b38, 491b34, 500b41, PCH 3289.

Example: LU 4805: *ní acatár ní and acht slicht ind óencharpait. & in gabul cosna cethri cinnu. & ainm ogaim iarna scribend ina tóeb.* 'They saw only the track of one chariot and the forked branch with the four heads and an ogam inscription written on its side.'

e) contemporal example: TGB 999.

f) examples with narrative importance (9 exx.): Arm. 17a2.1, LU 4526, LUH 5857, LL 1782, 3351, StLL 3217, 3847, TTr 2, 657, 981-2.

Arm. 17a2.1: *Atrópert flaith & aithech inso huile i tosúch iar tabuirt baithis duaib.* ‘Lord and vassal had offered this immediately after they had been baptized.’⁵¹

LUH 5857: *Téit do acallaim Con Culaind is and roboí Cu Chulaind iar béim dei a lened & in snechta immi ina sudiu co rici a cris* ‘He went to address Cú Chulainn. Cú Chulainn had taken off his shirt and was sitting in the snow up to his waist.’

2) ‘According to’ (11 exx.): Wb6d2, 16a14, 20a14, 26d25, BC, BP 3106, 3107. TTr1 249, SA 496b34,39, [AMCG 613]

Examples: Wb 20a14: [Euacuati estis a Christo, qui in lege iustificamini*,] *iar far toimtinsi* ‘according to your opinion’

SA496b34: *Lodar iarum iar cor a nedaig & a n-iallagraind & a n-dorndusc na tri cé t docoadar leis-sium iar forcongar int saccairt.* ‘After their clothing and their sandals and their bracelets had been put away, they went then, the 3 hundred who were going with him, according to the order of the priest’

2.2.4 *Cen* and *neb*

2.2.4.1 *Cen*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Old Irish preposition *cen*, leniting, takes the accusative. It is commonly translated into English as ‘without’. According to GOI (§827) its older meaning was ‘on this side (of)’, corresponding to Latin *cis* as in *cen-alpande* glossing *cisalpina* (Sg 217b8-9). ‘On the side’ is also supported by the conjugated form *cene* ‘beside it/him’ and the conjunction *olchenae* ‘besides’ (Pedersen 1913: 197ii). There is no preverb corresponding to this preposition.

2. Central semantic components

Cen mainly expresses the absence of an entity at a spatial location [- space] at a certain time [+ temp] as in *cen chlaind* ‘without children’ (MI 23d12). It can also serve to negate verbal nouns:

149) Wb 30d16: [Lucas est mecum solus] *cen etarscarad* ‘without separation’

According to Thurneysen (GOI §875) it is not a typical syntactic pattern to negate single verbal nouns with *cen*. Thurneysen (ibid.) rather describes *cen* as the negator of verbal nouns used like subordinate clauses in a variety of syntactic functions:

⁵¹ The baptism is not mentioned otherwise.

150) MI 53b6: [et dimissit eum*] *ralleic huaid cen frithorcuin do* ‘He let him go without injuring him [m.t.]’

151) TTr2, 1940: *atubairt ris can techt isin cath in lá sin*. ‘She told him not to go into battle on that day.’

While MI 53b6 is a complement clause, in TTr2, 1940 the complement clause functions as an object complement to the verb of utterance. We also find examples where the prepositional construction functions as a non-finite subject clause, such as in Wb 4b28 below. In subject clauses, we typically find that the *cen*-phrase is a clausal complement of a copula or another copulative verb:

152) Wb 4b28: *is ingir lem cen cretim dúib* ‘I grieve that you are without belief.’

153) TTr2.219: *Ba hí trá comairle Hercoil frisin nathesc sain, can techt assin phurt*. ‘This then was Hercules’ council on these tydings: not to leave the port.’

In these cases the phrase may function as an adverbial (LU 6343), or may be a necessary complement to a transitive or copulative verb (TTr2.219). Further we find syntactically more independent non-finite negative clauses (LU 6342):

154) LU 6343: *Is andsin foched in láech side lossa ...i n-ilgonaib ConCulaind co ternó Cú Culaind ina chotlud cen ráthugud dó etir*. ‘Then the warrior put herbs into the many wounds of Cú Culainn so that he recovered during his sleep without him perceiving it meanwhile.’

155) LU 6362: *Cid de ón or in t-ócláech. Na slóig cen opairt frisin ré sin*. ‘“Why is that?” asked the warrior. “The hosts not to have been attacked for that time.”’

Generally it appears the higher the formality – or the age – the text the more frequent are short phrases of just *cen* + verbal noun. Particularly in the Middle Irish period, the phrases involving *cen* + VN contain more constituents, examples like those in the Glosses consisting only of *cen* + VN are not found.

Cen can also be used where another element is preposed to a verbal noun:

156) MI 24b13: *cen imned do fodaitin isin biuth frecndairc do grés* ‘without enduring any afflictions in the present world forever’

157) MI 90c9: [...] *roleicthea cen fortacht du thabairt doib a deo* ‘ [...] they had been left without help being given to them by God.’

158) PCH 2794: *Ata is-in recht cen mnái do gabail i fhiadnaise.* ‘It is stated in the law not to take a woman as witness.’

Examples like these move the argument of the verbal noun forward with the help of the preposition *do*. They seem to give emphasis to the negative verbal noun by changing the usual order *cen thabairt fortacht doib* (see 2.2.5 below).

3. Further semantic components

In some contexts *cen* serves like a negative of the preposition *do* with verbal nouns (see 2.2.5 below). This use is mentioned in DIL (*cen*) and also in Gagnepain (1963: 53), who defines it as privative to both *oc* and *do*. There are some examples in the corpus of *cen* in negative purpose clauses, where its usage can be labelled as [- purpose]:

159) Wb11a15: [ne forte, cum aliis praedicauerim, ipse reprobus efficiar*] *cen chomalnad indí no pridchem* ‘so as not to fulfil that which I preach.’

160) Ml 124c11: [non frinavit * diuinam liberalitatem ingrati populi et terribilis intensio] *ní rufriithgab .i. cena tinnacul doib* ‘had not restrained, so that it should not be given to him.’

In other cases this usage results in prohibitive senses. This seems to be the case particularly after verbs of speech where subject and object differ:

161) TTr2.1229: *Acus atrubart fri Calchas fodessin... can techt forcúlo dochum a chenéoil fodéin.* ‘And he told Calchas himself not to go back towards his own people.’

162) Ml 127a9 [qui ipsis orationibus impiatur] *ingraither .i. cen áit neich gudes* ‘persecuted. So that he does not obtain anything that he prays for.’

Ó hUiginn (1998: 140) observes that the use of verbal nouns in the context which he terms negative jussive was much rarer than finite clauses introduced by a conjunction in Old Irish, but that their number then increased considerably in the Middle Irish period. In Middle Irish there is a notably higher presence of arguments that are preposed to the verbal noun with *do*. Syntactic emphasis may be possible in some, but not all of those examples:

163) TTr1, 1147: *Imtusa imorro Agmemnon & Aichil... o’chondarc can Hectoir do tiachtain isin chath doronsat nephni dona sluagaib.*

‘Concerning Agamemnon and Achilles, when they saw that Hector had not come to battle they made nil of the hosts.’

164) LL 2482: *da fhémmid gana comrac & gana comlund do gabáil do*

láim ‘He was unable not to undertake the battle and the fight.’

Gagnepain (1963: 57) argues that in Middle Irish this structure *cen* + noun + *do* + VN becomes generally reinterpreted as ‘not to’. Nevertheless, it could also be the case that this impression is due to the generally increased frequency of preposed arguments and a general use of *cen* for negative purpose. In this context the following structure is noteworthy:

165) TTr1, 273: *Is ed dochuaid iar sin in Pilum co Nestor ar na badh meraidecht do neoch do toisigib in tslugaib cen riachtain.* ‘Pilus then went to Nestor so that none of the leaders of the hosts would commit the error not to come.’

This is the only example of this type in the corpus. It could be that it is a hapax, but it could also be a possible alternative structure which was used to express non-purposive ‘not to’. On the other hand it resembles the modern Irish type *tá mé sásta gan tíoht* ‘I am ready not to come.’ (cf. Ó Siadhail 1980: 62).

4. Conclusions

Cen is generally used as a negator of verbal noun phrases. In addition, a sizeable number of *cen* plus verbal noun can be found to negate a verbal noun alone and not a longer phrase, particularly in the glosses. According to GOI (§875), *cen* should not be used in those cases, but a negative prefix. Thurneysen’s rule can therefore not be taken as watertight and, as far as the restricted corpus material here suggests, seems to apply to rather later material more than the earlier glosses material.

It may also be significant that a different construction seems to have become obsolete during that period, namely preposed negative *neb-* (see 2.2.4.2). It is possible that the demise of *neb-* has contributed to the rise of clausal *cen* in general and preposed *cen...do* in particular.

5. Examples

Overall, there are 196 examples in the corpus. This corresponds to 75.6 examples per 100,000 words.

I) 1) Examples of initial *cen-* phrases (63 exx.): a) negation of VN only: Wb 2d17, 10a19, 13d2, 30d16, Ml 23c7, 38d10, 42c30, 46a22, 91c15, 145c9. **b) phrase negation:** Wb15b3, 17b28, 24d15, 25c4, Ml 21b11, 23c25, 37c13, 43a3, 45d16, 48c26, 51b29, 68c8, 70c15, 76a15, 100a11, 130b11, 138b6, Sg 30a20, 33a5, 43a3, 198a9, 203a8, 220a8, LU 6343, LUH 5911, LL 483, 1576, 1995, 2165, AMCG 254, 803, TTr2 (LL).2147, TTr1.319 **c) clause part:** Wb 26b25, Ml 30b 26, 53a9, 80b1, 88b18, 108a10, 110c9, 124c11, 130b7, Sg 42a6, 45a16, 139a7, 153b7, 189a7, 189a8, 203a8. LU 4871, TTr1 221, SA 495b43, 496a49. **d) non-finite sentence:** -.

Sg 197b17: [‘Ipse*’ quoque in tertia persona per se] *cen acomol naich aili do[...]* ‘without joining another one to it.’

LU 4871: *Téit cosna maccu cen naidm a fóesama forru* ‘He goes to the boys without binding them on his protection.’

2) Phrases dependent on noun (26 exx.): a) VN negation only: Wb 4c16, 5b10, 16c1, 20b13, 24c2, 25c23, Sg 30a9, CG 198, 425, IB §38, §41, §43. ACon§12. **b) phrase negation:** Ml 46a23, Ml 132c6, Sg 152a3, AC 128, AMCG 313, 315-6, 1256, TTr2.7, 478, PCH 3056, 3109. **c) clause part:** Wb 3a14, Ml 41a5, AC 52. **d) non-finite sentence:-.**

Sg 152a3: [Propria enim nomina sunt naturaliter mobilia*] *comshreith són cen fodail ceniuil* ‘this (is) a construction without distinction of gender.’

3) verbal adjunct (42 exx.): a) VN negation only: Wb 22c4, 24c2, Ml 25a3, 56a13, AC 36, BCr 37, BP 244, CG 291, 399, 435, 443, 543, 471. LU 5083, LL 3611, 3893, AMCG 147, TTr2. 311, 770, 2147, SA 498a16. **b) phrase negation:** Wb 3d5, 3d30, Ml 25a3, 53b6, 83a8, 93a3, Sg 27a6, 30a2, 41b3, 63a15, 154a4, CP 64a2, BP 97, CG 202, 304. **c) clause part:** Wb 25a5, 25d16, Ml 90c9, 128c7, BP 891, TBF 7, **d) non-finite sentence: -**

Ml 93a3: *nonspanaigtis cen a nadrad* ‘to be idle because they are not worshipped.’

Sg 154a4: [... ‘traho tracto’, ... ‘dico dicto’; sed si quis attentius inspiciat, non penitus absistunt] *slond gnimo cen torant persine* ‘the expression of action without naming a person’

4) verbal complement (34 exx.): a) VN negation only: Ml 27d12, 95d13, Sg 74b6, 147b3, AC 41, CG 41, 557. LUH 5551, TTr2.783, 2212 **b) phrase negation:** Wb 9b20, 29a4, Ml 63b7, AMCG 313, 315-6, 1256, TTr2.7, 478, PCH 3056, 3109. **c) clause part:** Wb 9c20, 13a17, Ml 30a6, Sg 45a11. LUH 6187, TBCLL 777, 779, 799, 1072, 2482, TTr2.63, 2064, PCH 2653 **d) non-finite sentence:** AMCG 121.

Ml 27d12: *ní de intamladarsom .i. combeth cen digail do grés [...]* ‘He does not dissemble, i.e. that it should be unpunished for ever.’

AMCG 121: *co ná fãrgaib in gaeth sifind tuga nó minde luatha cen suabad lee dar in dorus aile fo cholbaib... in ríghige.* ‘So that the wind did not leave a striking of a cover nor a speck of ashes without brushing them under the door under the cushions of the royal house.’

5) object clause (5 exx.): a) VN negation only:-. b) phrase negation: Ml 129d22, LL 1897. **c) clause part:** Ml 91a6. LUH 5943. **d) non-finite sentence:** TTr2, 1229.

Ml 91a6: *adrimtis-som ar aithissib dumni buith fut recht-su ... & cen ar nditin-ni daitsiu immurgu.* ‘They used to count it as reproaches to us that we were subject to your Law and that you should not defend us however.’

Wb 13b11: *is aithiss doibsom cid anísin .i. cen precept dond aís anfiss* ‘even this is a disgrace to them, that is not to preach to the ignorant folk.’

6) subject clause (22 exx.): a) VN negation only: Wb 14d19 **b) phrase negation:** Wb 4b28, TBF 143. LUH 5904, 5951, 6135, TTr2. 219, PCH

3252 **c) clause part:** TTr2.470, 1940, PCH 2684, 2794, 2960 **d) non-finite sentence:** Wb 13b11, 13c17, Ml 23c25, 34d12, 117b7, 127a9, LU 6362. LUH 5244, LL 2185.

Wb 14d19: *ní maid dúibsi didiu cen dílgud* post increpationem ‘it is not good for you, then, not to forgive *post increpationem*.’

PCH 3252: *ce r-ba ingnad leis cen freiccra dó* ‘Though it seemed strange to him not to be answered.’

LU 6362: *Ron mairgsea deside or Cu Chulaind. Cid de ón or in t-ócláech. Na slóig cen opairt frisín ré sin.* “‘woe to me then”, said Cu Chulainn. “Why that,” said the warrior? “Because the hosts have been left unattacked for such a long time.”

II) Negative purpose (4 exx.): Wb 11a5, Ml 124c11, Ml 127a9, TTr2.1229. Ml 130b7: [cum mortui conquiescant a talibus officiis, praeuenire debet otiosa infirmi tempora et loca nostra deuotio] *cen gudi ndæ indib són* ‘for that they pray not to God in them.’

2.2.4.2 *neb*

1. Grammatical considerations

Neb-, leniting, is not a preposition but a prefix. But it is distributionally similar to *cen* in some contexts and is therefore included here for contrastive reasons. Its spelling varies somewhat and it is also spelled *neph-* before voiceless consonants, or *nem-* in later material. It is used in composition with nouns and adjectives to serve as a negation, and according to Thurneysen (GOI §874) it is used particularly in ad-hoc formations. He holds it to derive from the negative prefix **ne* with a suffix, which Pedersen (VGKS §358.2) identified this as a form of the copula. This is contradicted by Ó Briain (1923a: 310), who posits an original *neph-* as a product of negation + (adjectival) prefix *su-*. *Neb-* competes with the prefix *an-* in denoting states of a non-permanent quality. Thurneysen (GOI §874) describes the difference between *nebchretem* and *ancretem* as that of ‘non-belief’ and ‘unbelief’. While he sees *an-* as a negation which creates a compound that has a distinct meaning from the simplex, he considers *neb-* to negate the original base without creating independent meaning. He points out that *neb-* compounds, but not *an-* compounds, can take further complements. The distinction is not absolute and particularly cases of Latin nouns and participles with *in-* may be translated by *neb-*, such as *nebcongabthetu* ‘incontinentia’ or *nephchorpdae* ‘incorporeal’ (Thurneysen, *ibid.*).

2. Central semantic components

Neb- is used in composition with nouns and adjectives to negate the absence of the characteristics of the base form at a given time [- space, + temp]. This is seen with an adjective in *nephchomtertarrachti* ‘incomprehensible’ (Ml 55d11), where, as elsewhere in the Glosses, it is used to translate the Latin

prefix *in* (DIL 1 *nem-*). With verbal nouns it is likewise used for negating the meaning of the noun:

166) Wb 2c9: uel per praeputium .i. *tri nephóbe* ‘through non-circumcision’

167) TBF 323: *Dogéna nephthecht dia cungid*. ‘You will not go to look for them.’

The example from *Táin Bó Fraích* is the only example that was found in a saga text in the Old Irish corpus investigated here, otherwise *cen* was used. Gagnepain (1963: 55) observes that *neb-* and *cen* differ in that only *neb-* can be used to modify the verbal noun where it is a noun complement or follows another preposition. While both *neb-* and *cen* are used to modify the verbal noun where it has an object and a subject, he observes that *neb-* is preferred where these are not expressed.

168) Sg. 10a14: *a nephchumscugud · amal ·l· & n & r* ‘their immutability, like *l* and *n* and *r*’

169) Ml 54b22: *tri nephthabairt do dia forthachtae doib* ‘through God’s not giving help to them’

Of the 39 examples containing *neb-* more than one third, namely 15, have subject and/or indirect object expressed. On the other hand, also about a third, 52 of the 150 examples containing *cen*, express neither subject nor object. These numbers indicate that while there may be a weak correlation between subject and object expression and the preference of *cen* over *neb-*, it is by no means a strong one. Another feature which may be considered is the use with other prepositions. Some further examples of *neb* + VN follow other prepositions, as in

170) Ml 117d6: [sed etiam diuersorum uitiorum obseruatio*] *dia nephdenum ón* ‘to avoid doing them’

171) Wb 18b12: [ut uos quod bonum est faciatis, non autem ut reprobi simus*] *tre nephthabairt dígle fuiribsi* ‘through not inflicting punishment upon you’

Yet these account for only 10 examples in total. Neither of these two features, other prepositions or agents, seem to make the crucial difference for the employment of *cen* versus *neb-*. Perhaps the following example is illustrative:

172) Sg 189a7: [uerbum adiungi non potest intransituum*] *nephthairmthechtid .i. cen tairmthecht o persin di alaili* ‘a non-transgressor, i.e. without passing over from one person to another’

The two structures can obviously be used in the same context, and the fact that the derived form *tairmthechtid* already has complex morphology, including derivational suffixes, and is of considerable length, does not seem to impact on the use of the prefix *neb-*.

On the one hand the added agent in the second instance of *cen tairmthecht o persin* may have exercised an influence towards using *cen* in this case. On the other hand there may be a difference in that *neb-* can be used for (loan-) translations whereas the prepositional construction may form a more natural expression. A further difference may lie in the fact that *neb-* is a compositional particle and as such influences the meaning more directly than the preposition would. Some examples with *neb-* may express a contrast to the positive, or indeed another negative, element or situation:

173) Wb 18d9: *ataat di chétbuid híc imdibe tít nó a nebimdibe [...]* ‘There are two senses here: Titus’ circumcision or his non-circumcision.’

174) Wb 19c4: *noch ba hé a fassugud a nebchomalnad* ‘But this were its annulment, not to fulfil it.’

175) Ml 58a20: [pro: errore commisi, mater siquidem omnium malorum stultitia* est] *nephis & nephetarcae inna timnae ndiade ata deinti [...]* ‘ignorance and non-discernment of the Divine commandments that are to be carried out’

Examples like these indicate that *neb-* may be used in emphatic contexts whereas *an-* in particular was considered to create a lexeme with a negative sense (Thurneysen, GOI §874).

During further linguistic development the use of *neb* decreases: In the Middle Irish corpus texts only two examples of the prefix *nem-* were found with verbal nouns:

176) LL 1477-9: *Ní fetar sa ém, ar Fergus, acht óen ba dóig lem a bith eter Fochain & muir ic lécud gaíthe & gréne fõe ar nemchotlud na aidchi arráir...* ‘I do not know, said Fergus, but I should think that he might be between Fochain and the sea, exposing himself to wind and sun after his sleeplessness last night.’

177) TTr1, 14: *Dorone Media [iar sin] gním cuillech uathmar escon .i. marbad a maic ar seirc & immone ind oclaigh rochoemh ...& a nemhbreithi leis dochum a thire.* ‘Then Medea did a terrible cruel deed, namely the killing of her son for the love and adoration of the very beautiful warrior, and not taking him along towards his land.’

The prefix clearly did not have great currency with verbal nouns in Middle Irish. It is doubtful whether it was productively used for ad-hoc compounds. The examples where it is used with adjectives or nouns clearly show lexical-

ised phrases as in *doronsat nephni dona sluagaib* ‘they made nil of the hosts’ (TTr1, 1147). The meaning of the base word is reversed in such a case. And this reversal may also hold for some verbal noun examples:

178) Wb 14a16: [ne quis [ergo] illum spernat*, deducite autem illum in pace[...]] .i. *i nepbuih dia réir* ‘in not-being under his control’

179) Ml 94a1: *ní berae a salm ar assaph trí nephscribend in tituilse riam* ‘You should not take from Asaph his psalm by omitting to write this title before it.’

Overall, the effect of *neb-* is comparable to that of a preverb to a verb, namely to create a new word with a meaning that differs from the base form. Towards Modern Irish the *neamh-* prefix seems to turn predominantly to modifying adjectives in learned formations. Examples of this are technical terms and non-colloquial formations like *neamhspleách* ‘independent’ or *neamhoifigiúil* ‘unofficial’.

3. Further semantic components

No further uses were observable in the corpus.

4. Conclusions

Neb/nem- clearly is a prefix which changes the lexical content of the entity with which it is compounded. Unlike *cen* it changes not the syntax and meaning of a clause, but the meaning of the head noun or adjective. Its scope cannot affect anything outside the lexical boundaries of the noun it modifies. If *cen* can be understood as ‘not (to) x’, then *nem-* can be translated as ‘un-x’. In this latter case it rivals other Irish negative prefixes such as *an-*, but may create a stronger contrast to the base form than *an-* does.

5. Examples

There are 51 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 19.6 examples per 100,000 words.

1. Negating neb (42 exx.): Wb1d8, 2c9, 5c23, 8d26, 11a12, 14a15, 14a16, 17c13, 18b12, 18b13, 18b19, 18d9, 19a10, 19c4, 27a10, 27c24, Ml 15b4, 17d6, 23c20, 33d20, 35c10, 35d17, 43a15, 50d11, 51d2, 54b22, 58a20, 88b8, 94a1, 104c1, 117d6, 122a11, 145c3, Sg 7b9, 10a14, 75a1, 188a22, 189a7, 209b26, TBF323, LL1478. TTr1, 14

a) Example without contrast or other prepositions:

Wb 17c3: [quoniam haec gloria* non [in]fringetur in me] *nebairiten neich a uobís* ‘of not receiving aught a uobís’

b) Examples with other prepositions (3 exx.):

Wb 8d26: [...] .i. *ar cor hi far selbadsí et epert ammi mogæ dúibsi et ar nebmóidem hi magistrí ut Gamalial rl. et nebmés for nech condid messed in coimdiu consechide humaldóit huáimse .i. for nebmóidem hi magistrú et*

nebmess for nech immaid fa olcc condidmessed dia. ‘Putting ourselves into your possession and saying ‘we are servants of yours,’ and our not boasting as to masters *ut Gamaliel*, etc. and not judging any one until the Lord shall judge him; so that ye might follow humility form me, that is, your not boasting as to masters, and not judging of any one, whether he be good or evil, until God should have judged him.’

Wb 11a12: [sed castigo corpus meum*] *.i. tri precept et nebairitin lóge* ‘through teaching and not accepting pay’

Wb 18b12: [ut uos quod bonum est faciatis, non autem ut reprobi simus*] *tre nephthabairt dígle fuiribsi* ‘through not inflicting punishment upon you’

c) Possibly contrastive examples (5 exx.):

Ml 33d20: [fallendo prætenderet*] *remiescsed .i. in nephchumsanad indaim no hi tengad dano* [leg.: *in daimme no in tengad*, (Stokes & Strachan)] ‘stretched forth, i.e. the non-resting in hand or in tongue then’

Ml 35d17: [neque enim perfecta uirtus est tantum uitiiis non fedari et nullis uitae insignibus cumulatus* (uel cumulari)] & *nibi indumaichthiu .i. nibi chondumu do degnímaib for nephdenum ind uilc* ‘It is not more augmentedly, i.e. there is not a co-augmentation (?) of good deeds in not doing evil.’

Ml 117d6: [sed etiam diuersorum uitiorum observatio*] *dia nephdenum ón* ‘to avoid doing them’

Sg 209b26: *Gním dosom a fíus cesad domsa a nephdeirgesom ut darem* . ‘action to him to know it, passion to me not to desert him, *ut darem*.’

TBF 323: ‘*Dogéna nephthecht dia cungid. [...]*’ ‘You will not go to look for them.’ (in phrase)

2.2.5 Do

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *do* expresses direction ‘to, towards’. It lenites and is followed by the dative (GOI §§ 832, 855). It may also introduce the agent of a verbal noun as in *oc oul dó* ‘his drinking’. The Welsh equivalent is OW *di*, MidW *y*.

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *do* primarily denotes direction towards an entity [+ direction, + limit]. This direction may be spatial [+ space] as in *téicht do róim* ‘going to Rome’ (Thes II, 296). Furthermore, *do* + noun, or conjugated forms can be used to indicate mainly human agents or experiencers in constructions that do not otherwise have an animate subject, such as in *is mór in dethiden file dom-sa diib-si* ‘great is the care which I have for you’ (Wb 26d19).

There are also prepositional phrases with verbal nouns which convey direction towards an entity. In these cases, particularly with verbs of movement, purpose is obviously denoted as well [+ final]:

180) TBF 13: *Ár suidiu docorastar fair dul do accallaim na hingine.*
'Afterwards it was put to him to go do address the girl.'

181) Arm (notes) (Thes II: 242)18b1;14, 1.11: *Luid Sechnall iar tain du chúrsagad Pátricc im charpat boie lais.* 'Sechnall went after a time to reproach Patrick about the chariot he had.'

182) LU 4609-10: *A Findabair Chúalngi is ass fodailte in tslóig Herend fón cóiced do cuingid in tairb* 'From Findabair in Cúailnge the armies of Ireland spread out over the province in order to search for the Bull.'

There also are cases of clauses expressing intention without verbs of motion. This holds particularly for later texts:

183) LU 5887-8: *Ro bátár in tslúaig inna seseom & a scéith for a cennaib dia saerad for barnib na cloch...* 'The host was standing with their shields over their heads to protect them from the stone-throwing.'

184) AMCG 8-10: *Is he didiu fáth airicc a dénma .i. do díchor in luin chraeis bhoí i mbrágait Chathail meic Fhinguine.* 'The cause of its invention was to banish the demon of gluttony that was in the throat of Cathal MacFinguine.'

185) AMCG 1142-4: *Ba h-ed mo mian, biada ilarda immda inganta in betha i comair mo chrais do dénam mo tholi, do línad mo shanti.* 'This would be my wish, that the many wonderful foods of the world should be before my gullet, to satisfy my will, to satisfy my greed.'

The use of the preposition *do* in these examples resembles that of *dochum* 'towards' with verbal noun, represented by only two examples in the corpus:

186) BB 119: *Cren dí-m-sa m'ingin dochum fognama duit, ar at-rolleset a (m)besa.* 'Buy from me my daughter to serve you, for her manners have deserved it.'

187) BP 2656-7: *nad mbíad buiden dia chinél dochum ndála... la hUltu.*
'That there would not be a band of his people with a view to meeting the Ulaid.'

Both *do* and *dochum* express direction towards an entity together with purpose [+ dir, + final], but *dochum* is still only marginally represented. Towards the end of the MidIr period, and still in the EModIr period, *do* appears to be the main exponent of purpose. Bergin (1909: xix) points out that Keating still appears to have deliberately avoided *dochum*. In addition to purpose clauses with *do*, one early Irish example displays both *fri* and *do*:

188) AMCG 568-70: *Gébut-sa sin, ' ar mac Con Glinne, acht co rabat rí & brugaid, filid & cáinte dam fri taisce fhiach & dá comallad* “I will take that” said Mac ConGlinne, “provided that kings and lords, poets and satirists are pledged to me for the delivery of my dues and for their fulfilment.”

In this case there is no obvious difference in meaning between the two prepositions, and the use of two different prepositions is likely to have been due to stylistic considerations. Modern Irish has given up purposive *do*-complementation in favour of *chun*, derived from *dochum*:

189) *Mar táimse chun dul a' triall oraibh arís.* ‘For I am intending to go to see you again.’ (West Muskerry, Ó Siadhail 1989: 296)

The explanation for this replacement may be that *do*, often presumably realized as a reduced vowel plus lenition, was too weakly distinguished phonetically.

3. Further semantic components

A large number of cases of *do* + verbal noun do not express direction or purpose and no further semantic features seem to be present either [-]. The object of the verbal noun does not follow the VN as would be usual, but is preposed with the help of the preposition *do*. Thus *denam toil dae* ‘doing God’s will’ may be changed to:

190) Wb 30a18: *is hed didiu a lligitime ... tol dáe do dénum* ‘This then is the *legitime* to do God’s will.’

Some of these examples do not display any pragmatic particularities and no particular stress on the preposed object is observable.

In other examples, a certain amount of emphasis on the preposed object appears to be present, particularly in texts from the Old Irish period:

191) Sg 9a18: [singulas* fecerunt] *oéndai oenlitre do dénam díb hi scribunt* ‘single, that single letters should be made of them in writing’

192) TBF 198: *Ba hed iarum athesc Findabrach, nach álaind atchíd, ba háildiu lee Fróech do acsin tar dublind,* ‘This was the message of Findabair, anything beautiful that she saw, she deemed it more wonderful to see Fraech over the black pool.’

In a number of examples syntactic and pragmatic considerations appear to play a role: there are examples which illustrate that this construction has the

effect of creating parallel sentence structures that can then be compared and contrasted with each other:

193) PCH3272: *Airchindig imorro na sacart & senoraig in popuil, is ed ro-aslaigset, Barabás do anocul & Ísu do crochad.* ‘This however is what the priests and the elders of the people urged: to set Barnabas free and to crucify Jesus.’

194) LL 1970-1: *Finnabair do ’óenmnaoi, & fes i cCrúachain do grés & fion do dháil fair.* ‘Finnabair to be his only wife and an everlasting feast in Cruachan and wine to be served to him.’

195) TTr2,1789: *Is hí ém mo chomairle dúib, ar Nestor, cocill bar slúraig cen chatha menci do denam co tí amser coscair dúib amal roingell Apaill, & ossada móra do dénam.* ‘This is my council to you, said Nestor, to spare your army and not to fight frequent battles until the time of triumph comes to you as Apollo has promised and/but to make great truces.’

It seems to be relevant to the use of the preposed element here that the sentence structure is altered. The verbal phrase can be the focus of attention and two or more entities are in parallel alignment for possible contrast. This possibility does not only exist for preposed objects. In addition to the object, subjects can also be preposed, and like the objects they may show focus:

196) SM 66a19: *Is ed tra as brig la Dia menmae do buith hi figraib in offrind* ‘This is what God deems worthy, the mind to be in the symbols of the mass.’

197) PCH 3017: *.i. inad sin a n-íchtar slebi Olifét, & lúb-gort sin din [sic.] sainnrud; & atfét Eoin lub-gort do beth ann-sin & conid ann-sin ro-hergabud ísu.* ‘That was a place at the foot of mount Olivet, and it was a garden to be precise. John says that there was a garden there, and that it was in it Jesus was seized.’

Here the preposed subject contains topical information. It is the entity which has previously been the subject of discussion and preposing it creates continuity in the discourse. Preposing the subject here may be seen as an anchoring device, providing continuity in discourse. Examples with the negative *cen* seem to be particularly prone to preposing (cf. 2.2.4.1):

198) PCH2794: *Atbertsat din [leg.: dano] Iudaide:- ‘Ata is-in recht cen mnái do gabail i fhiadnaise.’* ‘But the Jews said: “it is forbidden by the law to take a woman as witness.”’

199) PCH2960 *Ba ignad mor fris-in popul sin .i. dorus na cubacle d’fhagbail dunta, & cen Iosep do beth innti.* ‘This was a great marvel for

the people: that the door of the cubicle remained closed and Joseph was not in it.’

This structure can be described as a way to create focus on a negated argument of a verbal noun.

It has been maintained at great length by both Genée (1994) and Disterheft (1985) that purpose clauses and preposed (‘displaced’) arguments of the verbal noun often coincide. Examples of this appear quite frequently in the present corpus as well:

200) Sg 66b16: *arecar a mascul do slund aimsire indeirbbæ* ‘The masculine is found (in order) to express uncertain time.’

201) Wb 28d15: [docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in uirum, sed esse in silentio*] *ar is lour in fer dia irlabri* ‘For the man is enough (in order) to speak for her.’⁵²

202) B.Cr §31: *Ata dono ben la Fene ales tri brithemna do mes a folraig.* ‘There is also in Irish law a woman who is entitled to have three judges (in order) to estimate her maintenance.’

On the one hand, these are examples of the agents of the verbal nouns being found in front of their verbal nouns. On the other hand, these examples also seem to express purpose: thus Wb 28d15 might signify that ‘the speaking of the man’ is sufficient, with the agent, *fer*, being put forward for emphasis. Additionally, it can be understood that ‘the man is sufficient, in order to speak for her’. This kind of indeterminacy does typically arise in narrative texts, but is predominantly found in the Glosses material.

Genée (1994: 59-65) points out in her study of these displacement constructions that the preposed argument of the verbal noun usually receives focus, often contrastive focus, by this arrangement. While she holds the construction with preposed arguments to have been clearly emphatic in its earlier stages, this emphasis may have been lost when the frequency of the construction increased. She argues (1994: 46-7) that displaced constituents appear mostly where they are a subject complement of the matrix clause predicate. The predicate mostly has one argument slot and is described as having not very clearly defined semantics such as *uisse*, *maith* etc.. A case in point is the following:

203) Wb 14a37: *is dil laee maid do dénum dúibsi* ‘It seems dear to her that ye should do good.’

Fraser (1912: 223) argues that the structures of adjective + *do* + VN are facilitated by the existence of adjectives which are complemented by *do*, such

⁵² Likewise Wb 3d11; 5c18; 12c39; 12d29; 14d29;

as *anse*, *maith* or *uisse* as in *nipa anse dúib* ‘it was not easy for you’ (Wb 19d18, Fraser 1911: 23). He considers this to be the starting point for infinitive-like constructions found in ModIr. In addition to such preposed adjectives as the afore-mentioned, the nominalised adjective *maith/maid* can also be found as preposed object. This could have contributed to the admissibility of preposed adjectives with these infinitive-like constructions. In some further cases more complex syntactic structures are observable. Particularly interesting are the following:

204) LU 5163: *Cia dé or Cu Chulaind bad ferr la Ultu a mmarb [no a mbeo] do breith dóib*. “‘Which would the Ulstermen prefer”, said Cú Chulainn, “that I should take them to them alive or dead?””

205) CG 584: *Cethrar .i. righthid & seirthith & dá thoebthaid, it é a n-anman; it hé ata chóra do buith i foitsiu thaige ríge [...]*. ‘Four, namely a front guardsman, a rear guardsman, and two sides-men. These are their names. It is them who are fit to be on the right of the king’s house.’

In these two cases we have preposed predicative adjectives, in the case of CG 584 even in the plural. The syntactic status of this latter example is difficult to determine as it is basically this plural adjective which predicates the plural copula form.

These preposed structures have extended their use further towards preposed pronouns and adjectives. Stress on preposed arguments becomes less prominent with the expansion of the structure during the Middle Irish period. Nevertheless, the construction seems to play an increasing role in Irish syntax and it may help to increase overall flexibility of word order in the sentence.

4. Conclusions

Do + verbal noun is used mainly for indicating purpose and intention and these two are closely related to direction. In the MidIr period the number of preposed arguments with *do* increased markedly in comparison with OIr. In some cases there seems to be emphasis on the preposed element, as in examples where syntactically parallel structures are created by them, but some appear preposed rather for other, syntactic reasons such as the consideration of topic continuity with preposed subjects.

Denoting purpose by *do* is proportionally less frequent in MidIr than in Old Irish and, perhaps because of the shifting focus of *do* towards preposed arguments, purpose is increasingly frequently expressed by other prepositions which are semantically very close, namely *fri* and *dochum*. However, in the corpus there are still only a few examples of *dochum* + VN, which on the way to Modern Irish takes over purpose functions.

5. Examples

Overall, 1473 examples of *do* plus verbal noun were found in the corpus. This corresponds to 568.1 examples per 100,000 words, i.e. 392,6 examples of purposive uses, and 175, 5 examples of proposed constructions.

a) Purpose clauses (1018 exx.):

Wb 1c15, 2d1, 2d6, 3b 27, 3b15, 3d12, 4a21, 4b17, 4b21, 4c2, 4c36, 4a10, 4d12, 4d24, 5a16, 5a5, 5a22, 5a27, 5a29, 5b11, 6a13, 6b5, 6c27, 6c31, 6d6, 6d14, 7b5, 7c13, 9a19, 9d1, 10d27, 10d37, 11a13, 11a24, 11a31, 11c1, 11c6, 11c15, 11d6, 11d13, 12b3, 12c39, 12d32, 13b2, 13b26, 13d27, 14a36, 14c20, 14c40, 14d14, 14d37, 15a14, 15a3, 15a29, 15c4, 15d39, 16a 24, 16a3, 16a26, 16c10, 17d28, 18a18, 18c9, 18c10, 18d1, 18d2, 18d6, 19a7, 19b14, 19c9, 19c13, 20a2, 20d4, 20a12, 21c3, 21c7a, 22a10, 22b19, 22d11, 23b4, 23b29, 24b2, 24c5, 24d10, 24d14, 24d23, 25a36, 26b18, 25a14, 25b28, 25d25, 26a30, 26b9, 27b23, 27c24, 27c8, 28a3 (2x), 28d12, 29a13, 29a15, 30a11, 30a20, 30c18, 30c22, 30d17, 31b17, 31d13, 31d15, 31b10, 32a14, 32c4, 32d7, **MI** 14b4, 14c4, 14c19, 14d7, 15a2, 15a3, 16b6, 19d2, 21c3, 20d1, 22d5, 23b12, 23c5, 23c9, 24a18, 25b6, 26c4, 26c6, 27b15, 27c10, 29a11, 30b11, 32a8, 33a13, 33a18, 33b8, 33c15, 33d8, 33d18, 35b17, 35b24, 36a13, 36a24, 36c17, 37a 10, 37c4, 37c9, 38c4, 40 b7, 41a1, 42c11, 45c9, 46b20, 48c5, 49d6, **MI** 51a6, 42d2, 43b13, 44c16, 44d20, 46a14, 46d2, 47c5, 47c17, 47d7, 48a18, 51b20, 51c22, 51d5, 51d10, 52 (2x), 53b13, 53c18, 53d13, 55a17, 55c1, 55c21, 56a17, 56b16, 56c1, 56c11, 56c15, 57c4, 57d16, 60a1, 60a10, 61a13, 61c3, 62a2, 62a4, 62a 5, 62b13, 62b23, 62d3, 63a10, 64a9, 65a1, 66c2, 66c9, 66c14, 67b24, 67d 2, 67d 2, 67d9, 67 d10/11, 67d14, 67d14, 68b9, 68d4, 70c5, 71c9, 71c13, 72b5, 72b6, 72b25, 73d10, 74a7, 74d13, 75b4, 76d9, 76d10, 76d14, 77a12, 77d2, 77d17, 78b11, 80c13, 81d3, 81d5, 83a11, 84a2, 84a7, 84b11, 84d3, 85c6, 85b16, 86a5, 86c10, 86d2, 86d8, 87a4, 87a7, 87d11, 88a6, 88a8, 89a2, 89a4, 89a11, 89b12, 89d6, 89d6, 89d7, 89d17, 90a5, 90a14, 90c1, 90c18, 90d3, 91b9, 92a4, 92a16, 92c7, 93a5, 93a8, 94c5, 94c10, 95 d 1, 95d4, 96a8, 96b7, 96d2, 98a4, 98b12, 98c1, 98d7, 100a7, 100b24, 100c23, 101c7, 101c14, 101d8, 102a15 (2x), 102a19, 102d4, 102d12, 103c15, 103d13, 103d19, 104c4, 107a10, 107a13, 107b3-4, 107c10, 107c16, 107d13, 108b8, 109a2, 110d10, 110d11, 111b15, 111c3, 111c21, 112d4, 112d6, 113c8, 113d5, 117b7, 118c4; 120a4, 120c8, 120d2, 121b13, 121d 4, 121d10, 122a2, 123a11, 123b3, 123c3, 123c4, 124b3, 125d12, 126b2, 127a1, 127b1, 127d3, 128d9, 130c6, 132a5, 132c4, 133b9, 133b10, 133c9, 134a3, 135b6, 135d1, 36b4, 136c11, 140b11, 145b6, 145c7, 145c8, 146b1, **Sg** 3b5, 4a13, 6b19, 7b20, 9a10, 9a8, 20b10, 28a9, 28b18, 28b24, 31b8, 40b15, 42a4, 42a5, 45b1, 57b8, 59a1, 61b3, 63b6, 66b15-16, 66b18, 68b9, 73b7, 140a4, 147a1, 149a2, 149b4, 151a5, 162a6, 173a8, 183b3, 189a3, 189b2, 198a5, 198b3, 198b4, 200b3, 202a4, 208a4, 209b30, 209b31, 209b32, 210a5, 211a8, 211a9, 216b3, 205a3. **Tur** 39, 58a, 80, 123. **CA** 5d1, 6c3. **CB** 32a8, 40a2, **VB** 1b1; gl. 12, 1b2; gl 17, 3a1; gl 34, 4b1; gl. 64, 4b1; gl. 67. **A** 18b1; 13, 1.6, **A** 18b1; 14, 1.11. **CCC** §1, §2, §3; **IB** §31, **CM** 42:5, 43:7, 43:11-2, 46:20,

47:1, 47:4, 47:8, **BCr** §21, §31, §36, §37. **CG** 25, 108, 122, 123, 136, 281, 360, 365, 506, 509, 521, 522, 542, 545, 550, 553, 572, **ACon** §3, §5 (3x), §12, §14. **BB.** 2, 39, 78-80, 113 (2x), 136, 153, 207, 218, 238, 283, 284, 327, 340, 342, 344, 359, 403, 405, 432, 437, 465, 541, **BB.** App.3 (2x), **BB.** App.32, **BB.** App.72. 1. **TBF** 13, 51, 59, 87, 142, 144, 153, 166, 180, 192, 232, 270, 272, 279, 280, 323, 340, 346.

+ a further 427 examples in Middle Irish texts.

Sg 66b18⁵³: [et pro incerto masculinum] *desmrecht inso ar mascul do slund aimsire inderbbæ* ‘this is an example for the expression of uncertain time by the masculine.’

BB. 78-80: *Fecht n-aile iar sin senior caillige craibdigi baí hi fochruib du t[h]ig Dubthaig esestair in n-í Brigthi do thecht do a(a)ccallaim .xx.vii et noeb Lagen i n-oendail.* ‘On another occasion after that an old pious nun who lived near Dubthach’s house asked Brigit to go and address twenty-seven Leinster saints on one assembly.’

2) preposed subject (120 exx.)

a) no emphasis (20 exx.): LU5513, LL1554, LL 311, 508, 1554, 1717, 3147, TTr2, 10, 1031, 1906, TTr1, 181, 305, 386, 486, 964, 974, SA 491b28, 491b48, PCH 2918, 2960.

PCH 2918: *O’tcualatar tra na hlúdaide Iósep do chunchid cuirp Ísu & a adnaicthi* ‘The Jews then heard that Joseph was looking for the body of Joseph and for his burial-place.’

b) possible emphasis (60 exx.): **Wb** 1d5,4d4, 5a13, 5c18, 10d6, 12d29, 28b15, **MI** 14d7, 19d5, 32d10, 39d3, 46c18-19, 61a13, 67d15, 82a7,85b16,86 d 10, 87d4, 90c12, 90 c 22, 90c 27, 94b 3, 106d 3, 120d2, 126a7, 129c4, 131c 9, 138c18, 145d4. **Sg** 66b16, 108a3, 120b8, 190b5, 215a10. CP 2a2, CP 15a3: 3. SM 66a19. **BCr.** § 31, Cg 517, **ACon** §4, §11 (2x), §13, §14. **BB** 431, **BB** App.16-9, **TBF** 267.LL 1551, 2788, 3887, **AMCG** 1232, TTr2, 205, 2187, TTr1, 144, 425, 1041, 1115-6, 492b29, 494b20, PCH 3232.

BB. App.16-9: *Co toracht Lugaid co Brigti co ndernai-si uan dó [...], & co nduargaib in cloich for-eimigh gach fer do t[h]ógbail isin ch[l]ud in la reimi.* ‘Lugaid came to Brigit, and she prepared a lamb for him [...] and he raised the stone which every man had failed to raise in the rampart the day before.’

PCH 3232: *amal ro-bad pheccad leo in argut & lóg na fola do thabairt i ciste na sruthi* ‘thus they thought it was a sin to place the money and the price of flesh into the treasury of the elders.’

c) emphasis (37 exx.): **Wb** 9b13, 9d13, 13a19, **MI** 74b13, **Sg** 158a2, 191a4, **LL** 776, 1825, 3380, 3891, **AMCG** 57, 556, TTr2, 56, 238, 254, 542, 1940,

⁵³ compare Sg 66b17: [Venit summa dies*] panthús dixit contra *aeneam tanicc aimser derb togle troi desmrecht insin ar aimsir deirb in feminino* ‘Panthous said to Aeneas: The certain hour of Troy’s destruction has come’: that is an example for certain time in the feminine’.

TTr1, 365, TTr2, 157-8, 1880, 1898, 1985, 2084, 2088, 2119, SA 489a49, 490b34, 493a9, PCH 3028, 3043-4, 3086, 3091, 3157, 3168, 3178, 3215, 3229.

TTr2, 238: *jobíthin narbo chomadas leo in mac cocháem roálaindsin do bith etir dáinib* ‘Because they thought it not fitting that such a handsome, beautiful boy should be amongst people.’

LL776-7: *is geis dúib maccaem do thíchtain in far cluchi can chur a faisma foraib* ‘it is a taboo for us that a boy should come into our game without binding their protection on them.’

LL 1825?: *Bad [léor] lim gilla a chomaís dim muntir do thecht ‘na agid for áth* ‘I think it sufficient that a boy of his own age of my people should go towards him to the ford.’

d) thematic considerations: LL 3974, 3992, PCH 3017.

PCH3017: *inad sin a n-ichtar slebi Olifét & lúb-gort sin din sainnrud, & atfét Eoin lub-gort do beth ann-sin & conid ann-sin ro-hergabud ísu.* ‘A place at the foot of mount Olivet, and a garden there in particular, John says that there was a garden there, and that it was in it Jesus was seized.’

3) preposed object (332 exx.)

a) no emphasis (49 exx.): LL 452, 646, 742, 743, 797, 1154, 1453, 1530, 1553, 1662, 1897, 1904, 1937, 1938, 1944, 1949, 2482, 2521, 2539-40, 2730, 3297, 3854, 3974, 4101, 4545, 4783, AMCG 43, 154, 221, 239, 253, 650, TTR2, 788, 898, 1091, 1265, 1611, 1639, 1640, 1646, TTr1, 1018, SA 492b5, 495a19, PCH 2599, 2702, 2764, 2809, 2932, 2957.

LL 1154: *Ní chaemnactar eich roremra ind rí in damrad do chamaitecht* ‘The overweight horses of the king could not keep up with the stag.’

b) possible emphasis (126 exx.): Wb 3d13, 3d30, 4a4, 4b4, 5c23, 8a6, 10a18, 10b25, 10b3, 12a10, 14a4, 14a37, 17b29, 18c6, 18c11, 23b21, 23c2, 24d14, 22a4, 25d20, 27c8, 28b1, 28c8, 30a18, 30c23. MI 14a4, 14a8, 16c10, 18c6, 24b13, 24c1, 26c6, 26d14, 28c12, 31c9, 35c34, 35d26, 40c5, 40c6, 42c33, 54a5, 54b30, 54c12, 60b6, 61b17, 61b28, 62b1, 63d2, 69b6, 71a2, 73a10, 73d2,3, 80d4, 85b11, 89d6, 93a23, 94c12, 98a4, 103c16, 107a5, 110c1, 114b7, 115b4, 128a15, 133a7, 144c8. Sg 30b4, 41b4, 50a14, 70b4, 76b1, 77b2, 127b3, 136a1, 137b2, 149b7, 211a8. BB 105, 206-7. CA 13d1, SM 65a12, AC 36, BCr §92, BCr. §45, CG 410. CG 145, 198, 226. LUH 6145, 6712, LL 333, 395, 1015, 1668, 1857, 2500, 2548, 2785, 3168, 3976, 4760-1, AMCG 41-2, 45, 198, 275, TTr2, 630, 921, 2111, TTr1, 387, 1021, SA 497a7, PCH 2686, 2690, 2737, 2748, 2786, 2802-3, 2838, 3103, 3109, 3109-10, 3262, 3274.

MI 54a5⁵⁴: *ar denum tuile dæ ho menmain & huare as dliged leu inna fochaidi do thabairt foraib tar æsi a pectha* ‘for doing the will of God from the mind, and because they deem it a law that the tribulations should be inflicted on them.’

⁵⁴ cf. MI 54a4: *ho thuil amenman & is dliged leu tabart inna fochaide foraib.*

BB.206-7: *Nis-mboí di do chumacc ambo do imain fon.* ‘They were not able however to drive their cow.’

BB.105: *‘Is ansa[e] dam-sa’, ol Brigit, ‘a biad feissin do gabail do C[h]rist.* ‘it is difficult for me’, said Brigit,’ to deprive Christ of his own food.’

LL 1857: *Acht is emilt engram cach fir for leith dib d’innisin.* ‘But it is tedious to tell the deeds of every man separately.’

c) emphasis (126 exx.): Wb 5b42, 7d16, 10d18, 14b2, 17d17, 5280, MI 22c14, 31b24, 42a4, 43d27, 48b16, 51b18, 60a12, 68c14, 73b17, Sg 9a18, 26b5, 77b2, 104b4, 112b3, 136a2, 193b5. LU 5256-7, LUH 5851, 6719, LL 84, 110, 111, 118, 357, 574, 590, 839, 993, 1072, 1101, 1137, 1186, 1251, 1252, 1252-3, 1294, 1396, 1531, 1966, 1974, 1976, 2302, 2336, 2462, 3348, 3771, 3900, 4202, 4440, 4754-5, 4887-8, AMCG 39, 90, 202, 228, 348-9, 360, 507, 526, 581, 642, 727, 1345. TTr2, 15, 351, 360, 576, 580, 704, 744-5, 778, 819, 835-6, 845-6, 849, 850, 852, 865, 905, 907-8, 1461, 1747, 1771, 1789, 1899, 2159, 2167, 2171. TTr1, 2, 30, 89, 452, 1064, 1131, 1132, 1147. SA 497a28, 490b51, 493a10, 493a12, 496a26, 500a23, 500b6. PCH 2641, 2644, 2653, 2684, 2720, 2734, 2794, 2846, 2933, 2960, 2982, 3091, 3130, 3276, 3286, 3312.

LL 109-11: *mór in maith dó aní i mbiad opair cethri n-ollchóiced nHérend do brith a crích Ulad* ‘A great boon it is to give the thing the four provinces of Ireland would be needed to carry away from Ulster.’

LL 3898-3900: *Cid bad ‘ferr dam-sa in chomairle dogénaind ná techta d’fhúapairt fer nhérend & mo choscur do chur dib remum & ainech Ulad do tharrachtain.* ‘What better plan could I devise than to go and attack the men of Ireland and win victory over them and avenge the honour of Ulster?’

LU 5256-7: *Cid dogní sund ol Cu. Ferse carpait do béim ol in t-ara.* ‘“What are you doing there”, said Cú Chulainn. “Cutting chariot-shafts,” said the charioteer.’

d) possible thematic considerations (31 exx.): Wb 5b42, MI 95c3, LUH 6205, LL320, 1971, 4258, 4358, 4707, TTr2, 581-4, 679-83, 767-8, 777, 1049, 1072-3, 1271-2, 1303, 1790, 1793, 2149, 2170, 2256. TTr11, 177-8, 226-9, 241-2, PCH 2594, 2694, 2718, 2925, 3017, 3272.

Wb 5b42: *cosmulius tra dombeir som híc aris bésad leusom in fid do thóbu et fid aile do esnid and* ‘a similitude, then, which he puts here, for they have a custom to cut a tree and to insert another tree therein.’

MI 95c3: *ní mór duib cia chomallaide a ní asrochoilsid du chomallad* ‘it is no great thing for you that ye fulfil what ye have determined [to fulfill].’

4) Preposed Adjective (3 exx.): Wb 14d29, 23c2, CG 584.

Wb 23c2: *is hed ón as maith lessom do chluas* sicut scriptum est erat illis corpus unum et anima una ‘it is this that he likes to hear *sicut...*’

2.2.6 *Im* and *fo*

2.2.6.1 *Im*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Old Irish preposition *im(m)* ‘(round) about’ lenites and takes the accusative. It is related to the preverb *im(m)/im(b)* and can be connected to Middle Welsh *am* (Thurneysen, GOI §841).

2. Central semantic components

Most basically *im* denotes that an entity is surrounded, as in *étach nderscaigthe ... do buith im(m) rí* ‘distinguished clothes to be about a king’ (MI 120d2). This can be described as expressing spatial, stative cover of an item [+ space, + stat, + cover]. This concrete usage is not found with verbal nouns.

3. Further semantic components

In the corpus we mostly find examples in which the verbal noun and preposition follow a speech act verb like *ad:fét* ‘tell’ and particularly verbs of asking like *guidid* ‘entreats’:

206) AConB §2: *Ba cretmech Altus, is aire atféd cec[h] mait[h] im crochad Críst.* ‘Altus was a believer. ‘Tis therefore he told every good thing about the crucifixion of Christ.’

207) BP 2126-7: *Ro gáid Eujan inní Pátraic im thodúscad a shenathar .i. Muiredaig.* ‘Eujan besought Patrick about reviving his grandfather, i.e. Muiredach.’

208) LL2371-3: *Is and sin ra atchetar in ingenrad fhiru Hérend ‘ma tócbáil bar lébennaib sciath ás gúallib feróclách do thaidbriud chrotha Con Culaind.* ‘Then the women of Ireland begged the men of Ireland to lift them up on platforms of shields above the warriors’ shoulders that they might see Cú Chulainn’s appearance.’

In these cases the verbal noun phrase functions as a non-finite clause depending on the main clause verb. In addition to expressions of asking like *guidid*, verbs of refusing, such as *sénaid* ‘denies’ can be found. This concept appears to be rather frequent in other related languages as well, as illustrated by examples like English *he asks about* or German *er bittet um*. In a similar vein we encounter examples where nouns denoting speech acts are complemented by *im* plus verbal noun:

209) TTr2, 312: *nothuaslaicfed Medeia sein trí cumachta ndruidecta & trí eolas gentlidi, & nis-furegad can imthecht, dá tucad Iason curu & rátha di imma bith ace d’oenmnái céin nomaredsi.* ‘Medea would solve it

through might of magic and through heathenish lore, and she would not delay them without going, if Jason would give her covenants and pledges that she should abide with him as his one wife so long as she should live.’

210) LL2787-90: *Dachúaid dóib ‘no máeth n-áraig do tharrachtain dó-som for Meidb im chuir in tshessir churad chétna imna comadaib ra gellad dó do chomallad riss mad dá táetsad Cú Chulaind leiss.* ‘He told them too that he had obtained from Medb a covenant whereby she should send the same six heroes to fulfil the promises that had been made to him if Cú Chulainn should fall by him.’

211) TTr2,1770: *Is andsain tucait rí & rigdamnai, tússig & trenfir & láith gaile na nGréc dochum Agmemnoin & Achil & Nestoir do denam a comairle im cathugud do denam cach láí.* ‘Then the kings and princes and chieftains and champions and heroes of the Greek were brought to Agamemnon and Achilles and Nestor to take council as to fighting every day.’

In addition, extensions from verbs of speech towards other, more general verbs can be found. This type of example is categorised by DIL (*imm* Ia-c, also Gagnepain 1963: 71) as used for ‘concerning’ or ‘for the sake of’. This can be observed in the following examples:

212) Wb 26d17: *ató oc combáig friss im sechim a gníme et im gabáil desimrechte de coroissinn cutrummus friss [...]* ‘I am contending with Him as to imitating His deeds and as to taking example from Him, so that I might attain equality with Him.’

213) LUH 5957: *Ní reid bith fris im longud no im ligi.* ‘It is not pleasant to be with him with respect to eating and sleeping.’

In the latter example predicates specify the characteristics of a person or thing. The particular quality under discussion is introduced by *im*. This usage may be understood as an extension of the basic ‘around, about’ sense, possibly as a result of the semantically abstract characteristics of verbal nouns as opposed to concrete nouns (cf. 1.6.5).

In an otherwise isolated case the preposition and verbal noun are used with the substantive verb to express engagement in an action.

214) Wb4c24: [O homo, tú quis és, qui respondeas Deo*?] *cia tussu díxnigedar .i. cid nombetha im etarceirt a messa im dia* ‘Who are you? I.e. who are you that you should dispute his judgement with God [m.t.]?’

On the surface this usage seems to resemble periphrasis with the substantive verb with *oc* and verbal noun. It is noteworthy, however, that this is a translation gloss of a Latin subjunctive and appears to express potentiality. In this

instance expressing uncertainty this isolated example resembles some characteristics of its Welsh counterpart *am*, which may be found with reference to future events (cf. 3.2.6.1). This feature could be derived from denoting proximity to the action [+ prox].

4. Conclusions

In the Old Irish material a relatively limited number of different usages can be observed for *im*. The use with verbs of speaking and desiring is prominent in narrative texts. The scope of the preposition seems to have grown from the concrete usage of ‘around’ to speech act verbs, particularly evidenced in the texts by *guidid*. It could then have extended to more general verbs to denote subject matter and express ‘around, about’ in a more general way, including complement clauses in general. It might also have had a certain frequency in denoting potential events.

5. Examples:

Overall, there are 33 examples, which corresponds to 12.7 examples per 100,000 words.

1. ‘concerning’ (32 exx.): a) with verb of speech or desire (10 exx.): Wb 27d19, 30b4, BB 225-6, BP 2127, LU 6688, LUH 5957, LL 2371, AMCG 51, TTr2, 1034, AConB §2,

Wb 30b4: [haec commune, testificans* coram Domino] *annongeiss cách imma chomalnad* ‘when thou beseechest every one for its fulfilment.’

BB. 225: ‘...’ *ar Brigit, ‘& ma ru-gesmais Dia im digbail do c[h]laime dit, imbad maith lat son?’* ‘...’, Brigit said “‘and if we were to pray to God for the removal of your leprosy, would you like that?’”

TTr2, 1034: *Ó’tchondaic Alaxandir Elind do thecht dia f’égad raítadaigestar inn ingin, ar ni rabi di bantroctaib in talman rasessad cutrummus fria sáire & súarca & sercaige. Conad airesein rasantaig mac rí na Troi imma déiscin.* ‘When Alexander saw Helena come to behold him, he thirsted for the maiden, for of all the women of the earth there was none that could equal her in nobleness and pleasantness and lovesomeness. Wherefore the son of the king of Troy longed for a sight of her.’

b) nouns of speaking (6 exx.): Ml 46b5, LL 2784-7, 2787-90, TTr2, 312, 1770.

Ml 46b5: [decenter quoque iteratur respontio, ut contradictionem depellat* auctoritas] *arnabeth imresan imm oslucud inna cathrach* ‘that there might be no contention about the opening of the city.’

LL 2784-7: *rachúaid dóib máeth n-áraig do tharrachtain do Meidb fair im chomlund & im chomrac ra sessiur curad arnabárach ná im chomlund & im chomrac ra Coin Culaind a óenur diambad assu leiss.* ‘He told them how Medb had obtained from him a covenant whereby he would fight and encounter six heroes on the morrow or else fight and encounter Cú Chulainn alone if he should prefer.’

c) predicates of being (7 exx.): AC 15, LUH 5957, 6707-8, TBCLL 15, 16, 30, 227-8,

LUH 6707-8: *Ba fer borb brogda iarom im longud & im ligi in Mand.* ‘This Mand was a violent fellow, excessive in eating and sleeping.’

LL30: *Diambad neóit in fer ‘gá mbeind, níbad chomadas dún beith maróen for bíth am maith-se im rath & tindnacul* ‘If my husband should be mean, it would not be fitting for us to be together, for I am generous in largesse and the bestowal of gifts.’

c) other verbs (9 exx.): Ml 59d3, 103c15, CG 418, AConB §2, BP 647, 1722, 3069, TTr1, 489, TTr2, 822-3.

TTr2, 822-3: [...] *acht nech da ticfad a frithalim im forrán a feirggi & im chomlúth a cocaid & im thincem a tressa & im chinniud a chath.* ‘But one from one from whom one might await the onfall of his anger and the movement of his warfare and the offer of his strength and the decision of his battles.’

2. Potential engagement: Wb4c24 (above).

2.2.6.2 *fo*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *fo* ‘under’ causes lenition and is used both with dative and accusative. It corresponds to the British preposition **gwo* ‘under’ (Thurneysen, GOI §837). This gave the Old Welsh form *go*, which was later reduced to *o*. According to Evans it is, however, scarcely attested (cf. GMW §231 n2).

2. Central semantic components

Fo expresses various spatial as well as abstract relations denoting position beneath [+ space, + stat, + inferior] as in LL 454: *Ulaid do lécud fo chossaib a nnámat* ‘to leave the Ulstermen under the feet of their enemies’. DIL argues (*fo* Ia) that *fo* is rather more frequent than the corresponding English preposition as relationships are more commonly denoted as *A being under B* than *B being over A* in Irish. This relationship can also extend to resemblance or scope and power over an entity as in *cumal cech primgráid bis foa chumachtu* ‘a cumal for every primary grade which is under his power’ (CG 451)⁵⁵. In these examples with non-concrete nouns, the preposition is followed by the dative. In the cases where it appears with verbs of motion it illustrates direction [+ dir], and *fo* can be used with both accusative and dative, as in *dosmbéra fo chumachte in maicc* ‘he will put them under the power of the Son’ (Wb 13b30) versus *nimtharberar fo chumachtu nach sásta diib* ‘I am not brought under the power of any food by them’ (Wb 9c31). No

⁵⁵ Likewise Wb 9c31, CG 476.

examples of this central category were found with verbal nouns in the present corpus.

3. Further semantic components

Subordination is also understood where the verbs indicate position or motion, or where a partitive relationship is denoted. An extension of these latter types may have led to some further, less well defined expressions. In the present Old and MidIr corpus only one example of *fo* plus verbal noun was observed and this example does not indicate subordination:

215) PCH 2623: *Ni ro-pheccaig in techtaire a becc fo adrad Ísu* ‘The messenger did not sin in the least in/while worshipping Jesus.’

Here *fo* denotes reference or the matter of concern rather than ‘location under’, a tendency also observed by DIL. In the case of PCH 2623 this can be conceptualised as ‘attendant circumstances’ [+ simul]. Earlier examples of this usage can also be found with a non-verbal noun example in *is hé ro bai fom suidiu-sa & fom taeb i nErind* ‘He was under my seat and by my side in Ireland’ (BP 810(R)). In these cases *fo* comes to be used like *im(m)*, expressing surrounding [+ cover] (cf. DIL 1 *fo* If). We may already be witnessing signs of the semantic fusion of *fo* with *im*, which according to DIL is supposed to be rather later, namely EModIr rather than MidIr. (cf. data in DIL 1 *fo* If and IIm ff.).

4. Conclusions

The preposition *fo* is virtually not used with verbal nouns in this Old and Middle Irish corpus. Examples with concrete or other abstract nouns typically express spatial or conceptual subordination. The only corpus example does not denote ‘location beneath’ but proximity. From this a further extension towards meanings of ‘at, by’ in abstract senses is possible. This may have increased its eligibility for the later merger with the preposition *im* ‘about’. Thus the Modern Irish usage of *faoi* denotes various senses of proximity, including senses translatable as ‘under’ and ‘around’. A schematic representation of this development might be thus:

5. Examples

The one example results in a frequency of 0.39 examples per 100,000 words.

2.2.7 Lesser used prepositions with verbal noun: *tri*, *ó*, *di*, *co*, *eter* and *a*

2.2.7.1 *Tri*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *tre* or *tri* can be translated into English as ‘through’. It governed the accusative in Old Irish and caused lenition. *Tri* corresponds to Middle Welsh *drwy* both historically and functionally (Thurneysen, GOI §856). Concerning the shape of the preposition particularly in the Middle Irish period, Gagnepain (1963: 167) observes many cases of *tria*, which he takes to consist of preposition and possessive pronoun. These include:

216) PCH3270: ... *ar is tria césad Crist tanic enerti & inlobrae do-sum*
‘For it was through the suffering of Christ that weakness and infirmity came to him.’

Yet in this case of *tria* with the following subject genitive, the presence of a possessive pronoun does not seem likely and we may rather have a by-form of *tri* as suggested by DIL (cf. DIL *tre*)⁵⁶. DIL (*tre*) states that *tria* is used as an alternative form during all periods, but no cases of this have been observed in the Old Irish part of the corpus.

2. Central semantic components

DIL (*tre* I) summarises the uses of *tri* as primarily denoting spatial senses like ‘through’ [+ space, + transit]. This is exemplified by *dia luid duaid ... tri glen iosofád* ‘when David went through the glen Jehoshaphat’ (MI 58c4). For more spatial examples compare Fraser (1911: 61-2). Temporal senses can also be found, as in *tri rei ciana* ‘for a long time’ (MI 90d14, DIL *tre* II). Only on one occasion was *tri* found with a verbal noun in the corpus denoting a situation that could be described as temporal [+ temp]:

217) LU 4683-4: *Dosfóhair thrá ind Némain la sodain & nip sí sin adaig bá sámam dóib la budris ind athig triana chotlud*. ‘Then the Némain attacked them and that was not the quietest of nights for them with the trance speech of the churl as his sleep [m.t.]’⁵⁷.

In this case the transition of a time-span, that of sleep, could be indicated. In the context where the preposition + verbal noun are related to another action this may result in the description of attendant circumstances (*tre* IIIb), as

⁵⁶ Further cases of *tria* used non-possessively are TTr2, 460, LU 4684, PCH 2811, 3091, 3270, SA 492b39.

⁵⁷ Alternatively, this could be considered to be a case of the sleep providing the medium of the speech.

appears to be the case here [+ simul]. But the scarcity of examples of spatial and temporal senses shows that verbal nouns do not lend themselves very easily to this concept of transition.

3. Further semantic components

In the Glosses, OIr *tri* is typically used to translate Latin instrumental *per* ‘through’, particularly in St. Gall, to a lesser degree in Milan and Würzburg. Compare e.g.

218) Sg 188a31: [Omne enim nomen a quocumque uerbo natum uel genitiuum sequitur casum uel datiuum figurate per compasionem*] *tre chomchésad .i. confodim in cách dobeir frisin cách diatabir ní* ‘Through co-suffering, i.e. every one who gives co-endures with every one to whom he gives something.’

219) Sg 201b7: [Quidam tamen haec quoque per metaplasmum* finis quam {per} compositionem proferri confirmant] *tre fhoxal ·e·* ‘by removing e’

This usage, [+ instrument], is particularly frequent in St. Gall, especially with technical terms. Thus of the 18 examples found translating *per*, no less than ten refer to Latin *per sinerisin*, OIr *accomol* (Sg 32a4, 32a8, 32b1, 111a4, 163b9), *comdlúthad* (Sg 117b1, 118b3), or *tóbae* (Sg 195b1, 201b3). Further Latin terms glossed thus are *coniunctionem* (Sg 11b4, OIr *accomol*), *sincrisin* (118b2, OIr *tóbae*), *porrectionem* (201b16, OIr *eiscsin*), *assumptionem* (Sg 201b17, OIr *airitin*) and *per anastrophen* (Sg 202b8, OIr *ímpuud*). Since use with such technical terms will have had limited currency in everyday speech, a scholarly application of *tri* for Latin instrumentals could be the case. Examples of instrumental use from outside the Glosses are rather infrequent, particularly in the MidIr part of the corpus. An example is provided by

220) TTr2, 412: *Is é dana romarb in coraid robói il-Libia .i. Athchum mac Terrae, nomarbad a aigedu tri imrascar.* ‘It is he who slew the champion who dwelt in Libya, to wit Antaeus, son of Terra, who used to kill his guests by wrestling.’

Depending on the context, means/instrument can be difficult to distinguish from cause as represented by the Latin *ablativus causae* (cf. Gagnepain 1963: 57, Fraser 1911: 61). Compare the following examples:

221) Ml 56b26: *amal nech bis in ælscud & in galar mór tri buith in domataid cen sommataid [...].* ‘As one who is in longing and great distress through being in poverty without wealth.’

222) Ml 49b13 : [ut super naturam meam mihi aliquid adrogarem*]

durumenar romsa dia & rombith béu .i. tri sligi nassar ho dia ‘I thought I was a god and that I was immortal, i.e. through the slaughter of the Assyrians by God.’

223) SA492b39: *Dorochair leis Acolitus brigaesta tria rad do in tan ro bai-seam oc derr<s>gugud [...]*. ‘The aged Clitor fell by him, by his saying to him when he was discerning: [...].’

These examples may represent both senses, instrumental (‘by’-) and a causal one (‘on account of’) [+ cause]. Generally examples of *tri* and verbal noun appear to predominate in contexts of means and instrument, particularly so in the context of Latin-based writing. Gagnepain (1963: 168) calls on the philologists to explain why there is a complete absence of the construction involving *tri* plus verbal noun in TBC. In the present corpus one example has been found in that context. The scarcity of attestation may arise because TBC, in contrast to Gagnepain’s corpus based on *Passions and Homilies*, is not influenced by Latin exemplars and is therefore less likely to display Latin influence.

4. Conclusions

It was found that the majority of instances of *tri* plus verbal noun in the corpus express instrumental or causal senses, translating Latin ablatives or *per*-constructions. Some related cases, namely constructions denoting cause, can be observed. In Middle Irish as well we find *tri* + verbal noun largely in literature associated with Latin translations or with adaptations of Latin material. In non-Latinate literature this usage is rare as the preposition rather serves to denote spatial, temporal and also causal uses with concrete nouns. This may be a more original usage that was not influenced by Latin *per*.

5. Examples

Overall, there were 152 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 58.63 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Instrument (138 exx.): **Wb** 2b6, 2b11, 2b24, 2c9, 2d8, 3a7, 3c2, 3d19, 4a6, 4c22, 7a12, 10c1, 10c2, 10d22, 11a1, 11a12, 11b12, 11d8, 12b3, 12d39, 13d26, 13d28, 14b11, 14b18, 14c7, 14c17, 14d4, 14d5, 14d27, 14d33, 15a8, 15a16, 15a33, 15a33a, 16a25, 17a3, 18b12, 19a12, 19c12, 19c17, 21b1, 21c2, 21c3, 21c18, 22c2, 23b28, 27b37, 25d18, 27a1, 30b19, 31c4. **MI** 15a13, 15b5, 22b1, 24c1, 30a12, 31d4, 33b13, 37d11, 39d22, 43c14, 43d20, 47b8, 48a11, 51c24, 53b15, 54b22, 55b11, 57a2, 60b16, 64c6, 65d12, 68a15, 71b9, 72a5, 74c3, 75d2, 87a9, 89a2, 90a11, 92c4, 93d5, 93d6, 94a1, 9616, 96d1, 97a10, 100d14, 102d17, 105a1, 108a1, 114b7, 122c2, 122c5, 126d11, 127a3, 127c1, 133a1, 138a12, 141d1, 144d4, 145c4, 145c8. **Sg.** 3a11, 9a13, 11b4, 29a4, 31b11, 32a4, 32a8, 32b1, 35a2, 59b19, 111a4, 117b1, 118b2, 118b3, 161b1, 162a4, 163b9, 188a8, 188a31, 195b1, 201b3,

201b7, 201b16, 201b17, 202b8.CB 40c4, AC 138, CG 554. IB §47. BP 1142. TTr2, 412, 537. SA 492b39, PCH 3091, 3270.

Wb 3c2: [gratia autem [Dei] uita aeterna in Christo Iesu Domino nostro*] *tri chretim in ísu no isin beothu itáa ísu iar nesséirgu* ‘through belief in Jesus, or in the life wherein Jesus is after resurrection’

Ml 95b8: [quoniam moris est inter aduersa possitis difectum animæ* sustinere] *tri derchoiniud isnaib imnedaib* ‘through despair in the troubles’

TTr2, 537: *Ratócbait gaetha glansolsi glana dóib trí attach & tri accaldaim Eoil, comsid & cumachtaig na ngáeth.* ‘Pure-bright winds at will were raised for them through beseeching and addressing Aeolus, lord and master of the winds.’

1b) possible cause (13 exx.): Wb 18b10, 19b16, 20c24, 30c14. Ml 30c5, 46c10-11, 49b13, 49d4, 56b26, 84c13, 96b18, Sg 5a5, SA 492b39.

Ml 49d4: *ní fríthalim ruccai for manmain trí foisitín tanmaesiu a dæ* ‘I expect not shame upon my name through the confession of Thy name, o God.’

Sg 5a5 [ut ‘semideos’ et ‘semiuiros’ appellamus, non qui uirorum {vel dimidiam} partem habent deorum uel uirorum, sed qui pleni dei uel uiri non sunt*] *tre thesbadi naich baill dind deilb* ‘through the want of some member to the image.’

2) Temporal/attendant circumstances: LU 4683-4 above.

2.2.7.2 ó

1. Grammatical Considerations

The Old Irish preposition *ó*, also *úa*, is followed by lenition and governs the dative. It can be found in ablative senses, translated into English as ‘from’ or ‘by’ (GOI §847). *Ó* is connected to the Old Welsh preposition *hou*, MidW *o* ‘by’.

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *ó* ‘from’ typically expresses separation from an entity, as in *dosroacht do chluichiu óm thaig óm máthair & ómm athair.* ‘I came to the playing from my house, from my mother and father.’ (LU 4890-1). The preposition denotes spatial direction [+ spatial, + dir] and clarifies the path out of an entity [+ exogenous]. No contact with the source is expressed [+ distance]. It is observed in previous treatments (Gagnepain 1963: 73 and DIL 1 *ó*) that in the Glosses *ó* is largely used for mechanical translation of Latin ablatives with or without the preposition *a* or *ab*. This tendency is confirmed by the material in the corpus. The use of this preposition with verbal nouns in the corpus material is mainly restricted to the Glosses:

224) Ml 70c5: [quae sunt autem quae reuersione* requiro] *hua taidchur sechis du thaidchur són* ‘by return, that is, for returning [m.t.]’

This example illustrates that the translation may indeed have been mechanical as the Latin is first translated literally and then transferred into a different, perhaps more natural Irish equivalent.

In cases where the text is interpreted rather than paraphrased, it can be observed that the senses in which the preposition is employed largely follow the distribution of Latin ablatives. According to DIL (I *ó*) it corresponds to Latin *a/ab*, and its use is comparable to the ablative in senses like 1) separation, 2) origin and source, including denoting the speaker after an inflected verb, 3) cause, 4) material, 5) instrument and agent. Further it can express 6) partitive senses, 7) respect and 8) distance in time and space. Accordingly, examples with the preposition *ó* given by DIL (DIL 1 *ó*) can be found in this example corresponding to the ablative of separation:

225) Ml 2d5: *is fuasnad dut menmainsiu tuisled ho ermaissiu firinne trí mrechtrad natintathach* ‘It is a disturbance to thy mind to fall from reaching the truth through the variation of the interpreters.’

It is noteworthy that, while examples are plentiful in Milan, only one example was found in the Würzburg Glosses. A high proportion of the examples is found in translations of the Latin base text. As the number of examples in St. Gall is rather low as well, the high number in Milan may be a peculiarity of the glossator’s style rather than a reflection of everyday language at the time.

Examples of uses in the sense of *ablativus loci, originis, qualitatis* or *temporis* are cited in DIL (*ó*), but could not be observed with verbal nouns in the corpus material. The type indicating separation is not infrequent and this, together with the distribution of the examples in the Milan and St. Gall Glosses, suggests that their use is a learned feature calqued on Latin.

3. Further semantic components

Examples with the preposition *ó* can also be reconciled with the Latin *ablativus causae* [+ cause]:

226) Wb 19c16: [ut ex fide iustificemur*] *hó chretim in ísu crist* ‘from belief in Jesus Christ’

227) AMCG 246-7: “*Asccaod dam, a Manchín & a muinte Chorce aige!*” “*Ó t’anoculsin?*” “‘A boon for me, O Manchín and you monks of Cork!’ “For sparing you?’”

The example from AMCG is a rare example from outside the Old Irish Glosses. It is noteworthy that this narrative text provides an instance denoting cause.

Examples of use resembling an ablative of instrument [+ instrument] are the following:

228) Ml 26b23 [agunturque Deo gratiæ quod eos sit ultione* iustissima persecutus] *o digail* ‘by slaying’

229) Ml 93d6: *is hua fodail ade .i. tria tinnacul dún* ‘It is by imparting them, i.e. through giving them to us.’

Instrument is also indicated by the only one example of a morphologically defined verbal noun with *ó* in later MidIr, which, however, is used with an article and therefore does not confirm to the more narrow definition of syntactically defined verbal nouns, namely *Robo imda claideam iar caithim corice a dornacor on imbualad*. ‘Plentiful were the swords whose hilts were worn down from the hewing.’ (TTr2, 2232). This case expresses agency or instrumentality, but the fact that this is the only example shows clearly that the usage of the preposition with verbal noun only occurs exceptionally in the later Middle Irish period. Uses comparable to the Latin *ablativus absolutus*, *societivus* or *comparationis* are not found at all as they are realized differently in Irish.

4. Conclusions

As we have seen the main uses of the preposition *ó* in Old and Middle Irish are to denote separation of entities in place and in time. This meaning is not particularly well suited to usage with verbal nouns. Yet there are plentiful instances in the Glosses and those frequently translate the Latin ablative case. *Ó* might have lent itself to this type of employment through an extension of its original environment including ‘source’ in temporal and spatial senses towards grammatical contexts on the analogy of the Latin preposition *a/ab* in the source texts. In a later text, however, or outside the context of glossing Latin, the use with the verbal noun more closely resembles the core meaning of the preposition as used with other nouns or adverbs. Therefore this latter usage is likely to represent the typical structure independent of Latin influence. In later periods the employment with verbal nouns all but vanishes. A possible schematic illustration of the development is the following:

5. Examples

Overall, 37 examples were found in the corpus. This corresponds to 14.27 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Instrument (23 exx.): Ml 17a7 (translation), 26b23, 28a14 (transl.), 37b25 (transl.), ?38a13, 42d5 (transl.), 44d3, 44d30, 54c1 (transl.), 68a4 (transl.), 72b23, 82b7 (transl.), 84a21 (transl.), 84c22 (transl.), 93d6, 120c3

(transl.), 131a1, 132c3 (transl.). Sg 27b17 (transl.), 28a21, 72b2, 106b1, 200a6.

Ml 26b10: *amal as ho molad & adamrugud in choimded intinscana in salmsa is amlaid forcentar dano amal dundgniat ind filid linni cid insin* ‘As this psalm begins with praise and admiration of the Lord, it is thus moreover that it is concluded, even as the poets with us do.’

Ml 131a1: [hoc carmen superiori psalmo ut ordine sic argumento* coniungitur] *hua foilsigud* ‘by revealing it’

2) Separation (9 exx.): Ml 2d5, 14a7, 17d6, 22d24, 28b3, 32b4, 38c19, 44b10, 91b11.

Ml 14a7: *combad echtransom ho chomrorcain* ‘that he was a stranger to error.’

3) Cause (5 exx.): Wb19c16, Ml 59a23, 70c5 (transl.), Sg 40a8, AMCG 247. Wb 19c16: [ut ex fide iustificemur*] *hó cretim in isu crist* ‘from belief in Jesus Christ’

Ml 59a23: [si non malorum a tenuitate*] *cinip hond sémigdetu .i. cenip ho étrummugud inna nolc form* ‘if not from the tenuity, i.e. if not from the lightning of the evils upon me.’

2.2.7.3 *di*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *di* translates into English as ‘of, from’. It takes the dative of a following noun and it lenites. The Old Irish preposition is paralleled by Old Welsh *di*, MidW *y*, and had the original meaning ‘from’ (Thurneysen, GOI §831).

2. Central semantic components

DIL (*de*) provides an extensive list of possibilities for the uses of *di*. Among these it chiefly names departure and separation. An example of this is *combert a láim de* ‘so that it took his hand off him’ (SMMD §10). Senses of origin are also found, e.g. *di Iudéib do Barnaip* ‘Barnabas is of the Jews’ (Wb 18d8) and material as in *dorigénsat... deu diib* ‘they made Gods of them’ (Wb7d10, DIL *de* xxix). Partitive senses also occur, like *assibsem imróol di rath in spirito [sic] nóib* ‘we have drunk a great draught of the grace of the Holy Spirit’ (Wb 12a17, DIL *de* c). Generic reference belongs to this context as well, as in *Siracusi, .i. aicmae di graecaib* ‘Siracusi, a tribe of the Greeks’ (Sg 106a7, DIL *de* xxxvic). Overall, examples appear to be stative [+ stat] rather than directional. These uses can also be observed with verbal nouns. Senses of separation from an entity [+ space, + distance] are clearly visible. This parallels the Latin *ablativus separativus*.

230) Ml 55a18: [repetitione uero euge, euge usus est ut effusos illos in gadium et se non centenentes* expremere] *niscongbaitis .i. di*

ersolcud a ngena. ‘They used not to restrain themselves, namely, from opening their mouth.’

231) LU 5729-30: *Clissis Cú Chulaind for rind in bera hisin & ni nderbai di forimim inna n-én*. ‘Cú Chulainn sprang to the top of that stake but it did not hinder him in his fowling.’

As in the classical languages, this type of structure would have been prone to use with verbs of separation (cf. Krahe 1972: 106). The ablative of origin is conceptually close to this, but no clear examples appeared in the corpus. We do find, however, uses that largely resemble those of Latin genitives, especially those similar to the *genitivus rei*, which denotes the content of an entity (Krahe 1972: 72-4). On the one hand this may be the *genitivus explicativus*, denoting the nature of an entity as in *virtus continentiae* ‘the virtue of self control’. On the other hand, it may be the *genitivus materiae*. This includes the partitive, which tells us what the entity in question is a part of, as in *pars navium* ‘a part of the ships’. A number of examples of these can be found in the material from the Glosses:

232) Wb 26d8: *a ní dodesta di chomalnad cæsta crist domsa is occa attóo* [...] ‘That which was lacking of the fulfilment of Christ’s Passion by me, at that I am.’

233) Wb 24b24: [non quia quero datum] *.i. ni de chuingid in fecht seo* ‘It is not now of seeking.’

Like the Latin genitive construction, the Old Irish *di* + dative here expresses a partitive relationship. As partitives express the source from which an entity is separated, we might likewise formalise this relationship as [+ source, + distance]. However, the number of examples of this kind with verbal nouns is relatively low in the corpus. A sizable number of examples was observed with abstract nouns that otherwise also serve as verbal nouns⁵⁸. Both these categories show a clear tendency to translate Latin phrases into Irish.

The other Latin genitive used for denoting material tells us what something is made of as in *lactis imber* ‘rain of milk’ (Krahe, *ibid.* 73). This concept of denoting source material may be found in some examples denoting subject matter in the corpus [+ source]:

234) Ml 48b11: *is in forbthigud .i. di chosecrad tabernacuil rocachain duaid in salm so* ‘David sang this psalm of the consecration of the Tabernacle.’

235) LUH 5965-6: *asbeir frisín slóg tarrgraige n-imtechta a séta rempo ar bá suba sliged dogénadsum di techt ar cend Con Culaind*. ‘He told the

⁵⁸ e.g. Wb 20b6 [uos portabit iudicium] *dind riuth forsataith* ‘from the course on which you are.’ Likewise Wb 20b1, Ml 24c17, 94c12, Comp. Mongáin 57-3.

host to start on their journey for it would be a joyful expedition he would make of going to meet Cú Chulainn.’

These, *genitivus quantitatis and partitivus*, are two ways of expressing the source material, in the first case as a part of it (hyperonym), in the second case a number of the entities making up a bigger whole. These two may be described as two sides of one coin. This variation is also represented by the German particle *von* as in *ein Kranz von Blumen* (*quantitatis*) and *ein Stück vom Brot* (*partitivus*) (cf. discussion in Krahe 1972: 72-3). There is a close connection in the *genitivus qualitatis*, which describes further characteristics of an entity as in *puer decem annorum* (ibid.). This category may be found in one single example in the Old Irish corpus:

236) Sg 1a2: [sed etiam quosdam errores eorum amore Graecorum doctorum deceptos imitari*] *attá di sheirc la laitnori inna ngrec co seichetar cid acomroircniu* ‘The Latins have such love for the Greeks that they follow even their errors.’

3. Further semantic components

According to DIL (*de xxxvii*), *de* can also express means (*loscud do* [leg. *de*] *thenid* ‘burning by fire’ (PH 7428)), cause (*corbo chlárfind ...don tsnechta* ‘so that it was smooth-white from the snow’ (TBC 1706)) or subject matter (*de collectis* .i. *dinab gabálib* ‘of the collections’ (Wb13d33)). We can find examples of the first category in the corpus, even though these are classified as instrumentals [+ instr] according to the present approach (cf. 1.6.5):

237) Wb 9a23: *is lib atá a rogu tra mad ferr cotob sechfider di chossec alailiu* ‘It is you, then, that have the choice: if it be better ye will be corrected by another correction.’

238) Ml 85c6: [licet nubes ferant edoneum timoris diuini testimonium uel congregatione æris, ... inruptione* fulgorum] *dia maidm* ‘of their breaking’

Other corpus examples express the outcome of an event and can be understood as denoting cause [+ cause]:

239) BP 611-2: *Ro fergaigetar in rí fri Pátraic co mmór di marbad a drúad*. ‘The king got very angry with Patrick for killing his druid.’

240) Ml 117b7: [et disperationem reuertendi et incuriam* gratias agendi sedulus monitor et profeta certus eripiat] *arnabé anfochell leu cen atlugud buide dia soirad* ‘so that they do not return thanks for their deliverance.’

If we assume a central category of [source], both [cause] and [instrument] can be derived from this.

4. Conclusions

In the corpus the preposition *di* is largely used with a verbal noun in order to express separation from an entity. On the other hand, it clearly denotes what something pertains to, or the source that something derives from. In English these two senses could also be paraphrased by the one preposition ‘from’, in German likewise ‘aus/von’. Derivation from an entity may have further developed into denoting means and cause. It can be seen that outside the Glosses material with their scholarly and Latinate context, the use of the preposition with verbal nouns is less prominent. As compared to OIr, the number of attestations has gone down considerably in Middle Irish, with most of the few examples stemming from the LU *Táin*-text. This drop could have been triggered by the absence of the (Latinate) scholarly context of the Glosses. A schematic representation of the uses of *di* is the following

5. Examples

There were 27 examples found in the corpus. This corresponds to 10.41 per 100,000 words.

1. separation (6 exx.): Wb 20c14, Ml 55a18, 87c1, CG 579, CG 580. LU 5733.

Wb 20c14: *fide operæ na anam di dénum maith condonroib uita aeterna ut dicitur qui perseuerauerit rl.* ‘*fide operæ* let us not rest from doing good, so that we may have *uita aeterna*.’

CG 579: *fer sóeras di gabail, fer sóeras di chimbidecht, fer sóeras di fognam* ‘a man who he frees from taking, a man who he frees from servant-hood, a man who he frees from service.’

2. partitive (4 exx.): Wb 14c15, ?18a8, 24b24, 26d8.

Wb 14c15: [sicut et cognouistis nos ex parte*...] *rann uáibsi no rann diar forcitulni* ‘a part of you or a part of our teaching.’

?Wb 18a8: [Quid enim, quod minus* habuistis prae caeteris aeclesis] *di rath no di forcitul* ‘of grace or of instruction.’⁵⁹

3. source material (6 exx.): Ml 35b24, 44b1, 48b11, 48d27, CG 214, LUH 5966.

Ml 44b1: [in finem, pro susceptione* matutina, psalmus dauid] *din tuidecht dundechild crist hi tech inna sacard .i. hi tegdais annæ & cafae & di tech do dochum pontfelait iarum isin matain res in chessad is dæ rogab duaid in salmsa & dia chesad roces iarsin intí crist [...]* ‘Of the wending that Christ went to the house of the priests, to wit, to the house of Annas and Caiaphas, and of His coming to Pontius Pilate afterwards in the morning before the

⁵⁹ *Forcital* may also be an abstract noun rather than a verbal noun in this case.

Passion, it is of that that David sang this psalm, and of His passion that Christ suffered after that.’

MI 48d27: *combad de nogabthe in salmsó di chossegrad inna cathrach* [marg. *arcs síón*] *sonrotacht la duaid hi síón* [...] ‘This psalm would have been sung of the consecration of the city that was built by David on Zion.’

4. instrument (3 exx.): Wb 9a23, 15d7, MI 85c6.

Wb 15d7: [siue enim mente * excedimus, Deo] *caritate. i. di imradud dae* ‘from meditating on God.’

5. cause (8 exx.) Wb 19a6, 27c2, MI 115d9, 116c2, 117b7, Sg 15a4, BP 611, SA 500b15.

Wb 19a6: *is cúrsagad rondcúrsagusa di chomitecht et condarcilli fri iudeu* ‘It is a reprimand which I have reprimanded him for indulgence and connivance towards the Jews.’

Wb 27c2: [gratias agentes Deo et Patri per ipsum*] *atlugud boide do dia di bar nícc tritsom* ‘giving thanks unto God for your salvation through Him.’

SA500b15: *Siliucus iar sin ro marb drendleth Ptolomeus de digail a clemna Lesimachi.* ‘The hero Ptolome killed Seleucus for slaying his brother in law Lesimachi.’

2.2.7.4 *co n-*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *co* ‘with’ nasalizes and takes the dative. Thurneysen (GOI §830) refers to it, as well as the corresponding conjunction and preverb, under the heading *com*. It is related to Welsh *cyf-* ‘with’ and to Latin *cum* (cf. GOI §830). It is noteworthy that, in contrast to other prepositions, and in particular to *co h-* ‘till’, forms with suffixed pronouns are not used. In those cases another preposition meaning ‘with’, namely *la*, is substituted (Fraser 1911: 12).

2. Central semantic components

Its main uses are to indicate accompaniment for nouns denoting persons or objects as in *ba hi temul du-gníth Saúl cona muntair intleda* ‘it was in darkness that Saul did ambushes with his people’ (MI 30a3). In abstract senses the meaning ‘with, and’- prevails as in *in tan tét a laithe di chiunn cosnaib gnímaib ... gníter and* ‘when the day comes to a close with the deeds done in it’ (MI 21c3) Both entities are understood as being located simultaneously in space and time [+ space, + temp, + simult]. With verbal nouns this results in attendant circumstances (cf. DIL 2 *co*).

241) Wb 24b26: *hóre ropo co fáilti tuccad* ‘because it has been brought with joy.’

The only Middle Irish example in the corpus may also belong to this category:

242) TTr1,58: *is e dano dorat scandir for bantracht ualach na cichloisgi rorergatar in nAissia Moir, trian in beatha, co slait & siniudh & indriudh, co rofallnaisset in leath n-airthiurach don domon...* ‘It is he who scattered the haughty woman-folk of the Amazons who swayed Greater Asia, a third of the world, with rapine and spreading and incursions till they ruled the eastern half of the world.’

While the circumstances of the swaying may be conveyed, we could conceivably also have a case of the expression of means. In addition to this, different kinds of accompaniment are observable, expressing co-ordination in some, and subordination in other cases:

243) Wb 13a1: [Cum conuenitis, unusquisque uestrum psalmum habet, doctrinam habet, apocalipsin habet, linguam habet*, interpretationem habet;] *labrad ilbelre cona tintuuth imbélre naill* ‘Speaking many languages, with their translation into another language.’

244) Ml 93c2: [cuius prouinciæ rex filium suum gratulatum* cum muneribus ad Dauid missit] *co natlugud buide do duaid ar marbad a namat* ‘With [giving of] thanks to David for slaying his enemy.’

The former example seems to be a case of usage comparable to a subordinating, prepositional phrase ‘with’. The prepositional phrase in the latter example, on the other hand, appears to be closer to a co-ordinating conjunction ‘and’.

Overall the examples of the preposition *co-n* plus verbal noun display different kinds of conjunction, indicating accompaniment in the sense of ‘with’ (4 exx.), attendant circumstances (2 ex.), or conjunction (1 ex.). The paucity of examples shows that the preposition certainly does not have great currency with verbal nouns.

3. Further semantic components

No further uses could be observed.

4. Conclusions

Co n- + dative is not a preposition which is frequent with verbal nouns. The usual meaning of the preposition, accompaniment, is not particularly suitable for the use with abstract nouns in general. This contrasts with those prepositions which may denote temporal or aspectual senses and have grammaticalised as such. *Co* has marginal use to denote attendant circumstances, and perhaps also instrument, particularly in cases of verbs expressing force or violence. The semantic proximity to the preposition *la*

‘with’, and in addition the homophony with the preposition *co h-* ‘until’ may have favoured the use of *la* to avoid ambiguity in non-nasalising contexts.

5. Examples

There were 7 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 2.7 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Subordinating ‘with’ (4 exx.): Wb 12d8, 13a1, MI 97d10, Sg 30b5.

Wb 12d8: [qui loquitur lingua oret ut interpretetur] *bad samlith sulbairichthe conetarceirt* ‘Let it be thus that ye speak well with an interpretation.’

Sg 30b5: *cíall genitiui nominis cétnaidi co acomol fris indí as filius no nepos* [...] ‘The meaning of the genitive of the primitive noun with the addition to it of *filius* or *nepos*.’

2) Co-ordinating ‘And’: MI 93c2 above.

3) Attendant circumstances: Wb 24b26. TTr1, 58 above.

2.2.7.5 *co h-*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *co* is used in the sense of ‘to, till, until’ in both spatial and temporal contexts and it was followed by the accusative in Old Irish. Thurneysen (GOI §829) claims that originally it caused lenition like the corresponding conjunction *co* ‘until, so that’ and suggests later gemination, for present purposes *h-* before vowels, as a secondary feature based on the analogy of *la*, ‘with’. McCone (1993: 174), on the other hand, explained the mutation pattern by his derivation of the preposition from Insular Celtic **k^wus(s)*, based on the indefinite stem **k^wu*. This also led to Welsh *py*, from MW on mainly found in *pwy gilyt* (Wagner 1972: 1). It is not found in verbal composition and Wagner (ibid., 3) suggests that it is in complementary distribution with the preverb *ad-*. He holds the fact that *co* stands with the accusative to be due to influence from the latter preverb.

2. Central semantic components

Co centrally indicates direction towards an entity as in *is cuci rigmi* ‘it is to him we go’ (Wb 15c23). In its use with verbal nouns, directional or temporal senses can be found. A clear example stems from *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* and indicates spatial directedness towards an entity [+ spatial, + direction + limit]:

245) AMCG 1188-93: ‘*Cosna corénaib míne millsén duit festa a Meic Con Glinne! Co mucca úra ... co tothlugud mbrothcháin .i. sen-gruth ...* ‘Away now to the smooth panikins of cheese curds, MacConglinne, to fresh pigs, for curing chest-disease – old bacon.’

Here spatial meaning ‘towards’ is indicated, but temporal senses are also represented [+ temp]:

246) Wb 25d1: [Ad Thessalonicenses sæcundam scripsit apostlus et notum facit eís de temporibus nouissimís*] *cia airt co tíchtin nancrest* ‘How long (it will be) until Antichrist’s coming.’

3. Further semantic components

The directionality can acquire a prospective or intentional sense in a goal oriented context [+ final]:

247) Wb 9d32: [aut uiro suo reconciliari*] *mad co techt di co fer bad hé a fer incéne* ‘If it (comes) to her going to a husband, let the first one be her husband.’

This latter usage could be connected to the use of the final conjunction *co* ‘so that’ and may have developed in parallel with it.

4. Conclusions

The use of *co* (+ accusative) is rare in both Old and Middle Irish. The few Old Irish examples show an element of spatial and temporal senses, and there is also some element of intentionality. There is not enough data available however, to argue for grammaticalisation of this feature in the corpus.

5. Examples

There were 4 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 1.54 examples per 100,000 words.

a) Spatial + temporal direction: AMCG 1193, Wb 25d1

b) intention: Wb 9d32, ?17d19.

Wb 17d19: [si gloriari oportet] *is deidbhir móidem di suidib mad co moidem etir* ‘It is meet to boast of them if it be unto boasting at all.’

2.2.7.6 *eter*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *eter* ‘between’ is followed by the accusative. It caused no mutation in Old Irish but showed lenition in Middle Irish examples (Lewis & Pedersen 1963: 131).

2. Central semantic components

In Old Irish the preposition is used spatially or temporally with pronouns or nouns, including verbal nouns, to express senses of ‘between’ or ‘among’ (cf. DIL *eter* I and II). Examples can be found in both concrete and abstract spatial contexts as in *clár ndara iter cach di chóemdai* ‘an oaken board

between every two large beds' (CG 102) and *boí imnisse chatha eter Ultu & Eogan mac nDurtacht* 'there was a contention of battle between the Ulaid and Eogan mac Durtacht' (LU 4924). An example of temporal use is *vii. laa eter di cháisc* 'seven days between the two Easters' (BB263-4). These uses can be represented as location between two entities [+ space, + temp, + intermediate]. This usage is not found with verbal nouns in the corpus.

3. Further semantic components

Eter is also used together with the conjunction *ocus* to denote 'both x and y' (cf. DIL *eter* III). This may illustrate opposing concepts as in the following examples:

248) Sg 18a2: *coitchenn ·e· hiter remsuidigud & foacomol* 'e is common both in anteposition and subjunction.'

249) CG 91: *Folod sehta[e] lais - .vii. mbaí cona tarb, .vii. muca co muic forais, .vii. cáirig; capal[l] iter fognum & imrim*. 'Property of seven with him, seven cows with their bull, seven pigs with a brood sow, seven sheep, a horse for work and riding.'

This opposition is frequent with concrete nouns in Modern Irish, where examples like *idir séan agus óg* 'both old and young' clearly denote the co-occurrence of opposite extremes. The two Middle Irish examples, on the other hand, do not display this opposition but rather simple enumeration:

250) LL 3427-9: *Dáig raíetar in[d] íir sin ná gigne géin gabas gnimrada cutrumma commóra Connachtaig rut-su go brunni mbrátha & betha, eter imbeirt scell & sciath, eter imbeirt gae & chlaideb, eter imbeirt mbrandub & íidchell, eter imbeirt ech & charpat*. 'For those men know that there will not be born among the Connachtmen a being to perform deeds equal to yours, in the wielding of shields and bucklers, of spears and swords, in the playing of *brandub* and *íidchell*, in the driving of horses and chariots.'

This usage is structurally different from the former ones in that it contrasts genitive attributes of a head noun rather than the head nouns themselves. This example does not so much represent location between two entities as the co-occurrence of the entities [+ simult]. It is probably not surprising that no concrete senses of 'in between' are found as spatial or temporal senses are difficult to conceptualise with abstract verbal nouns. One noteworthy example has been observed which uses *eter* and an abstract noun in a different context, namely the context of [quod enim ... uelut intratum* habitationis suae texerit atque defenderit] is glossed as *etir in inilligud .i. i nditin son* 'between/in the safeguarding, i.e. protecting this' (M1 47c18). The Irish gloss translates the second part of the Latin base text. If a misreading or

a scribal error could be assumed concerning the .i., this might be an example of a translating gloss, corresponding to English as ‘both their safeguarding and protecting’. The second possibility is to account for the missing comparandum by either referring the prepositional phrase to the Latin base text or by assuming that the meaning of duality has become part of the preposition even without a second entity, leading to an interpretation comparable to ‘as well as’.

4. Conclusions

Eter plus verbal noun was very infrequent in the corpus. The usages observed were enumeration in some Old Irish examples and in those examples stemming from Middle Irish. Some Old Irish attestations also illustrate co-occurrence of oppositions. While the latter may well have developed out of the former in narrative contexts, the examples are scarce and provide no evidence as to grammaticalisation of these usages. The main use of this preposition was clearly with concrete rather than with abstract nouns.

5. Examples

6 examples were found in the corpus. This corresponds to 2.31 examples per 100,000 words.

1) as well as: Wb 23c3, Ml 106d11, Sg 18a2, CG 91.

Wb 23c3: [ut siue cum uenero, et uidero uos, siue absens, audiam de uobis, quia statis in uno spiritu unianimes, conlaborantes in fide euangelii*] *eter comalnad et precept* ‘both fulfilling and teaching’

Ml 106d11: *air ní tormenatar som etir anditin & anicc* ‘For they had not expected at all to be protected and saved.’

2) enumeration: TTr1, 217, LL 3427-9.

TTr1,217: *Fobith dorosce in ocbuth sin do ocbadaibh domvin uile eter luais & leimnighi, eter shnamh & dibrugad & clesamnaighi eter im[brim eich]⁶⁰ & carpaid eder imbert gai & claidib, & imbert fithchilli & brannaim.* ‘This troop surpassed the troops of all the world in speed and jumping, in swimming and hurling and feasting, in handling horses and chariots, in feasts of spears and swords and in playing fidchell and drafts.’

2.2.7.7 a

1. Grammatical considerations

A takes the dative. Thurneysen (GOI §834) describes it as geminating, i.e. it prefixes *h-* to a vowel, and he gives its core meaning in Old Irish as ‘out of’. He further points out that it is connected to the preverb *es(s)*, which is frequently used in verbal composition. The preposition without an *-s* is found before a noun as in *a dáil* ‘from a meeting’ (LU 5748), *as* appears with suf-

⁶⁰ H.2.17

fixed articles and in forms with pronouns, e.g. *asmo chuntabairt* ‘out of my trouble’ (SMMD §4).

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *a* ‘out of’ typically expresses direction [+ space, + dir] away from an entity, as in *luid cach a le(a)th asin dail* ‘everybody went apart out of the assembly’ (BB 498). In addition to spatial direction it clarifies the path out of the entity [+ exogenous], and with this also the source [+ source]. In contrast to *ó* contact with the source is implied [+ contact]. This preposition is not used with clear examples of verbal nouns in the present corpus. Where it was found, it is used complemented by abstract nouns denoting a state⁶¹:

251) LU (H) 5988-90 *Ar in tan dofiuchtraitís asa cess tictis drecht díb beus forsin slog conos gabad a tindorcain doridisi.* ‘As they awoke from their torpor, some of them still kept attacking the army until they were once more smitten by their affliction.’

252) IB §2: *A n-dofúsig asa chotlud, conacca in cróib n-arggait fua bláth find ina farruth, na bu hasse etarscarath a bláthe frissin cróib ísin.* ‘When he awoke from his sleep, he saw close by him a branch of silver with white blossoms, nor was it easy to distinguish its bloom from that branch.’

Here *a* denotes directionality in the sense of ‘out of’ and its complement names a physical state which is left, here *cotlad*, ‘sleeping’. The presence of the examples will be due to the fact that *do:fiuschi* is typically complemented by the preposition *as* to denote the source, as evidenced e.g. by *dūscid Conall asa nél* ‘Conall awoke from his swoon’ (Meyer 1906: 38,7).

The other examples are cases where what is morphologically a verbal noun is used as an abstract or as a concrete noun. This observation is underlined by the presence an article or possessive pronoun as in the following examples:

253) Wb 9d24 *arná dich cách assa dligud [...]* ‘so that not everybody may step out of his rule.’

254) BP 1872-3: *Dothoet bolud fína impu asind adnacul.* ‘The smell of wine came about them from the grave (burial).’

3. Further semantic components

As we have seen above, examples of *a* mainly appear with verbal nouns being used as abstract nouns and the examples typically denote leaving a state. Additionally, some few examples were observed where *a* was used with abstract nouns and denoted cause. A case in point is

⁶¹ likewise LU 6205, 6356.

255) AMCG 25: *amal is fhollus a h-imarbáig in dá chaillech dia ndernsat in dí chammrand i nAchad Ur saindrud.* ‘as is plain from the quarrel of the two hags, when they had a duel in quatrains at Freshford.’

In this context ‘out of’ denotes the source according to which something is handled, and here it names a cause [+ cause]. Nevertheless, *imarbáig* is also made definite by a following definite genitive and, by underlining the nominal features of the verbal noun, removes the examples from the category that is of most interest here. The nominal element is not as clearly marked by the qualifying genitive as it is by an article, but it remains noteworthy that all attestations are either with a possessive pronoun or some other form of definite marker.

4. Conclusions

The preposition *a* is virtually not used with verbal nouns in Old and Middle Irish. Structurally the examples with abstract nouns typically resemble those expressing non-permanent states like Modern Irish *ina luí*, *ina shuí*, ‘lying’ and ‘sitting’. Some examples indicate that exogenous use has further extended into denoting cause.

5. Examples

There were 5 examples in the corpus, which corresponds to 1.92 examples per 100,000 words.

a) Leaving a state: LUH 5899-901, LU 6203-5, 6355-6, IB §2.

LU 6356: *Atracht Cu Chulainn iar sin asa choitlud & dobert láim dara agid* ... ‘Then he rose up from his sleep and passed his hand over his face.’

LU(H) 6205: *Ro scáich do nert ol se in tan is bratan bec dottrascair in tan do fil Ultu asa ces chucut.* ‘Your strength is exhausted,’ said he, ‘if a puny opponent overthrows you now that the Ulstermen are on their way to you, recovered from their torpor.’

2) Cause: AMCG 25 above.

2.3 Semantic components of prepositions in Medieval Irish

In the preceding sections we have tried to show what semantic components can be found in the prepositions that were used with verbal nouns in the Medieval Irish corpus material here. A survey of these is presented in the following table. Question marks represent unclear cases, items in brackets have been found with ordinary nouns but not with verbal nouns in the corpus.

	A	Ar	Cen	Co h-	Co n-	Di	Do	Eter	Fo	For	Fri	Iar	Im	I n-	Le	O	oc	Re	Tri
Spa-	(x)	X	-	X	(x)	X	(x)	(x)	(x)	X	X	(x)	(x)	X	(x)	(x)	X	(x)	(x)

In- strum.						X									X	X			X
Cause	(x)	X				X						?			?	X			X
Pro- hib.			X																

Table V: Semantic components of prepositions in Irish.

Except for *cen*, which negates spatial location, all prepositions affirm spatial location. A subgroup of those, about half, are additionally used to express temporal location. This underlines that spatial location is more basic and temporal location can be derived from it.

The majority of those spatial prepositions (11) express stative uses, slightly less (9) indicate directionality. Stativity and directionality cannot be tied clearly to accusative and dative prepositions. But prepositions that can take both dative and accusative + verbal noun, namely *ar*, *fo*, *for* and *i*, have both directional and stative senses. The other prepositions express **either** stativity or direction. Otherwise in the Old Irish material, accusative does not necessarily correlate with directedness, nor does dative with stativity. *A* denotes direction away from an entity, *do* and *di* express direction to or from an entity. As a group of separation-markers, they take the dative. The positional prepositions *iar*, *oc* and *re* also use the dative but in stative senses. However, some stative prepositions also take the accusative, namely *le* and *im*. Otherwise the majority of accusative prepositions are found with [+ directed].

Directed prepositions, particularly where they also indicate a limit of the action, can also be used to express purpose, namely *ar*, *co h-*, *do* and *fri*. Generally, the majority of prepositions denoting location in relation to another entity, [front, super, infer, inclusion] can be employed both with accusative and dative, and they can denote both spatial location and path. This does not apply to the prepositions denoting proximity, *oc*, and *iar*, the latter denoting [back]. These spatial prepositions are also typically used with verbal nouns for the expression of temporal periphrasis.

Instrumental and causal senses do not appear to coincide with any other senses, but their distributions seem to be independent of others. This is likely to be due to them replacing the lost morphological cases. They also behave differently from the purely spatial prepositions as far as the correlations between accusative and dative on the one hand, and [stative] and [directed] senses are concerned. These instrumental and causal senses coincide in *di*, *ó* and *tri*. *A* and *ar*, on the other hand, showed only causal and not instrumental uses in the corpus.

2.4. Periphrasis with verbal noun and inflected verb

2.4.1 The Figura Etymologica

2.4.1.1 The *Figura Etymologica* in Old Irish

1. The term *figura etymologica* (FE) is generally used to denote constructions where a verb is complemented by its own verbal noun. In the following example a verbal noun is followed by its verb in a nasalising relative clause:

256) MI 88a17: *nach molad rundammoladsa a dá · is triutsu doronad*
'Every praise wherewith I have been praised, O God, has been wrought through you.'

This construction is not confined to Irish, but also exists in other languages: Describing examples from other Indo-European languages, Delbrück (1897: 365) points out that these can consist of verb and noun derived from the same stem or from different stems, or one forming part of the other. Krahe (1972: 63) subsumes the *figura etymologica* under typical accusative constructions and asserts that it is used to incorporate syntactic modification. An example from Classical Attic Greek is the following: *'Τὰς μὲν οὖν θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλὰ εὐχονται*⁶³. 'The Athenians sacrifice sacrifices to the Gods and many prayers.' A possible function in Greek, according to Clarke (1999: 29 f.n.) mentions the possibility of it linking etymologically related but synchronically differing verbs and nouns. This would be a learned feature on the one hand and a stylistic device on the other. Hayyîm Rosén (1992: 69-70) argues for a comparable feature in Latin and illustrates this by the example *dona dare* 'to give presents'. Hannah Rosén (1989: 119, 120.) also adduces examples where an abstract noun is formally the subject of its related verb: *tintinnabulum tinnit* 'a ring rings' or *candida lumina lucet* 'light shines bright' (ibid.). Examples in these languages employ abstract nouns and in this respect they differ from the FE in Old Irish, which is commonly described as using a verb and its verbal noun (e.g. GOI § 499). Languages from the Afro-Asiatic language group, on the other hand, have verbal nouns as well and we can find comparable constructions involving verbs and their related verbal nouns. Thus McCone (2006: 37) describes the phenomenon in Middle Egyptian as consisting of a verbal noun used as a complement of its verb and he notes that the Old Irish and the Middle Egyptian type correspond closely.

2. In earlier treatments of the Old Irish construction, both form and function have been examined. Thurneysen (GOI §499) called it 'a common idiom'

⁶³ *Reading Greek*, Joint Association of Classical Teachers, 1978, 13: 5.

and stated that it stands with a nasalising relative construction. As an example he cites MI 52: *íarsint soírad sin rond:sóer* ‘after the deliverance where-with he delivered him.’ (ibid.). This, like the other examples he cites, contains a morphologically defined verbal noun which, however, is specified by an article. According to the more narrow syntactic definition of verbal nouns applied in 1.3.1 above, this case would be referred to as an ‘abstract noun’ rather than a ‘verbal noun’. This would after all bring the Old Irish examples that contain articles closer to the Greek and Latin examples adduced above.

It has since been shown (McCone 1980: 23) that nasalisation is not obligatory in the Old Irish *figura etymologica*, but that lenition is also found. The distribution of nasalisation and lenition in the FE does not, however, follow that of ordinary object antecedents in the glosses (McCone, ibid., 23-4). If all the examples, also those containing articles, are taken into account as done by Thurneysen, we find a total of 48 examples in the present corpus. Of those, 18 examples (i.e. 37.5 %) have nasalisation, such as MI 52 above⁶⁴, as opposed to 6 examples with lenition (12.5%), such as *in chretem rochreti* ‘the belief which you have believed’ (Wb 13a34)⁶⁵. In addition there are 24 examples (50%) where the mutation is indeterminable because of Old Irish spelling conventions as illustrated by *int ammus admidethar a combach* ‘the effort with which he essays to break it’ (SM 65a10), or where it is not applicable because a special relative form is used as in *in precept pridchimme* ‘the teaching which we preach’ (Wb 14d39)⁶⁶. The situation is similar in those examples which do not contain an article. Of a total of nine examples five are nasalising, such as *ni legend rollegusa la petor* ‘it is not a reading which I have read with Peter’ (Wb 19a6)⁶⁷, two are not clearly determinable, for example *derchoiniud dorochóinsem-ni* ‘the despair wherewith we have despaired’ (Wb 21b1)⁶⁸. Two examples are likely to have had lenition, but of those *a rruith naicnetae noreithis do gres* ‘their natural course which they used to run’ (MI 129d4) is only arguably a case⁶⁹. Furthermore, relative modification of the genitival complement of another noun can be found in *cuít adaiill adnellat* ‘a fleeting visit by which they visit’ (MI 102a15). These fig-

⁶⁴ Likewise nasalising Wb 3b23, 14c43, 19a6 (2x), MI 19d16, 44b1 (2x), 50b8, 52, 55c1, 63b9, 64c22, 65d5, 85b11, 88a17, examples of genitive antecedents MI 44a23, 56d5, 102a15.

⁶⁵ Further leniting examples are Wb 8c3 (*forcital*, neuter antecedent), ?15d20 (*iddbart*, fem. antecedent), MI 129d4 (*riuth* masculine antecedent), Sg 27a2 (*immchomarc*, neuter antecedent), 153a3 (*slond gnímo* dependent genitive masculine antecedent).

⁶⁶ There are 13 indeterminable examples are Wb 4c13, 21b1, 23b27, MI 22c3, 30b2, 50d17, 89a6, 92d12, 108b8, 129d5, Sg 198a24 (1 of 2), SM65a10 (1 of 2), SM 65a13. Additionally, we find 11 examples where no mutation appears as a special relative form of the verb is used, namely Wb 14d39, MI 29b8, 42b27, 50d17, 60b17, 115b2, 115b4, Sg 140a2, 188a28, 198a24 (1 of 2), SM 65a10 (1 of 2).

⁶⁷ Likewise nasalising: MI 44b1 (2x), 50b8, 63b9, Sg 184b3.

⁶⁸ Likewise unclear MI 89a6: *derchoiniud dorochóinsem ni ar níc* ‘the despair wherewith we had despaired of our salvation’.

⁶⁹ Wb 8c3 *ní forcital óisa foirbthi forchanim díb* ‘it is not a teaching of perfect folk which I teach to you’ is clearly leniting.

ures illustrate that, given 18 cases of clear nasalisation and 6 cases of clear lenition, the ratio of 3:1 for all the examples, versus the ratio of 5:2 for the examples without an article do not illustrate a marked difference in the mutation patterns of examples with articles or without articles, and these two may be considered to be on a par. Examples containing verbal nouns with the article outnumber those without articles by a ratio of almost 5:1 and are therefore the prevailing category in Old Irish, assigning a secondary role to those fulfilling the more narrow definition that a true verbal noun should not be preceded by an article. We will see in the following that the two are also similar in syntactic distribution.

3. Ó hUiginn (1983), like Thurneysen (GOI §499) and McCone (1980), admits examples containing the article and thus uses the broader definition of the FE in Old Irish, which brings the verbal noun closer to the abstract noun as found in Latin and Greek. He distinguished three different types syntactically (ibid., 123-33): 1) the noun being the subject of a passive verb as in Sg. 140a2: *in gním gníther foraib* ‘the deed that is done upon them.’ 2) the noun being the object of a transitive verb as in Féil. Epil 421: *in guide ron-gádsa* ‘the prayer that I have prayed.’ And 3), where the antecedent is repeated by an infixed or independent pronoun: Wb. 3b23: *a forcital forndob-canar* ‘the teaching by which ye are taught’. He argues that in this case the relationship between the antecedent and the verbal noun is complicated by the fact that there are separate subjects and objects present in the relative clause, and the verbal noun may be interpreted as standing in a dative relationship. The relative marker may likewise exercise dative or instrumental functions which are later taken up by prepositional relative constructions (ibid., 129-30).

In the present corpus, different types of syntactic constructions can be observed. The central structure of examples of the *figura etymologica* appears to be where we have a cleft sentence introduced by a copula (Type I), as in⁷⁰:

257) Ml 50b8: [...] *níarindí bed n-aipert asindrobrad som acht is arindí arruneastar* [...] ‘Not that it was as a saying that he said it, but it is that he expected this [m.t.]’

258) Ml 63b9 [tamquam plantatione* quadam ut inherescerent efficit] *amal bid claind noclantis air is sonairt atreba ní clantar* ‘As though they had planted a planting for what is planted dwells firmly.’

These examples can be found primarily with indefinite verbal nouns and they give the greatest prominence to the verbal noun, which is in the focus position behind the copula. This contrasts with the unmarked, non-*FE* instances where verbal nouns as the objects of their verbs appear in syntactically dependent position. This copula structure, however, is very similar to

⁷⁰ Likewise: Wb 8c3, 19a6, Ml 50b8, 63b9, 89a6, 108b8 (article), Sg 184b3, BCr§ 32, TBF 154.

cases where the *FE* is the subject of the copula and has a predicate complement (Type II):

- 259) Wb 3b23: quasi dixisset [sic] *ní dochumacht dúib a forcital forndobcanar* ‘The teaching by which ye are taught is not feeble to you.’
260) Wb 13a34: *act massu made in chretem rochreti* ‘Except the belief which ye have believed is vain.’

In another example, the *figura etymologica* likewise is the subject, it follows its predicate, but does not stand in a copula clause:

- 261) Ml 126b16: [in gloriam* suam recurrere] *imfolngi inducbail do in molad ro-mmolastar Dia* ‘The praise wherewith he has praised God causes glory to him.’

This, however, may be an inversion of a more frequent type, which appears to be used in explanations of the base text in the Glosses. Examples do not follow the copula and are typically introduced by an article (Type III)⁷¹:

- 262) Wb 4c13: [ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret*] propositum .i. *in tairdérghud arrudérgestar dia togu indala náí* ‘The purpose which God has purposed, to choose one of the two.’
263) Ml 42b27: [Inpertit* eloquium et notitiam Dei uelut quodam inculcatoris officio] *fodali* .i. *in roithiud roithes a laithe alaill riam duadbat etarcnae ndcé insin* ‘He dispenses, .i.e. the impulse wherewith the day impels another before it, that shows the knowledge of God.’

This structural type III can also be found in a syntactically dependent environment, in a subordinate clause or following a preposition (Type IIIb) as in⁷²:

- 264) Ml 52: *is du atlugud buide do dia iarsint soirad sin rondsóer rogab dauid in salmsó sís* ‘It is to render thanks to God after that deliverance wherewith He delivered him, that David sang this psalm below.’
265) Ml 44b1: *din tuidecht dundechuid crist hi tech inna sacard [...] is dée rogab duaid in salmsa & dia chesad roces iarsin intí crist [...]* ‘Of the wending that Christ went to the house of the priests, it is of that that David sang this psalm, and of His passion that Christ suffered after that.’

⁷¹ Likewise: Wb 14c43, 14d39, Ml 19d16, 60b17, Sg 27a2, 140a2, 188a28, 198a24, SM 65a10, 65a13, 65a14.

⁷² Likewise: Wb 15d20, 23b27, Ml 22c3, 30b2, 65d5, 85b11, 92d12, Sg 183b3.

Examples of the FE introduced by prepositions are quite frequent, overall there were 10 examples found in this corpus, these mostly, but not exclusively, contained definite nouns. An example offered by Thurneysen (GOI §499) is syntactically comparable:

266) Ml 55c1: *rundgabsat in aimsir in tindnacuilsin didiu dunecomnacht Dia inní Saúl inna lamasom rogabsom in salm so.* ‘It was at the time of that giving whereby God gave Saul into his hands that he sang this psalm.’

Here the *figura etymologica* is also syntactically dependent, but the verbal noun is the genitive attribute to *aimsir*. The relative verbal form is therefore related only to part of the preceding noun phrase. Unlike those described above, this structure is not constructed with an autonomous verbal noun as the head of its relative clause. A further example of this type is:

267) Wb 21b1: *amirisce no deirchóintea derochóinet a nícc tre chesad crist* ‘Of unfaith, or of the despair wherewith they despair of their salvation through Christ’s Passion.’

In addition to examples with the preposed verbal noun and followed by a relative verbal form, we can observe the reverse with the object following the verb⁷³. These would not qualify for Thurneysen’s classification of the verbal noun followed by a relative clause. That said, the insertion of a cleft would make the structure relative and generate a *figura etymologica*. Consider the following:

268) Wb 7a7: *rogabad gabáal dóib leu* [in marg.] *túercómlássát cómtínól* ‘A taking has been taken for them (the poor at Jerusalem) by them (the Macedonians and Achaians): they have put together a contribution.’
(prima manu)
Vs: *is gabáal ro(n)gabad dóib*

This type of structure appears to be comparable to the *figura etymologica* but obviously lacks the prominence given to the verbal noun by the cleft structure.

Furthermore, Rosén (1989: 53-83) examined the functions of the construction and concluded that it has three main uses. Firstly she argues that the use of a *figura etymologica* is a possible way to detransitivise a verb: if a transitive verb has its own verbal noun as an object, the object position is already filled and no further object is needed. She argues that this may be

⁷³ Wb 4a9, 7a7, 12b15, 12c9, 17a13, Ml 29b8, 30a4.

used as a device to keep the lexical material that is needed at a minimum. The same holds for further specification of a verbal noun by its related verb:

269) Sg 27a2: *Dofúasailcet an immchomarc immechomarc ar tri quis & qualis & quantus* ‘They resolve the question which is asked by *quis* and *qualis* and *quantus*.’

The amount of information in the sentence is reduced by using the verbal lexical element twice. This also has implications for the ordering of information in the clause. What would otherwise be the verb of the utterance, carrying out the grammatical functions of tense and mood marking, can be turned into theme or rheme of the clause, that is the topic or the information given about the topic. By this reduction of elements, the verb receives more prominence in the sentence.

The second functionally motivated group discerned by Rosén is the case of a verbal noun modified by a further element, such as an adjective or adverb:

270) Wb 13a34: [si tenetis, nisi frustra credidistis*] *act massu made in chretem rochreti*. ‘Except the belief which ye have believed is vain [leg. Strachan: *rochretsid*].’

271) Wb8c3: *ni forcital óisa foirbthi forchanim dúib ar ni fulngidsi ón* ‘Not the teaching of perfect folk do I teach unto you, for you endure that not.’

In these cases the *figura etymologica* offers the possibility of accommodating the modifying element, which can be considered the most interesting information in the sentence. The verbal noun itself serves as a “syntactic crutch” (Rosén 1989: 71), again without adding any additional information to the utterance. This type corresponds to what Krahe (1972: 63, see above) had identified as the function of the *figura etymologica* in Indo-European. In addition to these, Rosén argues for a further group, namely emphatic usage. This is particularly apparent in a contrastive example from Würzburg:

272) Wb 19a6: *ni legend rollegusa la petor act is cúrsagad rondcúrsagusa di chomitecht et condarcilli fri iudeu*. ‘It is not a reading which I have read with Peter, but a reprimand which I have reprimanded him for indulgence and connivance towards the Jews.’

In this example the two verbal actions are put into opposition. The actions are given extra emphasis by the focus on the verbal noun in the cleft clause. Irish being a strictly VSO language, emphasis of the verbal element is otherwise difficult to achieve. Typically syntactic emphasis is provided in Old Irish by the cleft sentence. This structure, however, cannot be used as a

means of emphasising an inflected verb. For a basic structure like *rolegusa la petor* the lexical information of a verb may therefore be divided from its grammatical information and, by clefting of the verbal noun, it may receive extra emphasis. There are some few further examples which convey contrastive emphasis in the Old Irish corpus.

273) SM 65a10: *In mesad mesas in sacart in cailech & in obli & int ammus admidethar a combach* ‘The examination wherewith the priest examines the Chalice and the Host, and the effort which he essays to break it.’

The following sections of the Stowe Missal’s tract on mass continue to outlay this topic and can therefore be seen as contrastive to the first example:

274) SM 65a13: *In comrac conrecatar inda lleth iarsin chombug figor ógé chuirp crist iar nesergo* ‘The meeting wherewith the two halves meet after the fraction, a figure of the wholeness of Christ’s body after His resurrection.’

275) SM65a 14: *In fobdod fombaiter in da lled figor fobdotha cuirp crist* ‘The submersion with which the two halves are submerged, a figure of the submersion of Christ’s Body.’

An interesting question is why there is no *figura etymologica* in the directly preceding example SM 65a12: *a combag forsin meis corp crist do chombug co cloaib forsin chroich* ‘the fraction on the paten is the breaking of Christ’s Body with nails on the cross.’ Here we likewise have a very elaborate structure, a chiasmus in which considerations of alliteration seem to have played a role. The author may have intended to use some stylistic variation or he might have reserved the *FE* for lending structural similarity to the main points of the triad.

4. On the basis of the Old Irish examples collected here, the *figura etymologica* in Old Irish consists of a verb and its related noun, and these are typically arranged in cleft clauses. In the vast majority of cases the noun is introduced by an article and by this the verbal noun is brought closer to the abstract nouns in the structures commonly termed *figurae etymologicae* in languages such as Greek and Latin, even though it is generally defined as containing a verbal noun in Old Irish.

It is possible to interpret the *FE* as a means of influencing the information structure of the sentence by causing elements to change their position through mechanisms such as clefting. It may function as a figure of speech that provides extra emphasis on the verbal element of the sentence. Furthermore, it seems to be used to add modifying elements to the noun or verb. However, in subsequent language development we find that the employment of the structure changes.

5. Examples: *Figura Etymologica* in Old Irish

39 examples were found in the Old Irish corpus, which corresponds to 31.71 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Contrastive examples (4 exx.): Wb 19a6, SM 65a10, 13, 14 (above).

1a) Emphatic structures (7 exx.): Wb 14c43, 23b27, Ml 44b1, 88a17, 89a6, Sg 184b3, 198a24.

Wb 14c43: [nam fide statis*] *is hed éem foruar fáilti dúnni formbuithsi in iriss et in tairissem donairissid indi* ‘This verily has caused joy to us, your being in faith and the steadfastness with which ye abide in it.’

Wb 23b27: [secundum expectationem* et spem meam, ... nunc magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo] *iarsind indnidu araneutsa* ‘according to the expectation wherewith I expect.’

2b) Possible avoidance of participants (detransitive) (17 exx.): Wb 3b23, 4c13, 7a7, 14d39, 21b1, Ml 19d16, 22c3, 30b2, 42b27, 50b8, 52, 55c1, 63b9, 65d5, 85b11, 92d12, 126b16.

Ml 19d16: [“iustitiae autem* suæ” dicit] *in firinne rondfirianaigestar som dia* ‘the justice wherewith God justified him.’

3) modificational (11 exx.): Wb 8c3, 13a34, 15d20, Ml 102a15, 129d4. Sg 183b3. BCr 51, CG 484, 555, 556, TBF 154.

Sg 183b3: *ond fescur maull l fritobarthu do thaidibsin inna inne fil isind · sera doherr an obdita .i. dond fritobairt maill fritataibret na dorche don shoilsi is disin asberr séra mall* ‘i.e. from the evening slow or opposed. To shew forth the meaning which is in *sera* the *obdita* is put. From the slow opposition with which the darkness opposes itself to the light ‘tis hence that *sera* ‘slow’ is said.’

4) reverse: Wb 7a7, 13b1. Ml129d4. BCr §51, CG 484, 555, 556.

Ml 30a4: BCr §51: *ata iii[ar] fer hi tuaith folongaiter folug mboairec* ‘There are three persons in the territory who are maintained according to the (standard of) maintenance of a bóaire.’

2.4.1.2 The *Figura Etymologica* towards Middle Irish

1. We also find examples of verbs that are complemented by their own verbal nouns in the texts transmitted in manuscripts from the Middle Irish period. However, a change seems to be taking place: the construction is noticeably less frequent than in Old Irish, both the context and the verbs in question being more restricted in the Middle Irish usage. This is illustrated in condensed fashion in the examples from the *Táin* texts, which provide examples of the older and newer types of the *figura etymologica*, possibly due to a composite nature of the transmission (cf. discussion in 1.5.2. 2)).

2. Instances appear in various syntactic forms, such as subject, object and predicate of a copula clause, and 27 examples lack an article, ten examples contain the article. Prominent examples are:

276) LU 5184-5: *Tongusa do dia toingte Ulaid clóenad clóenfatsa mo cend fair no in tsúil dogensa fris nocon focher cor dia chind riu & noco lémaither a glúasacht.* ‘I swear by God what the Ulaid swear that I shall so nod at him and so glare at him that he will not throw a throwing of his head towards you and will not dare to stir.’

277) LL1172-5: *Aile nít firlaec[h]-su béus, a Ibair, ar in mac bec, dáig in fégad fégat-sa forna echaib, ní ragat assa certimthecht. In tincud tincfat forsna haigib, cromfait a cinnu ar m’ecla & ar m’úamain....* ‘Ah, no true warrior are you, Ibar, said the little boy, for with the look that I shall give the horses, they will not break their straight course. And with the look that I shall give the deer, they will bow their heads in awe and fear of me.’

These instances may well continue Old Irish patterns of assigning emphasis. The attestations appear in heroic speech and could have been used to underline the outstanding position of the hero linguistically. Given the possible Old Irish base of the Middle Irish *Táin* versions, the examples could have been retained from an earlier manuscript. This may for example be the case in the following attestation of a *figura etymologica* with a nasalising relative construction:

278) LU 4879-80: *Riastartha immiseom i sudiu indar lat ba tinnarcán asnort cach foltne ina chend lasa comérge conérracht.* ‘He then became distorted. You would have thought that it was a hammering which made every hair in his head rise.’

In contrast to some of the examples with the more obviously Middle Irish forms this is not found in heroic speech but in auctorial narrative and could therefore not be argued to improve a hero’s style.

Further corpus examples do not seem to display any emphasis at all:

279) LU 4732-3: *Fogabadsíde in n-id focheird Cú Chulaind. & arigsitár in geilte geltatár ind eich.* ‘They found the withe Cú Chulainn had cast and they noticed the grazing grazed by the horses.’

280) LU 4812-3: *a intádud in tucht sa ol ní claide⁷⁴ ro clas rempe* ‘Its thrusting in this manner for no digging has been dug for it.’

These repeatedly consist of the phrases ‘to graze a grazing’ and could have been conventionalised collocations. As in Old Irish we additionally find a

⁷⁴ This example could conceivably contain the concrete noun *claide* ‘ditch’, rather than the verbal noun ‘digging’. However, the contexts of the forked branch being set up with the opponents’ heads on them seems to suggest that a ditch may not be what is meant here.

sizeable number of reverse examples, examples with a small number of particularly frequent repetitive verbs:

281) LU 4765-6: *genaidside guin dune dib ría mmaidin* ‘He will kill one of you before morning.’

282) LL 443: *Is hé in lá cétna tánic Cú Chulaind mac Sualtaim & Sualtach sídech a athair co ngeltatar a n-eich geilt immon corrthe ic Ard Chuillend.* ‘It was on the same day that Cú Chulainn mac Sualtaim and Sualtach Sídech his father came and their horses were grazing a grazing around the pillar stone at Ard Cuillend.’

These types appear to fulfill the same function as their conventionally ordered opponents, using a certain number of verbal expressions to provide stylistic embellishment of the text. A sizeable number of these reverse examples also displays modification of one of the elements of the verbal noun group:

283) TTr1, 1221-2: *contulset in Greic ind aidchesin a slanchotludh* ‘That night the Greeks slept their sound sleep.’

284) LU 6459-60: *Benais béim n-ulgaib leóman don charput uachtarach* [...]. ‘He struck a lion’s blow of the upper palate.’⁷⁵

In these cases we find examples of few verbs being used, particularly *benaid* ‘strikes’, *fo:ceird* ‘casts’ and *gelid* ‘grazes’. This suggests that these examples may likewise function as conventionalised, set phrases.

3. Those examples which have been described as the central category of the FE in Old Irish in 2.4.1.1 above, those containing copula + VN + relative verb, appear with verbal nouns with and without article in the Middle Irish texts. The rather higher proportion of instances of verbal noun without an article in the material transmitted in the Middle Irish period, however, does not provide an answer to the question which of the two types is more central or original.

It may be argued that the Middle Irish FE partly adds extra emphasis to a structure. It has been argued by Rosén (1989: 82) that the adjunct-emphasising patterns of the *figura etymologica* are the most frequent in earlier Middle Irish texts, but that in later MidIr these are ousted by the topicalising varieties which contain the verbal noun in a cleft position followed by the relative lexical verb. In the corpus examined here, with only two cleft examples, this was not the case. Our examples suggest that the *figura etymologica* was still used as a stylistic means for providing emphasis, but the distribution of those examples, mainly in direct heroic speech in the *Táin*

⁷⁵Likewise: LU(H) 6170, 6460, TBCLL 369, 2080, 2259, 2279, 3417, TTr2 1099, 2012, TTr 1 976, 1221-2. SA 489a39-40.

texts, suggests they may have been employed in order to enhance the hero's personal style. They may have been perceived as a learned or embellishing feature. The use of the modifying examples seems non-emphatic, and these may indeed serve as a syntactic crutch for further adverbial modification. But in a notably large number the use appears stylistic or idiomatic rather than emphatic.

4. Examples: *Figura etymologica* in Middle Irish

In the Middle Irish corpus material 37 examples were found, which corresponds to 27.1 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Emphatic (10 exx.): LU 4813, 4879, 4880, 5183, 5184, 6478. TBCLL 1173, 1174, 2295, TTr1, 579.

LU 6478: *Iar sin ríastrad sin ríastarda im Choin Culaind is and sin doreblaing in err gascid ina chathcarpat serda.* 'After this distortion had distorted Cú Chulainn, the hero leapt into his scythed chariot.'

TTr1, 579: *Is doigh immurro is badud robadit isin ainbthenach* 'It is likely, however, that it is a drowning they drowned in the storm.'

2) Conventionalized collocations (9 exx.): LU 4616, 4733. TBCLL 443, 471, 1026, 1107, 1743, TTr2 236, SA 499b17.

LL 471-3: *Táncatar maithi Hérend connici in corthi & gabsat oc fégad [na] ingelta ro geltsat na eich immon corthi & gabsat oc fégad ind idi barbada forácaib in rígnia immun corthi.* 'The nobles of Ireland came to the pillar stone and began to survey the grazing which the horses had made around the stone and to gaze at the barbaric ring which the royal hero had left around the stone.'

3) Modification (15 exx.): LU 5761, LU(H) 6170, 6460, TBCLL 369, 2080, 2259, 2279, 3417, TTr2 1099, 2012, TTr 1 967, 976, 1209-11, 1221-2. SA 489a39-40.

LU(H) 6170: *Fo mo cherd láechdachta benaim beimend ágmara for slóg síabra sorchaidi.* 'With my warrior-craft I strike a great-slaughtering blow on the bright phantom-host.'

4) Detransitive: LU 4765, LL 2080, PCH 2784.

PCH 2784: *'Nách ead suit atrubrumar frit, a thigerna a Piláit, ol na hlúdaide, co n-id is-in sapoit shlánaiges cech slánugud d'a ndenand?* 'Was it not this that we said to you, Lord Pilate, that it is on the Sabbath that he heals all the healings which he does?'

2.4.2. 'Do'-periphrasis

2.4.2.1 'Do'-periphrasis in the Old Irish corpus

1. In the British Celtic languages, 'DO'-periphrasis is a well grammaticalised feature (cf. e.g. Lewis & Petersen 1989: 316). In the basic structure in Welsh, a verbal noun is proposed to a finite form of the verb *gwneuthur* 'to

do', as in a *syrrhyaw a oruc Dewi ar y corf* 'and David fell on the body' (B.De 10.8). By this the verbal information is divided between the verbal noun and the auxiliary which carries marking for the grammatical categories. This preterite periphrasis is considered to be equivalent to the simple inflected verb (Evans, GMW §180.3, cf. 3.4.1).

'DO'-periphrasis is not unique to Celtic languages but can be observed in various language groups. Delbrück (1897: 369) mentions Germanic especially and points to the frequency of juxtaposition of what he calls '*Verben allgemeiner Bedeutung wie thun, wirken*' and nouns denoting deeds, as Old High German *reda tuon*, equalling *redinōn* 'speak'. He considers examples like these to be further developments of *figura etymologica* constructions, where semantically empty verbs replaced more specialised verbs (ibid.).

2. In the Old Irish corpus material we also find structures which employ the verbs *do:gní* or *gníid* with their related nouns. In 13 out of 21 cases they are used to indicate contexts like 'to do deeds', or German '*Taten tun*' e.g.

285) Wb 12b15: *indii gnite gnímu sainemli [...]* 'those who do excellent deeds'⁷⁶

286) Ml 30a4: [quasi noctem patientur* in lunem] *sechis amal nongnetis ón gnim in naitchi dorchi.* 'As though they did a deed on a dark night.'

Except for one example (Ml 30a4) these structures typically use the accusative plural *gnímu* rather than a singular noun. All cases with the plural noun also display further modification of the noun by adjectives or genitive attributes. This is a feature that can also be observed in a number of examples of the *figura etymologica*.

For the FE in Middle Irish, Hannah Rosén (1989: 72) assumed that it was partly used in order to avoid using a lexically different object. This explanation may also be applicable to cases which employ *do:gní* and the noun *gním*. Gagnepain (1963: 85-6.) likewise mentions numerous examples containing both the verb *do:gní* and the related noun. If *do:gní* is used with a verbal noun of a transitive verb, or if *gním* is used as an object, the obligatory object slot is filled without any further object being necessary:

287) Wb 28d19: *amal dorígensat sisi a altramsi dénadsi goiri doibsem* 'As they have nurtured her, let her maintain them.'

288) Ml 115b4: *huaræ ata n-gnímai nui nadrognatha riam rognítha and moltai nui ingainti nadrocheta riam dogabail doib dano* 'Because new deeds had been done then, that had not been done before, that they should, then, sing new unmade praises that had not been sung before.'

⁷⁶ Likewise Wb 17a13, 25c10, Ml 30a4 (sg.), 115b2, 129d5.

In both these examples we find contrastive parallelism of the verbal nouns. In the second example, Ml 1154b4, there additionally is further modification of the verbal noun. The verbal noun is one of the elements in the focus position and may receive emphasis. This kind of structure also offers the possibility to rhematize, i.e. to turn what would otherwise be the verb of the sentence into the comment, and let the inflectional marking be carried by *do:gní*. This possibility not only exists for verbal noun objects but clauses can also be referred to:

289) Sg 188a28: *ní slond na aimsire acht is slond in gnimo gnither indi* ‘It is not the expression of the time, but it is the expression of the action that is performed in it.’

290) Ml 128c3: *huare nach derní a adamrugud ara meit is ed dugní iarum atluchedar buidi do dia nammá* ‘Because he cannot express admiration of Him for the greatness of it, it is this that he does afterwards: he gives thanks to God.’

In these cases the whole expression is clefted. The second example, Ml 128c3, is reminiscent of the Welsh *sef* + relative *oruc/wnaeth* + verbal noun structure (cf. 3.4.1). However, the Irish example appears to be isolated. It holds for all these cases that an action is split into two components, so that the verbal noun is a carrier of lexical information and a semantically contentless transitive verb carries the tense, mood and aspect categories.

3. Overall in the corpus the great majority of examples examined must be ascribed to non-periphrastic relative use of *do:gní* and also to a strong tendency in Irish, as in other languages, to form expressions like *do:gní gnímu* ‘do deeds’ and to accommodate further modification of verbs or nouns in this structure. Some further examples of the verb with other verbal nouns seem to be used like an auxiliary to manipulate information structure in the clause. This structure, however, appears to be primarily non-emphatic. Only in one case is focus observable.

4. Examples: ‘Do’-periphrasis in Old Irish:

In the Old Irish material, there are 72 examples, i.e. 58.56 examples per 100,000 words.

1) **Gním + do:gní (6 exx.):** Ml 29b8, 44a 23, 54c12, 56d5, 97a3, 129d5.

Ml 29b8: *tororansom trisin doit in gním gnís in doit* ‘He signified by the arm the action that the arm does.’

2) **dénam gním(u) + modification (20 exx.):** Wb 4a9, 5d27, 6a8, 10a17, 10c16, 12b15, 12c9, 13d30, 17a13, 17c11, 25c10, 33d5, Ml 14a8, 22d9, 30a4, 35d14, 56b16, 93d14, 97a3, 115b4.

Wb 12c9: *ó domanicc foirbthetu ní denim gnímu macthi act rísam nem bimmi æcni et bimmi foirbthi uili* ‘Since perfection has come to me, I do no childish deeds; if only we get to heaven we shall be wise, and we shall all be perfect.’

3) Rhematising structures (46 exx.): Wb 3c25, 4a5, 5a24, 5d38, 6a8, 10c11, 10a27, 12b34, 17c20, 17d17, 26a8, 27a7, 28d9, 28d19, 29a21, Ml 24d9, 29b8, 30c14, 30d13, 52, 43a4, 44a 23, 48d28, 49a9, 80b10, 90c11, 90c12, 93a1, 96a8, 98c6, 105a2, 106c12, 128c3, 129d5, Sg 140a2, 153a3, 188a28, 220b6, ThesII, 307.27, 322.22, 345.20, 346.42, 348.35-6, 348.40, 351.19, BB271.

Ml 24d9: *huare is si aimser sin in dentae estosc inna fine in damdabchaib* ‘Because that was the time in which men used to squeeze the grapes in tubs.’

Sg 153a3: [quia substantiam siue sententiam siue essentiam rei significant*] *slond gnimo hi rec dogni indidit* ‘It is the signification of the act simply which the indicative does’

2.4.2.2 ‘Do’- periphrasis in the Middle Irish texts

1. For Middle Irish likewise a relatively sparse amount of examples has been collected from the texts. The criterion for admittance of a structure was that it could easily have been expressed in another manner without *do:gní*, such as simple verbs.

2. We have already seen that syntactic emphasis was possibly feature of *do:gní* structures in the Old Irish texts. Further evidence of this is found in some examples from the LU *Táin*, where the verbal nouns appear in cleft clauses and receive syntactic emphasis:

291) LU 4985-6: *In tan ba háin phuill dognitis no linadsom in poll dia liathrotib & ni chumcaitis in meic a ersclaige.* ‘When they were engaged in driving the ball into the hole, he would fill the hole with his balls and the boys would not be able to ward him off.’

292) LU 4988-90: *In tan bá n-intrasrad dognitis dorascradsom na tri .l. mac a óenur.& ni comraiced imbiseom lín a trascartha.* ‘When they were wrestling, he alone would throw the thrice fifty boys, yet not all of them together could surround him to throw him.’

These examples illustrate cases of syntactic parallelism. It has been pointed out by Poppe (1994: 13) that these parallel *in tan* clauses receive contrastive focus. This has been made possible structurally by the use of the verbal noun with *do:gní* in cleft clauses. Similar syntactic emphasis would not have been possible without a verbal noun clause.

In the further development, during the Middle Irish period, it may have become an additional advantage of the construction that the syntax may be streamlined and that inflection is reduced to a highly frequent verb. Compare the following example, which would involve the past subjunctive of *ad:cosnai*:

293) SA497b37: ... & madon ascnam [...] & in hecnaib & i fellsumlacht

dognedis comad indtsamlaighti a m-bescna mad anso do etir. ‘And as concerns the quest for wisdom and philosophy which they should do so that he could be a follower of their virtues if he at all wanted to.’

The lexical information is in the verbal noun, but verbal inflection is provided by *do:gní*, which acts as a transitive auxiliary to the verbal noun. It is conceivable that a periphrastic subjunctive of a highly frequent verb was preferable here as it was easier to produce and to process. A comparable case is the following:

294) LL 1231-2: *Do:gén a n-imtheclamad dáig is assu.* ‘I shall gather them for it is easier.’

This example is particularly interesting in that it involves a possessive object pronoun. This can also be observed in the following examples:

295) LL1232-4: *Forrópart Cú Chulaind for a n-imscothad, & nos tairnged tria ladraib a choss & a lám i n-igid a fíar & a fadb co ndénad a féth & a snass & a slemnugud & a cermad.* ‘Cú Chulainn began to strip the poles, and he would draw them between his toes and between his fingers against their bends and knots until he made them smooth and polished and slippery and trimmed.’

296) Stowe 1271: *...co nderna a fethugadh & a snasadh & a slemhnugadh & a mblathugadh* ‘And he smoothed and polished and straightened and shaped them.’

The later manuscript shows even further harmonization by extending the verbal noun *-adh* inflection to all examples. An additional reason for using *do:gní* + poss. pron. + verbal noun in these cases may have been the avoidance of object pronouns, infixed or otherwise, which would have been employed with inflected verbs. In another parallel example in the Stowe manuscript, the exchange of LL’s FE for a *do:gní* construction can be observed:

297) LL 471-2: *Táncatar mathi Hérend connici in corthi & gabsat oc fégad [na] ingelta ro geltsat na eich immon corthi.* ‘The nobles of Ireland came to the pillar stone and began to survey the grazing which the horses had made around the stone.’

298) St. 579: *gabsat oc fégad na hingelta doronsat na eich.* ‘They began to survey the grazings the horses had done.’

Discussing examples where FE is replaced by *do:gní* periphrasis in Stowe, Rosén (1989: 81) argues that cases with the former typically have a further modifier, whereas the latter typically do not. She is reluctant to draw any further conclusions, yet it looks as if the FE was replaced by a less marked

do:gní construction in Stowe in these cases. Typically examples also tend to have a simpler structure without any adjectival or adverbial modification.

Furthermore, *do:gní* structures were used in Middle Irish in phrases denoting ‘to do battle’ as in *do:gní cathugud*:

299) LL3141-2: *Gabthar ar n-eich dún & indliter ar carpait co ndernam cathugud dar n-echaib & dar carptib indiu.* ‘Our horses shall be brought to us and our chariot harnessed so that we may do battle from our horses and chariots today.’

As in the English phrase ‘to do battle’, periphrasis with verbal noun and a content-less verb like *do:gní* provided a suitable alternative to a simple verbal form. Furthermore, we find the extension of this concept into action nouns as in *acus gid ed tarcid Cu Chulaind dó-som comrac & comlund do dénam ris-seom* ‘Nevertheless Cú Chulainn offered to engage in battle and contention with him’ (LL 3954-5).

For the further development of this construction, Tristram (2002: 370) observes that in Modern Irish *déan* is largely complemented by abstract noun forms rather than verbal nouns, as in *dhéanfadh sé réiteach* ‘he would make a deal’ (ibid., 371). Even though examples are found with *déan* + VN, there is little evidence of grammaticalisation in her Ros Muc sample corpus (ibid., 372).

3. Overall, one may endorse Rosén’s assessment that *do:gní* plus verbal noun can be used instead of an inflected verbal form in order to alter the information structure of the sentence in Middle Irish and to provide a means of emphasis. This is particularly visible in sentences which contrast parallel actions. *Do:gní* periphrasis offers a possibility to bring the verbal noun forward into the focus position of a cleft sentence. The material here also suggests use for modification of the verbal noun and also for omitting an otherwise syntactically necessary object. It may be significant that some of our corpus examples additionally suggest that the use of ‘do’-periphrasis afforded simplification of complex processes like infixation or provided convenient auxiliaries for complex verbal forms. Verbal nouns with possessive pronouns were a structural alternative to the collapsing system of infixed pronouns and used *do:gní* as their transitive auxiliary.

A comparison of the structures of Old and Middle Irish *figura etymologica* and *do:gní* periphrasis suggests that the Middle Irish *do:gní* periphrasis might have taken over some functions of the Old Irish *figura etymologica*. We also find that, as is the case with the *figura etymologica*, the complementation of an inflected form of *do:gní* by action nouns is very frequent and possibly its frequency has increased even more than that of verbal noun complements after *do:gní/déan*.

4. Examples: ‘Do’-periphrasis in Middle Irish

29 clear examples were found in the Middle Irish texts, i.e. 21.27 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Topicalising/Rhematising: LU 4985, 4988, 4990. TBCLL 1015, 1231, 2145, 2612, 3142, 3954. TTr1 907. SA 491b23-5, 491b37. PCH 2710, 2720, 3024, 3126, 3276, 3342. Stowe 579.

LU 4990-1: *In tan dano bá n-ímdírech dognítis dosnergedsom uli co mbítis tornochta.* ‘When they were engaged in the game of stripping one another, he would strip them all stark-naked.’

2) Detransitivising: TBCLL 2547, SA 488b35, 492b50. PCH 2980.

LL2547-8: *Is trúag lind in gním doníther imbárach and, bar Fergus.* ‘We deem sorrowful the deed that will be done here tomorrow, said Fergus.’

3) Syntactic motion: TBCLL 1234.

4) Do:gní as pro-form: TBCLL 198-9, 1250. PCH 2784.

LL1259-52: *Is aire condeochatar sin i comdáiil Con Culaind dáig ba immarcraid gním leó doringni in lathe reme forro .i. dá mac Nera meic Nuatair meic Thacáin do marbad ic Ath Gabla.* ‘They came to encounter Cú Chulainn because they deemed excessive the deed that he had done against them the previous day, namely killing the two sons of Nera mac Nuatair meic Thacáin at Ath Gabla.’

5) Modification: TTr2, 1258.

TTr2, 1258: *Dagniat ansain Achil & Teofras tres trén tulgubach tromnemnech.* ‘Then Achilles and Teuthras fight a fight, valiant, shield-clashing, heavy venomous.’

6) Syntactic Analyticity: Stowe 1271.

2.4.3 *Gaibid* and verbal noun

In Old Irish the verb *gaibid* ‘takes’ has various meanings that denote dealing with an entity or carrying out a task. It typically expresses taking, seizing, reciting (DIL, *gabál*). It can also be used in the context of ‘taking a road’ (DIL *gabál* (e)). Examples of these are the following:

300) Wb 16d4: [...] *amal nángabimmse didiu ni gaib lucas* ‘As I do not take it then, Luke does not take it.’ (DIL *gaibid* 1a)

301) LU 4869: *Focherded a bunsach ríam conda gebed ar loss* ‘He threw his rod before him and seized it by the end.’

302) PH 7008: *Is mair mairg... gaibus in athgairit-si dochumm n-iffern* ‘It is great woe that I took the stretch towards hell.’ (DIL *gaibid* 1q)

Furthermore, DIL draws attention to its usage as indicating the beginning of action (DIL, *gaibid* 1 k). This usage which does not seem to appear in the texts before the Middle Irish period will concern us in the following.

2.4.3.1 Prepositionless complementation

Scribe M in LU has provided examples of *gaibid* in contexts which denote an action which has not taken place before now and is in progress. *Gaibid* is directly complemented by a verbal noun:

303) LU 5443-4: *Gabsait imbirt na fer fithchille iarom adrethsat na firu óir & argait tarsin clár crédumae.* ‘They started moving around the chess-men then. They ran the gold and silver men across the bronze board.’

The context of this example is that Fergus has arrived, ostensibly with the purpose of playing fidchell (LU 5419-20: *Congairther Fergus do Ailill do imbirt fidchille*). Conversation in retoric starts, Ailill tells Fergus to sit down to play fidchell (LU 5433: *Suid síis trá or Ailill co n-imberam fidchell*), and after Ailill’s next utterance auctorial narrative is entered in the form of LU 5443-4. The context clarifies that the action really starts at this point. The same appears to be the case in the following:

304) LU 4915-7: *iarom cach cluchiu ind indas sin caidche. Gabait in gillai oc sudiu imbirt a dornd forai b conid apad .l. mac diib.* ‘Then every game in that manner all day long: the lads started using their fists on them till 50 boys of them died.’

305) LU 4938-40: *La sodin fónéirig Cu Chulaind & bennaid a cend de cosind luirg áne & gabaid imman liathraite riam dar in mag.* ‘Then Cú Chulainn rose and took his head off him with the hurley and started driving the ball before him over the field.’

An example from the vicinity of this instance is more problematic:

306) LU 5420-1: *In tan dolluid Fergus don phupull gabaid Ailill gári fris. Asbert Fergus...* ‘When Fergus came to the tent, Ailill laughed at him. Fergus said...’

This example could denote ingressive *gaibid* plus *gáire* used as verbal noun of the derived verb *gáirid*. It could therefore translate as ‘Ailill started to laugh about him’. But *gaibid* may also be used here as indicating ‘he laughed, was laughing at him’. It is possible that ambiguity arises from the fact that *gáire* is primarily an abstract noun and may serve as a verbal noun of denominal *gáirid*. It likewise seems unclear whether the following example should be considered an example of the construction in question:

307) LUH 6204-6: *Dolig duit gnim n-erred do gabail fort hi fiadnaisi fer nErend & laech ansa do dingbail a gasciud fon samail.* ‘Difficult for you

to take on a warriors deed in the presence of the men of Ireland and to ward off the weapons of an easy warrior in this wise.’

We seem to have a different construction here as the agent is not expressed directly, but by a prepositional phrase with *for*. Otherwise all examples of *gaibid* plus verbal noun in the LU *Táin*, both by scribe H and M, appear to express that an action is just beginning.

2.4.3.2 Complementation of *gaibid* + *for*

The Old Irish preposition *for*, with the basic meaning of ‘on, upon’, also expresses senses of ‘over, after, on’ or ‘at’ in the sense of ‘at a task’ or ‘in’ with verbal nouns and adjectives (DIL *for* 1, II. Cf. 2.2.1.2). The Middle Irish usage of the preposition *for* with verbal nouns noticeably centres around idiomatic usages, like *téit for teiched* or *attá for* + VN. But we also find a number of combinations of *gaibid for* + verbal noun. DIL (*gaibid*) draws attention to this collocation, which is identified as denoting ‘attacking’:

308) Wb 8a7: *ar gebaid in scol for aréli* ‘One school will attack the other.’

Apparently, however, not only concrete entities can be attacked but also problems or actions. The phrase *gabid for* with verbal noun, which denotes an action being begun, is widespread throughout the texts, with the notable exception of scribe M in LU:

309) LL 4665-70: *Nirbo chian do Láeg dá mbáe and go facca inní, fir Hérend uile ac coméirge i n-óenfecht ac gabáil a sciath & a ngae ... Da gabsat fir Hérend cách dib bar slaide & bar slechtad, for tóchtad & bar tinmi, for airlech & for essargain araile ri ré cian & ra reimes fata.* ‘It seemed not long to Laeg that he was there till he saw all the men of Ireland rising together and taking up their shields and their spears. The men of Ireland began each of them to strike and smite, to hew and cut, to slay and slaughter the others for a long space of time.’

310) LUH 6202-3: *Atraig Briciu nemthenga mac Carbatha & gabais for gressacht Con Culaind.* ‘Briciu Nemthenga mac Carbada rose up and began to incite Cú Chulainn.’

311) St. 1318-9: *Tancatar ceitre hollcoicidh Erenn arnamarach goro gabsat for arccain Muighi Breg & Muigi Muirtemhne.* ‘The four provinces of Ireland came in the morning and began to attack Mag Breg and Mag Muirthemne.’

Typically in these examples the agent just arrives on scene, or alternatively takes his turn in speaking after another person. Especially in those contexts involving fights, the long duration of the battle is often mentioned. In addition to this *gaibid for* collocation we also find *gaibid ar* in the LL-text:

312) LL 1280-1: *Gabsat ar argain Maigi Breg*. ‘They started to ravage Mag Breg.’

313) LL 1411-2: *Ocus ro gab Medb ar acallaim Fergusa*. ‘Medb started to address Fergus.’

LL often does not clearly distinguish the two prepositions *for* and *ar* graphically (cf. 2.2.1.2.5). We may therefore see scribal variation rather than an alternative ingressive construction and the same variation is also illustrated by the Stowe text.

Comparing the structures of Old and Middle Irish, it emerges that the prepositional spelling *for* has generally decreased markedly. In MidIr. *for* has already merged with the preposition *ar* ‘on’ and we find *for* retained predominantly in idioms (cf. 2.2.1.2). The majority of instances of *gaibid for* are with action nouns like *cathugud*, *imtrasca*, *gressacht*. Nevertheless, its retention in idioms appears to be transitory as well, as illustrated by the variation in TBCLL 2745 *Ní rucus for teched traig* and Stowe 2769 *Ní rucus ar techedh traigh* ‘he did not retreat a step in flight’.

3 Complementation of *gaibid + oc*

During the MidIr period the preposition *oc* is also used with the verb *gaibid*. It is used without any apparent distinction from *gaibid + for*:

314) LL3096-8: *Ra gab cách díb ac díburgun araile dina clesradaib sin á dorblas na matne muche go mide medóin laí...* ‘Each of them began to cast these weapons at the other from the twilight of early morning until the middle of the day.’

315) TTr1, 1133: *& rogab aca thairmesc imbi techt isin chath in la sin*. ‘She began to dissuade him from going into the battle that day.’

One example comprises both *oc* and *for* next to each other and underlines their identical usage:

316) LU(H) 6196-8: *O ro chomraicset iarom ind fír forsind áth & o ro gabsat oc glíaid & oc imsesorcain and & o ro gab cach díb for truastad a chéli focheird ind escongón tri ol im cossa Con Culaind* ‘When the men met at the ford and when they took to fighting and mutual smiting and when each of them had taken to smiting the other the eel warped in coils

around the feet of Cú Chulainn.’

To a lesser degree ingressive periphrasis may also be expressed by the verbs *ad:aig*⁷⁷ and *fo:fúabair*⁷⁸:

317) LU 5230-1: *Atnagait co céin mór oc intrascad forsind usci & bátir Fráech*. ‘They put themselves to wrestling for a long time in the water and Fráech was submerged.’

318) AMCG 240: *Atn-aig Manchín oc tacra fris* ‘Manchín starts to plead against him.’

319) LL 1831-2: *Tucad aire féoin leis do threlam gascid do fíópairt Con Culaind & barópairt ac folmasi a gona* ‘A cartload of arms was brought by him to attack Cú Chulainn, and he began to try and kill him.’

With *oc*, we further find examples which do not necessarily express the start of an action, but they might also express ongoing action:

320) LL2801-3: *Ra gab in t-ara ‘gá imthairmesc imme: ‘Rapad ferr dúib anad iná dul and sin’ ar se in gilla*. ‘The charioteer began to dissuade/dissuaded him: ‘It were better for you to stay here than go there’, said the driver.’

321) LL 598-9: *Táncatar mathi Hérend connici in n-áth & gabsat oc fégad na gabla uili*. ‘The nobles of Ireland came to the ford and they all fell to examining/examined the forked pole.’

322) St. 4982-3: *Is ann sin ro ghabh Fergus ig fechain an tsluaigh ic dul tar Áth Mór síar*. ‘Then Fergus started to watch/watched the host going west over Áth Mór.’

Generally the more dynamic the semantics of the verbal noun which depends on *gaibid* etc., the clearer is the implication of an action starting. Particularly in examples where the verb is rather more stative than dynamic, it may even be the case that the instances of *gaibid* are not to be seen as ingressive periphrasis. It is conceivable that the structure with *gaibid* may have broadened its role to that of also acting as an auxiliary verb specifying punctual verbal aspect, and is complemented by the *oc*-participle.

4 Distribution

1. The formal distribution of our examples of *gaibid* plus verbal noun is as follows:

⁷⁷ Also in AMCG 584.

⁷⁸ Further examples are LL 842, LL 1232, LL 1431, St. 1866.

	LU	LUH	LL	SA	TTr1	Total	Stowe
<i>Gaibid</i>	4	2	1			7	
<i>Gaibid ar</i>			3			3	
<i>Gaibid for</i>		4	5			9	3
<i>Gaibid oc</i>		1	24	1	5	31	21
	4	7	33	1	5	50	24

Table VI: Distribution of ingressive periphrasis in the Middle Irish texts.

In the earliest version of the Táin text, LU, we only find *gaibid* + verbal noun. LU, scribe H uses *gaibid* + verbal noun, and also *gaibid* + *for*, together with one example of *gaibid* + *oc*. LL employs the greatest variety, *gaibid for* + *oc*, as well as *fo:fúabair for* + *oc* and *ad:aig*. A large increase is observable in the *gaibid oc* structure in this manuscript. This seems to be due to an extension of usage towards contexts that are not solely ingressive, but towards simple verbal periphrasis which could function similarly to the Welsh meaningless *gwneuthur* periphrasis. Stowe mainly uses *gaibid oc* and there are a number of examples which suggest that it is not necessarily to be seen as ingressive in these text. *Stair Alexander* and *Togail Troí 1* only use *gaibid oc*, and seem to use it for marking ingressive action. As far as the prepositions involved are concerned, it can be argued that *for* and *oc* have a similar distribution in Old and Middle Irish. This is evidenced in their shared use for periphrastic constructions denoting progress, so their shared space with *gaibid* is not surprising. The possibility to use both *gaibid* and *fo:fúabair* to denote ‘to undertake, to carry out’ an action or ‘to start’ an action will be due to the shared semantics of ‘attack’. This sense lends itself well to denoting ‘taking on, starting’ a task.

In Modern Irish the successors of these constructions still exists in examples of future periphrasis as in *Tá mé ag goil ag staidéir* ‘I am going to study.’ The expression of this characteristic may be described as ingressive *aktionsart* (cf. 1.6.7).

5. Examples:

Overall, there were 74 examples of *gaibid* plus verbal noun. This corresponds to 19.28 examples per 100,000 words overall, and to 36,55 examples per 100,000 words of Middle Irish text.

1) *Gaibid oc* (31 exx.):

LUH 6197, LL 282, 368-9, 464, 471, 472, 476, 598, 760, 1207, 1306, 1309, 2802, 3096, 3112, 3234, 3292, 3414, 3782, 3942, 3960, 3971, 3991, 4285, 4846. SA 497b45. TTr1, 1025, 1030, 1133, 1185, 1135.

LL 3112-3: *Ra gab cách díb ac díburgun araile dina slegaib á mide medóin laí go tráth funid nóna*. ‘Each of them fell to casting the spears at the other from the middle of the day till the evening.’

LL 3782: *Acus tucad Cethern mac Fintain 'sin smiramrach co cent teóra lá & teóra n-aidche & ra gab ac ól na smiramrach imme.* 'And Cethern was placed in the marrow-mash for the space of three days and three nights, and he began to soak up the marrow mash which was about him.'

TTr1, 1025: *rogab aca neartadh co nabtis tercmenmnaigh* 'and he started to till they were not disheartened.'

Further examples from Stowe: St 478, 486, 620, 787, 890, 1243, 1318, 1322, 1352, 1865, 2824,3051-6, 3110, 3195, 3376, 3380, 3907, 3934, 3952, 4792, 4982.

2) Gaibid+ verbal noun (7 exx.)

LUH 4578, LUH 5900-1, LU 4916, LU 4939, LU 5420-1, LU 5443, LL 320⁷⁹.

LUH 4578: *Ro gab toscugud don chath| mani airlestar bid brath dóich lim iss e dobohsaig Cu Culaind mac Sualdaim* 'He started moving towards the battle, if he had not deserved what is spying, I should think it was Cu Culaind mac Sualdaim reaching you.'

3) Examples gaibid for (9 exx.)

LUH 6187, LUH 6197, LUH 6203, LUH 6717, LL 858-9, 3145, 4668, 4683, 4877.

LL859: *Gabsat for ól & for aibnius.* 'They began to drink and make merry'

LL 4877: *Ro gáb cách díb bar tollad & bar tregdad & bar airlech & bar essorgain araile.* 'Each of them began to gore and to pierce and to slay and slaughter the other.'

Further examples from Stowe: St. 687, 890, 4778.

St. 890: *Ro fritailit iat Ro craithit aine & urluachra futhaibh, & ro gabsat ic ol & ic aobness.* 'He attended them. He.... , and they started to drink and make merry.'

4) Gaibid ar (3 exx.):

LL 1280, LL 1411, LL 1624.

LL 1624: *Luid Etarcumal ar cúlu & ro gab ar chomrád fria araid.*

'Etarcumal turned back and addressed his charioteer.'

2.4.4 Verbal nouns in non-finite sentences in Irish

There are some grammaticalised structures with verbal nouns as objects of inflected verbs. While the *figura etymologica* loses significance after the Old Irish period, *do:gni* periphrasis, which arguably takes over some of its functions in Middle Irish, is only a marginal phenomenon. We do, however, find the verbal noun in an aspectual construction, following the verb *gaibid*, with a certain frequency. In Irish verbal nouns are on the whole quite well represented in periphrastic temporal and aspectual contexts. They are only rarely

⁷⁹ In this example the object of the verbal noun is preposed with the preposition *do*.

found in contexts where they stand *in lieu* of a finite verbal form. Some rather isolated examples of non-finite clauses with a number of verbal nouns can be found, e.g.

323) AU 818⁸⁰: *Aig anaiccenta & snechta már robatar o Notlaic Stelle co hInit. Imtecht Boinde cosnaibh tirmaibh & ala naile n-aband; fon oincumai ind loche. Ete & fianlaighi iar Loch Echoch. Oiss allti do thofunn....* ‘There was abnormal ice and much snow from Epiphany to Shrovetide. The Boyne and other rivers were crossed dry footed; lakes likewise. Herds and hunting parties were on Loch Echach [and] wild deer were hunted.

324) TTr2, 767-8: *Co rainnised Anténor doibsed cach anfolaid is cach écóir daringset ri Priaim .i. a chathir d’arggain & a athair do marbad & a da brathair & a síúir do breith i m-brait & im-mogsain & cen ní dib sein do mathigud fris.* ‘That Antenor might declare to them every willful hurt and every wrong which they had done to Priam, to wit, destroying his city, and killing his father and his two brothers, and carrying off his sister into captivity and thralldom and without making good to him any of these things.’

These examples, however, are rare and their use is much less pronounced than it is in (Middle) Welsh.

⁸⁰ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. MacAirt, S. and G Mac Niocaill. Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1983.

3. Verbal Nouns in Medieval Welsh

3.1 Verbal noun usage

3.1.1 Old Welsh

The Welsh corpus material underlying this collection consists of the sparse amount of data found in transmitted Old Welsh texts, the *Surexit Memorandum*, the *Computus Fragment* and the *Juvenicus Englynion*. The saga text *Culhwch ac Olwen* is a representative of the early Middle Welsh period.

3.1.1.1 Subject use

Some examples of subject use of a verbal noun can be found:

- 1) JE5: *ni gu<or>gnim molim Trintaut* ‘It is not too great toil to praise the Trinity.’
- 2) JE9: *nit guorgnim molim map Meir* ‘It is not too great toil to praise the son of Mary.’

These examples have verbal nouns as both the subject and predicate of a copula clause. This shows that the subject use of the verbal noun was a feature of Old Welsh.

3.1.1.2 Prepositional use

There are only few examples of verbal nouns with prepositions in the present sample corpus. We can find some prepositional constructions with *di* ‘to’:

- 3) CF 16: *bihit dir terni* ‘as far as to the reckoning’⁸¹

⁸¹ This example cannot be counted as a good example of verbal nominal use as it contains the article (see 1.3.1). As the data on Old Welsh is very sparse this example is given for illustration purposes.

4) SurM1: *Surexit Tutbulc filius Liuit ha gener Tutri di erchim 'Tir Telih' hai oid i lau Elcu filius Gelhig ha luidt Iuguret.* 'Tudfwlch the son of Llywyd from the people of Tudri⁸² arose to claim 'Tir Telych' which was in the hand of Elgu the son of Gelli and the tribe of Idwared.'

While example 3) seems to express extension, example 4) illustrates that the purpose clause construction of preposition *di* 'to' plus verbal noun is a very early feature. Furthermore an example of Old Welsh *ði* 'from' was found in the corpus:

5) SurM4: *Rodesit Elcu guetic equs, tres uache, tres uache nouidligi, nam ir ni be cás igridu di medichat guetig hit Did Braut.* 'Elgu gave afterwards a horse, three cows, three newly-calved cows, only in order that there might not be hatred between them from the ruling afterwards till the Day of Judgement.'

There are few examples of verbal nouns and the OW preposition (*h*)*i*, MidW *yn* 'in' attested in the present corpus. Two potential candidates are found in the *Juvenius Englynion*, one in the *Computus Fragment*:

6) CF 1: *In ir tritid urd, id est in trited retec, retit loyr... guor hir seraul circhl* 'In the third row, i.e. in the third course that the moon runs over the zodiac.'

7) JE 6: *it clu<i>s, in ban<n> i ciman guorsed ceinmicun ucnow ran* 'Purely, highly in the great assembly let us extol nine high parts (?)'

All these nouns are modified by adjectives. This means that they are used as abstract nouns and not verbally. One example from the glosses on *Martianus Capella* does not contain modifying adjectives. There is little context but it appears to be an example of verbal noun usage, translating the Latin participle *in uenando* 'hunting':

9) MC 39.a.b: [cum quidam in uenando jaculum extorsit] *in helcha* 'in hunting' (Schumacher 2000: 19, fn.)

The examples found here are few. They illustrate that at least the purpose clause category of the preposition *di* is already developed. This suggests that the category is an old one. The examples with other prepositions are predominantly found with adjectival modification. These attested examples therefore seem to have been used primarily within the nominal paradigm.

⁸² Compare Zimmer (1997: 149-51).

3.1.2 Agent structures

The composition of agent structures in verbal noun phrases has been examined in detail by Müller (1999: 34-82). As in Irish, there is a fundamental difference in the Welsh material as to whether the verbal noun in question can be used with agents and patients or only with agents.

Typically, the agent of a verbal noun that admits both agent and patient is marked by means of the preposition *o* 'from'. An example of this is *a'e datkanu oll o Pwyll* 'Pwyll related all of it' (PKM 8.13, cf. GMW § 181a). But the preposition *y* 'to' can also be used, as illustrated by *diwarnawd yn hyly y'r brenhin* 'one day the king was hunting' (WM 453, 8-9, cf. GMW § 181c). It is asserted by Müller (1999: 12) that this structure, which is frequent in Modern Welsh, was still rare in Middle Welsh.

The patient of the verbal noun, on the other hand, follows the verbal noun in a genitive construction as seen in *canu englyn idaw ynteu yna* 'he sang an englyn then' (PKM 90.9, cf. GMW § 181c). Furthermore, the genitive can also be used to denote the agent of an 'intransitive' verbal noun, as in *yn dyfot y'r llys hon*, literally 'my coming to this court'. However, prepositional structures can also be used for marking the agent of an intransitive verb. Müller (ibid., 43-7) identifies a preference for genitively expressed agents in dependent positions, whereas she found prepositionally expressed agents to prevail in independent positions.

3.2. Verbal nouns with prepositions in Middle Welsh

3.2.1 *ar* and *wrth*

3.2.1.1 *ar*

1. grammatical considerations

The preposition *ar* 'on, upon', leniting, is held to be cognate with the Old Irish preposition *ar* 'before, for' (Thurneysen, GOI §823). Functionally, it also resembles the OIr preposition *for* 'on, over'. GMW sees it as originally deriving from OW *að* 'to' with verbs of motion (GMW §205), but argues that it later incorporated three different prepositions: OW *að* 'to', OW *guar*, *guor*, cognate to Irish *for*, and OW *ar* 'for, before'. *Ar* can be used in temporal or spatial contexts, including distance, but also to convey senses of manner or condition (GMW §204), as e.g. in *ar vrys* 'in haste' (GMW §204, from BBCS x, 25.24).

2. central semantic components

Synchronically in Middle Welsh the central use of *ar* appears to be one of spatial location [+ space, + stat] above an entity [+ super], or in temporal senses [+ temp] particularly in adverbial uses like *ac ar hynny* ‘and upon this’. Examples of temporal ‘on’ are the following taken from *Pwyll Pendevic Dyvet*:

10) PPD 310-2: *Ac ar dechreu kyuedach gwedy y bwyt, wynt a welynt yn dyuot y mywn guas gwineu mawr teyrneid, a guisc o bali amdanaw.* ‘And upon the start of the carousal after the food they saw a regal great brown man coming in and silken dress about him.’

11) PPD 605-6: *Guedy daruot bwyta, ar dechreu kyuedach ymdidan a wnaethon.* ‘After the meal took place and upon the start of the carousal they conversed.’

In some instances we can also observe *ar* + verbal noun being used like a present participle in English, particularly with verbs of motion (GMW §204, p.186):

12) BVL 265-7: *‘Gwelem, Arglwyd’, heb wy, ‘mynyd mawr gyr llaw y coet, ahwnnw ar gerdet ac eskeir aruchel ar y mynyd’* ‘We saw, Lord, said they, a very high mountain beside the forest, and that moving, and a very high ridge on that mountain.’ (= PKM 39.24, GMW §204)

Secondly, location in front of an entity [+ space, + front], or ‘towards’ [+ dir, + front] can be denoted by *ar*. This typically happens with verbal noun forms in nominal usage or with other abstract nouns. This is illustrated by the noun complement in *a chledwch a’y wyneb ar Freinc ef* ‘and bury it with its face towards France’ (BVL 393). And it may also be found in the following example:

13) CO 917: *Oes obeith gennyt ti ar gaffel dy ellwng...* ‘Do you have hope of/ towards obtaining your release.’

However, *gobeith* ‘hope’ is commonly used with the object introduced by *ar*, therefore the use of *ar* is here conditioned by context (GPC *gobeith*)⁸³.

3. peripheral meaning

A verbal noun and *ar* can also express future intention or purpose [+ final]. This is illustrated by the following:

14) B.De 14.20-3: *Ac val y coffayssam ni Dewi yn y vuched ehun, a’e*

⁸³ The same holds for BVL 125: *A disgynnu a wnaeth ar gymryt hynny y coet.* ‘And he decided on taking this to the wood’, with *disgynnu* ‘decide’ followed by *ar*.

weithredoed yn y dayar yma, velle y bo canhorthwywr yntev, ac y grymoccoao y eirawl y nynheu geir bronn y gwir Greadyr ar gaffel trugared rac llaw. ‘And as we remembered David in his life, and his deeds in this world thus he may be a helper and to us avails his praying before the true Creator in order to obtain mercy in time to come.’

This usage appears to be related to the Old Irish conjunction *ara* ‘so that’. Evans (GMW §205) describes the preposition as used to denote direction after verbs of motion in early material. He argues that purpose and intention are also derived from this. While he states that *ar* in this context was later replaced by *at*, there seem to be some Middle Welsh uses, also without verbs of motion, as shown by the above.

A further type of usage could be derived from this intentionality: Lewis & Pedersen (1961: 316) point out that constructions of *ar* plus verbal noun can also serve as a future periphrasis as in *yr wyf ar fyned* ‘I am about to go’. With this future periphrasis the (Modern) Welsh system is fully symmetrical, allowing present, past and future periphrasis as in *yn canu*, *wedi canu* and *ar ganu* ‘singing, having sung, going to sing’.

4. Conclusions

The Welsh preposition *ar* reflects the uses of Old Irish *ar* ‘for, before’. These are expressed by the Welsh usage indicating intentional senses, and denoting location above an entity as expressed by Old Irish *for*. Evans (GMW §205) has argued that MidW *ar* represents a merger of three prepositions, in this respect Old Irish *ar/for* have developed similarly as these two have fallen together as well.

5. Examples:

In the corpus texts, 6 examples were found, this would correspond to a frequency of 14.01 examples per 100,000 words.

1) concomitant action: PPD 310, 605, BVL 128.

BVL 128-9: *Ac val y dechreuyssant eisted ar dechreu y wled yd eistedyssant yna* ‘And as they began to sit at the beginning of the feast they sat there.’

1b) present participle: BVL 266, [SG 108.21, YCM 103.1]

SG 108.21: *ynteu yna a dywawt mae marchawc urdawl ar gerdet oed* ‘He then said that he was a knight on his travels.’ (GMW §204)

YCM 103.1: *yny byd y dart ar y ehedec drwydaw* ‘So that the dart goes in flight through him.’ (GMW §204)

2a) direction: CO 917.

2b) purpose: B.De 14.20, BD 163, [WM 78.22-3.]

BD 163: *kyffroi gvyr Ruvein yn an herbyn ar rodi defnyd yn y wvrw llesged* ‘The men of Rome turned(?) towards them to give them support in his suffering of weakness.’ (GPC *ar*)

WM 78.22-3: *can doeth wyf i ar diuetha y pryf hwnnw* ‘Because I am skilled for killing this worm.’ (GPC *ar*)

3.2.1.2 *wrth*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *wrth* ‘against, at, for’ lenites and can be connected to the Irish preposition *fri(th)* ‘against’. Thurneysen (GOI §839) suggests this to be derived from **wirt*, metathesized from **writ*, which also gives Cornish *gorth*, *worth* and Breton *ouz*, *o*.

2. central semantic components

The preposition *wrth* is largely a spatial preposition, expressing spatial location at [+ space] and proximity to [+ prox] an entity. It may be used with stative [+ stat] meaning. Like in the Irish preposition it can convey multiple shades of spatial proximity like *wrth an drws* ‘at the door’ (*Pedeir Keinc Mabinogi* 22.27, Williams 1930, cf. GMW §243). The two examples in the corpus in hand provide examples of temporal proximity to an event [+ temp, + prox]. Where two actions are mentioned this may result in attendant circumstances [+ simul]:

15) B.De. 3.16-7: *A dall a oed yn daly Dewi wrth vedyd a gauas yna y olwc.* ‘And a blind man, who was holding David at/during baptism, got his eyesight there.’

16) B.De. 3.17-8: *Ac yna y dall a wybu vot y mab yr oed yn y daly wrth vedyd yn gyfulawn o rat.* ‘And then the blind man knew that the boy he was holding at/during baptism was full of grace.’

3. peripheral meaning

Proximity can be interpreted as ‘at, while’, but on the other hand we can also find uses expressing direction towards [+ dir]. Examples of this are found particularly after verbs of speech as in *heb ef wrth y mab* ‘he said to the boy’ (B.De 3.36), but also in other contexts like *trugarhaa, Arglwyd, wrth y wreic wedw honn* ‘have mercy, Lord, on this widow’ (B.De10.11-2). Directionality may result in purpose [+ final]. An example of this is *yn keissaw eneideu wrth eu poeni* ‘seeking souls in order to torment them’ (*Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*, Watkins 1958, 35.2238). A purpose example from the corpus is the following:

17) CO 651: *Reit yw ym estynnu ym blew wrth eillaw ym.*
‘It is necessary for me to stretch my beard to shave myself.’

Meanings of ‘according to, by’ are also denoted and these are related to abstract senses, such as opinions. Where retrospective relations are concerned,

‘because of-’ senses derive as in the adverbial phrase *wrth hynny* ‘therefore’ (B.De 7.6) or with VN:

18) CO 11: *A bydydaw y mab a orucpwyd, a gyrru Kulhwch arnaw dy wrth y gaffel yn rethyr hwch* ‘They baptized the boy and called him Kulhwch for he had been found in a pig-sty.’

19) BD65.5 *a’e gannavl yn uvyhaf, urth hanvot y tat a’e vam o Ruuein*. ‘And he favoured him the more, because his father and mother hailed from Rome.’ (GMW§ 243)

Thus in addition to proximity and direction, also purpose [+ final] and reason [+ cause] can be denoted by *wrth* with verbal nouns.

4. Conclusions

The central semantic components of *wrth* are ‘location near’ and ‘direction towards’. From these further purpose and causal uses can be derived.

5. Examples:

In the corpus texts, 5 examples were found, which corresponds to 11.68 examples per 100,000 words.

1a) Proximity/location: [BT 60, YCM 88, BD 82.]

BT 60: *buessynt wrth loscedigaeth y castell* ‘They had been at the burning of the castle.’ (GPC *wrth*)

YCM 88: *a Melions ac Apolin Vawr [...] a vvant wrth wisgaw ymdanaw* ‘and Melions and the great Apollo were clothing him.’ (GPC *wrth*)

BD 82: *pobyl yuch aghyfrvys heb vybot dim wrth ymlad* ‘higher unskilled folk without knowing anything about fighting’ (GPC *wrth*)

1b) attendant circumstances: B.De 3.17, 3.18, [PKM 51.7.]

PKM 51.7 *ac wrth rodyaw y wlat ny welsynt eiryoet wlat gyvanhedach no hi* ‘and when roaming the country they never saw a country as populated as this.’ (Williams 1956)

2) Purpose: CO 651, [BcH 93.26, YCM 11, BD 143]

BcH 93.26: *O deruyd y dynyon hele pescaut ac en eu hele deuod dynyon urth eu llat. a menu ran or pescaut*. ‘If it happens that men hunt fish and hunting them, men come to kill them (‘men’) and want a share of the fish.’⁸⁴ (Williams 1956)

YCM 11: *Llyna yr achaws y dywedei ef hynny, yr mynnv y adnabot wrth y lad ot ymgaffei ac ef ym brwydyr* ‘This is the reason he said this: for wanting to recognize him in order to kill him if he met with him in battle.’ (GPC *wrth*)

⁸⁴ Alternatively the sense could be: ‘...and when killing them, men come wanting a share of the fish.’

BD 143: *anvon kennadeu... y dinas yd oed y brenhin yndau yn glaf, vrth vybot ansavd y llys* ‘And he sent messengers to the city in which the king was ailing, to know about the state of the court.’ (GPC *wrth*)

3) Reason: CO 11, [BD 65.5, BD 65.5, LII 22]

LII 22: *Try anhebcor brenhin ynt e effeyryat, urth vendygav e uueta channu efferen a'r egnat llys, urth deosparth petheu pedrus; a'e teylu, urth y agheneu* ‘The three indispensable ones of the king are his priests, for blessing his drink (?) and singing mass. And the judge of the court to decide difficult matters (?), and his followers for his needs.’ (GPC *wrth*)

3.2.2 *gan, yn* and *a(c)*:

3.2.2.1 *gan*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *gan/can* ‘with, by’, leniting, is compared to Old Irish *cét-* and Greek *katá* by GPC (*gan*). Functionally it resembles the Old Irish prepositions *la* and *co n-*.

2. Central semantic components

For *gan*, Evans (GMW §208) observes stative temporal [+ stat, + temp] and spatial [+ space] senses. These can manifest themselves as adverbial phrases denoting proximity [+ prox] as in *gan ystlys y llongeu* ‘by the side of the ships’ (PKM 40.8). *Gan* also expresses possession or opinion as in *a hynny a uu ryved gann bawb* ‘and this was wondrous for everybody’ (B.De 10.34, cf. Old Irish *la cách*), as well as accompaniment or manner and attendant circumstances (GMW §208). In some cases in the corpus temporal co-occurrence of two actions, i.e. attendant circumstances, are denoted by *gan* together with a verbal noun:

20) B.De 10.23-5: *A chyuarth gwell idaw, a syrthyaw ar dal y glinyeu ac erchi idaw pregethu gann dyrchael ohonaw y benn brynn vchel* [...].

‘And they greeted him and they fell on their knees and they asked him to preach, ascending to the top of the high hill.’

21) B.De. 12.22-4: *Ac yna y dywat Dewi vrthunt hwy, gann eu didanu a'e llawenhav, 'Vy mrodyr [...]'*. ‘And then David said to them, comforting them and to give them joy: “my brothers”.’

The characteristic of attendant circumstances is also dealt with by Mac Cana (1983: 55-6). He states that in some cases *gan* + verbal noun, like Irish *la* + verbal noun, can express concomitant or continuous action. GMW (§208, see also GPC 1968-87: 1379) further points out that in some cases *gan*+ verbal noun is used like a participle expressing an action simultaneous with that of

the main verb and forming part of it. Examples of this have also been described for Modern Welsh:

22) *Tynodd ei het gan ddangod y graith ar ei dalcen.* ‘He took off his hat, showing the scar on his forehead.’ (Williams 1980: 114)

This use may be subsumed under the heading *simultaneity* [+ simul].

3. further semantic components

While the above examples simply express attendant circumstances, a further extension can be seen to entail a cause [+ cause]:

23) WML 22.8: *Nyt oes le dilis yr gwas ystavell yn y neuad. kan keidw gwely y brenhin.* ‘There is no fixed place for the chamber page in the hall as he is keeping the bed of the king.’ (GPC *gan*)

More than just informing us of the simultaneousness of the boy’s action it gives a reason for his absence in the hall. The action described by the verbal noun in those cases is found to be dependant on the verb of the matrix clause. While Mac Cana (1983: 57) identifies direct speech as providing a matrix clause in Irish, this does not seem to be the case for Welsh. The corpus also provides an example of this usage:

24) B.De 11.6-8: *Ac yna yn gytuun y rycgtunt ehunein moli Dewi sant a orugant, ac adefyn duhun y vot ef yn tywyssawc ar seint Ynys Prydein, gann dywedut mal hynn.* ‘And then, united between themselves they praised St. David and acknowledged in agreement his being the leader of the saints of the island of Britain, speaking like this.’

Here the verbal noun *dywedut* ‘speaking’ could be seen as the instrument with which the saints praise and acknowledge [+ instr]. On the other hand it may be argued that this phrase provides an example of contemporaneity of the two events [+ simul].

4. Conclusions

The usage of *gan* with verbal noun is rare and no example has been found in his corpus by Poppe (1991: 215). Proximity is clearly central to the meaning of *gan*. Yet the existence of two comparable constructions in Irish and Welsh is certainly noteworthy.

5. Examples

3 examples were found in the corpus texts. This corresponds to 7.05 examples per 100,000 words.

1) attendant circumstances (3 exx.): B.De. 10.23, B.De 11.6, B.De. 12.23., [B.D. 5.28-30, B.D. 8, KLI. d.d.]

B.D. 5.28-30: *nawd a gehy gan vynet trachgefyn fford y ry uuost* ‘Peace you shall have, on condition that you go back the way you have been.’ (GMW §208)

BD8: *Adav a wnaeth gan dyngv llw gwneuthur hynny.* ‘He left, swearing an oath to do this.’ (GPC *gan*)

KLI d.d: *Llewychawdd ... rat Deo... can en dyscy y ymwady ...* . ‘He received the grace of God while teaching them to renounce.’ (GPC *gan*)

2) cause: [WML 22.8 above.]

3.2.2.2 *a(c)*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *a(c)*, ‘with’, aspirates vowels and causes spirant mutation to voiceless plosives (GMW §24, §26). *Ac* is functionally comparable to Irish *la* ‘with, by’ and *co* ‘with’. It is identical to the conjunction *a(c)* ‘and’ and is often hard to distinguish from the latter.

2. Central semantic components

Ac is a spatial preposition and marks proximity to an entity [+ space, + prox, + stat]. It can be used in various contexts expressing the presence of other people or things. Proximity of people results in accompaniment as in *ac yn mynet ac ef drvod* ‘and going with him over it’ (B.De. 7.15).

3. Further semantic components

Ac can express that different actions are contemporary [+ prox, + temp] and may denote attendant circumstances [+ simult]. No clear examples were found with verbal nouns in the corpus. The only possible case is the following:

25) B.De 12.20-2: *A’r brodyr, kymein hun, pann glywyssant hynny, drwy wlyyaw a chwynaw, ac vdaw ac vcheneidyaw, a dyrchauassant eu llef ac a dywedassant:* ‘And the brothers, every one, when they heard this, weeping and lamenting, and howling and sighing, they raised their cries and said...’

While we may conceivably have an example of the preposition *ac* ‘with’ here, it is just as likely that we are in fact dealing with co-ordination of the verbal nouns by the conjunction ‘and’ in this case.

4. Conclusions

Clear examples of the preposition *ac* + VN were not found, neither in the Welsh corpus, nor in the dictionaries used. Thus preposition *ac*, unlike its

Old Irish counterpart *la*, seems to have very reduced currency with verbal nouns.

3.2.2.3 *yn*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Welsh preposition *yn* ‘in’ is commonly followed by nasalisation. However, the corresponding form that is used together with verbal nouns does not mutate. It is commonly accepted that the latter expresses participle like constructions and progressive verbal aspect in constructions with the verb *BOT*, ‘be’. Functionally it compares to Old Irish *i n-* and to *oc* in denoting continuous action (GMW §160, §231).

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *yn* centrally serves to denote stative spatial location [+space, +stat] inside an entity [+inclusion] or at a time [+temp, +inclusion]. These can be seen in *Ac ef a welei lannerch yn y coet* ‘and he saw a clearing in the wood’ (PPD 13) for spatial usage and *A thrannoeth, yn ieuengtit y dyd* ‘and on the next morning, in the youth of the day’ (PPD 8) for temporal description. Some examples of this preposition with abstract noun forms can already be found in the roughly 10th century Old Welsh material:

26) JE6: *it clu<i>s, in ban<n> i ciman guorsed ceinmicun ucnou ran.*
‘Purely, highly in the great assembly let us extol nine high parts.’⁸⁵

This example and CF 1 above are modified by adjectives or articles and are therefore not used verbally in these cases. There are, however, some more possible examples of the structure. These are found in *Canu Aneirin* 882: *o douis in touis inilin (< dylin)* ‘following from front to front’ and MC 39 *in helcha* ‘hunting’. In Middle Welsh, on the other hand, the preposition is also used to form a periphrastic verbal construction with the verb *bot* ‘be’ (cf. GMW §244). Concerning its use, Mac Cana (1999: 157) states that in MidW *yn* + verbal noun commonly occur together with the force of a present participle. This can be observed in the following example:

27) B.De. 3.25-6: *Yno y gwelas y gytdisgyblon ef colomen a gyluin eur idi yn dysgu Dewi, ac yn gware yn y gylch.* ‘There his fellow disciples saw a dove with a golden beak teaching David, and playing in his lap.’

28) PPD 11-2: *Ac ual y byd yn ymwarandaw a llefyr erchwys, ef a glywei llef erchwys arall.* ‘And while he is listening to the barking of the pack, he heard the cry of another pack.’

⁸⁵ Cf. also CF 1 in section 3.1.2.

The verbal action denoted by preposition and verbal noun clearly refers to a situation in progress which is ongoing at the same time as the main verb [+temp, + simultaneous]. Mac Cana (ibid.) observes that in the majority of cases, up to two thirds of the examples in his corpus, these participle constructions are found to depend on verbs of perception like *gwelet*, and the perceptive exclamations *llyma* and *nachaf*. Functionally similar examples are found in *Buchet Dewi*, overall, 15 examples of this type can be found⁸⁶, also with the main verb *chlywet* ‘hear’ (B.De 13.17). In *Culhwch and Olwen* on the other hand there is only one example of this type. With this construction not only the duration of an action is expressed. Mac Cana (1999: 158) offers the example PKM⁸⁷ 46.4 *am welet y cledyf yn llad y wyr* ‘on seeing the sword slaying his men’. As *llad* is a non-durative verb, it denotes repeated action and thus iterativity rather than duration. In some cases this iterativity may also be understood as iterative-emphatic:

29) B.De. 9.37-10.1: *A chynn y dyvot y’r gynulleittua honno, nachaf y gwelynt yn dyvot yn y herbyn gwreic [...] a’r wreic yn gweidi ac yn disgyrywaw.* ‘And before his going to the assembly, behold they saw coming towards them a woman ... and the women was crying and screaming.’

In the small corpus examined here we mainly find examples which denote actions in progress. Other cases also express an ongoing situation, but the verb is a non-durative, momentary one, thus the situation is rather iterative as in *a’r disgyblonn yn dywedut ‘Pwy a’n dysc ni?’* ‘And the disciples saying “who will teach us?”’ (B.De. 12.34-5)⁸⁸. Particularly in the iterative examples a further component of emphasis is observable, presumably due to the idea of repetition of the action leading to intensity.

It is common knowledge that the verbal noun together with the preposition *yn* and a form of *bot* can be used to denote periphrastic progressives (e.g. GMW§ 180.2). In spoken Modern Welsh this construction has replaced the synthetic present, which in turn serves to mark the future (e.g. Mac Cana 1999: 157).

The most recent and most comprehensive description of the periphrastic construction in Middle Welsh are the corpus-based studies by Mittendorf & Poppe (2000) and by Poppe (2003). In these it has been shown that in Middle Welsh texts, periphrastic constructions most typically denote action in progress. This is the case where they appear together with another event of shorter duration, which is described as taking place while the durative event is ongoing. The function of the periphrastic construction in this case is de-

⁸⁶ With *gwelet* B.De. 3.25, 5.7, 9.3, 10.22, 12.33, with *llyma* 7.15, with *nachaf* 5.18, 7.1, 7.19, 10.1, 12.3, 12.11, 13.24, 13.25.

⁸⁷ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. I. Williams, Cardiff 1930.

⁸⁸ Likewise B.De 13.4.

scribed as that of a temporal “frame” for the action denoted by the synthetically constructed verb (Mittendorf & Poppe 2000: 127, 136). This frame is typically realized by temporal clauses or by relative clauses. This is illustrated by the following examples respectively:

30) B.De. 12.1-3: *Ac odynd val yd oed Dewi duw Mawrth diwethaf o vis Chewfrawr yn gwarandaw ar yr yscolheigyon yn gwassanaethu Duw, nachaf y clywei angel [...].* ‘And then when David was the last Tuesday of the month of February listening to the scholars serving God, behold he heard an angel.’

31) B.De 10.21-2: *Odynd y kerddawd Daid y gyt a chennadeu y seint hyt y sened yr oedit yn y aros.* ‘And then David went with the messengers to the saints to the synod where one was awaiting him.’

It is clearly observable that the periphrastically constructed event is ongoing for a longer period of time until a specified event takes place. Here, as without the verb *bot* ‘to be’, the event can also be perceived as not progressive but iterative or habitual where the verbal action is semantically momentary or where the context indicates this:

32) CO 370: *y mae Gwythyr a Gwynn ... yn ymlad pob dyw kalan Mei* ‘Gwythyr and Gwynn are fighting every day on the calends of May.’

In some cases the preposition *yn* + verbal noun appear together with the inflected verb *bot*, but not directly following it, as a spatial expression intervenes between *bot* and *yn* + VN:

33) B.De. 6.33-4: *Ac ymysc hynny, yr oed Aydan sant yn y eglwys ehun yn dinas Gwernin yn gwediaw nyt amgen, nos Pasc [...]* ‘And in the meantime, St Aydan was in his own church in the town of Gwernin praying, namely Easter night.’

This construction is termed ‘subpredicate’ by Mittendorf and Poppe (2000: 124). In these examples the verb *bot* and the participle do not form a periphrastic unit, but we have a spatial expression followed by a non-finite clause. The same authors (*ibid.*) consider these expressions not to be grammaticalised in any tense-aspect function but to be componential: the verbal noun phrase functions like an adjunct to the foregoing clause. It is suggested, however, that these could have been the origin of the periphrastic constructions in the Celtic Languages (Wagner 1959: 238-9). One example namely B.De 6.13, which Mittendorf & Poppe (2000: 134) analysed as subpredicate with preceding locative phrase could, however, also be an example of progressive periphrasis:

34) B.De 6.13: *Ac eissoes, sef y damweinawd y bore trannoeth dyuot y elyn hyt y twr yd oed Boya yn kysgu, gwedy caffel y pyrth yn agoret a llad penn Boya yn y wely.* ‘And nevertheless, this is what happened the next morning: his enemy came as far as the tower in which Boya was sleeping after finding the gates open, and cut off the head of Boya in his bed.’

The spatial expression precedes the verbal noun phrase and it also seems as if the context allows interpretation as a periphrastic verbal as it is important for the slaying of Boya that he was asleep without offering resistance.

3. Further semantic components

Some cases of *yn* + VN do not seem to denote ongoing action alone, but a number of examples show a certain amount of emphasis or intensity. The question to be addressed is, can a feature [+ emphatic] be observed. In the cases in question, the periphrastic construction is not employed as a frame for another action, but stands on its own:

35) B.De 3.30-2: *A galw a oruc yr athro attaw y holl disgyblon ol yn ol, y geissaw y gantunt ganhorthwy am y lygeit, ac nyt yttoed yr vn yn y allel idaw.* ‘And the teacher called all his disciples to him, one after the other, and sought help from them about his eyes. And there was not one who was able to do it for him.’

Examples are also found with verbs that lend themselves well to emphatic interpretations, such as *poeni* ‘hurting’ (B.De 3.32), *gwattwar* ‘mocking’ (B.De 5.23), *llauuryaw* ‘labouring’ (B.De 8.21) or *keissaw* ‘seeking’ (CO 1191, 1199). Yet in these verbs intensity could easily be a by-product of iterative meaning:

36) B.De. 5.23-4: *Y sant hoyw y buam ni yn y wattwar a wnaeth hynn* ‘The lively saint whom were mocking did this.’

37) B.De 10.26-8: *Ac escussaw a oruc efar dalym o enkyt vrthunt, a dywedut na be[i]dei ef ac na allei wnneuthur y peth yd oedynt wy yn y erchi idaw.* ‘And he excused himself in the time of a moment before them and said he would and he could not do the thing they were asking him.’

38) B.De 7.13-4: *Sef a oruc Scuthyn yn llawen, gwneuthur yr oedit yn y erchi idaw.* ‘This is what Scuthin did happily, doing what was being asked of him.’

Particularly where the verb *erchi* is used, the categories become diffuse (B.De. 7.13, 10.26). While a prolonged period of asking is imaginable, the repeatedness of the requests and with this their intensity are further factors. This kind of example clearly illustrates the point made in Mittendorf &

Poppe (2000: 138), following Mossé (1938), that these categories interact to the point of being undistinguishable at times. The focus function of periphrastic constructions in Middle Welsh is analysed by Mittendorf & Poppe (2000:129, 134) as an optional stylistic device to highlight an event in focus. Further supporting arguments for an intensive meaning of periphrastic constructions are offered by Mac Cana (1999: 161), who observes peculiarities in the use of the verb *mynnu* ‘wish’ that he found difficult to explain. He pointed out that, where employed in periphrasis, *mynnu* denotes insistence stronger than a wish while synthetic forms of the verb can also denote an ongoing processes. Mittendorf and Poppe analyse the same example in their corpus as emphatic and Mac Cana himself (*ibid.*) argued that in Modern Welsh *mynnu* in analytic constructions is a modal of insistence. It could be argued that, for this verb, emphatic function of the periphrastic construction, observable in Middle Welsh already, has been grammaticalized in Modern Welsh. However, Mac Cana saw this usage of the verb *mynnu* as rooted in an ‘aspectual ambivalence’ (*ibid.*) of the synthetic verbal form, standing for different types of aspect, progressive and non-progressive, under which he also subsumed iterative and habitual⁸⁹. Examples of analytic forms clearly denoting iterativity are therefore analysed as first signs of a spread to the timeless (generic-) present and thus the beginning of an extension of the functional range into the present tense. Research on aspect categories shows, however, that iterative and progressive are two subgroups of ongoing actions and thus closely related (cf. 1.6.7). This makes the scenario envisaged by Mac Cana seem unlikely. A more likely cause for triggering the extension of analytic verbal forms to the unmarked present tense appears to be the gap left in the system as the present tense form was grammaticalising to denote futurity⁹⁰. *Yn* + verbal noun could have provided a push-factor for the use of the present form in future contexts. Otherwise, it is also imaginable that it was pulled into the existing gap left behind by the present form encroaching on the future. Under this scenario, the existence of a separate prepositional feature [+ emphatic] for *yn* is not supported by the data collected here. Emphasis rather appears to be a by-product of iterativity.

4. Conclusions

Overall it can be observed that both with and without forms of *BOT* preposition *yn* + verbal noun can denote progressive aspect, or in case the verb is punctual, iterative or habitual aspect. In some of these cases emphasis is also entailed by the iteration.

⁸⁹ The latter two have been shown by Bybee et al. (1994) and Mittendorf and Poppe (2000: 137) to be a subgroup of processivity, different from the progressive mainly due to momentary verbal semantics.

⁹⁰ The shift of the present to future meanings has been investigated by Poppe, E. 1996. ‘Convergence and Divergence: The Emergence of a ‘Future’ in the British Languages’, in *TPS* 94, 119-60.

There are some examples which do not indicate grammaticalisation of the progressive in MidW, namely those which have a ‘near, at’ sense in constructions without the verb *BOT*, and those denoting subpredicates with a form of *BOT*. Towards ModW the periphrastic construction grammaticalizes as a general present and past marker, perhaps based on overgeneralization of the structure and a general trend in the Celtic languages towards analytization. Williams (1980: 73) observes that the only exception to this are verbs of perception like *gweld* and *clywed*, cognitive verbs *gwybod* and *credu* etc, and *bod* plus some of its compounds. This development has doubtlessly been facilitated by the shift of the inherited present tense to a future, which is already visible in Middle Welsh (GMW §118e). This would have resulted in a gap in the system for expression of general presents which was filled by the periphrastic formation formerly specialised as a progressive. The central meaning component must be seen as [+ inclusion], in the case of verbal nouns inclusion within an action.

5. Examples

Overall, 199 examples were found in the corpus material, which corresponds to 464.95 examples per 100,000 words. Of those, 66 examples complemented the verb *bot* (154.20 examples per 100,000 words) and 133 examples were found in other contexts (310.74 per 100,000 words).

a. *yn* + *VN* (133 exx.)

1) Punctual main verb, durative participle (time frame) (10 exx.): B.De. 7.17-19 (*llyma* + *nachaf*). CO 26, 459, 761, 942, 1194, 1220. PPD 25. BvL 207, 259.

BvL 205-7:... *ni rodei hi ae cae ae modrwy... a uei arbennic y welet yn mynet e ymdeith*. ‘She did not give a brooch or a ring that would be wonderful to see going away.’

2a) independent participle (time-span) (79 exx.):

B.De 2.27 (*ac yn* + *VN*), 3.2 (*ac yn* + *VN*), 3.25 (*gwelet*), 5.7-8 (*gwelet*), 5.18 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 7.1 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 7.15 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 8.30, 9.3 (*gwelet*), 10.1 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 10.2 (*ac yn* + *VN*) 10.16, 10.22 (*gwelet*), 10,36, 11.2, 12.2, 12.3 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 12.11 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 12.33 (*gwelet*), 12.35, 12.35-6, 13.2, 13.4, 13.5, 13.17, 13.24 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 13.25, 13.27, CO 7, 26, 73, 81, 166, 417, 447 (*llyma* + *nachaf*), 459, 751, 761, 784, 953, 1100, 1190, 1191, 1194, 1199, 1220. PPD 83 (*gwelet*), 235 (*gwelet*), 262 (*gwelet*), 263 (*gwelet*), 480, 515, 541. BVL 14, 158 (*gwelet*), 195, 272-3, 277, 279, 299-300, 356. MvL 55:22, 56:13, 57:27, 59:4 (*nachaf*), 59:7, 62:24-5 (*gwelet*), 62:28 (*gwelet*) 63:7, 65:5. MvM 78:7-8 (*gwelet*), 78:13-4, 82:22-3 (*llyma*), 82:26 (*clyvet*), 84:15 (*llyma*), 84:17.

BVL 13-4: *wynt a welynt teir llong ar dec, yn dyvot o deheu Iwerdon, ac yn kyrchu parth ac attunt*. ‘They saw 13 ships, coming from the south of Ireland and approaching them.’

PPD 81-3: *Llyna y guelei ef teulu ac yniuroed, a'r niuer hardaf a chyweiraf o'r a welsei neb yn dyuot y mywn.* 'Behold, he saw troops and crowds, and the biggest and best equipped host anyone had ever seen coming in.'

2b) iterative-emphatic (5 exx.): B.De 8.30, BvL 170-2, 216, 371. MvL 140.

BvL 370-1: *A llyna y godwrw mwyhaf a uu gan yniuer un ty, pawb yn kymryt y arueu.* 'And there was the greatest uproar that there had been with a multitude of a single house, and everyone taking his weapons.'

3) 'on the occasion of, at' (24 exx.): B.De. ?5.8, 7.15, 10.15, 10.16, 11.1, 13.17, CO 284, 695, 960, 1100, 1190, 1191, 1199, PPD 83, 235, 262, 263. PPD 480-1, 515, BvL 337, 412, 419, 421. (BvL 303 elliptic *bot*. See below). MvL 60:8-10.

BvL 335-7: *Sef a wnaeth ynteu, y deimlaw hyt ban gauas y benn... yny glyw y uysed yn ymanodi yn y ureichell drwy yr ascwrn.* 'This is what he did: to feel for him until he took his head [...] until he felt his fingers sinking into the brain through the bone.'

PPD 479-1: *'Arglwydes', heb wy, na ouyn di y ni y mab. Nyt oes ohonam ni namyn cleisseu a dyrnodeu yn ymdaraw a thi.* 'Lady, said they, do not as your son from us. We did not get anything but wounds and blows fighting with you.'

4) subpredicates (5 exx.): CO 437, 695, PPD 16. MvL 55:15, MvM 86:19.

PPD 16-7: *llyma yr erchwys a oed yn y ol yn ymordiwes ac ef ac yn y uwrw y'r llawr* 'behold, the pack that was behind him, overtaking him and throwing him to the ground.'

b) bot + yn + VN (66 exx.)

1) frame constructions (29 exx.): B.De 1.18-2.1, 2.18, 3.14, 3.17, 3.18, 6.13, 7.17-9, 7.34-5, 8.1, 9.9, 10.21, 12.2, 12.8. CO 7, 942, 953, 971. PPD 11, 14, 47, 203, 549, BvL 13, 91, 156, 411. MvM 72:7, 82:9, 84:24.

BvL 13-4: *Ac ual yd oedynt yn eisted yvelly, wynt a welynt teir llong ar dec.* 'And as they sat thus they saw thirteen ships.'

2a) independent process (17 exx.): B.De 3.29, 3.32-3, 9.6-7, 13.20, CO 370, 377, 940. CO 377, 784, 970, PPD 206-7, 599, 600. BvL 3, 220. MvL 58:26, MvM 82:16

BvL 3-4: *Ac yn eisted yd oedynt ar garrec Harlech, uch penn y weilgi.* 'And they were sitting on the rock of Harlech, high above the see.'

BvL 156: *Yn hela yd oedwn yn Iwerdon [...]* 'We were hunting in Ireland.'

2b) iterative-emphatic (12 exx.): B.De. 3.29, 3.32-3, 5.23, 7.2, 7.13, 8.21, 9.6-7, 10.26, 12.30, CO 370, BvL 195. MvM 87:10

BvL 194-6: [...] *ac y maent yn lluosauc, ac yn dyrchauael ym pob lle, ac yn cadarnhau y uann y bythont* [MS *bont*], *o wyr ac arueu goreu a welas neb.* 'And they were numerous and prospering in every place and strengthening the region I was [they were] by men and best weapons anyone (ever) saw.'

2c) punctual (5 exx.): CO 960, 1184. BvL 87, 301-3. MvM 85:11

BvL 301-4: *Ac y mae Matholwch yn rodi brenhinaeth Iwerdon y Wern uab Matholwch, ...ac yn y ystynnu y'th wyd di yn lle y cam a'r codyat a*

wnaethpwynt y Uranwen. ‘And Matholwch gives the kingship of Ireland to Gwern son of Matholwch [...] and installs him in your presence in the place of the harm and hurt that was done to Branwen.’

3) subpredicates (3 exx.): B.De. 6.31, CO 437, 695.

CO 437: ‘*Neu chwithey, pwy ywch?*’ ‘*Kenadey Arthur yssyd yma yn erchi Olwen.*’ “‘And you, who are you?’” “‘Messengers of Arthur who are here searching Olwen.’”

3.2.3 *kynn*, *rac* and *gwedy*

3.2.3.1 *kyn(n)/cyn(n)*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *kynn* is used in temporal contexts denoting ‘before’. It can appear with both verbal nouns and non-verbal nouns as in *kyn dyvot e did* ‘before his day came’ or *kyn glasved* ‘before fresh mead’. It also appears with pronouns, but there it is followed by *no(c)* as in *kyn no hynny* ‘before that’ (Evans, GMW §46). *Kynn* has no pronominal forms and attestation of lenition is from a later period than for *can*, *tan*, *tros* or *trwy*. According to Evans (1980: 79) this is evidence of *kynn*’s late emergence as a preposition. Evans (ibid., 75) derives the preposition from the comparative *kynnt* ‘earlier, swifter’ and asserts that *kynn* develops as a proclitic used as preposition. It is also used as a conjunction *kynn* (ibid., 76-7) with a comparative adjective and particle *no(c)*. It is functionally comparable to Old Irish *re* in temporal contexts.

2. Central semantic components

Kynn is used purely temporally, there is no evidence for spatial usage. With verbal nouns its central meaning component can be represented as temporal location [+ temporal, + stat] in front of an entity [+ front] and it can be used to form temporal adverbial clauses as in the following:

39) B.De 9.37- 10.2: *A chynn y dyvot y’r gynnulleittua honno, nachaf y gwelynt yn dyvot yn y herbyn gwreic wedw gwedy marw y hun mab, a’r wreic yn gweidi ac yn disgyryaw.* ‘And before he went to the assembly, behold they saw coming towards them a widowed woman whose only son had died, and the women was crying and screaming.’

40) PPD 238-40: *Sef a oruc y makwyfyna, yskynnu ar y march, a chynn daruot idaw ymgueiraw yn y gyfrwy neu ry adoed hi heibaw [...].* ‘This is what the lad did then: he mounted the horse and before he had arranged himself in the saddle she had already passed him.’ (cf. Poppe 1991: 216)

Here the *kynn*-clause sets the scene and provides a temporal reference-point for further action. The *kynn*-clause orders the event expressed by the matrix clause as preceding that in the verbal noun clause. Poppe (1991: 216) observes that the information contained in it is often deducible from the context. In other cases it expresses matters which are not important for the further development of the narrative. In rarer cases it may be argued that more than just background information is provided by the *kynn*-clause. Examples of this may be the following:

41) CO 989-90: *Kyn no hynny ychydic yd aeth Creidylat uerch Lud Law Ereint gan Wythyr mab Greidawl a chynn kyscu genthi dyuot Gwynn uab Nud a'e dwyn y treis.* 'A while before this Creidylat daughter of Lud Law Ereint comes with Wythyr mab Greidawl and before sleeping with her Gwynn uab Nud comes and violates her.'

42) B.De. 9.14-7: [...] *yr anuonet at Dewi yn gennadeu y deu sant bennaf a oed yno [...]. A'r nos kynn dyvot y kennadeu at Dewi, Dewi a dywat vrth y disgyblon.* 'They sent to David the two chief saints who were there as messengers. And the night before the messengers came to David, David said to his disciples [...].'

Here the fact that David knows about their arrival in beforehand is certainly not deducible from the context and thus constitutes salient information. So, unless this is used as a conscious device by the author to fill in information as being self-evident in keeping with the foresight of a saint, it can be assumed here that there is the possibility that salient, new information can also be found in the non-finite clause.

3. Further semantic components

No uses other than denoting precedence have been observed with verbal nouns.

4. Conclusions

Kynn is used to form temporal adverbial clauses with future deixis. Its usage with verbal nouns is restricted to [+ temp, + front]. It therefore is the functional counterpart of *gwedy* 'after', but has been observed to be rarer than the former (Poppe 1991: 215). The choice as to which of the two prepositional constructions will be used depends on the salience of the information expressed. Evans assesses the lack of lenition as due to late emergence as a preposition. If the approach by Gensler (2002) were followed (see 4.2.1.3.2), this lack would be seen as evidence of grammaticalisation of non-leniting prepositions used with verbal nouns in order to denote temporal and aspectual adverbial phrases. This full paradigm of these contains the above mentioned *kynn* + VN, *yn* + VN and *gwedy* + VN, which denote temporal precedence, contemporaneity and following action.

5. Examples

9 examples have been found in the corpus text, this corresponds to 21.02 examples per 100,000 words.

Kynn: B.De. 9.16, 9.37. PPD 239, 461. MvL 50.29, MvM 77.17-8. CO 989, 1102, 1187, [LILi 258, LIDW 9.21, C 30.4-5.]

PPD 461: *Yr oet a wnaethant. Kynn dyvot cwbl o'r oet, mab a anet idaw ef, ac yn Arberth y ganet.* 'They made the tryst. Before the coming of the fulfillment a son was born to him and in Arberth he was born.'

MvL 50.29: *Kyn darvot y wled honno, y kyscwyt genti.* 'Before that feast ended he slept with her.'

MvM 77.17: *ac ar hynny adaw y ryw bethan ohonei; a chyn cael o neb guelet yr eil olwc arnaw, Gwydyon a'y kymerth.* 'And after this she lost something small, and before anybody could have looked a second time at it Gwydyon took it.'

CO 1187: *Kynn kaffel diot y grib, kaffel dayar ohonaw ynteu a'e draet.* 'Before the comb could be grabbed, he got his feet on dry land.'

LILi 258: *ar hit inant du [...] betpan discinn inidair cin circhu taf ...* 'Throughout the length of the black brook until when I learned the same length when attacking' (GPC, *kynn*)

LIDW 9.21: *ay dale ef kyn kaffael naut* 'and holding him before receiving quarter/peace.' (GPC, *kynn*)

3.2.3.2 *rac*

1. Grammatical considerations

The Middle Welsh preposition *rac*, without mutation of a following initial, can be translated into English as 'before, in front of' (GMW §235). It contrasts with MidW. *kynn* 'before' in being used only in spatial senses whereas *kynn* has temporal uses. Functionally, the Welsh preposition resembles Old Irish *re* 'before'.

2. Central semantic components

Rac has the central semantic components spatial location [+ space] in front of an entity [+ front] as in *rac bebyll Madawc* 'before the tent of Madawg' (GMW §235). These appear to denote [+ stative] as in a *dyuot y tu a'r traeth, a cherdet yn y dyfuyr racdaw* 'and he came as far as the beach and he proceeded into the water before him' (B. De 7.13).

3. Further semantic components

In addition to stative 'before', *rac* can also denote direction towards an entity [+ dir]. This is illustrated by *ac y kerdaud Arawn racdaw parth a'y lys y Annwlyn* 'and Arawn went ahead up to his court to Annwlyn' (PPD 139-40). Temporally, directedness can be used in two different ways: where it

refers to the past, cause or reason in the sense of ‘because of, on account of’ is denoted [+ causal] (cf. Williams 1953: 15). This is observable in the following example with *rac* + noun: *rac diruawr wres y kyrchwys y bleit a’e yscwyd* ‘by reason of the exceeding great heat he charged the wall with his shoulder’ (PKM 36.19-20, cf. GMW §235). Where it refers to the future, purpose senses result [+ final]. In the case of *rac* these typically denote a prohibitive sense which could be translated into English as ‘lest’. This feature can also be found with verbal nouns:

43) MvL 62.24-5: *rac dy welet yn ymodi y pryf hwnnw, mi a’y prynaf* ‘Lest you be seen handling that creature, I will redeem it.’ (cf. GMW §235)

44) CO 502: ‘*A dyvot a wnelych genhyf?*’ ‘*rac eirychu pechawd iti ac i minheu, ny allaf ui dim o hynny.*’ ‘Will you come with me?’ ‘against charge of sin to you and me, I will not go at all.’

This negative usage is frequent and can be observed with other abstract nouns as well, e.g. *dyro ui idaw rac anglot yt* ‘give me to him lest there be shame to you’ (PPD 328-9, cf. Williams 1953: 17). Williams (ibid.) explains this negative usage as denoting separation from an entity, and, related to this, avoidance or impeding of an event. This resembles the usage of the German preposition *vor* in cases like *retten vor* or *warnen vor*. This is the case in the following example:

45) CO 1192: *Noc a gaffat o drwc yn keissaw y tlysseu hynny y gantaw, gwaeth a gaffat yn keissaw diffryt y deu wr rac eu bodi.* ‘Whatever misery was got seeking those treasure from him, worse was still got trying to save the two men from drowning.’

Williams indicates that this behaviour could be due to lexical properties of the verb. Without mentioning this point, he may be driving at exactly those verbs that express prohibition or impeding [+ prohibitive], and a number of relevant examples of these are given by Evans (GMW §235). These instances seem to express separation from the other entity [+ distance].

4. Conclusions

Rac, originally perhaps denoting location in front of an entity, often expresses orientation towards an entity, and in this respect it resembles OIr. *ar* ‘for, before’. In this it also has some overlap with the preposition *wrth* ‘against’, but it seems to differ in denoting location more than direction as *wrth* does. For *rac* ‘orientation towards an entity’ also leads to causal and purpose uses but with verbal nouns it mainly denotes prohibition. Judging by examples from the sample corpus and those given in the literature, the clear majority

of cases appears to be used not with past tense examples, but with present or future.

5. Examples:

In the corpus, 10 examples have been found, this corresponds to 23.36 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Prohibitive (2 exx.): BvL 224, 326, [LIA 26.3, RBB 36, 50. Bix.47.16-7.]

LIA 26.3: *vym popyl i ewch oc eu plith wy rac ych bot ynn gyfvrannawc ar ev poenev* ‘My people, go in their middle lest you be part to their suffering.’ (Williams 1953: 17)

BvL 224-5: *na at trachefyn, rac gwybot hynn* ‘Let them not go back lest this be known.’

BvL 325-6: *a thrwy gynghor Branuen uu hynny oll, ac rac llygru y wlat oed genti hitheu hynny.* ‘And through the council of Branwen all this was. And lest the country were destroyed she did this.’

RBB 36: *a bot ofyn arnaw ynteu rac gwneuthur o briafryw gyghor.* ‘He was afraid lest Priam should take some council.’ (Williams 1953: 17)

RBB 50: *Dir yw ymi wneuthur awch mynnu chi rac colli vy muched.* ‘It is necessary for me to do your wish lest I should lose my life.’ (Williams 1953:18)

B ix. 47.16-7: *Pilatus a’y lladawd ac a oed y gyt ac ef y rac twyllaw Ideon ereill val hynny.* ‘Pilatus killed him and as many as were with him lest other Jews might be deceived likewise.’ (GMW §235)

2) causal (8 exx.): CO 502, 714, 1192. MvL 57.17, 62.9, 62.24-5, 62.28, MvM 91.11 [PKM 16.15]

CO 714: *Ny helir Twrch Trwyth nes kaffel Guynn mab Nud ar dodes Duw aryal dieuyl Annwuyndawd rac rewinnyaw y bressen.* ‘Twrch Trwyth will not be hunted until Gwynn mab Nud is found on whom God has put the fierceness of the fiends of Annwuyndawd against the destruction of the world.’

PKM 16.15: *Nyt archaf onyt rac eisseu.* ‘Not will I ask but for need.’ (Williams 1953: 15)

MvM 91.11: *a hynny rac ovyn yr holl adar* ‘and this for fear of all the birds.’ (cf. Williams 1953: 15)

3.2.3.3 *gwedy*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *gwedy* can be translated into English as ‘after’ and it does not cause any initial mutations on the following word. It denotes temporal ordering of events. In this it is different from the compound preposition *yn ol* which expresses ‘after, behind’ in spatial senses. Semantically, *gwedy* is comparable to Old Irish *iar*.

2. Central semantic components

Gwedy is described as being used with nouns or pronouns and especially with verbal nouns broadly in order to denote posteriority. Examples of this are *gwedy offerenneu* ‘after mass’ (B.De 11.11) and *guede er emadraud hunnu* ‘after those words’ (B ix 338.3; GMW§ 217). Its central semantic components can accordingly be described as temporal [+ temp] and location behind [+ stat, + reverse]. In the corpus, two uses of *gwedy* and verbal nouns can be observed. It can be used to indicate the temporal ordering of events by forming temporal clauses (cf. Poppe 1991: 217), or clauses resembling past participles (GMW §217b). In the present corpus, examples of temporal ordering are more frequent by far. In these the verbal noun phrase is often clause initial, specifying the order of events:

46) CO 1009: *y geissaw deu gi Glythmyr Ledewic. A gwedy eu kaffel yd aeth Arthur hyt yg gorllewin Iwerdon y geissaw Gwrgi Seuri.* ‘And they looked for the two dogs of Glythmyr Ledewic. And after their capture Arthur went to the west of Ireland to look for Gwrgi Severi.’

47) CO 1005: *...a’r un a orffo onadunt dyd brawt, kymeret y uorwyn. A gwedy kymot y gwyrda hynny uelly, y kauas Arthur Mygdwn march Gwedw...* ‘And the one who would survive on the last day, he shall take the maiden. And after reconciling the noblemen like this, Arthur obtained Mygdwn march Gwedw.’

In addition to the temporal ordering observable in the above examples the prepositional clause may sum up and comment on the previous events. The evidence from the examples in the present corpus ties in with the observations by Poppe (1991: 218), who notes that where temporal adverbials are found in clause initial position, they typically serve to specify the temporal sequence of actions in the narrative:

48) B.De 7.27-8: *A gwedy eiste pawb yn y mod y dylyynt, gwedy daruot y gras, kyodi a oruc y diagon...* ‘And after everybody sat in the manner they ought to, after finishing the grace, the deacon arose.’

49) B.De 8.11-2: *A gwedy kadarnnhav ffyd a chret yn yr ynys honn, holl laurwyr yr hynys hon a deuthant y gyt hyt yn dor sened Vreui.* ‘And after the safeguarding of the faith and creed on this island all the labourers of this island came together to the synod of Breffi.’

In these cases usually known or inferable information is expressed by the verbal noun clause, only rarely new or salient information. However, not all examples have the *gwedy* + VN construction at the beginning of the episode. Examples of the prepositional phrase can also be found sentence medially. Here the information provided may be more important:

50) B.De. 7.17-9: *Ac val yr oed Dewi yn dyuot o'r eglwys gwedy offerennev, a gwedy pregethu y'r holl vrodyr, nachaf y guelei ef y gennat yn kyuaruot ac ef [...].* 'And when David was coming from the church after saying mass, and after preaching to all the brothers, behold, he saw the messenger coming towards him.'

51) B.De 6.12-4: *Ac eissoes, sef y damweinawd y bore trannoeth dyuot y elyn hyt y twr yd oed Boya yn kysgu, gwedy caffel y pyrth yn agoret a llad penn Boya yn y wely.* 'And nevertheless, this is what happened the next morning: his enemy came as far as the tower in which Boya was sleeping, after finding the gates open, and cut off the head of Boya.'

Higher salience of this position is explained by Poppe (*ibid.*, 219) as due to the prepositional phrase being closer to the information centre of the clause than it would be in initial position. Furthermore, *gwedy* + VN are also in the middle of a sentence if they qualify a noun phrase. This is the case in the quasi-participial constructions mentioned by Evans (GMW §217(b)). Information in these clearly adds relevant material to the utterance:

52) CO 1218: *Ac ymchoelut a oruc hitheu ar Kacamwri ac eu dygaboli yll deu, [...] a llidyaw a oruc Arthur o welet y deu was hayachen wedy eu llad, a cheissaw achub y' rogof.* 'Then she turned on Cacamwri and thrashed the two of them. Arthur got angry at seeing the two boys having been killed and tried to assault the cave.'

53) B.De. 9.37-10.2 *nachaf y gwelynt yn dyvot yn y herbyn gwreic wedw gwedy marw y hun mab, a'r wreic yn gweidi ac yn disgyryaw.* 'Behold they saw coming towards them a widowed woman whose only son had died, and the woman was crying and screaming.'

In these examples a state is ascribed to the person in question. In other languages this would typically be expressed by relative clauses. These participle-like constructions seem related to past tense periphrasis with the verb *bot* 'be'. Together with the present tense of the verb *bot* and the verbal noun a periphrastic preterite is created, with the past of *bot* a pluperfect results. An example of this type is *y mae gvedy mynet gyd a Gwenhwyuar y hystauell* 'she has gone with Gwenhwyfar to her chamber' (GMW § 121 (b) from WM 408.7). These periphrastic tenses are already common in the Middle Welsh period according to the grammars (cf. GMW §§121, 122; Lewis & Pedersen 1961: 317). Mac Cana (1976: 196-7), who has found examples from outside the Mabinogi proper, deems them infrequent, but suggests that they were present in the spoken language at the time and entered the written variety only later. No examples could be observed in the sample-corpus examined here.

3. Further semantic components

No further semantic components can be observed. However, it may be worth while to mention a different type of aspectual construction with *gwedy* which is created by the use of *gwedy* + *darvot* ‘happen’:

54) B.De 13.9-11: Nys gwelas llygat eiroet y sawl dynyon yn vn lle. A guedy daruot y bregeth a’r offerenn, y rodes Dewi yn gyffredin y vendith y bawp o’r a oed yna. A gwedy daruot idaw rodi y venndith y pawb, y *dywat* [...]. ‘Never did the eye see so many people in one place. And after finishing the preaching and the mass, David in general gave a blessing to all who were there. And having finished the blessing of everyone he said: [...]’

Generally the examples with *gwedy* and verbal noun indicate usage similar to a past participle. In the cases where *darvot* is added we furthermore find a restriction of the action to a point in the past. This feature has been observed for Modern Welsh *darfod* (Williams 1980, 101-2 (§156), 108 (§169)). Williams (ibid., 101) states that *darfu* ‘happened’ has become a preterite auxiliary in cases like *pa bryd y darfu iddo fynd?* ‘when did he go’ or *darfu i’r ceffyl rhedeg* ‘the horse ran’. As such it might be considered to provide more specialised variant of constructions involving *bod* + *wedi* + verbal noun.

4. Conclusions

In all examples observed in the corpus, *gwedy* denotes temporal location behind the experiencer. In addition to the expression of a past event there are no further uses. The event denoted by *gwedy* and verbal noun typically seems to have low salience and is frequently used for giving background information. There are no examples of the Modern Welsh usage with a form of the verb *bot* ‘to be’ to denote a periphrastic perfect in the corpus material itself, but some examples have been found in larger corpora. The construction was therefore clearly rarer than in Modern Welsh. In Modern Welsh this structure is used to a greater degree and can express both the preterite and perfect periphrastically (Williams 1980: 75). This bigger scope in Welsh than in Irish may be a sign of more advanced grammaticalisation with concomitant bleaching in use and meaning. Alternatively, this may be connected to the broader use of present periphrasis in Welsh, so that *(g)wedy/i* + VN might have been grammaticalised as the past tense counterpart to present periphrasis with *yn* + VN.

5. Examples

In the corpus 32 examples were found, which would correspond to 74.76 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Participle-like use (4 exx.): B.De 10.1 13.21, CO 1218. MvM 78:14.5 [WM 171.30-1 (+ *bot*), 408.7 (+ *bot*), RM 157.5-6 (+*bot*)]

B.De 13.22-5: *O dyw Sul hyt dyw Merchyr, gwedy marw Dewi, ny lawssant na bwyt na diawt, namyn gwediaw drwy dristit.* ‘From Sunday to Wednesday, after the dying of David, they did not consume food nor drink, but prayed in sadness.’

WM 171.30-1: *yr oed yr unbennes gwedy kyfodi* ‘The lady had arisen.’ (MacCana 1976: 196)

RM 157. 5-6: *ac phan yttoedynt gwedy gware talym...* ‘and when they had played a while’ (MacCana 1976: 196)

2) Non-salient initial temporal clause (25 exx.): B.De. 7.22, 7.27, 8.11, 13.9, 13.11. CO 3, 1005, 1009, 1023, 1043, 1053, 1061-2. 1101, 1115. PPD 193, 229, BvL 20, 178. MvL 49., 51:14, 52:13, 55:22, 56:21, 59:12, 64:11, MvM 71:16, 71:24, 77:3, 78:21, 82:1, 82:4, 88:23,

CO 1115: *Ac yna y lladawd ef bedwar rysswr y Arthur-... . a gwedy llad y gwyr hynny y rodes yr eil kyuarth udunt yn y lle, ac y lladawd Gwydre uab Arthur...* ‘And then he killed four champions of Arthur’s and after killing these men he gave another battle to them in that place and he killed Gwydre son of Arthur.’

3) Central temporal clause with higher salience: B.De. 6.13, 7.18 above. MvM 84:1.

3.2.4 *heb*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *heb* ‘without’ causes lenition of a following consonant. Historically, it can be related to O.Ir. *sech* ‘beyond, past’ (GPC 1968-87: 1830 and GOI §853). Functionally it also displays similarities to O.Ir. *cen* in that it is used as a negator of verbal nouns. An early example of the preposition can be found in *hep amgnaubot* [gl.: sine mente] (Ovid 38b⁹¹; Falileyev 2000: 83).

2. Central semantic components

The preposition expresses the passing-by of an entity [+ space, + pass] as in *ef a doeth heb porth y llys* ‘he came past the gate of the court.’ (PKM 84.25, GMW §218). As such it is especially found after verbs of motion. In contrast to the preposition *drwy* ‘through’ this does not usually entail ‘entering into something’ and ‘going through’, but going past at a certain distance [+ distance] as in *yd a hitheu heb dau ef* ‘she goes past him’ (PPD 266, cf. GMW §218). With verbal nouns this distinction is less clear. In some cases the examples could be perceived as denoting having left [the possibility of] something behind [+ reverse]:

⁹¹ Stokes, W.: ‘Cambica: The OW Glosses in Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*’, TPS 1860-1, 204-249.

55) B v. 211.37: A chymrawu a oruc Chyarlymaen ... ac heb allv seuyll yn y kynnwryf hwnnw. ‘And Charlemagne became terrified, and was not able to stand in that commotion.’ (GMW §183)

56) B.De 8.13-6: *A’r escyb, a’r athrawon [...] a’r kreuydwyr yn llwyr, a phawb heb allu rif arnadt a ymgynnullasant y sened Vreui.* ‘And the bishops, and the teachers, [...] and all the clerics, and all, without being able to put a number on them, assembled at the Synod of Breff.’

These cases may be described as denoting ‘x is beyond doing y’. This may in the following have led to the description in terms of non-presence. Though [+ pass] seems to have been the original meaning of this preposition, this appears to have been bleached and only retained as a marginal feature with verbal nouns in Middle Welsh.

3. Further semantic components

Generally, *heb* indicates an object’s absence at a spatial location [- space] at a given time [+ temp] as in *eisted a oruc [...] heb uwyt, heb diawt* ‘he sat without food, without drink’ (B.De 5.5). In addition to simple absence, *heb* also functions as a negative conjunction ‘and not’. As such it negates *gan* ‘with’ as can be seen in the following examples:

57) CO 1205-6: *Dywedyt o Arthur, ‘A oes dim weithon o’r anoethu heb gaffel?’* ‘Arthur said: “is any now of the marvels without being taken?”’

58) CO 512: *Kyuodi onadunt vynteu yn y hol hi y’r gaer, a llad naw prothawr a naw gauaelgi heb wichaw un.* ‘They then rose after her towards the fort and they killed the nine doormen and nine mastiffs without one squealing.’

The scope of the negator covers only the verbal noun and creates the concept of ‘unable’ in example 55) (CO 1205-6). Additionally, as also observable in the Irish examples, the scope can extend over a larger phrase such as including the object following the verbal noun as in example 56) (CO512⁹²). Likewise, a whole negative clause can be created:

59) CO 378: *Ym pen y ulwydyn, hyny uyd kenhadeu Arthur heb gaffel dim.* ‘At the end of the year, the messengers of Arthur had not obtained anything.’⁹³

60) MvL 55.18: *Kyuarth a rodei y’r cwn, heb gilyaw yrdhunt.* ‘He would stand at bay against the dogs, and not retreat before them.’ (GMW §183)

4. Conclusions

⁹² Likewise CO 5, 727, 751, 956.

⁹³ Likewise B.De 8.15, CO 386, 812.

The following central and peripheral meanings can be expressed by *heb* in Middle Welsh. While absence in location as well as [+ distance] can be denoted in concrete nouns, this distinction is only weakly expressed with verbal nouns. The central meaning component is ‘absence’, derived from ‘passage’. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to Irish, this negative particle *heb* is not used to express the prohibitive, but rather the preposition *rac* ‘against’.

5. Examples

16 examples were found in the corpus. This would correspond to 37.38 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Passing beyond: B.De 8.15, BVL 216, [B v.211.37.]

BvL 215-6: *A hynny y urodyr maeth, a’r gwyr nessaf gantaw, y lliwaw idaw hynny, a heb y gelu.* ‘And this his foster brother, and the closest men with him, to taunt him with that and not concealing it.’

2) Absence (14 exx.): CO 5, 378, 386, 512, 724, 751, 812, 854, 1205-6, PPD 18, 515, MvL 55.18. MvM 74:3, 86:20. [WM 438.31]

CO 385-6: *kyuodi yna Kei. Angerd oed ar Gei: naw nos a naw diwarnawt hyt y anadyl y dan dwuyr, naw nos a naw dieu hyd uydei hep gyscu.* ‘Kei rose. He had a particular quality: nine nights and nine days the length of his breath in water, two nights and two days the length he would be without sleep.’

CO 956: *ac wynt a welynt vwc mawr parth a’r deheu, ym pell y wrthunt heb drossi dim gan y gwynt.* ‘and they saw great smoke away in the south, far from them, without being at all disturbed by the wind.’

LIDC 20.1: *heb coffav duv* ‘not to remember God’ (Schumacher 2000: 25).

PPD 18-9: *Ac yna edrych ohonaw ef ar liw yr erchwys, heb hanbwyllaw edrych ar y carw* ‘And then he looked on the colour of the pack, without bothering to look at the stag.’

PPD 514-5: ‘*Ha wreic*’, *heb ef, ‘llibin yd ym [sic] pob blwydyn yn gadu eppil yn cassec heb gaffel yr un ohonunt.*’ ‘Woman, said he, neglectful are we every year in letting off offspring of our mare without getting one of them.’

WM 438.31: *a hynny heb vybot y ereint ac yn hustinc y rygthaw ar maccwyf* ‘and that without Gereint knowing and whispering between him and the squire’ (Schumacher 2000: 24).

3.2.5 y

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *y* ‘to’, leniting, developed from Old Welsh *di*. It can be related to Old Irish *do* ‘to’ historically (cf. GOI §832) and is also functionally comparable to it in introducing indirect objects and purpose clauses (GMW §221).

2. Central semantic components

Y is mainly used to denote spatial concepts [+ space], such as direction towards an entity. Its most central semantic component could be expressed as ‘direction towards an entity’ [+dir, +limit]. This is illustrated by in the example *Mi a euthum y’r mor y geissaw morvwyt* ‘I will go to the sea to collect seafood’ (CO 446). *Y* also serves to indicate an indirect object as in *mi a’e gorchymyneis y weisson y meirych* ‘I have handed it over to the grooms of the horses’ (PKM 23.26, GMW§ 221) or a recipient, as in *mi a baraf idaw vynet druod* ‘I shall cause him to go across’ (B.De 7.11, GMW §221 (b)). Direction towards an entity can likewise be denoted by *y* + verbal nouns:

61) B.De 1.10: *a dywedut wrthaw: ‘Auory, heb ef, ‘ti a ey y hely, a thi a geffy tri dyuot ger lan auon Teiui* ‘And he said to him: “tomorrow”, he said, “you will go to hunt and you will find three gifts by the banks of the river Teifi.”’

62) B.De 2.27: *Eil gwyrth a wnnaeth Dewi, a’e vam yn myned y’r eglwys y warandaw pregeth y gan Gildas sant.* ‘David did a second miracle when his mother was going to the church in order to listen to St. Gildas preach.’

63) CO 34: *Dytgweith yd aeth y wreicda allan y orymdeith.* ‘One day the noble lady went out for a stroll.’

These examples consist of a verb of motion, *y* and a verbal noun. They express not only directionality but also a sense of intention on the part of the agent.

3. Further semantic components

In a large number of examples with verbal nouns, intention or purpose is a clear feature of the preposition [+ final].

64) CO 1062: *A gwedy disgynnu Arthur y’r tir, dyuot seint Iwerdon attaw y erchi nawd idaw.* ‘And after Arthur’s arriving in the country, the saints of Ireland came to ask protection from him.’

65) B. De 5.38: *‘Tidi vorwyn, heb hi, ‘kyuot, ac awnn yn dwy y Lyn Alun y geissaw kneu.* ‘You maid, said she, rise and let us two go to Lyn Alun to seek nuts.’

Here intention may be an additional feature of the movement towards a goal. Yet examples with other verbs than verbs of motion can also be found to denote purpose:

66) B.De 6.24: *Yn ol hyny, [...] ell deu a dyrwestassant y geissaw y gan Duw ffynhonnev o dwfyr croew.* ‘After this, the two fasted to seek from God wells with fresh water.’

67) B.De. 8.24: *Nyt oes neb ohonom a allo pregethu y'r niuer hwnn, a ni a'e prouassam pob eilwers, a ni a welwnn nat oes gras y neb ohonam ni y bregethu y'r niuer hwnn.* 'There is none of us who could preach to this multitude, and we have tried it each in turn, and we see that there is not the grace to any of us to preach to this multitude.'

68) CO 392: *A ffan uei uwyaf y anwyd ar y gedymdeithon dyskymon vydei hynny utunt y gynneu tan.* 'And when the cold was greatest for his companions, that would be fuel for them in order to kindle a fire.'

This type of usage is already in evidence in the Old Welsh examples of this preposition with verbal nouns. In the *Surexit Memorandum* we find the forerunner preposition *ði* expressing purpose:

69) SurM1: *Surexit Tutbulc filius Liuit ha gener Tutri di erchim 'Tir Telih' hai oid i lau Elcu filius Gelhig ha luidt Iuguret.* 'Tudfwlch the son of Llywyd from the people of Tudri arose in order to claim 'Tir Telych' which was in the hand of Elgu the son of Gelli and the tribe of Idwared.'

This example illustrates that the purpose clause construction of preposition *ði* plus verbal noun is a very early feature. It is noteworthy that it also exists in early texts in Old Irish.

The final uses may easily have developed first with verbs of motion and from there have been transferred to others verbs. As the goal of the movement is usually a place (GMW §221(a)), original direction towards a place is likely to underlie purpose meanings.

In one case in the corpus, the interpretation of the example containing *y* plus verbal noun is not clear:

70) B.De1.13: *Dyro dylyet y tir y gadw y vab ny anet etwo;* 'Give the right to keep the land to a boy who has not yet been born.'

In this example the exact nature of the *y* remains unclear. Poppe (2000: 275) suggests that this example could consist of *dylyt y tir y'y gadw* 'the right of the land for its keeping'.

A possible parallel can be observed between Middle Welsh *y* and the Old Irish preposition *do* 'to'. *Y* like *do*, can denote an experiencer in an agentless clause as illustrated by the following: *A reit yw i mi, heb ef, vynet [y] ynys arall [...]* 'I have to go to another island.' (B.De 3.9, cf. GMW §221 (c)). In this case the grammatical subject is often observed to be a verbal noun (GMW, *ibid.*). The prepositional phrase indicates a dative construction comparable to the Irish *is-um écin* or *is écin dom* 'it is necessary for/to me'. It has been argued that this construction played a role in the development of verbal noun syntax in the Welsh language. Thus Miller (2004) argues that this structure contributed significantly to the reanalysis of non-finite preposi-

tional arguments to subordinate structures in Welsh. As an example he gives B. De. 7.11: *Mi a baraf idaw ef [vynet]* ‘I will prepare for him [to go]’ which he argues to have become understood as *mi a baraf [idaw ef vynet]* ‘I will prepare [for him to go]’ (ibid., 341). He argues that the grammaticalisation of this structure as subordinate clauses during the Middle Welsh period in fact led to what is effectively a conjugated infinitive where the verbal noun is marked for person by the means of the preposition *y* (ibid, 329-350).

Furthermore, the grammars mention examples of *y* plus verbal noun where the agent precedes the nominisation (GMW §181, n.):

71) B xiii.188-9: *dadyl dieu agheu y eu treidu* ‘It is a certain fact that death visited them.’ (GMW §181, n.)

72) LIB 45.19: *Pwy bynhac a uo gwell gantaw arall y dadleu drotsaw yn lllys noc ehunan.* ‘Whoever may prefer to have another to plead for him in court rather than himself.’ (GMW, ibid.)

These examples resemble the Old Irish constructions involving *do* to prepose subject or object to their verbal noun. Evans (ibid.) points out that this type of example is rare in Welsh, but both he and Lewis & Pedersen (1989: 315) mention the structure and also note its use in Irish and Cornish (see 4.5). Even though examples are rare in Middle Welsh, preposed structures are in evidence in earlier material, as well as in the Gaelic branch.

4. Conclusions

It can be observed that use of the preposition *y* ‘to’ is highly frequent in Welsh. It denotes direction as well as the recipient of an action. Possibly ‘movement towards’ led to the purpose use as ‘in order to’. A parallel between Irish and Welsh can be found in the use of the preposition meaning ‘to, towards’ to denote purpose. Some examples additionally suggest that Welsh *y* can be found, too, with preposed arguments for the verbal noun.

5. Examples

In the corpus texts, 105 examples were found, all of those indicated purpose. This would correspond to 245.32 examples per 100,000 words.

1a) Purpose with verbs of motion (82 exx.):

B.De 1.10, 2.6, 2.7, 4.6, 5.38, 9.18, 12.33. CO 23, 58, 113, 439, 446, 454, 457, 461, 477, 481, 505, 515, 585, 585, 590, 611, 627, 633, 636, 639, 681, 690, 717, 731, 744, 776, 812, 814, 830, 836, 840, 844, 884, 891, 896, 897, 903, 939, 984, 991, 1008, 1010, 1012, 1025, 1029, 1037, 1077, 1082, 1089, 1135, 1203, 1203, 1211, 1232. BvL 18, 36, 60, 199, PPD 4, 93, MvL 50:5, 52:6, 56:1, MvM 67:13-4, 68:13, 68:27-8, 72:25, 78:21-2, 84:12, 85:2, 85:4, 85:5, 86:8, 87:22, 89:8.

B.De. 12.33: *Yna y gwelut ti gyfuredec gann seint yr ynys honn a seint Iwerdonn, o bop parth yn dyvot y ymwelet a Dewi sant.* ‘Then you saw an assembly with the saints of this island and the saints of Ireland from every side coming to visit St. David.’

CO 23: *Sef a wnaei y brenhin gyrru gwas pob bore y ydrych malkawn a diffei dim ar y bed.* ‘The king sent a boy every morning to see if anything had grown on the grave.’

CO 461: *a’e dyvot hitheu yn eu herbyn y geissaw mynet dwylaw mynwgyl uduint.* ‘And she went towards them in order to try to embrace them.’

1b) Purpose clauses without motion (23 exx.): B.De ?1.13, 2.27, 3.34, 5.39, 6.24, 8.24, 9.4, 11.18, 13.18. CO 97, 392, 432, 765, 816, 913, 1145. BvL 47, PPD 626, MvL 52:11, 53:2, 55:13, MvM 75:7, 83:7-8

B.De 5.39: *Heb y vorwyn vrth y llysuam: ‘Parawt wyf i, heb hi, y vynet.’* ‘The maiden said to her stepmother: “ready am I,” she said, “to go”.’

B.De. 6.24: *Yn ol hyny, [...] ell deu a dyrwestassant y geissaw y gan Duw ffynnhonnev o dwfyr croew.* ‘After this, the two fasted to seek from God wells with fresh water.’

CO 97: *Ny byd gwaeth it yno nocet y Arthur yn y llys. Gwreic y gyscu gennyt, a didan gerdeu rac dy deulin.* ‘it shall not be worse for you there than to Arthur in his court. A woman to sleep with you and pleasant songs before you.’

CO 765: *‘Py uoes yssy y osp a phellenhic y diskynnu yn y gaer honn?’* ‘What practice is there for a guest and traveller in order to arrive in that fort?’

CO 1145: *Dygyddaw a wnaethpwynt yna a gwyr a chwn arnaw. Ymrodi y gerdet ohonaw ynteu, hyt ym Mynyd Amanw.* ‘An attack was made with men and dogs on him then. He tried to proceed to Mynyd Amanw.’

2) preposed arguments: [LIB 45.19, B xiii.188-9.] above.

3.2.6 *am* and *dan*

3.2.6.1 *am*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *am*, ‘around, about’ causes lenition and is related to Old Irish *im* ‘about’ (GMW §203, GOI §841).

2. Central semantic components

Am is frequently found in temporal or spatial senses. It expresses location around an entity [+ space, + cover] as in *a chorn canu am y uynwgyl* ‘and a hunting horn around his neck’ (PKM 2.5, cf. GMW §203) or *am hanner nos* ‘at midnight’ (PKM 60.3-4, cf. GMW §203). Its meaning in this context can be described as denoting temporal location [+ temp, + stat] near an entity/time [+ prox] and surrounding it [+ cover]. This can also be figurative and

denote a topic ('about, concerning') as in *y geissaw y gantunt ganhorthwy am y lygeit* 'and he was looking for help from them about his eyes' (B.De. 3.30) or *sef a oruc Dewi yna ... amouyn ac ef am anssawd Maydawc Sant* 'David enquired to him about St. Madawg's health' (B.De. 7.21). The same extension can also be observed in English 'to ask about' or German 'bitten um'. The following is an example with verbal noun:

73) BVL 418: *Dyvot Caswallawn am eu penn, a llad y chwegwyr a thorri ohonaw ynteu Gradawc y gallon o anivyget, am welet y cledyfyn llad y wyr.* 'Caswallawn came towards them and killed the six men and this broke Gradawc's heart with bewilderment about seeing the sword killing the men.'

74) MvL 53:7: *Ac yn hynny rybud a gawssont wynteu, a chymryt kynghor am adaw y dref.* 'And in this they got a warning and took council about leaving the town.'

According to Fife (1990: 328) *am* has further developed into a marker of future intention in Modern Welsh. Fife gives the example of *rw i am ddysgu Cymraeg* 'I want to/am going to learn Welsh' to illustrate this (Fife, *ibid.*). This usage may be related to the notion of proximity of an imminent event. The assessment is not shared, however, by Williams (1980: 132), who states that *am* is only rarely found with future reference in Modern Welsh and is restricted to a few phrases like *mae hi am law* 'it is going to rain'.

3. Further semantic components

The preposition *am* may also express a reason [+ cause]. Examples of this are *yssyd voe y vedyant ... no mivi... . Ac am hynny nyt oes, heb ef, fford y mi y drigyaw yma hwy* 'Bigger is his power than mine. And because of this there is no way for me to dwell here longer.' (B.De. 3.5-7). This type is also represented by the other examples of *am* with a verbal noun in the present corpus:

75) B.De 11.15: *Ac vrth hynny y gwnaethpwynt Dewi sant yn tywyssawc ac yn pennadur ar seint Ynys Prydein, am pregethu ohonaw yn y sened vawr honno y'r holl bobyl [...].* 'And because of this St. David was made leader and head over the saints of the island of Britain, for his preaching in this great synod to all the people.'

76) MvL 52:26: *Ac wrth hynny y gelwir etwa calch llassar am y wneuthur o llassar Llaes Gygnwyt.* 'Because of this it is still called 'blue enamel' because of its being made of the substance of Llaes Gygnwyt.'

4. Conclusions

Generally not only concrete but also abstract senses can be expressed by the preposition. The central meaning, both with verbal and non-verbal nouns, would have been ‘surrounding an entity’, but further senses describing relations pertaining to a given circumstance can be denoted by extension, particularly [+ cause]. The central meanings of the preposition do not indicate that it would qualify in particular to denote this. The most likely candidate for a meaning extension may be the function of *am* to denote topics. This may then have spread to indicating reason as well in responses to questions with *gofyn am*.

5. Examples:

The 4 examples from the corpus texts would correspond to 9.34 examples per 100,000 words.

B.De. 11.15, BvL 418, MvL 52:26, 53:7. [WM 35.14-6, 132.28, B.v.219.38] Bv.219.38: *A llawenach oed Chyarlys am ry estwng o Hu idaw.* ‘And Charles was happier because Hu had submitted to him.’ (GPC, *am*)

WM 35.14-6: *a hynny yw uym penyt am lad ohonaf uu hun uy mab* ‘And this is my penitence for myself killing my son.’ (Schumacher 2000: 24)

WM 132.28: *am ry wylltaw gwas kystal a Pheredur o lys Arthur* ‘for having driven such a fine lad as Peredur from Arthur’s court.’ (GPC, *am*)

3.2.6.2 dan

1. Grammatical considerations

The Middle Welsh preposition *dan*, *tan*, leniting, usually translates into English as ‘under, beneath’. It has the functional parallel *y dan*. It derives from Old Welsh *gutan*, *guotan* (GMW §237) and is connected to and functionally comparable with Old Irish *fó* ‘under’. From the early modern Welsh period on, it has split into *tan* ‘until’ and *dan* ‘below, under’ and ‘while’ with verbal nouns, forming ‘a participle’ (GPC *tan* 1, e).

2. Central semantic components

Dan can typically be found in spatial senses, denoting position below an entity [+ space, + stat, + inferior]. This can be observed in examples like *yna y dechrewis y Gwyddyl kynneu tan dan y peir dadeni* ‘then the Irish began to kindle a fire under the cauldron of rebirth’ (PKM 44.9-10; cf. GMW §207). With verbs of motion the variant composite preposition *y dan* is also found (GMW, *ibid.*).

3. Further semantic components

Subordination under an entity or power may also be expressed. This is exemplified by *yg keythywet a dan Pandrasus vrenhin Groec* ‘in captivity under Pandrasus, king of Greece’ (GMW §237) or *y dan y amdiffyn* ‘under his

protection' (B.De 18.21). In these examples *dan* normally indicates fixed position rather than movement [+ stative]. With verbal nouns the feature of subordination is also expressed. Evans (GMW §237) points out that if a verbal noun is governed by *dan*, the clause typically indicates an action that is dependent on the main verb, giving additional information about it:

77) YgvE 139: *Sef a wnaeth y vorwyn o dolur y dynawd dyvot tracheuyn atWenhwyuar y dan gwynaw y dolur* 'This is what the maiden did from the blow's pain: she came back to Gwenhwyuar complaining of the pain.' (GPC, *tan* 1)

78) WM 135.1-2: *Ar hynny kyfodi a wnaeth y vorwyn y vyned y dan ellwg y dagreu.* 'Thereupon the maiden rose up, shedding tears.' (GMW §237)

Dan here indicates an action that is simultaneous with the main verb in the sentence [+ simultaneous]. Evans (GMW §237) describes the prepositional phrase as simultaneous, but separate from the main verb. These attendant circumstances appear to be conceived as ongoing over a period of time. In this respect there is some similarity with the preposition *yn* + VN. Yet the situations expressed by *yn* are more central to the plot than actions introduced by *dan*. Compare the following examples of *dan* and *yn* respectively:

79) CO1217: *Ac ymchoelut a oruc hitheu ar Kacamwri, ac eu dygaboli yll deu ac eu diaruu, a'e gyrru allan dan eu hub ac eu hob.* 'And she turned on Kacamwri and thrashed both of them and disarmed them and pulled them out under (= while) squealing and screaming.'

80) B.De.10.2: *nachaf y gwelynt yn dyvot yn y herbyn gwreic wedw gwedy marw y hun mab, a'r wreic yn gweidi ac yn disgyryaw.* 'Behold they saw coming towards them a widowed woman whose only son had just died, and the woman was crying and screaming.'

81) B.D. 146.3: *Dynessau a wnaeth y chueric parth a'r gaer a dan ganu y delyn* 'He drew near to the fortress leisurely, playing the harp.' (GMW § 207)

82) [=27] B.De. 3.25: *Yno y gwelas y gytdisgyblon ef colomen a glyuin eur idi yndysgu Dewi, ac yn gware yn y gylch.* 'There his fellow disciples saw a dove with a golden beak teaching David, and playing in his lap.'

While phrases with *yn* have a relevance for further action, *dan* merely gives additional information, describing attendant circumstances of the main action. This is particularly apparent in the contrast between examples 79) (CO 1217) and 80) (B.De. 10.12). While the actions expressed with *yn* + VN stand on their own, those with *dan* and VN add further information pertaining to the main verb, such as the mental state a person is in like sadness, pain or joy. This is also found in the Modern Welsh examples given in GPC:

Dyna hi yn myned tan ganu ‘There she is going, singing’ (*tan* 1, e). However, there are exceptions to this rule:

83) CO 960: *Bryssyaw a orugant parth a’r mwc, a dynessau parth ac yno dan ymardisgwyl o bell.* ‘And they hastened towards the smoke and they approached it while watching from afar.’

In those cases where the preposition *dan* is found not with stative verbs but with verbs of movement entrance beneath an entity or into an entity can be expressed [+ introduction]. An example of this is *awn adanunt a lladwn* ‘let us move among them and slaughter them’ (PKM 54.1). It may be cases like these that led to the development of a separate Modern Welsh preposition *tan* ‘until’.

4. Conclusions

Dan typically denotes ‘location under’, but situations ‘under the influence’ or attendant circumstances can also be expressed. Together with verbal nouns the meaning of simultaneous action, or ‘attendant circumstances’ is expressed. These attendant circumstances have been found to be implied by verbs denoting feeling or the expression of feelings rather than transitive action-verbs.

5. Examples:

The 2 examples found in the corpus texts would correspond to a frequency of 4.67 examples per 100,000 words.

1) expressions of mood and feeling: CO 960, 1217, [B ix. 332.32, SG 40.37-8, WM 135.1-2, B.D. 146.3., 169, YgvE 139, YBH 14a, YCM 253.]

B ix. 332.32.: *yd aeth ar y thraet o’r dufyr dan voli a bendigav Duv* ‘She went on her feet from the water, praising and glorifying God.’ (GMW §207)

SG 40.37-8: *ef a aeth ymeith... dan wylaw ac ymelldigaw yr awr y ganet* ‘He went away, weeping and cursing the hour he was born.’ (GMW §207)

B.D. 169: *y dywvav vrthav dan igvon ac vylav...* ‘And she said to him sobbing and weeping...’ (GPC *tan*, e.)

YBH 14a: *Bovn a ysgynnavd ar y varch a than ganv kerdet racdav* ‘Bown mounted his horse and went on ahead, singing.’ (GPC *tan*, e.)

YCM 253: *A gellwg neit y varch ... a wnaeth ac ymchoelut at Chyarlys drachefyn dan chwerthin* ‘And he released his horse and returned to Charles again, laughing.’ (GPC *tan*, e.)

2) other verbal expressions: LIA36.

LIA 36: *dwy boen a gaffant. vn dros y tremyc am bechv onadunt dan y wybot* ‘They received two penances. One on behalf of her scorn about their sinning with his knowledge.’ (GPC *tan*, e.)

3.2.7: Lesser used prepositions with verbal noun: *drwy*, *o*, *nes*, *yr*, particle *ry*

3.2.7.1 *drwy*

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *drwy*, also *trwy*, leniting, translates into English as ‘through’. It is cognate with OIr. *tri* ‘through’, and functionally comparable to it. The OW form is *trui* (GOI §856).

2. Central semantic components

The preposition *drwy* can be used in both spatial and temporal senses. Examples of these are *y chwedyl, eissoes, yn oet un dyd a aeth drwy yr holl ynys honn* ‘the news, however, went within the time of one day through all this island’ (B.De 12.28) [+space], and *ac ef a uu trwy lawer o vlwynnyded y gyt ac Dewi* ‘And for many years he was together with David.’ (B.De 10.17) [+temp]. It generally indicates passage through the entity [+ dir, + prox, + trans]. These most central senses cannot be found with verbal nouns, however.

3. Further semantic components

In an abstraction from the sense of ‘transition’, manner and attendant circumstances [+ simultaneous] can be indicated. This is illustrated by *ny lawssant na bwyt na diawt, namyn gwediaw drwy dristit* ‘they did not consume food nor drink, but prayed in sadness.’ (B.De. 13.21). This usage is also found with verbal nouns:

84) B.De. 12.20: *A’r brodyr, kymeint hun, pann glywyssant hynny, drwy wylyaw a chwynaw, ac vdaw ac vcheneidyaw, a dyrchaussant eu llef ac a dywedassant: ...* ‘And the brothers, all in one, when they heard this they raised their cry and said weeping and lamenting and howling and sighing and said: ...’

85) MVM 86:7: *Treulaw y dyd a wnaethant drwy ymdidan a cherd a chyvedach.* ‘They spent the day in conversation and poetry and merriment.’

Here attendant circumstances are denoted, but under appropriate circumstances, these can also be interpreted as instrumental [+ instrument] or causal [+cause]:

86) CO 4: *Gwedy y west genti, mynet y wlat y gwedi malkawn a geffynt etiued. A chaffael mab ohonu trwy weti y wlad.* ‘After he spent the night with her, the country went to pray that they might get offspring. And they received a boy through the prayer of the country.’

87) BT (BR) 22: *A'r Gwyndyt yn llidyawc a'e hymlynawd drwy lad y lu* 'And Gwyndyt angrily infected him through killing his host.'
(GPC *trwy*, e)

4. Conclusions

Centrally, the preposition *drwy* denotes transition. With verbal nouns this is typically understood as description of manner: according to whether or not an instrument can be implied, instrumental senses or those of attendant circumstances arise. This ties in with the description of its function in Modern Welsh as denoting 'by means of' (King 1997: 288). Overall it can be observed that the distribution of use and meaning is as variable in Middle Welsh as it is in the preposition's Old Irish counterpart.

5. Examples:

The 5 examples found in the corpus texts would correspond to a frequency of 11.68 examples per 100,000 words.

B.De. 12.20, CO 4, PPD 100, BVL 236, MVM 86:7, [A 18.2-4, YBH 44b, BT 22.]

PPD 100: *Treulaw y ulwydyn a wnaeth trwy hela a cherdeu a chyuedach a charueidrwyd ac ymdidan a chedymdeithon*. 'They spent the year with hunting and music and carousal and affection and conversation with friends.'

BVL 326: *A thrwy gynghor Branuen uu hynny oll, ac rac llygru y wlat oed genti hitheu hynny*. 'And through the council of Branwen all this was. And lest the country were destroyed she did this.'

A 18.2-4: *Oed garw y gwnaewch chwi waetlin. mal yuet med drwy chwerthin* 'Fiercely did you make battle, like drinking mead laughing.' (GPC *trwy*, e)

YBH 44b: *Yna y gelvis y brenhin ar bovn a rodi y ffon y bovn trvy dyvedut vrthav* 'Then the king called on Bown and gave the spear to Bown saying to him: [...]' (GPC *trwy*, e)

3.2.7.2 o

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *o* 'from' leniting, appeared in Old Welsh as *hou*. It can be connected to the Old Irish preposition *úa, ó* 'from' (GOI §847).

2. Central semantic components

O appears in temporal [+temp] and spatial [+space] contexts, as in *o'r pann gauas hi veichogi* 'from the time she conceived' (B.De 2.25) and *y dangos yt Ynys Iwerdon o'r eistedua ysyd yn Glyn Rosin* 'to show to you the island of Ireland from the seat which is in Glen Rosin' (B.De 2.8). These items can be described as denoting the source of an entity [+source], and they appear to be both stative [+stat] or directional [+direct]. These senses, 'leading out of

an entity', are referred to by Schröder (1987: 109) as 'exogenous' [+ exog]. Examples of leaving a state can also be found with verbal nouns:

88) PPD 600: Ynteu Pwyll a oed yn dyuot o gylchaw Dyuet. 'The said Pwyll was coming from circling Dyfed.'

89) B.De. 10.15: *A phann daruu y Dewi y wedi, kyvodi yn hollyach a oruc y mab, mal bei atuei yn kyvodi o gyscu, a Dewi erbyn y law deheu yn y gyuodi a'e rodi yn hollyach y vam.* 'And when David ended his prayer, the boy rose in complete health, as if he were rising from sleep and David lifted him by his right hand and gave him to his mother in complete health.'

Other examples more clearly show the senses of separation also associated with the Latin ablativus separativus:

90) MvM 72:24: *Ac ual y gyt ac y doethant hyt y Uelen Ryd y pedyt ny ellit eu reoli o ymsaethu...* 'And thus as soon as the foot soldiers went to Belen Ryd, one could not restrain them from shooting at each other.'

Separation may be formalised as the expression of distance [+ distance]. This expression is parallel to the Old Irish use of the preposition *di* in order to express separation (cf. 2.2.8.3). Further parallel use to *di* is illustrated by the following:

91) BvL 431: *Ac ar hynny o ginyaw y buant seith mlyned.* 'And at that feasting [at this of the feasting] they were seven years.'

In this case the prepositional construction expresses the kind-of relationship which is commonly known as the partitive. Also the head-category of the partitive, material, is expressed by *o* [+ material] (see discussion in 2.2.7.2). An example is *hudaw gwreic idaw ynteu o'r blodeu* 'to conjure a wife for him from the flowers' (PKM 83.20, GMW §231). Not surprisingly of this no examples with verbal nouns have been found in the corpus. In an isolated case, *o* seems to have been used for *y* 'to':

92) PPD 60: *Kyt bwyf i yno hyt ym penn y ulwydyn pa gyuarwyd a uyd y mi o ymgael a'r gwr a dywedy di?* 'though I be there until the end of a year, what guidance will there be to me for finding the man you mentioned?'

This example fits the usage of the preposition *y* much better than that of *o*. Alternatively this could be interpreted as an example of a separative.

3. Further semantic components

From exogenous senses, ‘outcome’ and its close relative ‘cause’ are easily inferred: a thi a diodeuy lawer yno o garyat Duw ‘and you suffered much there because of the love of God’ (B.De 2.10). These causal meanings [+cause] can also be found with verbal nouns:

93) PPD 582: diolwch ac elwissen o ellwg Riannon o’r poen y mae yndaw ‘Thanks and gratitude for releasing Rhiannon from the penance she is in.’

94) BvL 236: *doluryaw a wnaeth o glybot y poen oed ar Vranwen*. ‘He got sad from hearing about Branwen’s punishment.’

O is also used in more abstract senses: instrumental senses [+instr] are likewise noted as in y drychu y Freinc [...] o’e uwyall deu vinyauc ‘to cleave the French with his double edged axe’ (HGrC 136.1-2⁹⁴; GMW §231). Possibly in connection with these instrumental senses another typical usage of the preposition *o* arose, namely that of indicating the agent of a verbal noun. This is illustrated in cases like *colli o athro Dewi y lygeit* ‘David’s teacher lost his sight’ (B.De 3.30).

4. Conclusions

The Middle Welsh preposition *o* likewise shows a broad variety of possible senses, centring around a prototypical meaning of ‘from’ and from there moving towards separative/distance, causal and more removed instrumental relationships. *O* is the preposition which also expresses the agent of a verbal noun.

5. Examples:

The 16 examples found in the corpus texts would correspond to a frequency of 37.38 examples per 100,000 words.

1) Exogenous senses (4 exx.): PPD 600, MvM 85:11, B.De 10.15, 12.26.

MvM 529: *Ef ny allwys ymgelw o’e uot yn y charu, a’e uenegi idi a wnaeth*. ‘He could not conceal his loving her and he expressed it to her.’

B.De 12.26 : *O’r dyd hwnnw hyt yr wythuet nyt aeth Dewi o’r eglwys o bregethu y bawp a gwediaw*. ‘From this day to the eighth, David did not go from the church from preaching to everyone and praying.’

2) Separative: MvM 72:4 above.

3) partitive BVL 431 above.

4) Causal (7 exx.): CO 892, PPD 450, 582, BvL 191, 236, 273, MvL 50:16, MvM 84:27.

CO 892: *Onyt un treigyl yd euthum y geissaw uym bwyt hyt yn Llynn Llyw, a phann deuthum i yno y lledeis uyg cryuangheu y mywn ehawc, o debygu bot*

⁹⁴ *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*. Ed. Jones, A. Manchester 1910.

vym bwyt yndaw wers vawr... ‘Except for one flight I went to look for my food up to Llynn Llyw, and when I came there I sunk my claws into a salmon, thinking that my food would be therein for a long while.’

PPD 450: *Ac yn y dryded ulwydyn y dechreuis gwyr y wlat dala trymuryt ydunt o welet gwr kymeint a gerynt a’e harglwyd ac eu brawdaueth yn dietiued.* ‘And in the third year the men of the country started to be sad from seeing a man they loved so much as their lord and their foster-brother without a heir.’

[BVL 191: *Ac yna o’m tebygu i, Arglwyd,’ heb y Matholwch wrth Uendigeiduran, ‘y doeth ef drwod attat ti.* ‘And then I suppose [‘from my thinking’, action noun], Lord, said Matholwch to Bendigeiduran, he came across to you.’

BVL 273: *mi a wnn beth yw hynny: gwyr Ynys y Kedyrn yn dyuot drwod o glybot uym poen a’m amharch.* ‘I know what that is: the men from the Land of the Mighty coming across as a result of hearing about my penance and my disgrace.’

5) unclear B.De 7.6, PPD 60 above.

3.2.7.3 nes

1. Grammatical considerations

Nes ‘nearer’, no mutation, is not a preposition in origin but the comparative form of the adjective *agos* ‘close’ (GMW §230). In Middle Welsh it precedes nominal elements, such as nouns, verbal nouns and conjugated prepositions. Where appearing with verbal nouns, it behaves in a manner comparable to Old Irish *co h-* ‘until’.

2. Central semantic components

The distribution of examples of *nes* found in the corpus texts is uneven, with some texts providing no examples at all (B.De), or only examples of adverbial usage as in *nyt oed nes idi yna no chyt bei ar y gam* ‘he was no nearer to her than if he were walking’ (PPD 245). *Culhwc ac Olwen*, on the other hand, contains a considerable number of examples with verbal nouns. All of these express the temporal sense [+temp] ‘until’. As such they denote the endpoint of a period [+limit] and appear stative rather than directional [+stat].

95) CO 663: *Llefrith a wennych rei; nyt aruaeth kaffel lleurith y bawb nes kaffel botheu Rinnon Rin Baruawc.* ‘Some will wish milk. There is no way of getting milk for everyone until the vessels of Rhinnon Rin Baruawc are obtained.’

96) CO 720: *Nys [leg: nes] dyuot Guilenhin brenhin Freinc, ny helir Twrch Trwyth uyth hebdaw.* ‘Twrch Trwyth will not be hunted until Guilenhin the king of France comes.’

97) WM 167, 15-7: *Ny chysgaf hun lonyd nes gwybot a allwyf ellwg y vorwyn.* ‘I will not sleep in peace till I know whether I can set the maiden free.’ (GMW §230)

All of the examples from *Culhwac ac Olwen* occur where the feats to be accomplished next are named. In the example cited by Evans from White Book Mabinogion we are also told what is to be done. In all these cases new and salient information is provided by the prepositional phrase.

3. Further semantic components

There are no further types of usage of *nes* + verbal noun.

4. Conclusions

The usage of *nes* with verbal nouns is not very broadly developed. It is neither evenly distributed over texts nor is its meaning very widely divergent where it is used. These points are likely to be the effect of the later emergence of this structure than that of the other prepositional constructions. The grammaticalisation process is less advanced in this case. This prepositional structure is likely to have emerged secondarily, in addition to the preposition *wrth*, which denotes limit, direction and purpose. As *wrth* is largely used to indicate finality and purpose (cf. 3.2.1.2), there was a gap in the system for denoting temporal limit without purpose. This gap seems to be filled by *nes* + verbal noun. In contrast to prepositional constructions of verbal noun and *cyn* or *rac*, *nes* typically denotes highly salient information and does not only offer temporal ordering.

5. Examples

The 7 examples found in the corpus texts would correspond to a frequency of 16.35 examples per 100,000 words.

CO 663, 694, 713, 720, 727, 735, 828. [WM 167,15-7, Bii 19§8, LHDd 63, 12.]

CO 694: *Ny cheffir Mabon vyth, ny wys py tu y mae, nes kaffel Eidoel y gar gysseuin mab Aer, kanys diuudyawc uyd yn y geissaw.* ‘Mabon will never be found, nor will be known where he is until the obtaining of Eidoel son of Aer, his chief kinsman, for he will be restless in seeking him.’

CO 828: *Iawnaf yw, heb wynteu, keissaw Mabon uab Modron, ac nyt kaffel arnaw nes kaffel Eidoel uab Aer y gar yn gyntaf.* ‘It is most appropriate, they said, to seek Mabon uab Modron, and he cannot be found until Eidoel son of Aer is found, his chief kinsman.’

Bii 19§8: *Na chret guhudet dy wreic yn greulawn ar dy wassanaethweissyon nes gwybot gwirioned ohonat am a dywetto wrthyt.* ‘Do not believe the cruel accusation of your wife of your servants until knowing the truth about what (she?) may say to you.’ (GPC, *nes*)

LHDd 63: *nas dylheu nes y vod yn yr ysgymyrdawd vn dyd ar mis.* ‘He deserved it not until his being in penance one day per month.’ (GPC, nes)

3.2.7.4 yr

1. Grammatical considerations

The preposition *yr* ‘for, during’ causes no mutation. It appeared in Old Welsh as *ir* as in *ir ir tri ui. aur* ‘during the three times six hours’ (cf. GMW §246). Thurneysen (GOI §823) describes it as proclitic to Gaulish *are-*.

2. Central semantic components

Evans asserts that *yr* originally denoted a time-span [+ temp, + trans], but then came to be used for a point of departure as in *yr hynny hyt hediw* ‘from that day to this’ (PKM 92.5, GMW §246). As such it expresses exit from a temporal element [+ dir, + exogenous]. There are no examples of this usage in the corpus.

3. Further semantic components

Yr can be found in causal contexts as in *heb Dewi yna: Mi a af, heb ef, yr caryat Duw* ‘David said then ‘I will go for the love of God’’ [+ cause]. This feature is also observable with verbal nouns:

98) Bii 27.2: ... *na thremkykych nep yr y vot yn dlodach no thi* ‘Do not despise anyone because he is poorer than you.’ (GMW §246)

99) WM 456.9-10: ... *a ffenpigyon a ymda ar y penn yr eiryach y draet* ‘And Penpington who goes about on his head to save his feet.’ (ibid.)

WM 456.9-10 illustrates that cause can also be understood as purpose [+ final]. This usage is prominent in Modern Welsh, where *er* and a compound form of it, *er mwyn*, are used for introducing purpose clauses (Williams 1980: 134):

100) *gwario punt er arbed ceiniog* ‘Spending a pound to save a penny.’ (Williams, ibid.)

101) *dringo’r mynydd er mwyn gweld y wlad* ‘Climbing the mountain to see the land.’ (ibid.)

According to GPC (GPC, *er*) further uses of *er* include examples of concessive and conditional contexts. These, however, are not found in the corpus material.

4. Conclusions

Yr is not infrequent and it denotes duration in general. With verbal nouns it is rare in the corpus. In the very restricted material investigated in the pre-

sent corpus, its uses with verbal nouns seem to predominate in causal contexts.

3.2.7.5 ry

1. Grammatical Considerations

Ry is not a preposition but an augment that is used in verbal composition only. It lenites and can be connected to the Latin prepositions *pro* and Greek *πρό*. Its Old Irish counterpart is *ro-*. Evans (GMW §185) describes it as having ‘perfect’ meaning, while the English edition of Thurneysen (GOI § 852) describes both the British and the Irish particle as ‘perfective’. Yet it has been shown by McCone (1997: 124) that this is a mistranslation of ‘perfek-tisch’ and should in fact also read ‘perfect’. In Old Irish, and originally also in Welsh (cf. Pedersen, VGKS §574), these particles were used in verbal composition. McCone (1997: 118) identified their original usage as telic markers of Insular or Common Celtic origin, which later came to denote anteriority and resultativity. This means of mood marking should at least go back to Common Celtic, as is suggested by Botorrita I *ro-píseti* ‘he should take off/harvest’ (Meid 1993: 103-4, 107). Deriving from the usage as verbal marker *ry* secondarily came to be used with verbal nouns for the expression of anteriority (cf. Pedersen, VGKS §561, Lewis & Pedersen, 1980: 259).

2. Central semantic components

In his treatment of the related Old Irish particle, McCone (1997: 118) identified their original usage as telic markers of Insular or Common Celtic origin, which later came to denote anteriority and resultativity. In its use with verbs *ro* can be described as affirmative particle. Yet in Irish no use of *ro* as a particle used with verbal nouns has ever developed. The function of Welsh *ry* is described by Evans (GMW §186) as giving ‘perfect meaning’ to the verb, i.e. denoting anterior completion and resultativity. Evans (ibid.) also identifies usage to indicate pluperfect with past time contexts. Examples of this usage have also spread to verbal nouns as can be seen in the following examples:

102) WM 140.16-18 Yd oed kawat o eira gwedy ry odi y nos gynt. ‘A fall of snow had come down the night before.’ (GMW §186)

103) BB 93: *Ac yn yr amser hwnnw y doeth Constans ... a llu mawr ganthaw yr ynys brydeyn gwedy y ryvot yn darystwng yr yspaen y sened ryvein.* ‘And at that time Constans came with a great host to the island of Britain after he had been subjecting Spain for the senate of Rome.’ (GPC *rhy*)

Furthermore it is used in contexts of present subjunctive and imperfect and of actions that are not ongoing at a specific time, but are habitual or poten-

tial, denoting possibility or optative (GMW §185b-d). These uses have been explained as the result of using a marker for telic aspect on a verb with future reference, where it would denote potential completion (McCone 1997: 118).

3. Further semantic components

Some examples of *ry* with verbal noun in the present corpus also lend themselves to interpretation in a subjunctive or irrealis or context:

104) B.De 6.15: *Ac yn diannot y doeth tan o'r nef, a llosgi yr holl adeiladeu hyt y llawr. Gwybydet pawb ry lad o'r Arglwyd Duw o achaws Dewi Boya a Satrapa y wreic.* 'And immediately fire came from the heavens and burned the whole building to the ground. It shall be known to everybody that it was for the sake of David that God killed Boya and Satrapa his wife.'

The killing of Boya and Satrapa happened before the time indicated by the matrix verb. In this context where it depends of a verb of knowing, *gwybot*, *rylad* could indicate both pluperfect and/or subjunctive.

105) B. De. 5.19: ...*nachaf wreic Boya yn kyuaruot ac wynt, ac yn dywedut: 'Yn bugelyd na a dywe[da]ssant y mi ry varw yn holl ysgrybyl ni, [...]'* 'Behold, the wife of Boya was coming towards them and saying: Our shepherds have said to me that all our animals are have died.'

Here Satrapa passes on information which is based on hearsay and thus constitutes a typical contexts for a subjunctive. As the situation happened at an unspecified point of time in the past, a perfective interpretation seems more likely than a perfect one, even though a 'perfect of present relevance' is a possibility. This usage conforms to the employment of preverbal *ry*. Pederesen (VGKS §582) takes the use with subjunctive and non-preterite tensed verbs as derived from basic perfect uses. In line with this observation, an example of *ry* with verbal noun given by Evans (GMW §186) does not so much indicate perfect as imperfect:

106) BD 27.2 *Ac y dywvnt hitheu ry garu eferyot.* 'And she said that she had always loved him.'

4. Conclusions

Ry is not a preposition in Middle Welsh. But in contrast to its Old Irish counterpart *ro-*, it can be used with verbal nouns: In addition to being used as a marker of pluperfect for verbal nouns in a past context, it can appear with actions that happened before a reference point in general. Potentiality may also be indicated by some examples, in which case this is a further parallel

structure likely to have derived from the particles used with inflected verbs. Even though the Welsh corpus here is smaller than the Irish one, it contains examples of the particle with verbal nouns in Welsh but not in Irish. This is in line with Pedersen's (VGKS §583) observation that Welsh alone created a perfect verbal noun form, and not Irish. In this respect the verbal noun in Middle Welsh contains a feature that creates a link with the verbal paradigm that the verbal noun in Irish did not possess. With respect to this feature the verbal noun was more deeply integrated into the verbal paradigm in Middle Welsh than in Middle Irish.

5. Examples

Bix.336.28: *paub onadunt wynteu a daallasant ry lad ohonav ef e brenhin creulavn* 'All of them understood that he had slain the cruel king.' (GMW §186).

Bviii.139.9: *Mi a gyffessaf ry bechu ohonaf.* 'I confess I have sinned.' (GMW §186)

Bv.219.38: ... *am ry estwng o Hu idaw* 'as Hu had submitted to him.' (GMW §186)

WM 132.28: ... *am ry wylltaw gwas kystal a Pheredur o lys Arthur* 'for having driven such a fine lad as Peredur from Arthur's court' (cf. GMW §186)

WM 141.23-4: ... *y tybyassant ry lad Kei* 'they thought Kei had been slain.' (ibid.)

B.D.7.12: *coffau a wnaeth Pandrasus ry fo ehunan* 'Pandrasus remembered that he himself had fled.' (GMW §186)

B.D. 125.19: *guedy eu ry lad* 'after they had been killed' (GMW §186)

B.D. 138.22. *Canys dywedut vrthi a wnaeth ry dyuot ef yn lledrat o'r castell.* 'For he told her that he had come by stealth from the castle.' (GMW §186)

MM 144: *y philoffwyr [sic] ... a racwelsant ry wneuthur dyn o bedwar defnyd* 'The philosopher had foreseen that man was / had been made of 4 elements.' (GPC *rhy*)

3.3 Semantic components of prepositions in Medieval Welsh

In the preceding sections we have tried to show which semantic components can be found in the prepositions that have been found with verbal nouns in the Middle Welsh corpus material. A survey of these is presented in the following table:

	A c	A m	A r	Cyn	Dan	Drwy	Gan	Gwe- dy	Heb	Nes	O	Rac	Wrth	Y	Yn	Yr
Spa- tial	X	X	X		(x)	(x)	(x)		-		(X)	(x)	X	(x)	(x)	
Sta- tive	X	X	X	X	X		(x)	X		X	?	(x)	X		(x)	
Prox.	X	X				(x)	(x)						X			
Incl.																(X)
Cont.	X															
Intro					(x)											
Infer					X											
Super			X													
Front			X	X								(x)				
Re- verse								X	X							
Dist.									(x)		X	?				
Di- rect.			X			(x)					?	X	X	X		(x)
Final			X									X	X	X		X
Limit										X				X		
Exog.											X					(x)
Source											X					
Pass.									(x)							
Trans.						(x)										(x)
Simul.	X				X	X	X						X		X	
Inter- med.																
Temp.		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	(x)		X		X	(x)
Cover		X														
In- strum.						X	?				(x)					
Cause		X				X	X				X	(x)	X			X
Pro- hib.												?				

Table VII: Semantic components of prepositions in Welsh.

The Middle Welsh material clearly shows different distributional features from the Irish data. The main morphological difference between the two obviously is the complete lack of morphological case marking in Welsh. Therefore prepositional subcategories of one preposition cannot be distin-

guished by case differences like in Irish, for example with *i n-* plus accusative or dative.

From the total of 16 prepositions which were found with verbal nouns, an almost equal number can be found in spatial and in temporal use, 11 and 12 respectively. In the majority of cases, the temporal uses may be derived from spatial ones. In contrast to Irish, however, some prepositions are restricted to temporal use and cannot be found in spatial contexts at all, this is the case for *cyn* ‘before’, *gwedy* ‘after’ and *nes* ‘nearer’ and *yr* ‘during’. Therefore in these cases it could not be argued that temporal uses must be based on spatial ones.

Eleven of the prepositions can convey stative meanings, and only seven are used in directional contexts. As in Irish, some have both uses, namely *ar* ‘on’, *rac* ‘before’ and *wrth* ‘against’. While *rac* does not have an Irish counterpart, the Welsh equivalent *yn* to Irish *i n-* ‘in’ is notably absent from the list of double expression of stative and directional. The directional function seems to be expressed by *y* ‘to’.

As in Irish, prepositions of spatial location typically express temporal location as well and are used for temporal periphrastic constructions, and the type of location (front, back, under/in) determines the kind of periphrasis it will be applicable to. One spatial concept is missing with verbal nouns in the Welsh corpus, namely the feature [between], Welsh (*y*) *rwng*. The equivalent of the Irish preposition *fo* ‘under’, Welsh *go-*, is not used as a preposition any more, but only as a prefix.

Outside the features indicating spatial and temporal locations, there is less overlap in the Welsh prepositions between features indicating directionality-limit. In Welsh we find part of this combination in *ar* and *wrth*, which express both direction and final senses. Only *y* was found to express all three, direction, purpose and limit.

Overall, the prepositional uses in Welsh appear to be more specialised than those in Irish. A notably larger amount of prepositions with verbal nouns is also used in temporal contexts, or even temporal contexts only. This is underlined by the use of distinct spatial and temporal prepositions to denote the concepts ‘before’ and ‘behind’ in Welsh but not in Irish. Thus, concerning their use with verbal nouns, Welsh has a stronger split between temporal and spatial prepositions. Individual prepositions additionally have more narrowly defined spatial uses than their Irish counterparts.

3.4 Grammaticalised structures

3.4.1 Periphrasis with *gwneuthur*

1. A frequent feature of Welsh, both modern and at earlier stages, is a periphrastic construction involving the verbal noun and a form of the verb

gwneuthur ‘do’. Evans (GMW §180 (3)) points out that the verbal noun serves as the object to the verb ‘do’ and is preposed to it, thus conditioning the “abnormal order” in the Middle Welsh sentence, i.e. a constituent other than the inflected verb appears sentence initially. More than one verbal noun can depend on one inflected form of *gwneuthur*, both preceding or following it. According to Evans the structure most frequently appears in the preterite and he holds it to be equivalent to the corresponding inflected verb. More detailed recent research nevertheless suggests that certain particularities can be observed. Thus Watkins (1977: 391) describes the construction as a means to dramatize the narrative (compare Poppe 1991: 278). Mac Cana (1991: 65-6) points out that this type, while being an unmarked pattern, can also serve as a marked assertive in contexts where some aforementioned event, such as a threat, interdiction, prediction, promise, contemplation, comes about.

2. In the present corpus two types of *gwneuthur*-constructions were observable. One type consists of the verbal noun being preposed to the finite form of *gwneuthur*:

107) B.De.10.8 A syrthyaw a oruc Dewi ar y corf, a doddi y eneu vrth eneu y *mab*. ‘And David fell on the body and placed his mouth on the mouth of the boy.’

108) PPD 605: *Gvedy darvot bwyta, ar dechreu kyvedach ymdidan a wnaethon*. ‘After the meal took place and upon the start of the carousal they conversed.’

In all these cases, as in all cases of periphrasis in general, the verbal information is divided into the verbal noun and the auxiliary which carries marking for the grammatical categories. In those cases where only the verbal noun is preposed to the inflected form of *gwneuthur* the periphrastic structure appears to have the same narrative function as the simple inflected verb:

109) CO 938: *Dyvot a oruc Arthur hyt yn ty Aber Celdyf, a gofyn a oruc wrthaw...* ‘Arthur came until the house of Aber Celdyf and he asked him...’

Poppe (1991: 306-8) argued that in this type, as in other cases, the position directly in front of the verb serves thematic, non-emphatic functions. He has further shown (1991: 279) that structures such as these, and others like adverbial phrases, are used in Middle Welsh to avoid verb-first sentence patterns. A further syntactic advantage of the structure is that it allows the subject and the verbal noun to form a unit which may result in the group becoming topic/theme or comment/rheme of the clause (Poppe 1991: 279). This may uphold thematic continuity in the context (Mac Cana 1991: 65-6) or can be in contrast to what has been said before. There are numerous cases where

not only the verbal noun is found before the form of *gwneuthur*, but other elements as well:

110) B.De 2.29: ‘Ewch oll o’r eglws allann, heb ef. Ac elchwyl proui *pregethu o oruc, ac nys gallei*. ‘Go all out of the church, he said. And he tried a second time to preach and could not do it.’

111) B.De 2.33: *A phob vn a doeth y le y eisted, val y buassei. Ac yna pregethu a oruc y sant yn eglur ac yn vchel*. ‘And everyone went to the place he sat, as he had been (before). And then the saint preached clear and loud.’

112) B.De.10.14: *A phann daruu y Dewi y wedi, kyvodi yn hollyach a oruc y mab*. ‘And when David had ended his prayer the boy rose in complete health.’

In these examples the context suggests some contrastive emphasis on the verbal noun. This ties in with Poppe’s argument (ibid., 308) that the position directly before an inflected verb normally has thematic functions, but that it can have a focus function, as *proui pregethu* does in B.De 2.29, if there is another constituent before it, such as *elchwyl* in this case. In addition to adverbials, full sentences can also be preposed:

113) B.De 11.6: *Ac yna yn gytun y rycgtunt ehunein moli Dewi sant a orugant, ac ader yn duhun y vot ef yn tywyssawc ar seint Ynys Prydein, gann dywedut mal hynn:...* ‘And then, united between themselves they praised St. David and acknowledged in agreement his being the leader of the saints of the island of Britain and spoke like this:...’

In those cases we can observe no particular functional difference to the simple inflected verb.

The second type of *gwneuthur* construction uses a copula structure with the demonstrative *sef* preposed to the inflected verb and this is followed by a verbal noun.

114) B.De. 1.17: *Sef a oruc Padric, llidiaw a dy[w]edut*: ‘This is what Patrick did, to become angry and to say...’

115) CO 940: *Sef a oruc Arthur, gyrru ym Prytwenn y long ar uor ac ereill ar y tir, y hela yr ast*. ‘This is what Arthur did, driving in Prytwenn, his ship, on the sea and the others on the land to hunt the bitch.’

The verbal noun is the logical object of *goruc* and is cataphorically referred to by the demonstrative *sef*. This type of syntax is described by Poppe (1991: 277) as a marked construction which serves to direct the recipient’s attention to the following statement. A further special feature can be observed in this type as well. There are examples of this pattern which emphasise examples

of turn-taking in narrative texts by creating contrastive focus on the participants. Observe the following examples:

116) B.De 10.4 *Sef a oruc y wreic druan, a glywssei glot Dewi, syrthaw ar dal y deulin a menegi idaw bot y hun mab yn varw. Sef a wnaeth Dewi yna, truagarthav wrthi, a throssi y gyt a hi y'r lle yr oed gorff y mab.*

‘This is what the wretched woman did, who had heard of the fame of David, she fell on her two knees and declared to him that her only son was dead. This is what David did then, having mercy on her and turning with her to the place where the body of her son was.’

117) B.De 6.4: ‘*Dyro dy benn y'm harffet; mi a dihaedaf di benn.*’ *Sef a oruc y vorwyn da, diweir, war, gymenn rodi y phenn yn arffet y llysuam. Sef a oruc llysuam, tynnv kylllell a llad penn y vorwyn santes.* ‘Put your head into my lap, I will examine your head. This is what the good, chaste, gentle, accomplished maiden did, putting her head into the lap of her stepmother. This is what the stepmother did, drawing a knife and cutting off the head of the saintly maiden.’

This focus on turntaking is particularly well represented in *Buchet Dewi*. Overall there are 19 examples of *sef*- constructions with *gwneuthur* and verbal noun in this text. Of these 12 signal turn-taking, the other 7 create emphasis on the second clause by cataphoric reference to it. Usually the verbal noun follows the copula clause immediately. Only in two examples, both examples of turn-taking, does a relative or adverbial clause intercede. This can be observed in the example B.De 10.4 above⁹⁵.

3. In the case of a verbal noun being used with *gwneuthur*, the result is the split of the verb phrase into two, separating grammatical and lexical categories. Poppe (1991: 279) observes that this construction changes the information flow of the sentence by putting the semantic core of the verb, conveyed by the verbal noun, before the inflected verb, thus allowing the verb to be rhematized together with its complement. *Gwneuthur*-periphrasis caters for a tendency to prefer a different entity before the inflected verb (Poppe, *ibid.*) and consequently in many instances the preposed constituent does not carry any marked emphasis. When it is found in the thematic- or focus position directly before the verb it may, however, carry this emphasis. Thus, in addition to providing an alternative syntactic structure with no functional difference from the inflected verb, *gwneuthur* periphrasis may serve as an instrument to organise the information structure.

4. Examples

⁹⁵ Likewise B.De. 10.16: *Sef a oruc y mab o'r lle y kyudet ef o veirw, kannhlyn Dewi o vedwl a gweithret.* ‘This is what the boy did from the place where he rose from the dead, to follow David in mind and deed.’

There were 320 examples in the corpus, i.e. 556 examples per 100,000 words.

1) gwneuthur with preposed VN (257 exx.)

1a) B.De. 3.31, 5.26, 10.14, 10.31, 11.6. CO 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, 24, 26-7, 27-8, 28, 31-2, 33, 43, 46, 47, 52, 52, 60, 102,154,154,165,165-6,174, 380, 393, 412, 429, 440, 441, 443, 443, 444, 458, 467, 468, 487, 499, 510, 521, 521, 523, 529,531, 536, 538, 543, 549, 551, 555, 769, 778, 787, 790, 791, 793, 794, 801, 808, 811, 813, 820, 825, 829, 830, 831, 847, 859, 871, 897, 901, 901, 922, 929, 932, 933, 941, 944, 945, 954, 958, 969, 971, 972, 976, 977, 995, 997, 1019, 1029, 1030-1, 1031, 1033, 1042-3, 1044, 1047, 1064, 1065, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1105, 1109, 1118, 1133, 1144, 1153, 1156, 1168, 1171, 1176, 1180, 1208, 1215, 1217, 1221-2, 1225, 1228, 1241. PPD 8, 52, 75, 85-6, 87-8, 90, 100, 151, 152, 194, 228, 255, 261, 264, 266, 270, 273-4, 297, 298, 301, 305-6, 312, 323, 363-4, 367, 369-70, 391, 426, 467, 530, 532, 545, 548, 587, 589, 605-6. BvL 26, 62, 66-7, 126-7, 130, 133, 141-2(?), 147, 197, 227, 236, 282, 404-5, 410, 476. MvL 51.5, 51.15, 51.17, 51.20, 51.1, 52.9, 52.10, 52.14, 52.17, 52.20, 52.21-2, 53.13, 54.3, 54.16, 55.4, 55.24, 55.26, 56.16, 56.19, 56.23, 57.2, 57.15, 58.10, 59.1, 59.6, 59.15, 59.27, 60.1, 60.16-7, 62.8, 65.6, 65.14. MvM 71.26-7, 72.18-9, 72.20, 74.12, 74.13, 75.14, 76.1, 77.16, 77.23, 78.10, 78.21, 79.9, 79.11, 79.21-2, 80.7, 80.20, 80.21-2, 81.13, 81.14-5, 81.18, 81.21, 81.22, 82.11, 82.26, 84.11, 84.13, 85.5, 85.15-6, 85.17, 85.24, 86.1, 86.6-7, 87.24-5, 88.13, 88.14, 88.21, 88.25, 89.11, 89.14, 89.15-6, 89.17, 90.18, 90.26, 90.28, 91.1, 91.19.

B.De 10.3: *A phann welas Dwei y wreic yn y drygyruerth hwnnw, kysseuyll a oruc a gollwng y kennadeu o'r blaen.* 'And when David saw the woman in this lamentation, he stopped and let the messengers go.'

1b) assertive function (16 exx.): B.De. 2.29 (emphatic), 2.33 (emphatic), 5.4, 5.22 (emphatic), 7.28 (emphatic), 10.25, 10.29. CO 938, PPD 50, 201, 394-5, 410, 466, BvL 58, 65, 452.

BvL 450-2: *Sef a wnaeth Heilyn uab Guyn dydgueith: 'Meuyl ar uy maryf i', heb ef, 'onyt agoraf y drws, e wybot ay gwir a dywedir am hynny.'* Agori y drws a wnaeth, ac edrych ar Gernyw, ac ar Aber Henueleu. 'This is what Heilyn vab Gwyn did one day: he said "Shame on my beard if I do not open the door to find out if it is true what they say about it." He opened the door and looked upon Gernyw and on Aber Henueleu.'

2a) Examples with sef creating cataphoric reference (54 exx.): B.De. 2.19, 3.21, 3.35, 7.8, 7.12, 7.19, 7.39, 12.8. CO 15, 23, 413, 556, 760, 804, 806, 894, 938, 1102, 1143, 1139, 1172, PPD 228-9, 238, 394, 463, 521, 525, 565, 569, BvL 218, 328, 331, 335, 342, 450. MvL 54.21-2, 55.8-9, 55.16, 55.18 56.23-4, 57.16, 58.22. MvM 67.20, 68.8-10, 77.15, 78.5-6, 78.20, 85.6, 89.20-1, 89.24, 90.1, 90.2.

CO 15: *A gwedy hynny klyuychu mam y mab, Goleudyt merch Anlawd Wledic. Sef a oruc hi galw y chymar attei ac amkawd hi vrthaw ef...* 'And

after that the boy's mother, Goleudyt daughter of Anlawd Wledic became ill. What she did was to summon her spouse to her and she said to him...'

CO 23: *Marw y urenhines. Sef a wnaeth y brenhin gyrru gwas pob bore y ydrych malkawn a dyffei dim ar y bed.* 'The queen died. What the king did was to send a boy every morning to see whether anything was growing on the grave.'

2b) Examples with *sef* indicating turn-taking (9 exx.):

B.De. 1.17, 6.4, 6.5, 7.29-32, 8.5, 10.4, 10.6, 10.16, 12.5-6.

B.De 7.29-31: *Sef a oruc Scuthyn, kyodi y vynydd a dywedut: "Tidi," heb ef, "ny wassanaethy di hediw. Miui," heb yr Scuthyn, "a uyd gwassanaethwr hediw."* *Sef a oruc hwnnw, mynet y eisted a synnyaw arnaw yn vawr.* 'This is what Scuthin did, he rose and said "you will not serve today. I will be servant today." This is what he [i.e. the deacon] did, he sat down and wondered greatly.'

B.De. 12.5-6: *Sef a oruc ynteu yna, dyrchael y wyned y vynydd, a llawenhau, a dywedut val hynn... . Sef a oruc yr ysgolheigonn a oed yn gwarandaw y deu ymadrawd hynn, synnyaw arnunt yn vawr....* 'This is what he [i.e. David] did then, turning his face upwards and becoming happy and saying... . This is what the scholars, who were heard these two words, did, they wondered greatly.'

3.4.2 Passive periphrasis with *caffael*

1. The verbal noun *caffael* is cognate with the Old Irish verb *gaibid* 'takes' which is used for ingressive periphrasis in Irish (cf. 2.4.3). There are cases in the Middle Welsh corpus material where the verb *caffael* 'obtain' may similarly function like an auxiliary, complemented by action nouns or verbal nouns.

2. We largely find examples of *caffael* as a full verb with the nominal objects *attep* 'answer' and *kyngor* 'council':

118) PPD 153: *Ac attep ny cavas ef genthi hi ym hynny.* 'And he did not receive an answer from her about this.'

In cases like these, reception of an entity is expressed. In the majority of texts examined here, there are no examples of *caffael* + verbal noun. But there are various examples in the text *Math vab Mathonwy*:

119) MvM 82:15: *Dioer, heb hi, ni chawn welet llyw y weilgi gan pob llong ar torr y gilid.* 'Truly, said she, not can we see the colour of the sea with all the ships next to each other.'

120) MvM 77:17-8: *A chyn cael o neb guelet yr eil olwe arnaw, Guydyon a'y kymerth...* 'And before anyone could see the second sight before him, Gwydyon took it.'

Here the verbal nouns are turned into the objects of the verb *caffael* in the sense of ‘obtain’. This allows the structures to be understood as similar to passives. A seemingly isolated example has been found to use *caffael* plus verbal noun to create full passive periphrasis:

121) WM 102, 5-6: *Ni a gawn yn goganu gan yr unben.* ‘We shall be satirized by the chieftain.’ (Schumacher 2000: 27)

On the other hand, an example of *caffael* with *sef*-periphrasis may resemble the collocation of *gwneuthur* and *sef*.

122) B.De. 5.24: *Sef a cawssant hwy yn y kyngor, gwediaw y sant a cheissaw y vod ef a’e dylwyth.* ‘This is what they obtained in the council, praying to the saint and seeking his favour for the community.’

In this context *caffael* only carries little semantic information and like *gwneuthur* serves as a vehicle to transport grammatical category. The following example is noteworthy:

123) PPD 165: *I Duw y dygaf uyng kyffes, heb hitheu, gavael gadarn a geveist ar gedymdeith yn herwyd ymlad a frouedigaeth y gorff.* ‘To God I will confess, said she, a strong grip which you took upon friendship with respect to fight and temptation of his body.’

This example uses the verbal noun *cavael* ‘grip’ to complement *caffael*. This example resembles the Old Irish *figura etymologica*, the similarity being underlined by the fact that adjectival modification of the verbal noun is found.

3. There are still rather few examples of *caffael* and verbal noun in the Middle Welsh sample texts. Yet some cases show how reception of an action is denoted and the verb *caffael* is used in contexts that are similar to passive structures. Later on, in Modern Welsh, *caffael* has become fully grammaticalised as auxiliary for passive periphrasis. Examples of this are *ces i fy ngeni* ‘I was born’ or *cafodd ei ladd yn y chwarel* ‘He was killed in the quarry’ (Williams 1980: 119). This type, however, is considered to be more colloquial than passive structures involving the preposition *gwedy/wedi* (Williams, *ibid.*).

4. Examples:

There were 17 examples in the corpus, i.e. 44.39 per 100,000 words.

1. Examples with *cyngor* and *atseb* (11 exx.) B.De. 5.24, PPD 153, BvL 44, 178, 241, 309, 324, MvL 54.24, 56.6 MvM 70.24, 72.9.

BvL 44: *Yn y lle trannoeth, kymryt kynghor. Sef a gahat yn y knghor...* ‘Immediately in the morning council was taken. This is the council one took...’

BvL 241: *Sef kynghor a gahat.* ‘This is the council one took.’

BvL 309: *yr ateb goreu a gaffom ninheu...* ‘the best answer we may get.’

2. Other examples (6 exx.): PPD 165, BvL 136, MvM 77.17-8, 82.15, 87.5, 88.9. WM 102, 5.

BvL 136: *Ac os yr bychanet genhyt ti dy iawn, ti a gehy ychwanegu yt wrth dy uynnu ...* ‘And if it is on account of how little you have of your right, you will receive increase according to your wish.’

BvL 178: *Ac yna yn y yyuyng gynghor, y causant gwneuthur ystauell haearn oll.* ‘And then in the tight council they got to make a room completely of iron.’

MvM 181: *Ac ny चाहat y welet ef odyna y maes.* ‘One did not see him from then again.’

3.4.3 Verbal nouns in non-finite sentences in Welsh

Verbal noun clauses are frequent in Welsh, even more so than in Irish. The VN is linked to the verbal paradigm more closely than in Irish with respect to its use with the perfect participle *ry*, and also its use instead of imperative forms provides additional verbal connections (see 5.1.2.7). In addition to large numbers of verbal nouns depending on forms of *gwneuthur*, there is ample evidence of entirely non-finite clauses with verbal nouns as in

124) CO 510: *Kyvodi onadunt vynteu yn y hol hi y’r gaer, a llad naw porthawr a oed ar naw porth heb disgyrryaw gyr, a naw gauaelgi heb wichaw un.* ‘They went then after them towards the fort and they killed the nine doormen that were at the nine doors without shouting of the men, and nine mastiffs without one squealing.’

Müller (1999: 55-7) discusses the repeated occurrence of these non-finite structures in Middle Welsh prose. She argues that these verbal noun constructions offer a possibility to present the main events of the plotline without going into unnecessary detail.

From a cognitive point of view, a new verb is not needed when the information denoted by an inflected verb is still inferable. A further, theoretical possibility would be that the Welsh custom of creating sentences where the verbal information is expressed by verbal nouns and not by inflected verbs continues older, Indo-European patterns of verbless locational clauses like **ph²tér dém* ‘the father is in the house’.

4. Possible common Insular Celtic constructions

In this chapter we examine areas where Irish and Welsh prepositions that are cognate or display semantic similarities show comparable usage with verbal nouns. The objective here is to consider whether similarities in these structures could be due to their presence already in their common ancestor language or whether they may have been caused by parallel developments.

4.1. *Irish for, ar and Welsh ar*⁹⁶

1. The Middle Welsh preposition *ar* is not directly related to any one Irish preposition, but according to Evans (GMW §205) it is a composite preposition into which Old Welsh *ar* ‘for, before’, from CC **ari*, OW *gwor/gor* ‘on’ from PC **wer* and OW *að* ‘to’ were assimilated. Old Irish *ar* on the other hand is derived from **p_eri* < **prai*, **p_erai* by Pokorny (1925: 99). This led to Proto-Celtic **ari* ‘bei, vor’, and Old Irish *air-*, proclitic *ar*, with the Old Welsh equivalent *yr, er* (Walde/Pokorny 1930: 30-32). Old Irish *for* is derived from Proto-Celtic **wer*, IE **(s)uper*, with the vowel changed on the analogy of **wo* ‘under’ (e.g. McCone 1996: 45).

2. This number of original prepositions is mirrored in the breadth of semantic components of the Middle Welsh preposition in general, and also in its use with verbal nouns. For MidW *ar* we find expression of spatial, temporal, stative and superiority derived from *guar*, location in front as in OW *ar*, direction and purpose from OW *að* (cf. 3.2.1.1):

1) YCM 103.1: *yny byd y dart ar y ehedec drwydaw* ‘So that the dart goes in flight through him.’ (GMW §204)

2) BD 163: *kyffroi gvyr Ruvein yn an herbyn ar rodi fefnyd*. ‘The men of Rome turned towards them to give them support.’ (GPC *ar*)

A similar development is visible in Middle Irish where the Old Irish prepositions *for* ‘on, over’ and *ar* ‘for, before’ merged, leading to a combination of

⁹⁶ for *wrth*, see 4.3.

purpose uses and temporal simultaneity for MidIr *ar/far* with verbal nouns (cf. 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2).

3) LL 1624: Luid Etarcumul ar cúlu & ro gab ar chomrád fria araid.

‘Etarcomul went back and took up conversing with his charioteer.’

4) LL 454: Mairgg théit ón ám...ar thecht i comdail nóenmná. ‘Woe on

him who leaves thus for going to a tryst with any woman.’

3. In the case of the prepositions OIr. *for* and W. *ar*, their parallels in the usage as spatial prepositions denoting ‘location (up)on’ and their common origin suggests that the Insular Celtic preposition **gwor* could already have been used with verbal nouns in contexts of contemporaneity.

4.2. Irish *oc*, *i n-*, *le* and Welsh *yn*, *ac*, *gan*

4.2.1 *oc* and *yn*

1. A major question throughout the literature concerns the etymology of the prepositions used for progressive marking in the modern languages, namely Old Irish *oc* and Welsh *yn*. Thurneysen related *oc* to **oggu* (GOI §848) while *yn* is connected to *en* <**eni* and to a form like **end(o)* (ibid., §842).

2. We have seen in 2.2.2 and 3.2.2 respectively that *oc* and *yn* are used with verbal nouns to denote both temporal proximity and simultaneous action in cases like:

5) Ml 15a4: *in tan mbímmi oca forbu són* ‘When we are bringing it to completion.’

6) BVL 3: *Ac yn eisted yd oedynt ar garrec Harlech.* ‘And they were sitting on the Rock of Harlech.’

The semantic components of *oc* have been analysed as [+space, stat, prox, temp, simul]. *Yn* with verbal nouns consists of [+temp, simul].

3. Some of the earlier treatments of etymologies and relationships will be discussed below.

4.2.1.3.1 *Oc = wnc?* (Isaac)

Isaac (1994: 33-9) discusses the origin of Welsh *yn* + verbal noun, referring to earlier articles by T.A. Watkins, who had identified *yn* + verbal noun with *yn* + noun in spite of the lack of nasalisation in the former. This lack of na-

salisation was first explained in terms of the structure with the verbal noun usage having evolved after nasalisation ceased to be productive, but later Watkins' opinion seems to have turned against this relationship (Watkins 1960: 371, 1962: 297, cf. Isaac 1993: 35-6). Isaac sees the prepositions Welsh *yn* and Old Irish *oc* as cognates, and following Pokorny (1959⁹⁷) and Vendryes (1959 [= 1960], O-5, 8), derives them from **onk* (1993: 37) with Welsh *o-* raised to *u* before the nasal. He argues that when the preposition came to be used in proclisis *-nk* turned into *ŋ* and the vowel was centralised to schwa. Isaac goes on to argue that in persistent proclitic position the phonologically marked nasal *ŋ* was then normalised to the simple nasal *n*. He raises the possibility (ibid., 39) that common origin of OIr. *oc* and MidW. *yn* may suggest their inheritance as aspect markers from a shared proto-language.

Isaac's argument hinges crucially on the possibility of change from a proclitic nasalised guttural to the simple nasal. In addition to this question raised by the author himself, there may be distributional difficulties with regard to the prepositional examples. As we have seen in section 3.2.2, the closest Old Welsh examples with verbal noun are *hi* + verbal noun. In order to be able to argue for an origin in **wnc*, an early attestation of a more similar form would have been helpful. Also the use of the attested examples raises some questions, partly in Welsh but especially in Old Irish. As we have seen in 2.2.2, the oldest attestations generally seem to indicate location at or inside an action, rather than continuous participation in it. If we had a progressive marker in the proto-language, as Isaac suggested, it would seem likely that already the earliest stages of both British and Irish we should be able to find fully developed prepositional progressive markers. This, however, does not appear to be the case in Old Irish and, though the Old Welsh evidence is too scanty to draw any conclusions, whatever there is of examples is not supportive of an early **wnc* – progressive marker.

4.2.1.3.2 *Yn = yn* (Gensler)

Gensler (2002) deals with the affinities between Middle Welsh adverbial *yn* (leniting), predicative *yn* of uncertain etymology and spatial preposition *yn* (nasalising), perhaps based on **endo*. He sees the three different types of *yn* in Middle Welsh as exercising mutual influence. He argues (2002: 710) that adverbial *yn* is a type of predicative particle, originally an adverbialiser for adjectives and nouns of the form **int*. Gensler assumes the etymological base to be the demonstrative **sin* to which a particle ending in *-tV* was added. He posits a corresponding Old Irish adverbialiser *ind* + dative, as seen in

⁹⁷ Pokorny, J. 1959: *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke.

in biucc ‘a little’ or *ind imdu* ‘abundantly’ (ibid, 737)⁹⁸. He tentatively connects Gaulish *inte nouiio* from Lezoux to this Welsh and Irish doublet of adverbialisers, following Fleuriot’s suggested translation of ‘newly’ (ibid, 737). He argues that the quasi article *in(t)* came to be an adverbial marker and was employed with the dative of the adjectives, and would presumably explain the lenition following it by the original final vowel or the dative form of the demonstrative, although he does not mention this. When case marking was lost in Welsh, the particle was understood as the primary adverbial marker. Gensler asserts that the phonological separation from the *n*-less article in Welsh led speakers to reanalyse it as the phonetically identical preposition *yn* (ibid, 750). He points out that of all Celtic languages, only Welsh has a full predicative paradigm of *yn* + adjective and *yn* + noun, whereas periphrastic progressives of preposition + verbal noun appear in them all. He raises the point that one should therefore actually expect *yn* + VN to be an inherited structure and thus the oldest of the three. Considering the possible etymology of *yn* + VN, he refers to Isaac (1994) and stresses the difficulty with the ‘ad-hoc change’ from /eŋ/ to /en/ in analysing *yn* as derived from **wnc*. He holds it to be more natural that *yn* + VN should be derived from the preposition *yn*, and that in the process of grammaticalisation simplification happened, namely that nasalisation, which he describes as ‘highly marked’, was lost in the process (ibid., 752). He thus argues that both adverbial and predicative *yn* develop an increasing affinity with the preposition *yn*. He sees evidence for a connection between the three types of *yn* in the fact that instances of nasalisation can be found in *Canu Aneirin* both on an adjective (*aessawr yn nellt* (<*dellt*) ‘shields splintered’, CA 1298) and on a verbal noun (*o douis in touis inilin* (<*dylin*) ‘following from front to front’, CA 882; ibid, 753). He raises the possibility of this nasalising example being a unique survivor of previous nasalising patterns of *yn* + verbal noun (ibid, 754). The structure corresponding to *yn* + VN in Irish is considered to be *i n-* ‘in’, which is likewise used with predicates and stative verbal nouns as in *ina mhúinteoir* ‘a teacher’ and *ina chodladh* ‘sleeping’ (ibid, 720). The syntactic development for Welsh *yn* + verbal noun is assumed to have run from non-predicative adverbial⁹⁹, via subpredicative¹⁰⁰, absolutive¹⁰¹, existential pre-

⁹⁸ The final dental is claimed to be necessary on the grounds of some early adjectival examples with final *-t* like *byrr blyned en hed yd ynt endaw* ‘for a short year in peace they are calm/in death(?)’ (*Canu Aneirin* 59, cf. Gensler ibid, 734). He points to the difficulty that, while an etymology in **-nt* is needed to provide the British form, **-nt* in Irish would yield (:)*t*. He therefore argues for original Irish **-nd* and obtains this by adding to the base **sin* a related marker not with *-tV*, but on *-dV*. He justifies this by assuming a doublet of originally different deixis, on the analogy of MidW *hwnt* ‘over there’, and OIr *sund*, MidW *hwnn* ‘there’ (ibid, 742).

⁹⁹ CO 1190: *a gaffat o drwc yn keissaw y thysseu hynny* ‘what was gotten of evil while seeking those treasures.’

¹⁰⁰ CO 761: *nachaf gwr du ... a welant yn dyvot o’r gaer* ‘behold, a dark man they saw, coming from the fort’.

dicative to full predicative¹⁰² for *yn* + verbal nouns (ibid, 722-6). Gensler argues for possible motivation of these patterns by Afro-Asiatic substrates, which have similar types, as illustrated by the Egyptian particle *m* ‘in’ which is used for adverbialisation and progressive periphrasis (ibid, 756).

Some problems remain unsolved by this analyses of the Welsh material. Gensler argues that *yn* and verbal noun is an inherited structure (ibid, 751). As he does not find textual evidence to support the theory of the modelling of adverbial *yn* on predicative *yn*, he posits approximately contemporaneous emergence of adverbial *yn* and *yn* + VN. Connecting the adverbialiser *yn* with the assumedly inherited *yn* + VN is difficult in view of his observation that there had been an original adverbialiser *y* < **do* (ibid., 738, cf. Evans, GMW §§222, 223) which he deems to have been lost *during* Welsh linguistic history due to lack of phonological distinctness (ibid. 756). The different mutations patterns caused by these forms, which are clearly distinguishing features, must play a prominent role in any explanation. Gensler assumes that the phonetic similarity between the three *yn*s caused their conceptual near-identity in Welsh. Gensler points to one case of nasalisation after predicative *yn* in *Canu Aneurin*. But unfortunately many inconsistencies can be found in the mutation patterns in Middle Welsh texts, significantly more examples to bolster this unique claim of relatedness would be desirable.

Importantly, this approach fails to explain why Old Irish has a periphrastic *oc* + VN that is almost identical to the Middle Welsh system functionally. It might have been helpful to compare those two structures.

4.2.1.3.3 *yn* and *i n-* (Fife)

The question of whether *yn* (nas.) and *yn* (no mutation) are identical or not appears to be one of the biggest bones of contention in Welsh linguistics. Functionalists mainly seem to argue for a preposition *yn* (nasalising) and loss of mutation with verbal nouns. Historical linguists point to insurmountable difficulties confronting this derivation (see survey in Fife 1990: 308). Fife (1990: 432-3) himself argues in favour of *yn* without nasalisation being based on the nasalising preposition *yn*. He refers to the cognate prepositions in other languages, namely Latin, German, Russian and Old English, which are used with different case forms according to their contexts. Thus Latin *in* can take both accusative and ablative according to meaning. Fife uses the term ‘switch’ prepositions for this characteristic. He assumes a comparable phenomenon for Welsh: the use of *yn* with noun and verbal noun could be based on such a double pattern of *yn*, one form causing nasalisation, the oth-

¹⁰¹ CO 416-7: *dauates uawr a welynt --- a heusawr yn cadw y deueit* ‘a great sheep-flock they saw and a shepherd tending the sheep’.

¹⁰² Of the format *mae* Subj. *yn* VN, ‘there existed...’ and ‘he was...’ respectively. Cf. Gensler (2002: 725).

er not. This could be similar to Old Irish *i* ‘in’, used both with accusative and dative. He points out that different mutation patterns also exist for other otherwise identical words that are not considered to be different on this basis alone. However, his examples are the masculine and feminine articles, where the different mutation patterns are based on former inflectional endings, and he does not argue that the original preposition ‘in’ had different case endings. He does discuss the origin of *yn* from a possible merger of IE **en* and **endo*, (1990: 378) but accepts that those were united already before Celtic and therefore could not have caused differences in mutation at the time of Welsh.

A further explanation for variants in grammatical environments is offered by Stenson (1981: 138-40), who suggests that the extension of the usage of a spatial preposition towards verbal nouns can lead to a change in its grammatical behaviour. This is argued on the strength of the Irish preposition *thar éis* ‘after’, which is used with genitive nouns but with the oblique case of verbal nouns. It is implied by Fife (ibid.) that this scenario could also apply to Welsh *yn* in prepositional phrases versus verbal nouns, where the nasalisation is lost.

According to the scenario presented by Fife, Welsh *yn* + verbal noun may be derived from the nasalising spatial preposition *yn*. Nevertheless, the loss of genitive marking with *thar éis* is clearly due to the general demise of genitives after elements such as verbal nouns and also ordinary nouns. This mechanism therefore seems to be different from a possible loss of grammatical nasalisation in Welsh. As there does not appear to be evidence of parallel developments, it is rather a big step to transfer this loss of specification to prepositional mutation patterns, given the generally more strictly preserved mutations after prepositions in Welsh.

4.2.1.3.4 Discussion

All of the above proposals present some problems. The approach which assesses the historical development most thoroughly appears to be Isaac’s equation of *yn* and *oc*. As pointed out by Isaac himself, however, there are phonological complexities in the change from pretonic *ŋ* to *n*. In addition, there is also a distributional problem in Old Welsh and Old Irish. It has been argued in this work that these periphrastic structures seem to have developed from spatial constructions. This is still visible in the earlier Old Irish material where *oc* + verbal noun does not yet seem to have been grammaticalised as an aspect marker, but the examples are largely used in contexts where spatial and temporal location seem to be expressed rather than simultaneous actions:

7) AC 72: A dó ata foimdi oc éot firinne .i. ferg & altes, ‘There are two things that should be guarded against in zeal for the truth: anger and tepidity.’

8) Bbr §7: Is di ruidilsib i mbechbrethaib la Féniu cip é forsa ruirset occa collud occa cumscuchud occa ngabáil occa ndécsin dara sostu ind *amsir i tochumlat*. ‘Among the complete immunities in bee-judgments according to Irish law is the man on whom they have rushed when robbing them, moving them, seizing them [or] looking at them over their hives at the time when they are swarming.’

These examples appear to locate an action at the time and place of a different event. Unlike the majority of later Old and Middle Irish examples they do not seem to imply that that event has a longer duration. If the combination of preposition and verbal noun was indeed inherited as a marker of continuous aspect from a proto-language, we would expect the early examples in both Irish and Welsh to show this feature to a certain degree already.

Some indication of the participation of the preposition ‘in’ is seen in Irish, which likewise uses the preposition *i* ‘in’ (+ possessive) + stative noun or a stative verbal noun:

- 9) BB2: ní fácaib nach inna taig nisi ind noeb-ingen tantum ina cotlad.
‘She leaves nobody in their house except the holy girl who was asleep.’
10) BB251: *Bliadain lan dó i siurc*. ‘A full year she was withering.’

Both branches may have shared the development of the preposition ‘in’ with a stative verbal noun. Given the prepositional characteristics discussed in relation to *i* and *yn* in 2.2.2 and 3.2.2 this preposition clearly provided an obvious choice for expressing metaphorical location inside an action. As far as the Irish parallel construction *ina fhear* is concerned, Dillon (1928) demonstrated how this construction with *i* plus nouns may have developed secondarily by *i n-* taking over the function of the dative of apposition, aided by the original model of preposition + possessive + verbal noun.

For non-stative verbs, a different aspectual system could have been grammaticalised secondarily in the Irish language, namely one based on the preposition *oc*, derived in the traditional way from **oggu*, ‘near’¹⁰³. It is by no means unusual that spatial prepositions are grammaticalized in progressive constructions. This has already been demonstrated by Comrie (1976: 98-105), who points to Dutch, French, Georgian, Mandarin Chinese and others. Prepositional diversity in progressive periphrasis can also be observed in German, where two different spatial prepositions are in use as well, namely *bei* and *am*, both ‘at’: *Er ist beim Essen*, *Er ist am Essen* ‘He is eating’. If we assume a more recent emergence of *oc* + VN to express action in progress, this would then explain why this structure appears to be less grammaticalised as a progressive marker in earlier than in later Old Irish.

¹⁰³ Conversely in a proto-language ‘in’ may have been used generally with verbal nouns and only secondarily become supplanted by *oc* in Irish.

Though the evidence is much more scarce for Welsh, the data from Welsh does not contradict this scenario either.

If a separate development is indeed assumed for Irish *oc* and Welsh *yn* + verbal noun, there remains the question of how to treat clear parallels in their usage. Peculiarities of aspectual features of *yn* + verbal noun in Middle Welsh have been discussed by Mittendorf and Poppe (2000). A similar variety of aspectual uses has been posited for Old Irish by Ó Corráin (1997) and Ronan (2003). If aspectual similarities in the two branches were evidence for a common origin in a proto-language, then we would expect a fully fledged system of clear, diverse aspectual marking already at early stages of the languages. This, however, does not appear to be the case. The similarities could also be explained as parallel language internal developments. That closely comparable results were reached in both may be due to identical starting positions: both branches have a division of morphologically marked habitual aspect in the present and past versus non-habitual present and preterite. Seemingly speakers of the two languages felt a communicative need to denote actions in progress. They then used cross-linguistically frequent methods to do so.

A second similarity is near-identical usage of non-finite clauses introduced by the conjunction ‘and’ + noun + preposition + verbal noun. Mac Cana (1999: 162-8) discusses this phenomenon of non-finite clauses in Welsh, introduced by the co-ordinator *a(c)*.

11) B.De.10.2: *Nachaf y gwelynt yn dyvot yn y herbyn gwreic wedw gwedy marw y hunmab, a’r wreic yn gweidi ac yn disgyryaw.* ‘Behold they saw coming towards them a widowed woman whose only son had just died, and the woman was crying and screaming.’

12) PPD 12: *Ef a glywei llef erchwys arall, ac nit oedynt unllaf, a hynny yn dyuot yn erbyn y erchwys ef.* ‘He could hear the cry of another pack, and they were not of the same voice, and they coming towards his own pack.’

This non-finite clause is dependent on a matrix clause, and the two often do not have subject identity. Mac Cana observes that in Welsh contrastive subject pronouns are favoured over simple ones (1999: 166). The co-ordinator *a(c)* ‘and’ here functions as a subordinator of the non-finite clause. Irish shows comparable examples:

13) BB 96: *Boi Brigit tara héisi, & ara[e] in druadh oc ingaireu na cet[h]rae.* ‘Brigit was in her stead and the druid’s charioteer <was> herding the quadrupeds.’

14) AMC 116,1 (Meyer¹⁰⁴): *Is maith cotlai, occus tu oc ernaidi bais.* ‘You

¹⁰⁴ Meyer, K. 1892: *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*. New York: Lemma Publishing Company.

sleep well, and you awaiting death.’¹⁰⁵

Irish and Welsh are not alone in having this construction. Venneman (2002: 308) points to its existence in Classical and Modern Arabic, as well as in other Semitic languages. Therefore not only common heritage but also typological similarities must be considered a possible contributing factor in the development of this type of subordinate clause.

Given the close relationship between Welsh and Irish, and their similar starting points, with the presence of verbal nouns and a morphological distinction of habitual versus punctual aspect in the verb ‘to be’, the two languages may easily have developed into a similar direction independently. It seems possible that there was a common presence of derivations of PC **in* ‘in’+ verbal noun to denote location inside an action in the early languages. Some circumstantial evidence of this may be offered by the form *inilin* (< *yn dylin*) ‘following’ in *Canu Aneirin* 882, even though, being the only example of this phenomenon, this is very shaky evidence and it could be a reading or spelling mistake. Furthermore, the loss of nasalisation in the context with verbal nouns would still require an explanation.

Later similarity in the use of *oc* + verbal noun and *yn* + verbal noun might then be due to typological similarity of the languages as early examples do not appear to support a common origin beyond doubt. Isaac’s etymology remains a possibility, but the evidence for the existence of a common progressive marker **wnc* is not entirely compelling.

4.2.2 *oc* and *ac*

1. Both prepositions, *oc* ‘at’ and *ac* ‘with’ are closely connected to the conjunctions ‘and’, OIr *ocus*, Middle Welsh *ac* respectively.

Vendryes argued that *oc* is related to the adjective *ocuis* ‘near’ (1960: O 8). Thurneysen (GOI §878) raises and tentatively dismisses the possibility of *ocus* being related to Welsh *agos* on good formal grounds. Instead he connects it to *oc*, which he derives from **oggu* which is in turn compared to Middle Welsh *wnc* (GOI §848). Middle Welsh *ac* ‘and’, on the other hand is related to Latin *atque* by Lewis & Pedersen (1980: 44, 64). Falileyev (2000: 1) derives *ac* from **ad-ġhe* and Schrijver links the second element to the conjunction **k^we* (Schrijver 1997: 153).

As they are both phonetically and semantically very similar it would be tempting to link the prepositions *oc/ac* ‘at, with’ with the conjunctions *ocus/ac* ‘and’ and *agos* ‘near’. It is conceivable that the Irish conjunction and

¹⁰⁵ Note that Old Irish used both *ocus* and a form *os/ot* to introduce those phrases. These two seem to have become interchangeable during the language history of Irish (compare discussion in Ronan 2002).

the Welsh adjective were derived as shortened forms from an earlier conjunction. The possible shape of this conjunction could have been a base **oncu* with the suffix **stā*. The difficulty of the Welsh *-g*, however, still remains.

2. The semantic components of both *oc* and *ac* ‘at, by’ were found to be [+space, stat, prox, simul, temp] (cf. 2.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2). While *oc* + VN is found even in earlier Old Irish texts, there are few examples of the preposition *ac* + VN. Where an example was found with a verbal noun, it was difficult to distinguish the preposition *ac* from the conjunction *ac* ‘and’. Both the preposition and the conjunction would have expressed simultaneous action in the context.

3. The prepositions *oc* and *ac* cannot be derived from a common ancestor preposition. Therefore if they both indicate simultaneous action this would point to separate development rather than common inheritance. If the scenario suggested in 4.2.1.3.4 can be adopted, then Old Irish *oc* may have caught on to denote actions in progress, while in Welsh both stative and dynamic verbs continued to use the preposition *yn*.

4.2.3 *la* and *gan*

1. The origin of the two are entirely different: *la* is derived from OIr *leth* ‘side’ by Thurneysen (GOI §845), Walde/Pokorny (1927: 427) agrees, positing a case form of the noun. McCone (1996: 101) endorses the prepositional preform **let(s)*. *Gan*, OW *cant*, is an original preposition derived from **kanta/kanta* by Thurneysen (GOI §828) and cognate with OIr *cét-*.

2. These two prepositions are both used to indicate ‘with’ and also agentative ‘by’. *Le* has the semantic components [+prox, simul, temp, instr] with verbal nouns. Purpose uses are also argued for by DIL (*la* IIIb), but the examples given are not entirely convincing and no examples are visible in this corpus. *Gan* with verbal nouns expresses temporal simultaneity, and it may also denote instrumental senses. Additionally it is used for causal meanings. Both prepositions therefore express proximity and attendant circumstances with verbal nouns, as well as agentivity (cf. 2.2.2.3 and 3.2.2.1).

15) AMCG 229: *iss es is nessam ar a b́arach, sailm do ghabáil, cloc iar sin, celebrad la precept & oiffrend, sásad bocht*. ‘It is this which is nearest on the morrow is psalm-singing, then bell-ringing, Mass, with preaching and the Sacrament, and feeding of the poor.’

16) BD8: *Adav a wnaeth gan dyngv llw gwneuthur hynny*. ‘He left, swearing an oath to do this.’ (cf. GPC, *gan*)

Furthermore, both have come to be used to express subjectivity with human agents in copula clauses. Mac Cana (1983: 56-7) argues that attendant cir-

cumstances are constructed similarly in both languages, but describes the Irish construction as ‘rare’. In Old Welsh there seems to have been a further possibility to express ‘with’, namely use of the preposition *guar*: *ni rodiodlir guar un silib* ‘one does not make sense with one syllable’ (Falileyev 2000: 64, from Lambert 1982¹⁰⁶). But *guar* then fell together with *ar* and could not have been used anymore as a clear marker to express the concept of attendant circumstances.

3. As *le* and *gan* are not related, their similarities are secondary, conditioned by the gap that was left behind by the reduction of the case system in Celtic. Both prepositions came to denote agents for passive constructions. This usage can be derived from instrumental senses on the one hand. On the other hand, a model existed where the experiencer was introduced by the preposition in clauses of the type *is...liom* and *mae ... gennyf fi*. Where the instrument is attributed to a human being, agentivity is implied.

4.3 Irish *fri*, *re*, *iar* and Welsh *wrth*, *rac*, *kynn*, *gwedy*

4.3.1 *fri* and *wrth*

1. The etymology of OIr. *fri* is given as **writ* < **writ* by McCone (1985b: 170). **writ* also develops into OW *gwrth* > MW *wrth* (ibid.).

2. The semantic components of *fri* with verbal noun can be described as [+stative/directional, proximity, final, limit]. *Wrth* with verbal nouns expresses the senses [+stative/directional, proximity, final, instrumental, temporal] (cf. 2.2.3.1 and 3.2.1.2). For both *wrth* and *fri* spatial location ‘at’, and directional ‘towards’ are central:

17) Wb 9c20: Cid atobaich cen dílgud cech ancrídi dognethe frib et ní *bethe fria acre*. ‘What impels you not to forgive every injury that may have been done to you and that you should be complaining of it?’

18) YCM 88: A Melions ac Apolin Vawr [...] a vvant wrth wisgaw *ymdanaw*. ‘And Melions and the great Apollo were at his clothing.’

The split into stative and directional, which both show, resembles the distinction between dative and accusative case complementation with other prepositions, but there is no evidence of dative use with either *fri* or *wrth*. From the core areas, further senses have developed in both branches. Contemporaneous action ‘while’ is derived from stativity, purpose can be derived

¹⁰⁶ Lambert, P.Y. 1982: ‘Les gloses du manuscrit BN Lat. 10290’, *Études Celtiques* 19, 173-213.

from directedness. Welsh puts more additional emphasis on instrumental and temporal uses, which seem to be related to stative rather than directional uses.

3. The core meanings of OIr. *fri* and MidW *wrth* are mainly identical. Limit is not clearly expressed in Welsh *wrth*, but instrumental and temporal senses are denoted. These two senses may have developed because they were not blocked by the presence of the feature [limit]. Taking the common features of the two prepositions into account, the ancestor preposition **w^rtt* could already have been used in Insular Celtic to express directional-final senses with verbal nouns.

4.3.2 *re*, *kynn* and *rac*

1. Walde/Pokorny derives *re* from **p_rri* ‘bei, vor’ (1927: 33). Thurneysen (GOI §852) sees *re* as linked to **prīs*, reduced from Latin *prius*. The inflected forms are derived from **prīsamo-*. *Rac*, on the other hand, is derived from IE **pro-ko* based on the root **pro* ‘forward’ by Falileyev (2000: 135). MidW *kynn*, OW *cynt*, is related to the root **ken* ‘frisch hervorkommen’ by Walde/Pokorny (1930: 397). As such it has its parallel in OIr *cét-* ‘first’ (Thurneysen, GOI §398).

2. The semantic components of *re* with verbal noun are [+stat, temp, front, prox] (cf. 2.2.3.2). In the Welsh material these are expressed by two prepositions. *Rac* expresses the components [+front, stat, dir, final, cause, prohibitive] (cf. 3.2.3.1). It originates from a directional source and accordingly centrally expresses directionality. Purpose and cause are derived from this. In contrast to *re*, *rac* is not used at all in the temporal ordering of events. *Kynn* has no spatial uses at all, it is used for temporal ordering only and it displays the semantic components [+ temp, front] (cf. 3.2.3.2). It is therefore in complementary distribution with *rac*.

19) LU 4697: Do:gni id n-erchomail iarom ría techt. ‘He twists a withe into a ring before he goes.’

20) PKM 77.17: a chyn cael o neb guelet yr eil olwc arnaw, Gwydyon a’y *kymeth*. ‘And before anybody could have looked a second time at it Gwydyon took it.’ (cf. Poppe 1991: 216)

21) BVL 224: *Na at trachefyn, rac gwybot hynn*. ‘Let them not go back lest this be known.’

Rac also shares its purpose uses with the Irish preposition *fri*, whose Welsh counterpart *wrth* is not used in final contexts.

These prepositional verbal noun clauses have lower salience than their matrix clauses. Thus *a chynn dyvot y’r gynnulleittua y gwelynt hwy y wreic* (B.De 9.36) expresses that the meeting of the woman is salient ‘and they

see/meet the woman before coming to the meeting’. The same ordering of events is expressed by *y deuant hwy y’r gynnulleittua wedy gwelet y wreic* ‘they come to the meeting after meeting the woman’ yet in that case meeting the woman is assigned minor narrative importance.

3. In contrast to *re*, the causal uses of *rac* are noteworthy, particularly as the original **pro* implied motion but **peri* did not. In this case the potential presence of a motion element resulted in the possibility of causal use for *rac*, whereas ‘location at’ resulted in temporal use of *re*. The prepositions have similar semantic components, but are not related historically and the similarities in their usage are due to convergent developments.

4.3.3 *iar* and *gwedy*

1. *Íar* is tentatively derived from **epi* ‘nahe, darauf, nach’ by Thurneysen (GOI §840). It is further analysed as containing dative neuter derivational suffixes **epi-r-om* by Walde/Pokorny (1930: 123). *Gwedy* is derived from OW *guotig* from British **uo-tig*, IE **(s)teig* ‘stick’ by Falileyev (2000: 75).

2. Both prepositions are used with the core semantic components [+stat, temp, reverse] with verbal nouns (cf. 2.2.3.3 and 3.2.3.3). *Iar*, though not *gwedy*, is also used in spatial contexts. Typically these prepositional clauses provide mainly background or known information as in:

22) PD 2949: *Iar coitsecht na n-athcomsan-sin do na hÍúdaidib, ro-gab ferg & londus iat.* ‘After the Jews heard these accusations, they were seized with anger and fury.’

23) B.De 8.11: *A gwedy kadarnhав ffyd a chret yn yr ynnys honn, holl laurwyr yr hynys hon a deuthant y gyt hyt yn dor sened Vreui.* ‘And after the safeguarding of the faith and creed on this island all the labourers of this island came together at the senad of Breffi.’

Íar is also used to indicate mental following or agreement, which could be described as following with a lack of the spatial component [- space, + prox, + reverse]. In Middle Irish, presumably aided by the merger of *iar*, *ar* and *for*, a near-contemporary setting is also expressed. *Gwedy* on the other hand has continued to be used exclusively for temporal consecutivity up to the present day. Irish, having lost the original means of perfect expression, developed alternative strategies with compound prepositions including the expressions ‘back’ and ‘behind’ as in *tar éis* and *i ndíadh*.

There is a significant difference in the use of *gwedy* and *iar(na)* in that the latter is usually used with possessive pronouns. The effect in the latter case is a stative expression. This is parallel to the use of *i n-* ‘in’ with possessive pronouns which also creates a possessive state construction.

3. Though *gwedy* and *iar* fulfil the same function, they are not related historically. *Iar* is based on an original spatial adverb and retains the spatial component. *Gwedy*, on the other hand, seems to be related to a verbal root. Therefore the creation of this type of temporal consecutivity must have been independent in the two languages. It might have been aided by the earlier presence of contemporaneous periphrasis in both branches with the prepositions *oc*, *i n-* and *yn* which provided a structural precedent.

4.4 Irish *cen*, Welsh *heb*

1. *Cen* is compared to Latin *cis* by Vendryes, with an *-n* suffix, perhaps **kina* ‘without, on this side of’ (LEIA C-51, 64). Eska describes it as the deictic pronominal **key + nā*, yielding a meaning of ‘on this side of’ (1990: 153). *Hep*, on the other hand, is derived from IE **sekʰ* ‘follow’ (Falileyev 2000: 83), which also underlies OIr *sech*.

2. *Cen* and *heb* both denote absence and as such have the semantic components [-space, + time] (cf. 2.2.4.1 and 3.2.4). In the case of *cen* this seems to result from the notion of separation of two entities as illustrated by *olchene* ‘besides’. With verbal nouns ‘absence’ leads to the negation of the action. It is also used for negative purpose ‘so that not’ and, particularly with verbs of speech, in prohibitive senses.

24) MI 27d12: *combeth cen digail do grés*. ‘That it should not be punished for ever.’

25) MI 130b7: [cum mortui conquiescant a talibus officiis, præuenire debet otiosa infirmi tempora et loca nostra deuotio] *cen gudi ndæ indib sôn* ‘For that they pray not to God in them.’

In the case of *heb* the notion of absence results from the idea of being ‘beyond’ an entity. This seems to be derived from the use of the preposition to express [+ passage + reverse] as well, as in *hebdaw* ‘past him’.

26) CO 386: ...naw nos a naw dieu hyd uydei hep gyscu. ‘It was nine nights and nine days that he was without sleep.’

27) B.De 8.15: ...a’r kreuydwyr yn llwyr, a phawb heb allu rif arnadt a ymgynnullasant y sened Vreui. ‘And all, without being able to put a number on them, assembled at the Synod of Brefi.’

3. The two prepositions are clearly not related historically. Different strategies for expressing ‘going beyond’ developed into a similar type of negation of presence. Nevertheless, it remains noteworthy that both languages resorted to a preposition denoting ‘absence’ to negate a verbal noun syntactically.

4.5 Irish *do*, Welsh *y*

1. Both in Irish and Welsh the use of the preposition ‘to’, *do* and *y* respectively, is highly frequent. They are unanimously derived from the same Insular Celtic preposition, but further derivation varies considerably. Vendryes (1978: T81) links the preposition to the preverb *to-*, with an unstressed variant *do-*. He does not comment any further on pre-forms. Walde/Pokorny (1930: 770) describes the preposition as derived from a proclitic **to-* to **dō* which is described as the instrumental to **do*. Both forms go back to an earlier common form with dental and vowel.

2. The preposition is used to denote direction as well as a recipient of an action with the components [+ direction, final, limit]. As we have seen above (2.2.5, 3.2.5), a parallel between Irish and Welsh can be found in the use of the preposition meaning ‘to, towards’ to denote purpose with verbal nouns:

- 28) BB 39: Ro-erbad iarum bó find audercc dia taiscid & ba slan dí.
‘Then a white red-eared cow was assigned to sustain her and she became well of it.’
- 29) B.De. 6.24: Yn ol hyny,[...] ell deu a dyrwesassant *y* geissaw *y* gan *Duw ffynhonnev o dwfyr croew*. ‘After this, the two fasted to seek from God wells with fresh water.’

In Continental Celtic there is little evidence for a similar purpose preposition. Eska (1989: 173) had posited the dative case in the verbal noun as sole marker of purpose in Hispano-Celtic. In Botorríta I we find the form *to [u]ertaunei*. Meid (1993: 121-2) discusses it and the possibility of this likely verbal noun construction to be comparable to the insular purpose clause as in Old Irish *do thabairt*, but he thinks it more likely that this is the adverb ‘there’ and likewise argues for prepositionless verbal nouns in Hispano-Celtic. It is interesting to note that in Welsh, too, interchange between the prepositions *dy* ‘from’ and *y* ‘to’ occurred (Evans, GMW §223).

3. The preposition ‘to’ as purpose indicator is not only used in Celtic, but also in other branches such as Germanic: the English translation of B.De 6.24 illustrates this in ‘the two fasted to seek wells’. German uses the same strategy ‘ich bin hier es zu tun’, with the prepositional structure extended to ‘um zu’ in more modern usage. It is likely that ‘direction towards’ lead to the final sense of ‘in order to’ in all these cases. This is in line with Bybee et al.’s observations (1997: 229-30) on the development of purpose clauses cross-linguistically. They found in their broadly cross-linguistic corpus that intention typically developed from markers for desire, obligation or from movement towards a goal.

In addition to use in order to express purpose, Old Irish frequently uses those constructions involving *do* to prepose the subject or object to its verbal noun. The existence of this usage is also observed by Evans (GMW §181, n.). He gives the following examples of this phenomenon:

30) B xiii.188-9: *dadyl dieu agheu y eu treidu* ‘It is a certain fact that death visited them.’ (GMW §181, n.)

31) LIB 45.19: *Pwy bynhac a uo gwell gantaw arall y dadleu drostaw yn llys noc ehunan.* ‘Whoever may prefer to have another to plead for him in court rather than himself.’ (GMW, *ibid.*)

Evans (*ibid.*) points out that examples are rare in Welsh, but that the preposing construction also exists in Cornish. Lewis & Pedersen (1989: 315) also note its use in Irish and Cornish. Their Cornish examples are:

32) *Leuereugh my thy thanfon.* ‘Say that I sent him.’ (*ibid.*)

33) *Mur a ioy a-s kemeras y de deank yn della.* ‘Great joy took them that they escaped thus.’ (*ibid.*)

Lewis and Pedersen (*ibid.*) compare this word order pattern to strategies in other languages from the Indo-European language family and give examples from Lithuanian and Latvian:

34) Lith.: *šulinỹs kàsti neleĩgva.* ‘It is not easy to dig a well’. (Lewis & Pedersen, 1989: 315).

35) Latv.: *man ir atl’auts rieksti ēst* ‘It is permitted to me to eat nuts’. (Lewis & Pedersen, *ibid.*)

They identify this pattern of argument preposing as being of Indo-European origin. If this type of structure does indeed go back to a common ancestor, the phenomenon of the object being preposed to its verbal noun could have been a feature of Celtic as well. Gippert (1997: 162) likewise compared these phenomena in Celtic to the Baltic examples, as well as to Slavic and Sanskrit. He points to the similarity between Old Irish and Baltic, in that Baltic also has a patient in the nominative and a non-congruent predicate. Gippert argues that the Sanskrit constructions likewise have a parallel in ACIs, and that it is not clear which one is to be conceded priority. He asserts the possibility for a functional cross-over between the two in neuter nouns, which have identity of accusative and nominative, a feature that is shared by Old Irish (*ibid.*, 163). Yet he cautions that the Sanskrit structure is later and therefore a typologically parallel development and not a derived feature.

The possible origin of preposed object + *do/ði* might conceivably lie in pre-Celtic times. While parallels with Baltic languages might also be considered coincidental or typologically motivated, the presence of the structure in

all Insular Celtic branches, including Cornish, is noteworthy. The parallel in the British languages underlines the antiquity of the construction and suggests at least a Common or Insular Celtic phenomenon. It thus seems possible that both *do* and *y* derive from a Common or Insular Celtic preposition of dental + vowel that denoted ‘direction towards’ and also developed into a purpose marker. It may also have served as a device for preposing arguments to verbal nouns, before further linguistic diversification took place.¹⁰⁷

4.6 *Irish im, fo, Welsh am, dan*

4.6.1 *im and am*

1. The two preposition *im* and *am* stem from the same source: Thurneysen (GOI §841) derives them from IE **ǵǵbhi*. McCone (1996: 78) derives from PC **ambi*, PIE *h₂ǵǵbhi*.

2. Both prepositions express the covering of an entity. In addition to surrounding, less specific proximity is also denoted [+space, stat, cover, prox], and this usage is typically found with verbal nouns (cf. 2.2.6.1 and 3.2.6.1). Both frequently introduce the topics of verbs of speaking and begging:

36) Wb 27d19: *is lerithir inso nonguidimse dia nerutsu amal rotgáda im anad i nephis sech ropo léirsón*. ‘I beseech God for thee as urgently as I have besought thee about staying in Ephesus, though this was urgently.’

Am has extended further and also denotes [+temp, cause]:

37) Bv.219.38: *A llawenach oed Chyarlys am ry estwng o Hu idaw*. ‘And Charles was happy because of Hu’s having submitted to him.’

3. Both prepositions are derived from the same source and are used with basically similar meanings and contexts. Usage to complement verbs of speech is a shared feature, but this can be found for prepositions with similar semantic features in other languages as well. In the case of OIr. *im* and MidW. *am* the parallels in the usage as spatial preposition denoting ‘surrounding’ and the common origin suggest that the Insular Celtic preposition **ambi* could also have been used with verbal nouns in dependent contexts, complementing speech act verbs or other verbs to denote the topic concerned.

¹⁰⁷ McCone (p.c.) suggests a possible form **du* for this.

4.6.2 *fo* and *dan*

1. *Fo* is derived from **upo*, Brittonic *gwo*, by Thurneysen (GOI §837¹⁰⁸). *Dan* is derived from OW *gu(o)tan* ‘under’ and considered to be a compound of **gwo* + *tan*, perhaps a deictic marker (Falileyev 2000: 75). Thus *fo* and *dan* are connected by an originally partly common origin.

2. *Fo* with verbal nouns displays the semantic components [+stat, inferior, dir, simul]. There is also some indication for [+cover], but the examples are from a later period and may be the first signs of the impending merger with *im* (cf. 2.2.6.2). *Dan* expresses mainly [+stat, inferior]. There were no clear examples of direction towards under an entity, but the existence of this usage is also likely. In addition to this *dan* also clearly expresses simultaneous action [+simul] (cf. 3.2.6.2).

38) YCM 243: ... ac ymchoelut at Chyarlys drachefyn dan chwertin.
‘And he returned to Charles laughing.’

This may be considered the result of the subordination of one action to another, which appears to have grammaticalised to denote attendant circumstances.

3. Both prepositions were originally based on the same root. In spite of the loss of the first element in Welsh, and the unclear derivation of the second, their usage is similar and may go back to an earlier Insular Celtic feature. There are parallels in the usage as stative preposition denoting ‘attendant circumstances’ though particularly the early Irish evidence for this feature is very slim. Yet this and the common origin offer the theoretical possibility that the Insular Celtic preposition **gwo* could also have been used with verbal nouns to express co-occurring actions.

4.7 *Irish tri*, *ó*, *de*, *Welsh drwy*, *o*, *di*.

4.7.1 *tri* and *drwy*

1. Thurneysen (GOI §856) derives *tri* and *drwy* from leniting **trei*. Walde/Pokorny raises the possibility of deriving **trei* from **t_ri*, from the IE root **ter* ‘hindurch, über-weg’ (1927: 192). Falileyev follows this in deriving Welsh *trui* from Celtic **trei*, IE **ter* ‘through’ (Falileyev 2000: 151).

2. The central semantic components of *tri* are [+space, temp, trans]. However, for this ‘going through’ usage there is very slim evidence with verbal

¹⁰⁸ cf. also McCone (1996: 45), who posits PC **wo* < **upo* < (s)*upo*.

nouns in the Old Irish corpus. With verbal nouns largely [+instrum, cause] are expressed, particularly in Latinate contexts (cf. 2.2.7.1). *Drwy* + verbal noun may express [+instrum, cause] as well as temporal transition [+temp, trans]:

39) Wb 31c4: [ut filios [suos] diligent*] *tre chosc* ‘by correction’

40) BVL 326: *Ac thrwy gynghor Branuen uu hynny oll.* ‘And through the council of Branwen was all this.’

41) A 18.2-4: *Oed garw y gwnaewch chwi waetlin. Mal yuet med drwy chwerthin.* ‘Fiercely did you make battle, like drinking mead laughing.’ (GPC *trwy*, e)

Drwy also denotes attendant circumstances [+prox, simul]. The use of a preposition denoting spatial proximity, has proved typical for the expression of action in progress in other cases as well.

3. The two prepositions are derived from the same source and have almost identical uses. While the most concrete spatial sense is likely to be the most basic, further instrumental and causal senses could have developed under the pressure of having to translate Latin instrumentals like *per* into Old Irish. On the other hand, the identity of features in Irish and Welsh suggest that this trait had already existed previously. This assumption is backed by similar features in comparable prepositions in other languages such as Latin, English or German. Therefore an Insular Celtic preposition **trei* may well have been used with verbal nouns in order to denote instrumental contexts.

4.7.2 *ó* and *o*

1. Both Irish *ó* and Welsh *o* are derived from IE **au-* ‘from-away’ (Thurneysen GOI §847; Falileyev 2000: 122). Vendryes (1960: O1) does not offer an etymology. Walde/Pokorny (1930: 48) raises the possibility of deriving Welsh *o* from **apo/po* ‘ab, weg’ instead, but remains doubtful.

2. The uses are very similar in both languages. With verbal nouns, both the Irish and the Welsh preposition mainly express direction out of an entity [+direction, exogenous]. In addition to this, both languages also express both cause and instrument [+cause, +instrument]. These seem to derive easily from exogenous senses (cf. 2.2.7.2 and 3.2.7.2):

42) MI 70c5 [que reuersione requiro] *hua tadchur sechis du thaidchur són* ‘by return, that is for returning this.’

43) BVL 236: , ... *doluryaw a wnaeth o glybot y poen oed ar Uranwen.* ‘He became sad from hearing about the punishment Branwen was in.’

Resulting from this also the agent of an action can be expressed. In contrast to Irish *a* ‘out of’, *ó* precludes contact both in Irish and Welsh [+ distance]. In addition Welsh *o* shows clear use in partitive contexts [+source, material]. In Irish this is expressed by a different preposition, *di* ‘from’.

3. The two prepositions derive from the same source and their basic usage is identical, both with nouns in general and with verbal nouns. This points to the possibility that the common forerunner could have been used with verbal nouns to express separation or cause. In Old Irish it seems as if transfer from Latin has reinforced the usage of the preposition. Welsh usage in partitive contexts may have followed from taking over other senses from OW *ði*.

4.7.3 *di*

1. OW *ði* and OIr *di* are derived from IE **dē* by Falileyev (2000: 43). In the preverb the vowel is mainly long, but according to Thurneysen it has variant forms in *dī* and *dě* in some contexts, even though the exact relationships are not clear (GOI §831). The preposition, on the other hand, has a short vowel. Marstrander suggested in DIL (DIL *de*) that this may point to a schwa-pronunciation of the vowel in both prepositions in the Old Irish period already. This is tentatively suggested to be due to shortening in pretonic position. Walde/Pokorny (1930: 770) on the other hand seems to suggest that the base of the form is the demonstrative form **de*, and that the long vowel variants are instrumentals of extension (Erstreckung) to the short demonstrative forms. The Celtic prepositions are seen as partly based on those short forms. Vendryes (1996: D27) seems to endorse this view.

2. The semantic components of OIr *di* are [+ space, stat, distance]. *Di* frequently resembles Latin part-of constructions and can denote the source material [+source]. To this we can relate further causal and instrumental senses [instrum, cause] (cf. 2.2.7.3). The Old Welsh preposition is too scarcely attested to be confident about its usage. Some examples with concrete nouns are given by Falileyev (2000: 43). An example from the corpus is the following:

44) SurM4: Rodesit Elcu guetic equs, tres uache, tres uache nouidligi, nam ir ni be cás igridu di medichat guetig hit Did Braut. ‘Elgu gave afterwards a horse, three cows, three newly-calved cows, only in order that there might not be hatred between them from the ruling afterwards till the Day of Judgement.’

Here we can likewise observe the components [+ space, distance, cause]. Evidence of instrumental use or of means with ordinary nouns is given by Evans (GMW §223 n.2), noting the examples *y dreis* ‘by force’ (ChO 11.8-

9¹⁰⁹, Evans, *ibid.*) and in *y ueis* ‘by walking, on foot’ (PKM 39.10, Evans, *ibid.*). This suggests that its use was like that of its Old Irish counterpart. Later Welsh supplanted this use of the preposition by *o* ‘from’ (cf. Evans, *ibid.*).

For Old Irish, Marstrander suggests (DIL *de*) that, in addition to introducing a subjective and objective genitive with concrete nouns, *de* basically expresses three different senses, namely ablative, partitive and instrumental relationships, and that a merger of original Latin senses *dis* and *de* should be assumed for the Old Irish preposition. For the Latin preposition *dē* ‘from’ the Oxford Latin Dictionary (1969: 485-6) cites uses to express exogenous and origin senses as in *dē caelō tactus* ‘struck from the sky’, partitives as in *dimidium de praeda dare* ‘to give half of the booty’, or source-material: *de tua pecunia aedificatam esse navem* ‘the ship is built from your money’. Therefore the usage in Latin resembles that in Medieval Irish very closely.

In spelling OIr *de* shows a large degree of variation: in addition to *de*-variants, *do* and *du* also appear. In addition, these two semantically opposed prepositions also share the common form *dia*, which is used as both the prepositional relative ‘to which, from which’ and with possessive pronoun 3rd sg. ‘to his, from his’. The same has happened in Welsh, where *y* ‘from’ became indistinguishable from *y* ‘to’.

3. This preposition can be found in different branches of the Indo-European language family. It seems to have been present in the common ancestor of the two Insular Celtic languages and it is likely to have already been used then with verbal nouns to denote source. The use in both Old Irish and Middle Welsh suggests that it may have expressed cause and means with verbal nouns from an early date on as well.

4.8 Conclusion

The instrumental and locative fell together with the dative in Celtic. To distinguish and specify the resulting case forms, a proto-language such as Insular Celtic has developed alternative specifications early on. The lost cases were replaced by prepositions. Some of those are likely to have been used with verbal nouns as well. This may be the case for *tri/drwy* as instrumental markers, *ó/o* to denote ablative senses, *fri/wrth*, *do/ði* and *di/ði* as directional markers, *i n-/yn*, *im/am* and *for/ar* as location-markers. The temporal prepositions ‘in’ *i n-/yn* and ‘on’ *for/ar* with verbal nouns could have indicated contemporaneity.

Once this system was in place, structures formerly used in temporal adverbial clauses emerged and denoted temporal priority and posteriority, so

¹⁰⁹ *Chwedleu Odo*, ed. Williams, Ifor, Cardiff 1958.

that an increasingly symmetrical temporal and aspectual periphrastic system started to be created.

5. Typological Parallels with Constructions in Basque

5.1 The situation in Basque

5.1.1 Nominal inflection

One of the principal issues in comparing Basque and Celtic is that the history of attestation is completely different for the two. The earliest extant textual material is found in the 10th century *Glosae Emilianenses* from the monastery of San Millán (Michelena 1964: 41). These consist of two glosses of two words each¹¹⁰, and the exact meaning of them is not clear. Our earliest attestations of Basque text stem from the 16th century and therefore the historical dimension can be assessed to a much smaller degree than in Celtic. However, comparing the nominal inflectional system of the earliest texts and present day Basque dialects, we find that we have an equally large case system in the early attestations and in modern Basque.

As is well known, Celtic, and Indo-European languages in general, have a basic distinction between the subject and the object in a sentence. Basque, on the other hand, has an ergative-absolutive distinction. Basque marks the agent of a transitive verb as ergative. The patient, or direct object, has absolutive inflection. Absolutive inflection is also used for the subject of an intransitive verb. Compare the following:

- 1) *Mikelek neska ikusi du.* [‘Mikel’ (erg.); ‘girl’ (abs.) def. ‘see’, dict. form; aux.trans.3sg. subj. + obj.] ‘Mikel saw the girl.’
- 2) *Neskak Mikel ikusi du.* [‘girl’ (erg.) definite; Mikel (abs.) ‘see’, dict. form; aux.trans.3sg. subj. + obj.] ‘The girl saw Mikel.’
- 3) *Neska etorri da.* [‘girl’, (abs.) definite; ‘come’, dictionary form; aux.

¹¹⁰ Firstly, *jzioqui dugu*, which is of unclear meaning. Michelena (1964: 43), amongst others, discusses the possibilities of it meaning ‘we have considered it’ or ‘we have ignited it’, but remains unconvinced. Secondly, *guez ajutuezdugu*, perhaps ‘it is not appropriate for us’ (Michelena 1964: 44).

intrans. 3rd sg. subj.]‘The girl has come.’

In addition to case inflection, the respective auxiliaries are also marked for the subject in the ergative or absolutive and, if present, a direct object in the absolutive and an indirect object in the dative.

In further contrast to the typologically inflectional Celtic languages, Basque is typologically agglutinating. Semantically more complex cases in Basque are morphologically composite. The so-called ‘animate’ cases are derived from what seems to be a basic genitive with attached markers for goal. This composite nature ties in well with Givón’s observation that the most central cases are the most basic morphologically (see 1.5.3). It is particularly interesting that there is a specific set of inflections for humans. The noun cases in Basque are the following:

Case	Question word	Case form	Translation
1. Absolutive	Nor?	Mutila	The boy (oblique)
2. Ergative	Nork?	Mutilak	The boy (trans. subj.)
3. Dative	Nori?	Mutilari	To the boy
4. Genitive	Noren?	Mutilaren	Of the boy
5. Partitive	-	Mutilik	Any boy
6. Instrument	Zerez/zertaz?	Mutilaz/etxeaz	By the boy/house
7. Prolative	Norengat?	Mutilatzat	For a boy
8. Causal	Norengatik?	Mutilarengatik	Because of the boy
9. Relational case ¹¹¹	Nongo?	Etxeko	Of the house
10. Locative	Non?	Etxean	In the house
11. Ablative	Nondik?	Etxetik	From the house
12. Allative	Nora?	Etxera	To the house
13. Adlative	Norantz?	Etxerantz	Towards the house
14. Border adlative	Noraino?	Etxeraino	As far as the house
15. Purposive	Zertarako?	Etxerako	For the house
16. Benefactive	Norentzat?	Mutilarentzat	For the boy
17. Sociative	Norekin?	Mutilarekin	With the boy
18. Animate locative	Norengan?	Mutilengan	In the boy
19. Animate allative	Norengana?	Mutilengana	Towards the boy
20. Animate ablative	Norengandik?	Mutilengandik	From/of the boy

Table VIII: The Basque noun cases.

There are a number of cases that are unspecified as to human or non-human usage, in this table numbers 1-8. In addition there is a special set of local cases. These are divided into distinct inanimate uses (9-15) and animate uses, (16-20). Sociative and destinative are mainly, but not entirely, animate (compare Zubiri 2000: 76-148).

There is no evidence in older texts that there was a more complex case system in earlier Basque than in modern day Basque. Rather, judging from the composite nature of the cases, it is possible that in fact a further specifi-

¹¹¹ This is also referred to as the '(local) genitive'.

cation of cases happened by merger of endings. The original Proto-Basque case system could have been more restricted than the present day one, and new cases may have been grammaticalised on the basis of the genitive, which can be seen to provide the base in all human case-forms.

5.1.2 Verbal nouns in Basque

Like Celtic, Basque has nouns with verbal meaning which have the same stems as verbs. These were created from the so-called ‘participle’ (‘participio’, Zubiri 2000: 221) or verbal radical (Trask 1995: 213), which can be used to form composite tenses with auxiliary verbs. With the addition of a further ending $-t(z)e$, the noun can be inflected for various cases in a manner comparable to verbal nouns in OIr. That said, where Celtic languages can use prepositions + verbal noun for non-finite complementation, Basque uses verbal noun forms with specific case endings. The most prominent non-finite and nominalised forms will be introduced in the following.

5.1.2.1 The verbal root or ‘radical’

The form of the radical, or root, is endless. Trask (1995: 214-7) points out that it has a number of functions. It is commonly used for the imperative 2nd singular: *etor!* ‘come!’. The radical is furthermore employed with auxiliaries in the potential, as e.g. *ikus dezakezu* ‘you can see’. It is also the form of the verb that is used in composition, e.g. *etorbidea* ‘road [lit.: come-way]’. Particularly in early texts, it is also found as a complement denoting purpose with certain verbs, as in *goazen ikus!* ‘Let’s go to see’, or in *suiak bero, hurak xahu, hats hartzeko airea* ‘Fire to warm, water to cleanse, air to breathe’ (Trask 1995: 215), and it also serves as a deverbal noun (Trask, *ibid.* 213). Trask argues that the radical is the original verbal noun which was formed by prefixing *e-* to the verbal root (*ibid.*, 213-6). This prefixing of *e-*, and later phonetic dissimilation into *i-* or *j-* in some cases, has created the numerous Basque lexicon forms of the verb beginning with a front vowel + consonant. Some examples of this tendency can be seen in the forms *ikus* ‘see’, *ikas* ‘learn’, *itzul* ‘return’, *ipin* ‘put’, *etor* ‘come’, *eser* ‘sit’, *ekar* ‘bring’.

5.1.2.2 The participle

The participle is the lexical form of the verb and not in fact a verbal noun as such. It is frequently synchronically identical with the radical, except for cases with an ending in $-i$ and $-tu$ (Zubiri 2000: 222). Trask (1995: 219) asserts that the [*i*] originally formed adjectives, but then specialised as a perfect marker for participles. Thus the forms *ikusi* ‘see’, *ikasi* ‘learn’, *itzuli*

‘return’, *ipini* ‘put’, *etorri* ‘come’, *eserri* ‘sit’, *ekarri* ‘bring’ are formed. This participle is widely – and increasingly – used in composite tense forms. The currently most productive ending is *-tu*, which is duly used for new additions to the language such as loanwords from Spanish, e.g. Span. *grabar*, Basq. *grabatu* ‘tape’, Span. *cerrar*, Basq. *zerratu* (Lekeitio) ‘close’.

5.1.2.3 *-t(z)e*

The addition of *-t(z)e* to the verbal root creates the nominalised form of the verb. This form is also called the ‘gerund’ (Trask 1995: 219). The base form of the suffix is *-te* and the forms without the *-z-* are used only after certain consonants, namely *n* and *s, x, z/ st, xt, zt*. This form is used as the verbal noun, including as subject and complement. Trask points out that Biscayan has *-keta* and Roncalese *-ta* for this function, and that *-t(z)e* must therefore have evolved after dialect diversification took place (ibid., 220). For the suffix *-te* a parallel can be found in a noun-forming suffix *-te*, which denotes duration *huri* ‘rain’, *hurite* ‘rainy spell’, or abundance *jende* ‘people’, *jendetze* ‘crowd’ (Trask 1995: 221). Forms based on this nominalisation seem to have originally taken the (verbal) object in the genitive. Evidence for this behaviour can be found in earlier texts (Trask, ibid., 225) and modern northern dialects of Basque still use this in cases like *aitaren ikustera joango naiz* [father, gen. see-purpose go-fut. I-am] ‘I will go to see the father’ (Trask, ibid.). In using the genitive as complement of the verbal noun, Basque resembles the Celtic languages, and, as in modern varieties of Celtic, there exists a tendency to replace the genitive with an oblique case form.

The *-t(z)e* form provides the base for further inflectional case forms which can be created by additional sets of endings and principally comprises the following:

a) <i>-t(z)ea</i>	subject
b) <i>-t(z)en</i>	infinitive, object clause
c) <i>-t(z)era</i>	final clause
d) <i>-t(z)eko</i>	final clause
e) <i>-t(z)ean</i>	temporal
f) <i>-t(z)erakoan</i>	temporal
g) <i>-t(z)eagatik</i>	causal clause

These Basque forms will be examined in what follows.

5.1.2.4 *-t(z)ea*

In the nominalising ending *-t(z)ea*, the Basque article *-a* is added in its absolutive form to the verbal noun marker. *-t(z)ea* is used very broadly in contexts where English might use the *to*-infinitive and typically expresses a

subject or object. This is a very broad rule of thumb, however, and in fact a non-native speaker will have to learn by heart the list of verbs complemented by this form.

- 4) *Sua itzaltzea ahastu dut.* [Fire-def. to-extinguish forget it-I-have] ‘I forgot to extinguish the fire.’ (Zubiri 2000: 285)
- 5) *Gauzak ondo egitea komeni da.* [Things well to-do suitable it-is] ‘It is suitable to do the things well.’ (Zubiri 2000: 286)

The Basque *-t(z)ea* forms equal Irish and Welsh verbal nouns used as subjects or objects:

- 6) MI 71a2: *is festae in trocaire mór do thodlugud* ‘It is wise to crave great mercy.’
- 7) CO 818: ...a chaffwyf inheu *gwneuthur* rei newyd idaw. ‘And I would get new ones made for it/him [lit.: the making of new ones].’

5.1.2.5 *-t(z)en*

The ending of this participle form consists of the verbal noun marker *-t(z)e* plus a further ending resembling the Basque locative case. Trask likewise explains it as consisting of the gerund plus the locative *-n*. He asserts that the original meaning must therefore have been ‘on doing’ (Trask 1995: 224). *-t(z)en* functions as an imperfective participle and is used for present tense formations (see 5.2.1.1 below) as well as for complementing Basque verbs very broadly in contexts where English might use gerunds. The Basque forms are necessary complements to certain semantically mainly transitive verbs:

- 8) *Euskara ikasten hasi naiz* [Basque learning start I-am] ‘I have started learning Basque.’ (Zubiri 2000: 287)
- 9) *Hori egiten nekatuta nago.* [This doing tired I-am] ‘I am tired doing this.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.*)
- 10) *Telebista ikusten ari da.* [Television watching doing s/he-is] ‘S/he is watching television.’ (*ibid.*)

Trask argues that the development of this Basque form must have taken place as in the English gerund. In both a spatial element (Basque *-n*, English *on*) merged with a nominal verbal form (Basque *-te*, English *-ing*) (*ibid.*, 225-6). As we have previously seen, a similar mechanism applied in Irish and in Welsh, where participle- like constructions are likewise formed with nominalised forms and spatial prepositions (cf. 2.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.3):

- 11) MI 54c30: *dobertis cech nolc & fochaid form os messe oc taircitul*

cech maith doibsom. ‘They used to inflict every evil and tribulation on me while I was prophesying every good to them.’

12) B.De 12.11: *Nachaf y clywynt llef didan ac arogleu teccaf yn llewni y dinas.* ‘Behold they heard a pleasant cry and the finest smell (was) filling the town.’

5.1.2.6 *-t(z)era*

In the case of *-t(z)era* the ending *-ra* is added to the nominalisation. It resembles that of the non-human allative case as in *banoa Bilbora* ‘I am going to Bilbao’ and also answers to the question *zertara?* ‘to (do) what?’ (Zubiri 2000: 338). It thus patently expresses directedness towards an entity. *-ra* is also used as the ending for a special nominalisation expressing intention mainly with verbs of movement in Basque:

13) *Zure etxea ikustera etorri naiz.* [Your house-def. to-see come I-am] ‘I have come to see your house.’ (King 1994: 395)

14) *Igeri egitera goaz.* [Swimming to-do we-go] ‘We are going swimming.’ (Zubiri 2000: 338)

15) *Buelta bat ematera noa.* [Walk one to-give I-go] ‘I am going in order to take a walk.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.*)

Zubiri (2000: 339) characterises this case as denoting the intention behind an action. Here, as in Celtic, we find purpose constructions to be closely related to movement. In line with the agglutinating character of Basque we have a special ending for the verbal noun. Celtic on the other hand, which is inflecting and moving towards isolating, uses inflection + preposition *do* ‘to’ for Old Irish purpose and *y* for the Welsh counterpart:

16) CO 1062: *A gwedy dysgynnu Arthur y’r tir, dyuot saint Iwerdon attaw y erchi nawd idaw.* ‘And after Arthur had arrived in the country the saints of Ireland came to him in order to ask him for protection.’

17) Wb 14d14: *ni do thabirt toirse fuiribsi anísiu* ‘Not to put sadness on you is this.’

In the Celtic languages, in contrast to Basque, these prepositional structures are not restricted to use with verbs of motion, but can equally well be used with non-motion verbs. Modern Irish has given up *do*-complementation in favour of different, phonetically more distinctive prepositions, namely *chun* or *le* as in *níl sé le fail anseo* ‘he is not to be found here’ (cf. 2.5). The same happens in Modern Welsh, which is tending to replace *y* by *er mwyn* (Williams 1980: 134, cf. 3.2.7.4).

5.1.2.7 *-t(z)eko*

As in the two Celtic languages examined, nominalisations of verbal forms are also used in Basque to denote purpose without a verb of movement. In this case too an ending is added to the verbal root, but the ending differs from that used with verbs of movement. It consists of the nominalizer *-t(z)e* and the relational suffix *-ko*:

18) *Horrek ez du ikasteko balio*. [This not it-has-it to-write value] ‘This is no use for writing.’ (Zubiri 2000: 339)

19) *Jateko erosi ditut*. [To-eat buy them-I-have] ‘I have bought them for eating.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.*)

20) *Hori ez da jolasteko*. [This no it-is to-play] ‘This is not for playing.’ (*ibid.*)

The above examples illustrate that the nominalisation with the *-ko* suffix may be understood to denote a basic idea of an element ‘pertaining to’ an entity.

To illustrate the contrast between this construction and the one with *-tzera*, used largely with verbs of movement, Zubiri (*ibid.*, 339) offers the following examples:

21) *Zurekin egotera etorri naiz*. [With-you to-be come I-am] ‘I came to be with you [with the intention of being with you].’

22) *Zurekin egoteko etorri naiz*. [With-you to-be come I-am] ‘I came to be with you [wishing to see you].’

This distinction between intent and desire divides the two clause types into intentionality on the one hand, and desire on the other. A comparable, albeit not identical, distinction has also been made for Old Irish purpose clauses with *do* and verbal noun by Disterheft (1985: 118). For Old Irish *do* Disterheft distinguished between purpose clause and result clauses. She described purpose clauses as including volition, and result clauses as not including volition. A similar pattern could conceivably apply to the Basque examples, where it might be argued that one case (*-t(z)eko?*) expresses the result of a previous action and the other (*-t(z)era?*) the intention behind the original action. The nominalisation *-tzeko* is also used for the indirect Imperative:

23) *Amak ohera joateko esan du*. [Mother-def.-erg. to-bed say it-have-she] ‘Mother said to go to bed.’ (Zubiri 2000: 330)

The use of the same form for purpose and command is not unusual cross-linguistically. It has been observed by Bybee et al. (1997: 229-30) that many

languages express optatives or imperatives by purpose markers as complements of verbs of wanting and ordering.

Morphologically this nominalisation is not obviously based on any one ending from the nominal paradigm. We could conceivably have a composition of the *-t(z)e* suffix with the future suffix. Alternatively, one might argue for a form originally built on the relational suffix *-ko*. This suffix has spread into independent position in other cases in Basque as well, as illustrated by variant forms of the ending *-tzat* ‘for’, namely *-tako* and *-tzako*. Thus *norentzat* ‘for who’ has a variant *norendako* ‘for who’ (Zubiri & Zubiri 2000: 346) as illustrated by *hori umearentzat/umearendako da* [this child-destination it-is] ‘this is for the child’ (cf. Zubiri & Zubiri 2000, *ibid.*). In the Insular Celtic languages we likewise find non-finite complements of speech act verbs used as adhortatives or imperatives.

24) LU 6009: *Asbeir Cú Chulaind fri Láeg techt ar cend Lugdach dó.* ‘Cú Culainn told Laeg to go to Lugaid for him.’

25) LU(H) 5894: *Guitter ón tslóg forro bith na tost.* ‘The host begged them to desist.’

Documenting the rise of this construction Ó hUiginn (1998) showed how the verbal noun was introduced into both indirect speech and jussive contexts in Old Irish. However, it only took root in the jussive context and disappeared again from declaratives, a situation which still holds in Modern Irish (*ibid.* 1998: 136-7). In Modern Welsh jussives are typically denoted by verbal nouns following prepositions, either *ar* or *am*. The latter is paralleled by some Irish examples:

26) *Dyma fy ngorchymyn i: Ar i chwi garu eich gilydd.* ‘This is my command: that you love your neighbour.’ (Williams 1980: 171)

27) *Dywedwch wrthynt am roi bwyd i’r anifeiliaid.* ‘Tell them to give food to the animals.’ (Williams 1980: 172)

28) Wb 27d19: [rogauí té ut remaneres Ephesi] *rotgádsa im anad in Ephes...* ‘I have besought you to stay in Ephesus [m.t.]’

Irish primarily displays prepositionless complementation, whereas in Welsh a clause introduced by a preposition is typical for indirect imperatives. A further step has been taken by Breton, where the modern language uses the verbal noun as the imperative (Timm 1990: 196):

29) *Bevañ evel araok...* ‘Live (imp.) like before.’ (Timm, *ibid.*)

The same direction is seemingly being taken by modern spoken Welsh, where younger speakers increasingly use the verbal noun instead of the im-

perative as well¹¹². There may be two reasons for this development. Firstly, there is variation in the stem of the imperative, thus the verb *cymryd* ‘take’ uses the imperative *cymera*. Also, identity of the imperative and the verbal noun exists in other verbs, as e.g. *bwyta* ‘eat’, verbal noun and imperative singular/familiar. Secondly, Modern Welsh has adopted a periphrastic construction for negative imperatives that involves use of the verbal noun with the imperative form of the verb *peidio* ‘forbid’ as in *paid â phoeni* ‘don’t worry’ or *peidiwch ag aros* ‘don’t wait (pl.)’ (Williams 1980: 78). From there the structure may spread into positive imperatives. These two factors could easily lead to use of verbal nouns in non-negative imperatives. In Basque we encounter a similar phenomenon: there exists a morphologically marked imperative as in *zatoz arin!* [come-imperat. 2nd sg. quick] ‘come quick’ or *isil zaitzte* [quiet you-be-imperat.-2pl.] ‘be quiet’ (Zubiri 2000: 256). According to Zubiri (2000: 255) however, the participle is used as an imperative even more frequently:

30) *Ikusi hori!* [See this] ‘See this! (Zubiri 2000: 255)’

31) *Ez esan ezer!* [Not say anything] ‘Don’t say anything!’ (ibid.)

He furthermore points out that the verbal root may also be used in this context in some regions, leading to a variant of *ikus hori* ‘see this’ for example 30) above (Zubiri, *ibid.*, cf. also 5.1.2.1 above).

5.1.2.8 – *t(z)ean*

The temporal ending *–t(z)ean* consists of the nominaliser *–t(z)e*, the article *-a* and the locative ending. The presence of the article contrasts with the imperfective participle, stem plus *–t(z)en*, which serves to describe action in progress. Trask (1995: 224) describes *–t(z)ean* as creating the locative of the gerund, or verbal noun, with an original meaning of ‘at/on an action’. This nominalisation expresses that two actions happen at the same time:

32) *Liburua zabaltzean, paper hau jausi zaizu.* [Book-def. open-while paper this fall it-to-you-have] ‘While opening the book you dropped this paper.’ (Zubiri 2000: 358)

33) *Argia piztean jaso dut descarga.* [Light-def. switching-on-while receive it-have-I electric shock] ‘When switching on the light I got an electric shock.’ (ibid.)

This structure has a functional parallel in an inflectional ending for auxiliaries, *–nean*:

¹¹² I. Wmffre, (p.c.).

- 34) Bakarrik nagoenean, hobeto ateratzen zait. [Alone I-am-when better result it-is-to me] ‘When I am alone I manage better.’ (Zubiri 2000: 360)
 35) *Nere dirua bukatzen denean itzuliko naiz.* [My money-def. finishing it-is-when return-fut. I-am] ‘I will come when my money is finished.’
 King 1994: 390)

In contrast to the non-finite structure with *-t(z)ean*, the one with the inflected verb has to be used where there is no subject identity. The usage of *-t(z)ean* resembles that of the *oc* or *yn*-quasi-participles in Irish and Welsh quite closely.

5.1.2.9 – t(z)erakoan

This temporal case ending for verbal roots consists of the nominalisation and the allative ending *-(e)ra*, to which *-ko* as in the relational suffix is added. It denotes a point in time and therefore additionally contains the article and the locative ending *-n*. This participle expresses a temporal limit comparable to English ‘just when, just before’:

- 36) *Atea zabaltzerakoan ikusi dut.* [Door-def. open-just-when saw I-him-have] ‘I saw him just before opening the door.’ (Zubiri 2000: 359)
 37) *Ordaintzerakoan konturatu da poltsa lapurtu diotela.* [Pay-just-when realize he-was purse-def. stole they-him-it-have-conj.] ‘When just about to pay he realized that they had robbed him of his purse.’ (ibid.)

No semantically comparable prepositional structure is found in the Celtic languages. Formally one would have to assume the features [+temp, +limit, + front]. Arguably there is some similarity with Modern Irish *ar* in cases like

- 38) *Níor ith sé aon ghreim ar goil a chodladh dó.* ‘He didn’t eat a bit going to bed.’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 281)
 39) *Ar thecht ar ais dom, bhí fuadach croí orm.* ‘On my coming back, my heart was palpitating.’ (Ó Siadhail, ibid.)

Ar is used here for what is classified as simultaneous periphrasis by Ó Siadhail (1989: 281). He points out that *ar* + verbal noun is confined to usage with past time and links this to a development in which the Old Irish preposition *iar* played a part (ibid.). Nevertheless, as it is unlikely that it is to be implied that the agent did not eat after going to bed, rather than before or at the time of doing so, Old Irish *ar* ‘before’ seems to have exercised no more influence than Old Irish *for* ‘on, upon’.

Beekes (1995: 91) describes the presence of a similar feature in the Lithuanian illative, a secondarily developed composite case, formed by attaching a particle *-n(a)* to a noun in the accusative to express ‘up to, at’.

5.1.2.10 – t(z)eagatik

Causal clauses are generally constructed with the help of endings attached to inflected verbal forms, like the ending *-(e)lako* in *berandu delako* [late it-is-because] ‘because it is late’, or with adverbials like *eta*, in *berandu da-eta* ‘because it is late’. But there is also an ending which answers the question *zergatik?* ‘why?’ and expresses a reason. This case-form can be added to nouns and pronouns (cf. Zubiri 2000: 142) and also appears with the nominalisation, in which case we find the root with the nominaliser *-t(z)e* plus article plus the added suffix *-gatik*.

40) Irakasleak haurrak jotzen zituen euskaraz mintzatzegatik. [Teacher-erg. children-pl. abs. striking he-them-had Basque-instr. speaking-because] ‘The teacher hit the children for speaking Basque.’ (King 1994: 232)

41) Hori esaten du irakaslea izateagatik. [This saying it-he-have teacher-def. being-because] ‘He says this because he is a teacher.’ (King 1994: 401)

According to King (1994: 401) this structure is used less commonly than those causal ones containing *-elako* and *-eta*.

The situation is comparable in Insular Celtic, as the causal clause may be prepositional in both Irish and Welsh. While Old Irish used *ar* + verbal noun, Middle Welsh used *am*, the preposition also found with verbs of speech.

42) B.De. 11.15: Ac wrth hynny y gwneuthpwynt Dewi Sant yn bennadur am bregethu ohonaw yn y Sened vawr. ‘And thereupon St. David was made leader and head of the saints of the island of Britain, on account of his preaching in this great synod to all the people.’

43) Wb 10d20: honorum dobertar ar precept soscéli ‘honorum which are given for the teaching of the gospel.’

Modern Irish still uses both finite and non-finite complementation, but has switched to other prepositions and conjunctions, including a compound structure with verbal nouns. Welsh similarly uses *achos* for both finite and non-finite structures:

44) Ní dheachaidh mé ann de bharr mé a bheith/go raibh mé tinn. ‘I did not go there as I was sick.’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 267)

45) Fydd’na ddim gwera heddiw achos fod/mae yr athro’n sâl. ‘There will be no lesson today because the teacher is ill.’ (cf. King 1996: 314)

In both modern languages the respective structures are of similar distribution and therefore the verbal noun structures are more marginal in Basque than in our Celtic examples.

5.1.2.11 – *t(z)ez*

Like the causal *-gatik*, the Basque instrumental case can be expressed by means of a verbal noun. The ending used with the nominalisation consists of the article *-a* and the instrumental ending *-z*:

46) *Irakurriz asko ikasten da* [Reading-instr. much learning it-is] ‘By reading much is learned.’ (Zubiri & Zubiri 2000: 561)

47) *Hitz eginez dena konpontzen da* [Word doing-by all fixing it-is] ‘With talking everything can be sorted out.’ (Zubiri & Zubiri 2000: 561)

In addition to pure instrumentals, further meanings can be conveyed by this case form. For instrumental forms of nouns in general, Zubiri (2000a: 102) makes reference to material (*harriz* ‘from stone’), mode (*gogoz* ‘with interest’), place (*mendiz* ‘in/by the mountain’), time (*egunez* ‘by day’) or topic (*libruruaz* ‘about the book’) in addition to strictly instrumental use. This extension of meaning is also illustrated by examples of the verbal noun which express means and manner/mode rather than pure instrument.

In Irish and Welsh there is strong evidence of the expression for instrumentals by verbal nouns. These are used with *tri* in Old Irish and *drwy* in Middle Welsh:

48) BT (BR) 22: A’r Gwyndyt yn lldyawc a’e hymlynawd drwy lad y lu.
‘And Gwyndyt angrily affected him through killing his host.’ (GPC *trwy*, e)

49) MI 133a1: [iram Saueilis iniquis sermonibus* acuebant] *tri chossait duaid fri saúl* ‘through stirring up David against Saul.’

Even though both Modern Irish and Welsh can also use alternative strategies with inflected verbal forms, we find that instrumental structures are frequently expressed by nominalised forms in both Celtic and Basque.

5.1.3 Contexts without suffixation

There are some concepts that are not normally expressed by inflected verbal nouns, but typically require the addition of inflectional markers to the finite verb. Expressions of mode or manner are a case in point. Manner is typically marked by adding an ending to the inflected verb. The most important endings Zubiri (2000: 370-7) mentions are *-n bezala(koa)* ‘like’, *-n moduan*

‘manner, way’, *-nez* ‘manner’, *-n legez*. Examples of these are *zuk esan duzun bezala* ‘as you said’, *utzi dagoen moduan* ‘leave it the way it is’, *dirudienez* ‘seemingly’, *nahi duzun legez* ‘as you want it’. One example, *-tzeko moduan* is used with nominalisations. It expresses that an entity is in a state (*modua+n*) of being liable to being affected by the verb (purpose *-tzeko*). As examples the following are given:

50) *Jateko moduan dago*. [Eating-purpose manner-in it-is] ‘It is fit to be eaten.’ (Zubiri 2000: 373)

51) *Ez nago barre egiteko moduan*. [Neg. I-am laugh do-purpose manner-in] ‘I am not in a manner pertaining to laughing.’ (ibid.)

These examples are specialised state constructions rather than manner clauses. The usual way of expressing the latter therefore seems to be either with inflected verbal forms or by using instrumental forms to cover some contexts (see 5.1.2.11 above).

As we have seen above, causal clauses too are typically formed by means other than verbal noun usage. The situation is similar for relative clauses. For these, there is an alternative structure with the suffix *-tako* added to what is generally termed the participle: *goizean etorritako mutilak* [early has-come-rel. boys] as opposed to the more frequent *goizean etorri diren mutilak* [early come they-are-rel. boys] ‘the boys who came early’ (Trask 1995: 352).

With respect to causal clauses, Basque uses non-finite causal clauses to a rather smaller degree than the Insular Celtic languages. Clauses of manner as such are not a feature of Celtic either, but verbal noun clauses expressing attendant circumstances may also denote manner as in

52) SG 40.37-8: *ef a aeth ymeith... dan wylaw...* ‘He went out weeping.’ (GMW §207)

In both language groups, Celtic and Basque, no special strategies exist for expressing manner or relative clauses by means of a verbal noun. This observation suggests relative relations are not easily given to be expressed by non-finite complementation.

5.1.4 Syntactic functions marked by adpositions

In the above examples we have seen syntactic structures that were created by suffixing endings to the verbal noun. There are also some non-finite structures which are created by means of adpositions rather than suffixes. Use of adpositions is frequent in temporal constructions and these examples will be dealt with under the heading of temporal clauses.

Examples of affixation can be found in concessive clauses and in conditional clauses.

Conditional clauses are predominantly created by prefixing the subordination marker *ba-* (if) to the inflected verb (Zubiri 2000: 348). King (1994: 230) points out that, according to the mood of the verb, these clauses form real conditions or hypothetical conditions and gives the following respective examples [...] *ordaintzen badu*, [...] *ikasiko du euskara* [paying if-it-have-he, will-learn it-have-he Basque] ‘if he pays he will learn Basque [m.t.]’, or hypothetical ones as in [...] *ordainduko balu*, [...] *ikasiko luke euskara* [will-pay if-he-it-would-have, will-learn he-it-would-have Basque] ‘if he paid he would learn Basque [m.t.]’. In addition to these, there is also a structure that uses the instrumental ending attached to the verbal root + the adposition *gero*:

53) *Ahal izanez gero, etorriko naiz*. [Be-able be-instr. later, come-fut. I-am] ‘If I can I will come.’ (Zubiri 2000: 348)

54) *Hau kenduz gero, besteak onak dira*. [Dem. cut-instr. after, others well-pl. they-are] ‘Taking this away, the others are fine.’ (ibid.)

Semantically and distributionally the two constructions appear to be identical.

Concessive clauses are formed with the so-called participles and the adposition *arren*, or *nahiz eta* plus participle. Examples of these are the following:

55) *Ordaindu arren, ez dut egingo*. [Pay though, neg. It-have-I will-do] ‘Though they pay I will not do it.’ (Zubiri 2000: 366)

56) *Ordaindu ez arren, egingo dut*. [Pay not though, will-do it-have-I] ‘Even though they do not pay me I will do it.’ (ibid.)

57) *Nahiz eta euria egin, mendira joango gara*. [Even and rain-def. do, mountain-allative go-fut. we-are] ‘Though it is raining we will go to the mountains.’ (ibid., 367)

Zubiri (2000: 367) asserts that the two constructions are identical except for the adposition used and its position. In addition to the construction with the participle, *arren* may also be used with a finite verb. There is also a further structure where the inflected verb receives the marker *ba + ere*, as in *Egiten badu ere* [Doing if-it-he-have even] ‘even though he may do it’. This refers both to hypothetical and real conditions (ibid., 368), unlike the participle constructions with *arren* which apparently are restricted to real situations. The lack of non-finite conditional and concessive clauses has been noted in the material collected from the Insular Celtic languages. In Basque there are strategies using non-finite clauses, but in contrast to the majority of other clause types these are expressed with postpositions rather than inflection.

This suggests that these structures are less firmly anchored within the non-finite system of Celtic and Basque.

5.1.5 Negation by means of *gabe* ‘without’

We have seen the pattern of negation of some of the clauses above. Nominalisations too are typically negated by the negative marker *ez* ‘no/not’:

58) *Ez naiz egitera ausartzen.* [neg. I-am to-do daring] ‘I do not dare to do it.’ (Zubiri 2000: 289)

59) *Hobe da ezer ez esatea.* [Better it-is nothing not to-say] ‘It is better not to say anything.’ (Zubiri 2000: 286)

Additionally, Basque also has a postposition which is added to the noun it qualifies. This postposition is also used with non-finite verbal forms:

60) *Gosaldu gabe etorri naiz klasera.* [Having-breakfast without come I-am to-class] ‘I have come to class without having had breakfast.’ (King 1994: 125)

61) *Ezer esan gabe joan da.* [Anything say without go he-is] ‘He went without saying anything.’ (Zubiri 2000: 180)

Given the agglutinating structure of Basque, one might have expected this type to be expressed by endings as well. However, Basque markedly resembles the Celtic negative verbal noun structures with *cen* and *heb* (cf. 2.2.4.1 and 3.2.4) in this negation pattern of nouns and non-finite verbal forms. Compare the Modern Irish and Modern Welsh structures:

62) *Tá mé sásta gan sull.* ‘I am happy not to walk.’ (Ó Siadhail 1980: 68)

63) *Mae e heb brynu’r tocynnau.* ‘He has not bought the tickets.’ (King 1996: 169)

Basque differs from Celtic in using inflected forms of verbal nouns in most contexts of clausal complementation. Nevertheless, in the negative dependent clause the use of the Basque postposition is parallel to that of the negating prepositions in Celtic.

5.2 The temporal system of Basque

Earlier attested stages of Basque made extensive use of inflected verbal forms. Thus Gomez (Gomez & Sainz 1995: 238-9) asserts that almost sixty

verbs with synthetic forms are found in 16th century Basque texts and that contemporary official Basque grammar, on the other hand, lists twenty-six synthetic verbs. These form the present tense, the past tense and an irrealis form synthetically. These verbs are rather complex and, except for the most frequent ones, are largely replaced by periphrastic forms outside the written language (Gomez, *ibid.*). The periphrastic forms consist of a non-finite form of the verb and of an inflected auxiliary verb. Some contrastive examples of synthetic versus analytic verbal forms can be observed in the following synthetic/analytic paradigms of the verbs *etorri* ‘come’ and of *ekarri* ‘bring’ with 3rd sg. object:

	<i>etorri</i>	‘come’	<i>ekarri</i>	‘bring’
Pres. Ind. 3. sg.	<i>Dator</i>	/ <i>etortzen da</i>	<i>Dakar</i>	/ <i>ekartzen du</i>
1. pl.	<i>Gatoz</i>	/ <i>etortzen gara</i>	<i>dakargu</i>	/ <i>ekartzen dugu</i>
Past Ind. 3. sg.	<i>zettorren</i>	/ <i>etortzen zen</i>	<i>zekarren</i>	/ <i>ekartzen zuen</i>
1. pl.	<i>gentozen</i>	/ <i>etortzen ginen</i>	<i>genekarren</i>	/ <i>ekartzen genuen</i>

In the synthetic forms, both beginning and end of the verb form show inflection. The functional load carried by one verbal form is very high as it carries lexical meaning, tense and mood and concord for subject, object and indirect object. In the periphrastic forms, consisting of a participle and an auxiliary, inflection is restricted to the auxiliary, whose inflected forms are naturally much more frequent than the synthetic verbal forms. In addition to person, the auxiliary is marked for tense (present or past) and mood (indicative, subjunctive and potential). Further distinctions, corresponding to continuous or non-continuous aspect, are conveyed by the choice of participle to which the auxiliary is added.

5.2.1 Present formations

5.2.1.1 Present tense

The present habitual is formed by the gerund, the radical plus *-t(z)e*, plus the locative suffix *-n* (cf. 5.1.2.3). The same stem is also used for past tense habitual senses.

64) *Joaten da*. [Going he-is] ‘He goes (habitually)’. (Zubiri 2000: 234)

65) *Joaten zen*. [Going he-was] ‘He used to go.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.*)

The synthetic present tense form, used by some highly frequent verbs in Basque, denotes a progressive (compare Zubiri 2000: 234):

- 66) *Etxera doa*. [House-allative he-goes] ‘He is going home (now).’
67) *Etxera zihoan*. [House-allative he-went] ‘He was going home (just then).’

In the case of non-synthetic verbs the progressive is formed by adding a further verb *ari* ‘do’ (compare Zubiri 2000: 235):

- 68) *Jaten ari da*. [Eating do I-am] ‘I am eating.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.*, 234)
69) *Jaten ari nintzen*. [Eating do I-was] ‘I was eating.’ (*ibid.*)

The auxiliary *ari* is intransitive and any verb construed with it will consequently only take the intransitive auxiliary *izan* ‘be’. This alternative progressive formation is the only way of expressing ongoing action for verbs which did not retain their synthetic forms. With this distribution of progressive and habitual we find that Basque differs from the Celtic languages, where the synthetic present is habitual and the periphrastic present is progressive. The situation in Basque provides counterevidence to possible claims that periphrastic presents are necessarily progressive. This conclusion could have been reached on the basis of Modern German and Modern Irish constructions like *ich bin beim Essen* or *tá mé ag ithe* ‘I am eating’.

5.2.1.2 Contemporaneity

Contemporaneity is expressed by various means. We have already seen the nominalised forms with the suffixes *-t(z)en* and *-t(z)ean* (compare 5.1.2.5 and 5.1.2.8). True temporal simultaneity is also expressed by suffixes to the auxiliary verb. One is *-nean*, as in *sartu denean esan diot* [enter he-is-while said it-to him-I-have] ‘when he entered I told him it.’ (Zubiri, 2000: 359). The second one is expressed by suffixing *-n bitartean* as in *ikasten dudan bitartean, musika entzuten dut* [learning it-I-have-while meanwhile music-def. listening it-I-have] ‘while I study I listen to music.’ These are the cases which express true contemporaneity. In addition to these there is a group of constructions which denote temporal proximity without expressing full contemporaneity.

To this group belongs the perfect participle used with *bezain laster*. This corresponds to English ‘as soon (as)’ (cf. Zubiri 2000: 357-8):

- 70) *Jakin bezain laster esan dizut*. [Knew as-soon said it-to you-I-have] ‘I told you as soon as I know.’ (*ibid.* 357)
71) *Ikusi bezain laster ezagutu nuen*. [Saw as soon knew I-him-

have¹¹³] ‘I recognised him as soon as I saw him.’

There are a number of different ways of expressing this concept. These include *bezain pronto*, *bezain azkar* and *eta berehala*, which all basically express ‘as soon’, except for *eta berehala* which translates as ‘and straightaway’.

Furthermore, we find expressions containing perfect participle + *-n arte* (cf. Zubiri 2000: 363). This would correspond to English ‘until’ and expresses a duration up to the point indicated by the non-finite form:

72) *Bera etorri arte itxarongo dut*. [He come until wait-fut. it-I-have] ‘I will wait till he comes.’ (Zubiri 2000: 364)

Zubiri (ibid., 363) points out that these constructions with participle + *arte* are typically used in speech, and that in the written language *-n arte* is more typically suffixed to the auxiliary verb. A further expression which has rather complex semantics is the perfect participle + *orduko* (Zubiri 2000: 357). This clearly consists of the noun denoting ‘time’, *ordu* and the relational (genitival) suffix *-ko*. This can express ‘before’ (73)), ‘as soon as’ (74)) and ‘until’ (75)):

73) *Egin orduko, ondo aztertu behar dugu*. [Do hour-relational, well analyse need it-we-have] ‘Before doing it we have to analyse it well.’ (Zubiri, ibid., 357)

74) *Heldu orduko, zutaz galdetu du*. [Arrive hour-relational, about-you asked it-he-have] ‘As soon as he arrived he asked for you.’ (ibid.)

75) *Konturatu orduko, umea kalean zegoen*. [Noticed hour-relational, child-def. street-in he-was] ‘By the time that s/he realised, the child was on the road.’ (ibid.)

Zubiri (2000: 357) asserts that these different uses are derived from the third type, ‘till, until’.

Looking at all these modes of expressing temporal proximity, we find that there are a fair number of possible strategies, and also considerable lexical variation. Temporal simultaneity can be expressed both by suffixes to the auxiliary and by non-finite forms with endings such as *-t(z)ean* (cf. 5.1.2.8).

A similarly large amount of variation has been observed for the Celtic languages under consideration here. In early Irish we find *i* for the expression of states and both *oc* and *for* for dynamic verbs:

76) Wb 13a12: *ma beid ní di rúnaib dothéi ar menmuin ind fir bíis inna*

¹¹³ The order of inflectional elements is reverse in the past tense of transitive verbs.

suidiu. ‘If any of the mysteries should come into the mind of the man who is sitting.’

77) Sg 213b4: *atá oco scribunt beos* ‘He is writing it still.’

78) Wb 15d9: ...act cach la sel dún for imrádud dé in sel aile for precept ar seirc dæ dogníam cechtarde. ‘But that we should be at one time meditating on God, at another time preaching. For the love of God we do each.’

Little difference, if any, is visible here between prepositions *oc* and *for*. The situation in Early Welsh is comparable: in addition to *yn* we find examples with *ar*.

79) CO 7: Sef y dyuu myn yd oed meichad yn cadw kenuein o uoch.

‘Where it occurred was a place where a swineherd was watching a herd of pigs.’

80) YCM 103.1: yny byd y dart ar y ehedec drwydaw ‘So that the dart goes through him on his flight.’

In the modern languages we have a more standardised system of temporal periphrasis, though there still is some variation. Modern Irish continues to use *ag* and *i* for dynamic and stative verbs respectively. Modern Welsh furthermore employs *dan* ‘under’ and *gan* ‘with’ for contemporary action:

81) Tynodd ei het gan ddangod y graith ar ei dalcen. ‘He took off his hat, showing the scar on his forehead.’ (Williams 1980: 114)

82) *Aeth hi allan o’r tŷ dan chwerthin*. ‘She went out of the house sweating.’ (ibid.)

Nevertheless, these are all examples of temporal clauses that provide a setting for the main clause. The only firmly established way of expressing present periphrasis with the verb ‘to be’ entails *oc/ag* for Irish dynamic verbs and *i* + possessive for state verbs. In Welsh *yn* is used, but the Welsh structure has a broader range than the Irish one. In Welsh *yn* + VN is employed for general present tense uses as well. The various examples above show certain similarities. All use spatial prepositions expressing close proximity and, except for *oc*, predominantly location on top of or within the action. It seems as if any marker or preposition more or less containing the same semantic range could serve to express contemporary periphrasis. The marked diversity exhibited by this Basque concept resembles that found in expressions of contemporaneity in Celtic.

5.2.2. Perfect formations

5.2.2.1. The morphological perfect

Somewhat unexpectedly, the dictionary forms of the verb are used with the respective auxiliaries, *izan* and *ukan*, in the present tense in order to express the perfect as in

83) *Hiru aldiz izan naiz Californian.* [Three times be I-am California-location] ‘I have been in California three times.’ (King 1994: 377)

The same form can also denote near or hodiernal past:

84) *Gaur zer ordutan altxatu zara?* [Today what hour-loc. rise you-are] ‘What time did you get up this morning (today)?’ (King 1994: 377)

85) *Bazkaldu aurretik liburudendara joan naiz [...]* . [Lunch before bookshop-allative go I-am] ‘Before lunch I went to the bookstore (today).’ (ibid.)

This structure can only be used for events that happened on the same day. For the previous day the analytic verbal forms with the past tense auxiliary must be used (i.e. *atzo zer ordutan altxatu zinen* ‘what time did you get up yesterday’). Trask (1995: 217) identifies these verbal forms as consisting of the radical to which a perfect suffix was added.

In Irish and Welsh, perfect forms were originally also marked by an augment added to what was in most cases the preterite verbal stem (see 3.2.7.5). In the modern languages the morphological perfect has been abandoned completely¹¹⁴ and was replaced by the prepositional constructions with *tar éis* and *i ndiaidh* in Irish and *wedi* in Welsh:

86) *Tá mé i ndiaidh/tar éis an bád a dhíol.* ‘I have sold the boat.’ (Christian Brothers, 1997: 93)

87) *Dw i wedi hala llythyr atat ti.* ‘I have sent you a letter.’ (King 1996: 169)

We can thus see a broadening in the use of former morphologically marked perfect forms both in Basque and Celtic.

¹¹⁴ Vestiges survive in preterite forms of some Modern Irish verbs such as *raibh*, the dependent preterite form of *tá* ‘to be’ or in copula forms like *ar* or *nior*, but without having retained the perfect meaning.

5.2.2.2 The resultative perfect

In order to express a result-state, a participle can be used predicatively. For this a periphrastic perfect can be used which consists of the dictionary form plus the article:

88) *Izen hori entzuna dut* [Name this hear-participle-art. it-have-I] ‘I have heard that name.’ King (1994: 396)

In addition, a participle construction exists, which has an ending *-ta/da* added to the dictionary form as in

89) *Aulki guztiak hartuta daude*. [Chair all taken they-are] ‘All the chairs are taken.’ (King 1994: 396)

90) *Hauek apurtuta daude*. [These broken they-are] ‘These are broken.’ (Zubiri 2000a: 156)

-ta/da is not a case ending used with other nouns. The source of this suffix is held to be the conjunction *eta* ‘and’, which has come to be attached to the dictionary form. This participle is often found followed by the postposition *gero* ‘after’ (Trask 1997: 218) and the development of the new participle could conceivably have taken place in a context such as the following:

91) *Hori ikusi (e)ta gero etorriko naiz*. [This see and later come-fut I-am] ‘I will come after having seen this.’

That this suffix is highly productive can be seen in cases where it is used with Spanish bases to form Basque participles, e.g. Spanish *grabado*, *cerrado*, Basque *grabatuta* ‘recorded’, *zerratuta* (Lekeitio) ‘closed’. If direct borrowing of this structure has not taken place, reinforcing influence of the phonetically similar Spanish structure on the Basque participle is no unlikely scenario.

A functional parallel to the Basque construction exists in Modern Irish stative passives of the kind *tá sé déanta agam* ‘I have done it’. The use of the passive participle can already be found in Old Irish, where it was used attributively with nouns, as in *márfesser deligthe and* ‘a choice of a group of seven [was] there’, and in predicate structures after relative verbs as in *a nas tórmachte* ‘that which is increased’ (Sg 208b13). This, however, is not found in (Modern) Welsh (cf. Pedersen, VGKS §630), which uses a verbal noun construction with the preposition *wedi* ‘after’ and a possessive pronoun as in *dw i wedi ei wneud* ‘I have done it’. This participle construction already existed in the earlier varieties of Welsh. *Bethu Brigitte* provides the earliest examples in the Irish corpus:

92) CO 1218: A llidyaw a oruc Arthur o welet y deu was hayachen wedy *eu llad*. ‘Arthur got angry at seeing the two lively boys having been killed.’

93) BB 527: *Boe oenchauru mblicht and iarna blegon*. ‘A single milk cow that had been milked was there.’

5.2.2.3 Posteriority

A further periphrastic construction in Basque deserves attention in this context. Like Celtic, Basque uses a non-finite construction to express temporal consecutivity. This involves the perfect participle, conjunction *eta* ‘and’ plus the particle *gero* ‘after’ (Zubiri 2000: 355-6):

94) *Partidua ikusi eta gero egingo ditut*. [Match-def. see and after do-fut them-have-I] ‘After watching the match I will do them.’ (Zubiri, *ibid.* 356.)

95) *Afaldu eta gero, Alde Zaharrarea joango gara*. [Dine and after part old-allative go-fut. we-are] ‘After having dinner we will go to the town centre.’ (*ibid.*)

Egin eta gero can be found in contexts where Modern Insular Celtic languages use constructions that consist of a preposition *thar éis/wedi* ‘after’ and verbal noun. In those cases a finite action follows the non-finite prepositional one. This corresponding Celtic construction can already be found in the medieval languages:

96) BB. 346: & iar mbeith a siurg bliadna[e] ba oentimthirhite in *n-aithche-sin*. ‘And after being ailing for a year, she was the only servant that night.’

97) CO 1115: A gwedy llad y gwyr hynny y rodes yr eil kyuarth udunt yn *y lle*. ‘And after killing these men he gave another battle to them in the place.’

These constructions clarify the temporal sequence of events and the prepositional phrase typically functions as a deictic pointer in the text.

Both Basque and Celtic have non-finite constructions to express temporal consecutivity. However, Basque, in contrast to Modern Irish and Welsh, uses two different types of constructions, a participle-based result-state perfect and also a postpositional structure in adverbial clauses.

5.2.3. Future formations

5.2.3.1 The basic future

The future in Basque is formed from the participle. A suffix is added to the participle in order to form the future participle. This suffix looks identical to the relational suffix *-ko*, with the allomorph *-go* after *n* and *l*. This form is used in the west, in the east the suffix is *-en*, and Trask (1995: 219) identifies this as the genitive, also termed ‘relational’, suffix.

98) *Beti maiteko zaitut.* [Always love-fut. you-I-am] ‘I will always love you.’ (Zubiri 2000: 267)

99) *Ezin izango naiz joan.* [Unable be-fut. I-am go] ‘I will not be able to go.’ (ibid.)

The auxiliary verb is not inflected for the future, only the stem form of the nominalisation changes. In addition to this future with the *-ko* marker, a periphrastically constructed future with a second auxiliary verb *behar* ‘need’ is emerging. *Behar* centrally denotes obligation, as in 100), but is also used by younger speakers to form a non-obligation future¹¹⁵:

100) *Ettxera joan behar dut.* [Class-allative go need it-I-have] ‘I have to go home.’ (King 1994: 385)

101) *Lentejak jan behar ditut.* [Lentils eat need them-I-have] ‘I will eat lentils.’¹¹⁶

102) *Bihar goizean etxean gelditu behar duzu?* [Tomorrow morning house-loc. remain need it-you-have] Will you stay at home tomorrow morning?¹¹⁷

The auxiliary *behar* is transitive and therefore any verb constructed with it will require the transitive auxiliary *ukan* ‘have’. In the first example the sense of obligation is clearly visible. Yet in other cases the speakers expressly denied a sense of obligation and rephrased them as *-ko* *-futures* when questioned. Reference to this periphrastic structure is not yet to be found in grammars, but its existence is confirmed by native speakers¹¹⁸. Where *behar* is used for future periphrasis, it obviously derives from the verb marking obligation. Obligation markers are frequent sources of future tenses cross-linguistically (compare Bybee et al. 1994: 258). The meaning of the structure VN + *behar* + auxiliary is transparent, but the connotation of obligation has been lost in some cases. This system is paralleled in Irish dialects by future

¹¹⁵ A. Belamendia, N. Iriarte, p.c.

¹¹⁶ A Belamendia, p.c.

¹¹⁷ N. Iriarte, p.c.

¹¹⁸ A. Belamendia, N. Iriarte, p.c.

marking with verbal nouns and the preposition *le* in cases like *tá Liam le teacht* ‘Liam is to come.’ (Christian Brothers, 1997: 129).

5.2.3.2 Priority

In order to express temporal location before another event, Basque typically uses constructions involving a non-finite form and a temporal adverbial. The most frequent manner is to use the perfect participle + *baino lehen*.

103) *Afaldu baino lehen(ago) joango naiz.* [Dine than before go-fut. I-am] ‘I will go before dining.’ (Zubiri 2000: 356)

104) *Egin baino lehen(ago), ondo pentsatu.* [Do than before well think] ‘Before doing (it), think well.’ (ibid.)

105) *Egin baino lehen, ondo pentsatu dut.* [Do but before, well thought it-I-have] ‘Before doing (it) I thought well.’

Baino lehen literally means ‘than-before’. It indicates that the event in question happens before the reference point which is expressed by a finite verb. It does not matter whether the speaker’s perspective is towards the past, the future or unspecified. An alternative expression uses the adverbial *aurretik* ‘from-before’ and functions identically (Zubiri, ibid.). Trask also mentions the form radical + *aintzin* in *etor aintzin* ‘before coming’ (Trask 1995: 214). He cites this in the context of constructions with the radical that were used more widely in earlier than in contemporary Basque material. *Baino lehen* and *aurretik* with the participle may be relatively modern forms, but the non-finite expression of temporal precedence has a long pedigree in Basque as is evidenced by the form involving the radical + *aintzin*. This Basque construction is matched typologically by Irish *re* plus verbal noun, and also by Welsh *cyn* + verbal noun (cf. 5.2.3 and also 2.3.2, 3.3.1).

106) Wb 28c4: *doberr teist diib ri techt graid forib* ‘Let testimony concerning them be given before they are ordained.’

107) B.De. 9.16: *A’r nos kynn dyvot y kennadeu at Dewi, Dewi a dywat vrth y disgyblon...* ‘And the night before the messengers came to David, David said to his disciples.’

In the medieval languages we only find examples of temporal adverbial clauses, not of the full periphrastic construction with the substantive verb. In the modern languages temporal periphrasis has developed in addition to temporal adverbial phrases. Irish employs *le* and *ar tí*, and in the later Welsh language the preposition *ar* is used for future periphrasis:

108) *Ghlan mé an tábla roimh imeacht domh.* ‘I cleaned the table before I went off.’ (Ó Siadhail 1989: 283)

109) *Tá an bád ar tí/le seoladh.* ‘The boat is about to sail.’

110) *Hwn yn addo mawredd i’w gariad, ac ynteu ar werthu ei dir.* ‘This (fellow) promising his lover greatness while on the verge of selling his land.’¹¹⁹ (Williams 1980: 114)

111) *Rydw i ar werthu fy nhir.* ‘I am about to sell my land.’¹²⁰

In the Modern Irish periphrastic futures we find both spatial/temporal proximity in *ar tí*, as well as a marker of obligation in the form of *le*. Welsh has gone yet another way, using the a preposition denoting ‘on, upon’. These periphrastic structures in the future thus appear to have developed from different sources than the temporal adverbial phrase. This is the case in Basque as well, where this temporal adverbial structure likewise is not used to form a periphrastic future.

5.2.4 Contexts without suffixation

In addition to the aspectual structures mentioned above iterativity can also be expressed. In contrast to the above forms, this is not marked on nominal forms of the verb or participles, but only on the inflected verb. The suffixes used for this are *-n bakoitzean* or *-n guztietan* or *-n gehienetan*:

112) *Saiatzen naizen bakoitzean, txarto ateratzen zait.* [Trying I-am-in each-while, badly managing it-I-have] ‘Every time I try I do it badly.’ (Zubiri 2000: 363)

113) *Joan naizen gehienetan, damutu egin naiz.* [Went I-am-in always, regretted did I-am] ‘Most times that I went I was sorry.’ (ibid.)

These forms are not particularly frequent. Neither they, nor others, appear with nominalised verbal forms to denote an iterative in Basque. This situation is broadly in line with Celtic, which has no separate iterative marking with verbal noun forms.

5.2.5 Survey of temporal constructions in Basque and Celtic

A number of non-finite verbal forms are used in analytic verbal formations in Basque. By adding an ending to the radical, the past, present or future may

¹¹⁹ This example has a status between adverbial and temporal periphrasis as it expresses an absolute construction.

¹²⁰ *Am* can be found with future reference, but it seems that the context is restricted to few phrases like *mae hi am law* ‘it is going to rain’ (William 1980: 132).

be expressed. Further tense or aspect markers can then be added. This is a survey of the possible forms used for tense and aspect marking in Basque:

Present formations	<i>-ten/tzen</i> present participle + <i>ari</i>
Proximity	perfect participle + <i>bezain laster</i> perfect participle + <i>-n arte</i>
Perfect	perfect participle + zero perfect participle + <i>ta/da</i>
Posteriority	perfect participle + <i>eta gero</i>
Future	perfect participle + <i>-ko/go</i> perfect participle + <i>behar</i>
Priority	perfect participle + <i>baino lehen</i>

For all forms that do not express action which is currently ongoing, and for those forms that express a background action to another event, the (perfect) participle is used as a base.

In the Basque material we thus have a variety of forms to choose from: where one exists, an inflected verbal form may be used. In addition to it an analytic form may be chosen. Furthermore, non-finite, verbal noun clauses can be added to locate another action in time. Examples are nominalisations with *-tzean* or *-tzerakoan*. These types would be comparable to the Celtic verbal nouns with prepositions which serve as temporal adverbials:

114) *Tá/bíonn/bhí sé ag obair*. 'He is/is wont to be/was working.' (Ó Siadhail 1989: 294)

115) *Tá sé le theacht amáireach*. 'He is to come tomorrow.' (ibid. 296)

116) *Tá sé thar éis/ i ndéidh imeacht*. 'He has gone off.' (ibid. 297)

117) *Y mae efyn cerdedd*. 'He is walking.' (Williams 1980: 114)

118) *Y mae ef ar geredd*. 'He is about to walk.'

119) *Y mae ef wedi cerdedd*. 'He walked.' (Williams, ibid.)

Irish and Welsh use verbal noun constructions in subordinate clauses for temporal clarification. In the corpus we find early examples of prepositions plus verbal nouns in adverbial phrases that denote contemporaneity, anteriority and posteriority. Their main function seems to be to clarify the narrative structure of a text. In addition to these adverbial phrases, the early stages of the languages also used the combination of substantive verb, spatial preposition and verbal noun but, in contrast to the modern languages, mainly for progressive periphrasis, even though Middle Welsh shows the beginnings of perfect periphrasis. These structures seem to have developed from spatial constructions. This type of temporal or aspectual periphrasis has then spread, presumably on the model of progressive periphrasis, to perfect and future constructions. In the modern languages fully symmetrical systems of tem-

poral periphrasis have developed. For these a variety of prepositions is used, particularly to denote contemporaneity. No complete grammaticalisation of one form over others seems to have happened but dialectal differences remain and certain semantic core features seem to qualify a given preposition for use in present, past or future periphrasis. The fact that prepositions do not seem to be clearly delimited in their use with verbal nouns may partly be explained by the assessment introduced in 1.3.6, namely that clear differences in the use of a spatial preposition are most apparent in concrete nominal senses.

6. Conclusion

1. In the two medieval Celtic languages examined, verbal nouns with prepositions appear in a variety of non-finite subordinate clauses. The collocations of prepositions and verbal nouns typically developed from crosslinguistically common indications of location or direction (cf. 1.6.3). They are frequent in temporal and aspectual contexts.

Other clause types in which verbal noun structures feature prominently in both Old Irish and Middle Welsh are purpose clauses formed with directional prepositions of common origin, Old Irish *do* and Middle Welsh *y* (2.2.5, 3.2.5 and 4.5). Furthermore, we can find optional use of verbal noun constructions in indirect speech and in causal or concessive clauses. The evaluation of the data expressing contemporaneous action involving Irish *oc*, examined in 2.2.2.1, and temporal precedence and posteriority as expressed by *re* and *iar*, investigated in 2.2.3.2 and 2.2.3.3 respectively, as well as those structures indicating contemporaneous action in Welsh by means of *yn*, discussed in 3.2.2.3, and temporal precedence and posteriority using *kyn(n)* and *gwedy* in 3.2.3 above, suggest that these usages developed from collocations of prepositions and verbal nouns in subordinate phrases and later grammaticalised in main clause uses.

In Old Irish we find the beginnings of a full system of verbal periphrasis to express the progressive and the perfect, as well as future intention, constructions, which are found in Modern Irish and in Modern Welsh. However, in Old Irish and Middle Welsh fully developed periphrasis with the verb ‘to be’ is mainly found in what may be termed progressive constructions with the prepositions *oc* and *yn* respectively (see 2.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.3 above). It is suggested that their grammaticalisation as aspect markers may have resulted from parallel developments rather than from derivation from a common protoform, and it is argued that an alternative common source for marking contemporaneity could also be found in the Proto-Celtic preposition **in* ‘in’.

Temporal relations other than contemporaneity are expressed by structures functioning as subordinate adverbial phrases. The latter seem to have extended to full periphrastic contexts on the analogy of constructions involving *oc* and *yn*. It has been shown that the sum of periphrastically formed tense and aspect structures in both Irish and Welsh has also increased over time (5.2.5). This is in line with a certain rise in frequency of verbal noun constructions overall as illustrated by the figures from Old and Middle Irish

(1.5.2). As far as verbal noun structures without prepositions are concerned, uses of the verbal noun are more restricted in Irish than in Welsh.

2. The Welsh verbal noun has wider applications within the verbal paradigm: in Middle Welsh it could form a perfect form with *ry-* (see 3.2.7.5) and in literary texts repeated use of verbal nouns is frequently found without the addition of an inflected verb (3.4.3). Furthermore, during the attested history of Welsh, the verbal noun has increasingly come to be used for the imperative (5.1.2.7). In both these Insular Celtic languages the verbal noun is also widely used in collocations where it is an object of certain verbs. This is particularly true of Welsh, which makes extensive use of periphrasis with *gwneuthur* ‘do’ (3.4.1). ‘Do’-periphrasis in Old and Middle Irish, on the other hand, appears to have a more marginal existence. Where it is found, it may be understood as an auxiliary-like construction. This also applies to structures incorporating the verbal noun with *gaibid* ‘take (to)’ (2.4.2 and 2.4.3). The Old Irish *figura etymologica*, which has no attested parallels in Welsh, seems to have been inherited from an earlier, possibly even to some extent Indo-European, stage but it was largely defunct by the Middle Irish period (2.4.1).

3. Data from the Basque language has illustrated an alternative system of making use of nominalised verb forms. Celtic differs from Basque in that it uses one structure, the verbal noun and prepositional constructions where Basque uses two distinct types of formations based on verbal stems. On the one hand, there exist nominalisations based on the verbal root and a suffix (*-t(z)e*), which can be inflected like ordinary nouns. These fulfill various syntactic functions including use in a variety of subordinate clauses (see 5.1.2.3). In order to denote tense and aspect in verbal periphrasis, on the other hand, two further, uninflected participles can be found. These are the present participle in *-tzen* and a participle, also used as the dictionary form, to express completed actions (5.1.2.2 and 5.1.2.5). The comparison of the Celtic and Basque systems therefore illustrates that in contrast to Celtic Basque shows a clear distinction of nominalisations used for verbal periphrasis and for other syntactic contexts. A further difference between the two systems is that the Celtic languages investigated express verbal aspect by marking on the auxiliary, which also carries the information on tense. In Basque, unlike Celtic, the auxiliary carries information on the tense, whereas aspect is expressed by the nominalisation itself. An internal reason why aspect marking in Basque appears on the lexical verb rather than on the auxiliary, as for instance in Irish or Welsh, may be found in the heavy functional load already carried by its auxiliaries. These carry ergative, absolutive and dative relations in addition to tense and mood. Under these circumstances marking of aspect on the auxiliary as well could result in a functional overload of the already heavily loaded auxiliaries. It may have been this functional overload that led to the creation of split structures in the first place.

4. The relevance of this observation for the Old Irish material is that it could likewise be argued for Old Irish that the rather complex verbal system might have provided a motive for the rise of periphrastic verbal expressions. This, however, would be less applicable to Middle Welsh, which shows an even stronger tendency towards analyticisation than Irish.

Furthermore, periphrastic structures are widespread within the languages of the world, with clear examples also found in Afro-Asiatic languages such as Hebrew. We must, therefore, assume that in addition to common origin, other features may contribute to the rise and development of non-finite and periphrastic structures independently in a given language. These features may include both typological, as well as general cognitive ones. It would therefore be desirable to investigate the development and behaviour of nominalised verbal structures in further languages in order to determine which additional similarities and differences can be observed in their usage. This would shed more light on which patterns effectively influence the genesis expressions containing non-finite verbal structures both in the Celtic languages and in other language families.

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