C 2.1: Historical linguistics, language change and comparative philology

   In Ériu 44 (1993), pp. 1–32.
   Incl. discussion of univerbation, tmesis and the PC system of stops.

   In Word 28/1-2 (1976), pp. 1–11.

3653. de Bernardo Stempel (Patrizia): Las lenguas celtas en la investigación: cuatro observaciones metodológicas.
   In CFC 16 (2006), pp. 1–21.


1129. McCone (Kim): OIr. -ic 'reaches', *dhdh 'eats', rigid 'stretches' and the PIE *Narten' present in Celtic.
   In Ériu 42 (1991), pp. 1–11.

2109. Ó Corráin (Ailbhe): On certain modal and aspectual values of the future category in Irish.

3616. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): On the origin of the nasalizing relative construction in Old Irish.
   Republ. in Lindeman studies, pp. 165–171.

2875. Yoshida (Kazuhiko): Palatalization in Old Irish deponent and passive endings.
   Argues that the deictic particle *-i was transferred to the 3rd sg. and pl.
   deponent endings before the syllabification of the PIE syllabic resonants.

2600. Wagner (Heinrich): The Celtic invasions of Ireland and Great Britain: facts and theories.
   Argues against a pre-Insular Celtic division of Goidelic and Brythonic, and suggests that Celtic was brought to Britain and Ireland by a tribe that had been exposed to the influence of North-Western Germanic. Appendix contains a collection of possible Celto-Germanic isoglosses: 1. Loss of the Indo-European reflexive pronoun; 2. Irish comparative forms ending in -i; 3. The 2nd sg. of the Old Irish and Welsh suffixless preterite; 4. Notes on verbal prefixes; 5. The Welsh relative particle a.
   Greene (David) (hon.)

   In BBCS 29/1 (Nov. 1980), pp. 1–16.

4824. Jackson (Kenneth): The historical grammar of Irish: some actualities and some desiderata.

   In Éigse 24 (1990), pp. 1–8.

   Challenges the view that OIr. Cothraige is a loan-word from Latin Patricius, and argues that it is a place-name with originally no relation to St. Patrick.

1837. Ó Buachaill (Breandán): ‘Common Gaelic’ revisited.
   vs. K. Jackson, Common Gaelic, 1951 (BILL 1017). Divides the Gaelic linguistic continuum into Northern and Southern Gaelic, and provides a list of 23 distinctive features of the former.

15991. Gvozdanović (Jadranka): Similarities between Celtic and Slavic.

3636. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Studies in Celtic and Indo-European verbal morphology: 3. W holdt, Br. faolot vs. OIr. scolaid and similar forms.

   In ZCP 36 (1978), pp. 5–12.
   Derives OIr. dám from PIE *dom-o-s, arguing that the long vocalism has been transferred from the strong cases of a hypothetical CC root-noun from PIE * dom- and therefore excluding the possibility of vrólhí derivation. Cf. E. Campanile, in BBCS 26/3 (1975), pp. 305–306.
2651. Jackson (Kenneth H.): The date of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.
   *In ZCP 41 (1986), pp. 5–45.*
   Distinguishes three datable linguistic layers (Old Irish, 10th c. and 11th c.) corresponding to the three main editorial phases. Includes a detailed analysis of the linguistic material, contrasted with Saltair na Rann and Togail Troit.

3637. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Gaulish ieurh and Old Irish ír.


   *In ANph 25 (1992), pp. 9–11.*

   *In LP 20 (1977), pp. 9–11.*
   On Celtic *duro-.*

10133. Greene (David): Archaic Irish.
   *In Indogermanisch und Keltisch (1977), pp. 11–33.*

   *In ZCP 46 (1994), pp. 11–12.*
   Argues that European *ɔ > *o before high vowels (nom. muir *morí, with raising) but > *a before non-high vowels (gen. muir < *maro-).*

   *In Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie (1992), pp. 11–39.*

2591. Schmidt (Gernot): Das keltische und das germanische t-Praeteritum.
   Argues that the derivation of the OIr. t-pretetite from a PIE t-aorist is impossible, and supports instead the view it spread from a 3sg. resulting from a PIE (non-middle) ending *-to added to the perfect stem.

   *In Scritti Hamp (2010), pp. 15–20.*
   Comments on the etymology of OIr. broc, grend, mláith.

   *In ZCP 51 (1999), pp. 17–45.*
   Discusses the etymology of OIr. Beltaine, bill, bille etc. and belletus.

4048. Koch (John T.): Ériu, Alba and Letha: when was a language ancestral to Gaelic first spoken in Ireland?
3689. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Celtic *nāmant-.
   Discusses the etymology of OIr. námae, arguing that it is a substantivized present participle of a Celtic factitive verb *nāmā-ti ‘puts (someone) in a state of fear’.

10729. Beekes (R. S. P.): PIE RHC- in Greek and other languages.
   Also examines Celtic evidence.

16367. Eska (Joseph F.): The emergence of the Celtic languages.
   In The Celtic languages 2 (2009), pp. 22–27.

776. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Old Irish and Brythonic deuterotonic verbal forms.

8145. Eska (Joseph F.): Where have all the object pronouns gone? The growth of object agreement in earlier Celtic.
   Argues that the Old Irish morphemes traditionally regarded as infixed and suffixed object pronouns are instead markers of object agreement.

678. Greene (David): The diphthongs of Old Irish.
   In Ériu 27 (1976), pp. 26–45.

777. McCone (Kim): Final /t/ to /d/ after unstressed vowels, and an Old Irish sound law.
   In Ériu 32 (1981), pp. 29–44.
   Establishes the following sound law for the beginning of the Old Irish period: ‘a voiceless dental stop or fricative on the word boundary was regularly voiced with an unstressed vowel, but otherwise remained unvoiced.’ Includes discussion of -t and -d in 2sg. prepositional pronouns.

   In Latein und Indogermanisch (1992), pp. 29–51.

17240. Griffith (Aaron): British Celtic intervocalic *s.
Bibliography of Irish Linguistics and Literature


4142. Griffith (Aaron): The effect of syncope with subsequent anaptyxis on consonant quality in Old Irish.
In Ériu 57 (2007), pp. 35–47.
Examine the quality of the Old Irish consonants on either side of the anaptyctic vowel arising in syncopated syllables of the structure CRVC and CVRC, and formulates an exception to the rules of the third palatalization.

2715. Schmidt (Karl Horst): The Celtic problem. Ethnogenesis (location, date?).
Addresses the issue of defining and locating Proto-Celtic with regard to the other branches of Indo-Europeans.

Also on the development of deuterotonic stress in Old Irish verbs.

In ZCP 49-50 (1997), pp. 43–49.
Examines the plausibility of an asymmetrical phonological inventory where /b/ has no voiceless counterpart. Furthermore, argues that the loss of /p/ is not related to the lenition of voiceless stops as this phenomenon postdates the Proto-Celtic period.

3106. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): L’accent indo-européen et le verbe celtique.
In ÉtC 29 (1992), pp. 43–50.

Republ. in Lindeman studies, pp. 190–197.

4781. Griffith (Aaron): \( ^{-n}(C) \) in Celtic.
Revises the facts exposed in K. M. Conne, Towards a relative chronology of ancient and medieval Celtic sound change, 1996, pp. 61 ff. and argues in favour of the following sequence of rules: 1) analogical replacement of thematic accusative plural ending \( ^{-ons} \) by \( ^{-ons} \), 2) raising of \( ^{-s} \), \( ^{-e} > ^{-r} \), \( ^{-t} \), and 3) post-Common Celtic loss of \( ^{-n} \) before \( ^{-t}(C) \).

Appendix: On the reading of Cambrai ar feda.

8534. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): A phonological note on OIr. -tuimmell.

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Original address:
In Celtica 26 (2010), pp. 44-47.

ad R. Thurneysen, in ZCP 16 (1927), p. 275 [7. Zu air. *tainmell]; argues it may reflect Class. OIr. *-tainmell

10322. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): On the origin of the Old Irish present - nen 'fixes'.

In ZCP 58 (2011), pp. 45-54.

On the reconstruction of the Common Celtic present indicative stems underlying OIr. do-dímen and sermaid.


In ZCP 57 (2009-2010), pp. 48-78.

Proposes an alternative explanation for the origin of the Old Irish set of verbs ending in -e(i)nnid/-einn in the present (such as ro-geinn, do-geinn, etc.), rejecting K. McCone’s derivation of this verb type from PIE ‘double nasal’ presents (in FS Watkins, pp. 465-476) and arguing instead that -nn- is the regular outcome of *-nd- when it was flanked by non-low front vowels.


In Ériu 57 (2007), pp. 49-60.

Refines K. McCone’s theory of the origin of the Old Irish distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion (as expounded in The origins and development of the Insular Celtic verbal complex, 2006) by substituting McCone’s early apocope of -i for an apocope that only affected clitic (i.e. non-initial) verbal forms thus obviating the necessity for a homogenization of initial forms.


In StC 38 (2004), pp. 49-58.

Criticism of the model of development of the Celtic languages set out in Barry Cunliffe’s Facing the ocean (Oxford 2001) and Donald Ringe et al. in TFS 100 (2002), pp. 59-129.


In Studi indo europei (1985), pp. 51-53.

Contends the traditional equation with Skt. gośinda, and argues for a new interpretation as ‘who finds cows’, trough comparison with the Ved. hapax gośindá.


1643. Russell (Paul): A footnote to spirantization.

In CMCS 10 (Winter 1985), pp. 53-56.

ad A. Harvey, in CMCS 8 (Winter, 1984), pp. 87-100.
Harvey (A.) (ref.)

2691. Ročén (Hannah): Periphrasis and figura etymologica in some sources of Middle Irish.
   *In ZCP 43 (1989), pp. 53–83.*
   Examines the various syntactical patterns in which the figura etymologica is attested, and argues that in the type where the verbal noun is the topic of a cleft sentence the cognate finite verb lost its lexical prominence and gave way to an auxiliary verb, thus facilitating the proliferation of the periphrastical construction with *do·gni, do·beir, fo·ceird,* etc.

4049. Mallory (J. P.): Two perspectives on the problem of Irish origins.
   *In Emania 9 (1991), pp. 53–58.*

   *In ZCP 39 (1982), pp. 54–77.*
   Description, history and linguistic significance of MS Würzburg, Universitätstibibote, M. p. th. f. 12. Aims in particular at establishing a relative chronology of the phonological processes triggered by the change to initial stress.

2639. Campanile (Enrico), Letta (Cesare): A Celtic ghost-word in a Latin inscription from Britain.

4602. Hamp (Eric P.): Morphological principles of MM.
   *In ZCP 56 (2008), pp. 57–59.*


3740. Jørgensen (Anders Richardt): Etymologies to go - some further reflexes of Celtic *keng-.*
   Argues that OIr. *cingid* derives from PC *kang-e/-o* rather than *keng-e/-o,* and establishes the quantity of ambiguous OIr. *cēs* (LEIA C-79; cf. *DIL C-147.74*) as long (cēs).

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8661. Ringe (Don), Taylor (Ann), Warnow (Tandy): Indo-European and computational cladistics.  
   In TPhS 100/1 (Mar. 2002), pp. 59–129.

   pp. 93–96: Summary of the development of the PIE laryngeals in Celtic (especially Old Irish).

2995. Greene (David): The responsive in Irish and Welsh.  
   pp. 60–65: surveys the system of responsive in Early and Modern Irish (including Scottish Gaelic), and argues it continues an archaic state of affairs.

   Roma (Elisa) (trans.)

   In Celtica 25 (2007), pp. 61–64.  
   Searches for traces of old case forms (specially instrumental, locative) in the Old Irish nominal inflection.

2640. de Bernardo (Patrizia): Einige Bemerkungen über das Mac Neillsche Gesetz.  
   In ZCP 40 (1984), pp. 64–73.  

4723. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Insular Celtic: P- and Q-Celtic.  
   In The Celtic languages¹ (1993), pp. 64–98.

2215. Irslinger (Britta): Abstract formations with *-tu and *-ti in Old Irish and Indo-European.  
   In Indo-European word formation (2004), pp. 65–90.

3794. Hamp (Eric P.): Does morphological reconstruction really exist?  
   Explores the set of rules that govern Proto-Indo-European derivational patterns involving the prefix *h₁-su and the adjectival *-i, which is illustrated especially by examples of the several compounding types occurring with OIr. so-. In addition argues that the Old Irish negative prefix neb/-neph- derives from the petrified result of the prefix concatenation *ne-su before a vowel.
962. Ní Laoire (Siobhán): Traditions of spoken language study in Ireland. 
   In Irish review 14 (Autumn 1993), pp. 65–73.

2706. Hamp (Eric P.): Bouges, Boug(e)y, Bolg, Blatobulgium. 
   OIr. *bölgh ‘bag’ < IE *bhólgh-oh-s; OIr. *bolgh ‘swelling, angry’ < IE *bhólgh-oh-s; 
   derives all < IE *bhólgh-oh-s ‘swell’.

   In ZCP 53 (2003), pp. 70–76.

17315. Blažek (Václav): On application of glottochronology for Celtic 
   languages; dedicated to the memory of Sergei Starostin (March 24, 

2467. Ó Sé (Diarmuid): The verbal ending -idh/-igh in Munster dialects. 

   In ZCP 44 (1991), pp. 76–78.

2623. Wagner (H.): Old Irish -bria, subjunctive of *brenaid ‘injures, damages, 
   spoils, breaks’.

3164. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Zur Konzeption einer historisch-vergleichenden 
   Analyse des keltischen Lexikons. 

844. McCone (Kim): The Würzburg and Milan glosses: our earliest sources 
   of ‘Middle Irish’. 

2717. Hamp (Eric P.): ‘First’. 
   In ZCP 45 (1992), pp. 85–86.
Argues that an Indo-European syntactical rule underlies the Old Irish (and also Welsh) omission of the ordinal ‘first’ in complex numeral phrases, for which an Albanian parallel is found, and that in both these languages this deletion is replaced by a new form for ‘first’ based on the cardinal.

In CMCS 8 (Winter 1984), pp. 87–100.


In ÉtC 22 (1985), pp. 88–94.
Discusses the history of the ‘Proto-gaélique’ stems.

4758. Jørgensen (Anders Richardt): Middle Breton leiff, Middle Cornish ly ‘breakfast, lunch’.
Reconstructs a Celtic verbal noun longetu- (OIr. longut).

In Ériu 24 (1973), pp. 90–120.
[1.] The evidence reconsidered; A. Nominativus pendens; B. The transferred subject in Irish; C. Initial subject with non-relative verb; D. Noun-initial as mark of explanation or response; E. Noun-initial as a stylistic, quasi-rhetorical feature; F. Miscellaneous instances of noun-initial sentences; [2.] Verb-initial the primary construction in British?; [3.] Breton and Cornish word-order; [4.] The spread of noun-initial order in Southern British.

2455. Ó Sé (Diarmait): Tánn tú.
On the forms of the 2 sg. pres. id. of the substantive verb and the spread of -(e)ann in Corca Dhuibhne Irish.

3153. Kortlandt (Frederik): The alleged early apocope of -*i in Celtic.
In ÉtC 32 (1996), pp. 91–97.
ad P. Schrijver, in Ériu 45 (1994), pp. 151–189. Also against the “particle theory” as formulated by P. Schrijver.

In Éigse 25 (1991), pp. 91–94.
On the substitution of the positive degree of the adj. compounded with com-
for the inflected equative, and the nominal use of the new form. Part one.

690. Ó Buachalla (Breandán): Ní and cha in Ulster Irish.
In Ériu 28 (1977), pp. 92–141.
1. Scottish Gaelic influence [on Ulster Ir.]; 2. O’Rahilly’s theory [cf. Best 2
527]; 3. Present for future in Ulster-Irish; 4. Present for future in Early Irish; 5.
A reconstruction of the data; 6. An alternative interpretation [cha associated
with ‘informal’ style in Ulster].


4737. Lubotsky (Alexander): Avestan ḏībōrovštār- and the Indo-European root
√túrk.
In Sprach e 36/1 (1994), pp. 94–102.
ad K. McCone, The etymology of Old Irish torc ‘bou’re, in Festchrift for Os-
wald Szemerényi on the occasion of his 75th birthday III, ed. by B. Brockványi

4679. McCone (Kim): Greek Κέλτος and Σαλάτης, Latin Gallus ‘Gaul’.
In Sprache 46/1 (2006), pp. 94–111.

3489. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Nodiadai amrywiol: [4.] On the development
of some Indo-European perfect forms in Celtic.
In BBCS 31 (1984), pp. 94–100.
Discusses the origin of the Old Irish suffixless preterites fiu, fáid and fáig, and
the origin of the z-preterite.

3213. Hamp (Eric P.): Indo-European *āy before consonant in British and
Indo-European ‘sun’.
In BBCS 26/2 (May 1975), pp. 97–102.
Discussion of Celtic evidence includes OIr. séil [< *sull₁i₂].

3109. Bammesberger (Alfred): Quelques formes du prêtérit en celtique
continental.
In ÉtC 29 (1992), pp. 97–103.
On the Continental Celtic antecedents of some Old Irish reduplicated preterites.

3154. Tremblay (Xavier): Études sur le verbe vieil-irlandais: 3. Les perfais à
longue en celtique et germanique.
Studies in particular the Old Irish long vowel preterites in -a and -á-

Suggests that OIr. aídem is cognate with W eddi.


Finds a Gaulish parallel (in RIG L-15) to the metaphorical use of OIr. áige ‘pillar’ in the legal term aige fine.

2555. Pilch (Herbert): L’accentuation comparée des langues celtiques.


In IF 83 (1978), pp. 107–118.

§15, on the application of the glottalic theory to Celtic.

2793. Hoz (Ja vier de): When did the Celts lose their verbal *-i?


Considers the possibilities of an apocope of *-i of the verbal paradigm already in Common Celtic.

4398. de Bernardo Stempel (Patrizia): Aktiv und Medium im Präteritalsystem der keltischen Sprachen.


On the origin of the r-ending of the OIr. 3rd pl. pret. form.


In Sprache 45/1-2 (2005), pp. 110–133.

ad N. E. COLLINGE, The laws of Indo-European (Amsterdam 1985). Provides some bibliographical additions to the sections on Bergin’s and Mac Neill’s laws.

14178. Joseph (Lionel S.): The origin of the Celtic denominatives in *-sag-.


Part I: Old Irish [on the -(a)igithir type].


4610. Kortlandt (Frederik): Old Irish feda, gen. fedot ‘lord’ and the 1st sg. absolute ending -a in subjunctives and futures.

In ÉtC 36 (2008), pp. 115–118.

Concerns the relative chronology of Old Irish sound changes.


2755. Kazansky (Nikolai N.): PIE *megʰ-. 
In ZCP 52 (2001), pp. 118–120.
Discusses the etymology of OIr. *mou-, mó.

OIr. *lithech ‘accused person’ (cf. lit ‘accuses’) and Lat. *litus ‘law suit’; also OIr. *ad ‘law’, ada ‘due, fitting, proper’, adas ‘suitable, appropriate to’ and Umbrian arsi ‘sancte’, etc; OIr. *cola ‘suit’, *coll ‘injury, violation’ and Lat. culpa ‘blame’; cf. *-adin- in triëdenus ‘three days’ and Lat. nundinum ‘nine days’.

2756. Faliileyev (Alexander): Celto-Slavica II.
Discusses the etymology of OIr. *grend, and suggests possible Slavic cognates.

10719. Kortlandt (Frederik): 1st sg. middle *-H₂.
§19, on the Italic and Celtic endings.

11637. McCone (Kim): Gaulish *bussu-, Irish bod ‘penis’, and Sanskrit *buddha ‘aroused, enlightened’.
Argues PC *budz(d)u- (> OIr. bod) shows a direct reflex of Bartholomae’s Law in Celtic.


Based on excerpts from Séamus Ó Grianna, An draindic.
(a) (i) *adlu- ~ c; (ii) leb; (b) (i) spread of the verbal noun ending -adh [a]; (c) (i) [k ~ c] (ii) [l ~ i]; (d) (i) [k ~ r]; (ii) [c ~ e].

4656. Greene (David): The growth of palatalization in Irish.

Addendum ibid., in p. 134.

11771. Matasović (Ranko): Dybo’s Law in Proto-Celtic.
   In ZCP 59 (2012), pp. 129-141.
   Reviews the evidence for Dybo’s Law (reformulated as *H > θ /i, u, Ra/)
   and argues that there are no good reasons to assume that PIE *e, *o (also <
   *eH, *oH) are shortened in pretonic syllables.

   In Éigse 31 (1999), pp. 131-132.
   The first element of Maire Maire in Nils Holmer 1942 (BILL 2786) is to be
   interpreted as akin to ScG bain-righ.

2870. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): On a possible Indo-Celtic etymological
   correspondence.
   In ZCP 54 (2004), pp. 133-143.
   Discusses the expression isara fie duinn (Wb. 25c9), and argues it contains the
   3rd sg. rel. of the future of ar-icc.

4672. Sims-Williams (Patrick): Some problems in deciphering the early Irish
   Ogam alphabet.
   In TP1S 91/2 (Nov. 1993), pp. 133-180.
   Discusses in particular the transliteration of the letter Fern, and the Primitive
   Irish phonemic value represented by the letters Gétal, S(t)uif and (h)Úath.

4659. Sims-Williams (Patrick): The double system of inflexion in Old Irish.
   In TP1S 82/1 (Nov. 1984), pp. 138-201.

3682. Mees (Bernard): A Celtic Fichte?
   In StC 36 (2002), pp. 139-141.

17442. Lash (Elliott): A quantitative analysis of e/i variation in Old Irish elar
   and oela.
   Investigates the appariation and distribution of the i-variants of these forms with
   the aim of establishing a criterion for dating texts.

   A: Anomalous sandhi gemination and the Proto-Celtic accent; B: The
   absolute and conjunct verbal endings; Appendix: Some objections to earlier
   explanations.

4759. Kim (Ronald I.): The Celtic feminine numerals 3’ and 4’ revisited.
   In KF 3 (2008), pp. 143-167.
Rejects (with W. Cowgill 1957; see BILL 3092) the view that the Milan disyllabic hapax teúir reflects a morphological archaism of Indo-European (i.e. an ablauting stem containing a feminine suffix *-sor; cf. K. McCone, in Ériu 44 (1993), pp. 53-73), and argues that the Celtic forms are best understood as continuing uniform proto-Celtic stems *tisr- and *k̑westr-.

Appendix A: On the masculine and neuter forms of '3' and '4'.
Appendix B: PC *-Vsr- in Irish and British.

   In TPhS 86/2 (Nov. 1988), pp. 144-172.
   Studies the alternance of signatic and asigmatic preverbs in the Indo-European languages, paying special attention to the rise of signatic preverbs in Old Irish deuterotonic compounds.

4663. Considine (Patrick): The Indo-European origin of Greek mέnis ‘wrath’.
   In TPhS 83/1 (Nov. 1985), pp. 144-170.
   Also relevant to the etymology of OIr. maith.

7007. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Celtic movements in the first millennium B.C.
   In JIES 20/1-2 (Spring/Summer 1992), pp. 145-178.

8294. Velasco López (Henar): El dativo en aposición del antiguo irlandés y la lingüística indoeuropea.
   In RSEL 30/1 (2001), pp. 145-162.

1764. McKenna (Malachy): Gutafada neamhaiceanta ta in Oirdheisceart Uladh.
   In Éigse 19/1 (1982), pp. 145-149.
   ad T. F. O’RAHILLY, Irish dialects past and present, 1932 (Best2 527).

3188. Byrd (Andrew Miles): Return to dative anmaiimm.
   Discusses the origin of the ending -(a)im(m) of the dative singular of Old Irish neuter n-stems, providing substantiation for C. MARSTRANDER’s suggestion (in Ériu 5 (1911), p. 200) of an assimilation of *-mmVn# to *-mmVm#.


4671. Isaac (Graham R.): The function and typology of absolute and conjunct flexion in early Celtic: some hints from Ancient Egyptian.
   In TPhS 99/1 (May 2001), pp. 147-170.


1. aru-chrin, at-baill, do-lin, at-gnin, etc. 2. -cairethar.


In ZCP 52 (2001), pp. 154–199.

Contains a discussion of the history of the Insular Celtic preterital formations.


Argues that the verbal noun and the prototonic forms of con-dieig are historically irregular; shown to be a post-syncop e compound of unattested *de-saig with con, on which the normal syncop e pattern was applied. Also on Middle Irish simplification of old compound verbs.


Discusses the continuation in Insular Celtic of the PIE nasal presents made to roots in final laryngeal (exemplified by OIr. sernaid; ernaid, marnaid, celda, celda, at-baill, gnin).

2603. Hamp (Eric P.): The north European word for ‘apple’.

In ZCP 37 (1979), pp. 158–166.

Argues that OIr. ubull derives ultimately from Pre-Celtic *oblU (comparable to Balto-Slavic *oblU), and argues that this belongs to a group of substratum words where original *a has given *o in Celtic.

4681. Jasano (Jay): The r-endings of the IE middle.


Includes a discussion of the origin of the Old Irish endings.


In ÉtC 19 (1982), pp. 159–160.

Suggests that an old genitive ending *-i(y)aus underlies the *e of the Old Irish genitive singular of the *z, *y-z, and *z-stems.

7077. Stifter (David): Varia: II. A rule for z-deletion in Irish?

In Ériu 59 (2009), pp. 159–164.
   *In ZCP 41 (1986), pp. 159-179.*
   Comparing verbal formations (*s*-aorist, *s*-subjunctive and future, *sye/o*-future, and preterites other than the *s*-aorist) attested in Continental Celtic to their Insular Celtic counterparts.

3798. Ó Buachalla (Breandán): Modern Irish *fuaidh*.
   Calls attention to the variant paradigm in *fua*-, attested in Modern Irish for the past tense of *teigh*, and argues that this, along with the paradigm in *chá* (cf. bardic *chaidh* and ScG *chaidh*), results from the blending of synonymous *ro-fáith* and *do-chuaidh*.

3660. Isaac (G. R.): Two continental Celtic verbs.
   1. *leuarn*.

1213. Ó Curnáin (Brian): *Draíocht uimhreacha*: anáilís shóinseálaí ar dheilbhbíocht íothra an ainmfho cail i gcan uinnt Iorras Aithneach.
   A quantitative variable analysis of the nominal plural in the Irish of Iorras Aithneach; relevance of social networks discussed: *-cha(t)*, *-a(t)*, extension in *-(t)r*.

   *In ÉtC 17 (1980), pp. 165-166.*

   Supports a reconstruction < *hayoios*, vs. LEIA C-258.


2765. Shields (Kenneth, Jr.): On the origin of the Celtic first and second person plural personal pronouns in *s*-.
   Postulates metathesized *sne* (PIE *swie*), *suw* as the ultimate source of OIr. *sní, st.*

6351. Griffith (Aaron): The Old Irish deponent suffixless preterite.
Argues against the association of Alb. te with OIr. (and Celt.) to.

2697. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): A note on the preform of Old Irish boithi.
Argues that boithi replaced a morphologically ambiguous 3rd sg. pret. of the substantive verb *bol (< InsC *bowe + en), which may survive as the anomalous 3rd sg. pret. of the copula bol found in some passages of *Amra Choluim Cille: §25 *bole *sin *sath ‘there was to him slender food’ (as ed. by W. Stokes in RC 20.168 [Best 1, p. 237]).

18335. Cruz (Juan M. de la): A syntactical complex of isoglosses in the North-Western end of Europe (English, North Germanic and Celtic).
In IF 77 (1972), pp. 171–180.

11904. Bednarczuk (Leszek): The Italo-Celtic hypothesis from the Indo-European point of view.

2533. Ó Sé (Diarmuid): The ‘after’ perfect and related constructions in Gaelic dialects.
Studies the historical origins of the periphrastic perfect in its two constructions, the type tá sé tar éis é a dhéanamh (‘after’ perfect) and the tá sé déanta aige (verbal adjective + ag, for which a derivation from a possessive stative formation is sought), and surveys their reflexes in Ulster, Connacht and Munster Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, as well as in Hiberno-English.

Denies the existence of secondary endings in the Celtic sigmatic preterite and in the singular of the t-preterite.

On F. A. Körner’s (1849) selections from Adolphe Pictet’s De l’affinité des langues celtiques avec le sanscrit (Paris 1837).
Körner (F. A.) (ref.), Pictet (Adolphe) (ref.)

3742. Stifter (David): A note on the research history of the Insular Celtic t-preterite.
Ascribes the derivation of the Insular Celtic t-preterite from the Indo-European athematic aorist to Rudolf Thomas Siegfried (1830–1863).


On the conservation of the instrumental ending *-mi in this noun type.


Comments on the historical morphology of OIr. muc, banb, torc.


In StC 45 (2011), pp. 192–197.

Compared to OIr. fo-eridigedé.

4882. García Castillero (Carlos): Irlandés antiguo -bemr, umbro ferar y las desinencias medias indo-europeas de tercera persona.


11993. Zair (Nicholas): British *-a-g, *-a-g- and the Celtic words for ‘sun’.


Appendix: Other Celtic words for ‘sun’ [OIr. súil].


3801. Ó Mainnín (Micheál B.): “Goidé mar ‘s tá na fearaibh?’: gnéithe de leathnú agus de fluaimhniú fhoirceann an tabharthaigh iolra sa Nua-Ghaeilge.


Studies the survival of the dative plural ending -ibh as nominative plural marker in Modern Irish, discussing in particular its spread and distribution across the Gaeltacht as well as the effect that the phonological change to í [-i] and u [-u] has had in the development of the plural markers of East Galway and East Ulster Irish.


In BGNAS 175/1 (2007), pp. 190–203.

4797. Schmidt (Karl Horst): The Celtic languages in their European context.


16597. Jacques (Guillaume), Michaud (Alexis), Rankin (Robert L.): Historical transfer of nasality between consonantal onset and vowel: from C to V or from V to C?

Survey includes Celtic material (§1.2: The simplification of stop+nasal onsets in Goidelic and Breton).

   *Corrigenda in* BBCS 29/4, p. 690.

4754. Stifter (David): Study in red.
   [1.] OIr. rúam ‘red dye’; [2.] The PIE root *√rēyd ‘to make red’ in Celtic
   (OIr. rú, rúad, rúam, rúan, rúanad, rúaca, ruide, rús, risúse, rūs, ronid, rúáid); [3.] Etymology of the Celtic word for ‘rust’ (OIr. rait, rota, rotañ, roñ, roñid, roñid).

4857. Jasanoff (Jay H.): The ending of the PIE 2 sg. middle imperative.
   Discusses the OIr. ending -t(h)e.

   Discusses bherid, ad-opair, fúabair and related forms.

   In the light of Gallo-Greek eιουρου (preferred to Gallo-Latin ieuru), derives OIr. pret. -âr < *iyor- < *eyor- < *eper-, and argues that ernaid and renaid are both < PIE * pers- but differentiated by an enlargement -h3- and -h1-, respectively.

   §4: On palatal and labial glides in Old Irish.


   Explains the Celtic voiced series as the result of the merger of the PIE glottalized and voiced series, and includes an account in glottalistic terms of the development of the labio-velars.
14432. Zair (Nicholas): Old Irish *gniid* 'makes, does', Middle Welsh *gueinydafi* 'serve', and *i*-presents.  

3119. Hamp (Eric P.): Gaulish *sunartiu*.  
Concerns Old Irish derivatives of *nert*: *sonart, sonartae, fornert, fornairt*. Includes an appendix on the Celtic reflexes for the Proto-Indo-European syllabic *sonart*.

4798. McCone (Kim R.): From Indo-European to Old Irish: conservation and innovation in the verbal system.  

2045. Blankenhorn (V. S.): Pitch, quantity and stress in Munster Irish.  
Incl. list of suffixes containing long vowel.

17210. Ronan (Patricia): Development of periphrastic tense and aspect constructions in Irish and Welsh.  
Discusses the periphrastic progressive and perfect periphrasis in Irish.

9664. Rubio Orecilla (Francisco Javier): Entorno a los pronombres infijados en celta continental.  

4856. Eska (Joseph F.): The genitive plural desinence in Celtic and dialect geography.  

11905. Schmidt (Karl Horst): On the reconstruction of Proto-Celtic.  

OIr. *dobur*.


6996. Drinka (Bridget): Evidence for the space-time hypothesis: the IE *s*-aorist.  
Argues that no verbal category of Old Irish (among others) can be used to provide evidence of the existence of an *s*-aorist in early Indo-European.
   In Ériu 54 (2004), pp. 253–256.
   Treatment of early Irish hiatus in Scottish Gaelic, especially in the sequence /i-u/.

3756. Stifter (David): Die Entdeckung der Palatalisierung im Altirischen.

9357. Schmidt (K. H.): Gallo-Brittonic or Insular Celtic.

10746. Blažek (Václav): On the position of Gaulish within Celtic from the point of view of glottochronology.
   In IF 114 (2009), pp. 257–299.

   ad E. P. Hamp, in Ériu 53 (2003), p. 185 [Vária VI: 3. immainse, immaínsí],

2657. de Bernardo Stempel (Patrizia): Indogermanische Demonstrativa und der altirische Artikel.
   Traces the development of the Old Irish article from its origin in the Indo-European demonstrative stem *so/to- to its partial substitution by the root *sem- 'one'.

15770. Zair (Nicholas): Sound change in Proto-Celtic: laryngeals before *w.

10781. Eski (Joseph F.): The third person imperative desinences in Old Irish.
   Particularly on the origin of the endings of the deponent and passive imperatives.

3752. Wagner (H.): Beiträge zur vergleichenden Erforschung des Irischen: 2. Zum Verbalpräfix ro-.
   In Celtica 11 (1976), p. 266.
   Further to the author, in ZCP 32 (1972), pp. 18–35. Compare OIr. ro- with OHG ga-.

13870. Schmidt (Karl Hoert): The contribution of Celtiberian to the history of the Celtic languages.

Suggests it may be a substratum word, cf. Basque txingurri.

Also on the forms of the impf./pret. id. of the copula in Old Irish (ba₃/-bu).

Discusses the form of OIr. ochtach in Proto-Celtic and its relationship to OHG fihta and fiohta (cf. ModG Fichte).

Argues that the declension of the oblique cases of the OIr. ə-stems can be derived regularly from Indo-European with the intervention of the analogical spread to the nominal inflection of an extended stem in *-aʊθa based on the forms here postulated for the accusative, genitive and dative of the 3rd sg. fem. demonstrative pronoun.


In Britain 400–600 (1990), pp. 283–290.
Origin of the relative forms of the Old Irish verb.

2050. Ó Cuív (Brian): Two notes.
1. Vowel changes in the inflexion of cos, cas; II. The phrases *cuirim in iúl and *ar aoiniúl.

14469. Sims-Williams (Patrick): The four types of Welsh yn.
In TPhS 113/3 (Nov. 2015), pp. 286–304.
§5.2: yn₃ and Old Irish oe₃; §5.3: yn₂ + verbal noun compared with Old Irish i₃, etc. + verbal noun.

1531. Ó Baoill (Dónall P.): Síor-athrú teanga agus cás na Gaeilge.
Incl. sections on [1.] Athrú faáime; [2.] Foghlaím na teanga; [3.] Simpliú áhmuoirí: [4.] Conchuíd. Different types of historical phonological change and its relation to other factors such as morphology, semantics, etc.; most examples taken from Donegal Irish.


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8308. Campanile (Enrico): Le celtique.

9543. McCone (Kim): A note on palatalisation and the present inflection of weak \textit{i}-verbs.

17532. Schmidt (Karl Horst): The Indo-European background of the Old Irish preposition.

14156. Gorrochategui (Joaquín): La declinación celta de los temas en -\textit{a} y los datos hispanos.

8309. Hamp (Eric P.): Religion and law from Iguvium.
   In JIES 1/3 (Fall 1973), pp. 318-323.

   Umbrian \textit{affur} is compared to OIr. \textit{adopair}.

7021. Holland (Gary B.): Relativization and word order in Old Irish and Vedic Sanskrit.
   In JIES 24/3-4 (Fall/Winter 1996), pp. 323-331.

   In JIES 1/3 (Fall 1973), pp. 324-329.

   In ICHL 5 (1982), pp. 324-331.

   Focuses on the decline of the genitive case marking and certain changes in verbal paradigms since the mid-19th century.

2673. Fulk (Robert D.): The historical present in medieval Irish narrative.

   Argues that in Old Irish narrative prose the alternation between preterite and present tense is used to characterize the events as more and less important respectively from the author’s point of view.

2070. McManus (Damian): An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach.

4329. Schmidt (Karl Horst): On the historical evaluation of linguistic features in Insular Celtic.
2106. Sims-Williams (Patrick): The Celtic Languages.

2847. Meid (Wolfgang): On two points of Celtic morphology.
   1. OIr. *fit* etc., MW *gwy*; Bre. *goer* ‘knows’ [all < InsC *widri* < PIE *widr-t*]; II. OIr. *teit*, *tet* ‘goes’ [explains the origin of the final -et/d/ of the 3rd person singular of both absolute and conjunct].
   Paper read to the 4th ICCS, Rennes 1971.

   Contains an excursus on *t*-stems forming agentives, represented in Ir. by *cing*, *fit*, etc.


   Discusses seven morphological and syntactical features already touched upon by W. M. (cf. *BILL* 470, pp. 45–56). With regard to Old Irish, these are: 1. the *gaisce* type of neuter singular *davan*; 2. the morphology of *rigain*; 3. the ending *s* of the genitive singular of the neuter *n*-stems; 4. the feminine forms of the numerals ‘3’ and ‘4’; 5. the reduplicated *s*-future; 6. the perfect formation *-ánaic*; 7. the elliptic construction *connimbar o cru Dubhiach*.


11915. Stockman (Gearóid): Linguistic trends in the terminal stage of Q-Celtic dialects.
9849. Ringe (Donald), Taylor (Ann), Warnow (Tandy): Character-based reconstruction of a linguistic cladogram. 
   In ICHL 12 (2000), pp. 393-408.

   Argues OIr. 3rd sg. pret. -fítor is from an inherited 3rd sg. form corresponding to Venetic preterites in 3rd sg. -er, 3rd pl. -ers.

3209. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Zur Vorgeschichte des keltischen Kasussystems.

4670. Uhlich (Jürgen): Verbal governing compounds (synthetics) in early Irish and other Celtic languages.
   In TPheS 100/3 (Dec. 2002), pp. 403-433.

   A. The assimilation of p ... kʰ > kʰ ... kʰ; B. The genitive singular of -i-stems in -ii; C. Cowgill’s hypothesis of the “Italo-Celtic” superlative suffix; D. Arguments taken from the verbal system; E. Conclusion.

   Suggests that the OIr. personal numerals and collectives such as buar, cathair etc. contain a plural suffix *-r-of Pre-Indo-European origin.
   Paper read to the 4th ICCS, Rennes 1971.

2490. Ringe (Donald A.): Laryngeal isoglosses in the western Indo-European languages.
   Argues that the Italo-Celtic hypothesis is undermined by the divergent treatment in Celtic of a laryngeal between a resonant and a semi-vowel.

9751. Ó Buachalla (Breandán): Scribal practice, philology and historical linguistics.
   Discusses material collected from South East Ulster manuscripts dating from 1700-1900.

2071. Williams (Nicholas): Na canúintí a theacht chun solais.

2813. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): On some laryngeal reflexes in Celtic.
Reformulates an Indo-European phonological rule concerning the deletion of laryngals, and discusses its application to the prehistory of, among others, two Old Irish items: OIr. óac and -ic c.

14164. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Zur Vorgesichte des Keltischen und Germanischen.


OIr. tengae, ingen, lugu, daig, snigid.

9590. Sims-Williams (Patrick): Old Irish fedá (gen. fedad): a ‘puzzling’ form in the Cambrai Homily and its implications for the apocope of /i/.


Argues that feda (rather than fedó) is the historically earlier form (vs. K. McCone, Towards a relative chronology of ancient and medieval Celtic sound change, 1996, p. 100).


OIr. dia.

15225. McCone (Kim): Celtibérico, celta continental y celta común.


2910. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Une correspondance syntactique entre les langues anatoliennes et le celtique.


Republ. in Lindeman studies, pp. 121–126.

2212. Greene (David): Celtic [numerals].


9592. Watkins (Calvert): Two Celtic notes.


2904. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Note sur le pronom personnel de la 2e personne du pluriel en vieil irlandais.
   Republ. in Lindeman studies, pp. 112-115.

4888. Schumacher (Stefan): 'Langvokalische Perfekta' in indogermanischen Einzelsprachen und ihr grundsprachlicher Hintergrund.
   In Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel (2005), pp. 591-626.
   pp. 606-609: discusses the historical morphology of the Old Irish suffixless non-reduplicated preterites.

15226. Schmidt (Karl Horst): The contribution of Celtiberian to the reconstruction of Common Celtic: instalment II.


   Evaluates different morphological interpretations of OBrít. gnat, on the assumption that it is a cognate of OIr. gniid.

   Discusses examples of Middle Irish innovations in the nominal system, namely the loss of the neuter, the ousting of the dual, the simplification of the case system, and the remodeling of the declensional stems.

2825. Ó Flaithhearta ( Micheál): Altririsch tess, echtar und die Frage der Konsonantengruppe -ch-t- im Keltischen.
   Argues that Celtic *-ch-t- and *-ch- did not merge but instead yielded OIr. -ss- and -cht- respectively.

9422. Wagner (Heinrich): Keltisch und das Problem der indogermanischen Gutturale.

3281. Lindeman (Fredrik Otto): Welsh adwaen.
OIr. ad-géuin/-aitghéuin

2830. Pilch (Herbert), Wursthorn (Markus): Vergleichende Syntax der keltischen is-Konstruktionen.
   Provides an inductive analysis of the syntax of the copula constructions in Early and Modern Irish.

2834. Rosén (Hannah): Irish attitudinal expression: adverbs and other structures.
   Attempts to delineate the historical development of attitudinal terms in Irish, paying special attention to their syntax.

2838. Uhlich (Jürgen): Einige britannische Lehnnamen im Irischen: Brénaínn (Brenden), Cathair/Catháer und Midir.
   In ZCP 49-50 (1997), pp. 878-897.


Includes a discussion (pp. 52-57) of gender in Celtic.


A collection of monographs on the historical stages of Irish and the modern dialects, including Scottish Gaelic and Manx.

Rev. by
William J. Mahon, in CMCS 33 (Summer, 1997), pp. 94-97.

Ó Fiainnachta (Pádraig) (hon.)


Rev. by


Rev. by

885. Disterheft (Dorothy): The syntactic development of the infinitive in Indo-European.

Contains sections on the Old Irish verbal noun (pp. 16, 'The Celtic Verbal Noun' 135-59) and 'Comparison of the Infinitive in Indo-Iranian, Celtic, and Hittite' (pp. 181-92).

Rev. by


1976. McCone (Kim): Towards a relative chronology of ancient and medieval Celtic sound change.


Focuses on the historical phonology of Early Irish.

Rev. by
Paul Russell, in CMCS 35 (Summer, 1998), pp. 73-76.


MCSUO, 2. Oslo; Bergen; Stavanger; Tromso: Universitetsforlaget, 1985. 140 pp.

Rev. by


Chapters 4-6 focus on Old Irish relative marking, infix pronouns and the particle theory.

Rev. by

MSCL, 5. Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2002. 308 pp.
Rev. by Britta Irslinger, in Krylos 54 (2009), pp. 176-178.

2752. McCone (Kim): The origins and development of the Insular Celtic verbal complex.

11832. Zair (Nicholas): The reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Celtic.

3663. Kortlandt (Frederik): Italo-Celtic origins and prehistoric development of the Irish language.
Rev. by Dagmar S. Wodtke, in Krylos 54 (2009), pp. 159-162.

2084. Mac Coisdealbha (Pádraig), Isaac (Graham R.) (ed.): The syntax of the sentence in Old Irish: selected studies from a descriptive, historical and comparative point of view. New edition with additional notes and an extended bibliography by Graham R. Isaac.

Chap. 18 (pp. 77-9): Der Konjunktiv auf -a im Italienischen und Keltischen.


Rev. by


Rev. by
Edgar C. Polomé, in JIES 25/1-2 (1997), p. 188.

2101. Sims-Williams (Patrick): The Celtic inscriptions of Britain: phonology and chronology, c. 400–1200.


Rev. by
Joseph E. Eska, in Speculum 80/3 (Jul., 2005), pp. 978-980.

13511. Schmidt (Karl Horst): Celtic: a western Indo-European language?

Rev. by

2061. McCone (Kim): The Indo-European origins of the Old Irish nasal presents, subjunctives and futures.

Rev. by


Rev. by

Schulze-Thulin (Britta), Wiel (Caroline aan de)


Rev. by


Rev. by