

Summary of MA dissertation

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Title: Ogam Inscriptions of Ireland: A Relative Chronology Based on Linguistic Evidence

The ogam inscriptions provide valuable evidence about the linguistic developments that occurred between Common Celtic and Old Irish. Using a list of ordered sound changes for that period, it should be possible to make a relative chronology of the inscriptions and to test the accuracy of that list. One can only test for the sound changes that are visible in the ogam script, which include the reduction of consonant clusters, raising and lowering of vowels, delabialization of k^w (ogam <Q>), apocope, syncope, and vowel epenthesis. I examine the names individually and the inscriptions as a whole to find inconsistencies and problems in the chronology. The ordered list of sound changes works without conflict for the majority of the inscriptions, and most of the problems can be explained as conservative orthography or attempts at archaizing, such as a hypercorrect <Q> or restoration of genitive case endings. The exceptions to this do not seem to follow a strong enough pattern to call for a reordering of the sound changes, which appear to be fairly effective in dating the inscriptions.

**Ogam Inscriptions of Ireland:
A Relative Chronology Based on Linguistic Evidence**

By Gretchen Kern (MA dissertation 2007-2009)

Ogam Inscriptions of Ireland: A Relative Chronology Based on Linguistic Evidence

The ogam inscriptions, for all their syntactic and morphological paucity, offer glimpses of the phonological developments in the earliest stages of the Irish language. Because the alphabet itself is unwieldy and limited when it comes to displaying a number of these developments, the creation of a relative chronology for these sound changes is best done based on internal linguistic logic, but by applying this chronology to the names that appear on the inscriptions, it should be possible to put them loosely into order.

To this end, I look at a sample of 150 inscriptions, which is roughly half the ogam inscriptions found in Ireland. This sample yielded 181 individual names on 111 inscriptions. I identify these throughout the paper by the number which they are assigned in Macalister's *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*. For their dating I use the ordered list of sound changes found in Patrick Sims-Williams's *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain* (CIB) (p. 297-301), which in turn draws on Kim McCone's *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* and Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain*. The list includes 43 major phonological changes, with explanations and examples from the ogam inscriptions of Britain. I have omitted the changes which I cannot use because they occurred before the earliest of the ogam inscriptions (e.g. 1. *final -m > final -n*) or the orthography of ogam is incapable of demonstrating the change (e.g. 15. *Unstressed long vowels shortened*, 26. *First palatalization*.) or simply because they did not apply to any of the inscriptions in my sample (e.g. 24. *e i o > eu iu ou before short u in next syllable*.). The numbered sound

changes, as well as the numbered columns in the tables on pages 31 and 38 refer to this list. In addition to these 43 numbered changes, I also use '00' in the 'Post' column, and '50' in the 'Pre' column to indicate that a particular name is not demonstrably post or pre any sound change. Assigning a number to these meant they would be ranked appropriately by the computer.

Following Patrick Sims-Williams' example with the British ogam inscriptions, I use **A** to mark any sound change that should occur, but is visibly absent. A lower-case **a** is simply a place-holder in the tables to show that an inscription ought to be before that stage, based on the clear absence of an earlier change. Upper-case **B** is used for any sound change that is visibly present, and, similarly, lower-case **b** is a place-holder to show earlier changes that should also have taken place by this time, though they may not be visible, or may not apply to that particular name. I include some uncertain forms with ? or **A*** and will explain these as they arise. Problematic names and inscriptions, with **A** appearing before **B**, will appear in bold across the row.

In order to determine the place of each ogam name along its path from Common Celtic to Old Irish, I have tried to collect appropriate examples of each end stage, which I include in a table on page 44. Sabine Ziegler's *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-inschriften* has been invaluable in finding this information, as were Jürgen Uhlich's *Die Morphologie der komponierten Personennamen des Altirischen*, Vendryes' *Lexique Étymologique d'Irlandais Ancien (LEIA)*, and Pokorny's *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (IEW)*. Due to the ambiguity of many of these names and the fact that many are not attested in the Old Irish period, many of the Old Irish names are starred or in parentheses, which I use to mark a form which is not an exact match to the ogam name, but is similar enough (e.g. containing a

shared element) that it is worth noting for comparison.

I organize this paper, again in a way similar to that in *CIB*, with each relevant sound change listed, then followed by the names in which it is either visibly absent or present. I include notes and caveats specific to each when applicable, with a short list of general problems at the end. A final attempt at a relative chronology of the inscriptions appears in the conclusion, with tables of data after that. The first table looks at the names individually, and in a chronological order, with each applicable sound change marked **A** or **B**. The second looks at the inscriptions as a whole, though they appear in numerical order. The third is an alphabetical list of the ogam names with the Common Celtic genitive forms I used, as well as the Old Irish names in both their nominative and genitive forms.

The Sound Changes

2. Voiced lenition.

The fact that lenited voiced consonants tend to be written with the same letter as their unlenited counterparts has led some to speculate that the creation of the ogam alphabet must predate voiced lenition, but McManus (*Guide*, p. 86) considers the relationship uncertain and that the alphabet was "designed to cater only for *radical initial* sounds." The pronunciation of consonants, whether lenited or unlenited, should have been predictable based on phonological environment for a large part of the Primitive Irish period, though certainly this was no longer the case once intervocalic environments were removed by apocope and syncope. Most of the visible examples of voiced lenition are from the element *dubu-/*dubuo- which Jackson (1949, p. 115) believes is due to the rounding and velarizing of the /b/ by the surrounding /u/ sounds.

A

1. 148 DUBONIRRAS - This could be a conservative spelling, but it "is of unclear formation" (Uhlich, 1989, p. 132) and is not solid evidence of an unlenited /b/ in *dubu-.

B

1. 150 DOVVINIAS - If this is from *du-bh_u-injā- as Uhlich (1989, p. 131) believes, it would be the only example not from *dubu-.

2. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI

3. 128 DOVETI

4. 63 DOVALESCI

5. 37 DOVATUCI

3. z>đ

A

1. 28 TASEGAGNI - If this is OIr. *Tadcán* (<*tazgo-gno-) the change of z>đ should be later to account for the presence of <E> as an epenthetic vowel, though dating this inscription as post-epenthesis also makes G2 difficult to explain.

B

There are no examples.

4. o>a in final syllables and composition vowels.

"Occurrences of the composition vowel **O** rather than **A** in the ogam inscriptions are not exceptions to earlier /o/>/a/ but are secondary, mostly due to the vicinity of labials." (Sims-Williams (2003, p. 302). Due to this fact, the change is not significant in dating. (See also McManus (p. 93), Ziegler (p. 63-4), Sims-Williams (2003, p. 118).)

A

1. 39 BRANOGENI - This is the only example that cannot be explained by direct contact with labials, but Ziegler (p. 63-4) considers the B still to have an effect, though

Uhlich disagrees (1993, p. 34). O'Brien (1973, p. 231) considers it a borrowed British name, which would have retained an /o/.

2. 84 ERACOBI (<*erko-)

3. 148 DUBONIRRAS (<*dub̥o-nero-) - The second element here is also an o-stem, so a genitive in *-ī is expected. It could be an anachronism, treating it as an r-stem, perhaps, or it may be a different formation entirely.

4. 11 CUNOVATO (<*kuno-)

5. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI - The I composition vowel here is influenced by the I of the genitive singular. (Patrick Sims-Williams, personal correspondence, 2009).

B

1. 3 QUNACANOS (<*kuno-)

2. 124 ANAVLAMATTIAS - If it is from an-ulo-, though Uhlich (1993, p.163) disagrees with this etymology and suggests "<*ŋ-, priv., + -flamath, unklar".

3. 19 IVACATTOS (<*i̥o-)

4. 128 LOCARENAS

5. 145 COMOGANN (<*kom-ago-)

6. 58 CATTUBUTTAS (<*-but-os)

7. 68 ADDI]LONAS

8. 81 CASSITTAS

9. 86 CLIUCOANAS

10. 105 VIDETTAS

11. 105 NETACUNAS

12. 120 TTRENALUGOS

13. 124 AKERAS

14. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS

15. 40 INEQAGLAS

16. 3 CUNALEGI

17. 70 VIRAGNI

18. 26 TRENALUGGO

19. 100 ULCCAGNI

20. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI

21. 69 GIRAGNI - Only if 'GIRA' (>OIr. *gerr*) was originally an o-stem. DIL lists it as o,

ā, (G, column 74) and IEW (p.443) has no information on the Celtic form.

- 22. 28 TASEGAGNI
- 23. 43 LONAMNI
- 24. 47 NETA-CARI
- 25. 61 OLAGNI
- 26. 71 COIMAGNI
- 27. 75 RODAGNI
- 28. 98 CORBAGNI
- 29. 119 DALAGNI
- 30. 46 SEDAN[I
- 31. 109 NETTASLOGI
- 32. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA
- 33. 85 GRILAGNI
- 34. 126 VEDACUNA[S
- 35. 147 MOINENA
- 36. 63 DOVALESCI
- 37. 63 COLOMAGNI - Most likely a combination of Latin *Columbā* and *-agnas,

borrowed after the o>a change occurred. This might be a good candidate for rounding of a>o after the labial, but this seems a fairly late inscription, in view of the m<mb.

- 38. 134 ASSICONA
- 39. 29 DUCR[I]DDA
- 40. 7 CERAN[I]
- 41. 60 MAILAGN[I]
- 42. 26 NETTAVRECC
- 43. 106 [COLAB]OT
- 44. 147 OLACON
- 45. 85 SCILAGNI
- 46. 132 LACAVAGNI
- 47. 21 COLLABOTA

6. nt>d, nk>g, nk^w>g^w, ns>s, nxt>xt.

There are no inscriptions that do not show this change, suggesting it is a very early one. The loss of intervocalic /s/ as in 44 IARNI (<*īsarnī) and in 26 NETTAVRECC (<*nētos-urojki) (Harvey, 1987 p. 50) may also have happened around this time (McManus p. 84).

A

There are no examples.

B

- 1. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS (<*-dekent-)

2. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA (same)

3. 46 SEDAN[I (<*sento- 'road') - This and the following example also show a

preceding vowel changing to /ɛ:/, if they are instead from *santo- 'treasure'.

4. 137 SEDDOINI (same)

5. 13 QREGAS (<*k^wrinkā-) - If from *k^wrink-, the vowel should have become /ɛ:/

when /nk/ > /g/, but Old Irish creicc shows a short /e/, so perhaps the Common Celtic form is something else.

11. Voiceless lenition.

The orthography prevents this change from being shown, except with the use of *forfeda*, as below. As in the case of the earlier voiced lenition, this deficiency of the writing system does not necessarily mean it was created before lenition occurred, but it was probably created before the change became independent of its environment. As McManus (p. 86) mentions, because the lenited consonants were seen as a variant of their unlenited counterparts, having a completely separate symbol to represent them would obscure their connection. For this reason, in the later examples of scholastic ogam lenited consonants tended to be shown with <H> following, as would become typical in Irish orthography. Number 27 in Macalister is a brooch, which I have excluded from my research, but its names display this method of designating lenited consonants: CNAEMSEACH and CELLACH. (See also Sims-Williams (1992) p. 51.)

Geminate consonants are a quirk of ogam orthography that has been variously interpreted as representing lenited consonants, unlenited consonants (Harvey, 1987, p. 45 sums up these views) and a ploy on the part of the epigraphers, who may have charged by the letter, to get more money for each inscription (Macalister, 1945, xvi). Harvey's analysis of the first 200 inscriptions in CIIC has shown that "in the case of non-word-initial consonants in

the ogam inscriptions surveyed there does appear to be a tentative convention whereby gemination of the symbols is associated with the non-lenitability of the sounds." (Harvey, 1987 p. 69) This might suggest that the unlenitable geminate consonants exist in contrast with lenitable or lenited consonants, but the connection is not strong enough to warrant its use in creating a chronology, though geminate letters may tend to appear more on later inscriptions.

A

There are no examples.

B

1. 7 AΘECETAIMIN - Patrick Sims-Williams (1992, p. 50) points out that the uncommon use of the consonantal *forfid* for /θ/ was likely motivated by a desire to differentiate it from the <T> that represented /d/ in a late, and probably British influenced orthography.

19. Raising of e>i and o>u.

A

1. 34 LOBB[I] - There is no OIr. name attested, but the genitive should become **luib*.

2. 115 MENUQAQ[I] - The first element is attested in names as *Minbuide* and

Minclothe. (Ziegler p. 206)

3. 131 QECIA

4. 95 MEDDOGENI - The expected U composition vowel (Ziegler (p. 205) suggests the O is an error) gives Old Irish *Midgen*.

5. 79 ELUNA - This name (whose reading is uncertain, see Zeigler p. 176, 188 and McManus p. 67) is linked with the British 409 [I]LL[U]NA and Old Irish names *Illann* and *Elann*, making it unclear whether raising had occurred in the inscription, and also whether

raising would happen at all.

6. 83 BROCC - Though the post-apocope form suggests the vowel is due to archaizing or influence of the nominative.

B

6. 34 RINI - If from *ren̥o-, but this may have had an /i/ originally. (Sims-Williams 2003, p. 81)

8. 66 TURANIAS shows raising, if it is from *torano-, though there is no reason for it, and the Old Irish also has o for the first vowel. Perhaps it is an error.

B*

There are also a number of examples of apparent raising of unstressed vowels in the same environment. Presumably they represent a schwa sound.

1. 81 CALLITI

2. 126 SOGINI - Ziegler (p. 40) cites this as an example of this change (<*-genī)

though it is not in a stressed syllable. (Cf. 95 MEDDOGENI)

3. 126 TOBIRA

4. 87 DRUTIQUILI

5. 106 CORIBIRI

6. 149 CUNITTI

20. rw>rv, lw>lv, ḍw>ḍv, nw>nv, hw>f.

A

There are no examples.

B

1. 38 CORBI

2. 12 MEDVVI

3. 34 RINI - If from *ren̥o-.

4. 65 SDANBI

5. 106 CORIBIRI - If from *kor̥-, but *korbo- is also possible.

21. Loss of -h, -n.

A

1. 5 ALLATOS
2. 19 OVANOS
3. 66 TURANIAS
4. 70 CUNAGUSOS
5. 107 CUNAGUSSOS
6. 117 COLLOS
7. 120 BROINIENAS
8. 124 ANAVLAMATTIAS
9. 125 MAQI-ERCIAS
10. 128 LOCARENAS
11. 150 GRAVICAS
12. 150 DOVVINIAS
13. 3 QUNACANOS -- The hypercorrect Q suggests the case ending is also an

archaizing form.

14. 16 DUNAIDONAS
15. 19 IVACATTOS
16. 29 BRAN[I]TTAS - Though 29 DUCR[I]DDA has lost its final S.
17. 36 ROTTAIS
18. 58 CATTUBUTTAS
19. 68 ADDI]LONAS
20. 81 CASSITTAS
21. 86 CLIUCOANAS
22. 105 NETACUNAS
23. 105 VIDETTAS
24. 120 TTRENALUGOS
25. 124 AKERAS
26. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS
27. 148 DUBONIRRAS
28. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS
29. 13 QREGAS

B

1. 11 CUNOVATO
2. 82 MAILAGURO
3. 26 TRENALUGGO
4. 31 DRUGNO
5. 63 BRUSCO
6. 9 MAQ-ACTO
7. 21 COLLABOTA
8. 79 ELUNA
9. 93 ERCAIDANA
10. 133 VAITEVIA
11. 140 LUGUVVECCA

12. 147 MOINENA
13. 46 CAT]TABBOTT
14. 30 NAVALLO
15. 104 CORRE
16. 109 UDDMENZA
17. 118 VEQREQ
18. 122 DEGO
19. 126 TOBIRA - Unless this is a mistake for *TOBIRI as Ziegler (p. 236) suggests.
20. 38 LABRID[O]
21. 134 ASSICONA
22. 65 LOGA
23. 29 DUCR[I]DDA
24. 4 LUGUDEC
25. 106 [COLAB]OT
26. 108 LUGUDUC
27. 147 OLACON
28. 139 MACORBO
29. 121 VERGOSO
30. 28 MACORBO
31. 121 LLOMINACCA
32. 101 MAQI-ESEA
33. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA

23. Stressed a>au before u(:) in following syllable.

A

1. 82 MAILAGURO - (Cf. *Maél-Augrai*)

B

There are no examples.

28. Delabialization of k^w>k, g^w>g before u(:), o(:), a.

A

1. 40 INEQAGLAS
2. 129 VEQOANAI - If from * $\text{uek}^w\text{o-}$, otherwise the Q is false archaizing.

B

There are no clear examples, though 100 ULCCAGNI and 130 SECIDARI may show this change, depending on what their Common Celtic forms were.

29. Lowering of i>e and u>o before a(:) or o(:) in next syllable.

A

1. 11 CUNOVATO - (>*Confátho)
2. 70 CUNAGUSOS - (>Congusa)
3. 16 DUNAIDONAS - (Cf. Donaíde)
4. 58 CATTUBUTTAS - (>Cathboth)
5. 38 LABRID[O] - This shows syncope (*labar-it-ōs) but retains an /i/. (>Labrada)
6. 107 CUNAGUSSOS - (>Congusa)
7. 89 BIRAC[O] - (>Beraich)
8. 149 CUNITTI - (>*Conid)
9. 105 NETACUNAS - (>*Nad-con)
10. 3 CUNALEGI - (>*Conleich)
11. 70 VIRAGNI - (>*Ferán)
12. 26 TRENALUGGO - (>Trénlogo)
13. 31 DRUGNO - (>Dróna)
14. 63 BRUSCO - Although 63 COLOMAGNI does show lowering. (Cf. Broisce)
15. 100 ULCCAGNI - (>Olcáin)
16. 86 CLIUCOANAS - Assuming the <OA> is a mistake for <U>. (>*Clíucon?)
17. 69 GIRAGNI - (>Gerráin)
18. 85 GRILAGNI - (>Grelláin)
19. 85 SCILAGNI - (>Scelláin)
20. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS - (-IAS>-EA(S))
21. 125 MAQI-ERCIAS
22. 37 TULOTANAGIA
23. 66 TURANIAS
24. 133 VAITEVIA

B

1. 41 COVAGNI - (<*ku_ua(no)-gnī)
2. 63 COLOMAGNI - But it shares a stone with 63 BRUSCO, which does not show lowering. (<*Columb-a-gnī)
3. 65 LOGA - (<*lugōs)
4. 74 CONANN - (<*kuna-gnī)
5. 40 INEQAGLAS - (<*enik^wo-glassī)
6. 46 CAT]TABBOTT - (<*katu-but-os)
7. 73 DOMNGEN - (<*dumno-genī)
8. 96 COVALOTI - (<*ku_ua-)
9. 134 ASSICONA - (<*assi-kunos)
10. 147 OLACON - (<*-kunos)
11. 121 VERGOSO - (<*ūiro-gussōs)
12. 21 COLLABOTA - (<*koīlo-but-as)
13. 91 BLATEGSI - (<*blāti-gnī)
14. 94 DOMMO - (<*dumno-)
15. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI - The lowered O (<*dubūī) in this and the below forms is probably due to analogical spreading of DOV(A)- to other forms (Ziegler p. 102).
16. 63 DOVALESCI - (<*dubūo-ūleskī)

17. 37 DOVATUCI - (<*dub_uo-)

18. 128 DOVETI - (<*dub_u-et(i)ī)

19. 150 DOVVINIAS - There is lowering from *dub-, but the case ending has not yet

changed to -EAS.

20. 101 MAQI-ESEA - (<-IAS)

30. Rounding after *k^w* and *g^w* of *i>u* and *a>o*.

While there are several examples of MAQU/MACU in the British ogam inscriptions, the Irish seem to have been more conservative in their spelling of the formula word, with the only examples of QU being in a fragment on M4 MO[...]CQU and in false archaizing spellings of *kuno-.

A

1. 115 MENUFAQ[I]

2. 125 MAQI-ERCIAS

3. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS

4. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS

5. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA

6. 40 MAQI-CAIRATINI

7. 86 MAQI-TRENI

8. 101 MAQI-ESEA

9. 106 MAQI-RITE

10. 149 MAQQI-QETTI

11. 57 QRITTI - If from *k^writ_iī, this name and the one below should undergo

rounding at this stage, but there is no evidence of this in the Old Irish name Crithe.

Presumably it is incorrect to associate this starred form with this name.

12. 146 QRITT[I]

13. 68 LUGUQRIT[TI]

14. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI - This, and 106 MAQI-RITE should have been ideal

candidates for this sound change, according to Schrijver (1999, p. 136) who revisited the

idea that the change was conditioned by not only the preceding labiovelar, but also a

following palatal consonant or *Cu, though this change might also be blocked by the word

boundary, and the inscriptions could certainly predate the change.

15. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI

16. 146 LUGUQRIT

B

1. 129 VEQOANAI - Taking the <OA> for <U>, and depending on whether the

Common Celtic is *k^w or *k, but the composition vowel of an o-stem ought to have changed to /a/ and then delabialized the *k^w at 28.

2. 104 CORRE - Beside MAQVI.

31. k^w>k, g^w>g in all remaining positions.

A

1. 146 LUGUQRIT

2. 40 INEQAGLAS

3. 68 LUGUQRIT[TI

4. 57 QRITTI

5. 146 QRITT[I]

6. 129 VEQOANAI - Depending on whether the Common Celtic is *k^w or *k, though if

one takes the <OA> for <U>, that composition vowel could be explained by rounding from the *k^w.

7. 13 QREGAS

A*

I include the names with MAQ(I) as a slightly separate list because of its status as a formula word, leaving it more resistant to change. Because I do not consider MAQI a reliable indicator for dating, I have chosen not to list every inscription on which some form of MAQI appears with a Q.

1. 149 MAQQI-QETTI

2. 9 MAQ-ACTO

3. 40 MAQI-CAIRATINI

4. 86 MAQI-TRENI

5. 101 MAQI-ESEA - Beside 101 DOMANEQI, with false archaizing Q.

6. 106 MAQI-RITE

7. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI

8. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI - Beside 87 DRUTIQULI, with false archaizing Q.
9. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS
10. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA
11. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS

B

Here I include all instances of hypercorrect Q and of Celtic $k^w > k$, as well as the inscriptions that include either a <C> for etymological $*k^w$ or a hypercorrect <Q> in a formula word. The delabialization of g^w is not evident in the ogam alphabet, but I have made note of the one example in my sample, of two total, which appears with MAQI.

1. 100 ULCCAGNI
2. 87 DRUTIQULI - Beside MAQI
3. 130 SECIDARI
4. 118 VEQREQ - Beside MOQOI. Apparent use of Q for what may be /x/ and /ʎ/,

though some of the Old Irish forms use 'ch' to represent both consonants as well, and the ogam may be a reflection of that.

5. 48 IAQINI
6. 29 DUCR[I]DDA - Beside MAQI
7. 84 ERAQETAI - Beside MAQI
8. 101 DOMANEQI - Beside MAQI
9. 113 VEQIKAMI - Beside MAQI
10. 121 LLOMINACCA - Beside MACI, suggesting the inscription is well after the

delabialization of k^w .

11. 28 MACORBO - Beside [MAQ]I MUCOI
12. 139 MACORBO - Beside MAQI
13. 3 QUNACANOS - Beside 3 CUNALEGI, using C for the same element.
14. 118 VEQREQ MOQOI GLUNLEGGET
15. 83 LAMADULICCI MAC MAIC BROCC
16. 90 CRONUN MAC BAIT
17. 121 VERGOSO MACI LLOMINACCA
18. 137 ANM VEDLLOIGGOI MACI SEDDOINI

?

1. 31 DRUGNO < $*g^w$ > - Beside MAQI

38. Apocope.

A

1. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS
2. 12 MEDVVI
3. 56 SAGITTARI
4. 47 NETA-CARI
5. 130 SECIDARI
6. 39 BRANOGENI
7. 84 ERACOBI
8. 34 LOBB[I]
9. 115 MENUFAQ[I]
10. 5 ALLATOS
11. 19 OVANOS
12. 66 TURANIAS
13. 70 CUNAGUSOS
14. 107 CUNAGUSSOS
15. 117 COLLOS
16. 120 BROINIENAS
17. 124 ANAVLAMATTIAS
18. 125 MAQI-ERCIAS
19. 128 LOCARENAS
20. 150 GRAVICAS
21. 99 SACATTINI
22. 149 CUNITTI
23. 121 LLOMINACCA
24. 86 MAQI-TRENI
25. 101 MAQI-ESEA
26. 48 IAQINI
27. 149 MAQQI-QETTI
28. 57 QRITTI
29. 68 LUGUQRIT[TI]
30. 113 VEQIKAMI
31. 16 MARIANI – Latin endings may have survived longer.
32. 30 GENITTAC[I]
33. 37 DOVATUCI
34. 41 LUGUNI
35. 43 BARI
36. 44 IARNI
37. 50 VOTI
38. 51 NILI
39. 106 CORIBIRI
40. 67 CARI
41. 69 GIRAGNI
42. 84 ERAQETAI
43. 87 DRUTIQULI
44. 85 GRILAGNI
45. 85 SCILAGNI

46. 91 BLATEGSI
47. 29 DUCR[I]DDA
48. 37 TULOTANAGIA
49. 94 VEDUCERI
50. 100 ULCCAGNI
51. 112 LUGUNI
52. 112 MICANAVVI
53. 113 LUGUNI
54. 114 GRIMIGGN[I]
55. 116 BRANI
56. 119 DALI
57. 125 VALAMNI
58. 129 VEQOANAI
59. 132 LACAVAGNI
60. 133 VAITEVIA
61. 34 RINI
62. 138 LADDIGNI
63. 148 TENAC[I]
64. 150 DOVVINIAS
65. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI
66. 3 QUNACANOS - But the hypercorrect Q suggests this is archaizing.
67. 16 DUNAIDONAS
68. 19 IVACATTOS
69. 29 BRAN[I]TTAS
70. 58 CATTUBUTTAS
71. 68 ADDI]LONAS
72. 81 CASSITTAS
73. 134 ASSICONA
74. 96 COVALOTI
75. 124 AKERAS
76. 101 DOMANEQI
77. 3 CUNALEGI
78. 70 VIRAGNI
79. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI
80. 63 DOVALESCI
81. 43 LONAMI
82. 61 OLAGNI
83. 71 COIMAGNI
84. 63 COLOMAGNI
85. 98 CORBAGNI
86. 119 DALAGNI
87. 60 MAILAGN[I]
88. 66 MAQI-DECCEDDAS
89. 41 COVAGNI
90. 109 NETTASLOGI
91. 148 DUBONIRRAS

92. 81 CALLITI
93. 126 SOGINI
94. 131 LITUBIRI
95. 13 QREGAS
96. 12 VRAICCI
97. 38 CORBI
98. 65 SDANBI
99. 140 LUGUVVECCA
100. 21 COLLABOTA
101. 79 ELUNA
102. 126 TOBIRA - If the A is a mistake for I, which would suggest archaizing.

A*

These are names which do not show apocope, but are on inscriptions which show apocope in another name or in a formula word. While these could be regarded as examples of false archaizing—restoring the pre-apocope case endings to some names, but not others, or not to formula words—Garrett (1999) uses similar examples of mixed apocope to reconstruct the prosodic structure of ogam Irish, assuming apocope would occur first at a prosodic boundary.

1. 135 MINNACCANNI - Beside 135 AILLUATTAN
2. 88 OQOLI - Beside 88 BRANAN
3. 147 MOINENA - Beside 147 OLACON
4. 20 MAQI-DDECCEDA - Beside 20 MARIN
5. 46 SEDAN[I] - Beside 46 DERCMASOC
6. 28 TASEGAGNI - Beside 28 MACORBO
7. 103 MU CAGG[I] - Beside 103 CARRTACC
8. 7 CERAN[I] - Beside 7 AθECETAIMIN
9. 83 LAMADULICCI - Beside 83 BROCC, MAC, MAIC
10. 146 QRITT[I] - Beside 146 LUGUQRIT
11. 40 MAQI-CAIRATINI - Beside 40 INEQAGLAS
12. 75 CASONI - Beside ANM, which is only attested with apocope (Garrett (pg. 154).

CASONI is further problematic in that its $\dot{\jmath}$ o-stem ending should have given Old Irish

*Casoine, though Ziegler (pg. 146) links it with Cassoin (or Caissíne, Casséne, or Cassán).

13. 95 MEDDOGENI - Beside ANM
14. 75 RODAGNI - Beside ANM
15. 105 NETACUNAS - Beside ANM
16. 105 VIDETTAS - Beside ANM

B

Here I also include inscriptions where a formula word shows apocope, as these were typically the last to be subject to apocope, so an inscription bearing one is probably well past this stage.

1. 146 LUGUQRIT
2. 26 NETTAVRECC
3. 147 OLACON
4. 28 MACORBO
5. 118 GLUNLEGGET
6. 103 CARRTACC
7. 73 DOMNGEN
8. 145 RON[A]NN
9. 139 LAIDANN
10. 135 AILLUATTAN
11. 7 AθECETAIMIN
12. 20 MARIN
13. 36 SEVERRIT[- It is possible there was a case ending on the stone originally.
14. 46 DERCMASOC
15. 83 BROCC
16. 90 CRONUN
17. 139 MACORBO
18. 145 COMOGANN
19. 74 CONANN
20. 88 BRANAN
21. 4 LUGUDEC
22. 97 VORRTIGURN
23. 106 [COLAB]OT
24. 108 LUGUDUC
25. 4 LUGADDON
26. 118 VEQREQ
27. 46 CAT]TABBOTT
28. 9 MAQ-ACTO
29. 40 INEQAGLAS
30. 137 VEDILLOIGGOI
31. 106 MAQI-RITE - If this is a post-apocope form of MAQI-RITEAS as Ziegler says

(pg. 225), though MAQI does not show apocope.

32. 9 MAQ ACTO MAQ GAR[
33. 10 L[E]GG[.]SD[.]LEηESCAD MAQ CORRBRI MAQ AMMLLOηITT
34. 75 ANM CASONI [MAQ]I RODAGNI
35. 76 ANM TENAS MACI V[
36. 83 LAMADULICCI MAC MAIC BROCC

- 37. 90 CRONUN MAC BAIT
- 38. 95 ANM MEDDOGENI
- 39. 104 ANM CORRE MAQVI UDD[GLO]METT
- 40. 105 ANM N[ETAC]U[N]AS [CE]L[I] [A?]VIDETTAS
- 41. 145 QRIMITIR RON[A]NN MAQ COMOGANN

39. Loss of γ before n, with compensatory lengthening.

While there seems to be general agreement that the loss of / γ / before nasals and liquids occurred after apocope, probably as a means of reducing the newly formed consonant clusters (see McManus (*Guide*, p. 89), Sims-Williams (*CIB*, p. 301), McCone (*TRC*, p. 123) there are no examples in the Irish inscriptions of a GN with a following I already lost through apocope, but there are several examples with a final I, but no G (see McManus (*Guide*, p. 95)) though it seems best to explain these as archaizing forms.

A

- 1. 63 COLOMAGNI
- 2. 100 ULCCAGNI
- 3. 69 GIRAGNI
- 4. 91 BLATEGSI - Taking the S to be an error for N. The E is a strange choice for

composition vowel as well.

- 5. 132 LACAVAGNI
- 6. 114 GRIMIGGN[I] - The inscription almost certainly included a case ending

originally.

- 7. 31 DRUGNO
- 8. 138 LADDIGNI
- 9. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI
- 10. 28 TASEGAGNI
- 11. 61 OLAGNI
- 12. 71 COIMAGNI
- 13. 75 RODAGNI
- 14. 119 DALAGNI
- 15. 60 MAILAGN[I] - As with 114, this is not a reliable example of a post-apocope,

pre-loss of / γ / name.

16. 85 GRILAGNI
17. 85 SCILAGNI
18. 70 VIRAGNI
19. 43 LONAMNI - Taking the M to be an error for G.

B

1. 90 CRONUN
2. 145 COMOGANN
3. 88 BRANAN
4. 145 RON[A]NN
5. 135 AILLUATTAN
6. 74 CONANN
7. 139 LAIDANN
8. 7 CERAN[I] - Beside MAQ, so the inscription is post apocope. This name shows loss

of γ before n, but does not show apocope, though Macalister says only traces of the final <I> are visible. It appears on an inscription with another name that uses the *O-forfid* to represent / θ /, so it is quite likely a late form, with the -I being archaizing.

9. 48 IAQINI - With no sign of apocope on the inscription, but MAQI should not be used as a sure indication of pre-apocope status.

10. 99 SACATTINI - The inscription includes only this name.

11. 135 MINNACCANNI - Beside AILLUATTAN, which shows apocope.

41. Syncope.

A

1. 39. BRANOGENI
2. 84 ERACOB I
3. 137 SEDDOINI - This <OI> digraph is a late form.
4. 115 MENU MAQ[I] - Beside 115 CULRIGAI
5. 70 CUNAGUSOS
6. 66 TURANIAS
7. 107 CUNAGUSSOS
8. 124 ANAVLAMATTIAS
9. 128 LOCARENAS
10. 40 MAQI-CAIRATINI
11. 68 LUGUQRIT[TI
12. 30 GENITTAC[I
13. 37 DOVATUCI
14. 41 LUGUNI

15. 56 SAGITTARI
16. 94 VEDUCERI
17. 112 LUGUNI
18. 113 LUGUNI
19. 114 GRIMIGGN[I
20. 129 VEQOANAI
21. 132 LACAVAGNI
22. 122 [MADORA]
23. 128 MAQI-CULIDIVI
24. 3 QUNACANOS
25. 16 DUNAIIDONAS
26. 19 IVACATTOS
27. 58 CATTUBUTTAS
28. 86 CLIUCOANAS
29. 105 NETACUNAS
30. 120 TTRENALUGOS
31. 40 INEQAGLAS
32. 5 ALLATOS
33. 21 COLLABOTA
34. 109 NETTASLOGI
35. 148 DUBONIRRAS
36. 131 LITUBIRI
37. 95 MEDDOGENI
38. 11 CUNOVATO
39. 82 MAILAGURO
40. 26 TRENALUGGO
41. 126 VEDACUNA
42. 140 LUGUVVECCA
43. 46 CAT]TABBOTT
44. 63 COLOMAGNI
45. 63 DOVALESCI
46. 96 COVALOTI
47. 84 ERAQETAI
48. 113 VEQIKAMI
49. 130 SECIDARI
50. 146 LUGUQRIT
51. 4 LUGUDEC
52. 26 NETTAVRECC
53. 97 VORRTIGURN
54. 106 [COLAB]OT
55. 108 LUGUDUC
56. 147 OLACON - Unless, as Uhlich (1993, p. 287) suggests, it is from *olc* 'böse' + *cú*,

"Ogam OLACON dann mit Svarabhakti für (synkopiertes) *OL-CON".

57. 99 SACATTINI

58. 135 MINNACCANNI

59. 106 CORIBIRI

?

1. 145 COMOOGANN - Syncope is optional in this name, as seen in Old Irish *Comgán*

and *(Hu)Chomocáin*.

B

1. 118 VEQREQ

2. 118 GLUNLEGGET

3. 10 CORRBRI

4. 73 DOMNGEN

5. 121 VERGOSO

6. 38 LABRID[O]

7. 103 CARRTACC

8. 115 CULRIGAI

9. 135 AILLUATTAN - If this is *ail* 'stone' + *lúath* 'swift' + *án* as Uhlich suggests (1993,

p. 151).

10. 137 VEDLLOIGGOI

43. Epenthesis.

A

1. 94 DOMMO

B

1. 32 MAQI-ERACIAS - A2 seems difficult to explain. Vowels added in epenthesis break up consonant clusters arising from syncope (although *domno- > domun) while this cluster exists in the starred form (*erko-) and there is also no vowel written in the OIr. form *Ercce*, though the same vowel also shows up in 84 ERACOBÍ and 84 ERAQETAI (though with a hypercorrect Q). Besides that, it seems to be an accurately archaic hypocoristic with *īā*-stem flexion. 125 MAQI-ERCIAS shows the same name without the svarabhakti vowel. The E in 28 TASEGAGNI is similarly puzzling.

2. 28 TASEGAGNI

3. 37 TULOTANAGIA - Ziegler (p. 239) suggests "es scheint sich um eine späte

Inscription mit Archaisierungen..." due to the G for /k/, or more likely by this point, /x/, and the presence of an epenthetic vowel in a pre-apocope form.

4. 106 CORIBIRI

5. 101 DOMANEQI - The E is used to represent a schwa sound between a neutral and palatalized consonant, as was Old Irish 'ai' in *Domnaich, which suggests this is a late inscription.

6. 84 ERACOBI

7. 84 ERAQETAI

Some Problems

In addition to the above categories, there are a handful of features that seemed worth mentioning, though they contribute only in a general sense to an attempt at a relative chronology.

1. 12 VRAICCI - The AI for the original *oi diphthong suggests this is a late form, showing the Old Irish confusion of OI/AI. (Patrick Sims-Williams, personal communication, 2009)

2. 36 RO]TTAIS, 89 BOGAI, 115 CULRIGAI, 84 ERAQETA[I] show the exceptional ending -AI(S). This has been explained as deriving from the IE gen. sg. of i-stems, *-ois, or as being errors for -IA(S). (McManus, *Guide*, p. 116)(Cf. Ziegler, p. 55-58)

3. 94 VEDUCERI - E2 is difficult to explain from *u̇ēdu-koṙjo-.

4. 150 GRAVICAS - This is the only example of dissimilation, from GRAVA-VICAS with haplology, which could have happened at any stage (Ziegler, p. 186). (Cf. British ogam 405 [GRA]VICA (Sims-Williams, CIB, p. 318).)

On the Inscriptions as a Whole

When the names are organized together with others that share an inscription (and presumably were engraved at the same time) additional inconsistencies arise, as I have tried to note beside problematic names at each stage above. These become more obvious in the table on page 38, and certain tendencies begin to emerge, as McManus noted throughout his chapter on dating ogam (*Guide*, p. 78-100). The most common of these is in inscriptions where at least one name shows apocope, but one or more do not. Less common are inscriptions in which only some names show syncope, raising, or lowering.

Of the 111 inscriptions I have examined, 25 are problematic, in that they show evidence of an earlier sound change, while a later change has clearly not occurred, or one inscription shows evidence of a particular sound change being absent in one name, but present in another. Of the 181 names, 23 are problematic. In both cases, problematic forms are shown in bold in the tables.

Hypercorrect Q

1. 3 QUNACANOS AVI CUNALEGI - It is strange that the hypercorrect Q appears in one name, but not in the other using the same element. This Q is the only problem in the inscription, which makes me want to take it as an error, adding an extra line to the C, instead of uneven archaizing.

2. 87 MAQI-RODAGNI, DRUTIQULI - The <Q> in DRUTIQULI is hypercorrect, and the MAQI retains its <Q> also, which I had marked as being before the delabialization of k^w, though formula words would certainly have been more resistant to orthographic change. Perhaps it is conservatism that accounts for the earlier name also not showing rounding of i>u after a labial. If one is willing to accept both these explanations, the inscription is no

longer problematic.

3. 100 ULCCAGNI - If this is from Proto-Indo-European * ul^wkos , the <CC> should be <Q> at this point, as the <U> has not yet lowered to <O> to become Old Irish *Olcán*.

4. 101 MAQI-ESEA, DOMANEQI - The <Q> in DOMANEQI is hypercorrect, if it is from the common suffix *-āko-. As explained in the first example (inscription 3) above, MAQI is ostensibly correct, but could be a conservatism, reflecting a stage in which / k^w / has become /k/. If one similarly explains away the problem of rounding not being demonstrated in formula words in the orthography, the only problem in this inscription is that neither name shows apocope, though DOMANEQI has <A> as an epenthetic vowel.

Mixed Apocope

I list the names in the order in which they appear on the inscription. There seems to be some preference for the final name to show apocope.

1. 7: CERAN[I] (-), AΘECETAIMIN (+)
2. 20: MAQI-DDECCEDA (-), MARIN (+)
3. 28: TASEGAGNI (-), MACORBO (+)
4. 40: MAQI-CAIRATINI (-), INEQAGLAS (+)
5. 46: SEDAN[I] (-), CAT]TABBOTT, DERCMASOC (+)
6. 83: LAMADULICCI (-), BROCC (+)
7. 88: BRANAN (+), OQOLI (-)
8. 106: [COLAB]OT (+), CORIBIRI (-)
9. 135: MINNACCANNI (-), AILLUATTAN (+)
10. 146: LUGUQRIT (+), QRITT[I] (-)
11. 147: MOINENA (-), OLACON (+)

Other Inconsistencies

1. 9: MAQ-ACTO shows apocope in MAQ, but what should be /k/ is still written <Q>.
2. 11: CUNOVATO shows loss of -h, but not o>a in composition vowels, though this can be explained by the labial.
3. 26: NETTAVRECC shows apocope, but there is no lowering in TRENALUGGO.

4. 29: Loss of /-h/ in DUCR[I]DDA, not BRAN[I]TTAS
5. 37: There is an epenthetic vowel in TULOTANAGIA, but no apocope in either name.
6. 48: IAQINI shows a loss of γ before n, but no apocope.
7. 63: BRUSCO does not show lowering, but COLOMAGNI and DOVALESCI do.
8. 84: ERACOBI and ERAQETAI, both sharing the element *erko, have an epenthetic <A>, but do not show syncope. It is also interesting that one name uses <Q> and the other <C> though both are from the same element, similar to QUNA- and CUNA- in inscription 3.
9. 99: SACATTINI shows a loss of γ before n, but no apocope.
10. 115: There is syncope in CULRIGAI, but not in MENUAQ[I]
11. 121: LLOMINACCA does not show apocope, but VERGOSO shows syncope.

Conclusion

In making a final chronology of the inscriptions, I provide a range of the stages between the latest attested development and the earliest absent one. Where there are conflicts among names on an inscription, I have tended to give more weight to the innovations than the conservatisms, which may be archaizing. These ranges are by no means absolute, as any misreadings of the inscriptions themselves, overlooked data in their interpretation, or errors in the chronology of the sound changes could cause my results to differ wildly from the actual linguistic environment which existed at the creation of the inscriptions.

39. undatable
64. undatable
89. undatable
131. 1-18
34. 1-18
16. 1-20
5. 1-20
36. 1-20

107. 1-20
117. 1-20
149. 1-28
40. 1-29
57. 1-30
12. 1-37
44. 1-37
50. 1-37
51. 1-37
56. 1-37
67. 1-37
92. 1-37
94. 1-37
112. 1-37
114. 1-37
116. 1-37
129. 1-37
138. 1-37
150. 3-20
3. 5-20
19. 5-20
58. 5-20
68. 5-20
70. 5-20
81. 5-20
86. 5-20
105. 5-20
120. 5-20
124. 5-20
125. 5-20
128. 5-20
69. 5-28
85. 5-28
43. 5-37
47. 5-37
60. 5-37
61. 5-37
71. 5-37
75. 5-37
66. 7-37
98. 5-37
119. 5-37
132. 5-37
13. 7-20
148. 20-37
95. 20-38

82. 22
11. 22-28
31. 22-28
9. 22-30
30. 22-37
79. 22-37
93. 22-37
109. 22-37
126. 22-37
133. 22-37
140. 22-37
122. 22-40
104. 23+
21. 30-37
41. 30-37
63. 30-37
65. 30-37
91. 30-37
96. 30-37
134. 30-37
29. 32-37
130. 32-37
113. 32-38
87. 32+
100. 32+
4. 39-40
26. 39-40
36. 39-40
97. 39-40
108. 39-40
137. 39-40
147. 39-40
20. 39+
83. 39+
90. 39+
118. 39+
146. 39+
7. 40+
48. 40+
74. 40+
88. 40+
99. 40+
135. 40+
139. 40+
145. 40+
38. 42-43

10. 42+
 103. 42+
 73. 42+
 115. 42+
 121. 42+
 28. 43+
 32. 43+
 37. 43+
 84. 43+
 101. 43+
 106. 43+

In analyzing these inscriptions, I have tried to find as many clues in the linguistic data as possible, comparing names to other similar ones in the Irish and British corpora and comparing multiple names that share an inscription. While the simplicity and relative standardization of the ogam alphabet does not lend itself to epigraphic study, there are certain clues to be found, such as the presence of a stem-line or *forfeda*, which point to a later date, after the beginning of the MS tradition. I have chosen not to investigate such hints, though a seemingly authentically old inscription written on a stem-line could be the result of skilful archaizing. The crosses which accompany some ogam inscriptions are also tempting to use in dating, although, as McManus (*Guide*, p. 80) reminds, they were not necessarily carved at the same time as the writing and the majority of them are too simple in design to provide much assistance.

My sample of the first 150 inscriptions in Macalister's *Corpus* comprises roughly half the Irish inscriptions: all of the inscriptions from the counties Connaught, Leinster, and Cork, and some from Kerry. Expanding this chronology to include the entire corpus might yield interesting results, as might creating a map which showed the relative age and location of the inscriptions.

Table 1: Individual Names Organized by Chronology

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
39	BRANOGENI	00	04			A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
148	DUBONIRRAS	00	04			A	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
34	LOBB[I]	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
115	MENUMAQ[I]	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a	A	a
131	QECIA	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
5	ALLATOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
16	DUNAIDONAS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
19	OVANOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
29	BRAN[I]TTAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
36	ROTTAIS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
66	TURANIAS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
70	CUNAGUSOS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
107	CUNAGUSSOS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
117	COLLOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
120	BROINIENAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
125	MAQI-ERCIAS	00	21								A	a	a	A	A	A	A	a	a	a
150	GRAVICAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
89	BIRAC[O]	00	29											A	a	a	?	a	a	a
149	CUNITTI	00	29											A	a	a	A	a	a	a
40	MAQI-CAIRATINI	00	30												A	A	A	a	A	a
86	MAQI-TRENI	00	30												A	A	A	a	a	a
149	MAQQI-QETTI	00	30												A	A	A	a	a	a
57	QRITTI	00	31													A	A	a	a	a
68	LUGUQRIT[TI]	00	31													A	A	a	A	a
146	QRITT[I]	00	31													A	A	a	a	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
12	VRAICCI	00	38														A	a	a	a
16	MARIANI	00	38														A	a	a	a
30	GENITTAC[I	00	38														A	a	A	a
41	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a
43	BARI	00	38														A	a	a	a
44	IARNI	00	38														A	a	a	a
50	VOTI	00	38														A	a	a	a
51	NILI	00	38														A	a	a	a
56	SAGITTARI	00	38														A	a	A	a
67	CARI	00	38														A	a	a	a
75	CASONI	00	38														A	a	a	a
83	LAMADULICCI	00	38														A	a	a	a
92	ACTO	00	38														A	a	a	a
94	VEDUCERI	00	38														A	a	A	a
112	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a
112	MICANAVVI	00	38														A	a	a	a
113	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a
114	GRIMIGGN[I	00	38														A	A	A	a
116	BRANI	00	38														A	a	a	a
119	DALI	00	38														A	a	a	a
125	VALAMNI	00	38														A	a	a	a
129	VEQOANAI	00	38													?	A	a	A	a
131	LITUBIRI	00	38														A	a	A	a
138	LADDIGNI	00	38														A	A	a	a
148	TENAC[I]	00	38														A	a	a	a
81	CALLITI	00	38														A	a	a	a

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
122	[MADORA]	00	41																A	a
36	SEVERRIT[	00	50																	
47	CAGI	00	50																	
57	TRENU	00	50																	
63	DUCURI	00	50																	
64	LODIMONI	00	50																	
89	BOGAI	00	50																	
103	MU CAGG[I]	00	50																	
114	CERC[	00	50																	
19	IVACATTOS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
58	CATTUBUTTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
68	ADDI]LONAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
81	CASSITTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
86	CLIUCOANAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a
105	NETACUNAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
105	VIDETTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
120	TTRENALUGOS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a
124	AKERAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
124	ANAVLAMATTIAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
128	LOCARENAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
3	CUNALEGI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	a	a	a
69	GIRAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	a	a
70	VIRAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	a	a
85	GRILAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	a	a
85	SCILAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	a	a
87	MAQI-RODAGNI	04	30	b	b	B									A	A	A	A	a	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>43</i>
28	TASEGAGNI	04	38	b	B	B											A	A	a	B
43	LONAMNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
47	NETA-CARI	04	38	b	b	B											A	a	a	a
61	OLAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
71	COIMAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
75	RODAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
98	CORBAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	a	a	a
119	DALAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
126	VEDACUNA[S	04	38	b	b	B					?						A	a	A	a
132	LACAVAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	A	a
60	MAILAGN[I]	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
20	MAQI-DDECCEDA	06	21	b	b	B	B				A	a	a	a	A	A	A	a	a	a
66	MAQI-DECCEDDAS	06	21	b	b	B	B				A	a	a	a	A	A	A	a	a	a
46	SEDAN[I	06	38	b	b	B	B										A	a	a	a
137	SEDDOINI	06	41	b	b	b	B												A	a
109	NETTASLOGI	07	38	b	b	B	b										A	a	A	a
126	SOGINI	19	38	b	b	b	b	b	B?								A	a	a	a
95	MEDDOGENI	19	39	b	b	b	b	b	B								A	a	A	a
12	MEDVVI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
34	RINI	20	38						?	?							A	a	a	a
38	CORBI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
65	SDANBI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
11	CUNOVATO	21	04	b	b	A	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	A	a	A	a
79	ELUNA	21	19	b	b	b	b	b	A	b	B						A	a	a	a
82	MAILAGURO	21	23	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
26	TRENALUGGO	21	29	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a	a	A	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>43</i>
31	DRUGNO	21	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a	A	a	a
63	BRUSCO	21	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	B	a	a	a
133	VAITEVIA	21	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	A	a	a	a
106	MAQI-RITE	21	30	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B				A	A	?	a	a	a
9	MAQ-ACTO	21	31	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B					A	B	a	a	a
93	ERCAIDANA	21	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	a	a
140	LUGUVVECCA	21	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	A	a
147	MOINENA	21	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	a	a
30	NAVALLO	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
109	UDDMENZA	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
122	DEGO	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
126	TOBIRA	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
104	CORRE	22	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
13	QREGAS	28	21	b	b	b	B				A			B		A	A	a	a	a
38	LABRID[O]	29	21	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A					B	
150	DOVVINIAS	29	21	B							A			B			A	a	a	a
101	MAQI-ESEA	29	30	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	A	A	A	a	a	a
128	MAQI-CULIDIVI	29	30	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	A	A	a	A	a
21	COLLABOTA	29	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
37	DOVATUCI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
41	COVAGNI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a
63	COLOMAGNI	29	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	A	A	a
63	DOVALESCI	29	38	B	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
91	BLATEGSI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	A	a	a
96	COVALOTI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
134	ASSICONA	29	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B			A	a	a	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>43</i>
94	DOMMO	29	43	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A
65	LOGA	29	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B						
128	DOVETI	29	50	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						
3	QUNACANOS	31	21	b	b	B					A					B	A	a	A	a
100	ULCCAGNI	31	29	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A		B	A	A	a	a
29	DUCR[I]DDA	31	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
87	DRUTIQU LI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
88	OQOLI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B?	A	a	a	a
113	VEQIKAMI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	a
121	LLOMINACCA	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
130	SECIDARI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	a
146	LUGUQRIT	38	31	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B		A	a
83	BROCC	38	19	b	b	b	b	b	A	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
4	LUGUDEC	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
26	NETTAVRECC	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
40	INEQAGLAS	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B		A	a
46	CAT]TABBOTT	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	B		A	a
97	VORRTIGURN	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
106	[COLAB]OT	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
108	LUGUDUC	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
147	OLACON	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	B		A	a
4	LUGADDON	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
7	AθECETAIMIN	38	50	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
20	MARIN	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
28	MACORBO	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B			
46	DERGMASOC	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>43</i>
139	MACORBO	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B			
7	CERAN[I]	39	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B		
48	IAQINI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	B		
99	SACATTINI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B	A	a
135	MINNACCANNI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B	A	a
74	CONANN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	B		
88	BRANAN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
90	CRONUN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
135	AILLUATTAN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B	?	
139	L Aidann	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
145	COMOGANN	39	50	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
145	RON[A]NN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
10	CORRBRI	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	
73	DOMNGEN	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	B	
103	CARRTACC	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	B	
115	CULRIGAI	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	
118	GLUNLEGGET	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	B	
118	VEQREQ	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B	b	B	
121	VERGOSO	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	
137	VEDLLOIGGOI	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	
32	MAQI-ERACIAS	43	21								A	a	a	A	A	A	A	a	a	B
37	TULOTANAGIA	43	29											A			A			B
84	ERACOB I	43	38														A	a	A	B
84	ERAQETA I	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	B
101	DOMANEQ I	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A			B
106	CORIBIR I	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B?							A		A	B

Table 2: Inscriptions Organized by Number

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
3	QUNACANOS	31	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	B	A	a	A	a
3	CUNALEGI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	a	a	a
4	LUGUDEC	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
4	LUGADDON	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
5	ALLATOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
7	AΘECETAIMIN	38	50	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
7	CERAN[I]	39	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B		
9	MAQ-ACTO	21	31	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B					A	B	a	a	a
10	CORRBRI	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	
11	CUNOVATO	21	04	b	b	A	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	A	a	A	a
12	VRAICCI	00	38														A	a	a	a
12	MEDVVI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
13	QREGAS	28	21	b	b	b	B				A			?		A	A	a	a	a
16	DUN Aidonas	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
16	MARIANI	00	38														A	a	a	a
19	OVANOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
19	IVACATTOS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
20	MAQI-DDECCEDA	06	21	b	b	B	B				A	a	a	a	A	A	A	a	a	a
20	MARIN	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
21	COLLABOTA	29	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
26	TRENALUGGO	21	29	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a	a	A	a
26	NETTAVRECC	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a
28	TASEGAGNI	04	38	b	B	B											A	A	a	B
28	MACORBO	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B			
29	BRAN[I]TTAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
29	DUCR[I]DDA	31	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
30	GENITTAC[I]	00	38														A	a	A	a
30	NAVALLO	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
31	DRUGNO	21	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a	A	a	a
32	MAQI-ERACIAS	43	21								A	a	a	A	A	A	A	a	a	B
34	LOBB[I]	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
34	RINI	00	38						?	?							A	a	a	a
36	ROTTAIS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
36	SEVERRIT[	00	50																	

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
37	DOVATUCI	00	38														A	a	A	a
37	TULOTANAGIA	43	38														A			B
38	CORBI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
38	LABRID[O]	41	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a	a	B	
39	BRANOGENI	00	04			A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
40	MAQI-CAIRATINI	00	30												A	A	A	a	A	a
40	INEQAGLAS	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B		A	a
41	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a
41	COVAGNI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	a
43	BARI	00	38														A	a	a	a
43	LONAMNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
44	IARNI	00	38														A	a	a	a
46	SEDAN[I	06	38	b	b	B	B										A	a	a	a
46	CAT]TABBOTT	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	B		A	a
46	DERCMASOC	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
47	CAGI	00	50																	
47	NETA-CARI	04	38	b	b	B											A	a	a	a
48	IAQINI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	B		
50	VOTI	00	38														A	a	a	a
51	NILI	00	38														A	a	a	a
56	SAGITTARI	00	38														A	a	A	a
57	QRITTI	00	31													A	A	a	a	a
57	TRENU	00	50																	
58	CATTUBUTTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
60	MAILAGN[I	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
61	OLAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
63	DUCURI	00	50																	
63	BRUSCO	21	29	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	a	A	a	a	a
63	COLOMAGNI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	A	A	a
63	DOVALESCI	29	38	B	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	A	a
64	LODIMONI	00	50																	
65	SDANBI	20	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	B							A	a	a	a
65	LOGA	29	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B						
66	TURANIAS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
66	MAQI-DECCEDDAS	06	21	b	b	B	B				A	a	a	a	A	A	A	a	a	a

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
67	CARI	00	38														A	a	a	a
68	LUGUQRIT[TI	00	31													A	A	a	A	a
68	ADDI]LONAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
69	GIRAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	a	a
70	CUNAGUSOS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
70	VIRAGNI	04	29	b	b	B								A	a	a	A	A	A	a
71	COIMAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
73	DOMNGEN	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	B	
74	CONANN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	B		
75	CASONI	00	38														A	a	a	a
75	RODAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a
79	ELUNA	21	19	b	b	b	b	b	A	b	B						A	a	a	a
81	CASSITTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
81	CALLITI	00	38														A	a	a	a
82	MAILAGURO	21	23	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
83	LAMADULICCI	00	38														A	a	a	a
83	BROCC	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
84	ERACOBI	43	38														A	a	A	B
84	ERAQETAI	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	B
85	GRILAGNI	04	29	b	b	B									A	a	a	A	A	a
85	SCILAGNI	04	29	b	b	B									A	a	a	A	A	a
86	MAQI-TRENI	00	30													A	A	A	a	a
86	CLIUCOANAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a
87	MAQI-RODAGNI	04	30	b	b	B										A	A	A	A	a
87	DRUTIQUOLI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
88	OQOLI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	?	A	a	a	a
88	BRANAN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
89	BIRAC[O]	00	29												A	a	a	?	a	a
89	BOGAI	00	50																	
90	CRONUN	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
91	BLATEGSI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	A	a	a
92	ACTO	00	38														A	a	a	a
93	ERCAIDANA	21	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	a	a
94	VEDUCERI	00	38														A	a	A	a
94	DOMMO	00	43																	A

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43	
95	MEDDOGENI	19	39	b	b	b	b	b	B								A	a	A	a	
96	COVALOTI	29	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			A	a	A	a	
97	VORRTIGURN	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a	
98	CORBAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	a	a	a	
99	SACATTINI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B	A	a	
100	ULCCAGNI	31	29	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A		B	A	A	a	a	
101	MAQI-ESEA	21	30	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B				A	A	A	a	a	a	
101	DOMANEQI	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A			B	
103	MU CAGG[I]	00	50																		
103	CARRIACC	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	B		
104	CORRE	22	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B										
105	NETACUNAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a	
105	VIDETTAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a	
106	MAQI-RITE	21	30	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B				A	A	A	a	a	a	
106	[COLAB]OT	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a	
106	CORIBIRI	43	38	b	b	b	b	b	B								A		A	B	
107	CUNAGUSSOS	00	21								A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a	
108	LUGUDUC	38	41	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	B		A	a	
109	NETTASLOGI	07	38	b	b	B	b										A	a	A	a	
109	UDDMENZA	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B										
112	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a	
112	MICANAVVI	00	38														A	a	a	a	
113	LUGUNI	00	38														A	a	A	a	
113	VEQIKAMI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	a	
114	GRIMIGGN[I]	00	38														A	A	A	a	
114	CERC[	00	50																	
115	MENUMAQ[I]	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a	A	a
115	CULRIGAI	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B		
116	BRANI	00	38														A	a	a	a	
117	COLLOS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a	
118	GLUNLEGGET	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	B		
118	VEQREQ	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B	b	B		
119	DALI	00	38														A	a	a	a	
119	DALAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	a	a	

M#	Inscription	Post	Pre	2	3	4	6	11	19	20	21	23	28	29	30	31	38	39	41	43
120	BROINIENAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
120	TTRENALUGOS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a
121	LLOMINACCA	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	a	a
121	VERGOSO	41	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	
122	[MADORA]	00	41																A	a
122	DEGO	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B									
124	AKERAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
124	ANAVLAMATTIAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	A	a	a	A	a	A	a
125	MAQI-ERCIAS	00	21								A	a	a	A	A	A	A	a	a	a
125	VALAMNI	00	38														A	a	a	a
126	VEDACUNA[S	04	38	b	b	B											A	a	A	a
126	SOGINI	19	38	b	b	b	b	b	B?								A	a	a	a
126	TOBIRA	21	50	b	b	b	b	b	B?	b	B									
128	DOVETI	02	50	B																
128	LOCARENAS	04	21	b	b	B					A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
128	MAQI-CULIDIVI	04	30	B	b	B									A	A	A	a	A	a
129	VEQOANAI	00	38													A?	A	a	A	a
130	SECIDARI	31	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	A	a	A	a
131	QECIA	00	19						A	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
131	LITUBIRI	00	38														A	a	A	a
132	LACAVAGNI	04	38	b	b	B											A	A	A	a
133	VAITEVIA	21	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	a	a
134	ASSICONA	29	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B			A	a	a	a
135	MINNACCANNI	39	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B	A	a
135	AILLUATTAN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
137	SEDDOINI	06	41	b	b	b	B												A	a
137	VEDLLOIGGOI	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B			
138	LADDIGNI	00	38														A	A	a	a
139	MACORBO	38	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	B			
139	LAIDANN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
140	LUGUVVECCA	21	38	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	A	a
145	COMOGANN	39	50	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
145	RON[A]NN	39	50	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	B	B		
146	QRITT[I]	00	31													A	A	a	a	a
146	LUGUQRIT	38	31	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	A	B		A	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Pre</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>43</i>
147	MOINENA	21	38	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B						A	a	a	a
147	OLACON	38	41	b	b	B	b	b	b	b	B	b	b	B	b	b	B?		A	a
148	TENAC[I]	00	38														A	a	a	a
148	DUBONIRRAS	00	04			A	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	A	a
149	CUNITTI	00	29											A	a	a	A	a	a	a
149	MAQQI-QETTI	00	30												A	A	A	a	a	a
150	GRAVICAS	00	21								A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a
150	DOVVIAS	02	21	B							A	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	a

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription form</i>	<i>Common Celtic genitive</i> ¹	<i>Old Irish nominative</i> ²	<i>Old Irish genitive</i>
92	ACTO	*aktōs	*Aicht (Actán)	*Aichta
68	ADDI]LONAS	*ad-ili-ōn-os		Aidleand
135	AILLUATTAN	*[pōkli-pleu-ti-(PIE)]-o-gnī	Elathan	
124	AKERAS	*aker-os	A(i)cher	A(i)cher
5	ALLATOS	*allatōs	Allaid	(Huí)(Chon-)alta
124	ANAVLAMATTIAS	*an-ūl(i)o-mat-ijās	Anblamath	Anfolmithe
134	ASSICONA	*assi-kunos	Assiucc	*Asschon
7	AΘECETAIMIN	*ati-??-		*Aithceitemain
43	BARI	*barrī	Barr, (Barre)	Bairr
89	BIRAC[O]	*bir-ākī	Berach	Beraich
91	BLATEGSI	*blāti-gnī	*Bláthán, *Bláithán	-áin, Bláithín
89	BOGAI	*bogī	(Bocán) boc	*Boce, *Boge
88	BRANAN	*brano-gnī	Branán	Branáin
116	BRANI	*branī	Bran	Brain
39	BRANOGENI	*brano-genī	Brangen	*Brangin?
29	BRAN[I]TTAS	*brano-et/iti-os	*Brann(a)e	Brannid
83	BROCC	*brokkī	Brocc(c)	Bruicc
120	BROINIENAS	*broin-/brain-(i)ōn-as	(Broén, Braénán)	
63	BRUSCO	*bruskōs		(Broisce, Broscae)
47	CAGI	*cagī	*Caige	*Caigi
81	CALLITI	*kal-etijī	Cailte	Cailti
67	CARI	*karī	Car	Cair
103	CARRTACC	*karā-tīkī	Carthach	Carthaich
75	CASONI	*kass-onijī		(Cassoín, Casséne, Caissíne)
81	CASSITTAS	*kassi-et(i)-os		(Gaisidi)
58	CATTUBUTTAS	*katu-but-os	Cathub	Cathboth, Cathbad
46	CAT]TABBOTT	*katu-but-os	Cathub	Cathboth, Cathbad
7	CERAN[I]	*kēro-gnī	Cíarán	Cíaráin
114	CERC[	*kerkijās	Cercc	*Cerce
86	CLIUCOANAS	*kliuoko-kunos		*Clíucon?
71	COIMAGNI	*[koi-mo(PIE)]-gnī	Coémán	Coémáin
106	[COLAB]OT	*kojlo-but-as	Coílboth, Cólbad	Coílub
21	COLLABOTA	*kojlo-but-as	Coílboth, Cólbad	Coílub
117	COLLOS	*kollī	Coll	Cuill

1 The majority of these forms are from Ziegler, though some etymologies for the Old Irish equivalents she suggested were also found in *LEIA*, Pokorny (*IEW*), and Evans (1967) and some of these are etymologies proposed in Harvey (1987) and Uhlich (1993).

2 These, and the Old Irish genitive names, are from Ziegler, Harvey (1987), and Uhlich (1993).

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription form</i>	<i>Common Celtic genitive</i>	<i>Old Irish nominative</i>	<i>Old Irish genitive</i>
63	COLOMAGNI	*Columb-a-gnī (semi-Latin)	Colmán	
145	COMOGANN	*kom-ago-gnī	Comgán	(Huí)Chomocáin
74	CONANN	*kuna-gnī	Conán	Conáin
98	CORBAGNI	*korbo-/koruo-gnī	Corbán, Corbbán	-áin
38	CORBI	*korbī, *koruī	Corb, Corbb	Coirb
106	CORIBIRI	*koru-/ *korb-eriī	Coirbre	Coirbri
10	CORRBRI	*korb-eriī	Coirbre, Coirpre	Coirbri
104	CORRE	*korksiyas	Corr	Cuirre, Corrae
41	COVAGNI	*kuua(no)-gnī	Cúán	Cúáin
96	COVALOTI	*kuua-[plu-ti(PIE)]-		
90	CRONUN	*??-gnī	Crónán	Crónáin
115	CULRIGAI	*kollo-rīgiī		Coilrige, Callraige
70	CUNAGUSOS	*kuna-gustōs	Congus	Congusa, Congusso
107	CUNAGUSSOS	*kuna-gustōs	Congus	Congusa, Congusso
3	CUNALEGI	*kuno-ual-ākī	Conlach, (Conlang)	*Conleich, (*Conlaing(e?))
149	CUNITTI	*kuna-et(ij)ī		*Conid
11	CUNOVATO	*kuno-[uāt-(PIE)]-ōs	*Confáith?	*Confatho/a
119	DALAGNI	*dallo-gnī	Dallán	Dalláin
119	DALI	*dallī	Dall	Daill
122	DEGO	*deg ^w ōs	Daig	Dega
46	DERCMASOC	*[derk-m(e)udes-(PIE)]	Derccmossaig, Dergmosach	
101	DOMANEQI	*domn-ākī	Domnach	(*)Domnaich
94	DOMMO	*dumnī	(Domongen/Domnall)	Domma
73	DOMNGEN	*dumno-genī	Domongen	*Domongein
63	DOVALESCI	*dubuo-uleskī	Duiblesc	*Duiblisc
37	DOVATUCI	*dubuo-??-ākī	Dubthach	Dubthaich, Dubthaige
128	DOVETI	*dubu-et(i)ī	Dubad, Dubtae	Dubaid, Dubtha
150	DOVVIAS	*dubu-iniī	Duibne	Duibne
31	DRUGNO	*drug ^w nōs (*trugnī)		Dróna
87	DRUTIQULI	*drū-to-koslī	*Drúthcoll	*Drúthcuill
148	DUBONIRRAS	*dubuo-nerī	*Dubner?	*Dubneir
29	DUCR[I]DDA	*du-k ^w rījet-os	Dochre	*Dochred
63	DUCURI			
16	DUN Aidonas	*dunn-ajdō(n)-os	*Donaéd	(Donaíde)
79	ELUNA	*el-ō(n)-ōs	Illann, Elann	
84	ERACOBI	*erko-bijī	Ercba	
84	ERAQETAI	*erk-etī/*-etiī		Ercaith, Erccaid
93	ERCAIDANA	*erk-ajdōn-os		*Ercáeda

M#	Inscription form	Common Celtic genitive	Old Irish nominative	Old Irish genitive
30	GENITTAC[I]	*genit-ākī	*Gentach	Geinntech, Gentech
69	GIRAGNI	*girro-gnī	Gerrán, (Girrín)	Gerráin
118	GLUNLEGGET	*glūnes-(s)pleiǵh-(PIE)]	(Glúnmar)	
150	GRAVICAS	*graua-uik-as		
85	GRILAGNI	*gril(l)o-gnī	Grellán, Grillaan	Grelláin
114	GRIMIGGN[I]	*??-gnī		?-áin
48	IAQINI	*esoki-gnī		*Tachín
44	IARNI	*īsarnī	Iarn(án)	íairn
40	INEQAGLAS	*enik ^w o-glassī	Enechglas	Enechglais
19	IVACATTOS	*iyo-katōs	(Éochaid)	(Éochado)
38	LABRID[O]	*labar-it-ōs	Labraid	Labrada
132	LACAVAGNI	*Lacavo-gnī	(Lachín), *Lachán?	
138	LADDIGNI	*??-gnī	(ladan)	((Ó) Laideáin, Lo(i)d(e)áin)
139	L Aidann	*??-gnī	(laíd, láed)	(Laidáinn)
83	LAMADULICCI ³			*Lámdulaig
131	LITUBIRI	*[lētō(PIE)]-birrī		
121	LLOMINACCA	*lumm-enik ^w ī	Lomainech	
34	LOBB[I]	*lobī (*lōbi-?)	*Lubb? (lobur)	*Luibb?
128	LOCARENAS	*lokarj-/lōkarj-on-as	Lóchán, Lúachán	
64	LODIMONI			
65	LOGA	*lugōs	Lug	Luga, Loga
43	LONAMNI	*lono-gnī	Lonán	Lonáin
4	LUGADDON	*lugu-ajd-ō(n)-os	Lugáed	Lugedon, Luguædon, Lugadon
4	LUGUDEC	*lugu-dek-as	Luguid	Lugdech, Lugdach
108	LUGUDUC	*lugu-dek-as	Luguid	Lugdech, Lugdach
113	LUGUNI	*lugu-nijī	Luigne	Luigni
112	LUGUNI	*lugu-nijī	Luigne	Luigni
41	LUGUNI	*lugu-nī	Luigne	Luigni
146	LUGUQRIT	*lugu-k ^w ritī	Luccreth	Lucridh ⁴ , Luccraid
68	LUGUQRIT[TI]	*lugu-k ^w ritī	Luccreth	Lucridh, Luccraid
140	LUGUVVECCA	*lugu-uik-as	Lugach	Lugach
139	MACORBO	*makk ^w ī-korbon ⁵	Mac-Corb, (Mac-Orbba)	Maicc-Chorb, (Maicc-Orbba)
28	MACORBO	*makk ^w ī-korbon	Mac-Corb, (Mac-Orbba)	Maicc-Chorb, (Maicc-Orbba)
122	[MADORA]		madra	
60	MAILAGN(I)	*majlo-gnī	Máelán	Máeláin
82	MAILAGURO	*majlos-agur-ōs		(Maél-Augrai)

3 Harvey (pg. 52) suggests U instead of Macalister's I for the third vowel.

4 This name appears in *The Annals of Ulster*, which explains the *dh* orthography.

5 -on ending if this, and the identical name in 28 below, are genitive plural.

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription form</i>	<i>Common Celtic genitive</i>	<i>Old Irish nominative</i>	<i>Old Irish genitive</i>
101	MAQI-ESEA	*makk ^w i-??	Macc-??	Maicc-??
40	MAQI-CAIRATINI	*makk ^w i-??	Cáerthann	Caírthenn
128	MAQI-CULIDIVI	*makk ^w i-[kū-lo-(PIE)]-dubūī	Cúldub	Cúlduib
20	MAQI-DDECCEDA	*makk ^w i-dekent-os	Macc-Dechet	Maicc-Dechet
66	MAQI-DECCEDDAS	*makk ^w i-dekent-os	Mac-Dechet	Maicc-Dechet
32	MAQI-ERACIAS	*makk ^w i-erkijās	Ercce, Macc-Ercce/a	*Maicc-hEircce
125	MAQI-ERCIAS	*makk ^w i-erkijās	Macc-Ercce/a	*Maicc-hEircce
106	MAQI-RITE	*makk ^w i-retjos	Mac-Reithe, Macc-Rithi	Maicc-Reithe, Maicc-Rithi
87	MAQI-RODAGNI	*makk ^w i-rōdo-gnī	Ródán, Rúadán	Maicc Ródáin
86	MAQI-TRENI	*makk ^w i-trēnī	Trén	*Maicc-Tréin
149	MAQQI-QETTI	*makk ^w i-k ^w etī/-k ^w ētī		
9	MAQ-ACTO	*makk ^w i-aktōs	(Achtán)	*Maicc-Achto
16	MARIANI	Mariānī (Mariānius (Latin))	*Marén	Maréne
20	MARIN	Marīnī (Marīnus (Latin))		
95	MEDDOGENI	*medu-genī	Midgen	Midgein
12	MEDVVI	*medu-ī	Medb	Meidb
115	MENUMAQ[I]	*menu-/meduο-makk ^w i	(Minbuide, Mincloth)	*Minmaicc?
112	MICANAVVI	*??-bjo?-/[-aυο-s(PIE)]		(Micáin)
135	MINNACCANNI	*??-gno-		Mincháin, Minneccáin
147	MOINENA	*mojn-jon-os	Moínenn	
103	MU CAGG[I]	*me-kagios	*mo coig	
30	NAVALLO	Navalis (Latin)		
105	NETACUNAS	*nētos-kunos		*Nad-con ⁶
47	NETA-CARI	*nētos-karī	Carr	*Nad-Chair
109	NETTASLOGI	*nētos-slouǵī		Nad-Slúraig
26	NETTAVRECC	*nētos-urojīkī	*Nethfráech	*Nadfroích
51	NILI			
147	OLACON	*ollo-kunos or *olko-kunos	Olcco, Olchú	Olcon
61	OLAGNI	*ollo-gnī	*Ollán	*Olláin
88	OQOLI		Uachall	Maicc-Ochail
19	OVANOS		(Uanide, Uainide)	
131	QECIA			
13	QREGAS	*k ^w rinkā-/i-s	(Cre(i)cc)	(C(h)reca)
57	QRITTI	*k ^w ritī?	Crithe	Crithi
146	QRITT[I]	*k ^w ritijī?	Crithe	Crithi
3	QUNACANOS	*kuno-[ken-(PIE)]-ōs	(*Conchain)	*Conchano?
34	RINI	*renūī (*rinūī)	Renn	Moccu-rin

6 The names with NET(T)A- could also be champion (nom.) of [X] (gen.) (see McManus p. 109)

<i>M#</i>	<i>Inscription form</i>	<i>Common Celtic genitive</i>	<i>Old Irish nominative</i>	<i>Old Irish genitive</i>
75	RODAGNI	*rōdo-gnī	Ródán, Rúadán	Ródáin
145	RON[A]NN	*??-gnī	Rónan	
36	ROTTAIS	*rotī (*rotois)	Roth	Rotha
99	SACATTINI	*saki-iti-gnī	(Saichid)	(Saichida, Saichtha) *Saichtín
56	SAGITTARI	Sagittāriī (Sagittarius (Latin))	saigteóir	(-eóir, -eóra, -eórach)
85	SCILAGNI	*skil(l)o-gno-	Scellán	Scelláin
65	SDANBI	*stanuī	Sanb	Sainb
130	SECIDARI			
46	SEDAN[I]	*sento-nijī	Sétnae	Sétnai
137	SEDDOINI	*sento-nijī	Sétnae	Sétnai
36	SEVERRIT[	(Severus (Latin))		
126	SOGINI	*su-genī	Sogan	Sogin
28	TASEGAGNI	*tazgo-gnī	Tadcán	Tadcáin
148	TENAC[I]	*tinn-/ten(n)-āko-	(Tinne)	(Huí)Thenaich
126	TOBIRA	*tobberī		(Maél-)Topair
26	TRENALUGGO	*trēno-lugōs	Trénlug	Trénlogo
57	TRENU	*trēnī (*trēnōs?)	Trén, Trían	Tréna
120	TTRENALUGOS	*trēno-lugōs	Trénlug	*Trénlogo
37	TULOTANAGIA	*??-ākī	Toltanach	*Toltanaig
66	TURANIAS	*[tor-smŋ-(PIE)]	(torann)	(Huí)Thornae, Tornae
109	UDDMENZA	*uds-med-tā-ijās		*Ussmesse?
100	ULCCAGNI	*[u!k ^w os(PIE)]-gnī	Olcán	-áin
133	VAITEVIA		(Faithlenn, Foithbelán)	
125	VALAMNI	*uālo-mnī	Follaman	*Follamain
126	VEDACUNA[S	*uēdu-kunos	Fíadchú	*Fíadchon
137	VEDLLOIGGOI	*uēdu-[leig-/loig-(PIE)]		
94	VEDUCERI	*uēdu-korijī		Fidchuire
113	VEQIKAMI	*uēko-kambī	*Fíachamm	*Fíachaimm
129	VEQOANAI	*uēk ^(w) o/uēk ^(w) o-nijī	Féchno	(Fíachna (<*uēsāko-njo-))
118	VEQREQ	*uēko-rīg-as	Fíachraí	Fíachrach, Fechureg
121	VERGOSO	*uīro-gussōs	Fergus	Fergusa
105	VIDETTAS	*uid-/ued-et-os		*Fided
70	VIRAGNI	*uīro-gnī	*Ferán	*Féráin
97	VORRTIGURN	*uor-tigernī	Fortchern, Fuirtgern	
50	VOTI	*[upo-sto-(PIE)]	Futhe (foth)	Fuithe (foith, fuith)
12	VRAICCI	*urojīkī	Fráech	Fraích, Froéch

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