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## A POEM BY PIARAS FEIRITÉAR

THE following poem, hitherto unpublished, is taken from the R. I. A. MS. 23 C 21, p. 133. A colophon to the poem gives the scribe's name and date as follows : *Crīoch ar an mēid sin le hEoghan Caom[h]ānac[h] an 30. lā do m[h]īosa Decemb' 1816.* The text, unfortunately, is deplorably corrupt, but I have failed to discover a second copy.

The subject of the poem is Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin,<sup>1</sup> a Scotsman by birth (cf. ll. 20, 36), who is highly lauded as a poet. At least three of Maol Domhnaigh's compositions have survived, all of them apparently written during a sojourn in West Munster. They are : (1) *Cia feasda is urra don eól*, an elegy on the death of the poet Cúchonnacht (mac Maoileachlainn) Ó Dálaigh in 1642 ; (2) *Gnáth féile ag fagháil innbhe*, addressed to Ó Ceallacháin (Donnchadh, son of Cathaoir) ; (3) *Cia is urra d'ainm an iarthair*, addressed to Ó Donnabháin (Domhnall, son of Domhnall, son of Domhnall). These I hope to print on another occasion.

Ferriter describes Maol Domhnaigh as having visited most of the centres of professional poetic learning in Ireland, from Antrim to Cork, 'like a bee stealing honey from every flower' (ll. 39-40). The fact that he names, or alludes to, many of the places where professional poets resided, gives the poem an interest, notwithstanding the corrupt state of its text. At the time when our poem was composed the old poetic seminaries must have been in a sad state of decay ; yet the testimony which it affords is sufficient to show that they were far from extinct, and we have other evidence too which permits us to infer that many of them maintained a struggling existence after the Elizabethan conquest and were only finally extinguished in the Cromwellian tyranny which succeeded the wars of 1641-50.<sup>2</sup> The ease with which a Scotsman could so naturalize himself in Ireland as to play the role of an Irish poet in the fourth or fifth decade of the seventeenth century,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Ó Muirgheasáin family (associated with Inishowen in Co. Donegal, and with Lewis and Harris in Scotland) see an article by the present writer in the forthcoming number of Scottish Gaelic Studies. Diarmaid mac Seáin Bhuf in 1694 alludes to Maol Domhnaigh as one of the master poets of a former age : *Tadhg Dall is a bhfuil ann dá shórt-san, | is Maol Domhnaigh rug geall leis i gcomhadaibh* (ed. Torna, p. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanrickarde (1722), p. cxxxii.

shows how closely the literary men of the two countries were still united by the bond of a common language.

While in general adhering to the spelling of the MS., I have revised the punctuation and the use of capital letters, and have occasionally separated words run together by the scribe. I write *Maol Domhnaigh* where the MS. has *Maoldamhna*, *Maoldamhnaigh*, etc. Missing length-marks are indicated by a macron ; missing lenition-marks by a single italic *h*. Otherwise, whenever the text has been emended, the reading of the MS. is given at the foot of the page. The poem is written as 23 lines in the MS. ; a couplet has seemingly been dropped after l. 34.

PIARUS FEIRITÉIR CCT.

Oide a ndréachtaibh an dreasfáil  
 Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin,  
 do chinn athaigh oll re dán  
 a gCill Achaidh lonn Liathán.

5                    Fuaradar an fáith bar luidh  
 Brosnach is Baile Ī Dhāluigh,  
 's fa bhinn a bhúaidhe a bhfoclubh  
 a gCill Chluaine a cConnochtaibh.

10                  Tulach Gofraidh Fhinn do oil  
 Maol Domhnaigh d'oideacht athaigh,  
 sgrig a bhotha ag tdhg do thil  
 an der(?) locha ós Linn Luimnigh.

15                  Maith trá a thurus dā n-éis,  
 Baile Mic an Bhaird, Buircéis,  
 dā aire ar Éirinn arsaidh,  
 is Baile Ī léighinn Lomasnaidh.

20                  Treimhse ag cur crannchair air  
 Fiadhach Bhearaigh bhionn-Donnchaidh,  
 cóigidhe doilbhthe gan dluigh  
 d'óigfhile fhoirbhthe a hAlbain.

*Title* : Piairus.

9 Gofradh.

14 bard burgeis.

18 bionn beuraidh bhionn Donchaidh.

3 do cin.

12 oacht linn luimne.

15 Éirinn] <sup>e.</sup> <sub>n.</sub>

4 liathain.

13 n-éis] ndeis.

17 ar.

20 foirfe.

A mBaile ī Ghnímh gā seilg seal,  
 a mBiorra, a Lagān Laighean,  
   's a mBaile Miocca Midhe  
   ag friotal gach faistine.

25

A nÍbh Eathach eacht oilé  
 a dtor ríogh ó Rudhroighe  
   seal ē níor bh'andaith dala  
   go hÓ rainig Ruanadha.

30

Fada ionta dhō re dān,  
 Rāth Bhoth is Baile ī Ghéarán,  
   is d'fhaire eōlusa an fir  
   Baile Uí Eōdhusa ēigsigh.

35

Maol Domhnaigh dalta an dāna,  
 Maol Domhnaigh na diongmhāla,  
 Maol Domhnaigh an dreuchta gloin,  
 eunphosd na hēigsi a nAlbain,  
   do lion feadh Éireann d'oige  
   a léigheann nī lughoidhe.

40

Gadaidh bláith gach blátha a-muigh,  
 don bheich is meadh Maol Domhnaigh,  
   ēigeas gan amhgar sloide,  
   a adhradh is usoide.

45

D'ēigse ar ēigsibh Fuinn Uisnigh  
 maoidhím an Maol Domhnaigh-sin,  
   saormhac codhnaigh nāch clē dhi  
   Maol Domhnaigh is ē a n-oide.

23 míthe.

26 Ríge o rughruiighe.      27 dála.

28 rúanadh.

30 Bhoth] bo. geurain.

31 shir.

33 dalta] deunta *underlined*, with dalta written over it.37 feadh etc.] ar feadh <sup>ē</sup> doigh.

39 Gadúidh.      40 mead.      41 sloide.

42 a agradh is as oide.      43 fain.

45 cognraig.

NOTES<sup>1</sup>

4. *Cill Achaidh* . . . *Liathán*, Killaghorehane, the parish in which the village of Broadford in the south-west of Co. Limerick is situated. Here there was a settlement of the Ó Dálaigh family (cf. IP § 11). Cf. 'Melaghlin m'Teige O Daly,' of 'Killaliehane,' pardoned in 1591 (FE 5689).

6. *Brosnach*, Brosna, Co. Kerry, near the Co. Limerick border. Here, too, Ó Dálaighs, poets to the Earl of Desmond, had lands (IP § 50).

7. *Baile Í Dhálaigh*. There were many places of this name in Ireland, but the one here referred to is very probably Ballydaly in the parish of Drishane, Co. Cork, a few miles from Dromagh, the seat of Ó Caoimh. In 1602 a pardon was granted to 'Donell O Daly alias vicker, of Bally Daly, gent.' (FE 6762). It was in this *Baile Í Dhálaigh*, convenient to the residence of his friend Domhnall Ó Caoimh, that the well-known poet Aonghus Ó Dálaigh had his school of poetry.<sup>2</sup>

8. *Cill Chluaine*, Kilclooney, about seven miles to the north of Tuam. Here there was a settlement of the Ó Huiginn family; see Dr. Knott's edition of Tadhg Dall, ii, 243.

9. *Tulach Gofraidh Fhinn*, Tulach ('the hill') of Gofraidh Fionn, who can hardly be other than the well-known Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh (†1387). The identity of the place referred to is uncertain. It may possibly be *Tulcha* (perhaps Tullaha, in the parish of Killaghorehane, Co. Limerick), where the poet Cúchonnacht Ó Dálaigh (†1642) conducted a school, as we learn from the elegy on him (IP § 51) composed by the Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin who is the subject of the present poem. Alternatively one thinks of *Tulach Ó bhFinn*, Tullowin, near Croom, Co. Limerick, or of *Tulach Léis*, Tullylease, near Dromcolliher, now included in Co. Cork and in the diocese of Cloyne, but formerly in Geraldine territory and in the diocese of Limerick (cf. IP § 11). But I cannot say whether any of these places was specially associated with Gofraidh Fionn. From one of his poems (*A chnuic thoir re taoibh Ealla*, ed. Rev. L. McKenna, Irish Monthly 1919, p. 166, =Dioghlúim Dána p. 192) we learn that he was reared close to Clárach hill (near Millstreet, Co. Cork), i.e., very probably, in *Baile Í Dhálaigh* (see note on l. 7).

11-12. These lines are unfortunately very corrupt. In l. 12 there may have been a reference to *Magh Locha*, Molougha, near Kilrush, a place to which the description *ós Linn Luimnigh*, i.e. 'above the Lower Shannon,' would apply. If this conjecture is correct, the poet probably intended a reference to the Mac Crutin family. The only Clareman of this surname mentioned in FE is 'Connor O Crottine, of Moyfadda, yeoman' (FE 6615), i.e. of Moyadda, which is quite near Molougha. A poem by this Conchobhar Mac Crutin has survived (E iv. 3, p. 197). 'Christopher Curtin of Moyfadda' was assigned lands in trust in 1606 (Frost, History of Clare p. 305).

14. *Baile Mic an Bhaird*. The reference is probably to Ballymacward in Co. Galway, where that branch of the Mac an Bhaird family which provided

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviation 'IP' in these notes refers to 'Irish Poets, Historians, and Judges in English Documents, 1538-1615,' in Proc. R.I.A., xxxvi C, pp. 86-120. 'FE' =Faints of Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> See q. 16 of Fear-feasa Ón Cháinte's *Bean dá chumhadh críoch Ealla* (Dioghlúim Dána 225).

poets to Ó Ceallaigh was settled (cf. IP § 35). But there were other places of the same name, in Donegal, Antrim, and elsewhere.

14. *Buirgéis*, Burgess, near Clogheen, in the south of Co. Tipperary, where as MS. pedigrees show, a branch of the Mac Craith family resided (cf. also IP § 9). According to the anonymous Dissertation prefixed to the Clanrickarde Memoirs (1722), p. cxxv f., Keating was born 'ten Miles to the South-West of Clonmell, near a Village call'd Burgess ; where a Seminary or School for Irish Poetry had been kept for a considerable time,' and he acquired his skill in versification from associating 'with the Masters and Scholars of the said Seminary.' Compare 'Geoffrey Keatinge,' of Cahir, 'yeoman,' pardoned in 1601 (FE 6532).

16. *Baile f Lomasnaigh*, Ballynomasna, in the parish of Tubbred, in the south of Co. Tipperary, not far from Burgess (IP p. 103, l. 3, should be corrected accordingly). MS. pedigrees show that a branch of the Mac Craiths lived here. See also IP, § 33, where my conjectural identification of certain Mac Craiths living here 1585-1601 with known poets may now be taken as correct.

17-18. The first line is a syllable short ; perhaps we should read something like *treimhse air ag cur crannchair*. In 18 I see an allusion to Fiodhnach Bhearaigh (or Bheara), Finavarra, in the north of Co. Clare, and have emended the text accordingly. At Finavarra a branch of the Ó Dálaigh family conducted a school of poetry. According to the romantic tale 'Tochmharc Fharbhlaidhe' Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh and his son Cearbhall resided there (ÉRIU iv, 51 ff.).

21. *Baile f Gnímh*, 'the townland of Ó Gnímh' (IP § 37) ; doubtless in Co. Antrim, but its exact location does not appear to be known.

22. *Biorra*, Birr, in King's Co., on the boundary between Éile f Cearbhaill and Fir Cheall (Ó Maolmuaidh's country). What learned family resided there I am unable to say.

22. *Lagán Laighean*. The tale of 'An Ceithearnach Caoilriabhach' represents the poet Mac Eochadha as living at *Lagán Laighean*. From other sources (IP § 14) we know that the Mac Eochadhas were (in 1581-1601) settled at Pallis (*Pailís*) in the extreme north of Co. Wexford.<sup>1</sup> Hence we might reasonably conjecture that *Lagán Laighean* was in the neighbourhood of this Pallis ; and this conjecture becomes a certainty when we find the old name in part preserved in the present townlands of Loggan Lower and Loggan Upper, close to Pallis (from which they are separated by Annagh Hill) and a few miles south-east of Tinahely. According to Ó Huidhrín, Ó Dúnlraighe was the chief of this district : *O Dúnluingh laoch an Lagáin*, Top. Poems, p. 92 (O'Donovan does not identify).

23. *Baile Miocan* I cannot identify ; it may possibly be Ballymichan in Co. Longford, which was part of ancient *Midhe*.

25. *Íbh Eathach* (older *Ui Eachach*), Mág Aonghusa's country, in the western part of Co. Down. The poets were of the family of Ó Ruanadha (l. 28).

<sup>1</sup> Compare the territory in this neighbourhood supposed to have been bestowed on the poet Dubthach mac Lugair by Crimthann mac Énna (O'Curry, MS. Mat. 489 f.).

30. *Ráth Bhoth*, Raphoe, in Co. Donegal.

30. *Baile ē Ghéará(i)n*, 'Ó Géarán's townland'; unidentified. The context would favour its location in Ulster. The surname was an uncommon one, but was widely scattered. I have instances (16th and early 17th centuries) from Galway, Sligo, Armagh, Down, and elsewhere. Two 'rumours' of the name (called 'O Gyerane' and 'Tieg O Gyerane') were living in Imokilly in East Cork in 1584 (Lambeth MS. 627, fo. 80 b). But the name seems to have been better known in Geraldine Kerry than elsewhere, which is perhaps the reason why Ferriter makes mention of it. The poets Maol-muire Bacach Ó Géarán (16th cent.) and Muiris Óg Ó Géarán appear to have belonged to the northern half of Co. Kerry. Compare 'Teige m'Teige O Gerane, alias O Gerane' and 'Morris m'Conoghor O Gyean,' of this district, pardoned in 1601 (FE 6498).

31. *Baile Uí Eódhusa*, Ballyhose, in Co. Fermanagh, where the Ó Heódhusa family of poets resided (IP § 23).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The emendations in ll. 37, 42 were suggested to me many years ago by Miss Knott.

## IARANN, LÄRAG, ETC.

**O.** Ir. *i'arn*,<sup>1</sup> 'iron,' together with its Brittonic counterparts (W. *haearn*, Bret. *houarn*), goes back to Celt. *isarno-*, which is commonly connected with Lat. *aes*, Skr. *ayas* (Pedersen, V.G. i, 73, Lewis-Pedersen, 17). The syncopated form of *i'arn* being *ern* (as in the derivative *ernach* and the compound *ernbas*), we may take it that the *i-* of *isarno-* was short.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh and Breton developments point plainly in the same direction.

Pokorny, however, supposes a Celtic *\*isarnon* (KZ xlvi, 292 ff.), on the ground that the Germanic words for 'iron' go back to *\*isarnon*, which is commonly assumed to have been borrowed from Celtic. Also he would disassociate *\*isarnon* from Lat. *aes*, and would refer it instead to the IE. root *eis-*, seen in Lat. *ira*, etc.; the *i-* (instead of the regular Celt. *ē* < *ei*) he would explain by supposing that the Celts borrowed the word from the Illyrians.<sup>3</sup> The former of these views would imply that already before the period of syncope (which possibly occurred about the middle of the sixth century) the stressed *i* of *\*isarnon* had first been shortened and then lowered to *e*. I am not aware of any good evidence to show that such developments could have taken place at so early a date.<sup>4</sup> If Pr. Celt. *\*kvrijats* has given Ir. *cré*, 'clay,' instead of the *\*cri* we should expect (cf. W. *pridd*, Bret. *pri*), this is to be attributed to the analogy of *dé* (< *\*dijats*), 'smoke,' and *scé* (< *\*skvijats*), 'hawthorn.' In Ir. *sci'an*, 'knife,' Pedersen

<sup>1</sup> gen. *iairn* (disyll.), LL 36 b 27, *iern*, Thes.P. i, 2; dat. *iurn* (disyll.), SR 5762, -67. In the present article I use an apostrophe (as being somewhat more convenient than a diaeresis) to indicate hiatus between vowels.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast the long *u* of *brúirech* (*\*brúserāhā* ?), a derivative of *bru'ar* (*\*brūsero-* ?).

<sup>3</sup> These hypotheses are unnecessarily complex. If we grant the existence of an Illyrian *\*isarnon*, there is no reason whatever for assuming that the Germans did not borrow the word directly from the Illyrians instead of via the Celts.

<sup>4</sup> In Ogam inscriptions we find short *i* retained in *Isari*, *Iari*, gen. of *\*Isaros* (O.Ir. *\*E'ar*, *I'ar*). Similarly *i* has not yet been lowered to *e* in Ogam *Bivo-*, *Iva-*, and in Adamnan's *Iogenanus*.

supposes *-iже-* on the strength of W. *ysgiēn*, id. (V.G. i, 68; Lewis-Pedersen, 15); but the short vowel in gen. sg. *scene* and n. pl. *scena* is against this, and the Welsh word, which is without counterpart in the other British dialects, is best explained as an early borrowing from Irish.<sup>1</sup>

Just as *di'as*, *tri'ar*, *sci'an*, were, soon after the close of the Old Irish period, contracted to monosyllabic *dias*, *triar*, *scian*, so we should have expected *i'arn* to be reduced to a monosyllabic *iarn*. Actually, however, *i'arn* was replaced, not by monosyllabic *iarn*, which found little favour, but by *iarann*,<sup>2</sup> and the oblique cases were re-formed accordingly, *iarainn* (gs. and npl.), *iarna* (apl.), *iarnaib*, replacing the earlier *i'ern* or *i'airn* (gsg.), *erna* (napl.), *ernaib*. Already in LU we find gen. sg. *iaraind* and *iarind* 1444, *iarind* 6961, 7743, 7756, 7893, 8655, beside *iairnd* 7744, 7892<sup>3</sup>.

The poets of the schools, taking advantage of these variations, allowed themselves considerable latitude in the form and declension of the word. In IGT we find three forms recognized: disyllabic *iarann* and *i'arn* (both declined like *colam*; *o* stem, unsyncopated in acc. and dat. pl.), p. 54, and monosyllabic *iarn* (gen. *iarna*<sup>4</sup>; declined as an *u* stem), p. 127. In the citations one finds gs. *i'airn* 373, 424, riming with *di'airm*; apl. *iarna* 1679. Whether

<sup>1</sup> *Scian*, I suggest, goes back to *\*skijenā*. The dat.-acc. *scín* (< *\*sci'in*) is regular; but the gsg. *scene* and napl. *scena* (instead of *\*scine*) are analogical, as if derived from a nom. *\*skijanā*. Conversely *tri'an*, 'third part', has analogical gen. *trín*. *Trian* (dat. *tríun*, disyll., Thes. P. ii, 346. 7) comes from *\*trijanón*, whence also W. *traean*, so that the regular gen. would have been *\*tri'ain*. In IGT, p. 121, the gen. is *trín* and *treana*; the latter is evidently late, and suggested by nom. acc. pl. *treana*.

<sup>2</sup> So always in Mod. Ir. and in Scottish (*iarunn*). In Manx the word is spelled *yiarn* and is apparently monosyllabic; but this does not mean that it was not formerly disyllabic, as we see when we compare such Manx words as *faarn* (Ir. *fearthain*), *ayrn* (Sc. *earrann*, Mid. Ir. *urrann*), *mayrn* (Ir. *marthain*), *tayrn* (Ir. *tarraing*).

<sup>3</sup> The old form is retained in the compounds *foriarnd* LU 7203, *airiarnn* 10990, *airiarn* LL 248 a 39; also in the following instances from LU in which the nom. form is exceptionally used as genitive: *iarnd* 7742, *iarn* 9384, *iarn* 9386.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *idir għaibh gēgiarna* (: *céidiarla*), Diogħluim Dána 268 § 18. Fr. McKenna, *ib.* 571, is mistaken in thinking that the *iar*, f., of IGT p. 148 (gen. *iarann*, *iarainne*) is another form of the word; it means 'weasel' (cf. nom. sg. *iaru* LL 255 b 17, =IT iii, 486. 4).

all the forms impliedly permitted were actually employed by the poets is another question.<sup>1</sup>

An example of monosyllabic *iairn* (gen.) occurs in the poem on Muirchertach mac Néill attributed to Cormaccán Éces: *idh iairn im a chois chomhlaín*, § 15. This poem was ostensibly composed ca. 942, and has been treated as genuine by its successive editors, O'Donovan and Hogan; but linguistic evidence stamps it as a composition of later date.<sup>2</sup> Another instance of monosyllabic *iairn* occurs in an eleventh (?) century poem<sup>3</sup> on Crimthann mac Enna in the line *mo lúrech iairn mo sciath uma mo* [leg. *im*] *chnes mo charat*, LL 45 b 8.

The development of Mid. and Mod. Ir. *iarann* from O. Ir. *i'arn* finds a close parallel in Mid. Ir. *Érainn* from O. Ir. \**É'irn* (Celt. \**Éverni*); but this name is important enough to merit a separate discussion, which I propose to give it elsewhere.

The replacement of the regular monosyllabic *iarn*, \**Éirn*, by disyllabic *iarann*, *Érainn*, is explained by the fact that Irish (except in its very latest period) is intolerant of a long vowel or diphthong in a monosyllabic word ending in a heavy consonant group. Hence we understand why Lat. *ōrdō* (which gave *urdd* in Welsh, with *u* regularly from *ō*) was borrowed into Irish as *ord*, with short *o*.<sup>4</sup> The objection did not apply to words of more than one syllable, as we see from, e.g., *áirne*, *iorna* *Blárna*, *Éirne*, and from such borrowed words as *bárda* (IGT p. 39 and ex. 142).

Worth noting is the lenited *r* of *iarann*, in contrast to the *r* of

<sup>1</sup> A literal interpretation of IGT p. 54 would suggest that *i'arn* had acc. pl. *i'arna*, dat. pl. *i'arnaibh*; but it is unlikely that such artificial forms were ever used. Instead, I suppose, the forms employed were *earna*, *earnaibh* (as well as *iarna*, *iarnaibh*); but this is no more than a surmise, for my collections are very imperfect. Compare the derivative *earnach*, recognized in addition to *iarnach*, ib. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> The poem does not contain a single instance of hiatus-vowel, and treats words like the following as monosyllables: *Rōich* § 4, *Cú Roi* 5, *cóir* 12, 29, *ól* 42, *ua* 47, *biad* (food) 20, 51, *ní bhiadh* 4, *décc* (-teen) 29, 51, *dóibh* (*dáibh*) 21, 51, *dí(o)bh* 21, 44. There are numerous other marks of lateness, e.g. *mar* (prep.) 33, 54, (conj.) 26, 44; gen. *na Sinainne* 33.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by van Hamel, RC xxxvii, 335 ff.; and previously by O'Curry, MS. Mat. 484 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also Mod. (and Mid.?) Ir. *foirm* with Lat. *fōrma*, whence W. *ffurf*. We may also compare the treatment in Munster Irish of monosyllables in *-rr*; here we find, from the seventeenth century, either *a* added to the word, thus obviating the vowel-lengthening, e.g. *barr* > *barra* [baRə, now *barə*], or alternatively vowel-lengthening with reduction of *rr* to *r*, e.g. *barr* > *bár* [ba:r].

*iarn* which, being followed by *n*, was presumably unlenited. The explanation doubtless lies in the fact that after a long vowel or diphthong unlenited *r* (often written *rr*) lost some of its distinctive character and was liable to be reduced to lenited *r*.<sup>1</sup> Thus we find *tórroma*, with original *-rr-* (cf. SR 1625, 4406), spelled *tóroma*, LL 138 b 25, and *tóramha* or *tóramhe*, IGT pp. 39, 45.<sup>2</sup> Similarly *iar*, *iaraidh*, and the like, with *r* for earlier *rr*, are common spellings in such MSS. as BB, YBL, Lismore, Fermoy.<sup>3</sup>

The general usage in the Irish of to-day is to lengthen a vowel before medial *-rn-*, e.g. *cárnam*, *báirneach*, *beárna*, *dórnán*, *múirnín*; but certain dialects show a decided reluctance to lengthen the vowel before *-rn* in a monosyllable. Munster Irish introduces an epenthetic vowel between the *r* and the *n*; thus *carn*, gen. *cairn*, became *carrann* [*kaRəN*, now reduced to *karen*], gen. *carrainn*<sup>4</sup>; *spairn* became *spáirinn*<sup>5</sup>; *dorn*, gen. *duirn* became *dorrann*,<sup>6</sup> gen. *durrainn*; *muirn* became *murrainn*,<sup>7</sup> and so on. In parts of Connacht an *-a* has been tacked on to such words; thus *carn*, *dorn*, *corn*, are in Connemara pronounced *ka:rNə*, *dəurNə*, *kəurNə*, respectively.<sup>8</sup> In each case the monosyllabic word has become disyllabic.

The explanation I have given of the change of *i'arn* to *iarann*

<sup>1</sup> In the verse of the schools *ll*, *nn*, *rr*, after a long vowel or diphthong, are for riming purposes treated as *l*, *n*, *r*; e.g. *Béirre* rimes with *Éire* or *céile*, and *ciall* with *fial*. In compound words, according to the teaching of the schools, *ll*, *nn*, *rr*, were reduced to *l*, *n*, *r*, after a long vowel, e.g. *gér-ród* > *géród* (IGT p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Conversely we find *bórama* misspelled *bórrama* LL 306 a 7, *borrama* 306 b 12.

<sup>3</sup> So the LU interpolator writes *conna iarfad*, 9798.

<sup>4</sup> So spelled DBr. ii, 244.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. DBr. i, 158, iii, 20, 160; Seán na R. 55. Exceptionally *spáirn* (monosyllabic, with long vowel) in Hackett, pp. 20, 24, and in a poem by another native of Co. Tipperary, Tomás Ó Muilriain. The gen. is *spáirne* (regularly), Hackett 80; but *spáirinne* (a new formation), Keating, Poems 1572 (spelled *spairnne*), Dmd. mac Seáin Bhúf 39, Donncha Rua.

<sup>6</sup> So spelled DBr. ii, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. DBr. ii, 180. By recent editors of verse the word is generally misspelled *muirinn*.

<sup>8</sup> How far this usage extends in Connacht I am at the moment unable to say. Ó Máille in his book on the phonetics of Connacht Irish (Urlabhráidh-eacht) is strangely silent on such matters, and indeed does not even mention the epenthetic vowel. J. H. Molloy, Ir. Gr. pp. 33, 168, writes *dorna*, 'fist,' but in his East Galway dialect the *o* in this word is short, just as it is in *ord*, *bord*, *sgornach*, and the like.

will also account for the changes undergone by O. Ir. *lo'arg*, *la'arg*, f., 'fork, thigh.' It is from the latter form, *la'arg* (e.g. San. Corm. 804), that the Mid. and Mod. Ir. forms descend. Normally *la'arg* would have been contracted to *\*lárg*<sup>1</sup>; but as a monosyllable in *-rg* preceded by a long vowel was unwelcome in Irish, this was made *lárag* (in Mid. Ir. spelling *lárac*), with gen. *láirge*,<sup>2</sup> dat. *láraig* (Mid. Ir. *láraic*). Some examples are: *larac* (read *lárac*), nsg. LL 197 a 48; *lárac*, gdu. LU 6960, gpl. 8257; *láruc*, gpl. Aisl. Mc. C. 9; *láraic*, asg. LL 104 a 45, Met. D. iii, 372, iv, 124, adu. LL 169 a 16.<sup>3</sup> In Trip. L. (ed. Dr. Mulchrone), 1385, *loracc* (nsg.) might possibly stand for *\*lóracc*, with *ó* resulting from the contraction of the *oa* of O. Ir. *loarg*; but much more probably it is a scribal alteration of an archetypal *loarcc*. The same remark applies to *Ath Dá Loracc*,<sup>4</sup> the name of a place near Kells, ib. 1176, where Rawl. B 512 reads *Láracc*.<sup>5</sup>

In IGT p. 111 the form is *lárag* (gen. *láirge*, dat. *láraig*); but an alternative form *ladharg* (gen. *ladhairge*) is given, ibid. With the latter is to be compared *ládharg* (gen. *ládhairge*), ib. p. 62 and ex. 568, occurring only in MS. P. The *-dh-* of *ladharg*, *ládharg*, is doubtless due to the influence of *ladhar*, 'fork.' *Ladharg* would thus be a modification of *la'arg*, retained in verse side by side with the newer form, just as *i'arn* is found in verse side by side with *iarann*. The *á* of the alternative *ládharg* would be borrowed from *lárag*.

In the Irish of to-day the word is mostly obsolete; but it is preserved in Donegal as *láiric*, 'a thigh' (Quiggin, § 114). In

<sup>1</sup> The forms *lárgg* and *lórgg*, though given in Hessen, are, so far as I know, unattested, unless we compare *larcc* (for *laarg* or *lárac*), the reading of YBL in BDD § 60.

<sup>2</sup> There was no objection to *rg* (or the like) preceded by a long vowel or diphthong in the interior of a word, e.g. *láirge*, *tuargain*. In such words epenthesis has not developed between the *r* and the *g*.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast the older *loarg* preserved in LL 29a15, 19 (nsg.), 29b30, 34 (asg.); also in disyllabic *loaircc* (ndu.), LL 36 b 27. Here I may note the exceptional dat. pl. *laragaib* (for *lárgaib*) in the H. 2. 17 version of *Togail Trof* (IT ii, pt. 1, l. 542).

<sup>4</sup> Compare the corresponding text in L. Ardm. : *Uadum Duarum Furcarum, id est De Loarc*. Compare also *Ath Da Loarc*, AU 938.

<sup>5</sup> Another place of the same name, near Boyle, is called (in the gen.) *Atha Do [sic] Laarc*, AU 1197, *Atha Da Larac*, A. L. Cé 1202, *Atha Da Laarac*, ib. 1235; nom. *Ath Dá Laarg*, Met. D. iv, 282.

Scottish the word appears as *lairig*, 'a pass,'<sup>1</sup> in which the *-g* (as regularly in an unstressed syllable) has the value of *k*. The palatal *r* in these forms is doubtless due to the influence of the gen. *láirge*, just as *blonag* (gen. *bloinge*) has become *bluinic* in Connacht (J. H. Molloy, 26), or as *cumhain*, *abaidh*, have become *cuimhin* (>*cuín*), *aibig*, in Munster owing to the influence of *cuimhne*, *aibche*. The *-c* in Donegal *láiric* illustrates the regular change in that dialect of *-g* to *-c* in an unstressed syllable after a naturally short vowel. Similarly we have Donegal *Gaelic* for *Gaelig* (see p. 125 below). This change does not take place after an epenthetic vowel; thus *lorg*, *bolg*, are pronounced *Lɔ̄rg*, *bōlg*, in Donegal. Hence we see that the vowel in the second syllable of *lárag*, *\*Gaeulag*, is not to be regarded as an epenthetic vowel any more than the second *a* of *iarann*, and arose at a time when epenthesis in groups like *lg*, *rg*, had not yet developed.<sup>2</sup>

In Munster the place-name *Port Láirge*, 'Waterford', preserves the gen. of the word, if we may trust the *Dindshenchas* (Met. D. iii, 192) and the *LL Táin* (ed. Wind. 6194); but O'Donovan suggests that *Láirge* here represents the name of a Norse plunderer of the tenth century.<sup>3</sup> We find *Port Láirge* riming with *ráitte*, Met. D. iii, 192, with *náimhde* in a poem by *Gofraídh Fionn* (Dioghlum Dána 298, § 23), with *bráighde*, IGT ex. 1449.<sup>4</sup> Exceptionally we have *Port Lairge*, with short *a*, in a poem ('Cuiream suas seanchas Laighean') written in 1603 by *Tuileagna Ó Maolchonaire*: *go Port saor longmhar Lairge | re taobh bhfonnghlan bhfuairfhairrge*.<sup>5</sup> Munster eighteenth-century verse, and the spoken language of to-day, know only *Port Láirge*.<sup>6</sup>

Just as in Middle Irish there was an objection to *\*lárg*, which would have been the regular Mid. Ir. development of O. Ir. *la'arg*,

<sup>1</sup> Common in place-names in some parts of Scotland; cf. Watson, Celtic Place-names of Scotland, 483 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In *iarann*, *lárag*, etc., we may see rather metathesis combined with the retention of the long vowel or diphthong that would have developed if metathesis had not taken place; thus *lárag* is a combination of *\*larag* (simple metathesis) and *\*lárg*.

<sup>3</sup> FM i, 493 n.; Misc. Celtic Soc. 152 n.

<sup>4</sup> In view of the fact that Mod. Ir. has *náimhde*, *braighde*, with shortened *a*, the two latter rimes are not quite decisive regarding the length of the *a* in *Láirge*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Harvard MS. of Book of O'Byrnes, fo. 69 a, where the readings are *Láirge* and *bhfonnghlann bhfuairfhairrge*.

<sup>6</sup> *Láirge* is pronounced as a disyllable; the long vowel prevents the development of epenthesis in *rg*. Contrast *fairrge* which is now trisyllabic *faraige*.

so at a later period there was a similar objection to *\*Gaeulg*, which would have been the expected development of E. Mod. Ir. *Gaoidealg*, in the same way as *Gaoideal* has become monosyllabic *Gaeul*.<sup>1</sup> As *\*lārg* was replaced by *lārag*, so *\*Gaeulg* was replaced by *\*Gaeulag*, dat.-acc. *\*Gaelig* (replacing *\*Gaelg*, from *Gaoidhilg*).<sup>2</sup> At the present day we find *Gaeulaing*<sup>3</sup> used in South-West, South, and East Munster; this stands for an earlier *\*Gaeulaig*,<sup>4</sup> a new dat. formed from the nom. *\*Gaeulag*. In North Munster and in most of Connacht the word is *Gaelge* (undeclined), i.e. the genitive form has been generalized.<sup>5</sup> *Gaelic*, <*Gaelig* (dat.), is used as nom. in Donegal and other parts of the North-West.<sup>6</sup> In Tyrone and other parts of Ulster *Gaeulac*, <*Gaeulag* (nom.), was the form employed.<sup>7</sup> In Scottish the usual spelling is *Gàidhlig*, and the word is undeclined; the pronunciation is accurately reflected in *Gáilic*, the spelling employed by A. McDonald in his *Ais-eiridh* (1751).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Gaoideal* (O. Ir. *Goīdel*) and *Gaoidealg* *aoi* has developed exceptionally, becoming *áé* in Irish, *ái* in Scottish.

<sup>2</sup> There was no objection to the gen. *Gaelge* (<*Gaoidhilge*), in which the *-lg-* was medial.

<sup>3</sup> Locally (as in most of Kerry) liable to be pronounced *Gaeulain*, like *sgillin* for *sgilling*, *acfaing* for *acfaing*, *fallain* for *fallaing*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *eiting*, 'consumption,' for earlier *eitig*; and also Waterford *tairsing*, 'threshold' (>*tairsin*, W. Kerry), from *tairsig* (properly dat. of *tairseach*). Compare further the Mid. Ir. doublets *cumung*, *cumuc*, 'narrow,' *cumang*, *cumac*, 'ability,' *partaing*, *partaic*, 'scarlet.' The converse change of *-ng* to *-g* or *-c* is better known in Munster, e.g. *fairseag* (W. Muskerry, S. Kerry) <*farseang*, *fulig* <*fulaing*, *tarrac* <*tarrang*, *tiirlig* <*turling*.

<sup>5</sup> *Gaoilge* and *Gaelge* are the forms favoured in Munster eighteenth-century verse, e.g. acc. and dat. *Gaelge* (in the author's spelling *Gaodhailge*), Donncha Rua; acc. *Gaoilge* (sic leg.), Eón Rua 1 ed. 2134; gen. *Gaoilge*, Búrdúin Bheaga 198, *Gaelge* Seán na R. 79, Eón Rua 1 ed. 3133. Exceptionally dat. *Gaelg* (monosyllabic), ib. 457. Hackett, 25, keeps the old trisyllabic gen. *Gaoideilge* (: *dísbeagadh*).

<sup>6</sup> *Gaelic* is the form used in Glangevlin, Co. Cavan (É. Ó Tuathail), and, according to Ó Máille (Url. § 98), in Sligo and in parts of Mayo. But J. H. Molloy (Grammar 158) notes *Gáelge* as the form used by a native of Co. Sligo as well as by himself.

<sup>7</sup> Cf Ó Searcaigh, *Foghraidheacht* § 60.

<sup>8</sup> In Manx the word is variously spelled. Kelly writes *Gaelch*, gen. *Gailgey* (the retention of the *-g-* in the gen. is to be noted). The pronunciation, as noted by Rhys (Manx Phon. 21), fluctuates between *Gælc* and *Gülc*, with short vowel; these seem to go back to *\*Gaoilic*. Phillips, 388, writes *ayns y chiange gellgah*, 'in the Manx tongue,' where *gellgah* seems to represent *Gaoidhilge* (gen.).

The word *croidhearg*,<sup>1</sup> 'blood-red,' I have heard pronounced as *krəɪrək* in Kerry, Cork and Waterford, as *krE:rək* in Clare. The palatal *r* in these forms suggests that we have here an instance of simple metathesis: *croidhearg* > \**croidhreag*. On the other hand the usual form in Munster eighteenth-century verse appears to be *craorag* or *craorac*, riming with ē-sounds, as in Tadhg Gaeulach and in Merriman's *Cúirt* (l. 262, where 23 D 40 reads *craorac*).<sup>2</sup> Here the non-palatal *r* suggests that the development was similar to that of \**Gaeulag* from *Gaedhealg* (*Gaoidhealg*).

In *lárag*, \**Gaeulag*, the long vowel before *-rg*, *-lg*, is avoided by inserting a vowel between the two consonants. Another way of achieving the same result would have been to unvoice the final *-g*. This expedient was adopted in the personal name *Ruarc* (still living in the surname *Ó Ruairc*, 'O'Rourke'), of which the earliest form was *Ruarg*, apparently a compound of *ro-* and *arg*, 'hero, champion.' Compare *Ruarg mac Broin*, AU 842 (= *Ruarc m. Brain*, LL 39 b), *m. Ruairgg*, R 145 g 24. Elsewhere in AU we find only *-rc* in this name, e.g. gen. *Ruairc*, 946, 953, 954, 965, etc.; but it must be borne in mind that in the spelling of Old and Mid. Ir. *rc* not seldom stands for *rg*.<sup>3</sup>

In the same way *cuaird*, 'circuit,' with original *-d*,<sup>4</sup> became *cuairt* for the most part; but the form in *-d* managed to persist, doubtless because it was supported by disyllabic forms such as gen. *cuarda* and derivatives like *cuardaig*. In the verse of the schools both *cuairt* and *cuaird* are recognized (IGT p. 95). At the present day *cuaird*, so far as I know, survives only in Munster, *cuairt* being used in the Irish of Connacht and Ulster, and in Scottish, and also in Manx (which spells it *keayrt*).

In O. Ir. *do·fúairg*, 'crushes' (cf. Wb. 10 d 6, Ml. 84 b 12), and similar later forms,<sup>5</sup> the retention of the *-rg* after a diphthong is attributable to the fact that forms in which the *rg* was in medial position were much commoner, e.g. 3 pl. *do·fúargat*, *túargat*.

<sup>1</sup> A compound of *cró* and *dearg*. For the short *o* in the compound see ÉRIU xii, 136, Met. D. v, 238.

<sup>2</sup> For the Donegal forms, likewise with non-palatal *r*, see Quiggin, § 72.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *rc* for *rg* in *arcain* AU 941, 943, 958, 963, 988, *orcain*, 945, 981.

<sup>4</sup> I hope to discuss the etymology of the word in a separate note.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *dosfúairc*, 'smite them,' Anecd. i, 5. 6; *ro thuairc* (: *cuaird*) *féin in cath fo chóic*, Gilla na Naem Ua Duinn, LL 33 b 5. In Modern Irish the verb is mostly confined to the v.n. *tuargain*; rare examples of the finite verb are: *gur thuairg*, ITS xxiv, 52, *tuairegfe misi*, ib. 64, *do thuargadar* (tri-syllabic), DBr. iii, 172. 5, *ar tuaireadh*, ib. ii, 22. 7.

Finally we may mention an obscure word *fúarg*, meaning (from the context) 'urine,' which occurs in the LL text of the Dindshenchas poem on Loch Rf: *fuargg ind eich angbaid amnais*, LL 212 b 15, = Met. D. iii, 456. The six other MSS. containing the poem read *fual* here. *Fuarg* is possibly a compound of *arg*, 'drop' (San. Corm. 27); but I have no other example of the word.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the form we may with Gwynn compare *fuárgfothrom*, LL 111 a 44, = RC xiv, 426, meaning something like 'angry noise, tumult.' In Modern Irish we have *fuarc*, 'internal parts?' (*do ghuineas go fuarc* in a poem by É. do Vál); *fuairc*, 'substance? validity?' D. Ó Bruadair, iii, 174; and *fuargaire*, ibid. 136, 166, an uncomplimentary term whose precise meaning is doubtful (the editor renders it 'flatterer').

ADDENDA. P. 120, n. 1. With *trian*, gen. *trín*, contrast *gri'an*, 'gravel, soil', < \**grijano-*, W. *graean*; this has Mid. Ir. gen. *griain*, dat. *griun*, composition-form *gren-*. But in IGT, p. 127, the gen. is *griana*, dat. *grian*.

P. 120, n. 3. Compare the different forms of the gen. of the word in the name *Glún Iairn* ('iron-knee') in AU: *iairn*, 988, 1070 (and so R 117 c 55); *iairnn*, 1014; *iarn*, 982 (and so R 117 c 48); *iaraind*, 894; *iarainn*, 1045.

P. 121, l. 11. Other instances of monosyllabic *iairn* (gen.) occur in SR 4204 (*iairnn*), and *Betha Colmáin* 50. 10 (where read *iairn* for the *iaraind* of the MS.).

## SOME INSTANCES OF VOWEL-SHORTENING IN MODERN IRISH

### I.

**A** long vowel before a voiced spirant followed by *d*, *l*, *n* or *r*, is usually shortened in Modern Irish. This shortening is found in all the dialects.

Thus in *námha*, 'enemy', the *á* is shortened to *a* when the *mh* is immediately followed by *d*, as in the inflected forms *naimhde*, *naimhdibh*, corresponding to O. Ir. *náimte* (acc. pl.), *náimtib*.<sup>1</sup> In a seventeenth-century elegy on Aodh Ó Ruairc we find *naimhde* (used as dat. pl.) and *naimhdeadh* (gen. pl.) riming with *arma*, *feardha*, *annhain*, and the like (Oss. Soc. v, 42). Conry in 1616 invariably writes *námhaid* (nom. and dat. sg.), *námhad* (gen.), with long vowel; *naimhde* (nom. acc. pl.), *naimhdibh*, with short vowel (see Des. gloss.).<sup>2</sup> Begly, who has *námhuid*, 'enemy', 191 a, writes the derivatives *naimhdeanas*, *naimhdeamhul*, *naimhdeamhlacht*, *naimhdighe*, without the length-mark (191 b, 324 b, 441 b). In Donegal, *námhaid* has pl. *naimhde* with short *a* (Quiggin, § 8). In Munster verse *naimhde*, after passing through *\*nuimhde*, becomes *nuide*, with regular loss of *-mh-* and compensatory lengthening. Thus *naimhde* rimes with words like *sínte*, *taoiseach*, *Maoise*, in DBr. ii, 142, iii, 140; Aog. Ó Rathile, 2 ed. 198 (=gen. pl.); Tadhg Gaeulach, ed. Dinneen, 397, 534 (=gen. and dat. pl.); GJ xiv, 705a (=dat. pl.).<sup>3</sup> Similarly *naimhdibh*, rimes with *díol a*, 23 C 8, p. 213. 1, in a poem (ca. 1656) by Éamonn mac Dhonncha an Dúna, and with *aoibhinn* and *scaoilte*, Aog. Ó Rathile pp. 198, 200. Compare *fíor-naoide* (used as gen. pl.), Búrdúin Bheaga 198. In Seán na Ráithíneach one finds a shortened form *nuid* (editorially spelled *náimhid*) used as acc. and dat. pl., pp. 10, 72, on the model of its doublet *námhaid*, pronounced *náid*.

<sup>1</sup> In Fél. Oeng. prol. 231 the long vowel of *ndimte* (acc. pl.) is established by the metre. So we find the length-mark written in *náimtiu*, LU 7991, LL 260 b 33, *námtib*, 91 a 4, 6, 304 a 21, 24, *náimdemail*, 102 b 29.

<sup>2</sup> In the printed editions of Keating's TBg., on the other hand, one finds *ndimhde*, *ndáimhdibh*, *náimhdidhe* (four times; but *náimhdidhe* 1162).

<sup>3</sup> In Hackett p. 26 one finds *náimhde* riming with *iseal* and the like; but this is an editorial slip for *naoidhe* (disyllabic, as on p. 29). Read *go dtreasg(a)rann naoidhe me*, 'that (even) an infant throws me down.'

A similar development is found in Scottish dialects. M'Alpine distinguishes the long *a* of *nàmhaid* from the short vowel of *naimhdean* (pl.), *naimhdeil*, *naimhdeas*, and the like. In an anonymous Scottish poem we find *naimhdion* (gen. pl.) riming with *ainm ort*, *ceannphort*, and the like (Rel. Celt. ii, 346 l. 32, 347 l. 3).<sup>1</sup> In a poem by John Roy Stewart we have *caoimhneas* (read *caibhneas*) riming with *naimhdean*: *A Righ, seall le do chaoimhneas air na fir th'aig na naimhdean an sàs.*<sup>2</sup> On the other hand we find other poets employing *nāimhde(an)* and the like, e.g. *nāimhde* ( : *cāirdean* : *d'fhāg iad*), Donnchadh Macantsaoir, ed. 1790 p. 149 (=ed. Calder 258); *nāimhdibh* ( : *cāirdibh* : *cáileachd* : *nádor*), A. M'Donald, *Ais-eiridh*, ed. 1751, 112.

A similar shortening occurs in inflected forms and derivatives of *brágha*,<sup>3</sup> meaning 'neck, throat' ( : W. *breuant*, 'windpipe'), and in a secondary sense 'prisoner, captive'.<sup>4</sup> We find the long vowel retained in acc. pl. *brágdi* AI 44 b (s.a. 1210), dat. pl. *brágtib* LU 2156 (M), 2202 (M), 2426 (H).<sup>5</sup> Later we find nom. acc. pl. *braighde*, dat. pl. *braighdibh*, with shortened *a* (which eventually coalesced with the *gh* to form a diphthong). Thus *braighde*, *-dibh*, rime with *saidhbhir*, Measgra Dánta 35. Compare the spellings *braighdibh*, Des. 3700; *braighde* ('throats') and *braighdibh* ('captives'), TBg.; *braighde*, 'pledges', Begly 542 a.<sup>6</sup> So we find

<sup>1</sup> Watson in reproducing this spells, less correctly, *nàimhdean*, Bàrd. Ghàidhlig 4516, -27.

<sup>2</sup> Turner's Comhchruiinneacha (1813), 149. Cf. Watson, op. cit., 2385-6, where the readings are *choibhneas* and *aig nàimhdean*.

<sup>3</sup> There is an analogical doublet *bráighe*. Both forms are recognized IGT p. 144. Compare similar doublets like *ágha* : *dighe*, *lágha* : *láighe*.

<sup>4</sup> For the development of the meaning 'prisoner' cf. *rogabait ar bragtib iat*, 'they were taken prisoner,' LL 302 b 15, =RC xiii, 72 (where Lec. reads *rogabadur 'na mbraigdib iad*), and *gabais ar braigtib eat uile agus dober i n-oentech dia loscodh*, RC ix, 16. There is a play on the two meanings of the word in *iomáha idh fón mbrághaid-sin*, | is *brágha i dà-ríribh*, Dánta Grádha 2 ed. 17. Atkinson in his edition of Keating's TBg. made two words out of one: *braighe*, 'captive', and *brágha*, 'neck'; and this mistake is repeated by Meyer (Contr. 243 f.) and Dinneen.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand the length-mark is omitted in *braigthib* (sic) LU 1040, *braigtib* 1042 (A), LL 179 a 2, *braigte* 100 b 40, 102 a 11 (twice), *bragtib* 302 b 15, 319 a 35. But without more conclusive evidence it would be unwise to infer that the tendency to shorten the *á* before *gt* (= *ghd*) was already in existence ca. A.D. 100.

<sup>6</sup> An exceptional (dialectal?) pronunciation *bruide* is seen in *braoighde* (gen. pl.), riming with *dídean* and the like, in a poem in stress-metre by Tadhg Dall, 254.

the derivative *braighdeanas*, 'captivey, confinement', riming with *adh마다ibh*, DBr. i, 72, and with *oighreacht*, Tadhg Gaeulach, ed. Dinneen, 1125. Another derivative is *braighdeán*, 'the part of a rope that goes round the neck of an animal' (used, e.g., in the Irish of S. Kerry). Compare *brághaid-gheal* or *bráighid-gheal*, 'white-throated', originally trisyllabic (IGT ex. 1999), later disyllabic (*bráighdgheal* : *mánla*, Mac Neill Essays, 92), which in Munster verse becomes analogically *braighdgheal*.<sup>1</sup> In Scottish a similar shortening took place; and the long vowel of *bráighe*, *bràghad*, is distinguished from the diphthong of *braighdean*, pl., 'captives', *braighdean*, 'a rope round a calf's neck', and *braighdeanas*, 'captivey' (see the dictionaries of Dieckhoff and M'Alpine).

*Éibhleóig*, 'a live coal', a diminutive of *éibheall* (a by-form of *aoibheall*), is known in Donegal, where it is pronounced *evl'ag<sup>2</sup>* (Quiggin, § 89), with shortening of *ē* to *e* before *bh*. In the corresponding Scottish form *éibhleag* the *ē* is retained, but the *-bh*- is liable to be dropped in pronunciation (cf. Dieckhoff). Another derivative, with similar shortening of *ē*, is seen in *madh áil gan bhar n-eibhliughadh* ( : *deimhniughadh*), Poem-book of O'Conor Don, fo. 43 b 21.<sup>3</sup>

In a related name, *Éibhle* or *Éibhleann*, there is evidence of a similar shortening of the *ē*. *Sliabh Éibhlinne*, the name of a mountainous district in co. Tipperary, became *Sliabh Eibhlinne*, and the *eibh-* regularly developed to a diphthongal *ei-*; cf. *Sléibhte Eibhlinne* riming with *radharc air*, GJ ix, 326 b. Finally, by a kind of popular etymology, the second word was confused with the personal name *Feidhlim*, *Feidhlimidh*,<sup>4</sup> and the whole became *Sliabh (Fh)eidhlime* (pron. *eil'im'*),<sup>5</sup> hence the English name 'Slieve Felim'. *Eibhle* or *Eibhleann*, with similar shortening of *ē* and diphthongization of *eibh-*, is also the name of the River Ilen, which flows by Skibbereen, co. Cork. O'Donovan<sup>6</sup> writes the name *abhainn Eibhlinne*. According to the late J. M. Burke, it is 'called

<sup>1</sup> It rimed with *maighdean* in an elegy on Ferriter (Dinneen, Dánta Ph. Feirteáir, 2 ed. 126) and in a poem by Tadhg Gaeulach (ed. Dinneen 2246).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *eimhleóig*, 'carbo', Plunket. Misspelled *aibhleog* by Dinneen and others.

<sup>3</sup> Another copy, ib. 2 a 7, reads *éibhliughadh* and *déimhniughadh*.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise *Féi(dh)lim*, *Féi(dh)limidh*. Cf. IGT p. 138 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *do dhá shliabh déag Fheidhlimthi*, Giolla Deacair, ed. Hogan and Lloyd, 2; *fá dhá shliabh déag Fhéidhlimhe*, ITS i, 10.

<sup>6</sup> In O'Curry's Cath Mhuighe Léana, 32 n.

by native speakers *an Eibhle*,<sup>1</sup> gen. *-leann*, dat. *-linn*.<sup>1</sup> Less accurate spellings are *Aighlinn* on the map prefixed to the Misc. of the Celtic Soc. (1849), gen. *Aighleann*, An Lr. Muimhneach 213, *Aidhleann*, Tadhg Gaeulach, ed. Dinneen, 398.

O. Ir. *toídleach*, 'shining' (riming with *oiblech*,<sup>2</sup> Thes. P. ii, 325; Fél. Oeng. Sep. 21) would regularly give Mod. Ir. *taoidhleach*;<sup>3</sup> cf. *Eoghan Taoidhleach*, FF ii, 4130. But the best attested Mod. Ir. form is *taidhleach* (e.g. TBg. 1442), in which the *ai* results from the shortening of the earlier *óí*. Brian Ó Corcráin in a poem in *deibhidhe* has *taidhleach* riming with *ainbhreath* (Studies 1921, 257, § 2). In stress-verse Ó Bruadair has *taidhleach* riming with *taidhhbheach* (i, 166; iii, 86).<sup>4</sup>

*Clúimhreach*, 'feathers', a derivative of *clúmh* or *clúimh*, is known in Donegal, where it assumes the form *cluimhreach* (cf. Quiggin, § 98), with shortening of *úi* to *ui* before *mhr*.

*Suaimhneas*, 'rest', is generally *suimneas* in Connacht (cf. J. H. Molloy, Grammar 181), with shortening of *uai* and delenition of *mh*. For Aran Finck (ii, 221) records *suímhneas* and *suímneas* (with *suímhneach* or *suímneach* as the corresponding adj.); in these forms the *ui* is lengthened to *úi* by position. In Donegal, *suaimhneach*, adj., has become *suimhneach*, 'at rest' (cf. Quiggin, § 249). In Munster the *uai* is retained, but the *-mh-* has dropped out; and the forms used are *suaineas*, sb., *suaineasach*, adj.

With *suaimhneach* may be contrasted O. and Mid. Ir. *lúamnach*, *lúamnech* (cf. Thes. P. ii, 343 a), adj. 'fluttering, flying, moving', a derivative of Mid. Ir. *lúamain*, 'act of flying'.<sup>5</sup> In Modern Irish we sometimes find *luaimhneach*, with the *-mh-* retained, e.g. O'Clery s. v. *foludhad*, Begly 222 b (-*nioch*), 641 a; but more frequently *luaimneach*, with the *-mh-* delenited, e.g. TBg. 9545, OT (1685; cf. reff. in Coneys), DBr. iii, 168. 2, O'Grady Cat. 29, 7 from foot, Reliques of Ir. Jac. Poetry (1844), 110. Compare

<sup>1</sup> Journal Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. xx (1914), 71.

<sup>2</sup> So *toedhlech* : *óblech* Gorm. July 25. For *taidlech* : *nemdrech*, ib. Sep. 1, we should doubtless read *taidhlech* : *noebdrech*.

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly *táidhleach* in Dinneen.

<sup>4</sup> Séán na Ráithíneach in an autograph poem (unpublished) writes *táidhleach*, which he rimes with *direamh* and the like. This is my latest example of the word. Probably by this time it had become a 'book-word'. Elsewhere we find the same writer taking liberties with uncommon words, using, e.g., *easga* for *éasga*, 'moon', and *tóice* for *toice*, 'wealth'.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the compound Mid. Ir. *foluamain* (E. Mod. Ir. *foluamhain*), sb., 'flying, flitting', *foluaimnech* (e.g. Ac. Sen.; C. Cath. 518), adj.

*luaimneach*, TD 185 a, where a variant *luaimhneach* is noted; *luaimneach*, DBr. iii, 124, where another MS reads *luaimhneach*, Irisl. M. Nuadhad 1917, 22; *Liagán luaimneach*, Oss. Soc. iv, 20 a, E. Lomnochtáin p. 4, =*Le(a)gán lúaimhneach*, ITS vii, 67 y, xxviii, 142 z.<sup>1</sup> Besides *luaimneach*, the form used in Munster Irish to-day, another current form is *luainneach* (so J. H. Molloy, Gr. 45, where it is explained as 'hasty'). Scottish simply drops the *-mh-*: *luaineach*, 'restless, moving'; cf. *ruisg neamh-luaineach*, A. M'Donald's *Ais-eiridh* (1751), 95.

## II.

The shortening of a long stressed vowel in Modern Irish is also exemplified in the tendency, confined to the Irish of Munster, to treat *-áhma-* as *-amha-* (now pronounced as nasal *au*, or, in Clare, *ū*). This occurs in the words *námhaid*, *lámhach*, *lámhann*, *lámhannán*, *lámhacán*, *rámhann*, *snámhaire*. A possible explanation of this change is that the plur. *naimhde*, with short vowel (p. 128), led to the creation of a new sing. *namhaid*, and that the existence side by side of *namhaid* and *námhaid* suggested the creation of similar doublets in other words containing original *-áhma-*.

In Munster stress-verse both the older *námhaid*, *námhad*, and the newer *namhaid*, *namhad*, are employed; but the latter forms are rare before the eighteenth century. We have *námhaid*, disyllabic, in Hackett 78, DBr. i, 60, iii, 40, 82, Seán na R. 33; the same, but reduced to a monosyllable (*náid*<sup>2</sup>), in Seán na R. 35, 101, and perhaps in DBr. iii, 82 y. So *námhad*, disyllabic, occurs in Keating, Poems II. 58, 464, Hackett 17, 70, 75, DBr. i, 182, 200, Aogán Ó R. (ITS iii, 2 ed.) 104, Fil. na Má. 75, 77; monosyllabic (*nád*), in Aogán Ó R. 210, Seán na R. 31, 36. The shortened vowel is illustrated in *namhaid*, disyllabic, Aogán Ó R. 50, 200, Fil. na Má. 44, Seán na R. 45; monosyllabic (*náid*), Seán na R. 3. Similarly *namhad*, disyllabic, Aogán Ó R. 6, 230; monosyllabic (*naud*), Fil. na Má. 25, 33, 60. Compare *namhadach*, adj., pron. *naudach*, Dmd. mac Seán Bhúf 5.

In West Munster to-day only the short-vowel monosyllabic forms are employed, so far as I am aware: nom. sg. and pl. *náid*, gen. sg. and pl. *naud*.<sup>3</sup> In Waterford the current form is *núid*,

<sup>1</sup> Plunket, s.v. 'agilis', gives both forms: *luaimhneach* no *luaimneach*.

<sup>2</sup> I use the circumflex to denote nasality and length combined.

<sup>3</sup> As dat. pl. both *naudaibh* and *núidibh* (the latter representing the literary *naimhdibh*) appear to be in use in West Muskerry.

representing the local pronunciation of *nōid*, which comes from *nómhaid*, with exceptional development of *námh-* to *nómh-*.<sup>1</sup> P. Denn, a native of co. Waterford (†1828), employs a great variety of forms in his verse: <sup>2</sup> *naoid* (so spelled at least ten times, and riming with *rí* and the like), *núid* (riming with, e.g., *cúl*),<sup>3</sup> *nóid* (riming with *deó*), *namhaid* (disyllabic), *nauid*, and *nád*.

*Lámhach*, 'act of shooting', is pronounced, regularly, *lách* in South Kerry, West Muskerry, and Waterford. In West Kerry, however, it is *lauch* (< *lamhach*). In Clare I have noted *lách* from one speaker, *lóch*<sup>4</sup> from another; the latter form would show *-ámh-* developing to *-ómh-*, as in *nómhaid* above.

*Lámhann*, 'glove,' became *lamhann* in Clare, now pronounced as a monosyllable with *-amha-* (regularly) = *ü*. The plur. in Clare is *luinne*. Cf. Merriman's *Cúirt*, in which we have pl. *luinne* (: *grís is*) 398, but *láinní* (: *fáinní*) 267. The plur. is *layne* (< \**laimhne*) in South Kerry, and *layngí* (stressed on the final syllable) in West Muskerry.<sup>5</sup> But in Waterford the *á* is retained: pl. *láinge* or *láingí*.<sup>6</sup>

*Lámhannán*, 'a bladder', a derivative of the foregoing, has become *lamhannán* in Clare (where *-amha-* = *ü*) and in South and West Kerry (where *-amha-* = *au*). But in West Muskerry and in Waterford it is *lánán*, with the *á* preserved.<sup>7</sup>

*Lámhacán*, 'the act of creeping on all fours', is *laungcán*<sup>8</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Donncha Rua employs *nóid* as dat. pl. in his *Giolla an Amarráin*; in the poet's autograph it is spelled *nómhuid* (Irisl. M. Nuadháid 1927, 48).

<sup>2</sup> Namely his *Comhairleach an Pheacuig* (Cork, 1827) and his appendix to the *Pious Miscellany* (14th edn. 57 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> So he has *núideach* (spelled *namhuideach*), adj., riming with *cúis do*.

<sup>4</sup> I am uncertain regarding the nasalization in this form.

<sup>5</sup> The classical inflexions of *lámhann* and *rámhann* are gen. sg. *-ainne*, nom. acc. pl. *-anna* (cf. IGT p. 61). The current (W. Muns.) forms *layne*, *layngí*, plur., and *rayne*, gen. sg., cannot go back to these, but point rather to \**laimhne* (pl.) and \**raimhne* (gen. sg.), which would be regular developments of an earlier analogical \**láimhne*, \**ráimhne*. An early example of the short-vowel form is seen in *bain dod ghlacaibh an lamhann sa fáinne*, 23 G 20, p. 321, in a poem by Donncha an Dúna (ca. 1620–30?). The same poem has disyllabic *námhaid* and *rámhann*, with the long vowel retained.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *láimhne* [= *láinne*], pl., riming with *gnáthach*, *Fil. na Má.* 54.

<sup>7</sup> In Kerry, Cork, and Waterford the stress is on the first syllable, testifying to an earlier trisyllabic pronunciation with the first syllable long. In Clare I have heard the word stressed on the first syllable by one speaker, on the final syllable by another.

<sup>8</sup> This is the pronunciation required in *Fil. na Má.* 39, l. 16, where *lamhancán* rimes with *gealltán*.

South and West Kerry; but *lácán* in Beare and West Muskerry, and (with change of suffix) *lácás* in East Cork and in Waterford.<sup>1</sup>

*Rámhann*, f., 'spade', I have heard as *rún(n)*, gen. *ruínne*, in Clare (cf. *ramhann* riming with *ciúin*, Merriman's Cúirt 300), as *raun*, gen. *rayne* in West and North Kerry, but as *rán*, gen. *ráinge*, in West Muskerry and in Waterford. In South Kerry I have heard both *raun* and *rán*.

*Snámhaire*, lit. 'a creeper', a derivative of *snámh*, is pronounced *snúire* (<*snamhaire*) in Clare, as may be inferred from Merriman's Cúirt, ll. 375, 658, 986. Similarly in West Muskerry it is pronounced *snauire*. The same pronunciation of the word is required in the last line of a poem ('Gach fanatic fallsa . . .') written *ca.* 1688, 23 C 8, p. 27 a.

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<sup>1</sup> In each case the stress is on the first syllable.

ADDENDA. P. 130, l. 1. In poems by Gearóid Iarla (†1398) I note the long *a* of *bráighdeanas* retained: *bráighdeanus*, riming with *gnáthchaileadh*, Ferm. 160 a; gen. *bráighdeanais*, riming with *bráithrechaib*, *ibid.*

P. 131, l. 9. Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha (*ca.* 1578) has *taidhligh* (gen. sg. masc.), riming with *daidhbhir*, Measgra Dánta, p. 44. 10.

## A PHONETIC DEVELOPMENT IN MUNSTER IRISH

IN the Irish of Munster, as is well known, *éa*, as in *béal*, is in ordinary speech<sup>1</sup> pronounced as a diphthongal *ia*, with the *i* half-long. This pronunciation I may conveniently indicate here as *ià*, in which the use of the grave accent over the *a* will serve to prevent the reader from confusing it with historical *ia*.<sup>2</sup>

It has somehow hitherto escaped attention that this diphthong *ià* also arises in Munster Irish as a result of the coalescence of historical *i* or *ia* with a following *ā*.<sup>3</sup> This may occur not only before non-palatal consonants, but also before palatal. In the latter case I write *iài*.

Thus Mid. Ir. *dígáir*,<sup>4</sup> E. Mod. Ir. *diogháir*, became *\*dí-áir*, then *\*dí-air*, and finally monosyllabic *diàir*, 'quick', a word well known in Cork and Kerry to-day.

Mid. Eng. *trie*, 'try', was borrowed into Irish by affixing *-áil*; the resultant *tri-áil* has now become *triàil*, 'try' (impv.), 'to try' (v. n.), 'a trial' (sb.). The *-l* is depalatalized in inflected forms, e.g. *triàlaim*, 'I try'. The sb. *triàil* has gen. *triàlach*, which is pronounced as historical *\*tréalach* would be; hence on the analogy of the treatment in verse of spoken *ià* in words like *béal*, *féar*, we find Éamonn mac Dhonncha an Dúna, ca. 1656, treating the spoken *triàlach* as *tréalach*, which he rimes with *éitheach*, *lae sin*, and the like.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In verse the old non-diphthongal pronunciation of *éa* is retained. Compare what O'Donovan wrote in this connexion in 1845: 'It is curious that while the natives of Munster use it [viz. the sound which O'Donovan represents as *ē-ā*] in common conversation, they always reject it in repeating poems, songs, and prayers' (Ir. Gr. 18).

<sup>2</sup> Historical *ia*, as in *fial*, is pronounced *io*; and historical *iai* (and likewise *ia* in absolute final position, as in *Dia*, *fiadh*, *liath*) is pronounced *ie*. Here again the *i* of the diphthongs is half-long.

<sup>3</sup> In *mi-d* (*mi-dgh*), 'misfortune', the vowels have not coalesced owing to the influence of the simplex *á* (*dgh*).

<sup>4</sup> Wrongly *dígair* in Meyer's Conrr. For the length of the *á* cf. *dígháir*: *primháidh*, BCC 382. 2, *dígdir*: *áig*, SG i, 65. 11, *diogháir*: *láimh*, TD 188, § 9, *co dígáir dásachtach*, Celt. Rev. ii, 306, and see further ÉRIU viii, 168. The word would appear to be a compound of *gáir*, meaning perhaps literally 'without a shout', hence originally 'giving no notice of approach', 'moving stealthily and suddenly' (?).

<sup>5</sup> *dá ttubhairt chumtréalach*, 23 C 8, 200; *no go mbeirtear iad chumtréalach*, ib. 205.

Mid. Eng. *viage*, 'voyage', borrowed into Irish,<sup>1</sup> at first gave *\*víaitse*, *\*víáiste*. This has now become *biáiste*, f., which in South Kerry means 'a voyage, sea-trip (whether for fishing or otherwise)'.<sup>2</sup> In West Kerry it is applied primarily to a fishing season (*biáiste na maircreul*, *biáiste na ngliomach*), secondarily to the season or suitable time for carrying out agricultural works (*biáiste na bprátaí bhuint*); and *biáiste mhah* or *ana-bhiáiste*, 'a successful season', is often used in the sense of 'a good time (especially in the matter of food and drink)'. In Clear Island the original *v-* is retained, and the meaning is 'a voyage, a fishing expedition'.<sup>3</sup>

*Fiadháin*, 'wild', became *\*fia-áin*, *fián* (as in Connacht to-day), which in Munster has evolved to *fián*. Similarly the derivative *fiadhántas*, 'wildness', has become *fiántas*, riming fully with *bréantas* (pron. *briántas*). Merriman twice employs *fiadháin* in his *Cúirt* (ll. 53, 271), and in each case he rimes it with words containing *éa*, which he doubtless intended to be pronounced *ià*.<sup>4</sup>

*Liaghán*,<sup>5</sup> 'a trowel', is similarly pronounced *lián*; the gen. sg. and nom. pl. *liagháin* is *liàin*.

The above pronunciations hold good for Munster generally. Only in South Kerry (Ballinskelligs district) have I observed a tendency to discard the sound *iài*, confined as it is to a small number of words. There I have heard several speakers of Irish substitute *ie* (the sound of written *iai*, heard, e.g., in *Briain*, *spiaire*, *diail*, *fiaile*), and pronounce *dier*, *triel*, *bieste*, *fien*; but other speakers in the same neighbourhood pronounced these words with *iài* in the usual Munster fashion.

I may note that Dinneen's spellings of the words above discussed

<sup>1</sup> It was likewise borrowed into Scottish; cf. *bàdse*, *béidse*, 'voyage', A. McDonald's Vocabulary (1741), 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *sar ar imigh sé [=an maradóir] ar cheann d'á bhiaisdí*, D. Ó Murchadha, Rannscéalta, 12 (South Kerry).

<sup>3</sup> See Irisl. M. Nuadháid 1929, 64, where Fr. Donnchadh Ó Floinn gives the Clear Island forms as *bhiadhaiste* ('accent on *ais*') and *bhéiste*.

<sup>4</sup> He rimes *fiadhántas* with *mian*, 913; as he elsewhere, 934, rimes *bréantas* with *mian*; this suggests that the latter word is to be pronounced, exceptionally, *miàn*. In Munster verse the *ià* pronunciation of *éa* is regularly ignored, and Merriman's general practice conforms to this rule, as we see from numerous rimes like *géag* : *craobh*, *néalta* : *céile*, *éad* : *claon*; but in the foregoing passages (including l. 54, quoted below), it seems clear that Merriman intended the sound *ià* to be employed.

<sup>5</sup> In Begly, 645 a, spelled *lióghán*, read *lioghán*, representing a Connacht pronunciation *lián*.

are all historically incorrect and phonetically misleading; they are *diair*, *trail*, *trailim*, *biadhaiste*, *fiadhain*, *fiadhantas*, *liaghan*.

Here we may mention an elusive word *miàr* or *miàir*, attested in Merriman's *Cúirt*, 53:

*Ba mhuar, ba mhià(i)r, ba fiadhán le féachaint  
Suas 'na héadan créachtach créimeach.*

The MS. readings for the word which I have written *mhià(i)r* here are *mhear*, *mhéar*, *mhiar*, *mheadhar*, *mhiaidhir*, etc. The word has not been recorded in any dialect in our day, but it appears to have been well known to Daniel Foley, who in his English-Irish Dict. (1855) gives (inter alia) *miabhair* under 'great', and *miamhair* under 'ample', 'august', 'big', 'bulky', 'capacious'.<sup>1</sup> Some such meaning as 'impressive in size, imposing in appearance', would very well suit the context in Merriman's line. The historical spelling of the word has not been ascertained.

Whereas in other Irish dialects the general tendency is to shorten the first of a pair of hiatus-vowels, in the Irish of Munster the tendency is to keep the first vowel long (or half-long) and to shorten the second. This is illustrated in *iā* becoming *ià* in words like *diàir*, *biàiste*, above.

Of the combination *iō* my only example is *prióir*,<sup>2</sup> 'prior'. This I have not heard in Munster speech; but presumably it first became *\*pri-oir* and then monosyllabic *\*priair* (pron. *p'r'ier*); compare *mi-fhoirtiún*, which has become disyllabic *miairtiún* in West Kerry. A derivative is seen in the Irish name of the parish of Prior in South Kerry, which, if my memory serves me right, is called in local Irish *an Phriaireacht* ('the Priory').

As *iā* gives monosyllabic *ià*, so *ūā* gives monosyllabic *uà*, i.e. a diphthong made up of half-long *u* and clear *a* (distinguished from historical *ua*, which is pronounced *uə*). This occurs, so far as I am aware, only in East and North Munster; in West Munster a *v*, which may be either historical (representing *bh* or *mh*) or a glide, intervenes between the two vowels, so that there is no hiatus, and no shortening of the *ā* takes place. Thus *dubhán*, 'a hook',

<sup>1</sup> The Irish-English dictionaries ignore the word in any spelling, apart from Dinneen's second edition, which has *méadhair*, 'august', and *miadhair*, 'great, august'.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Des. 6402, IGT p. 103. Spelled *prioghóir* by Begly, 552 a. Wrongly *prior*, gen. *priór*, in Dinneen. The disyllabic character of the word is seen in IGT ex. 1310, where *prióir* rimes with *mioóigh*. Cf. further *prióir*, A.L. Cé ii, 442.6; gen. *prióra*. ib. 368.23.

is *duvān* (with final stress) in West Munster, but in co. Waterford it became *\*dūān* and thence *duān*. So *fuaignéil* (E. Mod. Ir. *fuaignéil*), 'to sew', is *fuail* in co. Waterford. *Baile an Ruadháin*, 'Ballinruan', near Crusheen, co. Clare, I have heard pronounced as *Bail' an Ruāin*. In *damhán allaíd*, 'spider', which in Munster Irish became *dubhán alla*,<sup>1</sup> the strong stress on the first syllable of the second word has caused *duān* (<*dubhán*) to be reduced to *duan* (i.e. *duən*) or *dón* in Waterford and Clare.<sup>2</sup>

In East and North Munster *ū* + *ō* appears to have given the same result as *ā* + *ā*. Thus *ruadhóig*, 'wax-end', is, if my memory serves me right, pronounced *ruāg* both in Waterford and in Clare. The Irish name of the 'Duag', a river which joins the Tar near Clogheen in South Tipperary, I have not heard; but I take it that the local pronunciation is (or was) *Duāg*, representing an historical *Dubhóig*. Another stream of the same (?) name<sup>3</sup> joins the Suir from the east a few miles to the north of Thurles; hence the townland-name 'Ballyduag', *\*Béal Átha Dubhóige*.<sup>4</sup>

By way of supplementing the foregoing remarks, I may note some examples of words in which the first of the hiatus vowels is *ā*, *ā*, *o*, or *ō* (the second being, as before, *ā* or *ō*). In such words the second vowel usually disappears, and the resultant long vowel agrees with the first vowel.

Thus *cáog*, 'jackdaw', from onomatopoeic *cá* and *-óg*, has become *cág* in Munster,<sup>5</sup> the development presumably being *cá-óg* > *\*cá-og* > *cág*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare *dubhán alla* riming with *sruthán seanma*, Hackett 46.

<sup>2</sup> For Ring, co. Waterford, Sheehan gives *duan alla* (Sean-chaint na nDéise 83); from another speaker in the same locality I noted *dún alla* (*dún* would be the local pronunciation of *dón*). In co. Clare I have heard *duan alla* and *dón alla*.

<sup>3</sup> It is unnamed in the six-inch Ordnance map.

<sup>4</sup> In the Survey of 1654-6 this river is called 'Dwagg', the townland 'Bealladwaggy' and 'Belladuaggy' (Civil Survey, Co. Tipperary, i, pp. 37, 39, 44, 70).

<sup>5</sup> This is attested from the eighteenth century, e.g. *fá gháir na gcádáig*, Aogán Ó Rathile, 2 ed. 78; *cág ar ghéagaibh crainn*, Seán na R. 5; Búrdúin Bheaga § 87.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *caog*, Ir. Glosses 201; *caóig*, riming with *ra-óg*, Ir. Texts i, 32. The latter example illustrates the usual shortening, in the verse of the schools, of the first of a pair of hiatus-vowels. Begly's spelling is *cudhóig*, 334 a, 586 a, showing the shortened *a* further reduced to *u* (cf. *Gioróid* < *Gearóid* and the like). Scottish has *cadhag* or *cathag*, in which the *dh* or *th* merely marks hiatus.

*Meadhón*, 'middle', has given two forms in current Irish: (1) *meán*, as in *meán uisce*, 'midnight', (2) *meón*, best known in the phrases *thar meón*, as *meón*.<sup>1</sup>

*Seaán* (<'Jehan'), disyllabic, is now *Seán*. The by-form *Seoán* (<'Johan'), IGT p. 83, has given *Seón*.<sup>2</sup> Compare *sleaghán*, 'a turf-spade', now *sleán*.

In *comháireamh*, 'act of counting', the *comh-* doubtless became *có-* (as in *comhairle*, *comhursa*, etc.), giving *có-dáireamh*, which with the shortening of the *á* resulted in *cóireamh*,<sup>3</sup> the present Munster (and Connacht) form.

*Gabhaim*, v. n. *gabháil*, became *gobhaim*, *gobháil*, in Irish generally (cf. participle *gofa* or *goite*, Munster; fut. *gofa mé*, Connacht). In West Munster the *bh* is retained in *gabháil*, pron. *g(u)váil*, and there is no shortening of the *á*, which receives the stress. In Clare and Waterford the *bh* dropped out (as in *dubhán* above), the *á* was shortened, and the hiatus-vowels coalesced, resulting in monosyllabic *góil*<sup>4</sup> (Clare) or *góilt* (Waterford). On the other hand in the special sense of 'the full of the two arms' *gabháil* appears to be pronounced *guvál* (with final stress) throughout Munster.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the derivative *meónach*, 'middling', used in Clare. *Meadhón* had a rare doublet *meadhán* (IGT p. 83), which may possibly be the forerunner of current Ir. *meán*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand in the Irish form of the corresponding feminine name *Seo-* was raised to *Siu-*, and a glide *v* developed before the following *á*, resulting in *Siuván*, 'Johanna', 'Joan'. Cf. *Siubhán* : *tindl*, Ir. Texts ii, 62 z.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the spellings *cóireamh*, DBr. iii, 58, *athchóimhreamh*, ib. i, 200.

<sup>4</sup> So Merriman's *Cúirt II.* 196, 388, 786. In Connacht *gabháil* is pronounced *góil* both as verbal noun and in the sense of 'barm' (cf. *góil*, 'barm', J. H. Molloy, Ir. Gr. pp. 26, 29).

<sup>5</sup> I have noted this pronunciation in Clare, as well as in West Munster. For Waterford cf. Henebry, Sounds of Munster Irish, 23.

## -GENN FOR -CHENN

**I**N a number of Mid. Ir. compounds of which the second component is *cenn*, 'head', we find the *c-* of *cenn* mutated to *g-* instead of to *ch-*. Examples follow.

Mid. Ir. *dicenn*, E. Mod. Ir. *dígeann*, 'end, utmost point, result', e.g. *bidh olc dígeann bhias duit de*, B. Shuibhne, ITS, xii, 144. For other examples see Laws Gloss., s.v. *dicend*, and Meyer, Contrr., s.v. 1. *di-chenn*.<sup>1</sup> In IGT we have *dígenn*, m., gen. *-ginn*, p. 54, and f., gen. *-ginne*, p. 61; compare gen. *díginde* riming with *sídeindi*, ex. 504. The hesitation between m. and f. no doubt reflects the fact that *dígenn*, like *cenn*, was originally neuter.<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Welsh word is *diben*, 'end, aim, purpose'. Cf. Bret. *dibenn-eost*, 'autumn' (lit. 'end of August').

Mid. Ir. *dicenn* also means 'a headless man', in the sense of 'a man without a chief'. See O'Don. Spt. (*dígeann*) and Laws Gloss. (*di-cend*). Misspelled *di-chend* in Contrr. Cf. W. *di-ben*, 'headless, endless'; Bret. *dibenna*, 'to decapitate' (=Mid. Ir. *dichenn*, v. n. *dichned*, *dichennad*).<sup>3</sup>

Mid. Ir. *clocend*, Mod. Ir. *cloigeann*, Sc. *clraiginn* (m., gen. *-ginn*), Manx *claigin*, 'a skull', from *clog* + *cenn*. Regularly this combination would have given Mod. Ir. \**cloiceann*, as *beag* + *ceann* gives *beiceann* (IGT p. 14). Pedersen, V.G. i, 418, sees in *cloigeann* a compound of *cloch*, 'stone', and *cenn*, and assumes that *ch* + *ch* regularly gives *g*; but this is impossible (cf. *cloch* + *ceann* > *cloichceann*, IGT p. 14). Thurneysen, who likewise takes the first element to be *cloch*, regards the development as exceptional, and suggests that the word has been influenced by *clog*, 'bell' (Hb. p. 83; ZCP xii, 254). It seems more reasonable to assume that the first element is *clog*, which may be interpreted either as the word for 'bell', or else as the Ivernic form of *cloch*, 'stone'.

<sup>1</sup> Only one of the examples quoted by Meyer has *-ch-*. Cf. *dobér dígeann mo c[h]omurli duid*, 'I will give thee my best advice', ZCP vi, 92 b.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly *cloigeann*, 'skull', has both genders: (1) masc., gen. *cloiginn*, TBg. 284, and in Munster and Connacht to-day, (2) fem., gen. *cloigne*, BCC 128. 18, and in Donegal to-day.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also *dícenn*, adj., in the phrase *glám dícenn*, the name of a particular kind of satire. We have gen. *gláimhe díccinne*, ÉRIU xiii, 45. 27; acc. *gláimh ndíginn*, ib. 47 ll. 18, 27; dat. *glaimh dhíghinn* [leg. *gláimh dhíginn*], ib. 46. 18.

The latter explanation is suggested by W. *penglog*, 'skull', lit. 'head-stone', and also by Bret. *clopenn*, 'skull', if this stands for \**clockenn*, 'stone-head'.

*Táilcenn*, later *táilgeann*, lit. 'adze-head' (*ascic平ut*, L. Ardm. 2 b 1), a name applied to the early Christian missionaries in Ireland, and in particular to St. Patrick. Some examples are: *tailcenn*, Trip. (ed. Mulchrone) 1922, *in táilcenn*, 2617, *lásin táilcend*, 2835, *in talcend*, LL 208 a 26, *in táilceann* (=Ciarán mac an tSaeir), Ac. Sen. 1836; gen. *in Táilgind* (=St. Patrick), ib. 4627, *an Táilginn*, Measgra D. p. 57; npl. *tailcind*, Trip. 345, *talcind*, LL 278 a 18,<sup>1</sup> 296 b x, 297 b x, 298 b 4; apl. *talcenna*, 298 b 17; gpl. *tailge(a)nn*, C. M. Rath pp. 118, 182, 296; dpl. *tailgennaib*, 166. We have a late and artificial spelling (-gh- replacing -g-) in *Táilgheann*, ITS xxviii, pp. 28, 60, gen. *táilghinn*, DBr. i, 8 z.

We find *táilgeann* and three other compounds of this type illustrated in the well-known prophecy concerning St. Patrick: *Ticfa tailcend tar muir meircenn, a bratt tollcend, a chrand cromchend*<sup>2</sup> (Trip. 338–341). The word *meircenn*, 'mad-headed, furious', is attested only here. The two other words are discussed below.

*Tollcend*, meaning 'with perforated head' (*capite perforato*, L. Ardm.), is found elsewhere as a personal name. Thus *Tollcend*, LL 166 a 5, 12<sup>3</sup>; TBC Wi. 4871; RC xiii, pp. 102, 106. The word was also applied to some marine animal; cf. (gpl.) *na tollcenn* ⁊ *na corrccenn*, among 'the beasts of the ocean', C. Cath. 4333, *toilgind* (npl.), ÉRIU iii, 156. 7, *mórthoillgeann* (gpl.) A. v. 2, fo. 110 a; otherwise *tuilchinn* (sic leg.), GJ xix, 102. 10. Compare also *tolleannaig* as a name for the early Christian missionaries in Ireland, Meyer's Cath Finntrága p. 162, l. 133.

*Crommcenn*, 'with bent head', 'crook-headed', is applied both to Christian clerics and to their croziers. Cf. *cromcind ataconnacs* *conna crannaib cromcenna*, LL 298 b 16–17, *dáine cromcenna*, 302 b 32, *na cléirigh na croimcinn*, Anecdota ii, 40, § 6. As an epithet of the mythical Cairbre we find on the one hand *cromchenn*, R 147 b 5, *cromchend*, LL 319 b 16, gen. *cromchind*, 323 f 46, 350 e 42; on the

<sup>1</sup> Edited to *Tálchind*, Met. D. iv, 308. 14.

<sup>2</sup> This may be emended to *cromcend*, which is the reading of the LB version (Trip. ed. Stokes, p. 448). So the glossed extracts in H. 3. 18 read *cromcea[n]d* here (ACL iii, 12).

<sup>3</sup> In the Dindshenchas of Lecc Tollcind. In the Rennes Dsh. the spellings are *Tollcend*, *Tollchend*, and (gen.) *Tollcind*. Gwynn, Met. D. iv, 222, prints *Tollchend*.

other hand gen. *croimcinn*, Lis. Lives 1795, *croimcind*, ZCP iii, 16, 3, *croímcinn*, BB 139 b 41, *croímgínd*, 148 b 45, *croimcind*, Lec. 104 a 1, 38.

*Corrgenn*, 'pointed (?) head', the name of a personage belonging to the Tuatha Dé Danann, Met. D. iv, pp. 100, 102, 110, 112; also spelled *Corrcend* and *Corgend*, 94, *Corgenn*, 110, *Corcend*, LL 11 b 10. It was also the name of some sea-animal: *a róin* 7 a *rossail* 7 a *chorrcind*, C. R. Ríg p. 14, and cf. C. Cath. 4333, quoted above.

*Maelgenn*, 'bald-head(ed)', occurs as *máelcend*, Tec. Corm. p. 16, 17, which Meyer emends to *máelc[h]end*. As a personal name we have *Maelcend*, LL 24 a 24, ZCP xiii, 375. 22. This is artificially spelled *Maoilgheann* in Keating, FF ii, 5397.

*Geirrgenn*, 'short-head', the name of the father of the mythical Muinremar ('thick-necked') of the Ulidian tales; spelled *Gergend*, RC xxiii, 308 § 18, *Gerchend*, 321, *Cerrcen*, 326. In the gen. we have *mac Geirrgind*, FB § 12, *mac Gerrginn*, *Muc Meic Da-Thó* § 7, *mac Gerrcind* (with variants), BDD § 96, *mac Gergind*, RC xxiii, 308 § 22. Occasionally the G- is dropped after *mac*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *mac Ercind* ib. 321, *mac Eirrcind*, Cír Anmann § 404. The father of St. Senán was similarly named; the saint is *mac Gerrginn*, Trip. 2428, *mac Geirrgind*, ZCP iii, 223 (but *mac Geirrhind*, ib. 222), *mac Errginn* (so MS.), Lis. Lives 1792. Artificially *Muinremar* *mac Eirrhinn*, ITS vii, 53.2.

*Dubcend*, Mod. Ir. *Duibhgeann*, 'black-head(ed)', a personal name, of which five examples are noted in Rawl. B 502 Index; cf. gen. *Dubcind*, LL 336 a 6. Hence the surname *Ó Dubhghinn*, 'Deegan', Top. Poems pp. 72, 92, 124. From a derivative comes the surname *Ó Dubhgeannáin*, 'Duigenan' (Annals). As a common noun *dubcend* is a poetic term for a sword, e.g. LU 1037, -38, -43.<sup>2</sup>

*Sraibhgeann*, lit. 'sulphur-head', the name of a mythical personage. The nom. is *Sraibcenn*, R 147 b 10, *Srobcend*, LL 319 b 23; gen. *Sraibcind*, LL 138 b 44, *Sraibcind*, RC xvii, 10, *Sraibgind*, ÉRIU ii, 174, 182, *Srobcind*, LL 324 e 5, ÉRIU vi, 147, *Sroibgind*, Anecdota ii, 76. The spelling *Sraibhghinn* (gen.), FF ii, 4164, 4317, -65, is quite artificial.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the converse change in *mac Gúmóir*, Met. D. iv, 230, for *mac Úmóir*, and *mac Guthidir*, LU 4537, for *mac Uthidir* (ib. 4825).

<sup>2</sup> In the corresponding text in Laud 610 the spellings are *duibhenn*, *dubcenn*, and *duibcenn* (RC xx, 274-276). O'Clery's spelling is *duibhgeann*.

*Laidhgeann*, a personal name, lit. 'snow-head', from *ladhg*, 'snow'. The derivative *Laidhgnén* is somewhat commoner. For examples of both see Rawl. B 502 Index under *Laidcenn*, *Laidcnén*, *Laidgneán*. Laidcend, king of Uí Chenselaig (LL 40 a 35), is called *Laidgnean* in AU 726 (and cf. gen. *Laidggnen*, ib. 768); in Three Fragments his name is given as *Laidcenn*, p. 54, *Laidgneín*, p. 52.

*Daimcenn*, 'ox-head', seems to be preserved in *Cellán Cille Daimcinn*, Anecdota ii, 30. 3; but I have no other example of the name.

The mutation of *-cenn* to *-genn* illustrated in the foregoing words is essentially of the Brittonic type, whereas *cenn* itself is purely Goidelic in form and corresponds to Brittonic *penn*. How can one account for the hybrid character of these words? I can suggest no other explanation than that some at least of these words go back to the period when the non-Goidelic population were in process of acquiring the Goidelic dialect and discarding their own. It was a simple matter for the non-Goidelic Irish, whose dialect was of the Brittonic type, to learn to replace their own *penn*, 'head', by *cenn*, for the correspondence *p* : *k* (< *kv*) must have been obvious to them. Apparently, however, they did not learn quite so readily to discard their Brittonic mutation, so that there seems to have been a period during which the descendants of the earlier population were inclined to introduce into their newly-acquired Goidelic the Brittonic mutation of *tenuis* to *media*. Naturally these and other hybrid formations, which are the inevitable accompaniment of a transition from one language or dialect to another, for the most part disappeared in the course of time, leaving no trace; but a few of them, compounds in which *-genn* took the place of *-chenn*, chanced to take root and were eventually adopted into Irish.

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## NOTES, MAINLY ETYMOLOGICAL

### I. eas. allas.

THE word *eas*, Mid. Ir. *ess*, 'waterfall', has not hitherto been provided with a satisfactory etymology.<sup>1</sup> It can, however, be safely equated with Welsh *ias*, 'a boiling, violent heat or cold,' from the IE. root *ies-*, 'to boil up, to foam.' The fundamental idea of *ess* is 'seething water,' whether the seething is due to the water falling from a height or to its being otherwise agitated; compare some of the examples quoted in R.I.A. Dict., including '*ess*, aqua, quia [a]estuat i. fervet,' O'Mulc. 427, and *in muir . . . ina essaib ardd a uanfadcha*, LL 230 b 26. *Ess* is a masc. *u*-stem, but was originally neuter, to judge from *eas nard* (nom.), RC v, 202. 2, *Eas nDuind*, Met. D. iv, 8. That the Welsh *ias*, f., was likewise a *u*-stem is suggested by the pl. *iasau*. So we may refer both to a Celt. *\*jestu*, n.

In just the same way W. *berw*, 'a boiling, bubbling', has the secondary sense of 'waterfall, cataract, or cascade (from the bubbling and foaming of the water); as, *Berw Taf*, *Berw Rhondda*, *Berw Melin y Cwrt*, in Glamorgan' (D. Silvan Evans, Welsh Dict. s.v.).

In *allas*, m. (o-stem), 'sweat', we have, I suggest, a compound of which the second element (-as) is closely allied to *ess*. Compare the derivative adj. *aillseach*, 'perspiring' (e.g. TBg.; Measgra Dánta p. 25. 23), which shows that the *a* of -as represents a palatal vowel. In *all-* we may possibly have a cognate of Lat. *pellis* (= \**pelnis*), 'skin': *all-* < *aln-* < (*p*)*ln-*. *Allas* would accordingly mean 'skin-effervescence' (\**allesto-*, < \**alni-jesto-* or the like), the idea of boiling or bubbling being suggested by the beads of perspiration. Compare *bruth*, lit. 'boiling', hence 'an eruption of the skin caused by an overheat of the body' (P. O'C. apud Conrr.), combined with *allas* in *bruth* + *allas* in *miled*, LU 7976.

We have a close cognate of *allas*, 'sweat', in O. Ir. *\*ailsiu*, acc. *ailsin* (*amal tuthe* + *ailsin*, Wb. 30 b 13, glossing *ut cancer*, 2 Tim. ii, 17). In Mid. and Mod. Irish we find *aillse* (indeclinable), 'an outbreak of sores or tumours on the body'.<sup>2</sup> To express a single such sore *bainne*, 'a drop,' is used in conjunction with it, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stokes, Urk. Sprachschatz 44 (\**pesti-*); Walde-Pokorny, ii, 24 ('aus \**ped-tu-* ? ?').

<sup>2</sup> In medical MSS. *aillse* (as well as *cainnser*) translates Lat. *cancer*, e.g. ITS xxv, 172, O'Gr. Cat. 192.

*bainne aillsi* AU ii, 184 a,<sup>1</sup> just as *braon allais* is used to denote 'a drop of perspiration.' In a line in Ferriter's elegy on Muiris Mac Gearailt the best MS. reads *mo bhain[n]e aillse, mo chainsear drólonn*; the other MSS. substitute *bhraon* for *bhainne*.<sup>2</sup>

Since the above was written Pedersen has discussed the etymology of Ir. *allas* in an article in Mac Neill Essays, 142 f. He would equate the *all-* (<\**aln-*) of *allas* with the *allan-* of the Hittite verb (3 pl. pres.) *allanijanzi*, 's'échauffent', and suggests that we have here 'an interesting case of special agreement between Hittite and Celtic, . . . even if we admit the existence in other I.-E. languages of a root \**al-*, "to burn".' He takes no account of *aillse*, and apparently regards the *-as* of *allas* as a suffix. I hope I shall be forgiven if I prefer the explanation I have tentatively put forward above.

## 2. onfaise. O. Ir. úrpaisiu.

Whereas the Irish word for 'sweat' is *allas*, the Brittonic dialects employ in this sense a word referable to the IE. root *sweid-*, namely, W. *chweys*, Corn. *whys*, Bret. *c'houez*, which go back to \**svit-so-* or \**svid-to-*, and are cognate with Lat. *sudor* and O. Eng. *swāt*. We may suspect that *allas* ('skin-boiling') is a new creation in Irish, and that it ousted a word akin to the Brittonic forms just quoted. Actually traces of such a word are, I suggest, embedded in the compounds *onfaise*, *úrpaisiu*.

*Onfaise* is attested in Late Mid. and Early Mod. Ir. texts in the sense of 'swimming, propelling oneself through water, plunging through water.' Occasionally one finds *onfais*<sup>3</sup> or *anfaise*; cf. *ar onfais*, Caithréim Cellaig 340, where there are variants *for onfoisse*, *ar anfaisi*. Examples will be found in R.I.A. Contrr., to which may be added *go tir d'fhéachoin t'onfaise | síol Éabha do iomchraise*, ITS xxxvii, 226, § 30. Keating has *ag onfais*, 'swimming', TBg. 929, 2276, 3350; but, exceptionally, *agá n-onfais féin* 6983, apparently in imitation of *agá n-únfairt féin*, which it closely resembles in meaning.

The semantic connexion which we have seen to exist between

<sup>1</sup> In Triads, ed. Meyer, § 126, *bainne aillse* is misrendered 'a drop of sweat.'

<sup>2</sup> Dinneen (Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir, ed. 1934, p. 79, l. 210) reads *mo bhraon allsa, mo channcar drólan*, thus committing two errors in one line. O'Brien, Dict. p. 11, wrongly infers a nom. *aillis* from the phrase *braon aillse*, which he oddly explains as follows: 'a drop observed to fall upon the tombs of certain Tyrants, so Called from it's Cankorous corroding what it falls upon.'

<sup>3</sup> In *ónfais*, IGT p. 66, the length-mark must be an error.

seething water (*eas*) and sweat (*allas*) suggests that we have in *onfaise* a compound of which the second element represents *\*svissiā* and is a close relation of W. *chwys*. The first element, *on-*, seems to be an ablaut form of *en*, 'water', whence *enach*, 'a marsh.'<sup>1</sup> We find the same *on* in *onchú*, which Stokes (Cath Catharda, p. 536) interprets as meaning literally 'water-hound.' If these suggestions are well founded, *onfaise* would have originally meant 'water-sweating,' i.e. the forming of bubbles or foam on water.

O. Ir. *úrpheisiu*, 'cancer', dat. *úrfuisin*, Sg. 100 a 4, 5, is synonymous with O. Ir. *ailsiu*, which is a close relation of *allas*, and which means literally something like 'skin-boiling' (p. 144). This permits us to refer *-pheisiu* to *\*svissiū*, and to see in it another Irish cognate of W. *chwys*. In the first part of the compound, *úr-*, we seem to have the adj. *úr*, 'fresh, sappy', here perhaps in the sense of 'purulent'. Just as great heat causes bubbles to appear on water, so it was thought that the excessive heat of the body caused 'bubbles'<sup>2</sup> to appear on the skin, and these 'bubbles' might be either beads of perspiration (*allas*) or else ulcers or tumours (*ailsiu*, *ailse*, *úrpheisiu*).<sup>3</sup>

### 3. *cuntabhairt*

Mid. Ir. *cuntabairt*, 'doubt', E. Mod. Ir. *cuntabhairt*, *contabhairt*, 'doubt; danger', has a variety of forms in the O. Ir. glosses: *cumdubart*,<sup>4</sup> Ml., *cundubart*, Wb., *cumtubart*, Sg., Ml., *cumtabart*, Ml., *cuntubart*, Wb.; for references see Pedersen, V.G. ii, 467. Pedersen assumes that the earliest of these forms is *cundubart*, which he analyzes as *com-di-fo* + *ber-*; but this explanation is unsatisfactory, presupposing, as it does, a development of *cund-* to *cumd-*<sup>5</sup> and *cumt-* which would be quite unparalleled in Irish.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stokes, Cath Catharda, p. 536, where however an impossible etymology of *faise* is suggested. Stokes, *ibid.*, derives *en* from *\*pina*; but a more satisfactory etymology for *en* and *on* would be to refer both to the same root as Eng. *fen* (as to which see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *bolg*, f., which means both 'bubble' (on water) and 'blister, tumour' (on the skin).

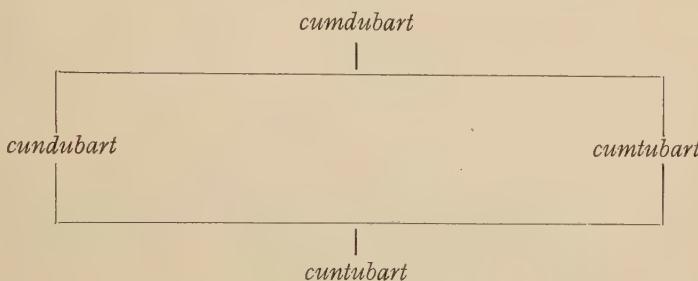
<sup>3</sup> Pedersen, V.G. ii, 627, suggests that *úrpheisiu* contains the verbal root *seth-*, 'to blow,' along with the prefixes *air-ro-*; but there are no parallel formations from this root, and *air-ro-* would not give *úr-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *cumddubartaig* (dat. sg. fem. of adj.), Sg. 104 a 2.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. *cummd-*, with unlenited *m*, though Pedersen seems to assume that the *m* was lenited.

<sup>6</sup> Hessen, ZCP ix, 48, analyzes the word as *com-uks-di-uks-bert*; but this would give spirant *m* and non-spirant *b*.

Rather we must start from *cumdubart*, in which the *m* might easily become *n* by partial assimilation to the following *d*, giving *cundubart*, which under the influence of *tabart* would become *cuntubart*. Alternatively the same influence would have operated directly on *cumdubart*, giving *cumtubart*, which, with *mt* > *nt* by partial assimilation, would become *cuntubart*. This double descent of *cuntubart* may be expressed graphically as follows :



In Middle Irish *cuntabairt* (acc.-dat. for nom.) is general, but the form with *-mt-* is occasionally found, e.g. *cumtabairt* (nom.), LU 9537 (H).<sup>1</sup>

As to the derivation of *cumdubart*, both its form and its meaning are satisfactorily explained if we suppose that it goes back to *\*kom-myto-byta*, of which the first two components are seen in Mid. Ir. *cummat*, 'an equal amount' (cf. W. *cymaint*, < *\*kom-myti*), the last component in O. Ir. *breth*, 'judgment' (: W. *bryd*, 'mind'). The word, therefore, originally meant 'a judgment which inclines equally to both sides', i.e. 'a hesitation to decide in favour of either side', in other words, 'doubt, indecision'.<sup>2</sup> The transition from 'doubt' to 'danger' (the present meaning of the word) is a natural one; when danger threatens, the event, so to speak, hangs in the balance.

In *cumdubart* we have a good instance of syncope being allowed to operate regularly in an old compound, with the result that its component parts ceased to be recognizable. The thematic vowel remains (as *u* before *b*), because it was originally in the third

<sup>1</sup> In Scottish the word is now *cunnart*, with *nn* < *nd* < *nt*. In the Fernaig MS. the spellings are *coundoirt* and *cunord*. A. M'Donald writes *cuntart* (Ais-eiridh, 1751, p. 174).

<sup>2</sup> The idea of being balanced between two opinions is also seen in Lat. *dubius* (connected with *duo*) and Germ. *zweifel* (connected with *zwei*).

syllable.<sup>1</sup> Compounds of which the first element was originally polysyllabic are rare in Irish ; and if, as a rule, in such compounds each component preserves the form of the simplex, e.g. *úasal-athair*, *talam-chumscugud*, *solis-nél*, *Calatrium* (= *calad-druim*), this is either because the compound first came into existence in the post-syncope period or else because the simplex forms were restored analogically.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. Mid. Ir. *eirín*, Mod. Ir. *eireóg*.

Mid. Ir. *eirín circe*, or (shortly) *eirín*, means 'a pullet' ; as the word is masc., we may suppose that *eirín* means properly 'a chicken'. The R.I.A. Dict. quotes *coss érin* (v. ll. *erene*, *eirini*) *chirci*, ZCP iii, 2, and *in t-eirín* and *itir* in *eirín* in *rérerc*, Laws iii, 380 (comm.). Additional examples are *eirín ceirce*, SG i, 410, gen. *ind eirín*, ibid.<sup>3</sup> The word is misspelled *éirín* in Dinneen, *éirín(e)* in R.I.A. Dict. The only evidence for *é-* is Stokes's *coss érin chirci*, ZCP iii, 2 ; but the LL facs., which Stokes professes to follow, has *erín* here (LL 269 a 9), not *érin*.

The contradiction between the meaning (fem.) and the gender (masc.) of *eirín* was resolved in later Irish by substituting the fem. termination *-óg* for *-ín*. Thus in current Irish we find *eireóg*, 'pullet', in Connacht and co. Waterford.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Scottish has *eireag*, and Manx *errag* (Kelly), with the same meaning.

In the Irish of Donegal the form used is *éireog*,<sup>5</sup> 'pullet', in which the long *é-* must be due to some analogy. Probably it has

<sup>1</sup> *cumdubart* thus contradicts Thurneysen's statement (Handbuch p. 64) that the composition-vowel is always syncopated. See on this Pokorný, ZCP xiii, 31 f.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly because the first component has itself undergone syncope ; thus *forad-chnoc* might conceivably go back to \**vo-ro-sedo-knokko-*.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *eirín circe* one finds *éan circe*, 'pullet,' in some late texts, e.g. *an t-éan circe*, PCT 1412 ; *gan uiread eoin chirce da mhaoin fén*, FF iii, 2756. (The latter is based on *gan coibéis líne éin-chirce*, Caithréim Ceallacháin, ed. Bugge, p. 1, = *coméis líni oen chirci*, Cog. Gaedhel re G. 48.) The borrowed word *sicín*, 'chicken', is known from the seventeenth century, e.g. PCT 1767. Cf. 'chick, or chiken, *sicín circe*, *éan circe*', Begly 112 a.

<sup>4</sup> In Ring, co. Waterford, I have heard *ireóg*, with stress on final syllable. There is an alternative form with prothetic *f-* ; spelled *feireóg*, Sheehan, Sean-chaint 53 x, pl. *feireóga*, Seaán Ó Cadhla, Eachtra na mBróig 12 c. From a native of North-West Mayo I have heard *ireóg*, with stress on the first syllable.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Quiggin, A Dialect of Donegal § 160 ; Craig, Grammar (1904) 197.

been influenced by Donegal *éilín*,<sup>1</sup> 'a brood of chickens', which itself seems to be a cross between *áilín*, diminutive of *áil*, 'brood', and *éillín*, diminutive of *iall*, 'flock'.<sup>2</sup>

Ir. *eirin(e)*, 'chicken', presupposes an earlier Ir. \**er*, 'fowl',<sup>3</sup> the counterpart of W. and Bret. *iar*, Corn. *yar*, 'hen'. The W. and Bret. plurals (*ieir* and *ier*, respectively) suggest that the word was an *o* stem. Celt. *je-* remained in Goedelic (giving O. Ir. *e*), but became *ja-* in British and in Continental Celtic generally,<sup>4</sup> e.g. \**jestu* > Ir. *ess*, W. *ias* (see above, p. 144). Hence Ir. \**er*, W. *iar*, would go back to \**jeros*, 'a fowl'.

The etymology of the word is undetermined. Pokorny, ZCP xx, 514, includes W. Bret. *iar* in a list of words peculiar to Celtic and Balto-Slavic, and supposes a Celt. \**jarā*, which he would connect with Slavonic words for one-year-old animals, such as Bulg. *járka*, 'junges Huhn', derivatives of \**jaro-*, 'year' (IE. \**jéro-*, \**jōro-*). But this etymology may be ruled out; among other objections, it offers no explanation of the *e*- of Ir. *erín*, which Pokorny too conveniently ignores. If only as an attempt to fill a void, I am tempted to offer a substitute. Celtic \**jeros* might represent a pre-Celtic \**píperos* (cf. Celt. *ver-* < \**uper*), which would be cognate with Lat. *pípīo*, 'a chirp; a chirping bird', and with related words in many other languages (root *píp-*, 'chirp', often used in forming bird-names; see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 70).

### 5. óinmhíid. ónna. amaid.

Mid. Ir. *ó(i)nmit*, Mod. Ir. *óinmhíid*, 'a fool, a simpleton', is used of both sexes, e.g.<sup>5</sup> (a) of a man: *óinmit-side*  $\sqcap$  *fáith Dē*, LL 274 b 34, *don óinmhíid is fhearr*, TD 166, § 43, *dá mbeinn triotsa ar baois im óinmhíid*, Dmd. mac Seáin Bhuidhe 14, *in' óinmhíid meastar é féin*, Búrdúin Bheaga § 68; (b) of a woman: *an óinmhíid*

<sup>1</sup> Quiggin, *loc. cit.*, where also *éileog*, 'a young chicken,' is recorded (apparently formed from *éilín* on the analogy of *tireog*).

<sup>2</sup> There is also the possibility that *iall* may have had a by-form *ial* (whence *éilin*); compare *ialen*, RC v, 202. 9, apparently in the sense of 'a flock of birds,' *ial(l) én*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare San. Corm. 1301, where the *-ēne* of *erēne* (=Mid. Ir. *eirin*) is explained as a diminutive suffix.

<sup>4</sup> See Pedersen, V.G. i, 65, n. 1, where W. *iar* and Gaul. *Iarilla* (woman's name) are compared with Ir. *eirin* (sic). Pedersen quotes W. *iaith*, < \**jeht-*, as an exception to the rule; but if this word is an *i*-stem, as its pl. *iethoedd* suggests, there is no exception, for *iaith* could come from \**jakti-*.

<sup>5</sup> Additional examples of the word will be found in R.I.A. Conrr. (*óinmit*).

*dhithchéilligh*, Eochairsgiath 90. 16, *ag aimid nó ag óinmhid*, Merriman's Cúirt 218. Even when applied to men, the word is (like *i*-stems generally) grammatically feminine,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *in óinmit tróig dina Déssib* .i. *Mac Dá Cherda*, Meyer's Liadain and Cuirithir, p. 14. 4; *isí sin an chríonnacht deit | bheith it óinmhid leimh gan chéill*, Dánta Grádha 2 ed. 125. The word survived in the literature of Munster down to the nineteenth century; I have noted an example of it in a poem composed in 1845. In the spoken language, so far as I am aware, it is obsolete, having been replaced by new formations, viz. *amadán*,<sup>2</sup> m. (formed from *amaid*), when referring to a man, and *óinseach*,<sup>3</sup> f. (in which *-mhid* is replaced by the fem. suffix *-seach*), when referring to a woman.

As far back as 1860 Stokes proposed to identify Ir. *óinmhid* with W. *ynfyd*, 'furious, foolish' (Ir. Glosses, p. 77). Pedersen, V.G. i, 21, takes *óinmhid* to be a borrowing of the Welsh word, without attempting to account for the extraordinary change of W. *yn-* to Ir. *óin-*. This derivation is quite unconvincing. Whatever be the etymology of W. *ynfyd*,<sup>4</sup> Ir. *óinmhid* has nothing to do with it. The latter is obviously a compound of which the first part is *\*ón, uan*, 'lamb', and the second represents *\*menti* or *\*mñti*, root *men-* (as in *menma, aith-met*). The word thus means 'one who is lamb-witted' (cf. Gr. *ἀυτο-κῶν*). With the interchange of *ua* and *ó* seen in *uan*: *óinmhid*, compare *truagh : trócaire*, as well as doublets like *sluagh : slógh, luachmhar : lóghmhar*.

Another derivative of *\*ón*, 'lamb.' is the adj. *óna, ónna*.<sup>5</sup> An interpolation in Cormac's glossary (San. Corm. 1028) explains

<sup>1</sup> So *geilt*, 'a crazy person,' is fem. even when applied to a man; cf. nom. *an gheilt*, ITS xii, pp. 44, 100, gen. *na geilti*, ib. 50.

<sup>2</sup> A fifteenth-century example occurs in ZCP ii, 266, § 197 (Maundeville). Occasionally one finds the older and the newer word combined, e.g. *a óinmhid* 7 *a amaddán*, Mac Aingil, 79.

<sup>3</sup> This probably goes back to the fifteenth century (or earlier); cf. *d'óinsigh eich*, IGT ex. 733. For *óinsigh*, acc. pl., DBr. ii, 246, we should probably read *óinseacha*; cf. *ní anfadh . . . amuide i n-óinsigh*, ib. i, 108.

<sup>4</sup> Pedersen, *loc. cit.*, regards it as a borrowing of O. Eng. *unwitti*, which does not seem likely. Stokes may well be right in equating it with O. Bret. *enbit*, gl. 'debilis' (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1885-7, 583).

<sup>5</sup> For examples and references see R.I.A. Contrr. (*ónna*), Diogluim Dána 593, DBr. iii, 244; further examples will be found in Keating Poems, 201, DBr. ii, 222, Measgra Dánta p. 51 (*cumas-ónna*). The first printed dictionary to record the word is that of O'Brien, which has *ona*, 'slow, sluggish, inactive, lazy.' To this O'Reilly adds *onda*, 'simple, silly, weak, lazy,' and *onna*, 'silly, vapouring.'

ónna as *baeth*, 'foolish', but the usual meaning of the word in Irish texts is 'feeble, ineffective, timid'. An early example is *clann fhir ónnai*, R 77 a 28, = *cland fhir ónnai*, LL 142 b x. The word is especially common in sixteenth and seventeenth century texts, but is now obsolete. Late examples occur in poems by Uilliam Inglis (†1778): *táid sluaite* (or *uaisle*) *Sagsan go heaglach* (or *anbhfann*) *ónna*<sup>1</sup>, and *an leógan nár [bh']ónna*<sup>2</sup> *i dtreasaiibh*. The word appears to be unknown in Scottish, but is preserved in Manx in the form *oney*, which Cregeen explains as 'innocent', and Kelly as 'honest, simple, well-meaning'.

From ónna is formed an abstract ónnacht, 'feebleness', unrecorded in the dictionaries, illustrated in *mór faraire nár shatail ar ónnacht*<sup>3</sup>, i.e. 'who never trod on the weak', in Ferriter's elegy on Muiris Mac Gearailt, and in *do brathadh a n-ónnacht fós i bpuinte cluimh* in a poem by Tomás Ó Muil-riain, ca. 1663 (cf. 23 N 15, p. 131).

The -mid of óinmhid also occurs in *amaid*<sup>4</sup>, f., 'a foolish woman, a witless female',<sup>5</sup> which evidently represents \**ŋ-menti* or \**ŋ-mnti*, 'one who is witless'. In the literature the word generally means 'a witch, a female gifted with supernatural powers (e.g. the power of prophecy)',<sup>6</sup> for the speech of a crazed person was regarded as divinely inspired. Compare *buile*, 'madness' (Mid. Ir. *baile*), which formerly meant 'mantic utterance' (as in *baile in Scáil*), and, further, the connexion of Gr. *μάρτις* with *μαίνομαι*. Walde-

<sup>1</sup> Spelled ónnda, 23 C 8, 426, 23 C 19, 36; ónda 23 C 36, 121. In J. O'Daly's Poets and Poetry of Munster, ed. 1850, p. 98, ónna here appears as ómhanda, and in this corrupt form it has been borrowed by Dr. R. A. Foley (Cois na Bríde, p. 35), who explains it thus: 'ómhanda (uamhanda) i.e. eaglach' (p. 66).

<sup>2</sup> Spelled óna, 23 M 46, 37, ónad, 23 N 12, 31. Here Dr. Foley (*op. cit.* p. 5) reads *nár ónad*, and by way of explanation invents a verb 'ónaim i. leagaim' (p. 53).

<sup>3</sup> Here Dinneen (Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir, ed. 1934, p. 75 a) corruptly reads *nár shatail ar Eoghanacht*, which he explains (p. 136) as 'ná raibh riagh i nÉirinn'.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes, but rarely, *aimid*, e.g. nom. *aimmit*, Anecdota iii, 57, ll. 3, 4, 10; gen. sg. and nom. pl. *aimmite*, ib. ll. 12, 15; gen. sg. *aimide*, ITS xxvi, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Unlike óinmhid, *amaid* (*aimid*) is used only of women. An exception occurs in Búrdlín Bheaga, § 11, where, in a translation from English, *gach amaid* means 'fools' in general.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly *amaidecht* means both 'folly' and 'witchcraft'.

Pokorny (i, 53), following Stokes,<sup>1</sup> are in error in connecting Mid. Ir. *ammaít* with Germ. *amme* and Lat. *amita*.

6. Mid. Ir. *lága*, *láighe*. *lágan*, *láigen*.

In IGT, p. 39, we find the doublets *lágha*, *láighe*, m., undeclined in sing. The meaning, ' mattock, spade ', is illustrated in *mé an fear re hagaid na húaigi | tabair let an láighi*, ib. ex. 73. Compare also *lágha*, riming with *cára*, ib. ex. 974; *gabais iarsin láige* 7 *ro thochail . . . in talmain*, Schirmer, Die Kreuzeslegenden im L. B., p. 15, 257; *láighe*, ' mattock ', Is. vii 25 (ed. 1685). Nowadays *láighe*, f., is in common use in the Irish of Connacht (its gender it has probably borrowed from *rámhann*, ' spade ', and *sluasad*, ' shovel '), and has been taken over as ' loy ' into local English.<sup>2</sup> Begly has *lághuidhe*, ' mattock ', 450 a, and *láighidhe*, ' spade ', 619 b; these misspellings are meant to represent a South Connacht pronunciation *lāī*.

The word also meant ' a spear '. The name *Lugaid Lága*, LL 289 a 15 (=RC xiii, 442), is accompanied by a marginal gloss: *i. lágine mór no bid na láim*, ' i.e. he had a great spear in his hand '. So we find *cruisech lágae* used as the equivalent of *foga*, ' spear ', R 143 a 50 (and cf. 143 b 14). For the interchange of meanings cf. *sleagh*, ' spear ': *sleaghán* (> *sleán*), ' turf-spade ', and also the W. *paladr*, ' shaft, spear ', if this is connected with W. *pal*, ' a spade '.

A kindred word is Mid. Ir. *láigen*, f., ' spear ' (synonymous with *gái*, LU 7226). With the mythical *Lugaid Lága* may be identified *Lugaid Láigne*, whose name appears in the unhistorical part of the Eóganacht pedigree (*m. Luigdech Láigne*, R 154 a 47; *m. Lugdech Lagne* *las ctnadernait gai* 7 *cruen in Herinn*, LL 320 b). Editors generally assume that the *a* of *láigen* is short,<sup>3</sup> perhaps through associating the word with *Laigin*, in accordance with the well-known (but quite untrustworthy) tradition that the Laigin got their name from the spears, *láigne*, with which Labraid equipped them. For the length of the *a* compare such spellings as the

<sup>1</sup> Urk. Sprachschatz 16; and cf. his proposed correction of Hennessy in RC ii, 489.

<sup>2</sup> The Eng. Dial. Dict. quotes from Stephens, Farm Book (ed. 1849) i, 638: ' He stabs the ground with his " loy," a long narrow spade peculiar to the labourers of Connaught. '

<sup>3</sup> The mistake appears to go back to the time of O'Clery, who in his glossary has *laighean* *i. sleagh*.

following: nom. *lágén*, LU 7701, *lágín*, 7226; acc. *lágín*, 7213, 7703; dat. *lágín*, Thes. Pal. ii, 254. 4, LL 244 a 35; nom. pl. *lágine*, LL 198 a 48; dat. pl. *lágñib*, LL 137 b 12, 159 a 24, 25, 198 a 48. So in PH we have acc. and dat. sg. *lágín* or *lágín*, 673, 701, 2935, 3843. Cf. further the adj. *lá(i)gnech*, LL 19 a 24, 159 a 20. An exceptional form of the nom. sg. is seen in *laigni*, LU 3181 (H), =RC ii, 90, otherwise spelled *laigne*, RC v, 198. Exceptional, too, is *lágine*, nom. sg., LL 289 a, margin, quoted above.

A doublet *lágán* is seen in *lagan* (gen. pl.), R 82 b 15, and in *dia mbíth do lágain* (: *dámair*) *Lugdach*, 'when he (Art) was slain with Lugaid's spear', LL 132 a 6.<sup>1</sup>

Walde-Pokorny, ii, 381, following Stokes and Pedersen, bring together under an alleged root *lagh-*, 'schneidendes Gerät', Ir. *laige* (sic), 'spade', *laigen* (sic), 'lance', W. *llain*, 'blade', and Gr. *λαχαίνω*, 'dig', *λάχανον*, 'vegetables'. All this seems to be quite baseless.<sup>2</sup> Ir. *lágé*, *lágá*, and *lágén*, *lágán*, are rather to be referred to the root *plág-*, seen e.g. in Lat. *plango*, 'beat', Gr. *πληγή* (= *plágā*), 'a blow', and also, according to Stokes, in Ir. *lén*, *lésaim*, and Lat. *lancea*, a word of Celtic origin (see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 91). Ir. *lágé*, *lágá*, 'mattock; spear', would go back to Celt. *\*lágio-*, which reminds one of the Basque (and, by borrowing, Spanish) *laya*, a kind of two-pronged mattock used by the Basques in cultivating the soil. One may surmise that the ancestors of the Basques borrowed the name of the implement from the Celts.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this passage Flann Mainistrech states that Art was slain by Lugaid mac Con with his *lágán* in the battle (i.e. of Mucrama), whereas in the prose tale he is slain by Lugaid Lága (RC xiii, pp. 458, 460). (Compare LL 24 a 16, where both Lugaid mac Con and Lugaid Lága are mentioned in this connexion.) The contradiction, however, is only apparent, for Lugaid mac Con and his ally Lugaid Lága, and likewise Lugaid Láigne, are ultimately one and the same, though the genealogists try to distinguish them and very artificially attach Lugaid Lága and Lugaid Láigne to the stem of the Eóganacht.

<sup>2</sup> W. *llain*, besides meaning 'blade, sword', means also 'patch, piece; long slip, slang' (Anwyl; cf. Ir. *leadhb* which means 'a clout, rag, strip (e.g. of land), blow'). Before venturing on an etymology one would have to decide which of these meanings is the fundamental one, and also whether there is clear evidence that *llain* was formerly disyllabic. These are matters for Welsh scholars to determine; I am concerned only with pointing out that the equation of W. *llain* with Ir. *laigen* (a ghost-form) or *lágén* cannot stand.

<sup>3</sup> For some other Basque borrowings from Celtic cf. Schuchardt, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.* xxxi, 34 f.

7. Ir. *laogh*. W. *llo*.

Mod. Ir. *laogh*, 'calf', O. Ir. *loég*, *loig* (cf. *Loig Les*, 'vitulus civitatum', Tírechán), goes back presumably to Celt. *\*loigos*. The Brittonic forms offer a contrast: O. W. *lo*, W. *llo*. Corn. *loch*, Mid. Bret. *lue*, Mod. Bret. *leue* (Tréguier *loue*; Vannes *le*, *lue*). These cannot come from *\*loigos*, and in fact it is impossible to derive the Ir. and Brit. forms from a common original. Pedersen, V.G. ii, 22, proposes a pre-Celtic *\*lāpego-* (Celt. *\*lāego-*)<sup>1</sup> in an attempt to account for Breton disyllabic *leue*, but this raises bigger difficulties than it solves. It is, to say the least, highly improbable that Breton alone of all the Celtic dialects should have preserved a Celtic hiatus-vowel which has already disappeared in O. W. *lo* as well as in O. Ir. *loég*.<sup>2</sup> Also Tírechán's spelling, *loig*, tells against Pedersen's etymology.

The Brittonic forms can best be explained as going back to *\*logios*, which would regularly give W. *llo*. Cornish *loch* has doubtless borrowed its *-ch* from *buch*, 'cow'. The Breton forms are irregular and unexplained.<sup>3</sup> The combination *-gj-* seems to have been reduced to *-j-* in British at an early date, before vowel-infection occurred. Compare *\*kagio-* (whence W. *cae*, Bret. *kae*, 'hedge, enclosure'), which in Late Gaulish appears as *caio* (Endlicher's Glossary). The Welsh developments of *j* < *gj* are: *aj* > *ae*, *ej* > *e*, *ij* > *i*, *oj* > *o*, *uj* > *u* (written *w*); see Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. p. 165. So from *\*lugio-* we have Ir. *lugae*, *luige*, W. *llw*, 'oath' (V. Henry; Pedersen, V. G. i, 98; M. Jones, loc. cit.); from *\*vegiā*, Ir. *fige*, W. *gwe*, 'web'. Similarly it is very probable that W., Bret. *to*, 'roof', goes back to *\*togio-* (so M. Jones) or *\*togiā*, like Ir. *tugae*, *tuige*, rather than to *\*togo-*, and that W. *lle*, 'place', represents *\*legio-* (so Walde-Pokorny, ii, 424), like Ir. *lige*, rather than *\*legos*.

My suggestion that the Brittonic counterpart of Goidelic *\*loigos*, 'calf', was *\*logios*, receives strong support from a consideration of the old names of the River Lagan and Belfast Lough. Ptolemy

<sup>1</sup> Pedersen's suggestion is approved by Loth, RC xliv, 267, who quotes a Mid. W. spelling *loe* in support; but as regards *oe* > *o* in Welsh see Morris Jones, Welsh Gr. 113.

<sup>2</sup> The word is monosyllabic in Broccán's Hymn, in which it occurs four times (*loeg* : *noeb*, gen. *lōig* : *coīl*, Thes. Pal. ii, pp. 340, 346). In *Imram Brain*, § 38, supply *is* after *lōig*, or replace the second *it* by *ocus*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Breton irregularities in some other words of this type: Bret. *le* : W. *llw*, Bret. *leac'h* : W. *lle*.

mentions a river *Logia* (*Λογία ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαῖ*), the geographical situation of which places its identification with the River Lagan beyond doubt. This river-name has not been preserved in Irish<sup>1</sup>; but we find its counterpart in the Irish name of Belfast Lough (into which the Lagan flows), *Loch Loíg*,<sup>2</sup> which Adamnan translates 'Stagnum Vituli'. This makes it likely that the river was at one time known as *\*Loigos* (*Loég*, m.), or rather as *\*Loigā* (*Loég*, f.)<sup>3</sup>, for river-names in Irish, as in Welsh, are nearly always feminine. There is abundant evidence, as I hope to show elsewhere, that the account of Ireland which Ptolemy reproduces was the work of a much earlier geographer, and relates to a pre-Goidelic Ireland in which a Brittonic dialect of Celtic was spoken. Hence we may reasonably see in Ptolemy's *Logia* the Brittonic counterpart of Goidelic *\*Loigā*.

Of the two Celtic forms, *\*loigos* and *\*logios*, it seems likely that the latter is the original, and that in *\*loigos* we have an instance of the metathesis of a consonant + *j*. For another such instance see the discussion of O. Ir. *doíni* below.<sup>4</sup>

*\*Loigos* has been referred to the IE. root *leig-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 399), a derivation which is rendered suspicious by the fact that this root is otherwise unrepresented in Celtic. *\*Logios*, on the other hand, can no less appropriately be referred to the root *legūh-* (ib. ii, 426), which underlies Ir. *lingim*, *léim*, W. *llam*, as well as Lat. *levis*, Eng. *light* (adj.), etc. The calf would have been called *\*logios* because of his lively movements and his friskiness; hence the appropriateness of applying the same name to a river.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Lagan is alluded to as *sreabh Feirsde*, Lr. C.A.B. 89, § 57, *sruth Feirsde*, ib. 217, § 53, i.e. the stream of Belfast (*Bél Feirsde*); but its proper Irish name does not seem to be attested in any document in Irish. In the Latin life of St. Colmán of Dromore it is called *Locha* (*in aquiloni ripa fluminis cui nomen Locha*, Acta SS. Hib. ex cod. Salmant. 828; *super fluvium vocabulo Locha*, ib. 830), which suggests that *Abann Locha* (*Loíg*) was in use as a name for the river. The English name 'Lagan' is properly the name of the valley through which the river flows (*an Lagán*, Lr. C.A.B. 161. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Mod. Ir. *Loch Laoigh*, e.g. Lr. C.A.B. pp. 144, 235, 241, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Loégda* or *Loigde*, literally 'calf-goddess', the old name of the River Bandon (see Hermathena xxiii, 218 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Compare the metathesis of *ur* to *ru* in Celt. *tarvos* : Lat. *taurus*, Gr. *ταῦρος*, and in Lat. *parvus* : Gr. *παῦρος*.

<sup>5</sup> Worth noting is the use of *loég* in the sense of 'colt' in *Loeg mac Riangabra* ('foal, son of sea-horse'), the name applied to the charioteer of the mythical Cúchulainn.

8. O. Ir. *doíni*. *demnai*.

As every student of Irish knows, *duine* (*io* stem), 'man, human being', is quite irregular in the plural, Mod. Ir. *daoine*, O. Ir. *doíni*, declined like an *iā* or *i* stem (nom. acc. *doíni*, gen. *doíne*, dat. *doínib*). The Brittonic counterparts of Ir. *duine* are W. *dyn*, Bret. Corn. *den*. There is no trace in the Brittonic dialects of any counterpart of Ir. *doíni*.

As Pedersen, following Bugge, has argued (V. G. i, 89, ii, 660), *duine* (Celt. \**donios*) is a derivative of *dú*, *don*, 'earth'. So the cognate Lat. *homo* derives from *humus*, and Gr.  $\chi\theta\sigma\tauος$ , 'earthly', from  $\chi\theta\omega\nu$ , 'earth'. The irregular *ū* of Lat. *hūmānus* (which Pedersen, following Brugmann, would explain as from *oi*), taken in conjunction with the *oi* of O. Ir. *doíni*, has led Pedersen to propose an alternation *oi* : *jo* in the IE. word for 'earth'. But as both the *ū* of *humanus* and the *oi* of *doíni* can be explained without recourse to this rather desperate hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> it is, to say the least, unnecessary to postulate an IE. origin for the irregularities in the form of these two words.

Above (p. 155) we have seen that Celt. \**logios*, 'calf', was metathesized to \**loigos* in Goidelic. Just the same kind of metathesis occurred, I suggest, in Celt. \**donios*, except that in this case the newer form did not succeed in wholly ousting the older. The metathesized \**doinos* gave O. Ir. *doén*, preserved in *airddiu deeib doen*, 'a man higher than gods', R 118 a 21-22, = *airddiu deib dóen* (glossed *i. duni*), LL 311 b 17.<sup>2</sup> From it have come derivatives and compounds<sup>3</sup> like O. Ir. *doínde*, 'humanus', *doínacht*, 'humanitas', *daenchaire* (PH), *doen-gein* (ÄID), *doen-guss* (ib.). In the singular *duine* (<\**donios*) gained the day against its rival *doen*. The form and declension of the plural, *doíni*, authorize us to regard it as in origin the plural of the abstract noun \**doiniā*, which at an early period, I suggest, had a collective force and served as plural to \**doinos*, much as in Breton the fem.

<sup>1</sup> For *humanus* see Walde, Lat. etym. Wb., s. v., where the view of Brugmann and Pedersen is rejected.

<sup>2</sup> See the full text in Meyer's ÄID, ii, 23. An instance of the nom. pl., *doín*, occurs in *Fianaigecht*, 14. 1: *atotfugēra* [read -rat] *cech dōin* | *nī bu hētach nach dīc[h]oīmh*. The dat. pl. *doenaib* occurs in ÄID i, 40, §16.

<sup>3</sup> We find *duine* in other compounds (in part late), e.g. *duine-bad*, *duin-orcain*, *duine-marbad* (in Keating, corruptly, *dúnmarbadh*).

collective *tud* (< \**toutā*) serves as plural of *den* to-day.<sup>1</sup> So Latin *humanitas* acquired the sense of 'homines, humanum genus', 'mankind'. Some time before the O. Ir. period \**doiniā*, which would have given O. Ir. \**doíne*, f., was pluralized in form, as it already was plural in meaning, resulting in O. Ir. *doíni*. The same analogy has caused *an éanlaith* (sg.), 'the birds', to be supplanted by *na héanlaithe* (pl.) in Munster Irish; similarly in parts of Munster one may hear *na haosóga*, 'the young folk', instead of *an t-aos óg*. Compare also \**Connacht*, 'descendants of Conn', which came to be used only in the plural, *Connachta*, partly on the model of *Ulaid*, *Lagin*, etc., and partly because the 'descendants of Conn' were divided into different branches.

If \**doiniā*, 'humanity', was used in the sense of 'human beings', it is natural to suppose that its counterpart \**dēviā*, 'divinity', was used in the sense of 'divine beings'. In this way we might explain the Middle Irish disyllabic plural forms, nom. acc. *dei*, *dee*, 'gods', gen. *dee*, *dea*. But the word *dia* has other peculiarities, and so a discussion of it will best be reserved for a separate note.

With human beings (*doíni*) one may also contrast evil spirits. This brings us to consider the plural of O. Ir. *demon*, *demun*, gen. *demuin*, 'devil'. In his Old-Ir. Glosses (1904), p. 88, Strachan remarks that *demon* 'in the sg. follows the -o- declension, in the pl. the -i- declension'; but inconsistently he gives the 'nom. pl.' as *demnae*. He is similarly inconsistent in his Old-Irish Paradigms (1905), p. 3; and in his Addenda and Corrigenda to the same he quotes a suggestion of Thurneysen's that 'pl. *demnae* is based on a Lat. *daemonia*'. Thurneysen, Hb. p. 172, says that *demon* 'hat bisweilen den Plural *demn(a)e* (neutraler io-St.) in Anschluss an lat. *daemonia*'.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Pedersen writes (V. G. ii, 85) that *demun* 'ist im Plur. neutraler -jo- Stamm', and quotes gen. pl. *demne*, Wb. 11 b 13, nom. pl. *demna*, LU 3236, 4036. Is this alleged nom. pl. *demnae*, declined like a neuter *io*-stem, merely

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Gaoidealtacht* = 'Gaoihil', and *Galldacht*, = 'Goill', e.g. *scél guasachta do'n gáidheltacht*, ITS xxvi, 100. 26; *is é dásacht na Galltacht do sgar mise dhiobh*, Poets and Poetry of Munster, 1850, p. 32, *cenn goile* 7 *gaiscide na Galltacha*, 'the leading warrior of the Anglo-Normans', AU ii, 554, *Galldacht na hAlban* = (1) the Scottish Lowlanders, FF ii, 6011, (2) the Scottish Lowlands, ib. 5996. Compare also *Criostaidheacht* which means 'Christendom' (e.g. AU 1300), as well as 'Christianity'.

<sup>2</sup> So in the third edition of Strachan's O. Ir. Paradigms, p. 3, *demun* is said to be 'in the plural inflected like a neuter -io- stem. N. Pl. *demnae*, based on Lat. *daemonia*'.

a bad attempt to emend Strachan's nom. pl. *demnae* 'inflected like an *-i*- stem'? In Fél. Oeng., p. 318, Stokes refers to five instances of the gen. (not nom.) pl. *demnae* in that text, and remarks that 'in the pl. it follows the *i*- declension'. An example of the acc. pl., not noted by Stokes, is seen in the line *fri dóini fri demnai* (: *merbai*), ib. epil. 152. From the examples in this text it is clear that the plural inflexions of *demon* were modelled on those of *dóini*.

### 9. *coitcheann*

The idea that underlies *coitcheann* is the sharing of a thing with another (or others); hence its usual meaning 'shared with others generally, common, general.'

In *nī ra choitchinniu Briccni dā charait andá dā nāmait*, TBC Wi. 6141, the word has an active sense: 'B. did not associate more freely with a friend than with an enemy.' The active sense was, I suggest, the original one, for I would derive the word from an earlier (pre-syncope) *\*coddeghenn*, representing *\*kon-teges-no-*, 'sharing the same house, σύν-οικος.'

From *\*coddeghenn* we should expect O. Ir. *\*coitgenn* instead of *coitcheann*; but we find the same change of *dγ* to *dχ* in Mid. Ir. *cuitcherna*, 'joint lord' (see *Conrr. cuitcherna, -as*).<sup>1</sup> The spelling *coidchenn* is occasionally found in Early Mod. Ir. texts; cf. *Lia Fáil* no. 2, p. 140, ll. 2, 11, 13, 18, 19, 30, and pl. *coidcheanda*, Carswell 129. 21. The unvoicing of *d* before *ch* is regular; compare *cotcha*, interchanging with *codcha* (pl. of *cuid*), Mac Aingil 374.

### 10. *mifir*

The pejorative prefix *mi-* goes back to *\*mis-*, which has been preserved in *misquis*, 'hate' (Pedersen, V.G. ii, 10; Walde-Pokorny ii, 248).<sup>2</sup> Before a vowel *mis-* would have become *mi-*; and this form was generalized, and lenition developed after it analogically, as after *do-* (<*\*dus-*). Under the influence of *dí-*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare O. Ir. *rētlu*, 'star', of which the E. Mod. Ir. forms are (1) *rētla* (e.g. Pilip Bocht 95, § 43), whence *rētla*, and (2) *rēdla*, whence *rēlla*. Here we have *dyl* giving (1) *dχl*, and thence *tl*, and (2) *dl*.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer (Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 9) has claimed another example of *mis-* in *missimbert*, but this is a word of very doubtful authenticity and is known only from two of the MS. texts of *Tochmarc Emire* (RC xi, 446 b, ZCP iii, 248 z; a variant is *inis a mbātur*). O'Clerys *misimirt* i. *droichimirt* is doubtless derived from one of these texts.

*mi-* became *mi-* in Irish; but Scottish retains the short-vowel form *mi-*.<sup>1</sup>

In *mifir*, 'dispirited, faint-hearted', and its derivative *mifre*<sup>2</sup>, 'dejection', we have, I think, further evidence of an original *mis-*. These I would explain as for *\*mis-viri-*, 'unmanly', *\*mis-viriā*, 'unmanliness', in which *-sv-* would regularly give *f*. In *la firu ferdacht, la mná mifre*, LL 119 b 19 (quoted in R.I.A. Contr.), we find *mifre* opposed to *ferdacht*, 'manliness'. Compare another adjectival compound of *fer*, Mid. Ir. *infhir, inir*, 'manly', whence *inire*, 'manliness' (see Tec. Cormaic, p. 60); and also W. *anwr*, 'coward', *anwrol*, 'unmanly, cowardly.'

### II. suirghe

In E. Mod. Irish *righe re*, literally 'to stretch towards', is common in the figurative sense of 'strive (to achieve something), aspire to, strive to equal (or surpass), rival, emulate.' Compare a kindred use of the cognate Gr. *ἀρέσκειν*. A few examples may be quoted: *ag righe riotsa amháin*, Carswell, 161. 6, translating 'to aspire unto thee only'; *beag dtarbha righe re a rath*, 'it were vain to try to emulate their success', TD 57, § 3; *righe riú níor chóir 'na gceardaibh*, ib. 113, § 36; *tú an bhainiúlaigh gan righe ria*, 'thou art the woman-leech that has no rival', Dioghlum Dána p. 53, § 16; *gan righ díbh ag righe r[u]ibh*, 'no king among them is a rival of yours', Ir. Texts ii, 98, § 13. See also Des., gloss.

*Suirghe (re)*, 'wooing', is used only of a lover's yearnings, but otherwise its meaning is akin to that of *righe re* above. It is obviously a compound of *su-* and *righe*.<sup>3</sup>

### 12. Ir. cerd. W. cerdd.

Ir. *cerd*, f., 'art, craft, poetry' (in a secondary sense, 'artist, craftsman, poet') is represented in Welsh by *cerdd*, f., 'art, craft, poetry, a poem', a word which appears to be without counterpart in Breton and Cornish. Both are commonly referred<sup>4</sup> to the same root as Gr. *κέρδος*, n., 'gain, love of gain, cunning', a word of obscure origin, of which no other cognates are known. From

<sup>1</sup> But MacAlpine, a native of Islay, has *mi-* in his Dictionary, as in Irish.

<sup>2</sup> See R.I.A. Contr. for examples.

<sup>3</sup> The spirant *-g-* (Mod. Ir. *-gh-*) shows that Stokes's comparison of Mid. Ir. *suirge* to Gr. *στρόγγυλος* (Fél. Oeng. p. 366) has no basis.

<sup>4</sup> So Stokes, Urk. Sprachschatz 80; Pedersen, V.G. i, 36; Walde-Pokorny,

the semantic point of view this equation is hardly satisfactory. To me it seems much more reasonable to refer the Irish word to the IE. root *quer-*, 'fashion', and to take the Welsh *cerdd* as a loan-word from Irish and a probable relic of the Irish occupation of part of Wales. Compare the cognate Ir. *cruth* (sb. and vb.), 'shape, form', *creth*, 'poetry', W. *pryd*, 'form', *prydu*, 'to sing, to compose verse.'

According to Irish tradition one of the three gods of craftsmanship was Credne, who is commonly called *Cre(i)dne cerd* (e.g. San. Corm. § 975, LL 9 b 40, RC xii, pp. 78, 94) or *Credhne in cerd* (ib. p. 58, ÉRIU viii, 44).<sup>1</sup> His name, I think, may appropriately be referred to the same root as *cerd*; compare the similar conjunction of related words in *Goibniu goba*. *Credne* would go back to *\*Kvredenios*; and both it and *cerd* are referable to *quered-*, an extension of the IE. root *quer-* mentioned above.

### 13. Mid. Ir. *cotat*

Cormac derives *cotat* (*cotut*) from the Latin *cōs* : *cotud* *i. cēch secda*, *ab eo quod est cotis* *i. līe*, San. Corm. 326. The same derivation is given in O'Mulconry 247 : *cotut* *i. a cote* [*i.*] *lie forcid*. From the former of these entries O'Donovan and Meyer have inferred the existence of *cotat*, sb., 'whetstone'; and Walde-Pokorny (i, 450) are inclined to regard this *cotat* as borrowed from Lat. *cōtem*, as against Zupitza's suggestion that it is a native word going back to *\*koz-dh-*. Actually this *cotat*, 'whetstone', has no existence.<sup>2</sup>

Ordinarily *cotat*<sup>3</sup> is an adjective, meaning 'hard'; and this is its meaning in Cormac and O'Mulconry. The frequent by-form *cataf* may owe its change of vowel to the influence of the more or less synonymous *calad* (*\*kaleto-*). The derivative *coite* (*coitti* O'Dav. 1004), or *caite* (C. Cath. p. 469; Met. D. v, 229), suggests that the second vowel of *cotat* represents an original *e*.

A substantival use of *cotat* is seen in *dá c[h]otot feda* in Toch.

<sup>1</sup> The name is written *Crēidne* a couple of times in LL (9 a 33, 11 a 38), and cf. D. (=Duma) *Crēidne* LL 161 a 50, =Met. D. i, 46. But the rime *Creidne : Eithne*, LL 10 b 30, =ZCP xiv, 177, shows that the length-mark is an error.

<sup>2</sup> Another misinterpretation of Cormac seems to have been responsible for a slovenly entry in O'Reilly : *cotadh*, 'a mill-stone'.

<sup>3</sup> The word is rare in Modern Irish, in which the spelling is *cadad* or *codad* (cf. ITS xxiv, 38 x, xxxviii, 174).

Emire<sup>1</sup>, LU 10244, which is an allusive way of describing two mountains with a wood (*fid*) between them.<sup>2</sup> This is doubtless the ultimate source of O'Clery's *codud* *i.e.* *sliabh*.

The derivation of *cotat* seems clear. I take it to stand for *\*kon-tntos*, 'stretched out, tight, taut', the Celtic counterpart of the Latin participle *contentus* (from *contendo*), and cognate with Ir. *tét* (\**tentu*-?), W. *tant* (\**tantu*-), 'a string.'

#### 14. *lacht*

To Ir. *lacht*, m., gen. *lachta* (IGT p. 127), 'milk', correspond W. *llaeth*, Corn. *leyth*, *léth*, Bret. *leaz*, *lez*. Concerning these words Windisch wrote in 1873: 'Es ist mir sehr unwahrscheinlich dass wir es hier mit lehnwörtern zu thun haben; jede einzelne celtische sprache müsste sich dann für ein so zum einfachsten leben gehöriges product den namen aus dem lateinischen geholt haben' (KZ xxi, 253). Later scholars, however, seem to be unanimously of opinion that all these words are borrowed from Lat. *lac*, *lactis*<sup>3</sup>; and Windisch himself eventually adopted this view, for in his TBC, p. 1004, he writes '*lacht*, Milch, von lat. *lac*'.

Personally I have little doubt that Windisch's earlier view was right. The derivation of *lacht* from Latin illustrates a tendency to treat native Irish words as borrowed, for no better reason than that they happen to resemble Latin words of similar meaning.<sup>4</sup> Apart from other arguments, the derivatives and compounds of *lacht* suggest plainly that we have to do, not with a borrowed word, but with a word which forms part of the Celtic linguistic inheritance. Thus we have the adj. *lachtmar*, 'rich in milk', and *lachtna*, lit. 'milk-like, of the colour of milk'.<sup>5</sup> As personal names *Lachtna* and *Lachtnán* are well known; and we also find *Lachtchar*, 'milk-loving' (R 129 b 27, LL 340 a z). As compounds we have *bó-lacht*, 'kine', which originally must have meant 'cows'

<sup>1</sup> Van Hamel in his edition of this text (p. 26) mistakenly emends the *codad* of his MS. to *cothad*, 'sustaining'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ed. van Hamel, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Pedersen, V. G. i, 228.

<sup>4</sup> A few examples of native Irish words which have been regarded as loan-words are: *cuach*, *cúl*, *edocht*, *essid*, *fedil*, *focal*, *grdn*, *recht*, *roth*, *trdcht* ('strand'). Vendryes's dissertation, 'De Hibernicis Vocabulis', errs in this direction.

<sup>5</sup> With the latter cf. *facht* : *Fachtna*. Compare also *comlachtaid* or *cumlachtaid*, 'a sucking-pig', which O'Davoren 360 and Cormac 306 connect with *lacht* 'milk'.

milk,'<sup>1</sup> and O. Ir. *lem-lacht*, 'new milk' (e.g. San. Corm. 802), now dissimilated to *leamhnacht*, with corresponding forms (also dissimilated) in British, e.g. W. *llefrith*. *Lachtmag*, 'milk-plain', occurs in *Lethe Lachtmaige*, the name of one or more places associated with early tradition;<sup>2</sup> the *síd* of *Lethe Lachtmaige* (*Síth Leithet L.*) was one of the residences of the Dagda (ZCP xix, 55). In *Lactodoro* (abl.), which occurs in the Antonine Itinerary as the name of a place in Northamptonshire, we may have an old compound of the word. Compare also *Lactora*, 'Lectoure', in the department of Gers (see Holder).

The only conclusion that can reasonably be drawn from the evidence is that in Celt. *lakt* : Lat. *lact*- we have an instance (one of several) of special agreement between Celtic and Latin in the matter of vocabulary.<sup>3</sup>

### 15. *feam*

*Feam*, f.,<sup>4</sup> is the name applied to-day to the long pliable stem which characterizes the commonest kind of sea-weed. In Mid. Ir. it is *femm*, which O'Mulconry, 515, derives *a fimbria maris*.<sup>5</sup> The Manx *fam* is explained by Cregeen as 'stem of wrack or oarweed, a sea pine.' Another meaning of *feam* is 'tail', e.g. *trí hadharca agus feam air*, ITS iii, 2 ed. 112. Alex. M'Donald, Galick and Eng. Vocab. (1741), 77, gives *feam* as one of the equivalents of 'the rump (of a bird)'. In Scottish *feaman* means 'tail'; and so does *famman* in Manx, which Kelly explains as 'the tail,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the synonym *bō-mlacht*, San. Corm. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Dál Caiss Leithet Lachtmaige*, R 152 a 54, LL 322 e 27. A place called *Lethe Lachtmaige* in Murbolg, in Dál Riata, is mentioned in connexion with a mythical battle fought there by Nemed; cf. BB 26 b 54 (misspelled *Leithib*, dat.), and MI. Ó Cléirigh's *Leabhar Gabhála*, i, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Of *lac* the earlier form was *lacie*, as in Plautus; this may come from \**lakti*, as *mare* from \**mari*. The precise relationship between *lac*, gen. *lactis*, and *γάλα*, gen. *γάλακτος*, has long been a matter of dispute; Windisch argued that they were distinct words. The existence of a Celtic counterpart of the Latin word must be taken into account by those who would solve the question.

<sup>4</sup> In Dunquin, co. Kerry, *feam* is fem., with gen. *feama*, dat. *feam*, as Dr. Séamus Caomhánach informs me. In Clear Island it is likewise fem., with gen. *feime*, Irisl. Muighe Nuadhad, 1929, 67 (Fr. Donnchadh Ó Floinn). Dinneen, following O'Reilly, makes *feam* masc.

<sup>5</sup> Stokes, ACL i, 301, misinterprets the word: 'femm, the edge of the sea?'

particularly of cattle'.<sup>1</sup> Derivatives of *feam*<sup>2</sup>, having the general sense of 'sea-weed', are Ir. *feamain* (O. Ir. *femmon*? cf. acc. *femmuin*, gen. *femna*, San. Corm.), *feamnach*, Sc. *feamainn*, Manx *famlagh*, *fammeragh*; also Mid. Ir. *femmar* (*fembur* O'Mulc. 515, *femar* ITS xii, 116. 15, gen. *femair* LU 5647). Welsh has *gwymon* (*gwmon*, *gwman*), 'sea-weed', to which corresponds Bret. *goumon* (> Fr. *goémon*).

The etymology of *feamain* has been a matter of dispute. One suggested derivation would connect it with Lat. *vomo* (root *uem-*). This is rightly rejected by Walde-Pokorny (i, 263), who likewise dismiss (i, 256) Pedersen's view that *femm-* in *femmuin* represents *\*vepesh-* and is cognate with Skr. *vapati*, 'wirft, streut'.<sup>3</sup> Macbain, who supposes that *feamainn*, 'sea-weed', and *feaman*, 'tail', are unrelated to each other, fails to give a satisfactory etymology of either. Thurneysen (KZ xlviii, 67) suggests referring *femmuin* to the IE. root *ues-*, 'futtern, schmausen', which is far from appropriate semantically. In view of the co-existence of *femmuin* : *fem[m]ar* the same scholar has suggested the possibility that (like O. Ir. *arbur*, and Lat. *femur*, gen. *feminis*) the original word may have been an *r/n* stem; but it is simpler, as well as safer, to see in the *-ar* of *femmar* the same collective suffix that we find in *buar*, *tursgar*, *clochar*, etc.

Obviously, when seeking an etymology, it is desirable to start from the simple word *feam*. Now the *feam*, whether it means 'sea-weed stem' or 'tail', is characterized by flexibility and oscillation; and if we bear this in mind, a satisfactory etymology lies at hand. *Feam* would represent a Celtic *\*vimbā* or the like, referable to the root *ueib-*, implying a turning or oscillating movement, illustrated in such words as Lat. *vibro*, Germ. *wippen*, *wipfel*, and (nasalized, as in Celtic) Germ. *wimpel*, Eng. *wimple*<sup>4</sup>.

#### 16. *bolg*, 'a gap'

In addition to *bolg* (Sc. *balg*), m., 'bag, belly', and the cognate *bolg* or *balg*, f., 'a bubble, blister, tumour', there was in Early

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Ir. diminutive *fimin*, illustrated in the proverb (which I noted in Ballymakeera, co. Cork) *díolhaig an fimin an fiarach*, 'the tail will pay the grazing', i.e. the manure of the cattle will pay for their feeding. Scottish has a close equivalent: *pàidhidh am feaman am fiarach*, used in just the same sense (Nicolson, Gaelic Proverbs 337).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Donegal *feamhaine*, 'stalk of anything pliable' (Quiggin).

<sup>3</sup> Pedersen, V.G. i, 93; Lewis-Pedersen, 24 f. The existence of the simple word *feam* (Mid. Ir. *femm*) is sufficient to discredit this etymology.

<sup>4</sup> See Walde-Pokorny, i, 241.

Irish a distinct word *bolg* or *balg* meaning 'a gap'. Of these words only *bolg*, 'belly', survives to-day. The first to go out of use was *bolg*, 'gap'. Before becoming obsolete it tended to be confused with its two much 'better known homonyms<sup>1</sup>.

In one of the metrical glossaries ('Foras focal') *bolg* is explained as *berna*, 'gap'. O'Clery gives the same explanation of *balg*. In IGT, p. 91, in addition to *balg* (*an tsrotha*), i.e. 'bubble', we have *balg* (*bháoghaile*), f., gen. *bailge*, meaning evidently 'gap' (cf. Mid. Ir. *bern baegail*). One of the accomplishments of Loeg, Cúchulainn's charioteer, was *léim dar boilg*, 'leaping over a chasm' (LU 6407, TBC Wi. 2251); see the discussion of this by Windisch, TBC p. 360, where he appropriately quotes *no linged dar bernadaib*, LU 8932, referring to Cúchulainn in his chariot. But the precise meaning of *léim dar boilg* was soon forgotten, and the phrase proved a puzzle to the glossarists; see the lame attempts to explain it in O'Mulconry, 759 (*léim al boilcc*), and H. 3. 18 (*léim tar builc*, quoted in Meyer's Contr. p. 236 n. 1).

Later, while *léim dar boilg* continued to be remembered as connoting a remarkable feat of agility, *boilg* here came to be confused with *bolg*, *balg*, f., 'a bubble'; and so it was thought that the agility consisted, strangely enough, in leaping on a bubble with such lightness as not to break it<sup>2</sup> (cf. *léim ar* (sic) *bhaileg is gan a bloghadh*, Gofraiddh Fionn, Ridgeway Essays 326, § 30, and *ní bhrisfeadh ar bhaileg ós abhainn . . . léim áith éttrom a dhá ghégbhonn*, ib. § 46; further *each . . . don chubhar nách beanfadhbolg*, Measgra Dánta, p. 25).

We have a compound of the word in *Murbholg*, 'sea-indentation',<sup>3</sup> found in place-names, e.g. dat. *Murbuilgg*, AU 730; but confusion with *bolg*, m., is seen in gen. *Murbuilg*, LL 6 a 41, 7 a 17, 172 b 1, in *Ráith Murbuilc*, Trip. ed. Stokes, 120. 21, and in Adamnan's

<sup>1</sup> So there was some tendency to confuse *bolg*, 'bubble', with the better known *bolg*, 'belly'; compare IGT ex. 2022, where *builg*, nom. pl., is used in the sense of 'blisters', instead of the correct *bolga*. Conversely we have *midbuilce* (gen.) apparently for *midbuilg*, Aisl. Meic C. 33. 13.

<sup>2</sup> A candidate for admission to the Fian had to be so light-footed as not to break even dry wood beneath his feet, SG i, 93. 4, FF ii, 5213. Suibhne left the battlefield with such speed and nimbleness that on the rare occasions when his feet touched the ground they did not disturb the dewdrops on the tips of the blades of grass, ITS xii, 14, § 12. Passages such as these no doubt reconciled people to the idea that leaping on a bubble without breaking it was a similar proof of agility.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Murbhach*, lit. 'sea-breach'.

*Muirbulc Mār* (dat.). Perhaps *bolg*, 'gap,' may have fluctuated in gender and declension; compare the Welsh doublets *bwelch*, *bolch*.

Meyer, influenced by the Welsh *bwelch* (< \**bolko*-), erroneously spells the word *bolc*, *Conrr. 236*, where also most of his examples (*gae Bulga*, *Dún Bolgg*, *Mag Bolg*) are to be rejected as having nothing to do with *bolg*, 'gap'.

Pokorny, *ZCP xi*, 192-195, attempts unsuccessfully to show that the word *bolg*, 'gap', is a ghost-word, invented by glossators; *léim dar boilg*, he holds, must mean 'Springen über Wasserblasen',<sup>1</sup> though he cautiously admits that *bolg*, m., may have developed the meaning 'Erdhöhlung', so that the phrase might possibly mean 'Springen über Klüfte'.

Thurneysen (Ir. *Helden- u. Königsage 114*, n. 2) rightly accepts the existence of *bolg*, f., in the sense of 'gap'. But, quite unnecessarily, he suggests that this *bolg* is a loan-word from British (cf. W. *bwelch*), the -*g* being due to the influence of Ir. *tolg*.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently connected with *bolg*, 'gap', is Mid. Ir. *bolgadan*, attested only in a passage of 'rhetoric' referring to Cúchulainn in FB, viz. *is culmaire bolgadan*, LU 8903 (H), where it is glossed *is cairptech dar berna*, i.e. 'he drives a chariot over a chasm'.<sup>3</sup>

The genuineness of *bolg*, 'gap', is confirmed by the existence of two well-known and evidently related words, *blog* and *belach*. *Blog*, f., means 'a fragment'<sup>4</sup>; it represents Celt. \**blogā*, as *bolg* represents \**bolgā*, and has a later by-form *blag* (cf. *balg*). *Belach*, n., means properly 'a gap or pass between hills', hence in general 'a passage, road, way'; like many other neuters in -*ach* it is treated

<sup>1</sup> Pokorny erroneously treats *boilg* in this phrase as plural (nom. for acc.); see on this Bergin, *ÉRIU xi*, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Also Thurneysen's suggestions (*op. cit. p. 114 f.*) regarding the relationship of the names *Caladcholc*, *Caladbolg*, and W. *Caledvwlch* are open to objection; but this is a matter I hope to discuss on another occasion.

<sup>3</sup> The word *bolgadan* reminds one of the place-name (unidentified) *Sliab Belgadain*, Met. D. iii, 462 (where the second word times with *bladaig*), *ÉRIU viii*, 26; otherwise *Sliab Maccu Belgodon*, RC xii, 80 y. Hogan, *Onom.*, wrongly identifies Belgadan (miswritten *bél gaddán*) and *Sliab Belgadain* with Bulgaden, co. Limerick; he is followed by Gwynn, Met. D. v. 201. Compare also *Corcu Belgatan* (sic), glossed 'i. Conmaicne Mara,' RC xii, 58.

<sup>4</sup> The breaking off of a piece (*blog*) is what causes the indentation or gap (*bolg*). Compare *airbern*, 'fraction, portion' (Meyer, *Conrr. p. vi*), with *bern*, 'a gap'.

in the plural as if it were an s stem (*beilge, belgib*).<sup>1</sup> A derivative adj. *belgach* occurs in Met. D. ii, 6 (*belgaig* : *Temraig*).

Welsh has *bwlch*, m., and *bolch*, f., 'a gap, a pass, a notch', to which corresponds Bret. *boulc'h*, m., 'entamure, brèche'. These go back to *\*bolko-*, *\*bolkā*.

The above words are all referable to a Celtic root *bel-* (with extensions *beleg-*, *belk-*), denoting an indentation or notch. For this root *bel-* see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 110, where however the only Celtic word quoted is Ir. *belach*.

### 17. O. Ir. *coth.* Cett.

Bret. *koz*, 'old', has its counterpart in O. Corn. *coth*, 'senex' (Zeuss-Ebel 1069); both would go back to *\*kottos*. The word has not survived in Welsh. With *koz*, *coth*, have been compared *Cottos*, *Cottios*, attested as personal names in Gaul, and *Atecotti*<sup>2</sup>.

Hitherto no Irish cognates of these words have been noted. We are, I think, safe in referring O. Ir. *coth*, 'food' (San. Corm. 302), Mid. Ir. *cothad*<sup>3</sup>, 'sustenance', *cothaig*, 'sustain, nourish',<sup>4</sup> to the same root *kot-* which underlies *\*kottos*. With a different vowel-grade we have the mythical names *Cett*<sup>5</sup>, identical with the Gaulish personal name *Cettos*, and *Cethern* (\**Keternos*).

All these words may be referred to a Celtic root *ket-*, *kot-* (with

<sup>1</sup> As dat. sg. we find *beluch* and the like (cf. *hi mbelach* : *enach*, Met. D. iii, 384. 7), but also *belaig*, e.g. *o belaig*, R 121 a 13, LL 353 a 35, for *belaich*, LL 216 b 28, *i mbelaig*, 306 a 11 (and even as late as A.D. 1512, *fa Belaigh Buide*, AU iii, 500). But the only attested gen. sg. appears to be *belaig*. In the sing. the word seems to go back to *\*belākon*. With dat. *belaig* compare *fiallaig*, Mid. Ir. dat. of *fiallach*, *stanlach* (Meyer, *Fianaigecht* p. vi, n. 3). The plural is formed as if from an s-stem *\*belegos*, declined like *\*slēbos*, *sliab*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Meaning, probably, "very ancient ones,"' says Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1888-90, 394. Cf. also Rhys, *Celtic Britain* 3 ed. 281.

<sup>3</sup> In Mod. Ir. replaced by *cothughadh* (*coihu*). Cf. *siád mo dheora mo chothughá laethuil*, RC xiv, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Secondary senses of Mod. Ir. *cothaigh* are 'maintain (in an argument)' (cf. Des. gl.), and 'contend'. Macbain makes three words out of one by separating Sc. *cothaich*, 'contend', from *comhaich*, 'dispute' (a mere mis-spelling), and from the v. n. *cothachadh*, 'earning, support.'

<sup>5</sup> Besides the well known Cett mac Mágach, we find *Cett* as the name of two Otherworld warriors in *Toch. Emire* (§§ 70, 75). Rhys mistakenly thinks that the name is 'Cétt or Cét', which he has no difficulty in deriving 'from a Proto-Celtic *Qento-s* for *Qengto-s* . . . exactly equivalent to Latin *Quinctus, Quintus*' (Gleanings in Celtic Epigraphy p. 35, Proc. Brit. Acad. 1914).

gemination *kett-*, *kott-*), implying 'living, lasting'.<sup>1</sup> For the semantic developments seen in Ir. *coth*, 'food' (i.e. 'what enables one to live'), Bret. *koz*, 'old' (i.e. 'long-lived, enduring'), compare Ir. *betha*, which means 'food, sustenance', as well as 'life', and the cognate *bith*, 'existence, world', which as a prefix means 'permanent, lasting'.

In Celtic religion age and enduringness were among the prominent characteristics of the god of the Otherworld. The tribal name *Atecotti* suggests that *\*Ate-kottos*, 'the very ancient', was one of the by-names of the Otherworld deity. So the name *Cethern* probably means 'enduring' or the like. *Cethern* mac Fintain appears as one of the Ulaid in an episode in the *Táin* (S.-O'K. 2753 ff.; Wi. 4237 ff.)<sup>2</sup>, and as the instructor of Finn in poetic wisdom in *Macgnímartha Finn* (RC v, 202; *Fianaigecht* 46). His great age is suggested by his being made son of Fintan (*\*Vindosenos*<sup>3</sup>, 'the white ancient'), who is credited with having lived for thousands of years, and also by his being made father of Mug Ruith, who lived through the reigns of nineteen kings (ZCP xiv, 157).<sup>4</sup> Parallels are seen in the names *Sen*, 'old' (father of Ded), and *Ro-shen* (father of Sen), in the pedigree of the Érainn, and in Gaulish *Senū*, attested in the sing. as a personal name and in the plur. (*Senones*) as a tribal name.<sup>5</sup> Similarly we have *Buan*, 'lasting, enduring', as a name for the Otherworld-deity,<sup>6</sup> attested in the tribal name *Boonrighe* or *Dál mBuain*, in co. Antrim, and in the mythical parts of the pedigrees of the *Fir Maige*<sup>7</sup> and *Osraige*<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently to be identified with the IE. root given as *qēt-*, *qot-*, 'Wohnraum', by Walde-Pokorny, i, 383 (where no Celtic examples are quoted).

<sup>2</sup> So his father Fintan appears as an Ulidian warrior in TBC (S.-O'K. 2893 ff.; Wi. 4501 ff.); and cf. *Mesca Ulad* pp. 6-10, *Fled Bricrend* § 12.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, *Zur kelt. Wortkunde*, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Cethern* appears as ancestor-deity in the tribal name *Dál Cethirn*. The common noun *cethern*, f., 'a troop of soldiers', also (m. and f.) 'a soldier', is doubtless closely related. Compare *buanna*, 'a billeted soldier', which is apparently a derivative of *buan*, 'permanent'.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Senach* (*\*Senākos*), the name of a personage, presumably a pagan divinity, invoked in an Old Irish prayer for long life (Meyer, *Misc. Hib.* 20).

<sup>6</sup> The Mórrigan is described as *ingen Buain ind rīg*, TBC S.-O'K. 1611.

<sup>7</sup> LL 326 e; ZCP viii, 334; Met. D. iv, 86. Here *Buan* is made son of the long-lived Mug Ruith.

<sup>8</sup> R 129 a 3.

Spinners Create...  
O'Rahilly does not cite OD Cright, where V.31.32 is quoted, or  
UJA III (1897), 171-72.

18. *creach. gad. brad. slad.*

*Creach*, f., 'plunder', is, I suggest, a close relation of *crioch*, f., 'a bound, end'. The latter word primarily denotes a cutting in the sod, which served as a boundary mark (cf. dpl. *cricaib*, gl. 'sulcis', Ml. 2 a 7; *rian suic i gerich*, Misc. of Ir. Proverbs § 234), and goes back to Celt. \**krikvā*, IE. root (s)qerēi- (see Walde-Pokorny, ii, 584). *Creach*, sb., would go back to Celt. \**krikvā*, differing only in ablaut, and would originally have meant something like 'a cutting'. The primary sense is better preserved in the verb *creachaim*, which, in addition to meaning 'plunder', means 'mark (originally by an incision), brand' (cf. ZCP x, 401; *creachad*, 'act of cauterizing', O'Gr. Cat. 268-9). Similarly *creachaireacht* means not only 'plundering' (e.g. BCC 302. 35, TBg.), but also 'branding, marking' (Des. 3819), and *creachadóir* means both 'plunderer' (as in current Irish) and 'instrument for cauterizing' (O'Gr. Cat. 269 a). The compound verb *inchrechaim* means 'censure, blame; criticize (a literary work)', e.g. *inc[h]rechad na ndesmerecht sea*, LU 478, *intan ro inc[h]rech hé*, Fél. p. 150, *nā hinchrechadh nech mé*, Three Frags. 226. 16, *Caiphas, do inchreach é*, Gearnon 429. Compare Lat. *notare*, 'to mark, to brand', hence 'to censure'.

O. and Mid. Ir. *gat*, f., means 'the act of taking off or away, stealing'; as a verb, *gataim* means 'take away, cut off<sup>1</sup>, steal'. The Mod. Ir. forms are *goid*<sup>2</sup>, *guid* (properly dat.-acc.), 'act of stealing', *gadaim*, *goidim*, *guidim*, 'I steal'. We have a compound in O. Ir. *trisgataim*, *tregtaim*<sup>3</sup>, Mod. Ir. *treaghdaim*, 'I perforate, pierce through', Mid. Ir. *tregat*, 'a shooting pain'. From the prototonic forms (*treaghdaim*, etc.) a new monosyllabic impv. 2 sg. and pret. 3 sg. *treaghd* was formed,<sup>4</sup> and likewise a new v.n. *treaghadh*.<sup>5</sup> Walde-Pokorny connect *trisgataim* with Lat. *hasta*, Goth. *gazds*, 'Stachel' (i, 541), but, like Stokes, would separate it from *gataim*, for which they suggest \**ghadnō* (i, 532). Pedersen joins *gataim* and *trisgataim* (V.G. i, 160, ii, 536) but (following

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *gadaid a c[h]enn dā cholainn*, 'they cut off his head', Three Frags. 208 z; *tug buille do chloidhémh mó dhdó*, *go ro ghad a lámh de*, ib. 160.

<sup>2</sup> In IGT p. 95 (and exx. 1162, 1214) *goid*, gen. *gada*, gen. pl. *gad*.

<sup>3</sup> *trecatim*, gl. 'foro', Thes. P. ii, 42, is doubtless to be emended to *tregtaim*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. verse examples in *gur t[h]regd tir*, and *do t[h]reghd cuan a c[h]alg*, ITS xxvi, 18, *roi[h]reagh mo chorpa an gháoth għlan*, ITS xii, 118, § 61, *mō do threaghd mo chroidhe-si*, Gadelica 238. 7; prose examples, *ro tregd*, TBC Wi. 2305, *gur thregd a thaobdrui*, ITS xxvi, 17 z, *gur threaghd* ITS xxiv, PP. 42 z, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Mid. Ir. *tregdad*, TBC Wi. 1287 etc.

Stokes's suggestion for *gataim*, Urk. Spr. 111) would connect them with Lat. *prae-hendo*. Thurneysen, rightly, suggests that both *gataim* and *trisgataim* are to be referred to the root of Lat. *hasta*, Goth. *gazds* (KZ lxiii, 114, n. 4).<sup>1</sup> The original sense of *gat*, f., would therefore have been something like 'spearing' or 'piercing' (this is well preserved in the compound *tregat*, lit. 'through-piercing'), and the sense-development ('spearing' > 'taking, thieving') is parallel to that of *creach* ('a cutting' > 'plunder').

Welsh has *brath*, m., 'a stab, sting, bite,' *brathu*, 'to stab, pierce, sting, bite.' With these I would equate Mid. Ir. *brat*, 'plunder, booty, captivity,' and *brataim*, 'I steal, rob, plunder,' words of hitherto unknown etymology. *Brat* is generally fem. (cf. Mod. Ir. *broid*, *bruid*, dat.-acc. for nom), but is also masc., e.g. *a brad*, 'out of bondage,' ITS xxxvii, 203, § 19<sup>2</sup>; the fem. gender may, I think, be attributed to the influence of *gad*. Ir. *brat*, m., and W. *brath* would go back to *\*braddo-*, <*\*brazdo-*. The original meaning of *brat*, therefore, would have been something like 'a stab.'

Hitherto it has been supposed<sup>3</sup> that the Irish counterpart of W. *brath* was Mid. Ir. *brot* (Mod. Ir. *brod*), 'a goad, spike', despite the difference of vowel (*a* : *o*). But my identification of Mid. Ir. *brat* with W. *brath* would rule out this equation; and Mid. Ir. *brot* can be satisfactorily explained as a borrowing of O. Norse *broddr*, 'a goad, spike', from which also comes Eng. *brad* (Mid. Eng. *brod*). In Mid. Ir. *brost*, 'stimulate', we have a borrowed word of kindred origin (cf. O. Fr. *brosder*). Similarly the *-s* of O. Corn. *bros*, gl. 'aculeus', suggests borrowing, and so, plainly, does the *-d* of Bret. *broud*, 'aiguillon'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thurneysen (*loc. cit.*), like Stokes, Pedersen, and Walde-Pokorny, would refer Mid. Ir. *gat*, Mod. Ir. *gad*, m., 'withy,' to the same root. But on semantic grounds this is most improbable, and I hope to suggest a more satisfactory etymology for *gad*, m., in a separate note on this word.

<sup>2</sup> IGT recognize *brad*, m., gen. *braida* and *brada*, p. 87, in addition to *broid*, f., gen. *broide*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> So Thurneysen, Keltoromanisches 47, Stokes, Urk. Spr. 173, Pedersen, V. G. i, 113 f., Walde-Pokorny, ii, 133.

<sup>4</sup> Of O. Bret. *brothrac* the meaning is doubtful. Some, with little probability, take it to be akin to W. *brath* (so Walde-Pokorny, ii, 133); others regard it as related to Bret. *broz*, 'jupe', W. *brythyn*, 'woollen cloth' (so Pedersen, V. G. i, 160 f.). But there is no reason for assuming, as Pedersen does, that Mid. Ir. *brothrac*, 'rug', is borrowed from this O. Bret. *brothrac*, for it is obviously a derivative of Mid. Ir. *brothar*, 'shag (of cloth)', from *bruth*, 'hair, fur, nap'.

The word *bratán* in Early Irish was applicable to any large fish (cf. *dá oenbratán*, SR 7624, = *dá iasc*, 7626), but in the course of time it became applied exclusively to the salmon, and has now become the only name for that fish (Mod. Ir. *bradán*; similarly Sc. *bradan*, Manx *braddan*), the older names like *éo*, *écne*, having long since gone out of use. The derivation of *bratán* is unknown. I would suggest connecting it with *brat* in its original sense of 'stabbing', the name being applied to the fish because of its boring activities during the spawning season.<sup>1</sup> Compare Sc. *cladh*, 'act of spawning', lit. 'digging' (cf. Mid. Ir. *claire*), e.g. *tha na bradain a' cladh*, 'the salmon are spawning' (M'Alpine), and Ir. *cladhaire*, 'a fish after spawning', lit. 'a digger' (ZCP vii, 396 f.).

In *creach*, *gad*, *brad*, we have words which properly mean 'cutting' or 'stabbing' used as euphemistic expressions for 'thieving, plundering'. We may compare perhaps Eng. *pinch*, which properly means 'to nip'; but in slang signifies 'steal'.

A word remains to be said concerning Mid. Ir. *slat*, Mod. Ir. *slad*, 'act of robbing, plundering', which is often associated with *gad* and *brad* (compare the parallel derivatives *gadaighe*, *bradaighe*, *sladaighe*). *Slad* fluctuates in gender and declension. IGT admit only *slad*, m., gen. *sloid* (p. 119 and ex. 1563), and note gen. *sloide* (ex. 1562) as faulty; but its declension as a fem. *ā* stem is otherwise well attested, e.g. *ic slait na ngort*, CCath. 4588, *do gait*  $\gamma$  *brait*  $\gamma$  *slait*, PH 4192. We are probably safe in assuming that the fem. gender of *slad* was borrowed from Mid. Ir. *gat*, f. The etymology of *slad* is unknown. Stokes's *\*stlatto-* (Urk. Spr. 314) is obviously impossible. The Irish counterpart of W. *lladd*, 'to cut, smite, kill', would be *\*sladh* (O. Ir. *\*slad*, < *\*slado-*), which would stand to Mid. Ir. *slaide*, 'act of striking, hewing'<sup>2</sup>, as *cladh* (W. *cladd*), 'trench', stands to Mid. Ir. *claire*, 'act of digging.' I suggest that *slad* is a modification of this *\*sladh*, the delenition of the *dh* being due to the influence of the associated words *gad* and *brad*.

### 19. *fáth*

Ir. Sc. *fáth*, m., means 'a cause'; the gen. is *fáith* or *fátha* (IGT p. 87).<sup>3</sup> W. *gwawd* means 'satire, mockery, derision', and was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Tiocfaidh bradán an lábán (an bradán fireann) agus déanfaidh sé clais ins an ngaineamh', Peadar Chois Fháirge, 69.

<sup>2</sup> That *slaide* may also mean 'plundering' may be inferred from *náu humi asa·slaidea Albu*  $\gamma$  *innsi mara olchene*, ZCP ix, 192 § 9 (based on ÉRIU ii, 33. 30).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the gen. *fátha* is the original; for the Mid. Ir. tendency was for *u*-stems to pass to the *o*-declension, rather than vice-versa (cf. Strachan, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1902-5, 231 f.).

formerly used also in the sense of 'song, poesy.' The wide difference in meaning between the two words has obscured the fact that both go back to a common Celtic original *\*vātu-* (or *\*vāto-*), closely related to *\*vātis*, O. Ir. *fáith*, 'prophet'.

The earliest meaning of *fáth* must have been 'prophecy' or 'prophetic wisdom'. A prophecy was something more than the foretelling of a future event; it was itself intended, and was believed, to influence the future.<sup>1</sup> Other Irish words, too, show that prognostication and cause were liable to be popularly confused; a prediction or a portent was held responsible for the event which followed. Thus *mana* means both 'omen, portent' and 'cause'. So *tuar* has the same meanings;<sup>2</sup> and as a verb *tuair* or *tuar*, 'presage, portend', commonly means 'bring about, cause, incur, deserve'.

Subsidiary meanings of *fáth* are illustrated in *fáth* ('opportunity') in *buille brathdighlaigh*, ITS xxvi, 17. 36; *is eadh is fáth dhó*, 'what he intends to convey is . . .', TBg. 4303; *drochfháth do bhuan as éinní*, 'to put an unfavourable interpretation on anything', Des. 2472.

The old meaning of the word is preserved in the Scottish folk-tale phrase: *thainig am fàth fior*, 'the prophecy has come true', J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, 23. Memories of the old meaning are also found in the Irish glossarists, e.g. *fáth* *i. fogluim, unde dicitur fáitsine*, San. Corm. § 602. O'Davoren explains *fáth* as 'poetic learning', 'wisdom' (*i. foghlaim filadectha*, 855; *i. foghlaim*, 860; *i. fis*, 916). Compare *bid sái hi fáthaib fis*, 'he will be an expert in prophetic knowledge', B. Colmáin p. 12. 21<sup>3</sup>. In composition we have *fáthraann* (glossed *i. rann fáthach*), *Triads* 89.

The old meaning is also preserved in the derivative adj. *fáthach*, 'possessing prophetic powers', e.g. *fer fáthach fíamach firglisc*, C.R. Ríg p. 26, and cf. *Fachtna Fáthach*, of the Ulidian tales. In some such sense as 'wise, knowledgeable', it survived down to the eighteenth century; cf. *cia imreas ar fidhchill go fáthach?*

<sup>1</sup> Thus when Ciarán curses Cellach and prophesies that he will die a violent death, the prophecy is inexorably fated to come true, and even Ciarán himself cannot undo its effect (SG i, 51 f.).

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *an tuar* (prophecy) *do rinne Ciarán dó*, FF iii, 843; *cuimhne ar a mbriathraibh binne . . . badh tuar* (cause) *mímheanma a-mádrach*, Measgra Dánta p. 28. 4. Cf. *drochthuar*, 'ill omen', FF iii, 3131=drochfháistine, ib. 3129.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer inadequately renders: 'a master in the cause of knowledge'. Cf. also RC xxvi, 58.

Keating, Poems 519, where the meaning is 'with pre-eminent skill',<sup>1</sup> *go fáthach glic*, *Fil. na Má.* 37, *gach ealadha fháthach*, *ib.* 75, 76.

As the poet and the seer or soothsayer were hardly distinguished in ancient times, it is not surprising to find the Welsh counterpart of *fáth* acquiring the sense of 'song, poetry'.<sup>2</sup> Also as a satire directed against an individual was credited (like prophecy) with the power of bringing about future events, it is easy to understand how W. *gwawd*, 'prophetic verse', was narrowed down to mean 'satire, derision.'

#### 20. eilestar, solestar.

Mid. Ir. *eilestar* (RC v, 202) or *ailestar* (gen. *-air*, BDD § 1), 'a flag (marsh plant), iris', has its counterpart in Welsh and Bret. *elestr* (coll. ; sg. *-en*, *-enn*), id., O. Corn. *elestren*, 'carex'. In Irish we also find forms with *s-* prefixed, apparently under the influence of *sail*, *soileóg* (Sc. *seileach*), 'willow'; thus *solestar*, O'Dav. 1363, Ir. Gl. 795, *solestrach* RC ix, 234, *siolastar*,<sup>3</sup> Lhuyd, *siolastrach* Lhuyd, Donegal, and cf. Sc. *seilisdeir*. Other current forms are *eileastram* and *feileastram*<sup>4</sup> (cf. O'Brien s. v. *feleastar*); these may fairly be attributed to the analogy of *Alastram*, by-form<sup>5</sup> of *Alastar*, 'Alexander.'

Pedersen, V.G. i, 192, sees in these words borrowings of Lat. *salicastrum*, 'a kind of wild vine'. The disappearance of *s-* in the British forms he does not attempt to explain; the Irish forms without the *s-* are, he suggests, late loan-words from Welsh. These views are obviously unsatisfactory. That W. *elestr* could come from Lat. *salicastrum* is impossible on both formal and semantic grounds. There is no reason for assuming that the Irish and British words are of other than Celtic origin. Both would go back to Celt. *\*elestro-*, for which if we seek an IE. root, we have an appropriate one in *pel-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 55), found in names applied to marshy ground, e.g. Lat. *palūs*, and to trees that flourish

<sup>1</sup> Keating employs *go fáthach* and *go fáithchiallach* in the sense of 'figuratively' (TBg. etc.). Compare also his *fáithsgéal*, 'parable'.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the cognate O. Norse *öðr*, which has the same meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Lios-a'-tsiolastair*, 'Lisatilister', co. Monaghan; see Joyce, Ir. Names of Places ii, 334.

<sup>4</sup> Also *seileastram* (cf. J. H. Molloy, Ir. Gr. 168).

<sup>5</sup> Apparently from the accusative *Alexandrum*. Compare other Latin acc. forms in Mod. Ir.: *cúram*, *gradam*.

therein, e.g. Germ. *felber*, 'white willow'. In *eilestar*, *elestr*, we appear to have a clear example of the *-str-* suffix in Celtic.<sup>1</sup>

21. **comhlann. forlann.** Mid. Ir. *éclann*.

In his discussion of syncope Pedersen (V.G. § 168; Lewis-Pedersen § 103) gives among his examples '*comlán* : *comalnad*, *ingnáth* : *ingantach*', so that an inexperienced reader might suppose that the *á* of the first and third of these words was lost through syncope. Actually, of course, long vowels in existence at the time of the operation of syncope were not affected by it; and *comalnad* would have been more fittingly compared with *comlann*, *ingantach* with *ingnad*.

*Comlán* (E. Mod. Ir. *comhlán*), 'complete, perfect', is a reformation of the post-syncope period.<sup>2</sup> The regular Irish development of Celt. \**kom-lāno-* is seen in O. and Mid. Ir. *comlann*, which shows not only the *á* shortened but also the *n* delenited (and doubled in writing) owing to the *l* preceding.

As an adj. *comlann* is ignored in the dictionaries; but we have an instance of it in Cáin Adamn. § 20 : *ben in cluiccín for Domnall | na rup comlann a bliadain*, 'that his year may not be completed' (i.e. 'that he may die within a year').<sup>3</sup> Another example occurs, I suggest, in Fél. epil. 163 : *bes comland* [leg. *-ann*] *an núall-sa*, meaning, perhaps, 'this supplication will be fulfilled'.<sup>4</sup> Words which contain the same number of syllables are said to be *comlonna*, 'evenly matched', Sg. 48 b 5; here we probably have the neut. pl. of the adj. rather than the pl. of the sb.<sup>5</sup>. Cf. *comlunn*, Sg. 164 b 1.

<sup>1</sup> For non-Celtic examples of *-str-* in plant-names cf. V. Bertoldi, RC xlvi, 188 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly due in part to religious influence from Britain; cf. W. *cyflawn* with same meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the similar use of the vb. *comhaillim* in *nach coimheölad sé a bliadain* BCC 132. 10; *gan a bliadhain do c[h]omull do* [leg. *di*], ib. 380. 11. *Coimhlionaim* is similarly used in *an fear a mharbhóchadh é nach gcomhlionfad* *sé an bhliadhain*, Ml. Ó Tiománaidhe, Targaireacht Bhriain Ruaidh 7 (W. Mayo).

<sup>4</sup> Stokes, who misses the meaning, renders 'this cry will be a conflict (with the Devil)', which he later (ZCP vi, 238) emended to 'match (for the Devil)'. The preceding line, *lasa tá mo bágsa*, means, I suggest, not 'along with whom is my fight' (so Stokes), but 'with whom I am pledged in friendship', or the like.

<sup>5</sup> In O. Ir. *comalne*, 'dropsy' (Sg. 110 b 2), we probably have a derivative of *comlann*, adj.; cf. Ascoli, clxvi f.

As a noun *comlann*, n. (corresponding to *lán*, n.) is well known; it is often spelled *comlond* in Mid. Ir., perhaps under the influence of *lond*.<sup>1</sup> It means 'equal fulness', 'equal number,' hence 'a match (especially in a fight)', 'a fight (with equal numbers)', e.g. *comlond a áesa*, 'one of his age', LU 4841, *caur a chomluind*, 'a hero to match him', TBC Wi. 852. In late Irish the word usually means 'combat', e.g. *a gcomhlannaibh agus a gcathaibh*, Oss. Soc. iii, 108; but traces of the older meaning remain, e.g. *is fear comhlainn ceud gach fear agaínn*, 'each man of us is a match for a hundred (in a fight)', ib. 82.

In Middle Irish one finds *cumlann* used as a doublet of *comlann*. This is probably an old compound of *com-* and *lín*, n., 'number'. We find it re-formed in O. and Mid. Ir. *cuimlín*, *comlín*,<sup>2</sup> 'equal number'. Cf. *tothoethsat a trī chumlund leó*, LU 7548 with *totháethsat a thrí comlín lais*, ib. 7188.

As a verb *comlann* means 'fulfil'; pres. ind. 1 sg. *comalnaim*,<sup>3</sup> > *comallaim*, v.n. *comalnad*, > *comallad*. Following the reduction (during the O. Ir. period) of *-ln-* to *-ll-*, the forms of the word have been affected by analogical influences. On the model, perhaps, of *sechmallaim* : *sechmall*, a new v.n. *comall*<sup>4</sup> appears in Mid. Ir.; instances from LL will be found in TBC Wi. 3089 and ZCP xiii, 361. From *comallaim* a new impv. 2 sg. (and pret. 3 sg.) *comail* was formed, replacing the earlier *\*comlann*; thence the palatal *ll* spread to the rest of the verb, e.g. *ro comaillaed*<sup>5</sup>, LB 272 b, 2 from foot. In E. Mod. Irish, in addition to the usual *comhaillim*, we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *comlann* (: *drong*), SR 2414: gen. *comlaind* (: *Domnaill*), ib. 2375.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes used in the same sense as Mod. Ir. *uiread*; cf. *in comlin so do dánib*, 'so many people', Ac. Sen. 5046, where Lism. reads *in oiretsa do d*. It survives in Sc. *coimhlion*, 'as many', Manx *whilleen*, id. (representing a *choimhlion*; cf. Rhys, Manx Phonology 61).

<sup>3</sup> In O. Ir. generally deponent (*comalnur*).

<sup>4</sup> *Comall* is to be distinguished from an earlier word *comal*, 'union, bond', v. n. from *com-la-* (cf., with *air-* prefixed, *urchomal*, 'a spancel'). Meyer, ZCP xiii, 167 (followed by Lewis-Pedersen, 359), confuses the two words. In *conla cundrathau*, which Meyer quotes from ZCP xii, 362 a, the verb means, I suggest, not 'erfüllt', but 'enters into, binds'; compare *com-cuir-*, Lewis-Pedersen, 355. As *comal* went out of use early, it is not surprising to find the cheville *comal nglé* (cf. SR p. 131) miswritten *comall nglé* by later scribes (cf. Ac. Sen. 2870; Feis Tighe Chonáin 648).

<sup>5</sup> Wrongly *ro comaillned*, SG 50 y. Cf. 2 pl. impv. *comaillid*, LL 111 a 34, = RC xiv, 426. 6. So we find palatal *ll* in the v. n. : *do chomailliud*, LU 1415 (= *do chomolloid*, 8029).

sometimes find *coimhlim*<sup>1</sup>, with syncopation, on the analogy of *tomhail* : *toimhlim*. In modern times *comhaill* tends to be superseded by *coimhlion*<sup>2</sup>, vb., which is the usual word in the Irish of to-day.<sup>3</sup>

We have parallels to *comlán* : *comlann* in *forlán* : *forlann*. The former of these is an adj. meaning 'more than full, superabundant' (W. *gorlawn*), e.g. Wb. 3 a 7 (as adv.), Fél. The older *forlann*, sb., means 'superior force, weight of numbers, oppression', e.g. *ro imred forlond fer for* F., IT iii, 504, l. 583<sup>4</sup>, *rob f[h]orlann debaíd na desi derbráthar 'n-a agaid a aenur*, C. M. Rath 246. 19 (where *forlann* might be an adj.). Similarly *anfhórlann* means 'the predominance of a combatant over a weaker opponent', hence 'oppression, violence, tyranny', e.g. ITS xxiv, pp. 50, 52 (and see Meyer, *Conrr.*)<sup>5</sup>. We have *forlann* as an adj. in *ar in maig féraig forluind*, LU 2848.

Combined with the negative prefix, *comlann* gives Mid. Ir. *éclann*, 'an unequal combat', the consonant group *-gul-* being simplified to *-gl-*<sup>6</sup>. Compare *batir allata éclainn*, Fian. 12, § 13, where I take *éclainn* (gen. as adj.) to mean 'hard to match in a fight'. More commonly *éclann* is used in a personal sense (as *comlann* often is), meaning 'champion fighter', i.e. 'one who is more than a match for an opponent', e.g. *a ballaib na n-écland*  $\gamma$  *tré thoebu na miled*, RC xiii, 456, § 52. Stokes, ib. 470, explains *écland* as 'outlaw?', literally clanless?, and similarly Meyer translates *éclainn* in Fian. 12 (quoted above) as 'outlaws'. Following Meyer,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *coimlit(t)*, ZCP ii, 232. 27, 276 b (Maundeville); *nir c[h]oimletar*, BCC 164. 31. The usual fut.-condl. is illustrated in *do c[h]oimheöldaos*, BCC 246. 33 (with which cf. *comella*, fut. 2 sg., TBC Wi. 1864); but we have an f future in *comuillfde*, fut. 2 pl., ZCP ii, 232. 11 (Maundeville).

<sup>2</sup> Known from the fifteenth century, e.g. RC xix, 130.15, Carswell pp. 83, 113, 195, 224. Compare *coimhlionta iomlán*, 'perfecti et integri', TBG. 1887, where *coimhlionta* = Mid. Ir. *comlán*; and *dd mbeith coimhlionadh* [= *comhlann*] *catha d[h]óibh-sean aige*, 'if he had sufficient forces to fight them', FF iii, 4367.

<sup>3</sup> But the older word still survives in co. Mayo; cf. 'comhallaadh (pron. *comhnallaadh*), act of fulfilling', Lúb na Caillighe (Ml. Mhag Ruaidhri), p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the similar use of *forlin fer*, 'excessive number of men (i.e. of opponents)', ib. 510, l. 674.

<sup>5</sup> The modern pronunciation of these words (with lengthened -o-) is seen in *anfhórlann*, Des. 3396, *fórlann*, DBr. ii, 142, *anfhórlann*, ib. i, 200. Compare *lucht an fhórlainn* (read *lucht anfhórlainn*?), Keating, Poems 140.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *connuall* (acc.) *guba . . . neglaint*, YBL 163 b 7-10 (also quoted in R.I.A. Dict. s. v. \**éclaind*), corresponding to *nuall-guba . . . n-écomlained*, PH 8313-15.

the R.I.A. Dict. suggests that *éccland* is 'perhaps originally an adj. from *clann*, signifying expelled from the clan', but this view, it seems to me, is devoid of foundation.

*Éclann* has a doublet in *écomlann*, E. Mod. Ir. *éag(c)omhlann*, 'unequal combat, outmatching, overpowering of a weaker combatant by a stronger', a new formation from *comhlann*, without syncope (cf. R.I.A. Dict. s.v. *éccomlann*). Compare the doublets *éagsamhail*, *éagcosmhail*.

## 22. Mid. Ir. **Cloínad. Cromad. Lethnad.**

In Irish place-name compounds a long vowel in the second component is generally retained, e.g. *Bántír*, *Dubháth*, *Fionntráigh*, *Mucshnámh*, *Seandún*. This is either because such names originated within the historical period, or else because they have been re-formed and have thus eliminated the shortening which at an early period affected all long vowels outside the first syllable. Exceptions to this rule are rare. Here I consider a few old compounds of *áth*,<sup>1</sup> in which vowel-shortening and syncope have operated just as they did in simple words.

*Cloínad*, Clane, co. Kildare, may be explained as a compound of *cloen* and *áth*, i.e. 'slanting ford', meaning, presumably, a ford that crosses the river obliquely. Some examples are *for Cloenath* AU 703, *do Chloínud* LL 116 b 12, gen. *Cloento* AU 781, *Clóinta* LL 116 b 14, 47. In Fél. Oeng., May 18, the MSS. read *Cloenad* or *Claenad* (dat.), which Stokes emends to *Clained* (a form otherwise unknown) because it rimes with *mainech*; a preferable emendation would be to alter the latter word to *moénach*<sup>2</sup>. The latest occurrence of the name in an Irish text is perhaps O'Mellan's *Claona* (Analecta Hib. no 3, 47. 7), in which the use of *-a* (i.e. *ə*) for *-adh* probably reflects the local (co. Kildare) pronunciation of the name. *Cloínad* stands for *\*kloinātu*, shortened from an earlier *\*kloino-jātu*.

*Cromad*, Croom, co. Limerick, I take to mean 'crooked ford' (*\*krumbātu*, earlier *\*krumbo-jātu*). In Mod. Ir. the name is, regularly, *Croma*, e.g. Ó Bruadair ii, 96, *Fil. na Má.* pp. 85, 86, and is generally undeclined (gen. *Croma*, ib. pp. 7, 8, 92); but

<sup>1</sup> From *\*jā-tu-s*, according to Walde-Pokorny, i, 104. But *dīth* was neuter, to judge from *Ath nGabla*, LU 4800, *Ath mBuide*, LL 73 b 14, *Ath nGuill*, 111 b 15, and the like.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the personal name *Moenach* which has a by-form *Moenech*, attested in ÁID i, 18. 7 (= *Moenach a quo Hui Moenaig*, R 121 b 2).

*Cromtha* (pron. *kroumha*), the old gen., is used as gen. ib. 22 (misspelled *Croma*), and as dat. ib. 114 (misspelled *Crom*). The long vowel of Eng. 'Croom' doubtless represents the diphthong of Ir. *Cromha*.

In *Magh C(h)romtha*,<sup>1</sup> Macroom, co. Cork, the second word is more likely to be gen. of an obsolete local place-name *\*Cromadh*, 'crooked ford', than participle of the verb *crom*, 'bend'.

Another place-name of this type is *\*Lethnad*, 'broad ford' (*\*litanātu*, earlier *\*litano-jātu*), somewhere in the territory of the Loiges, but unidentified; the gen. *Lethnada* occurs in R 126 b 53, LL 318 a 36. Compare the later (non-compound) *Ath Leahán*, with same meaning, the name of several places elsewhere.

### 23. *uiread*

In Old and Mid. Irish *airet* or *eret* means 'length (of time or space)'. It is used especially in the phrase *cia airet* (*cia eret*, *c'airet*, *c'eret*), 'how long? how far?' and with the force of a temporal conjunction ('while, as long as') either by itself (e.g. Ml. 59 a 22) or preceded by the article. I quote a few examples (others will be found in Meyer's *Conrr.* 55, and *Laws Gloss.* 38): *cia hairett* (how long) *atáidh sunn?* RC xxvi, 376. 8; *nocon fess cairet* (how far) *rochúaid*, RC xiii, 442; *a n-airet robátar sruithi Hērend occó are*, Trip. 254. 4; *in eret ro bói i mbethaid*, ÉRIU i, 70; *in oiret rabursa ocus mh'aiged forrusom*, SG i, 50. 35; *oiret bé ic tabach fhiach*, Aisl. Mc C. 57. 13; *oiread robhaoi ar gealtacht*, B. Shuibhne, ITS xii, 60. 15. An Early Mod. Ir. example is *an oiread ro bí Mongán ag rādha a shoiscéla*, Bran i, 65. 4. Even in the first half of the seventeenth century we find *in airet(t)*, 'while', used by Ó Cianáin, pp. 60, 64, 78, and *cia hairett*, 'how long', by Ml. Ó Cléirigh (Walsh, *Gleanings* 72); but these are deliberate archaisms. The same may be said of *an airet*, 'while', Toch. *Fharbhlaidhe*, ÉRIU iv, 53. 25.

In general throughout the Mod. Ir. period *airet*, Mod. Ir. *oiread*, *uiread*, means no longer 'length', but either 'amount' or 'equivalent amount, equal quantity or size'.<sup>2</sup> This new usage goes back to the twelfth century; cf. *inn airetsin da slúag*, 'so many of their host', in the LL *Mesca Ulad* (ed. Hennessy, 34).

<sup>1</sup> gen. *Muighe Chromtha* (: *cobhartha*), 23 L 17, fo. 13 b 12.

<sup>2</sup> In the latter of these meanings it is synonymous with Mid. Ir. *cummat*, *comméit*, *cobéis*, all of which imply an equation of two amounts or quantities. We have a Mid. Ir. example of *airet* in the sense of 'an equal length of time' in *a oired*, Hib. Min. 67. 4 (Erch. *Ingine Gulidi*).

In some texts of the Late Mid. Ir. type we find the word employed in both senses, the old and the new. Thus in the Irish 'Marco Polo' we have *airet* in the sense of 'while' in *bātar samlaid airet ba beo iat*, ZCP i, 382 x, together with three instances of the word in its modern sense, viz. *airet in grāin[n]e musdaird*, 248 y, *a naei n-airet*, 'nine times as much (as it)', 268 § 41, *in oired cētna*, 'as many again', 'the same number', 416 a. Similarly in *Tromdám Guaire* we have on the one hand *bātar isin āirc oiret buī in dīle forsin ndoman*, 977, and on the other hand *in oired cétna*, 'the same number', 123, *oiret ēnfhocail*, 'even a single word', 1131.<sup>1</sup>

In imitation of compounds of *comh-*, *uiread* may be followed by *re* introducing the other party to whom the comparison relates, e.g. *oired re hoirecht d'āgh*, ITS xxvi, 110. 5, *uiread grās re Gilla Brighde*, Ir. Texts ii, 44 a; *nī c[h]aithitt . . . oiret bídh nā dighi ré dā mīle do lucht ar tīreni*, ZCP ii, 290, § 249; *nā hiarr duais ach uiread leó*, 'look not for any reward, any more than they do', Measgra D. p. 12. Similarly it may be followed by *agus* and a relative verb, e.g. *uiread grádha . . . ɏ atá aige dhó féin*, Des. 6041; *urad as do bhī ag Crīosd*, 'as much as Christ had', Luc. Fid. 323.<sup>2</sup>

Especially frequent is the phrase *an uiread sin* (or *so*) *do*, 'so much', which is generally followed by a clause expressing consequence introduced by *go* (*nách*) or *innus go* (*nách*), e.g. ITS xxvi, 98. 13; ZCP ii, 278, § 225; BCC pp. 158, 220, 234, 296, 318, 442 (ll. 8, 19), 444; Carswell pp. 20, 85, 123, 136<sup>3</sup>.

*Uiread* c. gen. has sometimes the sense of 'even', e.g. *gu hoiread an fhocail dhiomhaoin as liigha dá ndubhart*, 'even the idlest word I have spoken', Des. 1177; *bronntóir culaidh go n-uiread* [sic 1.]

<sup>1</sup> Here I may note that Stokes's *airet*, 'when', in his edition of the Ir. Maundeville, ZCP ii, 24 b, is illusory; for the editorial *Airet* read *air*, *et* (=agus), and join to the preceding clause. In the Irish Grail fragment *an airet-sain*, ZCP iv, 384. 12, means 'so much', not, as Robinson translates it, 'at that time'.

<sup>2</sup> Note *a uiread . . . ɏ a ttíobhra Dia dhuit*, Des. 4600, where, if no words intervened between *uiread* and the demonstrative-relative, the author would have written *uiread a ttíobhra Dia dhuit*. Cf. *ib.* ll. 4058, 4603, and *uiriod a bhfuarais aréir*, 'as much as you got last night', ÉRIU i, 97 y.

<sup>3</sup> In Early Mod. Irish *an mhéid sin*, followed by a clause of consequence, is not infrequently used in the same sense, e.g. *do mharbhadar in méid sin dīb innus nach deachaíd beo* etc., ITS xix, 2; other examples *ib.* pp. 2, 10, Carswell, 53, 85, 146. Similarly *an mēide sin* BCC 414. 15.

*an chlóca*, Keating, Poems 216; *uiread* [sic 1.] *an duine bhí i seidhil, Séan na R.* 119. Séan Ó Neachtain employs *uiread le* in this sense: *uiread le bréithir dá laghad*, 'even the least word', Stair É. Uí Chléire 1296. Nowadays *uiread is* (agus) is used, e.g. *ní raibh oiread agus aon fhocal amháin Béarla acu*, 'they did not know even a single word of English', O'Leary, Mo Sgéal Féin 45. Note *agus* in combination with the genitive in *níl urad agus na cainte fein agám*, 'I cannot even speak', Gallagher, ed. 1752, 21.

A doublet with non-palatal *r* is also found, viz. Old and Mid. Ir. *erat*, Ml. 33 a 1<sup>1</sup> ('length of time'), ZCP i, 103 ('as long as'), Mod. Ir. *urad*, used by O'Molloy (Luc. Fid. pp. 3, 323, 324) and Gallagher. In Séan Ó Neachtain's Stair É. Uí Chléire *urad* occurs twice (1108, 1416), *uiread* once (1296). At the present day *urad* is the form used in Donegal; *uiread* or *oiread* elsewhere. In Scottish the usual form is *uiread*, but *urad* is also well known.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the gender and declension of *uiread*, it was originally, I suggest, a neuter *o*-stem. This would explain its non-inflexion after numerals; compare (besides *dā oired a shluagh*, RC xix, 252): *tri uired Érenn*, BCC 78. 29, *cheithre uiread do shluagh*, FF iii, 3212, *a secht noired* (: beg), ITS xxvi, 121, 4 from foot, *a naei n-airet*, ZCP i, 268, § 41, *a dheich n-oiread sin*, ERIU i, 97. Hence, too, the use of the neuter pronoun *ed* to refer to it in *is ed a erat*, Ml. 33 a 1, *is ed á eret*, 107 d 8.<sup>3</sup> In *inn heret sin* Sg. 148 a 6, *ind eret sa*, gl. 'tandiu', Ml. 114 b 14, I take *eret* to be dative (of time; cf. *in tain*, *ind fecht so*, and the like), the *u*-colouring, as often, being absent.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand we have the accusative in *a n-airet* Trip. 254. 4. Later *ind airet* and *a n-airet* fell together as Mid.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also *arat*, Ml. 80 b 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *anuradsa*, Book of Clanranald, Rel. Celt. ii, 202 a. Alex. M'Donald in his Vocabulary (1741), p. 125, writes *dha urad, thri urad, a cheithair urad, but na hurid* in such phrases as *seachd uairin na hurid*, 'seven times as much'. The form *uirid*, occasionally found in Ulster texts, may also be noted; the palatal -*d* may be due to the influence of the frequently following *sin*. Cf. *a uirid eile*, in the will of Hugh O'Neill (ed. Walsh), p. 10, ll. 31, 34, 35; *an uirid sin*, 23 M 10, p. 121 (Fr. Magnus Ó Domhnaill).

<sup>3</sup> In *is hē [a] airet sain*, SR 2531, the masc. pronoun replaces *ed*, as it does in *is é a ainm*, ib. 6415.

<sup>4</sup> Thurneysen, on the assumption that O. Ir. *eret, erat*, is not neuter, regards the *ed* of *is ed a erat* as exceptional (Hb. 244 a); *inn heret sin* he takes to be accusative (*ib.* 159). In the vocabulary to Bergin's edition of Strachan's O. Ir. Glosses *eret, erat*, is marked 'f.'

Ir. *in airet*, 'as long as', > Mod. Ir. *an uiread*, 'the equivalent amount'. In *an oired céadna*, 'the same amount' (cf. ZCP i, 416 a; ii, 272, § 212), the adjective is unmutated, the original eclipsis being lost.

In Modern Irish there is a tendency to leave uninflected in the gen. certain nouns denoting quantity or number, such as *iomad* and *céad* (both old neuters). *Uiread*, which, as we have seen, is uninflected in the plur., has become wholly indeclinable in Mod. Ir.<sup>1</sup> Instances of its use as genitive are, however, uncommon in the literature, the only example I can quote at the moment being *ar son an uiret sin d'faillidhe do dēnam*, BCC 440. 1.

Mid. Ir. *airet*, 'length (of time), distance', has in Mod. Ir. been replaced by the synonym *fad* (O. Ir. *fot*), e.g. *iss ē fad do bī sé marb*, BCC 164. 14; *an fad* ('as far as') *doc[h]uaidh an bir sa ceō*, ib. 130. 18. Especially common is *an fad* in the sense of 'while, as long as',<sup>2</sup> e.g. *an fad do bī sē a nĒrind*, ib. 342. 28<sup>3</sup>; *an fad mhairfeas siad ré chéile*, Carswell 146 (similarly 115); *an fad bhímíd 'na ghrásuibh*, Des. 1149 (similarly 5733); *an fad do bhīos agā hōl*, Feis Tighe Ch. 532<sup>4</sup>. So in the sense of 'how long?' (*cia airet*) we have *cia fot atāi sund?* PH 1289; *ca fat co īdingentar feis T.?* Ac. Sen. 7544<sup>5</sup>; *cia fod do bátar isin tir*, SG i, 353; *fiafraigh dí gá fad an phian*, D. Grádha, 2 ed. 35; *do fhiarfaig de cá fad a s[h]aeghal*, BCC 122. 12; *gá fad bhus sgaoilte thū?* TBg. 1618. Similarly in the sense of 'how far?': *cia fod is āil duib dula anocht?* Tromdám G. 1119; *cá fad do chuadhois ó shoim?* ÉRIU iv, 52, § 15. In the spoken Irish of to-day we find what are essentially the same usages, though with local modifications. Thus Munster

<sup>1</sup> Dinneen erroneously treats *oiread* as a fully inflected word, with gen. sg. and nom. pl. *oirid*. His only basis for this is the occurrence of the stereotyped *faid gach n-oirid*, 'ever so long', in Pdg. Ó Laoghaire's Sgéal. Chúige Mumhan (ed. 1895, p. 8). In other parts of Munster the corresponding phrase is *faid gach n(fh)aid*; and the palatal *d* of *oirid* may be due to the analogy of *faid*. For the non-declension of *oiread* compare, in the same text, *chun an oiread-san trioblóide*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Yet some writers, e.g. Keating, prefer the less popular *an gctén* in this sense.

<sup>3</sup> Other examples in this text (BCC) pp. 104, 220, 240, 270, 380.

<sup>4</sup> One finds the compound *comhfhad* occasionally used in the same sense in Mid. and E. Mod. Ir., e.g. *in comfat bias duine am degaid-si*, Ac. Sen. 6138 (similarly 7470, 7894); *an comfad bīs a brig fēin sa gaith*, ITS xiv, 56. 4; *in comhfhad*, Ó Cianáin pp. 56, 236 y. Note a similar use of *comhoiread* in *in comhaires bhādhus agā hōl*, Feis Tighe Ch. 545.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *in fitir tú ca fat [=a fhad] ó thesta in flaith Find?* Ac. Sen. 5340.

Irish, in which *faid*<sup>1</sup>, f., has taken the place of *fad*, uses *faid*<sup>2</sup> or *an fhaid* in the sense of 'while', and *cé an fhaid* or *cadé an fhaid* in the sense of 'how long?' 'how far?'

As to the derivation of *uiread*, Macbain's '*\*are-vet-to*, root *vet* of *feith*' is obviously impossible. Windisch, TBC p. 798 n., suggests *air-* + *sét*, 'way', which is far from suitable semantically, and would leave the by-form *urad* unexplained. After what has been said above, the true etymology of the word will be fairly obvious. O. Ir. *airet*, *eret*, is a compound of the prep. prefix *\*ari-* and the neuter *o*-stem *fot* (Mod. Ir. *fad*), *\*vocco-*. In *\*ari-vocco-* the *i* of the second syllable was lost through syncope, consequently the *r* was kept palatal. Compare O. Ir. *airitiu*, *eritiu*, from *\*ari-vo-* and *\*ētiu* (cf. Pedersen, V. G. ii, 513), and *airigid* from *\*ari-sagiti-*.

On the other hand *\*ari-* at an early date became monosyllabic in composition (doubtless after first being reduced to a monosyllable in prepositional use). Before palatal consonants the palatal *r* was retained (O. Ir. *air-*, *e(i)r-*); before non-palatal, the *r* was depalatalized and the *a* raised, the result being variously written *er-*, *ir-*, *aur-*, *ur-*, *or-* (and occasionally *air-*) in Old and Middle Irish. At the period when syncope took place monosyllabic composition forms of *\*ari-* were, it would appear, already in use side by side with the disyllabic form. It is thus that we can account for the loss through syncope of what were originally the second and third syllables in such compounds as *ergnam* < *\*ari-vo-gnimu-*, *erndail* (see p. 183) < *\*ari-kon-dāli-*. In this way, too, we may explain the non-palatal *r* of O. Ir. *erat* (Mod. Ir. *urad*, doublet of *uiread*); here the prefix is not *\*ari-* but the later *er-*.<sup>3</sup>

In *ar fhud*<sup>4</sup>, 'throughout', we find the two elements of which *uiread* is composed forming a prepositional phrase. Compare *ar*

<sup>1</sup> This form is of old standing, to judge from IGT ex. 1006, where *an fhaid-sin*, 'so long', occurs, but is marked as faulty (the approved form being *an fad-sain*). It may be due in part to the analogy of Mid. Ir. *gair*, 'a short time', in part to the influence of *faide* (*fuide*), comparative of *fada*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *faid do bhionn an fēar ag fās*, Misc. Ir. Proverbs § 193.

<sup>3</sup> One may also imagine a comparatively late compound of *air* and *fot*; but in that case we should expect O. Ir. *er(f)ot* or the like. Compare the adj. *urfota*, TBC Wi. 5403. Compare also the doublets *airichell* (< *\*ari-vo-kvēllā*), *er(f)oichell*, 'act of providing', the latter being a re-formation, though apparently attested earlier.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. ITS xii, 100. 11; xxxvii, 249, § 5; IGT ex. 1701; Carswell 24. Later, as in Keating, *ar fud*.

*chionn*, 'in store for' (: W. *erbyn*, 'in readiness for'), with *airchenn*, 'destiny',<sup>1</sup> and *ar chomhair* (: W. *ar gyfer*), 'opposite', with *urchomhair*, 'opposite situation'.

#### 24. *urdail*

In Late Mid. Ir. and in Mod. Ir. down to the eighteenth century *urdail*<sup>2</sup> occurs as a synonym of *oiread*, *uiread*, in the sense of 'amount', 'equal amount'. I quote a few examples: *gan urdail* (: *Gulbain*) *an uain*, Ir. Texts ii, 8, § 15 (Gb. Mac Con Midhe), *urrdail ëirni dia inc[h]inn*, Celt. Rev. iii, 212. 9; *adabar n-urdail*, 'twice your number', ITS xxvi, 90. 17; *a tri cêd urdail*, '300 times as much', ITS xiv, 116; *céad urdail a n-uighthí aniogh*, TD 222, § 15; *an urdail sin d'fhuacht*, 'so much cold' Ó Cianáin 56. Like *oiread*, it may be followed by *re*, e.g. *nî bec limsa urdail ris*, 'the same amount as he (gets)', Ac. Sen. 6003 (Laud), where Lism. reads *is lôr limsa a oiret*; *urdail re cach n-öclach*, 'the same amount as any soldier (gets)', Met. D. iv, pp. 6, 8; *urdail* (: *cumhgaigh*) *d'aimsir ré a athair*, TD 235, § 38. In Ó Cianáin we find it followed by *agus* and a verb: *a c[h]oibéis* ɏ *a urdail do loghadh* . . . ɏ *do ragadh* etc., 212; *a urdail do deighinntinn* . . . ɏ *mar do ragdaoss sa gcaithraigh sin*, 'as much satisfaction as if they had gone to that city', 12.<sup>3</sup> After numerals it remains (like *oiread*) uninflected, e.g. *tri hurdail* . . . *dâ urdail*, PH 7561-2, *a seacht n-urdail*, 'seven times their number', TD 35 a, *a sheacht n-urdail*, 'seven times as much as it', ITS xx, 6, § 30.

*Urdail* is common in the verse of the schools. But from the seventeenth century onwards it tends to drop out of use. So far as my observation goes, the latest writer to use the word is Seán Ó Neachtain (†1729); in his *Stair É. Uí Chléire* there are three examples of it (two of them misspelled), viz. *an uirdil sin*, 964, *a n-urdail féin* 627, *a sheacht n-urdal sin*, 2492. Conry in 1616 employs *urdail* five times, but he has at least twenty-one examples of the synonymous *uiread* or *oiread*. Other writers avoid *urdail*

<sup>1</sup> Both appear together in *a n-airchend fil ar ar cinn*, 'the end which awaits us', ÉRIU i, 68, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly spelled *urdáil* in the late edition of O'Reilly (the early edition has, correctly, *urdail*), *air-dáil* in Meyer Contrr., *urdhail* in Dioghlum Dána.

<sup>3</sup> Note also the construction in *dâ urdail* (: *cumgaig*) é is énteidm, i.e. 'it is a double misfortune', ITS xxvi, 59. In *atdíd rér oile a n-urdail*, 'they are equal to each other', ITS xx, 62. 3, I am uncertain whether we should read *an urdail* (used adverbially) or *i n-urdail*.

and use only *uiread* (*oiread*), e.g. Fínglinn Ó Mathúna (Ir. Maundeville), Maghnas Ó Domhnaill (BCC), Carswell, Keating. The word has not survived in Scottish Gaelic,<sup>1</sup> nor in the spoken Irish of to-day.

As to the etymology of *urdail*, I take it to be a doublet of Mid. Ir. *ernail*, 'share, component part, class, branch' (cf. R.I.A. Dict. s.v.). Of this the O. Ir. form must have been *erndail*<sup>2</sup>, syncopated from \**air-chon-dail* (see Pedersen, V. G. ii, 502), the consonant group *-rxnd-* being simplified to *-rnd-*. This *-rnd-* would be further simplified either to *rn(n)*, as a result of O. Ir. *nd* > *nn*, or else to *rd* (cf. *do-foirde*, by-form of *do-foirnde*, *áildiu* for \**áilndiu*, and the like, Thurn. Hb. p. 109). Likewise the prefix *er-* interchanges with *ur-*, which is the usual form in later Irish. Hence there can be no objection to assuming that *ernail* and *urdail* are ultimately doublets. Nor does the development of meaning present any difficulty; the transition from 'share' to 'amount' is easy. Compare *foghébaso an ernail cédna doridhisi*, 'I shall get the same amount again', RC xxvi, 174, where YBL reads *fogebtha damsá an irdail-se*, ÉRIU i, 46. 3.

## 25. *coibhéis*

Mod. Ir. *spéis*<sup>3</sup>, f., 'weight (in a figurative sense), importance, interest', is a borrowing, with prothetic *s*, of Lat. *pensum*; for the form cf. *séis*, a variant of *séns*, *sians*, from Lat. *sensus*. It is thus a doublet of W. *pwys*, m., 'weight, importance', and of O. Fr. and Mid. Eng. *peis*, 'weight'.

Mid. Ir. *cobés*, *cubés*, E. Mod. Ir. *coibhéis*, means 'an equal amount, an equivalent' (synonymous with *uiread*); as an adj. it means 'of equal size', as an adv., 'equally'. For examples see Meyer, Contrr. pp. 402, 546. Notable is its non-inflection after a numeral (cf. *uiread*, *urdail*) in *a shecht cobéis*, LL 43 b 46, *a t[h]rí coibéis*,

<sup>1</sup> There are at least a couple of examples of *urdail* in the Dean's Book: *a zaa vrdill sin*, 'twice that number', Rel. Celt. i, 52. 11, and *gy' arew er y' vrdil* (=gan áireamh ar a *urdail*), ib. 92. 21. Its sense in the latter example is not clear. Watson (Sc. G. Texts Soc. i, 917) transliterates *gan áireamh ar a n-urdail*, and translates 'there was no counting of their bounty'; but one would like to have confirmatory evidence of this interpretation of the word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. dat. pl. *erndailib*, Hib. Min. p. 15, on l. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Some comparatively early instances are: *innis dúin tré spéis*, Ac. Sen. 661 (verse); *anní a tarla a sbéis*, Caithréim Cellaig 989; *sa colaind nā cuirem spéis*, ACL iii, 236.

SG i, 52. 33. My latest instances of the word belong to the first half of the seventeenth century: (acc.) *in gcoibhéis sin do bronntanus òir*, Ó Cianáin 152; *coibhéis an ghráinne mhusttaird*, Des. 4794; *coibhéis dhá chóigeadh oile*, ITS xx, 24, § 51.

*Coibhéis* is plainly a compound of *com-* and *\*péis*, 'weight'. At the time of its formation there was no model to follow in the matter of prefixing *com-* to a word beginning with *p*-<sup>1</sup>; and so, for the purpose of the compound, *péis* was treated as if it began with *f*.<sup>2</sup> Compare the corresponding Welsh compound *cymweys*, adj., 'of equal weight; suitable, proper', = Bret. *kompoez*, adj., 'plan, uni'. Compare also the meanings of Ir. *cudroma* (Mid. Ir. *cutrumma*)<sup>3</sup>, 'equal; equal size', lit. 'equal weight', and its synonym *comhthrom*.

*Coibhéis* has taken root best in Manx, in which *wheesh*<sup>4</sup>, 'as much', is a well known word; this represents Ir. *a choibhéis*, 'as much as it.'

## 26. *Sraiptine, Craiptine, etc.*

In the non-historical part of the pedigree of the kings of Tara occurs the name of Fiachu *Sraiptine* (or *Sroiptine*), son of Cairbre Lifechar. Fiachu's epithet is also spelled with *b* (=bh) for *ph*, and with *R-* for *Sr-*; thus in *Cóir Anmann*, 115, three forms are given: (Fiacha) *Sroibtine, Roibtine*, and *Sraibtine*<sup>5</sup>.

As a common noun *sraibtine* means 'lightning', e.g. *tech loiscis sraibtine do nim*, Laws v, 190 (and cf. O'Dav. 1491); *sruth sroibtene*, SR 8089; *srobtene dòidfes na clanna* 7 *na cenéla*, ÉRIU ii, 196. 3; *gaoth mhór*, *sirf[h]leochaidh, sraibtine sion* 7 *deartan dearmhàir*, FM<sup>6</sup>; *sraibtine íarthair domhain*, applied metaphorically

<sup>1</sup> Later we find another treatment of *comh-* + *p*- in *compdart* (e.g. ITS xxvi, 19. 23), modelled on *combáigh* and the like.

<sup>2</sup> Alternatively one might suppose that *\*féis* once existed; cf. *fairche* replacing O. Ir. *pairche* (< Lat. *parochia*). With prothetic *s*, *\*féis*, equally with *\*péis*, would become *spéis*.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *cudroma* (=coibhéis) *grainne na sinaipi*, 'as much as a mustard-seed', ZCP xii, 369. 11.

<sup>4</sup> By Phillips spelled *ghuæish*, *ghuais*, and *ghuis*; see Rhys, Manx Phonology 61, where the word is wrongly equated with Ir. *cóimheas* (a misspelling of *coimmeas*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. further *Fiachu Sraiptine rán réil*, Met. D. ii, 14, = *Fiachra rán Roiptine réil*, LU 4178. *Fiacho Sroibtine*, LU 4894 (H). *la Fiachaig Sraiptine*, R 136 b 14. *Fiachò Sroiptine*, ZCP viii, 317, ll. 7, 12, 22. *Fiachu Sroibtine*, ZCP iii, 462. 15, = *Fiachu Roiptine*, ib. xiii, 377. 10.

<sup>6</sup> I omitted to note a more precise reference.

to St. Patrick, BCC 116. 3. In *ni ba foru mo sroibhthene* (sic), Anecd. i, 6, = *ni impu mo roptene*, ib. 80, the word appears to mean 'destructive power' (cf. Lat. *fulmen*).

The origin of *sraibhthine* is clear; it is a compound of *sraib*, 'sulphur', and *teine*, 'fire'. We may draw from it the interesting conclusion that when *bh* (or *f*) and *th* come together in an old compound<sup>1</sup> which had ceased to be analyzed, the *th* is liable to be de/enited.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand we have also a conscious compound *sroibhtheine*, 'sulphurous fire', illustrated in *treathnu sroibhthenedh*, ÉRIU ii, 124. 9, *immut sroibhtheined*, ib. 136. 12.

The etymology of *sraib*, 'sulphur', is as yet undiscovered. Stokes's suggestion (RC ix, 242, ÉRIU ii, 60) that it is a borrowing of Fr. *soufre* cannot be taken seriously. Another form, *sraif*, appears in *sulfur i. in t[s]raif*, RC ix, 242<sup>3</sup>. Exceptionally one finds gen. *sreibhe* in *tene sreibhi*, 'sulphurous fire', De Contemptu Mundi, 1720, 2695, 2945. In later Irish the word appears, without the *s*-, as *raibh* (gen. *raibhe*), Vis. Tondale pp. 97, 99, TBg.; otherwise *rabh*, in *fothracad ina mbi rabh*, 'balneum sulphureum', ITS xxv, 50. Another form is *ruibh*, exemplified in O'Gr. Cat. 190. 34 (*ruib*), NT and OT (in the sense of 'brimstone'; e.g. *ruibh*, gen. *ruibhe*, Rev. ix 17), Joyce, Ir. Names of Places ii, 372, Gallagher, ed. 1752, 80 (*ribh*)<sup>4</sup>.

In the mythical name *Sraiphtine*, *Sraibhthine*, 'he of the lightning',

<sup>1</sup> And perhaps also in syncopated words, of which a possible example is *Sléibte*, discussed below. On the other hand we have *-bhth-* in *gáibhthech* (from *gábus*), *ainbthech* (from *anfud*), *Cobthach*, *Dubthach*.

<sup>2</sup> The result is *bht* or *ft*. The *pt* of the Mid. Ir. spellings *Sraiptine*, *Sroiptine*, has the force of *ft* (*pht*). Compare Mid. Ir. *Eigipt*, 'Egypt', also spelled *Eigipht*, *Eigift*, of which the full modern spelling is *Eigipht* (so ZCP ii, 298, § 268; cf. Sc. *Éiphit*, W. *Aift*). Inasmuch as *bhth* or *fth* can give *ft*, we are justified in assuming that *ghth* or *cht* can similarly give *cht*.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *straif* or *sraibh*, the name of the ogamic letter *z* (= *st*), is the same word. In Auraicept 1191-2 this is explained as *draighen*, 'sloe-bush'; but, like most of the attempts to explain the ogamic names of the letters as names of trees or shrubs, this carries very little weight. In the tract on Ogam *straif* is spoken of as used for dyeing (*ib.* p. 280); cf. *sraiff*, Laws v, 84, where it is possible that the use of the word is ultimately due to someone familiar with this tract. Or should we compare *ruibh*, the name of the shrub 'rue' (cf. ACL i, 345)?

<sup>4</sup> For Scotland Kirk gives *raibh* and *pronasc*, 'brimstone' (SGS v, 90). A. Macdonald, Vocab. (1741), p. 55, has *pronusc*, *riubh* (sic). Macbain has only *riofa*, which he quotes from Munro's Grammar.

we have plainly a name or epithet of the thunder-god<sup>1</sup>. Like many other deity-names, *Sraiphtine* was probably also in use as a personal name. We may reasonably see a shortened form of it in the personal name *Srafán*, of which some examples are: *Srafan*, R 130 a 35, 42 (in Ossory), *Srophán*, *Anecdota* iii, 62. 5 (a sixth-century Munsterman), *Ui Sraphain* (of Dál Mesin Corb), R 120 b 3. As the name of a saint whose feast-day occurs on 23rd May we find *Srafan*, *Mart. Gorm.*, *Strofan* (sic), *Mart. Tall.* (Brussels text), *Sraffan*, *Mart. Don.*, *Sraphan*, *Met. D.* iv, 340, *Srafán*, *Lr. Muimhneach* pp. 176, 184. Compare further *Teach Sraffain*, *Jrn. R. Soc. Ant.* 1879-82, 424, otherwise *Tech Strafáin*, *Met. D.* iv, 330, gen. *Tigi Srafain*, ib. 328, the Irish name of Straffan, co. Kildare<sup>2</sup>.

*Craiphtine*<sup>3</sup>, the name of a mythical harper associated with the no less mythical Labraíd Loingsech, I take to be a deformation of *Sraiphtine*, the change of *s*- to *c*- being due to the alliterative attraction of the accompanying word in such phrases as *crott Shraiphthine*, *Sraiphtine cruitire*<sup>4</sup>, just as in Welsh *Nudd* became *Lludd* under the influence of the epithet *Llawereint*. *Craiphtine*, like the *Dagda*<sup>5</sup>, could play the three kinds of harp-music, *suanraighe*, *goltraige*, *gentraighe* (RC xx, 429). Labraíd is celebrated as the common ancestor of all the *Lagin*, i.e. he was their ancestor-deity; and, as I propose to show in detail on another occasion, the ancestor-deity of the Celts was likewise their thunder-god. So Labraíd and *Craiphtine* (i.e. *Sraiphtine*, the thunder-god) are ultimately one and the same. Labraíd, we are told, was at first known as *Maen* ('the Dumb'), because he had not the power of speech; but when he heard the music of *Craiphtine*'s harp, his dumbness disappeared, and thereafter he was called Labraíd ('the Speaker')<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the mythical name *Sraibcenn* or *Sroibcenn*, 'sulphur-head', and also the names *Mártheine*, *Deirgtheine*, preserved in the non-historical parts of pedigrees.

<sup>2</sup> Thurneysen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, li, 207, would connect *Srafán* with the elusive plant-name *s(t)raif*; but this seems to me very improbable.

<sup>3</sup> Also spelled with *-bt-*, *-pt-*, *-ft-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ni celt ceis ceol de cruit Crabtene*, LU 622; *do Chraiftine chruitiri*, RC xx, 429; *tria comairle Craiptine chruitire*, LL 377 b; *Craiftine an cruitire*, Keating, Poems 258. Further *niro chelt ceis Craiptini*, LU 630; *eistecht fri ceis cennuill Craiftini*, RC xxi, 152.

<sup>5</sup> RC xii, 108.

<sup>6</sup> RC xx, 430 f.

Here we have the remnants of an earlier belief that Craiphtine's music was Labraird's voice.

The name *Geibhtine* or *Geiphtine* looks like a compound of the same type as *Sraiphtine*, though I am unable to suggest what the first part of the word may mean. It occurs in *Eas Geibhtine*, 'Askeaton', co. Limerick, which is mentioned in AI<sup>1</sup>, FM, and L. Ó Cléirigh's Life of Aodh Ruadh; also in Ó Bruadair i, 144, where *Geibhtine* rimes with *eileatromi*<sup>2</sup>. An Ossianic poem (ITS xxviii, 88, § 80) suggests that the *eas* or waterfall was called after Geibhtine, son of Morna, who appears to be otherwise known only from an incidental allusion to him in Ac. Sen. 1512. In Lr. na gCeart, 91, *Geibhtine* is the name of a place or district adjoining Askeaton<sup>3</sup>. The *Tuath Geibhtine* (*Geftine*) are included among the *aithechthuatha* (Gen. Tracts, i, 115, 117, 120). In a poem in the tract on the Bórama there is allusion to a locality called *Cepten*<sup>4</sup>, which from the context would appear to be the district of (Eas) Geibhtine; but I cannot account for the change of form.

Another word containing *bht* is *Sléibhte*, 'Sleaty', near the town of Carlow. It is evidently a derivative of *sliab*, 'mountain', meaning perhaps 'mountainy place' or the like; but what the suffix is I cannot say. It is declined as an *-iā* item in LA, dat. *Sle(i)bti*, Thes. P. ii, 242, 260, 269; but as an *-io* stem in AU 669, dat. *Sléibtiu*. In Trip. Life both declensions are found<sup>5</sup>. In Middle Irish *slébte*<sup>6</sup> replaces O. Ir. *slébe* as plural of *sliab*. Strachan (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1903-6, 239) has suggested that the new plural 'is probably due to association with *glen* and *fán*'; but it is more likely that the existence of O. Ir. *slébte*, sg., with collective (?) force, was responsible for the innovation. In its turn the place-name *Slébte* was confused with the plur. of *sliab*, and so we find

<sup>1</sup> *casteal Eassa Geiphtini*, 41 d 3 (A.D. 1199).

<sup>2</sup> Hence the long vowel in Lloyd's *Eas Géiphtine* (Post-sheanchas) is an error. A variant in Ó Bruadair, loc. cit., is *Aith Sgeibhtine*, with which compare *Ath Sceittin*, ALCÉ ii, 432, 'Atheskettin', Fiants Edw. vi, 961, and 'Athsketton' (by 'Asketon' 'Askettin', etc.) in Fiants Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> This does not prove that *Geibhtine* is not a personal name. Compare the use of *Machae*, *Bladma*, = *Ard Machae*, *Sliab Bladma*. Or we may suppose the co-existence of a masc. personal name originally ending in *-ios* and a neuter place-name originally ending in *-ion*.

<sup>4</sup> *Is ann atá Garad, isin glind i Cepten*, LL 297 b 23 (cf. SG i, 365. 24).

<sup>5</sup> In Trip. 2249 (ed. Dr. Mulchrone) the dat. is *Sléibtiu* Eg. 93, *Sléibti Rawl B* 512; similarly in l. 2273. See further ll. 2256, -62, 2856, -60.

<sup>6</sup> Already *slebte*, gen. pl., in LU 4022 (M).

*i Sleibtib*, Lis. Lives 422, and *ig Sleibtib*, LL 383 b 48 (= *ic Sleibti*, 312 c 23, *hic Sleibti*, R 120 a 2).<sup>1</sup>

### 27. *éagmhais, éagmáis.*

Mid. Ir. *écmais*, 'absence', is for practical purposes confined to the phrases *i n-écmais* (c. gen.) and *grád écmaise*; see R.I.A. Dict. s.v. The value of the *-m-* (which may be spirant or non-spirant) is ambiguous in Mid. Ir. spelling. Neither can we draw any certain conclusion regarding this matter from the riming of the word in syllabic verse<sup>2</sup>.

From the sixteenth century we find four forms of the word in use, viz. (A) *éagmáis*,<sup>3</sup> (B) *féagmáis*, (C) *éagmhais*, (D) *féagmhais*. (A) is found, e.g., in Keating (TBg. ; FF i, 70, ii, 3372, iii, 4482, 4675, 5766), Stapleton (*an éagmuis* 70, *na niagmuis* 58), Gearnon (cf. pp. 120, 176. 10, 176. 18, 210)<sup>4</sup>, O'Malley (*na neugmuis* Luc. Fid. 270), Stair É. Uí Chléire (*ann' eugmuis* 2585), and Begley's Dict. (*a néagmuis* 193 b, 261 b). In the NT (1602) both (A) and (B) are found, e.g. *a négmuis* Rom. iii 21, *a néugmáis* 1 Cor. xi 11, *a bhféugmuis, -mais*, Rom. vii 9, *ionar bhféugmáisne* 1 Cor. iv 8<sup>5</sup>. (C) is found in Desiderius, and in various modern MSS. Mac Aingil (1618) employs both (A) and (C), e.g. *éagmuis*, pp. 210, 317 (*eag-*), *éagmhuis*, pp. 67, 474 (*eag-*). (D) is associated with Ulster and Argyle. It is found in BCC (*ina[r] fecmhais* 188. 14, *a fecmhais* 290. 19)<sup>6</sup>, Lr. Chl. Suibhne (*a bfegmhais* p. 48 a), Tadhg Ó Cianáin (*a ffecmhuis* 178. 13), Calvin's Catechism, 1631 (e.g. *abfégmhais* §§ 277, 370, *ina bhfégmhais* § 316), Ml. Ó Cléirigh (*a bfhégmhuis* Gl. s. v. *céin motha*), Richardson, Sermons, London, 1711 (*na*

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish place-name *Sléite*, 'Sleat', in Skye, represents an earlier *Sléibhte* (23 N 12, 13 a), probably identical with the Irish name discussed above.

<sup>2</sup> It rimes with *féadmais* DG 2 ed. p. 54. 12, Pilip Bocht 110, § 4, with *géabhdais* Di. Dána 346, § 18, and with *béardais* ITS xxxvii, 95, § 18. In ITS xxvi, 122, 13 from foot, the rime *égmáis* : *gléglais* is faulty; read *géggialis*.

<sup>3</sup> In Munster this has now been reduced to *éamais*, used in the prepositional phrases *i n-éamais*, 'lacking, apart from, besides', and *d'éamais*, 'besides, in addition to.'

<sup>4</sup> Gearnon has *a néugmáis* 114 z; but significantly he emends this to *aneugmáis* in the Corrigenda at the end of his book.

<sup>5</sup> I have to thank Dr. Bergin for drawing my attention to some of the NT examples.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in the same text *a fecmais* 210. 4, 244. 29, 440. 29, *a fegmais* 72. 5, *a bfhecmáis* 52. 25, *n-a f[h]ecmais* 296. 12, in all of which *-m-* is probably intended for *-mh-*.

*bhfeagmhais* 25 a). In Carswell I have noted eleven examples of it (e.g. *abfegmhuis* 45, 64, 69, 140, 176), as against one example of (C), viz. *anégmhais* 216. 9. Compare a similar interchange in Tór. Gr. Gr., ITS xxiv: *a bhféagmhais* 18. 25, *a n-éagmhais* 38. 9.<sup>1</sup>

In Scottish and Manx the forms with unlenited *-m-* (A and B, above) are not found. In both languages also the preposition *i*" (in *i n-éagmhais*, *i bhféagmhais*) was replaced by *a*, *as*, 'out of', no doubt because this was felt to be more appropriate in view of the meaning of the phrase, 'without'.<sup>2</sup> The new preposition is already in the Dean's Book: *a haguss* [=a héagmhais], ed. M'Lauchlan, pt. 2, 96, 10 from foot<sup>3</sup>. In current Scottish the forms are: *as eugmhais*, *as eugais*, *as aogais*,<sup>4</sup> *a feugais*<sup>5</sup>; also *as eugnais*<sup>6</sup>, with *-gn-* for *-g-* (-gmh-) under the influence of *as iùnais* or *as aonais*, which is the Sc. representative of Ir. *i n-iongnais* (see below), with same meaning. Manx has *fegoosh*, 'without,' in Phillips spelled *fequish* 93, *fequish* 94. This would correspond to an Irish *\*a féagmhais*.<sup>7</sup>

With *éagm(h)ais* is to be compared the synonymous *iongnais*, O. Ir. *ingnas*<sup>8</sup>, 'absence', in later Irish used only in the prepositional phrase *i n-i(o)ngnais*<sup>9</sup>, c. gen., 'without'; this is made up of the negative prefix (*ŋ*) and *gnás*, f., 'custom, familiarity'. Compare also the related O. Ir. *comgnas*<sup>10</sup>, 'familiarity'. Both these words are illustrated in *ol is maith for comgnas | is tromm form for n-ingnas*,

<sup>1</sup> Other examples of *féagmhais* will be found in ZCP v, 495, DG 2 ed. 127. In Cathal Mac Searraidh's text of Feis Tighe Chonáin (ed. Joynt) we have *feagmáis* (with *m* probably = *mh*) 659, 1004, 1008, *am eagmhais* 397.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the H. S. D. wrongly infers that *eugmhais* means 'possession, presence'.

<sup>3</sup> But with poss. pronouns the old preposition is retained: *nane nagus* [= 'na n-éagmhais], Rel. Celt. i, 91 y, *no eggws* [= ina éagmhais], ib. 108. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *ao-* for *éa-*, as in Sc. *aodach*, *aodann*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> J. Munro, Grammar, 1843, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> So in Arran, Gael. Soc. Inverness xxi, 261. Compare *a h-aognais*, Munro, op. cit. 160 n. A literary example, with the old prep. retained, is *a negnus*, Book of Clanranald, Rel. Celt. ii, 304 a.

<sup>7</sup> But the old preposition is retained with the possessive pronoun: *na aegúish*, 'without him,' Phillips 53, = *n'egoosh* in the later version.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. nom. *bithingnas* (: *glas*), Liadain and Cuirithir, p. 16 z; acc. *bithingnais* (: *mais*), Thes. P. ii, 291. 10. Wrongly *ingndis* in Hessen.

<sup>9</sup> Still known in Munster in the form *i n-iúnais*.

<sup>10</sup> Later re-formed as *comgnás*; cf. dat. *comgnáis* (: *tláis*), SR 7640, *comgnáis* LU 2077. In *hi comgnais angel*, SR 8376, the length of the *-a-* is undetermined.

Fél. epil. 279. The short *a* in these compounds of *gnás* shows that they were already in existence at the time of the shortening of unstressed syllables, and consequently before the period of syncope<sup>1</sup>.

We may, I think, safely take *éagm(h)ais*<sup>2</sup> to be made up of the negative prefix and O. Ir. *comgnas*. After syncope the resultant consonant group *-guyn-* was necessarily simplified, and was finally reduced<sup>3</sup> to *gm-* or *gμ-*, as we see from the Mod. Ir. forms. The word, therefore, means literally 'non-company', 'non-presence'.<sup>4</sup>

28. Sc. *fàl* ; *fàladair*. W. *pal* ; *p(a)ladur*.

All three Gaelic languages possess a common word for 'sickle' (Ir. *corrán*, Sc. Manx *corran*)<sup>5</sup>; but there is no such agreement regarding their names for the scythe, which is a comparatively late invention.

The only Irish word for 'scythe' is *speal*, f. Scottish has *speal* likewise; but it also possesses other equivalents which are unknown in Irish. Sc. *fàl*, m., means both 'spade, peat-spade', and 'scythe'.<sup>6</sup> The derivative *fàladair* means 'mower' and 'scythe'. Another name for the scythe is *iarunn fàladair*, lit. 'mower's iron'.

For Manx, Cregeen gives *faayl*, f., 'a turf-spade'; Kelly, who spells the word *foll* or *fall*, explains it as 'a scythe'. A derivative *folder* or *foldyr* means 'mower' (Cregeen, Kelly); this is spelled

<sup>1</sup> *comgnas* is of interest as showing that the form *com-* had begun to spread analogically long before the Old Irish period. Before *g-* we should have expected *kon*, resulting in O. Ir. *\*congnas*.

<sup>2</sup> This form is properly dat., due to the fact that the word was commonly used in the phrase *i n-écmais*. The nominative use is very rare; R.I.A. Dict. gives only three instances, viz. *caidh cech n-écmais*, Sergl. Conc. 43, and a couple of examples from Keating (TBg.). Compare *iongnais*, which has similarly shed its old nom. (O. Ir. *ingnas*).

<sup>3</sup> How far this reduction of four consonants to two had taken place in Old Irish is uncertain in the absence of any example of the word in O. Ir. texts. Possibly the O. Ir. form was *\*écmnas*, the *μn* being later reduced either to *μ* or to *m*.

<sup>4</sup> Macbain's suggested etymology of *eug(mh)ais*, viz. '*\*an-comas*, "non-power"?' is, of course, impossible on both phonetic and semantic grounds.

<sup>5</sup> Another Irish name for a sickle was *crommán* (cf. Conrr. 527), which has its exact counterpart in W. *cryman*. Still another name was O. Ir. *serr*, to which corresponds W. *ser*, 'bill-hook', with cognates in other languages.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *fdl*, *speal*, 'a scythe', A. M'Donald's Vocabulary (1741), 94.

*phalyder* in Phillips, 649. The usual Manx name of the scythe is *yiarn folderagh* (or *foldyragh*), literally 'mowing-iron'.

In Welsh, besides *pâl*, f., 'spade', *palu*, 'to dig' (to which correspond Bret. *pal*, f., *palat*, vb.), we have Mid. W. *paladur*, Mod. W. *pladur*, 'a scythe', lit. 'a digger'. Here again we find 'scythe' expressed by a word which is properly applicable to a spade. Presumably the primitive scythe resembled in shape the primitive spade.

Sc. *fàl* and Manx *faayl*, *foll*, are apparently borrowed from Lat. *pāla*, either directly or through O. Eng. *pál*. But the close agreement of Sc. *fàladair* with Mid. W. *paladur* suggests British influence on Scottish (and thence on Manx), or perhaps we may assume a British-Latin \**pālātor*, 'digger', from which both might derive. Pedersen, V.G. i, 204, takes W. Corn. Bret. *pal* to be a loan-word from Lat. *pāla*; but others suppose it to be a Celtic word cognate with Ir. *celtair*, 'spear-head', and W. *paladr*, 'shaft, spear' (see Walde-Pokorny, i, 435).

In SGS ii, 26, I pointed out that *speal* is first attested as a verb: Mid. Ir. *spelaim*, 'I crop, cut off', derived like Sc. *piol*, *spiol*, 'pluck', from Mid. Eng. *pilen*, *pelen*. Dr. M. A. O'Brien, ÉRIU xi, 159, has taxed me with having 'overlooked' Mid. W. *paladur*, 'scythe', which, he says, 'is evidently cognate with' Ir. *speal*. Both statements are unfounded. The Irish personal name *Spelán* was assumed by Woulfe (Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall, 647) to be a 'diminutive of *speal*, a scythe'. The same explanation is offered by Dr. O'Brien, who fancifully adds that the name originated 'probably in reference to some form of baldness or peculiar cut of the hair for which the man got this nickname'. For several reasons I think that *Spelán* is no more connected with *speal* than the latter is with the Welsh *paladur*; but a discussion of the origin of the personal name may conveniently be deferred to another occasion.

### 29. *folamh*

Pedersen, V. G. i, 34, takes *folam* (Mod. Ir. *folamh*, *falamh*), 'empty', to be a compound of *fo* and *lámh*, 'hand'. Windisch, on the other hand, finding the word spelled *folom* in LU (2144) and *folomm* in the corresponding passage in LB, writes *fo-lomm* IT i, 562, showing that he took the word to be a compound of *lomm*, 'bare'.

I have little doubt that Windisch's explanation is the right one.

On semantic grounds the word is much more likely to be a compound of *lomm* than of *lámh*. *Folamh* means properly 'stripped bare, bereft of its contents' (cf. *fás folamh*); hence applied to persons it means 'bereft of possessions, destitute'.<sup>1</sup> The modern *-mh* is found already in *falumh*, Lismore Lives 4707<sup>2</sup>; but the evidence points to the word having had unlenited *-m* at an earlier period. This *-m* has been retained in Manx, which has *follym*, 'empty, vacant', and derivatives like *folm*, *folmee*,<sup>3</sup> vb., 'empty'. The change of *-m* to *-mh* in the modern Ir. Sc. forms may be readily explained as due to the influence of such adjectives as *ullamh*, *aihlamh*, *urlamh*, *dealamh*.<sup>4</sup>

### 30. *donál*

Mid. and Mod. Ir. *donál*, f., is commonly applied to the howling of wolves and dogs; for references see Measgra Dánta, p. 100. A derivative is *donálach*,<sup>5</sup> f., e.g. *donálach na geon alla*, ITS xii, 152. 14; otherwise *danálach*, TBg. Late corrupt forms with *t*- for *d*- are illustrated in *tanálaibh* (dat. pl.), DBr. i, 82, and in O'Brien's: ' *tannáladh*, the often bellowing of a cow, by reason of some distemper. *a ttanáladh an bhàis*, in the agonies of death'. The Scottish forms are *donnal*, m., 'a howl (especially of a dog)', and *donnalaich*, ' (continued) howling', with irregular *-nn-* for *-n-*.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *an té bhios folamh*, Búrdúin Bh. § 59; *má cluintear a bheith folamh*, Measgra D. p. 42. 10; and see Des. gloss.

<sup>2</sup> In scholastic verse I have noted only the modern form, e.g. *folamh* : *toradh*, Di. Dána p. 24. 8; *folaimh* : *toghail*, Measgra D. 153. 16.

<sup>3</sup> This represents Mid. Ir. *folmaig*, *falmaig*, which means 'evacuate (a house)' and 'devastate, lay waste (a country)'. For examples of the latter sense see Ac. Sen. 6765 and C. Cath. 3863; and cf. *lomadh*, 'act of stripping, pillaging, laying waste'.

<sup>4</sup> Pedersen, *loc. cit.*, equates *folamh* with W. *gwallo*, 'to pour out, dispense', and with Bret. *goullou*, adj., 'empty'; but the fact seems to be that the three words are unconnected etymologically with one another. W. *gwallow*, otherwise *gwallifi*, is evidently to be referred to *llaw*, 'hand' (cf. Ir. *lámhach*, 'act of casting'). According to Ernault (Glossaire moyen-breton 170) Bret. *goullou* is a formation from the participle of *golloenter*, *goullonder*, 'to empty' (: W. *gollwng*, 'to loose, let go'), as *dillo* 'vif, actif', is from the participle of *dilloenter*, 'délier' (: W. *dillwng*, 'to let go, release').

<sup>5</sup> Still in use in South Kerry (though no longer associated with wolves or dogs), e.g. *bhí sé a' dondlaig ag gáirt fùm*, 'he was laughing loudly at me'. Compare *agus é ins na dondlaibh dubha ag gáiridhe*, Fergus Finnbhéil, Finn-séalta na hAraibe, 30.

*Donál* comes from an earlier *donúall*<sup>1</sup>, which is attested in the sense of 'a cry of supplication (to God)', e.g. *Dia . . . cluines mo donúall*, LU 518 (Amra C.C.), *cindus doclúinfí* (sic) *Dia a donuall nó a dibregóit*, quoted by Stokes, Féil. p. x. We find the later form *donál* used in the same sense in *donála co ndílochta | dochum nime nél*, ÉRIU ii, 55 y.

*Donúall* is evidently compounded of the pejorative prefix *do-* and O. Ir. *níall*, n., 'a cry', which later became *nuall*<sup>2</sup> and *uall*, f., in Irish, *nuall*, m., in Scottish. Compare *ua(i)ll* and the verb *uaillim* applied to the howling of wolves in *an gol adtuaidh mar uaill na bhfaolchon*, Diarmaid mac Seáin Bhúi, p. 3, and *dá nuaiillinn mar fhuaim chon allá*, DBR. ii, 242.

A similar development is seen in *con(n)uall*, later *con(n)ál*, 'a howl, as of a wolf', a compound of *cú* and *(n)uall*. Compare *connuall*, YBL 163 b 7, *conuall con allta*, SG i, 78. 3, with *conál chon alladh*, Auraicept 5545, and *condál con .i. is ann foceird co[i]n alti uaill*, Anecdota iii, 43.

Meyer, Misc. Hib. p. 27, n. 10, erroneously writes *donuál* in the belief that *donuál(l)* is an archaic spelling 'with IE. *u* preserved' (as in *Bresual*, *Conual*, archaic spellings of *Bresal*, *Conall*). Actually the *ua* of *donuál(l)* is the same diphthong that we have in *nual(l)*. The change of *-uall* to *-ál* (in *donál*, *condál*) is an analogical substitution of ending rather than a regular phonetic development. We have a parallel in *Gabruan*<sup>3</sup>, later *Gab(h)rán*,<sup>4</sup> 'Gowran', co. Kilkenny. Similarly O. Ir. *foróil* became *foráil*, *foláir*. We may also compare the interchange of *ó* and *á* in unstressed syllables in *tinól* : *tindál* (riming with *Siubhán*, Ir. Texts ii, 62 y), *fritháil* : *frithóil*, and the like.

### 31. *milleán*

*Milleán*, 'blame', though very well known to-day in the Irish of Munster and Connacht, is of very rare occurrence in the literature before the seventeenth century. In R.I.A. Contrr. examples are quoted from Caith. Thoirdhealbhaigh 135, Matt.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., with *air-* prefixed, *erdonolaib* (dat. pl.), MI. 85 c 10, gl. *praeconis* (dat. pl. of *praeconium*). Here *-ua-* is replaced by *-ó-*.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally spelled with one *-l*. Cf. a *C[h]omdiu cluintí mo nual*, I. T. iii, 83, § 69; gpl. *núal*, LU 9937.

<sup>3</sup> *Gabruan*, AU 869; *Gabruan a quo Belut Gabruain*, R 118 a 45, otherwise *Gabróin*, LL 311 b 58. The gen. *Gabruain* rimes with *luain*, ZCP viii, 118, § 17, with *buain*, Meyer, *Bruchstücke* § 114, with *Buain*, Anecdota ii, 35. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The *-án* ending is already in L. Ardm.: *per Belut Gabrain*, Thes. P. ii, 269. 33.

xi 20 (where in the 1602 edn. the word is misprinted *milleán*), and FF ii, 6168<sup>1</sup>. In later texts one finds *milleán*, *Stair É. Uí Chléire* 2549, DBr. iii, 162 n., 172 n., *Seán na Ráithíneach* 15, E. *Lomnochtáin* p. 40, ll. 1, 3; and the adj. *milleánach*, PCT 1368, *Fil. na Má.* 115. 11. Another form of the word is *beilleán*, *Plunket* s. v. 'nota' (whence probably Lhuyd's *beillean*, 'reproach'<sup>2</sup>). This is exemplified in *is móide is córa*<sup>3</sup> *beillean thabhairt dhoibh é*, *Sermons*, London, 1711, 58-59, and in *níl fáth beillain do thobha[i]rt thridh* [= *tríd*] *dhamh*, 23 B 18, 37, in a poem elsewhere ascribed to Keating.

*Milleán* and *beilleán* represent an earlier \**meilleán*, a diminutive of *meill*, attested in *mill*, f., 'jaw, cheek', *Lr. Chl. Suibhne* p. 46. 5-6, *meill*, *meillín*, 'mala', *Plunket*, *Donegal meill*, 'the flesh under the chin and jaws', *Sommerfelt*, *Torr* § 214, Sc. *meill*, 'a cheek, a blubber-lip', and *Manx meil*, 'lip'. From *meill* comes the adj. *meilleach*, 'protuberant, swollen', attested in *reamhar tairr an mhéith m[h]eilligh, | saill gach féith a bFeidhlimidh*, *IGT ex. 1247*. Another derivative is *Donegal milleóig*, 'wattle of a cock', *Sommerfelt*, *Torr* § 457.

The fundamental idea of *meill* is evidently 'round mass, swelling, protuberance'; compare *pluc*, 'round mass', which has acquired the meaning 'cheek, or other fleshy protuberance.' It is plainly a doublet of the better known *meall*,<sup>4</sup> which has the same meaning. The latter is an *o*-stem, with gs. and npl. *mill*.<sup>5</sup> In *bun meille*, the name of an edible plant (see Thurneysen's discussion, *ZCP* xviii, 105 f.), we seem to have the gen. of *meill*. Possibly *meill* itself may be in origin the dat. of a neuter *s*-stem, *mell*, gen. *meille* (cf. Thurneysen, loc. cit.).

Akin both in form and in meaning to *meall* : *meill* is another pair of doublets, *breall* : *breill*. The former of these means, *inter alia*, 'tumour, lump' (cf. P. O'C. quoted in Meyer, *Conrr.*); its

<sup>1</sup> In Keating, Poems 946, *milleon*, 'million', is misinterpreted by the editor as a form of *milleán*, 'blame'.

<sup>2</sup> From Lhuyd copied into the Egerton glossary, *ACL* iii, 169.

<sup>3</sup> *is móide is córa* is tautological for *is móide is cóir* or *is córaide*.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the etymology of *meall* I hope to have something to say on another occasion.

<sup>5</sup> The npl. *mella*, *BDD* § 58, would point to its having been originally neuter. *IGT* have *meall*, gs. and npl. *mill*, p. 114, but gs. and npl. *mealla*, p. 127. For other instances of *meall* inflected as a masc. *o*-stem see *R.I.A. Conrr.*; and cf. gs. *mill*, DBr. iii, 16, npl. *mill*, *Begly* 331 a, apl. *mill*, *RC* v, 204. 4.

derivative *breallán* is explained by O'Curry (in Stokes, Ir. Glosses, p. 72) as 'a lubberly fellow with a hanging under lip'. The doublet *breill* in the Irish of co. Waterford means 'heavy, hanging cheeks' (Sheehan, *Sean-chaint na nDéise* 64); with prothetic *s*-<sup>1</sup> we have it in Sc. *spreill*, 'blubber-lip', and, applied disparagingly to a person, in Hackett's *spreill mar mé* (p. 12), 'a lubber like me'.

*Milleán*, therefore, originally meant 'a tumour' or the like. The transition from 'tumour' to 'blemish' and thence 'blame' recalls the belief formerly prevalent that that ill-doing on a person's part might result in the growth of a tumour or pustule (*bolg*) on his face, especially after a satire had been directed against him by the injured party. Compare Cormac's explanation of *ferb*: *bolg doc[h]uiretar in duine for a grūadaibh iar n-áir nō iar ngúbreith* (San. Corm. § 584). When Néide satirized Caiér by means of a *glám dicenn*, three *bolga* grew on the latter's face (ib. § 698).<sup>2</sup>

So we find the simple word *mell*, 'tumour', occasionally used in the sense of 'blemish, fault', as in the Laud 610 preface to the Mart. of Oengus (p. 10): *dia mbé plus no minus, is mell*, for which LB has (ib. p. 4): *si sit plus minusue error est (is pudar)*. Similarly in a poem by Donnchadh Mór: *nochan fhuil meall as mó dhamh | ná a gheall dhó is gan a dhéanamh*, Dán Dé p. 46 y<sup>3</sup>. So too probably in *do badh mór an meall dearmaid | gan saoirshliocht seanBhlaid d'fhaisnéis*, 'it were a very blameworthy omission not to commemorate ancient Blad's noble race', Measgra Dánta 149.

With *mell* in the latter sense Stokes (Urkelt. Spr. 215) connects the verb *mellaim*, 'I deceive'. So likewise do Walde-Pokorny (ii, 291), who erroneously give both words under a root *mel-*, 'verfehlen, trügen'. Actually *meall*, sb., and *meallaim* have nothing to do with each other. *Meallaim*, 'I deceive', means properly 'beguile, entice' (cf. *mealltar bean le beagán téad*, DG 2 ed. p. 97, and the like); it appears to have originated in the Mid. Ir. period, and is derived, as Ascoli (p. ccclxxvii) has argued, from O. Ir. *meld*, *meldach*, 'pleasant, delightful'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. similarly *breallaire* : *spreallaire*.

<sup>2</sup> The three swellings caused by the satire known as *glám dicenn* are called *ail* γ *anim* γ *athis*, TBC Wi. 3020, *on*, *anim*, and *esbaid*, San. Corm. 698, RC xx, 421. With the latter compare ÉRIU xiii, 46. 14. Compare further *co ndingnedh a doradh, co neirsitis tri bulcca fora dreich, γ co mbeith on γ ainimh γ aithis fuirre*, Plummer, Lives of Ir. SS. i, 33 y.

<sup>3</sup> The editor translates (ib. p. 113): 'No guile is greater than promise without performance'; but the meaning is rather: 'nothing is more disgraceful for me than to fail to carry out my promises to him'.

32. **sgríob**

The Ir. Sc. verb *sgríob*, Mid. Ir. *scrip*, is attested from about the twelfth century; it means 'scratch, draw a line (or lines) on the surface'. Some early examples may be noted: *cait ic scripad*, LU 2425 (hand of interpolator); the same phrase in Plummer, Lives i, 99, and Lism. Lives 3654. *a haighidh do sgríobadh*, Three Fragments, 66, 2. *ro scrib a hagaid*, Fleadh Dúin na nGéadh 72. *a' scribadh a aighthi le a ingnaibh*, ITS, xix, 94 y. *scribud*, Aeneid 3106. *scripadh*, CCath. 3982. Cf. further *techt do imscripgail friu*, TBC Wi. 1199.

As a noun Ir. Sc. *sgríob*, f., has a variety of meanings: 'a scratch, (boundary-)line, track, furrow,' also 'a dash, raid, onset, the course covered in a race'. Manx has *screeb*, f., 'a scratch or scrape'. The word was evidently a very popular one, though it hardly finds a place in the literature before the seventeenth century. It is common in Keating's TBg., especially in the phrase *ceann sgríbe*, 'goal'; and cf. *an mhéid ar a bhfagbhadh scriob diobh*, 'all of them he was able to swoop down on', FF iii, 5621. It is also frequent in Ó Bruadair (i, 148; ii, 44; iii, 22, 140, 148, 226). Some other examples are: (*mala*) *is géire scriob*<sup>1</sup>, Keating, Poems 97; *fad na sgríbe is mian leat do chur romhat do chum an reatha*, Bodach an Chóta Lachtna, ed. Pearse, p. 8; *go ndeachaидh deich mile fichead . . . don sgríb sin*, ib. 14; *miolmhuighe ag tabhairt a sgríbe | i n-am na gcon do bheith dá sgaoileadh*, An tOthar agus an Bás, 1. 43; *Niall na sgríob*, 'Niall of the raids', Aindrias Mac Cruitín, Ir. Monthly 1925, 257 z; *ag deireamh bhur scribe*, 'at the end of your course (i.e. life)', Gallagher, ed. 1752, 19.

A derivative is seen in *Cior ingen Sgríbaire*, 'Comb, daughter of Scraper', a fanciful personal name in Airec Menman Uraird Maic Coisse, Anecd. ii, 56, 57. Another derivative is *sgríobán*, defined by Coney as 'a currycomb, hoe, wool-card, rake, scraper'; for an example of it in the sense of 'currycomb' see O'Grady, Cat. 597.

Stokes takes *sgríobaim* to be a Goidelic word, standing for *\*skribhno*, and cognate with Lat. *scribo*. This etymology is rejected by Walde-Pokorny, ii, 586, who take the word to be a borrowing from Latin. Both suggestions are equally impossible. It is evident that *sgríob* (= *\*criob*, with prothetic *s*-) is a borrowing

<sup>1</sup> The comparison of a lady's eyebrow to the stroke (*sgríob*) of a pen became stereotyped. Cf. *fóiscríob clóchaol phinn*, P. Haicéad, 11; *a mala mar sgríb phinn chdoiil*, Ir. Texts i, 46; *a mala mar scriob pinn*, Aogán Ó Rathile, 2 ed. 168: *a mala mar scriob chaoil-phinn*, Fil. na Má. 31.

of the Ivernic (i.e. Hiberno-Brittonic) counterpart of Ir. *crioch* (see p. 168). Compare the corresponding British words, W. *crib*, Bret. *krib*, both meaning 'a comb', i.e. an instrument for drawing furrows or lines.

### 33. leadhbán, leóbán, lábán.

O. Ir. *melg*<sup>1</sup>, 'milk', has long been obsolete in Irish, but has been preserved in the sister languages in the specialized sense of 'milt (of fish)'<sup>2</sup> viz. Sc. *mealg*<sup>3</sup>, Manx *molg*, *mylg*.

The Irish word for 'milt (of fish)' appears as *láib* in Plunket's MS. Dict. ('lactes . . . an láib a níasc fhireann'). Elsewhere the word is disyllabic and ends in -án. It first appears in print in Begly, who under 'milt' (462 a) has: *an tsealg agas fó[s] lábán nó bainne bán bhiós san iasg firionn*. The next dictionary to record the word is that of Foley (1855), which has *liobán*, 'milt', and *iasg liobáin*, 'milter'. For co. Galway Ó Máille gives the word as *lábán*<sup>4</sup> and *leábán* (An Béal Beo, 139). In West Kerry the word used is *leadhbán* (pron. *l'ay'ba:n*). From a native of North-West Mayo I have heard *leóbán*.

As to the origin of the word, it seems very improbable that it is identical with *láib*, *lábán*, 'mire'; also the palatal *l*- of *leóbán*, *leadhbán*, would tell against such an equation. Rather we must suppose an independent word which has suffered partial assimilation to *lábán*, 'mire'. Analogy suggests that we should try to connect *lábán*, *leadhbán*, 'milt', with a word meaning 'milk'; compare Fr. *laite*, *laitance*, from *lait*. So the Welsh counterparts, *lleithban*, *lleithdwen*, *lleithon*, *lliithen*, are obviously derived from *llaeth*, 'milk', (: Ir. *lacht*), as the Breton *lezenn* is from *leaz*, 'milk'. The resemblance between W. *lleithban* and Ir. *leóbán*, *leadhbán*, seems too striking to be accidental. Borrowing direct from Welsh is

<sup>1</sup> See R.I.A. Contrr. Cognate with *mligim* (> *bligim*) and *mlicht* (> *blicht*), and with W. *ar-mel*, 'second milk', *blith*, 'milk'.

<sup>2</sup> Eng. *milt* in this sense is a corruption of *milk*; cf. Germ. *milch* with both meanings.

<sup>3</sup> In Shaw this is misspelled *mealag*, 'the milt of a fish.' P. Macfarlane (in his Vocabulary, 1815) carelessly re-wrote Shaw's entry as *mealag*, 'a smelt.' O'Reilly took over both explanations, but re-spelled the word as *meallóg*. Dinneen took over O'Reilly's form, but improved his definition, making it 'the smelt of a fish, fry.' Thus by a succession of lexicographical emendations an Irish ghost-word *meallóg*, 'fry,' has been evolved out of Sc. *mealg*, 'milt.'

<sup>4</sup> So *lábán*, Peadar Chois Fháirge, 69. The male salmon is *bradán an lóbáin*, the female, *braddán na n-eochracha*, ibid.

unthinkable ; and the only theory that will meet the case is that *lábán*, *leadhbán*,<sup>1</sup> is ultimately a borrowing of the Ivernic counterpart of the Welsh word. In that case Plunket's *láib* would be a back-formation, due to the assimilation of the word to *lábán* (otherwise *láib*), 'mire'.

### 34. *prádhainn*

The word *prádhainn* or *práidhinn*, with its derivative adj. in *-each*, is known in Irish literature from the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Nowadays it is generally reduced to a monosyllabic *práinn* (adj. *práinneach*).

In the Irish of Ulster and North Meath *práidhinn* means 'press of business, hurry'. Cf. *le hiomadaighe práidhinne agus deifre*, Tór. Chríosta 135; *glúaiseas an boc roimhe gan moran práinne*, Eachtra Aodha Mic Goireachtaigh, 24 P 7, 33 (= *glúaisis an boc gan moran práinne ar*, 23 D 7, 24). From a native of Moynalty, N. Meath, the word was noted as *praidhean*, 'hurry', e.g. *tá p. orm*, GJ iv, 76 a. In a tale from Omeath we have *bhí na comhursana iongantach práidhinnéach* ('busy') *le n-a gcuid coirce*, Sg. Óirghiall 96. For Donegal Quiggin has recorded *práidhinnéach* (trisyllabic), 'diligent'. In South Kerry, at the other end of Ireland, the word means 'hurry', e.g. *cé'n phráinn atá ort?* In Scottish the word is possibly confined to Islay; M'Alpine has *prádhainn* (disyllabic), 'press of business, flurry', and *prádhainneach*, 'hurried, pressed for time, flurried'.

The idea of having one's attention riveted on the matter in hand is further seen in *anphraghain ionnta* (viz. *neithibh saoghalta*), 'excessive absorption in worldly affairs', included among the sins of covetousness in Dowley, ed. 1728, 155. With this compare *tá práinn agam ann*, 'I feel a deep interest in it', recorded by O'Growney for Aran, ACL i, 180; and 'sí G. an duine is measa le n-a hathair ⁊ is mó a bhfuil práinn aige innti', Ml. Breathnach, Cnoc na nGabha i, 19, translating 'G. is her father's idol'. Further: *comh práinneach is tá cuid d'aos óg na tuaithe sa mBéarla*, 'how fond of', Sgríbhinní Mhl. Bhreathnaigh 114. With a different preposition (cf. *bród as*): *tháinic an triúr mac a bhaile ag an rígh*,

<sup>1</sup> The adj. *bán*, 'white', may have influenced the termination.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above, I have noted a sixteenth-century example in a poem by Giolla-na-naomh Ruadh Mac Eochadha: *ó thárla a bpраidhinn tinnis*, Book of O'Byrnes (Harvard MS.) fo. 30 a 11.

*agus bhí práinn mhór aige asta*, 'and he was very proud of them',<sup>1</sup> in a Connemara tale, ZCP i, 484. Compare *práin[n]*, 'a fancy', J. H. Molloy's Grammar, 27; *práinneach*, 'fond of', ib. 45.

Another meaning of *prádhainn* is 'distress, sore plight, urgent need'. Thus *a nuair do bhí sé a bpráidhinn*, 'when he was in affliction', 2 Chron. xxxiii, 12<sup>2</sup>; *uair ar bith a bhias prádhainn nó easbhuidh s[h]aoghalda ar bith ort*, Stair É. Uí Chléire 2237; *an phradhainn iona raibheadar*, ib. 946; *i mbliadhna táim i bpráidhinn i bpeannaid 's i bpudhair*, Fil. na Má. 49; *i bpráidhinn gan puinn carad*, ib. 88; *ní léan liom a bprádhainn*, Eón Rua Ó S. (ed. 1923, p. 65). Merriman in his Cúirt has *práinn*, 'distress, need', 834, gen. *práinneach*, 'urgency, pressure of business', 944, adj. *práinneach*, 'distressful', 848. In a co. Limerick petition of 1825 we have *a gcoinghiall róphráinneach*, by O'Grady (B. M. Cat. i, 667) rendered 'in extremely straitened circumstances'. Canon O'Leary uses the word in the sense of 'mental distress': *an phráing agus an bhruid agus an fásgadh aigne a bhí ar na daoine*, Niamh 353.

Finally we have *prádhainn* used as a synonym of *gá(dh)*, *call, riachtanas*, 'need'. This is especially characteristic of the Irish of co. Waterford; cf. Sheehan, Seanchaint 110, and *tá sibh 'na práinn*, 'you are in need of it', Scéalta Mhicil 7. Examples of *p. le*, 'need of', are: *atá pradhainn gan chompráid agam ribh*, Stair É. Uí Chléire 1568<sup>3</sup>; *dá mbeith práidhinn agat leó*, Giolla Deacair, ed. Hogan and Lloyd, 27; *dá mb'fhíor sin, ní bheadh aon phráidhinn le faoisidin do dhéanamh*, Seanm. Muighe Nuadhád ii, 190. Further we have *is práidhinn do* in the sense of *is éigean do*, e.g. *gur phráidhinn do'n cheathrar laoch do b'fhearr . . . comhrac do fhreagradh*, E. Lomnochtáin § 69; *is ro mhinic is práinn do dhuine . . . dul chum dlidhe*, P. Denn, Comhairleach an Pheacuig (1827), p. 67; and cf. GJ iv, 21 b.

It is remarkable that so widespread a word was so slow in obtaining literary recognition. Even in the seventeenth century all the best known writers (Keating, Conry, Mac Aingil, etc.) avoid it. Evidently it was one of those popular words which the literary classes regarded with disfavour.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer misrenders 'and he had a great feast there for them'.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *diarr Dáibhi cead orumsa go práidhinneach dul go Bet-lehem*, 'David earnestly asked leave of me to go to B.', 1 Sam. xx, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Tadhg Ó Neachtain in his Dict. has *pradhainn* 'i. riachtanas, want, need', *pradhainneach*, 'necessitous', *praidhinneach*, 'needy', *pradhainneamh-uil*, 'needful'.

The origin of *þrádhainn* is clear. It is a borrowing of O. Norse *bráðung*, f., 'haste, hurry'. We may suppose a Mid. Ir. \**þrádang*, f., dat.-acc. \**þrádaing*, with Norse *b-* represented by Ir. *p-*, as in *pónar*, *punnann*. The by-form *þráidhing* (-inn) is paralleled by *bráighe*, by-form of *brágha* (Mid. Ir. *brága*), and the like.

### 35. *builín, builbhín.*

Corresponding to *builín*, 'a loaf',<sup>1</sup> used in Munster and Connacht<sup>2</sup>, the Irish of Donegal has *builbhín*<sup>3</sup>. In the literature one finds *builín* used in Parl. Chloinne Tomáis, II. 1761, -62, and in the O.T. (e.g. Ex. xxix 23). The alternative form appears in an unpublished poem by Tomás Déis (Bishop of Meath, †1651): *builbhíní cróna garbha*, 23 I 40, p. 36.5<sup>4</sup>, and also in *bulbhínid[h]*, pl., RC xvi, 20. 5.

The earliest form of the word occurs in Aisl. Meic Con-glinne, p. 87: *bulbing brusgarbán*. Meyer's translation of this phrase is 'a branchy cudgel'; previously Hennessy had guessed it to mean 'a bulbous club of thick pottage' (Fraser's Magazine, 1873, p. 317). The context makes it clear that we are dealing with the forerunner of Mod. Ir. *buil(bh)ín*, so that *bulbing brusgarbán* means 'a loaf made of the leavings of coarse meal'.

In Scottish the word assumes the form *builionn*<sup>5</sup>; in Manx, *bwilleen*.

The loss of *-bh-* in *builín* and *builionn* seems due to a kind of haplology, owing to the initial labial. The Manx *bwilleen* is stressed on the final syllable, a fact which testifies to the former existence of another consonant after *-l-*<sup>6</sup>; from an original *builín* we should expect Manx \**bwillin*, with stress on the first syllable.

The word appears to be a borrowing from the Norse. Cf. O. Norse *bylmingr*, 'a sort of bread' (Zoëga).

<sup>1</sup> In Munster and Connacht *bulóg* is used in a similar sense; cf. 'loaf, *builín nō bulóg aráin*', Begly 420 a. In W. Munster (and perhaps elsewhere) the *builín* is smaller than the *bulóg*. Dinneen misspells these words as *boillín* and *bollóg*, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *builín* was also in use in the Irish of South-East Ulster; at any rate Neilson gives *builín*, 'a loaf', in his Grammar (pt. i, 14).

<sup>3</sup> This is also the form used in Glangevin, co. Cavan (É. Ó Tuathail).

<sup>4</sup> Contrast *builín*, 'collyra', Plunket's Dict., which suggests that this form of the word was in use in co. Meath.

<sup>5</sup> In West Ross, *builghionn* (Celtic Review iv, 337), in which the *gh* may be due to the influence of Mid. Ir. *bairgen* (now obsolete in Scottish).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O'Rahilly, Irish Dialects 114.

36. *undás*

Of *undás*, 'windlass', an example occurs in *re rópaidhibh undáis*, Macaomh an Iolair (ed. De Teiltiún and Laoide), p. 60. Plunket has *untás*<sup>1</sup>, 'trocblea'. The word appears to have been in use in Scottish also; I note *undais na luinge*, 'the capstand or wind-beam', in A. M'Donald's Vocabulary (1741), III.

*Undás* represents O. Norse *vindáss*, 'windlass', which was borrowed into Middle English as *windas*. The immediate source of the Irish word is uncertain; but, despite its late appearance in the literature, it is probable that, like so many other seafaring terms, it was borrowed directly from the Norse. For the *u*- compare *ui-* from Norse *vi-* in *uicing* < O. Norse *vikingr* (Stokes, Cath Catharda p. 565; and see Marstrander, *Bidrag til det Norske sprogs historie i Irland*, 108), and in Sc. *uinneag*, Manx *uinmag* (=Ir. *fuinneóg*), < O. Norse *vindauga*.

37. *dainid*, *dainíd*.

In Meyer's Contributions, and in the R.I.A. Dict., Mid. Ir. *dainim* is explained as 'a fault, blemish'. Actually, as will be apparent from a consideration of the examples cited by these authorities, the word means 'a cause of grief, a loss'; an event (generally the death of a friend) which one has cause to regret is a *dainimh* to one. I subjoin a few other examples of the word: *dainimh damh dīth meic Domnaill*, Ir. Texts i, 62. 6; *na grúaidhe's an aighidh óg | dainimh fá fhód úainne íad*, A iv 3, p. 808; *dainim d'aindrib cloinde Néill mo chur a céin*, quoted in BCC 194. 12; *is truag dúinn gin gurab dainimh in diol sin ortsá*, C. Thoirdh. 119. 14, i.e. 'thy death is sad for us, even though we have no reason to regret it'; *bá dainim dóib an gilla*, 'they sorely missed their attendant' (who had been drowned), Celt. Rev. x, 345. My latest example of the word is from an elegy composed by Ó Bruadair ca. 1666: *gan dainimh*, 'without grief', i. 164.

*Dainimh* is doubtless a compound of *do-* and *ainimh*, 'blemish' (W. *anaf*, id.). The simple word occasionally occurs in early texts in the same sense as *dainimh*, though editors misinterpret it as 'blemish' or 'disgrace'. Thus is *anim dún nad fil is'taigh*,

<sup>1</sup> The *-nt-* of Plunket's form may possibly be an attempt to write *-nd-* correctly (so to speak), suggested by words like *cuntas*, *cuntae*, *cuntaois*, in which *-nt-* frequently becomes *-nd-*. Compare also *plannda*, with *nd* from *nt*, and *púnt*, *ponta*, with *nt* from *nd*.

Sc. Mucce Meic Dathó (ed. Thurneysen) § 16, meaning 'it is a misfortune for us that he is not within', 'we are the worse for his absence'; *bid anim ón*, Talland Étair, RC viii, 58 y, where from the context the meaning is 'that will be a cause of sorrow [to thee]', 'thou shalt suffer for that'; *anim dóib túath iarna rāth*, in a poem by Orthanach, LL 51 a 50, =ZCP xi, 108 z, where Meyer reads [*d*]anim. In a couple of texts we find *bid danim* in LL, *bid anim* in other MSS. Thus in Esnada Tige Buchet *bid danim mór*, LL 270 b 14, =*bid anim mor*, YBL 113 b 14 (cf. Stokes's edition, RC xxv, pp. 22, 225). So in *bid anim duit do munter do marbad*, ZCP iii, 5 (Orgain Denda Ríg), LL 269 b 21 reads *bid danim duit*, R 131 a 20 *bid anim duit*.

We find *dainmhe* used as a substantive in *becc a dainme* (: *Maigne*) *essbaid n-eoin*, Fianaigecht 42, and the same word used as comparative of *dainimh* (treated as an adj.) in *gidh dainimh dhamh gach duine | dainimhe O'Catán* [leg. *dainmhe Ó Cathán*] *cúl-bhuidhe*, 'a greater loss to me (than any) is the death of Ó Catháin', Misc. Celt. Soc. 406. Another derivative *dainmhidh*, f. (gen. *-idhe* and *-eadha*), occurs in IGT p. 95; the two examples cited (1179, -80) are sufficient to show that in meaning and usage it did not differ from *dainimh*.

This brings us to Southern Irish *dainid* and *dainíd*, attested from the second half of the seventeenth century, and used in exactly the same sense as the earlier *dainimh*. In addition one finds *daithnid* [pron. *dan'hid'*]<sup>1</sup> and *daithníd* [*dan'hi:d'*]<sup>2</sup>, the *-th-* being perhaps due to the influence of *aithnid*. The forms *danaid* and *danaoid*<sup>3</sup>, which are occasionally found, must (in as far as they are not mere careless spellings) owe their non-palatal *n* to some analogical influence<sup>4</sup>. The first lexicographer to include any of these forms was O'Brien, who has: ' *daithnid*, sorry, bad for as *daithnid* *damh a bhàs*, I am sorry for his death; it is bad for me he dyed'.

*Dainid* and *dainid* are simply modern developments of the

<sup>1</sup> This was Canon Peter O'Leary's form, as I noted from himself.

<sup>2</sup> This is the form I have heard in Clare.

<sup>3</sup> O'Donovan, Spt., records *danaoid*, 'woeful, sorrowful', for 'Leinster, Kilkenny'; and the same form is used by P. Denn of Cappoquin (Pious Misc. 14th edn., 94. 3).

<sup>4</sup> For Ring, co. Waterford, Sheehan gives *danaid*, 'a loss, a sorrow', Sean-chaint na nDéise 79, with which compare *anaoid* 'suicide' (from *an-+ide*), ib. 58.

older *dainimh* and *dainmhidh* (or *dainmhe*), respectively. The final *-d* is borrowed from the prep. *do*, which commonly followed; *is* *dainimh do* became *is* *daini do* (compare *b'annamh le* pronounced *b'anna le*), and this developed to *is* *dainid do*, whence *dainid*, just as *is* *mithi(gh) do* has resulted in *is* *mithid do*, whence *mithid*.<sup>1</sup> In the same way *is* *dainmhidh* (or *dainmhe*) *do* became *is* *dainmhid* *do*, and *dainmhid* has regularly (in S. Irish) become *dainid*, just as *gainmhe* has become *gaini*.<sup>2</sup>

I subjoin a few examples<sup>3</sup>: *don aidhlinn úir lear dhainid sinn i dtéarcuid* (read, with MS., *tearcad*, = *teirce*) *bídh*, DBr. iii, 226; *mo dhainid!* 'alas!' Conchr. Ó Briain in Poems of Diarmaid mac Seáin Bhúf, 61; *má's dainid . . . libhse*, ib. 62; *géadh* [= *gé*, *giōdh*] *dainid sin*, Art Ó Caoimh, Gadelica i, 255. 1; *mo dhainid*<sup>4</sup> *go n-éagad na fearachoin aosta*, Uilliam Dall; *an daithnid libh mo chás anois?* An Mangaire, Fil. na Má. 34<sup>5</sup>; *mo dhaithnid*, Búrdúin Bheaga 181. The form with long final syllable is illustrated in *do ghuid sé mo chaipín 's níor dhaithníd*<sup>6</sup> *leis maoil me*, Donncha Rua (E. Ghiolla an Amárráin). In Torna's edition of Seán na Ráithíneach we find both long and short final syllables, in the greatest possible variety of spellings: *dainid*, pp. 10, 44, 45, *daithnid*, 18, *danaid*, 83, *dainid*, 54, *daithníd*, 9, *danaid*, 28.

### 38. dealamh

The word *dealbh* (pron. *d'alv*), 'indigent', and its derivative *dealbhas* (pron. *d'a-lu:s*), 'indigence', are well known in the spoken Irish of Munster. The first lexicographer to record these

<sup>1</sup> And just as *is aithnidh do* (cf. IGT p. 155) has given *aithnid*. Compare *is aithnit duitsi*, RC xix, 126. 9 (and similarly ib. 124. 12, 128. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> The tacking on to a word of the *d* of the prep. *do* is also illustrated in E. Ulster *go niosd* (e.g. Tór. air Lorg Chríosta, 27), for *gan fhios*, 'secretly'. So in W. Munster *is dóigh le* has become *is dóil le*. This is already found in Stapleton (1630), who writes *as doil le moran*, 'multi existimant' (p. vi).

<sup>3</sup> Some others will be found in R.I.A. Dict. s.v. *dainit* (sic).

<sup>4</sup> Inaccurately *dhainid* in John Daly's Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry (1844), 96.

<sup>5</sup> Other examples of *daithnid*, Fil. na Má. 3, 49, 50, 89, 91, 126. Cf. *scéal daithnid dubh*, ib. 92, where the word is used as an adj., unless a compound *daithnid-dubh* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> So spelled in the author's autograph copy (Irlsl. M. Nuadhád, 1927, 52); but John Fleming printed *dhanaoid* in his edition (GJ ii, 229), and later editors (Flannery, Foley) have followed suit. The first edition of the poem, that edited by S. Hayes (i.e. S. H. O'Grady) in 1853, reads *dhainid* here.

words was O'Brien, who has ' *dealbh*, poor, miserable ; *duine dealbh*, an indigent man', and ' *dealbhús*, misery, poverty ; *nil aco acht an dealbhús*, they have nothing but misery'. In Munster accentual verse *dealbh* is common, e.g. *atáim deacrach dealbh ón dáil seo*, Keating, Poems 513; *fá theorainn na gcóirneach ndealbh*, i.e. within the monastery of the poor friars, DBr. i, 150; *an t-eagnach más dealbh é, a bhriathra is leamh*, Búrdúin Bheaga 122; *is gann mo charaid, is dealbh 's is dítheach*, Aindrias Mac Cruitín<sup>1</sup>.

Actually *dealbh* in this sense is a misspelling ; the correct form of the word is *dealamh*. Once the common word *dealbh*, ' shape ', had developed an epenthetic vowel, its pronunciation became indistinguishable from that of *dealamh* ; hence the modern tendency to impose the spelling of the former word on the latter. I take *dealamh* to be derived from *de-* (*dí-*), privative prefix, and *alamh*, ' a herd ', cognate with W. *alaf*, ' wealth, riches '. The word therefore means ' without wealth '. In a compound adj. of this kind we should rather expect an *i*-stem, \**dealaimh* (cf. *deccair*, *diáirm*, *dílmain*, etc.) ; but the influence of *folamh* and *ullamh* no doubt weighed in favour of *-amh*.

In the earlier literature *dealamh* is uncommon. In a poem of A.D. 1417 I note : *Loch Deal a nach delam craeb*, Hy Fiachrach 280 ; O'Donovan's translation is ' Loch Deal a not scarce of bushes ' ; but the meaning, I think, is rather ' Loch D. whose woods are not devoid of wealth (or herds) '. Another example is : *is dealamh damhsa, ol sé, Ɇ atá cios trom agam t[h]igerna oram*, Plummer, Lives of Ir. SS. i, 188, § 33. The derivative *dealmas* occurs (spelled *dealbas*) in a poem in rannaigheacht, Measgra Dánta p. 40, 57, and is listed in IGT p. 87 (*dealbas*, v. 1. *dealmas*).

### 39. *laiream*, ' with me '.

In Munster verse of the seventeenth century one occasionally meets *laiream*, ' with me ', *lairis*, ' with him ', and the like. In sense *laiream* approximates closely to *faram* (= *fa* + *rium*) and *maille rium*. In origin it is probably an aphetized form of the latter, viz. \**lerium*, with *le-* altered to *la-* under the influence of *faram*.

Instances are : *do bhreathaibh an reachta so laiream is* [v.l. *ar*] *ibh nÉireann*, DBr. ii, 22. Compare ib. 32, where *fairiomsa* has

<sup>1</sup> For further examples see DBr. i, 128, iii, 166, 224; ITS iii, 2 ed., pp. 26, 244, 250; Seán Clárach, ed. Dinneen, 757 (sic leg.), 774; Seán na Ráithíneach, 83; Misc. Ir. Proverbs § 83.

a variant *lariumsa*. *Smachtuig an corpán tug cáil mhasla dhuit riámh, | fairig an smotán, sin bás lairis a tiacht*, i.e. 'see how death draws near to it', in st. 2 of the poem 'Mo theagasg dá ngabhthá', 23 D 38, 65 (transcribed 1688)<sup>1</sup>. Another example is hidden in the following line from a poem by P. Haicéad (ed. Torna, p. 10): *tálaím óm chlí sógh sīdhe, is sinnlair é*. The poet, whose theme is the praise of Máire Tóibín compares himself to the daisy, which opens out its petals to welcome the sun; when the sun-like Máire is near, he is conscious of a wonderful feeling of happiness. For the meaningless *is sinnlair é* we should read (with the MSS.) *is sinn lairé*, 'when I am with her'.<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat similar compound preposition is very well known in Manx, viz. *liorish*, 'by, beside', with prep. pronouns *liorm*, *liort*, *liorish*, etc. Rhys (Manx Phonology 172 n.) at first took this to be the Manx counterpart of Ir. *lámh re*; but later (Celtæ and Galli, Proc. Brit. Acad. ii, 11) with more justice he equated it with Ir. *maille re*.

#### 40. *díobtha, diobaithe.*

*Díobtha* or *diobaithe*, a word which has not got its due from the lexicographers, occurs in a number of seventeenth and eighteenth century texts. In Stapleton (1639) I have noted two examples: *fós a se féin an tolc diobuithe ó na nadúir féin, 'imò illud solum est absolutè & intrinsicè malum'*, p. 155, and *à smuaineamh gur ab ar nithibh mora diobuithe tionscnothar an Breitheamhnus so, 'quod iudicium hoc instituendum sit de rebus gravissimis'*, p. 168. In P. Haicéad, 14, we have: *síorchuir os íseal i gcéill don tsluagh | nach diobuighthe a righne go réidhteach uainn*. Here the meaning is 'very great', as also in the following example from Ó Bruadair, iii, 124: *is diobuithe fhaid go n-aithnim cia dochiu*. Another instance from Ó Bruadair is: *an daoiste dubh diobaithé duairc gan dán*, ii, 14. My final example is from Aogán Ó Rathile's 'Eachtra Thaidhg Dhuibh': *bodach claon caismearach dubh diobtha dian-bhréan dreachdhiablaidhe*, ITS iii, 2 ed., 289, 3. In the form *diopa* Begly uses the word a few times in his Dict.: *corrúidhe dhíopa*,

<sup>1</sup> The poem is anonymous in 23 D 38. O'Reilly (Irish Writers, p. clxcii) ascribes it to 'Edmond M'Donough' (!), which is to be interpreted as meaning Éamonn mac Donncha an Dúna. In 23 K 14, p. 3, it is attributed (no doubt wrongly) to An tAthair Diarmuid Ó Séaghe.

<sup>2</sup> The first three quatrains of the poem are closely joined together in sense, and should not have been separated by full stops. For *fóithnín* (*fóichnín*), queried in the glossary, see Measgra Dánta p. 252.

'agitation', 19 b, *ba roidhiopa an comhrac nó an comhlann é*, 'it was a very sharp encounter', 352 b, and *diópa*, one of the equivalents of 'rigid', 583 a. Shaw's *diopal*, 'severe', wherever he may have got it, appears to be a modified form of the same word; this is re-spelled *diópamhuil* by O'Reilly.

The earlier form of the word was doubtless *diobtha* (pron. *diópa*), which in Munster tended to become *diobaithe*, just as *sgríobtha* (pron. *sgríopá*) tended to be replaced by *sgríobaithe*. The meanings of the word are apparently (1) 'very great' and (2) 'unyielding, harsh, severe'. I take it to be gen. sg. of *\*di-obadh*, lit. 'non-refusing', so that it would originally have meant 'brooking no refusal' or the like. Compare another gen. used as adj., Mid. Ir. *di(fh)recra*, lit. 'impossible to answer (or to match)', which similarly means 'very great', e.g. *gorta direcra*, SG i, 406 translating 'maxima fames', Three Frags. 98<sup>1</sup>.

#### 41. amáille

The word *amáille* has hitherto been misunderstood by editors, and has quite escaped the lexicographers. Its meaning, as will appear from the examples below, is 'enamel'.

In Top. Poems, 122, we find the lines: *airged echta is ammaille | ór ar na g[h]oradh co glan*. Here we should read *amáille* (: *Claire*); O'Donovan mistakes the word for *immaille*, 'together', and translates 'with it'. In a poem by Tadhg Óg Ó Huiginn we find: *gan marthain do mhac Aine | rug don éigse a hamháille* (Studies 1924, 89); here *amháille* (the reading of 23 D 14, p. 5) should be emended to *amáille*, used in the sense of 'ornament, glory'. In a poem by Goffraiddh (mac Briain) Mac an Bhaird we find *mar snas<sup>2</sup> amáille<sup>3</sup> ar ór nglan*, Lt. C.A.B. 176; in another poem by the same, 'na gcrabhaibh *amáille* (: *fann-áille*), Ir. Monthly 1921, p. 421, =Di. Dána 268, the 'branches of enamel' being, as the context suggests, the rivulets flowing from the rain-soaked woods to join the rivers. In the poem 'Féach do dheireadh a dhuine' the signs of approaching death are mentioned as follows: *An déad ag dul i mbáine | 's an aghaidh go n-iomáille | 's na gruaidhe ag dul i nduibhe | ag cur h'uaille i n-eöllchuire*, 23 L 34, 157, =Di. Dána p. 82, § 5, where *go n-i.* is wrongly emended to *gan i.* A

<sup>1</sup> For further examples of *di(fh)recra* see Meyer's *Conrr.* and Atkinson's *PH* p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Read *snas* with the MS.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *amallne*; it rimes with *falláine*.

seventeenth-century poem printed in ITS xi, 136, contains the line *ní bhia an t-or gan amaille*<sup>1</sup>; here we should read *amáille*, riming with *strabháille* (sic leg.)<sup>2</sup>. My last example is from a detached quatrain in 23 D 5, p. 413: *ní gheabadh ód fholt mur fhaine* [leg. *fháinne*] | *gan óradh gan amáille*.

Middle English has *amel*, *amall*, *aumayl*<sup>3</sup>, etc., 'enamel', from Anglo-Fr. *\*amail* (Fr. *émail*). From the same source Ir. *amáille* has been borrowed. The ending *-áille* (instead of the *-ail* we should expect) has been taken over from other loanwords like *máille*, *táille*, *bitáille*.

#### 42. *iomhóg*

Ivory, which in Middle Irish was called *cnáim elifinte*, 'bone of elephant', later came to be known as *cnámh iomháighe*, 'bone of image', no doubt because 'images' such as crucifixes were often made of ivory. An example occurs in an anonymous seventeenth-century poem: *cior chaomh do chnámh iomháighe* (: *fiorsgáile*), 'a handsome comb of ivory', 23 D 38, p. 64. Later still *cnámh iomháighe* was replaced by a new formation *iomhóg*, 'ivory' (Begly, 379 a). Under the influence of this we find the above-quoted line appearing as *cior chaomh do chnámh iomhóige* in 23 B 38, p. 131 (a MS. of 1780). A couple of nineteenth-century MSS (23 G 25, 243, and F ii 3, 314, both in the hand of Ml. Óg Ó Longáin) still more corruptly read *iomóige* here; and Rev. J. C. MacErlean, who has edited the poem from these two MSS., prints *iomdige*, ITS xi, 136.

Owing to the resemblance of *iomhóg*, 'ivory', to the latter part of the saint's name *Mo-chaomhóg*, *Cill Mochaomhóg*, the name of a church near Glenmore in the south of co. Kilkenny, has been turned into 'Killivory' in English<sup>4</sup>.

#### 43. *colún*. *cuilíneach*. Eng. *clown*.

Richard Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, writing in 1577, says that the husbandmen of Fingall (in the north of co. Dublin) were nicknamed *collounes* by their neighbours in his day. His words

<sup>1</sup> Mistranslated 'that gold shall not escape ill-luck'. The ghost-word *amaille*, 'mischief', is duly taken over into Dinneen's Dict. (2 edn.).

<sup>2</sup> In 23 D 38, 61, the line runs: *ni hé an tór gan iomaille*; in 23 B 38, 131, *ni bhiadh an tór gan amáille*.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest instance of the word in the O. E. D. is *ca. 1340*.

<sup>4</sup> 'The peasantry are beginning to corrupt it to Kill-Ivory, from a false notion that *Caemhog* denotes *ivory*!' says O'Donovan, FM i, 267 n.

are: 'Fingall especially from tyme to tyme hath been so addicted to all the poyntes of Husbandry, as that they are nicknamed by their neighbors, for their continual drudgery, Collonnes<sup>1</sup> of the latin word *Coloni*, whereunto the clipt English worde, Clowne, seemeth to be aunswerable' (Description of Ireland, in Holinshed's Chronicles, 1577, fo. 2 b).

This word *colloun* (or *coloun*) was evidently, as Stanyhurst suggests, the Anglo-French counterpart of Lat. *colonus*, 'a husbandman, tiller of the soil, farmer'. It was borrowed into Irish as *colún*, an example of which occurs in Tochmarc Becfholá: *colomun do muntir Damindsi ro bui oc airergi a bo isin matinse indiu*, YBL 119 a 17 (cf. Irish MS. Series i, 182); the corresponding text in Eg. 1781, as printed by O'Grady, SG i, 87, reads *colamhan*<sup>2</sup>. O'Looney correctly translates the word as 'farmer', but O'Grady, with what seems to be deliberate vagueness, renders it 'a certain one', while Meyer, Contrr. 425, inaccurately enters it under *coloma*, 'pillar, support'.

Another form of *colloun* was *culleen*. This is employed several times by the anonymous author of 'The Irish Hudibras or Fingallian Prince', London, 1689, pp. 9, 10, 102, 137; it is twice glossed 'boor' (i.e. boor, husbandman), pp. 10, 102, and once 'bore, tenant', p. 158. We may also compare Ma Geoghagan's Ann. Clon., p. 307, where in connexion with an invasion of Westmeath from Connacht in 1381 it is said that the invaders 'were mett by the English *collonyes* of them parts, being assembled before them'. The Irish original of this passage is lost<sup>3</sup>; but doubtless *collonyes* (which possibly stands for \**colloynes*) means 'husbandmen, peasants'.

The Irish counterpart of 'culleen' is well attested, viz. *coilín* (*cuilín*) or, more commonly, *coilíneach* (*cuilineach*). Stanyhurst, writing in Latin, says that not even the meanest *colonus* of the Pale (*colonorum omnium ultimus qui in Anglica provincia habitat*) would give his daughter in marriage to an Irish prince<sup>4</sup>; and Keating, in rebutting this assertion, translates the words I have

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Read, doubtless, *collounes*.

<sup>2</sup> With *colamhan* for *colún* compare *uinneamhan* (IGT p. 95) for *uinniún*, *baramhan* (cf. Hackett p. 21, 8) for *barún*, *táilleabhar* (IGT p. 95) for *tdilliúr*, *fundabhair* (cf. AU 1495, p. 384) for *fundúir*, and the like.

<sup>3</sup> AU, s.a. 1381, in chronicling the same event speak merely of *Gaill*.

<sup>4</sup> R. Stanyhurst, *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, Antwerp, 1584, p. 30. By *coloni* Stanyhurst evidently means in particular the 'collounes' of Fingall.

mer, hence a country *cur*... cf. *U gebur* a countryman? Yet the  
c. Irish poets "apply the term *búir* 'boors' to the English in Ireland  
below! Sjt 174: 15-c. Du. loan (1430 Lydgate: boor!)

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quoted *an tí is ísle do na cuilínibh* (v. ll. *cuilínibh, cuilíneachaibh*) *dá n-áitigheann isan gcúigeadh Gallda*, and paraphrases them thus: *an coilíneach is lígha i bhFine Gall* (FF i, 32). Elsewhere Keating says that Barckly's description of the houses of the Irish is rightly applicable only to the dwellings of the poorer classes: *ar árusaibh coilíneach agus fodhaoine mbeag ndearóil* (ib. 54). The word was applied especially to the peasants of Fingall; compare, besides Keating's *coilínighe Fhine Gall*, FF i, 32, *cuilíneach ó Fhine Ghall*, O'Gr. Cat. 597. Seán Ó Baotháin, a native of Tara, co. Meath, writes that, though by upbringing he himself is a *coilíneach*, he cannot bear to hear the Irish disparaged<sup>1</sup>. Seán Ó Neachtain employs the word in his *Táin Bó Geanainn*: *srathar dhaingean dhoimhin dhruimleathan, dá ngoireann an cuilíneach* 'pack-saddle'<sup>2</sup>; here the *cuilíneach* is an English-speaking rustic. Just as other eighteenth-century Munster poets apply the term *búir*, 'boors', to the English in Ireland, so Aindrias Mac Craith calls them *cuilínig*, in the line *ruagfar as Eire le faobhar na cuilínig*, Reliques of Ir. Jacobite Poetry, 1866, p. 107.

Keating's *coilín, coilíneach*, happened to be mistranslated 'colonist' by his editor, David Comyn; and, following this, Dinneen not only included *coilíneach* (otherwise *coilín*), 'colonist', in his Dictionary (1904), but went further and inexcusably invented a ghost-word *coilíneacht*, 'colony'.<sup>3</sup> Previous dictionaries ignore *coilín(each)*.

We now turn to Eng. *clown*. This first appears in English in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Its earliest meanings are 'countryman, peasant', often with the implication of ignorance, hence in a secondary sense 'a rude or uncouth man'. Skeat, who assumes that the original sense of *clown* was 'log' or 'clod', takes it to be of Scandinavian origin, and compares Mod. Icel. *klunni*, 'a clumsy, boorish fellow', Swed. dial. *klunn*, 'a log', Dan. *klunt*, id. The O. E. D. gives substantially the same explanation; as the word is unknown in Old and Mid. Eng., and as there

<sup>1</sup> *gi beith dhamhsa mo coilíneach ó oideachas, ni fedam eisteacht re haoradh chloinne Gaoidhíol*, Flower, Cat. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Lia Fáil*, no. 1, p. 68. Cf. *a choileánaigh* [MS. *culanaigh*; read *chuilnígh*] *mheirtnigh*, ib. 72.

<sup>3</sup> These errors are repeated in the second edition of Dinneen; and, to make matters worse, they have received the sanction of the Department of Education, and duly appear in books issued in recent years for the purpose of teaching history and geography through Irish.

that the names of noble princes be known to country clown  
e., that the name of Leicester be known to a Cudlie —  
a Colin Clout! But in Ireland the 'noties' were looked upon as 'clou  
T. F. O'RAHILLY

is no trace in English of the (alleged) primitive sense, 'clod', it suggests that *clown* is a late borrowing 'from some Low German source'.

Actually, I have little doubt, Stanyhurst (whom the O. E. D. ignores) was right in identifying *clown* with Hiberno-English *col(l)oun* and Lat. *colonus*<sup>1</sup>. In Middle English, and in the English of Fingall down to the seventeenth century, such a word as *coloun* would have been stressed on the termination. The loss of the unstressed syllable is paralleled in Mid. Eng. *corone*, *coroune*, *croune*, now *crown*. Inasmuch as *clown* is unknown in English previous to the reign of Elizabeth, it seems not unlikely that it was imported from Ireland<sup>2</sup>, where it survived especially as a name applied to the rustics of Fingall. The sense-development of *clown* is exactly paralleled by that of *boor*, which originally meant 'husbandman, peasant' (cf. Germ. *bauer*), and then came to mean 'a rude, uncouth person'. The phrase 'country clown' was especially frequent<sup>3</sup>, showing that the word was associated with country life. The O.E.D., s. v. *colon*, quotes from Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy (1621): 'to see . . . a country colone toil and moil'; here 'country colone' is obviously identical with 'country clown'; yet the O.E.D. treats *colon(e)*, 'husbandman', and *clown* as two wholly unconnected words<sup>4</sup>.

The substitution of ending in Ir. *colún* > *coilín*, seen also in Hiberno-English *colloun* > *culleen*, requires some notice. The termination *-ún* was well established in borrowed words in Irish, and so was *-oun* in English, so that the reason of the change must be sought in some analogical influence. I can only suggest that the word was assimilated to the personal name *Colin* (< *Nicolin*),

<sup>1</sup> Later, in 1662, we find Fuller taking *clown* to be a borrowing of the Latin word: 'Clown from *Colonus*, one that plougheth the ground' (quoted in O.E.D.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *hub bub*, *bother*, likewise imported from the English Pale.

<sup>3</sup> O.E.D. quotes 'the coutrie cloine', 1565, 'the countrey clowns', 1646. Stanyhurst in 1577 speaks of 'the countrey clownes' of Wexford (Descr. of Ireland, fo. 3 a, col. 1, in Holinshed's Chronicles).

<sup>4</sup> *Clown* has an unexplained early variant *cloyne* or *cloine*, of which the O.E.D. quotes three examples, dated 1563, 1565, 1583. If Hiberno-English *colloun* gave *clown*, it is conceivable that the Hiberno-English doublet *culleen* would give *cloyne*. Alternatively *cloyne* may owe its form to association with the verb *cloyne*, *cloine*, meaning 'to deceive, to take cunningly or fraudulently', of which the O.E.D. quotes examples ranging in date from 1538 to 1569. The latter word is of uncertain etymology; but it may be noted that it bears a close resemblance to Ir. *cluain*, 'beguilement, deceit'.

1. A countryman, rustic, or peasant. [Appears in Eng. in 2<sup>d</sup> half of 16<sup>th</sup> c. *cloyne* or *cloine*, and *clowne*. The phonetic relation betw. these is difficult to understand; the former is esp. obscure; possibly a dialect form. Of this type . . . we have no trace . . . ; and it is probable that in Eng. the word was later introd. from some Low German source.] No mention of Celt. [a] 1563 Baldwin *cloyne* 1567 Turberv. (post *Tabularis Heade*) *clowne*. 1567 [b] 1567 [c] 1567 [d] 1567 [e] 1567 [f] 1567 [g] 1567 [h] 1567 [i] 1567 [j] 1567 [k] 1567 [l] 1567 [m] 1567 [n] 1567 [o] 1567 [p] 1567 [q] 1567 [r] 1567 [s] 1567 [t] 1567 [u] 1567 [v] 1567 [w] 1567 [x] 1567 [y] 1567 [z] 1567 [aa] 1567 [bb] 1567 [cc] 1567 [dd] 1567 [ee] 1567 [ff] 1567 [gg] 1567 [hh] 1567 [ii] 1567 [jj] 1567 [kk] 1567 [ll] 1567 [mm] 1567 [nn] 1567 [oo] 1567 [pp] 1567 [qq] 1567 [rr] 1567 [ss] 1567 [tt] 1567 [uu] 1567 [vv] 1567 [ww] 1567 [xx] 1567 [yy] 1567 [zz] 1567 [aa] 1567 [bb] 1567 [cc] 1567 [dd] 1567 [ee] 1567 [ff] 1567 [gg] 1567 [hh] 1567 [ii] 1567 [jj] 1567 [kk] 1567 [ll] 1567 [mm] 1567 [nn] 1567 [oo] 1567 [pp] 1567 [qq] 1567 [rr] 1567 [ss] 1567 [tt] 1567 [uu] 1567 [vv] 1567 [ww] 1567 [xx] 1567 [yy] 1567 [zz] 1567 [aa] 1567 [bb] 1567 [cc] 1567 [dd] 1567 [ee] 1567 [ff] 1567 [gg] 1567 [hh] 1567 [ii] 1567 [jj] 1567 [kk] 1567 [ll] 1567 [mm] 1567 [nn] 1567 [oo] 1567 [pp] 1567 [qq] 1567 [rr] 1567 [ss] 1567 [tt] 1567 [uu] 1567 [vv] 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ision, meete for such a clowting botcher.

1571 Campion, p. 68] we are told that at an interview with the ~~Irish~~ <sup>Irish</sup> ~~man~~ <sup>man</sup> tains "Two of the Guard, Normans, pickthanes, shocke and tare the ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> by the glibe & beards unmanerly, and churlishly thrust them o*o* presence." NOTES, MAINLY ETYMOLOGICAL 211

Fitzpatrick's  
Dublin, p. 3

which in the English of Fingall would retain its original stress on the final syllable, and which in Irish appears as *Coilín*<sup>1</sup>. *Colin* appears to have been a name to which rustic associations, perhaps suggested by its form, became attached. In a satire on the clergy by John Skelton (†1529) the typical country-man is called *Colyn Cloute*; and the same name is later employed by Spenser, who applies it to himself in his poem *Colin Clouts come home again* (1591).

#### 44. *uirceann. cuirc. duire.*

The word *uirceann* occurs half-a-dozen times in Parl. Chloinne Tomáis (ed. Bergin, Gadelica i). There we are told that the weapons (*airm áig agas iorghaile*) of Clann Tomáis consisted of their flails, their reaping-hooks, their *uircionna* (*a n-u. snasgharbha taobhsmearta sáilleathana*), and their awls, l. 479, p. 49<sup>2</sup>. Other instances are: *uircionna maola meirgiocha smearrtha sleamhuinmaola*, l. 107, p. 39; *bhur mileóga*, *bhur n-uircionna*, *bhur gcarráin*, l. 367, p. 46; *uircionna leathana lángharbha* *curráin chama chíocracha*, l. 1119, p. 147. In these examples *uircionn* is evidently some kind of edged or pointed implement. The word also occurs ib. l. 1019, p. 144, where a woman is abusively addressed as *a thruaill chuid Éirionn, a thobuir bháidhfe na n-uircionn*.

Dinneen, who has printed some passages from PCT in the wholly unwarranted belief that Aogán Ó Rathile was its author, misspells *uirceanna* as *uircheanna* (ITS iii, 2 ed. 268) and *uircheanna* (ib. 278), which he mistranslates as 'clogs'. This ghost-word *uircheanna*, 'clogs', duly appears in the second edition of his Dictionary.

The true meaning of the word is inferable from Begly, 119 b, where a 'cliver' (i.e. cleaver) is defined as *sgian bhúistéaruighe, nō uircionn chum feola do ghearradh*, 'a butcher's knife, or an *uircionn* for cutting meat'. The *uirceann*, therefore, was a long knife, like that used by butchers.

As to the origin of the word I can only surmise that it is in some way connected with two other words of kindred meaning and of unknown etymology, viz. *cuirc* (or *corc*), and Eng. *dirk*. Plunket records *cuirc* in his Lat.-Ir. Dict. ('culter, *sgian*, *cuirc*; *coltar*'); but I have not come across the word in any Irish text. In Scottish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Colin Cimsog*, AU 1285 (ii, 364), = *Coilín Ciomsog* A. L. Cé (i, 492), = *Coilín Ciomsocc*, FM.

<sup>2</sup> For *agas*, l. 477, read *i*.

*Faller, Worthy's Clown from Colonus, one that plougheth the ground.*

*n<sup>3</sup>. rare [a. F. *colon*; -L. *colon-us*, f. *colere* to till.] A husbandman.*

*506 G. W(oodcocke)\* a Colon or tenant* [1621 Burton [p. 210 above] 1808 T. Barlow, b.

*[1580-20 Dunbar Qaby will ze 31: Cuningar men man serve Sanct Clown*

*Cards Met. (1593) To Robr. 6 "The wise, the fode: the countre cloine: the learned a*

*[The clo*

the word is well known as *corc*, f. (gen. *cuirce*, dat. *cuirc*), 'a knife, sheath-knife, butcher's cleaver'.<sup>1</sup> Compare 's *iom gharbh-mhart* [leg. 's *ioma garbh-mhart*] *dh'fheann u le d' chuirc*, A. M'Donald, *Ais-eiridh* (1751), 187.

*thing earlier*  
*MED*

Of Eng. *dirk*, 'a kind of dagger or poniard, esp. a Highlander's dagger', the earliest example quoted in O.E.D. is dated 1602: 'two Scotch daggers or dorks at their girdles'. Previous to Johnson's Dict. (1755) the usual spelling is *durk*. The associations of the word suggest that it was borrowed from Sc. Gaelic; but the O.E.D. objects, not unreasonably, that 'there is no such word in that language, where the weapon is called *biodag*'. Nevertheless so little is on record of the popular Gaelic (Irish and Scottish) of three or four centuries ago that there is nothing rash in supposing that *duirc*, 'dagger', was formerly in use in both dialects. For Irish the word is attested in Begly, who has 'poniard, *daigéar, miódóg, duirc*', 545 b, and 'skein, *sgian fhada, nó duirc*', 611 b. As Begly does not give Eng. 'dirk' in any spelling, it is not unlikely that his *duirc* is a native Irish form, and not a borrowing from English.

Notable is the form *durgin* which appears to have been in use in Fingall (in the north of co. Dublin) in the seventeenth century. If it were permissible to suppose that *durgin* stands for \**durkin*, we might see in it an Ir. \**duirceann*, which would be a cross between *uirceann* and *duirc*<sup>2</sup>. The word is attested in 'The Irish Hudibras' (London 1689), p. 38, where the anonymous author, describing a feast given by the Fingallians, speaks of four sheep, roasted whole, 'which, with their *Durgins* and *Madoges*<sup>3</sup>, | they cut upon their greasie Brogues | for Trenchers'.

The ultimate origin of these different words, *uirceann*, *cuirc* (*corc*), *duirc*, is wrapped in obscurity. All one can say is that the lateness of their occurrence in Gaelic would favour the view that they are borrowed words rather than native. One is reminded

<sup>1</sup> The H.S.D. and M'Alpine make *corc* feminine; but Dieckhoff gives it as masc., with gen. and pl. *cuirc*.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps we should rather compare certain Eng. dialect words recorded in the Eng. Dial. Dict., viz. (1) *durk* and *durkin*, 'a short, thick-set person; anything short, strong, and thick' (the E.D.D. quotes 'a durkin o' a knife' from Banffshire), (2) *durgan*, 'a short, undersized person or animal, a dwarf,' and (3) *durgey*, more or less synonymous with *durgan*. The E.D.D. suggests that *durgan* is 'prob. a der. of OE. *dweorg*, dwarf.'

<sup>3</sup> Glossed, in the margin, 'skeins or knives'.

of Germ. *dolch*, Du. Dan. *dolk*, 'a dagger', the origin of which is quite uncertain (see Kluge, Etym. Wb. 11 edn., and Walde-Pokorny, i, 865 f.).

#### 45. *comhnámhai*

The word *comhnámha* occurs in a poem of Tadhg Dall's: *do chomhnámhaid, do chleamhnaoi | cruinnigh fad chéibh n-imealnaoi* (p. 11, 33). Here, from the context, the meaning must be something like 'fellow-fighters'. Etymologically *námha* 'enemy', may mean 'taker, appropriator',<sup>1</sup> so that *comhnámha* may have originally meant 'fellow-plunderer' or the like.

In a modified form the word persisted long in the Irish of Munster, in which it must have fallen out of use only within the last generation or two. The modification consisted of suffixing *-i* (< *-ighe*) to the word<sup>2</sup>, the declension being altered to suit. The resultant *comhnámhai* (*cónámhaí*) has the sense of 'partner, fellow, one belonging to the same class'.

My earliest example is from Stapleton (1639), p. 160: *ni shuiling-eann vachtaran na conamhui dho*, 'nec superiorem nec aequalem ferre potest'. Begly, 531 a, gives *do bheith ar na eisdeacht le na chomhnámhuighthibh* as a translation of 'to be tried by ones peers'. My remaining examples are from texts which have been edited in our own day; in each case the word has been misunderstood. In 'Seán na Ráithíneach, p. 53, we read: *cia is cómh-nábadh coimheascair a dtógbháil ó dhaoirse*. Here the editorial *cómhánábadh*<sup>3</sup>, explained as 'neighbour, helper', is a ghost-word; read *comhnámha*<sup>4</sup> or *comhnámhai*. In eighteenth-century sermons we read: *a chriostaidhe, do hoileadh chum bheith id chómhn-adhbhaidhe* [MS. *cómhnámhuighe*] *ag na haingil*, Seanm. Muighe Nuadhád iii, 124; and *bheith i n-bhur ndlúth-chomhnaidhe* [MS. *-chomhnámhuighe*]

<sup>1</sup> See Walde-Pokorny, ii, 330 f. With *námha* Loth (RC xli, 213) would connect Mid. W. *kyfnouant*, explained by Lloyd Jones (Geirfa 213) as 'gelyniaeth, llid, cynnen, brwydr'. A closer relation of the Welsh word appears to be Mid. Ir. *fondámat* (\**vo-námanto-*), E. Mod. Ir. *fanámadh*, 'mockery'.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *sglabha*, 'slave' (e.g. *sclábha*, 'captive', Begly 103 a), later *sgldhbai*. There is a possibility that the latter part of *comhnámhai* may have been popularly identified with *snámhat*, 'swimmer'.

<sup>3</sup> Duly taken over into Dinneen's Dict., 2 edn. The word *nábadh*, 'neighbour,' which Dinneen likewise gives, is no less fictitious. Scottish has *nábaidh* and Manx *naboo*, 'neighbour'; but the word (a borrowing from Norse) is unknown in Irish in any form.

<sup>4</sup> In 23 C 3, p. 40 (apparently the oldest text of the poem), the reading is *conabha*.

*leis ins an gComaoine*, ib. i, 21. Here the MS. readings show that we are dealing with the sing. and plur., respectively, of *comhnámhai*. In a sermon written by a co. Cork priest, who died at an advanced age in 1887, we read: *tá meas mó ag a conavuhi air agus fós ag daoine móra le feabhas a chlú*, *An Síoladóir* ii, 200. 5 (1922); here the spelling has been regularized by the editor, excepting the word *conavuhi* (= *chónámhaith*, pl.) which is spelled as in the MS.

#### 46. *aimirt(t)ne*

The words *aimirtne*, 'voracity', and *aimirtneach*, 'voracious', occur in Begly's Dict. 652 b; compare also *neach aimirtneach* *nó amplamhail*, translating 'greedy gut', ib. 285 a. With *-rtn-* simplified to *-rn-*, the word occurs in Plunket's Dict., where, for instance, among the equivalents of Lat. 'rabies' we find *ainchiochras* *no aimirne*; similarly Plunket has *aimirneach*, adj., under 'rabidus', 'sordidus', 'vorax'. As *aimirneach*, 'voracious', the word survives in Donegal; cf. *d'ith sé . . . go haimirneach mar bhéadh eagla air nach rabh a sháith aige*, *Mo Dhá Róisín* 24.

The word is doubtless compounded of the negative prefix and E. Mod. Ir. *meirtne*, 'apathy, languour', with its adj. *meirtneach*, 'listless, languid'. Compare Mid. Ir. *neimmeirtnech*, 'vigorous, unwearied'.

#### 47. *treó*

In the Irish of Cork and Kerry the word *treó*, 'direction', is in common use, e.g. *cad é an treó 'na bhfuil sí?* 'in what direction is it?' (O'Leary); cf. also *táim ag cur i dtreó dhóibh*, 'I am getting things ready for them', and *tá treó mhah air*, or *tá sé i dtreó mhah*, 'he is well off' (W. Muskerry).

*Treó* comes by haplology from *treóir*, well known in the literature in the sense of 'guidance, following a course, power of movement, energy'. With *treó* from *treóir* compare *comhra* from *comhrar*, and Sc. *tora*, 'auger', from *\*torar, tarathar*<sup>1</sup>. Compare also Welsh *berw*, *brawd*, *trawst*, *rhef*, all with final *-r* lost (see Lewis-Pedersen, 256).

In West Munster to-day *treóir* is known from verse, but has dropped out of ordinary speech. On the other hand in modern MS. literature from this district *treóir* is very common, *treó* very

<sup>1</sup> So medial *r* is dropped by haplology in *iathar* by-form of *iarthar* (IGT p. 54-55), *iumarca* from Mid. Ir. *i(u)mmarcráid*, *robhata* used in parts of Munster for *robharta*, and the like.

rare. I note an example of the latter in a poem by Proinsias Ó Súilleabhaín: *sgéal is measa gan aige i gcóir sluinnte, | ná aon ar [a] ainm le gairm san treo dhírig*<sup>1</sup>.

#### 48. *trúig*

The word *trúig*, 'cause', is well known in parts of Munster. It occurs frequently in the writings of Canon O'Leary, e.g. *trúig uilc*, *Sgéal na Macabéach* 202, *ní gnáth go dtagan an bás ar dhuine gan trúig éigin chuige*, *Bás Dhalláin* 6, is 'mó trúig a dh'fhéadfadh bheith leis sin', *Niamh* 30, 'ghá thaisbeáint dúinn cad iad na trúigeana atá chuige', *Comhairle ár Leasa* 79, *trúigeana báis*, *Aithris ar Chríost* 138. Compare *cad ba thrúig bháis do?* 'what was the cause of his death?' *Tadhg Ó Murchadha*, *Robinson Crúsó* 274. Notable is *ní bhíonn trúig gan adhbhar*, *ibid.*, translated 'no effect without a cause', but *trúig* here, I suggest, is to be interpreted as 'unfortunate occurrence' rather than 'effect'. On the Blasket Island the word assumes the form *trúin*, used especially in the phrase *trúin bháis* (cf. *Mac Cluín*, *Réilthní Óir* ii, 241). In Ring, co. Waterford, it is known only in the phrase *cad ba ruaig do*, 'what caused' (Sheehan, *Sean-chaint na nD.* 112), where *thruig* has been confused with a distinct word *rua(i)g*.

From the literature I can quote only *trúig ghuil*, 'a misfortune which causes weeping', 'a cause of weeping', *Aogán Ó Rathile*, 2 ed. 58, and *trúig is cùis trér thionnscnais éad leis*, *ib.* 218.

*Trúig* I take to be the Munster representative of E. Mod. Ir. *turbhaidh*, which became *\*turiig*, with stress on the final syllable, and finally *trúig*; compare *clír* (< *colbar*), *breán* (< *biorán*), *pléar* (< *peiléar*), *cnách* (< *conách*), which are likewise attested in eighteenth-century Munster verse. *Turbhaidh* is commonly explained as 'misfortune', following O'Clery's gloss *i. urb[h]aidh no tubaisde*. More particularly it means an unfortunate event which brings another in its train, or which prevents some other (desirable) event from taking place. Compare *turbhuidh bhróin*, 'a mishap that causes sorrow', 'a cause of sorrow', in a seventeenth-century Kerry poem, 23 L 17, 37 a 2; *beag an turboigh da tig olc*, quoted TD ii 203. 13; *créad an turbhaidh atá ort | gan teacht d'fíachain fear gConnocht?* *ib.* i, 15, § 40. In the Laws *turbaid* means an occurrence (e.g. disease) that makes it impossible

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 23 C 8, 87, which reads *san treódh dhírig*; 23 N 14, 67, which reads *san treo dhíraig*. I may add that Dinneen s.v. *treo* commits at least two errors: he makes the word masc., and takes it to be 'a form of *treabh*'.

to carry out an act within a specified time; see, besides Laws Gloss., d'Arbois de Jubainville, RC vii, 228 f.

*Turbhaidh* is apparently a compound of *to-air-* and O. Ir. *buith*<sup>1</sup>. Compare *urbhaidh*, 'bane', < *air-* + *buith*, and *ubaidh*, Mid. Ir. *epaid*, 'a charm', < *ad-* + *buith* (Thurneysen, Hb. 451).

#### 49. *forú, fora*, 'eyelash'.

In the O.T. (1685) *forrdhubha*, pl. (dat. *-bhuibh*), is common in phrases like *forrdhubha mo shiúl* 'my eyelids' (cf. Job xvi 16, xli 18, Ps. xi 4, Prov. iv 25, vi 4, 25, xxx 13, Jer. ix 18). Lhuyd (App.) has *forrumha*, 'fringes'. Begly has *lamhannadh* [leg. *lámhanna*] *forriúdha*, 'fringed gloves', 263 a, and *cuinnídhe agas forradh tighe*, 'house eaves', 326 b. An example from Scotland occurs in A. McDonald's Vocab. (1741), 20: *forruhdh*, 'a fringe'. At the present day *forú* or *fora* is well known in Connacht in the sense of 'eyelash'. Compare *fora*, pl. *foraidhe*, J. H. Molloy, Gr. 33; *na súile atá aici*, 7 *na foraidhe fada*, Cnoc na nGabha (Ml. Breathnach) i, 51; *sul már leag sí na foraidheacha ar a chéile*, Mac Mic Iasgaire Bhuidhe L. (Ml. Mhag Ruaidhri) 6.

In these variously spelled words I see the Mod. Ir. representative of O. Ir. *forbrú* (gen. and acc. pl., Ml. 39 c 12, 13, 15), 'eyebrow', a compound of the prep. *for* and *brú*<sup>2</sup>, 'eyebrow, eyelid'. The *-b-* was lenited analogically (as in *faircheann*, *forchoimhéad*, etc.), resulting in \**forbhrú*. Finally *-rbhr-* was reduced to *-rr-*<sup>3</sup>, the *bh* being dropped. The Late Mod. Ir. spelling of the word would therefore be *forú*, which, after the comparatively recent reduction of *rr* to *r*, might be further simplified to *forú*.

The form *fora*, used in a considerable part of South Connacht, has a special interest. In Connacht generally unstressed *-adh* became *-abh*, which fell together with historical *-amh*, and is to-day pronounced *ū* in most of the province. In a large part of co. Galway this *-ū* resulting from *-adh*, *-amh*, has been replaced by

<sup>1</sup> Lewis-Pedersen, p 331, analyze it as *to-air-ro-* + *buith*, but this would have given *-rr-* in place of *-r-*.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, Contr. 242, spells the word *brá* (instead of *brú*); this form seems to be attested only in the compounds *brádub* and *bradorchá* in Mesca Ulad (LL 266 a 22, b 43). In Mod. Ir. we find nom. sg. (orig. nom. dual or pl.) *braoi*, Dánta Grádha p. 29. 5. Cf. *a dhá córrbhraoi*, Hackett 11; *go mbraoi* (leg. *gó a braoi*), ib. 29.

<sup>3</sup> So *dearbháthair* became in places \**dearráthair*. This will explain the South Connacht *dreáhir*, and also perhaps the Donegal *deárháir*, which may stand for *dearráthair*, from \**dearráthair*.

-*a* (pronounced *ə*) in comparatively recent times under the influence of neighbouring non-Connacht dialects<sup>1</sup>, so that *cogadh*, *talamh*, are now pronounced *coga*, *talə*, instead of *cogú*, *talú*. This change of pronunciation affected *forrú* (no longer felt as a compound), though in this case the -*ū* was historical and not developed from -*adh* or -*amh*; hence Begly's *forradh*, = *forra*<sup>2</sup> (representing a pronunciation *foRə*), and J. H. Molloy's *fora*<sup>3</sup>.

### 50. *áirdeall*

The word *áirdeall*, m., 'watchfulness, state of being on the alert or look out', is well known in the Irish of Connacht. Cf. *bíonn sé* (=an madadh) *ag áirdeall is ag éisteacht*, Peadar Chois Fháirge 65; *tá mise san áirdeall ort-sa*, Cnoc na nGabha (Ml. Breathnach) ii, 63. It is apparently unknown in the literature.

We may, I think, regard it as a doublet of O. Ir. *airndel*, Mid. Ir. *airnel*, 'a trap (especially for birds)', which is a compound of *air-* and *indel* or *indell*, 'act of preparing, arranging, fixing, setting (snares); a contrivance, apparatus'. Just as O. Ir. *erndail* gave *urdail* (see p. 183) as well as *ernail*, so *airndel(l)* developed a by-form *\*airdell*, the forerunner of the *áirdeall* of to-day.

The basic idea of *áirdeall*, therefore, is being set as a trap, hence figuratively it means being ready for immediate action, being on the alert or on the watch. Compare the very similar uses of *ar (t)inneal* in Munster. The Waterford form *ar inneal* is explained by Sheehan (Sean-chaint na nDéise 96) as 'in good form for work, ready to spring'. The West Munster form *ar tinneal* is explained by O'Leary (Mionchaint iii, 38) as 'set as a trap; on the alert'. Cf. *leac ar tinniol*, 'a flag-stone set up as a trap to catch rats', *ibid.*; *do chuir [sé] an lón ar tinneall arís* (of fixing up a net outside a rabbit-burrow), An tOileánach 73. The figurative use is illustrated in: *bhí cluasa an fheirmeóra ar tinneall féachaint cad a thiocfadh amach as a beul nuair a labharfadh sí*, Clocha Sgáil (Seán Ó Dálaigh) 7.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O'Rahilly, Irish Dialects 66 f.

<sup>2</sup> In Begly's dialect unstressed -*adh* in nouns has the force of -*a* (i.e. *ə*).

<sup>3</sup> Here I may make mention of Manx *ferroogh*, 'eyelid', for which Cregeen gives *firroogh* as plur., as if the word were made up of *fer*, 'man', and a noun in the gen. or an adjective. Cf. *feriugh y húil*, 'his eyelids', Phillips 478, *færughyn my huylyn*, 'mine eyelids', *ib.* 651, where the later text has *ferroogh e hooilllyn* and *ferrooghyn my hooill*, respectively. The word doubtless = Ir. *forbhru*; the -*gh* would be due to the influence of *broogh*, 'brink, bank' (spelled *brúigh* in Phillips, 249), which represents Mid. Ir. *bruāch*, dat. *brúich*.

ADDENDA. P. 146, n. 3. Dr. Knott has called my attention to Mid. Ir. *tinfissiu* in *cen tinfissin n-anāla*, SR 2108, a formation (analogical?) from *tinfed* (cf. *tinfedh andála*, CCath. 2538).

P. 151, l. 16. An earlier example of *ónnacht* occurs in a poem by Gearóid Íarla: *coimes riu do bo onacht* (: *mōrs[h]ruth*), 'it were folly to judge between them', Ferm. 160 b.

P. 160, n. 3. Dr. Knott has reminded me of the modern substantival use of *cadad* in the sense of 'delenition' (IGT pp. 10f., 14f., 26).

P. 168, l. 27. Mod. Ir. and Sc. *treaghaid*, 'shooting pain, gripe,' is fem. But in *teidm tregait*, AU 1011, the word is an *o*-stem.

P. 176, l. 32. With *Cromad* compare *Cambo-ritum*, 'crooked ford', the name of a place in Roman Britain and of several places in Gaul.

The following abbreviated references may require explanation: ÄID= Meyer's *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*. DBR.=Poems of D. Ó Bruadair (ed. Mac Erlean). DG=Dánta Grádha (ed. O'Rahilly). PCT=Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis (ed. Bergin, in Gadelica). R=Rawlinson B 502 (facsimile).

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AN OLD-IRISH TRACT ON THE PRIVILEGES AND  
RESPONSIBILITIES OF POETS  
NOTES (CONTINUED FROM P. 60, *supra*<sup>1</sup>).

PAGE 19. 23. A glossary in H 3. 18 has : *Datán i. aiti*  $\gamma$  *dathnait* i. *a buime*.

*Ib. 24 seq.* The following passage is difficult to reduce to grammatical sequence, but the general purport is suggested by the few intelligible phrases. Athirne is complaining that his *céle*, Borur (who is no doubt referred to on 19. 24 as 'my beloved (or 'loving') whelp') has been killed on a foray into Connacht, and he asks (19. 27) where he shall find compensation (*dire*) for the loss? If only B. had 'met his death in his own province' (19. 28-29)—then apparently there would have been no difficulty; but here the connection becomes obscure. On p. 20. 1-4 the sense seems to be that a *céle*'s duty is to keep close to his lord and not venture into territory in a state of war (cf. 13. 19 : *idir chriochaibh imdergaibh*), 'let him sleep on the fringe of his (lord's) *buaile*, let each (*céle*) keep in his own territory . . . Ill fare the Ulaid if they are beyond the Boyne, it mars (the privilege of) my rank that it was not in Bři my B. was slain'. The moral is repeated in 20. 9-11, see notes below.

*Ib. 29. rocesiodh ceal* 'he had gone to his death'; impf. subj. of *cingim*. See Contribb. s.v. *cel*, which quotes : *roceissed cel* i. *docéimníghed báis*, from a glossary in H 3. 18, 639<sup>a</sup>.

*Ib. 30. mad ina thir rotemhad* : O'Dav. 1090 and also 1554 has *im* for *ina* with (in 1554) *tó* after *rotemhadh* (abbreviated *ro t.t.* in 1090). Athirne seems to be complaining that he cannot recover the *dire* for his *gilla*'s death because he has not met death in his own province or been killed in his (or, reading *im* 'my') own country. The glossary quoted above (19. 23) has : *To i. bas ut est, ma im thir rotemadh to i. damad im thír ro epled sé a mbas. té i. bas, quod tacet omnis in morte*.

*P. 20. 3-11.* The passages *colladh* . . . *melctheme* (3-4) and *bun* . . . *bi* (10-11) are somewhat corruptly quoted as from Bretha Nemeth in a fragment in H 3. 18, 278 (O'C. 560) : *Caidhi in fath asa tabar* .u.ii. *cumala i coirpdire* in *duine* is *urradh* *itir* . . . *Ise fath asa tabar*. *cetarrda* in *cuirp do beth* and  $\gamma$  *treidhi na hanma* . . . *Cidh fodera* *damadh* *he sin in fath*, *gan* .u.ii. *cumala* in *cach e uili*. *Ise fath fodera*, *crich coibdelighes a coirpdire*, *uair ader* : *meser urradh lan meser deoradh leth meser murchairte cethraimthe* *meser daor seachtmadh*. *Ocus ader isna Brethaib Nemeth* : *Totladh ina buailig bru bith caich ina crich crin cach ala methus melgtheme bun caich a cric crin cach crand na bi fo bun a barr bith*. 'Why is a fine of seven cumals due for the *wergeld* of an *urrad* in any case? Because there is a tetrad of the body and a triad of the soul there. Why, then, is it not seven cumals for all? The reason is that territory makes a distinction (cf. Irisches Recht p. 41, n. 13) in *wergeld*, for it says (or is said) : thou

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gwynn had not completed his commentary at the time of his death, so these notes extend only to p. 48, and are not as detailed as he had intended them to be. A few references in square brackets have been added by the editor.—E.K.

shalt value an *urrad* for the whole, a stranger for half, a seawaif for a fourth, a serf for a seventh. And it says in the Bretha Nemed . . .

*Ib.* 12-16. This paragraph seems to be a warning to the poet to be wary about attaching to himself a *céle*, meaning here perhaps a body-servant (like Borur) or perhaps a tenant. *Ni faomha luighech laimhthech* I would render 'Do not accept one given to oaths or venturesome' (*luige*, 'oath'; *laimhthech* 'daring', Tecosca Cormaic, glossary). Omitting the next five words as unintelligible, I would go on: 'If thou take a *céle*, he obscures thy rank. They dependent is not thine own'. Miss Knott suggests reading *t'aithech*: and *aithech* is a possible equivalent for *céle*. The words *táid gach aithech* are cited by O'Dav. 37. They are followed by what seems a sort of logical sorites, whose purport is perhaps that the *aithech* or *céle* is likely to be unschooled (*aineolach*), therefore quarrelsome, therefore senseless. I do not claim exact correctness for this interpretation, but I believe that the point of the whole is, that if a poet 'takes' a *céle*, and the man turns out to have these faults of character, he may bring on his 'head' trouble which will cost him the right to *díre* which is the chief privilege of *nemed*-rank.

*Ib.* 18. Cf. this gloss from H 3. 18, 422 b (O'C. 979): Leo .i. laech ̄ leo .i. gai, *ut est* ni acra iar ngnuin galeoin go .i. noco n-acraimisi corpdire isin fer iarna guin don gha leothach, no don gha ledarthach, uair is go dhamh mada ndernainn. no ga leoin .i. laech leo co nga lais no leo .i. ga.

*P.* 21. 8. *co dogaibh*: cf. *cu-du-*, *co-do-* Bürgsch., pp. 20, 21, and see Irisches Recht p. 11, ÉRIU xii 206.

*Ib.* 9. O'Dav. 1348 interprets *dorn imidrubhaint* as referring to "a blow of the fist which the son of Fachtna son of Rudraige delivered, that is Amorgen's spear, which Laegaire plied upon a man so that he slew him therewith." But according to our text A.'s weapon was his fist.

*Ib.* 15. *lia an Athgno*: see *supra* p. 73 § 150.

*Ib.* 22. Here Athirne warns Tadg (or 'a poet'?) against the stark folly of threatening a blow of his fist in reply to Athirne's tongue, as no man of sense pokes his fist into hot coals. The latter part of the paragraph seems to be concerned with the subject of securities, but I cannot follow the meaning.

*P.* 22. *i seq.* With this series of maxims beginning *dligid* may be compared the short list in *Audacht Morainn* (ZCP xi 84) and the longer one in *Briathra Flainn* (Anecd. iii p. 13). The latter has three sayings which occur also in our text, *viz.*: *dligid fir fortacht*, *dligid claoen* (*claoine*) *condrech*, *dligid maith mórad*.

*Ib.* 1. *dilsí* 'full effect': cf. Cáin Ad. 52: *cen dilsí* 'without full rights'.

*Ib.* 6. *aitherrach* can hardly be right; the alternative *urthraothad* 'suppression' is perhaps vn. of the verb *ar-troitha*, Ml 134<sup>d</sup>3: *mani erthroitar*.

*Ib.* 8-17. *insaig* 'requires', 'calls for'. O'Dav. has the double compound *insaigh*, cf. Wortkunde, 95.

*Ib.* 14: Should one divide *fir brethemain*, understanding 'truth requires a judge to establish it'?

*Ib.* 23. *dlighidh ansruth éigsi go leith*: cf. p. 33. 11, where there is another scale of the claims or values attached to different ranks of poets.

*P.* 23, 5. *cis . . . dligther*, etc., see Introd. p. 4, 20. As to *inbleogan* see Laws, Glossary, and Bürgschaft 36, 3. With *desrigh fial file* cf. Corm. Y 436: *desrith fial filidh*, quoted from *Bretha Nemed*.

*Ib.* 26. This paragraph seems to contain a warning against making a fraudulent contract with persons of *nemed* rank, and also against attending a law court on the 'hill (of meeting)' with intent to defraud a girl. For *tuilche*, gen. of *tuilach* 'hill (of meeting)' see Laws i 174. 29, 176. 9; cf. *isin tulaina dala* iii 404. 17 Comm.

*Ib.* 30. The clause *tre aineolus n-eble* may be regarded as an instance of tmesis. The rest of the paragraph seems to be directed against bribery: 'the great God abominates [illgotten] riches'. For *mainbthe* cf. *mainbthech*, of which the usual sense seems to be 'wealthy, ample'; see *Joynt, Contribb.*, s.v. and *infra* p. 25, 8. Laws, *Glossary* has *mainbthige* 'wealth', but doubtfully, and Atkinson suggests 'treachery'. See *Contribb.* Here a pejorative sense seems required.

P. 24. 8 *seq.* This anecdote was published in ZCP xvii 153-6 with a translation and notes. I take this opportunity to make use of some corrections and suggestions which Professor Thurneysen kindly sent me. He showed me that I had misunderstood the meaning of *ni aclaid*, a term which he had explained in ZCP xvi 222. The brocard *Mad imgaba éices dama, ni aclaid crod a thigi* he has found also in H 3. 18, 453, in a gloss on the *Gú-bretha Caratnia*, and he renders 'Wenn ein Gelehrter Gäste vermeidet, macht das die Habe seines Hauses nicht bussfällig'. Another example of the formula is quoted ZCP xvi 228. Thurneysen regards *conclecht* (l. 16) as a passive form with active meaning.

P. 25. 5. This paragraph has a quasi-metrical structure, with alliterative links between clause and clause. The metrical character is further marked by the repetition of the first sentence at the end. The paragraph beginning *An ecualae coire breith?* (26. 9) is of the same type and shows the same repetition of the initial clause.

*Ib.* 18 *seq.* This poem has been carefully edited in Meyer's *Illinois Studies*, 21-2, with translation and collation of the copies previously printed by Thurneysen in *Ir. Texte* iii 50. 93, and quotations from O'Davoren and the Laws. The last two lines of the poem are here represented only by '7 rl.', but are supplied at p. 27, 8-9.

P. 26. 10. O'Davoren 220 may be taken from this passage but if so, he substituted *ombiudh* 'raw food' for *uidhbhreth na oimbreth*. But the 'caldron' seems to be metaphorical not material. O'Dav. 1119 has *inombligh no toibgid*, but this does not help much in our passage, where *inombligh fior* seems to be contrasted with *i bfairben gaoi* [cf. *ic inblegon creitmi forna cleferaib* RC XX 272; *combo maith noimmulged cretim forru* LU 1006 (ACC 95). E.K.] The whole paragraph is obscure to me.

*Ib.* 17. The tale about Cú Chulainn and the elf Senbecc edited by Meyer in RC vi 182 differs from ours in everything except the conclusion (line 25). According to ZCB xiii 132 § 8 Senbecc's father was *Abcán hua Ebricc in fili*, who is called *Abcán éices* in the *dindshenchas* of Ess Ruaid; see Met. Dinds. iv 4. 42; Dinds. 81. Here *Abcán-sa* = 'I am A.'

In a poem quoted in Petrie's *Tara* p. 156, from a late copy of *Lebor Gabála* (H 1. 15) the monument called *Lighe an abhaic* at Tara gets its name from Senbecc ua Ebric of Segais, so that Senbecc was perhaps originally *Senbecc in t-abacc ua Ebric*. We should then have to regard *Abcán-sa* in our text as meaning 'I am A.' or 'I am the dwarf, my name is S. ua Ebric.'

P. 27. 23. Cf. *asrenar bó ina bhuaillidh* above, line 19. Shall we omit *mbroghiar*, which might be imported by the copyist from the next line? *Caoin* (*cain*) is here used as a preverb followed by a prototonic verb; cp. *cain-dírgither*, *cain-diubarthar* in Laws Glossary.

P. 28. 25. This short paragraph has been printed by R. M. Smith from Eg. 88 in ÉRIU xi 72; but that version wants the heading *Ráth obthar*, which shows that we have to do with a list of persons who are rejected as securities. As the list extends from a bishop to persons of base degree or character, the meaning seems to be that no class is acceptable as security (by Athirne?).

*Ib.* 30. - Another version of this 'Advice' has been edited with translation and Notes by R. M. Smith in ÉRIU xi 73-85 from Eg. 88. This version has glosses which are wanting in our text (except that the words *do comorbaibh trenaib treabhaib* (29, 3-4), are in Eg. part of a gloss. The short paragraph *ib.* 31-34 is substantially the same as 14-15 of Eg. All the matter from p. 29. 16 to 29. 30 is wanting in Eg., while 9-13 in Eg. are wanting in our text. I give here the readings of Eg. as recorded by Smith: P. 28. 32, *ni tualaing*; *ib.* 34, *ní saigh*; 29. 1, *gosingaibh*; *ib.* 1, 3, 6, 10, 12, *Ni bi* (instead of *Ni ba*); *ib.* 6, *nat aorat*; *ib.* 8, *sinnser aoisi iarmotha na ocht mbliadna ochtmoghat ar narab fortaidh for chru*; *ib.* 11, *incoisct (i ccéin om.) a cuimni*, then follow 3½ lines, not in our text; *ib.* 12, *ar do fuaslaice alle arach ar dicetlaib dianaib dubaib dicennaib*.

P. 29. 10, see also ÉRIU xi p. 80 § 7.

*Ib.* 14-20. At this point the 'Advice' is interrupted by four short paragraphs which are occupied with the same subject, securities, but are interpolated out of place.

*Ib.* 14. *uais 7 urgairt*: cf. Laws v 224. 6, 228. 7 and Bürgschaft p. 47 n. 7.

*Ib.* 22. The phrase *Slanad sorrhusa sluinnter* is found in an acephalous fragment in H 3. 18, 261<sup>9</sup>-262, with an explanatory comment, which is closely similar to Laws v 342, last paragraph, as far as 344. 7. The Laws paragraph does not however quote the catchwords *Slanad s.s.l.* Thurneysen (Bürgschaft 45) has translated the paragraph and discussed the matter at issue. He renders the catchwords by 'Die Entschädigung guter Ráth-schaft werde (hier) genannt', and the phrase *soilbech beithech la lög n-imsaetha* which occurs in our text (29. 25) 'eine gut milchende Kuh einschliesslich des Lohns für die Bemühung.' The two paragraphs which here follow the catchwords differ almost entirely from that cited by Thurneysen, but nevertheless have in common with it the phrases *soilbech beithech*, etc. and *rae tae torai*. Perhaps Mac Firbis is borrowing from the 'old legal text' whose former existence Thurneysen postulates (Bürgsch. p. 45. 8).

*Ib.* 31. Eg. (as reported by Smith) has *Gab so dot ae*, which the editor renders 'Take this man for your transaction.' Better (I think) 'Hear this: let there come as surety for thee a man,' etc.

*Ib.* 33. *ní dlegar dhe, deichde a buar* 'He is not in debt, his herd of cows is tenfold'. Smith's rendering 'he owes not more than ten cows' does not seem possible.

P. 30, 21. *Coimperta breth* means presumably 'principles of judgments', though I have not met the word elsewhere so used. The first paragraph (ll. 22-27) enumerates four ranks who enjoy equality of *dire*. With the

words in 24-25 cf. Laws v 474. 11 : *each rig, each eapscoib, each suad . . . is iside condaille comdire friu.*

Ib. 29. *ail* here perhaps means 'word, saying'; cf. O'Dav. 631, and p. 37. 16 *infra*. Cf. also *briathra cóema cumtaigthe* LB 4<sup>b</sup>27. The reference to God's ordaining distinctions among his creatures seems to imply a similar sanction for the ranks of society (*codnae=cotnoi*).

Ib. 31. Read *foichled a nd., a nd.*, and in the next line *ni dosli* 'a matter which involves'.

Ib. 35. *epert ainme* 'telling of a (secret) blemish'; in such cases 'full lög n-enech for a blemish is paid (by the tell-tale) as if it were he who had caused it.'

P. 31, 1-24. These paragraphs are mainly occupied with defining the qualifications essential to poets and other persons of *nemed* rank; but these are connected with rules as to giving or taking bonds. Thus 31, 6 : 'Lay not a bond on a king or poet or church, for it is [a case of] higher rank and [consequent] prohibition if it be not properly bound in respect of each equal rank'—At 31, 8 *ni segaid*= 'do not apply to': cf. *infra*, l. 29: *Cis lir mná fora seghaid cuir?* and ZCP xiii 21. 29 (Bürgsch. § 21): *ni ro chat a nadmann naisce*: translate: 'bonds do not apply to king or church, or scholar or poet save in a matter that concerns the tuath (leg. *tuath* [?]). A *tuath* is not such without a scholar, a church, a poet, a king, who may arrange (?) for *tuaths* as to contracts and treaty law.' Cf. Laws iv 324. 7 : *ar cuiretar a celiu cu[i]r*  $\gamma$  *chairddiu* [Crith Gablach, l. 73, see Dr. Binchy's note, *ad loc.*]. 'A scholar shall not be deemed such, if he cannot chant the Canon aright. A church shall not be deemed such without the mass: a king shall not be deemed such without property'. Cf. *ni bi ri ri gin folia*, Laws iv 380, 13, where is added the gloss *i. do ceilib*  $\gamma$  *buaib*. 'A poet shall be deemed no poet without . . .; if he be of the true stock of the clans of poets. They are entitled to largesse from kings and chieftains . . .'

Ib. 3. The phrase *fodh fir chil* has already met us at p. 20. 22, unfortunately in a context which is obscure to me. With *do gruaidhe gris*, cf. *dia ghruidhe gris* 17. 18. The sense here seems to be that if a poet fails to obtain his lawful due (*a chór chirt*), he may extort it by a satire that blisters the cheek of the person who withholds it.

Ib. 6. *uais*  $\gamma$  *urgart*, cf. note on 29. 14.

Ib. 7. *cumrustar*, pres. subj. pass. of *con-rig*?

Ib. 23. 'How many more who may not be bound? Men without substance or *faor* or *aitiu*'. On *faer* O'Davoren has a curious gloss: : *Faer i. ainm bid* [gen. of *biad*] *doberthar do tigerna isin fogmurr, ut est. faer fuires furnaid[e]. Vel faer i. in molt fogmuir i. iar mbuain.* This looks as if *faer* were some sort of first fruits of the harvest, which were presented to the *tigerna* and (whether substantial or symbolical) were a tribute to his position. As to *aitiu*, which is here connected with *faer*, see Plummer, in ÉRIU x 1222: 'in grants of land, etc. *déitiu* means a grant for a single life, or for the reign of a single king; *aitiu* for two such periods'.

Ib. 30. Translate 'unless her ill deeds are detected against her, for they are taken as the deeds of men. If it be in the presence of her father or her husband, contracts made by her are valid, unless they [her family] object'. As to the legal capacity of women and the control exercised over them by

their 'heads' [male kin], see Binchy's essay in 'Studies in Early Irish Law'.

P. 32, 4. *ni shaidh*, etc. : 'neither fraud nor faulty covenant in her property can affect her lawful dowry'. O'Dav. has *na dilsi*, which Stokes renders 'nor forfeiture'.

*Ib.* 9. Of the eight degrees of poets here named, the first seven are mentioned in the next paragraph but one. The second paragraph on p. 33 adds several more. On p. 32, 12, the *serthonn* is not a *filii* but highest in rank of the established (?) bards (*saoiremh do bhioth-bardaib*). He appears again on 33, 5, and on 43, 11, but it is not easy to discover to which order. Indeed there are so many discrepancies between the lists in this tract, to say nothing of those in other places, such as Laws i 44, that one doubts whether these elaborate schemes really represented institutions composed when this tract was composed.

[*Ib.* 10. Read *ro-segat*; the *-dh* is evidently a scribal error.]

*Ib.* 13. O'Dav. 1166 has the alternative gloss on *lia* : *no imad uisci ut est. g[o]lia ina linn laithrech*. So Stokes, rendering 'with a flood in its muddy pool'. But perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest reading *gach lia ina linn laithrech*, and render 'a man by whom every flood (?) is straightway bound fast in its pool (or foundation)': it being one of the magical powers of the poet, to control fire and water: cf. Laws iii 264, 2, *don ti astas in teine a tellach in tige*.

P. 33, 9. It was one of the privileges of *nemed* rank to 'protect' a certain number of persons of lower standing. See Laws iv 348-20 to 358, 8. Many other references will be found in the Glossary, s.v. *doemim*, *imdichim*, *snaidim*.

*Ib.* 19. The word *dirainn* frequently occurs in the Laws, where it is usually rendered 'wild place'. It is often used in distinction from *sliab* (e.g. in iii 452, 3, 12, 25) or *faithche* iii 452, 21; 454, 7, 10, 13, etc. It also occurs in a phrase *co rud* (i.e. *caill*) *no ecmacht* (i.e. *loch*) *no diraind* (i.e. *sliab*) v 332, 28; cf. iv. 194, 24, and see Plummer's article on *ecmacht* in *ÉRIU* ix 40. In the present case *dirainn* includes open ground (*mag*) moorland (*sliab*) and water (*uisge*), and it seems that any holder of land (*nach tir*) which is deficient in any one of these three 'easements' has a right to supply it from such 'waste' i.e. unappropriated land as may be available. Further he has a right of access to such extension of his original holding under precise conditions as to the roads or paths which he may make across intervening lands. The words *lá nimirce* are so written in the MS., but Miss Knott calls attention to a passage in Laws iv 156: *Comicheach dono bis itir da tir diligid lan imirce; bid seisear umpu, triar o fir tire η araili o fir imirche* 'A co-tenant who is between two lands is entitled to full passage; six persons are to be about them [the cattle], three from the owner of the land and [three] others from the man of the passage [i.e. the man who claims free passage for his beasts]'. See further the Irish commentary *ad loc.* Miss Knott remarks 'Yet *lá n-imirce* seems to give good sense, for there would have to be some fixed time for this cattle-driving over a neighbour's land, surely?' But our passage gives the tenant in question the right to construct *rod do sliab η magh, η bothar do uisce*, and one must assume I think that he would need, for instance, full right of passage to water his cattle daily, and not only on occasional fixed days.

*Ib.* 27-34, 12. These three paragraphs are concerned with rules as to different kinds of security, *gell*, *rath*, *naidm*, especially as they concern poets. The first two state the cases in which the flaith who has given a pledge of some kind is allowed a delay of a certain length in discharging it, without additional charge, but if he fails to redeem his pledge within the time allowed, the pledge is charged with interest, p. 34, 2, *seq.* *Fuillelm*, 'interest', is the verbal noun of *dosli*. A tract in Laws v 376, *seq.* is entitled *Bretha im fuillema gell*: see also Laws iv 18.

P. 34, 13. This paragraph is based on the tale of 'Cormac's Sword,' of which a relatively modern version is told in the text edited by Stokes in Irische Texte iii 199-202 (translated p. 218-220). The sword was in the possession of Socht (son of the famous Fithel) who declared that it had been the sword of Cuchulainn, but was now an heirloom in his own family [*audacht ceneóil* γ *airtri* γ *seanairtri leosom* IT iii 199 § 59]. The steward of Tara, Dubdrenn, coveted the sword and tried to buy it, but Socht refused to sell. Then Dubdrenn made Socht drunk and got a smith to open the hilt, and write in it Dubdrenn's name (§ 64), close it, and then give back the sword to Socht. Three months later Dubdrenn laid a formal claim before Cormac. When both sides have told their stories, Cormac orders the hilt to be opened. Faced by Dubdrenn's name Socht acknowledges that the latter is the lawful owner adding the "the property with its liabilities (*cona chintaib*, § 72) passes from me to thee". Then it appears that the liabilities consist of heavy fines on Dubdrenn and the smith, while the sword is claimed by Cormac as *éric* for his grandfather who had been slain by it (§ 78). Our text draws from this story, but from an earlier version than the extant one, as appears from these points: (1) Cormac's verdict in the tale § 77 is prefaced by the obscure words *Mainech neim naiscid Nere naidm coir combrothaib*. Our text (34, 14), gives these words to Nere, with the reading *caire chombruihaig conberbha in a chrdos crú*, thus connecting the story with the previous paragraph which is occupied with the subject of securities or bonds (*gell*, *raith*, and here *naidm*) (2) it refers (line 16) to the *naidm nacillech* which (Socht) son of Fithel bound round the sword; cf. § 72 [70 ?] of the tale. (3) The words *rohort gaoi ngaoi* (line 17) correspond to *friscoirter gai in gai* of § 66, though the sense is not clear. (4) The words *múr mairbriathar Chormaic* are quoted by O'Dav. 1229 as being taken from *Cert Cloidim Cormaic*, though the words are not found in Stokes' edition. (5) *consich marbh for beo* in line 19 corresponds to § 71, *rodgella marb for biu*.

*Ib.* 21. Of Eochaid *buadach* son of Fergus *dub-détach* I can learn no more than what this passage, with O'Davoren's glosses 1064, and 1563, tell us, namely that he was ruler over certain tribes in the north of Ireland, and was by Cormac's orders imprisoned in Torach (Tory island ?). It seems as if the tribes mentioned (Laimne, Laigne, etc.) all belonged to the Mugraige of the Ulaid; the names show that they are all to be reckoned among the *doer-thuatha*. Cf. O'Clery's gloss on *mughraide*, quoted by Stokes *ad* O'Dav. 1216. I have not found any reference elsewhere to the romantic story of Eochaid's lover, Eithne, who became Fercertne's pupil in poetry, so as to gain admittance to Tara in boy's dress and there recite her lover's wrongs in poetic form: First she sings how the sun is set, and darkness is born, etc., then calls on men to rise up, seize their weapons, swords, shield and

spear, and besiege the fortress [where Eochaid is immured]. This passage is heavily glossed by O'Davoren, but his explanation of *rofne tonn tethrach* is not convincing.

Cormac's law is directed against any one who brings into his *tuath* evildoers, as their accomplice; cf. Cán Ad. 47, for *comláithriu* 'accompliceship', and *comláidre* 'accomplices'; the word perhaps means literally 'with like intention' (*láthar*). Such a person is not protected by high degree 'even though he hold [such degrees] from lowest to highest': In Laws iii 15, y-16, 4, *ð iséal co huasal* is glossed by *ð inol . . . co hor*, which perhaps means literally 'from centre to boundary (circumference)'.

P. 35, 19. In the Introduction (p. 5) a general account has been given of the curious treatise (if one may call it such) which begins at this point and the opinion has been expressed that it is an attempt to give a description of the origin and nature of *ai*. The word is usually translated 'poetry', but here it seems to have a wider significance. The author is concerned to show first the relation of *ai* to *guth* (voice) and breath (*anál*); it is not till p. 38 that we reach the discussion of *ai* itself.

The whole is introduced by the short paragraph headed *Dlíged Sesa* 35. 19 and this is said to be 'from Uraicept na Mac Sesa'. With *mac sesa* cf. O'Dav. 880 . . . *felmac i. mac sesa*  $\gamma$  *mac uadh i. aircetal*. The paragraph is in the rhetorical style which is never very lucid, but it seems to show that the laws of the musical art (*séis*) are to be set forth. The few lines headed *Do dlíged cluáisi* are not more lucid. In l. 28 we should perhaps read *formach* 'increase', for *mac*.

Pp. 36, 1 to 37, 14 are occupied by a series of questions and answers, designed first to distinguish the different kinds of voice (*guth*), and to trace its path through the organs, and its relation to sound (*son*), word (*briathar*), and so on, until it reaches full expression in poetry (*ai, aircetal*). At p. 36, 2, a word seems to be missing before *uad*, which is gen. of *ai*: cf. line 16, *conad fesior . . . ni haoi aisneisi*.

The elaborate series of letters both in text and margin are reproduced from the MS., except that many omitted by the scribe are here printed in square brackets in their proper place [see note on 44. 24 below].

P. 37, 15: In this paragraph we return to the rhetorical style (but the text is at least in part more intelligible than most compositions of this type). The heading seems corrupt: read perhaps *díglaimm* 'minute description' (Contribb.).

P. 38. We now reach the question of the nature of *ai*, introduced by two obscure rhetorical paragraphs. The word *tiasg* seems to be here a noun 'beginning' [see Auraic., Gloss s.v.]; it is so regarded apparently by Mac Firbis, who writes *tiasg aoidh* (*no uadh*) where O'Dav. 1564 has *tiasc ai* (*sic leg. ?*). See also H 3. 18, 358<sup>a</sup>, where a scribe has written above the Introduction to the *Senchas Mór* *In tiasg-so don aincesach* (Abbot-Gwynn Catal. p. 148). But there was also a verb *tiascain*: see Stokes on O'Dav. 1564, and Abbott-Gwynn, p. 359 (on H 3. 18, 357). In the poem on *Uí Echach* 13, (Meyer's ed.) we find *cettiasco* as pres. ind. 1 sg.: but this is a doubtful authority, as the poem is probably a sham antique (O'Rahilly). Compare also the following in H 3. 18, 424<sup>a</sup> (O'C. 985): *Benair aibghitir oghaim b l r  $\gamma$  aibgitir ua[tha] .i. tiasca ai i n-aínim De  $\gamma$  is e a greim*

so .i. cros  $\gamma$  a cur isin *ced* drumaind ar son *apaid* doberar ainm cinadh isin drumaind eile  $\gamma$  ainm cintaigh isin tres drumainn  $\gamma$  moladh isin cethramad drumaind  $\gamma$  in flesc do sadudh don filidh i forba dechmaide trefocail no conadh a forba dechm- ap-

Ma rosechmaill a flesg  $\gamma$  dorinde air is eraic airi uadh masa athgabail rogeb is fiach indligid athgabala uadh.  $\gamma$  And, in a collection of glossed passages O'C. 1464 (< H 3. 18, 651) : Benair aibgitir oghaim  $\gamma$  aibgitir .h. i. tiascail a n-anmaim Dé.

*Ib.* 4. *do-dia* is, as Miss Knott points out, 3 sg. fut. of *doduit*: see Pedersen ii § 718 (2).

*Ib.* 9-10. I suspect that we should read *cen tuarastal*: the meaning seems to be 'For *ai* is entitled to reward, as it suffers not that it should be able to narrate without reward: for every narrative is entitled to its reward'. The other sense of *tuarastal* 'report, description' seems to me to yield no satisfactory sense. This latter meaning is however perhaps preferable in the next paragraph which is a 'description of *ai*'.

*Ib.* 25 (p). (reading *atetha* for *iteatha*) with reply (p) on p. 39. 4, 'What dignity did [does?] it obtain from the king? Thirty cows'; mean, I suppose, that the possession of *ai* entitled a poet to a *lög enech* of that value.

P. 39, 6. *ainm, is*  $\gamma$  *domnus*: cf. IT. iii 122, Met. Dinds. v Gloss, s.v. *domgnas*.

*Ib.* 9. *aoir  $\gamma$  *anaoi* .i. *aor  $\gamma$  *moladh*: that is, *aer* and *molad* are subdivisions of *an-ai*.**

*Ib.* 10 seq. In this paragraph we have a fuller rhetorical description of the nature and functions of *ai*, arranged in clauses with a certain symmetry, and leaning on 'apt alliteration's artful aid'.

*Ib.* 13. The glossators explain *darba* by *cumal* (O'Dav.) or by *imat* (H-glossary, *infra* p. 56 § 38. For *inféd* (*infét*) see ZCP xviii 319 § 3; here= 'describes, tells of'. *insluinne* seems a compound of *slond-*, not given by Pedersen § 829. The usual name is *ai* (l. 18, *ard-aoi*), but other longer names are given to special functions in ll. 23-4, 25 (reading [*a hainm*] *imbi*), 25-26, 26-27, 30. In all these aspects it is considered in relation to the *Tech Mid-chuarta* (ll. 16, 28). In l. 28 *attaoidhe* should perhaps be *astoidi*.

*Ib.* 32. *dirithe* seems participle of *dorenim* as *eirrihi* of *asrenim*, but I cannot follow the meaning of this paragraph.

P. 40, 2. *concesa* looks like a plural preterite passive from the stem *cid-*: see Pedersen ii § 684.

*Ib.* 3. *Ail t̄senma*. O'Dav. 9 gives *guide* as one meaning of *ail*, and Meyer, Contribb. has *dil* 'asking, request'. 'Request for music' is an appropriate heading to the paragraph. *Ail* is therefore feminine, and may be the verbal noun of *diliu* 'I pray', (written in our text *dile*, but in O'Dav. 1444 *ailiu*, and in IT. iii 51 § 94 *ailiu, aliu*); cf. *dilim* 'I wish, desire', Contribb., *addenda*.

*Ib.* 4-5. These two lines are quoted by O'Dav. in three entries, 1444 1095, 1447, part in each. He reads *sernair* [*imbed*] *n-imbais* (unless *imbed* be an insertion due to Stokes). For *cuislenna cōire* he has *cuislennaig c.* and for *dána Aodha* he gives *dano Aed*. The verbs seem to be imperatives: 'Let inspiration be shed [in abundance]; tune the harp, and the harmonious pipes. Let the songs of Aed Slaine be upraised'.

Ib. 5. O'Dav. 1447 states explicitly that *seinnen*, *seona* (*sic*, but also *seafainn* and *sepna*) *sifais*, are respectively present, preterite and future. For *sefna* (or *sepna*), as Stokes remarks, *sephainn* would be expected. Probably *sefna* is a Middle Irish form derived from the plural *sefnatar*.

Ib. 10. This short description of a well-kept house yields more satisfactory sense than usual. I would render 'I pray for a house roofed, sheltered, shining, well-swept (?), that shall not be a house for hounds or beasts : a house wherein is honour and welcome. I pray for an abode lofty, rush-strewn, wherein is down fittingly spread'.

Ib. 13-19. This poem has been edited by Meyer in his Illinois Studies. His text is based on two copies published by Thurneysen among the metrical tracts in IT iii 51 § 94 from Laud 610 and the Book of Ballymote.

Ib. 24-41, 4. I can make little of this composition. The first few lines consist of an apostrophe to the sparkling ale, which foams against Anu's lowlands : it is egg-yellow of hue (27) white-frothing, bright as the eye. Here there seems to occur a sudden change, and we have a series of rhythmic clauses. Alliteration connects the last word of one clause with the first of the next, thus : *condull, caoin* ; *dais, damhach* ; *sabhall, samhond* ; but it is not consistently carried through in the text as it stands. The parallelism of three-syllabled adjectives (*forramhach, aitreibhach, codaltach, guasachtach, forbronach*) also seems to be deliberate.

The meaning is hard to follow ; perhaps the poet is showing us the history of ale, first in the corn-stalk (*ina condull*) then in the corn-rick (*ina dais*), then in the wain (*ina fénuib*) then in the barns (*ina sabhall*) : but here I lose the thread.

P. 41, 12. *esgra n-udmall* = circling cup (?) ; *oisgidh* : cf. Laws iv 188. 10, *mani ro oiscet crich*, which Thurneysen, ZCP xvi 272 translates 'unless they have changed the locality' (das Gebiet gewechselt haben) ; iv 190. 4 has the gloss, *mana elat as a tir*. But this is from *fo-scuich-* according to Ped. ii § 813.

Ib. 14. *fordul* see O'Dav. 884 which quotes this passage and explains *fordul* as *ainm don fleisg bis re beal in esra* . . . *is as mitir sin* i.e. the *fordul* is its measure.

Ib. 16. O'Dav. 616 omits *uadh*, *cotróir* looks like the pret. of *conrir* (Contribb.). see Ped. ii § 713 [and Thurn. ZCP xvi 272-3].

Ib. 18. These phrases 'fairest night, loveliest moon, drop from beaker, coolest of springs . . .' seem to have no grammatical coherence, but are epithets praising Tara's water.

For *deóin* there seems to be no authority in this sense except O'Dav. 669, where *uaraib* seems corrupt. The structure seems to demand *deóraid sruaim/súigte gaoth/cartha flaith/fesgar buarach/donigh saotha/súigte fót/solam iar nddil*.

We might however divide *uairem do deoin deoraid sruaim* 'coolest stream for an outlaw's pleasure ; the wind sucks it up ; the lord loves it, evening and morning ; it washes away troubles ; when it is poured out quickly the sod soaks it in.'

Ib. 21. Cormac (Y) 1135 (*ségamla*) has : *ut est isna Brethaib Neimed : meser bú [ar]a segamlai* (line 30 below) : so that we may conjecture that this whole paragraph comes from *Bretha Nemed*.

*Ib. 22.* O'Dav. 800 has *ina ellam n-ined*; but his explanation of *ellam* seems a mere guess

*Ib. 23.* Read, I think, *mesir iubhar ar ingin* 'measure yew by the nail': the bowyer judges the wood by touch.

*Ib. 24.* I find no authority for *aicde* 'tool', so must accept O'Dav. (Stokes) 'structure'

*Ib. 25.* O'Dav. 1078 has *meser etach asa inde* i. *asa dlus*.

*Ib. 28.* *ara ccetharda.* Has a clause enumerating the 'four things' been omitted? Or is there a reference to some well-known 'four requisites of a smith'?

*Ib. 29.* As *cerda* is here probably used of the embroiderer (to whom *druine* best applies), *idna* must I think mean 'the implements' of his trade, awl, needle, etc.

*Ib. 31.* As to *giallna* see Thurneysen in ZCP xiv 339, 372 and for *frithfolta*, *id.* ZCP xv 343. The latter expression seems here to be equivalent to 'rent-service'. But see Mac Neill's Early Ir. Law ch. vii Clientship.

*Ib. 31.* *leptha ar leth, aptha ar trian.* This phrase is quoted in the commentary in Laws ii 1782 on the words of the text *o leaptha no apta*: *Cret is lepuid ar leth no is aptha ar trian do na deor[ad]uib* ɏ *do na murchuirthi*[b], *uaир nocha nfuil fine aca budein?* *I sedh am is aptha ar trian doib, fine i nurruidh ar ataitt griun.* *I sedh is leptha ar leth imurro cach fine otha sin amach.* It seems that *leptha* and *aptha* denote degrees of responsibility for sheltering or otherwise aiding and abetting a tribeless man who has committed some offence, and that *leptha* denotes the graver and *aptha* the lighter responsibility [cf. *co n-oponar a lepaith* ɏ *a apuith* ZCP xiii 23. 13, rendered 'so dass untersagt wird, ihm Lager oder Wohnung zu gewähren,' Bürgsch. p. 11].

*P. 42, 4.* *ind toimdither fri fiadh nā de-ach.* I take this to mean 'seeing that it is not measured by letter or verse-foot'. Cf. p. 44, 1, *ní dleghar dona bardaib eolus i ffeidhaibh inā i nde-eachuibh.* This latter sentence is cited by O'Dav. 771, where Stokes renders 'knowledge in ogham-trees and in poetic feet'. In these two passages the point is, that the bardic verse is distinguished from *filidecht* proper by being based on 'rhythm (accentual verse)' as against 'metre (syllabic verse)' (p. 42, 4-7).

*Ib. 5.* *arrad*, cf. Auraic. 1822.

*Ib. 8.* This sentence is the same as that which opens the tract on the grades of *soer-baird* and *doer-baird* in IT iii 5 § 2, but after the opening it diverges on a line of its own. The eight grades of *soer-bard* are the same in both though in different order, but our text adds to each name, except *bó-bard*, a definition of his special function.

*Ib. 14.* *adaimh=ad-daimh?* ('which the tuath acknowledges'), *arachan tuath* ɏ *righ* 'whom tuath and kings acclaim' (?). *ar-canaim* seems to imply solemn pronouncement by authority, cf. *arachan fenechus*, Laws iv 240. 10. It means more than 'says' simply, see especially use of *arachet* in i 46. 17 where it= 'has been sung by poets' (this confirms the title of a man's holding) [cf. Bürgsch. p. 20, and ZCP xviii 396 y seq.].

*Ib. 16.* *asé tánaisi n-an[s]rudha* 'being next in rank to the *ansruth*.' For this sense of *tánaise* see Laws Gl.

I can't find *ansoas* (perhaps=án-sós, cf. line 17), 'he has excellent

knowledge of *bairdne* : he utters both correctly and incorrectly in his bardic verse, yet this does not lessen his *díre* in view of his right knowledge'. Cf. ÉRIU xiii 75 § 194, and *ni fuiben enecland*, Laws ii 388. 1. Then the *ansruth*, 'he utters excellent knowledge without breach of (metrical) law which might deprecate bardic art'.

*Ib.* 19. One must suppose that *rigbard* was a title given only to kings who were also bards ('he has both kingdom and *bairdne*'). Of these *Flannagan mac Cellaig for feraib Breg* is no doubt the king whose death is recorded in 896, see Thurn. Zu Ir. Hdschr. i 81, and *Égnechán mac Ddlaigh* is probably the man whose death is recorded in 901 by FM, see also Mann. and Cust. ii 102, Irish Texts i p. 54.

*Ib.* 24. *derb duimh*, etc. O'Dav. 749 quotes this phrase under the word *duim* glossed *doib nō rim*, but proceeds to cite the lemma : *ut est : dlomhar derbduim di creith cain* (*caoin* v.l.) *srothaib*, which might mean 'let there be uttered a sound mass of fair streams of poetry' (or 'of poetry in fair streams').

*Ib.* 30. O'Davoren's quotation of the lemma (750) is surely corrupt; *ochtaib* must be a wrong expansion of *ocht-*, as his own explanation shows : *i. focoislet na hocht saorbaird a ngraídh*  $\sqcap$  *a ndíre airaib*. Apparently he understands *dociallathar* as= 'deprives' or 'obscures'. For *enngus* cf. 44. 4; 18, and O'Dav. 1529. *diolmhain* 'free, unengaged, lawful; not liable', etc., see Sc. Gael. Studies ii 17.

*P.* 43, 1. *dá n-etchett* 'whom accompany' (?), cf. *con-eitgid* 2 pl. pres. ind., Wb. 22<sup>a</sup>26, and *do-da-etet*, Laws iv 190. 10; *do etegar* i. *do inchuitchet* 'migrate', *ib.* 188. 16 [we could read *da n-ētchett* taking the vb. as pl. of *do-ētet* with infixd masc. pronoun, but Dr. Gwynn's explanation is more likely, cf. Laws iv 190. 8, where Meyer, Suppl. to Pedersen, ZCP xviii 341 reads *inetet*, which seems more likely than *metet* (see SM Facs. 14<sup>a</sup>)].

*ib.* 5. *midhidhther*. . . *nair*, quoted O'Dav. 1220, where Stokes translates 'he is adjudged a diadem' etc. But *midither* (sic O'Dav.) cannot be passive.

*ib.* 6 seq. 'N. adjudged the rank [see *neimed*, Contribb.] of every bard as regards the degrees of the Feni' (i.e. not bardic degrees; the object is to regulate the standing of the different bards, both *sōer-b.* and *dōer-b.* as regards the ranks of laymen; thus the *tigernbard* (line 9-10) ranks with the *aire désa*; *serthonn* (11-12) with *aire ard*; *tamhan* (12-13) with *aire túisi*; *bó-bhard* (13-15) with *bóaire*; *buaighnech* (17-18) with *ócaire*).' This does not seem to imply entire equality between the 'grades' thus compared; thus the *ansruth* is entitled only to the half-*díre* of the king (line 11). The *bard buaighnech* (not previously mentioned) is briefly [referred to] in O'Dav. 249. The *serthonn* is mentioned above 32. 12; 33. 5, and O'Dav. 1425 [cf. *díre serthuind* in a rhetorical passage, O'Don. 2195 (< Nero A vii 135<sup>b</sup>)].

*ib.* 19. *do-grinn*, O'Dav. 617 glosses this by *tobach* 'levying'. For the lemma he has . . . *do grinn co tri certle cum*, cf. *ib.* 570: *comnadma* i. *comdatha nō cutruma ut est do grinn co teora crith comnadma*. The limit to 'three spools' length' seems chosen as a token of the *drisiuc*'s comparative unimportance. Yet he can pursue so far even *echtar chrioche imdhearga* (for these see *supra* p. 13, 23-24).

*ib.* 33. *ar an ní* [= *arindí*]. For the terms *lanchubaid*, *salchubaid*, etc. see Auraic., Index.

*ib.* 2-44, 1. Cf. note on 42, 4.

P. 44, 9-10. This *rann* is quoted IT iii 18 § 47; also *ib.* 46 § 69, with *Ros(s)ach* for *Rossa*, *rastuigithear*, *rostugeth-*, *dustuigedar*, *dostucedar* for *rosuidhighter*, *tathig*, *taidig* for *teg*

*ib.* 22. *aigille=aicilne* 'tenancy' Contribb. Its meaning is exactly defined by Corm. s.v. (Y 81). [see also Thurn., ZCP xiv 339].

*ib.* 24. The nature of the change which occurs in the MS. at this point, and the relation of what follows to *Córus Bretha* [sic] Nemed in Nero vii have been set forth above on pp. 6 and 7 of my Introduction. But there are innumerable minor differences between that version and ours which could not be exhibited without printing Nero *in extenso*. For this I cannot afford space, and if such a comparison were attempted, I doubt whether much would be gained, as the paragraphs on which the commentary is founded are extremely obscure.

I may explain that the small letters in the margin and body of our text are copied from our MS, and refer first from a word or phrase in the paragraph to the commentary thereon, and secondly, are placed in the margin opposite the required word in the commentary (when these letters are omitted or illegible in the MS they are supplied here in < >).

P. 47, 6. *munab ór Aiffir nEtblaith n-eudaidh* (glossed on 1. 19 below *munae feudae sibh ór nAiffir* 7 *n* 7 *órnEbluaid*). Professor Bergin points out that the name *Aiffir* is taken from the Old Testament, see 1 Chron. ix 28 and x 11; aurum de Ophir, and the origin of the name *Ebluaid* is similarly to be sought in Genesis ii 11-12; [fluvius] qui circuit omnem terram Hevilath ubi nascitur aurum; et aurum illius terrae optimum est.

P. 48, 14. The reading *faigett* is doubtful, but cf. Arch. iii 293. 6, and Auraic. 1932, where Thurneysen, ZCP xvii 228, would read *faicill*.

[P. 52, 7-8. *edir agus caindell*: cf. the following commentary on *fo dhébt in righthighi* (FB 13; *fo díbt* LU 8187): inann sin 7 in fordorus 7 in tairrsech, uair isiat sin in da chrann tara téid na bf amuich 7 amach. is aire sin atberar crainn b1 friu uair adeir is in bretha nemhe, itir crand mbi 7 in chainnell O'C. 1322 (CH 3. 18, 608). ZCP iv 153 n.]

ADDENDA: P. 6. As to *Corus Bretha Nemed* see also R. Smith in ZCP xvii 407.

P. 13, 5. *taisic . . . glantair*: a very corrupt version of this is found in BB 305<sup>b</sup>35, see ZCP xix 197.

P. 14, 28: For *Dub dhuanach* see ZCP vii 300.

P. 225, 4th line from foot: 'the poem on *Uí Echach*' was published by Meyer in Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1919, p. 89 seq.

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