ÉRIU

FOUNDED AS THE JOURNAL OF THE SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING

DEVOTED TO IRISH PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOL. XXVI

EDITED BY
DAVID GREENE AND PROINSIAS MAC CANA

Price
FIVE POUNDS

DUBLIN
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
1975

ÉRIU was founded in 1904 as the journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin. In 1926 the School was incorporated in the Royal Irish Academy, which undertook to continue publication of the journal under the same title and in the same format. It was originally published in two half-yearly parts making up a volume, but the interval between parts lengthened after Vol. III. It is now published annually.

Contributions should be submitted to the Editors at the Academy. Contributors receive gratis one copy of the volume in which their article is published, and 25 off-prints.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for *Ériu* should be sent to the Executive Secretary of the Academy.

BACK NUMBERS of all parts and volumes of *Ériu* will shortly be available at the price of £1 per part and £2 per volume up to and including Vol. XXII, and £3 for Vols. XXIII and XXIV. The price of Vol. XXV is £5.

EXCHANGES of other periodicals for *Ériu* will be considered. Enquiries should be addressed to the Librarian of the Academy.

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
19 DAWSON STREET
DUBLIN 2

ÉRIU

FOUNDED AS THE JOURNAL OF THE SCHOOL OF IRISH LEARNING

DEVOTED TO IRISH PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOL. XXVI

EDITED BY
DAVID GREENE AND PROINSIAS MAC CANA

DUBLIN
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
1975

The costs of publishing this volume of *Ériu* have been partially defrayed out of the Richard D'Alton Memorial Fund of the Royal Irish Academy.

PRINTED IN IRELAND
AT THE DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS
TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

CONTENTS

STUDIES IN THE ORIGINS OF EARLY CELTIC TRADITIONS*

1. *Water and Wisdom*

IN his *Celt and Hindu* (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* I, 2, pp. 203ff.) Myles Dillon has drawn attention to similarities between Celtic and Indian tradition concerning rivers and lakes as sources of truth, wisdom and poetic knowledge. The subject has been discussed also by T. F. O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, pp. 318ff. who refers to parallels in Germanic tradition. In *OCECC* II, p. 7, n.8, I have added to this theme the Babylonian *Ea*, the god of water and wisdom. I shall now deal with this subject more explicitly. Let us first consider the theme of the water as a source of poetic inspiration.

RV 10, 5, 1, *ekaḥ samudro dharuṇo rayīnām asmad dhṛdo bhūrijanmā vi caṣṭe; . . . utsasya madhye nihitam padam veḥ* "the one ocean, the holder of riches, the prolific creator, shines (Geldner 'speaks') from our heart; . . . in the centre of the well is hidden the track of the bird". In a note to his translation Geldner[1] explains that the ocean (*samudra-*) is here the ocean in the heart, the ultimate source of a seer's comprehension from which he draws his poetic knowledge. The same idea is expressed, as Geldner indicates, in the following verses of the Rigveda:

RV 10, 89, 4 *Indrāya giro aniśita-sargā apáḥ pra īrayam sagarasya budhnāt* "To Indra I send the hymns of praise (*giraḥ*), the waters (*apáḥ*), which flow restlessly from the bottom of the ocean (*sagarasya budhnāt*)".

RV 10, 177, 1 *Patamgam aktam asurasya māyayā hṛdā paśyanti manasā vipaścitaḥ. samudre antaḥ kavayo vi cakṣate, marīcīnām padam ichanti vedhasaḥ* "Those who are inspired (*vipaścitaḥ*) perceive in their heart and mind the bird anointed with the magic of Asura (the divine spirit). Into the interior of the ocean do the seers see; the masters (*vedhasaḥ*) seek the path of the rays of light (*marīcīnām*)".

RV 4, 58, 5 *etā arṣanti hṛdyāt samudrāt* . . . "They (the streams of ghee) flow from the ocean in the heart . . .". According to Geldner,

* A sequel to *Studies in the Origins of the Celts and of Early Celtic Civilisation* (Belfast-Tübingen 1971), abbreviated *OCECC* in this paper. Further abbreviations in this article are: Jacobsen, *Essays* = Th. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture* (1970). *RV* = Rigveda. *SAK* = Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (1907). *AfO* = *Archiv. für Orientforschung*. *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. *SAHG* = v. Soden and Falkenstein, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (1953). *EECL* = P. L. Henry, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (1966).

[1] *Der Rigveda* iii, p. 126.

Der Rigveda, i, p. 488, *samudra-* is here the ocean into which the soma (-plant?) has been pressed.

In the extract known as "*Privileges of the poets . . .*" (ed. Gwynn, *Ériu* xiii) we find the following maxim (p. 25, ll. 20–21): *sías lulgach láinmesa ar ler laoidhe léirighther*. Another version of this is found in *AL* v. p. 62, ll. 17f. (text of the commentator): *saigid lulgaigh lān-mesaig ar leir-laidh lēirigter*, which the translators of the *AL* understand as "he receives (better: claims) a milch-cow of full value for a clearly manifested lay". The sentence, shrouded in what is known as "archaic O.Ir." syntax belongs to a paragraph dealing with prices of poems. In comparing the reading of *Ériu* xiii, 25, ll. 20–21, with that of *AL* v, 62, ll. 17–18, it becomes obvious that the commentator misunderstood the sentence which, following the text of *Ériu* xiii, can only mean "(he claims) a milch cow of top quality for a lay which is made clear (composed) before (at) the sea (*ar ler*)." In O.Ir. prose syntax the text would read: . . . *lulgech láinmesa laíd* (prepositionless dative) *lérigther ar ler*.[2]

A passage from *Imacallam in dá Thuarad* supports our interpretation (*LL* 24202): *ar bá baile fallsigthe éicsi do grés lasna filedu for brú uisci* "For the poets deemed that on the brink of water it was always a place of revelation of (poetic) science".

The fact that the composition of a *laíd* was attributed to a *doss*-poet, i.e. a poet of minor ranking, could be due to a later development. In the sagas a *laíd* is frequently said to be recited or composed by a hero or warrior (*RIA Contrr.* L, p. 24).

The well of *Segais* (i.e. the source of the river Boyne) out of which the Irish poets (*filid*) drink their science,[3] the Indian *khā ṛtasya* "the well of Truth" (*RV* 2, 28, 5; *OCECC II*, p. 7, n. 8), and the Norse *Mímisbrunnr* "where wisdom and knowledge is hidden"[4] and from which Odinn has drawn his omniscience, provide a general background for our Irish quotations, while a mythological explanation of the theme itself is provided not only by Indian but also, as I hope to demonstrate here, by ancient Mesopotamian sources. In *RV* 10, 5, 1

[2] For final position of the relative verb in "archaic O.Ir." cf. *Festschrift Pokorny* pp. 289, 291, 292 and passim. Chain-alliteration is typical of this kind of rhythmical prose. The sentence has also been misunderstood by the editors of *RIA Contrr.* L, p. 91.

[3] cf. the "kennings" for *fili* in *Im. in dá Thúar.* (*LL* 24387 ff.): *fithe cerda* "a weft of art", *comrar dána* "a shrine of poetry", *dramm de muir* "an (intoxicating) draught from the sea" (cf. the gloss: *is dirim in muir-se na hécsi* "this sea of poetic knowledge is boundless"). For another transl. of *dramm* cf. *RIA Contrr.* D p. 389; the idea remains, however, unchanged (I take *dramm* to be derived from the same stem as Germanic **drag-* Norse *draga*, E. *draw*; cf. German "ein Zug" = "Ein Schluck"). *Ler forcetail*, one of the fourteen streams of *éicse* "poetic science" (*LL* 3899), must mean "the sea of instruction" (cf. *RIA Contrr.* L. p. 110).

[4] *Snorra Edda* (ed. Jónsson, 1900), *Gylfaginning*, § 14.

samudra- "the ocean" is called "holder of riches" (*dharuṇo rayīnām*, cf. our text at the beginning of this article) and "prolific creator" (*bhūri-janmā*); in 10, 89, 4, the hymns of praise are equated with the rivers which flow restlessly from the bottom of the *sagara-* (another, rather obscure word for the ocean). What is meant here is probably not the sea but the bottom of the fresh water under the earth from which creation and fertility derives in India. That poets should seek the substance of their science in the same place is not unnatural. The association of poetic wisdom with the source of fresh water and also with the fruits of the earth is expressed, as we have already indicated, in Irish tradition by the well of *Segais* and the nuts of wisdom out of which the poets drink the inspiring water of the well (nuts and fruits of the forest are important food stuff in ancient Ireland). For the salmon of wisdom from which the all-knowing *Finn* has drawn his knowledge cf. O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, 329f.

In Vedic literature *Prajā-pati-* "the lord of creation (or of creatures)", the primeval god, is called" the golden rod which stands in the water"; he has put into the waters (*āpas*) the golden germ or the golden egg; he is also called "flower of the water". In *RV* 4, 58, 5, the golden rod is meant to be the Soma-plant as the fertilizer of a seer's or poet's thought.[5] In *RV* 10, 121, a riddle of which each stanza ends with the question "who is the god whom we shall serve with sacrifice?" and answered in the final stanza (perhaps added by a later scribe) with *Prajā-pati-*, there is reference to the primeval *āpas* "waters" containing the germ from which the whole world was created (stanza 7); according to other traditions the waters contained the embryo of the world (Geldner iii, p. 348, n. 7a). The symbol of the golden germ or the golden egg reminds of the nuts out of which the Irish seers drink the water of *Segais*, the well of ultimate knowledge and wisdom. Stanza 2 of our Indian hymn, in revealing the god's omniscience, tells us that *Prajā-pati*, the giver of life (*ātma-dāḥ*) and strength (*bala-dāḥ*), whose shadow (*chāyā*) is immortality and death, was sought for advice (*praśiṣ-*) by all (*viśve*) including the gods (*devāḥ*). The picture of *Prajāpati-* derived from Vedic and other sources bears close similarities to that of the Sumerian god *Enki* "Lord of the Earth" and as such creator of all that grows, who has been equated by the Semitic Babylonians with their *Ea*. As a matter of fact *Prajā-pati-* could well be an interpretation of the Sumerian name (note also *RV* 4, 53, 2 where *Savitā* is called *bhuvanasya*

[5] cf. Geldner, *Rigveda* i, p. 489, n. 5d.

prajāpatiḥ "lord of the beings of the world").[6] In Sumerian hymns[7] Enki is called *en abzu* "lord of the Abyss (i.e. his fresh water realm on the bottom of the earth)"[8]. Enki's most important attribute is his omniscience by which he distinguishes himself among the gods of the Sumerian Pantheon. Lugalzaggisi, one of the early kings is "endowed with Enki's wisdom" (*SAK*, p. 155, 17–18). His palace (*é-mah* "great house") is the place where "Enki listens to the country" (Deimel, p. 249, II.24). "His intention is inscrutable (*ša-sù-ud*), he knows everything" (*nì-nam-zu;* Falkenstein, *ZA* 15, p. 112). Among his epithets we find *en-geštú-ga* "lord of intellect", *en-geštú-dagal-la* "lord of the wide intellect" (Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* I, p. 32). One of the earliest historical kings of Sumer is called *Lugal-ša(g)-engur* "king of the interior of the Engur" (*SAK* p. 2), a name which is intended to manifest the king's wisdom, because *engur* expresses the same idea as *abzu* and is, therefore, closely linked with Enki. The idea of the bottom of the earth, the sources of the fresh water being the source of wisdom is well established in Mesopotamia by the middle of the third millennium B.C. To find a cognate philosophy in Vedic literature is not surprising considering the fact that there must have existed, early in the second millennium B.C., direct contacts between Indo-Iranians and the Mesopotamian world. The worship of a god of the water-ground of the earth, of wells, springs, lakes, and marshes as the ultimate sorce of life and creation derives directly from the physical conditions of the countries involved. Having found the idea of great wisdom being "hidden" in wells in Celtic as well as in Germanic tradition (cf. the well of *Segais* and the *Mímis Brunnr.*[9]) we may now examine the possibility of tracing a counterpart of the Babylonian *Enki* in Northern Europe.[9a] I must confine myself, however, to an examination of Irish material.

[6] I take the strong view that certain elements of the Rigveda (especially in the tenth book) have historical connections with Ancient Mesopotamia.

[7] My sources are a hymn published in Deimel's Summerische Grammatik², pp. 246ff., and translation and text of a hymn published by A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *SAHG*, p. 109ff.; text in *ZA* 15, 112ff.

[8] Also *lugal abzuka* "king of the *abzu*" (*SAK* p. 14, § 19).

[9] Cf. also the Indian term *khā ṛtasya* "the well of truth" *RV* 2, 28, 5 (cf. *OCECC* II, p. 7, n. 8).

[9a] If Fick's explanation of *Poseidon* is correct (< **potei dās* "O Lord of the Earth", vocative) the name of this god looks like a translation of the Sumerian *En-ki* ("Lord of the Earth"); cf., however, also Hamp, *Minos* 9, pp. 198ff., 10, pp. 93ff., and Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (1973), p. 309. The close connection of the Greek god of the sea with the earth is revealed in his epithets ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων. The importance of the bull-sacrifice in the Poseidon-cult at Pylos points strongly to an early Mesopotamian connection (cf. V. and Chadw., op. cit. p. 280). Among the offerings made to Poseidon at Pylos a Linear B text mentions two rams (op. cit. p. 283). For a possible significance of this feature cf. note 13 below. In the Mycenaean world the "Lord of the Earth" became a god of the sea.

In Mediaeval Celtic literature we find a most prominent figure connected with the sea, namely the Ir. *Manannán* and the Welsh *Manawydan*, both of whom are called "Son of the Sea" (Ir. *mac Lir*, W. *Mab Llyr*). For their names cf. *ZCP* xxxiii 4. In the third branch of the Mabinogi *Manawydan* is described as a superior craftsman of various kinds of skill;[10] he also overcomes all magical tricks played by his opponents. *Sanas Cormaic* (No. 896) describes the Irish *Manannán* as a merchant "who used to know on account of his 'meteorological knowledge' (*nemgnacht*) whether the weather was to be good or bad". Of his son the old poem of *Imram Brain* tells us that "he will tell in the course of his wisdom the mysteries in the world" (st. 20). While P. L. Henry, *EECL*, p. 46, following A. Nutt, remarks that this poem shows "an incongruous leavening of Christian elements", a view which seems to be shared by P. Mac Cana (*Ériu* xxiii 120f., *ÉC* xiii 101f.) J. Carney considers it as, "from beginning to end, a thoroughly Christian poem". There can be hardly any doubt, however, that the figure of *Manannán* himself and at least a substantial part of the description of his sea-realm[11] must be drawn from native material. In the light of our inquiry into the Sumerian *Enki* and the Indian *Prajāpati* the following passages of this poem, the composition of which has been dated early in the 8th century, are of special interest.[12]

In st. 5 M. says of the ocean, his realm, that "it has strewn forth yellow and green; it is solid earth (*is talam nād ēcomrass*)"; st. 6: "speckled salmon leap out of it, from the womb, the white sea upon which you look; they are calves, they are lovely lambs". In the next stanza (7) he tells *Bran* that, although there was only one warrior (chariot-fighter, namely M. himself) visible to him, the "many-flowered *Mag Meld*", M.'s abode, housed many other horses (and their fighters) beside him, indicating that his realm was well populated. The description of his abode as a *dún o thossuch dúili* "a city from the beginning of creatures" (st. 12), could fit *Enki*'s and *Prajāpati*'s houses. That M.'s original abode was not the sea-water is brought out in st. 4, where he says that "flowers pour forth a stream of honey from the country (*crích*) of *Manannán Mac Lir*". One may compare

[10] In Mesopotamia Enki is the lord of all crafts and arts, cf. the myth "Inanna und Enki", ed. G. Farber-Flügge, Rome 1973).

[11] Like Enki's palace (*é-engurra* "The house of the Engur", *é* ^{d}*Enkige* "The house of Enki") *Manannán's* palace is called "house" (*Tech Manannāin Muaidh*, Hogan, *Onomasticon Goidelicum* p. 625; *ZCP* xxxiii 10).

[12] I may take here the opportunity of drawing attention to a line of this poem which has been misunderstood by scholars: Murphy, *EIL*, p. 96, translates 16c: *recht find fu-glōisfe muire* by "a blessed law shall stir the sea", which makes little or no sense. I take *muire* to mean "chieftain" (not "seas") and translate: "the chieftain will set in motion (execute) a prosperous law".

Enki's house which "is abundantly supplied with honey" (*SAHG* p. 134) or "the streams of ghee" ("clarified butter", sometimes linked with the adjective *madhu-* "sweet"), which in *RV* 4, 58, 5 "flow from the ocean", or the *soma*-plant yielding the sweet *soma*-liquor which is connected, as we have seen earlier on, with *Prajāpati*. Of *Enki* is said (*SAHG* p. 110) that he is a provider of food and drink for the people who live as far as the border of the earth. In st. 11 M. speaks of a "wood covered with blossom and fruit upon which used to be the vine's true fragrance". Of *Manannán*'s son, apparently his incarnation, is said (st. 21) that "he shall be in the shape of every beast both of blue sea and on land" (*bieid hi fethol cech mīl itir glasmuir ocus tīr*). Older, non-human forms of the Sumerian Enki survive in his emblem, the ibex. Other emblems of his are a goat, the body of which tapers into that of a fish, and a ram-headed curved stick.[13] In the Irish poem (stanzas 21–22) the dragon, the silver-horned stag (cf. Enki's *ibex!*), the wolf and the salmon are specially mentioned. On the close connection of *Enki* with the birds of water and marshes cf. "The fable of the Heron and the Turtle", recently published in *AfO* xxiv 51ff.

The earthly function of the W. *Manawydan* as a cultivator, a function which also applies to *Enki*, is brought out in *PKM* 58ff., where he is described as bringing a bundle of wheat (*beich o wenith*) to Dyuet in order to cultivate the land: "he began to accustom himself with catching fish and hunting animals in their lairs; after that, he began to dig the ground, and after that, to sow a field, and another one and a third one. And behold the wheat was rising best in the world,

[13] These emblems are also, as Jacobsen (*Essays* p. 22) suggests, "older nonhuman forms of the god". A text recorded by J. Lukas in "A Study of the Kanuri Language" (Oxford Univ. Press 1937), pp. 167f. (transl. on pp. 175f.), relates that the people of Bornu (west of Lake Chad) believe in a water-demon called Ngamaram who" dwells at the bottom of wells and in big rivers . . . He resembles a ram in form. Long hair covers him all over and he has four feet". Another text reveals (op. cit. pp. 170f., transl. on pp. 177f.) that the same people considered the river which flows near Yerwa, the old residence of the kings of Bornu, as a food- and life-bestowing divine element: "Some women perform fetish practices saying: "We want a child" . . . For instance they loosen their underclothes and put them on the ground, sit down naked in front of the river until the first waves of the river reach them and roll away under them. Again others scoop up a large mass of foam from the surface and . . . rub their bodies with it. At the source of the river there are some men who perform fetish practices. When the river begins to flow they . . . say to the people: "This year the river has brought much prosperity" or: "has brought little prosperity" or: "health" or: "illness", and generally whatever they say comes true".

The ram being also one of Enki's emblems it seems to me possible that at least phenomenologically African tradition preserves in these Bornu superstitions an archaic, prehistoric form of the Sumerian god Enki. I may add that A. Drexel has tried some time ago to compare Sumerian with Kanuri ("Bornu und Sumer", *Anthropos* 14–15, pp. 215–294).

and his three fields prospered so that no man ever saw better wheat". In an Irish saga *Manannán* appears in possession of the pigs, "which, though killed and eaten today, are alive and ready to suffer the same fate on the morrow" (O'Rah., *EIHM* p. 122).[14]

It would be difficult to understand these references to *Manannán*'s (and *Manawydan*'s) connection with the creatures and fruits of the earth if we considered him merely as a god of the sea. It may be that the people of the British Isles translated the rather "vertical" *Enki/Ea, Prajāpati,* whose abode was sought under the earth manifesting itself in the fresh groundwater, the rivers, islands and marshes, into a "horizontal" sealord whose splendid realm was thought to be on a distant island in the sea or the sea itself. Such a development would have been natural on the British Isles.[15]

In the Mabinogi-cycle *Manawydan* is the brother of *Bendigeidvran,* whose head was buried in London and as long as it was there with its face towards France no invasion across the sea were to be suffered by the island of Britain (*PKM* 47, 49). For the head as a symbol of wisdom and knowledge cf. O'Rahilly, *EIHM,* 281f., and *OCECC* III, p. 56 (cf. also *Mims höfuð* Völospá 46). In Irish literature, *Bran,* the counterpart of the Welsh *Bendigeid-fran* ("Blessed Bran"), is a lone navigator in pursuit of The Happy Otherworld. He is met on his journey by *Manannán,* the lord of the sea, who describes himself as overlord of the beautiful *Mag Meld.* In combining Irish and Welsh tradition it is most probable that *Manannán/Manawydan* and *Bran* are ultimately one and the same divinity. Twin-divinities are well-known in various mythologies, cf. *Óðinn* and *Mímr* in Norse, *Dagde* and *Midir* in Irish, *Mitrā-Varuṇā* in Vedic and the *Dioscuri*

[14] They may be the same pigs which according to the fourth branch of the Mabinogi came from *Annwfn* (*PKM.* p. 68). As I. Williams has shown (*PKM.* p. 100) *Annwfn,* though generally translated as "Otherworld", was the world *is eluyd,* i.e. "the world under the earth". It has been explained as "Not-world" or as "In-world" (loc. cit.), but both explanations are formally difficult to defend. I take it to consist of *an-* (negative prefix, here in the meaning "immensely" [cf. *angerdd* "great craft", *PKM.* pp. 264, 297]) and *dwfn* "deep"; for a semantic parallel cf. German *Untiefe* "great depth". If this is correct *Annwfn* expresses the same idea as Sumerian *abzu,* Akkadian *apsū* and Greek ἄβυσσος "abyss". That "domestic animals in general were believed to come from the Otherworld" (Gruffydd, *Math Vab Math.* p. 330) becomes logical if we substitute "Netherworld" (world under the earth) for "Otherworld". In Celtic as well as in Sumerian and Indian belief the germ from which plants and creatures generated was believed to be deposited deep under the earth. Finally, I take the Irish term *síde,* the world of the fairies, to belong to the same general mythological theme as the W. *Annwfn,* the Sumerian *Enki/Abzu* and the Indian *Prajāpati.*

[15] It may be noted, however, that in Mesopotamian tradition *abzu/apsū* denotes also the waters on the surface of the earth, such as that of a river or swamp (cf. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* sub *apsū*) and that Enki was also called *En-uru* "Lord Reed Bundle", after the reed bundles out of which was constructed the reed hut in which the rites were performed, cf. Jacobsen, *Essays,* pp. 22, 360ff.

in what could be described as I. Eur. mythology. This feature is, however, not confined to "I. Eur." mythology. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (1955) I, p. 51 (and n. 2) explains that in Ugaritic mythology "some gods have names of the type A-and-B, which apparently arose by identifying and combining names in the pantheon or in some cases by combining a god's name with one of his epithets . . . . The names can be split for use in poetic parallelism"; (n. 2) "the fusing of two names into one is widespread in time and area. It is particularly common in ancient Near East divine names" (referring also to the Egyptian *Amon-Re*).[16] In Irish *Dagde* must have been originally an epithet (cf. *OCECC* I, p. 247, n. 110) and the same could apply to Ir. and W. *Bran* meaning "raven"; for the association of the raven with the god of wisdom cf. *OCECC* II p. 24. For further evidence that *Bran* and *Manannán* were originally one and the same divinity we may remember that *Bran* is *Mac Febail* "the son of *Febal*". In Irish *Febal* (also spelt *feball*) occurs as a river-name and in *Lough Foyle* at Derry (Hogan, *Onom. Goed.* p. 407); it has been identified by O'Brien, *Celtica* ix, p. 212, with W. *gwefl* "lip", an original meaning which suits perfectly the name of a large estuary such as *Lough Foyle*. The fact that *febal* is not known as a common noun in Irish speaks for its antiquity in names such as *Mac Febail;* it also indicates that the original *Bran* (the Raven god of water and wisdom) may have been associated with estuaries and rivers.[17]

Mac Cana, *Ériu* xxiii 139, n. 2, asks cautiously whether it is a mere coincidence "that the name *Rónán*, like *Mongán* (both of whom are claimed by *Manannán* as his sons), seems to connote a connection with the sea". In *Imram Brain Mongán* is acknowledged by *Fiachna* as his son, a procedure by which in Insular Celtic tradition the direct descendent of the god is adopted as a historical chieftain. *Fiachna* is perhaps derived from *fiach* "raven"[17a] (*fiach* < **wesākos*, *IEW* 1171,

[16] It may be noteworthy that the so-called "ellyptic" dual of the type *Mitrā* i.e. "Mitra- and Varuna-" (Delbrück, *Aind. Syntax* p. 98) seems to have Sumerian and Semitic parallels, cf. Van Dijk, *Sumer. Götterlieder* II, p. 24, n. 41, who quotes Sum. *Mèšlamtaèa minaba* "the two Mešlamta'ea (i.e. M. and another, associated god)" and Arabic *qamarāni* "the two moons (i.e. "the moon and the sun")".

[17] For another deity connected with "water and wisdom" cf. O'Rah., *EIHM* p. 321 (Old Brythonic *Nodons*, O.Ir. *Nuado* [cf. Gothic *nuta* "fisherman"]).

[17a] Professor Greene rejects this derivation on the grounds that syncopated derivatives of *fiach* (disyllabic, cf. Sc.G. *fitheach*) should have a short *e* in their first syllable (cf. the pers. name *Fechīne*). There exists, however, an adjective *fiachdae* "raven-like", which in *Sanas Cormaic* No. 105 is used to glossate *brandae*. I may further draw attention to an entry in *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (ed. O'Brien). p. 209 (150a 13): *Fiannamail m. Fiachnae* (*Fechīn*, LL) *m. Brain* . . . , which suggests that at least synchronically the Irish related *Fiachnae* to *fiach* "raven". Derivatives like *Fechīn* (O'Brien, in his index op. cit. p. 627, writes *Fēchīn Fechīne*!) look younger than the derivative *Fiachnae*, which may follow, therefore, a different phonological rule.

Fiachna < **wesākonios* or **wesākūnios* meaning "belonging to **Wesākūnos* i.e. The Divine Raven").[18]

In *RV* 10, 5, 1, quoted at the beginning of this article, there is reference to "the track of the bird, hidden in the source of the ocean"; in 10, 177, 1, this bird, "anointed with the magic of *Asura* (the divine spirit)", is described as being "perceived by the seers in their heart and mind". The bird-motif[19] has been treated extensively by P. L. Henry in his *EECL* (cf. his index). He refers (p. 26) to the featherlike *tuigen*, the dress of the Irish *fili* ("likewise prophet and poet originally"), described in *Sanas Cormaic* No. 1231 and in other sources. In this context I may also refer to the heron, a typical bird of the marshes, whose place in Irish Folklore and Mythology I have discussed in *ZCP* xxix 301ff. In Sumerian tradition all the birds of the marshes are closely associated with *Enki*, the heron playing a major part in it (cf. *AfO* xxiv, p. 54).

In his *Essays* Th. Jacobsen suggests (p. 22) that *Abzu*, the splendid fresh-water abode of *Enki* "the lord of the earth" was originally the name of *Enki* himself. The term has been adapted by the Akkadians

[18] I am inclined to believe that the original idea of the "Voyage" (*Imram, Echtra*) was the pursuit of inspiration, wisdom and ultimate knowledge in or out in the sea. It is also expressed in Odinn's journey to *Mímisbrunnr*, cf. *Snorra Edda, Gylfaginning* § 50: *þá ríðr Óðinn til Mímisbrunnz ok tekr ráð* . . . "Then Odin rides to the well of Mímr and takes council . . ." which is paralleled, as has been indicated by O'Rahilly, *EIHM* p. 322, n. 2, by the journeys of Irish sages to the well of Segais, the source of the river Boyne. According to one account the well of Segais was situated beneath the sea in *Tír Tarngire* (*EIHM* p. 322), another term for *Manannán*'s sea realm. There exists, therefore, in Irish mythology a direct link between the fresh water and the sea as the ultimate source of wisdom and as abode of *Manannán*, the lord of the paradisiacal Otherworld. A similar situation emerges with regard to the Sumerian *Enki*. Although he is lord of the *abzu* (or *engur*), the water under the earth, he is also linked with *Dilmun*, an island or coastal district of the Persian Gulf (Bahrein?) where the early Sumerians placed their paradise of bliss and sinless life (Schmökel *Geschichte des alten Vorderasien* [1957], pp. 3f.; Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* pp. 54ff).

With regard to the motif of the hazel-trees, the fruit of which dropped into the well of Segais and caused bubbles of mystic inspiration, one may also note that in Eddaic tradition the *Mímisbrunnr* is placed under one of the roots of *Askrinn*, the great tree of the world (*Snorra Edda, Gylfaginning* § 14).

I further assume that just as *Bran* ("The Raven") "the son of the river-estuary" (*mac Febail*), is identical with *Manannán*, "the son of the Sea" (*mac Lir*), so is *Óðinn*, "the Raven-god" (*hrafna-guð, Snorra Edda, Gylfaginning* § 37) identical with *Mímir*, who is in possession of the well (*brunnr*) of wisdom.

How Irish monasticism adopted and developed the "native" idea and theme of the "Voyage" (*Imram, Echtra*) has been shown in detail by Henry in his *Early English and Celtic Lyric*; cf. also P. Mac Cana, *Ét. celt.* xiii 100ff.

[19] *Ninmar*, the Sumerian city-goddess of Guabba, situated on the shore of a lake or lagoon, seems to have been a bird-goddess, and her emblem, a bird, probably represents her original nonhuman form. She was a granddaughter of Enki (Jacobsen, *Essays* p. 23).

in the Semitic form *apsū* and it is difficult to believe that Greek *abyssos* "groundless, inscrutable, abyss" is not some sort of an adaption of the Mesopotamian term (for its Greek explanation cf. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wb.* I, p. 275f.). If Jacobsen's assumption is correct *ab-zu* could mean "he who knows (*zu* "to know") the ocean (*ab*)", to interpret as "he who has the knowledge of the primeval fresh-water under the earth". The only difficulty with regard to such an explanation arises from the fact that in historical times *ab* denotes the sea (cf. *a-abba* "the sea", lit. "water of the sea") and not the fresh-water. Jacobsen, however, suggests (pp. 361f.) "that etymologically the term *abzu* and the terms for sea, *ab* and *a-abba*, may be related, and that correspondingly in a remote past the Sumerians may have distinguished the bodies of water involved less sharply . . ." In this light the connection of Summerian *ab* "sea" with the word-stems *ab-*, *ap-* ("river, water"), found in various I. Eur. languages (cf. *ZCP* xxxiii 1ff.) finds new support; cf. also note 18 above.[20]

2. On the origins of the river-ordeal

In *EECL*, p. 190, P. L. Henry remarks that "the ordeal by water" attested in mediaeval Irish and British sources, "has clear and close affinity with the practice of the Continental Celts," referred to by D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Études sur le droit celtique*, pp. 26ff.). An Asiatic origin of this procedure has been recently advocated by J. Klíma, *Das Wasserordal in Elam* (*Archiv Orientální* 39, pp. 401ff.); cf. also Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (1949), p. 11, n.1: ". . . the river god gives legal advice". The oldest references to it are found, however, in Sumerian legal deeds of the third millennium B.C.

Dietz Otto Edzard, in his *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends* (1968), pp. 154ff., has published a table of seventeen protocols in which we find each time the formula "they (he) went (or: "they were, he was brought") down to the river (-god) (in order to execute the ordeal)". The Sumerian expression has an equivalent in Hittite where the formula *ḫapa pāi-* "to go to the river" means "to subject oneself to the river-ordeal", cf. Friedrich, *Hethit. Wb.*, p. 54, and (for full examples) Watkins, *Indo-European Studies* (Report HARV-LING-01-72, 1972), p. 31ff. For river our Sum. text has

[20] If v. Blumenthal's suggestion that ἀβυδόν·βαθύ H. is Illyrian meaning "bottomless" is correct, the idea of the *abzu* is attested also for Northern regions of the Balkans (cf. Frisk, op. cit. I, p. 5). Among the words and names derived from "I. Eur." *ab-/ap-* (cf. Ir. *aba* "river", O. Ind. *āpaḥ* "the rivers, the waters"; for the rest cf. *IEW* pp. 1, 51) the most interesting in this context is the Illyrian river-name *Apsus*, which in form is identical with Akkadian *apsū* (from Sum. *ab-zu* or *ap-zu*). The Illyrian name has cognates on Baltic, Italic and Celtic territory and has been explained, therefore, in terms of I. Eur. philology, cf. Krahe, *Festschrift Krause* ("Indogermanica", 1960), pp. 44ff.

normally $^{d}i_{7}$, but also $^{d}A.ENGUR$ (IV, 2). In poetic texts of a later period (around 2000 B.C.) *ENGUR* expresses the same idea as *abzu*.[21] This strengthens my suspicion, expressed in *ZCP* xxxiii 1ff., that Hittite *ḫap-* (or perhaps *ḫab-* according to C. Watkins), is of Asiatic origin and not an I.Eur. word-stem at all.[22]

In Sumerian tradition the power of water to cleanse (morally as well as physically) made *Enki*, the lord of *Abzu*, god of ablution and lustration magic (Th. Jacobsen, *Essays* pp. 21f.)[23]. In *Imram Brain Manannán*'s realm in the sea merges with the Christian idea of paradise and its absence of all sins (cf. stanza 9 of the old poem)[24].

3. *On the origin of Celtic* kurmi- *"beer" (Ir.* cuirm, *W,* cwrw) *and of Celtic Kingship.*

In *OCECC* II, p. 43, I pointed out that Early Celtic kingship as described in the sagas and in legal and semi-legal literature and summarized by O'Rahilly (*Ériu* xiv 14ff.) and Binchy (*Ériu* xviii 113ff.), has a strong affinity to Early Mesopotamian kingship, both institutions emphasizing the female aspect of lordship. In Celtic tradition the inauguration of the king is symbolized by the offering of intoxicating liquor by the queen to her chosen king. The rhyme-words *laith* "liquor" and *flaith* "lord, lordship" and the etymological identity of Ir. *flaith* "lord, lordship" and W. *gwlad* "country, land" underline this basic nature of Insular Celtic kingship which, as has been pointed out by G. Murphy (*Béaloideas* 1937, 142f.), may have roots in Ancient Gaul (cf. also *Ériu* xiv 15, n.1).

The oldest word for an intoxicating liquor in Celtic is *kurmi-*, attested in classical sources as a "beer made of barley-juice" (cf. Walde-Hofm., *Lat. etym. Wb.*[3], p. 287, sub *cremor* where a doubtful I.Eur. derivation is given). It has been shown, however, that the same term must have existed also in Thracian, an ancient I.Eur.

[21] *ab-zu*, which we have tried to explain on p. 10, is a formation similar to *a-zu* "physician", lit. meaning "he who knows the water" (*a*, the general word for water in Sumerian)". As lord of all crafts and arts *Enki* was also a divine physician (cf. *SAK* p. 6, h, 1 and 2, where he seems to be addressed by the chief-physician [*PA-azu*]).

[22] C. Watkins' article '"River" in Celtic and Indo-European' (*Ériu* xxiv 80ff.) ignores this possibility completely. For the comparison of "I. Eur." *āp-/ap-* (etc.) with Sumerian *ab.* cf. Forrer, *Glo.* 26, 189, and Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen*, p. 78.

[23] In *RV* 9, 5, 9, *Prajāpati*, whom we have compared with *Enki*, is described as *pavamāna-* "who purifies himself".

[24] *cen peccad, cen immorbus.* We cannot rule out the possibility that *Manannán's* paradise *Mag Meld* is based upon native material and ultimately connected with *Enki's Dilmun* as described in a Sumerian poem translated by Kramer in his *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 55 (cf. n. 18 supra).

language of the Northern Balkans, cf. *OCECC* I, p. 214.[25] The term is unknown in other I.Eur. languages and Celts and Thracians may have imported it, therefore, from an unknown language in the East.

There is clear evidence that from very early time Mesopotamia had a strong influence upon the civilisations of Asia Minor and the Northern Balkans including the steppes of Southern Russia.[26] It seemed to me, therefore, legitimate to search for a cognate of "Balkanic" **kurmi-* in Sumerian especially as Mesopotamia is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, centre of prehistoric agriculture and the production of beer from grain is well attested in Sumerian economic texts of the third millennium B.C. A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* iii, p. 147, records a word *kurun/kurum* "wine, intoxicating drink", also attested in Akkadian *kurunnu, kurumun* "a beer of high quality", a drink both of gods and men (v. Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* i 513). Phonologically there is no difficulty in establishing a basic word-stem **kurm-* from which the Thraco-Celtic term could be derived; Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, § 89, points out that words such as *kalag* (and consequently also *kurun/kurum*) could have been pronounced without a vowel in their second syllable (ie.. as *kalg, kurn/kurm*); for an interchange of final *-m* and *-n* he gives examples on p. 25.

It is accepted that *Medb*, queen and goddess of Tara and later "historical" queen of Connaught, is in origin a Magna Mater figure who chooses for her country[27] the king and ruler and to whom she is espoused in a Hieros Gamos (Ir. *ban-fheis* "woman-sleeping"). As she is described as dispenser of liquor, her name has been interpreted either as "the intoxicated one" or (O'Rahilly) "the one who intoxicates" (namely her husband, the terrestrial king). Judging from the point of view of word formation (*Medb* from **meduwā* or **medwā*) I am inclined, however, to believe that the name simply means "she who is (of the nature of) mead" or "she who belongs to the mead". In I.Eur., *ā*- or *ī*-stems derived from masculine or neuter nouns (in the present case from the neuter noun *mid* "mead") convey the meaning "belonging to . . .". Despite the fact that W. *meddw*, B. *mezv* (from **med[u]wos*) mean "drunk, drunken" it is unlikely that *Medb* herself was understood by the Irish as "the intoxicated one", a situation in which she never seems to appear in

[25] For another word for "beer" common to Celtic and Thracian cf. *ZCP* xxxii 89 (O. Ir. *bruth* "a measure of ale" [*Crīth Gablach*, ed. Binchy, p. 29], Thracian βροῦτος).

[26] Tablets in Sumerian script belonging to the so-called Djemdet Nasr period (2800-2700 B.C.) have been found in Siebenbürgen (Rumania), cf. B. Hrouda, *Vorderasien* I (Handbuch der Archäologie, 1971), p. 103.

[27] cf. *LL* 14414ff.: "Medb took the kingship of Connaught and adopted Ailill into Lordship, and it is in Inis Clothrann that she consumed the laws of Connaught".

literature. It is the king of whom we are told that he spends a third of the day *oc ól chorma* "drinking *cuirm*" (*LU* 4860).

Texts of the third millennium B.C. make it probable that the economy of the Sumerian *ensi* or city-lord, the office from which that of the *Lugal* ("king") developed, lay largely in the hands of his wife whose house (*é-mí* "house of the woman") may have been the secularized property of the goddess, cf. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (1972), p. 31f. I cannot produce direct evidence that such an arrangement applied also to the palace of Irish kings. The famous episode at the beginning of the *LL*-version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* would suggest, however, that queen Medb demanded an important share of responsibility in the administration of the household of the legendary capital of ancient Connaught.

In Mesopotamia the queen's importance in the administration of the holy city with its palaces and temples derives directly from the goddess's function as a bestower of all goods which the earth produces.[28] The king's task was to supply, as a representative of the progenitor-god, the seed by which the functioning of the earth was guaranteed.[29]

In Ireland the divine queen, with the help of rituals such as the *Aśvamedha*-procedure, the *tarb-fheis* or the chariot-test (*carpat na flatha*) organized by the *druids*, chooses her husband and future king. In the story of Conaire's ascendancy to kingship which I have discussed in *OCECC* II 15–19, we find *Mesbuachail*, whose name ("fosterling of the herdsmen") suggests that in origin she was thought to be of bovine nature, establishes *Conaire*, her son, in the kingship of Tara. In interpreting this story in the light of Mesopotamian literature I am now inclined to believe that she herself was considered to be in possession of the *flaith* ("lordship", *country [? cf. W. *gwlad* "country"]) and that in establishing Conaire she married ritually her own son.[29a] In Mesopotamia down to a fairly late period, the goddess (*Ištar*) was considered mother and (after the Hieros Gamos) wife of the king (*Tammuz*) whom she rescues from the barren netherworld of death and by whose resurrection a new prosperous year is granted to the country. With regard to the actual praxis it is worthwhile to read A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš* (1966) I, pp. 2f.: Gudea, a historical king who reigned at the end of the third millennium B.C., speaks of himself in his famous

[28] In Mesopotamia the worship of female deities (as representatives of the earth-goddess?) is attested from prehistoric times, cf. Hrouda, *Vorderasien* I p. 104.

[29] cf. my note on O. Ir. *mí silta* in *ZCP* xxxii 80: The king visits his country in "the month of sowing", apparently in order to ensure proper growth of the crops.

[29a] According to an Irish story *Ailill mac Máta* was not only one of *Medb's* husbands but also a grandson of her sister *Éle*, cf. *ZCP* xvii 134-36.

cylinder inscription as "born of Gatumdu, his lady, who has born him in Lagaš, in her beloved city, in the holy splendid shrine". Falkenstein assumes that Gudea's real mother was a high-priestess of the temple of Gatumdu. In a song of a high-priestess we learn of a sexual union between a priestess (as representative of the goddess *Baba*?) and the historical king Schusin (Falkenstein, *Welt des Orients*, I, 2, 43–50, and v. Soden-Falkenstein, *SAHG* p. 370). Išmedagān, who at the beginning of the second millenium B.C. ruled over Sumer and Akkad, considers himself in his inscription as *dam-ki-ága-^{d}inanna* "beloved husband of the goddess Inanna", *Inanna* corresponding to the Babylonian *Ištar*. The formula is used by other kings of the same period, cf. Kärki, *Die sumer. Königsinschriften der frühaltbabylonischen Zeit* (1968), p. 4 (and passim). *dam-igi-il$_2$-la-^{d}inana* "the chosen husband of Inanna" (op. cit. p. 14) clearly indicates that the king considered himself as chosen by the goddess. Būrsîn, another king of this period, describes himself as "husband, jewel of the holy womb of Inanna" (*dam-me-te-ur-ku-^{d}inana*, op. cit. p. 16) and Enlilbāni as "husband, chosen in her heart by Inanna" (*dam-ša-ge-pa-da-^{d}inana*, op. cit. p. 18), a formula which is of frequent occurrence.[30]

With regard to intoxicating liquor being a prerogative of the earth-goddess (cf. *Medb* in Irish tradition) the hymn published by Falkenstein in *Welt des Orients* I, 2, pp. 43–50 (cf. also *SAHG* pp. 119f.) is of special interest. Schusin, one of the great kings of the third dynasty of Ur is here addressed by a priestess of high standing who offers her body to the king (cf. also Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasien* [1957] p. 61, and Jacobsen, *Essays* pp. 184–86); she says in *Emesal*, the language of women in literary texts:[31]

"Because I have said it, because I have said it, the Lord has given me a present;

Because I have said ⟨carry on!⟩ the Lord has given me a present;

The Lord has given me a golden chain (?), a seal of Lapislazuli as a present;

[30] The oldest version of this formula is found on the "Stele of the Vultures" (ca. 2400 B.C.): Eannatum, the historical king, calls himself *dam-ki-aga-^{d}inanna-ka-ke$_4$* "beloved husband of (the goddess) Inanna" (*Welt des Orients* I, 2, 50). In a hymn published by Deimel, *Sum. Gramm.*, pp. 238ff., *Ba-u* (= *Baba*), the daughter of *An* ("Heaven") and mother goddess of Lagaš "in who's palace the destiny of the countries is decided" (ll. 15–16), *chooses* as her husband Ningirsu, the city-god and direct ancestor of the king of Lagaš.

[31] A socio-linguistic feature which is attested also in Chukchee, a "palaeo-asiatic" language of North Eastern Russia, cf. Bogoras, *Chukchee* (Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part 2, pp. 665f.). As in Sumerian literary texts the language of the woman differs here from that of the men in pronunciation (in Sumerian also in vocabulary). On the whole subject cf. Oftedal, *Notes on Language and Sex*, *NTS* 27 (1973) 67.

The Lord has given me a golden arm-bracelet, a silvern arm-bracelet as a present . . . .

My God! The cup-bearer's liquor is sweet;
her vulva is sweet like her liquor (*kaš*), her liquor (*kaš*) is sweet;
her vulva is sweet like her talk, her liquor is sweet;
her *kashbir* liquor is sweet, her liquor is sweet!

The text, though rather isolated in Sumerian literature, has been placed by Falkenstein, *Welt des Orients* I, 2, p. 50 into the sphere of the *Hieros Gamos* tradition, the cup-bearer, a *lukur*-priestess, being thought as representative of Baba, the earth-goddess, while the king himself appears as Tammuz or a related male deity.

We have argued above that *Medb* may have meant originally "the one in possession of mead" or perhaps just "the goddess Mead". There is one goddess in the Sumerian pantheon whose name is directly connected with an intoxicating drink, namely *Geštinanna* "Vine of Heaven" (Falkenstein, *Die Inschr. Gudeas von Lagaš* I, pp. 73ff.). The historical king Gudea (end of the third millennium B.C.) tells us about her that "she has looked upon him favourably" and that "she has given him life". In the earlier period her name was *dama-geštin-na* "mother of the vine". As a daughter of the "ewe-goddess" she is clearly another manifestation of the earth-goddess.

In various hymns reflecting the *Ištar/Tammuz*-myth (i.e. the resurrection of the god from the barren netherworld by the earth-goddess and the subsequent wedding festivities) there is reference to the goddess being richly endowed with intoxicating liquor; for examples cf. *SAHG*, p. 96 where Tammuz is represented in a Hieros Gamos by Iddindagan, a historical king, and Deimel, *Sum. Gramm.* pp. 259f.[31a]

Our inquiry leads to the conclusion that the *ban-fheis rig* ("woman-sleeping of the king")-rite depicted in Irish literature derives from the *Ištar/Tammuz*-rite practised in Mesopotamia and in other parts of the Mediterranean world since (at least) the middle of the third millennium B.C. Eastern religion could have reached the Celtic world either from the Southwest (Massilia?) or from the Southeast (via Asia Minor and Thrace).[32] A similar origin has been suggested by Weisweiler for the "cult of the divine bull" reflected in the Ulster-cycle and in Continental Celtic art (cf. the stone-altars of Notre-Dame-de-Paris). The chronological gap between Sumerian and Celtic

[31a] In the myth "Inanna and Enki" (ed. G. Farber-Flügge, Rome 1973) the goddess Inanna obtains by means of intoxication from "father" Enki the "divine powers" (*me*), the Constitution of Sumerian civilization with which she endows the kings.

[32] The importance of ancient Thrace as a link between Eastern Mediterranean and Celtic civilizations has been recognized long ago by Alfred Nutt (cf. chapter xvi of Meyer's and Nutt's *Voyage of Bran*, vol. ii, 1897).

literary tradition becomes less significant if we bear in mind that ancient Mesopotamian beliefs, shaped in the third millennium, were carried deep into the first millennium B.C.

The festival of the *Hieros Gamos* ("holy wedding") between the earth-goddess (*Inanna*) and the king marked the beginning of the New Year in Mesopotamia (cf. *SAHG* pp. 367f.). In Ireland the New Year (i.e. the Year of Growth) begins with *Beltene* "Mayday", one of the three great festivals of the year.[33] If *Beltene* means "the fire of Bel" (cf *Sanas Cormaic* No. 122, *Ériu* xviii 129), it becomes difficult to separate *Bel* from Akkadian *bēlum/bēl* "Lord" (Common-Semitic, cf. Ug. *bʿl*, He. *baʿal* etc.); a related figure is Welsh *Beli Mawr*, an old progenitor-deity whose name has found various explanations (cf. O'Rah., *EIHM* pp. 473). In Welsh tradition *Beli Mawr's* weapon and special attribute is his bloody spear, cf. *EIHM* p. 67, and Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy* pp. 176f.; in Ugaritic myths *Baʿal* carries the bow, which is also the magic weapon of *Lugh* in Irish tradition, cf. *OCECC* II p. 28. In Wales *Beli* appears as the father of *Arianrhod* who is the mother of *Lleu*, the Welsh equivalent of the Irish *Lugh*, cf. Gruffydd, op. cit. p. 173. If the form *Belim*, attested in the Elucidarium, but dismissed (for no obvious reason) by O'Rah., *EIHM*, p. 473, n. 5, is genuine and the older form for *Beli*, it could be compared with Semitic forms such as *bʿlịm* (king of the Ammonites in Jer. 40:14, cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* iii, p. 248, no. 340) or Ugaritic *bʿlm* classified as a vocative form by Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, p. 55, no. 545. In Ugaritic Mythology *Baʿal* takes the place of the

[33] E. Lewy, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 60, maintains that the Atlantic climate which affects the Basque country as well as Ireland may be the background for particular terms for the seasons of the year attested in Basque and Irish. He compares Basque *negu-aitzin* "(fore-Winter>) autumn" with Ir. *fo-gamar* which has the same etymological and actual meaning. His reference to *negu-azken* "(last Winter>) spring" has induced me to relate Ir. *errach* "spring" to *err* "tail" and explain it as "The tail (of Winter)". The usual explanation of *errach* (cf. Pokorny, *IEW* 1174) is based upon an *ad hoc*-construction (*errach* for **ferrach*). Professor Greene reminds me also of the term *fuidlech* Mod. Ir. *faoilli* ("the old name of the Kalends of February and of fifteen days after" Dinneen's Dict.) etymologically meaning "remainder". *Samain*, like *Beltene* and *Lugnasad* (August), one of the three most important festivals in Ireland, was understood to mean "the end (or death) of Summer" (*sam-fuin*). It reminds me of *uda-(a)zken* "the last Summer", another Basque term for "autumn". It seems, therefore, that Irish and Basque terminology reflect a year which began in May and in which spring was conceived as the last season of the year. This tradition may have left traces also in other parts of the ancient Celtic world. In my home-town Zürich the greatest festival of the year called "Sechseläuten" is held in April and judging from customs attached to it, in particular the burning of a snow-man, clearly marks the end of Winter.

Finally, W. *Kintevin*, O. Ir. *cétamain* "Maytime", lit. meaning "first-Summer" can be compared with Basque *uda-berri*, *uda-haste* "Spring", lit. meaning "fresh Summer", "beginning of Summer" respectively.

Babylonian Tammuz; his defeat of *Mot* ("Death"), the king of the netherworld, and his re-establishment as king of the gods in his lofty residence as well as the role played by the goddess *Aṯirat*, who follows him into the netherworld, marks him clearly as the god of the beginning of Summer. His presence in Irish *Bel-tene* "May" would be, therefore, mythologically well founded. In the East *Tammuz* and *Baᶜal* are fore-runners of Jesus Christ and the same could apply to *Mercurius*, *Lug*, *Dagde*, *Beli Mawr* and other figures in the old Celtic world[34].

Another name, which seems to have eluded all attempts by etymologists, is that of *Ailill*, the mythical king of Connaught. Being overshadowed by his famous wife *Medb*, there is little to learn about his nature from the sagas except that he is described as the king who wears the *mind óir*, the golden tiara. The name must be identical with Welsh *ellyll* "ghost, elf". An older form *Aillill*, gen. *Aillella* has been established by O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 300, n.3, and O'Brien, *Celtica* iii, p. 182. The name of the triple-headed *Ellén* (*in tEllén trechend*) is considered by O'Rahilly as a derivation from *Aillill*; its meaning could be "born by Ellill, little Ellill" (cf. *Conán*, "born of the hound", i.e. "the small hound"). There exists also a spelling *Elill* (for fluctuation between *ai-* and *e-* before palatalized consonant in O.Ir. cf. *GOI* §83a) and on the evidence of the W. form the initial vowel could have been originally *e-*. If this is correct Insular Celtic *ellill* could be identified with Akkadian *ellil*, adapted from Sumerian *Enlil*, the name of the second highest god in the Mesopotamian Pantheon. According to Sum. hymns *Enlil*, also called "the great mountain" (*kur-gal*), resides in his lofty mountain-residence (*é-kur* "mountain-house"), also known as "house of abundancy" (*kur-hé-gál-la*) and as "band of heaven and earth" (*dur-an-ki*). It seems obvious that we are dealing here with the idea of the primordial earth-mountain from which the world was created and organized out of the waters of chaos (Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* p. 73), an idea attested in Egyptian and perhaps also in Greek cosmogony (cf. *OCECC* II pp. 9f. 11f.). In this light *Cruachu*, the name of *Ailill*'s and *Medb*'s residence in Connaught, "one of the chief cemetries of Erin" (Hogan, *Onom. Goed.* p. 311 following *LU* 2811ff.) which is derived from *cruach* "a symmetrically shaped hill", must

[34] In Ugaritic mythology *Bᶜl* is called *bn dgn* "the son of Dagân", *dgn* meaning (as in Hebrew) "grain". In the story of *De Gabáil in tSída* (*LL* 3291off.) there is reference to *Dagán*, a king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, whose special concern are *ith* "corn" and *blicht* "milk" of the country. The story contaminates *Dagán* with *Dagda*, another leader of the *Tuatha Dé D.* whose name I have discussed in *OCECC* I, p. 247, n. 110, and II p. 27. M. A. O'Brien's explanation of *Dagán* (*Celtica* ix p. 212) seems almost too simple to be correct.

also be mentioned as well as the fact that the residences of the ancestor-divinities and their descendents, the kings, were believed to be on the tops of well-shaped hills in Ancient Ireland, [34a] a description which suits in particular *Temair na Rig* "Tara of the kings", the original residence of *Medb* and her chosen husbands. Finally, the *men-kuga* "the holy cap" (i.e. "the holy tiara") with which Enill crowns the terrestrial kings (Falkenstein, *Sum. Götterlieder* I, p. 96), reminds me of Ir. *mind* (cf. Sum. *men*[35] "cap, crown") *óir* "the golden crown", a constant attribute particularly of *Ailill*. The phonological similarity between the two terms may be accidental, but the explanation given for *mind* by Indo-Europeanists is far from satisfactory (cf. Walde-Hofm., *Lat. etym. Wb.* II, p. 69, sub *menda*[36]). Ir. *mind* also means "oath" ("use arising from custom of swearing on halidoms" *RIA Contrr.* M, p. 144) and must be identical, as suggested by Morris-Jones, *Welsh Grammar* p. 412, with the Welsh "preposition"

[34a] If *crougin* (accusative) in an inscription from Northwestern Spain (Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispanien und das Keltiberische*, p. 28, No. 114) is correctly identified with Ir. *crúach* (Tovar, *Estudios sobre las primitivas lenguas Hispánicas*, p. 192) the term may have had also in Continental Celtic a religious connotation (cf. Schmoll's translation "altar". op. cit. p. 40). In this inscription the *crougin* seems to be dedicated to a god **Teu-tatikos* (*Toudadigoe*, dative). A translation "sacral hill" seems to be appropriate. In Ireland the idea of the sacral hill-top has been taken over by Christian tradition, cf. *Crúach Phádraig* "Croagh-Patrick" in Co. Mayo and the religious processions to hill-tops common in Ireland.

[35] Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen*, p. 157, is inclined to explain Avestic *minav-* "ornament de bijouterie, collier d'or" (worn, f. ex., by the goddess *Arədvī*) from the Sumerian word.

[36] If Ir. *mind* is identical with W. *myn* (Morris-Jones, *W.G.* p. 412), which seems to be almost certain, we cannot reconstruct a form **mṇdu-* as suggested by Pedersen, *VGK* I, 392.

The final *-d* in O. Ir. *mind* could be due to a phonological development, which has been noted also in Continental Celtic, cf. Weisgerber, *Die Sprache der Festlandkelten* (Rhenania Germano-Celtica 1969), pp. 45f. (185–186); Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische* (1959), pp. 102f.

As to the term *mind óir* "tiara of gold" cf. also Sum. *aga guškin* id. *aga* being a synonym of *min* (cf. v. Dijk, *Sum. Götterlieder* ii, p. 58, l. 23).

In *Celtica* x, pp. 3ff., M. Dillon discusses the "straight *white rod*", "the rod of kingship," the sceptre of the ancient kings of Ireland. According to one account it had to be cut from a holy hazel-tree. Dillon compares the king's rod in Indian tradition and also refers to Agememnon's sceptre as described in *Iliad* ii 101–08. The whole theme receives light from a Sumerian text quoted by v. Dijk, op. cit. p. 67: "my sceptre's root are the *me* ("the divine powers") of lordship, its branches are made as a shadow for Kullaba, its *shining branches* . . . . .". v. Dijk makes further reference (p. 68) to divinities depicted with branches in their hands. The sceptre may be, therefore, in origin a symbol for the "tree of life" or "the tree of the world", a well established motif in ancient Eastern mythology, cf. Ilse Seibert, *Hirt-Herde-König* (D. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin, Schr. Sekt. f. Altertumswiss. 53. 1969), pp. 41ff. As in Greek tradition (cf. *Iliad* ii, 101-08) the sceptre was bestowed upon the Sumerian king by a god (cf. *SAK*, p. 41, 5, 22: "endowed with the sceptre by Enlil", referring to the historical king Entemena.)

myn "by" used in oaths. In Sumerian legal documents "to swear (a promissory oath)" is expressed by formulas such as "to speak by the name (or 'by the life') of the king", cf. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* I, pp. 63f. Another Sumerian tradition has it that the tiara was bestowed upon the kings by *Nin-mena* "the lady of the tiara", also known as *Nin-hursag* "lady of the mountain", cf. Poebel, *Historical Texts* p. 30. We are reminded of the fact that according to Irish tradition the kingship of Connaught was bestowed upon Ailill by Medb, the original goddess of Tara-hill.

The fact that grammatically the names of sacral royal hilltops such as *Temair* or *Cruachu* are feminine nouns suggests that they were visible symbols of the earth-goddess. In Sumer *Nin-hursagga* "Lady of the mountain" is one of the highest ranked and oldest deities of the Sumerian Pantheon directly involved in creation-myths and closely connected with *An* ("Heaven"), *Enki* ("Lord of the Earth") and *Enlil* (alias "The great Mountain"), the oldest and most important ruler gods of Ancient Sumer (Poebel, op. cit. p. 24). *Belit-ili* "Lady of the gods", her Semitic name, reminds me of *Anu*, "mater deorum Hibernensium" (*Sanas Cormaic*, nos. 31, 104).[37]

Nature and functions of the goddess *Nin-hursag* have been described in detail by Poebel in his above-mentioned work. As a ruler-goddess she is closely associated with *An* and *Enlil* (cf. her name "sublime lady of the lands" in Codex Hammurabi). She was commonly known also as ^{d}*mah* "the Great One" or ^{d}*nin-mah* "The Great Lady"; her association with creation is expressed in her epithet ^{d}*nin-tu* "Lady of child-bearing". Her other epithet *ama-dingireneka* "mater deorum" is identical with that of *Anu* in Sanas Cormaic. Poebel, op. cit. p. 32, (cf. also Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 54ff.), has tried to identify *Nin-hursag* "Lady of the mountain" with *Ki* ("earth"), the wife of *An* "heaven", an identification which brings us back to the idea of the primeval "earth-mountain" from which the world was created (cf. above). ^{d}*mah* "The Great (Sublime) One" or ^{d}*nin-mah* "The Sublime Lady" recalls the Irish goddess *Brigit*, adopted by the Church as one of the most important saints of Ireland: for her name means etymologically "The Great (Sublime) One". The Celtic tribal name *Brigantii*, but not that of the *Brigantes* in Britain (cf. *ZCP* 32, p. 287), as well as the town-name *Brigantio-* (*Briançon*, *Bregenz*) could be derived from the name of the goddess attested as *Brigantia* in Latin inscriptions from Britain (Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprachschatz* I, pp. 535–539). In a similar way the Germanic tribal name *Burgundiones*

[37] If the short *a* is correct (Meyer writes *ánu* without apparent justification) we might link this word with Sum. *An*, Akkadian *Anu* "god of heaven". Change of sex is not unusual in ancient mythology (cf. the old I. Eur. thundergod **perkunos* who appears in Nordic tradition as the goddess *Fiörgyn*). For another explanation of *Anu* cf. O'Rah., *Ériu* xiv, p. 12.

could be derived from the Germanic equivalent of *Brigantia*, Ir. *Brigit* (<**bṛgṇtī*> Germ. **burgundi*). The Sumerian terms *Nin-hursag* "Lady of the mountain" and *ᵈmah* "The Great one" may be combined in *Bergonia*, the name of a Gaulish goddess which must mean "The Sublime Mountain" (cf. J. Hubschmid, *ZCP* 24, p. 214)

In Irish tradition *Brigit* is specifically the goddess of poets, artisans and craftsmen, who in Early Celtic society belong to the *aes dána* "professional people" (*nemed*-persons according to the Laws, cf. "The small Primer" *AL* v, pp. 2ff., and esp. Binchy, *Ériu* xviii 45f.). *Sanas Cormaic*, no. 150 explains: *Brigit .i. banfile ingen in Dagdae . . . bandea no adratis filid . . . cuius sorores erant Brigit bē legis ocus Brigit bē Goibne ingena in Dagda.* Another tradition makes Brigit the mother of the three gods of craftmanship (O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 315, n. 5; p. 316, n. 2). In Sumerian tradition "The Great One" is well known for her wisdom and skill in the handicrafts, especially of the wood-carver, the potter and the copper-smith. Her name "coppersmith of the gods" compares with Ir. *Bē goibne* "woman of smithery", the name of one of Brigit's sisters and in all probability just an original epithet of herself. The connection between *ᵈMah* as a creator-deity and as goddess of crafts is provided, as has been shown by Poebel, op. cit. p. 34, by epithets such as "carpenter of mankind", "carpenter of the heart"[38] or "builder of what has breath", Tribal names such as Gaulish *Brigantii* or Ir. *Uí Brigte* "descendents of Brigit" (O'Rah., op. cit. p. 38, n. 1) clearly indicate that the Celtic *Brigantī/Brigentī*, like the Sumerian *ᵈMah*, was in origin an ancestor- and creator-goddess. The Sumerian *ᵈMah* seems to have left late traces in the Mediterranean world, because "in all likelihood . . . the *Mylitta* of Herodotus also is the goddess *Nin-hursag*" (Poebel, op. cit. p. 33). A connection with Brigit is, therefore, historically not impossible. Another representative of the Sumerian *ᵈMah* could be the Gaulish goddess *Arduinna* (cf. Ir. *ard*, Lat. *arduus*) whose name survives in the modern *Ardennes* heights (cf. also *OCECC* II, 12).

In Celtic belief the sacral hilltop seems to have been identified physically with the goddess herself, a feature brought out in an archaic passage of *Tochmarc Emire* (ed. van Hamel) § 18: Cú Chulainn asks his future wife her name and she answers: *Temair ban, báine ingen, inching gensa* "(My name is) Tara of the women...", which is explained in what seems to be a gloss: *amal atá Temair ós cach thulaig, sic atúsa ós cach mnaí in gensa* "as Tara is above every hilltop, so am I above every woman . . .". Just as *Cú Chulainn* is the son of *Lug*, the

[38] In a myth published by Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* pp. 56, 115, we are told that *Nin-hursag* received "the water of the heart" (*a-šà-ga*), also called "Enki's water" (*a-ᵈen-ki-ga-ka*), from Enki, which recalls *samudra- hryda-* "heart" in *RV* 4, 58, 3 (cf. p. 1 above) meaning "the ocean in the heart".

progenitor god of Tara, so is *Emer* a representative of the hilltop-goddess *Temair*[39] and, therefore, ultimately identical with Medb whose name is another epithet of the ancestor-goddess of Tara.

In a Sumerian hymn (*AfO* xxiv, 19ff., ed. Sjöberg) the *é-kur* "house of the mountain", also called "neckstock of heaven and earth", is referred to as "my house, like a drunk (better perhaps: "as if drunk") comes down upon men" (line 101: *é-mu kurun-ta dabba-gim lúra an-e-dè* "house-my liquor-by seized-like man-to comes down")[40]. The speaker is *Nungal*, another daughter of *An* "Heaven", who assists *Nintu* (= ^{d}*Mah* "The Great One") at childbirth (cf. line 71). The same text makes reference to *Nin-Egala*, another goddess of the *Ekur*, whose name means "Lady of the Great House"; for the possible connection of Sumerian *é-gal* "great house, palace (of gods and kings)", Akkadian *ekallu* (with equivalents in Northwestern Semitic) and Egyptian *pr-*^{c}3 "Great House" (> *Pharaoh*) with the Celtic terms Ir. *Tech Már*, W. *Mordei* cf. *ZCP* 33, pp. 6ff.).

A final word may be added to Sumerian words denoting various types of intoxicating liquor. The phrase *é-mu kurun-ta dabba-gim* "my house, like one seized by liquor" is paralleled in another text by *KASTIN-ta dabba-gim* (cf. p. 45, n. 101 of the article by Sjöberg). *kaš* (also *kas*) means, according to the specialists (Deimel, *Sum. Lex.* iii, p. 142, Falkenstein, *Sum. Götterlieder* I, pp. 103f.), "beer" or "intoxicating liquor" and occurs in the hymns more often than *kurun*.[41] Bauer, in the vocabulary to his *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (1972), p. 614f., quotes *kas-gíg* "dark beer", *kas-gíg-dug-ga* "good dark beer", *kas-kal* "strong beer" (?) as well as other brands of beer found in texts from the middle of the third millennium. *kaš-tin* means "liquor of life", a term reminding of the Gaelic *uisce beatha* "whiskey (lit. "water of life"); *geštin* "vine" (which we have already mentioned in connection with *Geštinnana* "vine of heaven", the name of a goddess) means accordingly "tendril of life". *tin* on its own seems to mean "wine", cf. Falkenstein, *Sum. Götterlieder* I, 103f., and Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen* p. 125, n. 5. Sum. *kaš/kas* recalls, according to Autran, op. cit. p. 125, n. 4, Akkadian *kāsu* "beaker" (with equivalents in NW

[39] *Temair* (gen. *Temro*) could be related to O. Ir. *temel* "darkness"; an original form **temasri-* (> *Temair*) would be comparable with Skr. *tamisrāh* "darkness" = Lat. *tenebrae* (pl. tantum) < **temə̆srā* (*ā*-stem against Celtic *i*-stem). "The Dark One" was a suitable name for the earth-goddess of Tara-hill. Cf. also *Tomaros*, the Illyrian name of a mountain in Albania (Krahe, *Sprache der Illyrier* i, p. 98).

[40] cf. *Gudea Cyl.* A, xxviii, 12: *é-babbira-bi-ta ididigina a-ù-ba gál-la-àm* "out of Hits brewery is the Tigris (flowing) in his high flood" (description of the *Eninnu*-temple in Lagaš).

[41] In literary texts *kaš* and *kurún* are used as variations, cf. G. Farber-Flügge, '*Inanna und Enki*' (Rome 1973), p. 20, line 28.

Semitic), which in its turn has been used to explain Gothic *kas* "pot" (with equivalents in other Germanic dialects), cf. Feist, *Got.etym. Wb.*[1], p. 230. One could also compare Slavonic *kvasŭ* "a sour drink" (Berneker, *Slav. etym.* Wb. pp. 655f.), although the initial *kv-* remains to be explained. In this context the Ir. term *iarn-gúalae* denoting the enormous iron vessel out of which Conchobar and his fellow-Ulstermen used to drink (*Tochm. Emire* § 4) is also of interest: *-gúalae* "a large round vessel, a pit" (cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Recht* ii, p. 76) could be related not only to Skr. *gola-* "a round jar" and Gr. γαυλος "a vessel (also a ship)" but also to Ugaritic *gl* "a round vessel" (Aistleitner, *Wörterb. d. ug. Spr.* no. 645; cf. also the etymological dictionaries of Mayrhofer and Frisk). We may be dealing here with a technical term of unknown Mediterranean origin. In his *Uralier und Indogermanen* (Helsinki 1973), pp. 294f., Joki suggests that **olut-* "beer", attested in Germanic (cf. E. *ale*), Slavonic (*olŭ*), Baltic (Lith. *alùs*) and Skythian (Ossetic *ælūt-*) might be derived from a Sumerian term.[42] One wonders whether Ir. *laith* "liquor" (*derg-laith* "ale") and W. *llad* have anything to do with this group of words. There is one other European word for "beer" which could be derived ultimately form a Sumerian term: Ziryene and Votyak *sur* "beer" must be connected with Skr. *surā*, Avestic *hurā* denoting some type of alcoholic liquor (Mayrhofer, *Etym. Sanskrit Dict.*, sub *surā*). Mayrhofer relates *surā* to *sunoti* "presst aus, keltert, presses out", but there is also a Sumerian term *kas-sur-ra*" "ausgepresstes (pressed out), cheap beer", occurring in an old Sumerian economic text dating from about 2400 B.C. (J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* p. 217).[42a]

If terms such as Sum. *kaš-tin* "liquor of life" or Ir. *uisce beatha* "water of life, i.e. whiskey" have a mythological background they are to be explained in the light of the life-bestowing, food- and drink-providing earth-goddess well represented both in Sumerian and early Celtic tradition. Although *uisce beatha(d)* seems to be attested only in relatively late sources, there exists in Gaelic folklore a tradition concerning the making of intoxicating liquor (*poitín*) which has a markedly old and pagan aspect. In *OCECC* I, p. 246, I referred to the expression *a chaitheamh 'na chnoic* "to throw it (i.e. *poitín*, as an offering) to the hill (i.e. to the *síde*, the chthonian deities of the Netherworld)". As a matter of fact *uisce beatha* could be a taboo-word, because it has been pointed out by Ó hEochaidh, *ZCP* xxix

[42] In the Sumerian text "Enki and Eridu", lines 99–100, *kurún* and *ulušin* (= I. Eur. **olut-* "beer" ?) denoting (different types of) "beer" are used as variations, cf. G. Farber-Flügge, "*Inanna und Enki*" (Rome 1973), p. 67, n. 32.

[42a] *sur-* is a verb meaning "to press out", cf. Farber-Flügge, "*Inanna und Enki*" p. 249.

p. 87 (sub *gamhnach*) that "they used to call poteen and the instruments connected with poteen-making by ⟨hidden⟩ terms".[43]

In returning to our original subject of the queen as representative of the earth-goddess offering liquor to her future husband, the king, in a preliminary ceremony to the wedding-feast (*ban-feis* "woman-sleeping"), I must also point out that Irish folklore remembers clearly the time when marriage-contracts were made over drinks in public houses on fair- and festival-days. Even in remote places, where drinking houses were not at hand, liquor was consumed by the contracting party at matchmaking procedures, an example of which is found in Peig Sayer's life-story (*Peig*, p. 177).

4. *An early Mesopotamian parallel to the* cétmuinter for muin araile *"a wife upon the neck of another" in Old Irish Law.*

According to an old commentary a *cétmuinter for muin araile* is a principal wife who suffers from an incurable illness (*turbród*) and who is supported by her husband until her death while he himself has taken another *cétmuinter*-wife (*AL* v, p. 144; *Studies in Early Irish Law*, p. 251; *RIA Contrr.* to-tu, p. 384).

A similar rule emerges from a Sumerian contract edited by A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* ii, pp. 8–10 (*Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1956) "Lallagula, the daughter of Ela the *gudá*-priest, the widow, has been married to Urigalima, the son of Lugaligihus the *gudá*-priest. Lallagula, seized by the *azag*-demon (i.e. a severe illness), brought the matter to Urigalima and said to him: Marry Gemebaba, the daughter of Lukazala the *gudá*-priest, while I myself shall receive oat- and woolrations. Urigalima has sworn in front of the judges, under the oath to the king, that he shall not change (this arrangement)". The Sumerian deed, which falls into the period of the third dynasty of Ur (2060–1955 B.C.) is to be compared

[43] Professor Greene is right in reminding me that distillation was probably introduced into Northern Europe not earlier than the twelfth century A.D. and that *Uisce beatha* is a translation of *aqua vitae*, which is (*a*) a mysterious substance described by alchemists, and thence (*b*) the term used for alcohol produced by distillation. This view seems to be confirmed by the fact that *poitín/póitín* (Ulster) "distilled (home-made) liquor" is derived from *poit* (cf. *Sanas Cormaic* Y 1069), a borrowing from Latin (cf. *RIA Contrr.* N-O-P 193f.). The custom, however, of offering liquor to the fairies is clearly of pagan origin and could have concerned originally fermented liquors. The fishermen of Tory Island (Co. Donegal) have a tradition according to which whiskey was offered to the "wee folk" after a successful fishing trip, cf. Ó hEochaidh, *Sídhe-Scéalta, Béaloideas* xxii, p. 169 (in translation): "The fisher-men of Tory had a custom long ago, when they were fishing herring and landed with a cargo of fish, to buy a bottle of whiskey (*uisce beatha*) and drink it. When they took the cork off the bottle they used to throw the first drop out to the wee people (*an mhuintir bheaga* "wee folk, fairies")".

according to Koschaker (cf. Falkenstein, op. cit. ii, p. 9) with § 148 of the Babylonian *Codex Hammurabi* which reads: "If a man has married a woman and if the *la'bum*-disease attacks her, if he wants to marry another woman, he may marry her. He shall not divorce the wife whom the *la'bum*-disease has attacked. In a house which he has built (for her) she shall dwell and he shall continue to support her as long as she lives". The Irish text reads (*AL* v, p. 144, lines 16f.): *dēna sin a gaire co hēc, ocus dobeir cētmuindtir aile; ocus is i sin is cētmuindtir for muin araile and . . .* "he shall look after her until (her) death, while he takes another wife, and she is then (i.e. the sick woman) a wife upon the neck of another". According to Driver-Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* i (Oxford 1952), p. 310f., the *la'bum*-disease was a "malarian fever or ague in an acute form".

Codex Hammurabi § 149 rules that "if that woman does not consent to dwell in the house of her husband, he shall make good to her her dowry and which she brought from the house of her father and so she shall go", while the Irish Law says that "if she (the sick woman) has any person to whom she might be returned, one may do accordingly" (*AL* v, p. 144, 15f.).

For another parallel between Old Irish and ancient Near Eastern Law cf. *Ériu* xx, 66; *ZCP* xxxii 81.

5. *On O.Ir.* urnaidm *"betrothal"*

In *ZCP* xxxi 3 I mentioned briefly that the term *urnaidm* "betrothal" (V.N. of *ar-naisc* "binds for, betroths"), discussed in *Studies in Early Irish Law* p. 109, has a semantic equivalent not only in Old Norse *festa* (*fastr* "fast") but also in Hittite *hamenkant-* "bound, betrothed" (Friedrich, *Die hethit. Gesetze*, p. 95).

That these parallels do not point to a common I.Eur. origin of terminology is brought out by a Sumerian parallel, published by Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Rechtsurkunden* ii (1956, pp. 34f.): *inim-nam-dama KA nu-ù-ši-kešda-a* "(lit.) that he did not bind upon her a word of wife-ship", i.e. "that he did not have a verbal contract of marriage with her". The Sumerian construction conforms with the Irish idea of the (verbal) contract of marriage being "bound upon the woman", cf. LU 10607f.: *Arnenaisc iarom Concobar a fíair do Sualdaim mac Róig* "Then Concobar betrothed (bound for) his sister to Sualdaim . . . ".

The Sumerian contract dates from about 2000 B.C., a date which is close to that of the Hittite law texts.

6. *The theme of the divine king "with the long arm"*

In *TPS* 1969 (= *OCECC* I) pp. 244f., n.105 (cf. also *ZCP* xxxiii 13), I hinted at the possibility that the Ir. epithets *lám-fota*, *rig-fota*,

W. *llaw-hir* "having a long arm", attributed to mythological kings such as *Lug* and *Caswallawn* may have an Eastern background. Indian parallels have been quoted by Dillon, *Celt and Hindu* p. 17 (cf. *pṛthu-pāṇi* "having a wide, stretched out arm", an epithet of *Savitar* in *RV* 2, 38, 2). I now recognize, as the following quotations show, that this theme is well established in Sumerian religious poetry.

van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* ii (Abh. Heid. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist.Kl. 1960 p. 9): "Nergal (an ancestor and city-god)! Over the city of Lagaš you may stretch out helpfully your wide arm!"; p. 21: "Ningirsu (city-god of Lagaš) has stretched out his wide arm over Urukagina (the king of Lagaš) like the *Imdugud*-bird (i.e. the emblem of Lagaš)"; "speak to your holy mother Nanše: like the sun-god she shall stretch out her wide arm over you"; p. 112 (IV, 6): "Strong man, arm of heroism, who hastens to battle" (of Nusku, a *Hermes*-like deity); *Gudea Zyl.* A 9, 26: "nobody escapes my stretched out arm" (again of Ningirsu who addresses Gudea, the earthly king). In view of these quotations it is not surprising that a_2 means "might, power" as well as "hand, arm" (cf. Deimel, *Sum. Lexikon* iii, pp. 4f.). The view that "I.Eur." **rēg-s* "(god-)king", in the Rigveda an epithet of gods, is derived from the root **reg-* "to stretch out" (O.Ir. *rigid* "stretches out", *rig* "arm")[44] and has ideologically a Mesopotamian background finds her new support.

Having noted that the Celtic words for "palace" (Ir. *Tech Már*, W. *Mordei*) have a semantic parallel in Sum. *é-gal*, Egyptian *Pharao*, lit. "great house", "palace" (*ZCP* xxxiii 8f.) I searched for a semantic parallel to Sumerian term *Lu-gal* (lit. "Great Man") for the "king" in Celtic literature, where we find *Bendigeidfran*, brother of *Manawydan* and divine king of ancient Britain, described (cf. *Branwen Uerch Lyr*) as a giant (cf. *ZCP*, xxxiii 13). The following reference from the Mabinogi might be relevant in this context (*P.K.M.* p. 69): "It is our custom, lord, said Gwydion, on the first night that we come to a nobleman (*at wr mawr* "to a big man"), that the chief bard should give recitations" (addressed is *Pryderi*, the king of South Wales).[45]

7. *Ir.* Labraid

Labraid, the name of the ancestor-king of the Leinster-men has been explained by O'Rahilly, *EIHM* p. 103 as "The Speaker" and

[44] cf. *LL* 14809 *Tigernmas ba trén a rig* "Tigernmas! his arm was strong".

[45] cf. also my analysis of W. *brenhin* "king" (< **brigantīnos* "the Great [Sublime] One"), *ZCP* 32, pp. 287f. (n. 2) and the Brythonic term W. *mechteyrn*, B. *mech-tiern* "the Great Lord" (< **makso-tegern-*) which recalls *Tigern-mas* in n. 1 (< **tegernio-makso*), the name of an Ir. chieftain (O'Brien, *Corpus Gen. Hib.* I, Index sub *T*; I. Williams, *BBCS* 10, 39–41; Fleuriot, *Dict. des gloses vieux-b.* p. 249; *Armes Prydein* ed. Williams and Bromwich, p. 26).

compared with *Aius Locutius*, an ancient Roman divinity who predicted the imminent invasion of the Celts (cf. Ernout and Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue latine*[1] p. 28). Semantically we may add *Gudea*, the name of the famous Sumerian king of Lagaš, who lived at the end of the third millennium B.C. and whose name means "The Speaker". For a Greek equivalent cf. O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 103, n. 6.

8. *Ir.* aitten-chaithreach *"having gorse-like pubic hair"*

As Thurneysen's interpretation of this epithet, attributed to mythical queens such as *Ethne*, the wife of Conchobar (cf. *Serglige Con Culainn*, ed. Dillon, line 27), is correct ("mit den Ginsterschamhaaren", *Ir. Helden- und Königsage* p. 93), it recalls the *vagina dentata*, a well known motif in Northern Asiatic Folklore.[46] A polite, but false translation of *aitten-chaithrech* is found in *RIA Contrr.* A, p. 279 ("having furze-like hair"). The lengthmark on *-cáithrech* in *LU* 3246 may be due to confusion with *cáith* "chaff".

H. WAGNER

The Queen's University, Belfast

[46] cf. story no. 6 of B. Pilsudski's *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* (Cracow 1912) and his notes on p. 91; K. Bouda, *Die Sprache der Jenissejer*, *Anthropos* vol. 52, p. 93.

TWO FURTHER NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INSULAR CELTIC ABSOLUTE AND CONJUNCT VERB ENDINGS

1. The evidence of the recently discovered Celtiberian inscription of Botorrita

IT is my belief that the opposition of absolute and conjunct verb endings which is regular in certain tenses and moods of Old Irish, and of which traces exist in British, reflects the presence or absence in prehistoric times of an element **(e)s* following the verb ending proper. This view is similar to that proposed by Boling in *Ériu* xxiii (1972) 73–101, but differs in two main points: I posit the element as **(e)s*, not **(e)d* (thus returning to the view of Thurneysen, *GOI* 363), and I attribute the genesis of the difference between absolute and conjunct endings solely to the presence or absence of this element after the verb proper, while Boling thinks it also partly due to the presence of Indo-European primary endings in the absolute forms and secondary endings in the conjunct forms.

I have set forth at length the evidence for my view in a paper, 'The Origins of the Insular Celtic Conjunct and Absolute Verbal Endings', presented at the V. Fachtagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft, held in Regensburg in September 1973, and to be published soon in the proceedings of that meeting. To summarize that paper, I argued first that attempts to explain the absolute/conjunct opposition as essentially continuing the opposition of Indo-European primary and secondary endings encounter severe difficulties (§§1–21), which fall under three main heads: (1) Very much analogic spread of a useless morphologic complication has to be assumed; (2) there is no satisfactory explanation of how Insular Celtic came to have secondary endings along with primary in its present indicative; (3) not one of the six non-relative Old Irish present indicative active absolute endings can be derived without difficulty from Proto-Indo-European primary endings extended by no further element, and there are difficulties in deriving at least three of the six Old Irish present indicative active conjunct endings from Indo-European secondary endings.

Other attempts to explain the absolute/conjunct opposition without positing a post-verbal element in the absolute forms are no more satisfactory (§22). I review the work of others, including Boling, who posit an additional element in the absolute endings (§§ 23–26), and conclude that an element, **es* after consonants, **s* after vowels, is not only necessary, but also sufficient to explain the contrast of

absolute and conjunct endings (§27). The endings of the Insular Celtic present come entirely from Indo-European primary endings: conjunct present forms that appear to have secondary endings are explained by early loss of final *-*i* (§28). There is no evidence for survival of the Indo-European injunctive into Insular Celtic (§29). Problems in explaining the attested shapes of endings concern mainly *-*VsV*- sequences, about which too little is known in general (§§28, 30–43, note 13). The etymology and original function of *(*e*)*s* remain to be determined (§44). From the evidence available to me in 1973, Continental Celtic seems not to have used this element (§45).

Some other points of interest are: PIE *-*ām* became Proto-Celtic *-*an*, whence Primitive Irish *-*en*, regularly, and Old Irish -*he* 'her' comes from pre-Celtic **seyām* (§17). The Celtic dative singular of *s*-stem nouns probably continues PIE *-*esi*, not *-*es* (§§18, 28). There is no evidence for phonetic contrast of voiced and voiceless stops in word final in Proto-Indo-European (§§19, 28).[1] Insular Celtic seems to have agreed with Latin in having *-*mos* as 1st pl. active ending (§34) and in contrasting 2nd pl. imperative *-*te* with *-*tes* in the other moods (§33 and note 15). The Irish subjunctive and future 2nd sg. ending -(*a*)*e* may ultimately reflect the secondary endings of the Indo-European optative, as proposed by Boling (§36), but Irish offers no evidence for secondary endings in the Indo-European subjunctive (§38). The endings of the Celtic imperfects are all obscure (note 18 and §42). Celtic third person imperative endings, like those of Gothic, seem to come from *-(*n*)*tou* or *-(*n*)*tau* (§41). The uses of *no*- in Irish are quite unrelated to those of the augment in Indo-Iranian, Greek and Armenian (§42).

The present note has to do with my claim that it is unlikely that an Indo-European language would have both primary and secondary endings in its present indicative, the former used when the verb was clause-initial, the latter in all other positions. Heinrich Zimmer, *KZ* xxx (1890) 119–120, note 1, claimed that this was an archaism of Celtic, the Proto-Indo-European rule being that the present indicative had secondary endings after preverbs, e.g. **pro bheret* 'carries forward', **ne bheret* 'does not carry', and primary endings only when used alone, e.g. **bhereti* 'carries'.[2] Calvert Watkins, *Celtica* vi (1963) 42–49, has suggested that Celtic reflects a stage in the prehistory of Indo-European in which secondary endings were the normal endings of present indicative verbs, and primary endings were used only for special emphasis, e.g. in clause initial. Both of these views have against them the unanimous testimony of all the

[1] Cf. now Oswald Szemerényi, *TPS* 1973.55–74.

[2] Followed, essentially, by Wolfgang Meid, *Die indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion*, 1963, 89–131.

non-Celtic Indo-European languages that clearly distinguish primary and secondary endings: Hittite *appa tiezzi* 'steps back' like *tiezzi* 'steps'; Vedic *á . . . bharati* 'brings' like *bhárati* 'carries'; Greek *énesti* 'is in' like *ésti* 'is'; Oscan *eestínt* 'extant' like *stahínt* 'stant'; Gothic *urranneiþ* 'makes run up' like *rigneiþ* 'rains'; Old Church Slavic *vŭnidetŭ* 'will enter' like *idetŭ* 'goes'; Old Lithuanian *pradesty-sy* 'begins' like *desti* 'places'. If Zimmer or Watkins is correct, we would have to suppose that the differentiation of Celtic from the rest of Indo-European began very early, in which case Celtic ought to be more divergent from the rest of Indo-European than it is; or else we would have to suppose that more or less by accident all non-Celtic branches of Indo-European came to make the same generalization of primary endings in present indicative verbs.

Until quite recently there has been essentially no Continental Celtic evidence on this matter. However, if Zimmer and Watkins are right that the Insular Celtic of the 8th and 9th centuries AD preserves a distribution of endings more archaic than any other Indo-European language, including the Hittite of the 17th century BC, then a fortiori we should expect the Continental Celtic of the centuries before and shortly after Christ to present a situation comparable to that of Insular Celtic.

Very interesting therefore is the Celtiberian inscription recently discovered at Botorrita near Saragossa, and published by Michel Lejeune in the *Comptes rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres for 1973, pages 622-647.[3] This inscription supports my view of the general history of Celtic verb endings in that it contains a number of words which appear to be compound verbs with primary endings: *ueŕsoniTi* (3), *ConśCiliTi* (3), *amPiTiśeTi* (5), *aśeśTi* (6), *ŕoPiśeTi* (8); likewise a number of apparently simplex verbs appear to have primary endings even when in clause final, e.g. *iomui* : *liŕśTaś* : *TiTaś* : *sisonTi* (7), which can hardly be anything but a relative clause, introduced by a declined relative pronoun (as in Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin, vs. the use of relative particles in Insular Celtic) and ending with a third plural verb.

That is to say, the inscription of Botorrita indicates that in Continental Celtic, or at least the variety of Continental Celtic spoken in Iberia, primary endings were freely used after preverbs and in clause final, just as in Hittite, old Indo-Iranian, Greek, etc., and were not a "marked" category, and not limited to simplex verbs in clause initial. This fits well with my view that the conjunct present indicative endings of Insular Celtic continue the primary endings that

[3] I wish to thank Antonio Tovar and Calvert Watkins for telling me of the existence of this inscription and of its significance for the problems of Celtic verbal endings, and Professor Lejeune for sending me a reprint of his article.

are found in this tense in all non-Celtic Indo-European languages, and that the absolute endings of Insular Celtic are an innovation of Insular Celtic itself. It can be harmonized with the Zimmer-Watkins view only by postulating a deep split within the "Celtic" languages and supposing that within this subgroup only the insular languages kept the original distribution of endings, while Continental Celtic (or at any rate Celtiberian) participated in the general Indo-European redistribution of endings. Surely this is most unlikely.

I add that in the Botorrita inscription I can see no trace of the *(*e*)*s* that appears to be involved in the Insular Celtic absolute endings; this agrees with the evidence of previously-known Continental Celtic inscriptions (cf. §45 of my Regensburg paper).

Lejeune 646–647 mentions the possibility that *-Ti* was a way of writing final *-t* in Celtiberian. I think this possibility remote. But if it is correct, then I would observe that there is good reason to think that Proto-Indo-European final dentals had disappeared already in Proto-Celtic (cf. §28 of my Regensburg paper), so that the existence of final *-t* in Celtiberian would have to be by a secondary loss of final **-i*, similar to that which I posit for Insular Celtic; cf. what I say in §28 of my Regensburg paper about Celtiberian *sistat* (written in Latin letters; Lejeune now, 646, suggests that this could be an *ā*-subjunctive, with secondary ending, which in turn would mean that final Proto-Indo-European dentals did not disappear in Celtiberian after all; but so long as the context is unclear, I prefer to think that it has a primary ending with *-t* from **-ti*.)

II. The absence of *(*e*)*s* in the Irish responsive and imperative and legal formulae.

When I wrote my Regensburg paper, I had not seen David Greene's 'The Responsive in Irish and Welsh', *Indo-Celtica, Gedächtnisschrift für Alf Sommerfelt* (= *Commentationes Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae* II), 1972, 59–72. The responsive entered my paper only in note 20, where, referring to a statement of Calvert Watkins, *Celtica* vi (1963) 43, that uncompounded verbs appear with conjunct endings in the responsive (the form used in answers to questions), I said that I had not been able to find any examples of this usage, but that in view of the use of prototonic forms of compound verbs as responsives (e.g. *cumcim* 'I can' in answer to *in·cumci* 'canst thou?' vs. *con·iccim* 'I can' when not in answer to a question), it seemed likely that if a responsive of an uncompounded verb ever turns up in an Old Irish text in a person/tense/voice combination that distinguishes absolute and conjunct endings, it will be found to have conjunct form.

(Professor Greene in a letter of 3 July 1974 confirms that he also knows no relevant example.)

In any case, however, the adequately attested use of prototonic forms of compound verbs as responsives is evidently due to the absence of an enclitic *(*e*)*s* after the preverb, and for this I had no explanation (§41). Greene's paper now provides the key to a quite satisfactory explanation. As he observes, the essential nature of the responsive is that it 'differs from the corresponding statement (*S*) by the compulsory deletion of certain elements', as exemplified by Hiberno-English *I will* as answer to *Will you write to him about it?* For Old Irish, Greene mentions complements, infixed pronouns, and emphasizing particles as elements that are compulsorily deleted in the responsive (61). To make sense of the prototonic accent pattern, it is apparent that we need only add *(*e*)*s* to the list of elements that are obligatorily deleted in the responsive.[4] With *(*e*)*s*, we have a Primitive Irish verb phrase **kon-es eggiū* 'I can', in which the preverbal part later became proclitic, resulting in Old Irish deuterotonic *con·iccim*,[5] without *(*e*)*s*, we have in Primitive Irish a true compound **kom-eggiū*, resulting in Old Irish prototonic *cumcim*.[6] This seems to me better than Greene's view (60) that prototonic forms were used in the responsive because prototonic forms were normal in pausa. I think that we do not need an element "pausa" in our description of Old Irish verb forms. In ordinary statements *(*e*)*s* was compulsory after the first element of the clause: if that element was a verb, *(*e*)*s* occurred after it, resulting in "absolute" endings; if that element was a preverbal particle, *(*e*)*s* occurred after that preverbal particle, resulting in a verb with "conjunct" endings and with stress on its own initial (or, in verbs with more than one preverb, on the first preverb following the *(*e*)*s*), while the initial complex of preverb plus *(*e*)*s* was reduced to proclitic status—the so-called "deuterotonic" Gestalt. In the archaic Irish sentences where both elements of a compound verb are non-initial ("Bergin's Law"), in which case the entire verb is clause final, type *óenchairde fon Eilg n-áragar* (Thurneysen, *GOI* 327), the element *(*e*)*s* apparently was not used, and the verb is automatically prototonic. Pausa, as such, has nothing to do with explaining why we do not have *ad·regar* here.

Likewise the use of *nád·* rather than *ní·* as negative in the responsive is essentially a matter of deletion. *Ní·* continues **nīs*, with the element *(*e*)*s*,[7] while the **nede* that *nád·* directly goes back to is essentially a

[4] Historically, of course, the order is the reverse: the responsive preserves a syntax in which *(*e*)*s* has not become a necessary component of every statement.

[5] With analogic athematic ending.

[6] Again with remodeled ending.

[7] Evidently an archaic combination, strongly suggesting that *(*e*)*s* is ultimately from Indo-European **esti* 'is', which, as is known, combined in Indo-European with **né* 'not' to give **nésti*, which, if we admit a somewhat ad hoc early loss of final *-*i* in this word when used parenthetically, would regularly result in Prim. Ir. **nīs*.

replacement of simple **ne*, which, except for *na·thó* 'Not so!' (also a responsive; Thurneysen, *GOI* 541), has not survived unaltered into historical Old Irish (cf. the use of leniting *na* as negative of responsives in Middle Welsh, cited by Greene 66).

While the absence of **(e)s* in the Old Irish responsive is thus simply a result of the severe deletion characteristic of the responsive, its absence from Old Irish clauses whose verb is in the imperative mood[8] is probably a clue to its original function, which I think was probably that of an asseverative particle, etymologically **esti* '(it) is (so)', used in statements of fact. As such, it would have had no place in commands and prohibitions. (Likewise, it would originally have been excluded from all or most subordinate clauses, which explains its absence in Old Irish relative clauses.)

Finally, the absence of **(e)s* in such legal formulaic utterances as *atmu* 'I grant', *aicdiu* 'I invoke as surety' (Greene 60) is in all probability pure archaism: these formulae would have become fixed already before **(e)s* had become a necessary component of all statements that were not replies to questions. As such, they are one more example of the abundantly documented conservative character of legal language in all or most societies.

WARREN COWGILL

Yale University

[8] The apparent presence of **(e)s* in Irish commands containing infixed pronoun objects, type *dosngniith* 'make ye them/her', as if from **de-s-sen gnīte*, I take to be only a secondary simplification of the initials of infixed pronouns, by which the shape of preverb plus pronoun existing in indicative and subjunctive was extended to the imperative.

ON THE 'PREHISTORY' OF *IMMRAM BRAIN*

THE present essay is a sequence to that on 'Mongán mac Fiachna and *Immram Brain*' in *Ériu* xxiii, 102 ff.[1] The earlier essay was intended as a preliminary exploration of the vexed problem of the relationship between oral and written literature and, more specifically, of the origins of *Immram Brain*. In it I adverted to a stylistic disparity within the prose of the *Immram* which may be explained by assuming that its author drew some part of his material from an oral *echtrae*; this is supported by the content of the relevant passages. I also dealt at some length with the tale of Mongán's birth, which the poet of the *Immram* consciously presented as an analogue of the Incarnation, and endeavoured to show that it represented a particular form of the myth of the birth of the hero which had several early congeners in Ireland and in Celtic Britain. In both instances there seems to be clear evidence that the author of *Immram Brain* drew upon earlier traditional sources for some of the basic elements of his composition, so basic indeed that they are hardly reconcilable with Professor Carney's view that *Immram Brain* 'is, from beginning to end, a thoroughly Christian poem', or more specifically, 'an allegory showing Man setting out on the voyage to Paradise'. But these two instances do not constitute the total body of evidence that must be considered in this connection, and in my first essay I proposed to devote a later study to examining the account ot the Otherworld which bulks so large in *Immram Brain* and which Professor Carney has invoked in support of his Christian interpretation of the text. This was to be the purpose of the present essay. In the event, however, pressure on space in the present volume of *Ériu*—*maith sén*!—has obliged me to restrict myself to a brief exposition of several short texts which I regard as key-sources for the study of *Immram Brain* and related compositions. The more extended discussion and analysis of these and other sources must be held over for a subsequent volume.

Analogues and sources

Bran mac Febail is the titular hero of *Immram Brain*, but his role is a rather neutral one, and the two main protagonists (if we exclude the anonymous female who invited Bran to the Otherworld) are Manannán, god of the sea and enunciator of the second poem of the text, and Mongán, his more or less mortal son (even though the latter's role is a matter of prophecy rather than present fact). I have already touched upon the legend of Mongán in my earlier essay and I propose

[1] In the translation of the quatrain on p. 138, op.cit., read 'when' for 'whence'.

to deal with it comprehensively in a later contribution, but meanwhile, since it has relevance for my present enquiry into the sources of *Immram Brain*, I shall here refer briefly to several of the texts in question.

Mongán's legend has more of myth than of history. That he was an historical person, or at least that he had an anchorage in history, is confirmed by the annals: he was the son of Fiachna mac Baetáin king of Dál nAraidi and he died in the year 625 A.D. But even in the earliest literary records of him—those in Cín Dromma Snechta—his historicity is gravely compromised and in later texts it is the mythological or imaginative element which predominates. He is frequently—one might almost say consistently—associated with the Otherworld. According to the ModIr. version of the birth-tale of Mongán, which may well preserve a good deal of older oral tradition, Manannán took away his mortal son to be brought up in the Land of Promise until he should reach the age of twelve. There is also a legend of long standing in which Mongán meets with Colum Cille and represents himself to the saint as an inhabitant of the Otherworld and in some sense its spokesman. For instance, in a poem attributed to him in MS. Laud 615 he eulogized Colum Cille and tells how he himself had been summoned from the distant Land of Promise ('from my own land', *óm tír féin*) to Carraic Éolairg on Lough Foyle, there to meet the saint.[1a] The same MS. has three stanzas attributed (for what it is worth) to the seventh-century Mura of Fothain and again dealing with the meeting at Carraic Éolairg, which wise men proclaim in books' (*canuid eolaigh a leabruib*).[2] It contains an allusion to Mongán's obtaining a glimpse of Heaven by placing his head under Colum Cille's cowl.

These incidents are recounted at greater length in Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's *Betha Cholaim Chille*, itself a vast thesaurus of material of various ages relating to the saint.[3] Colum Cille had come to Carraic Éolairc in search of a solitary place in which to commune with God when he saw a wondrously beautiful youth coming towards him across[4] the lough as though he were walking on land. He wore one golden sandal, which as he walked was on whichever foot touched the ground (this perhaps a symbol of his supernatural character).[5] On reaching the saint he greeted him in the name of the pagan

[1a] Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal* (London 1895) I, 88. One of the stanzas in this poem is a variant of stanza 25 in *Immram Brain*. See n. 6 infra.

[2] Op. cit. I, 87. According to Meyer, *Ériu* v, 9, this poem contains twenty-two stanzas.

[3] Ed. A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (Urbana, Illinois 1918), §87; cf. §159.

[4] *trid an loch*. Contribb. s.v. *tre* does not quote examples of the prep. meaning 'across' in relation to an intervening expanse of water, but the cognate *truy* was the prep. normally used in this sense in earlier Welsh.

[5] I have discussed this motif in *Celtica* x, 160 ff.

gods, identified himself as Mongán, son of the king of Ulster, and said he had come to match skill and knowledge with him. In response to Colum Cille's questioning he claimed that there was no creature from the gnat to the whale whose shape he could not assume and that he had knowledge of many of the hidden lands and islands of the world, particularly the thrice fifty islands lying to the west of Ireland, each of which was three times the size of Ireland itself,[6] and finally he went on to describe briefly the inhabitants of these Otherworld isles, men and women estimable and handsome in appearance with their abundant herds of white red-eared cows and white sheep. Colum Cille acknowledged the range of Mongán's intelligence but nonetheless considered it small beside his own, since he had knowledge of Heaven, of Earth and of Hell. He offered to reveal to him a view of both Hell and Heaven if he were to return on the following day. Next day when Mongán returned, Colum Cille bade him put his head under his mantle and thereby was revealed to him a vision of Hell and of Heaven. At the sight of Hell and its torments Mongán stood aghast, but his fears turned to joy when he received his vision of the kingdom of God 'with its glory and its delight and its many melodies', and upon hearing those melodies he fell asleep. When he awoke he craved his share of this glory and from that time until his death and after he remained a faithful servant to God and to Colum Cille.[7]

Imacallam Choluim Chille ocus ind Óclaig

Thus Maghnus Ó Domhnaill. But we have another, and very much older version of the encounter between Colum Cille and his Otherworld visitant which offers an interesting comparison with Ó Domhnaill's account. It is in a brief text the original of which Meyer places in the eighth or ninth century[8]. It bears the title *Imacallam C[h]oluim C[h]ille ocus ind Óclaig oc Carn/Carric Éolairc* 'The Conversation of Colum Cille and the Young Man at Carn/Carraic Éolairg' and this is followed by the comment 'Some say he was Mongán the son of Fiachna', referring obviously to the *óclach* of the title.[7a] The body of the text consists of several questions from Colum Cille together with the youth's more lengthy replies, some of them containing textual corruptions which, compounded as they are

[6] This echoes stanza 25 of *Immram Brain* and a stanza in the poem in MS. Laud 615 cited above; cf. n. 1 supra.

[7] In a later section of the *Betha* (§159) a poem attributed to Muru is quoted by way of explaining why Colum Cille was to be venerated on Thursday above every other day, and this poem includes the second of the three quatrains cited on p. 34 supra from MS. Laud 615.

[7a] I shall discuss the validity and significance of this identification in a later article.

[8] Ed. K. Meyer, *ZCP* ii, 313 from MS. H.3.18, T.C.D.; P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.* xlv, 75 from MS. H.2.17, T.C.D. For my present purpose I have accepted Meyer's translation subject to minor changes.

by a highly idiosyncratic spelling, render their exact interpretation extremely difficult, if not impossible. He has come, the visitor says, 'from unknown lands, known lands' to learn from Colum Cille 'the spot in which knowledge and ignorance have died, and the spot where they were born, and the spot in which they were buried.' The terms in which this enquiry is couched recall the familiar motifs of the difficult task and the enigmatic or riddling question and evidently it is not intended as a simple quest for knowledge, but may be interpreted either as a formal prelude to an explanation which in the event is left unstated or as a poser designed to test the saint's competence. The latter interpretation is that of the modern version in *Betha Cholaim Chille*, where Mongán declares explicitly that he has come to match skill and knowledge with the saint. In any event, Colum Cille merely answers the question with another, and shows incidentally in doing so that he acknowledges his companion's closer acquaintance not only with the Otherworld, but also with the history and landmarks of Ireland.

What,[9] he asks, was this lough before them (viz. Loch Febail 'Lough Foyle'), in former times? To which the other replies: 'It was yellow, it was flowery, it was green, it was hilly, it was full of drink, it had abundance of rushes (or 'of rush beds', i.e. of hospitality), it was rich in silver, it had numerous chariots. I have grazed on it when I was a deer, I have swum in it when I was a salmon and when I was a seal, I have coursed over it[10] when I was a wolf, I have travelled about it when I was a man; I have crossed under three sails, a yellow sail which bears [one forth] (?), a green (*glas*) sail which submerges(?), a red sail with . . . of blood (or 'flesh'). Women have cried out to me.[11] Though I know neither father [nor] mother (or 'though mother does not know father') . . . I speak (?) to living men as well as (?) to the dead.' Then in response to Colum Cille's question, '. . . islands to the east of us, what is beneath them',[12] he answers: 'There are tuneful (pleasant) long-haired men, there are

[9] MS. *Coiuch* leg. *coich*.

[10] MS. *rothrathrath*. Meyer suggests reading *rothrachtach*, but a verb seems to be called for. Assuming dittography, I have read it as a corruption of *ra-ráth*, perf. 1 sg. of *rethid* 'run', and with obj. 'run over' etc.

[11] MS. *Roiechtsat mnae dimm*. One might expect *formm* for the meaning 'to me'. Contribb. sv. *iachtaid* suggests the translation 'cried out about me' i.e. 'at my coming.'

[12] Meyer reads, *O saini* (?) *innsi* (?) *friun anuir cid fotha ní*. There are several textual difficulties here: the opening words are unclear, as is the final *ní*, and the evidence of other texts and traditions suggests that one should read *aniar* 'to the west' for *anuir*; cf. *Immram Brain* §25, *Fil trí coictea inse cían/isind oceon frinn aniar* and *do taeb tiar* in the version of our text in *Betha Cholaim Chille*. Nevertheless, I am not entirely convinced that this emendation is necessary. The Otherworld was commonly located in the western ocean and for this very reason there may have been a tendency to transfer other marine and submarine locations of the Otherworld in the same direction. It is just possible, therefore, that our text is more conservative on this point than *Immram Brain*. Cf. p. 47 infra.

ctive milk-abundant[13] kine underneath them whose lowing is nusical, there are deerlike deer, there are horselike horses, there re double-heads, there are triple-heads, in Europe, in Asia, in nknown lands, in a green land above its many borders (?) to its stuary(?).'

Colum Cille then takes him aside out of hearing of the monks vho were with him 'in order to converse with him and to question im about the heavenly and earthly mysteries. While they were onversing for half a day or from one hour to the same hour on the ext day,[14] Colum Cille's monks watched them from afar. When he conversation had come to an end, they suddenly saw the young nan vanish from them. It is not known whither he went or whence e came.[15] When his monks begged Colum Cille to let them know omething of the conversation, he said to them that he could not ell them even one word of what had been told to him, and said that it vas proper for men not to be told.'

As we have already noted, Meyer would date the original of the *macallam* in the eighth or ninth century, and there does not appear o be any serious objection to this, or to an even earlier dating, on inguistic grounds. The only thing to cause misgivings is the use of *oich* (sic leg.) in the sentence *coiuch reboi riam inn loch sae aetcium* vhich Meyer translates 'What was this lake which we see, formerly?' However, there is considerable uncertainty with regard to the possible ıses of this form in OI and its evidence here is in no way decisive. n OI *coich* normally means 'whose is?', but it is also common in MI n the sense 'who?, what?' and this usage may be older than MI;[16] here is, for instance, the well-known *coich boi coich bía* 'who was [and] vho will be' in *Amra Choluim Chille*.[17] Also by the MI period at least *oich* seems to have occasionally acquired the meaning 'of what kind?', or example LL Táin, ed. C. O'Rahilly, 1158: *Cóich[i] and na eóin sin, a Ibair?* 'What kind of birds are those, Ibar?' This latter meaning vould, of course, suit our OI anecdote as well as Meyer's does.

In MS. H.3.18 the *Imacallam* is immediately preceded by *Compert Mongáin* and *Scél Mongáin*, two of the minor tales which derive rom *Cín Dromma Snechta*, the early eighth-century (?) manuscript

[13] Following Meyer's suggested reading, *lúthmara lachtmara*, which is more in harmony with the context than *huathmuru alachtmaru* of the MS.

[14] As Grosjean suggests, this alternative may be a gloss incorporated in the narrative r else a variant reading from a different version.

[15] H.3.18, *cia luid nó cia* [leg. *can?*] *tauluid*, H.2.17, *cia luidh nó toluidh*.

[16] In some cases where OI *coich* may be translated 'who is', it probably means literally whose is' and is the equivalent of Mod. Ir. *cé leis é/í*. That it was thus understood is lear from Latin renderings of the Irish idiom, e.g. *et indicá nobis cuius es*, *Tripartite ife of Patrick*, ed. Whitley Stokes II, 324–5; *Liber Ardmachanus*, ed. J. Gwynn, fol. 27. his usage, which must obviously have been of common occurrence in the spoken lanuage, may have contributed to the establishmentof the meanings 'who, what?'.

[17] LU 873 = *RC* xx, 260. Bergin accepts that the interrogative pronoun is here used s subject (*Ériu* xii, 205).

which I have discussed in *Ériu* xxiii, 102 ff., and is followed by the short version of *Togail Bruidne uí Dergae*, which also belonged originally in the same manuscript.[18] The fact that our text is here flanked by others which once formed part of *Cín Dromma Snechta* raises the possibility that it also belonged there. Linguistically there is nothing to exclude it.

There is, furthermore, a marked resemblance in structure and style between this text and the opening section of *Echtrae Conlai*, particularly in the mingling of the same Latin and Irish verb-forms to link the dialogue: *As-bert Colum Cille . . . Respondit iuvenis . . . Respondit Colum Cille . . . Respondit iuvenis . . . Asbert Colum Cille . . . Fris-gart int óclach* in the *Imacallam* and *As-bert Conle . . . Mulier respondit . . . Mulier respondit* in the *Echtrae*. It is true that the use of Latin linking verbs by the monastic redactors is not peculiar to these texts and one cannot therefore base any firm conclusions on the stylistic similarity, but nonetheless it gives some support to the linguistic and other arguments for ascribing a similar date and immediate provenance to the *Imacallam* as to *Echtrae Conlai* and the rest of the Otherworld texts from *Cín Dromma Snechta*. It should also perhaps be noted that these and related lyric texts have a number of verbal as well as thematic elements in common. One such correspondence links the *Imacallam* and *Immram Brain*: *Dodechusa a tirib ingnadu, a tirib gnath* 'I have come from unknown lands, from known lands' *Im.*, and *Coíca rand ro gab in ben a tírib ingnath* 'Fifty quatrains sang the woman from unknown lands' *IB* l. 1 (cf. also *Serglige Con Culaind* l. 466: *Ranacsa rem rebrad rán/bale ingnád ciarbo gnád* 'I came . . . to a place that was strange, though well-known', where we have the same enigmatic combination of positive and negative forms).

The concluding section of the Imacallam

Another minor feature of the style of the *Imacallam* may have implications not so much for the literate as for the pre-literate history of the text. This is the sentence from the closing sequence which I have translated: 'It is not known whither he went or whence he came' (see n. 15). Variations on this phrase occur so frequently in the literature that one can only assume it was a traditional formula for referring to visitors from the Otherworld. In *Serglige Con Culaind* Óengus mac Áeda Abrat bears a message to Cú Chulaind from the

[18] The section of H.2.17 in which the second copy of the tale occurs was formerly part of the Book of Lecan; cf. T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin 1921), 112, 350. Grosjean misquotes them (*Anal. Boll.* xlv, 76) when he assigns the leaves in question to the *Yellow Book of Lecan*. The Lecan text is included in the facsimile edition of the Book of Lecan by Kathleen Mulchrone, 145b.

Otherworld and the texts says: *Luid úadib íarom in fer ⁊ ní fetatar ia deochaid nó can donluid* (v.l. *luid*) 'The man went from them then nd they knew not whither he had gone nor whence he came' Sc² 20. Similarly *Tochmarc Étaíne* says of the Otherworld horseman who approaches Étaín at Inber Cíchmaine: *Dochuaid uaidib in -oclaech iar tain, ⁊ ni fedadar can dodechaidh nó cid dochoidh iarum* The warrior departed from them after that and they knew not whence he had come or whither he had gone' TE² 26 §23. Again n the same tale Midir comes at sunrise to Tara to resume his game f 'chess' with Eochaid Airem and Eochaid 'knew not whither he ad gone or whence he had come' *Ni fidir cidh dochuaid nó can odeochaidh* 44 §3. Mac Con Glinne addresses the fairy phantom vith the words *ni fhetar can tice nó cia thégi* 'I know not whence hou comest nor whither thou goest' Aisl. MC 75.4. In the text entitled *Suidigud Tellaig Temra* 'The Settling of the Manor of Tara' the nysterious and omniscient Trefhuilngid Tre-eochair is asked *can odeachaid ⁊ cid thége ⁊ caidi th'ainm ⁊ caidi do slondud* 'whence thou ast come and whither thou goest, and what is thy name and surame' *Ériu* iv 140 §14. For examples which appear to show econdary assimilation of the two constituent phrases such as I uggest has occurred in our Mongán text cf. BDD² 50: *Cest: can deit can do-luid? ol Eochaid. Ní anse, olsí. Étaín missi, ingen Étair rí Eochraidi a sídaib,* Acall. 388: *Can duit, a ógláich, ar iat, ocus canas ice?* and YBL 119 a 11 (*Tochmarc Becfola*) *ar ni feas cia theit no cia hudchaid* (cf. also op. cit. 118 a 4–6). In *Echtrae Conlai* only the first art of the twofold question is used, when Conlae asks the woman rom the Otherworld *Can do-dechud-so a banscál?* 'Whence have you ome, woman?' ZCP xvii, 195. The question recurs in almost recisely the same form (*Can do-dechad a banscal?* Arch. f. celt. Lex. II, 326) in *Echtrae Machae,* another text which like *Echtrae Conlai* lerives from Cín Dromma Snechta. Other instances have a single hrase with the verb *arlaid/árlaid.* The girl whom Óengus saw in his ream disappeared when he awoke and 'he knew not whither she had one from him' *Nícon fitir cia árluid* (MS. *aralaid*) *húad* Aisl. Óeng. §1. So did the phantom figure disappear from Cú Chulainn in *Fled Bricrenn: ní fitir cía arlaíd úad inti ro boí oca acallaim* LU 9127. imilarly in *Scéla Eogain ocus Cormaic: Ni fitir si cia arluith* ZCP iii, 310.

In the Middle Welsh tale *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet* when Pwyll eeks to retain the Otherworld lady who turns out to be Rhiannon is first question is: *Arglwydes, pan doy di, a pha gerdet yssyd arnat ti?* whence comest thou, and where art thou going' PKM 12.13. The imilarity to the Irish formula is obvious, and one might well sk whether this is simply because it is an obvious question, and

phraseology, to address to a supernatural visitor or whether instead we have to do here with a traditional element of common (insular) Celtic narrative style. That the latter explanation is the correct one is suggested not merely by the verbal correspondence, which might conceivably be accidental, but also by the fact that there is a second narrative element shared by the tale in *Pwyll* and the Colum Cille anecdote. In both cases a mortal (at least in terms of the immediate context) holds converse with a visitor from the Otherworld while his retinue looks on from a distance, and in both cases, when the conversation is ended and the visitor departs, the mortal hero is eagerly questioned by his followers but refuses to discuss what he has learned from his mysterious companion: 'When his monks begged Colum Cille to let them know something of the conversation, he said to them that he could not tell them even one word of what had been told to him, and said that it was proper for men not to be told' beside 'And they parted, and he went towards his war-band and his retinue. However they might question him concerning the maiden, he would turn to other matters.'

Given the disparity between the two settings and making due allowance for the creative and redactorial elements in both compositions, this double correspondence, partly verbal and partly thematic, is quite remarkable and the most reasonable explanation would seem to be that the Welsh and Irish tales preserve a traditional formula for rounding off accounts of meetings and dialogues between a mortal and a supernatural being.

As we have seen, this formula was familiar to the redactor or redactors of several texts once contained in Cín Dromma Snechta. It was also known, not surprisingly, to the author of *Immram Brain*, and it is interesting to observe briefly how he made use of it. The evidence of the Irish examples, together with that in *Pwyll*, suggests that, when the traditional formula occurred in its full binary form, the two phrases were conjoined, and this is presumably how it was known to the author of the *Immram*. He, however, uses the two phrases separately: when the Otherworld woman appeared in the royal house none knew whence she came, *a nnád fetatar can dolluid in ben* (§1), and when she left having spoken the first series of verses none knew whither she went, *a nnád fetatar cia luid* (§31). That the division was done consciously and for stylistic ends seems to be borne out by the parallelism in the use of the conjunction a^n, which is otherwise hardly predictable in the context; this is consistent with my remarks on the prose passages of the *Immram* in *Ériu* xxiii, 114. The effect is to underline the unity of the first of the two constituent parts of the *Immram*, the invitation episode. I think this may be seen to have some significance when we come finally to present

more or less definite conclusions as to how *Immram Brain* came into being.

The conceptual antiquity of the Imacallam

The substance of these few remarks on the *Imacallam* is in effect that it was written down in the early OI period, that it bears certain stylistic resemblances to *Echtrae Conlai* and *Immram Brain*, and that it embodies a traditional story type and structure. To what extent it may also embody the matter of a traditional story is something we must enquire into further, but in the meantime it may be useful to compare briefly the OI text of the *Imacallam* with Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's version of the same incidents: it will at least exemplify some of the ways in which a partisan redactor may modify a traditional narrative.

The basic theme is the popular one recounting the meeting of a revered saint with a famous figure of antiquity—Tuan mac Cairill and St Finnian of Moville for instance, or Caílte (or Oisín) and St Patrick—and indeed our text may be the earliest recorded instance of it. It is a convenient device which had the twofold advantage of providing direct testimony to the authenticity of the traditions associated with heroes of a by-gone age and of bringing the pagan heroes themselves within the benevolent embrace of Christianity. In this regard it is complemented by a number of tales which appear to be derivative of, or influenced by, the Trajan legend, in which Pope Gregory was made to revive the dead emperor and to baptize him:[19] thus in the Life of St Crónán it is said of the giant whom the saint resuscitated: *Iam narrauit eis sua opera gentilia*;[20] in the Life of Cainnech, when the saint and his followers come upon a skull in the ground, one of the latter motivates the resuscitation motif by saying: *Vtinam hoc capud loqueretur nobiscum, quia ab antiquis temporibus defunctum est, et fabulas nobis narrare potuisset*;[21] and in Tírechán's Memoir the giant whom Patrick raises from the grave identifies himself and throws an interesting light on the early history of *fianaigecht: Ego sum macc maicc Cais maic Glais qui fui subulcus rig Lugir rig Hirotæ. Iugulavit me fian Maicc (maicc) Con in regno Coirpri Niothfer anno .c. usque hodie.*[22]

However, there is one important respect in which the OI *Imacallam* differs from other adaptations of its theme and from the Irish derivatives of the Trajan legend: in it there is no mention of the hero's being converted and baptized, and in fact Colum Cille makes not the

[19] Cf. J. Szövérffy, *Irisches Erzählgut im Abendland* (Berlin 1957), 48 ff.
[20] C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford 1910) II, 23.
[21] Op. cit. I, 155 f.
[22] *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes (London 1887), II, 324; *Liber Ardmachanus*, ed. J. Gwynn (Dublin-London 1913) 27.

slightest effort to obtrude his own Christianity on his visitor. This in itself suggests that the *Imacallam* is typologically early and to some extent bears out the linguistic and textual evidence that it is also chronologically early.

Maghnus Ó Domhnaill of course repairs Colum Cille's reticence—if that had not already been done in whatever version he had for his source—and represents the Otherworld youth as accepting Colum Cille's protection and his promise of eternal salvation, the interesting implication here being that the Otherworld inhabitant could acknowledge the validity of the Christian faith and still return to his pagan Elysium, there to abide happily in the secure knowledge that with his death—something of a contradiction in the light of more normal conceptions of Mag Mell—the gates of the Christian Heaven would be open to receive him.

Maghnus's version also contrives to ensure that Mongán's great knowledge—which, as presented here, was primarily a matter of traditional history and cosmography—be seen in its proper perspective: great though it was, it counted for little beside Colum Cille's knowledge of Heaven and Hell as well as of the material world. Not so the OI text. Here the saint has the air of deferring to the superior knowledge of his companion within the area of their discussion, and his whole aim is to extract what information he can about the stranger's Otherworld home and about 'the heavenly and earthly mysteries'. The pagan deity (for such he seems to be) is presented as a figure to be respected and, above all, as the repository of a range of knowledge to which Irishmen, including clerics, might properly aspire, as well as of a more occult knowledge which were best restricted to chosen spirits such as Colum Cille himself.

In a sense the situation here is the complete antithesis of that described by Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, where the vision of Heaven and Hell vouchsafed to Mongán by Colum Cille corresponds to the unutterable secrets of the 'heavenly and earthly mysteries' which were revealed to the saint by the Otherworld youth in the OI text.[23] That such a basic revision was thought necessary is a measure of the originality and relative antiquity of its view of Irish mythological tradition—certainly no other adaptation of the saint and hero theme accepts so unconditionally the professedly pagan attitude to the mysteries of the universe—and even though the *Imacallam* is part

[23] A minor feature of the reversal of roles in *Betha Colaim Chille* is the brief description of Heaven in terms which recall the traditional accounts of the Happy Otherworld. One might perhaps compare the poem in Laud 615 which tells how, when Colum Cille had guests, Loch Febail would deliver to him an abundance of fish and its waters, by God's design, take on the taste of new milk and wine (*ZCP* vii, 303; also *Betha Colaim Chille* §83); though here one is probably justified in seeing biblical influence in the detail of Colum's miracle, the effect is to restore—if only partially and temporarily—Loch Febail's pristine character as a region of supernatural plenty.

f the monastic record of pagan tradition there seem to me to be ood reasons for believing that in it we have a fragment, relatively naltered, of the raw material which in its adapted form gave us *mmram Brain*. I say relatively unaltered, because it would be olish to suppose that any oral text written by a monastic redactor—articularly a text which may have had theological or cosmological mplications (see infra)—would have gone unchanged in the process. t seems to me that in its structure and, broadly speaking, in its ubstance the *Imacallam* continues a pre-literate text, but not ecessarily that it is a complete or literal record of it: for instance, ne mention of Europe and Asia may possibly reflect familiarity ith Isidore and other classical and ecclesiastical sources. Indeed, I am correct, the oral text itself had probably been altered in one mportant respect, for obviously it must then be assumed that Colum ille has replaced an earlier protagonist. Needless to say, this kind of naracter-substitution is a familiar feature of the evolution of oral adition.

I have referred already to the closing passage of the *Imacallam*. Vhen Colum Cille's monks questioned him about his conversation ith the young man from the Otherworld, the saint replied 'that he ould not tell them even one word of what had been told to him, nd said that it was proper for men not to be told.' I have considered is in conjunction with the 'whence-whither' formula and compared to the end of the Welsh account of the meeting of Pwyll and Rhian-on. If, on the other hand, Colum Cille's statement be taken on its wn, then the range of comparison becomes immeasurably extended nd analogues pour forth in endless profusion. First of all, in view of ne monastic provenance of our text it is inevitable that one should ink of St Paul's account of his own ecstasy, 2 Corinthians XII: *cio hominem . . . ad tertium caelum. Et scio hujusmodi hominem . . . uoniam raptus est in paradisum: et audivit arcana verba, quae non cet homini loqui*, and on the basis of a simple comparison of the vo texts, it would be easy to assume that the monastic redactor of ne *Imacallam* has been influenced by his familiarity with the New estament. However, while this is possible, there are other con-derations which counsel caution. To begin with, the mysteries evealed to St Paul and his reticence concerning them are not *sui eneris*: they have in fact close congeners in many of the traditional teratures of the world. Much has been written and many conflicting inions expressed about the extent and the nature of the relationship hich existed between early Christianity and the mystery religions, ut there is at least general acceptance that the Church Fathers, nd most particularly St Paul, took over from them 'words, images nd gestures' which became an integral part of the Christian theology.

On the other hand, as Fr Hugo Rahner has stressed, many words rites and ideas which are common to Christianity and the Greek mystery cults have sometimes been too readily assumed to have been borrowed by Christianity, when it might be preferable to think in terms of common origins, or of natural symbolism.[24] One of the instances which he discusses has relevance in the present context

> At this point we may usefully consider yet another phenomenon which to the superficial observer might suggest that there had been borrowing from the cults but which in reality is simply due to the essentially universal character of religious psychology. I refer to the tendency to make a secret of matters of religion, a tendency that amounts not merely to a psychological but to some extent to a sociological law.
>
> The deeper and more moving the religious perception of a pious man becomes, the more such experience inclines him chastely to guard it from the non-initiate, and his anxiety to do this increases if there is any danger of the profane multitude breaking in on this holy ground . . .[25]

He goes on to exemplify the force of this concept of 'mystical silence' in different periods of Greek thought. As indeed he might have done just as easily for various other traditions throughout the world.

The acquisition of mystic knowledge is intimately bound up with the notion of initiation. Through it the initiand transcends his normal finite world and attains to a vision of and participation in supernatural life that belongs to the *other* world. And whether this knowledge be acquired through the instruction which forms part of the initiatory rites or through a personal expedition to the Other world,[26] it is always regarded as highly esoteric: as one text puts it 'To declare the Mysteries to the uninitiated would mean the destruction of the laws of the most sacred Mystery.'[27] In *Ériu* xxiii, 136 f. I drew attention to the marvellous tale which tells how the god Vishnu in the guise of a boy Brahman, brought home to Indra the relativity insignificance of his own role in the endless cycle of time. When Indra asked him why he laughed on seeing the column of ants parading across the floor of the hall, he gave this reply: 'The reason is not to be told. Do not ask me to disclose it. The seed of woe and the fruit of wisdom are enclosed within this secret. It is the secret that smites with an axe the tree of worldly vanity, hews away its roots, and scatters its crown. This secret lies buried in the wisdom of the ages, and rarely revealed even to the saints. This secret is the living air

[24] *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London 1963) 37.

[25] Op. cit., 38 f.

[26] Cf. the epic of Gilgamesh which, having told of the hero's return from the land of Dilmun where he had sought everlasting life, adds these words: 'He was wise, he saw mysteries and knew secret things, he brought us a tale of the days before the flood'

[27] From a fragment of Philo Judaeus, quoted in C. J. Bleeker (ed.), *Initiation* (Leiden 1965), 293 n. 4. For a similar remonstrance, in connection with ancient Egyptian cultic mysteries, see op. cit., 55 f.

those ascetics who renounce and transcend mortal existence; but worldlings, deluded by desire and pride, it destroys.'[28] When the African (Nyanga) hero Mwindo returns from his voyage into the places of the sky, he says: 'I have seen in the sky things unseen of which I could not divulge' [sic].[29] The motif recurs in Christian literature: when St. Guthlac's 'angel of consolation' came to visit him morning and evening, 'he propounded mysteries which man should not tell.'[30] And when the beautiful woman of the vision appeared to the poet Aogán Ó Rathaille (†1726–29), she gave him foreknowledge of the return of Ireland's rightful ruler and of the destruction of those who had expelled him and yet other knowledge which he could not for very fear utter in his poem: *'s fios eile ná cuirfead im' laoithibh le fíor-uamhan.* The combination of the *spéirbhean* and the unutterable revelation suggests that Ó Rathaille is here using the same traditional theme of which the OI *Imacallam* offers an independent reflex.[31]

That the theme of the meeting between a mortal and an inhabitant of the Otherworld as found in the *Imacallam* is traditional in Irish is beyond question and need not be demonstrated here. I also hope to have shown, moreover, that the final section of the *Imacallam* conforms to a traditional pattern which was not merely Irish but common Celtic. The motif of 'mystical silence', even if it is not expressed so explicitly in the tale of *Pwyll*, seems to be an essential part of that traditional pattern. For that reason I would regard the motif itself as traditional, rather than derived from Christian sources.

Ritual question and answer

Probably the most striking feature of the *Imacallam* is the cryptic quality of its content. The dominant note throughout is one of

[28] Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* ed. Joseph Campbell (Harper Torchbooks, New York 1962) p. 7.

[29] Daniel Biebwyck and Kahombo C. Mateene (eds.), *The Mwindo Epic* (University of California 1971) p. 143.

[30] Charles W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (New York, Cornell University Press 1947) p. 155. On the increasing use of language and imagery from the mysteries by Christian authors from the third or fourth century, see H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London 1963) 39.

[31] The theme also has its reverberations in folklore, for example in a story from south Donegal recorded by Seán Ó hEochaidh, in *Béaloideas* xxxvii–xxxviii (1969–70 [1973]), 178–181 (for a synopsis in English see op. cit., p. 204 f.). A man called Pádraig Mac Robhartaigh encountered a black sheep which spoke to him. On one of the numerous occasions on which they met the sheep gave Pádraig a forewarning which saved his life. Finally Pádraig told the priest and it was arranged that he should meet the sheep. Standing inside a ring they carried on a conversation in Latin until, at Pádraig's insistence they turned to Irish; but, so disturbed was he at what he heard, that he soon regretted his request. Afterwards the priest raised his hand over the sheep and it disappeared, never to be seen again. He made Pádraig promise on oath never to reveal what he had heard, and even on his death-bed, when his son asked him to relate something of what he had heard from the sheep, Pádraig refused, saying only that there were three classes of people who would be readily admitted to Heaven: children after baptism, priests after ordination, and the poor tillers of the soil.

mystic reticence or ambiguity: in the traditional closure which we have already discussed, in the *óclach*'s replies to Colum Cille's enquiries, and above all in the declared purpose of his visit to the saint: 'I have come,' said he, 'from unknown lands, from known lands, that I may learn from thee the spot in which knowledge and ignorance have died, and the spot where they were born, and the spot in which they were buried.'

This enigmatic enquiry evokes comparison with similar questions from other ancient religious traditions. The knowledge of origins, *jātavidyā* in Sanskrit, was held to be of primary importance for the maintenance of universal order and competitions in such esoteric knowledge were an essential part of religious ritual. In Vedic usage this competitive element centred on the *brahmódya*, which consisted of an exchange of questions and answers between the officiating priests at certain important points in the liturgy. Not surprisingly, Huizinga makes considerable play with this in his study of the agonistic principle in human culture and relates it to the riddle-solving tests and contests which are widely attested:[32] 'The questions which the hierophants put to one another in turn or by way of challenge are riddles in the fullest sense of the word, exactly resembling the riddles in a parlour-game but for their sacred import. The function of these ritual riddle-solving competitions is shown at its clearest in Vedic lore. At the sacrificial festivals they were as essential a part of the ceremony as the sacrifice itself.' The ritual question and answer tend to concentrate on matters of cosmogony and are almost invariably expressed in ambivalent or enigmatic terms. Students of Indian religion recognize that the enigma is one of the characteristic and fundamental processes of Vedic thought: according to Louis Renou, the neuter *bráhman* was the 'cosmic enigma', 'une sorte d'énergie qui utilise la parole mais pour laisser entendre, par voie d'énigme, l'inexprimable,' while the masculine *brahmán* was its appointed vehicle or transmitter, 'le porteur d'énigmes'.[33]

In such an enigmatic context Mongán's query would not be out of place. 'Who knows it, and who shall declare where this Creation was born and whence it came?' asks the great tenth hymn of the Rigveda, with a phraseology that would sit easily in the OI *Imacallam*. 'What then was the first thought?' asks another ritual hymn (VS. XXIII. 53), with the same quest for the origin of an abstraction that is voiced by Mongán. It would perhaps be unwise to press the analogy too closely pending more exhaustive exploration of the Irish sources, and certainly there is nothing in the Irish text to suggest that it might have had a liturgical function comparable to that of the Indian

[32] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (3rd ed. London 1970), ch. 6.
[33] 'Sur la notion de *bráhman*', *Journal asiatique* ccxxxvii (1949), 17 f., 20 f.

ymns, but, having regard to the traditional structure of the *macallam* which I have sought to demonstrate and particularly to he 'mystic silence' formula with which it closes, it is perhaps not nreasonable to assign our text to the same kind of primitive hilosophy and, more specifically, to the same *genre* of bilateral nquiry into cosmic origins that we find in the Vedic hymns.

It should be noted that the *Imacallam* is not the sole instance of n exchange of questions and answers between Mongán and Colum ille. Another such exchange is found in the metrical *dindshenchas* f Áth Clíath Cúalann; at least it is attributed to these two in all he manuscripts and one of the questions is addressed to Mongán y name.[34] The poem purports to explain the events from which he placename took its origin and in it Mongán is again presented s the repository of traditional and occult wisdom. Whether or ot the poem derives from the *Imacallam*—and there is nothing in ts content to suggest that it does—it shows that the dialogue beween Mongán and Colum Cille was much better known in medieval reland than one might infer from the single, poorly preserved text f the *Imacallam*.

Mag nÉolairg and Mag Fuinnside

It was at Carraic Éolairg on Lough Foyle that Colum Cille and Iongán met. According to Maghnus Ó Domhnaill this was because arraic Eolairg was a favourite retreat of Colum's, but it is also ossible that the place had prior associations with traditions relating o the Otherworld. The name Mag nÉolairg 'The Plain of Éolarg' lso occurs, referring either to a part of Lough Foyle or to the sea etween Lough Foyle and Iona, which was of course the area paricularly associated with Manannán mac Lir, the god of the sea;[35] and, n any event, the very use of the word *mag* for any part of the sea is n itself strongly suggestive of an Otherworld context (or, alternaively, of an inundation legend; see infra). Nor does this fragment f evidence stand alone. Manannán is reputed to have been the

[34] Ed. E. Gwynn, III, 100–103, 494.

[35] W. Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba . . . by Adamnan* (Dublin 1857) 274 = G. urphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford 1956) 66. Reeves suggests that it was 'probably poetical name for the part of Lough Foyle near Derry'. In the poem in question as rinted by Reeves Colum Cille reflects how pleasant it would be to travel homewards *ar Magh nÉolairg, sech Beind Eignig* (r. *Foïbne*), *tar Loch Febail*. This would suggest hat Mag nEolairg was the sea between Scotland and Lough Foyle (or the sea in general), ut Gerard Murphy on the other hand reads *Go Mag nÉolairg*, which supports Reeves' terpretation, without even including *tar* among the variant readings. In his notes the metrical *dindshenchas* of Dún Crimthaind Gwynn notes Reeves' view but suggests an alternative that the name may be used as a kenning for the sea in general (*Met. indsh.* III, 501). It seems to me that the latter meaning is obviously the one intended the *dindshenchas* poem, and if that be so then it may also be true of the Colum Cille oem: Manannán, it may be recalled, is regarded as god of the sea at large, though in articular of that part of it which lies between Ireland and Scotland.

supernatural father of Mongán, but he also figures prominently with Bran mac Febail in *Immram Brain* and Bran's father is of course the legendary eponym of Lough Foyle (*Loch Febail*), so that we are presented with an implicit association between Lough Foyle and Manannán's Otherworld realm.

Further evidence for the traditions of Lough Foyle are preserved in two short poems which were once included in Cín Dromma Snechta.[36] The first, so far as one can judge from its rather allusive content, consists mainly of brief reflections by Bran's druid on the conviviality of his lord's household in by-gone days, as well as on certain characteristic elements of the Otherworld scene: the marvellous spring, the company of supernatural women, and the precious stones, these latter to be found close to Srúb Brain which is near the entrance to Lough Foyle on the Donegal side. The second is in the form of a dialogue between Bran's druid and Febal's female seer, the former glorying in the wonders of Bran's Otherworld journey, the latter indulging in poignant memories of Febal's realm of Mag Fuinside (Meyer is surely mistaken when he says that this poem is spoken by the female seer; it is clearly a dialogue, as the title implies). From my first reading of this poem it seemed to me that the tenor of the druidess's remarks presupposed the existence of a version of the common inundation theme in connexion with Lough Foyle, but it was only much later that I noticed the existence of evidence confirming this initial impression. In *Lebor Gabála* there is mention of nine loughs which burst over the land of Ireland in the reign of Tigernmas mac Follaig, and one of them is 'Loch Febuil in Tír Eogain'. It was, we are told, over 'Febal son of Lotan that it burst and Mag Fuinnsighe was the name of the plain over which the lough came'.[37] The story of Febal mac Lotain's death must have been known in the ninth century, for Flannacán mac Cellaig mentions it (*Dardaīn Febail meic Lotain*) in his catalogue poem on the death of famous men.[38] The memory of such an inundation (or Otherworld) legend seems to have survived into modern times, for John O'Donovan in the middle of the nineteenth century reports the tra-

[36] Ed. K. Meyer from MS. H.4.22, T.C.D., *ZCP* ix, 339 f.; cf. R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 17. There is another copy, in a rather eccentric spelling, in MS. 23L14, R.I.A., p. 18 (18th century). In this the second poem has a continuation of four additional quatrains. I propose to print texts and translations of these poems and of the *Imacallam* as an appendix to the present series of essays.

[37] Ed. Macalister, V, 204, 206 (in the latter text the name of the plain is given as Mag Foirindsi and after the words *for Febal mac Lotain ro meabaid* it adds *in murtrach muiridi* 'the flood from the sea' or 'the sea-like flood'; see also Keating, *Foras Feasa* II 120–124.

Regarding the name of the lough, it can hardly be the adjective *fuinnside* 'of/with ashtrees', of which Contribb. cites one instance. The prefixing of *f-* to *uinnius* 'ash tree' seems to be later than OI.

[38] Ed. K. Mulchrone, *Journ. of Celt. Studies* i, 85 §18 and note.

lition that Manannán's castle lay under the waters of Lough Foyle.[39]

In terms of the legend Febal is the eponym of the lough, but historically the relationship was probably the reverse. M. A. O'Brien has equated the name Febal with the Welsh *gwefl* 'lip [of an animal]',[40] and though it is not attested elsewhere in Irish as a common noun, this would seem to explain its use as a placename. Its use as a personal name would then be secondary. Similarly the name Bran, though well attested elsewhere as a personal name, is in this particular instance obviously derived from *Srúb Brain* 'Raven's Beak', the name of a place on the Inishowen side of Lough Foyle. But what is of most particular interest to us in the present context is the fact that the name of Febal's father Lotan is sometimes accompanied by the patronymic *mac Lir*, e.g. *Lodán mac Lir* in *Acallam na Senórach* (ed. Stokes, l. 702), and similarly in *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (ed. R. I. Best, *Ériu* iii, 150 §3). Vendryes preferred to regard this as an epithet, viz. *mac lir*, rather than as a patronymic, but the evidence is far from decisive on this point. In either case it is of considerable interest: if it is used as a patronymic, the effect is to relate Manannán and Lotan as brothers, and even if it is used merely as a qualifier, it nonetheless links the two characters functionally or situationally. It is true that one must exercise caution in using forms which are attested only in relatively late sources, but even if *Lotan mac Lir* is a secondary fabrication it still indicates the kind of associations attached traditionally to the names of Lotan and his son Febal. It is perhaps worth underscoring the fact that both Bran and Mongán have fathers who are identified with the sea or with a part of it.

The storiological 'prehistory' that one glimpses briefly here encompasses a close web of interrelationships of themes and of persons. Already by about the eighth century both Bran and Mongán were

[39] *FM* s.a. 1851, note c: 'There exists a tradition in the county of Londonderry, that the spirit of this celebrated navigator Manannán lives in an enchanted castle in the *Pans*, or waves of Magilligan, opposite Inishowen, and that his magical ship is seen there once every seventh year.' I am indebted to Miss Katherine Simms for bringing this reference to my attention.

There is an allusion to Febal mac Lotain as eponym of the lough in one of the poems in Ailech in the Metrical Dindshenchas (ed. E. Gwynn, IV, 110–112; also 100–102). Torrgenn is punished for killing Eochaid Ollathair's son Aed by being made to carry his body until he finds a stone of a size to match it. It is at Lough Foyle that he finds the one which enables him to end his long and tortured trek; and here the poet says *Febal mac Lotain . . . rolád ón loch dar in lenab cloch a chomfhot*, which Gwynn translates 'Febal mac Lotain . . . a stone was cast up by the lough of length to cover the child [letter "youth"]' (though the syntax would seem to require that *comfhot* should be in the genitive). Gwynn identifies the *lenab* with Febal: his reading is that when Febal was drowned by the deluge, 'apparently the lough rolled a stone over him, which Torrgenn appropriated' (op. cit., 404 n. 55–56). However, the poem is, to say the least, ambiguous at this point.

On the mythological nature of the characters in the *dindshenchas* tale, see Máire MacNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (Oxford 1962) 84.

[40] *Celtica* ix, 212.

part of a complex of Otherworld and preternatural traditions centred upon Lough Foyle, and both were linked, though not precisely in the same way, with the sea-god Manannán. In the dialogue between Bran's druid and Febal's female seer the Otherworld—pictured here in terms which are reminiscent of the Otherworld journey—is juxtaposed with the inundation theme, and a similar juxtaposition—one might almost speak of fusion—recurs in the OI *Imacallam* of Colum Cille and the *óclach* where the latter describes what had formerly existed where the lough now stood. Bran, whose father was immersed together with his kingdom by an eruption of water or, perhaps more accurately, by an inrush of the sea,[41] voyaged to the Otherworld and remained there for ever more; Mongán was carried off to the Otherworld when he was only three nights old,[42] but he was no mere visitor there and his original legend, which filters through the historical veneer of the extant texts, pictured him as one of the company of the gods. Bran on the other hand is known from the tale which has familiarized his name as a mere human who, like Conlae or Laegaire or Crimthann, was invited to enjoy the eternal bliss of Mag Mell. There is here little or no indication that he like Mongán had more profound connections with the preternatural world. And this is precisely why the testimony of the several minor texts already mentioned are of such interest and importance, for they appear to offer fragments of Bran's legend in a less formalized setting than that of *Immram Brain* and one in which he has not been euhemerized as in the latter text.

So far I have brought forward for consideration a number of thematic and structural features which argue strongly for the priority of the *Imacallam* and the two Bran poems over *Immram Brain* itself. Now I propose to resume briefly two specific points which I have adverted to in the present essay and in *Ériu* xxiii and which perhaps illustrate the direct dependence of *Immram Brain* on (some form of) the *Imacallam*. The first of these concerns the sentence in the *Imacallam* in which Colum Cille's interlocutor declares (following Meyer's translation): 'I know neither father (nor) mother' even though the grammatical person of the verb, and thus the precise translation, is not certain, it is fairly clear from the context that it refers to the *óclach* himself. In *Ériu* xxiii, 132 I accepted that we have to do here with a statement of the sacred paradox associated with the birth of the hero, which myth naturally enjoys considerable frequency in Irish tradition as a whole and clearly had a rather especial literary vogue in east Ulster in the seventh (and

[41] On this see n. 37 supra.

[42] This is in the tale of Mongán and Dub Locha, ed. Meyer, *The Voyage of Bran* I 58 ff., which in spite of its late date of composition almost certainly contains some early tradition.

eighth?) century. But the words spoken by the young man who is identified with Mongán find their closest analogue in a line of *Immram Brain* referring to Christ as 'the son of a woman who knows no mate' (§26c, *mac mná nád festar céle*),[43] and such is the similarity that one must consider the possibility that *Immram Brain* was here the borrower. This was indeed suggested many years ago by Alfred Nutt, a scholar whose knowledge of the Irish language may have been very limited but whose sense of tradition and literature was extraordinarliy acute,[44] and now, given the relationship between the *Immram* and the *Imacallam* which I have tried to bring out in the foregoing pages, it would seem that one is compelled by the sheer accumulation of evidence to accept Nutt's suggestion. If this be accepted it means that a statement which originally belonged to a pagan mythological tradition was taken over by the monastic *littérateur* and applied to Christ and the Virgin Birth. There is nothing inherently unlikely in such a transference, and in any event we know that the author of *Immram Brain* saw and made use of the analogy between the Incarnation and the birth of Mongán (with whom the young man of the *Imacallam* is identified).[45] It is but a further instance of a syncretic process which had operated over a much wider area in the early days of Christianity—and notably in connexion with this very theme of the Virgin Birth.[46]

Assuming then that Nutt's suggestion is well-founded, its importance lies not so much in the single borrowing which it points forth as in the general process of editing and adaptation which it implies, and in the broader implications which this process has in its turn for the history of early Irish literary forms. For if this be a genuine instance of borrowing, one can be certain that it is not isolated. Another likely instance concerns the arcane knowledge attributed to Mongán. In *Immram Brain* Manannán foretells his own brief union with Fiachna's wife and the consequent birth of the child who will, among other things, 'make known secrets—a course of wisdom—in the world, without being feared' (§52 c, d: *adfí rúna, rith ecnai,/isin bith cena eclai*). Surely this cannot be dissociated

[43] This seems preferable to Meyer's translation, 'The son of a woman whose mate will not be known'. Incidentally it corresponds very neatly with my alternative rendering of the sentence in the *Imacallam*, viz. '. . . mother does not know father'.

[44] *ZCP* ii, 319.

[45] See *Ériu* xxiii, 125 ff.

[46] For example Fr Hugo Rahner, while defending the Christian doctrine of the Virgin Birth and underlining its biblical basis, nevertheless speaks of 'the basic tenets of Christian dogma around which the cultic garment came gradually to drape its lovely classical folds' and observes that 'the Church, wholly sure of her own doctrine and identity, reached out in the third and fourth centuries, appropriated whatever she found serviceable among the thoughts and longing and cultic forms of solar piety, and then used them to express and illustrate a mystery that was uniquely her own' (*Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London 1963), 130 f.).

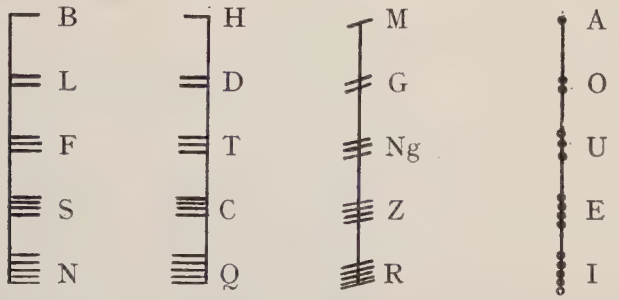
from the passage in the *Imacallam* discussed above in which Colum Cille asks the man identified as Mongán 'about the heavenly and earthly mysteries' (*do iarfuidid no rún nemdai ⁊ talmandai*).

PROINSIAS MAC CANA

University College, Dublin

THE INVENTION OF THE OGOM CIPHER[1]

THE basic Ogom cipher consists, as is well known, of four groups (*aicme*) of five letters. These are represented by 1–5 strokes cut beside or across a central line for consonants, and f 1–5 notches or short strokes on the central line for vowels. The ipher may be shown as follows reading downwards[2]:



B, H, M, A are categorizing letters, and their Irish names are used o name the groups: *aicme beithe, aicme (h)uatha, aicme muine, aicme ilme*[3]. It will become clear that the four letters in each group llowing the categorizing letter were conceived of as two pairs. ccordingly the categories may be shown thus:

B – group: **B** / L F / S N

H – group: **H** / D T / C Q

M – group: **M** / G Ng / Z R

A – group: **A** / O U / E I

As presented here there are four categorizing letters and eight pairs. f the pairs five consist of letters between which there is a clear ionetic relationship: D T, C Q, G Ng, O U, E I. The three remain- g pairs may by contrast be referred to as non-phonetic; it will be

[1] The present article is a revised version of a discourse given to the Royal Irish ademy on the 25th of June, 1973. It may be of interest to mention that the basic eory presented here was evolved in something like its present form in 1942 .

[2] The sound represented by Latin F did not exist in proto-Irish, and Latin had no ecial symbol for [w] or [v]. It will be assumed here that the inventor of Ogom based third letter of the first group of consonants on Latin F and, consequently F will be d to represent it rather than the usual V. Note that the Romans in a sense resorted F to supply the deficiency in their alphabet when the Emperor Claudius (10 B.C.– D. 54) introduced the *digamma inversum* (Ⅎ) for the sound [w] in order to distin- sh it from U (See David Diringer, *The Alphabet* (London, 1947) p. 538).

[3] Calder *Auraicept na n-Éces* (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 74.

part of the thesis of the present article to suggest how, out of a total of fifteen possible combinations, L was specifically paired with F, S with N, and Z with R. There is another obvious problem in the grouping of the letters. A is the first vowel in the Latin and Greek alphabets and B is the first consonant, and there is an analogous position in Semitic. It is thus easy to suggest a reason why A and B should function as categorizing letters. But no explanation has been offered as to why H and M have this function. It is important in the argument that follows to stress the fact that the mechanistic explanation offered as to the pairing of L F, S N, and Z R simultaneously leads to an explanation of how H and M, as well as A and B, came to be leaders of their groups. It is necessary, however, before presenting this argument to make some remarks on the present state of the question of the date and origin of the cipher.

Most of the surviving inscriptions are of the Irish pagan period, and some few, at least, may be dated on historical grounds to the early or mid-fifth century. The great majority, however, commemorate individuals of whom we have no historic record, and are thus, in any precise sense, undateable. Many of the inscriptions show very early linguistic forms, but historical or other criteria for dating these closely are entirely lacking.

In 1936 a German scholar Keller pointed out certain resemblances between the presentation of the alphabet by the Latin grammarian Donatus and the classification of letters in the Ogom cipher.[4] Like Ogom Donatus divided the alphabet into four groups. These are as follows, the letters not used in Ogom being placed within round brackets:[5]

1. The five vowels: A E I O U
2. The seven semi-vowels F L M N R S (X)
3. The nine mutes B C D G H (K) (P) Q T
4. The two Greek letters: (Y) Z

The resemblances between the Ogom system and the teaching of Donatus lay in the following facts: (1) The division into four groups; (2) the absolute correspondence of the vowel group, ignoring, of course, the matter of order; (3) the B-class has four of Donatus' semi-vowels; (4) the H-group is comprised exclusively of consonants belonging to the Donatian mutes; (5) the last consonantal group, categorised by M, contains the Greek letter Z.

[4] *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, Band 47, Nr. 2 (1936), pp. 33–7.

[5] *Uocales . . . sunt . . . numero quinque, a e i o u. harum duae, i et u, transeunt in consonantium potestatem . . . Semiuocales sunt . . . numero septem, f l m n r s x . . . mutae sunt . . . numero nouem, b c d g h k p q t . . . y et z remanent quas litteras propter Graecorum nomina admisimus* (Keil *Grammatici Latini* IV, 1863 p. 467,).

I am by no means convinced that these resemblances necessarily imply the dependence of Ogom on what for the moment we may call Donatian teaching. In the first place the grouping of the five vowels could come from a less elaborate presentation of the alphabet than that of Donatus, a presentation in which letters were simply divided into vowels and consonants. The division into four categories can be coincidental. The ogomist used twenty letters; hence, since he obviously wanted even categories, the only logical possibilities were to have five categories of four letters, or four categories of five. Furthermore, if he was really impressed by Donatus' divisions he could have made a complete category of semi-vowels as well as a complete category of mutes: this would only involve an interchange of the categorizing letters of the groups, that is, to present them as B D T C Q , M L F S N, and finally the miscellaneous group, H G Ng Z R. He did not do this, and so I conclude that the influence of Donatian teaching is not demonstrably present.

Thurneysen and Vendryes, who were impressed by some of Keller's views, were careful in their phraseology; while they stressed the name of Donatus they did not state that the inventor depended either directly or indirectly on his actual Grammar[6]. But the constant association of Donatus' name with Ogom has led gradually to a position where the cipher is regarded as deriving, if not from the actual work of Donatus, at least from grammarians of the *late* Roman empire. In this connection we may mention Jackson and Hamp. The last named, indeed, put the matter very vigorously in a review of a work on the alphabet by Gelb. He associates the invention of the script with the fifth century. He says: '. . . the structural categories on which ogham is built were beyond reasonable doubt historically derived from Latin grammarians and late Roman schools (and surely not from Runic, or off-centre Greek, or dark Druidic sources, much less mythical and anachronistic brands of Picts)[7] . . .' This common current view, that Ogom derives from late grammarians such as Donatus, has led to some difficulty. Donatus' exact dates are unknown, but he is thought to have written about 350 A.D. If he wrote his Grammar at that date it is hardly likely that it could have influenced the inventor of Ogom very much before the late fourth century. The suggestion of such a late date drew a protest from Binchy who wrote: 'Professor Jackson of Edinburgh in a recent work puts forward the view that the Ogam script was devised

[6] Thurneysen 'Zum Ogom', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.* lxi (1937) 188–208; Vendryes 'L'écriture ogamique et ses origines', *Études Celtiques* iv (1948) 83–116 (based upon a lecture given to l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1938). It is to be noted that Keller (*op. cit.* pp. 33, 37) regarded Ogom as an invention of the fifth century.

[7] *ZCP* xxiv (1954), 312.

on the basis of the Latin alphabet by one of the Irish colonists in Britain and by him brought back to Ireland some time during the fourth century. Well, though I yield to nobody in my admiration for Professor Jackson, particularly for that great work of his, *Language and History in Early Britain*, I do not believe this. I think, first of all, that if an Irish colonist returning from Britain were to bring anything back with him, he would be more likely to bring the Latin alphabet itself rather than this extremely cumbrous way of representing it. I think also that there are indications that the use of Ogam is much earlier than the fourth century[8] . . . '. In the course of his comment Binchy refers to Professor O'Rahilly's belief that Ogom was actually imported into Ireland by a Goidelic people in the first century before Christ. Another scholar who opposed the idea of such a late invention was the archaeologist Eóin Mac White. He opposed the idea on fairly precise grounds, attempting a preliminary typology of the inscriptions, and holding that those inscriptions assigned to the fifth century were secondary types[9]. He also referred to an inscription on a bone, a single letter, for which Dr Raftery had suggested a date in the second century. This is in fact a highly interesting example. It is a case of bone dice in which the five numbers one, two, three, four and six are represented by the appropriate number of dots. The number 5 is represented by the Ogom letter for F, which in primitive Irish represents consonantal U, which the inscriber used for the roman numeral. Apart from the suggested early date this inscription is of importance in that it shows a certain familiarity of the writer with Roman numerals. The theory of the origin of Ogom put forward here would comfortably allow the early dating of the object.

Fortunately there is an easy solution to the chronological difficulty. The name of Donatus has been over-used in this connection, and it is quite clear that he did not invent the division of the Latin alphabet into four groups. Quintilian, writing about 95 A.D., refers in passing to the current method of teaching the alphabet. He approves of the habit of giving children carved ivory alphabetical counters, and of the subdivision of the alphabet into vowels, semi-vowels, mutes and the the two Greek letters[10]. This is the 'Donatian' categorization and we need have no doubt but that it was in use for about a century before Christ when the Romans began to use the Greek letters Y and Z in the spelling of Greek names. Before this the Romans must have had a three-fold division to which they simply added the two Greek letters as a fourth class. This creates the following position: In terms of the common assumption that Ogom is based on the Latin

[8] *Studia Hibernica* ((1961), 8.
[9] 'Contributions to a Study of Ogam Memorial Stones', *ZCP* xxviii (1960–1), 294 ff.
[10] *Institutiones Oratoriae* I 4 6–7, etc.

alphabet the earliest possible date for its invention is not 400 A.D., as is widely assumed today. It is rather some time within the first century before Christ, when Z was introduced into Latin as the last letter of the alphabet.

In general terms the view to which I have come on this matter is as follows. The inventor, in creating his cipher, at first approached the problem in a purely mechanistic manner, and this is perhaps a procedure that one would expect from a cipherologist or encoder. Having achieved a certain result he revised it probably in the interests of easy memorising. His thinking and procedure would have been approximately along the following lines.

First he began with the normal Latin alphabet of post-100 B.C. which had incorporated at the end the two Greek letters Y and Z. To this he added the letter Ng, which was known to Greek and Latin grammarians, and went by the Greek name *agma*. The history of this letter has been studied by Professor Richardson in an article in *Hermathena*[11].

Here arises a very crucial point which caused some difficulty when I first approached this problem. At what point in his Latin alphabet would our inventor place the dubious letter Ng? He might, one would think, associate it with N, and place it before or after that letter. Or he might associate it with G, placing it before or after. There is, however, another and more logical approach. An alphabet is a mnemonic whole and it would not be sound practice to introduce a new letter anywhere in the middle—it would interrupt the traditional flow. Consequently when the Romans added the Greek letters Y and Z they were placed at the end, where they have stayed till today. Similarly, as Professor Richardson has shown in an amusing and interesting aside, the ampersand in recent times was taught in Irish schools as the last symbol in the English alphabet.[12] Furthermore, *agma* is referred to by Priscian who is quoting Varro, who in turn is quoting Ion (of Chios) as the twenty-fifth letter of the Greek alphabet[13]. Its only logical place is at the end. The inventor's Latin alphabet would then consist of twenty-four letters in the following order:

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X Y Z Ng

He decided to form these letters into groups of five. Such a grouping corresponded with the number of fingers on the hand and also fitted well into the Indo-European and specifically Celtic mode which was to think in terms of 5, 10, 15, 20, etc. At this point, faced with twenty-four letters, he had two courses open to

[11] L. J. Richardson, 'Agma, a forgotten Greek letter', *Hermathena* lviii (1941), 57 ff.
[12] *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[13] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

him. He could add another letter and create five groups of five, or he could dispense with four letters and have four groups. The latter course was more economic and he chose it. He dispensed with K because it was merely a duplicate of C, with P because the sound did not exist in his language or dialect, with X either because it was a double letter and could be represented by CS or because it was regarded as a duplicate of S; the Greek Y he did not need. If he had gone further and rejected H and Z (which may have been a temptation) he would, in order to maintain categories of five, have had to drop three more letters. This would leave his alphabet weak and insufficient for his purpose. He had now, in the first stage of the creation of his cipher achieved a fairly efficient alphabet of twenty letters as follows:

A B C D E F G H I L M N O Q R S T U Z Ng

At this point it seemed to me, in my original thinking on this matter, that the cipherologist's first step would be mechanical. There are two simple ways of dividing these letters into four groups. The most obvious is to arrange the alphabet in four groups of five letters as follows:

(1) A B C D E
(2) F G H I L
(3) M N O Q R
(4) S T U Z Ng

It is clear that these four groupings have no closer relationship to the Ogom groupings than would be achieved by a purely chance dealing out of twenty alphabetical cards. We may dismiss this and experimentally look at the other mechanical course that lay open to the inventor, that is, instead of dividing 5×4 to divide 4×5, as follows:

A B C **D**
E F G H
I L M N
O Q **R** S
T U **Z** Ng

This figure, which I will call the Construct, has in the vertical groups of five letters, a close relationship to the groupings in the Ogom cipher. It is likely that the significance of the resemblances can be worked out in terms of mathematical probabilities. This, however, is hardly within my competence, but I can at least point out the factors that may be weighed.

The first thing to notice is that each of the categorizing letters lls into a different group, so that in a sense we have as in Ogom an -group, a B-group, an H-group and an M-group. We have also, in ıe Construct, a satisfactory theoretical explanation as to how H and came to be categorizing letters. It is fairly clear in the existing rm of the Ogom cipher (as I have already stressed) that the inven- r regarded his categories as consisting of a categorizing letter llowed by two pairs, such as **H** / D T / C Q. The categorizing tter was regarded as independent, and not involved in phonetic or nemonic pairing. If we look at the Construct we see that H and M e the top letters in their respective columns which were not to be sed in phonetic or mnemonic pairing. In the column in which M found the letters R and Z, not being phonetically paired, might ave been used as categorizing letters; but the inventor, we may ssume, took the easy course and moved the first non-phonetically aired letter to the top of the column. Similarly in the H-column, , being a phonetically paired letter, was not to be used for categori- tion. There were three possible letters H N S, but the inventor, in the case of M, chose the letter that stood at the head of the olumn.

We have now seen that there are already two questions involving athematical probabilities. First that in the Construct the cate- rizing letters should each fall into a separate column, two (A B) lling into top place; secondly that the other two categorizing letters I H) are separated from the top of the column by phonetically iring letters which could not in the inventor's general system be ed as categorizing letters.

Now for the moment, in comparing the columns of the Construct th the Ogom groupings, I am ignoring the order of letters. But will be noticed that in the Construct, including the categorizing tter, four letters of the Ogom category A are found in category A the Construct. Three letters of the Ogom category B are found category B of the Construct. Four letters of the Ogom category are found in category M of the Construct. And finally two letters the Ogom category H are found in category H of the Construct. we 'score' this achievement as in a game we will see that the nstruct has scored 13 out of 20. This phenomenally high scoring a further matter involving mathematical probabilities. To this may add what may be a significant feature: the groups of scoring ters in the Construct all occur in solid blocks,[14] and in no case is ere the intervention of non-scoring letters, as if for instance we d **B** Q **L** U **F**.

[14] This has been emphasised in the Construct by printing the scoring letters in black e.

Having achieved the position which I would regard as giving a mechanical score of 13 out of 20 the inventor now proceeds to re-arrange the letters in a manner which will produce a good phonetic or mnemonic arrangement. His aim (which is incapable of full realization) is to have in each vertical line a categorizing letter followed by two mnemonic pairs.

(1) He removes four letters from the Construct, letters for which he has special pairing plans. These are T Q C and Ng.

(2) Since M and H are the top letters in each column not involved in mnemonic pairing he moves each to the top of its column.

(3) He moves U over to the space left vacant by T.

(4) He now makes the obvious pairings of G and Ng, and of D and T.

(5) He is left with the pair C Q. He decides that, consisting as it does of stops, this pair belongs phonetically and mnemonically with D T and he accommodates them in that line, moving N S over to line 2, since being 'semi-vowels' they fit in well with F L. Here we may well have a trace of 'Donatian' teaching.

(6) He now makes certain re-arrangements of order within each vertical column. Some comments on this order will be made below.

In this experimental process I think it likely that the inventor used carved counters of the type described by Quintilian.

It may be hard at first to accept that it may be proved or made seem likely, that moves of the type that I have described actually took place. But there is, it seems to me, fairly precise confirmation within the Ogom groupings of such a relationship to the Construct as I have suggested. To find this confirmation we must for the moment forget about the Construct and look again at the Ogom groupings.

Functionally, as I have already stated, there are three types of letter. First there are the categorizing letters A B H M. In three of the four groups the categorizing letters are followed by phonetic pairs. There are five in all: O U, E I, D T, C Q, G Ng. These are all paired in accordance with the sequence of letters in the Latin alphabet, granted our assumption that Ng was placed last. Hence in the pairs O U and E I, O precedes U, E precedes I, etc.

Up to this point we may say that the inventor has abstracted from his alphabet four categorizing letters and five pairs, a total of fourteen. This leaves him with six letters which, following his general system

e must regard as three pairs. Since he has selected his phonetic airs it follows that these letters can only form pairs which are non-honetic or minimally phonetic . Giving them in their order in the atin alphabet they are F L N R S Z. Ignoring for the moment the natter of the order in each pair, there are fifteen ways of pairing hese letters.

Had the inventor followed directly the order in the Latin alphabet is pairs would be F L / N R / S Z. This he obviously did not do. His pairs as given in the Ogom cipher are L F / S N / Z R. Now if t this point we look at the Construct we see that there F is found efore L, R before Z and N before S. The pairings (if we may so egard them) in the Construct are ultimately related to the order in he Latin alphabet, but they have been mechanically modified by eing selected from vertical readings. It is precisely this modification vhich is found in the pairings in the Ogom cipher. The decision of he cipherologist to put the elements of phonetic pairs in alphabetical rder, and to put non-phonetic pairs in anti-alphabetical order is ard to understand, but it seems to be systematic. The position is as f there are eight coins, five pennies and three half-pennies. When hey are tossed the pennies all turn up heads, and the half-pennies ails. Finally, in this regard, a significant aspect of the situation must e emphasied. In selecting the categorizing letters H and M the nventor exercised his free judgement. In the case of A B he did not, nd these letters occupy the same positions in the Ogom cipher and in he Construct. It is clear that in creating five phonetic pairs he had imilarly to exercise judgement. The six non-phonetic pairs would epresent the 'left over' element about which the inventor could do othing spectacular or satisfactory, and consequently judgement was ot exercised. Consequently in the case of the 'left over' letters here is a particularly close relationship between the letter-associations n the Ogom cipher and in the Construct. The mathematician will ave to calculate the chances of a well defined group of six letters eing found paired in both.

It seems to me that judgement on the case I have put must be made y philologists and mathematicians. The philologist might be xpected to pass an initial judgement on certain matters: first the easonableness of the assumptions that the inventor would use the atin F for his W/V sound and that Ng (*agma*) is to be taken as the st letter of the form of the Latin alphabet which is basic to the pher; secondly on the validity of the observation that the creator f Ogom thinks of the group not as a sequence of five letters, but as categorizing letter followed by two pairs.

The mathematician can then perhaps work out probabilities with gard to the significance of the Construct, there being in all five

factors. First, that the four categorizing letters fall into different columns; secondly that H and M should each be the first non-pairing letter in its column; thirdly the significance of the high 'score'; fourthly the matter of solid blocks; fifthly the occurrence of the three non-phonetic pairs in the Ogom cipher and in the Construct.

Finally, in regard to the Construct I may anticipate an objection. It may be said that it would seem likely that the inventor's first act would be to make a category of vowels. This would only make a small difference to the general theory put forward here, for, from the consonants alone one can create a Construct which will pose similar questions to those I have put. The score I have referred to as thirteen out of twenty is one of 65%. A Construct based on consonants alone would score nine out of fifteen which is 60%, and all the other questions involving probabilities would remain the same.

Up to this point I have been mainly concerned with the structure of Ogom. As to date, I have so far, by reference to Quintilian, shown that the popular current theory of invention about 400 A.D., insofar as it is based on the alleged influence of the teaching of late grammarians, cannot be sustained. The thesis I have presented would allow any date between 100 B.C. and 400 A.D. It would be reasonable to ask what point in this lengthy period of half a millenium might be considered most likely. Any answer given to this question must be tentative but, if only to further discussion, I may venture some comments. Now I have already quoted Binchy as saying that Ogom was invented much earlier than the fourth century. Possibly with approval, and certainly with respect, he quotes O'Rahilly's view that the script was imported into Ireland by a Goidelic-speaking people in the first century before Christ. I would like to say that, in the present state of our knowledge, I tend to align myself in a general way with O'Rahilly; but with the reservations that the importation might not imply an invasion, and that the date suggested, while possible, might be too early. In this matter we must give some consideration to the nature of the cipher itself, and it may be noticed that I have always referred to it as a cipher, never as an alphabet. Binchy, as noted above, has said that an Irishman living in Britain in the fourth century would be more likely to bring back the Latin alphabet to his people than this cumbrous adaptation of it. But, however far we push back the invention of Ogom this problem remains. Why should a continental Celt in the first century B.C. encourage the use of such a script amongst his people when both the Greek and Roman alphabets were known to them, and freely used? As soon as we ask this question we are faced with the problem of the whole purpose of this ingenious invention. It seems to be at least a possibility that Ogom was first devised so as not to be understood

by those who had a knowledge of the Latin alphabet. Its purpose could be to send messages, probably on wood, which, if intercepted, could not be read or interpreted. Hence, it would not have been invented by an individual who, by some mere accident, came into contact with Roman civilization, but at a time and in a place where the Roman alphabet was widely known. In this case we would regard it not as a plaything, but as something brought into being by political or military necessity. Furthermore certain possible affinities with the Runic script might suggest an area where Romans, Celts and Germanic peoples were in contact.

As is well known one of the features that Ogom shares with Runic is that both systems use meaningful words as letter-names. I take what seems to me to be a common-sense if prosaic view of this matter.

In teaching an alphabet it is good practice to present the pupil with the symbol, the sound, and a standard example. Presentations of the alphabet in English often skip over the sound and teach by means of the symbol and the standard example: A is for Apple, B is for Bat, C is for Cat, etc. In early Celtic, we may, I think, assume a similar form of teaching, and by a very understandable process the standard example became so closely identified with the symbol that it in fact became a letter-name. The same explanation could hold for the Runic alphabet.

It seems that in this early Celtic alphabetical teaching the names for P and Q, were *perta* and *querta*, dialect variations of a word apparently meaning 'bush'. In the Runic system, Germanic, having few if any words beginning with P, borrowed *perta* as a letter-name and this appears in Gothic as *pertra*. Anglo-Saxon has the riming names for P and Q, *peorð* and *cweorð*. The Ogom name for Q is, of course *cert* (*ceirt*).[15]

The Irish letter-names are constantly associated in Irish tradition with Ogom symbols. Its Germanic cognates suggest that the letter-name *cert* was imported into Ireland from continental Celtic. It is quite reasonable, perhaps even necessary, to suppose that the Ogom symbols were imported with the letter-names. The Ogom cipher could have been used on the continent equally by users of P as by users of Q; the former need only use the P-symbol for Q, just as they would say *perta* instead of *querta* to indicate the word 'bush.' No examples of the script have survived on the continent, perhaps for the reason that it was invented as a secret code or cipher, and was never intended to reach epigraphic dignity: it could not be

[15] See Marstrander 'Om runene og runenavnes oprindelse', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, I, (1928) p. 138 ff. For a discussion of Marstrander's views see Helmut Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, p. 285 ff. Arntz's view that Ogom was a derivative of Runic made it necessary that he should reject Marstrander's arguments.

expected to compete publicly with either the Greek or Latin alphabets.

The mechanistic theory of the origin of the Ogom cipher in the Latin alphabet put forward above was in some degree anticipated almost a century ago by Charles Graves, bishop of Limerick; Graves, it may be said, was a mathematician as well as a Celtic scholar. His approach to the problem, though differing in many respects, has affinity with the present approach insofar as a 4 × 5 'Construct' was created, and conclusions drawn from vertical readings. The following are Graves' comments[16]:

"It may not be easy to find the clew of thought which led the contriver of the Ogham alphabet to arrange the letters in the order which it exhibits. It is possible that the process may have been purely arbitrary. It seems, however, not improbable that he may have taken the following course in grouping and arranging them. He may have commenced by writing the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet in the following form:—

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H
I	K	L	M
N	O	P	Q
R	S	T	V
X	Y	Z	

He might then proceed to exclude the letters which were not in use in Irish, striking out K, P, X, and Y. That P was not regarded as an Irish letter may be shown by the authority of the Uraicept: *ni bi p isin gaedilg*. He might then substitute Ng for P; that naso-palatal being an essential sound in the Celtic dialects. He might next transfer C into the place of the excluded K, as being equivalent in sound; and promote Z from the bottom, where it was standing by itself, to the top of the third vertical column. His paradigm would then stand thus:—

A^4	B^1	Z^3	D^2
E^4	F^1	G^3	H^2
I^4	C^2	L^1	M^3
N^1	O^4	Ng^3	Q^2
R^3	S^1	T^2	V^4

The indices affixed to the letters in the last paradigm will direct the reader's attention to the fact that each horizontal line contains one letter out of each of the five[17] *aicmes* in the Beithluisnin. As the

[16] *Hermathena* (1876), 460–1.
[17] A slip for 'four'.

owels constitute a group by themselves, the alphabet-maker may ave next selected them to form a first *aicme*, and proceeded to roup the other *aicmes*, putting into them a letter out of each hori- ontal line, and doing this either quite arbitrarily or for some fanciful eason."

To the last word quoted above Graves adds a footnote: 'It is easy o see that a single change in the order of the letters both in the third nd fourth horizontal lines, and a double change in the fifth line, ould make the order of the indices 4, 1, 3, 2 in all the lines, and ould thus separate the *aicmes*, bringing each out into a vertical olumn by itself.'

JAMES CARNEY

ublin Institute for Advanced Studies

TIUGHRAIND BHÉCÁIN

INTRODUCTION

THIS poem in praise of Columb Cille (henceforth abbreviated *TB*) is known only from pp. 114–5 of Laud Misc. 615, a manuscript probably dating from the 16th century (see *Celtica* x 175). In *ZCP* viii 197–8 Meyer printed it without comment or translation but suggested some emendations in the footnotes.

In the MS the poem is entitled *Tiughraind bhécáin m-c luig- d col- cill- ann so* 'here are the last verses of Bécán mac Luigdech t Columb Cille'. Béc(c)án mac Luigdech (or Lugdach) appears in th *Genealogies of the Saints of Ireland* as a great-great-great-great grandson of Níall Noígíallach (through his son Éogan): *Beccan tig conaill m. lugdach m. tuatain m. æda m. fergusa m. eogain m. neil* (*LL* 347d51, agreeing with Mac Firbhisigh's *Genealogies* p. 701 an O'Clery's *Naomhshenchas, Irish Texts* iii p. 46 §37). He is two genera tions later than Columb Cille (c. 522–597), who was a great-great grandson of Níall (through his son Conall Gulban), and is therefor likely to have lived in the 7th century. He may also have bee the author of another poem in praise of Columb, beginning *Fo réi Choluimb* (henceforth abbreviated *F*). See p. 74.

The title *Tiughraind Bhécáin* 'the last verses of Bécán' implie a tradition that he composed the poem towards the end of his life though there is no way of proving that this title is earlier than th 16th c. MS. For discussion of the authorship and the manuscript see pp. 71 to 79.

LANGUAGE

In general the language seems to be consistent with the 7th c. dat of composition indicated by the *Genealogies of the Saints*, though ther are some difficulties.

The following are the main dating features noted:

(1) Monosyllabic *domuin*. In 22b *re ndoman dainibh* of the MS i probably for *re ndomuin doínib* 'before the people of the world' taking *domuin* as gen. sg. of *domun* 'world'. The metre requires monosyllable, so *domuin* = **domn'* (< **domni* with loss of fina syllable, *Thurn. Gramm.* §112). By the time of *Blathmac* (8th c. and *Félire Óengusso* (c. 800) a secondary vowel has developed i this and similar words, e.g. *bid clár cosmail in domun* (*Blathma* l. 951) where the metre shows *domun* to be disyllabic.

Prof. Carney draws attention to similar cases in archaic syllabic verse where the secondary vowel is not counted, e.g. *otharlige* (= trisyllabic *othr-lige*) in *Verba Scáthaige* (*Compert Con Culainn*, ed. Van Hamel, p. 59, l. 7).

On the other hand, in the archaic *Amra Choluim Chille* (henceforth abbreviated *ACC*) §17 *foccul* 'word' (< **wokl-*) and §68 *domun* 'deep (?)' (< **domn-*) are regarded as disyllables by Watkins (*Celtica* vi 243, note[6]). The explanation may be that words of this type could be treated as either monosyllabic or disyllabic in archaic verse.[1]

(2) *Boïë*. In 20a the metre requires the emendation of *baoí* to disyllabic *boïë*, 3 sg. rel. pret. of *attá*. This archaic form is elsewhere attested only in *Thes.* ii 242.11 (in the Irish additions to Tírechán's *Notes on Patrick*, *Thurn. Gramm.* §7.4) and in *Baile Chuind* (*Ériu* xvi 147 [19]), a text which Murphy dates on historical as well as linguistic grounds to the late 7th c.

Dr. Binchy suggests that it might also be restored in *Tír boïe* (*ba* MS) *Chuind chétchoraig*, the first line of a poem which he would date to not earlier than the 7th c. (*Ériu* xvi 45–6).

The monosyllabic rel. pret. *boí* is found in l. 289 of the Epilogue to *Félire Óengusso: cech nóeb boí, fil, biäs.*

(3) *Conail*. In 12b the MS has *conaill* (riming with *doghair*) but as *l* and *r* do not belong to the same consonant class, Carney suggests reading the pre-MacNeill's law form *Conail* (*Thurn. Gramm.* §140, MacNeill, *PRIA* xxvii C 347). This spelling occurs in Muirchú's *Life of Patrick* (*de pecoribus Conail*, *Thes.* ii 261.28), which was first written down at the end of the 7th c. (*Thurn. Gramm.* §10.5).

(4) *To-*. In four cases I follow Meyer in emending *do-* to *to-* for the sake of alliteration. These are 1a *to-fed* (*doféd* MS) alliterating with the last word of the poem *tengae*, 3a *to-bert* (*do bert* MS) alliterating with *tola*, 11b *to-réd* (*doréd* MS) alliterating with *tuir*, and 16b *to-gó* (*do gó* MS) alliterating with *tóeba*.

These emendations are justified because there is no evidence for the alliteration of *d* and *t* in *TB*, or in *F* (which is probably by the same author—see p. 75). In *TB* there are 10 cases where words beginning with *d* alliterate with one another, and 8 cases of words beginning with *t*. In *F* there are 13 cases of *d* alliterating with *d*, and 12 of *t* with *t*. In neither *TB* nor *F* are there examples of the

[1] Dr. Charles-Edwards compares the situation in Welsh medieval poetry where the secondary vowel is ignored for metrical purposes, even though orthographical evidence shows that it had been pronounced since about the 9th c. (*LHEB* p. 337).

alliteration of *t* with *d* (or the parallel case of the alliteration of *c* with *g*).

In other archaic verse there is little evidence for the alliteration of *d* and *t* (or *c* and *g*). In a legal poem dated by Binchy to not later than the 7th c. (*Celtica* ix 156–9) there are 8 cases of *t* alliterating with *t*, and 11 of *d* with *d*. There is one case of *d* and *t* alliterating (l. 80 *díre* with l. 81 *ton-accmoing*) if one follows his emendation of *tire* MS to *díre*. In *ACC* alliteration is frequent but not obligatory, so the evidence is more difficult to assess. However, there do not seem to be any clear examples of the alliteration of *t* with *d* or *c* with *g*. The position is similar in the archaic poetry collected by Meyer in his *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* (*ÄID*). There are a few possible cases of the alliteration of *t* with *d* and *c* with *g*, e.g. *ÄID* i 53 §6 where *túath* may alliterate with *dercaid* and ibid. 29 §30 where *gargg* may alliterate with *caín*. However, in these poems alliteration is quite often absent, so such examples are not certain.

In poetry of the Classical OI period, the alliteration of *t* with *d* and *c* with *g* is much better attested, particularly in 'binding alliteration' (*fidrad freccomail*) between verses, e.g. *Fél. Óen.* May 15 *dermáir* alliterating with *togairm*. It is also used to connect lines, as in the 9th c. poem beginning *A chóicid choín Chairpri crúaid* (*Éigse* x 181–90). Examples include 1b *dúir* alliterating with 1c *táthum*, 8b *taiss* with 8c *diambtar*, 15b *druí* with 15c *tórmaig*. There are even some possible cases of the alliteration of *t* and *d* in the same line, e.g. 8c *tressa* with *deili*, 9b *tír* with *do*.

Though *to-* may be written for *do-* as a pseudo-archaism in later MSS, the consistent appearance of *to-* in a text is a sign of a 7th c. origin, expecially when there are other archaisms. Thus in the 7th c. *Cambray Homily* (for dating see *ZCP* i 348–9) there are three examples of *to-* (*tu-*) and none of *do-*. In Wb. I and in the *Glosses on Philargyrius*—both dated by Thurneysen to 'about or more likly before 700 A.D.' (*ZCP* iii 51–4)—there are one and two cases of *to-* (*tu-*) respectively. In neither does *do-* occur. By the time of the main Wb. glosses (mid 8th c.) the development of *to-* to *do-* has taken place. According to Thurneysen (*Gramm.* §855B) 'From the time of Wb. on *do*, *du* is always found before consonants (at least, examples of *to* are so rare that they probably are no more than scribal errors)'.

A difficulty about using the treatment of *to-* to date our poem to the 7th c. is the occurrence of *dochum* in 22b alliterating with *deis*. *Dochum* 'towards' is the de-stressed form of *tochim*, vn. of *to-cing* 'approaches', and one would expect it to alliterate with a word beginning with *t-*. However, it is possible that de-stressed *tochim* became *dochum* before preverbial *to-* became *do-*. There is alliteration

between *dairt* and *dochum* in the above-mentioned legal poem dated by Binchy to not later than the 7th c. (*Celtica* ix 157.29).

(5) *Con-úalath.* In 9a I take *con-úalath* to be pret. pass. sg. of *con-úalai* 'departs'. If the poem were from the 8th c. one would expect rather the form *con-úalad.* Thurneysen points out that in the Old Irish of the Glosses 'dental spirants of whatever quality are more frequently represented by *-d* than by *-th.* Thus *peccad* 'sin' is much commoner than *peccath* (Wb. 9c19), *sluindid* 'designates' than *sluindith . . .* ' (*Gramm.* §130.2).

(6) *Bruichrich.* In 5b the MS has *bruíchrich,* which seems to be acc. sg. fem. of an adj. *bruichrech* of uncertain meaning (see Notes). In the OI of the Glosses the spelling *bruichrig* would be more likely. According to Thurneysen (*Gramm.* §130.1) 'the palatal guttural final is generally represented by *-g,* though *-ch* also occurs.' By contrast, in archaic sources *-ch* is much commoner than *-g,* e.g. *ceinnselich, Thes.* ii 240.21, *bilich* 240.22 (Additions to Tirechán's *Notes on Patrick*), *finnich,* 47.7, *coennich,* 47.9 (Glosses on *Philargyrius*).

There is a possibility that the *-ich* in *bruichrich* is a MI variant of *-ig.* However, it seems more likely that *bruichrich* is an archaic spelling which survived because the word was unknown to later scribes (see Notes).

(7) Hiatus is frequent in the poem, and there do not seem to be any cases where archaic hiatus has been replaced by a diphthong.

(8) Independent datives are common, e.g. 1b *cétaib,* 3b *coraib,* 4b *fichtib.*

On the above linguistic evidence, I would suggest a 7th c. date of composition for *TB.*

For word-order and syntax see p. 76.

METRE AND ALLITERATION

Each verse contains two lines of twelve syllables. There is rime between the final words of each line, which are disyllabic. There is a caesura between the 4th and 5th and between the 8th and 9th syllables, often accompanied by a break in the sense. In the MS the caesura is often marked by a stop.

There is generally connective alliteration between the words—whether stressed or unstressed—on either side of the caesura. Sometimes an unstressed word intervenes between the alliterating words, e.g. 14b *ba grían manach* | *ba már coimdiu.* There is also connective alliteration between lines and between verses.

There is *comindsma* or 'riveting' between the first word of the poem *to-fed* (*doféd* MS) and the last word *tengae*. This simple type of *comindsma* (in which the first and last words of the poem begin with the same letter) seems to be found only in archaic verse, e.g. *ÄID* i pp. 18, 31.

Where there is parallelism the rules of alliteration may be affected. For example, in 12b *dín mo anmae, dún mo uäd* there is no alliteration between the words on either side of the caesura (*anmae* and *dún*). However, there is alliteration between *dín* and *dún* and between *anmae* and *uäd*. The same pattern occurs in 16b–17a *lécciss cróeba, lécciss coilcthi, lécciss cotlud*, in 18b–19a, and in 20ab. Compare also note to 6a.

In 16a it is probable that the lack of alliteration between *crochsus* and *scuirsius* is tolerated because of the parallelism between the phrases *colainn crochsus* and *scuirsius . . . finda tóeba* (see Notes). One can compare *F* 15cd *cemtis buidir, boíthus clúas | cemtis lobuir, boíthus nert* where the parallelism between the two lines makes up for the lack of alliteration between *lobuir* and *boíthus*. (For other examples from *F* see *Ériu* xxiv 5.)

In two cases a non-alliterating word occurs just before or just after a pair or series of parallel alliterating phrases. Thus in 8a non-alliterating *ruirich* precedes the parallel phrases *follnar mílib, follnar mag* and in 20b non-alliterating *ní* follows the parallel phrases *Columb boïë, Columb biäss, Columb bithbéo*. In both examples it is possible that the lack of alliteration is tolerated because of the adjacent parallelism.

Some of the cases of apparently defective alliteration may be explained by the principle of 'compensatory alliteration' described[2] in my edition of *F* (*Ériu* xxiv 5). A typical example from *F* is 10bc *is íar sétaib Connacht clú | a chloth findae, fírián béoil*. Here the usual alliteration between the words on either side of the caesura in 10b (*sétaib* and *Connacht*) is lacking. This deficiency is compensated for by the alliteration of *Connacht* with *clú* (which in turn alliterates with 10c *chloth*).

Similar examples are found in *TB*. In 23b there is no alliteration between *treibe* and *Conail*, but this is compensated for by the alliteration of *Conail* with *cressaib*. In 5b the lack of alliteration between *mbarrfind* and *failid* may be compensated for by the alliteration of *mbarrfind* with *mbruichrich* (compensatory alliteration can sometimes precede the non-alliterating word, e.g. *F* 14a).

[2] I have not been able to find satisfactory evidence for compensatory alliteration in other archaic verse. There may be an example in the archaic legal poem (*Celtica* ix 159.91) where the non-alliteration of *smachta* seems to be compensated for by the alliteration of *cintaib* and *cóicthi*. Further investigation is required.

Prof. Greene points out that *TB* is the earliest known example of the metre which later developed into *dechnad cummaisc*[3] ($8^2 + 4^2 + 8^2 + 4^2$ mixed with $4^2 + 8^2 + 4^1 + 8^2$, $8^2 + 4^2 + 4^2 + 8^2$, etc. *Early Irish Metrics* p. 50, *Irish Syllabic Poetry* p. 17). The metrical structure of most verses of *TB* can be represented by the formula $2(4^{1or2} + 4^{1or2} + 4^2)$. However, there is some anticipation of the later 8 + 4 or 4 + 8 division of the line. Thus, the first caesura is missing in 8b *follnar mag ós mruigib réidib | rígaib tírib* (it should come between *ós* and *mruigib*). In 20b *Columb bithbéo | ní hé sin in snádud ciäss* the second caesura (between *in* and *snádud*) is missing.

Other examples of this metre include the OI poem *Dofil aimsir laithi brátha* (*ZCP* viii 195), a quatrain on the death of Áed (quoted in *AU* 796), historical poems in *LL* (4872 *Augaine Már*, 4886 *Túathal Techtmar*, 6446 *Crimthan clothrí*, etc.), two poems on Ailech (*Metrical Dindshenchas* iv 100–20) and the poetical versions of *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin* (*Immrama*, ed. Van Hamel pp. 54–77) and of *Immram Snédgusa* (ibid. pp. 86–92).

In the examples of this metre[4] which Murphy (*EIM* pp. 50–1) quotes from *Mittelirische Verslehren* there is sometimes internal rime and consonance as well as end-rime. In *TB* the only case of internal rime which I have noted is 3b *foraib* : *coraib*, but it may be unintentional.

Unlike *F* (see *Ériu* xxiv 4) the stress in *TB* is free. The most common pattern in the four-syllable unit is ˈxxˈxx but other variations also occur, e.g. xˈxˈxx, ˈxxxˈx, ˈxˈxˈxx.

MANUSCRIPT

The only known copy of *TB* is in pp. 114–5 of Laud Misc. 615. In their article 'The Provenance of Laud Misc. 615' Máire Herbert and Anne O'Sullivan date this MS to about the middle of the 16th c. (*Celtica* x 175). The MS contains 153 poems, all ascribed to or concerning Columb Cille. Most are in Middle or Early Modern Irish, but a few—like our poem—are in Old Irish, e.g. p. 113 *Brigit bé bithmaith* (*Thes.* ii 325), pp. 132–4 *Dofil aimsir laithi brátha* (*ZCP* viii 195).

M. Herbert and A. O'Sullivan are of the opinion that the MS is the work of two main scribes, with other short interventions, and that the first main scribe is responsible for about nine tenths of the whole book, including our poem.

[3] Where the structure is $8^2 + 4^2 + 8^2 + 4^2$ and there is no consonance, it is called *snédbairdne* (*EIM* p. 51).

[4] A similar metre with a 12-syllable line, called *rhupunt*, is found in Welsh (Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod* p. 331; Loth, *La Métrique Galloise* II 120). It can have a caesura after both the 4th and 8th syllables (4 + 4 + 4) or after either the 4th or 8th syllables (4 + 8 or 8 + 4).

The version of *TB* has been well preserved in the MS. The most serious defect is the omission of words or parts of words at 3a, 7b, 15a and 23b. In the case of 7b there is evidence to suggest that the error was present in the scribe's exemplar (see Notes). In 13a the last two words of the preceding verse are mistakenly repeated at the beginning of the line.

Orthography. OI spellings are sometimes preserved (e.g. 18a *lecciss*, 25a *boí*) but more often the spelling has undergone the usual superficial modernisations which are to be found in OI material preserved in later MSS: *-a* for *-(a)e* (e.g. 7a *amhra*), *-e* or *-i* for *-iu* (e.g. 14b *coimdhe*, 10a *caissi*), *-a* for *-o* (e.g. 2a *retha*), *-ea-* for *-e-* (e.g. 1b *caindeal*), *-aoí-* for *-aí-* (e.g. 9a *caoín*), *-g-* for *-c-* (e.g. 19a *legiss*), etc. Some of these modernisations may have been made by the scribe of Laud Misc. 615, others are doubtless the work of earlier redactors.

If the suggested dating is correct, the original probably had such archaic spellings as 1a *fédot* (*fíadhatt* MS), 4a *amre* (*amhra* MS) and 9b *ósel* (*úasal* MS). However, I restore archaic spellings only where there is the evidence from alliteration or rime, e.g. 3a *to-bert* (*do bert* MS), 12b *Conail* (*conaill* MS).

As in the OI Glosses (*Thurn. Gramm.* §25) *h-* is often prefixed to words beginning with a vowel. In my restored text I follow the MS, e.g. 6a, 9a *hi*, 12b *hauë*, 14a *hall* (*hi*, *húa*, *hald* MS), but 1a, 2a *i*, 15a *ail*, 18a *aithri* (*a*, *ail*, *aitri* MS).

A feature of the surviving version of our text is the frequency with which final or medial *s* is doubled, e.g. 2a *rissi*, 3a *brississ*. This may be original, so I keep the MS readings.

I also keep double *c* (= [*g*]) where present in the MS (e.g. 6a *eaccna*) as spellings such as *æccne* (Wb. 2a17) are sometimes found in OI beside the commoner *ecn(a)e*. On the other hand, the doubling of *-p-* and *-t-* in such cases as 1a *fíadhatt* and 15b *roppo* is unlikely to be original.

An unusual orthographical feature is the doubling of *a* to indicate hiatus. The examples are 19ab *guë*, *cluë* (*gúaa*, *cluaa* MS), 20ab *biäss*,[5] *ciäss* (*biaass*, *ciaass* MS), 21ab *riäm*, *-gniäm* (*riaamh*, *-gníaam* MS). On the other hand, original *hauë* appears as *húa* not **húaa* in 12b and 23b.

No substantial alterations seem to have been made to the text during the course of its transmission, though much of it must have been incomprehensible after the OI period. For this reason I have been particularly slow to emend. The most severe emendation suggested is 11a *tórand* (*teóra* MS); see Notes.

[5] Prof. Ó Cuív draws attention to the similar spelling *biaam* (for *biäm*) in an OI poem preserved in 15th–16th c. MSS (*ZCP* ix 166).

Accents. The acute accent normally indicates that a vowel is long, e.g. 17a *lécciss.* It is often omitted, e.g. 18a *lecciss*, 18b *leicciss.* In the case of diphthongs the accent may be written over either vowel, or may be omitted. In my transcription I follow the MS, however inconsistent.

As in other poems in this MS, acute accents are occasionally written over short vowels (cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* pp. 33–4). The clearest cases are in proclitics, e.g. 6a *combó*, 12b *mó*, 13a *bá*, 18a *lá*, 21b *má comhairc.* However, there are some probable examples of accents over short vowels in internal position, e.g. 1a *to-fed* (*doféd* MS), 3a *ola* (*tóla* MS). See also note to 5b *mbruichrich* (*bruíchrich* MS).

Suspensions. In general - indicates the omission of a vowel followed by an unlenited consonant (e.g. 6a *eir-* for *eirenn*) and ÷ shows the omission of a vowel followed by a lenited consonant (e.g. 24a *adhr÷* or *adhradh*). Sometimes, however, - is used in the latter case, e.g. 14a *nduill-* for *nduillech*, 25a *cléir-* for *cléirech.*

The name *Colum(b) Cille* is written *col- cill-* or *.c.c.* (25a). The only case where the second element is written out is 7b *col- cille* (see Notes).

Lenition. The lenited *t* of *thondaig* in 5a is probably not original (see Notes). In 5b the lenited *f* of *barrfind* is omitted (*bairind* MS), cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* §231.7. There may possibly be omission of lenited *s* in 4b *troichet* (? = *troich-śét*—see Notes).

Nasalisation. There are a number of cases where it is necesary to add or remove nasalisation, e.g. 6a *eaccna* (read *n-eccnai*), 14a *nanma* (read *anmae*). In particular, the scribe (or a predecessor) seems to have felt *mb-* and *b-* to be interchangeable, e.g. 13a *mbetha* (read *ethu*), 5b *bedhg÷* (? read *mbedgaig*). This confusion may go back to such words as OI *mlicht*, which appears in later MSS as *mblicht* or *blicht.* Other examples of uncertain nasalisation are 3a *nglinde*, 14a *nduill-*, 25b *mbelmhach.* See Notes to each.

Line-division. In the MS each verse occupies one line. In my transcription each verse is divided into two lines of 12 syllables (referred to as *a* and *b*). This is justified by the fact that there is always rime between the last words of *a* and *b*.

Word-division. I have tried to give word-division as it is in the MS. As in the OI Glosses (*Thurn. Gramm.* §34) there is a tendency for proclitics to be written together with the stressed word, e.g. 1a *andáil*, 2a *ladía*, 2b *orochindi*, 8a *anruirich.* In some cases it is difficult to be sure what the scribe intended; thus in 3a one could read *co crú* or *cocrú.*

AUTHORSHIP

In the MS the poem is entitled *Tiughraind bhécáin m-c luig- do ol- cill- ann so. Pace* Máire Herbert and Anne O'Sullivan (*Celtica*

x 174) this title seems to be in the same hand and the same ink the text of the poem.

There is no way of telling how long our poem has been calle *Tiughraind Bhécáin*. Neither is it possible to prove that the Béc(c)á mac Luigdech (or Lugdach) of Tech Conaill who appears in th *Genealogies of the Saints* is in fact the author. However, the eviden of these genealogies puts Bécán's floruit in or around the 7th c. (s second paragraph of Introduction) which agrees with the linguist evidence.

I have found no reference to Béc(c)án[6] mac Luigdech in trib Genealogies, Annals or Martyrologies. In the Commentaries to th Martyrologies of Óengus (*Fél. Óen.*), Gorman and Donegal, th Bécán whose feast-day is celebrated on the 26th of May is identifie as either *o Cluain Aird Mobecóc i Muscraighe Bréoghain* or *ac Tig Conaill i nUíbh Briúin Cualann* (*Fél. Óen.* has *hic Tig .h. Conaill* It is clear from the text of *Fél. Óen.* that the former identificatio is the correct one: *Béccán carais figle / hi Cluain Aird a adbae.* This confirmed by the annals, e.g. *AU* 689 *Dobécoc* (= *Bécán*) *Cluan Aird pausauit.*

The only other mention of Bécán mac Luigdech known to me i Irish literature is in a gloss to verse 24 of *F* (*Ériu* xxiv 22). Here th line *Seghdhai brathair buadhach ri* is glossed *.i. becan mac luighdec gomadh do cenel cconaill*[7] *do* ⁊ *gomadh e dogneth an hiomann so c colum cille* 'i.e. Bécán mac Luigdech who may have been of the ra of Conall, and who may have made this hymn for Colum Cille This attribution conflicts with the poem-title: *laoidh imrind inn dorinne dallan do coloim cille.* However, the glosses on this poem a older than the MS (*Ériu* xxiv 1) and so may preserve earlier traditio Furthermore, the attribution of a poem to Dallán Forgaill, reputed author of the famous *Amra Choluim Chille,* is automatically suspec as later verse was often ascribed to him without any justification (fo other examples see Best's *Bibliography* I pp. 135, 147).

On linguistic, metrical and stylistic grounds it is very unlikel that *F* and *ACC* are by the same author. *ACC* was probably com posed shortly after Columb's death in 597 A.D. It is written in complex and obscure style with many learned references and unusu

[6] In 632 or 633 A.D. (see Kenney *Sources* p. 220) the cleric Cummianus addressed joint letter on the Easter controversy to the abbot of Iona Segéne and the hern Bécán (*Beccano solitario*). He calls Bécán his 'dear brother in blood and in spir (*charo carne et spiritu fratri*) as if he were a brother or perhaps a cousin, but unfortunate Cummianus' genealogy is unknown. As Bécán was quite a common name, there insufficient evidence for identifying *Beccanus solitarius* with Bécán mac Luigdec However, the date and the association with Iona would seem to suit.

[7] It is clear from the *Genealogies of the Saints* that Bécán belonged to *Cenél nÉogai* The suggestion in this gloss that he belonged to *Cenél Conaill* may be a mistake resulti from his association with the monastery called *Tech Conaill* (for which see Price, *T Place-names of Co. Wicklow* p. 296).

Latin loan-words (see *RC* xx 33). The lines are generally unrimed, irregular in length, and are not always connected by alliteration. By contrast, *F* is written in a simple and straightforward style with no unusual Latin loans or learned references. The lines are of a fixed number of syllables, have regular end-rime, and are almost invariably linked by alliteration. The two poems are so dissimilar that it is hard to believe that they could be the work of the same author—even coming from different periods of his life.

On the other hand, it seems quite probable that *TB* and *F* are by the same poet, or at least products of the same school. The only direct evidence is the title *Tiughraind bhécáin m-c luig-* in the former poem, and the gloss *becan mac luighdech . . . . gomadh e dogneth an hiomann so* in the latter. However, some further evidence can be obtained by a comparison of the two poems under the headings (1) Metre, (2) Vocabulary, (3) Word-order and syntax, (4) Style, (5) Subject-matter, (6) Background of poet.

(1) *Metre.* The metrical pattern of *TB* can be represented $2(4 + 4 + 4^2)$ and that of *F* (with the exception of verses 2–5 and 25) as $4(4 + 3^1)$. In both there is generally connective alliteration between the words on either side of the caesura, between lines, and between verses.

A very unusual metrical feature shared by these two poems is the co-existence of end-rime, a regular caesura, strict connective alliteration, and a regular number of syllables in the line. The only comparable example which I have come across (brought to my attention by Prof. Carney) is the 9th c. poem beginning *A chóicid choín Chairpri crúaid* (*Éigse* x 181–90). In it, however, connective alliteration is lacking much more frequently than in *TB* or *F*, and the caesura (between the 4th and 5th syllables of the line) occurs only occasionally.

In both poems the rules of alliteration may be relaxed where there is parallelism or 'compensatory alliteration' (see p. 70 above). Both contain 25 verses, though it is possible that the last verse of *F* is a later addition (*Ériu* xxiv 34).

Words which rime in both are *TB* 7ab *coraib : foraib*, cf. *F* 12ac *cor : for*, *TB* 13ab *moíne : doíne*, 22ab *moínib : doínib*, cf. *F* 5bd *moínib : doínib*. The only unusual rime found in both is *TB* 19ab *guë* (?orig. *gauë*) : *cluë*, cf. *F* 10bd *clú : gáu*.

(2) *Vocabulary.* An unusual word occurring in both poems is the adj. *tinach* (*TB* 12a, *F* 2a) which seems to mean 'soft'. Elsewhere it is attested only in the MI poem *Saltair na Rann* (6261, 8028, 8112) where its meaning is unclear, but hardly 'many-sided', as suggested in the *Contributions*. Another agreement in vocabulary is the occurrence of the phrase *brississ tola* 'he broke desires' in both poems (*TB* 3a = *F* 12c).

On account of its metrical pattern *TB* consists mainly of disyllabic words (approx. 70%). In *F* the percentage is only approx. 40%. In spite of this difference, the number of words which occur in both poems is quite high. *TB* contains 600 syllables in all (2 × 12 × 25 while *F* contains 693 (4 × 7 × 25 with 9d missing). I have counted the number of words in *TB* and have made a comparison with the first 600 syllables of *F*. In *TB* 228 separate words—including proper names—are used (I count a derivative such as *búadach* 'victorious' as a separate word from *búaid* 'victory'. On the other hand, different forms of the same word—such as 22a *ferr*, 24b *maithib*, 25a *maith*—are counted as one). Some of these words occur frequently (e.g. *la* 'with', *caín* 'fair') but most are used only once. Of these 228 words, 81 (i.e. 35½%) are used in the first 600 syllables of *F*.

While far from providing proof of common authorship, this figure is an indication in that direction. Unfortunately, there is no other material of roughly the same date and theme to use as a control. As a last resort, I compared the vocabulary of *TB* with that of the first 600 syllables of *ACC* (i.e. up to the end of § 79) and found that only 44 words (19%) occurred in both. However, *ACC* is probably older than *TB* and uses many words (especially Latin loans) which are otherwise unattested.

Some of the differences in vocabulary between *TB* and *F* can be attributed to the differences in metre. For example, in *TB* Colum is twice referred to as *hauë Conail* 'descendant of Conal (12b, 13b) and once as *hauë treibe Conail* 'descendant of the household of Conal (23b). In *F*, on the other hand, there is no mention of Conal, but there are three references to Conal's father Níall: 9d *auë*(?) *Néill* (see Notes), 14c *caindel Néill*, 17b *cáich di Níall*. The explanation is probably that *Conal* fitted conveniently into the 4 + 4 + 4² metre of *TB*, whereas *Níall* was useful as a monosyllabic word to end the line in *F* (where most lines have the pattern 4 + 3¹). In all three cases *Níall* (*Néill*) rimes with *ciall* (*céill*).

(3) *Word-order and syntax*. *TB* has many of the variant types of word-order noted in the introduction to *F* (*Ériu* xxiv 5–7). Thus *TB* 9a *Trindóit hi seilb* (=*hi seilb Trindóit*) shows the same pattern as *F* 12d *fairrge al druim* (= *al druim fairrge*). *TB* 22b *re ndomuin doínib* (=*re ndoínib domuin*) and 23a *hi land lessaib* (=*hi lessaib land*) correspond to *F* 6d *iar Coluimb Chille cúl* (= *iar cúl Choluimb Chille*). *TB* 15a *ail fri roluind* (= *fri ail roluind*) corresponds to *F* 11b *fecht fía* (? = *i fecht fía*). *TB* 22a *macc do Eithne* (=*do macc Eithne*) may correspond to *F* 1c *sét fri húatho* (= *fri set húatho*), though it is perhaps better to emend *huatha* of the MS to acc. pl. *húathu* (see Notes, *Ériu* xxiv 24).

In *TB* 4a *amrae fíadat*, lit. 'wonder of a lord' means 'wonderful ord' (referring to Columb Cille). The same construction occurs in *B* 6b *amrae n-anmae* 'wonderful name'. There may also be an xample in *F* 3a *a n-adamrae n-aí* lit. 'the marvel of a claim' i.e. he marvellous claim', though the text here is uncertain.

One difference between the syntax of *TB* and *F* is in their use of uffixed and infixed pronouns. In *F* they are frequent (14 cases of he suffixed pronoun and 7 of the infixed pronoun). In *TB*, on the ther hand, there are only two examples of the suffixed pronoun 16a *crochsus*, *scuirsius*) and no infixed pronouns.

(4) *Style*. Stylistically the poems are similar: both are composed in imple vivid language, and both show considerable literary merit, as n the list of Columb's attributes in *TB* 13–14 or the powerful *lécciss* erses (16–19). From *F* one might pick out the striking description f Columb's mother in 8cd or the verses about his sea-journey (12–14). n both poems there is much fine imagery, e.g. *TB* 12b *dún mo uäd* Columb was] 'fort of my poetic art', 13a *ba bárc moíne* 'he was a arque of wealth', 14a *ba dair nduillech* 'he was a leafy oak', 19b *ríandae loingsech* 'sun-like voyager', *F* 2cd *crochais—níbu hi cinta—chorp for tonna glassa* 'he crucified—it was not for crimes—his ody on the green waves', 12b *cechaing noïb nemed mbled* 'he traversed n ships the whales' sanctuary'.

A stylistic feature commonly found in both poems is the linking f phrases by parallelism, e.g. *TB* 6b *ailtir Lethae, líntair Albu* Armorica is nourished, Britain is filled', 17a *lécciss coilcthi, lécciss otlud* 'he abandoned beds, he abandoned sleep', *F* 16cd *dánae buiden, oíthus coss / Columb i mboí, boíthus lám* 'a brave company, they had a oot, when Columb was there, they had a hand'.

An extension of this device is the linking of phrases by the use of ontrasting words, e.g. *TB* 19a *lécciss cairptiu, carais noä* 'he *abandoned* hariots, he *loved* boats', *F* 6a *is dín úathaid, is dín slúaig* 'he is the rotection of a *few*, he is the protection of *many*', 18d *toingtit ingnaith, oltait gnáith* '*strangers* swear by him, *friends* praise him'.

Sometimes the contrasting words occur within the same phrase, g. *TB* 5b *failid mbrónaig* 'joyful [and] sorrowful', 9b *fesccur mbúa-ach* 'evening [and] morning', 24a *aidchib laithib* 'by nights [and] by ays' *F* 4a *ro-fes i n-ocus, i céin* 'it was known near [and] far', 6b *lán cach eslán* 'safe is every one in peril'.

(5) *Subject-matter*. Both *TB* and *F* may be modelled in part on raditional secular praise-poetry, which seems (from the evidence of urviving OI historical and genealogical verse) to have consisted rgely of references to the patron's noble ancestry, fame, and prowess

in battle. Columb is addressed in similar terms, and his religious career is often described in military language, e.g. *F* 10d *ba hé roüt, goítae gáu* 'he was the spear-cast, falsehood was destroyed'.

A number of themes are common to both *TB* and *F*, but as most of these are regularly to be found in OI religious verse, this is not a strong indication of common authorship. I list them in the order in which they appear in *TB*. (*a*) Columb was a candle: *TB* 4a *caindel Connacht, caindel Alban, F* 14c *caindel Néill,* 21b *caindel sóer.* (*b*) He was like the sun: *TB* 14b *ba grían manach,* 19b *gríandae loingsech, F* 4c *tindis a ainm amal gréin.* (*c*) He mortified his body: *TB* 16a *colainn crochsus, F* 2cd *crochais . . . a chorp,* 13a *fích fri colainn catha íuil.* (*d*) He made his sides thin: *TB* 16a *scuirsius fon foill finda tóeba, F* 18c *cóelais tin,* 19c *séime toíb.* (*e*) He abandoned soft beds: *TB* 17a *lécciss coilcthi, F* 2a *níbu fri coilcthi tincha . . .* (*f*) He was learned: *TB* 18ab *Techtaiss liubru. . . ar ṡeirc léigind, F* 13b *légais la sin suíthe n-óg.* (*g*) He was an enemy of falsehood: *TB* 19a *námae guë, F* 10d *ba hé roüt, goítae gáu.* (*h*) The poet asks Columb to bring him to Heaven: *TB* 22b *m'anam día deis dochum ríchid, F* 21d *berthum co ríg credbas clóen.* All these themes except (*a*), (*b*), and (*e*) occur in *ACC*.

Of more significance than the above is the prominence given to Columb's sea-journey in both poems: *TB* 4b *fichtib curach cechaing trích trichait troichet cíabat,* 5ab *cechaing tonnaig tresaig magain mongaig rónaig* etc. 8a *for muir gáirech,* 19ab *carais noä . . . gríandae loingsech lécciss la séol selmann* (?) *cluë, F* 2cd *crochais . . . a chorp for tonna glassa,* 12b *cechaing noïb nemed mbled,* 12d *fairrge al druim . . .* 13cd *úagais, brígais benna síuil, sruith tar fairrgi . . . ,* 14b *curchail tar sál septhus cló.* In *ACC* there are no references at all to his sea-journey.

However, this similarity of theme between *TB* and *F* is by no means a proof of common authorship. Exile overseas was a form of self-denial much practised by early Irish ascetics (e.g. Adomnán's *Life of Columba* bk. I ch. 20, bk. II ch. 42; see also Charles-Edwards 'The social background to Irish peregrinatio' in *Celtica* xi, and Kathleen Hughes 'The changing theory and practice of Irish pilgrimage' in *Journ. Eccl. Hist.* xi 143–51)[8]. It would therefore have been natural for a poet to praise Columb by describing his sea-journey, stressing particularly its hardship (as in *TB* 5, where the sea is referred to as a 'wavey, tumultuous place . . . very rough, leaping, turbulent').

[8] See also the Old English poem *The Seafarer,* which describes the sufferings and attractions of a sea journey. This poem has been variously interpreted (see Gordon's edition, pp. 4–12) but one possibility is that it was composed by a *peregrinus* or 'pilgrim hermit'.

(6) *Background of Poet.* Nothing is known about Bécán mac Luigech, the putative author of these poems, beyond the fact that he as of noble birth (if the *Genealogies of the Saints* are to be believed). hough clearly a monk—deeply imbued with the asceticism characristic of the Early Irish Church—he may have been trained in the ative secular tradition of poetry. This is suggested by his skilful anipulation of words within the confines of very strict metres, and so by his use of the terms *aí* gen. sg. *uäd* (*TB* 12b, *F* 3a (?)) and *nbas* (*TB* 21b), both associated with the native poetical tradition Watkins: *Celtica* vi pp. 215–6, O'Rahilly: *EIHM* pp. 323, 339–40).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this edition I have received generous assisance from many scholars, in particular Professors D. A. Binchy, ames Carney, David Greene, Brian Ó Cuív and Dr. Thomas Charlesdwards. I would also like to register my gratitude to all who took art in the 1974 seminar on this poem at the Dublin Institute for dvanced Studies.

FERGUS KELLY

ublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Tiug*h*rai*n*d b*h*écái*n* m-c luig- do col- cill- an*n* so

1

Doféd andes andáil fíad*h*att. findál caingeal.
col- cill- cetaib*h* landa. lethan cai*n*deal

To-fed andes | i ndáil fíadat | findáil caingel,
Columb Cille | cétaib landa | lethan caindel.

Columb Cille brings from the south to the Lord a fair gathering o
chancels,
churches for hundreds, wide candle.

2

Caíne rissi. rige ladía andeoíd*h* retha.
rig*h*e nuasal. oroc*hi*ndi céim mo betha

Caíni rissi | ríge la Día | i ndeüd retho,
ríge n-úasal | ó ro-cinni | céim mo betho.

Fair tidings, a kingdom with God at the end of the race,
a noble kingdom, after He has determined the course of my life.

3

Brississ tóla. do bert co crú cró nglinde.
gab*h*aiss foraib*h*. fin*n*uib*h* coruib*h* col- cill-

Brississ tola | to-bert co crú | cró [ ] nglinne,
gabaiss foraib | findaib coraib | Columb Cille.

He broke desires, he brought to destruction(?) a pen of security (
Columb Cille overcame them with fair deeds.

4

Caindeal condacht coindeal alb-. am*h*ra fiad*h*att.
fichtib*h* cu*r*ach cec*h*ui*n*g t*r*ic*h*ait. t*r*oic*h*et cíab*h*at

Caindel Connacht | caindel Alban | amrae fíadat,
ichtib curach | cechaing tríchait | troichet cíabat.

Candle of Connachta, candle of Britain, wonderful lord,
vith scores of boats he traversed . . . . . .

5

Cechai*n*g t*h*ondaig tresaig*h* magh*ai*n mongaig*h* rón*a*ig*h*.
olai*n*d bed*h*g-- br*uí*ch*r*ich b*ai*r*i*nd. faíl-- mbr*ó*nuig*h*

Cechaing tonnaig | tresaig magain | mongaig rónaig,
oluind mbedcaig | mbruichrich mbarrfind | faílid mbrónaig.

He traversed the wavey tumultuous place, foaming, full of seals,
very rough, leaping, turbulent(?), white-topped, joyful, sorrowful.

6

Birt buaid*h* e*a*ccna. hi cuaírt eir- co*m*bó harda.
m*ra* nan*m*a. ailter le*a*tha líntar alba

Birt búaid n-eccnai | hi cúairt Éirenn | combo hardu,
mrae n-anmae | ailtir Lethae | líntair Albu.

He brought the virtue of wisdom throughout Ireland, so that it was
more elevated,
vonderful name, Armorica is nourished, Britain is filled.

7

m*h*ra tuire. teóra lemna let*h*naib*h* coraib*h*.
ol- cilleant gnoo. gnótho foraib*h*

mrae tuire | téora lemna | lethnaib coraib,
olumb Cille | [ ] and gnoo | gnótho foraib.

Vonderful hero . . . . . with great deeds,
olumb Cille . . . . . on them.

8

For muir gaírech. gart a*n*ruirich fallnar mílib*h*.
follnu*r* magh ós mb*ru*igh*i*b*h* réid*h*ib*h*. rígh*a*ib*h* tírib*h*

For muir gáirech | gairt in ruirich | follnar mílib,
follnar mag ós mruigib réidib | rígaib tírib.

On the clamorous sea, he called to the Great King who rules over
thousands(?),
who rules over the plain above smooth lands, kings [and] countries.

9

Trínoít hiseilb*h*. siacht cobluth. caoí*n* conúalath.
úasal ladía dia*m*ba f*o*rder*c*. fescc*ur* mbuarach

Trindóit hi seilb | siächt cobluth | caín con-úalath,
úasal la Día | díambo forderc | fesccur mbúarach.

Under the protection of the Trinity he sought navigation(?), [it is]
well that he departed,
a noble with God, to whom he was visible, evening [and] morning.

10

Búachail manach med*h*am*h* cleirech. caissi retaib*h*.
rígh*d*haib*h* son*n*aib*h* so*n*aib*h* ted*m*an*n* *trich*taib*h* *ce*tuib*h*

Búachail manach | medam cléirech | caissiu rétaib,
rígdaib sondaib | sonaib tedmann | tríchtaib cétaib.

Pastor of monks, judge of clerics, fairer than things,
than royal palisades (?), than sounds (?) of sicknesses, than *tríchat*
*cét*s (?).

11

Col- cill- coin*n*eal toíd*h*i*us*. teóra rea*ch*ta.
rith hirroíd*h* tuir doréd mid*h*nocht maigh*n*e erca

Columb Cille | caindel toídes | tórand (?) rechtae,
rith hi rráith tuir | to-réd midnocht | maigne Ercae.

Columb Cille, candle who illuminates the significance of the laws (?),
he course in which the hero ran reaches the darkness of the place of
Erc (i.e. Scotland).

12

Aieír tinach. tinghair niulu nime doghair.
lín mó anma dun mo úadh. húa conaill

Aiéir tinach | tingair níulu | nime dogair,
lín mo anmae | dún mo uäd | hauë Conail.

Soft as air (?), he controls the clouds of gloomy (?) heaven,
rotection of my soul, fort of my poetic art, descendant of Conal.

13

Húa conaill cloth combúadhuibh. bacaín mbetha bábárc maoíni.
bámuir neccna .h. conuill costigh daoíne

Cloth co mbúadaib | ba caín bethu | ba bárc moíne,
a muir n-eccnai | hauë Conail | cotsid doíne.

Fame with victories, his was a fair life, he was a barque of wealth,
e was a sea of knowledge, descendant of Conal, hearer of people.

14

Badair nduill- bádín nanma. báhald nglinne.
agrian manach. bámór coimdhe coll- cill-

Ba dair nduillech | ba dín anmae | ba hall nglinne,
a grían manach | ba már coimdiu | Columb Cille.

He was a leafy oak, he was a protection of the soul, he was a rock of
security,
e was the sun of monks, he was a great lord, Columb Cille.

15

Bacaomh diambo hadhba. ail fri rolainn.
oppo dorair dú forría. imdha col-

Ba cóem [la Día] | díambo hadbae | ail fri roluind,
ropo dorair | dú forriä | imdae Coluimb.

He was dear [to God] whose dwelling was against a very rough rock,
it was rugged, the place where one might find the bed of Columb.

16

Colai*n*d crochs*us*. sgoirsiss fo*r*faill fin*n*a tæb*h*a.
do gó dána dénis lecca. léiccis cráob*h*a

Colainn crochsus | scuirsius for foill | finda tóeba,
to-gó dánu | dénis lecca | lécciss cróeba.

He crucified [his] body, he released to neglect [his] fair sides,
He chose learning, he chose stone slabs, he abandoned branches.

17

Lécciss coilct*h*i lécciss cotl– caoí*n*e bertaib*h*.
b*r*isiss bairne. bafrifail– feisib*h* tercaib*h*

Lécciss coilcthi | lécciss cotlud | caíniu bertaib,
brisiss bairnea | ba forfaílid(?) | feisib tercaib.

He abandoned beds, he abandoned sleep, fairest of deeds,
he broke passions, he was very happy with few sleeps.

18

Teachtaiss liub*h*ra. lecciss láslán selba ait*r*i.
ar*s*eirc leig*h*i*n*d. leicciss coict*h*i léicis cait*r*i

Techtaiss liubru | lécciss la slán | selba aithri,
ar ṡeirc léigind | lécciss coicthiu | lécciss caithri.

He kept books, he abandoned without claim (?) the possessions o
[his] paternal kin,
for love of learning, he abandoned battles, he abandoned fortresses

19

Legiss cairptiu carais noo. nam*h*a gúaa.
grianda loi*n*gsech. leicciss lá seól se*a*lmand cluaa

écciss cairptiu | carais noä | námae guë,
ríandae loingsech | lécciss la séol | selmann (?) cluë.

e abandoned chariots, he loved boats, enemy of falsehood,
un-like voyager, he sailed away from . . . . of fame.

20

ol- cill-. col- baoí. col- biaass.
ol- bithbeó. ní hé si*n* insnád*h*ud*h* ciaass

olumb Cille | Columb boíë | Columb biäss,
olumb bithbéo | ní hé sin in snádud ciäss.

olumb Cille, Columb who was, Columb who will be,
olumb everliving, he is not the protection whom one mourns (?).

21

ol- canma gu dáil nécca. iar*um* riaam*h*.
raib*h* im*h*b*h*aiss. imá com*h*airc cách fongníaam

olumb canmae | co dáil n-écco | íarum, riäm,
raib imbaiss | ima-comairc | cách fo-n-gniäm.

is] Columb of whom we sing, until the meeting of death, afterwards, before,
cording to the demands of poetic knowledge, which salutes him whom we serve.

22

id*h*e márg*h*uid*h*e m-c do eithne. isferr maoi*n*ib*h*.
nam dá d*h*eis doc*hum* ríchig*h*. re ndoma*n* dai*n*ib*h*

idiu márguidi | macc do Eithne | is ferr moínib,
anam día deis | dochum ríchid | re ndomuin doínib.

ray a great prayer to the son of Eithne, he is better than riches,
soul to his right hand to Heaven before the people of the world.

23

Dia *f*or*rogh*ena rig*hdh*a ecnairc. hilantt leasaib*h*.
lá toil naingea*l*. húa treib*h con*aill cressaib*h*

Día fo-ruigni | rígdae écndairc | hi land lessaib,
la toil n-aingel | hauë treibe | Conail cressaib.

He served God, royal intercession, in enclosures of churches,
with the favour of angels, descendant of the household of Conal i
religious garb (?).

24

Cearnach dub*h*airt día do ad*h*r–. aid*h*cib*h* lait*h*ib.
lam*h*uib*h* faenaib*h* fin*n*aib*h* gartaib*h*. gni*m*uib*h* mait*h*ib*h*

Cernach dúbart | Día do adrad | aidchib laithib,
lámaib fáenaib | findaib gartaib | gnímaib maithib.

[It is] a victorious supplication to worship God, by nights [and] b
days,
With outstretched hands, with fair acts of generosity, with good deed

25

Maith boí hic*urp* .c.c. cléir- nea*m*ba.
i*m*bed fedbach. fírían mbelm*h*ach. buad*h*ach tenga.
d. f. a.

Maith boí hi corp | Columb Cille | cléirech nemdae (?),
imbed fedbach | fírían bélmach | búadach tengae.

Columb Cille was good in body, heavenly cleric,
a widowed multitude, an eloquent righteous [man], a victorio
tongue.

NOTES

(*F* refers to the poem beginning *Fo réir Choluimb* (*Ériu* xxiv 1–34) whi
may be by the author of *TB*. Other abbreviations are in general tho
employed in the Royal Irish Academy *Contributions to a Dictionary of t
Irish Language*).

1a. to-fed. It is necessary to emend *doféd* of the MS to *to-fed* so that here is alliteration between the first and last words of the poem: see Introd. . 70.

The accent over the *e* in the MS raises the possibility that the root is *id-* (*fiad-*) 'tells' rather than *fed-* 'brings, leads'. However, accents are ometimes written over short vowels in this MS (Introd. p. 73) and *fed-* eems to suit the context better.

andes, 'from the south', i.e. from Ireland to Iona.

i ndáil fíadat, lit. 'into a meeting of the Lord' i.e. 'to the Lord'.

findá[i]l caingel, 'a fair gathering of chancels'. I take this phrase to be he object of *to-fed* 'brings', and to refer to the many churches of the Columban *paruchia*. *Findál* is a cpd. of *find* 'fair' and *dál* 'gathering, assembly'. or *d* = *dd* cf. *marcír* 'horse-comb' (*Thes.* ii 226.37) = *marc-chír* (*Thurn. ramm.* § 137).

b. Columb. For the expansion of *col-* of the MS as *Columb* with final *–b*, ee note to 15a *roluind*.

cétaib landa. *Landa* is nom. or acc. pl. of *land* 'building, church'. *Cétaib* dat. pl. of *cét* 'hundred'. One could translate 'churches for hundreds', hurches with hundreds' or 'churches in hundreds', cf. *ACC* § 93 (*RC* xx 70) *Cet cell custóid* '[Columb was] guardian of a hundred churches'.

lethan caindel, 'wide candle'. This is probably to be taken as an epithet eferring to Columb, cf. 4a *caindel Connacht, caindel Alban* and *F* 21b *Columb ille, caindel sóer*.

2a. ríge. In religious verse *ríge* 'kingship' is often used of the kingdom of leaven.

i ndeüd. I emend *a ndeoídh* of the MS to *i ndeüd*, with elision between *a* and *i*. However, there are no other examples of elision across a caesura this poem or in *F*, so it might be better to omit the preposition and read eüd, cf. *F* 11c *deüd* (*deot* MS) *bert* 'at the end of [his] deeds'.

b. ro-cinni, 3 sg. pres. ind. of *cinnid* 'fixes, determines, defines' with perctive *ro-*.

betho, gen. sg. of *bith*. Though *bith* normally means 'world', the context eems to require the meaning 'life' (usually *bethu* gen. sg. *bethad*). The same evelopment of meaning occurs in the Welsh cognate *byd* (see *Geiriadur rifysgol Cymru*).

3a. brississ tola. The MS has *tóla* which raises the possibility that the riginal had *tól(a)e* 'flood'. However, accents are sometimes written over hort vowels in this MS (see Introd. p. 73) so I read *tola*, acc. pl. of *toil* 'desire'. his gives a better parallel to 17b *brisiss bairnea* 'he broke passions'. The hrase *brississ tola* also occurs in *F* 12c.

to-bert co crú. It is necessary to emend *dobert* to *to-bert* to obtain alliteration ith *tola*; see Introd. p. 67. *Crú* means 'blood, bloodshed, death' so I translate *-bert co crú* as 'he brought to destruction', though I have found no examples this phrase or anything comparable. The object of *to-bert* seems to be *ó* (see next note). It would also be possible to read *tos-mbert co crú* 'he rought them to destruction' referring back to *tola* 'desires'.

cró [ ] nglinne. The MS has *cró nglinde*, which is one syllable short. The issing syllable was probably between *cró* and *nglinne*, but if it was an nstressed word it could have been before *cró*. (Unstressed words may be nored for the purposes of alliteration, e.g. 14b *ba grían manach* | *ba már imdiu* where the alliteration is between *manach* and *már*).

The meaning of *cró* is 'pen, fold, enclosure, hoop, socket, horse-shoe' lso 'hereditary property, inheritance') and *glinne* is probably gen. sg. of

glinne 'surety, security', cf. 14a *ba hall nglinne* 'he was a rock of security'. The *Contributions* suggest that *cró* goes back to **croë*, which would provide the extra syllable required here by the metre. However, *cró* is clearly cognate with Welsh *crau* (earlier *creu*) of the same meaning, and therefore probably derives from Common Celtic **krāwo-* (*ZCP* xviii 71). This would be expected to give OI *cráu*, later *cró*, cf. **gāwā* > *gáu*, *gáo*, *góo* (Wb.), *gó* (*Lib. Hymn.*), **nāwā* > *náu* (*Thes.* ii 294.27), later *nó*. The only attestation of the word in the OI Glosses is *cróa* gl. *ungula* 'hoof' Sg. 46b13. Here *-óa* probably represents a diphthong (cf. the variations in the spelling of *gáu* above) and is hardly for disyllabic *croë*.

The nasalisation of *glinne* is another problem.There is no evidence to suggest that *cró* was neuter in OI, so it seems likely that *cró* is acc. sg. object of *to-bert*. However, 'he brought to destruction a pen of security' does not make obvious sense. One possible explanation is that Columb by reason of his privileged birth, lived in a figurative 'pen of security' which he 'destroyed' by becoming a monk.

Another possibility would be to supply *ba* before *cró* and omit the nasalisation of *glinne*. One could then take there to be a break in the sense at the caesura, and translate *ba cró glinne* as 'he was a pen of security'. However, though metrically perfect, this would leave the preceding *to-bert* without an object.

b. gabaiss foraib, 'he overcame them', probably still referring back to *tola* 'desires' in the preceding line. *Gaibid for* is well attested in meanings such as 'attacks, overcomes, defeats' (see *Contributions*).

findaib coraib. *Cor*, vn. of *fo-ceird* 'puts, throws, etc.' has a very wide range of meanings. I translate 'with fair deeds', cf. 7a *lethnaib coraib*.

4a. caindel Connacht. Carney makes the tentative suggestion that *Connachta* may here apply to the territory of the *Uí Néill* as well as to the area corresponding approximately to the modern province of Connaught.

However, in Tírechán's *Notes on Patrick* (second half of the 7th c.) the territories of the *Uí Néill* and the *Connachta* are regarded as separate: *Finit liber primus in regionibus Nepotum Neill peractus. Incipit secundus in regionibus Connacht peractus* (*Thes.* ii 264.39). A distinction is also implicit in Adomnán's *Life of Columba*, written in the same period. In bk. ii ch. 38 Librán declares himself to be from the district of *Connachta* (*de Connachtarum regione oriundum*). If *Connachta* here had its wider application, one would not expect the singular *regione*.

In *F* (which may be by the author of *TB*—see Introd. p. 75) Columb is described (14c) as *caindel Néill*, lit. 'candle of Níall', perhaps 'candle of the Uí Néill'. In the same poem the name *Connachta* appears in the couplet 10ab *Ní terc buide berdae ind éoin | is íar sétaib Connacht clú* 'not small is the gratitude which the birds bring, it is fame on the roads of Connachta'. Unfortunately, the reference to birds here is obscure (in spite of a gloss) so it is not possible to say what area *Connachta* comprises.

Byrne (*Irish Kings and High-kings* p. 231) suggests that 'it was probably not until the end of the 6th c. that the name *Connachta* was restricted in its application to those of the dynastic group who remained in the west.'

amrae fíadat, lit. 'wonder of a lord', i.e. 'wonderful lord', referring to Columb. Compare 6b *amrae n-anmae* 'wonder of a name', i.e. 'wonderful name'. See Introd. p. 77.

b. I do not understand the second half of this line. One would expect *trichait troichet ciabat* to contain the object of the verb *cechaing*, possibly some kenning for the sea. Compare *F* 12b *cechaing noïb nemed mbled* 'he traversed in ships the whales' sanctuary (i.e. the sea)'.

tríchait could be acc. or dat. sg. or nom. pl. of *trícho* 'thirty'.

troichet. Ó Cuív suggests that this could be from *troich-sét* 'wretched path'. *ro(i)ch-* is the composition form of *trú* 'doomed person, wretch'. For the nission of lenited *s*, cf. the omission of lenited *f* in 5b *bairind* MS for *barrfind*.

cíabat?

5. This verse contains a description of the sea. The verb *cechaing* ('he aversed') takes the object *magain* ('place'). All the other words are acc. . fem. adjectives agreeing with *magain*.

a. tonnaig. The MS has *thondaig* where the lenition is probably not iginal. There are many cases of lenition after verbal forms in the later losses (see *Thurn. Gramm.* § 233) but none from Wb. or from archaic urces. Carney draws attention to two examples in *Blathmac* (ll. 55, 209).

magain, acc. sg. of *magan* [ā.f.] 'place', here used of the sea. *Magan* (see *ontributions* s.v. *maigen*) shows fluctuation in OI between palatal and non-alatal *-g-*, cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* § 166 (small print).

b. ro-luind. *Luind* is acc. sg. fem. of *lond* 'rough' (*Contributions* s.v. *nn*), cf. 15a *ro-luind*, riming with *Coluimb*.

mbedcaig. As *bedcaig, bruichrich* and *barrfind* are each preceded by an dj. in the acc. case, it is necessary to supply nasalisation (cf. *mbrónaig* at he end of the line where the expected nasalisation is present in the MS). or other cases of missing or superfluous nasalisation, see Introd. p. 73.

mbruichrich. The accent on the first *-i-* of *bruichrich* MS is probably of o significance, as accents are sometimes written over short vowels in this IS (Introd. p. 73). On the other hand, it is possible that *bruichrich* (with he diphthong *-ui-*) or even *brúichrich* (with long *-u-*) is intended.

The adj. *bruichrech* is otherwise unattested. It may be for *bruichnech* *rúichnech* v.1.) or *bruithnech*, used to describe the Miller of Hell in *Immram uraig Ua Corra* (*RC* xiv 52 § 62) and the Miller of Inber Tre-cenand in *mmram Curaig Maile Dúin* (*RC* ix 482). It is usually translated 'surly, ough'.

The *-ich* ending may be an archaic spelling which survived because this ord was unknown to later scribes (see Introd. p. 69). It is likely that the ther adjectives in this verse were also spelt with *-ich* in the 7th c. original *onnaich, tresaich*, etc.). However, being words easily identifiable to later cribes, they would regularly have been modernised to *-ig(h)*.

mbarrfind. For the MS spelling *bairind* with *-air-* for *-arr-* and omission f lenited *f*, cf. *Fél. Óen.* May 21 *barrfind* (*barrinn, barrind, bairfind* vv. ll.).

faílid. For the lack of alliteration between *faílid* and *barrfind*, see Introd. . 70.

I take *faílid* 'joyful' and *brónach* 'sorrowful' to refer to the changing moods f the sea. The poet often juxtaposes contrasting words; see Introd. p. 77.

6a. Ó Cuív suggests: 'He won the palm of knowledge throughout Ireland o that he was more elevated'.

The alliteration in this line is irregular: *eccnai* alliterates with *hi, cúairt* ith *combo*, and *Éirenn* with *hardu*.

b. ailtir, líntair. I emend *ailter, lintar* of the MS to *ailtir* and *líntair*, 3 sg. res. ind. pass. of *ailid* 'nourishes' and *línaid* 'fills'. One could keep the IS readings and take *ailter* and *líntar* as 3 sg. ipv. passives: 'let Armorica e nourished, let Britain be filled'. However, as the poem consists mainly f a catalogue of Columb's achievements, exhortations of this type would e out of place.

Albu. The rime in this verse provides evidence against Meyer's suggestion *Worth.* 67) that the earlier form of the word was *Alpe* (*Albe*). If one

restored *Alba* of the MS to *Alb(a)e* one would have to read *ard(a)e* in 6a, which does not suit the context.

7a. tuire. *Tuir* and *tuire*, both meaning 'pillar', are often used as epithets of famous people, cf. 11b *tuir*.

téora lemna. *Téora* could be the fem. form of the numeral *trí*, but I have no suggestions for *lemna*. Another problem phrase containing *téora* is 11a *téora reachta* (? read *tórand rechtae*).

lethnaib coraib, 'with great (lit. wide) deeds'. See note to 3b *findaib coraib*.

b. This line is one syllable short and it is clear that something has dropped out between *col- cille* and *ant*. The missing syllable is most likely to have begun with *c*, though by 'compensatory alliteration' (Introd. p. 70) it could begin with any letter. There are two main possibilities with *c*: (1) One could take *ant* to be for *and* 'there' and look around for a monosyllable beginning with *c*. (2) One could take *ant* (for *-and* or *ann*) to be the last part of a disyllabic word beginning with *c*. On statistical grounds the second possibility is more likely. On account of its metre, the great majority of words in the poem are disyllables. Of the 342 words which it contains 241 (approx. 70%) are disyllables, 94 (approx. 28%) are monosyllables, and 7 contain three or more syllables. However, I am unable to suggest a suitable disyllabic word.

It is probable that the error was present in the scribe's exemplar. This is indicated by the fact that the name Columb Cille is elsewhere in this poem abbreviated *col(l)- cill-* (1b, 3b, 11a, 14b, 20a) or *.c.c.* (25a). This is the only case where *cille* is written out.

gnoo. The double *-o-* suggests a hiatus word (cf. 19a *noo* for *noä*). Read possibly, *gnoü*, acc. pl. of *gnó* 'business, matter, work' though this word is not attested from OI. It might also be from *gnóe* 'beautiful, fine'.

gnótho, or *gnotho*. The first *-o-* may be short or long (see Introd. p. 73) but I have no suggestions for this word.

8a. gáirech. I take the accent over the *-i-* in the MS to have belonged originally to the *-a-*, and read *gáirech*, a derivative of *gáir* 'shout, cry'. However, as accents are sometimes written over short vowels in this MS (see Introd. p. 73) the original may have had *gairech*.

gairt. I emend *gart* to *gairt*, as the palatalised ending of the OI 3 sg. *t*-pret. absolute is preserved in 6a *birt* (later *bert*).

ruirich, acc. sg. of *ruiri* 'great king', often used of God. The original may have had *ruirig*, but as *ruirich* is a possible OI spelling (*Thurn. Gramm.* § 130.2) emendation would be unjustified.

For the lack of alliteration between *ruirich* and *follnar*, see Introd. p. 70.

follnar. The sense seems to require taking *follnar* as 3 sg. pres. ind. rel. of *follnaithir* 'rules' (often spelt with *fa-* after the OI period). The regular rel. form would be *follnathar*. However, rel. forms in *-ar* are attested for this verb in two other early poems. In *Fursunnud Laidcinn* (O'Brien: *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* p. 9 l. 37, Meyer: *ÀID* i 17 § 15) *Feideilmid falnar iath athrī* is perhaps to be translated 'Feideilmid the new king who rules the land'. In Rawl. B 502 128a50 (*Corpus* p. 98) there is a quatrain in which *fallnar* and *fallnathar* occur as relatives in identical situations: *mac rig fallnar for tuathaib* 'the son of the king who rules over tribes', *mac rig fallnathar i mbribb* 'the son of the king who rules in B.'

mílib, 'over thousands'. Ó Cuív suggests rather 'with thousands' (of angels?) as there are no other attestations of *follnaithir* followed directly by a dative. When used transitively, it takes an accusative or *for* + dat.

). mag ós mruigib réidib, etc. *Mag* 'plain' seems here to be used of Heaven. *i mmaig nime, Fél. Óen.* Nov. 7.

In this line the caesura which normally falls between the 4th and 5th lables is absent (see Introd. p. 71 and note to 20b). Alliteration is between *g* and *mruigib*.

9a. Trindóit hi seilb. It seems best to take *trindóit* as a gen. sg. identical form with the nom. The *Contributions* give two OI examples of gen. sg. *n(d)óit*, both from the *Liber Hymnorum* (*Thes.* ii 327.15, 354.25). Otherse the gen. sg. ends in *-e* or *-i*, e.g. *tríndoti* Ml. 2d2.

siächt. The group *cht* generally resists palatalisation (*Thurn. Gramm.* 62). However, a few exceptions are found in the Glosses, e.g. acc. sg. fem. *icht* with subscript *i* in Wb. 11c18, gen. sg. *boicht* Ml. 31c1 (*Gramm.* 51). The spelling *siaicht* is found in the archaic poem beginning *Conailla dḃ míchura ZCP* viii 306.31). It is therefore possible that this is what was the original MS of *TB*. The surviving MS has preserved the palatalisation the 3 sg. *t*-pret. absolute in 6a *birt*, but not in 8a *gart* (read *gairt*).

cobluth. Prof. Greene suggests that *cobluth* contains the elements *com-fo-* (cf. *VGK* ii 572) and that it means something like 'navigation'. In Dav. 478 *cobluth* is glossed *.i. curach no long beg forambi imram, ut est: oluth (coblat* v.l.) *for rot ramat.*

caín con-úalath, lit. '[it is] well that there was a departing' i.e. 'it is well at he departed'. *Con-úalath* is pret. pass. sg. of *con-úalai* 'departs'. r the early spelling *-ath*, see Introd. p. 69.

b. forderc. The MS may here preserve an archaic spelling. By the time the Glosses unstressed *-e-* in closed final position had become *-a-*, e.g. arch. *eth* (*Thes.* ii 47.26) > *tocad*.

Greene points out, however, that the spelling *forderc* could be a later formation influenced by *derc*. There is also the possibility that *fordc͡* the MS was intended to represent *fordarc* rather than *forderc*, cf. Carney, *iu* xxiii 9.

fesccur mbúarach. These words are probably to be taken as accusatives pressing duration of time (*Thurn. Gramm.* § 249.3), hence the nasalisation *búarach*.

10a. caissiu rétaib. *Caissiu* (*caissi* MS) is cpv. of *cass*, whose basic meaning 'curved, curly' developing to 'claborate, intricate, beautiful, fair, etc.' *F* 2b *tindscan ernaigdi cassa* 'he undertook elaborate prayers'. For the e of the dat. after the cpv. cf. 17a *caíniu bertaib* and *Thurn. Gramm.* 251.1.

b. The meaning of the individual words is clear enough, but it is very rd to make sense of the whole line. I understand there to be a break in e sense at each caesura, and take the nouns in the dat. case to be dependent *caissiu* in the preceding line.

rígdaib sondaib, 'than royal palisades'. *Sondaib* is dat. pl. of *sond* 'stake, st, palisade' (also used figuratively 'hero, champion'). The meaning ght be that the missionary life chosen by Columb is superior to the comfort d security of a royal dwelling, cf. 18b *lécciss caithri* 'he abandoned forsses'.

sonaib tedmann, 'than sounds (?) of sicknesses'. *Sonaib* is dat. pl. of n 'sound, name' and *tedmann* is gen. pl. (or nom.-acc. pl.) of *teidm* 'sickness, ague, calamity'. In Adomnán's *Life of Columba*, bk. ii ch. 46, the preservtion of the Picts and the Irish of Britain from the plague 'which twice in r times ravaged the greater part of the surface of the earth' is attributed Columb's protection.

Sonaib might also be for *sónaib*, dat. pl. of archaic **són* (later *súan*) 'sleep'.

trichtaib cétaib, lit. 'than thirties, than hundreds'. The regular dat. pl. of *tricho cét* 'thirty hundred' (orig. a military unit, see MacNeill, *PRIA* xxv C 102 ff.) is *trichtaib cét*. Possibly, however, a dat. pl. *trichtaib cétaib* was permissible in verse, though I have no comparable examples.

The mention of *tricho cét*s here may be a reference to the military side of the lay life which Columb forsook, cf. 18b *lécciss coicthiu* 'he abandoned battles'.

11a. tórand (?) rechtae. From the context one would expect this phrase to be the object of the preceding verb *toídes*, 3 sg. pres. ind. rel. of *toíd* 'illuminates'.

The MS has *teóra reachta*. *Teóra* (OI *téora*) could be feminine nom., acc. or gen. of the numeral *trí*. However, *recht* 'law' is well attested in OI as a masculine *u*-stem, and therefore could not be qualified by *téora*.

Binchy suggests emending *teóra* to *tórand* (vn. of *do-foirndea* 'expresses, signifies, marks out, delimitates') and *reachta* to *rechtae* (riming with *Erc* q.v.) gen. pl. of *recht*. *Teóra* is well attested as a late spelling of *tórand* (see *Contributions*). A difficulty about this suggestion is the fact that there seems in general to have been very little scribal interference with the text apart from superficial modernisations like *-ea-* for *-e-*, *-aoí-* for *-aí-*, etc. (see Introd. p. 72).

Carney suggests emending to *rechtgai*, acc. pl. of *rechtgae* 'rule, law, ordinance' which is a fem. *iā*-stem. This would enable us to keep *téora*, translating 'candle who illuminates three rules'. It would, however, be necessary to emend *erca* in the next line to *Ercai*.

Another problem phrase containing *téora* is 7a *téora lemna* q.v.

b. rith hi rráith tuir. The emendation of *roídh* to *ráith* (pret. of *reithid* 'runs') is uncertain. The form *-roíd* could be 3 sg. perf. of *foídid* 'sends', but it does not seem to suit the context. I therefore suggest 'the course on which the hero ran', a reference to Columb's career as a missionary. Alternatively, one might take it to be a variant word-order of *hi rráith tuir rith* 'where (or when) the hero ran [his] race'.

For *tuir* 'pillar' (i.e. 'hero') used of Columb, cf. 7a *amrae tuire* 'wonderful hero'.

to-réd. As accents are sometimes written over short vowels in this MS (Introd. p. 73) *doréd* could contain long or short *-e-*.

One solution is to read *to-réd* (emending *do-* to *to-* to procure alliteration with *tuir*). Compounds of *réidid* 'drives, rides' are normally spelt *-rét* in OI (like other verbs in *-d* and *-th*, see *Thurn. Gramm.* § 592) but exceptions are occasionally found, e.g. *imma-réid*, *Im. Brain* i 17 § 33. One could translate *to-réd* (lit. 'rides to') loosely as 'reaches'. The *Contributions* (s.v. *do-rét*) suggest 'penetrates'.

Another solution is to emend *doréd* to *to-ret* (**to-reth-* 'runs to') a spelling which occurs in a *rosc* or 'rhetoric' in *Brislech Mór Maige Murthemni* (*LL* 14190). See *Contributions* s.v. *do-reith*.

midnocht, lit. 'midnight'. I translate 'darkness', presumably a reference to the paganism of Scotland.

maigne Ercae, gen. sg. of *maigen* (*magan*) *Ercae* 'the place of Erc', i.e. Scotland. The kings of Scotland claimed descent from Erc of the Northern Antrim *Dál Ríata* (cf. Marjorie Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* p. 9).

The male personal name *Erc* shows both *o*- and *ā*-stem declension, giving enitives *Eirc* and *Erc(a)e*. The latter is attested in Tirechán's *Notes on atrick* (*Thes.* ii 268.9, 269.7) and in Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (ibid. 273.33, 74.8) both from the late 7th c. An earlier form of *Ercae* is found in Ogham RCIAS, ERCCIA (*Thurn. Gramm.* p. 188).

Carney raises the possibility of reading *Ercai* (gen. sg. of an *io*-stem *Ercae*) riming with *rechtgai*. See second last paragraph of note to 11a.

12a. Aiéir tinach. *Aiéir* is attested in Wb. 12d3 as gen. sg. of *a(i)ér* 'air, mosphere, sky', a loan from Latin *aër*. The adj. *tinach* is also found in 2a *fri coilcthi tincha* where the context demands some such translation as n soft beds'. The only other attestations of *tinach* are in *Saltair na ann* (6261, 8028, 8112) where the meaning is unclear, but is hardly 'many-ded' as suggested in the *Contributions*.

Prof. Mac Cana suggests that *aiéir tinach* might be for *tinach aiéir*, lit. oft of air', i.e. 'soft with regard to air', (cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* § 250.2) or erhaps 'soft as air'.

tingair níulu nime dogair, 'he controls the clouds of gloomy (?) heaven'. *ingair* is the prototonic of *to-ingair* (Class. OI *do-ingair*) 'guards, protects', ere probably 'controls'. (The use of prototonic forms of *to*-cpds. where ne would expect the deuterotonic is well attested in OI—see Watkins, *eltica* vi 21.) The *Contributions* give only one other example of *do-ingair* rotects' but *in-gair* is common with similar meanings: 'herds, tends, otects'.

For Columb's control over the clouds, see Adomnán's *Life of Columba* . ii ch. 22 where he caused a cloud to arise from the sea bringing a storm hich sank the ship of an evildoer, and bk. ii ch. 44 where a tunic which had elonged to him brought rain-clouds during a drought.

Dogair is gen. sg. of *dogar*, an uncommon adj. which seems to mean mething like 'gloomy, harsh' (the opposite of *sogar* 'kindly, convenient, rofitable'). It is also used in the context of clouds in *Saltair na Rann* 030 *ticfa fleochud . . . . asind níul dorcha dogor.*

b. uäd, gen. sg. of *aí* (*áe*) 'poetic art, inspiration, metrical composition'. ee Introd. p. 79.

Conail. For the emendation (*metri gratia*) of *conaill* to *Conail*, see Introd. 67.

13a. In the MS this line is hypermetric by four syllables. I therefore move the phrase *húa conaill* (OI *hauë Conail*) which clearly arose by ttography from the preceding verse.

ba caín bethu, lit. 'it was a fair life', i.e. 'his was a fair life'. I remove ne nasalisation of *bethu* (*mbetha* MS) as it is a masc. noun. See Introd. 73.

b. cotsid. This is an otherwise unattested noun of agency from *con-asi, -cotsi* 'hears'. One can compare OI *éitsid* (later with metathesis *stid*) 'hearer, listener' from *in-túasi, -éitsi* (*Thurn. Gramm.* § 267). *Costigh* the MS derives from OI *cotsid* with metathesis and substitution of *-igh* r *-id* (cf. 22b *ríchigh* MS for OI *ríchid*.)

14a. dair nduillech. The nasalisation in the MS suggests that *dair* is euter, though there appears to be no other evidence about its gender in OI. ne can compare the cognates Gk. δόρυ 'tree', Skt. *dā́ru* 'wood', Goth. *iu* 'id.' all of which are neuter. On the other hand, the MS shows an casional tendency to insert nasalisation; see next note and Introd. p. 73.

dín anmae. I omit the nasalisation of the MS because *dín* does not seem to ave been neuter in OI, cf. *is dín úathaid* (*F* 6a), *din anma* (*Ériu* ii 66).

hall nglinne. For *(h)all* 'cliff, rock' as a neuter, cf. *all nglaine* 'rock c purity' *Fél. Óen.* Jan. 6.

b. ba már coimdiu. For the emendation of *mór* to *már*, cf. 22a *már-guid* (*márghuidhe* MS).

15a. This line is two syllables short. One possible solution would be t insert *la Día* before *díambo*, cf. 9b *úasal la Día díambo forderc*.

ail fri ro-luind = *fri ail ro-luind* 'against a very rough rock.' *Luind* acc. sg. fem. of *lond* 'fierce, angry', agreeing with *ail* [i.f.] 'rock'. The fina *-nd* of this adjective is well attested in the Glosses, e.g. *luind* Wb. 30c8 *lond* Ml. 56c17 (for other examples see *Contributions* s.v. *lonn*). Spelling with *-nn* are not found until after the OI period. The rime *ro-luind Coluimb*, with *-nd* corresponding to *-mb*, justifies the expansion of *col-* a *Colu(i)mb* throughout the poem. The MS preserves original *-nd* in 5 *rolaind* (read *ro-luind*).

I take *ail fri roluind* to refer to Columb's practice of sleeping on bare rock cf. 16b *dénis lecca*. Charles-Edwards suggests that the poet may also hav intended *ail* to be understood as a reference to the island of Iona, and tha the phrase *adbae fri ail* is perhaps an echo of the biblical 'house built upon rock' parable (*Matthew* vii 24).

b. ropo dorair. *Dorair* may be gen. sg. of *dorar* 'battle, conflict, strife used adjectivally. I suggest 'it was rugged, uncomfortable' referring t the place where Columb slept.

dú for-riä(?). The *Contributions* suggest taking *forriä* as 3 sg. pres. sub of the unattested cpd. **for-roich* [*for-ro-saig-*] 'finds'. However, one woul expect alliteration with *imdae*.

16a. crochsus, 3 sg. pret. of *crochaid* 'crucifies, tortures' with 3 sg. fem suff. pron. agreeing with *colainn*.

scuirsius. I suggest emending *sgoirsiss* to *scuirsius*, 3 sg. pret. of *scuir* 'looses, releases' with 3 pl. suff. pron. anticipating *tóeba*.

Alliteration is missing between the words on either side of the first caesur (*crochsus* and *scuirsius*). This could be due to the parallelism of the phras *colainn crochsus* and *scuirsius . . . finda tóeba*—for other cases where paralle ism allows the rules of alliteration to be relaxed, see Introd. p. 70. Alte natively, this may be a case of 'compensatory alliteration' where the lack alliteration with *scuirsius* is compensated for by the alliteration of the thr preceding words (Introd. p. 70).

for foill, lit. 'onto neglect'. Compare *ACC* § 101 (*RC* xx 274) *frisbe tinu a thoeb* 'he opposed the fat parts (?) of his side'.

tóeba. *Tóeb* 'side', like the Welsh cognate *tu*, seems to have been mas in OI (see *Contributions* s.v. *táeb*). In *F* there is an example of the mas *o*-stem gen. sg. inflexion in 19c *séime toíb* (*seimhe toeibh* MS) 'thinness of t body' (lit. 'side'), where *toíb* rimes with *noíb* (*noeibh* MS), dat. sg. fem. *nóeb* 'holy'.

Here, however, it is necessary to read acc. pl. *tóeba* with fem. *ā*-ste inflexion, though the other examples of this inflexion given in the *Contrib tions* are from after the OI period. One cannot read *tóebu* with *o*-ste inflexion, as a rime is required with *cróeba*, acc. pl. of *cróeb* [ā.f.] 'branch

b. to-gó. I follow the *Contributions* in taking *to-gó* (*do gó* MS) as pret. *to-goa* (*do-goa*) 'chooses'. However, there are no other examples of th form. Furthermore, a reduplicated pret. is found in *Blathmac* (l. 3 *do-gegai*) and is also indicated by the well attested OI perf. *do-roígu* (< *** *ro-gegu*, cf. *Thurn. Gramm.* § 688).

Another possibility would be to read *togu* 'choice' followed by *dán(a)e*, gen. pl. of *dán* 'art, poetry, man of learning', but this does not seem to fit the context.

dénis. Carney suggests that this is 3 sg. pret. of **dénid* 'chooses'. This verb may also be attested in the prose introduction to an OI poem on the origin of Tara (ed. Máirín O Daly, *Celtica* v 187) *Ispert Eirimón frie erna feissiuth ⁊ digellsidi aurd pad caimum no peth hind Ére no deniuth dun doip idn* 'E. said to her that she should not go and promised the hill which was most beautiful in Ireland, that she should *choose* a fort for them there'. The corresponding passage in the Middle Irish *Rennes Dindshenchas* on the origin of Tara reads *doberedh dí cach tulach toghadh in Eirinn* (*RC* xv 278 § 2). Here *déniuth* corresponds to *toghadh*, imperf. of *toghaim* 'I choose'. The verb may also occur in *LL* 4906 *bríg na dénur* (meaning?) riming with *énud*.

Prof. E. G. Quin suggests that *dénid* may be from Lat. *dignare* 'to deign, to deem worthy', cf. *sén* < *signum*.

lecca. Sleeping on stone slabs was a common ascetic practice, e.g. *paid for leicc luim, Thes.* ii 315.6.

cróeba. The *Contributions* (s.v. *cráeb*) suggest that this may be a reference to the use of branches for bedding (contrasting with the stone-slabs in the preceding phrase). The recent excavations of Viking and Medieval Dublin show that straw, bracken and heather branches were used as bedding. Alternatively, *cróeba* may refer to the wooden (or wickerwork) bed-frame.

17a. caíniu bertaib, lit. 'fairer than [other] deeds', i.e. 'fairest of deeds'. Compare *ÄID* i 42 § 46 *caíniu dóenib domuin* 'fairest of the people of the world', *ÄID* ii 10 § 4 *arddu doínib* 'most elevated of people'.

b. bairnea, acc. pl. of *barae* 'wrath, passion', cf. 3a *brissis tola* 'he broke desires'.

ba forfaílid. The MS has *bafrifail-* for which Meyer reads *ba fri faílti*. However, *-* normally shows the omission of a vowel followed by a lenited consonant (Introd. p. 73), cf. 5b *fail-* for *faílid(h)*. Furthermore, there are no parallels for this use of *fri* (see Caerwyn Williams 'On the uses of OI *fri* and its cognates' *Celtica* iii 126–148). Binchy suggests the emendation *a forfaílid* 'he was overjoyed, very happy', which makes good sense. The *ri* of the MS could have originated as a misreading of *f* with a horizontal stroke over it (the usual abbreviation of *for*). One drawback is the fact that the spelling *forbaílid* is very much commoner than *forfaílid* (see *Contributions*).

18a. lécciss la slán. The meanings of *slán* include 'wholeness, completeness, immunity, compensation, surety, security, agreement' (see *Contributions*). The best translation of *lécciss la slán selba aithri* is perhaps 'he abandoned without claim (lit. with immunity from claim) the possessions of his paternal kin'. The meaning seems to be that he made a complete renunciation of his rights to the property of his family.

aithri, gen. sg. of *aithre* 'paternal kin'.

b. coicthiu. The spelling *coicthi* of the MS clearly goes back to *coicthiu*, acc. pl. of *cocad* 'battle, war.' However, as *cocad* is a compound of *cath* [u.m.], it is probable that the original had *cocthu* (< *com* + *cathu*). The palatalised consonant group may have arisen through the influence of forms such as *aimsiu* (< *ad* + *messu*), acc. pl. of *ammus* [u.m.].

caithri. I take *caithri* to be acc. pl. of *cathir* 'fortress, stone enclosure.' In OI *cathir* is well attested with guttural inflexion (e.g. acc. sg. *cathraich* [l. 48d14) which would give acc. pl. *cathracha* (see *Paradigms and Glosses* 9). However, it seems originally to have been a fem. *i*-stem, as here.

Thurneysen points out (*Gramm.* § 320) that nouns with nom. sg. in *-r* or *-l* are especially prone to adopt guttural inflexion. (His suggestion that *caithri* shows the converse development stems from his view of *TB* as a 'later' composition.)

19a. lécciss cairptiu, cf. *ACC* § 109 *ar chredlu cairptiu* 'for piety [he gave up] chariots' (*RC* xx 278). Some ascetics were accustomed to travel on foot only—see Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (ed. Plummer) vol. ii p. 136 (note).

noä. I emend *noo* to *noä*, acc. pl. of *náu*, *nó* [ā.f.] 'boat'. The original may have had **nauä*, cf. gen. sg. *nauë* (*Thes.* ii 272.8) in Adomnán's *Life of Columba*, composed in the late 7th c.

guë. I emend *gúaa* to *guë*, gen. sg. of *gáu*, *gó* [ā.f.] 'falsehood'. It rimes with *cluë* (*cluaa* MS), gen. sg. of *clú* 'fame'. In 10bd of *F* (probably by the author of *TB*—see Introd. p. 75) there is rime between the nom. sgs. *gáu* and *clú*. This raises the possibility that *TB* originally had gen. sg. **gauë* riming with *cluë*.

The doubling of *-a* in *gúaa*, *cluaa* of the MS seems to be intended as an indication of hiatus. For other examples see Introd. p. 72.

b. lécciss la séol, lit. 'he left with sail', probably 'he sailed away from'.

selmann cluë. I emend *cluaa* to *cluë*, gen. sg. of the neuter *s*-stem *clú* 'fame' (*Thurn. Gramm.* § 338). The spelling *clue* (*clóe* v.l.) is attested in *ÄID* ii 25(b). *Selmann* (*sealmand* MS) seems to be the object of *lécciss*. It looks like acc. pl. of an *n*-stem **seilm*, but I have found no examples of this word. It can hardly be for *selba*, cf. 18a.

20a. boíë. See Introd. p. 67.

b. ní hé sin in snádud ciäss. I adopt the translation proposed by Charles-Edwards: 'he is not the protection whom one mourns', taking *ciäss* as 3 sg. pres. ind. rel. impersonal of *ciïd* 'weeps, mourns', a verb which can be used transitively or intransitively. The meaning appears to be that Columb, though dead, continues to protect his followers (cf. *F* 1b *find for nimib snáidsium secht* 'may the fair one in the seven heavens protect me') and there is therefore no need to mourn the loss of his protection. Alternatively, it could mean that those who seek Columb's protection do not regret it. For the institution of *snádud*, see Binchy: *Crith Gablach* p. 106.

For the lack of alliteration between *bithbéo* and *ní*, see Introd. p. 70.

In this line the caesura which normally falls between the 8th and 9th syllables is absent (see Introd. p. 71 and note to 8b). Alliteration is between *sin* and *snádud*.

For the construction *ní hé sin in snádud ciäss*, cf. *hit hé sin inna ranna aili asrubart túas* 'those are the other parts which he has mentioned above' (Sg. 22a3), *issed se a ndliged* 'this is the rule' (Sg. 206a2). See *Thurn. Gramm.* § 478.

21b. ríaraib imbaiss. *Ríaraib* is dat. pl. of *ríar* 'will, wish, demand, rule' and *imbaiss* is gen. sg. of *imbas* (*-bus*) 'poetic inspiration or knowledge, metrical composition'. For *imbas* see Introd. p. 79 and for *ríar* see *ZCP* xiv 368.

ima-comairc, 3 sg. pres. ind. rel. of *im(m)-comairc* 'salutes, greets, importunes'.

cách, 'the one, him', i.e. Columb Cille.

fo-n-gniäm, 1 pl. pres. ind. of *fo-gní* 'serves' with rel. *-n-*.

22a. guidiu, For the emendation of *guidhe* to *guidiu* 'I pray', cf. 14b *coimdiu*, 17a *caíniu* (*coimdhe, caoine* MS).

macc do Eithne. Carney suggests that this is a variant word-order of *do macc Eithne* 'to the son of Eithne' (i.e. Columb). The same inversion is found in the archaic poem beginning *Conailla medb michura* (*ZCP* viii 306) where *m-c do roich* is for *do mac roich* (i.e. 'to [Fergus] mac Róich'). For Eithne, see Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (ed. Anderson) pp. 186, 546.

b. re ndomuin doínib = *re ndoínib domuin* 'before the people of the world'. Here *re* seems to imply preference, see *Contributions* s.v. *ré* I (b). If the translation is correct, Bécán would seem guilty of the same error as the sons of Zebedee, who wanted to sit on either side of Christ in the kingdom of Heaven (*Matthew* xx 20–23).

For monosyllabic *domuin*, see Introd. p. 66.

23a. fo-ruigni. *Forroghena* of the MS has one syllable too many, so I emend to *fo-ruigni*, perf. of *fo-gní* 'serves'. In *O'Clery's Glossary* (17th c.) *forrogéna* is glossed *.i. dofhoghain* 'i.e. he served' (*RC* iv 424).

There is regular alliteration between *-ruigni* and *rígdae*.

b. treibe. For the sake of sense and metre it is necessary to emend *treibh* to *treibe*, gen. sg. of *treb* 'tribe, household'.

There is no alliteration between *treibe* and *Conail*, but this is perhaps a case of 'compensatory alliteration'. See Introd. p. 70.

cressaib. The adj. *cress* 'narrow' is well attested, but does not make sense here. It seems better therefore to take *cressaib* as dat. pl. of *criss* 'belt, girdle' also 'enclosure, limit, zone'. *Criss* is often used of religious dress, e.g. *ó dogab crios fa a colainn, ZCP* i 62.45, lit. 'since she took a girdle on her body', i.e. 'since she became a nun'. (For other examples see *Contributions*.) It is therefore possible that *cressaib* may here mean 'in religious orders' (referring to Columb) in the same way as 'the cloth' is sometimes used of the priesthood in modern English. If so, however, it is not clear why *criss* should be used in the plural. Another possibility is that *cressaib* may refer to the 'zones' of Heaven, cf. *hi cressaib na secht nime, Ériu* ii 110.9.

24b. fáen. This adj. is often used of hands outstretched in prayer.

gartaib, dat. pl. of *gart* 'generosity, act of generosity'.

25a. The final word in this line is a problem. No such word as *neamba* is known, and one would expect there to be alliteration with *imbed*. Meyer (*ZCP* viii 198) suggests reading *nemdae* 'heavenly' which makes good sense, though it does not alliterate.

In *Ériu* xii 226 Bergin rejects Meyer's emendation on the grounds that the rime *nemdae* : *tengae* (with *-md-* corresponding to *-ng-*) is not possible. He suggests that the original may have had *Hembae*, an otherwise unattested variant of *Hinba*, an island-name mentioned seven times in Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (see pp. 153-4 of the Andersons' ed.). In the later MSS of the *Life* (B^1, B^2, B^3) the spelling is usually *Himba*, but in the earliest MS (A) it is always *Hinba*. Bergin's suggestion is therefore unlikely, unless one regards it as a case of the rules of rime being applied less stringently to foreign proper names.

b. imbed fedbach. *Fedbach* seems to be an adj. (otherwise unattested) formed from *fedb* 'widow'. The 'widowed multitude' are presumably the bereaved followers of Columb.

fírían bélmach. I suggest emending *mbelmhach* to *bélmach* (for other cases of superfluous nasalisation in the MS see Introd. p. 73). One could translate *fírían bélmach* 'an eloquent righteous [man]' referring to Columb. The word *bélmach* is otherwise unattested, but it is probably a derivative of *bél* 'mouth', cf. *F* 10c *fírían béoil* 'righteous of speech'.

Another possibility would be to take these words as genitive plurals dependent on *imbed fedbach*, translating 'a widowed multitude of eloquent righteous [people]'. This would allow the nasalisation of *bélmach* in the MS to be retained.

búadach tengae, 'a victorious tongue', referring to Columb.

d. f. a. stands for *Dofed. Finit. Amen.*

ADDENDUM

Only when this article was in page proof did the Editors of *Ériu* draw my attention to the fact that Meyer had discussed verses 11 and 16 in his *Wortkunde*, §§ 205 and 174 respectively. His translation of verse 11 reads: 'Colum Cille, eine Leuchte, die drei Gesetze erhellt—ein Lauf im grossen Walde des Herrn—befährt um Mitternacht die Himmelsgefilde.' He explains *erca* to be gen. sg. of the glossary word *erc* 'heaven'.

In verse 16 he translates: 'Den Leib kreuzigte er, er geisselte wegen einer Versäumnis die weissen Seiten; er wählte . . . und Steinplatten, er verzichtete auf Zweige (als Lagerstatt).' He suggests emending *dána dén* to *danaden*, an otherwise unattested loan from W. *dynhaden* 'nettle'; in an addendum in § 235 he gives three examples of the practice of sleeping on nettles as a penance. However, to make one word of *dána dén* would interfere with the metre and the alliteration.

F.K.

THE SCRIBE OF JOHN BEATON'S 'BROAD BOOK'

THE last Gaelic scholar of the Scottish family of Mac Bheatha (Beaton) was the Rev. John Beaton, Episcopalian minister of Kilninian in Mull in the second half of the seventeenth century. Sometime at the end of the century he was deprived of his incumbency and went to the north of Ireland, evidently seeking an appointment in the Church of Ireland. He possessed a large collection of vellum manuscripts written in Irish and is known to have carried at least one of these with him to Ireland. Edward Lhuyd in the course of his tour met Beaton at Coleraine in Co. Derry and recorded items of Scottish folklore from him, made a transcript of his pronunciation reading part of a Gaelic bible and also obtained descriptions of some of the Irish manuscripts in his possession. J. L. Campbell has identified a manuscript which Lhuyd must have seen in Beaton's hands, the one which is referred to in Lhuyd's notes as *y Lhyvyr Lhydan* ('the Broad Book'): it is now the second of two unrelated vellum manuscripts which constitute the volume known as Gaelic MS. I (Advocates' MS. 72.1.1) of the National Library of Scotland.[1]

Campbell has shown that the contents of this second manuscript in Gaelic MS. I and the order in which they occur, the number of folios (15) and their large dimensions [15 × 10½ in.], as well as the fine scribal hand, correspond to Lhuyd's description of the 'Broad Book' that John Beaton had. Nothing more is known of the history of this manuscript before its acquisition by the Advocates' Library, probably sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Mackinnon, *Catalogue of Gaelic MSS*, 107, describes this second constituent book in Gaelic MS. I as 'old, dating back, one should say, to the fourteenth century' and the hand as being 'particularly good throughout'. The main items of its contents are: 'Tecosca Cormaic', 'Trecheng breth féne' (triads), 'Cóir Anmann', 'Auraicept na nÉces' (the shorter version) and genealogical items of Lebar Gabála origin. It has long been recognized that several of the texts in the Edinburgh manuscript are near relatives of versions found in the two North-Connacht manuscripts known as the Book of Lecan (Lec.) and the Book of Ballymote (BB)[2]. This relationship naturally suggests a

[1] See J. L. Campbell and Derick Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699–1700*, pp. 47–51, 'The Identification of the Rev. John Beaton's "Broad Book".' Lhuyd's notes (written in Welsh) are in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, see *op. cit.*, 37–46.

[2] D. Mackinnon, *A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland* (1912) 107; J. Mackechnie, *Catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in selected libraries in Great Britain and Ireland* (1973) i 113b–5a.

North-Connacht origin for the Edinburgh manuscript and its provenance can now be confirmed by the identification of the scribal hand (see Plate II) as that of Adhamh Ó Cuirnín, the scribe of Lec. ff. 1–21v (except a few short passages by a relieving hand) and 310v–11v (see Plate I). Ó Cuirnín's hand in Lec. and that of the Edinburgh manuscript give an immediate impression of similarity[3] and their unity can be established by the many characteristics which they have in common, e.g.:

(1) In the larger script used in initial words and in some opening passages the 'hooked' open *a* is almost the regular form (and is common also as an individual capital in initial position).

(2) The form of small letter *g* is unusually compressed, sometimes barely extending below the line.

(3) The letter *i* and the first member of *m*, *n*, and *u* have prominent horizontal top-strokes (or heavy serifs)[4], this feature together with the straight top-strokes of *d*, *g* and *t* giving these two scripts a remarkably level-topped appearance.[5]

(4) Long wedged finials (or heavy serifs) on the rather short ascenders (*b*, *h*, *l*) accentuate the level styling of the line.

(5) Descenders generally have short tapering stems—those of *f*, *p* and *s* are more or less perpendicular, that of *r* drawn to the left (this being a traditional characteristic of this letter).

(6) Capital letters: the top-strokes of *F* and *R* and the lower stroke of *D* are usually angular.

(7) The heads of tall *e* and raised *s* are generally held clear of the following letter but are joined to the beginning of a following over-stroke, e.g. Ib4, II b 1.

(8) A distinctive small *a* with a light left side.

The 'Broad Book' exhibits a well-formed small hand which is, however, more developed than that of Lec. ff. 1–21v, 310v–11v. The larger *cenn fo eitte* symbol and the bolder end-stroke of the *us*-compendium (e.g. in IIa4 *totus*) would seem to suggest that the Edinburgh manuscript is the later specimen of the scribe's work. Ó Cuirnín's main contribution to Lec. is dated '1418' (f. 21v) and

[3] The plate published by Campbell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, is enlarged and gives a wrong impression of the fine hand of the Edinburgh manuscript.

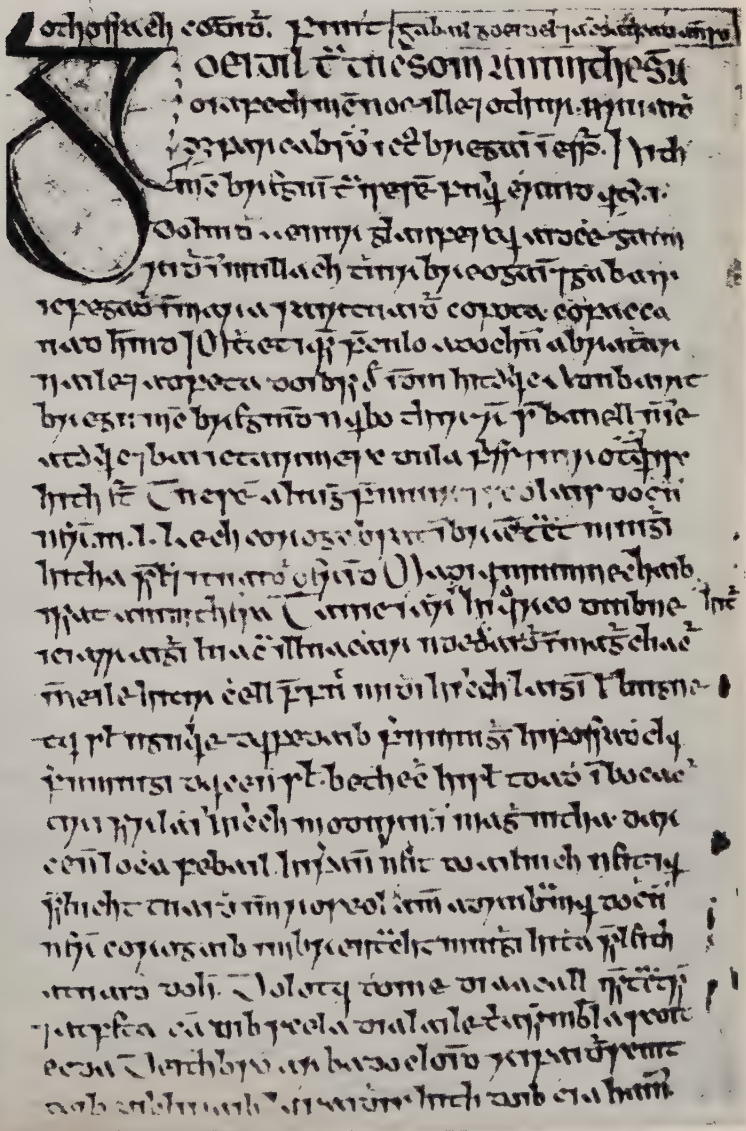
[4] These appendages also serve as forelinks.

[5] This is also a characteristic of the hand of Sighraidh Ó Cuirnín, the late fourteenth-century scribe who carried out a restoration of the script of Leabhar na hUidhre. Part of his inscription, LU 37b (the only known specimen of his handwriting), is fairly well reproduced in O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* (1861), facsimile W.

PLATE I

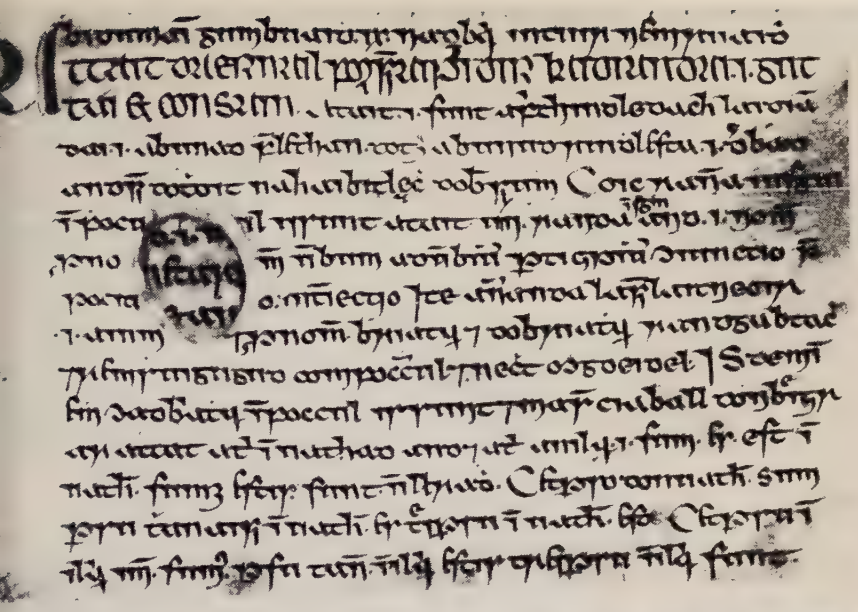
(a)

(b)

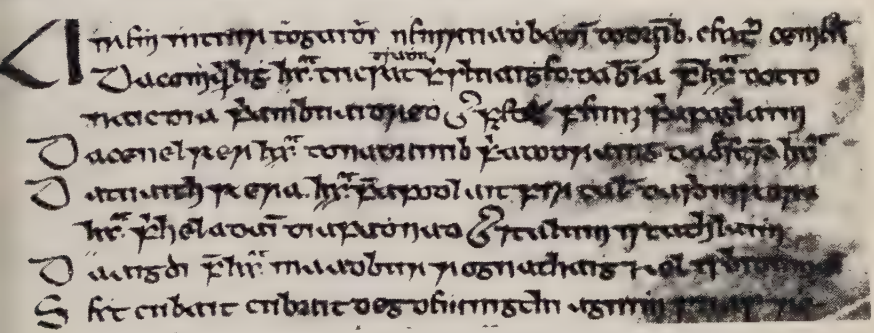


Book of Lecan (RIA), sections of f.2v

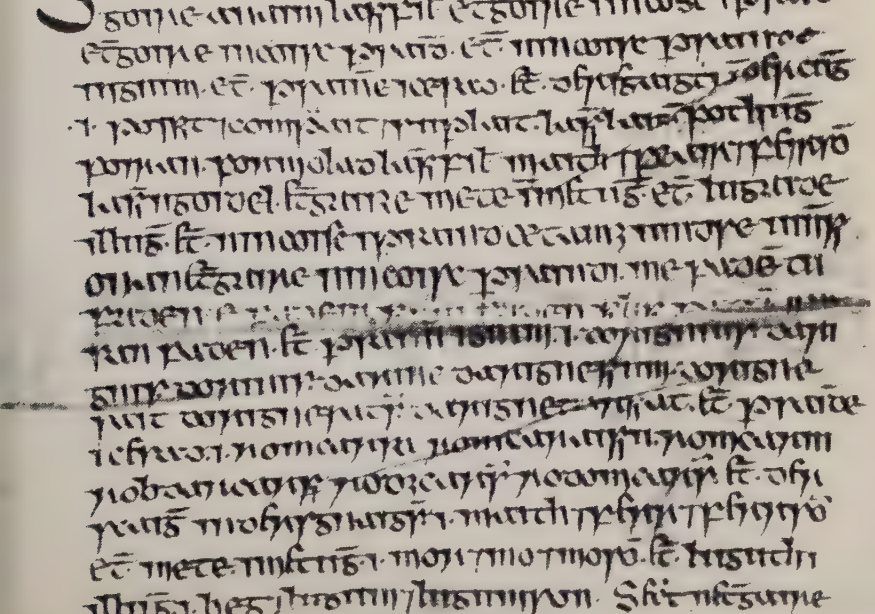
(a)



(b)



(c)



NL Scot. Gaelic MS I B

(*a*), (*b*) sections of p. 21; (*c*) sect. of p. 23

we may tentatively estimate the date of the Edinburgh manuscript to be slightly later, possibly about 1425.

For permission to publish the plates I wish to make grateful acknowledgement to the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland and to the President and Council of the Royal Irish Academy. I also wish to thank Mr. William O'Sullivan, Keeper of Manuscripts in Trinity College Dublin for some helpful suggestions.

TOMÁS Ó CONCHEANAINN

'THE YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN PROPER'

SINCE the publication of Atkinson's edition of the Yellow Book of Lecan[1], it has been well known that only eight leaves of this codex (TCD, H.2.16, cols. 370–400, Facs. pp. 1–16) rightly carry that name. The evidence is furnished by a marginal note in a late hand at the foot of col. 380 (Facs. p. 6) of which the beginning has faded and the remainder reads: . . . . *ar buidhe leacain ainm an leabuirse meise cirruaidh mac taidgh ruaidh*, "yellow (book) of Lecan is the name of this book; I am Cithruadh mac Taidg Ruaidh." This Cithruadh was the great-great-grandson of Giolla Íosa Móir Mac Fir Bhisigh, the scribe of cols. 573–958 (Facs. pp. 17–215) of the present codex H.2.16[2], who died in 1418. Another, probably fifteenth-century, hand has written in Anglo-Irish script at the foot of col. 400 (Facs. p. 16) *Iste liber in se continet centum lxv*[a] *folia*. This suggests that the gathering preserved in H.2.16 was the last one of a book of 165 leaves[3]. This gathering contains *Immram curaig Maele Dúin*[4], *Immram curaig Snédgusa agus Maic Riagla*[5], *Immram Brain maic Febail*[6], a homily *At lochomar buidi do dia*,[7] an incomplete version of *Echtra Condla*[8] and the poem *Tuc dam a dé móir*[9], of which the last two quatrains have been erased.

Dr R. I. Best identified several other fragments written by the same hand and probably belonging to the original Yellow Book of Lecan[10]. As we will see, the codicological evidence supports his identification. The fragments are:

1. three Stowe manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy: D.5.1 (9 leaves), D.4.1 (8 leaves) and D.1.3 (6 leaves)[11] [hereafter

[1] *The Yellow Book of Lecan, with Analysis of Contents, and Index* by Robert Atkinson. Dublin 1896.

[2] Cf. R.I. Best, "The Yellow Book of Lecan", *The Journ. of Celt. Stud.* 1 (1950), p. 190. Best also refers to O'Donovan, *The Genealogy, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, Dublin 1844, p. 104, and to P. Walsh, "The Ancestry of an Historian", *Irish Booklover* 28 (1940), pp. 221 ff.

[3] See also below, p. 109 ff.

[4] Ed. by W. Stokes, *RC* 9 (1888), pp. 452–495; 10 (1889), pp. 50–95; the poetry was edited by Best, *Anecdota from Irish MSS* 1, Halle/Dublin 1907; prose and poetry with introduction and translation by H.P.A. Oskamp, *The Voyage of Mael Dúin*, Groningen 1970.

[5] Cf. W. Stokes, *RC* 9 (1888), pp. 14–25.

[6] Cf. K. Meyer, *The Voyage of Bran son of Febal to the Land of the Living*, London 1895–1897.

[7] Ed. by J. Strachan, *Ériu* 3 (1907), pp. 1–10.

[8] Cf. J. Pokorny, *RC* 33 (1912), pp. 58–65 and *ZCP* 17 (1928), pp. 193–205. H. P. A. Oskamp, 'Echtra Condla', *EC*, 14, 1, pp. 207-228.

[9] Ed. by K. Meyer from BM MS Add. 30.512, f. 30[b]1, *AfcL* iii (1906), p. 232.

[10] "Yellow Book", pp. 190–192.

[11] Cf. K. Mulchrone, *Cat. of Ir. MSS in the R.I.A.*, Fasc. xiii, pp. 1655 ff.

referred to as **Da, Db** and **Dc** respectively]. They contain fragments of *Lebor Gabála* and were used by Macalister in his edition for the Irish Texts Society[12].

2. Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 488, ff. 1–26 [hereafter referred to as **R**], containing part of the so-called Annals of Tigernach[13].

The fragments are in a rather good state, though all show traces of damp, so that the vellum is stained in places. Unfortunately the first leaf of **Da** is so badly torn that some text is lost. **Da** is now followed by a tenth leaf from a Latin liturgical text in black letter. Its conjugate is found in D.4.1 (containing *i.a.* our fragment **Db**) as f. 25. As K. Mulchrone remarks, the bifolio "may have formed at one time a rough cover for the sections of *Lebor Gabála* contained in these two MSS [**Da** and **Db**]"[14].

All five fragments have several unrepaired natural holes; the edges of all five, too, probably have been trimmed. At present the leaves of **Y** measure approx. 210/215 × 300 mms, those of **Da**, **Db** and **Dc** approx. 210 × 300, 205 × 300 and 205 × 300 mms respectively, and those of **R** approx. 230–305 mms. Most leaves are still in bifolia; in **Y** a few have been partly joined artificially with linen strips. The eight leaves of **Y** form one gathering; the same applies to the first eight leaves of **Da,** f. 9 being a single leaf of which the conjugate cannot be found in **Db,** although there is no textual gap between the two fragments. **Db** forms a gathering in itself, though of a rather strange make-up: ff. 1–8, 2–3, 4–6 are bifolia, whereas f. 5 is a single leaf in the centre and f. 7 a single leaf of which the stub is found between ff. 1 and 2. **Dc** is made up of two bifolia, ff. 2–6 and 3–5, and two single leaves, ff. 1 and 4. In **R** three gatherings can be distinguished: (i) ff. 3–6; (ii) ff. 7–14; (iii) ff. 15–20. Ff. 1 and 2 are now single leaves, the text being acephalous; ff. 23–26 and 24–25 may have formed bifolia and, in that case, would form a gathering of four leaves.

Especially in the case of the Stowe fragments it is sometimes very hard to distinguish hair- and fleshsides. The overall picture, however, is that the distribution of hair- and fleshides is rather irregular. This is the opposite of what one finds in manuscripts written between *ca* 1050 and 1250 which are usually very regular and mostly made up by putting hair- onto fleshsides, the outside being a hairside. This discrepancy between manuscripts written before 1250 and the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper", which is certainly later, can be explained by YBL's having been written not in a monastery but by a member of the "learned families" (see below).

[12] Vols. xxxiv, xxxv, xxxix, xli, xliv, Dublin 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1956.
[13] Ed. by W. Stokes, *RC* 17 (1896), pp. 6–33, 119–263; *RC* 18 (1897), pp. 9–59, 150–97, 267–303. Cf. E. Mac Neill, *Ériu* 7 (1914), pp. 30–113.
[14] *Cat.*, Fasc. xiii, p. 1655.

In **Y** the columns are numbered by a late hand; in the Stowe fragments we find foliation in pencil; in **R** the leaves are also foliated in pencil, but many also a second time in ink as the pencilled foliation takes only the vellum leaves into account, whereas the ink foliation also numbers the several paper leaves which precede our fragments. Altogether the five fragments hold 57 leaves of the 165 which made up the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" at one time. According to Best there are at least thirty leaves missing from the Stowe and Rawlinson fragments[15], but in the light of my calculations discussed below I think that this estimate is too low.

In all fragments the handwriting is in double columns. The sizes of the script areas vary considerably: **Y** 185 × 260 mms, **Da** 170 × 230 mms, **Db** 170 × 250 mms, **Dc** 175 × 250 mms, and **R** 185 × 255 mms. The widths of the columns vary from 75 (**Db** and **Dc**) to 90 mms (**R**). These differences may seem remarkable, especially between the Stowe fragments, but can be easily explained by the fact that all fragments form separate gatherings. More striking is the difference between the numbers of lines per column. On all *pages* the number of lines of both columns is the same, but this is very often not the case on recto and verso, though here the difference is at most one or two lines. In all five fragments the number of lines varies considerably between the leaves: in **Y** from 48 to 56, in **Da** from 49 to 55, in **Db** from 45 to 51, in **Dc** from 46 to 53 and in **R** from 47 to 57. Yet, most leaves hold 50, 51 or 52 lines to the column.

At present all ruling has disappeared. Whether prickings in the outer margins were applied to guide the horizontal ruling is difficult to say; there are no prickings in the inner margins. The frequent discrepancy between recto and verso suggests the opposite. There are prickings, however, in all fragments, guiding bounding lines indicating the beginning and end of both columns. They are found in the upper and lower margins guiding the bounding lines in the margin between the columns, and in the four outer corners of the script area; in the latter case we find usually two, and sometimes particularly in **R**, three holes. If the leaves were ruled horizontally at all, it was probably done in pencil at both sides.

Apart from several later hands occurring in all fragments—to some of which we will come back—we find three contemporary hands in the main text, two of which are responsible for only a few lines in **R**. The second hand marks the beginning of a new gathering of **R** (f. 7ra 1–9), the third occurs twice, once in f. 8vb 19–29, and a second time in f. 10ra 1–10. In the following description only the first, main hand will be dealt with although a few characteristics of the second

[15] "Yellow Book", p. 191.

nd third will be mentioned. Plates VI and VII may be helpful to ompare the hands.

The main scribe writes a clear, very regular bookhand which gives a omewhat rigid impression. Particularly the long sloping two-action *g* vith open lower bow is very typical of this hand. (Cf. the short, nearly closed *g* of the third and the heavy, short, closed *g* of the second nand.) Its *a* is pointed and closed; open *a* is exceptional; when supra-cript it takes the *n*-form. The downstroke of *a* is usually hooked at he end with a tendency to be extended under the line. (Cf. the *a* in he third hand with a strong tendency to extend the top with a kind f hairstroke. Cf. also suprascript *a* in the second hand which takes ither the *n*-form or the open form.) The tops of *b*, *l*, *f*, etc. are riangular. *c* often gives a slightly hooked impression because oth the top and the lower bow are heavy, whereas the remaining middle part is drawn very lightly. *d* is flat-topped, its top being lightly bent. The tongue of *e* protrudes from under the loop and droops distinctly. As the number of ligatures is very small, the common feature of tall *e* in ligatures is lacking in this hand. The ails of *f*, *s*, *r*, *q* are remarkably long. (Cf. the bent tails in the second nand.) *i* is short and when suprascript very short and heavy; when ubscript it is hooked. The minims of *m* and *n* are neither hooked nor ent, but there is a tendency to extend the last minims under the ine. When *m* is written as a capital the first "gate" is closed and ointed. *q* is closed and pointed. 2-shaped *r*, most common after *o*, lso occurs in other positions such as after *b* and *d* (the same applies o the third hand). The helmet of *s* followed by *s*, *p*, *r* is extended ver the following letter. *t* is flat. *u* is hooked as far as the down-troke is concerned. *Et* is represented by the tironian symbol. *h* nstead of the *virgula* is common in the Latin in **R**. In the *est*-symbol he dot or comma is nearly always lacking. (Cf. the third hand which laces the *est*-symbol between dots; here, too, the dot or comma under he symbol is lacking.)

Besides *ss*, *sp*, *sr* one of the few ligatures is *æ*. The crossbeams of and *g* usually touch the following letter. *ci* occurs occasionally s a ligature.

Particularly in **Y**, in the poems occurring in *Immram curaig Maele Dúin*, the overflow is indicated by ⁊⁊. In several places lines have een filled with spirals of a kind. Punctuation is very simple. Nearly lways the full stop is used to indicate the end of a line of poetry r a sentence. In a few cases we find a full stop followed by one omma or several, and in one case a triangle of dots instead of a full top.

The following list of Latin and Irish abbreviations may be useful

A. Latin abbreviations

a. suspensions

aⁿ	annis	dī	diuina
alāx	alaxander	dx̄	dixit
apᵖ	apud	epīs	episcopus
cpᵖ	caput	et̄i et̄	etiam
cecī	cecinit	h⁻	haec
c̃	cum	ħ	hoc
.h.	hui	p̄p̄	propter
ioh⁻	iohannis	q̄	quae
kl⁻	kalender	q̃	quem
.m.	mortuus	q̄	quam
nō	nomen	q̄q̄	quoque
ñ	non	.r.	regnauit
ꝑ	per	uñ	unde
p̄	prae	uš	usque
ꝓ	pro		

syllabic suspensions in all positions

b⁻	ber	m̄	men
d-	dem	t̄	ter
f	for	t̄	tur
g̃	gre	ū	uer

b. contractions—Nomina Sacra group

aplīs	apostolis	frī, frēs	frater etc.
xp̄i	christi	ihš, etc.	ihesus
dn̄s, dn̄i, etc.	dominus	mr̄, mrēm, etc.	mater
flīs, flm̄, etc.	filiis	pr̄, prē, etc.	pater
ecliē, etc.	ecclesiae	s̄s̄	suis

other contractions

año	anno	plš, etc.	populus
cš	cuius	pš	-pres
dc̄m, dr̄, etc.	dictum	qn̄	-quen
e̅e̅	esse	qt̄	-quet
ht̄, hētur, etc.	habet	st̄	sunt
hō	homo	ꝝ us	secundus
noiē, etc.	nomine	sr̄	supre
oīs, oīum, etc.	omnis	tm̄	tam

c. abbreviation by suprascript letter

suprascr. vowel	r + vowel	$^{t}_{p}$	post
vowel over q	qu + vowel	$^{\circ}_{r}$	secundo
$^{c}_{h}$	hoc	$^{t}_{u}$	ut

d. symbols—Irish

ɔ	con	⁊	est
⊸	eius	⁊c	enim

symbols—common

⁊	et	–	n, un
⁊	inter	ł	uel
~	m, um	ȝ	-us

B. Irish abbreviations

a. Latin suspension marks for letters in Irish words

b⁻	ber	f̄	for	p̄	per, por
c̄	cer	ḡ	gre, ger	s̄	sed
c	cum	m̄	men, man	t̄	tir, ter
d-	der				

abbreviations by suprascript letter

suprascr. vowel	r + vowel, sometimes vowel + r
c m	mac, meic

symbols

~	m	ꝛ	tur, tuir
–	n	~	ur
ȝ	us, uis	⁊	h
ɔ	con		

b. Latin abbreviations for equivalent Irish words

s̄	acht	⁊	immorro	ł	no
a	ar	.i.	ed ón	⁊	ocus
i a	air				

c. Irish suspensions and contractions

The following list is by no means complete, but gives a fairly good idea of the type of abbreviations used by the scribe of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper". It is remarkable that even in the copy of *Lebor Gabála* and that of the Annals of Tigernach the number of capricious abbreviations is rather small. In the following list a few can be noted, but in all those cases it concerns names which were used before without being abbreviated or abbreviated in the usual way.

abr̄	abram
aill-	ailill, ailella
am̄	amail

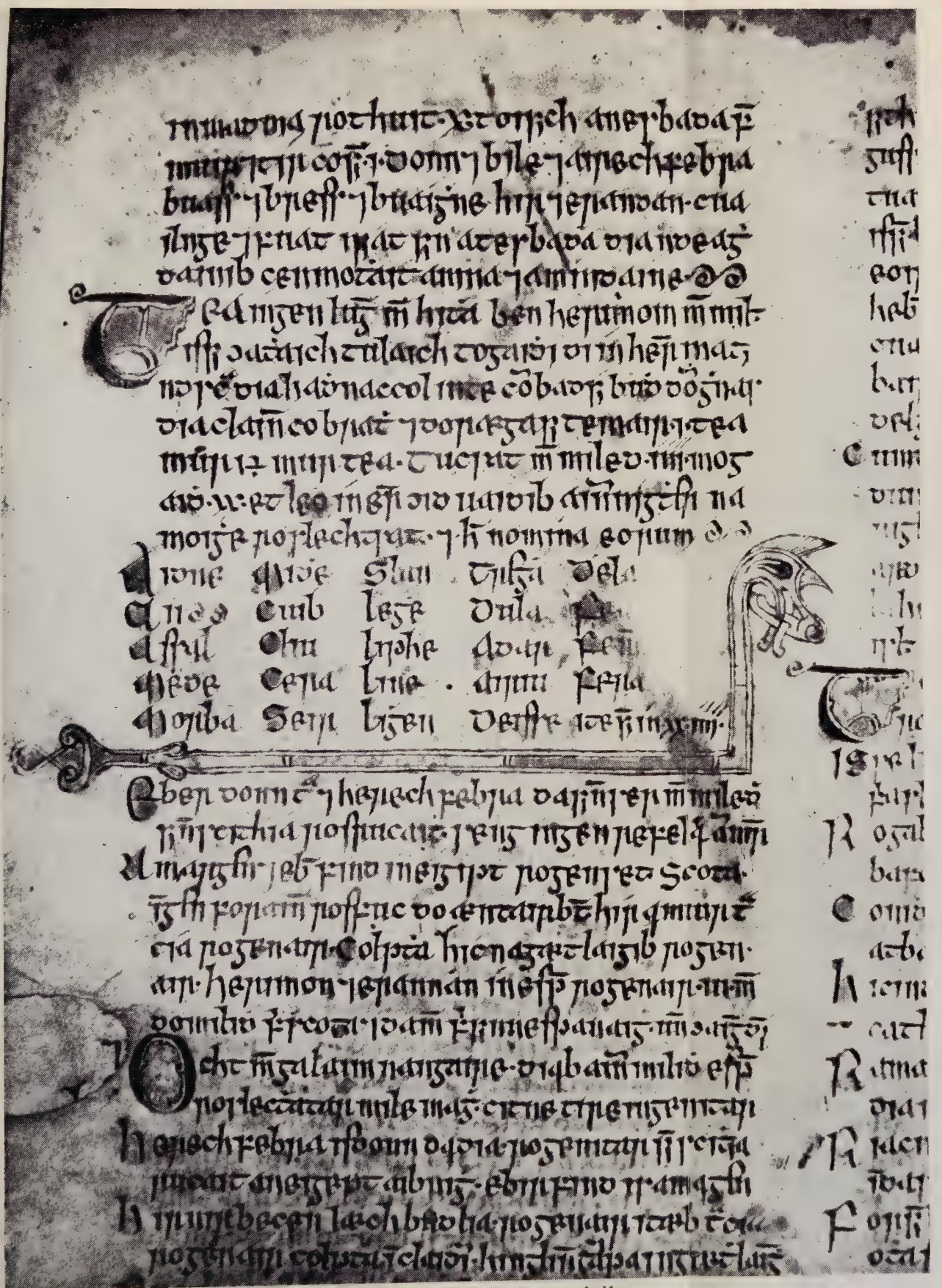
athꝫ	athair
beathꝫ	beathaid
bl-, bliā, .b.	bliadan, bliadna
cā	cach
.c.	cath
cē	cech
.c.	cet
ciḡ	cingris
dā	dano
dī	didiu
eachꝫ	eachach
eīr	erenn, erinn
eochꝫ	eochaid
gl-	glais
heś	heside
isrl-, isral-	israhel
laiḡ	laigen
luḡ	lugaid
m̄c̄	mac, meic
m̄	maic
math-	mathair
.m.d.	mael duin
mil-	miled
nath-	nathair
paīr, partol-	partholon, partholoin
saml-	samlaid
suib-	suibni
tiach-	tiachtain
ul-	uluim

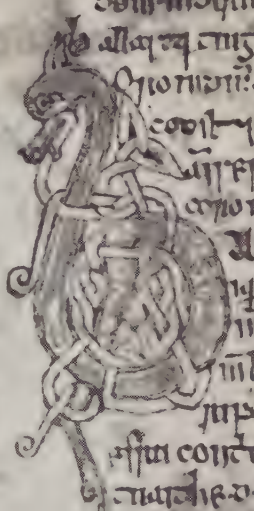
Of the five fragments only four, the Stowe fragments and **R**, are illuminated, and one of them (**Dc**) only in one place and very poorly. **Da**, containing the beginning of *Lebor Gabála*, opens with a large initial. There is a second large initial in f. 2^{v} of **R**; another one probably occurred at the beginning of the Annals of Tigernach.

The large initials are very elaborate and of the "ribbon type"[16] interlaced and of zoomorphic design. Apart from these there are many smaller initials of the same kind, particularly in the first and second Stowe fragments. The one in **Dc** (f. 5^{r}) seems a rather crude imitation of the many beautiful initials in **Da** and **Db**; one can hardly expect that it was drawn by the same artist as the others. In **R** too, we find several smaller initials, but they are of the "wire type"[17]

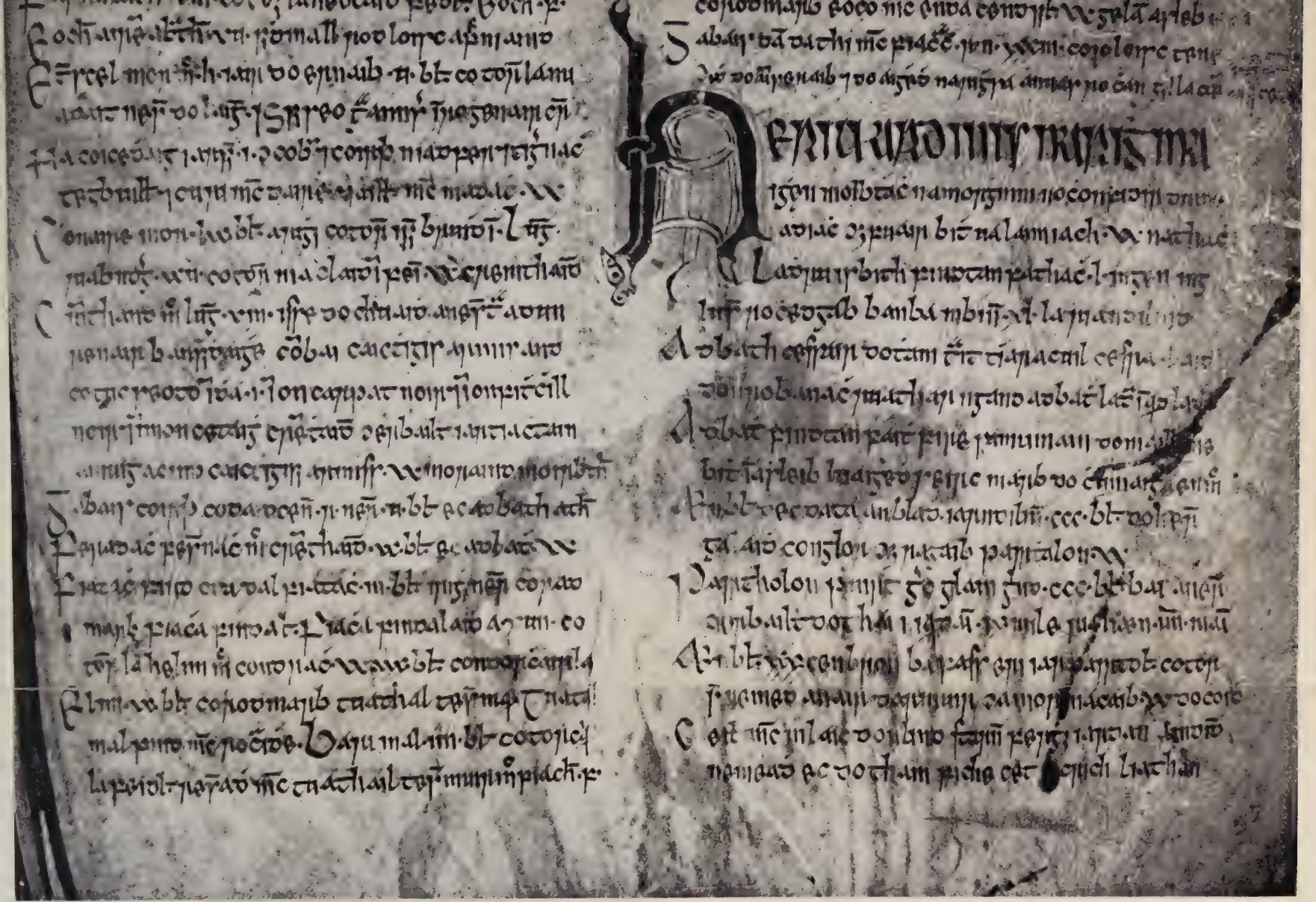
[16] Cf. F. Henry and G. H. Marsh-Micheli, "A Century of Irish Illumination (1070–1170)", *PRIA* 62 C 5 (1962), pp. 101–165.
[17] *Ibid.*

I. TCD H.2.16 [Y], cols. 370–371 (Facs. p. x), [illegible]





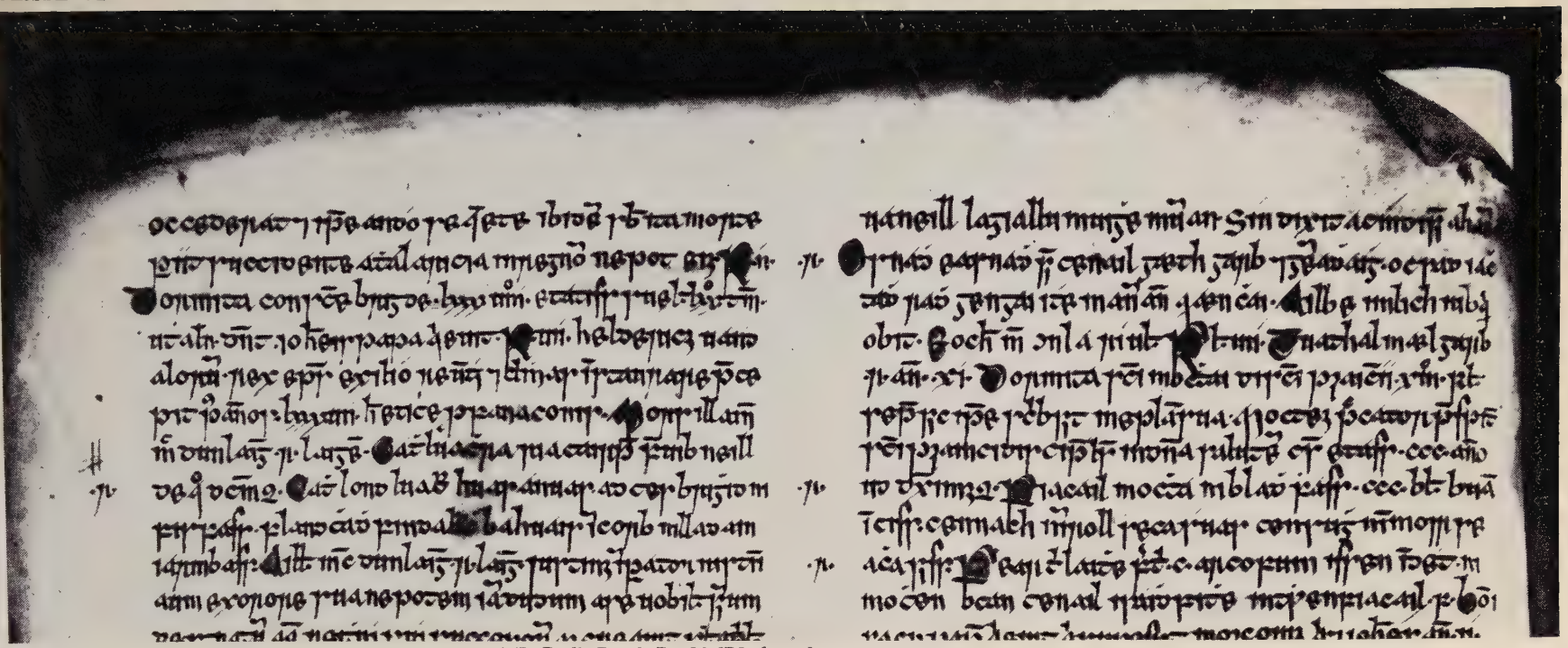
III. RIA D.4.1 (Db), f. 2ᵛ, upper half



IV. RIA D.1.3 [Dc], f. 5r, lower half

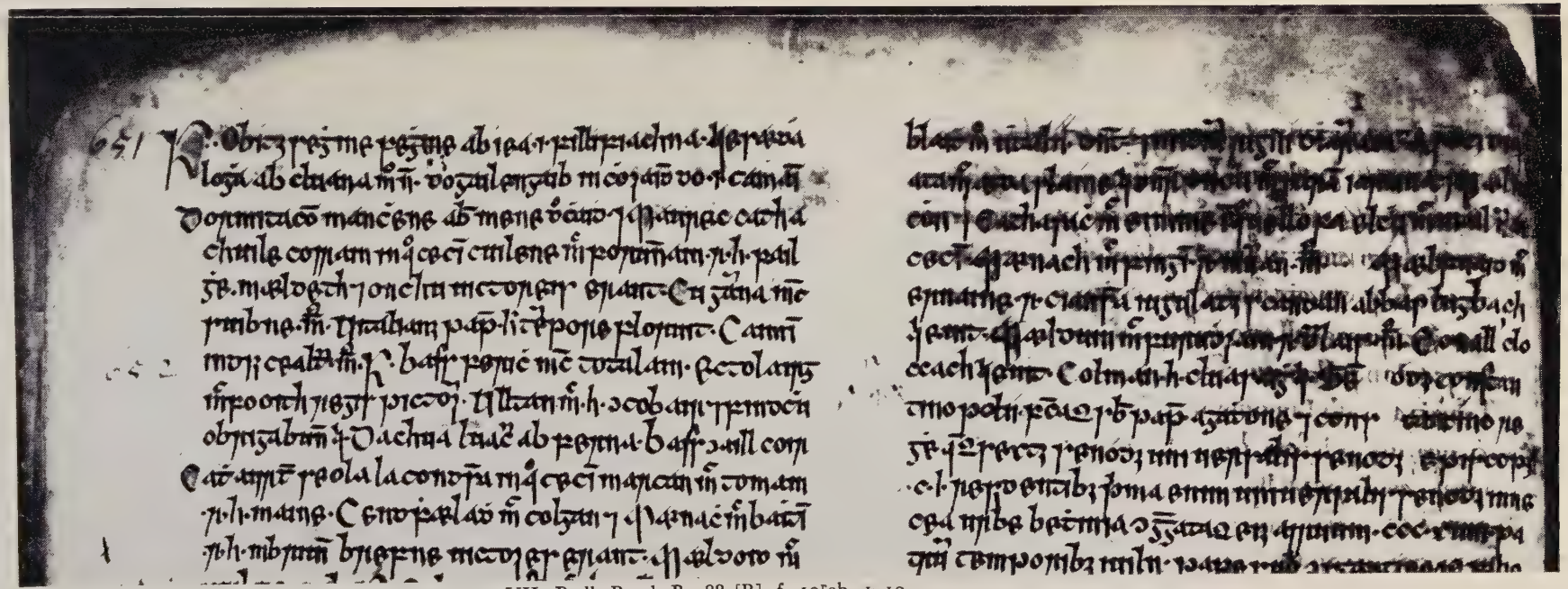
V. Bodl. Rawl. B 488 [R], f. 2ᵛ

PLATE VI



VI. Bodl. Rawl. B 488 [R], f. 7ʳab, 1–10

PLATE VII



VII. Bodl. Rawl. B 488 [R], f. 10ʳab, 1–10

All these initials indicate a very strong traditionalism on the part of the artist. Earlier illuminations, such as those in *Lebor na hUidre*, Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12, and the Franciscan MS A 1 (the Psalter of St Caimín), show significant similarities with the ones in **Da**, **Db** and **R**[18]. Apart from these initials, all other capitals throughout **Da** and **Db** and in **R** up to f. 14^{v} have been washed-in with scarlet, green and yellow. The colours are now much faded. Finally, in **Y** we find some crude initials at the beginnings of the several tracts, without colour and of a type which occurs in the Stowe fragments as well. It seems to me, that they were drawn by the scribe, who is possibly also responsible for the one initial in **Dc**. In **Y** the capitals have not been washed-in.

As we said before, Best was of the opinion that of the surviving contents of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" at least thirty leaves were lost. In my opinion, however, not less than forty-one to forty-three leaves are wanting.

There is a gap in the *Lebor Gabála* version between **Db** and **Dc**. **Db** ends with the poem *Fland for erind hi tigh*[19] and **Dc** resumes with the fourteenth quatrain of *Gaedal glas otat gaedel*[20]. As the copy of *LG* preserved in the Book of Lecan is closely related to that in the Stowe fragments, Macalister held that the present gap between **Db** and **Dc** must represent the text that is preserved in the Book of Lecan, ff. 9^{v}b 18–18a^{r}4[21]. This assumption is supported by the sizes of script and script area and the average numbers of lines which are all very similar in both manuscripts. That, however, leaves us with the question of why the scribe left the remainder of the last column of **Db** (after 1. 9) blank. Macalister's explanation does not seem very plausible. If indeed, as he thought, the scribe of "YBL proper" worked from an exemplar already defective, so that he was "unable to find means of filling the lacuna"[22], one would expect him to leave out the evidently acephalous poem with which the present third fragment, **Dc**, opens.

Why do scribes usually leave part of a column blank? The most common reason is that they wish to start a new tract on a fresh page, possibly headed by a large initial. Now *LG* was an "expanding" text to which many sections, poems and synchronisms were added whenever a new transcript was made. Already before Macalister's much criticized edition was published this was made clear by Thurneysen and Van Hamel[23]. Therefore, one might consider the

[18] Cf. Plates I, IIa, III, IV and V in Henry and Marsh-Micheli, "A Century".
[19] Macalister I, p. xiv, n. 8 and p. xviii. The poem is not printed by Macalister, but mentioned V, p. 326.
[20] Macalister II, pp. 90–107.
[21] Macalister I, pp. xiv, n. 8 and xviii; cf. also Mulchrone, *Cat.* xiii, pp. 1558–1559.
[22] I, p. xiv.
[23] R. Thurneysen, *Zu ir. Hss. und Lit. Denkm.*, II, xv, Berlin 1913; A. G. van Hamel, *ZCP* 8 (1914), pp. 97–197.

possibility that in "YBL proper" the poem *Fland for erind* was in fact the conclusion of a section and that the scribe wanted to start a new section on a new page.

However, a comparison of the surviving texts in the Book of Lecan (which is acephalous) and the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" (which is incomplete) shows that the parts they have in common are so alike that a common exemplar is more than likely. It is asking too much of one's imagination to assume that differences between the two versions occur only in the parts which have not survived. In fact, the only plausible explanation for the blank column is that the scribe has left out something intentionally and, after that, wanted to make a new start on a fresh page.

In the Book of Lecan (f. 9^{v}b8) The poem *Fland for erind* is followed by three tracts and one poem:

9^{v}b 8, a prose account of the origin of the Boramha tribute and of its final remission by Findachta;

10^{r}a 17, synchronisms;

10^{r}b 14, synchronisms of the Roman emperors with the kings of Ireland from Julius Caesar to Leo III, contemporary of Fergal mac Maile Dúin;

11^{r}b 5, Flann Mainistreach's (?) poem *Reidigh damh a de do nimh*[24].

After this Thurneysen's Version BI of *LG* ends.

Is there any plausible reason why a scribe would prefer to end this version not with *Redig dam a de do nim* but with *Fland for erind*? In my opinion there is. The poem *Redig dam a de do nim* is an addition to *Lebor Gabála;* it is usually found at the end of a different tract, *Sex Aetates Mundi*[25]. Its occurrence at the end of *SAM* in the second part of Bodl. MS Rawl. B 502 is particularly significant as it shows how early the tradition is, mid-twelfth-century. I hope to show that it is most likely that the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" opened with a copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi*, preceding the copy of *Lebor Gabála*. If that is the case the omission of *Redig dam a de do nim* becomes understandable, as it would already occur at the end of *Sex Aetates Mundi*. But the omission of the poem left the scribe with a section not ending in verse, so he decided to conclude it with the last poem preceding *Redig dam a de do nim, Fland for erind*.

If indeed **Db** ends intentionally on f. 8^{v}b 9, at the end of *Fland for erind*, it follows that the lost leaves opened with the synchronisms of the Irish kings with the Provincial and Scottish Kings, that is, with Thurneysen's BII Version. In the Book of Lecan, too, this version

[24] Cf. the Facsimile edition and Mulchrone, *Cat.* xiii, p. 1558.

[25] This is the case in Rawl. B 502 (2), the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan. Cf. H.P.A. Oskamp, "The Author of *Sex Aetates Mundi*", *Stud. Celt.* 3 (1968), pp. 127–140.

begins on a fresh page (f. 14ra 1)[26]. This would mean that the number of lost leaves is only four, probably forming a gathering of five leaves together with the now single first leaf of **Dc**.

When we turn to **Y** it is clear that here we have a complete gathering of which nothing is lost but two erased quatrains at the end of col. 400. Matters are more complicated in **R**. At present the Annals of Tigernach in this fragment of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" cover the years from *ca* B.C. 322—A.D. 360, 489–766, 975–1088 (1002–1017 being lost). In 1088 Tigernach died and his obit is followed by a continuation covering 1089–1178. Here, in the middle of an entry, the fragment breaks off. Apart from being incomplete at the end, the fragment is also acephalous, and there are gaps between ff. 6 and 7, ff. 14 and 15, and one leaf is missing between ff. 15 and 16 (A.D. 1002–1017).

Part of the lost opening of **R** is given in Rawl. B 502 (1). In view of the numbers of lines to the column in both manuscripts it would appear that eight leaves preceded the present fragment in **R**, equalling the surviving leaves in Rawl. B 502 (1) containing the text lost in **R**. But the version in Rawl. B 502 (1), too, is acephalous[27]. Therefore the number of leaves holding the part also lost in Rawl. B 502 (1) cannot be calculated with certainty. The missing text would have run from the beginning to B.C. 807 (= the Abrahamic year 1208). The make-up of **R** and that of Rawl. B 502 (1) may be of some help, however. In **R** gatherings of eight to ten leaves prevail; of the lost eight leaves containing the text that survives in Rawl. B 502 (1), the last one belonged to the present first gathering. On the basis of Eusebius, the ultimate source of the Annals, and of the way the compiler has dealt with this source in Rawl. B 502 (1), it is safe to assume that another twelve leaves are lost from that manuscript, equalling eight to nine leaves in **R**. That would mean that altogether seventeen leaves may be lost at the beginning of **R**, probably made up in two gatherings of eight leaves and one single leaf belonging to the present first gathering.

It is easier to determine how many leaves were actually lost between ff. 6 and 7 (A.D. 361–765). In view of the average number of leaves per hundred years in the early part of the Annals as preserved in **R**, it is likely that here three leaves are lost which possibly formed a bifolia with the lost first leaf of the present first gathering and the single ff. 1 and 2. In that case the present first gathering originally held ten leaves. Then follows a gathering of eight leaves (ff. 7–14) and another gap, of 211 years. In this part of the Annals there is an

[26] It is remarkable how very similar the distribution of the text is in both manuscripts, the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" and the Book of Lecan.

[27] Bodl. Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12. Cf. the Facs. ed., Stokes, *RC* 16 (1895), pp. 374–375 and Mac Neill, *Ériu* 7 (1914), pp. 39–41.

average of five entries per column, which leaves us with a gap of ten leaves, possibly one gathering. Finally, there is the one leaf lost between ff. 15 and 16. This must have been a single leaf which also explains why it is lost. So far the evidence indicates the possible loss of thirty-five leaves: four from the Stowe fragments and thirty-one from **R**.

How much may be lost at the end of **R**? The last extant entry is for 1178, and there seems to be no way of knowing how many more followed. However, the consistency of the size of the gatherings of the remainder of the fragement indicates that the two single leaves at the end of **R** once belonged to a gathering of, like the others, eight or ten leaves. As in this part of the Annals there is an average of one and a half to two entries per column, in such a gathering the annals would continue for another fifty years. Of course, there is always the possibility that not only part of this gathering is lost, but even more. Besides, why should the lost continuation end in the last column of a gathering? In my opinion, however, there are indications that the Annals of Tigernach did indeed reach down for another fifty odd years, to 1227.

It is interesting to notice that the Four Masters in their list of sources mention two compilations, the "Book of Clonmacnois" and the "Book of Oilean na Naemh in Loch Ribh" which "came down no farther than the year of our Lord 1227."[28] Mac Neill concludes rightly that neither the Annals of Clonmacnois nor *Lebor na hUidre* can be meant. It is unlikely, Mac Neill states, that the records of both sets of annals mentioned by the Four Masters ended in the same year. He concludes that it was the "Book of Clonmacnois" which reached down to 1227, as he apparently thought that the "Book of Oilean na Naemh" (Saints' Island in Loch Ribh) is the compilation of Auguston Magraidin of which a fragment and continuation have survived in the third manuscript in the present codex Rawl. B 488. Ó hInnse feels, however, that Magraidin's compilation was unknown to the Four Masters[29]. The opposite is true of the Annals of Tigernach. It is evident that the Four Masters made considerable use of them. The fact that they do not mention Tigernach at all does not necessarily mean that they used, for instance, a copy in which his name did not occur. Mac Neill has already shown that the "Tigernach Legend" is of a late date, and that the interpretation of *Hoc usque Tigernach scribsit ocht ar ochtmogait quievit* at 1088 is that Tigernach was the first scribe rather than the compiler[30].

Could the Annals of Tigernach be the Book of Clonmacnois which was used by the Four Masters and reached down to 1227? I think

[28] Ed. O'Donevan, p. xii. Cf. Mac Neill, *Ériu* 7, pp. 30–32.
[29] *Miscellaneous Irish Annals (A.D. 1114-1457)*, Dublin 1947, p. xvi.
[30] Mac Neill, *Ériu* 7, pp. 31–32.

we have a good case for that hypothesis. The codicological evidence (that is, the make-up of the part, **R**, of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper") points towards a loss of six to eight leaves which would add another fifty years to the Annals and would bring them down to *ca* 1225[31]. Secondly, if we accept the original annals (**R** being a copy, of course) as being written in Clonmacnois, from the beginning to 1088 by Tigernach, and after his death, perhaps even year by year, by many successive scribes, a conclusion in 1227 would be understandable considering the poor state of Clonmacnois after the Norman bishop of Meath began to extend his territory at the expense of Clonmacnois after 1192[32]. Finally, there is a note at the end of the third fragmentary manuscript in Rawl. B 488. It reads, in Sir James Ware's hand, *Dono dedit Mauritius Conroy.* This may be the Muiris mac Tórna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire who assisted the Four Masters for a period of one month. Is it possible that Conroy's gift consisted of all three fragments now bound together in Rawl. B 488, and that indeed the Annals of Tigernach as occurring in the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" were used by he Four Masters?

Whatever the answer to this question, there is nonetheless a strong case for the Annals of Tigernach being identical with the Book of Clonmacnois which is mentioned by the Four Masters and which reached down to the year 1227. For the present, therefore, I assume that at the end of our copy six to eight leaves are lost. This brings the total number of lost leaves to from forty-one to forty-three, so that another sixty-five odd leaves have to be accounted for. Any effort to determine the contents of these leaves can, of course, only lead to guessing. Even so, the indications offered both by the surviving fragments and their contents, script and illuminations, and by the overall picture of scribal activities in the fourteenth and later centuries, are enough to tempt one to suggest a few possibilities.

R.I. Best, in his article on the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper", remarks of the copy of *Lebor Gabála* that it "naturally began the volume"[33]. In my opinion, however, it is much more likely that the codex opened with a copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi.* It has been established that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the "learned families" carried on the tradition begun in the Irish monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the compilation of the large codices which combined (pseudo-)history, synchronisms and genealogies with secular lore, probably also regarded as a kind of history. There can be little doubt that the three manuscripts illustrating the activities in eleventh- and twelfth-century scriptoria—*Lebor na hUidre*, the Book of Leinster and Rawl. B 502 (2)—were

[31] If some other gathering turns up this theory will be untenable, of course.
[32] A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. Ireland*, London 1970, p. 65.
[33] "Yellow Book of Lecan", p. 191.

only three of many. References to now lost manuscripts like the Book of Glendalough and surviving fragments of larger codices, like Rawl. B 502 (1), show there were more manuscripts of this type. Of course, particularly the later, that is post-1000 A.D., historical matters with which the scriptoria were dealing may have been determined by their geographical and political situation, but a nucleus of texts dealing with Irish and world history was probably common knowledge. As a matter of fact, the geographical and political position may after all prove of little importance as the cultural centres were nearly all to be found in Leinster and, to a lesser extent, in Ulster. The provenances of the surviving manuscripts of that period, at least as far as they can be determined, point towards great cultural activity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in a region which is bordered roughly by the lines Drogheda — Roscommon — Galway and Wicklow — Limerick; this region coincides more or less with the province of Leinster.

Lebor na hUidre, as far as it has survived or has been referred to, the Book of Leinster, and both manuscripts in Rawl. B 502 give a fairly good idea of the common stock of (pseudo-) historical material of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: *Sex Aetates Mundi*, *Lebor Bretnach*, *Lebor Gabála* and several kinds of synchronisms and genealogies. Of these tracts *Sex Aetates Mundi* undoubtedly came first in all synchronistic compilations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In fact, *Lebor na hUidre* opens with it, and in Rawl. B 502 (2) it is preceded only by *Saltair na Rann*. In RIA MS Stowe D. 4.3, which contains a copy of *Lebor Gabála*, *LU* is mentioned as one of the sources of the scribe. The copy in *Lebor na hUidre* was probably written by the first scribe, **A**, and was to be found in the first section of the manuscript, containing the historical material. I have suggested before that when the manuscript was foliated, the copy of *Lebor Gabála* was misplaced: it was probably to be found on the now lost ff. *e* — *s* which follow after the copy of the Voyage of Mael Dúin[34]. These fourteen leaves possibly formed one single gathering, according to the codicological evidence[35]. I now suggest that this gathering was the second of the codex, the first containing *Sex Aetates Mundi*, *Lebor Bretnach* and *Amra Choluim Chille*, all written by **A**. That no copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi* occurs in the Book of Leinster, and that this codex opens with *Lebor Gabála*, is not surprising as all material in this codex deals with purely Irish matters.

Later manuscripts, like the Book of Ballymote, open with a historical section headed by a copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi* as well.

[34] "Notes on the History of Lebor na hUidre", *PRIA* 65 C 6 (1967), p. 118.
[35] Cf. H. P. A. Oskamp, "On the Collation of Lebor na hUidre", *Ériu* 25 (1974). In LL *LG* takes up 13 ff.

In BB the copy of *Lebor Gabála* only follows after some miscellaneous entries and "The Creation of the World"[36]. Only the Book of Lecan opens with a copy of *LG*, but from the various marginal entries it becomes clear that the main scribe of Lc, Gilla Ísu Mac Fir Bisigh, ollamh to Ó Dubda, opened his compilation in 1417 with a copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi*, whereas the copy of *Lebor Gabála* was written in 1418 by one of his students, Adam Ó Cuirnín[37]. Therefore, there is every reason to assume that the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" also opened with a copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi*. Perhaps it was followed, like in *Lebor na hUidre*, by a copy of *Lebor Bretnach*, in which case the manuscript opened with a gathering of eight leaves. This would fit in perfectly with the make-up of the Stowe fragments.

When considering the possible sources of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper", one is inclined to turn first of all to Clonmacnois because of the occurrence of the Annals of Tigernach in the surviving fragments. And as we have seen that *Lebor na hUidre* did contain a copy of *Lebor Gabála* and does contain a copy of the Voyage of Mael Dúin (incomplete, and partly in the hand of Mael Muire, partly in that of **H**), *Lebor na hUidre* seems to offer possibilities as a possible source. However, there can be no question of that as the version of the Voyage of Mael Dúin in *LU*, as far as it is written by M, belongs to a redaction different from the one in **Y**[38]. Moreover, as far as we know, the copy of *Lebor Gabála* in *LU* followed the first redaction, whereas that in the Stowe fragments belongs to the second[39]. Also, if we look at the other manuscripts containing the second redaction of *LG* we must conclude that they offer no indication whatsoever as to the possible source of the Stowe fragments.

There is another possible link between the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" and *Lebor na hUidre*. It appears that the copy of the Voyage of Mael Dúin in **Y** belongs to the same redaction as those parts in the *LU* copy which were written by the so-called interpolator **H**[40]. I have shown elsewhere that although the surviving copies of the text in **Y**, BM Harley MS 5280 and BM Egerton MS 1782 probably had a common cource, the version in *LU* written by **H** and this common source are rather far apart[41]. It is therefore out of the question that the scribe of **Y** used the same source as **H**. There remains only the (indirect) connecton with Clonmacnois as far as the Annals of Tigernach (the Book of Clonmacnois?) are concerned.

[36] Cf. Atkinson, Facs. ed.
[37] Cf. Mulchrone, *Cat.* xiii pp. 1552–1553.
[38] Cf. *The Voyage of Mael Dúin*, pp. 91–93.
[39] Macalister, I, p. xvii, n. 1.
[40] On his role cf. "Notes", *PRIA* 65 C 6 (1967). pp. 117–136.
[41] *The Voyage of Mael Dúin*, pp. 91–95. There is a likely possibility, however, that in fact the version in Eg. 1782 is an abbreviation of that in Y; see below.

All that is known about provenance and early history of the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" depends on the interpreatation of a number of marginalia. For the reader's convenience I will print them all below.

Db, f. 8^{v}b	Ag so leabhar Eoghain Uí Uiginn a mBaile an Calaidh an seachtmhadh lá dég do mhí Mharta an bhl [ ]. [The now lost date is supplied by a note in English also written by this later owner of the manuscript: "Eugenius Higginn this 17th of March 1687."]
Db, f. 8^{v}b	Leabhar Chathail Uí Chonchabhair o Ath na gCárr anos for Bru Life i gCrich Cualann A.D. 1766.
Db, f. 3^{v}, u.m.	Emanuel messi sig*hraidh* i*ar* ńgless[42] le claidemsci*n*.
Dc, f. 1^{v}, u.m.	Ac so lebo*r* cl*ainn*i p.i.b.p. ⁊ teib ⁊ tai*n* *con*a rei*m*. s. ac mui*r*gius .c.c. ⁊ lebo*r* irisi ac s. ⁊ tos*ach* .f. rei*m* .s.t.c. ⁊ .l.d.t.e. ac loc*hlann*.
R, f. 22^{r}b, u.m.	Lebor arsata [. . . . . .]
Y, col. 380, 1.m.	[. . . .] ar buidhe leacain ainm an leabairse meise cirruaidh mac taidg ruaidh.
Y, col. 400, 1.m.	iste liber in se continet centum lxv^{a} folia

According to Macalister there is a note in the upper margin of f. 1ra of **Da** reading: Monasterii Insi Patraic.

The first entry we have to deal with is the one in Y in which a certain Cithruaidh mac Taidhg Ruaidh refers to our manuscript as *Leabhar Buidhe*, the Yellow Book. As we saw before, this Cithruadh was a great-great-grandson of Giolla Íosa Móir Mac Fir Bisigh who died in 1418. This means that Cithruadh made his note some time between 1510 and 1530, but probably before 1517 (see below). This indicates only that in the early sixteenth century **Y** was known as Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin, one of the many books in the Mac Firbis library[43]. But it does not necessarily imply that the book was written by a member of that family. Best thinks it not unlikely; he even gives the names of three possible scribes: Amhlaoidh (d. 1362), Donnchadh (d. 1376) and Firbisigh (d. 1379), who were all "noted scribes and historians"[44]. On the other hand, Best thinks that the book was

[42] Best reads *gleis*.

[43] Present cols. 573–958 (Facs. pp. 17–215) in H.2.16, written in 1391, must have been part of such a compilation, and the same applies to cols. 281–344 (Facs. pp. 299–330), written in 1401.

[44] "Yellow Book of Lecan", p. 191.

written by "an indifferent scribe [as] can be seen by the gross errors and mistranscriptions."[45]

We have seen that one of the pupils of Giolla Íosa, ollamh to Ó Dubda, was Adam Ó Cuirnín. We have met this learned family before: Sighraidh Ó Cuirnín was the man who, in 1380, restored *Lebor na hUidre* by order of Domnall, son of Muircheartach, Lord of Cairbre, and who wrote an entry on p. 37 of *LU*[46]. As there is a clear link between the learned families of Ó Cuirnín and Mac Firbis, it is not unlikely that the Sighraidh who mentions himself in the upper margin of f. 3^{v} of **Db,** is one of the Ó Cuirníns: either the Sighraidh who died in 1347 (AFM), or the one who, together with two brothers, was killed by the English in 1388[47]. The latter Sighraidh was the restorer of *LU*, and his hand on p. 37 of *LU* shows remote similarities with that of the scribe of the note in **Db,** but it is difficult to say whether the two hands might belong to the same man. Especially, as the Sighraidh of **Db** may be an inexperienced pupil, whereas the one of *LU* is in all probability an experienced scribe.

What exactly did Sighraidh do? His note can be translated in several ways. If we take *gless* as "sharpening (the pen)" we would be dealing with a scribe, but not with the scribe of the manuscript in which his *probatio* pennae occurs. This is very unlikely. Therefore, I translate *gless* as "arranging". *Claidemscin* probably means "a knife as sharp as a sword" or "a swordlike knife". In the latter case the first part would refer to the shape: a knife which is sharpened at both sides. *Claidemscin* is an uncommon compound but it may be made up for the occasion. "After arranging [the book] with a sword-like knife", or "after trimming [the gatherings] with a swordlike knife" would mean that Sighraidh trimmed the gatherings after the book was written to ensure that they all had the same size. In that case *claidemscin* may even be a technical term for the knife used to trim the leaves, but I have found no confirmation of the existence of such a term, and it may be only a *hoc loco*-compound.

If the trimmer Sighraidh is one of the two fourteenth-century Ó Cuirníns, it is most likely that he is the second one, the restorer of *LU*. The older Sighraidh died in 1347 and, supposing that Sighraidh was a pupil of the Mac Firbis's, the book must in that case have been written in the first years of the fourteenth century. Another possibility, that the book is in fact an Ó Cuirnín book, is unlikely as in 1416 the church of Inis Mór in Loch Gill was burned, and all the Ó Cuirnín books were destroyed[48]. It is still most likely that Sighraidh Ó Cuirnín began his career as a pupil of one of the Mac

[45] *Ibid.*
[46] "Notes", *PRIA* 65 C 6 (1967), pp. 119–120.
[47] P. Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, Dublin 1947, p. 123.
[48] Walsh, p. 124.

Firbis's, as did Adam Ó Cuirnín at the beginning of the fifteenth century. If so, he must have been a young man, but unfortunately he was slain by the English in 1388 at an unknown age. If we assume that he was born between 1330 and 1350[49], it would imply that the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper" was written between 1350 and 1370, and all the evidence considered, this is a very plausible date. It does not help us, however, to make a choice between the three possible scribes mentioned by Best.

The following note (**Dc,** f. 1^{v}, upp. marg.) is not very comprehensible. Paul Walsh expanded it as follows:

> Ac so lebhor Cluana Plocáin .i. baile Páidín;
> ⁊ Téib ⁊ Táin Bó Cuailnge cona réimscélaib ac Muirgius;
> Cath Cluana Tairb ⁊ Lebor Irisi ac Senchán;
> ⁊ Tosaigid Forches Fer Falchae réimscél Tána Bó Cuailnge;
> ⁊ Lebor Dub dá lethe Tochmarc Emire ac Lochlainn.
>
> ("This is the Book of Cluain Plocáin, namely, Páidín's place;
> And Thebes' Sack, and Táin Bó Cuailnge and its forestories, Muirgius has;
> and Senchán has Cath Cluana Tairb and Lebor Irisi;
> and Lochlainn has Forfess Fer Falchae a forestory of Táin Bó Cuailnge, the Book of Dub dá lethe, Tochmarc Emire.")[50]

Ingenious as the expansion may be, there are at least a few mistakes due to misreadings of the note. In the first line *Cluana* cannot be the expansion of *clī*, but Father Walsh read *cl.* C.c. expanded in the third line as *Cath Cluana Tairb* should be *Compert Con Chulaind* or *Compert Chonchobair*, as Walsh suggested himself. *Forchess Fer Falchae* is based on Walsh's reading *ff.f.*, but in the manuscript is only one *f*.

Yet, apart perhaps from the *clī* = *clainni*, these are details, and one can easily agree with most of the expansions; they at least make sense, although one wonders why such a note was written down in an exemplar. The note refers, as Father Walsh has made clear, to the different tasks of the two sons of Páidín Ó Maelconaire (d. 1506), Muirgius and Lochlainn, and I suspect that the Senchán mentioned in the note as expanded by Walsh, should be read as Seán (son of Torna), the scribe of part of BM MS Egerton 1782 (see below). Muirgius is the scribe of the *Lebor Gabála* version in Stowe MS D.4.3, a copy of the version in the "Yellow Book of Lecan proper". He died in 1543.

[49] It is unlikely that he was a young and inexperienced scribe when he was asked to restore *LU*. The hand of the trimmer would, therefore, be that of a young pupil, that of the entry in *LU* of the experienced scribe. This would explain the discrepancies.

[50] Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, p. 44.

Whatever the *exact* meaning of the note may be, it shows at least hat the Stowe fragments were at the disposal of the Ó Maelconaires it the beginning of the sixteenth century. Whether the other ragments, **Y** and **R,** were there as well, cannot be said with certainty, ut it seems probable. **Y** may have been the source of the abbreviated ersion of the Voyage of Mael Dúin in Egerton 1782 which was written n 1782 by Seán son of Torna Ó Maelconaire[51]. The Annals of Tigernach, **R,** may well have been at the disposal of the Four Masters hanks to another Ó Maelconaire, the Muirgius who assisted them or one month, and who may have given the manuscript afterwards s a present to Sir James Ware[52].

As it is certain that the Stowe fragments went to the Ó Maelconaires it the beginning of the sixteenth century, and as it is possible, if not robable that both **Y** and **R** went as well, we must finally come back o the name attached to the book in the early sixteenth century y Cithraidh. We can now answer the question of why the book was named at all: it was lent to the Ó Maelconaires, and Cithraidh, eing the "keeper of manuscripts" at that time, wrote his note and wn name at the foot of col. 380 of **Y** to ensure that the origin and wner of the book should not be forgotten. But, it can hardly have een without reason that Cithruaidh called the book *buide*, "yellow", ut also "dirty, speckled". It may refer to anything: the colour of he actual leaves or their cover, or even to the colour of the box n which the manuscript may have been kept. First of all its name must have served to make a distinction between this book and others n the Mac Firbis library. Whether it was still complete when it was ent, partly or entirely, to the Ó Maelconaires is another unanswered uestion. It may be that other fragments will turn up, written in the ame or a different hand, and belonging to the "Yellow Book of Lecan roper", as their codicological features in such a case will show[53].

H. P. A. OSKAMP

Dublin/Zwaagdijk

51 Flower, *Cat. of Irish MSS in the Brit. Mus.* II, p. 260.

52 Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, p. 219, thinks "it is not unlikely that Ware took t from the learned Irish scholar Dubhaltach mac Firbhisigh who was in Ware's employment."

53 I wish to thank the keepers of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Dr Hunt, and Trinity College, Dublin, Mr O'Sullivan, and the Librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, Mrs Dolan, for their co-operation. My visits to Oxford and Dublin were made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).

MS	reconstr. foliation	present foliation	arrangement	H/F on rectos
Da	i	1		?
	ii	2		H?
	iii	3		F?
	iv	4		H
	v	5		F
	vi	6		H?
	vii	7		F?
	viii	8		?
	ix	9		H
Db	x	1		H
	xi	2		H
	xii	3		F
	xiii	4		H
	xiv	5		F?
	xv	6		F
	xvi	7[1]		F
	xvii	8		F
	xviii	lost		—
	xix	lost		—
	xx	lost		—
	xxi	lost		—
Dc	xxii	1		H
	xxiii	2		H
	xxiv	3		F
	xxv	4		H
	xxvi	5		H
	xxvii	6		F
R	xxviii–xxxv	lost		—
	xxxvi–xliii	lost		—
	xliv	lost		—
	xlv	1		H
	xlvi	2		H
	xlvii	3		H
	xlviii	4		H
	il	5		F
	l	6		F
	li	lost		[F]
	lii	lost		[F]
	liii	lost		[F]

[1] stub between ff. 1 and 2.

liv	7		?
lv	8		H
lvi	9		F
lvii	10		H
lviii	11		F
lix	12		H
lx	13		F
lxi	14		?
lxii–lxxi	lost		—
lxxii	15		H
lxxiii	lost		—
lxxiv	16		H
lxxv	17		F
lxxvi	18		H
lxxvii	19		F
lxxviii	20		F
lxxix	21		F
lxxx	22		H
lxxxi	23		H
lxxxii	24		F?
lxxxiii	25		?
lxxxiv	26		F
lxxxv–xcii	lost		—
xciii	1[2]		H
xciv	2		H
xcv	3		H
xcvi	4		H
xcvii	5		F
xcviii	6		F
ic	7		F
c	8		F

Y

2 cols. 370–4 etc. (Facs. pp. 1–2 etc.)

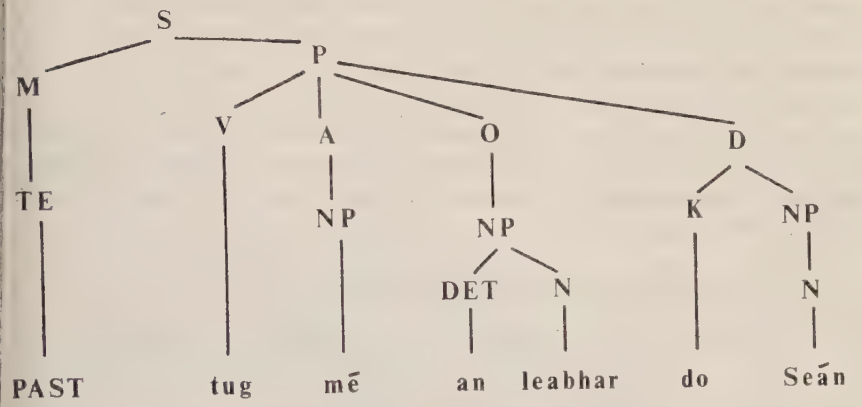
A NOTE ON IDENTICAL NOUN PHRASE DELETION

Ó Cadhlaigh (1940, 98) makes the correct observation that the genitive after the verbal noun, noun + *do* (*a*) + verbal noun, and a noun clause introduced by the complementizer *go* (*nach*, etc.) are "mar a chéile": "Toisc gur mar a chéile abairtiní ainmbhriathartha de shaghas 'Seán do theacht' agus 'teacht Sheáin' agus an fochlásal ainme 'go dtáinig Seán', úsáidtear abairtín ainmbhriathartha thar cheann fochlásail ainme tar éis *go* a bheadh spleadhach le briatharaibh mar insím, chím, tugaim fé ndeara, mothuighim, airighim, cloisim, órduighim, measaim, ceapaim, gheibhim, agus a léithéidi." Many of his exercises are devoted to transforming one of these constructions to the others, the import being that the transformations do not change the meaning of the underlying strings. Despite the fact that Ó Cadhlaigh has gathered together a wealth of material on the subject he does not construct any rules which would cover the phenomenon in its entirety. This paper will be devoted to a discussion of the rules and transformations which give rise to the three structures mentioned above. An attempt will be made to classify certain verbs with respect to their behaviour and effect on embedded constructions when they themselves occur in the main sentence.

The theoretical model which I will use is that based on the generative transformational approach as defined and refined by Charles Fillmore (1968, 1–88). It is Fillmore's contention that the basic structure of sentences contains a proposition, which he defines as "a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns (and embedded sentences, if there are any)", separated from what he calls the modality constituent. The latter includes negation, tense, mood, and aspect. His first base rule is : S → M + P, i.e. S is to be rewritten as Modality + Proposition. P is then extended as a verb and one or more case categories which include Agentive (A), Instrumental (I), Dative (D), Factitive (F), Locative (L), and Objective (O). Each case category is expanded as Preposition + Noun Phrase which he writes as K (Kasus) + NP. Each verb has associated with it in the lexicon a set of frame features indicating the case frames into which it may be inserted. Thus *tug*, *tairg*, *taispeáin*, would have the case frame—[A + O + D]. The underlying structure or phrase marker for *Thug mé an leabhar do Sheán* would be something like the following (S = Sentence, M = Modality, P = Proposition, TE = Tense, V =

erb, A = Agentive, O = Objective, D = Dative, NP = Noun hrase, DET = Determiner, N = Noun, K = Kasus (Preposition)).[1]

I



Certain verbs require that the subject of an embedded sentence be the same as the subject of the matrix sentence while others require that it be non-identical to the subject of the matrix. Thus we have in English, for example, the sentence "I tried to hit myself", but not * "I tried for John to hit himself"; in Irish the sentence "Thug mé iarracht mé féin a bhualadh" is perfectly grammatical but* "Thug mé iarracht Seán é féin a bhualadh" is not. Other verbs requiring subject-subject coreferentiality include *féachaim le, tugaim faoi, cinnim ar, cromaim ar, beartaím* (*ar*), etc. A certain class of verbs require identity between the subject of an embedded sentence and

[1] Fillmore conjectures that 'subject-of' and 'object-of' are surface phenomena such that there is a rule for English: *If there is an A, it becomes the subject; otherwise if there is an I, it becomes the subject; otherwise, the subject is the O.* It is to be noted that the noun phrases following the verb in Fillmore's grammar are unordered as opposed to an *Aspects* type grammar in which one NP is directly dominated by S while the others are dominated by VP. The NP immediately dominated by S is called the *subject* NP. *Object-of* is defined as the relationship holding between VP–NP such that the NP is the object of the verb (Chomsky, 1965, 68–71). There are many problems posed by the constituent VP especially in languages like Irish which has a VSO sequence. I came to the conclusion quite early on that VP is not a deep structure constituent. To assume for Irish that there is such a deep structure constituent complicates matters considerably and many generalizations are missed. It is somewhat ridiculous to speak of a verb phrase in a language which has its verb separated from the object. There is every reason to assume that VP is a surface structure phenomenon (Mc Cawley, 1970, 286–299). Fillmore's grammar, however, is not without inadequacies (Dougherty, 1970, 505–531). I am particularly uneasy about the unordered constituents. It seems to me that a generalization is being missed if we do not note that the dative after the object is the normal order such that *thug mé an leabhar do Sheán* and *d'iarr mé air litir a scríobh* have the deep phrase markers outlined in 1 and 9. The general use of the preposition marker K seems rather excessive as well. I have dispensed with this marker in my tree diagrams except in those instances where it actually occurs in surface structure. This change carries no theoretical implications but was adopted mainly for pedagogical purposes. Despite these difficulties I have found it instructive to use Fillmore's model since it highlights the Irish material and is itself given extra credence by being adequate to deal with this material.

the object of the matrix sentence. In Irish this matrix object is frequently, though not always, preceded by a preposition such as *ar/do*. In case grammar these prepositions would be regarded as markers of the dative case. Even in those instances where a surface object occurs without a preposition marker it seems clear that the underlying structure does, in fact, have such a marker. This can be ascertained from the fact that forms with and without the preposition marker occur in free variation sometimes as witness the list of verbs in 7 below. Consider the following sentences; 2 (*b*) and 3 (*b*) are marked * ungrammatical since the identity condition on the matrix verb is violated:

2 (*a*) Chuir mé d'iachaill ar Sheán na ba a bhlí

(*b*) *Chuir mé d'iachaill ar Sheán Máire na ba a bhlí

3 (*a*) Thug sé cead domh litir a scríobh

(*b*) *Thug sé cead domh Máire litir a scríobh

When the identity condition is not violated it appears that the noun + *do* (*a*) + verbal noun and the *go* complementizer constructions are interchangeable although preference is given to the former. This was ascertained from replies elicited when native Irish speaking informants from Cois Fhairrge, who were also competent in English, were asked to translate certain English sentences. The informants were asked to translate sentences such as *I asked Sean to write a letter/I ordered Sean to milk the cows*. This procedure was carried out for the entire list of verbs in 7 below. Thus the following sentence pairs emerged:

4 (*a*) D'iarr mé air litir a scríobh

(*b*) D'iarr mé air go scríobhadh sé litir

5 (*a*) D'ordaigh me dhó é a dhéanamh

(*b*) D'ordaigh mé dhó go ndéanadh sé é

6 (*a*) Achainím ort é a dhéanamh

(*b*) Achainím ort go ndéana tú é

(*c*) Tá mé ag cur d'achainí ort é a dhéanamh

(*d*) Tá mé ag cur d'achainí ort go ndéana tú é

It happened invariably that the informants gave the (*a*) form in answer to the English equivalent. The *go* complementizing construction was only given when it was specifically put to them. One informant pointed out that the use of the *go* construction involved prolongation of the sentence and was therefore avoided. It was pointed out, nevertheless, that the construction was grammatical. Another informant brought to my notice that the *go* complementizer was used more often when one wished to emphasise something but the examples and explanation given are somewhat muddled.[2] On the basis of the above data and on further evidence which will be furnished in the body of the paper we conclude that there is an optional transformation which deletes the subject of an embedded sentence when it is identical with a dative in the matrix. The transformation may be called *Equi-NP Deletion*[3]. It is to be noted that the coreferential NP generally appears in an embedded imperative. In English *Equi-NP Deletion* is obligatory if the coreferential NP appears in an embedded imperative after such verbs as *force, allow, implore, permit, want, encourage.* It is optional in the case of *require, ask, request.* Verbs belonging to this class which take optional *Equi-NP Deletion* include:

7 *achainím ar dhuine, agraim ar dhuine, agraim duine, áitím ar dhuine, áitím duine, ceadaím do dhuine, ceadaím duine, tugaim cead do dhuine, comhairlím do dhuine, comhairlím duine, tugaim comhairle do dhuine, cuirim comhairle ar dhuine, crosaim ar dhuine, cuirim d'iallach ar dhuine, cuirim fainic ar dhuine, cuirim fé ndeara do dhuine, cuirim i gcuimhne do dhuine, éilím ar dhuine, fógraím do/ar dhuine, guím duine, iarraim ar dhuine, impím ar dhuine, ligim do dhuine, molaim do dhuine, ordaím do dhuine, ordaím duine, tugaim ordú do dhuine, tugaim ar dhuine, tugaim rabhadh do dhuine.* This list is not exhaustive and some of the verbs listed may also take an embedded indicative.

[2] My informants were Peadar Ó Cualáin (c.70), Bántrainn and Seán Ó Fatharta (c.65); Bántrainn.

[3] The idea of formulating the rule in this way was given to me by reading Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973, 554ff.) who posit an identical rule for verbs such as *force, allow* etc. Equi-NP Deletion is obligatory for a certain class of these verbs, e.g.

(*a*) The noise forced me to stop working
(*b*) * The noise forced me that I stop working
(*c*) * The noise forced me stopping working

The rule is much more transparent for Irish since the dative is nearly invariably marked by the presence of the prepositions *ar/do*. Note that the verb *geallaim*, which may have dative in the matrix, does not require dative-agent coreferentiality; in this case identity is more often between the agent of the matrix and the agent of the embedded sentence. It is also marked [+ FUT]. If there is agent-agent coreferentiality Equi-NP Deletion may apply optionally erasing the agent of the embedded sentence:

(*a*) Geallaim dhuit go dtiocfaidh mé amárach
(*b*) Geallaim dhuit teacht amárach
(*c*) Geallaim go dtiocfaidh mé amárach
(*d*) Geallaim teacht amárach

Baudiš(1913, 404) speaks of *do* as being the agent of the verbal noun after such predicates as *is ceart domh, is cóir domh* etc.: "Es gibt auch Fälle, wo ein von einem Nomen oder Verbum abhängender *do*-Ausdruck zugleich das logische Agens des nachfolgenden Vorgangsnomens ist; in solchen Fällen jedoch erfolgt diese Bedeutung nur aus der Zusammenhang." These predicates differ from the ones we have been discussing above in that they are impersonally constructed and take a sentential subject. But they have much in common with the type *achainím ar*. If there is Dative-Agent coreferentiality Equi-NP Deletion may inspect the structure and delete the Agent of the embedded sentence. Given that Equi-NP Deletion applies a verbal noun construction will ensue. This amounts to an incorporation of the Baudiš observation into our framework. Note that Baudiš is not entirely happy with his observation since the agentive function of *do* can only be arrived at contextually. We argue that there are good syntactic motivations for such an analysis. It is to be noted that the deleted subject of the embedded sentence is not, of course, in the dative case; it is in the agentive case. Strictly speaking, then, it is not correct to imply as Baudiš does that the dative of the matrix has agentive function. It is the deleted subject of the embedded sentence, coreferential with the dative of the matrix, which has this function. Compare the following sentence with 4, 5, and 6 above:

8 (*a*) Ba cheart dhó an litir a scríobh

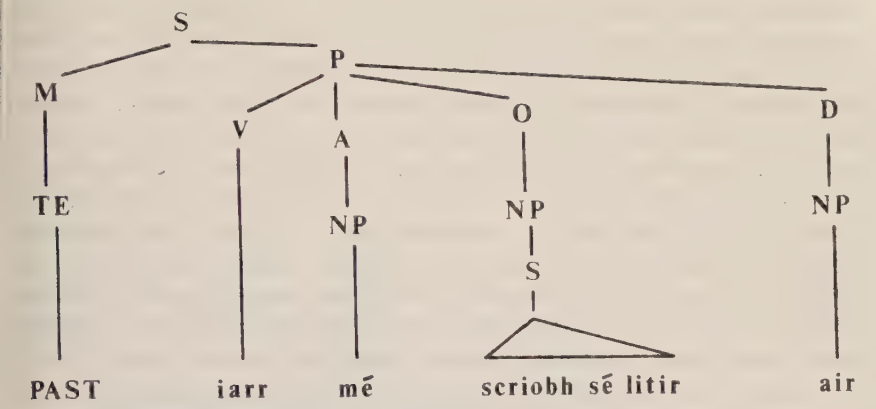
(*b*) Ba cheart dhó go scríobhadh sé an litir

There is, as has been outlined, convincing evidence for believing that the sentences of 8 are on a par with those of the *achainím ar* type.

In a Fillmore-type grammar we might conceive of the following phrase marker to underly 4 (*a*) *D'iarr mé air litir a scríobh*:[4]

[4] It is not my intention to discuss in detail whether the *go* complementizer and the infinitive *a* complementizer are transformationally inserted or whether they are present in the phrase structure rules. The phrase marker 9 'assumes' that they are transformationally inserted. Many transformational grammarians have argued that this is the more likely hypothesis since it appears that these markers of subordination have no semantic content. In some Irish dialects infinitive *a* is often absent when an intransitive verb is embedded and a verbal noun construction is derived through either Equi-NP Deletion or *Rais-Subject*: (1) *dúirt mé leis teacht* (2) *ba mhaith liom tú imeacht* (3) *ba mhaith liom tú dul abhaile*. It appears obligatorily in transitive verb complementation where it turns up either before the embedded verb (verbal noun) followed by the object or, if *Rais-Object* has optionally applied, between the object and the embedded verb: (4) *ba mhaith liom tú a ól bainne* (5) *ba mhaith liom tú bainne a ól*. To assume that the absence of infinitive *a* before certain verbs supports the transformational hypothesis would be a false analysis since in most dialects forms with and without *a* are in free variation. It seems to me that semantic arguments are the only valid criteria in this instance. Bresnan (1970, 297–321) favours the phrase structure hypothesis and would introduce a phrase structure rule of the form $\bar{S} \rightarrow$ COMP S on the basis that complementizers are *not* semantically empty, 'syntactically trivial particles as they have been assumed to be in the past'. But no one has argued that these particles

9



It is of central significance that the embedded sentence *Scríobh sé litir* is dominated by the node NP and that the surface constituent *litir a scríobh* is derived through the application of a number of transformations. These are *Equi-NP Deletion*, *Rais-Object* (the raising of the object of the embedded sentence into the matrix), and *Infinitive 'a' insertion*. The ordering of these transformations is irrelevant to the present argument. Let us assume that the following sentences taken from Ó Cadhlaigh (op. cit. 97) are sound surface structures:

10 (*a*) D'airigh sé Diarmuid do theacht
(*b*) D'airigh sé teacht Diarmuda
(*c*) D'airigh sé go dtáinig Diarmuid

What we are claiming is that these are derivable from one and the same deep structure and that the embedded sentence in each of them is dominated by the node NP. The application of the infinitive

are syntactically trivial. Bresnan supposes that the following sentences would have different underlying structures: (*a*) It may distress John for Mary to see his relatives (*b*) It may distress John that Mary see his relatives (*c*) Mary's seeing his relatives may distress John. She argues that (*b*) assumes that Mary does in fact see John's relatives while (*a*) does not. She does not discuss the status of (*c*). Her arguments are interesting but do not negate the hypothesis that complementizers are tranformationally introduced. She is on very shallow ground on her interpretation of these sentences. If we leave out the *may* of the matrix it would be difficult to find any differences in meaning between them. Our fairly superficial examination of the Irish material has shown these structures to be for the most part interchangeable although certain nuances such as emphasis, pointers to dynamic action etc. were involved. The whole complex has still to be hammered out for the Irish material and this requires a much deeper and wider scope than has been carried out in this paper. The historical fact, for example, that *co* was not used generally as the marker of complement sentences in Old Irish but only came into use in later Old Irish and Middle Irish, as was pointed out by Greene (1969, 90), may throw some light on the synchronic study of the particle. The whole complex of final, consecutive and temporal *co* lives on in Modern Irish and it is not always a simple matter to distinguish between the various uses of the particle.

transformation among others would yield the derived structure (*a*); nominalization would give rise to (*b*); the *go* complementizer transformation would account for (*c*). The fact that sentences are noun phrases has been hinted at by many grammarians. Workers in transformational generative grammar have unravelled the following pieces of evidence and more that this is the case: (1) They pronominalize like noun phrases: Tá a fhios aige *go bhfuil sí cliste* agus tá a fhios agamsa *é* fosta; Dúirt sé liom *gur léigh sé an leabhar*. Cad *é* dúirt sé? (2) They enter into the functional relations of noun phrases: *Subject:* Ba mhaith liom *dul* ann; *Object:* Iarraim ort *teacht* etc. O'Nolan's remarks on the verbal noun (1919, 145ff.) are at variance with the viewpoint adopted in this paper. Working from a traditional logical constituent analysis O'Nolan comes to the conclusion that in the sentence *ba mhaith liom an scéal do thuiscint* the word *scéal* is in the nominative case and "the addition" of *do thuiscint* does not affect the expression. This latter phrase, he maintains, merely tells the purpose in respect of which "the story would be GOOD in my estimation". He argues that for the English expression "to understand the story" it is legitimate to say that *story* is accusative governed by *understand* but that for the Irish expression "an scéal do thuiscint" the case of *scéal* cannot possibly be settled by *tuiscint* since the latter is a noun. He points out, on the other hand, that *scéal* is accusative in *níor fhéadas an scéal do thuiscint*. There are innumerable difficulties with such an analysis. What do we say about *ba mhaith liom Seán an scéal do thuiscint?* What is it "that would be GOOD in my estimation"? Is it *an scéal* and, if so, does not *Seán do thuiscint* affect the construction? Or is it *Seán an scéal do thuiscint?* And what do we say about the similarity between *ba mhaith liom Seán an scéal do thuiscint* on the one hand, and *ba mhaith liom go dtuigfeadh Seán an scéal* on the other hand? How, moreover, do we account for the occurrence of the sentence *ba mhaith liom an scéal do thuiscint* and its counterpart *ba mhaith liom go dtuigfinn an scéal*. By using grammatical categories such as noun phrase, verb phrase etc. within a constituent structure analysis it is possible to arrive at a better understanding of these structures. One of the tests that can be used to ascertain whether any phrase is a noun phrase constituent is the so-called Pseudo-Cleft test.The test is not infallible but is borne out by a fair amount of data. This test shows that *an scéal do thuiscint* and *Seán an scéal do thuiscint* are NP constituents as witness the following: Séard a ba mhaith liom ná *an scéal do thuiscint* and Séard a ba mhaith liom ná *Seán an scéal do thuiscint*. Since * *Séard a ba mhaith liom an scéal ná do thuiscint* and * *Séard a ba mhaith liom an scéal ná Seán do thuiscint* are ungrammatical and since the O'Nolan argument also fails to account for the syntactically differing but semantically

similar constructs *ba mhaith liom Seán an scéal do thuiscint* and *ba mhaith liom go dtuigfeadh Seán an scéal* it must be concluded that his analysis is false. We suggest instead that in the sentence *ba mhaith liom an scéal do thuiscint* there is in the deep structure a matrix sentence *ba mhaith liom* and an embedded sentence *tuigim an scéal* and that the transformations of *Equi-NF Deletion, Rais-Object* and *Infinitive 'do' Insertion* have applied to give the derived structure *ba mhaith liom an scéal do thuiscint.* From a relational point of view *an scéal do thuiscint* is the sentential subject of *ba mhaith liom.* A similar analysis will account for *níor fhéadas an scéal do thuiscint* except that in this case *an scéal do thuiscint* is the sentential object of *níor fhéadas.*[5]

Let us now note that the following sentence is grammatical:

11 Ordaím go scríobha(nn) tú litir

Here we have an example of one of the *achainím ar* verbs with no dative in the matrix. It might be conjectured on the basis of

12 Ordaím thú litir a scríobh

that 11 does, in fact, have a dative in the matrix. If this be the case one would expect that 11 and

13 Ordaím thú go scríobha(nn) tú litir

should be free variants. We have argued that it is more probable that 12 and 13 are free variants. Native speakers make a clear distinction between the pair[6]

14 D'ordaigh mé an duine a dhul amach as an teach

15 D'ordaigh mé go rachadh an duine amach as an teach

The interpretation of 14 was given as *Chiceáil mé an duine amach as an teach* which implies that the action is actually carried out by the person who gives the order or, at least, that the order is given directly by the speaker to the sufferer. 15, on the other hand, is merely an order to the effect that the person leave the house at some unspecified time and it is not stated that the order was given directly to the

[5] Rosenbaum (1968, 111ff.) points out that the traditional grammarian Poutsma was forced to give the same analysis for all infinitival constructions in English where a noun, pronoun, or nominalization intervened between the main verb and the infinitive clause. For Poutsma the infinitive clause in *I caused him to go* and that in *I wanted him to go* are identical, while *I want to go* and *I want John to go* represent two different constructions. Rosenbaum has shown that this analysis is false.

[6] I am grateful to Peadar Mac an Iomaire, Stiúrthóir na Gaeilge Labhartha, Ollscoil na Gaillimhe, for his interpretation of this pair.

sufferer by the speaker. The implication here is that the sentence 14 would have underlying dative while 15 would not. While a good semantic case can be put up for differentiating between 14 and 15 the same arguments are not so equally applicable to 11 and 12. Native speakers find difficulty in distinguishing between the three structures 11, 12 and 13. The structure 12 or its counterpart in the Irish of Cois Fhairrge *Ordaím dhuit litir a scríobh* represents the preference of the majority of native speakers. We can say, at any rate, that those verbs which do not have dative in the matrix require the *go* complementizer as in 11. What we have been claiming up to this point is that the verbal noun construction is arrived at only after the application of *Equi-NP Deletion*. This, however, will not account for cases like

16 Inis dó mé a bheith anseo
which has its *go* counterpart in

17 Inis dó go bhfuil mé anseo
and

18 D'ordaigh sé mé ghabháil agus díoghaltas a dhéanamh orm

19 D'ordaigh sé Iubhdán do thabhairt 'n-a láthair
which Ó Cadhlaigh (87, § 103b) classes as *An t-ainm is cuspóir ins an tuiseal chuspóireach* and which may be paraphrased as

20 D'ordaigh sé go ngeobhfaí mé agus go ndéanfaí díoghaltas orm

21 D'ordaigh sé go dtabharfaí Iubhdán 'n-a láthair

In the case of 16 and 17 there are simply no identical noun phrase constituents that can be deleted since there is no identity between the dative of the matrix and the subject of the embedded sentence. With regard to 18 and 19 it is clear that *mé* and *Iubhdán* do not occur in the deep structure matrix sentences. The Pseudo-Cleft test shows this up

22 Séard a d'ordaigh sé ná mé a ghabháil agus díoghaltas a dhéanamh orm
but not

23 * Séard a d'ordaigh sé mé ná a ghabháil agus díoghaltas a dhéanamh orm

We propose that the objects of 18 and 19 are not *mé* and *Iubhdán* but rather the whole embedded sentences *Gabh PRO mé agus déan PRO díoghaltas* orm and *Tabhair PRO Iubhdán 'n-a láthair.* Now the source of these verbal noun constructions cannot be *Equi-NP Deletion.* We must look elsewhere. It has been suggested for English that an infinitive construction will only arise if a verb has not undergone agreement with a subject. Thus if a subject of an embedded sentence is deleted on identity with a noun phrase constituent in the matrix the infinitive transformation can apply. It can also apply if the subject of an embedded sentence is raised from its own clause into the next higher S. This, we argue, is what happens in the sentences we have been discussing. We conclude, therefore, that the transformation *Rais-Subject* (Raise Subject of Embedded sentence into Matrix) has applied to these structures.

It has been observed that the verb *ordaigh* may have dative optionally in the matrix. Other verbs in this class with optional dative include *ceadaím, éilím, guím, iarraim, molaim.* If dative is present, however, *Equi-NP Deletion* is optional and a verbal noun complementation may be derived. Application of the transformation is preferred:

24 Mhol mé dó an obair a dhéanamh

25 Mhol mé dó go ndéanfadh sé an obair

26 Mhol mé go ndéanfadh sé an obair

27 Mhol mé go ndéanfaí an obair

The verb *lig* may also be a verb with dative optionally if

28 Do leogamair go múinfeadh sí ins na sgoileannaibh

is grammatical. This sentence would be on a par with 11 above. The following pair

29 Do leogamair í mhúine ins na sgoileannaibh?

30 Do leogamair dí mhúine ins na sgoileannaibh

are acceptable free variants and would have dative in the matrix although 29 is a doubtful string. *Equi-NP Deletion* has applied to the structure underlying these two sentences. Their *go* counterpart would be

31 Do leogamair í (dí) go múinfeadh sí ins na sgoileannaibh

It is to be noted that the majority of the impersonal constructions with *do* may also have dative optionally as a consideration of the following sentences exposes

32 Ba cheart dó an obair a dhéanamh

33 Ba cheart dó go ndéanfadh sé an obair

34 Ba cheart go ndéanfadh sé an obair

35 Ba cheart go ndéanfaí an obair

Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí (GG) observes the following data but does not attempt an explanation (350, § 692):

36 (4) (*a*) Tharla nach raibh aonduine ann

(*b*) Ba mhaith liom go rachfá

Nóta (i): Is minic a dhéantar abairtín ainm bhriathartha a úsáid in ionad fochlásal ráiteasaigh

(*c*) Tharla gan aon duine a bheith ann

(*d*) Ba mhaith liom tú a dhul

Nóta (ii): Tá a lán clásal ann nach féidir abairtíní a dhéanamh díobh

37 (5) (*a*) Dúirt sé go rachadh sé

(*b*) Dúirt sé (é) a dhul (my ungrammatical example in which *sé*— *é* are coreferential).

Nóta (iii): Tá a lán abairtíní ann nach féidir clásal a dhéanamh díobh

38 (6) (*a*) Caithfidh sé fanacht ina thost

(*b*) Caithfidh sé go bhfanann sé ina thost

(*b*) being ungrammatical in the sense of (*a*).

Let us take a look at 37 firstly and note that the following sentence is grammatical

39 Dúirt sé Séamas a dhul

What emerges from an examination of this predicate is that it requires obligatory non-identity of the erasing and erased noun phrases for *Equi-NP Deletion* to apply. In this way the ungrammatical 37 (b)

in which we have subject-subject identity will be blocked. We must then accept Perlmutter's proposal (1971, 4ff) of deep structure constraints such that certain predicates forbid subject-subject coreferentiality in the underlying structure. Lakoff (1965, 49ff) suggested that certain verbs must be marked in the lexicon as exceptions to *Equi-NP Deletion*. He proposed a rule of absolute exceptions so that *implore*, for example, is a verb which must be marked in the lexicon as requiring:

(*a*) that the structural description of Equi-NP Deletion not be met

(*b*) that Equi-NP Deletion not apply

Now if one wishes to account for violations of grammaticality transformationally this seems to be the only way out. Perlmutter has shown, however, that Lakoff's formulation is not totally accurate and has brought forward the concept of deep structure constraints. Rosenbaum (1967, 68) noted that the verb *say* requires non-identity of the two subjects.Thus we have *I said for you to go* but not * *I said* (*for me*) *to go*. The fact that 37 (*a*) *Dúirt sé go rachadh sé* in which the subject of the complement sentence is identical to the subject of the matrix is a grammatical structure shows that the unlike subject constraint must be restricted to sentences with the verbal noun complementizer (cf. Perlmutter, op. cit., 8, footnote 6 on *I screamed that I would go*). I take it that *deirim le* belongs to the *achainím ar* type in that it requires dative-agent coreferentiality for *Equi-NP Deletion* to apply

40 Dúirt sé liom a dhul

The *le* is the dative preposition marker here similar to *do/ar* and should be sharply distinguished from the subjective *le* of the so-called 'emotive' predicates like *is maith liom.*
Consider again

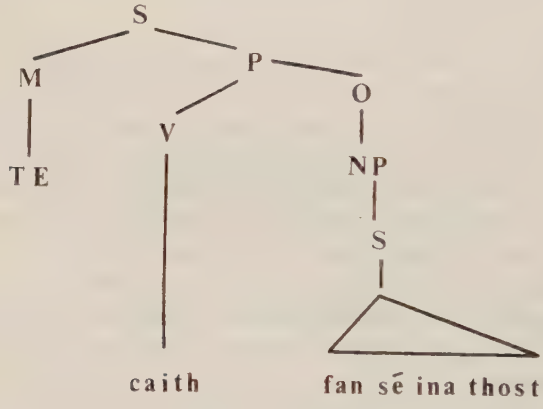
38 (*a*) Caithfidh sé fanacht ina thost

(*b*) Caithfidh sé go bhfanann sé ina thost

38 (*b*) is, of course, a perfectly grammatical sentence when it expresses logical necessity. This is the only interpretation that it can have and may be paraphrased *ní foláir nó go bhfanann sé ina thost/ní foláir nó fanann sé ina thost* "It must be that he remains silent". 38 (*a*) expresses physical or moral necessity and may be paraphrased *tá air fanacht ina thost.* Modals are ambiguous in many languages and the deep structure difference between sentences expressing logical and moral necessity are not always distinguished in the surface structure.

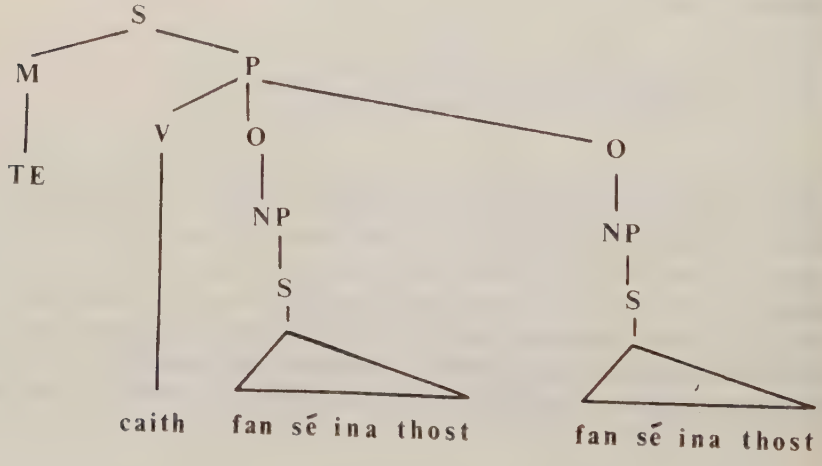
There are, for example, two deep structures for the English sentence *Conor must agree with Liam.* There is no possibility of this ambiguity arising in the Irish examples. 38 (*a*) occurs only with the verbal noun construction; 38 (*b*) with the *go* complementizer. In 38 (*a*) *Equi-NP Deletion* has applied regularly erasing the subject of the embedded sentence which is identical with the subject of the matrix. *Equi-NP Deletion* does not, on the other hand, apply to 38 (*b*) since the subject of this sentence in deep structure is not the pronoun *sé* but rather the whole embedded sentence *fan sé ina thost.* The surface subject *sé* which occurs after *caithfidh* is transformationally introduced. Details omitted, I assume that *Caithfidh sé go bhfanann sé ina thost* will have the following underlying phrase marker

41



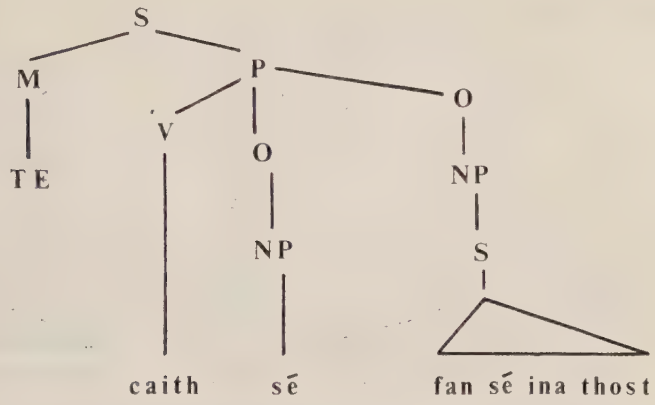
The subject, namely the whole embedded sentence, is then copied by a transformation called *Subject Copying* giving the derived intermediate structure

42



The next step is what has been termed *First Copy Pro-Replacement*[7] which will give us the derived subject *sé*

43



Subject Copying is optional for this auxiliary. If it does not apply the following structure will be derived

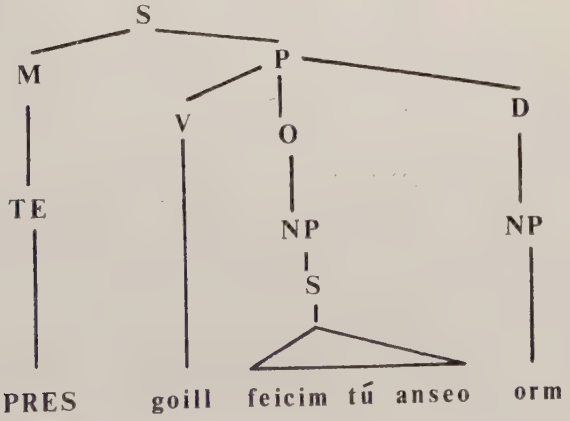
44 Caithfidh go bhfanann sé ina thost

Impersonally constructed verbs with *sé* should be treated similarly. Consider the following sentence

45 Goilleann sé orm tú a fheiceáil anseo

which I assume to have the deep phrase marker

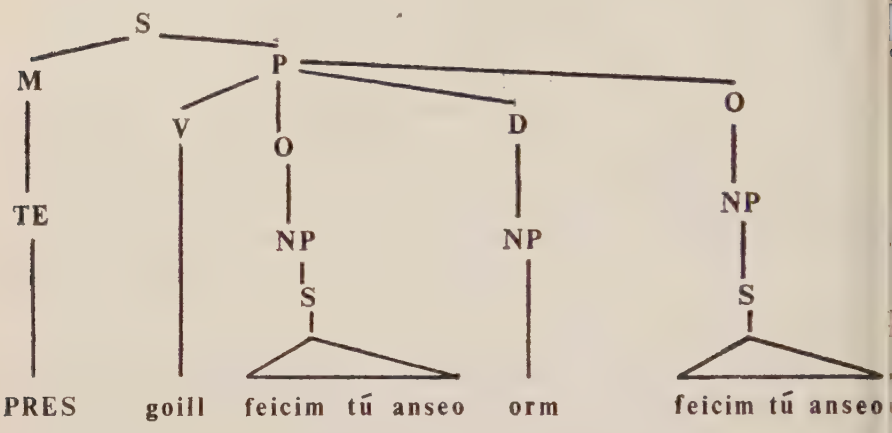
46



[7] On the transformations of subject copying and first copy pro-replacement cf. Fillmore (op. cit. 41ff.).

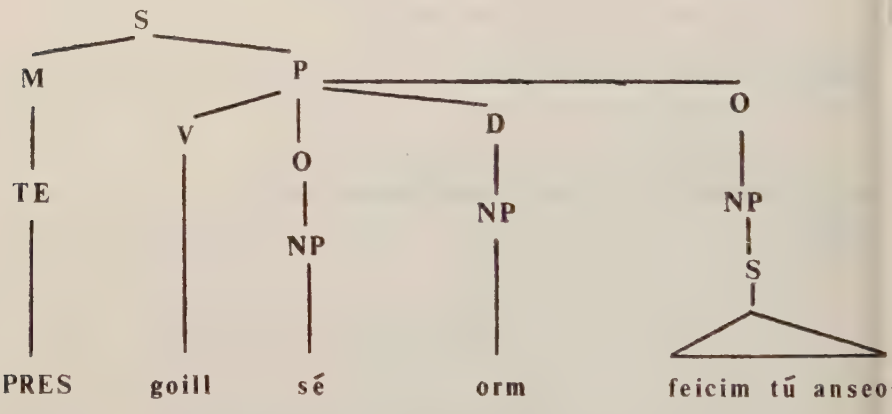
When Subject Copying applies we get

47



First Copy Pro-Replacement will give the derived structure

48



Equi-NP Deletion applies regularly erasing the subject of the embedded sentence since it is coreferential with a dative in the matrix. *Rais-Object* applies normally positioning *tú* before the embedded verb and *Infinitive a insertion* accounts for the appearance of this particle between the object and the verb. *Equi-NP Deletion* does not, of course, apply if there is no identical noun phrase constituent in the complement sentence. In these cases the *go* complementizer is the rule as in

49 Goilleann sé orm gur bhain Seán an duais

Impersonal verbs which do not take subject copying and do not, therefore, have the surface subject *sé* require dative-agent co-referentiality and *Equi-NP Deletion* is obligatory. This type is characterized by such a verb as *teipeann orm* which invariably takes the verbal noun construction. We can gather this from the following data

50 (*a*) Theip orm polasaí an rialtais a thuigbheáil
(*b*) Theip air polasaí an rialtais a thuigbheáil
(*c*) Theip ar Sheán polasaí an rialtais a thuigbheáil

but not

(*d*) * Theip orm gur thuig mé polasaí an rialtais
(*e*) * Theip orm Seán polasaí an rialtais a thuigbheáil

Consider the following paradigms:

51 (*a*) ba mhaith liom a dhul
(*b*) ba mhaith liom tú a dhul
(*c*) ba mhaith liom Seán a dhul
(*d*) ba mhaith liom go rachainn
(*e*) ba mhaith liom go rachfá
(*f*) ba mhaith liom go rachadh Seán

It makes good sense to treat the structures 51 (*a*)–(*c*) as belonging to a unified process. In a subject/predicate analysis *a dhul* in 51 (*a*) would be taken as the subject of the sentence while *maith liom* would represent the predicate. Compare GG (209, § 429): copail *ní*/faisnéis *dóigh liom*/ainmí *go raibh Séamus tinn.* In like manner *tú a dhul* and *Seán a dhul* would be analysed as the subject of 51 (*b*) and 51 (*c*) respectively. Compare Ó Cadhlaigh (79, § 88): *An t-ainm is gníomhaidhe nó is ainmnidh adhbhair ins an tuiseal aimnneach:* e.g. *níor mhaith leis daoine bheith ag magadh féi.* Now this is a good analysis as far as it goes. What it fails to observe and describe, however, is the erazure of the underlying subject of the embedded sentence in 51 (*a*) which turns up in 51 (*d*) just as the respective subjects of the embedded sentences in 51 (*b*)–(*e*) (*c*)–(*f*) appear in the surface structure. In these latter sentences the subject of the matrix and the subject of the complement sentences are non-identical. We have noted that the traditional analysis of (*b*) and (*c*) would treat *tú a dhul* and *Seán a dhul* as the subjects of the sentences. Strictly speaking, however, these are the sentential subjects of *ba mhaith liom* and in the discussion above I make a distinction between subject and

sentential subject. *tú* and *Seán* are covered better by the term *agent* as Ó Cadhlaigh points out. The Kiparskys (1970, 143–173) have used the term *Emotive* to describe predicates in English which "express the subjective value of a proposition rather than knowledge about its truth value". It has long been understood that the preposition *le* is the marker *'par excellence'* of emotive predicates in Irish. Let us in an *'ad hoc'* way call emotive *le* the agent of the predicate. Given, then, that the agent of the matrix and the agent of the embedded sentence are identical Equi-NP Deletion may inspect the structure and erase the agent of the embedded sentence. Although the transformation seems to be optional preference is given to its application and statistically speaking the type represented by 51 (*a*) is dominant. 51 (*d*) is also a grammatical sentence in the sense *I wish that I had gone* but appears to be avoided in speech. The usual rendering of English sentences with PERF in the embedded sentence would be something like

52 (*a*) Is mairg nach ndeacha mé ann

or

(*b*) Is mairg nár imigh mé ann

Certain predicates, however, will have the *go* complementizer fairly well represented. *Fearr le* is such a predicate as witness

53 (*a*) B'fhearr liom titim sa chomhrac
(*b*) B'fhearr liom go dtitfinn sa chomhrac

where 53 (*b*) reads well when the tense of the modality constituent of the embedded sentence is marked [+ FUTURE]. It is also clear that the *go* complementizer is better represented when the verb of the embedded sentence is marked [+ STATIVE]. Compare 54 with 51 (*a*) (*d*) above:

54 (*a*) Ba mhaith liom a bheith sa bhaile
(*b*) Ba mhaith liom go mbeinn sa bhaile

What is to be noted in particular about these predicates is that the verbal noun construction and the *go* complementizer are interchangeable in case the agent of the matrix and the agent of the embedded sentence are non-identical. In both constructions the agent of the embedded sentence appears in the surface structure. *Equi-NP Deletion* cannot apply here since there are no identical constituents to be deleted. Yet the agents of the sentences in question precede their verb in the verbal noun constructions. *Rais-Subject*

vill account for these structures. It is thus we wish to view the structures in GG *ba mhaith liom go rachfá/ba mhaith liom tú a dhul.* The ame holds true for the embedding of transitive verbs:

55 (*a*) ba mhaith liom tú bainne a ól
(*b*) ba mhaith liom Seán bainne a ól
(*c*) ba mhaith liom go n-ólfá bainne
(*d*) ba mhaith liom go n-ólfadh Seán bainne

Ó Cadhlaigh noted that a number of verbs which normally take the *o* complementizer may also take the verbal noun construction. These are verbs marked with the feature [+ STATIVE][8]. The ollowing examples are taken from Ó Cadhlaigh (98, § 115):

[8] Wagner (1959, 31ff) throws a lot of light on stative verbs. Ó Cadhlaigh has a short ote on the matter also p. 8, § 11. In his penetrating study of the Irish verb Wagner osits two main classes: (1) a normal punctual action-type category (2) a category onsisting of verbs of state and verbs of sensation. With regard to the latter category e has the following to say: "Diese Verben ist eigen, dass ihr Praesens nicht ein hab. rs. ist, sondern ein absolutes, aktionsmässig nicht charakterisiertes, dass natürlich als olches auch habitative Funktionen ausüben kann (t' i:m kann z.B. mit "ich sehe", abs. rs., oder "ich pflege zu sehen" oder "ich kann sehen" übersetzt werden). Aus diesem erhalten ist zu schliessen, dass diese Verben an sich nicht punktuell sind wie der Normaltypus, sondern zuständlich durativ." He goes on to subdivide this category nto three major components: (*a*) finite state verbs which the quotation above describes nd which includes about 20–30 verbs in his estimation: *tá, tá - agam, is* (copula), *s - liom, tím/feicim, cluinim/cloisim, geallaim, achainím, aithním, agraim, deirim, impím, arraim, molaim, measaim, sílim, creidim, tuigim, ceapaim, féadaim, mothuighim, ní headar, arsa* (defective), *teastaionn uaim, tá - uaim;* (*b*) verbal nouns of state such as *á mé i mo luí* which have a stative or iterative meaning; (*c*) nominal predicates (nominal-erbale) which are impersonally constructed. These are sensational and modal predicates hose subjects are in a prepositional case. He discusses the following types: (1) *is maith iom* (2) *is cóir domh* (3) *tá eagla orm* (4) *tá rún agam* (5) *thig/liom/teastaionn uaim* (imperonal verb-centred type). Cf. also his historical study of the nominal predicates on p. 31ff. Moreover, his comparisons with Awarian, Georgian, and Basque on 31ff are mportant not only from a typological point of view but also for what light they may hed on universal grammar as is being developed by scholars such as Lakoff, Ross, IcCawley, Fillmore etc. It is of interest to note that Wagner's classification is not only otional but he also uses syntactical criteria to establish the stative verbs of 2 (*a*). Ie notes that the majority of these verbs do not take the progressive. Some of them n the other hand, do e.g. *tá mé ag meas* (but never *bím ag meas*). Lakoff (1965, 121ff) has nown that a number of tests may be used to establish whether a verb is marked [+ TATIVE]. These include (1) the Imperative test (2) the Progressive test (3) the *do-so* est. One may add to these the Pseudo-Cleft test and the Habitual Present test, the tter being of especial interest for the Irish material. Lakoff suggested the subcategoriation of verbs and adjectives with respect to the feature [STATIVE]. This feature ould, in other words, condition certain rules such as the Imperative and the Habitual resent. Consider the following:

(*a*) *Imperative:*
Buail an fear
* Aithnigh an fear
Ná bí callánach
* Ná bí mór

(*b*) *Habitual Present:*
Bím ag bualadh an fhir gach maidin
* Bím ag aithint an fhir gach maidin
Bím callánach gach maidin
* Bím mór gach maidin

he subcategorization of these verbs and adjectives with respect to the feature STATIVE ould be as follows:

	buail	aithnigh	callánach	mór
TATIVE	—	+	—	+

56 (*a*) Conus a fuair sí amach cearc do bheith ag glaodhach sa tigh seo? Nó conus a fuair sí amach Sadhbh do bheith as baile? Nó conus a fuair sí amach go rabhas-sa féin i gcontabhairt?

(*b*) Nuair do chualaidh an rí í bheith ag teacht

(*c*) Chomh luath agus a h-innseadh dó an mhór-shluagh sana bheith cruinnighthe

(*d*) Ní aithneóchaidh aoinne an chailís a bheith imithe

(*e*) Níor bh'fada gur thuigeadar mórán óir agus airgid a bheith aige

The verbs in the embedded sentences above are [+ STATIVE]. The grammaticality of these structures will also depend on whether the verb in the main sentence is factive or non-factive. This will be discussed below. At any rate, the verbal noun constructions of 56 will be accounted for by the rule of *Rais-Subject. Equi-NP Deletion* and *Rais-Subject* are mutually exclusive. The rules of *Rais-Subject* and *Rais-Object* will account for the majority of Ó Cadhlaigh's examples of the *áthas, dúil* type. One of these

57 Ní raibh bac air í phósadh

will be derived by the rules of *Equi-NP Deletion* and *Rais-Object*.

The Kiparskys (op. cit.) discuss the parameters of factivity and non-factivity. They point out that many of the differences in complement structures in English can be explained by assuming the governing predicates to be marked with certain semantic features. It is the property of factive predicates that they presuppose the truth of their complements; non-factive predicates occur when an assertion or belief is involved. The factive predicates maintain the truth value when the sentence is negated

58 (*a*) Is íontach liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta

(*b*) Ní íontach liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta

(*c*) Is dóigh liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta

(*d*) Ní dóigh liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta

58 (*a*) (*b*) presuppose "tá an doras dúnta"; 58 (*c*) (*d*) do not carry with them this presupposition. I append here some factive and non-factive predicates[9]. It will be noted that I have chosen a number of

[9] Consider the sentences
(*a*) Creidim nach dtáinig Seán isteach
(*b*) Ní chreidim go dtáinig Seán isteach

emotive predicates and that any predicate may be marked [± EMOTIVE] [± FACT]:

With factive subjects: is íontach (le), is ait (le), is aisteach (le), is oth le, is breá (le), is aoibhinn (le), is deas (le) . . . .

With non-factive subjects: is dóigh le, is dóiche, is eagal le, is cosúil, is cinnte . . .

With factive objects: coinneáil i gcuimhne, neamhíontas a dhéanamh de, dearmad a dhéanamh de . . .

With non-factive objects: creid, ceap, deir, meas, síl . . .

It has been demonstrated by the Kiparskys that one of the transformations which applies to English non-factives is the so-called accusative and infinitive construction. Thus 59 (*b*) is grammatical but 59 (*d*) is not:

59 (*a*) We assumed the government was against the language
(*b*) We assumed the government to be against the language
(*c*) We ignored the fact that the government was against the language
(*d*) * We ignored the government to be against the language

59 (*a*) (*b*) are non-factive; 59 (*c*) (*d*) are factive. Consider the Irish evidence

60 (*a*) Shíl muid go raibh an rialtas in éadan na tenaga
(*b*) Shíl muid an rialtas a bheith in éadan na teanga
(*c*) B'íontach linn go raibh an rialtas in éadan na teanga
(*d*) B'íontach linn an rialtas a bheith in éadan na teanga

(*b*) is ambiguous. It can be a mere negative with the meaning *ní hamhlaidh go gcreidim go dtáinig Seán isteach* which is simply a denial of (*a*) *creidim nach dtáinig Seán isteach,* or it can have the same meaning as (*a*). It has been proposed that there is a rule in English of *not-Transportation,* a rule which moves the negative of the embedded clause into the matrix clause. It also appears that the occurence of *not-Transportation* involves some uncertainty on the part of the subject of the predicate as to the likelihood of his assertion being true. A consideration of the pair

(*a*) I believe that John isn't coming
(*b*) I don't believe that John is coming

leads to the conclusion that the speaker is more certain in (*a*) that John isn't coming than he is in (*b*) (cf. Lakoff 1970 b., 147ff and 158ff). The Kiparskys (op.cit.) noted that *not-Transportation* never occurs with factive verbs. This holds true for Irish also:

(*a*) Is íontach liom nach dtáinig Seán isteach
(*b*) Ní íontach liom go dtáinig Seán isteach
(*c*) Is deas liom nach bhfuil sé ag teacht
(*d*) Ní deas liom go bhfuil sé ag teacht

Iontach le and *deas le* are factive predicates; (*b*) and (*d*) do not mean the same as (*a*) and (*c*) and we cannot speak of *not-Transportation* in these instances. Compare these with the non-factives which do allow *not-Transportation:*

(*e*) Is dóigh liom nach dtiocfaidh sé amárach
(*f*) Ní dóigh liom go dtiocfaidh sé amárach
(*g*) Tharla nach dtáinig Seán isteach
(*h*) Níor tharla go dtáinig Seán isteach.

It appears that this construction applies to both factives and non-factives in Irish. There are cases, however, where the grammaticality of the non-factives is marginal and the *go* complementizing construction is dominant:

61 (*a*) Is dóigh liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta
(*b*) ? Is dóigh liom an doras a bheith dúnta
(*c*) Is íontach liom go bhfuil an doras dúnta
(*d*) Is íontach liom an doras a bheith dúnta

Much depends on the tense and type of the verb in the embedded sentence. Consider the following

62 (*a*) Shíl muid gur bhain Seán an duais
(*b*) * Shíl muid Seán an duais a bhaint
(*c*) B'íontach liom gur bhain Seán an duais
(*d*) B'íontach liom Seán an duais a bhaint

I tentatively suggest that the embedded verb be marked [+ STATIVE] for *Rais-Subject* to apply to non-factives.

SÉAMAS MAC MATHÚNA

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh

Baudiš, J. (1913) "Zum Gebrauch der Verbalnomina im Irischen" in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 9 (1913), pp. 380–437.
Bresnan, J. W. (1970) "On Complementation: Toward a Syntactic Theory of Complement Types" in *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970) 297–321.
Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass. The M.I.T. Press.
Dougherty, R. (1970) Review of *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. Bach and Harms, in *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), 505–561.
Fillmore, C. J. (1968) "The Case for Case", in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. Bach and Harms, pp. 1–88, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
Graiméar Gaeilige na mBráithre Críostaí, (1960) M. H. Mac an Ghoill & A Mhac, Tta. Baile Átha Cliath.

GREENE, D. (1969) "Varia II" in *Ériu* 21 (1969), pp. 90–92.

KIPARSKY, P. and C. (1970) "Fact" in *Recent Advances in Linguistics*, ed. Bierwisch and Heidolph, Mouton and Co., The Hague, pp. 143–173.

LAKOFF, G. (1970 a.) *Irregularity in Syntax*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston New York.

———————— (1970 b.) "Pronominalization, Negation, and the Analysis of Adverbs" in *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. Jacobs and Rosenbaum, pp. 135–165, Ginn and Company, Boston.

MCCAWLEY, J. (1970) "English as a VSO Language" in *Language* (1970), pp. 286–299.

Ó CADHLAIGH, C. (1940) *Gnás na Gaedhilge*. Oifig an tSoláthair, Baile Átha Cliath.

O'NOLAN, REV. G. (1919) *Studies in Modern Irish*. Part I. The Educational Company of Ireland, Dublin.

PERLMUTTER, D. M. (1971) *Deep and Surface Constraints in Syntax*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

ROSENBAUM, P. S. (1967) *The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

STOCKWELL, SCHACHTER, and PARTEE (1973) *The Major Syntactic Structures of English*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

WAGNER, H. (1959) *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der Britischen Inseln*. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen.

DEIXIS IN MODERN IRISH AND CERTAIN RELATED PROBLEMS[1]

CHARLES FILLMORE'S (1966, 1971)[2] concept of deictic categories (spatial, personal, temporal) and suppositions based on them helps us explain many other significant points concerning the use of certain particular deictic elements in a particular language. I am indeed indebted to this man for his pioneering work and stimulating accounts of problems in the English deictic system, and his influence will be quite obvious throughout this short study. In this presentation I shall address myself to the use of certain specific elements of Modern Irish which contain a component of deixis.[3] The examples are drawn mainly from the Ulster dialect of Modern Irish. In particular, I shall concern myself primarily with the semantic and syntactic constraints imposed upon the use of such elements within the realm of Modern Irish syntax. The lexical items which are relevant to our discussion can be divided into two main categories, namely, (*a*) adverbs which denote a certain position or location, and (*b*) adverbs denoting movement either towards or away from the speaker. All the adverbs whether of type (*a*) or (*b*) are very closely related as the following chart indicates.

Adverbs of position.	*Adverbs of Movement.*	
	Towards the speaker	*Away from speaker*
thuas [ˈhuas] 'up'[3]	anuas [əˈNuas] 'down'	suas [ˈsuas] 'up'
thíos [ˈhi:s] 'down'	aníos [əˈNʹi:s] 'up'	síos [ˈsʹi:s] 'down'
thall [ˈha:L] 'over'	anall [əˈNa:L] 'over'	anonn [əˈNÖN] 'over'
amuigh—istigh	amach—isteach	amach—isteach
[əˈmʷix′—əsˈtix′]	[əˈmax—əsʹˈtʹax]	[əˈmax—əsʹˈtʹax]

In order to get a good grasp of the deixis system of Modern Irish and how it operates, it is relevant to understand how the adverbs of direction and staticity function with respect to the motion verbs

[1] This is an English version of a talk given at Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, on the 29th March 1974.

[2] For discussion of relevant semantic constraints on the use of the verb *come* in English, the reader is referred to Fillmore's article (1966) "Deictic categories in the semantics of Come" *Foundations of Language* 2:3, 219–227. I am also indebted to Fillmore for his interesting notes on deixis at the Linguistics Institute, Suny, Buffalo (1971).

[3] The pronunciation given is the stressed form of the lexical items said in isolation. Unstressed forms also exist, and they shall be discussed later. Stress is shown by the diacritic ˈ placed before the stressed syllable. When the form is unstressed no diacritic will be used. The vowels [ï] and [ö] are centralized forms of [e] and [o] respectively. A consonant followed by ′ indicates that the consonant is palatalized.

gabh/téigh 'go', *imigh* 'depart, leave' and *tar* 'come'. Since the use of such adverbs is simple and orderly if understood properly, but rather complicated if one tries all at once to grasp the ideas involved in their use, I shall present in this paper a simplified but precise account of the particular use of each adverb. Briefly then my thesis will be concerned with the following:

I. The co-occurrence of the verbs *caith* 'throw', *suigh* 'sit' and *cuir* 'put or place in a position' with the adverbs of staticity and movement.

II. Restrictions imposed by the syntax when any form of the verb *bí* 'be' co-occurs with the adverbs of staticity and movement followed by either of the following lexical items: *anseo* 'here', *ansin* 'there' and *ansiúd* 'yonder i.e. the third place not equal to either *anseo* or *ansin*'.

III. Problems arising from the co-occurrence of the verbs *tar, téigh, gabh* and *imigh* with the adverbs of staticity and movement and the lexical items *anseo, ansin* and *ansiúd.*

I

If we use the verb *caith* 'throw' with either of the forms in the first column of the chart on page one, then the semantics of any such sentence will indicate to the hearer that he/she should go to the position indicated by the adverb before performing the action referred to in the verb. Thus, if I say,

(1) Caith thuas / thíos / amuigh é
'Throw it (while in the position) up, down or outside'

it means that the sentence is to be interpreted by the hearer as saying 'go to the place referred to by *thuas / thíos / amuigh* and perform the act of throwing there'.

The forms occurring in column (*b*) indicate movement towards the speaker. So if I say,

(2) Caith anuas / aníos é
'Throw it down / up (towards me)'

it indicates to the hearer that he/she is to remain where he/she is, but is to throw the item referred to by *é* 'it' downwards or upwards in the direction of the speaker's location. However, if the following sentence is used,

(3) Caith suas / síos / amach é
'Throw it up / down / out'

it indicates to the hearer that he/she is to remain wherever he/she may be at the time of utterance and throw what *é* refers to away from his/her location towards someone or somewhere else.

It should also be noted that orders of the type given in (1) and (3) could also be given over the phone, but the important fact to remember is that the same restrictions still obtain with respect to the choice of the adverb. Indeed the speaker must be aware of the exact location of the hearer before he/she can choose the correct adverb. In the case of (2) a different situation obtains. In this particular instance the speaker must be physically present and be in a position which is either on a lower or higher plane than the position of the hearer. Thus, if the hearer is in a position which is on a higher level than the speaker, he/she may say:

(4) Caith aníos é
'Throw it up towards me'

However, if he/she is relating the same message to the same person over the phone, he/she must use the following expression.

(5) Caith suas é.
'Throw it up (away from your own position)',

Note, therefore, that *aníos* and *suas* refer to the same spatial distance but that their particular manifestation in a sentence is entirely dependant on the position of the participants in the discourse involved.

Since the verb *caith* itself contains in its semantics a certain element of movement, the constraints imposed upon its patterning in a syntactic paradigm need not necessarily coincide with the constraints imposed upon verbs with an inherent stative property. Therefore, in the next few pages our interest will be directed towards the use of the two verbs *suigh* 'sit' and *cuir* 'put, place upon' with adverbs of direction and staticity.

Consider the following sentence which is ambiguous.

(6) Suigh síos
'Sit down'

Such a sentence is normally addressed to someone who is standing up, when the speaker wishes that such a person be seated. However, there is another interpretation of the same sentence, which is best explained as follows. Picture a long seat with two people sitting on it. One end of the seat may be said to be in a position which would be expressed by the syntactic element *thíos* 'down (location)'. Now if one of the people seated wishes that the other person, who is seated nearer to the end of the seat defined by *thíos*, should move yet nearer to that end of the seat, he/she may use sentence (6) above. The hearer need not necessarily get up and sit down again; he or she may

merely slide along the surface of the seat without losing contact with it. If the speaker wishes that the hearer should get up and sit down again in the position referred to by *thíos*, then he/she will use the following sentence.

(7) Suigh thíos (ar an stól)
'(Get up and) sit down (on the stool)'

Such a sentence is not ambiguous as compared with (6).

We can conclude, therefore, that it is not enough to understand the exact meaning of the individual lexical items in order to combine such elements into meaningful phrases or sentences. The speaker must in addition understand the situation and location of the participants *which are relevant to the discourse at the time of utterance.*

Sentences of the following type, which have the exact same syntactic structure as sentence number (6), are also ambiguous but in a different sense.

(8) Suigh aníos
'Move up towards me'

(9) Suigh anuas
'Move down towards me'

Each one of those sentences can be interpreted in two different ways, which are wholly dependant on the type of seating involved. It is always well to remember here that the movement of the hearer is towards the location of the speaker. The two different interpretations of the content of sentences (8) and (9) may be envisioned in the following way.

Imagine that the three participants in the discourse A, B and C are seated on a long seat with B in the middle. The end nearest to A is known as *thuas* 'up (location)' and the end nearest to C as *thíos* 'down (location)'. Now B may say to A *suigh anuas* i.e. 'move towards me', and to C *suigh aníos* i.e. 'move up towards me'. It is optional as to whether A or C has to rise and sit again or remain seated while moving towards B. Another interpretation of the sentences is that A and C should take their seats along with them while moving towards the location of B. In this latter role the situation of the participants A and C relative to B's position prior to the movement involved is exactly identical to the situation obtaining in the discussion immediately preceding.

There is, however, another option open to speaker B if he/she wishes to ask A or C to be seated in his/her vicinity. In this case he/she may utter the following sentence, namely;

(10) Suigh i bhfus anseo
'Sit here (beside me)'

I bhfus indicates nearness to the speaker. Sentence (10) may therefore even interchange with (8) and (9) . The semantics of sentence (10) are, however, slightly different. In this latter instance the hearer is expected to rise from his/her seat (if he/she is already seated) and proceed to the area designated by *i bhfus* and take up *a different seat* there. Therefore, there is no necessity for the hearer to take his or her seat along or to slide while sitting, to the place called *i bhfus* as we encountered in the interpretation of sentences (8) and (9). On the other hand there are certain complications which arise with regard to the use of *i bhfus*. In order to pinpoint the confusion that can arise in the use of certain lexical items, let's consider the following sentences which may convey the same meaning.

(11) Suigh i bhfus ag an doras (nuair a rachas tú isteach).

(12) Suigh thíos ag an doras (nuair a rachas tú isteach).
'Sit down by the door (when you enter)'.

Either one of those sentences could be used interchangeably to convey the same meaning. This dichotomy exists, however, due to the speaker's understanding of the situation and location of the referrent points *thíos* and *doras* with respect to the house in question. *Doras* would in almost all cases be in the position *i bhfus* as one enters any particular house. Since the speaker in uttering sentence (11) is presupposing that the hearer will approach the house in question at a later time, then the use of *i bhfus* is appropriate. In this latter case the speaker is viewing the house which is to be visited from a distance and is giving his/her particular orientation to it from that angle.

It is of course also possible that the speaker might view the house as if he/she were already inside, although at the exact time of utterance he/she may be outside the house or at a distance. In this instance the location of *doras* is/can be interpreted as being in the position referred to as *thíos*. Hence in this instance the use of sentence (12) is considered appropriate. Thus the manifestation of sentences (11) and (12) is dependent upon two intricately related presuppositions.

(i) The speaker's understanding of the relevant situations involved in the description of the appropriate lexical items, and,

(ii) The speaker's orientation towards the particular place being described i.e. the speaker may view a particular place from his/her understanding of that place (*a*) as viewed from the outside, or (*b*) as viewed from the inside. In the case of (*a*) we get (11), in the case of (*b*) sentence (12).

Next, let's consider the difference between the following pair.

(13) Suigh amach
'Move out (lit. sit out (movement))'

(14) Suigh amuigh.
'Sit outside'.

The semantic/syntactic distinction between example (13) and example (14) is much clearer and more obvious than in the case of sentences (11) and (12) discussed above. Sentence (13) could be addressed to someone sitting by the fireside when being asked to move back a little. If sentence (14) is used, it indicates to the hearer that he/she is to remove himself/herself from his/her present position and go to a place *'outside'* his/her present location. *Amuigh* 'outside' may indicate a different location such as another room in the house, outside the house, outside a circle or terminus etc. The difference between (13) and (14) will become more transparent if we add the prepositional phrase *ar an chlaí* 'on the stone wall' to each. Hence, we get the following.

(15) Suigh amach ar an chlaí.
'Move out on the surface of the stone wall'.[4]

(16) Suigh amuigh ar an chlaí.
'Go outside and sit on the stone wall'.[4]

Sentence (15) presupposes that the hearer is already seated on the stone wall, and is now merely being asked to move forward, while seated, to an area towards the edge of the stone wall which is usually designated as the front of the wall.

On the other hand, example (16) gives us to understand that the hearer is not seated (if at all) on the stone wall referred to in the text. He/she may of course be seated elsewhere, in a place which is understood or referred to as *istigh* 'inside (location)'. Thus, sentence (16) could be addressed to someone, say, who is sitting inside in a shadowy house on a beautiful summer's day, while being asked to go outside and sit on the stone wall and therefore take advantage of the sunshine. Whether this person is seated or not is irrelevant. What is relevant is that he/she is inside with reference to the stone wall.

Our next discussion will involve the verb *cuir* 'to put, to place upon'. Consider now, for example, the following sentences.

(17) Cuir an bhraithlín anuas ar an leaba.
'Spread the sheet over the bed'.

[4] The translations given are only meant as a guide to the real meaning conveyed by this combination of lexical items. To translate such sentences word for word would only succeed in conveying, in a very incomplete fashion, the semantics involved. A literal translation of the two sentences, word for word, is the following.
(15) Sit out on the stone wall
(16) Sit out (location) on the stone wall

(18) Cuir an bhraithlín síos ar an leaba.
'Place the sheet on the bed'.

As shown by the translation there is a radical difference between the two sentences. Sentence (17) is interpreted as indicating that the sheet is to be spread over the entire bed. Example (18) can not be interpreted in this way. In fact sentence (18) means that the sheet is to be placed on the bed but ought to be wrapped in a bundle. This crucial dichotomy is quite transparent in the following examples.

(19) Cuir na prátaí anuas ar an tine
'Spread the potatoes over the top of the fire'

(20) Cuir na prátaí síos ar an tine
'Place the potatoes in a container and put them over the fire (lit. put the potatoes down on the fire).'

Should the hearer interpret (19) as he/she ought to, I think we would be forced to have roast potatoes instead of boiled ones, since the message indicates that the potatoes are to be spread out over the top of the fire. If, however, we wish that the potatoes be placed in a container, pot or otherwise, and then placed on the fire to be cooked, then a construction such as we find in (19) ought to be avoided and (20) used instead. The lesson to be learned from all this is that the speaker's intentions and the end results required by him/her should be clear in his/her mind, before embarking on an experiment that would pinpoint the exact difference between *cuir . . . . . anuas* and *cuir . . . . . síos*.

The following minimal pair also offers an interesting contrast, although both sentences refer to the same action.

(21) Cuir an bhraithlín aníos ar mo chosa

(22) Cuir an bhraithlín suas ar mo chosa
'Place the sheet over my feet'[5]

Since *aníos* indicates movement towards the speaker, we may assume and justifiably so I believe, that the speaker is merely emphasizing his own position as opposed to the hearer's position, in sentence (21). If, however, the focus is on the hearer's position, then sentence (22) seems more appropriate. In other words, sentence (21) highlights the placing of the sheet towards the speaker, while (22) places the focus on the movement of the placing of the sheet away from the location of the hearer.

[5] The literal word for word translation of the two sentences is as follows.
(21) Place the sheet up (towards me) on my feet
(22) Place the sheet up (away from you) on my feet

To conclude this section, I draw your attention to the two sentences below.

(23) Cuir síos sa mhála é
'Place it in the bag' or 'Send it down (while placed) inside the bag!

(24) Cuir anuas sa mhála é
'Send it down (while placed) inside the bag'

What then is of interest in this set? The intriguing fact is that the former example is ambiguous while the latter has only one interpretation. It should also be remarked here that the context in which each particular sentence can be used, is quite different and they do not overlap. One of the interpretations of (23) and perhaps the simplest is that whatever *é* refers to is to be placed inside the bag. The second interpretation states that *é* is to be placed in the bag and then transported by whatever means that seem feasible to a place whose location is understood to be *thíos* 'down' with reference to the place of utterance. This becomes quite clear in example (25) below where there is no ambiguity.

(25) Cuir síos go Corcaigh sa mhála é
'Send it/him to Cork (while placed) in the bag'

Sentence (25) ought to be uttered by someone in a location north of Cork if the sentence is to be semantically and syntactically acceptable. Such a conversation could possibly occur in Dublin if two friends were considering sending a present contained in a bag to a mutual friend in Cork. The important fact is that the two are in the same area, which would be referred to as *thuas* 'up' in reference to Cork's location. If the conversation is between the friend in Cork and either of his two friends in Dublin, then sentence (24) is the most appropriate form to use. In this latter case I am assuming the person in Cork is the speaker.

In conclusion, therefore, I summarize briefly what I consider to be most salient points of the preceding discussion.

(i) The adverbs of staticity and direction can not be used correctly in Gaelic unless the speaker has a prior knowledge of the hearer's location. The speaker may also refer to a third referrent point. In doing so he/she must understand the relation of this position to his/her own location and to the hearer's location.

(ii) Secondly, the speaker may if he/she wishes, direct the axis of direction either from his own location or from the hearer's location. This complicates the matter considerably and forces the speaker to make very relevant and stringent choices of the lexical items available.

II

Gaelic has mainly three referent points in space, namely, *seo* 'this (near referent point)', *sin* 'that (a referent point away from speaker)' and *siúd* 'yonder (that other location not equal to either *seo* or *sin*). These three referent points are almost identical with the three referent points *here, there* and *yonder* used in varieties of English spoken in Scotland and in parts of Ireland,[6] but there are certain systematic differences with which we will concern ourselves below. Note the sentences.

(26) Seo Seán
'This is John'

(27) Sin Séamus
'That is James'

(28) Siúd Pádraig
'That is Patrick yonder'

The three lexical items referred to above may also follow the noun and in such cases they take the form *sin, seo* and *údaí* as in the following sentences.

(29) An Seán seo . . . . .[7]
'This particular John . . .'

(30) An Seán sin . . . . .
'That particular John . . . .'

(31) An Seán údaí . . . . .
'The third John . . . . .'

By the addition of the prefix *an-* the three lexical items under discussion become locative adverbs. Thus we get *anseo* 'over here', *ansin* 'over there' and *ansiúd* 'over yonder'.[8] This latter position may or may not be in view, because in many instances the word *ansiúd* is anaphoric and may refer back to a place mentioned earlier or to a place whose location or identity is already familiar to both the speaker and his audience.

[6] In particular the English spoken North of the line drawn from Dundalk to Sligo. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of Scottish English spoken by many of the planters who received land in Ulster after the plantation of Ulster 1609. The form *yonder* is relatively unknown in the rest of Ireland.

[7] In units of this type i.e. article+noun+adjective, the main stress falls on the first syllable of the adjective with secondary stress on the preceding noun. The highest peak of intonation is also on the final syllable of the adjective i.e. *seo* [s'ɔ], *sin* [s'ĭn'] and *-aí* [i].

[8] Stress is always on the second syllable in those words. If the stress falls on the first syllable, then the words have a radically different meaning, Note the following.

(*a*) Bhí sé ansin
[vi: s'a ən's'ĭn']
'He was there'

(*b*) Bhí sé ansin
[v'i: s'a'önns'ĭn']
'It was in him'

Each one of the above three adverbs can co-occur with the adverbs discussed in Part I, but when that happens the combination of the two adverbs takes on a rather different meaning, which is difficult to express in English. Observe carefully the two different pronunciations of the following sentence.

(32) Tá sé thíos *ansin, anseo, ansiúd/údaí*

Unstressed.

(33) [ta: s'a his əNs'ĭn', əNs'ɔ, *əNs'ĭd, ɛdi][9]

Stressed.

(34) [ta: s'aˈhi:s əNˈs'ĭn', əNˈs'ɔ, əNˈs'ĭd, *ˈɛdi]

The examples in (34) cannot be used unless the referent points indicated by *ansin, anseo* and *ansiúd* are visible and in the vicinity of the speaker and hearer. Note that both adverbs are stressed and in particular the manifestations of the long vowel [i:] in [hi:s] *thíos* 'down (position)'. It is usual for the speaker when uttering sentences such as the one transcribed in (34) to point to the place identified with *anseo, ansin* and *ansiúd*. The important fact here is that the hearer is totally unaware of the exact location of each of the three referent points *ansin, anseo* and *ansiúd* and, therefore, additional information (in the form of pointing or directing a finger towards the location in question) is necessary and is supplied by the speaker. However, in the case of (33) a different situation obtains. In this latter instance the location of the referent points [his əNs'ĭn', əNs'ɔ, ɛdi] is already known and understood by all the participants taking part in the discourse. The three referent points above refer to a specific area or areas with *respect to the position of the speaker.* Each specific area is usually not within either the speaker's or hearer's view and in the case of [ɛdi] the area in question may be quite distant.

Thus it is not possible to pinpoint the area in question directly as in the case of sentences of type (34). It is important to notice that the referent points with *thíos* quoted above indicate specific areas, because the following examples show a different type of contrast, namely, a non specific location.

(35) Tá sé síos ansin, anseo, ansiúd, údaí[10]

[9] *údaí* [ˈɛdi] when stressed has initial stress unlike the other adverbs referred to in footnote (8). It may be noteworthy to point out here that although all the lexical items in example (33) are unstressed, the unit [his əNs'ĭn'] or [his əNs'ɔ] or [his ɛdi] has a peculiar intonation pattern with a rising peak towards the final syllable as follows.

his əNs'ĭn' his əNs'ɔ his ɛdi

[10] When something is moving all the time and never in one location for any long period of time, then it is usual to refer to its unsteady location by *síos, suas, amach* etc. Note the following examples from the literature describing the position of the moon and the stars in the universe: 'Bhí an *rae* 's na *réalta suas*' (Machnamh an Duine Doilgheasaigh); 'Do mheasas-sa féin gurbh í *réalthann na maidne* bhí *suas*/ Do mheasas-sa 'na dhéidh sin gurbh í an chaortha bhí ar lasadh 'na gruadh.'

Unstressed.

(36) [ta: s'a s'is əNs'ïn', əNs'ɔ, *əNs'ïd, ɛdï

Stressed.

(37) *[ta: s'aˈs'i:s əNˈs'ïn', əNˈs'ɔ, əNˈs'ïd, ˈɛdi]

The lexical item *síos* inherently contains an element which we might indicate by marking the word *síos* in the lexicon with a feature /+ movement/. Hence a phrase such as *síos ansin / anseo / úda* refers to a non-specific location, where the speaker has no knowledge of the *exact location* of the person which forms the subject of the discourse. In example (36) [s'a] refers to the person whose exact location is not known. Since [ˈs'i:s əNˈs'ïn'] with stress normally refers to a *specifically limited location*, the example given in (37) is unacceptable because such an interpretation violates the inherent semantic properties of [s'i:s], which contains a feature /+ movement/ as I have indicated above.

The contrast of location versus movement (non specific location) inherent in [his əNs'ïn'], [s'is əNs'ïn'] respectively, becomes quite transparent if certain locative phrases are added to the original examples in (33) and (35). Note the following.

(38) Tá sé thíos ansin sa gharradh / fán gharradh
[ta: s'a his əNs'ïn' sə ɣa:Ruw / fan ɣa:Ruw][11]

(39) Tá sé síos ansin *sa gharradh / fán gharradh
[ta: s'a s'is əNs'ïn' *sə ɣa:Ruw / fan ɣa:Ruw]

The sequence *síos ansin sa gharradh* is unacceptable in sentence (39) because certain semantic features of *síos* and *sa* are opposites and cannot co-occur within the domain of the same sentence. In particular *sa* is /+locative, + definite/ whereas *síos* is /± locative,[12] – definite/. *Síos* in sentence (39) does refer to the location of *sé* but only that *sé* is *síos ansin* 'down there somewhere i.e. *a non specific location*'. *Fán* 'around' on the other hand is /+ locative, – definite/ and thus the co-occurrence of *fán* and *síos ansin* is quite acceptable.

It is also quite possible, however, to derive other sentences which are quite similar in meaning to sentences (38) and (39) by merely

Although *síos* in almost all cases refers to movement away from the speaker, it can also indicate location as in the following example:

(*a*) Tá an ola síos
'The oil is at a low ebb'

Sentence (*a*) above could be uttered by someone checking the oil in a lamp, when he/she saw that the lamp was practically empty. In the same way the words *anios* and *anuas* although normally indicating movement towards the speaker, may indicate a static condition. Note the following:

(*a*) Tá an ola anuas anois
'The price of the oil is down now (lit. is the oil down now)'
(*b*) Tá luach an eallaigh anuas anois
'The price of cattle is down now (lit. is the price of cattle down now)'

[11] /R/ indicates a long trilled alveolar r-sound.
[12] An example with *síos* indicating location occurs in footnote (10).

epeating the first adverb in each sentence. Thus we arrive at the ollowing, and observe carefully that the repeated element is stressed.

(40) Tá sé thíos ansin/anseo/ansiúd/údaí thíos
[ta: s'a his əNs'ĭn'/əNs'ɔ/əNs'ĭd/ɛdi ˈhi:s]

(41) Tá sé síos ansin/anseo/*ansiúd/údaí síos[13]
[ta: s'a s'i s əNs'ĭn'/əNs'ɔ/*əNs'ĭd/ɛdi ˈs'i:s].

When sentences such as (40) are uttered it is usual to point to the ocation referred to by the repeated element, which in the example t hand is *thíos* [hi:s][14]. Since *síos* [s'i:s] in example (41) refers to a pecific area not within the speaker's view, it is impossible to point it ut. The location of the place referred to by *síos*, however, is known o both the speaker and his audience and hence the additional information of informing the audience of the location of *síos* is unecessary. The following stressed forms are unacceptable.

(42) *[ta: s'aˈhi:s əNˈs'ĭn'ˈhi:s]

(43) *[ta: s'aˈs'i:s əNˈs'ĭn'ˈs'i:s]

It is of course possible to substitute other words such as those ndicating direction in the slots occupied by *thíos or síos* in our previous examples. Words such as *thiar* 'in the West', *thoir* 'in the East'[15] are very common in the slot immediately preceding the lexical tems *ansin, anseo* and *ansiúd* or *údaí*. The dichotomy of stressed versus unstressed forms prevails here as in our previous examples. The following are typical.

(44) An raibh aonduine thiar/thoir ansiúd?
[ə roh əˈNin'əˈhiar/ˈhĭr' əNˈs'ĭd]

(45) An raibh aonduine thiar údaí?
[ə roh əˈNin'ə x'ĭr ɛdi]
*ˈhiar ɛdi[16]

[13] It is quite difficult to translate sentences (40) and (41) into English without losing he semantics involved. The following are meant only as a guide to the real meaning f the sentences.
(40) 'He is down there/here/yonder' (all definite locations).
(41) 'He is down there/here/yonder' (all non definite locations).
The area referred to in both sentences is the same. It is the location of the subject hat matters in each case. In the case of (40) the location of the subject 'he' is static, ut in the case of (41) it is not known exactly where 'he' is, only that he is in the general rea referred to by *ansin, anseo* or *údaí*.

[14] It is quite common to add other words or phrases which refer to the faculty of eeing, at the end of sentences of type (40) and (41). The following are quite familiar
Tá sé thíos ansin thíos, amharc!
'. . . look!'
Tá sé síos ansin síos, an bhfeiceann tú!
'. . . do you see?'

[15] The words *thiar* and *thoir* do not always refer to the geographical positions *west* nd *east*. In many cases *thiar* refers to the area directly behind the speaker.

[16] Notice the reduction of [ia] to [jĭ] or [ĭ] with palatalization of the preceding labial onsonant. The phrase [x'ĭr ɛdi] has a rising intonation with the highest peak on the irst syllable of [ɛdi]. Other examples of the same process are [ˈiask] 'fish', [ˈjĭskĭr'ə] fisherman' and [ˈm'ial] 'louse', [ˈm'jĭntag] 'a midge'. [m'] indicates a neutral m, whenever it is not followed by [j]. (m'j] indicates a palatalized m followed by a glide [j].

An important factor in the above examples is the presuppositions associated with the phrases *thiar ansiúd* and *thiar údaí*. With respect to the latter, it is always unstressed and refers to a specific location, which is known by that name by both the speaker and his/her audience. It is therefore possible that the place referred to by *thiar údaí* may be quite distant from the place of discourse. If the location of the place referred to is visible to the speaker and his/her audience, then the form *thiar ansiúd* [ˈhiar əNˈsʲīd] is used. However, it may also be the case that *thiar ansiúd* (whatever location it refers to) may not be visible to the speaker and his/her audience, and in this case it may be merely anaphoric and may refer back to a place recently visited by the hearer or mentioned in an earlier portion of the discourse. This is the presupposition attached to sentence (44).

Finally a remark concerning the use of the lexical items *anseo*, *ansin* and *ansiúd* when they are neither preceded or followed by another adverb. As far as I am aware, whenever any of those words occurs alone it is always stressed. Note the following.

(46) Tá teach bocht ansin/ansiúd/*údaí
[ta: tʲax ˈbɔxt əNˈsʲīnʲ/əNˈsʲīd/ *ɛdi][17]

In the case of the sentence *tá teach bocht ansiúd*, the speaker may have just returned from the house whose location is referred to by *ansiúd* and is remarking about the state of affairs in that house.

This concludes my remarks concerning the co-occurrence of the verb *bí* 'be' with adverbs of direction and staticity. In the next section attention will be focussed on the verbs of motion.

III

Most if not all of the complications involved in the use of Gaelic deixis are encountered when one employs certain verbs of motion such as the three verbs quoted above. They are two verbs *gabh*, *téigh* in Gaelic which can be translated by the word 'go' in English. Semantically, however, they are quite different and there are many restrictions imposed on the type of lexical items that can co-occur with either one. Note the following.

(47) Gabh suas
'Go up'

(48) Gabh anuas
'Come down (lit. go down) (towards me the speaker)'

Sentence (48) is best translated in English by 'come down', but this is not the meaning conveyed by the Gaelic sentence. A more correct interpretation of the semantics involved is the following. Sentence (48) indicates motion from the hearer's position towards

[17] When [ˈɛdi] occurs alone (i.e. without another adverb either preceding or following it), it always functions as an adjective.

the speaker but the motion is calculated with respect to the hearer's basic position i.e. the speaker is placing himself/herself in the hearer's position with reference to the use of the verb, and the use of the adverb is calculated with respect to his own real position at the time of utterance. When *téigh* is used *anuas* can not co-occur with it.

(49) Téigh suas
'Go up (away from the speaker)'

(50) *Téigh anuas.

If we use the adverb of direction *isteach* 'in', and the verb *tar* 'come', things will become clearer. Notice:

(51) Tar isteach
'Come in'

(52) Tar anuas
'Come down (towards the speaker)'

(53) *Tar suas.

Compare the above examples with the following'.

(54) Gabh isteach
'Go in (away from the speaker) or come in (towards the speaker)'

(55) Gabh anuas
'Come down (towards the speaker)'

(56) Gabh suas
'Go up (away from the speaker)'

Sentence (53) is unacceptable because *suas* indicates movement away from the speaker, while *tar* indicates motion towards the speaker, and hence we get a contradiction. The correct command is *tar aníos* 'come up'.

Sentence (54) is interesting because of the ambiguity involved. One of its meanings is exactly equivalent to the English sentence 'go in' uttered by a speaker A to a hearer B, while both are outside the place referred to by 'in'. In the second interpretation the location of the speaker and hearer is somewhat different. In this latter case the speaker A is located in the area which would be referred to by *istigh* 'inside' while the hearer B is outside this area. What seems to be happening is that whenever one uses the verb *gabh* with adverbs that indicate motion towards the speaker, the action of the verb is specified semantically with respect to the location of the hearer, while the direction of the adverb is specified semantically with respect to the speaker's position i.e. *gabh isteach* means 'go in from where you (the hearer) are to where I (the speaker) am.'

I may add here that *gabh* is used especially by those imposing authority i.e. a father to his children etc. *Gabh* also expresses closeness

of friendship. Thus it is possible for A to say to B if both are outside, and B insists on not going in.

(57) Gabh isteach, gabh isteach, gabh isteach[18]
'Go in, go in, go in'

I don't know if the number three is significant here, but it works. In this way A is imposing his/her friendliness on B and wishes very much that B should go in. If A were inside and B outside it seems inappropriate to utter the following:

(58) *Tar isteach, tar isteach, tar isteach

Syntactically sentence (58) is quite acceptable but to find a situation where such a sentence would seem appropriate is quite difficult.

The same pattern of stressed versus unstressed adverbs referred to in section two can also co-occur with *gabh* as in the following examples.

(59) Gabh síos ansin
(*a*) [gohˈs'i:s əNˈs'ïn'][19]
(*b*) [goh s'is əNs'ïn']

[ˈs'i:səNˈs'ïn'] must refer to a place quite close to the speaker's location, while [s'is əNs'ïn'] refers to a more remote location not within view. This latter area must be in the general direction defined by the word [s'i:s], and is generally referred to by the expression [s'is əNs'ïn'] and this fact is known by both the speaker and his/her audience.

Further examples which exemplify the importance of the location of the participants in any discourse involving the use of *tar* and *gabh* appear below.

(60) Ná dtiocfaidh tú isteach?
'Won't you come in?'

(61) Ná rachaidh tú isteach?
'Won't you go in?'

If a stranger A comes to visit B, and if both meet outside B's house, then (61) is appropriate. Sentence (60) could also be used by B to convey the same meaning but only on the condition that he enters the house first (which is unlikely). If B were inside on A's arrival and if he/she came out to meet A, then (60) would seem to be the most appropriate form to use. There are other instances, however, which can be quite amusing at times should one happen to use the wrong form of an adverb of direction with either *tar* or *gabh*. This is

[18] I am grateful to Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin, University College, Galway for bringing this example to my attention.

[19] This sentence has a second reading and in this latter case the meaning expressed by [əNsiˈn'] is best translated in English by 'then'. Thus a possible translation of (59a) is 'Then go down'.

particularly true where stress is concerned as will be evident from the following discussion.

Imagine now the unexpected visit of the bishop of Ard na Sagart to the lonely village of Gleann an Mhagaidh in the West of Ireland. Imagine also a lonely widow and her only son living in a poorly kept thatched cottage in this village. The son is looking out the window, and all of a sudden he yells out, to his mother's complete dismay, the following sentence.

(62) Tá an teasbog ag teacht anuas anseo

Depending on whether he wants to scare his mother out of her wits or not, he may use either the stressed or unstressed form of the sentence. If he wishes her to remain calm, he will say,

(63) [ta: nˈtʼɛsbök ə ˈtʼaxt əNus əNsʼɔ]

where the last two words are unstressed. This means that the bishop is walking towards the direction of the house, but is now at a distance, and is exactly at the location specified by [əNus əNsʼɔ]. There is no indication in the semantics of this utterance that the bishop has any intention of visiting the widow's house. Should the son wish to frighten his mother intentionally, he might say.

(64) [ta: nˈtʼɛsbök əˈtʼaxt əˈNuas əˈNsʼɔ]

with stress on the last two words. This sentence has only one interpretation, namely, that the bishop is coming and that he intends to visit the widow's house directly. Thus the alarm begins and the poor mother starts putting things in order. It may be added, therefore, that stress plays a crucial role in instances of this kind no matter how remote the chances of occurrence of the appropriate situation or context is.

The following examples show clearly the distinction between the stressed and unstressed forms of *anuas anseo*.

(65) Tá sé ag teacht anuas anseo ag corr an tí

(*a*) [ta: sʼa əˈtʼaxt əNus əNsʼɔ ïgʼ ˈköR ə ˈti:]

(*b*) *[ta: sʼa ə tʼaxt əˈNuas əNˈsʼ ɔ ïgʼ ˈköR əˈti:]

(66) Tháinig sé anuas anseo aréir

(*a*) [ha:nʼïkʼ sʼa əNus əNsʼɔ əˈrE:rʼ]

(*b*) [ha:nʼïkʼ sʼa əˈNuas əNˈsʼɔ əˈrE:rʼ][20]

(66b) means that [sʼa], whoever he may be, visited us last night, while (66a) means that he did not visit us, but was seen at a distance

[20] The following are possible translations of sentences (65) and (66):
(65a) 'He is coming down towards this place and is now at the gable of the house'
(66a) 'He came down towards this place last night but he stayed at a distance'
(66b) 'He came down here last night' (i.e. he visited us last night)

in the location referred to by *thuas anseo* [hus əNs′ɔ]. The form [əNus əNs′ɔ] is used in example (66a) because motion towards the speaker is involved.

I should remark here that the English sentence *I went out to the island* is always expressed in Gaelic by the following sentence.

(67) Chuaigh mé isteach chun an oileáin[21]
went I in to the island

Amach 'out' is never used.

There are many instances where the distinction between the stressed and unstressed forms of the adverbs becomes quite clear, namely, where only one form or the other can be used. Typical examples include the following.

(68) Tháinig Seán anuas thall orthu[22]

(*a*) [ha:n′ĭk′ s′ɛ:n əˈNuas ha:L ˈɛrhuw]

(*b*) *[ha-n′ĭk′ s′ɛ:n əNus haL ɛrhuw]

(69) Tháinig sé thiar i dtoigh Sheáin[22]

(*a*) ha:n′ĭk′ s′aˈhiar dihˈx′ɛ:ĭn′]

But,

(70) Tháinig sé thiar anseo i dtoigh Sheáin[22]

(*a*) [ha:n′ĭk′ s′a x′ĭr əNs′ɔ dih x′ɛ:ĭn′]

The following do not occur.

(71) *[ha:n′ĭk′ s′a x′ĭr dihˈx′ɛ:ĭn′]

(72) *[ha:n′ĭk′ s′aˈhiar əNˈs′ɔ dihˈx′ɛ:ĭn′]

Another interesting verb, which has peculiar characteristics quite different from English is *imigh* 'depart, go away, escape'. Notice the use of this verb in the following four sentences.

[21] It is possible that the use of *isteach* derives from the idea of climbing on to something higher from a vessel which is lower. In this instance one always climbs 'in on the edge' whereas in English one would say 'up onto'. Note the following sentence.

(*a*) Chuaigh sé isteach ar an bhruach
'went he in on the bank'
'He climbed up onto the bank'

[22] The following translations are meant as a rough guide to the real meaning of sentences (68) – (70):

(68*a*) 'John came upon them on the far side and he came down in the direction of the speaker while doing so'

(69) 'He has come to visit and he is staying in John's house, which is located somewhere behind us'

(70) 'He has come to visit and he is staying in John's house, which is over here (pointing) behind us'

A word for word translation of the sentences would read something like the following.

(68*a*) 'Came John down (movement towards speaker) on the far side (away from the speaker) on them'

(69) 'Came he in the west in house of John'

(70) 'Came he in the west here (near referent point) in the house of John'

The combination [rh] indicates a voiceless r-sound.

(73) D'imigh sé anall orthu[23]
[ˈd'ĭm'i s'a əˈNa:Lˈɛrhuw]

(74) D'imigh sé anonn orthu
[ˈd'im'i s'a əˈNÖN ˈɛrhuw]

(75) D'imigh sé thall orthu
[ˈd'ĭm'i s'a ˈha:L ˈɛrhuw]

(76) D'imigh sé i bhfus orthu
[ˈd'ĭm'i s'a ĭ ˈwɛs ˈɛrhuw]

I hope that this short account has indicated some of the most interesting peculiarities of deixis in Gaelic; it is by no means exhaustive. There are many complications as I have shown and the learner must be very cautious. The rules are limited and the penalty for breaking them may be severe and more often embarrassing.

DÓNALL Ó BAOILL

Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann

[23] Sentences (73)–(76) can be translated roughly as follows.
(73) 'He escaped from them in the direction of the speaker and he came from the far side,
(74) 'He escaped from them in the direction away from the speaker and he went from the near side'
(75) 'He escaped from them while he was in a position which is on the far side from the speaker's location'
(76) 'He escaped from them while in a position which is on the near side from the speaker's position'

VARIA I

A Note on Old Irish *ro*[1]

IN spite of much discussion, the problem of fixed and movable *ro*[2] in Old Irish has not yet found any very satisfactory explanation[3]. In this note, an attempt (of a somewhat speculative nature) is made to account for this through assuming that two different forms fell together into what became Old Irish *ro*.

Starting with fixed *ro*, it should be noted that this on the whole follows the same rules as other preverbs in Old Irish: as a proclitic, i.e. as the first preverb in a deuterotonic verbal form, it does not cause lenition[4]. Consider the examples *Wb.* 17[a]6 *rocretus* 'I have believed' against *Wb.* 10[c]20 *canirochretset* 'have not they believed?' where *ro*[5] is under the stress and *Wb.* 4[c]37 *arforchelta* 'they have been cared for' where *ro* comes after it: in both these latter cases *ro* regularly lenites the verbal stem[6]. This shows how fixed *ro* behaves like other prepositions used preverbally[7], except in one respect: there is a tendency for other preverbs to precede this type of *ro*, which thus comes immediately before the verbal stem[8]. A similar tendency applies both to Sanskrit *prá* and to Greek πρό and thus

[1] For abbreviations, cf. *BL* (*Bibliographie linguistique*, Utrecht-Brussels-Antwerp 1939–), *DRIA* (*Dictionary of the Irish Language, Published by the Royal Irish Academy* (and *Contributions to a Dictionary . . .*), Dublin 1911–1975) and *OCD* (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949). I am much indebted to William Gillies and Professors Eric Hamp and Kenneth Jackson for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this note; this should not be taken to imply either that they agree with the ideas proposed or, of course, that the responsibility for errors and mistakes is not entirely my own.

[2] Cf. Zeuss 412–3; Zimmer, *Keltische Studien* II, Berlin 1884, 120–5; Thurneysen, *RC* 6 (1884) 154–5 and (1885) 321–3; a collection of examples from the glosses is given by Strachan, *TPhS* 1895–8 (1896) 77–193, cf. especially his comments 185–190; Vendryes, *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais*, Paris 1908, § 439; Thurn. *Hdb.* §§ 234,2 and 520–1; Ped. § 565; *DRIA* R, 77.49 ff.; Thurn. *Gramm.* §§ 526–8 (with further references) and Kuryłowicz, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*, Heidelberg 1964, 129.

[3] Of these (cf. n. 2 above and 41 below) note especially Kuryłowicz's view that Old Irish "tries to distinguish between the inflectional and the derivational *ro-* by means of position." This means that inflectional *ro* "is expected to be separated from the verbal root by immediately preceding *derivational* prefixes". However, this does not take into account the fact that movable *ro* is enclitic and thus sometimes appears after a derivational prefix: cf. *Wb.* 18[d]9 quoted below.

[4] Cf. Pedersen, *KZ* 35 (1899) § 26; Vendryes 1908, § 428 and Ped. § 320, 1.

[5] Note that in a case like this there is no way of deciding whether *ro* is fixed or movable, since it fulfils the conditions laid down for both types, i.e. it occurs both immediately after the first preverb and before the verbal stem. Cf. further n. 14 below.

[6] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 235, 3.

[7] *Op. cit.* § 819 ff.

[8] *Op. cit.* § 527 b.

goes to support the traditional etymology[9] of Old Irish *ro*, where it appears in this position.

Movable *ro*, on the other hand, behaves in rather a different way. Firstly, it always comes immediately after the first pretonic preverb, whether this is a preposition or a conjunct particle[10]. This causes it to change position inside the verbal complex if another preverb is added: consider the contrasting forms in *Wb.* 18^{d}9 *aristiamthe immeruidbed* et *niroimdibed tit* 'for it is Timothy who had been circumcised and Titus had not been circumcised'. It is important to note that it may remain pretonic and thus unstressed, as it clearly is in *Wb.* 16^{a}22 *niruthógaitsam nech* 'we have deceived no one'[11]. This example shows another important fact about movable *ro*, namely that it always lenites, whether (like any other preverb) it is under[12] the stress or (unlike any other prepositional preverb in Old Irish) before[13] the stress. In certain cases there is no way of deciding whether fixed or movable *ro* is used, i.e. where *ro* is put immediately before the verbal stem after only one other preverb, as in *Wb.* 6^{a}1 *conrochra cách alaile* 'that everyone may love the other'[14]. Finally, note that verbs which contain a *ro* throughout the paradigm[15] may take another one if required for grammatical reasons, as in *Ml.* 44^{a}1 *níruderchoin* 'he did not despair'. The position of this *ro* is identical with that of movable *ro*, where it occurs. In some cases, however, it appears to be missing, but for this there could be a phonological reason[16].

[9] Zeuss 411; Strachan 1896, 170 etc.

[10] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 527 a.

[11] One should read *ni-ru-tho-gaitsam* (Thurn. Gramm. § 528). Movable *ro* is used with the same verb also in Tec.Corm. § 30.3 but note on the other hand that fixed *ro* is found with it *Ml.* 38^{a}13 *nimthorgaith mofrescissiu* 'my knowledge has not deceived me' (Cf. also *Wb.* 14^{d}27 and 25^{b}5).

[12] Cf. Thurn. *Gramm.* § 235, 3.

[13] *Op. cit.* § 234,2. but cf. Ped. II, 247 and Thurneysen *IF* 33 (1914) Anzeiger 27–8 (I am indebted to Professor Jackson for this reference).

[14] Cf. *Wb.* 10^{c}20 quoted above. On the other hand, it seems to me possible that cases (Thurn. *Gramm.* § 39) where *ro* remains unstressed could be seen as ones involving movable *ro*, especially if the particle, in spite of this, causes lenition, as in *Wb.* 20^{c}9 *forrochongart* 'he has given orders'; unlike Ml. 145^{c}7, this cannot be construed as a relative (cf. further Strachan 1896, 114).

[15] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 535 a.

[16] *Ibid.*: "Verbs compounded with the preposition *ro* never take a second *ro* in perfective forms where the two *ro*'s would come together. But when such forms are preceded by a conjunct particle, verbs compounded with *ro* and another preposition divide into two classes: (1) those which prefix another *ro* to the entire compound, and (2) those which have no second *ro* . . . The difference between the classes recalls that between movable and fixed *ro*." In other words, wherever the rules governing the occurrence of fixed and movable *ro* might have been expected to produce two *ro*'s together, only one appears. On the other hand, a (movable) *ro* occurs if something separates it from the other *ro*. The reasons for this appear to be phonological, but affect both types alike and do not therefore provide help in differentiating the two types.

The two most important facts about movable *ro*, it seems to me, are that this element on the one hand takes second place in the verbal complex and on the other lenites the following initial, not only, like other preverbs, under the stress, but also when it occurs before it. In both these features, as in its mobility inside the verbal complex, it is thus unlike prepositions used as preverbs. On the other hand, there is in Old Irish one category that behaves in a rather similar way, namely that of the infixed pronouns. Thus *Wb.* 4^{b}27 *nimthogaitha mochocubus* 'my conscience deceives me not' and 25^{d}14 *indí nachidchualatar* 'those who heard it not' show the infixed pronouns (*-m-* and *-id-*) in second position, before the stress and causing lenition of what follows[17]. Syntactically, these belong to that class of elements within the verbal phrase which Watkins[18] has labelled enclitic or pronominal object (E) and which must be distinguished from the class of preverbs (P) precisely because they do not occur initially and because they can cause initial mutations even though they occur before the stress. As Watkins points out[19], most members of this class are infixed pronouns, but not all: *-ch* 'and' belongs here[20].

At this point, arguments for separating these two types of *ro* having been produced, it should be stressed that confusion between the two types appears to have arisen rather early, since the function assumed by the two types is the same. In any case, there is little doubt in my mind that the syntactic properties of fixed *ro* are much more consonant with those of **pro* than are those of movable *ro*, the origin of which therefore remains to be explained. Because of syntactic properties such as movement within the cluster of preverbs and lenition of what follows even where it occurs before the stress, it seems to me unlikely that the origin of movable *ro* should be sought in any member of the class of preverbs that also function as prepositions or at least (like fixed *ro*) can be shown to be derived from such forms. Instead, I should prefer to see it as a sentence particle not unlike the Hittite ones[21], or those Greek ones, such as γάρ, δέ, μέν etc. that do not occur at the beginning of a clause[22]. This would also go some way towards explaining why movable *ro* is relatively rare in the older strata of the verbal system: since it is argued that movable *ro* took over the grammatical function of fixed *ro*, it follows that the

[17] Thurn. *Gramm.* §§ 409–427 and more specifically about the mutating pattern Pedersen 1899, 400 ff.

[18] *Celtica* 6 (1963) 3.

[19] *Art. cit.* 6–7.

[20] *Art. cit.* 8.

[21] About these, cf. Josephson, *The Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite*, Upsala 1972, 1–20 and *passim*.

[22] Cf. Dover, *Greek Word Order*, Cambridge 1960, 12.

tter should be older and that it should be "found especially, though ot exclusively, with compounds of strong verbs"[23].

In this particular case, what I wish to propose is a connection with E *r*, which has long been known[24] to have given Greek ῥα and ρ(α) as well as Lithuanian *ir̃* 'and'. Recently it has again[25] been roposed that this particle also underlies the *r*-endings of the medio-assive both in Irish and in some other Indo-European languages[26]. honologically, a connection between IE *r* and Old Irish movable *ro* eems to me not impossible to assume. In Irish *r* is normally re-resented[27] by *ra*[28]: in this case one would have to assume a change *a* > *o* under the influence of fixed *ro*; it could also have happened n the case of *ri*[29], especially as the consonant would have been epalatalised in this case[30] – consider also the important parallel rovided by the common confusion between the prepositions *di* rom' and *do* 'to'[31]. Finally, it may in this connection be observed hat the original vocalism of movable *ro* could be preserved in forms ke *Wb.* 4c32 *dorigni* 'he has made'. However, it must be observed hat in this verb the position of *ri* is always immediately before the tem, thus in accordance with what obtains for fixed *ro*; on the other and there could in this particular case have been some confusion etween the two types.

Some syntactic arguments for taking movable *ro* from a form that s not a preposition have already been mentioned. To this it first of all eeds to be added that Greek ἄρα is well attested in positions similar o those where movable *ro* is found. Consider Il. 1.68 ὥς εἰπὼν κατ'ἄρ' ζετο and 24.456 'Αχιλεὺς δ'ἄρ' ἐπιρρήσεσκε with the same syntactic pat-erns PEV and #.EPV[32] as in the Irish *immeruidbed* and *niroimdibed*

[23] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 528.

[24] Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Berne 1959–69, 62.

[25] Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, Heidelberg 1969, 1947; Wagner, *TPhS* 1969 (1970) 217; 237–41.

[26] The first scholar to have proposed this seems to be Henry (*Revue critique* 24 (Paris 887) 237). For a different view (and more bibliographical details) see Neu, *Das ethitische Mediopassiv und seine indogermanische Grundlagen*, Wiesbaden 1968.

[27] Ped. § 30, 1 states that the original "zweierlei Timbre (*r*[i] und *r*[u]," of this sound normally gives *r*[i] in Celtic, but that there are some "Reste des alten *u*-Timbre". Assuming such a development in this case, the form *ru* would be the underlying form of movable *ro*, especially if Zimmer (1884, 85–6) is right in assuming a firm rule placing this form under the accent (but cf. Strachan 1896, 175).

[28] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 215 c.

[29] *Op. cit.* § 215 a.

[30] *Op. cit.* § 168.

[31] *Op. cit.* 506.

[32] Cf. Watkins 1963, 7 and 1969, 195. # stands for clause boundary, whereas the stop (.) means that there is at least one element between this and E.

'had (not) been circumcised' quoted above. The theory[33] concerning a similar origin for the *r*-endings in verbs would perhaps provide something towards explaining why this member of the class of enclitics, unlike the pronoun, does not occur suffixed to a verb: the same element already occurs in this position but with the quite different function of marker of the medio-passive. On the other hand *-ch* is not found suffixed either[34] and it seems to me possible that movable *ro* followed the same rule, either as an inherited feature[35] or as an Irish innovation[36].

It remains to discuss the question of whether to ascribe to movable or to fixed *ro* (i.e. to **ṛ* or to **pro*) the unstable *ro*[37] found in cases like *Wb.* 12c22 *rocluinethar cách infogur* et *níconfitir cid asbeir* 'everyone hears the sound and knows not what he says' and 24d5 *rofitir* 'He knows': in verbs like these *ro* is present only if there is no other preverb. In Hamp's recent analysis[38] the preverbs are not totally lacking in semantic value: they contain a component of perfectivity analogous to that present in the Germanic class of preterito-present verbs. Thus, since fixed *ro* appears to be the older way of indicating perfectivity in Irish and since unstable *ro* is found only in initial position (where movable *ro* is never found), it seems to me probable that fixed *ro* and unstable *ro* have the same origin. To this it should be added that Greek ἄρα[39] and West Tocharian *ra* 'and'[40] do not appear initially and thus provide support for the view that the encliticity of movable *ro* is an inherited feature. The question of aspect in Irish will not be gone into here, except in so far as mentioning that the arguments[41] for deriving a grammatical function as an aspect marker from the original meaning of the preposition **pro* appear to me to be better than ones that one might adduce in favour of giving **ṛ* an aspect-marking function.

[33] Cf. notes 25 and 26 above.

[34] Cf. Binchy, *Celtica* 5 (1960) 89.

[35] As Binchy tentatively suggests (*art. cit.* 93).

[36] Watkins 1963, 11.

[37] Thurn. *Gramm.* § 543 a. The term has been suggested by Hamp (cf. the following note).

[38] In a lecture ('The Preterito-Present: a Problem in General Linguistics') given at Edinburgh University on 7 May 1974.

[39] Cf. n. 22 above; Schwyzer and Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik* II, 1, Munich 1950, 558–9; Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1953, 45–6 (= *IF* 1 (1892) 377–8) and Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford ²1954, 32–43.

[40] Cf. Krause and Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch* II, Heidelberg 1964, 230.

[41] Cf. the authorities referred to in n. 2 above and Zimmer, *KZ* 36(1900)463–555; Strachan, *TPhS* 1899–1902 (1901) 408–438; Marie-Louise Sjœstedt-Jonval, *EC* 3 (1938) 219–273 and further references in *art. cit.* 105.

The meaning of Greek ἄρα has been much discussed[42]: considering ıe cognates in Baltic[43] and Tocharian[44], the most satisfactory ew seems to me to be that the original meaning was that of a ntence connective 'and', 'furthermore' or 'then'. Of this there ɔpear to be no traces in Irish: it seems likely that once the two rticles had become homophonous, movable *ro* began to take over ıe grammatical functions of fixed *ro*, while at the same time retaining s own syntactic properties. Note that, due to the nature of the ish verbal system, the two varieties of *ro* share one important ntactic property: they only appear together with verbs that have ɔnjunct endings. Since these probably[45] correspond to the Indo-uropean secondary endings, it is not impossible that there might e a connection between this and the interesting fact that in Homer's ınguage, (ἄ)ρ(α) is found many more times[46] with verbs that have econdary endings than with verbs that have primary ones.

To sum up, it is proposed that one possible way of describing the rigin of the distinction between movable *ro* and fixed *ro* might be ought in stating that two different particles **ɣ* and **pro* had fallen ogether, their grammatical function being that of the latter, but their ntactic properties being derived from those of both.

ANDERS AHLQVIST

Dublin, October 1974

42 Cf. Denniston, 1954, 32–3 and Grimm, *Glotta* 40 (1962) 3–41.

43 About these and a possible Slavic cognate, see Endzelīns, *Comparative Phonology nd Morphology of the Baltic Languages*, The Hague 1971 § 453.

44 Krause and Thomas I (1960) 172 and II, 123; 230.

45 Cf. Meid, *Die indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion*, Wiesbaden 1963, 130–1; *passim* and further references, 10–52.

46 Watkins (1969, 195) states that "von 736 vorkommenden Beispielen der ältesten Formen ῥ (α) und ἄρ' in der Ilias 137 in Verbindung mit medialen finiten Verbformen auftreten; alle bis auf vier Formen des Mediums haben sekundäre Endungen. Von den 133 sekundären Medialformen sind 115 unaugmentiert, was als ein Zeichen für Archaismus gewertet werden muß." To these interesting statistics one might add that similar figures seem to apply not only to these aforementioned middle forms, since of all these 737 instances, only 47 contain verbs that have primary endings of any kind. Furthermore, it may be pointed out that of these 47 instances, 23 are ones where ῥὰ occurs. This in turn is found all in all only 71 times and might on these statistical grounds be excluded from the "älteste Formen". Thus we would be left with only 24 verbs with primary endings out of a total of 665 instances of verbs occurring with ἄρ', ῥα and ῥ', whereas for ἄρ the ratio is 6/14 and for ἄρ 9/16. On the other hand a ratio of 11/318 is found for ἄρα, which thus appears to go together with ἄρ' and ῥα against ἄρ, ἄρ and ῥά. Cf. further Lejeune's comments on these forms (*Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972 § 149).

VARIA II

1. Syntactic Comparisons

(*a*) *airci(u̇)b* ~ *argib* ~ *ercib*

THIS form, which is to be read [arg′∂β(′)] ~ [ɛrg′∂β(′)], clearly means '*eircid*, go!', the plural of *eirgg* ~ *airgg* ~ *airc*. It is discussed, and examples are cited, by Carney, *Ériu* xviii 34. The identification is made, surely correctly, of the ending as being properly a pronominal, and not a personal verbal, suffix; a phonetic basis for the change of ending, suggested by O'Brien, is rejected, I think rightly. But no proposal is made to suggest how we are to understand this odd morphology, and its usurpation of an apparently normal verb form.

First we must note that the verb *téit* is suppletive in the imperative (inter alia!). There is nothing particularly abnormal about this; such suppletions are easily found as parallels in other languages: One thinks immediately of Welsh *mynet* / *af* : *dos*, and *dyuot* / *deuaf* : *dabre* ~ *dyret*; or of Breton *monet* / *aff* : *que* ~ *deus*. In modern Greek to ἔρχομαι / ἦρθα 'come' the imperative is ἔλα, and to πηγαίνω / πάω 'go' the normal imperative φύγε 'go away' covers more than its proper territory of 'leave, depart'. Similarly Albanian has *vete* / *vajta* 'go' : *ec* 'go!', and *vinj* / *erdha* 'come' : *ea* ~ *nga* 'come!'. Through much of the Balkans one can also say *haide* (with variants) 'beat it, scram, let's go, etc.' Parallels can readily be adduced from non-IE languages. In short, there is no need for the verbs 'come' and 'go' to have symmetrical and regular imperatives, as are found to be nearly obligatory for notions such as 'pierce', 'chew', 'pretend', 'stifle', 'calibrate', 'parboil', 'personate', or 'impeach'. Other phrases, especially deictic locutions of movement, will carry the sparse semantics equally well.

Once we admit the possibility of a direct transformation of such a verb phrase to a totally different formal category or word class, the probable internal structure of this word, from the point of view of a native speaker, becomes clear. As a 2 pl. conjugated preposition *argib* ~ *ercib* suggests *air er-* 'before, for' and, in particular, such an idiom as (*techt*) *ar chenn* 'to meet'. The semantics of $a(i)r^{L}$ is a complex network, and would easily accomodate this. The stem form *arg-* may be seen as partaking of the formation of co^{h} / *cuc-* 'to' and *oc* 'at'. The morphology leads us to a pseudo-construction 'before you', as if in an accusative of movement.

The attested locutions *airciub du for ndaim* and *argib tra . . . da for tig are* remarkably suggestive, ni their semantics, of such a phrase

s *tair riunn don tig ucut.* And from this we see that *airci(u)b* is a portmanteau which is a precise syntactic equivalent of the use of *éit* with *re* in a conjugated form referring to the subject of the verb, .g. *luid reime* or *lotar . . . rompo* 'went on, fared forward'.

(*b*) *sraithi, sraithius*

In a rich article that is filled with much that is suggestive Calvert Watkins has given us (*Ériu* xviii 92–3) an elegant analysis of *sraithi(us)* he hurled it (m., f.)', a rare epic verb form which he shows to be notably archaic and isolated. Watkins retrieves from this suffixed nflexion an IE 3 sg. perf. **strāu̯e* (> *sraí*) = Lat. *strāuit*, which he ssigns to *sernaid* < **strneH₀ti*[1] in origin but to *sréïd*[2] synchronically n Old Irish. His proof depends upon the recognition of the uffixed object pronouns and of *-th-* as an analogical insertion. There is, I believe, supporting syntactic evidence for this structure vhich Watkins does not mention: One has only to open the *Stories rom the Táin* to find (pp. 15, 17, 18) PRESENT forms of *sréïd* with uffixed and even pleonastic objects (*sréthi, sréthius*). The proportionate frequency of anticipatory objects with this verb seems to parallel the structure which the preterite required to rescue it from otal anomaly.

(*c*) Welsh *erbyn*

It is well known that the Welsh preposition / noun *erbyn* 'by (of ime), against' is in origin an old locative phrase equivalent to Irish *ar chiunn*; Simon Evans recognizes this (*GMW* 193 § 216 note), referring to *GOI* 498 and *Celtica* 2 (1954) 309–10 without troubling to mention the earlier reference works. The equation is perfectly obvious, but we must on principle note as a problem requiring overt accounting the fact that an older locative phrase (in the dative) manages to turn up as both a simple preposition and a noun head in prepositional phrase constructions. Without giving such an account ve violate the principle that in tracing the history of a form the yntax/semantics must be conserved invariant or else explained in pecific terms, with the mechanism of change specified exactly. We have here, I believe, an interesting case in which the attested Welsh ocutions provide us with the material for an internally complete ccount of the factors and mechanisms in play.

It is possible that some instances of *erbyn* should strictly be equated yntactically with *ar chenn* (accusative), which is found expectably

[1] I differ with Watkins in the details of development of *sernaid* and Welsh *sarnu* but hat does not affect the present point and the value of this form.

[2] I believe, contrary to Watkins, that *sreïd* is an ancient inheritance, and I deal with hat elsewhere.

with verbs of motion, as Caerwyn Williams mentions *Celtica* 2.313. Thus we have *nyt af i yn erbyn hynny* 'I will not go against that' *PKM* 24.2; *yna yd aeth kennadeu yn y erbyn* 'Then messengers went to meet him' PKM 85.2. While the purely phonological equation is with *ar chiunn* < **are kʷennīt*, we assume here that such instances of *erbyn* contain the automatic variant **pynn* in this locution, which was selected after surface case distinctions had ceased to operate. Hence this is syntactically the true descendant of **are kʷennon*.

Now the foregoing analysis is confirmed at the same time that the syntactic change of *erbyn* from phrase to preposition is elucidated by internal Welsh textual evidence. We read (LlB 110.6) *erbyn pen y nawuet dyd* 'by the end of the ninth day'. In this phrase it is as if the noun *penn* has been syntactically "extruded" or re-copied by a sort of clarifying transformation. More formally, *erbyn* = *AR* + *PENN* → *AR* + *PENN* + *penn*. Thus *AR* + *PENN* comes to assume the role of simple *AR*.

We turn now to the development of *erbyn* as a noun in the idiom *yn erbyn* 'against': e.g. *ac ymlad yn ehouyn yn erbyn Emreis* 'and fight fearlessly against Emreis' *BD* 119.31; *kyuodi a oruc ynteu yn eu herbyn* 'He rose up to meet them' *PKM* 65.6–7. The ancestor British phrase is to be seen in MCorn. *er y byn* and *er agan pyn*. That is to say, the parent phrase is **AR* + *PENN* + genitive, or equivalently **AR* + possessive – pronoun + *PENN*. Now because of the increasing irregularity of its phonetic shape *erbyn* comes to be regarded as *AR-PENN*, i.e. not as a phrase. Hence *AR-PENN* (*erbyn*) is no longer divisible, and comes to be used for *PENN* in the equivalent phrase *AR* + possessive – pronoun + *PENN*. Therefore *AR* + possessive – pronoun + *erbyn*. We also know that in some situations *yn* is equivalent to *ar* : *ar drws* = *yn drws* 'in front of' *ar hyt* = *yn hyt* 'throughout', *ar ol* = *yn ol* 'after', *ar cimeir* (Comp) = *yg kyfeir* 'opposite'. Therefore AR + possessive – pronoun + *erbyn* → *yn* + possessive – pronoun + *erbyn*. In this fashion by small stages with no violation of the underlying syntax but simply through segmentation and substitution of the surface shapes, we arrive at the new phrase *yn erbyn*.

Therefore there is really no anomaly at all in the development of the preposition *erbyn* and the idiomatic phrase *yn erbyn*, once we understand each stage properly.

2. do-s·n-áirthet, tárachtain

CCCG 389 § 606(2) prints the 3 pl. (attested LU 4657) *do-sn-árthet* and gives the vb.n. as *tairrecht*. These and kindred forms are listed under a compound *to-air-reth-*. In view of Thurneysen's analysis of

he fate of *ad-* before sonants (*GOI* § 822A), and of the meaning and ormation of *ad·reth-* 'catch', it is better to analyze this compound vith "empty" *to·* as *to*+*ad-reth-*. This seems to be Dillon's opinion, note, in his study of *to·* (*Indo-Celtica* 1972, p. 47); but while he iotes the indeterminacy of the perfective force of *to·* in this case, ie does not give reasons for his analysis, nor correct the CCCG isting.

3. *sek^{w}- 'pronounce, speak'

(*a*) **fo·aisci, do·fāisce*

Carney refers (*Ériu* xviii 34) to the above forms, attributing the erbal noun *fásc* to **fo·aisci* and *tásc* to *do·fāisce*. It is true that he former pair is derived from what may be lexically rendered as *o-ad-sech*, and the latter from *to-fo-ad-sech*. But so far as such forms re not Middle Irish those with *-sc-* must be denominatives of the ld verbal noun, since syncope leaves *-sch-* as a cluster of spirants[3]. On the other hand, *fásc* and *tásc* represent the same zero-grade state f the root as *cosc* = Welsh *cosb*. The confusion of these original ero-grade forms with the later fate of syncopated forms must not lind us to the fundamental distinctions of word formation involved, whether or not the suppletion pointed to by *GOI* § 768 was general or the language as a whole.

Carney *loc. cit.* places *fásc* 'announcement' in the same relation o *tásc* 'tidings received' as *téit* to *do·tét*. But Dillon (*Indo-Celtica* : *edächtnisschrift für Alf Sommerfelt* 1972, 47–8) regards *fásaig* / **do-ísci* and *in-coisig* / *do-inchoisc* (see below) as pairs in which he finds o distinction of meaning where *to* is prefixed. Despite the general alidity of Dillon's thesis I do not think that these pairings will hold p. Because of the sparseness of early attestation it is difficult to e certain, but the early entries (esp. from the Laws) in the *DIL* for *sc* (*fásc*) point strongly to 'notice, information (given out)', while hose in *Contribb.* for *tásc* lean to 'information, notice, report (with he recipient specified)'. This would tend to uphold Carney's stinction, and it certainly seems to be an increasing semantic plouring in the history of the language, to judge by the later senses 'news, tidings, fame, etc.'.

Contribb. analyzes *tásc* as *to-ad-sech*, and it seems to me that that the likely earlier form of the compound. The semantics really lls only for the pair **ad* + *sek^{w}-* and **to* + *ad* – *sek^{w}-*. But on the

[3] A similar observation applies to the form *coisce-siu* (*coiscisi* MS) discussed by rney *ibid* 36 § 14a.

model of the latter, parallelism of structure then called forth *f(o)* in its "empty" syntactic function seen not only with vowel initials but also in cases such as *fo·geil | gelid, fo·glen | glenaid, fo·glúaisi | glúasid*. Now that *fo* + *ad* – *sek*^{w}- and **to* + *ad* – *sek*^{w}- howeve gave unequal vowel lengths (*fásc* but **tasc* etc.), the phonetic an derivational balance was restored by preposing *to-* to *fásc* in it underlying form.

(*b*) *tinchosc, tecosc*

There must be more order in the derivatives of *sechid* than th reference works would have us believe. There must surely be a con nexion between the multiple stem classes and the tangled set o preverb derivatives, even if we are unable to recover all from th fragmented débris bequeathed us. We must also look for a cleare correlation between the meanings and the force of the preverbs. I must have been the increasing overlap in these functions that pe mitted the encroachment of the denominative forms in *-sc-*; othe wise there is no clear motivation for the displacement of *-sch-* o *-sg-* in the normally syncopated parts of the paradigm. The sourc of the encroachment of *-sc-* in precisely this position (that of syncop i.e. in position after a stressed preverb) was, of course, the origin occurrence of the zero-grade neuter in verbal nouns to compounds, i. **x-sk*^{w}*-o-m*. If Welsh *ateb* is not a revised formation, it is a relic of th old simplex verbal noun.

I regard the weak *-i* stem classification of *sechid* as a contaminatio from the stem class of the denominatives in compounding *-sc*, whic as we have seen was spreading through characteristic parts of th paradigm. The old stem class of *sechid* 'pronounce, speak, opin is to be seen in the conservative strong compound *in·coissig inchos* 'signify'; I take this to be a compound of *ind* + *com-* 'speak t towards', with *ind-* in the value which I have set forth *Ériu* xx 166, and with the old value of *com-* here unclear to me. The compoun *écosc*' distinguishing mark, appearance' is in origin a parallel formatio to the last, with *en* + *com-*; thus instead of a 'signifying' it came mean a 'signification, or sign'. The compound is old and formall matches Lat. *inquit*[4].

[4] In fact, *inquit* might be phonetically derived from **enko(m)sk*^{w}*eti* > **enksk*^{w} (with syncope) > **enkk*^{w}*et* > *ink(k)*^{w}*it*. Lat. *inquam inquit* has been a notorious a perpetual problem, beside the transparent *inseque*. We would expect, of course, to ke the **s* before *qu* and, if anything, lose the *n*. Ernout-Meillet (4th ed.) 318 are puzzl and simply give up. The Greek cognates show that both the zero-grade and a compou with **en(i)*- are of high antiquity; in fact, it is difficult to see that the preverb added a semantic force here other than perhaps a stylistic tone of solemnity. Chantrai *DÉLG* 349 notes that ἐννέπω ἐνίσπες etc. is "archaique, noble"; the simplex is fou

The weak *-a* stem *con·secha cosc* 'correct, control' is however a very different formation; it is, as it were, a perfective of *sechid* in *com-*. Note that *con·certa* carries about the same meaning and morphology.

In this framework we may understand *tinchosc* 'teaching' as a factive of *inchosc*, meaning 'impart a meaning'. Here we have a case of *to·* which I think is not empty semantically in its Old Irish development.

The formation of *tecosc* 'teaching' is less clear. We appear to have a parallel formation in *to·* from *écosc*, but the value of the first syllable is not without ambiguity; the derivation of the meaning is also unclear in detail. But it would seem at least possible that this compound has been treated as a derivative of *cosc* 'correcting'. In any event, the element *to·* again seems not to be semantically empty. Yet in origin this instance of *to·* may be different from that in *tinchosc*, and the similarity may well be fortuitous; the *to·* of *tecosc* may in fact be closer to the truly empty *to·* than appears at first sight. If *écosc* is indeed the equivalent of Lat. *inquit*, then *écosc* is, as it were, the verbal noun of *sechid*. This makes *tecosc* then a somewhat semantically heightened derived form of *sechid*; we have, schematically, *to* + *sechid* 'pronounces' → *tecosc* 'teach'. This semantic heightening of 'pronounce' would also explain the other main meaning of *tecosc*, 'prophesying, charm'.

(*c*) *sich* 'said'

This word occurring at *Ériu* xviii 14 § 13c, may well have carried the value of 'said, announced solemnly'. The syntax in which it is found is that of Welsh *heb(yr)*. Carney (*ibid.* 35) wonders about the use of the conjunct here, but he also mentions O'Brien's suggestion that we should read *sích* and see here a long *i* preterite.

only in ἄσπετος, and then it is compounded nevertheless. The geminate of ἐννέπω would be an Aeolic reflex of **νσ*, thus giving **ensek^w-*, while ἐνίσπες would exactly match OIr. *insce* f. 'speech, discourse' < **enisk^{w}iā* on the phonetic level. If semantically the verbal noun *insce* has been concretized, it may well be that **en+com-sk^w-* took its place, with the additional advantage of containing the more usual **en-* instead of the recessive **eni-*. On this basis it is not unrealistic to look in Latin for a compound **en-kom-sk^w* in place of **en(i)-sk^w-* with the meaning of the simplex.

As regards the consonant reduction, there is no problem in reducing a geminate stop in **enkk^w-* or **enkk^u-* ; a probable parallel is *contulī* < **con-tet-*. A syncope of **enko(m)sk^w* > **enksk^w-* is supported by *quīndecim*. The problem arises in explaining why the sibilant does not win out as in *discō* or *misceō*. The answer must lie in the nasal, for even the **r* of *poscō* was absorbed. But **n* was uniquely able to cluster homorganically with **k* here, thus giving a strengthened velar element preceding the **s*. Not only did this velar resist assimilation, we must presume, to the sibilant, but the latter in fact found itself between two strongly articulated velar segments. Thus the velar stop articulation, with a nasal onset, won out.

O'Brien's suggestion is much the better. By assigning *sích* to this morphological class we immediately find a phonetic fit in *fichid fích*, and an appropriate semantic set[5] in *midithir*[6] 'judges' and *in·fét* 'relates'.

4. Femen

In a well documented note, *Ériu* xxii 97–9, Donnchadh Ó Corráin shows that this name cannot be a Latin borrowing; it must be native and of relatively respectable age. Ó Corráin prudently offers no alternative explanation (97).

The noun is an *o*-stem. The old middle syllable must have contained either **i* or **e*, yielding slender *m*. It could not have been **i*, for this would have raised the initial syllable to *i*; therefore it was **e*. If the initial syllable had been **i* it would presumably have remained *i* before **e*; therefore the first syllable was also **e*.

The preform must have been **u̯emeno-*. Just as a speculation, we may wonder whether this was a cognate to Welsh *gwyfyn* 'moth'.

5. Irish óthath, tinaid

David Greene has convincingly connected *óthath* '(a) few' Welsh *odid* 'scarce' with *tinaid* 'fades away'; this old verbal adjective is reconstructed by him as **au-tītos*. We have here within Celtic a pair of very archaic survivals.

Because of the unlowered *i*, Marstrander has equated (*Observations sur les présents indo-européens à nasale infixée en celtique* 65) *tinaid* with Skt. *kṣiṇóti*; moreover, *kṣiṇó-ti* : *kṣi-tá-* is to be equated with Hom. φθίνω Att. φθίνω *φθινϜω φθινύ-θω : φθιτός. The aniṭ character of this base is seen in the aoristic forms ἔφθιεν Σ 446, ἔφθῖτο Σ 100, φθίεται Υ 173, ἀποφθίμην κ 51, φθίμενος Θ 359 (= -κτίμενος); the length of φθῖτο λ 330 is analogical on the present. Thus *tinaid* clearly descends from an aniṭ stem **dg^{w}h(e)i-nu-*.

**au-tītos*, however, is properly to be equated with the Skt. seṭ formation *kṣinā-* : *kṣī-ṇá-*. This must then represent **H$_a$a(p)o* + *dg^{w}hiH-tó-* and the compound is perhaps to be compared directly with ἀποφθίμην above. I propose further that the seṭ vocalism may well be taken originally from the simplex (*kṣī-ná-*), and that in the compound we might have expected aniṭ **-dg^{w}hi-to-*.[7]

ERIC P. HAMP

University of Chicago.

[5] See my article on the *ā*-preterite, *Celtica* 10. 157

[6] See my *barnu brawd*, *Celtica* 11.

[7] I deal elsewhere in some detail with the differences in formation of non-finite forms as between simple and compound verbs.

VARIA III

1. Ceciderunt ab oculis eius tamquam squamae

THIS is the way in which the restoring of Saul's sight is described in Acts 9.18, where *squamae* translates Gk. *lepídes* 'scales'. In this passage in the Book of Armagh, *squamae* is glossed *cenni aut bloscc aut lanna* and, as the editors of the *Thesaurus* point out, the second of these is an error for *bloesc*. The latter word is singular, and has reference to a single occluding membrane: the other two are plural, and thus more direct equivalents of *squamae*.

The word *lann* is used in Irish to the present day in the meaning 'fish-scale', but does not occur in the modern translations of this passage: *lannan* is, however, used in the Scottish Gaelic version. The etymology of *lann* is unknown, for Pedersen's derivation from Lat. *lamina* (*VKG* i 240) is untenable on phonological grounds; as W. *llafn* from **lamna* suggests, the expected Irish form would be **laman*.

It is well-known that *bloesc* is related to W. *blisg*, a collective meaning 'shells, husks, pods', with singulative *blisgyn*, and it will be remembered that this is one of the long list of words which O'Rahilly allotted to his Ivernic substratum. As I have argued elsewhere, such a relationship could be sustained only if there were an acceptable external etymology; otherwise the stronger probability is that both words are inherited from pre-Celtic sources. No etymology is available for *bloesc: blisg* and we will merely note the similarity of their semantic fields. The basic meaning is 'integument', and it is worth noting that *bloesc* glosses *testa*, *Ir. Gl.* 179. It is unnecessary to review the fascinating history of the Latin word which, beginning with the meaning 'potsherd', goes on through 'shell', 'covering' to give Fr. *tête* 'head'; *bloesc* shows considerable parallellism with it, including the meaning 'skull' in modern Irish *blaosc/plaosc*. In the passage we are discussing, however, the earlier meaning 'integument' is required, and we have another example of it referring to occlusion of the eye in a gloss on the obscure *blus* of *Amra Senáin: in tan ro glanad mo bloesc dailli* 'when the covering which caused my blindness was removed', *ZCP* iii 224 § 14. Modern Welsh offers us a very close parallel in *plisgyn ar lygad* 'cataract', recorded by Fynes-Clinton, *Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District*, p. 434.

I have already devoted a note to *cenni* (*Celtica* iv 25) and shown that it is the plural of **cenne*, a singulative from **cenn* 'skin'.[1] This

[1] Under the headword *ceinn, cenni* RIA Contribb. C follow me in deriving *cenni* from 1 *cenn* 'skin' and it was presumably intended that the word meaning 'head' should be listed as 2 *cenn*; in the event, however, only *cenn* 'head' appears.

latter word is found only in compounds in Irish; it ceased to be viable when /k^{w}/ lost its rounding and it acquired the homophone *cenn* 'head'. The Welsh cognate *cenn* functions both as a singular (with pl. *cennau*) 'skin, hide, peel' and as a collective (with singulative *cennyn*) 'scales of fish; dandruff'; it is therefore impossible to say as which we should take it in the Bible translation of our passage: *syrthiodd oddi wrth ei lygaid ef megis cen*. In the note referred to, I did not deal with the difficult problem of the forms *hua cheinn* gl. *a testa*, Sg 52^{b}2, *ceinn* gl. *testa*, 8. W. *cenn* is masc., as are the compounds of Ir. **cenn* 'skin', while *hua cheinn* suggests a shift to fem. *ā*-declension. On reflection, it seems possible that we have here an early and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to differentiate between the homophones *cenn* 'head' neut., and *cenn* 'skin', neut. or masc. Another means of differentiation available was the addition of a suffix, and I suggest that the modern *scannán* continues OIr. **cennán*, with the anlaut influenced by a word of similar meaning, *scamall*, which is discussed below. Indeed, if we accept the evidence of Plunkett's dictionary, there is a word *scann*, given under *membrana*, while the headword *hymen* offers all three: *sgann, sgannán no sgamall*. Only *scannán*, however, is attested elsewhere, always in the meaning 'film, internal membrane' and usually contrasted with *croiceann* 'outer skin', but it must be noted that both *scannán* (see below) and *croiceann* are attested in the meaning of the thin white skin inside an egg-shell, where the contrast is with *blaosc/plaosc* for the egg-shell itself. O'Begly translates *film* as *sgannán*, and *film of the brain* as *sgannán na hinchinne*. This means the *dura mater*, for which another name is *seicne*, probably a compound of *sech-* and the word **cenne* already discussed, see *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir* l. 940 n. In *gan bhriseadh sgannáin*, O'Hussey TC 51.13, it means the virginal hymen (cf. the reference to Plunkett above), while *scannán* (*an bhuilg*) is recorded from Fánad by Wagner, *LASID* iv 46, in the meaning 'lining (of the stomach)'. By far the commonest meaning in the modern spoken language, however, is that of the thin skin inside an egg-shell, for which see the answers to item 157 of the English questionnaire in *LASID*; *scannán* is the usual Munster form and is found sporadically in Connacht and Ulster as well. According to Ó Máille, *An Béal Beo* p. 122, *sgannán* also means the peritoneum (cf. *seicne*), but I have no confirming evidence of this. There are, however, no examples at all of *scannán* being used in the meaning of a film occluding the eye, as in cataract[2].

Neither is the Irish loanword from *squama* used in this sense. The entry in RIA Contribb. S, under the headword *scama* (*scam*?)

[2] But Professor de Bhaldraithe draws my attention to *scannach* used in this sense: *cineál scannaigh ar a súile*, Colm Ó Gaora, *Óbair is Luadhainn* (BÁC 1937), 24. 2.

offers only one example, which is discussed below. But the meaning 'scale, rind, scab' is well established by the adjective *scamach* 'mangy'. Dinneen lists *scamh* f. 'peel, rind, scale', but I cannot recall seeing any example of it; it may well be one of the ingredients of *screamh* ã f. 'surface, skin, film', common in Modern Irish. One good reason for the disappearance from the earlier language of *scamh* 'scale' is that the pl. *scama* 'scales, etc.' was homophonous with the native *scama* 'lungs'; as in the case of *cenn* 'head' and *cenn* 'skin', the areas of semantic reference were too closely connected for both words to survive. But, if *scamh* 'scale, etc.' did not survive, its derivatives did; we have already mentioned the Mid. Ir. adjective *scamach* 'mangy', and we can add the modern Irish noun *scamhach* (*iongan*) 'scaling skin at the nail' and the verbal noun *scamhadh* 'peeling, shelling, etc.'.

The diminutive **squamula* does not appear in any Latin dictionaries which I have consulted, but it occurs in a passage from an Irish medical manuscript quoted in *RIA Contribb.* L 52.12: *da mbia fuil . . . no lanna annsa bfual = si sanguinam . . . minxerit aut squamulus* [*leg. squamulas*]. This is the same MS, RIA 23 K 42, from which the Contribb. S 73·36 quote *fual . . . maille re moran do sgamuibh* 'urine . . . with many scales', thus establishing the equation *lanna = squamulae = scama* 'scales'. The Irish NT translation of our biblical passage renders *tamquam squamae* as *fá mar dho bheith sgamail*, and it can hardly be doubted that Mod. Ir. *scamall* derives from *squamula*. There are two difficulties, the first being the change of gender; since it has already been argued that an original masc. **cennán* became *scannán* under the influence of *scamall*, it may also be suggested that, in turn, *scamall* took over the gender and declension of *scannán*. The other difficulty is the unlenited *-m-* of *scamall*, as opposed to the *-mh* of *scamh*. If the loan is late enough—say, from the period of the medical manuscripts—the retention of *-m-* would be regular. But there is also the possibility that the original form was *scamhal*, and that delenition of *-mh-* has taken place. It would be unwise to attach much importance to O'Reilly's *scamhail* 'scales', but it is worth noting that Myles Dillon, *LASID* iii 152, recorded [sgaṽəL] in Inis Meán, as the reply to item 157 'lining of an egg', although *scamall* is the usual Connacht form. Other Connacht meanings are 'web of duck's foot', Ó Máille, *An Béal Beo*, p. 199 and 'the membrane enveloping a new-born calf', T. S. Ó Máille, *Liosta Focal as Ros Muc*, p. 185. What is of more direct concern to us, however, is that *scamall* is attested in *An Béal Beo*, p. 108, in the meaning of 'occlusion of the eye', and that it occurs as the reply to item 85 of the English questionnaire in *LASID* ('cataract on the eyes of sheep') at points 4 and 5 (South Tipperary) 36 (Eanach Dhúin, Co. Galway) and 41 (Inis

Oirthear, Aran); at 20 (Dún Chaoin) and 21 (Clochán) in Co. Kerry it is *scamall uisce*. The most-widely spread meaning of *scamall* is, of course, '(dark) cloud', noted in this meaning in *LASID* (item 890 of the English questionnaire) from nearly all points in Munster, from points 40 (An Lochán Beag, Co. Galway), 51 (Tuar Mhic Chéadaigh, Co. Mayo), 52 (Louisburgh, Co. Mayo), 61 (Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo), 86a (Gleann Choluim Chille, Co. Donegal). There can be no doubt that this is a secondary development of the meaning 'occlusion of the eye', and it is presumably fairly late.

De Bhaldraithe's *English-Irish Dictionary* offers for 'scale (on skin)' *scamhach*, which has been discussed above. It also gives *thit na fachailí dá shúile* for the English 'Literary' phrase 'the scales fell from his eyes'. Dinneen gives several examples of *fachail* to justify the meaning 'a covering, *esp.* a scale, as on the eye': *tá fachailí ar shúilibh na caorach soin* 'that sheep has scales on the eyes'; *cad iad na fachailí a bhí ar do shúilibh* 'how blind you were', and Wagner reports *fachailí* in the meaning 'cataract on the eyes of sheep' only from point 16 (Gleann Fleisce, Co. Kerry). It seems not improbable that Dinneen was reporting his own usage here, for it is elsewhere attested only from Baile Bhúirne (Ó Cuív)[3]. And yet it must be very old; as Dinneen hints with his first gloss, it is the verbal noun of the rare compound *fo-ceil*, which the RIA Dict. F records only in the meaning of 'burying the dead', but which consists of the elements *fo-* 'under' and *ceil-* 'conceals'. The expected OIr. verbal noun is **fochail*, and the change of vowel in the first syllable is parallelled by Classical Modern Irish *cagail*[4] from *con-ceil*. There is every reason to suppose that, at the time the Book of Armagh glossator gave *cenni*, *bloesc* and *lanna* as equivalents of *squamae*, in some part of Ireland, at least, **foichli* would have been equally acceptable.

2. OIr. sopp; Faroese soppur; W. swp

The lexicographers who succeeded Marstrander in preparing the RIA Dictionary and Contributions have not always been happy in their handling of the relations between Old Norse and Irish, but there can be few more glaring misrepresentations than the comment 'ON *soppr*, Bidrag 75, 126' on the headword *sop*. On p. 75 of the *Bidrag* Marstrander had listed the comparison of *sopp* with ON *suǫppr*

[3] However, it is just possible that *daig na faichle bae ar suil ind rig*, *Cymmr.* xiv 106 (= Rawl. 131[b] 37) means 'because of the blindness which was on the king's eye', though that blindness came from an injury rather than from occlusion by cataract. The lenition of *faichle* may arise from an effort to point up the 'etymology' of Aichell.

[4] This is not the place to discuss the penetration of *-cell* into the verbal nouns formed from compounds of *ceilid*, for which see *VKG* ii 482 ff. I have quoted *cogail cagail*, *IGT* Decl. § 10, because it seems probable that this variant, like the assumed **fochail*, has avoided the contamination.

among 'umulige sammenligninger', and the comparison with *sópr* on p. 126 occurs, together with that with *suǫppr*, in a list preceded by the warning: 'Hvor intet andet siges er de nedennævnte sammenligninger av sproglige grunde alle uholdbare'. Nowhere does Marstrander suggest that either *soppr* or its variant *suǫppr* (*svöppr*) is the origin of Ir. *sopp*, nor does any contemporary Scandinavian scholar accept such a derivation. This is argued with great force and learning by Christian Matras in his paper 'Soppur í føroyskum og sopp í írskum', *Fróðskaparrít* 4 (1955) 15–31. The basic reason for rejecting the equation is the lack of semantic fit, for, as Matras points out in the English summary of the article, 'In medieval Norwegian and Icelandic writings *soppr* is attested only in the meaning of "ball (to play with)"; a side-form *svöppr* has the meanings: 1. "sponge" . . . 2. "tumour" . . . 3. "ball (to play with)" '.

Clearly none of these meanings can be connected with *sopp* 'wisp'. But Faroese does possess a word *soppur* which means precisely 'wisp', and which is parallelled by *sipp*, in the same meaning, recorded from the Shetland Norn. The borrowing in this case must be from Irish, and the arguments for this view become overwhelming when we consider the common use of modern Irish *sop* and Faroese *soppur* in the extended meaning 'bedding'. Faroese has *fara á soppin*, *vera búgvin á soppin* 'to go to the wisp', said of a woman about to give birth, while Irish has phrases such as *tá an mhuc ag soparáil* 'the pig is *soparáil*', glossed as *ag bailiú sop chun bertha* 'collecting wisps to give birth', *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne* (ed. Ó Cuív) and *tá an mhuc ag cruinniú na sop* 'the pig is gathering the wisps i.e. to make bedding. This is an indication that she is about to litter', G. Stockman, *The Irish of Achill, Co. Mayo*, p. 76.

Clearly, then, *sopp* is not a Scandinavian loanword and, in fact, the true explanation of its origin was suggested by Whitley Stokes over one hundred years ago, in his edition of O'Donovan's translation of Cormac's Glossary. After the entry *sop .i. a sopinis ar is fuigell tuige e*, he adds:

> Manx *sap* 'wisp', W. *sopen* 'a truss': *sopen o wair* 'a truss of hay'. *Sopinis* seems for *stopinis*, dat pl. of the Low Latin *stopinus* 'a wick', Lat. *stuppa*, but the meaning points to a connection with the German *stoppel*, Ital. *stoppia*.

These latter words mean 'stubble', and are derived from **stupla* through **stupula* from *stipula*. That the interference comes from *stuppa* there can be no doubt. Already in the Vulgate *stipula* has become a collective, as in the passage *Ipsa autem fecit ascendere viros in solarium domus suae, operuitque eos stipula lini, quae ibi erat,*

Josue ii 6, where both the Greek and the Hebrew have plurals translated by 'stalks of flax' in the AV. In the Latin glossary on the Old Testament which was further glossed in Irish (*Thes.* i 1), *stipula* in this passage is glossed by the Latin words *stuppa, stupa lini, burra lanae, purgamentum.* It seems reasonable to conclude that *stup(p)a lini* could mean 'a bundle of flax', while *burra lanae* 'woollen stuffing' and *purgamentum* 'sweepings' seem closer to the original meaning of *stuppa* than to that of *stipula.* The Irish gloss *scart* is inserted after *stuppa,* and no doubt translates it. It is not otherwise attested in the early language and, since there are obvious corruptions in the transmission of these glosses, it does not seem too daring to suggest that we should read *escart.* This is the verbal noun of *as-carta,* cf. *escart .i. cartair es,* O'Mulc. 444[5], and the primary meaning is 'refuse, sweepings'; the secondary meaning 'waste material used for stuffing, tow' is exactly parallelled by OBr. *iscartholion* gl. *stuppa* and by W. *carth* 'offscourings', 'tow'.

The equivalence of *stipula lini* and *stuppa lini* noted above gives support to the view that one of the meanings of *stuppa* in Late Latin was 'bundle of fibres', and that this was continued solely in Ir. *sopp,* while *stuppa* elsewhere is the origin of such varied semantic developments as Eng. *stop, stuff* and *stupe* and Ital. *stoppino* 'wick'. It did not take on the meaning 'tow' in any Celtic language; on the contrary, *sop escairt* 'a wisp, bundle of tow' is a well-attested collocation. It is necessary to gloss it by 'bundle', as well as by 'wisp', since the size of it can be substantial; we may note that the modern Donegal Irish *sopóg* 'wisp' suggests a larger *sop.*

The phonetic problem presented by the treatment of Lat. *st-* as *s-* is one that is with us already, since the **stupla* or **stubla* mentioned above is usually taken as the source of W. *sofl,* Br. *soul* 'stubble', see Jackson *LHEB* 531. Although OW *sumpl,* Mod. W. *swmbwl,* from Lat. *stimulus,* is the only other solid example of this sound-shift, it seems firmly established. We assume, then, that a Lat. *stuppa* 'bundle of fibres' gave a British Latin **suppa,* which has left no trace in British but was borrowed into Irish as *sopp;* it will be remembered that words borrowed into Irish from British sources never show the later shift of *-pp-* to [f]. The shift of gender must remain unexplained, but it is not so uncommon as to invalidate the explanation proposed.

Welsh *swp* 'bundle, heap' is found with the diminutives *sopen* and *sypyn;* the latter is found in collocation with *gwellt* 'grass' and *gwair* 'hay', so that *sypyn o wellt, o wair* are adequate renderings of Mod. Ir. *sop féir,* more formally of Donegal *sopóg féir.*

[5] Marstrander, *Bidrag* 126, quoted an apl. form *supu* with this O'Mulconry entry as reference. This should probably be LB 127[a]32; the introduction of the O'Mulconry reference cannot be accidental and suggests that Marstrander was thinking along the lines set out here.

This did not escape the attention of Matras, who addressed an enquiry to R. J. Thomas, editor of *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, who replied: 'The Welsh *swp*, dim. *sypyn*, and *sopen* seem to me to be borrowed from Eng. (dial.) *sop* "a clump of flowers, plants, etc.; a clump of damp hay among the drier". I hardly think it likely to be a Celtic word'. This calls for several comments. Firstly, the Welsh words under discussion were obviously well-known to Parry-Williams when he compiled his admirable work on *The English Element in Welsh*, but he does not mention them at all. Secondly, the *NED* separates the two meanings given by R. J. Thomas into *sop* sb.[2] and *sop* sb.[1] respectively. *Sop*[2], which has such diverse meanings as 'a compact body, troop or company', and 'a lump or mass of blacklead in the ground', is tentatively derived from ON *soppr* 'ball', already discussed above; all these are a long way from the meanings of W. *swp*, etc. As for *sop*[1], it is (surely correctly) allotted to the verb *sop*, where the primary meaning is that of wetness; this is clearly illustrated by the 1863 example: 'The hay is not in very good order; there are sops in it'. A *sypyn o wair* which was a *sop*, in this sense of the word, would be unfit for use, and the derivation must be rejected. I do not know how soon Welsh began to receive words ending in unvoiced stops, but *brat* is attested from the thirteenth century, and must have entered the language long before that. The meanings of W. *swp*, etc., are far closer to those of Ir. *sop* than to those of any English word, and an Irish origin is probable, even if it cannot be conclusively demonstrated.

The conclusion, then, is that Irish borrowed Lat. *stuppa* through British Latin in the form *sopp*; Faroese *soppur*, Shetland *sipp* and Welsh *swp*, *sypyn* are to be regarded as Viking-age borrowings of the Irish word.

DAVID GREENE

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

ELEANOR KNOTT (1886-1975)

Her passing severs the last link that binds us to the 'glad confident morning' of native scholarship in Irish: the establishment of the School of Irish Learning and the appearance of the first number of *Ériu*. Like the *filid* on whom she was to become a leading authority, she served her apprenticeship in this specialist School, where she acquired a knowledge of the Irish language in all its stages which no graduate in Celtic Studies has ever exceeded. Among the *alumni* and *alumnae* of that famous nursery of scholars the name of Eleanor Knott stands very close to the summit.

Her interest in Irish had begun much earlier, encouraged by her father, a distinguished physician, and still more by her mother, a lady of Cornish descent who felt a strong bond of sympathy with her fellow-Celts. As a young girl she taught herself to read modern Irish, but shrank from tackling the older language in the belief that a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and Greek was the minimum qualification for mastering it. And when one recalls the great names of that period in Old and Middle Irish scholarship—Windisch, Zimmer, Thurneysen, Pedersen, Strachan, Whitley Stokes and the rest—one can well understand her reasons for so thinking. It was a young assistant-librarian in the National Library, R. I. Best, who (not long after he had taken part in the conversation immortalized in *Ulysses*!) disabused her of this idea and persuaded her to attend the classes given in the new School of which he was honorary secretary. Many years afterwards he told me that he considered 'the recruitment of Miss Knott' to be his most useful contribution to Irish studies.

Year after year she attended the sessions of the School, following the courses given by Meyer, Pedersen, Thurneysen and above all Bergin, whom she always described as 'my teacher'. Certainly no pupil ever did him more credit and no pupil more successfully emulated his standards in scholarship. Her first contribution to this journal (IV 209–232) 'Advice to David O'Keeffe', a bardic poem of 58 quatrains, already shows a sureness of touch, a familiarity with the bard's language, and a gift for elegant as well as accurate translation, qualities whch were to distinguish all her later work. Hence by 1911, when she was appointed assistant to Marstrander in editing the Royal Irish Academy's Irish Dictionary, she was regarded as one of the most promising younger scholars. The promise was so abundantly fulfilled that even those among her male colleagues, notably Bergin and Thurneysen, who were somewhat sceptical about the capacity of women to do original research in such a difficult subject always referred to Eleanor Knott as a luminous

exception. And though in subsequent years other women-scholars have won great distinction in the same field, I believe they would all agree in placing her at the head of their roster.

Her association with the Academy's Dictionary lasted for over forty years; indeed the fasciculus E and the two fasciculi of F (in which she had the collaboration of Maud Joynt) would of themselves constitute a *monumentum aere perennius* to her memory. For she had all the qualities of a great lexicographer: industry, accuracy, patience, a retentive memory and—rarest of all—what Thurneysen used to call *Kombinationsgabe*. Among the massive lexicographical works published by the Academy it seems to me that these three fasciculi will need the least amount of revision in the future: some additions undoubtedly, but very few corrections. Though her own work was confined to the 'Dictionary' proper, she gave unstinted help to the scholars who were later engaged in compiling the 'Contributions'.

After the School of Irish Learning had been incorporated in the Academy, she joined Bergin in the editorship of *Ériu* vol. XII, Bergin and O'Rahilly for vols. XIII–XV, and the present writer for vols. XVI–XX. Occasionally I found her standards for admission to its pages somewhat too austere, and once we had a long argument on whether a certain contribution should be accepted or rejected (in the end she consented to its appearance). But I knew well that this attitude was determined by her anxiety to keep the journal on the same high level as we had received it. 'Remember, quality not quantity is what counts' she often remarked. Needless to say, the quality of her own articles and notes was extremely high, and her edition of the *Rule of Saint Clare*, which takes up the whole of vol. XV (except for three pages of a note by Pedersen), is a model of its kind. Her long service to the Academy was not officially recognized until 1949 when, after the repeal of an outmoded Statute, she was the first woman elected to membership. Earlier recognition of her brilliant scholarship came from the National University, which in 1939 conferred on her the degree of D. Litt. *honoris causa*.

To many of the younger generation the name of Eleanor Knott is associated only with Early Irish and bardic poetry. In fact, however, just like Mac Neill, Bergin and O'Rahilly, she began as an enthusiastic supporter of the revival movement. In 1910 she published a complete vocabulary to Canon O'Leary's *Eisirt* and later edited two of his modernizations of older texts, *Lughaidh mac Con* (1914) and *Aodh Ruadh* (two volumes, 1929–31). I remember well how useful her *Foclóir d'Eisirt* proved when I began to learn spoken Irish in 1926. She was also an original member of the committee of *Cuman um Leitiriú Simplí* and gave wholehearted support to the

movement for simplified spelling launched under the auspices of Dr. O'Daly, Shán Ó Cuív, Bergin, O'Rahilly and others, arguing the case for it in several letters to the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Independent*, the *Irish Nation* and *Sinn Féin* and engaging in spirited controversy with its opponents. These letters still make good reading; they reveal her exhaustive knowledge of the orthography in Irish manuscripts of all periods, a knowledge which those who attacked her obviously lacked. Few will deny that a movement to make the spelling of Irish words bear a closer relation to the spoken language was amply justified in principle; and even today (with all respect to the framers of the official *caighdeán* and the undoubted improvements they have introduced) the problem of a reformed orthography has not received a satisfactory solution.

With the publication by the Irish Texts Society of two volumes entitled *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn* in the early twenties Eleanor Knott's status among the leading Irish scholars of her time was definitely established. She had been working on the edition ever since 1910, and it is, I think, generally agreed that these two volumes are the most valuable of all those issued by the Society. Gerard Murphy used to advise his students to read and re-read her Introduction as by far the best account of the life, training, conventions, strength and weakness of the Irish bardic order as a whole. Her style combines austerity with grace; her approach to the poet and his work is at once sympathetic and impartial; her translations are both accurate and felicitous. The same qualities reappear in her *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, still a standard text-book on the subject, and in *Irish Classical Poetry*, a more popular introduction which appeared under the auspices of the Cultural Relations Committee and attracted so many readers that a second edition was necessary within three years. The new edition contains admirable translations from a few of the poems in O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha* designed to approximate as closely as possible to the Irish metres 'in the hope that this may enable even the novice in Irish to follow with some appreciation the original text'.

In 1928, after Edward Gwynn had become Provost of Trinity, she was appointed Lecturer in Celtic Languages; eleven years later the College established for her a special Chair of Early Irish which she held until 1955. One of her outstanding students, Professor David Greene, has already paid tribute (*Irish Times* Jan. 13 1975) to her success as a teacher and to the help she so willingly gave to all who shared her interest in the subject. Though her courses covered Old as well as Middle Irish, and though her knowledge of both branches was equally sound, her only Old Irish publication was an edition, with notes and glossary, of that fine saga *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*

in 1937. For several years she had been engaged in editing and translating the numerous poems attributed to Colum Cille, and it is indeed a tragedy that failing eyesight should have prevented her from completing a work for which she had unique qualifications.

She was not only a splendid scholar: she was also a most remarkable personality. In many ways she reminded me of Bergin: the same initial reserve (to some extent, perhaps, due to shyness), followed by a lavish helpfulness once she saw you were in earnest, and culminating in a friendship which was all the more precious because it was not lightly bestowed; the same absolute integrity in scholarship as in life; the same dislike of publicity-seeking and self-advertisement. What she wrote in her obituary notice of Bergin at the beginning of *Ériu* vol. XVI may be equally well applied to herself: 'His critical standards had their own sure basis in his unshakeable love of truth and justice and honesty, and his contempt for speciousness, humbug and sloppy pretentiousness in any connexion'. Again like Bergin, she had a keen sense of humour, and her witticisms, though never unkind, could be caustic at the expense of those who in her view were guilty of 'sloppy pretentiousness' in their work.

Her publications cover virtually the entire span of the Irish language, from pre-Christian sagas to the stories of An tAthair Peadar—*nil Hibernici alienum*. All of it was dear to her, but she had a special affection for the bardic schools and their work. When, in 1927, O'Rahilly presented her with a copy of his newly published *Measgra Dánta* she expressed her gratitude in a poem in *séadna* metre which has hitherto been known only to a few of her friends. It is printed on the following page as a fitting epitaph on a great scholar and a great Irishwoman.

D. A. B.

APROBÁSIÚN

Fuair an éigse fear a hiomchair,
oighre ceart ar chrích a crú;
tréinfear tur gan luagh ar leisge,
duan ní meisde ag cur a chlú.

Ealta caomh dá clannuibh toghtha
tug sé leis dá leas go mín;
neada dílse dóibh do dhealbhaigh,
éin gan dóigh ar sealbhaibh sídh.

Méanar ealadha na hÉireann,
aos a foghla fós gan buaidh;
geall ós ionchuir d'Fear an Mheasgra,
fear a hiomchuir feasda fuair.

F.U.A.I.R.

I. 2. 27.