

The *Punctum Delens* and Nasal Consonants in the Würzburg Glosses

Ian Clayton, April 28, 2006

1. The problem

In standard Old Irish orthography, a *punctum delens* placed over the letters <f> and <s> indicates the lenition of the corresponding phonemes /f/ and /s/ to [Ø] and [h]^{*}, respectively; this is an adaptation of the practice of using the *punctum delens* in Latin texts to indicate that characters written in error should be ignored. However, in the earliest MSS, the *punctum delens* is used with the nasals <n> and <m> in addition to the familiar <f> or <s>. In the Würzburg glosses, use of the *punctum delens* with nasals is effectively to the exclusion of its more familiar use with /f/ and /s/ (with one exception, discussed below); similarly, the Milan glosses make frequent use of the nasal *punctum delens* (29c8 .i. *in tain m.beres claind, is failid iar sind*), while with /s/ and /f/ it is vanishingly rare. In the St. Gall glosses, the *punctum delens* is used with all four consonants (Sg. 162a3 .i. *in tan labratar ind.f.ilid a persin inna n.dea, do-gniat* etc.).

A question left unanswered, both in the standard references and in affiliated literature, is the exact significance of the nasal *punctum delens*. Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik* says nothing, nor does Strachan's *Paradigms*. Quin's *Workbook* is similarly silent. In *GOI*, Thurneysen offers a comment on the distribution of the nasal *punctum delens*, but once more, offers no interpretation. He finds that the nasal *punctum delens* is used regularly in two instances: (1) where the nasal consonant is the product of initial mutation, and (2) where the nasal occurs medial to a consonant cluster (*GOI* §33, §236.3).

* Here and throughout, orthographic signs are indicated by < >, phonemic (i.e. underlying) sounds by //, and phonetic (surface) forms by []. The *punctum delens* is indicated by placing a period immediately after the relevant letter.

Thus the question remains: what is meant by a *punctum delens* that marks a nasal consonant? In view of well-established functions ascribed to the *punctum delens*, two possibilities spring to mind. First, we might surmise that the *punctum delens* indicates a scribal error: the nasal so marked should be ignored by the reader. This hypothesis can be easily falsified: the very regularity of the phenomenon noted by Thurneysen (and for the most part confirmed by my own study) disproves it. The second hypothesis extrapolates from the familiar <f.> and <s.>: there is some regular phonological process at work which is sufficiently salient to the scribe that he feels compelled to indicate it in his spelling. In other words, there is something particularly noteworthy about the affected nasal or its phonological environment.

2. Study Methods

In order to establish what the motivating phonological feature might be, I performed a systematic study of the phonological and morphological environment of the *punctum delens*. Initially, I have confined the initial study to a single text. I chose the Würzburg MS for several reasons. First, at 36 folios, this MS is large enough to provide a substantial amount of material for the study. Second, in the estimation of Thurneysen *inter alia*, the chief scribe of the Wb glosses was particularly accurate and reliable (*GOI* §4, Stern *xiii*), an important consideration for an orthographic study. Third, a number of excellent reference materials are available to facilitate the study of this MS. They include:

- *Editions*:
 - Whitley Stokes and John Strachan. *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. 2 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1901-3.
 - Whitley Stokes. *The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe*. Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons, 1887.
- *Glossary*: Séamus Kavanagh. *A Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul*. Dagmar S. Wodtke, ed. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2001.
- *Facsimile*: L. Ch. Stern. *Epistolae Beati Pauli glosatae glosa interlineali*. *Irisch-Lateinischer Codex der Würzburger Universitätsbibliothek*. Halle A.S.: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1910.

The manuscript resides in the library of the University of Würzburg, where it bears the shelf mark *Mp.th.f.12*. The main text is the Latin text of the Pauline Epistles; the Irish material is contained in extensive interlinear and marginal glosses. Three hands can be distinguished:

- WB. I (or *Prima Manus*): copied the Latin text, contributed a small number of terse glosses in archaic Old Irish.
- WB: main glossator responsible for glosses on folios 1-32, dated to the mid-8th century (*GOI* §5)
- WB. II: a third hand which added those glosses to be found in folios 33-34, evidently of somewhat later provenance.

To perform the study, I referred initially to the two editions of the glosses, and manually tallied each instance (nasal or otherwise) of the *punctum delens* I found indicated therein. I found sixty-six examples all told. Sixty-four of these were of the nasal *punctum delens*; one was a dotted <f> (33c9: *ind.f.ir*); the sixty-fifth was a dotted <t> (4c4: MS *isnabidt.hu*).

The dotted <t> in 4c4 unmistakably marked a scribal error, but the *punctum delens* must have been intended for the <d>, not the <t>, and Kavanagh makes the corresponding emendation to *isnabithu* (NB his comment “the punctum delens being wrongly placed under *t*”). The dotted <f> in 33c9 is of some interest, because this example demonstrates a sharp break in scribal practice between WB and WB II. No dotted nasals are to be found in the latter hand, and no dotted <f>’s or <s>’s in the former.

Once I had performed this census, I went to the facsimile to confirm each token. The vast majority could readily be so confirmed, but there was a small number of problematic examples. Three examples provided in both editions could not be verified because the text was illegible at that point in the facsimile, usually because of its proximity to the edge of the MS page; these included 11c1, 12c2, and 26b4. Two more were questionable because the mark interpreted by the editors as a *punctum delens* was particularly faint; these were 19d24 and 31d15. A sixth, 32d9, I

rejected entirely, because the mark in question was far removed to the left of the <n>, and uncharacteristically high above the gloss amid a cluttered environment.

My study of the Wb data generally confirms Thurneysen's statement concerning the distribution of the *punctum delens*, with one exception. I found conclusively that the *punctum delens* marks (1) an <n> or <m> which is the product of initial mutation, and (2) an <n> or <m> which is etymological, occurs medially within a consonant cluster, and precedes , <d>, <g>. The single example of a *punctum delens* not in one of these two environments was 32d9, *farchon.grad*. Once this example is rejected, as I suggested in the preceding paragraph on paleographic grounds, conditions 1 and 2 apply across the board.

Worth emphasizing is the fact that, while the *punctum delens* consistently occurs in these conditions and these only, within these environments its appearance is not guaranteed. For example, while relative forms of the consuetudinal present (*intain m.biís* etc.) usually occur with the *punctum delens*, the adjective *freicndaircc* occurs with the *punctum delens* three times, without five times.

3. The phonology of OIr /b/, /d/, /g/ and /m/, /n/: key to the mystery

Though the body of examples of the *punctum delens* can be divided into the two categories mentioned above, a single generalization can be made that unites the two groups: with two exceptions, the nasal *punctum delens* occurs before , <d>, and <g>. I believe the answer to our question lies in the peculiar interaction between these voiced oral stops and a preceding nasal. The two exceptions (7b2 *amal as n.inricc*, 11a10 *hore as n.unus*) I will deal with at a later point in the paper.

Based on discussion in Thurneysen (*GOI* §32), Quin (*Workbook* p. 4), and Watkins (1965), I conclude that the three letters , <d>, <g> represent the phonemes /b/, /d/, /g/,

respectively. These phonemes vary, depending on their environment, between the voiced oral stops [b], [d], [g] and the voiced oral fricatives [v], [ð], [ɣ]: the fricatives occur in medial and final position, and the stops in initial position. Where one of these consonants appears word-initially, but is preceded by proclitics or similar items, it is pronounced as if in medial position, i.e. as a fricative.

Where [b], [d], [g] are preceded by nasals, opinions differ. Thurneysen (*GOI* §236) suggests that the product of such a collocation is simply a sequence of nasal + stop. Quin, on the other hand, declares that “the old-Irish pronunciation is uncertain here as between /ng/ /mb/ /nd/ and /ŋ/ /m/ /n/,” (*Workbook* 9), but favors the latter. However, this coalescence of nasal + stop into a single nasal segment, articulated at the point of the original stop, is precisely what is found in Modern Irish eclipsis (Ó Siadhal p. 112). Thurneysen himself points out that nasal + stop collocations were prone to assimilation in Old Irish, notwithstanding his reluctance to suggest this description for nasalized , <d>, <g>. Examples he provides include *inna* beside *inda* (Filargirius Gl.), Wb I 20d5 *i-snaib* for **i-sndaib*, Ml 23d12 *chlain*, 91b17 *chláinn*, a/ds of *cland* ‘children,’ the preposition *imb* as *imm* in Wb, as in *imrádud* ~ *imbrádud* ‘thinking,’ and *cúimre* ‘brevity’ (Ml 14d3) ~ *cumbri* (Thes II 15, 44).

If we adopt Quin’s preference, and take as confirmation the present state of affairs in Irish, I believe that we can resolve the issue of the nasal *punctum delens*’ significance. In collocations like <nd>, <mb>, <ng>, two different letters are used to spell a single segment: [n], [m], [ŋ]. The scribe marks one of them to show that the collocation should not be pronounced as two distinct segments. If this is the correct interpretation, we should be able to see evidence for nasal + stop collocations present in early Old Irish turning into simple nasals at later stages of the language.

4. The evidence

The best evidence for my conclusion is to be found in those cases where an etymological nasal is marked with a *punctum delens*. In Wb, there are eight such words, most of them appearing more than once. The nasal *punctum delens* appears medially to CNC (consonant-nasal-consonant clusters). Consonants preceding the nasal may be fricatives (<snd>), stops (<end>), or liquids (<lng>, <rng>). These examples are particularly informative, because in the majority of cases, later spellings of the word (in later Old Irish, Middle Irish, or Modern Irish) appear with a simplified consonant cluster: the stop following the nasal has been deleted. This strongly suggests that the stop had coalesced with the nasal at some previous point, in line with the tendency we've already seen demonstrated.

The eight examples of an 'etymological *punctum delens*' are provided below. The headwords in the list reflects the entry in the Kavanagh's *Glossary*; instantiations from Wb featuring the *punctum delens* are provided; later forms of the word are as provided by *DIL* or Dinneen's *Irish-English Dictionary*. The first five examples all show a deletion of <d> in later forms. I could find no indication of this deletion with (f) *éicndirc*, but I strongly suspect coalescence in this word as well, given its close relationship with (e) *frecndaircc*. Examples (g) and (h) show no deletion of <g> in later forms, but I believe this can be explained (see discussion below).

- a. *aisndís* (vn *as-indet* 'assert'): *aisn.díis* (ex. 4, asf), *ocaisn.dís* (58, dsf). Later *aisnis* LL 371c45, *haisneisi* In Cath Cathedra 751, ModIr *aisneise*.
- b. *freisndís* (vn. of **fris-aisndet* 'contradict'): *freisn.dis* (31, nsg). Later *fresnaís*, *fresnais* LU 9789, ModI *fresnés*. Compare ex. 4a, 57 *aisn.dís*, later *fresnés go naisnés* 'accusation and denial.'
- c. *écnadach* ('slander, blaspheme'): *domæcn.duch* (25, dsn), *friaecn.dach* (60, asn). Later *éчнаige*, *ecnach*, *éagnach*.
- d. *secndap* ('vice-abbot' < Lat *secundus abbas*): *secn.dapid* (28, apm), *secn.daphthib* (41, dpm). Later *secnap*, *seachnab*.
- e. *frecndaircc* ('present, visible'): *frecn.dircc* (15, nsn), *frecn.dirc* (38, gsm), *frecn.dirc* (44, nsn). ModIr *frecnairc* "present tense," *frecnairceach* "contemporary."

- f. *éicndirc* ('absent'): *éicn.dirc* (55, subst., asg).
- g. *imm-folngi* ('cause, effect'): *maimfoln.gi* (15, 3sg pr), *immefoln.get* (36), *immafoln.get* (52, 3pl rel)
- h. *do-airngir* ('promise'): *andurairn.gred* (53, 3sg pft rel)

A reasonable question to ask at this point is, why is the nasal marked with the *punctum delens* instead of the following , <d>, or <g>? The product of nasal + stop is itself a nasal, so at first it seems illogical that the nasal should be marked with the *punctum delens*, instead of the stop. However, I think the explanation is fairly simple. First, recall that there are two sources of a nasal *punctum delens*: initial mutation, and etymology. In the case of initial mutations, it is actually extremely rare for either the nasalizing <n.> or <m.> to be deleted from the spelling (but note occasional examples, like 28b28 *intain biis*). By placing a *punctum delens* over the nasal consonant, the scribe indicates the fleeting nature of the nasal quality: it is only present when the grammatical circumstances warrant. By contrast, the initial , <d>, or <g> is a fundamental component of the word. Note that the word-initial stop cannot simply be replaced by the nasal consonant, though that might accurately reflect the pronunciation, because it is essential for recognition of the word. A similar argument can be applied to the two examples in which the nasal *punctum delens* appears prevocally: 7b2 *amal as n.inricc*, 11a10 *hore as n.unus*. The scribe is simply extending the use of the nasal *punctum delens* from the pre-consonantal environment to the prevocalic one. Logically, this is perfectly consistent, since the nasal in this environment is similarly fleeting.

Once the practice of using the *punctum delens* to mark nasals that have coalesced with following <d> has become established, it is a simple matter to carry the practice over to etymological nasals, which are phonologically similar. The medial nasal in forms like *écmdach* and *frendaircc* almost certainly was once articulated separately from the following stop, which is why both are present in the orthography in the first place, but by the time of Wb, the two had

coalesced, sporadically if not completely. The scribe continues to spell out both consonants as a matter of established practice, a habit that falls into desuetude at a later date, but indicates that he actually hears something significantly different by using the *punctum delens*.

The lack of <g> deletion in examples (g) and (h) is a matter of orthographic expediency. The cluster [ng] would have coalesced into the velar nasal [ŋ], a sound for which no symbol was available to the Irish scribe. Consequently, he continued to use <ng> as a digraph, just as we do today in English, to indicate the velarity of the nasal (or the nasality of the velar?).

5. Conclusions

In this study, I have shown that there is a sound phonological basis to the use of the *punctum delens* in the early Old Irish Würzburg Glosses: the *punctum delens* is used to indicate the fleeting nasality that results from initial mutation. I have further conjectured that, once established, this practice was extended to phonologically similar products of etymological nasal + stop coalescence. As a fringe benefit, this explanation supports Quin's decision to favor [m], [n], and [ŋ] as the products of nasalized /b/, /d/, and /g/, at the expense of Thurneysen's proposed [mb], [nd], [ŋg]. However, absolute confirmation of this paper's thesis will require a close examination of all the examples of the nasal *punctum delens* outside of the Würzburg Glosses, in particular those found in the Milan and St. Gall MSS.

There are a number of questions that remain unanswered at this point. What can we learn from the chronology of the *punctum delens* in Old Irish? The nasal *punctum delens* is an earlier practice, the *punctum delens* with <f> and <s> a later one; what does this imply, if anything, about the state of Irish initial mutations at each period? Why did the nasal *punctum delens* fall out of use, even though the phonological conditions that led to its institution by no means

disappeared? Detailed study of the use of the punctum delens at all stages of its use, as well as further analysis of Irish phonology, may well provide the answers to these questions.

Tokens of the *punctum delens* in the Würzburg MS

1. 1a9: .i. *ní ógthindnacal (as)m.beir som óre roteactsat ní de riam* etc. (it is) not a complete gift which he mentions, because they had previously possessed something of it (spiritual grace). [nas relative].
2. 1b22: .i. *óre asn.dúil foruigensat nach dúlem* i.e. because it is the creature which they have served, not the Creator (refers to Rom. I, 25: *et coluerunt et seruierunt creaturae putius quam Creatori*) [nas rel, GOI 316].
3. *5b28: .i. *is inse n.dúit nitú nodnai(l) acht ishé not ail* i.e. it is impossible for thee; it is not thou that nourishest it, but it that nourishes thee (gl. *non tu radicem portas, sed radix té*) [why the nasal? not sure. compare, which seems grammatically pretty much identical: .i. *niba anse duit iar neurt inspirito nóib* i.e. it will not be hard for thee according to the strength of the Holy Spirit (gl. *secundum uirtutem Dei*) 29d21].
4. 5c16[i]: *dont lathur diasndísiu robói hirúnaib innadeacte octuiste dúile hitossuch ní asse linn æ'm léim dindbéstatu etdind tinchosc innandóine foraisn.díis di thuiste dúile* to the unspeakable plan which was in the mysteries of the Godhead in creating (the) elements at (the) beginning; it does not seem to us easy, indeed, to leap from the morality and from the teaching of human beings to a declaration of (the) creation of (the) elements. [for + aisndíis [aisndís, asf]. [n] is etymological. vn < as-indet 'declare'. Cf. 27a8, dotted, 4b2 undotted. Later *aisnis* LL 371c45, *haisneisi* In Cath Cathedra 751, ModIr *aisneise*. See ex. 58; compare *freisn.dis* 31].
5. 5c16[ii]: . . . *fudumne indfiss hoaricc dia ácenele n.doine* per misericordiam the depth of the knowledge whereby God has saved the race of men *per misericordiam* [acc sg NP]
6. 5d8: .i. *bad iárn.dligud hirisse* ... i.e. let it be according to (the) rule of faith (gl. *siue prophetiam secundum rationem fidei*) [iár n-].
7. 5d35: .i. *farn.dígalsi* .i. *bid adas .farmbáich* ... i.e. vengeance for you, i.e. it shall be proportionate to your struggle [2pl poss *far n-*].
8. 5d37: .i. *commarí farn.dígal huaimse* ... i.e. in order that vengeance for you may happen from me [2p poss *far n-*].
9. 6b29: .i. *léicid iudicium deo* .i. *brithemnacht bes hu...* (leg. *húaihsi* ZCP VI, 536; *huilliu* Editors) *nísn.denaith* nisi ne ponatis rl. leave ye *iudicium Deo* i.e. further judgment do ye not pass it (pass no judgment that is before you or to come or further) *nisi* etc. (gl. *Non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus*) [3sf s n-].
10. *6d9: .i. *amal nách annse n.dúib* i.e. as it is not hard for you [nas < ? cf. *amal nát anse dúib* 17c11; *amal* can set up a nas rel clause; would that carry so far?].
11. *7b2: .i. *amal as n.inrice* sanctis fáilte frinóibu .i. in domino i.e. as it is worthy *sanctis* to welcome saints (gl. *Ut eam suscipiatis in Domino digne sanctis*) [rel cop *as n-*].
12. 7d3: .i. *is amre lim rad n.dé lib* i.e. it is marvellous to me that ye have the grace of God [nas rel?].
13. 8b1: .i. *comadas lobre et immomon forsin mug céin m.bíis ocfognam diachoidid* i.e. meet is weakness and great fear on the slave so long as he is serving his master [céin + nas rel].
14. 8c4: .i. *gluass for accarnalibus* .i. *nitat foirbthi forn. gnímai hicrist* i.e. a gloss on their 'carnalibus', i.e. your deeds in Christ are not perfect (gl. *sed quasi carnalibus; tamquam paruulis in Christo*) [2p pss *far n-*].

15. 9b4: .i. *amal nondafrecn.dirccsa* i.e. as I am present [etymological -n- < *frith-con-derec GOI p. 514, later *frecnairec FM vi 2294.4*, *frecnairec O'Cl*, Gwyn; Herm X14 475 dbl X, ModIr *frecnairec* “present tense,” *frecnairec* “contemporary.” [See also 38, 44; compare *éicn.dirc* 55].
16. 9d28: .i. *bíte in.genas* i.e. who are in chastity. [prep *i n-*].
17. 10a22: .i. *is illánamnas dorograd dochum n.dée* i.e. it is in close association he has been called unto God (gl. *Qui enim in Domino uocatus est seruus*). [prep *dochum n-*].
18. 10b3.: .i. *isdered m.betho inso nifiu sercc do thabairt do †. isfurgrad inso* ut qui habent .i. *ished inso arathá* ut qui rl. i.e. this is the end of the world, it is not worth while to love it: or this is a remainder, *ut*, etc. i.e. this is what awaiteth, *ut*, etc. (gl. *Tempus breue est; reliquum est ut et qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes sint*) [why nasal? *betho* is gsm, *dered* nsn; no relativizing syntax].
19. 10b13: .i. *ithésidi asm.ber síis* i.e. it is these things which he mentions below [nas rel].
20. 10b21: et *intain asm.berar* benefacere . coiuigio is melius facere uirginitatem; and when *benefacere coniugio* is said and *melius facere uirginitatem* (gl. *Igitur qui matrimonio iungit uirginem suam, bene facit; et qui non iungit melius facit*; Editors: *it is melius facere uirginitatem*) [*in tain n-*].
21. 10c13: .i. *hore isimmarmus hí crist anas olcc lasin brathir .i. maimfoln.gi díltud dunbráthir* i.e. because what seems evil to the brother is a sin in Christ, i.e. if it causes scandal (lit. denial, refusal) to the brother (gl. *Quapropter si esca scandalizat fratrem meum, non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ne fratrem meum scandalizem.*) [etym: *immfolngi*. Dotted in other MSS, e.g. Sg 128b3 *immef.oln.gai a f.orbairt* ‘it is this that causes it to grow.’ See also 36, 52].
22. 10c14d .i. *arnarimfoln.gar díltod do* i.e. lest I should scandalize (him), i.e. lest scandal be caused to him (vel: that I may not cause scandal to him; gl. *ne fratrem meum scandalizem*) [neg cop *arna n-*].
23. 10c16: .i. *hore amabstal et amforcitlid dochách cainipsa sóir cedugnén cachn.gním* i.e. since I am an apostle and I am a teacher to every one, should I not be free to do (i.e. that I should do) every deed? (gl. *Non sum liber? non sum apostolus?*) [acc sg].
24. 10d13: et *arn.dom roibse fochricc* and that I may have a reward [conj *ar(a) n-*].
25. 11a10: .i. *isglé limsa rombia buáid isincertum immurgu ambuáid innammíled talmande hore as n. unus* ... i.e. it is clear to me that I shall have victory; *incertum*, however, is the victory of the earthly soldiers, because it is (only) *unus accipit palmam*. [conj *hore n-*].
26. 11c1: .i. *manud fel inspirut nóib indiumsá ná bith fochunn uaimm fein domæcn.duch* ... i.e. if there is the Holy Spirit within me let me give no cause to speak evil of me (gl. *Si ego cum gratia participo, quid blasfemor pro eo quod gratias ago?*) [etym *écndach* dsg *aecnduch*, later *éчнаге, ecnach, éagnach*. See also 60].
27. 12a19: .i. *arit boill immefoln.get corp* i.e. for it is members that make up the body (gl. *Nam et corpus non est unum membrum, sed multa*) [see 20 above].
28. 12a22: .i. *ní nád m.bed arse dichorp act atá de* i.e. not that it is not therefore of the body, but it is of it [nas rel].
29. 12b17: .i. principes l. *secn.dapid* vice-abbots (gl. *gubernationes*) [Lat *secundus abbas* > *secund ap*, later *secnap*. See also 41].
30. 12c2: .i. *act seirc n.dée tantum* i.e. save God's love *tantum* (gl. *non quaerit quae sua sunt*) [acc. sg. *seirc*].

31. 12c11: .i. *iscumme adciamni narúna diadi et adcíi nech ní triscáath céin m.bimme* in corpore . i.e. so long as we are *in corpore*, we see the divine mysteries just as one sees something by means of a mirror [acc. sg. *céin n-*].
32. 13a11: .i. *éitset frisinprecept et berat brith fuiri* quia mos est apud illos **freisn.dís** *predicatorum* i.e. let them listen to the teaching and pass judgment on it, *quia mos apud illos* confutation *praedicatorum* (gl. *Profétae [autem] duo aut tris dicant, et queteri diiudicent.*) [etym. **fris-aisndet*; later *fresnais, fresnais* LU 9789, ModI *fresnés*. Compare ex. 4a, 57 *aisn.dís*, later *fresnés go naisnés* ‘accusation and denial.’ Compare 4a, 30, 57].
33. 13a13: *Frecre lessom inso* mentibus illorum *ma asberad nech intain asm.beirsom* potestis enim per singulos rl. . i. *bid (prec)eptóir cách and ...* This (is) an answer of his *mentibus illorum* if any one should say *potestis* etc., i.e. ‘every one will be a teacher there’ (gl. *Potestis enim omnes per singulos profetare*) [*in tain n-*].
34. 13a18: .i. **asn.dia** *side et ascóre* . i.e. that He is a God of peace and is of concord (gl. *Non enim est dissentionis Deus, sed pacis, sicut [et] in omnibus aeclesis sanctorum doceo*) [*nas rel*].
35. 13b20: .i. *isepeltu doib manism.be* *bethu suthin* i.e. it . is perishing to them unless they have life eternal (gl. *Quod si Christus non resurrexit, uana est fides uestra. Ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo, perierunt.*) [*mani + s n- 3p*].
36. 13b30: .i. **dosm.béra** *fochumachte inmaicc* i.e. He will put them under the power of the Son (gl. *omnem principatum et potestatem et uirtutem*) [*infixed 3p s n-*].
37. 13c4: .i. *peccatis immefoln.get bás ...* i.e. *peccatis* which causes death [see 21, 52].
38. 13d29: .i. *combat foirbthiu archách forn.gnímæ* i.e. so that your deeds for each (i.e. every time) may be more and more perfect (gl. *stabiles estote et immobiles; abundantes in opere Domini*) [*2p poss for n-*].
39. 14b10: .i. *eter inmneha inbetho frecn.dirc* et *pæna todóchidi* i.e. both troubles of the present world and (fear of) future punishments (gl. *Qui consulatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra*) [See ex. 15, 44].
40. 17b3: .i. *istrémuin immurgu intain m.bís hísiu* i.e. he is weak, however, when he is here [*in tain n-*].
41. 17c23: .i. *hóre isco burpi asbéram naaill diarn.gnímaib* i.e. because it is unto stupidity that we shall say something else of our deeds [*1p poss ar n-*].
42. 19d2: .i. **secn.dapthib** gl. *actoribus* [See also 28].
43. 19d24: .i. *ciachondesin farsúli dosm.bérthe . dom* i.e. even though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them to me [*3p s n-*].
44. 20c2: .i. *massu spirtide armbethu bat spirtidi arn.gnímæ* i.e. if our life is spiritual, let our deeds be spiritual 20c2 [*1 p ar n-*].
45. 22d3: .i. **arisfrecn.dircside** *diamogaib nidernat sidi ní nadfiastar side* i.e. since He is present with His servants, they can do nothing He does not know (gl. *Non ad oculum seruienes, quasi hominibus placentes; sed ut serui Christi, facientes uoluntatem Dei ex animo*) [See 15, 38].
46. 23a9: .i. *itseúit macc n.gor* i.e. they are treasures of filial sons (gl. *Pax fratribus et caritas cum fide*) [*macc gpm*].
47. 24b12: .i. *nahuli dorigniussa fiadibsi dosn.gníithsi* i.e. all the things that I have done in your presence do ye them [*3p s n-*].

48. 24d15: .i. **cenfarn.digbáil** i.e. without causing loss to you (gl. [*ne quem uestrum grauaremus*]) [2p poss *far n-*].
49. 24d19: .i. **amal n.guidess athir amacc** i.e. as a father entreats his son (with elision of dN, infix. pron.) [*amal* + nas rel *GOI* §498].
50. 24d26: .i. **roscarsam frib denus m.beicc** i.e. we have parted from ye for a little while (gl. Nos autem, [fratres,] desoluti á uobis ad tempus horae) [asm]
51. 25a21: .i. propter praedicta **hóre dunnánic fíus scél uáib et ismaith forniress et forn.deserc** rl. i.e. because tidings of you have come to us, and good is your faith and your charity etc. [2 p poss *for n-*].
52. 25b9: .i. **utmuille et déess et foigde nosn.guidsom didiu arnarobat leu inpecthisi** i.e. unsteadiness and indolence and mendicancy; he beseeches them, then, that these sins may not be with them [3p *s n-*].
53. 25c10: .i. **odernam gnímu immafoln.get hícc duín** i.e. so that we may do works that effect salvation to us [See 21, 36].
54. 25c28: .i. **istorisse dia bidfir andorairn.gert** i.e. God is faithful; what He has promised will be true [rel *a n-*, *do-RO-airngir* 3s pft].
55. 25d21: .i. **guidmini airn.dipmaith aforcell doberam díibsi** i.e. we pray that the testimony which we give concerning you may be good [*ar n-*].
56. 25d24: .i. **aréicn.dirc mafrisaiccid crist** i.e. for . the sake of [Christ] (vel in the absence of [Christ]), if ye expect (the coming of) Christ (gl. *Rogamus autem uos, fratres, per aduentum Domini nostri [Iesu Christi]*) [etym. Compare 15, 38, 44.].
57. 26a30: .i. **badmaith forn.gnim et formbriathar ...** i.e. let your deed and your word be good [2p pss *for n-*]
58. 26b4: .i. **istualang forn.d(íten)** i.e. He is capable of protecting you (gl. *Fidelis autem Deus est, qui confirmauit [uos], et custodiet a malo.*) [2p poss *for n-* + *dítu.gsf*]
59. 27a8: .i. **cidglicc et cidsulbir ocaisn.dís** i.e. though he be acute and eloquent in declaration. cf. 5c16. [See ex. 4; compare ex. 31].
60. 27c27: (*inda*)**imser forubid (treb)arn.drognímu (. tai)dchrenid trebar(n.gní)mu inaimsir noui** the time that ye have wasted through your evil deeds, redeem ye through your deeds in the time *Noui (Testamenti; gl. tempus redimentes)* [*tre + bar n- +gnímu; bar n-* alternate of *for n-*, 2p poss]
61. 28a21: .i. pænitiæ †. **dodásacht .i. nibí indásachtach friæ'icn.dach** (MS **friæ'cn.dar**) **arni irmadadar .i. poenitiæ** or to madness, i.e. the madman does not blaspheme for he does not attain it [See also 25].
62. 31d15: **diaforcitul arm.bateolig forcitul** of their instruction that they may be versed in teaching (gl. *ut nihil illis desit*) [*ara n-* + cop. 3p.sbj]
63. 32d9: **farchon.grad baás dochách** who used to command death to every one [etym: *for-congair* 'command'].

Miscellany:

64. 33c9: **is ed inso aindus indf.ir** i.e. this is the (i.e. his) kind of the man.
65. 4c4: “Apl. **isnabithu** (MS **isnabidthu** the punctum delens being wrongly placed under *t*)” (Kavanagh).

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