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OUTLINES
OF
GAELIC ETYMOLOGY

BY THE LATE

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

ENEAS MACKAY, STIRLING

1909,
PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

I. Indo-Iranian or Arian, divisible into two branches:

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

1 2 See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
II. **Gaelic Etymology.**

(b) Iranian branch, which comprises Zend or Old Bactrian (circ. 1000 B.C.), Old Persian and Modern Persian.

II. **Greek or Hellenic,** inclusive of ancient and modern Greek (from Homer in 800 B.C. onwards). Ancient Greek was divided traditionally into three dialects—Ionie (with Attic or literary Greek), Doric, and Æolic.

III. **Italic,** divided in early times into two main groups—the Latin and the Umbro-Ocean. From Latin are descended Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Rheto-romanic and Roumanian, called generally the Romance languages.

IV. **Celtic,** of which anon,

V. **Teutonic,** which includes three groups—(a) East Teutonic or Gothic (fourth cent. A.D.); (b) North Teutonic or Scandnavian, inclusive of Old Norse and the modern languages called Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish; and (c) West Teutonic, which divides again into High German (whence modern German), the Old High German being a language contemporary with Old Irish, and Low German, which includes Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, and Frisian.

VI. **Balto-Slavonic or Letto-Slavonic,** which includes Lithuanian, dating from the seventeenth century, yet showing remarkable traces of antiquity, Lettic, Old Prussian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now extinct, Old Bulgarian or Church Slavonic, into which the Bible was translated in the ninth century, and the Slavonic modern languages of Russia, etc.

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

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

| Celtic         | Irish          |
|               | Manx           |
| Q Group       | Gædelic        |
|              | Dialects in Spain and Gaul (?) |
| P Group       | Gallo-Brittonic |
|               | Brittonic      |
|               | Breton         |
|               | Cornish        |
|               | Welsh          |
|               | Gaulish—various |
|               | Pictish        |

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

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4 5 See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
down, and also a few words of the ordinary speech have been recorded by the Classical writers. The language of Brittany came from Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, and it may have found remains in Brittany of the kindred Gaulish tongue. The Brittonic languages—Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—appear first in glosses as early as the eighth century. These glosses are marginal or super-linear translations into Celtic of words or phrases in the Latin texts contained in the MSS, so "glossed." The period of the glosses is known as the "Old" stage of the languages—Old Breton, Old Cornish, Old Welsh. Real literary works do not occur till the "Middle" period of these tongues, commencing with the twelfth century and ending with the sixteenth. Thereafter we have Modern or New Breton and Welsh as the case may be. In this work, New Breton and New Welsh are denoted simply by Breton and Welsh without any qualifying word.

The Gaelic languages—Irish, Manx, and Scottish Gaelic—have a much closer connection with one another than the Brittonic languages. Till the Reformation and, indeed, for a century or more thereafter, the Irish and Scottish Gaelic had a common literary language, though the spoken tongues had diverged considerably, a divergence which can be traced even in the oldest of our Gaelic documents—the Book of Deer. In the eighteenth century Scottish Gaelic broke completely with the Irish and began a literary career of its own with a literary dialect that could be understood easily all over the Highlands and Isles. Manx is closely allied to Scottish Gaelic as it is to the Irish; it is, so far, a remnant of the Gaelic of the Kingdom of the Isles.

The oldest monuments of Gaelic literature are the Ogam inscriptions, which were cut on the stones marking the graves of men of the Gaelic race. They are found in South Ireland, Wales and Eastern Pictland as far as the Shetland Isles, and belong mostly to the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The alphabet, which is formed on a proto-telegraphic system by so many strokes for each letter above, through, or below a stem line, is as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b}, \quad \text{l}, \quad \text{f}, \quad \text{n}; \quad \text{h}, \quad \text{d}, \quad \text{t}, \quad \text{c}, \quad \text{q}; \\
\text{m}, \quad \text{g}, \quad \text{ng}, \quad \text{z}, \quad \text{r}; \quad \text{a}, \quad \text{o}, \quad \text{u}, \quad \text{e}, \quad \text{i.}
\end{align*}\]

See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
Examples of Ogam inscriptions are:

Sagrammi maqi Cunotami
"(The stone) of Sagramnos son of Cunotamus."

Maqi Deceddas aviv Toranias
"Of the son of Deces O' Toranis."

Cunanettas m[aqi] mucoi Nettasegamonas
"Of Cunanes son of the son of Nettasegamon."

Tria maqa Mailagni
"Of the three sons of Maolan."

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

Irish is divided into the following four leading periods:

I. **OLD IRISH**: from about 800 to 1000 A.D. This is the period of the glosses and marginal comments on MSS. Besides some scraps of poetry and prose entered on MS. margins, there is the Book of Armagh (tenth century), which contains continuous Old Irish narrative. 9

II. **EARLY IRISH**, or Early Middle Irish: from 1000 to 1200 A.D. —practically the period of Irish independence after the supersession of the Danes at Clontarf and before the English conquest. The two great MSS. of *Lebor na h-Uidre*, the Book of the Dun Cow, and the Book of Leinster mark this period. Many documents, such as Cormac’s *Glossary*, claimed for the earlier period, are, on account of their appearance in later MSS., considered in this work to belong to this period.

III. **MIDDLE IRISH**: from 1200 to 1550 (and in the case of the Four Masters and O’Clery even to the seventeenth century in many instances). The chief MSS. here are the Yellow Book of Lecan, the Book of Ballimote, the *Leabhar Breac* or Speckled Book, and the Book of Lismore.

IV. **MODERN**, or **NEW IRISH**, here called **IRISH**: from 1550 to the present time.

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

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

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

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

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

I. PHONETICS.

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

§ 1. ALPHABET.

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

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

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The Gaelic vowels are divided into two classes—broad and small. The broad vowels are a, o, u; the small, e, i. The Gaelic diphthongs\textsuperscript{14} represent (1) simple sounds, (2) real diphthong sounds, or (3) modification of the consonants and carrying out of the law of "broad to broad and small to small." They are as follows:—

$$
\begin{align*}
ai, ao, [au]^* & \quad \ddot{ai} \\
ea, ei, eo, eu, eo & \quad \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}
\end{align*}
$$

$$
\begin{align*}
ia, io, iu, iu & \quad \ddot{io} \\
oi, [ou]^* & \quad \ddot{oi} \\
ua, ui & \quad \ddot{ui}
\end{align*}
$$

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

Triphthongs occur in the course of inflection, and in the case of ao otherwise. These are—aoi, eoi, iai, iui, uai, eoi, iu.

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

I. Liquids.—The liquids are l and r, with the nasals n and m. In writing, m only is "aspirated," becoming to the eye mh, to the ear a v with nasal influence on the contiguous vowels. The other liquids, l, n, and r, are really aspirated in positions requiring aspiration, though no h is attached to show it.\textsuperscript{15} There is, however, only a slight change of sound made in these letters by the aspiration—a more\textsuperscript{16} voiced sound being given them in the aspirating position.

II. Mutes and Explosives.—These all suffer aspiration when intervocalic. They are classified as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>$\text{ph, bh}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>$\text{th, dh}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutturals</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>$\text{ch, gh}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dentals d and t become spirants\textsuperscript{17} when in contact with, or flanked by, the "small" vowels e and i. The other mutes are not affected by such contact.\textsuperscript{18} The aspirate sounds are—$\text{ph = f, bh = v, th = h, dh}$ and $\text{gh}$ before e, $\text{i = y, ch = German and Scotch ch.}$

\textsuperscript{*} Dialectal, before ñ, nn, nh, bh, though not in the script.

\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{17}\textsuperscript{18} See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
III. The Spirants.—These, outside the above spirant-made mutes, are $f$ and $s$. The sound [resembling E.] $sh$ is represented by $s$ flanked with "small" vowels. The aspirate forms of these are—$f^h$ (= the Greek open breathing or nothing practically), G. $sh^a$ (= $h$).

_Celtic Alphabet._

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

I. **Vowels:**
   - Short—$i$, $u$, $e$, $o$, $a$
   - Long—$i$ ($=i$, $i^e$), $u$, $e$ ($=ei$), $o$ ($=au$), $a$ ($=\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{a}$)
   - Diphthongs—$ei$, $oi$, $ai$, $eu$, $ou$, $au$

II. **Liquids**—$r$, $l$, $m$, $n$

III. **Spirants**—$h$, $s$, $j$, $v$

IV. **Explosives:**
   - Tenues. Medie.
   - Labials. ..... — $b$
   - Dentals. ......... $t$ $d$
   - Gutturals. ......... $k$, $kv$, $(p)$ $g$, $gv$ ($l$)

It has to be noted that Indo-European $p$ initial and intervocalic is lost in Celtic. Before another consonant, it manifests its former presence by certain results which still remain. Thus I. E. $septu$ is G. seachd, supno-$s$ becomes suan.

_Indo-European Alphabet._

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

I. **Vowels:**
   - Short—$i$, $u$, $e$, $o$, $a$, $\varnothing$
   - Long—$i$, $u$, $e$, $o$, $a$, $\varnothing$
   - Diphthongs—$ei$, $oi$, $ai$, $eu$, $ou$, $au$
   - $ei$, $oi$, $\ddot{ai}$, $\ddot{eu}$, $\ddot{ou}$, $\ddot{au}$

II. **Semi-vowels**: $i$, $u$, represented in this work always by $j$, $v$. See the spirants.

III. **Consonant-vowels**: $r$, $l$, $m$, $n$, $f$, $v$, $v$

IV. **Liquids and Nasals**: $r$, $l$, $m$, $n$

V. **Spirants**: $j$, $v$, $s$, $z$

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19 [See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.](#)
VI. EXPLOSIVES\textsuperscript{20} :— Tenues. Medio. Aspirates.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Labial & \ldots & \(\ell\) & \(b\) & \(ph, bh\) \\
Dental & \ldots & \(t\) & \(d\) & \(th, dh\) \\
Palatal & \ldots & \(k\) & \(g\) & \(kh, gh\) \\
Velar & \ldots & \(q\) & \(g\) & \(gh, gh\)
\end{tabular}

§ 2. VOWEL MODIFICATION.

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

\textit{Mutation by “e” or “i.”}

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

\(o\) becomes (1) \(oi\) : \textit{sgoltadh}, \textit{spoltite}.
(2) \(ui\) : \textit{bonn}, g. \textit{buinn}, post, g. \textit{puist}.
\(u\) becomes \(ui\) : \textit{dubh}, comp. \textit{duibhe}.
\(e\) becomes \(ei\) : \textit{beir} for \(*\textit{bere}, catch thou}.
\(a\), \(o\), \(i\) become \(\ddot{a}\), \(\ddot{o}\), \(\ddot{i}\) : \textit{lòimhe}, \textit{òige}, \textit{diùin}.
\(ea\), \(iu\), \(ua\) become triphthongs ; [the digraph \textit{ao+i} forms a
\textit{diphthong}].

\(ea\) becomes (1) \(ei\) : \textit{each}, g. \textit{eich}.
(2) \(i\) : \textit{ceann}, g. \textit{cían} ; the usual mutation.
\(eu\), with liquids, becomes \(\textit{eòi} : \textit{beul}, g. \textit{beòil}$. It sometimes
becomes \(ao\) : \textit{eudann}, \textit{aodann}.
\(ia\) is restored to \(\ddot{e}\) : \textit{fiadh}, g. \textit{féidh} ; irregularly—\textit{fiaf}, crooked,
\textit{beidh}, \textit{beidh}, \textit{bi-idh}].
\(io\) becomes \(i\) : \textit{fionn}, g. \textit{fìnn}.

\textit{Mutation by “o” or “a.”}

\(o\) becomes \(a\), a mutation of principal syllables rare in Irish :
\(ca\), Ir. \(cos\), original \(*\textit{cosa} ; \textit{cadal} for \textit{codal}.
\(u\) becomes \(s\) : \textit{sruth}, g. \textit{srotha} ; \textit{nuadh}, \textit{nodha}.
\(e\) becomes \(ea\) : \textit{cearc} from \(*\textit{cerca}.

\textsuperscript{20} See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
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i becomes ea : fear from *viro-s.
ét becomes éa : the stem féidh becomes fiadh in the nom. (*veido-s).
i becomes io : fior from *viro-s.

Mutation by “u.”

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

§ 3. INDO-EUROPEAN AND GAELIC VOWELS.

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

I. E. i.

(1) Gaelic i, O. Ir. i, W. y.
bith, world, O. Ir. bith, W. byd, Br. bed : *bitu-s, root gi. So ith, iidir, nigh, fir (gen. and pl. of fear), as also vid from nead, etc.).

(2) G. ea, O. Ir. e.
beatha, life, O. Ir. bethu : *bitu-s, stem *bitut-, root gi. So ead, it, fear, geamhradh, meand, nead, seas, seasg, sleamhainn, sneachd.

(3) G. io, O. Ir. i.
G. fiodh, wood, O. Ir. fid, W. gwydd, Br. gwez : *vidu-. So jios, ioddh. The io of fionn, O. Ir. jind is due to the liquid and medial mute, which together always preserve the i and even develop it from an original u or en (yb, ud, ng).

(4) G., O. Ir. iu.
This is a mutation by u : fiuich, wet, from *obilu-; tigh, *tiug-s.

I. E. u.

(1) G., O. Ir. u, W. w (o).

(2) G., O. Ir. o.

I. E. e.

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

(2) G. ea, O. Ir. e.
G. each, horse, O. Ir. ech, W. ebol, Lat. equus. So numerous words—eadh, space, bean, heart, cearc, dearc, dearg, deas, feary, geal, geas, meadhon, meanmna, meas, neart, reacht, seachd, seachd, sean, searg, teadh.

(3) G. ei, O. Ir. e.
G. beir, take, O. Ir. berim, W. adfer, Lat. fero. So beil (meil), cel, ceirtle, ceithir, deich, deis, [Dial.] ready, meirbh, seinn, teich, teine.

(4) G., O. Ir. i.
G., O. Ir. fine, tribe, root ven, O. H. G. wini, Ag. S. wine, friend. So cineal, gin, ite, mil, misg, sinnsear, tigh, tighearna.

(5) G., O. Ir. i.
G., O. Ir. i., W. her, Lat. veru. So iol-, stiochd, smior, biolaire, ciomach, tioram.

(6) G. ui in ruith, rinn = rinn (bis), ruighinn and righinn: (Cf. roinn, [Dial.] did, for rinn; ruigheadh). So trusdair, stuthaig.

(7) Compensatory long vowels in G. and O. Ir. These arise from loss of one consonant before another, one of which must be a liquid.

a. ent becomes G. eud, O. Ir. ét. G. ceud, first, O. Ir. cét, W. cynt. So seud, journey. Similarly *enk; G. eug, death, O. Ir. éc; *brenká, G. breug, lie, O. Ir. bréc, ; *enkt, G. euichd, E. Ir. écht (Cf. creuchd, *cremp-?); *centsó; G. ceus, crucify. Parallel to these forms in ent, enk are those in nt, nk, such as ceud, one hundred, O. Ir. cét, W. cant, Lat. centum (so deud, eug, geug).

b. ebl : in G. neul, cloud, O. Ir. nél, W. niul.
egr : in G. feur, grass, O. Ir. fér, W. gwair.
egn : in G. feun, O. Ir. fén : *vegno-s.
etl : in G. sgeul, O. Ir. scéil, W. chwedl.
etn : in G. cun, O. Ir. én, W. edn.

c. G. eadar and thig show short vowels for original *enter and enk. This is due to sentence accent in the case of eadar and to the word accent in the case of thig or to both.

For ceum, leum, etc., see under ν.

I. E. o.

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

(2) G., O. Ir. u, ui.
   G., O. Ir. muir, sea, W. mór, Br. mor, from *mori. So druim (*dros-men), guidhe, guil, guin, sgur, sudhe, vidhe, uileann, uireann, gu, to, cu, fur- (for = *vor).

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

   a. Compensatory long vowels.
   G. dual, lock of hair; *doglo-, Got. tagl, Eng. tail. So ol (*potlo-), buain, (*bog-ni- or *bongni-), eilain, euan, buan, srôn, cómh-

I. E. a.

(1) G. a, ai, O. Ir. a, W. a.
   G., O. Ir. can, sing, W. cana, Lat. cono. So many words, such as abhainn, aí-, agh, air, altrimn, anail, anam, cac, damh, gad, mac, maide, marc, nathair, salann, &c.

(2) G. à before rd, rn, m.
   See ard, bard, barr, cärn, sguird, cäm, âm, mâm.

(3) G. i.
   In two cases only: mac, g. mic; sile [Dial. for seile], saliva, O. Ir. seile.

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

(5) G. ea, ei for e.
   G. seileach, willow, E. Ir. sail, W. helyg, Lat. sálíx. So ealtuinn, eile, eir- for air-, eleach, [Dial.] training, deigh, ice.

(6) G. oi.
   This change of I. E. a into Gaelic oi is due mostly to a liquid followed by a “small” vowel.
   G. oil, rear, E. Ir. aílim, Lat. alo. So oir for air-, coileach, goir, troigh, coire, loinn, &c., and goid, oide.

(7) Compensatory lengthenings in G.
   a. As à, ãi:
      G. dàil, meeting, O. Ir. dál, W. daeill, where -atlo- is the original combination. -agr- appears in nàire, sàr, àr.
b. As eu, ao, ia:

It has been seen that ceud, hundred, corresponds to W. can’s, Lat. centum. The Celtic, in these cases, is regarded as having been ye, yk, (*kuto-n). See under n.

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

I. E. ə.

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

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

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

I. E. Long Vowels.

I. E. i and ə are so intimately bound with ei and eu (ou) that it is difficult to say often whether we have to deal with the simple vowel or the diphthong as the original. For i see li, sin, sgith, brigh; for ə, see cul, duil, element, din, cliu, much, muin, rùn, ur. The W. in both cases (i, ə) show simple i.

I. E. ē appears in Celtic as i̯, G. ì: as in G. fior (fìr), true, O. Ir. fér, W. and Br. gwir, Lat. vèrus. So lion, nìal (niòl), mìos rìgh, sìdh, sìol, sìor, tìr, sìomh.

I. E. ò and ã appear both as à in the Celtic languages—Gaelic à, W. aw, Br. eu. For ò see blùth, gnòth, lòr, dàn, snòth. For ã, see bán, bràthair, cnàimh, cùr, clòr, dàimh, fàidh, gàir. màthair, sòth, tòmha. But rùn, ròn, nòs, mòin, all from à? ò in finals, etc., may equal u: *svesor = O. Ir. siur, fiur, Med. Ir. siúr.

I. E. Diphthongs.

I. E. ei (ë, ë) appears in G. in two forms—as ëi and ia. Thus—

a. G. ėi, O. Ir. ài, W. wy, Br. oe, ao. See fìith, gèill, mèith, réidh, séid, sméid. 22

21 22 See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
b. G. ia, O. Ir. ia. This is due to the influence of a succeeding broad vowel. See cia, cioll, ciathach, criathar, riadh, fiannis, giall, iarun, liagh, riadh, riar, sgiauth, shiab. Consider these—feuch, lèan, glè, and, possibly, gèadh.

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

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

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

a. G. ua, O. Ir. iu, W., Br. u.
G. buaidh, victory, O. Ir. buaid, W. bud, Gallo-British Boudicca, "Victoria." See also buachail, cluas, tuath ruadh, ruathar, truagh, tuath, vasal.

b. G. ò; as boidheach from buaidh, trócair from truagh, lòchran, còs for cuas.

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

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

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

I. E. y, j, v.

I. E. y and j disappear in Gadelic, but are preserved in the Brittonic as i. Thus ioc, heal, O. Ir. iocaím, W. jach, I. E. yakos, Gr. äkos, Skr. yajas; see deigh and òg. For I. E. j, compare G. eorna, for eò-rna, *jeo-, Gr. ιέο, spelt, Skr. yāva; also eud, jealousy, *jantu-, Gr. ιαυ, zeal, Skr. yata.á.

I. E. v is thus dealt with:—

(1) Initial v: G., O. Ir. f, W. gw, as in G. falt, hair, Ir. folt, W. gwalt; also faidh, Lat. vates, feachd, fear, Lat. vir, fiadh, fechad, fine, fiadh, with succeeding consonant in flath (*vla-ti-), fluich, fraoich, fras, freumh, etc.

See Supplement to Outlines of Gaelic Etymology.
(2) Intervocalic v. This disappears in G. leaving the vowels to coalesce with varying results, thus:

a. -ivo- produces eo, as in beò, *givo-s, Lat. vivus, or ia in biadh (*biwoto-n, cf. dia), dian.
b. -evo- produces eo, as in ceò, *skevo-, Eng. shower; deò, W. dyve, *devo-, Lat. fìmus, còrna. Stokes gives cìù as *klevos, Thurneysen as kloves-
d. -avi- in ogha (*pavios); òath (*davò); -avo- in clò.
e. -eivi- in gle, -eivo- in clò.

(3) Post-consonantal v.

a. After liquids it becomes bh. See garbh, marbh, searbh, tarbh, dealbh, seanbh, banbh.
b. After explosives it disappears save after d, (gv): feadhbh, widow, O. Ir. fedbh, fachbh, baobh. For gj, see g below.
c. After s, it sometimes disappears, sometimes not. Thus piuthar is for *swesòr, O. Ir. siur, whereas in searbh (*svervo-s), solus (but follas), seinn, etc., it disappears.

The Consonant Vowels.

These are i, ì, u, ù; ì, i, ù, ù. The regular representation of i, ì in G. is ri, li (mutated forms being rea, rei, lea, lei). See the following regular forms—bris, brìtheamh, fri, lit; also the modified forms—bleath, bleoghainn, breith, cleith, dreach, leamhann, leathan (!).

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

Add the following:—alt, carbad (Lat. corbis), bàrr, bòrd, cairt, garg, mall, dàl, sgàrd (Lat. muescera), tarat, tar; fras, flath, fraigh, graigh, braich. With modified vowels in—coille (*caldet-), doire, foil, goile, goird, sgòilt.

The long vowels ò and ì appear regularly as rà (1) là. See làn (*pl-no-, Skr. purnas), slàn, tlàth, blàth. Long ò seems to appear as är in dàir, màireach, tàireag (1).25

Vocalic n and m may be looked for in G. samhail, which Brugmann explains as sunmblè-s, in tana, thin; reversed in magh and nasg.

Compensatory y plays a great part in G., appearing usually as eu (ao). We have èund, hundred, W. act, deed, W. dant, teud,
OUTLINES OF GAELIC ETYMOLOGY.

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

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

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

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

Ante-consonantal r and l preserve the explosives after them—àrd, bàrd, ceart, neart, dearg, dearc, allt, calltùinn, gilb, balg, cealy, oile, etc.

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

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

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

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

a. Before the liquids, n is assimilated to m and l, and disappears before r.
b. Before the labials, _n_ becomes _m_ in modern Gaelic. Before _t, c_, the _n_ disappears with lengthening of the previous vowel, as in _ceud_, first, _breug_, _còig_. Before _d_ and _g_, it is preserved, as in _cumhang_, _fulaing_, _muing_, _seang_, but it assimilates _d_—_flonn_ (*vindo-s_), _binn_, _inn_. For _-nj_ see under _n_ and _g_.

c. Before _s_, _n_ disappears as before _t_ and _c_. Compare _miös_, _feusag_, _grios_, _sios_.

(5) Post-consonantal _n_ disappears after _l_, leaving _ll_ (see under _l_), but is preserved after _r_, as in _còrn_, _èrna_, _tighearna_ etc.

a. After _s_, that is, _-sn_ becomes _-nn_; as in _dronn_ for *_dros-no_, _donn_, _uinsean_, _cannach_, _brinnie_, etc.

b. The mutes, _t, d, c, g_, _p_, disappear with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel: _-tn_ as in _eun_, _brùn_, _bòin_; _-dn_ as in _bruan_, _smuain_; _-en_ is doubtful—_tòm_, also _sgewen_, _brevun_, _leòd_; _-gn_, as in _feun_, _bròn_, _uan_, _sròn_; _-pn_, as in _suain_, _cluain_, _cònan_; _-pn_? _tegno_ = _tèn_; _apnio_ = _dòn_ (Lit. _aps_); _lipn_ = _lòn_, follow; _supn_ = _suan_; _copn_ = _cònan_ (Stokes); _cn_, _gn_, and _tn_ initial become _r_ in pronouncing; but the vowel is nasal— _gnàth_ is _gràth_ with nasal _à_; _bn_ becomes _mn_, as in _mnaoi_, pronounced _mraoi_; even _snàth_ becomes dialectally _sràth_, especially in oblique cases.

c. After _b_, that is, _bn_ changes into _mh-n_, as in _domhan_ (*_dubno-_), _steamhuinn_.

The G. combination _-nn_ arises therefore from (1) _n_ before _n_, (2) _n_ before _d_, and (3) from _-sn_; or (4) it is a doubling of _n_ in an unaccented syllable at the end of a word (tìghinn, etc.), or, rarely, of a one-syllable word like _cinn_, _cluinn_, _lìnn_. In Islay, _-in_ becomes _-inn_; _duinne_ is for _duine_; _minne_ gen. of _min_, etc. In general, _glinne_ is comp. of _glan_.

Initial _m_ appears in _miös_, _mùir_, _mil_, _maide_, etc. Before the liquids _r_ and _l_, the _m_ becomes _b_, as in _braich_, _brìth_, _brugh_, _blàth_, _bleith_, _bleoghairinn_. Intervocalic _m_ is always aspirated—_geimheal_, _amhuis_, like, _cruimh_, _amh_, _dàmh_, _cùaimh_, _fàmh_, _caomh_. In combinations with other consonants, various results occur:—

(1) Pre-consonantal _m_.

a. Before liquids, _m_ is preserved in an aspirated form (*_geamh-radh_, etc.), but there are no certain ancient cases. Of course, _m_ before _m_ results in preserved _m_ (cf. _amadan_, _comas_, _comain_).
b. Before s, m should disappear, but no certain Celtic cases seem to occur. In the historic language, m before s results in mp or p as usually pronounced, as in rompa for rom + s; that is, *rom-scho; so iompaidh, umpa.

c. Before the explosives. Original mb is now m, as in the prefix im-, iom-, in imleag, tom. I. E. m before t and k ( ž ) became n (as in ceud, breug), and disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Compare also áidean, eiridinn. Prehistoric mg, md fail us; in the present language both appear aspirated (mgh, mhdh).

(2) Post-consonantal m. After the liquids r, l, and n, the m is preserved. Whether an intermediate s is in some cases to be postulated is a matter of doubt (as in gaírm, from *gar-s-men? W. garm). See cuírm (W. ceurw), gorn, seirm, deilm, calma, ainm, meanmna, anmoch.

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

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

Preserved G. m, intervocalic or final, may arise from (1) m or n before m, (2) s before m (also -bsm, -tsm, -ism, -ism, -gsm), (3) -ngm, or -ugm, as in ceum, leum, beum, gern, or -ndm as in leum, (4) ng becoming mb as in im, tum, tom, etc., or (5) mb (mhh), as in iim, iom-

§ 5. VOWEL GRADATION OR ABLAUT.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Deflected</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. e-series</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>but</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ē-series</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>جمال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ā-series</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>جمال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ō-series</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>جمال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. a-series</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. o-series</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>(o)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corresponding to the e, o, nil series are the two “strong” vowel grades ē, ā, as in sed, sit, sod, sōd, si-zd, found in Latin sedeo (sed), G. suidhe (sod), G. sīīth [properly sīdh], peace (sēd), Eng. soot (sōd), Lat. sīīdo (si-zd).

The e-series in full is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Deflected</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e simple</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er (or el, en, em)</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To all these correspond “reduced” long forms—to ei belongs ē, to eu belongs ā, and to the consonant-vowels correspond the long ē, ē, ē. We may also here add the triple ve, vo, u (vet, vot, uī), as in G. feitheamh, uīne, uēridh; vel, vol, uī as in falt, O. Ir., Mod. Ir. folt, olann).

Some Gaelic examples will now be given.

(1) The e-series. G. eadh, uīde from *pedo-, *podio-; tigh, tugha, from *tegos, *tōgio-; geas, guidhe from ged, god; cleachd, cleas, cluich, etc. In ei we have the complete set mei, moit, mit in mēith, maoth, meata or miosu; further cliauthach, claoi from klei, kloi; fianuis, fios from veid, vid; gašt, geamhradh from ghoi, ghi; and others. The diphthongs eu, ou cannot be differentiated, but the short form of the root occurs, as in ruadh, rovided from roud, rudd; buail, buille from bhoud, bhud; cluas, chūinn from kleu, klu; nuadh, nodha (?) The liquids show the changes also: beiv, breith from ber, br, and in the sense of speech we have also brath, judgment (břt-u-).

The root pel is especially rich in forms: iol (*pelu-), uile (*polo-), lōon (*plēno-, Lat. plēnus, from plē), lān (either *plēno, plō, Eng. flood, or *pl-no-, from pl-), that is, root forms pel, pol, pl, plē, plō, pl, meaning “full.” In n we have teann, tana (*tendo- ānnavo-), according to Brugmann), and teud; from gen we get the long forms gnē in gnōmhb and gnō in gnōth. In nem we have nēamh, heaven, O. Ir. nem, and nāmhaid, foe, from nōm (Gr. νομάω).
(2) The e and other series. One of the best examples of the e series is snê, snô (snê), spin, which gives snômabh (*snêmû-*) and snàth, thread (*snàtie-*). From sê comes sìol (*sélo-*) and, possibly, sàth, transfix (sòto-). The a- series is not differentiated in G. nor is the o- series; but from a short we get, among others, the root àg, lead, in aghuidh, etc., and àg in agh, success, àghach, warlike. The diphthong ai has as its "reduced" grade i. The name Aodh in Mackay represents O. Ir. Aed, aed, fire, Gr. aúdo, I burn.

§ 6. The Spirants.

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

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

a. I. E sv appears in Gadelic as s usually; more rarely as f and p or t; in W. the form is chw. See searbhe, seals, sè, sibh, séid, etc. The G. puthar appears in Ir. as siur, fiwr, from *svesôr, while pill (*svelnî-) gives fill and till; compare also séid (têis).

b I. E. sp (spfh) is treated in Celtic much as sv. And spr appears as sr; cf. sròn, straightlich, slis, sonn, sealg, sine.

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

I. E. sg, sg gl, appear in Gadelic as sg, O. Ir. sc, as in sgàth, sgath, sguir, etc. The W. precedes the sg with a y as in ysgwyd, Ir. sgiath, G. sgiath, shield: I. E. squv is in W. chuv, as G. sgeul, W. chvedl, sgeith, W. chwydu.

I. E. skn appears in Gadelic as sn, as in sneadh.

(2) Intervocalic s. This becomes h and disappears; compare tagh (*to-gusd*), do-, chh, etc.

(3) Terminal s disappears altogether; but in closely connected combinations of words its former existence is known from the so-called euphonic h, as in the article genitive feminine and
nom. plural before vowels (na h-óghean = *sen/dás augeis), also O' H- of Irish; and it may be the origin in most cases of prothetic s.

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

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

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

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

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

I. E. z.

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

§ 7. The Explosives or Mutes.

The I. E. explosives formed a possible sixteen in number between tenues, medials and the double set of aspirates (ph, bh, th, dh, kh, gh, qh, gh). The tenues aspirate were “rare and of no importance” in the resulting languages, save only in Sanskrit and Greek. The medials aspirates are the predecessors of aspirates of the modern languages. But in the Celtic languages these medials
aspirates were merged into the mediæ themselves, so that b and bh appear in Celtic as b, d and dh as d, g and gh as g. The Balto-Slavonic, in this matter, shares the peculiarity of the Celtic.

All the explosives, when intervocalic, are "aspirated" in Gaelic
—p to ph, b to bh (=v), t to th (=h), d to dh (=y), c to ch, g to gh, (=y); the corresponding Welsh changes are the tennes to mediæ, and the mediæ to f, ’ld, and nil in the case of y. Intervocalic preserved explosives in Gaelic arise from a doubling of the explosive, the cause of which in many cases is obscure. The following are the leading cases and causes of intervocalic G. mutes:

(1) Doubling of the explosive in the course of inflection or word-building.

a. Inflection. The participle passive in -te preserves the t or d of the root as t; thus [caith gives caithte,] bòth (for bòdh) gives bóite, ràdh gives ràite, etc.

b. Word-building. The prepositional prefixes which end or ended in a consonant preserve the succeeding explosive; even vowel-ending prepositions like air (*are), aith- (*ati) do the same, if the accent is on the preposition. Thus—abair is for ad-bær, aitreabh is for ad-treb, aidich is for ad-dám, faic for ad-ces, again for ad-gar. In the way of affixes, we have ruiteach from rud-t and ruicean from rud-c, creid from *cred-dhò; compare the compounds boicionn, laiocionn, and craicionn.

(2) After sunk n or m. Thus deud comes from dzt, and so with ceud, teud; ceud, first, from *cento-, so seud; evg from nko-, etc.

(3) After sunk spirant z. This is assured for zd, as in brod (*broz-do-, Norse broddr), cead, gad, maide, nead; but eg giving g is doubtful—eagal seems for *es-gal or *ex-gal-, beag for gvego-s (Lat. vescus), mèag for mezgo-.

(4) Cases corresponding to double explosives in other languages: cat and Lat. catta (borrowing ?), cac and Gr. κάκη. Compare also slug.

(5) Doubtful cases. Many of these cases can be satisfactorily explained as due to suffixes immediately affixed to consonant-ending roots. Thus brat may be for brat-to, trod for trud-do-, ioc for *yak-ko-, breac for mrg-ko-. Even suffixes in -bho- and -go- (Eng. k in walk) are not unknown, and they might account for reub (*reib-bo-, *reib-bho-, Eng. reap, rip), slug for slug-go-, etc. Dr Whitley Stokes has given a different theory founded on the analogy of a Teutonic phonetical law, stated
thus by Brugmann: "ðn, ðn, gn became bb, dd, gg before the principal accent in primitive Teutonic, thence pp, tt, kk (by Grimm's law), which were further treated just the same as pp, tt, kk, which had arisen from pn, tn, gn, and from I. E. bh, dh, gh, ghn. . . . O. H. G. slucko, slukko, glutton [*sluk-no-], M. H. G. sluchen, gulp, have hiccup, allied to Gr. λύχω, λυγγανάμαι, I have hiccup." These last words are allied to G. *slug, which Dr. Stokes refers to a pre-Celtic *slug-nó, the accent being on the suffix -no-. The weakness of this hypothesis lies in the fact that uniform results are not found from it. Thus *breac, from mrg-nó, should be *breag, not *breac, on the analogy of *slug.

I. E. p.

Initial and intervocalic I. E. p disappears in Gaelic, as in athair, Lat. pater, eum for *pet-no-, eadh for pedo-, eagh against Lat. piscis, ìbh against bìbò (for pìbò), làn against Lat. plenus, làr and Eng. floor, etc. For intervocalic p, see fo (*upo), for, teth, caora, (*kaperax), suor, (*sapiros), etc.

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

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

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

For t taking the place of p through an initial h compare the derivations offered for torc, turlach, tuil, tìd, tìs for líths.

I. E. b, bh.

These two become b in Gaelic and the other Celtic languages, I. E. b is rare in any language; in G. it appears in íbhím (*píbhó). treabh, domhain and drúchd (*droiub-tu-).

(1) Initial I. E. bh, G. b. See beir, bálg, ball, bán, blàth, bloom, bragh, bruthainn, buaidh.
(2) Intervocalic I. E. bh, G. bh (= v), O. Ir. b, W. f. See abhainn cràbhach, dubh, goibhal.

(3) Pre-consonantal bh or b.
   a. Before r it remains—abhra, gabhar, dobhar, Gaul. dubrum.
   b. Before l it disappears with compensatory lengthening—neul for neblos.
   c. Before n it becomes mh now—sleamhuinn is for *slibno-s, Eng. slippery; so domhain. These are I. E. b.
   d. Before t, I. E. b becomes ch as in drìuchd.

(4) Post-consonantal b, bh. It is preserved after the liquids r and l—carbad, cearb, earb, gilb, sgoil. After m it preserves the m, as in im-, iom- from mbi, ambi. After s it is preserved in eabar; after d in abair, leòb, faob, aobrann; perhaps after g in teabaidh, *leg-buti- (1).

(5) Gaelic intervocalic b. In reub and gob we seem to have a suffix -bo, *reib-bo, gob-bo; also cliob from clib-bo, root g|g, Gr. ko|b|s, stumpy (?). Oftenest b is produced from a previous d, especially of the prefixes—as abair, abadh, faob, etc. (see the paragraph above).

I. E. t.

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

(1) Initial t, G., O. Ir., W. t. See, among many, tiugh, tar, teh, teich, tais, tora, tluith, tri, treabh.

(2) Intervocalic t, G. th (= h), O. Ir. th (d), W. d. See athair, mòthair, ith, roth, ceithir, leth, etc. Sometimes in non-accented syllables it appears as dh, as in biadh from *bivoto-s, and this is always the case with the infinitives in -atu-(glan-adh). Irregularly fàidh for faith.

(3) Pre-consonantal t not initial. Before r it is preserved, as in criathar, brièreath, etc. Before l it disappears with compensatory lengthening—sgeul, W. chwedl, òl, beul, etc.; so before n, as in eun. Before s the t disappears and the s is preserved, as in miosa, ris, sùs. Words like fios are from vid-s-tu-, formerly explained as from vid-tu-. Before another t, t is preserved in the resultant t of G., as in ite, etc.; -td- seems to become -dd-; -te- becomes O. Ir. cc, G. c, as in freiceadan; -tg- becomes gg, that is g, as in freagair.

(4) Post-consonantal t. After r and l it is preserved, as in beart, ceurt, ceirtlé, alt, falt; after n and m it sinks to d, as in ceud, etc. As seen, -bt becomes -chd, as in drìuchd, while -pt is in seachd. After c or g, the t sinks in G. to d, preserving the
guttural as an aspirate: ochd, nochd, bochd, reachd. O. Ir. has -cht here and W. th.

(5) Gaelic intervocalic t. The t of a root is preserved when the suffix begins in t, as [in caithte, spent] in ite, O Ir. ette, *pet-tiá, lit, *pt-t-o-n-. The d of the affixes preserves it, as in aitréabh, taitinn, ruitreach, réit. The t of the following does not belong to the ultimate root: ciotach, *sqv-it-to-, Eng. skew, croit, root kur, lot, root lu.

I. E. d. dh.

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

(1) Initial d, dh. See deas, dearc, deich, druim, dùn, damh, etc., for d; for dh, dubh, donhan, dearg, dorus, dail; also disge.

(2) Intervocalic d, dh. See fidh, *vidu-, eadh, suidhe, fidh, guidhe, etc.

(3) Pre-consonantal d, dh non-initial. Before r, l, n, the d disappears with compensatory lengthening, as in díreamh (*ad-rim-) àros, àrach, buail, (*boud-lo-), but buille is for *budd-s-lo-; smuigín for smoud-no-. Before m it sometimes disappears, as in freumh, *vrd-md, but with an accented prefix the d and m become m, as in aimsir, amal, amas. With s it coalesces into s, as in musach, or in uisge for *vrd-s-qio-, or jios for *vid-s-tu-. Before the explosives, with b it coalesces to bh, now b, as in abair, etc. So with t, as in aitréabh; with d, as in aidich; with c, as in faic; with g, as in agair.

(4) Post-consonantal d, dh. The liquid r preserves a following d, as in árd, bárd, sgárd, őrd, etc. It assimilates with l, as in coille, call, moll, muilch; and with n, in fionn, O. Ir. fnd, bonn, O. Ir. bond, binn. For zd, see next paragraph. The explosives before d are unusual, save t and d, for which see next paragraph.

(5) Intervocalic G. d. There are three sources at least for this d:

a. The d from nt in ceud, teud, beud, etc.

b. The d arising from the spirant z before d, as in brod, *brozdo-, cead, qaïd, maide, nead, druïd.

c. From -dd- as in creid, goid, rodaidh, troid, etc.; also aidich, *ad-dam-.

I, E. "k" and "q."

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

(1) Initial k. See cluinn, cú, ceud, hundred, cac, cridhe, caomh, corn.
Initial q simple. See caraid, W. càr, ceud, first, W. cynt, coille, W. celli, cus, W. coes, coileach, W. ceiliog, etc.


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

(2) Intervocalic k, q. The G. is ch, W. g, b. Compare cruach, W. crúg, fichead, deich, loch; also each, W. ebol, seach, W. hé, etc.

(3) Pre-consonantal k, q. Before r, l, n, the c disappears with compensatory lengthening as in deur, Lat. doctrima, meur, dual, nuineal, tón; and compare Prof. Strachan’s derivations for mèunan, brenn, càin, lèana. With s, the result in G. is s, O. Ir. ss, W. ch, as in uasal, W. uchel. Before explosives, cb, cd, cg do not appear; ct becomes chl, for which see under t (4); for c-e, see paragraph (5) here.

(4) Post-consonantal k, q. After r and l, the guttural appears as c, as in cearc, wircéan, male, ole, falc, etc. After n (m), it sinks to g, with a preceding long vowel, as in eurg, breug, already discussed. After s, the c is preserved, but in G. it is written as g, as in measg, nasg, teasy, etc. After explosives, the t and d of the prefix or root preserves the c following, for which see under t and d pre-consonantal. For c or g before c, see next paragraph.

(5) Intervocalic Gaelic c. It may arise from -tk, -dk, -kk, -gk. From -tk in freiceadan (*frith-com-ót-an); -dk in faic, acaich, ruicéan, acuinn; -kk in mac, *mukkus, ac, craicionn, toc, leacainn; from -gk in lac, boc, breac, cnoc, gleac. The word mac, son, postulates a Gaelic makko-s as against the Ogmic maqvi (gen.) and W. mab; it is difficult to account for the G. form.

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

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

(1) Initial I. E. g: in guth, gin, gnáth, geimheal, gd. I. E. gh is in geamhradh, gabh, gág, geal, white. I. E. g simple appears in geal, leech, goir, goile, gearan, guala, grádh; I. E. gh in
gar, grian, gaol, guidhe, geas, guin. Labialised g appears in bean, Eng. queen, bior, bò, brà, quern, bròghad.

(2) Intervocalic Celtic g. See deigh, aghardh, greigh, truagh, gleghainn, tigh, bragh, etc. In the termination of words it appears often as ch: teach (*tegos), mach, (*magos), imlich, im[th]ich, éirich, fisirich. Intervocalic g labialised does not seem to exist in modern G.

(3) Pre-consonantal Celtic g. Here -gr, -gl, -gn, become -r, -l, -n with vocalic lengthening, as feur, *vegro, dr, näir, fuar, ál, fual, feu'n, *vegro-, sróm, van, tàn, bròn, etc. Before m, g is found in the combination ng-m, which results in m with a preceding long vowel, as in ceum, leum, gecum. Before s it becomes x and modern s, W. ch, as in vasal, W. uchel, as for ex, os, deer, W. ych, cas, las, wiseag. Before explosives the g is variously preserved: -gb, -gd may be passed over; -ct, -gt appear as chd, as in seachd, bloichd, smachd, nochd, sneachd, etc.; -gk ends in -kk, now c, for which see post-consonantal k; -gg appears as g, as in slug, bog, clag, lag, stilge, smugaid.

(4) Post-consonantal Celtic g. After r and l the g is preserved in G., but often in W. becomes y; see dearq, fearq, searq, garq, lorg, balg, ealq, dealg, tulg. After n ordinary g is preserved, as in cumhang, long, muing, seang, fulaing. But labialised g became b, and then coalesced with the n into mn, now m as in l'm, butter. Lat. unguentum, tum, cam, tom, ciomach, and in modern times cum, keep, from *congv in congadh. For ng-m see the foregoing paragraph. For sg see the next paragraph. After the explosives, the g is preserved in the combinations -tg (freagair), -dg (agair), and -gg, which see below.

(5) Intervocalic Gaelic g. It arises from -sg firstly, which in pre-Celtic times was -g, as in beag, mogul, griogag, meag, eagal, etc., which see under I. E. 3 above. From the explosive combinations we have tg in freagair, *frith-gar, eagna, eagar; dg in agair, ogus. The -gg must arise from a suffix in -go, which was operative in early Gadelic, if we discard Dr Stokes' view already set forth. Cf. Eng. walk, hark, lurk, skulk, smirk. For this -gg see paragraph third above.

Intervocalic g may arise from a lost n before c, as in breag, geug, eug, etc. The previous vowel is lengthened save in a few cases where the word—or sentence—accent has brought about a short syllable. Thus thig has short i, and in G. leig is short. This is regularly the case with the results from the prefix con, confused with cos, as in cogair's. O. Ir. concubus, cadal, eagar, cogadh, etc.
§ 8. Accent.

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

II. WORD-BUILDING.

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

(1) The compound may be two stems welded together: righ-theach, palace, *rígo-togos, "king's house"; righ-fhàidh, royal prophet—"king who is a prophet"; ceann-fhìonnn, white-headed, penno-vindo-s; ceithir-chasach, four-footed; dubh-glas, dark-blue; crannchur, lot, "casting the lot." These are the six leading relationships brought out in compounds. In Celtic the first stem is nearly always in -d, as Teuto-bòdiach, G. sean-mhathair (but Catu-slògí, Mori-dúnam, G. Muirghéal). Conside the following compounds: iodhlanna, miolchu, àircheard, buarach, cèardach, clogad, bòthach, eilthire, gnàth-fhocal, moirrear, leth-chas, leth-trom, etc.

The following are common prefixes: atri-, re-, atri-ghlas, re-capture; bar-, she, bar-altrum, bantrach; bith-, ever, bith-bhèd, bith-bhúan; il-, iol,- many; iom-, fit; sir-, stor-, ever, fir-, fior-, very, saobh-, pseudo.
The following suffixes belong to this branch of word-building:—

-\(\text{lach}\), from *\(s\text{lougo-}\), now \(\text{sluagh}\); seen in \(\text{teaghlach}\), \(\text{d\text{"o}lach}\), \(\text{b\text{"o}glach}\), youth, etc.

-\(\text{radh}\), from *\(r\text{\text{"e}d\text{"a}}\), W. \(\text{rwyd}\) (see \(\text{r\text{"e}idh}\)); seen in \(\text{reabhradh}\), \(\text{madraidh}\), dogs, \(\text{\text{"o}g\text{"r\text{"e}d\text{"a}}}\), youth, \(\text{macraidh}\), sons, \(\text{r\text{"i}ghre}\), kings, \(\text{g\text{"u\text{"o}m\text{"a}rra}}\), deeds.

-\(\text{mhor}, \text{or}\), from \(\text{mor}\), great; it makes adjectives from nouns, etc.: \(\text{llonmhor}\), etc.

-\(\text{ail}\), like; from \(\text{samhail}, \text{amhail}\): \(\text{rioghail}\) for \(\text{riogh-amliail}\), kings, \(\text{gniomhara}, \text{deeds}\).

-\(\text{an}\), diminutive masculine, O. Ir. \(\text{\text{"a}n}\), Ogmic \(-\text{agnos}\), for \(*\text{apo-}\text{gnos}\), root \text{gen}, bear (Stokes): as in \(\text{fearan}\), \(\text{truaghan}\), etc.

-\(\text{ag}\), diminutive fem. in G., O. Ir. \(-\text{\text{"o}c}\) (masc. and fem.), from \(\text{\text{"o}c}, \text{\text{"o}g}\), young; seen in \(\text{caileag}\), etc.

-\(\text{seach}\). This feminine termination has been explained by Stokes as from O. Ir. \(\text{es}\), a fem. form, with the adjectival addition \(*\text{iqd}\), and this \(\text{es}\) he deduces from W. \(\text{es}\), which comes from Lat. \(\text{issa}\). Cf. \(\text{baiseach}, \text{cl\text{"a}irseach}, \text{bonnsach}, \text{c\text{"e}irseach}\) or \(\text{ciarseach}\) (Ir.).

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

(3) Uninflected prefixes:

\(a\). Negative prefixes—I. E. \(\text{\text{"a}n}\), G. \(\text{an}\) before vowels, \(\text{aineol}\), \(\text{ion-}\), \(\text{in-}\) before \(\text{b}, \text{d}, \text{g}\) (\(\text{iongantas}\)), \(\text{eu-(ao-)}\) before \(\text{t}, \text{c}, \text{s}\) (\(\text{aotrom}\) for \(\text{\text{"e}trom}\), \(*\text{\text{"e}trommo-s}\)).

To this negative add also \(\text{mi-}, \text{neo-}, \text{as- (eas-)}, \text{di- (der- = di-air-)}\).

\(b\). Prefixes of quality: \(\text{do (do-char)}, \text{and so- (so-char)}\); and the intensive \(\text{ro-}\).

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

\(\text{ad-}, \text{Lat. ad}: \text{faic = f-ad-ci} ; \text{\text{"a}ireamh} (= \text{ad-\text{"i}m-})\).

\(\text{aith-}, \text{ad-}, *\text{ati-}, \text{re-}, \text{continually confused with the above prep. (aith gives accented \text{\text{"e}} as in \text{\text{"e}piur}; ad gives a as in \text{aca})}: \text{abair (*ad-\text{ler-}), again, aithreachas (*ati-\text{r\text{"e}c-}), etc.}

\text{Compounded with to- in t\text{"a}gair, tapaithl, taitinn, tathiasg, taisg, etc. ; with fo- in f\text{"a}g (fo-ad-gab)}\).

\(\text{air}, \text{by}, \text{on}: \text{air-leag, eir-idinn, oir-dheirc, oir-thir, urchair, ur\text{"a}lur}\). \text{Compounded with com in comhaille ; with to- in tairis, taig, t\text{"e}r\text{"a}inn ; with di- in dearmad, with imm-in iomar-bhaigh, iomarchur}.
OUTLINES OF GAELIC ETYMOLOGY.

as, out, es- : as-eirigh, as-créideamh, eas-bhuidh, éi-rich. Compound
with air: wuiréasbhuidh; with to, teasairg;
with to-for- in tuairisgeul; with to-for-ar in tuarasdal;
with to-for- in tuasgail.

eadar, between; eadar-sgaradh.

iar, after; in *iarfaighim, now fedraich: iarogha.
in, in; with to- in tional and comh-thional. With a double
nn in ionnsuidh.
in-:, iomn-, to, Gaul. ande- : in fionnogha; with to- in tionsgainn, tionndadh (Zeuss). Confused with in, ind, above.
im-:, ionm-, about : iomair, ionradh, i'mich, ionpaidh (*imb-sh).
Compounded with com in cochladh; with to- in timchioll, timsach, tionndadh.

od-, ud-, out, Eng. out: obann, obaidh. Compounded with
aith- in iobairt; with di- in dùsg; with fo in fogair;
with to- in tobar, tog.

con-, comh-, co- : coimhead, comaidh, caisg, cogadh. Compounded
with im- in iomchore; with com in cogsais (O. Ir.
concubus); with to-aith- in teagasg, teagamh.
di-, de, de : dimeas, d'oghail, diomhain, d'ireach; also deach,
d'ea'n.
do-, to: this is the unaccented form of to-

fo, under : in fognadh, foghlaum, falach, fulaing. Compound
with to- in tórachd, tuguidh (to-for-ess-) tuarasdal
(to-for-ar-as-), tuasgail (to-for-as-).

for, far, super : in forail, forradh, farkorus, farmad, furtachd.
Compounded with to in tormach, tuairisgeul.

fri-, ri, to, *vrt, Lat. versus; it appears as frith, fris: in
freagair, fritheil, freiceadan (frith-com-).

ro-, before: in robhas, rosg, rabhadh, radharc. Compounded
in rug (ro-ud-).

tar, across, tairm- : in teirig, toimseig.

Stem Suffixes.

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

1. o-, â-, as in cùl (*câl-), aitreabh, cas (*coxâ).
2. tro-, tlo-, trâ-, tld-: criathar, krei-tro-, anail, (*ana-tldâ), seul,
cineal.
3. jo-, jâ-, ijo-, ijâ- : eile, suidhe, (*sod-t-on). See no-, ro-, tjo-, sqio-.
4. vo-, vâ-, uvô-, wôd- : tarbh (*târ-vô-), each (*ek-vô-), beò, (bi-vô-).
5. no-, ná-, nno-, eno-, ono- : lân, slân, duan, domhan, leathan *
(letanos). It is secondary in iarunn; cf. tighearna (*teg-
er-nio-).
6. mo-, md- : trom, lom, caomh.
7. ro-, rd-, rro-, etc. : sior, mor, lar, ar, bodhar. Here comes the
    Gaelic numeral stem -adro-n, as aonar, one person, cionear,
    five persons; it is allied to Lat. -arius, -arium, Gaelic -air,
    -eir, denoting agents or doers — clarsair, harper, etc.
8. tero-, ero- : in sinsear, uachdar, cadar.
9. lo-, la-, llo-, etc. : coll (*cos-lo-), slor, mor, lar, ar,
    hothar.
10. tro-, tro-, tro- : slor, mor, lar, ar.
11. tho-, bhá : earb, go (*gob-bo-).
12. to-, tó- : This is the participial termination in most I. E.
    languages. In G. it is used for the past passive. Also in
    the adjectives nochd, bochd, gnath, etc.; nouns dibheadh,
    dearmad, gort.
13. tyo-, tja- : Gr. μεθόρος. This forms the participial
    part in G. : briste, caithte, etc.
14. tó- of abstract nouns : robart, now robairt.
15. to- comparative. This appears in the ordinal numerals:
    deicheamh, O. Ir. dechmad, for *deknmeto-.
16. ko-, kó- : *g2, young, jion-kó-.
17. go-, qd-, qo- : suileach for *suli-go-s; cuimhneach,
    creimhneach. Especially the adjectives and nouns in ach,
    as marach, buadhach. Further, the form iche (-iqio-s)
    denoting agent; maraiche, etc.
18. sog-, soio- : as in meag, seag, viugse.
19. go-, gá : see muing, Danish, manke; cf. Eng. walk, hark, etc.
20. Stems in i- : áird, muir, maith, deigh. In ni-, tain, cluain,
    buain; in ni-, cuimh, cnáich; in li-, samhail, dül; in ti-
    , fiath, féith, breith, bleith, etc.—a form in which some
    infinitives appear.
21. tóti- , that is, Celtic tát, tás : beatha, life, *bitás, g. *bi-tát-os.
22. Stems in u- : trigh, fluch, dub, loch. In nu-, linn, O. Ir. lín,
    lenu- ; in tu- there are many—bith, iodh, fios (*vid-tu-),
    guth, cruth; especially reachd and its like in chd. Here
    come the infinitives in adh (-átu-).
23. Stems in -n : cu, drá, lm, ionga. In -ien, there is 'Eire,
    'Eireann. The stems in tó are very common; the oblique
    cases are in -tin- ; see eiridinn, faotainn, etc.: common in
    infinitives. Similarly common is -men, -mon, in ainm,
    cuirm, druim, leum; and masculine in britheamh, ollamh,
    talamh.
24. Stems in -r; only the family names athair, mathair, etc.
25. Stems in -t, -nt : nochd, night : caraid, friend—a participial
    form.
26. Stems in k or q: G. nathair, g. nathrach, so làir, lasair, cathair, etc.
28. Comparative stems in -jes, -is, jós: mò, greater *md-jós, sine, Skr. san-yas.

Adair in tughadair, dialladair, figheadair, brebadair, etc. (?)

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

III. SYNOPSIS OF GADELIC ACCIDENCE.

A. DECLENSION.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. Nom. ball</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>ballos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. buill</td>
<td>baill</td>
<td>balli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. ball</td>
<td>baull</td>
<td>ballù (ballój. Jub.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. ball</td>
<td>ball n-</td>
<td>ballon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. bhuill</td>
<td>baille</td>
<td>balle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual N., A. Gá baill | dá ball | ballò |
D. dá bhuill (?) | dib mballaib | ballobin |

Plur. Nom. buill | baill | ballí (balloi) |
G. ball | ball n- | ballon |
D. ballaibh | ballaib | ballobis |
A. buill | baullu | ballös (ballùs) |
V. bhall | baullu | ballös |

Neuter ió-stem crídhe, heart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. N., A.</th>
<th>Pl. N., A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crídhe</td>
<td>crídheachan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cride n-</td>
<td>cride n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridion</td>
<td>kridion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridì</td>
<td>kridì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridiù</td>
<td>kridiù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridion</td>
<td>kridion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridìa</td>
<td>kridìa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridiobis</td>
<td>kridiobis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kridia</td>
<td>kridia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Outlines of Gaelic Etymology

#### 2. ò-stems: all feminine. \( \text{cas, a foot.} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaeilge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Nom. cas</td>
<td>coss</td>
<td>coxā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. coise</td>
<td>coisse</td>
<td>coxies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. cos</td>
<td>coiss</td>
<td>coxī (coxai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. cas</td>
<td>coiss n-</td>
<td>coxin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. chas</td>
<td>choss</td>
<td>coxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual A. då chois</td>
<td>dí choiś</td>
<td>c oxē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. då chois</td>
<td>dá choss</td>
<td>coxō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. då chois</td>
<td>dib cossaib</td>
<td>coxābin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N. casan</td>
<td>cossa</td>
<td>coxās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t. cas</td>
<td>coss n-</td>
<td>coxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. casaíbh</td>
<td>cossaib</td>
<td>coxābis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. casan</td>
<td>cossa</td>
<td>coxās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. chasa</td>
<td>chossa</td>
<td>coxās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3. i-stems. Feminine noun \( \text{súil, eye.} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaeilge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Nom. súil</td>
<td>súil</td>
<td>súils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. súla</td>
<td>súla</td>
<td>súlós (súlous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. súil</td>
<td>súil</td>
<td>súlí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. súil</td>
<td>súil n-</td>
<td>súlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. shúil</td>
<td>shúil</td>
<td>súlí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual N. dá shúil</td>
<td>dí shúil</td>
<td>súlí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. dá shúil</td>
<td>dá súla</td>
<td>súló</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. dá shúil</td>
<td>dib sulib</td>
<td>súlibin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N. súilean</td>
<td>súli</td>
<td>súleis (súlejes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. súil</td>
<td>súle n-</td>
<td>súlion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. súlibh</td>
<td>súlib</td>
<td>súlibis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. súilean</td>
<td>súli</td>
<td>súleis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. shúilean</td>
<td>shúli</td>
<td>súleis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4. ù-stems. Masculine noun \( \text{bith, world.} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaeilge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Nom. bith</td>
<td>bith</td>
<td>bitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bith</td>
<td>betho</td>
<td>bitous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. bith</td>
<td>bithn</td>
<td>bīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. bith</td>
<td>bith n-</td>
<td>bitun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. bithn</td>
<td>betho</td>
<td>bitou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N. bithéan</td>
<td>bithi</td>
<td>bitois, (bitoves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bith</td>
<td>bith n-</td>
<td>bition, (bitovon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. bithaib</td>
<td>bithaib</td>
<td>bitubis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. bithéan</td>
<td>bithu</td>
<td>bitūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. bithéan</td>
<td>bithu</td>
<td>bitūs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Consonantal Stems.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Nom.</td>
<td>athair</td>
<td>athir</td>
<td>atir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>athar</td>
<td>athar</td>
<td>atros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>athair</td>
<td>athir</td>
<td>atri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>athair</td>
<td>athir n-</td>
<td>atren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>athair</td>
<td>athir</td>
<td>ater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual N., A.</td>
<td>dà athair</td>
<td>dà athir</td>
<td>atere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dà athair</td>
<td>dà athar</td>
<td>atrö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>dà athair</td>
<td>dib n-athrib</td>
<td>atrebin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N.</td>
<td>aithraichean athir</td>
<td>ateres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>aithraichean athre n-</td>
<td>aatron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>aithraichean athrib</td>
<td>atrebis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>aithraichean athrea</td>
<td>ateräs (aterys)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>aithraichean athrea</td>
<td>ateräs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b). Stem in \( mën \); neut. ainm, name.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. N., A.</td>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>ainm n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>aimme</td>
<td>anma, anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>anmimm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N., A.</td>
<td>ainmeanann anmann</td>
<td>anmena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ainmeanann anmann n-</td>
<td>anmenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ainmeanann anmannaib</td>
<td>anmenobis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c). Stem in guttural \( c \); fem. nathair, serpent.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Nom.</td>
<td>nathair</td>
<td>nathir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>nathrach</td>
<td>nathrach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>nathair</td>
<td>nathraig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>nathair</td>
<td>nathraig n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual N., A.</td>
<td>dà nathair</td>
<td>dì nathraig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dà nathair</td>
<td>dà nathrach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>dà nathair</td>
<td>dib nathrachaib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N.</td>
<td>nathraichean</td>
<td>nathraig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>nathraichean</td>
<td>nathrach n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>nathraichean</td>
<td>nathrachaib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>nathraichean</td>
<td>nathracha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>nathraichean</td>
<td>nathracha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. N., A.</td>
<td>tigh</td>
<td>teg, tech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tighe</td>
<td>tige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>tigh</td>
<td>tig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual N.</td>
<td>dà tigh</td>
<td>dà thech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### OUTLINES OF GAELIC ETYMOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gaelic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. dá thígh</td>
<td>dá thíge</td>
<td>tegesó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. dá thígh</td>
<td>díb tígib</td>
<td>tegesobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. N. tígíeann</td>
<td>tíge</td>
<td>tegesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. tígíh</td>
<td>tíge n-</td>
<td>tegesou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. tígibh</td>
<td>tígb</td>
<td>tegesobis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Adjectives.

Adjectives belonged (1) to the ø- and the α- declensions, as *marvos, *marvâ, *marvon, now marbh; declined like the nouns of ø- and α- declensions; (2) i- declension, as maith, *matis, *matís, *mati, the neuter nom. being the stem: (3) u- declension, as *tigús, *tígu (f), *tígu, now tìugh; and (4) consonantal adj., *tèpons, te, tèit, etc. Comparison was in two ways—(1) caomh: O. Ir. cóem, coemiu, coemem: *koimós, *koimjós, *koimimos; (2) luath: O. Ir. lúath, lúathither, lúatham: *loutos, *loutiteros, *loutimos.

The numerals may be seen in the Dictionary in their Celtic form: *óinos, *dúvâ, *tréis, etc.

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

### B. CONJUGATION.

**Active Voice. Indicative—Present.** Verb beir, bear.

| 1. | beiridh mi | berimm | berommi* |
| 2. | beiridh tu | beri | beresi |
| 3. | beiridh e | berid | bereti |
| Rel. | beireas | beres | beret-se |

| 1. | beiridh sinn | bermme | berommesi |
| 2. | beiridh sibh | berthc | berete |
| 3. | beiridh iad | berit | berenti (beronti) |
| Rel. | beireas | berte | berent-eis |

**Dependent Present.**

| 1. | bheir mi | do-biur | berô |
| 2. | bheir tu | do-bír | beres |
| 3. | bheir e | do-beir | beret |

| 1. | bheir sinn | do-beram | beromos |
| 2. | bheir sibh | do-berid | berete |
| 3. | bheir iad | do-berat | beront, |

The first sing. is from theme-vowel-less verbs: *ber-mi. Cf. orm, thram even agam, asam.
### OUTLINES OF GAELIC ETYMOLOGY.

#### Secondary Present or Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>Old Irish</th>
<th>Gædelic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 1.</strong> bheirinn</td>
<td>no berinn</td>
<td>berin (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 2.</strong> bheireadh</td>
<td>no bertha</td>
<td>berethês</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 3.</strong> bheireadh e</td>
<td>no bered</td>
<td>bereto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 1.</strong> bheireamaid</td>
<td>no bermmis</td>
<td>berimmiss (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 2.</strong> bheireadh sibh</td>
<td>no berthe</td>
<td>berethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 3.</strong> bheireadh iad</td>
<td>no bertis</td>
<td>berintiss (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Aorist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 1.</th>
<th>do ghabh</th>
<th>ro gabus</th>
<th>gabassu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. 2.</td>
<td>ghabh</td>
<td>ro gabis</td>
<td>gabassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 3.</td>
<td>ghabh</td>
<td>ro gab</td>
<td>gabas-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 1.</strong></td>
<td>ghabh</td>
<td>ro gabsam</td>
<td>gabassomos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 2.</strong></td>
<td>ghabh</td>
<td>ro gabsid</td>
<td>gabassete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 3.</strong></td>
<td>ghabh</td>
<td>ro gabsat</td>
<td>gabassont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 1.</th>
<th>beireamh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 2.</strong></td>
<td>{ beir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 3.</strong></td>
<td>berthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 1.</strong></td>
<td>beram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 2.</strong></td>
<td>berid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 3.</strong></td>
<td>berat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Passive. Indicative—Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 3.</th>
<th>beirear e</th>
<th>berir</th>
<th>beretor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. 3.</td>
<td>beirear iad</td>
<td>bertir</td>
<td>berentor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Secondary Present or Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 3.</th>
<th>bheirteadh e</th>
<th>no berthe</th>
<th>—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 3.</strong></td>
<td>bheirteadh iad</td>
<td>no bertis</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 3.</th>
<th>chanadh e</th>
<th>ro chét</th>
<th>cantos, &quot;cantus&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 3.</strong></td>
<td>chanadh iad</td>
<td>ro chéita</td>
<td>cantás (n.f.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. 3.</th>
<th>beirear e</th>
<th>berar</th>
<th>—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. 3.</td>
<td>beirear iad</td>
<td>bertar</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Participle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cainte</th>
<th>céte</th>
<th>cantjos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
SUPPLEMENT TO OUTLINES.

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

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

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


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

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

SUPPLEMENT TO OUTLINES.

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


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

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

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

20. A great levelling, as compared with what one must infer from the historic development of Indo-European, has taken place in Gadelic. Dr MacBain's Indo-European Alphabet is therefore simplified in the gutturals, although perhaps it would have been more regular to have put in a labio-velar series" apart. Osthoff recognises three k-rows, labio-velar, velar, palatal, in the mother
speech; v. *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 4, 264; Wharton's *Etyma Latina* recognise the three rows c, k, q; cf. Zupitza's treatment of the gutturals. In Gadelic the velar and the palatal series have fallen together, but there is a distinct treatment of the labiovelar.

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

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


Page xxxiii.—In the third line from the bottom of the page, for krid on, read kridion; in the eleventh line from the bottom of the page, for the word in brackets, read (ballons).
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ETYMOLOGY
OF THE
PRINCIPAL
GAELIC NATIONAL NAMES
PERSONAL NAMES
AND
SURNAMES

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A DISQUISITION ON PTOLEMY'S
GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND

BY THE LATE
ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., LL.D.

ENEAS MACKAY, STIRLING
1911
PREFACE

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

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

OF THE

PRINCIPAL

GAELIC NATIONAL NAMES

PERSONAL NAMES

AND

SURNAMES
NATIONAL NAMES

ALBION, Great Britain in the Greek writers, Gr. "Αλβίων, Αλβίων, Ptolemy's Άλων, Lat. Albion (Pliny), G. Alba, g. Albainn, Scotland, Ir., E. Ir. Alba, Alban, W. Alban: *Albion- (Stokes), “white-land”; Lat. albus, white; Gr. ἀλφός, white leprosy, white (Hes.); O. H. G. albiz, swan.

ARMORIC, belonging to Brittany, Lat. (Cæsar) Armoricus, Aremoricus (Orosius), *are-mori, “by the sea” (see air and muir in Dict.), M. Br. Armory, Brittany, armor, land by the sea, Br. arvor, maritime.

BRITAIN, G. Breatann, Ir. Breatain, E. Ir. Bretan, n. pl. Britain, the Britons, W. Brython, Briton, Corn. Brethon, Br. Breiz, Brittany, Lat. Britania (Cæsar), Brittani, Britons, Bretoni (Strabo). The best Gr. forms are Πρεττανί, Πρεττανίκη, W. Prydain, Britain, E. Ir. Cruithne, a Pict, O. Ir. (Lat.) Cruithnii (Adamnan, Cruithini Populi): *Qrtanid, root qr, to which Stokes refers G. cruithneachd, wheat, though the usual reference is to G. cruth, picture, form, still retaining the notion of “pictured” men as in the old explanations of Pict. Stokes, Rhys, etc., regard the Lat. Britannia as a word of different origin from the Gr. Πρεττανία, and G. Cruithne; though, as a matter of fact, the Lat. seems to have been a bad rendering of the Greek. The Cruithne or Picts thus gave their name to Britain, as being, about 300 B.C., its then Celtic inhabitants.

BRITANNY; the Breton language; from Britain above. Britons poured into France in the fifth and sixth centuries.

CALEDONIA, northern Scotland (Tacitus), Gr. Καληδόνιοι (Ptol., etc.), Lat. Calēdonii (Lucan, Martial, etc.), O. G. Dun-Callden, Duni-Callen, Dun-Keld, for the Caledonians, G. Dùn-Chailleinn; explained by Windisch as from *cald, the root of G. coille, the force being “wood-landers.” Stokes and others object because of the η (Lat. e) in Καληδ-; but if the Eng. and Gaelic modern forms are the descendants of the word Caledonia as locally spoken, the objection cannot hold.

CELETS, Lat. Celtæ (Cæsar), Gr. Κελταί, Κελταί, Κελτικός, appearing in the fifth and fourth cent. B.C. in Herodotus, Xenophon, etc.: *Kelto-s, “the lofty,” root qel, raise, go, Lat. celsus,
NATIONAL NAMES.

high, Eng excel Lit.kélta{, raised. Rhys refers the name to the root gel, slay, Ag. S. hild, war, Norse hildr, Lat. percello, hit, Lit. kaldi, strike: the Celtæ being “smiters.”

CORNWALL: CORNISH, Ag. S. Cornwalas, the Walas or Welsh of the Corn or Horn, E. Ir. i thrib Bretainn Cornn (Corm.), in the lands of the Britons of the Corn. For Walas see Wales.

Cruithne, a Pict; see under Brittain.

Cymry, the Welsh (pl.), Cymraeg, the Welsh name for the Welsh language; the singular of Cymry is Cymro, older Cym-mro: *Com-mroges, pl. Com-mroges or Combroges (cf. Cæsar’s Allobroges, “Other-landers,” country-men, “co-landers,” from brog, mrog of brugh in Dict., q.v. The E. Ir. Gaelic for Wales is found in the phrase isincomreic = im Kymrischen (Zim. Zeit. 82 162).

Erin; see Ireland.

Gaelic, Gaedhlig, Gaedheal, Ir. Goaidhil, Gaedhilig, the Irish language, Goaidheal, Irishman, E. Ir. Geédel (1100 A.D.), Gaidel (Giraldus), W. Gwyddel, Irishman: *Gaidelo-s (for Sc. Gaelic) or *Gaidelo-s (for Irish), root gaidh, Eng. good, Ger. gut, etc.? The Scotch form seems the best, as its use has been continuous, the race being only a fourth item in Scotland. Stokes gives a proto-Gaelic *Goidelos or *Geidelos, which Bez. compares to the Gaul. Geidumni, and which Stokes compares with Lat. hoedus, goat (“Goat-men,” cf. Oscan Hirpini) or Lit. gáidys, cock.

Galli, Gaul, now France, Lat. Gallus, Galli (fourth to first cent. B.C.), Gr. Ἥλειος, Ἡλιατη (third and second cent. B.C.) from the root gal, bravery, which see in Dict., with discussion of Galli and G. Gall, Lowlander, stranger.

Ireland, Irish; G. Eireann, Ir. ‘Eire, g. ‘Eireann, E. Ir. ‘Eirí, ‘Eínn, W. Ywerddon, Iwerddon, M. W. Ewyrdonic, Irish, Ptol. ‘Iówpia ‘Iéρ{ (Strabo), Lat. Hibernia, Iverna (Mela), Iverne (Claudian, fourth cent. A.D.), Evernili, Irish (Adamnan): *Iverjón-, *Everjón-, usually referred to Piverjo-, Skr. pívar-, fat, Gr. Πιεία, the Grecian seat of the Muses, πιον, fat (Windisch, Stokes): “rich-soiled, swelling.” Others refer it to G. iar, west, or Skr. ávara (from ava, G. bho), western, lower. No derivation can be satisfactory which does not at the same time account for the similarly named Highland rivers called Éire, Eireann, Eng. Earn, Findhorn.

Man, Manx; Manx Manninagh, Manx (adj.), Gailck, Gaelk, the Manx Gaelic, E. Ir. inis Manann, Isle of Man, a genitive from *Mana (= Lat. Mona), early W. Manau, Lat. Mona (Cæsar),
Ptol. Movaidha, Monapia (or Mona?) The E. Ir. god-name Manannán Mac Lir (son of the Sea) is connected with the Island; Skr. Manu, the Law-giver; Teutonic Mannus (Tacitus), Eng. man.

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

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

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

Adam, G. Adhamh, Ahū (Fer. MS.), Awzoe (D. of L.), E. Ir. Adam, O. Ir. Adim (g); from Hebrew Adam, red. Hence Macadam, M'Caull, and from Dial. G. 'Adaidh (a diminutive from Sc.) M'Cadie, M'Adaidh.

Adamnan, G. Adhamhnan (pronounced Yownan or Yönan), earlier Adhamhnan (Oghamhnan, M'V.), E. Ir. Adamnán, Lat. Adamnanus (seventh cent.), St Adamnan (died 704 A.D.), "little Adam," a Gaelic diminutive from Adam. Hence the personal name Gilleownan (1495), Giolla-adhamhndin, father of Somerled (twelfth cent.), Gilla-agamnan (1467 MS.), whence Skene deduces the Mac-lennans, q.v.

Alexander, G. Alasdair, Alex (D. of L.), Alaxandair, (1467 MS.), M. Ir. Alaxandair; from Lat. Alexander, from Gr. Αλεξάνδρος, "defending men." Hence G. M'Alasdair, Macalister; further Mac-andie (from Sandy).

Allan, G. Ailean, E. Ir. Ailéne, Adamnan's Ailenus, from al, rock? The Norman Alan, whence Scotch Allan mostly, is O. Br. Alan, Alamanus, Nennius Alanus, from Alemannus, the German tribe name—"All Men." Cf. Norman, Frank, Dugall, Fingall. Hence Mac-allau.

Alpin, G. Ailpein, E. Ir. Alpin (Dalriadic king 693) ; from Pictish or Welsh sources—M. W. Elphín, Elyfn, which Stokes suggests to be from Lat. Albinus, from albus, white (or allied rather?). Hence G. M'Ailpein, Mac-alpine.

Andrew, G. Andrea (Anndra, Dial.), Gilleanndrais, Eng. Gillanders, St. Andrew's gille, M. G. Andro (D. of L.), Ainnrias, Gille-ainnrias (1467 MS.), E. Ir. Andrias; from Lat. Andreas, g. ANDRE, from Gr. Ανδρέας, a reduced double-stemmed name now showing only ándρ-, man (see Neart). Hence Mac-andrew, Gillanders, Anderson.

Angus, G. Aonghas, Ir. Aonghus, g. Aonghusa, E. Ir. 'Oengus, O. Ir. 'Oingus, W., Cor. Ungust: Oino-gustu-s, "unique choice," from aon and gus, choice (Eng. choose, Lat. gustus, taste, as in G. tagh). Hence M'Aonghuis, Mac-innes; further M'ainsh.

Archibald, G. Gillesbuiig, Bishop's gille (see easbuiig in Dict.), M. G. Gillespik (D. of L.), Gillie-espic (1467 MS.). Hence Gillespie. The name Archibald, Ag. S. Arceball, Arcenbald.
or Ercenhald, which vaguely means "right-bold" (O. H. G. erchen, right, real), has no apparent connection with Gillespic in meaning or origin (cf. similarly Ludovic and Maoldomhnuich).

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

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

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

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

Cameron, G. Camshron, Camaran, M. G. Cámsroín, g. (M'V.), Camronaich (D. of L.), Gillacamsroín (1467 MS.), Charter Eng. Camrown (1472); explained as from càm-srcòn, "wry-nose," which is the most probable explanation (cf. cairmeul, E. Ir. cerrbél, wry mouth). Connection with camerarius or chamberlain (of Scotland) unlikely, or with the fourteenth century De Cambruns or Cameron parish in Fife.

Campbell, G. Caimbeul, M. G. Cambel (1467 MS.), Cambell (1266, etc.), from cambel, wry-mouthed (càm and beul; see Cameron). There is no De Cambel in the numerous early references, but De Campo-bello appears in 1320 as a Latin
form and an etymology; this, however, should naturally be *De Bello-campo* as Norman-French idiom and Latin demand—a form we have in *Beau-champ* and *Beecham*. *De Campello* or *De Campellis* (little plain) has been suggested; but unfortunately for these derivations the earliest forms show no *de*: *Cambell* was an epithet, not a place-name.

**Carmichael**, G. M‘Gillemhicheil, Son of the gille of St Michael, M. G. *Gillumicheil* (1467 MS.), O.G. *Gillemicel* (B. of Deer). The name Carmichael is really Lowland—from the Parish name of Carmichael in Lanark (Michael’s *caer* or *cathair*, q.v.).

**Cattanach**, Chattan, G. *Catanach*, M. G. plural *Cattanich* (D. of L.), “belonging to Clan Chattan,” *Clann Giallcatan* (1467), which claims descent from *Giallcatan* (1467 MS.), servant of St Catan, whose name denotes “little cat” (see cat).


**Chisholm**, G. *Siosal*, *Siosalach*, *De Cheiholme* (thirteenth century documents), *De Cheseholme* (1254), a Border name, the place-name Chisholm being in Roxburgh: *Ches-holm* (a holm, but *Ches*?).

**Clark**, G. *Cléireach*; see *cléireach* in Dict. Also M‘A‘-Chléirich, whence Galwegian M‘Chléiry.

**Coll**, G. *Colla*, M. G. *Colla* (M‘V., 1467 MS.), E. Ir. *Colla* : *Colnavo*-s, from *col*, *cel*, high, as in Celtac (see above).

**Colin**, G. *Cailean*, M. G. *Callane* (D. of L.), *Cailin* (1467 MS.), *Collin* (Lat. of 1292). This is a personal name, once more or less peculiar to the Campbells, the Chief being always in Gaelic *M‘Cailein*. Its relation to Eng. and Continental *Colin* is doubtful. Cf. *Coileán*, “whelp,” and personal name; the G. is a dialectic form of old *coileán* (see Fol.), *cuilean*, whelp.

**Crear**, G. *Criathrar*, the name of a Lochtay-side clan who regard themselves as Mackintoshes, explaining the name as “riddler,” from *criathar* (which see in Dict.): the derivation is right, but for the meaning compare the Eng. noun and name *Sieve*(w)right. See Celt. Mag. 6, 38.

**Cumming**, G. *Cuimein*, *Cuimeanach*, earliest Eng. form *Comyn*, a Norman family dating from the Conquest, belonging to the Norman house of De Comines, a territorial designation.
David, G. Daibhidh (Classical), Dáithí (C.S.); hence Clann Dáithí or the Davidsons, a branch of the Clan Chattan. In C.S., Davidson appears as Déibhdiosdan.


Dewar, G. Deóir, Deóireach, documents Doire (1487), Jore (1428); from deòradh, a pilgrim, q.v. Hence Macindeor.


Duff, M. Ir. Dubh (Clann Dubh, Clan Duff, of which was Macbeth, etc.), earlier Dub, King Duff in tenth century; from Gadelic dub, now dubh, black, q.v. As a personal name, it is a curtailing of some longer or double-stemmed name (cf. Fionn, Flann, red). As a personal name, it is a curtailing of some longer or double-stemmed name (cf. Fionn, Flann, red). Hence Macduff (Clen m‘ Duffe, 1384). The family name Duff is merely the adjective dubh used epthetically.

Duffy, M. Ir. Dubhthaigh; see Mac-phee.

Dugald, G. Dúghall, M. G. Dowgall, g. Dowle (D. of L.), Dubgaill, gen. (1467 MS.), thirteenth century documents give Dugald (1289), Dufgal (1261), M. Ir. Dubgall (first recorded Dugbhall is at 912 A.D.), from Early Ir. Dubgall, a Dane, “Black stranger,” as opposed to Finngall, a Norwegian, “Fair foreigner.” See, for derivation, Fionn and Gall. Hence M‘Dhúghaill, Mac-dougal, Mac-dowel, etc.

Duncan, G. Donnchadh (Dial. Donnach), M. G. Dunca (D. of L.), Donnchaith, gen. (1467 MS.), O. G. Donchad (B. of Deer), E. Ir. Donnchad: *Donno-catu-s, *Dunno-catu-s, “Brown warrior,” from donn and cath, q.v. The Gaulish Donno- of personal names has been referred by De Jubainville to the same meaning and origin as M. Ir. donn, king, judge, noble—a word occurring in O‘Davoren’s glossary.

Edward, G. ‘Eideard (‘Eudard, Dial.), Imhear, Iomhar; the first is the Eng. Edward borrowed, the second is the Norse Ivarr borrowed (see Mac-iver). Hence M‘Eideard, M‘Edward.

Farquhar, G. Fearchar, M. G. Fearchar, Fearchair, Ir. Fearchair (F. M., year 848 a.d.): *Ver-caro-s, “super-dear one”; for fear, see Ferguson, and for car see Dict. above. Hence M‘Fhearchair, Mac-erchar, Farquharson, M‘Farquhar.

Fergus, G. Fearghas, M. G. Fearghus, Fergus, E. Ir., O. Ir. Fergus, g. Fergusso, W. Gurgast, O. Br. Uvorgost, Uurgost: *Ver-gus-tus, “super-choice”; for ver- or fear-, see in Dict. far, air (allied to Lat. super), and for gustus, see under Aonghus above. Some regard Fer here as G. fear, man, *viro- or *vir.

Fingal, G. Fionn, Macpherson’s Gaelic Fionnghal, which really should mean “Norseman,” or Fair-foreigner, M. G. Fionngâll, a Norseman (M‘V.), ri Fionn-gal, king of Man and the Isles (M‘V.), Fingal (Manx Chron.), king of Man and the Isles from 1070 to 1077: from fionn and Gall, q.v. Fingal as the name of the Gaelic mythic hero is an invention of Macpherson’s, as likewise is his Gaelic Fionnghal. As a matter of fact the name is a Gaelic form of the female name Flora! See Fionnghal in the addendum to this list.

Finlay, G. Fionnla, Fionnlagh (misspelt Fionnladh), M. G. Finlay (D. of L.), Finlaic, gen. (1467 MS.), Fionnlaoich, gen. (Duan Albanach), E. Ir. Findleoch (Lib. Leinster), Fionnlaoch and Finlaeg, gen. (Marianus Scotus). Those early forms and the Norse Finlæikr prove that the name means “Fair hero” (fionn and laoch). It is a popular (10th and 11th century) rendering of Finngal, “Fair attractive one,” the older name. It has been explained as “Fair calf,” which would suit the phonetics also. Hence Finlayson, Mackinlay (M‘Fionnlaigh).

Forbes, G. Foirbeis, Foirbeiseach, early document form De Forbes (thirteenth cent.), so named from the place-name Forbes in Aberdeenshire.

Fraser, G. Friseal, Frisealach, circ. 1298 the patriot’s name is variously Simon Fraser, Frasel, Fresel, Frisel, in Domesday B. Fresle, Battle Abbey Rolls (?) Frisell or Frisell; usually
referred to O. Fr. freze, a strawberry, *frezele, from Lat. fragula, fragum, Fr. fraisier, strawberry plant. For sense, cf. the name Plantagenet (broom). Strawberry leaves form part of the Fraser armorial bearings. The word may also mean "curled" (Eng. frizzle, friese).

Galbraith, G. M'A'-Bhreatnaich, son of the Briton (of Strathclyde). The name appears in the thirteenth century in Lennox, etc., as Galbrait (from Gall and Breat- of Breatann above).

George, G. Seòras, Seòrsa, Deòrsa, ultimately from Gr. γεωργός, a farmer, "worker of the earth" (γη, earth, ὄργος, Eng. work). Hence the Border M'George.

Gilbert, G. Gilleabart, Gillebride. Gilbert is from Ag. S. Gislebert, "Bright hostage" (see gíall in Dict.); Gillebride is St Bridget's slave, an exceedingly common name once, but now little used.


Gillespie, G. Gilleasbuig; see Archibald.


Glass, G. Glas, an epithet, being glas, grey. See M'Glashan.

Godfrey, G. Goraidh, M. G. Gofraig (1467 MS.), Godfrey (do.), Ir. Gofraidh (F.M.), M. Ir. Gothfrith, Gofraig, also Gofraig (Tigernach, 989), E. Ir. Gothfraigh (Lib. Lein.), E. W. Gothrit (Ann. Camb.). The Norse name, for it is Norse-men that are referred to, is Goðrœðr or Gudrod (also Góðrœðr), but the earlier Gaelic shows rather a name allied to the Ag. S. Godfrid, Ger. Gottfried, "God's peace." Modern Gaelic is more like the Norse. The Dictionaries give G. Guaidhre as the equivalent of Godfrey; for which, however, see M'Quarrie.

Gordon, G. Górdan, Gordon, Gördonach; from the parish name of Gordon in Berwickshire. The De Gordons are well in evidence in the thirteenth century. Chalmers explains the place-name as Gor-dyn, "super-dùnum" (see far and dùn).

Gow, G. Gobha, a smith, now usually gobhaimn, q.v. Hence Mac-cowan, Mac-gowan, Cowan.

Grant, G. Grannd, Grant (1258), an English family which settled about Inverness in the thirteenth century, Eng. Grant, Grund, from Fr., Eng. grand.

Gregor, G. Griogair, Griogarach, M. G. M'Gregar (D. of L.), M. Ir. Grigoir, E. Ir. (Lat.) Grigorius (Gregory the Great, died 604), from Lat. Gregorius, Gr. Γρηγόριος, a favourite
ecclesiastical name from the third century onward (cf. Gr. γυποπέω, be watchful, Eng. care). Hence M'Griogair, Macgregor, Gregory.

Gunn, G. Guinne, Gunnach, early documents Gun (1601), Clangun (1525), in Kildonan of Sutherland, originally from Caithness; from the Norse Gunni (twelfth century), the name then of a son of Olaf, a Caithness chief (Ork. Saga). This Gunni is a short or "pet" form of some longer name of two stems, with gunn-r, war, as the first and chief one (cf. Gann-arr, which is an old Orkney name, Gunn-bjorn, Gunn-laugr, Gunn-ófr, war-wolf, Gunn-stein, Gunn-valdr).

Harold, G. Harailt, M. Ir. Aralt, from Norse Haraldr (same in roots and origin as Eng. herald). Hence Mac-raild.


Hugh, G. ’Uisdean (Huisdean), in Argyle Eoghan, M. G. Huisduinn, which comes from Norse Eysteinn, "Eyst(?)-stone." The Dictionaries also give the G. Aodh (see Mackay) as equivalent to Hugh, which is itself from Germanic sources, Teutonic root hug, thought.

James, G. Seumas, M. G. Sémus (M’V.); from the Eng. James, a modification of Hebrew Jacob.

John, G. Iain, older Eóin, in compounds Seathain, as Mac-Gille-seathainn, now M’Illeathainn.

Kathel, G. Cathal, M. G. Cathal (M’V.), Ir. Cathal (common from seventh century onwards), O. W. Catgual: *Katu-valos; see cath, war, and val under Donald. Hence M’All, Mackail.

Kennedy, G. Ceanaideach, Ceanaidh, Kennedy (Kenedy, John M’Kennedy, fourteenth century) is the family name of the old Earls of Carrick, now represented by the Marquis of Ailsa; it is a famous Irish name borne by the father of Brian Boru in the tenth century—Ir. Ceinneidigh, E. Ir. Cennétich, gen.: from ceann, head, and éitigh, ugly: "ugly head." Called also M’Ualraig from Walrick Kennedy (sixteenth century), who first settled in Lochaber: Walrick may be G. Ualgharg confused with Teutonic Ulrich, older Uodalrich, "rich patrimonially."
KENNETH, G. Coinneach, M. G. Coinnich, Coinnich, g. Coindichi, g. (M'V.), O. G. Cainnech, g. Caenig (B. of Deer), E. Ir. Caenig, gen., Ir. Lat. Cainechnus (Adamnan): *Cannico-s, "fair one," from the same stem as cinnach (root qas), q.v.
The Eng. Kenneth is a different word: it is the old Scotch king name Cined (E. Ir. form), O. G. Cinathi (B. of Deer), Ir. Cinaedh, "fire-sprung," from cin of cinn and aed of Mackay.

LACHLAN, G. Lachlann (Dial. Lachlannn), Lachunn, M. G. Lochlann, g. (M'V.), Lochlanna, n. and g., Lachlan, g. (1467 MS.), Ir. Lochlann Mac Lochlann (F.M., year 1060); probably from Lochlann, Scandinavia, possibly commencing as Mac-Lochlann, a Scandinavian ("son of L.") Lochlann evidently means "Fjord-land."

LAMOND, G. M'Laomuinn, Lâman, M. G. Ladmann, early documents Lawemundus (Lat. of 1292), Lawmunn (circ. 1230), M. Ir. Lagmannd, Lagmand; from Norse lagmanôr, lôgmanôr, lawman, pl. lögman, "law-men," by meaning and derivation. Hence M'Clymont (D. of L.), V'Clymont, Clyne lymyn.

LAURENCE, G. Labhruinn, M. G. Labhran (1467), Ir. Laurint (Saint), from Lat. Laurentius, St Laurence, the ultimate stem being that of Lat. laurus, a laurel. Hence M'Labhruinn, or Mac-laren.

LEWIS, G. Luthais; from Fr. Louis, from Chlóvis, the Frankish king (fifth century), degraded from old German Chlodwig, now Ludwig (*Kluto-vigo-s, famed warrior, roots in clîü and Eng. victory). Hence Eng. Ludovic, which is rendered in G. by Maoldônuiach, shaveling of the Church.

LIVINGSTONE, G. M'An-léigh; see Mac-leay.

LUKE, G. Lúcais. Hence Mac-lucas.

MAGNUS, G. Manuel, Manus, M. G. Magnus, Manus, g. (1467 MS.), Ir. Maghaun, Norse Magnuss, from Lat. magnus, in the name of Charlemagne—Carolus Magnus.

MALCOLM, G. Calum, earlier Gillecalum, M. G. Myccolium (D. of L.), Maicolaim, O. G. Malcoluim, Malcolm, Gillecolaim, Ir. Maicoluim: from maol, bald, and calum, a dove (Lat. columba), the particular Calum meant here being St Columba. Hence Maccoluim.

MALISE, G. Maoliosa, E. Ir. Maelisu, servant of Jesus. Hence also Melis.

MATHESON, G. M'Ghanathan, Mathanach, M. G. Mac-Matgamna (1467 MS.), Macmaghan (Exchequer Rolls for 1264), the Ir. Mac-ahmon, "son of the bear," for which see mathghamhrin. Matheson in Perthshire and Kintyre is, as elsewhere outside the Highlands, for Mathewson, G. M'Mhatha.
Menzies, G. Mèinnear, Mèinn and Mèinnearach locally, early documents de Mengues (1487), de Meyners (1249); De Meynería would mean much the same as De Camera, that is, “of the household,” from mesn-, masn-, giving Fr. mén- (our ménage, menagerie, menial), from Lat. mans- (our mansion), from maneo, remain. The root anyway is man of mansion and manor, and the name is allied to Manners and Mainwaring.

Morgan, M. G. Clann Mhorguinn (M’V.), O. G. Morgunn, g. Morcunt, W. Morgan, Cor. and O. Br. Morcant: Mori-canto-s, “sea-white,” from the stem of muir and root kyd, burn, as in connadh (Lat. candeo, shine, Eng. candle). See Mackay.

Morrison, G. Moireasdan, earlier McGille-mhoire, Mary’s servant, M. G. Gillamure, whence Gilmour. The name Morris is for Maurice, from the Latin saint’s name Mauricitis, “Moorish.”

Munro, G. Rothach, Mac-an-Rothaich (Dial. Munro). In the fourteenth century the name is “of Monro,” which shows it is a territorial name, explained as Bun-roe, the mouth of the Roe, a river in County Derry, Ireland, whence the family are represented as having come in the eleventh century.

Murdoch, G. Muireach, Murchadh; the first is M. G. Muiredhaigh, gen. (M’V.), Murreich (D. of L.), Muireadhach, g. (1467 MS.), Ir. Muireadhach, E. Ir. Muiredach, O. Ir. (Lat.) Muirethachus, Adamman’s Muiredachus, “lord,” allied to muirenn and muriucdn; Ag. S. mastre, clarus; Br. conomorios (?) (Stokes R. C. 1876.) The form Murchadh is in Ir. the same, E. Ir. Murchad: *Mori-catu-s, sea warrior. Hence (from the first) M’Mhuirich (in Arran, etc., becoming Currie), and from the second, Murchison, Murchie, and Ir. Murphy. See murrach above.

Murray, G. Moirreach; from the county name Moray or Murray, early Gadelic forms being Moreb, Muref, and Norse Morhaefi (influenced by Norse haf, sea): *Mor-apia, from mor of muir, sea, and *apia, the termination of several Celtic place-names. Andrew Morrich, Kiltearn, 1672.

Myles, G. Maolmoire, servant of Mary, an old and common name. Myles is from the Med. Lat. Milo, with a leaning on miles, soldier—a common name in the Middle Ages.

Mac-alister; see Alexander.
Mac-andrew; see Andrew.
Mac-arthur; see Arthur.
Mac-askill, G. M’Asgaill; from Norse Askell, for *As-ketill, the kettle (sacrificial vessel) of the Anses or gods: “a vessel of holiness.”

MAC-BEAN, G. M‘Bheathain, from Beathan, Englished as Bean (1490, Beane, 1481) or Benjamin: *Bít-táthega-s, life’s son, from beatha, life, with the termination -agno-s, meaning “descendant of,” Eng. ing, now used like the Eng. to form diminutives. Also Mac-bain, Mac-vean.


From Macbeth come M‘Bey, M‘Vey, M‘Veagh.

MAC-CALUM, G. M‘Caluim; see under Malcolm.

MAC-CODRUIM, G. M‘Codrum; from Norse Gutormr, Goðormr, Ag. S. Guthrum: “good or god serpent” (orm).

MAC-COLL, G. M‘Colla; see Coll.


MAC-CONACHIE, G. M‘Dhonnchaidd, son of Duncan, which see. The Clan Donachie are the Robertsons of Athole, so-named from Duncan de Atholia in Bruce’s time: the English form of the name is from Robert, Duncan’s great-grandson, who helped in bringing the murderers of James I. to execution.


MAC-CORQUODALE, M‘Corcadail, M. G. Corgitill, g. (D. of L.), early documents Makcorquyedill (1434); from Norse Thorketill, Thor’s kettle or holy vessel (see Mac-askill).

MAC-CRIMMON, G. M‘Cruimein; from Rumun (on a Manx Rune inscription), from Norse Hró mundr (for Hróð-mundr, famed protector)? Ceannfaelad Mac Rumin, Bishop, d. 820; Ruman, the poet, d. 742; Ruman, the bishop, d. 919. Erig a n-agaid Rumun, MS. Bodl. Lib. Laud. 610, fol. 10, a, a (O. Don’s Gram.).

MAC-CULLOCH, G. M‘Cullach, early documents M‘Culloch (1458), M‘Cullo, M‘Cullach (1431)—in Easter Ross: “son of the Boar” (cullach)? M‘Lulich, son of Lulach (little calf?), has been suggested, and this appears as M‘Lulich.
MAC-DERMID; see Dermid.
MAC-DONALD; see Donald.
MACDUFF; see Duff.
MAC-FADYEN, G. M'Phaidain, early documents M'Fadseane (1540); from Paideon, Pat, a pet form of Patrick.
MAC-FARLAN; see Bartholomew.
MAC-GILL; from a G. M'Gille, used as a curtailment, especially of Mac-millan or M'Gille-mhaoil.
MAC-GILLIVRAY, G. M'Gillebhrath, son of the Servant of Judgment, from brath, judgment, q.v.
MAC-GLASIAN, G. M'Glaicsein, a side-form of M'Ghilleghlais, the Grey lad, M. G. M'Illeslass (D. of L.), documents M'Gilleglasch (1508). For the formation of this name, cf. Gille-naomh (Mac-niven), Gille-maol (Mac-millan), M'Gillebans (1555), M'Gille-uidhir (M'Clure, dun lad), Gilroy, red lad.
MAC-GOWAN; see under Gow.
MAC-GRIGOR; see Gregor.
MAC-HARDY, G. M'Cardaidh:
MAC-INDEOR; see Dewar.
MAC-INNES; see Angus.
MAC-INTYRE, G. M'An-t-saoir, son of the carpenter; see saor.
MAC-IVER, G. M'Imhair, M. G. M'Imhair (1467 MS.), Ir. Imhar, E. Ir. Imhair, g.; from Norse 'Ivarr.
MAC-KELLAR, G. M'Ealair, M'Eallair, old documents Makkellar (1518), Makalere (1476), M'Callar (1470), all "of Ardare" in Glassary, Argyle. Ellar M'Kellar (1595), proves the name to be Ealair. M. Ir. Elair, the Gaelic form of Lat. Hilarius borrowed.
MAC-KENZIEB, G. M'Coinnich; from Coinneach, which see under Kenneth.
MAC-KERCHAR, G. M'Thearchair; see Farquhar.
MACKESACK, for G. M'Isaac, son of Isaac. Also Mackibison, M'Kesk, 1475; Kessokissone, Kessoksone, 1488; Makesone, 1507; Makysonne, 1400 (mostly in Menteith and S. Perth), from Kessoc, Kessan, personal names circ. 1500, also St. Kessog or Kessock.
Mackillop, G. M'Philib, for Philip (=Filip), where f (=ph) is aspirated and disappears; from Lat. Phillipus, from Gr. Φιλιππος, lover of horses (see gaol and each). 
Mackinlay, G. M'Fionnla(idh); from Finlay.
Mackintosh, G. Mac-an-toisich, the Thane's son (see tòiseach), M. G. Clanna-an-tòisaigh, Clan Mackintosh (M'V.), Toissich (D. of L.), Mackintoshes, Clann-an-toisigh (1467 MS.), early documents M'-Toschy (1382).
Mackirdy, G. M'Urardeigh, M'Urardie, 1632; M'Quiritei, 1626; Maknerarty, 1547; M'Quartrie, 1517; common in Bute and Arran of old, from Muircheartach, “sea-director” (muir and ceart); whence also M'Murtrie, M'Ufatrie.
Mac-lachlan, G. M'Lachlain; see Lawrence.
Maclagan, G. M'Lagain (Lathagain in its native district of Strathlachlan, documentary Makuagain (1525): *M'Gillaagan, sed quid?
Mac-laren, G. M'Labhruin; see Lawrence.
Mac-leach, G. M'Tilean, for Gill' Sheathain, John or Seathan's servant, M. G. Giolla-eoin (M'V.), Gilkeoin (1467 MS.), documents Makgilleon (1390); from gille and Seathan (Iain) or Eòin, John, the latter being the classic G. for the name. John means in Hebrew “the Lord graciously gave.”
Mac-learnan, so G.; from Gill' Ernan, St Ernan's gille. The Latin name of this saint is Ferreolus, “Iron-one”; from iarunn.
Mac-leay, G. M'An-leigh, or earlier M'An-léibh, documents M'Conleif (1498 in Easter Ross), Dunslephe, gen. (1306-9, Kintyre), Dunslaff Makcorry (1505), M. G. Duinsleibe, gen., Ir. Donnsléibe, E. Ir. Duinslébe, gen.: “Brown of the Hill,” from donn and slibh (not “Lord of the Hill,” as other similar names exist in duibh, e.g. Dubhsléibe; see Mac-phee). Capt. Thomas regarded the M'Leays of the north-west as descended from Ferchar Leche, F. the physician, who gets lands in Assynt in 1386, being thus M'An-leigh, physician's son, Manx Cleg, Legge. The Appin M'Lea clan Englished their name as Livingstone, of whom was the celebrated traveller.

MAC-LENNAN, G. M'Illinnein, Servant of St Finnan, Ir. Mac-Gilla-findenn (common in fourteenth and fifteenth century), M. Ir. Finden, E. Ir. Finnian, Adamnan's Vinnianus = Finnio, Findionis = Findbarrus; from finn, fionn, white: the full name, of which Finnan is a pet form, was Findbarr or "Fair-head," Eng. Fairfax. Skene deduced Mac-lenann from M. G. M'Gilla-agamnan, Adamnan's gille, documents Gilleganan Macneill (1545), Gillecumnan (1427).

MAC-LEOD, G. M'Leod, G. M'Cloyd (D. of L.), M'Leod (MS. 1540), documents Macloyde (fourteenth century), O. G. Léot (B. of Deer), Norse Sagas Ljótr, earl of Orkney in tenth century, and otherwise a common Norse name; the word is an adj. meaning "ugly" (!), Got. liita, dissembler, Eng. little.

MAC-MAHON, G. M'Mhathain; see Matheson.

MAC-MARTIN, G. M'Mharitinn, no doubt for earlier Gillamartain; gen. (1467 MS., an ancestor of the Cameron chiefs): Eng. Martin, from Lat. Martinus, the name of the famous fourth century Gaulish saint; it means "martial."

MAC-MASTER, G. M'Mhaighistir, son of the Master.

MAC-MICHAEL, G. M'Mhicheil, doubtless for earlier Gillamichol; see Carmichael.

MAC-MILLAN, G. M'Ghille-mhaoil, son of the Bald gille (cf. M'Glashan). To Maolan must be compared the Ogmnic Mailagni.

MAC-NAB, G. M'An-aba, M. G. m'ynnab (D. of L.), M' An Aba (1467 MS.): "son of the Abbot"; see aba.

MAC-NAIR, G. M'An-uidhir; for Mac Iain uidhir, son of dun (odhar) John (cf. Makameroy, 1556, now Mac-inroy, and Makenedny, 1526, now Mac-indoe). Such is the source of the Gairloch branch of the name. The Perthshire sept appears in documents as M'Inayr (1468), Macnayr (1390), which is explained as M' An-oighre, son of the heir. M'Nuir's in Cowal (1685), John Maknewar (1546, in Dunoon); Tho. M'Nuyer (1881, Inverness). Prof. Mackinnon suggested M'An-fhuidhir, son of the smith or faber; nor should M'An-fhuidhir, the stranger's son, be overlooked as a possible etymology.

MAC-NAUGHTON, G. M'Neachdainn, M. G. M'Neachtain (1467), O. G. Nectan, Pictish Na'ton (Bede), from necht, pure, root nig of nigh, wash.
MAC-NEE, G. M'C'Rich ; D. of L. M'Onee, M'Nie, 1613; M'Knie, 1594; M'Kne, 1480 (Menteith and Breadalbane). From mac-nia, champion?


MAC-NISH, G. M'Neis; from M'Naois, the Naois being a dialectic form of Aonghus or Angus.

MAC-NIVEN, G. M'Ghille-naoimh, the saintly gille (cf. for form in Eng. Mac-glashan). Documentary form Gilnew M'llwedy (1506). The M. G. and Ir. Gilla Nanaemh, servant of the saints (1467 MS.), is a different name. The Ir. M'Nevin is for M'Cnaimhin.

MAC-PHAIL, G. M'Phail; son of Paul. See Paul.

MAC-PHERSON, G. M'Phearsain, son of the Parson, M. G. M'a pharsone (D. of L.), documents M'Inphersonis (1594 Acts of Parl.). Bean Makimperson (1490, Cawdor Papers), Makfarson (1481, Kilravock Papers), Archibald M'Walter vic Doncho vic Persoun (who in 1589 has lands in Glassary of Argyle); Tormot M'Farsane (vicar of Snizort, 1526). The Badenoch M'Phersons are known as Clan Mhuirich; the Skye sept are called Cananaich (from Lat. canonicus, canon).

MAC-QUARRIE, G. M'Guaire, M. G. Guaire, M'C'Guaire (1467 MS.), Macquharry (1481), M'Goire of Ulva (1463, Makryhory in 1473); from Gadelic Guaire, *Gaurio-s, E. Ir. guaire, noble; Gr. γαυψος, proud, exulting; further Lat. gaudeo, rejoice, Eng. joy.

MAC-QUEEN, G. M'Cuinn, documents Sween M'Queen (1609, Clan Chattan Bond), M'Quyn (1543, Sweyne then also as a personal name, in Huntly's Bond), Makquean (1502, personal name Soyne also appears), M. G. Sibne, gen. (1467 MS., Mackintosh genealogy), M'Soenith (D. of L.), documents Syylyn (1269, the Kintyre Sweens), Ir. Suibhne (Sweeney), E. Ir. Subne, Adamnan's Suibnevs: *Subnio-s, root ben, go: “Good going?” The opposite Duibhe (O'Duinn, etc.) appears in Ogam as Dowinnias (gen.). Cf. dubhach, subhach. Usually Mac-queen is referred to Norse Eng. Sweyn, Norse Sveinn, which gives G. M'Swain, now Mac-Swan, a Skye name. Pronounced in Arg. Mac Cu'ine or Cuibhne, for M'Shuibhne, which is the best spelling for Argyle.

MAC-RAE, G. M'C'Raith, M. G. gen. Macraith, documents M'Craith (1383 in Rothiemurchus), Ir. Macraith (years 448, onwards):
“Son of Grace or Luck,” from rath, q.v. A personal name like Macbeth.

Mac-raild; see under Harold.

Mac-ranald, G. M’Raonuill; see Ranald.

Mac-roy, Mac-rury; see Rory. Documents give Makreury in 1427.

Mac-taggar, G. M’An-t-Sagairst, son of the priest.

Mac-tavish, G. M’Thamhais, for M’Thamhais and M’Cause (1494, 1488, in Killin of Lochtay).

Mac-vicar, G. M’Bhiocair, documents Makvicar (1561, when lands are given near Inveraray to him): “Son of the Vicar.”

Mac-vicar, G. M’Mhuirich, M. G. M’Vurich claimed descent from the poet Muireach Albanach (circ. 1200 a.d.). They now call themselves Macphersons by confusion with the Badenoch Clann Mhuirich.

Neil, G. Niall, so Ir., E. Ir. Niall, Adamnan’s Nellis, gen.: *N’eillo-s, *Neid-s-lo-; see niata for root, the meaning being “champion.” Hence Mac-neill. The word was borrowed into Norse as Njáll, Njal, and thence borrowed into Eng., where it appears in Domesday Bk. as Nigel, a learned spelling of Neil, whence Nelson, etc.

Nicholson, G. M’Neacail; see Mac-nicol.

Norman, G. Tormoid, Tormod (Dial. Tormaitl, for earlier Tormond), documents Tormode (David II.’s reign); from Norse Thórmodr, the wrath of Thor, Eng. mood. The form Tormund alternates with Tormod (1584, 1560): “Thor’s protection;” whence the Dial. Tormaitl (cf. iarmaitl for phonetics). Cf. Gearmailt, Germany.


Paul, G. Pól (Classic), Pál (C.S.); from Lat. Paulus, from paulus, little, Eng. few.

Peter, G. Peadair; from Lat. Petrus, from Gr. Péppos, rock, stone.

Philip, so G.; see Mackillop.

Ranald, G. Raonull, M. G. Ragnhall (M’V.), Ragnall, Raghnnall (1467 MS.), Ir. Ragnall (common); from Norse Rögnvaldr, ruler of (from) the gods, or ruler of counsel, from rögn, regin, the gods, Got. regin, opinion, rule; whence Reginald, Reynolds, etc. Hence M’Raonuill, Mac-ranald, Clanranald.

Robert, Raibert, Robert, Rob, M. G. Robert (D. of L.), Roibert (1467 MS.); from Eng. Robert, Ag. S. Robert, from hró, hróð,
fame, praise, and bright, now bright, "bright fame." Hence *Robertsons (= Clann Donnchaidh), Mac-robbie.

RODERICK, RORY, G. Ruairidh, M. G. Ruaidri (1467 MS.), O. G. Ruadhrí, I.r. Ruaidhri, gen. Ruadrach (Annals at 779, 814), O. I. I. Ruadhrí, E. W. Rothri, Rodri; from ruadh, red, and the root of *righ, king? The Teutonic Roderick means "Famed-ruler" (from hrëd and rik, the same root as G. righ). The terminal -ri, -rech (old gen.) is a reduced form of righ, king (Zimmer, who, however, regards Ruadhrí as from N. Hrórehr, but this in Galloway actually gives Rerih, M’Reirk, M’Grerik, 1490, 1579, thus disproving Zimmer’s view). M’Cririck still exists.

ROSS, G. Rosach, Ros; from the County name Ross, so named from ros, promontory.


SAMUEL, G. Samuel, Somhairdle. The latter really is Somerled, M. G. Somairle (M.V.), Somairli (1467 MS.); from Norse *Sumairliði, which means a mariner, viking, "summer sailor," from sumar and lid, a follower, sailor.

SHAW, G. Seaghadh, Englished as Seth; evidently formerly Si’ach or Se’ach, Schiach M’Keich, Weem in 1637 (= Shaw M’Saw), Jo. Scheach, Inverness in 1451, Jo. and Tho. Scheoch, king’s "cursors" 1455-1462, Sythach Macmallon in Badenoch in 1224-33, Ferchar filius Seth there in 1234, M’Sithig in B. of Deer: *Sitheach, M. Ir. sidhach, wolf. The female name Sitheag was common in the Highlands in the 17th century (Shiak, Shihag). The Southern Shaws—of Ayrshire and Greenock—are from De Schaw (1296), from Sc. and Eng. shaw, shaws; the southern name influenced the northern in spelling and pronunciation. In Argyle, the Shaws are called Clann Mhic-ghille-Sheathanaich.

SIMON, G. Sim. This is the Lovat personal name; hence M’Shimidh, Simmie’s son, the name by which the Lovat family is patronymically known. Hence in Eng. Sime, Mac-kimmie, M’Kim, Simpson, etc.

SOMERLED; see Samuel.

SUTHERLAND, G. Suthurlanach; from the county name.

TAGGART; see Mac-taggart.

THOMAS, G. Tòmas, Tàmhus (M’F.), M. G. Tamas (1467 MS.). Hence *Mac-tavis, Mac-combie.

TORQUIL, G. Torcuil (Torcall); from Norse Thorkell, a shorter form of Thorkehill, which see under Mac-corquodale.

WHYTE, G. M’Illebhàin; son of the fair gille. See Bain above.
PERSONAL NAMES AND SURNAMES.

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

SOME NATIVE FEMALE NAMES.

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

Bride, Bridget, E. Ir., O. Ir. Brigid, g. Brigte or Brigtae: *Brgnti (Stokes), an old Gaelic goddess of poetry, etc. (Corm.); usually referred to the root *ogr, high, Celtic Brigantes, high or noble people; Skr. brhati, high (fem.); further Ger. berg, hill, Eng. burgh. The Norse god of poetry was Bragi, whose name may be allied to that of Brigit. The name of the Gr. goddess Ἁφροδιτη (Bfrag-tē) and the Teutonic name Bertha (from the same stem as Eng. bright), have been compared to that of Bridget (Hoffman, Æis. Æit. 18, 290); but this derivation of Aphrodite ("foam-sprung") is unusual.

Diorbhail, Diarbhorguil, Dorothy, M. G. Derbhfaisi (M'V.), Ir. Dearbhail, Dearbhforghail, respectively translated by O'Donovan "true request" (see àill) and "true oath" (E. Ir. forgall, O. Ir. forgeill, testimony, from geall). Hence the historic name Devorgilla.

Fionnghuala, Flora, M. G. Fionnghual (1469 MS.), documents Finvola (1463), Fynvola (1409), Ir. Finnghual ("Fair-shouldered"); from fionn and guala.

Mór, Mòrag, Sarah, M. G. Mór (M'V.), Ir. Móir (year 916); from mór, great, while Hebrew Sarah means "queen."

Muiréall, Marion, Muriel, Ir. Muirghhead (year 852): Mori-gelá, "sea-white"; from muir and geal.

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

Raonailt, Raonaid, Rachel; from Norse Ragnhildis, "God's fight." Cf. Ronald.

Sorcha, Clara, Ir. Sorcha; from the adj. sorcha, bright, the opposite of dorch, q.v.

Una, Winifred, Winny, Ir. Una; usually explained as from āna (nina, M. Ir. = gorta), hunger, famine, whence the Ir. proverb: "Ní bhion an teach a mbíon Una lá ná leath gan nuna"—The house where Una is is never a day or half one without hunger." W. newyn, Cor. naun, Br. naon, M. Br. nafin, *novengo-, Eng. need. Cf. E. Ir. uinchi, scarcity, Eng. want, wane. Una, daughter of the King of Lochlan, is represented as Keating as Conn Cédeathach's mother (second century).
PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND
Ptolemy's Map of Scotland.

(Founded on Muller's text of 1883 and Map of 1478 by the Editor).
PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

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

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

Ptolemy's degrees of longitude start from the then known westernmost point of the world—the Canary Islands; his latitude, of course, begins from the Equator. His degree of latitude was estimated at 500 stadia, which is one-sixth too small; his longitude degrees properly enough converge as he moves northward. His northernmost point of all is Thule, which he places in latitude 63 degrees. In regard to Britain his latitude on the south coast of England is 2 degrees too high, and by the time Scotland is reached this error is doubled; the Solway Firth is put down as 58 degrees 45 minutes, whereas it is 4 degrees less than this really.
While Ptolemy's outlines of England and Ireland are in a general way fairly accurate, the fact that he places Scotland at right angles to England gives his map of the British Isles a grotesquely inaccurate appearance. On closer inspection, however, it will be found, when once this initial error is allowed for, that his outline of Scotland is as good as those for the two sister countries. Up to the Tyne and Solway, Ptolemy's map is as accurate as could be expected from his general work; but here, instead of continuing Scotland straight to the North, he turns it eastward, exactly 90 degrees wrong. Many explanations have been suggested for this error; the most satisfactory is that of Mr Bradley, who thinks that Ptolemy or a predecessor had England, Scotland, and Ireland first on three separate maps, and in fitting them together, he had placed Ireland too far North, and so, perforce, was led to place Scotland at right angles to England. In any case, latitude and longitude have shifted places as far as Scotland is concerned, and the Mull of Galloway is the furthest north point of Scotland according to Ptolemy.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Æbūda</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Degs. Mins</td>
<td>Degs. Mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æbūda</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The next to it towards the east is likewise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Æbūda</td>
<td>15 40</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then Rhicina</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then Maleusus</td>
<td>17 30</td>
<td>62 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then Epidium</td>
<td>18 30</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And towards the east from Ivernia are these islands:

- Monaëda .................. 17 40 61 30
- Mona island .............. 15 57 40
- Adrũ, a desert island ... 15 59 30
- Limnu, a desert island ... 15 59

**GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLAND ALVION.**

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

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

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

- Mouth of the river Abravannus 19 20 61
- Estuary of Íēna .......... 19 60 30
- Mouth of the river Déva ..... 18 60
- Mouth of the river Novius ... 18 20 59 30
- Estuary of Itũna .......... 18 30 58 45

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

- Cape Virvedrūm ............ 31 60
- Cape Verubiũm............... 30 30 59 40
- Mouth of the river Íla ...... 30 59 40
The Novantæ dwell along the north side below the Peninsula of like name, among whom are these towns:—

Lucopibia................. 19  60  20
Rerigonium ............... 20  10  60  40

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the Damnonii towards the east, but more northerly, from Cape Epidium about eastwards are the Epidii, after whom (the Cerōnes, then more easterly) the Creōnes, then the Carnonacæ, then the Cerēni, and, most easterly and furthest, the Cornavii. From the Lemannonius Gulf as far as the
Estuary of Varar are the Caledonii and above them the Caledonian Forest; from them more easterly are the Decantae, touching whom are the Lugii, and above the Lugii are the Smertae. Below the Caledonii are the Vacomagi, among whom are these towns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bannatia</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>59 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamia</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>59 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alata Castra (Winged Camp)</td>
<td>27 15</td>
<td>59 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvesis</td>
<td>26 45</td>
<td>29 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orrea</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More easterly are the Tæzali [Tæxali] and their city:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devana</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Islands lie adjacent to the Isle of Alviōn at Cape Orcas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scetis Isle</td>
<td>32 40</td>
<td>60 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùmna Isle</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above which are the Orcades Isles, about 30 in number, the middle of which is 30 61 40.

And still further up than these is the Isle of Thûlë, the parts of which lie:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The westernmost</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The easternmost</td>
<td>31 40</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The northernmost</td>
<td>30 20</td>
<td>63 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The southernmost</td>
<td>30 20</td>
<td>62 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The middle</td>
<td>30 20</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Ptolemy's Alvion appears in Pliny and others as Albion; he means by it Great Britain; but the Gaelic population of both islands have always restricted this name to Scotland—Alba, gen. Alban. We may compare the Latin Alba to it; the Latin adjective albus signifies white. The underlying meaning is the very common and, in this case, appropriate one of "White-land." Ivernia, "Ireland," is the Latin Hibernia—a piece of folk etymologising, for Hibernia in Latin means "Winter-land" (hibernus, winter). Another old Greek form of the name is lernë, which is exceedingly near the modern Gaelic sound. Some think that an initial p has been lost, and explain the name as Piverion, "Fat or Rich-soiled Land," Greek Peciria. It has, however, to be remembered that several rivers (the Scottish Earns, Findhorn, etc.) have the same exact name; consequently it is either the name of a goddess, or a name applicable to both "island" and "river." (Compare the Teutonic ey, isle, from a root allied to aqua). Not only does 'Eire, Ireland, appear in river names, but we have at least two other island names applicable to rivers and estuaries—Ilea or Islay and Ptolemy's Dumna (compare the Irish Inver-Domnan, etc., from the goddess Dumna). Professor Rhys, of course, refers Ivernia incontinently to a non-Celtic source, and we hear much of the pre-Celtic Ivernians.
If Scotland be shifted back into its proper place, the Æbūdæ Isles will be to the west of it, and suit, in a general way; the Western Isles. Ptolemy has 5 Æbūda; Pliny says there are 7 Aemodæ (Æmodæ) and 30 Hæbudes; Mela speaks of 7 Hæmodæ. The name now appears resuscitated as Hebrides, by the misreading of a MS. copyist. Ptolemy has two islands of the same name—Æbuda or Ebuda; it is usual, from their position, to equate them with Islay and Jura; but probably Capt. Thomas was right in identifying them with the two Uists, North and South. The Norse name for Uist is Ivist, and the first syllable is not unlike the first part of Ebuda.1 Rhicina, Pliny's Ricina, appears in a few MSS. as Engaricina, and some have consequently been tempted to refer the name to Egg (Greek Enga may be Eggà); but it seems certainly intended for Rathlin isle—Irish Reachrann. Malæos is, of course, Mull; Adamnan calls it Malea. Dr Stokes equates the root mal with Albanian mal', height, border; Lettic, mala, border. The change of a into u in modern times is caused by the influence of the e or i sound in the second syllable. The Norse name was Myl. The isle of Epidium has been equated by Skene with Lismore, and by Captain Thomas with Islay. As the name cannot be separated from Cape Epidium (Kintyre), Mr Bradley thinks that it is a bit of the Mull of Kintyre which was inserted on the Irish map which Ptolemy worked from—one of the three which he fitted so ill together. We shall treat of the name Epidium afterwards. It is generally agreed that Mónaëda, Pliny's Monapia, is the Isle of Man (Welsh Manaw), and that Mona is Anglesey.

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

1 Since the above was written, Sir Herbert Maxwell suggests that Bute is the modern representative of ancient Ebouda.
way in Wigtoun Bay (Muller). The Abravannus is identified with Luce river and bay (Skene and Bradley) and the Annan (Muller), the latter on account of the similarity of the names when A\textit{ber} is removed from Abravannus. It is usual to etymologise the name into Welsh A\textit{ber}-afon, "river's mouth" = Mouth of Avon; and this may be correct. Then we reach the Mull of Galloway, three times its normal distance away from the head of Solway (It\text{"u}na), under the name of the Cape of the Novante, the people who are represented as inhabiting the "chersonese" or peninsula which abuts here. The name has left no modern traces; the root seems to be the same as that in Novios river—"New-comers?"

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} See further in \textit{Reliquiae Celticae}, vol. II., p. 551.
which Ptolemy places next after Cape Epidium in a position that might suit, relatively to the other two places, the western mouth of the Crinan Canal. Here the river Add discharges itself into the sea; the name means the "Long River;" and hence Skene concluded that this Long river was Ptolemy's Longus. There are several objections to this theory. First, it takes for granted that the Gaels were the inhabitants of the district about the year 100; this may be true. Second, it is Ptolemy's practice to translate the native names into his own Greek, as witness High Bank and Winged Camp, not into Latin, as Longus would imply. Skene made the error because he used a Latin map and text, and he has even caused Mr. Bradley to stumble after him. The name is the name of Loch Long, however much displaced; it means "Ship" or "Navigable Loch," from Gaelic long, W llong, ship. In fact, the Norsemen called this very firth Skipafjördhr, that is, Ship Fjord. Dr. Stokes thinks that Longus is a Celtic word cognate with Latin longus; but the word long or luing is a common name in the Western Isles, one or two islands going by more or less oblique forms of the name (Lunga, Luing, and two Longa's). The identification of Longus River with Loch Long implies much confusion on the part of Ptolemy or, rather, of his informants; but when one looks at the numerous lochs and firths and headlands of the Clyde Firth and Argyllshire Coast, one need not wonder that the Roman sailors blundered. It is right to say that Capt. Thomas identified the Longus river with Loch Linnhe—An Linne Dhubh, or Black Linn. Cape Epidium (Mull of Kintyre), we shall discuss in the name of the Epidii.

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

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

After the Naver comes Cape Tarvedûm or Orkas, which Captain Thomas and Mr Bradley identify with Cape Wrath. Mr Bradley rests his case on his derivation of Vervedrum, which he thinks is the progenitor of Farout in Farout Head—an impossible derivation. It is altogether a needless dislocation of Ptolemy's positions; he means the three or four heads to the north and east of Caithness—Holburn Head, Duncausby Head, and Noss Head. Tarvedûm is given by Marcian as Tarvedûnum, that is, Bull's Dun or Fort; compare the Tarodûnum of Gaul with like force. The meaning may, however, simply be Bull's Head. The point meant is either Holburn Head, near Thurso, or Dunnet Head, also forming an outpost to Thurso Bay. As a proof of our identification, Thurso itself is the Norse Thjórsa or Bull's Water! With it may be compared the Icelandic Thjórsá or Bull's Water of modern times. Ptolemy gives the cape a secondary name—Orkas; it seems to me that he means the two sentinel capes of Thurso Bay—Holburn and Dunnet Heads. Duncausby Head is called Viveredûm Cape; all writers are agreed upon this, Mr Bradley excepted. He thinks that Farout Head is meant; he analyses Virvedrum into the preposition ver, the Gaulish form of the Gaelic for or far, Lat. s-uper, Greek uper; it means "upon" or "exceeding." The vedrûm
he equates with the Pictish *fothar*, appearing in Dunottar (Simon of Durham’s Dum-foeder). The *vir* is doubtless the prep. *ver*; but *vedrīm* can hardly be *fothar*, for the latter word itself is simply a prefix word—a preposition, seemingly of like meaning with Gaelic *for*. The Wear river is called by Ptolemy Vedra; and Dr Stokes suggests a connection with O. Slavonic *vedru*,¹ clear. This would give a meaning in each case of Cape Clear and Clear River, which are, as to signification, quite satisfactory. Cape Verūbiûm, or Noss Head, also contains the prep. *ver*; the root *ub* has been happily referred by Stokes to the Irish word *ubh*, sword-point, doubtless allied to the English *weapon* (root *veb*, *ub*). This would give the meaning of the word Verūbiûm as "Sword Head."

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

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

¹ Root *vid*, see, as in Gaelic *fionn*, white. But *ved*, wet, suits the phonetics better.
Loth Parish (Bradley). The Loxa ought naturally to be the Nairn by position; but the name is identified by Skene, Stokes, and others with that of the Lossie, far away from Ptolemy’s place for it on the map. The phonetic difficulty here is a racial one; from an early Pictish *x*, we should expect a later *ch*, that is, if the Pictish was a Brittonic language and treated *x* as the other Brittonic languages did. Compare Ochil of the Ochil Hills and the Welsh *uchel*, high, Gaelic *uasal*, Gaulish *uvellos*. The form *lok-s* may be from one or two roots, and may mean “oblique,” “shining,” etc. Measuring from Varar, we should put the Tesis Estuary about Cullen; it is doubtless the mouth of the Spey that is meant. On this all the authorities are agreed. The names seem also allied; Spey, Gaelic Spé, may come from Spesi-s or Speisi-s, a Celtic *squei*, to vomit; Gaelic *sgeith*, Welsh *chwyd*, vomo; compare for force the old Italian river Vomanus. Ptolemy’s *tv* initial is an attempt to reproduce the initial Pictish sound which has now settled into the very non-Gaelic form of *sp* in Spey. Half-way between Spey and Kinnaird Head is the Caelis (Greek kailis) River, or Celnius, which suits the position of the important river Doveran or Deveron, but which in name fits Cullen and Cullen Water (Welsh makes original *ai* into *u*; hence Kailnios, which two MSS. give, represents admirably a later Cullen). Doveran is a Gaelic name and a late one; as the earlier form Duffern shows, it means the Black Earn opposed to the Findhorn or White Earn. The root *kail* is in modern Gaelic *caol*, narrow. Kinnaird’s Head is called the Cape of the Taosomal or Taaxali (Taixali), a name that should produce in later times a Pictish (British) Tuch-al or a Gaelic Taosal; the parish of Tough in mid Aberdeenshire ideally represents the British form of the root.

Turning southward, we come to the River Dēva, now the Dee. Skene accepts the bad reading of one MS., which gives Liva or Leva, and identifies it with the North Esk. Next comes the Estuary of the Tava, the Tavaus of Tacitus, which in position suits the Esk, but in name and in reality means the Tay. The name Tava appears on Brittonic ground in the Devon Tay and the Welsh Tawe, and there is a Welsh adjective *taw*, signifying “quiet,” “gentle,” to which Gluck equates the Gaulish Tavia, Tavium, and the woman’s name Taverna. Between the Tay and the Forth Ptolemy places the river Tina or Tinna; by position, of course, it suits the Tay best. The river meant is the Eden, which makes a considerable bay near St Andrews. Many think that the Tyne, of New-
castle, is meant, but this is unlikely, because this portion of the coast was possibly the one best known to the Roman fleets, as we can easily guess from Agricola's campaign. If it be the Eden, then the remarks on the Eden from which we started may apply to its derivation. Otherwise Tina or Tinna may be referred to the root ten, stretch, pull, Welsh tyn.

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

The next point on the coast noticed by Ptolemy is the mouth of the river Alaunus; the river named is the Alne of Northumberland, surely insignificant compared to the Tweed, which is ignored. Captain Thomas suggests that the Tweed is meant but the Alne named. In a similar way, the Tyne is passed unmentioned, while the Wear is taken, under the name of Vedra. For its derivation, see Cape Vervedrum. There was another Alaunus in the south of England, identified with the Axe, and two cities in France and two in Britain called
Alauna. There are at least three Scottish rivers called Alian, and this is supposed to be the modern form of ancient Alaunos, or, the more Celtic, Alauna. There is a Welsh Alun river, and the Cornish Camel is also known as the Alan. The word likely divides into *Al-auna*, and possibly the root is *pal*, as in Latin *palus*, marsh.

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

While the tribes we have just enumerated are said to have possessed towns, which are duly named and "positioned," a matter which helps the identification of the tribal localities, the next ten tribes are slumped together townless, and with little or no guidance as to their position. First come the Epidii, touching the Damnonii to the north-west, and starting from Cape Epidium, as Ptolemy says. We may assign them Kintyre and Lorn. The name is from the root *epo-*, the Gaulish for "horse," Gaelic *each*. The ancient Gaelic name would have been Eqidios; indeed the name exists in Adamnan’s personal name, Echodius, and the later Eachaidh, which in Gaelic passed into Echhuinn. Dr Stokes, however, thinks the root is *peku*, cattle, Lat. *pecu*; he would give the oldest form
as (p)ekvidioi, "cattle-holders," the later Irish personal name being Eochaid; but the other derivation seems the right one, for, as a matter of fact, the root peku appears nowhere else in Celtic. Next are the Cerones or Creones, for the MSS. differ as to whether these were two or one people. The root of the name is either ker or kre; it is a root of several meanings, the chief one of which is to "cut, divide, throw." Various authorities see remains of the name in the West Coast loch names—such as Crinan, Creran, etc., also Carron, Keiarn, Kearon. Captain Thomas extends them from Crinan to Loch Leven, and finds the name in Creran. The Caronacæ, according to most writers, occupied Wester Ross, and, of course, Loch Carron has been equated with the name. The true derivation seems to be carn, "a hill," common to all the Celtic tongues; they were the men of the "Rough-bounds," or Garbh-chriochan—the "Cairn-men." The use of Carn or Cairn for mountain names is peculiar to Pictland and Wales. Dr Stokes connects the 8th century name Monith Carno, the scene of a battle between two rival Pictish kings, fought in 729, near Loch Lochy (†). The Cærëni, or, properly, Cairëni, may be placed in Western Sutherland up to near the Naver. The root cair is that of *cairax, the modern caora, sheep; compare the Cæroesi of Gaul. Animal names giving names to persons or nations is not an uncommon phenomenon. The Cornavii occupied Caithness, the "horn" or corn of Scotland. There were Cornavii between the Dee and the Mersey in England, and Cornwall still holds the name, standing for Corn-Wales, "the Welsh of the Horn."

Neighbours to the Cornavii southwards were the Lügi, occupying easter Sutherland. Around Loch Shin were the Smertæ, and Easter Ross was occupied, up to the Varar Estuary, by the Decanta. The root lug of the name Lugi appears in many Celtic names, both on the Continent and in Ireland. Indeed, there was a Lügi tribe in Mid-Germany contemporary with the Highland Lugi. The god of light and arts among the Gael was called Luga of the Long Arms; and the old name of Lyons was Lügdunum, explained by an old glossary as "desiderato monte"—the desirable town. Dr Stokes refers the root lug to a Celtic base corresponding to Ger. loken, allure, Norse lokka. In that case the Norse god Lok is Aryan cousin, probably, to Luga, though the former is the god of evil enticement, while the Celtic Lug is alluring by good. The Smertæ or Mertæ also shows a common root; we have the personal names Smertalos (Cumberland inscrip-
tion), Smertulitanos, Smertomara, Ad-smerios, etc.; and the goddess Minerva of the Gauls, called Ro-smerta. These Dr Stokes refers to the root smer, to shine. The Decantæ are paralleled by an ancient people of North Wales—the Decanti, or Decangi (?), now Degannwy. The name seems also to be found on the Ogam inscriptions as Deceti; there is also the Decetia of Cæsar. Dr Stokes gives the root as dec, Latin decus, glory, Eng. decorous.

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

The Vacomagi, according to Ptolemy, occupied territory east of the Caledonians and coterminous with theirs throughout. What suits his figures is the stretch of country which begins on the Moray Firth with Elgin and Banff, includes Western Aberdeenshire and Perthshire, or, at least, the eastern portion of it. One of their four towns—Bannatia—would fall about the Earn or Almond, near Crieff, while the northernmost town is identified, probably rightly, with Burghead, and is called "Winged Camp." The name Vacomagi has been explained by Mr Bradley and Professor Rhys as "men of the open plains," in opposition to the Caledonian Woodlanders. The stretch of country allotted to them by Ptolemy, intersected as it is with the Grampians and its south-trending spurs, would hardly gain them this name; but possibly they really occupied Forfar, West Aberdeen onwards to the Moray Firth, leaving Perthshire to the Caledonians. As to the derivation, the form vacos is very common in Celtic names, both as prefix and affix, but, as Gluck remarked, its meaning is obscure. The Welsh gwág, empty, which Mr Bradley, and Professor Rhys's derivation brings forward as a parallel, is apparently borrowed from Latin; Mr Stokes, however, allows it as a native word in his Comparative Dictionary, just published. The form magi may be equated with old Gaelic mag, plain, now magh. No trace of such a name as Vacomagi now exists. The Tæxali of Aberdeenshire we have already discussed; and Ptolemy's only other tribe is the Ven(n)icones, or Venicones; this name is found also, but only once or twice, as Vernicones. They occupied Easter Fife, and perhaps stretched northward into Forfar; Ptolemy makes them and the Tæxali fill the whole coast, apparently, from Kinnaird Head to Fife Ness. Modern editors prefer Vernicones as the name of this people; Professor Rhys once explained the name as "Marsh-hounds," adducing the Welsh gwer, a swamp, and cwn, hounds, as complete parallels. It may be remarked that "dog" names were common and popular among the Gaelic Celts, and the derivation is, therefore, not to be rejected on any idea that such a name would be insulting. But verno may also mean "good" and "alder," and, then, there is the terminal comes as against cones in the MS. readings. Possibly Professor Rhys's derivation is the best one. If we take Ven
instead of *Vern*, then we have the well-known Celtic root for "kin," "friends," Gaelic *fine*, seen in names like *Veneti*, etc. Ptolemy mentions 21 towns as existent in Scotland in his time; they are mostly in the south, the Highland tribes having none, we may say. What exactly Ptolemy meant by his "towns" it is hard to say, for of regular towns in a Roman sense there were none. Possibly defensive positions—the *dūna* or fortified hills and the strongholds in woods or by rivers—are meant; and certainly within the lines of Roman conquest and campaigning the "towns" appear to have been so many Roman positions taken up and occupied by Roman camps and forts: witness such a name as Victoria, the position of which is naturally assigned to some place in Perth or Fife that presents prominent Roman remains. Hence we may account for so many towns being named by the rivers on which they were placed; the town, as it were, was "the Camp on the Allan" or whatever river it may have been. Again Ptolemy is very inaccurate in his account of the position of the towns, even in England. Says Mr Bradley:—"No reliance can be placed on any of Ptolemy's indications of the position of inland places not otherwise known to us; and the limits of the tribal territories are dependent almost entirely on the situation of the towns. Under these circumstances, it does not seem that Ptolemy's internal geography of Britain is likely to repay the trouble of a minute examination." The case in Scotland is much worse than with England; there certain names are recognisable, but in Scotland no town name has survived from Ptolemy's time. In these circumstances, we shall pass them in very brief review.

The Novantæ had two towns—Lucopibia and Rerigonium. The former is placed by Skene at Whithorn, once St Nimian's Candida Casa. The *lūco* of Lucopibia means "white" in Greek and "shining" in the Brittonic languages; so that the English, Latin, and Greek are all translations or adaptations (Greek) of the Celtic original. Others see the name preserved in Luce and Glen Luce, and transfer the town to the latter place. Rerigonium was on Loch Ryan, doubtless, where Roman works can still be seen. The Selgovea had four towns—one was Carbantorigon, possibly at the Moat of Urr, between the Nith and the Dee (Skene); Rhys thinks the name is a Celtic degradation of Carbantorion, "chariot town," for *Carbanton* meant "chariot." Uxellum or "High-town" (Welsh, *ucel*; Gaelic, *uas, uasal*) may have been Wardlaw Hill, at Caerlaverock (Skene); while Corda, whose derivation
is doubtful, was possibly at or about Sanquhar. Trimontium, or "Three Mount," suits the Eildon Hills for meaning, but Skene, for position and for the Roman works there, places it at Birrenswark.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Ansonius (4th century) explains it thus: "Divona, fons addite divis."
The second island is called Dûmna; he places it some 60 miles north, that is west (?), of the mouth of the Naver, and the Orcades Isles only twenty miles further off northwards. Pliny mentions Dûmna, but places it along with Scandia or Scandinavia. Mr Elton thinks it is one of the Orkneys, Captain Thomas says that it is usual to connect it with Stroma ("Current Isle"), and Mr Bradley considers it either to be Skye or the Long Island. It may be the Long Island; the name seems to contain the root which we have already discussed in the case of the Damnonii or Dumnonii, the u of which is also long.¹

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

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

¹Compare the goddess Domnu, whose name is in Inver Domnann (Rhys' Hib. Lect., p. 593).
may add Alauna. The root of Dumna and Dumnonii is common in Celtic lands, and the elements of Vaco-magi are easily paralleled in Gaul. Epidii is specially Brittonic, and good Celtic roots were found for Clota, Longos, Naboros, Caronacæ, Cereni, Vernicones, Orcades; the Gaulish prefix ver appears in Vervedrum and Verubium; we suggested probable roots for Volsas, Ila, Varar, Loxa, Cælis, Cerones (Creones), Sketis, and also for Bannatia and Tamia. Even should our derivation of Caledonia be disputed, the root cal may be fallen back upon, and it is quite common in Celtic names; but it is a root of several meanings. The Tvesis and Tina are doubtful as to form and origin (Spey and Eden?); Bodotria, which is in a similar position, was referred to a Pictish comparative (vo-ter-); Orrea we referred to the root or, and Tæxali was left underived. Skene suggests for Orrea and Ila a Basque origin, a view that should commend itself to Professor Rhys.

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